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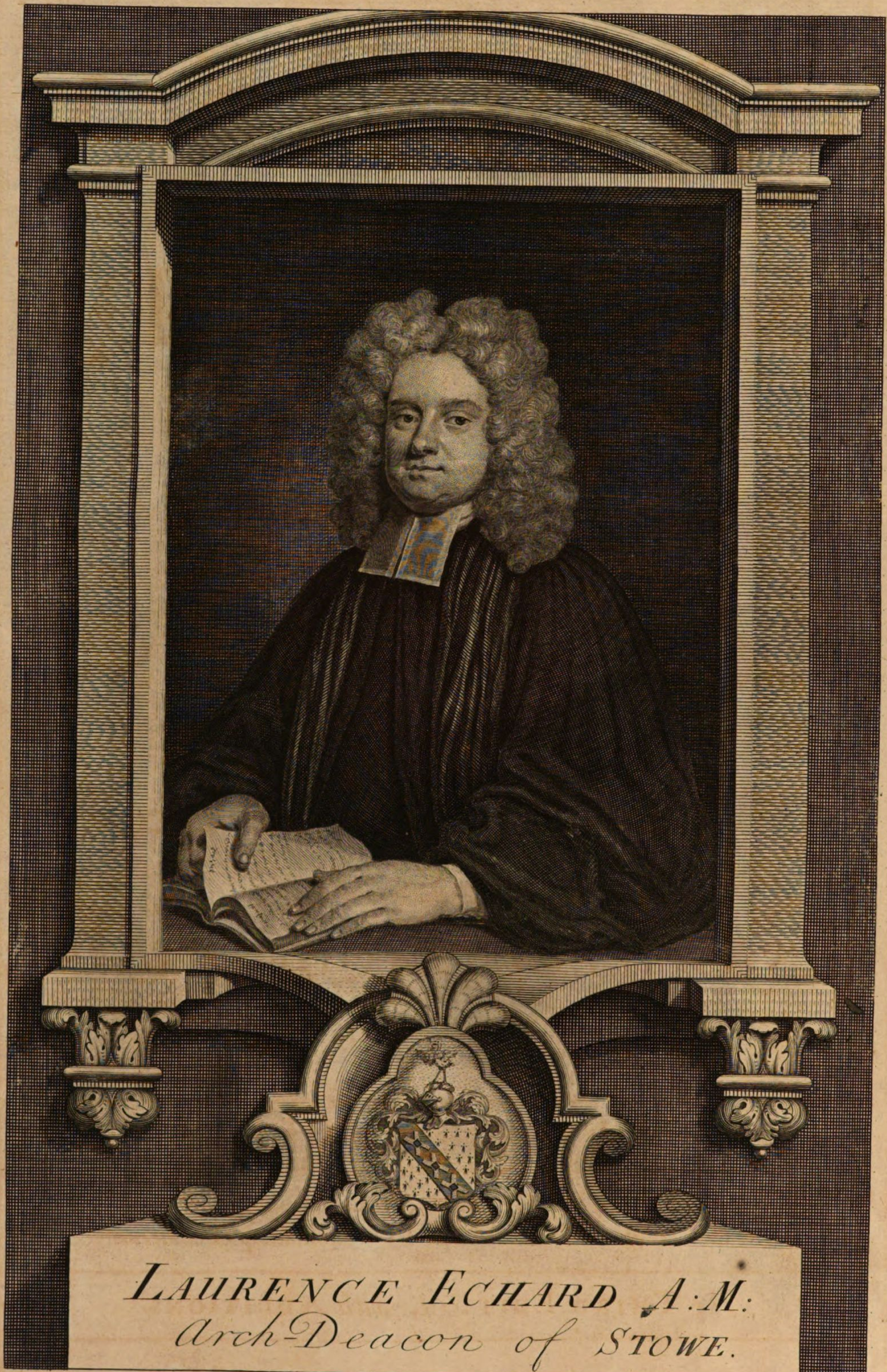

LAURENCE ECHARD A:M:
Arch-Deacon of STOWE.

G. Kneller Eq. Baron.t pinx. *G. Vertue Sculpsit 1713*

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

From the Firſt Entrance of

JULIUS CÆSAR

AND THE

ROMANS,

To the Concluſion of the REIGN of

KING *JAMES* the Second,

And the Eſtabliſhment of

KING *WILLIAM* and QUEEN *MARY*

Upon the THRONE, in the Year 1688.

With a Compleat INDEX.

By *LAURENCE ECHARD*, A. M. Archdeacon of *Stowe*, and Chaplain to the moſt Reverend *WILLIAM* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The THIRD EDITION, *with* ADDITIONS.

LONDON:
Printed for JACOB TONSON, at *Shakeſpear*'s-*Head* over-againſt *Katharine-ſtreet* in the *Strand*. MDCCXX.

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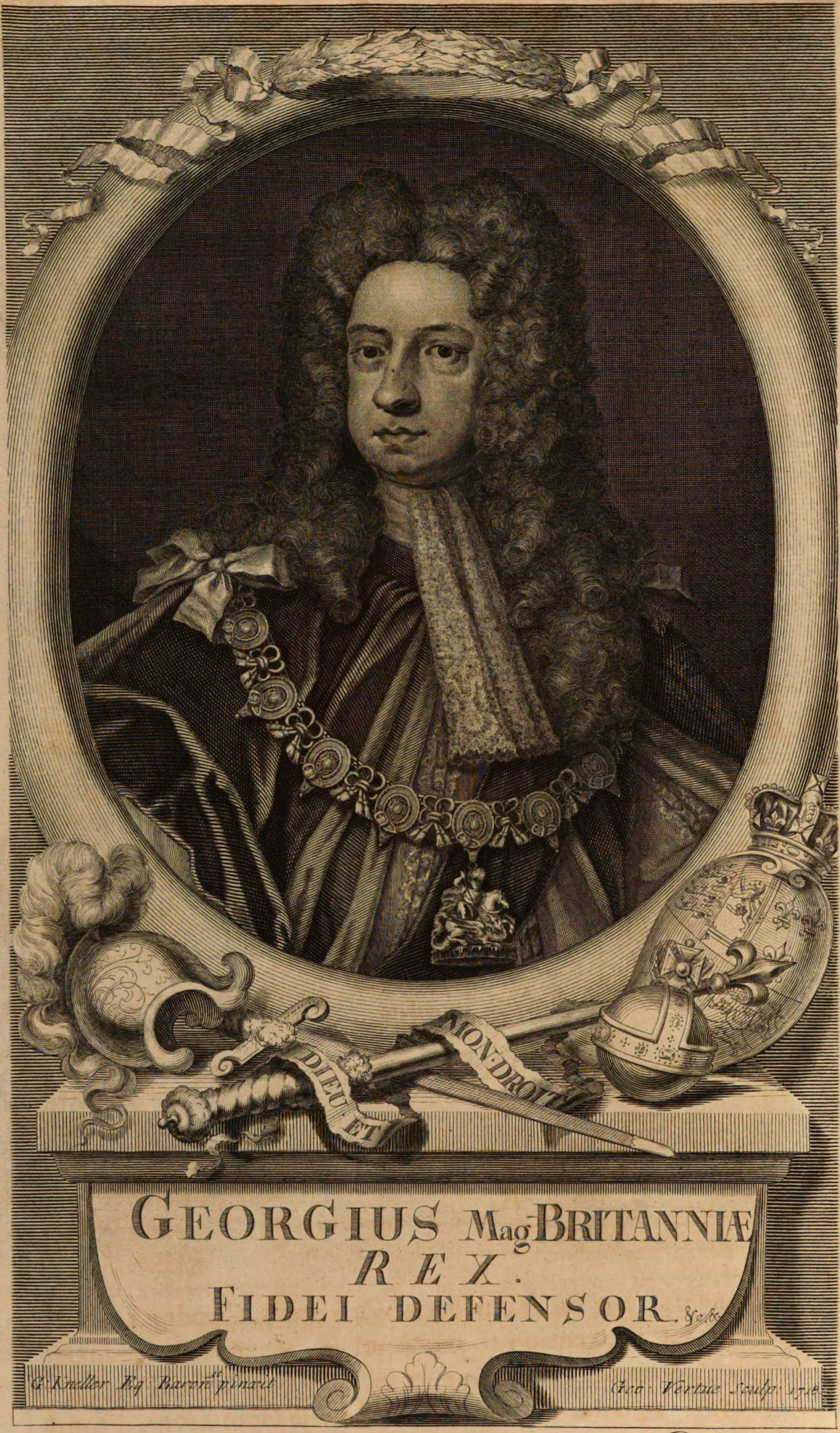
DIEU ET MON DROIT

GEORGIUS Mag. BRITANNIÆ
REX.
FIDEI DEFENSOR. &c.

G. Kneller Eq. Baron.t pinxit Geo: Vertue Sculp: 1718.

Dedication

TO THE

KING.

SIR,

Presuming on Your Majeſty's known Goodneſs, and gracious Condeſcention to the Applications of your meaneſt Subjects, I humbly beg leave to lay at Your Royal Feet *The Hiſtory of* England, and of all Your *Britiſh* Dominions, From the Firſt Entrance of the *Romans* into theſe Parts, to the Completion of the Great and Happy Revolution in the Year 1688.

It would have been improper to have Dedicated a Work of this Nature to a Prince of Your Majeſty's Great Knowledge, Experience and Courage, were not the Hiſtory fill'd with ſo many remarkable Events, as are ſufficient to add Wiſdom to the moſt Knowing, Information to the moſt Experienc'd, and Caution to the moſt Valiant Prince that ever wore a Crown.

England in an eſpecial Manner has been ſuch a mighty and diſtinct Scene of Action, in the latter Ages of the World, that during the Compaſs of this Hiſtory, there appears a greater Variety of Changes, Governments and Eſtabliſhments; and there ſeems to have been more viſible and ſignal Inſtances of Judgments and Puniſhments, Mercies and Deliverances from Above, than perhaps can be parallell'd in any other Part of the Weſtern World.

Accordingly we find, on the one Hand, the moſt notorious Examples of Oppreſſion, Tyranny and Bloodſhed; and on the other, the moſt amiable Inſtances of Mildneſs and Moderation, Benevolence and Juſtice, Piety and Devotion, Fortitude and Humanity; in ſhort, ſuch exalted Degrees of Virtue, and ſuch monſtrous Deformities of Vice; with ſuch ſurpriſing Conſequences reſulting from both, as may be ſufficient to excite, and at the ſame time to ſatisfie, the higheſt Curioſity, and afford Matter for the nobleſt Information and Admonition.

BUT among all the Parts and Paſſages in this Hiſtory, the Concluſion is moſt highly to be regarded; not only for Example in general, but for being the moſt memorable with reſpect to Your Majeſty's Greatneſs, and Your Subjects Security.

It is the Account of a Revolution, the moſt Wonderful and Providential that ever happen'd to the *Britiſh* Dominions: A Revolution that kindly diſpell'd all the impending Storms, and infus'd Life and Spirit into Three expiring Kingdoms: A Revolution that immortaliz'd Great WILLIAM's Fame, and made it Superior to the Firſt of that Name; who if he had leſs of the *Conqueror*, yet had He more of the *Deliverer*, than that victorious Monarch: A Revolution, from whoſe prolifick Womb ſprung a numberleſs Series of Bleſſings, which revived many Parts of *Europe*, as well as *England*. From hence aroſe the Preſervation and Security of the moſt valuable Enjoyments under Heaven, and an unexpected Stop to the overbearing Torrent of the Power of *France*: From hence aroſe the perfect Settlement of the *Proteſtant Intereſt* in the ſeveral Parts of the *Chriſtian* World abroad: And from hence ſprung the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* in theſe Dominions at home; and what crown'd all, Your Majeſty's Auſpicious Reign over thoſe Kingdoms, that had ſo much long'd for that compleat Settlement.

Heaven and Earth ſeem to have united in this laſt and diſtinguiſhing Bleſſing, and to have given into Your Poſſeſſion an Imperial Crown, which You had before merited by Your early Atchievements of Arms in remote Nations, as well as by Your other Princely Qualifications and Accompliſhments: And the feeble and ungrateful Oppoſitions You have ſince encounter'd, tho' unexpectedly ſwell'd to an open Rebellion, have only ſerv'd to add a greater Luſtre to Your Majeſty's former Glory. Theſe were like the Clouds and Tempeſts in a Morning, which are the uſual Fore-runners of the Serenity and Brightneſs of the Succeeding Day. And thus the warm Struggles in the Beginning of a Reign, generally give freſh Strength and Vigour to the Conſtitution, and promiſe the ſettled and laſting Felicity of the Eſtabliſhment.

DEDICATION.

AFTER ſuch a happy Revolution, and ſo compleat a Settlement, the *Britiſh* Nation do with Pleaſure ſee a Deſcendent of their ancient Kings eſtabliſh'd upon the Throne, whoſe Lineage was from *Matilda*, the Daughter of King *Henry* the Second, and Grand-Daughter to an Empreſs of the ſame Name, who was both Daughter and Mother to two great Kings, and immediate Heir to the Crown of *England*, and Poſſeſſor of it, near ſix hundred Years ago: Which Empreſs, being likewiſe Neice to the King of *Scotland*, and of the Houſe of the ancient *Saxon* Monarchs of this Nation, Your Majeſty's noble Alliance to the Two Crowns of *England* and *Scotland* have been eſtabliſh'd for ſeveral Centuries, before the Addition you gain'd from Your glorious Grand-Mother, the Queen of *Bohemia*. So that as far as *Royal Blood* and *Hereditary Titles* take place, Your Majeſty has the Honour of being doubly Inveſted with what Your Enemies and Oppoſers have been ſo ready to call in queſtion.

As the *Engliſh* Nation has been ever fond of valiant and warlike Princes, ſo they never could be more ſtrongly engaged, than by Your Majeſty and Your Family; in which there have been, in our Memory, ſo many ſignal Inſtances of Military Glory. Your own early Actions in the diſtant Parts of *Europe*, as in *Hungary* and *Morea*, and particularly in the famous Siege of *Buda*, were ſolid Foundations of Your preſent Greatneſs, and will with Pleaſure be remember'd by late Poſterity. And tho' Your Majeſty, thus reſerv'd by Providence for future Glories, eſcap'd all the Dangers of War; yet no leſs than Three of Your Heroick Brothers had the Honour to Sacrifice their Lives in the nobleſt Cauſe; Two of them fighting againſt the Enemies of *Chriſtianity*, and the Third againſt the great Diſturber of the Quiet and Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*.

Tho' Your Majeſty has ſignaliz'd Yourſelf in the Arts of War, yet You have teſtify'd Your particular Delight in the Exerciſe of the Arts of Peace and Civil Government; and have given an excellent Proof of Your Sovereign Virtues, before you had the Opportunity of diſplaying them in theſe Kingdoms. The Goodneſs and Humanity, the Juſtice and Moderation with which You rul'd your *German* Subjects, where the Sovereign Power was leſs controul'd, were the happy Preſages of what we have found ſince Your Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne of *Great Britain.*

And what ſtill added to the Pleaſure of our Proſpect, was, the early Infuſions of a Love to our Nation from an excellent Mother, particularly diſtinguiſh'd for her Affection to the *Engliſh*: So that they had the Happineſs of being Your Majeſty's Favourites, before they knew they ſhould become Your Subjects.

THUS happily prepared and qualify'd, we now enjoy the Bleſſings of Your Majeſty's moſt Mild and Gracious Reign. And here I might naturally and ſeaſonably Proceed to a particular Diſplay of Your Majeſty's more private Virtues and Accompliſhments; I might dwell upon Your Generous Diſpoſition, Your Clemency to Your Enemies, Your Beneficent Regard to Your Friends, the Steadineſs of Your Temper, Your firm Adherence to Your Royal Word, the Soundneſs of Your Underſtanding, and Your Favour to Learning, which ſo ſignally appear'd in that ever to be remember'd Munificence to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*: But I ſtand at too great a Diſtance from Your Majeſty to preſume to enter upon the Particulars of Theſe; eſpecially ſince it is a known Part of Your Majeſty's Character, not to affect Popularity; a ſmall Degree of which would ſerve to give a more extenſive View of Your Excellencies; and Your Majeſty need only but to ſhew Your ſelf to Your People, and they would be more Fortunate in the Knowledge of their own Happineſs.

But here I muſt deſiſt;—and knowing how pleaſant it is to write the ſhining Parts of the Hiſtory of my own Country, I cannot but envy the Happineſs of thoſe who in After-times ſhall be judg'd worthy to write the Hiſtory of Your Majeſty's Life and Reign. Therefore I ſhall preſume no further than, what belongs moſt properly to my Profeſſion, to add my conſtant Prayers for the long Continuance of thoſe Bleſſings that have flow'd ſo plentifully from the Hand of Heaven, and the Bounty of Your Majeſty. Which ſhall ever be moſt gratefully remember'd by,

SIR,

Your MAJESTY'*s moſt Humble,*

Faithful and Devoted

Servant and Subject,

LAURENCE ECHARD.

THE

PREFACE.

(As Printed to the Firſt Edition of the Firſt Volume.)

NOTWITHSTANDING the common Pretence among many Authors, That their Books were written at the Inſtance of Friends and others, I am oblig'd to do my ſelf the Juſtice to declare, That ſeveral conſiderable Perſons adviſ'd and urg'd me to undertake this Work, long before I had Time and Leiſure to begin it. The chief Reaſons alledg'd were, Firſt, The great Benefit and general Uſefulneſs of the Engliſh *Hiſtory to all the Nobility, Gentry, and great Numbers of others in the Nation. Next, The unpleaſing Difficulties in attaining to that Knowledge, and the Length of Time requir'd to maſter the Subject; which had diſcourag'd many, and incapacitated more from arriving at any reaſonable Perfection in it. So that as the Caſe then ſtood, an* Engliſhman, *who deſir'd to know his own Country's Story, was oblig'd to read over a* Library, *rather than a ſingle* Hiſtory, *if he expected any anſwerable Succeſs. Now the Peruſal of all the* Monkiſh *Writers, with the Others neceſſary on this Occaſion, is a Labour highly diſagreeable to the Taſte and Genius of this refin'd Age; which cannot bear with the Meanneſſes and Sterilities of ſome of them, no more than the Prolixities and Impertinencies of others. Even* Hollingſhed *and* Speed, *the two beſt and moſt compleat Writers of their Times, have been condemn'd chiefly for their being ſo very tedious and voluminous; and for that Reaſon, are now much neglected, and almoſt laid aſide.*

These were ſufficient Inducements to me to undertake this Work, which, as far as the Subject and Materials would afford, was deſign'd ſo as to partake of the Advantages both of an Original Hiſtory *and an* Abridgement; *ſo as to preſerve the Eſſentials and Beauties of the* Former, *and the Eaſineſs and Conveniences of the* Latter. *In order to ſurmount ſo great a Difficulty, I had a nice Conſultation with ſeveral Friends; when the Examples of* Milton *and* Daniel *ſoon convinc'd us, that* Abridgements *might be uſeful and acceptable to the Nation; but upon a careful Examination of thoſe two conſiderable Writers, we found them really too ſhort and confin'd to anſwer our Ends and Deſigns; therefore it was determin'd to make this Hiſtory in Proportion almoſt as long again as theirs. The Size and Method being thus fix'd and determin'd, I proceeded in the Work with all Care and Diligence, hoping in a reaſonable Time to bring it into the World: But in the Performance, I was unhappily diſturb'd with a thouſand various Interruptions, and many real*

Indiſpoſitions; ſo that it was hinder'd and protracted at leaſt one Year longer than was expected, and might have been preſum'd; for which I am to beg the Excuſe of ſeveral, who by that Means were deceiv'd as to the Time of the Publication.

Now it is finiſh'd and publiſh'd, perhaps the Reader will expect ſome further Account than I have already given of it; in which I ſhall very briefly endeavour to ſatisfy him, tho' I cannot pretend to obviate all the Objections that may be rais'd againſt it. As Truth and Fidelity were my principal Aims, as Qualifications moſt neceſſary; ſo were likewiſe Perſpicuity and Elevation, Diverſion and Inſtruction, as Properties no leſs uſeful. For the Buſineſs of an Hiſtorian *is not barely to tell his Reader a true and faithful Story, which is the Office of a* Gazetteer *and* Journaliſt; *but he ought withal inſenſibly to inſtruct him, as alſo ſenſibly to divert him: He is not ſo much to fill his Head, as to inlarge his Mind; not ſo much to load his Memory, as to enrich his Underſtanding, to elevate his Thoughts, and even to captivate his Affections. In ſhort, the Qualifications of a compleat* Hiſtorian *are ſo conſiderable, as well as numerous, that a perfect Work of that Nature has been juſtly rank'd with the greateſt of all Human Undertakings; as may be ſeen from* Rapin, Le Moyne, *and others, who have given us excellent Rules for that Purpoſe, taken from the Nature of the Thing, as well as the Examples of the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians in all Ages. To enumerate and particularize thoſe Rules and Qualifications, would too much diſcover my own Defects and Imperfections; therefore I ſhall only inform my Reader, that all along I had them in my View, and endeavour'd to follow them as much as a real Abridgement, broken Materials, and an unequal Subject would permit; all which were great Diſadvantages.*

I have all the Way conſider'd my Reader as a Traveller through a vaſt Country, wherein he muſt have Occaſion for many Reſting-Places; ſome for greater Refreſhments, and others for leſs. Accordingly, in every Reign I have prepar'd ſuch a convenient Number of Stages, as I could judge beſt for that Purpoſe, by fixing the great Sections at ſuch proper Periods of Time, and ſuch natural Diſtinctions of Matter, as ſhould be moſt advantagious for the Eaſe and Pleaſure of the Reader, as well as for his apprehending and retaining the whole Subject. The Want of ſuch periodical Diſtinctions, and ſuch convenient Separations of the main Parts, have been a great Diſadvantage to many of the beſt Hiſtorians. From hence oftentimes there appears a Cloudineſs, when there is none in Reality, ſometimes a Light too much confus'd, and for the moſt Part the Reader is reduc'd to an unneceſſary Labour, by being oblig'd to digeſt and ſeparate what the Author ought to have done for him. Perhaps I ſhould offend, if I nam'd a late Writer, and one of the beſt in the Engliſh *Tongue, who ſeems to have been too defective in this Caſe; and his excellent Hiſtory has been thought by ſome to be too tedious and perplex'd, when a nice Method, a clear Diviſion, and more Chronological Diſtinction of the Parts, would in a great meaſure have prevented that Objection.*

As to the Materials, and the Authors from whence this Work was collected, I have made uſe of All the Ancients, as well as thoſe of a more modern Date, and more regular Deſign, ſuch as Hall, Grafton, Polydore Virgil, Hollingſhed, Stow, Speed, Baker, Daniel, Biondi, &c. *But of the Moderns none have been of greater Uſe to me than the laborious Works of Dr.* Howel, *Dr.* Brady *and Mr.* Tyrrell, *beſides the Celebrated* Hiſtory of the Reformation; *by which I have been eas'd of much Trouble. I have alſo made uſe of Mr.* Barns's *Reign of King* Edward III. *Sir* Robert Howard's *Reign of* Edward *and* Richard II. *and Mr.* Goodwin's *Reign of* Henry V. *beſides ſeveral other Writers of particular Lives and Reigns, ſuch as* Cambden, Bacon, Herbert, Habington, Temple, &c. *From all theſe ſeveral Writers, and many others, I collected and formed this preſent Hiſtory; always taking the Liberty either to copy or to imitate any Parts of them, if I found them really conducing to the Uſefulneſs, or the Ornament of my Work. And from all theſe, I have compil'd an Hiſtory as full, comprehenſive and compleat, as I could* *bring into the Compaſs of the propos'd Size and Bigneſs. And that nothing might be wanting, I have all the way inrich'd it with the beſt and wiſeſt Sayings of Great Men, that I could find in larger Volumes, and likewiſe with ſuch ſhort Moral Reflections, and ſuch proper Characters of Men, as might give Life, as well as add Inſtruction to the Hiſtory.*

Notwithſtanding all my Care and Caution, it cannot be expected, that a Work compos'd from ſuch a Variety of Materials, ſhould be abſolutely free from Errors, nor a Hiſtory ſo Comprehenſive, from Omiſſions. As to this, I can only ſay, that I us'd my beſt Endeavours to follow the ſtrict Rules of Sincerity and Judgment, the two ſuperior Guides to an Hiſtorian. As to the Former, which includes or implies Impartiality, I may inſiſt upon that without the Breach of Modeſty, and declare that I am not conſcious to my ſelf of any Deviation from Truth, and real Fact; and if any ſuch be found, I deſire it may be charg'd upon the Latter, or upon Ignorance, or Inadvertency. I am ſenſible of the mighty Difficulties of diſcovering Truth in ſome Caſes, and of knowing it when it is diſcover'd, therefore beg that ſome candid Allowances may be made: And a ſtrict Impartiality is ſo rare a Quality in moſt Writers of Hiſtory, that many are ready to think, that an impartial Hiſtorian is a Man not to be found in the World; and ſome carry it farther, and ſay, that conſidering human Infirmities, it is impoſſible to be really impartial. I grant there are ſtrong Propenſities in all Mankind to join and adhere to one Side more than another, and that in the moſt trivial Caſes; but while there are ſuch things in the World, as Truth and Honeſty, undoubtedly there may be an impartial Hiſtorian as well as an impartial Judge in a Court, who can certainly give Sentence according his Conſcience and Judgment, tho' contrary to his Deſires and Inclinations. An Hiſtorian ought never to be of a Party but in one Reſpect; that is, he ought always to be of the ſame Side with Truth, and incline to the Cauſe that is moſt juſt and rightful, tho' it chance to be highly offenſive to ſome, whoſe Thoughts are working a contrary way. Such a Writer I preſume to declare my ſelf; and I have carefully endeavour'd neither to exaſperate, nor flatter any one Party of Men in the Nation, induſtriouſly avoiding all Expreſſions that had a Tendency either way. And if ſome Paſſages ſhall ſtill diſpleaſe, I muſt declare, that it was contrary to my Deſign and Intention. I have indeed taken more Liberty as to Matters of unqueſtionable Morality and Juſtice, and have occaſionally ſtigmatiz'd the flagrant Vices and Impieties of great Men; eſpecially where I found a reſtleſs Ambition, treacherous and villainous Practices, and an inſatiable Thirſt after the Blood of others. Such Crimes as theſe ought not to be ſpar'd or palliated by an Hiſtorian of any Religion, and they ſeldom fail of ſignal Puniſhments in this World; which I have the more expos'd, by ſhewing the Hand of a juſt and retaliating Providence from above. And this, as well as other Hiſtories, will afford us many Examples of the greateſt Men, who have been arreſted by the Vengeance of Heaven, after they have been able to break through all the Powers of human Laws, and common Judicature.

As to any real Faults or Imperfections that may be found in this Book, while they are not contrary to the Fidelity of an Hiſtorian, I ſhall not ſhew much Concern, but leave them to the Judgment and Candour of the Reader. I ſhall only beg of him not to judge of the Work by a ſingle Chapter or Reign, but conſider the Nature and Series of the whole, before he paſſes Sentence. If it be found, that the Form of it is irregular and diſproportionate; that the general Method is intricate and confus'd; that the Colourings are weak and unaffecting; and that the Stile is mean, flat and inſipid; I muſt then ſubmit with Patience and Silence. But if there be no great Failures as to theſe Eſſentials, I hope the reſt of my Defects may more deſerve a private Admonition, than a publick Animadverſion.

Before I conclude this Preface, I am to inform the Reader, that this Volume was firſt deſign'd to have ended at the Death of Queen Elizabeth, *as the moſt proper Period of Time: But afterwards the Importunities of ſeveral ſo far prevail'd upon me, that I added the Reign of King* James I. *to it: Of which, as I found the worſt Writers, and met with the moſt Difficulties, ſo I am afraid I ſhall need the greateſt Excuſes. Notwithſtanding which, I have a full Deſign of carrying this Work further, hoping I ſhall meet with due Aſſiſtance and Encouragement.*

March, 1707.

THE

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HISTORY of ENGLAND.

THE

INTRODUCTION,

(To the Firſt Volume as Firſt Printed.)

Containing a ſhort Account of Ancient BRITAIN, *and its* FIRST INHABITANTS.

I. THE principal Deſign in this following Hiſtory, is to give a full and regular Account of the Tranſactions of that Part of *Britain*, now call'd *England* and *Wales*, for the Space of about ſixteen Centuries; that is from the firſt Entrance of *Julius Cæſar* and the *Romans*, 'till the Kingdom of *Scotland* was added to the Crown of *England*. And tho' there is frequent occaſion to treat of the Affairs of *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and other Countries, yet the Reader is not to expect any more than what have a neceſſary, or natural Dependance upon thoſe of *England*. For nine or ten Centuries, which include the greateſt Variety of Matters, our Accounts are very imperfect and defective, ſometimes disjointed, broken and full of Chaſmes, and other times confus'd, obſcure and uncertain. So that the Reading of this Hiſtory will, in a great meaſure, be like a Man's travelling firſt by Twi-light, and then in the Night, 'till the Morning Sun at length gives him a new and clear Light. But that the Account may be as perſpicuous and as regular as the Materials will permit, we ſhall take ſome ſhort Notice of *Britain* and its Inhabitants, as they were before the Arrival of *Cæſar*; firſt the Country, and next the People.

The Country, before the Entrance of the *Romans*, had two different Names, *Albion* and *Britain*; concerning which there have been more Variety of Opinions. It was call'd *Albion*, either from a ſuppos'd Giant of that Name, the Son of *Neptune*, mention'd by many ancient Writers, it being proper that the greateſt Iſland in the Ocean ſhould receive its Name from a Son of the greateſt Sea-God; or elſe from the old Word 'Αλφὸν, which among the *Greeks* ſignifies *White*, by reaſon of the white chalky Cliffs, ſeen by the Mariners afar off, as they ſail'd theſe Seas. Some think it comes from the *Hebrew* Word *Alben*, which alſo ſignifies *White*, and others from the *Phœnician* Word *Alp*, which ſignifies *High*; but of theſe there is but little Certainty. Nor is there much greater concerning the Name of *Britain*, which ſome former Writers confidently derive from *Brutus*, the third by Deſcent from the *Trojan Æneas*; and others from the *Britiſh* Word *Pryd Cain*, that is *Forma Candida*, a white Form. Mr. *Camden* more probably derives it from *Brith*, which in the *Engliſh* Tongue ſignifies *Painted*, and the *Greek* Word Τανία, ſignifying a *Nation*; agreeable to the Cuſtom of the ancient *Britains* who were wont to diſcolour and paint their naked Bodies; ſo that according to him, *Britain* is a Nation of *painted Men*, ſuch as the *Romans* call'd *Picts* in ſucceeding Times. Mr. *Somner*, another great Antiquary, diſlikes this Etymology, and propoſes another plauſible Conjecture, namely, that it comes from the Word *Brydio*, which in the *Britiſh* Tongue implies Heat and Fury; pointing out the hot and violent Motion of the Seas that ſurround this Iſle, which have been particularly obſerv'd by many ancient Authors. Others think the Opinion of Mon. *Bochart* moſt probable, who derives it from the *Phœnicians*, who in their Language call'd this Iſland, and ſome others near it, *Barat-Anac*, or more contractedly *Bratanac*, that is, *a Land of Tin*; which in Time might be mollify'd by the *Greeks* into Βρετανία. And they conclude it to be the more ſatisfactory, becauſe the *Grecians* gave theſe Iſlands the Name of *Caſſiterides*, which ſignifies the ſame with *Barat-Anac*, the *Land* or *Country of Tin*. Of theſe ſeveral Opinions, we muſt leave the Reader to chuſe for himſelf; and therefore not to dwell upon theſe uncertain Subjects, we immediately proceed to ſome more material Account of the Country.

ALBION.

BRITAIN.

This Country, in its utmoſt Extent, was by the Ancients accounted the largeſt Iſland in the World; and notwithſtanding the later Diſcoveries of *Madagaſcar* and *Japan*, which are brought in competition with it, we are not

A General Deſcription of the Country.

yet certain of the contrary. However, all agree that it is far the moſt conſiderable of all others; eſpecially if the ſole Regard be had to that Part to which we are principally confin'd in this Hiſtory. That Part has been celebrated by Writers in all Ages for the profuſe Bounties of Nature, both in the excellent Temperature of the Air, and the valuable Products of the Soil. The Air, tho' thick and moiſt, is far more mild and temperate than any Part of the Continent under the ſame Climate, ſo that there is no need of Stoves in Winter, nor Grotto's in Summer; nor is it frequently diſturb'd with Tempeſts and Hurricanes, nor ſo infected with peſtilential Diſtempers; nor is the Land ſo generally puniſh'd with Earthquakes and Famines, as many other Countries are. Tho' in its Products it may be ſaid to be defective in ſome few Bleſſings, as Wine and Oil, yet in general it abounds and triumphs; and no Country exceeds it in the three main Neceſſaries of Human Life, Fleſh and Corn for Food, Wool and other Conveniencies for Raiment, and Timber and Stone for Building; to which we may add, Wood and Coals for Firing, and the moſt uſeful Metals for all Occaſions. For Profit it has a double Advantage from its Situation in the Ocean, the Conveniency of a foreign Trade, and the Security from foreign Invaſion: and for Pleaſure and Beauty all Strangers take particular Notice of its excellent Verdure, in which it generally exceeds the moſt fruitful Parts of *Europe*. The happy Fertility and Pleaſantneſs of *Britain*, gave occaſion to ſome of the Ancients to imagine that theſe were the *Fortunate Iſlands*, and thoſe *Seats of the Bleſſed*, where the Poets tell us, That the whole Face of Nature always ſmil'd with one perpetual Spring. For Plenty *Britain* was the Granary and Magazine of the Weſtern Empire, from whence the *Romans* were wont every Year in eight hundred Veſſels to tranſport vaſt Quantities of Corn, for their Armies upon the Frontiers of *Germany*. In ſhort, the Excellency of this Country is apparent from thoſe tranſcendent Eulogies beſtow'd both by ancient and modern Writers, who pronounce her ' happy ' above all other Countries, whom Nature has enrich'd ' with all the Bleſſings of Heaven and Earth, in whom no' thing is hurtful, nor nothing deſirable is wanting; a Ma' ſter-Piece of Nature, perform'd when ſhe was in the ' beſt and gayeſt Humour, which ſhe plac'd as a little ' World by it ſelf, upon the Side of the greater, merely ' for the Delight of Mankind; the moſt accurate Model ' which ſhe propos'd to her ſelf to beautifie the other Parts ' of the Univerſe; whoſe Vallies are like *Eden*, whoſe Hills ' are as *Lebanon*, whoſe Springs are as *Piſga*, whoſe Ri' vers are as *Jordan*, whoſe Walls is the Ocean, and ' whoſe Defence is the Lord *Jehovah*.

The ancient Inhabitants of it.

II. A Country ſo enrich'd and beautify'd by Nature, could not long want Inhabitants, after the Diſperſion of the Sons of *Noah*. The firſt of which are moſt probably believ'd to have proceeded from *Gomer*, the eldeſt Son of *Japhet*, whoſe immediate Poſterity ſettled in *Gaul*, and other neighbouring Countries. So that *Britain* ſeems to have been inhabited Two Thouſand Years before the *Romans* made any Conqueſt in it. But as to the Actions of the Inhabitants during that ſpace of Time, we have no other certain Knowledge, than that they had ſome Commerce and Intercourſe both with the *Phœnicians* and *Grecians*, before they were known to the *Romans*. What theſe *Britains* were at the Time of the *Romans* Arrival, and for ſome conſiderable time after, we have ſome Account from ſeveral ancient Writers, as *Cæſar*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, *Herodian*, *Solinus*, and ſome others; from all whom we ſhall deſcribe their Perſons, Manners, Cuſtoms, Government and Diviſions.

Their Tempers and Diſpoſitions.

Their Painting of their Bodies.

The ancient *Britains* were a numerous and powerful People, and like the greateſt Part of the World at that Time, barbarous and idolatrous: Yet they wanted not natural Generoſity and Bravery, being fierce and couragious, courting all dangerous Enterprizes, paſſionate Oppoſers of Slavery, and exquiſitely ſenſible of the Charms of Liberty. They in moſt things reſembled their Neighbours the *Gauls*, but were generally more rude and plain, as well as more warm and vigorous; yet *Tacitus* preferr'd their Wits and Ingenuities before them, and *Diodorus* their Honeſty and Integrity much before thoſe of the *Romans*. As to their Bodies, they were generally very tall, and their Conſtitution ſo ſtrong, that ſeveral of them, according to *Plutarch*, would live a Hundred and twenty Years; the natural Heat of the Body, as he conceives, being preſerv'd by the Coolneſs of the Country. They were frequently yellow-hair'd, and the Women fair and beautiful, and remarkable for their excellent Features. All the *Britains*, ſays *Cæſar*, dy'd their Bodies with *Woad*, which render'd them of a Sky Colour, and thereupon the more terrible in Battel; and they wore their Hair long upon their Head and Upper-lip, but cloſe and bare in all other Parts of the Body. *Herodian* tells us that they knew not the Uſe of Cloaths; but about their Necks and Waſtes they wore Iron, accounting it an Ornament and a Sign of Riches, as other Nations did Gold: That they painted their Bodies with divers Colours, and with all Kinds of Animals there repreſented, wherefore they wore no Cloaths leſt thoſe beautiful Figures ſhould be hid. In which Painting *Pliny* agrees, and deſcribes the Herb *Woad* to be like the Plantine in *Gaul*, naming it *Glaſtum*, with the Juice of which, adds he, the Women of *Britain*, as well Wives as Virgins, anointed and dy'd their Bodies, reſembling the *Æthiopians* by that Tincture, in which Manner they us'd at ſolemn Feaſts and Sacrifices to go all naked. *Dion* ſays that it was the Cuſtom of the Nation to abide in Tents, all naked, and without Shoes; tho' *Cæſar* in another Place ſays, that they were clad with Skins, which probably is meant of the civiller ſort of them, and in Time of Battel. *Solinus* tells us that they painted themſelves with the Shapes of ſeveral Beaſts, artificially cut out in their Bodies in their Youth, ſo that theſe Prints in their Fleſh might increaſe according to the growth of their Bodies. Nor was any Thing reckon'd a greater Sign of Patience among theſe barbarous Nations, than to make ſuch deep Scars in their Limbs, as might drink in great Quantities of Paint and Colour. Theſe Scars are by *Tertullian* term'd *Britannorum Stigmata*, the *Britains* Marks.

The uſual Diet.

The Buildings and Towns.

To proceed to their Diet and domeſtick Concerns, it was accounted a Crime to eat either Hen, Hare or Gooſe, which notwithſtanding, as *Cæſar* obſerves, they bred for their Pleaſures; nor did they live ſumptuouſly at full and rich Tables, as *Diodorus* affirms, but rather in Neceſſity could feed upon Barks and Roots of Trees, and upon a Quantity of Meat no larger than a Bean, after which for a conſiderable Time they were neither hungry nor thirſty, as *Dion* aſſures us. He likewiſe tells us, that they till'd no Ground, nor eat any Fiſh, tho' the Rivers were plentifully ſtored with them, but liv'd upon Prey, Veniſon and Fruits, to which *Cæſar* adds Milk, of which, ſays *Strabo*, they had not then Skill to make Cheeſe. According to *Solinus* their uſual Drink was made of Barley; and for Tillage *Pliny* ſeems to contradict *Dion*, affirming that they manur'd their Ground with Marl inſtead of Dung, which argued no ſuch Simplicity in Gardning and Husbandry as *Strabo* charg'd upon them. Their Buildings and Houſes were as mean as their Diet and Cloaths, for they gave the Name of Towns to certain cumberſome Woods, which having fortify'd with Rampires and Ditches, they uſually retreated to them, to avoid the Incurſions of their Enemies, as *Cæſar* informs us. *Strabo* adds, that Woods among them were inſtead of Cities; for having cut down Trees, and encloſ'd a large round Plat of Ground with them, they there built Huts to live in, and made Folds for their Cattle, which were not of any long Continuance. Their Houſes were often thatch'd with Reed, poorly built, and diſpers'd all over the Country without Obſervance of Order or Diſtance, by which Villages were compos'd: For the *Britains* were plac'd as every Man lik'd, at ſmaller or greater Diſtances, as they were invited by the Fertility of the Soil, or the Convenience of Wood or Water.

Their Trade and Commodities.

Their peculiar Marriages.

Their beſt Towns were moſt upon their Coaſts, and founded for the Advantage of Havens, and Recourſe of Strangers from the Continent, to buy and ſell, or exchange Wares with thoſe of the Iſland. Theſe Inhabitants were much more civiliz'd than thoſe of the Inland Country, by the Commerce and Intercourſe of other Nations, eſpecially the *Gauls*, who long before had been civiliz'd by the *Roman* Colonies. The Commodities exported out of this Iſle were chiefly Hides and Tin, with many inferior Things, ſuch as Ivory Boxes, Sheers, Bits and Bridles, Wreathes and Chains, with ſome Trifles made of Amber and Glaſs. They had ſome Metals, and alſo Pearl, tho' of no great Value; and as their Traffick was mean and inconſiderable, ſo was their Money and their Shipping. The former was only Braſs and Iron Rings, which being made to a certain Weight, ſerv'd for their current Coin: The latter were ſmall Veſſels, where Keels and Ribs were made of light Wood, and were cover'd over with Skins and Leather, and as long as they were ſailing, ſo long they abſtain'd from Meat; which ſhews that they were never us'd to long and dangerous Voyages. As they had a frequent Correſpondence with the *Gauls*, ſo their Language, Cuſtoms and Religion were generally the ſame with theirs. Yet there was one Cuſtom among the *Britains* which ſeems peculiar to themſelves, and not found in the Hiſtories of any other Nation, which was a Society of Wives among certain Numbers, and by common Conſent. *Cæſar* tells us that they had ten or twelve of them Wives together in common, eſpecially Brothers with each other, and Parents with their Children; but then if any of the Women brought forth, the Child was accounted only his, who firſt marry'd her. *Dion* confirms it, and adds, that the Children thus begotten were brought up in common amongſt them; and *Euſebius* afterwards ſays that many *Britains* together kept one Wife in common to them all. This unuſual Cuſtom was much taken notice of at *Rome*, and *Severus*'s Empreſs *Julia* greatly reproach'd a *Britiſh* Lady with it at Court, as a Cuſtom infamous in the Women, as well as barbarous in the Men. To whom the Lady, having accidentally made ſome Diſcoveries among the *Romans*, briskly reply'd, *We do that openly with the beſt of our Men, which you do privately with the worſt of yours.*

Their Religion.

The Druids,

and Bards.

As to the Religion of the *Britains*, it was as black and ſuperſtitious as any in thoſe Times, and they proceeded ſo far as to the inhuman Offering of Mens Fleſh in their Sacrifices. And beſides their ancient Idols, ſuch as *Dis*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, and the like, they worſhipped *Andates* for their Goddeſs of Victory, unto whom they perform'd no ſmall Adorations and Honours, erecting Temples whoſe Walls continu'd a conſiderable Space; upon which ſeveral of their prophane Portraitures with deform'd Lineaments were ſeen by the mournful *Gildas*, who deſcribes their grim and ſtern Viſages, pronouncing them infernal in their Nature, and in Number almoſt exceeding thoſe of *Ægypt*. *Tacitus* notes them for being extreamly addicted to inſpecting the Entrails of Beaſts, and of Men alſo; and that they honour'd the Altars of their Gods with the Sacrifice and Blood of ſuch as they took Captive in Wars. And *Pliny* writing of Magick, declar'd that *Britain* honour'd it with ſo much Pomp and Ceremony, that a Man would imagine the *Perſians* themſelves had been taught it by them. In all Religious Matters they had their Prieſts and Inſtructers, the chief of which were call'd *Druids*, a ſort of Men much celebrated in thoſe Times, who, as *Cæſar* informs us, had the Management of all Sacrifices, were Interpreters of all Myſteries, and had the Education of the better Sort. By means of their ſeeming Learning, the Innocence and Simplicity of their Living, and long Cuſtom, the People had them in ſuch Veneration, that they were not only Prieſts, but the Judges too throughout the Nation. For generally they approv'd of all Laws, determin'd all Controverſies, and appointed Rewards and Puniſhments at Diſcretion; the People believing that none were oblig'd to ſubmit to any Puniſhment, unleſs inflicted by a Divine Authority. If any refus'd to obey their Decree, they were forbidden the Sacrifices, which was accounted the moſt grievous Puniſhment; and thoſe thus Excommunicated were reckon'd the moſt profligate of Mankind, all Perſons avoided their Converſation as the Peſt of the Nation, they were excluded the Benefit of the Law, and were render'd uncapable of all Honours and Dignities. Among theſe *Druids* there was one Primate, who had ſupreme Authority over the reſt; upon whoſe Death, the moſt celebrated Perſon ſucceeded; but if ſeveral of equal Merit appear'd, the whole Body proceeded to an Election, tho' ſometimes the Sword it ſelf decided the Matter. Theſe *Druids* once a Year had a general Aſſembly in the midſt of all *Gaul*, at a certain Place conſecrated to that purpoſe; to which Perſons who had any Controverſies depending reſorted from all Parts. This ſort of Religious Profeſſion is thought to have been firſt in *Britain*, and from thence carry'd over into *Gaul*; and in *Cæſar*'s Time thoſe who deſir'd to be throughly inſtructed in their Myſteries, for the moſt part travell'd into *Britain*. The ſame Author adds, That the *Druids* were exempt from all ſorts of Military Duties, Taxes and Impoſts; which great Privileges caus'd many to become their Diſciples, and others to ſend their Sons and Relations to be admitted into their Order. Theſe Diſciples were taught a great Number of Verſes by heart, continuing under this Diſcipline for ſeveral Years, not being allow'd to commit their Learning to Writing; both becauſe they would not have the Vulgar acquainted with their myſterious Learning, and becauſe their Scholars might the better exerciſe their Memories and other Faculties. One of the Principal Doctrines they taught was the Immortality and Tranſmigration of Souls; which removing the Fear of Death, they look'd upon as proper to excite their Courage. They alſo made Diſcourſes to their Scholars concerning the Stars and their Motions, the Magnitude of the Heaven and Earth, the Nature of things, and the Power and Majeſty of the Immortal Gods. Among the Religious of the *Britains*, beſides theſe *Druids*, they had alſo a ſort of People call'd *Bards*, whoſe Office it was to ſing to the Harp thoſe Songs they had made upon the great Exploits of Famous Men; which ſort of Men were known many Ages in this Iſland.

The Wars of the Britains and their Manner of Fighting.

As the *Britains* were a fierce and warlike People, ſo they had frequent Encounters among themſelves; and, as *Tacitus* obſerves, nothing contributed ſo much to the *Romans* Advantage over them as their want of Union, and concerning their common Intereſt. *Cæſar* and others deſcribe their Manner of Fighting, which was very much in Chariots, as the ancient Heroes of *Greece* are ſaid to have done in the *Trojan* Wars; which with ſhort Scythes faſten'd to the ends of the Axle-trees, gave cruel Wounds, great Terror, and made fierce Charges upon the Ranks of their Enemies. In the Beginning of a Battel, they generally ſcour'd the Plains with their Chariots, flung their Darts, and frequently diſorder'd their Enemy's Ranks by the Terror of their Horſes, and the furious Rattlings of their Chariot Wheels. Having wound themſelves in among the Horſe, they left their Chariots, and fought on Foot; their Charioteers in the mean time retiring, and placing themſelves ſo that their Maſters might readily find them, to mount again, if they were overpower'd by Numbers. Thus they maintain'd both the Speed of the Horſe, and the Steadineſs of the Foot in Battel; and by continual Practice were ſo expert, that upon the Side of a ſteep Hill, they could ſtop their Horſe at full Speed, turn them in a ſhort Compaſs, run along upon the Beam, reſt upon the Yoke, and from thence in an Inſtant recover themſelves in their Chariots. They often purpoſely gave ground and retreated, and being at a little Diſtance from their Enemies, diſmounted from their Chariots, to fight them at Diſadvantage. The Method of their Cavalry was ſuch, that it prov'd equally dangerous to purſue, or to be purſu'd by them; and they never came to cloſe Fights, but kept at conſiderable Diſtances, having others poſted in ſuch Order as they might ſuccour one another, and the wearied be reliev'd by freſh Supplies; which argu'd no ſmall Experience in Arms. *Dion* ſays, that their Horſes were ſmall and ſwift, and that they themſelves ran at an extraordinary rate; and further, that when they ſtood an Ingagement, they were firm and immoveable. Their common Arms were ſmall Shields, without Helmets, but very large Swords; which expreſs'd a more eager Deſire of wounding their Enemies, than defending themſelves. They had alſo ſhort Daggers, and their Spears were ſhort, having at the lower end of each a Piece of Braſs like an Apple, by ſhaking of which they endeavour'd to terrifie their Enemies. They could endure Hunger, Cold, and all kinds of Labour, with admirable Patience; for in Bogs up to their Chins they would continue many Days without Food; and in Woods liv'd upon Barks of Trees and Roots. In ſhort, they were a hardy, bold and ſtrong People, 'till their Bodies came to be ſoften'd, and their Courage debas'd by the Luxury as well as Servitude which the *Romans* afterwards introduc'd among them.

Their Civil Government.

The Diviſions of the People.

To come at laſt to the Civil Government of the *Britains*, we find that it was like that of the ancient *Gauls*, of ſeveral ſmall Nations under as many petty Princes; of which *Cæſar* mentions Four in the ſmall Compaſs of *Kent*. Whether theſe ſmall *Britiſh* Principalities deſcended by Succeſſion, or were elected by the Advantages of Age, Wiſdom, or Valour in the Families of the Prince, is not recorded. But upon all great and imminent Dangers, the chief Commander of all their Forces was uſually choſen by common Conſent in general Aſſemblies; as *Caſibelanus* was againſt *Cæſar*'s Invaſion. The ſame was done upon the *Britains* Revolt againſt the *Roman* Colonies under *Caractacus* and *Boadicea*; for among them Women were admitted to their Principalities and general Commands, either by the Right of Succeſſion, Nobility of Birth, or eminent Qualifications. In common Caſes, every Province or Principality only ow'd Service and Allegiance to their own particular Prince. And as their Governments were confin'd to certain Bounds and Limits, ſo were the Inhabitants divided and diſtinguiſh'd by ſeveral Denominations; of which we find the Names of Seventeen in that Part of *Britain* which now goes by the Name of *England* and *Wales*, which are as follows. 1. The *Cantii*, Inhabitants of the preſent County of *Kent*. 2. The *Regni*, Inhabitants of *Suſſex* and *Surrey*. 3. The *Durotriges*, Inhabitants of *Dorſetſhire*. 4. The *Danmonii*, Inhabitants of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*. 5. The *Belgæ*, Inhabitants of *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire* and *Hampſhire*. 6. The *Atrebatii*, Inhabitants of *Barkſhire*. 7. The *Dobuni*, Inhabitants of *Glooeſterſhire* and *Oxfordſhire*. 8. The *Cattieuchlani*, Inhabitants of *Warwickſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire* and *Bedfordſhire*. 9. The *Trinobantes*, Inhabitants of *Hertfordſhire*, *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*. 10. The *Iceni*, Inhabitants of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeſhire* and *Huntingtonſhire*. 11. The *Coritani*, Inhabitants of *Lincolnſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutland*, *Darbyſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire* and *Northamptonſhire*. 12. The *Cornavii*, Inhabitants of *Worceſterſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire* and *Cheſhire*. 13. The *Brigantes*, Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Durham*, *Weſtmorland* and *Cumberland*. 14. The *Ottadini*, Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, with Four other Counties in *Scotland*. 15. The *Silures*, Inhabitants of *Herefordſhire* with Four Counties in *Wales*, viz. *Radnorſhire*, *Brecknockſhire*, *Monmouthſhire* and *Glamorganſhire*. 16. The *Ordovices*, Inhabitants of Five Counties in *Wales*, viz. *Montgomeryſhire*, *Merionethſhire*, *Caernarvonſhire*, *Flintſhire* and *Denbighſhire*. 17. The *Dimetæ*, Inhabitants of the reſt of *Wales*, viz. *Caermarthenſhire*, *Pembrookſhire* and *Cardiganſhire*.

This was the State of *Britain*, at the Time when the *Romans* firſt invaded it; and this is the real Subſtance of what we certainly know of the ancient *Britains* before *Cæſar*'s Arrival. As to the formal Hiſtory of *Brute*, and his long Race of ſucceeding Kings down to *Caſilebanus*, it is too groſs and improbable to be credited; and it has been of late ſo fairly detected, that we need not inſiſt any longer upon it. Therefore, as the learned Mr. *Camden* well obſerves, here it is that the *Engliſh* Hiſtorian ought to begin his Hiſtory, and no higher; that is, at the firſt Entrance of *Julius Cæſar* and the *Romans*. And at this Period of Time we ſhall begin ours, and ſhall endeavour to carry it on in a continu'd Series; with as much Regularity and Perſpicuity as the Story it ſelf, and the Materials will permit.

The End of the Introduction.

THE

THE

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

From the firſt Invaſion of Britain *by the* Romans *under* Julius Cæſar, *to the firſt Entrance of* WILLIAM, *commonly call'd The* CONQUEROR.

Containing the Space of about 1120 *Years.*

CHAP. I.

From the firſt Invaſion of Britain *by the* Romans, *to their firſt quitting their Juriſdiction of the Iſle.*

Containing the Space of about 463 *Years.*

A. ant. C. 53. Cæſar's *firſt Expedition into* Britain.

I. WHEN Valour and Fortune had ſo conſpir'd, or rather Providence had decreed, that the *Romans* ſhould be Soveraigns of the Weſtern World, the renown'd *Julius Cæſar*, having conquer'd the powerful *Gauls*, caſt his Eyes towards the Ocean, as if the *Roman* Empire was not yet wide enough for his Ambition; ſo that ſubduing all, both by Sea and Land, he might join thoſe Countries by Conqueſt, which had been ſeparated by Nature. Accordingly being fir'd with a Proſpect of new Glories, or provok'd by the Supplies ſent from *Britain* into *Gaul* during his late Wars, in the 54th Year before *Chriſt*, he reſolv'd upon an Expedition into this Iſle; tho' *Suetonius* writes, that he was excited by the Hopes of the *Britiſh* Pearls, the Weight and Largeneſs of which he often try'd in his Hands; an improbable Inducement, and more proper for common Soldiers than an Hero. The Places, Ports and Havens of *Britain* being not well known to *Cæſar*, he firſt ſent *C. Voluſenus*, a Tribune of his Army, with a Gally to make all convenient Diſcoveries upon the Coaſts, who after five Days careful Search, return'd to him into *Gaul*. During which Time the *Britains* by the Merchants receiv'd ſecret Intelligence of *Cæſar*'s deſign'd Expedition, and many of the private States ſent Ambaſſadors into *Gaul*, offering Hoſtages, and promiſing Obedience to the *Romans*. *Cæſar* having exhorted them to perſiſt in that Reſolution, civilly diſmiſs'd them, together with *Comius Atrebatenſis*, who had great Authority in thoſe Parts, that he might perſuade them to continue firm and faithful to the *Romans*, and to let them underſtand that he was coming over in Perſon: But *Comius*, upon his firſt landing, was treacherouſly impriſon'd by the *Britains*.

In the mean time the victorious *Cæſar*, having drawn together about eighty Tranſport Ships for two Legions of Soldiers, and about eighteen more for his Horſe, ſet Sail from the Country of the *Morini*, now the Province of *Picardy*, in *France*, at three in the Morning, and about four the Day following arriv'd on the Coaſts of *Britain*, at a Place inconvenient for Landing, which was near *Dover*; for the Bay was narrow, and ſo pent in by the Mountains, that the Enemy could eaſily caſt their Darts from thence to the Shore. Having therefore got a favourable Wind and Tide, he ſail'd about eight Miles Northwards, where in a plain and open Shore, near *Deal*, he rod at Anchor. The *Britains* perceiving his Deſign, immediately diſpatch'd their Horſe and Chariots, to prevent his Landing. And here the *Romans* ſuſtain'd great Difficulties, for their large Veſſels could not ride cloſe enough to the Shore in this ſhallow Sea, ſo that the Soldiers were oblig'd to leap down from their high Ships in unknown Places, under heavy Armour, and at once contend both with the Waves and Enemy. On the other ſide, the *Britains*, who knew the Nature of the Ground, were free and uncumber'd, and fought either on dry Land, or upon the Edges of the Water; ſo that the *Romans* were much diſhearten'd, and exerted not their uſual Spirit and Bravery. Whereupon *Cæſar* commanded the Tranſport Ships to be remov'd, and the Gallies to be row'd up juſt over againſt the *Britains*, and from thence to employ their Slings, Engines, and Arrows againſt them; which Veſſels and Engines being ſtrange and unuſual to them, they ſoon gave Ground. But the *Romans* ſtill delaying, the Standard Bearer of the tenth Legion, firſt invoking the Gods, *That this Action might prove ſucceſsful and glorious*, cry'd out, *Leap down, my brave Soldiers! unleſs you would betray the* Roman *Eagle to the Enemy; for I am reſolv'd to perform my Duty to the Publick, and to the General.* Upon theſe Words he couragiouſly threw himſelf into the Sea, and boldly advancing with his Eagle towards the Enemy, he was follow'd by the reſt of the Soldiers to the Shore. *Eutropius* from *Suetonius* tells us, that *Scæva* a valiant Soldier with four others were the firſt that landed, who being deſerted by his Companions, defended himſelf to a Miracle againſt a whole Multitude, 'till being wearied and wounded, he ſwam back to the Fleet, begg'd Pardon of *Cæſar* for his Raſhneſs, and was rewarded with the Honour of a Centurion. The Landing of the Soldiers occaſion'd an obſtinate Fight on both Sides; but the *Romans* being cumber'd with Arms, toſs'd with the Waves, and wanting ſure Footing, were put into Diſorder and Confuſion; 'till *Cæſar* with great Dexterity caus'd the Pinnaces and Ship-Boats to ply about with Recruits to ſuccour them. At length they gradually got on dry Land, and ſo vigorouſly charg'd the *Britains*, that they ſoon put them to flight; but could not purſue them, for want of their Horſe, which were not yet arriv'd. The *Britains*, upon this Defeat, immediately ſent Ambaſſadors, and with them *Comius*, whom they had impriſon'd, to beg a Peace, charging all Misbehaviour upon the Multitude, and their own Imprudence. *Cæſar*, whoſe Mercy was equal to his Valour, ſoon pardon'd them, receiv'd ſome Hoſtages at preſent, with a Promiſe of more; ſo a Peace was concluded on the fourth Day after his landing in *Britain*.

Shortly after the *Roman* Affairs began to be in a declining Condition; for their eighteen Ships which tranſported the Horſe, being come within View of *Britain*, were by a ſudden Storm driven to the Weſtward, and found great Difficulty in recovering the Continent of *Gaul*. And what added to this Misfortune, the ſame Night, at the Full of the Moon, the Gallies which were drawn aſhore, were fill'd with Water by the Tide, and the Ships of Burden, which lay at Anchor, were ſo ſhatter'd by the Tempeſts, that they were render'd wholly unfit for Service. This Loſs was ſo conſiderable, that *Suetonius* accounted it the firſt of the three great Misfortunes that ever befel *Cæſar* in all his Proceedings: And the *Britains* were ſo ſenſible of the *Romans* want of Horſe, Ships and Proviſions, that they immediately reſolv'd upon a Revolt, and in a publick Council condemn'd all ſuch as Impious as refus'd to join with the Heavens, whoſe Elements had thus far declar'd for their Liberties, aſſuring themſelves, that if they ſucceeded this Time, they ſhould be freed from all future Invaſions. But *Cæſar* ſoon perceiv'd their Intentions, by their Carriage and ſlow Performance of Covenants; therefore took particular Care to bring in Corn daily, and with uncommon Diligence repair'd his Fleet with the Timber of thoſe twelve which were moſt ſhatter'd. While Affairs ſtood in this Poſture, the Seventh Legion, being ſent out to Forage, and ſuſpecting no Reſiſtance, were ſuddenly ſet upon by the *Britains* Forces, and ſurrounded by their Horſe and Chariots. Their Way of Fighting and their Numbers ſoon brought the *Romans* to the extreameſt Difficulties and almoſt to Deſpair; 'till *Cæſar* himſelf coming fortunately into their Relief, they re-aſſum'd their Courage, and the *Britains* being aſtoniſh'd deſiſted, without any further Ingagement. But being ſtill in hopes of freeing themſelves for ever, by reaſon of the ſmall Numbers of the *Romans*, and the Scarcity of Proviſions amongſt them, they afterwards aſſembled in greater Numbers, and march'd up to the *Roman* Camp; where *Cæſar* engag'd them, put them to flight with a great Slaughter, and burnt all their Country for many Miles together. Being thus vanquiſh'd, the *Britains* ſent a third Embaſſy to *Cæſar*, begging Peace, and promiſing Subjection; to which *Cæſar* conſented, after he had ſeverely reprov'd their Behaviour, and impos'd double Hoſtages upon them. And ſhortly after, the Seaſon being far advanc'd, he ſet Sail from *Britain*, and ſafely arriv'd with his whole Fleet on the Continent of *Gaul*; whither only two Cities in *Britain* ſent their Hoſtages, the reſt neglecting it. Upon *Cæſar*'s Letters and Account to the Senate of this Action, a famous Proceſſion of twenty Days was decreed him, accompany'd with great Pomp and Ceremony; tho' he had gain'd nothing of Conſequence, either to himſelf or *Rome*, beſides the Glory of having made an uncommon Expedition.

A. ant. C. 52.
Cæſar*'s ſecond Expedition into* Britain.

The Winter following, *Cæſar* according to his Cuſtom went into *Italy*; but upon his Return finding that the *Britains* had neglected to ſend their promis'd Hoſtages, he reſolv'd to make a new Deſcent upon them, and with a much more powerful Fleet and Army than before. Accordingly with extraordinary Diligence he got together 800 Veſſels, moſt of them new built, low and broad, both for the Conveniency of Landing, and of tranſporting Horſes and Baggage. With theſe, and an Army conſiſting of Five Legions, and 2000 Horſe, he ſet ſail about Sun-ſet from *Portus Itius*, at or near *Buloign* in *France*, and landed his Army the next Day in the ſame Part of the Iſland as he had done the foregoing Summer; in which Action the Diligence of the Soldiers was particularly applauded, who by an unwearied Labour in Rowing, caus'd the heavier Ships to keep way with the long Boats and Gallies. At their Landing, no Enemy appear'd; for tho' the *Britains* had been there in great Numbers, yet being terrify'd with theſe mighty Preparations, and the Approach of ſo powerful a Navy, they were retir'd into the Midland Country. Here *Cæſar* encamp'd his Army as conveniently as he could, leaving ten Cohorts, and 300 Horſe under the Command of *Q. Atrius* to guard the Ships: And in the Night, he march'd himſelf twelve Miles up into the Country, diſcover'd the *Britains*, who had retreated as far as the River *Stoner* in *Kent*; and giving them Battel there, they were ſoon repuls'd by the *Roman* Cavalry, which oblig'd them to betake themſelves to the Woods, which were ſtrongly fortify'd both by Art and Nature. But the *Romans* reſolving to purſue their Advantage, ſome lock'd their Shields together like a Roof over their Heads, and others raiſing a Mount, ſoon took the Place, and drove them from the Woods; but *Cæſar* forbad any long Purſuit, not well knowing the Country, and having his Camp to fortify that Night.

The following Day, *Cæſar*, having divided his Army into three Parts in order to purſue the *Britains*, was hinder'd by the melancholly News he receiv'd from his Fleet, which being driven a-ſhore by a violent Storm, moſt of the Veſſels were ſhatter'd, the Cables broken, and the Anchors loſt. Upon which he haſten'd back with his Troops to the Sea-ſide, where he was entertain'd with a ſad and ruinous Proſpect; forty of his Ships were deſtroy'd, and the reſt ſo damag'd, as not to be refitted without extraordinary Labour. But being indefatigable in his Attempts, he immediately found Means to repair the greateſt Part of his Navy by the Ruins of the reſt, and wrote to his Lieutenant in *Gaul* for further Supplies; and having twice felt the Dangers of theſe Seas, he reſolv'd upon a Prodigious Undertaking, which was to draw his whole Fleet to the Land, into the midſt of the Fortifications of his Camp. This ſtupendious Work was compleated in ten Days, by the admirable Toil of his Soldiers, working Night and Day. Which being finiſh'd, *Cæſar* return'd with his Army to the Wood where he had laſt defeated the *Britains*; where he found their Numbers encreas'd by a Confluence from many Parts, and that they had now by common Conſent choſen *Caſibelanus* for their General, who by Uſurpation had made himſelf Head of the *Trinobantes*, and had made frequent Wars with his Neighbours; but being a Time of common Danger, they all made him a Commander in Chief. *Caſibelanus*, with his Horſe and Chariots, briskly encounter'd the *Romans* in their March, which occaſion'd great Bloodſhed on both Sides; and after ſome Ceſſation, as the *Romans* were fortifying their Camp, the *Britains* ſet upon the Centries with great Fierceneſs, and charg'd back again through two of *Cæſar*'s beſt Cohorts, which he had ſent to their Aſſiſtance, and retreated without the Loſs of a Man. *Cæſar* himſelf could not but acknowledge that they had great Advantage over the *Romans*, by their ſwift way of Fighting without Armour, and accordingly provided againſt them; ſo that the next Day, when they ſet upon three Legions that were foraging, they were repuls'd and purſu'd with great Slaughter. Upon which Overthrow moſt of the Auxiliaries fell off, and return'd to their own

Countries, ſo that the *Britains* never after encounter'd the *Romans* with their full Power.

Upon theſe Misfortunes, *Caſibelanus* withdrew into his own Territories, retaining to himſelf not above 4000 Chariots; and fearing the *Romans* farther Progreſs, fortify'd that Part of the River *Thames* which was fordable with ſharp Stakes bound about with Lead, and driven ſo deep into the Bottom, that *Beda* and *Aſſer* report them to have remain'd in their times; which was near *Coway-Stakes* in *Middleſex*. Notwithſtanding this the *Romans* boldly preſs'd forwards, paſs'd the River up to the Chin in Water, repuls'd the *Britains*, and march'd further up the Country. In their Progreſs, they were met with Ambaſſadors from the chiefeſt City of the *Trinobantes*, who diſhonourably join'd with the Conqueror, and offer'd Subjection; at the ſame time petitioning, that *Mandubrace*, one of *Cæſar's* Followers, whoſe Father *Caſibelanus* had depos'd and ſlain, might be Governour of their City. *Cæſar* readily agreed to their Petition, and demanded forty Hoſtages of them, and ſufficient Proviſion for his Army, which they perform'd with all Expedition; preferring the poor Satisfaction of indulging their own Diſcontents, before the common Cauſe of their Native Country. From their Example many other inferior States yielded to *Cæſar*'s Arms; and likewiſe treacherouſly diſcover'd to him the Power and Place of *Caſilebanus*'s Abode, who by this time was retreated to his own City *Verulam*, now St. *Albans*; a Place then well fortify'd with Woods and Moraſſes. *Cæſar* with all Expedition ſat down before the City, and ſtorming it on two ſides, ſoon became Maſter of it, with the Slaughter of many of the miſerable Defendants, and the taking of a rich Booty of Cattle. Upon this Loſs, *Caſibelanus*, as his laſt Refuge, procur'd four petty Kings of *Kent*, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, with their utmoſt Forces to ſet upon the *Roman* Camp that guarded their Ships; which Enterprize was accordingly attempted, but with ſuch bad Succeſs, that the *Britains* were on each ſide repuls'd, and *Cingetorix* taken Priſoner. *Caſibelanus*, at length, ſeeing his Country waſted, his chief Deſigns blaſted, and himſelf abandon'd by the traiterous Revolt of many Cities and States, ſent *Comins* of *Arras* to mediate a Peace; which, upon the account of his own Valour, and the Lateneſs of the Seaſon, was readily granted him. In the Conditions of the Treaty *Cæſar* impos'd a certain yearly Tribute upon the *Britains*, which ſome ſay amounted to three thouſand Pounds, and moreover included the Security of *Mandubrace* with his *Trinobantes*, who were taken into Friendſhip with the *Romans*; and that theſe Conditions ſhould be faithfully obſerv'd, he commanded a ſufficient Number of Hoſtages to be immediately deliver'd. And here began the Fate of *Britain* to make Way for foreign Conqueſts by their unhappy Diviſions at home.

He leaves the Iſle.

Theſe Things being adjuſted, and the Seaſon far advanc'd, *Cæſar* embark'd with his whole Army, and ſoon arriv'd in *Gaul*; having rather ſhewn *Britain* to the *Romans*, than given them Poſſeſſion of it, as *Tacitus* obſerves, ſuppoſing it Glory ſufficient to have attempted a thing ſo rare and difficult; and at his Return to *Rome* to have preſented the *Britiſh* Captives, whoſe uncommon Attire and Behaviour fill'd the Peoples Eyes with Delight and Admiration. At the ſame time he offer'd to *Venus*, the Patroneſs of his Family, a Breaſt-Plate embroider'd with *Britiſh* Pearls, as a Trophy and Spoil of the Ocean.

This Account we have from *Cæſar*'s own Writings of his two famous Expeditions into *Britain*, which rather encreas'd the Glory, than the Dominion of *Rome*, and gave this Country the Honour of being the laſt Triumph of that mighty Republick, which had before ſubdu'd ſo many Kingdoms and Commonwealths in *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa*. Tho' *Cæſar*'s Writings are as much to be admir'd, as his Valour and Conduct, yet it is very obſervable from others, that his Conqueſts in this Country were not ſo uninterrupted, nor the *Britains* Liberties ſo eaſily given up, as they ſeem from his own Account. For ſeveral ancient Writers have ſpoken more doubtfully of his Victories in *Britain*, and that in plain Terms he was driven away, as it appears from a noted Verſe in *Lucan*, and divers Paſſages in *Tacitus*. *Oroſius*, who took his Account as high as *Suetonius*, tells us, that *Cæſar* in his firſt Expedition, being entertain'd by a ſharp Fight, loſt no ſmall Number of his Foot, and by a Tempeſt near all his Horſe. *Dion* affirms, that once in his ſecond Expedition all his Foot were routed, and another time all his Horſe; and further, that his Conqueſt was ſo inconſiderable, that for twenty Years after *Cæſar*'s Departure, the *Britains* retain'd their own Kings, and their own Laws.

II. After the Departure of *Julius Cæſar*, we have but a very ſmall Account of the Affairs of *Britain*, for near a Hundred Years together; only that the Inhabitants, tho' they became more and more known to the *Romans*, yet they continu'd in a great meaſure free from their Power.

AUGUSTUS.

For *Julius*'s Succeſſor, *Auguſtus*, ſeems out of Wiſdom to have neglected this Iſland, as a Country where Amity or Enmity was of no Moment to the *Romans*; or out of a State Maxim was reſolv'd to ſet Bounds to the Empire in his Reign, to keep it from being too vaſt and unweildy. Yet, about twenty Years after his Unkle *Julius*'s Departure, *Auguſtus* advanc'd as far as *Gaul*, in order to reduce *Britain* to his Obedience; but was diverted by a Revolt in *Pannonia*. About ſeven Years after that, he enter'd *Gaul* with the ſame Reſolution; but was then ſtopp'd in his Progreſs by the unſettled State of that Province, and the Arrival of ſome Ambaſſadors from *Britain* to beg a Peace. The following Year he reaſſum'd the ſame Deſign, but ſtill was prevented by Commotions in other Parts; ſo that of three deſign'd Expeditions none came to any Effect. Nevertheleſs ſome of the *Britiſh* Potentates omitted not to ſeek his Friendſhip by Preſents offer'd in the Capitol, and other obſequious Addreſſes; inſomuch that the Iſland in that Reign became well known to the *Romans*, tho' it paid no Tribute to them, except what eaſie Cuſtoms were levy'd on the ſlight Commodities with which they traded into *Gaul*.

TIBERIUS.

His Succeſſor *Tiberius* ſeems to have follow'd his Example, and being no ways ambitious of extending the Bounds of the Empire, never ſought the *Britains*; and they as careful not to provoke him, courteouſly ſent home the Soldiers of *Germanicus*, who by Shipwreck had been caſt upon the *Britiſh* Shores.

CALIGULA.

But *Caligula*, his Succeſſor, a wild and diſſolute Tyrant, having paſs'd the *Alps* to rob and pillage the Empire, and being excited by *Adminius* the Son of *Cynobelinus* a *Britiſh* King, who being baniſh'd by his Father fled to him with a ſmall Party, he made a Shew of invading *Britain*; but being come to the Ocean, and ſhewing the utmoſt Marks of Extravagancy and Folly, he return'd the ſame way: Yet he ſent before him ſuch boaſting Letters to the Senate, as if he had made an entire Conqueſt of the whole Iſland.

A. D. 43.
CLAUDIUS.

Thus, for about ninety five Years, under the Reigns of four Emperors, the *Britains* continu'd free from the *Roman* Yoke; but from the Reign of *Claudius*, and thence forwards, the inner Parts of the Iſle, broken by Civil Wars and Factions, more than the Power of the *Romans*, by many Steps fell under the Subjection of that Empire. For while particular States ſingly oppos'd the common Enemy, they were ſoon conquer'd; the reſt being ſo violently ſet upon each others Deſtruction, that 'till all were ſubdu'd, they were inſenſible of an univerſal Danger. Nay, ſo powerful was the Ambition and Reſentments of ſome, that they were thereby corrupted and drawn over to the Enemy's ſide, and made ſollicitous for the *Roman* Intereſt to the Ruin of their own Country. The principal of theſe was *Bericus*, who by many Arguments engag'd the Emperor *Claudius* to make a Deſcent upon *Britain*, which none had really attempted ſince *Julius Cæſar*. *Claudius* was eaſily perſuaded, and in the Second Year of his Reign order'd *A. Plautius* the Prætor to paſs over from *Gaul*; who making Preparation for this great Expedition, his mutinous Soldiers refus'd to march, declaring, *That they would not make War out of the Compaſs of the World*; for ſo they judg'd *Britain* to lye. But by means of *Narciſſus*, the Emperor's Favourite, he prevail'd with them; and ſet Sail from three Ports, leſt their Landing in one Place ſhould prove inconvenient; but meeting with contrary Winds, they were driven back and diſhearten'd; till in the Night a ſtrange Meteor ſhooting Flames from the Eaſt, and, as they imagin'd, directing their Courſe, they renew'd their Courage, put to Sea again, and landed in *Britain* without Oppoſition.

Plautius *invades* Britain.

For the Inhabitants having heard of their Backwardneſs, had been negligent in providing againſt them; and therefore retir'd to the Woods and Moraſſes, deſigning rather to weary out the *Romans* by Delays, than to encounter them in the Field. *Plautius* after much Difficulty diſcover'd them, and engaging firſt with *Caractacus*, then with *Togodumnus*, overthrew them, and reduc'd Part of the *Dobuni* to his Power, who were ſubject to the *Catieuchlani*. Leaving a Garriſon, he march'd towards a River, where the *Britains* thought themſelves ſecure, imagining the *Romans* could not paſs without a Bridge; but *Plautius* ſending over the *German* Soldiers, who could ſwim the ſtrongeſt Current in their Arms, he commanded them to ſtrike directly at the Horſes, by which means the Chariots, wherein conſiſted their chief Excellency, became unſerviceable. To ſupport them, he ſent the famous *Veſpaſian* with his Brother *Sabinus*, who did great Service and Execution; but the *Britains*, not yet diſcourag'd, engag'd them ſo reſolutely the next Day, that it continu'd doubtful which way the Victory enclin'd; 'till *Sidius Geta*, after he had been near taken Priſoner, gave them ſuch an Overthrow, that the Honour of a Triumph was granted him at *Rome*, tho' he had never been Conſul.

His Succeſſes.

Upon this the *Britains* retir'd to the Mouth of the *Thames*, and being acquainted with thoſe Places, croſs'd over, where the *Romans* following them through Bogs and dangerous Flats, were in perpetual Hazard. Yet the *Germans* by ſwimming, and others by a Bridge above got over, and falling in with the *Britains*, kill'd great Numbers; but in the Heat of their Purſuit they fell among new Bogs and Meres, and loſt many of their own Men.

The Emperor Claudius *enters* Britain.

He triumphs.

The Succeſſes of Plautius *and* Veſpaſian.

This Succeſs not anſwering Expectation, *Plautius* began to conſider his own Security; and finding the *Britains* ſo far from being diſcourag'd at the Death of *Togodumnus*, that they were making new Preparations to revenge it, he according to Order ſent to the Emperor for Aſſiſtance. *Claudius*, ambitious of the Occaſion, made extraordinary Preparations, and beſides the Flower of the Nobility, like an Eaſtern Monarch with armed Elephants, march'd through *Gaul*, and in a ſhort Time croſs'd the Seas, and join'd *Plautius*. The *Britains*, who had the Courage, but not the Conduct of old *Caſibelanus*, laying aſide all Stratagem, in open Field ventur'd to meet almoſt the whole Power of the *Roman* Empire; but they were ſoon overthrown, with the Loſs of *Camalodunum*, now *Maldon* in *Eſſex*, the Royal Seat of *Cynobelinus*, and many Priſoners were taken. Upon this *Claudius*, contrary to the *Roman* Cuſtom, was ſeveral times ſaluted *Imperator*; *Camalodunum* was made a Military Colony, and Part of the Iſle reduc'd to the Form of a Province; tho' *Suetonius* tells us, that what he obtain'd was without Battel or Bloodſhed, which ſeems not very probable. His Stay in *Britain* was not above Sixteen Days; and in that Time he remitted to the *Britiſh* Nobility the Confiſcation of their Goods, for which Favour they frequented his Temple, and ador'd him as a God. Having diſarm'd the *Britains*, and committed the Government of theſe, as likewiſe the War with the others not ſubdu'd, to *Plautius*, he haſten'd to *Rome* in the Sixth Month, ſending his Son-in-Law *Pompey* and *Silanus* before him, with the News of his Victories. At *Rome* it was eſteem'd ſo great an Action to Conquer but a ſmall Part of *Britain*, that Anniverſary Games, Triumphal Arches both at *Rome* and *Geſſoriacum* in *Gaul*, and laſtly a Glorious Triumph, was decreed by the Senate in Honour of *Claudius*. And that the Spectacle might be more Magnificent by the Confluence of People, he not only gave Leave to the Governors of Provinces to be preſent, but permitted ſeveral Exiles to return home, on purpoſe to behold it. The Chief Officers were munificently rewarded, the Provinces contributed Golden Crowns, and upon the Top of the Emperor's Palace was fix'd a Naval Crown, to imply the Emperor's Conqueſt and Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Sea; and for the ſame Reaſon, he order'd that his Son *Germanicus* ſhould hereafter be call'd *Britannicus*, which Name he had obtain'd himſelf not long before. In the mean time *Plautius* carry'd on the War in *Britain*, with that Succeſs, that *Claudius* decreed him an Ovation, and when he enter'd *Rome* he himſelf met him, honouring him with the Ceremony of the Right Hand. And now *Veſpaſian* began to appear in the World, who partly under *Claudius*, and partly under *Plautius*, fought thirty Battels with the *Britains*, according to *Suetonius*; he alſo ſubdu'd two mighty Nations, and above twenty Towns, together with the Iſle of *Vectis* or *Wight*. For which Exploits he obtain'd Triumphal Ornaments, two Sacerdotal Dignities, with the Conſulſhip. Under him ſerv'd his Son *Titus* in quality of a Tribune, whoſe extraordinary Valour and Modeſty gain'd him great Reputation, as appears from the Number of his Images, and their Inſcriptions, throughout the Provinces of *Germany* and *Britain*.

A. D. 50.

Oſtorius *ſent into* Britain.

His Succeſſes.

London *built.*

Some few Years after, *Plautius* was ſucceeded in *Britain* by *P. Oſtorius*, in Quality of *Proprætor*, who found Affairs in great Diſorder by the Inroads of the *Britains*; and the more, becauſe they did not expect that a new General would take the Field in Winter to oppoſe them. But *Oſtorius* well knowing that the firſt Action would either encourage or intimidate, vigorouſly attack'd ſuch as were in Arms, and diſpers'd them, proceeding to diſarm all whom he had reaſon to ſuſpect. And to prevent further Incurſions, he plac'd ſeveral Garriſons upon the two Rivers *Severn* and *Avon*; which reduc'd all the Southern Parts of the Iſle into the Form of a Province. For a farther Security and Convenience, *Camaioaunum* or *Maldon* was made a Military Colony; and *London*, according to the Opinion of B. *Stillingfleet* and ſome others, was about that time founded by the *Romans*, and made a trading Colony. Several Cities were given to *Cogiaunus*, a *Britiſh* King, to engage him to the *Roman* Intereſt; an ancient Policy which they us'd, to make Kings the Servile Agents to enſlave others. Theſe Proceedings were highly reſented by the *Iceni*, the Inhabitants of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge* and *Huntington*, a powerful People, not yet weaken'd by War, who refuſing all Submiſſion, gain'd many others over to their Party, and encamping upon commodious Ground, engag'd with the *Romans*. After a brave Diſpute, they were overthrown, but with the greater Bloodſhed, by reaſon of their Deſpair of Pardon. By the Overthrow of the *Iceni* many others before undetermin'd, were reduc'd to Obedience, and *Oſtorius* led his Army againſt the *Cangi*, a People about the *Iriſh* Sea; and waſting their Territories, he had paſs'd almoſt to the Ocean, when he was recall'd by the Inſurrections of the *Brigantes*, a People on the North of *England*; who would not be reduc'd, 'till they had loſt their principal Revolter, and then the Commotion was ſoon extinguiſh'd. But the *Silures*, the Inhabitants of *South-Wales*, would by no Method be allur'd or diſcourag'd from proſecuting the War againſt the *Romans*, relying upon their own Courage, and the Valour and Bravery of their Commander *Caractacus*, who having waded through innumerable Deaths and Difficulties, had gain'd ſuch a Reputation, that he was juſtly preferr'd before all the *Britiſh* Generals. This Man by his Policy and Conduct ſoon remov'd the Seat of the War into the Territories of the *Ordovices*, the Inhabitants of *North-Wales*, as more convenient for his Deſigns, by reaſon of the craggy Rocks, and high Mountains. Here, being ſtrongly intrench'd, at the near Approach of the *Romans*, *Caractacus*, in a Speech to his Soldiers, declar'd, *That that Battel ſhould either eſtabliſh their glorious Liberty, or confirm their perpetual Servitude; and that they ought to remember the Honour of their Anceſtors, who had driven* Julius Cæſar *from the Iſle; by whoſe Valour they were happily deliver'd from Axes and Tributes, and to whom they ow'd the Enjoyment of their unviolated Wives and Children.* The Soldiers fir'd by this Speech, bound themſelves by the moſt religious Vows, crying out, *That neither Wounds nor Weapons ſhould make them yield.* Their reſolute Behaviour, and the Difficulties that the *Romans* were to conquer, by means of Mountains, Rocks and Rampires, at firſt was a great Diſcouragement to *Oſtorius*. But as nothing could withſtand the Power of the *Roman* Legions, the *Britains*, though they had great Advantages in the Beginning of the Battel, by reaſon of their Encampment, were after an obſtinate Fight intirely routed, and the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* taken Priſoners, his Brothers ſurrendring themſelves ſhortly after. *Caractacus* himſelf flying to *Cartiſmandua*, Queen of the *Brigantes*, was treacherouſly bound and deliver'd up to the Conqueror, after nine Years brave Reſiſtance of the *Romans*, by which he had gain'd great Fame and Renown.

Caractacus *defeated and taken.*

Notwithſtanding the Misfortune of *Caractacus*, his Fame ſpread throughout the Iſland, and reaching the adjacent Provinces, was celebrated in *Italy* it ſelf. All coveted the Sight of that Man, who for ſo many Years had contemn'd the *Roman* Forces; inſomuch that even in *Rome*, his Name was held in Veneration; and the Emperor while he extolled his own, made the Captive's Glory there the brighter. The People of *Rome* were ſummon'd as to the ſight of ſome publick Games and Spectacles; the Emperor's Guards were plac'd in Order, and he himſelf ſeated on his Tribunal; the Captive Prince's Vaſſals and Retinue going firſt, the Capariſons and other Spoils of War follow'd after; then his Brothers, his Wife and Daughter; and laſt of all he himſelf was brought before the People in a very peculiar Habit. The Prayers which the reſt made to the Emperor were mean and ſervile; but *Caractacus*, neither craving Mercy, nor caſting down his Eyes, with a noble Bravery ſpoke thus before the Tribunal. *If my Moderation in Proſperity had been anſwerable to my Nobility and Fortune, I had come rather as a Friend into this City, than a Captive; nor would you have diſdain'd to have receiv'd me with Articles of Alliance, being a Prince deſcended from illuſtrious Progenitors, and a Sovereign of many Nations. My preſent Fortune is to me low and diſhonourable, but to you glorious and triumphant. I once had Horſes, Men, Arms and Riches at my Command; what wonder is it that I ſhould ſtruggle hard before I loſt them? But if Fate has alloted univerſal Empire to your Part, Subjection muſt be ours. If I had yielded without Oppoſition, neither my Fortune would have been remarkable, nor your Glory memorable; and Oblivion would have follow'd my Puniſhment. But if you ſpare my Life now, I ſhall be a perpetual Example of your Clemency.* Claudius mov'd at ſo ſad a Spectacle of Fortune, and his generous Behaviour, freely pardon'd him, his Wife and Relations; and being all unbound, they made their Addreſſes both to him, and his Empreſs *Agrippina*. After this the Senate was aſſembled, where the Fathers made many pompous Speeches concerning their Priſoner *Caractacus*; declaring, *That it was no leſs honourable than when the great* Scipio *expos'd* Syphax, *and* Paulus *brought* Perſeus *in Triumph.*

He is brought to Rome,

and pardon'd.

Oſtorius *declines.*

Oſtorius, tho' in *Britain*, was decreed the Honour of a Triumph; but now his Fortune began to change, either becauſe *Caractacus*, the Object of his Valour, was remov'd, or becauſe the Enemy in Compaſſion to ſo great a Prince were more animated with Revenge. For they fell furiouſly upon the Legionary Cohorts, left to ſettle Garriſons among the *Silures*, cut off the Commander, eight Captains, with many brave Soldiers; and had not ſpeedy Relief come from the neighbouring Forts, they had put all to

the

and dies.

Didius *ſucceeds him.*

the Sword. Shortly after they defeated the *Roman* Foragers, and the Troops ſent to their Aſſiſtance; and *Oſtorius* by his freſh Supplies could not ſtop their Flight, 'till the Legionary Soldiers came in, who reſtor'd the Battel, and brought the Advantage on their Side; but the *Britains* eſcap'd with little Loſs, becauſe the Day was ſpent. Next they proceeded to Skirmiſhes and ſmaller Actions, 'till the *Silures*, being exaſperated with the General's Threatning to extinguiſh their Name and Nation, found Means to intercept his Auxiliary Cohorts, who were ſent out raſhly by ſome greedy Officers to pillage; and they by diſtributing the Spoil and Priſoners drew other Nations to revolt. In this poſture of Affairs, *Oſtorius* waſted with Fatigue and Trouble dy'd; the *Britains* rejoicing, that tho' no Battel had remov'd him, yet an adverſe War had worn out ſo great a Commander. He was ſucceeded in his Place by *A. Didius*, who found all things in great Diſorder, partly by the Inrodes of the *Silures*, and partly by *Valens*'s encountering the *Britains* with ill Succeſs. But civil Conteſts in a ſhort Time gave the *Romans* new Advantages, which were occaſion'd by *Cartiſmandua*, Queen of the *Brigantes*, who after ſhe had aggrandiz'd herſelf by delivering *Caractacus*, rejected her Husband *Venutius*, marry'd his Servant *Vellocatus*, and made him King. This caus'd a War, which at firſt ſeem'd private among themſelves, 'till *Cartiſmandua* had by a Stratagem taken *Venutius*'s Brother, and ſome other of his Relations; who by the Aſſiſtance of his Neighbours, and the Defection of the *Brigantes*, now abhorring the Queen's Actions, ſoon reduc'd her to great Extremities. But imploring Aid of the *Romans*, with much Difficulty, and a ſevere Conflict, ſhe eſcap'd the Puniſhment ſhe expected. *Venutius* thus debarr'd of his Rights, juſtly turn'd his Anger againſt the *Romans* themſelves, retain'd his Kingdom againſt their utmoſt Oppoſition, and made them perceive that he was no deſpicable Soldier, firſt in a ſharp Battel of uncertain Event, and then againſt the Legion of *Cæſius Naſica*. Inſomuch that *Didius* growing old, and fitter to direct than execute, us'd the Miniſtry of other Men, thinking it ſufficient to keep what his Predeceſſors had gain'd, and only built ſome Caſtles and Places of Strength within the Land.

NERO.

The Chriſtian *Religion firſt planted in* Britain.

Suetonius *made Governor.*

This was the State of Affairs in *Britain* when the Emperor *Claudius* dy'd, being ſucceeded by his adopted Son *Nero*, who had ſo little Hopes and Inclinations to proceed, that, had not Shame reſtrain'd him, he would have recall'd all his Forces from the Iſle. Therefore, by the Advice of his Governors, he ſent *Verannius* to ſucceed *Didius*, a Perſon ambitious and ſevere, but not able to perform any great Action before his Death. Under this Man's Government, or ſhortly after, it ſeems moſt probable that the *Chriſtian* Religion was firſt planted in *Britain*; but by whom it was effected, and with what Succeſs, is uncertain. The next Governor was *P. Suetonius*, a Perſon of celebrated Valour, who after two Years ſucceſsful Eſtabliſhment of what was gain'd by the *Romans*, proceeded to new Conqueſts, particularly the Iſle of *Mona*, now *Angleſey*, which was Peopled with ſtout Inhabitants, and was the uſual Receptacle of all Fugitives. Upon his landing there with flat-bottom'd Veſſels, he was receiv'd by numerous Multitudes on the Shore, the Women running in diſmal Habits, with their Hair diſhevell'd, and Fire-brands in their Hands like infernal Furies; whilſt the *Druids*, whoſe ancient Seats were in this Iſle, lifted their Hands up to Heaven, rending the Air with the moſt dreadful Execrations. The Horror of this Spectacle aſtoniſh'd the *Romans*, and made them ſtand like Men helpleſs and inchanted; but being animated by their General, and aſham'd to fear a confus'd Herd of Women and Franticks, they ſoon broke through this furious Company, kill'd many, and beat others down, ſcorch'd and rowling in their own Fires. After this they cut down all their ſuperſtitious and magical Woods and Groves, plac'd Garriſons, and made an eaſie Conqueſt of the Iſland.

A. D. 61.

The Britains *oppreſs'd.*

Their Conſultations.

While *Suetonius* was thus ſucceſsful in the outward Parts of the Nation, almoſt the whole Body of the *Britains* made a violent and famous Struggle to regain their Liberties, and expel the *Romans*, being excited by many Provocations at once, which are enumerated by *Tacitus* and *Dion*. *Praſutagus*, King of the *Iceni*, famous for his Treaſure, had made *Nero* Coheir with his two Daughters, hoping thereby to preſerve his Kingdom and Family from Injury; inſtead of which, his Kingdom was ſeiz'd by the *Roman* Captains, his Houſe pillag'd by Under-Officers, his Wife *Boadicea* was ſcourg'd, and his Daughters raviſh'd, the chief of the *Iceni* depriv'd of their Eſtates, and the Blood-Royal treated as Slaves: *Seneca*, one of *Nero*'s Counſellors, having oblig'd many of the *Britains* to take large Sums of Money at Intereſt, did now ſuddenly recal the Payment of it with horrible Extortion: *Catus*, the Procurator, renewed the Confiſcation of thoſe Goods which *Claudius* had before remitted: The Colony at *Camalodunum* thruſt the ancient Inhabitants out of their Poſſeſſions, terming them Vaſſals and Slaves: The Temple alſo erected to *Claudius* was a great Burden to them, while the Prieſts that attended there, under pretence of Religious Dues, ſeiz'd each Man's Goods. Upon theſe Inſults, and to prevent more, the People began more to conſider the Miſeries of Slavery, to confer Injuries with one another, and to make ſuch Declarations as theſe: *That their Patience had no other Effect than to cauſe one Injury to produce another: That formerly every State had its own King, but now they were ſubject both to a* Lieutenant *and a* Procurator; *the one preying upon their Blood, and the other upon their Eſtates. That the Enmity or the Friendſhip of their Governors prov'd equally pernicious; the firſt tormented them with Soldiers and Officers, the latter with Extortions and Affronts; ſo that they could be ſecure of nothing, that either Luſt or Covetouſneſs could recommended to the* Romans. *That tho' in War the Spoil ought to fall to the moſt Couragious, yet they were depriv'd of their Houſes, and of their Children, by ignoble Cowards, and preſs'd for Foreign Service; as if the* Britains *were allow'd to fight for any Country but their own. The* Germans *ſhook off their Yoke, who had only a River, not an Ocean for their Defence; and the* Britains *were animated by as noble a Cauſe, their Country, and Relations, while the Enemy were abandon'd to Luxury and Avarice. That Misfortunes often produce the braveſt Actions; therefore if they would emulate the Glory of their Anceſtors, and not be diſcourag'd at the Event of one or two Battels, they might as ſoon drive out their Enemies, as they did their firſt Invader* Julius Cæſar. *That now Heav'n ſeem'd to compaſſionate their Diſtreſs, in abſenting the* Roman *General, and confining him to another Iſland; that they had conquer'd the greateſt Difficulty, which was to conſult, ſince it was more dangerous to be found in the contriving of a Plot, than in the Execution.*

The Iceni *and* Trinobantes *revolt, under* Boadicea.

The Succeſſes,

and Cruelties.

Being animated with theſe Motives, the *Iceni* unanimouſly took Arms, under the Conduct of injur'd *Boadicea*; drawing the *Trinobantes* to revolt with them, and ſuch others as were not yet broken by the Weight of the *Roman* Yoke; who had all ſecretly conſpir'd to free themſelves, with the utmoſt Revenge againſt the Veterans. About the ſame Time divers Prodigies were obſerv'd to portend the Subverſion of the *Roman* Colony, namely, the Image of Victory falling down revers'd at *Camalodunum*; unuſual Noiſes heard in the Air; ſtrange Apparitions ſeen on the Sea; the Ocean in ſhew bloody, and the Print of Mens Bodies upon the Sands, and certain Women in Ecſtaſy foretold a Deſtruction. Theſe Things as they terrify'd the *Romans*, ſo they added Courage to the *Britains*; and becauſe *Suetonius* was far abſent, the Colony requir'd Aid of *Decianus* the Procurator, but he ſent them no more than two hundred Men, and thoſe ill armed. So that the Soldiers, who before had rely'd upon the Protection of their Temple, and had made no Preparations againſt a Siege, were ſoon defeated, and the whole Colony was deſtroy'd by Fire and Sword. The *Britains* being Conquerors, from hence march'd with great Fury againſt the ninth Legion, under the Command of *Petilius Cerealis*, and cut all the Infantry in Pieces, ſo that only the Horſe eſcap'd with their Commander; which Misfortune caus'd *Catus*, the Intendant, whoſe Rapines had partly occaſion'd this Inſurrection, to fly into *Gaul*. The News of theſe Revolts rous'd *Suetonius* in the Weſt; and he with admirable Conſtancy and Reſolution march'd through the Midſt of the Enemy's Country to *London*, which though not honour'd with the Title of a Colony, was then famous for Concourſe of Merchants and Proviſions. He debated for ſome time whether he ſhould expect the Enemy here; but reflecting upon the Weakneſs of his Forces and the Raſhneſs of *Petilius*, he reſolv'd to quit the Place, without regarding the Cries of the Inhabitants who implor'd his Protection, preferring the Loſs of one Town to ſave a Province. Thoſe who would follow him were receiv'd into his Troops; but the reſt, whom Age or the Pleaſantneſs of the Place had detain'd behind, were miſerably deſtroy'd by the *Britains*. The Town of *Verulam* met with the ſame ſevere Fate, for paſſing by the Forts and Garriſons, they attack'd the moſt opulent and defenceleſs Places, loading themſelves with the Spoils of their Enemies, whom they hang'd, burnt and crucify'd, with all the Cruelty and inhuman Outrage, that a barbarous Multitude, elevated with Succeſs, cou'd imagine. They took no Priſoners, either to preſerve them for Exchange or Ranſom, according to the Law of Arms, but cut in Pieces both *Romans*, and their Allies, to the Number of eighty thouſand, as *Dion* aſſures us. The *Roman* Wives and Virgins were hung up naked, and had their Breaſts cut off and ſewn to their Mouths, that even dead they might ſeem to eat their own Fleſh; whilſt the *Britains* feaſted in the Temple of *Andate*, their Goddeſs of Victory.

Suetonius *marches againſt them*

Suetonius having gather'd together a ſmall Army of ten thouſand well-diſciplin'd Men, reſolv'd to hazard a Battel with all Expedition; and for that End he choſe an advantagious Poſt, a Place with a narrow Entrance, and a thick Wood for Defence behind him, and before him a large Plain. Here the *Britains* came down in a confus'd Manner, ſhouting and ſwarming in ſuch vaſt Numbers as never were before ſeen, ſo fierce and confident of Victory, that their Wives were brought along with them, and plac'd in Carts in the utmoſt Part of the Plain, to ſee the Battel. Queen *Boadicea*, commanding in chief, mounted her Chariot with her two Daughters, and riding about us'd many Arguments to raiſe the Courage of her Army, which conſiſted of no leſs than two hundred and thirty thouſand rude and undiſciplin'd People. She told them, *That it had been uſual before for the* Britains *to fight under the Conduct of Women, but ſhe was now in a different Capacity than her Anceſtors, being not to fight for a Kingdom, but as one of the inferior Sort to revenge her loſt Liberty, her own diſhonourable Stripes, and the violated Chaſtity of her Daughters. That the Luſts of the* Romans *were now become ſo exorbitant, that they left no Virgin undefil'd. Therefore ſhe her ſelf was reſolv'd to obtain Victory or Death, as ſhe was a Woman; but the Men, if they pleas'd, might chuſe Life and Slavery.* *Dion* places her upon a Heap of Turf, with a Spear in her Hand, and a Hare in her Boſom, which after a long Oration ſhe let looſe, as a Signification of a good Omen to her Army. On the other ſide *Suetonius* was not ſilent in ſo great a Danger, exhorting his Soldiers not to be terrify'd at the Enemy's Numbers, but to march on boldly, and continue a cloſe Fight, which he judg'd could not be long after they had broken their Front, the reſt being only a confus'd Multitude. The Legions kept the narrow Paſſage, as a Place of Defence, 'till the *Britains* had ſpent their Darts, and then advanc'd into the Plain, where the Auxiliaries and Cavalry making way, they as an irreſiſtible Wedge, broke and diſpers'd whatever oppos'd them;

and defeats them.]

the reſt fled, but could not eaſily eſcape, by reaſon of their own Carriages, which were plac'd round the Plain. The Soldiers gave no Quarter, not ſo much as to the Women, which with the Horſes that were ſlain, encreas'd the Heaps of Carcaſſes along the Field. This Victory was very ſignal, and was obtain'd with the Deſtruction of eighty Thouſand *Britains*, and only the Loſs of four hundred *Romans*, and not many more wounded.

Boadicea *ſlain.*

Boadicea reſolving not to ſurvive this fatal Defeat, poyſon'd her ſelf, according to *Tacitus*, tho' others ſay ſhe dy'd of Grief and Sickneſs.

Suetonius drawing together his Army, kept the Field in order to finiſh the War, and was ſhortly after reinforc'd with two thouſand Legionary Soldiers from *Germany*, eight Cohorts of Auxiliaries, and a thouſand Horſe, who being diſpos'd into new Winter Quarters, they waſted with Fire and Sword all thoſe Countries that were either Enemies or Neuters: But Famine was ſtill the greateſt Affliction to the *Britains*, who in hopes of the Enemy's Proviſions, had neglected all their Tillage.

Suetonius *declines.*

Nevertheleſs the unconquer'd Nations were averſe to a Treaty, upon Notice of a Difference between *Suetonius* and the new Procurator *Claſſicianus*, who had ſpread a Report, *That a new Lieutenant was expected, who without the Severity and Haughtineſs of a Conqueror, like* Suetonius, *would treat ſuch as yielded with Favour and Clemency.* He wrote alſo to *Rome*, *That there could be no End of the War while* Suetonius *continn'd Governor, whoſe bad Succeſs was owing to his ill Conduct, and his good only to the Fortune of the Common-wealth.* To compoſe this Difference, the Emperor ſent his Freed-man *Polycletus*, in hopes of appeaſing the Minds of the exaſperated *Britains*. He appear'd in *Britain* with great State and Grandeur, and was receiv'd by the Soldiers with Fear and Reverence; but it appear'd ridiculous in the Eyes of the *Britains*, That ſuch a General and a victorious Army ſhould be accountable to a Slave.

Petronius *Governor.*

All Things were repreſented favourably to the Emperor, and *Suetonius* kept his Command; but not long after he was oblig'd to reſign all into the Hands of *Petronius Turpilianus*; which Governor, without moleſting the Enemy, or being moleſted by them, gave the ſpecious Name of Peace to his ſlothful unactive Life.

Trebellius *Governor.*

And without performing any Thing memorable, he deliver'd his Province to *Trebellius Maximus*, a Perſon more lazy and negligent than himſelf; and as he wanted both Experience and Valour, ſo he was contemn'd and hated by his Army for his Avarice and Sordidneſs. This Diſſatisfaction was continually fomented by *Cælius*, Commander of the twentieth Legion, who charged him with defrauding and impoveriſhing the Legions, as he did him with Sedition and Want of Diſcipline. At length the Diſorder grew ſo great, that *Trebellius* being deſerted by the Wings of his Army, who went over to *Cælius*, and laſtly affronted by the Auxiliaries, he was forc'd to fly to *Vitellins* in *Germany*.

GALBA.
OTHO.

In the mean Time the Emperor *Nero* put an End to his own Life, and during the ſhort Reigns of *Galba* and *Otho* *Britain* continu'd quiet and peaceable, tho' without a Conſular Lieutenant; being govern'd by the Commanders of the particular Legions, all of equal Authority; only *Cælius* by his daring Boldneſs ſeem'd to have gain'd the greateſt Command.

VITELLIUS.
Bolanus *Governor.*

When ſhortly after *Vitellius* came to the Empire, he ſent *Vectius Bolanus* to ſucceed *Trebellius*, a Perſon as little troubleſome to the Enemy as his Predeceſſor, and as careleſs of his Army; yet being of an innocent and obliging Temper, he gain'd the Affection of his Soldiers, tho' he wanted the Authority of a General.

VESPASIAN.

But when *Veſpaſian* had ſucceeded *Vitellius*, and with the reſt of the World hath gain'd *Britain* alſo, he ſent thither brave Commanders and great Armies, which quite defeated the Hopes of their Enemies.

Cerealis *Governor.*

He firſt ſent *Petilius Cerealis* to be Governor, who boldly enter'd the Country of the *Brigantes*, the moſt northern and numerous People of the *Roman* Province; to whom he gave many and ſingular Overthrows, and either ravag'd or conquer'd the greateſt Part of their Territories.

Frontinus *Governor.*

So that *Cerealis* ſeem'd to have eclips'd the Fame and Conduct of any that could come after him; when *Julius Frontinus*, a great Man, and as eminent as cou'd be expected after ſuch a Predeceſſor, ſucceeded by *Veſpaſian*'s Order in the ſame Charge, with no leſs Glory. For he ſubdu'd the ſtrong and warlike Nation of the *Silures*; where he had not only a potent Enemy to encounter, but likewiſe almoſt inſuperable Difficulties from the Nature and Situation of the Country.

Agricola *Governor.*

In the latter End of *Veſpaſian*'s Reign, *Frontinus* was ſucceeded by *Julius Agricola*, a Commander of the greateſt Fame both for Valour and Conduct, who enter'd upon the moſt memorable Expedition that had ever been known in *Britain*, continuing ſeven or eight Years with great Reputation and Renown. Of this great Man's Actions in this Country, we have an excellent Account from his Son-in-Law *Tacitus*.

A. D.
78.
Agricola's *firſt Year's Expedition.*

Not long before the Arrival of *Agricola*, the *Ordovices*, the Inhabitants of *North-Wales*, had almoſt entirely deſtroy'd a Wing of the *Roman* Legions; by which means the reſt of the conquer'd Nations were all ready for a Revolt, either out of Deſire of Liberty, or to diſcover the Ability of the new Lieutenant. *Agricola*, tho' the Seaſon was far advanc'd, with great Expedition gather'd together his diſpers'd Troops and Auxiliaries, and march'd towards theſe formidable People, who kept themſelves in Places of Advantage, and durſt not deſcend into indifferent Ground. He therefore with uncommon Bravery, placing himſelf foremoſt, advanc'd towards them with his Army, and being ſeconded with the Skill and Courage of his Veteran Soldiers, put them all to Flight and Sword, ſo that the whole Nation was almoſt extirpated. Finding that all Things were like to ſucceed according to the Event of his firſt Actions, he immediately determin'd to make himſelf Maſter of the Iſle of *Angleſey*, from whence *Suetonius* had been formerly recall'd; but this Deſign being ſuddenly laid, Ships were wanting for the Expedition, which Defect was notwithſtanding ſupply'd by the great Policy and Reſolution of the General. He commanded a choice Body of Auxiliaries, who were well acquainted with the Shallows of the Water, ſuddenly to paſs over, and invade the Iſland; and theſe, by the Cuſtom of their native Country, being able in ſwimming to govern themſelves, their Horſes and Arms, perform'd it ſo effectually, that the Enemy, who at firſt expected a Fleet, were extreamly ſurpriz'd and confounded, as ſuppoſing that nothing could be invincible to Men that begun a War with ſuch Reſolution.

He conquers the Iſle of Angleſey,

Whereupon they immediately deſir'd Peace, and ſurrender'd the Iſle to the Command of *Agricola*, who now became great and famous, as having upon his Entrance, a Time uſually ſpent in Ceremony and Oſtentation, encounter'd ſo much Toil and Hazard. In theſe proſperous Proceedings of his Fortunes, he ſought not with any glorious Relations or Letters to magnifie his Honour; but rather in ſeeking to ſuppreſs the Fame of his Actions, he render'd them more conſpicuous and ſplendent. And now knowing the Diſpoſition of his Province, and being taught by others Experience, that Affairs would never be ſettled by Fighting, while Wrongs continu'd unredreſs'd, he reſolv'd in the next Place to cut off all juſt Occaſions of War and Revolts.

and reforms many Abuſes.

Thereupon he began to regulate many Abuſes, and reform many Corruptions, in his Family, in his Camp, and in the whole Province; eſpecially ſuch as afflicted the poorer ſort, as Exactions, Encreaſe of Tributes, and Payments of Corn, which had been very burdenſome to the *Britains*; all which he under-rated and levy'd in ſuch Manner, as they became eaſie to the Inhabitants. By which Means *Agricola* brought the Nation to a more general Inclination to Peace, which partly by the Negligence, and partly by the Avarice of former Governors, had been no leſs odious than War it ſelf.

TITUS.
Agricola's *ſecond Year's Expedition.*

About this Time the Emperor *Veſpaſian* dy'd, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Titus*, who continu'd *Agricola* in his Government; who drawing his Army together the next Summer, obſerv'd excellent Methods, and exact Diſcipline.

He

His third Year's Expedition.

His fourth Year's Expedition.

He choſe the Places for Encamping, and in Perſon try'd the Bogs and Woods; he gave the Enemy no Reſt, and when he had ſufficiently terrify'd them, he uſually withheld his Hand, and forbore Acts of Hoſtility, to allure them to the Pleaſures of Peace. Theſe Methods of Proceeding ſo wrought upon many Cities, that laying aſide Animoſities, they voluntarily ſubmitted, gave Hoſtages, and permitted Forts and Garriſons amongſt them; all which were effected with that Care and Prudence, that they were the only new Forts in *Britain* that never were attack'd afterwards. All Perſons began now to entertain an honourable Opinion of their new Governor; and as he was ſufficiently careful in Summer, ſo he ſpent the next Winter in a wiſe Project. Whereas the *Britains*, hitherto haraſs'd with Oppreſſion and Wars, had ſmall Leiſure or Inclination to apply themſelves to the Ornaments of Peace and ſettled Societies; therefore they were ready for Revolts and Inſurrections upon every ſlight Occaſion: The better to induce them by Pleaſures to Reſt and Quietneſs, he exhorted them in private, and aſſiſted them in publick to build Temples, Places of Reſort, and ſtately Houſes; and likewiſe provided, that the Sons of the Nobility ſhould be carefully inſtructed in the liberal Arts and Sciences, applauding their Pains and Induſtry, and preferring their Parts and Ingenuities before thoſe of the *Gauls*; ſo that they who but lately deſpis'd the *Roman* Language, did now affect and ſtudy the Graces of it. From that Time alſo the *Roman* Modes and Dreſſes became in requeſt, and the *Gown* was commonly worn; and from thence they gradually proceeded to all their Softneſs and Incentives to Luxury, as beautiful Portico's, pleaſant Baths, and exquiſite Banquets, which by the Ignorant were term'd Civility and Politeneſs, when in Reality, as *Tacitus* tells us, they were but the Trappings of their Yoke and Bondage. In the third Summer *Agricola* diſcover'd new Countries and Parts of *Britain* yet untouch'd, or at leaſt not fully ſubdu'd; and being ambitious of extending the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire, he march'd Northwards up to the very Frith of *Tans* or *Tweed*, waſting all as he paſs'd, and without Reſiſtance fortify'd the Paſſages with Caſtles and Fortreſſes, which he ſtor'd with ſufficient Proviſions. By which Means every wintering Garriſon ſecur'd and guarded it ſelf, and with the Summer Service ever repair'd the Winter's Miſcarriages; which continually diſappointed the Enemy, ſo that *Agricola* had all the Succeſs he could deſire The fourth Summer was ſpent in ordering and ſettling what he had over-run; and with ſuch Succeſs, that if his Armies, and the Glory of the *Roman* Empire would have permitted it, they needed not to have ſought any other Boundary in *Britain*. For the Friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, *Dunbrittaen* and *Edenburgh*, two Arms of two oppoſite Seas, ſhooting far into the Land, were only parted by a narrow Neck of Land, which *Agricola* had ſecur'd by Forts and Garriſons; ſo that the *Romans* were entire Maſters of all the South Side, and had pent up the Country as it were within another Iſland.

DOMITIAN.

Agricola's fifth Year's Expedition.

Britain firſt diſcover'd to be an Iſland.

For theſe great Succeſſes and Explots in *Britain*, *Agricola* not only purchas'd much Fame, but the Emperor *Titus* alſo receiv'd great Honours upon his Account, particularly to be ſaluted *Imperator* the fifteenth Time. But dying ſhortly after, he was ſucceeded by his Brother *Domitian*, who ſtill kept *Agricola* in this Country, and ſtill with new Succeſs. For in the fifth Year of his Lieutenancy, he took Shipping, and ſail'd over to certain Nations unknown to the *Romans*, probably the *Orcades* and other Northern Iſles, which after many proſperous Encounters he ſubdu'd; and then plac'd Garriſons in thoſe Parts of *Britain* which lye towards *Ireland*, having ſome Thoughts of attempting that Iſland. After this, ſuſpecting a general Inſurrection of the *Caledonians*, thoſe fierce Northern Nations beyond *Bodotria*, in the following Year he mann'd out a Fleet to diſcover the Creeks and Harbours of that ample Region, and with his Army march'd for the North. Thus *Agricola* was the firſt who ſeconded his Land-Forces by a Navy, and brought War upon the *Britains* by Sea and Land at once. The *Britains* were extreamly amaz'd and confounded at this Sight, conſidering that if once their Seas were diſcover'd, all Hopes of retreating wou'd be loſt. Nevertheleſs the *Caledonians* arming with great Power, hop'd to diſcourage the *Romans* by being Aggreſſors; which had ſo much Effect, that ſeveral adviſ'd *Agricola* not to proceed, but to retreat with Honour, rather than be repell'd with Shame. But he hearken'd not to theſe Perſuaſions, and underſtanding that the Enemy would make their Irruptions in ſeveral Bodies, to prevent being ſurrounded by their Numbers, he march'd in three Diviſions; which being known to the *Caledonians*, they chang'd their Reſolution, and with united Forces ſet upon the ninth Legion in the Night, and broke into the Camp with great Slaughter; but *Agricola* having Intelligence of their March, follow'd them, and commanded his lighteſt Horſe and Foot to charge them in the Rear, and the reſt to make a loud Shout. The Day dawning, the Glittering of the *Roman* Enſigns dazled the Eyes of the *Britains*, who after a ſharp Fight at the Gates of the Camp, drew off to the Woods and Bogs, which ſecur'd them; otherwiſe the War had then been finiſh'd by a compleat Victory. Upon this Succeſs the *Roman* Soldiers, preſuming there was nothing able to withſtand their Arms, cry'd out *to be led into* Caledonia, *that with a continual Courſe of Conqueſt they might find out the utmoſt Bounds of* Britain. They were further encourag'd by this remarkable Accident, which happen'd the ſame Summer; A Cohort of *Germans* having ſlain their Centurion, and other *Roman* Officers in a Mutiny, and to avoid Puniſhment fled on Shipboard, ſet ſail in three light Gallies without a Pilot; and by Tide and Weather were carry'd round the Coaſts, exerciſing Piracy wherever they landed, and after various Fortunes, were the firſt Diſcoverers to the *Romans* that *Britain* was an Iſland.

A. D. 84.

The Britains *laſt Struggle under* Galgacus.

Notwithſtanding theſe Succeſſes, the *Britains* attributing all to the good Fortune and Conduct of the General, and not to any Valour in his Soldiers, were not dejected, but proceeded to arm their Youth, to convey their Wives and Children into ſafe Places, and by Aſſemblies and Religious Rites to eſtabliſh a Confederacy among themſelves. And being intent upon nothing but Revenge or Slavery, the following Year by Leagues and Treaties they muſter'd up their whole Power; being now ſenſible, tho' too late, that a common Danger muſt be repuls'd by Confederacy and Union. Theſe, as their laſt Effort, had gather'd together about thirty thouſand armed Men, beſides great Numbers of Youth, and vigorous old Men, who formerly had been excellent Soldiers, and ſtill retain'd the Scars and Badges of their Bravery. On the other ſide, *Agricola* having ſent his Fleet before, follow'd in Perſon ſhortly after with his whole Army, to which he had added ſome of the moſt valiant *Britains*, ſuch as after the Teſt of a long Peace he had found faithful, and march'd to the Hill *Grampius*, now *Grantzbain* in *Scotland*, where the Enemy had poſted themſelves. Upon the Approaches of both Armies, all Perſons with great Eagerneſs and Impatience attended the Succeſs of this deciding Battel; and *Galgacus*, both by Birth and Merit, Commander of the *Britains*, with a furious Warmth and elevated Courage is ſaid to have ſpoke after this Manner to his Soldiers. *When I conſider the Cauſe of this War, and our preſent Urgency, I have reaſon to preſume, that the future Happineſs and Freedom of the whole Iſland will date their Birth from this important Day. For we are the moſt valiant Remains of the* Britains, *ſeated in the remoteſt Regions, beyond the Ken of thoſe Nations enſlav'd by the Enemy; ſo that our Eyes are yet unpolluted, and free from the Contagion of foreign Tyranny; and this ſecret Receſs, unknown to Fame, has hitherto preſerv'd us in all the Bleſſings of Liberty. Beyond us is no Nation, nothing but Waves and Rocks; on that Side nothing but Bondage and Slavery, which is to be expected from the* Romans; *a People unſatiable in their Luſts, and unbounded in their Ambition. Thoſe Robbers of the World, and Ravagers of the Univerſe, now the exhauſted Land can no more furniſh their Rapines, endeavour to rifle the wide Seas and Ocean. When they meet with opulent Enemies, their Cruelty proceeds from Avarice; when with Poor, it ariſes from Ambition. The* Eaſt *and* Weſt, *vaſt as they are, cannot ſatiate their voracious Minds; they, and they alone, with equal Greedineſs graſp at the Riches their ana Poverty of all Nations. Devaſtations, Murders and Extirpations, paſs with them under the falſe Names of* Empire *and* Government; *and they boaſt of eſtabliſhing Peace in thoſe Provinces they have render'd deſolate. Our Goods are their Tribute, our Corn their Proviſions, our Bodies their Tools for all Kinds of Drudgery; and if the Modeſty of our Wives and Daughters has preſerv'd them from open Violence, when they were Enemies, it cannot ſecure them from their laſcivious Friendſhip, now they are Gueſts. Other Slaves, whom Nature and Fortune have deſtin'd to Servitude, are nouriſh'd by their Maſters; but the* Britains *alone purchaſe their own Bondage, and maintain and ſupport their Oppreſſors. Were our Enemies Courage in War, equal to their Debaucheries in Peace, we might juſtly dread their Arms; but their Glory is all owing to our Diſſenſions: Our Union will diſſipate their Forces which are gather'd out of many Nations; ſo that one Miſcarriage of theirs will diſſolve their whole Power. In ſumm, there you ſee Tributes and Slavery, here Death or Liberty; therefore let us conſider the Glory of our Anceſtors, and the Fate of our Poſterity.*

This Speech being deliver'd with the Fierceneſs of Lions and Tigers, and darting upon the Soldiers like Flaſhes of Lightning, was immediately ſeconded with the barbarous and confus'd Acclamations of the whole Army. *Agricola* on the other ſide encourag'd his Men with all the Force and Charms of the *Roman* Eloquence; and fearing to be flank'd by reaſon of the Enemy's Numbers, he drew out his Front to the utmoſt Length, and advanc'd himſelf at the Head of his Foot. The Battel began at ſome Diſtance from the main Body, wherein the

Britains ſhew'd great Art and Courage, by means of their broad Swords, and ſhort Bucklers, with which they bore off the Darts of their Enemies, and pour'd in upon them with Showers of their own. To prevent which Inconveniency, *Agricola* order'd the *Batavian* and *Tungrian* Cohorts to advance againſt them with their ſharp-pointed Bucklers, which render'd their pointleſs Swords unſerviceable, and ſo mangled their Faces, that they were oblig'd to retire with the greateſt Precipitation. This Advantage being ſeconded by the Emulation of the other Cohorts, who furiouſly bore down all before them; and being many Ways back'd and ſupported by the great Skill of their General, the *Britains* were at laſt diſpers'd: *They are defeated,* Whilſt many unarm'd ran deſperately upon their Enemies Swords, others tho' arm'd betook themſelves to Flight, leaving a Field diſmally ſtrew'd with Heaps of Arms, Carcaſſes, mangled Limbs and Blood, and many expiring Perſons, who ſtill retain'd their Courage and Fierceneſs. Night and Wearineſs put an end to the Chace, and Victory made it pleaſant to the Conquerors; but the unfortunate *Britains*, both Men and Women, wandering in a deplorable Manner, ſpent the Night in calling their loſt Friends, carrying off the Wounded, in burning their Houſes out of Deſpair, and ſhifting from one Corner to another. Sometimes they conſulted with each other, and conceiv'd ſome Hopes; then again they were broken with Pity and Compaſſion, and oftner with Rage and Madneſs at the Sight of their Wives and Children, ſeveral of whom they diſpatch'd with their own, rather than they ſhould ſuffer by their Enemies Swords. This ſignal Victory put a Stop to all future Reſiſtance, and *Agricola* ſending out his Fleet among the Coaſts, they alſo diſcover'd *Britain* to be an Iſland, and ſubdu'd the *Orcades*, which had not been heard of 'till that Time. Thus after forty two Years ſtruggle of an unciviliz'd and diſunited People, againſt the moſt powerful Nation in the Univerſe, the greateſt Part of *Britain* was conquer'd, and *and* Britain *reduc'd to a* Roman *Province.* reduc'd into an intire and civiliz'd Province of the *Roman* Empire, the further Part being left to the Barbarians, as neither pleaſant nor fruitful; the Government of which was ever annex'd and appropriated to the Emperors themſelves, and no ways at the Diſpoſal of the Senate, as ſeveral other Provinces were. This was compleated in the fourth Year of *Domitian*'s Reign, about 138 Years after the firſt Entrance of *Julius Cæſar*, in the latter End of the Year 84, or the Beginning of 85, when *Agricola* was recall'd out of *Britain*.

III. From this Time forwards, for above 320 Years, the greateſt and richeſt Part of *Britain* became ſubject to the *Romans*, who made great Advantages of the Country, and laid heavy Tributes upon the Inhabitants. Yet with their grievous Yoke they bore down Barbariſm, and introduc'd Humanity and Civility, which daily made way and fitted Men for Chriſtianity; and they wanted not the Arts of obliging a conquer'd People, allowing ſome Kings amongſt them of their own Nation, which were commonly us'd for Inſtruments of enſlaving their Neighbours, and bearing off the Odium from the Conquerors. Partly by ſuch Arts, and partly through Neceſſity, the *Britains* began to love as well as fear their Maſters the *Romans*, and followed their Modes, Dreſſes and Cuſtoms to as great an Exceſs as any Nation; and their Buildings and other Works were ſo very ſtately, that we cannot now look upon their Remains without Admiration, and the ordinary People think them to be of more than human Structure. But of the Tranſactions of *Britain* after *Agricola*'s Departure, we have only ſhort and broken Accounts, which are gather'd from ſeveral Parts of the *Roman* Hiſtorians. We are not certain who was *Agricola*'s Succeſſor, unleſs it be *Salluſtius Lucullus*, whom *Domitian* in a ſhort time ſacrific'd to his own ſuſpicious Humour. At which Time flouriſh'd King *Arviragus* in this Iſland, according to *Juvenal*; and alſo at *Rome* a *Britiſh* Lady nam'd *Claudia Rufina*, celebrated by *Martial* for her extraordinary Beauty and Learning, whom many believe to have been a Chriſtian, and the ſame mention'd by St. *Paul* in his ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, c. 4. v. 21. NERVA. *Domitian* was ſucceeded by *Nerva*, in whoſe Time we have little concerning *Britain*, only that in his TRAJAN. Reign, as alſo in that of *Trajan* his Succeſſor, there were great Commotions in this Iſland, but they were ſoon ſuppreſs'd and ended. HADRIAN. But *Hadrian* the next Emperor being proclaim'd, he receiv'd Intelligence, that the Northern *Britains* made Incurſions into the *Roman* Part; whereupon he ſent *Julius Severus*, who being ſuddenly recall'd upon the Account of other Inſurrections, the Emperor himſelf came over with an Army, encounter'd the barbarous People of the North, recover'd ſuch Forts as they had taken, and drove them into the Woods and Mountains. A. D. 121. And for the better Eſtabliſhment of future Peace, in the Year 121, he caus'd a mighty Wall to be made of Wood and Earth, extending from the River *Eden* in *Cumberland*, to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eighty Miles in Length; Hadrian *makes a Wall in* Britain. after which he return'd triumphantly to *Rome*, where he gain'd the Title of *RESTORER OF BRITAIN*, which as a Motto was ſtamp'd upon his Coin. And now the Provincial *Britains*, fearing as much the Cruelty of their Northern Countrymen, as formerly the Invaſion of Strangers, readily conform'd themſelves to the *Roman* Laws, as well Civil as Martial, under the Direction of *Priſcus Licinius*, then *Pro-prætor*.

ANT. PIUS. The Emperor *Hadrian* was ſucceeded by *Antoninus Pius*, whoſe Lieutenant *Lollius Urbicus* defeated the *Brigantes*; and having driven back, and remov'd the barbarous Northern People, he built another Wall of Earth *A Second Wall in* Britain. and Piles beyond the former, between *Edenburgh* and *Dunbritton* Friths. For theſe two Expeditions, *Antoninus* obtain'd the Title of *Britannicus*, tho' he never ſaw *Britain* himſelf. ANT. PHILOS. After him *Antoninus Philoſophus* poſſeſs'd the Empire, who ſent *Calphurnius Agricola* to be his Lieutenant in *Britain*, a Perſon who partly by his Prudence, and partly by Force, appeas'd the Northern Tumults, and ſettled the Minds of thoſe People who were moſt uneaſie under the *Roman* Authority. A. D. 178. In the latter End of this Emperor's Reign, we are inform'd by *Beda*, That *Lucius*, one of the Kings allow'd by the *Romans* in Lucius, *a King in* Britain, *receives Christianity with others.* *Britain*, having an Inclination for *Chriſtianity*, which had been formerly planted, but not well water'd in this Nation, ſent to *Eleutherus* Biſhop of *Rome*, to ſignifie his pious Intentions, and deſire his Aſſiſtance. *Eleutherus* ſent *Fugatius* and *Damianus*, two eminent Men, to this Iſland; at which Time, not only *Lucius* himſelf receiv'd the Faith, but by his Example, and the Diligence of the firſt Preachers, it ſpread in a ſhort Time through a great Part of the Nation, and *Chriſtianity* continu'd unmoleſted 'till the Reign of *Diocletian*. So that *Lucius* is ſuppos'd to be the firſt *Chriſtian* King in the World, and *Britain* the firſt Province that embrac'd the Goſpel by publick Authority. This Story has receiv'd ſo many Additions and Corruptions by later Writers, that it has occaſion'd many to disbelieve the whole, and to doubt whether there ever was ſuch a King as *Lucius* in *Britain*; for which the Reader may pleaſe to conſult B. *Stillingfleet*'s eleborate Work, *The Antiquities of the* Britiſh *Churches*.

COMMODUS. In the Reign of *Commodus*, the next Emperor, the Northern *Britains* became more troubleſome than ever; for having paſs'd the great Wall, they cut off the *Roman* General, and moſt of his Army, and then made terrible Devaſtations in the Country. The Emperor affrighted at their Progreſs, immediately ſent *Ulpius Marcellus* againſt them, a wiſe and magnanimous Governor, who ſoon put an end to this War that appear'd ſo formidable, ſeverely chaſtis'd the *Britains* for their Revolt, and reviv'd the loſt Diſcipline among the *Roman* Soldiers, for which Services, and his Virtues, the wicked Emperor deſign'd to have taken his Life, but upon ſecond Reflections only diſcharg'd him of his Office. After his Departure the *Roman* Army began to mutiny, and to diſown *Commodus* for their Emperor; which Diſorders *Perennis* his great Favourite undertook to redreſs, by Threats, Removing of Officers, and placing inferior Perſons in their Room; which had no better Effect than to bring the whole Storm upon himſelf. For the Soldiers accuſing him of Treaſon againſt his Sovereign, gain'd ſo much Credit, as to cauſe him to be executed. Upon his Death *Pertinax*, afterwards Emperor, undertook the Charge of *Britain*; and he, after he had ſuppreſs'd the Seditions with the utmoſt Hazard of his Life, got leave to be diſmiſs'd. After him, by the Command of *Commodus*, *Albinus* had the Government of this Province aſſign'd to him, and might have been honour'd with the Title of *Cæſar*, but he declin'd it: But afterwards, in a Speech to his Soldiers, upon a falſe Report of the Emperor's Death, declaring for the Senatorian againſt the Imperial Power, he was diſcharg'd, and *Junius Severus* was ſent in his Place. *Commodus* not long after being ſlain, and the Reigns of *Pertinax* and *Julian* being ſhort, *Albinus* was found a- PERTINAX. gain at the Head of his Army in *Britain*, in the Beginning JULIAN. of the Reign of *Severus*, which he afterwards tranſported SEVERUS. againſt him into *Gaul*; where, near *Lyons*, he was encounter'd by *Severus*, his Forces defeated, and himſelf ſlain. *Severus* being ſettled in the Empire, divided *Britain* Britain *divided into Parts.* into two Governments or Prefectures; the South Part was committed to *Heraclitus*, and the North, which was the moſt difficult to manage, to *Virius Lupus*, in Quality of *Pro-prætor*, where the *Caledonians* and others ſo infeſted him, that he was oblig'd to purchaſe a Truce with Mony. This new Diviſion was made in the fourth Year of *Severus*'s Reign, *A. D.* 197.

A. D. 208. In the fifteenth Year of this Prince's Reign, he receiv'd Advice that the Northern *Britains* were up in Arms, and had been ſo ſucceſsful, that the ſtanding Legions and the Province were in great Danger; which gave much Uneaſineſs

neſs to an Emperor who before had conquer'd the moſt powerful Enemies. But that the Empire ſhould not be diminiſh'd in his Reign by the Loſs of an Iſland of ſuch great Importance, he reſolv'd to come in Perſon, tho' very gouty, and above ſixty Years of Age; taking with him his two Sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*. The *Britains* underſtanding the Emperor's Approach, offer'd him an honourable Peace; but he had ſuch an inſatiable Deſire to add the glorious Name of *Britannicus* to his former Titles, that he refus'd their Propoſals.

Severus *comes into* Britain.

Upon his Entrance, he left his Son *Geta* in the Southern Parts of the Province, which had continu'd in Obedience; and march'd with his Son *Caracalla* againſt the Northern *Britains* and *Caledonians*; where with the cutting down of Woods, making of Bridges, draining of Bogs and Meers, the Enemies Ambuſcades, and Sickneſs, he loſt no leſs than fifty thouſand Men, according to *Dion*.

His Succeſſes.

The aged Emperor encounter'd theſe Miſeries and Difficulties with a noble Bravery, and proſecuted his Attempts with ſuch a vigorous Reſolution, that he forc'd them to a Submiſſion, with the Delivery of a conſiderable Part of their Country, and all their Arms. And for the better Security of the Province of *Britain*, he built, or rather repair'd that famous Wall begun by the Emperor *Hadrian*; which he made anſwerable to the Power and Grandure of the *Roman* Empire. For this, and his ſeveral Victories, he took upon him the Title of *Britannicus Maximus*, cauſing that Inſcription to be ſtamp'd upon his own, and his Sons Coins. The Emperor after this retir'd to *Eboricum* or *York*, leaving the Work to be finiſh'd by his Son *Caracalla*, who by his Popularity to the Soldiers, and his exceſſive Looſeneſs, gave an Occaſion to the *Caledonians* to break their Articles, and revolt; which ſo inrag'd this old diſtemper'd Prince, that he gave Commands to make a general Maſſacre without Diſtinction, which was executed with great Severity. Having been nigh two Years in *Britain*, at *Eboricum* he grew weak, partly with Age and Travel, and partly with Grief for the ill Life of his eldeſt Son; and finding himſelf declining, he cry'd out, *I have been all that a Man can be, but it is of no Service to me now.*

He dies at York.

But at his Death ſhortly after, he ſeem'd to comfort himſelf by declaring, *That he had found the Empire diſorder'd in all its Parts, but now had left it in Peace, even among the* Britains.

CARACALLA.

His Son *Caracalla* having made Peace with the *Britains*, and receiv'd Hoſtages from them, return'd to *Rome* with his Brother *Geta*.

MACRINUS. ELAGABALUS. ALEXANDER. MAXIMIN. PUPIENUS. GORDIAN. PHILIP. DECIUS. GALLUS. VALERIAN. GALLIENUS. CLAUDIUS. AURELIAN. TACITUS. PROBUS.

For about ſixty Years, and the Reigns of twelve ſucceeding Emperors after *Caracalla*, namely *Macrinus*, *Elagabalus*, *Alexander*, *Maximinus*, *Pupienus*, *Gordian*, *Philip*, *Decius*, *Gallus*, *Valerian*, *Gallienus* and *Claudius*, we have no Account of the Affairs of *Britain*; only in the Reign of *Gallienus*, ſome of the thirty Tyrants, as *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Poſthumus*, the *Tetrici*, and *Marius*, are ſuppos'd to have uſurp'd the Government here, ſince their Coins are found in ſuch great Quantities in this Nation. Under *Claudius*'s Succeſſor *Aurelian*, *Bonoſus*, an inſatiable Vaſſal to *Bacchus*, and by Birth a *Britain*, together with *Proculus*, endeavour'd to make himſelf Emperor, claiming all *Britain*, *Spain* and Part of *Gaul*, in the Time both of *Aurelian* and his Succeſſor *Tacitus*; but being at laſt defeated by the next Emperor *Probus*, after a ſharp Engagement, he hang'd himſelf, and gave the Occaſion of the Jeſt, *That there hung a Bottle, not a Man.* After that, *Probus* prevented a new Rebellion in *Britain*, by the ſevere Loyalty of *Victorinus*, at whoſe Recommendation he had plac'd a Lieutenant here, who had ſet up for Emperor; for upbraiding *Victorinus* with the Diſloyalty of the Perſon he had recommended, he undertook to rectifie the Miſtake, by paſſing ſuddenly over into *Britain*, where by a Stratagem he found means to ſlay the Traitor, and ſave the Province. *Eutropius* alſo relates, that *Probus* was the firſt Emperor who gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and *Britains* to plant Vines, and to make Wine.

Vandals *and* Burgundians *ſettled in* Britain.

This Emperor alſo having ſubdu'd the *Vandals* and *Burgundians* in a great Battel, he ſent great Numbers of them to inhabit *Britain*, where being well ſettled, they prov'd very ſerviceable to the Empire upon any Commotions or Inſurrections. Moſt ſuppoſe them to have had their Camp upon thoſe Hills near *Cambridge*, commonly call'd *Gogmagog-Hills*, where on the Top of one of them may be ſeen to this Day a Plain ſurrounded with large double Trenches of a great Circumference.

CARUS.

After *Probus*, *Carus* ſucceeded in the Empire, who put this Iſland with the Weſtern Provinces into the Hands of his Son *Carinus*; but he in two Years Time was ſlain by *Diocletian*, who ſucceeded in the Empire, *A. D.* 284.

DIOCLETIAN.

A. D. 287.

Carauſius in Britain *claims the Empire.*

In the Reign of this noted Emperor, *Carauſius*, a Man of mean Extract, but great Courage, was employ'd to ſecure the *Belgick* and *Armorican* Coaſts, then infeſted by the *Franks* and *Saxons*; and daily inriching himſelf with the Spoils of others, he became juſtly ſuſpected by the Emperor, who order'd his Partner *Maximian* to procure his Death. *Carauſius* finding his Crimes too great to hope for Safety, aſſum'd the Title of Emperor, and took Poſſeſſion of *Britain*; whither he brought his Fleet, built more Ships after the *Roman* Manner, was join'd by the *Roman* Legions, kept out foreign Forces, preſs'd the *Gallick* Merchants to his Service, garriſon'd *Bononia* in *Gaul*, and converted the Revenues of *Britain* and *Batavia* to his own Uſe. Moreover, by the Hopes of Booty in the Provinces, he drew no ſmall Forces of the *Barbarians* to his Alliance, particularly the *Franks*, whom he had train'd to Sea-Service, and infeſted all the Sea-Coaſts about him. *Maximian* with a brave Army march'd againſt him; but being advanc'd to the Sea-Coaſt, the Want of Sea-Men, and the Danger of the *Britiſh* Seas, occaſion'd him to make an Hault, and to come to a Treaty, in which it was concluded, That *Carauſius* ſhou'd enjoy the Government of *Britain*, as the propereſt Perſon to defend the Inhabitants againſt all Invaſions; and this he held with great Authority and in perfect Peace for ſeven Years together. But when *Conſtantius* was made *Cæſar* by *Maximian*, and took the Town of *Bononia*, *Carauſius* was treacherouſly ſlain by *Allectus*, his boſom Friend and prime Miniſter; who thereupon uſurp'd the Government to himſelf, and retain'd it three Years longer.

He is ſlain by Allectus, *who ſucceeds him.*

At length *Conſtantius* mann'd ſeveral diſtinct Fleets, ſo that *Allectus* not knowing what Courſe to take, or where to expect him, grew ſenſible that the Ocean was not ſo much his Defence, as his Priſon. The *Roman* Fleet ſetting out in bad Weather, had the Fortune by reaſon of a Miſt to eſcape the *Britiſh* Navy, which lay out by the Iſle of *Wight* to obſerve its Motions; and as ſoon as the Soldiers were landed, *Conſtantius* ſet fire to all the Ships, that they might confide in nothing but their own Valour. *Allectus* perceiving this retir'd, and in his Flight was accidentally met and attack'd by *Aſclepiadotus*, Captain of his Life-Guard; but his Confuſion was ſuch, that he ran deſperately to his own Ruin; for without drawing up his Army, after he had thrown off his Robes, he with his barbarous Mercenaries ruſh'd on upon the Enemy, and in a tumultuary Skirmiſh was kill'd without Diſtinction.

Allectus *ſlain.*

The *Franks* and other ſurviving Barbarians, upon this determin'd to plunder the City of *London*, and eſcape by Sea with the Booty; but a Party of the *Romans*, that were ſeparated from the Fleet in foggy Weather, came fortunately into the Aſſiſtance of the City, ſet upon them, and purſu'd them through the Streets with great Slaughter, not only to the Safety, but alſo to the Pleaſure of the Citizens, who were Eye-witneſſes of their Deliverance. By this Victory the Province of *Britain* was recover'd to the *Romans*, after it had been ten Years under the Governments of *Carauſius* and *Allectus*.

A. D. 303.

A Perſecution in Britain.

Not long after, a dreadful Perſecution breaking out under *Diocletian*, ſeveral are believ'd to have ſuffer'd in *Britain*, as St. *Alban*, *Julius*, *Aaron*, &c. but the Narratives of their Chriſtian Zeal and Courage are ſo obſcur'd by the fictitious Fancies of After-Ages, that we can ſcarce diſcover what Perſons ſuffer'd, nor the Time, Place or Manner of their Martyrdoms.

CONSTANTIUS.

Diocletian having reſign'd the Empire, the Weſtern Provinces with *Britain* fell to the Share of *Conſtantius*, who gave Liberty to the *Chriſtians*, and came over into this Iſle himſelf; where reinforcing the Garriſons towards the Borders, and eſtabliſhing a general Peace, at *York* he fell ſick of a languiſhing Diſeaſe, and dy'd.

Conſtantius *dies at* York.

CONSTANTINE.

He was ſucceeded by his renowned Son *Conſtantine*, who was proclaim'd Emperor in *Britain*, and is by moſt Authors believ'd to have been a Native of this Country, tho' it is doubted by ſome others. This great Prince was the firſt who by Law eſtabliſh'd *Chriſtianity* in the *Roman* Empire; and in a few Years with great Fame he became Maſter of the whole, againſt the Power of all Uſurpers and Oppoſers. But afterwards removing his Imperial Seat from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, and drawing many Forces from *Gaul*, *Germany* and *Britain*, towards the Eaſtern Parts, he open'd a Way for Invaſions and Incurſions into the Weſtern Provinces, and laid the Foundation not only of the Loſs of *Britain*, but alſo of the Ruin of the Empire. Yet for the better Security and Government of the Empire, he new modell'd the whole, dividing it into fourteen diſtinct Provinces call'd Dioceſes, and thoſe ſubject to four Prætorian Præfects.

Conſtantine *divides* Britain *into three Provinces.*

Britain was one of the fourteen, which was made ſubject to the Prætorian Præfect of *Gaul*, and inſtead of the two Diviſions made by the Emperor *Severus*, he divided it into three Provinces, namely *Britannia Prima*, containing all the Southern Parts of *Britain*, the Metropolis of which was *London*; *Britannia Secunda*, containing that Part now call'd *Wales*, the Metropolis of which was *Iſca*, now *Caerleon*; and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, containing all the Northern Parts of *Britain*, the Metropolis of which was *Eboricum*, now *York*, which ſome ſay was the Chief of the whole. This laſt Province was afterwasds divided into two, *viz.* *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*; but whether by *Conſtantine*, or ſome ſucceeding Emperor, is uncertain. In the Reign of *Conſtantine*, or not long after, there were twenty eight Cities in *Britain*, as we are aſſur'd from *Gildas* and *Beda*; all which are reaſonably believ'd to have been Biſhopricks. But tho' we are not certain of the Number of the Biſhopricks, yet we find the *Britiſh* Church was become ſo conſiderable in the Time of *Conſtantine*, that in the ninth Year of his Reign, *A. D.* 314, it ſent three Biſhops of the thirty three that compos'd the Council of *Arles*, namely *Eborius* Biſhop of *York*, *Reſtitutus* Biſhop of *London*, and *Adelphius* Biſhop of *Colcheſter*, or perhaps *Caer-Leon*. And tho' in the famous Council of *Nice*, eleven Years after, we have not the Names of the *Britiſh* Biſhops there, becauſe the Subſcriptions to that Council are loſt; yet there are many convincing Circumſtances to prove that they were there, and join'd in the Decrees of the Council.

A. D. 337.

CONSTANTIUS.

Britain *oppreſſed by ſevere Governors,*

and diſturbed by Arianiſm.

IV. After the Reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, the Weſt being more naked and expos'd than formerly, the Affairs of *Britain* were in a declining Poſture; yet the *Romans* held Poſſeſſion of the Iſle for near a hundred Years after, and took as great Care of it as their Circumſtances would permit. *Conſtantine* dying, divided the Empire among his three Sons, *Conſtantinus*, *Conſtans* and *Conſtantius*; and to the Eldeſt he gave *Britain* and the Weſt, who not ſatisfy'd with his Diviſion, invaded that of his Brother *Conſtans*, and was ſlain after three Years Reign. *Conſtans*, ſeizing on the Weſt, after eight or nine Years Poſſeſſion, was ſlain by the Treaſon of *Magnentius*, born of *Britiſh* Parents, who held thoſe Parts three Years againſt all the Power of the ſurviving Brother *Conſtantius*, and then ſlaying himſelf, left the whole to his Government. *Conſtantius* being poſſeſs'd of *Britain*, ſent over a Notary call'd *Paulus*, who coming into the Iſle, under a Pretence of ſearching for the Friends and Aſſiſtants of *Magnentius*, committed horrible Extortions and Cruelties, and like a Torrent bore away the Eſtates and Fortunes of many innocent Perſons, to the perpetual Infamy of his Maſter *Conſtantius*, who ſupported him in all his Outrages. *Martinus* was then Governor of the Province, who commiſerating the Fates of ſuch as he knew guiltleſs, interceded with *Paulus*, perſuading him to withdraw his Hand, or otherwiſe he would depart the Iſle; but he dreading the Effects of ſuch a Reſolution, accus'd the Governor himſelf as a Perſon guilty, and urg'd that he might be ſeiz'd, and carry'd bound to the Emperor. *Martinus*, provok'd at ſuch an Injury, drew out his Sword, and ſtruck at his Accuſer; but failing in his Aim, he turn'd the Point againſt his own Breaſt, and ſlew himſelf; which ſtill added to the Miſeries and Puniſhments of thoſe whom *Paulus* thought fit to pronounce guilty. *Conſtantius* in the latter End of his Reign committed the Government of *Britain* and the Weſt to *Julian*, afterwards call'd *The Apoſtate*; who reſiding then at *Paris*, upon the News of the Incurſions and Ravages of the *Scots* from *Ireland*, and the *Picts* from *Caledonia* into the *Roman* Part of *Britain*, ſent *Lupicinus* to repel them, and eſtabliſh the Peace of the Iſland. *Lupicinus* paſs'd over with a conſiderable Army into *Kent*; and marching to *London* in order to manage the War, he was ſhortly after recall'd by the ſame Commander. About the ſame Time, the *Arian* Hereſie, which had infected Chriſtendom, gave this Iſland no ſmall Diſturbance; a Land, ſays *Gildas*, *greedy of every Thing new, ſtedfaſt in nothing.* In favour of which Doctrine, the Emperor *Conſtantius* conven'd a Council of four hundred Biſhops at *Ariminum*, allowing them all neceſſary Proviſions. But all choſe to live at their own Charges; only three out of *Britain*, by reaſon of their Poverty, accepted of the Emperor's Allowance, rather than be burdenſom to their Brethren.

JULIAN.
JOVIAN.
VALENTINIAN.
Britain *invaded by Barbarians.*

A. D. 368.

Theodoſius *repels them.*

In the ſhort Reigns of *Julian the Apoſtate*, and *Jovian*, we find nothing concerning *Britain*; after whom *Valentinian* ſucceeded in the Weſtern Empire, who in his Paſſage through *Gaul*, receiv'd a ſad and aſtoniſhing Account, That the *Scots* from *Ireland*, and the *Picts* and *Attacots* from the North, together with the *Saxons* and *Franks* from the Eaſt and South, had haraſs'd and ruin'd almoſt all *Britain*; That they had kill'd *Nectaridius* Governor of the Sea-Coaſts, and ſurpriz'd *Buchobandes* General of the Land Forces by a Stratagem. After *Valentinian* had with ſmall Succeſs ſent *Severus*, and then *Jovinus*, to ſuppreſs their Fury, he at length deputed *Theodoſius*, Father to the firſt Emperor of that Name, a Perſon of celebrated Valour and Conduct, who gathering together an Army of ſelect young Men, with the *Herulian*, *Batavian* and other Troops, march'd directly to *London*. There dividing his Forces into ſeveral Parties, he ſucceſsfully encounter'd the roving pillaging Enemy, laden with Spoils; from whom he recover'd the Priſoners and Plunder they had carry'd away; and having reſtor'd all to their reſpective Owners, except ſome ſmall Portion beſtow'd on the weary Soldiers, he enter'd *London* in a triumphant Manner, and reſtor'd it to its former Splendor. Having diſpers'd the whole Force he proclaim'd Impunity to ſuch as would immediately return to Obedience; but the Enemy being numerous, of many Nations, and in divers Parties, to finiſh all, he found it neceſſary to call in the Aſſiſtance of *Civiles* and *Dulcitius*, the former eminent for his Wiſdom and Honeſty, and the latter for his Military Abilities.

He reſtores Britain,

and divides is into five Provinces.

Theodoſius having thus conquer'd and ſubdu'd theſe different Sorts of People, and being employ'd in repairing the ruin'd Cities and Caſtles, and in laying the Foundations of a laſting Peace, one *Valentinus* a *Pannonian*, a Perſon of a haughty Spirit, who for ſome notorious Crime was baniſh'd into *Britain*, with other Exiles and Soldiers, conſpir'd againſt him, as the only Obſtacle to his Deſign of gaining the Government of the Iſle. This Man being diſcover'd, he with ſome of his principal Accomplices were deliver'd over to *Dulcitius*, and receiv'd their juſt Rewards; but *Theodoſius* permitted others to eſcape, not making too ſevere an Inquiſition into a Conſpiracy where many were engag'd, leſt ſuch Methods of Proceeding might encreaſe the Danger. After which he proceeded to reform many Irregularities and Diſorders with great Succeſs, recover'd many Cities and Garriſons, and fortify'd the Borders with conſtant Watches and Guards, which had been formerly given up to the Enemy; ſo that the Northern Province being reſtor'd to its former Condition, he appointed a new Governor over it, and order'd it to be call'd *Valentia* for the future, in Honour of his Maſter *Valentinian*, and the City of *London* to be call'd *Auguſta*. And now the *Roman* Part of *Britain* conſiſted of five diſtinct Provinces, *viz. Britannia Prima* in the South, *Britannia Secunda* in the Weſt, *Flavia Cæſarienſis* in the Eaſt and middle Parts, *Maxima Cæſarienſis* towards the North, and *Valentia* beyond *Severus*'s Wall to *Edenburgh* and *Dunbritton* Friths. All Things being happily executed, when *Theodoſius* was recall'd, he left the Iſland in Peace, and being attended with the general Applauſe of all Men to the Sea Side, he paſs'd over to wait upon the Emperor, who receiv'd him with the higheſt Commendations.

A. D. 382.

GRATIAN.

Maximus *in* Britain *claims the Empire.*

He begins the Ruin of Britain.

Some Britains *ſettle in* Armorica.

The Picts *and* Scots *grow troubleſome.*

HONORIUS.

The Britains *ſet up ſeveral Emperors.*

A. D. 407.

But the Quiet and good Fortune of the *Britains* did not laſt long; for not many Years after, when *Valentinian* was ſucceeded in the Empire by his two Sons *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, and the latter had made *Theodoſius* the Younger his Partner, one *Maximus* a *Britiſh* Commander, out of Hatred to *Gratian*, and Envy to *Theodoſius*, aſſum'd the Purple, and was ſaluted Emperor; which prov'd the firſt great Step to the Ruin of *Britain*. The firſt Eſſays of his uſurp'd Power were indeed employ'd to the Good and Preſervation of this Iſland, driving back the *Scots* into *Ireland*, and the *Picts* beyond the Walls: But proceeding in his Ambition againſt the legal Emperors, he not only quitted the Iſle, but drew over moſt of the *Roman* Forces from thence, and the beſt of the *Britiſh* Youth to his Aſſiſtance. Theſe never return'd to *Britain* again, for moſt of them periſh'd with their Commander not long after, or elſe ſettled themſelves in that Part of *Gaul* call'd *Armorica*, which afterwards from them and other *Britains* had the Name of *Britain*, now *Bretaigne*. The Departure of ſo many Soldiers ſo extreamly weaken'd the Nation, that the *Scots* and *Picts* now found it an eaſie Prey, and made freſh Ravages and Devaſtations. For the Reduction of theſe, *Chryſanthus*, the Son of *Marcian* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, was made Governor, who diſcharg'd his Office with great Reputation; but whether he fully ſubdu'd theſe Northern Enemies, or whether *Stilicho*, Governor to the young Emperor *Honorius*, or ſome other ſent by him, as *Claudian* ſeems to affirm, reduc'd them, it no where appears. Not long after, the Empire being in great Diſtreſs, the Legion ſent for this purpoſe into *Britain* was recall'd, and the *Vandals*, *Sweves* and *Alans* having over-run many Countries, became formidable to the Forces in *Britain*, who fearing to be manacled, in a Sedition elected one *Marcus* to be their Emperor, a Man of great Power in this Iſland; but not anſwering their Expectations, they ſoon diſpatch'd him, and ſet up one *Gratian*, who after four Months Reign was alſo depriv'd of his Life and Empire. After this they proceeded to chuſe *Conſtantine*, a Common Soldier, thinking his Name fortunate, and ſufficient to preſerve the Empire; who taking with him the Remainder of the *Britiſh* Forces and Strength that *Maximus* had left, paſs'd over into *Gaul*, and never return'd again, but loſt his Life and his Army four Years after.

Britain *declines.*

From this Time, the publick Affairs were in a wretched and declining Poſture, in a great Part of *Europe* as well as *Britain*; the *Vandals* made Irruptions and Devaſtations into *Spain*, the *Alans* into *Portugal*, and the *Goths* into *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf. At the ſame Time the miſerable *Britains*, now deſtitute of the *Roman* Legions, and their beſt and nobleſt Inhabitants, became more expos'd than ever to the mercileſs Rage of the barbarous *Picts* and *Scots*, and other Northern People. And now they began to implore the Aſſiſtance of their old Maſters the *Romans*, ſuing to thoſe People as Patrons and Protectors, whom then anciently look'd upon as Tyrants and Uſurpers. Accordingly they ſent ſeveral Meſſages and Petitions to the Emperor *Honorius*, but he being in great Diſtreſs himſelf, and not able to defend *Rome* againſt *Alarick*, adviſ'd them by Letters to uſe their own Ways and Methods for their Safety, and freely acquitted them of all the *Roman* Juriſdiction. They being thus diſcharg'd and abandon'd, and having all the Right of Government in their own Hands, thenceforward betook themſelves to live after their own Laws and Inſtitutions, and the *Armoricans*, who now obtain'd the Name of the *Britains* in *Gaul*, follow'd their Example. Thus fell the vaſt Empire of the *Romans*, firſt in *Britain*, and ſoon after in *Italy*; and with it all that was *Roman*, as Learning, Valour, Eloquence, Hiſtory, Civility, and even Language it ſelf, all equally diminiſhing and decaying. The firſt Diſcharge of the *Britains* from their Allegiance was about the Year 410, which was 463 Years after the firſt Entrance of *Julius Cæſar* into this Iſland, 367 after the *Romans* firſt got Poſſeſſion under the Emperor *Claudius*, and 326 after the full Conqueſt of it by *Agricola*, under *Domitian*.

The Britains *are diſcharg'd of their Allegiance to* Rome.

The Roman *State of* Britain.

And here it will not be improper, before we finiſh this Chapter, to give ſome little Account of the *Roman* Government and Eſtabliſhment in *Britain*, whether Civil or Military; which we have from the *Notitia* of the Empire, ſuppos'd to have been publiſh'd about the Year 410. *Britain* being one of the Dioceſes belonging to the Diſtrict of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gaul*, it had a Governor of its own call'd a *Vicar*; whoſe Enſigns were a Book of Mandates, ſhut, cover'd with green, and mark'd on the Back, together with five Caſtles repreſenting ſo many Provinces, with their ſeveral Names inſcrib'd. According to the five Provinces, he had ſo many Magiſtrates under his Command, namely two *Conſulars*, and three *Preſidents*, the former of *Valentia*, and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, and the other of *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*, who were to determine all Cauſes whether Criminal or Civil. By the Vicar, and theſe five Magiſtrates, with a great Number of Inferior Officers, was the whole Civil Government of *Britain* adminiſter'd. The Military Government was executed by three great Officers under the *Magiſtri Militum* of the Weſt, namely the *Comes Britanniarum*, the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, and the *Dux Britanniarum*; the firſt of theſe having his Command in the inward and middle Parts of the Iſle, and the two latter in the Eaſtern and Northern Coaſts. The *Comes* or Count of *Britain* was the Chief of the three, who had many Officers under him; but governing in the middle Parts of the Iſle, we do not find any particular Garriſons belonging to him, only that the Forces which ſerv'd immediately under him were 3000 Foot, and 600 Horſe. The *Comes* or Count of the *Saxon* Shore, is ſuppos'd to be an Admiral to prevent the Ravages of the *Saxons*, then very powerful, who had alſo nine maritime Garriſons under his Command, and in theſe 2200 Foot, and 200 Horſe. The *Dux* or Duke of *Britain* commanded in the North, and had fourteen Garriſons under him, conſiſting of 6000 Foot and 300 Horſe, beſides twenty three Stations for Soldiers upon and about the Northern Walls, in which were 8000 Foot and 600 Horſe. So that according to *Pancirolls* Account the whole *Roman* Force in *Britain*, after the Time of *Conſtantine* the Great, conſiſted of 19200 Foot, and 1700 Horſe. But as for the Number of the *Romans* who were fixt in the Colonies, and in other Parts of the Nation, who mixt with the *Britains* in Marriage, and became in a manner Natives of the Land, we can make no Computation.

It was an uſual Cuſtom among the *Romans* to place their Garriſons and their Soldiers Quarters towards the outward Bounds of their Provinces, and fix their Colonies in the more inward Parts of their Conqueſts, as well to cultivate the People, as to keep them in Subjection, for they were all Places of Strength, tho' leſs exercis'd in War than thoſe on the Frontiers; ſo we find it in *Britain*, where the Guards and Garriſons were chiefly on the Borders of *Caledonia*, and Sea-Coaſts; not but that they had alſo their fix'd and ſtanding Camps in the Fields and middle Parts of the Nation, ſuch as *Gogmagog* Hills in *Cambridgeſhire*, and ſeveral others. The *Romans* alſo, for the greater Conveniency of Paſſage from Garriſon to Garriſon, Station to Station, Colony to Colony, and from one *Municipium* or Corporation to another, had their publick High-ways, call'd the *Conſulary*, *Prætorian*, *Regal* and *Military Ways*, &c. by *Beda*; and by the Moderns, *Strates* or *Streets*. In *Britain* there were many, but four were of principal Note, namely, *Via Vetelingiana*, ſince call'd *Watling-Street*, *Via Icenorum*, or *Ikenild-Street*, *Erming-Street*, and the *Foſs-Way*; two whereof extended croſs the Breadth of the Nation, and the other through the Length of it. Theſe and other magnificent Works were perform'd by the Soldiers and People, as well to prevent the Miſchiefs ariſing from Idleneſs, as for the Conveniency of the *Romans*, but not without the hard Labour of the *Provincials*, as the *Britains* grievouſly complain'd, That their Bodies were worn out and conſum'd in clearing of Woods, and making Ways over Fens and Bogs; the Labour and Charge of which Ways may be conceiv'd from the Carriage of Gravel, Sand and Stones many Miles, where the Soil it ſelf afforded no ſuch Materials. And that there were more than theſe four fam'd High-Ways, that Part of the Itinerary which relates to *Britain*, is a ſufficient Proof, where there are deſcrib'd ſixteen ſeveral Journeys in ſeveral Traverſes and Windings in the Country, out of theſe Ways: yet it is not improbable, that whereſoever theſe Ways have appear'd, or however they have been deſcribed, they might be Branches, and terminate in the great Ways. Theſe Ways had ſeveral Immunities and Privileges, where Strangers were protected from Arreſts and other Troubles; and they had many Manſions where Travellers might reſt themſelves, Inns for Reception and Entertainment, and Mutations where they chang'd their Poſt-Horſes, Waggons, and Chariots. Theſe and other Works of the *Romans* were ſo ſtupendious, that in theſe latter Ages, they almoſt exceed the Belief of Human Performance, and have been thought impoſſible to have been done by Men. As for Edifices and Fortifications, *Beda* from *Gildas* tells us that there were in theſe Times twenty eight moſt noble Cities in *Britain*, beſides innumerable Caſtles furniſh'd and fortify'd with mighty Walls, Towers, Gates and Locks. But the Nation being now abandon'd by the *Romans*, enervated with Luxury, and exhauſted of its braveſt Youth, ſoon became a Prey to its Barbarian Neighbours, as ſhall be ſhewn in the following Hiſtory.

CHAP. II.

From the Romans *firſt quitting their Juriſdiction of the Iſland, to the Deſtruction of* Britain, *or the forcing up of the Inhabitants into the Mountainous Places by the* Picts, Scots *and* Saxons.

Containing the Space of about 186 *Years.*

A. D. 410.

The Miſeries of the Britains.

I. THE *Britains* for three or four hundred Years had been in a State of Subjection, but with a Mixture of many Conveniencies and Advantages; but being now acquitted of their Allegiance, and left to their own Laws and Government, they ſoon fell into greater Inconveniencies and Miſeries than ever they found from the *Romans*. At firſt they proceeded in their Adminiſtration with ſome Vigour and Reſolution; but as People more fond of the Name of Liberty, than apprehenſive of the Difficulties of well governing, they grew heady and violent in what they underſtood not; none were more brave and daring in Council, and none ſo fearful and relenting in Action; all underſtanding the Scheme, yet all declining the Performance. Thus in a ſhort time, when the Heat of Liberty was ſpent, and the Enemy daily encreas'd, they ſoon found their own Temper returning upon them, a Slothfulneſs of Body, and a Slaviſhneſs of Mind; and then they perceiv'd that it was not a vehement Love of Freedom could protect them, but ſuch Diligence, Wiſdom and Bravery as they wanted, ſo that they ſhrunk more wretchedly under the Burden of their own Liberty, than before under a Foreign Yoak. For being no longer able to ſupport themſelves againſt the Incurſions of the barbarous *Picts* and *Scots*, they a ſecond time ſent mournful Letters to the Emperor *Honorius*, humbly imploring his Protection, and vowing perpetual Obedience to *Rome*, if their Enemies were once remov'd. *Honorius* being now more at Liberty than before, out of Compaſſion rather than Ambition, ſent them a Legion, who coming ſuddenly over made great Slaughter of the *Picts*, ſoon drove them beyond the Borders, and having clear'd the Frontiers, caus'd a Wall or Rampier to be built croſs the Iſland, from Sea to Sea, where *Agricola* and *Antoninus Pius* had formerly made theirs, namely between the Friths of *Edenburgh* and *Dunbritton*, which might be a Terror to the Enemies, and a Defence to the Natives. But this Wall being caſt up with Turf only, and not very ſtrong, as ſoon as the *Romans* were departed in Triumph, the barbarous People broke it down and over-ran it, and pouring in upon the Province like a Torrent, made terrible Devaſtations, killing, burning and deſtroying whereſoever they came. The *Scots*, on the other ſide, out of their Carroughs, or Leather Veſſels, wherein they us'd to paſs the *Iriſh* Seas, landed in prodigious Swarms, and with no leſs Fury, Outrage and Cruelty, waſted all before them. So that the poor *Britains* were miſerably bandied between two inſolent

A. D. 418.

The Romans *aſſiſt them, and return.*

Their Miſeries encreaſe.

lent and mercileſs Enemies, ſtriving which ſhould exceed the other in Spoil and Rapine.

The Ro*mans again aſſiſt them,*

and build the laſt Wall.

The Ro*mans intirely abandon the Iſland.*

After many Miſeries and Calamities, the *Britains* a third Time ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, after the humbleſt Manner, with their Garments rent, and Duſt on their Heads, begging, *That the Emperor would not permit ſo ancient a Province, and ſerviceable to the* Roman *State, to become a Prey and Scorn to Barbarians.* *Valentinian* the Third then reigning, pity'd their Misfortunes, and ſent new Forces to their Relief, which coming unexpectedly upon theſe greedy Ravagers, whoſe Minds were intent upon the Spoil and Plunder, made a vaſt Slaughter among them, reſcu'd the diſtreſſed *Britains*, and clear'd the whole Province. Then partly at the publick Charges of the State, and partly by the Contributions of private Men, they built another Wall, not of Turf as the former, but of ſolid Stone, twelve Foot high, and eight in breadth, with many Towers, croſſing the Iſle in a direct Line from Eaſt to Weſt, where *Adrian* and *Severus* had built theirs from *Eden* to *Tine*, eighty Miles in length, of which there are famous Remains to this Day, vulgarly call'd by the Name of *the Picts Wall.* That Part of *Britain* call'd *Valentia* was left wholly to the Enemy, and in ſeveral Parts of the Sea-Coaſt were built Towers, Forts and Block-Houſes at convenient Diſtances, to prevent all future Incurſions. Having thus ſecur'd the Nation, the *Romans* who came not to govern, but charitably to aſſiſt, let them underſtand, *That they were not to expect that they ſhould weary themſelves with any more of ſuch laborious Expeditions for their Security*; exhorting them, *for the future to ſtand up in their own Defence, and couragiouſly to maintain their Country and Liberties againſt rude and barbarous People, not more powerful than themſelves, if their own Fears had not made them ſo.* To which purpoſe they inſtructed them in the Arts of War, and left Patterns of their Arms and Weapons behind them, and after many encouraging Exhortations, and Lectures of Valour to a diſpirited Auditory, gave them a final Farewel, with Intention never to return again. This laſt friendly Expedition of the *Romans*, which was different from thoſe in ancient Times, was under the Conduct of *Gallio* of *Ravenna*; not long before which the *Romans* in the Iſle, finding all Things declining, bury'd a great Part of their Treaſure in the Earth, whereof much has been found, and more ſought for. They took their laſt leave of *Britain* about the Year 435, which was 488 after the firſt Entrance of *Julius Cæſar*; leaving a Province which was accounted the faireſt Flower in their Triumphant Garlands, and which ſome of the Emperors thought worthy of the Reſidence of the Imperial Throne.

A. D. 435.

The Picts *and* Scots *invade the* Britains.

The Nation in great Diſtreſs.

The Church diſturb'd with Pelagianiſm.

II. The *Romans* having utterly abandon'd the Iſle, the *Scots* and *Picts* with greater Confidence than ever, like Flies and Vermin in the Heat of Summer, in prodigious Swarms iſſu'd out of their narrow Holes and Caves, and immediately ſeiz'd on all the Country as far as the Wall, and without Reſiſtance took Poſſeſſion of it. In the mean Time the Guards on the Wall, like idle Spectators with cowardly Hearts ſtood trembling upon the Battlements, as tho' they were plac'd there rather to view their Loſſes than revenge them. Thus ſtanding Day and Night with Weapons in their Hands, they tamely ſuffer'd the half-naked *Picts* from below with their Engines and long Hooks to pluck them down headlong, and daſh them againſt the Ground. So that in a ſhort time, the Wall and Frontier Towns being deſerted, the Inhabitants betook themſelves to Flight, which yet could not long ſecure them, for the Barbarians purſuing them, a freſh Slaughter immediately follow'd more bloody than the former; and what ſtill added to their Misfortunes, being tormented with Famine, to get Subſiſtance they were conſtrain'd to rob and pillage each other; for thoſe who had fled from the Enemy in the North, being unable to pay for their Quarters in the Southern Parts, ſeiz'd on what they could find. From whence aroſe new Miſchiefs and Diſcords among themſelves, and thence Civil Wars; for this Nation, as *Gildas* obſerves, tho' feeble in repelling Foreign Enemies, yet in Domeſtick Conteſts were very hardy and obſtinate. And now whilſt they wore themſelves out with continual Acts of Hoſtility, the Famine became general, and rag'd to that degree, that thoſe half-ſtarv'd People that remain'd were forced to maintain their Lives by Hunting, and ſuch like Prey as the wild Foreſts would afford. In the Time of theſe great Troubles and Calamities in the State, there happen'd new Diviſions in the Church, by means of *Agricola*, Diſciple to *Pelagius* a Monk, ſometime of *Bangor* in *Flintſhire*, who propagated his Hereſie here to the great Diſturbance of the weak *Chriſtians*, who not being able to withſtand his Errors, call'd in to their Aſſiſtance *Germanus* Biſhop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* Biſhop of *Tryes* in *Gaul.* Theſe two coming into *Britain*, by aſſiduous Preaching in Churches, Fields and Streets, and as ſome write by working of Miracles, confirm'd many in the Faith, regain'd many more, and laſtly in publick Diſputation at *Verulam* confuted the Chief of the Hereticks.

A. D. 446.

The Bri*tains write doleful Letters to Æ*tius, *in vain.*

Their Miſeries encreaſe.

And now the miſerable Remains of the *Britains* being harraſs'd by their Enemies, and afflicted with all ſorts of Calamities, addreſs'd themſelves by doleful Letters to the renown'd *Ætius*, the *Roman* Lieutenant in *Gaul*, who had by ſeveral famous Succeſſes, for a Time, repell'd the Violence of the *Gothick* Arms. They began in theſe Words, *To* Ætius *thrice Conſul*; *The Groans of the* Britains. After which, they thus complain'd, *The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians*; *between which we have only the Choice of theſe two Deaths, either to be ſlaughter'd by one, or drown'd by the other.* And the more to move Compaſſion they further urg'd, *We the poor Remnant of the* Britains, *and your Vaſſals, beſides the Enemy, are puniſh'd by Famine and Mortality, which at this time violently rage in our Land.* Withal they us'd ſeveral Arguments to engage him to come over, particularly, *That it was the* Romans *Occaſions, not their own, that had reduc'd them to theſe Extremities*; *ſince the Strength of the* Britiſh *Youth had been exhauſted in their Service, and the Land left defenceleſs to ſupport the Grandeur of the Empire. And beſides the Loſs of their Men, their Wealth had been conſum'd in maintaining ſo many Legions in foreign Service, and their Corn ſpent in ſupplying the* Roman *Provinces abroad.* They receiv'd no Anſwer to theſe urgent Petitions, for the Empire being grievouſly infeſted with *Huns*, *Goths* and *Vandals*, was not in any Condition to afford them Relief; inſomuch that weary'd out with continual Complaints, and the Famine daily encreaſing amongſt them, like Men in a deſperate Condition, to get Suſtenance, ſome yielded themſelves to the Diſpoſal of the Enemy, whilſt others more hardy and reſolute, ſupported themſelves with what the Woods and Foreſts would afford, and oftentimes as their Neceſſities urg'd, or Advantage united them, would make Sallies upon their Enemies, and that with good Succeſs; led on, as may be conceiv'd, by ſome worthy Commander, who adviſ'd them not to confide in their own Power, but in the Divine Aſſiſtance.

Their Enemies give them ſome eaſe.

They become ſhamefully immoral.

They chuſe ſeveral Kings.

The *Scots* and *Picts* finding ſuch ſtout Reſiſtance where they leaſt expected it, for a while retir'd home, the former into *Ireland*, and the latter to their new Habitations near the Wall, and excepting a few Inroads about the Borders, were not very burdenſom; ſo that the *Britains*, eas'd from their cruel Enemies, began again to cultivate the Land, which after a long Diſcontinuance, yielded ſuch a vaſt Increaſe, as in no Age had been remember'd. But the Miſchiefs of Famine being cured, others more virulent broke out, as Riot, Luxury and Wantonneſs, the uſual Attendants of Plenty and Opulence, and with them all the Vices incident to human Nature. But what *Gildas* ſays principally conduc'd to the Corrupting of Affairs, and the Subverſion of all Piety in the Land, was the Hatred of Truth and the Maintainers of it; the Love of Lies and the Forgers of them. Evil was call'd Good, and Good Evil; to be lewd was honourable, to be virtuous diſgraceful; being blind themſelves, they became Haters of the Light; and the Meaſures of their Actions were what was moſt pleaſing to themſelves. All Things were tranſacted directly contrary to the publick Welfare and Safety, not only of the Laity, but alſo the Clergy; and thoſe who ſhould have been Examples of Virtue, often prov'd the Ring-leaders of Vice. Many of them were Lovers of Wine and Drunkenneſs, wallowing in which Sea they became ſtupid and inſenſible; others ſwell'd with Pride became envious and litigious, indiſcreet and incompetent Judges of what in the common Practice of Life was Good or Evil, Lawful or Unlawful. Thus wretchedly qualify'd both Prieſts and People, they reſolv'd to chuſe ſeveral Kings of their own; but, as *Gildas* proceeds in his mournful Story, Kings were anointed not according to Divine Approbation, but by the Voices and Suffrages of ſuch as were more cruel than others, and again as ſuddenly depos'd and murder'd by their Electors, in order to ſet up others more fierce and tyrannical: But if any of their Princes appear'd milder, and more inclinable to good Counſel, the Hatred of all Men was levell'd againſt him, as the Subverter of his Country.

Pelagia*niſm extirpated from the Iſland.*

Thus Affairs proceeded in the State, and no leſs Commotions enſu'd in the Church; for *Pelagianiſm* ſpreading again in the Country, the *Britiſh* Clergy unable to withſtand it, a ſecond Time begg'd the Aſſiſtance of *Germanus* out of *Gaul.* He with *Severus*, a Diſciple of his former Aſſociate *Lupus*, coming into the Iſland, and finding that the Generality was not infected with the Hereſie, would not ſtand to diſpute as formerly, but finding the Head and Teachers of this new Doctrine, adjudg'd them to Exile; who being by the ſecular Power deliver'd over to him, were convey'd beyond Sea, where he diſpos'd of them in ſuch Places as they could neither infeſt others, nor conſult with their Teachers to confirm themſelves.

This *Germanus* is ſaid to have ſucceſsfully aſſiſted the *Britains* againſt their Enemies, and to have obtain'd an extraordinary Victory. But however, ſoon after his Departure, the *Britains* receiv'd News that the *Scots* and *Picts* were returning with greater Preparations than ever, that they threaten'd the Deſtruction of the whole Land, deſigning to plant themſelves from one End to the other. But before their Arrival, as if the Inſtruments of Divine Vengeance were contending which ſhould firſt deſtroy a wicked Nation, the Reſidue that had been left by the Sword and Famine, were now almoſt ſwept away by a dreadful Peſtilence, inſomuch that the Living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the Dead. But for the preſent, as one Evil drives off another, the deſtroying Plague preſerv'd the Land from the more barbarous Invaders, who dreading the Contagion durſt not engage too far in the Inland Countries; but as ſoon as the Infection ceas'd, the Enemy ſoon advanc'd with mercileſs Fury, and enter'd as far as *Stamford* in *Lincolnſhire*.

The Picts *and* Scots *afreſh invade the Land.*

Vortigern was then chief King of the *Britains*, a haughty and inſolent Prince, neither wiſe in Counſel, nor experienc'd in War, yet doted on by the People, for his Vices ſo agreeable to their own; heedleſs of the common Danger, and eſteeming the publick Treaſury as a Fund only to ſatisfie his Luſts and Extravagancies. But being awaken'd with the Clamours of the People, he ſummon'd a grand Council, to provide againſt the frequent Incurſions of the Enemy; where all being in a manner infatuated, they agreed upon ſuch a Defence as afterwards prov'd the Deſtruction of their Country, which was that the Heathen *Saxons*, then hateful to God and Man, whom abſent they dreaded like Death it ſelf, ſhould be ſent for to repel the Northern Nations; which ſeems to have been ordain'd by Divine Providence, to take a full Vengeance on an impious Nation. At preſent the Expedient ſeem'd ſpecious to moſt Men, becauſe the *Saxons* were then a powerful Nation, and terrible to all others; and Ambaſſadors were immediately diſpatcht into *Germany*, repreſenting the *Britains* Requeſts to the *Saxons*, and promiſing them very advantagious Conditions, if they would come over to their Aſſiſtance. The *Saxons* were highly pleas'd with the Propoſal, and their Country being then overcharg'd with People, they immediately yielded to their Requeſt; and being, as is ſaid, choſen out by Lot, were put on board three long Ships or Veſſels, call'd in their Language *Chiules*, under the Conduct of *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, two Brothers deſcended from that ancient *Woden*, from whom all the Royal Family of the *Saxons* derive their Pedigree. Theſe Leaders, with about fifteen hundred Followers, arriving in *Britain*, were welcom'd with great Applauſes both from the Prince and People, and had the Iſle of *Thanet*, where they landed, allow'd them for their Habitation; and a League was immediately made with them, where the one part ſtipulated to defend the *Britains* Country, the other that beſides their Place of Abode, they ſhould receive ſufficient Pay and Rewards for their Services done them. By this means a new and great Change happen'd in *Britain*, which now began in the Year 449, and twenty fourth of *Pharamond* the firſt King of *France*, which was 39 Years after the *Romans* firſt quitted the *Britains*, and 14 after they had totally abandon'd the Iſle.

The Britains *under* Vortigern *agree to invite the* Saxons *over.*

The Saxons *arrive under the Conduct of* Hengiſt *and* Horſa.

A. D. 449.

III. And now a new Race of People began to inhabit this Iſland, call'd *Saxons*, a fierce and barbarous Nation, one Branch of thoſe *Gothick* Multitudes, which ſwarming from the Northern Hive, had under the Conduct of *Woden* poſſeſs'd themſelves of all thoſe vaſt Tracts that ſurround the Baltick Sea. Theſe inhabited, or rather committed Piracies from all the Sea-Coaſts of *Germany*, between the Rivers *Rhine* and *Elbe*, and alſo upon the Coaſts of the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſe*, ſince call'd *Denmark*, and had the Name of *Saxons* from the *Gothick* or *Punick* Word *Seax*, which ſignifies a Falchion, or ſhort hook'd Sword, or long Knife, which they wore as their uſual Weapons. At firſt they came over in ſmall Numbers under *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, and joining with the *Britains*, prov'd very ſerviceable to them, in overthrowing the Forces of the *Picts* and *Scots*, that had made an Irruption into the Nation as far as *Stamford*. But in a ſhort Time, finding the Iſland to be rich and fruitful, and the Inhabitants enervated with Vice and Luxury, they ſent home to invite greater Numbers to be Sharers of their future Succeſs and Expectations. Thoſe glad of the Opportunity, readily comply'd with the Invitation, and in ſeventeen freſh Veſſels, there came great Numbers of People of three Nations in *Germany*, namely *Saxons*, *Jutes* and *Angles*, which with thoſe who were here before, made up a compleat Army. Theſe two latter People are ſuppos'd to be Branches of the *Saxons*, both inhabiting the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſe*, from whom we have ſtill the Names of *Juteland* and *Anglen*; the former being call'd *Jutes* from the Word *Goth*, and the latter *Angles* from the Word *Angulus* a Corner, as ſome conjecture, tho' of the laſt there is not much Probability.

More Saxons *come over with* Jutes *and* Angles.

Theſe laſt Supplies, according to *Nennius*, brought over with them *Rowena*, Daughter of *Hengiſt*, a Lady of admirable Beauty, who ſerving *Vortigern* with Wine at a ſplendid Entertainment *Hengiſt* had made for him, the *Britiſh* King was ſo captivated by her Charms, that he immediately offer'd to make her his Wife. *Hengiſt* with a ſubtle Modeſty declin'd what he moſt deſir'd, alledging it was too great an Honour; but finding the King urgent, and that he was willing to reward him with a conſiderable Share of his Dominions, after a private Conſultation, he gave him his Daughter, and receiv'd all *Kent* for a Gratuity, which before had been well govern'd by one *Gorvagus*. *Vortigern* was ſo enamour'd with his new Bride, that he not only divorc'd his former Wife, by whom he had ſeveral worthy Sons, but alſo ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſo prevail'd upon by his Father-in-Law, as to ſend for more *Saxons* into the Northern Parts, under *Octa* and *Ebuſa*, Son and Nephew to *Hengiſt*, upon the ſpecious Notion of ſecuring thoſe Parts, as *Hengiſt* did the Southern. Accordingly with forty Veſſels they coaſted about *Britain*, and arriving at the *Orcades*, ſuppreſs'd both the *Picts* and *Scots*, and in that part of the Iſland afterwards call'd *Northumberland*, ſeated themſelves, tho' without any Title or Name of Regality 'till near a hundred Years after, when *Ida* erected the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. *Hengiſt* ſtill made the beſt uſe of the King's Imprudence, and by degrees ſent for more Men and Ships, 'till at length the Countries from whence they came were almoſt left without Inhabitants; and now being ſufficiently encreas'd in Number and Power, they wholly planted the Country of *Kent* with *Jutes*, as alſo they did ſome others with *Saxons* and *Angles*.

Vortigern *gives* Kent *to* Hengiſt, *and the Northern Parts to* Octa *and* Ebuſa.

The Confluence of ſuch numerous Troops into the Iſle ſoon became a Terror to thoſe who invited them over, and now began to find Occaſions of Quarrels with their Entertainers; and firſt they demanded larger Allowances of Corn and Proviſions, declaring, *if they were not ſupply'd, they would break the League, and waſte the whole Country.* The *Britains* civilly refuſing their Demands, deſir'd them to return home, ſince their Numbers were encreas'd beyond what they were able to maintain. Whereupon the *Saxon* Commanders, reſolving to proceed to the Extremity, ſecretly made a Peace with the *Picts*, and ſuddenly turn'd their Arms againſt their Allies, waſting the Country with Fire and Sword, from the Eaſtern to the Weſtern Sea, after a barbarous and unheard-of Manner: The Stately Buildings, as well publick as private, were demoliſhed; the *Chriſtian* Prieſts were commonly ſlain at the very Altars, and the Biſhops maſſacred without Reſpect, together with great Numbers of People, ſo that the Living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the Dead: Whilſt ſome of the miſerable Remains of the *Britains*, being taken among the Mountains, were ſlain in Heaps; others pinch'd by the Extremity of Famine, yielded themſelves to their Enemies, exchanging their Liberties for their Subſiſtance; others were conſtrain'd to ſeek for Refuge among foreign Nations, particularly among their Country-men in *Armorica*; but ſuch as remain'd at home, living in perpetual Fears, led a moſt hard and miſerable Life, among the Woods and Mountains.

The Saxons *turn againſt the* Britains, *and make a miſerable Deſtruction of them.*

In the midſt of theſe Times of Confuſion and Deſolation, the *Britiſh* Writers tells us that *Vortimer*, the Son of *Vortigern*, a brave and valiant Youth, undertook to fight for his diſtreſſed Country, and that with great Succeſs. He thrice ſtraitned and beſieg'd the *Saxons* in the Iſle of *Thanet*; and when, by reaſon of freſh Supplies from *Saxony*, they broke through and eſcap'd the Danger, he fought with them four other Battels, whereof three are ſpecify'd by Place and Circumſtance: The firſt on the River *Darwent* in *Kent*, the ſecond at *Epiſford*, wherein *Horſa* the Brother of *Hengiſt* fell, together with *Katigern*, the other Son of *Vortigern*. The third was in a Field by *Stonar*, now *Folkſtone* in *Kent*; where the *Britains* beat the *Saxons* into their Ships with ſuch Execution and Conſternation, that they ventur'd no more to land for the full ſpace of five Years. This might ſeem wholly incredible, but that *Gildas* tells us how, after ſuch vaſt Miſchiefs and Devaſtations, the *Saxons* retir'd, and as ſome ſuppoſe return'd home, notwithſtanding the ſeeming Eaſineſs of the Conqueſt. After five Years Abſence, they will have *Vortimer* to have dy'd, who deſir'd the People, that he might be bury'd in the Port of *Stonar*, being perſuaded that the ſecret Virtue of his Bones would keep off the *Saxons* from Landing near that Place; but they neglecting his Commands, bury'd him at *Lincoln*. The Tranſactions of theſe dark Times, are uncertainly and variouſly related; but moſt agree that after the Death of *Vortimer*, in the Year 457, *Hengiſt* and his Son *Esk* fought againſt the *Britains* in a Place call'd *Crecanford*; and overthrowing them with the Loſs of four thouſand Men, the *Britains* deſerted *Kent*, and fled to *London* in a great Conſternation. From which Victory, they generally date the Beginning of the King-

Vortimer *drives the* Saxons *back.*

His Death.

The Saxons *return.*

The firſt Saxon *Kingdom in* Britain. KENT.

Vortigern treacherouſly made Priſoner.

dom of *Kent* under *Hengiſt*, who began it about eight Years after his firſt Arrival in the Iſle, and reign'd thirty one Years after. But *Vortigern* ſtill maintaining the War againſt the *Saxons*, they took Counſel how they might entrap him and his Army, and accordingly ſent Ambaſſadors to him to offer a Peace, and to deſire that their former Amity might be renew'd. *Vortigern* too raſhly conſented to have an Interview without Arms, and to meet as at an Entertainment. But the treacherous *Hengiſt* commanded all his Followers to have their Daggers or Seaxes in readineſs under their Garments, and that when he gave the Word *Pull out your Seaxes*, they ſhould then ſet upon the *Britains* and kill them, only they ſhould ſpare the King, and make him a Priſoner. And thus having met according to Agreement at a publick Feaſt, at firſt they convers'd after a friendly manner, 'till being heated with Wine, they proceeded to harder Expreſſions; when *Hengiſt* ſuddenly giving the Word, the *Saxons* roſe up and immediately diſpatch'd three hundred of the *Britiſh* Nobility. *Vortigern* alone being taken alive, and put in Chains, was conſtrain'd for his Ranſom to ſurrender to the *Saxons* all thoſe Countries which afterward were call'd *Eſſex*, *Middleſex* and *Suſſex*; which ſtrengthen'd *Hengiſt*, and confirm'd him in his new Kingdom of *Kent*, and gave the *Saxons* ſuch Footing in this Iſle, that they never after could be repell'd by the *Britains*.

A. D. 457.

Aurelius Ambroſius *relieves the* Britains.

IV. From this Time forwards, there never wanted a *Saxon* Monarch in this Iſle for many ſucceeding Centuries; yet the *Britains*, tho' weaken'd by all kinds of Calamities, had ſeveral noble Struggles, and memorable Conteſts, before they were utterly driven from their Habitations. Having loſt the Flower of their Nation by this laſt and other Misfortunes, they began to reflect upon their vicious Courſes, and to betake themſelves to the Divine Aſſiſtance. And they were further encourag'd by ſome Retreat of the *Saxons*, and by the great Hopes conceiv'd of *Aurelius Ambroſius*, who being deſcended of *Roman* Anceſtors, and ſuch as had born Regal Dignity in the Iſland, had with great Applauſe ſucceeded *Vortigern*; firſt as General, and afterwards as King. Under the Conduct of this eminent Man, the *Britains* in a ſhort Time obtain'd a great Victory over the *Saxons*, as *Gildas* aſſures us, tho' he names not the Place. After this Victory, as others report, *Ambroſius* call'd the Princes and Nobility together at *York*, and gave Order for the repairing the Churches, which the *Saxons* had deſtroy'd; and that after due Care taken in other Places, he march'd to *London*, and then to *Wincheſter* and *Saliſbury*, in all Places endeavouring to reſtore the declining State of the Church and Kingdom. He fill'd up the vacant Metropolitan Sees of *York* and *Caer-leon*, with two worthy Biſhops call'd *Samptſon* and *Dubricius*; and is ſuppos'd by ſome to have erected thoſe famous Piles of Stones in *Saliſbury* Plain call'd *Stonehenge*, in honour of thoſe three hundred Noblemen maſſacred by *Hengiſt*. But of this, and many other Actions of *Ambroſius*, there is great Difference and Uncertainty.

A. D. 465.

More Saxons *arrive in the South under the Conduct of* Ella.

The ſecond Saxon *Kingdom in* Britain. SOUTH SAXONS.

After the *Britains* had ſome little Reſpite from their Enemies, they fell into Civil Diſſenſions among themſelves; and we are told that one of *Vortigern*'s Sons nam'd *Paſcentius*, rais'd a Rebellion in the North againſt *Ambroſius*, but was overcome by him, and put to flight; but what happen'd to the Father is uncertain, nor can the *Britiſh* Writers agree either about the Time or the Manner of his Death. After eight Years Intermiſſion, we find that *Hengiſt* and his Son *Esk* again engag'd the *Britains* in Battel, worſted them, and took a great Booty; which Succeſs gave Occaſion to new Bodies of *Saxons* to come over under the Conduct of *Ella* and his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Wlencing* and *Ciſſa*. Theſe arriving in three Ships, landed at a Place call'd *Cymen-ſhore* in *Suſſex*, whereupon the Inhabitants in a great Conſternation gather'd together in vaſt Multitudes to oppoſe them. The *Saxons* being tall of Stature, ſtrong and vigorous, receiv'd them ſharply who came tumultuouſly upon them; and notwithſtanding their great Numbers, put them to flight with ſuch a Slaughter as might be expected from ſo unequal an Ingagement, and drove them into a Wood, which the *Saxon* Chronicle calls *Andredes Leage*. They ſeiz'd upon all the Maritime Parts of *Suſſex*, and ſtill enlarg'd their Territories 'till the ninth Year after their Arrival, when the *Britains* found themſelves ſo nearly concern'd, that they united their Forces and bravely engag'd them near a Place call'd *Mearcredes* or *Burnamſtede*. This Victory remain'd doubtful, both Parties drawing off with great Loſs, which caus'd *Ella* to ſend for freſh Supplies out of his own Country, according to *H.* of *Huntington*. Not long after, *Hengiſt* King of *Kent* dy'd, in the Year 488, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Esk*, who reign'd twenty four Years, without endeavouring to enlarge his Dominions. In the mean Time *Ella* having encreas'd his Forces, proceeded with Succeſs againſt the *Britains*, and at length having laid Siege to a little City call'd *Andres Ceaſter*, he took it, and us'd his Conqueſt with ſuch Severity, that not one Perſon eſcap'd the Sword. Thus *Ella*, three Years after the Death of *Hengiſt*, began the ſecond Kingdom in the Iſle, call'd the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*; peopling it with new Inhabitants, from the Country which was then old *Saxony*, now *Holſtein* in *Denmark*, and beſides had at his Command all thoſe Provinces, which the *Saxons* had won on this ſide the River *Humber*. This Kingdom conſiſted of thoſe Parts of the Iſle afterwards call'd *Suſſex* and *Surrey*, and was began in the Year 491, about 34 Years after the Beginning of the Kingdom of *Kent*.

More Saxons *arrive under* Cerdick, A. D. 495.

and under Porta.

Nazaleod *ſucceeds* Ambroſius *in* Britain.

His Death.

Britain being now the Field of Fortune, new Adventurers came daily from *Germany*; particularly Count *Cerdick*, the tenth in Lineage from *Woden*, an experienc'd Soldier, who with his Son *Cenrick*, and ſo many Men as he could tranſport in five Veſſels, landed at a Place, which from him was call'd *Cerdick*'s *Shore*. Upon the firſt Appearance of their Veſſels the Inhabitants ſtood upon their Guard, and vigorouſly oppos'd their Landing; but the *Saxons* ſtill advanced, and maintain'd their Ground, till at length, the *Britains* in vain reſiſting, *Cerdick* and his Son got Poſſeſſion of all thoſe Countries upon the Sea-Coaſts, tho' not without divers Battels. About ſix Years after, one *Porta* with his two Sons *Bleda* and *Magla*, with two Veſſels arriv'd at a Place which from him is ſtill call'd *Portſmouth*; and without much Difficulty repelling ſuch as unadviſedly oppos'd them, and having ſlain a young *Britiſh* Prince, carved for himſelf and his Followers another Share out of the Country. Yet ſtill the Succeſſes of *Cerdick* made the *Britains* moſt apprehenſive, therefore ſeven Years after the Arrival of *Porta*, they united their Forces under the Conduct of *Nazaleod*, one of the greateſt of the *Britiſh* Kings, who is ſuppos'd to have ſucceeded *Ambroſius*, and to be the ſame with *Uther Pendragon*. *Cerdick* being ſenſible of his great Power, was oblig'd to ſend for Aſſiſtance to *Esk* King of *Kent*, *Ella* King of the *South-Saxons*, and to *Porta* and his Sons; which done, he divided his Army into two Bodies or Wings, whereof he led the Right himſelf, and committed the Left to the Conduct of his Son *Cenrick*. King *Nazaleod*, perceiving the Right to be the Stronger of the two, turn'd his whole Strength againſt it with ſo much Fury and Execution, that after a great Slaughter he put *Cerdick* to flight; but purſuing with more Heat than Caution, the Left Wing commanded by *Cenrick* took the Advantage, and falling on his Rear renew'd the Battel with ſo much Vigour, that he recover'd all, ſlew *Nazaleod* on the Spot, with five thouſand of his Soldiers. From which Time, the *Saxons* remain'd unmoleſted for a conſiderable Space.

A. D. 514.

Arthur *ſucceeds him.*

He gains twelve Battels over the Saxons.

The third Saxon *Kingdom in* Britain. WEST-SAXONS.

After an Interregnum of about ſix Years *Nazaleod* or *Uther* was ſucceeded by the famous *Arthur*, ſuppos'd to be his Son, and reported to have been the moſt renowned Champion of the *Britiſh* Nation. So many fabulous and Romantick Things have been related of this Prince, that ſeveral have doubted whether there was ever ſuch a Perſon. But yet the Generality of Writers agree that there was ſuch a Man, and that he made a powerful Reſiſtance againſt the *Pagan Saxons*; but whether he was King of the *Britains* in General, or only King of *Cornwall*, is uncertain. *Nennius*, who liv'd about three hundred Years after him, aſſures us that he overthrew the *Saxons* in no leſs than twelve Battels: The firſt was fought near the Mouth of a certain River call'd *Glenn*; the ſecond, third, fourth and fifth, near another River call'd *Dug* or *Duc*; the ſixth at a River's ſide call'd *Baſſus*; the ſeventh in the Wood of *Chelidon*, which in *Britiſh* had the Name of *Cattoit Celidon*; the eighth near the Caſtle of *Suinnion*; the ninth in the City of *Lergis*, in *Britiſh* call'd *Caer-leon*; the tenth near a River call'd *Arderick*; the eleventh upon the Hill *Brenoin*; and the twelfth on the Hill of *Badon*, near *Bath*. The reſt of the Acts of King *Arthur* are ſo improbable, that they are not worth the mentioning; nor are we certain how far the others are true. However we are told from *Higden* with great Probability, That King *Cerdick* fighting often with *Arthur*, tho' he was overcome, yet ſtill he came on again with new Forces; 'till *Arthur* being weary'd out, at length gave him up *Hampſhire* and *Somerſetſhire*, which Countries he then call'd *Weſt-Sexa*. Whatever Oppoſition was made by *Arthur*, *Cerdick* at length prevail'd, and having got the Aſſiſtance of his Nephews *Stufe* and *Withgar*, who came over with three Ships, he gain'd ſeveral Advantages over the *Britains*, and after he had been twenty four Years in the Iſle, he took upon him the Title of King, and founded the third Kingdom in the Nation, call'd the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*. This Kingdom contain'd all the Countries of *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire* and *Barkſhire*,

ſhire, to which afterwards was added *Cornwall*. It was founded in the Year 519, about ſixty one Years after the *Saxons* firſt Arrival in the Nation; and the Time of this Kingdom's Beginning is more obſervable, becauſe at laſt it conquer'd all the other *Saxon* Kingdoms, and ſo obtain'd the ſole Command of all *England*.

A. D. 519.

V. The *Britains* were now reduc'd to a ſmaller Compaſs of Land, yet ſtill they wanted not Courage to oppoſe the common Enemy; and in the Year after *Cerdick* was made King, they fought a memorable Battel at *Badon* Hill, or *Baneſdown* near *Bath*, where the *Saxons* were hemm'd in and entirely routed. This Battel is mention'd by *Gildas*, and is ſuppos'd to be the laſt of the twelve fought by King *Arthur*; which gave the *Saxons* ſuch a Blow, that the *Britains* enjoy'd a long Peace after it. Yet ſtill the *Saxons* daily encreaſing in Numbers, continu'd to make new Incroachments, and in ſeven Years time founded a fourth Kingdom in *Britain*, call'd the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, conſiſting of the two Counties of *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*, with part of *Hartfordſhire*. It was begun in the Year 527, by *Erchenwin* the Son of *Offa*, who ſeems to have been the only Prince who is deriv'd from one *Saxnat*, and not from *Woden*; tho' of this Prince they tell us nothing, except his Name and Pedigree, relating neither the Number of his Forces, the Place of his Landing, nor ſo much as the leaſt Encounter he had with the *Britains*. This Kingdom being at firſt tributary to that of *Kent*, and afterwards to that of the *Mercians*, never came to be very conſiderable, tho' it had *London*, the Metropolis of *England*, under its Dominions. Nor did the Kingdom of the *Sonth-Saxons* bear any great Sway after the Death of its firſt King *Ella*; but grew weaker and weaker 'till it became ſubject to other Kingdoms.

The fourth Saxon *Kingdom in* Britain, EAST-SAXONS.

King Arthur *dies*: Conſtantine *ſucceeds.*

The *Britains* had now Peace with their incroaching Neighbours; and we hear but little concerning them, but only about fifteen Years after the founding of the *Eaſt-Saxon* Kingdom, in the Year 542, the great King *Arthur* dy'd, and is ſuppos'd to have been ſucceeded by *Conſtantine*. About five Years after which, *Ida* the *Saxon*, ſprung alſo from *Woden* in the tenth Deſcent, founded the fifth Kingdom in this Iſle, call'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, as conſiſting of that part of the *Britiſh* Province that was North of the River *Humber*. The *Saxons* had been fix'd in thoſe Parts about ninety Years before, under *Octa* and *Ebuſa*, upon a Pretence of warring againſt the *Picts*; and tho' they were ſo far diſtant from *Kent*, and not without ſufficient Power, yet they kept themſelves within Moderation, and as inferior Governors, they and their Progeny paid Obedience to the Kings of *Kent*, as to the elder Family: Till at length, following the Example of the Age, when no leſs than Kingdoms were the Prize of every fortunate Commander, they reſolv'd to aſſume the Regal Title. Of whom *Ida* was the firſt, a Man who had a numerous Iſſue, and whoſe Virtues render'd him no leſs noble than his Birth; in War invincible, and in Peace continually tempering the Awe of Majeſty, with his natural Affability. This prov'd a powerful Kingdom, and conſiſted of all *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Northumberland*, with Part of *Scotland* as far as *Edenburgh* Frith. Within twelve Years Time, this Kingdom was divided into two Parts, one call'd *Bernicia*, and the other *Deira*.

A. D. 547.
The fifth Saxon *Kingdom in* Britain, NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 561.
The firſt Civil Wars among the Saxons.

Shortly after this Diviſion, *Ethelbert* began to reign in *Kent*, who was the fifth King of that Country, and the firſt who rais'd Civil Wars and Diſturbances among the *Saxons* themſelves. At his firſt Entrance he was young and ambitious, and claim'd from the Priority of Time in which *Hengiſt* erected his Kingdom, a kind of a Right over the later Kingdoms; and thereupon gave great Diſturbances to his neighbouring Princes. But he was twice defeated by them, ſo that he who at firſt was formidable, in a ſhort time became in a manner deſpicable; and *Keaulin* King of the *Weſt-Saxons* purſu'd him into his own Territories, and at *Wibbandum* ſlew *Oſlac* and *Cnebba*, two of his Commanders.

By means of theſe Civil Conteſts, but chiefly by the laſt Victory at *Badon* Hill, the *Britains* for the Space of fifty Years receiv'd no conſiderable Annoyance from the *Saxons*; but this long Peace they enjoy'd, by the Abuſe of Heaven's Favours, prov'd more deſtructive to them than War. For being ſuddenly rais'd from a miſerable State of Slavery, by two ſignal Succeſſes under *Ambroſius* and *Arthur*, they were taught by the Experience of either Fortune, to live in a reaſonable Decency and Order: But when the next Age, forgetting paſt Misfortunes, and only ſenſible of preſent Eaſe, ſucceeded, immediately there follow'd an apparent Subverſion of all Truth and Juſtice in the Minds of moſt Men; which in a ſhort Space became not only manifeſt, but odious to all the neighbouring Nations. Scarce the leaſt Footſtep or Impreſſion of Goodneſs was left remaining among all the Ranks and Degrees in the Land; except in ſo ſmall a Number, as to be hardly viſible in a general Corruption. Their Kings and Magiſtrates were guilty of all Kinds of tyrannous and oppreſſive Actions, and the Clergy had ſtain'd themſelves by all manner of Vices and Corruptions, being rather more ſcandalous than when firſt the *Saxons* enter'd. This in a Word was the State of Government and Religion among the *Britains*, in that long Calm of Peace which *Badon* Hill had produc'd; by which means the Fruits of that Victory were of no Advantage; Cities and Towns were not inhabited as formerly, but lay in a State of Ruin and Deſolation; nor was it long before Civil Wars breaking out, brought all Things into the moſt miſerable Condition. For *Britain*, as at other Times, had then ſeveral Kings; five of whom, *Gildas* then in *Armorica*, boldly reproves by Name. Firſt *Conſtantine*, who reign'd in *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, a tyrannical and bloody Prince, polluted alſo with many Adulteries. In another Part, but not mention'd where, *Aurelius Conanus* was King, whom he charges with Adulteries and Parricide, and Cruelties worſe than the former. The third reigning in *Demetia* or *South-Wales*, was *Vortipore*, a Man old not only in Years, but in Adulteries, and in Governing full of Falſhood and barbarous Actions. The fourth was *Cuneglas*, ſuppos'd to be King of the Northern or *Cimbrian Britains*, a great Enemy to the Clergy, high minded, and truſting wholly to his Riches. The laſt but greateſt of all in Power was *Maglocune*, the greateſt alſo in Impiety, who had expell'd or ſlain many other Kings or Tyrants, and was call'd the *Iſland Dragon*, perhaps having his Seat in *Angleſey*; a profuſe Giver, a great Warrior, and of a remarkable Stature. This is the Subſtance of what we can learn of all that paſs'd among the *Britains* from the Time of their uſeleſs Victory at *Badon*, to the Time that *Gildas* wrote his Account, namely from the Year 520, to 571.

The horrid Corruptions of the Britains, *and of their Kings.*

A. D. 575.
The ſixth Saxon *Kingdom in* Britain, EAST-ANGLES.

Not long after began the ſixth Kingdom in this Iſle, call'd the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, conſiſting of thoſe Parts, ſince call'd *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, with the Iſle of *Ely*. It was founded by *Uſfa*, the eighth from *Woden*, tho' it ſeems there were before him divers other petty Princes in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; but *Uſfa* in Strength and Policy over-powering thoſe Princes, made himſelf ſole King, and govern'd with that Reputation, that *H. Huntington* tells us, the Kings deſcended from him were call'd *Uſfings*; and the Subjects of this Kingdom are the more remarkable, becauſe they afterwards gave Name to the whole Kingdom of *England*. And now the *Saxons*, who for a long Space had been out of Action, unleſs among themſelves, began afreſh to aſſault the *Britains*, and in a few Years Time drove them out of all they yet held on this Side of *Wales*. For *Cuthwulf*, the Brother of *Keaulin*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedanford* or *Bedford*, took from them four good Towns, *Liganburgh*, now *Leighton* in *Bedfordſhire*, *Eglesburgh*, now *Ailesbury* in *Bucks*, with *Bennington* and *Igneſham*, now *Benſon* and *Eveſham* in *Oxfordſhire*. And after ſix Years more, *Keaulin* and his Son *Cuthwin* gave them a great Overthrow at *Deorham* in *Gloceſterſhire*, ſlew three of their Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan* and *Farinmaile*, and took three of their chief Cities, *Gloceſter*, *Cirenceſter* and *Badenceſter*, or *Bath*. The *Britains* notwithſtanding, after ſome Space of Time, thinking to have out-grown their Loſſes, gather'd together and engag'd *Keaulin* and his Son *Cutha* at *Fethamleage*, in which Battel *Cutha* was ſlain, and the *Saxons* oblig'd to retire; but *Keaulin* renewing the Fight, at length routed the *Britains*, and purſuing his Advantage, took many Towns, and return'd richly laden with Booty.

The Britains *decline.*

A. D. 585.
The ſeventh Saxon *Kingdom in* Britain, MERCIA.

A. D. 591.

The laſt of thoſe *Saxons* who rais'd their own Atchievements to a Monarchy was *Crida*, who about this Time founded the ſeventh Kingdom in this Iſle, call'd the Kingdom of *Mercia*; which tho' it was laſt erected, yet was one of the largeſt of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kingdoms, and alſo one of the laſt that was conquer'd by the *Weſt-Saxons*. It conſiſted of all the middle Parts of the Nation which now compoſe ſeventeen Counties, namely, *Glocеſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutland*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Darbyſhire* and *Cheſhire*, beſides Part of *Hartfordſhire*. And now the *Britains* were more preſs'd and confin'd than ever; yet before they quitted all on this Side of the Mountains, they ſhew'd ſome Remainders of their ancient Valour: For meeting with *Keaulin* at a Place call'd *Woden*'s *Mount* in *Wiltſhire*, whether it were by their own Forces, or aſſiſted by ſome of the *Angles*, whoſe Hatred *Keaulin* had incurr'd, they deſtroy'd his Army, and chas'd him out of his Kingdom, who flying from thence, dy'd the next Year in great Poverty, tho' but lately he had been the moſt potent and indeed ſole Mo-

The Bri-*tains dri-ven out of their Habi-tations into* Wales, *and other Parts.*

narch of all the *Saxons* on this ſide the River *Humber*. This Victory prov'd of little Advantage to the *Britains*; for in a very few Years, the miſerable Inhabitants, partly by the *Picts* and *Scots*, but principally by the *Saxons*, were gradually forc'd out of their ancient Seats, and ſuch as fled not beyond the Seas were driven to the craggy and mountainous Places in the Weſt of the Iſland, now call'd *Wales*, naturally fenc'd with Hills, and the Inlets of the Sea, whither their ravenous Enemies could not eaſily follow them. Some were driven into that Part call'd *Cornwall*, and others fled to their Countrymen in *Armorica*; the poor Remains that were ſcatter'd among the *Saxons*, were in effect made Slaves by them, and kept to the moſt ſervile Offices; from whom began Villenage in *England*, which laſted to the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh.

Thus, omitting fabulous and improbable Relations, we have repreſented the main View of what was tranſacted in *Britain*, ſince the *Romans* abandon'd it. Wherein may be obſerv'd the Miſeries and Deſolations brought by Divine Providence on a vile and degenerate Nation; driven, when nothing elſe could reform them, out of a fair and rich Country, into a mountainous and barren Corner, by Strangers and Pagans. So much more tolerable is downright Infidelity in the Eye of Heaven, than the diſhonouring the *Chriſtian* Faith by ſuch Unchriſtian Works.

CHAP. III.

From the Deſtruction of Britain *by the* Saxons *and other Nations, to the new Eſtabliſhment made by King* Egbert, *who became the firſt ſupreme Monarch of* England.

Containing the Space of about 232 Years.

A. D. 596.

I. THE unfortunate *Britains* being driven out of their beſt and faireſt Habitations, Foreigners gain'd a full and entire Poſſeſſion of them, under the Names of *Saxons*, *Jutes* and *Angles*; tho' the moſt general Name was that of *Saxons*, which occaſion'd the whole Nation to be called by ſome *New-Saxony*.

The Diſtribution of the Saxons.

The proper *Saxons* had for their Share moſt of the Southern Parts of the Nation, with a little of the Eaſtern, after this diſtinguiſh'd by the Names of *Weſt-Sex*, *South-Sex* and *Eaſt-Sex*; the *Jutes* had the South-Eaſtern Parts, namely *Kent*, the Iſle of *Wight*, and Part of *Hampſhire*; and the *Angles* had the greateſt Share, *viz.* all the Midland and Northern Parts, with Part of the Eaſtern, diſtinguiſh'd by the Names of *Eaſt-Angles*, *Mercian-Angles* and *Northumbrian-Angles*. Theſe were not only ſufficient to conquer and waſte the whole Province, but even to plant and people it in a ſhort Time with numerous and new Inhabitants. So that we are now to begin with a new Body of People, and with a new State and Government of the Land; which introduc'd a general Change of Names, of Language, of Cuſtoms, of Laws, of Arms, of Diſcipline, of Poſſeſſion, of Titles, of Religion, and even of the whole Face of Nature, throughout the Nation. Upon which Account we may juſtly date the Original of all theſe among us, as well as our Nation it ſelf, from theſe our *Saxon* Anceſtors: *Britain*, which was before a *Roman* Province, was now a *Saxon* Nation: The Language, which was either *Latin* or *Britiſh*, was not grown wholly *Saxon* or *Engliſh*: The Habits in Peace, and Arms in War, the Titles of Officers, and Proprietors of Lands, came to be all according to the *Saxon* Forms and Uſage: The Laws of this Country, which before were *Roman*, were chang'd now into old *Saxon* Cuſtoms or Conſtitutions: The Religion, which before was *Chriſtian*, became now *Pagan*, introducing the Worſhip of ſeveral Gods, particularly *Woden*, *Thor*, and *Frea*, whoſe Memory are ſtill preſerv'd by the common Names of three Days in the Week: And laſtly the Land it ſelf, which before had been divided into *Roman* Provinces, was now divided into ſeven *Saxon* Kingdoms, govern'd by their own proper Kings. The Foundation of theſe Kingdoms have been already mention'd; but for the Reader's Eaſe, and the better clearing of the Story, it will be convenient to ſay ſomething of all in one Place, and to give a general Account of each 'till the Time of *Egbert*, the firſt ſupreme Monarch of this Nation.

1. Kent.

The firſt of the ſeven Kingdoms was that of KENT, which conſiſted of *Jutes* of the County of *Kent*, and probably ſome of *Hampſhire*, and had a Succeſſion of ſeventeen Kings, four *Pagans*, and thirteen *Chriſtians*, viz. *Hengiſt*, *Esk*, *Octa*, *Ermiric*, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbald*, *Ercombert*, *Egbert*, *Lothair*, *Edric*, *Withred*, *Edbert*, *Edilbert*, *Alric*, *Edilbert*, *Cuthred*, and *Baldred*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 457, and ended in 823, continuing 366 Years; its Royal Seat being *Canterbury*, and ſometimes *Reculver*, near the Sea-Shore.

2. South-Saxony.

The ſecond Kingdom was that of the SOUTH-SAXONS, which conſiſted of the two Counties of *Suſſex* and *Surrey*; and this being moſtly under the Power of the Kings of *Kent* and the *Weſt-Saxons*, we find but five Kings, two *Pagans*, and three *Chriſtians*, viz. *Ella*, *Ciſſa*, *Ethelwolf*, *Berthrum* and *Authum*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 491, and ended in 600, continuing 109 Years; its Royal Seat being *Ciſſanceſter*, now *Chicheſter*.

3. West-Saxony.

The third Kingdom was that of the WEST-SAXONS, conſiſting of ſix Counties, viz. *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire* and *Barkſhire*, beſides *Cornwall*, which was afterwards added to it, and had a Succeſſion of ſixteen Kings before *Egbert*, five *Pagans*, and eleven *Chriſtians*, viz. *Cerdic*, *Kenric*, *Caulin*, *Ceolric*, *Ceolwuf*, *Cynegils* cum *Quincelm*, *Kenewalch* cum *Sexburge*, *Eskwine*, *Kentwine*, *Cedwalla*, *Ina*, *Ethelheard*, *Cuthred*, *Sigebert*, *Cynewulf* and *Birthric*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 519, and continu'd 'till the Time of *Egbert*, 283 Years; its Royal Seat being *Ventceaſter*, now *Wincheſter*.

4. East-Saxony.

The fourth Kingdom was that of the EAST-SAXONS, which conſiſted of the two Counties of *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*, with the South Part of *Hartfordſhire*, being generally tributary to *Kent* and *Mercia*, and had a Succeſſion of twelve Kings, two *Pagans*, and ten *Chriſtians*, viz. *Erchenwin*, *Sledda*, *Sexred* cum *Fratre Sigebert* the little, *Sigebert* the good, *Swithelm*, *Sigher* cum *Seba*, *Sigehard* cum *Swanfred*, *Offa*, *Selred* and *Swithred*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 527, and ended in 747, continuing 220 Years; its Royal Seat being *London*.

5. Northumberland.

The fifth Kingdom was that of NORTHUMBERLAND, which conſiſted of *Angles*, and of ſix Counties, viz. *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland* and *Northumberland*, with Part of *Scotland* as far as *Edenburgh* Frith. For above a hundred Years this Kingdom was divided into two, namely *Bernicia* in the North, and *Deira* in the South, and had a Succeſſion of twenty one Kings, beſides five in *Deira*, four *Pagans*, and ſeventeen *Chriſtians*, viz. *Ida*, *Ella*, *Edelric*, *Edelfrid*, *Edwin*, *Oſwald*, *Oſmy*, *Egfrid*, *Alfrid*, *Oſred*, *Kenred*, *Oſric*, *Ceolwulf*, *Eadbert*, *Oſulf*, *Ethelwald*, *Alured*, *Ethelrod*, *Alfwold*, *Oſred* and *Ethelred*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 547, and ended in 792, continuing 245 Years, beſides an Interregnum of 33 Years after; its Royal Seat being the City of *York*.

6. East-England.

The ſixth Kingdom was that of the EAST-ANGLES, which conſiſted of the three Counties of *Cambridge*, *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and had a Succeſſion of fourteen Kings, four *Pagans*, and ten *Chriſtians*, viz. *Uſfa*, *Titylus*, *Redwald*, *Eorpwald*, *Sigebert*, *Egric*, *Anna*, *Ethelherd*, *Ethelwald*, *Aldulf*, *Elfwald*, *Beorne*, *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 575, and ended in 792, continuing 218 Years; its Royal Seat being *Domoc* or *Dummoc*, now *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*, and ſometimes St. *Edmund*'s *Bury*.

7. Mercia.

The ſeventh and laſt Kingdom was that of MERCIA, which conſiſted of *Angles*, and of ſixteen Counties, viz. *Glouceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutland*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Darbyſhire*, and *Cheſhire*, beſides Part of *Hartfordſhire*, and had a Succeſſion of fifteen Kings before the Reign of *Egbert*, and ſix after, four *Pagans*, and ſeventeen *Chriſtians*, viz. *Crida*, *Wibba*, *Ceorl*, *Penda*, *Peada*, *Wulfer*, *Ethelred*, *Kendred*, *Ceolred*, *Ethelbald*, *Beornred*, *Offa*, *Egfrid*, *Kenulf*, *Kenelm*, *Beornwulf*, *Ludecom*, *Withlaf*, *Bertulf*, *Burtred*, and *Ceolwulf*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 585, and ended in 874, continuing 289 Years; its Royal Seat being *Lincoln*. The whole Number of the *Saxon* Kings before the Reign of *Egbert*, and a little after, was a hundred and eleven, of which twenty five were *Pagans*, and eighty ſix *Chriſtians*. This Eſtabliſhment of the ſeven Kingdoms, is generally call'd by the Name of the HEPTARCHY.

As to the Lives and Actions of theſe ſeveral Monarchs, during the Heptarchy, they have been ſo exceeding lamely and confuſedly tranſmitted to us, that we can give but little Satisfaction to a curious Reader. We find a ſhort and broken Account of many of them, and that after they had diſpoſſeſs'd the miſerable *Britains*, having leiſure to ſurvey each other's Greatneſs, they fell into mutual Emulations and Wars among themſelves; ſo that in the Conſequence whoſoever had moſt Power, was generally reputed and acknowledg'd King of moſt if not all the reſt.

1. Ethelbert *of* Kent *chief Monarch.*

Of theſe, *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, in the Beginning of this Period, was the moſt conſiderable and powerful Monarch, who tho' he had been unſucceſsful in his juvenile Attempts, had now by his Conduct and Policy reduc'd all the Kingdoms on the South ſide the *Humber* to his Devotion. And tho' he was a *Pagan*, to advance his Grandeur, he marry'd

Bertha, the King of *France*'s Daughter, with this Article, that ſhe ſhould have the free Exerciſe of the Chriſtian Religion, under the Care and Inſtruction of *Lethard* a Biſhop, who was ſent by her Parents along with her. This prov'd one Step towards the diſplaying the Light of the Goſpel to a rude and Heathen People; and about the ſame Time there happen'd a remarkable Tranſaction in Foreign Parts, which being purſu'd, by Degrees brought this great Work to the full Perfection. But before we mention this happy Change of Religion among the *Saxons*, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, That there were yet remaining among the *Britains* in *Wales*, many Biſhops, Abbots, Prieſts, Religious Perſons and Monaſteries; and at the Command of *Oudoceus* Biſhop of *Landaf*, there were at that Place three Synods conven'd, in which three *Britiſh* Princes, *Mouric*, *Morcant* and *Guidnirth*, were excommunicated for Murders, and compell'd to expiate theſe Scandals by Alms, Prayers and Faſtings.

The Beginning of Chriſtianity among the Saxons.

Auſtin the Monk ſent into England.

The firſt Beginning of Chriſtianity among the *Saxons*, as we are inform'd from *Beda*, was occaſion'd by this Accident: The *Northumbrians* had now a Cuſtom among them of long Continuance of ſelling their Children and other Relations into foreign Lands; of which Number ſome beautiful Youths were expos'd to ſale at *Rome*, whoſe fair and graceful Countenances invited *Gregory* Arch-Deacon of that City, among others, to demand who and what they were. Being inform'd that they were *Angles* of *Deira*, and Pagans by Education, pitying their Condition, he with a deep Sigh cry'd out, *What a deplorable Thing it was that the Father of Darkneſs ſhould be Maſter of ſuch Angelick Faces!* and immediately obtaining Licence of Pope *Benedict*, he began his Journey towards *Britain*; but the Citizens of *Rome*, who could not ſuffer the Abſence of ſo vigilant a Paſtor, caus'd him to be recall'd. But *Gregory* not long after being advanc'd to the Papacy, in his fourth Year, being mov'd, as *Beda* tells us, by a divine Impulſe, he ſent *Auſtin* a Monk, whom he deſign'd for Biſhop of the *Engliſh* Nation, with other zealous Monks along with him, to preach the Goſpel in *Britain*. Theſe being on their Journey, diſcourag'd by ſome Reports, or their own carnal Fears, diſpatch'd *Auſtin* in the Name of all the reſt, beſeeching *Gregory that they might return home, and not be ſent on an Expedition ſo full of Hazard, to a fierce and Infidel Nation, whoſe Language they underſtood not.* But the Pope immediately ſent back their Meſſenger with pious exhortatory Letters to them, ' not to be diſcourag'd by vain ' Reports, but vigorouſly to purſue the great Work they ' had undertaken, ſince their Labours would be attended ' with perpetual Glory; and that they ſhould obey *Auſtin*, ' whom he had appointed for their Abbot. Beſides which Letters the Pope alſo wrote to *Eutherius*, Arch-Biſhop of *Arles*, wherein he recommended them to his Care and Protection, and that he would furniſh them with all Neceſſaries; alſo recommending to him *Candidus* a Presbyter, whom he had ſent to receive and diſpoſe of the Church's Revenues in *France*.

A. D.
597.
He arrives in Kent.

He is civilly receiv'd by Ethelbert.

Auſtin and his Companions being thus confirm'd by the Pope's Exhortations, proceeded in their Voyage, and landed at the Iſle of *Thanet* near *Kent*, with about forty Perſons, together with ſome Interpreters of the *French* Nation. At their firſt Arrival, *Auſtin* ſent a ſurprizing Meſſage to King *Ethelbert*, informing him, *That he came from* Rome, *and had brought the Promiſe of Eternal Felicity to all that would receive it*; which when the King heard, he civilly order'd them to remain in the Place where they landed, and that they ſhould be plentifully ſupply'd with all Neceſſaries, 'till he had determin'd how to receive them. After a few Days, paſſing into the Iſland, the King choſe a Place to meet them under the open Sky, poſſeſs'd with an old Perſuaſion, that all Spells and Inchantments, if they ſhould uſe any, would be unavailable, if they were not within Doors. But *Auſtin* and his Companions, arm'd with the Divine Power, and bearing for his Banner a ſilver Croſs, with the painted Image of our Saviour, advanc'd ſlowly, ſinging their ſolemn Litanies, and praying for the Salvation of thoſe to whom they were ſent. Then ſitting down with the King, and preaching the Word of Life to him and his Nobles, the King with no ſmall Courteſie told them, *That the Doctrines and Promiſes they brought were indeed ſpecious and inviting, but being new and uncertain, he could not ſuddenly conſent to quit the Religion of his Anceſtors; but becauſe they were Strangers, and came from far Countries purely to communicate ſuch Things as they believ'd to be moſt valuable, they ſhould receive all Protection and neceſſary Accommodations; nor would he prohibit them from gaining what Perſons they could, to the Belief of their Religion.* And accordingly he allotted them their Reſidence in his Royal City of *Daroverne* or *Canterbury*, made Proviſion for their Maintenance, and gave them free Liberty to preach their Doctrine where they pleas'd.

He and his Followers convert great Numbers,

and Ethelbert *himſelf.*

Being ſettled in the Place provided for them, they began to imitate the Lives of the Primitive Chriſtians, applying themſelves to conſtant Prayers and Faſting, eſpecially to Preaching to all that would hear them, deſpiſing the Riches of this World, being content with the bare Neceſſaries of Life, and carefully living up to the Rules they taught others. The Succeſs of which was, That many believ'd, and were baptiz'd, admiring the Simplicity of their Lives, as well as the Purity of their Doctrine. They firſt held their Religious Aſſemblies at an old ruinous Church, on the Eaſt-ſide of the City, built in Honour of St. *Martin*, when the *Romans* inhabited *Britain*, in which the Queen uſually perform'd her Devotions; 'till the King himſelf, being convinc'd by the Purity of their Lives, and by their Miracles, as our Author aſſures us, they obtain'd a full Liberty of Preaching and Building of Churches. The Converſion and Baptiſm of this Prince caus'd great Numbers to repair from all Parts to hear the Goſpel, and leaving their Heatheniſm, join'd themſelves to the Church of Chriſt; ſo powerful a Motive is the Example of a Prince to his Subjects. The King ſhew'd a great Satisfaction at the Faith and Converſion of any of his Subjects, and cheriſh'd all ſuch as believ'd with a more tender Regard; yet nevertheleſs he would not compel any to receive Chriſtianity, being taught by the Authors of his Salvation, *That the Service of Chriſt ought to be voluntary, and not conſtrain'd:* Nor was it long before he granted his Teachers Places fitting for their Function, in his City of *Canterbury*, and conferr'd upon them large Immunities and Poſſeſſions.

A. D.
598.
Auſtin *made Arch-Biſhop of the* Engliſh.

New Preachers ſent over.

The Eaſt-Saxons *converted.*

In the following Year, when *Auſtin* had converted the greateſt Part of the *Kentiſh* Nation, he paſs'd over into *France*, where according to the Commands of Pope *Gregory*, he was ordain'd Arch-Biſhop of the whole *Engliſh* Nation, by *Eutherius* Arch-Biſhop of *Arles*. Then returning to *Kent*, he ſent two of his Aſſociates nam'd *Laurence* and *Peter* to *Rome*, acquainting the Pope of his good Succeſs in this Iſle, and deſiring to be reſolv'd in certain Theological, or rather Levitical Queſtions, ſome of which were very peculiar, and the Anſwers no leſs. And now being exalted to Archiepiſcopal Authority he recover'd from the Ruins and other profane Uſes a Chriſtian Church in *Canterbury*, anciently built by the *Romans*; which he dedicated by the Name of *Chriſt's Church*, and appointed it as a See for himſelf and his Succeſſors. He likewiſe founded a Monaſtery towards the Eaſt, not far from the City, where alſo *Ethelbert* by his Perſuaſion built and endow'd the Church of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; in which the Bodies of St. *Auſtin* himſelf, and all the ſucceeding Biſhops of *Canterbury*, as alſo of the Kings of *Kent*, ſhould be interr'd. Within a Year or two after, *Auſtin* informing the Pope that there was a want of Preachers in this Iſle, *Gregory* ſent over ſeveral, particularly *Mellitus*, *Juſtus*, *Paulinus* and *Rufinian*, and with them an Archiepiſcopal Pall, Altar Cloaths, Sacerdotal Veſtments, holy Veſſels, divers Relicks, and a great many Books; and gave *Auſtin* Power to ordain twelve Suffragan Biſhops under him, and an Arch-Biſhop of *York*, when that City and Country adjoining ſhould receive Chriſtianity; ſo that he alſo ſhould be a Metropolitan, and have twelve Biſhops under him, to whom he ſhould likewiſe ſend a Pall, but ſo as to be under the Direction of *Auſtin*. With theſe alſo he ſent Letters both to *Auſtin* and to King *Ethelbert*, containing many pious Inſtructions; which ſhews that the primitive Chriſtian Temper had not yet left the Biſhops of *Rome*, tho' infected with ſome Superſtitions. As the Number of Chriſtians encreaſed, *Auſtin* ordain'd two of his Aſſiſtants for Biſhops, *Mellitus* and *Juſtus*, and ſent them both to diſtant Parts. The former by Preaching converted the *Eaſt-Saxons*, over whom *Sebert* the Son of *Sleda*, by Permiſſion of *Ethelbert*, being born of his Siſter *Ricula*, then reign'd. To congratulate whoſe Converſion, *Ethelbert* built them the great Church of St. *Paul*'s in *London* to be their Biſhop's Cathedral; and *Juſtus* alſo had another built at *Rocheſter*, dedicated to St. *Andrew*, and endow'd by the ſame King with large Poſſeſſions.

A. D.
604.

Auſtin *is oppoſed by the* Britiſh *Biſhops in* Wales.

II. Hitherto *Auſtin* had labour'd only to convert Pagans and Infidels; but now by virtue of his Archiepiſcopal, or rather Legantine Authority conferr'd on him by the Pope, he took upon him to make a general Viſitation of his Province: And coming near the Borders of *Wales*, and aſſiſted by the Power of King *Ethelbert*, he ſummon'd all the *Britiſh* Biſhops of the adjoining Province to a Synod, at a Place on the Borders of *Worceſterſhire*, in *Beda*'s Time call'd *Auſtin*'s *Oak*; and began to perſuade them by brotherly Admonitions to conform with the *Romiſh* Church in celebrating of *Eaſter*, and ſome other particular Points. But not prevailing with them either by Promiſes or Threats, he appeal'd to a Miracle, as *Beda* aſſures us, and reſtor'd a blind Man to Sight, to whom the *Britains* could give no Relief. Being ſomewhat mov'd at this, tho' not inclinable to recede from their ancient Uſages, without further Conſultation, they requeſted a ſecond Meeting; to which

repair'd

Who refuſe the Authority of the Pope.

Auſtin *dies.*

repair'd ſeven *Britiſh* Biſhops, with many other learned Men, eſpecially from the famous Monaſtery of *Bangor*, where *Dinooth* was Abbot, in which were ſaid to be ſo many Monks living by their own Labour, that being divided under ſeven Rectors, each Diviſion had no leſs than three hundred. One who led an Anchoret's Life amongſt them ſtaid behind, and by his Wiſdom effected more than thoſe who went: For being reputed as an Oracle, and demanded *how they might know whether* Auſtin *was a Man from God*, he anſwer'd, *That if they found him meek and humble, they ſhould earneſtly hearken to him, as having the trueſt Marks of Chriſt's Diſciple; but if he carry'd himſelf with Pride and Haughtineſs, they ſhould not regard him, for he could not be then a Man from God:* Adding alſo ſome Marks by which they might know whether he was a meek or a proud Perſon.

With this Advice they haſted to the Place of Meeting; where *Auſtin* carrying himſelf as the Pope's Legate, and their Metropolitan, as they drew near ſat ſtill and pontifically in his Chair. This gave immediate Offence to the *Britains*, who according to Advice rejected his Propoſals; and tho' he demanded their Obedience in only three Particulars, namely, *in the Time of the Celebration of* Eaſter, *in the Manner of Baptiſm according to the* Romiſh *Church, and in aſſiſting them to preach to the* Engliſh Saxons, promiſing them to forbear them in other Things, tho' contrary to the Cuſtoms us'd by him: yet they utterly refus'd to comply in any Thing, or to acknowledge him for their Arch-Biſhop; declaring among themſelves, *That if he will not riſe to us now, how haughtily will he treat us, if we were under his Power and Subjection?* And for a final Anſwer to him, *Dinooth* of *Bangor*, in the Name of all the reſt, declar'd, *That as to the Subjection he requir'd, he might be aſſur'd, That in the Bond of Love and Charity, they were all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, to the Pope of* Rome, *and every good Chriſtian by Word and Deed to help them forward in the Way to Life. But other Obedience than this they did not know to be due to him whom he term'd* The Pope; *which Obedience they were always ready to pay to him and every Chriſtian: Beſides they were govern'd under God by the Biſhop of* Caer-leon, *who was to overſee them in all ſpiritual Matters.* To whom *Auſtin* is reported thus threatningly to have denounc'd againſt them; *Since ye refuſe to accept of Peace with your Brethren, ye ſhall have War from your Enemies, and ſince ye will not preach the Word of Life to whom ye ought, from their Hands ye ſhall meet with Death.* *Auſtin* liv'd not to ſee the Iſſue of his Prediction, but dy'd in the following Year 605, being ſucceeded in his Archbiſhoprick by *Laurentius*, a *Roman* whom he had ordain'd in his Life-time, to ſupport the weak Eſtate of a new-eſtabliſh'd Church. Two Years after the poor *Britains* met with the Puniſhment ſuppos'd to have been foretold by *Auſtin*, from *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, who meeting them with an Army near *Cheſter*, not only deſtroy'd great Numbers of them, but of twelve hundred Monks, who ſtood near to pray for the Succeſs of the *Britiſh* Arms, ſcarce fifty eſcap'd.

Ethelbert's *Care.*

Chriſtianity encreaſes.

Ethelbert *dies.*

Not long after the Death of *Auſtin*, King *Ethelbert* ſummon'd a *Mycel Synod*, or great Council, as well of the Clergy as Laity, wherein by their common Conſent and Approbation, all the Grants and Charters of this King, whereby he had ſettled great Endowments on the Church of *Canterbury* and others, were confirm'd, with heavy Imprecations againſt any who ſhould afterwards dare to infringe them. This Prince alſo gave his People ſeveral Laws and Statutes, by the Advice of his wiſe Men, according to the Example of the *Romans*, written in the *Saxon* Tongue, and obſerv'd in *Beda*'s Time; wherein his great Care was to puniſh ſuch as had ſtolen any Thing from the Church or Church-Men, thereby ſhewing how gratefully he receiv'd from them the *Chriſtian* Faith. In his Reign Chriſtianity daily encreas'd in this Iſland; and in the Year 608, *Laurence* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* brought the *Scots* to ſome Conformity with him, eſpecially in the Obſervation of *Eaſter*. In 611, this King's Nephew *Sebert*, King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, founded the Church and Abby of *Weſtminſter*, and *Mellitus* the Biſhop of *London* dedicated it to St. *Peter*. *Ethelbert* omitted nothing that might advance the glorious Cauſe of Chriſt, and encreaſing in Piety, he dy'd in the Year 616, after he had been near twenty Years a *Chriſtian*, twenty three chief Monarch of *England*, and fifty ſix King of *Kent*.

Chriſtianity declines again.

Ethelbert was ſucceeded in his Kingdom by his Son *Eadbald*, who at firſt us'd his Endeavours to extinguiſh Chriſtianity; not only relapſing to Paganiſm but alſo that which Paganiſm was wont to abhor, marrying his Father's ſecond Wife. This Wickedneſs ſoon diſcover'd what Multitudes, who for Fear or Countenance of the former King had profeſs'd Chriſtianity, now returning as eagerly to their old Idolatry. Nor was this Apoſtacy confin'd to this Province, but ſoon ſpread it ſelf over to the *Eaſt-Saxons*; occaſion'd and promoted by the Death of their Chriſtian King *Sebert*; whoſe three Sons not being in his Life-time brought to Baptiſm, now after his Deceaſe eſtabliſh'd the free Exerciſe of Idolatry; and not ſo ſatisfy'd, they ſet themſelves to ſome open Profanation of the other Sacrament. Coming therefore into the Church where *Mellitus* was adminiſtring, they in ſcorn requir'd him to deliver to them unbaptiz'd the Conſecrated Bread, as he had done to their Father; and upon Refuſal, drove him diſgracefully out of their Dominions. *Mellitus* repair'd immediately to *Kent*, where finding Chriſtianity in much the ſame Condition, with *Juſtus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, left the Nation and paſs'd over into *France*. But the Divine Vengeance ſoon overtook theſe impious Men; For *Eadbald*, tormented with an evil Spirit, often fell into Fits of Diſtraction; and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a Battel againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*, periſh'd, with their whole Army. But *Eadbald*, within a Year, became penitent, by Means of an extraordinary Accident that *Beda* relates. When *Laurence* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was preparing to follow *Juſtus* and *Mellitus* into *France*, we are told that St. *Peter*, in whoſe Church he ſpent the Night before in Watching and Praying, appear'd to him, and to make the Viſion more ſenſible, gave him many Stripes for endeavouring to deſert his Flock: Which being ſhewn to the King the next Morning, and the Cauſe of them related, *Eadbald* repented, in great Fear diſſolv'd his inceſtuous Marriage, and apply'd himſelf to the Chriſtian Faith more ſincerely than before, together with all his Subjects. But the *Londoners* refuſing again to receive their Biſhop *Mellitus*, this King had not ſo much Power as his Father to compel them to it; yet nevertheleſs he and his Nation endeavour'd wholly to ſubmit to the Divine Precepts, and built a new Church to the Honour of the Bleſſed Virgin, which was conſecrated by *Mellitus*.

A. D. 616.

The chief Monarchy falls to the Eaſt Engles.

2. REDWALD *chief Monarch.*

His Death.

III. Upon the Death of *Ethelbert*, by the Miſmanagement of his Son *Eadbald*, and other Accidents, the chief Monarchy of the *Engliſh* was loſt wholly to the Kingdom of *Kent*, and fell next upon *Redwald* the third King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, who for above twenty Years had been Vice-Roy to *Ethelbert*. This Prince had formerly receiv'd Baptiſm in *Kent*, but returning into his Country, through the powerful Perſuaſion of his Queen he relaps'd to his old Superſtition; and thinking to be ſafe, he in the ſame Temple erected one Altar to Chriſt, and another to his Idols, which ſtood in the Days of *Beda*. But as ſhe was an Inſtigator to the Nation's Idolatry, ſo ſhe was an accidental Inſtrument to the further ſpreading of Chriſtianity in ſaving the Life of *Edwin*, of the Royal Blood of *Northumberland*; who flying from the Rage of *Ethelfrid*, King of that Country, receiv'd Protection in the Court of her Husband *Redwald*. The *Northumbrians* us'd both Threats and Rewards to procure him to be deliver'd up, or put to Death; but his Queen alledging the Laws of Humanity, the Truſt of a Friend, and the Word of a Prince, prevail'd ſo far, that *Redwald* did not only ſave his Life, but aſſiſted him in Battel, to the Deſtruction of his Enemies, and the regaining of the Crown of *Northumberland*. For upon the Return of *Ethelfrid*'s Ambaſſadors, who were ſent for *Edwin*'s Ruin, he with the whole Power of the *Eaſt-Angles*, as an Enemy march'd towards *Northumberland*. Whereupon *Ethelfrid* with what ſudden Preparations he could make, met the *Eaſt-Angles* almoſt at *Nottingham*, and near the River *Idle*, where boldly encountering the unequal Enemy, at the firſt Onſet ſlew King *Redwald*'s Son *Reynhere*, to the great Grief of the whole Army; who purſu'd his Revenge ſo warmly, that they ſlew King *Ethelfrid* in the Field, and eſtabliſh'd *Edwin* in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. By this Victory *Redwald* became far ſuperior to the other *Saxon* Kings: and beſides this Conqueſt of the North, had likewiſe all on this Side *Humber* at his Obedience. He reign'd ſucceſsfully about ſix Years after, and dy'd in the Year 624, after he had been forty four Years King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and eight chief Monarch of the *Engliſh*.

A. D. 624.

The chief Monarchy remov'd to the Northumbrians.

3. EDWIN *chief Monarch.*

Upon the Death of *Redwald*, the Monarchy reverted from the *Eaſt-Angles*, and was next poſſeſs'd by the *Northumbrians*, where it was retain'd with greater and larger Glory. For *Edwin*, grown potent in the Life of *Redwald*, after his Death became his Succeſſor in the *Engliſh* Monarchy, and was the greateſt King of all the *Saxons*; ſubduing all the Coaſts of *Britain*, with the Iſles of *Angleſey* and *Man*. His firſt Wife being dead, he became a Suiter for the Lady *Edelburga*, Daughter of the great *Ethelbert*; to whoſe Ambaſſadors her Brother *Eadbald* return'd Anſwer, *That a Chriſtian Virgin ought not to marry a Pagan.* *Edwin*, in Love with the Lady's Fame, inſiſted, *That her Religion need not be any Impediment, ſince ſhe and her Attendants ſhould have the free Exerciſe of it; and further, if upon Examination he found it more excellent than his own, he himſelf would embrace it.* Theſe ingenuous Offers, opening ſo fair a Way to the Advancement of Truth, were readily accepted; and *Paulinus* a

Roman was conſecrated Biſhop of the *Northumbers* by *Juſtus*, and ſent as a ſpiritual Guardian along with the Lady. *Paulinus* omitted no Occaſion to plant the Goſpel in thoſe Parts, but with ſmall Succeſs, 'till the next Year this uncommon Accident made way for it: *Quincelm*, one of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, jealous and envious of *Edwin*'s Greatneſs, ſent *Eumerus* a deſperate Aſſaſſinator to ſtab him; who, under pretence of delivering a Meſſage, with a poiſon'd Weapon ſtruck at *Edwin*, whilſt he was diſcourſing with him in his Houſe, by the River *Derwent* in *Yorkſhire*; which being perceiv'd by *Lilla*, one of the King's Attendants, with a noble Loyalty he interpos'd his own Body to receive the Blow, through which alſo it reach'd the King's Perſon, with a dangerous Wound. The Murderer being now encompaſs'd with Swords, and made more deſperate by his own Danger, ſlew another of the King's Servants in the ſame Manner. *Paulinus* improv'd this Opportunity, and at length obtain'd this Promiſe from him, *That if* Chriſt, *whom he ſo magnify'd, would grant him his Recovery, and Victory over his Enemies who had thus baſely aſſaulted him, he would then become a Chriſtian*; as a Pledge of which he order'd his young Daughter *Eanfled* to be bred up in that Religion, who with twelve others of his Family was baptiz'd on *Whitſunday*. Being well recover'd of his Wound, to puniſh the Authors of ſo diſhonourable an Action, he march'd againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*; whom he ſubdu'd, put ſome to Death, pardon'd others, and return'd home Victorious.

From this Time King *Edwin* forſook his Idols: yet ventur'd not raſhly on Baptiſm, but ſtill conſulted with himſelf and others, who were Men of the greateſt Wiſdom; tho' *Boniface* the Pope, by large Letters of Exhortation both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his Belief. But while he was long delaying and deferring to compleat his Chriſtianity, *Paulinus* by Revelation, as was believ'd, coming to the Knowledge of a Secret which ſtrangely befel him in the Time of his Troubles, on a certain Day went in boldly to him, and laying his right Hand on the Head of the King, ask'd him, *If he remembred what that Sign meant.* The King trembling, with great Aſtoniſhment fell at his Feet: *Behold*, ſaid *Paulinus*, raiſing him from the Ground, *God has deliver'd you from your Enemies, and given you what you requeſted; perform now what you long ſince promis'd him, to receive his Doctrine, which if you do, he ſhall to your temporal Grandeur add eternal Felicity. Edwin* being much mov'd, immediately conſulted his great Men, and propounded the Reaſons to them, that naturally might induce them to embrace Chriſtianity; to which they with no great Difficulty comply'd, and firſt of all *Coifi* his chief Pagan Prieſt, who alſo offer'd himſelf to deſtroy the Altars and Temples of their Gods, which he immediately effected, making ſome Amends for his teaching Men to adore them. Then *Edwin*, with the chief Nobility of his Nation, and many of the common People, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, were baptiz'd; after which vaſt Numbers of the Vulgar daily flock'd in to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, and to be baptiz'd, the next Rivers ſerving inſtead of Fonts, which at that Time were wanting, nor were then ſcarce any Churches built, unleſs one ſmall one at *York*, which *Edwin* caus'd to be erected of Wood, for the Solemnity of his own Baptiſm, where he fix'd *Paulinus*'s Epiſcopal See, in the Year 627.

The Northumbrians *embrace the Chriſtian Religion.*

A. D. 628.

Paulinus, having made ſo happy a Progreſs in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, croſs'd the *Humber*, and converted alſo the Province of *Lindſey*, and *Blecca* the Governor of *Lincoln*, with his Family, and moſt of that great City: In which he built a Church of Stone of curious Workmanſhip, whoſe Roof being fallen down, either by Neglect, or hoſtile Incurſions, the Walls were only ſtanding in *Beda*'s Time. *Edwin* alſo ſeeking every way to propagate the Faith, which with ſo much Deliberation he had receiv'd, perſuaded *Eorpwald*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and Son of his Friend *Redwald*, to embrace the ſame Belief; who under *Edwin* retain'd only the Name of a King. But *Eorpwald* did not long ſurvive his Converſion, being ſlain in Battel by *Richert* a Pagan; whereby the People having lightly follow'd the Religion of their King, as lightly relaps'd to their old Superſtition, for above three Years after. *Edwin* in the mean Time, to his Faith adding Virtue, by the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice, brought ſuch a Peace and Security over all his Territories, that *Beda* tells us, in his Reign a Woman with a Child in her Hand might have ſafely travell'd from Sea to Sea. His Care extended to Fountains near the High-ways, where he caus'd drinking Veſſels of Braſs to be ſet upon Poſts, for the Refreſhment of Travellers, which none either out of Love or Fear would preſume to remove; and not unmindful of Regal State, either in Peace or War, he had a Royal Banner, which the *Romans* call'd *Tufa*, conſtantly carry'd before him. But his Glory declin'd on a ſudden, after he had reign'd with great Honour and Reputation, being at length ſlain in Battel with his Son *Oſfrid*, at a Place call'd *Hethfield*, now *Hatfield* in *Yorkſhire*, and his whole Army routed, by *Cadwallon* King of the *Britains*, and *Penda* the *Mercian*, who rebelled againſt him. This happen'd in the Year 633, in the ſixth Year of his Chriſtianity, the ninth of his Monarchy, and the ſeventeenth of his Reign; his Head being carry'd to *York*, was there depoſited in the Church of St. *Peter*, which he himſelf had began to build with Stone.

And alſo the Eaſt-Angles *with ſome others.*

Edwin's *happy Reign.*

His Death.

A. D. 633.

This Overthrow prov'd pernicious both to the Church and State of the *Northumbrians*; for *Penda* being a Heathen, and the *Britiſh* King of a barbarous Diſpoſition, no Cruelties were omitted in the Slaughter of either Sex or Age; *Cadwallon* threatning to extirpate the whole Nation, tho' then made Chriſtian. For *Beda* tells us, that even to his Days, the *Britains* accounted *Saxon* Chriſtianity no better than Paganiſm, and held as little Communion with the one as the other. In theſe calamitous Times *Paulinus* was conſtrain'd to fly with Queen *Ethelburga* and her Children to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*, who kindly receiv'd them, and made *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, where he ended his Days. And now the Kingdom of *Northumberland* became divided as formerly, *Oſrick* ſeizing *Deira*, and *Eanfrid* taking *Bernicia*; both of whom from Chriſtians became ſuddenly Pagans. But being overtaken by God's Vengeance, neither their Lives nor this Diviſion laſted long; for *Cadwallon* and *Penda*, in the firſt Year of their Reign, found Means to cut off the one in Battel, and the other by Treachery. *Cadwallon* now ranging at pleaſure through both the Provinces, was at length met by the pious *Oſwald*, Brother to *Eanfrid*, who with a ſmall Chriſtian Army, unexpectedly charg'd him, and deſtroy'd both him and his ſuppos'd invincible Forces, by a little River near the ancient *Picts* Wall, the Place being afterwards call'd *Heav'n-field*, from a Croſs reported miraculous for Cures, which *Oſwald* there erected before the Battel, in Token of his Faith againſt the great Numbers of his Enemies. *Oſwald* being the Son of *Ethelfrid*, by the Siſter of *Edwin*, eaſily reduc'd both Kingdoms of *Northumberland* as before into one; nor did he loſe any Part of *Edwin*'s Dominions, but rather enlarg'd them over ſeveral Nations; ſo that he became the next chief Monarch of the *Engliſh*.

4. OSWALD. *of* Northumberland *and chief Monarch.*

This Prince obtaining the Kingdom, took particular Care to inſtruct his People in Chriſtianity; ſending to the *Scots*, among whom he had been baptiz'd, he deſir'd ſome faithful Teacher, who might reſtore Religion in his Dominions, which the late Troubles had much impair'd; and they, ready to aſſiſt, ſent *Aidan* a Monk and Biſhop of ſingular Zeal and Humility, with ſeveral others, whom at their own Deſire he ſeated at *Lindesfarne*, now *Holy Iſland*. *Beda* ſays much of the Devotion, Meekneſs and Charity of this Prince; that he diſdain'd not to be the Interpreter of *Aidan*, while in *Scotch* or bad *Engliſh* he preach'd to his Nobles and Servants; and that he had the Poor continually ſerved at his Gate: Particularly at a Feſtival, he not only ſent them his beſt Meats in a Silver Charger, but alſo order'd the Charger to be broken in Pieces and divided amongſt them; which caus'd Biſhop *Aidan* to take him by the right Hand, and to pray that *That Hand might never corrupt.* In the ſecond Year of his Reign, the *Weſt-Saxons*, by the Preaching of *Berinus*, a Biſhop whom Pope *Honorius* had ſent, were converted to the Faith with *Cynegils* their King; whom *Oſwald* receiv'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in Marriage. The following Year the *Eaſt-Angles* were recover'd to Chriſtianity, which for ſome Years paſt had been thrown off. But *Sigebert*, the Brother of *Eorpwald*, a moſt learned and pious Man, who had been taught the Chriſtian Religion during his Exile in *France*, now ſucceeding in this Kingdom, he inſtructed his People in the Faith by the Preaching and Labours of *Fœlix* a *Burgundian* Biſhop, who fixt his See at *Domoc*, or *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*. In a few Years after, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome Teachers out of *Kent*, he erected a famous School, which is generally thought to be the Univerſity of *Cambridge* then firſt founded. In the Year 640, *Eadbald* was ſucceeded by his Son *Ercombert* in *Kent*, who was the firſt of the *Engliſh* Kings who commanded the deſtroying of Idols in all his Dominions, and the firſt who eſtabliſh'd the Obſervation of *Lent* by an human Law and Penalty. In the mean Time *Oſwald*, having happily reign'd eight Years, and worthy of a longer Life, met with the ſame Fate with *Edwin*, and by the ſame Hand; being in a great Battel defeated and ſlain by *Penda* King of *Mercia*, at a Place call'd *Maſerfield*, now *Oſweſtree* in *Shropſhire*, which as *Beda* tells us was noted for Miracles after his Death.

His excellent Reign.

The Weſt-Saxons *converted.*

The Univerſity *of* Cambridge *founded.*

Oſwald's *Death.*

A. D. 643.

Upon the Death of *Oſwald*, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* again became divided for ſix or ſeven Years;

Oſwy

5.
Oswy *of* Northumberland *chief Monarch:*

Who ſlays Oſwin.

Oſwy gaining *Bernicia*, and *Oſwin* obtaining *Deira.* The former was an Illegitimate Offspring, and half-Brother to *Oſwald*, who in a few Years became the next chief Monarch of the *Engliſh.* But the former Part of his Reign was extreamly diſturb'd by *Penda* King of *Mercia*, by the Rebellions of his natural Son *Alkfrid*, and by the Oppoſitions of *Ethelwald* the Son of *Oſwald*; but moſt of all by the virtuous Government of *Oſwin* of *Deira*, whoſe pious Zeal, Moderation, and princely Qualities did much eclipſe his Actions, and leſſen the Love and Eſteem of his own Subjects. *Beda* ſpeaks much of the remarkable Piety and Humility of *Oſwin*; but his Virtues were ſo far from protecting him, that they gave Occaſion to *Oſwy* in the ſeventh Year of his Reign, to begin a fatal War with him. *Oſwin* finding himſelf much exceeded in Numbers, thought it more Prudence, by diſmiſſing his Army, to reſerve himſelf for ſome better Opportunity. But committing his Perſon, with one faithful Attendant, to the Loyalty of Earl *Hunwald*, his ſuppos'd Friend, he was by him treacherouſly deliver'd up, and ſlain by the Command of *Oſwy*; whoſe Death in twelve Days was ſucceeded by that of the pious Biſhop *Aidan*, who dy'd of Grief for the Loſs of ſo excellent a Prince. This Fact of *Oſwy* was ſo deteſtable to all, and became ſo afflicting to himſelf, that to expiate the Offence, a Monaſtery was founded upon the Place; as many the like Foundations were laid, whoſe Stones were thus cemented with Blood.

A. D. 650.

The Mercians *receive Chriſtianity.*

The Eaſt-Saxons *re-converted.*

Oſwy, upon the Death of *Oſwin*, united both Kingdoms again, and as his Greatneſs encreas'd, ſo did his Virtues and good Actions begin to ſhew themſelves. And now *Peada* the Son of *Penda*, whoſe Father had made him King of a Part of his Dominions, was by *Oſwy*'s Means converted to Chriſtianity, with his Subjects. For coming to *Oſwy* to deſire his Daughter *Alfleda* in Marriage, he would not conſent but upon Condition, that he and all his People ſhould embrace the Chriſtian Faith. Therefore hark'ning to what was preach'd to him of eternal Life, and being perſuaded by *Alfrid* the King's Son, who had marry'd his Siſter *Kyniburg*, he readily agreed to turn Chriſtian, whether he obtain'd the Lady or not; and was baptized with all his Followers. Upon his Return, he took with him four Presbyters to teach the People of his Province, who by their Care and Vigilance won great Numbers: Nor did *Penda*, tho' himſelf a Pagan, prohibite any in his Kingdom to hear or believe the Goſpel, but hated and deſpis'd all thoſe whoſe Works were not anſwerable to their Faith; condemning them for miſerable and mean Wretches, who obey'd not that God in whom they choſe to believe. About this Time, the *Eaſt-Saxons*, who had formerly expell'd their Biſhop *Mellitus*, and renounced their Faith, were by the Means of *Oſwy* thus re-converted. *Sigebert* the ſecond, coming to viſit *Oſwy*, his great Friend, was by him at ſeveral Times ſtrenuouſly diſſuaded from Idolatry, and being at length convinc'd, forſook it, and was baptiz'd. On his return home, he took with him *Kedda* a laborious Preacher, afterwards made Biſhop; by whoſe Teaching, and the Aſſiſtance of others, the People were again recover'd from their Infidelity. This good Prince was afterwards murder'd by the Conſpiracy of two Earls near him, who being demanded what mov'd them to a Crime ſo heinous, return'd this barbarous Anſwer, *That it was becauſe he was ſo gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them their Injuries, as often as they beſought him.* But the Occaſion of his Death is much more remarkable; for one of theſe Brothers who ſlew him, being for unlawful Wedlock ſo excommunicated by the Biſhop, that no Man might preſume to enter into his Houſe; the King not regarding the Church's Cenſure, upon an Invitation went to feaſt at his Houſe, whom the Biſhop meeting in his Return, tho' penitent and fallen at his Feet, he pronounc'd this Sentence: *Becauſe thou haſt not abſtain'd from the Houſe of this excommunicated Man, in that Houſe thou ſhalt die*; which happen'd not long after, God bearing Witneſs to his Miniſter, in the due Power of Church Diſcipline when ſpiritually executed on Contemners.

A. D. 655.

Oſwy's *Succeſſes.*

A Synod about keeping of Eaſter.

Oſwy's *Death.*

Oſwy having reign'd about twelve Years, had now the good Fortune to ruin his chief Enemy *Penda*, after he had endur'd many Ravages and Devaſtations from him, and in vain offer'd large Gifts and Preſents to purchaſe his Friendſhip. Finding himſelf too weak for human Relief, he turn'd his Gifts into Vows for the Divine Aſſiſtance; and according to the uſual Zeal of thoſe Times, he devoted his Infant Daughter to perpetual Virginity, and certain large Portions of Lands for the building and endowing of Monaſteries. His Vows, as may be conceiv'd, produc'd greater Effects than his Treaties; for hereupon, he with his Son *Alfred*, gathering a ſmall Army, at *Leeds* in *Yorkſhire*, engag'd and defeated the whole Body of the *Mercians*, tho' they were thirty Times more in Number, and led on by experienc'd Commanders. The unexpected Retreat of *Ethelwald* the Son of *Oſwald*, who join'd with the *Mercians*, much contributed to this extraordinary Victory; which was attended with the Death of *Penda* himſelf, *Ethelhere* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and many other Commanders, who were drowned in a River call'd *Winred.* The Fall of cruel *Penda*, who had been the Death of four or five Chriſtian Kings, caus'd a general Rejoicing, and alſo brought *Oſwy* to the Heighth of his Power, who in three Years ſubdu'd the whole Kingdom of *Mercia*, and the greateſt Part of the *Picts* in the North. In the Time of his Proſperity, and the Year 664, a Synod of *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Biſhops, in the Preſence of him and his Son *Alfred*, was held at a Monaſtery in the North, concerning the Time about celebrating *Eaſter*; a Controverſie which had long before diſturb'd the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches; wherein the *Scots* not agreeing with the Cuſtoms of *Rome*, nor yielding to the Diſputants on that Side to whom the King was moſt inclin'd, ſuch as were Biſhops here reſign'd, and return'd home with their Diſciples. Not long after, by Means of *Theodore*, a learned Monk of *Greece*, whom the Pope had made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, under *Egbert* King of *Kent*, the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, with all the Liberal Arts and Sciences, began firſt to flouriſh among the *Saxons*, and daily encreas'd under potent and religious Kings, 'till the Days of *Beda*, as he himſelf informs us. And now *Oſwy* having granted Part of *Mercia* to his Son-in-Law *Peada*, and he being ſlain by Treachery, he was oppos'd by *Wulfer*, who freed the Country from his Subjection. And thus *Oſwy* ended his Days in Troubles as he began in Wars, after a Reign of twenty-eight Years; when falling ſick, he was ſo ſtruck with Remorſe for the Blood of *Oſwin*, and of others that he had ſhed, that he vow'd a Pilgrimage to *Rome*, in which Place he thought to have laid his Bones: But Death ſoon put an End to his Deſigns, and in the Year 670 remov'd him, and the Seat of the chief Monarchy of *England* from his Dominions.

A. D. 670.

The Chief Monarchy of England *falls to the* Mercians.

6.
WULFER *chief Monarch.*

Simony firſt in England.

IV. Upon the Death of *Oſwy*, the chief Monarchy of *England*, which had continu'd forty ſix Years in the North, began to remove Southwards, and to fix it ſelf in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, where it was preſerv'd for above an hundred and thirty Years. *Wulfer* King of *Mercia* was the firſt Monarch of this Nature, who in the Life of King *Oſwy* freed himſelf from his Power, and after his Death became Chief of the *Engliſh* Nation; tho' more in Name than in Reality. For his Reign was not only ſhort, but in a little Time after *Oſwy*'s Death, he loſt the Iſle of *Lindſey* to *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland.* Yet three Years after he warr'd againſt the *Weſt-Saxons* with greater Succeſs, triumphantly paſs'd through their Country, and gain'd the Iſle of *Wight* from King *Renwald*; which Iſland he gave to *Edilwach* King of the *South-Saxons*, who being then baptiz'd, *Wulfer* became his God-Father. *Wulfer* himſelf had not long before been a zealous and cruel Pagan; but now becoming Chriſtian, he deſtroy'd the Worſhip of Idols throughout his Dominions, and caus'd the Goſpel to be preach'd in all Parts of his Kingdom: Notwithſtanding he is tax'd by *Malmeſbury* with the ſcandalous Sin of Simony, in ſelling to *Wina*, the depriv'd Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Biſhoprick of *London.* In this Reign, and about this Time, Chriſtianity being generally eſtabliſh'd, many conſiderable Monaſteries were founded, and Kings and Queens began to take upon them the Habits of the Religious, and frequently to withdraw from their Thrones to the Monkiſh Cells. And now *Wulfer* having reign'd above four Years ſince the Deceaſe of *Oſwy*, and about ſeventeen in all, he dy'd, and left his Body to be bury'd in the Monaſtery of *Peterborough*, which had been his and his Brother's Foundation.

A. D. 675.

7.
ETHELRED *of* Mercia *chief Monarch.*

The South-Saxons *fully converted.*

Mercia *divided into five Dioceſes.*

Wulfer was ſucceeded by his Brother *Ethelred*, the third Son of King *Penda*, who enter'd upon the Kingdom by the Conſent of young *Kenred* his Nephew, who was next Heir to the Crown. This Prince in a ſhort Time not only regain'd *Lindſey*, and all that *Wulfer* had loſt to *Egfrid* of *Northumberland*, but found himſelf powerful enough to extend his Arms a contrary Way, againſt *Lothar* King of *Kent*, whoſe Country he waſted without Reſpect to Churches or Religious Houſes; particularly *Rocheſter* was plunder'd, and its Biſhop *Putta* driven to ſuch Extremities, that in his old Age he was oblig'd to teach Arts and Muſick in *Mercia*, to preſerve himſelf from Want. Not long after, the *South-Saxons*, whoſe King had been baptiz'd in *Wulfer*'s Reign, were all converted to the Chriſtian Faith, by Means of Biſhop *Wilfrid*, who had been depriv'd, and driven from *Northumberland* by King *Egfrid.* And now Chriſtianity having been receiv'd by all the *Engliſh-Saxons*, King *Ethelred*, by the Advice and Conſent of *Theodore* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, divided the whole Kingdom of *Mercia*, the largeſt in the whole Nation, into five Dioceſes, namely *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Litchfield*, *Leiceſter*, and *Cidnaceſter*; all which were compleated in

the

A. D. 680.

The Canons of the general Councils received in England.

Ina's *Laws.*

Ethelred *reſigns.*

the Year 679. In the following Year, at the Command of *Ethelred*, and three other Kings, viz. *Egfrid* of *Northumberland*, *Aldwulf* of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and *Lothar* of *Kent*, Arch-Biſhop *Theodore* ſummon'd a Synod at *Hatfield* in *Hartfordſhire*; in which were receiv'd the Canons of five General Councils, as *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, *Calcedon*, and another in *Conſtantinople*, with thoſe Conſtitutions made at *Rome* by the Synod held under Pope *Martin*, in the Year 648, which Pope *Agatho* this Year ſent into *England*. And at the ſame Time, *John* the *Præcentor* or chief Chantor of St. *Peter*'s at *Rome*, brought over hither the yearly Order and Courſe of Singings and Readings, as was practis'd there. *Ethelred* had a long and peaceable Reign, and as his Power encreas'd, that of *Egfrid* declin'd, who in the Year 685 raſhly leading his Army to deſtroy the Province of the *Picts*, under his Subjection, he and all his Forces were cut in pieces. From which Time, ſays *Beda*, military Valour decay'd in that Kingdom, and not only the *Picts*, till then in a peaceable Condition, but alſo many of the old *Britains* recover'd their Liberty for many Years after. In the latter End of King *Ethelred*'s Reign, *Oſtred* his Queen was kill'd by her own Nobles, call'd *Southimbrians*; but both the Cauſe and Conſequence of this ſtrange Fact is unknown to us. About this Time *Ina* King of the *Weſt-Saxons* publiſh'd his Laws, which are the firſt that remain to us entire, and were both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil; by which it appears, that Theft, Murder, and other heinous Crimes, were then redeemable by pecuniary Mulcts. And now at length King *Ethelred* being ſtrucken with Remorſe, for his deſtroying Religious Places in the Beginning of his Reign, to make amends, he founded the famous Monaſtery of *Bardney* in *Lincolnſhire*; into which he retir'd himſelf, became a Monk, and laſtly dy'd Abbot of the Place, after he had reign'd about thirty Years.

A. D. 704. 8.

KENRED *of* Mercia *chief Monarch.*

Kenred *reſigns.*

A. D. 709. 9.

CEOLRED *of* Mercia *chief Monarch.*

Ceolred *dies.*

Ethelred upon his Reſignation paſs'd by his Son *Ceolred*, and appointed *Kenred*, the Son of his Brother *Wulfer*, for his Succeſſor, who was the neareſt Heir to the Crown. Of which Prince we know but little, only that he had the Repute of being the chief Monarch of the *Engliſh*, and that after four Years peaceable Government being deſirous of Contemplation, according to the Example of his Uncle *Ethelred*, he ſought a more private and religious Life: And accordingly having appointed his Couſin *Ceolred* to rule in his Place, he relinquiſh'd both his Kingdom and Country; and having concerted Matters with *Offa*, King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, a Prince of uncommon Zeal and Piety, he with him and *Edwin* Biſhop of *Worceſter* travell'd to *Rome*, where both theſe Kings were made Monks in the Time of Pope *Conſtantine* the Firſt, and in a Monaſtery of that City ſpent the reſt of their Lives. Such was the accuſtom'd Fervour of thoſe Times; when a Monk's Habit was accounted the greateſt Badge of Humility, and a religious Solitude the main Step to Eternity. *Ceolred* ſucceeded with the Applauſe of the People, and reign'd for a few Years in great Peace and Proſperity: But his Quiet was at laſt diſturb'd by the growing Power of *Ina*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; who having gain'd great Advantages over the *Britains*, and conſtrain'd *Kent* to purchaſe Peace by a Sum of Mony, turn'd his Forces againſt *Mercia*. Accordingly a ſharp and doubtful Battel was fought between theſe Rivals *Ceolred* and *Ina*, at *Wodensburgh* in *Wiltſhire*, in the Year 715. The Succeſs of this Battel is uncertain; and the following Year, and the ſeventh of his Reign, *Ceolred* feaſting with his Nobles, was ſuddenly poſſeſs'd with an Evil Spirit, and expir'd in Deſpair, as *Boniface* Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz*, an *Engliſh-Man*, who taxes him for a Defiler of Nuns, writes by way of Caution to his Succeſſor.

A. D. 716. 10.

ETHELBALD *of* Mercia *chief Monarch.*

The Kingdom of the South-Saxons *at an end.*

Upon the Death of *Ceolred*, *Ethelbald*, his Couſin once remov'd, ſucceeded him in his Kingdom. This Prince had a very long, and for the moſt part a peaceable Reign; which he began with the Foundation of the celebrated Monaſtery of *Croyland*, now *Crowland* in *Lincolnſhire*, in Honour of St. *Guthlac* the famous Anchoret, who is ſaid to have clear'd that Place of Demons, and evil Spirits. The former part of his Reign was in a great meaſure rivall'd by *Ina* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who not only worſted the *Eaſt-Angles* in ſeveral Encounters, but in the Year 725 alſo intirely ruin'd the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*, ſlew *Aldwin* their King, and added all the Dominions to the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom: So that the *Saxon* Heptarchy was now reduc'd to Six Kingdoms. This Prince is ſaid to have been the firſt who laid a Tax of a Penny a Houſe to be paid to the Pope, which was afterwards call'd *Peter-Pence*. And not long after, whether to expiate the Effuſion of ſo much Blood, or to comply with the Genius of the Times, at the Perſuaſion of his Queen *Ethelburga*, he reſign'd his Kingdom, and ended his Days in a Monaſtery at *Rome*. After whoſe Death, *Ethelbald* of *Mercia* commanded all the Provinces on this Side *Humber*, with their Kings. The *Picts* were now in League with the *Engliſh*, the *Scots* peaceable within their Limits, and the *Britains* were partly under their own Government, and partly under the *Engliſh*. In which peaceful State of the Land, many in *Northumberland*, both of the Nobility and Commons, laying aſide the Exerciſe of Arms, betook themſelves to Monaſteries; and many others, both of the Clergy and Laity, Men and Women, haſtning to *Rome* in Companies, thought themſelves no ways ſecure of eternal Life, 'till they were Cloiſter'd there. Theſe Retirements of the beſt of the People afterwards prov'd a fatal Weak'ning of the Nation; and with this State of the Land the learned and celebrated *Beda* finiſh'd his Hiſtory, about the Year 731.

A. D. 732.

The Kingdom of the Eaſt-Saxons *ended.*

The two Councils of Cloveſhoe.

Ethelbald's *vicious Reign.*

He is ſlain.

V. From this Time forwards, and for many Years, we have a more imperfect Account than ever of the Affairs of this Nation; and not long after the finiſhing his Hiſtory, *Beda* dy'd at his Monaſtery in *Northumberland*, whoſe great Piety, as well as Learning, juſtly obtain'd for him the Title of *Venerable Beda*. After whoſe Deceaſe, as *Malmsbury* obſerves, all Knowledge of publick Tranſactions were for a long Time almoſt loſt, ſince none prov'd an Emulator of his Studies, nor a Follower of his Learning; ſo that to a ſloathful Generation, one more ſloathful ſucceeding, the Love of Learning became cold in this whole Iſland. In the mean Time *Ethelbald* reign'd chief Monarch of the *Engliſh*; and his Power was much ſtrengthen'd and confirm'd by his taking *Somerton* from the *Weſt-Saxons*, and afterwards much Spoil and Plunder from the *Northumbrians*. And moreover about the Year 747, he became Maſter of *London*, and in effect brought the *Eaſt-Saxon* Kingdom to a Period; ſo that the Heptarchy was now reduc'd to five Kingdoms. Under this Prince were held two Councils at *Cloveſhoe* in *Kent*, one in the Year 742, and the other in 747; at both which *Ethelbald* himſelf was preſent. The firſt was principally to confirm King *Withred*'s Acts concerning the Monaſteries in *Kent*, according to the Directions of *Cuthbert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. The ſecond was at the Inſtance of Pope *Zachary*, who by his Epiſtles ſeverely admoniſh'd the *Saxons* of all ſorts, from the Higheſt to the Loweſt, to forſake their wicked and ſcandalous Actions. Here ſeveral Canons were made concerning the Paſtoral Charge, and many Proviſions againſt the Inordinancy, extravagant Habits, Incontinency, Luxury, and irregular Lives of the Clergy, Monks and Nuns, as well as the Laity. The reigning Vices of theſe Times, as Fornication, Adultery, Murder, Drunkenneſs, Perjury, &c. were only puniſh'd with longer or ſhorter Penances, of Days, Weeks, Months or Years; but what theſe Penances were we do not find. Theſe Times were now become looſe and luxurious; and *Kelwulf* King of *Northumberland*, retiring from his Throne to the Monaſtery of *Lindesfarne*, brought thoſe Monks from the Uſe of Milk and Water to Wine and Ale. But *Ethelbald* proceeded to greater Irregularities, and contemning Marriage, gave himſelf all the Freedom of unlawful Enjoyments, making no Difference between Places and Perſons, Nuns and other Women; and by his fatal Example the Nobility and People were infected with an univerſal Viciouſneſs and Luxury. Which being related to *Boniface* the Pope's Legate then in *Germany*, he ſeverely reprov'd *Ethelbald* by an Epiſtle, which had ſo good an Effect upon him, that he repented of his former Life, and endeavour'd to make Satisfaction by many charitable Works, and ſeveral large Immunities which he granted to the Church and Monaſteries. At length, after a Reign of above forty Years, fighting againſt the *Weſt-Saxons* in a War not prudently undertaken, he was traiterouſly ſlain by his own Subjects, at the Inſtigation of *Beornred*, who likewiſe endeavour'd to ſtep into the Throne, but was himſelf ſlain by *Offa* the *Mercian*, before he could compleat his Deſigns. His Death was accompany'd with the Deprivation of *Sigebert*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who for his Cruelty and Injuſtice was ſolemnly depos'd from his Kingdom, by the Authority of the grand Council of the ſame; which is the firſt Example of that Nature that we have in our *Engliſh* Hiſtory.

A. D. 756. 11

OFFA *of* Mercia *chief Monarch.*

His Succeſſes.

Beornred the Uſurper being ſlain, *Offa* Couſin to King *Ethelbald* ſucceeded in the Kingdom; being the eleventh King of the *Mercians*, and the moſt valiant and powerful of all the *Engliſh-Saxons*, ſo that no Attempts ſeem'd too high for his Undertaking. The neighbouring Kings foreſeeing his ambitious Aims, ſolicited the Alliance of *Charles the Great*, King of *France*, whoſe Intereſt could no ways prevail upon *Offa* to cauſe him to deſiſt from his Deſigns. The firſt that felt his Fury were the *Kentiſh* Men under *Alric* their King, whoſe Overthrow was the leſs diſhonourable, ſays *Malmsbury*, becauſe they were vanquiſh'd by ſo great a Monarch. The Place was *Ottanford*, where their King was ſlain by *Offa*'s own Hand, their Forces diſpers'd, and all their Country waſted by the *Mercians*. This happen'd about the eighteenth Year of his Reign, when turning his Forces againſt *Kenwulf* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who had aſſiſted his Enemies, he overthrew him at *Benſington* in *Oxfordſhire*, and took the Town. But not long after, in the Year 776, all the *Britains*, both of *North* and *South-Wales*, gather'd themſelves together, and invading the Kingdom of *Mercia*, made terrible Devaſtations in many Parts of the Country, waſting all with Fire and Sword. Whereupon King *Offa* was conſtrain'd to make a Peace with the other *Saxon* Kings, and turn all his Forces againſt the *Welſh*-Men; who being unable to reſiſt ſo great a Power, were oblig'd to abandon all the plain Country between the Rivers *Wye* and *Severn*, and retire to the Mountainous Parts. Upon which Advantage, *Offa* immediately ſeiz'd on all the plain Country, planted it with *Saxon* Inhabitants, annex'd it to his own Kingdom, and caus'd a famous Ditch or Intrenchment to be made from Sea to Sea, between his Kingdom and *Wales*, by which he might the better defend his Country from future Incurſions; which Ditch is ſeen at this Day in divers Places, and is call'd in *Welſh*, *Clawdh Offa*, that is *Offa*'s Ditch.

He ſeparates Wales *from* England *with a Ditch.*

A. D. 777.

Lichfield *made an Archbiſhoprick.*

After this *Offa* reign'd many Years in great Splendor, and for the moſt part in Peace, having Trumpets ſounded before him when he travell'd or appear'd in publick. And as a Mark of his Grandeur, he procur'd *Lichfield* to be made an Archbiſhoprick, over all the Biſhops in *Mercia* and *Eaſt-England*; and becauſe *Jambert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* oppos'd him, he bereav'd that Archbiſhoprick of all its Lands that lay in the *Mercian* Territories: In which State it continu'd all his Reign. He call'd alſo a Synod or Council at *Calcuith*, where among ſeveral Canons, Tythes were firſt order'd to be paid in *England*, and alſo declar'd to be by Divine Right. Not long after, *Charles* the Great, who now held an amicable Correſpondence with *Offa*, ſent a certain Book of Synodical Decrees into *England*, as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates; in which alſo, as our Author complains, were found many inconvenient Things, and contrary to the true Faith: For, adds he, it had been decreed in a Council at *Conſtantinople*, by more than three hundred Biſhops, that Images ought to be ador'd, which the Church of God does abominate. Againſt which Impoſition *Albinus*, or *Alcuin*, the moſt learned Man of the Nation, wrote an Epiſtle, and preſented that with the Synodical Book to the King of *France*, in the Name and Perſon of all the Biſhops and chief Men of the *Engliſh* Nation.

A. D. 787.

The firſt Arrival of the Danes *in* England.

About the thirtieth Year of the Reign of King *Offa*, and third of *Birthric* the *Weſt-Saxon*, Birth was given to new and great Calamities in the Iſland. For in the Weſt arriv'd three Ships of *Danes* or *Norwegians*, by Chance, or for Pillage; who upon their Landing being commanded to come to *Dorcheſter*, and give an account of their Lading at the King's Cuſtom-Houſe, they ſlew the Officer and all that came with him, as an Earneſt of the numerous Slaughters, Rapines and Hoſtilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all the Iſland. Three or four Years after theſe *Pagans* landed in the North, and plunder'd the great Monaſtery of *Lindesfarne*, kill'd many of the Friars, took others Priſoners, ſparing neither Clergy nor Laity. Theſe were the firſt *Daniſh* Ships that infeſted the *Engliſh* Nation; where it is obſervable, That the ſame People who were firſt call'd *Normans* in the *Saxon* Annals, are there alſo nam'd *Danes* in other Places; which ſhews, that the *Danes* and *Normans* were then accounted to be one and the ſame People. In the mean time King *Offa* maintain'd his Power, and kept up his Ambition, ſhewing as little Faith as Mercy: For *Ethelbert*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, coming to his Court, to obtain his Daughter in Marriage, was by the Inſtigation of his Queen *Quendrith* treacherouſly murder'd, and all his Dominions ſeiz'd and added to the Kingdom of *Mercia*, in the Year 792. So that now the *Saxon* Heptarchy was reduc'd to four Kingdoms, viz. *Mercia*, *Weſt-Saxony*, *Northumberland* and *Kent*; that of the *South-Saxons* being ſwallow'd up by the *Weſt-Saxons*, and thoſe of the *Eaſt-Saxons* and *Eaſt-Angles* by the *Mercians*. At the ſame time the Kingdoms of *Northumberland* and *Kent* were in a declining Condition. In the former, *Eadbert*, an excellent Governor, contrary to the Advice of the neighbouring Princes, and his beſt Friends, follow'd his Predeceſſor *Kelwulf*'s Steps, and retir'd to a Monaſtery. His Son *Oſwulf* was ſlain by the Treachery of his own Servants: *Ethelwold* the next King was aſſaſſinated by *Alhred* his Succeſſor, who after eight Years Reign was formally depos'd by his Subjects: *Ethelred* the next, in four Years Time fled his Country; *Alfwold* his Succeſſor was ſlain by a Conſpiracy, and *Oſred* in a Year's Time depriv'd by the State: Which frequent and violent Changes brought the Kingdom to a very tottering Condition. As to the Kingdom of *Kent*, in the Year 793, the Death of *Alric*, the fourteenth King, put an End to the Race of *Hengiſt*; from which Time whoever was advanc'd by Wealth or Faction, took upon him the Title of King of that Province.

The Kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles *at an End.*

Offa *goes to* Rome.

And now *Offa* having reign'd with mighty Authority about thirty ſeven Years, with great Devotion repair'd to *Rome*, where with the like Zeal of *Ina* the *Weſt-Saxon*, he made his Kingdom ſubject to a Tribute then call'd *Peter-Pence* and *Romſcot*. Beſides which, he made rich Preſents to Pope *Hadrian* for Canonizing St. *Alban*, the firſt *Britiſh* Martyr; in Honour of whom, and by way of Penance, he founded a magnificent Monaſtery near *Verulamium*, and endow'd it with large Revenues. Alſo as a Teſtimony of his Repentance for his great Effuſion of Blood, at his Return to his Kingdom, he gave the tenth Part of all his Goods to the Church and Poor; he built another Monaſtery at *Bath*, and the Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, with another Church at *Warwick*, where the adjoining Town from that and him bears the Name of *Off-Church*. He did not long ſurvive theſe Charities, but in the Year 794 dy'd in Peace at *Off-ley*; and with great Solemnity his Body was interr'd near *Bedford*, in a Chapel upon the Banks of the *Owſe*, after a triumphant Reign of about thirty nine Years.

He dies.

A. D. 794.

12. EGFERTH *of* Mercia *chief Monarch.*

13. KENWULF *of* Mercia *chief Monarch.*

Offa was ſucceeded in his Kingdom by his Son *Egferth*, who being a Prince of great Worth, had been crown'd King in his Father's time, nine Years before; and after his Death, he reſtor'd to the Church whatever had been violently taken from it; but this hopeful Prince reign'd but a few Months before he dy'd, and left the Crown to *Kenwulf*, the next of the Royal Line; who by his excellent Behaviour both in Peace and War ſufficiently ſhew'd that he deſerved it. In the ſecond Year of his Reign, in a War againſt *Eadbert* King of *Kent*, he not only gave him a total Overthrow, but alſo took him Priſoner, to the great Diſhonour of all his Subjects, and gave his Kingdom to *Cuthred*. Two Years after, at the Dedication of a magnificent Church built by him at *Winchcombe* in *Gloceſterſhire*, *Kenwulf*, in the Preſence of *Cuthred*, thirteen Biſhops, ten Dukes, many Noblemen, and a great Concourſe of People led *Eadbert* the Captive King to the High Altar, and there without either Intreaty or Ranſom gave him his Liberty; manifeſting at once his Devotion to God, and his Generoſity to the unfortunate. This Prince reign'd ſeveral Years after in Peace and Happineſs, and was the laſt of the *Mercian* Kings that was chief Monarch of the *Engliſh*.

A. D. 800.

The chief Monarchy of England *falls to the* Weſt-Saxons.

14. EGBERT *chief Monarch.*

VI. The chief Monarchy of *England* had continu'd about an hundred and thirty Years among the *Mercians*; but now in the End of the eighth Century, it began to remove from thence to the *Weſt-Saxons*, and in a few Years became a more real and compleat Monarchy than ever before. The Year 800 made way for great Alterations in this Iſland, gradually uniting the ſeven Kingdoms into one, by means of *Egbert* the famous *Weſt-Saxon*, who was the only Surviver of the Royal Line of that Kingdom, being deſcended from *Inegild* the Brother of King *Ina*. Having a noble Education, he began early in his Youth to give ſignal Hopes of more than common Worth and Abilities; which being apprehended by King *Birthric*, and withal his juſter Title to the Crown, he ſecretly ſought his Life, ſo that at length *Egbert* was obliged to fly for Security to *Offa* King of *Mercia*. But he having marry'd his Daughter *Eadburga* to King *Birthric*, was eaſily prevail'd upon by his Ambaſſadors to deliver up the Refugee; ſo that *Egbert* was conſtrain'd to make his Eſcape, and take a new Flight into *France*, where he much improv'd his Abilities, and refin'd his Education, under the Reign of *Charles the Great*. At length *Birthric* met with the Reward of all his Injuſtice, by the means of his Wife *Eadburga*, who having prepared a Cup of Poiſon'd Wine for one of his Favourites whom ſhe hated, it accidentally prov'd the Death of the King himſelf. After whoſe Deceaſe, *Aſſer* relates, That when this Queen, by reaſon of her wicked Actions, could live no longer among the *Engliſh*, ſhe repair'd to *France* with all her Treaſure, where ſhe was kindly entertain'd by *Charles the Great*, and upon her making ſome rich Preſents to that Emperor, he propos'd to her to chuſe whom ſhe would have for her Husband, Himſelf or his Son: But ſhe imprudently nam'd his Son, as the younger Man; ſo that the Emperor with a Mixture of Mirth and Seriouſneſs, told Her, *That if ſhe had choſen Him, ſhe ſhould have had his Son, but now ſhe was not to expect either.* Nevertheleſs he aſſign'd her a rich Monaſtery, where ſhe liv'd ſome Years as Abbeſs, but being detected of Incontinency, ſhe was expell'd, and forc'd to wander with one Servant into *Italy*, where at *Pavia* ſhe ended her wicked Life in great Poverty.

He flies into France.

He is recall'd into England.

Birthrick being dead without Iſſue, *Egbert*, after three Years Retirement in *France*, was recall'd by the Nobility of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom, and acknowledg'd King with univerſal Satisfaction; where he reign'd with greater

Glory

He conquers Cornwall *and* Wales, *then* Mercia: *Next* Kent, *with the* South *and* Eaſt-Saxons:

Glory and Renown, than any of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings before him. The former Part of his Reign was wiſely employ'd in eſtabliſhing his own Intereſt at Home, and in ſettling his Power and Sovereignty in the Love and Affection of his Subjects. And then finding his own Strength, he began to caſt his Eyes upon his incroaching Neighbours; and the firſt Tryal of his Martial Conduct was againſt the *Britains*, firſt making a Conqueſt of them that ſtill inhabited *Cornwall*, and after that, in two Years more, he render'd thoſe in *Wales* Tributaries to his Dominions. His Succeſs and Progreſs was ſuch, that his Neighbours were exceedingly ſtartled, and apprehenſive of his encreaſing Power. *Beornwulf* King of *Mercia* was the firſt that actually concern'd himſelf, and thinking it a Matter of Glory by his Courage and Reſolution to remove the Fears of others, was reſolv'd to engage with this Conqueror; but meeting with him at a Place call'd *Ellandune* in *Wiltſhire*, he was totally defeated in the Year 823. *Egbert* elevated by this Succeſs, and founding Hopes upon the ſame Grounds that his Neighbours had done their Fears, while the Fame of his late Succeſs was freſh, he ſent *Ethelwulf* his Son, *Ealſtan* Biſhop of *Sherburn*, and *Walfheard* his General with a powerful Army into *Kent*, to conquer that Province, which he accounted not difficult to perform, while the Inhabitants were both enervated with Sloth, and diſoblig'd at their King. They that were ſent, vigorouſly executed his Commands, and paſſing over all the Country, found their Work more eaſie than they imagin'd; for having driven out *Baldred* their King beyond the *Thames*, they ſubdu'd all *Kent* and *Surry*, with the Southern and Eaſtern *Saxons*. And alſo the ſame Year, the Inhabitants of *Eaſt-England* dreading and hating the Government of the *Mercians*, ſubmitted themſelves to his Vaſſallage and Protection.

And laſtly Northumberland. *He puts an End to the Heptarchy.*

A. D. 825. The *Eaſt-Angles* having ſubmitted themſelves to *Egbert*, never deſiſted 'till they had ſlain *Beornwulf* and *Ludecun* the *Mercian* Kings, who had been continual Diſturbers of their Neighbours. Their Succeſſor *Withlaf* was ſoon after expell'd his Kingdom by *Egbert*, but afterwards by the Mediation of *Siward* Abbot of *Croyland*, with whom he privately remain'd in that Monaſtery, was reſtor'd upon Condition of Subjection, and Payment of an annual Tribute. Still the Kingdom of *Northumberland* remain'd unconquer'd, which now of itſelf began to fall into Pieces; the Kings were ſo frequently ſlain by the People, that for thirty three Years none had the Courage to accept of the Crown; and many of the Nobility and Prelates fled from the Country, or retir'd into Monaſteries. Which Weakneſſes and Miſmanagements gave a fair Opportunity to the Pagan *Danes* to enter this Kingdom, terribly waſting not only Cities and Towns, but more eſpecially Churches and Religious Houſes; the *Lent* before whoſe Arrival, we are told, That on the North Side of St. *Peter*'s Church in *York* there was ſeen from the Roof to run Blood. The Cauſes of theſe Calamities, and the Ruin of this Kingdom, is attributed by the learned *Alcuin*, who wrot in theſe Times, to the general Ignorance and Decay of Learning, which much increas'd after the Death of *Beda*; to their Neglect in educating Youth in the Knowledge of the Scriptures; and to the extravagant Apparel of their Prieſts and Nuns, diſcovering their looſe and wanton Diſpoſitions, of which many Examples were in *Beda*'s Time. From whence Altars were defil'd with Perjuries, Cloyſters violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with the Blood of its Princes, and infected with the Diſſenſions of the People; and generally the ſame Vices reigning of which *Gildas* before had complain'd, and declar'd to have been the Ruin of the *Britains*. In this Condition *Egbert*, who had reduc'd all the South, and deſign'd a full Conqueſt of the Iſland, found them in the Year 827; upon whoſe Appearance they yielded without any Bloodſhed, and gave Security to him for their quiet and obedient Deportment.

Which he calls ENGLAND.

A. D. 828. King *Egbert* having now with great Succeſs ſubdu'd the HEPTARCHY, and reduc'd it to his own Power, he was ſolemnly crown'd King of all *Britain* at *Wincheſter*; and by an Edict or Proclamation commanded that the whole Heptarchy ſhould hereafter be call'd Englelond or *England*, which in *Latin* was call'd *Anglia* from the *Angles* the moſt numerous and valiant of the three Nations which came over with *Hengiſt*; who poſſeſs'd, as was formerly obſerv'd, the Kingdoms of *Northumberland*, *Mercia* and *Eaſt-England*, the *Jutes* having only *Kent* and the Iſle of *Wight*, and the *Saxons* *Eaſt-Sex*, *South-Sex* and *Weſt-Sex*. Yet the Name of *England* was us'd long before this Time, tho' never by publick Edict, as appears from *Beda* and other Writers. Tho' *Egbert* was now ſupreme Monarch of *England*, and in a more abſolute Manner than any before him, yet he was not ſole King and Governor; for ſeveral of the petty Kings, tho' Tributaries, held their Titles for many Years, and ſome Succeſſion of Kings after him; as *Withlaf* King of *Mercia* under himſelf, *Bertulf* under *Ethelwulf* his Son, *Beornred* King of *Mercia*, and *Edmund* King of the *Eaſt-Angles* under the ſame; and ſo they continu'd for above ſixty Years, 'till the Reign of *Edward* the Elder.

The Devotion of theſe Times.

Thus we have given a general View of the chief Tranſactions of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, collected from little elſe but a Heap of Rubbiſh, and from trifling, lame and confus'd Accounts; for which we are to beg the Reader's Favour, if he has been diſappointed, or complains of Omiſſions, and the want of ſome Facts mention'd in other Writers. Both the Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Story of the *Saxons* are vaſtly defective. The former conſiſts chiefly of Wars and Battels, by which we diſcern great Barbarity, Violence and Rapine; but for what Cauſe they were undertaken, by what Councils they were directed and carried on, or what Reaſon or Equity there was for them, we can hardly ſo much as gueſs. Nor are the Battels themſelves more artfully deſcrib'd than the Combats of Wolves and Bears, or the Skirmiſhes of ravenous Birds in the Air. There were frequent Attempts among the petty Kings upon each others Dominions, and as frequent Rebellions of the great Men againſt them; and many Times, he whom Riches, Popularity or Faction advanc'd, took upon him the Title and State of a King. The Church Story is in a great Meaſure a confus'd Collection of Legends, Viſions, Tales and vulgar Reports, which paſs'd for current in thoſe ignorant and credulous Times. Yet out of theſe Clouds of Darkneſs, out of theſe Monkiſh and inconſiſtent Diſcourſes, we may pick out many Things ſurpriſing, and Matter ſufficient for ſtrange Admiration, if we take notice of the frequent Faſtings, the fervent Prayers, the large and almoſt profuſe Alms of thoſe Times; what ſtately and magnificent Fabricks, Churches, Palaces and Monaſteries were built and founded in thoſe Days; what plain and unlearned Zeal, what obedient, quiet and hearty Devotion then poſſeſs'd the Minds of the People, when in about two hundred Years Time, thirty *Saxon* Kings and Queens reſign'd their Crowns with all the Glories of the World, and enter'd into a Religious Solitude.

CHAP. IV.

The Monarchy of the Engliſh Saxons, *From the Eſtabliſhment of King* Egbert, *to the Beginning of the Monarchy of the* Danes *in* England, *under King* Canute.

Containing the Space of about 189 *Years.*

I. *EGBERT.*

The Invaſion and Progreſs of the Danes.

A. D. 828. I. BEING arriv'd at the End of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, we begin to paſs from Darkneſs to Twilight; from a State of Confuſion in Story, to ſome Degree of Order, and from the Tranſactions of a many-headed Government, to thoſe of an united Monarchy, founded and erected by the Power of King *Egbert*. It might have been reaſonably expected, that a wiſe and fortunate Prince, at the Head of ſuch large Dominions, and ſo numerous a People as the *Engliſh*, after the Expulſion of the *Picts* and *Scots* into the Northern, and the *Britains* into the Weſtern Corners of the Iſle, ſhould not only have enjoy'd the Fruits of Peace and Quiet, but left much Felicity as well as Greatneſs to many ſucceeding Generations. Yet ſuch is the Uncertainty of Human Affairs, and the Weakneſs of the beſt Conjectures, That he who rul'd over all the *Engliſh* ſhould have little Cauſe to rejoice in the Obedience of thoſe of his own Blood; for he was ſcarcely eſtabliſh'd in his united Throne, when both he and his Subjects were alarm'd by the Invaſions of a formidable Enemy from abroad, whoſe Fury and Violence extended not only to himſelf, but to his Succeſſors for many Years. For about theſe Times a new Swarm of People, from the Northern Parts of *Europe*, under the Names of *Danes* and *Normans*, or *Norwegians*, began at firſt to infeſt the Seas, and at length the Lands of the *Belgick*, *Gallick* and *Britiſh* Shores, filling all Places with Slaughters, Spoils and Devaſtations. The *Normans* firſt over-run the *Belgick* Provinces upon the Mouth of the *Rhine*, and gave to thoſe Parts next the Sea the new Names of *Holland* and *Zealand*. Afterwards they ſail'd in vaſt Numbers into the Mouth of the *Seyne*, and with great Fierceneſs ſubdu'd that Northern part of *France*, which ever ſince has been call'd by the Name of *Normandy*, and became the Seat of a great *Norman* Duke, and his Succeſſors for ſeveral Generations. In the mean time the *Danes* began their Inroads and furious Invaſions upon the Coaſts of *England*, with mighty Numbers, and with greater

Fury and Pagan Barbarity than the *Saxons* before them; never giving this Iſland any long Reſpite for above 230 Years.

A. D. 832.

They infeſt England.

Egbert was now in the full Height of his Glory, and had enjoy'd his Conqueſts but a few peaceful Years, when the *Danes* made their firſt Invaſion in this Reign, which was in the Iſle of *Shepey* in *Kent*, ravaging thoſe Parts without any great Reſiſtance. In the following Year they arriv'd in greater Numbers with thirty five Ships, and landed at *Charmouth* in *Dorſetſhire*, where they were vigorouſly encounter'd by *Egbert* himſelf, and a ſevere Battel enſu'd; in which *Herefrid* and *Wigferth* two Biſhops were ſlain, as alſo *Dudda* and *Oſmund*, two *Saxon* Commanders. *Egbert* had the Advantage in the former Part of the Battel, yet towards Night he loſt the Victory, tho' by the Help of it he retreated, and ſav'd the Diſhonour of an entire Defeat; which was the only Time that Fortune ceas'd to favour this Monarch's Undertakings. But two Years after, the *Danes* returning with a powerful Navy, and joining in League with the *Corniſh Britains*, *Egbert* encounter'd all their Forces, gain'd a compleat Victory over them, and freed his Kingdom at that Time from the Invaſion of theſe barbarous Enemies. At length, after a mild and glorious Reign of thirty ſix Years and ſeven Months, he dy'd and was bury'd at *Wincheſter*, leaving his Son great Opportunities of eſtabliſhing his Fame, and predicting his Felicity, *in caſe what he had obtain'd by Induſtry were not loſt by Sloathfulneſs, to which this Nation had been too much addicted.* He dy'd in the Year 836, after he had been near nine Years ſupreme Monarch of the *Engliſh* Nation.

The Death of Egbert.

2. *ETHELWULF.*

A. D. 836.

Upon the Deceaſe of *Egbert*, his eldeſt Son *Ethelwulf* ſucceeded in all his Dominions, upon the fourth of *February*. This Prince had been formerly educated in the Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*, under the Tuition of *Helmeſtan* Biſhop, and *Swithune* Dean of that Church, where he enter'd into Orders, and is ſaid to have been both a Monk and Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. But after his Father's Death, being urg'd by the Nobility and Clergy, and abſolv'd from his Vows by Pope *Gregory* IV. he enter'd upon the Monarchy of *England*; yet ſtill he retain'd much of the Monkiſh Temper, lov'd Eaſe and Solitude, and had ſmall Inclinations to Ambition. Therefore reſting ſatisfy'd with his paternal Kingdom of *Weſt-Saxony*, he made over the Kingdoms of *Kent*, and of the *South* and *Eaſt-Saxons*, which had been his Father's Conqueſts, to a Brother, or perhaps a Son of his, called *Athelſtan*, who for ſome Years retain'd thoſe Dominions. He gave the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* to his Tutor *Swithune*, to whom, and *Alſtan* Biſhop of *Sherburne*, he left the Management of his principal Affairs.

King Ethelwulf *divides his Dominions.*

The Danes *waſte* England *in divers Places.*

The unwarlike Diſpoſition of King *Ethelwulf* gave both Encouragement and an eaſie Entrance to the Pagan *Danes*, who in the Beginning of his Reign made ſeveral Deſcents into *England*, and not like generous Conquerors, but devouring Caterpillers, barbarouſly waſted ſeveral Parts of the Nation at the ſame Inſtant; ſo that the Inhabitants were confounded, and at a loſs how to make any Reſiſtance. Many of theſe Northern Princes enter'd the Land at *Southampton* and *Portſmouth*; at the former Place with a Defeat, and at the latter with Victory; and not long after, at a Place call'd *Mereſwar*, the *Engliſh* under the Command of Earl *Herebert* were routed, and the greateſt Part of the Army deſtroy'd. The following Year they committed great Devaſtations in *Lindſey*, *Eaſt-England* and *Kent*; and embolden'd with theſe Succeſſes, they march'd on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter* and *London* it ſelf, with no leſs barbarous Hoſtilities. And giving no Reſpite to the peaceful Deſires of *Ethelwulf*, the next Year they return'd with thirty five Ships, fought with the King at the River *Carr*, where they had encounter'd his Father, and made good their Ground. But in the ninth Year of his Reign, they met with a conſiderable Stop in the full Courſe of their outragious Inſults: For Earl *Ernulf* with the Men of *Somerſetſhire*, *Alſtan* the Biſhop, and Count *Oſrick* with thoſe of *Dorſetſhire*, engaged them at the Mouth of the River *Pedridan*, ſlaughter'd them in great Numbers, and obtain'd a memorable Victory, which quell'd their Power for about ſix Years after.

A. D. 851.

But in the fifteenth Year of this Reign, *Mars* was more predominant than ever, and Fortune kept the Scale on the King's Side: For the deſtroying *Danes* with two or three hundred Ships enter'd the *Thames*, landed in *Kent*, and took and pillag'd both *Canterbury* and *London*; and proceeding further they defeated *Berthulf* King of *Mercia* with his whole Army; then marching into *Surry*, they behav'd themſelves as tho' they were able to withſtand the whole Power of the *Engliſh* Nation. Here they were met by King *Ethelwulf* himſelf, and his Son *Ethelbald*, with all the *Weſt-Saxon* Forces, at a Place call'd *Aclea*, now *Oakely* in *Surry*, where after a long and ſharp Conteſt, the Victory fell intirely to the *Engliſh*, with a vaſt Slaughter of theſe inſolent Invaders. So that this was accounted a fortunate Year to *England*, and added to the King great Fame and Reputation. With the like Succeſs his Brother *Athelſtan* King of *Kent* encounter'd the *Danes* at *Sandwich*, where purſuing of them to the Sea, he took ſeveral of their Ships: And in *Devonſhire*, Earl *Ceorle* at *Winleſhore* ſo weaken'd their main Power, that in a kind of Deſpair they withdrew themſelves into the Iſland of *Thanet*, where they continu'd all the Winter Seaſon; and if Deſtiny had not withſtood the *Engliſh* Nation, the *Danes* in human Probability might have been totally expell'd the Land. But the *Saxons* imagining themſelves free from the common Enemy, renew'd their old Conteſts with the ever-depreſſed *Britains*, againſt whom *Burthred* King of *Mercia* ſucceſsfully obtain'd the Aſſiſtance of King *Ethelwulf*, whoſe Daughter *Ethelſwith* he had obtain'd in Marriage; which for a while ſupported the Fame and Power of that valiant but unfortunate Prince.

They are ſeveral Times worſted by the Engliſh.

A. D. 853.

Ethelwulf now enjoying Peace, ſent his youngeſt Son *Alfred*, then but five Years of Age, with a large Retinue to *Rome*, whom *Leo* the Pope both conſecrated to be King afterwards, and adopted to be his Epiſcopal Son. But this Peace laſted not long; for in the ſame Year the *Danes* landed afreſh in *Thanet*, where *Ealker* with the Forces of *Kent*, and *Hudda* with thoſe of *Surry* engag'd with them, and at firſt repell'd them; but the ſlain and drowned were at length ſo many on either Side, as left the Loſs almoſt equal on both. In the next Year the *Danes* winter'd again in *Shepey*, and became more formidable than before. Inſomuch that the King, Nobility and Clergy being extreamly alarm'd and affrighted at the Devaſtations of theſe Pagan Invaders, and judging theſe Calamities to be the Effects of their Sins and Corruptions, bethought themſelves of a wholſome and uniform Remedy, as they term'd it, and a proper Security againſt their Enemies; which was an Act of the great Council or Parliament in thoſe Days, ſince often called *The Grant of King* Ethelwulf, of the Tithe of the Profits of all Lands to the Church, free from all Burdens, Taxes and Exactions whatſoever. This Grant, by the Conſent of the grand Council, was ſign'd by all the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Abbeſſes, and Secular States of all *England*; and likewiſe by *Burthred* King of *Mercia*, and *Edmund* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, then ſubject and tributary to King *Ethelwulf*. After this Grant was confirm'd and ſubſcrib'd, *Ethelwulf* with great Solemnity offer'd it upon the Altar of St. *Peter*'s in the Cathedral of *Wincheſter*, where the Parliament was held, and the Biſhops caus'd it to be publiſh'd in every Church of their reſpective Dioceſes and Diſtricts.

The Danes *again formidable.*

Ethelwulf *holds a grand Council.*

A. D. 855.

He takes a Journey to Rome.

Having ſettled theſe Affairs at home, he took his beloved Son *Alfred* with him, and with great Devotion took a Journey to *Rome*, where he was honourably receiv'd and entertain'd for the Space of a whole Year, in which Time he rebuilt the *Engliſh* School that *Offa* King of *Mercia* had founded in that City, which had been burnt down, and now bore the Name of *Thomas the Holy*. His Return from *Rome* was through *France*, and being a Widower, he there marry'd *Judith* the beautiful Daughter of *Charles the Bald* then Emperor, in Honour of whom he ever plac'd her in a Chair of State, and gave her ſuch Marks of Dignity as were contrary to the *Weſt-Saxon* Law that had been made upon the Account of *Ethelburga*'s Crimes. His Abſence and this Marriage gave Occaſion to a dangerous Conſpiracy in his own Nation, form'd and carry'd on by his eldeſt Son *Ethelbald*, Biſhop *Alſtan* his imagin'd Friend, and *Enwulf* Earl of *Somerſet*, who us'd all poſſible Endeavours to deprive him of his Kingdom. This Inſurrection was expected to produce nothing leſs than an unfortunate War: But *Ethelwulf* foreſeeing the Dangers and Miſeries of Civil Diſcord, out of his mere Clemency and great Condeſcenſion, by the Aſſent of his Nobles, agreed to divide the whole Kingdom between Himſelf and his Son. Accordingly a Diviſion was ſolemnly made, but with ſo much Artifice and Partiality, that the Weſtern and beſt Parts were given to the Son, and the Eaſtern and worſt left to the Father; which rais'd ſuch an Indignation among many of the Nobility, that they offer'd the King their utmoſt Aſſiſtance for the Recovery of the whole; but he peaceably diſſuaded them, reſting ſatisfy'd with the Portion aſſign'd him. Two Years after, finding himſelf declining, he diſpos'd of his Kingdom to his two Eldeſt Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*, and his Hereditary Eſtate to his other Sons and Daughters. For the Advantage of his Soul, he order'd that in his Hereditary Lands, every tenth Hide or Manſion ſhould maintain one poor Parſon

He marries the Emperor's Daughter.

A Conſpiracy againſt him.

The Land divided between him and his Son Ethelbald.

with Meat, Drink and Cloathing; and he commanded that three hundred Marks ſhould be paid annually to *Rome*, for theſe Purpoſes, one hundred to buy Oyl for the Lamp in the Church of St. *Peter*, as much for Oyl in the Church of St. *Paul*, and the other hundred to the Pope himſelf. Not long after he dy'd at a Place call'd *Stamrige*, upon the 13th Day of *January*, in the Year 857, and was bury'd at the Cathedral in *Wincheſter*, having reign'd twenty Years and five Months.

His Death.

3. *ETHELBALD.*

A. D. 857.

Ethelbald *and* Ethelbert *ſucceed.*

II. *Ethelwulf* left four Sons behind him, *Ethelbald*, *Ethelbert*, *Ethelred*, and *Alfred*, who all ſucceſſively aſcended the Throne, and became Kings of *England*. Upon his Deceaſe, his two eldeſt Sons divided their Father's Kingdom according to his laſt Will and Teſtament; *Ethelbald* the Eldeſt ſucceeded him in *Weſt-Saxony*, whilſt his ſecond Brother *Ethelbert* reign'd in *Kent*, as alſo over the *Eaſt* and *South-Saxons*. Notwithſtanding this Diviſion, *Ethelbald* has been always accounted ſupreme Monarch: But we have very little remaining of his Perſon and Actions. All that we find is, that he was a luxurious and perfidious Prince; and being charm'd with the Beauty of his Step-Mother *Judith*, he marry'd her, contrary to the Laws of God and Man. But not long after, we are told, that by the Admonition of *Swithun* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he repented of his Inceſt, put away his unlawful Wife, and obſerv'd all Things that the Biſhop enjoyn'd him. Having without any other memorable Action, reign'd almoſt three Years, he dy'd on the twentieth Day of *December*, and the Year 860; being bury'd firſt at *Sherburn* the Cathedral in *Dorſetſhire*, and afterwards remov'd to the Church at *Salisbury*.

Ethelbald *dies.*

4. *ETHELBERT.*

A. D. 860.

Ethelbert *ſole Monarch*

The Danes *again invade the Land.*

Upon the Deceaſe of *Ethelbald*, his ſecond Brother *Ethelbert*, who had been join'd with him in the Government, ſucceeded in the whole Monarchy of *England*, which he rul'd with great Peace and Concord at home. But from abroad he was ſoon moleſted by the deſtroying *Danes*, who with a powerful Navy landed at *Southampton*, and took and plunder'd the City of *Wincheſter*. But in their Return to their Ships, they were met by *Oſrick* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Ethelwulf* of *Barkſhire*, who put them to flight, and conſtrain'd them to abandon their Booty. Afterwards, taking a large Compaſs, they again enter'd the Iſle of *Thanet*, and there took up their Winter-Quarters. The *Kentiſh* Men being weary'd out with frequent Alarms, found themſelves oblig'd to purchaſe their Peace by a Sum of Mony; but the Pirates under Pretence of receiving this Mony, and confirming the League, made an Excurſion into the Country, and waſted all the Eaſtern Parts of *Kent*. Neverthleſs the Inhabitants, by uniting all their Forces, expell'd theſe perfidious Wretches. About which Time King *Ethelbert*, after a worthy Reign of five Years, dy'd, much lamented by his Subjects, who honourably interr'd him at the Cathedral of *Sherburn* by his Brother *Ethelbald*.

The Death of Ethelbert.

5. *ETHELRED* I.

A. D. 866.

The Danes *arrive under* Hinguar *and* Hubba.

They ravage all the North of England.

Ethelbert was ſucceeded in his Kingdom by his next Brother *Ethelred*, the third Son of *Ethelwulf*, whoſe Reign was more tempeſtuous than any before him, and was one continu'd Conflict with the Pagan *Danes*. In the Beginning of which a vaſt Army of theſe Ravagers, under the Conduct of *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, two valiant Brothers, invaded the Nation, landed in *Eaſt-England*, and there wintering made a Truce with the Inhabitants, only with Deſign to obtain from them a ſufficient Number of Horſes for their Men. Being well furniſh'd for a long Expedition, in the following Year they paſs'd over the *Humber* as far as *York*, where the Civil Diſſenſions of the *Northumbrians* afforded them great Incouragement and Advantage. For they had lately depos'd *Osbert* their King, and had choſen *Ella* the Head of another Faction in his Room; but being at length rous'd by the common Danger, both Parties united, made Head againſt the *Danes*, and prevail'd; but too raſhly purſuing them into *York*, then but ſlenderly walled, the *Northumbrians* were terribly ſlaughter'd both within and without, their two Kings ſlain, and the City burnt. The yet Remainder of the People made the beſt Terms they could with the Enemy, notwithſtanding they were over-run, and the Country ravag'd as far as the River *Tine*; and *Egbert* one of the *Engliſh* Race appointed King over them. *Brompton* gives us this particular Occaſion of the *Danes* marching to *York*; That *Bruern* a Nobleman, whoſe Wife King *Osbert* had raviſh'd, call'd in *Hinguar* and *Hubba* to revenge the Injury: A remarkable Example, if the Truth were as evident. Being thus victorious, the *Danes* in the following Year paſſed over into *Mercia* and winter'd at *Nottingham*; which ſo alarm'd *Burhed* the King of that Country, with his Noblemen, that they implor'd the Aſſiſtance of our King *Ethelred*, with young *Alfred* his Brother. To which they readily agreed; and aſſembling their Forces, together with *Edmund* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, they join'd the *Mercians*, and offer'd Battel to the Enemy; but the *Danes* apprehending the Hazard, kept themſelves within the Town and Caſtle; 'till the *Mercians*, weary'd out with Delays, came to Articles of Truce with them. Upon which the *Danes* abandon'd the Place, and return'd back to *York* with great Booty, where they continu'd about a Year, practiſing great Severities and Cruelties.

A. D. 869.

They make great Devaſtations in Lincolnſhire.

Winter being paſt, the *Danes* ſoon broke their Truce, paſs'd over *Humber* into *Lindſey*, and landing at *Humberſtone*, miſerably waſted all the Country, and particularly deſtroy'd the famous Monaſtery of *Bardney*, killing all the Monks in the Church without Mercy. Having continu'd in thoſe Parts all the Summer, and conſum'd all Things with Fire and Sword, about the Feaſt of St. *Michael* they enter'd *Keſteren*, another Part of *Lincolnſhire*, and there committed the like Ravages and Barbarities. At length the valiant Count *Algar* drew together all the Youth of *Hoyland*, now *Holland* in the ſame County, with *Wibert* and *Leofric* two Knights, who march'd at the Head of them, together with a brave Body of two hundred Men belonging to *Croyland* Abby, who were led by one *Toly*, then a Monk. Theſe taking with them about three hundred courageous Men from *Deeping*, *Langtoft* and *Baſton*, to whom alſo join'd *Morchard* Lord of *Bourne*, with his ſtrong and numerous Family, and being met by *Oſgot* Governor of *Lincoln*, an old Commander, with the *Lincoln* Squadron, upon the Feaſt of St. *Maurice* they reſolutely engag'd the Pagan Deſtroyers, kill'd three of their Kings, great Numbers of the Soldiers, and purſu'd the reſt to their Camp. From the Death and Burial of theſe three Kings, the Village before call'd *Laundon*, was afterwards call'd *Trekingham*, and now by Corruption *Frekingham*. But the Night following, *Gothurn*, *Baſey*, *Osketil*, *Halſden* and *Hammond*, all five Kings, and as many Earls, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*, *Frena*, *Sidroc* the Elder and Younger, coming in from ſeveral Parts with great Spoils and numerous Forces, the greateſt Part of the Chriſtians, terrify'd with their Power, retir'd in the Night. The reſt having early in the Morning heard Divine Service, and receiv'd the Sacrament, reſolv'd to die for their Religion and their Country, and march'd directly againſt their Enemies. *Algar* drew up his Forces to the beſt Advantage, leaving one Part to Friar *Toly* and *Morcard* of *Bourne*, another to *Oſgot* of *Lincoln*, and headed a third himſelf; and finding them much more inferior in Number to the Enemy, he form'd them into the Shape of a Wedge, againſt the Archers ſetting as it were a Paliſado of their Bucklers, and againſt the Violence of the Horſe a Wood of Lances; in which Poſture they kept unbroken 'till Night approach'd. The Enemy perceiving that neither their Archers nor Horſe could do Execution, counterfeited a Flight, which occaſion'd the *Engliſh* to break their Ranks and purſue, contrary to the Orders of their Commanders, ſo that they were eaſily broken and diſpers'd with great Slaughter. The brave and renowned *Algar*, with his Commanders and a few Soldiers, cluſtering together upon a Hill, long ſuſtain'd the Brunt of the Pagan Army, and ſeeing the ſtouteſt Chriſtians dead, they continu'd valiantly fighting over their Bodies, 'till with many Wounds they expir'd. Only a few young Men of *Sutton* and *Gedney*, caſting away their Arms eſcap'd to the adjoining Wood, from whence with much Difficulty they reach'd *Croyland*, and brought the ſad News of the Overthrow, as the Monks were at their Veſpers. Not long after the *Danes* plunder'd and burnt the rich Abby of *Croyland*, and maſſacred all the Monks; from whence they march'd to the Monaſtery of *Medeſhamſted* or *Peterborough*, where they did the like; and thence with innumerable Ravages they paſs'd on to *Huntington*, then to *Grantebrig* or *Cambridge*, and then to the Iſle of *Ely*, where they pillag'd and burnt that famous Monaſtery, and kill'd the Monks, with great Numbers of others who had retir'd thither for Security. After this they march'd into *Eaſt-England*, where meeting with Earl *Wulketule*, who made a vigorous Reſiſtance, they cut him off with all his Army, and winter'd at *Thetford*. Here the pious *Edmund*, King of the Country, oppoſing them, was put to flight, taken at *Heyleſdune*, now *Hoxon*, and ſet up as a Butt to ſhoot at: where calling upon God, and profeſſing himſelf a Martyr, he was firſt ſcourg'd, then ſhot through with many Arrows, and at length beheaded; the Place of his Burial being afterwards call'd St. *Edmund's Bury*.

Then in Northampton, Huntington, Cambridge *and* Suffolk.

King Edmund *martyr'd.*

Bury. At the ſame Time *Dummoc* or *Dunwich* was alſo deſtroy'd by theſe Ravagers, and the Biſhop's See was remov'd to *Elmham* in *Norfolk*.

A. D. 871. The furious *Danes* having over-run *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *Eaſt-England*, in the following Year bent their Courſe towards the *Weſt-Saxons*, whoſe Territories had not felt the Effects of their Avarice and Cruelty, and who alone were in a Capacity to reſiſt them: For the Monarchy not being compleatly eſtabliſh'd, the Overturning of the Heptarchy had weaken'd all the other Provinces. Arriving at *Reading*, the *Danes* with new Recruits and a mighty Force encamp'd between the Rivers *Thames* and *Kenet*, and ſent two Earls to forage in the Country; but they were met by *Ethelwulf* Earl of *Barkſhire*, who engag'd them at *Englefield*, kill'd one of their Earls, and obtain'd the Victory. Four Days after King *Ethelred* with his Brother *Alfred* gave Battel to the chief Body of the *Danes*, in which Earl *Ethelwulf* was ſlain, together with great Numbers on both Sides, and the *Danes* kept the Field. Yet the Advantage was not ſo great againſt the *Engliſh*, but in four Days after the King and his Brother appear'd again in the Field at a Place call'd *Eſceſdune*, or *Aſhdoune*, where they engag'd on both Sides with their full Strength. The *Danes* divided their Army into two Bodies, the one led by *Baſcai* and *Hulfden* their two Kings, the other by their Earls; and the firſt engag'd with *Ethelred*, and the latter with *Alfred*. In the former Body King *Boſcai* was ſlain, in the latter the two *Sidrocs*, beſides three other Earls, *Osbearn*, *Frena* and *Herald*; and both were put to flight, with the Slaughter of many Thouſands; ſo that ſuch a Victory had not been known for many Ages. Yet after this great Loſs, within fourteen Days Time, being headed by *Agnere* and *Hubba*, they engag'd the King and his Brother at a Place call'd *Baſing*, where they apparently gain'd the Advantage. Still the Loſs ſuſtain'd by the *Engliſh* cou'd not be great, for about two Months after, they were ſo well recruited that they durſt a third Time engage with the *Pagans* at *Merotune*, tho' lately reinforced, and divided into two Bodies, and in the ſame Poſture they had formerly fought. Both theſe Bodies were put to flight, tho' for a great part of the Day they kept the Advantage, and the Slaughter was great on both Sides; and yet the Annals tell us that the *Danes* remain'd Maſters of the Field; ſo various was the Fortune of this Day, or rather ſo uncertain their Intelligence. Of all the Landings and Devaſtations of the *Danes*, from the Days of *Ethelwulf* 'till their two laſt Battels with *Ethelred*, or of their Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes or Earls, the *Daniſh* Hiſtorians of beſt Credit are wholly ſilent; ſo little Value had they for the Memory of their barbarous and inhuman Actions; unleſs we may ſuppoſe them, according to *Aſſer*, to have come from *Danubius*, or ſome other Parts, rather than *Denmark*. In the Summer there happen'd a dreadful Plague, of which King *Ethelred* is ſaid to have dy'd, after he had reign'd above five Years in great Reputation. He dy'd on the 23d Day of *April*, ſome ſay by the Wounds receiv'd in his laſt Battel; which ſeems to be confirm'd by an Inſcription on his Tomb at *Winborne*, cited by Mr. *Camden*; but that being of a modern Date, the Authority of it is doubted by many.

The Danes *fight many Battels with* Ethelred *and his Commanders.*

The Death of Ethelred.

6. *ALFRED.*

A. D. 872. III. The great *Egbert*, above forty Years ago, had begun and mark'd out the Way for the Monarchy of *England*, and like *Julius Cæſar* founded it; but the full Eſtabliſhment of it was left to his glorious Grandſon *Alfred*, the youngeſt Son of King *Ethelwulf*, who like *Auguſtus* compleated it, and ſo firmly fixed it, that it continu'd ever ſince. Notwithſtanding his Reign was filled with infinite Troubles, and innumerable Moleſtations from the *Danes*, which ſometimes reduc'd him to greater Exigencies, than had been known to any of his Predeceſſors. This Prince is by ſome ſaid to have been firſt ſupreme Monarch of *England*, and by others the firſt King that ever was anointed in this Nation. He was couragious and brave, of a winning Behaviour and a charming Converſation, and a ready Wit and profound Wiſdom. Being now twenty-two Years of Age, he took Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom not without Reluctancy, being juſtly apprehenſive of the conſtant Invaſions and barbarous Hoſtilities of the Pagans. And he had ſcarcely ſolemniz'd his Brother's Funeral, when in a Month's Time with an inconſiderable Army he was oblig'd to engage the whole Power of the *Danes* at *Wilton*; where at firſt by his Courage and Valour he forc'd them to fly, but at length finding the Number of the Purſuers to be ſmall, they rallied, encounter'd the wearied *Engliſh*, and became Maſters of the Field. And that it might not ſeem ſtrange to any that the Numbers of the Chriſtians were ſo ſmall, *Aſſer* and the Annals tell us; That in this one Year the *Engliſh* had been ſpent and weaken'd by eight or nine ſeveral Battels againſt the Pagans, beſides innumerable Skirmiſhes; in which, tho' the *Danes* loſt one King and nine Earls, or principal Commanders, yet receiving ſuch frequent Recruits from beyond the Seas, whilſt the *Engliſh* wanted that Advantage, it is no Wonder if they prevail'd. But now being tired with inceſſant Hoſtilities, this Year a Peace was made with the *Danes*, upon Condition that they ſhould leave the Kingdom; which they for ſome Time obſerv'd, but to no great Effect. For the next Year the *Danes* having landed again, march'd from *Reading* to *London*, and there took up their Winter-Quarters; where the *Mercians* were conſtrain'd to make Peace with them.

Alfred *the firſt anointed King of* England.

He fights ſeveral Battels with the Danes.

The Mercians *make Peace with them.*

A. D. 874. In the Summer following, theſe Rovers march'd Northwards, and winter'd at *Torkſey* in *Lincolnſhire*, where the *Mercians* gladly renew'd their Articles of Peace. Notwithſtanding which, removing their Forces to *Rependune*, now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Darbyſhire*, they there forc'd *Burhed* King of the *Mercians* to quit both his Kingdom and the Nation, and retire to *Rome*; leaving all his Dominions to their Poſſeſſion. His Kingdom was farm'd out by the *Danes* to one of his Servants call'd *Ceolwulf*, upon Condition that he ſhould reſtore it upon the ſame Time it was demanded. After which, theſe Pagan Devourers divided themſelves into two Parties; one of which, under the Conduct of *Hafden* one of their Kings, march'd into *Northumberland*, where they winter'd by the *Tine*, ſubdu'd all the adjacent Countries, and waſted the Territories of the *Picts*, and the *Pictiſh Britains*. The other Party, commanded by *Cuthrun*, *Oskitell* and *Amund*, three other of their Kings, march'd directly to *Grantbrig* or *Cambridge*, where fixing their Quarters, for a Year they ſpread themſelves like Locuſts over all that Country. In the mean Time King *Alfred*, now perceiving that theſe Miſchiefs at Land proceeded from the Enemies being Maſters at Sea, mann'd out a ſmall Fleet, deſigning to ſurpriſe theſe Pirates before their Landing; and meeting with ſeven of their Ships, they took one, and diſpers'd the reſt: A promiſing Succeſs from ſo ſmall a Beginning; for the *Engliſh* at that Time were but little experienc'd in Sea Affairs. A. D. 876. The following Summer the *Danes* remov'd to a Caſtle of the *Weſt-Saxons* call'd *Werhum*; where *Alfred*, whoſe Power had been much weaken'd, either by a wiſe Management, or as ſome ſay by Mony, brought them to ſuch Terms of Peace, that they ſwore the moſt ſolemn Oaths, immediately to depart the Land. But in a ſhort Time, falſifying their Oaths, they with all their Horſe got by Night to *Exeter*, and winter'd in thoſe Parts. At the ſame Time *Hafden* their King had brought his Affairs to that Perfection in *Northumberland*, that he divided that Country amongſt his Men, and began to cultivate it with Tillage. And it was in this Year, according to *Aſſer*, that *Rollo* with his *Danes* or *Normans*, having winter'd here in *England*, paſs'd over the Sea, invaded *France*, and took Poſſeſſion of all *Neuſtria*, ſince call'd *Normandy*, there reigning himſelf Fifty Years.

Mercia *farmed out by the* Danes.

Alfred *mans out a Fleet.*

The Danes *win* Northumberland.

In the following Year, the *Daniſh* Fleet ſailing or roving about the Weſt, met with ſuch a Tempeſt near *Swanſwich* in *Hampſhire*, as overſet an hundred and twenty of their Ships, and left the reſt eaſie to be maſter'd by thoſe Gallies, which King *Alfred* had plac'd there to guard the Seas. At the ſame Time the *Danes* were beſieg'd by the King's Troops in *Exeter*, and being humbled by the Loſs of their Fleet, they offer'd ſufficient Hoſtages, took ſeveral Oaths, and enter'd into new Articles of Peace. According to which Articles they left *Weſt-Saxony*, and departed into *Mercia*, of which they divided part of it among themſelves, and left the reſt to *Ceolwulf* their ſubſtituted King. A. D. 878. But notwithſtanding all their Oaths and Obligations, in the Beginning of the next Year, they with a great Power enter'd into *Weſt-Saxony*, and quartering at *Chippenham* in *Wiltſhire*, waſted all the Country, forced many of the Inhabitants beyond Sea, and took Poſſeſſion of the chief Parts of it: Inſomuch that the King himſelf was conſtrain'd with a few of his Nobles, and with ſome Soldiers and Vaſſals, to retire among the woody and boggy Parts of *Somerſetſhire*, where he led a melancholy Life, in great Trouble and Scarcity, having no Proviſions but what he could get by Incurſions from the Pagans, or from thoſe Chriſtians who had ſubmitted themſelves to their Power. At length he was forced to take Lodgings with a poor Neatherd; where we are told that the Man's Wife reprimanded him for ſuffering her Bread to take Damage at the Fire, no ways ſuppoſing him to have been the Man who had fought ſo many Battels, and obtain'd ſo many Victories over the Pagan Power. His Retirement was ſo private, that neither his Friends nor his Enemies could tell where he was; and all this Time his Royal Patrimony became a Prey, both to the *Danes* and the revolting *Engliſh*. And here performing an extraordinary Act of Charity, in the Time of his greateſt Want, it is ſaid that

They ſuffer at Sea.

Weſt-Saxony *ſubmits to them.*

Alfred *driven to great Extremities.*

that he receiv'd a Promiſe from Heav'n, by way of Viſion, that he ſhould have a ſpeedy Deliverance from all his Trouble and Afflictions.

This began to appear in a ſhort Time: For *Hafden* and the Brother of *Hinguar*, coming with twenty three Ships from *North-Wales*, where they had made great Devaſtations, landed in *Devonſhire* near a ſtrong Caſtle call'd *Kenwith*; where by the ſudden Sally of the Garriſon, they were ſlain with twelve hundred of their Men. This gave Encouragement to King *Alfred* to build a Fortreſs at *Athelney* in *Somerſetſhire*, in which he bravely defended himſelf and his Followers. And in ſeven Weeks Time he march'd from thence with his Subjects and Vaſſals there, to engage with the Pagans. And coming to *Ecbryt-ſtone* now *Brixſtone*, he was met by the Inhabitants of *Wiltſhire*, *Somerſetſhire* and *Hampſhire*, who receiv'd their King with extraordinary Satisfaction, as one riſen from the Dead. But finding the Enemy to be far ſuperior in Numbers, and other Advantages, before he engag'd them, according to *Ingulph* and *Malmesbury*, he undertook a very uncommon Adventure; which was to take upon him the Form and Habit of an ordinary Muſician, and with one Companion to enter the *Daniſh* Camp as a Spy. Here he became ſo acceptable by his Singing and Playing, that he was at length introduc'd to the King's Tent; and having there and in the reſt of the Camp learnt as much as was convenient, he again return'd to his Caſtle at *Athelney*, where calling together all his Followers, he related the careleſs Condition of the Enemy's Camp, and with what Eaſe they might be deſtroy'd. Being thus encourag'd, they muſter'd up all their Power, and being led on by a valiant King, at *Edendon* in *Wiltſhire*, they engag'd the whole Forces of the *Danes*, and gain'd an intire Victory. They purſu'd them to one of their fortify'd Caſtles, where *Alfred* cloſely beſieg'd them for fourteen Days; 'till being pinch'd with Famine, they were reduc'd to that Neceſſity, as to beg a Peace on Condition that the King ſhould receive what Hoſtages he demanded from them, without depoſing any himſelf. Upon which they made ſuch a Peace as they had never done with any King before; for they not only ſwore that they would depart his Dominions, but alſo that *Guthram* their King ſhould become a Chriſtian; all which was perform'd about three Weeks after, when the ſaid King with about thirty of his chief Nobility came to *Alrey*, where *Alfred* receiving him from the Font at his Baptiſm, became his God-father, call'd his Name *Athelſtan*, and took him for his adopted Son. Upon which, all the *Danes* retir'd from *Weſt-Saxony* into *Eaſt-Sex* and *Eaſt-England*; which Countries were given them for Habitations by *Alfred*, as appears from the League made at that Time between that King and the *Danes*.

He recovers;

Regains his Kingdom;

Routs the Danes;

and makes Guthram *their King a Chriſtian.*

During this Negotiation, another Swarm of *Daniſh* Rovers from beyond the Seas ſail'd up the *Thames*, and winter'd at *Fullingham*, now *Fulham*; but in the following Year, with another Body of their Countrymen, they paſs'd over into *France* and *Flanders*, where their Conqueſts and Ravages ſhew'd that the *French* and *Flemiſh* were no more able than the *Engliſh* to defend themſelves from theſe Pagan Invaders. In the mean time King *Alfred*, now at Peace and at Leiſure, reſolv'd to encreaſe his Naval Forces, and after three Years Diligence, he provided a conſiderable Fleet; with which he engag'd ſeveral of the *Danes*, and taking two of their Ships, he order'd the Men to be thrown over-board; and not long after he took two more, with two of their Princes, but not without ſome Loſs. Two or three Years after another Fleet of *Danes* appear'd on theſe Seas, ſo large that one Part thought themſelves powerful enough to enter *France*, while the other making up the Rivers *Thames* and *Medway*, beſieg'd the City of *Rocheſter*, and having built a ſtrong Fort before the Gates, from thence they attack'd the Place. But the Inhabitants made a brave Reſiſtance, and held out againſt all their Forces, 'till *Alfred* himſelf came to their Relief, the Fame of whoſe Approach frighted the Beſiegers to their Ships, who leaving all their Horſes and many Priſoners, return'd to the Coaſts of *France*. King *Alfred* having now reinforc'd his Fleet, reſolv'd to ſuppreſs the *Daniſh* Pirates who then ſhelter'd themſelves among their Countrymen in *Eaſt-England*, which occaſion'd a Breach of the League between him and King *Guthram*; and this Deſign ſo proſper'd, that coming to the Mouth of the River *Stoure* by *Harwich*, they met with thirteen of their Ships which came prepar'd, by an Encounter took them all and kill'd their Men. But growing ſecure upon this Succeſs, and keeping in a careleſs Poſture, the *Danes* with all the Naval Forces engag'd them in their Return, and much diminiſh'd the Honour of their Triumph. In the following Year King *Alfred*, after ſo many Cities being burnt, and ſuch diſmal Deſtruction of People, not only took the City of *London* from the *Danes*, who had it long in their Poſſeſſion, but he repair'd it, and reſtor'd it to its ancient Luſtre; and then committed it to the Government of *Ethered* Earl of the *Mercians*, to whom he gave his Daughter *Ethelfleda* in Marriage. And now Affairs being brought to a better Order than formerly, all the *Engliſh*, namely the *Mercians* and *Kentiſh* Men, as alſo the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Saxons*, who before had been diſpers'd, and made Priſoners by the *Danes*, return'd to their Habitations, and put themſelves under King *Alfred*'s Protection: And the King was now freed from the Inſults and Incurſions of the *Danes* for about eight Years.

Alfred *encreaſes his Naval Forces.*

A. D. 885.

More Danes *arrive,*

but without Succeſs.

London *recovered.*

Peace in the Land.

And now the Affairs of the Nation being brought to a peaceable Poſture, the renown'd *Alfred* proceeded to many worthy Regulations, and to promote all Things that might tend either to the Honour or Advantage of his Subjects. Finding that in theſe Times Learning was at ſo low an Ebb in the Kingdom, that few on the South ſide of the *Humber* could read *Engliſh*, and ſcarce a Prieſt who could underſtand *Latin*, he order'd *Gregory*'s Paſtoral to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and ſent a Copy of it to every Biſhop. And for the further Advancement of Knowledge he ſent into *France* for *Grimbald* and *John* the Monk, and into *Wales* for *Aſſer*, who read to him and wrote the Hiſtory of his Life; all whom he plac'd at *Oxford*, where he founded that famous Univerſity in the Year 886, and erected three Colleges, one for Grammarians, another for Philoſophers, and a third for Divines. For the Conveniency of Civil Government, this excellent Prince repair'd all his Cities and Caſtles, and built others in the moſt neceſſary Places, changing the whole Face of the Kingdom into a much better Form; and having walled ſeveral Towers and Caſtles, he made them defenſible againſt all the Pagan Power. Nor was he leſs careful in the political Affairs of the Nation; for many of his own Subjects, under the Name of *Danes*, having committed frequent Spoils and Rapines, in order to reſtrain all Exceſſes, he firſt divided all the Provinces of *England* into diſtinct Counties, and thoſe again into Hundreds and Tithings, as alſo Pariſhes; ſo that every legal Subject dwelling in ſome particular Hundred or Tything, if he was ſuſpected of any Robbery, he was to be condemn'd or acquitted by the ſame Diviſion. He divided the Governments of the Provinces into two Offices, into Judges whom we now call Juſtices of the Peace, and into Sheriffs, who ſtill retain that Name. And by this King's Care and Induſtry, there ſucceeded ſo great a Tranquility throughout the Realm, that if a Traveller had loſt a Bag of Money in the High-Way, he might have found it untouched the next Day. And others add, That tho' there were Gold Bracelets hung up at the Parting of ſeveral High-Ways, yet Juſtice was ſo ſtrictly executed, that no Man durſt preſume to touch them. He was ſo exact and careful in doing Juſtice, that he frequently enquir'd after all the Judgments and Deciſions of the whole Country made in his Abſence, and very ſtrictly examin'd the Equity of them; and if he found any Failure in the Sentences of his Judges, he demanded whether it proceeded from Ignorance or a corrupt Mind; if from the former, he reprov'd their Folly and Inſolence in undertaking what they underſtood not, and commanded them either to quit their Places, or by Study and Books make themſelves fit to anſwer the Ends of them: And it was wonderful to ſee ſo many illiterate Earls, Sheriffs and publick Miniſters, apply themſelves to laborious Studies, even in their old Age, rather than forfeit their Places and Reputations. This Prince's Laws, of which many were Eccleſiaſtical, were for moſt part Collections from the Laws of *Ina*, *Offa* and *Ethelbert*, to which ſome new ones were added. Theſe are extant in *Lambard*, and one or two of the Secular Laws are obſerv'd among us to this Day: As particularly, That for Entailing Eſtates, 'They that had Book-Land, or Eſtates in Land that came 'to them, or paſs'd by Deed from their Anceſtors, could 'not ſell or alienate it from their Heirs: And that for vouching of Things ſold, *&c.* 'No Man's Horſe or Ox 'could be ſold without a Voucher, one that ſhould take 'upon him to make good the Sale, and the Thing ſold according to the Bargain.

A. D. 886.

Alfred *reſtores Learning.*

Founds the Univerſity of Oxford.

He divides the Nation into Counties.

His Care of the Publick.

His Laws.

And now after eight Years Intermiſſion, the Kingdom became infeſted worſe than ever by a freſh Invaſion of the *Danes*; for vaſt Numbers of them being driven by the Emperor *Arnwulf* out of *France* march'd Weſtward to *Boloign*; where taking Shipping in two hundred and fifty Veſſels, together with their Horſes, they arriv'd in the Mouth of the River *Limene* in *Kent*, near to the great Wood *Andred*, a Wood that extended an hundred and twenty Miles in Length, and thirty in Breadth. Into this Wood they drew up their Ships about four Miles from the River's Mouth, where they built a Fortreſs; and after them one *Haeſten*, with eighty Veſſels more enter'd the Mouth of the *Thames*, and built a Fort at *Midleton*, while theſe remain'd at *Apledore*. King *Alfred* to hinder this Storm that threaten'd his Kingdom, firſt reſolv'd to prevent the uſual Correſpondence between new Comers and thoſe already ſettled in the Nation, which had ever prov'd of pernicious Conſequence. He ſtrictly oblig'd the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and of *Eaſt-Sex* by an Oath of Fidelity, and receiv'd Hoſtages from

A. D. 893.

New Invaſions of the Danes.

They are attended by Alfred.

them; and having gather'd together a conſiderable Power, he encamp'd himſelf between the Enemies two Armies, at ſuch a Diſtance, as to be ready to attack either, in caſe they offer'd to remove; then dividing his Army into two Parts, one continually obſerv'd the Enemy's main Body, while the other remain'd ready to reſtrain ſuch Parties as foraged in the Country. The *Danes* rang'd about 'till they came to *Eſſex*, and then again paſs'd the *Thames* into *Surry*, where at *Farnham* King *Alfred*'s Troops met them, and put them to flight. The King was wounded, and with one Party ſtaid behind, the reſt croſs'd the *Thames* into an Iſland near *Ceolne* or *Colebrook*, where the King's Army beſieg'd them ſo long, that their own Proviſions fail'd. In the mean Time the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, not able to hold their Hands while their Countrymen were enriching themſelves with Booty, broke their Faith, and with an hundred Ships coming to the *Eaſt-Angles*, ſcour'd the Southern Parts, as they did with forty Veſſels the Northern Coaſts, and ſailing about to the Weſt, they went and inveſted *Exeter*. Upon which *Alfred* haſten'd with all his Army towards that City, only left a ſtrong Party of *Welſh*, who marching to *London* join'd the Citizens and others from the Weſt, and paſs'd on Eaſtwards to *Beamfleet*; where *Haeſten* having built a Fort was himſelf gone out to forage, leaving a conſiderable Party to defend it.

They are worſted.

But the *Engliſh* ſoon cut this Party in Pieces, plunder'd the Caſtle, took much Booty and many Priſoners, and either deſtroy'd all their Ships, or brought them up to *London* or *Rocheſter*. Among other Priſoners they took the Wife of *Haeſten*, with his Sons, which ſo affected the Barbarian, that he begg'd Peace of the King, and gave an Oath and Hoſtages for his peaceable Deportment. *Alfred* 'willingly ſet his Wife and his Sons at Liberty, to one of whom he himſelf became God-father, and Earl *Ethelred* to the other; and beſides all, he generouſly beſtow'd on him a large Sum of Money.

But *Haeſten* being return'd to *Beamfleet*, could not reſtrain his ravenous Inclination, but without regard to his Reputation, proceeded to ravage all the adjacent Country; and joining with the other *Daniſh* Army, he built another Caſtle at *Shobery* in *Eſſex*. Then paſſing the *Thames* with ſuch as join'd them from *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-England*, they preſs'd on towards the *Severn*, waſting all the Country as they march'd.

Alfred *beſieges them at* Exeter.

In the mean Time King *Alfred* ſtill carry'd on the Siege of *Exeter*, where the *Danes* being extreamly diſtreſs'd with Famine, and having eaten many of their Horſes, reſolv'd to ſally out and join with their Countrymen who lay encamp'd on the Eaſt Side of the River; but the King, with Loſs of ſeveral conſiderable Men of his Party, defeated them, and oblig'd the Remainder to fly into *Eſſex* to their Ships and the Fort they had built in that Country. But no ſooner was one Party ſuppreſs'd but another ſprung up: For *Laf*, one of their Leaders, before Winter gather'd a ſtrong Army out of *Eaſt-England* and *Northumberland*, and depoſiting their Wives, Ships and Goods into the Hands of the *Eaſt-Angles*, march'd Day and Night with ſuch Expedition, that they came and took the City of *Wirheal* near *Cheſter* in the Weſt, before the Purſuers could overtake them. And having waſted all the Country, the following Year they abandon'd the Place, and invaded *North-Wales*, from whence laden with Plunder they return'd into *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-England*; then proceeding into *Eſſex*, they ſeiz'd on a ſmall Iſland call'd *Mercy*, and another Party returning by Sea from the Siege, landed upon the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, where the Inhabitants of *Chicheſter* by a Sally ſlew many of them, and took ſome of their Ships. At the ſame Time ſuch as had poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Mercy* drew up their Ships ſome into the River *Thames*, and others into *Lee-Road*, on the Banks of which, the following Year they built a Fort about twenty Miles from *London*, at or near *Ware*. The Inhabitants of *London* looking upon this as a dangerous Curb, with other Aſſiſtants endeavour'd to demoliſh it, but were repell'd with the Loſs of many Men, and amongſt the reſt, three of the King's Officers.

He diſappoints them at Ware.

Upon which *Alfred* in the Time of Harveſt incamp'd nearer the City, to preſerve the Reapers from the *Daniſh* Incurſions; and riding on a certain Time by the River *Lee*, he diſcover'd a Way, by digging large Ditches, and dividing the Streams of the River, to cauſe the Enemies Ships to reſt upon dry Land; which he attempted with ſuch Succeſs, that the *Danes* perceiving they were not to be got off, ſuddenly ſent away their Wives and Children into *Eaſt-England*, and march'd on foot as far as a Place call'd *Quatbrig* upon the *Severn*, where they built a new Fortreſs and winter'd. While the Citizens of *London*, with great Joy and Triumph brought ſuch of the Ships as they could get off into their own Road, and burnt or diſabled the reſt.

A. D. 897. *A great Plague.*

During theſe Wars and Calamities, there began a dreadful Peſtilence, which continu'd three Years, and rag'd both amongſt Men and Beaſts. In which the King loſt moſt of his choiceſt Nobility, as *Swithulf* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and ſeveral great Earls; *Ceolmund* in *Kent*, *Brithulf* in *Eſſex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampſhire*, beſides *Eadbald* Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, *Eadulf* the King's Officer in *Suſſex*, *Beornwulf* Governor of *Wincheſter*, *Eigulf* Maſter of the King's Horſe, and many others. This Diſaſter was attended by many Irruptions of the *Danes* inhabiting *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-England*, into the Territories of the *Weſt-Saxons*, by means of their long Gallies, which they had built ſeveral Years before. To overmatch which King *Alfred* with great Charge and Induſtry order'd new Gallies to be built twice as long, higher and yet both ſwifter and ſteadier than them, ſome of ſixty Oars, and ſome of more. At the ſame Time the Iſle of *Wight*, the Coaſts of *Devonſhire*, and other Maritime Parts were ſeverely infeſted by ſix *Daniſh* Ships which hover'd about thoſe Quarters. The King by way of Experiment commanded ſome of theſe new Gallies to be mann'd out againſt them; which occaſion'd a Fight partly by Water and partly by Land, manag'd with great Dexterity and Courage on both Sides.

The Danes *again worſted.*

Two of the Enemy's Ships were ſtranded, one eſcap'd away into *Eaſt-England*, and all the reſt of the Men were ſlain or taken Priſoners; but not without conſiderable Loſs on the King's Side. The Priſoners were brought to the King at *Wincheſter*, where he commanded them all to be hang'd up as Pirates and common Enemies; and the ſame Year not fewer than twenty of their Veſſels periſh'd on the Southern Coaſts with all the Men.

A new Peace.

After theſe tempeſtuous Times King *Alfred* enjoy'd about three Years of Peace, which to his perpetual Renown he employ'd in the nobleſt Exerciſes, and after the moſt laudable Manner. And if we conſider his whole Life, we very rarely find any that ſo admirably diſcharg'd all the Offices of a King and Chriſtian; by whoſe Example it will appear that no Infirmity of Body, no Labour of Mind, nor no Diſquiets and Dangers can excuſe any from performing their Duties owing to God and Men.

The excellent Management and Virtues of Alfred.

The perpetual Diſtractions, Cares and Anxieties in which he liv'd and reign'd have been already mention'd, yet his inward Griefs were as afflicting as his outward Moleſtations, for ſcarcely one Day from his Infancy 'till he was forty five Years of Age, was he free from extraordinary Pains, and unaccountable Diſtempers in his Body. Yet in the midſt of an infirm and ſhatter'd Body, he ſhew'd a couragious and heroick Mind, which even in his moſt debas'd Condition prov'd a continual Terror to his Enemies. His perſonal Valour was amazing, and his Actions in the Camp continually ſurpriſing; and in his Reign he fought with the *Danes* fifty ſix ſet Battels by Sea and Land, of which eight happen'd in one Day; ſo that by his wonderful Courage and Conduct, he ſo waſted their Forces, tho' they ſtill came in freſh and vaſt Numbers, that they were conſtrain'd to give what Hoſtages he demanded, and ſubmit to ſuch Conditions as he thought fit to impoſe. In the midſt of all the Diſturbances and Diſtractions of his Life, he order'd the Matters of State concerning his Kingdom, practis'd all the Art of Hunting, inſtructed all his Gold-ſmiths and Artificers, contriv'd new Buildings more magnificent than any of his Predeceſſors, he himſelf being the Inventer and Architect, read many Books, and ſaw that others did the like. He was conſtantly preſent at Divine Service, read Pſalms or Prayers, and alone in the Night Time when all others were at Reſt, he frequented Churches and perform'd his Devotions; he overſaw the Diſtribution of Alms to the Poor and Strangers; ſet himſelf to the ſearching of the Cauſes of unknown Things, and in all theſe Employments, and during his moſt afflicting Pains, he behav'd himſelf with incomparable Affability and Pleaſantneſs to all Men. Many *Franks*, *Friſons*, *Galls*, *Pagans*, *Britains*, *Scots* and *Armenians* voluntarily became his Subjects, as well Noble as Ignoble, all whom he lov'd, honour'd and reliev'd according to their ſeveral Qualities and Conditions. He conſtantly and attentively heard Sermons either from Strangers or his own Chaplains; and moſt affectionately lov'd his Biſhops, the whole Clergy, his Earls and Nobles, his Servants and Familiars. He took perſonal Care of ſuch of their Sons as were at Court, no leſs than of his own Children, inſtructing them himſelf Night and Day in good Manners and Literature. And notwithſtanding his inceſſant Care, and vaſt Improvements that he made in himſelf and others, his Humility was ſo great, that he frequently bewail'd his Condition both to God and his familiar Friends, that he was deſtitute of Divine Wiſdom, and of the Liberal Arts.

The Diſtribution of his Time and his Revenues.

No Prince in the World was ever more nicely careful of the two precious Things in Man's Life, his Time and his Revenue, and no Man wiſer in the Management and Diſpoſition of both. As to his Time, by Day and Night, he divided it by the Burning of certain Tapers into three equal Portions: The one was allotted for Devotion and God's Service, another for the Miniſtration of publick and private Affairs, and the third for Sleep and neceſſary Refreſhment; and how each Hour paſs'd, he was continually put in mind by one who had that Office. As to his Revenue, for the Management of that, he commanded all his Annual Income to be divided into three equal Parts; the firſt of which he appointed to Secular Uſes, and ſubdivided it into three Portions. The firſt Portion was appointed to pay the Wages of Soldiers, his choiceſt Miniſters, and thoſe who by their Turns attended him in his Court: For of ſuch he had three Diviſions, each waiting their Month, and then reſting two at their own Homes, return'd to their former Monthly Service. The ſecond Portion was aſſign'd to Workmen and Architects, of whom he conſtantly employ'd great Numbers of all Nations. The third Portion was kept in readineſs to relieve or honour Strangers according to their Worth and Quality, who came from all Parts to ſee him, and to live under him. The other equal Part of his annual Revenues was with a moſt free Will devoted to the Service of Almighty God; and he caus'd it to be divided into four Portions. The firſt of which he bountifully conferr'd upon ſuch Poor as flock'd to him out of all Nations. The ſecond was beſtow'd on two great Monaſteries, which he caus'd to be built at *Æthelingaeg*, and at *Scoftesburg*. The third went to a famous School which he had erected for the Inſtruction of the Nobility of his own Nation, ſaid to have been at *Oxford*, but *Aſſer* names no Place. The fourth was beſtow'd on the Monaſteries round about in *Weſt-Saxony* and *Mercia*, and ſome Years by Turns to the Churches and Servants of God in *Britain*, *Cornwall*, *Gall*, *Armorica* and *Northumberland*; and alſo in *Ireland* he either according to his Ability ſent Relief, or reſolv'd to do it, as Opportunity and his Incomes would permit. Many more Excellencies might be related of this admirable Prince, but we ſhall diſmiſs this Subject with that Character given him by a great Man, who upon a due Conſideration of all Things thus breaks forth. 'O *Alfred*, the Wonder and Aſtoniſhment of all Ages! If we 'reflect upon his Piety and Religion, it would ſeem that 'he had never gone out of a Monaſtery: If on his warlike 'Exploits, that he had liv'd no where but in a Camp: If 'on his Writings and Studies, that he had ſpent his whole 'Life in an Univerſity: And laſtly, if we regard his Ad'miniſtration of the Affairs of his Kingdom and Subjects, 'one would think that his whole Time had been employ'd 'in nothing elſe but enacting Laws, and promoting Ju'ſtice in his Tribunals and Courts.

The Sum of his Character.

His Death.

At length being arriv'd at the fifty firſt Year of his Age, God was pleas'd to remove this Great Man, after a tumultuous yet glorious Reign of twenty nine Years and above ſix Months, in the Year 900, and upon the 25th Day of *October*. His Body was firſt bury'd at *Wincheſter*, next remov'd into the Church of the new Monaſtery; and laſtly his Body, Monument, Church and Monaſtery were all remov'd without the North Gate of the City, ſince call'd *Hide*.

7. *EDWARD the Elder.*

A. D. 900. Edward *ſucceeds.*

IV. The Sorrow occaſion'd by the Loſs of King *Alfred* was much alleviated by the Succeſſion of his eldeſt Son Prince *Edward*, a Perſon highly promiſing in all his Actions; who tho' he was inferor to his Father in Learning and Abilities, yet he afterwards far exceeded him in Power and Grandeur, enjoying the Benefit of thoſe Labours which his Father had ſuſtain'd. But the Beginning of his Reign was much diſturb'd by the Pretenſions of his Couſin *Ethelwald*, who is ſaid to have been Son to his Father's Elder Brother *Ethelred*, who was his immediate Predeceſſor in the Kingdom. However his Title was thought ſufficient, if he could find Power to ſupport it; accordingly he ſeiz'd on two Towns call'd *Winburn* and *Tweonam*; in the former of which he fortify'd himſelf, declaring he would live or dye in that Place. But his Reſolutions were of ſmall Advantage, for the Memory of King *Alfred* was ſo dear in thoſe Parts, that the Inhabitants would admit of no Succeſſor but his Heir. King *Edward*, aſſured of their Fidelity, led an Army to a Place call'd *Baddanbryg*, not far from *Winburn*; which ſo terrify'd his Rival *Ethelwald*, that notwithſtanding all his boaſted Valour and Conſtancy, he fled out of the Town by Night, and got to *Northumberland*, where he join'd with the *Daniſh* Army, and was acknowledg'd as King of *England*: King *Edward* commanded ſome to purſue him, but not reaching him, he caus'd his Wife to be ſeiz'd, who being a profeſs'd Nun, and taken out of the Monaſtery without Leave from the King or Licence from the Biſhops, he return'd her to the Profeſſion and Place from whence ſhe came. Thus King *Edward* repell'd *Ethelwald* without fighting; and the *Kentiſh* Men the following Year, at a Place call'd *Holme*, fought ſucceſsfully againſt a Multitude of *Daniſh* Pirates. In the mean Time *Ethelwald* paſs'd from *Northumberland* into *France*, where being reinforc'd by the *Normans*, he return'd the next Year into *England*; and joining with great Numbers of *Danes* inhabiting *Northumberland*, *Eaſt-England*, and other Places, he invaded *Mercia* with Fire and Sword, as far as *Crekelade* it *Wiltſhire*. Then paſſing over the *Thames*, he waſted all Places, as well within *Bradene* as the adjacent Parts, and ſo return'd. King *Edward* with what Forces he could raiſe haſten'd after them, and laid waſte all their Lands lying between *Devil's Ditch* in *Cambridgeſhire* and the River *Owſe*, as far as the Marſhes and Fens. Thinking it convenient to return, he gave Orders that his whole Army ſhould decamp and march together; but the *Kentiſh* Men, careleſs of themſelves, ſtaid a while behind, by which Delay of theirs, and being ſeparated from the King's Forces, the *Danes* were incourag'd to give the King Battel, which was very obſtinate and bloody on both Sides. The King loſt the Earls *Sigulf* and *Sigelm*, with many other of his Nobles, and the *Danes* their King *Eolrick*, *Ethelwald* the Author of this War, with a greater Number than the *Engliſh*, tho' they had the Honour of keeping the Field. This Battel was fought in the Year 905, but we know not the Effect of it, but only in the ſecond Year after, a Peace was concluded between King *Edward* and the *Danes* of *Eaſt-England* and *Northumberland*, at a Place call'd *Ityngaford*, which laſted for the Space of three Years.

Ethelwald *his Kinſman rebels,*

who flies and joins with the Danes.

They ravage the Nation.

A Peace concluded,

A. D. 910. *which is broken.*

At the End of which Time, the Peace was broken, tho' the Annals ſay not by whom; but *Hoveden* charges all upon the *Danes*, who he ſays prevaricated with the King, and thereupon he ſent an Army of *Weſt-Saxons* and *Mercians* into *Northumberland*, which in five Weeks made great Devaſtations, kill'd great Numbers of the *Danes*, and compell'd them to renew the Treaty they had lately broken. But in the following Year they broke this alſo, and furiouſly invaded *Mercia*, where they were met by the *Engliſh* at *Teotenhale*, or *Tetnal* in *Staffordſhire*, and overthrown. King *Edward* was then in *Kent*, and had gather'd together about an hundred Sail of Ships, beſides ſuch as were ſent to the Southward and met him at Sea. The *Danes* imagining that he had ſhipt off the Majority of his Forces, took the Liberty to rove about beyond the *Severn*, and where-ever elſe the Hopes of Booty could invite them. Whereupon King *Edward* ſent the lighteſt of his Army before, to divert the Enemy 'till he could come up; and then following with the main Body, he ingag'd them in their Return at *Cantbridge* in *Glouceſterſhire*, where he gave them a memorable Defeat. The Annals relate, that many thouſands of them were ſlain, together with *Eowd* their King; but *Huntington* mentions two other Kings, *Haldene* and *Eolwulf*, beſides *Uther* a Conſul, and eight other Noblemen, whoſe barbarous Name may without any Loſs to the Reader be omitted. In the following Year *Ethered* Duke of *Mercia*, to whom *Alfred* had given *London* with his Daughter *Ethelfleda* in Marriage, now dying, King *Edward* reſum'd that City, and *Oxford*, with the adjoining Countries, into his own Hands. And in the Year after, he built by his Soldiers, or much repair'd the Town of *Hartford* on either Side of the *Lee*, and leaving a ſufficient Number at Work, he march'd about the Middle of Summer with the other Part of his Forces into *Eſſex*, and encamp'd at *Maldon*, while his Soldiers built *Witham* in the ſame County; where a conſiderable Part of the Country, formerly ſubject to the *Danes*, yielded themſelves to his Protection. And now reigning in Peace, about the Year 915, he took care for the Reſtoration of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, as his Father had done for that of *Oxford*: And by the Aſſiſtance of Pope *John* and Arch-Biſhop *Plegmund*, and by the Advice of all the Biſhops and chief Men of his Kingdom, he confirm'd to the Doctors and Scholars of this Univerſity, as alſo to their Servants, all the Privileges which had been granted by himſelf or his Predeceſſors, to endure for ever by a perpetual Right, as appears by the Copy of a Charter ſtill extant.

The Danes *receive a great Defeat.*

A. D. 912.

Edward *reſtores the Univerſity of* Cambridge.

A. D. 917.

About two Years after, the *Danes* from *Northampton* and *Leiceſter* broke the Peace by a furious Inroad made into *Oxfordſhire*, where they committed all Kinds of Rapine, and made great Slaughters; while another Party with leſs Succeſs march'd into *Hartfordſhire*, where the Inhabitants, now ſufficiently inured to ſuch Alarms, bravely reſiſted them, repell'd them and recover'd the Booty they had taken, and made themſelves Maſters of their Horſes. During theſe Conteſts *Ethelfleda* the King's Siſter, and relict of *Ethered* Duke of *Mercia*, having Charge of that Country, behav'd her ſelf as ſhe had done continually in her Husband's Time, with ſuch uncommon Courage and Conduct as ſhe became a mighty Help to her Brother in his Wars, and nobly defended all thoſe who were under her Care. But the *Britains* who were Neighbours to the *Mercians*, diſdaining to be checkt and reſtrain'd by a Woman, were ſo hardy as to make ſome Incurſions into the *Engliſh* Territories. She to divert and chaſtiſe them, ſent a Party into *Wales*, which eaſily defeated the *Welch*, took the Caſtle of *Bricknam-mere* by *Brecknock*, and beſides thirty four

The valiant Acts of Ethelfleda *Siſter to King* Edward.

other conſiderable Captives, brought away that King's Wife Priſoner into *Mercia*. In the following Year this valiant Woman bravely attack'd the Town of *Darby* then in the Hands of the *Danes*, took it by Storm, after they had refus'd Battel in the open Field, and then ſubdu'd all the Country round, tho' with the great Hazard of her Perſon, and the Loſs of four of her beſt Officers who were ſlain at the Entry of the Gate. After this Victory ſhe conquer'd *Leiceſter*, with the greateſt Part of the *Daniſh* Army that lay in thoſe Parts; and alſo thoſe of *Yorkſhire* promis'd Submiſſion and all good Deportment.

Her Buildings.

But this Virago is not only celebrated by all Writers for taking of Towns and Caſtles from the Enemy, but alſo for repairing and building many others in the *Engliſh* Territories: As particularly *Cheſter*, *Tamworth*, *Litchfield*, *Stafford*, *Warwick*, *Shrewsbury*, *Wedensbury*, *Eadsbury*, *Finborow*, *Rimcorne*, *Brimsbery*, *Brigge*, and ſeveral others: And generally ſuch as were repair'd by her had formerly by her Valour and Conduct been wreſted out of the Hands of the Enemy.

Her Death.

At length after eight Years Government of *Mercia*, this renown'd Lady dy'd at *Tamworth* in *Staffordſhire*, and was buried in the Porch of St. *Peter* in *Gloceſter* by her Husband. *Huntington* further writes, that ſhe was reported to have been of ſo great Power, that by ſome ſhe was not only call'd Lady and Queen, but King alſo, out of Admiration of her Abilities. She left only one Child, a Daughter nam'd *Alwina*, for ſhe became ſo affected with the Pains of Child-bed at her Birth, that ſhe would never more accompany with her Husband. To which Paſſage *Ingulph* adds, that in reſpect of the Cities ſhe built, the Caſtles ſhe fortify'd, and the Armies ſhe manag'd, it might have been thought that ſhe had chang'd her Sex.

Edward *ſeizes on* Mercia.

She made her Daughter her Heir, but King *Edward* ſo far underſtood his Intereſt, that within a Year he ſent for his Neice into *Weſt-Sex*, and took all *Mercia* into his own Hands.

A. D. 918.

But to return back to this Prince, and his Affairs: The Year after the Taking of *Darby*, a new Fleet of *Danes* from the Southwards arriv'd at *Lidwic* in *Devonſhire* under the Conduct of two Commanders call'd *Ottor* and *Roald*. Sailing Weſtward round the Land's End, they enter'd the Mouth of the *Severn*; where landing, they ravag'd all the Coaſt of *Wales*, and coming to *Irchenfield*, they took *Kuneleac* a *Britiſh* Biſhop Priſoner, for whoſe Ranſom King *Edward* afterwards gave Forty Pounds. As they proceeded, the Inhabitants of *Herefordſhire* and *Gloceſterſhire*, with ſome others, oppos'd their Progreſs, and put them to flight, killing their Captain *Roald*, with the Brother of *Ottor*, and many others: And purſuing them to a Wood, they there beſieg'd them 'till they gave Security for departing out of the King's Dominions. In the mean Time the King hover'd with his Army between *Severn* and *Avon*, ſo that they durſt not touch upon theſe Quarters, except twice in the Night Time, and then they came home ſhort, being all cut off ſhort except ſome that by ſwimming eſcap'd to their Ships. The reſt being almoſt famiſh'd in a ſmall Iſland, remov'd from Place to Place, 'till at length they paſs'd over into *Ireland*; and this was the Iſſue of this Invaſion, when the Country enjoy'd a Breathing Time from theſe Calamities.

The Danes *decline.*

The Pirates being departed, King *Edward* the better to ſecure himſelf againſt the Attempts of their Countrymen inhabiting about *Bedford* and in *Buckinghamſhire*, who were always ready to join with freſh Comers, led his Army to *Buckingham*, where he continu'd a Month and order'd Forts to be erected on each Side of the River *Owſe*. This Management ſo curb'd the Power of the *Danes*, that many of them ſubmitted themſelves, particularly *Turkitel* a Commander, together with moſt of the conſiderable Men about *Bedford*, as alſo ſeveral about *Northampton*. This encourag'd the King to go down the following Year to *Bedford*, which being yielded to him, he continu'd there about a Month, and took care for the Building a *Burh*, as the Annals call it, on the South Side of the River *Owſe*, which Townlet was in the *Saxon*'s Time call'd *Mikeſgate*.

Edward *increaſes in Strength.*

The following Year, a little before Midſummer, he went again to *Maldon*, where he built another *Burh*, and fortify'd the Town. And now *Turkitel* the *Dane* finding he was like to have but ſmall Succeſs in this Nation, while the King ſo wiſely and induſtriouſly manag'd his Affairs, got leave with as many Volunteers as would follow him, to paſs into *France*, where he knew his Countrymen might find him Employment. The King ſtill purſu'd his Deſigns and Buſineſs, and to add to his Strength, he re-edify'd *Torceſter* in *Northamptonſhire*, and caus'd it to be fortify'd, and likewiſe built and fortify'd a Place call'd *Wigingmere*, now *Wigmore* in *Herefordſhire*.

A. D. 921.

While King *Edward* was buſied about the Fortifications of *Wigmore*, the *Danes* of *Northampton* and *Leiceſter*, being apprehenſive of the Inconveniency of ſo many ſtrong Towns, laid Siege to *Torceſter*. But after a Day's vigorous Reſiſtance, and Supplies coming in, they left the Place by Night, and being purſu'd and ſurpriz'd between *Burnwood* and *Aylesbury*, they loſt many of their Men, and much of their Baggage. About the ſame Time the *Danes* of *Huntington*, judging their Fortreſs not proper for their Purpoſe, demoliſh'd it, and erected another at *Temesford* in *Bedfordſhire*, by the Aſſiſtance of their Countrymen in *Eaſt-England*. From thence they made Excurſions to *Bedford*, in hopes of recovering that Town, but the Garriſon ſally'd out, and repell'd them with a great Slaughter. After which they rais'd a greater Army, both out of *Eaſt-England* and *Mercia*, which in a ſhort Time ſate down before *Wigmore*, but after one Day's Tryal, they were oblig'd to depart, with what Booty they could get out of the Country. Upon theſe Acts of Hoſtility many of King *Edward*'s Friends gather'd themſelves together, and uniting their Forces, beſieg'd the new Fort of *Temesford*, which they took by Storm, after a vigorous Reſiſtance; in which they ſlew the *Daniſh* King, the two Earls *Toylea* and *Mannan*, with all the reſt in the Place, who choſe Death rather than Submiſſion. Incourag'd by this Succeſs, the Inhabitants of *Kent*, *Surry* and *Eſſex*, with ſeveral from other Parts, went and laid Siege to *Colcheſter*, and ſo bravely carry'd on their Attacks, that in a ſhort Time they took the Place, and put all the *Danes* to the Sword, except ſuch as had the good Fortune to eſcape over the Walls.

The Danes *ſtill loſe Ground.*

To the Relief of theſe great Numbers of *Danes* inhabiting the Ports and other Towns in *England*, united their Forces; but coming too late, they pleas'd themſelves with the Hopes of revenging the Injury upon *Maldon*; but that Town being timely reliev'd, they departed, not only with the Loſs of their Deſign, but alſo of many Thouſands of their Men. King *Edward* being jealous of their Countrymen haſten'd this Summer with an Army of *Weſt-Saxons* to *Paſsham* upon the *Owſe*, where he continu'd 'till *Torceſter* was incompaſs'd with a Stone Wall. Which had ſuch an Influence upon the *Danes* in thoſe Parts, that *Thurfert* an Earl, with the Lords of the neighbouring Towns, and all their Army as far as *Hampton* North of *Weolind* came and ſubmitted to him. Now the King's Forces deſir'd to return home, yet Part of them were order'd to *Huntington*, where they repair'd the Breaches and fortify'd the Town; upon the Sight of which, all the People of thoſe Parts ſubmitted, and deſir'd the King's Protection.

Moſt of them ſubmit to the King.

In the ſame Year he march'd with his *Weſt-Saxon* Forces to *Colcheſter*, where repairing and fortifying that Town, all the People of *Eaſt-England*, living under the *Danes*, together with the *Daniſh* Army, as well by Sea as by Land, ſwore Obedience to him, and to obſerve his Commands. The *Daniſh* Army at *Cambridge* alſo ſurrender'd themſelves, and took the ſame Oath.

The Eaſt-Angles *freed from their Yoke.*

By this Means King *Edward*'s Power and Dominions were not only inlarged, but alſo all the *Eaſt-Angles* were freed from the Tyranny of the *Danes*, who had kept them in Subjection for about fifty Years, ever ſince the Death of King *Edmund*; whoſe Body was this Year remov'd from *Hoxton* in *Suffolk* to St. *Edmund's Bury* in the ſame County.

A. D. 922.

The following Year ſtill added to King *Edward*'s Greatneſs and Sovereignty; for coming to *Stamford* and erecting a Caſtle on the South Side of the River, all the Inhabitants in thoſe Parts acknowledg'd him for their ſupreme Lord. At the ſame Time his Siſter *Ethelfleda* dying, as we have formerly mention'd, all *Mercia* was reduc'd to his Power; which was immediately follow'd by the Submiſſion of *Howil*, *Cledauc* and *Jeothwell* the petty Princes of *North-Wales*, with all the Northern *Britains*, who put themſelves under his Protection. After this the King viſited *Nottingham*, which he repair'd, and plac'd both *Engliſh* and *Danes* in it, of which two Nations, all inhabiting *Mercia* now became his Subjects. And to purſue and compleat his good Fortune, the next Year he march'd with an Army to *Tethwall* in *Cheſhire*, where he took Care for the building and fortifying that Town. While he continu'd there, he ſent for another Party of Soldiers out of *Mercia*, and order'd them to repair and fortifie *Mancheſter* in *Lancaſhire*. The next Year King *Edward* to ſecure all about him went down with an Army to *Nottingham*, where he order'd a Borough to be built on the South Side of the River over-againſt it, and a Bridge to be made for Intercourſe between them. From thence he march'd as far as the Territories of the *Picts*, to a Place call'd *Bedecanwillan*, where he commanded a Town to be built and ſtrongly fortify'd.

The King of the Scots *and ſeveral others ſubmit.*

Upon which the King of the *Scots* choſe him for his Lord and Patron, together with the *Scottiſh* Nation it ſelf, as likewiſe did *Regnwald* the Son of *Eadulf*, and all the Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, *Engliſh* and *Danes*, in the North as well as in the Southern Parts, as alſo the King of the *Britains* call'd *Straetgledwalli*, with all his Subjects.

Edward's *Greatneſs.*

Theſe are the great Atchievements of King *Edward* as they are ſummarily ſet down in the *Saxon* Annals, which ſhew his Power ſo great, that none of his Predeceſſors extended his Dominions to ſuch a Proportion. By *Malmesbury* we are told, that as it were to compleat his Grandeur, a little before he dy'd he reduc'd the Inhabitants of *Cheſter* and the

Country

His Death.

Country about it, who having conſpir'd with the neighbouring *Britains* had attempted to ſhake off the Yoke; but he by his Diligence prevented their Forces joining, and by the Terror of his Name ſoon conſtrain'd them to ſubmit themſelves. And thus after a fortunate and triumphant Reign of about twenty four Years, this great Prince dy'd at *Farrington* in *Barkſhire* in the Year 924, and was bury'd in the Monaſtery at *Wincheſter* by his Father; leaving behind him a numerous Iſſue of five Sons and nine Daughters.

8. *ATHELSTAN.*

A. D. 924.

The Birth of Athelſtan.

He is crown'd King.

V. Of the five Sons that King *Edward* left behind, three aſcended the Throne and became Kings of *England*, viz. *Athelſtan*, *Edmund* and *Edred*. *Ethelward* was nearer than all the reſt, but dying a few Days after his Father, he made way for the Succeſſion of *Athelſtan*, who tho' the Eldeſt, and legitimated as it were by the after-Marriage of his Mother, yet being born of a then Concubine, could hardly have obtain'd the Crown during the Life of *Ethelward*. Concerning the Birth of this Prince, *Malmesbury* and *Brompton* have this peculiar Story: That in the Reign of King *Alfred*, when his Son *Edward* was young, in a Village of the *Weſt-Saxons*, the Daughter of a Shepherd, by Name *Edgina*, had a Dream that the Moon ſhone out of her Womb ſo bright, that all *England* was enlighten'd by the Splendor of it: Which being told to a grave Matron, who had been Nurſe to ſeveral of the King's Children, ſhe took her into her Houſe, and educated her as tenderly as if ſhe had been her own Daughter, inſtructing her to demean her ſelf as might become a Perſon both of Birth and Breeding. In proceſs of Time, Prince *Edward*, the King's eldeſt Son, occaſionally paſſing through the Town, thought himſelf oblig'd in Civility to viſit his Nurſe; which brought him to a Sight of this beautiful Maid, whoſe Charms ſo captivated his Affections, that he was inceſſantly importunate to lye with her. His Deſire being at length obtain'd, *Edgina* prov'd with Child, and being deliver'd of a Son, in reſpect of her former Dream, *Edward* gave him the Name of *Athelſtan*, which ſignifies *The moſt Noble*. But how uncertain ſoever his Birth was, he prov'd an excellent Governor; and now being thirty Years of Age, he aſcended the Throne by the Conſent of all the Nobility, and was crown'd at the Royal Town of *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, not without the Predeſignment of his Father by his laſt Will and Teſtament. By his own Pregnancy and Education he had arriv'd to many noble Qualifications of Mind, ſuitable to the Dignity of his Employment; and his Grandfather *Alfred* is ſaid to have preſag'd to him a fortunate Reign, being much enamour'd with his excellent Behaviour and his beautiful Features. When he was very young, he conferr'd on him the Honour of Knighthood, by inveſting him with a Purple Robe, a Belt adorn'd with Gems, and a Sword of the *Saxon* Faſhion put in a golden Scabbard; and caus'd him to be educated in the Houſe of his renowned Daughter *Ethelfleda*, and her valiant Husband, that he might be train'd up in ſuch Actions as might render him fit for that good Fortune and Condition which the Hopes conceiv'd of him did portend.

He is oppoſed by Alfred.

The Deſerts of this Prince, and the general Affection of the People were not effectual to prevent all Inconveniencies proceeding from the Condition of his Birth. One *Alfred* made a conſiderable Oppoſition againſt the Choice, as of an illegitimate Perſon, and conſpired with his Accomplices to ſeize him in the City of *Wincheſter*, and to put out his Eyes. But the Plot was happily diſcover'd, and *Alfred* denying it utterly was ſent to *Rome*, there to purge himſelf before the Pope; where coming to take his Oath before the Altar of St. *Peter*, he fell down, and being carry'd by his Servants to the *Engliſh* School, he dy'd three Days after. By reaſon of this Accident the Pope would not diſpoſe of his Body, but ſent to know the Advice of King *Athelſtan*; who being prevail'd upon by the Friends of *Alfred*, conſented that he ſhould have Chriſtian Burial, tho' his whole Eſtate was adjudg'd confiſcate for his Treaſon. Such good Fortune had *Athelſtan* againſt this Domeſtick Enemy. In other places he found little Trouble, except on the North-ſide of the *Humber*; where *Inguald*, one of the *Daniſh* Kings, ſeiz'd on *York*; and *Sithric* the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*, who formerly had kill'd his Brother *Niel*, by Force made himſelf Maſter of *Davenport* in *Cheſhire*. *Malmesbury* ſays that *Sithric* was a Barbarian both in Mind and Nation, that he was Kinſman to *Guthram* ſo remarkable in King *Alfred*'s Reign, that having proudly contemn'd the Power of former Kings, now humbly deſir'd the Alliance of *Athelſtan* by Meſſengers, whom he himſelf follow'd to make good what they had petition'd on his Behalf. *Athelſtan* found him a Perſon ſo conſiderable, that he gave him his Siſter *Edgitha* in Marriage, upon an Agreement that he ſhould be firſt baptiz'd. Not long after *Sithric* dy'd, and was ſucceeded in his Kingdom by *Godefrid* his Son; but King *Athelſtan* thought fit to diſpoſſeſs him, and reduc'd all *Northumberland* to his own Dominions, to which he might lay Claim, both by an ancient Right, and a new Alliance. From which gaining of the Kingdom of *Northumberland* we may obſerve, That as King *Edward* had before conquer'd the *Danes* of *Eaſt-England*, and had alſo added *Mercia* to his own Kingdom; ſo King *Athelſtan* by the Expulſion of King *Godefrid*, who was alſo of the *Daniſh* Race, became the firſt King that ruled all *England*, without any King under him. And by his Conqueſts and Acquiſitions, this Prince juſtly deſerv'd the Title of firſt Monarch, tho' his Modeſty occaſion'd him to wave it, leaving it to his younger Brother *Edred*, who was the firſt King that aſſum'd it.

Northumberland *added to* Athelſtan's *Dominions.*

A. D. 934.

He invades Scotland.

Upon the Reduction of *Northumberland*, *Godefrid* fled into *Scotland*, and his Brother *Anlaf* into *Ireland*; and the former was ſhortly follow'd by Ambaſſadors from King *Athelſtan* to *Conſtantine* King of the *Scots*, who demanded the Fugitive to be deliver'd up, upon the Peril of a ſpeedy War. Some write that a War did really commence, which *Athelſtan* carried on with numerous Forces both by Sea and Land, and drove his Enemies before him by Land as far as *Dunfeodor* and *Merlermore*, and by Sea as far as into *Cathneſs*. But *Malmesbury* affirms, that not daring to diſpleaſe him, both *Conſtantine* and *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland* readily came to a Place call'd *Dacor*, where they deliver'd up themſelves and their Poſſeſſions into the Hands of the King of *England*, who became God-father to the Son of *Conſtantine*, now order'd to be baptiz'd in Teſtimony of the Agreement. But while they were preparing for their Journey, *Godefrid* eſcap'd, and travelling into ſeveral Parts with one *Turfrid*, at length gather'd ſome Men together, and laid Siege to *York*, where he us'd all verbal Methods to induce the Inhabitants to yield; but not prevailing, he retir'd, and was ſhortly after taken with *Turfrid*, and impriſon'd in a Caſtle, from whence by deluding their Keepers they made their Eſcape. *Turfrid* not long after was ſhipwreckt and drown'd at Sea; *Godefrid* after having endur'd much Miſery, came in a ſuppliant Manner to the King's Court, who kindly receiv'd him; but after he had been generouſly treated for four Days, he ſuddenly retir'd to his Ships, and his old Employment of Piracy. In the mean Time King *Athelſtan* demoliſh'd a Caſtle which the *Danes* had fortify'd at *York*, and carefully divided the large Booty he found in it among his Soldiers: For this Prince was ſo liberal, that he never hoarded up Mony for himſelf, but beſtow'd what fell to him, either among his faithful Servants, or upon Monaſteries.

A. D. 938.

England *invaded by the* Scots *and others.*

Whence a bloody Battel enſues.

But now a great Tempeſt began to gather againſt him in the North, where *Conſtantine* King of *Scotland*, exaſperated by the late Invaſion, join'd with *Anlaf* from *Ireland*, and engag'd *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, with great Forces rais'd out of ſeveral Nations ſummon'd to their Aſſiſtance. After four Years Preparations they invaded *England* by the River *Humber*, and paſs'd up the Country to a Place call'd *Brunanburg* in *Northumberland*; *Athelſtan* purpoſely giving way to obtain better Advantage againſt them. *Anlaf* perceiving the Valour and Reſolution of *Athelſtan*, and fearing his own Forces tho' numerous, reſolv'd firſt to ſpy out the Poſture of his Enemies: And following the Example of King *Alfred* in the laſt Age, in the Habit of a Muſician, by his Harp and Voice he got Admittance into the King's Tent, where he play'd the part both of a Spy and a Singer. Being diſmiſt in the Evening with a Reward, while he was viewing the King's Tent, and the Avenues to it, he was obſerv'd by one who had been his Soldier, and well knew him; who upon acquainting the King with it, and being blam'd for letting ſuch an Enemy eſcape, anſwer'd, *That he had firſt given his Military Oath to* Anlaf, *and if he had betray'd him, the King might have juſtly ſuſpected him for the like Treaſon.* But as an Inſtance of his Fidelity he adviſ'd him to remove his Tent, which prov'd very ſeaſonable; for a Biſhop with his Retinue coming immediately after, and pitching his Tent in the ſame Place, was the firſt that loſt his Life in the Night-time. For *Anlaf* choſe rather by Night to ſurpriſe his Enemy, than fairly to give them Battel in open Field by Day-light; and accordingly he fell ſuddenly upon the *Engliſh*, and kill'd the Biſhop who came but that Night to the Camp, which cauſing a great Tumult, the King, tho' a Mile off, and his whole Army took the Alarm, and by Day-light came to the Place of the Slaughter, where they found the Aſſailants tired and diſorder'd by their late Travel, and for want of Sleep. King *Athelſtan* with the *Weſt-Saxons* met with *Anlaf* himſelf, and *Turketul* his Kinſman and Chancellor with the *Londoners* and *Mercians* engag'd *Conſtantine*;

which occaſion'd vaſt Bloodſhed on both Sides. The Diſpute continuing hot and violent, by reaſon of the Multitude of the Barbarians, *Turketul* took with him a ſelect Body of *Londoners*, and a valiant Captain call'd *Singin*, and with them ruſh'd into the Middle of the Enemies, where he hewed down whole Ranks of Men on both Sides of him. He bravely paſs'd through the Heaps of *Orcadians* and *Picts*, bearing a Wood of Darts and Arrows on his Breaſt Plate, and breaking in upon whole Companies of *Cimbrians* and *Scots*, he at length reach'd *Conſtantine* himſelf, whom he diſmounted, and would have taken alive; but the *Scots* were ſo concern'd for their King, that they made a very dangerous Reſiſtance, and many of them preſſing upon the few *Engliſh* that follow'd him, and all aiming chiefly at *Turketul*, he began to repent of his Raſhneſs, ſeeing no Means of eſcaping or getting off his Priſoner; when on a ſudden *Singin* coming in afreſh to his Reſcue, kill'd King *Conſtantine*. And now their King being ſlain, the *Scots* were ſo diſcourag'd, that they ſoon retir'd; and the Report flying about the Army, *Anlaf* and all his Followers fled; after an incredible Slaughter of *Danes* and *Scots* upon the Place. This Battel, which prov'd highly to the Honour and Advantage of *Athelſtan*, was fought from Morning till Night, and was the bloodieſt that ever had been known in *England*; in which *Ingulph* aſſures us, that beſides *Conſtantine*, five other Kings were there ſlain, twelve Earls, and an infinite Number of the inferior ſort. *Turketul*, who had gain'd ſo much Honour, not long after, leaving all ſecular Affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland* in *Lincolnſhire*, which at his own Charge he had repair'd from the *Daniſh* Ruins, and there left the Memorial of his former Actions.

*which adds much to the Fame of A*thelſtan.

All Kings ſeek Alliance with him.

This Victory added vaſtly to the Reputation of King *Athelſtan*, and the Fame of it flying through all Chriſtendom, all Kings were ambitious to obtain his Friendſhip, and on any Terms to make Alliance with him. *Henry* the Emperor ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire one of his Siſters in Marriage for his Son *Otho*; *Hugh* King of *France* requeſted another for his Son; and *Lewis* Prince of *Aquitain* begg'd the like Favour for his own Perſon. With theſe Ambaſſadors were brought ſuch rich and noble Preſents as had never been ſeen in the *Engliſh* Nation, as rich Perfumes, Gems, Horſes of the fineſt Breed with golden Furniture, Veſſels of Onyx, and other moſt rare and precious Things, beſides the moſt valuable Reliques in thoſe Times. All which were kindly receiv'd by King *Athelſtan*, who under the Conduct of *Turketul* and his greateſt Courtiers ſent four of his Siſters, who, as *Ingulph* ſays, for Chaſtity were ſuperior to *Diana*, and for Beauty exceeded *Helena*. The two Eldeſt were marry'd to the Emperor's Son and another great Prince of his Court, and the two Youngeſt to the Kings of *France* and *Aquitain*; and the King's Courtiers return'd home loaded with noble Gifts, who to the meaneſt of them were richly preſented. The Renown of *Athelſtan* being ſo great abroad, nothing could withſtand him at home, where ſoon after his Succeſs in the North againſt the *Scots*, he with his Brother *Edmund* invaded *Wales*, and with great Eaſe reduc'd *Ludwal* their chief King to Subjection. Then cauſing all the petty Kings of *Wales*, as well as *Ludwal*, to meet him at *Hereford*, under the Name of Tribute he impos'd on them a yearly Payment of twenty Pound Weight of Gold, 300 of Silver, 25000 Beeves, and as many Hounds and Hawks as he ſhould demand. Moreover becauſe in the Weſtern Parts towards *Cornwall* the *Britains* and *Engliſh* dwelt confuſedly together, which bred Diſſenſions, and frequently drew the Affections of the *Engliſh* from their Prince, he expell'd all the *Corniſh Britains* out of *Exeter*, and other Parts of *Devonſhire*; tho' they had formerly dwelt there in equal Right with the *Engliſh*. And to their Country of *Cornwall* he fix'd certain Limits, dividing it from *Devonſhire* with the River *Tamar*, as he bounded the other Northern *Britains* with the River *Vaga* or *Wey*.

He makes the petty Kings of Wales *tributary.*

His Laws.

Thus dreaded at home and fear'd abroad, King *Athelſtan* liv'd in Peace for near three Years; during which Time he made ſeveral Laws, by the Advice of his wiſe Men and chief Commanders, for the preſerving of Quiet, and the Government of his Country. The Subſtance of theſe, as well as thoſe of his Father *Edward*, are extant to this Day; among which were eſtabliſh'd the Price of Murder or Man-killing, from the King to the Peaſant; the Puniſhment of which at that Time was only Pecuniary, not Capital or by Death, which becauſe it makes out the peculiar Uſage of thoſe Times, we ſhall recite in particular. The Price of the King's Life by the Common Law of the *Engliſh* was 30000 Pieces of Silver call'd *Thrimſa's*, ſuppos'd to be about three Shillings a-piece; whereof one Half was paid to the King's Relations, and the other Half to the Nation or People. The Life of an Arch-Biſhop or Earl was valu'd at 15000 *Thrimſa's*, to be divided as the former: The Life of a Biſhop or Alderman at 8000: The Life of a Field-Marſhal, Knight-Marſhal, or General, at 4000: The Life of a *Maſs-Thane* or Prieſt, and a Secular or World-*Thane*, at 2000: And the Life of a Peaſant or Countryman at 267 *Thrimſa's*. King *Athelſtan* ſtill liv'd in great Glory and Renown; and among the foreign Princes that paid their Reſpects to him, *Harold* King of *Norway* ſent him a Ship whoſe Stern was of Gold, and the Sails of Purple, beſides other rich Preſents; and his Ambaſſadors were nobly rewarded by the King at *York*. At length in *November* 940 this great Prince ended his Days at *Gloceſter*, and was bury'd with many Trophies at *Malmesbury*, after he had reign'd fifteen Years and odd Months. This Prince's great Actions are only ſully'd by the Death of his younger Brother *Edwin*, of whom ſome Writers tell us, That King *Athelſtan* being jealous of his Virtues, leſt being added to his Birthright, might ſome Time call in queſtion his Illegitimacy, caus'd him to be drown'd in the Sea; others ſay he was expos'd with one Servant in a rotten Bark without either Sail or Oar; where the young Prince in a deſperate Condition threw himſelf into the Sea; but the Servant more patient recover'd Land, and reported the Event. But this Story is disbeliev'd by *Malmesbury*, by reaſon of his great Kindneſs to his other Brothers and Siſters, and ſays that it was only to be found in the Songs of former Ages, and in no good Author. And *Huntington* mentions the Loſs of *Edwin* by Sea, but ſpeaks of it as of a ſad Accident, and a great Misfortune to King *Athelſtan*; ſo that we need not trouble our Reader with more Particulars in this Matter. Yet we cannot finiſh this Reign without taking ſome Notice of another romantick Story mention'd by *Brompton* and other Modern Writers, That in this King's Reign, at the Time of a great Invaſion by the *Danes*, one *Guy* Earl of *Warwick* returning from the Holy Land in the Habit of a Pilgrim, at a Time when *Athelſtan* was in great Diſtreſs for a Champion to fight *Colebrand* a monſtrous *Daniſh* Giant, who in Behalf of the *Danes* had challeng'd any Perſon the *Engliſh* ſhould bring into the Field; *Guy* accepted this Challenge, and without being known to any but the King, fought the Giant near *Wincheſter*, and kill'd him, and the *Danes* yielded the Victory; while *Guy* privately retir'd to a Hermit's Cell near *Warwick*, and there ended his Days.

His Grandeur and Death.

Guy *Earl of* Warwick.

9. *EDMUND.*

A. D. 940. Edmund *ſucceeds.*

The great *Athelſtan* was ſucceeded in his Throne by his Brother *Edmund*, who tho' but a Youth of eighteen Years of Age, was not inferior to him in Courage and Bravery. As an Inſtance of his Power, in the ſecond Year of his Reign he invaded *Mercia*, and freed that Province from the Authority of the *Danes*, from whom he took the five Cities of *Leiceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford* and *Darby*, where they had been plac'd by his Father King *Edward*; but at this Time it was not thought convenient that they ſhould continue. For from what *Simeon* of *Durham* relates, it appears that he had Matter of Jealonſie and Provocation from thoſe *Danes* who inhabited *Northumberland*, whoſe King, *Anlaf* by Name, waſted the Country from *York* Southwards to *Northampton*, but was ſtopt in his Progreſs by King *Edmund* near *Leiceſter*. Here Peace was made between them by the Intervention of two Arch-Biſhops, *Odo* and *Wulſtan*, which was enobled by the Converſion of *Anlaf* himſelf, to whom King *Edmund* was God-father, who alſo not long after receiv'd *Reginald*, another King, from the Hands of the Biſhops at Confirmation. At the ſame Time their Territories were bounded North and South by *Watling-ſtreet*. But this Treaty continu'd not long in Force; for in two Years Time King *Edmund* invaded their Dominions, and drove both *Anlaf* and *Reginald* out of *Northumberland*, reducing the whole Country to his own Subjection. Not long after he harraſs'd *Cumberland*, and gave it to *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, upon Condition that he ſhould aſſiſt him in all his Wars both by Sea and Land. *Matthew Weſtminſter* adds, tho' with no great Probability, that King *Edmund* having by the Aſſiſtance of *Lewellyn* Prince of North *Wales* conquer'd *Cumberland*, he not only depriv'd *Dunmaile* of his Kingdom, but alſo his two Sons of their Eye-ſight.

He gains many Advantages.

A. D. 944.

He makes ſeveral Laws.

During the Time of Peace, *Odo* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſet forth divers Canons, in the ſecond of which he admoniſh'd the King and the Nobility, that they obey'd their Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops with all Humility. The King alſo, by the Advice of his Biſhops and Lay Nobles, commanded and eſtabliſhed many Laws, of which ſeveral were purely Eccleſiaſtical. And to ſhew his Love to God, and Bounty to his Church, he gave the Town of St. *Edmund's Bury*, with the Liberties thereof, wholly to the Martyr of that Name, and to the Monks that liv'd by ſerving at his Altars; and likewiſe he added many Privileges and Advantages to the Abbot and Monks of *Glaſſenbury*. Thus did King *Edmund* flouriſh, ſtill giving Hopes of greater Actions to be perform'd by him, when in the Height of the Expectations of his Friends, and his own Confidence, a venturous Act cut him off, and a ſtrange Accident depriv'd the People of their Prince. The Year that follow'd the Conqueſt of *Cumberland*, the King ſolemnly kept the Feaſt of St. *Auguſtine*, with many of his Nobility, at a Place now call'd *Puckle-Church* in *Glo-ceſterſhire*. As he ſat at the Table with his Gueſts, he eſpied one *Leof* a notorious Robber, who for his Crimes had been baniſh'd by the King ſix Years before. Being enrag'd at the Man's Boldneſs of appearing there, without conſidering his Royal Dignity, he aroſe from the Table, ran furiouſly upon *Leof*, caught him by the Hair, and pull'd him to the Ground. The Robber expecting nothing leſs than Death, reſolv'd not to dye unreveng'd, but pulling out a ſhort Dagger, gave the King a Mortal Wound in the Breaſt, whilſt he lay upon him with his full Weight. The Company being vaſtly ſurpriz'd at the Accident, immediately ſurrounded the Murderer, and cut him in pieces, who yet like a wild Beaſt at Bay made a furious Reſiſtance, and before he was kill'd wounded ſeveral of the Aſſailants. This was the ſtrange End of King *Edmund*, after he had reign'd in great Reputation ſix Years and ſix Months. His Body was bury'd at *Glaſſenbury*, where St. *Dunſtan* was then Abbot; and the Town where he was kill'd was beſtow'd on the ſame Monaſtery, to ſing Maſſes for his Soul. This happen'd in the Year 946.

His ſtrange Death.

10. *EDRED.*

A. D. 946.

Tho' King *Edmund* left two Sons by the Queen his Wife, namely *Edwi* and *Edgar*, yet his youngeſt Brother *Edred* ſucceeded him in the Throne, and was unanimouſly crown'd at *Kingſton*. The Courſe of his brave and pious Actions ſufficiently ſhew'd that he did not degenerate from his Anceſtors; and he was the very firſt King of *England*, who in Writing ſtyl'd himſelf *King of Great Britain*. In the firſt Year of his Reign he ſubdu'd all *Northumberland*, which was frequently revolting by the Practices of its petty Princes; in which Action he gain'd ſuch an extraordinary Reputation, that the *Scots* ſwore Obedience to him to will whatſoever he ſhould will, as the *Saxon* Annals expreſs it. But the *Northumbrians* ever unfaithful, now alſo ſhew'd the Unſteadineſs of their Diſpoſition. They recall'd *Anlaf*, and ſet him up for a conſiderable Space; and after that they choſe one *Eric* the Son of *Harold*, a *Dane*, for their King, againſt whom *Edred* enter'd *Northumberland*, and having waſted the Country, return'd to the South. In his Retreat *Eric* boldly fell upon his Rear, which engag'd him to face about, and prepare to charge the purſuing Enemy; which ſo diſcourag'd the *Northumbrians*, that dreading to prove what they had ſufficiently experienc'd, they threw off *Eric*'s Authority, kill'd *Arnanc* the Son of *Anlaf*, with great Preſents appeas'd King *Edred*, and ſubmitted themſelves to his Government: And now quitting the Adminiſtration of their petty Kings, *Northumberland* was thenceforth govern'd by Earls, of which one *Oſulf* is reported to be the firſt. In this late War, *Wulſtan* Arch-Biſhop of *York* ſided, or at leaſt conniv'd, as *Malmesbury* words it, with his Compatriots in their Revolt, for which he was committed to Priſon, where having continu'd a conſiderable Time, he was at laſt pardon'd and releas'd, out of Reſpect to his Gown and Function. As *Edred* thus proceeded to equal the Worth of his Predeceſſors, he was ſeiz'd with a languiſhing Diſtemper, and being admoniſh'd by the Abbot *Dunſtan* of his approaching Death, he did not only bear that Affliction with Patience, but ſpending his Time in Acts of Devotion, made his Palace a School of all Virtues, and being at length conſum'd by a tedious Sickneſs, departed this Life on the Feaſt of St. *Clement*, in the very Flower of his Age, to the great Grief of his Subjects, after a Reign of nine Years and ſix Months.

Edred, *the firſt who was ſtyl'd* King of Great Britain.

His Succeſſes.

His Death.

11. *EDWI.*

A. D. 955.

VI. After the Death of *Edred* the Succeſſion naturally fell to *Edwi*, the Eldeſt Son of King *Edmund*, who now advancing towards Man's Eſtate, was unanimouſly admitted King, and crown'd at *Kingſton*. He was now about fourteen Years of Age, and was ſo extraordinary fair and comely, that he obtain'd the Sirname of *Pancalus*, or *altogether Fair*; which Youth and Beauty unhappily expoſed him to the Arts and Allurements of looſe Perſons. Moſt Writers give him the Character of a diſſolute Prince, and that he gave very great Offence to the Nobility by his inordinate Behaviour on the very Day of his Coronation. At that Time there was a Lady in his Court nearly related to him, who tho' very handſome her ſelf, had a Daughter far exceeding her in Beauty, by Name *Algiva*: Which Mother and Daughter, by their unchaſt Deportment, had ſo inſinuated themſelves into his Favour, that he could neither be at Reſt, nor diſpatch any publick Buſineſs without them. The Ceremony of the Coronation, and the Dinner being over, he ſuddenly withdrew himſelf from the venerable Aſſembly of his Prelates and Nobility into the Chamber of theſe Women, where he caſt himſelf upon a Bed between them. This was highly reſented by the Lords, but none durſt adventure to bring him back but *Dunſtan* Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*, and *Kinſi* Biſhop of *Litchfield*; who boldly enter'd the Chamber, and finding the Crown laid aſide, and the Wearer of it in the Arms of two Concubines, *Dunſtan* ſharply rebuk'd the Women, gently reprehended the King, beſeech'd him not to put ſo great an Affront upon his Nobility, and notwithſtanding his and their Threats, he pull'd him from them, ſet the Crown upon his Head, and brought him back almoſt by Force into the Aſſembly.

Edwi *a diſſolute Prince.*

This unuſual Way of Proceeding with a crown'd Head had many miſchievous Effects; and the Women, tranſported to all the Degrees of Malice and Revenge, reſolv'd to procure the Ruin of *Dunſtan*, which they ſo far effected, that the King caus'd all the Wealth of his Monaſtery to be ſeiz'd, and baniſh'd him into *Flanders*; nay ſo great an Averſion he conceiv'd againſt Men of his Profeſſion, that all the Monks were reduc'd to a low Condition in his Reign; and *William* of *Malmesbury* complains, that his Monaſtery, which for 270 Years had been inhabited by Monks, *was now made a Stable of Clerks*. He and others concern'd for a Monaſtical Life relate this Story with ſharp Reflections upon his Perſon, which ſome others do more indifferently; however he was but a Child, and conſequently liable to be ſeduc'd by the Charms of Women, and the Conceit of his Royal Authority, which he look'd upon as uncontroulable. At length Arch-Biſhop *Odo* excommunicated him, and pronounc'd a Separation or Divorce between him and his belov'd *Algiva*; and the People ſo reſented the Indignities offer'd to the Church, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and ſet up his younger Brother *Edgar*, leaving to him the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, the ancient Patrimony of his Family. As for the two Ladies, *Odo* was not ſatisfy'd with exerciſing his ſpiritual Juriſdiction in cutting them off from the Body of the Church, but by the Council and Aſſiſtance of the Nobility, he caus'd *Algiva* to be drawn out of the Court, contrary to the King's Will and Pleaſure: And the Severity ended not here; for after that they added Marks of Scorn, defacing her Beauty by hot Irons, and laming her by cutting the Sinews of her Hams; after which they baniſh'd her into *Ireland*. *Edwi* having been King near four Years, and finding that he wanted Power and Intereſt to revenge himſelf, dy'd after two Years State of Excommunication. His Death happen'd in the Year 959, and his Body was interr'd in the new Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*.

He is a great Enemy to the Eccleſiaſticks.

He is excommunicated.

Part of his Subjects revolt.

Edwi*'s Death.*

12. *EDGAR.*

A. D. 959.

The Death of King *Edwi* immediately made way for his Brother *Edgar*, who peaceably aſcended the Throne, and became Monarch of all *England* at ſixteen Years of Age; which Title he bore after an uncontrolable manner, and with a better Colour, and a greater Appearance than any of his Predeceſſors. His whole Reign was a continual Calm, without Wars or Diſſenſions, ſo that he obtain'd the Sirname of *Peaceable*; all which he ſupported by an extraordinary Care and Vigilance, and with no leſs Majeſty and Authority. His Actions, tho' not without ſome Mixtures of Vice, were generally noble, politick and pious, and his Government was attended with great Glory and Proſperity. Shortly after his Advancement, in an Aſſembly held at *Branford*, he revok'd all the unjuſt Decrees of his Brother *Edwi*, and took care to put his Adultereſs to Death, and for the recalling of the famous St. *Dunſtan* with great Honour, whom he firſt made Biſhop of *London* and *Worceſter*, and ſoon after Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. This Prince underſtood and practis'd the true Intereſt of his Country, which was to make good Laws, and to be Maſter at Sea; and was ſo wiſe as to know, that it was better to hinder the Invaſion of an Enemy, than to ſuffer his Kingdom to be the Seat of War, which would naturally bring Devaſtation and Poverty, and make the Conqueror himſelf a Loſer. Upon which Account he with great Diligence and Expence fitted out three vaſt Fleets, and was the firſt King of *England* who was truly Lord of our Seas. For every Summer, ſays *Malmesbury*, immediately after *Eaſter*, he commanded his Ships from each

Edgar *the greateſt Monarch of* England.

He prepares vaſt Fleets.

Shore to rendezvous at a convenient Place, and uſually ſail'd with the Eaſtern Fleet to the Weſtern Parts of the Iſland; then ſending that back, he ſail'd with the Weſtern Fleet to the Northern; and thence with the Northern, he remov'd to the Eaſtern Coaſts, ſailing in this manner quite round the Iſle. In all which Voyages he was very diligent to prevent the Incurſions of Pirates, and couragious in the Defence of his Kingdom againſt Foreigners, and no leſs careful in the training up his Subjects for Military Employments. Each of theſe Fleets, as we are aſſur'd, conſiſted of 1200 Ships, and each of conſiderable Bulk for thoſe Times; ſo that the whole Number muſt amount to 3600 Sail, as ſome of our Authors expreſly affirm, but others ſay 4000 Veſſels; and there are ſome who add a fourth Fleet to theſe three, by which means the Number will be increas'd to 4800 Sail, as may be ſeen in *Matthew Weſtminſter*.

All Nations come under his Protection.

He reforms many Vices and Irregularities.

Theſe numerous Fleets added much to the Fame and Grandeur of this Prince, gave a riſe to that Right ſo long claim'd by the Crown of *England* to the Dominion of the Sea, and ſo clear'd the Northern World from Rovers and Pirates, that all Traders were ambitious of putting themſelves under his Protection. This, and the Encouragement given to Foreigners, caus'd great Numbers to come over from *Saxony*, *Flanders*, *Denmark* it ſelf, and other Places. But *Malmesbury* ſays that their Arrival was a great Detriment to the Natives of this Iſland, 'who from the '*Saxons* learnt Rudeneſs and Fierceneſs, Effeminateneſs 'from thoſe of *Flanders*, and Drunkenneſs from the *Danes*; being before free from thoſe Vices, contented with a natural and innocent Simplicity, and not addicted to admire the Cuſtoms and Faſhions of other Nations. But ſtill King *Edgar* was very diligent in ſuppreſſing theſe Vices; and particularly that of Drunkenneſs, which the *Danes* had introduc'd with ſuch miſchievous Effects; upon the Account of which he order'd Silver or Gold Pins to be fix'd to the Sides of their Pots or Cups, beyond which it was unlawful to drink themſelves, or cauſe others to do the ſame. And becauſe the Lives of the Secular Clergy became more and more luxurious and ſcandalous, he in a ſevere Oration to them openly diſplay'd all their looſe and ſcandalous Actions and Vices, and at length committed the Care of their Reformation to *Dunſtan* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ethelwold* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, with Order that by his regular Authority, and their Epiſcopal Cenſures, the impious Seculars might be ejected, and the virtuous Regulars reſtor'd to their Monaſteries. That Juſtice might be done in all Parts of his Kingdom, in his frequent Circuits and Progreſſes through the Country, he took a ſpecial Account of the Actions and Demeanor of his Miniſters and Judges, ſo that the greateſt Perſon could not evade the Law, nor the Pooreſt want the Benefit of it. With the Corruptions and Vices of theſe Times, he alſo extirpated the wild Beaſts, by impoſing upon *Ludwal* King of *Wales* an annual Tribute of three hundred Wolves, which ſo deſtroy'd them in three Years Space, that in the fourth there was none to be found.

He is attended by eight Kings.

A. D. 973. *His Coronation.*

For the Support of his Grandeur, and towards the ſuſtaining of the Charge of his Navies, this Prince had at once eight petty Kings, who being his fiduciary Clients or Vaſſals, were by Oath bound to be ready at his Command, and to ſerve him both by Sea and Land; which Oath they took at *Cheſter*, where he had order'd them to meet him, as he ſail'd about the North of *Britain* with a great Fleet. Their Names were *Kened* King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* King of *Cumberland*, *Maccure* King of the Iſles, with five of *Wales*, namely *Duſval*, *Griffith*, *Huwald*, *Jacob* and *Judehil*; who all meeting him at his Court of *Cheſter*, to ſet forth the Splendor and Greatneſs of his Dominions, he went into a Gally, and caus'd himſelf to be row'd by theſe eight Kings on the River *Dee*, whilſt he himſelf held the Steerage, and was waited upon by all his Dukes and Nobility in another Barge. In this pompous Manner he was carry'd to the Monaſtery of St. *John Baptiſt*, where an Oration being made to him, he in the ſame State return'd to his Palace, and being arriv'd there, he is ſaid to have declar'd to his Nobles about him, *That his Succeſſors might then boaſt themſelves to be truly Kings of* England, *when they ſhould like him be attended by ſo many Kings his Vaſſals.* King *Edgar* did not long out-live this Act of Ambition; tho' ſome ſay this was but the Epilogue of a more pompous Solemnity, being the ſame Year publickly crown'd in the City of *Bath*, with an infinite Confluence of all Sorts of People. This Ceremony, according to ſome, was omitted 'till the fifteenth Year of his Reign, when he was thirty Years of Age, out of Penance for ſome former Sins; tho' others are of opinion, that it was this Year only repeated, a thing not very unuſual among the Kings of *England*. In this or the next Year, according to *Ingulph*, dy'd *Swovebing* a Monk of *Croyland*, in the 142d Year of his Age, and ſhortly after him another in the 115th; which being in a moſt fenny and wateriſh Air in *Lincolnſhire*, is ſo much the more remarkable. About the ſame Time dy'd the famous *Turketul*, who from Chancellor to King *Athelſtan* choſe to become Abbot of this Place, and repair'd and much inrich'd the Monaſtery, after it had been ruin'd by the *Danes*; and he was the firſt that, by adding to the two great Bells of that Abby ſix more, made the firſt tuneable Ring of Bells in *England*.

The firſt Ring of Bells in England.

The Story of Edgar's *Marriage with* Elfrida.

Notwithſtanding the many juſt and honourable Actions of King *Edgar*, this Prince was not without remarkable Stains, eſpecially in relation to Women; which are acknowledg'd by Authors moſt favourable to his Memory. Of which we have this memorable Inſtance: *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonſhire* had a Daughter nam'd *Elfrida*, ſo celebrated for her extraordinary Beauty, that the very Fame of her warm'd the King's Affections into the Paſſion of Love; and to be aſſur'd of the Truth, he ſent over *Athelwold* his Secretary and Confident, reſolving to marry her himſelf, if ſhe was found as beautiful as was reported. *Athelwold* at the firſt Sight of her was ſo captivated with her Looks, that he conceal'd his Meſſage, and reſolv'd to obtain her for himſelf; which being with no Difficulty effected, he villify'd her to the King as a Woman of very ordinary Features, and of ſo ſmall a Stature, as would diſhonour his Royal Bed; by which means he marry'd her with the King's own Conſent, whoſe Thoughts he now diverted by other Objects. But at length *Athelwold*'s Enemies diſcover'd the Intrigue, and inform'd the King of the whole Deceit; and the more to exaſperate him they omitted no Words that might deſcribe the wonderful Beauty of the Lady. Upon which, the King being inwardly inflam'd, reſolv'd by another Stratagem to over-reach this Deceiver; and the better to effect it, he with a pleaſant Air told him that he would at a ſet Time give him a Viſit, and ſee whether his Lady was as fair as Fame had repreſented her. This unexpected Deſign ſo exceedingly ſtruck him, that he earneſtly begg'd of *Elfrida* to conſult his Preſervation, by putting on her worſt Cloaths, and deforming her ſelf by what other Means ſhe thought beſt. She was now ſenſible that inſtead of a King ſhe had marry'd a Subject; and this rais'd ſuch a Female Indignation in her, that againſt the coming of King *Edgar* ſhe dreſs'd herſelf after the moſt glorious and charming manner that Pride and Reſentment could poſſibly invent. This had ſuch powerful Effects upon the King, that his Love being the more kindled by being ſo long defrauded, he for a Pretence appointed a Day of Hunting in a Place now call'd *Harewood* Foreſt, where he found an Opportunity to compleat his Revenge, and to ſlay *Athelwold* with a Dart. The Earl's natural Son coming after the Fact was committed, and viewing his Father's dead Body, the King ſternly demanded of him *How he lik'd this Game*? To whom he calmly reply'd, *That whatſoever pleas'd the King, ought not to diſpleaſe him*; with which Anſwer the King's Fury was ſo appeas'd, that he ever after highly favour'd this Youth, and endeavour'd to expiate the Crime committed upon the Father, by the Kindneſs ſhew'd to the Son. The King immediately after marry'd the fair Widow, and caus'd her to be crown'd Queen, tho' much againſt the Conſent of Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan*, who never would ſee her; and ſhe to make the uſual Amends for Murthers and other horrid Crimes committed, built a Nunnery in the Place where her Huſband was ſlain.

He is addicted to Women.

Another Thing laid to this Prince's Charge is, that he took a Virgin nam'd *Wilfrida* by force out of a Nunnery, where ſhe had been plac'd by her Friends to avoid his unlawful Purſuit, and kept her as his Concubine: But for this he was ſo penitent as to ſubmit to a ſeven Years Humiliation impos'd by St. *Dunſtan*, without the wearing of his Crown. There was another Story of the King, which ſhew'd him to have been more conſtant to his Love, than could be expected from a young amorous Man with Sovereign Authority. Coming to *Andover*, not far from *Wincheſter*, he attempted to enjoy a certain Duke's Daughter highly celebrated for her Beauty, and commanded her to be brought to his Bed. The Mother of the Lady not daring directly to deny him, yet abhorring to be ſubſervient to her Daughter's Infamy, reſolv'd by the Favour of the Night to deceive him; and accordingly ſent one of her waiting Maids in her room, who was not unhandſome, nor wanted Addreſs towards the making of her Fortunes. For as ſoon as it was Morning, ſhe made an Offer to riſe, which cauſing the King to ask, *Why ſhe would make ſuch haſte from him*, ſhe anſwer'd, *That ſhe could no longer have the Happineſs of his Company, becauſe her Lady had ſet her ſome Work to finiſh.* This extreamly ſtartled the King, who imagin'd that he had the Duke's fair Daughter in his Arms; and while he continu'd ſilent, ſhe with the utmoſt Tenderneſs beſought him to ſet her free from the cruel Service of her Lady, as a Recompence for her loſt Virginity. The King, confounded at this Diſappointment, was for ſome Time divided between Compaſſion for the poor Maid, and Anger at his being abus'd;

His Character,

and Death.

but at length he turn'd it all into a Jeſt, ſet her free, carry'd her along with him, and lov'd her to that Degree, that he kept himſelf to her alone, 'till he marry'd the abovemention'd *Elfrida.* Theſe were the Stories commonly related of King *Edgar*, which undoubtedly would have been much aggravated by the Monks, had he not oblig'd them by building ſo many Monaſteries, to the Number of near fifty; which indeed prov'd one great Occaſion of the *Danes* conquering *England*, for by theſe Means he exhauſted the Treaſury, and gave great Portions of Lands for the Maintenance of the Monks, who refus'd his Son *Ethelred* Aſſiſtance according to his Neceſſity. However *England* highly flouriſh'd under his Government, and his Reign was more ſplendid and magnificent than any of his Predeceſſors or Succeſſors. As to his Perſon, he was both low and ſlender, yet ſo well proportion'd, that he often choſe to contend with ſuch as were thought ſtrongeſt in his Court; and diſlik'd nothing more than that they ſhould ſpare him out of Reſpect, or Fear of hurting him. And he was ſo warm and courageous in his Temper, that when *Kened* King of the *Scots* was jeſtingly heard to ſay in his Court, *That he wonder'd how ſo many Provinces ſhould be govern'd by ſuch a little Man*, it ſo fir'd his Mind, that immediately ſending for *Kened*, as for ſome private Buſineſs, he drew him out into a ſecret Place, and taking out two Swords, which he had brought under his Garment, he gave one to *Kened*, declaring, *Now it ſhould be try'd who ought to govern, and who to obey; for it was a Shame for a King to be forward in a Feaſt, and backward in a Fight. Kened*, much confounded, fell at his Feet, begg'd Pardon of him, and declar'd, *That he had ſpoken indiſcreetly, but no ways intended it to his Diſhonour or Detraction*, with which the King was ſatisfy'd. After this great Prince had reign'd ſixteen Years and two Months, he dy'd in the thirty ſecond Year and Flower of his Age, on the eighth Day of *July*, and the Year 975. His Body with all Funeral Solemnity was bury'd in the Abby of *Glaſſenbury.*

13. *EDWARD the Younger.*

A. D. 975.

Edward chosen King.

Many Calamities.

Great Controverſies between the Monks and Seculars.

VII. After the Death of the Great *Edgar*, the Kingdom was ſoon brought into a declining and dangerous Condition; and with him dy'd all the Glory and Power of the *Engliſh Saxon* Nation, which in leſs than one Age after ſuſtain'd the Miſeries of many Invaſions, and a double Conqueſt. Nor was the Succeſſion determin'd without Faction and Diſturbance; for having two Sons by two ſeveral Wives, the great Men of the Kingdom became Divided, Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan* and all the reſt of the Biſhops being for Prince *Edward*, his eldeſt Son, while Queen *Elfrida*, Widow to the King, and many of her Party, were for ſetting up her Son *Ethelred*, then about ſeven Years of Age; raiſing ſome Scruples, and objecting againſt the Legitimacy of Prince *Edward*, as if King *Edgar* had not been lawfully marry'd to his Mother. Whereupon the Arch-Biſhops, *Dunſtan* and *Oſwald*, with the Biſhops, Abbots, and many of the Nobility, met together in a great Council, and choſe Prince *Edward* King, as his Father had ordain'd by his laſt Will and Teſtament; and being thus advanc'd, they immediately anointed and crown'd him at *Kingſton*, he being then but a Youth of fifteen Years of Age. Shortly after this King's Coronation, dreadful Comets appear'd, which were Forerunners, if not Portenders, of the Miſeries of the Nation; being immediately ſucceeded by Barrenneſs of Ground, Famine amongſt Men, Death of Cattle, with other Calamities. Among the Troubles of this Reign none prov'd of more pernicious Conſequence than the Factions between the Monks and Secular Prieſts, which were begun in King *Edwi*'s Days, and now being unhappily reviv'd extended themſelves to the Nobility, many of whom ſided with each Party. *Dunſtan* with the Biſhops and Monks firmly adhered to King *Edward*, the Seculars and the other Party favour'd Queen *Elfrida* and her Son *Ethelred*; and many of the Nobility and great Men expell'd the Abbots and Monks which *Dunſtan* had plac'd in Monaſteries, and brought in the Secular Clerks or Prieſts with their Wives; all which were done by the Force of Arms. To appeaſe theſe Tumults, and to end the Controverſies between the Monks and the Seculars, ſeveral Synods or Councils were ſummon'd, particularly one at *Wincheſter*, and another at *Caln* in *Wiltſhire*. That at *Wincheſter* ended with confirming the Monks in their Poſſeſſion, being mov'd to it by a Voice from a *Crucifix*, that pronounc'd in favour of them. But this being juſtly look'd upon as an Impoſture, the Synod of *Caln* was conven'd, where while the Diſpute continu'd violent, the Room where they met ſuddenly fell down, kill'd ſeveral, and wounded others; but *Dunſtan* ſtrangely eſcap'd upon a Beam, which ſome alledg'd was ſupported by a Miracle: Which Accident in a great meaſure quieted the Controverſie, and brought both Parties to join with *Dunſtan* and the Monks.

King Edward ſtabb'd.

In the mean time King *Edward* kept to a quiet and undiſturb'd Life, who being very religious and mild by Nature, out of Self-Denial and Eaſe, permitted his Step-Mother to order all Affairs as ſhe pleas'd, reſpecting her as his Mother, and cheriſhing his younger Brother with the utmoſt Love and Tenderneſs. She on the other ſide from his Kindneſs conceiv'd a more implacable Hatred, and was no ways ſatisfy'd with the Soveraignty ſhe now enjoy'd, 'till ſhe could force the Title from him; but ſhe ſtill conceal'd her Deſigns with the greateſt Artifices, 'till ſhe found a convenient Opportunity for Execution. At length the poor innocent Prince, wearied with Hunting, and tormented with Thirſt, while all his Companions follow'd the Game, rode alone to her Palace at *Corfe* Caſtle in *Dorſetſhire*, in order to refreſh himſelf. The Queen receiv'd him at the Gate with all the Marks of Reſpect and Love, urging him to alight from his Horſe; but he refuſing that, ſhe order'd Wine to be brought to him; but while he was drinking, one of her Servants, before inſtructed, ſtabb'd him with a Dagger in the Back. He, exceedingly aſtoniſh'd at this barbarous Treatment, immediately fled with all Speed towards his Companions; but the Wound being mortal, and he ſpent with the Loſs of Blood, fell to the Ground, and having one Foot in the Stirrop was dragg'd through By-ways, and trac'd by his Blood by thoſe ſhe ſent after him, who brought back the Dead Body, and bury'd it privately at *Werham.* Here they imagin'd that they had bury'd his Memory as well as his Body, but the Place of his Sepulture, as it is ſaid, grew famous for Miracles, whereupon Duke *Elfer*, who was acceſſary to his Murder, interr'd it Royaly at *Shaftſbury*; but notwithſtanding this Amends, he dy'd ſhortly after eaten up with Lice. *Elfrida* was ſo convinc'd of her Wickedneſs, that from her Courtly and Luxurious Life, ſhe betook her ſelf to very ſevere Penances, as wearing Hair-Cloath, ſleeping upon the Ground without a Pillow, and other Auſterities, in which ſhe continu'd all her Days. Thus fell *Edward the Younger*, in the eighteenth Year of his Age, after he had only born the Name of King three Years and a half, who for his Innocence, and the ſuppos'd Miracles after his Death, obtain'd the Sirname of *Martyr:* Which Opinion of his Sanctity was the more confirm'd by the great Calamities which ſhortly after puniſh'd the Land, and which the People believ'd were inflicted on them for this Murder.

14. *ETHELRED* II.

A. D. 979

His Brother Ethelred *ſucceeds.*

He is crown'd by Arch-Biſhop Dunſtan.

Upon the Removal of the unfortunate *Edward*, his half Brother *Ethelred* eaſily ſtept into the Throne; a Youth of a moſt comely Aſpect, but not above ten or perhaps twelve Years of Age. *Malmesbury* gives us this ſhort Character of Him and his Reign; That he rather diſtreſs'd than govern'd his Kingdom for thirty ſeven Years; That the Courſe of his Reign was cruel in the Beginning, miſerable in the Middle, and diſhonourable in the Concluſion. To Cruelty he attributes the Death of his Brother, which he approv'd of by not puniſhing the Murderers; he was remarkable for his Cowardice and Negligence, and miſerable in reſpect of his Death. His Sluggiſhneſs was predicted by Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan*, when at his Baptiſm he ſuperadded his own to the Water of the Font. Yet it was no Inſtance of ill Nature which the ſame Monk tells us, that upon the News of his Brother's Murder, he cry'd out exceedingly; which ſo enrag'd his Mother *Elfrida*, that for want of a Rod ſhe beat him with a Wax Taper 'till he was half dead; which gave him an inſuperable Averſion to a Sight of thoſe Lights ever after. Shortly after his Brother's Death he was publickly crown'd at *Kingſton* by Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan*, who perform'd the Solemnity with great Reluctancy, and as he put the Crown upon his Head, he in a ſort of Prophetical Manner declar'd, *That ſince he had aſpired to the Crown by the Murder of his Brother, the Sin of his ignominious Mother, nor thoſe of her Counſellors ſhould not be expiated but by great Bloodſhed of his miſerable People; for ſuch Calamities ſhould fall upon* England *as it never ſuſtain'd ſince it had that Name.* About the Time of the Coronation, at Midnight a wonderful Cloud ſometimes bloody, and ſometimes fiery, appear'd all over the Land, portending, as it was believ'd, the return of the dreadful *Daniſh* Tempeſt, which had been happily allay'd for above fifty Years.

England *again infeſted with the* Danes.

Theſe barbarous and inhuman Rovers, underſtanding the true State of *England* under the Government of a Child, and not belov'd, in the Third Year of his Reign landed at *Southampton*, and from ſeven great Ships took the Town, pillag'd the Country, and carry'd away great Booty. From whence they paſs'd to the Iſle of *Thanet*,

which

Domeſtick Troubles.

A. D. 988. *The* Daniſh *Invaſions increaſe.*

The firſt Tribute paid to the Danes, *ten thouſand Pounds.*

which they alſo waſted; when about the ſame Time others from *Norway* did the ſame by the Country lying about *Cheſter*. The following Year theſe Pirates extreamly harraſs'd the Maritime Parts of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*; and in the next, three other Veſſels arriv'd, and much infeſted the Coaſts about *Portland*; to which Miſchiefs this was added, that the City of *London* was burnt, in the Year 981, but by what Accident is not diſcover'd. The Diſorders hereby rais'd in the Nation were increas'd by Domeſtick Diſturbances: For an unknown Difference aroſe between the King himſelf and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, inſomuch that the King laid Siege to his City. Upon which Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan* ſent him a terrifying Meſſage, admoniſhing him *To beware of the Vengeance of St.* Andrew, *the Patron of the City*. But the King, tho' young and unwiſe, would not regard Arguments of that Nature, but continu'd his Siege, 'till *Dunſtan* was oblig'd to purchaſe his Removal with an hundred Pounds; which ſo affected the Arch-Biſhop that he ſent him this new Prophetical Meſſage, *That ſince he had reſpected Silver and Mony more than God and Religion, the Calamities formerly foretold ſhould ſpeedily come upon him, tho' not till his own Death*. And within two Years this celebrated Arch-Biſhop dy'd, and his Death was uſher'd in with ſtrange Fevers among Men, and prodigious Fluxes among Cattle. Immediately after ſucceeded theſe Miſchiefs, which leſs than a Prophet might foreſee. The *Danes* furiouſly invaded the Coaſts of *Devonſhire*, againſt whom *Goda* and *Stremewold*, two valiant Men, made head, and put them to flight, but loſt their Lives in the Conteſt. For two Years they caus'd but little Diſturbance, but in the third they violently infeſted the Eaſtern Coaſts, under the Command of *Juſtin* and *Guthmund*, and plunder'd the Town of *Gippſwich*, now *Ipſwich*. They were bravely oppos'd by *Brictnoth* the moſt valiant Duke of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, who fought with them at *Maldon*, where great Multitudes on both Sides were ſlain; but the *Engliſh* were at length worſted by reaſon of the Loſs of their Commander. And now all Havens, Harbours and Landing-Places were fill'd with *Danes*, who ſwarm'd in ſuch Numbers into the Land, that it could not be known where to meet them with Advantage. Doubtleſs the readieſt Courſe had been for this King to have imitated his Father, and mann'd out a ſufficient Fleet to ſcour the Seas; but he was too unactive to follow his Example, and as generally the Humour of a Prince makes a ſtrong Impreſſion upon the Minds of his People, eſpecially the Nobility, and thoſe near him, as he lay idle and uſeleſs, ſo they contracted a dangerous Ruſt. And agreeable to this ſlothful Temper, by *Siricius* Succeſſor to *Dunſtan*, and two Dukes *Ethelward* and *Alfric*, it was advis'd, *That thoſe who could not be beaten with Iron, ſhould be brib'd with Gold*; of which ten thouſand Pounds was agreed, and given them on Condition they ſhould quit the Country, and no more infeſt the Coaſts. An infamous Example, ſays *Malmeſbury*, and unworthy of Men, to redeem their Liberty with Mony, which no Violence can force from an unconquer'd Mind.

A. D. 993. *The* Danes *renew their Devaſtations.*

The ſecond Tribute paid to the Danes, *ſixteen thouſand Pounds.*

This Sum of Mony quieted the *Danes* for about a Year, but the Sweet of it ſoon rais'd their Appetites for more. And accordingly they landed in the North, took and plunder'd *Bamborough*, and then directing their Courſe to the Mouth of the *Humber*, they waſted *Yorkſhire* and *Lincolnſhire* on both Sides of the River, kill'd Men, Women and Children, and gather'd a vaſt Booty. The Country Men with ſome Precipitation made head againſt them, but in the Battel, three of the Leaders, *Frana*, *Frithegiſt* and *Godwin*, being *Danes* by the Father's Side, betray'd them, and procur'd their Defeat. At the ſame Time no leſs Treachery was practis'd at Sea by *Alfric* the Son of *Elfer* Duke of *Mercia*, who having been formerly baniſh'd for his Crimes, and now recall'd, and intruſted with a Fleet to ſurprize the *Danes* in the moſt advantageous Place, he over Night gave them Intelligence, and then fled to them himſelf, as *Florent* relates it; which his Fleet perceiving purſu'd him, took his Ship, yet by ſome Accident miſs'd his Perſon; but by chance falling upon the *Eaſt-Angles*, they kill'd and drowned many of them. But *Huntington* ſays, that the *Danes* being forewarned by *Alfric*, not only all eſcap'd, but with a great Number of Ships ſetting upon the King's Navy kill'd many of the *Londoners*, and led many of their Veſſels in Triumph, together with *Alfric* himſelf. By this Time the furious *Swane*, King of *Denmark*, arriv'd, who being join'd with *Anlaf*, King of *Norway*, with a numerous Fleet enter'd the *Thames*, attack'd *London*, and endeavour'd to break in and burn it when it was ſcarcely rebuilt; but the Citizens ſo ſtrenuouſly oppos'd their whole Power, that they forc'd them with great Loſs to break up the Siege. Exaſperated by this Repulſe, they invaded *Eſſex* and *Kent*, waſted the Sea Coaſts with Fire and Sword, and then paſs'd into *Suſſex* and *Hampſhire*; and Horſing their Foot, they made their outragious Progreſs through many Countries, ſparing neither Houſes, Buildings nor Fields, nor Men, Women or Children. To put a Stop to theſe Miſchiefs, the ſlothful King and his unactive Counſellors again implor'd the Aſſiſtance of Mony, which was offer'd to the *Danes* by his Ambaſſadors; and the Sum agreed on was ſixteen thouſand Pounds, in expectation of which they retir'd to their Ships at *Southampton*, where they winter'd. This being a Time for Complements rather than Action, *Anlaf* King of *Norway* receiv'd Hoſtages for his Safety, and accepted of *Ethelred*'s Invitation to his Court, which was then at *Andover*. Being royally entertain'd and adopted the King's Son at Confirmation, or Baptiſm, as alſo nobly preſented, he engag'd to depart the Land and moleſt the Kingdom no more; and accordingly returning to his own Country he faithfully kept his Word.

New Devaſtations.

The two Univerſities burnt.

This was no ill Advice given *Ethelred*, to take off ſuch a powerful Aſſiſtant from *Swane*; but as Arms abroad have but ſmall Effect without good Council at home, ſo in Caſes of Invaſions, Conſultations without Action will not avail to remove an unfaithful pertinacious Enemy. The Influence of the laſt Mony operated ſcarcely three Years, when the *Danes* with a powerful Fleet enter'd the Mouth of the *Severn*, and waſted *South-Wales*, *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, burnt many Towns, and deſtroy'd Multitudes of poor People; then fetching a Compaſs, they came and winter'd at *Taveſtock*. The next Year they ſail'd to the Mouth of the River *Frome*, and waſted the greateſt Part of *Dorſetſhire*, with many other Parts; and tho' the *Engliſh* ſeveral Times made head againſt them, yet they were always hinder'd from Battel, either by Treachery, or ſome other Misfortune. It would be an endleſs Work to relate how the *Danes* wallow'd up and down in every particular Place, and to enumerate all the Devaſtations they made, and the Deſolations they left behind them. Being march'd into *Kent*, and having beſieg'd *Rocheſter*, King *Ethelred* and his Counſellors were ſo rouz'd, that they prepar'd both a Fleet and a Land Army againſt them. But the King and his Commanders, alike in Diſpoſition, delay'd their March from Day to Day, and ſeverely oppreſs'd the Country, where they quarter'd; nor did they do any Thing tending to the publick Good, but burden'd the People, waſted the Treaſury, and by their fooliſh and effeminate Carriage more embolden'd the Enemy to proceed; who in the following Year paſs'd over into *Normandy*, probably for Recruits, but at their Return committed greater Hoſtilities than before. In the midſt of theſe diſmal Times, and horrid Depopulations, *Oxford* and *Cambridge* were both burnt by the *Danes* in the Year 1000; and all Studies ceas'd in each of theſe Places, 'till above 139 Years after, as *Thomas Redburn* relates, one *Robert Bolean* began to read his Lectures on the Scriptures *Anno* 1133; from which Time, adds he, the Scholars have continu'd both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.

A. D. 1000.

More Calamities.

The third Tribute paid to the Danes, 24000 *Pounds.*

In the mean Time the King, to make ſome Diverſion, undertook an Expedition both by Sea and Land into *Cumberland*, where the *Danes* had been moſt planted and liv'd in Peace; and there, and in the Iſle of *Angleſey*, he imitated his Enemies in Ravages and Devaſtations. About the ſame Time the *Danes* returning out of *Normandy*, enter'd the Mouth of the River *Ex*, laid Siege to *Exeter*, batter'd the Walls, and reſolv'd to ſtorm it; but the Inhabitants, like thoſe of *London*, made ſo brave a Defence, that they were oblig'd to retire, all which was immediately reveng'd upon the poor helpleſs Country People, who after the Loſs of their Goods and Houſes were murder'd in great Multitudes. At length thoſe of *Devonſhire* and *Somerſetſhire* united in one Body, and made ſome Reſiſtance at a Place call'd *Penho*, but being overpower'd in Numbers, were repell'd with great Slaughter. This both incourag'd and inrag'd the inſolent Enemy, who now horſing all his Men, committed greater Ravages in *Devonſhire* than ever, and then return'd with his Fleet to the Iſle of *Wight*, and ſometimes there, and at other times in *Hampſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, he without Reſiſtance follow'd this ordinary Courſe of Life, doing ſuch Execution by Sword againſt Men, and by Fire againſt Towns, that he terrify'd all from engaging with him either at Sea or Land. King *Ethelred*, whom no Adverſity could throughly awaken from his ſoft and eaſie Life, by the Advice of Counſellors as unactive as himſelf, ſent an effeminate yet aſſuming Courtier call'd *Leof*, to propoſe a third Tribute or Preſent to the *Danes* for Peace; to which theſe Devourers readily hearken'd, but cunningly enhanc'd the Sum to twenty four thouſand Pounds; which being paid down, they deſiſted from all Acts of Hoſtility.

A. D. 1002. Ethelred *marries* of Emma.

King *Ethelred* having thus bought off his Enemies, reſolv'd to ſtrengthen his Family by ſome potent Alliance; and accordingly he treated with *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* in *France*, a Perſon with whom formerly he had great Enmity, and marry'd his Daughter *Emma*, a Lady

He orders a general Maſſacre of the Danes.

of ſuch admirable Beauty, that ſhe was ſtil'd the *Flower and Pearl of* Normandy. Her Mother's Name was *Gunnor*, deſcended from an eminent *Daniſh* Family; for which it was hop'd, that her Intereſt might be ſufficient to oblige the *Danes* to more Reaſon and Fidelity. But the King, now ſwell'd with the Thoughts of his new Alliance, reſolv'd upon a violent and dangerous Expedient, which was to take a full Revenge for all the Inſults and Barbarities of the *Daniſh* Nation. It ſeems at this Time vaſt Numbers of *Danes* dwelt in Peace in all Parts of this Nation, in a manner incorporated with the *Engliſh*, who leading lazy and idle Lives, lorded it over the Inhabitants, whom they made Servants and Drudges, and their Wives and Daughters ſubſervient to their Pleaſures; whence they were call'd *Lord-Danes*, and to this Day in ſome Countries a lazy idle Man is from thence call'd *Lurdane*. To put an end to all their Power at once, the King reſolv'd upon a general Maſſacre; and with the utmoſt Secrecy ſent Letters into all Parts, commanding all his Subjects upon a certain Hour on the ninth Day of *July*, to ſet upon the *Danes* wherever they found them, and to deſtroy them all without Mercy. This Command was ſtrictly executed, and the *Danes*, who by a League ſolemnly ſworn had been admitted to inhabit among the *Engliſh*, were moſt ſhamefully and barbarouſly murder'd; no Age or Sex eſcap'd, the Women were butcher'd as well as the Men, and the Brains of Children daſh'd againſt the Walls. At *London*, in the Time of this Execution, great Numbers fled to Churches, but thoſe ſacred Places were no Security, for they were all without Pity ſlain as they ſtood embracing the Altars. And when the Multitude found themſelves Maſters, they proceeded to new Barbarities, digg'd Holes in the Ground, put *Daniſh* Women in them up to the Waſte, and then ſet fierce Maſtives upon them, which cruelly tore off their Breaſts. A popular Fury, when back'd by Authority, knows no Bounds, nor Authority it ſelf, when it has broken publick Juſtice. There were ſeveral *Danes* of the higheſt Quality in the Land, receiv'd upon the publick Faith as Hoſtages to ratifie the late Peace; among whom was King *Swane*'s Siſter *Gunildes*, Wife to Count *Paleng*, who ſeveral Years before had come into *England* with her Family, where ſhe had receiv'd the Chriſtian Faith; and being a Woman of great Prudence and Temper, had often interpos'd to make Peace between the two Nations, and had now lately given up her ſelf, her Husband and her Son as Hoſtages to King *Ethelred*. This Princeſs had firſt her Husband and Son ſlain before her Face, and was then order'd to be beheaded her ſelf, which Sentence ſhe took with an unconcern'd Bravery and Courage, and at her Death foretold, *That her Blood would coſt* England *dear, and would not be long unreveng'd.*

King Swane *reſolves to revenge it.*

He invades the Nation.

The Conſequences of this horrid Maſſacre were very terrible to the *Engliſh* Nation; for King *Swane* being exaſperated to the higheſt Degree of Rage and Reſentment, invited all Strangers to his Aſſiſtance, and reſolv'd, contrary to his former Methods, to make a full Puſh, and conquer the whole Kingdom. Accordingly with a powerful Fleet, arriving at the South Weſtern Parts of the Nation, by the Treaſon or Negligence of Count *Hugh*, whom Queen *Emma* had recommended to the Government of *Devonſhire*, he ſtorm'd the City of *Exeter*, demoliſh'd the Walls from the Eaſt to the Weſt Gate, and march'd off with great Booty. After this he waſted *Wiltſhire*, where a ſtrong Party drawn out of ſeveral Countries, advanc'd to give him Battel. But when the Armies were juſt ready to engage, *Alfric* the *Engliſh* General, whoſe Son's Eyes the King had put out for the Father's Treaſon, feign'd a ſudden Sickneſs, and diſcourag'd his Army ſo far, that the Soldiers retir'd with Precipitation. Upon which *Swane* without Reſiſtance march'd up to *Wilton*, which he both plunder'd and burnt, and having dealt in the ſame manner with *Salisbury*, he return'd to his Ships. The following Year he ſail'd to the Coaſts of *Norfolk*, where landing he plunder'd and burnt the City of *Norwich*, uſing ſuch Expedition, that he altogether ſurpriz'd the valiant *Ulfketel* Duke of the *Eaſt-Angles*, who wanting Time to levy an Army, by the Advice of the Nobility of thoſe Parts, made Peace with him. But *Swane* in a few Days perfidiouſly broke it, and removing ſuddenly from his Ships, he ſoon plunder'd and burnt *Thetford*. *Ulfketel* having Intelligence of this unexpected Enterprize, order'd a Party to haſten and burn his Ships in the Harbour, which out of Fear or Deſign was neglected; while he with the utmoſt Secrecy and Diligence gather'd together his Forces, couragiouſly march'd againſt the Enemy, and made a brave Attack, as they retreated towards their Ships. But being inferior in Numbers, moſt of the beſt Quality among the Eaſtern *Engliſh* loſt their Lives; yet the *Danes* receiv'd very great Loſs, and with much Difficulty recover'd their Fleet; confeſſing that in the whole Iſland they never met ſo ſharp an Ingagement, as they did from this valiant Commander.

A. D. 1005.

The Miſeries of England.

So great a Famine happen'd in the following Year that it forc'd a Ceſſation, and for a while drove *Swane* back into *Denmark*, but ſupply'd the Place of his Sword in the Deſtruction of the poor People of *England*, as many of which periſh'd by Hunger, as formerly had ſuffer'd in a Year by his Cruelties. So that *England* was now in a miſerable Condition, and involv'd in all ſorts of Calamities: The King was luxurious, ſlothful and remiſs, wanting Vigour and Reſolution in all Emergencies: The Nobility and Officers were negligent and unexperienc'd, yet highly poſſeſs'd with private Heats and Animoſities, which occaſion'd not only a dangerous Diſunion, but a betraying of all Secrets to the Enemy: The Church Men hated the King, ſtood upon their Privileges, and refus'd to contribute any conſiderable Sums to the publick Neceſſities. To all which Miſchiefs, beſides Famine, Providence was pleas'd to add Storms and Tempeſts, which much endamag'd the King's Ships, and weaken'd the Naval Power of the Nation. So that the Enemy had free Liberty to range and ravage as they thought fit; and accordingly an innumerable Multitude of *Daniſh* Ships were ſeen in *Sandwich* Road in the Year 1006, from whence Swarms of Rovers over-ran all *Kent* and *Suſſex*, deſtroying all with Fire and Sword. The King to oppoſe them rais'd an Army out of *Mercia* and *Weſt-Saxony*, with a Reſolution to engage them in Perſon; but they who held it ſafer to live by Rapine, than to hazard a Battel, by ſwift and eaſie Removals, fruſtrated the ſlow Motions of a heavy Camp, and following their uſual Courſe of Robbery, they carry'd a vaſt Booty to the Iſle of *Wight*, where they ſafely winter'd 'till *Chriſtmas*. Then underſtanding that the King was in *Shropſhire*, where he was wickedly imploy'd in the Blood of ſome worthy Subjects, they over-ran *Hampſhire* and *Barkſhire* as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*, which they burnt with other Places. Then returning by another Way, they found many of the People in Arms by the River *Kenet*; but making their Way through, they with new Plunder recover'd their Ships. The King and his Courtiers being weary'd with the Fatigues of the laſt Year's unſucceſsful March againſt the quick Motions of the *Danes*, agreed to have Recourſe to their laſt Remedy the Coffers; and therefore ſent a fourth Time to buy a diſhonourable Peace, which every Time prov'd dearer, and now could not be obtain'd under thirty ſix thouſand Pounds, which was extorted from the Nation already half ſunk with Poverty. At the ſame Time *Ethelred* advanc'd *Edric*, ſirnam'd *Streone*, to the Dukedom of *Mercia*; a Perſon who having rais'd himſelf to his Favour and vaſt Fortunes, by his ſubtle and plauſible Tongue, ſhortly prov'd a mighty Inſtrument in the Ruin of *England*.

The fourth Tribute paid to the Danes *36000 Pounds.*

A. D. 1008.

Factions among the Nobility.

Further Miſchiefs from the Danes.

The next Year produc'd ſomething laudable, which ſhew'd the King had not loſt all Care of his Nation; for he enacted that every 310 Hides of Land ſhould furniſh out a Gally, and every nine Hides find a Corſlet and Head-Piece, and commanded the Ships to be built with the utmoſt Expedition; which when ready, were victuall'd and mann'd with choice Soldiers, and their Rendezvous appointed at the Port of *Sandwich*, to ſecure all the Coaſts from the Deſcent of Foreigners. Now a Hide was ſo much Land as one Plow could ſufficiently till in a Year; which made the Fleet very numerous, ſo that *England* was believ'd to be now in a ſafe Condition; when ſuddenly Diſſention, the Bane of all good Deſigns, ſprung up among the Nobility. For this Year, *Brithric*, the Brother of Duke *Edric*, proud and deceitful like himſelf, falſly accus'd *Wulwoth*, a great Officer of the *South Saxons*, to the King, who fearing the Malice and Potency of his Enemy, immediately fled to the Sea, where with twenty Ships he practis'd Piracy upon the Coaſts. Upon a Belief that he might be eaſily taken, *Brithric* follow'd him with eighty Veſſels, but by a violent Storm they were all caſt on the Shore, where *Wulwoth* ſoon after burnt them. This Misfortune ſo diſhearten'd the King and his Nobility, that they ſuddenly returned home, ordering the Fleet up to *London*; ſo that the People were tax'd and oppreſs'd to no Advantage. Upon this, the next Year, *Turkill* a *Daniſh* Earl arriv'd on the Coaſts with ſome Ships, and in *Auguſt* was follow'd by an innumerable Company of *Daniſh* Veſſels commanded by *Hemming* and *Eilaf*, who landing in the Iſle of *Thanet*, join'd with *Turkill*, paſs'd to *Sandwich*, and then to *Canterbury*, where they forc'd the Inhabitants and Neighbours to purchaſe their Peace with three thouſand Pounds. Then returning to their Ships, they ſail'd to the Iſle of *Wight*, from whence entering *Suſſex* and *Hampſhire*, they follow'd their uſual Exercíſes of Plundering and Burning. King *Ethelred* was again ſo ſenſible of his Peoples Miſeries as to levy Forces throughout the Land, which he order'd in Places near the Sea to reſtrain their Irruptions; but all was acted ſo unskilfully, or at leaſt ſo unſucceſsfully, that the Enemy follow'd their Rapines as much as ever. Once having gone further than uſual from the Sea, the King ſuddenly ſtepp'd in between them and their Veſſels, ſeiz'd on a neceſſary Paſs of theirs, and reſolv'd with his whole Army to die or overcome. But after all this fair Proſpect, the traiterous *Edric*, who had now marry'd the King's Daughter, by ſubtle Arguments urg'd, *That as Circumſtances now ſtood, it was their Intereſt to permit the* Danes *to paſs unmoleſted*; which Council prevailing, the Enemy got ſafe back to their Ships contrary to their Expectations, with great Joy and Booty. After which they went to the Coaſts of *Kent*, and reſolv'd to Winter in the *Thames*, where they maintain'd themſelves on both Sides of the River; often attempting to gain *London*, but were as often repell'd by the Citizens with no ſmall Loſs.

A. D. 1010. Before Winter was over, leaving their Ships, they march'd through *Chiltern* Wood into *Oxfordſhire*, burnt the City, and returning thence with divided Forces, waſted the Country on both Sides of the *Thames*; but hearing that an Army from *London* was marching againſt them, they on the North Side, paſſing the River at *Stanes*, join'd with thoſe on the South, and being laden with extraordinary Spoils, paſs'd through *Surry* to their Ships, in repairing of which they ſpent the *Lent* following. After *Eaſter*, they enter'd *Suffolk*, and coming near *Ipſwich* to a Place call'd *Ringmore*, they were warmly entertain'd by the brave *Ulfketel* and his Forces; but his Men at length giving back, through the Subtlety of a *Daniſh* Servant amongſt them who began the Flight, loſt the Field, tho' the *Cambridgeſhire* Men ſtill made a noble Reſiſtance, which turn'd much to their future Honour. In this Battel fell *Ethelſtan* the King's Son-in-Law, *Oſwi* a Nobleman with his Sons and many others, together with a great Number of the ordinary Sort. The *Danes* being Maſters of the Field, had now *Eaſt-England* at their Mercy, in which horſing themſelves, they ſpent three Months in the moſt barbarous Ravages, burnt *Thetford*, *Cambridge*, and other Places, and kill'd all they could meet in their Way, toſſing Infants on the Points of their Spears. After this, their Foot by Sea, and their Horſe through *Eſſex*, return'd to the *Thames*, where continuing a few Days, they again quitted their Ships, and paſs'd into *Oxfordſhire*, which they waſted, together with the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford* and *Hertford*; and having burnt the Towns, and kill'd Mankind, and all other living Creatures, they return'd to their Ships. Yet ſtill the ſame Year they made a third Excurſion into *Northamptonſhire*, and burnt that Town with all about it; then as to freſh Paſture they betook themſelves to *Weſt-Saxony*, where having waſted *Wiltſhire* and other Parts, they return'd again to their Ships, as ſo many ravenous wild Beaſts glutted with Blood to their Dens. They were neither yet ſo wearied with Travel, nor ſatisfy'd with Wealth, but that in the following Year they took a larger Range than ever. For on the North Side of the *Thames*, with Fire and Sword they waſted all *Eaſt-England*, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, *Hertfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, and the Counties of *Oxford*, *Bedford* and *Cambridge*, with Half of *Huntington*, and the greateſt Part of *Northampton*; and on the South Side *Kent*, *Surry*, *Suſſex*, with the Counties of *Southampton*, *Wilts* and *Berks*.

Dreadful Ravages and Barbarities from the Danes.

Upon theſe inſupportable Miſchiefs, Meſſengers were ſent to ſolicit for Peace, promiſing them more Money; which they accepted, but without any Intention to keep their Faith. For they ſoon broke their Words, firſt by plundering the Country in ſeveral Parties, and in *September* by laying Siege to *Canterbury*, which in twenty Days they took by the Treachery of *Almere* the Arch-Deacon. Here they committed unheard-of Barbarities by Way of Sport and Diverſion; They ſlew ſome by the Sword, threw others over the Wall, others into the Fire, hung up ſome by the Privy Members, Infants torn from their Mothers Breaſts were either toſt on Spears, or had Carts drawn over them, Matrons and Virgins were dragg'd about by the Hair and raviſh'd; *Alfage* the Arch-Biſhop was taken, wounded, and impriſon'd in a noiſom Place; *Chriſt-Church* was burnt, Monks, Men, Women and Children were decimated, whereof nine were killed, and the tenth reſerved to a Life worſe than Death: So that of the whole Multitude there remain'd only four Monks, and eight hundred Men. They kept the Arch-Biſhop Priſoner for ſeven Months, during which Time theſe barbarous Miſcreants were viſited with a Plague in their Bowels, of whom two thouſand periſh'd miſerably; and thoſe who ſurviv'd being grievouſly tormented, the Chriſtians took Occaſion to urge the Delivery of the Arch-Biſhop, but they ſtill defer'd it.

Canterbury *taken.*

A. D. 1012. As ſoon as Spring appear'd, the traiterous *Edric*, and the reſt of the Nobility of both Orders aſſembled at *London*, where they held their Councils, and continu'd ſo long 'till a fifth Sum or Tribute was paid to the *Danes*, which now was rais'd from thirty ſix to forty eight thouſand Pounds. In the mean time the Arch-Biſhop had his Ranſom ſet at three thouſand Pounds, which he conſtantly refuſing to pay or procure, was at length barbarouſly murder'd by them in a full Aſſembly of drunken People; his Body being afterwards bury'd in the Church of St. *Paul* in *London*. The Tribute being paid, and the Peace confirm'd by ſolemn Oath on both Sides, the *Daniſh* Fleet retir'd, only forty five Ships remain'd with King *Ethelred* for the Defence of *England* againſt all Foreigners, on Condition to be maintain'd with Victuals and Cloathing. It appears from the *Saxon* Laws, that beſides this Payment of forty eight thouſand Pounds, it was this Year reſolv'd that a yearly Payment ſhould be made call'd *Danegeld*, that is twelve Pence upon every Hide of Land in the Nation, for the Subſiſtance of thoſe who were to hinder the Irruptions of the *Danes* and other Pirates; which Tax continu'd for about thirty eight Years, 'till it was remitted by *Edward* the Confeſſor. So that there were two Sorts of *Danegeld*; the former, thoſe five occaſional Sums formerly recited; the latter, that continu'd Tax laſt mention'd. But both Sorts alike contributed to the Ends for which they were paid; The former only bought off the perfidious *Danes* for a ſmall Time, and the other was ſo far from ſecuring the Coaſts by ſcouring the Seas, that *Turkill*, who ſtaid behind as Admiral of the new modelled *Engliſh* Fleet, ſeems to have done it for no other End, beſides ſqueezing the Nation's Money, than to give Intelligence to King *Swane* when it would be moſt ſeaſonable to reinvade the Land.

The fifth Tribute to the paid Danes, *48000 Pounds.*

The Payment of Danegeld.

Accordingly in *July* 1013, King *Swane* with a powerful Force landed at *Sandwich*, reſolving now to make a full Conqueſt of the Nation; finding it ſufficiently weaken'd by Diviſions, and exhauſted by Poverty. He ſtay'd but a few Days there, finding *Humber* to be a more convenient Place, in which he enter'd; and paſſing up the *Trent*, he ſail'd to *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnſhire*, where he landed, and encamp'd his great Army. To which Place Earl *Uthred* with the *Northumbrians* repair'd to him with all Speed; the Inhabitants of *Lindſey*, afterwards thoſe of *Fisburgh*, and by degrees all ſuch as inhabited North of *Watling-Street*, yielded up themſelves, deliver'd Hoſtages, and ſwore Allegiance to him as their King. He only now impos'd upon them the furniſhing of his Army with Horſes and Proviſions, and then delivering the Hoſtages and the Fleet into the Hands of his Son *Canute*, with a choice Party of Auxiliaries taken from the *Engliſh*, he undertook an Expedition againſt the Southern *Mercians*. Having paſs'd over *Watling-Street*, he gave Orders to his Men to waſte the Fields, burn the Villages, rob the Churches, kill all the Males, and reſerve the other Sex for their Luſt. Which being rigorouſly executed, in the Terror of theſe Actions he march'd to *Oxford*, and took it ſooner than he expected; where having receiv'd Hoſtages, he haſten'd to *Wincheſter*, which in a great Fear alſo yielded, and deliver'd up their Hoſtages. From thence he turn'd his Courſe towards *London*, and not being careful in finding a Bridge or Ford over the *Thames*, he loſt many of his Men in that River. Nor was his Expedition againſt *London* proſperous; for uſing all Methods of Force and Policy to take the City, where *Ethelred* himſelf, and *Turkill* with his Forces reſided, he was bravely repell'd as at other Times. Upon which he directed his March to *Wallingford*, and after that to *Bath*, where, after he had made new Devaſtations, he ſtay'd ſome time to refreſh his Army. To which Place *Ethelmar* Earl of *Devonſhire*, with other Officers of the Weſtern Parts, repair'd, gave Hoſtages, and made Peace with him; whoſe Example was not long after follow'd by the Citizens of *London*, who finding it in vain to ſtrive againſt the Univerſal Current, and dreading his Cruelties, ſent alſo their Hoſtages, and made their Peace. Which Things being accompliſh'd according to his Deſires, *Swane* was by all the Nation of the *Engliſh* both ſtyled and accounted King; if by Right we can call him a King, ſays our Author, who acted all things like a barbarous Tyrant.

King Swane *again invades the Land.*

All Places ſubmit to him,

and acknowledge him their King.

A. D. 1013.

VIII. From this Time we may date the firſt Soveraign Power of the *Danes* in *England*, for which in the Space of two hundred Years they had been often contending, with infinite Ravages and Devaſtations. And now *Ethelred*, being a King more in Name than Nature, thought it moſt conſiſtent with the Straitneſs of his Fortunes to ſend away *Emma* his Queen, and his two Sons *Edward* and *Alfred* with all his Treaſure into *Normandy* to her Brother *Richard*, the ſecond of that Name, and Duke of that Province. He himſelf continu'd for ſome time at *Greenwich* with the *Daniſh* Fleet then lying in the *Thames*, and from thence remov'd to the Iſle of *Wight*; where having kept a melancholy *Chriſtmas*, he follow'd them into *Normandy*, and at *Roven* was ſplendidly entertain'd by the Duke, tho' known to have behav'd himſelf proudly and churliſhly to his Siſter *Emma*, beſides his diſſolute Company with other Women. In the mean Time *Swane* the Tyrant, reſiding at *Gainsborough*, laid inſupportable Taxes upon the Country, beſides the Contribution for Maintenance of his Fleet; and at the ſame Time *Turkill* at *Greenwich* was not backward in his Exactions for inriching himſelf and his Followers. So that both Parties were fully agreed in this, by

Ethelred *retires to* Normandy.

their Violence and Rapines to harraſs and exhauſt the miſerable *Engliſh* Nation. But *Swane* to all his other Cruelties and Impieties, added one, which in the Opinion of our Writers, compleated his Condemnation. He endeavour'd to prophane the Memory of the King and Martyr St. *Edmund*, and exacted a grievous Tribute from the Town of St. *Edmund*'s *Bury*, where his Body reſted; threatning that if the Mony was not ſpeedily paid, he would lay the Town in Aſhes, demoliſh the Church of their Martyr, and put the Clerks to various Torments. Now to proceed in a Story, once univerſally believ'd; becauſe, ſay they, he would not moderate his Wickedneſs, Divine Vengeance would not permit the Blaſphemer to live. But at *Gainsborough*, as he held an Aſſembly, incircled with arm'd Men, upon his caſting out his Threats, he immediately ſaw St. *Edmund* coming arm'd upon him, whereupon he cry'd out, *Help, Fellow Soldiers, St.* Edmund *comes to kill me!* upon which Words, he receiv'd a mortal Wound by the Hands of the Saint, and dy'd ſoon after in great Torment; his Body being bury'd in the City of *York*. Thus much our Monkiſh Writers report concerning his Death, which ſeems to hint this Truth to us, that *Swane* was kill'd by ſome unknown Hand, who had the good Fortune to eſcape. All agree that he met with a ſudden End at *Gainsborough*, which Place was his chief Reſidence the ſhort Time of his *Engliſh* Soveraignty, and the Place where moſt of his Ships and Soldiers lay, in order to make their Excurſions as occaſion requir'd.

Swane *killed at* Gainsborough.

A. D. 1014. King *Swane* being dead, his Subjects the *Danes* elected his Son *Canute*, or *Cnute*, for his Succeſſor. But the Inclinations of the *Engliſh* were towards their own natural Prince, whom they aſſur'd by Meſſengers ſent to *Normandy, that they would aſſiſt and join with him againſt all Pretenders, if he would promiſe to govern them with greater Care and Clemency than formerly.* ***Ethelred***, before he would put himſelf into their Hands, thought fit to ſend over his Son *Edward* to promiſe all good Deportment, and to ſound the Affections of the Nobility and People, who finding all Things correſpondent to his Deſires, return'd back with Confidence to bring over his Father. The King was receiv'd by his Subjects with all imaginable Joy and Applauſe, and he to oblige the Nation, and to anſwer their Expectations, us'd all Diligence and Diſpatch in raiſing an Army againſt *Canute*; who lying now at *Gainsborough* with his Fleet and Hoſtages, was no leſs diligent in levying Men and Horſes, threatning ſeverely to chaſtize the Revolters from his Father's Kingdom. But *Ethelred*'s Forces ſurpriz'd him before he was fully prepar'd, and conſtrain'd him to quit the Parts of *Lindſey*, the Inhabitants of which being left to the Anger of their Countrymen, were proſecuted without Mercy by Fire and Sword. *Canute* ſailing away with his Fleet, and being driven by Weather into *Sandwich* Road, there to revenge himſelf upon the *Engliſh* Nation, he cut off the Ears, Noſes and Hands of all the Hoſtages he had in his Power, and ſetting them a-ſhore, departed for *Denmark* to recruit his Army. Upon the *Danes* Departure another Calamity ſucceeded; for on the 27th of *September*, the Sea aroſe to ſuch a Height, by an impetuous Wind and Tide, that it broke the Banks, and overwhelm'd many Villages, and drown'd a vaſt Number of People. And notwithſtanding this great Damage to the Nation, yet Neceſſity urging, a new Tax of thirty thouſand Pounds was levy'd for paying the *Daniſh* Fleet which lay at *Greenwich*. The next Year produc'd Miſchiefs of another Nature, when at an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, as well *Danes* as *Engliſh*, held at *Oxford*, by the Advice of the traiterous *Edric*, the King caus'd ſeveral *Daniſh* Noblemen to be put to Death under Pretence of a Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon. Beſides this, *Edric* by plauſible Words intic'd *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, two *Northumbrian* Earls, into his Lodging, and there ſecretly murder'd them; upon which their Servants and Dependants aroſe and endeavour'd to revenge their Deaths, but were repell'd by the King's Soldiers, and purſu'd into the Tower of St. *Frideſwith*'s Church, where Fire being ſet to it, they all miſerably periſh'd in the Flames. The King, without any known Cauſe, ſeiz'd upon the Eſtates of the two murder'd Earls, and commanded *Algitha*, the Wife of *Sigeferth*, to be kept Priſoner at *Malmesbury*, as a Lady of great Power and Intereſt. But not long after *Edmund* the King's Son coming thither, fell in Love with her, and without his Father's Knowledge, marry'd her; after which he took her with him into *Northumberland*, where invading the Lands of *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, he ſubdu'd that Country.

Canute *ſucceeds him.*

Ethelred *returns back to* England.

Canute *retires to* Denmark.

A. D. 1015 About the ſame time King *Canute* arriv'd with a vaſt Power from *Denmark*, and, as ſome write, with two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Sweden*, and *Olaus* of *Norway*, making for the Port of *Sandwich*, where it is ſaid that *Turkill* join'd with him, and gave the *Engliſh* a great Defeat. *Canute* coaſting about *Kent*, enter'd the Mouth of the River *Frome*, and by it paſs'd up into the Counties of *Dorſet*, *Somerſet* and *Wilts*, where he committed his uſual kinds of Hoſtilities. King *Ethelred* then lay ſick at *Coſham* in *Wiltſhire*, but had his Place better ſupply'd by his Son *Edmund*, whoſe only Infelicity was to have the falſe *Edric* join'd with him, which not only hinder'd his preſent Succeſs, but brought him into great Danger of his Life. For *Edric* made a Faction in the Army, and plotted the Prince's Death, which being timely diſcover'd, *Edmund* was oblig'd to remove ſuddenly from the Place where he lay. This Diſcovery gave an Occaſion to *Edric* to throw off the Mask he had worn ſo long, and openly to revolt to *Canute*, to whom he carry'd off no leſs than Forty Ships; which had ſuch an Influence upon the *Weſt-Saxons*, that they immediately gave Hoſtages to *Canute*, and provided Horſes for his Army. *Canute*, being thus ſtrengthen'd beyond Expectation, in the Beginning of the following Year, with *Edric* the Traitor, paſs'd over the *Thames* at *Greeklade*, and invaded *Mercia*, and proceeded in the uſual manner with Fire and Sword. Whereupon Prince *Edmund* gather'd together what Troops he could; but upon their March, the *Mercians* refus'd to meet with the *Danes* and *Weſt-Saxons*, except the King and the *Londoners* would ſupport them, and thereupon the Army disbanded it ſelf. But ſhortly after, *Edmund* with great Diligence rais'd more Forces, and ſent to his Father at *London*, to come and join him with all his Power; to which *Ethelred* agreed; but upon joining their Forces, by the Subtlety of the Enemy a Rumour was ſpread, that if the King did not uſe extraordinary Precautions, he would ſpeedily be betray'd Which ſo confounded the diſpirited King, that he disbanded his Army, and retir'd to *London*; while his Son haſten'd into *Northumberland*, as was ſuppos'd, to raiſe a greater Army againſt *Canute*. But in this both Sides agreed in the ſame Meaſures; *Canute* and *Edric* waſted one Part of the Country, and *Edmund* and *Uthred* deſtroy'd the other, only with this Difference, that one Party harraſs'd the miſerable Inhabitants becauſe they would not revolt, and the other pretended to puniſh them for their Neutrality. So that the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln* and *Nottingham* were ravag'd becauſe they dare not oppoſe King *Ethelred*; and *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire* and *Leiceſterſhire* were waſted, becauſe they refus'd to fight againſt the *Danes*. At length *Canute* piercing into *Northumberland*, Prince *Edmund* retir'd to *London*, and *Uthred* was conſtrain'd to ſubmit himſelf to *Canute*, and give up the North Country with Hoſtages; which notwithſtanding, either by Command or Permiſſion of *Canute*, he was kill'd by one *Turebrand* a *Daniſh* Nobleman. Upon this, *Canute* preferring one *Eric* to be Earl of *Northumberland*, haſten'd Southwards by another Way to his Fleet; with which he join'd his Army before *Eaſter*. About the ſame Time King *Ethelred* dy'd at *London*, on the 22d Day of *April*, 1016, after an inglorious and miſcrable Reign of thirty ſeven Years, and was bury'd in the Church of St. *Paul*'s in *London*.

Canute *returns into* England.

Edric *revolts.*

Great Calamities in the Nation.

Ethelred *dies.*

In this Reign many Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Laws were enacted or confirm'd, among which theſe three were uncommon, 'That Prieſts ſhould not marry, it being the Cuſtom then for them to have two or three Wives. That none ſhould be ſold out of their Country, eſpecially to a *Pagan*. That Widows ſhould remain ſo for twelve Months after their Husband's Death. Other Laws were made for the Preſervation of the Peace, Correction of falſe Money, and bringing of Weights and Meaſures to a juſt Rule.

His Laws.

15. *EDMUND Ironſide.*

Edmund the third Son of *Ethelred*, and the Eldeſt alive, was by the Nobility at *London* choſen his Succeſſor; who was not his Son by *Emma* his Queen, but as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* ſays by an ignoble Mother, or Concubine, tho' others affirm her to be the Daughter of Earl *Thorold*, and King *Ethelred*'s former Wife. But ſetting aſide the Obſcurity of his Birth, he was a Man without all Exception, both for Strength of Body and Mind, whence he obtain'd the Sirname of *Ironſide*; and he might have made large Amends for his Father's Cowardice, and his Mother's Diſhonour, had he enjoy'd a longer Life. Having obtain'd the Crown, *Edmund* haſten'd into *Weſt-Saxony*, where he was joyfully receiv'd by the People, and acknowledg'd for their Sovereign; while a far greater Number, with many Biſhops, Abbots, and others of the Nobility meeting at *Southampton* ſwore Allegiance to *Canute*; and after having abjur'd the Race of *Ethelred*, receiv'd an Oath from him of good Government, as well in Religious as Secular Affairs. *Canute*, much animated by ſo con-

A. D. 1016.

His Son Edmund *ſucceeds him in* Weſt-Saxony.

The reſt obey Canute.

ſiderable Part of the Nation, haſten'd to *London* with his Fleet, about Rogation Week, where being arriv'd on *Surry* Side, he caus'd a great Ditch to be made, and drew up his Ships Weſtward of the Bridge. He alſo ſurrounded the City with a vaſt Intrenchment, and made ſeveral Attacks; but the Citizens ſo bravely defended themſelves, that he found it more advantagious to break up; therefore leaving a Guard for his Ships, he haſten'd into the *Weſt* to meet with King *Edmund*, before all his Forces were gather'd together. He found him very ill provided to receive an Enemy; but notwithſtanding that, *Edmund* ventur'd to give him Battel near *Gillingham* in *Dorſetſhire*, with ſuch Succeſs, that he forc'd *Canute* and his Army to retreat. Encourag'd with this Succeſs, he made greater Preparations, after Midſummer, he reſolv'd to engage with *Canute* a ſecond Time; and meeting him near a Town call'd *Swarſtan*, he gave him Battel, which muſt have prov'd fatal to the *Danes*, had not the Traitor *Edric*, together with *Almar* and *Algar*, the Chief of the Nobility, who commanded the *Hampſhire* and *Wiltſhire* Men, join'd with them. So that it prov'd a drawn Battel, notwithſtanding *Edmund* perform'd all the Offices of a ſtout Soldier, and an expert General, which being parted by the Night, was renew'd with great Vigour the next Morning, and *Edmund* would again have won the Victory, but when he was near obtaining of it, the perfidious *Edric* cut off the Head of one *Oſmear*, who in his Face much reſembled the King, and lifting it up on high, cry'd to the *Engliſh* to *behold the Head of their Party, and if they valu'd their own Lives to fly immediately*. This much ſtartled and diſcourag'd them, 'till *Edmund*, ſenſible of the Cheat, from a Hill made himſelf known to his Soldiers, and toſs'd a Spear againſt *Edric*, which miſſing him kill'd two other Perſons who were next him; and recovering Courage, his Soldiers preſs'd bravely upon the *Danes*, but were parted by the Night as before.

Several Battels between him and Edmund.

Canute finding in all Probability he would receive but ſmall Advantage from a pitch'd Battel, decamp'd in the Night, and returning to *London*, where he left his Ships, again inveſted the City. Upon which King *Edmund* with Speed march'd into *Weſt-Sex* to recruit his Forces; and now the perfidious *Edric*, having ſufficient Experience both of his Valour and Conduct, thought it the moſt effectual Method to be reconcil'd to him, that he might reveal his Councils, and by his treacherous Inſinuations ſtem the Current of his good Fortune. He made Application to him, and obtain'd Pardon for what was paſt. Being ſufficiently recruited, *Edmund* directed his March to *London*, rais'd the Siege, and drove the *Danes* with Diſhonour to their Ships. After two Days he paſs'd the *Thames* at *Brentford*, where many of his Men were loſt in the Water; yet coming ſuddenly upon the Backs of his Enemies, he put them to flight. By his Loſs ſuſtain'd in paſſing the Water, and his ſeveral Ingagements, the Number of his Men were ſo diminiſh'd, that he found himſelf oblig'd to retire into *Weſt-Sex* for Recruits; which the *Danes* perceiving, they return'd and beſieg'd *London* a third Time, uſing all poſſible Means to become Maſters of it. Yet ſtill the Induſtry and Courage of the Inhabitants fruſtrated all *Canute*'s Attempts; ſo that deſpairing of Succeſs he drew off his Men, and with his Fleet enter'd a River then call'd *Arenne*, where landing in *Mercia*, he proceeded after his uſual Way to waſte the Country with Fire and Sword; then he caus'd his Foot to paſs by Ships to *Medway*, and the Horſe by Land with the Captives and Cattle. In the mean Time King *Edmund* having with great Diligence levy'd a ſtrong Army a fourth Time, croſs'd the *Thames* again at *Brentford*, and march'd into *Kent*; where at a Place call'd *Otford*, he bravely ingag'd the *Danes*, who not able to ſuſtain the Force of his Arms, fled in great Numbers into the Iſle of *Shepey*. And here he might have obtain'd a compleat Victory, had not *Edric*, ſtill as treacherous as ever, by his ſpecious Allegations, obſtructed and detain'd his Purſuit of the Enemy at *Englesford*. And *Edmund*, who never wanted Courage, here wanted Prudence to be ſo miſ-led, and from this Time began to be forſaken by his wonted good Fortune.

Canute *beſieges* London.

He is ſeveral Times worſted.

King *Edmund* finding the *Weſt-Saxons* moſt firm and loyal to him, return'd for a while into their Country for new Recruits, the Opportunity of whoſe Abſence *Canute* took to vent his Malice and Revenge upon a naked People; for marching into *Eſſex*, he from thence invaded *Mercia*, where he ſhew'd more Cruelty than ever, commanding his Men to omit no Puniſhment that could be inflicted upon Enemies. *Edmund* with an Army gather'd out of all Counties overtook and engag'd them in their Retreat at *Aſhdown* in *Eſſex*, where a Battel was fought with great Reſolution and Bravery on both Sides; and *Edmund* had a fair Proſpect of gaining the Victory, which the impious *Edric* perceiving, as he had formerly ingag'd to *Canute*, fled over to him with all the Troops under his Command, and ſo leaving the *Engliſh* over-number'd and diſappointed, by his Villany procur'd their Defeat and Ruin. For they never receiv'd a greater Blow, almoſt all their Nobility here falling, particularly *Alfric*, *Godwin*, *Ulfketel* and *Ethelward*, all Dukes; *Eadworth* alſo Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, and *Wolk* an Abbot, who came to the Place to pray for the Army's Succeſs, among the reſt loſt their Lives. *Speed* tells us that the Remembrance of this Field was retain'd to his Time, by certain ſmall Hills there remaining, from whence have been digg'd the Bones of Men, Armour, and the Water-Chains of Horſe-Bridles.

A bloody Battel at Aſhdown.

Edmund *by Treachery is worſted.*

Yet this great Diſaſter did not ſo far diſcourage King *Edmund*, but by his Diligence in a ſhort Time he brought himſelf into a Condition to make another Tryal of his Fortune in the Field, and both the Armies fac'd each other in *Gloceſterſhire*. Upon which, as *Huntington* aſſures us, the Noblemen dreading the Courage of *Edmund*, and the Power of *Canute*, began to murmur among themſelves, and to declare *how fooliſh it was for them ſo often to venture their Lives for the Ambition of others, who alone ought to fight for the Crowns they wore*. Which Saying being agreeable to the Temper of the two Kings, they generouſly agreed, to prevent the Effuſion of more Blood, and to decide the Controverſie by a ſingle Combate between themſelves. In which we are told, That their Darts and Lances on both Sides being broken, they fell furiouſly with their Swords upon each others moſt incomparable Armour, the reſounding Noiſe of which ſtruck the Ears of the Spectators with Terror, and their Eyes were dazled with the Flaſhes of Fire which flew from the Swords of theſe Heroes. At length the admirable Valour of *Edmund* prevail'd, whom *Canute* very ſtrenuouſly reſiſted, but fearing the Succeſs, he thus obligingly accoſted his Adverſary: *Young Man, the moſt valiant of all others, what Neceſſity is there for either of us to dye by the Sword, out of Ambition of Governing? Let us be Adoptive Brothers, and divide the Kingdom; let me have a Share in yours, and do you Command in mine.* With theſe Words the generous Mind of the young King was mollify'd, and a Kiſs of Peace was given on either Part; after which their Followers came together, and weeping for Joy, *Edmund* by Agreement had the Weſtern Parts of the Land, and *Canute* and the *Danes* the Eaſtern. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* agrees with *Huntington* as to the Combate, but *Malmesbury* ſays that *Canute* declin'd the Combate, but agreed to the above-nam'd Diviſion of the Land. But *Simeon*, *Hoveden* and *Florent* of *Worceſter* all mention the Diviſion, but ſay nothing about any Combate propos'd. So great an Uncertainty we have of the Affairs of theſe Times. All agree that the *Danes* retir'd to *London* after this Diviſion, and were peaceably receiv'd by the Inhabitants, and permitted to take up their Winter-Quarters in the City.

Edmund *and* Canute *fight a Combate,*

and divide the Nation between them.

King *Edmund* did not long ſurvive this Diviſion, but dy'd ſuddenly at the Feaſt of St. *Andrew*, after a very ſhort but vigorous and honourable Reign of ſeven Months, three Weeks and five Days, and was bury'd by his Grandfather King *Edgar* at *Glaſſenbury*. Our Authors ſpeak as uncertainly about the Death of this worthy Prince, as about his Combate: *Simeon*, *Florent* and *Hoveden*, mention no Cauſe of it; *Malmesbury* confeſſes it was uncertain of what Diſeaſe or Caſualty he dy'd, but adds, That Fame charg'd *Edric* with hiring two of his Chamberlains, in whoſe Fidelity he confided, to murder him with a ſharp Iron thruſt into his Body as he ſat to eaſe Nature. *Huntington* will have it done at *Oxford* by one of the Sons of *Edric*, as the King ſat in a Privy-Houſe, with whom agrees *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*. *Radulphus de Diceto* names neither Place nor Perſon, but ſays it was done with an Iron Spit, by the Procurement of the Traitor *Edric*. Thus *Edmund* in the ſame Year both began and ended his Reign; leaving two Sons behind him, *Edward* and *Edmund*, and two Daughters call'd *Margaret* and *Chriſtian*; beſides three Brothers, *Edwin* by his own Mother, and *Alfred*, and *Edward* afterwards call'd the *Confeſſor*, by his Step-Mother *Emma*. With *Edmund* fell the Glory of the *Engliſh-Saxons*, and the aged Body of their oppreſs'd Monarchy ſeem'd to be bury'd with him in the ſame Sepulchre: For however it might ſeem to recover it ſelf in the ſame Age, yet it prov'd like a Plant new ſet after it had been long out of the Ground, which while there remains any Sap in the Root will ſhoot out freſh Branches, but thoſe ſo weak and tender, that the leaſt Storm blaſts and deſtroys them. By his Death the *Danes* prevail'd, and the *Saxon* Monarchy in a great meaſure ended, after it had continu'd 189 Years from the Eſtabliſhment made by King *Egbert*, 421 after the *Saxons* had wholly diſpoſſeſs'd the *Britains*, and 567 after the firſt Entrance of the *Saxons* under *Hengiſt* and his Companions.

The Death of King Edmund.

The Fall of the Saxon *Monarchy.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

From the Beginning of the Monarchy of the Danes *in* England *under* Canute, *to the Death of* Hardecanute, *the laſt King, and the Reſtoration of the* Saxons *in* Edward *the Confeſſor.*

Containing the Space of about 26 Years.

16. I. *CANUTE.*

A. D. 1017.

Canute *acknowledg'd King.*

King Edmund's *Relations remov'd.*

I. THE *Danes* had formerly in ſome Parts of the Nation, as in *Eaſt-England* and *Northumberland*, ſet up their petty Kingdoms; but now at length, after two hundred Years Struggle, they obtain'd the entire Monarchy of *England*. They had formerly been Strangers, fierce Invaders, and ſavage Deſtroyers, but now they became principal Inhabiters, and chief Proprietors, and *Canute* one of their Kings Lord of the whole; ſoften'd and civiliz'd not ſo much by Chriſtianity and good Education, as by Policy and Secular Intereſt. This Prince upon the Death of King *Edmund*, finding that he had ſeveral Relations left, who were dear to the *Engliſh* Nation, ſummon'd all the Biſhops and Nobility to meet at *London*, and ſubtlely demanded of ſuch as had been preſent at the Agreement between him and *Edmund*, *What Proviſion was made by that Agreement for the Sons and Brothers of* Edmund; *and whether in caſe* Edmund *dy'd before Him, any of them was to ſucceed in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons? They being overcome with Fear made Anſwer, *That to their Knowledge* Edmund *neither living nor dying had made any Proviſion for his Relations, but deſign'd Him the Protector and Guardian of his Sons 'till they ſhould come to Age.* By this falſe Teſtimony they hop'd for Favour and Rewards from *Canute*; but ſome of them receiv'd a juſt Recompence for their Perjury, by being not long after put to Death. But *Canute* taking the Advantage that it afforded him, immediately exacted Oaths of Fidelity from all the Nobility, who readily choſe him for their King, and at the ſame Time abjur'd the two Sons of *Edmund* from ever being Kings of this Nation. Thus Baſeneſs and Fear caus'd the *Engliſh* Nobility ſervilely to ſubmit, ſo that there was no want of any Thing to effect his Purpoſes but his bare Commands; which they often prevented by their Readineſs in doing thoſe Things, to which they knew he was but inclin'd. For *Edwin*, the Brother of King *Edmund*, a young Prince of excellent Endowments and great Hopes, was by them immediately voted to Baniſhment; which Reſolution, ſo full of Injuſtice and Flattery, gave Occaſion to *Canute* immediatediately to conſult with the Traitor *Edric* how to take his Life. This wicked Deſign was by *Edric* firſt left to one *Ethelward*, who did not anſwer their Expectations; ſo that a ſeeming Reconciliation was pretended, and *Edwin* recall'd from Baniſhment, by which means Opportunity was given for ſome to end his Life whom he had moſt truſted. *Edric* not ſatisfy'd with this, adviſ'd *Canute* alſo to put to Death the two young Sons of King *Edmund*, namely *Edward* and *Edmund*; but this being accounted a Thing very odious, and ſuch as would exaſperate the People to have them murder'd in *England*, within a ſhort Time they were ſent to the King of the *Swedes* there to be diſpatch'd, who notwithſtanding the League and Kindneſs between him and *Canute*, abhorr'd the Fact, and by no Intreaties would be brought to commit it, but convey'd them to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*, by him to be carefully educated. *Edmund* in proceſs of Time ended his Days in that Retirement; but *Edward* marry'd *Agatha* Daughter to *Henry* Emperor of *Germany*, by whom he had *Margaret* afterwards Queen of the *Scots*, *Chriſtina* that turn'd Nun, and *Edgar Etheling*, who ſhall be treated of hereafter.

Canute *divides* England *into four Parts.*

He marries Emma.

Edric *juſtly executed.*

Canute *lays a ſevere Tax upon the Nation.*

Canute being ſettled in his new Power and Sovereignty over all *England*, divided his Kingdom into four Parts; he committed the Government of *Mercia* to *Edric*, as an Inſtrument not yet to be laid aſide, aſſign'd *Eaſt-England* to Earl *Turkill*, *Northumberland* to *Eric*, and reſerv'd *Weſt-Saxony*, as the ancient Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Line, to his own proper Management. After which he proceeded to puniſh ſuch as were concern'd in the Death of King *Edmund*, who having diſcover'd themſelves in Hopes of a Reward, he kept them cloſe Priſoners, and in a grand Aſſembly of the People caus'd them to be executed, as thoſe whom their own Mouths had condemn'd. Having thus ſmooth'd the Way, he made a Covenant with the Nobility and People, to govern according to Law, which was confirm'd by Oath, and an Amneſty decreed for whatſoever had formerly paſs'd between the two Nations. Then to ſtrengthen and eſtabliſh his Intereſt, after the Death and Abſence of all Competitors, he ſu'd and marry'd the famous *Emma*, Widow of King *Ethelred*, in *July* following; concluding that it would win him the Hearts of the People, and divert the Thoughts of her Brother *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* from the Sons ſhe had had by the former King. Being now arriv'd at the Height of his Wiſhes, he thought fit to remove the Scaffolds by which he had aſcended, leſt they ſhould ſerve the End of ſome other Pretender. He had for a long Time made uſe of the Treachery of Duke *Edric*; but now inſtead of loving he deteſted the Man, as well out of Fear as Honour, therefore thought it high Time to remove him. It is reported that after he had procur'd King *Edmund* to be ſlain in the Manner before related, he came to *Canute* and congratulated him as *ſole Monarch of* England, to whom the King anſwer'd, *That for ſo great a piece of Service he would exalt him above all the* Engliſh *Nobility.* Remembring therefore that Promiſe, at a Time when *Edric* began to upbraid him with his great Services in betraying his two Soveraigns *Ethelred* and *Edmund*, he convicted him of Treaſon from his own Mouth, and caus'd him in the Time of *Chriſtmas* to be beheaded, and his Head to be ſet upon a Pole on the higheſt Tower in *London*. Authors vary as to the Manner of his Execution, but all agree that he receiv'd the juſt Reward of his Villanies. Upon his Account ſeveral other Noblemen were put to Death, as *Norman* the Son of Duke *Leofwin*, *Ethelward* the Son of Duke *Aglemar*, and *Brithic* the Son of *Elfege* Governor of *Devonſhire*, who ſuffer'd under the Pretence of being Accomplices, or at leaſt Familiars with this Traytor. But ſtill King *Canute* thought himſelf not ſecure, but by keeping a ſtanding Army in the Nation, for the Maintenance of which, in the following Year, he exacted a ſevere Tax of ſeventy or eighty two thouſand Pounds out of all *England*, beſides fifteen thouſand out of the City of *London*. But no leſs than theſe Severities could be expected from an Uſurper and a Foreigner; yet after a few Years, at the Importunity of the Nobility, he ſent back his Army to *Denmark*, having firſt taken Security for the Safety of his Nation by a particular ſtrict Law made againſt killing any *Danes*.

A. D. 1018.

Several good Laws enacted.

Theſe Things were done in the South, while in the Northern Parts a Conteſt aroſe between *Malcolm* Son of *Cyneth* King of the *Scots*, and *Uthred* the Son of *Waldef* Earl of *Northumberland*, or rather his Succeſſor *Eric*, for *Uthred* was ſlain by *Canute* two Years before. This Rupture proceeded to a great War, as our Author terms it, wherein on the Parts of the *Scots*, *Eugenius Calous* King of the *Lothians* was engag'd; but he does not tell what were the Effects of ſo great a Controverſie. In the mean Time King *Canute* having united the *Engliſh* and *Danes* in one Government, thought the beſt Cement would be to frame their Minds to the ſame Laws and Cuſtoms, for which purpoſe he call'd a general Aſſembly to *Oxford*, where both Parts conſented to obſerve the Laws of King *Edgar* and *Ethelred*. And here they eſtabliſh'd many wholſome Acts both for the Clergy and Laity to obſerve, ſome of which are extant in *Lambard*, and a few of thoſe touching Religion we have mention'd here, as having been obſerv'd a long Time after, and ſome of them to this Day. And firſt, for the Celebration of God's moſt Divine Service, it was ordain'd, 'That all decent Ceremonies, tending to the Encreaſe of Reverence and Devotion, ſhould be us'd as need requir'd. That there 'ſhould be no Markets, Fairs, Aſſemblies, or other Secular Actions practis'd on the Lord's Day. That all 'Chriſtians ſhould receive the Euchariſt, or Sacrament of 'the Lord's Supper, at leaſt three times in the Year. 'That if a Prieſt kill'd a Man, or committed any notorious Crime, he ſhould be depriv'd of his Order and Dignity. That a marry'd Woman convict of Adultery, 'ſhould have her Noſe and Ears cut off. That a Widow 'marrying within twelve Months after her Huſband's Deceaſe, ſhould loſe her Jointure and Dowry. Theſe and many others were made, whereby Sin and Looſeneſs were much reſtrain'd, and the Nation peaceably and juſtly govern'd. As alſo were divers other Countries by this King's pious Endeavours; particularly by means of a young Gentleman of the *Daniſh* Royal Blood nam'd *Odin*, whom *Canute* brought over with him into *England* to be inſtructed in Learning, where he improv'd ſo well, and by his Travels through *France*, that he obtain'd the Sirname of *Sapient*; and afterwards by his Preaching in *Finland*, *Zeland*, *Scandia* and *Swedeland*, he converted great Multitudes of Pagans to the Chriſtian Faith.

A. D. 1019.

Canute *ſails into* Denmark.

King *Canute* having ſo well ſettled his Affairs here, he thought he might ſafely give a Viſit to his ancient and native Kingdom of *Denmark*, to which Place he ſail'd in the third Year of his Reign, and continu'd there the whole

Winter. *Huntington* writes, that he led thither an Army of *Engliſh* and *Danes* againſt the *Vandals*, by which he muſt mean no other than the *Swedes:* That incamping near his Enemies with Intention not to fight 'till the next Day, *Godwin* the *Engliſh* General without his Knowledge ſet upon them unprepar'd, kill'd many, and put the reſt to flight.

and beats the Swedes.

In the Morning the King, imagining that the *Engliſh* were either run away or revolted to the Enemy, ſet the *Danes* in order of Battel, and advanc'd towards the *Swediſh* Camp, where he found nothing but Blood, Carkaſſes and Plunder, which caus'd him not only to reward *Godwin* with an Earldom, but exceedingly to prize the *Engliſh*, and to hold them in no leſs Eſteem than the *Danes* themſelves.

He returns to England.

In the Spring he return'd into *England*, and at *Eaſter* held a grand Council at *Circeſter*, in which he baniſh'd Duke *Ethelward*, or *Edward*, as others call him. In the following Year, fearing the growing Greatneſs of Earl *Turkil* the *Dane*, he baniſh'd him and his Wife *Egitha* out of *England*; and found occaſion to do the like by *Eric* the *Daniſh* Earl of *Northumberland*, upon the ſame Principle of Jealouſie. As ſoon as they ſet foot in *Denmark*, *Matthew* ſays, that *Turkil*, who had firſt perſuaded King *Swane* to invade *England*, was kill'd by the Noblemen of the Country. But whether it was that theſe baniſh'd Perſons excited the People againſt their King, or that his Abſence caus'd his Authority to be deſpis'd, *Huntington* tells us that *Canute* in the ninth Year of his Reign carry'd over another Army againſt *Ulf* and *Eilaf*, who had rais'd ſuch great Numbers againſt him both by Sea and Land, that they gave him a conſiderable Defeat. But others make this the ſame Expedition with the former; and indeed had his Affairs been ſo much embroil'd now in *Denmark*, he would not ſo ſoon have caſt his Thoughts upon the Conqueſt of *Norway*; from whence having Intelligence that the People deſpis'd *Olaus* their King, he ſent great Sums of Mony to make way for his own Power, which had ſuch prevailing Effects, that in the following Year 1028, he found ſufficient Incouragement to ſail into *Norway* with Fifty Ships.

He conquers Norway.

The Succeſs was, that he drove *Olaus* out of his Country, and then eaſily reduc'd it to his own Power, whither *Olaus* the following Year returning to try the Minds of the Revolters, was ſlain by them with all his Followers. *Canute* being now King of *England*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, return'd with Applauſe into *England*; tho' not ſo ſecure in his Thoughts, but that under colour of an Embaſſy, he ſent into Baniſhment *Hacun* a powerful *Dane*, who had marry'd the Daughter of his Siſter *Gunilda*. This Man was grown ſo powerful and popular, that he ſtood in fear of being kill'd or depos'd by him, and thereupon he drove him to ſuch Extremities, that within twelve Months he either periſh'd at Sea, or elſe was kill'd in the Iſle of *Orkney*.

A. D. 1031.

Such were the Fears of this Prince, and ſuch the Means he us'd to prevent them, declining no Actions or Methods that might fix and ſecure the Crown on his Head. But now the Occaſions and Temptations for Injuſtice being remov'd, he reſolv'd to be eminently Religious, as ſuch who having gain'd vaſt Riches by infamous Practices, frequently think to appeaſe the ſupream Majeſty of Heav'n by dedicating ſome part of them to pious Uſes.

He makes a Journey to Rome.

Accordingly in the fifteenth Year of his Reign he took a Journey to *Rome*, viſited the Tombs of the holy Apoſtles, and on St. *Peter* conferr'd extraordinary Quantities of Gold, Silver and other valuable Preſents; procur'd from Pope *John* a Relaxation of all Tribute and Toll to the *Engliſh* School there, gave large Alms to the Poor both in his Paſſage and Return, and bought off ſeveral Tolls and Impoſitions laid upon Travellers.

His Epiſtle from thence.

From this City he ſent an Epiſtle to the *Engliſh* Biſhops and Nobility, which is extant in *Malmeſbury* and begins thus, ‘ *Canute* King of all *England*, *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Sweden*, to *Ailwoth* Metropolitan, *&c.* Wherein, having firſt given the Reaſon of his Pilgrimage to *Rome*, which was eſpecially to honour St. *Peter*, he makes relation of his honourable Entertainment with the Pope, the Emperor *Conrade*, and other Foreign Princes, ſhewing what exceſſive Sums were exacted by the Pope from the *Engliſh* Arch-Biſhops, when they receiv'd their Palls from *Rome*; for the redreſſing of which, and other Grievances, the Pope oblig'd himſelf in a ſolemn Aſſembly of four Arch-Biſhops, twenty Biſhops, and an innumerable Multitude of Princes and Noblemen. Then he proceeds in vowing the Remainder of his Life and Reign to the only Service of God, and the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice to his People; to which end he firſt gives Command to his Counſellors, that thence forward they preſume not, upon any reſpect to give Countenance to the leaſt Injuſtice in his Kingdom; And next to his Officers of Juſtice, that as they tender his Royal Favour, and their own Lives, they deviate not from Equity, in reſpect of any Man whatſoever, no not for the inriching of the King's own Treaſury, *becauſe*, adds he, *there is no Neceſſity that my Revenues ſhould be augmented by any unjuſt Exactions:* And ſo concludes with a ſtrict Charge to all his Biſhops and Juſtices, upon their Allegiance both to God and himſelf, to take care in his Abſence, that God's Church and his Miniſters be not defrauded of their Tithes and Rights, whereof he vows at his Return to take a moſt ſevere Account.

He returns to England.

From *Rome* this King went to *Denmark*, and at his Return to *England* he ſpent a great Part of his Time in building and repairing Monaſteries and Churches. In *Eſſex* he built the Church of *Aſhdown*, in the Place of that great Victory over King *Edmund* which won him the Crown.

His Buildings.

In *Norfolk* he founded the noted Abby of St. *Bennet*'s *in Holme*, which Saint he highly reſpected; and in *Suffolk* with a ſpecial Devotion he rebuilt and endow'd the Monaſtery of St. *Edmund*'s *Bury*, which Saint he no leſs dreaded. For it is reported that the ſeeming Ghoſt of St. *Edmund* often affrighted him; for which Cauſe, as alſo to expiate the Sins of his Father, who had done great Damage to his Poſſeſſion, he ſurrounded the Monaſtery with a deep Ditch, and offer'd up his Crown at the Martyr's Tomb. He gave rich and extraordinary Jewels to the Church of *Wincheſter*, of which one is recorded to be a Croſs, worth one Year's Revenue of the Kingdom; and to *Coventry* he gave the Arm of St. *Auguſtine* the great Doctor, which he bought at *Pavia* in his Return from *Rome*, for which he paid a hundred Talents of Silver, and one of Gold.

He reproves his Courtiers by an Example.

The Magnificence of this great King now ſo ſhin'd in the Eyes of his Courtiers and Flatterers, that they extoll'd him equal with *Alexander*, *Cyrus* and *Cæſar*, and applauded him as poſſeſs'd with more than Human Power. But to convince and reprove ſuch miſchievous Inſtruments, and to ſhew the ſmall Power of Kings in reſpect of the King of Heav'n and Earth, he caus'd his Royal Seat, ſays *Huntington*, to be plac'd by the Sea-ſhore at *Southampton* while the Tide was flowing in; and being ſeated in his Robes, and his Courtiers about him, he with all the Air of Majeſty ſpoke in theſe Terms, *Thou Sea art under my Dominion, and the Land on which I ſit is mine; nor has any unpuniſh'd reſiſted my Commands; I charge thee therefore preſume no further upon my Land, nor dare to wet the Feet of thy Soveraign Lord.* But the Sea, as at other Times, came rolling on, and both wet his Feet, and daſh'd againſt his Robes; which caus'd him ſuddenly to riſe up, and cry out, *Let all the Inhabitants of the World know how vain and frivolous is the Power of Kings! Nor is there any that can deſerve that Title, but he whoſe eternal Laws the Heav'ns, Earth and Sea obey.* From which Time this King would never wear his own Crown, but commanded it to be put upon the Head of the Crucifix at *Wincheſter*. From whoſe Example, according to *Petrus Pictavienſis*, aroſe that Cuſtom of hanging up the Armour of great Men in Churches, as Offerings made to God, by whoſe Aſſiſtance they had obtain'd any Honour to themſelves, or Benefit to their Country, either by Victory, or an honourable Death.

This King's Building of ſo many Churches and Monaſteries ſo far repair'd his Fame and Eſteem with the Monkiſh Writers, that notwithſtanding all his Violence and Injuſtice, and his being a Depoſer and a Procurer of the Death of King *Olaus* one of their Saints, they all diſmiſs him with a very fair Character. Nay, ſome tell us, that for his Piety he was rewarded with another Kingdom, that of *Scotland*, which, according to *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, at this time depended on *England*; for he writes that the *Scots* now rebell'd, and that thereupon he march'd thither with an Army, and eaſily conquer'd *Malcolm* the King, with two other *Reguli* which *Huntington* mentions by the Names of *Malbeathe* and *Jermare*.

He adds Scotland *to his Dominions.*

But if the Kingdom of *Scotland* was given him for his Piety, that of Heaven follow'd not long after; for within two Years he dy'd at *Shaftsbury* on the twelfth Day of *November*, and was bury'd in the old Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, after he had reign'd nineteen Years, wanting a few Days.

His Death.

It cannot be deny'd but that he was a magnificent Prince, bountiful both to religious Men and the Poor, even of other Nations. The Means and Methods by which he arriv'd at his Greatneſs, are no ways to be juſtify'd; but there are few that obtain'd Crowns ſo unjuſtly have afterwards manag'd their Power with ſo much Juſtice and Humanity; ſo that he may well bear away the Title generally given him of *Canutus the Great*. And we may ſay of him what a *Roman* Author does of one of the Emperors, That it had been well for the Kingdom if he had never reign'd at all, or elſe had continu'd longer; none of his Sons reſembling him either in Wiſdom or Valour.

17. 2. *HAROLD.*

A. D. 1036.

II. *Canute* by *Elgiva* his firſt Wife, or rather Concubine, had two Sons, the firſt call'd *Swane*, and the ſecond

Harold *ob-tains the Crown:*

But with much Oppo*ſition.*

cond *Harold*; tho' ſome ſay, to conceal her Barrenneſs, ſhe procur'd the former from a Prieſt's Wife, and the latter from the Wife of a Shoomaker, and ſo impos'd upon the Credulity of the King. By *Emma* the Relict of King *Ethelred*, whom he ſeems to have marry'd in the Life time of *Elgiva*, he had a Son nam'd *Harde-canute*; and before his Death it is ſaid that he appointed *Swane* to be King of *Norway*, *Harold* King of *England*, and *Harde-canute* King of *Denmark*. But this ſeems very improbable that he ſhould ſeparate the Son of his belov'd Wife ſo far from her; eſpecially if that be true which ſome have written, that he formerly promis'd to leave the Crown of *England* to ſuch Iſſue as he ſhould have by her. However it was, *Harold* by means of the *Danes*, and the Citizens of *London*, and afterwards by Injuſtice obtain'd the *Engliſh* Crown, but not without ſome Struggles and Difficulties. For each Pretender endeavour'd to ſtrengthen himſelf with Friends and Forces; as Earl *Leofric* with the *Danes* and *Londoners* ſtood up for *Harold*, ſo moſt of the *Engliſh* contended for *Edward* the Sôn of King *Ethelred*, and ſome for *Harde-canute* the Son of *Canute* by Queen *Emma*. Upon which Differences all expected a Civil War, which caus'd great Multitudes to quit their Habitations, and retire to the moſt Fenny and Impaſſable Places, particularly to the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, where they caus'd ſuch Diſturbance, that the Religious in the Place could neither meet in the Church nor in their Refectory. All Things now tended to Confuſion, when by the Interpoſition of the more ſober ſort, Advice was given to the Heads of all the Factions to accommodate Affairs by a publick Aſſembly. The Place appointed was *Oxford*, where after a long Debate, the major Part concluded, That the Kingdom ſhould be divided between *Harold* and *Harde-canute*, the former to have all the Countries lying Northwards from the *Thames*, with the City of *London*, and the latter to enjoy all the Southern Provinces. But *Harde-canute* being abſent upon ſome neceſſary Affairs in *Denmark*, *Harold* ſoon took the Advantage, and being already in Poſſeſſion of the greateſt Part, he ſeiz'd upon all; which he obtain'd by the Aſſiſtance of the *Danes* and *Londoners*, and now at length by *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, who being made up of Ambition and Cunning, had at the Beginning of the Conteſt profeſs'd himſelf a Champion for *Emma* and her Children, but upon the Turning of the Tide reſolv'd to ſwim with the Stream, or was wrought upon by the Promiſes of *Harold*, who gave him Hopes of marrying one of his Daughters. Yet ſtill the Clergy adher'd to the Children of *Emma*, and tho' the Nobility join'd with *Harold*, they continu'd ſo firm that *Ailnoth* the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* refus'd the Office of crowning him, profeſſing, *That as long as any of the ſaid Children liv'd, he would not give his Aſſent or Benediction to any other*, and affirming, as ſome write, *That* Canute *on his Death Bed had commended them to his Care and Fidelity.* Then laying the Enſigns of Royalty upon the Altar, he denounc'd a Curſe againſt his Brethren the Biſhops, in caſe any of them ſhould deliver them to *Harold*, likewiſe inhibiting Him from taking thoſe Things away which he had committed to God and that holy Place. But notwithſtanding all this Zeal and Reſolution, the Arch-Biſhop was at length prevail'd upon by Threats or Promiſes; ſo that the Ceremony was perform'd, and *Harold* acknowledg'd King of all *England*.

He is treacherous in his Proceedings.

A Maſſacre of the Normans.

Emma *baniſhed.*

As to the Character of this Prince, *Brompton* tells us, That in all Reſpects be degenerated from the Worth of his Father *Canute*, for he was altogether careleſs both as to Matters of War and Peace, only he would purſue his own Will, and what was misbecoming his high Station, choſe rather to go on foot than ride, whence from the Lightneſs and Swiftneſs of his Feet he was call'd *Harold Harefoot*. One of the firſt Things he attempted was to inſnare and deſtroy his Emulators and Rivals in the Throne, particularly King *Ethelred*'s two Sons, *Edward* and *Alfred*, then in *Normandy*. In order to effect his Purpoſe, the Author of the *Encomium Emmæ* ſays that he forg'd a Letter to theſe two young Princes in the Name of Queen *Emma* their Mother, earneſtly inviting them into *England*: Wherein, perſonating her, 'She ſeem'd to chide them 'gently for their Delay, in not coming over to inſpect 'their own Affairs; ſince they could not but know that 'it daily confirm'd the Uſurper in his Power, who omitted no Artifices to gain the chief Nobility over to his 'Party; yet alſo aſſur'd them that the *Engliſh* Nation 'had much rather have one of them to be their King; 'and in concluſion, urg'd them to come as ſpeedily and 'as privately as they could, to conſult with her what 'Methods were moſt proper to be taken.' This Letter was ſent to the two Princes in *Normandy* by an expreſs Meſſenger, with Preſents alſo, as from their Mother; which they innocently and joyfully receiving, return'd Anſwer by the ſame Hand, That one of them would be with her ſhortly, naming both the Time and Place. *Alfred* the Younger was judg'd moſt proper for this Affair, who at the appointed Time, with a few Ships, and a ſmall Number of *Normans* on board, appear'd on the Coaſt, and no ſooner landed, but fell into the Snare that Earl *Godwin* had laid for them, being ſent purpoſely to betray them. For being deluded into a Belief, that he was ſent for by the King then at *London*, he was in the Way met by Earl *Godwin* at *Guilford*, who with all ſeeming Friendſhip kindly entertain'd him, but in the Night ſurpriz'd the Prince and made him Priſoner, with all his Company, to the Number of about ſix hundred *Normans*. Moſt of theſe were us'd with the greateſt Barbarity, put to various Kinds of Torments and cruel Deaths; and being twice decimated, every tenth Man ſuffer'd without Mercy. The unfortunate Prince was brought to *London*, and by the King ſent bound to *Ely*, where he had his Eyes put out as ſoon as he landed; and being deliver'd up to the Monks to be kept there, out of Pain and Grief he dy'd ſoon after in their Cuſtody. This did not ſatisfie King *Harold*, for ſoon after he baniſh'd the Mother Queen *Emma* out of the Kingdom, tho' Winter was then begun. She retir'd not into *Normandy*, becauſe, as ſome alledge, Duke *William*, the baſe Son of her Nephew *Robert*, was then in the *French* Court, and ſome add, that her Son *Edward* was gone into *Hungary* to conſult with his Couſin *Edward*, whom *Canute* had formerly baniſh'd thither. Therefore ſhe went directly to *Flanders*, where ſhe was courteouſly receiv'd by *Baldwin* Earl of that Country, who pitying a diſtreſſed Lady and Queen, aſſign'd her *Bruges* for her Habitation, and munificently provided for her during her whole Continuance.

A. D. 1039.

Harold *diſliked.*

He dies.

After two Years this Queen was viſited by her Son *Harde-canute* out of *Denmark*, and they comforted themſelves with the Hopes of better Fortune, that either the Hearts of the *Engliſh* would relent, or the Uſurper by ſome other Means finiſh his Days or his Reign. *Harold*, on the other Side, incourag'd by Poſſeſſion, omitted nothing that might ſerve to exclude them, or any other Pretenders; and accordingly provided himſelf with a Fleet, the only Bulwark of the Iſland, for the furniſhing of which every Port in the Nation was oblig'd to pay eight Marks of Silver to every ſixteen Ships. This Tax ſo exaſperated the *Engliſh*, that it gave Occaſion to the *Welſh* to commit ſeveral Acts of Hoſtility; for the quelling of whom *Edwin* Brother to Earl *Leofric*, *Turkil* and *Algeat* Sons of *Eſſi*, with ſeveral other Noblemen loſt their Lives. But theſe Things could not accompliſh the Hopes of the Baniſh'd, which was left to be effected by Death, which not long after on the ſixteenth Day of *April* ſeiz'd upon King *Harold*, after he had reign'd with no Reputation four Years and as many Months. He was bury'd at *Weſtminſter*, and left neither Wife nor Child behind him. As for his Laws we have only one mention'd by Mr. *Selden*, which was, That whatſoever *Welſh* Man, coming into *England* without Leave, was taken on this Side *Offa*'s Ditch, ſhould loſe his Right Hand.

18. 3. *HARDE-CANUTE.*

A. D. 1040.

Harde-canute *is crown'd King.*

He revenges himſelf upon Harold's *Friends.*

Godwin *and others appeaſe him.*

III. The States of the Land as well *Engliſh* as *Danes*, that had ſtood up for the Intereſt of *Harold*, now ſeeing him fallen, thought it moſt advantagious to make way for their Peace, before *Harde-canute* ſhould command their Obedience by his Sword: Therefore they unanimouſly ſent Meſſengers to him at *Bruges*, where he continu'd with his Mother, humbly deſiring him to come over, and receive the Crown as his Right. Hereupon he haſten'd to *Denmark*, there to ſettle Affairs, and from thence with ſixty Ships and many Soldiers he came over in the Month of *Auguſt*, and landing at *Sandwich* was there joyfully receiv'd, and both by *Engliſh* and *Danes* admitted, and crowned King. Having obtain'd the Kingdom, he perform'd but little worthy of his Condition and Station, but made uſe of that Advantage only to pleaſe and gratifie his exorbitant Paſſions. His firſt Undertaking was to ſhew his Reſentment againſt *Harold* for the Injuries offer'd to himſelf and his Mother, whoſe Body he caus'd to be digg'd up by *Alfric* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, Earl *Godwin* and others, the Head to be cut off, and both that and the Trunk to be caſt firſt into a Ditch or Privy, and then into the *Thames*, where being caught in a Fiſherman's Net, it was by ſome of his Relations convey'd to Land, and bury'd in a Burying-Place of the *Danes*, which conſtant Tradition affirms to be the Church and Church-yard of St. *Clements Danes* in *London*. Following on this Courſe of Revenge, which ſome ſtyle by the Name of Piety to his Relations, he deſervingly depriv'd *Living* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who was concern'd in the barbarous Treatment of his Brother *Alfred*; but within a Year he was appeas'd with a Sum of Mony, and reſtor'd him. *Godwin* that ſubtle Earl found Means to purchaſe his Peace with an extraordinary Preſent, which was a Gally with a gilded Stern, wonderfully rigg'd, furniſh'd out with all Conveniencies both for War and Pleaſure, and mann'd with eighty choice Soldiers, every one having upon each Arm a Golden Bracelet weighing ſixteen Ounces, an Helmet and Corſlet finely gilt, a *Daniſh* Scimeter adorn'd with Silver and Gold hung on his left Shoulder, in his left Hand a Shield with gilt Boſs and Nails, and in his Right a Lance, which in the Language of the *Engliſh* was call'd a *Tegar*. This uncommon Preſent was not ſufficient 'till he alſo took a ſolemn Oath, That Prince *Alfred* loſt not his Eyes by his Advice or Deſire, but in that he merely obey'd King *Harold*, then his Soveraign Lord; which Oath was alſo taken by moſt of the Nobility of the Land.

Harde-canute *lays heavy Taxes upon the Nation.*

He waſtes Worceſterſhire.

He marries his Siſter to the Emperor.

His ſtrange Death.

At the ſame Time he enquir'd after ſuch as had been cruel to his Relations, and much incurr'd the Diſpleaſure of the People by a new Tax he laid, for the Payment of eight Marks to every Rower in his Navy, and twelve to every Officer, a Burden ſo heavy, that every one repented their helping of him to the Crown. However he collected the Tax with all Rigour, inſomuch that two of his Officers for that purpoſe call'd *Feadar* and *Turſtan*, going to *Worceſter*, were ſlain by the People. The King highly incens'd ſent *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, *Godwin* of the *Weſt-Saxons*, *Siward* of the *Northumbrians*, and others with great Forces, and Orders to kill all the Men, to burn the City, and waſte all the Country. Terrify'd with this News, all the People fled, the Country Men to ſeveral remote Parts, and the Citizens to a ſmall Iſland in the *Severn* call'd *Beverege*, which they fortify'd and valiantly defended, 'till Peace was granted them, and free Liberty to return home; but they found their City plunder'd and burnt. Appeas'd with this Act of Severity, *Harde-canute* began to ſhew a better Temper, and ſhortly after he gave a kind Entertainment to *Edward* his Brother, the Son of King *Ethelred* and *Emma*, who now return'd home, after a tedious Exile in *Normandy*. To his further Commendation he took care to prefer his Siſter *Gunhilda* to be Wife of *Henry* the *German* Emperor; a Lady of admirable Beauty, who in her Father's Time had in vain been courted by ſeveral Lovers. Her Brother ſent her forth with all imaginable Pomp and Splendor, the Nobility both accompanying her to the Sea, and greatly contributing to the Expences, beſides what the King's Exchequer could furniſh. But Covetouſneſs was not this Prince's Crime, for he delighted in extravagant Expences, eſpecially in Banquets and Feaſtings; and he allow'd four Meals a Day in his Court, which *Huntington* attributes to his Bounty, as rather deſiring that Meat ſhould be taken away untouch'd from ſuch as were nvited, than that ſuch as were not invited ſhould complain of Scarcity. As *Harde-canute* liv'd ſo he dy'd in his beloved Cuſtom of *Feaſting*, at *Lambeth* at a Nuptial Entertainment, which with great Splendor was ſolemniz'd between *Tovy* a *Daniſh* Nobleman, the *Gorthy* the Daughter of *Oſgod Clapa*, a great Lord of the ſame Nation, in the Height of his Mirth and Jollity, carouſing with the Bride and ſome of the Company, he ſuddenly fell down ſpeechleſs, and dy'd on the eighth Day of *June*, in the Flower of his Age, after a ſhort Reign of two Years and almoſt two Months.

The Danes *decline.*

Such was the End of this diſſolute young Prince by that Vice which was too familiar to the *Daniſh* Nation, which to the Cruelty they ſhew'd before they got Poſſeſſion of the Land, they afterwards added Gormandizing and Drunkenneſs. But as he exceeded all in this kind, ſo tho' he was born in *England*, and conſequently might have naturally follow'd the Cuſtoms of that Country, yet out of Sympathy with the Humour of the *Danes*, he bore moſt Affection to them; nay and ſuffer'd them moſt inſolently to domineer over the *Engliſh*. So that we are told, If a *Dane* met an *Engliſh* Man upon a Bridge, the latter durſt not move 'till the former paſs'd over; and if the *Engliſh* Man did not bow in the moſt humble manner, his Head ſhould be broken, or for his Clowniſhneſs he ſhould be ſeverely baſtinado'd. And according to *Knighton*, this *Harde-canute* ſo far increas'd this Inſolence, that upon every *Engliſh* Family he impos'd a *Dane*, as their Lord and Governor; which confirm'd the Occaſion of the Word *Lordane* formerly mention'd. The ſame Vices of Luxury and Effeminacy, which had procur'd Slavery to the *Engliſh*, were now come to the Height in the *Danes*, and, as in all Changes of States, caus'd their Ruin in this Nation, and made way for another Revolution. Not that the *Engliſh* were much reform'd, for they ſtill retain'd ſuch Diſtempers, as within a few Years procur'd the intire Deſtruction of their Empire; but being unreaſonably inſulted and oppreſs'd, upon the Death of *Harde-canute* they found Means to throw off their Yoak, and to ſlay and baniſh the moſt inſolent and tyrannical of that Nation. And as the old *Romans*, for the Expulſion of their Kings, annually ſolemnized the *Fugalia*, ſo the joyful *Engliſh* in Imitation of them, being freed from the *Daniſh* Tyranny, inſtituted the annual Sports of *Hock-Tide*, which ſignify'd the Times of Scorning and Triumphing; of which there are ſome Remainders to this Day. *Harde-canute* dying without Iſſue, and *Denmark* being then embarraſs'd with Troubles, with him expir'd, not only the Dominion, but in Effect all Attempts or Invaſions of the *Danes* in *England*; which tho' they had been continu'd, and often renew'd with mighty Numbers, for two hundred and fifty five Years from their firſt Invaſion, left no conſiderable Change of Laws, Cuſtoms, Language or Religion, nor other Traces of their Eſtabliſhment beſides the many Caſtles they built, and the many Families they left behind them, who in a few Years came to incorporate and make a Part of the *Engliſh* Nation without Diſtinction.

CHAP. VI.

The Monarchy of the Engliſh Saxons *reſtored; From the Death of* Harde-canute, *to the Death of* Harold *the laſt King of the* Engliſh *Race, and the final Period of the* Saxon *Empire by* William *Duke of* Normandy.

Containing the Space of about 24 Years.

19. 16. *EDWARD the Confeſſor.*

A. D. 1042.

Earl Godwin *a Friend to* Edward.

By whoſe Intereſt he is crown'd King of England.

I. THE *Engliſh* being happily deliver'd from the Power of the *Danes*, took the Advantage of the laſt King's dying without Iſſue, and began to caſt their Eyes upon the Poſterity of the unfortunate King *Ethelred*, particularly *Edward*, the Son he had by Queen *Emma*. However this Prince was ſtill at a Loſs, not knowing what Methods to take for his Safety, 'till at length he reſolv'd to caſt himſelf upon the Council and Fidelity of Earl *Godwin*, who being ſent to for a friendly Conference, for ſome Time conſider'd in his Thoughts whether he ſhould acknowledge him or not, but at length conſented to converſe with him. *Edward* gaining Acceſs, was ready to fall at his Feet, which when he would not ſuffer, he related the ſad Story of his Brother *Harde-canute*'s Death, and with great Promiſes begg'd his Aſſiſtance towards his ſafe Return into *Normandy*. *Godwin* gave him this unexpected Anſwer, *That he had better live gloriouſly a King in* England, *than ignominiouſly to die an Exile; That the Crown did of Right belong to him, as the Son of* Ethelred, *and Grandſon of* Edgar, *one who was ripe in Years, inured to Toils, and taught by Experience how to adminiſter publick Affairs, and by his own Afflictions how to prevent thoſe of his People. To effect this there would be no Obſtacle, if he would confide in him, whoſe Intereſt was ſo great in the Land. Therefore on Condition he would eſtabliſh a firm Friendſhip with him, prefer his Sons, and marry his Daughter, he ſhould ſhortly ſee himſelf a King; tho' now as one ſhipwrackt in his Fortunes, and a Man baniſh'd from all Expectations, he implor'd the Aid of another Perſon.* This Prince's Circumſtances were ſuch, as not to reject ſo fair Propoſals, but to agree to every Thing, and comply with the State and Condition of the Times; and whatſoever he requir'd he promis'd by Oath. *Godwin* was a Man fitted by Nature for the managing ſuch an Affair, having a very ſmooth inſinuating Tongue, ſo eloquent and prevailing, that he could work upon the Affections of the People as he deſired, and draw them with Eaſe to any Thing he deſigned. He procur'd a Council to be ſummon'd to *Gillingham*, where perſuading ſome by his Authority, ſome by Promiſes, and others being already inclin'd to favour *Edward*'s Cauſe, he eaſily brought over a great Majoriry to his Party; the reſt who made Oppoſition, were overpower'd at preſent, diſgrac'd, and afterwards baniſh'd out of the Land. On *Eaſter* Day, which this Year fell on the third of *April*, he was crown'd at *Wincheſter* by the two Arch-Biſhops, *Edſi* of *Canterbury*, and *Alfric* of *York*, aſſiſted with other Prelates, of whom *Living*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, much contributed to the compleating this Deſign. This happened about ten Months after the Death of *Harde-canute*, ſo that this Alteration requir'd ſome conſiderable Time, and probably found as conſiderable Oppoſition, notwithſtanding the great Power of Earl *Godwin*. And thus was the Monarchy of the *Engliſh* reſtor'd to the *Engliſh* Royal Blood, and the People ſo unexpectedly deliver'd from the *Daniſh* Tyranny, were exceedingly tranſported with Joy, yet ſtill making way for another Revolution, which they little imagin'd was ſo near.

He ſeizes on his Mother's Treaſury.

Edward was now near forty Years of Age, of a ſoft and complying Temper; and being the Creature of Earl *Godwin*, he conform'd himſelf wholly to his Dictates and Advice. The firſt material Thing he did, was to ſeize on the Treaſure of his Mother *Emma*, then at *Wincheſter*. The Cauſe alledg'd was, that ſhe had been hard and unkind to him in the Time of his Exile and greateſt Neceſſities; and in reality, ſhe is believ'd to have born too little Affection, either to *Ethelred* or his Children: But *Godwin* however ſeems to have been the Inſtiller of this Treatment into the King's Mind, bearing a ſecret Hatred againſt her, for concerning herſelf about the Cruelty ſhewn to her Son *Alfred*. *Simeon* expreſsly ſays, that King *Edward* did it by the Advice of *Leofric*, *Godwin* and *Geward*, who accompanying him from *Gloceſter* to *Wincheſter*, he came ſuddenly to her, and took away all the Gold, Silver or Jewels ſhe had then in Poſſeſſion; to which *Matth. Weſtminſter* adds, that he yet commanded that ſhe ſhould be ſupply'd with Neceſſaries, and be free from all further Moleſtation. But how fair ſoever his Actions were towards his Mother, *Godwin* took care that he ſhould deal juſtly with him, in the Marriage of his Daughter *Egitha*, which about this Time he procur'd to be ſolemniz'd. The Lady for her admirable Perfections and Qualifications might well deſerve a Crown; ſo that this was none of thoſe many Things wherein the Earl impos'd upon the King. *Ingulph* the Abbot, who in his Youth had often been pos'd by her both in Grammar and Logick, teſtifies that ſhe was moſt beautiful, moſt chaſte and virtuous, but eſpecially noted both for her Humility and Learning, favouring nothing of the Inſolence either of her Father or Brother, but mild, modeſt, faithful and obliging, never doing any kind of ill Offices, ſo that it became a Proverb, 'That as a Thorn produces a Roſe, ſo '*Godwin* begot *Egitha*.

He marries Godwin's *Daughter* Egitha.

A. D. 1045. *He baniſhes many of the* Daniſh *Nobility.*

Edward thus ſettled in the Throne, ſtill thought himſelf not ſecure, while any eminent Perſons of the *Daniſh* Blood continu'd in the Land. Therefore he baniſh'd *Gunhilda*, the Siſter of King *Canute*, marry'd firſt to *Hacun*, and then to *Harold* both Earls, but now a Widow, who with her two Sons *Hemmung* and *Turkill*, were oblig'd to leave the Land, go firſt to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, and then to *Denmark*. But while he thus thought to prevent Storms at home, he was threaten'd with a Tempeſt from the Northern World, where *Magnus* the Son of *Olaus* King of *Norway*, to revenge the Injury done here to his Father in the Reign of *Canute*, prepar'd to invade *England*. King *Edward* to ſecure himſelf provided a ſtrong Fleet, which lay expecting *Magnus* in *Sandwich* Road; but *Swane* King of *Denmark*, tho' he had no Reaſon to oblige the *Engliſh*, yet to hinder the Growth of a dangerous Neighbour, intirely diverted *Magnus* by making an Invaſion of his Kingdom. This rais'd ſuch Fewds between theſe two Northern Kings, that *Magnus* in Revenge enter'd *Denmark* in the following Year, expell'd King *Swane*, and made himſelf Lord of the Country. Upon which *Swane* ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Edward*, deſiring him, *That he would return ſuch Kindneſs as he had receiv'd from him, when he was in Danger*. *Godwin*'s Opinion was for ſupplying him with a Fleet of fifty Veſſels, both to requite *Swane*, and to give a check to the Succeſs and Ambition of *Magnus*; but Earl *Leofric* and others thought it ſafer, *That the King ſhould only be a Spectator, rather than to run the Hazard of diſobliging the prevailing Party, and bringing Danger upon himſelf. And tho'* Swane *had by his Invaſion of* Norway *done that which tended to the Repoſe of* England, *yet ſince he took thoſe Meaſures purely from his own Intereſt, he could not take it amiſs, if King* Edward *alſo ſhould ſteer his Courſe by the ſame Compaſs*. And their Counſel had this good Effect, that as *Magnus*, tho' he held the Crown of *Denmark* all his Life, offer'd no further Attempts upon *England*, ſo *Harold Harvager*, his Uncle and Succeſſor, as ſoon as he came to the Crown ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Edward*, and made a ſolemn League and Alliance with him. This was look'd upon as a great Happineſs to the Nation; but an Earthquake at *Worceſter* and *Darby*, a Peſtilence and Famine in many Places, much diminiſh'd the Enjoyment of it.

A. D. 1049. *He engages with the Emperor againſt* Baldwin *Earl of* Flanders.

While King *Edward* was free from Wars at home, he was ingag'd by *Henry* the Emperor againſt *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, with whom he had a Conteſt about a Palace of his Country, which the Earl had fir'd. Pope *Leo* and *Swane* King of the *Danes* aſſiſted by Land, and leſt *Baldwin* ſhould eſcape by Sea, he procur'd King *Edward* to ſecure the Coaſts, which he perform'd, lying with his Fleet before the Port of *Sandwich*, 'till he underſtood that an Accommodation was made between them. In the mean Time *Swane*, the Son of Earl *Godwin*, having formerly been baniſh'd, or left the Land, for deflouring *Edgitha* Abbeſs of *Cheſter* whom he would have marry'd, came back from *Denmark* with eight Ships, pretending a great Deſire to be reconcil'd to the King; and Earl *Beorn*, a *Dane* and his Couſin-German, undertook to make his Peace. The War being ended between the Emperor and Earl *Baldwin*, this *Beorn*, and *Godwin* who commanded forty two Veſſels, by the King's leave were remov'd to *Pevenſey*; to which Place *Swane* came and ſolicited his Couſin *Beorn*, according to Promiſe, to carry him to the King at *Sandwich*, and obtain his Pardon. *Beorn* without Scruple repair'd to him, attended only with three Servants, but *Swane* having brought him to *Boſenham*, where his Ships lay at Anchor, carry'd him on Board, caus'd him to be bound, and removing to *Dartmouth*, he there murder'd him, and threw his Body into a deep Ditch. The Inhabitants of *Haſtings* took ſix of *Swane*'s Ships, and killing all the Men, carry'd the Veſſels to the King at *Sandwich*. *Swane* with the other two fled into *Flanders*, where he continu'd 'till afterwards *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* brought him back, and notwithſtanding all this reconcil'd him to this gentle King. Crimes of this Nature were at this Time but too common, and too little puniſh'd; ſuch was the Wickedneſs of the *Engliſh* Nation, which now again fell into a dangerous Security, tho' the late dreadful Scourge was but juſt remov'd from their Backs. Nay at this very Time it was again ſhaken over them: For *Oſgod Clapa*, having with his Wife, as well as other *Danes*, been baniſh'd the Land, had got together twenty nine Ships, which infeſted the Coaſts of *Eſſex*, but after great Damage done, they met with a Storm, and two of their Ships being driven on Shore, the Men were all put to the Sword. But the *Engliſh* were not only put in mind of the late *Daniſh* Cruelties, but the Remembrance of the old Devaſtations from the *Iriſh Scots* was reviv'd on the other Side of the Iſle; but with this Difference, that whereas formerly the *Britains* were Sufferers, now they were become Actors and Abettors. For, as *Florent* tells us, this ſame Year in the Month of *Auguſt*, certain Pirates from *Ireland*, with thirty ſix Ships enter'd the Mouth of the *Severn*, where joining with *Griffin*, King of *South-Wales*, they ravag'd the Country, and caus'd much Miſchief. They proceeded in ſeveral Places with Fire and Sword, but whether they retir'd of themſelves, or were ſuppreſs'd by the *Engliſh* Forces, we do not find.

The Sea-Coaſts infeſted by Pirates.

A. D. 1051. *He is to kind to Strangers,*

The next Year but one, King *Edward* to comfort and relieve his People now oppreſs'd with Famine and Poverty, took off the Tax formerly mention'd call'd *Danegeld*, impos'd by his Father *Ethelred*, which had laid heavy upon them for thirty eight Years. But as this Effect of his Indulgence to them tended much to their Eaſe and Conveniency, ſo other Acts of his Kindneſs to Strangers this very Year prov'd of dangerous Conſequence to the whole Nation. The Occaſion began from *Euſtace* Earl of *Bologn*, Father to the famous *Godfry*, and Husband to *Goda* the King's Siſter, who having been to viſit the Court, and returning through *Canterbury* to take Ship at *Dover*, one of his Harbingers was ſo rude with a Townſman in ſeeking for Lodgings, that in the Heat of Anger he provok'd him to kill him. The Earl with his whole Retinue going into the Houſe where his Servant had been kill'd, ſlew both the Murderer and eighteen more who defended him; but the Townſmen running to Arms, reveng'd themſelves by the Slaughter of twenty one more of the Earl's Servants, and the wounding almoſt all the reſt. *Euſtace* with much Difficulty eſcaping, with great Clamour haſten'd to the King, and being ſeconded by other *Norman* Courtiers, he rais'd him to that Fury, and he immediately order'd Earl *Godwin* to march to *Canterbury*, and puniſh the Citizens with military Execution. He on the contrary alledg'd, *That no Man was to be condemn'd unheard*, inwardly grieving that the King ſhould favour Strangers more than his own Subjects; for many of them he had preferr'd to great Places and Truſt, both in Church and State; particularly *Robert* a *Norman* was made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William* another of that Country Biſhop of *London*, which much exaſperated the *Engliſh* againſt the *Normans*. Being join'd with ſome others who lov'd their Country, *Godwin* urg'd, *That the chief Actors in the late Diſorder ſhould firſt be fairly try'd; in caſe they were found innocent to be diſmiſſed, but if culpable to be fin'd, or undergo ſome corporal Puniſhment for the Breach of the King's Peace, and the Violence and Affront that they had offer'd to the Earl*. He further put him in mind, *That it was his Buſineſs to protect his People, and not to condemn them without due Proceſs*. In concluſion he refus'd to obey his Commands, not regarding the King's Anger, which he conceiv'd would laſt but a ſhort Time; but *Edward* diſpleas'd at his Behaviour, and being by others excited to Revenge, call'd an Aſſembly of all the Nobility at *Gloceſter*. Moſt repair'd thither, only *Godwin* and his Sons appear'd not, ſuſpecting that the Nobility were too much of the King's Humour, but immediately took to Arms. *Godwin* rais'd Forces out of his Earldom, which conſiſted of *Kent*, *South-Sex* and *Weſt-Sex*; his Eldeſt Son *Swane* did the ſame in his, which contain'd *Oxford-*

which occaſions Godwin *and his Sons to take to Arms.*

ſhire, *Gloceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Somerſetſhire* and *Barkſhire*; and *Harold* the youngeſt Son out of his, compriſing *Eſſex*, *Eaſt-England* and *Huntingtonſhire*.

Theſe took up their Quarters at *Beverſtan*, and ſpread a Report that their Forces were to march againſt the *Welſh*, who deſign'd an Irruption into *Herefordſhire*; and *Swane* under that Pretence lay incamp'd with Part of his Army in thoſe Parts. But the *Welſh* having ſome notice of this Artifice, prevented it by clearing themſelves at Court, where *Godwin* and his Sons were render'd ſo odious, that the King's Army now immediately expected to march againſt them. *Edward* had ſent to *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*, and *Syward* of *Northumberland*, to come and aſſiſt him in this Extremity; who after a little Time gather'd together a conſiderable Force, with which *Rodulph*, the King's Nephew by his Siſter *Goda*, join'd himſelf. In the mean Time *Godwin* and his Sons proceeded into *Gloceſterſhire*, and incamp'd at a Place call'd *Langtreo*, from whence they ſent to the King then lying at *Gloceſter*, and demanded Earl *Euſtace* and his Company to be deliver'd up, together with ſuch *Normans* and *Bulloignois* as held the Caſtle at *Canterbury*, upon Refuſal denouncing War. The King was much ſurpriz'd at this Meſſage, not knowing how to act; but upon hearing that the Forces of *Leofric*, *Syward* and *Rodulph* were on their March, he ſent back the Meſſenger with an abſolute Refuſal. They were newly gone when the King's Forces arriv'd at *Gloceſter*, ſo enrag'd, that he with great Difficulty reſtrain'd them from marching immediately to engage with *Godwin*. *Leofric* and the wiſer Sort, ſenſible of the Miſeries of a Civil War, perſuaded the King to come to a Treaty, of which they conceiv'd the greater Hopes, becauſe *Godwin* had given Orders to his Sons not to engage firſt, but to defend themſelves if they were attack'd by the King's Forces. They brought both Parties to this Agreement, that Hoſtages ſhould be given on both Sides, and the whole Conteſt be referr'd to a further Debate to be held at *London*. The King having encreas'd his Forces out of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, went with them and his Nobility to *London*; and *Godwin* having done the like in *Weſt-Sex*, repair'd to *Southwark*. The grand Council, by way of Satisfaction to the King, ordered *Godwin* and his Son *Harold* to appear before them unarm'd, and but with twelve Attendants, and to deliver up all their Forces into the Hands of the King. They pleaded *That they could not give up themſelves into the Hands of their Enemies without ſufficient Caution and Security*, *otherwiſe they were ready to ſurrender their Forces, and to obey the King in all Things that were conſiſtent with their Honour and Safety*; *but to come unarm'd, and with ſo few Followers, was to hazard both their Lives and Reputations*. The King by this Anſwer was further exaſperated, and thereupon an Edict was publiſh'd by Conſent of the Council and Army, That *Godwin* and his Sons ſhould quit the Land within five Days. His Soldiers, dreading the Conſequence, began to abandon him, ſo that finding it ſafeſt to give way to the Times, the Earl departed with his Wife *Gytha*, and three Sons, *Swane*, *Gytha* and *Toſti*, into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, Father-in-Law to *Toſti*, with as much Treaſure as the Ship could carry. *Harold* and *Leofwin*, his other Sons, went to *Briſtol*, where taking a Ship that their Brother *Swane* had provided for himſelf, they ſail'd into *Ireland*. *Harold*'s Earldom was conferr'd on *Elgar*, the Son of *Leofric*; and the King, to purſue his Indignation, depriv'd *Egitha* his Queen of all her Jewels and Treaſure, and ſent her away only with one Attendant to the Nunnery of *Warewell*, there to be kept in Cuſtody by the Abbeſs his Siſter.

who are forc'd to quit the Land.

William *Duke of* Normandy *viſits King* Edward.

The Enemy thus remov'd, *William* Duke of *Normandy*, with a great Train of *Normans*, came over into *England* to viſit his old Friend King *Edward*, where he and his Retinue were nobly and magnificently entertain'd, richly preſented, and imprudently led to the chief Caſtles and Forts, and ſhew'd the whole Strength of the Nation, and whatever elſe was in a ſhort Time to be their own. Tho', as *Ingulph* aſſures us, there was yet no Expectation of his ſucceeding in the Kingdom, or at leaſt no mention made of it between the King and the Duke. About the ſame Year, we are told that Queen *Emma* was accus'd both of conſenting to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, and alſo of preparing Poiſon for *Edward*, and laſtly of Incontinence with *Alwin* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and all this by *Robert* the *Norman*, whom the King had made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. Upon which Accuſation, being cloſely confin'd to *Warewell*, ſhe wrote to all the Biſhops of *England*, who were her Friends, profeſſing, *That ſhe was more afflicted at the Scandal rais'd againſt the good Biſhop, than at her own Infamy*; *and that ſhe was ready to clear her Innocency by undergoing the ſevere Tryal by* Ordeale, *and paſſing over red hot Irons*. Upon which the Biſhops met, and had eaſily prevail'd upon the King to remit and forget all, but *Robert* violently oppos'd them, demanding of them, *How they durſt defend a Woman guilty of ſo many Crimes*? concluding, *That if ſhe would paſs barefoot and blindfold over nine red hot Plow-ſhares, four ſteady Paces for her ſelf, and five for the Biſhop, ſhe might paſs for Innocent*. Whereupon the Day of Tryal was appointed, and before the King and all his Biſhops, except *Robert*, ſhe paſs'd unhurt over all the Plow-ſhares; uſing theſe Words to her Leaders, as not knowing ſhe was paſt Danger, *O Lord, when ſhall I come the Place of my Purgation*? But having her Eyes uncover'd, and ſeeing her ſelf at Liberty, ſhe fell upon her Knees, and with Tears gave Thanks to her Deliverer; whereby ſhe recover'd both the Love, and her former Eſtate of the King, with the Eſteem and Applauſe of the People. In Memory of which ſhe gave nine Manors, according to the Number of Plow-ſhares, to the Cathedral of *Wincheſter*, and beautify'd it with many rich Ornaments; as likewiſe the King, repenting the Injury done to her, beſtow'd on the ſame Church the Iſle of *Portland* and other Poſſeſſions. The Subſtance of this remarkable Story is deliver'd both by *Brompton* and *Knighton*, and *Harpsfield* has enlarg'd it with ſome Circumſtances. But the ancient Anthors, as *Malmesbury* and others, are wholly ſilent in this Matter; ſo that the Story is juſtly ſuſpected, tho' not yet fully confuted. Of more Certainty we find that this famous Queen dy'd the Year after this ſuppos'd fiery Tryal, and was bury'd in the Cathedral of *Wincheſter*.

Queen Emma *undergoes the fiery Tryal.*

Her Death.

A. D. 1052.

In the ſame Year *Griffin* the *Welſh* King made an Inroad into *Herefordſhire*, and ravag'd a great Part of the Country; againſt whom the Inhabitants aroſe, and the *Normans* that held the Caſtle of *Hereford* ſally'd out and engaging him were defeated, ſo that he return'd home with great Booty. Not long after *Harold* and *Leofwin*, Sons of Earl *Godwin*, returning out of *Ireland*, paſs'd with many Veſſels up the *Severn*, and landing in the Counties of *Somerſet* and *Dorſet*, they plunder'd many Villages; and tho' great Numbers march'd againſt them, they put them to the rout, and having ſlain thirty principal Officers, beſides many of the ordinary Sort, they return'd with much Booty to their Ships. King *Edward* alarm'd with the News, and expecting Earl *Godwin* as well as his Sons, order'd forty well furniſh'd Ships into *Sandwich* Road to prevent his Landing; but notwithſtanding this Care, he found Means to come aſhore undiſcover'd in *Kent*, where he ſent Meſſengers round about, and firſt ingag'd the Inhabitants of *Canterbury* who own'd him as a Sufferer for their Sakes, then thoſe of *Suſſex*, *Eſſex*, *Surry*, and all the Seamen of *Haſtings*, and others of thoſe Maritime Parts, who promis'd to live and die with him. The Fleet having Notice of his Landing, ſome were ſent to purſue him; but he concealing himſelf, they return'd firſt to *Sandwich*, and then came up to *London*. *Godwin* paſs'd to the Iſle of *Wight*, and coaſted about 'till he was join'd by his Sons *Harold* and *Leofwin*. Yet ſtill they forbore all Hoſtilities, but on the Coaſts and elſewhere they drew over as many Men as they could, eſpecially Seamen, and ſo made for *Sandwich* Road, from whence the News flew to *London*, and ſo ſtartled the Court, that immediately Command was iſſued out from the King to all his Loving Subjects, to haſten and aſſiſt him in a time of ſo great Neceſſity. Yet they delay'd ſo long, that *Godwin* had Opportunity to paſs up the *Thames* as far as *Southwark*, where waiting for a Tide, he ſpent the Time in conferring with the *Londoners*, whom he procur'd to act according to his Deſigns. At high Water he advanc'd further, and no Oppoſition being made on the Bridge, he row'd up by the Southern Bank 'till he met with his Land Army, which he drew up in Battalia formidable to the Spectators on the other Side; and now he directed his Navy towards the King's Gallies, ſhipping off his Men, and making all Things ready to follow. *Edward* by this Time on the other Side had gather'd together a competent Force, and all Perſons expected an Ingagement; but the Soldiers on both Sides agreed in this, that they were not willing to fight *Engliſh* againſt *Engliſh*, which gave the wiſer Sort an Opportunity of mediating a Peace, by means of which the two Armies were ſpeedily disbanded. The Effect of it was that *Godwin*, his Wife and Sons were reſtor'd to their former Honours and Eſtates, all except *Swane*, who, as a Penance for murdering his Couſin *Beorn*, had undertaken a Pilgrimage barefoot from *Flanders* to *Jeruſalem*, and in his Return dy'd of a Cold he had got in *Lycia*. The King receiv'd his Wife *Egitha* the Earl's Daughter to her former Dignity; Right and Juſtice was now promis'd to all Men, and ſuch *Normans* as had abus'd his Authority and given him ill Counſel, were baniſh'd the Land. Some few, as *Robert* the Deacon, *Richard* his Son-in-Law, *Alverede* the King's Groom, *Axfrid* ſirnam'd *Cooksfoot*, and ſome others whom the King much favour'd, and who had done no ill Offices, were permitted to ſtay. But *Robert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *William* Biſhop of *London*, and *Ulf* Biſhop of *Lincoln* with their Followers with much Difficulty eſcap'd, and got over Sea: Yet afterwards *William* upon the Account of his good Temper was permitted to return.

Godwin *and his Sons return with great Power.*

They are reſtor'd.

Several of the Normans *baniſh'd.*

Osbirne and his Companion *Hugh* ſurrender'd their Caſtles, and by Leave of Earl *Leofric* paſs'd through his Government into *Scotland*, where they were entertain'd by King *Macbeth*. In this ſame Year on St. *Thomas*'s Night happen'd ſo violent a Tempeſt, that it overturn'd many Churches and Houſes, and broke and tore up by the Roots an innumerable Quantity of Trees.

A. D. 1053.

Earl Godwin *dies.*

His Character.

In the following Year, *Rees* the Brother of *Griffin* King of *South-Wales* being taken Priſoner, as a publick Enemy, for the many Inſolencies he had committed, was by Command of King *Edward* put to Death at a Place call'd *Bulendum*, and his Head ſent to him at *Glocester*. This afforded ſufficient Matter for Diſcourſe; but as little Reports are ſuppreſs'd by greater, this was ſoon quaſh'd by the Rumour and Talk about the Death of Earl *Godwin*, which happen'd the ſame Year at *Eaſter*. King *Edward* celebrating this Feaſt at *Wincheſter*, and *Godwin*, as his Cuſtom was, ſitting at the Table with him, was ſuddenly ſeiz'd with ſo violent a Diſtemper as ſtruck him ſpeechleſs, and threw him down from the Seat where he ſate. His three Sons, *Harold*, *Toſti* and *Gyrth* being preſent, remov'd him into the King's Chamber, hoping it was but a Fit that would not laſt long; but he lay in that languiſhing Condition four Days, and dy'd on the Fifth, and was bury'd in the old Monaſtery. This is the uſual Account of his Death; to which the *Norman* Monks, and ſuch as write in favour of them, add other Circumſtances, which much ſhew his Guilt, or their Malice. They relate, that Mention being made at the King's Table of *Alfred* his late Brother, he thereupon look'd very angrily at *Godwin*; and he to vindicate himſelf readily reply'd, *That he perceiv'd that upon every Mention made of that Prince, he caſt a frowning Countenance upon him: But*, added he, *let not God ſuffer me to ſwallow this Morſel, if I am guilty of any Thing done, either towards the taking away his Life, or againſt your Intereſt*. After which Words, he was choak'd with the Bit he had juſt put into his Mouth, immediately ſunk down, and never recover'd. But whatever was the Manner of his Death, he was a Man of an active and a turbulent Spirit, not nicely conſcientious either in gaining or keeping, and not to be vindicated in his forcing his Sovereign to what he pleas'd. But had he not been ſo great a Lover of his Country, and an Enemy to Strangers, thoſe who wrote in the *Norman* Times, and who durſt not but write what would pleaſe their Maſters, would have diſmiſs'd him without this Story, and with a fairer Character. His firſt Wife was the Siſter of King *Canute*, who was kill'd by *Thunder*, a Judgment which was believ'd fell upon her for her Cruelty, for ſhe made Merchandiſe of ſelling handſome Boys and Girls into *Denmark*. By his ſecond Wife he had ſix Sons, *Harold*, *Swane*, *Wined*, *Toſti*, *Gyrth* and *Leofwin*; his Earldom of *Weſt-Sex* was given to his Son *Harold*, and the Earldom of *Eſſex*, which *Harold* had before, was conferr'd on *Algar* the Son of *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*.

A. D. 1054.

Earl Syward *makes* Malcolm *King of* Scotland.

Prince *Edward ſent for out of* Hungary.

In the next Year, *Syward* the valiant Earl of *Northumberland* was ſent with a powerful Body of Horſe and a ſtrong Fleet into *Scotland*, where he fought a Battel with *Macbeth* King of that Country, whom he defeated, with the Deaths of many of his *Scots*, and ſuch *Normans* as had before gone over to him; and quite expelling him, he made *Malcolm* King in his ſtead, according to the Orders he had receiv'd from King *Edward*. But this Victory was purchas'd with the Lives of many of the *Engliſh* and *Danes*, beſides *Syward*'s own Son, of whoſe Death when he heard, he demanded *Whether he had receiv'd his Wound before or behind*? and when he was anſwer'd *Before*, he declar'd himſelf *Glad*, *otherwiſe he ſhould not have thought him worthy of Burial*. King *Edward* having ſent this Earl into the North to fight, about the ſame Time he ſent *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* with great Preſents, to treat with the Emperor of *Germany* about his Couſin *Edward*, the Son of King *Edmund Ironſide*, and of ſending him out of *Hungary* into *England*; for having no Iſſue of his own to ſucceed him, and the Sons of *Godwin* being very powerful, he took Care for his neareſt Kinſman, to whom the Crown of Right ſhould belong. But *Syward* Earl of *Northumberland* did not long ſurvive his Victory, and his Son's Death, dying the following Year at *York*, where he was bury'd in the Monaſtery of St. *Mary*'s without the Walls, built by himſelf, according to *Ingulph*, tho' *Simeon* ſpeaks of his being interr'd at a Monaſtery call'd *Galmanho* of his own Erection. *Huntington*, who gives him the Epithet of *Conſul Rigidiſſimus*, tells us his Diſeaſe was a Dyſentery, and that he was highly afflicted that he ſhould end his Days in ſuch Manner. Therefore perceiving his Death to approach, he cry'd out, *How aſham'd am I, that I ſhould not dye glorioſly in ſo many Battels, but to be thus reſerv'd to the ignominious Death of Beaſts: Arm me with my impenetrable Corſlet, gird me with my faithful Sword, and ſet my Helmet upon my Head; give me in my left Hand my large Buckler, and in my right my gilded Scimiter, that being a valiant Soldier, like a Soldier I may die*. Thus couragiouſly he ſpoke, and as he ſpoke, he dy'd ſtanding in that honourable Poſture he deſir'd. His Son *Walteof* being very young, his Government was beſtow'd on *Toſti* the Son of Earl *Godwin*.

Syward's *Death.*

Earl Algar *rebels.*

He is reſtored.

About the ſame Time King *Edward*, in an Aſſembly held at *London*, baniſh'd Earl *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*, without any Cauſe ſays *Simeon*, but *Huntington* writes, that he was publickly convicted of Treaſon. Whether guilty or not, he thought himſelf ſo aggriev'd, that he went over into *Ireland*, and there procuring a Fleet of eighteen Piratical Veſſels, he with them ſail'd to *Griffin* King of the *Welſh*, deſiring his Aſſiſtance againſt his Sovereign King *Edward*. *Griffin*, ready to ſerve him in this Particular, ſoon rais'd a conſiderable Force, and joining with *Algar* invaded *Herefordſhire*, againſt whom the King's Nephew *Rodulph* made Head, one of ſmall Courage, who meeting them two Miles from *Hereford*, hors'd all the *Engliſh* contrary to their accuſtom'd Way of Fighting; which only ſerv'd them for the greater Conveniency of flying; for when the Battel was ſcarce begun, *Rodulph* with his *French* and *Normans* firſt began to run, which ſoon occaſion'd the reſt to follow, who in their Flight loſt about five hundred Men, beſides what were wounded. *Griffin* and *Algar*, ſwell'd with this Succeſs, enter'd *Hereford*, where they ſlew ſeveral Canons who in their Habits would have maintain'd the great Door of the principal Church againſt them; which done they burnt the Monaſtery with all its Ornaments and Relicks, kill'd ſeveral of the Citizens, took more Priſoners, plunder'd and burnt the City, and departed with great Spoils. The King, highly alarm'd with theſe Actions, commanded Forces to be rais'd throughout *England*, which rendezvouſing at *Gloceſter*, he committed the Conduct of them to Earl *Harold*, who marching ſpeedily into *Wales*, encamp'd beyond *Straddale*, where *Griffin* and *Algar* durſt not face him, but knowing him to be a Man both of Skill and Vigour, they retir'd into *South-Wales*. *Harold* finding the March difficult, left the greateſt Part of his Forces to obſerve their Motions, and with the reſt return'd to *Hereford*, which he ſtrongly fortify'd. During this Employment, the two Commanders thinking it beſt to obtain Peace, ſent to deſire a Meeting at a Place call'd *Bylıgeſleage*, where a firm Peace and Amity was concluded; in Purſuance of which *Algar* ſent away his Ships, and went himſelf to the King, by whom he was reſtor'd to his former Command. But *Griffin* the next Year broke the Peace on his Part, by ſetting upon *Leofgar* Biſhop of *Hereford*, whom he ſlew together with his Clerks, and *Agelwoth* Vice-Earl of the County, and many others.

A. D. 1057.

Prince Edward *comes into* England *and dies.*

Earl Leofric *dies.*

The Scots *infeſt the North of* England:

And the Welſh *the Weſt*,

In the following Year, *Edward* the Son of King *Edmund Ironſide*, at the Deſire of his Uncle came into *England* out of *Hungary*, being by him deſign'd for his Succeſſor; but not long after he dy'd at *London*, and was bury'd at St. *Paul*'s Church, leaving behind him one Son nam'd *Edgar Etheling*, and two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Chriſtina*. Not long after he was follow'd to a better Life by Earl *Leofric*, who dy'd in his own Village of *Bromleage*, and was bury'd in a Monaſtery of his own Founding at *Coventry*, a pious charitable Man, and the *Neſtor* of his Age, one to whoſe Counſels ſeveral Kings and the whole Nation had often been oblig'd. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Algar* in his Earldom, which ſoon miſs'd him, he being baniſh'd a ſecond Time in leſs than a Year after his Father's Death, yet by the Aſſiſtance of *Griffin*, the *Welſh* King, who would not deſert him, and a Fleet of *Norway* Men, which by Chance came into his Aid, he ſhortly after by Force recover'd his Government: So ſucceſsful was Treaſon in theſe vicious Times. The following Year 1060, *Malcolm* King of the *Scots* came and gave a Viſit to King *Edward*, and contracted ſo great a Friendſhip with his Neighbour *Toſti*, who brought him on his Way, that they became ſworn Brethren, tho' to what Effect the Event ſhew'd within two Years; for *Toſti* being gone to *Rome* with *Aldrea* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, his ſworn Brother *Malcolm* took the Advantage of his Abſence, and cruelly waſted the Places under his Government, and broke the Peace of St. *Cuthbert* in the *Holy Iſland*, as *Simeon* complains. While *Malcolm* thus diſtreſs'd the Northern Parts, *Griffin* King of the *Welſh* both by Sea and Land ſeverely haraſs'd the Weſt, which occaſion'd King *Edward* from *Gloceſter* to diſpatch *Harold* with a Party of Horſe, ſoon after *Chriſtmas*, to ſurprize him, if poſſible. Yet *Griffin* got Notice of his coming, and with Difficulty eſcap'd; but abandoning moſt of his Ships, *Harold* commanded them to be burnt, and ſo return'd. About Rogation Week with a conſiderable Fleet *Harold* ſet ſail from *Briſtol*, and compaſſing the greateſt Part of *Wales*, he join'd himſelf to the Horſe, with which his Brother *Toſti* by the King's Order met him, and did ſuch Damage to the Country, that the *Britains* yielded themſelves to him, deliver'd up Hoſtages, conſented to pay Tribute, and entirely renounc'd *Griffin* their King. At preſent *Griffin* eſcap'd, but in the following Year he was taken by *Grif-*

fin

which ended with the Death of their King.

fin King of *North-Wales*; and being for his perfidious Dealings puniſh'd with Death, his Head, together with the Head of his Ship, were ſent as a Preſent to *Harold*. He ſent them to King *Edward*, who was ſo generous as to beſtow the Dominions of *Griffin* upon his two Brothers, *Blechgent* and *Rithwalan*, who in the Preſence of *Harold* ſwore Allegiance to him, to obey him both by Sea and Land, and ingag'd to pay whatever had been paid out of the Country to the former Kings of *England*. *Griffin* left behind him a Son nam'd *Caradoc*, who was highly diſſatisfy'd to find his Inheritance thus made over to his Uncles; therefore when *Harold*, as a Curb to the Country and for his own Conveniency of Hunting, had erected a ſtately Houſe upon the *Severn*, furniſh'd with the choiceſt Proviſion, *Caradoc* out of Diſdain and Revenge ſuddenly came down with a Party, kill'd all the Artificers, demoliſh'd the Houſe, and took away all the Proviſions.

The Miſbehaviour of Toſti, *one of Earl* Godwin*'s Sons.*

He and his Agents are baniſh'd.

Thus was *Harold* diſappointed in thoſe Parts; but ſoon after his Brother *Toſti* was in greater Danger, from a Conſpiracy rais'd againſt him in his own Government of *Northumberland*; occaſion'd by an Officer nam'd *Goſpatrick*, with whom having a Conteſt, his Siſter Queen *Egitha* caus'd him to be ſlain at Court. This Quarrel being eſpous'd by the Friends of *Goſpatrick*, two of them, nam'd *Ganiel* and *Ulf*, were treacherouſly drawn in, and murder'd in *Toſti*'s Chamber: Theſe Actions, with the intolerable Exactions upon the Country, ſo incens'd the Inhabitants, that three or four of the principal Men, *viz.* *Ganiolbarn*, *Demſtan* and *Gloineorn*, with four hundred others in Arms, enter'd *York*, and firſt ſlew two of *Toſti*'s Houſhold Servants, who were flying from the City, and the Day following, above two hundred more of his Attendants, on the North Side of the River *Humber*. Then breaking open his Treaſury, they rifled all they could find, and departed. Upon which *Toſti* made great Complaints to the King; and, at his Deſire, his Brother *Harold* was appointed to accommodate this troubleſome Affair. But as they were going into the North for that purpoſe, the whole Country in a manner met them at *Northampton*, and afterwards at *Oxford* vehemently oppos'd the Deſigns of *Toſti*; declaring, *That they were free Men born, and as freely educated; That they would not indure the Inſolence of an Earl; for they had learnt from their Anceſtors to chuſe either Death or Liberty.* They continu'd ſo unanimous and reſolute, that in a ſhort Time they procur'd *Toſti* and his Miniſters to be all baniſh'd. He went over with his Wife to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, his Father-in-Law; and *Morchar*, the Son of *Algar*, according to the Country's Requeſt, was made Earl of *Northumberland* in his room. This was the moſt probable Occaſion of *Toſti*'s Baniſhment; tho' *Huntington*, who had heard many Stories of the hated Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, gives us a different Account; namely, That *Toſti* being Jealous of the King's Favour towards his Brother *Harold*, openly aſſaulted him in his Preſence at Dinner; and afterwards when *Harold* had prepar'd an extraordinary Entertainment for the King at *Hereford*, *Toſti* ſlew ſeveral of his Servants, and put their mangled Limbs into the Buts of Wine and other Liquors, making a barbarous Jeſt, *That they ſhould not want pickled Meats.* The ſame Author ſays, that the King foretold, *That the Deſtruction of their Family was nigh, and that the Wrath of God would not much longer be deferr'd:* For, adds he, they were arriv'd to that Degree of Barbariſm and Cruelty, that if they lik'd the Houſe or Poſſeſſion of any Man, they would by Night procure the Owner to be murder'd, with all his Children, to get his Eſtate: And theſe were at that Time the chief Juſticiaries of the Kingdom.

A. D. 1065.

His Brother Harold *driven into* Normandy.

He promiſes William *the Crown of* England.

But if the King upon this or ſome other Occaſion predicted the Ruin of the Sons of *Godwin* to be juſt approaching, it ſo far prov'd true, that their ill Stars began to operate about this time; for *Toſti* was not only baniſh'd the Land, but *Harold* was driven from it by the very Winds and Seas. Being at his Houſe at *Boſenham* in *Suſſex*, a Place unjuſtly obtain'd by his Father, *Harold* for his Recreation with ſome of his Retinue took a Fiſher-Boat on the Sea; but ſailing a little further than they deſign'd, a Tempeſt aroſe, and drove them croſs the *Engliſh* Channel to the Coaſts of *Normandy*, where they were oblig'd to land in the Territories of the Earl of *Ponthieu*. The Inhabitants of that Country, according to a barbarous Practice uſual in moſt Sea-Coaſts, immediately ſeiz'd upon the Earl and his Followers, took them Priſoners, and put Fetters upon them. *Harold* upon this hired a Meſſenger to go to *William* Duke of the Country and acquaint him, *That he was ſent over by the King of* England, *by his Word and Preſence to confirm what other leſſer Envoys had only whiſper'd; but that he was detain'd Priſoner, and hinder'd from the Diſcharge of his Meſſage by* Gwido *Earl of* Ponthieu. Upon which *Harold* by the Command of Duke *William* was immediately ſet at Liberty, and by *Gwido* conducted to his Court; where being honourably entertain'd, he was alſo invited to an Expedition into *Little-Britain*, where at that Time the *Norman* Duke made War. By his Wit and Valour he ſo well recommended himſelf to the Duke, that he was highly eſteem'd by him; to whom, that he might alſo the more endear himſelf, he promis'd by a ſolemn Oath, That when King *Edward* dy'd, he would deliver up the Caſtle of *Dover* to him, which was then under his Command, and procure him to ſucceed in the Kingdom of *England*. Upon which Promiſe, the Duke's Daughter, as yet too young for Marriage, was contracted to him, and he was ſent home with very rich Preſents. This is the Account that *Malmesbury* and ſome others give of this important Accident. But *Ingulph* tells us, That King *Edward* now grown old, perceiving his Brother *Edgar Etheling* both in Body and Mind unfit to govern, and on the other Side Duke *William* his Kinſman by the Mother of great Merit and Renown, ſent Arch-Biſhop *Robert* to acquaint the Duke with his Purpoſe of making him his Succeſſor, not long before *Harold* came thither. But if the Subſtance of this be true, it muſt be by ſome other Meſſenger, for Arch-Biſhop *Robert* was dead long before. *Eadmer* and *Simeon* write, That *Harold* went into *Normandy* by the King's Permiſſion, or Connivance, to free his Brother *Wulnod*, and his Nephew *Hacun* the Son of *Swane*, whom the King had taken Hoſtages of *Godwin*, and ſent into *Normandy*; that King *Edward* foretold *Harold* that his Voyage thither would be to the Detriment of all *England*, and his own Reproach; and that Duke *William* then inform'd *Harold*, That *Edward* before his coming to the Crown had promis'd him that he ſhould ſucceed him, if ever he obtain'd it himſelf. Laſtly *Matthew Paris* believes him driven to *Normandy* by a Tempeſt, where to gain his Liberty he made a Promiſe contrary to his Intentions, and enter'd into that ſecret Confederacy out of Neceſſity.

King Edward *founds St.* Peter*'s Church in* Weſtminſter.

He dies.

His Character.

Whatever the Occaſion of his Promiſe and Ingagement was, the Time drew near, that he ſhould be put to the Tryal. For now approach'd that Year, that dreadful Year to him and his *Engliſh-Saxon* Nation, ſignaliz'd by a famous Comet, which according to *Ingulph* portended that great Change of Government, that Slaughter of the People, and that great Calamity which ſhortly fell upon the Land. King *Edward* declining in Years and Strength daily grew weaker; yet kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Weſtminſter*, and aſſiſted at the Dedication of St. *Peter*'s Church there, which he had founded, or at leaſt re-edify'd it with great Magnificence, and by a Charter granted it many Immunities and Privileges, to which was annex'd the firſt Great Seal us'd in *England*. But on the fifth Day of *January*, having receiv'd the Bleſſed Euchariſt, he recommended his Soul to God, and quietly departed this Life; to the exceeding Grief of the miſerable People. According to his Commands he was bury'd in his late Dedicated Church with great Solemnity; having reign'd from the Death of *Harde-Canute* twenty three Years, ſix Months, and twenty ſeven Days. This Prince is noted for his great Innocence and Simplicity, being much inclinable to Devotion and Religious Exerciſes; and we are told that he was the firſt King of *England* that by Touching cur'd that Diſtemper call'd the *King's Evil*. He is ſaid to have been ſo chaſte, that he never as a Husband enjoy'd his own Wife, tho' a very beautiful Lady; for which, as well as his other Virtues, and particularly his Charity to the Poor, he is commonly ſtyl'd St. *Edward the Confeſſor*. But he was indeed a weak and eaſie Prince, and too liable to be miſled by the Suggeſtions of thoſe about him, as may be obſerv'd in his ſevere Proceedings againſt his Mother and Wife: Tho' that very Eaſineſs of Nature is in him reckon'd for a Virtue, as appears from this Story related by Abbot *Ailred:* This King being in an Afternoon laid down upon his Bed to repoſe himſelf, with the Curtains cloſe about him, and no Perſon in the Chamber, a Boy employ'd in the meaner Offices of the Houſe came in, who ſeeing none in the Room, and finding the Cheſt open where *Hugolin* the Chamberlain kept the Money for the King's ordinary Expences, he run haſtily to it, and filling his Pockets with Mony departed: All which was thorough the Curtains ſeen by the King, who without Diſturbance let him paſs. The Boy finding his Succeſs reſolv'd to make a ſecond Attempt; and coming to get more, the King call'd out to him, *Sirrah, you had beſt be content with what you got, for if* Hugolin *comes, he'll not only whip you ſeverely, but take away all you have ſtolen.* Upon this the Boy fled, and when *Hugolin* came in, and expreſs'd much Paſſion for the Money that he miſs'd, the King calmly bad him reſt contented, *For the poor Rogue that has it wants it more than we.* So that in ſhort, we may rely upon *Malmeſbury*'s Character of this Prince, That if we conſider his Simplicity, he ſeem'd very unfit for Government; yet by reaſon of his Virtue and Piety towards God, he was ſo directed by him, that the moſt Politick and Couragious Kings have ſcarce ruled more happily: For during his

Reign the Kingdom was never invaded by Foreign Enemies, nor diſturb'd by Civil Conteſts, but what were eaſily ſuppreſs'd.

His Laws.

Yet it was the Misfortune of the Nation, as well as himſelf, that he was formerly driven into Baniſhment, and living in another Country, was moulded into the Humour, Faſhions and Cuſtoms of it, and out of good Nature conſtrain'd to be grateful to ſuch as had well deſerv'd of him in his Neceſſities, more than the Temper, if not the Intereſt of his own Subjects could bear. Yet moſt of the People, in Compliance and Conformity with him, did ſo transform themſelves into Foreign Shapes, as foretold their Subjection in a ſhort Time to thoſe, the Manners and Uſages of whom they had already aſſum'd; ſo that the Conquerors had nothing to do but to Maſter their Bodies, ſince their Minds and Affections were theirs already. *Ingulph*, an Eye-Witneſs, informs us, That *Edward* being bred up in *Normandy*, through his long Continuance in that Country was almoſt chang'd into a *Frenchman*, and brought great Numbers over with him, whom he promoted to various Dignities, and higheſt Places of Truſt. Thus introduc'd, all the Nation began to leave off their *Engliſh* Cuſtoms, and to imitate the Manners of the *French*: All the Nobility in their Houſes ſpoke the *French* Tongue, as an Inſtance of Gallantry, made their Writings and Letters after the *French* Faſhion, and became aſham'd of their own Uſages, both in theſe and other Matters: And this Humour, together with the Vices of the Nation, more and more encreas'd, 'till at length to thoſe they admir'd they became Slaves and Vaſſals: So much was that Saying verify'd, 'That where a Foreign Tongue prevails, 'it is reckon'd half a Conqueſt. The Laws of this Prince have bore a great Reputation, being collected from thoſe of the *Mercians*, *Weſt-Saxons* and *Northumbrians*, as well as from thoſe of *Alfred*, *Edward* the Elder, and *Edgar*, reduc'd into one Body, and writ in *Latin*, of which we have ſtill ſome Remains. But when the Reader hears the Laws of St. *Edward* ſo much applauded, and ſo much conteſted after the Conqueſt, he is to remember that the *Engliſh-Saxon* Laws are there meant, which were in a great Degree the Fountain of thoſe which to this Day we term the *Common Law*, tho' the Forms of Pleading and Proceſs were afterwards brought in by the *Normans*. But they receiv'd their Denomination from King *Edward*, as being in Effect the laſt King of the *Saxon* Race, and one whoſe Memory the People reverenc'd, for the high Reputation he had gain'd for his great Sanctity, and Clemency to his Subjects. In this Prince the Royal Regnant Line of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, which from *Cerdic* the firſt of them had Dominion in *Britain* five hundred and forty ſeven Years, receiv'd its Period.

20. 17. *HAROLD.*

A. D. 1066.

A Diſpute about the Succeſſion.

Harold is elected King.

II. Tho' the Glory and Happineſs of the *Weſt-Saxon* Family was now at a Period, yet this did not put an End to the *Engliſh* Empire, and in its own Fall involve the Fate of the Nation: This was reſerv'd to be the Work of an inferior Houſe, out of which a Stranger ſhould ariſe to pull down the whole Fabrick, and bury himſelf in its laſt Ruins. King *Edward* being dead, three laid Claim to the Crown; firſt *Edgar Etheling*, the undoubted Heir, as being Grand-Son to King *Edmund Ironſide*, who was Elder Brother to the King laſt in Poſſeſſion. The next was *William* Duke of *Normandy*, the Kinſman of the late King by his Mother *Emma*, being her Brother's Grandſon, one who in Blood could find no Pretext, but upon the Kindneſs and Promiſe of his deceas'd Kinſman. The laſt was *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwin*, who could produce no Shew of Right by Deſcent, but poſitively alledg'd the late King's Deſignment, and thought he could plead more Merit than both the other. *Edgar* was too much a Stranger, and had neither Time nor Ability in Eſtate or Mind to make any more Intereſt than what mere Conſcience had wrought in the Minds of the People, which is uſually very feeble and infirm upon ſuch Occaſions. *William* was a glorious Prince, and as ſuch acknowledg'd, but between him and *England* was a Ditch ſo deep and ſpacious, that the Danger was too far diſtant to be much regarded. *Harold* was a noble and popular Man, the greateſt Miniſter of the deceas'd King, one of great Valour and dextrous Conduct, civil and obliging, and of ſuch Qualifications as fitted him for a Crown; and, what was more advantagious, he had all the Court and Grandees at his beck, whom he had either oblig'd by his Kindneſs, or won by his Authority. He therefore took the immediate Advantage of his Power, and being declar'd Succeſſor by the late King, on the ſame Day that he was bury'd, he aſſum'd the Title, and was crown'd King, being choſen, as *Simeon* aſſures us, by the Princes of all *England*. Only a Manuſcript Chronicle in the *Cottonian* Library relates, That when King *Edward* laid upon his Death Bed, Earl *Harold* came to him, and deſir'd him to nominate him for his Succeſſor, to whom the King reply'd, *That he had already made Duke* William *his Heir.* But the Earl and his Friends ſtill perſiſting in their Requeſt, the King turning his Head to the Wall, reply'd, *When I am dead, let the* Engliſh *make either the Duke or the Earl their King*: Which, if true, ſhews that it was but a Conſent in part, which was alſo extorted from him.

He begins laudably.

Harold being made King immediately proceeded to the Performance of many laudable Actions; He repeal'd many hard and antiquated Laws, and made others that were better; he became a Patron to Churches and Monaſteries, and ſeem'd not only to reſpect, but to reverence the Biſhops, Abbots, Monks, and all the Clergy; to all good Men he ſhew'd himſelf humble and obliging, to the Vicious he declar'd an Averſion, commanding all his Officers to detect and puniſh all Thieves, Robbers and Diſturbers of the publick Peace; and in concluſion, he made it his Buſineſs to defend his Country both by Sea and Land. But both his own Fate and that of the Nation was too urgent, to permit him long to continue theſe Methods. On the 24th of *April* a dreadful and unuſual Comet appear'd with great Luſtre for ſeven Days; ſeen, as was reported, throughout the World. The firſt Miſchief believ'd to have been portended by it, was from *Harold*'s own Brother *Toſti*, who having been baniſh'd chiefly by his Procurement, and unable to bear his Brother's high Preferment, was excited by ſo much Envy and Indignation, as to endeavour his certain Ruin. For which purpoſe he ſail'd out of *Flanders* with ſome Ships to the Iſle of *Wight*, from whence having forc'd Mony from the Inhabitants, he practis'd Piracy upon all the Coaſts 'till he came to *Sandwich* Haven. *Harold* being then at *London*, immediately got ready both a ſtrong Fleet, and a conſiderable Party of Horſe, reſolving like a good Warrior to go in Perſon to *Sandwich*; which being made known to *Toſti*, he took all the Seamen with him he could find, and ſail'd to the Coaſts of *Lincolnſhire*, where he burnt many Villages, and kill'd many Men: But *Edwin* Earl of *Mercia*, and his Brother *Morchar* Earl of *Northumberland*, haſten'd into thoſe Parts with an Army, and ſoon conſtrain'd him to abandon the Country. From whence he ſail'd into *Scotland* to King *Malcolm*, where he continu'd the whole Summer. In the mean Time King *Harold* ſail'd to the Iſle of *Wight*, and ply'd all Summer 'till the middle of *September* about thoſe Coaſts, having alſo a Land Army plac'd to the beſt Advantage on the Sea Side. For he expected a more formidable Invader than his Brother *Toſti*, namely the great *William* Duke of *Normandy*, who before had ſent Meſſengers to him to *remind him of his Promiſe and Oath, and to require a Performance of what had been agreed between them.* *Harold* thought it very unreaſonable to require ſuch a Performance of one actually in Poſſeſſion of a Kingdom, and who was come to it by the unanimous Conſent of the Nobility and People. Therefore he made Anſwer, *That what he then promis'd was in Captivity, when he wanted his Liberty, which could not be call'd his own Act, ſince it was extorted by Neceſſity. But ſuppoſing what he had done had been voluntary, it could not have been valid, ſince as King of* England *he could not marry a Foreigner, without the Aſſent of the States of the Nation, much leſs alter the Succeſſion and Right to the Crown, without their Knowledge, Conſent and Allowance.* He inſiſted further, *That ſince the Duke's Daughter was dead, the marrying of whom was the Foundation of the Alliance, all Obligations were diſſolv'd.* To theſe Reaſons *Harold*, thinking himſelf ſufficiently powerful, added Contempt, according to *Matth. Paris*, and ſent away *William*'s Ambaſſadors on lame and maimed Hoſes.

His Brother Toſti *diſturbs his Government.*

Duke William *reminds him of his Promiſe.*

Toſti joins with the King of Norway.

This Uſage was highly provoking to Duke *William*, who thereupon made the utmoſt Preparations for an Invaſion. In the mean Time King *Harold*, having expected him all the Summer, and now concluding that he had deferr'd his Voyage 'till the next Spring, remov'd all his Forces from the Southern Coaſts, and march'd towards the North, where he was call'd by a new Storm that threaten'd him from thoſe Parts. This was rais'd by his Brother *Toſti*, who applying himſelf to *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, join'd Fleets with him, and ſail'd up into the River *Humber*, and next into the *Owſe*; where landing at a Place call'd *Rickale*, they march'd to *York*, and took it by Storm. Before *Harold* could arrive in theſe Parts, the two Brother Earls, *Edwin* and *Morchar*, with conſiderable Forces march'd againſt them, and upon the twentieth Day of *September*, at *Fulford* on the *Owſe*, ingag'd them with great Bravery, and with good Succeſs in the Beginning: But after a long Fight, the *Engliſh* unable to ſuſtain the Violence and Numbers of the *Norwegians* retired with the Loſs of many of their Men, both in the Field of Battel, and in the adjoining River. Upon this, the *Norwegians* receiv'd from the Inhabitants of

They are both defeated and ſlain by Harold.

York five hundred Hoſtages, and leaving there a hundred and fifty of their own, return'd towards their Ships. Five Days after the Battel, King *Harold* arriv'd at *York*; from whence marching to a Place upon this Occaſion ſince call'd *Battel-Bridge*, he engag'd their whole Forces, and after a terrible Reſiſtance both *Harold Harvager* and *Toſti* were ſlain, and the Victory remain'd to the *Engliſh*. But we ought to remember what *Malmesbury* tells us of one *Norwegian*, who with incredible Valour keeping the Bridge a full Hour againſt the whole *Engliſh* Army, with his ſingle Reſiſtance retarded their Victory; and ſcorning to accept of Quarter, 'till no Man daring to grapple with him, as too ſtrong and deſperate, he was at length ſhot dead with an Arrow; and by his Fall open'd the Paſſage of Purſuit to a compleat Victory. But *Olave* the King of *Norway*'s Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, who had been left with many Soldiers to guard the Ships, upon ſurrendring themſelves, and giving Hoſtages and Oaths never to return to *England* as Enemies, were permitted freely to depart with twenty Ships, and the ſmall Remainder of their Army. The Body of *Toſti* being known by a Wart between his Shoulders, was carry'd to *York*, and there bury'd. In the Plunder of the Field, if we may believe *Adam Bremenſis*, ſo great a Quantity of Gold was found, that twelve luſty young Men were ſcarcely able to bear it on their Backs. Whatever the Quantity was it prov'd of dangerous Conſequence to King *Harold*, who being fluſh'd with Succeſs, and excited by Covetouſneſs, impolitickly took that and all the Plunder to his own Uſe; which ſo diſoblig'd his Soldiers, in defrauding them of the Price of their Blood, that they began to renounce his Intereſt, and repented of their former Services; which was ſo much the more dangerous, becauſe he was ſo much weaken'd by the two laſt Battels, loſing moſt of his beſt Men, and Flower of his Army. This Error was no ſooner committed, but as he ſat feaſting in a triumphant Manner at *York*, he receiv'd the uncomfortable News, that the *Norman* Duke was landed with very numerous and diſciplin'd Forces, from which Time we may date the Fall and Ruin of this Prince.

Harold *is impolitick.*

An Account of William *Duke of* Normandy.

Here it will not be improper to look a little back, and give ſome ſhort View and Account of this famous and fortunate *William* Duke of *Normandy*. This Prince was Natural Son to *Robert* the Sixth Duke of *Normandy*, by *Arlotta*, the beautiful Daughter of a Skinner in *Falaiſe*, with whom he fell in love, as ſhe ſtood gazing at a Door, while he paſs'd through the Town; from whoſe Name, according as ſome conjecture, was deriv'd the Word *Harlot*. But notwithſtanding his diſhonourable Birth, when he was about nine or ten Years of Age, his Father declar'd him his Succeſſor, and caus'd his Nobles and chief *Norman* Subjects to ſwear Fealty to him, and afterwards carry'd him to do Homage to *Henry* the Firſt, King of *France*, for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, according to the Cuſtom of the former Dukes. Then delivering him to the Guardianſhip of that King, and to the Care of the Duke of *Bretaign*, he made a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in which Journey he dy'd; leaving the Young Prince to be the Founder of his own Fortunes, rather than the Heir of his Father's; which he found expos'd to all the Difficulties ariſing from the Tenderneſs of his Age, the Reproach of his Birth, a ſuſpected Guardian, a diſputed Title, and a diſtracted State. For upon the firſt News of Duke *Robert*'s Death, the Nobles of *Normandy*, who were intruſted with the Government during the Son's Minority, found themſelves involved in great Difficulties, by the open Factions of ſome Noblemen, who envy'd their Greatneſs; and by the private Practices of others, who being deſcended from ſome of the former Dukes, reſolv'd to ſet up themſelves, but at firſt conceal'd their Deſigns, and join'd with the common Murmurers againſt the preſent Adminiſtration. The Governors were ſtill faithful to their Truſt, and judg'd the Preſence of the young Prince neceſſary to ſupport their Authority and his Title; they thereupon prevail'd with the King of *France* to ſend him into *Normandy*, which he did with great Honour to himſelf, and Kindneſs to his Pupil, as well as Satisfaction to all his Loyal Subjects; but to the great Diſappointment of thoſe who pretended their Diſcontents were only againſt the Governors, and not the Succeſſion.

His Troubles and Bravery.

No Prince ever came ſo early into the Cares and Burdens of a Crown, nor felt them longer; engag'd in Toils and Difficulties, in Hardſhips and Dangers; his Perſon expos'd to the Arms of Enemies, and the Plots of Aſſaſſins; his Reign embroil'd by the Revolts of his Subjects, and the Invaſions of his Neighbours; and his whole Life ſpent in the neceſſary Defence of his own Title and Dominions, or in the ambitious Deſigns of acquiring greater. Yet none ever ſurmounted all with more Conſtancy of Spirit, Prudence of Conduct, and Felicity of Fortune: For he had a ſtrong and active Body, and a brave and vigorous Mind; and ſeem'd to have been born more for a Heroe, than a happy Man. His firſt Conteſts aroſe from the Pretenders to the Succeſſion, who, favour'd by the Defects of his Birth, found ſo many Followers at home, and ſuch Aſſiſtance from Neighbours abroad, that they rais'd great Forces, and conſtrain'd the young Duke to appear, not only at the Head of his Councils, but of his Armies too, before he was eighteen Years of Age. Theſe Civil Wars continu'd long, with many various Succeſſes, bloody Encounters, defeating of Troops, ſurprizing, beſieging and relieving of Towns, and waſting of Countries; 'till at length *William* by his Vigilance, Bravery and Induſtry totally ſubdu'd, not only the Forces, but the Courages of all his Competitors and Enemies at home, and conſtrained them to quit both *Normandy* and *France*, and to ſeek new Fortunes in ſeveral Parts of *Italy*, as *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Sicily*.

His great Succeſſes.

When Duke *William* had ſubdu'd all his Domeſtick Foes, another appear'd from abroad more formidable than any of the former: This was *Martel* Earl of *Anjou*, who was not only a Prince of great Power, but was alſo ſtrengthened by the Aſſiſtance of the King of *France* himſelf, who jealous of the *Norman* Greatneſs was very ready to join in the Reducing of an aſpiring Prince. To which End he encourag'd, if not ſet on foot the Earl of *Anjou*'s Pretenſions to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, gave him his Aſſiſtance to juſtifie his Claim and purſue it by Arms, and by Degrees engag'd in an open and declar'd War againſt the Duke. This he proſecuted with much Paſſion and Violence, appear'd himſelf in the Field with his Nobility, and threatened, *That nothing but the Ocean ſhould ſtop the Progreſs of his Arms*. On the other ſide Duke *William* proceeded with invincible Bravery, and with ſuch a Preſumption of Succeſs, that he ſcorn'd to ſet upon his Enemies by Surprize, but ſent them Notice of the very Day he would give them Battel; a ſort of Courage unknown to this preſent Age. After many Succeſſes, he at length brought the Conteſt to the Deciſion of two fierce Battels. The firſt ended in an entire Victory on the Duke's Side, with the Slaughter of three Parts of his Enemies, amounting to above thirty thouſand Men. This Loſs rather enrag'd than diſcourag'd the King of *France*, who gave neither himſelf nor his Enemies any Quiet 'till he had engag'd the *Normans* in a ſecond Battel, with greater Forces and Fury on both Sides, but the ſame or worſe Succeſs than the former. For in this the King of *France* loſt the Flower of his Army, the greateſt Part of his Nobles, and with great Difficulty eſcap'd himſelf in Perſon. Yet that but little avail'd this unfortunate Prince, who was ſo ſenſible of his Loſs and Diſhonour, as he conceiv'd, gain'd by ſo unequal a Match, that he had not the Courage to ſurvive it long, but dy'd with Grief of it, and left Duke *William* a calm and peaceable Reign. This gave him Opportunity in a ſhort Time to enlarge his Dominions, firſt by the Earldom of *Mans*, and next by Part of the Dukedom of *Bretaign*: After which he liv'd in Peace for a conſiderable Space, 'till he diſturbed his own and his Neighbours Quiet by new and greater Adventures.

He prepares to invade England.

This happen'd not long after by Means of the Death of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, from whom he had receiv'd, or pretended, a Promiſe of being his Succeſſor to the Crown of *England*, and likewiſe the Aſſiſtance of *Harold* the preſent Poſſeſſor. But when *Harold*, as we before related, refus'd to make any Compliance, this valiant Prince, not doubting his uſual Train of Proſperity, reſolv'd to obtain that by Force of Arms, which he could not gain by Arguments. But knowing he was to grapple with a ſtout and reſolute Prince, and a powerful Nation, he us'd more than common Diligence and Application. And firſt aſſembling the Eſtates of *Normandy*, he repreſented to them his Claim to the Crown of *England*, the Wrong done him by *Harold*, and his Reſolutions of righting himſelf; the Glory as well as Juſtice of the Enterprize, the Proſpect of Succeſs from his own Right, and the Hatred of the Uſurper in *England*, as well as the Friends and Intelligences he had in that Kingdom; the Greatneſs of the Riches and Poſſeſſions by the Conqueſt of his Enemies, and the Share he deſign'd for his Friends and Followers, according to their Zeal and Contribution towards the Support of this Cauſe. At firſt he met with great Oppoſition and Backwardneſs, and many Difficulties were ſtarted; but the Vigour and Bravery of this Prince, together with the Hopes of Fame and Riches, ſoon diſſipated all Doubts and Obſtructions; ſo that his Subjects became very unanimous in joining in this extraordinary Deſign. He kept all his Soldiers in pay the whole Year, and tho' at great Charges he hired others from adjacent Parts. He us'd great Caution and Wiſdom in the Choice of his Men, liſting ſuch as were tall and of a hardy Conſtitution. His Captains and Officers were excellently ſkilled in warlike Affairs, and of a mature Age both to govern themſelves and others; not heady raſh young Men, who by their Heat and Indiſcretion often ruin an Army. And indeed he was admirably well ſerv'd at that Time, his Prelates ſtriving who ſhould excel each other in Acts of Religion and Piety, and his Nobles in Deeds of Magnanimity and Generoſity; ſo that *Malmesbury* admires how they ſhould ſo much degenerate in his Time, within the Term of ſixty Years; not conſidering the luxurious Effects of Wealth and Proſperity, of great Poſſeſſions, and Affluence of all Things in a new conquer'd Country.

His Pretenſions.

As to the Pretences us'd by Duke *William* againſt *Harold*, *Brompton* with great Probability reduces them to theſe three Heads: Firſt to revenge the Death of Prince *Alfred* his Couſin, who had been formerly murder'd by the Means of Earl *Godwin*. Secondly to reſtore Arch-Biſhop *Robert*, Earl *Odo*, and the reſt of the *Normans*, unjuſtly baniſh'd in the late Reign. And thirdly *Harold* had contrary to his Oath poſſeſs'd himſelf of *England*, which as well by the Right of Conſanguinity, as by that of a double Promiſe, ought to be his.

The Duke, aſſiſted to his Expectation by his own Subjects, began to work upon the Hopes and Ambition of his Neighbours; and being fam'd in all Parts for his Wiſdom, Conduct, and Bravery, he found a Concurrence in his Deſign from many Princes his Friends, and ſome who had been his greateſt Enemies.

Many Princes join with him.

He was aſſiſted with Mony or Soldiers by the Dukes of *Britain* and *Brabant*, the Earls of *Flanders* and *Bologne*, and his ancient Competitor the Earl of *Anjou*; by many Princes of *France*, the moſt conſider'd in that Court, as the Duke of *Orleans*, Earls of *Poictou* and *Maine*, excited by the Glory or Advantage of the Enterprize, at the Time when the Infamy of their King gave them no Hopes of Action at home, and left that Crown unconcern'd at what paſs'd abroad. The Emperor ſent ſome choice Troops, and experienc'd Commanders to ſerve in this Expedition;

The Pope favours him.

and Pope *Alexander* induc'd by the Fame of the Duke's Piety and Virtues, and poſſeſs'd with the Juſtice of his Cauſe, ſent him a conſecrated Banner with ſeveral Reliques; which in thoſe Times was thought ſufficient both to juſtifie his Title, and to ſanctifie his Arms. Having receiv'd the Banner as a good Omen, he aſſembled his Nobility and Officers at *Lillibone*, where laying open the whole Cauſe to them, they promiſed to ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes; which Reſolution he cheriſh'd by Promiſes of great Rewards according to the Merit of their Actions. His whole Fleet is ſaid to have conſiſted of nine hundred Sail, but others increaſe the Number to above a Thouſand; being all ſmall flat-bottom'd Veſſels, fit for tranſporting Men and Horſes.

His Forces.

Of which an Anonymous Writer, about the Reign of his Son *Henry*, has given us the Particulars: *William* his Sewer the Son of *Osborn* ſupply'd him with ſixty Veſſels; *Hugh* his Nephew, afterwards Earl of *Cheſter*, with as many; *Hugh de Mumfort* with fifty Ships, and ſixty Soldiers; *Romus* the Elemoſynary of *Teſcan*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*, with one Ship and twenty Men. *Nicolas* the Abbot of St. *Andean* ſupply'd him with fifteen Ships and a hundred Men: *Robert* Earl of *Angus* with ſixty Ships: *Gerold* the *Sewer* with as many: *William* Count of *Deurons* with eighty Ships: *Roger* of *Montgomeri* with ſixty: *Roger de Beaumont* with ſixty: *Odo* Biſhop of *Baieux* with a hundred: *Robert de Mortimer* with a hundred and twenty: And *Water Gisfard* with thirty Veſſels and a hundred Men. Beſides theſe, from others of his Dependants he had many other Ships, from every one according to his Abilities. His Wife *Matilda* for the Honour of the Expedition cauſed a Ship to be made nam'd *Mora*, in which he himſelf croſs'd the Sea, having on the Prow a Child of Gold with the Right Hand pointing to *England*, and with the Left holding an Ivory Whiſtle in his Mouth; for which the Duke her Husband afterwards aſſign'd her the County of *Kent*.

With all theſe Advantages the valiant Duke began and finiſh'd his mighty Preparations, by a generous Concurrence of his own Nobles and Subjects, and a Confluence of moſt of the bold adventurous Spirits in the neighbouring Provinces led on by the Deſire of Glory or of Gain. In the Month of *September* they all rendezvous'd at St. *Valerie* a Port Town, where they ſtaid many Days for a Wind; which Stay caus'd the common Soldiers to murmur, condemning their Leader for attempting to gain another Man's Country, and alledging, *That his Father had miſcarry'd in the like Deſign, and that it was fatal to the Family to be obſtructed by Heaven in their Endeavours after Things too high for them.* The Duke was ſenſible of the Danger of ſuch ſuperſtitious Suggeſtions, therefore by the Advice of his Council, he caus'd the Reliques of St. *Valiere* to be brought forth and expos'd for the obtaining a fair Wind; and immediately after their Expectations were fully anſwer'd. The Soldiers then very chearfully call'd to each other to put out to Sea, and the Duke himſelf being the firſt that went on Shipboard, by his Example haſten'd the reſt.

He puts to Sea,

Following cloſe to the Admiral Galley, they had a fair and quick Paſſage; and after they had refreſh'd themſelves they landed at or near *Haſtings* on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*.

and lands near Haſtings,

At the Duke's firſt touching upon Land, his Foot ſlipt by Accident, and threw him down upon the Ground; which a Soldier obſerving he immediately turn'd it to a good Omen, and cry'd out aloud, *That he had already taken Poſſeſſion of* England. As ſoon as his Army had landed, he ſtrictly charg'd them not to Plunder or commit any Outrages, declaring, *That they ought to ſpare thoſe Things which would ſhortly be their own.* For fifteen Days he continu'd with his Army in a quiet and peaceable manner, either to expect the Event of his Claim and to conſider how to proceed, or to build a Fort to have recourſe to in Caſe of Extremity;

where he built a Fort.

for he had order'd his Ships to be burnt, according to *Cambden*'s Account, that his Men might think of nothing but Death or Conqueſt.

William's Arrival was accompany'd with ſome of thoſe fortunate Hits, Circumſtances or Accidents which uſually attend upon Conqueſts. *Harold*, who had expected him all the Summer, was now abſent and in the North; where he not only weaken'd his Forces by two bloody Encounters, but after that highly diſguſted his Soldiers by defrauding them of their Share of the *Norwegian* Spoils. So that he was juſt ripen'd for Ruin, when in the midſt of his Jollity at *York* he receiv'd the fatal News of the Duke's Landing in *Suſſex*; and being now to loſe all, his Fate hurry'd him to Reſolutions and Actions quite contrary to thoſe of him who was to raiſe himſelf out of his Misfortunes.

Harold's *Raſhneſs.*

His Adverſary proceeded with the utmoſt Caution and Judgment, and he with a continu'd Precipitation, neither allowing Time for gathering together his Troops, nor for Conſultation upon ſo weighty an Affair; but all bloody as he was, and with a ſlender Force haſten'd towards the Place where the *Normans* lay, as if the Fortune of *Cæſar* had been devolv'd upon him, becauſe of his late Northern Succeſs. Coming to *London* all in a Flame, he would not tarry for ſuch Supplies as were on the Way to join him, but hurry'd into *Suſſex*, with a Reſolution to engage the Enemy, before a third Part of his Army could well be put in order.

He marches againſt Duke William.

Yet he ſent ſome Spies to ſurvey the Number and Strength of the *Normans*, who being diſcover'd, Duke *William* with uncommon Courteſie caus'd them to be ſhewn through all the Camp, and to be ſent back with Rewards. At their Return they much applauded the Magnificence and Confidence of the Duke, and declar'd to *Harold*, *That all the Army ſeem'd to be Prieſts, becauſe they had their Faces and Lips cloſe ſhaven*; contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Engliſh*, who then wore large Muſtachoes. The King ſmiling at their Simplicity, reply'd, *That he well knew thoſe they had ſeen to be no Prieſts, but valiant Soldiers.* His Brother *Gyrth*, a Youth of Courage and Knowledge above his Years, upon this took Occaſion to adviſe him *Not to fight in Perſon, ſince he could not deny but either by Choice or Compulſion he had given* William *his Oath: Therefore he ought to withdraw himſelf, and permit him and the reſt to try their Fortune, who were never oblig'd by any Oath, and might juſtly fight in Defence of their Country. If he fought, it was to be fear'd that Death or Flight would be his Fortune; but if the ſame befel them, he might either ſuccour them flying, or revenge their Deaths.* *Harold* would by no means hearken to this Advice, thinking it tended to his Diſhonour, and that a King's declining to meet Death at the Head of his Army, would be ſuch a Mark of Cowardice as would blemiſh the Actions of all his Life.

He rejects William's *Propoſal.*

And being puſh'd on by his unlucky Fate, he haſtily ſent away the Monk who brought him theſe Propoſals, 'That either he ſhould 'reſign his Kingdom; Or hold it of him; Or elſe try the 'Juſtice of his Cauſe by their two ſingle Swords in the 'ſight of both Armies: Or in caſe *Harold* ſhould refuſe 'all theſe, he was ready to ſubmit to the Apoſtolick See. His Anſwer was, *God, and the Swords of the Nation, ſhould decide the Controverſie.* No Hopes of Accommodation appearing, both Parties prepar'd to fight the next Morning;

He prepares for Battel.

The *Engliſh* are ſaid to have ſpent all the Night in Singing and Drinking, and the *Normans* in much Devotion, and receiving the Sacrament.

The memorable Day being come, which was to decide the Fate of the Nation, the *Engliſh* were drawn up into a cloſe Body arm'd with Battel-Axes and Shields, and by the Standard ſtood the King on Foot with his Brothers, that the Danger being common, none might think of flying. The Front of the *Normans* conſiſted of Foot, moſt of them Archers, flank'd on each Hand with a Wing of Horſe, in which conſiſted the great Strength of their Army. The Duke himſelf chearfully and audibly declar'd, *That his Cauſe was juſt, and that God would reſpect it accordingly*, and call'd for his Armor, which being brought to him in a hurry, his Corſlet was put on the wrong Way, which Error he corrected by this pleaſant Conceit, *He now perceiv'd that his Dukedom was chang'd into a Kingdom.* At the Head of his Army he put the Soldiers in mind 'of the 'Valour and Renown of their Anceſtors, and of the Succeſs and good Fortune of his own Arms, and concluded

‘ with Confidence of Victory from the Guilt and Perjury ‘ of the preſent Uſurper of the *Engliſh* Crown. The *Normans* upon this began with the famous Song of *Rowland*, by the Martial Example of that Heroe to rouſe and excite themſelves to Imitation; and imploring the Divine Aſſiſtance, advanc'd againſt the *Engliſh*, who were as ready to meet them, tho' the Ground they ſtood on was ſtrait and inconvenient. The Fight began with great Fury, Order and equal Bravery on both ſides, in which the *Engliſh* were ſeverely gaul'd by the thick Showers of Arrows from the *Norman* Long-Bows, before the Battel join'd; which was a Weapon then unus'd in *England*, and thereby the more ſurpriſing, the Wounds coming from Enemies ſo far diſtant, and not ſuddenly to be reveng'd. But when they came to a cloſe Fight, the *Normans* were hew'd down by the *Engliſh* Bills after a deplorable manner; and their Points were ſo ſtrong and ſo cloſe together, that no Charges of the *Norman* Horſe could break the *Engliſh* Ranks, tho' the Duke aſſaulted them ſo often, and with ſo great Bravery, that he had three Horſes kill'd under him in the Attempt. But finding them to continue firm, he at length by a Signal caus'd his Men to feign a ſudden Flight; upon which the *Engliſh*, eaſily deceiv'd by their Courage as well as Hopes, began ſuch an eager Purſuit, as caus'd them to diſſolve their Ranks, which otherwiſe had been impenetrable. The Sight of this gave Occaſion to the *Normans* to return, and fall with freſh Fury into the diſorder'd Body of the *Engliſh*, ſo that they ſoon broke them, and drove them to a riſing Ground. Yet in their flight they often rally'd, and ſold their Lives at very dear Rates; and part of them having gain'd a Hill, when the *Normans* climb'd up after them, by caſting down Stones quite overpower'd them. In another Place, by their Knowledge of the Country, being more dextrous in paſſing a Ditch, they made an exceeding Slaughter of their Enemies, and fill'd it up with their dead Carcaſſes. Thus the Succeſs remain'd doubtful, and the Battel vaſtly bloody, from nine a Clock in the Morning 'till it grew dark, when *Harold*, after he had diſcharg'd all the Parts of a skilful Commander and valiant Soldier, was ſhot into the Head with an Arrow, and dy'd. His Death turn'd the Scale, and caus'd the *Engliſh* to betake themſelves to flight. With *Harold* fell his two Brothers *Gyrth* and *Leofwin*, with the greateſt Part of the *Engliſh* Nobility; ſo that *William* remain'd a compleat Victor, who by his noble Courage, Diligence and Conduct well deſerv'd the Succeſs. He ſhew'd himſelf generous to his dead Enemy, and without Ranſom gave his Body to his Mother, tho' ſhe had offer'd large Sums for it; and when, as it lay in the Field, a certain Soldier by way of Contempt gave it a Wound in the Thigh, he immediately caſhier'd him for ſo mean and cowardly an Action. *Harold* dy'd on the 14th Day of *October*, after a ſhort but vigorous Reign of nine Months one Week and two Days; and was by his Mother's Care bury'd at *Waltham*, in a Church of Canons founded and endow'd by himſelf.

Both Armies ingage.

Harold *ſlain, and the* Engliſh *defeated.*

Thus ended the Empire of the *Engliſh-Saxons* in this Nation, who from their firſt Entrance under *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, had kept Poſſeſſion and with ſome Interruptions held Dominion for about ſix hundred and ſeventeen Years.

Cauſes of the Conqueſt.

The Diviſions and Corruptions of the Engliſh.

And here it may juſtly be ſaid, that notwithſtanding the Valour and Conduct of the *Normans*, the *Engliſh* were the chief Forgers of their own Fortune; and they behav'd themſelves as if they deſir'd to be inſlav'd by thoſe whom they admir'd, and imitated only in the worſt of their Qualities. For beſides the late Miſmanagements of *Harold*, in other Reſpects a wiſe Prince, the Nation and Nobility were divided into Factions, and could not agree upon the Perſon to ſucceed him; and *Edwin* and *Morchar* retir'd with Diſcontent into *Northumberland*, not regarding the Safety of their Country, becauſe their ambitious Purpoſes were not gratify'd. A firm Union, and a wiſe Management muſt ſtill have put a ſtop to *William*'s Arms; but inſtead of Preparation for expelling the common Enemy, the Nobility became Enemies to one another, and ſtrove for that Crown which the Duke had already got, on the Point of his Sword, tho' not on his Head. Theſe were prodigious Miſcarriages, not incident to any who had their Reaſon, but abſolute Effects of ſuch vicious Tempers as infatuate Mens Minds, enervate the Power of their Souls, and render them abject, and ripe for Servitude. Such were the *Engliſh* at this Time, as we are aſſur'd from *Malmesbury*, who being of *Engliſh* as well as *Norman* Deſcent, profeſſes that he had no Prejudice to either Nation, and declares, That for ſome Years before the Arrival of the *Normans*, Piety and all good Literature became ſo unfaſhionable even among the Clergy, that contenting themſelves with a very ſmall Share of Devotion, as well as Learning, they could ſcarce read Divine Service; and to underſtand Grammar was next to a Miracle. The Monks were clad in fine Stuffs, and obſerv'd not the Rules of their Orders. The Nobles were given up to Gluttony and a diſſolute Life, neglected the Service of the Church, made a Prey of the common People, debauch'd their Daughters whom they had in their Service, and then turn'd them off to the Stews. While the meaner Sort ſpent Night and Day and their whole Subſtances in Rioting and Drunkenneſs, and thoſe other Vices which effeminate Mens Reaſons. From hence it came to paſs, that being carry'd away with Temerity and Fury, rather than true Valour, they engag'd with Duke *William*, and brought ſuch Calamities upon themſelves and their Country. In Sum, the *Engliſh* then wore their Cloaths ſhort, cut their Hair, loaded their Arms with golden Bracelets, mark'd their Skins with divers Images, would eat 'till they ſurfeited, and drink 'till they vomited; which laſt Vices they communicated to the Conquerors, in all Things elſe following and admiring their Modes. But our Author would not have this underſtood of all, but of the *Engliſh* in general; for to his Knowledge, there were many good Men both among the Clergy and Laity. ‘ But, adds he, as the ‘ Mercy of God often permits the Bad as well as Good, ‘ to enjoy the like Proſperity; ſo his Juſtice does not al‘ ways exempt good Men from partaking in the common ‘ Calamities of their Country. Since Diviſions and Factions, Immorality and Impiety occaſion'd ſuch great Miſeries to our Anceſtors, we ought carefully to remember this one Maxim, That the ſame Cauſes ordinarily produce the ſame Effects.

The End of the Firſt Book.

K.WILL.CONQ.
K.WILLIAM 2.
K.HENRY.I.
K.STEPHEN.

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

From the firſt Entrance of William *commonly call'd the Conqueror, to the Death of King* Richard *the Third, and the Union of the two Families by King* Henry *the Seventh.*

Containing the Space of about 419 *Years.*

CHAP. I.

The Norman *Line; From the firſt Entrance of Duke* William, *to the Death of King* Stephen, *and the Reſtoration of the* Saxon *Line by King* Henry *the Second.*

Containing the Space of about 88 *Years.*

SECT. I.

The Reign of King WILLIAM *the Firſt.*

Containing 20 *Years,* 10 *Months, and* 26 *Days.*

A.D. 1066. Reg. 1.

I. HAVING got through the Reigns of our *Saxon* Monarchs, we begin to remove from Twilight to Day-light, and a clearer Proſpect of Affairs; being now arriv'd at that memorable Period when the State of *England* receiv'd great Alterations in Laws, Language, Cuſtoms, Faſhions, Fortifications, Buildings, and in moſt Things beſides Religion. So that from theſe extraordinary Mutations, we are to begin with a new Account of *England*, now larger in Extent and Dominion abroad, more in State and Ability at home, and in a ſhort Time more in Fame and Reputation in the World. All which proceeded from that Branch of the Northern People call'd by the Name of *Normans*; who having for many Years receiv'd more of the Sun and Civility than the *Engliſh* themſelves, are thus deſcrib'd by the judicious *Malmesbury*. They were at this Time a People very curious in their Cloaths, choice in their Diet, but without Exceſs; train'd up to War, and ſcarce knowing how to live without it; quick in attacking their Enemy, and when open Force was too hazardous, over-bearing them by Cunning and Stratagem, or corrupting them with Mony. They built large Edifices, tho' they liv'd in them at a moderate Expence; apt to envy their Equals, and deſirous of ſurpaſſing their Superiors, yet defended thoſe who were ſubject to them, from the Violence of Strangers. While they were pleas'd they were faithful to their Soveraign, but upon a ſlight Occaſion they would renounce their Fidelity, judging of their Perfidy according to Succeſs, and changing Sides for Advantage; yet being Lovers of Humanity, they treated Strangers with the ſame Reſpect and Civility as they did themſelves, nor did they diſdain to marry with thoſe who were ſubject to them. And this muſt be own'd for their Honour, that by their coming hither they reviv'd the Diſcipline of the Chriſtian Religion, then almoſt extinct in *England:* Whence, as our Author obſerves, might be ſeen Churches new built in the Towns

A deſcription of the Normans.

and Cities, and Monaſteries erected after a nobler Way of Architecture, inſomuch that the whole Country began to flouriſh after an extraordinary Manner. Theſe Advantages the Nation in general obtain'd by this Change, tho' it prov'd fatal to many noble Families in particular; to which Advantages we may add, That the *Engliſh* Nation for above five Hundred Years before had been but little known for any Atchievements abroad, 'till King *Canute* made uſe of their Aſſiſtance in his Wars againſt the *Swedes:* But after this, we ſhall find that this Nation under the Conduct of their Princes of the *Norman* Race made a nobler Figure abroad, and in a ſhort Time conquer'd that Country by which they had been before ſubdu'd.

Duke William *marches into* Kent.

Kent *ſubmits.*

The firſt of theſe Princes that govern'd this Nation was the renowned *William*, who was about forty two Years of Age when he gain'd that famous and deciſive Battel at *Haſtings*. There like a wiſe General, who deſign'd to make the beſt Advantage of his Succeſs, he reſolv'd to leave no ſtrong Place behind him; ſo having left a ſufficient Garriſon in his late built Fort at *Haſtings*, he march'd from thence to *Romney* in *Kent*, and reveng'd himſelf upon the inhoſpitable Inhabitants of that Place, for the Slaughter of ſome of his Men, who by Miſtake had landed there. He continu'd his March along the Coaſt to *Dover*, to which Caſtle great Multitudes had fled for Refuge, as to a Place then thought impregnable; yet all theſe, at the firſt Approach of the Conqueror, without Reſiſtance yielded to his Mercy. After which, continuing about eight Days in the further Fortification of the Caſtle, and leaving there his ſick Men, he march'd from *Dover* towards *London*, when in a ſhort Time the Body of the *Kentiſh* Men came in to him voluntarily, ſwearing Fealty, and giving Hoſtages for Security; whereupon the City of *Canterbury* preſented him with her Submiſſion by certain Deputies ſent for that Purpoſe. This Relation being made by *Pictavienſis*, who was himſelf an Eye-Witneſs to theſe Tranſactions, may ſerve ſufficiently to confute that vulgar and plauſible Story of the *Kentiſh* Men meeting this Conqueror with green Boughs, and their procuring from him a Confirmation of all their Privileges.

William *marches towards* London.

The Nobility ſubmit.

The Duke, having reduc'd all *Kent* to his Subjection, receiv'd Intelligence that *Stigand* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, together with the Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, being ſupported by the City of *London* and its Mariners, intended to ſet up *Edgar Etheling*, the true Heir, for their King; upon which this valiant General reſolv'd to prevent all ſuch Attempts, and therefore marching towards *London*, he encamp'd not far from the City. From thence certain Companies ſally'd out againſt him, but with five hundred Horſe he eaſily repuls'd them, killing great Numbers as they paſs'd the Bridge; and here began the Miſeries of *England*. The Duke ſeem'd reſolv'd before this to uſe all gentle Methods, and to reduce the *Engliſh* by kind Uſage; but finding they made head againſt him, and put him to further Trouble and Danger, he chang'd his Purpoſe, and proceeded with greater Severity. For upon this unfortunate Sally, he commanded or permitted all the Buildings South of the *Thames*, now call'd *Southwark*, to be deſtroy'd by Fire. But not being able as yet to enter the City, he reſolv'd firſt to ſubdue the Countries lying South-Weſt on the other Side of the *Thames*, and thereupon march'd towards *Wallingford* in *Barkſhire*, where he permitted his Soldiers to ravage ſeveral Parts of the Country. In the mean time *Aldred* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, *Wulſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, with *Edgar Etheling* himſelf, and other Noblemen, confounded in their Deſigns, and tranſported with Fears, quitted *London*, and repaired to the Duke at *Berkhamſted* in *Hertfordſhire*, where ſubmitting themſelves, they ſwore Fealty to him, and upon their giving Hoſtages, he made a firm League or Contract with them; nevertheleſs he ſtill permitted his Men to burn and plunder all the Way they march'd, which is reaſonable to underſtand of ſuch Places as had not yet ſubmitted to him.

They offer William *the Crown.*

William *crowned King.*

The Coronation Oath.

The Feaſt of *Chriſtmas* approaching, the Duke with all his Army march'd up towards *London*, and was met by all the chief Men of the City; at which Time all the Biſhops and Lay-Nobility requeſted him, That he would accept the Crown, declaring, *That they had been always accuſtom'd to obey Kings, therefore they were ready to acknowledge him for their Sovereign.* Upon which he immediately conſulted with his greateſt Intimates, and ſhew'd much Averſion to his Acceptance of that Honour at preſent; but all perſuaded him to a Compliance, *as being to their Knowledge the unanimous Deſire of his whole Army.* He weighing all Things, could not but yield to the Importunity of ſo many Petitioners; therefore ſtaying near *London*, he ſent ſome of his Men before to erect a Fortreſs and Place of Security in the City, and to prepare all Things fit for ſuch a royal and magnificent Solemnity. The Day deſign'd for his Coronation was *Chriſtmas-Day*, and *Stigand* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* being under ſome Cenſures from the Pope, the Ceremony was perform'd by *Aldred* Arch-Biſhop of *York*; who firſt in a neat ſhort Speech demanded of all the *Engliſh* there preſent, *Whether they did conſent to have the Duke crown'd King*? who all chearfully and unanimouſly gave their Aſſents. At the ſame Time the like Queſtion was put to the *Normans* by the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, and the ſame Approbation given. Duke *William* being thus elected King, as *Pictavienſis* expreſſes it, *Aldred* in the Abby-Church at *Weſtminſter* ſet the Crown upon his Head, and plac'd him on the Throne in the Preſence of all the Biſhops, Abbots and Lay-Nobility: And the old Book of *Ely*, as alſo *Florence* of *Worceſter*, gives us the Form of the Coronation Oath which he took before the Clergy and Laity at the High-Altar, being the ſame in Effect with that of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings; namely, '*That he would protect the Holy Church and its Governors*; *That he would govern all the People ſubject to him prudently and juſtly*; *That he would ordain and keep juſt Laws, and wholly forbid all Rapines and unjuſt Judgments*; to which *Malmesbury* alſo adds, *That he would behave himſelf mercifully towards his Subjects, and would govern both the* Engliſh *and* Normans *by the ſame equal Law.* After this he never claim'd any Power by pure Conqueſt, but as a regular Prince ſubmitted himſelf to the Orders of the Kingdom; being deſirous to have his Teſtamentary Title, weak as it was, to make good his Succeſſion, rather than his Sword.

A. D. 1067. Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.

His laudable Government.

William being thus eſtabliſh'd in his Throne, immediately began to perform all Things worthy of his Dignity; ſo that he ſeem'd inflam'd with a new Zeal for the attempting great and noble Actions, uſing his utmoſt Endeavours both in Divine and Secular Affairs. In the firſt place he diſtributed great Quantities of Treaſure found in *Harold*'s Exchequer among his faithful Friends and Followers; as alſo many rich Gratuities which he beſtow'd on the Monaſteries, and large Alms to the Poor. He likewiſe preſented the Pope with a great Sum both in Gold and Silver, beſides the Standard of King *Harold*; in the doing of all which he was much aſſiſted by the Benevolence of all the Cities, and of ſeveral great and wealthy Men, to obtain the Favour of their new Lord. While he ſtaid in *London*, he order'd all Things juſtly, wiſely and mercifully, ſome of which tended to the particular Honour and Advantage of that City, while others prov'd highly beneficial to the whole Nation; and in all other Matters he chiefly conſulted the Good of the Church and Kingdom. He enjoin'd all his great Men *to obſerve Equity in all their Actions, and ever to regard that Eternal Monarch by whoſe Aſſiſtance they had been victorious; and tho' they were Conquerors, they ought not to opreſs the Vanquiſhed who were Chriſtians as well as themſelves, leſt by Injuries they ſhould provoke thoſe to riſe up againſt them whom they had already ſubdu'd.* Next he reſtrain'd the Common Soldiers by ſevere Edicts from violating the Chaſtity of Women, or ſo much as frequenting Taverns and infamous Houſes; he alſo ſtrictly prohibited all Murders, Robberies and Tumults. Thus as he bridled the People by Arms, ſo thoſe very Arms were reſtrained by Juſt Laws, appointing Judges to inflict ſevere Puniſhments upon thoſe common Soldiers who ſhould dare to tranſgreſs his Orders; and for a Time he was no more partial to the *Normans*, than to any other Nation then in his Service.

All ſubmit to him.

Theſe were the happy Beginnings of this King's Reign; but he not ſtaying long in *London*, retired to a Place not far off call'd *Berking*, 'till the Fortreſs he had begun at *London* was finiſh'd; for he found it abſolutely neceſſary to curb the fickle Humours of that great and ſtubborn People. For his greater Security he plac'd *Norman* Garriſons in *Wincheſter*, *Dover*, and many other Places; and in Memory of the great Battel he obtain'd over King *Harold*, he gave Orders for the Building of that noble Monaſtery near *Haſtings* call'd *Battel-Abby*, which he endow'd with great Privileges and Immunities. During his Stay at *Berking*, the powerful Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar* came and ſubmitted themſelves to the King's Mercy and Clemency; in which they were follow'd by many other Noblemen of great Note, to whom he generouſly reſtor'd their Eſtates which had been forfeited, and having taken their voluntary Oaths of Fidelity, he receiv'd them into his Favour. As for *Edgar Etheling*, who was ſometimes call'd *England's Darling*, to alleviate the Regret he might receive by the miſſing of a Crown, he not only ſhew'd him great Favours, but alſo conferr'd upon him very large Poſſeſſions. After this he made a Progreſs into divers Parts of the Kingdom, in all Places ordering ſuch Things as were not only advantagious to himſelf, but alſo to his People in general. And now where-ever he travell'd he found none to oppoſe him, nor the Roads any ways obſtructed, all Men willingly ſubmitting themſelves to him; whilſt he look'd upon the Common People with a benign Aſpect, commiſerating their Condition, and ordering his Men to treat them with Mercy, eſpecially when he obſerv'd the poor Widows with their little Children upon their Knees imploring his Clemency. And this is the Account that King *William*'s Chaplain *Pictavienſes* has given us of the two or three firſt Months of his Reign.

He viſits Normandy.

II. King *William* having eſtabliſh'd all Things for the Nation's Security and his own Subjection, reſolv'd to make a Journey into his own Country of *Normandy*, and accordingly committed the Government of this Nation to his Brother *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and his Couſin *William Fitz-Osbern*. The Removing ſo ſoon from a new gain'd Country, looks like a Strain of his uſual Courage and fearleſs Temper; but yet like a politick Prince he took extraordinary Pledges along with him, ſuch of the Nobility as were moſt potent, particularly Arch-Biſhop *Stigand*, the two great Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Earl *Waltheof*, with ſeveral of the chief Nobility, and alſo *Edgar Etheling* himſelf. With this noble Train he arriv'd at *Normandy*, and celebrated the Feaſt of *Eaſter* at the Abby of *Feſcamp*, where he was met by *Rodolph* the potent Father-in-Law to the King of *France*, with great Numbers of the *French* Nobility, the handſomeſt of whoſe Youth envy'd the Beauty and Gracefulneſs of the young *Engliſh* Gentlemen; while others were raviſh'd with the Richneſs and Magnificence of the King's Habit, as well as thoſe of his Attendants, as alſo the Quantity of his Silver and Gold Plate, which, ſays our Author, would be incredible to relate. So that when theſe Noblemen return'd home, they were fill'd with Praiſes of the Magnificence, and eſpecially the Generoſity of King *William*, who paſs'd all that Summer, and the Beginning of the following Winter in this Country.

Diſturbances in England.

The King returns.

A. D. 1068. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

Matilda *crown'd.*

Henry I. *born.*

While *Normandy* was thus happy, the *Engliſh* were ſeverely oppreſs'd, according to *Vitalis*, by *Odo* and *Fitz-Osbern* in their Governments, eſpecially thoſe in *Kent*, who being highly exaſperated, took Occaſion from the Abſence of *Odo* and *Hugh Monfort* with a conſiderable Force, to ſend to *Euſtachius* Earl of *Bulloign*, then the King's Enemy, inviting him to join with them in the Surprizal of *Dover* Caſtle. He agreed with them in the Deſign, and paſſed over in the Night with a Fleet fill'd with choſen Soldiers, and joining with them attack'd the Caſtle; but finding the Defendents more reſolute and numerous than they expected, he drew off with his Men to his Ships, and return'd home; after which he was reconcil'd to the King, and was honour'd as one of the greateſt Perſonages about him. About the ſame Time *Edrick*, ſirnam'd the *Foreſter*, in the County of *Hereford*, call'd in the Aſſiſtance of two Kings of *Wales*, and ravag'd ſeveral Parts of that Country. Theſe Tranſactions were ſufficient to haſten the return of the King, who leaving the Government of *Normandy* to his Wife *Matilda* and his Son *Robert*, croſs'd the Sea into *England* in *December*; where he was now to ſatisfie three ſorts of Men, Firſt ſuch Adventurers, with whom he had not yet clear'd; Next thoſe of his own People, who juſtly expected a Recompence, but being very numerous, ſome were to live upon Promiſes; Laſtly the People of this Kingdom, by whom he was now chiefly to ſubſiſt. Being arriv'd at *London*, he treated the *Engliſh* Biſhops and Nobility with much Subtlety and Officiouneſs, granting them what they ask'd, and freely hearing them what they offered; but at the ſame Time began to have a ſtricter Hand and Eye over them than before, and exacted a ſevere Tax upon the *Engliſh* Nation, which was that of *Danegeld*, which had been remitted by *Edward* the Confeſſor. Upon which Occaſion *Malmesbury* informs us that *Aldred* Arch-Biſhop of *York* lov'd *William* as his Son, and honoured him as a King, while he carry'd himſelf with Temper and Juſtice towards the *Engliſh*, but when he levy'd this unreaſonable Tax, he ſent Meſſengers to him concerning it; but they being roughly treated, he took the Liberty to denounce a Curſe againſt *William* and all his Progeny. Which had ſuch an Effect upon the King, that he immediately ſent Friends to appeaſe the Arch-Biſhop, but before they got to him, he dy'd with Grief. But ſome Time before he dy'd, he had the Honour to Crown the King's Wife *Matilda* with great Solemnity, who in the ſame Year was deliver'd of a Son, nam'd *Henry*, afterwards King of *England*.

Exeter *rebels.*

The Taxes and Impoſitions ſeem to have been the Occaſion of a freſh Rebellion this Year in the Weſt; for the City of *Exeter* refus'd to ſwear Fealty to the King, or admit a Garriſon there, tho' they offer'd to pay Contributions: But not being ſatisfy'd with that, he ſent this Meſſage to them, *That he was never us'd to ſuch Subjects*; therefore tho' it was Winter, he march'd in Perſon with an Army againſt it, always placing the *Engliſh* in the Front. Approaching near the City, the Chief of the Citizens came out to meet him, begging Peace, promiſing Obedience, and depoſing ſuch Hoſtages as the King demanded; but in the mean Time the ordinary Townſmen refus'd to deliver up the City, whereupon he commanded his Army to make their Approaches to it. Then bringing one of the Hoſtages before the Gates, he there put out his Eyes, and beginning to batter and undermine the Walls, the Inhabitants implor'd his Mercy, which he readily granted, by the Mediation of thoſe who firſt came over to him, with the Clergy, who all begg'd Pardon for the Folly and Obſtinacy of the Common People. So all Things were forgiven them, and they had their Goods ſecur'd from the Violence of the Soldiers, by placing Guards at the Gates to keep them out. But *Githa*, Mother to King *Harold*, with many Citizens eſcap'd and fled with great Riches into *Flanders*. Here within the Walls the King choſe out a Place for the building of a Caſtle, and left *Baldwin* the Son of Earl *Gilbert* to ſee it compleated, and with many ſtout Soldiers to remain there in Garriſon. Not long after this Expedition the King thought fit to divide the Lands among his *Norman* Commanders, as well as thoſe of other Nations; which is to be underſtood, only of the Lands of thoſe who had been in Arms againſt him in the Battel of *Haſtings*, and of thoſe who were ingag'd in the late Inſurrections; all which he look'd upon as forfeited Eſtates. And this appears plainer from the Controverſie between *Warren* the *Norman*, and *Sherburn* the *Engliſhman*, whoſe Lands, tho' the King had given them to *Warren*, yet when *Sherburn* alledg'd in Court, *That he never bore Arms againſt the King, that he was his Subject as well as the other, and held his Lands by the Law eſtabliſh'd among all his Subjects*, the King himſelf gave Judgment againſt *Warren*, and commanded that *Sherburn* ſhould hold his Land without Moleſtation.

It is reduc'd.

The King divides the Lands among the Normans.

Edwin *and* Morchar *rebel.*

They are receiv'd into Favour.

Edgar Etheling *goes into* Scotland, *and marries his Siſter to that King.*

One Inſurrection was no ſooner quell'd, but another more dangerous began, by means of Earl *Edwin*, who after Promiſe of one of the King's Daughters in Marriage, was unjuſtly diſappointed. This and ſome other Affronts provok'd him and his Brother *Morchar* to take up Arms; and being both very powerful and popular, many in the Northern Parts, where their Governments lay, came in to their Aſſiſtance, as alſo their Nephew *Blethyn*, Prince of *North-Wales*, with a great Number of *Welſhmen*. Upon this, the King as a vigilant Commander inquir'd into all Places of Strength that might be ſerviceable to their Retreat; and to prevent their ſeizing of them, he fortify'd ſuch as were moſt advantagious, as the Caſtle of *Warwick*, which he now built, and committed to the Cuſtody of *Henry de Beaumont*, afterwards made firſt Earl of *Warwick*. At the ſame Time he built *Nottingham* Caſtle, and gave the Cuſtody of it to *William Pendel* a *Norman*; which vigorous Proceedings ſo diſcourag'd the two Earls, that doubting of Succeſs, they ſoon begg'd the King's Mercy, and were generouſly receiv'd into Favour. Upon which the Inhabitants of *York* deliver'd up the Keys of their City to the King, who was now ready to beſiege it; but ſtill doubting of their Fidelity, he immediately rais'd a Fortreſs in the City, and Mann'd it with a ſtrong Garriſon. In his Return he built Caſtles or ſtrong Forts at *Lincoln*, *Huntington* and *Cambridge*, and plac'd in each of them valiant Commanders. Upon which *Archil* a potent Nobleman of *Northumberland* made his Peace with the King, and deliver'd his Son to him as an Hoſtage; likewiſe *Egelwin* Biſhop of *Durham* was now receiv'd into Favour, and by his Mediation, a Peace was concluded with *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* who had been a Favourer of this Inſurrection. But this continu'd not long, for about Autumn following, Earl *Goſpatrick*, with ſeveral of the *Northumbrian* Nobility, fearing to be impriſon'd as many others at that time were, drew over Prince *Edgar Etheling* to their Party; and with him, his Mother *Agatha*, and his Siſters *Margaret* and *Chriſtina*, paſs'd by Sea out of *England* into *Scotland*, where being kindly receiv'd by King *Malcolm*, they remain'd all that Winter in Peace. And *Malcolm* was ſo affected with the Beauty and Virtues of the Lady *Margaret*, that about two Years after he marry'd her himſelf; by whom the Blood of our ancient Kings was preſerv'd, and conjoin'd with the *Normans* in King *Henry* the Second, and by that means became *Engliſh* again.

The King's Care.

In the mean Time King *William* us'd all Methods poſſible for his own Security, and the bridling and diſarming the *Engliſh*; particularly he commanded every Houſe-keeper to put out both Fire and Candle at eight of the Clock at Night, at which Hour, in every City, Town and Village, he caus'd a Bell to be rung, by the *French* called *Conorefew*; which is partly yet in uſe, and in Name very near it, commonly call'd *Corfew*. But notwithſtanding theſe Precautions, *Godwin*, *Edmund* and *Magnus*, Sons of the late King *Harold*, coming out of *Ireland*, landed in *Somerſetſhire*, ingag'd with *Eadnoth*, formerly their Father's Maſter of the Horſe, ſlew him with many others, and taking large Booties both in *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, return'd again to *Ireland*. Theſe were unſettled Times, *Divers* Norman *Gentlemen return home.*

often accompany'd with Troubles and Diſturbances; when ſeveral *Norman* Gentlemen and Perſons of Quality, uneaſie in the Nation, took their leaves of the King, and return'd into *Normandy*. Beſides Commanders and Officers, great Numbers of the common Soldiers, tired with the perpetual Deſolation of the Country, where they ſaw nothing but Rapines and daily Slaughters committed, not only by themſelves, but by the Natives iſſuing out of the Woods and other Retreats, killing what *Normans* they could, deſir'd now to be disbanded, that they might return and live in Peace in their own Country; which Requeſt was readily granted by the King, who kindly diſmiſs'd them, having firſt well paid and rewarded them for all their Services.

A. D. 1069. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$. *New Troubles in the North.*

The Danes *land.*

York *burnt.*

The next Year was remarkable for new and greater Troubles in the North, which began to break out upon the Arrival of *Robert Cumin*, the new Governor at *Durham*; who, not being ſo cautious as valiant, lying ſecurely as he thought in the City, was ſurpriz'd in the Night by the *Northumbrians*, and he and all the *Normans* except one, to the Number of ſeven hundred, were maſſacred. And while this Inſurrection was on foot, the fugitive *Engliſh* in *Denmark* ſo far prevail'd with King *Swane*, that they procur'd his Aſſiſtance to recover their Rights, and his Kingdom, as was pretended; and accordingly he ſent a Fleet of two hundred and forty Sail well mann'd, under the Conduct of his Brother *Osbern*, and his Sons *Harold* and *Canute*. Theſe arriving in the *Humber*, landed their Men in order to march to *York*, and ravag'd the Country through which they paſſed; and being ſhortly after join'd by *Edgar Etheling* and all his Aſſociates from *Scotland*, they became very ſtrong and formidable. Upon their nearer Approach to the City, the *Normans* who kept the Caſtle, fearing leſt the Houſes near them being pull'd down might ſerve the *Danes* to fill up the Ditches, ſet them all on fire, which ſo violently rag'd by reaſon of a high Wind, that it ſoon burnt all or moſt of that noble City, together with the Cathedral Church, the Monaſtery of St. *Peter*'s, and a famous Library. But the Divine Vengeance ſeverely puniſh'd this Barbarity, for before the City had done burning, the *Daniſh* Fleet arriv'd, and both the *Danes* and *Northumbrians*, beſieging the Caſtles, quickly became Maſters of them, with a terrible Slaughter of their Governor and three thouſand *Normans*, very few eſcaping. After which the *Daniſh* Fleet, together with the *Northumbrians*, well loaded with Plunder, retir'd to their former Quarters.

The Danes *routed.*

The North laid waſte.

The King upon receiving this ill News immediately ſent his Queen into *Normandy* for her greater Security, and threaten'd not only to chaſtiſe the Rebels, but to extirpate the *Northumbrians*. But before he march'd, wiſely conſidering that theſe Diſcontents aroſe in a great Meaſure from his own Management and Partiality to the *Normans*, he began to ſhew a greater Regard to the ancient *Saxon* Laws, and to curb the Inſolence of his Countrymen, and withal recall'd many of the *Engliſh* Noblemen from Baniſhment, and made a firm League with them. Arriving in *Yorkſhire*, which was then Part of the Earldom of *Northumberland*, he put moſt of the People to the Sword, and laid the whole Country waſte, to prevent the *Danes* harbouring themſelves there, who now with their *Engliſh* Confederates lay incamp'd at *York*. Here the King came to an Ingagement with them, and routing the *Daniſh* Army, the *Engliſh* were ſo diſcourag'd in the City, that they ſoon ſurrender'd it to the Conqueror. Yet *Malmesbury* repreſents this Victory as not ſo eaſily obtain'd, and informs us that the valiant Earl *Waltheof*, in this Fight at *York*, cut off the Heads of a great many *Normans* one after another, as they would have forc'd a Gate which he took upon him to defend. After this Victory, the King ſoon became Maſter of the whole Country, and recover'd it from the *Danes* as much by Mony and Promiſes as by Force. *Edgar Etheling* retir'd into *Scotland*, and ſeveral of the Nobility were generouſly reſtor'd to Favour, particularly *Goſpatrick* and *Waltheof*, the latter of whom the King ſo admir'd for his Strength and Valour, that in a ſhort time after he gave him his Niece *Judith* in Marriage, together with the Earldoms of *Northampton* and *Huntington*. But the Country ſuffer'd miſerably in this War, all the Northern Parts being ſo depopulated by the *Danes* and *Normans*, that between *York* and *Durham* there remain'd no Town inhabited, but the Land lay waſte and untill'd for above nine Years. This was alſo attended by ſo dreadful a Famine in all thoſe Parts, that in this Year, as well as the next, the miſerable Remains of the People were forc'd to feed upon Horſes and Dogs, and even Man's Fleſh, to ſave themſelves from periſhing.

A. D. 1070. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.

The King diſpoſes of all Preferments to the Normans.

III. King *William* having quell'd the Inſurrections in the North, and in other Parts, from this Time began to ſhew a greater Averſion to the *Engliſh*, whoſe Unconſtancy he daily dreaded; therefore by hard Uſage, Impriſonments and Baniſhments he conſtrain'd them to ſubmit. He gave moſt of the Earldoms and Baronies, Biſhopricks and Prelacies of the whole Nation to his *Normans*, and ſcarce permitted the *Engliſh* to enjoy any Place of Honour, Dominion or Power. To *William Fitz-Osbern*, Sewer of *Normandy*, he gave the Iſle of *Wight* and Earldom of *Hereford*. He gave the Town and County of *Cheſter*, firſt to *Gherbod* a *Flemming*, then to *Hugh* of *Almonches*. To *Roger Montgomery* he firſt gave *Arundel*, and then *Chicheſter*, and afterwards the County of *Salop*. To *Walter Giffard* the County of *Buckingham*; to *William Warren* the County of *Surry*, and to *Ralph Guader* the Earldom of the *Eaſt-Angles*. And to many other noble Perſons, he diſtributed many Cities and Towns, with great Power and Honours; and to many Strangers and others of mean Quality, he gave many Titles and Honours, inſomuch that they had here in *England* Clients and Dependents far richer and more powerful than their Fathers were in *Normandy*. But to his two half Brothers *Odo* and *Robert* he was profuſe in his Gifts and Honours. The former was Earl of *Kent*, a Count Palatine who gave Laws like a King, and Juſticiary of *England*, the chief Man for adminiſtring Juſtice under the King; and after the Death of *Fitz-Osbern*, he made him Vice-Roy of the whole Kingdom. He had beſides for his Share one hundred eighty four Lordſhips or Manors in *Kent*, and two hundred fifty five more in other Counties. *Robert* had the Earldom of *Cornwall* given him, in which he had two hundred eighty four Lordſhips, beſides five hundred fifty eight more in other Counties.

He reduces the Clergy to Subjection.

Several depriv'd.

Nor did the King think himſelf ſecure only by having all Perſons in Secular Authority his Dependents, and at his Command; but he alſo brought the Clergy, Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and all Degrees of that Function under his Subjection. For the Biſhopricks and Abbies which held Baronies, hitherto free from all Secular Service, were now put under Military Service; and according to his Will and Pleaſure he appointed how many Knights and Soldiers they ſhould find in Time of War, and drove many Eccleſiaſticks out of the Kingdom, who refus'd to ſubmit to this hard Conſtitution. He did not only charge their Lands with the Tenure of Knights Service, but alſo quarter'd Soldiers which he had hired in *France*, *Germany* and *Spain*, in all Monaſteries of *England*; who were not only a Charge to their Purſes, but alſo Spies upon their Actions. Nor did he think this enough to reſtrain the Power of the Clergy, who then bore the chief Sway in the Government; but by the malicious Advice of *Fitz-Osbern*, and others of his Council, he ſearch'd all the Monaſteries, and took away the Mony which the richer Sort of *Engliſh* out of Fear of his Severity had ſecur'd there, and commanded it to be carry'd into his Exchequer. *Mat. Paris* ſays he robb'd all the Monaſteries of their Gold and Silver, not ſparing their Shrines and Chalices: And yet he did not think himſelf ſecure from the Power of the Clergy in that Age, 'till he had brought into *England* moſt of the Laws and Uſages generally obſerv'd in *Normandy*, and had made ſuch Biſhops, Abbots and Governors, who would in all Things ſubmit to his Ordinances; and therefore all Divine and Human Matters were chiefly according to his Will and Pleaſure. To this purpoſe a great Council was held at *Wincheſter*, eight Days after *Eaſter*, at the Command of the King, and the Conſent of the Pope; in which *Stigand* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was depriv'd, together with *Agelmar* Biſhop of *Elmham*, *Agelrick* Biſhop of *Selſey*, and ſeveral Abbots; the King promoting this Work, that he might put into their Places Men of his own Nation, for the Security of his new acquired Kingdom. He alſo kept ſeveral Biſhops and Abbots in Priſon during Life, without any evident Cauſe, and without Condemnation by Synods or Secular Laws, purely out of Jealouſie that they endeavoured for a new Revolution. Yet in his new Promotions he generally acted with Wiſdom and Honour, and for the moſt part advanc'd Men of Piety and real Worth. Particularly he gave the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* to *Lanfranc*, an *Italian* of great Learning and Abilities, then Abbot of *Caen* in *Normandy*: The Archbiſhoprick of *York* was given to *Thomas Chanon* of *Bayeux*, and the Biſhopricks of *Wincheſter*, *Elmham* and *Selſey*, to his three Chaplains, *Walkelin*, *Arfaſt* and *Stigand*. And notwithſtanding many Acts of Severity and Injuſtice, which were often the Effects of Danger and Neceſſity, this Prince generally endeavour'd to promote Peace and Piety in the Nation.

But the *Engliſh* Nation was now ſo far diſguſted, that they reſolv'd to throw off the *Norman* Yoak; and accordingly they aſſembled a numerous Army, and once more ſet up *Edgar Etheling* for their King; *Fretheric* Abbot of St. *Albans*, a rich and powerful Man, being the chief Promoter of this Deſign. Upon which the King became very uneaſie, fearing at laſt to loſe that Kingdom which he had acquir'd with ſo much Blood. Wherefore by the wiſe Advice of Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc*, he began to deal more

gently

The King ſwears to the Laws of King Edward:

But to no purpoſe. Edgar *flies into* Scotland.

gently with the *Engliſh* Nobility, and propoſing to them Terms of Peace, he invited them to a ſubdolous Treaty; who ſuſpecting no unfair Deſign, under the Conduct of Abbot *Fretheric* met the King at *Berkhamſtead*, where after many Debates, he in the Preſence of the Arch-Biſhop ſolemnly ſwore upon the Holy Evangeliſts, and the Relicks of the Church of St. *Albans*, ‘ *That he would obſerve the ‘ good, approv'd, and ancient Laws of the Kingdom, which ‘ the holy and pious Kings, his Predeceſſors, and chiefly ‘ King* Edward *had ordained:* By which the *Engliſh* being ſatisfy'd, all return'd to their Habitations. But the King, who had conceal'd his Intentions, within a few Days after privately and ſuddenly endeavour'd to ruin thoſe ſeparately, whom united he could not overcome; which he perform'd by killing ſome, diſpoſſeſſing others, and outlawing many more, to the Breach of his Oaths, and the great Affliction of the *Engliſh*. Upon this Prince *Edgar* fled again into *Scotland*, and ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Nobility into *Denmark*, and ſome into *Norway*, purſuing any Methods to avoid the *Norman* Yoak. Abbot *Fretheric* fled into the Iſle of *Ely*, where he ſhortly after ended his Days; upon whoſe Death the King kept the Abby of St, *Albans* vacant in his Hands, and very much oppreſs'd it by cutting down the Woods, and impoveriſhing the Tenants; and unleſs he had been reſtrain'd by the Reproofs of Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc*, he had irreparably deſtroy'd that noble Foundation.

A. D. 1071. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$.

Morchar *and others rebel in the Iſle of* Ely.

They are reduc'd.

About the ſame Time the great Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, ſuſpecting the Succeſs of their Affairs, privately retired from Court, deſigning a new Rebellion; the former in his Paſſage towards *Scotland* was betray'd by his own Followers, and ſlain; *Morchar* betook himſelf to the Iſle of *Ely*, where he met with *Egelwin* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Siward* ſurnam'd *Barne*, *Walter* Biſhop of *Hereford*, and many other great Men of the *Engliſh*. Theſe daily increaſing, ſent for *Hereward*, a Perſon renowned in many Places for his extraordinary Valour, to be their chief Commander; particularly urging him on the Behalf of *Thurſtan*, then Abbot of the Place, and his Monks, who were Owners of the Iſle; and upon their Account the ſame was fortify'd againſt the King. Not long after, the King, who never gave Time to Inſurrections, march'd down againſt theſe Male-contents, and by the Aſſiſtance of his Marriners ſtopp'd up all the Paſſages on the Eaſt-ſide of the Iſland, and built a Caſtle at *Wesbich*; and on the Weſt-ſide he made a Bridge from the Continent to the Iſle, two Miles in length. Yet ſtill he met with great Difficulties and Reſiſtance, 'till after the Loſs of many Men, he was adviſ'd to ſeize all the Lands and Goods belonging to the Monaſtery that were out of the Iſle, and divide them among his Soldiers, in order to oblige them to greater Care and Vigilance. This being effected, and the King's Power increaſing, the Monks after a Conſultation with their Abbot reſolv'd not only to ſubmit to the King, upon Condition he would honourably reſtore all their Lands, but alſo to give him a thouſand Marks, and accordingly ſent their Propoſals; which were readily and graciouſly accepted, and the Iſland peaceably deliver'd into his Hands. The Noblemen were all conſtrain'd to ſubmit to the King's Mercy, only the valiant *Hereward* with a few Followers with great Difficulty eſcap'd over the Fens, and got into *Scotland*. Then the King, having cut off the Hands and put out the Eyes of many of the common Soldiers, let them go; but for Earl *Morchar*, with the Noblemen and Gentlemen taken with him, he ſent them to ſeveral Priſons; and Biſhop *Egelwin*, being ſent to *Abingdon*, there ſtarv'd himſelf to Death. The better to ſecure the Iſland to his Obedience, the King quarter'd forty *Norman* Knights in the Monaſtery, obliging the Monks not only to find them Subſiſtance, but alſo their uſual Wages.

A. D. 1072. Reg. $\frac{6}{7}$.

The King marches into Scotland.

Both Kings come to a Treaty.

The King having happily finiſh'd this Adventure, found that the Root of all his Dangers was in *Scotland*, which Country had always been a Sanctuary for his Enemies and the Male-contents of his Kingdom, and now the Receptacle of his Competitor Prince *Edgar*. Therefore to put an End to all future Diſputes, and alſo to revenge ſome late Devaſtations made in *England* by the King of *Scotland*, he reſolv'd to invade that Kingdom in Perſon, and accordingly with a powerful Army enter'd *Galloway*, where the Soldiers were more haraſs'd in paſſing over the barren Mountains and Marſhes than purſuit of the Enemy; wherefore he was oblig'd to turn another Way, and march directly towards King *Malcolm*'s Army in *Lothian*, with a Reſolution to finiſh the War with one Battel. But *Malcolm* wiſely conſidering the Danger to which he was expos'd, ſent Ambaſſadors to King *William* with Terms of Agreement; and the other conſidering the Hazards of a Battel in a difficult and unknown Country, accepted of his Terms, on Condition that he ſhould take an Oath of Fealty to him, and all Offenders on both Sides be pardon'd. And hereupon King *Malcolm* did his Homage to King *William*; but whether for all *Scotland*, or the *Low-Lands*, or for *Cumberland*, Authors are not well agreed. In the Memory of this Treaty there was a Stone Croſs erected in the Middle of the Mountains of *Stanemore* in *Richmondſhire*, which was call'd the *Royal Croſs*, having the Arms of both Kings engraven on the ſeveral Sides of it, which was for the future to ſerve as a Boundary between the two Kingdoms, the Remainder of which was to be ſeen in *Camden*'s Time. And here with the univerſal Change brought about in *England*, the Kingdom of *Scotland* is likewiſe obſerv'd to have had no ſmall Share: The former great Recourſe of the *Engliſh* into *Scotland*, both to attend the Queen and her Brother *Edgar*, as well as for their own Safety, not only introduc'd the *Engliſh* Language into the Court and Country, but alſo the Faſhions, Vanity of Apparel, Riot, Luxury and Exceſs of the *Engliſh*, much to the Damage and effeminating that hardy and warlike Nation. And many of the *Engliſh*, forſaking the Place of their Birth and Habitation, were receiv'd into the Favour of that King; who being by his Liberality there ſettled, have ſince that Time propagated, and brought forth Branches of many noble Families, whoſe Poſterity continue to this Day. And we are inform'd that about this Time were the Degrees and Titles of Honour firſt known in that Country, as Duke, Earl, Baron and Knight; and the nobler Sort of the *Scots*, in Imitation of the *French* and *Engliſh*, began to be call'd by the honourable Titles, from the Names of their Families, or the beſt of their Poſſeſſions.

A Conteſt between the Sees of Canterbury *and* York.

In this Year a Conteſt of another Nature was alſo decided, which was between the two Arch-Biſhops of this Kingdom, *Lanfranc* and *Thomas*, who being lately return'd from *Rome*, by the Pope's Order a great Synod was held concerning the ancient Diſpute of the Juriſdiction of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* over the other at *York*; where the Matter being fully debated on both Sides, at length the Synod gave Sentence in favour of the See of *Canterbury*, in the Preſence of the King, the Pope's Legate, the Biſhops and Abbots of ſeveral Orders; and the Decree was ſubſcrib'd by the King, Queen, and Chief of the Nation.

A. D. 1073. Reg. $\frac{7}{8}$.

The King's Wars againſt France.

Prince Edgar *receiv'd into Favour.*

IV. For about ſeven Years King *William* had met with Diſturbances only in his new acquir'd Kingdom; but now having ſurmounted theſe Difficulties, he was diſquieted with new Troubles from the King of *France*, who this Year renew'd the ancient Conteſt, and invaded his Dominions about *Normandy*. Upon which the King without Delay tranſported a powerful Army into *Normandy*, as well *Engliſh* as *Normans*; and in a ſhort Time, chiefly by the Valour and Bravery of the *Engliſh*, he retook the City of *Mans*, and the Province of *Maine*, which had lately revolted; but not without great Spoil in deſtroying of Vineyards, and burning of Cities and Towns. Here *Edgar Etheling* came to him out of *Scotland*, who was graciouſly receiv'd with all his Followers, and he himſelf honourably maintain'd in the King's Court, where he was generouſly allow'd a Pound Weight of Silver for every Day's Expence: A rare Example of a prevailing Conqueror, ſhew'd upon a Man ſo unconſtant, who had twice broken his Oath of Fidelity, and dangerous ſo near his Perſon, as being the only Competitor of his Crown. But this Prince dealt more roughly with the new Pope *Gregory*, who about this Time by Letters demanded an Oath of Fealty from him for the Crown of *England*, to be held of the *Roman* See; alledging, ‘ That the Royal ‘ Power, next under God, was to be ſubject to the Care ‘ and Government of the Apoſtolick Juriſdiction. To whom King *William* return'd a free Anſwer, in which he utterly deny'd any ſuch Authority, and he was ſo far from paying him any ſuch mean Submiſſion, that *Eadmer* aſſures us, He would not permit any Subject in his Dominions to acknowledge any Man for Pope, but whom he had firſt allow'd of, nor ſo much as to receive his Letters, unleſs they had been firſt ſhewn to himſelf.

A. D. 1074. Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$.

A dangerous Conſpiracy:

While the King continu'd in *Normandy*, a dangerous Conſpiracy was form'd againſt him in *England*, not only by ſome of the *Engliſh*, but alſo *Norman* Nobility; which was occaſion'd by *Ralph de Waher*, Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who having marry'd *Emma* the Daughter of *Roger* Earl of *Hereford*, Couſin to the King, without his Conſent, was ſo tranſported with the Greatneſs of the Alliance, and the Power of Wine, that on the Wedding-Day he perſuaded his Gueſts into a Rebellion: With whom the Bride's Father readily join'd, together with *Waltheof*, lately made Earl of *Northumberland*, with ſeveral other Barons, Abbots and Biſhops. But Earl *Waltheof* repented the next Morning, alledging that he was deluded and overcome with Wine, and immediately went to *Lanfranc* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, confeſs'd the whole Deſign, and receiv'd Abſolution from him; by whoſe Advice he alſo went into *Normandy*, diſcover'd all

to

Which is quelled.

to the King, and threw himſelf upon his Mercy. But the reſt returning to their ſeveral Caſtles, began the Rebellion with all their united Forces, and confederating with the *Welſhmen*, they burnt and plunder'd many of the King's Towns: But the Governors of his Caſtles, together with the People of thoſe Countries, ſoon fruſtrated their Deſigns; for *Wulſtan*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, with a great Number of Men, and *Egelwin*, Abbot of *Eveſham*, with his Tenants, being ſent for to his Aſſiſtance, with *Urſe* Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire*, and *Walter de Lacy* and his Men, all marching together prevented the Earl of *Hereford* from paſſing the *Severn*, and joining with Earl *Ralph* at the appointed Place. At the ſame Time *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and *Godfrey* Biſhop of *Conſtance*, being incamp'd near *Cambridge*, hinder'd Earl *Ralph* from marching any further; who ſeeing his Deſigns thus diſappointed, retir'd to *Norwich*, where committing the Caſtle and the Garriſon to the Cuſtody of his Wife, he took Ship, and ſail'd over into *Bretaign*, and from thence into *Denmark*. But his Oppoſers took as many of his Followers as they could find, and either kill'd or diſabled them; and the King's Lieutenants laid cloſe Siege to the Caſtle of *Norwich*, which at length ſurrender'd, and the Counteſs, with thoſe of her Party, by the King's Permiſſion left *England*, and went over to her Husband in *Denmark*. Not long after, Earl *Ralph* with *Canute*, Son to *Swane* King of *Denmark*, and a certain Earl call'd *Hacun*, return'd into *England* with two hundred Sail of Ships; but finding no great Proſpect of Succeſs, they withdrew into *Flanders*.

The King's Severity.

A. D. 1075. Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$. Waltheof *beheaded.*

The Engliſh *oppreſs'd.*

King *William* now return'd from *Normandy*, and ſome Relicks of Rebellion remaining in the Weſt, he haſten'd thither, where he ſoon put an End to all Tumults, and us'd the Conſpirators with great Severity, cut off the Hands of ſome, put out the Eyes of others, hang'd ſome upon Gibbits, and thoſe who eſcap'd beſt, ſuffer'd Baniſhment. Nor could Earl *Waltheof* himſelf eſcape Puniſhment, notwithſtanding he had reveal'd the Conſpiracy; for after the King had tax'd him with Ingratitude, he caus'd him to be beheaded at *Wincheſter*, tho' as it is ſaid, he had before promis'd him Pardon, his great Poſſeſſions being his greateſt Enemies; for he was Earl of *Northumberland*, *Northampton* and *Huntington*, which Dignities were by the King thought more fit for his *Norman* Subjects; and the Deſire of a new Marriage excited his Wife *Judith* not a little to promote his Death. His Body being bury'd at the Abby of *Croyland*, his Tomb ſoon became ſo famous for pretended Miracles, and the King thereby ſo far diſoblig'd, that he depriv'd the Abbot of the Place, and put in *Ingulphus*, one of our moſt conſiderable Hiſtorians. By reaſon of this Conſpiracy *Malmesbury* excuſes the King's future Severity to the *Engliſh*, and ſays he ſcarce found any of them faithful, which ſo exaſperated his Temper towards them, that he depriv'd the more Powerful of them firſt of their Mony, then of their Lands, and afterwards many of them of their Lives. So that from about this Time we may date that remarkable *Epocha*, which the ſame Author mentions in another Place, and which had continu'd to his own Time, namely, That *England* was then become the Habitation of Strangers: So that it is certain when he wrote, that tho' many *Engliſh* Men enjoy'd Eſtates, yet there was no Native original *Engliſh* Man, who was Earl, Biſhop, or Abbot; but, adds he, Foreigners devour the Riches of *England*, and eat out its very Bowels.

The King goes into France.

A. D. 1076. Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$. *The Removal of ſeveral Biſhops Sees.*

The King having with his uſual Succeſs ſuppreſs'd all Diſturbances, and committed the Earldom of *Northumberland* to the Care of *Walcher* Biſhop of *Durham*, went a third time into *Normandy*, enter'd *Bretaign* with an Army, and there beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Dole*, which belong'd to the rebellious Earl *Ralph*; but the Garriſon ſo long defended it, that *Philip* King of *France* found Time to relieve it, and raiſe the Siege; ſo that the King was oblig'd to return into *England*, and to paſs this and the next Year in Peace. During which Time, according to *Brompton*, a great Synod was held in St. *Paul*'s Church in *London*, under Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc*, the Uſe of Eccleſiaſtical Synods being 'till then almoſt obſolete in *England*. In this the Precedency of Biſhops in Synods and Councils was determin'd, and the chief thing ordain'd was, That ſeveral of the Biſhops Sees ſhould be remov'd from ſmaller Towns to Cities: By Virtue of which, the See of *Selſey* was tranſlated to *Chicheſter*; that of *Wells* to *Bath*; that of *Shirburne* to *Salisbury*; that of *Dorcheſter* to *Lincoln*; and that of *Litchfield* to *Cheſter*, which was afterwards remov'd firſt to *Coventry*, and then to *Litchfield* again. About the ſame Time alſo the See of *Elmham* was remov'd to *Thetford*, and not long after to *Norwich*.

A. D. 1077. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

The King's Son Robert *rebels in* Normandy.

The King worſted.

A Peace made.

After King *William* had, as he imagin'd, finiſh'd all Wars and Conteſts both at home and abroad, a leſs ſuſpected and more unnatural War broke out in *Normandy*, which with ſome Intermiſſions laſted two or three Years. This was occaſion'd by his eldeſt Son *Robert* whom he had left in *Normandy*, a Gentleman of an aſpiring and prodigal Temper, who being openly aſſiſted by *Philip* King of *France*, and privately encourag'd by his own Mother *Matilda*, boldly laid Claim to the whole Dukedom of *Normandy*, alledging his Father's Promiſe made to him when he firſt gain'd *England*. Accordingly being aſſiſted by the *French* King, he vigorouſly invaded the Country, burnt ſeveral Towns, and made great Devaſtations. The King, tho' at firſt diſcompos'd at the News of his Son's Inſolence, yet believing it had no deeper Root, but what would ſoon wither or be cut off by his Preſence, gather'd immediately what Forces he could raiſe, and with an Army of his *Engliſh* Subjects ſail'd over now to invade *Normandy*, as he had done formerly to invade *England* with the *Normans*. In the firſt Year, after no very great Struggles on either ſide, a Truce and a Peace was made; but in a ſhort time Duke *Robert*, reſtleſs in his Ambition, broke thro' all Obligations, enter'd into new Acts of Hoſtility, and at length preſs'd very hard upon his Father near the Caſtle of *Gerboret*. At which Place they came to a general Battel, which was very obſtinate on both Sides, in which Duke *Robert* furiouſly encounter'd his Father unknown to him, and not only wounded him in the Arm with his Lance, but diſmounted him. King *William* thus fallen, immediately call'd for a Horſe, ſtorming to ſee his Blood ſpilt in his own Land, which had never been drawn by the Weapons of Foreigners, and in a great Rage threaten'd Revenge. *Robert* knowing his Father's Voice haſtily alighted, and in his Arms took him from the Ground, humbly deſiring his Pardon for this unknown Fact, and Forgiveneſs of his raſh Attempt; then mounting him upon his own Horſe, he brought him in Safety out of the Throng, who now ſeeing himſelf too weak to withſtand the Enemy, left the Honour of the Field to *Robert*, with the Loſs of great Numbers of his Men, and the wounding of his Son *William Rufus*. This uncommon Accident in a ſhort time after brought both Parties to an Accommodation, and Peace being made, *Robert* return'd into *England* with his Father, but could never wholly regain his Favour. This was the only conſiderable Defeat the King receiv'd in his whole Life; in all the reſt of which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that even Foreign Nations dreaded his very Name.

A. D. 1078. Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$. *The Tower of* London *built.*

New-Caſtle *built.*

During the Time of theſe Wars, the better to ſecure the City of *London*, the King laid the Foundation of a ſtrong Caſtle or Citadel, ſurrounded with a large deep Ditch lying on the Eaſt Side of the City, now call'd the *Tower of London*; the chief Surveyor of which Work was *Gundulph*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. Therefore thoſe who would have it founded by *Julius Cæſar* are much miſtaken, unleſs they can prove that the King only built it upon ſome old Foundation laid by him; which yet is not probable, ſince no Author relates that ever *Julius Cæſar* came to *London*. About a Year after, Duke *Robert* marching into the North againſt King *Malcolm*, founded another remarkable Caſtle upon the River *Tine*, at a Ford or Paſſage where before ſtood a ſmall Village call'd *Monkceſter*, from certain Monks who liv'd there in great Auſterity and Retirement: But after the Building of this Fortreſs, it was from thence call'd *New-Caſtle upon Tine*, which Name it ſtill retains.

A. D. 1080. Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$.

A general Survey made of the Nation.

V. King *William* had now ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd his Affairs both at home and abroad, that for the laſt ſeven Years of his Reign he met with no very conſiderable Diſturbances; ſo that he had leiſure to apply himſelf to the Arts of Peace, and the Orders of the State, in which he was no leſs skilful and vigorous than in thoſe of War. In ſome Things he proceeded laudably and honourably, in others ſeverely and arbitrarily, and in all Things conſiderately and politickly. One of his great Deſigns was to make a general and compleat Survey of the whole Nation, which he began this Year, and did not finiſh it 'till ſix Years after. This great Work was manag'd and carry'd on by particular Commiſſioners, who were ſome of the greateſt Earls and Biſhops of the Nation; who by the Verdict or Preſentment of Juries, or certain Perſons ſworn in every County, Hundred or Wapentach, enquired and noted down what Arable Land, Paſture, Meadow and Wood every Man had, and what was the Extent and Value of them in the Time of King *Edward* the Confeſſor. And alſo at the ſame Time, the Survey was made by Counties, Hundreds, Towns or Manors, Hides, half Hides, Virgates and Acres of Arable Land, Meadow, Paſture and Wood. Alſo they noted what Mills and Fiſhings, and in ſome Counties, what and how many Free-Men, Sock-Men, Villains, Borders, Servants, young Cattle, Sheep, Swine, working Horſes, Hives of Bees, *&c.* belong'd to every Town and Manor, and whoſe they were; always in every County putting down the King's Name firſt, and after him all the great Men in

Order, that held of him in Chief, with Numbers plac'd before them, for the eaſier finding them in the Book, as may be ſeen in the Catalogue of Tenants in Chief, or the Poſſeſſors of ſuch Lands at the Time of the Survey. All *England*, with Part of *Wales*, was deſcrib'd, except the three Counties of *Weſtmorland*, *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*; and the Deſcription or Survey written, was in two Books, now call'd the great and little *Domeſday*-Book, remaining in the Cuſtody of the Vice-Chamberlains of the Exchequer. The little Book contains only the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Eſſex*. The Reaſon given for the Name of *Domeſday* is, That it was no more lawful to depart, or appeal from what was in it, than from the Day of *Dome*, or laſt Judgment. And being the higheſt Record in the Kingdom, it was then, and ſtill continues to be a deciſive Evidence in any Tryal where there is Occaſion to refer to it.

Domeſday-Book.

The King's Revenues:

This great Survey did not only increaſe, but alſo much more aſcertain the Revenues of the Crown, which then conſiſted of ſeveral Branches: As firſt the Crown Lands, which conſiſted of one thouſand four hundred and twenty two Manors or Lordſhips in ſeveral Counties, beſides ſeveral Farms and Lands in *Middleſex*, *Shropſhire* and *Rutlandſhire*. Theſe with the Eſcheats forfeited to the King for Felony or Treaſon, or reverted to the Crown for want of Heirs, together with the Rents reſerv'd of the Baronies and Lands he gave to his Followers, rais'd a vaſt Revenue in Mony. Another Branch was a Land-Tax call'd *Hidage*, which this King found here before his Arrival in the Time of *Edward* the Confeſſor, as appears every where in *Domeſday*-Book. A third Branch was Tolls and Cuſtoms for many Caſes, Wardſhips, Knights-Fees, Forfeitures, Fines, and pecuniary Puniſhments for Murder, Manſlaughter, Batteries, Fightings, Treſpaſſes, Miſdemeanor, *&c.* which were all redeem'd and ſatisfy'd by Penalties and Fines, as well now as in the *Saxons* Times. Not to proceed to every Particular, in ſhort this King's Revenue in general was ſo very great, that *Vitalis* aſſures us that it was computed at above one thouſand and ſixty Pound of Sterling Mony every Day of the Year, beſides his Gifts, Preſents and pecuniary Puniſhments, which was an immenſe Sum in thoſe Days, amounting to near four hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, and which now by a moderate Computation may be valu'd at five Millions of our Mony. Beſides this vaſt Revenue, he had a mighty ſtanding Army, eſpecially of Horſe, with which he made good his Acquiſitions without any Expence or Charge out of his Exchequer: For the ſame Author affirms, that he ſo diſtributed the Lands of *England* to his Followers and Soldiers, that he had ſixty thouſand Knights or Horſemen conſtantly at his Command, to be imploy'd in any Expedition where occaſion requir'd.

And Forces.

As this King was careful as to his Revenues and Power, ſo was he no leſs diligent as to Laws and Government; and upon pretence of Juſtice and Piety, or elſe of Neceſſity and Safety, he aboliſh'd ſeveral ancient *Saxon* Inſtitutions, and made ſeveral new, beſides great Changes in others. He alſo caus'd the Laws of the Kingdom, which had been anciently written in *Saxon*, and by *Edward* the Confeſſor publiſh'd in *Latin*, now to be tranſlated into *Norman*. He order'd all Pleas in the ſeveral Courts to be made in the ſame Language, as likewiſe all Petitions preſented to the King, and all Orders of Court and Council. This introduc'd new Terms, new Forms of Pleading and of Proceſs, new Names of Offices and of Courts; and with them all the Cuſtoms and Subtelties of the *Norman* Pleas and Conveyances, inſtead of the old *Saxon* Simplicity. Among the *Saxons* it was uſual to grant Lands and Houſes by bare Words, and with the Delivery of ſome trivial Gift, as an Horn, a Sword, an Arrow, or a Helmet; yet the Honeſty of thoſe Times left them little ſubject to any Diſputes or Contentions. But this Prince reduc'd all Grants to Writing, to Signature, and to Witneſſes, which in Time introduc'd more Cavils and Actions, than former Methods. He appointed Juſtices to preſerve the Peace, and to adminiſter Juſtice in every County, purſuant to what was us'd in the former Reigns. For the Pleas of the Crown, and thoſe of greater Moment between Subjects, he created learned and noble Judges, and ordain'd four Terms each Year, conſiſting of a certain Number of Days, wherein Juſtice ſhould be duly adminiſter'd, and all Suits heard in ſuch Places as the King ſhould appoint, and find moſt convenient. Beſides theſe Orders he inſtituted the Courts of Chancery and the Exchequer; the firſt for tempering the Rigour of Laws, according to the Dictates of Conſcience and Equity; and the other for determining all Actions concerning the Revenues of the Crown, and puniſhing unjuſt Officers who levied or receiv'd them, as well as backward Paymaſters. By theſe Changes he alſo abrogated the Judiciary Power exercis'd by the Biſhops in each County where Juſtice was adminiſter'd; where the Biſhop with the Alderman, or Earl of each Shire, ſat as Judge in thoſe Courts, which had not only increas'd their Authority but alſo their Revenue, by a Share they had in the King's Fines they levy'd.

His Laws and Inſtitutions.

But whatever Innovations and Changes were made in all other Things, the Government of the Peace and Security of the Kingdom ſeems to have been continu'd as before; and particularly he retain'd the Uſe of that famous Law, not yet wholly diſus'd, call'd *the Burrough Law*, by which every free Man of the Commons of *England* ſtood as Surety for each others good Behaviour, every Borough or Tything being oblig'd to produce their Criminals to Juſtice; by which means Innocence became every Man's Intereſt, as well as Duty, ſince they were otherwiſe to ſhare in the Penalty. In the beginning of his Reign the Kingdom had been much infeſted with Outlaws and Robbers, and many *Normans* were ſecretly murder'd by the *Engliſh*, as they paſs'd alone upon the High-Ways or the Fields, eſpecially in the Night. To remedy which Miſchief, he impos'd a heavy Fine upon the Hundred where the Body of any *Norman* ſhould be ſlain, whether the Authors of the Fact were diſcover'd or not. All Adulteries by his Laws were made equal with Manſlaughters and Murders; and for all Rapes and Robberies, he caus'd them to be puniſh'd ſo ſeverely by cruel Mutilations of Members, and Hardſhips of Labour, as left them miſerable Spectacles, or Warnings of their Crimes, during the reſt of their Lives. By the Rigour of theſe Courſes, and ſuppreſſing of Idleneſs and Luxury, the chief Cauſes of ſuch Offences, he in time reduc'd the whole Realm to ſuch Security, that it is recorded that in his time a fair Virgin with a Purſe of Gold in her Hand, might have travell'd through the Nation, without any Danger to her Honour, or her Mony.

His Regulations.

Notwithſtanding many excellent Laws and Regulations, which greatly diſplay'd the Wiſdom and Abilities of this Prince, ſeveral of his Actions were miſinterpreted and diſlik'd, and others were too apparently blameable to admit of any Vindication, as favouring too much of the Tyrant and Oppreſſor. Particularly after an arbitrary manner he diſpeopled the South-Weſtern Parts of *Hampſhire*, deſtroy'd all the Towns and Villages, with thirty ſix Mother Churches, turn'd out the poor Inhabitants, for above thirty Miles together, and made a Foreſt for wild Beaſts, which the *Engliſh* then call'd *Ytene*, and at this Time *The new Foreſt*: Of which *W. Mapes*, who liv'd in the next Age, ſeverely obſerves, That the Conqueror took away great quantity of Land from God and Men, and converted it to the Uſe of wild Beaſts, and the Sport of his Dogs. This he did either to make a more eaſie Acceſs for his *Normans* into *England*, in caſe of Inſurrections; or to indulge himſelf in his Hunting, or elſe to raiſe Mony by Methods, tho' never ſo unjuſt. For he, more merciful to Beaſts than to Mankind, appointed moſt grievous pecuniary Fines, and other more ſevere Penalties, to be inflicted on thoſe who ſhould preſume to treſpaſs upon his Game and Retirement. But the Divine Vengeance ſeem'd to have purſu'd him not long after in the untimely Deaths of ſeveral of his Poſterity: For his ſecond Son *Richard* was in this Foreſt goared by a Deer, or poiſon'd by a peſtilential Blaſt; his third Son *William* was afterwards caſually ſlain by an Arrow in the ſame Place; and his Grandſon *Henry*, by his Son *Robert*, while he hotly purſu'd his Chace, was caught up by a Bough, like *Abſolon*, and left hanging 'till he dy'd. Beſides ſeveral Acts of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, this King in a particular manner diſoblig'd the *Engliſh* by his apparent Partiality to his Countrymen the *Normans*: For he did not only give them the greateſt Preferments, introduce their Cuſtoms, and publiſh his Laws in their Language, but alſo endeavour to make their Language to be general in the Nation. To which End, he caus'd many Schools to be erected for teaching that Tongue, which was a Baſtard *French*, not well underſtood by the *French* themſelves, and ſcarce at all by the *Engliſh*. But his Endeavours were in a great Meaſure fruſtrated by the Over-Ballance of the Numbers of the Nation, in Proportion to the Strangers, and by a general Averſion in the *Engliſh* to change their Language, which they thought would occaſion the final Overthrow of their Liberties. So that in this very Reign, inſtead of the *Engliſh* ſpeaking of the *Norman*, the *Normans* by means of Intermarriages, ordinary Commerce and Converſation, began generally to uſe the *Engliſh* Tongue, which has ever ſince compos'd the main Body of our Language, tho' chang'd like others by Mixture of many new Words and Phraſes, not only introduc'd by this great Revolution, but by the Uſes and Accidents of each ſucceeding Age.

He makes the New Foreſt *in* Hampſhire.

His Partiality to the Normans.

In the midſt of his Partiality to the *Normans*, this Prince ſhew'd ſo much Juſtice, that he would ſpare none who were guilty of great and known Crimes. Nor would he paſs by his Brother *Odo*, whom he had made Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and Earl of *Kent*, and on whom he heap'd ſuch great Honours and Favours. This Prelate, aſpiring to the Papal Chair, had purchas'd a magnificent Palace at

Rome,

He ſeizes upon his Brother Odo.

Matilda dies.

Rome, whither he was going with a noble Retinue, and a vaſt Treaſure, when the King came ſuddenly upon him in the Iſle of *Wight*, where he was ready to ſet Sail, and ſeiz'd him with his own Hand, when he could not perſuade thoſe about him to do it, ſince he alledg'd *he was a Clergy-Man, and not to be ſentenc'd without the Judgment of the* Pope; but the King reply'd, *he ſeiz'd on him not as a Clergy-Man, but as Earl of* Kent; whereupon all his mighty Riches were taken from him, and his Eſtate confiſcated: The Crimes the King laid to his Charge were the grievous Oppreſſions of the People during his Government, and the Seduction of his Subjects to forſake the Realm without his Leave; for he had engag'd *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, with many Knights and other Perſons of Quality, to attend him in his Journey to *Rome*. This happen'd in the Year 1082, after which, for four or five Years, 'till the laſt of this Reign, we find but little of Moment; only in the Year 1084 the King laid a heavy Tax of no leſs than ſix Shillings upon every Hide of Land throughout *England*; being threaten'd with an Invaſion from the *Danes*, againſt whom in the next Year he rais'd a vaſt Army, but found no great Service for his Soldiers. In the ſame Year his Queen *Matilda* dy'd in *Normandy*, to her Husband's great Affliction. In the next, *Edgar Etheling* having obtain'd the King's leave, went into *Italy* with two Hundred Knights, from whence he paſs'd into the Holy Land with *Robert* the Son of *Godwin* to fight againſt the *Saracens*; but his Siſter *Chriſtina* had ſome time before vow'd her ſelf a Nun in the Monaſtery of *Ramſey* in *Hampſhire*.

The King goes into France.

He is provok'd by that King.

He receives a Hurt.

The laſt Year of this Reign, which was 1087, prov'd very calamitous to *England* by reaſon of the malignant Feavers and Famines that deſtroy'd vaſt Numbers; alſo ſudden Fires conſum'd ſeveral of the principal Cities in the Nation; and St. *Paul*'s Church, with the greater and better part of the City of *London*, was burnt to the Ground. In which Year King *William* having ſettled his Affairs in *England*, and taken new Oaths of Fidelity from the Nobility, paſs'd over into *Normandy* with a powerful Army, to revenge himſelf upon the King of *France* for former Injuries; but not long after a Truce was made between them for a conſiderable Time. This was well obſerv'd on King *William*'s Part, 'till the King of *France* indiſcreetly took an Occaſion to jeſt upon his great Corpulency, for which he was then in a Courſe of Phyſick, declaring, *That his Brother of* England *was gone only to lay his great Belly at* Roven, *and he doubted he muſt be at the Charge to ſet up Lights at his Up-riſing.* This Scoff from a young King ſo rous'd and exaſperated the old Warrior, that he ſwore a deſperate Oath, *That as ſoon as he was Church'd, he would ſave him the Charge of ſetting up of Lights, and come himſelf, and light a thouſand Fires in the Bowels of* France. Accordingly in *Auguſt* following, the King to make good his Oath enter'd *France* with a mighty Army, deſtroy'd all the Corn and Fruits, committed great Ravages, and burnt many Towns and Villages; after which he beſieg'd the City of *Mante*, took it ſoon after, and burnt it, commanding the Fire to be continu'd till all the Buildings and Churches were burnt to the Ground. But the King being too eager in his Revenge, his Body was ſoon inflam'd by the Warmth of the Seaſon, as well as the Heat of the Fires; and then in his Retreat, upon leaping over a Ditch on Horſe-back, he ſo bruis'd the Rimm of his Belly againſt the Pummel of the Saddle, that he was ſoon thrown into a dangerous Diſtemper that ended his Days.

His laſt Speech.

His Death.

The King finding his Death approaching, began to be apprehenſive of his future Happineſs, and to think upon Acts of Mercy and Charity, and order'd great Sums to pious Uſes, particularly for the re-edifying thoſe Churches he had burnt in *Mante*. He likewiſe gave Order for the ſetting at Liberty the Earls *Morchar*, *Roger* and *Syward*, and alſo *Wulnoth*, Brother to King *Harold*, whom he had kept Priſoner from his Childhood, together with all others who were in Cuſtody, either in *England* or *Normandy*; not excepting his Brother *Odo*, who not without much Interceſſion was releas'd. *Vitalis* tells us that a little before his Death, he made a ſolemn Speech to his Sons and Friends about him, 'wherein he recounted many charitable Deeds and munificent Gifts of his own, but withal he acknowledg'd with infinite Sorrow, that he had been brought up in Wars, and polluted with Blood, and that he had been guilty of many Cruelties and Oppreſſions in relation to the *Engliſh*. Here he bequeath'd to his three Sons his whole Eſtate; to his eldeſt Son *Robert* the Dukedom of *Normandy*; but for the Kingdom of *England*, having obtain'd it by ſo many Crimes, he durſt leave it to none but God; tho' his Deſire was, that *William*, his moſt obedient Son, might enjoy it after his Deceaſe. But to *Henry*, his third Son then living, he left five thouſand Marks in Mony, without any Territories. His Son *Henry* complaining of this, and asking *What he ſhould do with the Mony, unleſs he had ſome Place to ſecure it*; he in a prophetical Manner is ſaid to make Anſwer, *That in Time he ſhould enjoy all the Honour that he himſelf had, and that he ſhould exceed both his Brothers in Glory and Riches.* Then to prevent any Diſturbances in *England*, he wrot a Letter to Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc* in favour of his Son *William*, who having receiv'd it with his Father's laſt Benediction, immediately haſten'd towards his new Kingdom. The King having ſettled his Affairs concerning this Life, the better to prepare for the next, caus'd himſelf to be remov'd to the Village of *Hermuntrade*, near *Roven*, to avoid the Noiſe of that City, where ſhortly after, with all the Marks of Devotion, he departed this Life, upon *Thurſday* the ninth Day of *September*, *A. D.* 1087, in the ſixty firſt Year of his Age, and the fifty ſecond of his Dukedom, after a tumultuous and glorious Reign of twenty Years, ten Months, and twenty ſix Days, reckoning from the Battel of *Haſtings*. His Body was ungratefully abandon'd by all his Servants, and with the utmoſt Privacy convey'd to his own Church at *Caen*, where the very Soil was challeng'd by a Country Gentleman, and a Sum of Mony laid down, before it was permitted to be bury'd; ſo that he who was Lord of ſo many Territories, now wanted Ground enough for a ſingle Grave.

His Character.

This was the End of this great Monarch *William* the Firſt, commonly call'd the *Conqueror*, who tho' he had that Name given him in all Ages, yet he obtain'd and enjoy'd the Crown of *England* by ſuch a Concurrency of various Circumſtances, that it may in a great meaſure be ſaid of him as was ſaid of *Auguſtus*, that he came to the Empire neither by Conqueſt, nor Uſurpation, nor Inheritance, nor Election, but by a ſtrange Mixture of all theſe together. To determine the Matter nicely is very difficult, and not ſo material as ſome would have it; but which way ſoever we admit of his Acceſſion to the Throne, we find, that being once poſſeſs'd of it, he acted as all wiſe Princes ever have done, that is labour'd by all Methods to continue himſelf in it. In which he illuſtriouſly diſplay'd both his Wiſdom and his Valour; having to encounter not only the Troubles rais'd by a diſcontented Kingdom and a rebellious Dukedom, but alſo the whole Power of *France*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, and *Wales*; all which he bravely ſurmounted with an uninterrupted Courſe of Proſperity; ſo that ſcarce any Prince ever made a greater Figure in Hiſtory. As to his bodily Perfections he was well proportion'd, of a vigorous and healthful Conſtitution, of a noble Preſence, ſitting or ſtanding; of a maſculine Beauty, in which there was a Mixture of Majeſty and Severity; and had ſo great a Strength, that few of his Court could draw his Bow. As to thoſe of his Mind, he was both wiſe and active, penetrating in his Deſigns, daring in his Enterprizes, and ſteady in the Proſecution of them. All agree that he was chaſte and temperate, pious, valiant and great in all his Actions, eſpecially in ſuch as expreſt his Royal State and Dignity. His Paſtimes were chiefly Hunting and Feaſting, in the latter of which he always diſplay'd his Grandeur, annually keeping the Feaſts of *Chriſtmas* at *Gloceſter*, that of *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter*, and that of *Whitſuntide* at *Weſtminſter*; to which Places he ſummon'd all the great Men of the Kingdom, both Clergy and Laity, that Foreign Ambaſſadors might be Witneſſes of his extraordinary Magnificence; at which Times he was more eaſie of Acceſs, and ſhew'd great Inſtances of Bounty and Indulgence to all Men. Yet among his many Virtues, he is much accus'd of being of a covetous, rapacious and cruel Diſpoſition, which produc'd innumerable Acts of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion; which others think were rather the Effects of his Policy, the Neceſſity of his Affairs, and the Inconſtancy and frequent Rebellions of thoſe Subjects who had ſworn Allegiance to him. But in the Proſecuting of ſuch he oftentimes ſhew'd uncommon Generoſity, pardoning the ſame Offenders two or three Times over; Earl *Waltheof* being the only Noblemen that was put to Death in his Reign. He was of ſo brave and fearleſs a Temper, that contrary to the Policy of other Kings, he promoted his only Rival *Edgar Etheling*, after he had been twice in Arms againſt him, and gave him a Revenue ſuitable to his Quality. The reſt of the *Engliſh* no doubt might have been happy under the Government of this Prince, who was really a Promoter of Piety, Learning, and all that was great; but being degenerated in their Morality and Virtue, divided in their Intereſts, and impolitick in ſtruggling for that Liberty they had actually given up, great Numbers of them brought themſelves under the moſt extream Miſeries and Oppreſſions. But *England* in general gain'd great Honour and Advantages by this Conqueſt, as will appear more plainly in the ſucceeding Hiſtory.

SECT. II.

The Reign of WILLIAM *the Second.*

Containing 12 *Years,* 10 *Months, and* 22 *Days.*

A. D. 1087. Reg. 1.

William Rufus *comes over into* England.

I. KING *William* left three Sons behind him, *Robert*, *William*, and *Henry*, of whom the two youngeſt obtain'd and poſſeſs'd the Crown of *England*. Before his Breath was departed, young *William* knowing his Father's Intentions, poſted for *England* with *Bloet* the Houſhold Chaplain, together with Earl *Morchar* and *Wulnoth*, who for a while he kept as Priſoners, 'till he had ſeiz'd all his Father's Treaſure at *Wincheſter*, which amounted to ſixty thouſand Pounds in Mony, beſides Gold, Jewels and Plate, an immenſe Sum in thoſe Days. In obtaining of which he is ſaid to have been much aſſiſted by his Father's Steward *Eudo*, who before his Arrival had ſecur'd not only *Wincheſter*, but alſo *Dover*, *Pevenſey*, *Haſtings*, and other Caſtles on the Coaſts. After which, ſtill fearing his elder Brother's Intereſt, he apply'd himſelf with his Letters to Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc*, by whom he had been both educated and knighted; and to remove all Obſtructions, he ſolemnly ſwore, '*To preſerve Juſtice, Equity and Mercy* '*throughout his Kingdom, and alſo to defend the Peace and* '*Liberty of the Church, and in all Things to obſerve the* '*Arch-Biſhop's Directions*. Upon which, and other Promiſes made to the Nobility, he ſoon procur'd ſo great an Intereſt, that upon *Sunday* the twenty ſeventh Day of *September* he was crown'd King at *Weſtminſter*, by the two Arch-Biſhops of the Nation, in the Preſence of moſt of the other Biſhops, and many of the Nobility.

He is crowned King.

This Prince, who from his ruddy Complexion, or red Hair, obtain'd the common Name of *Rufus*, was now about thirty one Years of Age, and in the Vigour of his Youth; being bred up to the Sword, he was naturally warm, rough and haughty, more courageous than pious, and more gallant than good. Yet in the former Part of his Reign, being in a great Meaſure govern'd by the wiſe Councils of *Lanfranc*, he acted in many Things worthily and honourably; and was very careful in the Diſtribution of his Father's Treaſure to thoſe pious Uſes mention'd in his Will. But his Natural Temper, and his Want of Primogeniture, ſoon rais'd a great Faction in the Nation againſt him, who favouring the Pretenſions, and liking the Perſon of his elder Brother *Robert*, occaſion'd great Troubles and Diſturbances. The chief of this Party was his Uncle *Odo*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, who tho' he had been lately reſtor'd to all his Honours and Dignities, yet envying the Power and Intereſt of Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc*, he made no better uſe of them, than to endeavour to ruin both him and his Sovereign. And drawing into this Conſpiracy his Brother *Robert*, Earl of *Hereford*, with many others of the *Engliſh* Nobility, he wrote Letters to his Nephew in *Normandy*, urging him to haſten into *England*, and recover his Right, which he did not doubt but by his Means would be effectual. The Buſineſs thus forwarded, and the *Engliſh* daily reſorting into *Normandy*, aſſur'd Duke *Robert* of a happy Succeſs; but having before liv'd above his Fortunes, his greateſt Obſtruction was Want of Mony. Therefore applying himſelf to his youngeſt Brother *Henry*, who had much Gold and no Land, he furniſh'd himſelf by Mortgaging to him the County of *Conſtantine*, a Province in *Normandy*; and then ſent to *Odo*, that he ſhould expect his Landing in the Weſt of *England* by a Day prefix'd. Upon this the Biſhop aſſum'd more Courage, and ſhew'd himſelf firſt in the Action; and fortifying *Rocheſter*, began to diſturb the County of *Kent*, urging his Accomplices to follow his Example, which was accordingly perform'd: For in the Weſt *Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, aſſiſted by *Geffry* Biſhop of *Conſtance*, ſeiz'd upon *Bath* and *Berkley*, with a great Part of *Wiltſhire*, and ſtrongly fortify'd the Caſtle of *Briſtow* againſt King *William*: In *Norfolk*, *Roger Bigot*, in *Leiceſterſhire*, *Hugh Grentemeiſnil*, did extreamly waſte thoſe Counties; *Roger Montgomery*, with his *Welſh* Men, aſſiſted by *William* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Barnard* of *Newmerch*, *Roger Lacie*, and *Ralph Mortimer*, all *Normans*, with Fire and Sword paſs'd the Country of *Worceſter*. And theſe Inſurrections were ſo dangerous, and Duke *Robert* ſo favour'd, that in the Judgment of *Gemeticenſes*, had he haſten'd his Arrival, and purſu'd the Opportunity, he might with no great Difficulty have obtain'd the Crown of *England*.

A Faction raiſed againſt him.

A. D. 1088. Reg. ½.

His Brother Robert *the chief.*

Great Diſturbances.

King William*'s Proviſions.*

King *William* obſerving the Poſture of his Affairs, vigorouſly proceeded to the ſuppreſſing theſe Inſurrections; and to that end he aſſembled many Biſhops, Earls, and natural *Engliſh*, with *Lanfranc* at the Head of them; and declaring his Intentions, with the Addition of many ſpecious Promiſes, they all aſſur'd him of their Aſſiſtance. Then ordering his Fleet to guard the Seas againſt his Brother *Robert*'s intended Deſcent, he march'd in Perſon againſt his Uncle *Odo*, and in *May* beſieg'd him in *Rocheſter*, together with *Euſtathius* Earl of *Bulloign*, *Robert de Beleſme*, and many other Noblemen, and Perſons of inferior Rank, who in vain expected the Aſſiſtance of Duke *Robert*, who was detain'd only by Eaſe and Sloath from his promis'd Expedition. Theſe were at length forc'd out of the Town into the Caſtle, where many periſh'd by a raging Sickneſs, and being preſs'd with many other Neceſſities, they ſent a Meſſage to the King, *That upon Condition they might enjoy their Lands and Eſtates, they would deliver up the Caſtle, and for the future ſerve him faithfully as their natural Lord.* But the King provok'd by their Behaviour and theſe Propoſals, ſolemnly ſwore, *That he would take the perfidious Rebels by Force, and deſtroy them with all Kinds of Deaths*; and when his Nobility, who had many Friends and Relations in the Caſtle, perſuaded him to Moderation, he return'd them this remarkable Anſwer, *That whoſoever ſpar'd Perjur'd Men, Robbers, Plunderers and Traitors, depriv'd all good Men of their Peace and Quietneſs, and laid a Foundation of innumerable Miſchiefs to the Virtuous and Innocent.* But at length, overcome by the Interceſſion of his faithful Friends, the Biſhops, with the *Engliſh* Noblemen, and other loyal ancient Barons, he granted the Beſieg'd their Lives, pardon'd the Loſs of their Limbs, and gave them leave to paſs out of the Caſtle with their Horſes and Arms, but without Hopes of ever enjoying their Lands and Eſtates during his Reign. Whereupon they were all forced to quit the Kingdom, as was alſo Biſhop *Odo*, who now irrecoverably loſt all his Honours, and vaſt Eſtate in *England*.

He beſieges the Rebels in Rocheſter.

He reduces them.

After this King *William* beſtow'd the Eſtates of theſe baniſh'd Noblemen upon others, who had ſerv'd him faithfully during this War; which tho' it was now happily and unexpectedly finiſh'd, it was chiefly the Effect of ſome politick Methods which the King took at the Beginning of theſe Commotions. For it was not by open Force that he quell'd this great Defection of the *Normans*, but by publiſhing, That he would eaſe all his Subjects, and eſpecially the Native *Engliſh* of their great Taxes, promiſing them better Laws, with the free Liberty of Hunting in his Foreſt; as alſo by deluding ſome of the chief *Norman* Noblemen with large Promiſes, and ſpecious Pretences. Thus he inſinuated himſelf to *Roger Montgomery*, a Principal in the Inſurrection, to whom he promis'd, *That he would willingly quit the Government, if he and thoſe his Father had deſign'd his Curators ſhould think fit*: Yet adding, *He could not conceive why they ſhould be ſo violent againſt him: For if they expected Mony, or an Augmentation of their Lands, they ſhould not be diſappointed, provided they did not queſtion his Father's Will and Judgment, which by deſpiſing would hazard their own Safety; for the ſame Man who made him King, made them Earls and Noblemen.* With theſe and the like Inſinuations the Earl was brought off from the Confederacy, which was then immediately broken, and the Nation reduc'd to quiet; all Parties concern'd either ſubmitting or leaving the Kingdom.

The Methods he us'd.

A. D. 1089. Reg. ⅔.

The King degenerates.

Lanfranc *dies.*

But no ſooner was the King freed from his Fears, and well eſtabliſh'd in his Throne, but forgetting all Oaths and Promiſes, he took quite contrary Meaſures, and us'd many Extortions and Oppreſſions. And being mildly admoniſh'd of his Breach of Faith by Arch-Biſhop *Lanfranc*, he in a Paſſion reply'd, *Who can perform all that he has promis'd*? and would never after afford him a kind Look. Yet ſtill the Preſence of this worthy Man was ſome Awe and Reſtraint upon his Actions; but that was remov'd in a ſhort Time after: For upon the 24th Day of *May* the Arch-Biſhop dy'd, to the unexpreſſible Grief of all good Men, as being the moſt eminent Inſtance of Learning and Wiſdom, as well as Piety and Charity, that this Age had produc'd. After which the King more openly ſhew'd his rapacious Inclinations; always covetous, yet never frugal, and ſtill graſping and gathering, yet never filling his Coffers. And now diſcovering what before lay conceal'd, he immediately ſeiz'd the whole Revenues of the Arch-Biſhoprick into his own Exchequer, allowing only neceſſary Maintenance to the Monks, and kept that See vacant for almoſt four Years. He did the ſame by the See of *Lincoln*, and all other Churches and Abbies, as ſoon as they became void, which were never beſtow'd and fill'd up ſo long as he could ſqueeze any thing conſiderable out of them; and when he could get nothing more, as *Eadmer* tells us, he would then ſell an Abby ſo pillag'd to ſome Monk who would bid moſt for it. In ſhort he was the firſt King of *England* who ſhew'd his Succeſſors the dangerous Precedent of keeping the Biſhopricks and their Livings vacant, and receiving the Profits himſelf. Which Grievances were complain'd of to Pope *Urban*; but he being employ'd in new and uncommon Deſigns, had not leiſure to endeavour a Redreſs of them.

A. D. 1090. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$. *The King goes into* Normandy *againſt his Brother.*

II. King *William* having ſufficiently ſecur'd his own Dominions at home, now caſt his Eyes upon thoſe of his Brother *Robert*, and ſuddenly made a Deſcent into *Normandy*, as *Scipio* did into *Africk*, reſolving to revenge all former Injuries. And firſt he ſurpriz'd the Caſtles of St. *Valery* and *Albermarle*, with others upon the Sea-Coaſt; then preſſing forwards committed great Devaſtations in the Country. *Robert* finding himſelf unprovided, and knowing the inſtable Fidelity of his Subjects, apply'd himſelf to *Philip* the *French* King, imploring his Aſſiſtance againſt his hoſtile Brother. *Philip* joining with him, was ſoon ſtopp'd in his Progreſs by a large Sum of Mony from King *William*; and ſo he return'd into his Country with more Riches, and leſs Honour than he had before. Upon which King *William* became more and more ſucceſsful, and not only the *Norman* Nobility began to favour him, but alſo the Citizens of *Roven* the Metropolis, being brib'd by his Gifts and Promiſes, treated with him to betray the City, together with their ſloathful Duke, into his Hands. One *Conon* a rich Citizen was the chief Conſpirator, and had bargain'd with King *William* to receive his Forces into the City; but the whole Deſign being diſcover'd to the Duke, he immediately join'd with his younger Brother *Henry*, who upon the Account of ill Uſage from him, was now ſetting up an independent Intereſt, and fortifying thoſe Towns that had been mortgag'd to him. *Henry* and his Followers threw themſelves into the City time enough to ſecure it, tho' with great Slaughter of the reſiſting Citizens; *Conon* the chief Traitor was taken, and for his Puniſhment by *Henry*'s Order was carry'd up into a high Tower, and from thence by his own Hands thrown out of a Window.

A. D. 1091. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$. *A Peace made between them.*

This Conjunction put a ſtop to King *William*'s Arms, but in the next Year he reſolv'd upon a ſecond Attempt, which being begun, was ſoon ended by a Reconciliation, and a Peace between the two Brothers, upon theſe Conditions: 'That the Duke ſhould yield to the King the 'Country of *Eu*, and the Towns of *Feſcamp* and *Cherburgh*, with all thoſe Caſtles which had revolted from 'him; in Conſideration of which the King ſhould reduce 'the County of *Maine* to the Duke's Obedience, with 'other Caſtles in *Normandy* then in Rebellion: That the 'King ſhould reſtore to the *Norman* Noblemen all thoſe 'Lands they had loſt for their Adherence to the Duke, 'and to the Duke himſelf ſo much Land in *England* as 'was then agreed between them. Laſtly, if the Duke 'ſhould die without lawful Iſſue, the King ſhould be his 'Heir, as he alſo the King's, upon the ſame Terms. For the Performance of theſe Articles twelve Barons on both Sides took their Oaths in the Behalf of their reſpective Princes, and King *William* in this Affair ſhew'd many Marks of Bounty and Magnificence towards the *Normans* and Strangers that reſorted to him. But by this Treaty Prince *Henry* was quite left out and deſerted, who finding thoſe Towns abandon him, which in Juſtice ought to have aſſerted his Cauſe, betook himſelf to St. *Michael*'s Mount as his laſt Retreat, from whence with his Soldiers he ravag'd the adjacent Country. To put a ſtop to him, his two Elder Brothers, now Confederates, join'd their Forces, and beſieg'd that ſtrong Fortreſs all the *Lent*, and loſt many Men with little Succeſs. During this remarkable Siege, the King riding alone ſome Diſtance from his Camp, ſaw ſeveral of the Enemy's Soldiers coming up to him; and truſting to his own Strength and Valour, boldly ingag'd them, but in the firſt Encounter his Horſe was ſlain under him, and himſelf thrown upon the Ground, with his Foot intangled in the Stirrup. Upon which Danger, and finding the Enemy ready to ſtrike, he cry'd out, *Hold, Knave, I am the King of* England! which ſo ſurpriz'd the Soldiers, that they immediately took him up with great Reſpect, and brought him another Horſe. The King ſpringing into the Saddle, briskly demanded *Who was the Man that diſmounted him*? and upon the Man's boldly ſhewing himſelf he ſwore his uſual Oath, *That hereafter he ſhould be his Knight, and he ſhould receive the juſt Reward of his Valour*. In the mean Time Prince *Henry* was much diſtreſs'd for want of Water, and knowing Duke *Robert* to be of the milder Diſpoſition, ſent a Meſſenger to him deſiring *That he might not be deny'd Water, but that he would ſubdue him by Force of Arms, and not by Thirſt*. Upon which the Duke gave him Liberty to ſupply himſelf; and being blam'd by his Brother *William* as impolitick, he reply'd, *What, ſhall I ſuffer my Brother to die with Thirſt? where ſhall we have another when he is gone*? But the King deriding the Duke's eaſy Nature, quitted the Siege, and return'd into *England*. However the Fortreſs was at laſt ſurrender'd to the Duke, and *Henry* permitted to go where he thought fit, who for ſome Years wander'd from Place to Place with one Knight, a Chaplain, and three Servants or Eſquires. About the ſame Time *Robert* baniſh'd *Edgar Etheling* out of his Country, and the King depriv'd him of all the Lands that had been given him, who thereupon went into *Scotland*, to King *Malcolm* his Brother-in-Law.

Henry *left to himſelf.*

He is beſieg'd.

The King in Danger.

His Generoſity.

Henry *reduced.*

Not long after, King *William* by Promiſes ſo far prevail'd with Duke *Robert*, that he brought him over into *England*, and had his Company in a new Expedition made againſt *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, who taking Advantage of the King's Abſence had invaded *Northumberland*. King *William* prepar'd both a great Fleet and a numerous Army, tho' much to the Loſs of either; for his Fleet was much ſhatter'd by Tempeſts, and many Men and Horſes periſh'd by Cold and Hunger in the barren Mountains. At length both Kings came to an Interview, where by the Means of *Edgar Etheling* a Peace was concluded upon theſe Conditions: 'Firſt, That *Malcolm* 'ſhould yield the King the ſame Obedince, as he had 'done to his Father King *William*: Secondly, That the 'King ſhould reſtore to *Malcolm* twelve Manors, which 'he formerly held under his Father, and ſhould alſo pay 'him annually twelve Marks of Gold. In Conſideration of this good Office, the King was again reconcil'd to Prince *Edgar*; and thereupon both the Kings return'd home in Peace. But as theſe two Princes were made Friends, ſo much about the ſame Time the two Brothers again became Enemies: For Duke *Robert*, well perceiving the Subtlety of his Brother, and that he delay'd to perform the Covenants of the Treaty between them, went aboard his Veſſels two Days before *Chriſtmas*, and taking *Edgar Etheling* along with him, in great Diſpleaſure paſs'd over into *Normandy*.

The King marches againſt the Scots.

A Peace concluded.

During the King's Abſence in the North there happen'd the total Conqueſt of all the Country of *Glamorgan* and *Morgannie* in *South-Wales*, upon this Occaſion. One *Eneon*, a popular Man, raiſing a Rebellion againſt *Rees* the Prince of *South-Wales*, drew over to his Side *Jeſtyn* Lord of *Glamorgan* and the neighbouring Parts, promiſing him to marry his Daughter. *Jeſtyn* finding their Faction too weak without foreign Aſſiſtance, ſent *Eneon* into *England*, where he had ſo much Intereſt as to procure Aid againſt Prince *Rees*; and conferring with *Robert Fitz-Hamond*, a valiant Knight of the King's Bed-Chamber, he ſo far wrought upon his Martial Temper, that for a fix'd Salary he undertook the Service; and with twelve Knights, and a competent Number of Soldiers march'd into *Wales*, where joining with *Jeſtyn*, he in Battel kill'd Prince *Rees*, with *Conon* his Son. *Robert* having perform'd his Service, and deſigning to return, demanded his Pay according to Covenants, which *Jeſtyn* in ſome part deny'd, alledging that *Eneon* had exceeded the Bounds of his Commiſſion. Upon which ſuch Diſcord aroſe between theſe Friends, that it occaſion'd a total Breach, and *Eneon* thus touch'd in his Reputation, join'd with the *Engliſh* againſt his own Countrymen, and coming to a Battel, *Jeſtyn* and moſt of his *Welſh* Followers were ſlain. *Robert* finding ſo great an Advantage, ſoon conquer'd and poſſeſs'd himſelf of the whole County of *Glamorgan* with its Appendages; of which he gave certain Caſtles and Manors to the twelve Knights that aſſiſted him in this Expedition, as a Reward of their Service; ſome of whoſe Poſterity enjoy part of thoſe Lands to this Day. And this ſhews that the Ruin of the Princes of *Wales* proceeded more from their unnatural Diviſions, than from the Power of their Invaders.

A great Part of South-Wales *conquer'd.*

A. D. 1092. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$.

In the following Year Prince *Henry*, who in a manner had been abandon'd, began to recover himſelf, and gather Strength in *Normandy*, where he had the ſtrong Sea-Port Town of *Damfront* privately deliver'd into his Hands; and this he made a Place of Refuge till ſuch Time as he was reconcil'd to his Brother *William*, and ſent for into *England*. About the ſame Time King *William* march'd with an Army into the North, where he re-edify'd the ancient City and Caſtle of *Carliſle*, which had been deſtroy'd by the *Danes*, and lain in Ruins above two hundred Years; and alſo granted large Privileges to the Place, which it enjoys to this Day. In the ſame Year *Remigius* Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, having in the laſt Reign remov'd his See to *Lincoln*, and there built a magnificent Church, that City with the Country about it was challeng'd by *Thomas* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, as lying within his Dioceſe; which Claim the King privately incourag'd, till at length upon Payment of a large Sum of Mony to the King, *Remigius* obtain'd of him to declare in his Favour, and to oblige all the Biſhops in *England* to repair to the Conſecration of the New Church. Alſo the ſame Year, *John* Biſhop of *Wells*, for a Sum of Mony paid to the King, had his Licenſe to tranſlate the Biſhop's See from *Wells* to *Bath*, ever ſince which this Biſhoprick has been known by both theſe Titles.

The King rebuilds Carliſle.

A. D. 1093. Reg. $\frac{6}{7}$.

In the Beginning of the ſucceeding Year, the King fell dangerouſly ſick in *Gloceſterſhire*, ſo that moſt Perſons expected his Death; upon which all the Biſhops, Barons and Abbots, who came to wait on him, and take their laſt Leaves, perſuaded him to Repentance, *and not to let the vacant Biſhopricks out to Farm, as before, but to beſtow them upon Men of Worth.* To which he readily yielded, and farther made a Vow to God, *That if he recover'd, he would abrogate all unjuſt Laws, and ordain better in their ſtead.* In performance of which, he beſtow'd the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* upon *Robert Bloet* his Counſellor, and the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* upon *Anſelm* a *Norman* Abbot of great Worth and Piety. But *Anſelm* well knowing the Difference between the King's Diſpoſition and his own, was extreamly unwilling to accept of ſo great a Charge, 'till at length he was conſtrain'd by the Intreaties of the King, who ſeem'd very penitent, and the Perſuaſions of the Biſhops and Noblemen, who had a high Opinion of his Sanctity. Before his Conſecration he demanded ſeveral Things of the King, particularly to reſtore all the Lands belonging to the Church, which his Predeceſſor *Lanfranc* poſſeſs'd without Suit or Controverſie. But as the King grew better in Health, he was more unwilling to reſtore all Lands, but would have reſerv'd ſuch of the Church-Lands, as after the Death of *Lanfranc* he had given to his Courtiers, and expected *Anſelm*'s Conſent to their holding of them by Hereditary Right. But this Arch-Biſhop would by no means conſent, that the Church ſhould be in the leaſt endamag'd in its Lands and Rights; from whence aroſe the firſt Difference between the King and him, about his Dignity, Biſhoprick and Prelateſhip, which remain'd undetermin'd during this King's Life. And now the King being recover'd of his Sickneſs, relaps'd to his former Miſcarriages, and wholly alter'd and demoliſh'd whatever Good he had already done: For he commanded the Priſoners not yet releas'd to be kept more cloſely than before, and thoſe already diſcharg'd to be taken up: And all Things were reduc'd to the ſame or worſe State than before, and brought under the Management of thoſe who rather endeavour'd to ſubvert, than defend Juſtice, and who took more care to get Mony than to correct Offences. None were ſo rich as Treaſurers and Collectors, none were ſo in favour as unconſcionable Lawyers, and none ſo rewarded as ſcandalous Promoters; ſo that many were oblig'd to quit the Nation, and ſeek their Fortunes in Foreign Countries.

Anſelm *made Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury.

The King relapſes.

In theſe troubleſome Times, *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* came to King *William* at *Gloceſter*, as before was appointed, for eſtabliſhing a firm Friendſhip between them; but *William* refus'd to admit him into his Preſence, unleſs he would do Homage to him in his own Court; which the other refuſing in any Place, but in the Confines of both Kingdoms, according to Cuſtom, a fatal War immediately broke out. *Malcolm* in a ſhort Time invaded *England*, and made great Devaſtations as far as *Alnewick*; but *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, with a powerful Force unexpectedly ſet upon him near that Town, and not only overthrew his Army, but alſo kill'd both him and his Son *Edward*. The *Scotch* Hiſtorians ſay he was ſlain by Treachery, and that the virtuous Queen *Margaret*, hearing of the Death of her Husband and Son, ſunk down with Grief, and could not three Days ſurvive ſo great a Loſs. Tho' *Malcolm* left a Son behind him nam'd *Edgar*, yet the Nobility of that Kingdom aſſembling, unanimouſly elected his Brother *Donald* to be their King, and expell'd *Edgar Etheling*, with the *Engliſh* then ſetled in *Scotland*; who taking with them the Children of *Malcolm*, found a kind Reception in *England*. But *Donald* did not long enjoy his Kingdom; for *Duncan*, natural Son to the late King, being then in King *William*'s Court as an Hoſtage, deſir'd to obtain his Aſſiſtance to gain his Father's Kingdom; and being furniſh'd with a powerful Army of *Engliſh* and *Normans*, he march'd againſt his Uncle *Donald*, who had newly invaded *England*. Coming to a Battel, he routed his Forces, and forc'd him to fly into the Weſtern Iſles; upon which he was crown'd King of *Scotland*. In the ſame Year *Rees* Prince of the *Welſhmen* was ſlain in a Battel near *Brecknock* Caſtle; from which Time Princes ceas'd to rule in *South-Wales*, and the Kings of *England* accounted their chief Governors; but *North-Wales* enjoy'd its own Princes for above a hundred and fifty Years after.

A War breaks out with Malcolm *King of* Scotland.

Malcolm *ſlain.*

Donald *ſet up.*

Duncan *obtains the Crown.*

A. D. 1094. Reg. $\frac{7}{8}$.

A new War between the King and his Brother Robert.

III. King *William*, having ſettled all Things in the North and Weſt to his Satisfaction, was now diſturb'd by his Brother *Robert* from the South, who charging him with Non-performance of Articles and Breach of Faith, occaſion'd a new War to break out between them. Upon which *William* in *Mid-Lent* paſs'd over into *Normandy*, where he had an Interview with his Brother, about a Treaty of Peace, but could by no means come to an Agreement. However a ſecond Meeting was appointed by the Mediation of their common Friends in the Fields of *Martius*, where thoſe Barons who had formerly ſworn to ſee the Peace obſerv'd on both Sides, charg'd all the Blame upon the King, who yet would neither acknowledge his Fault, nor perform the Agreement; but inſtead of that committed new Acts of Hoſtility, and by the Power of Mony, Promiſes and the Sword, gain'd the Caſtle of *Buers* and ſeveral others, which he garriſon'd with his own Men. On the other Side the Duke, having obtain'd Aſſiſtance of the King of *France*, beſieg'd and took the Caſtle of *Argenton*, with eight hundred Men in it, whom he made Priſoners; and after that beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Holme*, 'till he forc'd *Peverel* the Governor with all his Men to ſurrender at Diſcretion. Upon this great Succeſs, the King immediately ſent into *England*, and commanded twenty thouſand Men to be rais'd and tranſported to him with all Expedition; which being muſter'd at *Haſtings*, the King's Treaſurer, by his Order, told the Men, *That each, upon the Payment of Ten Shillings, might be diſmiſs'd from this bad Service.* By which Artifice the King had a conſiderable Sum of Mony ſent him into *Normandy*, which he moſt of all wanted; and with which he ſo far prevail'd upon the *French* King, as to cauſe him to withdraw his Troops; ſo that Duke *Robert*, who before was proceeding with great Succeſs, was now oblig'd to retire with no leſs Diſadvantage.

A. D. 1095. Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$.

In the mean time the *Welſh* made great Ravages and Incurſions in *Cheſhire*, *Shropſhire*, and other bordering Counties; inſomuch that King *William* was conſtrain'd to leave *Normandy*, and that War unfiniſh'd. And reconciling himſelf to his Brother *Henry*, he return'd into *England*, and with a great Army enter'd *Wales* by Way of *Montgomery*, which Caſtle he re-edify'd; but the Inhabitants kept ſo cloſe in the Straits of the Mountains encompaſſed with Woods and Rivers, that the King could no ways moleſt them; ſo that loſing his Labour, together with many of his beſt Soldiers, he return'd back with Diſhonour. In the ſame Year he made a ſecond Expedition into *Wales*, but with no better Succeſs. And about the ſame Time he was diſturb'd by a great Conſpiracy form'd againſt him by *Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, and many other *Norman* Noblemen; of which the King having Notice, rais'd an Army and march'd againſt them; who underſtanding which Way he was to paſs, laid an Ambuſcade for him in a Wood, which was diſcover'd to him, and the Deſign prevented, by *Gilbert de Tonebridge* one of the chief Conſpirators. After which his Troops march'd on to *Bambrough* Caſtle, which they beſieg'd, 'till at length *Robert* fell into their Hands, who was kept a Priſoner almoſt thirty Years. *Roger Lacy* had his Lands taken from him, and given to his Brother *Hugh*, a faithful Adherent of the King's; *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter* was privately reprimanded, and gave three thouſand Pounds to be reſtor'd to Favour; as likewiſe the King receiv'd of many others great Sums of Mony, as Compoſitions for their Crimes. *William* Earl of *Eu*, being fully convicted, loſt both his Eyes and Genitals; but many others, by the Advice of the Council, the King ſpar'd out of Policy.

A great Conſpiracy.

In the ſame Year the King was both diſturb'd and perplex'd by the Behaviour of Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm*, whoſe Perſon he hated, and whoſe Power he dreaded. For this Prelate would neither comply with his covetous nor ambitious Deſigns, but ſtrenuouſly oppos'd him in all Things that might endamage the Power and Privileges of the Church; and when the Popedom was in Conteſt between *Urban* and *Clement*, he acknowledg'd the former, contrary to the King's Inclinations, and to a fix'd Ordinance in his Father's Reign, That no Subject in *England* ſhould acknowledge any Pope without the King's Allowance. This occaſion'd Matters of great Conteſt in the Nation, and many State Intreagues between the King and the Court of *Rome*, in which the latter by pure Management prevail'd. But afterwards the King proceeding to violent Methods, the Arch-Biſhop became ſo uneaſie, that he deſir'd leave to repair to *Rome*, which at firſt was abſolutely deny'd him, tho' at length with Difficulty obtain'd; but with this fatal Conſequence, that all the Revenues of the Archbiſhoprick were ſeiz'd to the King's own Uſe. This and other Grievances being repreſented to Pope *Urban*, whom the King had now acknowledg'd, he openly in a Synod decreed that King *William* ſhould be Excommunicated; which Sentence was immediately revok'd by the Interceſſion of *Anſelm* himſelf. But the Pope afterwards finding King *William* obſtinate, and ſtill refuſing to reſtore the Arch-Biſhop, he became more reſolute in his Intentions, and gave the King notice that he would ſpare him no longer than the next Council Day. Notwithſtanding which, the King by ſecret Methods, Gifts and Promiſes, obtain'd ſo much Favour from the Pope, that Sentence never ſolemnly paſs'd againſt him: So that *Anſelm* having no Hopes of his Reſtoration, by the Conſent of the Pope retir'd to *Lions*, where he continu'd 'till after King *William*'s Death.

A great Conteſt between the King and Arch-Biſhop Anſelm.

Anſelm *loſes his Archbiſhoprick.*

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But

A. D. 1096. Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$.
The Beginning of the Holy War.

But Pope *Urban* in theſe Times had greater Concerns to manage than the Excommunication of a ſingle Prince, and now proceeded to vaſt and unheard-of Deſigns. Having aſſembled a Council at *Clermont* in *France*, chiefly by the Remonſtrances of a famous Hermit call'd *Peter*, who in the *Holy-Land* had been Witneſs of the Cruelties exercis'd by the *Turks* upon the *Chriſtians*, he by a zealous Harangue animated the Prelates then preſent to excite the Faithful to take up Arms for the Recovery of God's Country out of the Hands of thoſe barbarous Infidels. His Exhortations were ſo warm and moving, that they made ſtrong Impreſſions on all their Minds, and this uncommon Fervor in a ſhort Time ſo ſpread over all *Europe*, that incredible Numbers of all Qualities, and all Ages and Sexes, liſted themſelves in this Sacred Militia, bearing the Marks of red Croſſes upon their Garments, with this Motto, *It is the Will of God*. Theſe Cruſado's, and long Voyages, the Heat of which laſted for above two hundred Years, occaſin'd an infinite Expence of Blood and Treaſure, and prov'd the weakning of many Nations, the Ruin of the great Lords and Multitudes of the People, and the Eſtabliſhment and Encreaſe of the Power of the Popes. The chief of theſe extraordinary Adventurers were the famous *Godfrey* Duke of *Bouillon* and *Lorrain*, *Hugh* Brother to the King of *France*, *Raymond* Count of St. *Giles*, *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, *Baldwin* of *Hainault*, and above two hundred other other Lords and Princes. Among theſe was alſo *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who being fired with the Proſpect of this Expedition, ſent over Ambaſſadors to his Brother King *William*, deſiring that a firm Peace might be eſtabliſh'd between them, and that he would immediately lend him ten thouſand Marks of Silver, and take the Dutchy of *Normandy* for his Security for three Years, 'till the Mony ſhould be repaid. The King was highly pleas'd with this Propoſal, and finding the Nation already exhauſted by grievous Taxes and Impoſitions, he ſent to all the great Men of the Nation to furniſh him with this Sum: Inſomuch that the Biſhops, Abbots and Abbeſſes broke in pieces the very Gold and Silver Plate and Ornaments of their Churches, and the Earls, Barons and Sheriffs oppreſs'd their Knights and Tenants to raiſe the Mony. By this Means the King took Poſſeſſion of *Normandy*; and ſoon after claim'd the *French-Veuxin* of *Philip* King of *France*, with the chief Towns belonging to it; but after a Year's Conteſt, which occaſion'd many Loſſes on both Sides, the two Kings came to make a firm Peace.

Duke Robert *one of the Adventurers:*

Who mortgages Normandy *to his Brother* William.

A. D. 1097. Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$.
A new Expedition into Wales.

For King *William* was now more buſily employ'd againſt the *Welſh*, to oppoſe whom he march'd a third Time with a powerful Army; and tho' he paſs'd quite through the Country by the Guidance of ſome Deſerters, who ſhew'd him the ſecret Paſſes, and ſtay'd there from Midſummer to the End of *July*, yet the People retiring into their uſual Receſſes, he loſt more of his Men by Hunger and ill Diet, than he could kill or take of the Enemy. So that finding but little Proſpect of Glory or Profit, he return'd back without performing any Thing beſides the building of certain Caſtles in the Marches between *England* and *Wales*. About *Michaelmas* he ſent *Edgar Etheling* with a great Army into *Scotland*, who in a ſhort Time by his Valour expell'd *Donald*, who had again poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Throne, and plac'd his Nephew *Edgar* in his Room, who was the right Heir to the Crown, and accordingly did Homage to the King of *England*. All this Year the Nation ſuffer'd much by reaſon of the Scarcity of Proviſions, the Badneſs of the Seaſon, and the grievous Taxes for the rebuilding of *London* Bridge, which had lately been carry'd away by a ſtrange Inundation, for the Building of the new Walls about the Tower, and the noble Hall at *Weſtminſter*; which as they were Works of great Uſe, as well as Magnificence, requir'd immenſe Sums to finiſh them.

Edgar *made King of* Scotland.

A. D. 1098. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.
Another Expedition into Wales.

In part of this and the following Year King *William* continu'd in *Normandy*, where he reduc'd the City of *Mans* and a great Part of that Province to his Obedience. In the mean Time the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Cheſter*, with many of the Nobility, and a conſiderable Army, made a new Expedition into *Wales*, being incourag'd to it by ſome Lords of that Country. Their Forces and Correſpondence were ſo great, that the two Princes *Griffyth* and *Cadogan*, their main Oppoſers, took the Mountains for their Defence; ſo that the Earls found an eaſie Paſſage to the Coaſts over againſt the Iſle of *Angleſey*; where they built the Caſtle of *Aberlhiennawc*. After which *Owen*, chief Counſellor to the Princes, and their Father-in-Law, diſcover'd his Treaſon by going over with all his Forces to the Earls, with which he march'd into the Iſle of *Angleſey*, where the Earls joining with him, plunder'd the Iſle, and us'd intolerable Cruelties to the poor Inhabitants. *Griffyth* and *Cadogan* fled into *Ireland* for Safety; but *Magnus* Son to the King of *Norway*, who had lately conquer'd the *Orchades* and the Iſle of *Man*, coming thither with a few Ships, gave them no little Diſturbance, and ſhot the Earl of *Shrewsbury* dead with an Arrow, which was look'd upon as a juſt Reward for his Cruelties in this Iſle. At length *Magnus* retired, and the Earl of *Cheſter* with the *Engliſh*, being ſenſible they could not keep the Iſland, left the Command of it to *Owen*, the Traitor who had invited them thither.

A. D. 1099. Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

The King kept his *Chriſtmas* in *Normandy*, and returning into *England* a little before *Whitſontide*, kept that Feaſt in the new Hall at *Weſtminſter*, juſt finiſh'd; which when he firſt ſaw, and heard others admire it for its Grandeur, as being two hundred and ſeventy Foot long and ſeventy four in Breadth, he declar'd it *ſcarce worthy the Name of a Bed-Chamber, in reſpect of what he intended to build.* From thence he went down to hunt in the *New Foreſt*, where in the midſt of his Sport, a Meſſenger from *Normandy* inform'd him that the City of *Mans* was ſurpriz'd by Count *Elias*, and that the Caſtle without ſpeedy Succour was like to be ſurrender'd. Upon which News he with his uſual Bravery bad the Meſſenger tell thoſe in the Caſtle *He would be with them in eight Days.* And immediately turning his Horſe's Head towards the Sea, he rod with the utmoſt Speed; and when ſome of his Attendants deſir'd him to ſtay 'till his Army was got ready, he cry'd out, *They who love me will follow me.* Thus riding as far as *Dartmouth* with a ſmall Retinue, and going to take Shipping, the Weather was ſo tempeſtuous, that the Maſter of the Veſſel declar'd, *They could not paſs without the utmoſt Hazard of their Lives.* But *William* reply'd, *Did you ever hear of a King that was drown'd?* and making what Sail he could, he arriv'd at *Barfleur* the next Morning, and order'd all his Officers and Soldiers immediately to attend him at *Mans*. Where the King not only rais'd the Siege, but took *Elias* Priſoner, who being brought before him, the King in a triumphing Manner ſaid, *Now, Sir, I have ſecur'd you: Yes*, reply'd the other, *you have, but it was by Chance more than Valour; if I were at Liberty, I would ſhew you what I could perform.* The King anſwer'd, *What could you perform! take your Liberty, and ſhew your Abilities, I expect no Return for this Favour*; and ſo he generouſly diſmiſs'd him. The King having thus reſcu'd *Mans*, and reduc'd the Country once more to his Obedience, return'd into *England* about *Michaelmas*.

The King's ſpeedy Expedition into Normandy:

And Succeſs.

In this Year the Chriſtians, after many admirable Toils and Acts of Valour, took the City of *Jeruſalem* by Storm, and put near forty thouſand *Saracens* to the Sword. After which they agreed to elect *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* to be King of that City and all *Paleſtine*; but he refuſing it out of a Proſpect of the Crown of *England*, it is obſerv'd by our Hiſtorians, that he never after proſper'd in any Thing he undertook; and upon his Denial, they elected the renowned *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, who had done continual Wonders both by his Head and Arm. In the mean Time, as *Vitalis* informs us, King *William* was forming vaſt Deſigns: For *William* Earl of *Poictou*, propoſing to make War in the *Holy Land*, now offer'd the King to mortgage to him his Dutchy of *Aquitain*, with his other Territories for a large Sum of Mony which he wanted for that Expedition. The Propoſal being readily embrac'd by the King, he commanded a mighty Fleet to be prepared, and a great Army to accompany him out of *England*, that he might hinder his Brother *Robert*'s Return into *Normandy*, take Poſſeſſion of *Aquitain*, and extend the Bounds of his Empire as far as the River *Garonne*. In order to which, his Royal Navy which was to carry over vaſt Sums of Gold and Silver, was now almoſt ready to ſet Sail; but 'till then the King to divert himſelf went in the Beginning of *Auguſt* to hunt in the *New Foreſt*, where Death put an end to all his aſpiring Projects; of which we have theſe Circumſtances. A Monk the Night before dream'd that he ſaw a Crucifix ſpurn the King to the Ground, and caus'd Fire and Smoke to come out of his Mouth; which being related to him in the Morning, he made a Jeſt of it, ſaying, *The Monk wants Mony for his Dream; go give him a hundred Shillings, but bid him dream better hereafter.* The King would not be diſſuaded from making Tryal of it, but fortifying himſelf with Wine, he went to hunt in the Foreſt with his Brother *Henry*, and a few Followers; among whom was *Walter Tyrrell*, a *French* Knight, who was an expert Huntſman, and an excellent Archer. In the latter End of the Day the King ſhot at a Stag, and gave him a ſlight Wound; and while he was following him, with his Hand before his Eyes to defend them from the Sun, *Walter* ſhot in ſuch a Manner, that the Arrow by glancing hit the King full upon the Breaſt, who with one Groan fell to the Ground, and ſoon after dy'd without uttering a Word. Upon the Sight of this *Walter* immediately took Horſe and fled, without any to purſue him; for every Man's Thoughts were taken up with greater Matters. His Body was ſoon thrown into a poor Collier's Cart, and through a Lane, where the Cart is ſaid to have fallen in pieces, was convey'd to the Biſhop's Palace at *Wincheſter*, where his Corps was the next Day bury'd in the Church under the Tower,

Robert *refuſes the Crown of* Jeruſalem.

A. D. 1100. Reg. 13.
The King's Deſigns.

The King is ſlain in the New-Foreſt.

Tower, in the Preſence of many Noblemen, but no real Mourners. Thus fell King *William* the Second, commonly call'd *Rufus*, in the forty fourth Year of his Age, after an active and vigorous Reign of twelve Years, ten Months, and twenty two Days; his Death happening on the ſecond Day of *Auguſt*.

It is obſervable that this Prince was the Third of this Race, who in a few Years met with their Deaths in this Foreſt; as if Heav'n deſign'd to revenge upon the Children their Father's Sins, in deſtroying ſo many Churches and Villages to make them a Receptacle for wild Beaſts. But however it was, this Prince met with his Deſerts for his imitating and exceeding his Father in thoſe Actions which were moſt covetous, cruel and tyrannical; ſo that he may juſtly be rank'd among the worſt Kings that *England* ever had. He wanted the Piety, Chaſtity, Humanity and Wiſdom of his Father; yet ſeveral Qualities he poſſeſs'd were both valuable and admirable, as his Courage, Bravery, and Magnificence, in which he was ſo vigorous and daring, that he was never dejected in the greateſt Extremity, and very rarely fail'd of Succeſs. He was liberal to his Friends, and eſpecially to Soldiers, magnificent in his Retinue and Buildings, and expenſive in his Cloaths; as appears from the common Story of Breeches or Hoſe which he refus'd to wear becauſe they coſt but three Shillings, ordering his Chamberlain *to bring thoſe of a Mark Price*, who ſufficiently pleas'd him by bringing the ſame again, after the King's Price was ſet upon them. He was a Prince of little or no Faith, haughty, ſevere, covetous and prophane upon all Occaſions. When fifty *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who had been accus'd of hunting and killing Deer, had by the Tryal of *Fire-Ordeal* eſcap'd Condemnation, he paſſionately declar'd, *That he could not believe that God was a juſt Judge in ſuffering it*. Notwithſtanding his ſevere and covetous Temper, there are Actions that ſhew he had ſometimes a ſenſe of Generoſity, Juſtice and Good Nature, particularly when a great Abby became vacant, and two rich and ambitious Monks came to purchaſe it of him, according to his Simoniacal Methods, he obſerv'd a third Monk at a Diſtance, and asking him *What he would give*, and receiving Anſwer, *That he would give nothing, and that it was againſt his Conſcience*, he immediately ſwore his uſual Oath, *That he alone deſerv'd it, and ſhould have it for nothing*. This King's Revenues were in all Probability the ſame with his Father's, yet his Expences being greater, he rais'd more unreaſonable Taxes; and to augment his Revenues, he frequently kept ſeveral Biſhopricks and Abbies vacant, and took the Profits to himſelf; and at the Time of his Death he had in his Hands the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, the Biſhopricks of *Wincheſter* and *Salisbury*, and twelve rich Abbies. Yet he gave the new Church of St. *Saviour*'s in *Southwark* to the Monks call'd *Decharitate*; and alſo founded an Hoſpital in *York* to the Honour of St. *Peter*.

His Character.

Diſaſters in this Reign. Moſt Writers obſerve that ſeveral Diſaſters fell out in this Reign, as in the ſecond Year a dreadful Earthquake happened; in the fourth a violent Lightning had ſtrange Effects upon the Abby of *Winſcombe*. Not long after a vaſt Tempeſt blew down ſix hundred Houſes in *London*, and carry'd away the Roof of *Bow* Church after an unheard-of manner. In the ninth Year a blazing Star appear'd with two Buſhes, and other Stars ſeem'd to ſhoot Darts at each other, to the Amazement of all Spectators. In the eleventh, a Well of Blood for fifteen Days together roſe out of the Ground at *Finchamſtead* near *Abington* in *Barkſhire*. In the laſt of his Reign, the Sea breaking over its Banks, drown'd an innumerable Multitude of People in many Counties, and in *Kent* over-ran the Lands which formerly belong'd to the famous Earl *Godwin*, which are ſtill call'd *Godwin*'s *Sands*, lying very dangerous for Sailors. *Malmesbury* and others alſo obſerve, That notwithſtanding the warlike Genius of this Age, there began to be a great Corruption of Manners among the young Noblemen, Gentlemen and Clergy in thoſe Times, who practis'd all the Luxury of Eating and Drinking, and ſhew'd ſo much Effeminacy in their Habits and Carriage, that they appear'd Men in nothing ſo much as their Attempts upon the Chaſtity of Women.

Corruptions.

SECT. III.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Firſt.*

Containing 35 Years, 3 Months, and 1 Day.

A.D. 1100. Reg. 1.

I. UPON the ſudden Death of King *William*, his younger Brother *Henry*, who from his Learning then uncommon to Princes had the Sirname of *Beau-Clerk*, found it no great Difficulty to aſcend the Throne of *England*, notwithſtanding the fair Pretenſions of his eldeſt Brother *Robert*. He was now about forty two Years of Age, of great and promiſing Abilities; and wanted not ſeveral Steps by which he might mount this high Station: Particularly, The general Diſlike of King *William*'s ſevere curbing of the Natives; The great Diſtance and Careleſſneſs of his Brother *Robert*; His own *Engliſh Birth*, having both a King and a Queen to his Parents; His promiſing to abrogate all bad and rigorous Laws impos'd by his Father and Brother, the reſtoring the Clergy from Exile to their Livings; Remiſſion of all unjuſt Taxes, and due Puniſhments to the chief Promoters of them; upon which Account to ſatisfie the People he committed *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham*, that exorbitant Oppreſſor, to the Tower. Then taking a ſolemn Oath, '*To 'keep all good and juſt Laws towards his People, and to 'remove all Oppreſſions and unjuſt Practices, both in Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Affairs, which had happen'd during 'his Brother's Reign*, he was publickly crown'd by *Maurice* Biſhop of *London*, upon *Sunday* the fifth Day of *Auguſt*. His firſt Buſineſs was to put in execution what he had promis'd, honourably and wiſely beginning with the Regulation of his own Court, from whence he caſhier'd many nice and effeminate Perſons, making a Decree againſt his Courtiers Rapines and Adulteries, puniſhing the former with Death, and the latter with the Loſs of Eyes and other criminal Parts. Then he reſtor'd to the *Engliſh* the Uſe of thoſe Lights which his Father had prohibited, and confirm'd many Privileges to the Nation by a publick Charter under his broad Seal, which *Matth. Paris* has preſerved in his Hiſtory. The Subſtance of it is, 'Firſt, He 'confirms the Liberty of the Church from all Oppreſſions, 'or Reſervation of any of its Revenues upon Vacancies. 'Next, That the Heirs of the Nobility ſhould inherit their 'Father's Lands without Redemption from him, which 'Favour they were to afford to their Tenants. That the 'Gentry might have liberty to marry their Daughters and 'Kinſwomen, without the King's Licence, to any but his 'Enemies. That Widows ſhould have their Dowers, 'and not be compell'd to marry againſt their Will. That Mothers or neareſt Relations ſhould be Guardians to Minors. 'Next he appoints the Puniſhment of Coiners to be with 'Loſs of Limbs, and ordains a Meaſure the Length of 'his Arm to be the Standard of Commerce among his 'People. Laſtly he forgave all Debts due to the Crown, 'and all Murthers committed before his Coronation, 'with ſome other like Indulgences. But to the greateſt 'Satisfaction of the People, he confirm'd the Laws of 'King *Edward*. To this Charter all the chief Men of the Nation were Witneſſes; and by the King's Command Copies were tranſmitted to every County, and order'd to be kept in particular Monaſteries. Yet notwithſtanding this Care, ſcarce any of them were to be found in the Reign of King *John*, when the Conteſt about this Charter commenc'd between that King and the Barons.

King Henry *crown'd.*

His Charter of Liberties.

Anſelm's Reſtoration. Shortly after the Coronation, the King diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm*, then at *Lyons*, inviting him to return into *England* with all Speed, and in his Letters added his Prayers and Wiſhes for him, promiſing *to ſubject himſelf and his Kingdom to his Council and Direction*; and his Return prov'd highly to the Satisfaction of the Nation. To add to which, the King reſolv'd to leave off his Miſtreſſes, and became a Suiter to *Edgar* King of *Scotland* for his excellent Siſter *Matilda*, who was Daughter to Queen *Margaret* the Siſter of *Edgar Etheling*; by which means his Iſſue might be both of the Blood of the *Engliſh* Nation, and the *Engliſh* Kings. But in this he met with one great Obſtruction, which was her Education from her Infancy in a Monaſtery in *Wilton* among Nuns; and being veil'd like them, ſhe was thought by her Parents to have been dedicated to the Service of God. This was left to the ſole Determination of Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm*, but he declin'd that Office, without the Approbation of a Council; and accordingly he ſummon'd the Biſhops, Abbots, the Clergy and certain Noblemen to *Lambeth*, where ſhe acknowledg'd *She had been veil'd, but againſt her Will, and took that Habit upon her to preſerve her Chaſtity from the Luſts of the* Normans, *according to the Example of many Matrons and Virgins, ſince King* William *ſubdu'd the Nation*. Upon which Allegations and Proofs, by the Judgment of the whole Council ſhe had lawful Liberty of her Perſon allow'd her, and not long after, upon the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, the Marriage was ſolemniz'd between King *Henry* and this Lady, to the general Satisfaction of all Men.

The King marries Matilda *of* Scotland.

A. D. 1101. Reg. ½.

In the mean Time Duke *Robert*, who had gain'd great Reputation in the Holy Land, and was newly return'd into his own Country, began to caſt an envious Eye upon his Brother *Henry*, and reſolv'd to attempt that Crown which he concluded to be his own Right. And being excited by *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham*, who had eſcap'd out of Priſon into *Normandy*, and ſeveral others, who began

Duke Robert *pretends to the Crown of* England.

to fear the vigorous and reſolute Temper of King *Henry*, he made all neceſſary Preparations for ſo great an Enterprize. The Report of this intended Invaſion, which diſturb'd the whole Nation, had various Effects upon Mens Minds, and divided the Nobility and great Men into Parties, ſo that the King was driven to great Uncertainties. As he continually ſuſpected their Conſtancy and Fidelity, ſo they no leſs dreaded his Authority and Power, being better ſatisfy'd with the more unactive Diſpoſition of his Brother *Robert*. Upon mature Deliberation it was reſolv'd that Security ſhould be given on both Sides, and Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm* was made Mediator between the King and them, who giving them his Hand on the King's behalf, ſolemnly promis'd, *That he would govern the whole Kingdom as long as he liv'd, by pious and juſt Laws*, which at preſent gave them full Satisfaction. Yet when Duke *Robert* had put to Sea, many of the *Engliſh* Nation revolted, as alſo a conſiderable Part of the Fleet, ſo that he ſoon found a ſafe Landing at *Portſmouth*; and he did not a little rejoice at this fortunate Beginning, threatning his Brother *with Revenge for all Wrongs, and condemning the Nobility for ſuffering him to be thus injur'd, while he for the common Good of Chriſtendom was imploy'd in the Holy War*. On the other Side *Henry* us'd all Methods to defeat his Deſigns, and being ſenſible of the great Influence of the Arch-Biſhop, he made new Promiſes of Obedience to him and the Apoſtolick See. Upon which *Anſelm* pathetically repreſented to the great Men, and the whole Army, the Scandal and Impiety of Mens violating their Faith once given to their Prince; which had ſuch a happy Effect upon them, that they reſolv'd rather to part with their Lives than their Loyalty: And the Succeſs and Safety of King *Henry* was chiefly owing to the Fidelity and Induſtry of this Arch-Biſhop. For *Robert* being hereby defeated in the Confidence he repos'd in the Nobility, he by the Mediation of the chief Men on both Sides, concluded a Peace with his Brother, and made a fair Agreement. The Subſtance of which was, 'That in Conſideration *Henry* was born after his Father's Acquiſition of *England*, and was now unanimouſly crown'd King, he ſhould enjoy the ſame during Life, paying to *Robert* three thouſand Marks annually by way of Fealty, and reſtoring whatever he held in *Normandy*; and the Surviver ſhould be Heir to the other, if he dy'd without a Son: That all offending Perſons ſhould have their Honours and Lands reſtor'd to them. For the Confirmation and Performance of which, twelve chief Noblemen of either Side took a ſolemn Oath, and the Armies were immediately disbanded; and Duke *Robert* was nobly entertain'd for the Space of ſix Months in the Court of his Brother *Henry*.

He lands at Portſmouth.

A Peace concluded between the Brothers.

This Agreement prov'd a great Strengthning to the Deſigns of King *Henry*; but not long after a Flame broke out, which conſum'd the Parties that rais'd it, and brought the King to a more compleat Authority. *Robert de Beleſme*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Son to *Roger Montgomery*, an intrepid Youth, preſuming upon the Power of his Friends and Fortunes, fortify'd the Caſtles of *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgeworth*, *Tickhill* and *Arundel*, and joining with the diſaffected *Welſh*, made a formidable Inſurrection. Upon which the King with great Vigour and Reſolution march'd into thoſe Parts; againſt *Arundel* Caſtle he rais'd another of Wood, and took it; beſieg'd *Bridgeworth*, which immediately yielded, and *Shrewsbury* ſoon ſent him their Keys and Pledges of their Obedience. So that in a ſhort Time *Beleſme*, with the two Earls his Brothers, *Roger* and *Arnulph*, were conſtrain'd to leave *England* and their Eſtates, and retire into *Normandy*; where they rais'd vaſt Diſturbances for three Years together. Many Towns and Churches were burnt by their Means; and almoſt all *Normandy* ſtood up againſt this violent Earl of *Shrewsbury*; but they wanted a ſufficient Commander to quel the Power of ſo furious a Ravager. He was a Man of Parts and Subtlety, had a conſiderable Strength about him, and ſupported himſelf by his great Wealth, which he had treaſured up in thirty four ſtrong Caſtles, built for rebellious Deſigns.

A. D. 1102. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

An Inſurrection in England.

It is quell'd.

Theſe Men were not more active and buſy abroad, than Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm* was at home, who being a Man of a ſtiff Reſolution, in a Synod at *Weſtminſter*, incurr'd the Hatred both of the King and the Clergy. For firſt he proceeded to excommunicate all marry'd Prieſts, when half the Clergy of the Nation were either marry'd, or the Sons of marry'd Prieſts; and next he inhibited all Lay Men from hearing of their Maſſes. Upon which *Huntington* makes this Reflection, 'That however it might ſeem laudable to ſome, to others it appear'd dangerous; leſt while they affected a Purity above their Strength, they might fall into an Impurity of a greater Malignity. After this Succeſs, the Arch-Biſhop proceeded to cenſure and condemn thoſe Prelates and Eccleſiaſticks who had accepted their Inveſtitures from the King, which uſually was done by receiving a Paſtoral Staff and a Ring, an ancient Rite, teſtifying their Donation was from their Sovereign: For which free Proceedings, and for refuſing to conſecrate certain Biſhops advanc'd by the King, a great Conteſt aroſe between them; and the Arch-Biſhop thinking himſelf injur'd by the preſent growing Power, appeal'd to Pope *Paſchall*, and ſhortly after went in Perſon to *Rome*. The King alſo ſent his Ambaſſadors to the ſame Place, *Herbert* Biſhop of *Norwich*, with *Robert* Biſhop of *Litchfield*, both of his Privy-Council, and *William Warelwaſt* his Procurator, a Clergyman of great Courage and Elocution; who in debating his Sovereign's Cauſe before the Pope and Cardinals, with a threatning Countenance declar'd, *That the King his Maſter would ſooner part from his Kingdom, than loſe the Right of Inveſtiture of Churches*. To whom the Pope ſharply reply'd, *If that be his Reſolution, while* Paſchall *lives, he ſhall never enjoy them without Puniſhment, tho' it were to ſave his Head*. Yet he granted the King ſome of his Father's Uſages, wholly prohibiting the Inveſtiture of Churches. This Conteſt aroſe ſo high, that for a while *Anſelm*, as in the laſt Reign, loſt his Archbiſhoprick, and the King was in great Danger of Excommunication. But after three Years, Matters were brought to an Accommodation; and upon the Pope's allowing that the Clergy might do Homage to the King, which had been before deny'd, the King was perſuaded to part with his Right of Inveſtitures; and all Vacancies being fill'd, both Parties reſted ſatisfy'd.

The marry'd Clergy cenſur'd.

A. D. 1103. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

Great Conteſts between the King and the Arch-Biſhop.

At length they are accommodated.

During theſe Controverſies, King *Henry* was more ſucceſsful in relation to his Brother *Robert*; who coming into *England*, and being ſplendidly entertain'd, out of Generoſity, or by the Perſuaſions of Queen *Matilda*, remitted the Penſion of three thouſand Marks, due to him by Articles; tho' he was far leſs able to forbear, than the King to pay ſuch a Sum. But when his Wants made him ſenſible of his Error, he openly exclaim'd againſt King *Henry*, as tho' he had impos'd upon his Generoſity; and giving Ear and Credit to ſuch as ſought their Diſunion, he gave his Brother all Occaſions for a Rupture, who wanted no great Incitement to any Thing of that Nature. Beſides this preſent Diſpleaſure, Duke *Robert* had profuſely waſted the Inheritance his Father had left him, which was the Dukedom of *Normandy*, having now ſcarce any Place left in his Dominions, but the City of *Roven*, with which alſo he would have parted, had not the Citizens deny'd their Conſents. But the greateſt Diſobligation was the Duke's ready receiving all the traiterous Subjects of his Brother; for beſides *Robert Beleſme* and others, now *William* Earl of *Mortaign* in *Normandy* and of *Cornwall* in *England*, being deny'd the Earldom of *Kent*, which he claim'd as Heir to his Uncle *Odo*, in a great Diſcontent retir'd into *Normandy*, where beſides his vigorous Aſſaults of the King's Caſtles and Soldiers, he much endanger'd the Poſſeſſions of *Richard* Earl of *Cheſter*, then a Child and the King's Ward. So that the Flames of War raiſed by theſe Seditions, ſeem to have been blown from *England* into *Normandy*, and to have ſet fire to the Territories of the *Engliſh* in that Country. Nor is it eaſie to declare, ſays *Hoveden*, what Miſeries in the mean Time the Nation felt at home by the ſevere Taxes then laid upon it.

A. D. 1104. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.

A ſecond Breach between the King and Duke Robert.

Normandy was now in a great Confuſion, and ſuffer'd extreamly from the Careleſſneſs and Profuſeneſs of *Robert* and his Followers; ſo that *Malmesbury* ſays, That as well for his Brother's Reputation, as for the Sufferings of *Normandy*, *Henry* could no longer endure that wicked Men ſhould maintain their own Luxury with the Eſtates of the Poor, therefore he firſt admoniſh'd his Brother by gentle Words, *To act like a Prince, and not like a Monk, nor to encourage Traitors to their Sovereign*. But this not having its Effect, the King proceeded to open Force, and by large Diſtributions of Mony carry'd out of *England*, he won many of the *Norman* Nobility to revolt from their Lord, took the Town and Caſtle of *Caen* by Compoſition, and burnt *Bayeux*, with the beautiful Church of St. *Mary*'s, whereupon the Priories of *Normandy* yielded themſelves to his Protection; by whoſe Example the *Britains* and thoſe of *Anjou* did the like; ſo that their Caſtles and Forts were fill'd with King *Henry*'s Garriſons, without any great Reſiſtance from Duke *Robert*. Which done, the King return'd in a triumphant Manner into *England*, in the End of Autumn, in order to renew the War the next Campaign, being not able to finiſh his Conqueſts as yet, for want of Money, which he went over to raiſe.

A. D. 1105. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$.

The King makes open War with him.

Duke *Robert* now finding himſelf in a declining Condition, reſolv'd to become a Mediator himſelf; and coming over into *England* in Perſon, after a more humble Manner than was agreeable to his Birth or Nature, he deſir'd a Peace: Which being refus'd him, he return'd more exaſperated than ever, threatning to be reveng'd of all Injuries. *Matth. Paris* tells us that the King upon this Occaſion felt ſome Remorſe of Conſcience for his unkind Uſage to his Brother, and uſurping of his Kingdom, and alſo apprehended ſome Rebellion of his Subjects. But to ſecure himſelf in the Affections of all Men, he ſummon'd a grand Coun-

A. D. 1106. Reg. $\frac{6}{7}$.

He makes great Promiſes to the Nation.

Council or Parliament to *London*, where in a ſolemn Speech he proteſted againſt Duke *Robert* his Brother, *Who for his inſolent refuſing the Kingdom of* Jeruſalem, *was now juſtly forſaken of God*; *ſetting forth his uneaſie and arrogant Temper, and Contempt of the* Engliſh *Nation, as alſo his own humble and peaceable Diſpoſition, and continu'd Reſolution to maintain all their Liberties and Privileges, and particularly the Sacred Laws of King* Edward; *aſſuring them, That if he had but the Hearts and Affections of his* Engliſh *Subjects, he fear'd not the utmoſt Power of his Brother, and all his* Normans. With theſe ſpecious Promiſes he ſo gain'd upon their Inclinations, that they declar'd, *They would live and die with him againſt any Enemy whatſoever.*

The King totally routs the Duke, and takes him Priſoner.

Normandy reduc'd.

The King having obtain'd this Point, about the End of *July* paſs'd over into *Normandy*, with a powerful Army, and the principal Nobility of the Kingdom; and piercing into the Country he built a Fort near the Town of *Tinchebray*, with an Intention to ſtreighten it, and force it to ſurrender. But the Earl of *Mortaign* with ſome Forces in a ſhort Time reliev'd it, at which the King highly incens'd laid Siege to the Town, which oblig'd that Earl to beg of Duke *Robert* to come down to his Aſſiſtance, to which he readily yielded, and march'd with ſeveral Noblemen, and all the Forces he could poſſibly gather together. Tho' the King was more powerful in Horſe, yet the Duke had a greater Number of Foot, ſo that both Parties were willing to come to a general Battel, which was fought before this Town, with great Obſtinacy for a while, 'till at length the King's Horſe prevail'd, and the Duke's Army was totally routed, with no great Loſs to the Victors. In this Battel the King took the Duke Priſoner, the Earl of *Mortaign*, *William Criſpin*, *William Ferrars*, *Robert Stuteville* the Elder, with many other *Norman* Barons, as alſo four hundred Knights or Horſemen, and ten thouſand Foot; ſo that upon this great Victory all *Normandy* ſubmitted to the King, which verify'd his Father *William*'s Prediction, That he ſhould exceed both his Brothers in Riches and Greatneſs. This memorable Battel was fought on *Michaelmas* Eve, about forty Years after that at *Haſtings*; and as the *Norman* Duke then ſubdu'd an *Engliſh* King, and gain'd his Kingdom, ſo now an *Engliſh* King, by the aſſiſtance of his *Engliſh* Subjects, conquer'd *Normandy*, which for many Years after was held by the Kings of *England*. In this Battel *Edgar Etheling* was alſo taken Priſoner, who was immediately ſet at Liberty by the King; and having been often made the Sport and Paſtime of Fortune, he paſs'd the reſt of his Life in Peace and Retirement. As for Duke *Robert* and the Earl of *Mortaign*, the King ſent them Priſoners into *England*, the former to *Cardiff* Caſtle in *Wales*, and the latter to the Tower of *London*. The Duke continu'd a Priſoner for twenty ſix Years, all the reſt of his Life; but as for the Story of the King's ordering his Eyes to be put out, the Silence of the beſt Authors, and the Improbability of ſeveral Circumſtances in it, renders it of too little Credit to be rely'd on.

A. D. 1107. Reg. $\frac{7}{8}$.

The King makes many Regulations.

A. D. 1108. Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$.

He becomes more blameable.

II. King *Henry* having eſtabliſh'd his Power, and finiſh'd all Foreign Conteſts, turn'd his Thoughts to the Regulation of Domeſtick Inconveniencies: And by the Advice of Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm*, and the Noblemen of his Kingdom, he redreſs'd ſeveral evil Practices, and began with his own Court. It was uſual in his Brother's Reign, for the Multitude which follow'd the Court to commit great Diſorders and Ravages without Controul, and to behave themſelves rudely towards the Wives and Daughters of the Country People, ſo that they fled from their Habitations upon the Approach of the Court. For the Remedy of which, the King ordain'd by a publick Edict, That whoever was found guilty of theſe and the like Practices, ſhould loſe his Eyes, his Hands, Feet or other Members; which being executed upon ſome, deterr'd others from ſuch Offences. He alſo took notice of the great Miſchiefs ariſing from falſe and corrupt Mony, and decreed, That every falſe Coiner ſhould ſuffer Caſtration or the Loſs of his Eyes. And now being free from all Fear of Rivals, King *Henry* growing diſdainful, ſays *M. Paris*, refus'd to perform what he had ſo often promis'd to his Nobility, uſing haughty Words and Threats; for God had beſtow'd upon him three Bleſſings, Wiſdom, Victory and Riches, above any of his Predeceſſors: Yet, adds he, he ſhew'd himſelf unthankful to God; and, as others ſay, too regardleſs of his Clergy, in ſuffering *Anſelm*, newly reconcil'd to him, to tyrannize over them, and in a Synod to lay heavy Puniſhments upon the marry'd Prieſts, making no Difference between Matrimony and Fornication, and putting many from their Benefices, becauſe they refus'd to put away their lawful Wives, from whence great Conteſts were rais'd, and grievous Sins committed both againſt God and Nature. In this Synod a Debate aroſe concerning the Largeneſs of the Dioceſe of *Lincoln*, and it was unanimouſly agreed to make another Biſhoprick out of it, and to fix the See at *Ely*. But tho' *Anſelm* wrote to the Pope concerning it, the Deſign was not finiſh'd in his Life-Time; yet not long after it was compleated, and *Henry* Biſhop of *Bangor* was made the firſt Biſhop of that Place.

Lewis King of France *is jealous of King* Henry.

A. D. 1109. Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$.

The King eſpouſes his Daughter Matilda *to* Henry *the Emperor.*

Arch-Biſhop Anſelm *dies.*

In the mean Time, *Philip* King of *France* dying, was ſucceeded by *Lewis* his Son, who ſoon ſhew'd himſelf no Friend to King *Henry*; for which Reaſon the King ſail'd into *Normandy*, where he made what Preparations were convenient againſt a ſuſpected Man. Here upon ſome freſh Jealouſie he commanded his Nephew *William*, Son to his Brother *Robert*, to be taken into Cuſtody; but the young Prince by means of his Tutor *Elias* made his Eſcape, and was carry'd to the Court of *France*, and to divers other Princes, who were ſollicited for Aid and Aſſiſtance in his Behalf, but all in vain: for tho' many of the *Normans* favour'd him, as a handſom Perſon and of good natural Parts, and were earneſt for his Advancement, yet neither Prince nor Subject dared preſume at that Time to make War againſt the Power of King *Henry*. The King having paſs'd his Winter in *Normandy*, return'd into *England* a little before *Whitſontide*, and held his Court with extraordinary Splendor at *Weſtminſter*; where the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth waited on him with a noble and magnificent Retinue, to deſire his Daughter *Matilda* in Marriage. The King conſented to the Propoſal, and the Articles were ſoon ſign'd; but the Princeſs herſelf being very young, continu'd in *England* 'till the Year following, when ſhe was ſent over into *Germany* with the higheſt Pomp, and a vaſt Portion of ready Mony; for which three Shillings were laid upon every Hide of Land in *England*, which according to Dr. *Brady*'s Computation amounted to 824850 Pounds of our preſent Mony. Before the Marriage was celebrated Arch-Biſhop *Anſelm* dy'd; a Prelate of great Learning and Strictneſs of Life, and ſo inviolable a Friend to *Rome*, that that See in Gratitude Canoniz'd him for a Saint. King *Henry* took the Arch-Biſhoprick and all its Appendages into his own Hands, and according to the evil Example of his Brother *William* kept it vacant five Years. Upon his Death the Clergy had hopes of enjoying the Liberty of Matrimonial Society, but the King took Care to put that Eccleſiaſtical Ordinance in Execution; upon which, out of Fear, and in the Sight of Men, they behav'd themſelves accordingly; 'but, ſays '*Eadmer*, if in ſecret they acted otherwiſe, the Charge 'muſt fall on their own Heads; for, adds he, 'if God will 'judge Fornicators and Adulterers, certainly the Abuſers 'of their own Couſins, not to ſay their own Siſters and 'Daughters, ſhall never eſcape his Vengeance.

A. D. 1110. Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$.

The Reſtoration of Learning in the Univerſity of Cambridge.

About this Time happen'd the Reſtoration of Learning in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, which was by the Means of *Joffred* Abbot of *Croyland*, who ſent over to his Manor of *Cotenham* near *Cambridge*, *Giſlebert* his Fellow Monk, and Profeſſor of Divinity, with three other Monks, who had follow'd him into *England*, who being throughly furniſh'd with Philoſophical Theorems, and other ancient Sciences, repair'd daily to *Cambridge*; where they hired a publick Barn, made open Profeſſion of their Sciences, and in a ſhort Time drew a great Number of Scholars together. In leſs than two Years Time their Numbers were ſo increas'd, from the Country as well as the Town, that there was never a Houſe, Barn or Church large enough to contain them all. Upon which theſe Monks dividing themſelves into ſeveral Places, and taking the Univerſity of *Orleans* for their Pattern, read to their Scholars apart in ſeveral Companies, uſing the beſt Authors in Grammar, Rhetorick and Logick; whilſt *Giſlebert* the principal Maſter preach'd to the People upon all *Sundays* and Holy Days. That the Study of ancient Learning then flouriſh'd at *Oxford* as well as *Cambridge*, and that there were publick Schools for teaching the Sciences, may be ſeen from Mr. *Wood*'s Antiquities of that Univerſity.

A. D. 1111. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

Diſturbances in Normandy.

The King's Peace, which ſeem'd ſecure by his new Alliance with the Emperor, and his great Glory, began now to be envy'd, and his Brother's Misfortunes to be highly pityed, both by ſome *Engliſh* as well as *Normans*. For *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou* both threaten'd Revenge, and by corrupting the Inhabitants won the City of *Conſtance* from the King's Obedience. To ſtop whoſe Career *Henry* paſs'd over into *Normandy*, where he us'd great Severities, and put to Death *Elias* Earl of *Maine*, who held that Country againſt him; which ſo diſoblig'd *Godfry* Earl of *Gaunt*, that he afterwards enter'd into that Earldom, and marrying the Daughter of *Elias*, kept that Country againſt all the Power of King *Henry*. But in the mean Time the King was employ'd in a politick Project at home, in relation to many poor *Flemmings*, who came over into *England* both in his Father's and his own Reign, being forc'd hither by vaſt Inundations of the Sea in *Flanders*. By their coming in ſuch numerous Swarms, they became a Burthern to the Nation, upon which the King at firſt planted them in the waſte Parts of *Northumberland*; but finding they might be more ſerviceable for the reſtraining of the *Welſh*, whom

The King ſettles the Flemmings *in* Wales.

he had lately ſubdu'd, he tranſplanted them with their Families into *Wales*, giving them all the Country of *Rhos*, lying about *Pembroke* and *Haverford-Weſt*, which before had been conquer'd from the *Welſh* Princes. The Deſcendents of theſe *Flemmings* have continu'd to this Day, being quite different from the native *Britains* or *Welſhmen*, both in Language and Manners; and being an induſtrious ſtout People, afterwards prov'd a ſure Defence againſt the Inſurrections of the *Welſh*, manifeſting the Excellency of the *Roman* Policy, in preſerving all new Conqueſts by Colonies.

A.D. 1113. Reg. $\frac{13}{14}$.

Normandy *quited.*

After this King *Henry* return'd again into *Normandy*, where he met with great Diſturbances and Oppoſition; but in a ſhort Time he concluded a Peace with *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, and alſo honour'd him ſo far as to admit of his Son *William*'s marrying the Earl's Daughter. But having got *Robert de Beleſme* into his Power, he ſent him into *England* to be kept cloſe Priſoner in *Warham* Caſtle; where he continu'd all his Life, without being pity'd, as being a turbulent, faithleſs and cruel Man, as appears by his thruſting out the Eyes of his Godſon, a Child who was deliver'd to him as an Hoſtage by his Father. Thus King *Henry* having at laſt totally ſubdu'd *Normandy*, and made Peace with all his Neighbours beyond the Seas, return'd victorious into *England*, and govern'd this Kingdom and that Dukedom in great Tranquility for five Years enſuing.

A.D. 1114. Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$.

Church Vacancies fill'd up.

III. The King now living in Peace and Proſperity, was prevail'd upon by the Pope's Admonitions, and the Prayers of many of his Subjects, to fill up the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, which had been vacant five Years. Accordingly he ſummon'd the Biſhops and chief Men to meet at *Windſor*, where upon the twenty fifty Day of *April*, *Ralph*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was choſen Arch-Biſhop; and being ſo declar'd to the Multitude, they receiv'd it with the utmoſt Demonſtrations of Joy and Triumph. He was highly belov'd for his Affability and good Humour, and his Conſecration was celebrated with exceeding Pomp and Splendor; and afterwards when he was inveſted with his Pall from *Rome*, that Solemnity was attended by the Biſhops, Abbots and Nobility, beſides infinite Throngs of People from all Parts. In the ſame Year *Thurſtan* the King's Chaplain was made Arch-Biſhop of *York*, in the Room of *Thomas* deceas'd, and ſeveral other Vacancies in the Church were fill'd up; but, as *Eadmer* complains, with too great Partiality to the *Normans*, and Neglect to the *Engliſh* Nation.

The Welſh *are troubleſome.*

They are quieted.

Tho' the King had Peace at home, yet this Year he met with great Provocations from the *Welſh*, by the Incurſions they made upon the Territories of *Gilbert Strongbow* Earl of *Striguil*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, who had been ſettled in thoſe Parts. Their Outrages were ſo great, that the King ſwore he would utterly deſtroy all the Men of *North-Wales* and *Powiſland*, and plant them with new Inhabitants; and immediately marched towards the Country with a powerful Army, which he divided into three Parts. The firſt was led by Earl *Gilbert* againſt *South-Wales*; the ſecond by *Alexander* King of *Scotland* and the Earl of *Cheſter*, againſt *North-Wales*; and the third by the King himſelf, under whoſe Standard was the Flower of the Mid-land Counties. But the *Welſh* finding themſelves unable to withſtand ſo great a Power, had recourſe to their old Security the Woods and Mountains, where being follow'd with great Difficulty, many of them were ſlain, and the reſt ſubmitted to Terms to King *Henry*, who now as a Victor return'd in Triumph to *London*: Where his Satisfaction was heighten'd by the News of the Conſummation of the Marriage between the Emperor and his Daughter *Matilda*, who was likewiſe ſolemnly crown'd Empreſs at *Ments*, at the Age of Fourteen.

A.D. 1115. Reg. $\frac{15}{16}$.

The King's Son William *declar'd his Succeſſor in* Normandy,

A.D. 1116. Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.

and in England.

Not long after the King took Shipping and went into *Normandy*, where after a long Stay, he caus'd all the chief Men of that Dukedom to ſwear Fealty to his Son *William*, as his lawful Succeſſor, being then about twelve Years of Age. From whence it became a Cuſtom afterwards for the Kings of *England* to make their Eldeſt Sons Dukes of *Normandy*. But this did not ſatisfie the King, who reſolving to ſecure the Succeſſion of the Crown to his own Family, in the following Year ſummon'd a great Council of all the Biſhops, Abbots, and Nobility of the Kingdom at *Saliſbury* on the twentieth Day of *March*; where all the chief Men, knowing the King's Intentions, readily did Homage, and ſwore Fealty to young *William*, 'That if 'he ſhould outlive his Father, they would lay aſide all o'ther Claims, and put him in Poſſeſſion of the Crown 'and Kingdom, and faithfully ſerve him as King of *Eng*'*land*.' From this Aſſembly ſeveral Writers have dated the Original of the High Court of Parliament in *England*: Some believe that there was nothing of that Nature before; Others that this was the Beginning of the Houſe of Commons; and others think that this Aſſembly was the firſt that had the Name of PARLIAMENT given to it. The firſt of theſe Opinions is undoubtedly falſe, the ſecond improbable, and the third uncertain.

The French *King in Arms againſt King* Henry.

About the ſame Time King *Henry* gave Aſſiſtance to his Nephew *Theobald* Earl of *Bleſſis*, who upon ſome Diſpleaſure had taken up Arms againſt the King of *France*; which ſo inrag'd that Prince, that having join'd with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, and *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, he ſolemnly ſwore to diſpoſſeſs King *Henry* of all *Normandy*, and ſet up *William*, the Son of Duke *Robert*, in his room; who being neareſt of Right, many of the *Norman* Nobility, pitying the Misfortunes of the Father, join'd in the Deſign.

A.D. 1117. Reg. $\frac{17}{18}$.

He is quieted.

King *Henry* was no leſs active and vigilant on the other Side, and levying a great Tax in the Nation, and joining with *Theobald* and the Earl of *Bretaign*, he made a notable Appearance in the Field. At which Time King *Lewis*, with the Earls of *Flanders* and *Anjou*, being enter'd *Normandy*, and hearing of the Approach and Power of King *Henry*, ſcarcely ſtaid one Night, but as Men without Heart or Courage return'd, and left the Country free to the Victor. So that all things ſeem'd well quieted for a Year, and now nothing diſturb'd the King's Peace but ſome little Troubles in *Wales*, and the uneaſie Expectation of the Pope's Legate, whom the King had expreſly prohibited to enter *England*; and likewiſe the Death of his excellent Queen *Matilda*, which happen'd in the eighteenth Year of his Reign to the great Grief of the Nation, who highly eſteem'd her as well for her Family, as her Piety, Charity and Munificence.

Queen Matilda *dies.*

A.D. 1119. Reg. $\frac{19}{20}$.

The French *King again in Arms.*

King Henry *gains a Signal Victory over him.*

Not long after the War was reviv'd between *England* and *France*, and King *Lewis* now enter'd *Normandy* with as much Heat, as he had formerly left it with Coldneſs, and made great Devaſtations in the Country; which King *Henry* for a while ſuffer'd, and declar'd to thoſe who ſeemed to doubt his Courage, *That he had learn'd from his valiant Father to conquer the Raſhneſs of the* French *by Patience and Policy*; *and that a good King ſhould not be prodigal of the Blood of ſuch Subjects as his.* In a ſhort Time after he found an Opportunity to ſignalize his Valour in a general Battel with the *French*, which was fought with great Obſtinacy for ſeveral Hours together. In the Beginning of which the firſt Battalion of the *French* broke the Ranks of the *Norman* Nobility, and preſſing forwards towards the King, put his Troops in Diſorder. But being now rous'd, he ſoon rally'd his Men, and began a moſt bloody Conflict with Sword in Hand; in which, *Criſpin* a valiant Nobleman aſſaulted the King, and ſtruck him twice upon the Head with ſuch Fury, that the impenetrable Helmet was beaten into his Head, with the Loſs of much Blood. But *Henry* feeling himſelf wounded, gather'd Strength with his Rage, and faſten'd ſo weighty a Blow upon his Adverſary, that he overthrew both him and his Horſe, and then took him Priſoner. By which brave Example his Soldiers fell on like Lions and Furies, and treated the *French* ſo rudely, that they ſoon betook themſelves to Flight. Many of the *French* Nobility were taken Priſoners, as likewiſe King *Lewis*'s Standard was taken, which King *Henry* bought for twenty Marks, and kept it as a Token of the Victory, returning in Triumph to *Roven*.

The Pope makes a Peace between both Kings.

A. D. 1120. Reg. $\frac{20}{21}$.

Before this War was finiſh'd, the Pope call'd a Council at *Rheims*, where the *Engliſh* Biſhops were permitted by the King to be preſent, but all Complaints were prohibited, and this Charge given them, *Go ye, ſalute the Pope in my Name, and only hear his Apoſtolical Precepts, but bring none of his new Inventions into my Kingdom.* In this Council great Complaints were made againſt King *Henry*, for the unjuſt Treatment of his Brother *Robert* and others. In order to accommodate all Matters, not long after, the Pope came into *Normandy*, and met the King at *Giſors*; where his Holineſs told him, *That by the Law of God every Man ought to enjoy his own Right, and that it was his Deſire, and that of the whole Council, that he ſhould ſet his Brother* Robert *at Liberty, and reſtore him and his Son* William *to their Dukedom.* To which the King anſwer'd, *That he did not take* Normandy *from his Brother, but only ſecur'd his Father's Inheritance, then given up to diſſolute Men and Robbers: That he was call'd into that Country by the Biſhops and Clergy, to prevent the Deſolation of the Church; and that what he did was not the Effect of Choice, but of the Perſuaſions and Invitations of the Inhabitants, to preſerve their Country from utter Ruin.* With this Anſwer the Pope was ſatisfy'd, and approv'd of what had been done, declaring, *That he had heard enough of the Duke and his Son.* *Malmesbury* adds, that at this Interview the King was ſo liberal of his Preſents to the Pope and his Cardinals, that ever after they eſteem'd him as a moſt eloquent Orator, and all his Actions very juſtifiable: So that abandoning theſe unfortunate Princes, the Pope employ'd his Abilities in making up a Peace between the two Kings, which was concluded in the following Year without any Exception or Difficulty, all Forts and Caſtles taken in the Wars being deliver'd up, and Priſoners on both Sides ſet at Liberty.

The King returns to England.

Upon the finiſhing the War, the King reſolv'd to return into *England*, from whence he had been abſent above four Years; and with a numerous Fleet and a noble Retinue, ſet Sail from *Barfleur* on the 26th Day of *November*, and landed in *England* the Day following. But Prince *William*, who now only wanted the Name of a King, commanded a new Ship to be prepar'd for himſelf, his Brothers and Siſters, with many of the young gay Nobility his Companions, who plying the Sailors with Wine, made them boaſt that they would out-ſail the King's Ship, which had weigh'd Anchor before: And in the Night putting to Sea with a brisk and delightful Gale, they flew over the dancing Waves, with all the Teſtimonies of Mirth and Jollitry. But Heav'n deſigning to check the too great Felicities of King *Henry*, in the midſt of all their Pleaſures, the Ship ſuddenly ſtruck againſt a Rock not far from the Shore, which turn'd their Songs into diſmal Outcries, and caus'd every one to ſhift for his Life. Prince *William* immediately got into the Long-Boat with a few others, and might have eſcap'd, had not his Tenderneſs to his natural Siſter *Matilda* occaſion'd him to hearken to her Cries and turn back to ſave her; which gave Opportunity to others to leap into the Boat in ſuch Numbers, that it preſently ſunk, ſo that not one of this noble Train eſcap'd but the meaneſt of the Company, who were ſav'd by ſwimming upon the Main-Maſt, and gave a full Relation of this Tragical Story. This was the moſt unfortunate Shipwreck that ever happen'd in our Seas, bringing an inconceivable Sorrow to the King and the whole Nation: For in it periſh'd *William* the Joy of his Father, and the Hope of the Nation; *Richard* his natural Brother, his Siſter *Matilda* Counteſs of *Perche*, *Richard* Earl of *Cheſter*, with his Lady *Lucy*, the King's Neice by his Siſter *Adela*, *Otwell* the Earl's Brother, the young Duke's Governor, divers of the King's great Officers of State, and ſeveral of the chief Nobility, to the Number of a hundred and ſixty Perſons; many of whom had made themſelves infamous by unnatural Impurities. As this was a terrible Inſtance of Divine Vengeance upon theſe Enemies to true Piety, ſo it was no leſs upon the great *Norman* Family; in which we find Oppreſſion puniſh'd with Diſappointment and Extinction, and its maſculine Line, which was rais'd by ſuch vaſt Care, Expence and Bloodſhed, now expiring in the third Inheritor. Which Judgment was ſuch a ſenſible Affliction to the King, that it occaſion'd ſome to report, That he was never ſeen to laugh after it.

His Son William *and many of the Nobility are loſt at Sea.*

A. D. 1121. Reg. $\frac{21}{22}$.

The King marries a ſecond Time.

Diſturbances in Wales.

A. D. 1122. Reg. $\frac{22}{23}$.

Corbet *made Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury.

IV. However having in ſome meaſure overcome the Senſe of theſe Misfortunes, by the Advice of his great Council aſſembled at *London*, he marry'd *Adeliza* the beautiful Daughter of *Geoffry* Duke of *Lovain*, in hopes of repairing his great Loſs by a new Iſſue; but in that he was deceiv'd in his Expectations, ſhe never proving with Child. And now all the Affairs of *England* and *Normandy* were in a peaceable Condition, only the *Welſh* would have no Reſt, for *Griffyn* Prince of *North-Wales*, being encourag'd by the Death of *Richard* Earl of *Cheſter*, ſent his Sons into *Cheſhire*, where they burnt two Caſtles, kill'd many Men, and made great Devaſtations. Upon which the King raiſing a powerful Army, march'd himſelf into *Wales*; and going with a ſmall Party a nearer Way through the Mountains and Straits, he was ſuddenly beſet in that diſadvantageous Place, and many of his Men kill'd by the *Welſh* Archers: Among whom one ſhot the King upon the Breaſt, which tho' it was repell'd by his Armour, ſo diſcourag'd him, that fearing the Glory he had gain'd in more famous Parts might be loſt in this wild Country, he ſoon came to a Parly, and then to a Peace; receiving from Prince *Griffyn* a thouſand head of Cattel and Hoſtages, and leaving Lord *Fitz-warren* Lieutenant of the Marches, he return'd to *England*. Not long after *Ralph* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* dy'd, a Perſon tho' of great Affability and good Nature, yet ſo exactly nice as to the Privileges of the See, that in the great Feaſts when the King wore his Crown, he would not permit the King himſelf to put it on his Head, claiming the ſole Right of it himſelf. The Archbiſhoprick was not fill'd up 'till the following Year, when the King call'd a Council of all the Biſhops, Abbots and Nobility to *Glouceſter*, and order'd them to make choice of an Arch-Biſhop, and he would confirm the Election. After much Conteſt, *William Corbert*, a *Benedictine* Abbot of a new founded Abby, was elected and conſecrated by the Biſhop of *London*, and five other Biſhops; for *Thurſtan* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, refuſing to own his Superiority, was not allow'd to perform the Ceremony.

A. D. 1123. Reg. $\frac{23}{24}$.

New Diſturbances in Normandy:

The *Normans* ſtill repining at the Captivity of *Robert* their late Sovereign, and being well affected to his Son *William*, they reſolv'd to ſet him up in his Room. *Robert* had lately ſtrengthen'd his Intereſt by marrying *Sibyl* the other Daughter of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, with whom he receiv'd the Earldom of *Main*, upon Diſpleaſure conceiv'd for that King *Henry* had ſtop'd the other Siſter's Dowry in *England*. The chief in this Action was *Robert* Earl of *Mellent*, who had lately made a Defection; wherefore the King haſtning into *Normandy*, firſt beſieg'd his Caſtle of *Pont-Andomar*, and took it; and at that Time built a large and high Wall with many Outworks about the Caſtle of *Roven*, and alſo repair'd the Caſtles of *Caen*, *Arches*, *Geſors*, *Falaiſe*, *Angenton*, *Damfort*, *Vernon*, *Ambres*, and ſeveral others. In the mean Time, Earl *Mellent*, to be reveng'd on the King, join'd with *Hugh* Earl of *Montfort* and others of Power, who entering *Normandy* with Fire and Sword, by their Ravages expected to make all ſubmit. To put a ſtop to theſe Outrages, *William Tankerville* the King's Chamberlain, and Lieutenant in thoſe Parts, march'd againſt them, and drawing them into an Ambuſcade, after a long Fight took both the Earls Priſoners, and preſented them to his Maſter, which put a Stop to the Wars for ſome Time. At the ſame Time *England* was extreamly troubled with Thieves, Robbers and Falſe Coiners; which together with the ſevere Taxes, and a great Famine, proved highly calamitous to the Nation. To remedy ſome of theſe Troubles, the King's Juſticiary in a publick Council order'd forty four Robbers to be hang'd up, and puniſh'd others with Loſs of Members; And afterwards at another Meeting at *Wincheſter*, many of the Corrupters of the Coin ſuffer'd by Caſtration and the Loſs of their right Hands; which Puniſhment did for the future more deter Men from committing that Crime, than the Fear of Death it ſelf.

A. D. 1124. Reg. $\frac{24}{25}$.

Which are quell'd.

Regulations in England.

A. D. 1125. Reg. $\frac{25}{26}$.

In the King's Abſence, but not without his Licence, *John de Crema*, Cardinal and a Legate from Pope *Honorius*, came into *England*, to redreſs the great Abuſe, as it was term'd, of the Clergy's retaining the Society of their Wives. He was receiv'd with great Pomp and Magnificence, but with no great Satisfaction; and *Gervaſe* of *Canterbury* complains, That it was a Thing never heard of ſince the Time of *Auguſtin*, that it was an Innovation, a Scandal to *England*, and a Retrenchment of the Liberty of this ancient Kingdom, which had never been ſubject to a Legantine Power. However he held a general Synod at *London*, where he ſeverely inveighed againſt the Marriage of Prieſts, declaring, *That it was a horrid Sin for a Prieſt to riſe from the Bed of Luſt, and then to touch the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt*; yet the Night following, after he himſelf had celebrated Maſs, he was taken in Bed with a common Strumpet: Which, ſays *Huntington*, was too notorious to be deny'd, and too wicked to be conceal'd. So this hypocritical Cardinal was oblig'd to return with much more Shame than he came hither with Honour; and tho' by the Conſent of the Synod he made ſeveral Canons for the Reformation and Celibacy of the Clergy, they were not much regarded. 'Till ſome few Years after, in 1129, the King deſirous to ſettle the Celibacy of the Clergy, in a Synod call'd on purpoſe, through the Weakneſs of the Arch-Biſhop, as *Paris* expreſſes it, obtain'd Power to have the ſole Execution of this Law himſelf. But inſtead of wholly reſtraining the pretended Abuſe, he puniſh'd them in their Purſes, and receiving Sums from a great many of them, he permitted 'em to enjoy their Wives as formerly.

The Celibacy of the Clergy eſtabliſh'd.

A. D. 1127. Reg. $\frac{27}{28}$.

V. King *Henry* having enjoy'd his ſecond Queen near ſix Years with little Proſpect of Iſſue, became extreamly deſirous to leave the Crown to the Empreſs his Daughter *Matilda*, now lately a Widow, and ſo much belov'd by the *Germans*, that ſhe was deſir'd to reign over them, but was prevented by her Father in Hopes of the Crown of *England*. In order to effect this great Work, the King took his Daughter into *England*, and at *Windſor* ſummoned a Grand Council or Parliament, conſiſting of all the chief Men of the Nation, beſides *David* King of *Scotland*. Here he perſuaded all the Biſhops, Abbots, Earls and Barons, to take a ſolemn Oath, 'That if he ſhould die without Iſſue 'Male, they would receive his Daughter *Matilda* for their 'Queen; as being his only lawful Heir, by whom they 'ſhould again be govern'd by the ancient *Engliſh* Royal 'Blood, from which he ſhew'd her to be deſcended. The Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops and Abbots firſt ſwore to this Succeſſion, then *David* King of *Scotland*; and the firſt of Lay Lords was *Stephen* Earl of *Mortaign* and *Boloign*, King *Henry*'s Nephew by his Siſter *Adela*, who was the firſt that violated his Oath. Then that he might ſtrengthen her Intereſt by Foreign Alliances, he ſhortly after caus'd her to be marry'd to *Jeoffry* ſirnam'd *Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, in the Room of his Father *Fulk*, who was now made King of *Jeruſalem*. This Marriage was not highly pleaſing to the Empreſs, and much leſs to ſeveral of the Nobility both of *England* and *Normandy*, who were diſoblig'd for not being made privy to this Affair, and gave juſt Occaſion for ſome to prognoſticate that after the King's Death they would fall off from the Oath they had ſworn to her. But the King did it out of a Politick Deſign, to ſecure his Intereſt with the Earl of *Anjou*, againſt the growing Power of his Nephew *William*, who by the Aſſiſtance of the *French* King,

The chief of the Nation ſwear Fealty to the King's Daughter, the Empreſs Matilda.

She is marry'd to Jeoffry Plantagenet *Earl of* Anjou.

had lately been put into Poſſeſſion of the Earldom of *Flanders*; and being ſo near ally'd to the Crown, began to be formidable to King *Henry*.

A.D. 1128. Reg. $\frac{28}{29}$.

The King by his Daughter's Marriage having made *Anjou* his own, to put a Stop to the Greatneſs of *William*, and the *French* King who ſupported him, from *Normandy* invaded *France* as far as *Eſparne*, where for eight Days he remain'd as ſecure as in his own Dominions; and partly by Threats, and partly by Promiſes, he procur'd King *Lewis* to withdraw his Aſſiſtance from young *William*. Nor did he ſtop here, but taking Advantage of the cruel and covetous Temper of his Nephew, he caus'd many of his Subjects in *Flanders* to ſet up *Theodorick* Lantgrave of *Alſatia* againſt him, who pretending a Title to the Earldom, many Towns revolted, among which *Aloſt* was one, which *William* beſieg'd; and having bravely routed the Forces of the Lantgrave who came to relieve it, when the Caſtle was juſt ready to be ſurrender'd to him, he was by a Lance wounded near the Wriſt, which immediately turning to a Gangrene, kill'd him within five Days after. He was a Man of great Courage, but to avoid his Father's Vice, Prodigality, fell ſo far into the other Extream, that in the *Belgick* Hiſtories he is ſirnam'd *Miſer*. In him expir'd all the Legitimate Iſſue of Duke *Robert*; but he had two natural Sons, *Richard* who was long before kill'd hunting in the *New Foreſt*, and *William* who was afterwards ſlain in the *Holy Land*.

William *the Son of Duke* Robert *ſlain.*

A.D. 1130. Reg. $\frac{30}{31}$.

After this we find no conſiderable Action of King *Henry*: In the thirtieth Year of his Reign, he took another Journey into *Normandy*, and met Pope *Innocent* at *Chartres*, where he acknowledg'd him for lawful Pope, notwithſtanding he was then ſhut out of *Rome*, and *Anacletus* poſſeſs'd of that See: and at *Roven* he and his great Men made him many Preſents. Having ſtay'd about a Year in *Normandy* the King return'd into *England*, and with him the Empreſs his Daughter, who had been lately parted from her Husband by reaſon of ſome private Conteſts that had happen'd between them. Not long after the King ſummon'd a grand Council or Parliament at *Northampton*, where the Clergy and Nobility all renew'd the Oath of Fealty which they had formerly taken to her; and then by their Advice, ſhe was ſent back to her Husband, who now deſir'd her Company, and being joyfully receiv'd by him, ſhe within leſs than two Years bore him a Son. In the thirty ſecond Year of this Reign the King founded a Church and an Epiſcopal See at *Carliſle*, to which he laid the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland* and part of *Northumberland*, and appointed *Athulf* his Confeſſor, then Abbot of St. *Oſwald*'s Abby, to be the firſt Biſhop of it. The ſame Year was remarkable for nothing ſo much as the Burning down the greateſt Part of *London*, which being then built almoſt all of Wood, was a Calamity very incident to that great City. As this was a Year of Sorrow to many, ſo the next was a Year of Joy to a great Part of the Nation, but eſpecially to the King himſelf; and this was the Birth of a Son by the Empreſs *Matilda*, whoſe Name was *Henry*, which ſo pleas'd the King, that he ſummon'd the chief Men of his Kingdom with great Pomp, and again appointed his ſaid Daughter and her Heirs to be his Succeſſors, cauſing them all to take an Oath to obſerve this Ordinance; ſo that the People of *England* were twice ſworn to the Succeſſion.

The Nobility again ſwear Fealty to Matilda.

A.D. 1132. Reg. $\frac{32}{33}$.

The Biſhoprick of Carliſle *founded.*

A.D. 1133. Reg. $\frac{33}{34}$.

Hen. II. *born.*

In the latter End of this Summer, the King having fill'd up ſeveral Vacancies in the Church, made his laſt Paſſage into *Normandy*. Upon the ſame Day he took Shipping, which was the third of *Auguſt*, there happen'd ſuch an extraordinary Eclipſe of the Sun, that *Malmesbury* tells us he himſelf ſaw many Stars near that Planet, which prov'd very frightful to moſt People; and that two Days after there was ſuch a dreadful Earthquake, that the Houſe where the Author ſate was lifted up by a treble Remove: to which others add, That out of the Clefts of the Earth aroſe Flames of Fire that could not be quench'd: Which divers judg'd to be the fatal Preſages of the Deaths of thoſe two Princes that not long after enſu'd. The firſt was that of *Robert*, the King's eldeſt Brother, who at a great Age dy'd in *Caerdiff* Caſtle in *Wales*, after twenty ſix Years Impriſonment; a Prince ſometime of great Courage and Reputation, who refus'd to receive a Kingdom gain'd partly by his own Sword; yet having been rebellious to his Father, and perfidious to his Brothers, as well as prodigal and careleſs, he loſt the Benefit of his Birth-Right, and met with a Reward but anſwerable to his Crimes. His Body was bury'd at *Gloceſter*, in the Cathedral Church, and in the Middle of the Quire; where his Tomb remains to this Day, with a carved Image of his Shape, as the Monument of a moſt unfortunate Man.

A.D. 1134. Reg. $\frac{34}{35}$.

Duke Robert *dies.*

A.D. 1135. Reg. $\frac{35}{36}$.

In the next Year he was follow'd by the King his Brother, who being a hunting in *Normandy*, and returning to the Caſtle of *Lyons* near *Roven* with a ſtrong Appetite, took a Surfeit by eating of Lampreys, which he much lov'd, but never could recover. Finding himſelf very ſick and declining, he ſent for *Hugh* Arch-Biſhop of *Roven*, being alſo attended by his natural Son *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, and ſeveral other Noblemen and great Commanders, who deſiring him to name his Succeſſor, he made anſwer, *That he left all his Dominions whatſoever to his Daughter* Matilda, *by a lawful and perpetual Succeſſion*; without mentioning her Husband, having been lately much diſoblig'd by ſeveral Affronts receiv'd from him. Then he commanded his Debts, and all Servants Wages to be paid; all Forfeitures and Fines to be remitted; all Exiles and ſeiz'd Eſtates to be reſtor'd; and directed his Son *Robert*, who had the Cuſtody of his Treaſury at *Falais*, to diſtribute no leſs than ſixty thouſand Pounds among his Servants and ſtipendiary Knights and Horſemen. And now having made his Will, and done all Things neceſſary for a Chriſtian Prince, after ſeven Days Sickneſs, he deceaſed on the ſecond Day of *December*, and in the ſeventy eighth Year of his Age; after a tumultuous, vigorous and proſperous Reign of thirty five Years, three Months, and one Day. His Body was embalm'd after a ſtrange and barbarous Manner, peculiar to thoſe Times, and carry'd into *England*, where it was honourably bury'd on *Chriſtmas* Day, in the Abby of *Reading* in *Barkſhire*, which he himſelf had founded and endow'd with large Revenues.

The King's laſt Sickneſs.

His Death,

This was the End of the great *Henry* the Firſt, under whoſe long Reign, the Nation ſcarcely felt any Foreign Invaſion or Domeſtick Inſurrection, except ſome inconſiderable Incurſions of the *Welſh*; by which continued Peace, during three Reigns, *England* became a Place of Refuge and a Sanctuary to the Afflicted and Diſtreſſed of Foreign Nations. This King added much to its Strength and Glory, notwithſtanding ſeveral ſevere Oppreſſions; defended the Land by numerous Garriſons, and building many Forts and Caſtles, beſides twenty five Towns and Cities; in all which he manifeſted his extraordinary Parts and Abilities. He has been celebrated by ſome for the three glorious Felicities of Wiſdom, Victory and Riches, and condemn'd by others for three notorious Vices, Avarice, Cruelty and Luſt; the firſt three being manifeſted in his obtaining, keeping and improving the Kingdom; and the laſt by his hard Taxes, his Severity to his Brother and others, and his numerous illegitimate Iſſue. As to his Perſon, he was of a middle Stature, ſtrong and well jointed, corpulent, of fine Eyes, and an amiable Countenance: In his Humour he was affable, and of a pleaſant Converſation; and his Mind was inrich'd with many Virtues, being a Follower of Juſtice, a Lover of Religion, ſevere againſt Robbers, temperate in eating, and never drinking but for Thirſt, vigorous and valiant in Battel, yet very circumſpect, chuſing rather to win by Conduct than Effuſion of Blood; and by the Report of moſt Writers he exceeded all the Princes of his Age in Greatneſs and Magnificence. Whatſoever was wiſely and virtuouſly perform'd in his Government, is by theſe Writers chiefly attributed to his Education and Learning; in which his renowned Father was very careful, often declaring, *That an unlearned King was but a crown'd Aſs*. Upon which Account he often reſided at his new Palace at *Oxford*, both for the Converſation of learned Men, and the Vicinity of a Park he made at *Woodſtock*, which was the firſt known in *England*. His Works of Devotion appear from his Erection of the two Churches and Biſhopricks of *Ely* and *Carliſle*, the Abbies of *Hide*, *Cirenceſter*, *Reading*, and the Priory of *Dunſtable*. His Queen *Matilda* founded the Priory of the *Holy Trinity* within *Aldgate* in *London*, and the Hoſpital of St. *Giles in the Fields*; ſo that by himſelf, his Queen, and other devout Perſons, above twenty four religious Foundations were erected in this Reign. The Laws of this Prince, beſides his great Charter already mention'd, are publiſh'd by *Lambert*; tho' they are not accounted of any great Certainty. For the Price of Proviſions and the like in this Reign, Dr. *Brady* tells us, That Wheat for one Day's Subſiſtance of a hundred Men was valu'd at one Shilling; a Ram or Sheep at four Pence; and an Allowance of Hay and Provender for twenty Horſes one Day, four Pence; ſo that according to that Computation Money was then near twenty Times the real Value, that it has been of late Years.

and Character.

His Works of Piety.

SECT. IV.

The Reign of King STEPHEN.

Containing 18 *Years*, 9 *Months*, *and* 17 *Days*.

A.D. 1135. Reg. 1.

Stephen *Earl of* Bologn *pretends to the Kingdom.*

He is crowned King.

I. THO' the Empreſs *Matilda* had Fealty ſworn to her during the Life of her Father, and Her and her Heirs ordain'd to be his Succeſſors in the Crown of *England*; yet ſo prevalent are the Charms of Ambition, and ſo weak the Aſſurances of the People, that all King *Henry*'s Precautions were ſoon defeated; and principally by one who had appear'd moſt forward in taking the Oath, namely *Stephen* Earl of *Bologn*, Nephew to the late King by *Adela* his fourth Siſter, who was the third Son of *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, who by the Favour of the King his Uncle, was made Earl of *Mortaign* in *Normandy*. This Man having alſo many Lands and Honours in *England*, a great Intereſt upon the Account of his Perſonal Merit and his affable Behaviour, and a long Acquaintance with the Biſhops and Nobility, reſolv'd to take the Advantage of *Matilda*'s Abſence, and ſet up his own Title. Accordingly he haſten'd with the utmoſt Expedition into *England*, where his Landing was attended by a moſt dreadful Tempeſt of Thunder, which was thought to portend thoſe Storms and Troubles it afterwards brought upon the Nation. The Inhabitants of *Dover* and *Canterbury* fortify'd themſelves againſt him, but *London* receiv'd him; where his Deſigns were much facilitated by his younger Brother *Henry* then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and a powerful Man in the State, who by his Intereſt prevail'd upon *William* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the firſt Man who had ſworn to the Empreſs: By whoſe Example many others were brought into the ſame dangerous Deſign, not fearing to affirm, *That it was Baſeneſs for ſo many noble Peers to be ſubject to a Woman.* And to forward theſe bold Beginnings, *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, the late King's Treaſurer, proteſted, *That they were all free from the Oath ſworn to the Empreſs, becauſe without the Conſent of the Barons ſhe had marry'd out of the Nation.* But that which had the greateſt Effect was the Teſtimony of *Hugh Bigot*, Steward to King *Henry*, who took a ſolemn Oath, That the King on his Death-Bed, upon ſome Diſpleaſure to his Daughter, had diſinherited her, and appointed his Nephew *Stephen* to be his Succeſſor. Theſe colourable Pretences ſo prevail'd upon the too credulous Arch-Biſhop, and the Peers, that they conſented to yield Allegiance to him; and upon the 26th of *December*, being St. *Stephen*'s Day, he was crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by the Arch-Biſhop, with a ſmall Appearance, being now about thirty one Years of Age.

His Coronation Oath.

A.D. 1136. Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.

His Charter.

But ſince his Title was ſo precarious, before he was crown'd he made large Promiſes of reforming whatever was amiſs in his Uncle's Reign, for which his Brother ingag'd his Faith; and at his Coronation he took an unuſual Oath, chiefly conſiſting of theſe three Articles, '*Firſt, that he would never keep Biſhopricks vacant for his own Advantage, but immediately conſent to a Canonical Election, and inveſt new Biſhops in them. Secondly, he would not retain the Woods of any Clerk or Lay-Man in his Hands, upon the Account of their Hunting, as King* Henry *had done, to the great Vexation of many. Thirdly, he would for ever remit the Tribute of Danegelt, which his Predeceſſors had often rais'd.* On the other ſide the Biſhops took their Oath of Allegiance conditionally to obey him as King, ſo long as he ſhould preſerve the Church's Liberties, and the exact Diſcipline of it: Which Policy was alſo obſerv'd by the Lay-Lords, as appears from *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, the late King's natural Son, who ſwore to be the true Liege Man of *Stephen*, ſo long as the King ſhould preſerve to him his Dignities, and keep all Covenants; upon which the King promis'd to reform all the hard Laws of his Predeceſſors, and give it under his Seal and Charter. Then ſeiſing upon the vaſt Treaſure his Uncle had amaſs'd in the Caſtle of *Wincheſter*, which amounted to more than 100000 Marks, beſides Plate and Jewels, he haſten'd to meet his Corps, now brought into *England*, and made a pompous Funeral at *Reading*, being attended by many of the Nobility. Shortly after he repair'd to *Oxford*, where he ſign'd and ſeal'd the Charter of Privileges he before promis'd; in the Preface of which he declares, 'That he obtain'd the Crown by the Election of the Clergy and People of *England*, and was confirm'd in the ſame by the preſent Pope *Innocent*. The Tenor of the reſt was, That all Liberties, Cuſtoms, and Poſſeſſions granted to the Church, ſhould be in full Force: That all Perſons and Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical ſhould belong only to Eccleſiaſtical Judicature: That none but Clergy-Men ſhould intermeddle with the Vacancies of Churches, or any Church-Man's Goods: That all bad Uſages in the Land touching Foreſts, Exactions, and the like, ſhould be aboliſh'd, and the ancient Laws reſtored. As *Stephen* well knew, that they had choſen him their King to obtain their own Deſigns; ſo *Malmesbury* obſerves, that he granted theſe Immunities rather to blind their Eyes, than to bind up his own Hands by ſuch Parchment Chains.

Troubles begin in England.

Many Caſtles erected.

This appear'd in the ſecond Year of his Reign, when *William* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* dy'd; at which Time he did not only keep the Arch-Biſhoprick vacant for above two Years, but finding that he had left vaſt Sums of Mony, and that he dy'd without a Will, he ſeiz'd all to his own Uſe, which tho' too cuſtomary, was contrary to his Charter. However the Beginnings of his Government were very peaceable; but by ſeveral Steps civil Diſcord began and increas'd to the infinite Damage of the whole Nation. And what in a great meaſure gave Birth to theſe Miſchiefs was the King's own Indulgence, who tho' he was advanc'd only by a Party of Men, unadviſedly gave leave to all the Nobility, many of whom were his Enemies, to build Caſtles upon their own Lands, inſomuch that above eleven hundred Places of Strength were erected in a ſhort Time; by which means they were put into a Condition to renounce their Obedience, when ever they thought it to their Advantage. The firſt Man who openly declar'd againſt him was *Baldwin de Redvers*, who fortify'd the City and Caſtle of *Exeter*; and at the ſame Time the *Welſhmen*, reſenting the Damages done by King *Henry*, began to revenge themſelves by the Slaughter of many of the *Engliſh*. To quell theſe Miſchiefs King *Stephen* march'd with a Body of *Engliſh* and *Flemmings*, and after a long and chargeable Siege, by Famine he reduc'd *Baldwin* and his Adherents; after which he baniſh'd him and his Family, but us'd ſuch Lenity towards the reſt, that it gave great Incouragement to all future Inſurrections. But in *Wales* his Affairs appear'd with another Fate, for at *Cardigan* a great Battel was fought, with ſuch Loſs and Slaughter of the *Engliſh*, that the Men were taken Priſoners by Women, and ſo many drown'd by the Fall of a Bridge over the *Temd*, that another Paſſage was made over the River by dead Carcaſſes. Nor was this all the Trouble King *Stephen* had; for about the ſame Time, many of the *Engliſh* out of Hatred to him, ſecretly invited *David* King of *Scotland* to revenge the Injuries done to the Empreſs *Matilda*; upon which he ſuddenly invaded the Frontiers, and took both *Carliſle* and *Newcaſtle*, which he fill'd with Garriſons. Againſt theſe King *Stephen* march'd with a powerful Army, and concerning this War there are divers Reports, yet all agree that in no long Time a Peace was concluded, by which *David* ſtill enjoy'd *Carliſle*, and his Son *Henry* the Earldom of *Huntington*, for which he did Homage to King *Stephen*; but his Father refus'd to do the ſame, alledging, That he had already given his Faith to the Empreſs *Matilda*.

The Troubles encreaſe.

King *Stephen* returning in Peace, not long after fell into ſuch a dangerous Fit of a Lethargy, that his Death was commonly believ'd and reported, which occaſion'd great Troubles both in *England* and abroad; for by this his Friends were diſhearten'd with Fears, and his Oppoſers grew more bold in declaring for the Empreſs. *Hugh Bigot*, one of the firſt Promoters of his Intereſt, now fortify'd himſelf in the Caſtle of *Norwich*, and refus'd to deliver it to any but the King himſelf, and with great Unwillingneſs to him: In *Wales*, *Owen* and *Cadwalader*, the Sons of Prince *Gryffith*, made furious Ravages, and carry'd great Booties from the *Engliſh*: Likewiſe in *Normandy* there began new Inſurrections; for *Geoffry* Earl of *Anjoy*, who in the Right of his Wife the Empreſs laid Claim to all, eaſily gain'd the Hearts and Endeavours of many to adhere to the true Heir, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of ſeveral Caſtles. But proceeding further, and entering upon the Territories of *Talevaz*, a Perſon of Note proſcrib'd by King *Stephen*, the *Normans* ſo diſlik'd that and ſome other of his Actions, that they ſent for *Theobald* Earl of *Bevis*, King *Stephen*'s Elder Brother, offering him both their Dukedom, and their Swords and Lives to defend him in it. *Theobald* coming to *Luxonia*, *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, who was always ready to diminiſh King *Stephen*'s Power, deliver'd the County of *Falaiſe* to him upon Compoſition; having himſelf carry'd no ſmall Sums from thence out of King *Henry*'s Treaſury, and carefully and ſecretly watching all Opportunities to advance the Title and Deſigns of the Empreſs.

A.D. 1137. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

King *Stephen* finding ſo many Diſturbances, prepar'd firſt to go into *Normandy*; at whoſe approach, after ſome ſmall Attempts, the People diſtracted between Fear and Duty, ſoon yielded to his Power, and ſurrender'd all their Towns and Caſtles. This good Succeſs was much improv'd by a League made between him and *Lewis* King of *France*; upon the Aſſurance of which he created *Euſtace* his eldeſt Son Duke of *Normandy*, and order'd him to

King Stephen *is ſucceſsful in* Normandy.

He is call'd into England.

do Homage to the *French* King. Earl *Theobald* ſeeing himſelf thus abandon'd, now ſtorm'd at the Injuries done him, and being eldeſt Brother laid Claim both to *Normandy* and *England*; but notwithſtanding his Rage and Threats, he at length came to a Compoſition, and renounc'd his Claim for a Penſion of two Thouſand Marks *per Annum.* Likewiſe Earl *Geoffry*, whoſe Title by his Wife was better than both, finding himſelf over-match'd by the King's Power, Wealth and Confederates, ſubmitted to Neceſſity, and for a Penſion of five Thouſand Marks *per Annum* ſuffer'd *Stephen* quietly to enjoy the Crown. Having remov'd theſe two great Obſtacles, he hop'd to enjoy a peaceable Reign, when unexpected News was brought him, That *England* was in a Tumult, and that the factious Peers, taking Advantage of his Abſence, were up in Arms againſt him. Upon this, with the utmoſt Expedition he took Shipping for *England* in the midſt of Winter, and even upon the Eve of *Chriſt*'s Nativity beſieg'd, and afterwards took the Caſtle of *Bedford*, garriſon'd againſt him upon the Account of the *Scots:* About which Time *David* their King having enter'd *Northumberland* in the Behalf of *Matilda*, the ruder ſort of the Army too tragically reveng'd the Injuries of that Princeſs, by ripping up the Wombs of big-belly'd Women, and toſſing their Infants upon the Points of Spears, ſlaying the Prieſts at the Altar, and diſmembering the dead Bodies after a moſt inhuman manner.

A. D. 1138. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

A great Combination againſt King Stephen.

Robert *Earl of* Glocester *the Chief.*

The Empreſs Matilda *ſent for.*

King *Stephen* us'd all Expedition againſt theſe Barbarians, declaring, *That it was no Policy to give an Hour's Reſt to ſuch Enemies*, and accordingly he march'd directly into *Scotland*; from whence, after a ſmall Revenge, he was haſtily recall'd into *England*, by a great Defection of the Nobility, who by his Example and Proceedings had been ſufficiently taught the Arts of Perjury. For theſe alledg'd that the King had violated his Oath concerning their Foreſts, and other Immunities of the Church and Common-wealth; but as *Malmesbury* obſerves, theſe were but colourable Pretenſions to cover their private Reſentments for miſſing of ſuch Caſtles, Commands and Preferments as they expected; looking upon the King as ſo much oblig'd to them, as not to deny them any Thing. To put a ſtop to theſe endleſs Importunities, he ſometimes us'd Arguments, and at other times Promiſes and Rewards; but their Loyalty being built upon ſuch ignoble Foundations, could not be of any long Continuance. The Chief of their Party was *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, now chief Counſellor to the Empreſs, who finding theſe particular Diſlikes, and being excited by religious Men with the Fear of hazarding both his Reputation and future Happineſs by his Neglect, he ſent threatning Meſſages to King *Stephen*, charging him with the Breach of his Oath to his Sovereign Lady *Matilda*, and with drawing him and others into the like Perjury and Treaſon; upon which he declar'd *Stephen* an open Enemy to the State, and himſelf an open Enemy to *Stephen*. He ſoon ſtrengthen'd his Party by the Conjunction of many Noblemen, among whom *Milo*, High Conſtable to the King, revolted and became a great Aſſiſtant to his Proceedings. *Robert* took in the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, and ſecur'd that of *Slede*, and his Aſſociates did the like in other Places; for *William Talbot* garriſon'd the Caſtle of *Hereford*, *William Lovel* that of *Carie*, *Paganell* the Caſtle of *Ludlow*, *William de Mount* that of *Duneſtor*, *Robert de Nichol* the Caſtle of *Warram*, *Euſtace Fitz-John* the Caſtle of *Meltune*, *William Fitz-Alain* the Caſtle of *Shrewsbury*, and *Wakelin* the Caſtle of *Doure*. And thus thoſe Forts which were erected to defend the Crown, firſt offended the King. Some few of which as he recover'd he demoliſh'd; often ſwearing, *He would not ſo eaſily loſe his Crown*, and admiring, *What ſhould induce them, who had ſo readily advanc'd him, ſo ſpeedily to dethrone him.* One freſh Motive to their Diſcontents was the King's ſeiſing on the Perſons and Lands of ſome great Men, on a bare Suſpicion of their Loyalty, and the extraordinary Favour he ſhew'd to *William de Ypres* and his *Flemmings*, whoſe Counſels he wholly follow'd. This laſt they interpreted as a Contempt of themſelves and their Nation; therefore out of Anger and Diſdain they ſent to the Empreſs, declaring, *That within five Months ſhe ſhould have the Kingdom at Command, according to their Oaths made to her Father.*

The Scots *are worſted.*

King Stephen *is ſucceſsful.*

Theſe Commotions working in the Bowels of the Kingdom, gave *David* of *Scotland* a fair Opportunity to attack the Borders of it, which he did with great Ravages and Deſolation in *Northumberland:* Againſt whom a conſiderable Army was ſent, under the Command of *Thurſtan* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, whom the King had made his Lieutenant in the North; but being detain'd by Sickneſs from the Field, he appointed *Ralph* Biſhop of the *Orchades* for his General, whoſe invective Oration had an extraordinary Effect upon the Army; and abſolving all who ſhould die in the Battel, the *Engliſh* became abſolutely fearleſs, and preſs'd forwards with ſo much Force and Fury, that the *Scots* ſoon abandon'd their King, who ſtill ſtood bravely to his Arms, 'till his beſt Friends urg'd him to deſiſt. But his Son *Henry* eſteeming Honour more than Life and Safety, ruſh'd in among his retiring Soldiers, and with undaunted Courage perſuading them to regard themſelves and his Perſon, reſtor'd the Battel for a while; 'till at length being overpower'd by the main Body of the *Engliſh*, he was conſtrain'd to quit the Field with great Loſs and Damage. With the like Succeſs King *Stephen* proceeded againſt his Diſobedient Barons, and won from them the Caſtles of *Hereford*, *Gloceſter*, *Webley*, *Briſtol*, *Dudley* and *Shrewsbury*; by which he ſo much weaken'd the Power of Earl *Robert*, that he was oblig'd to fly into *France*, reſolving to procure his Siſter the Empreſs to come over into *England.* Theſe Domeſtick Obſtacles being remov'd, the King reſolv'd to proſecute the War in the North which *Thurſtan* had happily begun; and firſt gaining the Caſtle of *Leids*, he march'd into *Scotland*, where in a ſhort Time a Peace was concluded between the two Kings: And *Stephen* returning thence, brought the valiant Prince *Henry* with him into *England*, and at the Siege of *Ludlow* Caſtle that adventurous Youth was by the Beſieg'd pluck'd from his Horſe with an Iron Grapple, and had been taken, had not King *Stephen* with extraordinary Valour and Honour, recover'd him, and won the Caſtle. In the ſame Year, a Synod was call'd at *Weſtminſter* by *Alberic* the Pope's Legate; where, by all the Biſhops of *England*, *Theobald*, Abbot of *Bec* in *Normandy*, was elected and conſecrated Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, to the general Satisfaction of the Nation, ſince that Arch-biſhoprick had been vacant above two Years.

A. D. 1139. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.

The King falls out with the Biſhops.

He ſeizes their Caſtles and their Treaſure:

II. King *Stephen* had now by his Valour and Vigilance rais'd himſelf to a high Pitch of Grandeur, and ſeem'd well eſtabliſh'd in his Kingdom; but upon the Report of the Empreſs deſigning to come into *England* in Perſon, his Jealouſie occaſion'd him to commit an Error which gave him great Diſturbance, and vaſtly weaken'd his Intereſt; and this was an unſeaſonable Breach between him and thoſe Biſhops who had ſet the Crown upon his Head, who were now too powerful to be cruſh'd at once. About this Time *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury* had built two magnificent Caſtles, one at the *Deviſes*, another at *Sherburn*, beginning a third at *Malmesbury*, and a fourth at *Salisbury*; and likewiſe his Nephew *Alexander* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, had built a Caſtle at *Newark*, as he alledg'd, for the Safety and Dignity of his Biſhoprick. *Nigel* Biſhop of *Ely*, another Nephew of Biſhop *Roger*, alſo imitated theſe in their Grandeur and Magnificence; ſo that theſe three ſeldom appear'd at the King's Court without vaſt Trains of armed Followers. All this rais'd great Envy among the Earls and Barons, who took occaſion to infuſe ſuch jealous Thoughts into the King, that he judg'd himſelf unſafe 'till he had ſtripp'd them of their Power and Grandeur. He ſoon found an Opportunity in a grand Council held at *Oxford*, where the Retainers and Servants of the Biſhop of *Salisbury* happen'd to contend with thoſe of *Alan* Earl of *Bretaign*, about ſecuring of Lodgings, in which Conteſt many were wounded, and one Knight kill'd, but the Biſhop's Men were Superior in the Conflict. The King taking Advantage of this Riot, commanded the fore-mention'd Biſhops to be conven'd, that they might ſatisfie the Court for their Servants Breach of the Peace; and the Satisfaction he requir'd, was no leſs than the Delivering up their Caſtles into his Hands as a Security for their future Fidelity. They were willing to give Satisfaction; but upon debating whether they ſhould yield up their Caſtles, he commanded that they ſhould be kept cloſe Priſoners, to prevent their Eſcape. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* was carry'd unbound, and his Son *Roger*, the Chancellor of *England*, whom he had by a Concubine, was carry'd in Fetters before the Caſtle of *Deviſes*, which *Nigel* Biſhop of *Ely*, who had eſcap'd thither from *Oxford*, held out againſt the King. By this ſevere Treatment the Caſtles of *Sherburn*, *Salisbury* and *Malmesbury* were ſurrender'd upon the firſt Summons; as was that of the *Deviſes*, after three Days Siege. His other Nephew the Biſhop of *Lincoln* purchas'd his Liberty by a ſpeedy Surrender of *Sleaford* Caſtle into the King's Hands. In the Caſtles of *Sherburn* and the *Deviſes* the King found ſuch vaſt Quantities of ready Mony, that by ſending a great Part of it to *Lewis* King of *France*, he not only obtain'd his Friendſhip, but alſo his Siſter *Conſtantia* for his Son Prince *Euſtace*, tho' the Marriage was not conſummated 'till the following Year.

This Act of the King's occaſion'd great Debates; *Hugh* Arch-Biſhop of *Roven*, and his Advocate, was of Opinion, *That Biſhops might juſtly be depriv'd of thoſe Caſtles which were not built by the Allowance of the Canons; that they ought to be Evangeliſts of Peace, not Creators of ſuch Places as were Sanctuaries for their diſloyal Practices.* The King's Brother, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and now the

Pope's Legate, affirm'd, *That if Biſhops tranſgreſs'd, they were not to be try'd in the King's Court, but to be judg'd by the Canons, nor to be depriv'd of any Thing but in a publick Synod*; and immediately ſummon'd the King his Brother to appear in the Council he intended to hold at *Wincheſter* on the 29th Day of *Auguſt*. At which Day appear'd moſt of the Biſhops of *England*, with *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; where the Legate, after producing the Pope's Commiſſion, in a *Latin* Speech aggravated the Fact of his Brother, *in that he had ſeiz'd on the Perſons of the Biſhops, even under the Protection of his own Court; exhorting all preſent to conſult what was needful to be done in this Exigency, and declaring, that he would put the Decree of the Council in Execution, tho' it was with the Loſs of his Brother's Friendſhip, his own Eſtate, or his Life.* The King not diſtruſting his Cauſe, ſent ſome of the Earls into the Synod, to know why he was conven'd thither; to whom the Legate anſwer'd, *That he was guilty of ſuch a Crime as that Age never ſaw; and being himſelf a Chriſtian, he ought not to take it amiſs, if he was call'd by the Miniſters of Chriſt to make Satisfaction; therefore if his Brother would take his Advice, he would do wiſely to give an immediate Reaſon for this Action, or ſubmit to the Judgment of the Canons.* Upon which *Alberic de Ver*, a great Lawyer, ſoon after carry'd the King's Anſwer, and in Defence of his Maſter, urg'd many Things againſt the Biſhops, *as being Movers of Sedition, and Correſponders with the King's Enemies; That they were not ſeiz'd as Biſhops, but as the King's Servants; and that they themſelves ſurrender'd their Caſtles as a Compoſition for the Crimes they had committed.* The Biſhop of *Salisbury* deny'd that he was the King's Servant, and threaten'd, *That if he could not find Juſtice in this Synod, he would ſeek it in a higher Court.* The Legate ſaid, *That the Crimes of which the Biſhops ſtood accus'd, ought to be prov'd in the Synod, before they could be ſentenc'd; therefore the King ought firſt to reinveſt them in their Poſſeſſions, otherwiſe whilſt remaining diſſeiz'd, by the Law of Nations, they were not to plead.* After many Allegations on both Sides, at the King's Requeſt, the Cauſe was adjourn'd to the next Day, and to the next after that, 'till the Arrival of the Arch-Biſhop of *Roven*; who granted, *That the Biſhops might have Caſtles, if the Canons allow'd them*; but ſtill urg'd the *Neceſſity of the Times*. To which *Alberic de Ver* added, *That if they preſum'd to ſend any Biſhops or other Perſons to the Court of* Rome, *contrary to the King's Will, and the Dignity of the Kingdom, their Return would be very difficult.* By this they underſtood that the King would not abide by the Cenſure of the Canons, and therefore the Biſhops thought it beſt to forbear pronouncing it; firſt becauſe it would be a raſh Thing to excommunicate their Prince without the Knowledge of the Pope; ſecondly becauſe they found that the Soldiers were ready to revenge it: Upon which the Synod was diſſolv'd within three Days after it was call'd. Yet the Legate and Arch-Biſhop, according to their Duty, threw themſelves at the King's Feet, beſeeching him *to be merciful to the Church and his own Soul, and to conſult his Reputation ſo as not to ſuffer a Breach to be made between the Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Governments.*

Upon which a Synod is call'd:

But comes to no Determination.

Theſe Diviſions between the King and the Biſhops occaſion'd many to rebel, and incourag'd the Empreſs to come over in Perſon, who with her Brother *Robert* landed at *Arundel* in *September*, with an inconſiderable Party of an hundred and forty Men; which Attempt is by *Malmesbury* compared to that of *Julius Cæſar*, who with one Legion began the Conqueſt of the *Roman* Empire. They were kindly receiv'd by *Adeliſa* the Queen Dowager, to whoſe Husband the Caſtle belong'd, and after a ſhort Refreſhment the Earl committing his Siſter to the Care of her Mother-in-Law, march'd through the Enemy's Country as far as *Briſtol* with only twelve Knights and Attendants. King *Stephen* was then imploy'd in the Siege of *Marlburgh* Caſtle, but hearing of a more dangerous Enemy, he ſoon remov'd, and march'd towards *Arundel*; upon whoſe Approach Queen *Adeliſa*, fearing her Caſtle ſhould be taken and her ſelf made a Priſoner, by a Meſſage to the King, declar'd, *That ſhe was ready to take her Oath, That ſhe was not the Occaſion of the Landing of the Empreſs or her Adherents, nor had entertain'd them as his Enemies, but only as her near Relations and ancient Acquaintance.* Upon which Meſſage *Stephen* by an uncommon Strain of Generoſity, caus'd the Empreſs, his great Rival, to be ſafely and honourably conducted to *Briſtol*; where ſhe remain'd for the Space of two Months, and then remov'd to *Gloceſter*; ſo that all thoſe Parts, even to the Borders of *Wales*, partly by Force, and partly through Inclination, before the End of this Year ſubmitted to the Empreſs.

The Empreſs Matilda *arrives in* England.

She goes to Gloceſter.

A.D. 1140. Reg. 5/6.

And now began all the Miſeries of a Civil War, and we find nothing but taking and retaking of Towns and Caſtles, Plundering and Burning of Houſes and Churches, and all the Marks of Trouble and Deſolation. If any Earl or great Man injur'd or affronted another, both Parties frequently got together all their Knights that held of them, their other Tenants and poor Dependants, with all the Aſſiſtance of their Friends and Confederates, and burnt each others Caſtles and Houſes, deſtroy'd their Lands and Territories, and carry'd away the Inhabitants Priſoners. And now there were in *England* ſo many Tyrants, as there were Lords of Caſtles, every one pretending to coin Mony, and to exerciſe the Rights of Soveraignty; and to add to theſe Calamities, the King had with him great Numbers of *Flemmings* and *Britains*, who being accuſtom'd to live by Plundering, came into *England* to devour the Riches of the Land. In the mean Time *Stephen* perform'd all the Parts of a vigilant Commander, and cloſely beſieg'd *Matilda* and her Brother in *Wallingford* Caſtle; but finding great Difficulties, and little Proſpect of Succeſs, he caus'd a remarkable Tower of Wood to be there erected, which he well furniſh'd with Men and Ammunition, and then remov'd to the Siege of *Malmesbury*. At the ſame Time his Brother of *Wincheſter*, a valiant and politick Prelate, was no leſs induſtrious in his Behalf; for inviting ſeveral Noblemen to his Palace at *Wincheſter*, he detain'd them Priſoners, 'till he compell'd them to ſurrender their Forts and Caſtles to the King. In the mean Time Earl *Robert* took and plunder'd *Worceſter*; *Ralph Paniel*, in favour of the Empreſs, took and burnt the Town of *Nottingham*; and *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, joining with *Robert*, whoſe Daughter he had marry'd, gave continual Annoyance to the King, tho' he had receiv'd great Honours from his Hands. The Empreſs her ſelf, the better to ſecure her own Perſon, and to give Acceſs to her Friends, took up her Quarters in *Lincoln*, and ſtored that great City with all Neceſſaries, in order for a long Abode.

A Civil War breaks out, with great Calamities.

The Empreſs retires to Lincoln:

But abandons it.

A.D. 1141. Reg. 6/7.

King *Stephen*, as vigilant as the other was politick, march'd directly and beſieg'd the City, where he had ſurpriz'd his greateſt Enemy, had ſhe not found Means to eſcape; ſo poſſeſſing himſelf of that Place, he reduc'd the whole Country to a peaceable Condition. Shortly after his Departure, *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter* with his Counteſs and Brother, coming to *Lincoln* to keep their *Chriſtmas*, the Citizens knowing the King's Jealouſies, ſent ſecret Intelligence to him, *That if he would ſurprize both theſe Brothers, he had now a fair Opportunity.* Upon which the King immediately after *Chriſtmas* march'd thither with great Expedition; and while they, thus circumvented, ſtood on their Guard in the Caſtle, the Earl eſcap'd, and begg'd the Aſſiſtance of the Empreſs to reſcue his Wife and Brother, who were now cloſely beſieg'd. Earl *Robert* upon this Intelligence immediately join'd with *Ranulph*, and gather'd all their Forces to relieve their Friends in *Lincoln*; where reſolutely wading through the River, upon *Candlemas* Day they appear'd in Order of Battel near the King's Camp. The King, tho' he was not ſtrong in Numbers, was ready to receive them, and divided his Army, which conſiſted much of *Flemmings*, *Britains* and *Normans*, into three Bodies; which Method was alſo obſerv'd by the Earl of *Gloceſter*. Before this fatal Battel began, both *Ranulph* and *Robert* made ſevere Invective Orations againſt the Nobility on the King's Side; which was anſwer'd by *Baldwin-fitz Gilbert*, who was as ſevere upon thoſe of the Empreſs's Party. Upon which a dreadful Conteſt began on both Sides, and for a while with equal Succeſs; 'till in a ſhort Time the *Flemmings* and the King's Cavalry fled; whereupon the Earl of *Cheſter* charg'd the King's Body of Foot, in whoſe Strength he repos'd his greateſt Truſt; but they being over-power'd by the Horſe, began alſo to faint and fly, leaving the King inrag'd both at his Friends Cowardice and his Foes Succeſs. It was a very ſtrange Sight, ſays *M. Paris*, there to behold King *Stephen*, left almoſt alone in the Field, yet no Man daring to approach him, while grinding his Teeth and foaming like a furious Wild-Boar, with his Battel-Ax he drove whole Troops before him, to the eternal Renown of his Courage; ſo that if a hundred ſuch had been with him, a whole Army had been unable to have taken him Priſoner. Yet as he was ſingle, he held out, 'till firſt his Battel-Ax broke, and then his Sword flew in Pieces with the Force of his irreſiſtible Strokes; and being weaponleſs, he was beaten down upon his Knees by a large Stone from an unknown Hand, which being ſeen by a valiant Knight call'd *William de Kains*, he ran in and took hold on the King's Helmet; yet he refus'd to ſurrender himſelf to any but the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who being near was call'd to take him Priſoner. The Earl preſerv'd him from all Violence to his Perſon, and ſhortly after ſent him Priſoner to the Empreſs at *Gloceſter*; from whence he was ſent to *Briſtol* Caſtle; where for a while he was kept in honourable Cuſtody, but afterwards, either through Suſpicion or Hatred, he was ingloriouſly fetter'd with Irons.

A great Battel at Lincoln, *in which King* Stephen *is taken Priſoner.*

The Empreſs governs.

III. King *Stephen* now for a while loſt all the Marks of Sovereignty and Grandeur, and the Empreſs having ſecur'd her moſt formidable Oppoſer, triumph'd in her Fortune,

Stephen *daily declines.*

tune, and as the ſole Monarch of the Nation commanded in all Affairs, and diſpos'd of all Dignities and Offices according to her own Pleaſure. Yet ſtill ſhe did not alter her Title of Empreſs, or Queen of the *Romans*, as appears from her Broad-Seal; under which ſhe granted the Cuſtody of the Tower of *London* to *Geoffry de Mandevill* and his Heirs, making Covenants with him, That ſhe would not make Peace with the Citizens of *London*, without his Conſent, becauſe they were his mortal Enemies: But this Earl being afterwards accidentally apprehended in St. *Albans*, for his Liberty was oblig'd to ſurrender both the Tower of *London* and his other Caſtles to King *Stephen*. Upon this great Succeſs of the Empreſs, the States Men ſtood no longer for *Stephen*, but their Faiths turning with their Fortunes, they all paid Allegiance to her; the *Kentiſh* Men only excepted, where *Stephen*'s Queen *Matilda*, and *William de Ypres*, maintain'd his Cauſe to the utmoſt of their Powers. Nor was King *Stephen* diſappointed only of *England*, but alſo *Normandy* caſt off his Subjection; for *Geoffry* of *Anjou*, Husband to the Empreſs, having Intelligence of the late Victory, induc'd the *Normans* to join in his Party, by publiſhing the Captivity of *Stephen*, now unable to relieve them or himſelf; and *David* King of *Scotland* was not backwards in ſetting forth the Claim of the Empreſs, and under that Pretence ſeiz'd upon the County of *Northumberland*.

A Council call'd at Wincheſter,

in which the Empreſs is declar'd Queen.

During theſe Tranſactions the Empreſs to eſtabliſh her Power repair'd to *Wincheſter*, where ſhe ſwore to the Biſhop, *That if he and the Holy Church would receive her as their lawful Queen, he ſhould order and direct all the great Affairs of the Nation, and diſpoſe of all Biſhopricks and Abbies.* This was alſo promis'd by the Earl of *Glocester* and ſeveral of the Nobility; upon which the Biſhop readily acknowledg'd her Queen of *England*, and with ſome of his Friends took an Oath, *That as long as ſhe made good her Promiſes, they would be faithful to her.* And the next Day ſhe was receiv'd into the Cathedral with a Pompous Proceſſion, in Company with many Biſhops, Abbots, Barons and Knights; where the Legate *curs'd thoſe who curs'd Her, and bleſs'd thoſe who bleſs'd Her*; *abſolving the Obedient, and excommunicating the reſt.* From *Wincheſter* ſhe went with the Court to *Wilton*, where ſhe kept her *Eaſter* with a mighty Conflux of People; and was recogniz'd by *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. Shortly after a General Synod of the Clergy was ſummon'd at *Wincheſter* under the Legate, who after private and ſeparate Conferences with the Biſhops, Abbots and Arch-Deacons, made a publick Speech, *ſetting forth the Cauſe of this Aſſembly, which was to conſult of the Peace of the Country, inſiſting upon the flouriſhing State of the Kingdom under King* Henry; *who many Years ſince had receiv'd an Oath of* England *and* Normandy, *for the Succeſſion of his Daughter and her Iſſue: That ſhe delaying her Coming into* England *at the Time of his Death; for the Peace of the Nation his Brother was admitted to the Throne. Tho' he had been a Pledge between God and him That he ſhould honour the Church, and maintain righteous Laws; yet with Grief and Shame he could but mention his Misbehaviour: The Peace of the Nation was deſtroy'd, and no Puniſhment inflicted upon Criminals; Biſhops were impriſon'd, and oblig'd to ſurrender their Poſſeſſions; Abbies were ſold, and Churches pillag'd; the Counſel of ill Men was follow'd, and the Advice of Good Men deſpiſed. That he had conven'd him before a Synod, but had gained nothing but Hatred; He ought indeed to love his Mortal Brother, but much more his Immortal Father: Therefore,* added he, *ſeeing God has exercis'd his Judgments, by letting him fall into the Hands of powerful Men, leſt the Kingdom ſhould be loſt for want of a Governor, I have call'd you hither by my Legantine Power. Yeſterday the Cauſe was propounded in private to the greateſt Part of the Clergy of* England, *to whom of Right it belongs to Elect and Ordain a King; and therefore, after invoking the Divine Aſſiſtance, we Elect* Matilda *Queen of* England, *the Daughter of the peaceable, glorious and incomparable King* Henry.

She comes to London.

All that were preſent aſſented, or by their Silence would not contradict what was done. The Legate alſo told them, *That he had ſummon'd the Citizens of* London, *and expected them the next Day.* Accordingly they came, and being brought into the Council, declar'd, *That they came from the Community of* London, *not to raiſe any Debates or Conteſts, but to petition that their Lord the King might be releas'd out of Priſon; which was the earneſt Deſire of all the Barons, and great Men lately receiv'd into their Community.* The Legate anſwer'd at large, and with a Grace, *That it became not the* Londoners, *who were eſteem'd as Noblemen in* England, *to join with ſuch Barons as had forſaken their King in Battel, render'd the holy Church contemptible, and favour'd them only for their own Advantage.* Upon which a Chaplain of King *Stephen*'s Queen offer'd a Letter from her to the Legate, which becauſe he refus'd to communicate to the Aſſembly, the Chaplain with great Confidence read it himſelf, in which the Queen *earneſtly begg'd of the Clergy, particularly the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *her Lord's Brother, to reſtore him to the Kingdom, whom his wicked Subjects had caſt into Priſon.* To which the Legate gave ſuch an Anſwer as he had given to the *Londoners*; who after a Conſultation, ſaid, *They would communicate the Reſolution of the Council to their Fellow-Citizens, and comply with it as far as they could.* This done, many of the King's Party were excommunicated, particularly *William Martel*, his Steward, whoſe Advice he had follow'd in many Things; and ſo after three Days Seſſion only, the Council was diſſolv'd. From *Wilton* the Empreſs went to *Reading*, where with a great Multitude, *Robert D'oyly* came and offer'd her the Caſtle of *Oxford*; which ſhe receiv'd with the Homage of that City, and the Country round about. From thence ſhe went to the famous Monaſtery of St. *Albans*, where many of the *London* Citizens met her, and treated about delivering the City to her; to which Place ſhe repair'd, thinking her ſelf ſafe in the Company of ſo many Biſhops and Barons. At *Weſtminſter* ſhe was receiv'd with a magnificent Proceſſion, and ſtay'd there ſome Days to give Directions and Orders about the State and Affairs of the Kingdom.

She diſobliges the Citizens and others.

She retires to Oxford,

The Empreſs thus eſtabliſh'd, all now eſteem'd her as Fortune's Darling, and beheld her as their only riſing Sun; and had her Diſcretion been equal to her Reſolution, ſhe might have reign'd many Years in Proſperity. For now the Priſon Walls had obſcur'd and defac'd all the Virtues and Favours of the unfortunate *Stephen*, whoſe ſorrowful Queen *Matilda* inceſſantly ſolicited the Empreſs in her Husband's Favour, deſiring his Liberty, but not his Crown, which ſhe ſhould freely enjoy; and thereupon offer'd many great Perſons for Pledges, who gave their Faith for him, *That from thenceforward he ſhould devote himſelf to a religious Solitude, becoming either a Monk or a Pilgrim.* All which ſhe rejected with great Haughtineſs; and with but little better Grace refus'd the Legate Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, when he only deſir'd that his Nephew *Euſtace* might enjoy his Father's Honours and Lands in *Normandy*. The *Londoners* likewiſe having lately acknowledg'd her for Queen, thought they might have whatever they deſir'd, and became Petitioners to her, *That ſhe would mitigate the over hard Laws of her Father, and put thoſe of King* Edward *in full Force.* This ſhe abſolutely deny'd; which being in an unſettled State, prov'd very impolitick and pernicious. For firſt *Stephen*'s Queen *Matilda* ſent to her Son *Euſtace*, *That their Suits muſt be obtain'd only by War*; urging him to ſtrengthen his Party by the Aſſiſtance of the *Kentiſh* Men; Several of the Nobity alſo repin'd, that they were ſo ſlightly regarded, or rather rejected; and the *Londoners*, inrag'd at their laſt repulſe, endeavour'd to make the Empreſs their Priſoner, and ſo redeem *Stephen*, who had chiefly their Affections; but ſhe hearing of the Deſign, fled ſecretly in the Night, and retir'd to *Oxford*, which in all her Difficulties ſhe ever found true to her, out of Love both to her Cauſe, and the Memory of her Father. At the ſame Time the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s high Mind not bearing the Denial of his Suit, upon ſecret Conferences with *Stephen*'s Queen, by her ſorrowful Entreaties began to melt in his Affection towards the diſtreſſed King his Brother; and at length reſolv'd to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt, and abſolv'd all thoſe whom before he had excommunicated, alledging, *That the Barons had kept their Faith with the Empreſs, but ſhe had done otherwiſe with them:* And thinking it now Time to ſtand up for his Brother, he ſollicited the diſcontented *Londoners* in his favour, and ſtored the Caſtles of *Waltham*, *Fernham* and *Wincheſter* with Men and Ammunition.

and from thence to Wincheſter

In the mean Time the Empreſs haſten'd to *Glocester* to confer with her great Friend *Milo*, and ſoon after returning to *Oxford*, was there ſolely maintain'd at his Charge, having no Subſiſtance of her own; to requite which Fidelity and other Services, ſhe there created him Earl of *Hereford*. Having gather'd a conſiderable Force together, ſhe march'd directly to *Wincheſter*, accompany'd with her Uncle *David* King of *Scotland*, her Brother *Robert*, and many of the Nobility; and arriving at the City, ſhe ſent for the Biſhop, whoſe Intereſt ſhe much deſir'd, to come to her with all Speed. But he thinking it not ſafe, return'd an equivocal Anſwer; *That he would prepare himſelf*, as if he deſign'd to follow them; and ſo iſſuing privately out of the City immediately *prepar'd* himſelf to work her Ruin: For getting the Aſſiſtance of Queen *Matilda* and her Son *Euſtace*, the *Londoners* and *William de Ypres*, he made good his Part; himſelf and Friends remaining in the City, while the Empreſs and her Nobility defended themſelves in the Caſtle, without daring to go forth among ſo many Enemies. And ſhortly after, knowing the Citizens to be better affected to the Empreſs than himſelf, to gratifie his revengeful Temper, he commanded the City to be ſet on Fire, by which the great Nunnery, the Convent of St. *Grimbald*, above twenty Churches, and the greateſt Part of the City was conſum'd to Aſhes. Seven Weeks being

ſpent

Where ſhe is put to great Diſtreſs.

ſpent in the Siege and Counter-Siege of the City and Caſtle, the Empreſs under great Troubles and Reſtraints, deſir'd to change her Quarters; and with no ſmall Difficulty march'd out with her Brother Earl *Reginald*, and many other Friends, beſides Earl *Robert*, who brought up the Reer with two hundred undaunted Followers. She was immediately follow'd by the King's Forces, and many of her Men ſlain and taken Priſoners; but ſhe by good Fortune eſcap'd to the Caſtle of *Lutgurſhal*, and from thence to the *Deviſes*; where finding that ſhe was ſtill in Danger, according to *Brompton* and others, ſhe was oblig'd to be carry'd to *Gloceſter* in a common Coffin or Herſe, like a dead Corps; in which ſhe had good Occaſion to reflect upon the Chains ſhe had put upon her Rival *Stephen*.

Earl Robert taken Priſoner.

But her Brother Earl *Robert* met with worſe Fortune, who while he was more careful in providing for her Safety than his own, was taken Priſoner, and brought back to *Wincheſter*, where he was preſented by the Biſhop to Queen *Matilda*, who committed him to the Cuſtody of *William de Ypres*, and for more Security ſent him to *Rocheſter*: But others taking Sanctuary in the Nunnery of *Warwell*, were burnt, together with the Place. *Robert*, ſtill undaunted in his Misfortunes, tho' he was tempted by Promiſes and urg'd by Threats to deſert his Siſter's Cauſe, yet nothing would prevail with him; nor would he enter into any Treaty for his own Releaſe, without her Conſent, or to her Prejudice.

King Stephen releas'd.

But within the Space of ſix Months, the King and he were both exchang'd upon equal Terms; ſo that each Party was at Liberty to purſue the War with as great Eagerneſs as ever.

Not long after the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* proceeded in his Deſign to Ruin the Empreſs, and by his Legantine Authority ſummon'd a Synod to meet at *Weſtminſter*; where the Pope's Letters to him were openly read, in which *he blamed him for ſo little endeavouring to reſtore his Brother, exhorting him to uſe all Power both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular to effect it.* King *Stephen* alſo in this Council complain'd, *That his Subjects, to whom he had never deny'd Juſtice, had impriſon'd, and reproachfully treated him to his great Affliction.*

His Cauſe is vindicated in a Synod.

Upon which the Legate by his Rhetorick endeavoured to juſtifie his own Proceedings, alledging, *That he had receiv'd the Empreſs by Compulſion, not Choice; and when the King's Army was routed, and his Nobility fled, ſhe with her Adherents came to* Wincheſter; *and whatever Promiſes ſhe made there, ſhe had wilfully broke.* He further urg'd, *That ſhe and her Friends had contriv'd to deprive him both of his Dignity and Life, but God had defeated her Deſigns; and the King his Brother being now freed from his Impriſonment, he commanded them on the behalf of God and the Pope. that they would aſſiſt him with their whole Power,* '*Who* '*was anointed by the Will of the People, and Aſſent of the* '*Apoſtolick See; and that he would excommunicate all Diſturbers of the publick Peace, that favour'd the Cauſe of the Empreſs.* The Legate's Words were not very grateful to all the Clergy, tho' none reply'd, but out of Fear and Reverence kept ſilence; only one Lay-Meſſenger from the Empreſs boldly forbad the Legate, *by the Fealty he had ſworn to the Empreſs, to act any Thing contrary to her Honour or Intereſt*, adding, *That ſhe came into* England *by his Invitation, and that her impriſoning the King was by his Approbation.* All this, and much more, which he urg'd againſt the Legate with great Sharpneſs, could not move him to return any Anſwer, or to ſhew any Paſſion, much leſs to deſiſt from his late Deſigns.

A.D. 1142. Reg. $\frac{7}{8}$.

In the following Year Earl *Robert*, fearing the King's Power and his Siſter's Declenſion, went into *Normandy* to ſolicite her Husband *Geoffry* for her Aſſiſtance. But that Earl having Troubles with his own Nobility, and the *Normans* being ſcarcely brought to Subjection, thought it not convenient to leave his Country; therefore he only ſent ſome Forces with *Robert*, and with them his young Son Prince *Henry* into *England*. The Empreſs in his Abſence had ſtrongly fortify'd her ſelf in *Oxford*, whom King *Stephen* follow'd with an eager Purſuit, and won the Suburbs to the City Gates; and reſolving not to deſiſt

The Empreſs cloſely beſieg'd in Oxford.

'till he had got her in his Poſſeſſion, he ſo cloſely beſieg'd her, that for two Months whatſoever Strength or Stratagem could perform on either Side was there put in practice. 'Till at length Want made the Beſieg'd think of a Surrender; upon which the Empreſs was once more forc'd to make uſe of Policy, and to take Advantage of the Sharpneſs of the Winter, when the River *Thames* was cover'd with Ice and Snow. Being reduc'd to Extremity, ſhe undertook a dangerous Attempt; for cloathing her ſelf, and a ſelect Company with white Linnen

She makes her Eſcape.

Garments, to deceive the Eyes of the Sentinels, ſhe iſſu'd ſecretly by Night out of a Poſtern Gate, and paſſing the frozen River ran on Foot through Ice, Snow, Ditches and Vallies for five Miles, as far as *Abington*, with the Snow ſtill driving in their Faces; and there taking Horſe, the ſame Night recover'd the Caſtle of *Wallingford*, to the great Joy and Admiration of that Garriſon. In the mean Time Earl *Robert* and Prince *Henry* had beſieg'd and taken the Caſtle of *Warham*, hoping to divert the King from the Siege of *Oxford*; but ſoon after hearing of the ſtrange Eſcape of the Empreſs, he came with young *Henry* to his Mother, whoſe Sight made her forget the many Troubles ſhe had endur'd. Here *Malmesbury*, the moſt judicious and conſiderable of the Monkiſh Writers, concludes his Hiſtory, being patroniz'd by *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*.

A. D. 1143. Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$. &c.

In the Beginning of the next Year, King *Stephen* was preſent at a Synod in *London*, which was held by the Legate Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in which it was ordain'd, 'That whoever laid violent Hands upon one in Holy 'Orders, ſhould not be abſolv'd, but by the Pope himſelf, 'and then only in his Preſence. Which laſt Clauſe to a former Decree made in the Reign of King *Henry* render'd the Perſons of all Eccleſiaſticks for the future inviolable. This was a moſt ſeaſonable Ordinance for the Clergy, for now daily Devaſtations and Outrages were committed in all Parts, and a diſmal Civil War was carry'd on for ſeveral Years in this Nation.

Many Actions.

Of this we have but a ſhort and ſlender Account: We find that *Oxford* was ſurrender'd to the King upon Conditions, and that *Wilton* was fir'd by Earl *Robert*. Then the Tower of *London*, with the Caſtles of *Walden* and *Pleeſes*, and afterwards that of *Lincoln* were yielded to *Stephen*; the Caſtles of *Warham* and *Portland* ſubmitted to the Empreſs: The Earls of *Cheſter* and *Eſſex* were ſurpriz'd by the King; and his Favourite *William Martel* was taken and impriſon'd by *Robert*. Thus about four Years paſs'd with Variety of Succeſs, and every Year on each Side produc'd freſh Calamities, to the infinite Damage of the whole Kingdom, and moſtly to the ſtrengthning and encreaſing King *Stephen*'s Intereſt.

King Stephen's Intereſt increaſes.

For during this Time, the two famous Earls, *Robert* of *Gloceſter*, and *Milo* of *Hereford*, Men of great Abilities and unſhaken Fidelity to the Empreſs, both loſt their Lives, one by a Diſtemper, and the other by an Accident. The Miſeries of the Nation, and the Loſs of two ſuch Supporters, caus'd the Empreſs to leave *England*, and retire into *Normandy*, where ſhe continu'd with her Husband 'till his Death; having not long before ſent her Son *Henry* to his Father, who deſir'd rather to have him Heir of a Dukedom with Safety, than of that of a Kingdom with continual Hazard.

The Empreſs leaves the Nation.

A.D. 1147. Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

IV. Upon the Departure of the Empreſs, King *Stephen* began to take freſh Courage, and caus'd ſeveral of the Barons to ſwear Allegiance to his Son *Euſtace*; by which Complement he ſuppos'd all Things had been ſecure on his Side. In the ſame Year he repair'd to *Lincoln*, and for a while kept his Court there; and to ſhew his Grandeur, wore his Crown at the *Chriſtmas* Solemnity, which no King before him durſt undertake to do in that City, being deterr'd by a certain ſuperſtitious Propheſie, foretelling Death, or ſome extraordinary Misfortune, to any Prince who attempted it, which the King not regarding, is therefore by our Hiſtorians commended for his Courage.

King Stephen wears his Crown at Lincoln.

In this Year alſo, or the next, Pope *Eugene* in a Council held at *Rheims*, without the Conſent of the greateſt Part of his Cardinals, ſolemnly depriv'd *William* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, becauſe he had been nominated by the King before he was canonically elected, and the Chapter of *York* commanded to make a new Election, which fell upon *Henry Murdac* Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Fountains*; and *William* was oblig'd to retire to *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who maintain'd him 'till the Death of the ſaid Pope.

A.D. 1149. Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$.

Duke Henry comes into England.

While King *Stephen* thought himſelf ſecure in his Throne, Prince *Henry*, now about ſixteen Years of Age, reſolv'd to make one Attempt more for a Crown, and accordingly came over into *England* with a ſmall but ſelect Army; to whom were join'd the diſcontented Earl of *Cheſter*, *Roger* Son of the deceas'd *Milo*, with many Knights and valiant Men of the *Engliſh*. *Henry* ſoon march'd into the North, and met with his Couſin *David* King of *Scotland*, by whom he was moſt honourably receiv'd, and ſolemnly knighted. From that Time he ſought all Occaſion to provoke both *Stephen* and his Son *Euſtace*; and having ſettled ſome Affairs with his chief Counſellors for the Purſuit of his Deſigns in *England*, he return'd into *Normandy*, to tranſact ſome other Buſineſs that might be available to theſe Ends.

His Father leaves him great Poſſeſſions.

Where he ſtay'd not long before his Father *Geoffry* dy'd, and left him in Poſſeſſion both of the Dukedom of *Normandy* and the Earldom of *Anjou*.

A.D. 1151. Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.

He marries King Lewis's Queen Eleanor.

And to add to his growing Greatneſs, in the eighteenth Year of his Age, he marry'd the fam'd *Eleanor*, Dutcheſs of *Guienne* and *Aquitain*, who had lately been divorc'd from *Lewis* King of *France* for Conſanguinity and Suſpicion of Adultery, after ſhe had born him two Daughters. *Lewis* now fearing Iſſue Male by this Marriage, to the diſinheriting of his ſaid Daughters, was highly incens'd with Duke *Henry*; and *Stephen* alſo fearing his Greatneſs, having now the Provinces of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Guienne*, *Aquitain* and *Poictou*, both them ſought all Methods to diminiſh his Power. *Lewis* with Prince *Euſtace* oppos'd him in foreign Parts, and *Stephen* in *England*; where to ſecure the Succeſſion, he endeavour'd to inveſt Prince *Euſtace* with the *Engliſh* Diadem, in order to cut off all Hopes from Duke *Henry*.

A. D. 1151. Reg. $\frac{17}{18}$.

King Stephen *in vain endeavours to crown his Son.*

And calling a grand Council at *London*, King *Stephen* commanded *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to crown his Son *Euſtace*, which he abſolutely refus'd, alledging, *That the Pope had forbidden him to crown him, whoſe Father had contrary to his Oath uſurp'd the Kingdom.* At which Repulſe, the King ſhut up all the Biſhops with their Primate in one Houſe; but the latter made his Eſcape, and fled into *Normandy*, which intirely defeated the King's Deſigns. But to be reveng'd on him for this Diſappointment, he ſeiz'd upon all his Lands and Poſſeſſions.

King *Stephen* finding his Title now queſtion'd by the Church, who had before eſtabliſh'd it, reſolv'd to make it good by the Sword; and winning the Caſtle of *Newberry*, fortify'd *Malmesbury*, and laid cloſe Siege to *Wallingford*; againſt which he erected the Caſtle of *Cranmerſe*, to hinder all Communication.

A. D. 1153. Reg. $\frac{18}{19}$.

Duke Henry*'s Intereſt increaſes.*

But Duke *Henry*, having put a Stop to the Wars abroad, return'd into *England* with a conſiderable Force; and being join'd by many of the Nobility who yielded to him above thirty ſtrong Caſtles, he haſten'd to the Relief of *Wallingford*, where he undertook a great Enterprize; for he ſurrounded the Beſiegers with a large Intrenchment, and kept them as much from Relief, as they had done the Beſieg'd. King *Stephen* haſtning to their Succour, encamp'd near the Enemy, and being ready to give Battel, the Winter Storms prevented him; but ſoon after, while the King at the Head of his Army was giving Orders for a Battel, his Horſe mounted thrice with his fore Legs, till at laſt he fell down backwards, to the great Hazard of the King's Perſon. Upon which *William* Earl of *Arundel*, a brave and eloquent Man, took occaſion to exhort the King *To be warn'd by theſe ill Omens, and not to expect any Succeſs againſt the juſter Cauſe; and that there were ſo many near Relations and Friends ſet againſt each other, that they could not engage without a great and unnatural Effuſion of Blood; therefore he ought to ſend Meſſengers to the Duke to treat of a Peace.* Upon which Advice it was reſolv'd to come to a Parly, which was ſignify'd to Duke *Henry*; who being warm and ready for Battel, could hardly moderate his youthful Ardour; yet by the Importunity of his Friends he yielded to an Interview with the King near *Wallingford*, where the River *Thames* being narrow, they could diſcourſe together from the oppoſite Banks. After a long and private Conference, they both return'd to their Camps, and ſoon after agreed to a Ceſſation of Hoſtilities.

He makes a Truce with the King.

But *Euſtace* the King's Son was highly diſoblig'd by this Treaty, which he knew would end to his Prejudice, and leaving the Court in a Paſſion, march'd into *Cambridgeſhire*, and then into *Suffolk*; where coming to the Abby of St. *Edmund's-Bury*, he was treated with all Reſpect, but not receiving Mony which he demanded for his Soldiers, he order'd them to ſeize upon all the Corn belonging to the Abby; but ſitting down to Dinner, upon the firſt Bit he eat, he fell into a Frenzy, and expir'd in a little Time.

The King's Son Euſtace *dies.*

He was eighteen Years of Age, born to be never out of the Calamities of War, and was bury'd at *Feverſham* with his Mother *Matilda*, who deceas'd a little before, without any real Injoyment of a Crown. *Stephen* began to find the Puniſhments of Heaven in theſe great Loſſes, and upon the expiring of the Truce, many fell from him, and many Caſtles were loſt, as *Bertnell*, *Reading*, *Warwick*, *Stamford* and others. And under theſe Afflictions he was more inclinable to a Peace, which was much promoted by Arch-Biſhop *Theobald*; and alſo *Henry* of *Wincheſter*, who by making his Brother King had brought ſuch Miſeries upon the Nation, now ſtrucken with Remorſe, contributed his utmoſt Aſſiſtance to this great Work. Upon which a grand Council was ſummon'd both by the King and Duke to meet at *Wincheſter*, conſiſting of all the great Men of either Party, who were joyfully receiv'd with a ſolemn Proceſſion; and there in the Preſence of infinite Multitudes the King led the Duke by the Hand, and then a Peace was concluded on theſe Conditions:

A Peace concluded between Stephen *and* Henry.

'First, that *Stephen* ſhould enjoy the 'Crown of *England* during Life: Secondly, upon his 'Deceaſe, *Henry* ſhould ſucceed him as his Lawful Heir. Then the King adopted the Duke for his Son, and at the ſame time pay'd him Reverence, and acknowledg'd him as a Father and Lord; and Earl *William*, the King's only ſurviving lawful Son, at his Father's Command did Homage to the Duke. After theſe Things were ſolemnly perform'd, and ratify'd by the mutual Oaths of the King, Biſhops and Temporal Lords, a firm Peace, which for many Years had been baniſh'd from the Nation, was happily reſtor'd.

A. D. 1154. Reg. 19.

The Duke was receiv'd, with the King, at *London*, at *Oxford*, at *Canterbury*, and other Places, with all Demonſtrations of Joy; but the Duke's Pleaſures were interrupted by a Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon by certain *Flemmings*; but juſt upon the Execution, *William* the King's Son, who was concern'd in it, falling from his Horſe upon *Burham* Down, broke his Leg, and for Want of a Leader the Deſign fail'd.

The Duke goes into Normandy.

However it occaſion'd the Duke to take his final Leave of the King, and paſs over into *Normandy*, where after a Year's Abſence he was joyfully receiv'd by his Mother, Wife and all his Subjects.

King *Stephen* now had a fair Proſpect of reaping all the Pleaſures that a Crown in Peace could afford him, and accordingly us'd all laudable Methods for the repairing the Ruins of the Kingdom; but God thought fit to allow him but a ſhort Enjoyment of that Crown he ſo unjuſtly acquir'd, and after he had puniſh'd him with the Loſs of all Hopes of the Succeſſiion in his Family, he took him out of this World upon the 25th Day of *October*, after a calamitous Reign of eighteen Years, nine Months, and ſeventeen Days.

King Stephen *dies.*

He was near fifty Years of Age, and dy'd of his old Diſtemper the Emroids, accompany'd with Iliack Pains, being bury'd by his Wife and Son at *Feverſham* in the Abby Church of that Monaſtery which he himſelf had founded.

His Character.

As to his Character, he had undoubtedly many Princely Qualities, as Valour, Affability, and Generoſity both to his Friends and Enemies; but at the ſame Time he was unmeaſurably ambitious, reſolving to be no Slave to his Word or Oath, which brought vaſt Calamities upon him and others. Yet he ſhew'd ſignal Marks of Devotion, particularly in the Founding the Abbies of *Cogſhall* in *Eſſex*, of *Furneſs* in *Lancaſhire*, *Feverſham* in *Kent*, and the Nunneries of *Carew* and *Higham*. Setting aſide his Ambition and unjuſt Title, he was an excellent Prince; none burthening their Subjects with fewer Taxes, nor governing with greater Clemency; and notwithſtanding the many Inſurrections, he is ſaid never to have put one Man to Death. The Cuſtom of holding the ſplendid Aſſemblies or *Curiæ* at the three great Feſtivals, which in the former Reign began to languiſh, by reaſon of the unſettled Times was now wholly laid aſide. Theſe Times of Confuſion alſo gave the Pope and Clergy great Opportunities to encroach upon the Regal Power, and to introduce new Laws, Uſages and Cuſtoms.

The Canon Law firſt introduc'd here.

Particularly the Pope's Canon Law was now firſt brought into the Nation; which was compil'd into a Code or Body by *Gratian*, and publiſh'd by Pope *Eugene* in the Year 1151. The Occaſion of bringing it hither was a great Conteſt between the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; which brought over Lawyers from *Rome*, together with their Law, *Vacarius* being the firſt Profeſſor of it in *Oxford*.

CHAP.

K.HENRY II
K.RICHARD I
KING IOHN
K.HENRY III

CHAP. II.

The Plantagenets *Undivided; From the Death of King* Stephen, *and Reſtoration of the* Saxon *Line, to the Death of King* Henry *the Third.*

Containing the Space of about 118 *Years.*

SECT. I.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Second.*

Containing 34 *Years,* 8 *Months, and* 12 *Days.*

A. D. 1154. Reg. 1.

King Henry and Queen Eleanor crown'd.

I. THE Miſeries of the late Civil Wars had ſo conquer'd the Spirit of Ambition in the Land, that tho' *Stephen* left a Son behind him, who wanted not a conſiderable Intereſt, Duke *Henry* found an eaſie and uninterrupted Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*. Tho' he was a *French* Man by Birth, he came to the Crown neither unexpected, nor undeſir'd; for the Opinion of the Nation, and the Hopes conceiv'd of his future Government, had the Force to keep *England* in an intire Obedience above ſix Weeks without the Preſence of a King; whoſe Entrance, like that of the Soul into the Body, did immediately invigorate the whole Kingdom. He was ſoon after his Arrival ſolemnly crown'd King at *Weſtminſter*, together with *Eleanor* his Queen, by *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, on the nineteenth Day of *December*, with the loud Acclamations of all the People, being now about twenty one Years of Age. He was ſirnam'd *Plantagenet*, that is *Planta Geneſta*, or *Broom Plant*; and being Son of the Empreſs, who was Grand-Daughter to Queen *Margaret* the Siſter of *Edgar Etheling*, in him the Royal Line of the old *Engliſh Saxons* was reſtor'd. He was not only the neareſt Heir to the Crown, after his Mother's Deceaſe, but was alſo the moſt powerful Monarch that had hitherto ſat upon the *Engliſh* Throne; being, beſides *England* and *Normandy*, poſſeſs'd of a great Part of *France*, before recited.

A. D. 1155. Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.

King Henry's wiſe Eſtabliſhments.

In order to reſtore a ruinous and waſted Country, he began with demoliſhing ſeveral Caſtles, which had been the Neſts of Rebellion, and reſum'd others to his own Uſe, and likewiſe ſuch Lands and Eſtates as had been alienated from the Crown, as the unjuſt Reward of thoſe who withſtood his Title. Others write, that he promiſcuouſly reſum'd all ſuch Lands, as were by a ſet Number of Jurors found at any Time to have belong'd to the Crown. He reduc'd ſome Noblemen unduly created to a private Condition, and clear'd the Nation of Foreign Soldiers; eſpecially from the *Flemmings*, whoſe mercenary Swarms had been moſt burdenſome to the Land, and pernicious to his Cauſe. Then to preſerve good Government, he choſe a Body of Counſellors out of the moſt eminent of the Clergy and Laity; as *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Becket*, Arch-Deacon of the ſame See, whom he made Chancellor of *England*, as alſo *John* of *Oxenford*, with divers other Prelates; of the Laity he had *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, chief Juſticiary of *England*, *Richard de Lucie*, *Jocelin de Bailull*, *Alan de Nevil*, and others; but in his Cabinet Council, he had his Mother the Empreſs, now one of the moſt experienc'd Ladies of the Age. Thus furniſh'd, he aſſembled a Council or Parliament at *Wallingford*, where he caus'd the whole Kingdom to ſwear to the Succeſſion of his two young Sons *William* and *Henry*, the former dying not long after; and here he confirm'd the Laws of St. *Edward*, and the ancient Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, and likewiſe granted a ſhort Charter of Liberties, which in Subſtance is a bare Confirmation of all that his Grandfather *Henry* I, had granted. Theſe hopeful Beginnings of ſo young a King were as grateful to the Quiet and Peaceable, as they were unpleaſant to the Wicked and Rapacious; who were now either forc'd to leave the Country, or put on the Appearance of Honeſty; by which Means all Men quietly enjoy'd the Fruits of a long deſired Peace.

A. D. 1156. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

He goes into France.

King *Henry* having ſettled his Affairs in *England* to his Satisfaction, haſten'd into *France* to King *Lewis*, where he did Homage to him for *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, *Main* and *Tourain*; which were partly his own Patrimony, and partly the Inheritance of *Eleanor* his Queen. But his Brother *Geoffry* having a juſt Title to the Earldom of *Anjou*, by his Father's Will, held out that Country againſt him. Yet *Henry*, tho' he himſelf had ſworn to obey his Father's Will, never regarded it; but procuring Pope *Adrian* to diſpenſe with his Oath, by Force he unjuſtly diſpoſſeſs'd his Brother of all his Territories, and oblig'd him to accept of an Annuity of a thouſand Pounds *Engliſh*, and two thouſand more of *Anjouvin* Mony; which in the third Year was ended by the Death of *Geoffry*. After this Succeſs King *Henry* return'd into *England*, and at *Cheſter* he contracted a Friendſhip with *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, upon the ſame Terms with his Grand-father *Henry*; upon which *Malcolm* ſurrender'd the City of *Carliſle*, *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, and that of *Bamborough*, and King *Henry* reſtored to him the Earldom of *Huntington* in *England*.

He returns.

A. D. 1157. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

The King daily increas'd in Strength and Power; and yet the *Welſh*, a reſtleſs People, ſtill ventur'd to make frequent Incurſions into *England*, which occaſion'd *Henry* to raiſe a powerful Army to ſubdue them, and bring them to a peaceable Correſpondency. The Enemy truſting to

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the Security of their Woods and Mountains, retreated thither upon his Approach; and the Van of the King's Army marching in thoſe difficult Places, was intercepted by them, and a great Part of it cut in Pieces. Upon which *Henry de Eſſex*, the King's hereditary Standard-Bearer, threw down his Standard and fled, alſo reporting that the King was ſlain, which put the whole Army into a great Confuſion; but upon the King's ſudden Appearance it receiv'd new Vigour, rallied, and forc'd the Enemy to ſuch Terms as ſatisfy'd the King. He cut down their Woods, and made open Ways into their Country; had the Caſtle of *Ruelent*, and all other Places ſurrender'd to him which they had taken from his Predeceſſors, and receiving the Homage and Fealty of their Nobles and great Men, he return'd in Triumph into *England*. But *Henry de Eſſex*, for his Cowardice, was charg'd with Treaſon by *Robert de Monfort*, a valiant Nobleman, and in a Tryal by a ſingle Combate was vanquiſh'd, for which his Life was forfeited by Law; but the King ſpared it, and caus'd him to be ſhorn a Monk in the Abby of *Reading*, and ſeiz'd upon all his vaſt Eſtate. Not long after the King's third Son *Richard* was born in his Palace at *Oxford*, who afterwards ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom. The Beginning of which Year the King ſpent in a Progreſs through *England*, and coming to the City of *Lincoln*, he caus'd himſelf to be again crown'd in a Suburb call'd *Wickford*, without the Walls, being deterr'd by ſome ſuperſtitious Prophecies from wearing the Crown in the City itſelf, which tho' it had before been deſpis'd by King *Stephen*, yet this King could not free himſelf from thoſe vain Apprehenſions. In the following Year he and his Queen were again crown'd at *Worceſter* upon *Eaſter-Sunday*; and coming to the Oblation, they there devoutly offer'd up their Crowns at the High-Altar, vowing never to wear them after, which they ſtrictly obſerv'd. After this we do not find many of our Kings to have worn their Crowns at the great Feſtivals as formerly.

His Expedition againſt the Welſh.

A. D. 1158. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.

The King is crown'd again at Lincoln; *and at* Worceſter.

A. D. 1159. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$.

where he lays down his Crown.

He goes into France.

His ſeveral Actions there.

King *Henry* having eſtabliſh'd his Affairs in *England*, croſs'd a ſecond Time into *Normandy*, where for three or four Years ſeveral Matters of Importance ſucceſſively occurr'd, tho' not largely treated of by the Writers of theſe Times: As his ſeizing the City of *Nants*, and a great Part of *Bretaign*, after his Brother *Geoffry*'s Deceaſe: His Journey to *Paris*, with *Eleanor* his Queen, upon a formal Invitation by King *Lewis*: His expenſive and unſucceſsful Siege of *Tholouſe*, where *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* was in Company with him, and Knighted by him: The immature Marriage of his Son *Henry* with *Margaret* the *French* King's Daughter, whom *Thomas Becket* Lord Chancellor had conducted with great Pomp from *Paris*, by Conſent of Parents, for that Purpoſe: The Offence taken at thoſe Eſpouſals by King *Lewis*, becauſe the Parties were but Children, and himſelf a Loſer by the Contract: The War hereupon attempted by *Lewis*, who fortifying *Chaumont*, which King *Henry* recover'd with Advantage, after the *French* had quitted the Field by Flight: The Armies of both Kings, being afterwards ready to join Battel, were reconcil'd by Pope *Alexander*, who was ſo honour'd by them, that they both walk'd on Foot by his Horſe's Side, and perform'd the Office of Yeomen or Gentlemen of the Stirrup. After which King *Henry*, after long Abſence from *England*, return'd with great Satisfaction, Honour and Reputation.

A. D. 1163. Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$.

The Riſe of Thomas Becket.

He is made Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

II. King *Henry*, in the midſt of his Proſperity and Grandeur, began now to be exceedingly diſturb'd and perplex'd, by a famous Conteſt between him and *Thomas Becket*; a Man of an aſpiring Temper, and invincible Reſolution, who by Birth was a *Londoner*, and by Profeſſion a Civilian. Being in holy Orders, he was made Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, and then advanc'd to be Lord Chancellor of *England*, in which high Station he carry'd himſelf like a Sovereign King; and in the late Wars between the Kings of *England* and *France*, beſides his own Retinue, he maintain'd ſeven hundred Knights or Horſemen, and alſo twelve thouſand others of leſs Quality, with four thouſand mercenary Footmen for one Month; and tho' he was a Clerk, he tilted with a *French* Knight, diſmounted him, and gain'd his Horſe. Upon the Death of *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, tho' the Monks objected againſt *Becket*, as being a Courtier and a Soldier, yet in the Year 1162 the King gave him that Archbiſhoprick, partly in Reward of former Services, and partly in Hopes of greater to come. But immediately after his Conſecration, he not only reſign'd his Office of Chancellor, returning his Seal to the King, but alſo wholly chang'd his former Courſe of Life, put on a ſevere rigid Monk's Habit, liv'd an auſtere Life, alter'd and order'd his Family accordingly; and contrary to the King's Expectations, withdrew himſelf from his Obedience and Service, and oppos'd him in many Things. The grand Conteſt was concerning the Regal and Pontifical Authority, and was firſt diſputed upon the Account of the numerous Abuſes and Corruptions of the Church-Men, who were then grown to a dangerous Height; of which *Newburg*, who liv'd in theſe Times, gives us this Account. It was declar'd in the King's Preſence, That the Clergy had committed above a hundred Murthers during his Reign, which highly provoking the King, he was ſomewhat too violent in puniſhing them; for which the Prelates ought to be blam'd, in giving ſo great an Occaſion. For whereas the Canons ordain'd, that Clerks for inferior, as well as heinous Offences, ſhould be degraded, and thouſands of ſuch were then in the Church, like much Chaff among a little good Corn; yet very few for many Years had been depriv'd. The Prelates, while they rather ſtrove to ſupport the Liberties and Dignities of the Clerks, than to puniſh and exterminate their Vices, thought they were ſerviceable to God and the Church, in protecting ſuch heinous Offenders from publick Puniſhment, whom by the Duty of their Places they ought to correct: by which Liberty and Impunity, they fear'd not God, whoſe Judgments they thought far diſtant, nor Men in Authority; ſince on the one Side their Prelates neglected to reform them, and on the other, they were by their Order exempt from Temporal Juriſdiction.

The Corruptions of the Church-Men.

This being the State of the Church and Kingdom, in which ſome were ſo injur'd without Remedy, and others ſo injurious without Reſtraint, as if neither Sort were in the Condition of Subjects; the King, out of his Wiſdom and Zeal, took particular Care to revive the publick Diſcipline, and the Power of the ancient Laws, which thus lay neglected. To which End he had ſettled ſelect Miniſters of Juſtice in all Parts of the Land; and upon Complaints brought him of the Remiſſneſs, and other Defects of his Judges, he by his Princely Care apply'd Remedies, and puniſh'd the Delinquents. The like Remiſſneſs was complain'd of in his Eccleſiaſtical Judges; occaſion'd by a Murther, committed by a Prieſt of *Sarum* Dioceſe, whom the Arch-Biſhop order'd to be depriv'd and ſhut up in a Monaſtery, by which he was freed from a more deſerv'd Puniſhment, deſign'd by the King's Juſticiaries. With which, and ſome other like Affronts from the Arch-Biſhop, the King was highly diſpleas'd, as ſeeing all Things tend to the Ruin of Regal Government, which he deſir'd might be employ'd to the Impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice to all his Subjects. The Arch-Biſhop, on the other Side, ſhew'd himſelf no leſs violent for the Immunities of his Clergy and See; and proceeded ſo far as to challenge from the Crown the Cuſtody of *Rocheſter* Caſtle and other Forts, which the King for the Security of his Kingdom had reſum'd into his own Hands. The Sum of the Controverſie between the Crown and the Mitre is thus deliver'd by *Hoveden*: The King expected that ſuch of the Clergy as were taken in Robbery, Murther, Felony, and the like Crimes, ſhould be try'd and adjudg'd in his Temporal Courts, as Lay-Men were: Againſt which the Arch-Biſhop's Reſolution was, That all Clergy-Men ſo offending ſhould be try'd only in the Spiritual Courts, by Men of their own Order, and upon Conviction, ſhould at firſt only be depriv'd of their Office and Benefice; but after they were thus degraded, upon a freſh Offence, they ſhould be judg'd at the King's Pleaſure.

The King endeavours to reform them.

Becket *oppoſes him.*

The Sum of the Controverſie.

The King finding himſelf thus depriv'd of one Half of his Sovereignty, and that *Becket* could not be mollify'd either by the Remembrance of old Favours, or the Power of freſh Perſuaſions; notwithſtanding he reſolv'd to put nothing in Execution, but what was firſt ratify'd and confirm'd by his Biſhops, of whoſe ready Aſſent to all juſt Demands, he had no Reaſon to doubt. Therefore at an Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter* the King ſhew'd his Reſentments againſt the Arch-Biſhop's Behaviour, and took an Occaſion to eſtabliſh ſeveral Articles, which he call'd his *Grandfather's Cuſtoms*, much to the Detriment of the Papal and Eccleſiaſtical Authority. The Points in thoſe Ordinances, which the Arch-Biſhop condemn'd, and ſet down in his Letters to the Pope, and his own Suffragan Biſhops, were principally theſe: 1. That none ſhould appeal to the See of *Rome* for any Cauſe whatſoever, without the King's Licence. 2. That it ſhould not be lawful for any Arch-Biſhop or Biſhop to leave the Nation and go to the Pope, upon his Summons, without the King's Licence. 3. That no Biſhops ſhould excommunicate any one holding of the King in chief, or put any other of his Officers under Interdict, without his Licence. 4. That all criminal Clerks ſhould be try'd before ſecular Judges. 5. That the Laity, whether the King or others, ſhould hold Pleas of Churches, and Tithes, &c. Theſe Ordinances were peremptorily urg'd to the Arch-Biſhop and all the Biſhops, who anſwer'd, *That they willingly conſented to them, ſaving in all Things their Order, and the Rights of the Church.* This Anſwer highly diſpleaſing the King, caus'd him to remove ſuddenly to *Woodſtock*, to which Place the Biſhops follow'd him, earneſtly perſuading the Arch-Biſhop to comply, as they

The King eſtabliſhes ſeveral Ordinances againſt the Papal Authority.

they already had done. At firſt he was immoveable, but at length overcome by the Importunities of the Biſhops of *Chicheſter* and *Hereford*, he aſſented to acknowledge the King's Laws without that *Saving Clauſe*, which had given ſo much Offence. At which the King ſeem'd ſatisfy'd for the preſent; however he reſolv'd to have all their Conſents ratify'd in a grand Council of the whole Kingdom.

A. D. 1164. Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$.

To this End, that he might better aſſert the Rights of the Crown, he call'd a Parliament at *Clarendon* in *Wiltſhire*, where he propounded to the Biſhops and Secular Barons many ancient Regular Cuſtoms and Laws, which he expected the Biſhops to recognize, as the ancient Rights of the Crown; which Laws, being the ſame with thoſe before-mention'd, have commonly been call'd *The Conſtitutions of* Clarendon. All the Prelates gave a verbal Conſent to theſe, but being requir'd to put their Seals to them, the Arch-Biſhop utterly refus'd; yet at length the Earls of *Cornwall* and *Leiceſter*, with other Perſons of Quality, by Tears, Importunities and Arguments perſuaded him to comply with the King's Pleaſure. So that both the Arch-Biſhop, and all the Biſhops conſented to theſe Laws, and recogniz'd them under their Seals; and the King afterwards ſent them to the Pope to be confirm'd, who not only rejected them, but utterly condemn'd them. Shortly after the Arch-Biſhop began to be ſeverely afflicted, and repented of this Act, making his Body ſuffer a hard Penance for it; and he thought it ſo heinous an Offence, and ſo great a Pollution, that he was not fit to ſay Maſs, or appear before the Altar; and therefore he ſuſpended himſelf from that Service, 'till by Confeſſion and Penance he obtain'd the Pope's Abſolution. During the Controverſie, the Pope being in *France*, ſent over *Rotred* Arch-Biſhop of *Roven* to compoſe theſe Differences; but the King would not hearken to him, unleſs the Pope would firſt conſent to confirm his Laws by his Bull. And when he ſaw he could not obtain it, he ſent two of his Chaplains to prevail with the Pope to conſtitute *Roger* Arch-Biſhop of *York* his Legate throughout *England*, ſo that he might confound and mortifie *Becket*. But neither did this Project ſucceed; for the Pope knowing that *Becket*'s Cauſe was his own, would not be the Author of any Damage to ſo faithful a Servant; yet to gratifie the King he granted by his Bull a ſlight Authority, which when the King ſaw was only ſuperficial and not effectual, he ſent it back again to the Pope by the ſame Perſon who brought it.

Becket *and the Biſhops comply with them.*

Becket *repents and makes new Oppoſition.*

Many Troubles fall upon him.

When theſe Methods fail'd others were attempted, and the Arch-Biſhop having many Enemies, ſeveral Troubles were brought upon him in a ſhort Time. Firſt, he was condemn'd in Damages for a Manor, which *John de Marſhal* claim'd, notwithſtanding the Arch-Biſhop had enjoy'd it a long Time without Moleſtation. Next he was proſecuted at the King's Suit for five hundred Marks, which had been lent him in the Army at *Thralouſe*, and for another like Sum which he borrow'd of a *Jew* upon the King's Security: Then he was proſecuted for all the Profits of the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, and other Biſhopricks and Abbies vacant during his Chancellorſhip: Beſides all, he was in Parliament call'd to an Account for thirty thouſand Pounds of the King's Mony formerly in his Hands. To theſe he reply'd, *That ſince he had formerly accounted, and that the King's eldeſt Son, the Juſticiary of* England, *and all the Barons of the Exchequer had acquitted him of all Accounts, and that he ſhould come free from all Actions to the Archbiſhoprick, he therefore now would not anſwer as a Lay-Man.* Which peremptory Refuſal of his was highly aggravated with divers Accuſations, particularly of Contempt towards the King, in denying to come to his Preſence, when commanded to appear before him; and tho' he made ſeveral Excuſes and Pretences, yet the Peers and the Biſhops condemn'd all his moveable Goods to the King's Mercy. And the Prelates perceiving that the King's Diſpleaſure tended to a further Severity, premoniſh'd him to ſubmit himſelf, *Otherwiſe the Court intended to adjudge him a perjur'd Perſon, and a Traitor, for refuſing Temporal Allegiance to his Temporal Sovereign, according to his Oath.* Still finding him immoveable, the Biſhops by joint Conſent adjudg'd him guilty of Perjury, and by the Mouth of the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, diſclaim'd all future Obedience to him as their Arch-Biſhop. The following Day, while the Biſhops and Peers were conſulting about ſome further Expedient, *Becket*, undaunted in his Deſigns, caus'd to be ſung before him at the Altar, *The Princes ſit and ſpeak againſt me, and the Ungodly perſecute me*, &c. And immediately taking his Silver *Croſier* in his Hands, he enter'd arm'd with it into the King's Preſence. At which the Arch-Biſhop of *Yook* ſeverely reprov'd him for this unprecedented Action, declaring, *That the King carry'd much the ſharper Weapon of the two*, and adviſ'd him to lay down the Croſs. The Arch-Biſhop made Anſwer, *That tho' the King's Weapon might kill the Body, yet his own could deſtroy the Soul, and ſend it to Hell.* The King in a great Rage commanded his Peers to ſit in Judgment upon him as a perjur'd Traitor; and accordingly they order'd him to be apprehended, and thrown into Priſon. The Earls of *Cornwall* and *Leiceſter*, citing him to hear his Sentence pronounc'd, he immediately appeal'd to the See of *Rome*, declaring them *Incompetent Judges:* Whereupon all reviling him with the Name of Traitor, he reply'd, *That were it not for his Function, he would enter a Combat with them in the Field, and acquit himſelf both of Treaſon and Perjury*; and upon that fled from the Court, and diſguiſing himſelf under the Name of *Dereman*, paſs'd over into *Flanders*.

He is declar'd a Traitor.

He leaves the Nation.

The King, on the other Side, to leave nothing unfiniſhed, immediately diſpatch'd *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London* and *William* Earl of *Arundell* to the *French* King, urging him *Not to harbour one who had fled as a Traitor*, but prevail'd not: For he on the contrary begg'd of the Pope, *That as he lov'd the* Roman *Church, and the Happineſs of* France, *he would favour and ſupport the Cauſe of* Thomas *againſt King* Henry. To this the Pope readily comply'd, upon which the King ſent an Ambaſſy to him of many great Perſons, as the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, and *Chicheſter*, *John* of *Oxenford*, the Earl of *Arundell*, and others, whoſe ſole Employment being by any Means to procure Diſgrace to *Becket*, their final Suit was, *That his Holineſs would be pleas'd to ſend two Cardinals into* England, *fully to end the Controverſie:* But the Pope deny'd it, holding it derogatory to his own abſolute Authority, declaring like God's Vice-gerent, *It was his own Glory, which he would not give to another; but when the Arch-Biſhop was to be judged, he would judge him himſelf.* But the great Reaſon, as *Hoveden* obſerves, was that he knew the King of *England* was rich and powerful, and that Legates might eaſily be corrupted, as being greater Lovers of Gold and Silver, than Juſtice and Equity. To which *Gervaſe* adds, That the Pope and Cardinals wiſely foreſaw, That if the Arch-Biſhop was ſupported in his Cauſe it would be a Precedent for others in the like Caſe to oppoſe Kings; but if it ſunk, no Biſhop for the future would dare to withſtand their Sovereign's Pleaſure, ſo that the Power of the Church would be ſhaken, and the Authority of the Pope cruſh'd.

The French *King and the Pope ſtand his Friends.*

A. D. 1165. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

The King proceeds againſt them,

The King being thus diſappointed, and impatient of a Repulſe, where his own Subject was a Party, thought the Indignity offer'd by the Pope inſufferable; and to let him underſtand how he reſented it, he directed his Writs to all the Sheriffs of *England*, commanding them *to attach all ſuch as offer'd to appeal to the* Roman *Court; together with the Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Siſters, Nephews and Neices of all ſuch of the Clergy as were with the Arch-Biſhop, and to put them under Sureties; as alſo to ſeize the Revenues, Goods and Chattels of the ſaid Clergy-Men.* Again by other Letters to *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London* he ſequeſter'd all the Livings and Benefices, which within his Province belong'd to any of the Clergy who fled over to the Arch-Biſhop; ſo that without his Leave, they might receive no Part of the Profits. Laſtly he gave ſtrict Orders to all his Juſtices, That if they found any Perſon with Letters or Mandates from the Pope or Arch-Biſhop, containing any Interdict or Excommunication againſt the Nation, ſpeedy Juſtice ſhould be executed upon him, as a Traitor to the Kingdom. He alſo caus'd the Church of *Canterbury* and all the Arch-Biſhop's Goods to be confiſcated, grounding himſelf, as it is believ'd, upon the Judgment given againſt *Becket* at *Northampton*, notwithſtanding that Sentence had been expreſly null'd by the Pope's Bull. Nor was this all, for he baniſh'd all the Kindred of the Arch-Biſhop, Men, Women, Children and Infants; and forbad that he ſhould be any longer publickly mention-ed, and pray'd for in the Church as Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*.

and uſes many Severities.

A. D. 1166. Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

Becket *excommunicates great Numbers.*

On the contrary ſide, the Arch-Biſhop, now in *France*, ſolemnly excommunicated all ſuch as obey'd, promoted or defended the Regal Laws of *Clarendon*, and *Richard de Lucie*, *Richard* of *Poictou*, *Jocelin de Bailleol*, *Alan de Nevil*, and ſome others by Name; but being neither cited nor convicted, they appeal'd to the Pope. The King having notice, that *Becket*, after his publick Sermon on a great Feſtival, had threaten'd the like Sentence againſt his Royal Perſon, either to terrifie his Adverſaries, or to revenge himſelf, got a powerful Army in Readineſs, under a Pretence of ſubduing *Wales*. In the mean Time, *John* of *Oxenford*, the King's great Advocate, ſo far prevail'd with the Pope as to ſend two *Legates à latere* to reconcile the King and the Arch-Biſhop; but after their Departure, the Pope fearing the Power and Riches of King *Henry*, ſent Letters after them to put new Limits to their Authority. Upon the Appearance of theſe two Cardinals, *Thomas* refus'd to put his Cauſe to them, unleſs there was firſt plenary Reſtitution made to him and his Friends: But being adviſ'd by them to ſubmit himſelf to the King, his Anſwer was, he would, *Saving God's Honour, and the Churches Liberty; Saving his own Honour and the Churches Poſſeſſions; and ſaving his own and his Friends Rights.* Being afterwards de-

Two Cardinals interpoſe,

manded by them, *Whether, for the Peace of God's Church, he would renounce the Archbiſhoprick, if the King would renounce his Ordinances;* he anſwer'd, *That the Propoſal was unequal; ſince he could not renounce his Archbiſhoprick, without betraying the Honour of his Church; but the King was oblig'd both in Honour and Conſciencc to renounce thoſe Ordinances.* King *Henry* being inrag'd at ſo many Salvo's, reſolv'd to create new Troubles to the Arch-Biſhop, who having been near two Years well maintain'd in the Abby of *Pontigny*, the King threaten'd that Abbot, *That if he any longer ſhelter'd* Becket, *he would immediately baniſh all the Monks of his Order out of* England. Upon which he was diſmiſs'd from the Monaſtery, and the *French* King took him to *Sens* with himſelf, under whoſe particular Protection he continu'd for about four Years; and prov'd a great Inſtigator of that King and the Earl of *Flanders* againſt the King of *England.* In which Year the King's youngeſt Son *John* was born, whom in Raillery his Father call'd *Sans-Terre*, as having no Lands ſettled upon him; tho' he afterwards obtain'd the Crown of *England.*

but in vain.

Becket *remains under the* French *King's Protection.*

King John *born.*

A.D. 1167. Reg. $\frac{13}{14}$.

In the following Year the King's Mother, the Empreſs *Matilda*, dy'd at *Roven*, in the 66th Year of her Age; and her Son diſtributed her great Treaſure to Churches, Monaſteries, Lepers and other poor People, for the good of her Soul. Still the Pope forgot not his faithful Servant *Becket*, but honour'd him with a Confirmation of all the Privileges and Powers, that any of his Predeceſſors ever enjoy'd, in Defiance, as it were, of the King's utmoſt Indignation. On the other Side the King ſent Letters into *Germany*, declaring his Intentions to renounce the preſent Pope *Alexander*, and join with the Emperor and the Anti-Pope, which ſtill made the Breach wider and more dangerous. In the mean Time *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London*, being commanded by the Pope to admoniſh the King to lay aſide all Cuſtoms and Ordinances prejudicial to the Church, and to reſtore the Arch-Biſhop, he obey'd him; and in his Anſwer he endeavour'd to perſuade his Holineſs to Moderation and a Connivance, not forgetting to juſtifie his Sovereign, particularly, 'That the King was ready to obey the 'ſacred Decrees of the Church, ſaving his own and his 'Kingdom's Dignity: That as to Appeals, he claim'd that 'Honour by the ancient Inſtitution of his Kingdom, namely, That no Clerk ſhould for a civil Action leave the 'ſame, 'till Juſtice could not be found in his Courts at 'home, and then he would hinder no Man. That he never baniſh'd the Arch-Biſhop, who might return at his 'Pleaſure, provided he obſerv'd thoſe ancient Cuſtoms, to 'which he bound himſelf by Oath. That the King thinks 'himſelf fully juſtify'd, in being willing to abide by the 'concurrent Judgment of the Church in his own Kingdom. Yet after great Heats and Factions, and ſeveral Acts of Hoſtility between the Kings of *England* and *France*, a Peace being concluded, *Thomas* preſented himſelf before the two Kings, where he was urg'd in the Preſence of both to ſubmit himſelf to King *Henry* without any further Reſervations; to which he ſeem'd ready to comply, only with this Reſtriction, *Saving the Honour due to God.* With which the King being exaſperated, declar'd to the *French* King, *That ſuch were the ſubtle Evaſions of the Man, that whatſoever diſpleas'd him, he was wont to ſay was againſt the Honour of God:* Adding further, *That as there had been ſeveral Kings of* England *of leſs Power than My ſelf, and ſeveral Arch-Biſhops of* Canterbury, *Great and Holy Men; let him do what the greateſt and moſt holy of his Predeceſſors did to the leaſt of mine, and I will acquieſce.* Upon which all agreed that the King had ſufficiently yielded; and King *Lewis*, offended at *Becket*, ask'd him *Whether he thought himſelf greater, or holier than St.* Peter? And the Peers of both Nations accus'd him of great Arrogance, declaring, *That he himſelf was the wilful Obſtacle of his own, and the Holy Church's Tranquility.*

The Biſhop of London *writes to the Pope.*

A.D. 1168. Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$.

Becket *appears before the Kings of* France *and* England:

But in vain.

A.D. 1169. Reg. $\frac{15}{16}$.

The Pope proceeds to Cenſures.

When neither Mediations, Letters, Meſſages, or other Means would end the Controverſie, the Pope ſignify'd to the King, *That he would no longer reſtrain the Arch-Biſhop from revenging his own and the Church's Injuries by the Sword of Cenſure:* Upon which the Arch-Biſhop excommunicated the Biſhop of *London*, and proceeded ſo far with others, that there were ſcarce enough left in the King's own Chappel and Preſence, to perform the uſual Service. The King highly offended at theſe Proceedings, encourag'd Biſhop *Gilbert* with moſt friendly Offers, to bear the Charges of proſecuting his Appeal againſt *Becket*; and likewiſe urg'd the Pope to ſend Legates *to abſolve his excommunicated Subjects, and ſettle a Peace, or elſe he ſhould be compell'd to provide otherwiſe for his own Security and Honour.* Thereupon two Cardinals were ſent to the King in *France*, in order to an Accommodation, but to little or no Effect. After that, by the Pope's Mediation, the two Kings of *England* and *France* met at *Paris*, whither the Arch-Biſhop repair'd, and yet no Peace enſu'd; becauſe the King refus'd *Becket* the Ceremony of the Kiſs of Peace, and would not ſatisfie any Thing under the Name of *Reſtitution*, as being againſt his Honour, ſince all Reſtitution imply'd an Injury committed. Yet as to the Matter of the Regal Cuſtoms, he freely offer'd to ſtand to the Judgment, not only of his own Divines, but alſo of thoſe of the Church of *France*; which being refus'd by the other, the King came off with much Advantage in the Opinion of the Auditors. And now ſeeing no Iſſue of his tedious Diſturbances, and underſtanding that the Arch-Biſhop of *Sens* in Perſon had ſollicited the Pope to put the Kingdom of *England* under a general Interdict, he immediately ſent out his Edicts from *Normandy* into *England*, declaring, *That whoever brought any Letters of Interdict from the Pope or* Becket, *ſhould immediately ſuffer as a Traitor to his King and Country. That no Clerk ſhould go out of the Land without a Paſſport from his Juſticiaries, and none return again without a Licence from the King himſelf. That none receive any Meſſage from the Pope, or* Becket, *nor make any Appeal to them, or hold any Plea by their Mandates. That if any Prelate, Clerk or Lay-Man obey a Sentence of Interdict, he and all his Relations ſhall be baniſh'd, and his Goods forfeited to the Crown. That all Clerks having Rents in* England, *ſhall return home within three Months, or loſe all their Revenues. That* Peter-Pence *be not paid to* Rome, *but reſerv'd.* Thus, as *Gervaſe* laments, all from the Eldeſt to the Youngeſt, were forc'd to abjure Obedience to Pope *Alexander*, and Arch-Biſhop *Becket.*

The King provides againſt them.

A.D. 1170. Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.

He makes a grand Inquiſition in the Nation.

After four Years Continuance in *France*, the King took Shipping for *England*, in which he narrowly eſcap'd a violent Storm, that deſtroy'd ſeveral of his beſt Veſſels, in one of which his chief Phyſician, and about four hundred Perſons were drowned. Shortly after *Eaſter* he held his Court at *Windſor*, where *William* King of the *Scots*, and *David* his Brother, and all the Biſhops and great Men of the Nation were preſent; when the King alſo appointed certain Earls, Abbots, Knights and Clerks to go as Commiſſioners throughout the Kingdom, to enquire into all ſorts of Frauds, Extortions, Miſcarriages and other Failures of Sheriffs, their Bailiffs, and other of the King's Officers. Which Inquiſition being finiſh'd, all Parties concern'd in it were commanded to appear before the King at *London* on the fourteenth Day of *June*, where at the ſame Time he held a grand Council of all the Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, Bailiffs and Aldermen of *England*, who appear'd with their Sureties in no little Fear, not imagining the King's Deſigns. But when all were preſent, the King proceeded to an Act unknown to *England*, and to the Surprize of all Men, commanded his Son *Henry* to be anointed and crowned King, by the Conſent of the whole Aſſembly. The Ceremony was perform'd by the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *London* and *Durham*; and the next Day he receiv'd the Fealties of the King of the *Scots* and his Brother, and of all the other Earls and Barons of the Kingdom. This Tranſaction was a Contempt of the Authority of Arch-Biſhop *Becket*, and likewiſe a Strengthening of the Regal Cuſtoms; but moſt of all it was the greateſt Security to the Succeſſion of the King's Iſſue, who was ſenſible that for want of this, the Nation could not be kept in their Duty to his Mother *Matilda.* Yet this new King *Henry* was far from being ſenſible of his Father's great Kindneſs and Truſt; tho' he in Honour to his Son, at the Coronation Feaſt, vouchſaf'd to carry up the firſt Diſh, congratulating him *for having a greater Servitor than any Prince in the World.* For when the Arch-Biſhop of *York* gravely told him, *How much he was oblig'd to his Father for ſo ſignal a Favour*; he haughtily reply'd, *That it was no great Condeſcenſion in his Father, who was only the Son of an Earl, to perform that Service to Him, who was the Son of a King.*

He crowns his Son Henry.

The King and Becket *reconcil'd.*

The King of *France* was highly diſoblig'd becauſe his Daughter *Margaret* was not crown'd with the young King her Husband; but that Matter was ſoon accommodated by the King's Paſſage into *Normandy* ſhortly after. Where, being weary'd out by the Pope's repeated Threatnings, which might have proved fatal to him, he reſolv'd to be reconcil'd to Arch-Biſhop *Becket*, who now had been puniſh'd with above ſix Years Exile. To that End he repaired to *Amboiſe* near *Tours*, where he was met by moſt of the Biſhops and Noblemen of *France*; and on the ſecond Day, by the Mediation of King *Lewis*, and the Admonitions of Pope *Alexander*, the King receiv'd the Arch-Biſhop into his Grace and Favour, as well as all thoſe who were with him in Exile; promiſing entirely to reſtore to him all the Rights and Poſſeſſions of the Church of *Canterbury*, as he held them the Year before he left *England.* Which Concluſion the King ſignify'd to his Son in *England*; ſo that the great Controverſie between the King and the Arch-Biſhop ſeem'd to have been happily ended. But in a ſhort Time another great Miſchief aroſe; for the Arch-Biſhop being implacably inrag'd againſt thoſe Biſhops that had

Becket raiſes new Diſturbances.

crown'd the new King, procur'd Letters from the Pope for the Suſpenſion of the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and Biſhop of *Durham*; and for the Excommunication of the Biſhops of *London*, *Exeter* and *Salisbury*, who had aſſiſted in the Coronation; and at his firſt Arrival he publiſh'd theſe Letters, to the great Diſturbance of the Nation; nor would he, at the young King's Requeſt, abſolve them but upon very hard Conditions.

The King is inrag'd.

A. D. 1171. Reg. 17.

Becket murder'd.

Immediately upon this Publication, the ſuſpended and excommunicated Biſhops went over into *Normandy* to the King, and throwing themſelves at his Feet, complain'd, *That he had made an unhappy Peace for them, ſince they and his moſt faithful Friends were thus unreaſonably treated*: To which the Arch-Biſhop of *York* added, *That as long as* Thomas Becket *was alive, it was impoſſible he ſhould enjoy happy Days, or a peaceable Kingdom*. At which Words, the King, tranſported with Rage and Paſſion, inconſiderately cry'd out, *I am a miſerable Man, who have fed ſo many ungrateful cowardly Servants, none of whom durſt vindicate me from the Injuries I ſuffer at the Hands of one Prieſt*. Upon which unhappy Expreſſion, four of the King's Domeſtick Servants, remarkable for their Birth and Valour, *Raynold Fitz-Urſe*, *William Tracy*, *Richard Brito* and *Hugh Morville*, bound themſelves by a ſolemn Oath to revenge the King's Quarrel, and deſtroy the Arch-Biſhop. To that End they privately withdrew from the Court; and finding an eaſie Paſſage into *England*, they ſoon arriv'd at *Canterbury*. And coming into the Preſence of the Arch-Biſhop, who had lately ſhewn himſelf with the utmoſt Pomp and Grandeur, they upbraided him with Obſtinacy and Arrogancy, and finding him immoveably reſolute as to his former Actions and Opinions, without the Warrant and Privacy of their Maſter, they proceeded firſt to threaten Force, and then to commit it; and that after an execrable Manner. Having put on Armor, to make themſelves more formidable, they enter'd the Arch-Biſhop's own Church, whither he had withdrawn himſelf to the High-Altar, while the Monks were at Divine Service; and there calling him Traitor and other opprobrious Names, they gave him many Wounds, and at length beat out his Brains, ſo that the Altar it ſelf was ſhamefully polluted with Blood and Gore. His paſſionate Behaviour in theſe laſt Moments; his courageous Meeting of Death; his devout committing the Cauſe of the Church and his own Soul to God and the Saints; the Place, the Time, the Manner, and all Things aggravate the Horror of the Fact, and cauſe Compaſſion and Opinion to be on his Side. The Aſſaſſinators having effected this audacious Deſign, afterwards conſidering the Heinouſneſs of their Crime, and doubting whether the King, tho' ſecretly pleaſed, would openly countenance ſo odious an Act, retired to the North of *England*, and being driven from thence, in a few Years dy'd miſerable Fugitives in Foreign Countries.

His Character.

This was the fatal Period of the famous *Thomas Becket*; a Perſon of a capacious Genius and ſingular Abilities, and of ſtrict Morals and great Auſterities; yet unhappily allay'd with exceeding Haughtineſs, Oſtentation and Popularity, which caus'd great Miſchefs to the Nation. And tho' ſeveral have exalted him among the greateſt Saints and Martyrs, yet others have doubted whether he deſerv'd the Name of a good Man; and about fifty Years after a celebrated Queſtion was debated among the learned Doctors of the Univerſity of *Paris*, Whether *Thomas* was ſav'd or damn'd; the one Party declaring, *That he deſerv'd Death and Damnation for his Contumacy againſt the Miniſter of God his Sovereign*; and the other aſſerting, *That his many Miracles were a Sign of his Salvation*; which was fairly alledg'd, had the Truth of them been as well prov'd, as reported. And indeed the Fame of them was exceeding great; which occaſion'd for him one of the richeſt and nobleſt Shrines in the World. He was not only canoniz'd, but alſo ſeveral Solemnities were ever after obſerv'd in his Memory, and a famous Jubilee kept every fifty Years at *Canterbury*. It is almoſt incredible what Multitudes of People flock'd to that City, upon the Time of the Solemnity; particularly in the Year 1420, Mr. *Somner* informs us that there were by Eſtimation a hundred thouſand Perſons, as *Engliſh*, *Iriſh*, *Welſh*, *Scots*, *French*, *Normans*, and other Foreigners, who came thither to procure the Health or Salvation of their Souls; for whom the *Bailiffs* of the City commanded the Citizens, Victuallers and Inn-keepers, to provide ſufficient Lodgings, and all other Conveniencies.

The King's Deſigns upon Ireland.

III. King *Henry* was now freed from the greateſt Diſturber of his Repoſe, yet the News of this barbarous Murther, with all its heightning Circumſtances, gave him freſh Diſquiets and new Troubles. For the King of *France*, the Earl of *Blois*, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Sens* ſent ſuch inflaming Letters to the Pope concerning this Paricide, that *Henry* found it extraordinary difficult to preſerve his Kingdom from a general Interdict, tho' he made uſe of his Power, Mony, and Proteſtations to ſubmit to the Judgment of ſuch Legates and Cardinals, as his Holineſs ſhould ſend to inquire into the Fact. To divert himſelf in theſe melancholy Perplexities, the King reſolv'd to diſplay his Sovereignty, and more vigorouſly to carry on that great Deſign of ſubduing the Kingdom of *Ireland*, which in part had been begun a Year or two before, and had been protected, and ſanctify'd by the *Engliſh* Pope *Adrian* in the Beginning of this Reign. It is very obſervable at this Time, that not only the Manners of that Nation were extreamly corrupted, but the *Chriſtian* Faith it ſelf was decay'd; Barbariſm over-running the one, and more than Superſtition the other: So that there were then all the uſual Fore-runners of great Revolutions and Conqueſts. King *Henry*'s Pretenſions to this Kingdom were an ancient Title, as well as the continu'd Injuries the *Iriſh* had committed by their Piracies, buying and ſelling *Engliſh* Captives, and uſing them like the worſt of Slaves: Which made the *Iriſh* Clergy confeſs, *That it was nothing but their Deſerts, that their Land ſhould be transferr'd to that Nation which they had ſo cruelly treated.* But the particular Occaſion of that Kingdom's Invaſion proceeded from thoſe conſtant Effects of Looſeneſs and Immorality, Factions and Diviſions among themſelves; which in no long Time ruin'd them, and brought them under the Subjection of other Maſters.

The State of that Iſland.

Ireland, beſides inferior Governors, was now under the Subjection of five Rulers, which our ancient Hiſtorians often call by the Name of Kings; one of whom was *Dermot* Prince of *Leinſter*, who from his Youth, and firſt Acceſſion to his Kingdom, had been a Tyrant and great Oppreſſor of his Subjects. To add to his Crimes, he took occaſion to corrupt and ſteal away the Wife of *Orocic* Prince of *Meath*; who being juſtly provok'd with this Indignity, gather'd what Forces he could procure, and gain'd the Aſſiſtance of *Roderick*, Prince of *Connaught*, then chief Monarch of *Ireland*; by whoſe Power, and the Conjunction of many of his injur'd Subjects, after ſeveral Conflicts, he was diſpoſſeſs'd, and driven from his Dominions. Upon which, *Dermot* fled to King *Henry*, then in *Aquitain*, imploring his Protection and Aſſiſtance, and ſwearing to be his Vaſſal and Subject. The King, glad to find his former Deſigns thus promoted, entertain'd him very kindly; and tho' he could not as then furniſh him, being ingag'd in other great Affairs, yet he permitted ſuch of his Subjects as pleas'd to venture their Fortunes with him. With this Permiſſion *Dermot* repair'd to *Wales*, where he firſt prevail'd with *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, a Man of great Intereſt tho' of deſperate Fortunes; and ſoon after with *Richard Strongbow*, Earl of *Pembroke*, a Lord of great Courage and Worth, which produc'd him many Followers, and of large Poſſeſſions in *England* and *Normandy*, which gave him Means to entertain them. *Fitz-Stephen* was perſuaded by the Promiſe of great Rewards, and the Earl by the Hopes of *Eva* the Daughter of *Dermot*, and the Succeſſion of the Kingdom of *Leinſter*.

King Henry's *Aſſiſtance deſired.*

Fitz-Stephen *and other* Engliſh *arrive in* Ireland.

A Colony planted at Wexford.

Dermot having thus ſucceeded in his Affairs, while his Friends in *England* prepar'd themſelves and their Forces, he ſail'd into his own Country, carrying with him the Promiſes of Confederates, and uſing all Methods to facilitate the Entrance of the *Engliſh*, by extolling their Civility and Piety, their Valour and Riches, and all other Qualifications that might move either their Love or their Fear. Not long after *Fitz-Stephen* with his Half-Brother *Fitz-Gerard* paſs'd the Sea with a ſmall Number of Soldiers, and landed at a Place near *Waterford* call'd by the *Iriſh Bagg and Bunn*, which ſignifies *Holy*, and therefore was interpreted as a happy Preſage of good Succeſs, of which this Verſe retains the Memory, *At the Head of* Bagg *and* Bunn, Ireland *was loſt and won*. The next Day *Maurice de Pendergaſt*, with other Soldiers and ſome Archers, in two Ships, arriv'd at the ſame Place; and joining with *Fitz-Stephen*'s Forces, march'd to the City of *Wexford*, with Colours diſplay'd, and in ſuch a peculiar Form and Order, that tho' they were not above four hundred in Number, yet the *Iriſh*, unacquainted with ſuch unuſual Bravery, and overcome with Fear, ſoon ſurrender'd themſelves and the City of *Wexford*; which with the neighbouring Country was given by *Dermot* to *Fitz-Stephen*, as an Earneſt of greater Rewards. And here was planted the firſt Colony of the *Engliſh*, which, according to *Speed* and *Daniel*, has ever ſince continu'd, retaining a ſort of our ancient Attire, and much of our Language, proper only to that City and the neighbouring Parts, and by a diſtinct Denomination call'd *Wexford Speech*. The next Year new Supplies were ſent out of *Wales*, and upon Intelligence of good Succeſs, the Earl of *Pembroke* ſail'd to the Bay of *Waterford*, and landing with twelve hundred Men, ſoon took the Town, which was then call'd *Porthlarge*, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, partly to revenge their Infidelity to *Dermot*, but chiefly to give Terror to his Arms, and make Way for future Conqueſts. Here *Dermot* gave him his Daughter *Eva* in Marriage, with the Dowry of his Country, which, after his Wickedneſs had ruin'd, he liv'd not to ſee much longer, but dy'd miſerably; leaving the Style of *Ningal*, ſignifying *the Strangers Friend*, added to his Name in Memory of his unnatural abandoning his own Country. The Earl, after he had ſecur'd the new acquired Places, march'd with his ſmall Body of Forces into the Bowels of the Kingdom with no Oppoſition; and *Roderick*, who had aſſum'd the Title of the great Monarch of *Ireland*, confin'd himſelf to the Wilds and Faſtneſſes of *Connaught*. So that paſſing through the Country at his Pleaſure, he took what Pledges of Security he thought fit from the Inhabitants, and with as little Difficulty poſſeſs'd himſelf of the City of *Dublin*, the Metropolis of the whole Iſland. Thus *Wales* firſt gain'd us the Kingdom of *Ireland*, with a ſmall Force, and without a general Battel; a Thing almoſt incredible that a Country ſo populous, and of that Diſpoſition, ſhould do ſo little in its own Defence, and be ſo languid and remiſs, when their All was at ſtake: But this muſt be attributed to their great Diſuſe of military Diſcipline, their diſpirited Minds, and thoſe general Corruptions before-mention'd.

Great Succeſſes of the Engliſh.

A. D. 1171. Reg. $\frac{17}{18}$.

The King is jealous of them.

But King *Henry* being adviſ'd of the extraordinary Succeſs of theſe Adventurers, and the true State of the Country, now became jealous of them, thinking they preſum'd further than their Subjection would allow, and that they thought to carry away that Glory which ought to be his; and therefore by Proclamation commanded, *That no Veſſel ſhould tranſport any Thing out of his Dominions into* Ireland, *and that all his Subjects ſhould return from thence and abandon their Deſigns, otherwiſe they ſhould forfeit their Eſtates at home.* By which Edict the Affairs of the Adventurers were reduc'd to the loweſt Ebb, but were ſoon brought to a better Condition, by certain Mediators ſent to the King, who found him in *Glouceſterſhire* with an Army ready to accompany him into *Ireland*; where it was agreed, 'That the King ſhould have *Dublin*, with all the Sea-Coaſt Towns and Caſtles, and the reſt to remain in the Conquerors, to hold of the King and his Succeſſors, and ſo to continue under his Protection as Subjects; which Subjection the King thought they deſign'd to have renounc'd. Shortly after *Michaelmas* the King paſs'd over the Sea with a great Fleet and Army, and landed near *Waterford* upon the Eve of St. *Luke*; where a white Hart ſtarting out of a Buſh, being immediately taken and preſented to him, it was interpreted as a happy Preſage of certain Succeſs. The next Day he march'd to *Waterford*, where he continu'd fifteen Days; to which Place came the Kings of *Cork*, *Limerick*, *Oſſery*, *Meath*, and all of any Power in *Ireland*, except *Roderick*, and voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves with all the Clergy, and took their Oaths of Fealty to him and the young King, and their Succeſſors for ever. So theſe divided Princes, holding no publick Council for the common Safety, rather than join thoſe Hands which had ſo often injur'd each other, fell all from themſelves, and with the ſame Emulation they had expreſs'd in Liberty, ſtrove who ſhould firſt receive the Yoke of Servitude from a Foreign Maſter.

He paſſes into Ireland *in Perſon.*

The Iriſh *ſubmit.*

From *Waterford* the King march'd to *Dublin*, where he receiv'd the Homage of *Roderick* the chief Monarch, and kept his *Chriſtmas* with great Pomp and Splendor, magnificently feaſting all his Kings and great Men of the Country, and ſettling the great Affairs of the Nation. And being mindful of his Duty to God, whilſt the Iſland was calm and ſilent by the Preſence of ſo great a Monarch, he caus'd all the Biſhops and the Clergy to aſſemble at *Caſſel*, and appointed a ſpecial Chaplain of his own, with the Arch-Deacon of *Landaff*, to be Aſſiſtants and Adviſers to them in the Reformation of Church-Affairs, which were as much diſorder'd as the People. For tho' the *Iriſh* had been long ſince *Chriſtians*, it was now after a wild and mix'd Faſhion; and therefore according to his Promiſe made to the late Pope, and to do a pleaſing Work to him now in the Chair, it was decreed, 'That all Church-Lands ſhould be free from the Exaction of ſecular Men; and that thenceforward, all Divine Things ſhould be order'd and us'd in every Part of *Ireland*, according to the Manner of the Church of *England*. For, ſays the Conſtitution, *as* Ireland *has by God's Mercy obtain'd a Lord and King out of* England, *ſo it is fit that they ſhould receive from thence a better Form of Life and Manners than they had before.* After this the King planted Garriſons in all convenient Places; and made *Hugh Lacy* Juſtice of all *Ireland*, giving him the keeping of *Dublin*, confirming beſides by Charter to him and his Heirs the County of *Meath* to hold the ſame in Fee, for the Service of a hundred Knights. He made *Robert Fitz-Bernard* Governor of the Towns of *Waterford* and *Wexford*, which he took from *Fitz-Stephen*, the firſt Invader, with a Charge to build Caſtles in them; and to humble the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to level him with the reſt of his Subjects, he took all his Dependants from him, which by his Bounty he made his own. Thus it was but one Winter's Work to gain a Kingdom; which tho' thus eaſily won, it prov'd more difficult and chargeable to keep, becauſe the Proſecution of a full Eſtabliſhment, by reaſon of other Diverſions, was not for ſeveral Ages throughly accompliſh'd.

A. D. 1172. Reg. $\frac{18}{19}$.

The King makes many Regulations in Ireland.

The Reduction of that Kingdom.

On *Eaſter Monday* the King ſet ſail for *England*, and from thence haſten'd into *Normandy* to meet the two Legates ſent by the Pope to enquire into the Murther of the late Arch-Biſhop *Becket*. Four Months were ſpent in debating the Matter, and at length the King by his ſolemn Oath taken upon the Relicks of Saints, and the Holy Evangeliſts, in the Preſence of all the great Men of the Country, purg'd himſelf, of either commanding, or conſenting to the Murther; and declaring withal his infinite Sorrow for having by raſh Words in his Paſſion given occaſion for others to commit that Fact, and giving a further Oath to perform enjoin'd Penances, he was by the Legates abſolv'd. The Conditions were theſe: 'Firſt, That he ſhould never oppoſe the Pope's Authority, ſo long as he was us'd as a Catholick King: Secondly, That all Appeals ſhould be freely made to the Pope in all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes: Thirdly, That he ſhould undertake the *Cruſado*, and go to *Jeruſalem* for three Years; and if diverted by the *Saracens* in *Spain*, maintain two hundred Soldiers for a Year in the holy Land: Fourthly, He ſhould freely reſtore all that were Exiles upon the late Arch-Biſhop's Account: And, fifthly, aboliſh all Cuſtoms introduc'd in his Time to the Prejudice of the Church of *Canterbury*, or of any other Church in his Kingdom. And thus ended this vexatious Controverſie, by which the Pope eſtabliſh'd and enlarg'd his Eccleſiaſtical Power to a high Degree; ſo that the King's long Oppoſition, and the Murder of the Arch-Biſhop, as much added to his growing Authority, as unſucceſsful Rebellions do to the Power of Temporal Princes.

The King purges himſelf from Becket's *Murther, and ſubmits to Penance.*

A. D. 1173. Reg. $\frac{19}{20}$.

A great Faction and Conſpiracy againſt the King.

IV. When King *Henry* had, as he imagin'd, ſurmounted all Difficulties and Troubles, an unnatural Rebellion and Conſpiracy began to diſcloſe new Miſchiefs, which were ordain'd to exerciſe this wiſe and warlike Prince; being firſt begun in *England* during his Abſence in *Ireland*, and in a ſhort Time encreas'd to a dangerous Degree. One of the chief Fomentors of it was Queen *Eleanor* his Wife, violently inrag'd at the Injuries done to her Bed by her Huſband, who was immoderately addicted to Variety of Loves; more particularly he was captivated by the Charms of the beautiful Lady *Roſamund Clifford*, whom he kept at *Woodſtock*, ſome ſay in a Labyrinth, where the Queen found Means to end her Life. Beſides his Queen, his own Son *Henry* was another great Actor, whoſe Ambition tranſported him beyond all Reaſon and Duty; ſo that as *M. Paris* expreſſes it, God ſtirr'd up the King's own Bowels againſt himſelf. This Conſpiracy was juſtly formidable; for to theſe were added the King's two younger Sons *Richard* and *Geoffry*, whom their Mother perſuaded to join with the young King, the two Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, *Matthew* Earl of *Bulloign*, *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*, *Roger Mowbray*, and other Noblemen in great Numbers: So that they ſeem'd to want nothing but a good Cauſe; however they gave the moſt plauſible Turn to their Deſigns, and were pleas'd to repute the Father no King, becauſe he had crown'd his Son.

Upon which a great War enſues.

Tho' nothing could be more afflicting than this unnatural War, yet the King proceeded with his uſual Vigour and Dexterity, and found great Numbers whoſe Hearts were inflam'd with Indignation at ſo much Injuſtice. The Particulars of the Wars would fill a Volume: At one Time *Normandy*, *Guienne* and *Bretaigne* were invaded by the Confederates in *France*, and at the ſame Time *Cumberland* by the *Scots*. But the King of *England* had Friends in all thoſe Parts, and hearing that *Vernvil* was beſieg'd by the *French* King in Perſon, and that the Place had agreed to ſurrender if not reliev'd by a certain Day, he began to exert his Power, and ſent a Meſſage to King *Lewis*, *that if he did not leave* Normandy *immediately, he would come and viſit him at the appointed Day.* Upon which, *Lewis*, who meant more to weaken him by Factions, than overpower him by Force, immediately rais'd the Siege, and abandon'd the Place with ſuch Precipitation, that he left all his Tents and warlike Proviſions behind him. And now King *Henry* beginning to ſhake his dreadful Sword, had many ſucceſsful Encounters, mixt with ſome Loſſes, tho' not great nor many, in reſpect of the Overthrows given to the Enemy. In *Bretaign* his Forces worſted *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, and *Ralph de Foulgiers*, and ſlew above fifteen hundred upon the Spot, taking theſe two Perſons Priſoners, with many others; and in *England*, *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwall*, and *Richard de Lucie* in a bloody Battel overthrew the inſolent Earl of *Leiceſter*, and enter'd the Town of *Leiceſter* by Force. Yet after theſe Advantages, the *French* King moving for a Parly, *Henry* the Father deſirous to uſe the good Fortune of War only to reclaim his Rebels, was ſo willing to make Peace, that he ſeem'd to have out-gone Expectations in the Freeneſs of his Offers; but through the wicked Perſuaſions of ſome Perſons it proved ineffectual. Among theſe Incendiaries the Earl of *Leiceſter* was chief, who having match'd with a Lady no leſs haughty and ambitious than himſelf, proceeded ſo far as to affront the King in his Preſence, in behalf of his young Maſter the Son, and likewiſe laid his Hand upon his Sword to have ſtrucken him, but was ſtopp'd in that audacious Attempt. This Man with all Heat and Violence join'd with the young King the Son, not that he thought his Cauſe more juſt, but, *Walſingham* tells us, becauſe his Father, labouring to inlarge the Sovereign Power, ſought to ſet his Foot upon the Necks of the Proud and Haughty.

The King's Party gains Ground.

Yet ſtill the King's Affairs are in an ill Condition.

But God, who thought fit to chaſtiſe the King, without delivering him into his Enemy's Hands, deſtroy'd thoſe Hopes that mov'd the Sons to their unnatural Attempts; for not long after News was brought into *Normandy*, that his faithful Friends and Servants *Richard de Lucie*, and *Humphrey de Bohun* High-Conſtable of *England*, being aſſiſted by the Earls of *Cornwall*, *Gloceſter* and *Arundell*, near St. *Edmund*'s *Bury* bravely ingag'd with the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his *Flemmings*, of whom above five thouſand were ſlain, or taken; and among the Priſoners was the Earl himſelf and his Maſculine Counteſs, who were ſhortly after ſent over to the King in *Normandy*. Upon this great Victory, and other Advantages, King *Lewis*, apprehenſive of Succeſs, ſought for ſix Months Truce, and had it granted. But becauſe two great Men in *England*, the Earl of *Norfolk* and *Roger Mowbray*, ſtill held out, and kept *Leiceſter* and other Places; tho' *Geoffry*, the King's natural Son and Biſhop Elect of *Lincoln*, had taken two of *Mowbray*'s Caſtles, and done great Service for his Lord and Father, the Enemy made no better uſe of the Truce than to breath, and repair their Loſſes. In the mean Time the King recover'd *Xaintes* from his violent Son *Richard*, and proceeded with that Expedition, that the *French* King ſaid *He ſeem'd not to go, but to fly*. Yet before he could finiſh all in thoſe Parts, the News from *England* oblig'd him to haſten into *Normandy*; where he met with *Richard* the Elect of *Wincheſter*, ſent over by his Juſticiaries of *England*, to lay before him the preſent dangerous State of the Nation. For *Philip* Earl of *Flanders* having ſworn to invade *England*, in favour of young *Henry*, ſeveral Forces joining with the Earl of *Norfolk*, had taken and plunder'd the City of *Norwich*, and done other Damage, which gave great Incouragement to the young King and his Faction, and he and the Earl of *Flanders* were ready to come over with freſh Forces into *England*. Moreover, *Robert* Earl of *Ferrars* had ſuddenly enter'd *Nottingham*, burnt the Town, drove out the King's Garriſon, and ſlew the Inhabitants; and being inrich'd with the Plunder, he retir'd to *Leiceſter*, to which Place *Anketill Malorie* had alſo brought two hundred Priſoners, taken at *Northampton*, which he had ſuddenly ſurpriz'd and taken with the Slaughter of a conſiderable Number of the Townſmen. So that the whole Kingdom ſtood wavering and in extream Peril; to add to which *William* King of *Scotland*, a Principal in the Confederacy, invaded *England*, dividing his Forces into two Parts, himſelf waſting the Province of *Northumberland*, and *Duncan* a cruel Commander deſtroying the weſtern Borders.

A.D. 1174. Reg. $\frac{20}{21}$.

The King finiſhes his Penance for Becket's Murther.

King *Henry*, highly exaſperated at theſe Tranſactions, left *Normandy* in as good a Condition as the Time would permit; and ſending his Queen *Eleanor*, and his Son's Queen *Margaret*, his Son *John*, the Earl of *Leiceſter* with his Counteſs, and many other Priſoners, and a powerful Army on board, he took ſhipping at *Barfleur*; where being detain'd by the Wind, he is ſaid to have publickly pray'd, *That if this Voyage was for the Peace of the Clergy and People of* England, *he might have a proſperous Wind; but if otherwiſe, he deſir'd never to ſet a Foot upon that Shore again.* Which Prayer was ſucceeded by a freſh Gale of Wind, which in the ſame Day carry'd him ſafe to *Southampton*; from whence he took his Journey towards *Canterbury*, where the Remainder of his Penance enjoin'd him at his Abſolution was to be perform'd. For beſides the Conditions formerly mention'd, the Author of *Becket*'s Life ſays, the Legates enjoin'd him ſome other Things ſecretly, which came not to ou rKnowlege; and the Legates in their own Letters write that he promis'd to do ſome Things voluntarily which were not fit for them to commit to Writing. And what they were *Hoveden* has told us: The King coming towards the Church where the late Arch-Biſhop was bury'd, cloath'd all in Woollen, went three Miles bare-footed, inſomuch that the very Ground where he walk'd was diſtain'd with the Quantity of Blood running from his tender Feet cut by the hard Stones. Nor was this the worſt, for after this, coming to the Sepulchre, and there proſtrating himſelf, he receiv'd Diſcipline by Rods on his bare Fleſh, at the Hands of the Biſhops, Prieſts, Abbots and Monks there preſent; ſo that we may eaſily believe *Baronius* and his Author, who acknowledge that he receiv'd eighty Laſhes. So he who in his Life-time could only make him bow, after his Death brought him upon his Knees; and tho' he had then perſecuted him as a Traitor, he now ador'd him as a Saint and Martyr.

His great Succeſſes after it.

Some of the Monks of that Age attribute the happy Succeſs which enſu'd to the Reconciliation which King *Henry* thus made with God, for the Blood of his Servant *Thomas*; for it pleas'd Him to deliver his Enemy *William* King of the *Scots* into his Hand, about the very ſame Time, and alſo to drive back his diſobedient Son, the young King, into *France*; who being under Sail for *England*, his whole Fleet was diſpers'd, and a great Part of it loſt by a Storm. The King's other Actions 'till his next Return into *Normandy*, which was not long after, are by *Walſingham* comprehended in theſe few Words; he tam'd his Rebels, put his Enemies to Flight, and ſeiz'd on their Forts. And thus having in a manner miraculouſly quieted the Nation, he took with him the King of *Scotland*, the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Cheſter*, with his other chief Priſoners, but leaving his ſeditious Wife behind him under ſtrict Cuſtody, he arriv'd with his Forces at *Normandy*. This being underſtood in the *French* and Confederate Army, which had beſieg'd *Roven*, King *Lewis* immediately broke up, and ſetting Fire to all his Engines of War retreated in ſuch Haſte into *France*, that the *Engliſh* Soldiers took great Quantities of Baggage and Ammunition. *Hoveden* aſſures us, that as ſoon as *Lewis* heard the victorious *Henry* was near *Roven*, he firſt ſent away the weak and worſt of his Army, and then deceiving the *Engliſh* with a ſolemn Promiſe of returning the next Day, to negotiate a Peace with the King, departed with all the reſt; ſo that this Author aggravated the Diſhonour of the Retreat, with an open Breach of Faith.

His Grandeur.

And here if we look upon the Grandeur and Felicity of this King, it will appear, That no Prince in thoſe Times was ſo oblig'd to Heaven for the numerous Favours beſtow'd upon him. The King and all the Power of *France* were now flying at his Preſence, without one Blow given; the valiant King of *Scotland* was his Priſoner, and the chiefeſt of his Rebels under his Feet; *England* was ſecured, *Scotland* diſmay'd, *Ireland* retain'd, *Wales* ſubſervient to his Arms, *Normandy* in Poſſeſſion, and all the coaſting Regions of *Bretaign*, *Guienne*, *Gaſcony* and others as far as the Borders of *Spain*, under his Dominions; and the Bleſſing of Peace ſhortly after enſuing upon his own Terms, made him like another *Solomon* to be ſought to by others. His Wiſdom and Magnificence being in ſuch high Credit through the Chriſtian World, that afterwards the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Navarre* choſe him ſole Arbitrator in a Conteſt between them, which he wiſely determin'd to both their Satisfactions; and then at one Time in his Palace at *Weſtminſter* were ſeen together the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, the Emperor of *Germany*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Triers*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Earl of *Flanders*, all in great Pomp and Splendor. Moreover he had the Government of *France* for a Time, the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* offer'd to him but refus'd, and two of his Daughters marry'd to the two Kings of *Caſtile* and *Sicily*.

A Peace concluded.

But to return, a Truce was firſt made between the three Kings, *Lewis* and the two *Henry's*; in which *Richard*, who ſtood out, was left to his Father's Proſecution, who after ſome Shews of Reſiſtance, and great Conflict with himſelf, threw himſelf upon his Father's Mercy and Affection, and obtain'd full Pardon and Favour. A moſt fatherly and fortunate Act; for *Richard*, melted with this unexpected Goodneſs, never deſiſted 'till he had brought the young King to a final Atonement; and Arms being laid aſide, the chief Heads of the deſired Peace were theſe: ‘That *Henry* the young King, with *Richard* and *Geoffry* his Brothers, freed from all Oaths of Confederation, ſhould return to a full Obedience of the King their Father. That the Priſoners on all Sides ſhould be ſet at Liberty without Ranſom; except the King of *Scotland*, the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Cheſter*, and ſuch others as had compounded for their Ranſoms before the Beginning of this Treaty. That King *Henry* the Father ſhould take Security of Loyalty, either by Hoſtage or Oath, of ſuch as were inlarged; and that King *Henry* the Son ſhould ratifie that Grant which his Father had made to his Son *John*, of ſome Caſtles and annual Revenues in *England*. As to the King of *Scotland*'s Ranſom our Hiſtorians differ, but *Hector Boetius*, a Writer of that Nation, ſays it was an hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, one Moiety in ready

Coin, and the other at an appointed Time. Beſides which he was oblig'd to do Homage for all his Dominions, to the King of *England*. And for the Performance of all Articles, King *Henry* had a double Security; on the other Side the *Scotch* Biſhops ſwore to put their King and his Land under an *Interdict*, if he broke them; and on the other the King of *Scotland* deliver'd up the Caſtles of *Edinborough*, *Rokesburgh*, *Berwick*, *Gedworth* and *Sterling*. In the mean Time King *Henry* freed nine hundred ſixty nine Priſoners of War, and his Son above an hundred; and having happily eſtabliſh'd all Things, they prepar'd for *England*, where the joyful Letters concerning their Return had produc'd a longing Expectation in the Subjects. In their Journey homewards, their Confidence was ſuch upon this new Reconciliation, that one Room and one Table ſerv'd both, for whom before a whole Kingdom was not large enough They landed at *Portſmouth* upon *Friday* the twenty ſixth Day of *May*, 1175.

A.D. 1175. Reg. $\frac{21}{22}$.
The King makes many Regulations.

V. At this preſent Time the State and Face of *England* was like that of a ſerene Sky, and a calm Sea, no Blaſts, no raging Waves, no appearing Sign of Diſcontent; the better to continue which, King *Henry* the Father, accompany'd with the King his Son, omitted no Office of a juſt and prudent Governor, viſiting a great Part of his Kingdom in Perſon, conſulting, ordering and enacting ſuch Laws and Courſes, as might beſt eſtabliſh a laſting Peace. Upon which Account, at *Weſtminſter*, both the Kings were preſent at a Synod, in which *Richard*, lately choſen Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, publiſh'd ſeveral Canons and Decrees for the better Government of the Church of *England*. Among which, this laudible Order was eſpecially enacted both by the Authority of the King and Synod, 'That every Patron of a Benefice taking a Reward for Preſentation, ſhould for ever loſe the Right of Patronage. And the ſame Kings not long after being at *Woodſtock*, in Accompliſhment of ſuch Holy Purpoſes, by the Advice of the Clergy provided Men to ſuch Biſhopricks, Abbies and principal Cures as were vacant; where King *Henry* the Father forgot not his faithful Friend *John* of *Oxenford*, whom he preferr'd to the See of *Norwich*. From hence coming to *York*, he eſtabliſh'd the Affairs of the North, and meeting with *William* King of *Scotland*, ſeveral Matters of Importance were treated between the two Kings: As likewiſe afterwards at *Windſor*, where the King had call'd a grand Council or Parliament; where, at the Suit of the Arch-Biſhop of *Tuam* and other Ambaſſadors from *Ireland*, the chief Monarch *Roderick*, King of *Connaught*, was receiv'd in Protection and Favour, and became a faithful Tributary. This King *Henry* choſe, rather than to fiſh with a Hook of Gold; for ſo a War againſt *Ireland* was accounted.

A.D. 1176. Reg. $\frac{22}{23}$.
He divides the Nation into ſix Circuits.

In the following Year, the King held another Parliament at *Northampton*, where by the Advice of all, he divided the Kingdom into ſix Parts or Circuits, and for every Circuit conſtituted three Itinerant Juſtices, either Barons or Knights, cauſing them to ſwear upon the Holy Evangeliſts, to oblige all the King's Subjects inviolably to obſerve the Aſſizes or Ordinances of *Clarendon*, and renew'd at *Northampton*; which were principally againſt Murther, Theft, Robbery, Burnings of Houſes, and Cheats; which Facts if found by the Verdict of twelve Men, the Accuſed were to paſs the Tryal of Water Ordeal, and if not acquitted, they were puniſh'd with the Loſs of Limbs or Baniſhment, that Age holding the miſerable Life of a Malefactor of a greater Example than Death it ſelf. Theſe ſix Circuits were almoſt the ſame as they are at this Day, only *Eſſex* then belong'd to that of *Norfolk*, which Circuit alſo conſiſted of more Counties than at preſent, having the Addition of *Hampſhire*, *Barkſhire*, and *Oxfordſhire*, which are now join'd with *Herefordſhire*, and the reſt of the Weſtern Counties. Yet about two or three Years after, for another Deſign, the King divided the whole Nation into four Circuits, aſſigning five Juſtices to each; not long after which, he appointed the famous *Glanville* to be chief Juſticiary of *England*, by whoſe Wiſdom and Advice the Laws of King *Edward*, which had been before confirm'd by King *William the Firſt*, were again renew'd. As this King took Care for the Security of his Subjects, ſo he took Care of his own, by cauſing the Walls and Caſtles of *Leiceſter* to be demoliſhed, as likewiſe the Caſtles of *Groby*, *Threſk*, *Maleſart*, and the new Caſtle at *Alverton*, with thoſe of *Framingham* and *Bungey* in *Suffolk*, and indeed almoſt all the Caſtles of *England* and *Normandy*, that had been fortify'd againſt him in the late War.

A.D. 1177. Reg. $\frac{23}{24}$.

Not long after, King *Henry* in a grand Council made his youngeſt Son *John* King of *Ireland*, by Virtue of the Bull formerly granted him by Pope *Adrian*; by which Title no more was meant than Vice-Roy, or Feudatory King at the moſt, ſince King *Henry* himſelf was never otherwiſe ſtyl'd than *Lord of* Ireland. In the ſame Year, the King inlarg'd his Dominions by a Purchaſe of the Province and Earldom of *Marche* in *France*; for which he gave fifteen thouſand Pounds of *Anjou* Mony, twenty Mules, and as many Palfreys. For four or five Years after, we find not many Tranſactions of Moment, beſides ſome few Regulations concerning the Coin, and ſome other Ordinances. Only in the Year 1179, the Fame of *Thomas Becket* became ſo celebrated abroad, that when the *French* King's Son fell dangerouſly ſick upon the Day of his deſign'd Coronation, his Father reſolv'd to come over into *England* on Pilgrimage to the Tomb of this new Saint, to implore his Aſſiſtance for the Recovery of his Health; or as our Writers relate, was commanded by St. *Thomas* in a Dream ſo to do. However it was, it is certain that he came into *England*, attended by the Earl of *Flanders*, and divers other Princes and Noblemen; and was met by King *Henry* at *Dover*, and conducted to *Canterbury*, where he ſpent two Days in Prayer at *Becket*'s Tomb, and offer'd a weighty Golden Cup, beſtowing alſo upon the Monks of that Church an annual Portion of an hundred Meaſures of Wine, to be deliver'd without Charge or Duty, and granting that whatever thoſe Monks ſhould buy for their own Uſe in his Kingdom, it ſhould be free from all Tolls and Cuſtoms. Upon his Return home he found his Son perfectly recover'd, by the Mediation of St. *Thomas*, as he and many others believ'd.

The King of France *comes in Pilgrimage to* Becket's *Tomb.*

A.D. 1182. Reg. $\frac{28}{29}$.

At length, after a conſiderable Calm, the young King diſcover'd freſh Alienations in his Mind againſt his Father; who diſſembling all, notwithſtanding arm'd himſelf upon the Defenſive, and encreas'd his Garriſons both in *England* and *Normandy*, which the ſooner reduc'd the Son within Bounds. But the old King, fearing an Union among his four warlike Sons might prove no better than a Conſpiracy againſt himſelf, is ſaid to have daily promoted Contention between them. However to divert the War from himſelf, he ſatisfy'd his Royal Son *Henry* with an Augmentation of a Maintenance of an hundred Pounds *Anjouen per Diem* for himſelf, and ten for his Wife the Queen. And whereas *Alice*, the *French* King's Daughter, who had been eſpous'd at three Years of Age to his ſecond Son *Richard*, and was now demanded from King *Henry* that *Richard* might enjoy her, the old King, who was juſtly ſuſpected to have deflower'd her, at that Time ſhifted off the Delivery of her Perſon, in ſuch a manner that a Peace was intirely hinder'd by it. But while the young King by his Father's Inſtigation endeavour'd to force his Brother *Richard* to do Homage to him for *Aquitain*, and the Father for the ſame Cauſe commanded his third Son *Geoffry* to be aſſiſting to his eldeſt Brother; while alſo the jealous Father out of his Sons Contentions ſought his own Safety, and in nouriſhing it had by the Treachery of the Sons been twice endanger'd, and at both Times miraculouſly preſerv'd; and while the young King by profound Diſſimulations plotted to reduce both his Father and Brother *Richard* to Subjection, at length the Hand of God, by taking away the young King at *Martell*, put an end to this infamous and intricate Contention. Tho' the Life of this Prince had been rebellious, yet his Death was not inglorious: For finding himſelf paſt Recovery, he deſir'd to ſee his Father, to obtain his Pardon, which his Father freely ſent, with a Ring as a Token of it, not thinking it ſafe to come in Perſon. Upon which he call'd the Biſhops, and other religious Men preſent, and firſt in private, and then in publick confeſs'd his heinous Sin in Rebelling againſt ſo indulgent a Father; and after Abſolution, putting on Sackcloath, and a Rope about his Neck, he begg'd of the Biſhops to pull him out of the Bed on to a Couch made of Aſhes, where being laid, and receiving the Euchariſt, he expired, to the exceeding Grief of his Father, who mourn'd for him like *David* for his rebellious Son *Abſalom*. He dy'd in the twenty eighth Year of his Age, after he had born the Name and Title of King about thirteen: being a Prince of excellent natural Qualifications, but firſt ruin'd by his Father's Indulgence, and afterwards by his Severity; not allowing him to be what he himſelf had made him: So that this Prince tho' he was ſolemnly crown'd, yet he never actually reign'd; and his Name was never inſerted in the Catalogue of our *Engliſh* Kings. After his Death, his Wife Queen *Margaret* was ſent back into *France*, and the preſent King's ſurviving Sons were once again reduc'd to Obedience and Reconciliation, not any Enemy daring to appear againſt him.

New Contentions between the King and his Sons.

A.D. 1183. Reg. $\frac{29}{30}$.
Young King Henry *dies.*

VI. It might reaſonably have been imagin'd, That this active Prince ſhould have had Opportunity to end his Days in Peace and Glory; but it was otherwiſe ordain'd by Providence; and ſeveral Writers are of Opinion, that he was principally ſcourg'd, for being drawn by ſeeming Reaſons of State to lay aſide a holy Enterprize, which he had more than once oblig'd himſelf to undertake, and had

A. D. 1185. Reg. 31/32.

Heraclius implores the King's Aſſtance in the Holy War.

now a freſh Occaſion offer'd. For *Heraclius* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, induc'd by the reſounding Fame of King *Henry*'s Wiſdom, Riches and Valour, travell'd from thence into *England*; where at *Clerkenwel* by *London*, in a grand Aſſembly of the States purpoſely call'd, the King made known to them, That Pope *Lucius* had by pathetical Letters recommended to him the deplorable State of the *Holy-Land*, together with *Heraclius* the Patriarch. At the ſame Time *Heraclius*, there preſent, mov'd Compaſſion and Tears at the Relation of the tragical Afflictions of the Eaſtern World, and brought with him the Keys of the Places of Chriſt's Nativity, Paſſion and Reſurrection, of *David*'s Tower and the Holy Sepulchre, together with the humble Offer of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, as rightfully belonging to him, who was the Son of *Geoffry* Earl of *Anjou*, whoſe Brother *Fulk* was King of *Jeruſalem*. Neverthleſs, the King, having formally adjured the Lords to adviſe him to what was moſt for his Soul's Health, it was thought fit to aid and promote the Cauſe with Mony, but not to employ his Perſon, nor the Perſon of any of his Sons, which was the Patriarch's laſt Requeſt: thereupon he utterly refus'd the ſaid Kingdom, and, according to our Authors, abandon'd as noble an Occaſion of immortal Renown, as ever any King of *England* had been offer'd. The Patriarch declar'd, *That he had rather have ſuch a Man without the Mony, than the Mony without ſuch a Man*; and ſo departed with great Sorrow and Concern, and not without ſome Imprecations againſt the King's Perſon. However the King gave leave to all his Subjects whatſoever to take the Croſs; upon which the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſeveral Biſhops, with many Earls, Barons and Knights of *England*, and the reſt of the King's Dominions, undertook the *Cruſado*.

The King ſends his Son John *into* Ireland.

But King *Henry*'s Mind was more fix'd upon ſettling the Eſtate of his already poſſeſs'd Kingdoms, and therefore ſent his Ambaſſadors to Pope *Lucius*, of whom he deſired many Grants; but the Pope being diſpleas'd at his Behaviour, deny'd all except one, which gave him leave to crown which of his Sons he pleas'd King of *Ireland*. This he not only confirm'd by his Bull, but as a Token of his Approbation and Satisfaction, he ſent the King a Crown of Peacock's Feathers interwoven with Gold; reſerving to the *Roman* See the *Peter-Pence*, and all other Rights and Privileges. Accordingly the King ſolemnly knighted his beloved Son *John* at *Windſor*, but deferring his Coronation, he ſent him over into *Ireland*, under the chief Directorſhip of our Author *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, being then near twenty Years of Age. He was ſolemnly receiv'd by the Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*, and the Chief of the State; but by reaſon of his Parſimony towards his Soldiers, he found it convenient to return the ſame Year without performing much, but not without waſting the greateſt Part of his Army by Skirmiſhes with the *Iriſh*. Tho' his Father gave him the Title of King, yet he was but Vice-Roy to him, and in his great Seal for that Kingdom, he is only ſtyl'd *Lord of Ireland*.

A. D. 1186. Reg. 32/33.

His Son Geoffry *kill'd in a Tournament.*

A. D. 1187. Reg. 33/34.

After a ſhort Calm, King *Henry* was again diſturb'd by his undutiful Sons, particularly the furious Earl *Richard*, who fortify'd himſelf againſt him in *Poictou*, and defeated *Geoffry* Earl of *Bretaign*; upon which he prepar'd a powerful Army againſt him, the Fame and Terror of which ſoon reduc'd *Richard* to Subjection, and by the Order of his Father he ſurrender'd the Earldom of *Poictou* to his Mother *Eleanor*, whoſe Inheritance it was. Not long after Heaven's Vengeance purſu'd the Diſobedience of the ſecond ſurviving Brother *Geoffry*, who in a publick Tournament at *Paris*, was trodden under the Horſes Feet, and miſerably cruſh'd to Death in the twenty eighth Year of his Age. So that the King ſaw half of his rebellious Male Iſſue extinct before him, and by Deaths as violent as their Diſpoſitions: The other two who ſurviv'd him, were no leſs miſerable in their Ends. About theſe Times, all Affairs between the *French* and *Engliſh* ſtood in an unſettled Poſture, ſometimes War, ſometimes Peace, and then War again; occaſion'd chiefly by King *Philip*'s challenging the Guardianſhip of *Arthur*, the poſthumous Son and Heir of *Geoffry* Earl of *Bretaign*, which would by no Means agree with the Ambitious Temper of our King *Henry*. At length a two Years Truce was concluded, after which Earl *Richard*, contrary to his Father's Will, remain'd with the King of *France*; and ſuch a great Intimacy grew between them, that one Table and one Bed uſually ſerv'd for both. This extraordinary Amity rais'd the Jealouſie of King *Henry*, who ſeveral Times ſent for his Son out of *France*; but *Richard* pretending many Grievances, as the unjuſt Detention of *Alice* his Spouſe, the Fear of being diſinherited, and other Matters, again ſtood out againſt his Father, and after ſome Time again ſubmitted to him. Upon which King *Philip* again broke out into Arms; And while Affairs ſtood thus, the Weſtern World was fill'd with the afflicting News of the Loſs of *Jeruſalem*, and the Captivity of *Guido* the King of it, with an innumerable Number of *Chriſtians* beſides, whom Sultan *Saladin* had vanquiſh'd, to the great Grief and Diſhonour of all Chriſtendom.

A. D. 1188. Reg. 34/35.

The Kings of England *and* France *deſign a Cruſado.*

They fall out.

Upon this News, King *Henry* and King *Philip* met, for the Honour of God, and laying aſide their former Diſpleaſure, in the Preſence of *William* Arch-Biſhop of *Tyre*, took upon them the Badge of the Croſs as Soldiers of *Chriſt*; and the better to diſtinguiſh themſelves, it was agreed that the *French* ſhould wear red Croſſes, the *Engliſh* white, and the *Flemiſh* green. And this Determination was ſeconded by all warlike Preparations, Levies of Mony, Inſtitution of martial Diſcipline, with great Privileges and Indulgences to all who ſhould undertake the War; notwithſtanding which all prov'd of little Effect. For a Breach of this honourable Confederacy aroſe through *Richard*'s Means, who revenging himſelf upon ſome Rebels in *Poictou*, that could not bear his ſevere Government, it rais'd ſuch new Diſturbances, that at length both the Kings of *England* and *France* became Parties to the Conteſt; much againſt the Inclination of King *Henry*, who ſeem'd now firmly reſolv'd to revenge the Cauſe of Chriſt upon Sultan *Saladin*; as appears from his Anſwer to the Petitioning Letter of the Patriarch of *Antioch*, in which he told him, *That among other Princes, Himſelf and his Son, rejecting all the Pleaſures and Glories of this World, would, by the Favour of God, ſpeedily viſit him in Perſon, with their whole Forces*. And now the State of thoſe Parts requir'd it, *Saladin* having ſlain many of the Knights Templars, and Nobility, and above thirty thouſand Soldiers, beſides innumerable others in Cities and Towns by him ſubdu'd. Which ſo affected the Earls of *Flanders*, *Blois*, and other Princes, that when they were deſir'd to join with one of the two contending Kings, they made anſwer, *That they would not, contrary to their Promiſe made to God, put on Armour againſt any Chriſtian, 'till they had diſcharg'd their Duties againſt* Saladin. In the Treaties therefore between *Henry* and *Philip*, the Demands of the latter on the behalf of *Richard* were ſuch as *Henry* thought unſafe, which was that the Marriage between *Richard* and the Princeſs ſhould be conſummated, and all Subjects ſwear Fealty to him, while his Father was alive. Which Propoſitions being rejected by *Henry*, his Son immediately fell from him, and became a Homager to the King of *France* for *Normandy* and other Places. At a ſecond Treaty, ſet on foot by the Mediation of a Cardinal Legate, King *Philip*'s Demands were harder than before, as that King *Henry* ſhould not only ſettle his Kingdom upon *Richard*, but likewiſe take his Son *John* with him into the *Holy-Land*; otherwiſe *Richard* ſhould ſtay behind, being jealous of his Brother's Favour with the Father. King *Henry* thought himſelf affronted at theſe Propoſitions, and diſdaining to be compell'd by any Man, both Parties betook themſelves to their Arms.

A. D. 1189. Reg. 35.

King Henry *declines.*

Submits to hard Articles.

He dies with Grief.

The unhappy Effect of this Conteſt was, that the mighty Monarch King *Henry*, being abandon'd by his former good Fortunes, was now diſgrac'd in his declining Age, ſuſtain'd many Loſſes by the Armies of King *Philip* and *Richard*, was driven out of *Mans*, his beloved Birth-Place, with the Burning of that City, and at length was conſtrain'd to yield to ſuch diſhonourable Conditions as *Philip* thought fit to propoſe, one of which was, That he ſhould pay him twenty thouſand Marks in Silver. *Hoveden* tells us that at the Meeting of theſe two Kings, when the Sky was clear, a dreadful Flaſh of Lightning fell between them and parted them, and coming together again, it thunder'd more terribly, ſo that the old King had fallen off his Horſe, had not his Followers ſuſtain'd him; upon which he durſt not retard the Peace one Moment, but immediately ſubmitted; but to his unſpeakable Affliction, who had been ſo often us'd to give, and not to take Conditions. At his leaving of *Mans*, he in a violent Paſſion declar'd, *That ſince* Richard *had taken that Place from him which he moſt lov'd in this World, he would deprive him of what ought to be moſt dear to a Child, which was his Heart*. But after the Concluſion of the Peace another Thing touch'd him more nearly; for finding the Name of his beloved Son *John* in the Catalogue of the Confederates againſt him in that Action, overcome with Rage and Grief, he bitterly curs'd the Hour of his Birth, and ſolemnly laid God's Imprecations and his own upon both his Sons; which no Perſuaſions of the Biſhops could cauſe him to revoke: But falling dangerouſly ſick at *Chinon*, finding the Approaches of Death, he caus'd himſelf to be carry'd into the Church before the Altar, where after an humble Confeſſion and Sorrow for his Sins, and an Acknowledgment of the Juſtneſs of this laſt Misfortune, he expired. It is obſervable, that immediately after his Death, his Domeſticks, contrary to Decency and Humanity, rifled him of his Cloaths, and left him ſtript and naked. Nor muſt it be forgotten, That the violent

Richard, now Heir of all, coming to meet his Father's Body, royally adorn'd for the Funeral, the Corps guſh'd forth Blood, as it were accuſing him of his unnatural Behaviour; at which *Richard*, touch'd with Remorſe, melted into Floods of Tears, in a moſt penitent Manner attending the Remains of his unfortunate Father to the Grave, which was at *Fonteverard.* He dy'd on the ſixth Day of *July*, and in the fifty ſixth Year of his Age, after a troubleſome and pompous Reign of thirty four Years, eight Months, and twelve Days.

His Character.

This was the End of the greateſt Potentate that had hitherto ſate upon the *Engliſh* Throne, and perhaps the greateſt that was then in the Chriſtian World; a Prince highly celebrated for his Abilities and Qualifications. He was of a robuſt ſound Conſtitution, of a ſanguine Complexion, and of a warm martial Diſpoſition. He had a ſtrong and penetrating Underſtanding, which he daily improv'd by Converſation and Study; was valiant and vigorous in War, and prudent and politick in Peace; magnificent in publick, frugal in private, generous to Strangers, and ſparing to his Domeſticks, ſevere to Oppoſers, and mild to all Compliers. But tho' he had many ſhining Virtues, yet he knew not how to ſet Bounds either to his Ambition or his Luſts; as to the former, he was wont to ſay, *That the whole World was but ſufficient for one great Man*; and the latter were ſo exorbitant as to occaſion the greateſt Calamities in his Reign. He was likewiſe covetous, and no ſtrict Obſerver of his Word; ſo that upon the whole, he had ſuch a Stock of Vices as well as Virtues, natural Perfections and Imperfections, ſo blended together, that he can neither be ſaid to be an exceeding good, nor an exceeding bad Prince; all which were accompany'd with the like Meaſures of good and ill Fortune. Vices in Princes, being more contagious than in private Perſons, ſeldom eſcape God's Vengeance in this World; ſo the Adulteries, and perhaps Inceſts, of this Prince met with their natural Puniſhment from the Fruit of his own Body, whoſe Diſobedience brought him in his latter Years to ſee the Reverſe of his former Fortunes, and all his Laurels to wither on a ſudden. Whereby we find that neither the Number of his Children, the Extent of his Dominions, nor all his eminent Qualities, could make his Proſperity durable; but for want of a Conqueſt over his Paſſions, and a Command over himſelf, he loſt that Empire he had obtain'd over others. Tho' this King never impos'd many Taxes, yet he is ſaid to have left behind him more than ninety thouſand Pounds in ready Coin, beſides Plate, Jewels, Houſhold Goods, and an ample Proviſion for a War. In this Reign the unhappy Diſtinction between the Names of *Normans* and *Engliſh* was in a great meaſure ended. And Doctor *Hody* tells us that in theſe Times, the King's Court of Juſtice was where the King himſelf reſided; and ſince the Courts were fix'd in *Weſtminſter* Hall, our Kings have ſometimes ſat there in Perſon, and not *incognito*, but openly, with their Crowns on their Heads, as they us'd formerly to ſit in the *Curiæ* held on the three great Feſtivals.

SECT. II.

The Reign of King RICHARD *the Firſt.*

Containing nine Years, and nine Months.

A.D. 1189.
Reg. 1.
Richard *ſucceeds in the Throne.*

I. KING *Henry* left two Sons behind him, *Richard* and *John*; and both theſe ſucceeded him in the Throne of *England.* The former was now about thirty one Years of Age, and obtain'd the Sirname of *Cœur-de-Lion*, or *Lion*'s *Heart*; a violent and valiant Prince, who from his Father's Death, ſeem'd to have ſet his whole Heart upon the Re-advancement of the Croſs of Chriſt, lately ſo much diſhonour'd by the Infidels in *Aſia.* But firſt he took care to eſtabliſh his Affairs in *Normandy*, and his other Dominions in *France*; and then ſent Letters into *England* to ſet his Mother Queen *Eleanor* at Liberty, whom her Husband had made a Priſoner for twelve, or, as others ſay, ſixteen Years; who now ſenſible of others Misfortunes by her own, perform'd many Acts of Mercy and Bounty to thoſe in the like Circumſtances. Yet *Richard* honourably baniſh'd all thoſe from his Preſence and Acquaintance who had abandon'd his Father, and rewarded many others who loyally ſtood for him againſt himſelf in the former Conteſts. And having in a ſhort Time ſettled all tranſmarine Affairs, he paſs'd over into *England*, intending to make a ſhort Stay there; as well to receive all the Rights of Sovereignty, as to take all proper Means and Methods to carry on his intended holy Expedition, together with *Philip* King of *France*, and ſeveral other Chriſtian Potentates.

The Manner of his Coronation.

Being ſafely arriv'd in *England*, he was by univerſal Conſent crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by *Baldwin* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; the Particulars of which Solemnity we have from *Hoveden* and *Diceto*, and which in Subſtance were thus. Firſt the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury*, *Roven*, *Triers*, and *Dublin*, with the other Biſhops, Abbots and Clergy, cloath'd in rich Copes and Habits, with the Croſs, Holy-Water and Cenſers born before them, came to fetch Duke *Richard* at the Door of his Privy-Chamber, from whence they led him to the Abby-Church of *Weſtminſter* in a ſolemn Proceſſion. In the middle of the Biſhops and Clergy were four Barons, bearing golden Candleſticks and Tapers; and after them came *Geoffry de Lucy* with the Royal Cap, *John* the *Marſhal* with a maſſie Pair of golden Spurs, *William* Earl of *Pembroke* with the Royal Scepter, and a golden Croſs at the End of it, and *William* Earl of *Salisbury* with the golden Rod and a Dove on the Top. Then came three other Earls, *David* Earl of *Huntington*, Brother to the King of the *Scots*, *John* Earl of *Mortaign*, Duke *Richard*'s Brother, in the middle, and *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*; each bearing a large Sword upright in his Hand, with the Scabbards richly adorn'd with Gold. Theſe were follow'd by ſix Earls and Barons bearing a chequer'd Table, with the *Regalia* upon it; and thoſe by *William Mandevil* Earl of *Albermarle*, bearing a large and rich Crown of Gold; after whom came *Richard* himſelf, between the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Bath*, under a Canopy of State born by four Barons. Then follow'd a noble Train of Earls, Barons, Knights and others as well of the Clergy as Laity, who in a pompous manner accompany'd him to the High-Altar, where ſolemnly laying his Hands upon the Holy Evangeliſts, and the Relicks of divers Saints, he took a formal Oath, '*To obſerve Peace, Honour and Reverence to Almighty God, his Church, and Miniſters, all the Days of his Life; That he would exerciſe Juſtice and Equity towards the People committed to his Charge; and that he would abrogate all evil Laws and unjuſt Cuſtoms, and make, keep and ſincerely maintain thoſe that were good and laudable.* Then the Arch-Biſhop proceeded to anoint him in three Places, the Head, Breaſt and Arms, ſignifying by thoſe Unctions *Glory*, *Fortitude, and Wiſdom*; and before he gave him the Crown he ſolemnly adjur'd him in the Name of the High God, *Not to preſume to take this Dignity upon him, unleſs he reſolv'd inviolably to keep thoſe Vows and Oaths, he had juſt then made*; to which the King anſwer'd, *That by God's Grace he would faithfully perform them all.* Upon which the Arch-Biſhop ſet the Crown upon his Head, deliver'd the Scepter into his right Hand, and plac'd the Rod-Royal in his left; in which manner he was led to his Throne, and after Maſs and the Offertory was over, to his Lodgings, in the ſame ſolemn Proceſſion. This in ſhort was the Form of the King's Coronation, which Solemnity was unfortunately polluted with the Blood of many *Jews*, tho' utterly againſt the King's Will, who preſſing into the Abby Church to ſee the Ceremony, were in a Tumult barbarouſly murder'd by the People.

The Oath.

The King prepares for the Holy War.

Shortly after his Coronation, King *Richard* proceeded to all Kind of Methods for the Proſecution of the Holy War, for which all his Father's vaſt Treaſure, and thoſe great Sums he extorted from *Stephen Turnham* his Treaſurer, were not thought ſufficient. Therefore he ſold many of his Manors and Caſtles to divers Perſons; as to *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham* the Manor of *Sadbery* for ſix hundred Marks, and ſoon after the Earldom of *Northumberland* to be held with his Biſhoprick, with this Piece of Rallery upon it, *He had made a young Earl of an old Biſhop*; and this not ſatisfying his ambitious Temper, he beſides gave the King one thouſand Marks more to be one of his chief Juſticiaries in his Abſence. Beſides theſe, the King ſold many other Manors and Lands to ſuch Biſhops and Abbots as would purchaſe them, they being then the chief mony'd Men in *England*; by which means he rais'd immenſe Sums towards his intended Expedition. He granted to *William* King of the *Scots* the Caſtles of *Berwick* and *Roxborough* for ten thouſand Marks, and releas'd him of thoſe Covenants made to his Father, as extorted from him when a Priſoner, only reſerving to himſelf ſuch Rights as had been allow'd by his Brother *Malcolm* to the former Kings of *England.* Moreover upon ſome Diſpleaſure he impriſon'd the great Lawyer *Glanville*, and forc'd him to purchaſe his Liberty at no leſs Sum than fifteen thouſand Pounds; and even his Favourite *William Longchamp* pay'd three thouſand Pounds to have the great Seal continu'd in his Cuſtody during the King's Abſence; and when he was queſtion'd why he ſold ſo many Places and Manors, he made Anſwer, *That he would ſell* London *itſelf, if he could find a good Chapman*; ſo earneſtly intent he was upon this plauſible Enterprize. As for Men and Soldiers, the Prelates, Fryars and other Preachers excited great Numbers by their various Exhortations in Pulpits and private Conferences, reſounding nothing but the Croſs and Paſſion of

Jeſus Chriſt, calling upon the World to revenge his glorious Cauſe againſt all Pagans and Infidels.

He wiſely ſettles the Nation.

The main Danger of the State in the King's Abſence was in his Brother *John*, of whoſe Ambition he had reaſon to be jealous, as knowing that his Father, not long before his Death, had deſign'd him his Succeſſor; therefore to conquer his aſpiring Thoughts with Bounty and Munificence, and to remove all Occaſions of Complaint, King *Richard* did in ſome Degree ſhare his Kingdom with him, inveſting him with ſix Earldoms, *Cornwall*, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Nottingham*, *Derby* and *Lancaſter*, beſides Caſtles, Honours, Manors, Foreſts, and Bounties, and finally with the Earldom of *Gloceſter*, and the Heireſs of that County for his Wife; tho' the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* forbad the Nuptials, alledging ſhe was within the Degrees of Conſanguinity. But leſt through ill Nature or Advice, Earl *John* ſhould make a wrong Uſe of theſe great Donations, he laid ſeveral Reſtraints upon him, and intruſted him with no Part of the Regal Power; but laid the main Burthen of the Government upon his Chancellor *Longchamp*, Biſhop of *Ely*, chief Juſticiary, and Legate to the See of *Rome*, who was now inveſted with whatſoever either King or Pope could grant for the Completion of his Authority. So that, as *Paris* ſays, he might well be ſtyl'd *Prince* and *Prieſt of England*, as being the moſt powerful Subject for the Time, that had been known in the Nation; for tho' the King had join'd *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham* with him in Commiſſion, for all the Parts beyond the *Humber*, yet *Longchamp* in a ſhort Time eaſily made himſelf ſole Juſticiary, and by his Authority ſilenc'd the Name and Endeavours of his Collegue. Thus the chief Command, and the Sovereign Power it ſelf was in the Chancellor as Vice-Roy, but for the Defence and Execution of his Juſtice, the King prudently aſſociated with his Juſticiaries, *William* Earl of *Arundell*, *Hugh Bardolfe*, *William Marſhal*, *Geoffry Fitz-Peter*, *William Brimere*, *Robert de Whitfield*, and *Robert Fitz-Reinfield*, all Men of Honour, Wiſdom and Authority. To compleat all, King *Richard* took care to provide for the Neighbourhood of *Wales* and *Scotland*; but tho' he did not ſo well ſucceed with *Rees* Prince of the former, yet *William* King of *Scotland* came to the King in *England*, and concluded a firm Alliance with him, which he religiouſly kept, in the greateſt Troubles of King *Richard*, to His and his Nation's Honour; and, as ſome write, ſent his Brother *David* with five thouſand *Scots* to ſerve him in the Holy War.

A. D. 1190.
Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.
He joins with the French *King.*

The two Kings ſet forwards the Holy Land.

The Affairs of *England* being thus eſtabliſh'd, King *Richard* croſs'd the Seas to meet King *Philip* in *France*, according to Appointment, that from thence, with Minds and Forces united, they might ſet forwards under the Banner of the Croſs; which after ſome Stay, occaſion'd by the Death of *Philip*'s Queen, they undertook upon theſe Chriſtian and Friendly Terms: 'That each ſhould preſerve the other's Honour, and bear Faith to him as to 'Life, Member and worldly Dignity: That neither ſhould 'fail the other in their Affairs; but the King of *France* 'ſhould help the King of *England* to defend his Land, as 'he would defend the City of *Paris* if beſieg'd; and the 'latter ſhould help the former to defend his, as he would 'defend the City of *Roven* if beſieg'd. This being committed to Writing, and then ratify'd by Oath, the two Kings ſent *it* to their Earls and Barons, who ſolemnly ſwore not to treſpaſs againſt their Fealty, nor ſtir up any War in either of the King's Dominions, during the Time of this extraordinary Pilgrimage; and on the other ſide the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops firmly promis'd to execrate and excommunicate all ſuch as ſhould tranſgreſs this Agreement. Thus, after ſome neceſſary Delays, theſe two, the greateſt Monarchs of the Weſtern World, ſet forwards by Land, to the reputed publick Service of Chriſtianity, with ſuch Numbers as they themſelves thought moſt proper; which were ſo great, that having paſs'd the *Rhone* at *Lions*, and receiv'd ſome Loſs by the Breaking of the Bridge, they parted Company for meer Conveniency of travelling. *Philip* paſs'd over the *Alps* into *Italy*, and *Richard* to the Sea-Coaſt at *Marſeilles*, there to meet with his Royal Navy, which conſiſting of all the capital Ships of *England* and *Normandy*, and his other *French* Dominions, was appointed to attend at the Port. But the Fleet being not arriv'd, King *Richard*, impatient of Delays, after eight Days Continuance there, embark'd with the Attendance of twenty hired Gallies, and ten great Buſſes, and ſet Sail for *Meſſina* in *Sicily*, the Rendezvous of both the Kings and their Armies. In which Paſſage, occaſionally lying at Anchor at the Mouth of the *Tiber*, he was deſired by the Biſhop of *Oſtia* in the Pope's Name to make a Viſit to his Holineſs; but the King freely charg'd the Pope with Avarice and Simony in relation to ſome new advanc'd Biſhops in his Dominions, and therefore utterly refus'd to ſee *Rome*. Thus after ſeveral Accidents and Landings, hearing that his Navy was ſafe, he tarry'd for all, and after that, upon the twenty third Day of *September*, came to an Anchor before the City of *Meſſina*, with ſo great a Shew of Power, and Noiſe of Warlike Inſtruments, and other Marks of Grandeur and Majeſty in the Sight of *Philip* and his *French*, and of many other Nations there aſſembled, that it caus'd a Terror to the Inhabitants, and no ſmall Envy to his Confederates.

They meet at Meſſina.

King Richard *gains Advantages in* Sicily.

Tancred *King of* Sicily *gives him large Sums.*

Tancred was at that Time King, or rather Uſurper of *Sicily*, after the Death of *William*, who had marry'd *Joan* the Siſter of King *Richard*, and out of Hatred or Policy had impriſon'd that Queen; upon the Appearance of her Brother, he honourably ſent her to him, and yielded to ſeveral Articles, and to the Payment of large Sums of Mony. And now Fear wrought on both Sides; and *Richard* being among Strangers, and not fully ſure of the *French*, ſeiz'd upon a Fortreſs in the Iſland of a valiant People call'd *Griffons*, and after that by means of an extraordinary Tumult took the City of *Meſſina* it ſelf. From which Time the Spirit of Diſcord ſeems to have been ſown between the two Royal Adventurers; for King *Richard*, fluſh'd with Victory, diſplay'd his Banners, even in thoſe Parts of the City appointed for King *Philip*'s Quarters, which gave great Offence to the other, and occaſion'd many warm Expreſſions. Yet at length by the Mediation of great Men on both Sides, the Conteſt was for the preſent adjuſted; and *Richard* order'd his Enſigns to be taken down, and then deliver'd the Cuſtody of the City to the Knights Hoſpitallers, and Templars, 'till all Things required from the King of *Sicily* were perform'd. After much Deliberation, in Anſwer to King *Richard*'s Demands, *Tancred* inſiſted *That he had already paid to his Siſter, late Queen of the Iſland, large Sums of Mony in lieu of her Dowry or Jointure; and concerning the Legacies intended by his Predeceſſor King* William, *to the Father of King* Richard, *he was ready to ſatisfie him, as far as he ought according to the Cuſtoms of his Kingdom.* But to appeaſe that Power he could not reſiſt, he gave to King *Richard* twenty thouſand Ounces of Gold, in Conſideration of his Siſter's Jointure; and further to be acquitted of all other Claims and Pretences, and likewiſe in Conſideration that *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, Nephew and next Heir to King *Richard*, ſhould marry the Daughter of King *Tancred*, he paid a ſecond Sum of twenty thouſand Ounces more: After which, to purchaſe the Amity of King *Richard* and the Love of the *Engliſh* Nation, as alſo for the greater Aſſurance of Performance of Articles, he voluntarily added a third Sum of twenty thouſand Ounces, and afterwards four great Ships call'd *Urſers*, and fifteen Gallies. On the other Side, King *Richard*, that he might not be wanting in any Thing which in Honour and Equity might be expected from him, beſides Letters Patents, he choſe unexceptionable Sureties upon Oath, as two Arch-Biſhops, two Biſhops, and no leſs than twenty Lords and great Men, whoſe Names are upon Record in *Hoveden*. And for a final Confirmation, he offer'd that Pope *Clement* ſhould undertake for the Performance of his Part of the ſaid Agreement; and accordingly wrote Letters to him upon that Subject, freely giving him leave, upon any Failure in him, to put all his Dominions under the ſevereſt Cenſures.

A. D. 1191.
Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.
Richard *and the* French *King diſagree.*

Richard *is very penitent.*

The Peace being happily concluded, *Tancred*, before he took leave of King *Richard*, diſcover'd to him a foul and diſhonourable Deſign of the *French* King, againſt his Perſon and Safety; which ſhortly after coming to be warmly debated between the two Kings, *Philip* charg'd *Richard* with inventing and promoting of Conteſts; and further added, *That unleſs* Richard *marry'd his Siſter* Alice, *according to the ancient Contract, he would be his irreconciliable Enemy.* To which King *Richard*, being urg'd, return'd in Anſwer, *That the Princeſs, during her Abode in* England, *had a Child by his Father* Henry, *which he was ready to prove by many Witneſſes then preſent; ſo that he had far more Cauſe than a bare Suſpicion of Incontinency, to refuſe the Marriage.* Upon this ungrateful Diſcovery, and upon certain new Conditions between the two Kings, *Philip* left the other at liberty to chuſe a Wife where he thought fit, and ſeem'd to be reconcil'd to him; yet ſtill *Tancred*'s late Information rais'd ſuch a Diſtruſt and Jealouſie between 'em, that from thenceforward they were never true Friends. Not long after, they both parted for the intended holy Expedition. But becauſe Examples of true Chriſtian Humility are too rare among Princes and Potentates, we muſt not paſs by that of this famous General King *Richard*, who about this Time, as *Hoveden* expreſſes it, being inſpir'd with Divine Grace, and ſtudying to fit himſelf for this great Enterprize, felt ſuch a Compunction for his Sins, that he made a ſolemn Confeſſion of all his Exceſſes before his Biſhops, humbly imploring the Mercy of God, and the Abſolution of his ſubordinate Miniſters. Our Author adds that God reſpected him with the Eyes of Mercy, and gave him a penitent Heart, ſo that from thenceforward he prov'd a Man fearing God, and eſchewing Evil. And now addicting his Mind to Contemplation, and the Honour of the Chriſtian Church, whoſe Champion he was, he deſir'd the Conference of a famous Viſionary Abbot in *Italy* call'd *Joachim*, celebrated for his profound Knowledge of the Scriptures, and his prophetical Revelations. This Man preaching before the King upon the Apocalypſe of St. *John*, concerning the coming of *Antichriſt*, freely declared, That *Antichriſt* was then born, and in the City of *Rome* ſhould be advanc'd to the Apoſtolick See, of whom the Apoſtle ſaid, *he ſhould exalt himſelf above all that is call'd God*; and that the ſeven Crowns were the Kings and Princes of the Earth who obey'd him. This, tho' accidental, adminiſter'd ſufficient Occaſion for Reflexions; by reaſon Kings and Princes were ſuppos'd to be thoſe Gods over whom *Antichriſt* ſhould exalt himſelf; For ſhortly after, *Henry* the Emperor together with his Empreſs *Conſtantia*, at their Coronation in St. *Peter*'s Church ſtooping down to the Ground, receiv'd their Imperial Crowns from between the Feet of the Pope, with which he immediately ſtruck them off their Heads; ſignifying by that Action, That he had Power to throw them out of their Dominions whenever he thought fit.

The ſame Day that *Philip* and the *French* Forces ſet Sail from *Meſſina*, *Elenor* King *Richard*'s Mother arriv'd with *Berengaria* his new intended Spouſe, Daughter to *Sanctius* King of *Navarre*, whom he afterwards marry'd in *Cyprus*; but his Mother after a ſhort Stay return'd by *Rome* into *England*, leaving the young Lady with *Joan* Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, both which accompany'd the King towards the *Holy-Land*, his whole Navy conſiſting of an hundred and fifty large Ships and fifty three Gallies, beſides thirteen Buſſes, and many Tenders; but we do not find what Number of Soldiers were in the *Engliſh* Army. This Royal Navy, ſailing between the Iſles of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, was diſpers'd by a terrible Storm, which turn'd much to the Honour and Advantage of King *Richard*, as giving him an Occaſion of new Conqueſts. For two of the Veſſels being caſt away upon the Coaſts of *Cyprus*, near the Port of *Limezum*, and the Ship that carried the Princeſs in great Danger; *Iſaac* the King, or, as he was call'd, Emperor of that Iſland, barbarouſly rifled and impriſon'd thoſe Perſons that eſcap'd, and would not permit the Ladies to enter the Harbour, tho' in great Diſtreſs; Which uncommon Inhumanity, neither Heaven nor King *Richard* would forgive. For the ſaid inhoſpitable Prince, having thrice refus'd to make Reſtitution of his unlawful Seiſures and Priſoners, was ſoon after enter'd upon and invaded by the *Engliſh*, driven from the Coaſts with great Diſhonour and Slaughter, the City of *Limezum* left a Prey to the Victors, and himſelf beaten out of his Camp, and taken Priſoner. After an Eſcape made by him, his only Daughter and Heireſs was forc'd to yield herſelf Priſoner, and laſtly himſelf, deſpairing to be conceal'd, came of his own Accord, and was put into Fetters of Silver; upon which the whole Iſland, with all its People, Strength and Riches, became Subject to the King of *England*, and both Father and Daughter were led into Captivity. In this Iſland King *Richard* was honour'd by the Attendance of *Guido* King of *Jeruſalem*, *Geoffry* his Brother, *Raimund* Prince of *Antioch*, *Boemund* his Son, and many other Princes, who offer'd him their Service; and here he finiſh'd the Nuptials of his beloved Lady *Berengaria*. *Iſaac* was ſent to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, his Daughter committed to the King's Siſter and Queen, and the Iſland intruſted to *Richard Camvile* and *Robert Turnham* his Vice-Roys, with competent Forces and Proviſions; and the Iſlanders were ſuffer'd to enjoy all ſuch Laws and Liberties, as they held in the Reign of *Manuel* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*.

He removes from Sicily.

He conquers the Iſle of Cyprus.

Troubles in England *occaſion'd by the Chancellor.*

II. During theſe proſperous Tranſactions abroad, the State of *England* ſuffer'd extreamly at home under the Government of Biſhop *Longchamp* the Chancellor, who arrogating to himſelf that Authority which belong'd to the reſt of the Commiſſioners in common, acted as he thought fit, and with that Inſolence deported himſelf, that he incurr'd the Hatred of the whole Kingdom, both Clergy and Laity. His Train was ſaid to be ſo great, and his Attendance ſo numerous, that whenever he lay in any religious Houſe but one Night, three Years Revenues would ſcarce recover the Charge. Beſides, being a Foreigner himſelf and employing only *Frenchmen* about him, he render'd his Actions more inſupportable to the *Engliſh*: Inſomuch that the whole Clergy and Nobility oppos'd his Proceedings; and the King's Brother *John* taking Advantage of their Diſcontents, to render himſelf popular, and to make way for his deſign'd Uſurpation, join'd with the State againſt the Biſhop, as being the Perſon who had ever defeated his aſpiring Attempts; having a particular Eye upon him, as a moſt dangerous Man, in reſpect of the King's Charge and his own Safety. In a ſhort Time he found a fair Opportunity to ruin the Chancellor by means of *Geoffry* the Elect Arch-Biſhop of *York*, natural Son to the late King *Henry*, to whoſe Preferment in *England* King *Richard* was averſe, and therefore had confin'd him to *Normandy* during his Abſence, where after much Difficulty, he had obtain'd Power of the preſent Pope to be inveſted in the ſaid See. *Longchamp* being inform'd of this Perſon's Arrival, order'd him to be apprehended at *Dover*, where he was forcibly drawn out of the Church to which he had retir'd, and ignominiouſly dragg'd from the Altar to the Caſtle in his Pontifical Habit. Upon this Violence, Earl *John* commanded the Chancellor not only to releaſe him, but immediately to anſwer the Matter before the Aſſembly of the Biſhops and Nobility at St. *Paul*'s; where they urg'd againſt him many heinous Actions, committed contrary to his Commiſſion, and the Good of the King and Kingdom. The Arch-Biſhop of *Roven*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* openly ſhew'd the King's Letters Patents dated at *Meſſina*, by which they were made equal Commiſſioners with him in the Government of the Kingdom; in which notwithſtanding he would not ſuffer them to be concern'd, but according to his violent Methods govern all himſelf. Upon which he was by the Aſſembly formally depos'd from his Office, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Roven* put in his Place, as alſo the Tower of *London*, and Caſtle of *Windſor* were taken from him, and deliver'd to the Arch-Biſhop. Thus this great Officer, preſuming too much upon his own Power, was thrown down from his Seat, and forc'd to reſign his Legantine Croſs at *Canterbury*, and take up that for the Holy War; and endeavouring to eſcape privately over the Sea, he was in the Habit of a Woman, with a Web of Linnen Cloth under his Arm, taken upon the Shore at *Dover*, and opprobriouſly made a Spectacle to the People, and conducted with all Deriſion to the Caſtle. Whence after eight Days he was releas'd by Earl *John*, and permitted to purſue his intended Voyage; in which, being the Meſſenger of his own Uſage, he had the Advantage of his Adverſaries, and prevail'd againſt them with the Pope, who was highly diſpleas'd to find the Legantine Power ſo vilify'd. In the mean Time Earl *John* with the Commiſſioners, confirm'd to the City of *London* their common Liberties, and caus'd the Citizens to ſwear Fealty to King *Richard* and his Heir; and if he dy'd without Iſſue, they were then to maintain Earl *John* as their Lord and King, againſt all Men whatſoever.

The Chancellor depoſed.

He leaves the Nation.

Thus forward was Earl *John* in his Attempts upon the Crown of his Brother King *Richard*, while he was paſſing into the *Holy-Land*, with the Spoils and Treaſure of three noble Iſlands, *England*, *Sicily* and *Cyprus*, beſides *Normandy* and other Parts of *France*; in which diſtant Country almoſt all was conſum'd, tho' to the great Renown of himſelf and Nation. And here, for the Reader's clearer Underſtanding of theſe Affairs, it will not be amiſs to take notice, That about ninety two Years ſince, *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* and his Aſſiſtants recover'd the City of *Jeruſalem*, with the Country of *Paleſtine*, and a great of *Syria*, out of the Hands of the *Saracens*, obtain'd the Kingdom, and reigning one Year dy'd, and left his Brother *Baldwin* to ſucceed him; who governing eighteen Years, left the Crown to another of that Name *Baldwin de Borgo*, who reign'd thirteen Years, and left a Daughter, and the Kingdom in Diſpute. *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou* marrying this Daughter, enjoy'd the Kingdom eleven Years, and left two young Sons, *Baldwin*, who reign'd twenty four Years, and *Almerick* twelve; which laſt left the Kingdom to his Son *Baldwin*, who being ſickly and deſpairing of Iſſue, made his Siſter *Sibyll*'s Son *Baldwin* his Succeſſor, and committed the Charge of him, with the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom to *Raynvond* Earl of *Tripoly*, whom *Guido de Luſignan*, having marry'd the Widow *Sibyll*, put from that Charge, uſurp'd the Government, and at length the Kingdom, not without Suſpicion of poiſoning the young King. *Raynvond* making War upon him, *Guido* imprudently drew in Sultan *Saladin* of *Ægypt* to his Aſſiſtance, who improving this Opportunity of enlarging his Dominions, ſoon deſtroy'd them both, with their Kingdom, and won the Cities of *Acon*, *Azotus*, *Berytus*, *Aſcalon*, and after one Month's Siege, the City of *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, eighty eight Years after it had been conquer'd by the famous *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*.

A ſhort Account of the Cruſades.

To recover this ruinous State, the two great Kings of *England* and *France* came from far diſtant Countries, with Armies compos'd of different Nations and ſeveral Inclinations, as *Engliſh*, *French*, *Italians*, *Germans*, and others, againſt a mighty Prince of an united Power, within his own Territories, acquainted with the Manner of the Fights and the Nature of the Forces of the Chriſtians, and poſſeſs'd of the beſt Parts of the Country. And here they ſucceſſively ſat down before *Acon* or *Ptolemais*, defended by the Power of *Saladin*, which had been before beſieg'd by the Chriſtians for the Space of three Years, and had coſt the Lives of many worthy Princes and great Men of ſeveral Nations, whoſe Names are ſtill in the Records of Fame. And notwithſtanding all the Forces of thoſe two Kings, the Garriſon held out four Months after, and then ſurrender'd upon

The Kings of England *and* France *take the City of* Acon.

theſe

They diſagree.

theſe Articles. 1. That *Saladin* ſhould by a certain Day reſtore the Holy Croſs. 2. That he ſhould ſet free fifteen hundred Chriſtian Captives. 3. That the City, and all Things contain'd in it, ſhould remain to the Chriſtians. 4. That the Garriſon ſhould only have their Lives ſav'd, if theſe Conditions were perform'd. 5. That they ſhould pay twenty thouſand Pieces of Gold, towards the Charges of the two Kings. At their Entrance into the City, the Banners of *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria*, being planted on the Walls, were with great Diſgrace taken down by the Command of King *Richard*, and thoſe of the two Kings erected; which highly incens'd the Duke, who immediately quitted the Service, and afterwards found Means to revenge himſelf. Beſides this, during the Siege, divers Marks of Jealouſie and Diſpleaſure appear'd between the Kings themſelves; and the Competition of Honour made the leaſt Diſproportion of it a Wound beyond Cure. And now that Article formerly concluded of equally dividing their Profits in the Expedition, came to be queſtion'd: The King of *France* claim'd half the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and the King of *England* half the Treaſure and Goods of the Earl of *Flanders*, which the other had lately ſeiz'd; and in this neither were ſatisfy'd. Then appear'd the two Pretenders to the Crown of *Jeruſalem*, *Guido* of *Luſignan*, and *Conrade* of *Montferrat*; the former pleading Poſſeſſion in right of his Wife *Sibyll*, the King of *England* eſpous'd his Cauſe; and the King of *France* join'd with *Conrade*. Theſe Differences created continual Heart-burnings between 'em, and they were ſo much diſtemper'd by their own violent Heats, and the hot Contagion of the Country, that they fell into a moſt dangerous Sickneſs, which occaſion'd the intire Loſs of their Hair. But being recover'd, the *French* King reſolv'd to ſtay no longer, where he ſaw ſo little Probability of Honour or Advantage; and the rather becauſe by the Death of the Earl of *Flanders* he had an Opportunity of enlarging his Dominions at home; therefore he ſent to King *Richard* for his Conſent to return home. *Richard* fearing to let an offended Lion looſe, would not grant it, 'till he had taken a ſolemn Oath, That he would protect his Dominions and People 'till his Return, and would do no Damage to them, nor ſuffer any to be done by others.

The King of France *returns home.*

King Richard *defeats* Saladin.

The King of *France* thus leaving *Acon*, in the Caſtle of which King *Richard*'s Queen and Siſter were lodg'd, and the Duke of *Burgundy* remaining behind with the *French* Army, and a great Part of his Maſter's Treaſure, King *Richard* the ſame Day ſet forward upon a new Enterprize: For before, by reaſon of the Diſſenſion between the Kings which ſhould be greateſt, ſcarce any Thing proſper'd; and *Richard* had juſt Cauſe to complain in his Letters, *That* Philip, *to the great Reproach of himſelf and Kingdom, had diſhonourably forſaken his Purpoſe and Vow to God.* When *Saladin* could by no Means obtain a longer Day for the Performance of the ſaid Articles of Compoſition, he barbarouſly cut off the Heads of all his Chriſtian Captives; in Revenge of which King *Richard* brought out his Mahometan Captives, to the Number of two thouſand ſeven hundred, and in the ſight of *Saladin*'s Camp, caus'd them all to be beheaded; the Duke of *Burgundy* doing the ſame to near the ſame Number, by the Walls of *Acon*, only ſeven of the chief being preſerv'd alive by the Chriſtian Generals. King *Richard* vigorouſly proceeding in his new deſign'd Enterprize, march'd towards *Joppa*, in which he was furiouſly ſet upon by *Saladin*, who had juſt before put the Duke of *Burgundy* to flight, and ſlain the valiant *Jaques de Avennes*, who made a noble Reſiſtance with only a few in the Rear; but *Richard* encounter'd him with ſo much Courage and Bravery, that he conſtrain'd him to fly diſhonourably, with the Loſs of three thouſand of his choiceſt Soldiers. About this Time the King met with a remarkable Deliverance from the Hands of the *Saracens*: For one Day diverting himſelf with Hawking, attended by a ſmall Retinue, and being tired with the Exerciſe, he laid himſelf under a Tree to ſleep; of which a Party of the Enemy having notice, they laid an Ambuſcade, and ſent ſome of their Men to ſet upon the King, and provoke him to fight; which when they had done, by a feign'd Flight they drew him into their Ambuſh, and ſuddenly ſurrounded him and his Company. Here he had certainly been taken Priſoner, had not one of his Gentlemen nam'd *William de Pratellis*, out of an uncommon Piece of Generoſity, ſav'd him by cauſing himſelf to be taken in his ſtead, and crying out in the *Saracen*'s Tongue, *I am the King*; upon which they all ſeiz'd upon him, while the King and divers of his Followers made their Eſcapes. Afterwards, the King in Conſideration of this noble Act, gave in Exchange for him ten of the greateſt Noblemen among his Priſoners; manifeſting the Eſteem he had for this brave Man, whom alone he valu'd at the Rate of ten Princes.

A. D.
1192.
Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$

He gains a great Booty.

He makes a three Years Truce with Saladin.

He leaves the Holy-Land.

Still King *Richard* vigorouſly purſu'd his Deſigns, and after ſeveral brave and important Actions, march'd up within ſight of *Jeruſalem*, where he skirmiſh'd with the Enemy, and overthrew the Convoy or Caravan of *Saladin*, which came richly laden from *Babylon*, and was guarded by ten thouſand Men; whom *Richard* valiantly attack'd with five thouſand ſelect Soldiers, put moſt of them to the Sword, took three thouſand Camels and four thouſand Horſes and Mules, and recover'd a noble Booty. After this, and many other great Exploits, as the Relief of *Joppa*, and Repulſe of *Saladin* from that Place, the King, indefatigable in his brave Attempts, endeavouring to regain *Jeruſalem* and the City of *Baruck*, was abandon'd in that Enterprize by the Duke of *Burgundy*, who is vehemently ſuſpected to have been brib'd by *Saladin*: Upon which he began to hearken to the Knights Templars, and the chief of the Chriſtian Army, who perſuaded him not to refuſe *Saladin*'s Offers for a Ceſſation of Arms; eſpecially conſidering that he deſign'd to return with greater Forces and Treaſure; that his preſent Power, by Diviſions, by Sickneſs and Encounters was much waſted and weaken'd; and that the dangerous State of his own Dominions, by reaſon of undue Practices at home, and the Deſigns of King *Philip* abroad, did now require his own Preſence. At length after ſome Struggles of Honour and Conſcience, the King concluded a Truce with *Saladin* for three Years upon theſe Conditions: 'Firſt that *Aſcalon* ſhould be demoliſh'd, and 'not fortify'd by either Party during the Truce; yet *Joppa* 'might be poſſeſs'd by the *Chriſtians*, and all the Country 'then in the *Chriſtians* Hands, without Moleſtation from 'the *Saracens*. And then the *Chriſtians* ſhould have free 'Liberty to go in Pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre without Charge, and likewiſe have free Commerce through '*Saladin*'s Dominions. Upon Concluſion of the Treaty, King *Richard* let *Saladin* know, *That when the Truce was ended, he would return again, and once more endeavour to recover the* Holy-Land *from his Dominions.* To which *Saladin* is ſaid to have return'd this generous Anſwer, *That he had ſo great an Eſteem for King* Richard'*s Worth, that if it muſt be his Fate to loſe his Country, he had rather it ſhould be to him, than to any other Prince whatſoever.* Thus this great Cruſado ended with little more Advantage than the taking of one ſingle City; and King *Richard* departed with the Diſpleaſure of having on one Side concluded a diſhonourable Truce, and on the other, with the Satisfaction of having beſtow'd two Kingdoms at his departure, that of *Jeruſalem* upon the *Count de Champaign* his Nephew, and that of *Cyprus*, which he had conquer'd by his own Arms, upon *Guido de Luſignan*, in whoſe Houſe it continu'd two hundred and eighty Years.

He goes into Auſtria:

Where he is taken Priſoner by the Arch-Duke

and ſent to the Emperor.

Thus *Richard* having ſettled the Affairs of the Eaſt, and ſent away his Queen and Siſter, with the King of *Cyprus*'s Daughter, under the Conduct of *Stephen Turnham*, he went on board a large Buſs at *Acon*, and ſet ſail in the Beginning of *October* for *Corfu*; where arriving in leſs than a Month, he continu'd his Voyage to *Raguſa* in the Gulf of *Venice*, and landing near that City, reſolv'd to go by Land through *Sclavonia* into *Auſtria*. Where when he arriv'd, tho' he and his Attendants, endeavouring to be unknown, had diſguis'd themſelves like Pilgrims with long Hair and Beards, yet they could not be long conceal'd by reaſon of their extraordinary Expences; which was alſo confirm'd by the Rumours of the King's being ſomewhere in thoſe Parts. *Richard* had now reaſon to fear the Duke of *Auſtria* whom he had affronted at *Acon*, and becauſe he knew he had a ſecret Hatred towards him, by reaſon of the League he had made with *Tancred* King of *Sicily*, the Emperor's Competitor for that Kingdom; as alſo becauſe of the Aſſaſſination of *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrat* his Kinſman, in which he ſuſpected King *Richard* to have been concerned. Wherefore fearing to be taken Priſoner, *Richard* privately withdrew from his Retinue, committing the Charge of them to one of his principal Gentlemen that waited on him; and ſo taking Horſe with one ſingle Servant, he travell'd Day and Night 'till he arriv'd near the City of *Vienna*. But coming to a ſmall Village, and lying down on a Bed to repoſe himſelf, while his Servant went out to buy Proviſions, the Man was known by one belonging to the Duke of *Auſtria*; and being ſeiz'd and brought before him, after many Enquiries he was conſtrain'd to reveal where the King was. Upon which the Duke immediately ſent thither, and took him Priſoner as he lay aſleep; of which Prize the Duke was not a little joyful, having now an Opportunity not only of revenging himſelf for the Affront put upon him at the taking of *Acon*, but alſo of inriching himſelf by an extraordinary Ranſom, which he reſolv'd to have for him, before he gave him his Liberty. But ſhortly after the Emperor *Henry* VI. ſent to demand him, alledging, *That the Duke being his Vaſſal, it belong'd to him to have the Cuſtody of the King's Perſon*; whereupon the Duke, being promis'd a large ſhare of his Ranſom, deliver'd him into the Emperor's Hand, who kept him Priſoner about a Year. And thus this great Prince's unfortunate Expedition to the *Holy-Land* ended as ingloriouſly, as it was at firſt magnanimouſly undertaken; having conſum'd therein all that mighty Treaſure left him by his Father, and all that he could draw from his Subjects, and others, by violent Extortions, plauſible Promiſes, or ſubtle Practices.

A.D. 1193. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.

His Brother John *proves diſloyal.*

III. The ſtrange News of King *Richard*'s Impriſonment, after ſo much Valour ſhewn, flying through *Europe*, ſoon diſclos'd who were faithful or perfidious. His careful Mother and beſt Friends, overcome with Grief and Sorrow, put new Oaths to the Nation to be true to him, watch'd the Coaſts, provided for the Security of the State, and fortify'd all the Cities and chief Towns of the Kingdom. On the contrary Earl *John*, being by the cunning Inſinuations of his Brother's Foes, not only put in Hopes of his perpetual Bondage, but alſo incens'd againſt him for deſigning the Crown to his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, enter'd into an unbrotherly Attempt againſt his Sovereign; and after he had allur'd many Perſons by Promiſes, and fortify'd many Places in *England*, paſs'd the Sea, and enter'd into a League with the King of *France*, utterly to put his Nephew *Arthur* from the Hopes the *Britains* had conceiv'd of his Promotion. The *Normans* giving way to his diſloyal Practices, he ſwore Fealty to *Philip* King of *France*, and promis'd to marry his Siſter *Alice*, tho' diſhonour'd by his own Father, and for that Cauſe rejected by King *Richard*. Out of *Normandy* he poſted into *England*, ſoliciting both Peers and People, but met with a very loyal Reſiſtance; yet not ſo diſcourag'd, he labour'd to excite the *Scots* and *Welſh* to join in an Invaſion with him, for which end the *French* and *Flemmings* aſſur'd them that King *Richard* would never be ſet at Liberty: But ſtill *William* King of the *Scots* would never give Conſent or Countenance to ſuch diſhonourable Practices. In this dangerous Time the Valour and Loyalty of the City of *Roven* appear'd in a moſt exemplary Manner: For *Philip* coming before it with a powerful Army, ſolicited the Citizens by the moſt alluring Promiſes to revolt; upon which, ſetting open their Gates, they return'd no other Anſwer but *That he might enter if he pleas'd.* But this vain-glorious King, finding that the very Women and Virgins had poll'd their Heads like Men, and with the reſt of the Inhabitants poured melted Pitch and ſuch like Materials upon the Heads of the Beſiegers, he march'd away in great Confuſion.

King Richard *anſwers before the Emperor.*

Great Sums rais'd in England *for his Ranſom.*

During theſe Diſturbances, King *Richard*, formerly a Conqueror, now a Priſoner, was brought into the Preſence of the Emperor in a publick Aſſembly of the Nobility; where the Emperor to terrifie him charg'd him with many Crimes, eſpecially the Aſſaſſination of the Marquiſs *Conrade* his Couſin. But the King, knowing his own Innocency, anſwer'd all the Emperor's Allegations with ſo much Eloquence and Courage, that he not only gave full Satisfaction to all preſent, but mov'd the covetous Emperor to compaſſionate his Misfortunes, and to reverence his Perſon; but not to that Degree as to make him willing to diſcharge him without a great Ranſom. Not long after the King ſent Letters to the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, Clerks and Free-Tenants of *England*, wherein he deſired all the Clergy and Laity to raiſe ſuch a Sum as might procure him his Liberty. The Emperor wrote to the ſame Purpoſe; and the Pope, who threaten'd the Kingdom with an Interdict, unleſs the King were ſpeedily ſet free, alſo wrote to the King of *France* that he would anathematize his Kingdom, unleſs he forbore diſturbing *Richard*'s Territories while he was a Priſoner. Upon the Receipt of the King's Letters, and upon their Authority, the Queen-Mother and the Lords Juſtices determined that all Clerks and Laicks ſhould contribute the fourth Part of their Revenues that Year for the Redemption of the King; and that they ſhould add ſo much more out of their moveable Goods, as their Sovereign might at his Return own it as an Obligation. To this they added twenty Shillings upon every Knight's Fee, and order'd, That the Abbies of the *Ceſtertians*, and Houſes of the Order of *Semplengham*, ſhould contribute all their Wool of that Year, and that all the Gold and Silver in the Churches ſhould be brought out and deliver'd to that purpoſe. Thus a vaſt Sum was rais'd in *England*, and receiv'd by the Emperor's Envoys at *London*, in part of the King's Ranſom; and not long after the Emperor and King came to a final Agreement upon theſe Conditions. 1. 'That the King ſhould pay an hundred thouſand Marks to the Emperor, and fifty thouſand more to the Duke of *Auſtria*. 2. That the King ſhould marry his Nephew *Arthur*'s Siſter to the Duke's Son, and deliver up the Captive King of *Cyprus* and his Daughter. 3. That the hundred thouſand Marks ſhould be brought into the Empire at the Peril of the King of *England*, and Hoſtages to be given for the reſt. But to colour over this unprincely Extortion, the Emperor by a particular Charter gave to King *Richard* the Country of *Provence* in *France* with ſeveral other large Territories, containing five Archbiſhopricks, and thirty three Biſhopricks, which had been long out of the Emperor's Poſſeſſion; and crown'd him King of them all, and wrote magnificent Letters into *England* upon that Occaſion.

A. D. 1194. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$.

After much Difficulty, he is freed.

He arrives in England.

Still King *Philip* us'd all Methods to hinder *Richard* of his Liberty, and finding that the Emperor and he were agreed, he ſent Meſſengers to Earl *John*, adviſing him *To look to himſelf, for the Devil was now let looſe*, and urg'd him to uſurp the Kingdom of *England*. Now when King *Richard* expected his Liberty at a general Diet held at *Spires*, where were preſent three Arch-Biſhops of *Mentz*, *Cologn* and *Saltzburgh*, the three Biſhops of *Worms*, *Spires* and *Liege*, the three Dukes of *Snabia*, *Auſtria* and *Lovain*, the *Count Palatine of the Rhine*, and ſeveral others, who had undertaken for the Emperor, whoſe Officers had already received the greateſt Part of the Ranſom; his Buſineſs was unfortunately obſtructed by the Arrival of Envoys from King *Philip* and Earl *John*, who offer'd fifty thouſand Marks from the King, and thirty thouſand from the Earl to the Emperor to keep *Richard* Priſoner, 'till *Michaelmas* following; or if the Emperor thought fit, they would give him a thouſand Pounds a Month, as long as he ſhould keep him Priſoner; or elſe the King of *France* would give him a hundred thouſand Marks, and Earl *John* fifty thouſand to deliver him Priſoner into their Hands, or at leaſt to keep him one whole Year. Theſe great Proffers had ſuch an Effect upon the Emperor's corrupt Diſpoſition, that he immediately deferr'd the Day of ſetting *Richard* at Liberty, which almoſt reduc'd that Prince to Deſpair; but the above-nam'd Heads of the Empire, freely reprov'd the Emperor for his exceſſive Avarice, and his diſhonourable Treatment of a crown'd Head, and ſo far prevail'd, that upon the 4th Day of *February*, he was by the Arch-Biſhops of *Mentz* and *Cologn* reſtor'd after fifteen Months Impriſonment into the Hands of his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, who with all there preſent receiv'd him with Tears as well as Tranſports of Joy. Yet ſo prevalent is the Power of Mony, that ſome Writers report, that after this the Emperor repented of his Releaſe, and ſent Meſſengers after in order to ſeize him; but the King being inform'd of this Deſign, haſten'd on Shipboard, and happily landed at *Sandwich* on the thirteenth Day of *March*. In *England* he was receiv'd in a triumphant Manner; and coming near *Rocheſter*, *Hubert* the new Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who had been with him at the Siege of *Acon*, met him in a pompous Solemnity; whom when the King ſaw, he immediately diſmounted, and having bow'd his Knee, fell upon the Earth, which in like Manner was done by the Arch-Biſhop, 'till at length both riſing up, run into each others Arms, with the higheſt Marks of Pleaſure and Satisfaction.

Puniſhments upon the Duke of Auſtria *and the Emperor.*

And here moſt Writers take Notice of the Vengeance of Heaven upon the covetous Duke of *Auſtria* and the Emperor; that the former was puniſh'd with ſeveral Plagues and Calamities in his Country, of which he was ſo far from being ſenſible, that he preſs'd more earneſtly for the Payment of the reſt of King *Richard*'s Ranſom, threatning the Hoſtages with Death, if it was not ſpeedily diſcharg'd. Upon which one of them, call'd *Baldwin de Betune*, was by Conſent ſent over into *England*, to remind the King of his Articles; and he compaſſionating the Caſe of his Hoſtages, immediately diſpatch'd this *Baldwin* with his Niece *Eleanor*, to be marry'd to the Duke of *Auſtria*'s Son; but before their Arrival the Duke by a Fall from his Horſe broke his Leg, and brought himſelf to a tedious and miſerable End. Finding his Death certain, in a penitent Manner he commanded the Hoſtages to be diſcharg'd, and the Remainder of the Mony to be remitted; to which his Son not being willing to comply, the Clergy of that Country would not permit the Duke's Body to be bury'd, 'till he had perform'd his Father's Will. As to the Emperor, he to carry on an evil Deſign, did afterwards remit ſome Part of the Ranſom; yet he was purſu'd by many Troubles, and by the Pope excommunicated upon King *Richard*'s Account. At length falling into a great Fit of Sickneſs in *Sicily*, he ſent his Chancellor a Biſhop to King *Richard*, to deſire his Pardon, promiſing Reſtitution of what he had taken for his Ranſom: But before he could arrive and deliver his Meſſage, the Emperor dy'd under that Sentence at *Meſſina.* Nor were the King of *England*'s Afflictions unprofitable to him; for they gave him Occaſion to reform his Life, taking home his Queen *Berengaria*, whoſe Society he had a long Time neglected, tho' ſhe was a virtuous, wiſe and beautiful Lady, who for the Love of him had ventur'd her Perſon with him through the World.

IV. King *Richard* having happily recover'd both his Liberty and Kingdom, repair'd to the great Abby of St. *Edmund*'s-*Bury*, where in performance of his Vow he offer'd up the rich Imperial Standard, taken from *Iſaac* King of *Cyprus.* From thence he march'd into ſeveral Parts of the Nation, and took in by Surrender ſuch Caſtles as the Adherents of his Brother *John* had held out againſt him; but for *Henry de Pomeroy*, who had fortify'd St. *Michael*'s *Mount* againſt him, finding that the King was certainly return'd, he dy'd with Grief and Fear. And now the forty Days of Summons being expired, which were allow'd to Earl *John*, *Hugh* Biſhop of *Coventry*, and others, for making their Appearance to anſwer to ſuch heinous Crimes as were alledg'd againſt them; and they not appearing, *John* in particular was caſt by the Peers and States of *England*, and not only diſinherited of all his Lands he then held in *England*, but alſo of all Honours which he expected to enjoy after the King's Deceaſe:

Earl John *depriv'd of his Inheritance.*

The Biſhop of *Coventry* and others met with Cenſures according to their Offences, and the Uſage of thoſe Times. After which King *Richard* proceeded to draw in Mony more voraciouſly than was agreeable to ſo great a Man; particularly by reſuming thoſe Crown Lands he had formerly ſold to others, pretending that they were only mortgag'd and not ſold outright; in which, ſays *M. Paris*, he is rather to be pardon'd than accus'd, ſince he then wanted a powerful Army againſt the *French*. But firſt of all to wipe away the Sorrow and Contumely of his late Reſtraint, he caus'd himſelf to be crown'd again at the City of *Wincheſter*; which Solemnity was honour'd by the Preſence of *William* King of the *Scots*, who bore the Sword before the King of *England*.

The King crown'd a ſecond Time at Wincheſter.

From whence aroſe a great Affection between theſe two Princes; and *Richard* granted to the other, and his Succeſſors of *Scotland*, a fix'd Penſion, and ſeveral other Allowances and Princely Attendants, from the firſt Day of their Friendly Entrance into *England* 'till their Return. The King likewiſe caus'd a new Broad Seal to be made, requiring that all Charters granted under his former ſhould be confirm'd by this, which rais'd great Sums to the Exchequer, ſubſcribing ſuch renew'd Charters thus, *This was the Tenor of our Charter under our firſt Seal, which becauſe it was loſt, and in the Time of our Captivity in the Power of another, we cauſe to chang'd*, &c. Some have obſerv'd as *Richard* was the firſt *Engliſh* King, who bore Arms on his Seals, ſo he was the firſt who carry'd in his Shield three Lions paſſant, born ever after for the Royal Arms of *England*.

The King having been about two Months in *England*, and at Dinner Time receiving News that *Vernvil* in *Normandy* was beſieg'd by the *French* King, *Walſingham* tells us, that the King ſwore *he would never turn his Face 'till he had gotten over to the* French *Army*; and accordingly caus'd the Wall to be cut through, never reſting 'till with a hundred great Ships he paſs'd the Sea into *Normandy*, where the fame of his Approach caus'd the *French* King to raiſe the Siege, and without Sight of his valiant Enemy, retire with Shame and Loſs.

He goes into France.

Nor was this King's Clemency leſs than his Courage, as appears from his ready receiving Earl *John* into Favour, thorough the Mediation of his Mother *Eleanor*, and his generous ſaying to him, *I wiſh I may as eaſily forget your Offence, as I doubt you will my Pardon of it.* Afterwards he reſtor'd him to all his Honours and Poſſeſſions; and *John* was ſo mindful of the King's Admonition, that he ever after ſerv'd him faithfully and valiantly in all his Wars againſt the King of *France*.

Earl John *reſtored.*

After ſeveral Skirmiſhes, Burning of Towns, taking of Priſoners, and inferior Acts of Hoſtility, the two main Armies drew near to each other at *Vendoſme*; where early in a Morning King *Philip* ſent a Meſſage to our King, *That he would give him a Viſit with his Army that Day*; to which *Richard* return'd Anſwer, *He would expect him, and if he did not perform his Promiſe, he would the next Morning return his kind Intentions, and make the Viſit to him.* Notwithſtanding this Overture, the *French* King thought fit to retire, which he did with ſuch Precipitation and Fear, that great Numbers of his Men were kill'd and taken Priſoners by the *Engliſh*, and all the Waggons and Baggage, with a great Treaſure, fell into their Hands. The King's portable Chapel was alſo taken, and the Charters of all thoſe Vaſſals of the King of *England* who had confederated with King *Philip* and Earl *John*; to which *Mezeray* adds, that this Prince carrying with him the ancient Records of the Crown, they were all taken by the *Engliſh*, and loſt, to the great Damage of the King's Affairs, as well as the Hiſtory of thoſe Times.

Richard *obtains a great Victory over the* French *King.*

A.D. 1195. Reg. $\frac{6}{7}$.

This Victory produc'd a Year's Truce; before the Expiration of which, King *Philip*, to ſave the Effuſion of Blood, by Ambaſſadors propos'd *To decide the Controverſie between them by five ſelect Combatants on each Side, and the vanquiſh'd Party to ſubmit to the Terms agreed on before they began.* To which Propoſal King *Richard* reply'd, *That he well approv'd of it, provided the King of* France *would be the fifth Man on one ſide, and he himſelf would be ſo on the other:* Which Meſſage being carry'd to King *Philip*, he would not agree to it, ſo the Propoſal became ineffectual.

His Anſwer to the French *King.*

As theſe Paſſages ſhew the Courage, ſo another ſhews the Piety of this Prince: About this Time he was admoniſh'd by a poor Hermit to remember the Subverſion of *Sodom*, and to abſtain from unlawful Luſts; which at firſt the King ſlighted, as coming from a deſpicable Perſon, but at length being viſited with a great Sickneſs, he ſent for ſeveral Religious Men, and freely confeſs'd himſelf guilty of that unnatural Impurity. And after his Recovery he betook himſelf to his Queen, became very charitable, and bountifully reliev'd the Poor at his Court, and reſtor'd all the Gold and Silver Veſſels which for his Ranſom had been taken from the Churches.

His Piety.

In the mean Time *England* was extreamly infeſted by Robbers, Thieves and Outlaws; for the ſuppreſſing of whom, *Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and chief Juſticiary of the Nation, was very diligent and ſerviceable.

England *infeſted with Robbers.*

Among theſe we are told of a famous Man call'd *Robin Hood*, accompany'd with another call'd *Little John*, and a hundred ſtrong Bow-Men, who in *Yorkſhire* moleſted all Paſſengers upon the High-Way. Some ſay he was of a great Family, and made no leſs noble than an Earl for ſome conſiderable Service; but having waſted his Eſtate in riotous Courſes, Penury forc'd him to ſerve his Neceſſities in robbing others: Yet in this he was generouſly rapacious; for he never hurt either Man or Woman; ſpar'd the Poor, and made a Prey only of the Rich; 'till Proclamations being iſſu'd out againſt him, he fell ſick at a Nunnery in *Yorkſhire* call'd *Birkleys*, and deſiring to be let Blood, was betray'd and bled to Death.

A.D. 1196. Reg. $\frac{7}{8}$.

A Sedition in London.

About the ſame Time the City of *London* was exceedingly afflicted by the ſeditious Behaviour of a Citizen, vulgarly call'd *William Longbeard*, who by his natural Eloquence, his popular Arts, and his Undertaking the Cauſe of the Poor, had procur'd a mighty Veneration from great Numbers of the ordinary Sort. After ſeveral turbulent Practices, he rais'd ſuch a Tumult about a Tax, which he pretended was unequally laid, that in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard many were ſlain, and the whole City was in great Danger; 'till at length by the Care and Management of Arch-Biſhop *Hubert*, *William* and his chief Accomplices were forc'd to fly into *Bow*-Church, where they fortify'd themſelves for ſome time; but being driven out by Fire and Smoke, he and eight of his Companions were executed at *Tyburn*, and hung up in Chains, which put an end to the Sedition.

Several Actions in France.

But to return to King *Richard* and his Affairs beyond Sea, there paſs'd ſeveral Interchanges between the *Engliſh* and *French*, ſometimes of Wars with Plunderings and Devaſtations, and ſometimes of Truces with Interviews and Parlies; in one of which the Lady *Alice*, King *Philip*'s Siſter, was reſtor'd according to the Treaty of *Meſſina* to her Brother, who immediately marry'd her to *John* Earl of *Pontif*. In the mean Time both the Kings ſought to augment the Number of their Friends; but King *Richard* by his Munificence, and other Methods, drew from the *French* King a great Party of his neareſt Neighbours, as *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, *Raimund* Earl of *Tholouſe*, to whom King *Richard* gave his Siſter *Joan* Queen of *Sicily*. So that King *Philip* was oblig'd to truſt wholly to his own Power and Intereſt; for tho' he had lately marry'd the Siſter of the King of *Denmark*, purpoſely to uſe the *Daniſh* Shipping againſt the *Engliſh*; yet immediately after his Marriage, upon Pretence of Conſanguinity, ſhe was divorc'd, and the Benefit of the Alliance loſt.

A.D. 1197. Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$.

In one of theſe military Actions the Biſhop of *Beauvais*, who was alſo an Earl and of Royal Blood, was taken Priſoner by King *Richard*'s Party; and being long detain'd in that Condition, he ſent Letters to the Pope complaining, That he was made Priſoner by the King of *England*, and loaded with Irons, contrary to his Order and Dignity. Upon which the Pope wrote to King *Richard*, expoſtulating with him, *Why he detain'd his dear Brother and Son the Biſhop?* The other in anſwer immediately ſent to the Pope the Biſhop's Armour in which he was taken, and likewiſe a Letter with this Paſſage in it, *Holy Father, will you be pleas'd to ſee whether this is your Son's Coat, or not?* Upon this the Pope return'd the Biſhop a long Letter to this Effect;

The Pope writes to King Richard. *His Anſwer*

'*That he had put on the Armour of a Soldier, inſtead of the Habit of a Prieſt:* And tho' the King of *France* had been bound by Oath to do no Damage to the King of *England*'s Dominions during his Pilgrimage, yet he had ſhamefully, againſt his Faith and Oath, taken his Towns and waſted his Territories; the Equity of whoſe Cauſe fought for him againſt the Arrogance and Injuries of the *French* King. That he, the Biſhop, was not only an imprudent Adviſer, but an Inſolent Actor in this unlawful Conteſt: Concluding thus, *That he could only ſupplicate the King of* England *in his Behalf, for in ſuch a Caſe he neither could, nor ought to command.* The Biſhop finding no Aſſiſtance from the Pope, was conſtrain'd in the following Year to give ten thouſand Marks for his Liberty.

While

A. D. 1198. Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$.

A great Victory over the French.

King Ri- chard's *Valour.*

A. D. 1199. Reg. 10.

A Treaty between the two Kings.

While theſe ſeveral Hoſtilities paſs'd between the *Engliſh* and the *French*, the King of *England* increas'd his Party by new Confederates, as *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, the Duke of *Lovain*, with the Earls of *Guienne*, *Bulloign*, *Perche* and *Blois*, and ſeveral others; and *Hoveden* tells us of the *French* King's being three ſeveral Times in a ſhort Space repuls'd with Loſs and Diſhonour by King *Richard*; having alſo the Misfortune to loſe St. *Omers*, *Air*, and other Towns taken by *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, beſides the Waſte of the *French* Dominions by ſeveral Invaſions. But the greateſt of the three Victories was the ſecond, which King *Richard* gain'd between *Curcel* and *Giſors*, where the King of *France* himſelf in great Hazard of his Life fell into the River *Ept*, the Bridge breaking under him with the Weight of the Multitudes that fled before the *Engliſh* Lion. This was a glorious Victory; for beſides a long Catalogue of great Names extant in Authors, there were taken above a hundred Knights with their Horſes, Footmen without Number and other inferior Soldiers, two hundred great Horſe, of which one hundred and forty had Barbs and Capariſons arm'd with Iron. King *Richard* in his own Perſon did Wonders, and by the Force of his own Lance overthrew three valiant Knights, *Matthew Monmorancy*, *Alan de Ruſci*, and *Fulk de Giberval*, and took them Priſoners. The ancient Motto of *DIEU ET MON DROIT* is attributed firſt to this King, who in his Letters aſcrib'd this Victory not to himſelf but to *God and his Right*. The War continuing ſtill, many virtuous Men labour'd to make a final Agreement; and the new Pope *Innocent*, having proclaim'd a new *Cruſado*, ſent a Cardinal to reconcile the two mighty Kings of *France* and *England*. At length Articles of Peace were drawn up; but *Richard* having the Advantage in the Field, was not in haſte to conclude them; therefore deferr'd it 'till his Return from *Poictou*, whither he went to chaſtiſe ſome Rebel Subjects, tho' ſome ſay he did then conclude the Peace. At this Interview or Treaty, King *Philip*, the perpetual Sower of Diſcord, ſhew'd a Writing to King *Richard*, implying That his Brother *John* had come over to the *French* Party; upon which *Richard*, in a great Paſſion, order'd him to be diſſeiz'd of all his Territories. Which when Earl *John* underſtood, and the Reaſon of it, he immediately ſent two Knights to the *French* Court, who bravely undertook to defend his Honour and Innocence againſt all Accuſers; but when neither that King, nor any other would undertake the Cauſe, King *Richard* for the future put more Confidence in his Brother, and gave leſs Credit to the *French* King's Inſinuations.

The King wounded.

His Death.

Not long after this Treaty the King's Avarice was the Occaſion of his Death; for *Vidomar* Viſcount of *Limoſin*, having found a great Treaſure of Gold in his Land, ſent a large Part of it to the King; but not being content with that, he demanded the whole as *Treaſure Trove*, and his Prerogative. The Viſcount not yielding, the King in a Rage march'd with a ſtrong Army, and beſieg'd his Caſtle of *Chaluz*, in which he ſuppos'd the Treaſure was hid: But tho' the Knights and others in the Caſtle went out to him, and offer'd to ſurrender it, provided they might have their Lives, Limbs and Arms, yet the King would not conſent, but ſwore he would take the Caſtle and hang every Man; at which the Knights return'd much confounded, reſolving to defend themſelves to the utmoſt. Upon the ſame Day, the King taking a view of the Caſtle, a certain Croſs-Bow Man ſhot at him from the Wall, and gave him a deſperate Wound in the Shoulder joining to the Neck; upon which he immediately return'd to his Quarters, and order'd *Marchade* and his Army never to leave ſtorming the Caſtle 'till they took it, and then to hang up every Man except him who had wounded him. The King was put into the Hands of an unskilful Surgeon, who as he ſtrove to pull out the Arrow, left the Head in the Fleſh, which he ſo grievouſly mangled, that it turn'd to a Gangreen; and lying thus eleven Days in great Torment, and finding no Hopes of Recovery, he by his Will bequeath'd *England* and all his other Dominions to Earl *John* his Brother; leaving him three Parts of his Treaſure, and the fourth to be divided between his Servants and the Poor. A little before his Death, after great Devotion, he caus'd *Bertram*, who had given him his Death's Wound, to be brought before him, demanding of him *What Injury he had done him, that he ſhould kill him*? To whom the other roughly reply'd, *That he had kill'd his Father and his two Brothers with his own Hand, and was endeavouring to kill him, therefore he might take what Revenge he pleas'd; he was willing to endure any Torments, ſince he had ſlain him who had done ſo much Miſchief in the World.* The King, notwithſtanding this deſperate Anſwer, caus'd him to be ſet free, and not only gave him his Life, but a hundred Shillings beſides; but *Marchade*, after the King's Death, caus'd him to be flead alive, and hang'd. The King deceas'd upon the Sixth Day of *April*, and in the forty firſt Year of his Age, after a magnificent and tumultuous Reign of nine Years and nine Months. His Body was interr'd at *Fonteverard*, at the Feet of his Father, his Heart at *Roven*, and his Bowels at *Charron* in *Poictou*, as he had appointed himſelf, declaring, *That he had diſpos'd of the firſt to teſtifie his Repentance, for offending his Father; by the ſecond he ſhew'd his Eſteem for his valiant and loyal* Normans; *and by the third, the ſmall Value he had for the inconſtant and diſaffected* Poictovins.

His Character.

London divided into Companies.

This was the fatal End of the bold and magnanimous *Richard*, from his Qualities ſirnam'd *Cœur-de-Lion*; a Prince who had ſomewhat of the Fierceneſs and Brutality, as well as Courage and Bravery of that Creature; whoſe Diſloyalty to his Father was puniſh'd with innumerable Troubles in his Reign, and whoſe voracious Temper met with Death it ſelf. As to his Perſon he was very tall, of a fair and comely Viſage, his Eyes blue and ſparkling with Fire, his Hair between red and yellow, his Limbs ſtrait, of a noble and majeſtick Mein, that ſeem'd worthy of Empire. His Courage and Prowеſs was great beyond Exception; and ſo formidable to the *Saracens*, that it is ſaid they were wont to ſtill their crying Children, by telling them, *That King* Richard *was coming for them*; but withal he was fearleſs, violent and impetuous. He was very witty and eloquent, but with too great a Mixture of Pride and Arrogance; magnificent and liberal to exceſs, which occaſion'd him at other times to be as covetous and rapacious. He was noted for *Pride*, *Avarice* and *Luxury*, which were call'd his three Daughters; and being once urg'd to part with them, he in Rallery declar'd, *He would diſpoſe of the firſt to the Templars, the ſecond to the Monks, and the third to the Prelates.* Tho' he had many noble Qualifications, yet *England* ſuffer'd ſeverely under his Government, through the conſtant Occaſions he had for Mony, and the great Rapacity of his Juſticiaries, during his Abſence from *England*, where he never ſpent above eight Months of his whole Reign; ſo that his Subjects felt all the Inconveniencies of his Courage, without being much the better for that, or his other good Qualities in Time of Peace. It is obſervable, that he who had reviv'd the Uſe of that fatal Engine, the Croſs-Bow, and had himſelf diſpatch'd ſo many with it, now himſelf periſh'd by the ſame Inſtrument. In this King's Reign the City of *London* began firſt to receive the Form and State of a Common-wealth, and to be divided into Companies and Corporations as at this Day.

SECT. III.

The Reign of King JOHN.

Containing 17 *Years*, 7 *Months*, *and* 13 *Days.*

A. D. 1199. Reg. 1.

Earl John *endeavours for the Crown.*

His Nephew Arthur *ſets up againſt him in* France.

John *made Duke of* Normandy.

I. THE valiant King *Richard* being thus ſuddenly remov'd, Earl *John*, his ſole ſurviving Brother, now about thirty three Years of Age, immediately us'd all his Intereſt with *Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and others of the Nobility, to preſerve the Peace of *England* 'till he could come over; and with all Expedition went to *Chinon* in *Tourain* to ſecure his Brother's Treaſure, then in Cuſtody of *Robert de Turham*, who upon his Arrival deliver'd it up to him, together with the ſtrong Caſtles of *Chinon* and *Saumur*. But his Affairs did not ſo well ſucceed in other Parts; for the Provinces of *Anjou*, *Tourain* and *Main*, in a general Aſſembly of their chief Men, firmly adher'd to his Nephew *Arthur*, Duke of *Bretaign*, as their Sovereign Lord, declaring it *to be the Cuſtom of thoſe Territories to prefer the Elder Brother's Son before the Younger Brother.* In compliance to which Determination, all the Towns in thoſe Provinces were ſurrender'd to *Arthur*'s Uſe, except ſome few which Earl *John* had ſecur'd at firſt: Upon which the Lady *Conſtance*, Mother to young *Arthur*, carry'd him to the City of *Tours*, and deliver'd him in the thirteenth Year of his Age to the Cuſtody of the *French* King, who ſent him to be educated with his Son *Lewis* at *Paris*; and at the ſame Time poſſeſs'd himſelf of all his ſtrong Places and Caſtles, reſolving to make the young Heir ſubſervient to his ambitious Deſigns. Which unwelcome News caus'd Earl *John* immediately to march with a ſtrong Force into the Province of *Main*; where he ſoon took the City of *Mans*, and to ſhew his Revenge, and to be a Terror to other Places, he demoliſh'd the Walls of the City and Caſtle, with all the Store Houſes, and carry'd away the Citizens Priſoners, becauſe contrary to their Fealty ſworn to him, they had receiv'd *Arthur* for their Lord. From thence he went to *Roven* in *Normandy*, where on the twenty fifth Day of *April*, in the Cathedral Church, he was girt with the Sword of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and a Coronet adorn'd with golden Roſes was put upon his Head by the Arch-Biſhop of that City; after which, in the Preſence of the Clergy and Laity, he took an Oath upon the

Holy Goſpels and Relicks of the Saints, ‘ *To preſerve the ‘ Holy Church, with all her Privileges and Dignities, to ‘ adminiſter true Juſtice, to abrogate evil Laws, and to ordain ſuch as were good.*

The Peers of England *acknowledge* John.

John comes to be crowned in England.

The Arch-Biſhop's Speech.

While theſe Affairs were tranſacting beyond Sea, *Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William* the Earl-Marſhal, caus'd all the Free-Men of the Kingdom of *England*, both of Cities and Boroughs, as alſo the Earls, Barons and Free-Tenants, to ſwear Fealty to *John* the Son of King *Henry* againſt all Men: Yet ſtill all the Biſhops, Earls and Barons who had Caſtles, fortify'd and ſtor'd them with Victuals and Ammunition; being either not well ſatisfy'd with Earl *John*'s Title, or elſe ſuſpecting the Effects of his changeable and imperious Humour. Upon Notice of this, the Arch-Biſhop, with the Earl-Marſhal and chief Juſticiary met at *Northampton*, and there ſummon'd thoſe of the Nobility they moſt ſuſpected, whom they ſatisfy'd by aſſuring them, *That Earl* John *would certainly reſtore to every one their Right*; upon which Condition or Agreement, the Earls and Barons renew'd their Oaths of Fealty to *John*, and engag'd to ſerve him faithfully againſt all Oppoſers. In the mean Time the Earl, now lately become a Duke, reſolv'd to take Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*, and landing in *Suſſex* on the twenty fifth Day of *May*, he immediately came up to *London* in order to his Coronation, where appear'd a noble Concourſe of Biſhops, Earls and Barons, who in moſt ſolemn Proceſſion attended him to the Abby Church in *Weſtminſter*. Here before the Solemnity was perform'd, *Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, having requir'd the Attention of his Audience, according to *M. Paris* made this Speech. *No Man has a Right to ſucceed in this Kingdom, unleſs, after ſeeking the Holy Spirit, he be firſt unanimouſly elected for the Excellency of his Manners by the general Body of the Kingdom, and anointed King after the Example of* Saul, *whom God ſet over his People, tho' he was neither a King's Son, nor deſcended of Royal Blood; and after him* David *the Son of* Jeſſe; *the one becauſe he was valiant and brave, the other becauſe he was pious and humble; ſo that he who ſurpaſs'd others in Valour and Virtue, might exceed them in Dignity and Power. Therefore if any one of the Family of the deceas'd King excels the reſt, we ought moſt readily to conſent to his Election; and this we ſpeak in favour of the noble Duke* John *here preſent, Brother to our illuſtrious King* Richard, *who dy'd without Iſſue of his Body: This Duke being prudent and valiant, as well in reſpect of his Merits as of his Royal Blood, with the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, we do unanimouſly elect King.*

John *is elected King.*

and crowned.

Here our Author obſerves, that the Arch-Biſhop was a Man of a deep Foreſight, and ſo eminent for Conſtancy and Wiſdom, that none durſt diſpute what he ſaid, knowing that he had not without good Cauſe thus determin'd the Matter; with which Speech Duke *John* and the reſt acquieſc'd, and all unanimouſly electing and receiving him for their King, cry'd out, *Long may the King live!* But the Arch-Biſhop being afterwards ask'd why he made ſuch a Speech, anſwer'd, *That he was fully aſſur'd by certain remarkable Preſages, that King* John *would bring the Kingdom and Crown into great Confuſion; therefore to put ſome Reſtraint upon his Temper, he had affirm'd, That he ought to come in by Election, and not by Hereditary Succeſſion.* This Election being over, the Arch-Biſhop plac'd the Crown upon the King's Head with the uſual Ceremonies, notwithſtanding the Biſhop of *Durham* appeal'd againſt it, becauſe of the Abſence of the Arch-Biſhop of *York*. Then the Coronation Oath was adminiſtred, conſiſting of theſe three Heads, ‘ *That he would cheriſh the Holy Church, and all the Clergy, and preſerve her from the Violence of her Enemies*; ‘ *That all evil Laws being abrogated, he would eſtabliſh ſuch ‘ as were good; That he would exerciſe true Juſtice through‘ out the Kingdom of* England: And he was further adjured by the Arch-Biſhop, *That he ſhould not preſume to undertake this Dignity, unleſs he reſolv'd to fulfil what he had now ſworn*; to whom he anſwer'd, *That he would by the Aſſiſtance of God obſerve all thoſe Things he had promis'd*; and on the next Day, having receiv'd the Homage and Fealties of the Nobility, he went to pay his Devotion at St. *Alban*'s Shrine. On the ſame Day, to reward thoſe who had lifted him into the Throne, he made *William Mareſchal* and *Geoffry Fitz-Peter*, Earls of *Pembroke* and *Eſſex*, and the Arch-Biſhop Lord High Chancellor of *England*; who ſeeming to glory in this Addition of Honour, was told by the Lord *Bardulf*, *That the Height of the Archiepiſcopal Dignity was ſuch, that it was ever reputed a great Advancement for a Chancellor to be made an Arch-Biſhop, but none for an Arch-Biſhop to be made a Chancellor.*

The King's Enemies now found Opportunities to diſturb his Affairs abroad, while he was ſettling thoſe at home; for the *French* King eaſily ſurpriz'd the City of *Eureux* in *Normandy*, and recover'd the County of *Main*, while the *Britains* regain'd the City of *Angiers*, with many other ſtrong Places The News of which caus'd King *John*, after ſettling ſome Preliminaries with the *Scotch* King, to haſten into *Normandy*, where his Army was ſo much encreas'd by Friends and Volunteers, that King *Philip* was content to accept of a Truce for fifty Days, upon on the expiring of which an Interview was agreed on to eſtabliſh a laſting Peace. But for ſecuring his Deſigns, *Philip* the very Day before the Meeting knighted Earl *Arthur*, and receiving his Homage for *Bretaign*, *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Tourain*, and *Main*, faithfully promis'd to yield him all Aſſiſtance for the acquiring thoſe Territories. On the other ſide King *John* ſtrengthen'd himſelf with the Alliance and Homage of *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*; and after the ſixteenth Day of *Auguſt* treated with the *French* King two Days by Commiſſioners, and on the third in Perſon, between the Towns of *Butivant* and *Gaillon*. At this Treaty *Philip* demanded all the *Norman Veuxin* for himſelf, alledging, That *Geoffry*, Father to King *Henry* II, had given it to *Lewis* the late King of *France*, for his Aſſiſtance in gaining *Normandy* from King *Stephen*; and further demanded, that *Poictou*, *Anjou*, *Tourain* and *Main* might be deliver'd to Earl *Arthur*; and made divers other unreaſonable Demands, to which the King of *England* could not in Honour condeſcend, ſo that their intended Amities ended in more hoſtile Defiances. But *Philip*'s Demands for young *Arthur* were only Complements to that Earl, as his own Words diſcover'd, when being afterwards ask'd, *Why he entertain'd ſuch an Averſion to King* John, *who had never injur'd him?* his Anſwer was, *Becauſe he had poſſeſs'd himſelf of* Normandy, *and the other Territories, without firſt asking him Leave, or offering Homage to him:* So much did King *Philip* now aſſume to himſelf, above what any of his Predeceſſors had done before.

The King of France *ſets up* Arthur *againſt him.*

Several Hoſtilities between the Kings of France *and* England.

The Flames on both Sides breaking out the ſtronger for being ſo much ſtifled, many Earls and Barons of *France* who formerly adhered to King *Richard*, now became Homagers to King *John*, ſwearing never to return to King *Philip* without his Conſent, and he ſwearing never to make Peace without including them in the Articles. In the Heat of the Conteſts, a chief Adherent of the Earl of *Flanders*, being Biſhop Elect of *Cambray*, fell into the Hands of the *French* King, and at the ſame Time *Philip* Biſhop of *Beauvois* was detain'd Priſoner by King *John*; and neither of theſe Kings being willing to releaſe their miter'd Champions, *Peter* of *Capua* the Pope's Legate interdicted *France* for the one, and *Normandy* for the other. Yet King *John* obtain'd the Favour of the Pope to require ſix thouſand Marks from his Prize, with an Oath never to bear Arms againſt Chriſtians. In *October* the King of *France* ſeiz'd the Caſtle of *Balun*, and demoliſh'd it; which was highly reſented by Earl *Arthur*'s General *William de la Roche*, who expoſtulating with him, as being contrary to Covenants with his Maſter, *Philip* ſcornfully reply'd, *That his Lord* Arthur'*s Diſlike ſhould not hinder him from doing what he thought fit with ſuch Places as he had taken*; and then went and beſieg'd *Laverdin:* But hearing the King of *England* was coming to relieve it, he left the Siege, and marched to *Mans*; King *John* follow'd him, and he alſo quitted that Place. In the mean Time, Earl *Arthur*'s General finding that his Maſter was only made a Mask for *Philip*'s Ambition, by Subtlety got him out of his Cuſtody, and reconcil'd him to his Uncle King *John*, to whom he alſo deliver'd the City of *Mans*, of which he was Governor. Yet ſtill this Deſign prov'd unſucceſsful, for ſome of *Philip*'s Party infus'd ſuch needleſs Terrors of Impriſonment into *Arthur* and his Mother, that being overcome with jealous Apprehenſions, they fled, together with many other Noblemen, to the City of *Angiers*, and from thence return'd again to the King of *France*; ſo that *Arthur* being neither ſure to *John* nor *Philip*, was now in danger of being cruſh'd between both thoſe powerful Monarchs.

A. D. 1120.

Reg. ½.

A Treaty between them.

The Breach between theſe two Kings ſeem'd the more dangerous, becauſe King *John*'s Nephew *Otho*, juſt now advanc'd to the Empire, promis'd him great Aſſiſtance, if he would defer making Peace with the *French* King. Yet ſtill *Peter*, the Pope's Legate, who had formerly procur'd a five Years Truce between King *Richard* and *Philip*, by his aſſiduous Mediation ſo far prevail'd, that the ſame Truce ſhould continue till the Feaſt of St. *Hilary*. After which King *John* through his Weakneſs was led into a diſadvantagious and diſhonourable Treaty, in which it was agreed, That *Lewis* the *French* King's Son ſhould marry King *John*'s Niece *Blanche*, Daughter to *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*; that King *John* ſhould give for her Dowry the City and County of *Eureux*, with ſeveral ſtrong Places in *Normandy*, beſides thirty thouſand Marks of Silver; ſwearing alſo not aſſiſt his Nephew *Otho* either with Men or Mony towards his Eſtabliſhment in the Empire; and further promiſing, if he dy'd without Iſſue, to leave to *Lewis* all the Territories he held in *France*. All which Articles were formally engroſs'd, and afterwards finally concluded about

Midſummer, between *Butavant* and *Gulatun*, two Caſtles belonging to either King; when the Places were actually ſurrender'd to King *Philip*, the Lady *Blanche* marry'd to his Son *Lewis*, and Earl *Arthur* yielded up, and made a Servant and Homager to King *John* for his own Dominions, whom yet his Uncle was ſatiſfy'd to leave with King *Philip*, who had only ſupported him for his own Advantage. In theſe Matters King *John* prov'd more firm to King *Philip*, than either *Philip* to him, or he himſelf to *Otho* the Emperor, who ſending his two Brothers *Henry* and *William* to demand ſome Territories, with ſuch Treaſure and Jewels as King *Richard* had given him by Will, King *John* deny'd all, only in Regard of his Oath he had ſworn to *Philip*, that he would yield no Aſſiſtance to the Emperor. And further, to preſerve a moſt intire Amity with *Philip*, by his Advice he divorc'd his Wife *Aviſe*, upon Pretence of Conſanguinity, and marry'd *Iſabell*, Heireſs to *Aymer* Earl of *Engoleſme*, a beautiful young Lady, but contracted to the Earl of *Marche*, who afterwards prov'd a dangerous and implacable Enemy to him.

Taxes raiſed.

The King crowned a ſecond Time.

II. This Agreement with *Philip*, who now acknowledg'd King *John* rightful Heir to his Brother *Richard*, gave him Leave and Opportunity to reduce all Oppoſers in his tranſmarine Dominions, and ſoon after to return and inſpect the Affairs of his Kingdom of *England*, from which had been ſomewhat too long abſent. Yet in the Heat of the foreign Imployments, he on occaſion had recourſe thither to ſettle his State Affairs and Crown Revenues, to enact Laws for Trade and Commerce, to raiſe a Tax for his Niece's great Dowry, and military Occaſions; which Tax, being three Shillings upon every Plough-Land, occaſion'd great Heats and Prejudices, tho' it was the only Subſidy ſince his coming to the Crown: And this chiefly by the Means of his natural Brother *Geoffry* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who being ſwell'd with the Greatneſs of his Family and Preferment, directly forbad the Collectors to come within his Precincts; and being alſo requir'd by the King to attend him in *France*, to conclude the Peace and celebrate the Nuptials of his Niece, he undutifully deny'd his Service. The King, juſtly mov'd with theſe diſloyal Actions, caus'd all his Temporalities to be ſeiz'd by his Sheriff, whom the Arch-Biſhop ſolemnly excommunicated, offer'd Violence to the King's Officers, and proceeded ſo far as to interdict the whole Province of *York*. Notwithſtanding this, not long after, upon the King's Return, and *Geoffry*'s Submiſſion, he was reſtor'd to Favour at a very ſolemn Time, which was at the Coronation of King *John*'s Queen *Iſabella*, with whom the King himſelf was a ſecond Time formally crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by *Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*.

He goes to Lincoln.

Treats with the King of Scotland.

This Solemnity being over, the King reſolv'd to end a depending Controverſie between him and *William* King of *Scotland*, who had claim'd the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland* as his ancient Right of Inheritance; and accordingly he ſent an honourable Embaſſie of ſeveral of the Nobility to conduct him ſafely to the City of *Lincoln*, where both Kings met upon the twenty firſt Day of *November*, with all the Marks of Civility and Courteſie. The next Day, to promote his Temporal Affairs by ſpiritual Devotions, King *John*, tho' diſſuaded by the ominous Pretenſions of ſome about him, undauntedly enter'd the Cathedral Church, and there offer'd a Golden Chalice on St. *John*'s Altar, which, according to our Author, no King before him durſt do. Theſe Devotions ended, the two Kings with great Pomp and Magnificence aſcending that high Hill on the North Side of the City, ſince call'd *Bore-Hill*, ſwore Amity and faithful Alliance upon the Croſier of Arch-Biſhop *Hubert*, in the Preſence of three Arch-Biſhops, thirteen Biſhops, the King of *South Wales*, with a Multitude of *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, *French* and *Iriſh* Nobility. This Spectacle ſo ſplendid to the Beholders was ſucceeded by another no leſs honourable to King *John*, occaſion'd by the Arrival of the Corps of the pious Prelate *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, a Perſon ſo juſtly honour'd by his Majeſty, that when his Body was brought to the Gates of *Lincoln*, he and all his Regal Train went forth to meet it: And to ſhew his Reſpect and Humility, he with the two Kings and their Allies bore the Coffin upon their Shoulders, from whom the great Peers receiv'd it, and carry'd it to the Entrance of the Cathedral, whence the three Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops convey'd it to the Choir, and interr'd it the next Day with all anſwerable Solemnities. Nor did the King reſt here in ſhewing his Reſpect and Kindneſs to Eccleſiaſticks; when twelve Abbots of the *Ciſtertian* Order, whoſe whole Society had highly offended him in refuſing the late Tax, now came to *Lincoln*, and all proſtrate at his Feet begg'd his Mercy and the Removal of the Puniſhments laid upon them; this Sight of theſe venerable Supplicants ſo affected his Heart, that he fell at their Feet, deſir'd their Forgiveneſs, reſtor'd them to his Favour, and after that founded an Abby for their Order in *Hampſhire* call'd *Beaulieu*, deſigning to be enſhrin'd there himſelf, and making it a Refuge and Aſylum for the greateſt Offenders.

The firſt Breaches between the King and Clergy.

A. D. 1201. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

The King crown'd a third Time.

Notwithſtanding all outward Kindneſs and Obligations, a dangerous Breach now began to be open'd between the King and the Clergy, occaſion'd by the increaſing Power of the latter, who being ſupported by the mighty Authority of the Pope inſiſted upon Exemption from Regal Commands, and daily retrench'd the Royal Prerogative. This he found in a ſhort Time; for when he came to nominate a Succeſſor to *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, according to the Uſage of his Anceſtors, he was with peremptory Affronts withſtood by the Canons of that Church, who as long as they had the Pope in their Intereſt, little regarded the Commands of their Prince. Likewiſe *Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, being now diſappointed, and repenting that he had advanced *John* to the Crown, as Legate to the Pope held a general Synod of all the Biſhops and Clergy at *Weſtminſter*, notwithſtanding the poſitive Prohibition of the King's chief Juſticiary; which is one of the firſt Examples of that independent Power the Arch-Biſhops and other Legates from the Pope ever after uſurp'd, till the Reformation, of holding Eccleſiaſtical Synods, and making Canons by their ſole Authority, without the King's Licence or Confirmation. Nor did *Hubert* ceaſe here, but ſhortly after endeavour'd to outvy with his Sovereign in Magnificence; for underſtanding that the King deſign'd to keep the Feaſt of *Chriſtmas* with his Queen at *Guilford* with great Pomp and Solemnity; he, whoſe Palace uſually for Splendor, Attendants, and Entertainments exceeded that of ſome Princes, thought this a proper Time to manifeſt his great State and ſmall Regard to his King's Favour, by equalling his own Sumptuous Preparations to his, with his rich Habits and munificent Gifts beſtow'd upon his Attendants at *Canterbury*. The King mov'd with no ſmall Indignation, concluded this Prelate had too much Riches, or too little Diſcretion; and therefore to diminiſh the one, and add to the other, after a Journey into the North to raiſe Mony, he reſolv'd to go to *Canterbury*, and keep his *Eaſter* at the Charge of *Hubert the Rich*. Here he encreas'd that great Expence with a greater, which was his and his Queen's ſolemn crowning again on *Eaſter* Day, in the Cathedral Church; where in lieu of the Expence, *Hubert* had the Honour to ſet the Crown upon the King's Head, but not the Favour to ſit near his Heart.

The firſt Breaches between the King and the Lay Peers.

A new Treaty between the Kings of England *and* France.

Such were the firſt Conteſts between the King and the Clergy, which afterwards broke out into a more dangerous Flame; which the Lay Peers were ſo far from extinguiſhing, that they made it fiercer than before. For miſliking either his Title or his Temper, they reſolv'd upon the firſt Opportunity to ſhew their Reſentments: which happen'd in a ſhort Time after his laſt Coronation, when the King had occaſion for their Service againſt the *Poictovins* in *France*, who had rebell'd and beſieg'd their Governors in their Caſtles. The King having ſummon'd them to appear with their Arms at *Portſmouth* by *Whitſontide*, the whole Body of the Nobility held a ſolemn Aſſembly at *Leiceſter*, and after a formal Conſultation, ſent this Meſſage to the King, *That they would not go over with him, unleſs he would firſt reſtore to them their ancient Rights.* Which ſo provoked the King, that inſtead of complying with their Demands, by the precipitate Advice of ſome, he impoliticklydemanded of them their Caſtles as Pledges of their Fidelity; particularly he took the Caſtle *Beavoir* into his Hands, with the Children of ſome of them. Yet it appears that moſt of them were at laſt prevail'd upon to go with him, and being aſſembled at *Portſmouth*, he took Mony of the greateſt Part of them to be excus'd, and permitted them to return home; *M. Paris* ſays it was two Marks out of each Knight's Fee. In the mean Time the King ſent *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Roger Lacy*, with two diſtinct Bodies of Men into *Normandy*, to repel the Enemy on the Borders of that Province; and alſo intruſted *Hubert de Burgh* his Chamberlain with another Body to defend the Borders of *England* and *Wales*. And that he might give no Cauſe of Diſcontent to the Clergy, and prevent all Obſtructions in raiſing of Mony, he fully reconcil'd himſelf to *Geoffry* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, reſtor'd all his Manors, and by a Charter confirm'd all the Privileges and Immunities of that Church. Having ſettled his Affairs in *England*, he paſs'd over into *France*, where King *Philip* agreed to a perſonal but private Parly; in which each gave and receiv'd ſuch reciprocal Marks of Satisfaction, that not only the former Bonds of Amity ſeem'd inviolable, but were alſo more ſtrengthen'd with a new Aſſociation, wherein ſeveral great Peers were made Sureties under Hand and Seal, with this Condition, that when either of the Kings broke the Articles, all his cautionary Lords ſhould be freed from their Allegiance, and join with the other. And that the World might take notice of their combin'd Friendſhip, they both agreed to contribute the fortieth Part of their whole Crown Revenues to the Holy Wars; ſending their Letters throughout their Dominions, to incourage all their Nobles and People

to

King John *highly complimented.*

to follow their Examples. With theſe Intercourſes and other Complements, three Days were ſpent between them; and King *Philip*, the further to inſinuate himſelf into the other's good Opinion, deſir'd the Favour of his Company, firſt to St. *Denis*'s Palace, where he enter'd with a pompous Proceſſion of the Clergy, and was royally lodg'd by King *Philip*; and the next Day he enter'd *Paris*, where he was receiv'd with very noble Preſents from the City, and great Applauſes of all Sorts, to ſee ſuch Marks of Affection between two ſuch great Princes, ſo lately mortal Enemies. Here the *French* King betaking himſelf to a more private Manſion, left his own Palace to honour and accommodate the King of *England*; and after ſome Days Continuance in magnificent Diverſions and Entertainments, King *John* royally attended out of the City, took his leave of King *Philip*, with ſuch Signs of mutual Satisfaction, that nothing could have appear'd more laſting than their Alliance and Amity.

A. D. 1202. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

The French *King breaks with him.*

Hoſtilities begin.

But theſe fair Proſpects prov'd but of a ſhort Continuance; for while King *John* was paſſing his *Chriſtmas* at *Argenton*, in the beloved Company of his fair *Iſabell*, *Hugh* Earl of *Marche*, to whom that Lady was firſt promis'd, inflam'd with Love and Revenge, perſuaded ſeveral of the *Poictovin* Nobility, *That he was unworthy to be a King, who had thus injur'd him, and was ready to do the like by any of them.* Upon which young *Arthur*'s Hopes, which were grown cold, were now rekindled by theſe Incendiaries; the *Britains*, then faſcinated with his ominous Name, reſolv'd to raiſe him to the higheſt Pitch of Grandeur; and King *Philip*, who ſecretly hated King *John*, and continually graſp'd at his *French* Territories, deſign'd not to be backwards in their Aſſiſtance. Thus Earl *Hugh* out of Love, Duke *Arthur* out of Ambition, King *Philip* out of Avarice, and all out of Hatred, were conſpiring King *John*'s Ruin; while he himſelf was furtheſt from Suſpicion, when neareſt the Danger. But the Miſchiefs were ſoon diſclos'd in a ſecond Interview between the two Kings, in the Caſtle of *Guleton*; where *Philip* forgetting all former Compacts, and pretending ſome imaginary Wrongs, peremptorily requir'd *John* immediately to reſtore all his tranſmarine Dominions to *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*; otherwiſe as Sovereign Lord of thoſe Countries, which *John* held by Homage, he expreſly cited him to appear perſonally at *Paris* fifteen Days after *Eaſter*, there to anſwer what ſhould be laid to his Charge, and to abide the Judgment of the Court. King *John*, amaz'd at this ſtrange Propoſal and Alteration, diſdain'd both his Citation and Commands, as unworthy for *England*'s King to accept, or the *French* to offer. After this, we are told that King *John* for his Non-appearance was actually adjudg'd by the Peers of *France* to loſe his Territories in the Continent; however it is certain that upon his Refuſal of the *French* King's Demands, that Prince immediately invaded the King of *England*'s Territories, firſt levelling the ſtrong Caſtle of *Butavant*, and then taking the Town of *Ougi*, with the Caſtle of *Lymis*, and many other Places. He alſo beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Radford* eight Days, but hearing of King *John*'s Approach, he retir'd, and turn'd all his Forces againſt *Gorney*, where breaking down the Head of a large Pool above the Town, a great Part of the Walls were overthrown by the violent Fall of the Water, ſo that the Garriſon retiring, the King took the Town without any conſiderable Oppoſition.

King John *obtains a great Victory.*

Duke Arthur *made Priſoner.*

After theſe Advantages, *Philip* returning to *Paris*, appointed certain Tutors or Governors for Duke *Arthur*, and aſſign'd him two hundred Horſemen for his Guard, who were order'd to march with him into *Poictou*, to reduce thoſe Parts; but as he was marching thither in a mighty military Pomp, he was inform'd that the old Queen *Eleanor* was in *Mirabel*, which was but a weak Garriſon. Therefore knowing the Advantage of ſuch a Prize, he turn'd all his Forces thither, and inveſted the Place, ſoon forcing the outward Caſtle to ſurrender: But the Queen and ſome of the principal Soldiers retiring into a ſtrong inward Tower, there made a valiant Defence. This occaſion'd almoſt all the Noblemen and Knights of *Poictou*, and principally the Earl of *Marche*, King *John*'s inveterate Enemy, to come to Duke *Arthur*'s Aſſiſtance; ſo that they all together made a powerful Army, and reduc'd the Queen to great Straits. This being underſtood by her Son King *John*, he march'd with the utmoſt Expedition, Day and Night, and arriv'd ſooner than could be expected. The Effect of his Appearance was, that the *French* and *Poictovins* left the Siege to give him Battel, which prov'd highly ſucceſsful to King *John*, who after a great Slaughter put them to flight, and ſo cloſely preſs'd upon them, that he enter'd the outward Caſtle with them, where the Conflict was ſoon ended by the Valour and Bravery of the *Engliſh*. This was a glorious Victory, by the gaining of which two hundred *French* Knights were taken Priſoners, with Duke *Arthur* himſelf, the Earl of *Marche*, and moſt of the Nobility of *Poictou* and *Anjou*; who being put into Fetters, were ignominiouſly ſent away in Carts, ſome into *Normandy*, and others into *England*, there to be kept cloſe Priſoners. Duke *Arthur* was ſent into *Falaiſe*, and kept under a ſtrong Guard; and his Siſter *Eleanor*, call'd the *Beauty of Bretaign*, was committed to *Briſtol* Caſtle, where ſhe liv'd near forty Years with very honourable Uſage. King *John* returning his Thanks to Heav'n, ſent his Letters to all his Nobility in *England*, inciting them to *render all Praiſe to God for ſo wonderful a Work, and ſo gracious Aſſiſtance*; and the *French* King, who had for fifteen Days batter'd the Walls of the Caſtle of *Arches*, was ſo confounded at this News, that he immediately rais'd the Siege, and return'd to *Paris*, without any further Action that Year.

He is ſuppos'd to be privately murder'd.

Shortly after this Victory, King *John* going into *Falaiſe*, caus'd his Nephew *Arthur* to be brought before him, us'd many kind Expreſſions to him, and promis'd him great Honours, if he would totally relinquiſh the King of *France*, and adhere to him as his Lord and Uncle. But notwithſtanding he now lay at his Mercy, he anſwer'd him diſdainfully, and with plain Threats demanded the Kingdom of *England*, and all the Dominions enjoy'd by King *Richard*, as his Right by Inheritance, adding by an Oath, *That he ſhould never enjoy Peace 'till he had reſtor'd them.* King *John* inrag'd at theſe high and unexpected Demands, immediately ſent him to *Roven* to be kept in ſtricter Cuſtody than before in the new Tower, under the Care of *Robert de Viepont*. Some Writers affirm, that before he was brought to *Roven*, the Nobility of *Bretaign* and *Anjou* ſhew'd ſo much Zeal for him, that the King's Friends advis'd him to deprive him of his Eyes and Genitals, to render him uncapable of Government or Procreation, to which cruel Propoſal he conſented, but was diſappointed by the three Perſons deſign'd to be Agents in it: One of whom, out of a publick Experiment ſpread a Report of his Death, which inſtead of appeaſing, rais'd new and greater Exaſperations among the Inhabitants of *Bretaign* and *Anjou*. Upon which the King, to prevent future Diſturbances, remov'd him to a ſafer Priſon at *Roven*; where in a ſhort Time he quite diſappear'd, and was never ſeen after; but by what Means, there is ſtill a great Uncertainty. All ſuppoſe and believe it was by a violent Death; and the King's Friends reported, that endeavouring to make his Eſcape out of Priſon, he was accidentally drown'd in the River *Seyne*, upon which the Caſtle ſtood: But moſt Writers preſs hard upon the Memory of *John*, and ſay that by his Orders he was privately and baſely murther'd; and ſome more expreſly tell us, that he himſelf came ſecretly in a Boat by Night, and cauſing his Nephew to be brought before him, without all Pity ſlew him with his own Sword, and caus'd his Body to be thrown into the *Seyne* ſome Leagues below the Town. But of this black and difficult Affair, we can ſay nothing poſitively.

The King crown'd a fourthTime.

He is ſummon'd by the Court of France.

III. King *John* being now freed from his Rival, for his better Security, caus'd himſelf to be a fourth Time crown'd at *Canterbury*, on the fourteenth Day of *April*, by *Hubert* the Arch-Biſhop; but upon his Return into *Normandy*, he ſoon found that it was but an Introduction to greater Troubles than ever. For the Report of the Murder was ſoon ſpread in all Parts, to the great blackning of the King's Name; for tho' very few could know how the young Prince came by his Death, yet all had too much reaſon to conclude that it could not have been brought about without the King's Orders. Upon which the Lady *Conſtance*, Mother to the Deceas'd, repair'd to King *Philip*, and made violent Complaints of the unheard-of Barbarity of King *John*; which caus'd *Philip* to aſſemble all his Peers and Nobility, who immediately ſummon'd King *John*, as Duke of *Normandy*, to appear before them, and anſwer this Accuſation, at an appointed Day. King *John* readily ſent *Euſtace* Biſhop of *Ely* and *Hubert de Burgh*, as his Ambaſſadors, to let that King know, *That he would willingly appear at his Court, provided he might have ſafe Conduct for his Going and Returning*; to which *Philip* anſwer'd with a ſtern Look, *He may come in Peace*; but when the Biſhop ask'd, *Whether he might return ſo*, his only anſwer was, *Yes, if the Sentence of his Peers would permit him.* The Ambaſſadors ſtill inſiſting upon a ſafe Conduct for their Maſter, King *Philip* in a Rage ſwore by all the Saints of *France*, *That it ſhould not be otherwiſe than the Judgment of his Court.* Then the Biſhop began to lay open the Dangers that might happen to his Maſter by his Appearance, and now urg'd, *That the Duke of* Normandy *could not attend his Court, ſince the ſame Perſon was alſo King of* England; *and the Baronage of that Nation would not permit it, tho' he himſelf ſhould conſent to it, ſince there was ſo much Danger either of his Death or Impriſonment.* To which the King reply'd, *Pray, my Lord Biſhop, what is that to me? It is well known that the Duke of* Normandy *is my Vaſſal, and*

and condemn'd unheard.

if he thought fit to conquer England, *and ſo acquire a higher Title, ought his Sovereign Lord to loſe any Thing by that?* No Anſwer being given to this, and King *John* not appearing at the appointed Time, the Court proceeded to condemn him for Treaſon and Murther, and *P. Æmilius* has recorded the Sentence to this Effect, 'That *John* Duke 'of *Normandy*, being unmindful of his Oath to *Philip* 'his Lord, had murder'd his elder Brother's Son, an 'Homager to that Crown, within the Sovereignty of '*France*; whereupon he is judg'd a Traitor, and as an 'Enemy to the Crown of *France*, to forfeit all his Do'minions which he held by Homage, and that Re-entry 'be made by Force of Arms. Thus by a partial and undue Sentence, the King and Peers of *France*, at a Time whilſt they were in open Hoſtility with King *John*, condemned him, tho' abſent, unheard, without either confeſſing, or being convicted of the Crime, and without any legal or equitable Cognizance of it.

A. D. 1203. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.

He loſes many Places in France.

However the *French* being then very powerful, ſoon began to put this Sentence in Execution, while King *John*, free from the Noiſe and Thoughts of War, feaſted magnificently with his Queen at *Caen*, and lay in Bed with her every Day 'till Noon. At the ſame Time the *French* King took many of his Caſtles, kept the ſtrongeſt, and demoliſh'd the reſt; and when King *John* was told what the Enemy had done, he only reply'd, *Let him alone, whatever he takes now, I will ſoon recover again.* But when the *Engliſh* Earls and Noblemen heard this, and obſerv'd his inſuperable Sloath, they begg'd leave to return home; and ſo left but a very few Knights or military Men to tarry with him in *Normandy*. In the mean Time, *Hugh de Gourney* ſurrender'd the ſtrong Caſtle of *Montfort* to the *French* King, with the entire Honour belonging to it, while King *John* continu'd ſecurely at *Roven*; inſomuch that the People ſaid, *Sure he was inchanted*, being ſtill as pleaſant and unconcern'd as if nothing had befallen him. The *French* King ſtill proceeded further, and with a powerful Army ſate down before the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Ruil*, within the Territory of *Roven*; and *Fitz-Water* and *De Quincy*, in whoſe Cuſtody it was, ſhamefully deliver'd up that important Place, as ſoon as he appear'd before it. But King *Philip* abhorring their Cowardice, generouſly commanded them to be kept cloſe Priſoners, and to be loaded with Fetters, 'till they could pay their Ranſoms. *Normandy*, and the King's other Dominions being thus left naked and defenceleſs, the *French* King paſs'd through divers Provinces without any Oppoſition, and reduc'd ſeveral Caſtles to his Obedience. He alſo about that Time beſieg'd that ſtrong Caſtle on the Rock of *Andeli* or *Seyne*, which King *Richard* had built from the Ground, and call'd it *Caſtle Galliard*; but that being defended by the admirable Valour and Fidelity of *Roger de Lacy*, King *Philip* could gain ſo little Advantage againſt it, that he was forc'd to turn his Siege into a Blockade: In which Juncture ſome *Normans* revolted from the King of *England*, while others outwardly adher'd to him.

He returns into England.

He loſes more in France.

King *John* at length ſeeing his own Weakneſs, and that he was left without any Forces, took ſhipping, and landed at *Portſmouth* on the ſixth Day of *December*; and immediately after his Arrival he turn'd his Reſentments againſt his Earls and Barons, alledging, *That they had deſerted, and left him among his Enemies beyond Sea, and through their Neglect he had loſt his Caſtles and Territories there*; wherefore by way of Puniſhment he forcibly took from them the ſeventh Part of their Moveables. Neither did he ſpare in this Tax even the Conventual or Parochial Churches, for, as *Paris* tells us, he had ſuch as ſeverely executed his Rapines, *viz. Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* upon the Clergy, and *Fitz-Peter* the Juſticiary upon the Laity, who ſpared no Perſon in this Impoſition. At the ſame Time the *French* King, taking Advantage of King *John*'s Abſence, march'd with a ſtrong Force before ſeveral other Cities and Caſtles of his Dominions, politickly declaring to the Inhabitants, *That King* John *had cowardly deſerted them, and he being chief Lord over thoſe Countries, ſtood oblig'd in that caſe to preſerve the Fee from Injury and Damage; therefore he amicably requir'd them to receive him for their Sovereign, ſince they had no other: But if they refus'd this fair Propoſal, and after Reſiſtance were ſubdu'd, he declar'd by an Oath, he would either hang or flea them all alive.* At length, after many Diſputes and Conſultations, they unanimouſly conſented to give Hoſtages for one Year's Truce; *and if the King of* England *reliev'd them not within that Time, they would recognize him for their Lord, and ſurrender their Cities and Caſtles to him.* Yet, as *Trivet* better informs us, many of the chief Cities of *Normandy*, as *Falaiſe*, *Conſtance*, *Bayeux*, and others, being by Force or Treachery ſoon reduc'd to the *French* King's Power, King *John* had nothing left there, beſides the City of *Roven*.

A. D. 1204. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$.

A Treaty propos'd, but ineffectual.

The French *King ſends a Champion to juſtifie him,*

who privately retires.

Upon the ſecond of *January* King *John* and all the great Men of *England* met in a grand Council or Parliament at *Oxford*; where was granted to the King a military Aid of two Marks and a half of every Knight's Fee; nor did the Biſhops, Abbots, or Eccleſiaſticks depart without promiſing the ſame. But notwithſtanding this great Aid, we do not find that he made any better uſe of it than to ſpend it in an unactive and luxurious Life. However he found it convenient after *Midlent* to ſend the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Norwich*, and the Earl Marſhal and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, as Ambaſſadors to the King of *France*, to ſound his Inclinations to a Peace, and to propoſe ſome new Terms of Agreement, if he would receive them. But King *Philip* ſwell'd with his former Succeſſes, would agree to none of them; but finding that Duke *Arthur* was really dead, he demanded *Eleanor* his Siſter to be given in Marriage to his younger Son, with all the Territories in *France*, deſigning to make a further Advantage of her, as the true Heireſs to the Crown of *England*. But this being thought an unreaſonable Demand, the Embaſſie became ineffectual. About the ſame Time King *Philip* ſent a valiant Champion to juſtifie by Combate before the States of *England*, what his Maſter had done in *France* againſt their King; and tho' it was not thought fit to hazard a Title of that Moment on the Arms and Fortune of one Man, yet it was reſolv'd that this bold Challenger ſhould not paſs unanſwer'd. Accordingly the King fix'd on *John Curvy*, Earl of *Ulſter*, now a Priſoner in the Tower, a Man of a Gigantick Body and undaunted Fierceneſs, who when the King ask'd him Whether he would combate in his Cauſe, anſwer'd *No, not in thy Cauſe, nor for thy Sake, but for the Kingdom's Right I will fight to the laſt Moment of Life.* While with vaſt Eating he repair'd his decay'd Limbs and Nerves, the *French* Champion hearing of his exceſſive Feeding, and his proportionable Strength, and dreading him as a Monſter of Nature, he retir'd ſecretly into *Spain*, not daring to viſit *France* again. Of this Earl *Curvy* we are further aſſur'd, that afterwards when the two Kings met upon a Truce in *France*, King *Philip* hearing he was in the *Engliſh* Camp, deſir'd King *John* to let him ſee ſome Experiment of his fam'd Strength. Whereupon an Helmet of excellent Proof, full fac'd with Mail, was ſet upon a wooden Block; when the Earl firſt looking round with a moſt dreadful Aſpect, lift up his mighty Sword, and cleft ſo deep through the Steel into the knotty Wood, that none preſent but himſelf could draw it out again, which he did with Eaſe. Then being ask'd by the King, *Why he look'd ſo fiercely before he ſtruck*, he anſwer'd, *That if he had fail'd of his Blow, he then reſolv'd to have kill'd them all, both Kings, and other Spectators.* Both Kings made him large Preſents, and *John* freely reſtor'd him to his Earldom of *Ulſter*.

Roven *ſurrender'd to the* French,

All Normandy *loſt from* England.

But what King *Philip* could not perform by one Champion in *England*, he effected in *Normandy* by many, where after great Succeſs he took the chief City of *Roven*, by the Surrender of the Citizens, and that after a long Siege, and merely for want of ſending them timely Aſſiſtance. It was ſurrender'd upon honourable Terms and divers advantagious Articles, the Chief of which were, That the City ſhould enjoy all its ancient Franchiſes and Privileges; but as *Mezeray* well obſerves, This Precaution prov'd as feeble againſt abſolute Power, as Paper is againſt Iron; for as ſoon as he became Maſter of it, he utterly demoliſh'd all its noble Walls, and forbad them ever to be built again. After this the Caſtle on the Rock of *Andeli* was taken, partly by undermining, and partly by a Famine, after it had been beſieg'd almoſt a Year; but before the Enemy could enter, when they had ſcarce Proviſions left for one Meal, the valiant Governor *Roger Lacy*, ſcorning to make Conditions for himſelf, and reſolving to make the Prize as dear as poſſible to the Enemy, couragiouſly with Sword in Hand, together with divers of his brave Companions mounting their Horſes, ſally'd out, and killing great Numbers of the *French*, maintain'd a noble Fight, before they were taken. After the Surrender of the Caſtle, *Roger* was carry'd into *France*; yet for the great Courage and Bravery he ſhew'd in the Defence of it, the King commanded that he ſhould be Priſoner at large; this Prince having ſo much Generoſity as to make a wide Diſtinction between this Gallant Man, and ſuch Cowards as *Fitz-Water* and *De Quincy*, before-mention'd; and indeed this unfortunate Gentleman was worthy to have ſerv'd a better and more vigilant Maſter. Not long after, the *French* King having taken the Caſtles of *Arches* and *Vernevil*, became compleat Maſter of all *Normandy*. And thus was that Dukedom, the nobleſt Jewel in the *Engliſh* Diadem, which had been diſmember'd from *France* for three hundred and twenty Years, and govern'd by twelve ſucceſſive Dukes of the *Norman* Race, now torn from it, and made ſubject to another Maſter; ingloriouſly to him who loſt it, unjuſtly by him who got it, and in a great Meaſure perfidiouſly by ſuch as ſhould, and might have kept it.

Normandy was not the only Country that was loſt, for almoſt all the reſt of the tranſmarine Dominions ſuſtain'd the ſame Fate: And the Cities and Caſtles ſubject to the King of *England*, being now reduc'd to great Streights, ſent over to let him know their Condition, *That the Time of the Truce was almoſt expir'd, and that they muſt either deliver up their Fortreſſes, or ſuffer their Hoſtages to be deſtroy'd.* Whereupon the King anſwer'd their Meſſengers, *That they muſt expect no Aſſiſtance from him, and therefore they might act as they thought fit.* Thus for want of Relief, likewiſe all *Main*, *Tourain*, *Anjou* and *Poictou* came under the Dominion of the *French* King, except *Rochel*, *Toarz* and *Niors*; and thus was King *John* treated by the ſame Perſon, with whom he had ſo perfidiouſly join'd againſt his own Father and Brother. Yet ſtill the King ſpent his Time with his Queen wholly in Pleaſures, as if in her he had enjoy'd all the World; only *Trivet* does in ſome degree excuſe him, alledging, That King *John*, diſcourag'd by ſo many Diſaſters, could not raiſe an Army ſufficient either to defend his Territories, or to recover what was loſt; for his own Subjects being now generally diſcontented, refus'd to fight for him, and ſo he learnt by unhappy Experience, That all the real Power of Princes conſiſts in the Love of their People. About this Time the King's Mother, Queen *Eleanor*, dy'd very aged, a Princeſs of an high and active Spirit, who had been Wife to two mighty Kings, and Mother to three; who after ſhe had met with all the Viciſſitudes of Fortune, liv'd juſt long enough to ſee moſt of her own hereditary Dominions loſt to a prevailing Conqueror.

with Main, Tourain, Anjou *and* Poictou.

The Death of Queen Eleanor.

A. D. 1205. Reg. $\frac{6}{7}$.

IV. King *John*, being reduc'd to ſmaller Dominions than any of his Predeceſſors ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt, began now to be ſenſible of his Foreign Diſhonours, and his Domeſtick Affronts; and by the Advice of his beſt Friends, he gather'd together a powerful Army and a mighty Navy, reſolving to revenge his Wrongs, and repair his Loſſes. But all his Deſigns were ſuddenly blaſted, chiefly by the Means of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Pembroke*, who, when he was ready to take Shipping at *Portſmouth*, came to him and diſſuaded him from his Expedition; alledging many Inconveniencies and Miſchiefs, uſing many Intreaties, and likewiſe threatning to detain him by Force. At length being overcome by their Importunities, he by their Advice ſent his Brother the Earl of *Saliſbury*, with a conſiderable Force to *Rochelle*, whither his natural Son *Geoffry* had been ſent before, and ſo diſmiſs'd the greateſt Part of his Noblemen and Knights; who having been put to vaſt Charges, in Expectation of an honourable Campaign, ſolemnly curs'd the Authors of this Advice; and more eſpecially the Mariners, who to the Number of fourteen thouſand, for this Deſign brought their Ships from the utmoſt Parts of the Kingdom. As this prov'd a ſevere Diſappointment to many, ſo moſt of all to the King himſelf, who being reſtleſs and uneaſie, put to Sea with a ſmall Force; but after two or three Days wafting backwards and forwards, he found it convenient to return and land at *Warham* in *Dorſetſhire.* Immediately after he extorted a vaſt Sum of Mony from his Earls, Barons, Knights and Clergy, for refuſing to follow him beyond Sea to recover his loſt Dominions: Which was the ſecond Time he had rais'd Mony upon the Nation without the People's Conſent; and was one of thoſe Grievances which afterwards caus'd the Barons to take up Arms againſt him, and one of the particular Heads provided againſt by his great Charter.

The King defeated in his Deſigns.

About the ſame Time Arch-Biſhop *Hubert* dy'd, and the King in Perſon at *Canterbury* ſeiz'd upon all his Wealth and Poſſeſſions, ſhewing himſelf highly ſatisfy'd, That he was freed from him whom he ſuſpected to have held private Intelligence with the *French* King, declaring, *That he was never a King 'till now, by reaſon of* Hubert's *preſumptuous croſſing his Royal Reſolutions, as of late he did.* But this Joy and Expectation of happier Days was ſoon ſtifled and bury'd in the ſame Tomb with the Arch-Biſhop; out of whoſe Aſhes ſuch a Fire-brand was produc'd, as exceedingly inflam'd and embroil'd the Affairs of King *John*, and the whole Nation. For immediately after his Death, the junior Monks of *Canterbury*, too little valuing a declining King, and too much eſteeming a rewarding Pope, proceeded to an unprecedented Action, and at Midnight choſe *Reginald*, the Sub-Prior of their Convent, for their Arch-Biſhop, without the leaſt Knowledge of the King. And obliging him to the ſtricteſt Secrecy, they ſent him away to *Rome* with the utmoſt Expedition, not doubting but his Holineſs out of Intereſt would confirm their Election. But this vain-glorious Monk, being got into *Flanders*, divulg'd the Secret in all Parts, declar'd himſelf Arch-Biſhop, and ſhew'd the Inſtrument of the Convent under their Seal: Of which when the reſt had notice, and that he had broke his Oath of Secrecy, they were highly incens'd, and to prevent the King's juſt Diſpleaſure, they now ſubmitted themſelves to his Majeſty, humbly deſiring his Licence to chuſe a new Arch-Biſhop. This was freely granted by the King, but with this Intimation, *That if they would chuſe* John Gray, *Biſhop of* Norwich, *they would do him an acceptable Piece of Service*; upon which the Monks unanimouſly choſe him in due Form, and the King and he went immediately to *Canterbury*, where the next Day the Prior in the Preſence of them and the Convent declar'd the ſaid *John* duly elected Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury.* After which the Monks plac'd him with great Solemnity in the Archiepiſcopal Throne; and the King with no leſs Ceremony put him in Poſſeſſion of the Temporalities belonging to the Archbiſhoprick, to the general Satisfaction of all Men.

Arch-Biſhop Hubert's *Death,*

which was the Beginning of King John's *Troubles.*

A. D. 1206. Reg. $\frac{7}{8}$.

Thus the King's Affairs ſeem'd to ſucceed well in *England*, and not worſe in *France*, where his Majeſty landed with a powerful Army at *Rochell.* Upon which the *Poictovins*, glad of his Arrival, came in chearfully to him, and promis'd their Aſſiſtance; and after he had ſubdu'd a conſiderable part of *Poictou*, he ſat down before the ſtrong Caſtle of *Mont-Auban*, and battering it fifteen Days with his Engines, took it on the firſt of *Auguſt*, which Place *Charles* the Great could not take with a ſeven Years Siege. Upon this Succeſs the King wrote to his Juſtices, Biſhops and Nobility of *England*, how many great illuſtrious Priſoners, and what Horſe and Arms, and what innumerable Spoils he had taken. But the religious Perſons of thoſe Parts mediating between the two Kings, they procur'd a two Years Truce; and ſo King *John* return'd into *England*, ſoon loſing all the Advantages he had gain'd. And now his Troubles began to fall heavy upon him from the Pope, who by his Artifices endeavour'd to make both the late Elections void; miſliking the Abilities of *Reginald*, as well as the Principles of *Gray*. When the King ſent ſome of the Monks of *Canterbury* to *Rome*, to obtain the Pope's Confirmation of *Gray*, at the ſame Time the Suffragan Biſhops of that Province alſo ſent their Proctors to *Rome*, who highly complain'd to the Pope, *That the Monks had preſum'd to chuſe an Arch-Biſhop without them, when they of common Right and ancient Cuſtom ought to have been preſent, and have join'd to the Election*; for which they alledg'd divers Decrees and Precedents, produc'd Witneſſes and Teſtimonials, *That the Biſhops together with the Monks had choſen three Arch-Biſhops.* The Monks on the other ſide affirm'd, *That by ancient and allow'd Cuſtom, and by ſpecial Privilege of divers Popes, they us'd to make Elections without the Biſhops*, which they offer'd to prove by ſufficient Witneſſes: And thus the Proceſs continu'd till the following Year.

The Pope the main Cauſe of them.

A. D. 1207. Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$.

In the mean Time King *John* proceeded by his grand Council to raiſe a new Tax of the thirteenth Part of all Mens Moveables; but while he endeavour'd for theſe Sinews of War, he more and more loſt the Bands of Peace, the Hearts of his People. And hence aroſe the Beginnings of a miſerable Breach between the King and his Subjects, being both out of Proportion, and disjointed in thoſe juſt Ligaments of Command and Obedience that ſhould hold them together; the reducing of which into due Form and Order coſt many Years Toil, and more noble Blood than all the foreign Wars ſince the Conqueſt. One of the greateſt Incendiaries was *Geoffry* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who ſolemnly execrating all the King's Receivers within his Province, fled ſecretly out of the Land. In theſe violent Proceedings the Clergy have been blam'd by ſome Writers who were even Enemies to King *John*; eſpecially ſince they patiently permitted *Florentinus*, the Pope's Legate, not long before to carry away vaſt Sums from them to his Maſter's Coffers at *Rome.* Yet ſtill theſe Domeſtick Troubles took away nothing from the King's Care, nor his good Hopes, which were much encreas'd by the Preſence of his Nephew the Emperor *Otho*; who in Perſon arriving in *England* to project for his own and his Uncle's Wars, was with great Joy met by the King, and conducted through *London* by Night, where all the City was ſeen in her Glory, and the Streets adorn'd with the richeſt Hangings, beautified with the Luſtre of pendant Crowns, and ſhining Lamps. After ſome Days Continuance, and magnificent Entertainments, the Emperor departed, not unfurniſh'd with Helps to carry on his Wars.

In the mean Time the Troubles and Miſchiefs began now to ſhew themſelves from the See of *Rome*; where at length there was a ſolemn Hearing before the Pope concerning the double Election at *Canterbury*. After which, thoſe who ſtood for *Reginald* the Sub-Prior preſented him to his Holineſs, as being firſt and duly elected; while the other Party offer'd to prove the firſt Election void, as being made by Night without the King's Conſent, and chief Part of the Convent; ſo that after long Diſputes, the Pope proceeded to an unprecedented Action, and publickly judg'd both thoſe Perſons Uncanonical; and by the Advice of his Cardinals null'd them both, abſolutely forbidding either Party to enter upon the Archiepiſcopal Dignity. And to eſtabliſh his Intereſt and Power at once, he nominated *Stephen Langton*, an *Engliſhman* and Cardinal, for their Arch-Biſhop, urging the Monks to chuſe him: At firſt they alledg'd, *That they could make no Canonical Election, without the Conſent of the King and their Convent*; but the Pope reply'd, *That they had in themſelves the full Power of the Church of* Canterbury; *and that in Elections at the Apoſtolick See, the Conſent of Princes was not expected*; and then he commanded all preſent, *by vertue of their Obedience, and upon pain of a Curſe, to chuſe him Arch-Biſhop, whom he had appointed for their Father and Paſtor.* Upon this poſitive Command, the Monks, dreading the Pope's unbounded Power, all except one *Elias de Brantfield* with great Reluctance gave their Conſents; and ſo Cardinal *Langton* was conſecrated Arch-Biſhop by the Pope himſelf at *Viterbo*, on the ſeventeenth Day of *June*, contrary to common Law and Equity.

The Pope nominates a new Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury.

He endeavours to pacifie the King,

The Pope being ſenſible that King *John* would deeply reſent this arbitrary Proceeding, ſent over his Nuncio with four extraordinary Rings, ſet with rich Stones of four different Colours; and alſo a ſubtle inſinuating Letter, ſetting forth the wonderful Myſteries contain'd in the Roundneſs of the Rings, and their various Colours, which ſignify'd, as he ſaid, the four Cardinal Virtues, with ſeveral Divine Graces; and concluding with an earneſt Exhortation to follow each of thoſe Virtues thus ſignify'd. Yet the Pope would not rely upon the King's good Pleaſure, but alſo politickly wrote other Letters, in which he exhorted the King *to receive and acknowledge* Stephen Langton, *a Native of his own Kingdom, and a Cardinal well skill'd in all Sorts of Learning, ſince his exemplary Life and Converſation would be of great Advantage both to his Body and Soul.* But ſtill to ſecure all, he alſo ſent his peremptory Command to the Prior and Monks, to receive and obey him as their Arch-Biſhop, as well in Temporals as Spirituals. The King receiving his Letters, and hearing of all Proceedings, in a great Rage charged the Monks of *Canterbury* with Treaſon; remonſtrating, *That in Prejudice to his Prerogative, they had firſt choſen their Sub-Prior without a Licence, and then to make ſome feign'd Amends, elected the Biſhop of* Norwich; *and that tho' their Journey to* Rome *was at his own Expence, yet, as an Aggravation to their firſt Offence, they had preſum'd to chuſe* Stephen Langton *his declar'd Enemy, and had caus'd him to be conſecrated Arch-Biſhop.* For which cauſe the King, in the Heat of his Fury, ſent two cruel and ill-natur'd Knights, with ſome other Officers to drive the Monks of *Canterbury* out of *England*, as Criminals of the higheſt Nature: And theſe, in purſuance of the King's Orders, entering the Monaſtery with drawn Swords, commanded the Prior and Monks, in the Name of the King, immediately to depart out of the Nation, *or elſe they would certainly burn them, and their Monaſtery together.* The Monks being greatly terrify'd, without further Conſideration left their Monaſtery, and all their Goods to be confiſcated; and paſſing into *Flanders* were kindly receiv'd in the Abby of St. *Bertin*, and in other adjoining Monaſteries.

who is greatly enrag'd.

The King expoſtulates with the Pope,

King *John*, not thus ſatisfy'd, ſent Meſſengers to the Pope with expoſtulatory Letters, ſetting forth *the Injury done him in vacating the Election of the Biſhop of* Norwich, *and conſecrating* Stephen Langton *without his Conſent*; *a Perſon wholly unknown to him, educated in* France, *and a Correſpondent of his open Enemies*; *all this to the Prejudice and Subverſion of the Rights and Prerogatives of his Crown: Declaring he would immutably ſtand by the Election of the Biſhop of* Norwich; *remembring him, That* Rome *receiv'd more Profit from* England, *than from all the* Tranſalpine *Regions*; *and threatning, if he could not have a favourable Hearing at* Rome, *he would preclude all Perſons from paſſing thither, by ſhutting up his Ports: For ſince he had Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops and Prelates, abounding in Learning, in his own Dominions, if he were forc'd to it, he would neither ſeek for Juſtice nor Judgment in foreign Countries.* To which the Pope, after ſome Reſpite, return'd a cunning and plauſible Anſwer, in which he firſt mildly blam'd the King *for giving ſo rough an Anſwer to his humble and obliging Letters*, and next juſtify'd *the Election of Cardinal* Langton, *as one who had long ſtudy'd in the Univerſity of* Paris, *and had merited to be made a Doctor both in the liberal Arts and Theology*: Further aſſuring him, *That tho' at Elections made at the Apoſtolick See, the Conſent of Princes was not requiſite, yet notwithſtanding, two Monks had been ſpecially deputed to gain his Aſſent; but being detain'd at* Dover, *they were not able to perform what was enjoin'd them.* Then juſtifying the Election as agreeable to the Canons of the ancient Fathers, he concluded with a threatning Advice, *That ſince his Father and Brother had abjur'd that evil Cuſtom, he ought to ſubmit to his good Pleaſure, which would be much for his Honour, and not reſiſt God and the Church in this Cauſe, for which that bleſſed Martyr and glorious Arch-Biſhop* Thomas Becket *had ſhed his Blood.*

who returns him a ſubtle Anſwer.

A. D. 1208.
Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$.

Theſe laſt were terrible Words to a King whoſe Father had been ſo great a Sufferer; which were ſucceeded by a new Command from the Pope to the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely* and *Worceſter*, *to argue the Affair with the King, and if they found him contumacious, to declare that his Kingdom ſhould be interdicted*; *and if he ſtill perſiſted, that his Holineſs would lay a heavier Hand upon him.* Upon which theſe Biſhops immediately repairing to the King, entreated him with Tears *to recall the Arch-Biſhop and Monks to their Church, and honour and love them with perfect Charity, that he might avoid the Scandal of the Interdict*; but while they were proceeding in their Speech, the King, ſenſible of theſe numerous Indignities, fell into a violent Paſſion, and by a ſolemn Oath declar'd, *That if any ſhould preſume to interdict his Territories, he would ſend all the Prelates and Clergy of* England *to the Pope, and confiſcate their Goods*; *and if he found any* Romans *within his Dominions, he would deprive them of their Eyes and Noſes, and ſend them to* Rome, *that they might be diſtinguiſh'd from thoſe of other Nations.* And he further commanded the Biſhops immediately to depart his Preſence, *as they valued their preſent Safeties.* The King was further provok'd by the Behaviour of *Simon Langton*, who about the ſame Time, before divers Biſhops, adviſ'd him to receive his Brother *Stephen* as Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; and when the King ſpoke to him of preſerving his Royal Dignity in this Affair; he inſolently reply'd, *That he could do nothing in his Majeſty's Behalf, unleſs he would wholly throw himſelf upon his Brother's Mercy.* The above-mention'd Biſhops, finding no Signs of Compliance, abandon'd the King, and on the twenty ſecond Day of *March* they ſolemnly interdicted the whole Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, in Obedience to the Pope's Commands; upon which there was a Ceſſation of all Divine Service, except Confeſſion, Baptiſm of Infants, and Adminiſtration of the Euchariſt to dying Perſons; ſo that the Bodies of the Dead were carry'd out of Cities and Towns, and without any Ceremony like Beaſts were tumbled into Pits and Ditches.

The Pope interdicts the whole Kingdom:

For which the King proceeds againſt the Clergy to the utmoſt Violence.

The King fearing the Conſequence of the Interdict, and his Subjects Hatred, proceeded to violent Methods, ſent to his Sheriffs and other Miniſters, and commanded with dreadful Threats all Prelates and their inferior Clergy forthwith to depart the Kingdom, and repair to the Pope, requiring him to do the King Juſtice for this Injury. He alſo put all Biſhopricks, Abbies and Priories under the Cuſtody of Lay-Men, commanding all the Church Rents to be confiſcated, and their Goods to be ſeiz'd; The Concubines of the Prieſts and Clerks throughout *England* were impriſon'd by the King's Officers, and forc'd to pay great Compoſitions for their Liberty: The Monks and Men in Orders, while travelling upon the Road, were thrown off their Horſes, and robb'd and abus'd by the King's Soldiers: Alſo the Relations of the Arch-Biſhop and thoſe Biſhops who pronounc'd the Interdict, were by the King's Command rifled of their Goods, and caſt into Priſon. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe Evils, *M. Paris* tells us, 'That 'the foreſaid Biſhops remain'd beyond Sea, living in all 'manner of Delights, not oppoſing themſelves as a Wall 'of Defence for the Lord's Houſe; but when they ſaw the 'Wolf coming, they left their Sheep and fled. After theſe general Seiſures, the King in a ſhort Time reſtor'd the Lands and Goods of all ſuch Eccleſiaſticks as celebrated Divine Service, adminiſter'd the Sacraments, and refus'd to obey the Interdict; but retain'd the Eſtates of all the reſt. And for the Security of ſuch as obey'd him, he iſſu'd out his Precept, that no Man againſt his Peace ſhould abuſe them either in Word or Deed; which if they did, they ſhould if purſu'd be hang'd upon the next Tree. But theſe were all immediately condemn'd by the See of *Rome.* And this was the preſent State of the Clergy of *England*; ſuch as oblig'd the King were ſuſpended by the Pope, and ſuch as obey'd the Pope were depriv'd by the King.

A. D. 1209.
Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$.

Such irregular Proceedings in the King, and ſuch Perplexities in the People could not but occaſion great Hatred and Murmurings; therefore to prevent the Effects of ſuch Diſcontents, the King requir'd of his Nobility new Oaths of Allegiance, and Pledges of ſuch as he moſt ſuſpected, as alſo Homage of all Freeholders, even from twelve Years of Age, all whom he diſmiſs'd with the Ceremony of a Kiſs of Peace. Miſdoubting alſo the Pope's further Intent to abſolve his Subjects from their due Allegiance, after the Example of his Father *Henry*, he gather'd together a powerful Army for all Exigencies. The Terror of which he firſt diſplay'd in the North, being diſoblig'd at *William* King of *Scotland*, for receiving ſome Out-laws fled out of *England*, and for marrying his Daughter to the Earl of *Boloigne* without his Conſent. But upon his Approach to the Borders of *Scotland*, King *William* deſir'd Peace, and by the Mediation of Friends to both Nations, they made up the Breach upon theſe Terms, That the King of the *Scots* ſhould pay King *John* eleven thouſand Marks of Silver, and that his two Daughters ſhould be deliver'd as Pledges for the Security of the Peace between them. The Dread of the King's Power paſs'd ſo ſwiftly out of the North into the Weſt, that upon his Return, the Princes of *Wales*, and others, rich and poor, came to him at *Woodſtock* to do him Homage. But all theſe Ties of Allegiance were in Danger of being diſſolv'd by a new Sentence from *Rome* of an Excommunication of the King's Perſon, with ſtrict Injunction for all Men to abandon his Preſence: Which being ſent to be pronounc'd by the Biſhops and Prelates in *England*, all of them for Fear or Favour of the King neglected the Pope's Commands, and let the Apoſtolick Proceſs eſcape without Execution. However the Sentence was ſo full known, that it became the Subject of all Mens Diſcourſe; particularly of *Geoffry* Arch-Deacon of *Norwich*, who in the Exchequer declar'd to his Aſſociate, *That it was not ſafe for benefic'd Men to continue in the Service of an excommunicated King*, and ſo retir'd without leave. For which the King commanded him to be put in Irons in a cloſe Priſon, and a leaden Cope to be put upon him, the Preſſure of which much haſten'd his Death: But the greater and wiſer Sort, both of the Nobility and others, continu'd their Attendance on the King's Court and Perſon, without Regard of the Cenſure.

The King excommunicated by the Pope

A. D. 1210. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

The King is ſucceſsful in Ireland,

In the mean Time the King raiſing great Sums of Mony, to ſhew his Power, with a mighty Army paſs'd over into *Ireland*, which Country had been too long neglected; and arriving at *Dublin*, he was there met with more than twenty petty Kings and Princes of that Country, who dreading his Arms, paid him Homage and Fealty. All the neighbouring Parts readily ſubmitted; but to the reſt the King march'd with his Forces, took many ſtrong Places from the Enemy, ſubdu'd the Province of *Connaught*, and took *Cuthol* the King Priſoner. Having reduc'd all Parts, he impriſon'd the *Engliſh* Fugitives, took Pledges both of the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Inhabitants, puniſh'd Malefactors with Death, turbulent Perſons with Ranſoms, eſtabliſh'd all their Laws, Coin and Officers according to the *Engliſh* Form, and deputed a wiſe and upright Governor over them, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, Competitor to Cardinal *Langton*. Thus he eſtabliſh'd on that barbarous Iſland ſuch an exact and well order'd Face of Government, as was its Stay in thoſe tumultuous Times, and a Pattern for more peaceful Ages to imitate; by which ſpeedy Conqueſt and Reformation, he juſtly merited the Title given him of *Lord of* Ireland. As he was ſucceſsful in theſe Parts, ſo was he no leſs in *Wales*, both in this and the following Year: For after he return'd from *Ireland*, and laid ſuch vaſt Fines upon the Eccleſiaſticks as mounted to a hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, he with a powerful Army march'd into the farthermoſt Parts of *Wales*, as far as *Snowdun*; ſo that the petty Princes and Nobles ſubmitted without any Oppoſition. Then to ſecure their future Subjection, he took twenty eight Hoſtages of them, and ſo return'd in Triumph, as Conqueror of *Wales*.

which Kingdom he happily reduces.

A. D. 1211. Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

V. The Nation had now laid under an Interdict near three Years and an half, which prov'd highly dangerous to the King, as well as intolerably grievous to the People. So that at length the King finding the Pope inflexible, and inſenſible of the Burden of ſo many Chriſtians, he began to relent and recede from his former Reſolutions, hoping to ſettle his own and Subjects Tranquility, tho' with great Indignity to himſelf. In his Return from *Wales*, he was met at *Northampton* by two Nuncio's from the Pope, *Pandolf* a Sub-Deacon, and *Durand* a Knight Templar, who were ſent purpoſely into *England* to make Peace between the King and the Eccleſiaſticks. Being met together, after a long Debate, the King freely aſſured them, *That the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *and the Monks, and all the proſcrib'd Biſhops might return in Peace and Security to their own Palaces*; *and that the Holy Church ſhould have all the Franchiſes it enjoy'd in the Reign of* Edward *the Confeſſor*. But becauſe the King would not, or indeed could not make full Satisfaction for the Goods of the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops formerly confiſcated, and for the Damages they had ſuſtain'd, the Treaty became wholly ineffectual, and the Nuncio's return'd into *France*. But before they departed, they denounc'd that Execration againſt the King's Perſon, which the Biſhops had wholly declin'd, and ſo incens'd the Pope againſt him, that in the latter end of the Year he proceeded to greater Contumelies than ever, and abſolv'd all his Subjects, High and Low, from their Faith and Obedience to him; ſtrictly enjoining all Perſons *under pain of Excommunication, to avoid him in Private and Publick, at his Table, Council, and common Converſation*. For, as our Author tells us, the King had at the Time of the Interdict, divers Councellors about him, as well of the Clergy as Laity, whom he names; who ſtriving to pleaſe him in all Things, were ſuppos'd not to adviſe him according to Law or Reaſon, but his own Humour.

The Subjects of England *abſolv'd from their Allegiance by the Pope.*

A. D. 1212. Reg. $\frac{13}{14}$.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſtrict Prohibitions, in *Lent* following the King had a noble Feaſt in *Clarkenwell*, where he Knighted Prince *Alexander*, only Son and Heir to the King of the *Scots*, who return'd home with the Applauſe and Congratulations of both Kingdoms. Not long after the *Welſh* having made ſeveral hoſtile Incurſions and Devaſtations in *England*, the King highly provok'd, levy'd a great Army, reſolving to ravage all *Wales*, and extirpate the Inhabitants; and for a preſent Revenge he hang'd up all the twenty eight Hoſtages deliver'd to him the Year before. But in this, as in moſt other Actions, he met with unexpected Obſtructions; for being ready for his Expedition, he receiv'd Letters from the King of the *Scots* and others of a Traiterous Conſpiracy form'd againſt him, which at firſt he ſlighted, and march'd forward to *Cheſter*. But there receiving Letters again to the ſame Effect, that he ſhould either be ſlain by his Noblemen, or deliver'd up to his Enemies, and now underſtanding that the great Men of *England* thought themſelves diſcharg'd from their Obedience to him, he disbanded his Army and return'd to *London*. From whence he diſpatch'd Commiſſioners to all ſuſpected Perſons of Quality, obliging them to ſend Pledges of their Fidelity; upon which many out of Fear ſent their Sons, Nephews and neareſt Relations, to appeaſe his Indignation; but *Euſtace de Veſcie*, and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, being accus'd of Treaſon, fled one into *Scotland*, and the other into *France*. Theſe Defections were much promoted by the pretended Predictions of one *Peter* a Hermite of *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire*, who propheſy'd that by the next *Aſcenſion* Day *John* ſhould no longer be King. As the King took care to ſecure this Perſon, ſo he was not backwards in any ſevere Methods with others: And here our Author *M. Paris* adds, That being a Prince of inſatiable Luſt and Cruelty, he had now highly provok'd divers of the Nobility by debauching of their Wives and Daughters, by baniſhing their Relations, or by reducing them to Poverty by his illegal Exactions; ſo that he had made himſelf almoſt as many Enemies as there were Noblemen in the Kingdom. He further adds, That when they knew themſelves to be abſolv'd from their Fidelity by the Pope, they rejoic'd exceedingly; and if common Fame might be credited, they had each of them ſign'd and ſeal'd a certain Charter which they had ſent to the *French* King, aſſuring him he might ſafely come into *England*, obtain the Kingdom, and be crown'd with Honour.

The King marches towards Wales, *but in vain.*

The Nobility highly diſoblig'd by him.

Theſe were proper Times for the Pope to make his utmoſt Advantage; who being both inflexible and inſatiable, now reſolv'd to effect his Deſigns, tho' with the Confuſion of Chriſtendom. A fair Opportunity was now offer'd him by the humble Supplications of Arch-Biſhop *Langton*, the Biſhops of *London* and *Ely*, *That he would vouchſafe, out of his pious Compaſſion, to ſupport the* Engliſh *Church, then at the Point of Ruin*. Upon which Pope *Innocent*, by the Advice of his Cardinals and others, reſolv'd to diſplay his utmoſt Power, and by a ſolemn Sentence decreed, *That King* John *ſhould be intirely depos'd from his Kingdom, and that his Holineſs ſhould provide a more worthy Perſon to ſucceed him*. Accordingly he wrote to *Philip* King of *France*, requiring him *To put this Sentence in Execution*; promiſing him, *To grant him Remiſſion of all his Sins, together with the Kingdom of* England *in perpetual Right, when once he had dethron'd the preſent Poſſeſſor*. That he might not be wanting in any Thing, he wrote to the Potentates, Knights and Warriors of divers Nations, exciting them *To ſign themſelves with the Croſs, to follow the King of* France *as their General in this Expedition againſt King* John, *and endeavour to vindicate the Injury done to the Catholick Church*: Decreeing further, *That whoever contributed either Mony, or other Aſſiſtance, towards the ſubduing of this contumacious King, ſhould be ſecure not only in their Goods and Perſons, but alſo as to their Souls, through the Prayers of the Church*; *and they ſhould enjoy the ſame Privileges with thoſe who viſited the Sepulchre of our Lord*. With this ample Commiſſion, the Pope ſent *Pandolf* his Nuncio with the *Engliſh* Biſhops for *England*; firſt giving them Instructions, that every Thing ſhould be punctually put in Execution, according to his Order. The Legate having ask'd him privately, *What he ſhould do, if King* John *repented and made Satisfaction to God and the* Romiſh *Church*; the Pope thereupon preſcrib'd certain Conditions of Peace, *to which if the King would aſſent, he might yet obtain the Favour of the Apoſtolick See*.

The King depos'd by the Pope.

England *given to the* French *King*;

A. D. 1213. Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$.

The *French* King likewiſe receiving from the Arch-Biſhop and his Aſſociates the Apoſtolick Sentence, became very fond of that Imployment, to which his own ancient Malignity and the Diſloyalty of the *Engliſh* Barons had

prompted

who prepares to obtain it.

prompted him; both which he was now willing to mask with the ſpecious Pretext of Juſtice and Devotion. Under which Colours he ſummon'd all his Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights and Soldiers to appear at *Roven* upon pain of the higheſt Puniſhments; ſo that in a ſhort Time he had a mighty Army at that City, as well as a powerful Navy at the Mouth of the River *Seyne*. A Preparation ſo formidable could not be long hidden from King *John*, who meeting with an Oppoſition both domeſtick and foreign, redoubled his Care, and immediately commanded all his Officers both for Sea and Land, under the ſevereſt Penalties, to prepare both a Navy and Army ſufficient to give a check to ſuch a powerful Invaſion. By which Means ſuch infinite Multitudes throng'd to *Dover*, and other Harbours, that the Commanders, for want of Proviſions, diſmiſſing the reſt, encamp'd at *Barnham-Downs* only with ſixty thouſand ſelect and valiant Men; who, as our Author obſerves, had they been hearty and unanimous, no Prince in the World could have withſtood the King of *England*; ſo well appointed were his Forces by Land, and ſo well prepared were his Fleets by Sea. But the great Misfortune was, That the Clergy were incens'd againſt him by reaſon of the Interdict, and the Power he exercis'd over them; and the Laity no leſs, for his Taxes, and Arbitrary Proceedings.

While both Shores of the Sea were overſpread with the Armies of the two great Kings, the one waiting for the Enemy, and the other for fair Winds and more Forces, *Pandolf* the Pope's Legate, obtaining a ſafe Conduct from King *John*, arriv'd at *Dover* to put thoſe ſecret Inſtructions in Execution, which his Maſter had expreſly preſcrib'd. He there repreſented to the uneaſie King *the great Miſchiefs he was to expect from that vaſt Fleet and Army the King of* France *had compleatly furniſh'd for the entire Conqueſt of his Kingdom; in which all the Biſhops, Clergy and others, unjuſtly baniſh'd the Land, were reſolv'd to come over; and, which was ſtill more dangerous, the* French *King had received Charters and Aſſurances from moſt of the great Men of* England, *that they were ready to become his Subjects: Therefore his only Security remaining was penitently to ſubmit to the Apoſtolick See, under which Shelter he might be ſafe from this impending Storm.* Theſe Straits and Difficulties were undoubtedly very dreadful to a diſhearten'd Prince, who ſaw ſo many mortal Enemies abroad to attack him, and ſo few faithful Friends at Home to defend him; which drove him into this melancholly Apprehenſion, that his wavering Nobility would either abandon him in the Field, or betray him to the Sword of his Enemies. Thus thinking it better to yield to the Times, with an Aſſurance of his Crown and the Pope's Favour, than deſperately to hazard the Loſs of all, he reſolv'd to redeem his Safety on ſuch Conditions as Neceſſity and the Pope now laid upon him; and at length with a bleeding Heart, and a Flood of Tears, he ſubmitted to the Form of Peace as it was ready drawn up by the Pope, in which he took a ſolemn Oath, 'To obey the Commands of his Holineſs in all Things for which he had been excommunicated, and to make a full Reſtitution for all Things which had been taken from the Clergy or Laity by reaſon of the Interdict or depending Conteſt, for which he was to lay down eight thouſand Pounds in part; and to pardon and receive into Favour, not only the proſcribed Biſhops, but alſo the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury*, and all other Clerks or Laicks concern'd in it. That he would confirm theſe Things by his Letters-Patents, and cauſe as many Biſhops and Barons, as ſhould be choſen by the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops, to ſwear, and give their Letters-Patents for the Security of the Peace. And that if he, or any other by his Order, ſhould violate this Agreement, then thoſe Biſhops or Barons, on behalf of the Church, ſhould adhere to the Pope's Commands againſt them, and that he would for ever loſe the Cuſtody of vacant Churches. Next that he would ſend all theſe Letters of Security, for the Performance of all, to the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops before their Return into *England*. Finally that he would utterly diſclaim his Right to out-law any Clergy-Man, or any Lay-Man, ſo far as it related to this Matter.

King John *agrees to the Pope's Propoſitions.*

As the King ſwore to obey the Commands of the Pope in all Things relating to this Conteſt, ſo he ſoon found with a more afflicting Dejection of Mind what theſe Commands were; for his Crimes were accounted ſo great againſt God and the Church, that there could be no Expiation without a Reſignation of his Crown. Accordingly two Days after, which was the Period of the Hermit's Prophecy, King *John* at *Dover*, by the Commands of the Pope pre-ordain'd at *Rome*, taking off his Crown from his Head, humbly ſurrender'd it into the Pope's Hands by his Attorney *Pandolf*; at whoſe Feet he alſo laid his Scepter, Robe, Sword, Ring, and all the Royal Enſigns. After which he ſubſcrib'd to another Charter, whereby he reſign'd his Kingdoms to the Pope, profeſſing he did it *neither out of Fear, or Conſtraint, but of his own free Will, and in the Common Council of his Barons, as having no other Way to make Satisfaction to God and the Church for his Offence; and that thenceforward he would hold his Crown as a Feudatory of the Church of* Rome, *paying an annual Penſion of a Thouſand Marks for both the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland. *And if he or any of his Succeſſors deny'd Submiſſion, without Repentance, he ſhould forfeit his Right to the Kingdom.* Whereupon the King in the Preſence of all did Homage to the Pope, as his ſupreme Lord, repreſented by *Pandolf*, in the moſt ſubmiſſive and abject Manner; and delivering ſome Mony as a Earneſt of his Subjection, the Legate proudly trod it under his Feet, to manifeſt his Maſter's Greatneſs. That theſe Things were tranſacted in the Preſence of ſome Peers, who gave no Conſent to them, appears by *Henry* Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*, the chief Man in that Aſſembly, who both inwardly griev'd at it, and openly diſclaim'd againſt it.

He reſigns his Dominions to the Pope.

V. King *John* had now debas'd himſelf to a lower Degree than any King before him, which render'd him the Object of the Nation's Contempt, as well as Hatred: And while he was parting with his Crown to the Pope, King *Philip* was buſily preparing his Head to wear it, and his Fleets and Armies to win it. Upon which the Legate, after five Days Poſſeſſion, re-deliver'd the Crown, but not releas'd the Cenſures 'till all Conditions were perform'd, and then haſtened into *France*; where he immediately exhorted King *Philip* to disband his Forces and deſiſt from the deſign'd Expedition againſt King *John*, *who was now an obedient and reconcil'd Son to the Church.* King *Philip*, who like the Pope regarded *John*'s Kingdom more than his Repentance, was highly incens'd at this Propoſal, alledging, *That he had already expended more than ſixty thouſand Pounds in his Preparations, and had undertaken the Enterprize by the ſpecial Commands of his Holineſs, and for the Remiſſion of his Sins; therefore no new Cenſures ſhould deter him from his Deſigns.* In which Reſolution calling a Council of his Nobles and Feudataries, all join'd with him except *Ferrand* Earl of *Flanders*, who freely declar'd *That the Expedition was both unjuſt and impracticable, and that the King ought rather to think of reſtoring the tranſmarine Countries he unjuſtly detain'd, than of invading a Country to which he had no Right at all*; and therefore he abſolutely refus'd his Aſſiſtance. This occaſion'd the *French* King to direct the Courſe of his Arms, firſt againſt this Earl, to prevent future Inconveniences from him; and accordingly commanded his grand Fleet to ſail towards *Flanders*; whilſt he by Land endeavour'd to ſubdue that Country. King *John* having Intelligence of his Friend's Diſtreſs, immediately ſent out his Navy under the Conduct of three brave Commanders, his Natural Brother the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Duke of *Holland*, and the Earl of *Bulloign*; who happily ſurprizing the *French* Fleet at the Port of *Damme*, took three hundred of them loaden with Proviſions, Arms and other valuable Things, and burnt and ſunk above a hundred more; ſo that the *French* King was ſo greatly diſappointed, that he ſhortly after return'd to *Paris*.

The Pope diſſuades the French *King from his Expedition.*

His Fleet is worſted at Sea by the Engliſh.

King *John* ſwoln with this Succeſs, was now elevated with the Hopes of regaining all his loſt Countries, and the more becauſe he had the Promiſe of Aſſiſtance both from the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders*; and to this End he gather'd a powerful Army to *Portſmouth*. But in the midſt of this hopeful Proſpect, he met with his uſual Diſappointment; for being ready to take Shipping, the great Men and Barons directly deny'd their Aſſiſtance, *unleſs he was firſt abſolv'd from his Excommunication*; which had been deferred 'till the Arrival of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. Upon which the King immediately ſent over an honourable Embaſſie, and Letters of ſafe Conduct to the Arch-Biſhop, and the reſt of the Exiles, to return and receive Satisfaction according to the Articles with the Legate. Accordingly the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Lincoln* and *Hereford*, with the other Clerks and Laicks then in Baniſhment by reaſon of the Interdict, arrived at *Dover* on the ſixteenth Day of *July*, and went to wait on the King at *Wincheſter*; who hearing of their Coming, went forth to meet them, and throwing himſelf at the Feet of the Biſhops, with a Flood of Tears beſeeched them *to have pity on him and the Kingdom of* England. Upon which, ſeeing his great Humility, they lifted him from the Ground, and with Tears likewiſe led him to the Chapter-Houſe at *Wincheſter*, where before he was abſolved, he took an Oath, '*That he would to the utmoſt of his Power love, defend and maintain the Holy Church; That he would re-eſtabliſh the good Laws of his Anceſtors, eſpecially thoſe of King* Edward, *and deſtroy ſuch as were wicked; That he would judge all his Subjects according to the juſt Judgment of his Court, and reſtore to every Man his Right.* He alſo ſwore, *That he would make full Satisfaction to all concern'd in the Interdict, for what had been taken from them, and that before next* Eaſter; or elſe his Sentence of Excommunication was to be renew'd. Moreover he ſwore Fealty and Obedience '*to Pope* Innocent,

King John *abſolv'd from his Excommunication.*

‘ *and his Catholick Succeſſors, as it was contain'd in his* ‘ *late Charter.* Then the Arch-Biſhop, abſolving him, carry'd him into the Church, and there celebrated Maſs; from whence the Prelate went and din'd at the ſame Table with the King, to the general Joy and Satisfaction of the People.

He is diſappointed by his Nobility.

The King now began to entertain freſh Hopes of Succeſs abroad, and accordingly repair'd again to *Portſmouth* in order to paſs into *France*; but as ill Fortune generally attended him, ſo he was again diſappointed by his great Men, Knights, and ſuch as held by Military Tenure, who complain'd *That they had attended ſo long for this Expedition, that all their Mony was ſpent; and unleſs he would furniſh them out of his own Treaſury, they could not go with him.* The King refuſing this, took Shipping himſelf with his private Family, and after three Days arriv'd at *Jerſey*, while his Lords and great Men return'd home; ſo that ſeeing himſelf deſerted, he ſail'd back to *England*, without any further Progreſs in this Deſign. But being highly incens'd, at his Return he rais'd a powerful Force to chaſtiſe them whom he accounted as Rebels to the Performance of their wonted Duty and Service; but while he was marching to reduce them, the new Arch-Biſhop ſtopp'd him at *Northampton*, declaring *That to make War againſt any Perſon, without the Judgment of his Court, was a Violation of his late Oath.* Upon which the King anſwer'd in a violent Tone, *That he would not lay aſide the Buſineſs of his Kingdom for one Clerk, who had nothing to do with Lay-Matters*; and the next Morning march'd towards *Nottingham.* The Arch-Biſhop follow'd him, and threatned, That unleſs he immediately deſiſted, he would anathematize all thoſe, beſides himſelf, that took up Arms againſt any Man before the Relaxation of the Interdict; by which means he caus'd the King to give over proſecuting the Barons by Force, and by his Aſſiduity obtain'd a competent Day for them to anſwer in his Court.

Upon the twenty fifth Day of *Auguſt*, a Council or Synod met at *London* to compoſe all Differences between the King and the Barons; at which Time the Biſhops, Abbots, Deans, and ſeveral Barons, being aſſembled in St. *Paul*'s Church, Arch-Biſhop *Stephen*, after an Indulgence granted to Churches to chant over their publick Prayers with a low Voice, drew ſome of the chief Men aſide, and reminded them, *That when he abſolv'd the King, he caus'd him to ſwear* ‘ *That he would aboliſh all unjuſt Laws, and* ‘ *eſtabliſh ſuch as were good throughout the Kingdom:* And further inform'd them, *He had found a Charter of King* Henry *the Firſt, by which, if they thought fit, they might aſſert their ancient Liberties ſo long loſt.* Then producing the Charter it ſelf, which we have already mention'd in the firſt Year of that King's Reign, he caus'd it to be read publickly before them, where it was receiv'd with great Joy and Satisfaction; and all ſwore in the Preſence of the Arch-Biſhop, *That upon a convenient Opportunity, They would contend even to Death it ſelf for thoſe Liberties.* On the other ſide the Arch-Biſhop promis'd them his faithful and utmoſt Aſſiſtance; and ſo the Confederacy being firmly concluded, the Conference or Parliament was diſſolv'd: This being the firſt League or Confederacy made by the Barons of *England* of the *Norman* Extract againſt the King, in Defence of their ancient Rights and Liberties. This was ſhortly after ſucceeded by the Death of *Geoffry Fitz-Peter*, Juſticiary of *England*, who had been the chief Stay and Support of the Kingdom; yet his Death was ſo pleaſing to his Sovereign, that upon the News of it he ſwore *That now at length he was King of* England, and with great Joy ſaid to ſome Lords about him, *When this Man comes to Hell let him ſalute the Arch-Biſhop* Hubert, *whom certainly he will find there.* And from this Time he took upon him a more abſolute Power of contradicting his Oaths and Contracts, and of ſetting himſelf free from the Agreement he had lately made.

The Nobility ſtand up for the Privileges of the Nation.

The King ſeeks for Shelter from the Pope,

And now finding his Nobility and others to bear hard upon him, he began to take Shelter under the Power of the See of *Rome*, whoſe Intereſt it was at preſent to vindicate all his Actions. To put an end to his Troubles, he was now viſited by a Legate from his Holineſs of a higher Form than *Pandolf*, which was *Nicolas* Biſhop of *Tuſculum*, and a Cardinal, who arriv'd at *London* about *Michaelmas* in a ſolemn and pompous Manner. The open and profeſs'd Deſign of his Coming was to relax the Interdict, in order to which he firſt endeavour'd to reconcile the King and Prelates upon Covenants of Reſtitution; towards which, tho' the King offer'd a hundred thouſand Marks, yet the Prelates, condemning the Legate of Partiality for approving it, choſe rather to ſuffer the whole Land to groan under the Burden of the Interdict, than to recede from any Part of their covetous Demands. This gave a fair Occaſion to the Pope's Agent to diſcover to the King the more ſecret and principal Cauſe of his Embaſſie, which was for effecting a more valid and unexceptionable Conveyance of his Kingdoms to the *Roman* See; for which he alledg'd, *That the King could never be ſecure and eaſie, but under the powerful Protection of the Apoſtolick Wings.* King *John* finding himſelf ſurrounded with Difficulties, and that he had created many Enemies, at length ſervilely comply'd; and having a ſolemn Aſſembly in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*'s, he before the great Altar, in the Sight of the Clergy and Laity, renew'd his infamous Subjection of the Crown and Kingdom of *England*, with the Lordſhip or Dominion of *Ireland* to the Pope; and the King's Charter, which was formerly ſeal'd with Wax, and deliver'd to *Pandolf*, was now ſeal'd with Gold, and deliver'd to the Legate, for the Uſe of the Pope and the *Roman* Church. At the ſame Time, we are told That the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſtept forth, and in the Name of the whole Clergy and Kingdom, boldly and ſolemnly preſented at the ſame Altar his Appeal and Proteſtation againſt that Charter, as execrable to the whole World.

and confirms his Reſignation to him.

A.D. 1214. Reg. $\frac{15}{16}$.

Great Abuſes from the Pope's Legate.

As the Arch-Biſhop now began to ſet himſelf againſt the Intereſt of the Pope, formerly his great Benefactor, ſo the Pope eaſily found Means to revenge himſelf, by ordering his Legate to fill up all the Vacancies in the Church, contrary to his Will and Conſent. And when he made a formal Appeal to the See of *Rome* againſt his Legate, for not only diſpoſing of all Spiritual Dignities to ſuch as were Favourites to the King, but alſo to his own *Italians*, and Kinſmen, tho' abſent, unknown, inſufficient, unworthy, yea and to ſome unborn; he could meet with no Redreſs. For the Legate had before ſent *Pandolf* to *Rome*, where he did not a little blaſt the Credit of the Arch-Biſhop with the Pope, and ſo much extoll'd the King that he affirm'd, *That he never heard of a more humble and modeſt Prince*, ſo that he obtain'd great Favour with his Holineſs: And tho' *Simon Langton*, Brother to the Arch-Biſhop, was purpoſely ſent to oppoſe *Pandolf*, yet ſince he now brought over the King's Charters, containing the Subjection and Tribute of his Kingdoms, *Simon* could not be heard in what he offer'd againſt him. *Pandolf* alſo affirm'd, *That the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops were too rigid and covetous in their exacting Reſtitution; and that they had beyond all Equity depreſs'd the King himſelf, and the Liberties of the Kingdom.* All which Allegations occaſion'd the Pope to haſten the Relaxation of the Interdict, contrary to the Deſire and Expectations of ſome Men; and the Conditions were that the King ſhould only pay forty thouſand Marks in all, and by ſeveral Portions, in lieu of all Reſtitution whatſoever. Which being agreed and eſtabliſh'd, the Legate on the twenty ninth Day of *June* publickly releas'd the Sentence of Interdict, after it had continu'd ſix Years, three Months, and fourteen Days. For this extraordinary Benefit *Te Deum* was ſolemnly ſung by the Clergy; and the whole Nation highly rejoic'd, that they were now reſtor'd to the free and publick Exerciſe of religious Duties. But as to Matters of Reſtitution, none but the rich Biſhops and ſome Abbies receiv'd any Benefit, while the poorer Monaſteries, and inferior Clergy, receiv'd no Satisfaction for all their Loſſes.

The Interdict after ſix Years is releas'd.

King John*'s laſt Expedition in foreign Parts.*

In the mean Time King *John*, having paſs'd into *France*, was once more trying his Fortunes in that Country; and entering *Poictou*, his Succeſs was ſo great, that he ſoon ſubdu'd the greateſt Part of it, which gave great Hopes that his other Provinces would follow. From whence he preſs'd with the like Victories into *Bretaign*; but being juſt ready to give Battel to *Lewis* the *Dauphine*, his ever faithleſs *Poictovins* ſuddenly forſook him, and oblig'd him to abandon his Deſign. But the greateſt Blow to his Hopes was the total Defeat of his Confederate *Otho* the Emperor, at the famous Battel of *Bovines*, where *Philip* ſtrucken from his Horſe by the Earl of *Boloign*, had there with his Life ended the Conteſt, had not a faithful Soldier cover'd him with his own Body, who thereupon recover'd his Footing, and gain'd ſuch an effectual Victory, that no Prince was for the future able to withſtand him. This melancholy News oblig'd King *John* to deſire a five Years Truce of the *French* King, by which all Things and Perſons were to remain in the ſame State as they were in at the Time of the Ratification. This being concluded, King *John* return'd into *England* on the nineteenth Day of *October*, after ſome Advantages gain'd: And this was the laſt Expedition that ever he made into Foreign Parts.

VII. King *John*, tho' he had neither retriev'd his Honour, nor recover'd his Territories, now ſeem'd to have ſurmounted thoſe Difficulties, as might have made him eaſie the reſt of his Reign; but his former Carriage had laid ſuch a Foundation for Diſcontents, that inſtead of Reſt, he ſoon found himſelf plung'd into greater Troubles and Misfortunes than ever he had felt before. For about the Time of his Return, the Earls and Barons, under a Pretence of a Pilgrimage, met at St. *Edmud*'s *Bury*, where after long and private Conſultations, the Charter of King *Henry* I. was produc'd, which they had lately re-

The Nobility combine againſt him about the Charter of Liberties.

A. D. 1215. Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.

The King rejects their Propoſals.

ceiv'd from the Arch-Biſhop, containing, as our Author ſays, the Laws and Liberties that King *Edward* had granted to the Holy *Engliſh* Church and the great Men of the Kingdom, with ſome other Liberties added by King *Henry* himſelf. Here they took a ſolemn Oath at the High Altar, *That if the King refus'd to grant them their demanded Liberties, they would withdraw their Obedience, and make War upon him, 'till he ſhould by a ſeal'd Charter reconfirm them:* And further they agreed to go after *Chriſtmas* and demand his Confirmation of the ſaid Liberties, and in the mean Time to provide themſelves with Horſe and Arms, that no Compulſion might be wanting if Occaſion ſo requir'd. Accordingly at the appointed Time they repair'd to the King at *London*, all in very pompous military Accoutrements, where they deſir'd *That the Laws and Liberties of King* Edward, *with other Privileges granted to the Kingdom and Church of* England, *might be confirm'd, as they were contain'd in the Charters of* Henry *the Firſt:* Further alledging, *That at the Time of his Abſolution, he promis'd by his Oath to obſerve thoſe very Laws and Liberties.* The King ſtartled at their Demands, and dreading their Preparations, calmly deſir'd Time 'till the Cloſe of *Eaſter* to return them a poſitive Anſwer, and ſo ſatisfied them for the preſent: But the better to ſecure himſelf, he immediately caus'd all Perſons to renew their Homages, and to ſwear Allegiance to him againſt all others; and further took upon him the *Cruſado*, that he might be more ſafe under the Protection of that Badge; but ſtill without Effect. For in *Eaſter* Week, the great Men met at *Stanford*, conſiſting of moſt of the Nobility of *England*, and making up a powerful Army, in which were no leſs than two thouſand Knights, beſides other Horſe and Foot, arm'd with divers Weapons; and Arch-Biſhop *Langton* was their principal, tho' private Adviſer. At the ſame Time the King at *Oxford* expected their coming thither; but hearing of their Numbers and Preparations, he ſent ſome of his chief Courtiers to know of them *What Laws and Liberties they deſired.* Upon which the Confederate Earls and Barons deliver'd them a Schedule, containing principally the ancient Cuſtoms of the Kingdom; declaring, *That if the King would not immediately grant and confirm them under his Seal, they would compel him by ſeiſing his Caſtles and Poſſeſſions.* Upon the ſight of theſe, the King falling into a violent Paſſion, ask'd *Why the Barons did not with theſe Exactions demand his Kingdom?* Declaring *That they were all fooliſh and groundleſs*, and with a ſolemn Oath proteſted, *That he would never grant ſuch Liberties as would make himſelf a Slave.*

The Beginning of the Barons Wars.

The King complies.

Thus began an unhappy War, call'd the *Barons War*, occaſion'd by the Nobility's poſitive inſiſting, and the King's obſtinate refuſing to confirm the Laws of King *Edward*, and the Liberties and Privileges of other preceding Kings, as the Author of the Annals of *Waverly* judiciouſly obſerves. To which he adds, That thoſe Laws had been much corrupted and infring'd, during this King's Father's Reign; but chiefly in his own, who had diſpoſſeſs'd ſeveral great Men without any Judgment of their Peers, condemn'd others to cruel Deaths, and violated their Wives and Daughters, inſomuch that his tyrannical Will ſtood inſtead of a Law. The Barons having defy'd the King, and renounc'd their late Homage, choſe the Lord *Fitz-Water* for their General, calling him *The Marſhal of the Army of God, and of the Holy Church*; and immediately march'd to *Northampton*, and beſieg'd the Caſtle fifteen Days, but without Succeſs. Upon which they rais'd the Siege, and went to *Bedford* Caſtle, where they were kindly receiv'd by the Maſter *William Beauchamp*. Here receiving ſecret Intelligence that they might now poſſeſs themſelves of the City of *London*, they immediately march'd to *Ware*, and on the twenty fourth Day of *May*, early in the Morning enter'd the City at *Aldgate*, by the Favour of ſome of the rich Citizens. Having obtain'd this great Advantage, they beſieg'd the Tower, and by their threatning Letters to all Oppoſers ſoon caus'd a very great Defection in all Parts, both among the Commonalty as well as the Gentry. The King for a while kept himſelf upon the Defenſive, but now ſeeing himſelf deſerted, and fearing they would ſeize his Caſtles, he ſent the Earl of *Pembroke* and other faithful Meſſengers to them, to let them know *he would grant them the Laws and Liberties they deſir'd*, allowing them to appoint a Day and a Place to meet and conclude this Affair. This is ſuppos'd to have been a deceitful Meſſage on the King's Part, yet the Barons were tranſported with it, and joyfully appointed the King to meet him on the fifteenth Day of *June*, in a Meadow between *Stanes* and *Windſor* call'd *Runnemede*; which ſignifies the *Mead of Council*, becauſe from ancient Times Treaties for the Peace of the Kingdom had been often held there.

Magna Charta, &c. confirm'd by the King.

Twenty five Perſons appointed for Security.

In this Place the King appear'd with the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Biſhops, with ſome few Lords; but on the Barons Side the Nobility were not eaſily to be number'd; So that the King finding himſelf much over-power'd, without any ſeeming Difficulty granted them the Laws and Liberties in two Charters, becauſe being ſo many, they could not be contain'd in one Schedule. The firſt and chief is call'd *Charta Communium Libertatum*, or *Magna Charta*, the *Charter of Liberty*, or the *Great Charter*; and the ſecond *Charta Foreſta*, the *Charter of the Liberties of the Foreſt.* In the great Charter, among other Matters it was decreed, ‘ That the *Common Pleas* ſhould not follow the Court, but ſhould be fix'd in one certain Place: That Itinerant Juſtices ſhould be ſent through every County once a Year, to hold Aſſizes in each County, together with the Knights of the reſpective Diviſions; and ſuch Things as they could not determine in the proper Counties, ſhould be determin'd in ſome other Place in their Circuit; and if any Difficulty aroſe, ſo as they could not determine it, it ſhould be referr'd to the Juſtices of the King's Bench. That Earls and Barons ſhould not be amerc'd but by their Peers: That no Tax ſhould be rais'd without the Conſent of the Parliament, excepting only for the Redemption of the King's Perſon, if Neceſſity requir'd it, or for Knighting his eldeſt Son, or for the Marriage of his eldeſt Daughter: In either of which three Caſes he might levy a moderate Tax by his own Authority. If on other Occaſions he wanted a Subſidy, the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls and greater Barons ſhould be ſummon'd ſingly by different Writs; and all others in general who held of the King *in Capite*, ſhould be ſummon'd by the Sheriffs and Bailiffs, to meet at a certain Day and Place; and that the Summons ſhould be iſſu'd out forty Days at leaſt before the Time of Meeting; and in the Writ of Summons the Cauſe of their being ſummon'd ſhould be ſpecify'd. And becauſe not only the King, but his great Men uſually tax'd their Subjects at Pleaſure, it was alſo provided, that no Perſon whatſoever ſhould tax his free Tenants, except only in the three fore-mention'd Caſes. The King not only ſign'd this Charter, but ſwore to it; and by the Charter it ſelf twenty five Barons were appointed to be choſen by the whole Baronage, to take care upon Oath to ſee it well obſerv'd. To any four of which all Perſons might complain of any Breach of it, and they were to admoniſh the King of it; and if the Grievance were not redreſs'd within forty Days after, then thoſe four Barons were to refer the Matter to the whole Body: For whom it was lawful, together with the Commons of the Land, to take Poſſeſſion of the King's Caſtles and Poſſeſſions, and to oppreſs him all manner of Ways, ſaving only his own Perſon, and the Perſons of his Queen and Children, till according to their Will the Grievance was redreſs'd: And all Perſons on ſuch an Occaſion were allow'd to take an Oath of Fidelity to the Barons. And to confirm all, the King ſent his Letters-Patents to all the Sheriffs of *England*, commanding them to oblige Perſons of all Conditions within their Interdictions to ſwear, That they would obſerve theſe Laws, and, if Need requires, to compel the King alſo to obſerve them.

The King relapſes, and retires to the Iſle of Wight.

All Things now ſeem'd to be in a quiet and ſettled Condition, and all Men rejoic'd, hoping that God had touch'd the King's Heart, and that *England* ſhould now be freed from the Servitude which had ſo long afflicted it: But all theſe Affairs in a ſhort Time prov'd contrary to Expectation; for the King's mercenary Soldiers, deſiring War more than Peace, were by their Leaders continually whiſpering in his Ears, *That he was now no longer a King, but the Scorn of other Princes; and that it was more eligible to be no King, than ſuch a one as he.* By daily adding freſh Fuel to the Flame, the King at length quite alienated his Affection from his own natural Subjects, and confided wholly in Theſe; ſo that in a little Time he became very reſerv'd and melancholy, often walking alone, and giving divers Signs of inward Rage and Diſcontent. Then giving Orders to the Governors of his Caſtles to fortifie, man and victual them, he privately retir'd to the Iſle of *Wight*, where he began to pull off his Mask, and reſolv'd both by the Spiritual as well as Temporal Sword, to free himſelf from his Obligations. To begin with the former, he ſent *Pandolf* with others to the Pope, that he might by his Apoſtolick Authority make void what the Barons had done, and fruſtrate all their Deſigns; and for the latter, he ſent ſome Biſhops and Noblemen to all the neighbouring Nations to procure foreign Aſſiſtance, promiſing large Poſſeſſions and Sums of Mony to ſuch as would arm themſelves in his Cauſe; and if it were needful, they might make Deeds of Gift to ſuch as were willing to come, for the greater Security of their Military Stipends. For near three Months the King continu'd privately in the Iſland, without any Court or Regal Appearance, ſometimes plying about the Sea-Coaſts, and converſing only with Seamen, which gave Occaſion for ſtrange and various Reports, as that he was turn'd a Fiſherman, ſometimes a Merchant, and other times a Pirate; tho' he only waited for the Return of his Meſſengers from *Rome*, and the Arrival of his mercenary Forces.

Magna Charta *condemn'd by the Pope.*

At *Rome* he met with what Succeſs he could deſire, where all the Tranſactions with the Barons were fully repreſented to the Pope, and the Charter of Liberties ſhewn him in writing: Which when he had carefully perus'd, he with a furious Look cry'd out, *What! Do the Barons of* England *endeavour to dethrone a King, who has taken upon him the Holy Croſs, and is under the Protection of the Apoſtolick See; and would they force him to transfer the Dominions of the* Roman *Church to Others? By St.* Peter, *this Injury muſt not paſs unpuniſh'd.* Then debating the Matter with the Cardinals, he by a definitive Sentence damn'd and caſſated for ever the Charter of Liberties, and ſent the King a Bull containing that Sentence at large. As the King was ſucceſsful at *Rome*, ſo he met with fair Proſpects from his Foreign Aſſiſtance, conſiſting of very numerous Troops drawn from *Poictou*, *Gaſcony*, *Brabant*, *Flanders* and other Parts; all deſperate Adventurers, whoſe miſerable Fortunes at home, eaſily drew them to any Miſchiefs abroad. Theſe were to be rewarded with large Poſſeſſions in *England*, if they ſucceeded againſt the King's Subjects; and had not *Hugh de Boves*, at his ſetting forth from *Calice* with forty Thouſand Men, Women and Children, been by a ſudden Tempeſt all drown'd in the Sea, King *John* had made an univerſal Conqueſt of his own Kingdom, far more miſerable than that by the *Normans*.

The King begins a War upon his Subjects.

However with theſe Forces he began the Siege of *Rocheſter* Caſtle, which held out ſo long, that when he took it, he would have hang'd all the Men in it, had not *Savery de Malleon* diſſuaded him from ſuch a cruel Attempt. After which he began to meet with greater Succeſs; for dividing his great Army into two Parts, with the one he march'd Northwards, where he victoriouſly ſubdu'd all Places, while the Earl of *Salisbury* with the other Foreigners did the ſame Southwards. At which Time all Things were in a deplorable State, and in the greateſt Confuſion; Fathers ſet againſt their Sons, Brother againſt Brother, Kinſmen and Allies againſt their neareſt Friends, attacking, ſurprizing, purſuing, burning, ravaging, tormenting and murdering; all the Kingdom, by the Combuſtion of ſo univerſal a War, becoming like a general Shambles, or Place of infernal Deſolation. And now it appear'd ſtrange that thoſe Barons, and their adhering Impugners of the King, whoſe Pretext formerly was, that they durſt not obey the King becauſe of the Papal Curſe, being now themſelves by vertue of the ſame commanded to obey and aſſiſt him, could without any Scruple contemn both it and him, pretending *it concern'd them not*, *becauſe not particularly nam'd.* And the Arch-Biſhop himſelf, who had made the World believe, that the Pope's Cenſure, and his own too, were ſufficient to deprive the King of all Sovereign Command, now being in Name, and under the ſame Penalty, requir'd by the Pope to denounce the ſame againſt the King's Oppoſers, he without any regard to it told the Meſſengers, *He would not do it for any Cauſe whatſoever, 'till he had conferr'd with his Holineſs in Perſon.* For which Contempt, *Pandolf* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſolemnly denouncing the Curſe themſelves againſt the Barons, did likewiſe ſuſpend him from all Epiſcopal Authority. Shortly after the Arch-Biſhop was obliged to appear at *Rome* in a grand Council, where the Pope excommunicated all, either *French* or *Engliſh*, who oppos'd King *John*; and here he was accus'd and convict of Treaſon againſt the King, and of Contempt againſt the Pope and Church's Cenſures. For which the Pope fully reſolving to depoſe him from his See and Dignity, by the Cardinals earneſt Interceſſion for him, he was intreated to uſe him ſomewhat milder; but yet by a publick Sentence he confirm'd his Suſpenſion, and commanded by his Letters all Suffragan Biſhops to withdraw their Obedience from him. And for a further Revenge, whereas *Simon Langton*, his Brother, had by his Procurement been elected into the See of *York*, the Pope not only vacated his Election, and made him incapable of any Epiſcopal Dignity, but alſo plac'd in that See *Walter Grey*, a true Friend to King *John*, and a profeſs'd Enemy to the Family of the *Langtons*.

The Pope joins with him.

A.D. 1216. Reg. $\frac{17}{18}$. To ſecure the *Roman* Power, not long after the Pope proceeded to excommunicate all the diſloyal Barons by Name, and interdicted all their Lands, together with the City of *London*, where they had their chief Reſidence: Which tho' it gave a dangerous Blow to their Faction, yet ſtill ſtanding upon their Guard at *London*, they ſo little regarded theſe Cenſures, that they decreed That neither themſelves nor the Citizens ſhould obſerve them, nor the Prelates denounce them; alledging, *That they were obtain'd by falſe Suggeſtions, and therefore not valid; That it did not belong to the Pope to direct and govern in Lay-Matters, ſince St.* Peter *only receiv'd an Eccleſiaſtical Power from our Saviour: Why therefore ſhould they be govern'd by the Avarice and Ambition of the* Roman *Biſhops? who are rather the Succeſſors of* Conſtantine; *without reſembling St.* Peter *either in their Piety or Authority.* While they were thus complaining, and daily declining, King *John* rang'd through all Parts with his cruel Mercenaries, who, as *M. Paris* aſſures us, ſpar'd neither Age nor Sex, ſuffering none to eſcape their Barbarities: And he further relates, That they took Prieſts from the very Altar, with the conſecrated Hoſts in their Hands, and then wounded, tortur'd and robb'd them; and that to extort Mony from Perſons of all Conditions, they hang'd ſome by the Privities, others by the Legs and Feet, ſome by their Arms, Hands or Thumbs, injecting Salt and Vinegar into their Eyes; and others they laid upon Trivets and Grid-irons over burning Coals, and then put their parch'd Bodies under Ice to cool them: So that now all Commerce ceas'd, and no Markets were held but in Cœmeteries and Church-Yards.

Great Cruelties by the King's Army of Mercenaries.

The Barons ſend for the Dauphine *of* France.

The Barons finding their Eſtates given to Strangers, their Wives and Daughters violated, and their Fortunes ruin'd, began now to curſe the Pope, who had formerly moſt ſhamefully encourag'd them to withſtand their Sovereign; and to recover all, they reſolv'd upon a deſperate Project, agreeable to their former Actions, which was to deliver the Kingdom of *England* into the Hands of *Lewis* the *Dauphine* of *France*. Accordingly they ſent ſome of their chief Friends to *France* with their Letters of Allegiance, to implore King *Philip*'s Favour for ſending his Son, and his Son's, for the Acceptance of the Crown; and upon the Delivery of twenty five *Engliſh* Hoſtages, they receiv'd a preſent Supply of *French* Soldiers, with the Promiſe of the ſpeedy Arrival of their new Sovereign. The Pope having Intelligence of the Deſigns of the *French* King, immediately ſent his Legate Cardinal *Wallo* with his Apoſtolick Commands to King *Philip*, *to prevent his Son from entering St.* Peter's *Patrimony*, denouncing the great Curſe againſt all Men combining with the excommunicated Barons. To which *Philip* return'd Anſwer, *That* England *was no Patrimony of St* Peter's, *for* John *having been convict of Treaſon againſt his Brother* Richard, *was never a lawful King; or if he were ſuch, he now ſtood condemn'd for the Death of his Nephew* Arthur: *That no King could diſpoſe of his Kingdom without the Aſſent of the Barons, who are bound to defend it; and if the Pope would inſiſt upon this Error, it would prove a pernicious Example to all Civil States.* Then all the great Men of *France* unanimouſly declar'd, *They would maintain this Point even to Death, That no King or Potentate, by his ſingle Authority, had Power to give away, or transfer his Kingdom, and thereby enſlave his Nobility.* At the ſame Time *Lewis* begg'd of his Father, *Not to hinder him of that which he had not given him, and for which he was reſolv'd to ſpend his Blood; and would ſooner chuſe Excommunication, than falſifie his Promiſe to the* Engliſh *Barons.*

The Pope oppoſes the Deſign in vain.

The Dauphine *comes into* England.

With this ſlender Reſpect and Scorn to his Holineſs, the Legate ſeeing ſuch ſtern Looks, and fearing ſome Miſchief, retir'd in haſte; and *Lewis* as ſpeedily ſet forwards for *England*, with his Fleet of ſix hundred Ships and eighty Boats, with which arriving firſt at the Iſle of *Thanet*, and afterwards at *Sandwich*, the Barons came thither and join'd with him. Whereupon thinking it Wiſdom firſt to arm himſelf againſt Spiritual Weapons, he immediately wrote a plauſible Letter to *Alexander* Abbot of *Canterbury*, who was to denounce the Pope's Curſe againſt him, 'in which he laid before him his Title to the Crown 'which *John* had forfeited; Firſt, By Treaſon in King '*Richard*'s Reign; Secondly, Becauſe his attaining the 'Crown was by pure Election; Thirdly, Becauſe he was 'ſolemnly condemn'd by the *French* Peers for the Death 'of Duke *Arthur*; Fourthly, For violating his Oath in 'enthralling the Kingdom to the Pope, in wronging the 'Clergy, and oppreſſing the Laity. That therefore the 'Right was devolv'd to *Lewis* the *Dauphine*; Firſt by Inheritance of his Wife, who was Niece to King *John*, 'and Secondly by the Election of the Nobility. Theſe ſpecious Pretences had no Effect upon *Alexander*, who forthwith denounc'd the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Lewis* and his mighty Army, and cloſely adhered to his Sovereign, notwithſtanding all the Threats and Promiſes us'd by *Lewis* to win him to his Side.

His Pretenſions.

He arrives at London.

In the mean Time King *John* lay at *Dover* with his Army, which conſiſting of Strangers, he durſt not attempt to hinder the Landing of the *French*, leſt his Men ſhould deſert to *Lewis*; from whence he went to *Guilford*, and ſo on to *Wincheſter*; whilſt *Lewis* himſelf, finding no Army to oppoſe him, in a ſhort Time ſubdu'd *Rocheſter*, and all the Country, except *Dover* Caſtle. Then coming up to *London*, he was met by the Barons with all the outward Demonſtrations of Joy and Triumph, receiving at the ſame Time Homages from them and the Citizens; and he likewiſe ſwore upon the Holy Evangeliſts, *That he would reſtore to all of them all good Laws, and their loſt Inheritances.* At the ſame Time he made *Simon Langton* his Chancellor, who being inrag'd at the Pope's hindering *and is very ſucceſsful.*

him of the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, did now perſuade Prince *Lewis* with all the Barons and Citizens to be preſent at Divine Service, notwithſtanding the Interdict, and *Wallo*'s excommunicating both *Lewis* and him by Name: So that when once the Clergy and People became unanimous, the Pope's Cenſures were of little or no Effect. *Lewis*'s Homagers daily increaſing, he left *London*, and in no long Time made himſelf Maſter of moſt of *Kent*, *Suſſex* and *Hampſhire*, with almoſt all the Southern Parts of *England*; but not without Reſiſtance in ſeveral Places: Particularly at *Odiam* Caſtle, where but thirteen *Engliſh* Men, not only oppos'd *Lewis* and his whole Army for fifteen Days, but alſo ſallying out took every Man his Priſoner, and at length with great Admiration of the *French*, and honourable Conditions, ſurrender'd the Caſtle. In the Time of theſe Hoſtilities *Alexander* King of the *Scots* came to wait upon *Lewis* at *Dover*, and did him Homage for the Lands he held in *England*; and on the other Side He, as well as the Barons, ſwore, *That they would never make Peace with King* John, *without the King of the* Scots *Conſent*. *Dover*, with a few other Caſtles, only now ſtood out; where while *Lewis* us'd incredible Toil and Expence in a furious but ineffectual Siege, and his Confederates were employ'd in the ſame manner at *Windſor*; King *John* and his mighty Army, breaking forth with a ſudden Violence, like a furious Tempeſt overrun many Counties, to the Ruin and Deſtruction of the Barons Caſtles, Houſes, Lands and Poſſeſſions in all Parts.

Several of the Barons relent.

The Barons were now under great Troubles and Afflictions, to ſee their native Country by their own Wilfulneſs thus horribly ravag'd, and their Goods and Eſtates plunder'd and ruin'd by the King's Forces; and what added to their Grief was to find that their faithful Services, in this their faithleſs Adherence, not ſo reſpected by *Lewis*, as he and their own vain Hopes had promis'd them, whilſt he conferr'd upon his own *French* Men only all thoſe Territories and Caſtles he conquer'd. But their greateſt Affliction was what they accidentally learnt from the Viſcount *de Melun*, a *French* Nobleman, who being in his laſt Sickneſs at *London*, generouſly ſent to thoſe Barons that were there for the Security of the City, and declar'd to them, *That he was extreamly griev'd for the impending Ruin that was falling upon them, of which they had no Knowledge; Particularly That Prince* Lewis *with ſixteen Earls and Barons of* France *had ſworn, That when he had conquer'd* England, *and was crown'd, he would for ever baniſh all Thoſe who fought for him againſt King* John, *as Traitors to the Realm, and deſtroy their Poſterity; and that they might not doubt the Truth of it, he affirm'd it upon the Word of a dying Man, and as he hop'd for Salvation, that he was one of thoſe who had taken that Oath; yet he deſir'd them to be ſecret, and provide for their Safety as well as they could*; preſently after which he expir'd. This being whiſper'd among the Nobility, prov'd a terrible Alarm to them, both as to their Security and their Conſciences; eſpecially when they found themſelves thus ſtigmatiz'd with the odious Character of *Traitors* by a foreign Prince, and under the Sentence of Excommunication from the Apoſtolick Authority. Some of theſe reflecting upon their miſerable Condition, thought of returning to their old Obedience; but others were afraid they had ſo highly provok'd the King, that he would never accept of their Return; yet no leſs than forty of the Barons took a Reſolution to quit Prince *Lewis*, and ſent their humble Submiſſion of Obedience to him a little before his Death.

The King loſes his Baggage in the Sea.

In the mean time the unfortunate King kept himſelf in perpetual Motion and Action, ſometimes in the Weſt, and other times in the Eaſt and North; whilſt *Lyn* in *Norfolk* ſerv'd as a Place of Retreat or Defence for all the King's Friends in thoſe Parts, and there he alſo ſecur'd his Treaſure, Crown, and all his portable *Regalia*. After many Motions and Traverſes, eſpecially in *Lincolnſhire*, in *October* he arriv'd at *Lyn*, where he was receiv'd with great Joy and many Preſents; in return of which he granted the Town large Immunities, and a Mayor, and gave his own Sword to be carry'd before him, with a Silver Cup gilt, which are ſtill to be ſeen. Shortly after the King paſſing from thence to *Lincolnſhire*, and marching over the great *Marſh* between *Norfolk* and that County, he and his whole Army were in Danger of being loſt by the Quick-ſands and Flowing in of the Tide; but all his Waggons, Carts, Sumpter Horſes, with their Lading, and all his Treaſure, precious Veſſels, ſacred Relicks, and his *Regalia* were ſwallow'd up in the Mouth of the River *Welland*; which *M. Paris* Hyperbolically deſcribes by the Earth opening in the midſt of the Floods, and plunging them into the Abyſs. The King got ſafe that Night to *Swines-head* Abby, and there lodg'd; but through exceſſive Grief for the Loſs of his Carriages and Treaſure, he fell into a Fever, which he heighten'd by eating Peaches, and drinking new Ale or Bracket. The next Morning he remov'd from thence, but not being able to ride, he was carry'd in a Litter to *Sleaford* Caſtle; from whence he proceeded in the like Manner as far as *Newark*, where finding his Feaver increaſing, and a Flux beginning, he by his Teſtament appointed *Henry* his eldeſt Son, then a Child, to ſucceed him, devoutly confeſs'd his Sins, forgave his Enemies, and receiv'd the Euchariſt; and after three Days Continuance in that Place, he dy'd on the eighteenth of *October*, and fifty firſt Year of his Age, after a troubleſome and unfortunate Reign of ſeventeen Years, ſeven Months and thirteen Days. His Body, according to his Order, was bury'd in the Cathedral Church at *Worceſter*, but with little Funeral Pomp; and his Tomb, with his Image upon it, is ſtill to be ſeen in the Choir of that Church.

He dies with Grief.

His Character.

This is the moſt authentick Account of the Death of this unfortunate Prince; but as to the vulgar Story of his being poiſon'd by a Monk in *Swines-head* Abby, that is no where mention'd by the ancient Writers, and ſo differently by thoſe more modern, and with ſuch improbable Circumſtances, that we cannot think it worthy to trouble the Reader with it. His chief Misfortunes were the natural Puniſhment of his Crimes, particularly his Ingratitude and Treaſon againſt his Father, and his treacherous as well as traiterous Practices againſt his Brother, which purſu'd him ſo cloſe, that he was not only chaſtis'd by diſloyal Subjects, and an ambitious Pope, but alſo loſt more Territories in a few Years than all his Succeſſors ever did in thrice that Space of Time. He indeed met with extraordinary Hardſhips, both from abroad and at home; and theſe often put him upon exorbitant and illegal Practices, which ſtill added to his own and the Nation's Misfortunes. Yet if he had met with a leſs uſurping Pope, a leſs potent King, and a leſs turbulent Nobility to have manag'd, and alſo leſs envenom'd Writers to have tranſmitted his Story, he might have made a Figure of no ſmall Renown in the World. His Nature and Fortune did never well agree; for he naturally lov'd Eaſe, yet his Fortune was ever to be in Action: He was faithleſs, cruel and violent; neither fit for Proſperity nor Adverſity, for the one made him inſolent, and the other dejected; ſo that a middle Fortune would have beſt ſuited with his Temper. He was extreamly greedy of Mony, which tho' it was got with great Noiſe, was uſually ſpent in Silence; and he was very intemperate in his Pleaſures, in his Luſts exceeding his Father, and not ſparing the Wives of the greateſt Noblemen. He was extreamly variable, ſometimes very religious, as appears by his founding ſeveral Monaſteries, and other Acts of Devotion; and at other Times ſcarce a Chriſtian, as appears from ſo many profane Sayings related of him. And indeed the Monks have blacken'd his Memory with ſeveral ſtrange Stories; as that he counterfeited the Biſhop's Seals, and writ abroad That all *Engliſhmen* were become Infidels and Apoſtates, and therefore ſuch ſhould come to ſubdue them, and take their Poſſeſſions; and at another Time That he offer'd his Kingdom to a *Mooriſh* King, and promis'd to embrace the *Mahometan* Religion: Of which theſe and ſeveral others are juſtly ſuſpected by all judicious Writers.

His Government.

This King by his great and arbitrary Taxes was a ſevere Oppreſſor, yet in ſeveral Reſpects he was no bad Governor: For he was the firſt or chiefeſt who appointed thoſe excellent Forms of Civil Government in *London*, and moſt Cities and Incorporate Towns in *England*, and endow'd them with the greateſt Immunities; the Firſt who caus'd Sterling Money to be here coin'd; the Firſt who ordain'd the honourable Ceremonies in the Creation of Earls; the Firſt who ſettled the Rates and Meaſures for Wine, Bread, Cloth, and ſuch like Neceſſaries; the Firſt who gave to the Cinque Ports the Privileges and Cuſtoms they now enjoy; and the Firſt who planted *Engliſh* Laws and Officers in *Ireland*, enlarging the Royal Style with *Lord* of that Country, making by this ſome Amends for his Loſſes in *France*. In this Reign we find the Prices of ſeveral Commodities; particularly that Wheat at the higheſt was once ſix Shillings the Quarter, and eighteen Pence at the loweſt Rate. The Price of Wines was once fix'd thus: *Rochell* Wine at twenty Shillings the Tun, the Wine of *Anjou* at twenty four Shillings the Tun; and no other *French* Wines at above twenty five Shillings the Tun, unleſs it was ſome of extraordinary Goodneſs, which might be ſold at twenty ſix Shillings and eight Pence the Tun.

SECT. IV.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Third.*

Containing 56 Years, 1 Month, and 4 Days.

A.D. 1216. Reg. 1.

The Earl-Marſhal ſummons the Nobility.

Young Henry crown'd at Glouceſter.

I. THE unexpected Deceaſe of King *John* prov'd of ſingular Advantage to young Prince *Henry* his Son, to whom the Affections of moſt of the Nobility, Clergy and People were inclin'd, both upon the Account of the dying Words of the Viſcount *Melun*, and alſo the preſent Inſolence of the *French*. Therefore as ſoon as the Earls, Biſhops and Barons, who remain'd firm to the late King, could conveniently meet, they all at the Summons of the Earl-Marſhal aſſembled at *Gloceſter*, whither the Earl brought Prince *Henry*, then not ten Years of Age; and having plac'd him in the midſt, he made a Speech to the Aſſembly, beginning with *Behold our King!* and after a ſhort Pauſe thus proceeded, *Altho' we have perſecuted the Father of this Child, and that perhaps juſtly, for his male Adminiſtration, yet ſince his Son is innocent of his Father's Crimes, and ſince, according to the Scriptures, ‘ the Son ought not to bear the Iniquity of ‘ the Father, we muſt have Pity upon the tender Years of this innocent Prince. And foraſmuch as he is the King's eldeſt Son, and ought to be our Lord and Succeſſor in the Kingdom, let us unanimouſly appoint him our King and Governor; and expel* Lewis *and his Followers, and ſo take away the Reproach of our Nation, by breaking the Yoke of that unjuſt Servitude.* This Propoſal was at firſt oppos'd by the Earl of *Gloceſter*, but in a ſhort Time all agreed as if they had been divinely inſpir'd, crying, *Let him, let him be made King!* and immediately appointed the Feaſt of St. *Simon* and *Jude* for his Coronation. At which Time, being eight Days after King *John*'s Death, *Wallo* the Pope's Legate, ſeveral Earls, Biſhops, Barons, Abbots and Priors, with a great Multitude of others, aſſembled at *Gloceſter* to advance Prince *Henry* to the Crown of *England*, tho' he was not the neareſt Heir, for *Eleanor*, Siſter to *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, was ſtill alive, but kept cloſe Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Briſtol*. All Things being ready for the Solemnity, *Wallo* with the reſt brought him in Proceſſion into the Cathedral Church, and placing him before the high Altar, laying his Hands upon the Holy Goſpels and Relicks of Saints, he ſwore this ſolemn Oath, ‘ *That he would honour God, and yield Peace and Reverence to the Holy Church, and all its Clerks, all the Days* ‘ *of his Life; That he would adminiſter true Juſtice to the* ‘ *People; That he would aboliſh all bad Laws and ill Cuſtoms, if any were in the Kingdom, and would obſerve,* ‘ *and cauſe to be obſerved all ſuch as were good.* Then being over-aw'd he did Homage to the Church of *Rome*, and to Pope *Innocent*, for the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and faithfully engag'd *to pay the thouſand Marks yearly to the See of* Rome, *which his Father King* John *had granted to it.* After which the two Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Bath* anointed and crown'd him King, with the uſual Solemnities; only for want of a Crown, which King *John* had loſt in the Sea, he was crown'd with a plain Circle, or Chaplet of Gold.

The Earl-Marſhal made Governor to the King.

The Dauphine's Endeavours.

The Speedineſs of this Royal Ceremony was not greater than the Neceſſities of the State requir'd; for his Enemy Prince *Lewis* had ſtill *London* at his Devotion, and many potent Earls, Barons, and valiant Malecontents, ſubject to his Command, who had taken a ſolemn Oath *Never to acknowledge any of the Sons of the late King* John. The young King on the other Side was ſurrounded with many Difficulties, as want of Years, want of Mony, and many others; to prevent which the great Earl-Marſhal of *Pembroke* was by the unanimous Conſent of Prelates and Peers made Guardian of the King's Perſon, and Vice-Governor of the Kingdom. Upon which, Letters were iſſu'd out in the King's Name to all ſuch as had Command in the Republick, with many Promiſes of Reward and Favour, which in moſt Places were obey'd; the Prejudices againſt the late King being in a great Meaſure bury'd with him in the Grave: And they were much incourag'd when they ſaw that Prince *Lewis* and all his Party were every *Sunday* and Holy-Day Excommunicated by the Pope's Legate. Prince *Lewis*, who had beſieg'd the valiant *Hubert de Burgo* in *Dover* Caſtle, perceiving that King *John*'s Death was no ways advantagious to him, rais'd the Siege, and enter'd *London*, where he might beſt provide for his declining Condition. Having the Tower deliver'd into his Hands, he remov'd and inveſted *Hertford* Caſtle, which after the Slaughter of many of the *French*, ſurrender'd upon honourable Terms. *Robert Fitz-Water* claim'd the Cuſtody of this Place, as belonging to him by ancient Right; upon which the *Frenchmen* declar'd, *That thoſe* Engliſh *were never to be truſted, who had been Traitors to their own Maſter*; yet Prince *Lewis* gave him a dilatory Promiſe, *That when he had totally ſubdu'd the Kingdom, every Man ſhould have his Rights reſtor'd.* The Caſtle of *Berkhamſted*, under *Waleran* a *German* Commander, deſpairing of Relief, was likewiſe ſurrender'd, which like other Places was fill'd with a *French* Garriſon; which rais'd great Jealouſies, and much weaken'd the Affections of thoſe who had invited him into the Nation. His next March was to St. *Albans*, where he requir'd the Abbot to do him Homage, which he abſolutely refus'd, *Unleſs he was firſt releas'd from the Homage to King* Henry; which Anſwer inraging the Prince, the Abbot was conſtrain'd to compound for eighty Marks of Silver, to ſpare the noble Monaſtery and Town 'till *Candlemas* next.

A. D. 1217. Reg. ½.

A ſhort Ceſſation of Arms.

But theſe inteſtine Cauſes, for which the Barons had call'd in *Lewis*, failing by the Death of King *John*, and the Inſolence and Vanity of the *French* occaſioning new Reaſons of Averſion, were all ſtrong Motives to diſpoſe the Minds of the *Engliſh* to return to due Obedience; yet finding themſelves bound in Honour not to leave him to the Mercy of King *Henry*, when upon their Oaths and Hoſtages he had thrown himſelf upon them, they now deſir'd his Abſence, but not his Deſtruction. The better to effect their Deſigns, a Ceſſation from Hoſtilities was propounded and concluded between the King and Prince *Lewis*; to which the latter readily inclin'd, becauſe he had Intelligence from *Rome* that the Curſe which *Wallo* had denounc'd againſt him would ſhortly be confirm'd by the Pope, unleſs he ſpeedily left *England*. As this Truce gave *Lewis* liberty to ſail back to *France* for new Supplies from his Father, who much deſir'd to confer with him; ſo his Abſence gave Opportunity to the *Engliſh* to conſult more freely concerning their Safety; that from that Time *Lewis* was never ſo deep in their Affections, and immediately loſt many Lords and others, who again ſhew'd themſelves true *Engliſhmen*.

The Dauphine's Army does much Damage.

Prince *Lewis*, upon his ſpeedy Return out of *France*, reſolving to make as ſpeedy a Diſpatch, ſent out of *London* his Army of more than twenty thouſand Men, deſigning not only to relieve *Mont-Sorrel* in *Leiceſterſhire*, beſieg'd by the King's Forces, but alſo to ſubdue the adjacent Country. The March of his Army, which after the Relief of *Mont-Sorrel* went as far as *Lincoln*, was very odious and grievous to the Country, conſiſting of the Scum and vileſt of the *French*, who wanting Cloaths for themſelves, caus'd many to go naked to ſupply their Wants, and put others to cruel Tortures to force them to exceſſive Ranſoms. The Earl of *Pembroke*, Governor of the King, by the Advice of *Wallo* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, reſolving to put the Cauſe upon God and the Fortune of the Field, repair'd with his Charge to *Newark*, where the general Aſſembly for that Service was appointed. The whole Army reſted there for ſome Days, which they ſpent in Devotions and receiving the Euchariſt, humbling themſelves before the offended Majeſty of Heaven; and all being prepar'd now reſolv'd either to return victorious, or to die in Defence of their Country, their Sovereign's Rights, and their own Liberties, all which ſeem'd to lie at Stake. To give them the greater Spirit and Vigor, *Wallo* with extraordinary Solemnity execrated *Lewis* and all his Coadjutors; and thus the Army march'd towards *Lincoln*, where *Lewis*'s Forces had beſieg'd the Caſtle; but the King himſelf was left eight Miles from the City, at *Stow*, with *Wallo* and a ſtrong Guard there, without Peril of his Perſon to attend God's Pleaſure in the Event of this Action.

He is wholly defeated at Lincoln.

Upon their Approach, if the Advice of ſome had been follow'd, the *French* Army had iſſu'd out of the City, and given them Battel in the open Field; but the *French* General, the Earl of *Perch*, thinking the King's Army to be greater than it was, by reaſon the Enſigns were doubled, and ſo much added to the Appearance, oppos'd that Deſign, ſhut up the City Gates, and us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to gain the Caſtle. Upon which the Governor of the Caſtle let in *Faukes de Brent*, with a conſiderable Force, through a Poſtern Gate; while the Earl of *Pembroke* with the reſt of the Army ſtorm'd the City in another Place, where couragiouſly entring, thoſe in the Caſtle ſally'd out upon the Flank of the Enemy, and together with the other with great Slaughter diſpers'd and defeated the *French* Party. The Earl of *Perch* being ſurrounded with the Royaliſts, and refuſing to take Quarter of any *Engliſh* Traitor, as he call'd them, was ſlain, with many other of his Countrymen. In this Conflict the Force of natural Propenſion was very apparent; for notwithſtanding the fierce Reſolutions of the King's Soldiers, when they ſaw the Faces of their Kinſmen, Friends and Countrymen on the other Side, they began to relent, and moſt of their Revenge fell upon the Horſes, and not the Riders, whom they only endeavour'd to take Priſoners. The Purſuit was but coldly follow'd upon the flying Barons, otherwiſe ſcarce a Man could have eſcap'd; in which notwithſtanding the chiefeſt Barons were taken Priſoners, with about four hundred Knights, beſides Eſquires and ordinary Soldiers, and a vaſt Number of the Townſmen. Such as eſcap'd the Fight were not paſt Danger; for the Country People ſet upon them as they fled, and kill'd great Numbers, ſo that almoſt all the Footmen were deſtroy'd before they could reach to *London*.

which is plunder'd by the King's Party.

The whole Riches of the vanquiſh'd Army, and of the whole City of *Lincoln* became the Booty and Spoil of the King's Soldiers, ſo that this Victory was afterwards call'd by the Name of *Lewis-Fair*; and becauſe the Clergy were excommunicated, the Pope's Legate order'd them not to ſpare the Churches, nor the Cathedral it ſelf; the vaſt Riches belonging to which may be conceiv'd by that of the Precentor, who complain'd that he had loſt eleven thouſand Marks for his ſhare.

The Marſhal of *France*, the Caſtellan of *Arras*, and about two hundred Knights got ſafe into *London*; but were coldly receiv'd by Prince *Lewis*, who charg'd upon their Cowardice the Loſs of all the reſt. The Fear of being taken Priſoner juſtly encreaſing, he uſ'd all Means to fortifie *London*, and diſpatch'd Meſſengers into *France* for more Succours and Supplies; while the vigilant Earl of *Pembroke* endeavour'd to ſtraiten him as much as poſſible. In the mean Time, by the Diligence of the Lady *Blanch*, Wife to Prince *Lewis*, *Euſtace*, who from a traiterous Monk became a Demoniack, was now got to Sea with a large Supply both of Men and Ammunition bound for *London*; but Heaven was no better pleas'd with theſe, than with the other Mercenaries at *Lincoln*.

The French *defeated at Sea.*

For the *Engliſh* Navy gaining the Wind of the *French*, ſunk ſeveral of their Ships by running forcibly againſt them with the Iron Prows or Beaks of their Gallies; uſing at the ſame Time unſlack'd Lime in Duſt or Powder, which being thrown on their Enemies Faces, perfectly blinded 'em. Thus were *Lewis*'s Hopes for any preſent Succours abſolutely defeated; nor durſt the *French* from that Time engage with the *Engliſh* in a Sea Fight. *Euſtace* himſelf, after a long Search, was found and drawn out from the Bottom of a Pump, and at *Dover* had his Head cut off; tho' ſome ſay he was ſlain by *Richard*, a natural Son to King *John*.

The Dauphine *declines.*

The News of which Succeſs being brought to the King, did not more elevate him, than it wounded *Lewis*; for the Loſs was not only great as to Men, but alſo in all ſorts of Riches and Proviſions.

To give no Reſt to the Prince's declining Fortunes, the Earl of *Pembroke* with a powerful Army beſieg'd him in the City of *London*, as well by Water as Land, endeavouring to force him by Famine to ſurrender the Place. At length Matters came to a Capitulation; and in an Iſlet in the River *Thames*, not far from *Stanes*, King *Henry*, *Wallo* the Legate, *William Marſhal*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* met with *Lewis* and the *Barons*, to finiſh the Treaty: For *Lewis* had promis'd to yield to the Legate and the Earl in any Thing that was not diſhonourable.

He treats with King Henry,

The Articles which the Prince ſwore to are theſe: 'Firſt, He and the Barons, and his other Aſſociates, ſhould ſtand to the Judgment of the Church, and for the future be obedient to the Pope and the *Roman* See; That he ſhould forthwith depart the Kingdom, and never return with a Purpoſe of doing Harm. Secondly, That he would endeavour what he could to induce his Father to reſtore to King *Henry* all his Rights beyond the Seas. Thirdly, If his Father refus'd to do it, he himſelf would perform it, if ever he came to the Crown; and that at preſent, he would immediately deliver to the King all thoſe Caſtles and Territories he had poſſeſs'd in *England* during this War. On the other Side the King, the Legate and the Earl ſwore, 'Firſt, That the King ſhould reſtore to the Barons, and others, all their Rights and Inheritances, with all the Liberties formerly demanded of his Father King *John*. Secondly, That none ſhould ſuffer Damage or Reproach for taking part on either Side. Thirdly, All Priſoners ſhould be releas'd on both Sides without Ranſom. Whereupon Prince *Lewis* with his Adherents was formally abſolv'd from the Sentence of Excommunication by *Wallo*, and ſo all Parties ran into mutual Embraces, and parted with the Kiſs of Peace. The *Welſh*, who had join'd with the Barons, were excluded this Treaty, and ſo were left to the King's Mercy.

and leaves the Nation in Peace.

Thus *Lewis*, having been firſt forc'd to borrow five thouſand Pounds of the *Londoners* to diſcharge his Debts, was in a manner driven out of *England*, above two Years after his firſt Arrival, having for the moſt part been a receiv'd King; and was more likely to have made a Conqueſt of this Kingdom by the Arms of others, than the *Norman* that made Way with his own, had not the ſupream Diſpoſer otherwiſe diverted it. Such Effects proceeded from the Violence of an unruly King, and the Deſpair of an oppreſs'd People, who now, notwithſtanding the Miſmanagement of the Father, willingly embrac'd the Son, being naturally inclin'd to love and obey their Princes.

A. D. 1218.
Reg. 2/3.

II. The Kingdom of *England* was now purg'd from all Foreign Incumbrances, but was not immediately freed from thoſe Troubles and Inconveniencies that naturally ſucceed all inteſtine Convulſions. For divers Perſons of Note, preſuming upon their former Services to the State, or fearing that if full Juſtice took place they muſt loſe much of what they gain'd, began to ſhew themſelves very violent and audacious in their Behaviour.

Diſturbances in the Nation.

The chief of theſe were *William* Earl of *Albermarle*, *Faukes de Brent* with his Soldiers, *Rober de Vipont*, with ſeveral others, who having had the Caſtles and Poſſeſſions of certain Biſhops and great Men, either to keep in Truſt, or by the Iniquity of the Times converted to their Uſes, did ſtill detain them, both againſt the Claims of the Legal Owners, and the King's expreſs Prohibition. Among others, *Robert de Gaugy* defended the Caſtle of *Newark*, then belonging to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, againſt the King's Army, commanded by the great Marſhal Earl of *Pembroke*, and continu'd obſtinate for eight Days, and would not ſurrender, 'till by the Mediation of Friends, the Biſhop paid down an hundred Pounds.

A. D. 1219.
Reg. 3/4.

After a conſiderable Time, Peace being throughly reſtor'd and eſtabliſh'd in the Nation, Itinerant Juſtices were ſent through all Counties to revive the ancient Laws, and to cauſe the late Charter of King *John* to be ſtrictly obſerv'd; and then the valiant *Hubert de Burgo* was made Juſticiary of *England*. In all the beſt Regulations and Eſtabliſhments, the noble Earl of *Pembroke* was principally concern'd, who daily made it his Buſineſs to ſettle all Things with the greateſt Quietneſs and Security.

The Earl of Pembroke *dies.*

The greater was the Loſs both to the King and State by his Death, which happen'd about the Middle of *May*; and his Body was bury'd in the Temple Church at *London*, where his Portraiture in a Coat of Mail is ſtill to be ſeen in the Middle of the Round. He was a great Commander in War, and no leſs prudent Counſellor in Peace, leaving behind him five Sons and five Daughters: his Sons were ſucceſſively Earls of *Pembroke*, and dy'd without Iſſue; his Daughters were all advanc'd to great and noble Matches.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter *made Governor of the King's Perſon.*

Upon his Death, *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was made Protector and Governor of the King's Perſon, who for ſome Time rul'd with the ſame Moderation.

A. D. 1220.
Reg. 4/5.

The King crown'd a ſecond Time.

The King, now in a ſettled and calm Condition, reſolved to be crown'd a ſecond Time; which was perform'd by *Stephen* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* at *Weſtminſter*, with the Confluence of all the Prelates, Peers and People: This Ceremony was renew'd, becauſe the former Coronation at *Gloceſter* was not ſo ſolemnly perform'd, by reaſon of the Turbulency of the Times, and the Want of a Crown of Gold. About the ſame Time the new Building of the Abby-Church at *Weſtminſter*, then call'd the Chappel of St. *Mary*, was begun; of which the King himſelf laid the firſt Stone, as if he deſign'd to conſecrate his future Actions to the Glory of God.

Tho. Becket *enſhrin'd.*

Alſo the Body of *Thomas Becket*, once Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was tranſlated out of its Stone Coffin, in the Vault where it was firſt interr'd, into a rich Shrine made of Gold, and beſet with Jewels, at the Charge of the then Arch-Biſhop. The King and Pope's Legate were preſent, with almoſt all the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons and Clergy of the Kingdom, as likewiſe an infinite Multitude of common People, from *France* and other foreign Parts. The ſplendid Entertainment which the Arch-Biſhop gave the whole Company, is related in the Manuſcript Chronicle of *Dunſtable* in very high and hyperbolical Terms, as equalling, or even exceeding all ever known in the World before.

A. D. 1221.
Reg. 5/6.

Diſturbances in the Nation.

This Calm which was juſt begun was ſoon diſturb'd by ſudden Storms; for while the King kept his *Chriſtmas* with great Magnificence at *Oxford*, *William* Earl of *Albermarle*, incited by *Faukes de Brent*, and other turbulent Gentlemen, upon ſome Diſcontent, left the Court without Leave, and fortify'd the Caſtle of *Bitham* in *Lincolnſhire*, furniſh'd it with the Corn of the Canons of *Bridlington*, pillag'd the Town of *Deeping*, and under ſhew of repairing to the Parliament, ſeiz'd on the Caſtle of *Fotheringay*, and committed many other outragious Acts, in Contempt of the King, and to the Breach of the publick Peace. Many others in ſeveral Places follow'd his pernicious Example; yet at length the Earl coming in under the Conduct of *Walter* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, was at the Interceſſion of the Legate *Pandolf* pardon'd; and the like dangerous Clemency was extended towards his Accomplices and Followers, whom the King, in reſpect of former Services, ſet free without Puniſhment or Ranſom. What Occaſion there was for ſeverer Proceedings, may eaſily be diſcern'd from the Number of Caſtles and large Poſſeſſions that *Faukes de Brent*, *Philip de Mark*, and others detain'd, without any other Right than what the Iniquity of the late Tumults had given them. It was no ſmall Addition to the Troubles of

theſe

The King marries his Siſter to the King of the Scots.

theſe Times, that *Lewellyn*, King of the *Welſh*, deſiring to free their Marches from the *Engliſh* Power, roſe up in Arms, and laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Buelt*, which invited King *Henry* to march thither with a ſufficient Army; but the Work was made eaſie, and ſoon concluded by the voluntary Departure of all the Enemy's Forces. Theſe Appearances of ſucceeding Diſturbances mov'd the King to think of ſtrengthening himſelf with faithful Alliances; and not long after, *Alexander* King of the *Scots* came to *York*, where he had met the King in the preceding Year, and there marry'd the Lady *Joan*, King *Henry*'s Siſter; and at the ſame Time *Hugo de Burgo*, in the Preſence of both the Kings, and by the Advice of each Kingdom, marry'd the Lady *Margaret*, Siſter to the King of the *Scots*.

A.D. 1222. Reg. $\frac{6}{7}$.

A Sedition in London,

which is quell'd.

In theſe unſettled Times, the Condition both of the Church and State ſeem to have much Reſemblance, every Man daring to attempt in either, what his own Audaciouſneſs would ſuggeſt, or others Connivancy permit: But Arch-Biſhop *Stephen* now became very diligent in his Councils and Synods, in which by his own Authority he ſummon'd both Clergy and Laity, and by which he regulated many Inconveniencies as to both. At a Synod he held at *Oxford*, an execrable Impoſtor was conven'd before him, who had made upon his Body certain Marks or Wounds like thoſe of *Jeſus Chriſt*, whom he blaſphemouſly pretended to be. Being brought before Him and the Biſhops, he was by them condemn'd to be immured 'till Death between four Walls; as was alſo an infamous Woman, who call'd her ſelf *Mary* the Mother of our Lord. As to the publick State, many inſolent Actions were committed againſt the King's Authority and Peace of the Nation, eſpecially by *Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf*, a ſeditious Citizen of *London*, who by means of a Wreſtling-Match between the Inhabitants of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, raiſed a popular Tumult, and attempted to ſet up Prince *Lewis*; in the Heat of which he cry'd out, *Mount Joy, Mount Joy, God for us, and our Lord* Lewis! Tho' the Lord Mayor, a diſcreet Perſon, earneſtly perſuaded all to their Duties, yet *Conſtantine* had render'd the People incapable of good Advice, by the ſeditious Proclamations he had publiſh'd. The Noiſe of the Sedition increaſing, *Hubert* the chief Juſticiary with ſome freſh Troops enter'd the Tower, whither he commanded the principal Men of the City to appear before him, who eaſily threw off the Blame from themſelves upon *Conſtantine*. But he, as reſolute in his Anſwer, as deſperate in the Sedition, publickly declar'd *That they had done no leſs than they ought, and that they would ſtand by it:* Upon which the reſt being diſmiſs'd, he and his Nephew with a third Perſon were condemn'd to be hang'd the next Morning; and tho' he offer'd fifteen thouſand Pounds for his Life, yet he could not eſcape the Hand of Juſtice. It is believ'd that he rely'd wholly upon the Articles and Oath between the King and Prince *Lewis*, that the Friends of the latter ſhould not be moleſted; and upon this Occaſion *Lewis* afterwards deny'd Reſtitution of ſuch Things as the Articles mention'd, pretending that *Henry* had by this firſt Act broken his Faith, and by that vacated the whole Contract. This Execution being done without Noiſe, or the Citizens Privacy, the Juſticiary, accompany'd with *Faukes de Brent* and his armed Troops, enter'd *London*, and apprehended ſuch others as were culpable; and for a Terror to the reſt caus'd their Hands or Feet to be cut off, and then ſet at Liberty. The King depos'd all the Magiſtrates, but when he found that only the meaner Sort were intereſſed in this Diſorder, he was ſoon reconcil'd to the City; tho' the Citizens were not ſo ſoon reconcil'd to his Miniſters, who had puniſh'd ſo many, according to their Deſerts, but not according to due Form of Law.

A.D. 1223. Reg. $\frac{7}{8}$.

The Barons uneaſie.

This ſeditious Beginning might have occaſion'd far more dangerous Proceedings, had not the King by a moderate Behaviour, and a patient Connivence of ſome particular Indignities, prevented a general Diſquiet. For the Barons, ſtill viewing their long deſir'd Liberties, and requiring a Confirmation of them by the King, who had ſworn to them at the Concluſion of the Peace with Prince *Lewis*; *William Briwere*, one of the King's Council, gave this Anſwer, *That the Liberties they deſir'd were violently extorted, therefore ought not to be obſerv'd.* The Arch-Biſhop enrag'd at this Anſwer told him, *If he lov'd the King, he would not hinder the Peace of the Kingdom*; upon which the King prudently reply'd, *That he had bound himſelf by Oath to obſerve their Liberties, and what he had ſworn to ſhould be obſerv'd.* To confirm which he immediately iſſu'd out his Letters to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom, to make Enquiry by the Oaths of twelve Legal Men in every County, What were the Liberties of *England* in the Time of King *Henry* his Grand-father; and to ſend a Return to *London* fifteen Days after *Eaſter*; by which Act all Men hop'd to ſee a Concluſion of thoſe unhappy Conteſts which had ſo long diſturb'd the Nation. But this only prov'd an uſual Shift of Prolongation, ſo that the Buſineſs was deferr'd for that Time, to the greater Vexation of that ſucceeding; for during this long Reign, this put the King to the greateſt Inconveniences, made him ill belov'd of his People, always oppos'd in his Deſigns, and far a leſs King only by ſtriving to be more than he really was.

The King of France *refuſes to ſtand by his former Oath.*

The King reſumes the Crown Lands,

A.D. 1224. Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$.

which breeds ill Blood.

In the mean Time the King conceiv'd new Hopes from the News of the Death of *Philip* the *French* King, that formidable Enemy to *England*; and immediately ſent Arch-Biſhop *Stephen* with three other Biſhops to *Lewis*, now crowned King, to demand the Reſtitution of *Normandy*, with all his other tranſmarine Dominions, according to his Oath made when he left *England.* To which this new King anſwer'd, *That he was juſtly poſſeſs'd of* Normandy *and thoſe other Dominions, as he was ready to make appear to King* Henry, *if he would come to his Court and make his Claim:* Adding, *That the King of* England *had violated his Oath in laying a grievous Ranſom upon thoſe he had taken at* Lincoln; *and likewiſe thoſe Liberties, for which the War was began, and to which he had ſolemnly ſworn at his Departure, were not obſerv'd.* Upon this, the Ambaſſadors, perceiving they could obtain no other Anſwer, return'd into *England*, without any further Advantage. The King now finding himſelf unable to recover thoſe Dominions abroad, or to maintain his own Royal State at home, reſolv'd to reſume thoſe Crown Lands, which the Unſettledneſs of former Times had thrown into the Poſſeſſion of private Hands: Which was principally by the Advice of Arch-Biſhop *Stephen*, and the chief Juſticiary *Hubert*, now made Earl of *Kent*, who by that means drew upon themſelves no ſmall Loads of Envy and Hatred. Tho' ſuch Recoveries as theſe might be no leſs neceſſary than reaſonable, yet becauſe the intereſs'd Perſons were ſo numerous, they wiſely made uſe of all Supports that either Religion or human Policy could afford them. In order to effect it, a Bull was procur'd from the Pope by which the King was declar'd to be of Age, and at liberty to govern by himſelf, and to chuſe his own Council; and all Men were commanded upon pain of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, to reſtore all ſuch Poſſeſſions as againſt the Laws and the King's Will they detain'd from him. This drove the intereſs'd Party to a Reſolution of taking up Arms, firſt meeting for that purpoſe at *Leiceſter*, where the Earl of *Cheſter* and his Confederates conſulted how to remove the chief Juſticiary, whoſe predominant Grandeur was not by them to be endur'd, and how to retain thoſe Caſtles and Poſſeſſions demanded. But upon Notice, that if they did not immediately deliver all they unjuſtly detain'd, they ſhould be excommunicated by Name, and underſtanding the King's Forces were ſuperior to theirs, they came to the King at *Northampton*, and ſurrender'd all that belong'd to the Crown into his Poſſeſſion; but did not lay down their high Diſpleaſure, becauſe at their Petition the King would not remove his chief Juſticiary, the great Object of their Envy.

The King of France *declares War againſt King* Henry.

Faukes de Brent *raiſes a Sedition.*

Lewis King of *France* being encourag'd by theſe Domeſtick Diſſenſions, declar'd War againſt King *Henry* upon this Pretence, *That whereas* Aquitain *was held of the Crown of* France *by Homage, the King of* England, *being not hinder'd by Sickneſs, or any other Occaſion, had neither appeared at the Coronation of King* Lewis, *nor excus'd himſelf by his Ambaſſadors.* In proſecution of which Pretence, he beſieg'd and took the important City of *Rochelle*, with ſome other Places, and likewiſe worſted *Savary de Maleon*, King *Henry*'s Lieutenant in *Aquitain*; which occaſion'd the Loſs of the reſt of *Poictou* of which the King was poſſeſs'd. With this he loſt the Service of the ſaid *Savary*, a valiant Commander, who for ſome Indignity offer'd him by the Earl of *Salisbury*, who was ſent to inſpect his Actions, ſuddenly turn'd to the *French*, among whom he had great Credit and Perferment. King *Henry* concern'd at theſe Diſadvantages, reſolv'd to have recourſe to the general Aid of his People, to recover all his Loſſes; but while he held a Parliament for that purpoſe, the whole Aſſembly was ſuddenly diſturb'd with the great Complaints of an inſufferable Outrage. For *Henry de Braibrock*, an itinerant Judge, who with others held the Aſſiſes at *Dunſtable*, was forcibly taken and impriſon'd in *Bedford* Caſtle by the Order of *Faukes de Brent*, who was inrag'd at him for giving no leſs than thirty Verdicts againſt him upon Tryals for Land. The Judge's Wife by her Tears ſo mov'd the whole Parliament to Pity and Indignation, that all other Buſineſs laid aſide, the Clergy as well as Laity forthwith attended the King to the Siege of the Caſtle. *Faukes* himſelf flying into *Wales*, there to increaſe his Power, left his Brother Lieutenant in the Caſtle, with a deſperate Body of Men, with Proviſions and Ammunition ſufficient for a whole Year. Yet after two Months Siege the Caſtle was taken, the Judge ſet at Liberty, the Lieutenant and the whole Garriſon hang'd, and the noble Pile quite deſtroy'd, as an Example to others who in due Time would not ſubmit themſelves to their Sovereign. *Faukes* now finding his Caſtle ruin'd and his Eſtate confiſcated, by the Procurement of the Biſhop of *Coventry*, came to the King at *Bedford*, *He is baniſh'd*

A. D. 1125. Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$.

ford, and falling at his Feet, implor'd Mercy for his former good Services; but all that he could obtain was only the Favour of Baniſhment. At the Time appointed for his Departure, he with Tears deſir'd the Earl of *Warren*, who was to ſee him take Shipping, *That he would commend him to the King, and let him know, as an important Secret, That all the Troubles he had rais'd in the Nation were purely by the Inſtigation of the Barons.*

The interrupted Counſels of Parliaments, and Deſigns of the King for regaining his foreign Territories, were now reaſſum'd; yet the King could not obtain ſo much as a *Fifteenth* upon Moveables, without firſt promiſing *That he would again confirm the long deſir'd Liberties of the Nation.* And being oblig'd by his urgent Neceſſities, he ſign'd and ſeal'd many Charters, one directed to each County in *England*; and two to every County that had Foreſts, one concerning the *common Liberties*, the other concerning the *Liberties of the Foreſts*. By the Aſſiſtance of this new Tax, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* the King's Brother, and *William* Earl of *Salisbury* his Uncle, with ſixty Knights and a conſiderable Force were ſent into *Gaſcony* in the Spring; where they ſafely arriv'd at *Bourdeaux*, and were honourably entertain'd. Their ſeaſonable Arrival had good Effects, for it confirm'd the Well-diſpos'd, ſettled the Irreſolute, and reduc'd much which had been taken away by the *French*. *Hugh* Earl of *Marche*, coming by the *French* King's Directions to remove Earl *Richard* and the *Engliſh* from the Siege of *Riol*, was with all his Forces intercepted by an Ambuſcade, and defeated with no ſmall Loſs of Men, Ammunition and Carriages. At length both Sides were contented to pauſe for a Time without any Treaty, and the *Engliſh* held *Aquitain*, notwithſtanding all their Force and Practices. But *William Longſpee*, the King's Uncle, did not long ſurvive theſe good Services; but returning into *England* upon the Affairs of State, ſoon ended his Days at the Caſtle of *Salisbury*, with the greateſt Marks of Humility and Piety. He was bury'd in the newly built Cathedral in that City, where his Monument is ſtill to be ſeen; he was a virtuous and gallant Man, and the ſole ſurviving Iſſue of King *Henry* the Second.

Some Actions in Gaſcony.

A. D. 1226. Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$.

William Longſpee *dies.*

About theſe Times the Pope ſent abroad into the World his Nuncio's and Emiſſaries, with a Deſign to ſettle a Contribution to the See of *Rome*, out of all the Cathedral and Conventual Churches in Chriſtendom: For which he alledg'd, *That it was to wipe away from that See the ancient Scandal of Avarice and Bribery, which had been occaſion'd only by its great Poverty; and this might eaſily be prevented, if out of every Cathedral Church two Prebendaries, and out of every Monaſtery two Monks Portions, were ſet apart for that purpoſe.* But neither the Meſſenger nor the Meſſage found any Incouragement in *England*; for the Pope's Agent *Otto*, by the Procurement of Arch-Biſhop *Stephen*, received Letters from *Rome* commanding him immediately to return: *Otto* inrag'd at this unexpected Revocation, threw the Pope's Letters into the Fire, yet durſt not diſobey the Contents. And whereas the Propoſal it ſelf had been debated and examin'd to the utmoſt, both here and in *France*, and judg'd to contain ſuch an univerſal Oppreſſion, as might cauſe a general Defection from the Church of *Rome*; the King in preſence of his Prelates and Peers return'd this frugal Anſwer, *That ſince what his Holineſs requir'd was a Concern of the Univerſal Church, he was ready to follow the Example of other Kingdoms, and therefore would firſt ſee what they did:* With which Anſwer the Aſſembly was diſmiſs'd.

The Pope's Deſigns in England.

This Difficulty ſo avoided, the King was earneſtly inclin'd to make a Voyage in Perſon to the Aſſiſtance of his Brother Earl *Richard* who proceeded in the Affair of *Gaſcony*; which tho' by the Departure of the late Earl of *Salisbury* it receiv'd ſome Damage, yet by the Valour and Conduct of other worthy Perſons, it ſtill did proſper. His Intention and Deſire was ſomewhat retarded by the Arrival of Letters from *France*, which declar'd his Brother's Health, and the good Succeſs of his Affairs; and others add by the Advice of a famous Aſtrologer, who foretold that King *Lewis* ſhould not prevail. But what moſt prevented his Voyage was the expreſs Orders of the Pope, who poſitively prohibited him from making any Attempts in *France* at that Time, leſt he ſhould divert the pious Deſigns of King *Lewis*, whom he had lately ingag'd in a *Cruſado* againſt the Count of *Tholouſe* and his Subjects, as being all infected with the then accounted Hereſie of the *Albigenſes*. Againſt theſe ſuppos'd Hereticks King *Lewis* ſpent a Month in the Siege of *Avignon*, where he ſuſtain'd exceeding Loſſes, by a terrible Plague which deſtroy'd his Army, by a ſtrange kind of venomous Flies that diſpatch'd great Numbers of his Men, and by a ſudden Inundation which laid a great part of his Camp under Water; and laſt of all he is thought to have been poiſon'd by an unchaſt Rival of his Bed, the Earl of *Champaign*. And this was the End of *Lewis*, the great Enemy of the *Engliſh* Nation, who was ſucceeded by his Son *Lewis*, the Ninth of that Name, and a Minor, who was afterwards canoniz'd for a Saint.

The Death of Lewis *King of* France.

A. D. 1227. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

III. The Death of the *French* King, with the ſeveral Diſcontents and Factions under his Succeſſor, but twelve Years of Age, gave new Hopes to King *Henry* that now the Time was come, when he might recover thoſe ancient Inheritances which his Fore-fathers held in *France*. Upon which Account he ſent the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, with others, to the chief Men of *Normandy*, *Anjou* and *Poictou*, inviting them by large Promiſes to acknowledge King *Henry* for their natural Lord: But before their Arrival, the young King, by his Mother's Means, had made Peace, and receiv'd the Homages of theſe Barons, ſo that the Deſign prov'd of no Effect. In the Abſence of his Miniſters, the King was buſily employ'd in raiſing what Money he could; and while he was endeavouring to recover what was loſt, he much endanger'd what he retain'd. He began with the Citizens of *London*, from whom he extorted five thouſand Marks, becauſe they had formerly granted the like Sum to Prince *Lewis*. And to proceed as he had begun, at a Parliament at *Oxford*, he there declar'd himſelf of full Age, and *That he would take the Management of publick Affairs into his own Hands:* Accordingly, by the Advice of *Hubert* his Juſticiary, he remov'd his Guardian the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* from his Court. At the ſame Time, and by the ſame Advice, he cancell'd and vacated all the Charters of *Liberties* and *Foreſts*, which for two Years had been obſerv'd throughout the Kingdom, declaring, *That what had been then done, was in his Minority, when he had no Power of his own Perſon or Seal, upon which Account it was all invalid.* Theſe unjuſtifiable Proceedings occaſion'd great Diſcontents and Murmurings, all accuſing the Juſticiary, and accounting him the Author of all, becauſe the King was wholly govern'd by him Shortly after, the Religious Orders, and all others had notice, *That if they would enjoy their Privileges, they muſt renew their Charters, otherwiſe they ſhould be of no Advantage to them*; and what they were to pay for ſuch Renewals, was left to the Diſcretion of the Juſticiary. Thus, as it is uſual, the whole Nation paid for the King's changing his Miniſtry.

The King declares himſelf of Age, and cancels the Charters.

Hubert being lately advanc'd to the Earldom of *Kent*, the Envy and Hatred of the Nobility encreas'd; eſpecially upon the Return of the King's Brother *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, who had ſeiz'd upon a certain Manor, then in Poſſeſſion of one *Waleran* a *German*, to whom King *John* had formerly granted it, which he alledg'd was part of his Earldom of *Cornwall*. Upon which the King directed his Letters to his Brother, commanding him forthwith to reſtore the Manor he had taken from *Waleran*; which occaſion'd the Earl to come in Perſon and plead his Right before the King, offering *to ſtand to the Judgment of his Court, and of the Peers of the Realm.* At the naming of the *Peers*, the King and Juſticiary, ſuſpecting his Intentions, in a great Paſſion commanded him, *Either to reſtore the Manor, or for ever leave the Kingdom*; to which the Earl reply'd, *That he would neither part from the one, nor leave the other, without the Judgment of his Peers*, and immediately haſten'd to his own Habitation. And hearing that *Hubert* advis'd the King to ſecure him, he took Poſt for *Marleburg*, where meeting with *William Mareſchal* the young Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Earl of *Cheſter*, he enter'd into a ſtrict Confederacy with them. Then marching to *Stamford*, they were met there by the Earls of *Gloceſter*, of *Warren*, of *Hereford*, of *Warwick*, and of *Ferrars*, with many Barons, and a great Multitude of armed Men; whoſe Force was ſo formidable, that they thought fit to ſend a bold Meſſage to the King, requiring him *To make immediate Satisfaction to his Brother Earl* Richard, *for the Injury he had done him, which they imputed wholly to the Juſticiary; and alſo to reſtore thoſe Charters he had cancell'd at* Oxford, *which if he refus'd, they would compel him by their Arms to make them competent Satisfaction.* The King, terrify'd by his Father's Example, appointed them to meet him at *Northampton*, where, upon the Lords reſolute Demands, he ſettled ſuch large Allowances and Poſſeſſions upon his Brother, that every one departed well pleas'd, without debating the Affair of the Charters, which at that Time might have occaſion'd the greateſt Miſchiefs to the Kingdom.

The Nobility confederate againſt the King.

A. D. 1228. Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

This Danger was not a little increas'd by the Inſurrections of the *Welſh*: The King had given the Caſtle of *Montgomery* to his Favourite *Hubert*, the Garriſon of which Place, by the Aſſiſtance of the Country People, endeavoured to make a Way thro' an adjacent Wood more paſſable and ſecure for Travellers; but while they were cutting down the Thickets, the *Welſh* ſuddenly ſet upon them, killed ſome, and forc'd the reſt to retire into the Caſtle, and immediately inveſted it. Upon which the King and his Juſticiary came ſpeedily, and rais'd the Siege; and then march'd towards the Wood, and there clear'd all by great Labour and Burning, ſo far as a Receptable of the *Welſh*,

The King goes againſt the Welſh.

by them call'd *Criddy*, which he commanded to be ſet on Fire; but the Juſticiary finding it to be of an impregnable Situation, adviſ'd him to erect a Caſtle in that Place. Yet during the Time of its Building, the Workmen were daily interrupted by the Enemy, and ſeveral of them kill'd. At the ſame Time the King finding ſo great a Scarcity of Proviſions, and ſo many of his own Men Friends to *Lewellyn*, he was oblig'd to make a diſadvantageous Peace, of which the chief Article was, That this Caſtle ſhould be demoliſh'd, and *Lewellyn* ſhould pay three thouſand Marks towards his Charges; upon which he return'd home with little Honour, having left *William de Branſe*, a noble Baron, behind him Priſoner.

A. D. 1229. Reg. $\frac{13}{14}$.

The Pope oppreſſes the Nation.

In the ſame Year dy'd Arch-Biſhop *Langton*, a Man of great Spirit and of little Dependance, who had been the main Promoter of the Nation's Liberties. The Convent of *Canterbury* elected *Walter de Hemeſham* to ſucceed him; but both the King and the Suffragan Biſhops refuſ'd him upon ſeveral Accounts; ſo that the Matter was brought to *Rome* to be determin'd by the Pope. After long Delays, the Pope promoted *Richard de Grant*, Chancellor of the Church of *Lincoln*, to the Arch-Biſhoprick, by his own ſole Authority; and the King and the Biſhops, contrary to all Expectation, in a ſhort Time obey'd the Pope's Commands, and ſubmitted to the whole Proceeding. This was a new Encroachment, and the firſt Arch-Biſhop the Pope ever preſum'd to nominate, without a previous Election by the Convent, or the Biſhops. Having obtain'd this Advantage, the Pope ſent one *Stephen* his Chaplain into *England* to collect the Tenths lately promiſ'd to the See of *Rome*; which Affair was propoſ'd in a full Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, where the King by his Silence ſeem'd to give Conſent to the Pope's Demands. But the Earls, Barons, and all the Laity ſtifly reſolv'd not to oblige their Baronies and Lay-Fees to the Court of *Rome*; and had compounded with the Legate for a certain Sum, had they not been betray'd by *Stephen de Segrave*, who ſo ſubtlely order'd the Affair, that he obtain'd his Demands. The Prelates and Clergy, after a long Deliberation, and no ſmall Reluctancy, conſented, leſt they ſhould incur the Sentence of Excommunication. Then *Stephen* ſhew'd them the Pope's Letter and his Commiſſion to collect the Tenths out of all Profits whatſoever, without any Deduction either for Debts or Expences; and becauſe the Matter requir'd Speed, he gave notice to the Prelates that they ſhould immediately pay down the Mony, and afterwards levy it upon every Perſon by way of Tax; which Exaction prov'd ſo burdenſom, that they were forc'd to ſell or pawn their Veſtments, Chalices, and other holy Veſſels, belonging to their Churches. Beſides he exacted the Tenths of the Autumnal Fruits of the Earth, while they were yet growing, none daring to refuſe him beſides the Earl of *Cheſter*; and for the more ſpeedy raiſing of the Mony, he brought along with him certain voracious Uſurers, who ſupply'd the Indigent with Mony, which they were compell'd to borrow, tho' by that Means they were irrecoverably ruin'd.

The King prepares againſt the French.

A. D. 1230. Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$.

He lands in Bretaign.

Yet in theſe burdenſom Times, on *Michaelmas* Day the King cauſ'd the whole Nobility of *England* to meet at *Portſmouth* with ſuch a numerous Army of Horſe and Foot as none of his Predeceſſors had ever raiſ'd, reſolving to paſs over the Sea to recover thoſe Dominions his Father had loſt: But being ready to embark, there was not Shipping ſufficient to tranſport half the Number; which ſo enrag'd the King, that turning to *Hubert* his Juſticiary, he call'd him *Old Traitor*, and openly charg'd him with *Receiving a Bribe of five thouſand Marks from the Queen of* France, *to put a ſtop to this Deſign*; and proceeded ſo far as to run at him with his drawn Sword, but the Earl of *Cheſter* and others interpoſing, ſav'd the King from ſo foul a Diſhonour, who ſhortly after receiv'd him into Favour again. The whole Army ſoon broke up upon the Arrival of a great Man out of *Bretaign*, a principal Confederate with the *Engliſh*, who by alledging the unſeaſonable Time of the Year, and other Reaſons, occaſion'd the Enterprize to be deferr'd 'till the next Spring. Accordingly after *Eaſter*, the King having viſited the Poor and Impotent, and beſtow'd bountiful Alms, took Shipping at *Portſmouth*, and with a powerful Army landed in *Bretaign*. The Succeſs of this Expedition is ſo variouſly related, that without great Prejudice to an obſervant Reader, it might be all omitted. Much certainly was not done: King *Henry*'s Deſign was to have march'd through *Bretaign*, where many acknowledg'd him, into *Poictou*; and, as ſome write, he did ſo, and receiv'd Homage in *Gaſcony*. To hinder this Paſſage, the King of *France* lay with a ſtrong Army at *Angers*; while *Fulk Pagunell*, a *Norman* Peer, with ſixty valiant Knights, perſuaded the King of *England*, That it was eaſie for him to reduce *Normandy* to his Obedience; but *Hubert* had other Thoughts, and diverted the King from that Enterprize. The *Normans* therefore made an unfortunate Journey, for they not only miſs'd of their Hopes, but for their Conſpiring were diſpoſſeſs'd at home by King *Lewis*. But whether it were by Loſs in Battel, or otherwiſe, this is agreed on, that after the waſting of infinite Sums of Mony, and a great Diminution of the Soldiers Numbers, the King of *England* return'd without accompliſhing his Deſigns; leaving for the Defence of *Bretaign* the three great Earls of *Cheſter*, *Pembroke* and *Albermarle*, with Forces ſufficient for the Service.

Returns without Succeſs.

A. D. 1231. Reg. $\frac{15}{16}$.

It is not improbable that the dangerous Rebellion of the *Iriſh* haſten'd his Return; for the King of *Connaught* and his Subjects, ſeeing the King and the Earl of *Pembroke*, who had large Poſſeſſions in thoſe Parts, wholly taken up with the Affairs of *France*, had furiouſly ſet upon King *Henry*'s Soldiers and People, with Hopes of utterly expelling them out of the Nation. But all their Projects prov'd fatal to themſelves, and the *Engliſh* Forces marching againſt them, kill'd no leſs than twenty thouſand, and took their King Priſoner. Not long after the *Welſh*, under their King *Lewellyn*, in revenge of ſome of their Countrymen, whom *Hubert* had ſlain in cold Blood, made new Incurſions, and committed great Devaſtations upon the Borders of *England*, ſparing neither ſacred Perſons nor Places. When the Biſhops and Prelates heard of it, they ſolemnly excommunicated that Prince, with all his Adherents and Abettors; and the King having raiſ'd an Army at *Oxford*, march'd in Perſon to ſuppreſs them, but not without great Loſs on his Side. As to the Affairs of *France*, by the Wiſdom of Queen *Blanch*, and Mediation of the Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims* and the Earl of *Bulloign* on the one Part, and the Earls of *Bretaign* and *Cheſter* on the other, a three Years Truce was ratify'd by Oath, between the *French* and the *Engliſh*.

A three Years Truce between the French *and the* Engliſh.

The Pope's Uſurpations.

A. D. 1232. Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.

The King ſubmits.

About the ſame Time the Pope had a freſh Opportunity of exerciſing his Authority in *England* by the means of the Death of *Richard* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; to ſucceed whom the Convent made Choice of *Ralph Nevil* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, who was willingly acknowledg'd by the King, whoſe faithful and worthy Chancellor he was. But when the Monks went to *Rome* to obtain his Confirmation, the Pope underſtanding that he was a great Courtier, gave them this Anſwer, *That if the Perſon they choſe was promoted to that Dignity, he would concur with the King and Kingdom to throw off that Subjection to the See of* Rome, *to which King* John *had long ſince ſubmitted it*; therefore he abſolutely vacated the Election, and commanded the Monks *To chuſe one who would be faithful and devoted to the* Roman *Church*. Whereupon they proceeded to chuſe a ſecond, and him the Pope miſlik'd for being too old, and ſoft-ſpirited; then a third was elected, a Man of eminent Learning and a Student in *Oxford*, and the Pope alſo rejected him; never reſting 'till they had elected *Edmund* of *Abington*, a Man more agreeable to the *Roman* Palate. The King ſeeing the great Emperor *Frederick*, even at this Time while he was winning the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* from Infidels, in his Abſence ſo inhumanly depoſ'd from his Empire by the Pope, upon a private Reſentment; no wonder, if in this his unripe Years and diſtracted Government, he fear'd to draw upon himſelf ſo mercileſs an Enemy. How little theſe *Roman* Incroachments were lik'd in the Nation, appears from the Actions of ſeveral Perſons of Quality and others this Year, who took up Arms and forcibly enter'd the Barns and Houſes of the *Roman* or *Italian* Clergy-Men that were benefic'd in *England*, and carry'd away, and diſtributed their Corn and Goods among the Poor.

The King in Wants.

And now the great *Hubert*, Earl of *Kent*, and chief Juſticiary of *England*, after he had enjoy'd the greateſt Favour of two Kings, ſeem'd to have run the Stage of his beſt Fortunes. For the King, upon freſh Inroads of the *Welſh*, being adviſ'd by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and other Counſellors, to put an end at once to the Inroads of that Nation, he complain'd, *That according to his Treaſurer's Accounts, his Revenues would ſcarcely afford him Proviſions and Cloaths, and the uſual Alms, much leſs any Thing for warlike Expeditions.* To which they reply'd, *That he impoveriſh'd himſelf by alienating the Honours, Wardſhips and vacant Dignities which ought to come into the Exchequer, ſo that he had only the Name without the Revenues of a King; but his Predeceſſors, who took due Care of their Treaſury, abounded both in Wealth and Glory.* The King took this Hint, and immediately call'd his Sheriffs and Bailiffs to an Account, and whoever was convicted of Fraud, was remov'd from his Office, and oblig'd to pay the whole into the Exchequer with Intereſt. He alſo remov'd *Ranulph Breton* Treaſurer of his Chamber from his Office, and fin'd him a thouſand Pounds; and by the Advice of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, his Nephew *Peter de Rivaulx*, a *Poictovin*, was plac'd in his Room; by which Means the King's Coffers were for a while plentifully ſupply'd.

Hubert de Burgo *declines.*

Theſe were but Preparatives to a further Scrutiny intended againſt Earl *Hubert*, who by the Inſtigation of the ſame Biſhop, was now remov'd from being Juſticiary, and

Great Accuſations againſt him.

was ſucceeded by *Steven Segrave*, a common Knight. Shortly after, the King being highly incens'd againſt the Earl, requir'd him to give a ſtrict Account of ſuch Monies and other Revenues, that had ever paſſed through his Hands, ſince he was firſt made Juſticiary. To this *Hubert* anſwer'd, *That he had King* John'*s Charter, by which he was diſcharg'd of all Accounts, who having ſo often experienc'd his Fidelity, would receive no Account from him.* The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* reply'd, *That the Charter was not valid, after King* John'*s Death, and no ways hinder'd the preſent King from exacting an Account from him.* And to this was added, *That he had been guilty of ſeveral Treaſonable Practices, and had given treacherous Advice to the King, to the Prejudice both of him and his Kingdom*; to all which the King requir'd him to anſwer, and ſtand to the Judgment of the Court. *Hubert* finding himſelf abandon'd by his chief Supporter, deſir'd an appointed Day to give in his Anſwer, which was with great Difficulty obtain'd; and being now deſerted by all his Friends, except the Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*, his Enemies daily encreas'd, and many other falſe or improbable Crimes were laid to his Charge; as That he had procur'd the late Earls of *Saliſbury* and *Pembroke*, *Faukes de Brent*, and *Richard* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to be poiſon'd; and That he had gain'd the King's Affection by Sorcery and Witchcraft. Others accus'd him of Injuſtice, Rapine and Extortion; and the *Londoners* enter'd their Complaint againſt him for formerly condemning their Fellow-Citizen *Conſtantine* to be hang'd without Legal Proceſs. All which Crimes were ſo highly aggravated before the King, that he proceeded to an unuſual Method, and caus'd it to be proclaim'd throughout the City of *London*, *That whatſoever Perſon had any Complaint againſt Earl* Hubert *ſhould come to the King, and he ſhould have Juſtice done him.*

He flies,

He is apprehended.

On the fourteenth Day of *September* the King held a grand Aſſembly of the Prelates and Peers, where *Hubert* was conven'd to anſwer to the Articles exhibited againſt him; but the Earl fearing the King would put him to ſome ignominious Death, took Sanctuary in the Priory of the Church of *Merton* in *Surry*, and durſt not appear 'till the King ſhould be of a milder Temper. Upon which the King, in a great Rage, ſent to the Mayor of *London*, to force him from thence, and to bring him either dead or alive: The *Londoners* glad of this Opportunity, upon ringing of a common Bell, gather'd together to the Number of twenty thouſand; but ſome of the moſt diſcreet Citizens, dreading ſuch Tumults, repair'd to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Houſe in *Southwark*, and deſir'd his Advice, who told them, *That whatever were the Conſequence, they muſt execute the King's Precept.* At the ſame time the Earl of *Cheſter* ſuggeſted to the King, *That if theſe Tumultuous Proceedings were countenanc'd, it would occaſion dangerous Seditions at other Times; and that it would be a great Reproach to him in foreign Countries, when they heard he thus treated his former Favourites*; Which ſo prevail'd upon him, that he immediately diſpatch'd Meſſengers, and revok'd his firſt Precept. After this, the King being a little mollify'd, the Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin* obtain'd the Favour that Earl *Hubert* might have a longer Time allow'd him to give in his Anſwer. During which Space, *Hubert* thinking himſelf ſecure by the King's Letters-Patents, deſign'd a Viſit to his Counteſs, then at St. *Edmund's Bury*; but when the King was inform'd of it, he ſent a Knight with three hundred Soldiers to apprehend him, and bring him Priſoner to *London.* Upon which *Hubert* fled into a Chappel at *Brentwood* in *Eſſex*, and for his Protection took the Croſs in one Hand, and the Hoſt from the Altar in the other; both which they wrung out of his Hands, and without Reſpect to the Place violently dragg'd him forth; and chaining his Feet under his Horſe's Belly, they brought him in a moſt opprobrious Manner to *London*, and immediately committed him to the Tower.

He mollifies the King.

Yet he is kept Priſoner.

Upon this Uſage, the Biſhop of *London* haſtily went to the King, and ſeverely rebuk'd him for this Violation of the Sanctuary, declaring, *That if he did not immediately ſet* Hubert *at Liberty, and ſend him back to the Chappel from whence he was taken, he would excommunicate all that were concern'd in the Fact.* The King being terrify'd, acknowledg'd his Error, and ſent him back to the ſame Chappel; but at the ſame time ſent to the Sheriffs of *Hertford* and *Eſſex*, upon Pain of Death, to go in Perſon with the Powers of both Counties, and ſurround the Chappel, to prevent *Hubert*'s Eſcape, or his being ſupply'd with Suſtenance. Upon this the Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*, his only true Friend, ſupplicated the King with Tears to know his Pleaſure concerning him; and the King offer'd him the Choice of three Things, either for ever to abjure the Kingdom, to be condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment, or to confeſs himſelf a Traitor. But *Hubert* would chuſe none of them, being conſcious to himſelf that he did not deſerve ſo ſevere a Treatment, tho' he was willing to quit the Nation for a Time. Yet rather than be ſtarv'd, he at length yielded himſelf to the Sheriffs, who brought him in Chains to *London*, and made him a ſecond Time Priſoner in the Tower. The Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin* us'd all Methods to mollifie the King's Heart, but no Sacrifice could appeaſe his Anger, but that of the Earl's Hoard of Gold and other Treaſure, then lodg'd with the Knights Templars, who refus'd to deliver it without *Hubert*'s expreſs Order. *Hubert* readily ſubmitted himſelf and all that he had to the King's Pleaſure; ſo that all his chief Wealth and Riches were deliver'd to the King's Poſſeſſion. His Enemies hearing of his great Treaſure, took a further Advantage, and accus'd him of Fraud and Rapine, urging that he might be put to Death: To whom the King reply'd, *That* Hubert *had faithfully ſerv'd his Uncle King* Richard, *and the King his Father, and if he had done otherwiſe towards him, he ſhould never be put to Death; for he had rather appear too merciful than too cruel to one who had ſo often preſerv'd his Predeceſſors and himſelf in great Dangers.* And the King being now ſoften'd into Compaſſion, by the Riches he had taken from him, regranted to him all the Lands, which King *John* had given him, as alſo thoſe he had purchas'd. Shortly after, the King's Brother *Richard*, with the Earls of *Warren*, *Pembroke* and *Ferrars*, became Sureties for his future Behaviour; after which he was ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Deviſes*, under the Cuſtody of four Knights of theirs, where he appointed *Laurence*, a Clerk of St. *Albans*, to be Steward of the Lands granted him, who had been a faithful Friend, and a great Comfort to him in all his Afflictions.

A. D.
1233.
Reg. $\frac{17}{18}$.

Foreigners called into England.

The Nobility diſcontented

IV. King *Henry* being wholly freed from the Influence of *Hubert* his former Juſticiary, now fell into the Hands of *Peter de Rupibus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and his Kinſman *Peter de Rivaulx*; ſo that the Management of all publick Affairs was committed to them. The former, that he might govern at his own Pleaſure, procur'd the King to remove the *Engliſh* from their Places and Offices, and in their Rooms to ſubſtitute *Poictovins* and *Bretaignes*; who being invited into *England*, came over to the Number of two thouſand Knights and Eſquires, and were all plac'd in ſeveral Caſtles in Garriſon; and to them the eaſie King committed the Wardſhips of the young Nobility, which afterwards were much degenerated by their ignoble Marriages with Foreigners. When the Earl of *Pembroke* found that all Ranks of Men were alike oppreſs'd, and the Laws manifeſtly violated, he as a Lover of Juſtice, with ſome other great Men went boldly to the King, and openly remonſtrated, *That by pernicious Councils he had call'd in* Poictovins *and other Foreigners, to the great Oppreſſion of his native Subjects, and the Breach of their Laws and Liberties; wherefore they humbly beſought him to regulate theſe Diſorders in the Government, otherwiſe his Nobility would withdraw themſelves from his Councils, ſo long as he made uſe of Strangers.* To whom the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſharply reply'd, *That the King might call in whomſoever he pleas'd for the Defence of his Crown, and that in ſuch Numbers as were ſufficient to reduce his proud and rebellious Subjects to Obedience.* Upon this ſevere Anſwer, the Earl and the reſt retired from the Court, and promis'd faithfully to aſſiſt and ſupport each other to the laſt Drop of their Blood.

They threaten the King.

The People, naturally inclining to doubt the worſt upon ſuch Diviſions, had their Fears increas'd by ſeveral Prodigies of ſtrange Thunders and Tempeſts, but eſpecially by the Appearance of four Pathelions, or Mock-Suns, beſides the true Sun, which were ſeen in the Air from Morning 'till Night; which indeed happen'd to be the Forerunners of ſeveral Troubles in *England*, *Wales* and *Ireland*. The *Poictovins* and other Strangers thus bearing the Sway, ſo that the King's Perſon went guarded with whole Troops of them, the Earls and Barons refus'd to come to the King at a Parliament ſummon'd at *Oxford*. Upon which the King was adviſ'd to ſend out a ſecond and third Summons, to try whether they would come to *Weſtminſter* on the eleventh Day of *July*, promiſing alſo to reform whatever was amiſs. But when the Peers heard the Number of the Foreigners increas'd, and that there were but ſmall Hopes of an Accommodation, they laid aſide all Thoughts of meeting the King at the Day appointed, and by ſelect Meſſengers declar'd to him, *That unleſs the Biſhop of* Wincheſter *and the* Poictovins *were immediately remov'd from his Court, they would, by the Common Council of the Kingdom, force both Him and thoſe evil Counſellors out of the Realm, and would conſult about creating a new King.* The King, whom his Father's Example had made more timorous, could eaſily have been perſuaded to a Compliance; but the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and his Friends infus'd more Spirit and Reſolution into him. Upon which the moſt ſuſpected Perſons had a Day appointed them by the King, in which they ſhould deliver ſufficient Pledges to ſecure him of their Loyalty.

The King puniſhes them.

Loyalty. Againſt that Day the Lords in great Numbers repair'd to *London*, but the Earl of *Pembroke*, being fore-warn'd of Danger by his Siſter the Counteſs of *Cornwall*, fled back into *Wales*; and chiefly for want of his Preſence nothing was concluded. The King not long after march'd to *Glocester* with an Army, where the Earl and his Adherents refus'd to appear, upon which the King burnt their Towns and Houſes, as if they had been Traitors, and without Tryal diſpos'd of their Eſtates to the *Poictovins* and Strangers.

The King ill adviſed.

The Earl of *Pembroke* finding himſelf oppreſs'd, and deſerted by ſome whom the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had bought off, immediately enter'd into a Confederacy with *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, and other chief Men of that Country; and they all took an Oath not to make any Peace but by a general Conſent. And now the King having receiv'd more Foreigners, march'd with them down to *Hereford*, and from thence ſent to the Biſhop of St. *Davids* to defie the Earl of *Pembroke*, and commanded his Army to march againſt him, and beſiege his Caſtles. Yet notwithſtanding, after ſome ſmall Attempts and calmer Conſiderations, the King publickly promis'd, *That by the Advice of his Council, all that was amiſs ſhould be rectify'd and amended:* Accordingly on the ninth Day of *October*, the great Men met the King at *Weſtminſter*, and humbly beſought him *for the Honour of Almighty God, to take into Favour his natural Subjects, who without any Tryal by their Peers, he treated as Rebels.* To which the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* reply'd, *That there were no ſuch Peers in* England *as in* France; *therefore it was lawful for the King, by ſuch Juſtices as he appointed, to baniſh any Criminals out of the Nation, and by Judgment condemn them.* This Anſwer was ſo highly reſented by the Biſhops, that with one Voice they threaten'd to excommunicate all the King's chief Counſellors by Name; but the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* appeal'd from their Sentence to the See of *Rome*. Then they ſolemnly execrated all ſuch as had alienated the King's Mind from his Native Subjects, and diſturb'd the Peace of the Kingdom.

The Earl of Pembroke *worſts the King in* Wales.

Hubert de Burgo *eſcapes.*

In the mean Time the Earl of *Pembroke* had retaken a Caſtle which he had lately ſurrender'd to the King; which provok'd the King to march with a powerful Army into *Wales*; but the Earl had before deſtroy'd all the Forage, ſo that the King for Want of Neceſſaries was oblig'd to retire to the Caſtle of *Groſmont* in *Monmouthſhire*. Here the Earl, whoſe Conduct was equal to his Valour, ſo manag'd his Forces, that attacking the King's Army by Night, he put the whole into ſuch Diſorder, that they immediately fled, and left five hundred Horſe, and all their Baggage, for a Prey to the Enemy; upon which, the King leaving two Noblemen with the *Poictovins*, to make good the Marches againſt the *Welſh*, return'd with Diſhonour. The Earl alſo found them Employment whom the King left behind; and whereas the valiant *Baldwin*, a *Flemiſh* Knight, with a thouſand Horſe, thought to have ſurpriz'd him, when with a tenth Part of that Number he came to view the Caſtle of *Monmouth*; the Earl alone bravely defended himſelf againſt twelve of his Enemies, and when his Horſe was ſlain, he threw one of them out of the Saddle, and leap'd into it himſelf, never giving ground 'till his other Forces came in to his Aſſiſtance, and obtain'd a compleat Victory, with the Slaughter and Captivity of many *Poictovins* and others. His other Exploits in and about *Wales* were not few nor diſhonourable, only he had the Misfortune to have his Soveraign on the contrary Side. About the ſame time *Hubert de Burgo*, having Intelligence that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* deſign'd his Death, eſcap'd out of the Caſtle of *Deviſes*, where he was Priſoner, to a neighbouring Church; but was hal'd from thence by the Keepers of the Caſtle. The Biſhop of *Salisbury*, in whoſe Dioceſe it happen'd, caus'd him to be ſafely reſtor'd to the ſame Place, from whence by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and a Troop of Soldiers, he was reſcu'd, and carry'd into *Wales*. Thus he, who when he was in Power and Grandeur, inſiſted upon abſolute Obedience to the King, now under Preſſures and Afflictions, ſtood as ſtrongly for Self-Defence.

A.D. 1234. Reg. 18/19.

The Earl of Pembroke's *Succeſſes.*

He is deſtroy'd by Treachery in Ireland.

The Earl of *Pembroke* increaſing in Strength and Hatred againſt ſuch as were the King's Seducers, made great Devaſtations upon their Lands and Poſſeſſions; and joining with the Forces of *Lewellyn*, proceeded with Fire and Sword as far as *Shrewsbury*, part of which they laid in Aſhes, and plunder'd the reſt. The King then at *Glocester*, for want of ſufficient Forces, departed thence with no ſmall Concern to *Wincheſter*, abandoning thoſe other Parts to Waſte and Ruin. When the King's Counſellors ſaw their Houſes and Lands deſtroy'd, their *Poictovin* Friends greatly diminiſh'd, and themſelves without Remedy, they projected how to ruin the Earl by Treachery, whom they could not conquer by Valour. In order to which they compos'd Letters in the King's Name, ſeal'd with his and eleven of their own Seals, and directed them to *Fitz-Gerald*, the King's Juſticiary in *Ireland*, and ſeveral others who were the Earl's ſworn Feudataries, importing, 'That tho' the Earl had been proclaim'd a Trai-'tor, proſcrib'd by the King's Court, and diveſted of his 'Paternal Eſtate, yet ſtill he purſu'd the King with his 'uſual Malice and Violence; wherefore they were re-'quir'd, as faithful Subjects, whenever the Earl ſhould 'come over thither, to take him alive or dead, and pre-'ſent him to the King, which if they perform'd, all his 'great Poſſeſſions in *Ireland* ſhould be divided among 'them; for which they gave them the King's Promiſe and 'their own Securities for the Performance. The *Iriſh* Noblemen hearing the Tenor of theſe Letters, ſent private Meſſengers to theſe Counſellors, aſſuring them, 'That if what was promis'd them could be ſecur'd by the 'King's Charter, they would undertake to effect what he 'deſir'd. Upon which theſe Counſellors ſurreptitiouſly got the Seal from the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* now Chancellor, and without his Knowledge ſeal'd a Charter with it, by which all the Rights and Poſſeſſions of the Earl were to be divided among them, and forthwith diſpatch'd a Meſſenger with it to the ſaid Noblemen. Upon the receiving of which, they immediately reſolv'd the Deſtruction of the Earl; accordingly they rais'd a great Force, with which they enter'd his Lands, took his Caſtles, and waſted his Poſſeſſions, purpoſely to provoke him to come over into *Ireland*. This Plot ſoon took effect; for going over to take Revenge of theſe mercenary Enemies, he was treacherouſly beſet by them, and was kill'd by a Wound given him on the Back, while he with incomparable Bravery defended himſelf againſt a Multitude. Thus dy'd this valiant Man, who deſerv'd to have liv'd in better Times, and under a Prince who knew how to value Men of Worth; yet when he receiv'd the News of his Death, he much lamented the Loſs of ſo brave a Soldier, and ſo noble a Subject, declaring, *He had not left his Equal behind him.*

The Prelates remonſtrate to the King.

The King complies.

Before this happen'd, the King came to a Treaty at *Weſtminſter* with the Biſhops and Nobility; in which the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſeveral Biſhops repreſented to him, *The calamitous Condition to which both he and the whole Kingdom was reduc'd, by following the pernicious Counſels of the Biſhop of* Wincheſter *and his Accomplices, whoſe Advice had occaſion'd all the evil Events, Wars and Miſeries that had happen'd in his Reign:* Adding withal, *That if he did not ſpeedily remove theſe evil Counſellors from his Court and Preſence, and receive his Native and Liege-Subjects into their Places, they muſt of Neceſſity proceed to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures againſt all Oppoſers.* Upon which the King calmly reply'd, *That he could not reform his Council, 'till he had taken their Accounts*, and ſo deſir'd a ſmall Reſpite, which at preſent gave Satisfaction to all. At another Meeting, the King was again admoniſh'd by the Arch-Biſhop, of the deſolate Condition of his Kingdom, and all the impending Dangers; and being again threaten'd with the Excommunication of himſelf as well as others, he at length promis'd to be directed by their Counſels. Shortly after he commanded the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to retire to his Biſhoprick, and keep to his Care of Souls, without concerning himſelf with the Affairs of the Publick; and likewiſe commanded *Peter de Rivaulx* to give in his Accounts, yield up his Caſtles, and depart his Court, declaring with an Oath, *That if he had not been a benefic'd Clerk, he would have caus'd his Eyes to be pull'd out.* He alſo diſcharg'd the *Poictovins* from his Service, both in his Court and Garriſons, commanding them to return into their own Country, and never ſee his Face more. Thus having purg'd his Court, and freed his Kingdom from Foreigners, he ſubmitted to the Advice of the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops, by whom he hop'd to reduce his unſettled Kingdom to a proſperous Condition. By their Directions he came to a Treaty with *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, and iſſu'd out his Letters to all his Confederates, and proſcrib'd Perſons to meet at *Gloceſter* on the twenty ninth Day of *May*, to be reconcil'd to him, and reſtor'd to their Inheritances, while the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops aſſur'd them of ſafe Conduct. The firſt who came to accept of the King's Favour was the late Juſticiary *Hubert*, whom the King receiv'd very graciouſly; after him *Gilbert Baſſet* and *Richard Sward*, with ſeveral others; who were all receiv'd with the Kiſs of Peace, reconcil'd to the King, and reſtor'd to all their Rights and Poſſeſſions. At the Interceſſion of the Arch-Biſhop he alſo reſtor'd to *Gilbert*, Brother to the late Earl of *Pembroke*, all his Inheritance both in *England* and *Ireland*, and receiv'd his Homage; and on *Whitſunday* following at *Worceſter* he knighted him, and gave him the Marſhal's Staff.

He is reconcil'd to many.

Upon this general Reconciliation, the Practices by which the great Earl of *Pembroke* was deſtroy'd, and his Poſſeſſions diſmember'd, were all laid open; and the Copies of the Letters ſent into *Ireland* were by Means of the Arch-Biſhop publickly read in the Preſence of the King, the Prelates, Earls and Barons. The exhibiting of theſe drew Tears from moſt of them; and the King declar'd by an Oath, *That he knew not the Contents of the ſaid Letters, tho' by the Importunity of the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, Rivaulx, Segrave *and others, he had cauſ'd his Seal to be put to them.* Theſe being ſhortly after ſummon'd to appear in the King's Court at *Weſtminſter*, inſtead of coming, took Sanctuary in ſeveral Places; but at length by the Management of the Arch-Biſhop, moſt of them were brought before the King, who in Perſon ſate upon the Bench with his Juſticiaries. *Peter de Rivaulx* was the firſt that appear'd in a Clerk's Habit, yet with a Dagger at his Girdle, and bow'd to the King, who as ſoon as he ſaw him, call'd him *Traitor*, accus'd him for his pernicious Counſels, and requir'd him to give an Account of his Treaſuryſhip, and alſo the Wardſhips of the young Nobility, with the Eſcheats and other Profits of the Crown; and after this ſent him to the Tower, and ſeiz'd all his Lay-Poſſeſſions, becauſe under his Clerk's Habit he had a Coat of Mail, and a Knight's Weapon at his Girdle. At the ſame Day alſo appear'd *Stephen Seagrave* before the King, who likewiſe call'd him *Traitor*, and added, That by his wicked Advice *Hubert* Earl of *Kent* was remov'd from his Office of Juſticiary, and impriſon'd, and many of the Nobility proſcrib'd, requiring him to give an Account of his Juſticiaryſhip. But by the Mediation of the Arch-Biſhop, Time was given to him and others; and the King getting Mony out of them, and making *Hugh de Pateſhull* chief Juſticiary, all Things in a ſhort time were brought to a reaſonable and quiet Condition.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter *and other Miniſters diſgrac'd.*

A.D. 1235. Reg. $\frac{19}{20}$.

Theſe calmer Times were made more pleaſant and joyful by the Marriage of the Emperor *Frederic* with the Lady *Iſabella*, King *Henry*'s Siſter, now about twenty Years of Age, with whom the King gave thirty thouſand Marks, as her Portion. The Meſſengers arriv'd in *March* with the Emperor's Letters, clos'd with a Seal of Gold, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Cologn* and the Duke of *Lovain* were ſent to conduct her over. The King brought her to *Sandwich*, with a fair Train of three hundred Horſe, and being nobly furniſh'd with all Things, ſhe took ſhipping in *May*, and arriv'd at *Antwerp*, and was magnificently entertain'd; while her Sweetneſs of Behaviour, and her charming Beauty attracted the Love and Admiration of all People. At the Solemnity of her Marriage were preſent three Kings, eleven Dukes, thirty Earls, beſides a great Number of Prelates. This Imperial Affinity gave a worthy Hiſtorian occaſion to diſplay the Glory and Grandeur of the *Engliſh* Princes; but among them all, none were more highly advanc'd than the Children of King *John*, one of whoſe Sons was now a King, the other afterwards choſen to be an Emperor, one of his Daughters now a Queen, this other now an Empreſs. Here *Roger Wendover* ends his Hiſtory, to whoſe Labours we have been often and very much oblig'd.

The Emperor Frederick *marries* Iſabella *the King's Siſter.*

A.D. 1236. Reg. $\frac{20}{21}$.

The King marries Eleanor *Daughter to the Earl of* Provence.

V. King *Henry*, being arriv'd to the thirtieth Year of his Age, and the twentieth of his Reign, reſolv'd to enter into a nuptial State, and accordingly marry'd the Lady *Eleanor*, ſecond Daughter to *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, who tho' his Fortunes were in a low Condition, yet he marry'd his four Daughters to as many Kings. Immediately after her Marriage ſhe was crown'd at *Weſtminſter* with extraordinary Splendor and Magnificence; at which Solemnity the City of *London* ſignally diſplay'd its Grandeur, being richly adorn'd with Silks, Banners, Crowns, Palls, Tapers and Lamps, with all the ſtrange Varieties of Wit and Invention. The Citizens, well mounted, and glorioully attir'd, met the King on Horſe-back; and at the Dinner, with the Clangor of Trumpets before them, they enter'd, carrying three hundred and ſixty Cups of Gold and Silver, to ſerve the King and his noble Gueſts with Wine, according to their Duties in Coronations. Our Author here takes particular Notice, that the Earl of *Cheſter*, as Lord High Conſtable, carry'd the Sword of St. *Edward*, call'd *Curteine*, before the King, in Token, 'That he is 'Earl of the Palace, and has by Right a Power of reſtraining the King, if he ſhould act any Thing amiſs. Shortly after the King went from *London* to *Merton-Abby*, where he met with his great Men, to treat with them about the Affairs of the Kingdom; and here were made the Laws call'd *the Statutes of* Merton. To this Place came the Emperor's Meſſengers, deſiring the King to ſend his Brother *Richard* to his Aſſiſtance againſt the *French*; but by the Advice of the Nobility, his Requeſt was refus'd becauſe he was young, and next Heir to the Crown, if the King dy'd without Iſſue.

The Lords again diſcontented.

And now the jealous Lords began again to relapſe into their uſual Diſcontents, heinouſly reſenting it, That the King was ſo much govern'd by his Wife's Uncle, *William de Valentia*; inſomuch that the King withdrawing himſelf into the Tower of *London*, the Lords refus'd to come to him. Upon better Advice therefore the King return'd to his Palace; where ſome great Officers, and others, were remov'd from the Privy-Council, and their Places, not without the Admiration of moſt People. But the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, choſen Lord Chancellor in the King's Minority, being requir'd by his Sovereign to deliver up his Seal, poſitively refus'd, declaring, *That as he had receiv'd it by the Authority of the Parliament, he would not reſign it without their Conſent.* Theſe frequent Oppoſitions from his Prelates and Peers, induc'd this unſteady King to reſume into his Favour ſome of thoſe Counſellors he had not long ſince diſplac'd, as *Peter de Rivaulx*, and *Stephen Segrave*. Then to ſecure himſelf from remoter Dangers, he travelled towards *York*, to eſtabliſh a Peace between him and *Alexander* King of the *Scots*; who in Confidence of the Amity and Aſſiſtance of Prince *Lewellyn*, demanded the County of *Northumberland*. Nevertheleſs, by the Wiſdom of their Friends, and their own Moderation, they parted in Peace; the King of *England*, rather than give up ſo neceſſary a Frontier, obliging himſelf to lay out certain Lands, in lieu of that County, which King *John* had formerly given as a Portion with his Daughter. In this Year *Matth. Paris* tells us of a ſtrange Prodigy ſeen near the Abby of *Roek* in *Yorkſhire*; which was, that for ſeveral Days together ſome Troops of Men on Horſeback appear'd to riſe out of the Ground, and dividing themſelves into Parties, ſeem'd to fight with each other, and at laſt to ſink into the Earth again. The like Apparitions, as he ſays, were alſo ſeen this Year in *Ireland*, as the Earl of *Gloceſter* related it to him, and affirmed the Truth of the Fact.

A ſtrange Prodigy.

A.D. 1237. Reg. $\frac{21}{22}$.

The King wants Mony.

King *Henry*, whoſe Treaſures were exhauſted by the Payment of his Siſter's Portion to the Emperor, now call'd a Parliament at *London*, where he could not obtain any Supplies from the States of the Land, but upon Confirmation of the National Privileges of *England* formerly granted, and upon Acceptance of the Earls of *Ferrars* and *Warren*, and *John Fitz-Geoffry* into his Privy-Council. The King, to ſatisfie the People, caus'd them to ſwear *to give no unfaithful Advice, and to abſtain from all Corruption, or Sale of Juſtice*; and finally he promiſ'd himſelf *to rely wholly upon his natural Subjects for Advice, and to leave all others.* Upon this a *Thirtieth* of all Profits was granted; but then it was appointed, that the Mony ſhould not be paid into the Exchequer, but was to be depoſited in ſome Religious Houſe or Caſtle in every County, to be expended for the Uſe of the Publick, as Occaſion requir'd; ſo that if the King fail'd to perform his Part, every Man ſhould receive back what he had depoſited. One ordinary Cauſe of Expence ſeem'd now to be remov'd, for *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, being diſtemper'd in Body, and diſturb'd by the Rebellions of his Son *Griffin*, voluntarily agreed to hold the whole Principality of the Kings of *England*.

The Prince of Wales *ſubmits to* England.

Uſurpations of the Church of Rome.

Here *Matth. Paris* complains of the State of *England* at this Time, which by the King's Flexibility was become the ordinary Prey of ſometimes one Sort of Strangers, and ſometimes another, as *Poictovins*, *Italians*, *Germans* and *Provencials*. But no Kind of Strangers then ſo much infeſted *England* as the *Romans*, of whom there ſwarm'd three Sorts; Uſurers, who were the Pope's Merchants; *Italian* Clerks, vile and illiterate Perſons, who being armed with the Pope's Bulls and Cenſures, poſſeſs'd themſelves of many ſpiritual Revenues; and Farmers and Proctors for the *Romans*, who ſubtlely ſcraping together whatever was of Value in the Land, ſent it over the Sea to their luxurious Maſters. And as theſe Papal Engines acted here in *England*, ſo they did with others at *Rome*, the Governors of that Church not ſeeking to win Mens Souls, but their Mony, oppreſſing the Religious by Puniſhments, Uſuries and Simonies, without any Care of Juſtice and Honeſty; which caus'd the *Greek* Church at this Time to fall quite away, and to oppoſe it ſelf againſt that of *Rome*. *England* had then no leſs Cauſe than *Greece*; but as Pope *Gregory* knew that the only Way to keep *England* firm, was to ſecure the King, ſo the King ſaw no Way to curb his Barons, but by yielding to the Pope, tho' with ſo many inſufferable Miſchiefs. And for ſome ſuch Deſign Cardinal *Otto* the Pope's Legate was ſent into *England*, utterly againſt the Will of the Peers, and eſpecially of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who publickly reprov'd the King for allowing of it, declaring it dangerous to the Kingdom. Yet ſome good Offices were at firſt perform'd by the Legate; particularly in a Treaty of Peace begun between the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland* at *York*, where *Otto* interpos'd himſelf, and occaſion'd a final Agreement. Notwithſtanding this, the Barons were inrag'd to ſee the King ſo addicted to the Will of the *Romans*, and the Legate, for which the Earl of *Cornwall* his Brother reprov'd him as *carrying himſelf more like the Pope's Penſioner than a King.* By which the King began to be ſo ſenſible of his Authority, that when the Legate call'd a National Synod at St. *Paul*'s, he ſent Meſſengers to forbid him on the Behalf of the King and Kingdom, *Not to attempt any Thing that was againſt the Crown and Royal Dignity,*

A.D. 1238. Reg. $\frac{22}{23}$.

Simon Montfort preferr'd.

The Lords diſpleas'd.

About this Time *Simon Montfort*, an active and vigorous Man, ſo wrought himſelf into Favour, that the King with his own Hands privately gave him his Siſter *Eleanor*, Widow to the late Earl of *Pembroke*, notwithſtanding ſhe had vow'd her ſelf a Nun. This being known to the Earl of *Cornwall*, and the diſcontented Lords, it was highly reſented, becauſe the King according to his Promiſe had not firſt conſulted them, as in all Matters of Moment; inſomuch that none but Earl *Hubert* adher'd to the forſaken King. The Earl of *Cornwall* was the Head of this Defection, of whom Men generally hop'd, That he would now free the Nation from the great Oppreſſions of *Romans* and other Strangers. Upon which the Legate undertook to adviſe him, alledging, *That if the whole Nation roſe againſt the King, yet he being his own Brother, ought to adhere to him.* To whom the Earl reply'd, *That it was not ſtrange that he ſhould be ſo concern'd for the preſent Condition of the Kingdom, ſince he was the only Heir apparent to the Crown: And tho' ſo many Profits accru'd to the King, yet by the great Gifts beſtow'd on the Queen's Relations, the Treaſury was exhauſted, when the Kingdom was inviron'd with Enemies and Strangers, who were enrich'd with the Church Revenues and Benefices founded by his pious Anceſtors.* The Legate finding that neither Threats nor Promiſes would prevail upon the Barons of this Party, but that their Inclinations were bent towards the Earl, he advis'd the King to appoint the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent* to give his poſitive Anſwer. Upon which Day the Nobility met at *London*, guarded with Horſe and Arms, to compel the King to the Performance of his Promiſes; and at length, after many Debates, the King promis'd to ſubmit himſelf to the Determination of ſome of the moſt grave and diſcreet Men; which Agreement was reduc'd to Writing, and ſeal'd both by the Legate and the Nobility.

The Pope's Legate in Danger.

Not long after, the King going to *Woodſtock*, a Traitor was ſeiz'd there who deſign'd to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty; for which he was drawn in Pieces by Horſes at *Coventry*. About the ſame Time the Legate was in no leſs Danger at *Oxford*, where being at firſt honourably entertain'd by the Univerſity in *Ouſney* Abby, the Pride of his *Romans* there prov'd ſo inſupportable, that a Company of the younger Students, being provok'd to arm themſelves, not only ſlew the Legate's Kinſman, but would have done the ſame to the Legate himſelf. whom they term'd *an Uſurer, a Simoniack, a Perverter of the King, and a Subverter of the Kingdom, enriching Strangers with the Spoils of the Natives.* But abſconding himſelf, he at Midnight eſcap'd over the River, not without Danger of drowning, and fled to the King for Protection. For which Outrage, the King, ſending a Troop of Soldiers, impriſon'd thirty of the Offenders; and the Legate interdicted the whole Univerſity; 'till all the Biſhops of *England*, who met purpoſely at a Synod, pleaded for a Relaxation. To whoſe Importunity the haughty Legate would not condeſcend, unleſs all the Biſhops would yield to go on Foot with the Students from St. *Paul*'s Church to the Legate's Houſe, which was about a Mile diſtant, who there without Gowns, Caps or Shooes, ſhould humbly crave Abſolution; all which was accordingly perform'd.

A.D. 1239. Reg. $\frac{23}{24}$.

The Prelates complain againſt him.

Not long after the Legate was recall'd to *Rome* by the Pope, upon Notice of the daily Offences given to *England*; but by the earneſt Endeavours of the King, who fear'd leſt the Nobility ſhould prevail againſt him, he was detain'd as a neceſſary Evil to eſtabliſh Peace. About the ſame Time he created *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, but ſhortly after broke ſuddenly with him, alledging *That he had firſt corrupted his Siſter, and to cover her Shame he permitted the Marriage.* He likewiſe receiv'd *Stephen Segrave* again into his Favour and Council; ſo unconſtant was this Prince, that he ſcarce lov'd or hated, but according to the Influence and Suggeſtions of thoſe about him. Yet at length he began to diſcover the indirect Practices of his beloved Legate, whoſe great Friend, *Peter Saracen*, having been taken Priſoner by the Emperor, and obliged to pay ten thouſand Pounds for his Ranſom, this ſhameleſs Man advis'd the King to bind himſelf and his Crown for the Payment of it. By which the King perceiving what Toils were laid to enſnare him, in a great Rage ſwore, *That he repented he had ever admitted the Legate into the Land, to devour all its Wealth.* And the Biſhops of the Nation, meeting at a Synod at *London* to redreſs the Oppreſſions of the *Engliſh* Church, told the Legate in plain Terms, *That the Importunity of the* Romans *had ſo long exhauſted their Church Revenues, that they would no longer endure it.* Shortly after, when the Legate was entring *Scotland*, the King of that Country met him, and declar'd to him, *That never any Legate had enter'd there before, and there was no Occaſion for any at this Time; for Chriſtianity and the Church was than in a proſperous Condition.* But by the Mediation of ſome Friends, it was agreed under the Hand and Seal of the Legate, That this ſhould not be drawn into a Precedent; whereupon the Legate enter'd *Scotland*, and held a Synod at *Edinburgh*, and having extorted what Mony he could, he return'd privately to *England*. About the ſame Time the variable King caus'd ſeveral Articles of Treaſon and high Miſdemeanors to be exhibited in his Court againſt his faithful *Hubert*, pretended to be committed while the Management of publick Affairs paſs'd through his Hands. To all which he anſwer'd with ſuch Modeſty and Submiſſion, and ſo fully to the Purpoſe, that all who heard him were ſatisfy'd of his Innocence; tho' the King and all his Lawyers did their utmoſt to prove him guilty. However the King's Anger was no ways abated, 'till he had reſign'd four of his beſt Caſtles, *Blanch* Caſtle, *Groſmund* in *Wales*, *Screneſrith* and *Hatfield*. In the ſame Year, on the ſixteenth Day of *June*, Queen *Eleanor* was deliver'd of a Son nam'd *Edward*, afterwards King of *England*.

Edward I. *born.*

A.D. 1240. Reg. $\frac{24}{25}$.

The Emperor complains of the King.

The Earl of Cornwall *undertakes the Holy War.*

About the ſame Time the Emperor *Frederick* being excommunicated by the Pope, afterwards by his Ambaſſadors complain'd to King *Henry*, *That he ſeemed to have forgot his Alliance and Marriage with his Siſter, when he ſuffer'd the Pope's Sentence of Excommunication againſt him to be publiſh'd in his Kingdom, and had inconſiderately allow'd the Pope's Legate as Coadjutor in theſe Practices againſt him; wherefore he deſir'd that the Legate might be expell'd* England, *as the Enemy and Pillager of his Subjects.* To whom the King moſt diſhonourably anſwer'd, *That he ought to obey the Pope, and his Eccleſiaſtical Commands, becauſe he was his Tributary and Feudatary.* However he advis'd the Legate to leave his Kingdom, to prevent further Miſchiefs, and incenſing the Emperor; yet he found Pretences to ſtay 'till the following Year, and in the mean Time to extort unreaſonable Sums from the Clergy and others. There were alſo Commands given to the *Italian* Uſurers, by the King, *To leave the moſt pure Earth of his Realm*, as he phras'd it; but, as *M. Paris* adds, by giving the King Mony, which is too much us'd to juſtifie the Impious, they for the moſt Part remain'd ſtill, being unwilling to forſake ſuch rich Paſtures. Whether upon Diſcontent for theſe burdenſome Times, or otherwiſe, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* took upon him the Croſs, began his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, and left his Son *Henry* to the King his Brother's Care; and not long after was follow'd by *William Long-ſpee* Earl of *Salisbury*, and ſeveral other *Engliſh* Noblemen, that attended him.

A.D. 1241. Reg. $\frac{25}{26}$.

The Pope's Legate departs.

Eleanor Heireſs *to the Crown dies.*

At length, after near four Years Continuance, the Legate being commanded by the Pope to return, took his ſolemn Leave of the King, and parted with many tender Sighs and Embraces. No Man but the King lamented his Departure; for, ſetting aſide the Holy Veſſels and Ornaments of the Churches, he had drawn more Riches from the Clergy than he left behind; beſides, he had occaſion'd three hundred rich Benefices and Prebendaries to be given to the Pope's Creatures, and reſerv'd for his own Uſe. Upon his Departure, *Peter* of *Savoy* the Queen's Uncle arriv'd, whom the King entertain'd with great Magnificence, and gave him the Earldom of *Richmond*. This and the like Bounties to Strangers occaſion'd ſtill more Hatred againſt the King, who in favour of his Queen, procur'd her Uncle *Boniface* to be choſen Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Rents of which were then above four thouſand Marks *per Annum*. *Edmund* his Predeceſſor, being weary of the Pope's Exactions and Oppreſſions in *England*, had made choice of a voluntary Exile at *Pountney* in *France*, where he dy'd with the Honour and Opinion of a Saint. In the ſame Year dy'd two great Ladies of the Royal Blood of *England*; firſt, *Iſabella*, the Empreſs, and the King's eldeſt Siſter, in Childbed, to the great Grief of the Emperor her Husband; next, *Eleanor*, Siſter to *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, who having been kept Priſoner thirty nine Years, deceas'd in the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, without ever being marry'd. This laſt was a Lady of a noble Spirit, ever inſiſting upon her Right to the Crown; who upon her Death left a more indiſputable Title to King *Henry*, than ever he had before.

A.D. 1242. Reg. $\frac{26}{27}$.

The King's Deſigns in France.

VI. The King's Imployments had hitherto been almoſt wholly taken up in Civil Diſturbances, or in the too patient Bearing of ſome foreign Grievances, nouriſh'd within his own Kingdom; which gave him perhaps little Leiſure, Means, or Inclination to purſue any Tranſmarine Action. But now having with great Oppoſition furniſh'd himſelf with Mony and Men, he took Shipping immediately after *Eaſter* towards *Poictou*, where the Earl of *Marche*, now Husband to Queen *Iſabel* his Mother, expected his Arrival. He committed the Government of the Land to the Arch-Biſhop of *York*; and took with him the Earl of *Cornwall*, lately return'd with much Honour from the *Holy-Land*, and ſeven other Earls, with about three hundred Knights, beſides other Soldiers. To reſiſt the *Engliſh*, the King of *France*, who had given *Poictou* to his Brother *Al-*

The fair Offers of the French *King refuſed.*

phonſo, aſſembled a powerful Army of four thouſand Men of Arms, and about twenty thouſand Soldiers, with a thouſand Carriages. And laying Siege to *Fronteney*, a Caſtle belonging to the Earl of *Marche*, King *Henry* ſent a Meſſenger of Defiance to him, *as a Breaker of the Truce. Lewis*, a juſt and valiant Prince, deny'd, *That he ever broke the Truce; but that the King of* England *had been the Aggreſſor in joining with ſuch as were Rebels againſt him.* Yet, provided the *Engliſh* would not protect his Enemies, the Earls of *Marche*, *Tholouſe* and others, he offer'd to give him *Poictou*, and a great Part of *Normandy*, in Satisfaction of his Father's Oath, and further to prolong the laſt Truce three Years more. Theſe Conditions, ſo honourable and advantagious to the King of *England*, by the Practices of the *Poictovins*, who fear'd the *French* King's Anger would prove too heavy for them, if the *Engliſh* abandon'd their Cauſe, were unfortunately refus'd.

Upon this Refuſal, the *French* King expreſs'd much Concern for the Oaths that his Father had made to King *Henry* when he left *England*, of delivering up his Dominions in *France*. But one of his Miniſters reply'd, *That the Oath was mutual, and that the King of* England *had broken it when he caus'd* Conſtantine *a Citizen of* London *to be hang'd for defending his Father's Honour.* This weak Pretence ſatisfy'd the King's Scruples for the preſent; and proceeding in his Attacks upon the Caſtle of *Fronteney*, took it with the Earl of *Marche*'s Son, and above four hundred other Priſoners. When ſome adviſ'd him That the Earl's Son and the reſt might be executed as a Terror to other Rebels, he generouſly reply'd, *The Son has obey'd his Father, and the reſt the Command of their Lord, upon which account neither of them deſerve Death.* After this, *Lewis* march'd directly to *Taillebùrgh* where King *Henry* was incamp'd, who now perceiv'd that he was utterly diſappointed by the Earl of *Marche*, and in great Danger: Therefore expoſtulating with the Earl *How he had perform'd his Promiſe of procuring Men, if he ſupply'd him with Mony*? the Earl reply'd, *He never made ſuch a Promiſe, and if any Writing was ſeal'd to that Effect, it was all the Contrivance of his Wife, the King's Mother.* Immediately Earl *Richard* diſarm'd himſelf, and with a Truncheon in his Hand went to the *French* Camp, where he was kindly and honourably receiv'd; and deſiring a ſhort Truce of the King, he obtain'd one for a Day and a Night: By which means King *Henry* his Brother had an Opportunity of eſcaping with his Army, tho' not without great Diſhonour and Difficulty. The Earl of *Marche* now repenting of his Attempts, ſubmitted to the *French* King, and made private Articles for himſelf; ſo that King *Henry* being abandon'd, was oblig'd to fly into *Gaſcony*. Upon which the Cities of *Xaintes*, *Ponti*, and all the reſt of *Poictou*, forthwith ſubmitted to King *Lewis*; only *Hertold* Governor of *Mirabel* Caſtle went to the King of *England*, and implor'd his Protection; to whom the King reply'd, *That he was betray'd by the Earl of* Marche, *and was ſcarce able to ſecure his own Perſon, therefore he had leave to act according to his Diſcretion.* Upon this he went to the King of *France*, and ſubmitted himſelf to his Protection, and that King anſwer'd, *That he only had behav'd himſelf faithfully to his Sovereign, and therefore receiv'd the Caſtle and Himſelf very kindly*; and having firſt taken an Oath of Fealty, generouſly reſtor'd it to him again. The further Proſecution of this War was hinder'd by Sickneſs and Famine, which much afflicted the *French* Army; which at length occaſion'd a five Years Truce between the two Kings. *Lewis* return'd to *Paris*, and *Henry* retir'd to his City of *Bourdeaux* in *Gaſcony*; where, being govern'd by the Counſels of the King of *Arragon* and the Earl of *Tholouſe*, he ſpent the Winter in Softneſs and Pleaſure, as tho' no Diſhonour had befallen him. Here his Queen *Eleanor* bore a Daughter call'd *Beatrix*.

Poictou *gain'd by him.*

A Truce between the Kings of England *and* France.

A. D. 1243. Reg. $\frac{27}{28}$.

In the following Year the five Years Truce between the two Kings was ſolemnly confirm'd; by which Agreement the King of *France* was not only to retain whatever he had gain'd by the Sword, but alſo to receive five thouſand Pounds every Year from the King of *England*: To ſuch diſhonourable Terms was this poor Prince by his own Inconſiderateneſs reduc'd. His Return was long expected in *England*, yet much delay'd by the *Gaſcoigns*, by reaſon of the Mony he expended amongſt them; ſo that he could not arrive at his own Kingdom before the twenty fifth Day of *September*. By reaſon of this expenſive Voyage, he ſoon became very burdenſome to his Subjects, as well by the Levy of *Scutage*, as by forc'd Loans, and other Methods. The *Jews* alſo felt the Severity of his Wants ſo far, that Chriſtians commiſerated their Condition; whoſe Gold he receiv'd with his own Hands, and their Silver by thoſe of his Officers. Theſe and other importunate Corraſions were not only us'd to fill up ſuch Breaches as the *French* Affairs had produc'd, but alſo to ſpend on Shews and Entertainments. For on the firſt of *November*, *Beatrix* Counteſs of *Provence*, the Queen's Mother, arriv'd in *England*, being receiv'd at *London* with all imaginable Pomp and Magnificence. She brought her Daughter *Cynthia* with her, who on the twenty third of the ſame Month was marry'd to the King's Brother Earl *Richard*; and the Nuptials were celebrated with ſuch Splendor and Feaſting, that no leſs than thirty thouſand Diſhes were provided for the Entertainment.

King Henry *returns with Diſhonour from* France.

A. D. 1244. Reg. $\frac{28}{29}$.

Great Complaints againſt the King in Parliament.

Theſe new Expences occaſion'd a further Want in the King's Coffers, and therefore he call'd a Parliament for a new Supply; to whom he promis'd *To obſerve the Liberties ſworn to at his Coronation, and granted in his Charters*, and further declar'd, *That his Honour and theirs ſhould be inſeparable.* Upon which the whole Body beſought him To remember, ‘how often he had receiv'd Mony from his faithful Subjects, without performing his Promiſes; That after the taking of *Bedford* he had *Carrucage*, two Shillings upon every Plough-Land; the Year after, a *Fifteenth* upon all their Moveables: Upon his Paſſage into *Bretaign* he had no ſmall Sums from the Prelates, Monaſteries, Burgeſſes and *Jews*: After his Return he had *Scutage*, three Marks upon every Knight's Fee; then a *Fortieth* of all Moveables; a while after a *Thirtieth*; ſhortly after, for the Marriage of his Daughter to the Emperor, two Marks upon every Plough-Land; and at his Son's Birth, by Preſents he had heap'd up conſiderable Sums. Again when he went into *Gaſcony*, he had rais'd vaſt Quantities of Mony from all Sorts of People, and upon his Return after he had been deluded and diſhonour'd he had in a manner fleec'd his Subjects. Yet ſtill, under the Name of Aid for the Marriage of the King's eldeſt Daughter, they granted him twenty Shillings upon every Knight's Fee, to be paid at *Eaſter* and *Michaelmas*. To which they added this ſevere Expoſtulation, *How well the King will keep his Promiſes, in Requital of the paſt and preſent Contributions, he only knows to whom nothing is unknown.* But ſuch as endeavour'd to ſtrengthen the Pope's Deſigns, by raiſing Mony from the *Engliſh* Clergy, met with a conſtant Oppoſition; not only through the Unwillingneſs of the Clergy, but alſo becauſe the Emperor had written to the King in expreſs Terms, *That if he ſuffer'd any Contributions for the Pope, he would certainly revenge it upon all the* Engliſh *that fell into his Hands.*

A Breach with Wales.

In the mean Time, *Griffin* Brother to *David* Prince of *Wales*, after a long Impriſonment in the *Tower*, endeavouring to eſcape, loſt his Life by the Breaking of the Rope that ſhould have given him his Liberty; which Accident occaſion'd his Brother *David* to revolt and take up Arms, notwithſtanding the ſolemn Submiſſion he had made three Years before. And to ſupport his Deſigns, in Imitation of King *John*, he put himſelf under the Protection of the Pope, offering him an annual Tribute of five hundred Marks; all which produc'd no great Effect. At the ſame Time that the King receiv'd the News of the *Welſh* Inſurrection, he alſo heard, That the King of the *Scots* had declared, *He would not hold the leaſt Piece of Earth of the King of* England. For the Management of this double War, he firſt march'd into the North, where at *Newcaſtle*, by means of the Death of the principal Incendiary, and the Mediation of others, all Conteſts between the two Kings were adjuſted, according to thoſe Articles formerly made between them at the City of *York*. The *Welſh* being now leſs formidable, the King ſent but a ſmall Part of his Army againſt them, under the Conduct of *Hubert Fitz-Matthew*; but through their own Neglect, and the Vigilance of the *Welſh*, *Hubert* and all his Men were defeated and diſpers'd. The News of this Diſhonour ſo affected the King, that he reſolv'd to ſend a powerful Army againſt the *Welſh*; but when he deſir'd a Subſidy of his Parliament for that purpoſe, he was with one Voice and Mind deny'd; tho' at the ſame time his Debts to Foreign Merchants for Wines and other Neceſſaries were ſo numerous and ſo continually remember'd, that he could ſcarce paſs abroad without their Clamours. Yet the News he receiv'd from *Gaſcony*, That his Lieutenant *De Molis* had defeated the King of *Navarre*, did ſomewhat mitigate theſe Misfortunes; and at the ſame Time *Robert Paſſeleu* by his ſevere fining ſuch as had encroach'd upon the King's Foreſts, in a ſhort Time fill'd his Coffers beyond all Expectation.

and with Scotland.

The King's ill Succeſs.

A. D. 1245. Reg. $\frac{29}{30}$.

England *oppreſs'd by the Pope's Agents.*

The great Benefits the King found from his new Supplies, caus'd him daily to conſider how to augment them, and put a Stop to all foreign Hindrances and Out-lets. Upon the Departure of *Otto*, the Pope's Legate, who had vaſtly inrich'd both himſelf and his Maſter, it was hop'd that the Nation ſhould have found ſome Eaſe from the *Romiſh* Extortions; but it prov'd otherwiſe; for as *M. Paris* complains, new Agents and Factors ſtill came over, as if *England* had been an unexhauſtible Spring, and *Rome* a bottomleſs Gulf. Upon which Account the King had wrote both to this Pope and his Predeceſſor, deſiring them

To

The King exerts his Authority againſt Rome.

The Pope's Pride.

To deſiſt from thus afflicting England *with their Exactions*; yet out of Fear of him whom he had acknowledg'd his Sovereign, and a Deſire of more Power, he ſupported the *Romiſh* Miniſters, againſt the Pleaſure of the whole Nation. Which ſo incourag'd the preſent Pope, that he deſign'd to make a Viſit into *England* himſelf; to which purpoſe he caus'd his Cardinals to write their perſuaſory Letters to the King, *as a Thing highly conducing to his Safety, and to his Kingdom's Immortal Glory, to enjoy the Preſence of the Lord Pope, who greatly deſir'd to ſee the Delicacies of* Weſtminſter, *and the Riches of* London. But the King's Council expreſly declar'd to him, *That the Rapines and Simonies of the* Romans *had ſufficiently ſtain'd the Purity of* England, *without the Pope's coming perſonally to pillage the Wealth of the Church and Kingdom.* Tho' the Pope was refus'd Entrance in Perſon, yet his Rapines were ſtill carry'd on by his Factor and Chaplain *Martin*; inſomuch that ſeveral of the Peers, commiſerating the Condition of the Land, took Order for a ſtrict Watch at all the Ports of *England*, that all Letters from *Rome* ſhould be ſtopp'd. Shortly after the King order'd a ſtrict Enquiry to be made into each County of the true Value of the Benefices which the *Italian* Clergy-Men then enjoy'd in *England* by the Gift of the Pope; and they were found to amount to ſixty thouſand Marks *per Annum*, which at that Time exceeded the whole Revenue of the Crown. Upon which Report the King became fully ſenſible of the inſatiable Avarice of the *Romiſh* Church, but all that he durſt do was to permit a ſharp Epiſtle to be written in the Name of the general Body of the Nation, in which they ſet forth *the execrable Extortions and Exactions of the Pope's Legates and Nuncio's*, and ſent it to the Pope then ſitting in a Council at *Lyons*. Here, the Pope giving dilatory and uncertain Anſwers, Earl *Bigot* and the reſt of the King's Agents, with terrible Threats and Oaths, declar'd, *That they would remedy that themſelves, which the Pope would not.* And indeed the Nobility at home had already begun to act to that Effect, having commanded *Martin* to depart out of the Land, *or he and all his Company ſhould be cut in pieces:* Who departing in Haſte, ſo inrag'd the Pope with the News of this Uſage, that he declar'd thus, *It is full Time that we make Peace with the Emperor, that ſo we may humble theſe rebellious petty Princes*; *for the great Dragon being once pacify'd, the ſmaller Serpents will eaſily be trodden under foot.* Then to let King *Henry* ſee his Power, he ſent to all the Biſhops of *England*, commanding them that each ſhould ſet his Seal to that Charter of Tribute which King *John* had unhappily granted; which theſe timorous Biſhops perform'd, greatly to the Nation's Damage, and their own Reproach. The King at firſt ſhew'd his Reſentments, and declar'd, *That he would never comply with ſuch Baſeneſs*; But wanting Conſtancy and Courage, he in a ſhort Time return'd to his wonted Tameneſs and Submiſſion.

The King builds the Abby Church at Weſtminſter.

The *Welſh* Affairs growing very troubleſome by reaſon of the caſual Death of *Fitz-Matthew*, the King prepar'd to ſuppreſs their Inſults in Perſon: In order to which the King came to St. *Paul*'s Church, and there took leave of the Citizens of *London*, after a familiar and popular Manner. And that neither War nor Want ſhould make him forget his Magnificence, he began to pull down the old Abby Church at *Weſtminſter*, and new build it in that ſtately Manner in which it remains to this Day. But all that he did in *Wales* for near two Months, was to build the Caſtle of *Ganock*, which he finiſh'd with great Difficulty, and put a ſtrong Garriſon into it; and the Winter approaching, he deſtroy'd all the Victuals and Forage upon the Borders, and the inward Parts of *Wales*, and then return'd with his Army into *England*. For this Expedition the King pawn'd his Jewels to his Brother *Richard* for three thouſand Marks. Here *M. Paris* has a long Liſt of great Perſons, who dying about this Time, left neither Name nor Iſſue to preſerve the Memory of their Grandeur; but none ſo remarkable as the Earls of *Pembroke*, of whom there were five ſucceſſive Brothers, who dying left the noble Earldom, with a mighty Eſtate in *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, to be divided between five Siſters, all marry'd to the greateſt Men of the Nation. Our Author aſcribes this ſudden Failure of the Heir Males to the Curſe of an *Iriſh* Biſhop upon their Father, who for taking away ſome Lands belonging to his See, and refuſing to reſtore them, pray'd that God would ſhew ſome remarkable Judgment upon his Family.

A.D. 1246. Reg. $\frac{30}{31}$ *Great Complaints againſt the Pope's Uſurpations.*

But to little Effect.

The King finding himſelf free from foreign Troubles, now apply'd himſelf to the Reformation of the inward Maladies of his Dominions; and for that End he call'd a full Parliament to *London*, to which he deliver'd in Writing the Sum of the Grievances both in Church and State: As Firſt, 'That the Pope had extorted great Contributions of the Clergy, without the King's Conſent, againſt the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom. Secondly, That Patrons could not beſtow their Livings on fit Perſons, becauſe the Pope gave them to his *Romans*, who could not ſpeak *Engliſh*, but impoveriſh'd the Nation by carrying away the Coin. Thirdly, that the Pope's Proviſions and Penſions were exorbitant and inſupportable. Fourthly, That *Engliſh* Men were drawn out of their Country to finiſh their Cauſes abroad. And fifthly, That the Pope by his Clauſe of *Non Obſtante* vacated Oaths, Cuſtoms, Charters, Grants, Statutes, Rights and Privileges. Upon which the King, Prelates, Earls, Barons, Abbots and Priors, did all write their ſeveral Complaints to the Pope, requiring *ſpeedy Redreſs of thoſe infinite Injuries to the King and all his Subjects, who would rather die than thus daily endure ſuch Oppreſſions.* Notwithſtanding, ſeveral Prelates, out of Fear or Ambition, privately promoted the Pope's Deſigns, when he ſecretly requir'd an annual Tallage of the Clergy for the Maintenance of his Soldiers; and that the State ſhould have no Notice of it, he caus'd them to ſwear not to reveal this Contribution to any Man for the Space of half a Year. Yet the King came to the Knowledge of it, and by Proclamation commanded that the Mony ſhould not be carry'd out of the Land, and that none of his Subjects ſhould contribute any Mony to the Pope: But it came to no great Effect, for ſome Romanizing Biſhops and ambitious Clerks of his Council, fearing the Papal Threats, drew him to leave his Purpoſe weakly, which he had manfully undertaken. The Biſhop of *Worceſter*, a principal Agent, was ſaid to have Authority from the Pope to interdict the Land, which was the main Thing the King fear'd, and which, as our Author freely writes, was not worth his Fears; and the Earl of *Cornwall* alſo with others labour'd to promote the Pope's Intereſt, ſo that the wonted Extortions were as current as ever. And further the Pope granted to *Boniface*, now Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, a Foreigner and Uncle to the Queen, a Bull for levying a Tax of ten thouſand Marks in ſeven Years Time upon the Biſhops and Clergy of his Province, to diſcharge, as it was pretended, the Debts of the Archbiſhoprick.

A. D. 1247. Reg. $\frac{31}{32}$ *The Oppreſſions of* England *from the See of* Rome.

If we ſhould ſo often inſiſt upon the Relation of this Kingdom's Misfortunes, as the Pope's endleſs Corraſions, and the State's repeated Complaints give us Occaſion, we ſhould overburden the Reader with diſmal Matter, which Monks themſelves have mournfully and copiouſly ſet forth, ſhewing the too ſervile Affections of our Anceſtors, who ſtill enter'd upon new Conſultations about the Diſeaſe, but never brought the Remedy to its right uſe. For upon freſh Extortions from *Rome*, the King again aſſembled his Parliament to think of a Redreſs, the whole State, as well Clergy as Laity, being reduc'd to ſuch a low Condition as was never known before; of which They again made their heavy Complaints, who were to protect the Land from ſuch Wrongs and Miſchiefs. Their only Remedy was again to write Letters to the Pope, which ſlender Force he could eaſily diſſipate; and tho', to put a Stop to preſent Clamours, he promis'd never to ſend any Legates into *England*, but at the State's Requeſt, yet he daily ſent his exacting Clerks, with the Power, tho' not with the Title and Enſigns of Legates, ſo to delude the King, and impoſe upon his Subjects. In the midſt of theſe unhappy Times, the King ſummon'd all his Peers to meet on the Feſtival of St. *Edward*, the thirteenth of *October*, partly, as the Writ of Summons ſets forth, *To hear the good News of a Benefit conferr'd on* England *from Heav'n*, partly to celebrate the Tranſlation of that Martyr, and partly for the Solemnity of Knighting *William de Valentia*, the King's Half-Brother. The good News they were to hear was, That a Portion of our Saviour's Blood was ſent to the King from *Jeruſalem*; which with great Reverence and Devotion, the King himſelf in a mean Habit carry'd on Foot, from St. *Paul*'s Church to *Weſtminſter*, where it was carefully repoſited.

A. D. 1248. Reg. $\frac{32}{33}$ *The Parliament inſults the King.*

As the Pope continually wanted Mony from this Kingdom, ſo did the King alſo: For which Reaſon he ſummon'd a Parliament at *London*, and requir'd of the Members to grant him a pecuniary Aid. But inſtead of complying, they reprov'd him, *For asking it without bluſhing, ſeeing when they granted the laſt, he promis'd by his Charter, That he would no more burden his Nobility.* Moreover they blam'd him *For his repeated Kindneſſes and Liberalities to Foreigners, and Contempt of his Native Subjects, for not encouraging the Trade of his own Kingdom, and in exacting unreaſonable Gifts from Merchants:* And laſtly, *For keeping Biſhopricks and Monaſteries void in his own Hands.* To which they added, *That neither the Juſticiary, Chancellor, nor Treaſurer, were made by the Common-Council of the Kingdom, as they were in his Predeceſſor's Reign.* The King inwardly touch'd at this, promis'd, *That what was amiſs ſhould be ſpeedily redreſs'd*; to which the whole Body return'd Anſwer, *That as they had often, ſo they would now patiently wait a while*; *and according as his Promiſes were perform'd, ſo ſhould their Obedience be.*

Upon

He reſents the Affront.

Upon which the Matter was deferr'd for three or four Months; and meeting again the King made a Speech to them to this Effect, *That they had not treated their King civilly, but would impoſe mean and ſervile Conditions upon him; and what each of them in private thought to be his Right was deny'd Him; even that Authority which every Maſter exercis'd in his Family, who might uſe what Council, and might chuſe what Servants he thought fit in his own Houſe, but this they deny'd to their Sovereign; And as Servants ought not to judge or impoſe any Difficulties upon their Lord, ſo neither might Vaſſals upon their Prince; therefore he reſolved to remove none of his Miniſters at their Pleaſure. Yet notwithſtanding he expected a pecuniary Aid, for the Recovery of his Rights beyond the Seas, which was their Concern as well as his.* They all unanimouſly reply'd, *That they would no longer impoveriſh themſelves to inrich Foreigners:* So the King was left to furniſh himſelf by the Sale of his Jewels, Plate, and other valuable Goods: And being told that he might find Buyers in *London*, he reply'd, *That if the Treaſury of* Auguſtus *were to be ſold, the Citizens of* London *were able to purchaſe it.*

A. D. 1249. Reg. $\frac{33}{34}$. *The King reduc'd to Straits.*

A. D. 1250. Reg. $\frac{34}{35}$. *He undertakes the* Cruſado.

His Extortions.

The Affairs of *Gaſcony*, which had been greatly diſturbed by one *Guaſto de Biard*, were now by the Courage and Conduct of *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter* reduc'd to good Order; which render'd his Preſence very acceptable in the Court of *England*. The King intending to promote that Enterprize afreſh againſt the following Spring, left no Methods untry'd, which either by Art or inceſſant Intreaties he could uſe to repleniſh his exhauſted Coffers. In which he too much debas'd the Royal Name and Dignity of a King, declaring to ſeveral, whoſe Bounty he crav'd, *That it was more Charity to aſſiſt him with Mony, than one that went begging from Door to Door.* In the mean Time the King neglected not the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; for, whereas the whole County of *Hampſhire* was infeſted with Felons, Robbers and Murderers, he ſo manag'd the Affair, by ſitting in Perſon at *Wincheſter* Caſtle, that the Infamy and Danger of thoſe Places were clear'd by hanging the chief Offenders, many of whom were wealthy, and ſome the King's own Servants; the latter of whom pleaded, *That the King had for a long Time ſtopp'd their Wages, ſo that they were oblig'd either to ſell their Horſes and Equipage, or live upon Robberies.* The King, now deſirous to be Friends with the Citizens of *London*, to whom of late he had been too hard and extorting, publickly reconcil'd himſelf to them, whom for that Cauſe he commanded to appear at *Weſtminſter*, and there immediately undertook the *Cruſado*, and receiv'd the Badge from Arch-Biſhop *Boniface*; but whatever his Intentions were, he himſelf never came to Action. In the mean Time, contrary to the Example of his Anceſtors, he ſo much abridg'd the Expences of his Houſe, and his Alms, that he juſtly ſuſtain'd ſome diſhourable Imputations. Neverthele ſs he began wiſely to extricate himſelf out of many Merchants Debts; towards which he forced great Aids from the *Jews*, as being the ordinary Clippers and Defacers of his Coin, and the Forgers of Seals and Charters; from one of whom he had at ſeveral Times got thirty thouſand Marks of Silver, beſides two hundred Marks in Gold. And to get more Mony he ſent a ſevere Inquiſitor to ſcarch into the Tranſgreſſions upon Foreſts; which Charge he executed with that Violence and Extortion upon the Gentry, that tho' he rais'd large Sums, yet it loſt him the Affections of his People, when he came afterwards to ſtand in moſt need of them.

A. D. 1251. Reg. $\frac{35}{36}$. *He debaſes himſelf.*

The King, now wholly intent upon raiſing of Mony, neither gave any rich Preſents according to the ancient Cuſtom of *England*, nor would put on his Royal Robes, but ſtill ſhorten'd the Allowances of his Houſhold and Entertainments, without any Regard to Majeſty or Cenſure. And to ſpare his own Charges, he ſometimes invited himſelf to one great Man, and ſometimes to another; but was never ſatisfy'd with his Entertainment, unleſs conſiderable Preſents were alſo made to himſelf, his Queen, and Son *Edward*, and likewiſe to his chief Favourites, which they rather look'd upon as a Debt than a Courteſie. This was the diſhonourable State of the King's Court at this Time: Yet in the greateſt Wants, and moſt rigorous Parſimony, he could not defend himſelf againſt the Suits and Preferments of his *Poictovins* and *Provencials*; ſo that it became a common Murmur in *England*, *Our Inheritance is converted to Aliens, and our Houſes to Strangers:* And what was yet more grievous, their Pride and Violence were inſupportable. In theſe unhappy Times the Clauſe of *Non Obſtante*, firſt introduc'd by the Pope, was taken up in *England* by the King, in his Grants and Charters, as *Non obſtante priore Mandato*, and *Non obſtante antiqua Libertate*, and the like; which our Author calls a deteſtable Clauſe: And *Roger de Thurkeby*, one of the King's Juſtices, at the firſt Sight of it, with a deep Sigh cry'd out, *Alas, to what Times are we arriv'd! The Civil Court is corrupted by the Eccleſiaſtical, and the River is poiſon'd from that Fountain.*

Henry de Bath *accus'd.*

He is freed.

Many took the Advantage of theſe Times, among the reſt *Henry de Bath*, one of the King's Juſticiaries, who by his Briberies and Extortions had rais'd a great Eſtate upon the Ruin of others: For which he was accus'd to the King, who oblig'd him to appear before the next Parliament at *London*. At the appointed Time he came with a magnificent Train of his own and his Lady's Relations, hoping by that means to turn the Edge of Juſtice. Beſides other Crimes, he was accus'd of incenſing the whole Baronage againſt the King, which had endanger'd a general Sedition; and the King was ſo highly provok'd againſt him, that he caus'd it to be proclaim'd in his own Court and in *London*, *That if any Perſon had any Complaint againſt* Henry de Bath, *he might come in and be heard.* Upon which one of his Fellow-Juſtices charg'd him with acquitting a notorious Criminal for a great Bribe; which further ſo inrag'd the King, that ſtanding up he raſhly cry'd out, *That if any Man would kill* Henry de Bath, *he would pardon him*; and he had ſoon been diſpatch'd, had not the Prudence of *John Manſel* and the Threats of the Biſhop of *London* ſecur'd him from further Violence. But at length having made Earl *Richard* his Friend, by great Preſents, through his Mediation, and the Promiſe of two thouſands Marks, he gain'd his Liberty, return'd to Court, and was receiv'd into Favour: For at this Time Juſtice, and all other Things became ſaleable. In the ſame Year, part of *Wales* was wholly ſubdu'd, and receiv'd the *Engliſh* Laws; and the North-Eaſt Parts were committed to the Government of *Alun de Zouch*, who farm'd them at eleven Hundred Marks *per Annum.* About the ſame Time the Community of *London* ſwore Allegiance to Prince *Edward*, ſaving the Fidelity they ow'd to the King his Father, who then alſo granted them a Confirmation of all Liberties they enjoy'd in the Reign of King *Henry* the firſt; for which Charter they paid the King five hundred Marks.

A. D. 1252. Reg. $\frac{36}{37}$.

The King marries his Daughter Margaret *to* Alexander *King of the* Scots.

VII. All Things being now in a quiet, tho' unſettled Poſture, *Alexander* III, King of *Scotland*, now about twelve Years of Age, ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Henry*, deſiring the laſt Peace between the two Nations might be ratify'd, as well as the Agreement of a Marriage between himſelf and the Lady *Margaret* the King's Daughter. Upon which Motion, both the Kings met on *Chriſtmas* at *York*, where King *Henry* firſt knighted young *Alexander*, and the next Day gave him his Daughter *Margaret* in Marriege. The Nuptials were ſolemniz'd with a mighty Confluence of Prelates and Noblemen out of *England*, *Scotland* and *France*, beſides two Kings, three Queens, a thouſand *Engliſh*, and ſix hundred *Scotch* Knights, who all appear'd in the moſt ſplendid Apparel and Equipage. The Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who was Prince of the Northern Parts, gave ſixty fat Oxen towards the Nuptial Dinner, and was at the farther Expence of four thouſand Marks. Upon the Marriage *Alexander* did Homage to King *Henry* for *Lothian* and the other Lands he held of him; but being alſo demanded to do the ſame Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as his Predeceſſors had done, the young King wiſely reply'd, *That he came thither at the King of* England'*s Invitation, and by this Marriage to unite himſelf more firmly to him, but unprepar'd to give an Anſwer to ſuch Difficulties, without conſulting his Nobility.* King *Henry* hearing this modeſt Reply, would preſs him no further, leſt the deſigned Mirth and Jollity ſhould be diſturb'd, but reſerv'd it to a more convenient Opportunity.

The King affronted by Earl Montfort:

Not long after the Noblemen of *Gaſcony* ſent over great and many Complaints to the King againſt their Governor *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, who upon that Account came twice into *England*; and the laſt Time he ſo well vindicated himſelf before his Majeſty's Perſon, that he ſilenc'd moſt of his Adverſaries. The King perceiving that his Brother *Richard*, and many of the chief Nobility join'd with him, could not reſtrain his Reſentments; and when the Earl boldly demanded a Recompence for his Services and Expences, according to the King's Royal Word and Ingagement, the King reply'd, *He would not ſtand to any Promiſe he had made to a Traitor.* Upon which the Earl told the King *He Lied; and were he not a King, he would make him eat his Words*; reproachfully demanding, *Whether any Man would believe he was Chriſtian, or had been at Confeſſion?* The King anſwering in the Affirmative, the Earl ask'd *What avail'd Confeſſion, without Repentance and Satisfaction?* The King reply'd, *He had never more Reaſon to repent, than for his beſtowing ſuch Preferments upon one who had ſo little Gratitude and Manners*; and would have caus'd him to be apprehended for his Inſolence, but by the Interpoſition of Friends, they parted from each other outwardly reconcil'd. Shortly after, he ordered the Earl to return into *Gaſcony*, telling him, *That if he was ſuch a Lover of War, he might there find ſufficient Employment, and a Reward anſwerable to his Merits:* To which the Earl boldly reply'd, *That he would go over, and not return, 'till he had ſubdu'd the Enemies, and reduc'd the rebel-*

And by the Counteſs of Arundel.

rebellious Subjects of an ungrateful Prince. Thus was this weak King inſulted by his own Subjects, and not only by Men but alſo by Women; particularly the young Counteſs Dowager of *Arundel*, who receiving a Repulſe from the King in a Matter alledg'd to be hers in Equity, thus freely accoſted him: *My Lord the King, why do you turn your Face from Juſtice? We can obtain no Right from your Court; You are plac'd between God and us, but you neither govern your ſelf nor us, as you ought; but daily oppreſs the Church, and afflict the Nobility of your Kingdom.* The King, fir'd at her Diſcourſe, with a furious Look demanded, *Whether the Nobility of* England *had given her a Commiſſion to be their Advocate?* To which ſhe with no leſs Warmth reply'd, *The Nobility have not made me any ſuch Charter, tho' you have broke that which you and your Father have granted, and ſworn inviolably to obſerve, and for which you have ſo often extorted Mony from your Subjects. Where are the Liberties of* England*, ſo often reduc'd to Writing, ſo often granted, and ſo often purchas'd and redeem'd? Therefore I, tho' a Woman, with all your natural Subjects, do appeal from you to the Tribunal of Heaven, where the great and terrible Judge ſhall revenge our Cauſe.* The King, confounded at ſuch bold Truths, for a while remain'd ſilent, and then ask'd her *Whether ſhe deſir'd a Favour, becauſe ſhe was his Couſin?* To which ſhe only reply'd, *Since he had deny'd doing Juſtice, how could ſhe expect any Favour?* and ſo departed without any other Satisfaction than the Affronting a Monarch without Controul.

A.D. 1253. Reg. $\frac{37}{38}$.

The grand Eſtabliſhment of Magna Charta

In the ſame Year *Groſthead* Biſhop of *Lincoln* employ'd one of his Clerks to take an exact Account of the yearly Revenue that *Italian* and Foreign Clergy-Men poſſeſs'd in *England*, which was found to exceed ſeventy thouſand Marks, when the King's bare Revenue was at this Time ſo low, that it ſcarce reach'd one third Part of that Sum. At the ſame Time *John Manſel* Clerk, who was the King's principal Counſellor, enjoy'd ſuch an unreaſonable Number of Eccleſiaſtical Preferments at once, that his Revenues amounted to four thouſand Marks *per Annum*, an Income then ſufficient for the greateſt Prelates. The King, who had incurr'd the ill Will and Curſes of the People by many illegal Exactions, ſtill wanted a large Sum of Mony for an Expedition to the *Holy-Land*; for which purpoſe he call'd a Parliament, and demanded great Supplies of them. To which they conſented, upon Condition that he would once for all ſubmit himſelf to govern wholly by Law, and confirm the Charters and Liberties of the Kingdom. To that end, the Nobility being aſſembled in *Weſtminſter* Hall, all thoſe that oppos'd, violated, diminiſh'd or chang'd the Liberties contain'd in the great Charters, were ſolemnly excommunicated and anathematiz'd with Bell, Book and Candle, by the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops in their Robes and Pontificalia; and this was done in the Preſence, and by the Aſſent of the King, who in the mean Time laying his Hand on his Breaſt, after all was perform'd, pronounc'd theſe Words, ‘ *So may God help me, as I inviolably obſerve all* ‘ *theſe Things; which I promiſe as I am a Man, as I am a* ‘ *Chriſtian, as I am a Knight, and as I am a King crown'd* ‘ *and anointed.* Then alſo the original Charters granted by King *John* were produc'd, and read before them all; which the King having regranted and confirm'd, they put out their Candles, and threw them down ſmoaking upon the Ground, and every one wiſh'd, *That ſuch as oppos'd that Sentence, might ſo ſtink and ſmoke in Hell.* Never were Human Laws and Liberties confirm'd with greater Solemnity and Majeſty; yet the King, being led by pernicious Counſellors, in a ſhort Time made it his Endeavours to break through all Obligations, which meeting with a turbulent Nobility, at length brought himſelf and the Nation into great Miſeries.

The King goes to Gaſcony.

In the mean Time the valiant *Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter* being remov'd from his Government of *Gaſcony*, the King's Son *Edward* was put in his Room; upon which Change *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile* pretended a Grant of that Country from King *Henry* II. confirm'd by his Sons *Richard* and *John*. Upon this, ſeveral of the Nobility of *Gaſcony* revolted from King *Henry*, and join'd with *Alphonſo*; but the Citizens of *Bourdeaux* continu'd faithful, and gave Notice to the King of *England*, That without a ſpeedy and powerful Aſſiſtance he would loſe the whole Country. The King at this was extreamly concern'd for the Removal of *Montfort*; and uſing what Expedition, and raiſing what Force he could, in *Auguſt* he landed at *Bourdeaux*, where ſuch Means were us'd, that by the End of Summer, he recover'd all his Caſtles in *Gaſcony*, either by Force or Compoſition. Yet the King not daring to rely upon the Fidelity of the *Gaſcoignes*, and ſuſpecting that they might ſtill revolt to the King of *Caſtile* or *Spain*, ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire his Friendſhip, and that he would marry his Siſter *Eleanor* to his Son and Heir Prince *Edward*, on whom he had lately beſtow'd *Gaſcony*. The Ambaſſadors ſo well diſpatch'd the Affair that they not only concluded the Match, but alſo made a League with the King of *Caſtile*, and brought back a Charter ſeal'd with a Golden Seal; by which he releas'd to King *Henry* whatever Right he had, or could have in that Country by the Grant of *Henry* II, King *Richard*, or King *John*. Then, upon the Ambaſſadors aſſuring their Maſter of *Alphonſo*'s Sincerity, he ſhortly after ſent to his Son Prince *Edward*, to come over to him, in order to ſend him into *Spain* to conſummate the Match. Among other Acts of Love and Sincerity, *Alphonſo* ſent this good Advice to the King of *England*, *That after the Example of good Princes, he ſhould be a Lamb towards his Subjects and Natives, and a Lion to Aliens and Rebels.* Earl *Montfort*, who had generouſly refus'd the High-Stewardſhip of all *France*, with a brave Troop of Soldiers now offer'd his Service to the King, who admiring at his Greatneſs receiv'd him with all outward Marks of Joy; at whoſe Reconciliation, the *Gaſcoignes*, who dreaded the Power of his Arms, were ſo diſhearten'd, that they came gradually in, and became good Subjects.

All Affairs ſettled there.

A. D. 1254. Reg. $\frac{38}{39}$.

Prince Edward *marry'd to the King of* Caſtile's *Siſter.*

King Henry *honourably entertained in* France.

In the following Year, the Queen alſo arriv'd at *Bourdeaux* with her two Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*; and ſhortly after Prince *Edward* was ſent in great State to King *Alphonſo*, where having marry'd his Siſter *Eleanor* he was honourably ſent back to his Father with his Princely Bride. Upon his Arrival, King *Henry* ſettled upon Him and his Princeſs all *Gaſcony*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, with the City and Towns of *Briſtol*, *Stamford* and *Grantham*: From which Time the King began to prepare for his Return into *England*, and upon ſtating his Accounts, he found that the Expences of his Expeditions into *France*, beſides thirty thouſand Marks he beſtow'd upon the *Poictovins*, amounted to ſo vaſt a Sum as would have more than purchas'd all his Lands in that Country. And what was ſtill worſe, our Author tells us it was to little or no Effect; ſo that when the King was told of this mighty Expence by one about him, he cry'd out, *For God's ſake name it no more, leſt the very Relation makes Men wonder and ſtand amaz'd!* Having ſettled all Affairs, King *Henry* ask'd Leave of the King of *France* to paſs through his Kingdom, which was not only granted, but alſo he himſelf met the King of *England* at *Chartres*, where he was then attended by a thouſand brave Horſe with noble Riders, beſides Sumpter-Horſes and many Carriages. His own Queen was with him, and her Siſter the Counteſs of *Cornwall*; and there the Queen of *France* met them, with her other Siſter the Counteſs of *Anjou*, as alſo the old Counteſs of *Provence*, the Mother of all theſe four Ladies. From whence they were conducted to *Paris*, where for eight Days they remain'd with triumphant Joy and Satisfaction, making mutual and magnificent Entertainments, ſuch as had not been known before. After which the King of *France* brought King *Henry* one Day's Journey towards the Sea, where they took their Leaves with extraordinary Tenderneſs and Affection; and King *Lewis* at his Departure, with a deep Sigh ſaid, *Oh that the Peers and Baronage of my Kingdom would give their Conſents, and then we might be inſeparable Friends!* This he ſpoke with Reſpect to *Normandy*, and thoſe other Territories, which his Nobility would not permit him to reſtore to the King of *England*; which was a great Trouble to the Conſcience of this pious Prince.

A. D. 1255. Reg. $\frac{39}{40}$.

Prince Edmund *made King of* Sicily.

A. D. 1256. Reg. $\frac{40}{41}$.

It was the next Year before the King landed in *England*, and a conſiderable Time after before the new Princeſs *Eleanor* arriv'd, who was receiv'd by the *Londoners* with great Pomp, and had her Lodgings furniſh'd with Hangings and Foot-Carpets after the *Spaniſh* Faſhion; which ſeem'd ſtrange and ſuperfluous to the *Engliſh*, who were not accuſtom'd to ſuch ſort of Magnificence; and the great Honours paid to the *Spaniards* prov'd very ungrateful to the Natives. On the other Side, *Edmund* the King's ſecond Son, by a Ring ſent from the Pope, was ſolemnly inveſted in the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Apulia*. The Ambaſſador who brought it was a Biſhop, who immediately departed; for indeed his Buſineſs was glorious in Show, but in Reality deluſory and unprofitable; both becauſe the King had unreaſonably ingag'd himſelf in the Pope's Conteſt with the preſent Emperor, as alſo becauſe the *Romiſh* Forces had lately been overthrown, before this airy Honour could be granted to Prince *Edmund*; whom yet his Father treated as a King, highly pleaſing himſelf with the Trouble of a waſtful Title, to his own and the whole Kingdom's great Impoveriſhment. The Calamities of the Kingdom in theſe expenſive Times were the more deplorable, becauſe they were continually countenanc'd by the King, who ought to have redreſs'd them. But the Pope having no way ſo eaſie to be ſupply'd as by the King, nor the King any but by the People, both Pope and King agreed to grind the People for each others Intereſt; the King to ſatisfie the Pope's Avarice, and the Pope to advance the King's Ambition. The gaining of the Kingdom of *Sicily* was the Colour, for which the King pretended to go in Perſon; and therefore *Ruſtand*, the Pope's Agent, who was ſent to gather the Tenth of all *England* for the Uſe of the Pope or King indifferently, had call'd a great Council the former Year, *The Nation oppreſs'd both by the King and the Pope.*

and adjourn'd it 'till this; where he alſo requir'd all the Prelates to bind themſelves to the Pope's Merchants, as having already receiv'd a great Sum of Mony from them, which was employ'd to the Uſe of their Churches. To which deceitful Allegation, the Prelates reply'd, *They would rather die than ſuffer ſuch Oppreſſions, and they accounted it a greater Inſtance of Martyrdom to die in ſuch a Cauſe, than in that of* Thomas Becket. The reſt of the Nobility alſo abſolutely refus'd either to recover *Sicily*, or to bear the Charge of it, as being both impracticable; the one for the Strength of *Manfrede*, and the other for the preſent Poverty of *England*. And indeed not long after, the Pope and *Manfrede* were reconcil'd, and ſo King *Henry* and King *Edmund* were deluded, one of his great Expences, and the other of his imaginary Crown. By this the King was partly waken'd out of his Dreams, in which he had continu'd feeding his Thoughts with a Proſpect of leaving a Kingdom to each Son; tho' he never reſted 'till he had almoſt plung'd the Crown into the Gulphs of irrecoverable Debts and Uſury. For beſides many other Burdens, the King, by the Management of the *Romiſh* Court, now ſtood engag'd to the Pope for near two hundred thouſand Marks.

Theſe continual Wants occaſion'd the King to be ſtricter than formerly, and to go in Perſon into the Court of the Exchequer among the Barons, where he made ſevere Orders againſt all Sheriffs and Bailiffs of incorporate Towns, who did not at the exact Time appear at the Exchequer, to pay in the King's Mony that came to their Hands. At the ſame Time he amerc'd all the Sheriffs in *England*, becauſe they had not diſtrain'd every one that had fifteen Pounds a Year in their ſeveral Counties, to come up and be knighted: all which added to the Grievances of the Nation. In the ſame Year two things added much to the publick Expences; the firſt was the Arrival of the young King and Queen of *Scotland*, who were entertain'd by King *Henry* at *London* with great Charge and Magnificence. The other was the Inſurrection of the *Welſh*, who having been much oppreſs'd by the continu'd Sale of the Government of their Nation, ſtood up for the Defence of their Laws and Country, and invading the *Engliſh* Borders, deſtroy'd the Tenants of Prince *Edward*, whom as yet they had not acknowledg'd for their Lord. Whereupon the Prince, having no preſent Mony, borrow'd four thouſand Marks of his Unkle Earl *Richard*, in order to ſuppreſs their Incurſions; but the whole Winter was ſo wet and ſtormy, and the retiring Places of the *Welſh* ſo boggy and impaſſable, that the *Engliſh* durſt not attempt them, ſo that the Expedition prov'd ineffectual, and the Prince's Expences in vain. And indeed the *Welſh* perform'd great Actions under Prince *Lewellyn ap Griffith*, by whoſe Means they valiantly recover'd all the Inland Country of *North-Wales*, with other Places; in one Encounter ſlew above two thouſand *Engliſh* Men, and ravag'd the Country to the very Gates of *Cheſter*. This they had the greater Opportunity to effect, becauſe King *Henry*, while he form'd Kingdoms in the Clouds, and plung'd himſelf into the Depths of Uſury, ſuffer'd his Relations and Favourites to trample Right and Reaſon under Foot, and with the Hatred of himſelf to fill their Purſes; while his own Treaſure daily conſumed, and Mens Minds were more and more alienated from him, as Perſons who deſpair'd of Redreſs and Juſtice. The *Welſh* perſiſting in their Attempts, forc'd the valiant Prince *Edward* to retire for want of Aſſiſtance; and when he complain'd to his Father, his Anſwer was, *That* Wales *was his own by Gift, therefore he ought to get Honour in his Youth, for he himſelf was otherwiſe employ'd.*

A.D. 1257. Reg. $\frac{41}{42}$.

The Succeſſes of the Welſh.

The King recommends his Son Edmund *to the Parliament.*

In order to ſupply his Wants the King call'd another Parliament to *Weſtminſter*, where he brought his Son *Edmund*, attir'd in an *Apulian* Habit; and having plac'd him in publick View, he ſaid, *Behold, ye faithful Subjects, my Son* Edmund, *whom Heaven of its Bounty has call'd to Royal Dignity: How worthy is he of all your Favours, and how inhuman will it be for any to deny him Aſſiſtance in this extraordinary Juncture?* Then he declar'd, *That by the Conſent of the Church of* England, *he had oblig'd himſelf to the Pope, under pain of loſing his Kingdom, for the Payment of one hundred and forty thouſand Marks, beſides Intereſt, which had greatly increas'd; for the Diſcharge of which he demanded the Tenths of the whole Benefic'd Clergy for five Years, without Abatement or Deduction.* This Demand made all Men ſtand amaz'd, eſpecially when they found that this Oppreſſion had taken its Riſe from the Pope himſelf: But at length, when neither Excuſes nor Intreaties would prevail, they granted the King an Aid of fifty thouſand Marks towards his urgent Neceſſities; but with this unacceptable Condition, *That he ſhould for the future moſt inviolably obſerve that Capital Charter, which had been ſo often promis'd and ſo often purchaſed*: But the King thinking the Sum inſufficient, refus'd to accept it; tho' afterward it is believ'd that he took it. Tho' the King was exceeding poor, yet his Brother *Richard* had heap'd up ſuch Riches, that he was able to ſpend a hundred Marks every Day for ten Years together, without accounting the Revenues he receiv'd from *England* and *Germany*. Upon the Account of his great Wealth, this Year Ambaſſadors from *Germany* came and declar'd to him, That the Princes of the Sacred Empire had elected him *King of the* Romans, beſeeching him to accept of that Dignity. At firſt he declin'd it, but by the Perſuaſion of his Brother he conſented; and after ſome Time he paſs'd over to *Aix-la-Chapellé*, where both he and his Counteſs were crown'd with great Splendor and Magnificence, and placed in the Throne of *Charles the Great* with the uſual Solemnity. His Departure was ſucceeded by a great Famine and a prodigious Scarcity of Coin, the former proceeding from the Wetneſs of the Seaſon, and the latter chiefly from the Earl's carrying over with him ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds in ready Mony: An incredible Sum in thoſe Days; beſides what King *Henry* had of late ſent to the Pope upon ſeveral Accounts; ſo that it was no wonder if *England* was exhauſted of all its current Mony.

Earl Richard *made King of the* Romans.

A.D. 1258. Reg. $\frac{42}{43}$.

In theſe Times of Want, when fifty Ships laden with Corn were ſent by *Richard* King of the *Romans* to *London*, the King took a laudable Care that the Citizens ſhould not engroſs that Commodity to the Damage of the Poor; but no Warnings, Intreaties, or Advices were ſufficient to make him truly frugal in his own Perſon, by which he was miſerably ſtraiten'd. Nor would the Parliament he ſummon'd contribute any Thing, but forming ſome great Attempts in their Minds, in direct Terms concluded, *That they neither would nor could any longer endure ſuch Exactions.* Moreover they laid open many Grievances, and Earl *Montfort* complain'd of the Diſhonour and Injury done by the King's Half-Brother *William de Valence*, calling him *Traitor*; ſo that againſt the next Seſſion of Parliament to be held on St. *Barnabas*'s Day at *Oxford*, he, with the Earls of *Glocester* and *Norfolk*, alledging their Fear of Strangers and Favourites, reſolv'd to come with all their Forces. They alſo ſent Emiſſaries to the King of *France*, begging ſo much Aſſiſtance at leaſt, *as that he would not hinder their good Intentions of eſtabliſhing the diſtracted State of* England; and they alſo took care to watch the Ports againſt Foreigners. Thus they prepar'd to abate the Inſolency and Haughtineſs of the *Poictovins* and other Strangers, by whom the King was powerfully led; for they deſpair'd of Redreſs at his Hands, who, as *M. Paris* ſays, like another *Proteus* took all Shapes upon him to ſerve his End, and ſlipt out at his Pleaſure, no Promiſes or Ties being ſtrong enough to hold him. And to add to his Misfortunes, the Pope alſo began to ſhew his Diſpleaſure, becauſe he obſerv'd not his reiterated Promiſes, by which he had bound himſelf, upon Forfeiture of his Kingdom, to correct his wonted Exceſſes; and therefore threaten'd both to Excommunicate him and to interdict his Dominions. Upon which the King in a great Confuſion ſent him five thouſand Marks, to pacifie and bring him to a ſofter Temper, and to keep off the Sentence for a Time; with which Mony, and the King's earneſt Petitions, his Holineſs ſeem'd tolerably well ſatisfy'd.

The Barons combine againſt the King.

Their high Demands at Oxford.

At the Time appointed the Parliament met at *Oxford*, where the turbulent Earls and Barons occaſion'd the King to allow of twenty four Perſons to be choſen, one half by himſelf and the other by the Peers, to have the whole Adminiſtration of the Government and State, and the yearly Appointment of all great Officers, reſerving only to the King the higheſt Place at Meetings, and Salutations of Honour in publick Places. And becauſe they would not miſs of their Deſigns, they came well arm'd and appointed, ſo that the King and Prince *Edward* were forc'd to ſwear to their Ordinances, the Lords having threaten'd Death to all Oppoſers. The chief of their Ordinances were, 'That 'the King ſhould inviolably obſerve the Charter of Liber'ties, ſo often granted and purchas'd: That ſuch a Juſtici'ary ſhould be choſen, who would do Juſtice to the Poor 'as well as the Rich: That the twenty four ſhould chuſe 'the Juſtices, Chancellors, Treaſurers, and other Officers 'from Year to Year: That they, or their Adherents, 'ſhould have the Cuſtody of the King's Caſtles: That three 'Parliaments ſhould meet every Year at Set-Times. Theſe, with ſome others, were call'd *The Proviſions of* Oxford, which the whole Baronage of *England* was bound by Oath to obſerve, and *That they would never deſiſt from proſecuting theſe their juſt Reſolves, either for Loſs of their Lives or Eſtates*; and to confirm them the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops ſolemnly execrated all ſuch as reſiſted them. Thus through the Eaſineſs of a weak and inconſtant Prince, and the growing Power of an inſolent and exaſperated Nobility, the Head of the State became a Cypher, and the whole Government was put into the Hands of a few, who really deſign'd their own Intereſt and Grandeur more than the common Good of the Nation This Confederacy was ſo ſtrong, that when *William de Valence* refus'd to deliver up any Caſtle given to him, Earl *Montfort* and the reſt anſwer'd, *They would either have his Caſtles or his Head*:

The King complies.

His Prerogative much weaken'd.

Which violent Proceeding ſo terrify'd the *Poictovins*, that they ſuddenly left *Oxford* and fled into *France*, where alſo the Barons had made them odious. The People alſo ſeem'd to join in this Confederacy, which caus'd the Peers to be ſo peremptory in all their Conferences, that when *Henry* Son to the King of the *Romans* refus'd to take their Oath without his Father's Conſent, they plainly aſſur'd him, *That if his Father would not join with the Baronage of* England, *he ſhould not have one Foot of Land in the Nation.* And leſt any Thing might be omitted, they commanded the City of *London* to ſtand upon its Guard, and caus'd the Citizens to bind themſelves under their publick Seal, immutably to adhere to the Baronage of *England.* Moreover, becauſe ſeveral other petty Tyrants of the Nation, encourag'd by their Example, had oppreſs'd their Inferiors, they procur'd the King to appoint four Knights Commiſſioners in every Shire, to enquire into all ſuch Injuries, and certifie the ſame under their Seals within a limited Time.

The King uneaſie.

The Barons daily proceeded in their Methods of Reformation, in removing of Officers, puniſhing Offenders, and diſcouraging of Strangers; againſt the laſt they were more ſevere, becauſe the Earl of *Glocester*, being reduc'd to a dangerous Weakneſs, had all the Symptoms of Poiſon, which was charg'd upon the *Poictovins.* This, and ſome other Accidents of the like Nature made them very jealous and ſuſpicious, and the declar'd Reſentments of the King to the Earl of *Leiceſter* gave them no ſmall Uneaſineſs. This was diſcover'd by chance; as the King was paſſing by Water from *Weſtminſter*, he was ſurpriz'd by a violent Storm of Thunder and Lightning, of which being extreamly fearful, he commanded the Barge-Men to ſet him on Shore at the neareſt Stairs, which happen'd to be *Durham* Houſe, where the Earl of *Leiceſter* then lay. The Earl hearing the King was there, immediately ran down to receive him, and finding him under ſome Conſternation, he ſaid, *Your Majeſty need not be afraid, the Storm is all over.* *No*, Montfort, anſwer'd the King with a ſtern Look and a deep Oath, *I fear not the Thunder ſo much as I do Thee.* At which Words the Earl a little confounded, reply'd, *Sir, I am ſorry you ſhould fear your true Friend and faithful Servant, more than the Enemies and Devourers of your Kingdom.*

A. D. 1259. Reg. $\frac{43}{44}$.

The King makes a diſhonourable Treaty with France

Normandy *quite loſt from* England.

In theſe new modell'd Times, *Richard* King of the *Romans*, deſiring to ſee King *Henry* his Brother, and deſigning to bring ſuch a Force as might ſtrengthen him againſt his Barons, was advertis'd that the Nobility deſign'd to oppoſe him both by Sea and Land; which caus'd him to lay aſide his Purpoſe, and to land at *Dover* after a private manner, with his Wife and Son, and but a ſmall Retinue. Here he was met by the King with great Congratulations at the Sea-ſide, but neither of them were permitted to enter into the Caſtle, *Becauſe it was the principal Key of the Nation.* And on the next Day, at the Chapter-Houſe in *Canterbury*, before many of the Nobility, the King of the *Romans* was call'd by the bare Title of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, and took this following Oath, *That he would be faithful and diligent, together with the Barons, to reform the Kingdom of* England, *hitherto too much diſorder'd by the Counſel of Evil Men; and would be an effectual Coadjutor to expel all Rebels and Diſturbers of the Land; which Oath he would obſerve upon pain of loſing all his Lands in* England. Thus, while the Barons were in a great meaſure Sovereigns, and the Earl of *Leiceſter* was gone with others to make a firm League with the *French*, the King himſelf was led or betray'd into a very diſhonourable Compliance with that Nation. For the King having ſail'd into *France*, demanded a Reſtitution of all thoſe Territories that King *Philip* and King *Lewis* had taken and detain'd both from his Father and himſelf. The *French* alledg'd many Things againſt his Demands, but eſpecially, *That the ancient Donation of* Normandy *was never ſpontaneous, but had been forcibly extorted by Duke* Rollo *from the King of* France. Upon this King *Henry*, having neither Courage to undertake, nor Mony to maintain a War to recover his loſt Rights, came in Perſon to the King of *France*'s Parliament at *Abbeville*, and there made a final Peace and Agreement with that King, upon theſe following Conditions: 'That the King of *England* ſhould reſign his Right 'to the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and Earldom of *Anjou*, upon Payment of three hundred thouſand ſmaller 'Pounds of *Tourain* Mony: In Conſideration of which 'King *Lewis* further promis'd him the Reſtitution of certain Territories in *Gaſcony*, of the yearly Value of 'twenty thouſand Pounds Sterling. So that retaining all the Province of *Gaſcony*, and its Appendages, and having abſolutely reſign'd his Right to all the reſt of the Dominions in the King of *France*'s Poſſeſſion, King *Henry* from thence forward ſhorten'd his Style in his Patents, Letters and Seal, and no longer call'd himſelf Duke of *Normandy* and *Anjou*. About this Period, *Matth. Paris* a Monk of St. *Albans*, the moſt celebrated Hiſtorian of this Age, ended his Hiſtory of *England*, from which we have receiv'd great Aſſiſtance; and ſhortly after ended his Life.

A. D. 1260. Reg. $\frac{44}{45}$.

The King endeavours to free himſelf.

A. D. 1261. Reg. $\frac{45}{46}$.

The Beginnings of the Baron's Wars.

VIII. King *Henry* having for the Advantage of ſome preſent Mony made diſadvantageous Conceſſions, and having freed himſelf from the irkſom Troubles of Foreign Conteſts, ſpent ſome Time in the Pleaſures of the *French* Court at *Paris*, where he was ſplendidly entertain'd and regal'd by King *Lewis*, while all Things were eſtabliſh'd and confirm'd after the moſt effectual Manner. And returning into *England* not long after, he began to employ all his Thoughts how to reſtore the Royal Power, and to throw off that Burden which the Nobility had laid upon him. In order to this he ſent privately to the Pope to be abſolv'd from his Oath to the *Proviſions of Oxford*, which without any great Difficulty was obtain'd both for himſelf and Prince *Edward*; but Pope *Alexander* deceaſing before the Diſpenſation could be ſeal'd, the King was oblig'd to ſtay a longer Time 'till it could be confirm'd by Pope *Urban* his Succeſſor. Beſides this he wrote into *France* to King *Lewis*, and his Son Prince *Edward*, who was gone over under the Pretence of a Tournament at *Paris*, to provide him what Forces he could. Theſe Matters being adjuſted, the King ſummon'd a Council or Parliament at *London*, and there plainly and briefly declar'd, *That ſince by the late Proviſions of* Oxford *they had likewiſe oblig'd themſelves on their Part to encreaſe his Revenue, and pay his Debts, of which they had perform'd neither: but inſtead of that, ſeeking their own private Intereſt, had rather diminiſh'd than encreas'd his Reevenues; and by putting himſelf under their Government, he was become more their Slave than their King; therefore they were not to wonder, if confiding no longer in their Councils, he had ſought for Redreſs elſewhere.* And ſhortly after he put himſelf into the Tower of *London*, together with the Queen, and then commanding the ancient Treaſury to be broke open, he employ'd the Mony in the Fortifications of the Tower. Moreover, he order'd the City of *London* to be ſtrengthen'd, and ſummon'd all the Youth of the City, from twelve Years of Age and upwards, cauſing them to ſwear Fealty to him; and commanded it to be proclaim'd, that Whoever would take up Arms under him, ſhould be maintain'd at his Charge. Theſe were the Grounds and Beginnings of that unhappy Civil war, which for near five Years tormented this Kingdom; which the King was the more ready to undertake, becauſe about this Time he receiv'd from the Pope his Bull of Abſolution from his Oath to the Proviſions of *Oxford.* Upon which Account it was declar'd, *That the Oath it ſelf was unlawful, being made without his Holineſs's Conſent, who was his ſupreme Lord, and whoſe Vaſſal the King now acknowledg'd himſelf to be.* Accordingly the King turn'd out the Baron's Chancellor and chief Juſticiary, and put in *Walter Merton* and *Philip Baſſet* in their Rooms; which occaſion'd the Nobility to haſten to Arms at *Wincheſter*, where the King then was, who receiving Intelligence of their Deſigns by Sir *John Manſel*, haſten'd back to the Tower of *London.*

A. D. 1262. Reg. $\frac{46}{47}$.

A. D. 1263. Reg. $\frac{47}{48}$.

Several Acts of Hoſtility.

Still the War did not begin; for the King making ſeveral Conceſſions and Compliances, all the Conteſts between him and the Barons ſeem'd for a while to be ended; ſo that the King had Leiſure and Opportunity to go over with his Queen into his Dominions in *France*, where he continu'd for a conſiderable Space. During his Abſence the Earl of *Leiceſter* appear'd at a great Council held at *London* by the Juſticiary *Baſſet*, where he produc'd a Brief or Letter from the Pope, wherein he confirm'd the Proviſions of *Oxford*, and recall'd the King's Abſolution, declaring *He was deceiv'd in the granting of it*; which ſhews the variable Temper of the Pope and his Court. But how much ſoever the Abſolution was recall'd, it was ſhortly after re-confirm'd, and made uſe of by the King upon his Return into *England*, which was ſucceeded by ſeveral Acts of Hoſtility between Him and the Barons. The ſecret Confederacy with *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales* gave the Barons no ſmall Encouragement, who about this Time waſted the Dominions of Prince *Edward* in the Marches of *Wales*; ſo that now Places were won and loſt, and Priſoners taken on all Sides. Prince *Edward* took the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, and fin'd the City a thouſand Pounds. Earl *Montfort*, the General of the Barons, executed his greateſt Revenges upon the Queen's Friends who were Foreigners; and marching forwards, recover'd *Glocester* Caſtle, enter'd *Worceſter* and *Bridgenorth*; and after that ſurpriz'd the Iſle of *Ely*, ſubduing that Fenny Country to the Barons Uſe. Sir *John Manſel*, the King's chief Counſellor, apprehending the worſt, fled ſecretly from the Tower, where the King continu'd; and *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, was taken by the Barons. In the mean Time the valiant Prince *Edward* fortify'd *Windſor*

Caſtle, and garriſon'd it with Strangers. Mutual Wearineſs at length begot a Deſire of Peace, and the King would have yielded to the Proviſions of *Oxford*, but the Queen ſhew'd her ſelf utterly againſt it; which being known to the *Londoners*, it put the meaner Sort into ſuch a brutiſh Rage, that when ſhe was to ſhoot the Bridge from the Tower towards *Windſor*, they with Dirt, Stones and villainous Words forc'd her to return back. Prince *Edward*, under the Conduct of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, came from the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, and contrary to his Promiſe enter'd into that of *Windſor*; but afterwards going forth to meet Earl *Montfort* at *Kingſton*, with a Deſign for a Treaty, the Earl got Poſſeſſion of *Windſor* Caſtle, and would not permit him to depart. At *London* ſtill, in a Parliament aſſembled, Matters were in ſome Meaſure made up; and the King's Party daily grew ſtronger.

A. D. 1264. Reg. $\frac{48}{49}$.

At length the King of *France* was made Arbitrator in theſe great Conteſts; and the Cauſe was fully heard at *Amiens*, where he gave Judgment for the King of *England* againſt the Barons, pronouncing all the Statutes and Acts made at *Oxford* void; but with this Proviſo, *That nothing of the Charters granted by King* John *and the preſent King ſhould be infring'd.* Of which Clauſe the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his Party took Advantage, alledging, *That the Proviſions of* Oxford *were only in Purſuance and Corroboration of thoſe Charters*; therefore, refuſing to ſtand by the Arbitration, which they ſaid contradicted it ſelf, the War broke out more furiouſly than ever. The King with his Brother and Son, and a ſtrong Force, march'd to *Oxford*, from whence he diſmiſs'd all the Students, which are ſaid to be above fifteen thouſand in Number; among whom being many young Noblemen, the King doubted of their Affections to the Barons. Upon which moſt of them went to *Northampton*, where the Barons were then powerful; to which Place the King march'd with his Army, and breaking in at the Town Walls, attack'd the Enemies, among whom the Students of *Oxford* had a Banner by themſelves advanc'd directly againſt the King; and they more annoy'd him in the Battel, than the reſt of the Barons. For which the King, after he had gain'd the Day, threaten'd a ſevere Revenge; but his Counſellors inform'd him, *That they were the Sons of the Nobility and Gentry of his Kingdom; that if he ſhould cauſe them to be executed, their Fathers and Relations would make a dangerous Retaliation*; upon which he deſiſted. The King here took *Simon Montfort* the Younger, and fourteen other principal Barons and Knights-Bannerets, forty other Knights, beſides Eſquires and others. Encourag'd with this Succeſs he advanced his Royal Standard towards *Nottingham*, burning and waſting the Barons Eſtates where-ever he march'd. To divert this Storm, Earl *Montfort* haſten'd to *London*, and then made an Attempt upon *Rocheſter* Caſtle, which the Earl of *Warren* defended for the King. Upon which, the King turn'd his Arms, and coming to raiſe the Siege, took the Caſtle of *Kingſton*, which belong'd to the Earl of *Gloceſter*; and then unexpectedly ſetting upon thoſe who lay before *Rocheſter*, while *Montfort* was abſent, he kill'd many and diſpers'd the reſt. Next he took the Caſtle of *Tunbridge*, with the Counteſs of *Gloceſter*, whom he ſet at Liberty; and then taking the Cinque-Ports into Favour, he ſettled himſelf for a while at *Lewes* in *Suſſex*.

The King ſucceeds.

At *Lewes* the Barons ſent Letters to the King, proteſting *all Loyal Obedience to his Perſon, but all Hoſtility to their Enemies about him.* To which the King return'd Anſwer, *That they were the Cauſe of all his Wars and Miſeries in the Nation; that their Intentions were not according to their Profeſſions, nor their Actions agreeable to their Pretences, therefore he defy'd them.* The King of the *Romans*, Prince *Edward*, and the reſt of the King's Friends, ſent the like Letters of Defiance. Upon this, the Barons, being weaker in Numbers, ſent Mediators for Peace, and offer'd to pay the King thirty thouſand Pounds in Conſideration of Damages done in the Nation, provided *That the Statutes of* Oxford *might ſtand good.* But the King, inrag'd at their whole Proceedings, ſent a freſh Defiance to *Montfort* and his Accomplices; which provok'd them to do the like, and to renounce the Fealty they ow'd him. Upon this both Parties provided for an Engagement, and as ſoon as the two Armies approach'd each other, a fierce Battel inſu'd, and the ſtout Earl of *Leiceſter*, with the Body under him, and that next to him, ſet upon the Forces commanded by the King and his Brother; rightly judging, that if they were either defeated or taken Priſoners, the Victory would fall to the Barons. As for the noble Prince *Edward*, he with the Flower of his Army furiouſly attack'd the *Londoners*, who tho' very numerous, fled at the Terror of his Arms; and to revenge the Affront they had done his Mother at *London* Bridge, inceſſantly purſu'd them, and made a moſt miſerable Slaughter of them for near four Miles together. But while his martial Rage tranſported him too far, the Bodies commanded by the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, having valiantly aſſaulted thoſe commanded by King *Henry* and his Brother, in a ſhort Time utterly routed them; ſo that the two Brothers being almoſt abandon'd in the Field, were conſtrain'd after a long and brave Reſiſtance to ſurrender themſelves, *Henry* to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and *Richard* to the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who were immediately ſecur'd in the Priory of *Lewes*. Whereupon all the reſt of the Men that had fled into the Town laid down their Arms and yielded, thinking it no Diſhonour to ſuſtain the ſame Fate with their Maſters. Prince *Edward* returning with his Couſin *Henry* from the Purſuit of the *Londoners*, ſoon found that inſtead of any Advantage gain'd, for the Concluſion of a Peace, both he and his Couſin muſt ſurrender themſelves as Hoſtages.

A Battel between the King and the Barons.

The King and his Brother taken Priſoners.

Thus was *Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter* in poſſeſſion of two Kings and their eldeſt Sons; and to compleat all his Deſigns, he carry'd King *Henry* along with him, as it were on Progreſs, but rather in Triumph about the Country, that by the Authority of his Preſence he might take in all the Places that ſtill held out. And now having the whole Kingdom at his Diſpoſal, he not only freed all his own Party, but alſo beſtow'd all the great Offices of State upon his own Creatures and Relations; by which Means the King, who had now reign'd near fifty Years, ſignify'd little more than a Cypher; ſo that he could not go any where without a Keeper, but was at the Diſpoſal of others. As for Prince *Edward* and his Couſin *Henry*, they were not us'd like Hoſtages, but as ordinary Priſoners, being kept in ſtrict Cuſtody for a Time at *Wallingford*, then in *Dover* Caſtle, and ſometimes in other Places. Nor could all the Threats of the Pope and Court of *Rome* avail, to make him relinquiſh any part of that Authority he had aſſum'd. During this Man's Uſurpation, the Cinque Ports preſum'd ſo far as to ſet out great Numbers of Privateers, who took all Veſſels they found, as well *Engliſh* as Foreign, ſeiz'd their Goods, kill'd their Men, and threw their Bodies into the Sea: By which Means *England*, that uſually excell'd all other Nations in Plenty of Foreign Commodities, was now become ſo indigent, that Wines, Salt, Iron, and all other imported Wares, roſe to that exceſſive Rate, that they were ſold at four Times their former Price: So that there being no Means either for importing or exporting of Goods, all Merchants were reduc'd to great Extremities.

Earl Montfort*'s Power.*

A. D. 1265. Reg. $\frac{49}{50}$.

Theſe pretended Patrons of Liberty who took up Arms to defend the Kingdom from the Tyranny of an unfortunate King, having once obtain'd his Power, fell themſelves into Factions, and became as unjuſt and tyrannical in the Uſe of it, as the King they had oppos'd; and the Nation was ſo far from receiving Advantage by the Change, that inſtead of one they had now many Tyrants. But this Violence upon the Conſtitution could not continue long; for *Montfort* graſping at an unbounded Authority, ſoon provok'd the Envy of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who was to have a proportionable Share, ſo that it occaſion'd a fatal Quarrel, and a Diviſion of Intereſt; and upon this *Gloceſter* confederated with *Roger Mortimer* and his Aſſociates, to whom not long after the Earls of *Warren*, *Surrey* and *Suſſex* with ſeveral others join'd. In the mean Time a Parliament was call'd by the Power of Earl *Montfort*, and in the Name of the King, to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the twenty ſecond Day of *January*; which was the firſt Parliament that, according to the Opinion of Doctor *Brady*, had ever two Knights for each Shire, and two Burgeſſes for each City and Borough, as at this Day: So that from this critical and rebellious Year the Doctor dates the Original of the *Houſe of Commons* in Parliament; but with what Certainty, or Probability, may be learnt from the Works of Mr. *Petit*, Mr. *Tyrell*, Dr. *Hody*, and others. This Parliament was call'd upon two Accounts, the one to ſet Prince *Edward* at Liberty, and to ſecure Earl *Montfort* and his Party; the other to obtain the King's Charter of Pardon and Indemnity for all that was paſt. As to the firſt, the Prince could obtain no more than to be made a Priſoner at large; but not long after, the Breach growing ſtill wider between *Montfort* and *Gloceſter*, the Prince by the Help of *John Mortimer* broke looſe from his Keepers at *Hereford*, and arriv'd ſafely to the Earl of *Gloceſter*'s Party at *Wigmore*.

He and the Earl of Gloceſter *diſagree.*

Prince Edward *eſcapes.*

The Freedom of this valiant Prince ſoon turn'd the Face of Affairs; for he confederating with the Counties of *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Shropſhire* and *Cheſter*, by his ſolemn Oaths and Promiſes, obtain'd a powerful Aſſiſtance from the Earl of *Gloceſter* and many others; by which Means he ſoon became Maſter of the Cities of *Worceſter*, *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*. At the ſame Time Earl *Montfort*, with *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, ravag'd all their Enemies Lands in *Monmouth* and *Glamorgan* Shires. Prince *Edward*, and the Earl of *Gloceſter*, on the other Side, haſten'd to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, kept by *Simon*

The Affairs turn to the King's Advantage.

Earl *Montfort*'s Son; where they intercepted the Earl of *Oxford*, with about thirteen Knights-Bannerets before they could reach the Caſtle. Here Intelligence was brought, that *Montfort* was return'd with the King out of *South-Wales*, and lay near *Worceſter*: To which Place the Prince boldly advanc'd to give him Battel; and the Earl hearing of his Approach, incamp'd at *Eveſham* with his whole Power. Upon the third Day of *Auguſt* the Heroick Prince ſet out from *Worceſter*, and with great Art and Skill ſtruck in between Earl *Monfort* and his Paſſage to *Kenelworth*, and then ſuddenly turn'd back towards *Eveſham*; the Earl of *Gloceſter* with his Force, and the Lord *Mortimer* with his, moving thither by two other Ways; ſo that the Earl being almoſt ſurrounded, was oblig'd either to fight or yield. At firſt he was in Hopes that one Party belong'd to his Son, but finding it otherwiſe, he in a deſpairing Manner cry'd, *Lord have Mercy upon our Souls, for our Bodies are our Enemies*; yet ſtill he reſolv'd either to conquer or die. His eldeſt Son deſiring him not to deſpair, *ſince the Chance of War was doubtful*, he anſwer'd, *He only fear'd that his own and his Brother's Pride and Preſumption had ruin'd them; yet ſtill he hop'd to die for the Cauſe of God and Juſtice*. However he omitted nothing in this Battel, which was very ſharp and bloody, that might ſpeak him a noble and valiant Commander, 'till firſt his Son, and afterwards himſelf was ſlain; at the Inſtant of whoſe Fall there happen'd ſo great a Clap of Thunder, as if Heaven it ſelf had fought againſt him, and no leſs Power had given him his Death. In the Battel, the King himſelf was wounded on the Shoulder, and near being ſlain, had he not cry'd out *I am* Henry *your King!* at which the Prince ran to him, and begging his Bleſſing, left him to a ſtrong Guard, 'till he had ended the Battel, and gain'd a compleat Victory. Thus dy'd the celebrated *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, whoſe Body was reproachfully diſmember'd, and his Head ſent to the Wife of *Roger Mortimer*. He was once in a probable Way to eſtabliſh a new Race of Kings in *England*; but as the juſt Reward of his Ingratitude, as well as Ambition and Rebellion, he and all his Family periſh'd and came to nothing in a few Years.

Earl Montfort defeated and ſlain.

The King ſet free.

A.D. 1266. Reg. $\frac{50}{51}$.

The Barons decline.

King *Henry* being thus reſtor'd to Liberty, immediately call'd a Parliament at *Wincheſter*, by the Authority of which, he ſeiz'd on the Charters and Privileges of the City of *London*, and of many other Towns for their Rebellion. All thoſe who were taken in Battel were committed to ſafe Cuſtody, and ſuch as had join'd with Earl *Montfort* were fully diſinherited, and a rateable Diſtribution made of their Eſtates to the King's moſt deſerving Friends. *Simon* and *Guy Montfort*, the Earl's two Sons, were the Chief of the Attainted; the Counteſs Dowager their Mother, and Siſter to the King, being extreamly mortify'd at the fatal Loſſes of her Husband and eldeſt Son, had leave to paſs over into *France*, where ſhe ended her Days in a Nunnery. *Simon*, the eldeſt ſurviving Son, ſought to preſerve himſelf and the Remains of his Father's Misfortunes in the Iſle of *Axholm* in *Lincolnſhire*. The King, to take all Refuge from him, march'd with a powerful Army to *Northampton*, with a Deſign to reduce him; being accompany'd by his Brother *Richard*, and *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate, lately arriv'd in *England*. *Simon* had ſeveral Friends about the King, but the Earl of *Gloceſter* envying his Reſtoration to full Favour, it was at length concluded, upon his Submiſſion, that he ſhould live in Exile, and for his Maintenance receive only five hundred Marks *per Annum*. The Legate about the ſame Time, to hinder the Growth of any new Rebellion, excommunicated the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, *London* and *Chicheſter*, for having once adher'd to Earl *Montfort*; and alſo declar'd, That the Clergy were to pay their Tenths for ſeven Years next enſuing to the King. But ſtill the Caſtle of *Kenelworth* would not yield, but with a very few Defendants, after an extraordinary manner, held out half a Year's Siege againſt all the King's Forces; who at length gave the Garriſon their Lives and Liberties, as alſo all the rich Plunder they had taken from the adjacent Country before the Siege.

A.D. 1267. Reg. $\frac{51}{52}$.

They are reduc'd.

The War ended.

To put an End to all Troubles, the moſt moderate were deſirous that the King ſhould pardon all Offences, and reſtore the Lands of the Diſinherited upon certain reaſonable Fines: Which Propoſition found a great Enemy of *Roger Mortimer*, who had by the King's Donation gain'd much of their Land; which ſo mov'd the Earl of *Gloceſter* to Indignation and Diſtruſt, that he withdrew himſelf from the Court in great Diſcontent. Not long after, being more and more diſoblig'd, he ſent his Meſſenger to the King, deſiring him *To remove all Strangers from his Preſence, to ſee that the Proviſions of* Oxford *were obſerv'd through his Kingdom, and to keep ſuch Promiſes as he had made at* Eveſham. In the mean Time the chief Out-laws and diſinherited Men had got Poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Ely*, from whence they made many Incurſions and Devaſtations. To end theſe Miſchiefs, all, except Earl *Montfort*'s Sons and the Earl of *Derby*, were offer'd to be put to Ranſom, and for certain Fines to be reſtor'd to their Lands; but they requir'd to have them all without Redemption, and complain'd to the King and the Legate of many Grievances. When Propoſals had no better Effect, the King and Prince *Edward* beſieg'd the Iſle of *Ely* on all Sides. Which being known to the Earl of *Gloceſter*, tho' he had promis'd under his Seal not to take up Arms againſt the King but in his own Defence, he gather'd an Army out of *Wales* in Favour of the Diſinherited, march'd up to the City of *London*, and by the Conſent of the Citizens took full Poſſeſſion of it, commanding alſo the Pope's Legate, who lodg'd in the Tower, to ſurrender it to him. Yet ſhortly after a Peace was fully concluded, by the Mediation of the King of the *Romans* and the Lord *Philip Baſſet*; and the Earl of *Gloceſter* bound himſelf in a Bond of ten thouſand Marks, never to raiſe any Diſturbance again. *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, who had greatly ſupported Earl *Montfort*'s Rebellion, for thirty two thouſand Pounds was reſtor'd to four Cantreds, which the King had taken from him in the War, and fully reconcil'd. And the Rebels in the Iſle of *Eſly* ſhortly after ſubmitting to the noble Prince *Edward*, the Barons War ended, after it had above five Years afflicted the ſinful Nation; in which, while they violently ſtruggled for Superiority, both Sides were great Sufferers, according to the frequent Events of Civil Wars.

A.D. 1268. Reg. $\frac{52}{53}$.

The Statutes of Marlborough.

Prince Edward *undertakes the Cruſado.*

A.D. 1269. Reg. $\frac{53}{54}$.

The Inſhrinement of Edward *the Confeſſor.*

IX. The domeſtick Diſturbances being thus compos'd, King *Henry* ſpent the four laſt Years of his Reign in perfect Peace and Tranquility, without any remarkable Conteſt or memorable Action. To eſtabliſh which, he caus'd it to be proclaim'd in every County throughout *England*, That whoſoever ſhould invade or unjuſtly uſurp any Man's Goods or Poſſeſſions, as had been uſual in the late Troubles, ſhould be liable to a Capital Puniſhment. And to compleat all, he call'd a Parliament to meet at *Marlborough*, to renew and eſtabliſh the Body of the Laws of *England*, where were made thoſe Laws now extant under the Title of the *Statutes of* Marlborough; in which, among many other Things, *Magna Charta* and *Charta Foreſta* were again confirm'd. In the midſt of this Peace, by the ſolemn Preaching of *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate, the King's Sons, Prince *Edward* and Earl *Edmund* his Brother, as alſo *Henry* the eldeſt Son to the King of the *Romans*, with the Earls of *Gloceſter*, *Warren* and *Pembroke*, and about one hundred and twenty other Knights, being touch'd with the great Loſſes in the *Holy-Land*, all receiv'd the Croſs at the Hands of the Legate, and devoted themſelves to this Employment. In the following Year, the Prince went over into *France* to join with King *Lewis* in the Holy War, who for his Proviſion in that Expedition lent him thirty thouſand Marks; for the Security of which the Prince mortgag'd *Gaſcony* to him. But before he enter'd upon the Journey, he return'd to *England*, and aſſiſted in the Ceremony of the Tranſlation of the Relicks of *Edward* the Confeſſor into a richer Shrine: For which the King ſummon'd all the Prelates and Nobility of *England*, beſides the richeſt Men in all the Cities and Boroughs of *England*, to render the Solemnity more illuſtrious. Theſe being all aſſembled, with an infinite Confluence of People, the King and his Brother *Richard* began the Ceremony, by taking up St. *Edward*'s Coffin upon their Shoulders; to which alſo the Princes *Edward* and *Edmund*, with divers Earls and Barons, lent their Hands: And being ſo carry'd, the Bones or Relicks were plac'd in a noble Shrine of Gold, adorn'd with precious Stones, which was then ſet in a high and eminent Place with the utmoſt Reverence, where it continu'd many Years.

A.D. 1270. Reg. $\frac{54}{55}$.

Prince Edward *ſets forward towards the* Holy-Land

The Prince did not depart out of *England* 'till the latter end of the following Year; before which Time, on the thirteenth Day of *May*, ſeveral of the Biſhops came to St. *Paul*'s Church, and there caus'd the Bull of Pope *Honorius* the Third to be publickly read, by which he confirm'd the Charters of *Liberties* and *Foreſts*, which had been granted by this King in the Beginning of his Reign; and at the ſame Time ſolemnly excommunicated all Infringers of thoſe Charters, as had been formerly publiſh'd in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in the Year 1253. Not long after, the Earl of *Warren* and *Surrey*, and *Alan* Lord *Zouche*, having a great Suit in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the former ſet upon the latter in open Court and mortally wounded him; for which he was fin'd five thouſand Pounds to the King, and two thouſand to the Family of the Lord *Zouche*. About the middle of *Auguſt*, the Heroick Prince *Edward*, with his Princeſs *Eleanor*, left *England*, and winter'd in *Sicily*; where he was ſo intent upon his holy Expedition, that when he underſtood that his chief Support the King of *France* was dead, and afterwards, that the greateſt Part of his Fleet was loſt by a Storm, and when he was diſſuaded from the Attempt by all about him, he ſwore a ſolemn

A. D. 1271. Reg. $\frac{55}{56}$. *His Acts.*

He is in Danger.

lemn Oath, *That tho' all deſerted him, he would go, if he were attended only by his Groom.* Accordingly in the following Spring he arriv'd in the *Holy-Land*, reliev'd the Town of *Acon*, and after that perform'd many noble Actions and great Enterprizes, to the great Damage of the *Saracens*, and his own laſting Renown. So that in a ſhort Time he became ſo formidable to his Enemies, that ſome of their Commanders diſhonourably ſent a deſperate Aſſaſſin, who under the Pretence of treating with him, ſtabb'd him with a poiſon'd Dagger; of which by Providence he eſcap'd with great Torment, and extreameſt Danger. And here we are told of an admirable Inſtance of Conjugal Love in his Princeſs *Eleanor*; who is ſaid to have ſuck'd out the Venom of the Wound with her own Lips, and by that means ſav'd his Life: But of this we have no great Certainty. Not long after ſhe was deliver'd of a Daughter, in the City of *Acon*, who from the Place of her Birth was nam'd *Joan de Acres*, and was afterwards marry'd to *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloceſter*.

A. D. 1272. Reg. $\frac{56}{57}$. *Earl* Richard *dies.* *A great Diſturbance in* Norwich.

King Henry *dies.*

In the mean Time his Father King *Henry* liv'd at Eaſe and Quietneſs, during his declining Years, very different from his Father King *John*: Yet in the laſt of his Reign he was afflicted with the Death of his Brother *Richard* King of the *Romans*, once accounted the richeſt Prince in *Europe*. And ſhortly after he was extreamly diſturb'd by a violent Conteſt between the Citizens and the Monks of *Norwich*, which increas'd to that Degree, that the former ſet Fire to the Cathedral Church, which together with the adjoining Monaſtery and Buildings were all conſum'd to the Ground; and they ſacrilegiouſly carry'd away all the Holy Veſſels and their Books which eſcap'd the Flames. The King, highly mov'd at this Outrage and Impiety, ſent down Juſticiary *Trivet* to *Norwich*, who convicted great Numbers of the Offenders, and condemn'd them to be drawn at Horſes Tails and hang'd; and ſoon after came in Perſon, who when he beheld the Ruins of the Cathedral, could ſcarce refrain from Tears. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* excommunicated all that were concern'd in the Fact, and the King condemn'd the Community of the City to pay three thouſand Marks, towards the Rebuilding of the Church, beſides ten Pounds in Gold, and the Value of a hundred Pounds in Silver for a Golden Cup. The King, in his Return to *London*, repoſing himſelf at the Abby of St. *Edmund's-Bury*, was there ſeiz'd with a languiſhing Diſtemper that never left him. Getting with great Difficulty to *London*, he there perform'd all thoſe Religious Offices then thought neceſſary for a dying Man, and order'd by his Will that his Goods ſhould firſt diſcharge his Debts, and the reſt be given to the Poor; after which he dy'd on the twentieth Day of *November*, and the ſixty ſixth Year of his Age, after a very tedious and inglorious Reign of fifty ſix Years, one Month, and four Days. His Body, array'd in Royal Robes and the Crown on his Head, was two Days after carry'd by the chief Nobility in ſolemn mournful Pomp, and bury'd in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, before the High Altar, near the Shrine of *Edward* the Confeſſor, where his Tomb with his Statue in Braſs remains to this Day.

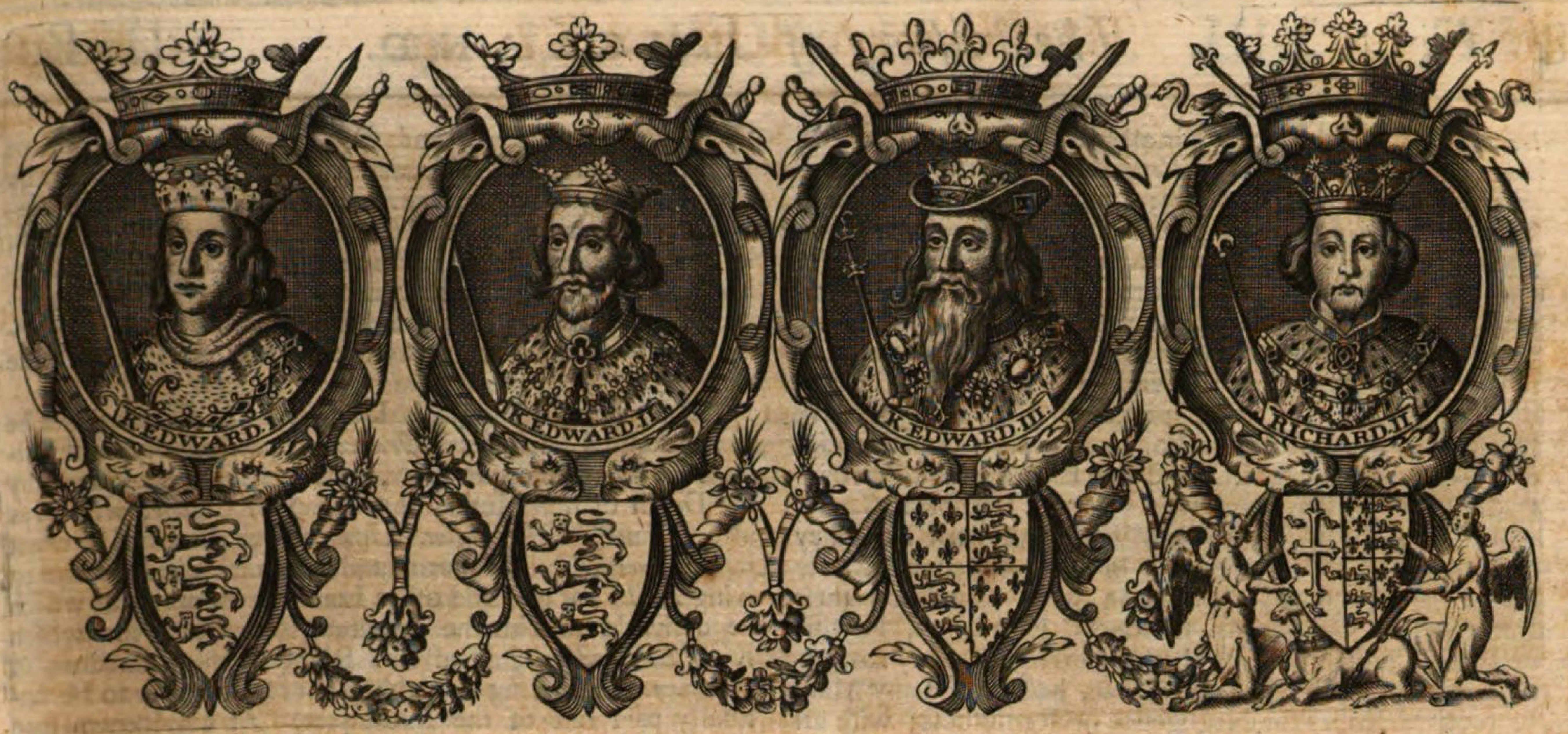
His Character.

This Reign, which was the longeſt of any of the Kings of *England*, affords us great Variety and numerous Inſtances of an infirm and diſtemper'd State, occaſion'd both by the Inequality of the Prince's Management, and the Impatience of a turbulent Nobility. As to the King's Perſon, he was ſo variable and uncertain, that it is hard to give a juſt Account of him. We find that he was naturally wilful and paſſionate, eaſily provok'd to Anger, and as eaſily appeas'd; fickle and unconſtant both in his Love and Hatred; for he never had ſo great a Favourite, but he threw him into Diſgrace, nor ſo great an Enemy, but he receiv'd him into Favour. He was by Nature eaſie and merciful, ſo that if he acted too rigorouſly in any Thing, it is to be imputed to his chief Miniſters who had a full Aſcendent over; for he was ſcarce ever *Sui Juris*, being always under the Government of others, and too often of Strangers. And indeed it may juſtly be ſaid of him, that he was a much better Man than a King and Governor; for tho' he oppreſs'd his Subjects with unreaſonable Taxes, often broke his Coronation Oath, and as often violated his own Charters (for which he never miſs'd of Puniſhment) yet he was nevertheleſs remarkable for his Devotion towards God, his Charity towards the Poor, and his Chaſtity as to himſelf. As to the former, he us'd to prefer Prayers before Sermons, alledging, *That he had rather converſe with his Friend, than hear from him.* As to his Charities, *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales* was wont to ſay, *That he more dreaded the Power of his Alms, than all his Forces and Clergy together*; and his Chaſtity has been celebrated by ſeveral Writers, as being a Virtue too rare in Princes, and unknown to all his Predeceſſors of the *Norman* Race beſides *William* I. But as for his perſonal Valour and Courage, he was not much noted; his greateſt Happineſs was in his admirable Son, who ended all Civil Troubles, and afterwards by his Prudence and Fortitude rais'd the *Engliſh* Monarchy to a great Part of its ancient Glory.

Eſtabliſhments in his Reign.

In this Reign, Stealing of Cattle, which before was but pecuniary, is ſaid to have been firſt made Capital; and as to Weights and Meaſures, ſome of them were by Law fix'd thus: An *Engliſh* Penny call'd a *Sterling*, round and without Clipping was to weigh thirty two Wheat Corns taken out of the midſt of the Ear; and twenty Pennies were to make an Ounce, twelve Ounces one Pound, eight Pounds a Gallon of Wine, and eight Gallons a *London* Buſhel, the eighth Part of a Quarter. In the forty firſt Year of this Reign, the King coin'd a Penny of pure Gold of the Weight of two *Sterlings*, and commanded that it ſhould paſs for twenty Shillings; which was the firſt Piece of Gold we find was coin'd in *England*.

Thus we have gone through with eight Kings of the *Norman* Race, of whom the ſix firſt were Heroes and valiant Warriors, and the ſeventh no deſpicable Soldier. And of theſe eight, only *Richard* I. had a certain and unqueſtionable Right to the Crown of *England*, if we reckon according to the ſtrict Rules of Hereditary Succeſſion; for all the reſt came to the Throne when there was a nearer Heir living.



CHAP. III.

The Plantagenets *Undivided; From the Death of King* Henry *the Third, to the Depoſition of King* Richard *the Second, and the firſt Diviſion of the two Families of* Lancaſter *and* York.

Containing the Space of about 127 Years.

SECT. I.

The Reign of King EDWARD *the Firſt.*

Containing 34 Years, 7 Months, and 21 Days.

A.D. 1272. Reg. 1.

King Edward *the Firſt pro-claim'd in his Abſence.*

A.D. 1273. Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.

I. IN the two laſt Reigns the Monarchy of *England* was extreamly debas'd and diſhonour'd, as well by inteſtine Convulſions, as foreign Loſſes; but now it began again to raiſe its Head, and to diſplay its Grandeur, by means of the renowned Prince *Edward*, ſirnam'd *Long-ſhanks*, from the Tallneſs of his Stature, and the Celerity of his Motions. The Spirit and Abilities of this Prince appear'd in the Beginning of his Actions under his Father, after the great Defeat he gave the Barons at *Eveſham*; the Proſecution of the diſinherited Oppoſers; the expoſing of his Perſon to all Hazards and Labours; his ſingle Combat with *Adam Gurdon* the valiant Out-Law; and his noble Adventures and Attempts in the Eaſt: And finally his great Experience in the Affairs of the World, with the Vigour of his Age, which was now the thirty fourth Year, might well preſage what an able Maſter he would prove in the Management of them. Therefore upon the Death of King *Henry*, *John* Earl of *Warren*, and *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, with the Clergy and Laity, went to the great Altar in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, and ſwore Fealty to his Firſt-Born Son *Edward*, then in the *Holy-Land*, not knowing whether he was living. Shortly after the Nobility of the Nation met at the new Temple in *London*, where a new Seal being produc'd, they appointed Miniſters and Guardians to keep the King's Treaſure, and the Peace of the Kingdom, which were the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Earl of *Cornwall*, and the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who by their Appointment enter'd upon the Exerciſe of the Government, without any poſſible Privity or Knowledge of the King: Yet all the Writs, Proclamations and Inſtruments concerning the Government were iſſu'd out in the King's Name, as appears by ſeveral Inſtances upon Record. Upon the Feaſt of St. *Hilary*, a Convention of the States was ſummon'd to ſettle the Peace of the Kingdom 'till he ſhould return, conſiſting not only of the Lords, but of four Knights for every Shire, and as many Citizens for every City, as the *Waverly Annals* aſſure us; in which it was provided, that there ſhould be no Itinerant Judges, except only of the Bench, 'till the King's Return.

King Edward *leaves the Holy-Land.*

He comes into Gaſcony.

During theſe Proviſions at home, Prince *Edward*, being diſappointed of his promis'd Succours, left the *Holy-Land*, and return'd to *Sicily*, where he was honourably receiv'd by *Charles* King of that Iſland. Here, to the Memory of that filial Duty and Affection rare in Princes, we are aſſur'd that the Death of his Son and Heir coming firſt to his Knowledge, and ſoon after of the King his Father, he expreſs'd much greater Sorrow at the Latter than the Former: And when the King of *Sicily* admir'd at his Behaviour, he anſwer'd, *That the Loſs of Children might be retriev'd by the Birth of others, but the Loſs of Parents was irreparable.* From *Sicily* he was by the King conducted to the *Roman* Court, where he ſpent ſome Time with Pope *Gregory* the Tenth, his Friend and familiar Acquaintance in the *Holy-Land*; and from thence he paſs'd into *Burgundy*, where at the Foot of the Mountains ſome *Engliſh* Biſhops, Abbots, Earls and Barons met him, with all the Marks of Duty and Affection. Here, being challeng'd in a Tournament by the ſtout and fierce Earl of *Chabloun*, he highly ſignaliz'd his perſonal Strength and Valour by the Conqueſt of his potent Adverſary. From thence, paſſing into *France*, he was receiv'd with great Honour by King *Philip* his Couſin-German, to whom he did Homage for the Hereditary Lands held of him, and receiv'd formal Poſſeſſion of them. Then taking his Leave of the King and Peers of *France*, he went into *Gaſcony* to receive the Homage and Service of his Subjects there,. in which he found much Oppoſition from ſeveral; but chiefly from *Gaſton* Viſcount of *Bearn*, who becauſe a Predeceſſor of his had ſworn Fealty to the King of *Arragon*, he utterly deny'd his Homage. Upon which King *Edward* ſeiz'd upon his Perſon, and kept him Priſoner among his Retinue, from whence making his Eſcape, he was driven out of his Country; and upon an Appeal to King *Philip*, as Sovereign Lord of *Gaſcony*, he, in favour of King *Edward*, compell'd *Gaſton* to hold his Lands of him.

A. D. 1274. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

He arrives in England.

In the ſecond Year of his Reign, having ſettled his Affairs beyond Sea, he took Shipping at *Boloign*, and landed in *England* on the twenty fifth Day of *July*; where the two Earls of *Gloceſter* and *Warren* receiv'd him with greater State than any others, conducting him to their Caſtles of *Tunbridge* and *Rigate*, where they feaſted and entertain'd him with great Magnificence for many Days. On the nineteenth Day of *Auguſt*, he and his Queen *Eleanor*, *His Coronation.*

leanor, his faithful Aſſociate in all his Travels and Hazards, were ſolemnly crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Robert Kilwarby* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; in the Preſence of Queen *Eleanor* the King's Mother, *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, *John* Duke of *Bretaign*, and Multitudes of the Nobility and others: Where for the more royal Celebration of this grand Feaſt, and Honour of ſo martial a King, there were five hundred great Horſes let looſe, for the Benefit of any that could catch them. Towards the Middle of *October*, the King iſſu'd out Writs of Inquiry by the Oaths of twelve legal Men, to two Commiſſioners in every County, to inquire what his Royalties, and the Liberties and Prerogatives of his Crown were, who were his Tenants in *Capite*, and Military Service, and how many and what Fees they held of him; Of his Tenants in ancient Demeaſn, how they behav'd themſelves, and in what Condition their Farms were; Of Sheriffs, Coroners, Eſcheators, Bayliffs and their Clerks, whether they had extorted Mony from any Man, by reaſon of their Office, had injur'd any Man, or receiv'd Bribes for Negligence or Remiſſneſs; with all other Matters relating to the Benefit of the Publick.

A. D. 1275. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$. *The Principality of* Wales *declines.*

A. D. 1276. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$. *The King prepares againſt* Wales.

A. D. 1277. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$. *He removes his Court to* Shrewsbury.

During the Eſtabliſhment of theſe Affairs in *England*, the final Extinction of the Principality and Government of *Wales* began to draw near; but ſtill like the Movement of all great Tranſactions, by Length of Time, and gradual Approaches. The Original began at King *Edward*'s Coronation, at which Time the King ſent for *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales* to attend at the Solemnity, and pay him Homage; but he making ſome Excuſes, was for that Reaſon admoniſh'd to repair to the King's Parliament to be held the following Year at *Weſtminſter*. At which Time alſo he refus'd to appear, fearing the King's former Diſpleaſure in his Father's Reign, and alledging, *He was in Danger as to his Perſon*; but directing his Excuſe to the two Arch-Biſhops and their Suffragans, he profeſs'd his Readineſs to acknowledge the King, *If he would ſend a Commiſſion for taking his Oath and Fealty; or if he would appoint ſome indifferent Place, or if he would give his Son, the Earl of* Gloceſter *and his Chancellor for Hoſtages of Security*. The King, diſſembling the Arrogancy of the Demand for the preſent, proceeded in the Buſineſs of his Parliament, and made excellent Laws both for Church and State, and for the Eaſe and Benefit of both; which are call'd the *The firſt Statutes of* Weſtminſter. But after the Parliament was diſſolved, the King took up a Reſolution to ſeize upon the whole Fee of Prince *Lewellyn*, for his Denial of Homage; and made his Preparations accordingly. In the Beginnings of which, he met with a fair Proſpect of Succeſs by a conſiderable Prize, which four Ships of *Briſtol* took about the Iſles of *Scilly*, in which the Daughter of the great *Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was juſt given in Marriage to *Lewellyn*, and her Brother *Aimerick* were ſurpriz'd; but ſhe found honourable Uſage from the King, her near Kinſman. Upon this *Lewellyn* ſent Ambaſſadors to obtain a Peace, and to propoſe a Ranſom for his intended Wife; but the King refus'd both, unleſs he would reſtore the Lands which he had ſeiz'd and invaded in the *Marches* to the juſt Proprietors, and repair the Caſtles in *England* which he had deſtroy'd. The Prince not complying, the King ſent Forces to ſecure the *Engliſh* Frontiers from the Devaſtations of the *Welſh*: But thoſe proving inſufficient, in the fifth Year of his Reign, he iſſu'd out his Writs to all the Nobility and others that held of him by military Service to appear at *Worceſter* at a certain Day. And for the better Management of publick Affairs, the Courts of the *Exchequer* and the *King's-Bench* were remov'd for a while from *Weſtminſter* to *Shrewsbury*, that they might be near the King's Perſon. Having got a ſufficient Army, the valiant King march'd towards *Wales*, and in his Paſſage cut a large and ſpacious Way through a vaſt Wood into *Lewellyn*'s Country, where he built the two Caſtles of *Flint* and *Rothelan*. Then ſeizing on the *Welſhmen*'s Lands and Goods, he waſted their Country, and drove them into their uſual Place of Retreat, the Mountains of *Snowdon*; and with the Aſſiſtance of the Men of the five Ports, he in a ſhort Time took the Iſle of *Angleſey*.

A. D. 1278. Reg. $\frac{6}{7}$. *Peace granted to the* Welſh *upon hard Terms.*

At length Prince *Lewellyn* finding himſelf unable to reſiſt ſo potent an Adverſary, deſired a Peace, which was granted him upon very hard Conditions; the principal of which ſhews the *Welſh* to have had greater Riches in Poſſeſſion at this Time, than After-Ages would readily believe. For one Article was, That *Lewellyn* ſhould pay fifty thouſand Pounds at the King's Pleaſure; and another, That he ſhould hold the Iſle of *Angleſey* in Fee-Farm of the King, for Himſelf and his Heirs, upon the Payment of five thouſand Marks ready Mony, and a thouſand Marks annual Rent. The reſt of the Articles amounted to as much as a Conqueſt, or Diſſolution of the Principality of *Wales*, after *Lewellyn*'s Deceaſe, who was to enjoy it during Life, upon certain Conditions. For the Ratification of all which, *Lewellyn* granted a ſufficient Number of Hoſtages, and alſo oblig'd himſelf to make Satisfaction to his three Brothers, *Owen*, *Roderick* and *David*; the two former of whom he had impriſon'd, and the laſt he had forc'd to fly into *England*, where he had receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood, and many Favours from the King. After which, King *Edward*, to ſhew his Generoſity and Greatneſs, releas'd the Prince from the greateſt Part of the Sums, promis'd, and freely reſtor'd him his deſign'd Spouſe, honouring his Nuptials with his own Preſence, and that of the Queen.

A. D. 1279. Reg. $\frac{7}{8}$.

The King takes care of the Coin of the Nation.

The firſt Statute of Mortmain.

As the King enlarg'd his Dominions in *England*, ſo he gain'd ſome Territories in *France*, as particularly the Earldom of *Ponthieu* in *Picardy*, which fell to his Queen by the Death of her Mother the Queen of *Caſtile*, who was alſo Counteſs of *Ponthieu*. Upon which Account he went into *France* with his Queen, and at *Amiens* did Homage to King *Philip* for that and other Lands in *Gaſcony*, of which he deliver'd to him the perpetual Poſſeſſion; for which King *Edward* reſign'd all his Right to the Dukedom of *Normandy*, reſerving only thirty Livres of *Paris* to be annually paid out of the Exchequer. At his Return into *England*, he took great Care of the Coin of the Nation, which had been much debas'd by frequent Clippings and Counterfeits; and to put a Stop to this Miſchief, in *November*, all the *Jews* in *England* were taken and impriſoned in one Day, and being legally try'd, no leſs than two hundred and eighty of both Sexes were hang'd, beſides great Numbers that were fin'd. The King alſo held a Parliament, in which to diminiſh the exorbitant Power of the Eccleſiaſticks, the firſt Statute of *Mortmain* was enacted. And to regulate the Diſorders in the Church, a Council or Synod was held at *Reading* by *John Peckham*, lately made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; in which it was determin'd among other Things That no Clergy-Man ſhould have above one Benefice with the Cure of Souls. As the State-Councils in the late Reign firſt began to be call'd *Parliaments*, ſo the Eccleſiaſtical Councils or Synods ſeem to have begun about this Time to be call'd *Convocations*. And this preſent Convocation is the firſt Time that the Dioceſan Clergy appear to have been repreſented by Proctors of their own chuſing; before which they gave Procuratorial Letters to their Arch-Deacons.

A. D. 1280. Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$.

The King enquires into Men's Titles to their Eſtates.

About the ſame Time the King wanting Mony, found out a new Project for his purpoſe; namely, That whereas he was chief Lord of many Manors and Poſſeſſions, he well underſtood that partly by Length of Time, and partly by Caſualties during the late Civil Wars, many Mens Deeds and Evidences were loſt or deſtroy'd; therefore under Colour of putting the Statute of *Quo warranto*, enacted this Year at *Gloceſter*, in Execution, he commanded by Proclamation, That all ſuch as held any Lands or Tenements of him, ſhould come and ſhew their Titles, which if defective, were to be redeem'd by large Sums of Mony. This Proclamation was look'd upon as very inſidious, and a great Hardſhip upon many, yet ſeveral were oblig'd to comply to their great Damage; but when the bold Earl of *Warren* was call'd before the King's Juſticiaries, and demanded by what Right he held his Lands, he drew out a large ruſty Sword and declar'd, *That he held them by that Inſtrument, and by that would hold them 'till Death*. This free and open Declaration, together with the Diſcontents of many intereſted People, induc'd this wiſe King in a ſhort Time to deſiſt from his Deſign.

A. D. 1281. Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$. *The* Welſh *rebel.*

A. D. 1282. Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$.

The King marches againſt them.

Tho' the noble King *Edward* had endeavour'd to gain the *Welſh* more by his Munificence than his Power, and had treated *Lewellyn* with a Generoſity beyond all Expectation; yet the natural Deſire of a full Liberty, and the fond Belief of *Merlin*'s Prophecy *That this Prince ſhould wear the Diadem of* Brute, had ſuch Effects upon that Nation, that they again betook themſelves to Arms. *David*, who had receiv'd many Favours and Honours from King *Edward*, was the principal Agent; for joining with his Brother *Lewellyn*, he ſuddenly ſurpris'd the Lord *Clifford*, the King's Juſticiary in *Wales*, kill'd many of his Servants, wounded, bound and ſent him Priſoner to the Mountain of *Snowdon*, and then committed great Devaſtations, and deſtroy'd the *Marches*. The King hearing the News of this Revolt, at firſt doubted the Truth of it, but upon better Information, he prepar'd his Army to march into *Wales*; but before he join'd with his Men, he made a Viſit to his Mother at a Nunnery in *Ambresbury*, who with great Satisfaction entertain'd him with the Preſence of a Man who pretended to have had his Sight reſtor'd at the Tomb of his Father *Henry*. But the King well knowing the Party, to her great Diſpleaſure declar'd, *That he ſo well knew the Juſtice of his Father, that he would rather pull out the Eyes of ſuch a wicked Impoſtor, than reſtore them to their Sight*. From thence marching into *Wales* with his Army, he built a large Bridge of Veſſels over the River *Menay*, oppoſite to *Bangor*, poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Country about *Snowdon*, and gave many Shares of thoſe Lands to his Barons, and others who had faithfully aſſiſted him. Over this Bridge many of the Nobility of the King's Party paſs'd out of *Angleſey* to

view

Lewellyn the laſt Prince ſlain.

view and obſerve the Country; but being terrify'd with the Multitude and Noiſe of the *Welſh* coming upon them, by too haſty a Return, they were unfortunately drown'd in their Paſſage. The *Welſh* incourag'd by this Accident, which they look'd upon as a Miracle, excited their Prince with the Notion of *Merlin*'s Prophecy, and ingag'd him to come down from the Mountains into the Plains, with the greateſt Part of his Forces. This Counſel prov'd fatal to him, for being ſhortly after attack'd by King *Edward*'s Forces, his Army was defeated, and he himſelf was ſlain, and his Head was ſent to King *Edward*, who order'd it to be ignominiouſly crown'd with Ivy, and to be ſet upon the Tower of *London*.

A. D. 1283. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$. *All* Wales *reduc'd,*

A. D. 1284. Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

and made ſubject to the Engliſh *Laws.*

This was the End of *Lewellyn*, the laſt Sovereign Prince of *Wales*, of the moſt noble and ancient Family in *Europe*; with whom the Liberty of that Nation did ſhortly after expire. For the *Welſh* being now diſhearten'd and confounded it was not long before the valiant *Edward* made himſelf Maſter of the greateſt Part of the Country; reſerving to himſelf the Port Towns and Forts towards the Sea, and diſtributing the Inland Parts to the Lords his Followers. In which he wiſely follow'd the Methods of *Auguſtus*, who thus under the ſpecious Pretext of a Defence for the Provinces, had the command of all their Forces at his Pleaſure. Nevertheleſs the whole Flame was not yet extinguiſh'd, for *David* the Prince's Brother, and chief Incendiary in this fatal Conteſt, was ſtill with ſome Forces at large. This Man being at length taken and brought to King *Edward* at the Caſtle of *Rothelan* could not obtain the Favour of his Speech or Sight, but was immediately ſent away Priſoner to *Shrewsbury*; where a Parliament being ſummon'd, after a legal and judicial Tryal, the King caus'd *David* to be put to a terrible Death, by Hanging, Beheading and Quartering; his Head being ſet up at *London*, and his Quarters at *Briſtol*, *Northampton*, *York* and *Wincheſter*, to be a Terror to all ingrateful and diſloyal Perſons: A manifold Execution, and the firſt of that Kind in this Kingdom, in the Perſon of a Prince's Son, or any Nobleman we find in our Hiſtory. The *Welſh* Line thus extinct, King *Edward* upon the twenty fifth Day of *April* had a Son born at *Caernarvon* in this Country, who was alſo call'd *Edward* and reign'd after him, being the firſt of the Sons of the Kings of *England* that had the Title of *Prince of* Wales. And that the *Welſh* might be inur'd to new Laws, with the Birth of a new Lord, King *Edward*, after the Example of his Grand-father King *John* in *Ireland*, eſtabliſh'd all the *Engliſh* Laws and Offices amongſt them. Thus came *Wales*, that ſmall Portion left to the ancient *Britains*, to be ſubject to the Crown of *England:* And it was wonderful that it ſhould ſo long ſubſiſt againſt ſo great a Power; having had but ſmall Aſſiſtance from others, no Strength by Sea, no Alliances or Intelligence with Princes out of this Iſle; and being ſo often invaded, ſo often diſtreſs'd, ſo eagerly purſu'd, by almoſt every King of *England*, and thought to have been by many of them ſubdu'd, it muſt needs ſhew the real Worthineſs of the Nation, and their noble Courage in preſerving their ancient Liberty.

A. D. 1285. Reg. $\frac{13}{14}$.

The King ſeizes on the Privileges of London.

A. D. 1286. Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$. *The Jews diſturb'd.*

II. *Wales* being reduc'd, and *England* in a profound Peace, we do not find many Matters of Moment for five or ſix Years together. After the King had eſtabliſh'd the *Welſh* Affairs, he kept a ſolemn *Chriſtmas* at *Briſtol*, which none of the *Engliſh* Kings had done before; and from thence went to *London*, from whence he had been almoſt three Years abſent. Not long after he ſeiz'd upon the Privileges of the City, diſcharg'd the preſent Mayor, and put another in his Room; beſides, as we are told, he had taken Bribes of the Bakers, and ſuffer'd them to ſell Bread that wanted ſix or ſeven Ounces Weight in a Penny Loaf. The King alſo held a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, in which the Statutes call'd *Additamenta Gloceſtriæ* were enacted, or rather the Statutes of *Weſtminſter* the Second. About which Time all the new Work in the Abby Church of *Weſtminſter* was compleatly finiſh'd, which had been begun above ſixty Years before. In the ſucceeding Year the *Jews* in one Night were generally apprehended and kept in ſtrict Cuſtody throughout all the Parts of *England*, 'till they had purchas'd their Liberty from the Crown. It is reported that the Commons of *England* granted to the King the fifth Part of all their Moveables, to procure the Baniſhment of all the *Jews* from the Land; but this ſubtle Generation, to defeat all their Deſigns, preſented the King with ſuch large Sums of Mony, as ſtopp'd the Execution.

The King goes into France.

A. D. 1287. Reg. $\frac{15}{16}$.

Diſturbances in Wales.

A. D. 1288. Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.

They are ſuppreſs'd.

The King of *France* having in the laſt Year deſir'd the Mediation of King *Edward* between him and the Kings of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, he comply'd with his Requeſt, and this Year with a noble Retinue paſs'd over into *France*, where he receiv'd many Honours, and ſat in Perſon with the *French* King at his Parliament in *Paris*. He continu'd above three Years in ſeveral Parts of *France*, to make a full and final Eſtabliſhment of his Dominions in that Country; during which Time, beſides his Mediation ratify'd, by demanding the Territories his Grand-father King *John* had loſt, he is ſaid to obtain ten thouſand Pounds Sterling of the *French* King, to be yearly paid at the Tower of *London*, together with ſome Arrears for *Normandy*. During his Continuance in *France*, a violent Conteſt aroſe between the Lord *Pain Tiptoſt*, Governour of ſome Caſtles in *Wales*, and a *Welſh* Knight call'd *Rees ap Meridoc*; inſomuch that ſeveral Skirmiſhes were fought between them, to the great Diſturbance of the whole Country. Upon which King *Edward* wrote out of *France* to the ſaid *Rees*, requiring him to keep Peace 'till his Return, when he ſhould receive reaſonable Satisfaction; but *Rees* having already taken up Arms, reſolv'd to revenge his own Cauſe, and by the Aſſiſtance of great Numbers of his Countrymen, burnt and deſtroy'd many Towns in *Wales*. Theſe Ravages ſo far increas'd, that the King thought fit to ſend to the Earl of *Cornwall* his Lieutenant in *England*, requiring him to march with an Army into *Wales*, to ſuppreſs the Attempts of thoſe People. Accordingly the Earl, with ſome other Noblemen, enter'd *Wales* with a ſufficient Power, and purſuing the Forces of *Rees*, diſpers'd them, and deſtroy'd ſeveral of his Caſtles; by Undermining the Walls of the Caſtle of *Druſlan*, the Baron *Stafford*, the Lord *Montchenſy*, with many Knights and Eſquires were bruis'd to Death by the Fall of them. In the next Year *Rees* renew'd his violent Attempts, and gather'd together a numerous Force; upon which the Lord *Tiptoſt*, Deputy of *Wales*, with what *Engliſh* Troops he could procure in a ſhort Time, march'd directly to oppoſe him. *Rees* underſtanding that the *Engliſh* were far leſs in Number, did not doubt of Succeſs, and fell down upon them with great Fury and Precipitation; but at length the Valour and Conduct of the *Engliſh* prevail'd, ſo that *Rees* himſelf was taken Priſoner, and the greateſt Part of his Men, to the Number of four thouſand, were cut in Pieces. Thus were the *Welſhmen* chaſtis'd for their rebellious Inſurrection; and *Rees* himſelf was brought to *York*, where in the following Year he ſuffer'd the new introduc'd Execution of being hang'd, drawn and quarter'd.

A. D. 1289. Reg. $\frac{17}{18}$.

The King makes ſeveral Regulations.

A. D. 1290. Reg. $\frac{18}{19}$. *The* Jews *baniſh'd.*

Queen Eleanor *dies.*

At length, after a full Eſtabliſhment of the Affairs in *France*, and above three Years Continuance in that Country, King *Edward* with his Queen return'd into *England*, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Nation. Shortly after, like a Father of his Country, he undertook to purge the Land from all Corruptions and Oppreſſions of his Officers; and becauſe ſeveral of his Juſticiaries had to enrich themſelves taken Bribes, and perverted Judgment, he took care to puniſh them according to the Nature of their Crimes, and not only remov'd them with all the Marks of Diſhonour, but alſo laid ſevere Fines upon them. We have the Names of twelve that were found guilty, among whom Sir *Thomas Weyland*, the King's chief Juſticiary, and *Adam de Stratton* were principal; the former had all his Goods confiſcated, and alſo ſuffer'd Baniſhment, and the latter was oblig'd to pay a Fine of no leſs than three hundred and twenty thouſand Marks. After this the King compell'd all his Juſticiaries to take an Oath, that from that Time they would take no Penſion, Fee or Preſent from any Man, but only the Civility of an ordinary Breakfaſt. Then calling a Parliament, the Statutes of *Weſtminſter* the Third were enacted; at which Time it was decreed that all the *Jews* ſhould quit the Nation, in Conſideration of which the Parliament gave the King a Fifteenth upon all Goods. Upon which all the *Jews* were for ever baniſh'd out of the King's Dominions, and could by no Methods obtain leave to return: All their immoveable Goods were confiſcated, with their Bonds and Tallies; but their Moveables, Gold, Silver and Jewels, were allow'd them, and they had Liberty to carry them away with them. In the ſame Year the King, in a Journey towards *Scotland*, loſt his moſt beloved Conſort, the incomparable Queen *Eleanor*, who had been his inſeparable Attendant in all his Travels, Dangers and Labours. She dy'd at *Hareby* near *Bullenbroke* in *Lincolnſhire*; her Bowels were bury'd in our Lady's Chappel in the Cathedral of *Lincoln*, and her Body in the Abby Church of *Weſtminſter*, at the Feet of King *Henry* the Third. The King with extream Grief and Sorrow attended her Corps from *Lincolnſhire* to *Weſtminſter*, erecting ſtately Croſſes at *Lincoln*, *Grantham*, *Stamford*, *Northampton*, *Waltham*, *Cheapſide*, *Charing*, and in all other Places, where the Body reſted, to the renown'd Memory of this moſt admirable Wife, and excellent Queen.

III. In theſe Times a terrible Storm began to threaten the Realm of *Scotland*, which prov'd much to the Diminution of the Name and Authority of that Kingdom, and no leſs to the aggrandiſing the Reign of King *Edward*; and which was introduc'd, as *Boetius* tells us, with formidable Preſages, as extraordinary Meteors, Floods, Fires and Peſtilence. The Beginning of it was occaſion'd by the Death of *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, who in the Year 1285 loſt his Life by a Fall off his Horſe, and left his Kingdom with-

A great Conteſt in Scotland *about the Succeſſion.*

out any Heir, beſides one yound Grand-Child nam'd *Margaret*, Daughter to *Eric* King of *Norway*; upon which the Government of the Kingdom was manag'd by particular Guardians for about five Years. But the young Princeſs *Margaret*, whom King *Edward* had deſign'd for his Son's Wife, dying this preſent Year, there aroſe no leſs than twelve Pretenders to the Right of the Crown of *Scotland*, beſides *Eric* King of *Norway*, which put the Nation into a great Confuſion. The Names of the Twelve were *John Baliol*, *Robert Brus*, *Florence* Earl of *Holland*, *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *Marche*, *William Veſcy*, *William Ros*, *Robert Pinkny*, *Nicolas Soules*, *Patrick Galighty*, *Roger Mundevil*, *John Comyn*, and *John Haſtings*. Upon this Conteſt and Diſturbance, King *Edward*, as Superior and direct Lord of *Scotland*, call'd a Parliament at *Norham* in the Confines of that Kingdom, and went thither in Perſon to determine the Controverſie about the Right of Succeſſion between all the Competitors. The Account of which important Tranſaction we have from undoubted Records publiſh'd at large by Mr. *Pryn*, which diſcover ſeveral Miſtakes or Defects both in the *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Hiſtorians.

A. D. 1291. Reg. $\frac{19}{20}$.

In the nineteenth Year of this Reign, and the tenth Day of *May*, by King *Edward*'s Command the Nobility, Prelates and Community of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* met at *Norham*, where *Roger Brabancon*, the King's Juſticiary, in the King's Name, publickly declar'd to the whole Aſſembly the Reaſon of his Majeſty's Coming, and of their Summons to that Place, *That his Majeſty taking notice of the Confuſions of* Scotland *ſince the Death of* Alexander *their laſt King and his Progeny, out of the Affection he had for them and all the Inhabitants, whoſe Safety and Protection was well known to belong to him, for the doing Juſtice to all that claimed the Kingdom, and for the Preſervation of the Publick Peace, he appear'd there: And likewiſe without Uſurpation or Diminution of their Liberties, to ſhew them his Superiority and direct Dominion, out of divers undoubted Chronicles and Monuments, and to demand their Aſſent and Recognition of his Authority.* Upon this Declaration, the Nobility and Repreſentatives of *Scotland* requir'd Time to conſult with their abſent Members, which the King granted only till the next Day; when meeting again, they preſs'd for a longer Time to anſwer to his Demand *concerning their Recognition of his Superiority and direct Dominion over the Kingdom of* Scotland, *which he had declar'd to be his Right.* Upon Deliberation, the King appointed the ſecond Day of *June*, on which Day *They were poſitively to anſwer his Demand, and if they had any Writings, Evidences or Antiquities that might exclude him from the Right and Exerciſe of his Superiority and direct Dominion, or overthrow his Reaſons and Arguments for it, they were then to exhibit them openly*; proteſting, *That he was ready to grant what Law and Juſtice had eſtabliſh'd.* And that they might the better underſtand his Title, and make their Objections againſt it, the Biſhop of *Durham* was appointed to declare to the Aſſembly, *That the Arguments the King deſign'd to uſe were Hiſtorical, and taken from the Writings of* Marianus Scotus, William *of* Malmesbury, Roger de Hoveden, Henry de Huntington, Ralph de Diceto, *and* Matthew Paris, *implying*, ‘ *That the* Scots *had been conquer'd by ſeveral of the* Engliſh Saxon *Kings*; *That ſeveral of their Kings had ſubmitted, ſworn Fealty, done Homage to them, and receiv'd the Crown and Kingdom from them*; *and that the* Scots *had alſo ſubmitted and been govern'd by ſuch Kings, as the other had plac'd over them*; *and laſtly, after the* Norman *Conqueſt, the very ſame Thing had been acted, acknowledg'd and ſubmitted to, in all the ſeveral Reigns ſince that Revolution.*

King Edward claims the Superiority over that Kingdom.

The Arguments he us'd.

Upon the ſecond Day of *June*, the Nobility and Community of *Scotland* met in a green Plain over againſt *Norham* Caſtle, where King *Edward* reſided; together with thoſe Noblemen who claim'd the Kingdom. Upon which the Biſhop of *Bath* was ſent to demand of them in the King's Name, *What they had done ſince the laſt Meeting, and whether they would exhibit or propound any Thing that could or ought to exclude the King of* England *from the Right and Exerciſe of the Superiority and direct Dominion of* Scotland; proteſting in the Name of his Maſter, *that he would favourably hear them, allow what was juſt, and report their Anſwer to him and his Council.* Being often requir'd, and they alledging nothing to the contrary, the Biſhop reported the Subſtance of what had been ſaid and urg'd for the King of *England*'s Title, and what had been tranſacted in theſe ſeveral Meetings, and then declar'd to them, *That the King would make uſe of his Right of Superiority and direct Dominion in* Scotland, *in deciding the Controverſie between the ſeveral Competitors for that Kingdom.* Then beginning with *Robert Brus*, one of the twelve Claimers, he ask'd him in the Preſence of all, *Whether in claiming the ſaid Right, he would demand and receive Juſtice before the King of* England, *as Superior and direct Lord of the Kingdom of* Scotland; who publickly, expreſly and without Contradiction, anſwer'd, *That he did acknowledge the King of* England, *as Superior and direct Lord of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *and as ſuch he would before him demand and receive Juſtice.* The ſame Anſwer was return'd by all the reſt of the Competitors, who did not only make this publick Recognition, but alſo ſet their Hands and Seals to a certain Inſtrument, ſtill upon Record, in which they declar'd, *That to the King of* England *belong'd the Sovereign Seigneury of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *and the Cognizance of hearing, trying and determining their Right*; *and that they would keep firm and ſtable to his Act and Determination.*

He offers to determine the Right of the Succeſſion.

The Competitors ſubmit to it.

The Manner of Proceeding.

This done, King *Edward* and his Council treated with the *Scotch* Nobility and Competitors about a Method of Proceedings, and the Reformation of the State of the Nation: And it was unanimouſly agreed by both Kingdoms, That *John Baliol* and *John Comyn* ſhould chuſe forty Perſons, and *Robert Brus* as many, whoſe Names within three Days ſhould be deliver'd to the King, to whom he was to add twenty four, more or leſs, who ſhould hear and diſcuſs the Rights of all the Pretenders, and to make a faithful Report to him, *That he might give the definitive Sentence.* But becauſe for want of Poſſeſſion the King had not full Power to put his Sentence in Execution, on the fourth Day of *June*, by a ſecond Inſtrument the Competitors, with the Conſent of the Community of the Nation, gave him actual Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom and Caſtles of *Scotland*. In which it was declar'd, *That they did it freely and without Compulſion*; *that as Sovereign Lord they had given King* Edward *Seiſin of all the Land and Strength of* Scotland, *upon Condition That he ſhould reſtore all Things as he had found them, within two Months after he had determin'd the Right of Succeſſion*; *ſaving to the Crown of* England, *the Homage of him that ſhall be King.* On the fifth of *June*, the Names of the Eighty elected to examine and report the Rights of the Competitors were deliver'd to the King; and on the ſixth, they were order'd to appoint the Day and Place for hearing and diſcuſſing their Right. *Berwick* upon *Tweed* was appointed for the Place; but not agreeing upon the Day, the King, as ſuperior Lord, by the Conſent of both Nations, appointed the ſecond of *Auguſt*, as a peremptory Day for the Competitors to plead their Rights and Titles. On the eleventh Day of *June*, all the Guardians of the Kingdom, with the Governors of the Caſtles, deliver'd up their Guardianſhips and Offices to the King as ſuperior Lord; which when he had receiv'd, he committed the Charge of the Kingdom to the ſame Perſons, to govern it under him, and in his Name. This being finiſh'd, the next Day, all Perſons preſent, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, who were oblig'd to ſwear Fealty to their own King, did it in a ſolemn Manner to King *Edward*, as ſuperior and direct Lord of *Scotland*, in a Green Plain within the Bounds of that Kingdom. From that Time, 'till the Beginning of *Auguſt*, the reſt of the People were, to ſave Labour and Expences, ſworn by Commiſſioners in all Parts of the Kingdom, of which the Names of great Numbers are ſtill upon the Rolls; and in every Place, when they had ſworn, the King of *England*'s Peace or Pardon was proclaim'd.

King Edward has Poſſeſſion given him of Scotland.

The King's Mother dies.

While the King was deciding this great Controverſie, his Mother Queen *Eleanor* dy'd about Midſummer, upon which he return'd into *England* to ſee her Funeral ſolemniz'd with all filial Duty and Honour. After which he came to *Berwick* upon the third Day of *Auguſt*, where the twelve Competitors appear'd before him, and a Parliament of both Nations, and with them the twenty four *Engliſh* Examiners of their Titles choſen by the King, and the eighty choſen by *Robert Brus* and *John Baliol*. The Petitions, with the Reaſons of their Claims having been propounded and ſhewn to the Examiners, they reported them to the King before the whole Aſſembly, and in the Preſence of every one of the Demandants. The King finding it to be an Affair of great Weight and Moment, by their own Conſent, appointed them a longer Time 'till the ſecond Day of *June* in the following Year 1292, for the further Proceeding in this uncommon Controverſie.

A. D. 1292. Reg. $\frac{20}{21}$.

At the appointed Time, the King met again at *Berwick*, where the Communities of both Nations being aſſembled, and the Competitors preſent, the Auditors appointed to diſcuſs their Rights and Pretenſions, after an attentive Hearing related all that had paſs'd to the King, who, with the Nobility of both Kingdoms, carefully examin'd them. But becauſe he found there would be many Delays, and much Time expended, to the Inconveniency and Peril of the Kingdom, it was order'd by the expreſs Conſent of all the Pretenders, and by the Aſſent of the whole Aſſembly, That the Rights and Titles of *Robert Brus* and *John Baliol* ſhould be firſt examin'd and diſcuſs'd, and that afterwards all others might proſecute their Claims if they thought fit. The King, tho' he had it in his Power to determine the Cauſe alone, yet that he might proceed with more Prudence and Security, he caus'd the eighty Examiners to take an Oath, That they would adviſe him how and by what Laws and Cuſtoms he was to paſs Judgment in this Matter. Theſe eighty alledg'd great Difficulties, and deſir'd that the twenty four appointed by the King might be added to them; and theſe alledg'd greater, and refus'd to undertake the Charge, without the Advice of thoſe *Engliſh* Prelates and Nobility that were abſent. Wherefore, by the unanimons Conſent of all preſent, the King appointed the fourteenth Day of *October* next, for the further Proceeding in this Affair, in his Parliament to be held in the ſame Place.

The Nature of the Scotch *Succeſſion.*

The Nobility and Auditors met according to appointment; and the King demanded *By what Laws and Cuſtoms Judgment was to be given in the preſent Caſe; if none were found, how it was to be determin'd; and whether otherwiſe concerning the Kingdom, than concerning Earldoms, Baronies and other Tenures?* They all unanimouſly anſwer'd, *That Judgment was to be made by the Laws of the Kingdom, if any were found; if not, the King ought, by the Advice of his Nobility, to make a new One: And as to the Right of Succeſſion in* Scotland, *Judgment was to be given as in Earldoms, Baronies, and other individable Tenures.* Upon this Anſwer, the King order'd the Auditors favourably to hear *John Baliol* and *Robert Brus* from Day to Day what they had to alledge; and *Robert Brus* began with ſhewing the Reaſons and Arguments for his Claim, and then *John Baliol* ſet forth his, in a long Plea, and anſwer'd all that the other had ſaid. Now of the three Daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, undoubted Heir to the Crown of *Scotland*, *John Baliol* was Grand-ſon to the Eldeſt, and *Robert Brus* was Son to the Second; wherefore the King before the whole Aſſembly deſir'd their Advice; and the Force of the Arguments on both Sides were drawn into this Queſtion: *Whether the more Remote by one Degree in Succeſſion, coming from the eldeſt Siſter, ought, according to the Laws of both Kingdoms, to exclude the Nearer by one Degree coming from the ſecond Siſter; or whether the Nearer by one Degree coming from the ſecond Siſter, ought to exclude the more Remote by one Degree coming from the eldeſt Siſter?* To which they unanimouſly anſwer'd, *That the more Remote by one Degree lineally deſcending from the eldeſt Siſter, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of both Kingdoms, was to be preferr'd to the nearer by one Degree coming from the ſecond Siſter, in every Hereditary Succeſſion.*

Upon this Anſwer, the King caus'd the Matter to be re-examin'd before the Nobility of both Kingdoms, and appointed the ſixth Day of *November* for *John Baliol* and *Robert Brus* to hear their Sentence; which was pronounc'd by the King Judicially, by the Advice of the Nobility of both Kingdoms, the Auditors, and others of the Council: Namely, *That* Robert Brus *ſhould receive nothing by his Petition concerning the Kingdom of* Scotland; *and the Sentence concerning* John Baliol *ſhould be ſuſpended, 'till the other Competitors were heard.* Then the King commanded *John Baliol*, with the other Competitors, to proceed in their Petitions; among whom *Robert Brus* proteſted, That he would proſecute his Claim to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, or a Third Part of it, after another Form and Manner than before.

Several Claims.

Upon this, *John Haſtings*, one of the Competitors, who was Son to the youngeſt of Earl *David*'s three Daughters, claim'd his Third Part of the Kingdom of *Scotland* as of a partible Inheritance, which ought to be divided between *John Baliol*, *Robert Brus* and *John Haſtings*, as Heirs to the three Daughters; alledging, *That all the Lands, Tenements, Fees, Liberties, Demeaſns and Honours that were holden of the Crown of* England in Capite *were partible.* The Arguments of *Robert Brus* were to the ſame Effect; and he further claim'd, *To hold his Third Part* in Capite, *of his Lord the King of* England *by Homage*, and requeſted of the King, *That he might receive Judgment according to the Common Law of* England. Upon this Plea, the King enquir'd of the Auditors and his Council, *Whether the Kingdom of* Scotland *was partible or not*; and they all anſwer'd in the negative. Whereupon the King appointed the ſeventeenth of *November* as a peremptory Day, for all the Competitors to hear their Judgments, in his Parliament at *Berwick*; deſigning in the mean Space to deliberate and examine Things with the wiſeſt Men of both Kingdoms, the Auditors and others of his Council, that he might be fully inform'd how to do Juſtice to all.

On the appointed Day, there was a full Aſſembly of both Nations in the Hall of *Berwick* Caſtle, together with a great Multitude of the Populace; where nine of the twelve Competitors, for not proſecuting their Petitions, were diſmiſs'd without further Debate. The Petitions of *Robert Brus* and *John Haſtings* were next diſcuſs'd, who had claim'd the Third Part of the Kingdom for their Shares, as of a Partible Inheritance; but becauſe it had been agreed, and adjudg'd by the Communities of both Nations, That the Kingdom ought to be poſſeſs'd by one ſingle Heir, by reaſon it was undividable in its Nature like other Kingdoms, therefore it was judicially declar'd by the King, *That they ſhould gain nothing by their ſaid Petition.* As to the Petition of *John Baliol*, who claim'd the whole Kingdom, the King caus'd it to be re-examin'd by the Council of both Nations, and after a full Diſcuſſion, it was unanimouſly decreed, *That the Kingdom of* Scotland *was impartible, and ought to remain in one Heir.* And becauſe the King was Judge of the Rights of his Subjects, by the Laws of the Kingdoms, approv'd by the Chiefs of both Nations; and by the ſame Laws, in the Caſe before them, it was judicially declar'd, *That the more Remote by Deſcent in the firſt Line, was to be preferr'd to a Nearer in the ſecond, in the Succeſſion of an impartible Inheritance*; and alſo that none had deny'd him to be Heir of the firſt Line, and therefore to be preferr'd before all others as next Heir by Hereditary Succeſſion; Therefore the King of *England*, as Superior and Direct Lord of *Scotland*, adjudg'd, *That the ſaid* John Baliol *ſhould have Seiſin and Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, with all its Appurtenances, upon Condition, That he ſhould rightly and juſtly govern the People ſubject to him, that none might have Occaſion to complain of Injuſtice, nor the King, as Superior Lord of the Kingdom, to interpoſe his Authority; always reſerving the Right of the King of* England *and his Heirs in ſuch Caſes, when he would make uſe of it.*

John Baliol *declar'd King of* Scotland *by* King Edward.

Accordingly on the nineteenth Day of *November*, King *Edward* deliver'd him his Writ or Inſtrument of Poſſeſſion, reſerving the Right of him and his Heirs; and alſo iſſu'd out others directed to the ſeveral Caſtellans and Governors of Caſtles in *Scotland*, to give him full Poſſeſſion of them. The next Day at *Norham* he ſwore Fealty to King *Edward*, as his Liege and Superior Lord of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and afterwards at *Newcaſtle*, he did Homage to him in Form for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*; in Teſtimony of both which he gave to King *Edward* his Letters Patents. About the ſame Time he was put into Corporal Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom at the Monaſtery of *Scone* near *Perth*, and plac'd in his Royal Throne, according to the ancient Cuſtom of *Scotland*.

A. D. 1293.
Reg. $\frac{21}{22}$.

Thus did King *Edward* diſplay his Grandeur by his Eſtabliſhment of *Scotland*, and not long after he met with an Occaſion to manifeſt his Authority over that Kingdom. And this was by means of an Appeal to him, by *Magdulph* Earl of *Fife*, againſt *John* King of *Scotland*: The Subſtance of whoſe Complaint was, That King *Edward* having at *Berwick* reſtor'd to him certain Lands and Tenements in the County of *Fife*, King *John* had notwithſtanding diſſeiz'd him of the ſame; and to hinder him from proſecuting his Right, had impriſon'd him, and caus'd an unjuſt Sentence to paſs againſt him, in Contempt of the King of *England*, and Superior Lord of *Scotland*.

King Edward *ſummons the King of* Scotland *before him,*

Upon which Complaint, King *Edward* directed his Writ to the King of the *Scots*, ſummoning him to appear before Him and his Parliament in *England*, to anſwer to what *Magdulph* had to ſay againſt him. After *Michaelmas* he according to Summons appear'd, where he deny'd all Contempt of the Lord his King, but alledg'd, *As he was King of* Scotland, *he durſt not anſwer to* Magdulph's *Complaint, or any thing concerning his Kingdom, without the Advice of his own Subjects.* Upon this *Magdulph* demanded Judgment againſt him as one who refus'd to anſwer; and the King expreſly told him, *That he was his Liege-Man and Homager for the Kingdom of* Scotland, *therefore he had ſummon'd him to anſwer before him, or to ſhew Cauſe to the contrary.* To which he reply'd as before, *That he neither could nor durſt anſwer to any Thing concerning his Kingdom, without conſulting his People*; and when he was told, *That he might require another Day*, he anſwer'd, *He would require none.* At this it was agreed, That King *John* had made no Defence againſt *Magdulph*; and becauſe he would not require a Day, nor ſhew Cauſe why he ought not to anſwer, in Eluſion of the King's Juriſdiction and Superiority, it was judg'd a Contempt and Diſobedience to him, and that three of his principal Caſtles of *Scotland* ſhould be ſeiz'd into his Hands, 'till he had given a full Satisfaction. But before the Sentence was pronounc'd, he in Parliament made Supplication to the King with his own Mouth, and alſo deliver'd a Petition in Writing, wherein he acknowledg'd the Superiority of the King of *England*, deſiring *That he would firſt permit him to adviſe with his own Nation, and he would anſwer at his firſt Parliament after* Eaſter *next, and would behave himſelf towards him as he ought to do.* King *Edward* adviſing upon this, at the Inſtance of his Nobility, and with the Conſent of *Magdulph*, granted his Petition, and gave him Time 'till the Parliament after *Eaſter*, in the following Year.

who ſubmits to him.

A. D. 1294. Reg. $\frac{22}{23}$

From this Time forwards, the King of the *Scots*, inſtead of complying, ſeem'd to have ſtudy'd nothing ſo much as ſhewing his Reſentments, and to take the firſt Opportunity to revenge himſelf of theſe ſuppos'd Indignities. In the mean Time there happen'd a violent Conteſt between the *Engliſh* and the *Normans*, occaſion'd firſt by a *Norman* being caſually ſlain by the *Engliſh*. Upon which Accident the *Normans* ſlew ſeveral of the *Engliſh*, and hung up one upon the Maſt of a Ship, whom they had taken at Sea; but not long after, ſixty ſtout Ships of the *Engliſh*, meeting with two hundred Sail of *Norman*, loaden with Wines, after a ſharp Encounter, in which great Numbers of the *French* were ſlain, they took their whole Fleet and brought them triumphantly into *England*. The King of *France*, who had privately promoted this Conteſt, in a great Anger now declar'd himſelf publickly, demanded Reſtitution, and cited King *Edward* judicially to appear and anſwer for ſome Injuries done in *Gaſcony*. Upon his Non-Appearance, and finding that he was buſily employ'd in the Affairs of *Scotland*, the *French* King with his Forces gain'd Poſſeſſion of ſeveral Places in *Gaſcony*. To add to theſe Inconveniences, the *Scots*, having by Time and ſeveral Steps ſtrengthen'd themſelves, reſolv'd at length to throw off the *Engliſh* Yoke: And firſt King *John*, with an Excuſe for his Non-Appearance before the *Engliſh* Parliament, according to his Promiſe, ſent over heavy Complaints of many and great Injuries, Oppreſſions and Grievances ſuſtain'd by his own Subjects from the *Engliſh*; for which he demanded Satisfaction of King *Edward*. After this, by the Conſent of his Nobility and others, he enter'd into a ſolemn League of Confederacy with the *French* King againſt the King of *England*, promiſing all mutual Aid and Aſſiſtance to each other. This was ſeal'd with both the Kings Seals, and Counterchang'd, conſiſting of ſeven main Articles; one of which was, That *Edward*, Son to *John* King of *Scotland*, ſhould marry the Daughter of *Charles* of *Valois* Earl of *Anjou*, and Brother to the King of *France*. And to ſecure their Conſciences, as well as their Cauſe, the *Scots* ſent to *Rome* to have Abſolution from their Oaths and Homage; and by means of falſe Suggeſtions made to Pope *Celeſtin*, they were all abſolv'd by a particular Bull.

The French *King is againſt King* Edward.

A. D. 1295. Reg. $\frac{24}{25}$

The Scots *join with the* French.

A. D. 1296. Reg. $\frac{24}{25}$

In the following Year, King *John* ſhew'd himſelf more openly, return'd the Homage and Fealty for himſelf, and all others of his Kingdom to King *Edward*, and defy'd him by a particular Inſtrument or Writing; and the *Scots* declar'd themſelves abſolv'd from all former Obligations. Upon which Declarations, King *Edward*, rouſing himſelf, advanc'd with a powerful Army to *Newcaſtle*. But the firſt Blood that was ſhed was on the *Engliſh* Side, of whom the *Scotch* ſlew almoſt a thouſand in a private Village, and proceeded to ravage, burn and deſtroy the County of *Cumberland*, and other Parts; Which was not extreamly diſpleaſing to the undaunted King of *England*, ſince the firſt Acts of Hoſtility proceeded from them whom he had a full Reſolution to conquer, *That at length he might be ſole Monarch of* Albion. Here began ſuch a mortal Diſſention between the two Nations, ſuch Ravages and Bloodſheds, ſuch Jealouſies and Pretenſions, as could not be intirely reconcil'd in leſs than three hundred Years. The valiant *Edward*, to chaſtiſe the *Scots* for their Breach of Oaths, enter'd their Kingdom with a brave Army, and beſieg'd and took the ſtrong Caſtle of *Berwick* with a great and terrible Slaughter. From thence he ſent Part of his Army to reduce the Caſtle of *Dunbar* lately revolted, which was effected by the Death of great Numbers of the *Scots*, and by the Captivity of ten thouſand Men, of whom were ſeven Barons, a hundred Knights, and thirty one Eſquires. The *Scots* with all their Forces coming to relieve this Caſtle, King *Edward* by his mighty Valour defeated them, and kill'd no leſs than twenty two thouſand upon the Spot. King *Edward* knowing as well how to uſe, as to gain a Victory, proceeded and took the Caſtle of *Rocksborough*; and to put an End to the War, he march'd to *Edinburgh* itſelf, and in eight Days took that ſtrong Caſtle. From thence he march'd to *Sterlin*, *Perth* and other Places, reaping freſh Laurels where-ever he paſs'd; 'till at length King *John* and his Nobility ſubmitted and ſu'd for Mercy; which was granted, upon Condition, That they all ſhould ſurrender themſelves to him as his Subjects. Shortly after, the King of *Scotland* with a white Rod in his Hand, according to the Cuſtom of Surrenders, preſented himſelf before King *Edward* at *Brechin*, and reſign'd to him and his Heirs the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, without any Condition; and confirm'd this Reſignation by a Charter under his Hand and Seal, dated the tenth Day of *July*, and the fourth of his Reign.

Wars break out between England *and* Scotland.

King Edward *obtains a great Victory.*

All Scotland *ſubmitted to him.*

This being done, King *Edward* immediately held a Parliament for *Scotland*, at *Berwick*, where the Nobility of that Kingdom, and great Numbers of others, did Homage to him as their Sovereign Lord and their Supream Governor, and confirm'd the ſame under their Hands and Seals; the Names of whom are ſtill upon Record: And for the greater Security, they ſurrender'd into his Hands all the Caſtles and Forts of that Kingdom; except thoſe of *William Douglas*, who choſe any Puniſhment rather than yield to the Subjection of *England*. Notwithſtanding this Agreement *John* the late King was ſent to the Tower of *London*, where he was decently attended, and allow'd the Liberty of ten Miles Riding; and the Noblemen of *Scotland*, which he brought into *England*, were forbidden to paſs the River *Trent*, under Forfeiture of their Heads. The Government of *Scotland* was committed to *John Warren* Earl of *Surrey* and *Suſſex*; *Hugh de Creſſingham* was made Treaſurer, and *William Ormesby* chief Juſticiary. And the more to ſhew his Reſolution of diſſolving the diſtinct Sovereignty of *Scotland*, and like *Wales* to unite it to the *Engliſh* Monarchy, he took from *Edinburgh* the Crown and Scepter with all the *Regalia*, and brought them to *London*; and alſo remov'd the famous Marble Chair out of the Monaſtery of *Scone*, which in Coronations ſerv'd for a Throne to the Kings of *Scotland*, and which was believ'd in an extraordinary Manner to be conſtantly attended with the Power and Fate of that Kingdom. Then to manifeſt the compleat Marks of a Conqueſt, he proceeded, according to *Boetius*, to the Burning of the *Scotch* Records, the Abrogation of the Laws, altering the Forms of Divine Service, and tranſporting the moſt learned Men to his Univerſity of *Oxford*.

The King of Scotland *and others brought to* London.

IV. King *Edward* in a great Meaſure had now been a Conqueror both of *Wales* and *Scotland*; but while he was employ'd about the latter, he met with great Diſadvantages from the King of *France*, who had fraudently got Poſſeſſion of all or the greateſt Part of *Gaſcony*. To obviate theſe Miſchiefs, the King enter'd into a Confederacy with *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, whoſe Dominions the *French* King had unjuſtly invaded; and for a Supply for this and all other Occaſions, he call'd a Parliament at St. *Edmund*'s *Bury*; in which the Citizens and Burgeſſes gave an eighth Part of all their Goods, the reſt of the Laity a twelfth, but the Clergy refus'd to give any Thing, by reaſon of a Conſtitution made and publiſh'd this Year by Pope *Boniface*, which prohibited all Eccleſiaſticks to pay any Secular Taxes without the Conſent of the *Roman* See, and that upon the ſevereſt Penalties. The Clergy refuſing in two ſeveral Meetings, the King proceeded to a higher Strain than any of his Predeceſſors, ſeiz'd upon all their Lay Fees, and put the whole Body of them out of his Protection, ſo that they could receive no Benefit from his Laws, nor Juſtice from his Courts. This venturous Proceeding ſo terrify'd the Clergy, that finding themſelves expos'd to all Injuries without Means of Redreſs, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, with the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Salisbury* and *Lincoln* ſoon yielded to lay down in their Churches the fifth Part of all their Goods, towards the Maintenance of the King's Wars; by which they appeas'd his Diſpleaſure, and were receiv'd into Favour. But the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, by whoſe Incitement the reſt ſtood out, had all his Goods ſeiz'd, and the Monaſteries within his Dioceſe and Part of *Lincoln* were poſſeſs'd by publick Officers, who were appointed to adminiſter bare Neceſſaries to the Monks, converting the reſt to the King's Uſe. At length by much Suit, and by giving a fourth Part of their Goods, they redeem'd themſelves, and purchas'd the King's Favour. Thus will valiant and martial Princes have their Ends ſerv'd in Times of Neceſſity, notwithſtanding the greateſt Oppoſition.

A Parliament call'd.

A. D. 1297. Reg. $\frac{25}{26}$

The Clergy are put out of the King's Protection.

They ſubmit.

Yet ſtill he met with ſome Checks from the Laity, upon ſummoning his Nobility at *Salisbury*, where he requir'd ſeveral of them to go into the Wars of *Gaſcony*. But they all making Excuſes, every Man for himſelf, the King in a great Paſſion threaten'd, *That they ſhould go, or elſe he would give their Lands to others that would.* Upon which *Humphry Bohun*, High-Conſtable and Earl of *Hereford*, and *Hugh Bigot*, Earl of *Norfolk* and Marſhal of *England*, boldly declar'd, *That if the King went in Perſon, they would attend him, or otherwiſe not*; and further the Earl Marſhal ſaid, *That he was deſirous to go with his Majeſty, and march before him in the Vanguard, as by Right of Inheritance he ought.* But the King told him expreſly, *That he ſhould go with any other, tho' he himſelf went not in Perſon.* The other anſwer'd, *He was not oblig'd to go, therefore he would not go without him.* Upon which the King ſwore by the Eternal God, *That he ſhould either go or hang*; the other ſwore the ſame Oath, *That he would neither go nor hang*, and ſo departed without leave, and afterwards with the other Earl ſtood upon his own Guard. Inſulting of Kings had been too faſhionable in his Father's Reign, therefore this Prince wiſely conceal'd and ſtifled his Reſentments, and prepar'd for

The King meets with Checks from the Nobility.

his Voyage into *Flanders*; there to relieve the Earl of that Country, now diſtreſs'd by the *French*. But firſt he left the Care of the Government to Prince *Edward* his Son, the Biſhop of *London*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lords *Gray* and *Clifford*; and to recover the Clergy, he reconcil'd himſelf to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and receiv'd him into Favour. Being ready to take ſhipping, the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and the Commons, ſent him a Roll of Grievances, alledging ſeveral unwarrantable Impoſitions upon Wool, and other Commodities, and ſeveral unjuſtifiable Practices, and complaining of the negligent Obſervance of the Great Charters. To all which the King return'd a civil and ſeaſonable Anſwer, promiſing to redreſs all Things at his Return, and requeſting the Nobility to raiſe no Diſturbance in his Abſence. And ſhortly after a Parliament was call'd by the Prince, where a new Tax being granted, the great Charters were again confirm'd, and afterwards ſeal'd in *Flanders* with the King's great Seal. This Statute or Charter is in *Coke*'s Second Inſtitutes, and our common Statute Books, going by the Title of *Confirmatione Chartarum*, in the twenty fifth of this Reign.

Magna Charta, *&c. confirm'd.*

Inſurrections in Scotland.

Before the Finiſhing of theſe Tranſactions, the reſtleſs *Scots*, by the Inſtigation of *William Waleys*, whom they choſe for their Commander, arm'd themſelves and killed all the *Engliſh* they could find, and practis'd ſtrange Cruelties beſides. Upon Notice of which King *Edward* directed the Earl of *Surry* with the Militia beyond *Trent* to march into *Scotland*, and ſuppreſs this Inſurrection. The Earl raiſing an Army in the North, ſent his Nephew *Henry de Percy* with it into *Scotland*, who upon marching towards the *Scots*, found the Heads of them, *William Waleys*, and others, inclinable to a Peace, upon Condition of the Safety of their Lives and Limbs, Lands and Goods, and a general Pardon of all that was paſt. *Henry de Percy* admitted of the Peace, upon Promiſe of Hoſtages, and Articles in Writing, if it ſatisfy'd the King, who in a ſhort Time conſented to it, that his Voyage to *Flanders* might not be retarded. But ſoon after, the *Scots* taking Advantage from ſome Diſcontents in *England*, upon ſeveral Pretences delay'd to give Hoſtages for the Peace; and towards the latter End of *Auguſt* took Arms again under the Conduct of *Waleys*, and in a ſhort Time drove almoſt all the *Engliſh* out of *Scotland*. *William Warren* the Governor of *Scotland* fled from *Berwick* into *England*, with many *Engliſh* that quitted the Town to the *Scots*; yet ſtill the Caſtle was kept, and well defended by thoſe that were lodged in it.

A. D. 1298. Reg. $\frac{26}{27}$.

King *Edward* in *Flanders* hearing of theſe Troubles and Diſturbances, by the Mediation of Pope *Boniface*, made a two Years Truce with the King of *France*, and came over into *England*; and having redreſs'd ſeveral Things according to Promiſe, he ſummon'd the Militia of the whole Nation to meet him at *Carliſle* on *Whitſun*-Eve, to march againſt the *Scots*, whoſe Power was now formidable, and their Forces numerous. But before that Time, on the tenth Day of *April*, he held a full Parliament at *York*, to treat with him about certain Affairs that concern'd him and the whole Kingdom. Here the Lord High-Conſtable and Earl Marſhal demanded, *That, becauſe the great Charters had been confirm'd beyond Sea, for the greater Security they might be confirm'd again*; which the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Earls of *Surry*, *Warwick* and *Gloceſter* promis'd that the King ſhould perform, upon his Return with Victory. After which the King commanded his Army to be ready at *Roxburg* upon *Tweed*, on the twenty fourth Day of *June*; and going aſide to viſit the Tomb of St. *John* of *Beverley* in *Yorkſhire*, he found his Army at the Time and Place appointed. With this he march'd like a Conqueror into the Bowels of *Scotland*, and upon the twenty firſt Day of *July* came within Sight of the Enemy, in a large Field near *Falkirk*, where both Armies encamp'd. In the Morning a terrible Shout being heard from the *Scotch* Army, the *Engliſh* ran to Arms; but the King's Horſe, affrighted at the tumultuous Noiſe, as he was putting his Foot into the Stirrup, threw him to the Ground, and by his Legs broke two of his Ribs; who notwithſtanding proceeded couragiouſly to the Battel. *William Waleys*, who by his bold Enterpriſes had gain'd a ſingular Opinion from his Countrymen, having drawn up his numerous Army, inſtead of a formal Oration, in all Parts us'd this ſhort Speech, *I have brought you to the King, fly if you can.* But notwithſtanding the Numbers of the *Scots*, the *Engliſh* being led on by a mighty Warrior, attack'd them with ſo much Conduct and Bravery, that they ſoon broke their Troops, and defeated them, with a dreadful Slaughter of no leſs than ſixty thouſand Men, according to ſome Authors, tho' others ſay fewer. *Waleys* and the great Men of *Scotland* fled into the Woods; and the King, after he had taken in ſeveral Places, and us'd ſome Severities, return'd triumphantly into *England*, in the latter End of this Year, after he had in ſome Meaſure made a ſecond Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

The King marches into Scotland, *and gains a mighty Victory over the* Scots.

A. D. 1299. Reg. $\frac{27}{28}$.

The two Years Truce made between the *Engliſh* and *French* was now, by the Means of Pope *Boniface*, turn'd to a ſettled Peace; in which Articles, beſides the Reſtoration of *Gaſcony*, it was agreed, That King *Edward* ſhould marry the *French* King's Siſter *Margaret*, and Prince *Edward* his Son the ſame King's Daughter *Iſabel*: Tho', ſays *Walſingham*, he by this Alliance promoted not the Good of the Realm in any Point. To this Affinity were added the greater Fences of a domeſtick Quiet; for the King, whom Wars and Years had made renown'd and experienced, graciouſly and wiſely yielded to grant all that had been promis'd before his laſt Expedition into *Scotland*. And at a Parliament held at *London*, fifteen Days after *Eaſter*, he confirm'd the Charters, and for the fuller Satisfaction of the Nobility, he left out that Clauſe *Salvo Jure Coronæ noſtræ*; and what was wanting at this Time, he afterwards compleated at a Parliament held at *Stamford*. But that he might ſeem willing to deny the Pope no reaſonable Requeſt, he deliver'd into the Hands of his Nuntio *John Baliol* late King of *Scotland*, who was convey'd to his Inheritance in *France*, where he remain'd with the Brand of a falſe Seducer, and of a perjur'd Perſon to King *Edward*'s Judgment, without any Part of his Regal Power over the *Scottiſh* Nation.

Magna Charta *again confirm'd.*

The Peace which King *Edward* made in other Places, prov'd a greater Affliction to the *Scots*; for tho' they had recover'd *Sterlin*, by Surrender of the *Engliſh*, and began with a noble Aſſertion of their ancient Liberty to aſſemble again under *Waleys*, yet the Time was not come for their Deliverance. For King *Edward*, according to Articles, having accompliſh'd his Nuptials with the *French* King's Siſter at *Canterbury*, and again confirm'd the great Charters, now made it his whole Buſineſs to finiſh his Deſign of annexing *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*. Accordingly, being accompany'd with his Son, and a formidable Army, he purſu'd the Affair ſo vigorouſly, that the *Scots*, tho' very numerous, fled before him, whoſe Valour had juſtly render'd him terrible; and that Day in *Walſingham*'s Opinion had been irrecoverably fatal to the *Scottiſh* Name and Nation, if the *Engliſh* had been able to have follow'd them in their Armour, over their Bogs, Moraſſes and Mountains; or if the *Welſh* by their own Skill had ſupply'd the Defect. However King *Edward* held ſo cloſe a Poſſeſſion, that he would neither grant the *Scotch* Nobility their *Baliol* to reign over them, according to their Petition, nor permit them to redeem ſuch Lands as he had given to his *Engliſh* Adventurers. The *Scots* being driven to Extremities, had recourſe to the Court of *Rome*, and procur'd inhibitory Letters from the Pope to King *Edward*; who upon Sight of them ſwore a terrible Oath, *That he would not deſiſt.* Nevertheleſs the *Scots* after a few Days requeſted the King to ſuffer them to live in Peace, 'till they had taken Council of the Peers and the King of *France*, threatning him alſo with the utmoſt Power of *Rome*. Upon which the King with a diſdainful Smile anſwer'd, *Have you done Homage to me as the direct Lord of your Kingdom, and believe that I can be terrify'd with Pretences? as if I, like one who has no Power to compel, would tamely give up my undoubted Right? Let me hear no more of this; for if I do, I ſwear by all that's ſacred, I will deſtroy all* Scotland *from one Sea to the other.* On the other Side the *Scots* bravely reply'd, *That they would ſpend the laſt Drop of their Blood for the Defence of Juſtice, and the Liberty of their Country.* But becauſe the *Scots* had put themſelves under the immediate Protection of the Pope, who now began to claim the Right of that Kingdom, as before he had done of *England*, the King order'd the moſt learned Men of his Nation to ſearch the Archives of the Univerſities and Monaſteries, and order'd them to make an Hiſtorical Deduction of his Right and Title to *Scotland*; which was almoſt the ſame, but more full and particular, than what he deliver'd to the *Scots*, when in the nineteeth Year of his Reign he claim'd the Superiority and Direct Dominion over their Kingdom. This was ſent in a Letter from the King to the Pope, with a Narrative concerning the whole Nation of *Scotland*, 'As their having done Homage and ſworn Fealty to him, and acknowledg'd him to be their King and 'ſupreme Lord ſeveral Times; and notwithſtanding they 'had, againſt their Oaths, invaded, ravag'd and waſted '*England*, as they thought fit; therefore he caution'd his 'Holineſs againſt the falſe Inſinuations and Suggeſtions of 'that perfidious People; concluding with a Petition, *That 'he would have a Paternal Care and Affection to his 'Royal Rights.*

King Edward *marries the* French *King's Siſter.*

A. D. 1300. Reg. $\frac{28}{29}$.

He makes a third Expedition into Scotland.

A. D. 1301. Reg. $\frac{29}{30}$.

He vindicates his Right to Scotland.

Yet by the Interceſſion of the King of *France*, King *Edward* granted the *Scots* a Truce, 'till *Whit-Sunday* following: About which Time he made his Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales* and Earl of *Cheſter*, being then about ſeventeen Years of Age; with which the *Welſh* were highly pleas'd,

He makes his Son Prince of Wales.

A. D. 1302. Reg. $\frac{30}{31}$.

The Scots *gain Advantage.*

as being born at *Caernarvon* in their own Country. The Truce being ended, the King not long after went into *Scotland*, where he continu'd all Winter, but loſt many of his military Horſes for want of Forage. After *Chriſtmas*, at the Inſtance of the *French* King, he again granted Truce to the *Scots* 'till the firſt Day of *November* enſuing; and towards the Spring, having ſettled all Things in *Scotland*, he return'd into *England*. Here to prevent Inconveniencies and Tumults, the King by his Proclamations prohibited thoſe Tournaments, Juſts, and other Warlike Exerciſes, which had been very frequently in uſe among the young Nobility and Gentry. The Truce with the *Scots* being expir'd, the King ſent *John de Seagrave* with an Army into *Scotland*, making him Governor of *Berwick*, and Guardian of the whole Kingdom. This Perſon marching with a Party of Men towards *Edinburgh*, the *Scotch* Army, which lay in Ambuſcade, ſurpris'd him, and took him Priſoner with many others: But a freſh Party fortunately arriving, reſcu'd him out of their Hands. The *Scotch* Writers ſay, that the *Engliſh* loſt great Numbers in the Action, and magnifie it, as very noble and honourable to their Nation.

A. D. 1303. Reg. $\frac{31}{32}$.

The King's fourth Expedition into Scotland.

A. D. 1304. Reg. $\frac{32}{33}$.

His great Succeſs.

The King hearing of this Succeſs, and that the *Scots* began to encreaſe in Power, enter'd into their Country with a formidable Army, and by deliberate Marches paſs'd near three hundred Miles, as far as *Cathneſs* the utmoſt Limits of the Kingdom; while the *Scots* unable to withſtand his Arms, for the moſt part betook themſelves to the inacceſſible Woods and Mountains. But finding the King vigorous in his Purſuit, and reſolute in his Deſigns, they at length ſent Mediators, and humbly begg'd Peace of him, and that they might be permitted to compound for their Eſtates with thoſe *Engliſh* to whom they had been given; to both which the King readily condeſcended. In his Return from the North, he beſieg'd *Sterlin* Caſtle, which had been ſtrongly fortify'd againſt him, and ſtay'd all the Winter at *Dumferling* not far from that Place. *M. Weſtminſter* ſays, That the great Men of *Scotland*, as well Earls as Barons, being wholly reduc'd and overcome, ſubmitted themſelves to the Pleaſure of the King of *England*, who admitted them to his Grace and Mercy, impoſing pecuniary Mulcts upon them, appointing them Days and Years, and certain Times for Payment: After Winter the King went in Perſon to the Siege of *Sterlin* Caſtle, which was vigorouſly attack'd and ply'd with extraordinary Engines, yet ſtill the Beſieg'd made a noble Defence; but being hard preſs'd by the *Engliſh*, who were continually animated by the Preſence of their King, the Caſtle was ſurrender'd upon Diſcretion, on the twentieth Day of *July*; the Governor of which, *William Olifard*, who had before ſurpris'd it, was ſent to the Tower of *London*, and others to divers Caſtles. This put an End to the whole Expedition; and the King having ſetled all Things according to his Deſire, appointed *John de Seagrave* Governor of the Kingdom, and return'd into *England* in great Triumph: And coming to *York*, he remov'd the Courts of the *King's Bench* and the *Exchequer*, which had been there ſeven Years, to their ancient Place at *London*. Thus was *Scotland* in a manner conquer'd a third Time by the valiant King *Edward*; and had not Providence, in Favour of that Kingdom, ordain'd ſome inacceſſible Places, and natural Strengths where no Armies could march or be maintain'd, the *Scots* from this Time would have probably loſt all their ancient Liberties.

A. D. 1305. Reg. $\frac{33}{34}$.

The Puniſhment of Waleys.

V. And now King *Edward* being poſſeſs'd of all his Aims, an univerſal Lord at home, mighty in Alliance and Power abroad, began to look more ſeverely to the publick Adminiſtration: And for a Terror to all Oppoſers, he caus'd *William Waleys*, who had been betray'd into his Hands by his Companion, to be try'd by the Laws of *England*; and notwithſtanding he had never acknowledg'd or ſubmitted to thoſe Laws, he was condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, and his Limbs to be ſet up at ſeveral diſtant Towns: A hard Fate for one who had ſo bravely defended his own Country, and whom the *Scotch* have plac'd among the beſt Examples of Fortitude and Piety; tho' the *Engliſh* have accus'd him of the greateſt Cruelty and Barbarity. About the ſame Time the King began to exerciſe his Power and Authority upon Sir *Nicolas Seagrave*, one of the greateſt Knights of the Kingdom, who being formerly reproach'd with treaſonable Practices by Sir *John Cromwell*, offer'd to juſtifie himſelf by a Duel; which the King refus'd to grant, in regard of the War then depending. Upon which *Seagrave*, contrary to the King's Prohibition, left the Camp, and went over Sea to fight with his Adverſary; for which the King requir'd that Juſtice ſhould proceed againſt him, as a Contemner of his Royal Authority. The Judges conſulted three Days upon this Affair, and at length adjudg'd *Seagrave* guilty of Death, and all his Goods to be forfeited to the King; but in regard of his Blood they added, *That he went not out of* England *in Contempt of the King, but to be reveng'd of his Accuſer, therefore it was in the King's Power to ſhew Mercy*. Upon which the King in a great Paſſion reply'd, *Have you been all this while conſulting for this? I know it is in my Power to ſhew Mercy to whom I pleaſe, but not for your Sakes: Who ever ſubmitted himſelf to my Favour, and met with a Repulſe? However, let this your Judgment be recorded, and for ever held as a Law.* And ſo this Knight, for an Example to others, was committed to Priſon; tho' ſhortly after by the Labour of many Noblemen, and thirty Peers being bound for his Behaviour, the King reſtor'd him to his Eſtate.

The King's Regulations.

A. D. 1306. Reg. $\frac{34}{35}$.

The Pope abſolves the King from his Oaths.

In the ſame Year, the King to eſtabliſh the Peace of the Nation, ſent out a new Writ of Inquiſition call'd *Trailbaſton*; for Intruders on other Mens Lands, who to oppreſs the right Owner, would make over their Land to great Men; for Batterers hired to beat and hurt others; for Breakers of the Peace; for Raviſhers, Incendiaries, Murderers, Fighters, Falſe Aſſizors, and other ſuch Criminals: Which Inquiſition was ſo ſeverely executed, and ſuch Fines rais'd, as brought in great Treaſure to the King. So did likewiſe another Commiſſion at the ſame Time ſent forth to examine the Behaviour of Officers and Miniſters of Juſtice, wherein many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly in their Purſes. As the King was ſtrict and ſevere upon all Criminals in general, ſo he would not ſpare his own Son, Prince *Edward*, who having been corrupted by a vicious inſinuating Companion call'd *Piers Gaveſton*, riotouſly broke the Park of *Walter Langton* Biſhop of *Cheſter*; for which the King diſgrac'd him ſo far, as to put him into a publick Priſon. The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* at the ſame Time being accus'd of diſturbing the Peace in the King's Abſence, he ſent him over to Pope *Clement* the Fifth, there to be cruſh'd by a double Power. This Pope was a Native of *Bourdeaux*, and ſo the more mindful of the King's Deſire, and the King more confident of his Favour ſent him a noble Preſent of ſeveral Golden Veſſels: Which ſo affected the Mind of the Pope, that he let looſe this Lion, and unty'd the King from the Covenants made with his Subjects, concerning their Charters and Privileges, wholly abſolving him from his Oath: An Act of ſmall Piety in the Pope, and of as little Conſcience in the King; who, as if he had no further Occaſion for his People, began to aſſume too much Power, and to take too much Liberty from theſe unjuſtifiable Grants.

New Diſturbances in Scotland.

Robert Brus *crowned King.*

King Edward's *laſt Expedition into* Scotland.

But on a ſudden there happen'd an Occaſion which brought him back to his right Orb again, cauſing him both to ſee his Error and to reform it; and this was a new Storm from *Scotland*, from whence he expected nothing but Peace and Compliance. For the *Scots*, who had twice or thrice done Homage and ſworn Fealty to King *Edward*, and the Biſhops who had done the ſame, join'd with *Robert Brus*, Son to the former great Competitor, lately eſcap'd out of *England*, in ſetting up his Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, and ſo began a War more miſchievous and laſting than any before: And becauſe *John Comyn*, who was of great Power and Intereſt in the Kingdom, was reſolute in keeping his Oath to King *Edward*, *Robert Brus* and his Followers treacherouſly murder'd him in the very Church of *Dumfries*, on the twenty ninth Day of *January*; and on Lady-Day following, *Robert* was ſolemnly crown'd King at *Scone*, in the Preſence of two Biſhops, many Earls, Barons and Knights. King *Edward* being inform'd of the Proceedings of this new King and his Confederates, ſent *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, with *Robert Clifford* and *Henry Percy* into *Scotland*, to ſuppreſs this threatning Inſurrection. The King likewiſe deſigning to follow them, ſummon'd his Army to rendezvous at *Carliſle*, fifteen Days after *Midſummer*; and to make the Expedition more great and glorious, he knighted his Son at *Weſtminſter*, and with him three hundred young Gentlemen, the Sons of Earls, Barons and great Men, who had ſufficient to maintain their Honour, and gave them their military Garments out of his own Wardrobe. Theſe with the Prince were to march into *Scotland* againſt thoſe of that Nation; but before they could arrive there the Earl of *Pembroke* had attack'd and routed the *Scots*, and put their King to Flight at *Metfen* near St. *John*'s *Town* or *Perth*; in which Battel great Numbers were kill'd, and many Perſons of Note taken Priſoners, moſt of whom were try'd and hang'd for Perjury and Rebellion. Afterwards King *Edward*, the Prince, and many great Men went into *Scotland*, where ſome receiv'd them very honourably, and others left their Habitations and fled. The Army ranging from Place to Place after the Fight, purſu'd the Fugitives, kill'd ſome and took others alive, among whom were the two Biſhops of St. *Andrew*'s and *Glaſco*, with the Abbot of *Scone*, arm'd with their Surcoats; who were ſent into ſeveral Priſons in *England*. The Age of King *Edward*, his Rage, and Deſire of Revenge, made him almoſt inexorable, and to ſpare ſcarce any of what Degree ſoever: The Earl of *Athol*, tho' of the Royal Blood and ally'd to him, was ſent to *London*, and diſhonourably preferr'd to a higher

Gallows than any of the reſt: The Wife of King *Robert*, taken by the Lord *Roſs*, was ſent Priſoner to *London*, and his Daughter to a Monaſtery in *Lindſey*; and the Counteſs of *Bonghan*, who aſſiſted in the Coronation of *Robert*, was put into a wooden Cage, made in the ſhape of a Crown, and hung out upon the Walls of *Berwick*, for a diſmal Spectacle to be gaz'd on by the People.

A.D. 1307. Reg. 35. *The laſt Parliament.* Gaveſton *baniſh'd.*

After this Summer's Expedition, the King paſs'd the Winter at *Carliſle*, reſolving old as he was never to deſiſt till he had finiſh'd his Work. Here on the twentieth Day of *January* he held his laſt Parliament, in which, beſides the Proviſions for the *Scotch* Eſtabliſhment, ſeveral Conſultations and Methods were proſecuted for repelling another kind of Enemy no leſs troubleſome to the State; namely the Pope, and his ſtill continu'd Extortions in this Aſſembly: Inſomuch that the Clergy were forc'd to appeal from the Pope's Bulls, and his Cardinal Legate's Exactions; and alſo the King's Council was oblig'd to enact ſeveral Orders and Conſtitutions for the reſtraining of their exceſſive Oppreſſions. In the Time of this Parliament, Obſervations being made of the extraordinary Familiarity between Prince *Edward* and *Piers Gaveſton*, and what mighty Influence that vicious Perſon had over him, the King wiſely commanded him to depart the Land, and oblig'd him by a ſolemn Oath not to return without his Licence. At the ſame Time he oblig'd the Prince to ſwear, That he would not receive, retain or permit the ſaid *Gaveſton* to be with him, contrary to his Pleaſure; and for his Subſiſtence beyond Sea, he was allow'd a hundred Marks *per Annum*.

A great Change in Scotland. *King* Edward *dies.*

During theſe Tranſactions, the great Deliverance of *Scotland* drew near; for the noble King *Robert*, who for a while had liv'd in the moſt deſolate and abandon'd Condition, having gather'd together the ſcatter'd Remains of his Army, ſuddenly attack'd the Earl of *Pembroke*, and gave him a great Defeat, and immediately after chas'd the Earl of *Gloceſter* into the Caſtle of *Ayr*, which he beſieg'd, tho' without Succeſs. Upon which King *Edward* ſent into *England*, and under great Penalties commanded all that ought him Service to be ready at *Carliſle*, three Weeks after *Midſummer*; reſolving with this Force to march into the Bowels of *Scotland*. But before he could effect this Deſign, God was pleas'd to viſit him with his laſt Sickneſs; upon which he ſent for the Prince his Son to come before him, to whom, beſides many Admonitions to Piety, and the good Government of a Kingdom, he ſolemnly and upon his Bleſſing commanded three Things in a more eſpecial Manner; 'That he would carry his Bones 'about with him through *Scotland*, 'till he had ſubdu'd 'that Nation, not doubting but his Skeleton alone would 'produce Victory: That he would ſend his Heart to the '*Holy-Land*, with a hundred and forty Knights to that 'War, and the thirty two thouſand Pounds he had provided for that Purpoſe: Laſtly, That he would never 'recall *Piers Gaveſton* from the Baniſhment he ſo juſtly 'merited. After this he ſent him to *London* to conſummate the Match with the *French* King's Daughter; and ſhortly after, moving by ſmall Journies towards *Scotland* from *Carliſle*, he arrived at a ſmall Town call'd *Burgh* upon the Sands, where by his Diſtemper being put in Mind of his latter End, he piouſly broke forth into this memorable Ejaculation; *O Lord! if Thou think'ſt it good for theſe my People to have me continue longer with them, I am ready to venture my Life for them*; *but if otherwiſe, thy Will be done*. Then in a ſhort Time after, being ſeiz'd with a Dyſentery or Bloody-Flux, while his Servants were going to lift him up in his Bed, to give him ſome Nouriſhment, he expir'd in their Arms upon *Friday* the ſeventh of *July*, in the ſixty eighth Year of his Age, after a moſt vigorous and triumphant Reign of thirty four Years, ſeven Months, and twenty one Days. He was infinitely lamented by his Subjects, and his Corps was brought to *Waltham*, where it remain'd ſixteen Weeks, and on the twenty eighth Day of *October* it was bury'd in the Abby Church at *Weſtminſter*, at the Head of King *Henry* his Father, on the North Side of St. *Edward*'s Shrine.

His Character.

This was the End of the mighty King *Edward*, the Firſt of that Name of the *Norman* Line, and the Fourth from King *Egbert*: A Prince of great Renown, in whoſe valiant Breaſt, as Mr. *Cambden* expreſſes it, God ſeem'd to have pitch'd his Tent; and as well by his Courage and Wiſdom, as by Gracefulneſs and Strength of Body, to have rais'd him to the higheſt Pitch of Majeſty; ſo that he is deſervedly rank'd among the greateſt Ornaments of *Britain*. He was taller than ordinary Perſons by the Head and Shoulders, of a comely Aſpect, having black and curl'd Hair, and Eyes often ſparkling like Fire; being born and bred up to great and military Actions. Yet his Wit and Underſtanding was no leſs than his Valour and Bravery; and he had both an Ability of Judgment within himſelf, and alſo a Readineſs to hear the Judgment of others. He was a wiſe Obſerver of Opportunity, wary and provident of his own Buſineſs, vigilant and vigorous in all publick Affairs, ſevere in Points of Juſtice, and not eaſily appeas'd when thoroughly provok'd, and in Continency equal to his Father, whom he far exceeded in all other Reſpects. He was alſo an excellent Governor, yet his Vigour and Ambition did ſometimes overflow and bear hard upon his Subjects; ſo that his Valour and Power was more for the Grandeur than for the Quiet of *England*; and never any King before or ſince him ſhed ſo much Chriſtian Blood within the Iſle of *Britain* as this Chriſtian Warrior did in his Time, with what he occaſion'd afterwards. He advanc'd the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*, over the Kingdom of *Scotland*, more than any of his Predeceſſors; but leaving the Work not fully finiſh'd, from henceforth the Dominion of the Kings of *England* over that Realm became leſs and leſs, 'till at length it diminiſh'd to nothing. He had by his firſt Queen *Eleanor* a numerous Iſſue of four Sons and nine Daughters; of theſe Sons only *Edward* ſurviv'd him; and by his ſecond Queen he had two Sons, *Thomas* made Earl of *Norfolk*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*. As this *Edward* was the firſt Son of a King of *England* that differenc'd his Arms with a *File*, ſo he was the firſt King of *England* that bore his Arms upon the Capariſons of his Horſe, as may be ſeen by his Royal Seal.

From the Twenty Second Year of this Reign we have an uninterrupted Series of Parliaments down to our own Times in *Sumonitiones ad Parl.* by Sir *William Dugdale*; and in his Time the preſent Conſtitution of our Parliaments was ſo far eſtabliſh'd, that by a Law ſolemnly publiſh'd as an Addition to *Magna Charta*, with Excommunications, it was enacted, That no Tax ſhould be levy'd without the Conſent of the Knights and Burgeſſes in Parliament. In the Twenty Seventh Year of this Reign an Order was made concerning the Price of Victuals; a fat Cock to be ſold at three-half-Pence, a fat Capon for Two-Pence-half-Penny, two Pullets for Three-half-Pence, a Gooſe for Four-Pence, a Mallard for Three-half-Pence, a Partridge for Three-half-Pence, a Pheaſant for Four-Pence, a Heron for Six-Pence, a Plover for a Penny, a Swan for Three Shillings, a Crane for Twelve-Pence, two Wood-Cocks for Three-half-Pence, a fat Lamb from *Chriſtmas* to *Shrove-Tide* for Sixteen-Pence, and all the Year after for Four-Pence. Wheat was once ſold for Twenty-Pence a Quarter, and in ſome Places for Sixteen-Pence.

SECT. II.

The Reign of King EDWARD *the Second.*

Containing 19 *Years*, 6 *Months, and* 15 *Days.*

A.D. 1397. Reg. 1. Edward *the Second begins his Reign ill.*

I. UPON the Death of the great King *Edward* the Firſt, his Eldeſt Son, *Edward* of *Caernarvon*, now Twenty three Years of Age, ſucceeded him with a general Applauſe, tho' he was far his Inferior in all Reſpects. Never any Prince came to the Crown with greater Love of the Nation, or loſt it in ſo ſhort a Time. For before his Father's Funeral Solemnities were finiſh'd, he contrary to all Advice ſhew'd a fatal Diſregard to all his dying Precepts; and the firſt publick Act he did was the recalling his looſe and beloved Aſſociate *Piers Gaveſton* from Exile, who he immediately rais'd from the Son of an ordinary *Gaſconian* Knight to be Earl of *Cornwal*, Lord of *Man*, Guardian and Lieutenant of *England*, and Diſpoſer of innumerable Preferments. And becauſe *Walter Langton*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Treaſurer of *England*, had like a juſt Servant in his Father's Reign reprov'd him for ſome lewd Extravagancies, and complain'd of *Gaveſton*, as the Promoter of Vices ſo unbecoming a Prince; he remember'd to puniſh a Man ſo full of troubleſom Virtue, and arreſted him by Sir *John Felton*, Conſtable of the Tower of *London*, impriſon'd him in *Wallingford* Caſtle, and ſeiz'd upon all his Goods and Temporalities: And his Prejudice was ſo great againſt him, that no Man durſt ſpeak in his Favour; 'till afterwards by means of the Papal Authority, he was reſtor'd, and in ſome ſort reconcil'd.

A.D. 1308. Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$. *He marries the King of* France's *Daughter.*

That which beſt ſuited with this King's youthful Affections, the Marriage with the Princeſs *Iſabel*, Daughter to *Philip* King of *France*, he perform'd with extraordinary Magnificence at *Boloign*; at which Solemnity were preſent the King of *France*, the King of *Navarre*, the King of *Almain*, and the King of *Sicily*, with three Queens beſides the Bride, and a glorious Concourſe of other Princes, Noblemen and Ladies: Among whom Earl *Gaveſton* by his graceful Mien and rich Attire, ſo far exceeded the reſt in Splendor and Magnificence, that it rais'd the Envy and Indignation of the whole Aſſembly. This foreign Favourite, who had a beautiful Body, a

quick

His Coronation.

quick Wit, and a daring Courage, had ſo far exaſperated the *Engliſh* Nobility, that they threaten'd to hinder the King's Coronation, which had been appointed ſhortly after, if he was not remov'd from the Court and Kingdom. Upon which the King, to avoid ſo great a Diſhonour, promiſ'd upon his Faith to yield to what they deſir'd in the next Parliament. But upon the Solemnity, *Gaveſton* with the utmoſt Pomp was appointed to carry St. *Edward*'s Crown before the King, which belong'd only to thoſe of the Royal Blood, which more increas'd the Hatred of the Prelates and Nobility againſt him. And now having got Poſſeſſion of the Heart of this weak Prince, he by his riotous Practices ſoon fill'd his Court with Buffoons, Paraſites, and the like pernicious Inſtruments, drawing *Edward* from the Thoughts of all noble Enterprizes, in Accompliſhment of his Father's Will, or Diſcharge of his particular Duty, inclining him to all Sorts of diſhonourable Vanities and ſoft criminal Pleaſures: While he himſelf revelled in outward Felicity, waſting the Riches of the Nation, or converting them to his private Uſes. He had ſo great an Aſcendant, that the King's Favours were his continual Advantages; and he wore the very Jewel of the Crown, which the King imprudently declar'd, *ſhould have deſcended to him, were his Power equal to his Affection.*

Gaveſton *ſent to* Ireland.

A. D. 1309. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

The Nobility diſoblig'd by him.

Ordinances made by the Nobility

By reaſon of the King's extravagant Favours, and eſpecially for his marrying him to his Niece *Margaret*, Siſter to the Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Nobility were much exaſperated, who vehemently preſs'd the King, That he would oblige him to avoid the Realm. Upon which Importunities, the King with great Reluctancy ſent him into *Ireland*; not as an Exile, but as his Lieutenant there, to direct and act all Things in his Name, as if he had been preſent himſelf. But he continu'd not long in that Country; for in the ſecond Year of this Reign, to the King's great Satisfaction, he procur'd a Tournament to be proclaim'd at *Wallingford*, where he appear'd with ſo many Military Men out of Foreign Parts, that he inſulted over the *Engliſh* Nobility that came to meet him, among whom the chief were the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Hereford*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke* and *Warren*, to whom this Favourite gave ridiculous and opprobrious Names. The Prelates, Earls and Barons taking Advantage of the King's Exorbitant Kindneſs to him, and his heaping ſuch vaſt Riches upon him, to the great Diminution of the Crown Revenues, by their daily Care at length obtain'd of the King to make a formal Grant or Commiſſion to them, enabling them to appoint a ſelect Number amongſt them, that ſhould have Power to make *Ordinances* for the Government of the King's Houſhold and his Kingdom. Accordingly ſeven Prelates, eight Earls, and ſix Barons were nominated and ſolemnly ſworn; who after that drew up forty one Articles, Ordinances or Conſtitutions, which were all confirm'd by a particular Inſtrument from the King. Thus he who before ſeem'd jealous of truſting his Subjects, now gave them an Opportunity of puniſhing that Miſtruſt; and to add to the King's Troubles, he now receiv'd many Complaints from the Pope, with a particular Demand of the Rent of a thouſand Marks *per Annum* due to the *Roman* Church, and Arrears for fifteen Years in his Father's Time: But we do not find how he ſatisfy'd theſe Demands.

A. D. 1310. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

Gaveſton *baniſh'd and then recall'd.*

By the twentieth Article of the Ordinances Earl *Gaveſton* was oblig'd with great Uneaſineſs to quit the Nation and go into Baniſhment; yet in no long Time after, the King recall'd him with infinite Fondneſs, declaring, *That he had been baniſh'd contrary to the Laws and Uſages of the Kingdom, which he was bound to maintain by his Coronation Oath.* Therefore he wrote to all the Sheriffs in *England*, ‘That ſince in the Inſtrument of Exile he had no ‘other Appellations but of Good and Loyal, he return'd ‘at his Commandment, and was ready to anſwer all that ‘could be objected againſt him: Wherefore he ſhould al‘ways eſteem him Good and Loyal, and expected them ‘to repute him ſo, and to publiſh the Matter through their ‘whole Counties. The Lords did not neglect this Occaſion of the King's Tenderneſs, but publickly declar'd, *That the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, together with the late made Ordinances, were not obſerv'd nor regarded.* The King to obviate the Effects of ſuch Reports iſſu'd a Declaration to be publiſh'd in all Parts, manifeſting his Deſire of Peace and an Obſervance of the Laws, and the late Ordinances; and not long after he wrote to the Community of the City of *London*, to ſecure that City, ſo that no Miſchiefs might ariſe from the Meeting of the Nobility. Theſe and ſome other Methods proving ineffectual, he deſign'd to proceed amicably with the diſſatiſfy'd Biſhops and Barons, and according to the Power reſerv'd in his Proteſtation when he confirm'd the Ordinances, he appointed thirteen Commiſſioners to treat with thoſe of the Nobility who had made the late Ordinances, and to correct and reform all ſuch Things as were prejudicial and injurious. Theſe Propoſals were very reaſonable and amicable; but ſtill the Inſolencies and Extravagancies of Earl *Gaveſton* ſo far increas'd, as prevented all Accommodation. And alſo the young Queen thought herſelf not a little injur'd by this ungrateful Man's Predominancy, for which ſhe ſent her Complaints to the King of *France* her Father, *That her Lord's Affection to him was ſo great, that it had both alienated his Love for her, and himſelf from her Bed.* Which occaſion'd ſome Writers to ſay, That the King was as looſe in a perſonal Affection to him, as he was in his publick Favours.

A. D. 1311. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.

The Lords combine againſt the King.

In the mean Time the Lords purſu'd their Deſigns both privately and publickly, which were much promoted by the old Earl of *Lincoln*'s dying Speech to the powerful Earl of *Lancaſter*, who had marry'd his Daughter and Heir; in which he alledg'd *That God had bleſs'd him with greater Riches and Authority than any Nobleman in* England; *for which he ow'd the greater Honour and Service: That he ſaw the Church of* England, *formerly in a State of Liberty, now reduc'd to Servitude by the Oppreſſions of the* Romans, *and the Exactions of Crown'd Heads; and the People, who had enjoy'd many Privileges, brought to the ſame Condition by divers Tallages and Vexations:* Adjuring him by God's Bleſſing and his own, *That when he had an Opportunity, he would deliver the Church and People from ſuch Oppreſſions; That he would pay all due Honour and Reverence to the King his Lord, yet cauſe him to remove from his Preſence all evil Counſellors and Strangers, and effectually to obſerve the Tenor of* Magna Charta, *and all other Ordinances granted to the Clergy and Laity; for accompliſhing of which he ſhould contract a ſtrict Alliance with the Earl of* Warwick, *who better underſtood them than any other.* Having ended this Speech, he took his leave of the World; and ſhortly after the great Earl of *Lancaſter*, with his Adherents the Earls of *Hereford*, *Pembroke*, *Warwick*, *Arundel* and *Warren*, and ſeveral Barons, joining with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, undertook to relieve the Holy Church from Oppreſſion, and recover the due Liberty of the Kingdom, as *Walſingham* our Author expreſſes it.

A. D. 1312. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$.

They take up Arms.

They take Gaveſton.

The great Earl of *Lancaſter* was choſen their General, who by common Conſent ſent to the King then at *York*, petitioning him, Either to deliver Earl *Gaveſton* to them, or oblige him to quit the Kingdom, according to the late Ordinances. The King took ſmall Notice of their Supplications, left *York*, and repair'd to *Newcaſtle*, where he continu'd for a conſiderable Space. Upon which the Lords, with what Forces they could raiſe, march'd with all Speed towards *Newcaſtle*, not that they would offer Injury, or create Trouble to their Sovereign, but only Earl *Gaveſton*, and judge him according to the Laws they made by common Agreement. Upon their Approach, the King and *Gaveſton* immediately fled to *Tinmouth*; and tho' the Queen, then great with Child, with a Flood of Tears, begg'd of him not to leave her in that Place, he without any Pity took Shipping and ſail'd with his Favourite to *Scarborough*, commanding the Garriſon of the Caſtle to protect him, while he repair'd into *Warwickſhire*. The Earl of *Lancaſter*, having poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Newcaſtle*, ſent Meſſengers to the Queen at *Tinmouth* to comfort her, faithfully promiſing, *That he would not give over his Purſuit, 'till he had remov'd* Gaveſton *from the King*; excuſing himſelf for not coming to her in Perſon, *leſt for her Sake he ſhould incur the King's Indignation.* Shortly after the Lords left *Newcaſtle*, march'd with all Speed to *Scarborough* Caſtle, and inveſted it; but the Earl of *Lancaſter* finding no Oppoſition from the Country, retir'd with his Forces, and left the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Warren* to take the Caſtle, who in a ſhort Time ſo ſtraiten'd it, that *Gaveſton* ſurrender'd himſelf upon Condition that he might ſtand to the Judgment of the Barons, and once more ſpeak to the King. Upon Notice of which, the King earneſtly deſir'd he might ſpeak with him, and heartily begg'd that his Life might be ſav'd, promiſing upon that Condition to ſatisfie the Deſires of the Nobility in all Things. Upon this Promiſe, the Earl of *Pembroke* perſuaded the Barons to grant the King's Requeſt, ingaging upon the higheſt Penalties to keep him ſafe, 'till he had ſpoken with the King, and then reſtore him to the Barons at a prefix'd Time and Place, deſigning to carry him to *Wallingford*. In his Way thither, at *Deddington* in *Oxfordſhire*, the Earl left him to the Care of his Servants, while he lodg'd with his Lady at a neighbouring Place; which being known to the Earl of *Warwick*, he came with a great Force, and at Night took him from the Servants, and carry'd him to his Caſtle at *Warwick*. The Lords now conſulting what to do with him, a ſubtle Man amongſt them declar'd, *That after all this Expence and Trouble, it would be very weak in them to hazard the loſing of him*; adding, *That it was much better he ſhould die, than a War ſhould be rais'd in the Kingdom.* Upon which Advice, they took him out of Priſon, and carry'd him to an Aſcent about a Mile North-Eaſt of *Warwick*, *They behead him at* Warwick.

wick, call'd *Black-Low*, and there beheaded this Favourite; notwithſtanding the earneſt Solicitations of the King, which nothing but the total Deſtruction of all Truſt and Confidence could have render'd ineffectual.

The Lords reconcil'd to the King.

King Edward III. *born.*

The Lords now finding their own Strength and the King's Weakneſs, proudly demanded of the King, That their Ordinances might be confirm'd and put in Execution, Threatning to conſtrain him by Force if not ſpeedily perform'd; and accordingly they quarter'd their Forces in the Country about *Dunſtable*, while the King continu'd at *London*. Yet at length by the Management and Mediation of the Pope's Nuncio's, the Biſhops and the Earl of *Gloceſter*, Articles were agreed upon, and the preſent Heats allay'd, upon Condition that the Lords would reſtore to the King all they had taken at *Newcaſtle*, and what belong'd to Earl *Gaveſton*, all which was ſhortly after perform'd. But the Reſentments the King harbour'd for the Loſs of his dear Companion were by the Sycophancies of the *French* at *Windſor* reviv'd again in a ſhort Time; therefore in a Parliament at *London*, the King vehemently charg'd thoſe preſumptuous Lords with their Contempt againſt him in the Spoils they committed at *Newcaſtle*, and the inhuman Murther of his Friend. To all which they boldly reply'd, *That they had not offended in any Point, but deſerv'd his Royal Favour, in proſecuting the publick Enemy of the Nation, who had been ſo juſtly baniſh'd by two ſeveral Kings.* Neverthelеſs, to prevent Civil Conteſts, by the careful Management of the young Queen and the Prelates, the Lords in the open Court at *Weſtminſter* humbled themſelves before the King, ſupplicating his Favour; and the King by Writing granted his gracious Pardon to all ſuch as deſir'd it. The whole Houſe of Parliament ſeeing the King's Wants, of their own Accord granted him a Fifteenth, and all Parties return'd home with Satisfaction; but not long after *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, who in this Parliament was appointed to be of the Privy-Council, deceas'd, being poiſon'd by ſome of the King's ſecret Friends, as it was believ'd by many. In the ſame Year of this Reign, the King's Sorrow for *Gaveſton* was much alleviated by the Birth of a Son at *Windſor* on the thirteenth Day of *November*, and baptiz'd by the Name of *Edward*; a Prince whoſe noble Acts afterwards redeem'd all the Blemiſhes with which his Father's Infelicities had darken'd the *Engliſh* Name.

A. D. 1313. Reg. $\frac{6}{7}$.

The Scots *recover Strength.*

A. D. 1314. Reg. $\frac{7}{8}$.

The King marches againſt them.

He receives a great Overthrow.

II. While the State of *England* ſtood thus diſtemper'd at home, through the Infirmity of a weak Head, that of *Scotland* grew ſtrong by the provident Care of a vigilant and couragious King; who not only overcame all Factions, but gradually recover'd moſt of his own Country, and made great Devaſtations in the Borders of *England*. Having taken *Edinburgh* and other Places, while King *Edward* ſeem'd inchanted with unworthy Languiſhments, he ſent his Brother to beſiege the ſtrong Caſtle of *Sterling*; but after ſome Continuance before it, and deſpairing of taking it by Force, both Parties agreed to theſe Conditions, That if the *Engliſh* did not relieve the Caſtle within a Year from the Day of the Treaty, it ſhould be ſurrender'd to the *Scots*, and the Garriſon ſhould have ſafe Conduct to march whither they pleas'd, with all their Goods. Rous'd with theſe repeated Advantages, King *Edward* ſummon'd all his Power and Force, and with a mighty Army began his March, conſiſting of a hundred thouſand Men, according to the *Scotch* Writers, and of thoſe of many Nations, who in Imagination had poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the Strength and Riches of *Scotland*, before they enter'd that Kingdom. Beſides the King was glorioufly attended with moſt of the Nobility and great Men of *England*, except the four Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Warwick*, *Warren*, and *Arundel*, who refus'd to go, becauſe the King had protracted the Ratification of their deſired Liberties and Proviſions. This ſplendid Army having enter'd *Scotland*, more with the Ornaments of Feſtival Solemnities than the Accoutrements of hardy Soldiers, was met near *Sterling* by the undaunted King *Robert*, at the Head of a well-appointed Army of thirty thouſand Men, harden'd with the continual Uſe of War and Domeſtick Evils, fierce and reſolute, carrying about with them all their Hopes of Life, Liberty, and whatever was dear to them. The Advantage of the Ground was theirs, having on one Side unacceſſible Rocks to defend them, on the other a mooriſh Spot of Land, where they made Pits and Trenches, fill'd with ſharp Stakes, and cover'd over with Hurdles, ſo that the Foot might ſafely paſs over; but in in the Battel they ſo hamper'd and confounded the *Engliſh* Horſe, that the *Scots* gain'd the Day, and gave *England* the greateſt Overthrow that ever that Nation ſuſtain'd. This fatal Battel was call'd *Bannock's-Bourn*, becauſe fought by the Brook or River *Bannock*, upon which the *Scotch* made ſeveral ſcoffing Rhymes upon the Loſſes and Misfortunes of the *Engliſh*. *Gilbert* Earl of *Clare* was ſlain, with many Noblemen of the higheſt Rank, ſeven hundred Knights and Bannerets, great Numbers of Gentlemen, and ten thouſand common Soldiers, tho' the *Scotch* Writers ſay fifty. Many great Men were taken Priſoners, great Riches and Booty loſt, and the King himſelf with great Difficulty eſcap'd by Flight. This Defeat gave ſuch Wealth and Power to the *Scots*, that they liv'd ſecurely for ſeveral Years after; yet King *Edward* upon his Return to *York* ſhew'd a great Inclination to repair this Diſhonour, but the People grew cold and languid, and return'd home without effecting any Thing. The unhappy Borderers were great Sufferers by it, and became ſo diſhearten'd, that according to *Walſingham* a hundred of them would fly from three *Scotch* Soldiers; to ſuch a ſudden Faintneſs were the Inferiors brought, when the nobler Parts of the State were diſpirited.

A. D. 1315. Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$.

Calamities in England.

Gaveſton's *Funeral.*

This great Diſaſter was attended and ſucceeded by terrible Inundations, Famines and Peſtilences, which exceedingly afflicted the Land. Upon the Dearneſs of Proviſions, at a Parliament held at *Weſtminſter*, it was ordain'd That all Victuals exceeding an eſtabliſh'd Price ſhould be forfeited to the King: Particularly the beſt Ox fatted with Graſs ſhould be ſold for ſixteen Shillings, if fatted with Corn for twenty four Shillings; the beſt Cow for twelve Shillings, a fat Swine of two Years old for three Shillings and four Pence; a fat Wether or Mutton unſhorn for twenty Pence, and ſhorn for fourteen Pence; a fat Gooſe for two Pence half-penny, a fat Capon for two Pence, a fat Hen for a Penny, two Chickens for a Penny, four Pidgeons for a Penny, and twenty four Eggs for the ſame. But this Act was in Time found to be ſo prejudicial, by reaſon of the Scarcity of all Things, that in the following Year it was repeal'd, and Men were left to their Liberty to make what Advantage they could in theſe calamitous Times. But neither the Diſhonours from *Scotland*, nor the Miſeries and Diſcontents at home, could divert King *Edward* from a publick Solemnization of his belov'd *Gaveſton*'s Funeral; whoſe Body he remov'd with great Pomp and Splendor from his former Burial at *Oxford* to *King's Langley* in *Hertfordſhire*; where he in Perſon, with the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, four Biſhops, many Abbots and Eccleſiaſticks, honour'd his Obſequies: But few of the Nobility could ſo far lay aſide their Reſentments, as to attend upon ſuch an Occaſion.

A. D. 1316. Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$.

A great Famine.

Hatred between the King and Nobility.

A. D. 1317. Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$.

The Earl of Lancaſter *diſguſted.*

In the mean Time the State of the Kingdom became deplorable, there being no Love between the King and the Nobility, nor any great Care in Him, or Them, of the publick Affairs; yet they aſſembled at a Parliament in *London*, where nothing material was enacted, and the Famine and Peſtilence daily encreas'd. The Famine was become ſo exceſſive, as we are told, That not only Horſes and Dogs, but even Men and Children were ſtolen for Food; and, which is horrible to imagine, the Criminals newly brought into the Priſons were torn in Pieces, and eaten almoſt alive, by ſuch as had been there a longer Time. In *London* it was proclaim'd, That no Corn ſhould be converted to Brewers Uſes; which Act, the King, mov'd with Compaſſion towards the Nation, both follow'd himſelf, and caus'd to be executed throughout the Kingdom; otherwiſe, ſays *Walſingham*, the greater Part of the People had periſh'd for want of Bread. The Bloody-Flux or Dyſentery caus'd by crude and corrupt Humours, proceeding from unwholſome Diet, rag'd in in all Places, and together with other Diſtempers brought ſuch Multitudes of the meaner ſort to their Graves, that the Living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the Dead. But all theſe Calamities could not extinguiſh the Rancour between the King and his Nobility, tho' he made the Head of them, the Earl of *Lancaſter*, Chief of his Privy-Council; for daily ſome Accident happen'd that increas'd the Averſion. Particularly this great Earl's Wife was taken out of his Houſe at *Canford* in *Dorſetſhire*, by one *Richard St. Martin*, a moſt deform'd Dwarf, who claim'd her, the greateſt Heireſs in *England*, for his Wife, avowing that he had lain with her before ſhe was marry'd to the Earl; which the Lady herſelf, to her perpetual Infamy and Diſhonour, voluntarily averr'd. By her this worthleſs Perſon claim'd and obtain'd both the Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Saliſbury*, to the great Diminution of the Earl's Power and Fortunes; which never could have been effected without the greateſt Supporters. The King was noted as a ſpecial Agent in this Affair, which being in ſo tender a Point as Marriage, added much to his other Violations of Order and good Government, and gave Occaſion and Boldneſs to inferior Perſons to reproach his Behaviour. Particularly at the Celebration of the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, at Dinner, in the open Hall of *Weſtminſter*, a Woman fantaſtically diſguis'd enter'd on Horſe-back and deliver'd a Letter to him at the Table, which reprov'd him for his great Neglect of ſuch as had done noble Service to him and his Father, and tax'd him with advancing of unworthy

Men, and other Miſcarriages. This Letter being read, and the Woman retir'd, the King in a Rage blam'd his Guards for ſuffering her to enter in ſuch a Manner; who excus'd themſelves by alledging, It was not the Cuſtom in King's Palaces, at Times of Feſtivals, to keep out any that came to divert the Aſſembly. The Woman being found, confeſs'd that ſhe was hir'd by a particular Knight to do this Act; and he being examin'd, boldly declar'd, *That what he did was purely for the King's Honour*, and ſo eſcap'd without any further Noiſe or Diſturbance.

Still the Northern Parts were not only infeſted and waſted by the *Scots*, but likewiſe by ſuch *Engliſh* as under Colour of Protection and Aſſiſtance robb'd and pillag'd where-ever they came, to the miſerable Ruin of the Inhabitants. Nor did the King ſeem to have any Will or Power to relieve the common Calamities, but rather to convert all his Thoughts and Forces againſt the Diſpleaſure of the Nobility, who under the Notion of maintaining their Proviſions and Eſtabliſhments, daily withdrew their Love, Service and Duty from him. Wherefore finding himſelf thus weak and abandon'd, he begg'd the Spiritual Aſſiſtance of the Pope; who thereupon ſent certain Cardinals to ſettle the Peace and Tranquility of the Nation. Theſe made a formal Reconciliation between the King and the Earl of *Lancaſter*, who in a certain Plain near *Leiceſter* amicably met with Kiſſes and Embraces; but when they could not work the ſame Effect with the *Scots*, they put their whole Country under an Interdict. For they had now ſo much increas'd in Strength and Power, that they began to caſt their Eyes upon the Kingdom of *Ireland*; whither *Edward*, Brother to King *Robert*, had paſs'd with an Army, and procur'd himſelf to be crown'd King of that Country, by the Favour of ſome of the *Iriſh* Nobility. Yet after three Years from his firſt Entrance, the *Engliſh*, under the Conduct of the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and *John* Lord *Brenningham* Juſticiary of *Ireland*, ſo valiantly encounter'd him, that he loſt both his uſurped Kingdom and his Life. In this Battel fell many of the *Scotch* Nobility, beſides above five thouſand of the ordinary Sort, which much diminiſh'd the Glory of all their former Succeſſes. But King *Robert*, like an expert and vigilant Prince, was no ways diſhearten'd, but proceeding with all Vigour, won the important Town of *Berwick*, which was ſoon ſurrender'd to him, by the Treaſon, as it is believ'd, of *Peter Spalding* the Governor. And when King *Edward* endeavour'd to recover it again, the *Scots* diverted him from the Siege with Incurſions and Slaughters of his People in other Parts of *England*, being near ſurpriſing of the Queen her ſelf in a Village not far from *York*, where ſhe continu'd during the Siege of *Berwick*; which Contrivance was form'd by the *Scots* and ſome perfidious *Engliſh*, whom King *Robert* had brib'd for that purpoſe. The Inhabitants of *York*, and the adjacent Country, having ſuſtain'd innumerable Loſſes by the *Scots*, gather'd together an Army of ten thouſand Men, and briskly attack'd them at *Wilton* on *Swaile*; but being neither well led, nor experienc'd, they were defeated with the Loſs of three thouſand Men. The King being inform'd of this Misfortune, and finding all Affairs in a melancholy Poſture, gladly concluded a formal Truce with the *Scots* for two Years, and again return'd with Diſhonour from the Northern Parts.

He is reconciled to the King.

A. D. 1318. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

The Scots *paſs into* Ireland.

They are defeated.

A. D. 1319. Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

A Truce made with them.

A. D. 1320. Reg. $\frac{13}{14}$.

The Riſe of the Spenſers.

III. The Truce with the *Scots* gave no Eaſe to the Nation as was expected, but was ſucceeded with great Troubles and Confuſion. For it happen'd that about this Time, the King, upon the Recommendation of the Lords themſelves, had made *Hugh de Spenſer* Lord Chamberlain, who being a Man of equal Inſolence, Vices and Ambition with *Gaveſton*, ſo inſinuated himſelf with the King, that he obtain'd all the Favours and Authority that the other ever enjoy'd, and in like manner procur'd no leſs Envy and Hatred. *Hugh* his Father, an ancient Knight, the better to ſupport his Son in his Courſes, was likewiſe employ'd, and grew in great Favour with the King, who afterwards alſo created him Earl of *Wincheſter*; and tho' he was unlike his Son in Manners and Qualifications, yet his inordinate Affection to him was the Cauſe of his own Ruin. The Son, as he was of a noble Shape and Preſence, ſo the very Spirit of Pride and Rapine carry'd him to ſuch intollerable Actions and Oppreſſions, that *Gaveſton* might with good Reaſon ſeem to be wiſh'd for again. Againſt theſe two, who wholly govern'd the unfortunate King, the popular Earl of *Lancaſter* and moſt of the Nobility ſwell'd with ſuch Rage and Impatience, that gathering together above eleven thouſand Men, they enter'd upon their ſeveral Lands and vaſt Eſtates, waſted ſixty three Manors of the Father, and took away ſuch Quantities of Sheep, Oxen and Swine, together with ſuch Proviſions of Corn, Wine, and other Conveniencies and Neceſſaries from both, as amounted to about ſixty eight thouſand Pounds; as it was given in by themſelves afterwards. And not ſatisfy'd with theſe Waſtes, the Lords by the Terror of civil Arms, in Parliament procur'd theſe two Favourites to be baniſh'd; revenging at once both their own, and the publick Injuries.

A. D. 1321. Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$.

The Nobility riſe againſt them.

They are baniſh'd.

In all Conteſts which happen'd between the King and his Nobility, Queen *Iſabel* had been hitherto a Promoter of Peace, and a Performer of many worthy Offices; but the ill Fates of the Earls of *Lancaſter* and *Hereford* would not permit her to continue ſo any longer: For the Queen being one Night deny'd Lodging in the Caſtle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, which belong'd to the Lord of *Badleſmere*, one of the Earl's Party, ſhe withdrew her good Opinion, and oblig'd the King to take a cruel Revenge for this Diſhonour. For immediately after coming in Perſon with many thouſand Men before the Caſtle, he took the Governor, and all the beſt of the Garriſon, and put them to a ſhameful Death. Then deſiring to be reveng'd on the Lords for their late Inſolencies, he march'd to *Circeſter*, took many Caſtles and beſieg'd others; while the Lords, not ſuſpecting ſuch ſudden Aſſaults, were providing for their Defence. At *Circeſter Hugh Spenſer* the Son repair'd to him according to Command, having been hovering upon the Sea, expecting the Event of theſe Affairs by Land. The Nobility, who had fallen from their Sovereign's good Opinion, and wanting now their uſual Mediatrix the Queen, lay expos'd to all the Miſchiefs that Enemies could raiſe or procure from the King, who taking the Regal Power to be in Danger, reſolv'd couragiouſly to die in the Conteſt, or bring the Lords to a full Subjection. In the mean Time the Judgment of Baniſhment given againſt the two *Spenſers* was revers'd as erroneous, and their Revocation decreed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and his Suffragans.

The Beginning of a Civil War.

The Lords, not all of the ſame Diſpoſition, began to be apprehenſive of the King's Power, and many of them forſook their Commander the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and ſurrender'd themſelves to the King; and others were apprehended, particularly the two *Mortimers*, who were committed to the Tower of *London*, and others to *Wallingford* Caſtle. The Faction weaken'd by this Defection, drew together in the North under the Conduct of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, who was now to fight for his Life as well as Eſtate. Upon which the King march'd thither, and with a Part of his Army conſtrain'd the Earl to fly from *Burton upon Trent*; whoſe Forces in their Retreat or Flight behav'd themſelves outragiouſly and barbarouſly. But they ſoon met with their deſerved Puniſhment; for the King purſu'd them to *Burgh-Bridge*, while they were marching towards their Allies the *Scots*, where they were ſtopp'd by Forces brought from *Carliſle* by Sir *Andrew Harclay*, and others from *York* by Sir *Simon Ward*. In forcing his Way over the Bridge, the Earl of *Hereford* was kill'd; and the Earl of *Lancaſter* not being able to ſuſtain the Shock of the Battel, nor yet to eſcape, was taken Priſoner by Sir *Andrew Harclay*, and many other Barons, Bannerets and Knights, to the Number of ninety five. The Earl was immediately ſent Priſoner to *Pontfract* Caſtle, his own, but lately ſurrender'd, where the whole Multitude derided him and call'd him *King Arthur*, which Name he is ſaid by ſome to have aſſum'd to himſelf in an intercepted Letter written to the *Scots*. But this was not all his Fate, for on the Third Day after his Apprehenſion, the King ſitting in Judgment at the ſame Caſtle, with his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Warren*, both the *Spenſers* and others, Sentence of Death was given againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, by drawing, hanging and beheading as a Rebel and a Traitor. The two firſt Puniſhments were remitted in regard he was of the Royal Blood; but he was beheaded on the ſame Day he was condemn'd without the Town of *Pontfract*, before his own Caſtle, and that without anſwering, or the Judgment of his Peers. And by the ſame Judgment were condemn'd the Lord *Roger Cliſford*, the Lord *Warren Liſle*, the Lord *William Tokit*, *Thomas Manduit*, *Henry Bradburn*, *William Fitzwilliams*, *William* Lord *Cheny*, *Thomas* Lord *Mowbray*, and *Joceline* Lord *D'enynvill*; all which were executed at *York*. Shortly after the Lord *Teyes* was taken, drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at *London*, the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windſor*, the Lords *Badleſmere* and *Aſhburnham* at *Canterbury*, and the Lord *Gifford* at *Gloceſter*; all great Men and in great Cities, to ſpread the more Terror over the Kingdom; which was attended with the intire Confiſcation of all their Lands, Titles and Eſtates, by which many were inrich'd and advanc'd. Never was the *Engliſh* Nation ſo ſtain'd with the Blood of her Nobility ſhed in this Manner ſince the Conqueſt, which being caus'd in a great Meaſure by the Power of the *Spenſers*, and without regular Proceſs, it open'd Veins for more to follow, and afterwards procur'd a moſt diſmal Revenge.

A. D. 1322. Reg. $\frac{15}{16}$.

The Lords weaken'd.

A grand Execution of the Nobility.

King

The King worſted by the Scots.

King *Edward* conceiving that this Exploit had made him formidable to the *Scots*, as well as terrible to the *Engliſh*, march'd with a mighty Army, but with ſmall Proviſions, into *Scotland*; from whence not long after, for want of uſual Subſiſtance, he was compell'd to retire without the Honour of any Action. And what prov'd ſtill more diſhonourable, the *Scots* purſu'd him many Miles into *England*, and at *Blackmore* Foreſt took all his Treaſure and Furniture, and were ſo near taking his Perſon, that he could hardly eſcape with a few Followers. They took the Earl of *Richmond* and the King of *France*'s Envoy, with many others, and waſted the Country with Fire and Sword almoſt to the Walls of *York*; they burnt *Ripon*, and compounded with *Beverley* for four hundred Pounds, and return'd home loaden with great Spoils and Booty. This was the Succeſs of this unfortunate King in his third *Scottiſh* Expedition; yet King *Robert*, having lain five Years under the Cenſure of the Pope's Interdict, deſir'd a Truce, which was granted him for thirteen Years.

The King concern'd for the Earl of Lancaſter.

And now being at Leiſure, and in a calmer Temper, the King began to have a Senſe of the Execution of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, which was diſcover'd upon this Occaſion: Some Perſons about him making earneſt Suit to grant a Pardon to a Man of a low Condition, one of the Earl's Aſſiſtants and Followers, he fell into a violent Paſſion, exclaiming againſt them *as unjuſt and wicked Counſellors, who could urge him to ſave the Life of a notorious Villain, and would not ſpeak one Word for his near Kinſman the Earl of* Lancaſter; *who, if he had liv'd, might have been beneficial to him and the whole Kingdom; but for this Man, the longer he liv'd, the more Miſchief he would commit*; Therefore with a deſperate Oath he declar'd, *That he ſhould ſuffer that Death he had deſerved.* And notwithſtanding the Crimes and Treaſons of this Earl of *Lancaſter*, the People held him in ſuch Veneration, that they repair'd to his Tomb as to that of the greateſt Saint; and many Miracles and Cures were reported to have been wrought there. Sir *Andrew Harclay*, who took him Priſoner at *Burgh-Bridge*, being advanc'd for his Service to the Earldom of *Carliſle*, enjoy'd his Honour but a ſhort Time. For in the following Year, either falling into Diſcontent by the *Spenſers* envying his high Preferment, or combining with the *Scots* who had allur'd him with the Hopes of a great Match, as he was accus'd, he was degraded of all his Honours, drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at *London* for Treaſon; and remains among the Examples of ſudden Downfalls, under an unconſtant and ill-governing Prince.

A. D. 1323. Reg. 16/17.

IV. We are now arriv'd at the laſt Act or Part of King *Edward*'s Tragical Misfortunes; occaſion'd from the New King of *France*, *Charles* the Fifth, his pretending to ſeize the Dutchy of *Gaſcony* for want of Homage, and from the exorbitant Power and Poſſeſſions of the two *Spenſers*. Theſe two powerful Men, one created Earl of *Wincheſter*, and the other Earl of *Gloceſter*, now aſpiring to the Height of Command, and endeavouring to remove all Impediments to their Grandeur, continually rais'd mortal Enmities againſt themſelves and the King. The Queen took their Carriage heinouſly, becauſe, among other Diſobligations, they had retrench'd her expenſive Way of Living, *while they abounded in all Riches and Magnificence*, as ſhe complain'd, particularly, *That the Daughter and Heir of the King of* France *was marry'd to a Miſer, and tho' ſhe was promis'd to be made a Queen, ſhe was no better than a Waiting-Woman, living upon a Penſion from the* Spenſers. Thus was the Foundation of their common Deſtruction laid, and begun in the Impotency of a Woman's Will; to ſtrengthen which, they themſelves increas'd her Party with *Adam* Biſhop of *Hereford*, by diveſting him of all his Temporalities, as a Traitor, for having ſupported the *Mortimers* in the Barons Conteſt. This *Adam* was a Man of a ſubtle Wit, profound in Human Policy, daring and factious, who for this Cauſe conceiving the greateſt Indignation, ſoon found Means to become dear to the Queen, and to form a great and ſecret Party: To which *Henry* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who for the like Cauſes had been kept out of his Temporalities about two Years, join'd himſelf. Neither would the Avarice of the *Spenſers* permit them to leſſen the Multitudes of their Enemies; for they ſold the King's Pardons and Favours to ſuch as had been concern'd in the Barons Conteſt at ſuch exceſſive Rates, both of Lands and Mony, that they impoveriſh'd many of the Nobility. In ſum, the Royal Power being in the Hands of the *Spenſers*, and the Chancellor *Baldock*, one of their Creatures and Favourites, this new Faction had the general Diſcontents of the Nation to work upon for their Advantage.

The ſeveral Steps towards King Edward's *Ruin.*

A. D. 1324. Reg. 17/18.

The Queen ſent over to France.

The King being thus govern'd, and having ſent his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* to compoſe the Affairs of *Gaſcony*, the Matter was ſoon brought to this Iſſue; that whereas the King reſolv'd to have gone in Perſon into *France*, the *Spenſers*, who dreaded a Separation from his Perſon, as knowing the Reverence of that to be their only Safeguard, perſuaded the King, contrary to the Opinion of all others, to oblige the Queen in her Requeſts, and ſend her over to negotiate his Affairs with her Brother the *French* King. All this ſhe in a ſhort Time perform'd, and by her Suit and Management all Differences were compos'd, upon Condition that King *Edward* ſhould give to his Son Prince *Edward* the Dukedom of *Gaſcony* and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, for which the King of *France* was willing to accept of his young Nephew's Homage. This being effected, the Prince was ſent over for that Purpoſe to his Mother, to the utter Ruin of the King his Father and all his Favourites: For the Heir of *England* being in foreign Parts, and among the contrary Faction, all their Conſultation was, under Colour of defeating the *Spenſers*, how to accompliſh their own Deſigns. And what ſtrengthen'd their Intereſt was the Arrival of young *Roger Mortimer* from *England*, a Perſon as much in Favour with the Queen as the *Spenſers* were with the King; who having been impriſon'd in the Tower for joining in the late Rebellion, had either corrupted or poiſon'd his Keepers, and made his Eſcape with other Fugitives into *France*. Now the Queen and Prince having perform'd the whole of their Negotiation, the King about *Michaelmas* ſent ſeveral kind Letters and Meſſages to them to deſire them to return into *England*; but the Conſpiracy not being ripe, ſhe deferr'd the Thing upon ſeveral Pretences, and detain'd her Son ſtill. Among many that went over with the young Prince was *Stapleton* Biſhop of *Exeter*, who perceiving the Familiarity between the Queen and *Mortimer* to be greater than was agreeable either to her Honour or Duty, and ſeeing him and other Fugitives enjoy that Privacy in Council that was aſſign'd to himſelf, he return'd ſecretly and unexpectedly into *England*, and faithfully inform'd the King of all that he knew.

Deſigns againſt the King.

A. D. 1325. Reg. 18/19.

The Queen and her Party proclaim'd Traitors.

The unfortunate King *Edward* now clearly ſeeing his Error, by the Greatneſs of his Dangers, earneſtly ſolicited the King of *France* to ſend home the Queen and the Prince; but that not ſucceeding, he imprudently in the City of *London* caus'd them to be proclaim'd Enemies to the Kingdom, baniſhing them and all their Adherents from the ſame. For his greater Security alſo he caus'd the Ports to be carefully watch'd; and beſides this, there was a Deſign laid, as it was ſuppos'd and believ'd, to take away the Lives of the Queen and Prince. The Queen on the other Side, fearing that the *Spenſers* Gold might ruin all her Proceedings in *France*, politickly retir'd out of the Way, 'till with the Prince, the Lord *Mortimer*, and her other Adherents, were arriv'd ſafely in *Hainault*. There were alſo ſome other Reaſons to move Queen *Iſabel* to depart out of *France*, beſides the Danger of Deſigns againſt her Perſon, as to divert and remove a War from her Native Country, which for her Sake began now to be infeſted on the Sea-Coaſts: For Sir *John Oturwin*, Sir *Nicholas Kiried*, and Sir *John Felton*, with the Navy of the Ports, and of other Places, had by Commiſſion from the King ſo ſcoured the narrow Seas, that they within a ſhort Time brought a hundred and twenty *Norman* Ships into *England*, as lawful Prizes. And further, whereas thoſe two Biſhops, which the Pope had ſent over upon her Account, were return'd out of *England*, without doing or hoping to do her any Service, ſhe was fully perſuaded that the Sword or nothing could effect it.

A. D. 1326. Reg. 19/20.

The Queen lands with an Army.

But at *Hainault* ſhe found a hearty and honourable Reception from *William* the Earl of that Country; where, contrary to the Advice and Conſent of the Peers of *England*, ſhe contracted the Prince her Son, then not fourteen Years of Age, to *Philippa*, one of the Earl's Daughters; and with the Mony of her Portion rais'd Soldiers out of *Hainault* and *Germany* for her Service in *England*. Being provided with Men and Veſſels, ſhe embark'd for *England* with her Son, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* the King's Brother, *Roger Mortimer*, and many others who fled out of *England*, and with two thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty ſeven Men at Arms, commanded by *John* the Earl's Brother, ſhe landed at *Harwich* on *Wedneſday* before *Michaelmas* Day, where ſhe was join'd by the Earl-Marſhal, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with ſeveral Barons and Knights, and almoſt all the Prelates, but chiefly with the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Hereford* and *Ely*, who together compos'd a conſiderable Army, which being refreſh'd at St. *Edmund's-Bury*, ſet forwards to meet with all Oppoſers. The unfortunate King, now deſtitute of Friends and Means, as well as Courage and Counſel, demanded Aſſiſtance of the City of *London*, where he receiv'd this Anſwer, *That they would honour and obey the King, Queen and Prince, but would ſhut their Gates againſt all Foreigners and Traitors to the Realm.* The King and his few Friends repoſing no Aſſurance in this Anſwer, committed an Er-

The King flies to the Weſt.

ror worſe than any of his former, by retiring himſelf into the Weſt, with his inſeparable Favourites the *Spenſers*, *Baldock* and others, there to raiſe an Army againſt the Queen. But before his Departure, he left his other Son, the Lord *John* of *Eltham*, in the Tower of *London*, with his Neice the Counteſs of *Glocester* Wife to the younger *Spenſer*, committing the Government of the Tower to Sir *John Weſton*, who was well provided with Men and Ammunition. He alſo by Proclamation commanded all Men to kill and deſtroy the Queen's Adherents, none excepted but her ſelf, the Prince, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*; and that none upon Pain of Death, and Forfeiture of Eſtates, ſhould any ways aid or aſſiſt them; and that whoever brought him the Head of the Lord *Mortimer*, ſhould be rewarded with a thouſand Pounds. Thus the King took his final Leave of the City of *London*, and in a great Meaſure of his Rule and Dominion.

The Queen's Power increaſes.

She purſues the King.

On the contrary Side the Queen in a ſhort Time gather'd a very conſiderable Force, which to retain, as well as to encreaſe, Letters and Rumours were diſpers'd in all Parts, declaring, That the King of *France*, to aid his Siſter, had got ready ſo many Dukes, Earls and others, that *England* could ſcarce maintain them. This falſe Report had great Effect upon ſuch as depended upon the Force of Arms; but to thoſe whom the Power of Religion might move, it was as ſubtlely, tho' as falſely ſpread abroad, That the Pope had excommunicated all ſuch as had taken up Arms againſt the Queen; and the more to countenance the Faction, that two Cardinals imploy'd about that Affair were ſeen in the Queen's Camp. Beſides theſe, it was proclaim'd, That the Cauſes of the Queen's Arrival were only to deliver the Nation from the King's Evil Counſellors, which were nam'd to be the two *Spenſers*, *Robert Baldock* Lord Chancellor, and their Favourites; all others were to be ſafe; that nothing ſhould be taken from any Subject without paying ready Mony, and a Penalty was impos'd on all who acted contrary, as for the Value of three Pence to loſe a Finger, ſix Pence the Hand, and twelve Pence the Head; and finally whoſoever brought the younger *Spenſer*'s Head to the Queen, ſhould have two thouſand Pounds Reward. With theſe outward Shews of Juſtice and Reaſon, the Queen with her Son and whole Army purſu'd the King, as it had been agreed in a Council of War, marching firſt into the City of *Oxford*; where the Biſhop of *Hereford*, the Queen's chief Counſellor, preach'd before her, the Army and the Univerſity, believing the Cauſe of her Proceedings, and taking for his Text, *My Head, my Head aketh*; from whence he concluded, contrary to the Rules of Phyſick, as well as Precepts of Divinity, that an aking and ſick Head of a Kingdom was of Neceſſity to be taken off, and not otherwiſe to be cur'd. In the mean Time the *Londoners* in Favour of the Queen, and Hatred of the *Spenſers*, committed horrid Outrages, beſides inhuman Sacrilege in cutting off the Biſhop of *Exeter*'s Head, and ſome others, whom the King had left Guardians of the City, among whom was a Citizen of their own *John de Marchal*, an Acquaintance of the younger *Spenſer*. They alſo got the Tower into their Poſſeſſion, placing and diſplacing the Garriſon and Officers at their Pleaſure, under the Name of the Lord *John* of *Eltham*, the King's ſecond Son, whom they proclaim'd *Cuſtos* of the City and the Kingdom. They alſo ſet at Liberty all Priſoners, which by the popular Queen's Commands was done throughout the Nation; and all Exiles and Fugitives were recall'd, who all flocking to the City of *London*, made no ſmall Addition to her Forces.

The King retires to Wales.

Old Spenſer *executed.*

The miſerable King had now the clamorous Effects of ill Counſels calling too loud upon him; yet found no Way left to recover or repair the Misfortunes to which thoſe Errors had reduc'd him. Where-ever he went he found but few Subjects, for thoſe with their Hearts were loſt before; but being led on by uncertain Advices, after many Motions, as various as his former Humour, he took Shipping with a few Friends, intending for the Iſle of *Lundy*, or *Ireland*; but having ſuſtain'd much Damage at Sea, he came on Shore in *Glamorganſhire*, where he entruſted himſelf to God, and the Faith of the *Welſh*, who ſtill retain'd their former Love to him, lying ſecret amongſt them in the Abby of *Nethe*. In the mean Time the Queen with increaſing Forces, and reſtleſs Revenge, purſu'd her flying Husband and Sovereign; and from *Oxford* march'd directly to *Gloceſter*, and from thence to *Briſtol*; which being fortify'd as well as the Time would permit, was committed by the King to the Care of the Earl of *Arundel*, and the elder *Spenſer*. But this Place ſoon yielded to that Succeſs, which ſeem'd to deny all Hopes to the King's declining Condition. Old *Spenſer* was there taken and executed upon the common Gallows with all the Rigour that Revenge and Conqueſt could invent: And with as much Contempt of Law, as he and his Son had formerly ſhew'd. They condemn'd him without Tryal; and prevented his natural End, which could not have been long, being then near ninety Years of Age.

Prince Edward *made* Cuſtos *of the Kingdom.*

The King is taken.

Young Spenſer *executed.*

The King having lain conceal'd for ſome Time, Proclamations were daily iſſu'd from the Queen's Army, declaring, *That if King* Edward *would come in and conform himſelf to the Laws and Government of the Nation, he ſhould be reſtor'd by the general Conſent of the People.* But the King, not daring to truſt to this Declaration, kept himſelf ſtill conceal'd with *Spenſer*; upon which the Queen with her Forces and Friends at *Hereford* undertook to diſpoſe of the Government, and by the Conſent of the Lords and Community of *England*, Prince *Edward* was made *Cuſtos* or Guardian of the Kingdom, and had Fealty ſworn to him accordingly; the Biſhop of *Norwich* was made Chancellor of the Realm, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Treaſurer. But the King's Perſon was ſtill too great to be kept long in ſecret; for the revengeful Eyes of the late Earl of *Lancaſter*'s Brother, with ſome others, ſoon diſcover'd him in his Retirement; and by the Force of Mony and Arms they got him into their Poſſeſſion, together with the younger *Spenſer*, Chancellor *Baldock*, and *Simon de Reding*. The King was convey'd by the Earl from the Place of his Captivity to *Monmouth*, to *Ledbury*, and ſo to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth* in *Warwickſhire*, belonging to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to whoſe Cuſtody he was committed: The other three, *Spenſer*, *Baldock* and *Reding*, were ſtrongly guarded to *Hereford*, there to be diſpos'd at the Pleaſure of their moſt mortal Enemies. Before their Arrival, the Earl of *Arundel* with ſome others were beheaded, chiefly to oblige *Mortimer*, who now govern'd the Queen's Affections as well as Affairs. The younger *Spenſer* was carry'd along, only to grace the Queen's triumphant March; and, as the chief Cauſe of her taking Arms, he was render'd a moſt contemptible Spectacle, and expos'd in a fitting Poſture, to increaſe the Scorns and Reproaches that uſually attend ſuch miſerable Objects. But he was ſoon eas'd of his Sufferings, and receiv'd Sentence of Death from the Judge *William Truſſel*; then being ignominiouſly dragg'd to the Place of Execution, he was hung upon a Gallows fifty Foot high, and after that beheaded and quarter'd; they who brought him to the Queen having their promis'd Reward of two thouſand Pounds. His Head was ſet up at *London*, and his Quarters in four Parts of the Kingdom; and *Simon de Reding* was hang'd ten Foot lower than he in the ſame Place. This Execution was done on a *Monday*, in Revenge of the Death of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, whoſe Blood was ſhed on that Day. As to Chancellor *Baldock*, he was committed to the Biſhop of *Hereford*'s Care, who brought him to *London*; where the tumultuous People took him by Violence, and tho' he was a Biſhop, thruſt him into *Newgate*, where he dy'd miſerably.

A. D. 1327. Reg. 20.

Articles againſt King Edward.

He is declar'd no King.

After ſome Stay at *Hereford*, the Queen came to *London* with her Son *Edward*, and her Favourite *Mortimer*; where ſhe was receiv'd with as many Teſtimonies of Joy and Satisfaction, as could ariſe from two ſuch great Cauſes, as the Misfortunes of her Husband, and her own Succeſs. A Parliament or Convention was then ſummon'd, which was held the next Day after the *Epiphany*; where it was adjudg'd and declar'd, That King *Edward* was unfit to govern the Kingdom any longer, for theſe Reaſons: Firſt, 'For that in all his Reign he has been 'miſ-led and govern'd by others, who gave him evil 'Counſel to the Diſhonour of Himſelf, and the Deſtru'ction of the Church and his People, not conſidering or 'knowing whether it was Good or Evil; nor would re'medy theſe Things when he was petition'd by the chief 'Men of his Kingdom, nor ſuffer them to be redreſs'd. 'Secondly, He would not ſubmit to good Counſel, 'nor the good Government of his Kingdom; but neg'lecting the Buſineſs of the Realm, gave himſelf to 'Works and Employments unbecoming his Station. 'Thirdly, For want of good Government he loſt the 'Kingdom of *Scotland*, and other Territories in *Gaſcony* 'and *Ireland*, which his Father had left to him in a peace'able State. Fourthly, By his Pride and Cruelty he de'ſtroy'd the Holy Church, and her chief Miniſters, im'priſoning ſome, and diſtreſſing others; and alſo execu'ted, impriſon'd, baniſh'd, and diſinherited many great 'and noble Men of the Land. Fifthly, Whereas he 'was bound by Oath to do Juſtice to all, he only obſerv'd 'his own Profit, and the Avarice of his wicked Coun'ſellors; nor did he regard the other Points of his Coro'nation Oath. Sixthly, He abandon'd his Kingdom, 'and endeavour'd to deſtroy it and his People; and what 'was worſe, by the Cruelty and Default of his Perſon, 'he was become incorrigible without Hopes of Amend'ment. All which were ſo notorious, as not to be gainſaid. For theſe Reaſons he was declar'd no King, and his Son appointed to be crown'd, which was proclaim'd in the great Hall of *Weſtminſter*, with the univerſal Conſent of the People there preſent; and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made a Sermon upon this Text, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of God*, exhorting all there preſent to invoke the King of Kings for the Perſon they had then choſen.

The Queen, when ſhe heard of this heavy Sentence, of depoſing her Husband, ſeem'd to ſink under the Weight ſhe was to bear, and to act the Part of a tender and dutiful Wife; but ſhe who had reduc'd him to that Condition cou'd ſcarcely with feign'd Tears and Lamentations perſuade others to believe that ſhe really deplor'd it. Beſides that unjuſtifiable Paſſion for *Mortimer*, which had ſo long and ſo violently govern'd her, was a convincing Proof that there was not Kindneſs enough left for her unhappy Huſband to cauſe a ſincere Grief for his Calamities. The Prince her Son, either mov'd by that ſpecious Shew of Sorrow, which might eaſily deceive his innocent Youth, or rather urg'd by his own natural and generous Temper, ſolemnly vow'd, That he would never accept of the Crown but by his Father's Conſent. Upon which Commiſſioners were ſent to the King at *Kenelworth* Caſtle, conſiſting of three Biſhops, two Earls, two Barons, two Abbots, and two Juſticiaries; among whom was Judge *Truſſel*, Proxy to the whole Parliament. The Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford* went before to prepare and perſuade the King to reſign the Crown; and as Promiſes frequently exceed Performances, they aſſur'd him, *He ſhould live more happy than before, and that in Effect he ſhould only reſign his Cares, and enjoy an undiſturb'd Quiet and Plenty.* On the other Side they threatned, *That if he refus'd to Grant what the People would certainly Take, and which was deſir'd of him to ſatisfie his Son, he could not prevent his own Fate, but would bring Misfortunes upon his Poſterity; for in that Caſe the People would chuſe a King that had no Relation to his Blood.*

He is perſuaded to reſign.

Upon the Arrival of the Commiſſioners, who were to receive his Reſignation, the poor diſpirited King came forth cloath'd in deep Mourning anſwerable to his Sorrows; and at the Sight of that Power which was to take away his, he could ſupport himſelf no longer, but ſunk with the Weight of his Afflictions down to the Ground. But after ſome Time being reviv'd and recover'd, the Biſhop of *Hereford* deliver'd to him the ſubject Matter of their Commiſſion, with the fatal Conſequences of his Non-Compliance, which muſt involve his Son and Poſterity in his own unhappy Condition. Upon which the King being greatly dejected, told them, *That he ſubmitted to all Things with the more Patience, becauſe his Crimes and Offences had caus'd the Miſery that was fallen upon him; yet it was a moſt afflicting Thought to him, That his People ſhould retain ſuch Hatred againſt him, as not to endure him any longer for their Sovereign: But if his Condition would admit of any Conſolation, it muſt proceed from the Kindneſs they had ſhewn to his Son, which he could not but gratefully acknowledge.* This ſaid, they proceeded to the ſhort Ceremony of his Reſignation, which principally conſiſted in the Surrender of his Diadem and Enſigns of Majeſty to the Uſe of his Son the new King. For the Form of it, this being the firſt known in *England*, they could follow no Precedent, but were obliged to make one, and Judge *Truſſel* put it into the Stile of Law to render it more Authentick, and pronounc'd it after this Manner, ‘ *I* William Truſſel *in the Name of all the* ‘ *Men of the Land of* England, *and of all the Parliament* ‘ *Procurator, reſign to Thee* Edward *the Homage that was* ‘ *made to Thee ſometime; and from this Time forwards, I* ‘ *defy Thee and prive Thee of all Royal Power; and I ſhall* ‘ *never be Attendant on Thee as King after this Time.* Which being done, Sir *Thomas Blunt* Knight, Steward of the Houſhold, by breaking his Staff, reſign'd his Office, and declar'd that the late King's Family was diſcharg'd. This was done upon the twenty ſecond Day of *January*, in the forty third Year of his Age, after an unfortunate and diſhonourable Reign of nineteen Years, ſix Months, and fifteen Days.

The Manner of his Reſignation.

Here ended all the Power and Sovereignty of King *Edward* the Second, which dropt from him without thoſe violent Struggles that uſually attend ſuch Conteſts; and in our Hiſtory this is the firſt Inſtance where a King fell with ſo little Honour, and ſo great Infidelity, that found neither Sword nor Tongue to aſſert his Right. Tho' *England* had indur'd great Miſeries and Afflictions through the Violence and Ambition of ſome of her Kings, yet ſhe had been govern'd by Men, and thoſe Troubles were incident to vigorous Diſpoſitions; but under this King, who could neither gain nor keep, the Nation ſuſtain'd all thoſe Calamities that could proceed from the Weakneſſes and Levities of a Child. His very Nature was ſo paſſive and complying, that he ſeemed not only to have been govern'd, but even actuated by his Favourites, who directed and carry'd him as they pleas'd, commanded his Perſon and Kingdom, and only made uſe of his Name to colour and countenance their Villanies. For this Prince was not, like ſome of the former, ruin'd by a violent graſping at unlawful Power; but by meanly ſubjecting himſelf to the Power and Guidance of Others: And as Pride, Obſtinacy and Ambition were the Vices that embroyl'd ſome of the former Reigns; ſo Eaſineſs, Complacency, and Submiſſion or rather Subjection were the Ruin of this: Which cannot ſo much be call'd Vices in themſelves, as they became ſo, in being unfortunately placed. In ſhort he was more weak than wicked, and his Exorbitancies met with as great, or greater in his People. He was too much given to Drink, but remarkable for his Continence; and he left ſome Remains of his Charity and Piety behind him, having founded *Oriel* College and St. *Mary-Hall* in *Oxford*, and built a Church for Friars at his Manor of *Langley*.

His Character.

In the Beginning of this King's Reign all the Knights *Templars* throughout *England* were at once arreſted, and committed to Priſon. They were a famous Order of Knights inſtituted by *Baldwin* King of *Jeruſalem* about two hundred Years before, and firſt appointed for the Defence of that City, and the ſafe Conduct of thoſe that travelled thither. Afterwards they were diſpers'd through all the Kingdoms of Chriſtendom, and by the pious Munificence of Princes and others, enrich'd with infinite Poſſeſſions, which caus'd them to degenerate from their firſt Inſtitution, and to become exorbitantly vicious and ſcandalous. So that all the Kings of Chriſtendom at the ſame Time joyning together, caus'd them to be apprehended within their Dominions, and to be depriv'd both of their Order and Eſtates. Being firſt condemn'd in a general Council held at *Vienna*, their Eſtates were afterwards given to another Order of Knights call'd *Hoſpitalers*.

The Deſtruction of the Knights Templars.

SECT. III.

The Reign of King EDWARD *the Third.*

Containing 50 Years, 4 Months, and 27 Days.

A.D. 1327. Reg. 1.

I. THE Wounds and Weakneſſes which the Publick ſuſtain'd in the Reign of King *Edward* the Second, were in a few Years cur'd by that of his mighty Son; and the *Engliſh* Nation not only recover'd Vigour and Strength, but alſo Beauty and Glory: But the Worth and Grandeur of this Prince did not immediately appear, he being not full fifteen Years of Age at his Father's Reſignation, and therefore continu'd under the Tuition and Government of others. Shortly after the Depoſition and Reſignation of the old King, great Preparations were made for this young Prince's Coronation, and he was firſt proclaim'd King by Order and Conſent of Parliamen ton the twenty fifth Day of *January*. And immediately after Writs were iſſu'd out to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom to proclaim the new King's Peace, in which he declar'd to the People *That his Father the late King had, by the Advice and Conſent of the Nobility and Community of the Realm, made a free and voluntary Reſignation of his Regal Dignity to him, as being his Eldeſt Son, and Heir to the Kingdom.* Upon *Sunday* the firſt of *February*, this youthful Hero was firſt girded with the Sword of Knighthood by the Hands of his Couſin *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, and then crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by *Walter Reginald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with great Solemnity: And as an Earneſt of the numerous Benefits of his ſucceeding Reign, a general Pardon was proclaim'd; which gave Occaſion to ſucceeding Kings to grant the like at their Acceſſion to the Crown, in Imitation of ſo renown'd an Example. But by reaſon of his unripe Years, twelve of the chief Nobility were appointed as Guardians to Him and the Kingdom, 'till he ſhould be of Age, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Hereford* and *Worceſter*, the two Earls of *Norfolk* and *Kent*, both Uncles to the King, and five Barons, *Warren*, *Wake*, *Piercy*, *Ingham* and *Roſs*. But the Queen and the Lord *Mortimer* notwithſtanding uſurp'd this Charge, and in a great meaſure took all to themſelves; and the Queen's Dowry was ſo unreaſonably enlarg'd, that the King her Son had ſcarce a Third Part of the Crown Revenues to himſelf; of which *Mortimer* made great Advantage, to advance his Creatures, and eſtabliſh his own Authority and Grandeur.

King Edward *the Third crowned.*

His Guardians.

Before the Affairs of *England* were fully eſtabliſh'd, *Robert* King of *Scotland*, tho' decay'd and infirm, remembring how much he had ſuffer'd from this young King's Grandfather, notwithſtanding the Peace agreed on three Years before, reſolv'd to take Advantage of the unſettled Times, and invade the Kingdom of *England*; and accordingly about *Eaſter*, he ſent the Earl of *Murray* and Sir *James Douglas* with an Army into *England* to waſte and ravage the Country, according to their former Methods of Invaſion. On the other Side young *Edward*, inflam'd with a

The Scots *invade* England.

Deſire

The King prepares againſt them.

Deſire of revenging the diſhonourable Defeats in his Father's Reign, and being inform'd of the *Scotch* Deſigns, by the Advice of his Council publiſh'd his Proclamations, commanding all Noblemen and others to be well appointed according to their Ranks and Degrees, and to attend him at the City of *York* on *Aſcenſion*-Day. He alſo ſent to the Lord *John Beaumont*, Brother to the Earl of *Hainault*, whom the Queen had brought over from the *Low-Countries*, requeſting his Company and Aſſiſtance in this Expedition, and that he would be at *York* at the appointed Time, with what Men of Arms he could procure. To which the Lord *Beaumont* readily comply'd; and gathering together out of *Hainault*, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Artois* and other Places many brave Noblemen and Knights to accompany him, conſiſting of five hundred Men at Arms, all gallantly appointed and mounted, he arriv'd at the City of *York* three Days before *Whitſuntide*, where he found the young King, the Queen his Mother, and all his Lords, and a powerful Army, attending his Coming. Shortly after their Arrival, there happen'd a great and unhappy Conteſt between ſome of the Archers of the *Engliſh* Army, and the Servants of the Foreigners, begun and promoted, as it was believ'd, by ſome Male-contents, Friends to the *Spenſers* and the late Earl of *Arundel*, which not only caus'd the ſhedding of ſome Blood in the Army, but alſo became a great Impediment in the deſign'd Expedition. The Occaſion of the Quarrel was found to be in the *Engliſh*, which tho' by the King's Care it was with ſome Difficulty appeas'd, yet it was an ominous Preſage of the ill Succeſs of that Enterprize; and becauſe in the Minds of ſome of the Parties offended there ſtill remain'd ſome ſecret Reſentments, it happen'd that all the promiſing Endeavours of the King of *England* came at that Time to little or no Effect.

After ſix Weeks Continuance in and about *York*, King *Edward*, hearing that the *Scots* were enter'd *England*, left that Place, and with his Barons and Forces, and the Lord *Beaumont* and his Men, march'd to the City of *Durham*. Before which Time, notwithſtanding the Care of the Earl-Marſhal at *Newcaſtle*, and the Lord *Mowbray* at *Carliſle*, the *Scots* had paſs'd the River *Tyne* with an Army conſiſting of four thouſand Men at Arms, Knights and Eſquires well mounted, and a thouſand others arm'd after their Country Faſhion, upon ſmall inconſiderable Horſes, beſides their Forces on Foot. King *Edward* being inform'd of this, and the Devaſtations they made, immediately gave Command for every Man to diſlodge, and follow the Lord Marſhal's Banner;

He marches againſt them.

and thus prepar'd, he with his mighty Army advanc'd towards the Enemy, with no better Guide to direct him, than the Smoak of their Burnings. At length he found them incamp'd in *Stanhope* Park, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, where he ſtrongly beleagur'd them on every Side, and ſo confin'd them for the Space of fifteen Days, that their Proviſions fail'd them; and being much weaken'd with Hunger, they were conſtrain'd to invent a Way for their Eſcape. And therefore they prepar'd great Numbers of Fleaks, Hurdels and Faggots,

They make their Eſcape.

by the help of which, in the following Night, they and their Horſes paſſed ſafely out of the Park, over a deep and mooriſh Ground, which by the Negligence or Treachery of ſome great Men in King *Edward*'s Army was left undefended, and with all Speed and Secrecy fled from the Sight of the *Engliſh* to the next Mountains. King *Edward*, inrag'd at their Eſcape, with his whole Army purſu'd them from Place to Place for many Days together; but could not diſcover them, 'till after a Proclamation of a hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and the Honour of Knighthood, to be given to any who would bring certain Intelligence where they were encamp'd, he was inform'd by One who had labour'd for that Purpoſe, that they were lodg'd in a certain Mountain, ſix Miles from his Camp, and attended his Coming with a Deſign to give him Battel. Upon this pleaſing Account, the King and his Army, having perform'd all Acts of Devotion, and refreſh'd themſelves and Horſes, follow'd this new made Knight as their Guide through difficult Paſſages, and about Noon arriv'd within Sight of their Enemies.

As the *Engliſh* had the greater Army, ſo the *Scotch* had the Advantage of the Ground, having drawn up their Men in the Deſcent of the Mountain, where a great River ran between the *Engliſh* and them, ſo full of large Rocks and Stones, that the *Engliſh* could not paſs over to them without the greateſt Hazards; nor was there any Room between the *Scotch* and the River for the *Engliſh* to draw up in Battalia. King *Edward* therefore, after a Council of War, by his Heralds made theſe Propoſals to the *Scots*,

King Edward offers them Battel.

That if they would paſs the River and fight with him in the plain Field, he would freely retire 'till he had left them ſufficient Space to range their whole Army, that Day, or when they pleas'd; or elſe upon the like Offer, he would come over to them. But the *Scots* would accept of neither, ſending this Anſwer to the King of *England*, *That ſince the* Engliſh *were three Times more numerous than they, it would be the higheſt Indiſcretion for them to abandon that Ground they had choſen for their Defence: And ſince the* Engliſh *were not ignorant in whoſe Dominions they were, and what Waſte they had made, they might correct them if they could, for they would ſtay there as long as they thought fit.* Upon this Anſwer, King *Edward* order'd his Men to continue there the Night following, and they were forc'd to lye upon the Ground and hard Stones in their Armour, without any Conveniency for their Horſes or themſelves; and thus the two Armies continu'd in Sight of each other for three Days, being neither of them deſirous to fight, by reaſon of the Danger in paſſing the River. On the fourth Day, the *Engliſh* perceiving that the *Scots* had left the Mountain by Night, and being inform'd that they were lodg'd on another by the ſame River Side, more advantagious than the former by reaſon of a neighbouring Wood, they immediately decamp'd and lodg'd themſelves upon another Hill over-againſt the *Scots*, where the two Armies being drawn up, made fair ſhews of a Battel; but neither durſt run the Hazard of paſſing the River. Thus they continu'd for the Space of eighteen Days, during which Time, ſome of both Parties often broke out, and ſkirmiſh'd with each other, to the Death and Captivity of many; and the King of *England* by his Heralds renew'd his former Propoſal of accommodating them with convenient Ground to fight on, or to accept of the like from them; but the *Scots* continuing in their firſt Reſolution, would conſent to nothing of that Nature.

They refuſe.

A brave Attempt.

Among other Occurrences that happen'd during this Time, the brave and courageous Attempt of the Lord *James Douglas* ought not to be forgotten, who in the Night Time with two hundred extraordinary Horſemen paſs'd the River ſome Diſtance from the *Engliſh* Army, and notwithſtanding the Watch, ſuddenly broke into the Camp, and ſlew divers of the Army without Reſiſtance; then riding up to the King's Tent, cut ſome of the Cords of it, and ſlew the King's Chaplain who valiantly defended his Maſter, from whence he retir'd with the Loſs of a few Men to his own Army. From this Time the *Engliſh* were more careful in their Watch, and the moſt Part lay every Night in their Arms, to prevent the like Attempts; and tho' the *Scots* were a hardy People, enduring Hunger, Cold and Labour, and ſatisfy'd with a mean and ſpare Diet, yet at this Time wanting all Proviſions, and loſing all Hopes of further Succeſs this Campaign, they reſolv'd to break up with all convenient Speed, and return to their proper Habitations; and therefore, after they had waſted all that might be uſeful to the *Engliſh*, they privately retir'd at Midnight, and got ſafe into their own Country.

The Scots retire home.

In the mean Time the King of *England* and his Lords, highly diſſatisfy'd at this Diſappointment, took Counſel what was beſt to be done; and duly conſidering that the Soldiers were fatigu'd with frequent Removals, Hunger, Wet, Cold, ill Lodgings and hard Paſſages, and that their Horſes were weaken'd for Want of Conveniences and good Proviſions, they concluded that it would be to no Advantage to purſue the *Scots* any further. And having ſpent above a Month in an uſeleſs Purſuit, the King repair'd with his Army to *Durham*, and within three Days after to *York*, where he found the Queen his Mother, and divers other noble Ladies, who receiv'd him and his Company with great Joy. Here the King gave leave to all Soldiers to return to their Habitations, and diſmiſs'd the Lord *Beaumont* and all his Retinue and Attendance with munificent Rewards for all former Services.

The King not ſucceſsful.

And thus the mighty Preparation which King *Edward* and his Friends had made for the Ruin of the ſmall *Scotch* Army, came to little Effect; and this young King, born for Victories and Triumphs, was depriv'd of the Honour of his firſt Action; the ill Succeſs of which was afterwards charg'd upon the Lord *Mortimer*, who is ſaid to have kept private Intelligence with the Enemy, and to have ſuffer'd them to eſcape without Damage.

The Sufferings of the late King.

During theſe Tranſactions in the North, the old depoſed King remain'd cloſe Priſoner at *Kenelworth* Caſtle in *Warwickſhire*, with an Allowance of a hundred Marks a Month for his Expences; but depriv'd of all other Human Comforts, eſpecially the Company of his Queen, whom he ſtill lov'd intirely, tho' ſhe was the great Cauſe of his Ruin. All his ſoft and tender Invitations by Letters were fruſtrated by the Vigilance of *Mortimer*, who conſented to her ſending civil Anſwers and Suits of Apparel, but perſuaded her, *That his Deſign was only to murder her, if he could get her into his Power.* This great Neglect caus'd him with many Sighs to ſay to his Keepers, *Wherein have I offended my Wife and my Son, whom they have made King; that neither of them will let me ſee their Faces?*

The Nation pities him.

But in a ſhort Time the Nation began ſenſibly to reflect upon his ſad Fate, calmly to conſider the Pretences of his Enemies, and to contrive how they might be kind to him, and prevent further Miſchiefs. His chief Keeper alſo, the Earl of *Lancaſter*, began to be every Way obliging to him, highly commiſerating his deplorable State, and many Lords and Others thought upon Means to deliver him out of his Captivity.

The Notice or rather Suſpicion of this extreamly ſtartled *Mortimer* and the Queen, and all the chief Actors in this Tragedy, who reviewing all their former Actions, and dreading the old King's Liberty as their own inevitable Ruin, immediately reſolv'd to remove him from *Kenelworth* Caſtle, and appointed him two new Keepers, *Thomas Gournay* and *John Maltravers* Knights, Perſons of a rough and incompaſſionate Temper. Theſe two impious Agents had Commiſſion to enter any Fortreſs and Caſtle in the Kingdom; and by them he was remov'd from *Kenelworth*, and hurry'd about in the Night from one Place to another, as firſt to the Caſtle of *Corſe* in *Dorſetſhire*, then to *Briſtol* Caſtle, and at length to *Barkley* Caſtle in *Glocesterſhire*; and all this to diſappoint his Friends, and to prevent their Aſſiſtance. In his Paſſage to *Barkley* Caſtle they us'd the moſt horrid Indignities to him, and the more to diſguiſe him from any Man's Knowledge they ſhav'd his Head and Beard; which was done in the open Fields, by the Commandment of *Gournay*, who caus'd the miſerable King to ſit on a Mole-Hill while the Barber ſhav'd him, who uſing cold Water out of a Ditch told him, *That that ſhould ſerve him for this Time*; to which he mournfully reply'd, *That they ſhould not hinder him of warm Water to his ſhaving*, and therewithal let fall a Shower of Tears that overflow'd his Face and Beard.

He is ſhamefully treated,

At *Barkley* Caſtle they proceeded to greater Inhumanities and more barbarous Uſages, endeavouring to deſtroy him by unheard-of Contrivances: But being fruſtrated in their Deſigns by his Strength of Body and Fortitude of Mind, they deſir'd freſh Inſtructions from ſome at Court, who directly intimated the Neceſſity of removing him; only the ſubtle Biſhop of *Hereford* is ſaid to have ſent them this dark ambiguous Line, *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt*, at once incouraging the Murder, and reſerving an Excuſe for himſelf. However to remove all Difficulties, upon the twenty ſecond Day of *September*, finding him in his Bed, they preſs'd heavy Bolſters and Pillows upon his Head, and through a ductile Pipe thruſt up a red hot Iron into his Bowels and Body; and in this cruel Manner murder'd him, that no Wound or Mark of a violent Death might be found upon him. For the Body being afterwards view'd by many conſiderable Citizens of *Briſtol* and *Glocester*, ſummon'd thither for that Purpoſe, they could find no Sign either of Wound or Poiſon; ſo that their Evidence confirm'd the Report ſpread abroad, that he dy'd of the Extremity of Grief. Thus fell the unfortunate King *Edward* the Second, who, for his meek and pious Behaviour under his Afflictions, was afterwards reputed a Saint. This happen'd about eight Months after he was depos'd; and his Body was carry'd to *Glocester*, where without any Funeral Pomp it was bury'd in St. *Peter*'s Minſter by the *Benedictine* Friars. Afterwards his Son erected to his Memory a fair Monument with his Portraiture of Alabaſter, in the ſecond Arch and the North Side of the Altar, between two Pillars of the *Tuſcan* Order, about which are painted the Figures of ſeveral Stags, with which, as common Fame tells us, his Corps was drawn thither from *Barkley* Caſtle. After this execrable Parricide the immediate Agents *Gournay* and *Maltravers*, inſtead of receiving Rewards, met with ſuch terrible Threats from the Queen and Biſhop of *Hereford*, that they were forc'd to fly beyond Sea to ſecure their deteſted Lives. *Gournay*, after three Years Exile, was taken and ſent for *England*, but in his Paſſage had his Head ſtruck off; and *Maltravers* fled into *Germany*, where in Repentance he had Time to waſte a miſerable Life. But Heaven's Vengeance did not ſtop at the Lives of the chief Contrivers, but afterwards reach'd to the whole Kingdom; and what happen'd to the Progeny of the preſent Prince, whoſe Throne (tho' perhaps without his Guilt) was erected upon his Father's Blood, the many imbru'd Scaffolds, the various bloody Fields, the infinite Slaughters occaſion'd by their divided Families, with the extirpated Race of moſt of this preſent Nobility, will abundantly teſtify.

and barbarouſly murder'd.

The Puniſhments of his Murderers.

A.D.
1328.
Reg. 2.

King Edward *married.*

II. Young *Edward* having now a Title to the Crown of *England* beyond all Diſpute, by the Advice of his Mother and others ſolemniz'd the Marriage between himſelf and the beautiful Lady *Philippa*, the Earl of *Hainault*'s youngeſt Daughter, to whom he had formerly been contracted. The Ceremony was perform'd at *York* on the twenty fourth Day of *January*; and on the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent* the young Queen was crow'd at *Weſtminſter* with great Pomp and Glory, and the Coronation was ſucceeded by all Kinds of magnificent Rejoycings for three Weeks after. In *Whitſund* Week a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, in which King *Edward* firſt mov'd about his Title to the Crown of *France*; for *Charles* King of *France*, Brother to his Mother *Iſabel*, being lately dead without Male Iſſue; notwithſtanding that King *Edward* acknowledged the *Salick* Law which excluded Females Inheritance, yet he maintain'd this Point, That the Sons of the Daughters having no ſuch Imbecility of Sex, were not uncapable, and that the Peers of *France* ought to prefer him, who was a Male, and Grand-Child to King *Philip*, before *Philip* of *Valois*, whom they had lately advanc'd, tho' he was but a Nephew.

King Edward*'s firſt Claim to* France.

In this Parliament a diſhonourable Peace was concluded between the Kingdom of *England* and *Scotland*, chiefly manag'd by the old Queen and *Mortimer*; by whoſe Contrivance, the better to confirm it, a Marriage was agreed on between *David* Prince of *Scotland*, Son to King *Robert*, and *Joan* Siſter to King *Edward*; which Match, by reaſon of the tender Years of the Prince, who did not exceed ſeven Years of Age, promiſing but little Advantage, was oppos'd by moſt of the Nobility of *England*. Beſides, by the ſecret Management of the Queen-Mother, *Mortimer* and Sir *James Douglas*, the King by his Charter ſurrender'd his Title to the Sovereignty of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and therein releas'd to King *Robert* and his Heirs, all Homages and Fealties that the Kings of *Scotland* by their ſeveral Charters ought to have done to the Crown of *England*. And alſo he deliver'd up divers Deeds, Inſtruments, and Records of their former Homages and Fealties done to the Kings of *England* his Predeceſſors, together with that famous Evidence call'd *Ragman Rowle*, which was ſeal'd and ſign'd by the King of *Scotland* and his Nobility to King *Edward* the Firſt; which contain'd all the ſeveral Services that the King of the *Scots*, and all the Prelates, Earls and Barons of that Kingdom ought to have done to the King of *England* for the Time being; as alſo all the Rights that ſeveral Barons and Knights of *England* ought to have had in the Realm of *Scotland*. At the ſame Parliament were alſo re-deliver'd many ancient Jewels and Monuments, among the reſt the Black Croſs of *Scotland*, which King *Edward* the Firſt brought from the Abby of *Scone*; and many other Things were tranſacted to the Damage and Diſhonour of the Crown of *England*, againſt the Conſent of the *Engliſh* Nobility, by the Procurement of Queen *Iſabel* and her Party, who at that Time ſo manag'd the Affairs of the Kingdom, that both Lords and Commons were highly diſſatisfy'd. In Conſideration of the foreſaid Peace, the intended Marriage, and the diſhonourable Surrenders and Releaſes, together with the Damages done by the *Scots*, it was alſo concluded that King *Robert* ſhould pay thirty thouſand Marks to the King of *England*, within the Space of three Years. And according to Agreement, upon the twenty ſecond Day of *July* the Marriage was ſolemniz'd between *David* Prince of *Scotland* and the Lady *Joan* the King's Siſter, at the Town of *Berwick*, to the great Diſſatisfaction of the Chief of the *Engliſh* Nation. In another Parliament held in *October*, the Lord *Mortimer* procur'd himſelf to be made Earl of *Marche*; at which Time two other Earls were created, the King's Brother *John* of *Eltham* was made Earl of *Cornwall*, and Sir *James Butler* of *Ireland* Earl of *Ormond*. From which Parliament the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and ſome other Peers, ſeeing the King at the Diſpoſal of others, abſented themſelves, and by Arms began to redreſs publick Grievances; but by the wiſe Mediation of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Matters were adjuſted and they reconcil'd to the King.

A diſhonourable Treaty with Scotland.

The King of the Scots *marries King* Edward*'s Siſter.*

A.D.
1329.
Reg. 3.

Within a Year after the Marriage between Prince *David* of *Scotland* and King *Edward*'s Siſter, *Robert* King of that Country, being worn out with his great Infirmity, and ſenſible of approaching Death, caus'd his chief Nobility to be aſſembled in his Chamber, and in the Preſence of all committed to them the Government of his Son *David*, then not fully eight Years of Age: And among many Things touching the Government of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, he gave them theſe politick Inſtructions concerning their Affairs with the *Engliſh*. Firſt, *That they would never appoint any ſet Battel with the* Engliſh, *nor hazard the Realm upon the Chance of one Field, but rather to keep them from invading of their Country by frequent Skirmiſhes, Incurſions, and Intercepting their Forces; that if the* Scots *were defeated, they might ſtill have a reſerve for a new Reſiſtance. Next, That they would not make any laſting Peace with* England, *leſt long Reſt and Inactivity ſhould ſo enervate their Minds and Bodies, as they would not be able to endure great Pains and Labour; and ſince the* Engliſh *would not continue any longer in Peace, than their Want of a convenient Opportunity to attempt a new War, it was ſafeſt for them never to conclude a perpetual Peace with them, nor make any Truce longer than three or four Years. Laſtly, That they would be always mindful, that when there appear'd the leaſt Shew of any intended War from* England, *then to be moſt wary and circumſpect, leaſt their Enemies ſhould invade their Country, and find them unprepar'd for able and timely Reſiſtance.* He ſurviv'd not long after theſe and ſome other Inſtructions, but dy'd of a Leproſie, in the twenty fourth Year of his Reign, leaving his young Son *David* to ſucceed him in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. He was an expert Soldier, valiant and wiſe, and conſidering the innumerable Difficulties he had in gaining and keeping his

King Robert*'s Advice to the* Scots.

His Death.

David *ſucceeds.*

his Kingdom againſt King *Edward* the Firſt, and the Power of *England*, he may well be rank'd in the Number of the braveſt Princes of that Time.

In the mean Time Earl *Mortimer* daily encreas'd in Power and Grandeur, and joining in Intereſt and Affection with the Queen-Mother, diſpos'd of all Offices and Places, and the Treaſure of the Nation; ſo that many great Men envy'd and oppos'd him, but none ſo dangerouſly as the King's Uncle *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, who endeavour'd to reſcue the young King from the exorbitant Power of his Governors. To remove this great Oppoſer, *Mortimer* by his Infernal Artifices and plauſible Accuſations caus'd him to be condemn'd in a Parliament held at *Wincheſter*, for conſpiring to deliver his Brother *Edward* late King of *England*; being by an extraordinary Contrivance drawn into an abſurd Belief that he was ſtill alive, and kept ſecretly in *Corfe* Caſtle. Thus for endeavouring to ſet a dead Man at Liberty the noble Earl of *Kent* had his Head ſtrucken off at *Wincheſter*; and he became ſo diſmal an Object of Pity from Noon 'till Night, at the Place of Execution before the Caſtle Gates, none being found to behead him, 'till a vile Wretch of the Marſhalſea was ſent and did it: So little Conſcience did the Malice and Ambition of his potent Adverſaries make of ſhedding the Royal Blood; yet the Hand of Heav'n ſeem'd to have been upon him for formerly countenancing what was done againſt his Royal Brother; ſo that he loſt his Life in the twenty eighth Year of his Age.

The Earl of Kent *executed.*

King Edward *does Homage for his* French *Territories.*

King *Edward* ſtill under Guardians, in the ſame Year was ſummon'd by the new King of *France* to do Homage to him for *Gaſcony* and other Territories in that Kingdom; which Meſſage was very ungrateful to him: But conſidering the Emergencies of Affairs, he went over into *France* and met the *French* King at *Amiens*; where, to let the *French* ſee what manner of Prince he was, he came ſo royally appointed and attended, as if he deſign'd to have ſtrucken him with Fear, or Admiration, having many Earls, Barons and Knights, and a thouſand Horſe in his Retinue. At the appointed Day, being glorioully attired in Robes of Crimſon Velvet, powder'd with Golden Leopards, his Crown on his Head, his mighty Sword by his Side, and his golden Spurs on his Heels, he did his Homage with a Poſture and Magnificence different from any of his Predeceſſors. This, and the haughty Reception he met withal, occaſion'd a great Envy between the two Kings; and prov'd afterwards an Incentive towards a bloody War.

A.D. 1330. Reg. 4.

At length the Vengeance of Heav'n began to overtake the haughty and ſubtle *Mortimer*, whoſe immoderate Power became a Grievance to the State, and whoſe Familiarity with the Queen-Mother gave Occaſion for ſome to report ſhe was with Child by him. The publick Complaints and the ſecret Whiſpers of ſeveral of the Nobility rous'd up a ſleeping Lion in the young King's Breaſt, ſo that he grew enrag'd at the Proceedings of this ſhining Favourite; for ſuch were *Mortimer*'s Extravagancies that he eclips'd the Royal Youth in outward Pomp and Magnificence, his Perſon being ſurrounded with a more numerous Attendance, and his Authority ſo great that he rais'd Men with his Smiles, and ruin'd them with his Frowns. The vigorous *Edward* awaken'd by theſe Proceedings, at a Parliament held at *Nottingham*, reſolv'd to deſtroy this powerful Man, whoſe Intereſt threaten'd both him and the Publick. Accordingly with the brave *Montague* and a few valiant Followers, he enter'd into *Nottingham* Caſtle by Night, through a ſecret Mine in a Rock, ſince call'd *Mortimer*'s *Hole*, and with ſome little Bloodſhed ſeiz'd upon *Mortimer* with the Queen, tho' he had no leſs than a hundred and eighty Knights in his Retinue, beſides Eſquires and Gentlemen. With him were taken the Lord *Geoffry Mortimer* his Son, and Sir *Simon de Bedford* a great Agent of his; and all three were ſent Priſoners to the Tower of *London* under a ſtrong Guard. This being done, the King by common Conſent of Parliament took into his Hands his Mother's exceſſive Dowry, and reſtrain'd her extravagant Living to a narrow Penſion of three thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, confining her within as narrow Limits for her Abode, but yearly giving her the Honour and Comfort of one or two Viſits; tho' otherwiſe ſcarce thinking her worthy of Life, in regard of her Familiarity with *Mortimer*, and her many heinous Practices.

Mortimer's *Grandeur.*

He is ſeiz'd on.

As to *Mortimer*, fourteen Articles were exhibited againſt him in a Parliament held not long after at *Weſtminſter*, in which he was accus'd of ſeveral grievous Crimes and Offences, particularly, That he had procur'd many exorbitant Grants from the Crown out of *England*, *Wales* and *Ireland*: That he had caus'd the Murder of the late King, and his Brother the Earl of *Kent*; and That he had kept a ſecret Correſpondence with *Scotland*, and had occaſion'd a diſhonourable Treaty with that Nation. Theſe and other Accuſations being exhibited before the Earls and Barons in Parliament, they declar'd their Opinion that his Crimes were notorious and known to themſelves and the People, therefore they adjudg'd, That the ſaid Earl *Mortimer*, as a Traitor and Enemy to the Kingdom, ſhould be drawn and hang'd at the common Gallows at *Tyburn*. This was executed after the moſt opprobrious Manner, and his Body was kept hanging two Days, for a Spectacle of Horror and Diſhonour: And this Sentence he receiv'd without being call'd to any kind of Anſwer; which was a juſt Judgment upon an impious Miniſter who had treated others after the ſame Manner, particularly the two *Spenſers* and the Earl of *Kent*. There dy'd with him Sir *Simon de Bedford*, and *John Deverel* Eſquire, as well for Expiation of the late King *Edward*'s Blood, as in Compliment, as it were, of ſo great a Man's Fall, who in ſuch Caſes ought not to die ſingly. Thus did this noble young Prince, now increaſing in Vigour and Wiſdom, begin to wipe out the Stains which during his Minority had blemiſh'd the State of his Kingdom. And to add to his Felicity, this Year Queen *Philippa* brought forth an admirable Son, nam'd *Edward*, and afterwards for his mighty Acts call'd *The Black Prince*; a Prince who ſeem'd to have been ſent from Heav'n for the Glory and Renown of the *Engliſh* Nation, and to be at once the Delight and Terror of Mankind.

He is condemn'd and executed,

with ſeveral others.

The Black Prince born.

III. The young King *Edward* having taken the Government into his own Hands, ſoon began to diſplay his Vigour and Power; and the firſt Country that felt the Force of his Arms was *Scotland*. For growing ſenſible that the Peace laſt concluded with that Nation was diſhonourable to him and his Kingdom, and conſidering that his Brother-in-Law King *David* was poſſeſs'd of the Town of *Berwick*, which belong'd to the Crown of *England*, and deſiring to receive the uſual Homage for all *Scotland*, he reſolv'd to right himſelf upon the firſt Occaſion, which was ſoon offer'd upon a great Conteſt about the Crown of that Kingdom, which was this *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John Baliol* formerly King of *Scotland*, thirty two Years after his Father's Depoſition, taking Advantage of the Youth of King *David*, and of the Factions among the *Scottiſh* Nobility, by the Solicitation of the Lord *Beaumont* then in *France* with him, ſet his Thoughts upon the Recovery of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and came together with the Lord *Beaumont* over into *England*, and for a ſhort Time continu'd privately with the Lady *Veſcy* at *Sandhall* upon *Ouſe* in *Yorkſhire*, 'till by the Intereſt of the Lord *Beaumont*, the Lord *Talbot*, and others, he was permitted ſecretly to get what Aſſiſtance he could procure in *England* to furniſh him for his intended Enterprize. His Deſigns being known in *England*, many Noblemen and Soldiers repair'd to him, and prepar'd to attend him into *Scotland*; as the Lord *Beaumont*, with an Intent to claim the Earldom of *Bucquhan* in the Right of his Lady, Sir *Gilbert Umfreville* claiming the Earldom of *Angus*, the Lord *Percy* claiming the Earldom of *Galloway*, and *David Strathbolgy* the Earldom of *Athol*; together with the Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *Talbot*, Sir *Geofry Mowbray*, *Walter Comin*, and divers others; who at the Concluſion of the laſt Peace being baniſh'd out of *Scotland*, all reſolv'd to fight for the Recovery of their Lands and Honours then detain'd from them. Beſides *Edward Baliol* had ſeveral Friends in *Scotland*, from whom he receiv'd fair Invitations, and ample Incouragement.

A.D. 1331. Reg. 5.

A new Deſign upon Scotland.

All Things being in Readineſs, and Shipping provided, *Baliol* with his Friends, and two thouſand five hundred well appointed Men, ſet Sail and landed at *Kingcorn*, not far from *Perth*; and to prevent all Hopes of Flight, the Veſſels were ſent back. Upon the Rumour of his Arrival, the *Scots*, to the Number of ten thouſand, had gather'd towards the Shore to hinder his Landing, being conducted by the Earl of *Fife*, but finding all his Men actually on Shore, they ſet furiouſly upon them to deſtroy them. *Baliol* and his brave Adventurers being reduc'd to a Neceſſity of fighting valiantly or dying cowardly, encounter'd their Oppoſers with ſuch Vigour and Magnanimity, that they gave them a ſignal Defeat, and forc'd them to fly diſhonourably, crying out, *That the Enemy was come!* The Earl of *Fife*, wounded both in Body and Mind, deſiring to be reveng'd and to redeem his loſt Honour, with the Aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Caricke*, Natural Son to King *Robert* deceas'd, and the Lord *Seton*, recruited his Forces, and with the ſame Number gave his Enemies a ſecond Battel, but with no better Succeſs than before; for the greateſt Part of his Army was cut in Pieces, except the Captains and Commanders, who ſav'd themſelves by Flight, or were taken Priſoners. Upon this ſecond Victory *Baliol* march'd further into the Country, which he reduc'd as far as the Abby of *Dumferling*, where he found good Store of Proviſion and Ammunition; while the *Scots*, not far off at a Place call'd *Glaſmore*,

A.D. 1332. Reg. 6.

had

The great Succeſs of the new Adventurers.

had another Army prepar'd, conſiſting of forty thouſand Men. Of which *Baliol* being inform'd, he thought it neceſſary to put his ſmall Army in mind of his former great Succeſs, and to uſe many forcible Reaſons to encourage them againſt the Inequality of the Numbers. His Exhortations being ſeconded by the Lord *Veſcy*, the Lord *Stafford*, and Sir *Fulk Warren*, all Men of extraordinary Valour, the Soldiers were inſpired with ſo much Warmth and Vigour, that they a third Time bravely encounter'd their Enemies, and gave them a great and bloody Overthrow. Within five Days after, the *Engliſh* meeting with Sir *Nigel Brus* at *Dupline*, at the Head of ten thouſand Men, they valiantly attack'd him, defeated him, and ſlew moſt of his Men; having made an Order among themſelves to take no Priſoners, becauſe they wanted Men to take Care of them. Theſe four Battels were all fought in a few Days Time, in which, as ſome Writers report, ſixty thouſand *Scots* were ſlain; which happen'd as well by their confus'd Diſorder and want of Diſcipline, as the Valour of the *Engliſh*. The chief Men of the *Scots* ſlain were the Earl of *Marre*, one of the Governors of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Carick*, the Earl of *Murrey*, the Earl of *Mentieth*, *Robert Keith* Marſhal of *Scotland*, Sir *Alexander Seton*, Sir *Alexander Fraſer*, Sir *David Lindſey*, Sir *George Dunbarre*, and many other brave Commanders; while the Earl of *Fife* with ſome few others were taken Priſoners. Of the *Engliſh* Side we read not of any great Man ſlain, beſides two Knights, Sir *John Gordon*, and Sir *Reginald Beche*, and thirty three Eſquires; ſo extraordinary valiant and fortunate were theſe *Engliſh* Adventurers.

Further Succeſſes.

The Lord *Baliol*'s Friends and Soldiers being highly incourag'd with theſe happy Victories, immediately advanc'd towards St. *John*'s *Town* or *Perth*, which they beſieg'd and ſoon took by Force without any great Reſiſtance; where they found Proviſion and Ammunition ſufficient both for their Relief and Defence. From hence *Baliol* ſent all his wounded Men to Sea to be convey'd to *England* and cured there; who in their Voyage met with one *Crabbe*, a *Flemiſh* Pirate and a Friend to the *Scots*, who hating the *Engliſh*, furiouſly ſet upon them with a Deſign to deſtroy every Man. But the *Engliſh*, tho' they were wounded, ſo well defended themſelves, and fought ſo valiantly, that they ſoon defeated *Crabbe* and his Company, and forc'd him to fly to *Scotland*. As he came towards *Perth*, he found the Earl of *Marche*, the other Governor of *Scotland*, and *Archibald Douglas*, with thirty thouſand *Scots* beſieging the Town; to whom he related his bad Succeſs, how the wounded *Engliſh* Men had by their Valour defeated him at Sea, urging further, *That there was but little Expectation of prevailing againſt the Lord* Baliol, *who with his Handful of Men had overthrown ſo many of the* Scotch *Nobility*; *therefore he adviſ'd them to break up the Siege, and in Time to provide for their own Security.* The *Scots*, mov'd with his Perſuaſions, and ſome other Conſiderations, tho' they had fill'd up the Town Ditches, and had a fair Proſpect of taking the Place, by the Direction of the Earl of *Marche*, ſuddenly rais'd the Siege in the Night, and retir'd with great Diſhonour.

Baliol crown'd King of Scotland.

King David flies into France.

The Reputation of theſe frequent and incredible Victories was ſo great, that it brought great Numbers of Lords, Ladies and others to the Lord *Baliol*, who offer'd him their Service and Aſſiſtance, as his Loyal Subjects, towards his Recovery of the Crown of *Scotland*; and there did their Homages and Fealties to him as their Sovereign Lord, for all the Lands and Honours they held. As an Addition to *Baliol*'s Succeſſes, at the ſame Time, ſeveral of the Ports and Cities of *England* at their own Charges ſent a Fleet of Ships towards *Scotland*, to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Lords if there were Occaſion, and to attack the *Scotch* Navy where-ever they could meet with them; which fell out according to their Expectation and Deſire. For they met with them in the Water of *Tay*, where they fought with them and intirely defeated them, took ſome of their Ships, and burnt and ſunk the reſt. All Things thus happily ſucceeding on *Baliol*'s Side, and daily encreaſing in Power, he receiv'd the Oaths of the Earl of *Fiſe*, and the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*; and with them and many others he went to *Scone*, where he was ſolemnly crown'd King on the twenty fourth Day of *September*, and receiv'd the Homages and Fealties of many of the Nobility and Gentry there aſſembled. Before which, young King *David*, to avoid all Dangers, by the Advice of his Council, fled out of his Kingdom into *France*, with Queen *Joan* his Wife, Siſter to the King of *England*; where they were moſt civilly entertain'd by *Philip* King of *France*, and there continu'd for the Space of nine Years.

A.D. 1333. Reg. 7.

King Edward marches againſt the Scots.

In the mean Time, the noble King *Edward*, now at full Age, hearing of the late Coronation of Lord *Baliol*, and the preſent Diviſion of the Nobility of *Scotland*, was highly pleas'd at theſe Tranſactions, ſuppoſing now that he had a fair Opportunity of ſubduing that Kingdom; therefore he reſolv'd to ſhew himſelf openly for *Baliol* againſt *David* his Brother-in-Law. But firſt, to avoid the Imputation of the Breach of Articles, he publickly proclaim'd, That he was not oblig'd to obſerve any League with *Scotland*, that was made in his Minority, againſt his own and the Nation's Conſent. After which he prepar'd to go in Perſon with a powerful Army towards *Scotland*, and march'd with the utmoſt Expedition, deſigning for his firſt Action the Recovery of the important Town of *Berwick*, which he ſtrongly beſieg'd by Sea and Land. After a Month's Siege, there happen'd a great Fire in the Town, which caus'd the Beſieg'd to deſire a Truce, upon Promiſe of ſurrendering it and the Caſtle, if not reliev'd within fifteen Days, and to give twelve Hoſtages for Performance. But before the Time was expir'd, all the Nobility of *Scotland* of King *David*'s Party march'd with a powerful Army under the Conduct of the Lord *Archibald Douglas* their General, as far as the River *Tweed*; but finding it difficult to relieve the Town, they reſolv'd to act by way of Diverſion, and hearing that the young Queen was then at *Bamburgh* Caſtle, they advanc'd towards it with great Speed in hopes to ſurpriſe the Place, but ſtill without Succeſs. Then after ſix Days ravaging of the Country, by the Importunities of the Garriſon of *Berwick*, who perſuaded them to ingage the *Engliſh* Forces, at that Time far leſs numerous than themſelves, they return'd towards the Town, and drew up their Army in four great Battalions, under as many Noblemen. On *Monday* the nineteenth of *July*, King *Edward* march'd out with great Bravery to meet them at the Head of his own Army, and at *Hallidown-Hill*, not far from *Berwick*, he valiantly encounter'd the whole *Scotch* Army, and gave them a total Defeat. In this Battel were ſlain ſeven *Scotch* Earls, nine hundred Knights and Bannerets, and four hundred Eſquires, and of common Soldiers to the Number of two and thirty thouſand and upwards; tho' the *Scotch* Writers will not acknowledge half the Number. Upon this great Victory, within two Days the Beſieg'd ſurrender'd both the Town and Caſtle to the King's Mercy, who kept it in his own Hands, by the Right of Conqueſt, as well as by that deriv'd from his Father and Grand-father. Then obliging *Edward Baliol* by Oath, and ordaining him and ſome Noblemen of *England* to be Governors of the Realm of *Scotland* in his Abſence, he triumphantly return'd with glorious Succeſs into *England*, where he was receiv'd with great Joy by all his Subjects. As to his hanging the Governor of *Berwick*'s Sons contrary to the Law of Arms, and ſome other Severities reported of him by the *Scotch* Writers, we look upon them to be highly improbable, and directly contrary to the Character of this great and generous Prince.

He gives them a great Defeat at Hallidown-Hill,

and takes Berwick.

New Advantages gain'd.

After King *Edward*'s Return, *Baliol* the new King of the *Scots*, at the Head of twenty ſix thouſand Men, moſt of them *Engliſh*, march'd forwards to proſecute his Succeſs into the very Heart of *Scotland*, taking Towns and Caſtles at his Pleaſure; and having paſs'd beyond the Frith of *Edinburgh*, and reduc'd all the ſtrong Places that held out for King *David*, except *Dunbritton*, and a few other Caſtles, he ſummon'd a Parliament about *Michaelmas* to meet him at *Perth* or St. *John*'s Town. Here all thoſe *Engliſh* Lords, who claim'd Eſtates in *Scotland*, repair'd and did their Homage for the reſpective Lands they held under him, reſerving the Allegiance they ow'd to their Sovereign Lord the King of *England*; the Principal of whom were the Lord *Beaumont*, the Earl of *Buchan*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Earl of *Athol*, the Lord *Piercy*, and divers other *Engliſh* Noblemen, who were all reſtor'd to the Honours and Eſtates they claim'd in *Scotland*: And in this Parliament all Acts, Statutes, Ordinances and Grants made by *Robert* or *David Brus*, late Kings of *Scotland*, were declar'd null and void. And thus *David* was ſeemingly depriv'd of his Kingdom, and *Edward Baliol* in all Appearance plac'd in the Throne of *Scotland*. And to ſtrengthen his Alliance, firſt at *Edinburgh*, and afterwards at *Newcaſtle*, he in the Preſence of many great Lords and Commons of both Nations, did Homage to the King of *England*, as to his Superior Lord; and took his Oath of Fealty, binding himſelf and his Heirs to hold the Kingdom of *Scotland* of him and his Succeſſors for ever; and further he granted to him the Poſſeſſion of five Counties next adjoining to the Borders.

A.D. 1334. Reg. 8.

But this Homage, and over-liberal Conceſſions made from one King to the other, were ſo far from advancing the Intereſt of either, that they ſerv'd to turn the Body of that jealous Nation againſt both; ſince the *Scots* ſaw that King *Edward* ſought his own Grandeur more than their Intereſt, and that *Baliol* was an Inſtrument to promote his Deſigns. Several of the *Scotch* Nobility alſo finding their late Services ſlighted, began to revolt from *Baliol*, and to promote the Intereſt of King *David*; and not long

Many of the Scots Revolt.

after, raiſing great Numbers of the Commons of *Scotland*, they reſolv'd to begin a War. *Baliol* being inform'd of this, met and ingag'd with them at *Annandale*; but after an obſtinate Fight, many of his Men were ſlain, the reſt diſpers'd, and he himſelf oblig'd to fly out of the Nation to the City of *Carliſle*; from whence he ſent to the King of *England*, complaining of the Falſhood and Treachery of his People, in whom he truſted, and again begg'd his Aſſiſtance againſt his Enemies. In the mean Time King *Edward* call'd a Parliament at *London*, where he declar'd that he had form'd a Reſolution to take a Voyage with the *French* King and other Chriſtian Princes to the *Holy-Land*. But this Change in *Scotland* ſoon alter'd his Deſign; and having a Tenth granted him from the Clergy, a Fifteenth from the Temporality, and a Twelfth from the Cities and Boroughs, he enter'd *Scotland* with a great Power, and no leſs Terror. Then joyning with King *Baliol*, who before had made great Devaſtations, he without taking in Caſtles and ſtrong Places, ſwiftly purſu'd the flying *Scots* as far as beyond *Cathneſs*, which was farther than King *Edward* his Grand-father had ever reach'd. After which Actions, the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland* rejoin'd their Forces, and return'd towards *Berwick*. But ſhortly after, the Earl of *Dunbar* revolted in the *Highlands*, and renounc'd his Homage to both Parties; which oblig'd King *Edward* to remain the reſt of the Year in the Borders of *Scotland*, and keep his *Chriſtmas* at *Roxburgh*, ſtill retaining the Pope's Nuncio with him, who came to mediate a Peace between him and King *David*, then under the Protection of the *French* King.

King Edward's great Advantages againſt them.

A. D. 1335. Reg. 9.

In the following Year, after ſome Stay in *England*, King *Edward* with a well prepar'd Army enter'd *Scotland* both by Sea and Land; and marching as far as *Perth*, he ravag'd all the Country, as he had done the Year before, and meeting with ſmall Oppoſition, he conſtituted *David* Earl of *Athol* Governor of *Scotland* to ſubdue the reſt of the Places that held out. But tho' the *Scots* were ſuppos'd to be retir'd into their Woods and Mountains for Safety, yet ſhortly after, under the Conduct of the Earls of *Murrey* and *Dunbar*, they ſurpris'd five hundred *Engliſh* Archers, who returning home too ſecurely, were all put to the Sword: And not long after, *John* Earl of *Namur*, and *Robert* his Brother, having landed in *England*, and marching with ſeveral Lords and Knights, and a ſelect Body of a hundred Men at Arms, were aſſaulted near *Edinburgh* by the Earl of *Marche* and the Lord *Douglas*; and after a ſharp Conflict were forc'd to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners. Yet either out of Generoſity or Policy, to gratifie the *French* King, whoſe Kinſmen they were, they were not only releas'd by the Earl of *Murrey*, but were alſo by him convey'd back as far as the *Engliſh* Borders; but in his Return the Earl ſuffer'd for his Compliment, being met by the Garriſon of *Roxburgh*, who routed his Party, and took him Priſoner. In the mean Time King *Edward*'s Brother, the late Earl of *Cornwall*, enter'd *Scotland* and deſtroy'd *Galloway*, *Carrick*, *Kyle*, and all the Weſtern Parts that held out againſt King *Baliol*; and after that repair'd to his Brother at *Perth* lately return'd from an Expedition in the *Highlands*. At *Perth* King *Edward* receiv'd Ambaſſadors from the King of *France*, who to hinder his Progreſs in *Scotland*, had procur'd the Pope to mediate a Peace between him and King *David*, and alſo to deſire him to accompany King *Philip* in the Holy-War, which he had lately undertaken by the Incouragement of his Holineſs. But King *Edward* being offended at the *French* King's intermedling in his Affairs, gave the Ambaſſadors this ſhort and reſolute Anſwer, *That by the Bleſſing of Heaven he was able at any Time to make War upon the Infidels, without their Maſter's Aſſiſtance; and that he would undertake no foreign Expedition, 'till he had ſubdu'd his Enemies the* Scots. Not long after many of the *Scotch* Nobility, ſeeing King *Edward*'s Reſolution and Power, came and ſubmitted to him at *Perth*, where Articles of Peace were in a ſhort Time concluded. Then having ſettled his Affairs in *Scotland*, fortify'd the Town of *Perth*, new built the Caſtles of *Sterling* and *Edinburgh*, and left ſufficient Forces with the Earl of *Athol*, he return'd into *England* in *Autumn*, with the valiant Lord *Talbot*, whom he had lately ranſom'd from his Impriſonment.

The Scotch *Nobility ſubmit to King* Edward.

After King *Edward*'s Departure, the Earl of *Athol*, reſolving to redeem his loſt Credit with the two Kings, laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Kildrumney*, which ſtill held out for King *David*; but upon the Arrival of the Earl of *Dunbar*, and the Lords *Murrey* and *Douglas*, who came to relieve the Place, he was not only defeated by an inferior Force, but alſo loſt his Life together with his Honour and Reputation. The Death of this Governor caus'd a great Turn in the Affairs of *Scotland*, ſo that many Places in the North revolted, and declar'd for King *David* againſt *Baliol* and the *Engliſh* Power; which Defection caus'd King *Edward* to raiſe an Army of forty thouſand Men, with which like a Conqueror he enter'd into the Bowels of *Scotland*, rais'd the Siege of *Lochindoris*, purſu'd the Enemy through *Athol* and *Murrey*, and paſs'd with his victorious Arms as far as *Elgin* and *Innernes*, where *Scotland* is bounded by the Ocean. Then marching from one Province to another, ravaging and deſtroying all Places that oppos'd his Authority, at his Return, beſides other Places, he burnt the Town of *Aberdeen*, becauſe the Inhabitants had treacherouſly kill'd an *Engliſh* Knight call'd *Thomas Roſſelyn*. After he had ſtrucken Terror in all Places, and met with little or no Oppoſition, he left King *Baliol* to reduce the Remainder of the *Scots*, and in the middle of *September* return'd triumphantly into *England*; having now made four ſucceſsful and glorious Expeditions into *Scotland*. In theſe Expeditions the King never return'd but with ſuch great Deſtruction and Bloodſhed of that afflicted People, that it might give Cauſe of the greateſt Admiration to imagine how it was poſſible for that barren Part of the Iſle, and ſo often waſted, to breed ſo many Men as had been ſlain in Battel within theſe fifty laſt Years; and yet ſtill be able to bring Armies into the Field, both to maintain their own Conteſts, and to defend their Liberties, and that poor Ground they inhabited.

A. D. 1336. Reg. 10.

King Edward makes a new Expedition into Scotland.

His Succeſſes.

IV. King *Edward*, now experienc'd and renown'd in Arms, deſign'd not to have left *Scotland* ſo ſoon, but he had for ſome Time a far noble Prize in View; and that was no leſs than the Kingdom of *France*, towards the Attainment of which he had already made ſome Advances, and ſeveral fair Pretenſions as to his Title to that Crown. This Deſign was violently promoted by *Robert de Artois*, a Prince of the Blood of *France*, who being highly diſoblig'd by the *French* King's awarding the County of *Artois* from him to his Aunt *Matilda*, openly declar'd, *That he would unmake the King by the ſame Power he had made him*; which ſo provok'd King *Philip*, that he immediately proclaim'd him a Traitor, confiſcated all his Eſtate, and forc'd him to fly out of his Kingdom. In *England* he was generouſly entertain'd by King *Edward*, made of his Council, and inveſted with the Earldom of *Richmond*; and here he became the grand Incendiary between the two mighty Nations, and blew up ſuch a dreadful Flame as laſted above a hundred Years, and the Smoak of it much longer. This at preſent was very happy for the State of *Scotland*, which *Boetius* acknowledges to have been ſo weaken'd and impoveriſh'd, that if King *Edward* had continu'd his Wars, it muſt have come to inevitable Ruin. This was alſo the Cauſe why the *French*, the great Supporters of the *Scotch*, became more vigilant, and us'd all Means to annoy the *Engliſh*, not only in *Scotland*, but alſo in *Gaſcony* and other Places; which, beſides King *Edward*'s Title to the Crown of *France*, had given ſufficient Cauſe for a Breach between the two Kings. But that the World might take Notice of his juſt Proceedings, and main Cauſes of his Deſign againſt *France*, King *Edward* in a pious Epiſtle directed to the College of Cardinals declar'd, ‘ Firſt, his Title to the Crown of *France*, which *Philip de Valois* had unjuſtly detain'd, notwithſtanding he himſelf was the neareſt in Blood of any Male living. Secondly, That his Ambaſſadors, deſiring to put the Cauſe to a Civil Tryal, were not only refuſ'd to be heard, but were repuls'd with Danger of their Lives. Thirdly, That the Court of the twelve Peers, in giving the Crown from him, when under Age, left the Office of Judges and became Invaders; wherefore their Proceedings againſt him during his Minority were lawleſs, null and void. Fourthly, That *Philip de Valois* invaded the Dukedom of *Gaſcony*, which belong'd to the Crown of *England*, and added ſuch Places and Territories as he had injuriouſly gain'd to thoſe he had injuriouſly detain'd. Fifthly, That he had aſſiſted the *Scots* in their Inſurrections againſt him, when by reaſon of his near Relation, he ought rather to have join'd with him; and finally had declar'd by his Actions, That his Honour, Power and Perſon were equally hated by him.

A. D. 1337. Reg. 11.

The Beginnings of the Wars with France.

King Edward's Pretenſions.

King *Edward* knowing that Words alone were of no great Effect, to ſtrengthen his Alliance, by the Advice of his Council and his Father-in-Law the Earl of *Hainault*, reſolv'd to join with ſeveral Princes of the high and low *Dutch*, who lay moſt convenient for his Deſigns. But the better to unite their Intereſts, he was adviſ'd to gain the Alliance of *Lewis* the Emperor, with whom he made in Effect but an unprofitable Confederacy; tho' it was really ſubſervient to his preſent Purpoſes. Moſt to his Advantage were the extraordinary Endeavours of *James de Arteville*, a richer Burger of *Gaunt*, of admirable Dexterity and Management, and ſo popular among the *Flemmings*, that he had the Command of *Flanders* more than the Earl himſelf, who was lately expell'd. By the ſingular

His Alliances.

Diligence of this Burger, and of *Sigar de Courtray*, a Nobleman of *Flanders*, a mighty Party was ſoon rais'd for the *Engliſh* againſt the *French*: Which was much increas'd by an Overthrow given to the *French Flemmings*, who under the Conduct of *Guy*, Brother to the Earl of *Flanders*, had plac'd themſelves in the Iſle of *Cadſant* to ſtop the Paſſage of the *Engliſh*, who fortunately took *Guy* Priſoner, and ſlew moſt of his Men. This Victory was obtain'd by the Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Beauchamp*, and other Commanders; of whoſe Fame *D' Artevile* made ſuch a ſeaſonable Uſe, by letting the *Flemmings* ſee the *Engliſh* were able to protect them, that without Heſitation they became firm Confederates in the Preſence of the Earl of *Gelder* at *Gaunt*, notwithſtanding the Endeavours of the great King of *France*, and their Sovereign Earl to the contrary. As King *Edward* took Care of his Intereſt abroad, ſo was he no leſs careful of his Country at home; and in a Parliament held at *Weſtminſter* it was ordain'd, That no *Engliſh* Wool ſhould be tranſported, and that all Cloathworkers ſhould be receiv'd from any foreign Parts, and fit Places aſſign'd them, with divers Liberties and Privileges; and that they ſhould have a certain Allowance from the King, 'till they were fix'd in a competent Way of Living. It was alſo ordain'd, That none ſhould wear any Cloaths wrought beyond Sea for the future, except the King, Queen, and their Children; alſo, That no one ſhould wear foreign Furrs or Silks, unleſs he was worth one hundred Pounds *per Annum*. By theſe and the like Laws King *Edward* gradually reviv'd the Woollen Manufacture, after it had been loſt for many Years to this Nation; from which Time it ſtill increas'd to the general Advantage of the Kingdom. Alſo in this Parliament the King created his eldeſt Son Prince *Edward*, Duke of *Cornwall*, who was the firſt that ever had the Title of Duke in *England:* He alſo created ſix Earls, of *Darby*, *Salisbury*, *Gloceſter*, *Huntington*, *Northampton* and *Suffolk*, and twenty Knights; at which Solemnity the King made a moſt magnificent Entertainment.

The Woollen Manufacture reviv'd.

The firſt Duke in England.

A. D. 1338. Reg. 12. South-ampton *burnt.*

The War, which all this Time ſeem'd only in Mens Mouths, now began to break out into Actions, and ſome of the firſt Flames appear'd at *Southampton*, which the *French*, by the help of their Gallies, almoſt reduc'd to Aſhes; but they with the Loſs of their chief Commander and three hundred Soldiers were repuls'd the next Day. To extinguiſh this encreaſing Conteſt, Pope *Benedict* ſent over two Cardinals into *England*; but one of them in a Speech to the Clergy ſeeming to favour the *French* Clergy, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* immediately ſtood up and proteſted, *That the Cardinal's Arguments were vain and frivolous.* Whereupon they ſoon after departed, and it was publiſh'd in all Parts of *England*, *That King* Edward *had a Right to the Crown of* France, *which he deſign'd to proſecute by all honourable Methods.* Notwithſtanding the King, to avoid the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, gave Inſtructions to the Cardinals, that upon certain reaſonable Conditions he was willing to make an entire Peace with *France*, and to take any honeſt and proportionable Offer: But the chief Impediment to this was that the *French* inſiſted to have the *Scots* included in the Treaty, to which King *Edward* would by no Means conſent, reſolving, when Opportunity permitted, to reduce them to the *Engliſh* Scepter, ſo that the Labour and Hopes of the Cardinals were all ineffectual. *Philip de Valois*, in Poſſeſſion of ſo noble a Kingdom, on the other Side had the moſt prevalent Motives to ſtand off; as his own Honour, Profit, Strength and Alliance, beſides the Vaſtneſs and apparent Difficulty of King *Edward*'s Enterprize. Then to juſtifie his Cauſe he alledg'd, 'Firſt, 'That the *Salick* Law had cut off all King *Edward*'s Pre'tenſions to the Crown of *France*. Secondly, That he 'Himſelf was acknowledg'd and receiv'd as King by a 'publick Act of the whole State of *France*. Thirdly, King '*Edward*'s Birth-Place made him a Stranger to the *French*, 'and therefore incapable of Governing that Nation. Laſt'ly, King *Edward* in the Beginning of his Reign had in his 'own Perſon done Homage to *Philip de Valois* for the 'Dukedom of *Gaſcony*, and by his Letters-Patents teſtify'ed the ſame.

The French *King's Pretenſions.*

King Edward goes into Flanders.

At length, after the moſt mature Deliberation, King *Edward*, on the ſixteenth Day of *July*, took Shipping at the Port of *Orewell* near *Harwich*, with a Royal Navy of five hundred Sail, and many of the chief Nobility of *England* in his Company; who with their great Trains and Retinues compos'd a formidable Body of Horſe. Beſides theſe the King had a great Multitude of Archers and *Welſhmen*, with all which he arriv'd at *Antwerp*, then belonging to the Duke of *Brabant*; and while he reſided in that City, vaſt Throngs of People came from all Parts to ſee him, and to obſerve the extraordinary Magnificence of his Court. After ſeveral Treaties of Alliances, King *Edward* removed to *Cologn*, whither the Emperor himſelf came no leſs than ſeven Days Journey to meet his Majeſty. The Interview was ſurpriſingly pompous, in the Midſt of the Market-Place, where two Royal Thrones were erected in the open Air, the one for the Emperor, and the other for the King of *England*. The former took his Place firſt, and the other immediately after; in which magnificent Aſſembly, as Aſſiſtants there were four great Dukes, three Archbiſhops, ſix Biſhops, thirty ſeven Earls, and of Barons, Bannerets, Knights and Eſquires about ſeventeen thouſand. Here the Emperor ſet forth the Falſhood which the King of *France* had us'd towards him, and thereupon defy'd him, and pronounc'd both him and his Adherents Enemies to the Empire; and further by an Inſtrument which he publickly deliver'd to King *Edward*, he ordained and conſtituted him his Deputy and Vicar-General of the Sacred *Roman* Empire, over all the Provinces in the Weſt as far as *Cologn*; and after that he enter'd into a League Offenſive and Defenſive for the Term of ſeven Years. After King *Edward*'s Return to *Antwerp* with his new Power, he vigorouſly proſecuted his Affair of Confederacy with the Lords and Governors of the *Low-Countries*, among whom he and his Royal Family continu'd with great Love and Eſteem above a whole Year. The principal Perſons that enter'd into this League againſt the *French* were the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, the Duke of *Brabant*, the Duke of *Gelderland* who had lately marry'd King *Edward*'s Siſter *Iſabel*, the Marqueſs of *Juliers*, with ſeveral *German* Princes. On the other Side the *French* had the King of *Bohemia*, the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Biſhop of *Metz*, the Duke of *Auſtria*, the Marqueſs of *Montferrat*, the Earl of *Genoa*, beſides many Princes out of *Germany*, *Franche-County*, *Savoy*, *Dauphine*, *Spain*, and other Countries. So that all the beſt of the Chriſtian World were either in Arms, or aſſiſting in this Conteſt between the two mighty Monarchs of *England* and *France*.

His Interview with the Emperor.

A. D. 1339. Reg. 13. *He enters* France.

All Things being prepar'd, after ſome ſmaller Actions, the mighty *Edward* at the Head of a brave Army of above forty thouſand Men enter'd into the Confines of *France*, where in five Weeks Time he ravag'd all the Territories of *Cambreſis*, *Vermandois*, *Tieraſche* and *Laonois*; and other Parts of *Picardy* and *Artois* were wholly waſted, except ſome few of the ſtronger Places, and ſuch as had ſworn Allegiance to him. So that the Inhabitants of the Country fled on all Sides, without making Reſiſtance. In the mean Time King *Philip*, with a more numerous Army, and ſtill increaſing, encamp'd in *Cambreſis*, and reſolv'd not to move from thence 'till he had fought with the King of *England* and his Allies: And to that End, on the *Monday* following, a principal Commander of the *French* ſent Letters to another in King *Edward*'s Army, deſiring him to give his Maſter Notice from King *Philip*, *That if he would chuſe any open Place, not incumber'd with Woods or Bogs, he would give him Battel before* Thurſday *next:* Which was alſo confirm'd by another Meſſenger from the King of *Bohemia* and the Duke of *Lorrain*. Not long after, the two Armies advancing within three Leagues of each other, King *Edward*, not to be behind-hand with the Enemy, by a particular Herald ſent to the King of *France* a Challenge *To fight his whole Army on what Day he ſhould pleaſe to appoint*; which was accepted by King *Philip*, who appointed *Friday* the twenty ſecond of *October:* In the mean Time the Princes and Commanders had Notice to prepare themſelves for this great Encounter. When, on the appointed Day, both Armies were drawn out in Order of Battel, and all expected a bloody Ingagement, it was again debated in the *French* King's Council of War, Whether it was beſt to give the *Engliſh* Battel or not. Many of his Counſellors maintain'd, *That the Hazard was too great, ſince if they loſt the Day, the Crown of* France *would be in Danger; whereas if the Enemy were beaten, neither King* Edward *nor his Allies would loſe any of their Dominions.* While this was debating King *Philip* was abſolutely diſcourag'd by Letters from the King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, who by the Rules of Aſtrology declar'd, *That he would be overcome if he fought with King* Edward *that Time.* Upon which King *Philip* immediately gave Orders to his Army to retreat into the Camp, and in the Night privately march'd away into the Borders of *Flanders*. King *Edward* finding that there was no further Expectation of Fighting, remov'd towards *Hainault*; ſo that nothing of any great Moment was further tranſacted this Year.

A Day of Battel appointed,

but to no Effect.

A. D. 1340. Reg. 14.

About this Time, the *Flemmings*, the moſt neceſſary Part of King *Edward*'s Alliance, began to decline their Aſſiſtance, and would not engage in an offenſive War againſt *France*, unleſs King *Edward* would firſt aſſume the Title and Arms of that Kingdom, as the only lawful King of it. This was projected by the famous *D' Artevile*; and after the Propoſal was fully and publickly debated, He with the Conſent of the *Flemmings* and others, took upon him the Title and Arms of *France*, quartering the *French Flower de Liſes* with the *Leopards* or *Lions* of *England*. And about this Time he plac'd this *French* Motto under his Shield *Dieu & mon Droit*, *God and my Right*; declaring his Confidence to be only in God and the Juſtice of his

King Edward *takes upon him the Arms of* France.

Cauſe: Which Motto, together with the Arms of *France*, has been continu'd by all the ſucceeding Kings of *England*. After this, King *Edward* publiſh'd the ſame under his Seal, ſetting the Name of *England* firſt, and ſent his Letters-Patents to the Frontiers of the Enemies Dominions, and fixing them upon the Doors of the Churches, as well to declare the Reaſon of his Proceedings, as to exempt thoſe from a ſucceeding Storm, who upon this Notice would acknowledge him their lawful Sovereign. His Affairs growing ripe in thoſe Parts, he left his Queen and Children at *Antwerp*, as an aſſured Pledge of his Return, and in *February* took Shipping for *England*; where in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, he obtain'd very liberal Aids upon Wool, Leather and other Things, for the ſupporting of his intended Conqueſt. In lieu of which ready Aſſiſtance, he granted a general Pardon both for Treſpaſſes, and all Aids for making his Son Knight, and the Marriage of his Daughter during his Reign; forgiving alſo all Arrears of Farmers and Accountants 'till the tenth Year of his Reign, and all old Debts due to any of his Predeceſſors; and likewiſe confirm'd the famous *Magna Charta*, and of the *Foreſts*, with ſome others. In this Parliament the Lords and Commons petition'd, *That ſince the King had taken upon him the Title of King of* France, *and chang'd his Arms, they might not be oblig'd to obey Him as King of* France, *nor that the Kingdom of* England *be put in Subjection to Him, as King of* France. Upon which he caus'd ſeveral Letters-Patents to be publiſh'd, which gave them full Satisfaction.

He calls a Parliament.

The grand Diſcourſe was now all of the Conqueſt of *France*; Muſters were made throughout the Kingdom, Armourers and other warlike Artificers were full of Employment, and all *Engliſhmen* ſeem'd poſſeſs'd with a martial Eagerneſs and Fury. King *Edward* being ready to repaſs the Sea, receiv'd Intelligence that the *French* lay near *Sluice* in *Flanders* with a mighty Fleet of four hundred Ships to intercept him; whereupon he reſolv'd to force his Way through. Accordingly he ſet Sail about Midſummer, and ſtood towards the Coaſt where the Enemy attended, being reinforc'd by the Northern Navy of *England*, under the Command of the Lord *Morley*; ſo that he had in all about two or three hundred Sail. The valiant King commanding in Perſon, order'd the beſt Ships that were well mann'd with Archers and other Soldiers to ſtand foremoſt in the Line of Battel; then having tack'd about to gain the Weather-gage, they bravely receiv'd the firſt Onſet. For the *French* Admirals, diſcovering the Royal Banner of *England* upon one of the biggeſt Ships, were ſatisfy'd that the King was there in Perſon; they therefore reſolv'd to uſe all Methods to break his Fleet, and take him Priſoner. So falling down upon the *Engliſh*, there began an obſtinate Fight, firſt with a dreadful Shower of Arrows, by which the *Engliſh* Archers did greater Execution than the *French*; and after that the two Fleets, coming cloſe to each other, proceeded to grapling and boarding, and by handy Strokes a deſperate Slaughter was made, and that with various Succeſs. This Fight continu'd from Ten in the Morning 'till Seven at Night; till at length the Strength and Courage of the *Engliſh* prevail'd againſt far greater Numbers of the *French*, cauſing Multitudes of them to leap deſperately into the Sea, to ſhun the Power of their Arms; and in the Concluſion, not above thirty of the *French* Veſſels could eſcape. In this Battel the *French* loſt about thirty thouſand Men; and this was the greateſt Sea Fight that had ever happen'd on the Narrow Seas, and the firſt in which a King of *England* commanded in Perſon; where, beſides himſelf, the greateſt Earls and Barons of his Kingdom behav'd themſelves with incomparable Bravery and Gallantry. This was ſuch killing News to *France*, that at firſt none durſt tell it to King *Philip*, but by means of his Jeſter, who in his Preſence often cry'd out *Cowardly* Engliſhmen! *Fainthearted* Engliſhmen! 'till the King enquiring into his Meaning, he told him, *That the* Frenchmen *moſt bravely leap'd into the Sea, and the* Engliſhmen *had not the Courage to follow them.* By which artificial Turn the King apprehended a Notion of this Overthrow.

King Edward *puts to Sea.*

He obtains a glorious Victory over the French *Fleet.*

After this Memorable Victory, King *Edward* landing in *Flanders*, in a ſhort Time gather'd together one of the moſt powerful Armies, that ever any King of *England* commanded, conſiſting of near an hundred thouſand Soldiers *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and under the Conduct of many worthy Generals. With this he advanc'd to the Northern Parts of *France*, where after great Ravages made in the Country, he ſat down before *Tourney*, deſigning it both for a Seat of War, and a Place of Refuge. King *Philip* on the other Side had provided an Army, not inferior to the other in Numbers, which beſides himſelf was commanded by the two Kings of *Navarre* and *Bohemia*, with ſeveral Princes and great Men, who in a ſhort Time advanc'd towards King *Edward*'s Forces. At *Tourney*, King *Edward* with invincible Courage ſent a Meſſage to his Rival, ſaluting him by no other Title than *Philip* of *Valois*, by which, *To avoid the Effuſion of Blood, he challeng'd him to meet and fight him in a ſingle Combate; or, if that diſpleas'd him, each to bring a hundred Men into the Field, and decide the Conteſt with ſo ſmall a Hazard; or otherwiſe, within ten Days to join in a full Battel with all their Forces near* Tourney. To which *Philip* gave no direct Anſwer, as being contrary to his Honour; alledging, *That the Meſſage was not ſent to him the King of* France, *but barely to* Philip *of* Valois: Neverthelesſ he let him underſtand, *That his Deſign was to beat him out of* France, *hoping in Chriſt, from whom he deriv'd his Power, ſhortly to effect it.* The Eyes of all Chriſtendom were now upon theſe mighty Armies, anxiouſly expecting the Event and Fate of the War, when after three Months Continuance near *Tourney*, and no great Action perform'd, *Jane de Valois*, Siſter to King *Philip* and Mother to King *Edward*'s Queen, a Princeſs of extraordinary Virtue, came from *Fountenelles*, where ſhe had taken the Life of a Nun, to mediate a Peace between theſe two inrag'd Kings, her Brother and Son-in-Law. She travell'd from one to the other, labour'd inceſſantly, and never deſiſted, tho' often deny'd, 'till ſhe had with great Patience and wiſe Conduct ſo allay'd their furious Paſſions, that ſhe obtain'd a Day and Place for both Kings to parley together: A memorable Work to be effected by a Woman, in ſuch a warlike Age as this was. This Parley ſoon produc'd a Truce for one Year, by which the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, who had been taken Priſoners, were releas'd; and ſhortly after both the great Armies were disbanded. Upon which King *Edward* return'd home with his Queen, who had remain'd three Years in thoſe Parts, and had there brought forth two Sons, *Lionell*, afterwards Duke of *Clarence*, and *John* born at *Gaunt*, afterwards Duke of *Lancaſter*.

He enters the Borders of France *with a mighty Army.*

A Truce concluded for a Year.

A. D. 1341. Reg. 15.

But King *Edward*'s condeſcending to this ſudden Truce had in reality no other Motive than ſome Supplies of Momy, which came ſhort of his Expectation, notwithſtanding thoſe great Impoſitions laid on his Subjects. Therefore in his Return to *England*, to puniſh the Miſmanagement of his Miniſters and Officers, he committed ſome to Priſon, turn'd others out of their Places, and was ſo vigorous and active, that it occaſion'd a warm Conteſt between him and *John* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who by Letters boldly complain'd *of manifeſt Violences done againſt the Liberties of the Church and* Engliſh *Nation contain'd in* Magna Charta, *&c.* And whereas the King openly charg'd the Archbiſhop to have been the chief Adviſer of his entring into a League with the *Germans*, and then telling him, *That he need take no Care for Treaſure, becauſe he himſelf would ſee him abundantly furniſh'd from* England, *out of the new granted Subſidies and Profits of the Crown*; And that through the Defects in the Archbiſhop's Performances, he was not only oblig'd to deſiſt from his preſent Deſigns, but alſo to intangle himſelf among the Bankers and Uſurers; the Archbiſhop return'd Anſwer, *That he deſir'd it might be examined in open Parliament who hinder'd the City of* Tourney *from being taken; directly removing the Blame from himſelf and his Friends, upon ſuch as were daily Contrivers, who ſerving their own Turns by the Abuſe of the Publick, would expoſe him to the Odium of their Actions.* And ſome were of Opinion that the Archbiſhop privately practis'd againſt the King's good Fortune in *France*; which if true, it was eaſie to diſcover the principal Motive. For certainly Pope *Benedict* was no ways pleas'd with King *Edward*'s Succeſſes, nor with the War it ſelf, affirming it pernicious to *Chriſtendom*; the Scandal of which the *French* charg'd upon the *Engliſh* as unlawful Claimers, as the *Engliſh* did upon the *French* as unjuſt Detainers. This Pope therefore interpoſed, and put *Flanders* under an Interdict, as having diſloyally deſerted their own Earl, and their principal Lord *Philip* King of *France*, contrary to their Faith and Allegiance; but they for their Juſtification return'd Anſwer, *That* Edward *was the only lawful King of* France, *and* Philip, *to whom they had ſworn, a meer Uſurper*; therefore notwithſtanding the Interdict, and the Papal Deciſion, they ſtill perſiſted in their Adherence. But what ſtill further weaken'd King *Edward*'s Intereſt was the Deſertion of the Emperor *Lewis*, who being won over to the Party of the *French* King, became his ſworn Confederate, and revok'd the Vicarſhip of the Empire, formerly confirm'd on the King of *England*, pretending that the Cauſe was for concluding the late Truce without him, as appears by his Letters to King *Edward*, which are again by him bravely and compleatly anſwer'd.

King Edward*'s Regulations at home.*

The Pope interdicts Flanders.

The Emperor abandons King Edward.

A. D. 1342. Reg. 16.

But inſtead of this remote and unconſtant Confederate, whoſe Power was without the Limits of *France*, Fortune brought in another more near and offenſive, within the Body of that Kingdom. For about this Time the Succeſſion to the Dukedom of *Bretaign* was in Conteſt between *Charles de Blois*, Nephew to King *Philip*, and *John de Montfort*, upon this Title: *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign* had by his firſt Wife two Sons, *John* and *Guy*, and by his ſecond

A new Conteſt in France.

cond this *John de Montfort*. *John* the Eldeſt having no Iſſue, appointed his Neice *Jane*, Daughter to his Brother *Guy* deceas'd, to ſucceed him in his Dukedom; upon which Appointment *Charles de Blois* marry'd her, on Condition his Iſſue by her ſhould inherit the ſame, and for the greater Security he was inveſted in it during the Life of *John* their Uncle. But after his Death, *John de Montfort*, claiming the Dukedom, went to *Paris* to do Homage for it to King *Philip*; but *Charles de Blois*, oppoſing him in Right of his Wife, the Controverſie was referr'd to the Parliament, where Sentence paſs'd in Favour of *Charles*. *Montfort* inrag'd at this, repair'd to the King of *England*, to whom he did Homage for his Dukedom, was receiv'd with great Applauſe, and his Title acknowledg'd as good. Returning back into *Bretaign* with Satisfaction and Aſſiſtance, after ſome Encounters with his Enemy, he was taken and committed Priſoner in *Paris*. His Lady, the Counteſs of *Montfort*, a Woman of an undaunted and maſculine Spirit, vigorouſly proſecuted her Husband's Quarrel, put on Armour, led her People in Perſon, ſurpris'd and defended many ſtrong Places in *Bretaign*. But at length being preſs'd ſtrongly by *Charles de Blois*, ſhe begg'd Aſſiſtance of the King of *England*, and had it ſent, under the Conduct of the Lord *Water de Manny*; which reliev'd her at preſent, but the future requir'd more, of which King *Edward* was not ſparing in regard of his own Deſigns. The Counteſs her ſelf came into *England* to treat both for Supplies and Alliance, and of a Match between her Son and a Daughter of King *Edward*; and the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*, and the Lords *Stafford*, *Spenſer*, and *Bourchier*, with *Robert de Artois*, the firſt grand Incendiary, were ſent with conſiderable Forces back with the Lady. Many were the Encounters, Attacks and Surprizes, both by Sea and Land, between the *Engliſh* and the *French*; and at the Siege of *Vannes*, *Robert de Artois* receiv'd his laſt Wound, after he had valiantly, tho' ſome think diſhonourably, aſſiſted the *Engliſh* about ſix Years. Not long after King *Edward* went over into *Bretaign* in Perſon with freſh Supplies; and lying before *Vannes*, *John* Duke of *Normandy*, eldeſt Son to the King of *France*, ſent to the Aſſiſtance of *Charles de Blois*, with an Army of forty thouſand Men came to give him Battel. But being juſt ready to encounter, a Mediation of Truce was made by two Cardinals ſent from Pope *Clement* VI. and concluded for three whole Years, upon ſeveral Conditions, with a Reference to the Pope and Court of *Rome*, to hear and examine the Differences between the two Kingdoms, but not to determine them without the Conſent of both Kings. The *Engliſh* kept Poſſeſſion of the City of *Vannes*, that if a ſettled Peace follow'd not upon this Truce, they might have ſufficient Footing, from whence they might march into the Heart of *France*. *John de Montfort* did not long out-live this Truce, after whoſe Death the greateſt Part of *Bretaign* fell into the Hands of *Charles de Blois*.

A three Years Truce between England *and* France.

A great Revolution in Scotland.

During the Time of the ſeveral Years Wars with *France*, a great Change happen'd in the Affairs of *Scotland*: For not long after the Departure of King *Edward* from the Kingdom, King *David*'s Party, under their chief Commander *Andrew Murrey*, iſſu'd out from the Loughs, Mountains and other Places of Retreat with conſiderable Advantage. King *Edward* indeed had more than once ſent Armies under valiant Generals to ſupport *Baliol*'s Cauſe, where Succeſs was variable 'till the Death of *Murrey*. After whom the Lord *Smart*, taking Advantage of King *Edward*'s Foreign Expeditions, us'd all Methods to prepare a peaceable Entrance for King *David*, ſtill in *France*. The Aſſiſtance of the Lord *William Douglas* was very beneficial to that Purpoſe, tho' not always fortunate; being overthrown in a ſet Battel by King *Edward*'s Forces, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Berkley*, at *Blackbourn*. But towards the Deciſion of the Miſeries of the Nation, there arriv'd great Quantities of Ammunition and Supplies from the Kingdom of *France*, at ſuch Time as the Lord *Smart* had lain ten Weeks at the Siege of *Perth* with ſmall Hopes of Succeſs. *Perth* at length being ſurrender'd, *Baliol* finding his Intereſt and Power daily to decline, abandon'd the Nation, and retir'd into *England*. Upon which Deſertion, King *David* with his Queen, and many of the *Scotch* and *French* Nobility, return'd peaceably into *Scotland*, after nine Years Abſence; and 'till the *French* King's Cauſe unfortunately put him into Arms againſt the *Engliſh*, the afflicted Realm of *Scotland* enjoy'd Reſt and Quiet.

King David Reſtored.

A. D.
1343.
Reg.17.

The Statute of Proviſors.

V. The provident King *Edward*, returning home after the Truce with *France*, became as careful in Domeſtick, as he had been vigorous in Foreign Affairs; and enacted the Statute of *Proviſors* upon this Occaſion; Pope *Benedict* being dead, *Clement* VI. ſucceeded; a Man of ſingular Learning, but extreamly profuſe in his Perferments, who by Way of *Proviſion* had beſtow'd ſeveral choice Benefices in *England* upon Foreigners. For the Prevention of a Practice ſo odious to the King and his Parliament, it was made High-Treaſon or Death for any to bring ſuch Papal Proviſions into the Kingdom. And in Juſtification, the King ſent an admirable Letter to the Pope, in which he repreſented *how highly it derogated from the State of the Kingdom of* England, *that ſuch Reſervations and Proviſions formerly us'd, ſhould in ſuch Manner be continu'd. For the Churches of* England *had formerly been endow'd by noble and worthy Perſons; that the People might be inſtructed by ſuch as were of their own Language: And yet by the Uſurpation of ſome of his Predeceſſors, Strangers, and ſometimes Enemies to the Realm, were preferr'd before Natives; whereby the Mony and Profits were tranſported, the Churches and Cures unſerv'd, Alms and Hoſpitality diſus'd, the Houſes and Edifices ruinated, the Charity and Devotion of the People diminiſh'd, and many other fatal Enormities occaſion'd, contrary to the Honour of God and the Founders Wills.* In the Beginning of this ſame Parliament the King created his Eldeſt Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, inveſting him by a Coronet and a Ring of Gold. He was now in the thirteenth Year of his Age, being the Delight and Expectation of all Men; and in a ſhort Time he prov'd ſo renown'd a Gentleman, that the Commendations given by *Walſingham* of his Father, *as exceeding all the Princes that went before him*, may be parallel'd in the Son, as ſurpaſſing all the Princes that lived after him.

Young Edward *made Prince of* Wales.

A. D.
1344.
Reg.18.

His noble Father King *Edward*, who had his Eye ſtill fix'd upon *France* as the Mark of his Conqueſt, having Notice among other Things by a Meſſenger from the Pope, that the Emperor *Lewis* had wholly ſubmitted himſelf, and was abſolv'd from all Cenſures, upon his declaring in King *Philip*'s Favour; he couragiouſly broke out into this warm Expreſſion, *If* Lewis *joins with the* French *King, I my ſelf will fight with them both.* And whether invited by the Fame of King *Arthur*, and the Knights of the *Round-Table*, or by the Glory of all Martial Actions and Exerciſes; he order'd a ſpacious Room of Wood to be erected at *Windſor* Caſtle, two hundred Foot in Diameter, which he call'd the *Round-Table*, becauſe he there intended to treat all the Knights which he had invited from Foreign Parts. In the Beginning of this Year he held his Feaſt of the *Round-Table* at *Windſor*, and alſo iſſu'd out Letters of ſafe Conduct for all Foreign Knights and their Servants, who ſhould pleaſe to come to a ſolemn Tournament to be kept for fourteen Days together. At the appointed Day there was a noble Appearance of Knights and great Men of ſeveral Nations, and the Solemnity began with a moſt magnificent Entertainment or Supper; and the Day following the Juſts and Tournaments began, and were continu'd almoſt every Day during the King's Letters of Protection, being perform'd in the Preſence of the Queen and all the Ladies of the Court, who had Scaffolds purpoſely erected to behold theſe Martial Sports: Which ſo pleas'd the King, that in *Auguſt* following, he caus'd a more durable Structure to be erected of the like Form, and for the ſame Exerciſes to be continu'd every Year. In Emulation of all this King *Philip*, knowing that all tended to Preparations againſt him, erected the like in his Court, to prevent the Knights and great Soldiers of *Germany* and *Italy* from repairing to King *Edward*. And in one Thing more he did wiſely and politickly, in giving leave to his Subjects freely to fell down his Woods for building of Ships, by which his Navy was much augmented, and became very ſerviceable afterwards. But his Jealouſies againſt the King of *England* put him upon open Acts of Cruelty, and occaſion'd him to put ſeveral principal Men of *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Gaſcony* to Death, only becauſe they were *Engliſh* in Affection: Among whom are reckon'd Sir *Oliver de Cliſſon*, *Bacco*, *Percie* and *Geoffrey* of *Maleſtroict*, Knights of the beſt Note: Sir *Godfrey* of *Harcourt*, Brother to the Earl of *Harcourt*, being alſo ſummon'd to *Paris*, fled into *England*, where he became a great Incendiary in the approaching Flame.

King Edward *inſtitutes the Feaſt of the* Round-Table.

A. D.
1345.
Reg.19.

It was not Pope *Clement*'s Mediation, or Diligence in diſcuſſing the Title and Pretenſions of theſe two mighty Monarchs, that could prolong the fatal Puniſhment of *France*; yet according to former Articles, each Prince ſent his particular Orators, where the Difficulties aroſe ſo thick and intricate, that the Pope deſpairing to clear them, deferr'd the Conſideration of them to another Time. But King *Edward* affirming the Truce to be manifeſtly broken, by the Execution and Perſecuting his Friends in *Normandy* and elſewhere, ſignify'd thus much to his Holineſs, *That the Sword, not the Tongue, ſhould determine his Right and Title.* His Proviſions of Men, of Arms, of Shipping, of Victuals and Treaſure, and of all Things neceſſary for ſo brave and daring an Enterprize, were worthy of the Grandeur, Courage and Majeſty of an *Engliſh* Monarch. Into *Gaſcony* he ſent the valiant *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, with a gallant Appearance of Commanders and proportionable Troops of Soldiers; where he perform'd many great Actions, for the Defence and Enlargement of that Dukedom, and took ſeveral Cities, Towns and Caſtles. After a glo-

The Truce with France *broken.*

rious Campaign, in which he alſo defeated a ſuperior Body of *French* with the Loſs of ſeven thouſand of their Men, he return'd richly loaden with Spoils and Priſoners to *Bourdeaux*.

The Earl of Darby's *Bravery.*

Not long before this, at the taking of the City of *Bergerac* by Storm, where he permitted every particular Soldier to ſeize any Houſe and convert all the Treaſure to his own Uſe, a certain Knight or Soldier call'd *Reth* ſeiz'd upon a Houſe where the Bankers for Security had lodg'd their Mony in long Sacks: Upon the Sight of which, *Reth* imagining ſo great a Treaſure not deſign'd for private Men, acquainted his General with what he had found; to whom the generous Earl anſwer'd, *That the whole Houſe, and all the Mony in it was his own, tho' it was never ſo much.* The Soldier upon a ſecond Search was ſtill far more ſurpris'd, and thinking ſo great a Treaſure could belong to none but a General, once more acquainted him with the Greatneſs of it, which he had diſcover'd to be much more than at firſt. But this great Man was ſo far from being affected with it, That he told him with ſome Indignation, *That the Greatneſs of the Treaſure could not alter the Caſe; ſince he paſs'd his Word and Honour, he ſcorn'd to revoke it.* During this Campaign, the *Scots* attempting upon the Marches of *England*, by the Vigilance and Valour of the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, the Lords *Percie*, *Nevile* and *Lucie*, and others intruſted in thoſe Parts, they were forc'd to retire into their own Kingdom. It was now the Practice of either Prince to divert and diſturb each others Affairs in different Parts, as the *Engliſh* did King *Philip*'s in *Gaſcony*, and he the *Engliſh* by his perpetual and conſtant Confederates the *Scots*. But King *Edward* at preſent could do it the leſs in *Flanders*, becauſe his moſt vigilant and faithful Friend, *James de Artevile*, was this Year ſlain in a Mutiny by ſuch as were of the *French* Faction.

A. D. 1346. Reg. 20.

King Edward's *great Expedition againſt* France.

At length King *Edward*, having eſtabliſh'd his Affairs in *England*, reſolved to go in Perſon into *France*, and try his Fortunes in that fair Kingdom; and preparing a great Fleet and a brave Army, he took leave of his beloved Queen and went to *Southampton*, accompany'd by his admirable Son the Prince of *Wales*, then in the ſixteenth Year of his Age, together with all the chief Nobility and moſt valiant Men of the Nation; to whom he made a ſhort Speech, which was communicated to the whole Army; in which he deſir'd them *to behave themſelves like Men, ſince he reſolv'd to ſend back his Fleet upon his firſt landing in* France; *therefore if any Man's Courage fail'd him, he had his Liberty to ſtay in* England: To which they unanimouſly anſwer'd, as tho' inſpir'd by his Valour, *That they were all ready to follow ſo brave a Commander, were it to Death it ſelf.*

He lands in Normandy,

After a few Days Sail, his Fleet arriv'd at the Haven of *La Hogue* in *Normandy*, contrary to his firſt Intentions; where leaping on Shore with ſome Violence, the Blood guſh'd out of his Noſe. Upon which his Lords, diſcourag'd at ſuch an ill-boding Omen, deſir'd him to reenter his Ship, and not land his Men that Day; but the King undauntedly reply'd, *It was rather a Sign that the Land deſired to have him.* Then knighting his Son, and ſome other young Men of Quality, he enter'd into the Country which did not expect him, reſolving to take a full Revenge for the Blood of his Friends, upon the *Norman* Towns and People; proteſting that he ſacrific'd them to *Cliſſon*, *Bacco*, *Percy* and the reſt. His Army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand Foot and twenty five hundred Horſe, march'd divided by Day in three Bodies, which uſually join'd together at Night. The Cities of *Valongnes*, *Carentan*, St. *Lo* and *Harfleur* became the firſt Prey to his victorious Arms; and *Rodolph* Conſtable of *France*, and the Earl of *Tankerville*, whom the King had ſent to *Caen*, encreas'd his Spoil and Fame by taking them Priſoners, with the Defeat of twenty thouſand Men.

and marches up to Paris.

Moving from *Caen*, he continu'd his March by the Biſhopricks of *Liſeux* and *Eureux*, waſted and burnt all along the *Seyne* almoſt to the Walls of *Paris*, and came and encamped at *Poiſſy*. Here he endeavour'd to draw out King *Philip* to a Combate, declaring, *That he would wreſtle with him in the Eye of all* France, *on the great Theatre before his Capital City of* Paris. But after he had continu'd there five Days, fearing to be enclos'd between the Rivers *Seyne* and *Oyſe*, he caus'd the Bridges to be repaired, and paſs'd into *Beauvaiſes*, with Deſign to retire into his Country of *Ponthieu*, all the Way marking his Road with dreadful Traces of Fire and Blood.

The French *King prepares againſt him.*

King *Philip*, foaming with Rage to behold from his Capital City ſuch furious Flames in the Heart of his Kingdom, with the greateſt Army that *France* had ever ſeen, advanc'd towards his Enemy, reſolving upon Revenge, and ſcarce doubting of Victory; eſpecially ſince King *Edward*'s Retreat was look'd upon as a Flight. King *Edward* had retir'd to gain the River *Somme* at a Place called *Blanquetaque* below *Abbeville*; but that Paſſage was to be diſputed by the Sword: For King *Philip* had before ſent a *Norman* Lord call'd *Godemar du Fay*, who ſtood ready on the oppoſite Bank of the River with a Body of twelve thouſand Men, ſo advantagiouſly poſted, that King *Edward*'s Paſſage was concluded to be impracticable.

King Edward's *Paſſage over the* Somme.

But this undaunted Hero, reſolving to paſs or periſh in the Attempt, plung'd foremoſt in the River, crying out, *They who love me will follow me!* upon which all preſs'd forwards, each ſtriving who ſhould be foremoſt, 'till through Showers of Darts and Arrows they gain'd the oppoſite Shore, and ſoon put the Enemy to flight, with the Loſs of two thouſand of their Men. King *Philip*, who thought he was ſecure of his Rival and that he muſt be enclos'd between the *Somme* and his own numerous Army, was enrag'd at this Defeat, and cry'd out, *That he was betray'd:* Therefore he immediately follow'd the *Engliſh* by the Banks of the River, on the other Side of which King *Edward* and his Army lay; and he had with him an Army of above a hundred thouſand Men, yet King *Edward* bravely offer'd him a free Paſſage over the Ford, if he would paſs the next Tide, and chuſe a fit Place for Battel.

He waits for the French *at* Creſſy.

But King *Philip* refuſing this generous Offer, the other march'd further into *Ponthieu* 'till he came near a Town call'd *Creſſy*; where finding a convenient Country for two Armies to draw up in Battalia, and rightly conjecturing that his Enemies would follow him whereever he march'd, he ſaid to his Nobility, *That he would now ſtay 'till he had fac'd his Enemies and recover'd this Province, the Inheritance of Queen* Eleanor *his Grandmother*; concluding with his own Motto, *GOD DEFEND MY RIGHT:* And becauſe he had not above a fourth Part of the Army King *Philip* brought into the Field, he commanded his Marſhals to chuſe the beſt Piece of Ground they could; which being done, and having ſent out his Scouts, he ſtrongly encamp'd himſelf and his Army, impatiently expecting his Enemy.

In a ſhort Time after the *French* approach'd with no ſmall Numbers, Noiſe and Precipitation; while King *Edward* ſpent a great Part of the Night in the profoundeſt Devotions, and taking the Sacrament with his Son and the chief Nobility.

The Order of his Army.

In the Morning he form'd his Army into three main Battalions, the firſt of which was led by the young Prince of *Wales*, of Strength and Courage far above his Years; with whom were join'd the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Harcourt*, with divers other Perſons of Quality, amounting to the Number of eight hundred Men of Arms, two thouſand Archers, and a thouſand light-arm'd *Welſhmen*. The ſecond Battalion was commanded by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton*, the Lord *Roſs*, and many other valiant Lords and Knights; the whole Body amounting to the Number of eight hundred Men of Arms, and twelve hundred Archers. The laſt Battalion was headed by the King himſelf, accompany'd with the Lord *Mowbray*, the Lord *Mortimer*, and others; amounting to the Number of ſeven hundred Men of Arms, and two thouſand Archers; the whole Army making up in all about thirty thouſand effective Soldiers. Then having Knighted fifty young Noblemen and Gentlemen for their Encouragement, the valiant King without the leaſt Perturbation mounted on a white Nag, and with a white Staff in his Hand rode from Rank to Rank, and exhorted every Man to maintain his Right and Honour, with ſuch moving and obliging Expreſſions, as fired the moſt faint-hearted in the Army.

He prepares for Battel.

Then refreſhing themſelves, every Man prepar'd to conquer bravely or die honourably. The Prince's Battalion led the Van, and he had plac'd his Archers in the Front, who were drawn up in a thin oblong Square, that they might not be ſurrounded by their numerous Enemies, and behind them ſtood the Prince himſelf at the Head of the main Body of the Men of Arms; whilſt the King himſelf was drawn up on the Right Hand further off, on the Side of a Hill, with twelve thouſand Men, for a Reſerve in caſe of Extremity, and the Carriages were plac'd within a ſtrong Intrenchment caſt up for that Purpoſe. The good Order of the *Engliſh* being told to the brave old King of *Bohemia* on the other Side, he made Anſwer, as a Man of Experience, *Then I ſee, the* Engliſh *are reſolv'd to win all, or die.*

It was about three in the Afternoon when King *Philip* approach'd the *Engliſh* at the Head of his vaſt Army, and Multitude of Commanders, which he alſo divided into three main Bodies; and then order'd the firſt Onſet to be made by the *Genoeſe* Croſs-Bows, who were about fifteen thouſand.

The famous Battel of Creſſy.

This they did with ſome Reluctancy, as being tir'd with the March, and having their Bow-ſtrings much damag'd by a great Shower of Rain; ſo that when they came to ingage with the *Engliſh* Long-Bows, they were ſoon broken in Pieces, and put to flight. This was attended with ſuch Confuſion and Damage to King *Philip*'s Horſemen, that he cry'd out, *Kill theſe cowardly Villains who only hinder us!* But after a while, getting clear of the *Genoeſe*, the Earls of *Alencon*, *Flanders* and *Blois*, with other Commanders fell in with that *Engliſh*

Battalion

The Black Prince and the Eng*liſh are victorious.*

Battalion where the young Prince commanded, who receiv'd them with incomparable Valour and Bravery. But freſh Squadrons of *French* and *German* Horſe ruſhing in with great Fury, the ſecond Battalion commanded by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton* came into his Aſſiſtance, and vigorouſly attacking the Enemy, caus'd a new Deluge of Blood in the Field. In the mean Time King *Edward* himſelf with his Battalion hover'd on the Hill like a Tempeſt in a Cloud, ready to diſcharge its Fury, but at preſent only watching and obſerving this unequal Conflict. Here a Meſſage was ſent to him from the Earl of *Northampton* to deſire him to come down and ſuccour his Son, now very hardly beſet; upon which he demanded *Whether he was alive:* The Meſſenger told him *Yes, but was in Danger of being over-power'd by Numbers. Then,* reply'd the King with his uſual Courage, *let them know, that while my Son is alive, they ſend for no Aſſiſtance to me, for the Honour of this glorious Day ſhall be His.* This Anſwer from ſo compleat a General added new Life and Flame to the Prince and his valiant Supporters, ſo that preſſing forwards with uncommon Vigour, this brave young Lion, ſurrounded with Blood and Death, far outdid his Father's and the World's Expectation. Then ruſhing into the main Body of the *French*, the Marqueſs *Charles*, Emperor Elect, receiv'd him with great Courage, 'till his Men being ſlain round about him, and himſelf wounded in ſeveral Places, he found it neceſſary to quit the Field without ſtaying to ſee the Fate of his Father the old King of *Bohemia*; who tho' he had already loſt one Eye, and was almoſt blind with Age, reſolv'd not to ſtain his former Victories with an ignoble Flight: But making the Gentlemen about him lead him up to the Enemy, and ordering his Horſe's Bridle to be ty'd to thoſe next him, as the reſt did to thoſe of their Companions, they fought ſo deſperately that they were all ſlain upon the Place, and their dead Bodies were found the next Day ſurrounding that of their Maſter. Then were the Arms of that valiant King, being three *Oſtrich-Feathers*, taken by the Prince of *Wales*, and afterwards us'd in his *Device*; and have ever ſince been born by his Succeſſors the Princes of *Wales*.

The Greatneſs of the Victory.

In the mean while King *Philip* did not fail to perform the Part not only of a couragious General, but alſo of a valiant Soldier: For rallying again the Flower of his Nobility and Men of Arms, he enter'd the hotteſt of the Battel, and not being known, he was ſo hemm'd in among the *Engliſh*, that his Horſe being kill'd, he was remounted by thoſe about him; and being again diſmounted, and wounded in the Neck and Thigh, he had been ſlain or taken Priſoner had he not been mounted a third Time by the Lord *John* of *Hainault*; who at the ſame Time, partly by Perſuaſions and partly by Force, oblig'd him to quit the Field. After whoſe Departure little Reſiſtance was made, ſo that the Victory in a ſhort Time fell intirely to the *Engliſh*; and Night put an End to the Conflict. On the *French* Side were ſlain the two Kings of *Bohemia* and *Majorca*; and of Princes, the Earl of *Alençon* King *Philip*'s Brother, the Earl of *Blois*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Lorrain* Nephew to the King of *France*, the Dauphine of *Vienne*, and many others of the chief Nobility of *France*, *Bohemia* and *Germany*. Beſides theſe, there fell twenty four Bannerets, twelve hundred Knights, fifteen hundred Gentlemen, four thouſand Men of Arms and Eſquires, and above thirty thouſand more of the Commons of *France*. And all this without the Loſs of any of the *Engliſh* Nobility, or of many common Soldiers; which was juſtly look'd upon as a ſignal Inſtance of the Divine Favour to King *Edward*'s Arms; which were ſo nobly employ'd on this Day, being the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, 1346. King *Edward* finding the Victory compleat, advanc'd with his untouch'd Battalion towards his victorious Son, and running into his Arms with a moſt affectionate Embrace and a Kiſs, he ſaid, *My dear Son, Heav'n ſend you to perſevere in theſe proſperous Beginnings; you have this Day acquitted your ſelf moſt nobly, and truly merit that Crown for which we have fought.* Inſtead of replying, the noble young Prince with the profoundeſt Modeſty and Silence fell on his Knees before his triumphant Father. The Night was ſpent by the whole Army in ſolemn Rejoicing for this glorious Victory, but they made no manner of Boaſting: For it was the King's expreſs Command, *That none ſhould inſult, nor make any vain oſtentatious Songs, but all humbly to give Thanks to Almighty God, for his infinite Goodneſs and Mercy to them.* The next Day, for the ſake of the Dead, the pious King caus'd the Place of Battel to be conſecrated, for the decent Sepulture both of his Enemies and Friends; and order'd that the Wounded ſhould be carefully dreſs'd and reliev'd; and to the meaner Sort, when recover'd, he generouſly gave Mony, and ſent them whither they pleas'd to go. While the King was taking Care of the Dead and Wounded, five hundred Lances and two thouſand Archers being ſent out to diſcover what was become of the Enemy, met with great Numbers of ſuch as were coming from *Abbevile*, *Roven* and other Places, all ignorant of what had happen'd, and engaging with them, intirely defeated them, with the Loſs of ſeven thouſand Men. Our Writers report, that of Straglers that fled from the Battel, and of others that were coming towards the Place, there were ſlain many more than in the Field the Day before; which ſhews us the wonderful Loſs this afflicted Country ſuſtain'd at one fatal Blow.

King Ed*ward beſieges* Calais.

His Generoſity.

The diſconſolate King *Philip* in the mean Time fled with a ſmall Company to the Caſtle of *Braye*, where the Guard enquiring who he was, he anſwer'd, *The Fortune of* France; and being let in, he was receiv'd with all the Marks of Sorrow and Lamentation. Coming to *Amiens*, he bitterly exclaim'd againſt the Lord *Godemar* for ſuffering King *Edward* to paſs the River *Somme*, and threaten'd him with Death; but the Lord of *Hainault* moderated his Fury with this important Truth, *That it was not in* Godemar'*s Power to reſiſt the King of* England, *when all the Flower of* France *could not.* And finding that Complaints and Puniſhments were of no Uſe, he endeavour'd to make the beſt Defence againſt the prevailing Arms of King *Edward*; who, reſolving to make the wiſeſt Uſe of his Victory, went and ſat down before the Town of *Calais*, which had been a long Annoyance both to him and his Kingdom, being then a Place of great Strength, and reputed the very Key of *France*. Nor did he inveſt it only by Land, but alſo block'd it up by Sea, the Earl of *Huntington* his Admiral lying before it with a great Fleet of ſeven hundred thirty eight Veſſels of all Sorts. Upon his Approach to the Place he ſent a Summons to *John de Vienne* the Governor, *to ſurrender to Him as rightful King of* France, *otherwiſe, upon taking the Place, he would put them all to the Sword.* The other anſwer'd, *He knew but one King of* France, *who had ſent him to keep that Place, of whoſe Aſſiſtance he doubted not, and in whoſe Service he reſolv'd to live and die.* Upon this brave Anſwer, King *Edward* began to intrench himſelf ſtrongly before the City, and ſince he could not expect to take it by Aſſault, reſolv'd to reduce it by Famine; and to this End he threw up an Intrenchment quite round the Place, with regular Fortifications, and form'd his Camp into Streets, conſiſting of Huts cover'd with Reeds ſufficient for his Soldiers to lodge in all the Winter. The Governor finding it was like to be a long Siege, reſolv'd to free the Town of as many uſeleſs Mouths as he could, and accordingly drove out more than ſeventeen hundred of the pooreſt and leaſt neceſſary People, and ſhut the Gates againſt them; which when the King ſaw, inſtead of driving them back and ſtarving them, he out of a Generous and Chriſtian Compaſſion permitted them to paſs through his Camp without Moleſtation, giving them all a Dinner, and two Pence a Perſon in Mony.

The Scots *overthrown by the* Engliſh.

King David *taken Priſoner.*

Many Expedients were conſider'd for raiſing the Siege of this important Place, but two more eſpecially: The firſt was to gather a ſufficient Force to beat King *Edward* in his Trenches, and the ſecond was to make a powerful Diverſion by Means of their ancient Allies the *Scots*. This latter, as the more eaſie, was firſt put in Execution by King *David*, who enter'd the Kingdom of *England* with a brave Army of above ſixty thouſand Men, aſſuring himſelf of Succeſs, in regard, as he conceiv'd, that the main Strength of the Nation was gone into *France*. But he ſoon found his Error: For the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert Humfrevile* Earl of *Angos*, and *William* Lord *la Zouch*, with eight other Lords, *Percy*, *Mowbray*, *Nevile*, *Deincourt*, *Manley*, *Leyburne*, *Scroop* and *Muſgrave*, as alſo the Archbiſhop of *York* and Biſhop of *Durham*, with others of the Clergy, gather'd ſo great a Force, and ſo well order'd them by the particular Animation of the Heroick Queen, who in Perſon rode from Rank to Rank, that they intirely defeated this great Army; took King *David* himſelf Priſoner, with the Earls of *Fife*, *Menteith*, *Murrey*, and *Southerland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and many others, with the Death of at leaſt fifteen thouſand Soldiers. This Victory, as well as that of *Creſſy*, happen'd on a *Saturday*, ſix Weeks after the other; as if all Things had concurr'd to render this Year glorious and triumphant. King *David* was taken Priſoner by an Eſquire nam'd *Copland*, who carefully kept him in Poſſeſſion; and being order'd by the Queen to deliver him up to her, he utterly refus'd, whereupon ſhe complain'd to the King lying then before *Calais*. *Copland* being commanded to repair thither, gave the King ſuch a modeſt and loyal Anſwer, that he order'd him a Reward of five hundred Pounds a Year in Land, with a Warrant to deliver his Royal Priſoner to the Queen; which he did at *York* with ſo handſome an Apology, as both ſhe and the Lords of the Council were fully ſatisfy'd. To compleat the Triumphs of this glorious Year, Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, like

another

Sir Thomas Dagworth's *Valour.*

another *Machabee*, ſays our Author, with eight hundred Men of Arms, and one hundred Archers, in *Bretaign* overthrew *Charles de Blois*, who having twice in one Day with incredible Odds of Thirty to One attack'd that brave Knight, was beaten out of the Field with extraordinary Loſs of Nobility and others ſlain and taken. Not long after, the ſame Sir *Thomas*, with only three hundred Men of Arms, and four hundred Archers, attack'd the ſame Lord *Charles*, lying at the Siege of *Roch-Darien*, with twelve hundred Knights and Eſquires, ſix hundred other armed Men, two thouſand Croſs-Bow Men, and great Numbers of other Infantry; took *Charles* himſelf Priſoner, driving all his Forces, with incomparable Manhood and great Deſtruction, out of the Field.

A. D. 1347. Reg. 21.

The remarkable Siege of Calais.

King Edward's Bravery.

Still King *Edward* continu'd in Perſon before *Calais*, which he ſo cloſely block'd up by Sea and Land, that the Garriſon could receive no Relief; ſo that now they were reduc'd to a languiſhing Condition, as appear'd by a Letter from the Governor to King *Philip*, which by an extraordinary Accident fell into King *Edward*'s Hands. In which he told his Maſter, *That his People in* Calais *had eaten Horſes, Dogs and Rats; and nothing remain'd for them but to devour each other; wherefore they were reſolv'd, if not reliev'd, to die among their Enemies with Honour, rather than within the Walls by Famine.* King *Edward* by an uncommon Strain of Generoſity ſent this Letter to King *Philip*, requiring him *to uſe all Expedition, and ſuccour his good People in* Calais; *who ſuffer'd ſuch Miſeries for his Sake.* Upon which King *Philip* haſten'd his Preparations, and having at length gather'd together a vaſt Army of a hundred and fifty thouſand Men, he with his Son *John* Duke of *Normandy* march'd and advanc'd near to King *Edward*'s Camp; and on the latter End of *July* he ſent to offer him Battel. But the King of *England* wiſely anſwer'd, *That he ſhould find him within his Trenches, if he durſt venture the Experiment; but ſince he had been at ſuch Expence of Time and Treaſure, he would not leave the Place, 'till he was Maſter of it.* After this two Cardinals, ſent on purpoſe, urg'd for a Mediation and Treaty; in which the *French* King offer'd King *Edward* all *Gaſcony* and *Ponthieu*, with the Marriage of his Son *John*, and alſo the City of *Calais*. To which was reply'd, *That King* Edward *was not oblig'd to the other for* Calais, *ſince the Place and all in it were at his Mercy already.* Next the *French* propos'd, That the Right of both Kings might be decided by Combat between five or ſix, choſen by each Side, and the Place aſſign'd by the King of *France*: To which the Earl of *Lancaſter* anſwer'd, *That the Place ought to be aſſign'd by King* Edward, *as rightful King of* England *and* France; *for* Philip *of* Valois *had no Right at all:* So the Cardinals finding all ineffectual, retir'd to St. *Omers*. King *Edward* at that Time having a Reinforcement of ſeventeen thouſand Men, not to be backwards in Bravery, not only offer'd the *French* King Battel, but alſo at his own Coſt to fill the Trenches, and remove all Impediments that could hinder them from joining; provided he might have ſufficient Security that nothing ſhould be convey'd into the Town during that Time. This generous Offer was likewiſe refus'd, and King *Philip*, in a deſpairing Condition, ſuddenly ſet fire to his Tents, and with his vaſt Army retir'd to *Amiens*, where he diſbanded his Soldiers.

Calais *ſurrender'd to King* Edward.

The generous Piety of the Queen.

Calais *made an* Engliſh *Colony.*

The King returns into England.

This Retreat extinguiſh'd all the Hopes of *Caliſians*, and caus'd the Governor to take down the Banner of *France*, to ſet up that of *England*, and to beg a Parly with King *Edward*. This was granted; but by reaſon of the frequent Piracies, as well as obſtinate Defence they had made, the King would grant no milder Terms than that ſix of the chief Burgers of the Place ſhould come to him bare-headed, bare-footed, in their Shirts, with Halters about their Necks, the Keys of the Town and Caſtle in their Hands, and ſubmit themſelves to the King's Pleaſure: For the reſt he was deſign'd to ſhew them Mercy. This final Sentence being brought to Town, caus'd a general Conſternation, it being thought impoſſible to find ſix who would fall a Sacrifice for the reſt; 'till at length a chief Burger call'd *Euſtace* St. *Pierre* gave a noble Example of Heroick Courage and Concern for his Fellow-Citizens, and bravely offer'd himſelf to be the firſt Man; which ſoon excited five others to join with him. Theſe ſix being brought before the King in that ignominious Manner, as was appointed, he was at firſt inexorable, and notwithſtanding the earneſt Interceſſions of his Son and Lords about him, he order'd them all to be immediately beheaded. But this deplorable Spectacle ſo pierc'd the Heart of the generous Queen, then in the Camp and great with Child, that ſhe went and threw her ſelf at the King's Feet, and beg'd of him for the Sake of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Bleſſed Virgin, and the tender Love between them, that ſhe might have the Lives of thoſe poor miſerable Men. This affecting Sight ſoon melted the King into a tender Compaſſion and Compliance; and ſhe immediately caus'd them to be carry'd into her Apartment, where being new cloath'd ſhe order'd them a Dinner and ſix Nobles a Man, and then to be ſet at full Liberty: A noble and God-like Action, and worthy ſuch a great and pious Queen. And thus the ſtrong City of *Calais* was gain'd upon the third Day of *Auguſt*, 1347, after almoſt a whole Year's Siege with infinite Labour and Expence: All the Inhabitants, except a Prieſt and two ancient Men, were turn'd out, and ſent away to ſeek new Habitations; and a Colony of the *Engliſh* were planted in their Room, which continu'd in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Crown above two hundred Years after. Upon the taking of the Place, by the Mediation of Cardinals and other great Men, a Truce was concluded and ſworn between the two Kings, upon the twenty eighth Day of *September*, to continue 'till fifteen Days after the Midſummer following; and King *Edward* in a ſhort Time after, having ſettled the Town and his Affairs in thoſe Parts, making Sir *Amery de Pavy*, an *Italian*, Governour of the Place, return'd into *England* with great Glory and Renown; and ſpent the remaining Part of the Year in Triumphs and Tournaments, celebrated with extraordinary Magnificence.

A. D. 1348. Reg. 22.

England's *Grandeur.*

Great Luxury.

A. D. 1349. Reg. 23.

A terrible Plague.

VI. Never was the *Engliſh* Name ſo great and glorious as at this Time, nor did *England* her ſelf in any preceding Age enjoy a King more renown'd for Wiſdom, Valour and good Fortune; the mighty Splendor of his Virtues, not only adorning her with Garlands, conquer'd Spoils and Trophies, but ſeeming alſo, like ſome new ſhining Sun, to infuſe Plenty and Fertility into the Earth it ſelf. To add to his Glory, this Year he was ſolemnly elected Emperor of *Germany*, by the Princes of that Empire, and Ambaſſadors were ſent over to him to deſire him to accept of that Dignity: But after a mature Conſideration of the Troubles and Factions in the Empire, he fully declin'd it, declaring to the Ambaſſadors, *That he would not undertake ſo great a Burden 'till he had gain'd the Crown of* France, *which was due to him by Hereditary Right.* All this Year *England* ſo glory'd in the Spoils of *France*, that there was ſcarce a Woman of Condition but could ſhew ſome rich Furrs and Foreign Furniture, and the *Engliſh* Ladies began to pride themſelves in the Faſhions of the *French*; and Luxury now encreaſing, fine Table-Linnen, Gold and Silver, Plate and Jewels were commonly ſeen in the Houſes of private Perſons. And indeed the Vanity of the Women became very great at this Time; and they were ſo fond of Tournaments, that it was ordinary for them to ride forty or fifty in a Troop to theſe Aſſemblies; and having more Beauty than Diſcretion, went dreſs'd like Men in Party-colour'd Coats, embroider'd Girdles, and Daggers at their Waſtes; and thus they rode upon fine Horſes from one Tournament to another, waſting their Eſtates, and loſing their Reputations. But God had provided a ſevere Scourge for the Luxury now reigning in the Nation, ſending a dreadful Plague throughout the Nation, ſo that the Earth was fill'd with Graves, and the Air with Cries and Lamentations. This Peſtilence began firſt among the *Turks*, and pierc'd by Degrees into *Italy* and *France*, where it cut off many thouſands. In the City of *London* it had ſo quick and ſharp an Edge, that in the Space of one Year, there were bury'd in the common Church-yard call'd the *Ceſtertian*, or *Charter-Houſe*, above fifty thouſand Perſons.

A ſecret Deſign to betray Calais.

The King prevents it in Perſon.

During theſe Calamities, the Lord *Charny* Governor of St. *Omers* made a ſecret Bargain with Sir *Amery de Pavy* Governor of *Calais*, for twenty thouſand Crowns to betray that important Town to him; of which King *Edward* having Notice went privately thither the very Night the Delivery was agreed on, with the Prince of *Wales*, and ſeveral Earls and Barons, and lodg'd himſelf in the Caſtle to ſecure it with the Men he brought with him. The Mony was actually brought and paid, and twelve Knights and a hundred Men at Arms were let into the Caſtle; but to their great Surpriſe were immediately made Priſoners by the King's Guards who lay undiſcover'd. The Lord *Charny* was then under the Town with a conſiderable Force, plac'd near two Gates, ready to enter it when they were open'd. But in the mean Time the Prince of *Wales* iſſu'd out at one Gate, and the King at the other, conceal'd under the Banner of Sir *Walter Manny*, and fought bravely on Foot among the common Soldiers, being ingag'd with the Lord *Euſtace* of *Rylemont*, a valiant Man, who ſtruck the King twice to his Knees; yet at laſt he was overcome by him, and made his Priſoner, with the Lord *Charny* and many other *French* Men of Note. The young Prince alſo prevail'd againſt the Party he ingag'd, and there were ſlain and drown'd about ſix hundred *French*, who were double the Number to the *Engliſh* that ſally'd out upon them; ſo much did the latter exceed the former in Valour. The Night following the King order'd a ſplendid Supper to be provided, as well for the Priſoners as his own Nobility; and to their great Surpriſe coming in amongſt them, he told the Lord *Charny*, *That he was but little oblig'd to him, ſince he deſign'd to ſteal that from him by Night, which he fairly won by Day.* But coming to the valiant

Rylemont, he after a moſt obliging Manner took a rich Chaplet of Pearls from his own Head, and plac'd it upon the other's, as one who had deſerv'd beſt in the whole Action, and generouſly forgave him his Ranſom. Then removing Sir *Amery de Pavy* from his Government, and placing Sir *John Beauchamp* in his Room, the King return'd into *England* in Triumph with the chiefeſt of his Priſoners.

A.D. 1350. Reg.24.

He conſtitutes the noble Order of the Garter.

He defeats the Spaniſh *Fleet.*

And now the renown'd *Edward*, reſolving to give the higheſt Incouragement to all Martial Virtues, about this Time inſtituted, or rather compleated the moſt Noble Order of Knighthood call'd the *Garter*. For the more ſolemn and magnificent Celebration of it, the King ſent his Heralds into *France*, *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, and almoſt all the Kingdoms in *Europe*, to invite all Knights and Eſquires to come and ſhew their Military Skill and Valour, in all Kinds of Martial Exerciſes. As to the Original, Form and Nature of this glorious Order, we muſt refer our Reader to the learned Mr. *Aſhmole*'s elaborate Work upon that Subject; and ſhall only obſerve, That the End and Deſign of this Inſtitution was truly noble and generous, and worthy of the mighty Prince who had invented it. For it was not only to adorn martial Virtue by ſplendid Robes and rich Jewels, but alſo to engage them by a ſolemn Oath before God to preſerve Fidelity, Honour and Courage in the Minds of thoſe who were admitted into it; which Virtues were juſtly eſteem'd as the nobleſt Badges and Diſtinctions of all Military Men, and by a ſtrict Obſervation of which they could only acquire great and real Reputation; when not to act juſtly, valiantly and faithfully, was accounted the moſt imaginable Blemiſh and Diſhonour. Not long after this famous Inſtitution, King *Edward* had a freſh Occaſion to ſhew his Valour: For hearing that certain *Spaniſh* Men of War, who the preceding Year had cruelly ſlain many *Engliſhmen* and taken away their Commodities, were come into his Seas, he like a Martial *Neptune* encounter'd them in Perſon not far from *Winchelſey*, with ſuch Ships as could ſuddenly be procur'd; and after a moſt obſtinate Fight, in which he and the Prince of *Wales* did Wonders, he took twenty ſix of their principal Ships, ſunk others, and drove away the reſt. The Gallantry and Spirit of the *Spaniards* was ſuch, that diſdaining to out-live the Diſgrace of yielding, moſt of them dy'd by the *Engliſh* Weapons, or were drown'd in the Sea. Thus did this great Prince ſeek all Occaſions, as well by Sea as Land, to expoſe his Perſon, not only to gain Glory, of which he had already ſufficient, but to defend his Nation from Foreign Enemies that had inſulted it; and he ſeems ſo much to have valu'd himſelf upon that Account, that on the firſt Pieces of Gold he ever coin'd, we find his Figure repreſented with a drawn Sword in the middle of a Ship of War. In the ſame Year dy'd *Philip* King of *France*, after he had reign'd twenty three Years, and was ſucceeded by his Son *John* Duke of *Normandy*, who renew'd the Truce with the *Engliſh* 'till *Pentecoſt* in the Year 1356.

A. D. 1351. Reg.25.

Various Succeſſes in France.

A.D. 1352. Reg.26.

Guiſnes *betray'd to the* Engliſh.

But this Truce was not long well obſerv'd in *France*, each Nation taking what Advantage they could upon the other in *Picardy*, *Bretaign* and *Gaſcony*. Sir *John Beauchamp* Governor of *Calais* finding the Ways to that Place much infeſted by the *French*, march'd out with three hundred Men at Arms, and two hundred Archers on Horſeback, and took much Booty in the adjacent Country; but in his Return was encounter'd by the Lord *Beaulieu* with a Body of two thouſand *Frenchmen*; which Lord he ſlew, and had routed his Company, when another ſtronger Party came up, worſted his, and took him Priſoner with twenty *Engliſh* Knights beſides. For the preſent he was ſucceeded by Sir *Robert Herle*, who being recruited by a ſelect Body of Men commanded by the Lord *Manny*, march'd into the *French* Territories, and after much Damage to the Neighbourhood, return'd without Loſs, and ſo large a Booty of Cattle, that a fat Ox at *Calais* would hardly yield ſixteen Pence Sterling. Not long after *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, lately made a Duke in Parliament, and the ſecond in *England*, was ſent by King *Edward* to *Calais*, who marching along the Sea-Coaſts, burnt the Suburbs of *Boloign* to the very Walls; then advancing as far as *Eſtaples*, which he plunder'd, he took a Compaſs to return back on the right Hand, where he did the like to *Fanquenberg*, and after that to *Terouenne*. In the Havens of theſe Towns he fir'd above a hundred Veſſels of all Sorts, and proceeded with Fire and Sword up to *Arques* and the Gates of St. *Omers*; and having ſufficiently made known the Terror of his Arms, he triumphantly return'd to *Calais* with many Priſoners and much Booty. In *Bretaign*, where the valiant Sir *Thomas Dagworth* had been unfortunately ſlain, *Guy de Neſle*, Marſhal of *France*, raiſing a conſiderably Army in that Country, was gallantly attack'd by Sir *Walter Bentley*, Sir *Robert Knolls* and other brave Captains, who, tho' they had but three hundred Men of Arms, and ſix hundred Archers, intirely defeated him, with above four Times their Number. Thirteen Lords, a hundred and forty Knights, a hundred Eſquires, five hundred Men of Arms, and great Numbers of common Soldiers were ſlain, and nine Lords, and an hundred and forty Knights and Eſquires were taken Priſoners: Which prov'd a terrible Blow to the *French* Intereſt in thoſe Parts, and was not eaſily repair'd. In the ſame Year, the Governor of *Calais* finding the Town and Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, within five Miles of it, to be a great Curb to his Garriſon on that Side, found Means to corrupt the Deputy-Governor of the Place, and had the Town betray'd to him for a certain Sum of Mony. Upon the taking of this Place in the Time of Truce, when Complaint was made of it by the *French* King's Envoys to King *Edward*, his Anſwer was, *That* Philip *his Father, by attempting to purchaſe* Calais *in the ſame Manner, had taught the* Engliſh *Commanders that* Buying *and* Selling *was no Breach of the Truce.*

A.D 1353. Reg.27.

The Staples of Wool fix'd.

A. D. 1354. Reg.28.

A Peace endeavour'd between France *and* England.

To return to the Affairs of *England*, King *Edward* conceiving Diſpleaſure againſt the *Flemmings*, being diſappointed of the Match between a Daughter of his and their young Earl of *Lovis*, who was eſcap'd to *France*, and beſtow'd on a Daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*, withdrew the Mart or Staple of Wool from their Towns which had receiv'd great Advantage by the Trade, and caus'd the ſame to be kept at *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Canterbury*, *Lincoln*, *Warwick*, *York*, *Newcaſtle*, *Exeter*, *Caermarthen*, *Briſtol*, and *Hull*; judging it more requiſite to advance his own Towns than thoſe of Foreigners, by the Commodities of his Kingdom. In the ſame Parliament that this was ſettled, many wiſe Ordinances were alſo enacted for the Governing and Ordering this Staple. *Stow* mentions an Act made in this Parliament at the Inſtance of the *Londoners*, That no common Harlot ſhould wear any Hood, except rayed or ſtrip'd with divers Colours, nor Furs; but Garments revers'd the wrong Side outwards: In which they endeavour'd well to ſet a ſcandalous Mark upon Impurity, to render it the more odious. In the next Parliament, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, Grandſon to the famous *Mortimer*, who was attainted and executed twenty three Years before, was now reſtored to Blood, and the Judgment againſt the Grandfather was revers'd, as being given without his Anſwering, and contrary to Law. About the ſame Time great Mediation was made by the Pope to reconcile the two Kings of *England* and *France*; and Commiſſioners met on both Sides to treat and conclude a Peace. The chief Article in Deliberation was, That the King of *England* ſhould enjoy the whole Dukedom of *Gaſcony*, with the City of *Calais*, and the whole Counties of *Artois* and *Guiſnes*, for himſelf and Succeſſors, independently, without doing any Kind of Homage to the King of *France*. This at firſt ſeem'd fully agreed on, but at length was broken off by the *French*, to their further Calamity and Confuſion, who might better have given up a Ceremony relating to a Part, than have had the Whole ſo miſerably rent and torn in Pieces as it was afterwards.

A. D. 1355. Reg.29.

The Black Prince enters Gaſcony.

Theſe Miſeries ſoon began to approach: For it being ſignify'd to King *Edward* that *John* King of *France* had given the Dukedom of *Gaſcony* to his Son the *Dauphine*, being much incens'd he immediately beſtow'd that Province upon his invincible Son the Prince of *Wales*; commanding him to defend his Right with his Sword againſt his Adverſaries. All Things being ready for his Voyage, accompany'd with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Saliſbury*, and *Oxford*, the Lords *Chandoys*, *Audely*, *Butefort*, *Liſle*, and other brave Men, and having a thouſand Men at Arms, and fourteen hundred Archers, he ſet Sail towards *Gaſcony*; where he immediately proceeded to perform Actions worthy of his great Name and Courage. On the other Side, King *Edward*, rous'd with a falſe Alarm, croſs'd over the Seas, in Expectation of finding his Enemy King *John* at St. *Omers*; but failing of that, after many generous Offers of Combate and Battel, he ravag'd as far as *Heſdin*, and then return'd back to *England* to recover the Town of *Berwick* which the *Scots* had gotten by Surprize. Calling a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, a great Supply was granted to him of fifty Shillings upon every full Sack of Wool, for ſix Years enſuing; by which Impoſition, our Hiſtorians believe that the King might be able to expend a thouſand Marks a Day; ſuch Vent of Wool was at that Time. But *Berwick*, before King *Edward* could appear to ſuccour it, was burnt and diſmantled, and then abandon'd by the *Scots*. The *French* had ſent forty thouſand Crowns and ſome Men at Arms into *Scotland*, to ſupport their Confederates againſt the *Engliſh*; but King *Edward*, not ſatisfy'd in regaining of his own without chaſtiſing his Adverſaries, proceeded in a hoſtile Manner againſt the *Scots* both by Sea and Land. At *Roxborough*, *Baliol* one of the Kings of *Scotland* ſurrender'd to King *Edward* all the Right and Title which he had to that Kingdom, or any of the Appendages, reſerving only to himſelf a yearly Penſion of two thouſand and fifty Pounds. Still *David* the other

King was kept a Priſoner in *England*; and both were accounted Kings, to the great Diſtraction of that miſerable Kingdom. And Affliction ſeem'd to dwell in all Parts but *England*, where there was nothing to be ſeen but Triumphs and Feſtivals.

A. D.
1356.
Reg. 30.
His mighty Actions.

In the mean Time the Prince of *Wales*, as it were in Emulation of his Father's Glory, perform'd Wonders in *France*; for with his victorious Arms he recover'd many Cities, Towns and Priſoners, piercing like a Thunderbolt through all *Languedoc*, and taking and deſtroying the two great Cities of *Narbon* and *Carcaſſone*, which our Authors compare to *London* and *York*. The Damage done to the *French* King in this Expedition was exceeding great, for out of theſe Countries he rais'd a yearly Revenue of about four hundred thouſand old Crowns. The Pope ſending a Meſſenger from *Avignon*, with an Overture to intercede for Peace, had this Anſwer, *That the Meſſage muſt be ſent to the King his Father, for he could not act without his particular Commands.* In the mean Time he diſpos'd of all Things without Moleſtation, and return'd loaded with Spoils and Honour to *Bourdeaux*; from whence, after ſome Refreſhment, he ſet forwards for new Enterprizes and Adventures. His Army conſiſted of about eight thouſand brave and expert Soldiers, with whom he couragiouſly advanc'd through *Peregort* and *Limoſin* into the very Heart of *France*, up to the Gates of *Bourges* in *Berry*; the Terror of his Name ſtill flying before him to his mighty Advantage. Thus ſatisfy'd for the preſent, he took a new Compaſs, with Deſign to return by *Renvorantine* in *Blaſois*, which he took, and then through the Countries of *Tourain*, *Poictou* and *Xantoign*, to his chief City of *Bourdeaux*.

The King of France *overtakes him at* Poictiers.

But *John* King of *France*, hurry'd on with Impatience and haſtning to go beyond his Father in Miſfortunes, followed with an Army of ſixty thouſand Men, and near the City of *Poictiers* overtook the invincible Prince. Having drawn up his Men, he in a ſhort Speech told them, *That while they were at* Paris, *and on their March, he had heard them deliver very ſwelling Words, How they would treat the* Engliſh *whenever they approach'd them: That now they were not far diſtant, and therefore he would ſoon lead them thither, hoping to find their Actions anſwerable to their former Threats.* At the ſame Time two Cardinals from the Pope began to mediate a Peace; but the *French* King, ſuppoſing he had his Enemy at his Mercy, would accept of no other Conditions, but that the Prince ſhould deliver him four Hoſtages, and as vanquiſh'd, ſurrender himſelf and his Army to his Diſcretion. To which unworthy Motion the Prince reply'd with a contemptuous Smile, *That he hop'd to conquer*; *but if not, he could but die, yet he would never yield to loſe his Honour, which he valu'd above his Life.* The Legates Perſuaſions being ineffectual, both Parties prepar'd for Battel.

The glorious Battel of Poictiers.

Now was the Time that this youthful Hero, fir'd with new Proſpects of Glory, began to diſplay his noble Qualifications, and to ſignalize both his Wiſdom and Valour, after a moſt amazing Manner. Having mounted his Steed, riding from Rank to Rank, he told his Men, *That Victory was in the Hands of Heav'n, and not always to be gain'd by a Multitude; which if they obtain'd, immortal Honour would be their Reward, or elſe Death would put an end to their Labours: But for his Part* England *ſhould never pay his Ranſom, for he was reſolv'd either to die or conquer.* Then wiſely taking all the Advantage that the Ground, Vines and Shrubs would afford them, a bloody Fight ſoon follow'd, which laſted above four Hours with uncommon Variety. Never did the *Engliſh* give nobler Teſtimony of their Valour and Bravery than at this Time; and the Prince himſelf with incredible Fury ruſh'd into the thickeſt of his Foes, forcing his Way with his inſatiable Sword, and like a raging Lion dealing Death and Deſtruction to all that approach'd him. At length the admirable Conduct and inimitable Courage of the *Engliſh* prevail'd againſt the powerful Numbers of the *French*; ſo that they were entirely defeated, and forc'd to abandon the Field;

The French *King taken Priſoner.*

and King *John* himſelf, after a long and valiant Reſiſtance, was taken Priſoner, together with his Son *Philip*, then but thirteen Years of Age. Thus in ſhort was this wonderful Battel gain'd in the Fields of *Beauvois*, near *Poictiers*, on *Monday* the nineteenth Day of *September*, to the great Glory of the *Engliſh* Prince and Nation. There were ſlain divers of the chief and moſt valiant of the Nobility of *France*, among whom were the two Dukes of *Bourbon*, beſides many Earls and Barons, about ſix thouſand Men at Arms, and of the common Sort eight thouſand more. The Place of Battel was left free to the *Engliſh*, and more than a hundred Warlike Banners were brought away in Triumph. When the *Engliſh* were all return'd from the Chace, they found they had twice as many Priſoners as themſelves; the chief of whom were the *French* King, his Son *Philip*, and ſeventeen Earls, beſides Barons, Knights and Eſquires to the Number of about two thouſand: Wherefore to prevent the Inconveniency of too many Priſoners, they let many of them go upon their Paroles, and appointed them their fix'd Ranſoms, in which they were very moderate; for the *Engliſh* generouſly declar'd, *They would not ſet ſo high a Price upon a Knight or a Gentleman, but he might ſtill be able to live after his Rank, and to follow the Wars according to his Quality.* The Loſs on the *Engliſh* Side was very inconſiderable, for we find not the Name of any Perſon of Quality: But thoſe who were the moſt remarkable for their Valour were the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford* and *Stafford*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Spenſer*, *Barkley*, *Baſſet*, Sir *John Chandois*, and others, who behav'd themſelves with incomparable Bravery.

The Generoſity of the Lord Audley.

But the Lord *James Audley* gain'd the greateſt Honour both for his Valour and Bounty, who having vow'd to be foremoſt in the Battel, perform'd his Promiſe to Admiration, and ſeal'd it with numerous Wounds; for which the Prince having rewarded him with a Gift of five hundred Pounds Fee-ſimple, he immediately gave it to his four faithful Eſquires who with him had ſuſtain'd the Brunt of the Day. The Prince demanding of him, Whether he accepted his Gift, he anſwer'd, *That theſe Men had deſerv'd it as well as himſelf, and had more need of it*; at which Anſwer the Prince was ſo ſenſibly pleas'd, that he gave him five hundred Pounds more in the ſame Kind, as the juſt Reward of ſo much Merit and Generoſity.

The Greatneſs of the Black Prince.

By this famous Victory the Prince of *Wales* gain'd a double Conqueſt, One by his invincible Sword in the Field, and the Other by his unparallel'd Courteſie to his vanquiſh'd Enemies. For the Night after the Battel he order'd a noble Supper to be provided for the *French* King, and the Priſoners of the higheſt Quality; King *John* and his Son, with the Princes of the Blood being placed at one Table, while the reſt of the Lords and Knights ſat at others. The Prince in the mean Time waited at the King's Table, and when deſir'd to ſit down, he with all the real Marks of Humility reply'd, *That he was not worthy to ſit down with ſo great a Monarch.* And finding him ſtill dejected and afflicted, he endeavour'd to raiſe his Spirits by the moſt civil and ingaging Expreſſions, telling him among other Things, *That his Majeſty being one of the braveſt of Chriſtian Kings had no Cauſe to afflict himſelf; for tho' his Arms had not been favour'd by the ſole Diſpoſer of all Victory, yet his Gallantry muſt be acknowledg'd, and his Royal Dignity ſhould be preſerv'd inviolable. As to himſelf he declar'd, That the Realm of* France *ſhould always find him grateful to her which had produc'd ſo many of his Progenitors; and towards his Majeſty, if he would permit him to glory in that Title, he would ever ſhew himſelf a moſt humble and reſpectful Kinſman.* This extraordinary Submiſſion in a conquering young Prince, about twenty five Years of Age, quite melted the captive King into a Flood of Tears; and when the *French* Lords ſaw the Prince ſo humble amidſt the higheſt Charms of Proſperity, and heard his generous Language deliver'd with ſuch an unaffected obliging Air, they declar'd among themſelves, *That he had ſpoken nobly and gallantly, and that he would prove a moſt accompliſh'd Prince.*

He is admir'd by his Enemies.

At length King *John*, recovering himſelf a little, forc'd a civil Smile, and with an affectionate Countenance ſaid, *That ſince it was his Fortune to be overcome, he had this Uncommon Alleviation, That as he had not behav'd himſelf unworthily in the Battel, ſo he was fallen into the Hands of the moſt valiant and courteous Prince alive.* The next Day the Prince cauſing his Chaplains and the Prieſts of the Army to celebrate Divine Service, he turn'd off all the Glory from himſelf, and moſt devoutly gave it to the Great God of Victories: Which being done, in the Sight of the Priſoners, he heartily thank'd his Soldiers with Expreſſions full of Sincerity and Generoſity. Then ſettling all Things, he march'd with his Priſoners and Trophies to *Bourdeaux*, the Capital City of his Dominions. How the News of this Victory was entertain'd in all Parts of the *Engliſh* Nation is not hard to conjecture, but eſpecially by King *Edward*, who gave ſpeedy Orders to the two Arch-Biſhops, that eight Days together ſhould be ſpent in giving God the Honour and Glory of this wonderful Succeſs.

A. D.
1357.
Reg. 31.
His publick Entry into London *with the* French *King.*

The Prince having winter'd at *Bourdeaux*, and procur'd a ſufficient Navy, in *April* ſet Sail for *England*, arriv'd at *Plimouth*, and by eaſie Journies came to *London*, where King *John* Royally adorn'd made a publick Entry with the utmoſt Magnificence and Attendance, being mounted on a ſtately white Courſer, as a Mark of Sovereignty, with the admir'd Prince riding by his Side upon a little black Nag, as one induſtriouſly avoiding all Suſpicions of a Triumph. They were publickly receiv'd by the Lord Mayor and all the Companies in their richeſt Habits, their Houſes and Streets being adorn'd with their moſt valuable Plate and Tapeſtry, as well as a noble Appearance of all Sorts of Armour and Weapons; and the Concourſe of People were ſo numerous to behold ſo uncommon a Spectacle, that the Cavalcade held from three of the Clock in the Morning 'till high Noon; about which Time the Prince got to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where he ſolemnly preſented to the King his Father, then ſitting in great Majeſty on his Royal Throne, the Perſon of King *John* his Priſoner. Yet King *Edward* could not long retain the ſevere Grandeur of a Conqueror; for when the Royal Captive approach'd his Throne, with ſuch a manly Submiſſion as became his preſent Fortune, he was ſenſibly touch'd with the Thoughts of the Inſtability of human Affairs, by the Sight of ſo great a Prince in ſo low a Condition; ſo that haſtily riſing, he met and careſs'd him with as much Honour and Reſpect, as if he was only come to give him the Favour of a Viſit. And the King had ſo true a Regard to Generoſity as well as Valour, that being now acquainted with his Son's humble Deportment after the Battel of *Poictiers*, he declar'd, *That he was more ſatisfy'd with that, than with the Victory it ſelf.* Nor did this great King make uſe of this ſolemn Entry as a Matter of his own Triumph, but rather of a devout Proceſſion; for by his Order, the ſame Day the Clergy of *London* went forth in their proper Veſtments, and ſinging Anthems to meet the Prince; and after that, for two Days together, publick Prayers and Thankſgivings were celebrated through the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. King *Edward* having treated his Priſoners after a great and magnificent Manner, order'd King *John* and his Son to be honourably lodg'd and entertain'd in the *Savoy*, being then a famous Palace belonging to the Duke of *Lancaſtor*; the reſt were fix'd in other convenient Places. *David* King of the *Scots* was ſtill kept Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Odiam*; but not long after, when he had endur'd about eleven Years Impriſonment, at the inceſſant Suit of Queen *Joan* his Wife, Siſter to King *Edward*, he was releas'd, upon paying a Ranſom of a hundred thouſand Marks Sterling, and upon Condition of demoliſhing certain Forts and Caſtles.

David King *of* Scotland *releas'd.*

A.D. 1358. Reg.32.

A Tournament proclaim'd at Windſor.

In the following Year, King *Edward*, to diſplay his Grandeur, iſſu'd out an extraordinary Proclamation, That all Foreign Knights and Gentlemen from any Part of the World, deſiring to come to the Feaſt of St. *George*, to be ſolemnly held at *Windſor* on the Twenty third of *April*, ſhould have his Letters of ſafe Conduct for the Space of three Weeks, there to partake of thoſe Martial Honours and Prizes, which ſhould attend the Exerciſes of his publick Juſtings and Tournaments. Theſe were celebrated with the higheſt Magnificence and Splendor, and attended by the Duke of *Brabant*, and great Numbers of Lords, Knights and brave Men out of *Germany*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Scotland*, and other Nations. In the ſame Year dy'd the famous *Iſabella*, Mother to King *Edward*, in the ſixty third Year of her Age, after about twenty eight Years Confinement at the Caſtle of *Riſings* near *London*, as having been highly culpable in relation both to her Husband and the Nation. Her Marriage with King *Edward* II, as it prov'd fatal to her Husband, ſo it was unfortunate to her Country the Kingdom of *France*; ſince from her the preſent King of *England* deriv'd his Title, and brought infinite Miſeries upon that Nation, which at this time were greater than ever happen'd ſince the Time of the *Romans*. For *Charles* the *Dauphine*, Duke of *Normandy*, who had eſcap'd from the Battel of *Poictiers*, took the Government upon him during his Father's Impriſonment; but by the dangerous Practices of *Charles* King of *Navarre*, and evil Diſpoſition of the *Pariſians* towards the Delivery of their Sovereign, he was grievouſly incumber'd, and ſurrounded with innumerable Miſchiefs, not being able as yet to work out his Father's Liberty. Moreover the *Engliſh* under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Knowles*, Sir *James Pype*, and *Thomalin Foulk*, committed terrible Devaſtations, and gain'd great Treaſure, Booty and Ranſoms, in *Bretaign* and *Normandy*, under the Pretence of ſerving thoſe of *Navarre*. In ſhort, all the Kingdom of *France* was over-run with diſſolute Soldiers of ſeveral Nations, who having no General, waſted all at their Pleaſure, and by unheard-of Inſolencies, diſcover'd all the Miſeries of Anarchy and Confuſion.

Queen Iſabella *dies.*

Great Miſeries in France.

A. D. 1359. Reg.24.

King Edward *again invades* France.

Two Cardinals in the *Engliſh* Court endeavour'd to put an End to theſe Troubles by accommodating the Matter between the two Kings; but could not with two Years Labour draw any Thing to ſuch a Head, as the *French* for their King's Liberty would perform; which put King *Edward* upon new Reſolutions againſt *France*. Therefore looking upon himſelf as deluded by the *French*, he with a vaſt Fleet of eleven hundred Sail paſs'd over from *Sandwich*, in order to a new Invaſion. Being arriv'd at *Calais*, he ſet forward from thence with an Army of an hundred thouſand Men divided into three great Bodies or Battalions; the firſt under the valiant *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the ſecond under the brave Prince of *Wales*, and the third led by himſelf. They march'd through *Artois* to the City of *Rheims* the Metropolis of *Champaign*, where the Kings of *France* were uſually crown'd and anointed; but miſſing of this Place, they ſoon took the Cities of *Sens* and *Nevers* without Reſiſtance. The Terror of theſe Armies ſoon put the Duke of *Burgundy* upon a Compoſition; and for a Sum of two hundred thouſand Florens of Gold obtain'd that all *Burgundy* ſhould be ſpar'd from Plunder and Devaſtations. The King kept his *Chriſtmas* near *Rheims*, where he was inform'd that the *French* had landed many Men upon the Coaſts of *Suſſex*, who had committed great Barbarities, but had in a ſhort Time retir'd. Upon this News he remov'd from thence and advanc'd towards the Walls of *Paris*; where he honour'd four hundred Eſquires and Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood. *Charles* the *Dauphine*, Regent of *France*, was then in the City with a powerful Army, but could not by any Means be drawn to hazard a Battel, as dreading the Examples of his Grandfather and Father. Ample Conditions were in an humble Manner offer'd to King *Edward*, but as yet he was inflexible and deaf to any other, than ſuch as he himſelf like a Conqueror propos'd. Finding new Difficulties in the Siege of *Paris*, he retir'd into *Bretaign* to refreſh his Army; but upon his Return, ſeeing the Fortifications increas'd, he turn'd his Anger into the very Bowels of *France*, waſting and ravaging as far as *Chartres* and *Orleans*, and ſtill continu'd inexorable as to the *French* Propoſals. Yet in a ſhort Time an Accident from Heaven chang'd his Mind, which was a prodigious Storm of Thunder, Hail and Rain, which kill'd ſix thouſand of his Horſes, and near a thouſand of his Men; and this ſo aſtoniſh'd the King and his Men, that looking upon it as a Mark of the Divine Diſpleaſure, he immediately proſtrated himſelf upon the Ground, and made a ſolemn Vow to Almighty God, That he would give a final Peace to *France* upon honourable Conditions. This, and the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Perſuaſions ſo mollify'd him, that finally by the Mediation of the Pope's Legate, a Peace was concluded at *Bretaign* near *Chartres*, upon the eighth Day of *May*. Thus was the Kingdom of *France* deliver'd from its terrible Scourge by the Hands of Providence, when it was in a languiſhing and almoſt expiring Condition.

His Succeſſes.

A. D. 1360. Reg.35.

He waſtes into the Bowels of France.

A Peace concluded.

The Articles of it.

The Subſtance of the Articles of Agreement was this: That the King of *England* ſhould retain the whole Dukedom of *Gaſcony*, with the bordering Countries of *Xaintoign*, *Poictou*, *Peregort*, *Limoſin*, *Quercie*, *Anyoleſm*, *Rovergne*, &c. with all the Cities, Caſtles and Appendages, without any Dependency upon the King of *France*: That he ſhould likewiſe retain the County of *Ponthieu*, the Towns, Counties and Lordſhips of *Calais*, *Guiſnes*, *Monſtruel*, *Hanves*, *Wale*, *Oye*, St. *Valery*, *Merk* and *Sangate*: And that he ſhould receive from King *John* for a Ranſom, a Sum of Mony amounting to five hundred thouſand Pounds, the fifth Part to be paid down, and the reſt in two Years Time. For all this, the King of *England* ſhould renounce all his Right and Title to the Crown of *France*, the Dukedom of *Normandy*, the Counties of *Tourain*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, the Sovereignty and Homage of the Dukedom of *Bretaign*, and the Earldom of *Flanders*; and that he ſhould at his own Expences ſet King *John* at Liberty in *Calais*, within three Weeks Time. For the Performance of Covenants, Hoſtages were given of many of the greateſt Men in *France*, who were Sureties for the Ranſom: The *Scots* were not to be aſſiſted by the *French* King, nor the *Flemings* by the *Engliſh*; and the King of *Navarre* and his Brother were comprehended in the Articles. The Treaty being ſolemnly ratify'd by both Kings, and Hoſtages given, King *Edward* honourably conducted King *John* to *Calais*, where he made a moſt magnificent Entertainment for him, being waited on at the Table by King *Edward*'s four Sons, and the chief Nobility of *England*. Here was King *John* ſet at full Liberty, after he had been a Priſoner above four Years; and both Kings departed in the moſt obliging Manner, with all the Demonſtrations of hearty Love and Affection.

The French *King releas'd.*

A. D. 1361. Reg.35.

Lands reſtor'd to the Priors-Aliens.

VII. The Wars being ended between the two chief Crowns in *Europe*, and *England* being in a profound Peace, King *Edward* was pleas'd to reſtore by his Letters-Patents to the Priors-Aliens all their Houſes, Lands and Eſtates, which were taken from them twenty three Years before for the Maintenance of the *French* Wars: A rare Example of a juſt King; it being ſeldom known that Princes give up what they have once got into their Poſſeſſion. In the ſame Year a ſecond Peſtilence happen'd in *England*, which ſwept away many of the Nobility and Biſhops, and among the reſt *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, a Perſon of extraordinary Worth in all Reſpects, who fell much lamented by all Men, eſpecially the poorer Sort, by whom he was call'd the *Good Duke*. He founded the Collegiate Church of *Leiceſter*, and alſo a noble Hoſpital there for a hundred Poor People, which laſt ſtill continues. Shortly after his Death the Prince of *Wales*, now call'd the *Black Prince*, being in the one and thirtieth Year of his Age, with the Conſent of the King his Father, marry'd the beautiful Lady *Joane*, Counteſs Dowager of *Kent*, Widow of the late Earl *Thomas Holland*. In the following Year, not long after at a Royal Tournament held in *Smithfield* for five

A. D. 1362. Reg.36.

All Pleadings ordain'd to be in Engliſh.

New Promotions.

Days together, he was created Duke or rather Prince of *Aquitain* or *Gaſcony* and was ſolemnly inveſted with that Dukedom by his Father, who now chang'd the Title of it into a Principality. In the ſame Year, in a Parliament was paſs'd that remarkable Statute which ordains, That all Pleadings and Judgments in the Courts of *Weſtminſter* ſhould be for the future in *Engliſh*, whereas before they were uſually in the *French* Language. In the ſame Parliament the King declar'd himſelf arriv'd to the Fiftieth Year of his Age, deſigning to keep it as a *Jubilee*, and to ſhew Acts of Grace and Mercy to his People; and therefore granted his General and Special Pardon to all, without Fine or paying any Fees for the Seal; and he ſet at Liberty all Debtors to the Crown, and Priſoners for Criminal Matters. He alſo confirm'd *Magna Charta*, which during this Reign had been confirm'd above ten ſeveral Times. In this Parliament alſo, he declar'd his Second Son *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*; his Third Son, *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*; and his Fourth Son *Edmund*, Earl of *Cambridge*. So the King having paſs'd ſeveral Statutes, and fix'd the Staple of Wool at *Calais*, he ſpent the reſt of the Year in publick Pleaſures and Diverſions with his chief Nobility and *French* Hoſtages; taking a Progreſs with them through many Parts of *England*, and uſually expending for his own Part a hundred Marks, and ſometimes a hundred Pounds a Day.

A.D. 1363. Reg. 37.

The Black Prince goes into Gaſcony.

Four Kings entertain'd by one Man in London.

A.D. 1364. Reg. 38.

The Death of John *King of* France.

In the Beginning of the following Year, Prince *Edward* having waited upon the King his Father, took ſhipping with his beloved Princeſs and all his Retinue, and arriv'd at his Government of *Gaſcony*; where he kept a noble Court for the Space of three Years, and govern'd the Country with great Love and Clemency. In the mean Time King *Edward*'s Court was honour'd with the Preſence of three Kings at the ſame Time, two of whom had formerly been Priſoners; *David* King of *Scotland*, who by the late Death of *Edward Baliol* now obtain'd an indiſputable Title to that Kingdom; *John* King of *France*, who came to tranſact the Remains of his Ranſom, and the Delivery of his Hoſtages; and *Peter* King of *Cyprus*, who came over to deſire Aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemies of Chriſtendom. But none was ſo acceptable as King *John*, to meet whom King *Edward* ſent many of his Nobility to *Dover*, from whence he was conducted to *Canterbury*, where he offer'd a rich Jewel at the Shrine of *Thomas Becket*. From thence he went to the Palace of *Eltham*, where he was moſt obligingly receiv'd by the King and Queen, and entertain'd with all ſort of Diverſions; and ſome Time after he was receiv'd by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* in the greateſt State, by whom he was magnificently treated. But Sir *Henry Picard*, a Merchant Vinter and formerly Lord Mayor, exceeded all Men in a wonderful Entertainment he made at his own Houſe for no leſs than four Kings at once, of *England*, *France*, *Scotland* and *Cyprus*, beſides the King's Sons and moſt of the Nobility of *England*: A Thing never done by any private Subject of the Nation. King *John* had his chief Reſidence at the *Savoy*, then a magnificent Palace belonging to the Duke of *Lancaſter*; but not long after, in the Beginning of the Spring, he was taken dangerouſly ill of a languiſhing Diſtemper, which put an End to his Life, on the eighth Day of *April*, to the great Grief of King *Edward*, his Queen, and the *French* Princes and Nobility. The King made him a noble Funeral at his own Expence, and caus'd his Body to be tranſported into *France*, where it was interr'd on the ſeventh of *May* at St. *Denis*. He was noted for this excellent Saying of his, *That if Faith and Truth ſhould be baniſh'd from the reſt of the World, yet they ought to be found in the Mouths of Kings.*

The Battel of Auray *in* Bretaign.

That King *Edward*'s Fortune was not only available to himſelf, or his Lieutenants, but alſo to his Friends and Favourites, appear'd in the great Conteſt about the Title of *Bretaign*, which about this Time was determin'd by the Death of the Lord *Charles de Blois*, Head of one Faction, who was ſlain in an Ingagement againſt the Lord *John de Montfort* Head of the other Side; where the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *John Chandois*, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, with other *Engliſhmen*, who join'd with *Montfort*, won great Honour and Renown. This Battel was fought at *Auray*, not far from *Vannes*; after which, *Montfort* having granted ſome Eſtates to the Widow of his Competitor, he did Homage to *Charles* the new King of *France*, and was accepted as Duke of *Bretaign*, with Conſent of the King of *England*, his main Supporter and Protector. The Loſs was great on the Enemies Side; for there were ſlain, beſides the Earl of *Blois*, the Lord *John* his Brother, and ſix Lords, with many others of principal Note, *Walſingham* ſays about a thouſand Men of Arms and Eſquires; and there were taken Priſoners *John* and *Guy* the Earl's Sons, with nine other Lords, and of thoſe whoſe Fame countervail'd many others, Sir *Bertram de Glequin* Marſhal of *France*, under the victorious Banner of Sir *John Chandois*.

A.D. 1365. Reg. 39.

Sir John *Hawkwood's Greatneſs.*

The Engliſh *Valour.*

In the mean Space from what Parts of the World did not the *Engliſh* bring Teſtimonies of their Valour and Renown? For ſuch of them as had warr'd under the King of *Cyprus* againſt the Infidels, and taken *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, return'd with great Riches in Cloaths of Gold, Velvits and precious Stones. About theſe Times alſo Sir *John Hawkood*, a noble Warrior, paſs'd over into *Italy*, where he bravely reviv'd Military Diſcipline long diſus'd in thoſe Parts, and found ſuch Entertainment from the *Italian* Princes, and got ſuch Honour and Riches by his Valour, that his Fame remains to this Day, and his Statue among their moſt memorable Princes for Action and Bravery; tho' in Reality he went but a Taylor out of *England*, which in thoſe Days could have furniſh'd the whole World with brave Commanders and expert Warriors. And as the *Engliſh* Valour was ſeen one Way beyond the high *Alps*, ſo there fell out Occaſions not long after, which made it known and conſpicuous another Way, beyond the *Pyrenæan* Mountains.

A.D. 1366. Reg. 40.

The Pope's Pretenſions quaſh'd.

VIII. We have now brought this mighty Monarch to the fortieth Year of his Reign, which had it been his laſt, we had left him the moſt glorious and triumphant Prince in the World, to whom Fortune had always ſhewn her Smiles, and ſcarce ever was retrograde. But now theſe laſt ten Years repreſent us with little Turnings of the Scale, ſome Declenſions from that wonderful Height of Glory, and with ſome Spots and Blemiſhes which Age and Frailty brought upon him. Yet ſtill he wanted not Vigour and Reſolution to perform many great Things, and particularly to reduce the exorbitant Pretences of the Pope in this Nation, who more than once poſitively demanded that infamous Tribute from *England* and *Ireland* that was firſt granted by King *John*. This being now again demanded, King *Edward* in a full Parliament order'd it to be debated by the Prelates, Lords and Commons ſeparately; and after a full Deliberation they declar'd, 'That neither *John*, nor any other King, could bring 'himſelf or his Kingdom to any ſuch Subjection, without their Aſſent, as appear'd from the plaineſt Evidences; 'and if it were done, it was void, as being againſt their 'Conſent and his Coronation Oath: Therefore they finally reſolv'd, That if the Pope ſhould by Proceſs, or any other Way attempt to conſtrain the King or his Subjects to agree with any Claims in that Reſpect, they 'would reſiſt him to the utmoſt of their Power. Thus by the Care of the King, and the Stout Oppoſition of the Parliament, this haughty Demand of the Biſhop of *Rome* was quaſh'd for ever; for we do not find that it was ever reviv'd afterwards.

Peter *of* Caſtile *begs the Aſſiſtance of the Black Prince.*

A.D. 1367. Reg. 41.

The Black Prince conſents.

He obtains a glorious Victory at Najara.

Still the mighty Prince of *Wales* remain'd in his Government of *Gaſcony*, with a ſplendid Court and a noble Attendance, and without Imployment, 'till he was humbly ſolicited by *Peter* King of *Caſtile* to aſſiſt him, who for his Cruelties and Tyrannical Actions had been driven out of his Kingdom by his natural Brother *Henry*; all which the Prince, by the particular Conſent of his Father, chearfully undertook, upon Promiſe of large Remunerations. The Cauſe was much better than the Perſon: For this *Peter*, Son to *Alphonſo* II. King of *Caſtile*, had prov'd intolerable to his Subjects, oppreſſing and deſtroying his Nobility to inrich himſelf, divorcing and then murdering his Wife, Siſter to the preſent Queen of *France*, by the Inſtigation of his Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, whom he afterward marry'd. Whereupon the State adhering to his Brother *Henry*, who tho' a Baſtard by Birth was more legitimate by his Virtues, crown'd him King of *Spain* at *Burgos*, and forc'd *Peter* to abandon his Kingdom. The brave Black Prince, thirſting after Glory, and deſirous to ſuccour the Diſtreſſed, paſs'd over the *Pyrenæan* Mountains into *Spain* with a compleat Army of thirty thouſand Men, having in his Company, beſides moſt of the prime Commanders of the *Engliſh*, the Perſons of two Kings, *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, and the King of *Majorca*, and *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, who ſome Time after *Peter*'s Death was himſelf King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. On the other Side the new King *Henry* for the Defence of his acquired Kingdom had gather'd together great Numbers, as well *French* as *Caſtilians*, and others both Chriſtians and Saracens, not fewer than an hundred thouſand Men. Upon the Borders of *Caſtile* near *Najara* a general Battel was fought between theſe two unequal Armies; where the Heroical Prince of *Wales*, now *Black* indeed with the amazing Terror he ſtruck into his Enemies, obtained a compleat Victory, with the Death of many thouſands on the other Side; and *Bertram de Glequin*, the *French* General, with many others were taken Priſoners. As ſoon as the Batttel was over, King *Peter*, tranſported with the mighty Valour of the Prince, kneel'd down to give him Thanks with the Marks of Adoration; but the other running to embrace him would by no Means permit it:

His great Fame.

However bowing very low, he gave him Thanks, *That by his Valour and Aſſiſtance he had now regain'd his Crown:* To which the Prince with admirable Modeſty reply'd, *Sir, return your Thanks to God Almighty, and give him all the Glory; for by him alone, and not by me, you have obtain'd the Victory.* The Fame of this Action however flew through all Parts of *Europe*, and the *Germans*, *Flemmings* and *Engliſh* in ſpecial Manner acknowledg'd the Prince of *Wales* to be the Glory of Honour and Knighthood, and that ſuch a Prince was worthy to govern the World, ſince he had atchiev'd three ſuch wonderful Enterprizes; Firſt at *Creſſy*, where by him the whole Power of *France* was broken, two Kings ſlain, and a third put to flight; next at *Poictiers*, where he again overcame the whole Power of *France*, and took its King Priſoner; and now in *Spain*, where at one ſingle Blow he decided the Fate of a Kingdom; as tho' he had the Power to make and unmake Kings and Princes: For he never left *Peter*, 'till he had replac'd him upon his Throne at *Burgos*.

Peter proves ungrateful.

The Black Prince declines.

But notwithſtanding all this Glory, the Prince prov'd a great Sufferer in a ſhort Time, from the monſtrous Falſehood and Ingratitude of King *Peter*; for tho' he had ſhewn himſelf the moſt generous Man in the World to this wicked Prince, he was forc'd to return to *Bourdeaux* without Mony to pay his Army, which occaſion'd extraordinary Miſchiefs to himſelf, and to the *Engliſh* Dominions beyond Sea; as if God himſelf had been diſpleas'd for his ſuccouring ſuch a Tyrant. Therefore the Prince, who declar'd *Honour ſhould be his Reward*, to pay off his Soldiers who had been deluded by *Peter*, coin'd his own Plate for Mony; and when that prov'd inſufficient, he laid upon his Subjects of *Gaſcony* and the neighbouring Provinces a new Tax, which povoked them to a dangerous Revolt. However God's Vengeance found out *Peter*; for not long after his Baſtard Brother *Henry* return'd with new Forces, and by the Aſſiſtance of *Glequin* and the *French*, he not only expell'd him from his Throne, but alſo murder'd him with his own Hands. Thus ended this great Expedition of the Black Prince, which almoſt put a Period to the Health and Happineſs of his Life; for in this Journey he contracted an incurable Indiſpoſition, which ſome impute to an inveterate Poiſon, that produc'd dangerous Symptoms both upon his Body and Mind 'till the Day of his Death. We may here likewiſe in a manner conclude all the Happineſs and good Succeſs of King *Edward*'s Reign, during the reſt of which we ſcarce meet with any Thing but the untimely Death of his Sons, and his moſt beloved Queen, the Diſcontents and Factions of his Nobility and Subjects, with the Revolt and Loſs of moſt of what he had gain'd by his Conqueſts in *France*.

The French King improves.

A.D. 1368. Reg.42. Now began the Peace between *England* and *France* to diſſolve it ſelf by ſeveral Steps and Degrees. For while King *Edward* quietly enjoy'd himſelf in the noble Virtues and Actions of his Sons and Subjects, *Charles* King of *France* ſirnam'd *The Wiſe*, warn'd by the numerous Calamities his Dominions had ſuſtain'd from the *Engliſh* in open War, and moſt earneſtly deſiring to recover the Honour of his Nation, betook himſelf to other Arts and Methods; never venturing his own Perſon, but executing all his Deſigns by Deputies, in which the Service of *Bertram de Glequin*, afterwards Conſtable of *France*, was of extraordinary Benefit. Nor did he neglect in Time to find out proper Colours to paint over his Colluſions and Contrivances for ſaving his Honour; inſomuch that when it came to a publick Scrutiny, the Loſs was plainly upon King *Edward*'s Side, and the Cauſe of the Breach at leaſt render'd doubtful. His Practices were notwithſtanding palpable, and it muſt be acknowledg'd that King *Edward*, relying too much upon the Rules of Honour and Magnanimity, did not reap the juſt Effects of ſuch mighty Victories; nor of a Peace which was ſo ſolemnly ratify'd, that in the World's Opinion it could not on one Side be infring'd, without a manifeſt Invaſion of all Obligations Divine and Human. The Prince of *Wales* by Letters advertis'd his Father not to truſt to any ſpecious Overtures of Amity and Alliance made by the *French*, becauſe he found that they had entertain'd ſecret Practices in every Place againſt him. But the Prince was then judg'd to ſpeak out of a reſtleſs Delight after War, and therefore prevail'd not; tho' the Effects ſoon diſcover'd that his Words were unqueſtionably true.

The French King's Deſigns.

A.D. 1369. Reg.43. For now King *Charles*, having by ſpeedy Payments and other Methods recover'd all the *French* Hoſtages out of *England*, us'd all Means to abuſe King *Edward*'s Credulity, 'till he had advanc'd as far as Diſſimulation could carry him. He courted the good old King with obliging Letters and Preſents, while his Plots were ripening abroad, and the County of *Ponthieu*, King *Edward*'s undoubted Inheritance, was ſurpris'd before he heard of it. And whereas the Prince of *Wales* in *Gaſcony* demanded a certain Tax upon Chimnies, the Earls of *Armignac* and *Cominges*, and other Lords ſubject to the Prince, hating the *Engliſh* Empire, repair'd to the *French* Court at *Paris*, there to purſue an Appeal from this Oppreſſion made by the Prince, who was not ſo happy as to follow the Advice of Sir *Robert Knolls* and other wiſe Counſellors who diſſuaded this Impoſition. Theſe Lords pretended that he was to anſwer before King *Charles* as his ſuperior Lord, from whom he held by Homage and Fealty; and tho' King *Edward* and his Heirs were abſolutely freed by the laſt Treaty from all Manner of Service for his Dominions in *France*, King *Charles* at length proceeded to ſummon the Prince of *Wales* to *Paris*, to anſwer his Subjects Accuſations. His Anſwer was like himſelf, *That he would come attended with ſixty thouſand Men.* The King of *England* complain'd of the Breach of Peace to the Pope and the Emperor, who made a Journey into *France* to reconcile the two Kings; before whom the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors alledg'd, That the *French* were the firſt Infringers of the ſolemn Treaty by ſeizing of *Ponthieu* and ſeveral Parts of *Gaſcony*, without firſt demanding Reſtitution for any Injury committed, and inſiſted upon many other unfair Practices. The *French* on the other Side alledg'd, That King *Edward* had not made that publick Renunciation to the Crown of *France* as the Treaty oblig'd him, nor did he withdraw his Troops out of *France* ſo ſoon as he ought; therefore the Breach was on the *Engliſh* Side, becauſe the Soldiers were theirs. Thus both Sides had their plauſible Pretences, but neither ſubmitted to an Agreement.

His Pretenſions.

A Breach with France.

The Death of Queen Philippa.

Upon this King *Edward* call'd a Parliament, declar'd the Breach, deſir'd Supplies, and obtain'd them; and further by their Advice he re-aſſum'd his Claim to the Crown of *France*, and alter'd his Seals accordingly. *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* and *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* were ſent over with a powerful Army to *Calais* to invade *France* on that Side; while the Prince of *Wales* was endeavouring to recover the revolted Towns on the other. But not much was effected, and the Duke after he had pierc'd as far as *Roan* return'd home. After whom *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* was ſent over with freſh Supplies, but he dy'd in his Expedition; leaving behind him the Character of One who had ſcarce his Equal for Loyalty and Courage. In *England* was nothing but Grief and Mourning for the Death of the excellent Queen *Philippa*, who had been Wife to King *Edward* for forty four Years, and had born him twelve Children. A little before her Death the King being by, ſhe in a ſolemn Speech acknowledg'd the great Happineſs, Peace and Proſperity in which they had liv'd for ſo many Years, and concluded with making him three Requeſts: Firſt, That he would be pleas'd to pay all her Debts; Secondly, That he would make good all her Charities and Donations to Colleges, Churches and Religious Houſes; and Laſtly, That he would give Orders that whenever he dy'd his Body might be bury'd by hers at *Weſtminſter*. Theſe being granted with the moſt tender Expreſſions, having recommended herſelf, him and her Children to God's Mercy, ſhe quietly departed, to the exceeding Grief of all her Subjects, who highly lov'd her as a true Friend to the *Engliſh*, liberal to her Servants, and charitable to the Poor. Among her many Acts of Piety, ſhe founded *Queen's-College* in *Oxford*.

Her Character.

Sir Robert Knoll's *Acts in* France.

The laſt Action of the Black Prince.

Still the Wars were carried on in *France*, where Sir *Robert Knolls*, a Man renowned for Courage and Conduct, was made Commander of an Army, with which he terrify'd the Country as far as the *Loyre*, harraſs'd *Vermandois*, *Champaign*, *la Brie*, and the *Iſle of* France, and burnt all round *Paris*, yet nothing could move the *French* King to ſend any Forces againſt them out of that City. But this Army having ſeveral Lords and great Men in it, who diſdaining to be commanded by him whom they accounted their Inferior, great Factions were rais'd, and the Expedition came to no great Effect. About the ſame Time the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Earl of *Cambridge* were ſent with Forces into *Gaſcony* to aſſiſt their Brother the Prince of *Wales*; who about this Time, hearing of the treacherous Revolt and Surrender of *Limoges*, he reſolved to execute a ſevere Revenge upon the Place, and all ſuch as were concern'd in the Betraying of it. After a Month's Siege he took the City by Storm, at which Time more than three thouſand Men, Women and Children of the Inhabitants were put to the Sword; yet at length the great Bravery of three *French* Officers ſo affected his generous Breaſt, that he ſhew'd Mercy to the reſt, tho' he wholly burnt and deſtroy'd the Place. This was the laſt Martial Act of this mighty Prince, with whom the good Fortune of *England*, as if it had been inherent to his Perſon, flouriſh'd in his Health, languiſh'd in his Sickneſs, and expir'd in his Death. He was now carry'd about in a Horſe Litter; and being adviſ'd by his Phyſicians to return into *England* for his Health, he follow'd their Directions,

and

He returns into England.

and with his Princeſs, his Son *Richard* and others, he came for *England*, taking his final Leave of *Gaſcony*, which he left to the Management of his Brother *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*.

A.D. 1371. Reg.45.

He ſurrenders his Government.

The Flemmings *defeated at Sea.*

The *French* in the mean Time won many Towns and Forts in *Gaſcony*, daily raiſing new Hopes after ſo long and continu'd Misfortunes. The unhappy Loſs of that expert Commander Sir *John Chandois* was a mighty Advantage to them, whoſe whole Care reſted upon their famous *Glequin*, a Man ſo skilful in good and evil Fortune, and who had ſo temper'd his Courage and Diſcretion, that he alone could bid his unfortunate Country riſe once more and flouriſh. The Prince of *Wales* ſtill declining in Health, upon his firſt Appearance before his Father, ſurrender'd the Dukedom of *Gaſcony* to be diſpos'd according to his Pleaſure: And while King *Edward* was at *Clarendon*, there repair'd to him the factious King of *Navarre*, whoſe Buſineſs was to make an Offer of an Alliance againſt the *French*; but tho' his Propoſals were acceptable, yet his Cautions ſeem'd ſo defective, that after a ſolemn Entertainment, he return'd without any Concluſion. Not long after the Duke of *Lancaſter* and his Brother the Earl of *Cambridge* return'd out of *Gaſcony*, with their Ladies *Conſtance* and *Iſabella*, both Daughters to *Peter* late King of *Spain*, whom they marry'd; the Duke thereupon ſtiling himſelf King, and his Wife Queen of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. Nor was the *Engliſh* Name only increas'd in titular Honours, but alſo by real Actions; for about this Time, the *Flemmings*, who had provok'd the Nation, were defeated by the Earl of *Hereford*, in a ſharp Sea-Fight, about twenty five of their Ships were taken, and all the Men ſlain.

A.D. 1372. Reg.46.

The Engliſh *worſted at Sea by the* Spaniards.

A.D. 1373. Reg.47.

The Duke of Lancaſter*'s Acts in* France.

A Truce.

The Pleaſure of this Victory was ſoon ſower'd with a terrible Loſs at Sea; For the *French* having beſieg'd the ſtrong City of *Rochell* with the Aſſiſtance of *Henry* King of *Caſtile* by Sea, for the Relief of the *Engliſh*, the Earl of *Pembroke* was ſent with forty Ships, Men, Victuals, Ammunition and Mony to the Value of twenty thouſand Marks for the Uſe of the War; but being ſuddenly attack'd by the *Spaniſh* Armado, conſiſting of many large Ships under the Command of Admiral *Buccanigra* and others, the *Engliſh* after a long and bloody Conflict were utterly routed, the Earl himſelf taken Priſoner, and almoſt all the reſt ſlain or taken. *Rochell* held out notwithſtanding; to the Relief of which while King *Edward* in Perſon ſet Sail with an extraordinary Power, a violent Wind drove him back into *England*, to his great Diſappointment, and the uſeleſs Conſumption of ninety thouſand Pounds Sterling. Yet ſtill he did not give over his Care for that ſtrong Place, which the *Engliſh* with no ſmall Courage made good againſt the Enemy. This Place perſiſting in all Loyalty, *John* Duke of *Bretaign*, who had marry'd the Lady *Mary* Daughter to King *Edward*, a great Lover of the *Engliſh*, reſolv'd to venture his Fortune in their Cauſe; and coming over to *England*, he had Aid granted him, with which he warr'd againſt the *French* with various Succeſs. Likewiſe the brave Duke of *Lancaſter*, with a powerful Army from *Calais*, march'd and ravag'd through the Body of the whole Kingdom of *France*, 'till he arriv'd at *Bourdeaux*, and that without any conſiderable Oppoſition; So that tho' this Expedition ſeem'd very glorious for the *Engliſh*, yet it was of more Fame than real Advantage to their Affairs; for they loſt many Men, and almoſt all their Horſes in that long March, partly through the Diſeaſes incident to Camps, but chiefly for Want of Forage and Proviſions. Not long after the Duke drew out into the Field, and a Day was appointed between him and the Duke of *Anjou*, the *French* King's Brother, to have decided the Nation's Conteſt in a ſet Battel, before the City of *Tholouſe* in *Languedoc*; but by an untimely and pernicious Sort of a Truce, to which King *Edward* conſented upon the Account of his Son's Sickneſs, the hopeful Victory not only ſlipt away from the *Engliſh*, but likewiſe all Advantages of acting any Thing elſe in due Seaſon. The *French* boaſted themſelves as of a Conqueſt, tho' what they gain'd was no more than the common Effects of Policy. *Glequin* in the mean Time made the beſt uſe of all Occaſions, and did much Damage to the *Engliſh* Party in *Guienne* and *Bretaign*; but in *Bretaign* Sir *Robert Knolls* ſo bravely acquitted himſelf in the Behalf of King *Edward*'s Son-in-Law the Duke, that he only ſeem'd a fit Match for *Glequin*, as the other alſo had ſtopp'd the Current of his Fortunes.

A.D. 1374. Reg.48.

The Engliſh *Affairs decline in* France.

The Cavalcade of Alice Pierce.

The next Year the Duke of *Lancaſter* return'd into *England*, after whoſe Departure almoſt all *Gaſcony* revolted, and fell to the *French*, who by the Advantage of King *Edward*'s Age, the Black Prince's Sickneſs, and the Succeſs of their Policy, more than their Valour, were grown brave again. A Treaty of Peace was negotiated at *Bruges*, but all was Colour and Pretence; for at the ſame Time the *French* made ſecret Preparations for new Attempts. The chief Commiſſioner for the *Engliſh* in that Treaty was the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and for the *French* the Duke of *Anjou*; and their Meeting produc'd nothing but a ſhort Truce to breed more Evils to the *Engliſh*. Notwithſtanding, much outward Jollity and Magnificence appear'd in *England*; for this Summer a certain Gentlewoman of no great Quality, call'd *Alice Pierce*, by her Beauty and other Artifices ſo much prevail'd upon the aged King, as to be his Miſtreſs; and he having lately given her the affected Title of *Lady of the Sun*, ſhe glorouſly attir'd rod ſingly in a Triumphant Chariot from the Tower of *London*, through *Cheapſide*, accompany'd with many Lords, Knights and Ladies, every Lady leading a Lord or a Knight by his Horſe's Bridle, 'till they came into *Smithfield*, where began a ſolemn Juſting or Tournament between many of the young *Engliſh* Noblemen.

A.D. 1375. Reg.49.

The Engliſh *Affairs ſtill decline.*

A.D. 1376. Reg.50.

Several Regulations at home.

The Death of the Black Prince.

Among the Parties that ſuffer'd by the laſt hurtful Truce the Duke of *Bretaign* was chief. For he had obtain'd a great Aſſiſtance from his Father-in-Law King *Edward*, and was now with the Earls of *Cambridge*, *March*, *Warwick* and *Stafford*, and many other Gentlemen and Soldiers return'd into *Bretaign*, making themſelves a hopeful Proſpect for their main Enterprize, which was to eſtabliſh the Duke, and by the Conveniency of this Country's Situation to annoy the common Enemy, and the better to recover the *Engliſh* Dominions in *Gaſcony*. But this Truce wrought more for *Glequin*'s Advantage than he could do with his Arms; for the Duke of *Bretaign* had before driven him out of his Territories. But this Management was not now to be wonder'd at: For the Prince of *Wales* was in a dangerous Condition; Plots were ſet on Foot at home; the Duke of *Lancaſter* had an Eye to the Succeſſion; Domeſtick Affairs grew diſturb'd; the King's Age was abus'd and miſ-led by *Alice Pierce*, and his Treaſure exhauſted by others; all which were ſufficiently known to the *French*, who diligently made uſe of their Weakneſſes. For the Cure of theſe a Parliament was call'd to *Weſtminſter*, where the King's Wants were laid open, and a Supply deſir'd; but the whole Body of the Aſſembly, weary with bearing theſe continual Burdens, inſtead of Contributions, exhibited great Complaints, charging the King's Officers with fraudulent Practices, and petition'd that the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord Chamberlain *Latimer*, Dame *Alice Pierce*, and Sir *Richard Sturry*, might be remov'd from the Court. All this was done with ſuch Heat and Vehemence, that the King, rather than not be ſupply'd, gave way to them, and remov'd all thoſe Perſons from his Preſence. The Prince was thought to favour this Proceeding; for there ſeem'd no good Correſpondence between him and his Brother the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who now manag'd all under his aged Father, and whoſe Ambition might be dangerous to his young Son *Richard*, whom he was like to leave to his Mercy. The King in this Parliament, being the Fiftieth Year of his Reign, to gratifie his Subjects, granted another general Pardon, as another *Jubilee*; which was ſolemniz'd with great Magnificence. But this *Jubilee* was ſoon turn'd into a general Sorrow throughout the Nation by the Death of that Miracle of Mankind the incomparable Prince of *Wales*; a Prince the greateſt for Magnanimity, Valour and Bravery, and the nobleſt for Humanity, Courteſie and Wiſdom, that ever grac'd the *Engliſh* Name and Nation. With him dy'd the Hopes of all *Engliſh* Men, who receiv'd the News of his Death with unexpreſſible Affliction, and Sorrow was ſhewn even among his Enemies; and the *French* King himſelf in Memory of his Worth ſolemniz'd his Obſequies in a moſt noble Manner at *Paris*, in the Preſence of the greateſt Part of his Prelates and Peers. He dy'd in the forty ſixth Year of his Age, upon the eighth Day of *June*, in the Memory of which his Anniverſary *Obit* was afterwards appointed to be held at *Windſor* upon that Day for ever; and the whole Body of the Parliament thought themſelves honour'd in attending his Herſe to *Canterbury*, where he was interr'd with the higheſt Solemnity imaginable. His Loſs was ſo ſenſible an Affliction to his Father, the trueſt Judge of his Merits, that he ſeem'd not to live after him, nor could he continue much above a Year in this World.

A.D. 1377. Reg.51.

Richard, *Son to the* Black Prince, *declared Heir to the Crown.*

The Cauſe of this Domeſtick Mourning daily encreas'd with the Effects of his Loſs, which in a ſhort Time too much diſcover'd themſelves. The King recall'd ſuch Perſons as by Petition of the Parliament had been remov'd, and *Peter de la Marc*, Speaker of the ſame Parliament, who had nobly expreſs'd the Mind of the Houſe in the foreſaid Reformations, at the Suit of *Alice Pierce*, was condemned by the King to perpetual Impriſonment at *Nottingham*, tho' within two Years after, he with much Difficulty regain'd his Liberty. In the mean Time *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, got the Government of the Kingdom to be intruſted into his Hands by his Father. But *Richard* the eldeſt Son of the late Prince of *Wales*, for preventing all Conteſts about the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, was by his Grandfather firſt made Earl of *Cheſter*, and not long after Prince of *Wales*. And for a full Aſſurance and Security, King *Edward* cauſ'd all the Nobility of the Realm to take an

Oath to accept and defend Prince *Richard*, as lawful Heir and King of *England*, after his Deceaſe; nor durſt his Uncles, tho' famous Warriors, contradict their Father's Act. Finally the good old King, to comfort himſelf in Honouring the living Image of his nobleſt Child, to give the Mind of his Grand-child a Sight of future Majeſty, and to make his Uncles acquainted with the Reſpect due to his Perſon, he caus'd him to ſit above all his Children in an open ſolemn Feaſt.

Dr. Wicliff *broaches his Opinions.*

About this Time the famous Doctor *John Wicliff*, a Man of an acute Wit, profound Learning, and great Judgment, publickly maintain'd ſeveral material Points and Propoſitions in the Univerſity of *Oxford* againſt the Church of *Rome*; particularly againſt the Pope's Supremacy, the Infallibility of the Church, and Tranſubſtantiation. The Pope being inform'd of theſe, and foreſeeing how much his Authority might be call'd in queſtion, condemn'd twenty three of his Propoſitions as Heretical; whereupon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London* having attach'd the Body of the ſaid *Wicliff*, in the Preſence of his great Favourers the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Lord *Piercy*, declar'd the Judgment of the Pope concerning his Doctrines, which had then taken deep Root in the Univerſity, Court and Country; ſo that for a while all ſeem'd to be quiet. But upon ſome ſecret Incouragements he was not long ſilent. His Followers were in the Phraſe of theſe dark Days call'd *Lollards*, implying a Sort of *Weeds*; tho' in reality they endeavour'd to extirpate all pernicious Weeds, which Time, Sloath and Fraud had introduc'd into the Church. The Duke of *Lancaſter*, as ſome think out of private Reſentments againſt *Courtney* Biſhop of *London*, was ſo far ingag'd in his Protection, that he and the Lord *Peircy* with great Difficulty eſcap'd the Fury of the *Londoners*, who would unqueſtionably have cut them in Pieces in Revenge of ſome diſgraceful Words utter'd by the Duke againſt their Biſhop. He notwithſtanding diſſuaded them from all Violence, and kept them from forcing his Palace of the *Savay*; but ſtill in a moſt opprobrious manner they defac'd his Armouries in the open Market; a Diſhonour not to be endur'd by one of the Royal Blood. By this Outrage the People let him ſee what he and the Lord *Peircy* were to have expected, if they could have ſeiz'd them, before they had gotten to *Kennington* to Prince *Richard*, who there remain'd with his Mother. The Duke for this was highly inrag'd, and would not deſiſt from proſecuting his Revenge againſt the *Londoners*, 'till he had procur'd the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to be turn'd out of their Places, and others put in their Rooms.

The Duke of Lancaſter *protects him,*

Which cauſes a great Diſturbance in London.

One of the laſt publick Acts of the old King was the triumphant Celebration of St. *George*'s Feaſt at *Windſor*, where he himſelf had founded the Order of the Garter; and at this Solemnity he beſtow'd upon his Grand-child Prince *Richard* the Dignity of Knighthood, the only Thing in all the Patrimony of Honour that could not deſcend to him. Not long after, weaken'd with innumerable Toils and Age, he was forc'd to relinquiſh the World, as the World did him, before his Breath left him. For firſt his Concubine packing up what ſhe could get, even to the Rings of his Fingers, abandon'd him. Then his other Attendants, by her Example, ſeizing upon what they could find, fled away; and even his Counſellors forſook him in his laſt Agony, when he moſt needed their Advice, leaving his Chamber in a Manner empty; which a poor Prieſt of the Houſe obſerving, approach'd to the King's Bed-ſide, and finding him ſtill breathing, call'd upon him to remember his Saviour, and ask Mercy for his Sins, which none before would do, but every one flatter'd him with Hopes of Life. This had made him negligent of thoſe pious Cogitations fit for a dying Man; but being now excited by the Voice of this Prieſt, he ſhew'd all the Signs of Contrition, and with his laſt Breath expreſs'd the Name of *Jeſus*. Thus dy'd this mighty King at his Manor of *Sheen*, now *Richmond*, on the twenty firſt Day of *June*, and ſixty fifth Year of his Age, after a long, and for the moſt Part glorious Reign of fifty Years, four Months and twenty ſeven Days. He left the World to the infinite Grief of his Subjects, and he was magnificently interr'd in the South-Side of the Royal Chappel in *Weſtminſter* Abby, by his belov'd Conſort *Philippa*, where his Tomb is ſtill to be ſeen, and near it a prodigious Sword which the King is ſaid to have us'd in his Conqueſts of *France*.

King Edward's *laſt Sickneſs.*

His Death.

His Perſon and Character.

To ſay ſomething of the Perſon of this admirable King, he was ſomewhat tall of Stature, ſtrong and well proportion'd; of ſuch a graceful and noble Aſpect, that in his Old-Age it commanded a general Veneration, and it was reckon'd a good Omen to behold his Face, tho' only in a Dream. No Man was more mild and gentle, where there was Submiſſion; nor more ſtern and inexorable, where there was Oppoſition. In common Converſation he was very humble and familiar, both to Subjects and Strangers, but with great Gravity and Diſcretion; and nothing mean or trivial could enter into his Thoughts, but all was great and magnificent. He admirably well knew his Buſineſs, and perform'd it; therefore he was better reſpected, and better ſerv'd than any of his Predeceſſors. He was a Father to Orphans and diſtreſſed Perſons; generous in conferring Favours upon Men of true Merit; modeſt and humble in Proſperity, and never dejected in Adverſity. He ſhew'd many noble Inſtances of Piety and Charity, and in all his mighty Victories, he ever took care to give all the Glory to God. Yet his Valour and Bravery was beyond Expreſſion, and if we conſider the greateſt Part of this Reign, nothing can be imagin'd more glorious and triumphant, his Fame reaching to remote and barbarous Nations, all Foreigners envying the Happineſs of his Subjects. Some Failures indeed happen'd in the latter End of his Reign; but it was when he had in a manner out-liv'd himſelf, as well as the beſt Wife, and beſt Son in the World. Tho' he was a Prince that highly valu'd his Prerogative, yet none of his Predeceſſors paſs'd more or better Statutes for the Benefit and Liberty of his Subjects, or was more ſtrict in puniſhing his Judges and Officers for Oppreſſion, Bribery or Corruption. And as no King had more frequent and greater Taxes from his People, ſo they were ſatisfy'd they were laid out for the Honour and Defence of the Nation; and theſe were as willingly given, as they were worthily expended, till towards the latter End of his Reign, when he was too much in the Poſſeſſion of others. In ſhort, *Walſingham* tells us, That God had never rais'd up a King in *England*, ſo valiant, generous and fortunate as himſelf. For Monuments of his Charity and Munificence he founded *Eaſtminſter* an Abby near the Tower of *London*, a Nunnery at *Debtford*, *King's Hall* in *Cambridge* ſince Part of *Trinity College*, an Hoſpital for the Poor at *Calais*, and St. *Stephen*'s Chappel at *Weſtminſter* nobly endow'd; and alſo augmented the Chappel at *Windſor* with the Proviſions for Churchmen, and twenty four poor Knights. His other Buildings were great and numerous, as the Caſtle of *Windſor*, which he re-edify'd and enlarg'd, the Caſtle of *Queenborow*, the Fortifications at *Calais* and many other Places.

Thus we are arriv'd at the End of this great and mighty King's Reign, which began a new Scene of Miſeries and Calamities. We find how he came to the Throne and how he left it; in both which we have Conſiderations of great Importance. His mounting over his Father's Head into the Throne, tho' it might not be his Crime, yet it went not without a Puniſhment, and that in a high Degree. For tho' he left behind him three Sons of extraordinary Figure and Ability, yet he had not one to ſit on his Seat, but left it unguarded to a Child of eleven Years of Age, expos'd to the Ambition of Uncles who overpower'd him; to a factious and diſcontented Nation at home, and to broken and diſtracted Inheritances abroad; Himſelf having ſeen all his great Acquiſitions, gain'd with ſuch vaſt Treaſure and Bloodſhed, quite torn from him, and nothing remaining but the ſingle Town of *Calais*. The fatal Diviſions of his Poſterity were ſo pernicious to the whole Kingdom, as well as to themſelves, that if the Dead know any Thing of the Actions of the Living, he needed no other Torment than the diſmal Viſion of thoſe murder'd Princes of his Blood, whoſe Ghoſts may be ſaid to have juſtled each other where-ever they met.

SECT. IV.

The Reign of King RICHARD *the Second.*

Containing 22 Years, 2 Months, and 8 Days.

A. D. 1377. Reg. 1.

I. KING *Edward* the Third was immediately ſucceeded by his Grandſon the Prince of *Wales*, *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, then but in the Eleventh Year of his Age; not only by Hereditary Right, but alſo the univerſal Wiſhes and Deſires of the People, who had an extraordinary Love and Reſpect for him, for the Sake of his incomparable Father Prince *Edward*, whoſe Fame and Memory was infinitely dear to the Nation: And upon this ancient Stock of Merit he longer maintain'd himſelf in the Peoples Affections, than by any worthy Actions of his own. Shortly after King *Edward*'s Deceaſe, this young Prince made a publick and ſplendid Entry into the City of *London*, attended by his Uncle the Duke of *Lancaſter*; which happily produc'd a Reconciliation between that Duke and the Citizens of *London* not long after. Then upon *Thurſday* the ſixteenth of *July* the Ceremony of his Coronation was perform'd in the Abby Church in *Weſtminſter* with the utmoſt Pomp and Magnificence; and the Oath which he took before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the reſt of the Lords was ſomewhat larger than what

King Richard's *Coronation.*

we

His Oath.

New Promotions.

we find taken by former Kings, conſiſting of theſe Articles: '*Firſt that he would permit the Church to enjoy all her Liberties; That he would reverence her Miniſters, and maintain the true Faith; That he would reſtrain Violence, and all Oppreſſion, in all Sorts of Men; That he would cauſe good Laws to be every where obſerv'd, eſpecially thoſe of St.* Edward, *King and Confeſſor; and would alſo cauſe all evil Laws or Cuſtoms to be abrogated: Laſtly, That he would be no Reſpecter of Perſons, but would give right Judgment between Man and Man, and would chiefly obſerve Mercy in all his Decrees or Judgments, as God ſhould ſhew Mercy to him.* Which Form of the Coronation Oath, with ſome ſmall Alterations, has been adminiſtred to all ſucceeding Kings and Queens ever ſince that Time. Then the Archbiſhop leading the King to the four Sides of the Scaffolds, ſhew'd him to the People, and according to the ancient Cuſtom ask'd them, *If they would be ſubject to this Prince as their lawful Ruler, and be obedient to his Commands?* In this Coronation *John* of *Gaunt*, King of *Leon* and *Caſtile* and Duke of *Lancaſter*, made the nobleſt Figure of any other; and claim'd the Right of being Steward of *England*, to carry the King's principal Sword, and to be his Carver that Day. And here we may obſerve that Sir *John Dimmock*, in Right of the Manor of *Scrivelſly* in *Lincolnſhire*, was firſt admitted to ſerve as Champion to defend the King's Title againſt all Oppoſers; but how long before this Cuſtom of a Champion had been in uſe, we do not find. Then the King created his Uncle, the Lord *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Earl of *Buckingham*, with a Penſion of a thouſand Marks; the Lord *Guiſchard D' Augoleſme*, the King's Governor, Earl of *Huntington*, with the like Penſion; *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*; and *Henry* Lord *Percy*, Lord-Marſhal, Earl of *Northumberland.*

The French *gain Advantages in* England.

King Richard's *bad Education.*

The Kingdom being ingag'd in a War with *France* at the Death of the late King, the *French* took Advantage of the unſettled Times, and before the Coronation landed at *Rye* with a conſiderable Fleet, and burnt that Town; whereupon immediately after the Solemnity, the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Buckingham* were ſent to *Dover*, and the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Southampton* with conſiderable Forces to defend thoſe Parts. It ſeems there was no Fleet then ready to take the Seas, for on the twenty firſt of *Auguſt* following, the *French* with a great Number of Gallies landed in the Iſle of *Wight*, burnt ſeveral Towns there, and indeed took the whole Iſle, except the Caſtle of *Caresbrook*; which being bravely defended by Sir *Hugh Tyrrell* the Governor, they were repuls'd with conſiderable Loſs. But he being unable to ſecure the reſt of the Country, the Inhabitants of the Iſle were oblig'd to pay a thouſand Marks to the *French*, to ſave the reſt of it from Plunder and Burning. After which they landed in other Places, and burnt the Towns of *Haſtings*, *Portſmouth*, *Dartmouth* and *Plimouth*, all along that Coaſt, yet with various Succeſs; for at *Winchelſey* they found the Place valiantly defended by the Abbot of *Battel*, and the neighbouring Gentry; but in *Suſſex* the Prior of *Lewes* meeting them with ſome new-rais'd Men of the Country Militia, the *French* not only routed them, but kill'd about a hundred of the *Engliſh*, and carry'd the Prior and two Knights Priſoners into *France*, but not without a conſiderable Loſs on their Side: So unſafe was *England* at this Time, when it had neither a Fleet to defend it by Sea, nor regular Troops to oppoſe the Enemy by Land. Nor were the Civil Affairs at this Time much better manag'd: for the King being unfit to govern himſelf, his Uncles, the Duke of *Lancaſter* and Earl of *Cambridge*, with divers other Noblemen, were appointed his Protectors and Governors; who tho' at firſt they took ſome Care of his Education, yet by degrees they gave him his own Will, and ſuffer'd thoſe about his Perſon who by looſe Principles and ill Examples corrupted his good Nature; and giving him falſe Ideas of Glory, made him think it conſiſted in a riotous Way of Living, and in conferring extravagant Gifts and Honours upon Friends and Favourites. By which Means the Court became too much a School of Licentiouſneſs; but as yet the King's Vices were not thought dangerous to the publick Peace, being interpreted as the Sallies or Over-boylings of Youth, which would be remedy'd by Age and Experience.

A. D. 1378. Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.

An outragious Action committed by the Duke of Lancaſter.

The Weakneſſes of the preſent Government ſoon began to be diſcover'd by an outragious Accident this Year, ariſing firſt from a *Spaniſh* Nobleman, call'd the Earl of *Denia*, who having been taken Priſoner in the late War in *Spain* by *Robert Haule* and *John Shakel* two valiant Eſquires, found ſo much Favour as to have his Liberty, upon leaving his eldeſt Son for a Pledge, and upon Promiſe of paying his Ranſom as ſoon as he return'd home. This being neglected, and his Son remaining a Priſoner 'till his Father's Death, without being redeem'd; the Duke of *Lancaſter*, deſirous of having this young Earl in his own Hands, in Order to a Deſign he had upon *Spain*, procur'd the King to command theſe Gentlemen to deliver up their Priſoner to the Duke; which they looking upon as an arbitrary and unjuſt Proceeding, refus'd, and convey'd him out of the Way; for which they were committed cloſe Priſoners to the Tower for Contempt. But finding Means to eſcape from thence, and to take Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter* Abby, the Duke in a Rage ſent Sir *Alan Buxall* Conſtable of the Tower, with fifty armed Men, to take theſe Gentlemen out of the Sanctuary by Force; and coming upon them in the Time of Divine Service, they ſeiz'd *Shakel* and carry'd him back to the Tower. But as for *Haule*, he made ſo brave a Defence with a ſhort Fauchion, that they could not take him; 'till at length traverſing his Ground about the Choir, they got ſo much Advantage, that one of them broke his Skull, while another ran him through with a Sword; and at the ſame Time murder'd a Servant of his that ſtood by him, as alſo a Monk who interceded for his Life. This horrid Action was ſo highly reſented by the Clergy, that the Archbiſhop and five other Biſhops ſolemnly excommunicated all that were concern'd in it; yet ſtill the Duke's Power was ſo great, that we don't find any Temporal Puniſhment inflicted on the Actors of theſe publick Murders, which ſhews with what great Partiality Juſtice was adminiſter'd during the King's Minority.

John Philpot's *Acts.*

The Engliſh *Fleet ſuffers.*

The Earl of Northumberland's *Acts againſt the* Scots.

While the publick Affairs were in a declining Condition, and all Enemies had the Liberty of the *Engliſh* Seas to range in, the worthy *John Philpot*, an Alderman of *London*, ſet out a conſiderable Fleet at his own private Charge; and going in Perſon, was in a ſhort Time rewarded by a Prize of fifteen *Spaniſh* Veſſels richly laden, which abundantly repair'd all his Expences; And not long after being by the Envy of ſome call'd to an Account before the King's Council for his Preſumption, he made ſo noble a Defence, that he was diſmiſs'd with Applauſe, and without further Trouble. But the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Arundel* had not ſo good Fortune with the Fleet they ſhortly after convey'd to *Normandy*, to aſſiſt the King of *Navarre*, who was then in War with the *French* King his Brother-in-Law. For a great Part of their Fleet falling in with a ſtronger Party of *Spaniards*, many *Engliſh* Gentlemen and others loſt their Lives, or were taken Priſoners; yet the Earls themſelves arriv'd ſafe in the Harbour of *Cherburgh*, which, together with the Town and Caſtle adjoining, was deliver'd to them by Way of Mortgage by the King of *Navarre*; and afterwards it prov'd very prejudicial to the *French*, in that Part of *Normandy*. About the ſame Time the *Scots* breaking in upon that Part of *Scotland* under the *Engliſh* Dominion, burnt the Town of *Roxburgh*; but the Earl of *Northumberland* in Revenge enter'd *Scotland* with ten thouſand Men, and for three Days made a Ravage principally in the Lands of the Earl of *Marche*, who had burnt the Place. Yet not long after, the *Scots* took the Caſtle of *Berwick* by Surpriſe, and kill'd Sir *Robert Boynton* the Governor; but the Earl of *Northumberland* gathering new Forces, in nine Days Time retook it by Storm, and put all the *Scots* to the Sword, except one that diſcover'd the Contrivance and the *Scots* Deſigns: And thus by the Valour of the Earl, and his Son the Lord *Percy*, this important Place was recover'd with more Honour and Difficulty than it was ſurpris'd.

A. D. 1379. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

Advantages gain'd in France.

Nor was the Spirit of the *Engliſh*, which now began to re-kindle, unactive in other Places; for as Sir *Robert Rous* had ſeveral Ways moleſted the *French*, and taken *Oliver*, Brother to the renowned *Glequin*, Priſoner; ſo Sir *John de Harleſtone*, Governor of *Cherburgh* after him, ſlew and took many *Frenchmen* in an Ingagement. Theſe were but the forerunning Drops of greater approaching Showers: For Sir *Hugh Calverley* and Sir *Thomas Percy*, made Admirals of the narrow Seas, took many rich Prizes, and perform'd many other worthy Actions, bringing home the acceptable News of the great Diſlike that the Inhabitants of *Bretaign* had conceiv'd againſt the *French* King and his ſevere Government in thoſe Parts. In the ſame Year, the Lord *John Montfort*, whom the *French* had expell'd, being invited home by his Barons, return'd into his Dukedom of *Bretaign*, accompany'd with the valiant Knights *Calverley* and *Percy*, where he with his Friends and Followers were receiv'd with extraordinary Honour. But not long after, Sir *John* of *Arundel*, Brother to the Earl of *Arundel*, being ſent into *Bretaign* to aſſiſt the Duke, was with ſeveral others drown'd in the Sea. Our Author imputes it as the juſt Effect of God's Vengeance againſt the ſaid Sir *John* and his Family, for their numerous Vices and Outrages, practis'd by him and them before they left *England*, for which they were loaden with the bitter Imprecations of the People. Theſe Employments, with freſh Deſigns on foot, found need of pecuniary Supplies; whereupon, in a Parliament held at *London*, it was agreed, That for a Supply of the King's Neceſſities the common People ſhould be ſpared, and the Burden wholly laid upon the richer Sort. The Rates of the Tax were theſe; Arch-

Biſhops, Dukes, Earls and Biſhops at ten Marks each, Miter'd Abbots at as much, beſides forty Pence for every Monk under their Subjection. In ſhort, ſays *Walſingham*, there was no Religious Perſon, Man or Woman, Juſticiary, Sheriff, Knight, Eſquire, Parſon, Vicar or Chauntry Prieſt free from this Tax, rated according to the Value of their annual Revenues. About the ſame Time *John Shakel*, who had been committed to the Tower for not delivering up his Hoſtage the young Earl of *Denia*, was now by a Reward from the King willing to comply, and put him into the King's Hands. Which being done, the Diſcovery of the Priſoner ſtruck all Men with Admiration: For tho' the young Earl might have been treated according to his Quality, had he diſcover'd himſelf, yet he faithfully kept his Word, and appear'd in no other Habit than that of a meer Servant to his Keeper, under which unſuſpected Diſguiſe he had lain conceal'd in the Tower, from the Time of the Diſpute about him: A noble Example of true Honour, which cannot be paſs'd by without Injury to his Virtue.

A generous Act.

A.D. 1380. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

New Advantages in France.

After ſufficient Supplies ganted in the following Year, the King's Uncle the Earl of *Buckingham*, with *Calverly*, *Percy*, *Knolls*, *Windſor*, and other valiant Knights, with competent Forces, were ſent to aſſiſt the Duke of *Bretaign*. But becauſe the *French* Gallies infeſted the narrow Seas, they landed at *Calais*, and from thence they march'd through the Body of *France*, ravaging the Countries and burning the Towns, without any great Reſiſtance from the *French*, 'till they all ſafely arriv'd in the Province of *Bretaign*. About theſe Times were many Civil Conteſts in the Kingdom of *France*: For the Duke of *Burgundy*, younger Brother to King *Charles* lately deceas'd, being made Guardian of the Perſon and Dominions of his Nephew *Charles* then in Minority, had his elder Brother the Duke of *Anjou* for his mortal Enemy. And their bloody Conteſts happen'd fortunately for the *Engliſh* Succours in the Dukedom of *Bretaign*, out of which as Duke *John* had been expell'd for adhering to his Father-in-Law the late King *Edward*, ſo the *Engliſh* did their utmoſt to ſupport him in his Cauſe. In theſe Extremities the *French* were reliev'd by their ancient Diverſion: For the *Scots* entering about that Time with Fire and Sword into *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, drove away much Cattle, ſlew the Inhabitants, riffled the Booths and Houſes of *Pierth* in the Time of a great Fair, killed and took many Men, and diſpers'd the reſt. The Earl of *Northumberland* preparing for a bloody Revenge, not without Wonder was commanded to deſiſt by Letters from the King, or rather ſome evil Counſellors about him. But how coldly ſoever the publick Affairs were purſu'd, the Want of Mony for Supplies was ſtill alledg'd and pretended. And therefore in a Parliament held at *Northampton* great Supplies were propos'd, and that the Clergy ſhould pay a Third Part of the Tax, as having in Poſſeſſion one Third of the Nation's Revenues. But at length it was finally agreed that every Perſon in the Kingdom, of all Conditions, Males and Females, of the Age of Fifteen Years, except Beggars, ſhould pay twelve Pence a Head; and the richer People in every Town were to contribute to the Aſſiſtance of thoſe that were leſs able.

A ſevere Tax laid:

A.D. 1381. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.

Which occaſions a dangerous Rebellion.

This extraordinary Poll-Tax was in a ſhort Time made uſe of as a principal Occaſion for a very dangerous Inſurrection, throughout many Parts of the Nation. For ſome of the King's Officers had complain'd that the Mony was not duly collected, therefore one *John Ley* and three of his Aſſociates obtain'd a Commiſſion to inſpect and review the late Levy, agreeing to pay the King a conſiderable Sum for the Advantage of it. On which Pretence they committed horrible Oppreſſions, Exactions and Inſolencies in many Parts, eſpecially in *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Norfolk*, and the adjacent Counties; with which the common People, being highly incens'd, join'd with the *Villains* or *Bondmen*, firſt begun a Mutiny, and afterwards broke out into open Rebellion. For ſome of the Tax-Gatherers had been ſo inſolent as to turn up the Coats of certain young Girls, to ſee if they were of full Age to pay; which ſo provok'd one call'd from his Trade *Wat Tyler*, of *Deptford* in *Kent*, whoſe Daughter had been thus us'd, that he not only beat out the Collector's Brains with his Hammer, but to avoid Puniſhment, drew together the Rabble, and ſoon incens'd them into a moſt deſperate Rebellion. Then great Multitudes being gather'd together, they broke open the Jail at *Maidſtone*, where one *John Ball*, a factious Prieſt then a Priſoner, having gain'd his Liberty, march'd along with them, and growing vaſtly numerous, he at *Black-Heath* made a ſeditious Diſcourſe to them, taking for his Subject this known vulgar Proverb, '*When* Adam '*delv'd, and* Eve *ſpan, Who was then a Gentleman*? From whence he inferr'd, according to the uſual Topicks of moſt Rebellions, that the Inequality of Mankind was contrary to the Will of God, who if he had pleas'd to have created Slaves or Bondmen, would have appointed who ſhould have been Servants, and who Lords and Maſters. This dangerous Doctrine was highly applauded by the Vulgar, who thus animated by their Multitudes, and holding Correſpondence with others like themſelves in *Eſſex* and other Counties, took up Arms, and ſtopping all Paſſengers they forc'd them to ſwear Fidelity to King *Richard* and the Commons, and never to own any King whoſe Name was *John*, which they did in Hatred to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. In a ſhort Time the *Eſſex* and *Kentiſh* Men being join'd at *Black-Heath*, made up a Body of near a hundred thouſand Men, chiefly conſiſting of *Villains*, Bond-Tenants, Country Clowns, Debtors, and Criminals, all headed by *Wat Tyler*. Their Pretences were Liberty, and a Reformation of evil Laws and Cuſtoms; in order to which they cut off the Heads of all the Lawyers they could find, alledging, *That the People could never enjoy true Liberty, while they were ſuffer'd to live in the Nation.*

Wat Tyler *is Ring-leader.*

The Rebels in vaſt Numbers enter London.

The King amaz'd at this extraordinary Meeting ſent to know the Occaſion of it; and his Meſſengers were told, *That they met to ſpeak with the King about certain Matters, and that he muſt come to them, and hear what they had to deſire.* Some about the King perſuaded him to go immediately, but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Treaſurer *Hales*, earneſtly diſſuaded him from it, urging him to think of ſuppreſſing, rather than treating with ſuch an unruly Multitude. Upon Notice of which they threaten'd to cut off the Heads of theſe Counſellors; and forthwith marching into *Southwark*, they pull'd down Houſes, and broke the King's Priſons, and ſet all the Priſoners at Liberty, who join'd with them. The Bridge-Gate was at firſt ſhut againſt them, but by Threatnings and the Aſſiſtance of ſome of the ſame Temper in the City, the Gates were open'd, and they had free Paſſage into the City, where they declar'd *That they came only to ſearch for Traitors to the Kingdom*, and at that Time paid for what they call'd for, which gave them a Reputation among the common Sort, and increas'd their Numbers. The next Day, being the thirteenth of *June*, they march'd through the City to the *Savoy*, then the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Palace, which they burnt and beat down, deſtroying all the rich Furniture, throwing his Gold and Jewels into the *Thames*, as likewiſe all his Plate, firſt breaking it into ſmall Pieces. Here they by Proclamation made it Capital for any Man to retain the leaſt Thing for his own Uſe, to ſhew the People they were not ſway'd by Avarice; and when one of their Companions was diſcover'd to thruſt a Piece of Plate into his Boſom, they immediately threw him into the Fire, declaring, *That they did not come like Thieves, to inrich themſelves by Plunder.* From the *Savoy* they came back to the *Temple*, the Abode of the Lawyers, and without harkning to Intreaties burnt their Lodgings, Books, Papers, and all the Records that were there kept. From thence they rang'd to *Clerkenwell*, where they deſtroy'd all the Goods in the Hoſpital of St. *John*, and ſet Fire to that magnificent Building. After which they divided themſelves into three Bodies, one of which being headed by another Captain, call'd *Jack Straw*, went to *Heybury* Manor, belonging to the Maſter of St. *John*'s Hoſpital, where they were buſied in deſtroying and plundering all the Goods belonging to it, and demoliſhing a noble Houſe that ſtood there. A ſecond Body of them, who were moſt of *Eſſex*, and the Neighbouring Parts, lodg'd themſelves upon *Mile-End* Green; and a third about St. *Catharine*'s, and *Tower-Hill*.

They commit many horrid Outrages.

The King Treats with them.

The next Day the King went with ſeveral Noblemen to thoſe at *Mile-End*, who were about ſixty thouſand, where he told them *He was their King*, demanding, *What they would have.* Their Anſwer was, *They deſir'd he would make them, their Heirs and Lands free for ever, ſo that they might not be call'd or reputed Bond-men.* The King granted their Deſire, on Condition they would return home, and leave two or three of each Pariſh to ſtay for their Charters of Freedom, ſeal'd with the Great-Seal; which being diſpatch'd with the utmoſt Expedition, and all their Pardons ſign'd, moſt of the *Eſſex* Men return'd home to their own Habitations. Yet all this did not ſatisfie the inſolent *Wat Tyler*, who had plac'd himſelf and his *Kentiſh* Rabble about *Tower-Hill*; where the Terror of his rude Multitude was ſo great, that the Gates of the *Tower* were open'd to them without Reſiſtance, from whence they hurry'd away the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treaſurer *Hales* and ſome others, and impiouſly cut off their Heads upon *Tower-Hill*. After which they rang'd into the City, and cut off the Heads of many *Engliſhmen*, to whom they had any Averſion; and among the reſt they diſpatch'd a famous Merchant nam'd *Richard Lyons*, whoſe Head they ſet upon a Lance: And their Hatred to the *Flemmings* was ſo implacable, that they drew thirteen of them out of the Church of the *Auguſtin Friars*, and ſeventeen more out of other Churches, and cut off their Heads in the Streets with infernal Shouts and hideous Outcries.

They commit new Outrages.

In the following Day, proceeding in the ſame outragious manner, the King ſent to let them know that their

The King meets Wat Tyler *in* London *Streets.*

Wat Tyler *ſlain at the Head of his Party.*

The Rebels ſubmit.

Companions at *Mile-End*, upon receiving Charters of Freedom were return'd home in Peace, offering them the like Charters, if they would accept of them. To which *Wat Tyler* reply'd, *He would embrace Peace, if he lik'd the Conditions*; deſigning to have delay'd the King and Council, ſo that in that Night he might deſtroy both King and Nobility, and plunder and burn the City, as it appear'd afterwards. Three Charters being ſent to him without ſatisfying him, the King at laſt ſent a Knight to him, who told him that he ſhould come and treat with him about the Articles to be inſerted in their Charter; and when the Meſſenger deſir'd him to make haſte, he bad him *Tell the King his Maſter he would come when he ſaw his own Time*, and ſo follow'd on very ſlowly on Horſeback for the greater State. Upon his approaching the King in the Streets, the ſame Knight being ſent again to receive Propoſals from him, he was highly offended becauſe he came to him mounted, and told him, *It became him to alight from his Horſe in his Preſence*, and drew out his Dagger to ſtrike him: Upon which the King coming up, caus'd his Meſſenger to alight. Here *Tyler*'s Demands were ſo bold and exorbitant, that the King, tho' never more ready to comply, began to demur; which caus'd the other to behave himſelf with an Inſolence not to be endur'd by any Sovereign. Whereupon the valiant *John Philpot*, fir'd with Indignation, told his Majeſty, *That if he would command the Lord-Mayor to arreſt the Traitor, he would loſe his Life if it did not ſucceed:* To which the King conſented, and gave ſuch a Command to *William Walworth*, then Lord-Mayor, who waiting an Opportunity, and obſerving *Tyler* to play with his Dagger as if he deſign'd ſome fatal Stroke, and then to lay one of his Hands upon the King's Bridle, he inſtantly executed his Arreſt, by giving him a Blow on the Head with his Dagger, which being ſeconded by *Philpot*'s Sword in his Body, he fell down dead at the King's Horſe's Feet, with more Honour than he deſerv'd. The Multitude ſeeing this, began furiouſly to cry out, *Our Captain is murder'd, let's revenge his Death!* But the King with a Courage and Ingenuity beyond his Years, clapp'd Spurs to his Horſe, and riding to the Head of them, cry'd aloud, *Never grieve for the Death of a Traitor, I will be your Captain and Leader, follow me into the Field, and you ſhall have all your Deſires.* Upon which Words, in amaze, they follow'd him towards St. *George*'s Fields, 'till Sir *Robert Knolls* with a thouſand armed Men rais'd by the Mayor came upon them out of the City, which ſo terrify'd this Headleſs Multitude, that they flung down their Arms and begg'd for Mercy; which the King granted freely, but proclaim'd that no Citizen ſhould have any Correſpondence with them, nor ſuffer them to come within the Liberties. When ſome about the King ask'd leave to ſerve the Rebels as they had ſerv'd others, and to cut off a hundred or two of their Heads, he mercifully forbad it, leſt the Innocent might ſuffer with the Guilty, for many had been drawn in by Fear, and ſuch fair Pretences as they thought good and loyal; ſo that he ſent them the like Charters he had granted to thoſe of *Eſſex*, and other Counties.

Inſurrections in other Counties.

They are ſuppreſs'd.

The Deſigns of the late Rebels.

The King's Grants revok'd.

This Spirit of Inſurrection and Rebellion was not confin'd to *London*, but furiouſly ſpread it ſelf through ſeveral Parts of the Nation. In *Suffolk* about fifty thouſand aroſe under the Conduct of *John Straw* a wicked Prieſt, who beſides many other Barbarities cut off the Head of Sir *John Cavendiſh*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of *England*, and ſet it upon the Pillory at St. *Edmund*'s-*Bury*. In *Norfolk* vaſt Numbers of the ſame ſort of People aroſe under the Conduct of *John Littiſter*, a Dyer of *Norwich*, who compell'd the Lord *Scales*, Sir *William Morley*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, and other Men of Quality to remain with them, and for their own Security to comply with their Actions. Great Numbers alſo appear'd about St. *Albans*, under the Command of a common Chandler, who committed unheard-of Outrages and Cruelties; and others again roſe in ſeveral Parts of *Eſſex*. *Henry Spenſer* Biſhop of *Norwich* prov'd very ſerviceable in ſuppreſſing the Rebels of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Buckingham* and Lord *Piercy* did the ſame in *Eſſex*, but in both Places with conſiderable Bloodſhed. However in a ſhort Time all Inſurrections were quell'd, and the Multitudes diſpers'd; and the King appointed Sir *Robert Treſilian* his Chief Juſtice, and ſome others to try and puniſh the Ringleaders of this dangerous Rebellion. Many were executed at ſeveral Places, of whom *John Straw* and *John Ball* the Prieſt had been moſt notorious; and by the Confeſſions of theſe two it appear'd what deſperate Deſigns had been laid towards the Ruin and Subverſion of the Nation. Particularly, That when they aſſembled at *Black-Heath*, and ſent to the King to come to them, they deſign'd to have ſlain all the Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen that came with him, and to have carry'd the King with them from Place to Place, that the Mob might with greater Aſſurance come into their Aſſiſtance, when they ſhould ſee him as it were the Promoter of their Inſurrections: That when their Numbers were ſufficient in all Counties, they were to have kill'd ſuch Lords, Knights and others, as were moſt able to reſiſt them, eſpecially the *Hoſpitallers:* At laſt they were to have kill'd the King, and all the Biſhops, Monks, and Rectors of Churches poſſeſs'd of any Lands and real Eſtates, only ſparing the *Mendicant* Friars, who were ſufficient to perform Divine Service throughout the Nation: After all, when there had been none more powerful and knowing than themſelves, they would make ſuch Laws as they pleas'd, by which the People were to be govern'd; and they intended to have created new Kings, as *Wat Tyler* in *Kent*, and one in each County. In Conſideration therefore of this great Eſcape, and the Worth of particular Perſons, the King Knighted *William Walworth* Lord-Mayor, *John Philpot*, *Nicholas Brambre*, and *Robert Laund* Aldermen; and gave to the firſt a hundred Pounds *per Annum* Land, and to the other Three forty Pounds *per Annum*, to them and their Heirs for ever: And, as ſome write, the Dagger was now added to the Arms of the City of *London*. And leſt the miſchievous Multitude ſhould, to the King's Diſhonour and common Hurt of the Church and Kingdom, enjoy any Benefit by their intolerable Outrages, the King by the Advice of his Council ſent revocatory Letters into all Parts, by which he declar'd, 'That 'no Man ſhould enjoy any Freedom or Advantage by 'Virtue of any extorted Grants and Charters during the 'late Inſurrections*:* All which was likewiſe declar'd and ratify'd in a Parliament held at *Weſtminſter*, not long after.

The Engliſh *Acts in* Portugal.

The Duke of Lancaſter *makes a Truce with the* Scots.

In the ſame Year of theſe Tumults and Inſurrections, the *Engliſh* Valour began again to diſplay it ſelf in diſtant Countries, chiefly to gratifie the private Ends of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, who claim'd the Crown of *Caſtile* and *Leon* in *Spain*, in Right of *Conſtance* his Wife. For *John* King of *Portugal* had a defenſive War againſt *John* then Poſſeſſor of the Town of *Caſtile*, who alſo challeng'd the Crown of *Portugal*, in Right of *Beatrix* his Wife, the only Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal*, which this other *John*, a natural Son of *Ferdinand*'s, had by Faction uſurp'd. To the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Portugal* were ſent the King's Uncle, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, with many Knights, and others experienc'd in Arms. Theſe arriving in *Portugal*, moſt valiantly defended that Country for about two Years, and were the principal Cauſe of giving the *Spaniards* a ſignal Overthrow, in which they loſt ten thouſand Men in Battel. But at length the two Kings, by a publick Agreement, bore the Charges of conveying home the *Engliſh* in Common, that their Countries might be freed from a Power of which they were both equally jealous. In this Expedition *Edward*, Son to the King's Uncle the Earl of *Cambridge*, marry'd the Daughter of *John* King of *Portugal*; but afterwards the Earl not thinking it fit to leave his Son behind him, as ſuſpecting the Faith of the *Portugueſe*, nor the other to venture his Daughter with the Earl, they ever remain'd disjoin'd in Perſons, however united in Ceremony. In the mean Time the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Occaſion of the Expedition, at breaking out of the Inſurrections was upon the Borders of *Scotland*, about ſettling a two Years Truce with the *Scots*, which he concluded with what Expedition he could before the *Scots* had full Intelligence of the Troubles in *England*. The *Scots*, tho' they were ſorry that this Truce had hinder'd them from great Advantages in *England*, underſtanding that ſome *Engliſh* Peers had form'd Deſigns againſt the Duke, freely offer'd him twenty thouſand Men to defend his Honour; but he loyally refuſing the Offer, they gave him Liberty to go and come into their Nation at his Liberty, with all the Marks of Civility and Hoſpitality.

A. D. 1382. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$.

King Richard *marries* Anne *Siſter to the Emperor.*

A Parliament call'd.

II. King *Richard* being now in the ſixteenth Year of his Age, and the Nation in quiet, he marry'd the Lady *Anne*, Daughter to the Emperor *Charles* the Fourth, and Siſter to *Wenceſlaus* the preſent Emperor and King of *Bohemia*. This Princeſs arriving at *Dover*, was receiv'd with great Solemnity by a ſplendid Concourſe of Nobility, and was marry'd to the King on the fourteenth Day of *January*; and the Nuptials being celebrated with extraordinary Magnificence, ſhe was ſolemnly crown'd Queen by *William Courtney*, lately made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. She was a Princeſs of great Virtue and Goodneſs, which was all the King had with her; for inſtead of a great Portion in Mony, which he was then offer'd with the Duke of *Milan*'s Daughter, he gave the Emperor ten thouſand Marks for his Alliance, which never prov'd of any Advantage to him. Not long after, a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, where many uſeful Things were enacted concerning the Exceſs of Apparel, the Tranſportation of Corn, and other Matters: But to what Purpoſe, ſays *Walſingham*, are Acts of Parliament, when after they are paſs'd, they take no Effect? For, adds he, the King and his private Council did uſually change or aboliſh all Things which had been eſtabliſh'd by the whole Nobility and Commons of *England*. Nevertheleſs it was then provided, that ſuch as had done any Thing in their own Defence againſt the Rebels, without the ordinary Forms of Law, ſhould ſuſtain no Damage, but be as much indemnify'd as if they had enjoy'd their particular Pardons; and that all Releaſes, Feoffments, and other Acts done during theſe *Hurling Times*, as they were call'd, by way of Conſtraint or Neceſſity, ſhould be utterly void. With the ſpecial Approbation of this Parliament Sir *Richard Scroop* was made Chancellor of the Realm, and Sir *Hugh Segrave* Treaſurer: But it was not long after before this worthy Chancellor, denying to paſs ſuch exorbitant Grants under the Great-Seal, as the King in his youthful Humour had imprudently given to ſome greedy Courtiers, fell into the King's undeſerv'd Diſpleaſure. He alledg'd ſeveral Reaſons for his Denial; as that the King was greatly in Debt, and therefore ſuch Bounties ought rather to be imploy'd in diſcharging ſome of the Creditors; That theſe Courtiers, knowing that he was ſo much involv'd, were not true Friends to his Majeſty, regarding their private Gains before his Profit, or the publick Wants; That the ſame Courtiers had formerly receiv'd ſuch Gifts from his Majeſty, as were anſwerable to their Services; and that himſelf, if he ſhould ſeal theſe Grants made in the King's Minority, would receive no Thanks when he ſhould come to riper Years. After all theſe Allegations, he was order'd more than once to ſend the Seal to the King; and going in Perſon he ſurrender'd it with theſe Words, *That he would always be loyal and faithful to his Majeſty, but would never bear any Office under him as long as he liv'd.* By this Act the King highly diſguſted the great Men and others of the Kingdom; and gave the firſt Occaſion of Diſlike to his Government, or rather to his chief Miniſters, who then manag'd all Affairs, and continually prevail'd upon the King's Youth, and Eaſineſs of his Temper.

The King diſobliges the Nobility and others.

A.D. 1383. Reg. 6/7.

About theſe Times *Henry Spenſer*, the Martial Biſhop of *Norwich*, being drawn on by Pope *Urban* to preach up the *Cruſado*, and to ſerve as General againſt *Clement*, whom ſeveral Cardinals and Prelates had alſo elected Pope, obtain'd a Fifteenth from the Parliament for that Purpoſe; and having gather'd a conſiderable Force, he paſs'd over into *Flanders* to ſupport the Cauſe of *Urban* againſt the Anti-Pope *Clement*. Moſt of the Nobility were great Oppoſers of this Expedition, yet ſtill the Biſhop for a while proceeded with great Succeſs, took *Gravelin*, *Burburgh*, *Newport*, *Dunkirk*, and ſeveral other Places, and gain'd alſo a Victory at Sea againſt thirty thouſand of *Clement*'s Aſſiſtants; yet at length he was forc'd to return before he expected, being deſtitute of thoſe further Succours promis'd him from *England*. And what prov'd harder to him, the King upon Pretence that he had not exactly obey'd his Orders and Commands, for a while ſeiz'd upon all his Temporalities. In the mean Time the King himſelf with his young Queen ſpent all the Summer in Jollity and youthful Recreations, going on Progreſs to the great Abbies about the Kingdom, with an exceſſive Retinue of *Bohemians*; and lying at the Abby of St. *Edmunds-Bury* no leſs than ten Days, it prov'd a heavy Burden, being both of them preſented there, as well as at all the other Monaſteries they viſited, with large Gifts, which the Queen pour'd forth upon her *Bohemian* Countrymen. And as this was an Indication of exceſſive Eaſineſs and Prodigality in the King, ſo it extreamly diminiſh'd the Eſteem his Subjects hitherto had of him.

The Acts of Spenſer *Biſhop of* Norwich.

The King's Recreations.

A.D. 1384. Reg. 7/8.

In the Beginning of the following Year, the Duke of *Lancaſter* return'd from his Embaſſie in *France*, where he could only procure a Truce of half a Year's Continuance. At his Return, he and his Brother the Earl of *Buckingham* advanc'd with a very great Force towards *Scotland*, to revenge the Breach of a Truce; but ſtaid ſo long upon the Borders, 'till all Proviſions being conſum'd, the Inhabitants receiv'd more Injury from the *Engliſh* Army than by the Invaſion of the *Scots*. Yet afterwards he enter'd *Scotland*, but by means of his Delays, the *Scots* had ſufficient Time to ſecure their Goods and Perſons; ſo that meeting with nothing but Hunger and Cold, after the Loſs of many Men and Horſes, the Duke return'd with Diſhonour. Soon after his Return he was encounter'd with a more dangerous Enemy; a *Carmelite* Friar had, at a Parliament held at *Saliſbury*, made a Diſcovery in Writing to the King, of a Deſign that the Duke had to deſtroy his Majeſty, and uſurp the Crown: But the King adviſing about it only with ſome of his Chaplains, and the Duke coming in ſuddenly upon them, they counſell'd the King to ſhew the Duke his Accuſation in Writing; upon the Sight of which, he boldly deny'd all, and ſo ſeemingly well clear'd himſelf, that the Friar was committed Priſoner to the Cuſtody of the Lord *John Holland*, and the Evening before the appointed Time of Hearing the Cauſe, he was found murder'd after a moſt barbarous and unheard-of Manner. The next Morning the Friar's Body was dragg'd about the Streets, as a Traitor, at a Horſe's Tail, to remove all Suſpicion of the Murder; and the Earl of *Buckingham* furiouſly ruſh'd into the King's Chamber, declaring with a terrible Oath, *That he would kill any Perſon living who durſt lay Treaſon to his Brother's Charge, not excepting the King himſelf.* But what tended much to the Duke's Innocency, was, that the Lord *Zouch* was likewiſe accus'd of the ſame Treaſon by the ſame Friar; and being ſick was forc'd to be brought thither in a Litter, and examin'd before the Lords, where he ſolemnly deny'd the whole Accuſation upon Oath, and that he ever heard or thought of ſuch a Deſign: Upon which he was acquitted, and permitted to return home; and afterwards became an utter Enemy to all *Carmelite* Friars. Not long after this Eſcape, the Duke's Enemies, who highly wiſh'd for his Death, ſo repreſented him to the King, that it was agreed he ſhould be ſuddenly arreſted, and brought before chief Juſtice *Treſilian*, who had boldly undertaken to give Sentence againſt him, tho' the Law gave him the Privilege of his Peers. But the Duke being forewarn'd of theſe Contrivances, haſten'd to his Caſtle at *Pomfret*, and there ſtood upon his Guard; upon which the Princeſs *Joan* the King's Mother, dreading the fatal Effects of ſuch a Rupture, took infinite Pains by Riding, notwithſtanding her Years and Corpulency, between the King and the Duke, to pacifie and reconcile them; and at length brought them to ſuch Terms, that all Appearance of Diſpleaſure on one Side, and Diſtruſt on the other, was for that Time remov'd.

The Duke of Lancaſter *enters* Scotland.

He is accus'd of Treaſon.

He is cleared.

After new Suſpicions he is reconcil'd to the King.

This Storm being over, the Duke went again into *France*, in mighty State, to treat about a Peace; and tho' he ſtaid a conſiderable Time with many Noblemen in his Company, yet he only obtain'd three Months Truce, after the Expence of fifty thouſand Marks. During his Abſence, a great Favourite of his call'd *John* of *Northampton*, alias *Comberton*, once Mayor of *London*, was ſummon'd before the King and Nobility, and try'd for ſome late ſeditious Practices in *London*, and formally convicted. Sentence being ready to be given againſt him in the King's Preſence, he alledg'd, *That Judgment ought not to paſs upon him in the Abſence of his Lord the Duke of* Lancaſter, *which at the ſame time render'd him ſuſpected*; But the Judge told the Criminal, *That he muſt acquit himſelf by Duel, or elſe by the Laws of the Land muſt be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd*; to which making no Anſwer, he was condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment, ſent to *Tintagel* Caſtle in *Cornwall*, and had his Goods ſeiz'd for the King's Uſe. Shortly after, a new Parliament being call'd, News was brought of the Surpriſe of the Caſtle of *Berwick* by the *Scots*, being ſold by the Deputy-Governor to the Earl of *Northumberland*; for which the Earl, tho' abſent, was accus'd; and, by the Procurement of the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Enemy, found guilty of Treaſon without his Appearance. But Circumſtances being conſider'd, the King pardon'd him, but much againſt the Duke's Inclinations; which was alſo the Occaſion of a freſh Conteſt between theſe two great Men. As ſoon as the Earl was pardon'd and reſtor'd, he himſelf rais'd a conſiderable Army, and march'd to the Siege of that Caſtle in the Depth of Winter; but finding he could not then take it by Force, he recover'd it the ſame Way it was loſt, obtaining it by the Sum of two thouſand Marks paid to the Garriſon; and by that dear-bought Experience learnt to take greater Care of that conſiderable Fortreſs.

He goes into France.

Berwick *Caſtle loſt to the* Scots, *but recovered again.*

A.D. 1385. Reg. 8/9.

The King and Court liv'd in great State, Pleaſure and Security, 'till the Beginning of the next *June*, when News arriv'd of a formidable Invaſion from *France*; and that *John de Vienne*, their Admiral, was ſail'd from thence with a vaſt Fleet, and had tranſported a numerous Army into *Scotland*, to joyn with the *Scots*, and enter *England* that Way. Upon which the King immediately prepar'd an Army to march into *Scotland*, and ſent the Duke of *Lancaſter* with a conſiderable Force to ſecure the Borders. In the Beginning of *July* the King went in Perſon to *Leiceſter*, and his beloved Queen with him; where he was attended by the Flower of the *Engliſh* Militia, as Earls, Barons, Knights and others, to a prodigious Number, who made noble Preparations for them, which extreamly pleas'd the King. But upon his Arrival at *York*, that Satisfaction was much abated by an unfortunate Accident near that City: For a Quarrel ariſing between the Lord *John Holland* the King's Half-Brother, and the eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Stafford*; the former kill'd the latter upon the Road, as he was going to the Queen, whoſe menial Servant he was. At which the King was ſo highly incens'd at the Loſs of one bred up with himſelf, that he commanded his Brother to be ſeiz'd, and his Goods to be confiſcated; but this young Lord, finding the Tide run ſo high againſt him, avoided the Storm by taking Sanctuary at *Beverly*. The Princeſs *Joan*, Mother both to the King and this Nobleman, hearing this ill News, immediately ſent Meſſengers to the King to intercede for her Son, and obtain his Pardon; but the King was ſo inrag'd, that he ab-

France *joins with* Scotland.

A bad Accident near York.

ſolutely deny'd her Requeſt; with which ſhe was ſo ſenſibly afflicted, that it caſt her into a Fit of Sickneſs which in four or five Days prov'd her Death. Her Body being embalm'd was preſerv'd 'till the King's Return from *Scotland*, when it was ſolemnly interr'd in the Church of the *Friars Minors* at *Stamford*; after which the King's Fury againſt his Brother gradually diminiſh'd.

King Richard *enters* Scotland,

About the Beginning of *Auguſt* the King enter'd *Scotland* with his mighty Army, but to little Effect; for either he could not find the *Scots*, or could not follow them into their Woods, Bogs and Faſtneſſes, whither they and the Cattle were retir'd. So finding the Country vacant, he burnt the City of *Edinburgh*, and ſeveral other Places, and deſtroy'd many Woods and Groves. But when the Duke of *Lancaſter* urg'd him to imitate his noble Grandfather King *Edward*, in carrying his Arms beyond the *Friths*, and in totally reducing that Kingdom, the King was ſo far from complying, that ſuſpecting the Duke gave him this Advice only to ruin him and his Army with long Marches and Famine, he return'd him very ſharp and opprobrious Language upon that Subject; and tho' the Duke's Anſwers were temper'd with great Duty and Modeſty, yet they had ſo little Effect, that the Lords found it very difficult to reconcile the King and him. The Seaſon being far advanced, King *Richard* return'd into *England*, and in full Time; for during theſe Tranſactions in *Scotland*, the *Scotch* and *French* Forces ſlipping paſt the *Engliſh*, enter'd the *Weſt-Marches*, burnt *Penrith*, plunder'd the Country, took many Priſoners, and indanger'd *Carliſle*. But hearing of the Return of the *Engliſh* Army, they retir'd into their own Country; but carry'd more out of *England*, than King *Richard* with his dreadful Army could do out of *Scotland*, tho' he had the Plunder of the Capital City of the Kingdom: Upon ſuch unequal Terms muſt a Richer Nation make War upon a Poorer as warlike as themſelves. All this Time the *French* King was providing a mighty Fleet and Army at *Sluis* in *Flanders* to invade *England*, but was hinder'd in the Attempt by the *Flemmings*, who tir'd with the Heavineſs of the *French* Yoke, had taken up Arms and ſurpriſed the ſtrong Town of *Dam*; which tho' it was recover'd in no long Time, yet by this Diverſion the *French* King was forced to defer his intended Invaſion 'till the next Year.

but to little Effect.

A Parliament.

In the mean Time the King held a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, in which was granted large Supplies towards an Expedition to be made by the Duke of *Lancaſter* into *Spain*, under the Title of King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. In which Parliament alſo the King's Uncle *Edward* Earl of *Cambridge* was created Duke of *York*, and had a Grant from the King of a thouſand Pounds *per Annum* to ſupport his Dignity; and alſo *Thomas* Earl of *Buckingham*, the King's other Uncle, was created Duke of *Gloceſter*, with the like Gift or Settlement to ſupport his Dignity. At the ſame Time *Michael de la Pole* was made Earl of *Suffolk* with a ſuitable Penſion, which occaſion'd ſome Diſcontent, tho' his Family had well deſerv'd of the Crown in the laſt Reign. But what rais'd the greateſt Envy was the Advance of *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who, without any Thing to recommend him but a beautiful Body, was now by an unuſual Title created Marqueſs of *Dublin*, and had a Grant of all the Revenues of *Ireland*, except ſome Royalties reſerv'd to the Crown, upon paying the annual Sum of five thouſand Marks. The King's extraordinary Fondneſs to this handſome Favourite was the Occaſion of great Scandal, both to One and the Other. To conclude this Year, the famous *John Wickliff*, after he had made great Numbers of Proſelytes, dy'd of a Palſie, to the great Joy of the Monkiſh Writers of thoſe Times; who boldly aſcrib'd his Death to the Judgment of God, and that as a Puniſhment for his Heretical Sermons, the Uſe of his Tongue was taken from him. He was bury'd at his own Pariſh-Church at *Lutterworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*, where his Bones reſted in Peace, 'till forty one Years after, by a Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, they were dug up and burnt as thoſe of a Heretick.

Several new Promotions.

Dr. Wickliff'*s Death.*

A. D. 1386. Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$.

The Duke of Lancaſter *goes into* Spain *with a brave Army.*

The Time was now come when King *Richard* ſhould ſee himſelf deliver'd from thoſe Fears and Jealouſies which the Greatneſs of his Uncle the Duke of *Lancaſter* had raiſed in his Mind. And upon *Eaſter* Day the Duke, as King of *Caſtile*, with the Princeſs *Conſtance* his Wife, came to take Leave of the King, who beſtow'd on him a Crown of Gold, and the Queen gave another to the Dutcheſs his Wife; and at the ſame Time the King commanded all about him to ſtile and honour him as a King. On the ninth of *July* he ſet Sail for *Spain*, with a ſelect Army of near twenty thouſand Men, in which ſeveral brave Noblemen were chief Officers; and took with him his Wife, eldeſt Daughter and Heireſs to the late *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, and his two Daughters. And this Titular King now obtain'd ſo much Favour from Pope *Urban*, that out of the Hatred he bore to *Henry* the preſent Poſſeſſor of *Caſtile*, who deny'd his Authority, he granted the like Indulgence or Remiſſion of Sins to all ſuch as ſhould aſſiſt him in this Expedition, as had been granted to the Biſhop of *Norwich* when he made War in *Flanders*. But this Indulgence, tho' ſolemnly publiſh'd at the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s, did the Duke little Service; for the frequent Diſpenſations and Abuſes of theſe Indulgences had render'd them ſo contemptible, that few would contribute any Thing to this pretended *Cruſado*. However the Duke proceeded with Fame and Succeſs for a long Time; and firſt landing in *Bretaign*, reliev'd *Breſt* beſieg'd by the Duke of that Country, tho' with the Loſs of ſome Men of Quality. Then landing at the *Groyne*, he proceeded with great Terror and Valour, took *Compoſtella* and *Villeclope*, with ſeveral other Places, ſubdu'd the greateſt Part of *Gallicia*, and marry'd his eldeſt Daughter *Philippa* to *John* King of *Portugal*. Yet after all this, before the End of the next Year, the *Engliſh* Army was ſo waſted by the Diſeaſes of that Country, that not being able to act any thing more of Note, the Duke was oblig'd to enter into a Treaty with *John* King of *Caſtile* the Son of *Henry* the Baſtard, and to quit all his Right to that Kingdom, upon certain Conditions and Articles. So that this Expedition into *Spain*, tho' it much diſplay'd the Valour of the *Engliſh* Nation, yet it prov'd much more to the Honour than the Advantage of *England*, which was extreamly weaken'd, by being depriv'd of ſo many brave Soldiers, when the Nation had ſo much need of them againſt the common Enemy the *French*.

His Acts and Succeſs.

For at this Time the *French* threaten'd a more terrible Invaſion than ever was known before; but the King fearing that *Calais* might be firſt in Danger, immediately ſent for its Security *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, Son to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and By-nam'd *Hotſpur*, a young Gentleman, whom our Author ſays was the Pattern of all Virtue and Martial Bravery. But in a ſhort Time, after he had in ſome Degree anſwer'd this Character in *France*, he return'd home to defend his Native Country, which was this Summer under frequent Alarms and great Conſternation, from the formidable Preparations of the *French* King, who had gather'd a vaſt Navy and prodigious Army at *Sluis* for that Deſign. And the better to ſecure the Soldiers at their firſt Landing, the *French* had fram'd a wonderful Wooden Wall, three Miles in Compaſs, no leſs than twenty Foot high, with a great Number of Turrets, with which they were to have ſuddenly enclos'd their Camp. But it fortunately happen'd, that the Lord *Beauchamp*, Commander in *Calais*, took three of their Ships laden with Part of this extraordinary Incloſure, which the King caus'd to be ſet round *Winchelſea* to ſecure that Town; and alſo took another Ship full of great Guns and other Inſtruments of War. Tho' this was a great Diſcouragement, yet the *French* King having moſt of his Nobility with him, reſolv'd to purſue his Enterprize; but Providence, which had ſav'd *France* in the laſt Reign, ſeem'd to have ſav'd *England* in this: For the Wind kept contrary from the Middle of *Auguſt* to the Middle of *November*; and at length chopping about, ſo far flatter'd the *French*, that they ſet out the Fleet to Sea; but being ſeven or eight Leagues from the Shore, it not only turn'd about to its former Quarter, but drove them back with ſuch a violent Fury upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, that it deſtroy'd ſeveral of their Ships. Upon which Accident the King of *France* reſolv'd to defer the Expedition till the next Spring; but before that Time *England* being put into a better Poſture of Defence, the Deſign became ineffectual. All agree that the Kingdom had never a greater Eſcape and Deliverance, as well for the Want of its beſt Soldiers, as for many other Reaſons; and we are aſſur'd That the World never ſaw a greater and more glorious Fleet together; for it conſiſted of near thirteen hundred Sail of Veſſels of all Sorts; And as for Land Forces, beſides fifteen Dukes, twenty ſix Earls, and two hundred Barons, there were a hundred thouſand Soldiers. At this great Diſappointment the *French* Nobility were highly diſguſted, but much more the common People, by reaſon of ſo vaſt a Sum of Mony being rais'd for nothing; for the preſent Charge was found to ſurpaſs the Ranſom of King *John* in the laſt Reign.

The French *make vaſt Preparations againſt* England.

but to no Effect.

This Deliverance was ſo much the more ſignal, becauſe in the Time of the greateſt Danger, violent Diſcontents and Murmurings aroſe among the Commons as well as Nobility againſt the King's Favourites; particularly *De la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, who had been made Lord Chancellor of *England*; and *Robert de Vere*, who was now advanc'd to the unheard-of Honour of Duke of *Ireland*, with a Grant of the Profits and Government of the whole Kingdom, only reſerving to the King the Superior Dominion. Theſe Diſcontents appearing in a Parliament held at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commons being ready to impeach the Chancellor of ſeveral Crimes, the King retir'd after he had once appear'd, and trifled away his Time at *Eltham*, during a great Part of the Seſſion. Whereupon the Nobility and Commons by joint Conſent diſpatch'd a Meſſage to him, declaring *That the Chancellor and Treaſurer ought to be remov'd from their Offices, becauſe they were not for the Ad-*

Great Diſcontents in Parliament againſt the King's Favourites.

vantage of himſelf and Kingdom. At which the King being highly offended, commanded them to mention no ſuch Matter, but immediately proceed to the Buſineſs for which they were ſummon'd; declaring *That he would not for their Sakes, or at their Inſtance, remove the meaneſt Scullion Boy in his Kitchen.* But what yet more inrag'd them againſt the Chancellor was, That he in the Name of the King had deſir'd of the Commons extraordinary Supplies for the Neceſſities of the King's Houſhold, as well as the publick Wars; therefore by joint Aſſent the Lords and Commons return'd this Anſwer to the King, *That they neither could nor would proceed in any Buſineſs of Parliament, or diſpatch the leaſt Article, 'till the King came in Perſon amongſt them, and remov'd the Chancellor from his Office.* Upon which the King appointed them that they ſhould order forty Knights of the moſt ſubſtantial and wiſeſt of the Commons to come to him, and declare the Opinions of the reſt; but a ſtrong Rumour ariſing that theſe Knights would be in danger of their Lives, the Project was altogether ineffectual. After this the whole Parliament by common Conſent deputed the King's Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and *Thomas de Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely*, to go to the King at *Eltham*, and to deliver to him the Senſe of the whole Aſſembly; which they did in a ſet formal Speech, in which they declar'd to his Majeſty, *That they had it eſtabliſh'd by ancient Conſtitution, That the King ought to call a Parliament once every Year, upon many Accounts; That if the King through his ungovernable Will did eſtrange and withdraw himſelf from his Parliament for the Space of forty Days, the Members were at liberty to return to their own Habitations without further Proceedings.* Upon this the King imprudently anſwer'd, *That now he perceiv'd that his People and the Commons intended to make Inſurrections againſt him; and in ſuch a Caſe nothing ſeem'd more proper than to call in his Couſin the King of* France, *to receive Advice and Aſſiſtance from him, and even to ſubmit himſelf to him, rather than truckle to his own Subjects.* To which theſe Lords return'd a long and ſevere Anſwer, and particularly declar'd to him, *That they had an ancient Conſtitution, not very long ſince put in Execution, That if the King, through evil Council, Obſtinacy, Contempt of his Subjects, or by any other irregular Courſes, ſhould alienate himſelf from his People, and refuſe to govern by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; and ſhould precipitate himſelf into wild Deſigns, and abandon himſelf to his arbitrary Will; that from that Time it ſhould be lawful for his People, by their full and free Conſent, to* depoſe *that King from his Throne, and ſet upon it another of the Royal Family.*

They ſend a bold Meſſage to the King.

Theſe and the like Speeches had ſueh an Effect upon the King, that within three Days he came to the Parliament, where *De la Pole* was impeach'd of ſeveral high Crimes and Miſdemeanors by the Commons, which are too long to be here ſpeeify'd; and which were ſo fully prov'd, that the Earl having nothing to reply, the King bluſhing and ſhaking his Head, ſaid, *Alas, alas,* Michael, *ſee what thou haſt done!* And when his Majeſty deſir'd a Supply, the Commons anſwer'd, *That he did not need any Taxes of his Subjects, while he might ſo eaſily furniſh himſelf from him who was his juſt Debtor:* Yet upon the King's yielding to have him turn'd out of all Offices, they granted him a Supply and a Tax upon ſeveral Commodities. They alſo granted that the new Duke of *Ireland* ſhould have thirty thouſand Marks, which was to be receiv'd of the Heirs of *Charles* of *Blois*, provided he would go into *Ireland* before *Eaſter*, and uſe the Mony towards the recovery of thoſe Dominions the King had given him in that Iſland; ſo paſſionately did the Parliament deſire his Abſence, that they would rather want ſo much Treaſure, than indure him in *England* to influence the King. At the ſame Time *Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely* was made Lord Chancellor, *Gilbert* Biſhop of *Hereford* made Treaſurer, and *John de Waltham* Keeper of the Privy Seal. Furthermore, the Parliament obſerving, that by the great Corruption of the King's Officers, the publick Revenue was vainly conſum'd, the King inſufferably defrauded, the common People by continual Burthens miſerably impoveriſh'd, the Rents and Profits of great Men much impair'd, and by all this that the King's Officers became unmeaſurably rich; they therefore choſe eleven Lords, and gave them Leave and Power to inſpect, treat and determine all Affairs, Cauſes and Complaints, ariſing from Matters of this Nature ſince the Death of King *Edward* the Third, 'till this preſent Time. Then the Parliament broke up, and the King made this Proteſtation, *That for any Thing that was done in that Parliament, he deſign'd it not to the Prejudice of himſelf or his Crown.* The Reaſon of this Proteſtation ſoon appear'd to the whole Nation, for the King was ſo diſſatisfy'd at the Treatment of his Favourites, that he afterwards revok'd and abrogated all the Proceedings of this Parliament. He was ſo far from parting with the Earl of *Suffolk* and the Duke of *Ireland*, that he receiv'd them into much greater Favour and Confidence than ever; and at *Chriſtmas* following, admitted the former to ſit down with him at his Table, not in the uſual Habit of a Peer, but in the Robes of a Prince. And our Authors agree, That theſe Favourites had ſo tranſcending an Influence, that during the Seſſions of this Parliament, they with the King's own Conſent had form'd a Deſign of inviting the Duke of *Gloceſter* and other leading Men to a Supper at the Houſe of a certain Citizen of *London*, where they were all to have been murder'd; by whoſe Death they not only hop'd to be reveng'd on their Enemies, but alſo to ſet the King free from all future Reſtraints: But this Conſpiracy was defeated by means of the timely Notice that was given to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who prevented the reſt from accepting the Invitation. This was firſt effected by the Induſtry and Courage of Sir *Richard Exton*, the Mayor of *London*; who being ask'd by the King to give his Conſent, or at leaſt Connivance to this Action, declar'd, *He would never imbrue his Hands in innocent Blood.* So that the Perſons againſt whom this Deſign was form'd, by this means became more popular and belov'd, while their Enemies grew more and more odious to the Body of the People.

The King complies with the Parliament.

The Parliament makes many Regulations.

A. D. 1387. Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$.

Theſe Favourites, and ſome others, not long after hearing that *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Nottingham* Marſhal of *England* had ingag'd with a great Fleet of *French*, *Flemmings* and *Spaniards*, and had taken above a hundred Ships with nineteen thouſand Tun of Wine, beſides the Admiral of *Flanders* and other Men of Note, they openly degraded the Victory, and ſaid, *That the Vanquiſhed were only Merchants, whoſe Amity would have been more advantageous to the Nation than all that they had gain'd.* Yet ſtill the Earls proceeding in their Expedition, ſail'd to the Coaſt of *Bretaign*, and landed near *Breſt*, where they not only reliev'd the Place, but attacking two Forts lately built for the Defence of the Court, they took and garriſoned the one, and burnt and deſtroy'd the other; and then return'd home with the great Applauſe of all Men except the Duke of *Ireland*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and ſome Courtiers, who not being inclin'd to Martial Actions themſelves, envy'd the worthy Exploits of others. Yet theſe had ſo much Influence over the King, that tho' the Earl of *Nottingham* was Lord Marſhal, and had been brought up with him, he was ſo far from congratulating or thanking him, that he receiv'd him with the greateſt Coldneſs, and ſcarce took any Notice of him. After this Earl, the brave Lord *Piercy*, *Henry Hotſpur*, was ſent to Sea; who tho' he was poorly provided of Men, and not much countenanc'd at Court, which envy'd the great Reputation he gain'd at the Recovery of *Berwick*, yet he undertook rhe Employment; and having guarded the Seas the reſt of the Year, and behaved himſelf gallantly againſt the *French*, he return'd in Safety, much to the Diſappointment of his Enemies at Court. By ſuch Means and Practices as theſe, King *Richard*, from being highly reſpected and belov'd, came to be generally hated and deſpis'd by the Nobility and People; for theſe Favourites had ſo corrupted his natural Temper by Luxury and Effeminacy, that not only Military Affairs, but the Princely Exerciſes of Hawking and Hunting were thought too rough and tireſome for their tender Bodies.

The Kingdom endanger'd by Favourites.

As to the Duke of *Ireland*, he became ſo inſolent, that preſuming on his Power with the King, he openly divorced his Wife *Philippa*, tho' Grand-Daughter to King *Edward* the Third, and a Lady of no ſmall Beauty and irreproachable Virtue; and in her ſtead preferr'd to his Bed one *Lancerona*, a *Bohemian* of the meaneſt Extract, who waited upon the Queen. Tho' the King took no notice of this Affront offer'd to his Couſin-German, yet her Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter* highly reſented it, and only waited for an Opportunity of Revenge; which the other perceiving reſolv'd to ſtrike firſt. And now the Time being come for the Duke of *Ireland* to depart, to amuſe the People the King went down with him into *Wales*, pretending to ſee him take Shipping there; but the true Reaſon was, that being remote from the Nobility, they might the more ſecurely conſult how to circumvent and deſtroy the Duke of *Gloceſter*, with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Derby* and *Nottingham*, and others of the contrary Party. Here the Earl of *Suffolk* and chief Juſtice *Treſilian* join'd with the utmoſt Zeal; and having form'd their Deſign and agreed upon the Execution, the King came to *Nottingham*, bringing the Duke of *Ireland* and the reſt of the Cabal along with him; to which Place they ſummon'd divers Citizens of *London*, the Sheriffs of every County, and all the Judges of *England*. They adviſ'd with the Sheriffs about what Forces they could raiſe for the King's Service againſt the Lords, and commanded them, *That they ſhould not ſuffer any to be return'd as Members for the next Parliament, but ſuch as the King and his Council ſhould nominate.* To which the Sheriffs reply'd, *That the Commons generally favour'd the ſaid Lords, ſo that it was not in their Power to raiſe an Army in that Caſe; and as for Parliament Men, they could not hinder the People from keeping to their ancient*

They form a pernicious Deſign at Nottingham.

Cuſtom of free Elections. But the Anſwers of the Judges were more agreeable to the Court than thoſe of the Sheriffs; and the better to colour the Proceedings with a Form of Law, ſeveral Queſtions were propounded to the Judges, touching the late Proviſions, or Act of Parliament, giving the eleven Lords Power to inſpect and puniſh Miſcarriages in the King's Miniſters. But the main Queſtion was, Whether by the Law of the Land the King might not diſannul the Decrees of the laſt Parliament: They jointly anſwer'd *He might, becauſe he was above the Law*; confeſſing alſo, *That they themſelves had in that Parliament given their Judgment that Things were according to Law, which now they acknowledg'd to be contrary to it.* But when they were order'd to ſign their Opinions in Writing, Sir *Robert Belknap*, chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, ſtood out againſt the reſt; but being highly threaten'd by the Duke of *Ireland* and Earl of *Suffolk*, he at laſt conſented, and having put his Seal to it, he broke forth into theſe Words: *Now I want nothing but a Hurdle and a Halter to bring me to the Death I deſerve: If I had refus'd it, I had ſuffer'd by your Hands; and now I have gratify'd the King and you, I deſerve to die for betraying the Nobility of the Kingdom.* The King having the Lawyers of his Side, endeavour'd to raiſe Forces in ſeveral Parts of the Land, but with no great Effect; and after a long Progreſs, he return'd to *London*, where he was receiv'd with great Pomp and Splendor, and where his Friends were moſt numerous.

The Judges join with them.

The Duke of Gloceſter *and others others oppoſe them.*

The Duke of *Gloceſter* and the Lords of his Party finding the Deſigns of the Courtiers againſt them, firſt endeavour'd to vindicate, and then to defend themſelves againſt their Artifices. And the Duke offer'd to purge himſelf by Oath before the Biſhop of *London*, *That he had no Deſign againſt the King's Perſon or Dignity*; with which the Biſhop acquainted the King, and was like to have obtain'd Credit, 'till the Earl of *Suffolk* violently incens'd his Majeſty againſt the Duke. For which the Biſhop took the liberty to tell him openly, *That it became him to be wholly ſilent, ſince he ſtood condemn'd in Parliament, and liv'd only by the King's Grace and Favour.* But finding the King ſo much at the Earl's Diſpoſal as to command him out of his Preſence, he inform'd the Duke how much the King was influenc'd by his wicked Counſellors, and adviſ'd him to obviate the Deſtruction prepar'd for him. Whereupon the Duke immediately ſent for the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick* and *Derby*, Eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who all reſolv'd to raiſe an Army and ſtand upon their Guard, and ſo treat with the King concerning the publick Affairs, and *that immoderate Favour ſhewn to them who were Traitors both to him and the Publick.* But the King endeavour'd to have ſurpriz'd them ſingly, before they had join'd their Forces; but failing in the Deſign, the Confederate Lords march'd towards *London* to *Haringay-Park* near *Highgate*, where at their Rendezvous they muſter'd above forty thouſand Men. This broke all the King's Meaſures, and prevented a Voyage he had deſign'd for *France*; where, as *Walſingham* aſſures us, he was to have deliver'd up *Calais* and other important Places to the *French* King, which by the fatal Counſel of his Flatterers he was to have ſold to that Prince, on Condition he would aſſiſt him to ſubdue his rebellious Nobility. The King was now in great Confuſion, and held ſeveral Conſultations with his Favourites; and being one Time willing to divert himſelf by the rambling Diſcourſe of a crack'd-brain Knight call'd Sir *Hugh de Lynn*, kept by the Charity of the Courtiers, he jocularly aſk'd him, *What he ſhould do with the Lords at* Haringay-*Park*? To which Sir *Hugh* anſwer'd very gravely, *Let us march out, Sir, and kill every Man of them; and then, by God's Eyes, you'll have bravely deſtroy'd the moſt faithful Subjects in your Kingdom.*

They take up Arms, and march towards London.

This was thought by ſome to contain a dangerous Truth, but was not duly follow'd; however the moſt peaceable Men procur'd that the Lords ſhould repair ſafely to *Weſtminſter*, and there be heard. Upon their near Approach, they were advertis'd by the Biſhop of *Ely* and others who had ſworn and ingag'd for their ſafe Conduct, that at the *Muſe* near *Charing-Croſs* a thouſand armed Men, under Sir *Thomas Trivet* and Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, lay in Ambuſh to intercept them. The King clear'd himſelf upon Oath from this Deſign; and being ſeated in his Royal Robes in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with many of his Prelates and Peers about him, the Lords preſented themſelves before him upon their Knees; and being demanded by the Biſhop of *Ely* the Lord Chancellor, *Why they were aſſembled in warlike manner contrary to the Laws*, their joint Anſwer was, *That they were aſſembled for the Good of the King and Kingdom, and to root out ſuch Traitors as were Enemies to both*; naming the Duke of *Ireland*, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Chief Juſtice *Treſilian*, and Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, whom they averr'd to be no leſs, and thereupon flung down their Gloves, in Token that they were ready to prove them ſo by Combate. The King, knowing that they were out of the Way, told theſe Lords, *That at the next Parliament all Parties ſhould receive according to their Deſerts*; and then with a loftier Air he demanded of them, *How they durſt preſume to levy Forces againſt their Sovereign? Could they think to terrifie him by their Preſumption? Had not he Soldiers ſufficient to have deſtroy'd them like Cattle? Therefore in that Reſpect he eſteem'd of them no more than the meaneſt Scullion in his Kitchen.* After theſe and other high Words, he took up the Duke his Uncle from the Ground, and bad all the reſt riſe; and after ſome more kind Diſcourſe, and drinking with the King, they took their Leaves. Two Days after, to appeaſe the Lords and ſatisfie the People, he caus'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd in *London*, ſeemingly in Excuſe and Vindication of the Duke of *Gloceſter* and his Aſſociates; but more to amuſe them, and to preſerve his beloved Favourites from the Storm that threaten'd 'em.

They appear before the King,

and are ſeemingly reconcil'd.

They defeat the King's Forces.

The King retires to the Tower of London.

But notwithſtanding all the King's Promiſes, the Lords knowing his fleeting and variable Temper, and the vaſt Influence of his Favourites, thought it ſafeſt not to ſeparate themſelves, but with a vigilant Eye to obſerve their Motions; which prov'd much to their Advantage: For the Duke of *Ireland* and others, not daring to hazard the Juſtice of a Parliament, with the King's Privity, had rais'd conſiderable Forces in *Wales* and *Cheſhire*. To prevent this, *Henry* Earl of *Derby* and others march'd with a great Part of their Army, and met the Duke near *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*, who at the firſt Charge cowardly fled away, and left a brave Commander call'd *Molineaux* to be ſlain in the Field, and an eaſie Victory to the Earl of *Derby*. The Duke fled into *Holland*, where meeting with cold Entertainment, he went to *Utrecht*, and after two or three Years wandering as a Traitor, he dy'd at *Lovain* in *Brabant*. Amongſt his Baggage was taken a conſiderable Sum of Gold, and, what was of greater Moment, the King's Letters, ordering him to come to *London*, and promiſing him to live and die with him againſt all Oppoſers. This Defeat confounded the whole Cabal of the Favourites; the Earl of *Suffolk* in Diſguiſe fled to *Calais*, where his own Brother, being Governor of the Caſtle, not only refus'd to harbour him, but ſeiz'd and deliver'd him into the Hands of the Lord *Beauchamp*, who commanded the Town, who return'd him back Priſoner to the King in *England*, where he was ſet at large. The King betook himſelf to the Tower of *London*, and there made Proviſion for his Winter-Quarters: And what added to his preſent Confuſion, about the ſame Time an Envoy from the *French* King was taken with Letters, in which he ſent a ſafe Conduct to King *Richard*, the Duke of *Ireland*, and ſome others, to come to *Boloign*; where he would be ready to receive them according to his Royal Dignity and Character; and then he was likewiſe to take Poſſeſſion of *Calais*, and other ſtrong Places, for which *Walſingham* ſays he had already made King *Richard* Part of Payment.

A. D. 1388. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

The confederate Lords attend him there.

The King is forc'd to comply.

The Confederate Lords finding that ſuch conſiderable Territories were in danger of being loſt abroad, as well as freſh Extravagancies acted at home, in the Beginning of the Year march'd from *Oxford* to *London* with an Army of forty thouſand Men; at whoſe Arrival the Mayor and Aldermen deliver'd up the Keys of the City, while the Citizens furniſh'd them with all neceſſary Proviſions. Then cauſing all ſuſpicious Places to be ſearch'd, the Lords took up their Head-Quarters in the Suburbs, proteſting that they would not depart without a perſonal Conference with the King, which at length he granted, when he ſaw he could no longer withſtand it. Having firſt permitted the Duke of *Gloceſter* and the other Lords to ſearch the Tower, where he then lodg'd, they waited upon him there; and after ſome few cold Compliments, they laid before him the Confederation againſt their Lives at *Nottingham*; his late Letters to the Duke of *Ireland*, contrary to his Royal Word and Agreement made at *Weſtminſter*, together with his diſhonourable Treaty for delivering up *Calais* to the *French*, and other Matters. The King heard them with a formal Patience and a dejected Countenance, and with Tears running down his Cheeks; which warm Drops, and the Conſideration of the King's Youth and eaſie Nature, mollify'd the Lords and caus'd them to relent. But to end all Conteſts, it was at laſt poſitively agreed, that he ſhould meet them the next Day at *Weſtminſter*, there to treat of the weighty and neceſſary Affairs of the Realm. Yet as ſoon as they were gone, ſome falſe Friends ſuggeſted to him, That his Going would be neither ſafe for his Perſon, nor conſonant to his Dignity; whereupon the King chang'd his Mind, and began to retract his Promiſe; which Mutability ſo inrag'd the Lords, then fluſh'd with Succeſs and Power, that they ſent him this peremptory Meſſage, *That if he thus trifled with them, and would not come according to Appointment, they would take other Meaſures, and proceed to the Election of another Prince.* This ſo terrify'd the King, that he did not only meet them, but alſo conſented to the perpetual

Baniſhment of theſe Favourites, namely the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the King's Confeſſor, the Lords *Zouch* and *Beaumont*, and ſeveral Knights; together with certain Ladies, who were not only uſeleſs and chargeable to the Court, but likewiſe ſcandalous and infamous in their Converſations, ſuch were the Lady *Mohun*, the Lady *de Molyns*, and the Lady *Poynings*. Several others were at the ſame Time taken into cloſe Cuſtody, as Sir *Simon Burley*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, Sir *William Elenham*, Sir *John Beauchamp*, and ſeveral of the Clergy. As for the Judges, *Fulthorp*, *Belknap*, *Holt*, *Burgh*, *Cury* and *Lacton*, they were arreſted as they ſate upon the Bench; but *Treſilian* at preſent made his Eſcape, tho' he was not long after diſcover'd and ſent to the Tower.

Many brought to Puniſhment.

A Parliament meet, call'd the Unmerciful Parliament.

The Parliament began at *Candlemas*, in which the confederate Lords juſtify'd their former Proceedings, and had twenty thouſand Pounds given them out of a Tax upon Leather and Wool, in Conſideration of their Labour and Expences, for the Honour, Profit and Safety of the King and Kingdom. After which they proceeded to draw up many Articles of Impeachment againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Chief Juſtice *Treſilian*; in which they were accus'd of High-Treaſon, as well as other Crimes too numerous to mention here. *Treſilian* lying in Diſguiſe at a Houſe near the Parliament to diſcover daily Paſſages, was betray'd by one of his Servants; and after much ignominious Uſage, was drawn through the City and hang'd at *Tyburn*. Sir *Nicholas Brambre*'s Turn was next, who being Companion to *Treſilian* in his Actions, exactly follow'd him in his Fortunes. Then Sir *John Saliſbury*, and Sir *James Berners*, two young Knights, Sir *John Beauchamp* Steward of the King's Houſhold, and *John Blake* Eſquire, were likewiſe ſacrific'd to the publick Revenge. But the Death of Sir *Simon Burly*, the King's Chamberlain, was thought leſs juſtifiable than all the reſt, who only met with the Favour of being beheaded. The Biſhop of *Chicheſter* was likewiſe condemn'd, and all the Judges, for ſigning the dangerous Paper at *Nottingham*; but at length they found ſo much Mercy as to be baniſh'd into *Ireland*, where they had ſome Allowance for their Subſiſtance. The Duke of *Ireland*, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Earl of *Suffolk* and others had their Eſtates confiſcated to the King's Uſe by Act of Parliament. After which an Act of Indemnity was paſs'd for the Pardon of all other Perſons concern'd on either Side, during the late Inſurrections: And it was likewiſe declar'd by the Parliament, *That conſidering the tender Age of the King, and the Innocency of his Royal Perſon, nothing ſhould be accounted any Fault or Diſhoneſty in his Perſon in any manner, nor ſhould turn to his perſonal Prejudice by any Contrivance or Interpretation whatſoever.* Laſt of all the Parliament petition'd the King, that for nouriſhing of greater Love, Peace and Tranquility in his Kingdom, he would be pleas'd to renew his Coronation Oath, and that the Prelates might renew their Fealty, and the Lords Temporal their Homage, notwithſtanding it had been done formerly. To all which the King aſſented, and perform'd it with the utmoſt Pomp and Ceremony in the Abby Church at *Weſtminſter*, after publick Maſs and Sermon, and with the ſolemn Execrations of the Arch-Biſhop againſt all Infringers whatſoever. On the next Day, being the fourth of *June*, the Parliament ended; which, ſays *Knighton*, was call'd the *Unmerciful* Parliament; ſince by the rigid and ſevere Proceedings againſt the Favourites, they ſo far alienated the King's Affections from his Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the reſt of the Lords of his Party, that he never forgave them as long as he liv'd.

The King renews his Coronation Oath.

Actions againſt Scotland.

During theſe inteſtine Struggles in the Nation, the *Scots* found Opportunity to invade the Northern Parts of *England* under the Conduct of Sir *William Douglas* a brave young Knight, a Parallel and Rival in the Honour of Arms to the famous *Henry Hotſpur* Lord *Piercy*, whom *Hotſpur* fighting Hand to Hand, ſlew in Battel. But the Earl of *Dunbar* coming up with a great Number of *Scots* took *Hotſpur* and his Brother Priſoners, and kill'd many of the *Engliſh*, but not without great Loſs to his own Men. About the ſame Time the Earl of *Arundel* again put out to Sea, and burnt, ſunk or took fourſcore *French* Ships, and likewiſe ſeiz'd and plunder'd the Iſles of *Rea* and *Oleron*, together with ſome other ſmaller Iſlands in thoſe Parts. This occaſion'd a Meeting between the *Engliſh* and *French* Envoys at *Calais* the next Year about concluding a Peace: And tho', becauſe the *French* inſiſted upon having the *Scots* and *Spaniards* included, the Concluſion was deferr'd; yet ſhortly after it was reſolv'd upon for three Years, and the *Scots* alſo included.

A Peace with Scotland *and* France.

A.D. 1289. Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

III. The Affairs of *England* were for a Time in a quiet and peaceable Poſture; when in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, by the Advice of ſome of his Courtiers, ſummoning a full Council, he demanded of them *How old they took him to be*? They anſwer'd him, *Somewhat above twenty one Years.* At which he reply'd, *Then I am of full Age, and capable to manage my own Inheritance; and certainly I ought not to be in a worſe Condition than any of my Subjects; for every common Heir at that Age enjoys his Eſtate, and takes it into his own Hands.* The Lords keeping a profound Silence, the King thus proceeded, *'Tis well known, That for many Years I have liv'd under your Tuition, and We thank you for the Pains you have taken; but having attain'd to a full Age, We are reſolv'd to continue no longer in Ward, but to take the Goverment of the Realm into our Hands, and to appoint and remove ſuch Officers and Miniſters as We think fit.* Accordingly he forthwith commanded the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, then Lord Chancellor, to reſign the Seal; which being done, the King took it, and retir'd, but ſoon after return'd, and gave it to *William* of *Wickham*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. He likewiſe turn'd out the Biſhop of *Hereford* from the Office of Treaſurer, and put another of leſs Quality in his Room; and chang'd ſeveral chief Miniſters of State, partly to ſhew his Authority, and partly to manifeſt his Diſpleaſure; particularly he remov'd his Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earl of *Warwick* and others from his Privy-Council, and admitted others more agreeable to his Diſpoſition. And indeed the King, tho' he was of Age, yet ſtill ſhew'd himſelf a Minor in the Art of Governing; making ſo unhappy a Choice of new Miniſters and Favourites, as in a ſhort Time brought the Kingdom into great Confuſion. Shortly after this Change, ſome Detractors had ſo prevail'd upon the King, as to make him believe that the Duke of *Gloceſter* was forming ſome Deſign againſt him; but upon Examination, the Falſhood and Malice of it ſoon appear'd; and the King bluſh'd at his own Credulity againſt ſo near and eminent a Relation: And tho' divers of the Inventers of theſe Reports were preſent when the Duke would have queſtion'd them, yet the King charg'd him, as he lov'd him, not to ſtir any further in the Matter.

The King declares himſelf of Age.

He takes the Government upon himſelf.

His unhappy Management.

The Duke of Lancaſter *returns from* Spain.

While the King was under the Apprehenſions of one Rival, another more formidable arriv'd in *England*, which was the Duke of *Lancaſter* from his *Spaniſh* Expedition, who had marry'd his Daughter *Philippa* to the King of *Portugal*, and had made a Peace with the King of *Caſtile*, for which he receiv'd an immenſe Sum for the firſt Payment, and for the ſecond, the King of *Caſtile* ſent him forty ſeven Mules laden with Gold. This great Warrior was graciouſly receiv'd, and he happily reconcil'd the King and ſome of the Nobility. But whether the King found the keeping of *Gaſcony* an unprofitable Burthen, or the Abſence of this Uncle worth the purchaſing at any Rate, in the following Year in a Parliament he inveſted him with that famous Dukedom, by delivering him the Cap of State and Ducal Rod. The Duke went over ſhortly after to take Poſſeſſion of his new Government; and his valiant Son *Henry* of *Bullingbroke* Earl of *Derby*, unwilling to ſpend his Time in Idleneſs, and eager after Glory and Fame, ſail'd to the Wars in *Pruſſia*, where in ſeveral Actions againſt the *Lithuanians* he gain'd extraordinary Honour, which being afterwards compar'd with King *Richard*'s Softneſs, made a Way for him into the Hearts and Affections of the *Engliſh* Nation. However the King employ'd his Time in the Appearances of War and in feign'd Combats; of which a ſhort Account may give the Reader ſome Idea of the Romantick Humour of this Age. The King appointed Royal Juſts and Tournaments to be perform'd in *Smithfield*, and to begin on *Sunday* after *Michaelmas* Day; which was proclaim'd in all the Courts of Chriſtendom by certain Heralds ſent for that Purpoſe. Upon which Notice great Numbers of Noblemen and Knights from *France*, *Germany* and the *Low-Countries* came over to *London*; particularly *William* Earl of *Oſtrevant*, and *Valerian* Earl of St. *Paul*, who had marry'd the King's Siſter. The Solemnity began from the Tower of *London* with a noble Cavalcade of ſixty Ladies richly adorn'd, who riding upon fine Palfreys, led every one their Knight by a Chain of Silver by her Side, garniſh'd with white Harts and golden Crowns, having their Courſers led before by as many Eſquires of Honour; and in this pompous Manner they paſs'd through *Cheapſide* to *Smithfield*. The Juſts continu'd for many Days, in which the King himſelf perform'd his Part, and the Nights concluded with Muſick, Dancings and ſofter Entertainments, and during this Time the King and Queen lodg'd at the Biſhop's Palace by St. *Paul*'s Church, and kept a moſt magnificent Houſe for all Strangers and others.

A.D. 1390. Reg. $\frac{13}{14}$.

He is ſent into Gaſcony.

A famous Tournament.

Laws againſt the Papal Incroachments.

The Pope now underſtood that the *Engliſh* State began again to be ſenſible of the *Romiſh* Incroachments; and as in a former Parliament they had paſs'd an Act to prevent all Collations of Biſhopricks and Dignities by the Pope, with Baniſhment to all ſuch as accepted the Collations, and Death to all that brought any Excommunications from *Rome*, to hinder the Execution of the Act; ſo in the preſent

A. D. 1391. Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$.

A new Parliament.

ſent Parliament another ſevere Act was made againſt all ſuch as ſhould go the Pope to procure any ſuch Proviſions. A Proclamation was alſo publiſh'd at *London*, That all benefic'd Perſons then in the Court of *Rome*, ſhould return by a prefix'd Day, or loſe their Livings. The Pope himſelf, alarm'd with ſo great a Thunder-clap, ſent with all Speed into *England* to perſuade this eaſie King, that ſuch Statutes as were made in prejudice of thoſe who follow'd the Court of *Rome*, and ſuch other Clauſes as tended to the Damage of that See, ſhould be aboliſh'd. To which the King anſwer'd, *That the Pope's Nuncio muſt wait 'till the next Parliament*; at which Parliament the King, as alſo the Duke of *Lancaſter* who was by this Time return'd, ſeem'd to have ſome Reſpect to his Holineſs, whoſe Nuncio was there preſent; but the Commons would by no means give their Conſents, That ſuch *Rome-Rangers*, as they were call'd, ſhould without due Puniſhment purſue their uſual Courſes any longer than 'till the next Parliament. At the ſame Time, to furniſh the Duke of *Lancaſter* into *France*, to treat of a Peace, and to promote the King's intended Invaſion of *Scotland*, large Supplies were given both by the Clergy and Laity. Hereupon *Henry Hotſpur*, who had long ſince ranſom'd himſelf, was recall'd from his Charge at *Calais*, and made Commander of the Marches againſt *Scotland*; and was ſucceeded by the Earl of *Nottingham* in the Government of *Calais*. The Duke of *Lancaſter*'s chargeable Employment in *France* produc'd no other Fruits than one Year's ſhort Truce.

The Splendor of the King's Court.

A. D. 1392. Reg. $\frac{15}{16}$.

London *depriv'd of all Privileges:*

But is reſtor'd with great Expence.

A. D. 1393. Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.

However this gave King *Richard* leiſure to live according to his Inclination, which was to keep the greateſt and nobleſt Court of any King in *Europe*; and his Subjects, led by his Example, abandoning all Thought of Frugality, gave themſelves over to Luxury. Great was the Exceſs of Diet, the Pomp and Grandeur of his Court, in Apparel inimitable, in Number of Servants exceeding all Belief; ten thouſand Men fed daily on his Bread, the Queen had three hundred Women belonging to her Service, and three hundred was the Number that belong'd to the Kitchen. In his private Family he knew not how to deny any Thing, and the Eaſineſs of obtaining Favours debas'd the Value of them; his Expences were innumerable, ſo that his ordinary Revenues not ſufficing, he was forced to uſe extraordinary Means. His immoderate Affection to his Servants, his Uncles Power, and the Peoples Hatred, being not ſufficient to undo him, his own immenſe Prodigality in Time effected it, without which he could not eaſily have been ruin'd. Being under Neceſſities, and perhaps willing to try whether he might rely upon a greater Sum, he deſir'd to borrow of the City of *London* a thouſand Pound, an inconſiderable Sum for ſuch a King and ſo rich a City; yet he was not only refus'd, but when an *Italian* Merchant freely offer'd to lend the Money, he was for his Officiouſneſs barbarouſly beaten and almoſt ſlain. This, and a Tumult rais'd not long after by a Baker, ſo inrag'd the King that he commanded the Mayor cloſe Priſoner, ſeiz'd the Liberties of the City into his own Hands, annull'd all their Privileges, and commanded that for the future no Mayor ſhould be elected, but he would appoint one that ſhould be call'd *Keeper* of the City; and more than this, he remov'd the Terms and Courts of Judicature to the City of *York*. But the Duke of *Glouceſter* and others were not wanting to intercede with the King on Behalf of the *Londoners*, of whom the principal were brought before him to *Windſor*, and ſubmitted themſelves and Fortunes to his Mercy; with whom he ſeem'd ſo well ſatisfy'd that three Days after he came to *London*, where he was met with the moſt imaginable Pomp and Magnificence. And to make their Peace, they preſented the King with a Crown of Gold of great Value, and another of the ſame Metal to the Queen, together with many other noble Gifts; by which means they got their Privileges to be reſtor'd, and confirm'd to them, with the Election of a Mayor, and all Things as formerly. But after all their chargeable Preſents, and their Submiſſions, the King forc'd them to pay ten thouſand Pound by way of Fine, or elſe they muſt have ventur'd the Effects of his new Diſpleaſure; which ſevere Uſage loſt him the Affections of the Citizens ever after. It was the following Year before the King remov'd his Courts of Judicature from the City of *York* to *London*. In this Year a Parliament was held at *Wincheſter*, in which were granted to the King a *Tenth* by the Clergy, and a *Fifteenth* by the Laity for the Expences of the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Glouceſter*, who were then going over into *France* to treat about a Peace. But their expenſive Journey prov'd of no great Effect, and a final Peace could not be then concluded, by reaſon that the King of *France* had been ſeiz'd with an accountable ſort of Frenzy.

A. D. 1394. Reg. $\frac{17}{18}$.

The Death of Queen Anne,

And ſeveral others.

The King goes into Ireland.

The following Year was remarkable for the Death of ſeveral illuſtrious Perſons, particularly Queen *Anne*, who to the King's great Grief deceas'd at his Manor of *Sheen*. Her Death was ſuch a ſenſible Affliction to him, that he not only ever after hated the Place, but alſo defac'd it by pulling down the Pinnacles, and demoliſhing the Apartment where ſhe dy'd. She had the Character of a beautiful, charitable, and good-humour'd Lady, but too much given to her Pleaſures, of which ſhe is ſaid to have repented on her Death-Bed: We are told that ſhe firſt taught the *Engliſh* Ladies the modeſt Cuſtom of riding on Side-Saddles, whereas before they rode aſtride like Men. About this Time dy'd the Dutcheſs of *Lancaſter*, the Counteſs of *Derby*, and not long after the Dutcheſs of *York*; as if Fortune had conſpir'd to make almoſt all the Princes of the Blood accompany the King in his Widowerſhip. Theſe Afflictions did not alter the King's Reſolution of paſſing over perſonally into *Ireland*; nor did it divert the Duke of *Lancaſter* from going to his Dukedom of *Gaſcony*. In *Ireland* the wilder Sort had much broken in upon the *Engliſh* Eſtabliſhments, and done great Damage to the good Subjects of *England*; ſo that tho' in the Reign of King *Edward* the Third *Ireland* annually yielded thirty thouſand Pounds into the King's Exchequer, now it was ſo out of Order, that it coſt the King thirty thouſand Marks a Year for its Defence. To reduce the Rebellious he himſelf led a brave Army againſt 'em, attended by the Duke of *Glouceſter*, with the Earls of *Marche*, *Nottingham* and *Rutland*. The Terror of his Preparations, and the ſhining Preſence of a King, which of all Things was moſt grateful to the *Iriſh*, had ſuch good Effects, that many of their chief Men were compell'd to ſubmit.

A. D. 1395. Reg. $\frac{18}{19}$.

The Wickliffites *proſecuted.*

The King's Fondneſs to the Duke of Ireland.

To ſupply the King's Wants, occaſion'd by this *Iriſh* Expedition, the King's Uncle the Duke of *York*, as *Cuſtos* or Warden of *England*, call'd a Parliament at *London*, where the Duke of *Glouceſter* alſo repair'd to declare the King's Occaſions, and had liberal Supplies granted. But before the King could perform much more in *Ireland*, the Biſhops and Clergy were ſo alarm'd with the bold and numerous Accuſations which the *Wickliffites* or *Lollards* had made againſt their Body, that they ſent the Arch-Biſhop of *York* and the Biſhop of *London* to the King, begging of him to haſten his Return, *to defend and ſuccour the true Faith, and Holy Church, that were both in danger of being ruin'd by the Hereticks*, who were contriving how to take away the Poſſeſſions of the Church, and overthrow all Canonical Sanctions. The King greatly ſurpriz'd at the News, leaving the Earl of *Marche* his Lieutenant in *Ireland*, haſten'd into *England*, where he ſafely arriv'd in the Beginning of *May*. Upon this Arrival he ſeverely reprimanded ſome of the Nobility and Gentry, who were the chief Favourers of theſe *Lollards*, cauſing Sir *Richard Story* publickly to abjure their Principles, openly declaring, *That if ever he found him to relapſe, he ſhould ſuffer Death without Mercy*. And now the King, in Memory of his former great Favourite the Duke of *Ireland*, who dy'd at *Lovain* in great Miſery, order'd his Body to be embalm'd and brought into *England*. His Love aroſe to that Fondneſs, that he commanded his Cypreſs Coffin to be open'd, that he might view and handle the Body of his Friend, and openly expreſs his Affection. The Body was carried to the Priory of *Colne* in *Eſſex*, where a magnificent Funeral was made for it; the King in Perſon, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Counteſs Dowager of *Oxford*, Mother to the Deceas'd, being the chief Mourners; and ſeveral Biſhops and Abbots attended, but very few of the Nobility would appear, as having not yet digeſted their Reſentments againſt him.

A. D. 1396. Reg. $\frac{19}{20}$.

The Duke of Lancaſter *repairs to* Lincoln.

All this Time the Duke of *Lancaſter* continu'd in *Gaſcony*, where he endeavour'd to gain the Peoples Affections by his extraordinary Munificence; but when his Hopes were at the higheſt, he receiv'd a Command from King *Richard* to return, in order to go with him into *France* to finiſh a Treaty then on Foot; all which he readily obey'd. The King being then at *Langly* in *Hartfordſhire*, the Duke was there entertain'd with more Honour, as it was believ'd, than real Affection. Having leave to depart for a Time, he repair'd to the City of *Lincoln*, where he had a Palace, and there marry'd the Lady *Catherine Swinford*, Widow to Sir *Thomas Swinford*, his old Miſtreſs, by whom he had four Children during the Life of his Dutcheſs. But this Match highly diſcontented the Duke of *Glouceſter* and others, who judg'd it a great Diſhonour to the Royal Family. However the Duke, in the next Parliament, procur'd an Act to Legitimate all the Children he had by this Lady, and ſirnam'd them *Beaufort*; and one of them was by the King's Favour created Earl of *Somerſet*.

The King in France *marries* Iſabel *the* French *King's Daughter.*

All Things being prepar'd, the King accompany'd by his two Uncles of *Lancaſter* and *Glouceſter*, at a moſt magnificent and expenſive Enterview between him and *Charles* King of *France*, between *Calais* and *Ardres*, eſpous'd the Princeſs *Iſabel*, Daughter to that King. The young Lady was then no more than ſeven or eight Years of Age, but King *Richard* receiv'd her with many Compliments and great Solemnity, and a Truce was thereupon concluded for thirty Years. Her Perſon was committed to the Dutcheſſes of *Lancaſter* and *Glouceſter*, and other great Ladies, who conducted her to *Calais*; from whence, after a ſhort Stay, the King and all the glorious Company came over into *England*, where the young Queen was crown'd with great

Solemnity at *Weſtminſter* by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. The King loſt his rich Tents, and a great Part of his Equipage at Sea: and our Author tells us, That this Journey and Enterview, beſides innumerable Preſents made, coſt the King three hundred thouſand Marks, which was more than all the Portion he receiv'd with his Queen. And the Duke of *Glocester* was neither ſatisfy'd with the Truce or the Match, and took the liberty to ſay, *That it had been more proper to recover by Arms what the King's Father and Grandfather had loſt in* France, *than to enter into new Alliances with that Crown, which had always better Succeſs in Treaties than Wars with* England.

A.D. 1397. Reg. $\frac{20}{21}$.

The King's Extravagancies.

The King's Deſigns againſt the Duke of Glocester.

The Duke of Glocester *ſeiz'd and carry'd to* Calais.

IV. In the twentieth Year of this Reign all Things ſeem'd to be in a peaceable and quiet Condition in *England*; and the King found a Parliament that was ready to comply with his Deſires, and grant whatever he demanded. Yet all this did not ſatisfy the King's Occaſions; for upon certain Rumours ſpread abroad, That he either was now, or elſe very ſhortly to be choſen Emperor, he thereupon began to take greater State upon him, and a higher Way of Living than ever before: To maintain which he fleec'd his Subjects, and borrow'd large Sums of Mony; ſo that there was no Prelate, Man of Quality, or Citizen of any Eſtate in the Kingdom, but were oblig'd to lend the King Mony, tho' much againſt their Wills; which was one of the main Things that turn'd the Trading Part of the Nation againſt him. When he had thus far compaſs'd his Deſigns, he reſolv'd to proceed, and to remove ſuch as either had or might oppoſe him. And ſeeing his Uncle the Duke of *Glocester* ſtood moſt in his Way, he deſign'd to begin with him, and deſtroy him firſt, not by Law, but by ſecret Contrivances. What mov'd the King to act ſo ungenerouſly, is variouſly reported: *Froiſart* and *Polydore Virgil* with Probability relate, That the Duke carrying himſelf with too great Pride and Moroſeneſs towards the King, he ſometimes complain'd to his two Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, of their Brother's haughty and diſobliging Carriage towards him. They, to excuſe him and pacify the King, alledg'd, *That tho' their Brother was more hot and vehement than became him, yet they durſt aſſure his Majeſty that his Heart was dutiful and loyal; and that this Vehemency proceeded from a zealous Regard he had to the Honour and Revenues of his Majeſty*; with which the King ſeem'd ſatisfy'd at preſent. But however, theſe Dukes, not knowing how much they might be involv'd in that Diſpleaſure which they perceiv'd he retain'd againſt their Brother, thought fit to retire from Court; and by that means gave the Duke of *Glocester*'s Enemies the greater Opportunities to incenſe the King againſt him. At length many Deſigns were laid to the Duke's Charge, and many Things whiſper'd againſt him, who had given but too much occaſion for diſadvantagious Reports; ſo that the King being under great Apprehenſions, reſolv'd to ſecure him by a Stratagem, which he thus effected. The Duke being at his Manor of *Pleſhy* in *Eſſex*, the King from a Hunting Seat came in a Summer's Evening to give him a Viſit, where he was receiv'd with all due Reſpect by him and his Dutcheſs. After a ſhort Refreſhment, he commanded the Duke to order ſome of his Horſes to be Sadled, to bear him Company that Night to *London* upon an extraordinary Council; upon which the Duke, with only five or ſix Attendants, immediately mounted and accompany'd him towards *London*, while the other entertain'd him with the moſt familiar and obliging Diſcourſe. Coming near *Stratford*, where an Ambuſh was laid to apprehend him, the King ſuddenly clapp'd Spurs to his fleet Horſe, and left the Duke to be unexpectedly ſeiz'd by the Earl of *Nottingham*, and a great Number of Horſemen; who hurry'd the unfortunate Prince to a Veſſel prepar'd for him on the *Thames*, and carry'd him over to *Calais*, where he was kept cloſe Priſoner, and never return'd after.

Others ſeiz'd.

The King makes a Parliament of his own:

Which Advances his Prerogative.

The King being now reſolv'd to finiſh his intended Projects, proceeded after the like manner with the reſt of the Duke's Party; and to that End he ſent for the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel* to Court, where he treated them with gracious Words and Promiſes, but in their Return arreſted them for Treaſon and ſent them to the Tower, as he did not long after the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *John Cheyney*, with ſeveral others of the ſame Faction. The Nation being much alarm'd at theſe uncommon Proceedings, the King by a Declaration ſet forth, *That the Lords lately apprehended were not thus treated for former Offences, but for certain new Treaſons, which ſhould be prov'd in due Time*; tho', as *Walſingham* ſays, the Event declar'd the contrary. After this he call'd a grand Council of Peers at *Nottingham*, in which ſeveral Lords were accus'd, and left to anſwer in the next Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter* in the middle of *September*: In the Election of which Parliament our Hiſtorians tell us, That the King by certain indirect Practices, and Management of the Sheriffs of the Counties, whom he had made for his Purpoſe, caus'd them to return ſuch Members of Parliament, as he had before nominated: Which is the firſt Example of any King's making uſe of an arbitrary Power in this Kind, and which prov'd one grand Step to his Ruin. In this Parliament the King had a great Guard of *Cheſhire* Men to ſecure his Perſon; and the Lords attended alſo with no ſmall Numbers about him. The Biſhop of *Exeter*, then Lord Chancellor, open'd the Seſſion with an Oration upon a Text of Scripture, and declar'd the Royal Power to be the only real Power, and that thoſe who endeavour'd to deſtroy or diminiſh it, deſerv'd the ſevereſt Puniſhments. Then Sir *John Buſhy*, a Creature of the King's, being by him nominated Speaker, the Parliament proceeded to reverſe all the Proceedings in that of the eleventh Year of this Reign; and firſt of all that Commiſſion which had impower'd eleven Lords to inſpect the publick Revenues of the Nation, declaring it obtain'd traiterouſly, by Conſtraint, and againſt the Royal Crown and Dignity. Next they annull'd all the Pardons granted to the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* and others, as being obtain'd by Conſtraint, and againſt the King's Will; not conſidering, ſays our Author, that the recalling ſuch Pardons ſtruck at the King's Safety; for ſince Mercy is the Strength of the Royal Throne, whoever takes that away deſtroys its main Foundation. In ſum, this Parliament revers'd every Thing of Moment enacted nine Years before by that which was call'd the *Unmerciful Parliament*; ſuch uncertain Things have theſe general Aſſemblies been, when manag'd either by Court Intrigues, or popular Factions.

Many of the Nobility condemn'd by it.

The Duke of Glocester *murder'd.*

His Character.

New Advancements.

The Conſequences of theſe Proceedings were firſt the Impeachment and Condemnation of *Thomas Arundel* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, chiefly for being traiterouſly concern'd in the above-nam'd Commiſſion for inſpecting the publick Revenues; for which he was baniſh'd the Kingdom, and had all his Temporalities confiſcated. Next the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* were impeach'd and condemn'd of High-Treaſon that had paſs'd nine and ten Years before, and for which they had been pardon'd. The former was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, where his Behaviour was extraordinary; and ſeeing his Son-in-Law the Earl of *Nottingham*, and his Nephew the Earl of *Kent* preſent with all the Marks of Satisfaction, he calmly told them, *That it became them at leaſt to have been abſent from ſuch a Sight; but the Time would ſhortly come when as many ſhould admire at their Misfortune, as they now did at his*. *Froiſart* ſays that the King was preſent at the Execution, and *Walſingham* affirms, that he was often hunted with an Apparition or Imagination of his Ghoſt; for he no ſooner clos'd his Eyes to Sleep, but he fancy'd *Arundel* ſtood by him. The Earl of *Warwick* pleading guilty, obtain'd a more merciful Sentence, being condemn'd to a perpetual Impriſonment in the Iſle of *Man*. But the Duke of *Glocester*, being too popular and formidable to be brought to a publick Tryal, was not long before by the King's Order ſecretly ſmother'd by Pillows and Feather-Beds at *Calais*, where it was reported he dy'd of an Apoplexy; after which he was attainted of High-Treaſon, and had all his Lands and Poſſeſſions confiſcated to the King's Uſe. This was the unfortunate End of a Man majeſtick, valiant and brave, but of a reſtleſs and turbulent Temper, which being blown up by his Greatneſs, brought him into many unjuſtifiable Actions, which at length produc'd his Ruin. After this the King to ſtrengthen his Party, and to kindle new Lights in the Room of ſuch as he had extinguiſh'd, made his Couſin *Henry* Earl of *Derby* Duke of *Hereford*, the Earl of *Rutland* Duke of *Albermarl*, the Earl of *Kent* Duke of *Surrey*, the Earl of *Huntington* Duke of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Nottingham* Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Somerſet* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, the Lord *Spenſer* Earl of *Glocester*, the Lord *Neville* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, *William Scrope* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worceſter*. Among theſe, to maintain their Dignities, the King made a Diſtribution of the greater Part of the Lands of the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, hoping to have bound them by a double Obligation of Duty and Affection; not conſidering that ſuch purchas'd Friends are ſeldom well ſatisfy'd, or true in Time of Need.

A. D. 1398. Reg. $\frac{21}{22}$.

Many dangerous Proceedings.

This Parliament was ſo highly ſerviceable to the Court Deſigns, that contrary to the uſual Methods of theſe Times, it was only prorogu'd, and ſummon'd to meet at *Shrewsbury*, as a Place more proper than *Weſtminſter*. Here the bold Aſſertions and Opinions that the Judges had made at *Nottingham*, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, for which they ſuffer'd, were now confirm'd to be good in Law; and the whole Proceedings of the Parliament held in the ſame Year, at once declar'd to be null and void, as being done contrary to the Will and Liberty of the King, and the Dignity of his Crown. The Judges alſo at this Time gave their Opinion, That when the King had propos'd Articles to be handled in Parliament, it was Treaſon to propoſe others 'till they were diſpatch'd. Under a Pretence of Diſpatch of Affairs the King by an unprecedented Action obtain'd that the Authority of this Parliament ſhould be delegated to a ſelect Number of Lords and Commons appointed by himſelf; by which Act the whole Power of the Kingdom was now devolv'd upon the King, twelve Peers, and ſix Commoners. Then he granted a general Pardon to all except fifty Perſons, whom he would not have nam'd, but reſerv'd them for a Curb to his Nobility, to keep them ſtill in Danger of being nam'd one of the fifty, if they diſpleas'd him. Laſtly, to add the greater Strength and Reverence to the Acts and Proceedings of this Parliament, the King ſhortly after procur'd the Pope's Bull, containing great Execrations upon all that ſhould preſume to break or oppoſe them, which was ſolemnly publiſh'd at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, and other Places throughout *England.* Furthermore to gratifie the *Cheſhire* Men, who had chiefly aſſiſted him and his late Favourites, he honour'd that County with the Name and Dignity of a Principality, and added to the reſt of his own Titles that of *Prince of* Cheſter, and to his Coat of Arms the ſuppos'd Bearing of *Edward* the Confeſſor.

The ill State of the Nation.

A Quarrel between the Dukes of Hereford *and* Norfolk.

Both are baniſh'd by the King.

For the preſent all Things ſeem'd to concur with the King's Deſigns; the Heads of the Party that ſo long oppos'd him were cut off, and the Nobility either terrify'd or brib'd by Honours or Eſtates; the Commons were unable to expreſs their Reſentments otherwiſe than in Sighs and Murmurs, and the King's great Officers of State, and his very Parliaments were now modell'd according to his Pleaſure; ſo that no King ſince the Conqueſt had been more abſolute than he was at preſent. Yet notwithſtanding all his Power and Grandeur, in a ſhort Time by ſmall Accidents and unlikely Inſtruments, he was more plung'd and embroiled than ever, and without Reſiſtance reduc'd to a ſhort and ſpeedy Overthrow. The Occaſions of this great Revolution proceeded firſt from a Quarrel that aroſe between the Dukes of *Hereford* and *Norfolk*, the former accuſing the latter of certain Words ſpoken to him againſt the King's Perſon and Government. The Subſtance of the Words was, *That King* Richard *had no Regard to the Peers of the Land, but as much as he could endeavour'd to deſtroy them by baniſhing ſome and putting others to Death: That he never troubled his Thoughts with conſidering how his Dominions were diminiſh'd by his Careleſneſs; and that all Things ran to Ruin, both in the Time of Peace and War*. The Duke of *Norfolk* being accus'd, deny'd that he ever ſpoke ſuch Words, and challenging his Adverſary, *Coventry* was appointed by the King for the Place of Combate. Where both appearing in great Pomp, and the King being preſent with a mighty Train, as the two Combatants ſtood ready to engage, the King, under Pretence of preventing deadly Feuds between two ſuch Families, or rather to be freed from an Enemy tho' with the Loſs of a Friend, baniſh'd the Duke of *Norfolk* for ever, and the Duke of *Hereford* for ten Years, and then for ſix. The former dy'd in a ſhort Time miſerable and unlamented at *Venice*; and 'tis obſervable that Sentence was pronounc'd againſt him on the ſame Day Twelvemonth that the Duke of *Glocester* had been murder'd by his Order at *Calais*; ſo juſt is the Divine Vengeance at ſome Times, not only in puniſhing Villanies, but in cauſing the Puniſhment to be attended with ſuch Circumſtances as may render it more conſpicuous to the World.

A. D.
1399.
Reg. $\frac{22}{23}$.

The Death of the Duke of Lancaſter.

His Character.

His Son Henry *diſinherited by the King.*

The following Year is introduc'd by our Hiſtorian with ſtrange and unuſual Prodigies; as of a deep River's ſtopping its Courſe near *Beford*, and remaining dry for three Miles without any viſible Cauſe, and of all the Laurels withering throughout the Nation, and then reflouriſhing contrary to Expectation. Theſe were look'd upon as very ominous in thoſe Times; and the firſt Conſequence of them, as it was thought, was the Death of the great Duke of *Lancaſter*, who deceas'd about *Candlemas*; a Prince active and couragious, and who had made a noble Figure in the World. He had the Character of a Man prudent and wary in his Actions, an Approver of ſafe Councils on good Reaſons, rather than fortunate Exploits with Hazards; one that was neither too negligent or ambitious of Glory, and therefore deported himſelf towards the King his Nephew with a Reſpect decent enough for a moderate Prince, but not ſo much as the inſatiable Deſire of Arbitrary Power, join'd with the deprav'd Manners of the Court, might require. His brave Son, *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, unjuſtly baniſh'd, ought to have inherited not only his Title, but alſo his vaſt Eſtate; but the King being jealous of ſo great a Power in a near Relation he had ſo highly exaſperated, took care to prevent it by ſeizing all his Poſſeſſions, and pronouncing his Baniſhment perpetual. This was done by a Meeting at *Weſtminſter* of thoſe few Lords and Commons who had the Authority of a Parliament conferr'd upon them. And theſe proceeded to a more ſevere and unjuſt Action againſt one *Henry Bonet* Clerk, who for regularly procuring Letters Patents from the King in favour of the exil'd Duke, was adjudg'd as a Traitor to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd: Only by being the King's Chaplain, he found Favour to eſcape with Life, and ſo ſuffer'd perpetual Baniſhment.

The Publick in a dangerous Condition.

The King generally hated.

By theſe and the like arbitrary Acts, the Laws and Liberties of *England* were reduc'd to a dangerous and languiſhing Condition; for the King having diſpatch'd the Duke of *Glocester*, and the reſt of the Noblemen who oppos'd him, and being now freed from his Uncle the Duke of *Lancaſter* by Death, and his Son by Baniſhment, had the Liberty to act at Pleaſure. His only remaining Uncle the Duke of *York*, being an eaſie and quiet Prince, more addicted to Pleaſures than Buſineſs, and much govern'd by his Son the Duke of *Albermarl*, was ſo far from oppoſing, that he ſeem'd rather to countenance the King's late Actions, by voting with the preſent ſtanding Committee of Parliament. So that the King now looking upon himſelf as *Hors-du-Page*, and free from all Controul, abandon'd himſelf to ſoft Eaſe and the deſtructive Charms of Pleaſure, by whoſe fatal Example many of the Nobility deliver'd themſelves up to Sloth and Luxury, which introduc'd Cowardice and Effeminacy, and deſtroy'd both Manhood and Reputation. The publick Affairs both at home and abroad were in a Condition anſwerable to ſuch Managers, who had been long byaſs'd more by private Reſpects than publick Advantages; which caus'd the Nation to decline both in Honour and Riches; ſo that all Things being out of Order, the Commonwealth ſeem'd haſtning into inevitable Ruin. The Northern Counties, through frequent Devaſtations and unfaithful Truces, were impoveriſh'd by the *Scots*, who had gain'd ſeveral important Poſts, and depopulated thoſe Parts with their continual Inroads. On the Seas the Merchants Ships were frequently ſurpris'd by the *French*; and the King's Hereditary Dominions in *France* reduc'd to a narrow Compaſs, and many ſtrong Places loſt by Negligence or ſold by Treachery. The Profits and Revenues of the Crown, and even of the whole Kingdom, were farm'd out to certain Favourites, who unmercifully rack'd and oppreſs'd the King's Subjects. Great Sums of Mony were by new invented Methods rather extorted than borrow'd from all Sorts of People, of which no Advantage accru'd to the Kingdom; only the King's private Pleaſures were extravagantly maintain'd, and unworthy Favourites advanc'd. To add to all, ſeventeen whole Counties, which ten Years before had join'd with the Duke of *Glocester*, notwithſtanding the general Pardon, were now held guilty of High-Treaſon: For which they were forc'd to compound for a large Sum of Mony, to take new Oaths of Allegiance, and the richeſt among them to ſign and ſeal to a Blank, in which the appointed Officers might inſert what Sum they pleas'd; which was ſufficient to ruin whole Counties, as well as Families. In ſum, the unfortunate King was not only ſurrounded, but in a manner beſieg'd by ignorant Miniſters and ſordid Flatterers, who kept him from all Relief of good Counſel, and render'd him ſo univerſally hated, that great Numbers deſign'd to rebel at the firſt Opportunity; being reſolv'd rather to run the Hazard of a ſhort and ſpeedy Ruin, than languiſh under the Torment of a tedious Slavery.

He makes an Expedition into Ireland.

In the midſt of theſe uneaſie and unſettled Times the King imprudently reſolv'd upon an Expedition into *Ireland*, to revenge the Death of his Lieutenant the Earl of *Marche*, the neareſt Heir to the Crown, who had been ſlain in an Ingagement with the wild *Iriſh:* In Order to which he rais'd a numerous Army, but not without a vaſt Charge, and grievous Oppreſſion of his Subjects, not only in levying Mony by illegal Methods, but taking up Carriages, Victuals and other Neceſſaries without paying for them; which raſh and unadvis'd Practices render'd himſelf and his Government ſtill more and more uneaſie to the Nation. About *Whitſuntide* he took Shipping for *Ireland*, accompany'd with the Dukes of *Albermarl* and *Exeter*, the Sons of the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Lancaſter*, and divers other Noblemen; but his Forces moſtly conſiſted of *Cheſhire* Men, on whom he chiefly confided. He alſo carry'd over with him his chief Relicks, with his Plate and Jewels of the Crown that were in his Treaſure; as if he had deſign'd to have taken a final Leave both of his Kingdom and Dignity in *England.* At his going off, he committed a new Error in Politicks, which was his proclaiming the Earl of *Northumberland* and his Friends Traitors, and ordering their Eſtates to be ſeiz'd, only for not attending him in his Expedition, when their Preſence was requir'd in the North againſt the *Scots*; which caus'd the Earl in a ſhort Time to be one of the Firſt that revolted from him. In the mean Time the King landed at *Waterford*, and immediately after his Arrival, march'd from *Dublin* againſt the *Iriſh* of *Ulſter*, and got many little Victories in ſeveral Ingagements he had with them; in all which, the King is ſaid to have behav'd himſelf with great Courage and Reſolution. And theſe petty *Iriſh* Princes were ſo terrify'd with the Force of his Arms, that they ſent

Envoys to him to petition for Pardon, and to ſue for Peace, which at length they obtain'd, tho' with ſome Difficulty.

which occaſions his Fall. Henry *the baniſh'd Duke of* Lancaſter *invited into* England.

He lands with a few Men in Yorkſhire.

But theſe inconſiderable Triumphs coſt King *Richard* no leſs than his Kingdom: For while he was thus ingag'd and abſent from his diſcontented Nation, *Henry* the new Duke of *Lancaſter* being invited over by many of the Nobility and Gentry, and likewiſe excited by the exil'd Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, reſolv'd to try his Fortunes in the Kingdom of *England.* Wherefore after he had diſpatch'd ſome of his choiceſt Friends over to make the beſt Preparations for his Arrival, he addreſs'd himſelf to the *French* King with a Compliment, that he deſign'd a Viſit to his Kinſman the Duke of *Bretaign*, therefore deſir'd his Letters of ſafe Conduct; which being granted, he there privately levy'd a few Soldiers, and hiring three Ships of the Duke of *Bretaign*, he put to Sea with them for *England*, accompany'd with the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Nephew the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpington* and Sir *Thomas Ramſtone* Knights, with ſome other Gentlemen, his whole Retinue not conſiſting of above eighty Perſons: So that it is hard to judge which was more wonderful, that he durſt attempt, or that he ſhould ſucceed with ſo ſmall a Number. However the Duke was too wiſe and cautious to puſh Things beyond all Poſſibility of a Retreat; and therefore did not immediately land, but lay cruiſing up and down, ſometimes appearing on one Coaſt and ſometimes on another, that he might the better diſcover the Inclinations of the People towards him, and what Forces were ready to receive or reſiſt him. But at laſt being ſatisfy'd with what he obſerv'd, he landed without Oppoſition about the Beginning of *July* at *Ravenſpurre* in *Yorkſhire*, with no more than twenty Lances, tho' he might have had a greater Force from the Duke of *Bretaign*; ſo much did he confide in the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and the Favour of the People. Yet he did not then make any Pretenſions to the Crown, but only gave out that he came to regain the Dukedom of *Lancaſter*, and the reſt of his lawful Inheritance, which all the Nation knew was wrongfully detain'd from him, and ſo hoped that they were the more ready to pity and favour him in a Cauſe wherein he had receiv'd ſuch palpable Injury from the King.

Many Lords join with him.

His Forces vaſtly increaſe. He marches to London,

His Arrival being known, the Lords *Willoughby*, *Roſs*, *Darby* and *Beaumont* immediately repair'd to him, and ſhortly after the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, with great Numbers of the Gentry and common People. Upon which, the King's Lieutenant and Uncle the Duke of *York*, ſummon'd the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, the Lord Chancellor *Scrope*, the Earl of *Wiltſhire* Lord Treaſurer, Sir *John Buſhy*, Sir *Henry Green*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *John Ruſſel*, chief Counſellors and Confidents to King *Richard*, to adviſe how to act in this dangerous Exigency. Among whom it was ignorantly or treacherouſly concluded to abandon the City of *London*, and appoint the general Rendezvous to be at St. *Albans.* But when the common People were call'd out of ſeveral Counties to that Place, they openly declar'd, *That they would not act any Thing to the Prejudice of the Duke, who they knew was unjuſtly baniſh'd his Country, and illegally kept from his Inheritance.* This was like a Thunder-clap to the Earl of *Wiltſhire* and the other Favourites, who were conſcious that the Peoples Hatred was greater againſt them, than the King's Perſon, becauſe they had farm'd the Publick Revenues, and us'd intollerable Extortions; therefore, ſuddenly leaving the Duke of *York*, they fled to *Briſtol*; which gave ſo great a Diſcouragement to him, that not daring to venture an improbable Reſiſtance, he gave over the Cauſe, and laid down his Arms. Upon which the reſt of the Nobility either openly declar'd for the Duke, or held ſecret Correſpondence with him, reſolving to ſwim down with his mighty Stream, rather than pretend to ſtem an impetuous Torrent that bore away all before it. For nothing could increaſe faſter than the Duke's Forces in his March; inſomuch that they were ſoon grown to ſixty thouſand ſtrong, with which he reſolv'd to puſh on his good Fortune, and haſten to *London.* There he found a Reception ſuitable to the uſual Joy that diſcontented and turbulent People ſhew in Alterations; he was receiv'd in Triumph without Victory, and with all the Teſtimonies of Zeal and Affection, which flattering Crouds could pay their lawful Sovereign. Pageants and rich Preſents entertain'd him, with all the Acclamations and extravagant Praiſes that could be invented, and as many opprobrious Reflections caſt on the Conduct of King *Richard.* From *London* he haſten'd to *Briſtol*, to purſue the fugitive Favourites; and finding the Caſtle fortify'd againſt him, he ſo briskly attack'd it, that in four Days Time he forc'd it to ſurrender upon Diſcretion. And taking therein the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Sir *John Buſhy*, and Sir *Henry Green*, he the next Day ſacrific'd them to the importunate Rage of the incenſed People, by cutting off all their Heads without Mercy.

and from thence to Briſtol.

King Richard *ill adviſ'd.*

He returns to England.

Being under great Perplexities,

he abandons his Army.

During theſe Succeſſes, there was no News of King *Richard*; who either was hinder'd by contrary Winds, or acted according to the Humour of ſome weak Spirits, who contemn remote Dangers, but are aſtoniſh'd at their near Approach. However at length, ſecuring the Sons of the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, he reſolv'd for *England*; but the Duke of *Albermarl* perſuaded him to ſtay 'till his Preparations were ready, which fatal Council, as it was his ill Deſtiny to follow, ſo it prov'd his Ruin: Yet he immediately ſent over the Earl of *Salisbury* to raiſe an Army in *Wales* and *Cheſhire* againſt his Return, which he ſtrictly promis'd ſhould be within ſix Days at furtheſt. The Earl was very ſucceſsful in his Levies, and ſoon got together no leſs than forty thouſand Men; but the King much failing in his Time of Appearance to head them, they in great Diſcontent return'd home. At length, in eighteen Days time, the King, attended by the Dukes of *Albermarl*, *Exeter* and *Surrey*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Exeter*, and *Carliſle*, and ſome others of the Nobility, landed at *Milford-Haven* with a conſiderable Number of his *Cheſhire* Army, and march'd to *Caermarthen*, where he ſtaid to conſult how to proceed; but when he underſtood that the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Forces were disbanded, that moſt of his ſtrong Places as well as *London* had declar'd for the Duke of *Lancaſter*, that moſt of the Nobility and Gentry had eſpous'd his Cauſe, and that his principal Favourites had loſt their Heads, he was ſo far from retaining the Magnanimity of a King, that he almoſt ceas'd to be a Man, and abandon'd himſelf to Deſpair; being perplex'd and confounded with Uncertainties, and deſtitute both of Reſolution and good Counſel in ſuch amazing Difficulties. For while ſome adviſ'd him to march bravely forwards, as being ſure of many who out of Duty, or Affection, or for Pay, would follow his Standard; others perſuaded him to return into *Ireland*, and go over to his Father-in-Law of *France*, and ſtay 'till the Storm was over, and 'till a more convenient and favourable Seaſon. But the King rejecting both Counſels, took a middle Courſe, and reſolv'd to ſtay in *Wales*, and expect the Event of this Defection; while the Soldiers he had brought over with him, endeavour'd to encourage him to Battel, vowing to live and die with him. But this could not raiſe his drooping Spirits, for in the Night he ſtole away from his Forces, and with ſome of his Nobility went *Incognito* croſs the Country to the Caſtle of *Conway*; where the Lord *Thomas Piercy*, Steward of his Houſhold, openly in the Hall before all the King's Servants broke his white Staff of Office, and repair'd to the Duke of *Lancaſter*; and moſt of the Royal Retinue by his Example diſpers'd and ſhifted every one for himſelf. Such uncertain Attendants are the common ſort of Courtiers, who, like Flies, upon the firſt Storm, leave the Body that has nouriſh'd them.

He falls into the Hands of the Duke of Lancaſter,

who carries him to London.

The poor unfortunate King being thus abandon'd, had no Hopes left but in a Parly; in Order to which, the ejected Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Northumberland* repair'd to him to *Conway* Caſtle. The Sum of the King's Propoſals was, *That if he and eight Perſons, whom he would name, might have an honourable Allowance, and the Aſſurance of a quiet private Life, he would reſign his Crown.* To which the Earl of *Northumberland* gave his Oath; which ſo ſatisfy'd the King, that he immediately departed in their Company to the Caſtle of *Flint*, where he put himſelf into the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Hands, and rod with him that Night to the Caſtle of *Cheſter.* This is *Walſingham*'s Account; but others ſay that *Northumberland* deluded the King with more plauſible Propoſals than the fore-mention'd, and by a ſort of Stratagem got him into his Poſſeſſion, and convey'd him to the Duke of *Lancaſter* at *Flint* Caſtle; where the King having din'd, the Duke appear'd before him, to whom the King ſaid *Couſin of* Lancaſter, *you are welcome.* The other anſwer'd, *I am come ſooner than you appointed me, becauſe the Fame of your People is, that for theſe twenty one Years you have govern'd ill and rigorouſly, for which they are highly diſſatisfy'd; but if Heav'n pleaſes, I will help to govern them better for the future.* To which the King return'd no other Anſwer but, *Fair Couſin, ſince it pleaſes you, it pleaſes Us alſo.* Soon after the Duke, with the miſerable King in his Poſſeſſion, and a great Part of his Army, march'd directly towards *London*, where he was receiv'd with infinite Acclamations, and the other with as many Reproaches. Before he enter'd the City, the Recorder with many Knights and Eſquires, met him, and deſir'd in Behalf of the Commons of *London*, that he would cut off the Head of King *Richard*, and of all that were taken with him: But the Duke would by no means hearken to ſuch a Piece of Villany, but told them, *That ſuch an Act would prove an everlaſting Reproach to him and his Adherents; but he would carry him along with them to the Tower of* London, *and then leave him to the Judgment of the Parliament.* And here it is obſervable that the King having ſurrender'd himſelf the twentieth of *Auguſt*, but ſeven and forty Days

The Duke's great Succeſs.

after the Duke's Arrival in *England*, the Duke might well aſſume the noted Motto of *Julius Cæſar*; for conſidering his Marches from *Ravenſpur* in the North up to *London*, and from thence to *Briſtol*, and ſo through all *Wales* to *Cheſter*, a Perſon can ſcarce travel over ſo much Ground in the Space that he conquer'd it. And ſo indulgent was Fortune to him, that all the King's Jewels and Treaſure which were depoſited in *Holt* Caſtle, amounting to ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds, with all his Horſes and Baggage now fell into his Hands.

A Parliament call'd in King Richard's *Name.*

The King being ſecur'd in the Tower, the Duke of *Lancaſter* loſt no Time, for he had already at *Cheſter* cauſed Writs to be iſſu'd out in King *Richard*'s Name for the ſummoning a Parliament to be held at *Weſtminſter* on the laſt Day of *September*; and in the mean Time he conſulted with his Friends how to compleat thoſe Deſigns which beyond his Hopes had been favour'd by Providence. In this Matter the Duke of *York* was now become his chief Director; and after divers Debates he propos'd it as very expedient, That King *Richard* ſhould both voluntarily *Reſign* the Crown, and likewiſe be ſolemnly *Depos'd* by all the Eſtates of the Realm; for otherwiſe his *Reſignation* would be imputed only to his Fear, and his *Deprivation* only to their Force, of which the one is always apt to move Pity, and the other to excite Envy: *But if both concurr'd, and his Deſires agreed with his own Deſerts, as being willing to relinquiſh what he was adjudged worthy to forfeit, then it would appear that he neither was expell'd his Kingdom by meer Conſtraint, nor left it without a juſt Cauſe.* This Advice was generally approv'd, and accordingly purſu'd; and a ſolemn *Reſignation* was tender'd to the King on *Michaelmaſs-Day*, which he firſt read with his own Mouth, and then ſign'd it with his own Hand. The Form was very full and expreſſive, and in it was declar'd, *That his Reſignation was purely, voluntarily, ſimply and abſolutely*; and more than that, *That he judg'd himſelf to have been inſufficient and unfit for the Rule and Government of his Kingdoms, and by his notorious Demerits had deſerv'd to be Depos'd.* After this he declar'd his Deſire that the Duke of *Lancaſter* might ſucceed him in his Kingdoms, and in Token of his Will and Intention, he openly pull'd off his Signet Ring, and put it upon the Duke's Finger. The next Day at the meeting of the Parliament, the Arch-Biſhop of *York* and the Biſhop of *Hereford* publickly declar'd the King's *Ceſſion* and *Renunciation*, with the Inſcription of the King's Hand, and the Delivery of his Signet; all which was unanimouſly approv'd and admitted by the whole Body.

He formally reſigns the Crown.

After which Articles are exhibited againſt him.

But all this was not thought ſufficient; therefore to remove all Doubts and Scruples, thirty three Articles of his Crimes and Failings were drawn up and openly read in the Parliament; of all which, it was ſaid that he had confeſs'd himſelf guilty. Theſe Articles were very long and aggravating, and may be ſeen at length in Doctor *Brady*'s and Mr. *Tyrrell*'s Hiſtories, where they take up above eight Pages in *Folio*. In the Beginning of them was plac'd his Abuſe of the publick Treaſure, and diſhonourable Waſte of the Crown Lands, by which he became intollerably grievous to his Subjects. The particular and unhappy Cauſes of the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Lancaſter*, of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Arundel*, fill'd up ſeveral Articles. In the reſt he was charg'd with Diſſimulation, Falſhood, Loſs of Honour in the World, Rapines, Extortions, Denial of Juſtice, Raſures and Embezelling of Records, diſhonourable Shifts, wicked Actions of State, Cruelty, Covetouſneſs, Subordinations, Laſciviouſneſs, Treaſon to the Rights of the Crown, Perjuries; and in ſhort with all ſorts of unkingly Vices, and with abſolute Tyranny it ſelf. And indeed there was nothing ſo improbable that could then be objected, but would have gone for current and undeniable with Affections ſo throughly prepar'd. Theſe Articles being read, all the Eſtates of the Realm unanimouſly conſented *ex abundanti* to proceed to the *Depoſition* of King *Richard*, for the greater Security and Tranquility of the People: And accordingly they appointed certain Commiſſioners, the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, the Abbot of *Glaſtonbury*, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Berkley*, Sir *Thomas Erpyngham*, Sir *Thomas Grey*, and *William Thirnyng* Juſtice, to pronounce a ſolemn Sentence of Depoſition againſt King *Richard* from all Royal Dignity, Majeſty and Honour, in the Name of all the Eſtates of *England*. Which being done, they conſtituted certain Perſons to be their Proctors or Agents to go to King *Richard* and reſign the Homage and Fealty that before had been made to him, and gave him Notice of what had been done touching his *Depoſition*, and *Renunciation*.

He is ſolemnly depos'd.

Upon this, the Royal Throne being now reputed vacant, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* riſing from his Seat, and ſtanding ſo as he might be ſeen by the People, after he had croſs'd himſelf and ſolemnly invocated the Name of *Chriſt*, in a Form of Words laid Claim to the vacant Crown of *England*, as being truly and lineally deſcended from King *Henry* the Third. Upon which Claim, and his ſhewing King *Richard*'s Signet, all the Eſtates unanimouſly conſented that the ſaid Duke *Henry* ſhould reign over them; and both the Arch-Biſhops of the Kingdom ſolemnly placed him in the Royal Throne, with the general Acclamations and Applauſes of the People. Then to compleat the Solemnity, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* made a ſhort Sermon or Diſcourſe upon the Words of *Samuel*, *A Man ſhould reign over the People*; from whence he took an Occaſion to deſcribe the Happineſs of that Kingdom which was govern'd by a Man, and the Infelicity of that governed by a Child, whether in Age or Diſcretion; *and whereas they had dangerouſly felt the Evils of the latter under King* Richard, *ſo they hop'd abundantly to enjoy the Bleſſings of the former from King* Henry. After which the new Monarch aroſe from his Throne, and with an affable Countenance and a gracious Smile declar'd, *That none would think that he intended by Way of Conqueſt to diſinherit any Man, certain evil Members only excepted.* On the ſame Day he made a ſplendid Entertainment for the Nobility and Gentry, who were there in great Numbers. As for King *Richard* then in the Tower, when all Homage and Fealty was reſign'd to him by *William Thirnyng* in the Name of the reſt, he only anſwer'd, *That he look'd not after ſuch Things, but after all he hop'd That his Couſin would be his good Lord and Friend.* Thus was King *Richard* depos'd upon *Tueſday* the Thirtieth Day of *September*, after a diſhonourable and unfortunate Reign of twenty two Years, two Months and eight Days, being then in the Strength and Vigour of his Age, and not above thirty three Years old.

Henry *Duke of* Lancaſter *plac'd in his Throne.*

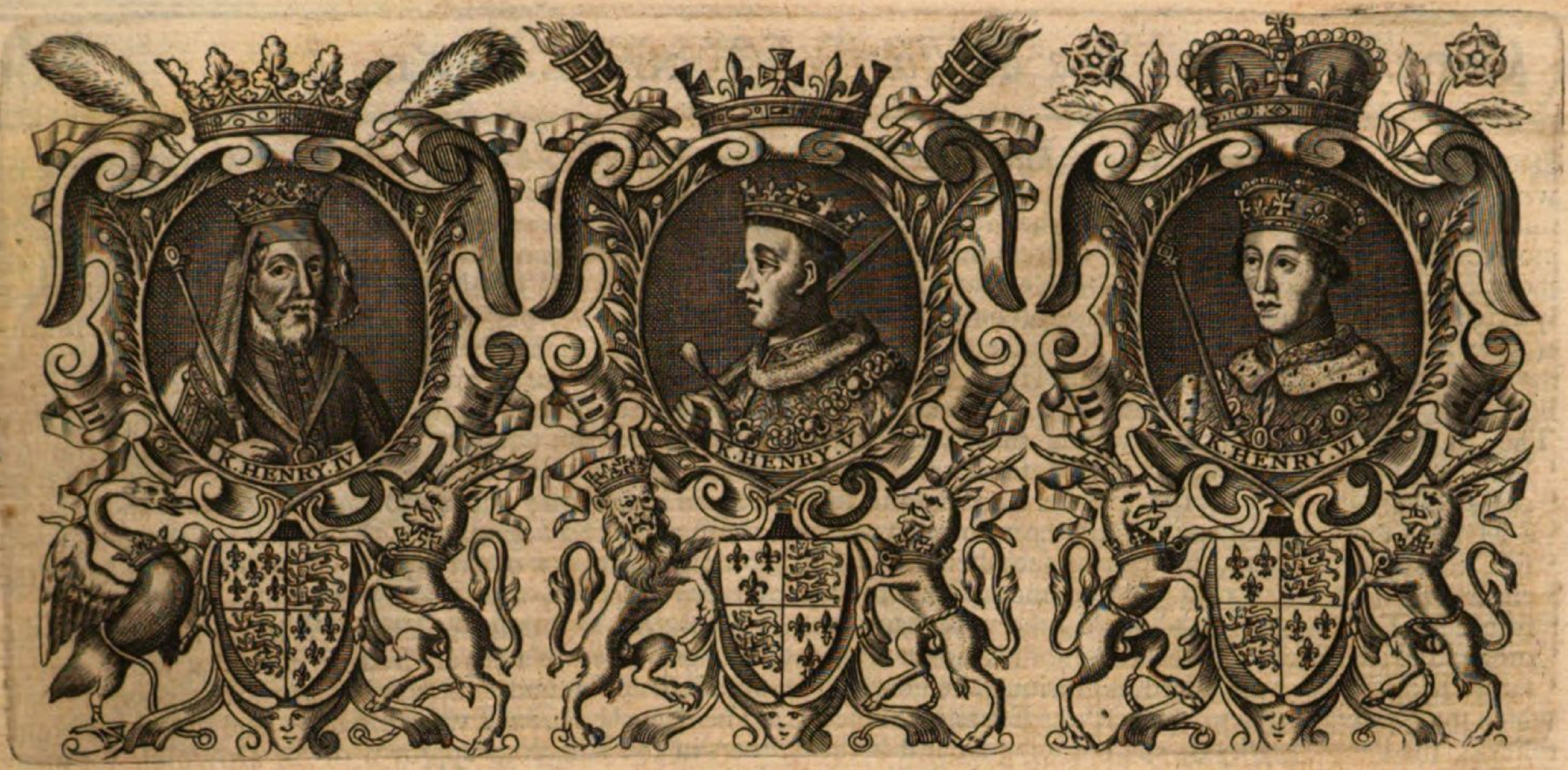
King Richard *ſubmits.*

His Perſon and Character.

Here ended the Reign, tho' not the Life of King *Richard* the Second; a Prince who as to his Perſon was the moſt amiable and handſom that ever reign'd ſince the Conqueſt, agreeable to the Son of ſo beautiful a Father and Mother; and he might have prov'd an excellent Prince had his Education been anſwerable to his natural Diſpoſition. For there appear'd in him many good Inclinations, which might have grown to perfect Virtues, if they had not been blaſted by corrupt Flatterers in his Youth. Theſe taught him Luxury, Viciouſneſs, and the Deſire of Power, ſo that in a ſhort Time, by his being ſtill govern'd by them, he loſt all the Eſteem and Affection the Nation had once for him; and this occaſion'd great Hardſhips, and very unjuſtifiable Uſage from his Subjects to him, beſides the Ruin of his moſt beloved Friends. He acted as one of a revengeful Spirit, and was guilty of many Breaches of Faith; for which he more than once receiv'd his Puniſhment from the Hands of thoſe who had not the moſt Right to inflict it. As to his Temper, he was rather profuſe than liberal in his Gifts and Expences, keeping greater State and Hoſpitality than any of his Predeceſſors; and tho' we find no publick Act of Charity done by him, yet his rebuilding of *Weſtminſter-Hall* in that noble manner it now ſtands, ſufficiently ſhews that he lov'd to appear great and magnificent in whatſoever he undertook: But his Grandeur was one great Step to his Ruin. His Reign in general, in ſeveral Reſpects reſembled that of King *Edward* the Second, his Great-grand-Father; for both adher'd to the Advices of Favourites, and both equally neglected the Councils of the ancient Nobility: But with this Difference, that *Edward* was paſſionately fond of the Perſon of his Favourite, and would endanger his Crown to preſerve him; whereas *Richard* ſo little regarded the Perſon of his, that he would not hazard his Throne in his Defence. *Edward* ſeem'd of a more eaſie and flexible Temper, being always govern'd by them he lov'd; but *Richard* of a more diſſolute and wilful Inclination, ever loving thoſe whom he could beſt rule; ſo that ſuch only were his Favourites, as would be ſubſervient to his Will. The former was ruin'd more by the Faults of others, and the latter more by thoſe of his own; ſo that *Edward*'s Caſe was more pitiable, and *Richard*'s more blameable. *Richard* aſſum'd a more abſolute Power than *Edward*, or indeed any of his Predeceſſors, and more than that obtain'd it; and his Fall did not only ſhew a great and wonderful Revolution, but alſo moſt ſignally manifeſted that the moſt abſolute Princes are ever moſt liable to be ruin'd, eſpecially in thoſe Kingdoms where there is, or rather ought to be, any Concurrency in the Legiſlature.

A Compariſon between him and Edward II.

CHAP.



CHAP. IV.

The Royal Houſe of Lancaſter: *From the Depoſition of King* Richard *the Second, to the Depoſition of* Henry *the Sixth, and the Beginning of the Royal Houſe of* York.

Containing the Space of about 61 Years.

SECT. I.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Fourth.*

Containing 13 *Years,* 5 *Months, and* 21 *Days.*

A. D. 1399. Reg. 1.

A Parliament call'd.

The Archbiſhop's Speech

I. KING *Richard* II. being thus formally depriv'd and depos'd, was in his Life-time ſucceeded by *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, from his Birth-Place in *Lincolnſhire* ſirnam'd *Bullingbrook*, a Perſon of great Note and Renown, and now about thirty three Years of Age; every Way qualify'd for his high Office, only he wanted an unqueſtionable Title: For beſides King *Richard* himſelf, who proceeded from *Edward* the Eldeſt Son of *Edward* III. the Earl of *Marche* was then living, who deſcended from *Lionel* his Third Son, while his own Deſcent was from his Fourth Son *John*. However being ſo well ſupported on all Sides, he immediately call'd a Parliament in his own Name, who met in ſix Days Time, and conſiſted of the ſame Members that King *Richard* had ſummon'd not long before. In this Parliament, which met on the ſixth Day of *October*, King *Henry* being ſeated on his Royal Throne in *Weſtminſter-Hall* before the full Aſſembly, and a numerous Concourſe of others, *Arundel* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, in a formal Oration firſt declar'd the Cauſe of their Summons, and that King *Richard*'s former Summons was of no Force or Effect, by reaſon of the Acceptation of the Renunciation made by him, before King *Henry* had iſſu'd out his Writs for this Parliament. Then he proceeded to ſhew, *That this honourable Kingdom of* England, *and the moſt abounding with Riches, had been long govern'd by Children, and the Counſels of young Perſons, ſo that it was reduc'd to a State of Deſolation highly to be lamented, had not the Goodneſs of Almighty God ſent a knowing and diſcreet Man for the Government of the Nation, who by the Aſſiſtance of Heav'n would be rul'd and advis'd by the Sages and Ancients of his Kingdom, for the mutual Succour and Comfort of himſelf and his whole People.* Adding further, *That Men ought eſpecially to conſider how this honourable Kingdom could ſo long ſubſiſt under ſuch miſerable Waſte and Deſtruction, which if it had been under good and regular Government, and wiſe and ſufficient Counſel, it would have been the moſt conſiderable in the World for Riches and other Advantages.* Then having declar'd how ready the preſent King *Henry* was to be advis'd by the wiſeſt of the Nation, he again inſiſted upon the Excellencies of the *Engliſh* Empire, *That no Kingdom in the World could ſupport it ſelf without the Aſſiſtance of others, ſo honourably, glorioſly and compleatly as this:* And then ſhew'd, *That in the Government of every Kingdom three Things were eſpecially requir'd, Juſtice, Obſervation of Laws, and Liberty for all to live according to their Ranks and Degrees; and that it was the King's Will, by the Help of God, to make good theſe three Particulars.* He further declar'd, *That it was alſo his Majeſty's ſpecial Will, that the Holy Church ſhould enjoy all her Liberties and Franchiſes; that all the good Statutes enacted in the Time of his noble Progenitors ſhould be firmly obſerv'd, and that all the Nobility, Commons, and all others, ſhould enjoy all their Liberties and Franchiſes, according to the Grants made by his foreſaid Progenitors. And that no Man ought to cenſure any thing done this Parliament, for the King was reſolv'd in his Faith and Conſcience to do equal Juſtice to all Parties, according to the Will, Aſſiſtance and Grace of God afforded to him.*

King Henry's Coronation.

Several Eſtabliſhments.

After this, and the Diſpatch of ſome formal Matters, the Parliament by Conſent was prorogu'd 'till the Day after the King's Coronation, which was appointed on the thirteenth of *October*, on the ſame Day Twelve-Month that he had been baniſh'd by King *Richard*. His Coronation was extraordinary ſolemn and magnificent, and he was anointed with a peculiar Oyl which a Religious Man had given to *Henry* the firſt Duke of *Lancaſter*, with a certain Prophecy, That all Kings anointed with That ſhould be Champions of the Church. This Oyl coming into the Hands of King *Richard*, as he was looking among his Jewels, then going into *Ireland*, he was deſirous to be anointed with it, but the Arch-Biſhop prevented him by aſſuring him, That it was not lawful to be anointed more than once. Upon his Return into *Wales*, the Arch Biſhop got it into his own Poſſeſſion, and reſerv'd it to the Coronation of King *Henry*, who was the firſt King of the Realm that was anointed with it. Immediately after his Coronation this wiſe Prince us'd all Precautions to eſtabliſh and perpetuate his Power and Authority; and particularly provided for the Indemnities of all ſuch as join'd with him before King *Richard* was depos'd, and caus'd all the Acts made by the Parliament of the 21ſt of the late Reign to be revok'd and annull'd for ever. By which his Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earl of *Arundel* and ſeveral others were freed from the Infamy of that Corruption in Blood which follows executed Traitors. At the ſame Time the

Statutes made in the eleventh Year of *Richard* the Second were reviv'd and confirm'd to be kept according to their full Intent and Purport, as being for the Good and common Profit of the Kingdom. And whereas the Articles of thoſe Times exhibited againſt Treaſonable Practices, uſually extended ſo far as to give the Prince too unlimited Power over his Peers and People, this King therefore reduc'd the Caſe of Treaſons to a more certain Head, utterly aboliſhing all ſuch Caſes as were eſtabliſh'd in the late Reign. The Subſtance of the Statute upon that Occaſion is, ‘Whereas in a Parliament holden by the late King *Richard*, divers Penalties of Treaſon were ordain'd in ſuch a Manner, that no Man could know how to behave himſelf, to act, or to ſpeak, for fear of ſuch Penalties; it is enacted by the King, Lords and Commons, That for the future no Treaſon ſhall be adjudg'd otherwiſe than it was ordain'd by the Statute in the Reign of his noble Grandfather King *Edward* the Third of glorious Memory. By which the Net was broken, the perilous Eſtate of Subjects reliev'd, the People gratify'd, and the King ſecur'd in their Affections. But for a farther Security, in this Parliament, after he had made the Earl of *Northumberland* Conſtable of *England*, the Earl of *Weſtmorland* Lord Marſhal, Sir *John Serle* Chancellor, *John Newbury* Treaſurer, and Sir *Richard Clifford* Lord Privy-Seal, he created his eldeſt Son *Henry*, then about thirteen Years of Age, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Cheſter*, and ſhortly after Duke of *Gaſcony*; and the Crown by Parliament was entail'd upon him and the Heirs of his Body, to the Excluſion of all others that could claim any Right of Sovereignty in the Nation.

The Crown entail'd upon Henry's *Heirs.*

A Conſultation about King Richard.

A Synod meets.

After ſome exemplary Puniſhments of ſome of the late King's evil Counſellors, in the latter End of this Parliament, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* charg'd all preſent, upon their Allegiance, *That what was then ſpoken or propounded ſhould be kept ſecret from all Mankind*; and then it was demanded, for the Security of the King, and all the Eſtates of the Nation, what ſhould be done with the depoſed King *Richard*. To which Queſtion all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal unanimouſly anſwer'd to this Effect, *That he ought to be put under ſafe and ſecure Guard, in a Place where there was no Concourſe of People, and be kept by ſure and ſufficient Perſons, after the moſt ſecret Manner, without any one who had been formerly Servant to him.* Only *Thomas Merks*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, a Perſon of great Learning and Spirit, diſſented from the common Opinion; and, according to Sir *John Hayward*, in a long and remarkable Speech bravely ſtood up for the Power and Authority of the Kings of *England*, and by ſeveral Arguments drawn from the Conſtitution of the Nation, from Hiſtory and Scripture, evinc'd, *That neither King* Richard *could be legally depos'd by his Subjects, nor the Duke of* Lancaſter *legally ſucceed him, tho' he had been depriv'd never ſo juſtly:* And further diſplay'd the innumerable Miſchiefs that uſually attended and followed ſuch unjuſtifiable Proceedings. But his Arguments were then look'd upon as only the Opinion of a ſingle Man, and he was ſo far from being incourag'd, that he was order'd to be arreſted by the Marſhal, and committed to Priſon in the Abby of St. *Albans*; tho' afterwards without further Cenſure he was ſet at Liberty. During this Seſſion of Parliament, the Arch-Biſhop had convok'd a Synod in St. *Paul*'s Church, to whom the King ſent the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, who declar'd to the Clergy, *That they were not ſent to them to require any Mony from them, but to acquaint them with his Majeſty's Reſolution to confirm all their Privileges and Immunities, and to join with them, as they ſhould deſire him, in the Puniſhment of all Hereticks and Oppugners of the eſtabliſh'd Religion; for all which he only crav'd their Supplications to God for the Safety of him and his Poſterity, and the Proſperity of the Kingdom*; which all there preſent ſolemnly and religiouſly promis'd.

King Henry *vindicates himſelf to foreign Princes.*

The French *are diſſatisfy'd.*

All theſe Proviſions King *Henry* made at home for his Honour and Security; and being ſenſible that his Actions might be ſeverely cenſur'd in Foreign Parts, he ſent wiſe Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, *France*, *Spain* and *Germany*, to give Reaſons for his extraordinary Proceedings. To *Rome* he ſent the Biſhop of *Hereford*, Sir *John Cheney* Knight, and *John Cheney* Eſquire; to *France*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Lord *Thomas Piercy*, and *William Heron*; to *Spain*, the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* and Sir *William Par*; and to *Germany*, the Biſhop of *Bangor* and others: All whom were arm'd with full Inſtructions for the Juſtification of their new advanc'd Sovereign. In *France* they found the greateſt Difficulty in giving Satisfaction, becauſe the *French* King's Daughter by this Revolution loſt the Benefit of her Marriage with King *Richard*; therefore this News was taken very heinouſly, and a War was immediately threaten'd, or at leaſt deſign'd; but King *Charles* relapſing into his old Diſeaſe of Frenzy, and King *Richard* dying not long after, all Thoughts of that kind expir'd. But the Inhabitants of *Gaſcony* were not ſo eaſily appeas'd, but ſtood vigorouſly for their Countryman King *Richard*; and thoſe of *Bourdeaux* openly declar'd, *That ſince the World began, there was never a more cruel, unreaſonable and impious Fact; that the good Prince was betray'd by faithleſs Men, and all Law violated.* Yet ſtill the *French* were deceiv'd in their Hopes of converting theſe popular Heats to their Advantage; for partly by the Wiſdom of the chief Magiſtrates, and partly by the Peoples comparing the Severity of the *French* Government with the Lenity of the *Engliſh*, they were kept firm. Much Labour and many fair Promiſes were us'd by *Lewis* Duke of *Bourbon* to draw the *Gaſcoignes* to revolt; but his Deſigns were ſoon defeated by the Arrival of *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worceſter* with competent Numbers of Men, ſent thither to withſtand the *French* Practices, and reſtore the Peoples Affections.

A.D. 1400. Reg. ½.

A great Conſpiracy againſt King Henry.

The Manner of it.

King *Henry* was ſcarce eſtabliſh'd in his new gain'd Sovereignty, before a private Body of Enemies were forming his Deſtruction under the very Protection of his own Wings. The depos'd *Richard* was ſtill alive, and tho' great Numbers in the Kingdom approv'd of his Downfal, yet many others did not, for ſome mov'd by Nearneſs of Blood and Friendſhip, ſome by Conſcience and Honour, others tranſported with Envy and Diſappointments, and not a few with the Remembrance of former Benefits, or the Hopes of future Advantages upon a Change, much deſir'd to ſet *Richard* upon the *Engliſh* Throne again. The Manner of this Conſpiracy is variouſly related by Authors; but it is commonly agreed that the chief Parties concern'd were ſuch as had their Lives ſpar'd in the laſt Parliament, but had been ſtripp'd of a conſiderable Part of their Honours; as *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, and *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*; the two firſt Half-Brothers to King *Richard*, and the laſt his Couſin-German, all three in the late Reign having been Dukes of *Exeter*, *Surry* and *Albermarl*. Beſides theſe were *John Montague* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Spencer*, late Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, Sir *Bernard Brokas*, Sir *John Shelley*, and *John Magdalen*, a Chaplain to King *Richard*, and much reſembling him in Perſon. But one of the principal Inſtigators in this Deſign was the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, an entire Friend to King *Richard*, and one who had taken a particular Prejudice againſt King *Henry*, becauſe formerly when he was Earl of *Darby* he publickly deliver'd a dangerous Truth, *That the King of* England *had too little, and the Clergy too much.* The above-nam'd Perſons and ſome others being aſſembled in a private and convenient Place, the Earl of *Huntington* in a Speech declared, *That King* Henry *by violently invading, and fraudulently mounting the Throne of his ſole Sovereign, was both a Tyrant and Uſurper, and ſuch a One as it was lawful for any Man, by any Means to deſtroy, without reſpect to his good or evil Qualifications; ſince it was lawful for no Man under his Pretences to aſſume Sovereign Power. Therefore the Examples of the beſt Commonwealths did not only permit ſuch an Action, but alſo honour'd the Actors with Statues and Titles, and rewarded them with the Wealth and Riches of the ſuppreſſed Tyrant.* And becauſe Policy was as neceſſary as Force, it was propos'd and approv'd that ſolemn Juſts and Tournaments ſhould be held at *Oxford* in *Chriſtmas* Holy-Days between the Earl of *Huntington* and twenty more on his Part, and the Earl of *Salisbury* and as many more on his, to which King *Henry* ſhould be invited; and when he was intent upon the Spectacle, he ſhould be ſuddenly ſurpris'd by ſuch a Number as at that time might be aſſembled without Suſpicion. Upon this they all took a ſolemn Oath of Secrecy; and an Indenture *Sextipartite* was likewiſe made between the Lords, wherein they mutually bound themſelves to each other, to do their utmoſt for the Ruin of the preſent, and the Delivery of the former King. They likewiſe concluded what Forces ſhould be rais'd, where and by whom they ſhould be order'd and plac'd, as likewiſe to whoſe Truſt the Execution of this Exploit ſhould be committed.

The Diſcovery of it.

In Purſuance of this Deſign, the Earl of *Huntington* acquainted King *Henry* with the deſign'd Tournament between him and the Earl of *Salisbury*, and begg'd of him to honour them with his Preſence, and that he would be pleaſed to be their Judge in caſe any Difference ſhould ariſe; to which he graciouſly promis'd to conſent. In the mean Time every Conſpirator provided himſelf with what Number of Men he could procure, under the Pretence of Magnificency; and at the Time appointed enter'd the City of *Oxford*, where the King and Court was expected the next Day. The Earl of *Rutland* was only wanting, who having ſent his Men before, went to viſit his Father the old Duke of *York*, who liv'd in a Country Houſe upon that Road; where being at Dinner, the Duke accidentally eſpy'd a Label of the Indenture hanging out of his Son's Boſom; and juſtly ſuppoſing it ſomething extraordinary, he forc'd it from him. Viewing the Contents, the ſix Seals, and his Son's Name, he was ſo incens'd, that riſing immediately from the Table, he gave order for his Horſe to be made ready; reproaching his Son, *for that having been falſe to King* Richard, *and now prov'd a Traitor to King* Henry; *That he was very ſagacious in finding out Inventions to ruin his Father, who in the laſt Parliament had been bound with him Body for Body; therefore ſince he had ſo little Value for his Father's Head, he would have as little for his:* Upon which he immediately took Horſe for *Windſor.* The Earl finding that his Father was not to be withdrawn from his Reſolution, that all was diſcover'd, and his Life in the greateſt Danger, with the utmoſt Expedition rod to *Windſor* another Way; and being arriv'd before his Father, upon Pretence of an extraordinary Accident, he procur'd the Caſtle Gates to be lock'd up. Then taking the Keys with him, he threw himſelf at the King's Feet, and crav'd his Mercy. The King in a great Surpriſe demanded his Offence; which when he fully heard, he promis'd him his Pardon, provided his whole Relation prov'd exactly true. Shortly after the Duke of *York* being admitted into the Caſtle, without further Ceremony, put the Conſpirators Contract into the King's Hands; who finding by that all *Rutland*'s Account to be true, deferr'd his Journey to *Oxford,* reſolving at *Windſor* to expect the Conſpirators new Reſolutions. He alſo ſent expreſs Meſſengers to the Lord High-Conſtable the Earl of *Northumberland,* and to the Lord Marſhal the Earl of *Weſtmorland,* and likewiſe to all his other Friends, that they might all haſten to the Court, with what Forces they could immediately raiſe.

The Conſpirators raiſe an Army.

The King prepares againſt them.

In the mean Time the Conſpirators, being got to *Oxford,* ſoon concluded from the Abſence of the Earl of *Rutland,* and the Non-appearance of the King, that all their Plot was diſcover'd. They had now no Hopes of Mercy, as having been formerly condemn'd and pardon'd, therefore in this deſperate Juncture they endeavour'd to effect that by open Force which they could not do by Treachery; and for their own Safeties they cloath'd *Magdalen* with Royal Robes, who much reſembling King *Richard,* eaſily deceiv'd the Multitude To render the Thing plauſible, they reported, that being aſſiſted by his Keepers, he had eſcap'd out of Priſon; by which means they ſoon gather'd together forty thouſand Men, the leaſt Part of whom came out of Good-will, the moſt inconſiderable out of Hopes, and the moſt unuſeful out of Fear; conſequently all of them variable and unconſtant. However they reſolv'd to ſeize upon the King at *Windſor,* but he hearing of their coming, had with ſome few Horſe withdrawn himſelf to *London,* to which City they intended to purſue him, and take him unprovided, which probably was their beſt Courſe; but Fear put a Period to their Deſign, when Wiſdom was more dangerous than raſh Attempts. The King upon his Arrival at *London* fortify'd himſelf, the City furniſh'd him with Soldiers, and he provided himſelf a ſufficient Guard; and hearing of the others Coming, he march'd out to meet them with twenty thouſand Men, not diffident of his own ſmall Numbers, nor terrify'd with the Enemies Multitudes. They, on the other ſide, apprehending the King's Valour and their Mens Inſtability, ſhunn'd the Encounter; and retir'd towards *Reading,* where King *Richard*'s Queen lay; cauſing her to believe that her Husband was at *Pontfract* with an hundred thouſand fighting Men, and that *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* with his Children and Friends had ſhut himſelf up in the *Tower,* not daring to come out; and the better to colour this Report, they threw down King *Henry*'s Arms, and took his Badges from ſuch of the Queen's Servants as wore them, as if *Richard* had been ſtill in his Throne. They made no further uſe of *Magdalen*'s Pageant, but chang'd their Reports of *Richard*'s Deliverance and Power as often as they chang'd their Stations; as it is uſual for ſuch as are juſt ſinking, to lay hold of any falſe Rumour.

They are defeated.

The chief of them puniſh'd.

The Conſpirators leaving *Reading,* march'd towards *Cirester*; where the Earls of *Kent* and *Salisbury* took up their Lodgings in a ſmall Village, and the Earls of *Huntington* and *Gloceſter* theirs in another, leaving their Army in the Field. The Townſmen thereabouts, being inform'd that Affairs were quite otherwiſe than they had reported them, about Midnight ſurrounded the Houſe where the two former were lodg'd, who withſtood their Fury for many Hours. *Huntington,* who was advis'd of this Misfortune, could not poſſibly ſuccour them, for all his Men out of a ſudden Fear had fled; for a certain Prieſt, to divert the Aſſault, had ſet Fire to ſome Houſes in the Village, which occaſion'd theſe Men to fly, as fearing that King *Henry* was come in Perſon, and had fir'd the Village. The Townſmen on the contrary, being by this doubly inrag'd, reſolv'd to extinguiſh the Flames with nothing but the Blood of their Oppoſers, and fought with greater Fury than ever. So that unfortunate *Kent* and *Salisbury,* abandon'd by their Friends, and taken by their Enemies, after many deſperate Wounds, had their Heads ſtrucken off and ſent to *London:* Twenty-nine of their Company, Barons as well as Gentlemen, were taken Priſoners, and ſent to *Oxford,* where King *Henry* reſided, and there had publick Juſtice paſs'd upon them. The Earl of *Gloceſter* thinking to eſcape, was taken Priſoner in *Wales,* and beheaded at *Briſtol*; and *Magdalen,* flying into *Scotland,* was taken and ſent to *London,* where he dy'd the Death of a common Traitor. The Earl of *Huntington* often endeavour'd to get into *France,* but was always driven back by contrary Winds; and wandring unknown, he was taken by chance, and brought to the late Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Houſe, where his Head was ſtrucken off; the Divine Vengeace meeting him in the Territories of a Perſon of whoſe former Murder he had been too much guilty. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter,* now finding the miſerable Effects of his Counſel, fled from his Monaſtery; but being ſeiz'd by an Apoplexy, eſcap'd common Execution: The like happened to the Biſhop of *Carliſle,* who ſuddenly dy'd of a violent Feaver; tho' ſome ſay he was firſt condemn'd, and had his Puniſhment generouſly remitted by the King. Infinite was the Number of others that dy'd; the High-Ways were filled with the Heads and Quarters of miſerable Wretches; among whom many Innocent Perſons ſuffer'd, who under Pretence of Rebellion, or out of former Reſentments, were put to Death. Inſomuch that King *Henry,* tho' of a moderate and generous Diſpoſition, was look'd upon in this Matter as too mercileſs and revengeful; for ſo much Blood, both of the Nobility and others, at one time, and for one Offence, was never ſhed in any preceding Reign ſince the Conqueſt. And it is further obſervable, that the principal of thoſe who now ſo diſhonourably loſt their own Lives, were nearly concern'd in that of the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s.

Different Accounts of King Richard's Death.

His Body expos'd.

The unfortunate King *Richard* was ſtill a Stranger to all theſe Tranſactions, and was reſerv'd for the laſt Scene of this diſmal Tragedy. His approaching Death had now all the Appearances of Neceſſity, for which Reaſon he was remov'd from the Tower of *London* to a Caſtle in *Kent,* and from thence to *Pontfract* in *Yorkſhire,* that the Cauſe of his Death might be unknown. That his Death was unnatural and unjuſt, is more than probable; but the Manner of it is very uncertain, and differently related. Some write that when he underſtood the Defeats and Deaths of his chief Friends, he became ſo diſconſolate, that he pin'd away and ſtarv'd himſelf; others, that for fifteen Days he was kept from Suſtenance, and with the Addition of Cold ſtarv'd to Death; and others ſay he had Feaſts ſet before him, but deny'd to touch any Thing, as if deſign'd to imitate the Fable of *Tantalus,* and aggravate his Torments. The Account that *Hollingſhed* gives from a Writer, who ſeems to have had great Knowledge of King *Richard*'s Actions, appears more probable, tho' it is too uncertain to be abſolutely rely'd on. He relates that ſome uneaſie Words falling from King *Henry,* gave a Hint to one Sir *Pierce Exton* to undertake the Death of King *Richard*; who with eight other Aſſaſſinates haſten'd to *Pontfract,* as if he fear'd to be depriv'd of the Honour of the Action. Upon his Arrival, the Preface to the intended Cruelty was the Omiſſion of the Ceremony of Taſting, that was uſually paid *Richard* at his Table; who upon demanding the Reaſon, was anſwer'd, That Sir *Pierce Exton* had brought ſuch Orders from King *Henry:* At which *Richard* was ſo tranſported, as to ſtrike the Taſter, and to curſe the King by the Name of *Harry* of *Lancaſter.* Immediately after, Sir *Pierce* with his bloody Followers enter'd, and ſhut cloſe the Door; which being perceiv'd by the unfortunate King, he gueſs'd at their fatal Intentions, and with a Reſolution becoming his Heroick Father, ſnatch'd a Halbert from the foremoſt, and bravely ſlew four of the Aſſailants: And with no leſs Courage fought with the reſt, 'till *Exton* got upon a Chair behind him, and with a Pole-Ax ſtruck him down; where the poor miſerable King ended all his Calamities, upon the fourteenth Day of *February,* near five Months after he had loſt his Crown. This was the fatal End of King *Richard* II. which afterwards opened a larger Fountain of Blood than ever was known in the Nation. His Body was embalm'd and cover'd with Lead all but the Face, and brought to St. *Paul*'s Church, where out of Policy it was for three Days expos'd to publick View, and then obſcurely interr'd at *Langley* in *Hertfordſhire,* tho' afterwards it had a more publick Funeral in *Weſtminſter* Abby. It is obſervable that in the three greateſt Exigencies of this Prince's Life, he appear'd above himſelf; the firſt in the Rebellion of *Wat Tyler,* the ſecond in the Reſignation of his Crown, and the laſt in the Loſs of his Life: The firſt he perform'd with a ſkilful Ardour beyond his Age, the ſecond with a ſteady Calmneſs above the ordinary Temper of Man, and the laſt with an Heroick Courage equal to the Braveſt.

A. D. 1400. Reg. ½.

II. King *Henry,* tho' now more ſafe in his Throne than before, thought it convenient to divert the Eyes and Humours of the People from the Remembrance of the late Tragedy; and this he did by an Expedition into *Scotland,* occaſion'd by the unreaſonable Demands of the King of

King Hen*ry makes an Expedition into* Scotland.

His Kindneſs to Eccleſiaſticks.

that Country, who would have no Peace, unleſs King *Henry* deliver'd up the Lord *Dunbar* Earl of *Marche*, contrary to his Royal Promiſe and Protection. The valiant *Henry* chuſing rather to make *Scotland* the Seat of the War, than to expect King *Robert*'s Arrival in *England*, march'd with a well order'd Army into the Bowels of the Country, where he burnt Towns, Villages and Caſtles, ſparing nothing but Religious Houſes and Churches. Then advancing to the City of *Edinburgh*, he burnt a great Part of that and the Town of *Leith*, and beſieg'd the ſtrong Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which was defended by Prince *David* the Governor, with the Earl of *Douglas*, and many other brave Men. During the Siege, the Duke of *Albany*, Governor of the Realm, ſent a Herald to King *Henry*, aſſuring him upon his Honour, *That if he would tarry his Coming, within ſix Days he would give him Battel, and raiſe the Siege, or elſe would loſe his Life.* The King of *England* was ſo pleas'd with the Meſſage, that he generouſly rewarded the Herald with a Chain of Gold and other Gifts, promiſing him upon the Word of a King, *Not to depart during the appointed Time of the Governor.* But after many ſix Days, without any Appearance of the Governor, upon the Account of Colds and Rains, as well as Sickneſs and Want of Proviſions, King *Henry* broke up the Siege, and left *Scotland* without any Battel or Skirmiſh offer'd. During his Stay in *Scotland*, he ſhew'd a more than ordinary Reſpect to the Religious Houſes, and treated the People of ſuch Places with great Courteſie and Humility, being gratefully mindful of the obliging and generous Entertainment the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Father had found among the Monaſteries, when he fled into *Scotland* for Refuge, in the Time of the Rebellion in *England.*

An Inſurrection in Wales.

The Emperor of Conſtantinople *comes into* England.

While the Affairs of *England* ſeem'd in a calm and peaceable Condition, Providence thruſt a Thorn in King *Henry*'s Side at a Time and Place he little expected; for the *Welſh*, who had paid Obedience to ſo many Kings of *England*, contrary to all Mens Expectations, broke out into open Acts of Hoſtility, under the Conduct of a certain Gentleman of that Nation nam'd *Owen Glendour*, Lord of *Glendour* in *Merionethſhire.* This Man was deſcended from the youngeſt Son of Baron *Bromfield*, and his Inclinations were not common; while he was young he repair'd to *London*, with Intention to ſtudy the Law; but ſoon weary of that, he betook himſelf to the Service of King *Richard*, and was one of his Houſhold Servants. Being as ſoon tir'd with that ſort of Life as the former, he retir'd to ſome Poſſeſſions of his own in *Wales*; which bordering upon the Lands of *Reynald Gray* Lord *Ruthin*, after a violent Diſpute, Burning of Villages and Houſes, and Killing of Servants, he met with that Lord, and in a Fight took him Priſoner. *Glendour* daily encreaſing in Power, the *Welſh*, who were diſpleas'd at King *Richard*'s Deprivation, and inrag'd at his Death, ſoon took up Arms, and choſe him for their Commander, who immediately committed Devaſtations in ſeveral Parts. Upon Intelligence of this, King *Henry* march'd with an Army into *Wales*, waſting, deſtroying, and taking ſuch Revenge as Time and Opportunity would permit. In the mean time *Glendour*, whom Pride and Indiſcretion had arm'd for the further Ruin of his Country, retir'd into the unacceſſable Faſtneſſes of *Snowdon*, where for this Campaign he ſecur'd himſelf from the Storm; and ſhortly after the King return'd with ſuch Spoils as the Country afforded. The laſt Action of this Year was peaceable and pompous; for *Manuel* Emperor of *Conſtantinople* came in Perſon into *England*, to beg Aſſiſtance againſt the growing Power of the *Turks*; and upon St. *Thomas*'s Day he was met at *Black-Heath* by King *Henry*, magnificently feaſted at *London*, richly preſented, and treated according to the height of his Quality.

A.D. 1401. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

King Richard*'s Queen ſent into* France.

King Henry *in Danger.*

In a Parliament held the next Year, by reaſon of the increaſing Numbers of thoſe called *Lollards*, the Puniſhment enacted for them was Burning. And in the ſame Year, the Articles of Peace being firſt agreed between the two Nations the *Engliſh* and *French*, notwithſtanding the latter deny'd a Match with the young Prince of *Wales*, the Lady *Iſabel*, who had been crown'd Queen of *England*, as Spouſe of the late King, was now ſent back into *France* after a royal and ſolemn manner; but being now but twelve Years of Age, and the Marriage not conſummated, no Dowry was allow'd her in *England.* When ſhe was reſtor'd to her Friends, the Lord *Henry Piercy*, before the Ambaſſadors of both Nations, who met between *Calais* and *Boloign*, openly declar'd, *That the King of* England *his Maſter had ſent her to be deliver'd to her Father, free from all Bonds of Marriage, or other Obligations; and that he would take it upon his Soul that ſhe was ſound and untouch'd, as ſhe was when deliver'd to King* Richard, *and if any ſaid to the contrary, he was ready to prove it by ſingle Combat.* But the Earl of St. *Paul* declaring, *That he believ'd it to be true*, the Lord *Piercy* took her by the Hand, and deliver'd her to the Earl; and then the Commiſſioners of *France* gave certain Letters of Releaſe and Acquittance. She was afterwards marry'd to *Charles* Duke of *Orleans.* In the mean time King *Henry* was much in Danger of his Life, even in his Bed-Chamber; for a deſperate Engine was diſcover'd in his Bed, with three long and ſharp Iron Spikes, all with their Points upwards; but the King very happily perceiv'd it before he laid himſelf down, and ſo eſcaped the Miſchief and Danger, tho' he could never diſcover the Actor.

A.D. 1402. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

Glendour *and the* Welſh *diſturb* Herefordſhire.

The Earl of Marche *taken Priſoner by them.*

All this time *Owen Glendour*, ſwell'd with his Succeſs againſt the Lord *Ruthen*, became more and more inſolent, and after ſome time enter'd with his Forces into *Herefordſhire.* In this County *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *Marche* liv'd in a private Condition; ſo that by keeping at diſtance from the Court, without Splendor, he might avoid thoſe Dangers which in the preſent Conjuncture threaten'd him, as next lawful Heir to King *Richard.* *Glendour* practiſing his accuſtom'd Cruelties awaken'd the County, which under the Conduct of the Earl of *Marche* endeavour'd to bridle his Inſults. So that in a ſhort time a ſharp Battel was fought; in which *Glendour* had two Advantages, the Number of his Men, and his own Conduct; by which means he became Victor, Obedience and good Order having won him the Laurel. On the other Side the *Herefordſhire* Men, fewer in Number, led on by Neceſſity, diſtracted and uncertain, kept the Field 'till Night, rather by an obſtinate Reſolution than any Reaſon or Order. At length they yielded, but fled not, there being none to purſue them; for *Glendour* ſatisfy'd with the Advantage, finding himſelf in an Enemy's Country, the Night dark, and many of his Men ſlain, forbore all Purſuit of his Foes. Two thouſand *Herefordſhire* Men were left dead in the Field, and the Earl himſelf was taken Priſoner, and without Reſpect to his Perſon, kept in the Bottom of a Tower; nor did King *Henry*, tho' much importun'd, endeavour for his Liberty, for he concluded his Impriſonment to be one of the moſt fortunate Events that could happen to him.

Several Conſpiracies againſt King Henry.

Many ſuffer.

The King unſucceſsful againſt Wales.

But ſtill King *Henry* could enjoy no true Peace nor Satisfaction, for about this time ſeveral Conſpiracies were diſcover'd in *Embrio*, all which were ſupported by Calumnies and Forgery; for by the firſt *Henry*'s Actions were traduc'd in Libels, and by the ſecond *Richard* was reported to be ſtill alive, to raiſe a new Head of Separation. *Henry*, thus wounded in his Honour, and endanger'd in his Perſon, reſolv'd to ſpare none upon whom the Crime or Concealment was found. The firſt that felt the Hand of his Juſtice was a Prieſt of *Ware*, with whom was found a Liſt of Names which he collected, ſuppoſing them ſuch as out of Gratitude and Conſcience would hazard all for King *Richard*; which Vanity of his created great Trouble to many, 'till it appear'd that he wrong'd them, and that they were Perſons utterly ignorant of the Man or the Matter; upon which he was drawn and hang'd. *Walter Baldock* Prior of *Laund* met with the like Fate, who confeſs'd he had conceal'd the Treaſon of others, tho' he had not acted himſelf. A *Friar Minor* alſo being taken, with ſome others of his Order, was ask'd, *What he would do if King* Richard *was alive and preſent*; he confidently reply'd, *He would fight for him to the laſt Minute of his Life againſt all Oppoſers*; For which he was drawn and hang'd in his Friar's Weeds. Nor did this hard Fortune fall only upon the Clergy, for Sir *Roger Clarendon*, natural Son to the famous Black Prince, together with an Eſquire and Servant of his, finiſh'd their Affections to King *Richard* by ſuffering a ſhameful Death. Not long after eight *Friar Minorites* were taken, convicted, hang'd and beheaded for the ſame Cauſe; and this occaſion'd the King to be a ſevere Maſter towards their whole Order. It was vulgarly reported, that a little before this Diſcovery, the Devil appear'd in the Habit of a *Minorite* at *Danbury* Church, to the incredible Aſtoniſhment of the Pariſhioners; all which was ſucceeded by a prodigious Tempeſt of Thunder and Lightning, which had wonderful Effects upon the Fabrick of the Church. But however the Branches were lopp'd off, the Roots of all theſe Practices lay deeper and out of Sight; for the *Piercys*, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Worceſter*, and *Henry Hotſpur*, becauſe they thought perhaps that they had done unjuſtly in ſetting up King *Henry*, began now to form thoſe bloody Deſigns, which were afterwards proſecuted. But King *Henry* not yet knowing their Intentions, in *September* led an Army into *Wales*, to take Revenge upon his rebellious Subjects, where he was in danger of periſhing by the ſudden Storms and Rains, which were more terrible than ever had been remember'd; ſo that after he had made ſome Devaſtations in the Country, he return'd. The common Fame was that *Glendour* by his infernal Arts had rais'd theſe hideous Tempeſts; which Opinion added no ſmall Strength to the *Welſh* Faction.

A great Victory obtain'd over the Scots.

The Duke of York *dies.*

The King marries.

The King's Fortune was much happier in the North, where his Lieutenant had two noted Victories againſt the *Scots*, the one at *Nisbet*, and the other at *Halidown-Hill*, near a Village call'd *Woller:* And tho' the firſt was but ſmall, yet the other deſerves the Name of a compleat Victory. The *Scots* marching with ten thouſand Men under the Conduct of the brave Earl of *Douglas*, had made great Ravages as far as *Newcaſtle*, but in their Return were couragiouſly encounter'd by the Earl of *Northumberland* and his valiant Son *Hotſpur* with the Earl of *Dunbar*, and entirely defeated. This Victory is in a great Meaſure attributed to the Gallantry and Valour of *Hotſpur*'s ſtrong Archers; againſt whoſe piercing Arrows neither the *Scottiſh* Shields, nor their beſt Armour could protect them. Earl *Douglas* the General, after much Bravery, and ſealing his Valour with five Wounds and the Loſs of an Eye, was taken Priſoner, with *Murdack Stuart* Earl of *Fife*, *George* Earl of *Angus*, the Earls of *Murrey* and *Orkney*, the Lords *Montgomery*, *Ersken* and *Grahme*, and about fourſcore Knights, beſides Eſquires and Gentlemen. The Lords *Gourdon* and *Swynton*, with ſeveral other Men of Honour and Note, fell upon the Place; and above five hundred in their Flight were drown'd in the River *Tweed*. This Victory was obtain'd upon *Holy Rood* Day in the Time of Harveſt. In the ſame Year *Edmund* of *Langley*, Duke of *York*, and fifth Son of King *Edward* III. departed this Life; and was buried at *Langley* with his Brothers; leaving an untainted Honour and unblemiſh'd Reputation behind him. Not long after, in the following Year, King *Henry* marry'd a Second Wife, *Jane* of *Navarre*, Widow of *John de Mountfort* Duke of *Bretaign*, by whom ſhe had both Sons and Daughters, but not any by the King. He met, and marry'd her at *Wincheſter*, and then crown'd her Queen at *Weſtminſter*; but he was not truſted with the Cuſtody of any of her three Sons, *John*, *Richard* and *Arthur*, who remain'd in *France*.

A.D. 1403. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.

The Family of the Piercys *diſpleas'd.*

They confederate with Glendour *againſt the* King.

III. King *Henry* now daily increas'd in Power and Grandeur; yet in a ſhort time, he and the Nation were involv'd in greater Troubles and Calamities than had been felt before. For the great Earl of *Northumberland*, with his uneaſie Brother the Earl of *Worceſter*, and his gallant Son *Hotſpur*, who had been formerly great Friends and Aſſiſtants to King *Henry*, now began to envy his Wealth and Felicity; but were particularly diſpleas'd at the King's demanding of them ſuch *Scotch* Priſoners as had been taken at *Nisbet* and *Hallidown:* For of all the Priſoners taken at thoſe Places, only the Earl of *Fife* had been deliver'd to the King, tho' he had ſeveral times with Threatnings requir'd the Remainder. The *Piercys*, accounting them as their own proper Priſoners, were highly offended, and by the Advice of the Earl of *Worceſter*, whoſe Deſign was to imbroil the publick Affairs, they repair'd to the King at *Windſor*, purpoſely to ſound him. Here they boldly requir'd of him, *That either by Ranſom or other Means he would ſet at Liberty their Couſin* Edmund Mortimer *Earl of* Marche, *whom* Owen Glendour *had kept in a loathſome Priſon, only becauſe he had been true and faithful to him.* The King, after Conſideration, made Anſwer, *That the Earl of* Marche *was not made Priſoner for his Cauſe or Service, but willingly ſuffer'd himſelf to be taken, becauſe he would not oppoſe the Attempts of* Glendour *and his Accomplices, therefore he would neither ranſom nor relieve him.* This Anſwer ſo kindled the fiery Spirit of *Hotſpur*, That he cried out, *The Heir of the Realm was robb'd of his Right, and the Robber would not allow him part of his own for his Redemption*; and in a Fury the *Piercys* departed the King's Preſence, reſolving to ſet up the Earl of *Marche*, whoſe Deliverance they not only procur'd, but alſo enter'd into a Confederacy with *Owen Glendour*. Here ſome Writers have made a ſtrange Obſervation upon the Earl of *Marche*, that on the Night he was born, all the Horſes in his Father's Stable were found up to the Belly in Blood: A dreadful Prodigy, which afterwards ſeem'd verify'd by more dreadful Events, when upon the Conteſt of *Mortimer*'s Title, by which the Houſe of *York* claim'd the Crown, the War-Horſes might be ſaid rather to ſwim than to ſtand in Blood. Here alſo *Walſingham* tells us of ſtrange Apparitions that were ſeen this Year between *Bedford* and *Biggleſwade*, where ſeveral Monſters of divers Colours in the Shapes of armed Men were often ſeen to iſſue out of the Woods, and to encounter each other after a terrible and unheard-of Manner.

Their Reaſons alledg'd.

Their Deſigns.

The firſt who appear'd in Arms was the valiant *Hotſpur*, who under Pretence of the *Scotch* War, made head about *Cheſter* and the Marches of *Wales*. To him repair'd the Earl of *Worceſter*, leaving the young Prince of *Wales*, and the Prince's Houſhold, over both which the King had plac'd him. And now the Torch of War was lighted up, and began to blaze; for tho' the chief Mover the Earl of *Northumberland* had not join'd them, as he deſign'd, yet their Numbers increas'd exceedingly, with which they propos'd to enter *Shrewsbury*, and to make that Place the Seat of War. Here they iſſu'd out Letters and Manifeſto's declaring their Reaſons for thus appearing in the Field, as Firſt, 'That the publick Mony had not been employ'd in the real Defence of the Nation, but unduly waſted. Secondly, That by reaſon of malicious Informations to the King, they could not with Safety approach him, to declare their Innocence, unleſs the Prelates and Peers of the Realm firſt interceded for 'em. Thirdly, They took up Arms only to ſecure their own Perſons, and ſee the Kingdom better govern'd. Theſe were their outward Pretenſions, but their real Deſigns and Reſolutions were not only to depoſe King *Henry*, and advance the Title of the Earl of *Marche*, but likewiſe to ſhare the whole Kingdom between three Perſons, the Earl of *Marche*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Owen Glendour*. Concerning which Partition an Indenture *Tripartite* was ſign'd and ſeal'd by them, by Virtue of which all *South-England* was to remain to *Mortimer*, *North-England* beyond *Trent* to *Piercy*, and *Wales* beyond *Severne* to *Glendour*. Beſides this, the Earl of *Douglas* their Priſoner, as a Perſon highly ſerviceable, by common Conſent for his Share was allow'd to be free from Ranſom, and to have the Town of *Berwick* aſſign'd him. Some Writers tell us that this was done out of a fooliſh Credulity given to a vain Prophecy of *Merlin*'s, by which many thought, That King *Henry* was the Mouldwarp curs'd by God's own Mouth, and that *Mortimer*, *Piercy* and *Glendour*, were the Dragon, the Lion and the Wolf, that ſhould divide the Realm between them. Then to ſtrengthen their Power, it was again reported, That King *Richard* was alive, and in the Caſtle of *Cheſter*.

The King's Vindication.

He prepares againſt them.

He fights them near Shrewsbury.

The King's Valour.

Hotſpur *ſlain.*

The King prevails.

On the other Side King *Henry*, attack'd with ſuch unexpected Dangers, defended his Cauſe by Letters, and threw all the Guilt upon his Accuſers, declaring, *That he was extreamly ſurpris'd, ſince the Earl of* Northumberland *and his Son had the greateſt Part of the publick Mony deliver'd to them for the Defence of the Borders againſt* Scotland, *why they ſhould make that the Ground of their pretended Grievances.* And to remove all Pretence of Fear from the Conſpirators, he ſent to the three *Piercys* a ſafe Conduct under his Royal Seal, by which they might come and return without Moleſtation; but, as our Author words it, unbridled Raſhneſs deſpiſing the Royal Clemency, puſh'd them on to the Height of Rebellion. In the mean Time the King arm'd with the utmoſt Expedition againſt his Enemies, and being attended by the Earl of *Dunbar* and the young Prince of *Wales*, advanc'd with a conſiderable Force within Sight of *Shrewsbury*, when the furious *Hotſpur* ſtood ready to attack the Town; who no ſooner diſcover'd the Royal Standard, but he abandon'd that Enterprize to draw up his Army in Battalia, which conſiſted of fourteen thouſand ſtrong and hardy Men, eager to try their Fortunes againſt a well-temper'd and experienc'd Adverſary. Peace had notwithſtanding enſu'd, by the exceeding Tenderneſs of the King; but the malignant Earl of *Worceſter*, by miſrepreſenting and falſifying the King's Proffers, did precipitate his Nephew into a ſudden Engagement. Never was Battel fought on both Sides with more martial Rage and Bravery; in which the two mighty Champions, *Hotſpur* and *Douglas*, inſtead of ſpending their Strength upon the Multitude, reſolv'd to encounter the King in Perſon, as in whoſe Death they knew ten thouſand would fall. Accordingly they ruſh'd forwards with a Fury ſcarce to be equal'd; but the prudent Earl of *Dunbar* diſcovering their Deſign, drew the King from the Ground he had choſen, and probably ſav'd his Life; for the Royal Standard was overthrown, the Earl of *Stafford*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, and ten new Knights were deſtroy'd by the Force of theſe ſudden Thunder-bolts. *Douglas* kill'd three ſeveral Perſons in the King's Coat-Armour; ſo that many of his Soldiers believing they had loſt their General, quitted the Field. But the King, whoſe Valour was equal to his Danger, by his undaunted Courage reſtor'd the Battel, and with his devouring Sword perform'd Wonders, killing no leſs than ſix and thirty with his own Hand. The noble Prince of *Wales*, then but fifteen Years of Age, and firſt enter'd into the School of War, now gave ſignal Inſtances of his preſent Courage, and no leſs happy Omens of his future Glory; and being ſo wounded in the Face that ſeveral Noblemen offer'd to carry him out of the Battel and Danger, he diſdain'd to retire, and fought bravely to the laſt. After three Hours dreadful Conflict, the Fall of the great *Hotſpur* put an End to this Tragick Scene, who riding in Defiance of Death and all Difficulties, was ſlain by an unknown Hand, drawing a Ruin after him ſuitable to his Spirit and Bravery: For there fell with him moſt of the Eſquires and Gentlemen of *Cheſhire*, in Number two Hundred, and above five thouſand common Soldiers. The reſt fled; but the King generouſly declining to make further Execution of his miſguided Subjects, ſuffer'd them to ſhift for themſelves without Purſuit. This Victory was gain'd with the Loſs of ſixteen hundred Men upon the twenty firſt Day of *Ju-*

ly, in Memory of which the King founded a College on the Place, and call'd it *Battelfield*. The valiant *Douglas*, together with the Earl of *Worceſter*, the Baron of *Kinderton*, and Sir *Richard Vernon*, were taken Priſoners; the firſt, who once unhors'd the King, and no Subject to him, was for his Courage ſet at Liberty without Ranſom; but the other three were all beheaded two Days after the Battel. The Body of *Hotſpur*, tho' once permitted to be bury'd, was afterwards quarter'd, and ſent to ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom; and this was the Fate of one of the braveſt Warriors of the Age, who 'till this Time had ever been fortunate, victorious and triumphant.

Old Piercy *ſubmits.*

William Wilford's *Acts.*

Shortly after, the Earl of *Northumberland*, pretending to come with Forces to the King's Aſſiſtance, was diverted by the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and Sir *Robert Waterton*, who had rais'd a conſiderable Power. *Northumberland* judging neither of them his Friends, ſuddenly turn'd about to his Caſtle of *Warkworth*; ſince nothing could ſecure him from the victorious Army of a martial King. Of this he was ſenſible, manifeſtly feeling the irrecoverable Maims of his Houſe in the Loſs of his Brother and beloved Son, and therefore form'd his Methods accordingly. The King therefore, as prudent as fortunate, having ſettled Affairs in the Marches about *Shrewsbury*, advanc'd to the City of *York*, there to provide againſt future Exigencies. Here he commanded the Earl of *Northumberland* to repair thither in Perſon, which he accordingly obey'd on the Eleventh of *Auguſt*, arriving with a ſmall Train in the Nature of an humble Petitioner. He could not in Reaſon hope for the uſual familiar Favour of the King, nor did he obtain it, for it was judg'd ſufficient to have his Life pardon'd, tho' his Eſtate and Liberty was abridg'd, the King only allowing him neceſſary Maintenance. Having ſettled the Northern Counties, the King reſolv'd to return towards North *Wales*, to chaſtiſe the Preſumptions of ſome of the Inhabitants; but wanting Mony at preſent, the Arch-Biſhop and Clergy afterwards conſented to ſupply him with a Tenth. Towards the Relief of theſe his Neceſſities, the valiant Exploits of *William de Wilford* an Eſquire, who was then cruiſing upon the narrow Seas, brought ſome Aſſiſtance; for he took forty lawful Prizes, loaden with Iron, Oil, Soap and *Rochelle* Wines, to the Quantity of a thouſand Tun, upon the Coaſts of *Bretaign*, and in his Return ſet forty Sail on Fire. And to make the *Bretaigns* know that he was not only formidable at Sea, he landed at *Penarch*, burnt Towns and Houſes for ſeveral Miles into the Country; and afterwards did the ſame to the Town of St. *Matthew*'s, which he laid in Aſhes, and waſted all the neighbouring Country. The *French*, not to ſeem ſlow in the like Ravages, landed at the Iſle of *Wight*, but were compell'd with Loſs to retire to their Ships, with far leſs Succeſs than the *Bretaigns* under the Command of the Lord of *Caſtell* had not long before, who landing at *Plymouth*, took and burnt that Place.

A. D. 1404. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$.

Several ſmall Actions with the French.

The King having humbled the great Earl of *Northumberland*, now thought it Policy to take him into Favour, and reſtore him to his Eſtate, but not without ſecret Reſpect to his own Security. This Reſtitution was made to the Earl in a Parliament held at *London* about the middle of *January*, where the King obtain'd an unuſual Tax or Subſidy, of which no Record or Writing was ſuffer'd to remain, that it might not be drawn into Precedent. The King had ſoon Occaſion to beſtow ſome of this Mony; for a Troop of plain Weſt-Country Men preſented themſelves to him, with three *French* Lords, and twenty Knights of Note, whom they had taken Priſoners at *Dartmouth*, for which they receiv'd a munificent Reward. By theſe the King underſtood, that the Lord of *Caſtell* of *Bretaign*, who had formerly burnt *Plymouth*, expecting to do the like at *Dartmouth*, landed with his Forces, where theſe and the like People fiercely ingag'd him; and the Women, like *Amazons*, by hurling of Stones, and the like Artillery, did much facilitate their Husbands and Relations Victory. The Lord of *Caſtell* himſelf, and many others were ſlain; and more might have been ſav'd, but the Ignorance of Language equally confounded the Cries of Indignation and Pity. The *French* alſo made a Deſcent upon the Iſle of *Wight*, and the Duke of *Orleans* ſent a particular Challenge to King *Henry*; but neither of them to any great Effect. All this Summer *Owen Glendour* and the *Welſh* burnt and ravag'd the *Marches*, kill'd and took many Priſoners; and partly by Force and partly by Fraud, gain'd ſeveral Caſtles, demoliſhing ſome, and fortifying others. To add to theſe Troubles, the *Flemmings* and *Bretaigns* took certain *Engliſh* Merchant Ships, and either ſlew or hung up the Sailors.

William *of* Wickham's *Death.*

In this Year dy'd the famous *William* of *Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who left behind him many noble Monuments of his Zeal to Religion, and Love to the Church; particularly he founded *New-College* in *Oxford*, and another at *Wincheſter*. We are told by *Truſſel* that this Prelate was intruſted with a ſtrange and important Secret in relation to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, Father to this King *Henry*; particularly that his Mother *Philippa* ſhould in Confeſſion upon her Death-Bed acknowledge to him, That *John* was a ſuppoſititious Child, and that he ought to uſe all Methods to prevent him or his Progeny from aſcending the Throne of *England*: And that upon the Biſhop's diſcovering this Secret to him, he ever after bore him a Mortal Hatred. This is a Matter of Fact of no great Authority, the Truth of which would be worth a Hiſtorian's Knowledge.

King Henry *meets with new Troubles.*

A counterfeit King Richard.

The Deſign defeated.

The Lack-Learning *Parliament.*

IV. King *Henry*'s Reign was all this Time like a craggy Mountain, from which there is no Deſcent but by a thouſand crooked Ways, full of rocky Stones and jetting Cliffs. The firſt Difficulties eſcap'd, others are met withal of more Danger and Anxiety; in ſuch Paths he walk'd all the Time of his Reign, one Danger was a Step to another, and the Event always doubtful; for his Subjects former Deſire being almoſt extinguiſh'd, his Friends failing, and his Enemies encreaſing, he had no other Support in ſo painful a Deſcent but his own Vigilance and Conduct; Helps, which tho' they might cauſe him to keep on his Way, yet they were not ſufficient to preſerve him from great Wearineſs. King *Richard* had been ſeveral Times ſaid to be alive after his Death; more particularly this Year, by means of the Letters of *Serlo*, who had been one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber. This Man, after his Maſter's Fall, withdrew himſelf into *France*, where being aſſur'd that *Richard* was ſtill alive in *Scotland*, he went into that Country to know the Truth. After he had ſpoken with the Impoſtor, whom he knew to be ſuch, he however embrac'd the Occaſion, and out of Hatred to King *Henry*, he caus'd a Seal to be made like that of King *Richard*'s, and wrote ſeveral Letters to his Friends in *England*, ſign'd with the ſame; inſomuch that he diſtracted the Minds of many, who really concluded *Richard* to be ſtill alive. The old Counteſs of *Oxford*, Mother to the Duke of *Ireland*, did not only publiſh the Certainty of it, but likewiſe caus'd many Stags made of Gold and Silver, the former Badges of *Richard*, to be given to her Dependants, that they might wear them on their Cloaths, as ſoon as *Richard* enter'd *England*. But her indiſcreet Management in this Affair, and her open ſending her Secretary to the Inhabitants of *Eſſex*, was the Cauſe of the Diſcovery; for which ſhe ended her Days in a cloſe Priſon, with the Confiſcation of her Goods, and the Secretary ſuffer'd upon a Gallows. *Serlo* finding his Plots abortive, and being unable to return to *France* for want of Mony, came to *Berwick*, hoping that Sir *William Clifford*, a Friend of King *Richard*'s, would have furniſh'd him. But Sir *William* having incurr'd the King's higheſt Diſpleaſure, by detaining *Berwick* againſt his Will, found Means to purchaſe his Pardon by delivering up *Serlo* to the King at *Pontfract*. Shortly after *Serlo* was executed at *London*, who likewiſe confeſs'd that he was one of the Perſons that murder'd the Duke of *Glouceſter* at *Calais*; and tho' he dy'd very penitent, yet he dy'd unpity'd by all who eſteem'd the Memory of that popular Duke. Into this Smoak did all this Deſign vaniſh; as likewiſe did another not long after, which was promoted in a Parliament held at *Coventry*, call'd the *Lack-Learning* Parliament, either from the Ignorance of the Members, or their Hatred to Learned Men: In which, to ſupply the King's Wants, a Bill was exhibited againſt the Temporalities of the Clergy; but by the Courage of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who declar'd, *That it was the enriching themſelves, not of the King, that they reſpected in their ſacrilegious Attempts*, and by the particular Care of the King, who vow'd *To leave the Church in no worſe State than he found it*, the Motion ended in nothing but the infamous Memory of the Projectors.

A. D. 1405. Reg. $\frac{6}{7}$.

A new Conſpiracy againſt the King.

The Coals of the former Northern Rebellion were not ſo fully extinguiſh'd, but by removing the Aſhes that cover'd them, new Sparks began to appear; for Envy and ſome Accidents had ſo infected the Eyes of ſome of the Nobility, that they could not bear the Sight of King *Henry*'s Grandeur. Among whom *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl-Marſhal, was principal, who drew *Richard Scrope* Arch-Biſhop of *York* into a Conſpiracy, as likewiſe the old Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Bardolf*, the Citizens of *York*, with great Numbers of common People to aſſiſt in their Cauſe, which was gloſs'd with the ſpecious Pretence of redreſſing publick Abuſes, ariſing from the King's Miſmanagement. The Earl of *Weſtmorland* hearing of this Attempt, in which the Earl-Marſhal and the Arch-Biſhop were Leaders of a numerous Multitude, gather'd a conſiderable Force to encounter them; but perceiving himſelf too feeble, he betook himſelf to Fraud and Stratagem, and by pretending to approve of their Quarrel, found Means to get them both into his Poſſeſſion, and made a very acceptable Preſent of them to the King at *York*; where both the Arch-Biſhop and Earl-Marſhal were publickly beheaded, notwithſtanding the Earl of *Weſtmorland* had before promis'd them their Lives. The Pope afterwards excommunicated all ſuch as were concern'd in the Arch-Biſhop's Death. Theſe were dangerous Times for the

King,

The King raiſes a great Army.

His Actions.

King, who not ſatisfy'd with the Blood of theſe two great Men, vigorouſly purſu'd the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf* with an invincible Army of thirty ſeven thouſand Men; but they unable to reſiſt ſo mighty a Power, took *Berwick* for their Refuge. The King with his uſual Expedition march'd to that Place, but before his Arrival, they in great Fear fled into *Scotland*, where they were entertain'd by the Lord *Flemming*. The Town of *Berwick*, in hopes of Succours from *Scotland*, ſtood out; upon which the King planted a Battering Piece againſt a Tower in the Wall, which as it ſoon threw down the Tower, ſo it deſtroy'd all the Defendants Courages, who immediately yielded upon hard and deſperate Terms; for they were partly hang'd, and partly impriſon'd. *Berwick* being thus recover'd, the King took *Alnwick*, and all other Caſtles belonging to the Earl; and expecting the like good Fortune in *Wales*, he croſs'd over thither, where it prov'd otherwiſe, not by the Manhood of the *Welſh*, but by the ſudden Floods of Waters, which deſtroy'd his Carriages, and above fifty Wains loaden with Treaſure: Therefore he return'd to *Worceſter*. *Owen Glendour*, the chief of the *Welſh*, fearing a Revenge for former Actions, had before confederated with the *French*, who in a hundred and forty Ships arriv'd at *Milford* Haven to his Aſſiſtance, but with the Loſs of moſt of their Horſes in the Paſſage, for want of Water. The Lord *Barkley* and *Henry de Par* burnt fifteen of their Ships in the Harbour, ſoon after they laid Siege to the Town of *Caermarthen*, which upon Permiſſion of marching out with Bag and Baggage, was ſurrender'd.

A. D. 1406. Reg. $\frac{7}{8}$.

The King of the Scots Son taken Priſoner.

A. D. 1407. Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$.

A dreadful Plague in London.

The King being again in Want of Mony, after much Reluctancy and Delay, the Parliament furniſh'd him, overcome more with Wearineſs and Importunity, than any good Inclination. Some of this Mony was imploy'd in ſecret Practices with the *Scots*, that the Earl of *Northumland* and the Lord *Bardolf* might be deliver'd into his Hands, in Exchange for ſome Priſoners of that Nation. Upon notice of which, they two fled into *Wales*; and the *Scots* miſſing their Purpoſe, ſlew the Lord *Flemming* for diſcovering their Intentions to their diſtreſſed Gueſts, as by the Laws of Honour and Hoſpitality he was oblig'd; which fill'd *Scotland* with new Civil Diſcords. To avoid the Dangers of which, and for the Improvement of his Education, *Robert* King of *Scotland* ſent his Son and Heir by Sea into *France*, who being at Sea, with the Biſhop of *Orkney*, ſome Mariners of *Norfolk* ſurpris'd him, and preſented him to King *Henry*, who detain'd him Priſoner in the Tower of *London*. But afterwards he gave him ſuch a noble Education, as to all Princely Qualifications, that the *Scots* and the young Prince had reaſon to conclude, that King *Henry*'s Care turn'd all to the Advantage of them and their King. In the mean Time the *French* proſecuting their Affairs in *Wales*, ſent thither thirty eight Ships full of Soldiers, of which Number the *Engliſh* took eight, and not long after fifteen Sail loaden with Wax and Wine. This Fortune, tho' good, was far inferior to the great Service which *Henry Pay*, with certain Ships of the Cinque-Ports, and about fifteen others, perform'd againſt a numerous Fleet of a hundred and twenty Sail, loaden with Iron, Salt, Oil, and *Rochelle* Wine. About the ſame Time a Felon was executed for ſetting up Bills in ſeveral Parts of *London*, containing News of King *Richard*'s being ſtill alive. In the ſame Year a dreadful Peſtilence deſtroy'd Multitudes of People throughout the Kingdom, eſpecially in *London*, where within a ſhort Space there dy'd no leſs than thirty thouſand. But the moſt memorable Death was that of the old renowned Captain Sir *Robert Knolls*; a Man born of mean Parents, but by his Valour and Abilities rais'd to the Height of Glory under King *Edward* III. after which he became highly celebrated for many Works of Charity and Magnificence; among which the famous Stone Bridge at *Rocheſter* in *Kent* was one.

A. D. 1408. Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$.

Old Piercy *ſlain.*

An Obſervation upon that Family.

In the mean Space, the Wars of *Wales* were manag'd by young Prince *Henry*, who took the Caſtle of *Aberiſtwith*; but *Owen Glendour* ſhortly after retook it by Policy, and put into it a Garriſon of his own. Thus *Glendour* proſper'd for a ſhort Time; but the unfortunate Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf*, leaving *Wales*, and raiſing new Forces in the North to aſſert their Rights, were encounter'd by the Sheriff of *Yorkſhire*, who after a ſharp Conflict ſlew the Earl in the Field, and ſo wounded the Lord *Bardolf* that he dy'd ſhortly after. This Succeſs did not hinder the King from purſuing his Journey that Way; but arriving at *York*, he there fin'd many, and put others to Death, anſwerable to the Nature of their Crimes. The Biſhop of *Bangor* and Abbot of *Ailes*, who were taken Priſoners, met with different Fates according to the Diverſity of their Habits; the Abbot being taken in Armour was hang'd, the Biſhop being taken in his own Cloaths was pardon'd. The Heads of the two Peers were cut off, fix'd upon Spears, and erected on *London* Bridge: And this was the miſerable End of Father, Son and Brother, and almoſt the Period of one of the moſt valiant and illuſtrious Families in the Kingdom; all which was owing to a meer Caprice of Honour, which engag'd 'em in a Quarrel with a mighty Monarch, from whom they thought their extraordinary Merit ought to have met with no Repulſe: A Preſumption that has and will deceive many. For Princes will not acknowledge their Being from another, nor that their Subjects are their Benefactors; the very Thought of which is not eaſily pardon'd. Here all King *Henry*'s adverſe Fortune had a Period; and in this Calm he likewiſe quieted all Domeſtick Suſpicions and Jealouſies, having in the reſt of his ſhort Reign only ſome ſmall foreign Armies, not ſo much to weary him, as to keep him in Breath and Exerciſe.

A. D. 1409. Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$.

The Council of Piſa.

Glendour's *Death.*

A. D. 1410. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

Complaints againſt the Eccleſiaſticks.

V. The Peace of Chriſtendom having been long violently diſturb'd by a famous Schiſm, rais'd by the Ambition of two oppoſite Popes, of whom one was choſen at *Rome*, the other at *Avignon*, by contrary Factions of the Cardinals; a general Council was ſummon'd to be held at *Piſa* in *Italy*, to which Place King *Henry* ſent his Ambaſſadors, and the Clergy elected *Robert Alun* Chancellor of *Oxford* and Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, to ſignifie, *That unleſs both Popes would decline the Pontificate, neither of them for the future ſhould be acknowledg'd as Pope.* The King in his Letter to Pope *Gregory* charg'd him with Perjury, and *That this Papal Emulation had been the Cauſe of the Deaths of more than two hundred and thirty thouſand Chriſtians ſlain in Wars.* There aſſembled a great Number of Cardinals, Archbiſhops, Biſhops and other mitred Prelates, who elected a new Pope, *Alexander* V. a Man train'd up in *Oxford*, where he took his Degree in Theology; rejecting the other two, who had long and violently contended for the Place. In the mean Time, *Owen Glendour*, after infinite Miſchiefs committed, ended his miſerable Life, in the tenth Year of this Reign; who being abandon'd, and driven to all Extremities, finiſh'd his Days with Hunger and Famine; at whoſe Exit all the *Welſh* Broils were at an End. After this King *Henry* call'd a Parliament to find out Means for more Mony, to the Charge and Management of which he ordain'd Sir *Henry Scrope*, creating him Lord Treaſurer, and *Thomas Beaufort* the King's Half-Brother Lord Chancellor. In this Parliament was reviv'd the former Sacrilegious Attempt of alienating the Temporals of the Clergy, in which is was alledg'd, *That what the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors,* &c. *had ſpent leudly and waſtefully, would be ſufficient to maintain a hundred and fifty Earls, fifteen hundred Knights, ſix thouſand two hundred Eſquires, and a hundred Hoſpitals more than were already founded.* But the King upon mature Conſideration, deteſting their diſtemper'd Zeal, deny'd their Petitions, and in Perſon commanded them, upon Pain of his Indignation, not to preſume to concern themſelves with Affairs of that Nature. In this Year, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s uncommon Proviſions he had made to reduce the Town of *Calais* to the *French* Dominions, and ſtor'd up at St. *Omers*, were conſum'd to Aſhes by a caſual Fire, which gave great Eaſe to the *Caliſians*.

A. D. 1411. Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

Factions in France.

They ſeek to King Henry.

About theſe Times the great and dangerous Factions between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans* in *France* broke out; and the Cauſe was for a Murder committed upon *Lewis*, Brother to the *French* King, and Father to the Duke of *Orleans*, as he came late from the Queen's Lodgings, who was then in Child-Bed. The Duke of *Burgundy* juſtify'd the Fact, alledging that *Lewis* had us'd means with the Pope to depoſe the preſent King, upon Pretence that he was as unfit to govern as the laſt King *Childerick*, againſt whom Pope *Zachary* had pronounc'd Sentence. This prepar'd the Way for that terrible Scourge with which Heav'n thought fit to chaſtiſe the Pride and Sins of the Kingdom of *France*. Each Party endeavour'd to ſtrengthen themſelves by Foreign as well as Domeſtick Friends: The Duke of *Burgundy* had the King and *Dauphine* on his Side; and the other had the Kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretaign*, with many of the chief Nobility. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who with the King and Government kept in *Paris*, fearing the Power of his Adverſaries, offer'd to the King of *England* a Daughter of *France* in Marriage with his Son, and many Advantages, if he would join in the Defence of the King, and ſend over competent Forces. To which King *Henry* is ſaid to have anſwer'd, *Our Advice is, that you ſhould by no means hazard a Battel with one who ſeems to proſecute a juſt Revenge for the Death of his Father; but by all reaſonable Means endeavour to aſſwage the Fury of the exaſperated young Man. If that be unſucceſsful, ſtand upon your Guard, and retire to the beſt Place of Safety, with ſuch Forces as may beſt ſerve for your Defence. After all this Precaution, if he will not be appeas'd, you may engage him with the ſafer Conſcience, and in ſuch a Caſe, we will not fail to aſſiſt you, according to your Requeſt.* For the preſent he ſent over the Earls of *Arundel* and *Kyme*, and many Men at Arms, with a numerous Body of *Engliſh* Archers, who arriv'd ſafe at *Paris*, where they every Way anſwer'd the ancient Glory of their Nation.

A. D. 1412. Reg. 13 14.

Offers made from the Duke of Orleans.

The King joins with him;

But to no great Effect.

The Duke of *Orleans*, and thoſe of his Faction, on the other Side endeavour'd to draw the King of *England* from their Enemy, and thereupon ſent over one *Falconet* with others, with ſolemn Letters of Credence, whom they made their *irrevocable Procurator to treat with the moſt excellent King of* England, &c. *for the Reſtitution of the Dukedom of* Gaſcony, *and all its Appendages, which were the Inheritance of the moſt excellent Lord the King of* England, *&c.* The Ambaſſadors having ſhew'd their Credentials, exhibited the Points of their Negotiation in theſe Articles, which ſhew how far the Spirit of Revenge will tranſport the Minds even of the Greateſt. Firſt, 'They offer their Bodies to be employ'd againſt all Men for the Service of the King of *England*, ſaving their Allegiance to their own Sovereign, as knowing the King of *England* would not otherwiſe deſire them. Secondly, Their Sons, Daughters, Nephews and Neices to beſtow in Marriage at the King of *England*'s Pleaſure. Thirdly, Their Caſtles, Towns, Treaſure, and all their Goods to be at the Service of the ſaid King. Fourthly, Their Friends, the Gentlemen of *France*, the Clergy, and rich Burgers; who were all on their Side, as by Proof ſhould well appear. Finally, They offer to him the Dukedom of *Gaſcony* entire, and in as full a Manner as ever his Predeceſſors enjoy'd it; ſo as they themſelves will hold and acknowledge to hold their Lands in thoſe Parts directly of the ſaid King, and deliver all they can into his Poſſeſſion, and do their utmoſt to conquer the reſt for him. All this upon Condition on the other Side, Firſt, That the King of *England* ſhould aſſiſt the ſaid Lords againſt the Duke of *Burgundy* for the Murder committed upon the late Duke of *Orleans*. Secondly, That he ſhould give this Aſſiſtance, 'till all the Loſſes were repair'd which they and their Friends had ſuſtain'd upon this Occaſion. Thirdly, That he ſhould help to ſettle the Quiet of the Realm, *&c.* Theſe Offers being balanc'd with the Articles upon which the Duke of *Burgundy* had obtain'd Succours, outweigh'd them ſo far, that about the Middle of *Auguſt*, before all thoſe that had been ſent with the Earl of *Arundel* to the contrary Part were return'd into *England*, Forces were order'd for the Duke of *Orleans*, to the Wonder of all Men, who underſtood not the Secret; ſo that *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward* Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, with many other great Men, and a competent Army, were ſent over to aſſiſt the Duke of *Orleans*, while the Earl of *Angoleſme* continu'd a Hoſtage in *England* for the Payment of a hundred and ninety thouſand Crowns, and Performance of Articles. The *Engliſh* landed in *Normandy*; but whether the Confederates mov'd with the Dangers to which their Nation would be percipitated, or for ſome other Cauſes, the Duke of *Orleans*, contrary to Agreement, declin'd coming at the appointed Time and Place; which gave Occaſion to the *Engliſh* to burn, pillage and take much Riches in many Parts of the Country, to ſatisfie themſelves 'till the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould ſee them paid. Yet at length the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Orleans* came to a Treaty; after which the *Engliſh* march'd into *Gaſcony* to take up their Winter-Quarters, and the Duke of *Orleans* return'd into his own Country. During theſe Tranſactions, the Lord of *Heyle* Marſhal of *France*, with many other Lords, and an Army of eighty thouſand Men, laid Siege to a certain ſtrong Place in *Gaſcony*; which the valiant Sir *John Blount*, with three hundred Men, not only defended, but alſo drove the Enemy from the Siege, took twelve of the chief Men Priſoners, and a hundred and twenty other Gentlemen.

The Education of Henry *Prince of* Wales.

He affronts a Judge.

He is reconcil'd to his Father.

King *Henry* liv'd not to ſee the Courſe and Fortune of theſe Wars, but began now to turn his Thoughts to Matters of a contrary Nature: For having reduc'd his Kingdom to a calm Condition, and having no more Occaſion to be bloody or deteſted, his Actions were grown to that Degree of Temperance, as there remain'd nothing more to be deſir'd in him. Juſtice was adminiſtred without Diſtinction, he ſhew'd himſelf affable, liberal and pious, ſo that his Subjects now as much lov'd him, as they formerly fear'd him; and having ſet his Thoughts chiefly upon God, he reſolv'd to ſpend the Remainder of his Life wholly in his Service. His greateſt ſecular Concern was that for his eldeſt Son *Henry*, now about twenty four Years of Age, whoſe Behaviour and Carriage had rais'd both the Hopes and Fears of the whole Kingdom. This wondrous Prince had formerly been a Student in *Queen*'s *College* in *Oxford*, under the Tuition of his Uncle *Henry Beaufort*, Chancellor of that Univerſity; from whence he was remov'd to Court, and committed to the Government of the Earl of *Worceſter*. But coming afterwards to his own Diſpoſal, whether being by Nature couragious, and yet not well temper'd by Time and Experience; or whether incited by dangerous Companions; or embolden'd by his own Greatneſs, he ran into many Courſes unworthy of a Prince, ſo that it was much doubted how he would prove when he came to the Throne. It is reported that he lay in wait for the Receivers of his Father's Revenues, and in the Perſon of a Robber ſet upon them and rifled them. Afterwards, when one of his Aſſociates was arraign'd for Felony before the Lord Chief Juſtice, he went boldly to the King's Bench Bar and offer'd to free the Priſoner by Force; but being withſtood by the Judge, he ſtepp'd up to him, and ſtruck him over the Face. At which the Judge without Heſitation told him, *That this Affront was not to himſelf, but to the King his Father, in whoſe Place he ſat*; wherefore to make him ſenſible of his Crime, he immediately commanded him to Priſon. It was ſurpriſing to ſee how calm the Prince was in his own Cauſe, who had been ſo violent for his Companion; for he quietly obey'd the Judge's Sentence, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be led to Priſon. This Paſſage was not a little pleaſing to the King, to find he had a Judge of ſuch Courage, and a Son of ſuch Submiſſion; but yet for theſe and other ſuch Actions he remov'd him from being Preſident of the Council, and plac'd in his Room his ſecond Brother *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*. This made the Prince ſo ſenſible of his Father's Diſpleaſure, that he us'd all Means to recover his Opinion, and by Ways as ſtrange as thoſe by which he loſt it: For attiring himſelf in a Habit peculiar and uncommon to the higheſt Degree, he came to the Court at *Weſtminſter*; where the King in the Preſence of three or four Privy-Counſellors demanded of him the Cauſe of his ſtrange Dreſs and Appearance. He anſwer'd, *That being not only his Subject, but his Son, and a Son ſo tenderly lov'd by him, he deſerv'd a thouſand Deaths, if he ſhould act or but imagine the leaſt Offence againſt his Sacred Majeſty; and therefore he prepar'd himſelf to be made a Sacrifice:* And therewithal reaching his Dagger to his Father, he added, *That I deſire to live no longer than I may be thought to be what I am, and ever ſhall be, your faithful and obedient Vaſſal.* With this and the like Anſwer the King was ſo mov'd, that he fell upon his Son's Neck, and imbracing him with a Flood of Tears confeſs'd, *That his Ears had been too open to receive Reports of him*, and ſolemnly promis'd, *That nothing for the future ſhould cauſe any Diſaffection towards him.*

A. D. 1413. Reg. 14.

The King's laſt Sickneſs.

His Diſcourſe with his Son.

His Death.

The King liv'd not long to enjoy the happy Fruits of this Reconciliation; for in *Chriſtmas* he began to feel his laſt Sickneſs at *Eltham*; but recovering a little, he repair'd to *London* about *Candlemas*, there to hold a Parliament, the End of which he never ſaw. Here he took upon him the *Cruſado*, and began to make Proviſion for his Journey to *Jeruſalem*; but being at his Prayers before St. *Edward*'s Shrine, he was ſuddenly taken with an Apoplexy, and thereupon remov'd to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*'s Houſe; where recovering his Senſes, and finding himſelf in a ſtrange Place, he demanded where he was? Being told that he was in the Abbot's Houſe, in a Chamber call'd *Jeruſalem*, he cry'd, *Lord have Mercy upon me, for this is the* Jeruſalem *where a Soothſayer told me I muſt die.* Here the vulgar Chronicles tell us a very peculiar Story; That the King, while he lay dangerouſly ſick, order'd his Crown to be ſet on a Pillow at his Bed's Head; and when ſuddenly his Pains ſeiz'd him ſo vehemently that all concluded him dead, the Prince coming in, took away the Crown. The Father unexpectedly reviving ſoon miſs'd his Crown; and calling for his Son, demanded *What he meant to deprive him of that, to which he had yet no Right*? The Prince boldly reply'd, *Since I and all others believ'd you to be dead, I took it as my own Right, but now return it with Joy.* To which the King with a deep Sigh made Anſwer, *What Right I had to it God only knows. Be it as it will*, reply'd the Prince, *you gain'd it by the Sword, and by the Sword I will maintain it.* The King hearing his Reſolution, enter'd into Diſcourſe concerning ſome Diſcord he fear'd might ariſe between him and his Brother the Duke of *Clarence:* To which the Prince thus declar'd, *If my Brothers will be true Subjects, I will honour them as Brothers; but if otherwiſe, I will do Juſtice upon them as ſoon as the meaneſt in my Kingdom.* The King rejoycing at this unexpected Anſwer, both prudently and piouſly charg'd him before God, *To adminiſter the Law indifferently, to eaſe the Oppreſſed, to beware of Flatterers, not to defer Juſtice, nor yet to be ſparing of Mercy; to puniſh the Oppreſſors of the People, by which he ſhould obtain the Favour of God, and Love of his Subjects, who while they had Wealth would continue obedient, but if made Poor by Oppreſſions, would become rebellious.* With theſe and the like Admonitions he expir'd upon the Twentieth Day of *March*, in the Forty Seventh Year of his Age, after an active, politick and victorious Reign of thirteen Years, five Months, and twenty one Days. His Body with all funeral Pomp was convey'd to *Canterbury*, and there ſolemnly interr'd, in the Preſence of his Son, and many of the Nobility.

This was the End of *Henry* the Fourth, who had all the Qualifications of a great and mighty Prince, and one who by his Vigour and Management ſurmounted infinite Difficulties; all ariſing from the Want of a juſt Title to the Crown, which drove him to wade through Seas of Blood, and to bring vaſt Miſchiefs upon the *Engliſh* Subjects. As to his Perſon, he was of a moderate Stature, well proportion'd and compacted, of a great Strength and Agility of Body, skilful in Arms, and of a quick Diſpatch; equally ſhewing himſelf both earneſt and adviſ'd in all his Actions. He was very ready in Imagination, forwards in Attempt, couragious in Execution, and generally fortunate in the Event. There was no great Place of Imployment or Charge which he would rather affect for Glory, than refuſe for Peril or Pains; and in Service he uſually prov'd himſelf not only a skilful Commander by giving Directions, but alſo an admirable Soldier in uſing his Weapon, ſometimes venturing his Perſon further than Policy would allow. His Expences were liberal and honourable, yet not exceeding the Meaſure of his Receipts; he was very courteous and familiar towards all Men, by which he procur'd more Love among the Meaner than the Greater. In all the Changes of his State he was almoſt one and the ſame Man; in Adverſity never dejected, in Proſperity never ſecure; ſtill retaining his Majeſty in one, and his Mildneſs in the other: Nor did the Continuance of his Reign bring him to any proud Behaviour; but in his latter Years he appear'd ſo mild and gentle, that it almoſt wore out all Hatred born him for the Death of King *Richard*. He would not eaſily be drawn into any Cauſe, but was firm and conſtant in a good one; yet was more eaſie to be either corrupted or abus'd by flattering Speeches, than terrify'd by any Threats. His great Error was his mighty Thirſt after human Glory, which made him too little examine the juſt and religious Means of attaining it; for which the Vengeance of Heaven ſeems to have met his Poſterity in the third Generation.

His Character.

Sir Richard Whittington's *Acts.*

There were ſeveral Acts of Piety and Charity done in this Reign, beſides thoſe by the famous *William* of *Wickham* before-mention'd; in naming of which, we ought not to paſs by the excellent Sir *Richard Whittington* Mayor of *London*, who erected a College in that City, with Lodgings and Weekly Allowances for divers poor People. He erected that Gate of *London* call'd *Newgate*, which before was a loathſome Priſon; and built more than half of St. *Bartholomew*'s Hoſpital in *Smithfield*, and the beautiful Library in the *Gray-Friars* now call'd *Chriſt's-Hoſpital*. He alſo built a great Part of the Eaſt-End of *Guild-Hall*, and a Chapel adjoining to it, with a Library of Stone, for the Cuſtody of the Records of the City; and in his laſt Will he ſhew'd the higheſt Marks of Compaſſion and Chriſtianity. Among the noted Men in this Reign, we muſt not forget the two famous Poets *Geoffry Chaucer* and *John Gower*, the two great Reformers of our *Engliſh* Tongue; of whom the firſt dy'd in the fourth of this Reign, and was bury'd in *Weſtminſter* Abby, and the other in the ninth, and was bury'd in St. *Mary Overy*'s in *Southwark*.

SECT. II.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Fifth.*

Containing 9 *Years*, 4 *Months*, *and* 11 *Days.*

A.D. 1413.
Reg. 1.
Henry V. *ſucceeds his* Father.

I. HENRY the Fourth, ſirnam'd *Bullingbrook*, was immediately ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Henry* of *Monmouth*, in the twenty ſixth Year of his Age, and Prime of his Youth. Tho' ſome of his former Actions had rais'd the Fears of many, yet now the high Eſteem which the Nation had of his Perſon, produc'd ſuch an intire Confidence in him, that both Lords and Commons upon the twenty fourth of *March* offer'd to ſwear Allegiance to him before he was crown'd, or had taken the cuſtomary Oath to govern according to Law. He generouſly thank'd them for their good Affections, and exhorted them in their ſeveral Stations *to uſe all their Power for the Good of the Publick*; declaring, *That he began his Reign with the Pardon of all that had offended him, and with ſuch a real Deſign of promoting his Peoples Happineſs, that he would be crown'd on no other Condition, than to employ his Authority for that End*; praying to God, *That if he foreſaw he would not prove a juſt and good Governor, he would pleaſe to take him immediately out of the World, rather than ſeat him on the Throne for a publick Calamity to his Country*. On the Ninth Day of *April* the Solemnities of his Coronation were perform'd by *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; which proving a Day of extraordinary Storms, rais'd divers ſuperſtitious Obſervations. He nobly began his Reign with a Command of himſelf, and renounc'd with Diſdain the Companions of his former Riots, who had flatter'd themſelves with the Hopes of the higheſt Places of Honour and Preferment: He forbad them under ſevere Penalties to approach his Perſon, or within ten Miles of his Court; and all the Favour they receiv'd was only to be diſmiſs'd with ſome liberal Gifts from his Royal Bounty. He next proceeded to make an Alteration among the Judges, and other Officers of the Crown, removing thoſe who were known or ſuſpected to be guilty of corrupt Practices, and advancing others, whoſe Integrity and Abilities render'd them fit for the higheſt Imployments. And that the People might have free and impartial Juſtice, after the Example of his Father, it was his Cuſtom every Day, for an Hour or more after Dinner to lean on a Cuſhion and receive Petitions from his Subjects; where he patiently heard their Complaints, and redreſs'd them. He alſo by Proclamation endeavour'd to provide againſt Corruption of Manners, and Abuſes in Government; in which he commanded the Clergy to be faithful in their ſacred Charge, and by their Lives as well as Sermons to afford Leſſons of Piety to the People: And likewiſe he enjoin'd the Laity to ſerve God and obey their Sovereign, forbidding upon his higheſt Diſpleaſure all Acts of Adulteries, wilful Perjuries, and prophane Swearing. And for a further Teſtimony of his generous and compaſſionate Diſpoſition, he remov'd the Body of King *Richard*, too meanly interr'd at *Langley*, in great State to *Weſtminſter* Abby, and there laid him enſhrin'd by Queen *Anne* his firſt Wife, as he himſelf had deſir'd and appointed, founding a weekly Memorial, and an annual Diſtribution of Mony to the Poor. And ſo nearly did his Death affect this innocent King, that he ſent to his Holineſs at *Rome* to be abſolv'd from the Guilt of his Father's Act; and willingly perform'd what Penance was enjoin'd him. After which, he in Perſon attended the Obſequies of his Father, which were celebrated with great Solemnity at the City of *Canterbury*.

He is crowned King.

His noble Beginnings.

He removes King Richard's *Body to* Weſtminſter *Abby.*

After the Detection of a Conſpiracy made by one *Whitlock* and ſome others, a Parliament met in *May*, in which, the Commons petitioning the King for the redreſſing of Grievances, or for the Eſtabliſhment of good Orders, many wiſe Laws were enacted to make the Nation rich, flouriſhing and proſperous. And thus King *Henry* was eaſie and ſecure in the Beginning of his Reign, only two intervening Diſaſters diminiſh'd the publick Joy and Satiſfaction; a great Plague which deſtroy'd Numbers of the People, and a violent Fire in *Norwich*, which laid in Aſhes moſt of that large City. Yet among the Calamities of theſe Times we might reckon the Sufferings of Sir *John Oldcaſtle* Lord *Cobham*, ſince it was a ſtrange Example of Injuſtice and Cruelty, that a Nobleman, endear'd to the King by his excellent Qualities, ſhould by the Hatred of the Clergy be implacably purſu'd to Ruin. This Knight, call'd Lord *Cobham*, was in a publick Synod accus'd by the Clergy of Hereſie, in maintaining ſeveral of *Wickliff*'s Opinions, and propagating them in the Dioceſes of *London*, *Rocheſter* and *Hereford*; againſt whom alſo ſome ſelect Inquiſitors at *Oxford* preſented his Name, with a great Number of Concluſions, which they had collected as Heretical. The King incens'd by the Archbiſhop's Suggeſtions againſt the Reformers call'd *Lollards*, was further made to believe that they had ſet up Bills in divers Places, threatning, That a hundred thouſand Perſons were ready for Arms againſt all that oppos'd their Reformation, and among theſe the Lord *Cobham* his Knight was reputed the Chief. The King heard the Archbiſhop's Complaint, and being at *Kennington*, promis'd to confer with the Lord *Cobham* himſelf, which accordingly he did, urging him *to ſubmit to the Cenſure of the Church, and be obedient to the Archbiſhop*. But *Cobham* humbly told his Majeſty, *That he ow'd his Subjection only to himſelf, whom God had placed as his ſole Vice-gerent to govern his People of* England: *But as to the Pope of* Rome, *he ow'd him no Service, nor would he pay him any; ſince he was convinc'd in his Conſcience, that he was the great Anti-Chriſt, the Son of Perdition, and the open Adverſary of God*. This Anſwer receiv'd, was ſo deliver'd to the Archbiſhop, with Power to cite, examine and puniſh, as their own Canons in ſuch Caſes had decreed.

Proceedings againſt Sir John Oldcaſtle.

He is Excommunicated.

The Archbiſhop having ſo far obtain'd his Deſign, by the Advice of ſeveral, iſſu'd out a Citation to him to appear at his Court at a certain time, which was deliver'd to him by one *John Butler*, a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, becauſe the Summoner durſt not do it himſelf; and the Archbiſhop, that nothing might be wanting, caus'd his Citation to be ſet upon the Gates of the Cathedral Church of *Rocheſter*, which was immediately pull'd down, as others again likewiſe, to the great Diſpleaſure of the Clergy, and the greater, becauſe the Actors could not be known. The Lord *Cobham*, knowing his Enemies Malice and his own Danger, refus'd to appear; whereupon he was excommunicated for Contumacy, and further Proceſſes were iſſu'd out againſt him. In the mean time he wrote a Form of his

Faith,

And condemn'd for Hereſie.

He flies into Wales.

Faith, and preſented it himſelf to the King, who being prepoſſeſs'd, refus'd to receive it, but ſuffer'd him to be cited even in his own Preſence; when *Cobham* for his Purgation offer'd a hundred Knights and Eſquires, which would not be accepted; after which, according to his Degree and Law of Arms, he requir'd a ſingle Combat with either Chriſtian or Pagan as to the Truth of his Faith, the King and Council only excepted. This likewiſe was not permitted, ſo that he was oblig'd to appear before the Archbiſhop and his Suffragans; where after divers Examinations, he anſwer'd with ſuch Vivacity of Spirit and Courage, that the whole Convocation was amaz'd, and at a Loſs how to reply. Nowithſtanding which he was ſolemnly condemn'd for a Heretick, and committed to the Tower of *London*; and in the ſame Synod the Archbiſhop enacted that Heretical Decree, ' That the Holy Scriptures ' ſhould not be tranſlated into the *Engliſh* Tongue.' And it is remarkable that not long after, the ſame Archbiſhop was ſeiz'd with a ſtrange Diſtemper in his Tongue, which ſo exceſſively ſwell'd it, that it quite depriv'd him of his Speech, and ſhortly after put an End to his Life. As to *Cobham* himſelf, he ſoon made an Eſcape from the Tower into *Wales*, which gave an Occaſion to his Enemies to raiſe new Jealouſies; and they confidently aſſur'd the King that he and his Adherents had a Deſign upon his Life, and that in St. *Giles*'s Fields near *Holbourn* twenty thouſand were to meet in order to deſtroy the Monaſteries of *Weſtminſter*, St. *Albans*, all the Religious Houſes of *London*, and the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s. The King therefore in Perſon, after Midnight enter'd theſe Fields with a great Army, where, as their Enemies relate, he apprehended eighty of that Faction, who declar'd *They came to ſeek the Lord* Cobham. But their Friends alledge, That in thoſe Days of Perſecution, ſuch Aſſemblies had been often made to hear the Goſpel preach'd to them, which otherwiſe they could not enjoy; So that in this Place, then overgrown with Buſhes, and unfit for Armies, thoſe few were aſſembled to hear *John Beverly*, a pious Divine, without any Thoughts of Treaſon, having for their Commanders no greater Men than Sir *Roger Acton*, *Beverley*, and *Morly*, a Knight, a Miniſter, and a Maltman. But we leave theſe Apologies to others; only the Lord *Cobham* could not be found, tho' the King had promis'd a thouſand Marks to any Man that ſhould take him, and alſo great Privileges to any Town or City in *England* where he was diſcover'd: By which it may be gueſs'd, ſays *Walſingham*, that near the whole Kingdom then embrac'd his Opinions; thirty ſeven of that Aſſembly were condemn'd, of whom ſeven were conſum'd with Fire; *Acton*, *Beverly* and *Morly* were likewiſe executed as Traitors.

A. D. 1414. Reg. ½.

Great Deſigns againſt Eccleſiaſticks.

Upon Archbiſhop *Arundel*'s Death, *Henry Chicheley*, a great Champion againſt the *Lollards*, was by the King's Conſent and the Monks of *Canterbury* elected their Archbiſhop, which the politick Elect neither accepted nor refus'd, but left it to the Will and Pleaſure of the Pope; who at firſt was diſpleas'd that they had proceeded ſo far without his Directions, yet was ſoon pacify'd by *Chicheley*'s Submiſſion, and ſome particular Gratifications. This Man, tho' not ſo conſpicuous for his Birth as *Arundel*, yet was as ſtrong for the Clergy, and more in favour with his King, as the Sequel prov'd. His firſt Eſſays of both were ſufficiently ſhewn in a Parliament held at *Leiceſter*, where the former Deſign againſt the Church-Lands was reviv'd, and a Bill exhibited accordingly; in which it was demonſtrated, That the Temporalities upon which the Religious and other Spiritual Perſons liv'd ſo luxuriouſly and waſtefully, amounted to three hundred and twenty two thouſand Marks yearly; and that beſides the ſaid Sum, divers Religious Houſes poſſeſs'd as many Temporalities as would maintain fifteen thouſand Prieſts and Clerks, allowing to each Man ſeven Marks a Year. This Bill, ſays *Hall*, caus'd the fat Abbots to ſweat, the proud Priors to frown, the poor Friars to curſe, the fooliſh Nuns to weep, and all her Merchants to fear that *Babel* would ſink: And here indeed the exceſſive Power began to diminiſh, when by the Authority of this Parliament, a hundred and ten Priories Alien were ſuppreſs'd, and all their Poſſeſſions given to the King and his Heirs for ever. Therefore to avert the impending Storm it was politickly concluded by *Chicheley* and others, That the moſt effectual Courſe was to find the young King ſome other Employment for the Vigour of his Courage, which might otherwiſe prove dangerous to them. Accordingly they judg'd it neceſſary to turn his Thoughts to War and Glory, and to ſolicit his Ambition, by reminding him of the Title he had to the Crown of *France*, deſcended to him by the mighty *Edward* the Third. Therefore in a formal premeditated Speech before the King in Parliament the politick Archbiſhop with all his Rhetorick ſet forth his Majeſty's unqueſtionable Title to the Realm of *France* from the moſt Illuſtrious of all his Predeceſſors *Edward* the Third, *who bravely attempted to conquer by Arms, what he could not obtain by a juſt Treaty. That his Majeſty had the ſame Title to demand that Crown, and the ſame Reaſons to denounce War upon a Refuſal.* He added, *That as he was ſenſible that the* French *would oppoſe their imaginary* Salick *Law againſt that Claim, ſo he knew that they would contradict themſelves in aſſigning the Original of that Law; and if it were granted that ſuch a Law was in Being, yet* France *was not concern'd in it. For it was in vain for them to pretend that it was made by* Pharamond *the Founder of their Monarchy, when no mention was made of it 'till above four hundred Years after his Death: And this was when* Charles *the Great returning from the Conqueſt of* Saxony, *part of his Army paſs'd the* Sala, *and ſettled between that River and the* Elle, *and from the Name of the former were call'd* Salick-Gauls: *Which new Colony deteſting the vicious Manners of the* German *Women, by a Law prohibited that Sex from inheriting Lands in their ſmall Dominions. But what was this to the* French *Nation? How could they prove that by this Law their Crown could not deſcend to any Daughter of their Kings, unleſs they could prove their Country to be ſituated between thoſe two* German *Rivers. And if all were true which they report of their boaſted Law, how could they uſe it as an Argument againſt the Right of the* Engliſh *Kings, when they never made it any Bar in the Succeſſion of their own. For it manifeſtly appear'd, that the Title of the great* Pepin, *the Claim of* Hugh Capet, *the Poſſeſſion of* Lewis *the Saint, and of all the* French *Kings to that Day, were derived from Female Heirs; ſo that the Name of the* Salick-*Law was but a ſhifting Illuſion to debar the* Engliſh *Kings from their Claim to the* French *Crown. But granting that ſuch a Law had always been obſerv'd, yet it was contrary to the Laws of God, and the Cuſtoms of all Nations; ſo that the* French *alone violated the Statutes of Heav'n, and ſlighted the Laws of Mankind, that they might devolve their Crown on whom they pleas'd. But if his Majeſty would extend his righteous Arms into the Bowels of* France, *no true* Engliſhman *but was ready to devote his Life and Fortune to the glorious Service of ſo great a King. And in full Perſuaſion of the Juſtice and Succeſs of the War, the Clergy, beſides their extraordinary Prayers to Heav'n, had given ſuch Sums of Mony to maintain it, as had never been granted to any of his Predeceſſors.*

The Arch-Biſhop's Speech *againſt* France.

The King and Nobility join with the Motion.

This Speech, which elevated the Thoughts of the whole Aſſembly, was ſtrenuouſly debated and examin'd by the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, Governor of the Marches of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Exeter*, Uncle to King *Henry*. The former thought it moſt ſafe, firſt to check the *Scots*, as the neareſt and moſt certain Enemies; but the latter judg'd it better Policy to begin with *France* the Root and Support of the other, eſpecially ſince it is now diſtracted by the grand Factions of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*. The Arguments of the latter ſoon prevail'd with the King and his Brothers, who being young, and fir'd with the Proſpect of new Glories, became impatient to ſignalize their Courage againſt the old Enemies of their Country: And the ſame gallant Spirit being diffus'd through the Minds of the reſt of the Nobility, they all declar'd for a War againſt *France*; which being thus reſolv'd, the Parliament was prorogu'd to *Weſtminſter*. There the King's Generoſity was ſhewn to *Henry Piercy*, Son to the famous and valiant *Hotſpur*, who was now reſtor'd to the Earldom of *Northumberland*, and to all the Lands and Dignities which his Grandfather and Father had forfeited to the Crown.

An Embaſſy ſent to France.

The King's Anſwer to the Dauphine.

The War againſt *France* being determin'd, an honourable Embaſſy was diſpatch'd to that Kingdom, which firſt demanded the Crown of *France* to be reſign'd to King *Henry*; but ſoon after deſcended only to require thoſe Provinces which his Predeceſſors had poſſeſs'd in that Kingdom, together with the *French* King's Daughter, the Princeſs *Catharine*, to be marry'd to King *Henry*, with a Portion of two Millions of Crowns, two of which were to equal an *Engliſh* Noble. Theſe Demands were thought too high and extravagant, and were rejected, and others offer'd by the *French*, but to no Effect. Whereupon a ſecond Embaſſy was ſent over in the beginning of the following Year, which inſiſting upon the ſame Demands, was at laſt diſhonourably treated. Particularly the *Dauphine* of *France*, as *Cuxton* aſſures us, in Deriſion ſent King *Henry* a Tun of Tennis-Balls, intimating that his Youth and Practices had been more agreeable to thoſe, than the rough Exerciſe of Arms. But the brave Hero, fir'd with the Reſentment of this open Affront, declar'd, *That he would return his Preſent in ſuch dreadful Balls, as the Gates and Walls of* Paris *ſhould not be ſtrong enough to rebound.*

A. D. 1415. Reg. ⅔.

II. How dangerous it is for Princes to Jeſt upon each other ſoon appear'd in the great Preparations King *Henry* made to invade *France*; who finding that the *French* Court only amus'd him with little Artifices, vain Offers and Promiſes, reſolv'd to vindicate his Cauſe by an open War. He had then about eight hundred thouſand Crowns in his

Treaſury:

Great Preparations againſt France.

The Scots *defeated.*

Treaſury: He furniſh'd out a ſtrong Fleet, and beſides his own Ships, he hir'd of the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* many Tranſport Veſſels. He rais'd Troops, provided Engines of Battery of vaſt Bulk and Force, and appointed the Rendezvous of his Fleet and Army to be at *Southampton* upon the twenty fourth Day of *June* following. The People chearfully contributed the neceſſary Aids of Men and Money, and the Nobility, according to Cuſtom, brought their Proportion of Soldiers into the Field; and all Mens Mouths and Hearts were fill'd with the Diſcourſe of Conquering *France*. The *French* dreading theſe Preparations, ſolicited the *Scots* to make Inroads into *England*; but Sir *Robert Umfrevil*, a valiant Knight of the Garter, with only four hundred Men, ingag'd the *Scots* Army conſiſting of near two thouſand, and defeated them: Then with three hundred and ſixty Priſoners and great Spoil he return'd triumphantly to *Rokesborough* Caſtle, of which he was Governor.

An Embaſſie from France.

The *French* King finding his Deſigns ineffectual, reſolv'd upon an Embaſſie into *England* to endeavour for an Accommodation. The Chief of the Ambaſſadors was the Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges*, who with the reſt was ſolemnly introduc'd to King *Henry* at *Wincheſter*, who in great State was ſitting in his Chamber in Robes of Cloth of Gold, and negligently leaning on a Cuſhion. His three Brothers, the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford* and *Gloceſter*, his Uncle the Duke of *York*, with many other Noblemen, ſtood on his right Hand; and ſeveral Biſhops on his Left The Ambaſſadors paid their Reſpects to him on the Knee, and made an Offer of ſeveral Territories in *France*, together with the *French* King's Daughter the Princeſs *Katharine*, and a Dowry of eight hundred thouſand Crowns in Gold, if King *Henry* would immediately disband his Army, and conclude a Peace. Theſe Propoſals occaſion'd ſeveral Conferences, but the King and his Friends inſiſted upon higher Demands, which being refus'd, War was immediately denounc'd to proſecute the King's juſt Rights to the Crown of *France*. When the Ambaſſadors heard this, they forgot the Reſpect due to crown'd Heads, and in Contempt broke out into an indecent Laughter; and the Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges* with the higheſt Indignation told the King, *That he was ſo far from having a Right to the Crown of* France, *that he had none to that of* England, *which belong'd to* King Richard'*s Heirs. Therefore what could move him to ſhew that Contempt to the moſt Chriſtian King, the moſt noble, excellent and potent of all Monarchs? Could he imagine that he offer'd his Beautiful Daughter, with ſo large a part of his Dominions, out of Fear of his Arms? No: he condeſcended to theſe Terms out of his great Love to Peace, and Pity of the Calamities which the People of both Nations muſt ſuffer in a laſting War.* After this they demanded a ſafe Conduct out of his Dominions, and that he would ſend his Anſwer by Writing under his Hand and Seal. The juſt and moderate King bore all this Storm of Words with great Temper; and tho' a provoking Indignity was offer'd him, he would not violate the Laws of Nations, by injuring the Perſons of Ambaſſadors. He granted them all that they laſt demanded, and ſatisfy'd himſelf with letting them know, *That they might go when they pleas'd, and that he would ſoon follow them into* France, *not as into their Country, but his own rightful Inheritance, which he would recover by the Aſſiſtance of Heav'n, and the Power of his Sword.*

The Ambaſſadors reflect on King Henry.

His Anſwer to them.

King *Henry* having diſmiſs'd the *French* Ambaſſadors, proceeded in his Journey to *Southampton*, where he deſign'd to embark his Army; but before his Arrival, by the Advice of his Council, he caus'd Copies to be drawn of the Treaties which had been made between his Father *Henry* IV. and the Court of *France*, concerning the Reſtitution of *Gaſcony* to the Crown of *England*; which Treaties were now by the *French* openly violated and neglected. Theſe Copies being firſt ſeal'd by a publick Notary, were ſent to a General Council then ſitting at *Conſtance*, under the Emperor *Sigiſmund* and other Princes of *Europe*, that all *Chriſtendom* might know what Injury was done to him by the faithleſs Dealings of the *French*, and that contrary to his Inclinations he was conſtrain'd to take up Arms in Vindication of his juſt Rights. Being arriv'd at *Southampton*, he ſent *Antelope* his Purſivant at Arms with another Letter to the *French* King, written in *Latin*, with renew'd Proteſtations, *That it was not Avarice or Ambition that mov'd him to War, but a juſt Deſign to recover his Rights; therefore he once more requir'd him to reſtore thoſe Provinces which had been ſo often demanded by his Ambaſſadors. That it was only the Fear of God, and Love of Peace, that made him ſo moderate in his Demands; for which Reaſon he was now ready to relinquiſh fifty thouſand of the Crowns offer'd in Marriage with the Princeſs, if with her he would deliver up what his Predeceſſors had anciently poſſeſs'd in* France. *That his Deſire was to enjoy a peaceful Life with that excellent Princeſs, in whom he ſhould be happy, but he could not do any Thing to the Prejudice of his Rights and Honour.* The *French* King in his Anſwer declar'd, *That the Demands of the King of* England *were unjuſt, and that it was ſtrangely prepoſterous for one to make Love to a Princeſs when cover'd with the Blood of her Father's Subjects. But ſince he was reſolv'd to be his Enemy, and in an Hoſtile Manner to enter his Dominions, he ſhould find him prepar'd to make ſuch Opppoſition as ſhould eaſily repel him.*

His new Demands to the French *King.*

The French *King's Anſwer.*

A great Conſpiracy againſt King Henry.

King *Henry* being ready to embark on the laſt Day of *July*, a Diſcovery was made of a dangerous Conſpiracy form'd againſt him in the Army, which might have put an inglorious End to all his Deſigns: For the *French* embracing this Opportunity of working upon the diſſatisfy'd Spirits of ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility, manag'd a private Intrigue with *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* Brother to the Duke of *York*, *Henry Scroop* Lord Treaſurer, and Sir *Thomas Grey* a Privy-Councellor, animating them to conſpire againſt the Crown and Life of their Prince. To carry on which Deſign, a vaſt Sum, no leſs than a Million of Gold, was remitted them; which made the *French* Ambaſſadors ſo confident, that when they return'd, they freely declar'd, That the King of *England* would either alter his Purpoſe of invading *France*, or rather loſe his Life in the Conſpiracy. The Deſign of theſe Men was to raiſe an Army, and carrying *Edmund* Earl of *Marche* with them into *Wales*, to perſuade him to aſſume the Government, as true Heir to the Crown, in Defiance of *Henry* of *Lancaſter* as an Uſurper. Yet ſtill they were to make uſe of King *Richard*'s Name, and Sir *Thomas Grey* was to procure One out of *Scotland*, who nearly reſembled him, in order to induce young *Piercy* to join them with a competent Force.

This grand Deſign being diſcover'd by the Conſpirators to the Earl of *Marche*, with the greateſt Threats and ſtricteſt Obligations, the Earl foreſeeing the diſmal Conſequences to the Nation, generouſly reveal'd it to the King himſelf, who was extreamly ſtartled at the Ingratitude of thoſe Men he had ſo ſignally favour'd. Having ſoon ſecur'd their Perſons, he in a publick Aſſembly of his Nobility and Officers, with the juſt Reſentments due from injur'd Majeſty, told them, *That ſince they had conſpir'd to murder him, the Head and Father of the People, it was not to be doubted, but that they alſo had marked out all thoſe brave Men for Slaughter, to their Country's Ruin, and their own perpetual Infamy: Therefore ſince they had been guilty of ſuch an execrable Crime, they ſhould without Mercy receive the juſt Demerits of their Villany.* Whereupon the Criminals were led out to Execution, which was perform'd in the Sight of the whole Army. The Earl of *Cambridge* had wrote a ſubmiſſive and pathetical Letter to the King to obtain his Pardon, but could gain no greater Favour than to be beheaded with Sir *Thomas Grey*, while the Lord *Scroop* was put to the moſt infamous Puniſhment of Hanging, Drawing and Quartering. After the Execution the King again expreſs'd his Reſentments before his Nobility and Officers, and further declar'd, *That if they would be faithful to him in this juſt War, he would not only be a Partner with them in all Hazards, but alſo foremoſt in the Danger.* All were mov'd with his generous Declaration, and expreſs'd their Loyalty in joyful Acclamations and Vows for his Safety and Succeſs, proteſting, *That while they were able to draw a Sword, they would defend him againſt the ſecret Plots, or open Force of his Enemies.* The King rejoyc'd to hear the Expreſſions of ſuch a general Affection, and hop'd that all Diſcontents were extinguiſh'd in the Blood of the executed Traitors: But as the Scenes of Futurity are beyond the Proſpect of all Human Wiſdom, he did not ſee that this Conſpiracy was but a Spark of that Flame which afterwards broke forth to conſume his Houſe and Family.

The Conſpirators all ſuffer.

The King and his Army ſet ſail for France.

He lands in Normandy.

The King being attended by his two Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glocceſter*, his Uncles the Duke of *York* and Earl of *Dorſet*, with the Earls of *Kent*, *Cornwall* and *Huntington*, and a great Body of Nobility and Gentry, ſet Sail upon *Wedneſday* the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, with a Fleet of fifteen hundred Veſſels, and an Army conſiſting of ſix thouſand Men at Arms, and twenty four thouſand Archers, beſides Gunners, Engineers, Artificers and Pioneers. On the fifteenth of the ſame Month the King arriv'd at the Mouth of the River *Seyne* in *France*, within three Miles of *Harfleur*, where he landed his Men; and falling devoutly upon his Knees, deſir'd God's Aſſiſtance to recover his Right, making Proclamation upon Pain of Death, that Churches ſhould be ſpar'd from all Violence, that Church-Men, Women and Children ſhould not be hurt, abus'd or injur'd. Then conferring the Honour of Knigthood upon many of his Followers, he aſſign'd his Standards to Men of greateſt Strength and Courage; which done he aſcended the Hill near adjoining, and from thence took a View of the Town of *Harfleur*, reſolving to make that the firſt Eſſay of his Fortunes in *France*. The Town being ſtrong and commodiouſly ſeated between two Hills, *He beſieges the ſtrong Town of* Harfleur.

the King took Poſſeſſion of that next the Sea, at the Foot of which he caus'd a deep Ditch to be made, and fill'd it with Water; and raiſing the Rampier to a great Thickneſs, he erected many Sconces of Earth upon it like little Caſtles, ſet thick together, between which were narrow Spaces for the Soldiers to ſally out as Occaſion requir'd. The Intrenchment thus finiſh'd from the Rock to the Sea, and the Horſes, Ammunition and Proviſions all brought on Shore, the King with the greateſt Part of his Army march'd up the Hill; his Brother *Clarence* was ſent with ſome Regiments to lodge upon the other Hill, which by reaſon of the Nature of the Ground and Way prov'd to be a nine Miles March. This being gain'd, the King commanded his Ships to caſt Anchor as near the Town as with Safety they could, by which the Place became beſieg'd both by Sea and Land; then he mounted his Artillery, began his Mines, brought his Works cloſe to the Ditch, prepar'd Faſcines to fill it, and ſoon won the Lower Town.

After five Weeks Siege the Town ſurrenders.

Within the Town Monſieur *Gracourt* was Governor, who accompany'd with ſome Noblemen, and a hundred Knights and Eſquires, and a conſiderable Force, ſally'd out of the Caſtle upon that Quarter where the Earls of *Huntington* and *Cornwall* lay, by whom, with Loſs on either Side, they were repuls'd, the Gates fir'd, ſome Breaches made, and Fire-Works ſhot into the Streets, to the great Annoyance of the Beſieg'd. But nothing diſcourag'd them more than the Mines made under the Walls; againſt which, tho' they often counter-mined, and bravely fought Hand to Hand with the Beſiegers, yet they ſoon found that it would be of little Advantage to them; the Walls being likely to fall, and ſuch Breaches made in them, that they perceiv'd King *Henry* was reſolv'd to carry the Town by Storm. Whereupon *Gracourt* the Governor, foreſeeing the imminent Danger, deſir'd a Parley, and promis'd to ſurrender the Town, if not reliev'd by a certain fix'd Day. While the King lay before the Town, he ſent a Letter of Defiance to the *Dauphine* of *France*, in which he challeng'd him to a ſingle Combat, that the Lives of ſo many Men might be ſpar'd, and their Conteſt honourably decided by themſelves; on Condition that if the *Dauphine* fell in the Encounter, the Crown of *France* and its Dependencies ſhould be deliver'd to King *Henry* after the preſent *French* King's Death. In the mean Time the Beſieg'd being reduc'd to great Neceſſities, ſollicited their King for Relief, which was often promis'd, but to ſo little Effect, that at length upon the twenty ſecond Day of *September*, *Gracourt* the Governor reſolv'd to ſubmit; and accordingly with twenty four ſelect Captains and Burgers he came out of the Town to King *Henry*, who then ſate in his Pavillion under a Cloth of State, his brave Nobles about him, and the Earl of *Kime* upon his right Hand bearing his Casket with an Imperial Crown upon it, beſet with Jewels of ineſtimable Price. The Governor and the reſt proſtrating themſelves at the King's Feet, deliver'd to him the Keys of the Town, according to the Covenants made between them, which was a Ceſſation of Arms for five Days, and then if no Relief came, to ſurrender the Town to him, and to deliver into his Hand thirty of their chief Men to ſtand for Life or Death at his own Pleaſure; the reſt were to depart without Armour, Weapons, or any of their Goods: And thus was this important Town ſurrender'd, after five Weeks Siege.

He makes it an Engliſh *Colony*

On the following Day one of the King's Brothers made his Entrance in great Pomp, and tender'd to the Inhabitants an Oath of Fidelity to King *Henry*, and ſent ſuch as refus'd into *England*. He gave Liberty to all the Eccleſiaſticks, and to the Ladies to go out in their beſt Habits, ſtrictly forbidding all immodeſt and licentious Behaviour to them; after which they were by the *Engliſh* furniſh'd with Bread and Wine for their Journey to *Roan*. The Garriſon and Officers were made Priſoners of War, and the Town was abandon'd to be plunder'd by the Soldiers, who inrich'd themſelves with the Spoils of a Place grown opulent by Piracy; but in exact Obſervance of the King's Command, they forbore offering the leaſt Violence to the Chaſtity of Women. King *Henry*'s Entrance into the Town was not with Triumphal Ornaments like *Cæſar*'s into *Rome*, but in the moſt humble Manner walking barefoot through the Streets to the Church of St. *Martin*, where he ſolemnly gave Thanks to the Giver of all Victory for the Proſperity of his Arms. The Officers and Gentlemen, and all of any Quality, were receiv'd by him with great Civility, and entertain'd ſuitable to their Rank. Deſigning to fortifie and garriſon the Place, he clear'd it of Women and Children, of aged, poor and diſeas'd People, whom he ſuffer'd not only to carry with them what they could, but gave to every one five Sols for a preſent Subſiſtance. He took care likewiſe to People the Place with new Inhabitants in room of thoſe remov'd, and to that End iſſu'd out a Proclamation throughout *England*, that all Perſons who would come over and ſettle in *Harfleur* ſhould have Houſes ſecur'd to them and their Heirs: Upon which Invitation great Numbers of *Engliſh* Men tranſplanted themſelves and Families thither. At laſt he conſtituted his Uncle *Beaufort* Earl of *Dorſet* Governor of the Town, with whom he join'd Sir *John Falſtaff*; and having repair'd the Fortifications, he plac'd a Garriſon in it of about two thouſand ſelect Men. And now the Seaſon being far advanc'd, and the Army extreamly diminiſh'd by Slaughter and Diſtempers, it was reſolv'd to ſend the Remainder into Winter-Quarters at *Calais* and the neighbouring Villages. But for the Glory of the *Engliſh* Name, and that there might be no Appearance to reproach a victorious King, it was likewiſe reſolv'd not to go by Sea, but to march directly thro' the Enemy's Country.

King Henry *marches towards* Calais.

The French *with a vaſt Army oppeſes him.*

He is extreamly incommoded.

The *French* Court, notwithſtanding it ſwarm'd with Factions, while under a weak and diſtemper'd King, the great Men ſought to make themſelves greater, and the common Enemy endangering all, King *Charles*, the *Dauphine*, his Brother of *Ponthieu*, the King of *Sicily*, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretaign*, with the whole Power of *France* aſſembled at *Roan*, and in Council concluded that the *Engliſh* ſhould be ingag'd before they got to *Calais*, and reſolv'd immediately to incommode King *Henry* as much as poſſible. This was attempted ſoon after his Removal from *Harfleur*; for beſides their continual Skirmiſhes upon his marching Army, they broke down the Bridges, cut down Trees, ſtopp'd the High-ways, ſtuck ſharp Stakes in the Fords and other Places, laid Ambuſcades, and convey'd all Victuals and Subſiſtance out of the Countries through which the *Engliſh* ſhould paſs. By which Methods they reaſonably concluded, that as a Deer caught in a Toil, King *Henry* and his whole Army would be enſnar'd, who now was arriv'd at *Virron*, with a Deſign to paſs the River *Somme* at *Blanchtaque*: But that being ſo well fortify'd againſt him, he chang'd his Purpoſe, march'd by *Vormes*, and incamp'd at *Bailew*, intending to have paſs'd the River at *Port de Remy*; but that being alſo ſecur'd, he paſs'd along the River *Hargeſt*, while the *French* Army march'd upon the other Bank, under the Conduct of *Charles de Albert* Conſtable of *France*. King *Henry* ſtill endeavouring to paſs the River *Somme*, reſolv'd to try it even at the Mouth, and paſſing by *Amiens*, *Bowes* and *Corbie*, he incamp'd in a Valley adjoining, where he commanded his Archers to provide Stakes ſharpen'd at both Ends, which afterwards prov'd of ſingular Uſe to him. Then hearing by his Spies that the River was fordable at *Bethencourt*, by the negligent Guard of them of St. *Quintins*, he paſs'd the Water, but not without the Help of Bridges. The Soldiers both weary and faint, many of them ſick, and their Proviſions conſum'd twelve Days before, with invincible Patience now fed upon Nuts, Roots and Berries, and any Thing that the Woods afforded them. They ſpent the Days in great Toil and long Marches, the Nights were cold and wet, and no good Lodgings to be found, and the *French* were always hovering about them without Intermiſſion. According to the *French* Writers, theſe Circumſtances mov'd King *Henry* to offer the Reſtitution of *Harfleur*, and other Advantages, provided he might be allow'd a free Paſſage to *Calais*. But however he gain'd great Relief by the Juſtice and Piety he us'd in thoſe Parts: For tho' he was in the midſt of Enemies, and his Soldiers pinch'd with greateſt Wants, he commanded upon Pain of Death that none of his Army ſhould rob any Church; in which when one of his Men had offended, he firſt caus'd Reſtitution to be made, and then puniſh'd the Offender with Death. The Fame of this Act induc'd the common People, contrary to the ſtrict Commands of the *French* King, frequently to ſupply the fainting *Engliſh* with their own Proviſions. In this manner King *Henry* march'd through infinite Difficulties in ſeveral Places, 'till about the End of *October* he arriv'd in View of the *French* Army near *Agincourt* in the County of St. *Paul*; upon Notice of which, he commanded all his Horſemen to alight, and the whole Army kneeling down with Eyes and Hands lifted up to Heaven, implor'd the Divine Aſſiſtance to make them victorious.

He arrives near Agincourt.

He is challeng'd by the French.

His Anſwer.

The *French* Army now lying between King *Henry* and the Town of *Calais*, the General *D' Albert*, in Conjunction with the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, ſent three Heralds to the King of *England* with a Challenge to give him Battel, leaving it to him to aſſign the Time and Place. The King honourably entertain'd the Heralds, and ſent them back with rich Marks of his Liberality; but he employ'd two of his own to ſignifie to the *French* Generals, *That they well knew that of late he had continu'd a conſtant March, and they might have fought him when they pleas'd; therefore if they deſir'd a general Battel, there was no need of appointing Time and Place, ſince they ſhould always find him in the open Field: That his great Care was not to do any Thing unworthy of himſelf, and as he would not be the firſt Aggreſſor, ſo when once attack'd he would not decline* *fighting: That he was reſolv'd to continue his March to Calais, and whoever ſought to ſtop him ſhould find Danger in the Attempt; therefore he adviſ'd them not to oppoſe his Paſſage, that thoſe Fields might not be ſtain'd with Chriſtian Blood.* On the twentieth Day of *October*, the *French* Generals ſent again to King *Henry*, to ſignifie, That they would give him Battel on the *Saturday* following.

A Day agreed on for Battel.

He gave the Herald two hundred Crowns, and a rich Robe; and now being ſure of Battel, he rod every Day in Armour, and us'd all the moſt engaging Methods to rouze the Courages of his brave Soldiers, who were all reſolv'd to ſtand their Ground, notwithſtanding the vaſt Diſproportion of the Armies. And *David Gam*, who attended the King with a Party of valiant *Welſhmen*, having been ſent to review the Strength of the Enemy, made this gallant Report to his Royal Maſter, *May it pleaſe you, my Liege, there are enow to be kill'd, enow to be taken Priſoners, and enow to run away.*

The great Inequality of the Armies.

Indeed the Odds as to Numbers were exceeding great; for the *Engliſh* Army conſiſted of no more than nine or ten thouſand Men, whereas the *French*, according to their own Writers, amounted to a hundred and forty, and as ſome ſay a hundred and fifty thouſand Men; and alſo with this remarkable Difference, that the *French* were freſh and vigorous, and well ſupply'd with Proviſions, and the *Engliſh* wearied with long Marches, and half ſtarved for want of Neceſſaries. Theſe mighty Advantages made the *French* ſo preſuming and confident of Victory, that they thought of nothing leſs than the Ruin of the whole *Engliſh* Army, and ſo to repair the Diſhonour their Nation had ſuffer'd at *Creſſy* and *Poictiers*. They now reſolv'd, ſince they had incloſ'd them, that none ſhould eſcape the Sword, but the King and his chief Commanders, who ſhould be reſerv'd for the Ornaments of a Triumph. They divided the imaginary Spoil among themſelves, diſpoſ'd of the Priſoners, and propos'd to lead the Captive King into *Paris*; commanding all the neighbouring Cities and Towns to make publick Rejoicings as for a certain Victory, and in Scorn they ſent one to King *Henry* with this inſolent Demand, *What he would give for his Ranſom?* His Anſwer was, *That he hop'd within a few Hours to reduce the* French *to ſuch a Condition, that they ſhould have the ſole Care of providing Ranſoms.*

The Confidence of the French.

As the *French* were fluſh'd with the Aſſurance of Victory, it was no wonder that they ſcornfully rejected the Herald whom the prudent King *Henry* had ſent with Offers to reſtore *Harfleur*, and to compenſate all the Damages of the War, with other Conceſſions, if they would open to him a free and undiſturb'd Paſſage into *England*. Yet ſtill ſome of the wiſeſt of the *French* Commanders were againſt coming to a Battel, and particularly the old Duke of *Berry*, who had himſelf been an Eye-Witneſs of the *Engliſh* Valour at the famous Battel of *Poictiers*.

King *Henry* finding his fair Offers refus'd, with invincible Bravery reſolved to commit his Cauſe to God, and the Valour of his Soldiers; and having the Night before the Battel call'd a Council of his Officers, he declar'd, *That ſince the implacable Enemy would be ſatisfy'd with nothing but their Blood, there were now no Hopes of Safety but in the Protection of Heaven, and their own Courages: That if they would rely upon thoſe two, they had no Reaſon to fear an Army ſo far exceeding them in Strength and Number: Therefore confeſſing their Sins, and making Peace with the Almighty, they ſhould prepare for the glorious Battel, not doubting but he would be their Deliverer.*

King Henry's Preparations.

This important Night was careleſly ſpent by the *French* in Feaſtings, Triumphs, and all the Inſults of mercileſs Conquerors; but by the *Engliſh* in Watchings, valiant Reſolves, and a manly Regard to their emergent Circumſtances; having their Spirits all the Time enliven'd by the chearful Sounds of warlike Inſtruments. The important Morn approaching, the *French* took the Field, preſſing forwards who ſhould come ſooneſt to a moſt eaſie and certain Victory, having their greateſt Strength in Horſe.

His Management of his Forces.

Againſt the powerful Force of which, King *Henry* with great Art plac'd his Archers on each ſide his main Body, nicely defended by ſharp Piles or Stakes, ſix or ſeven Foot long, removeable at Pleaſure. But particularly he order'd two hundred Bow-Men of extraordinary Strength and Agility to lodge themſelves in a low Meadow, where a deep Ditch full of Water might ſecure them from the Horſe, and the Buſhes cover them from Sight. The Flanks of the Army were guarded by Woods on both ſides, in one of which the King ambuſh'd a ſtrong Body of Horſe, with Orders to attack the Enemy in the Rear when the Battel was join'd, which they ſucceſsfully perform'd.

His noble Appearance.

The Van was commanded by the Duke of *York*, which Station, as a Place of moſt Danger and Honour, he had deſir'd; and with him were join'd the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby* and *Stanhope*. In the main Battel all in compleat ſhining Armour rod the King himſelf, his Shield quarter'd with the Royal Arms of *England* and *France*; on his Helmet for a Creſt he had a bright Crown of Gold fram'd after the Imperial Faſhion; his Horſe of a fierce Courage, had his Furniture and Capariſons richly embroider'd with the victorious Enſigns of the *Engliſh* Monarchy; and before his Majeſty in Gold and ſplendid Colours the Royal Standard was born, and many other Banners in warlike Order wav'd with the Wind. On the other ſide the *French* drew up in three Lines, the firſt led by the Conſtable of *France*, the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, and ſeveral other of the Nobility, who all ſtrove to come in for the Honour of the firſt Charge. The ſecond Line was commanded by the Duke of *Berry*, the Earls of *Alenſon*, *Nevers*, and many others. The third was commanded by the Duke of *Brabant*, the Earls of *Marle*, *Fauquenberge*, and Monſieur *de Lorny*. The Right Wing was led by *Arthur* Earl of *Richemont*, and the Left by *Lewis de Bourbon*. In ſhort, moſt of the *French*, and among them thoſe of the higheſt Quality in the Nation, were in this Army, except the King and the *Dauphine*.

The two Armies ſtood thus drawn up in Order 'till between nine and ten in the Morning, when the Heroick King *Henry*, riding along the Front of his Battalions, with the moſt enlivening Looks, Geſtures and Words animated the Courage of his Soldiers.

His brave Speech to his Men.

He told them, *That they were now entering into the moſt glorious Field of Honour, which by their Valours might prove more renown'd than thoſe of* Creſſy *and* Poictiers. *That as for his own Part,* England *ſhould never be charg'd with his Ranſom, nor any* Frenchman *triumph over him, but Death or Victory ſhould be his certain Fate, as he expected it would be theirs. He was ſenſible from the noble Fury ſparkling in their Eyes, that future Ages would ſtand amaz'd to find what the Lance, the Ax, the Sword and the Bow could perform in the Hands of ſuch valiant Soldiers. Yet tho' theſe were the brave Inſtruments to reap Honour, he rely'd upon Omnipotence for the Victory; and it was a remarkable Effect of Divine Providence that their Enemies offer'd them Battel on the very Day appointed in* England *for the People to implore a Bleſſing on their Arms; ſo that at the Time that they were fighting, the whole Body of the* Engliſh *Nation are lifting up their Eyes and Hands to Heav'n for their Succeſs and Safety. If they were victorious now, they would not only inrich themſelves with the Wealth of ſo many Nations gather'd together, but a Kingdom to which he had an undoubted Right would be conquer'd; and* England *from that Time would give Laws to* France. The Soldiers inſpir'd with new Valour at the gallant Behaviour of their King, who appear'd to them like a Deity, anſwer'd him with triumphant Acclamations, and cry'd out to be led on immediately to Battel. The Dukes of *York*, *Clarence* and *Glouceſter* adviſ'd his Majeſty not to ſuffer this their firſt Ardor to cool; but he weighing the mighty Conſequence of the Battel, would not precipitate any thing, but proceeded with a moſt admirable Conduct, as well as the nobleſt Courage. He was unwilling to quit the Advantage of his Ground, and ſtood expecting the *French* to give the firſt Charge; but when he found them not to move, and that the eager Impatience of his Men was no longer to be reſtrain'd, he cry'd aloud, *Since our Enemies have intercepted our Way to* Calais, *let us break through their Army, in the Name of the moſt glorious Trinity, and in the moſt propitious Hour of the whole Year.* Then alighting from his Horſe, with a Reſolution to put himſelf in the ſame Danger with the meaneſt of his Army, he commanded his Standards to move forwards, and the Archers on the Right and Left to advance upon the Enemy.

The glorious Battel of Agincourt.

The Ranging of the Battel was committed to Sir *Thomas Erpingham*, an old experienc'd Knight; who with a Truncheon in his Hand led the Way, and gave the Signal by throwing it into the Air, at which the whole Army gave a Shout that ſeem'd to rend the Skies. But when they ſaw the *French* did not come out to meet 'em, they made a little Halt to take Breath, and with a ſecond Shout the Archers in the Van began the Battel, who being lightly clad, us'd their Bows with ſuch Strength and Agility, that their Yard-long Arrows, drawn up to the Head, pierc'd with irreſiſtible Force where-e'er they fell. At the ſame time the two hundred brave Bow-men in Ambuſh perform'd Wonders, every Arrow of theirs being wing'd with inevitable Deſtruction. A thouſand ſelect *French* Horſe bravely advanc'd againſt the Archers in the Van, and with great Fury endeavour'd to break 'em; but were ſo terribly gall'd by them that they madly ran on without Order, the hindmoſt Ranks preſſing thoſe before, and the Files being cloſely ſtraiten'd, they became a confus'd Heap of Men rather than orderly Troops; and the Horſes ſinking into the miry Ground, tormented likewiſe with Arrows, were grown furious, and would not be govern'd by their Riders. But the Archers perceiving the *French* advance with that Fierceneſs, retir'd within their ſharp-pointed Piles, which cover'd them in the Front and both the Flanks. The Enemy in their Heat and Fury ſpurr'd their Horſes on theſe Piles ſet aſlope, with which being gall'd on their Breaſts, Sides and Shoulders, they flounc'd and plung'd, and either tumbled on the Spikes, or throwing their Riders, cruelly impal'd them. It was a dreadful Spectacle to ſee the Numbers of Men and Horſes thus gored, ſome ſtruck through their Bodies, ſome hanging by an Arm or a Thigh, groaning in Torture, and unable to help themſelves or their Companions. The clattering of the Armour of ſuch Numbers tumbling on Heaps, the Clang of ſo many thouſand Arrows falling upon Steel Helmets and Breaſt-Plates, and the Cries of wounded and dying Men, made a hideous Noiſe equal to the Horror of the Sight. The *Engliſh* continu'd to overwhelm the diſordered Enemy with a black Tempeſt of Arrows; and the *French* Troops being thus terribly ſhatter'd, fell back with ſuch Precipitation upon their main Body, that they broke all their Order. The Archers ſeeing their Ranks open'd, with great Bravery threw away their Bows, and with Sword and Battel-Ax ruſh'd into a cloſe Fight, or rather to a bloody Execution: For tho' the *Frenchmen* at Arms at firſt fought valiantly, and repuls'd them, yet being diſorder'd and broken, they could not ſuſtain a ſecond Charge, but were entirely routed, and the greateſt part of 'em killed.

The great Valour of King Henry.

The French *Forces broken.*

In the mean Time the mighty *Henry* at the Head of his main Battel advanc'd to charge the ſecond Line of the *French*, which yet ſtood firm; in which he acted not only the Part of a General, but alſo of a common Soldier, and his Exceſs of Courage made him hazard a Life on which alone depended the Safety of his whole Army. He fought bravely in the Front of all his Men, where his Perſon was expos'd to ſo much Danger, that eighteen *French* Gentlemen having combin'd to kill him, charg'd up ſo cloſe to him, that one of them with a Battel-Ax ſtruck him on the Creſt of his Helmet. But this bold Action was fatal to them, for they were all ſlain upon the Spot; and here the valiant *David Gam*, formerly mention'd, ſignaliz'd himſelf in defending his Prince with the Loſs of much Blood, and at laſt with the Life of himſelf and two of his Relations; of which Service the King was ſo ſenſible, that as they lay languiſhing in the Field, he gave them the Honour of Knighthood, as the only Acknowledgment he could make for their Bravery. Still the Fight continu'd with great Fury, in which the Duke of *Gloceſter* being ſtruck down with Battel-Axes, the King gallantly ſtood over his Brother's Body, defended him, and ſav'd his Life; where he receiv'd ſo great a Blow on his Head, that he fell on one Knee, while two Gentlemen whoſe Armour was like the King's, were kill'd. The *Engliſh*, ſtill encourag'd by their glorious King, at length broke into the *French* Battalions, and diſorder'd them; for their Horſe which had been gall'd with Arrows were now ungovernable: And the *Engliſh* Horſe plac'd in Ambuſcade within the Wood, ruſh'd forth with a mighty Shout, and furiouſly attack'd their Rear. The valiant Duke of *Alenſon* ſeeing the Battel loſt, and diſdaining to ſurvive the fatal Day, preſs'd into the thickeſt of the Fight, and attack'd King *Henry* in Perſon, crying out that he was the Duke of *Alenſon*, and with a furious Blow of his Sword cleav'd off a great Part of the Crown, which was the Creſt of his Helmet. This ſo rous'd the *Engliſh* Lion, that with redoubled Force, he not only ſtruck *Alenſon* to the Ground, but with his own Hand ſlew two of his Followers. Thoſe who were about his Majeſty's Perſon ſoon ſurrounded the Duke, and with many Wounds diſpatch'd him, while the generous King in vain call'd out to them to ſave ſo gallant a Man: For the faithful *Engliſh* enrag'd with the Sight of their Prince's Danger, could not be perſuaded to ſpare a Life that had put his to the leaſt Hazard.

They fly.

The Priſoners ſlain.

The *French* Troops in the Rear were yet in good Order, and if they had not wanted Courage might have renew'd the Fight; but when they ſaw the two firſt Lines of their Army intirely routed, they were diſheartned; and obſerving that the *Engliſh* Horſe wheel'd off to charge them in the Rear, they fled without Reſiſtance. The *Engliſh* Soldiers had now nothing to do but to kill and take Priſoners; and the *French* were ſo diſpirited, as tamely to offer their Throats to be cut, or their Hands to be chain'd. Some flying Troops of the Enemy had rally'd, and made a Stand at ſome Diſtance; which the King obſerving, and conſidering the Numbers of thoſe that fled were more than all his Army, he ſent a Command to them by a Herald to leave the Field, threatning, *That if they preſum'd to withſtand his victorious Arms, he would ſhew them no Mercy*; which ſo daunted their Minds, that they immediately obey'd and withdrew; only ſix hundred Men at Arms making a ſhew of Reſiſtance were immediately cut in Pieces by the Fury of the *Engliſh* Soldiers. The victorious King thought he had clear'd the Field of all Enemies, when ſuddenly he was alarm'd with a Noiſe that the *French* had enter'd his Camp and plunder'd it: For ſome Troops of the *French*, who had fled firſt, underſtanding that the King's Camp was weakly guarded, ſoon broke into it, either aiming to retrieve the Diſhonour of their Defeat, or covetous of Booty; and having eaſily kill'd thoſe few that defended it, they robb'd the Tents and Carriages, and carry'd off the King's Crown, glorying in the noble Spoil as if they had been victorious. It was now the Cloſe of the Evening, and the King was apprehenſive that the numerous Enemy, tho' broken and diſpers'd, might gather into a Body and ſurround him in the Dark. He knew that the Number of Priſoners exceeded that of his own Men, and that it was impoſſible at the ſame time to fight and ſecure them from killing his Soldiers; which rational Apprehenſion, and the Noiſe of new Troops arriving, forc'd him upon an Action ſo contrary to his merciful and generous Temper, that he could not reſolve upon it without the higheſt Regret: He commanded all the Priſoners to be kill'd, except a few of the greateſt Note; which Orders, tho' in Appearance bloody and barbarous, were render'd neceſſary by the Extremity of his Affairs. He then order'd his Soldiers to prepare for another Battel, who tho' weary'd with Fighting three Hours, and many of them wounded, readily obey'd; and with their former chearful Reſolution, march'd to beat them out of their Camp: But they having haſtily plunder'd it, had ſoon left it, and got out of the Reach of Purſuit. The baſe Surpriſal of the King's Carriages, which was one main Cauſe of the Slaughter of the *French* Priſoners, was ſo generouſly reſented by the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he impriſon'd the chief Actors, and deſign'd to have put them to death, had not his Son mediated for them, to whom they preſented King *Henry*'s Sword, the Guards of which were of Gold, beſet with Jewels of great Value.

King Henry *gives all the Glory to God.*

The great Loſs of the French.

The ſmall Loſs of the Engliſh.

Thus by the mighty Valour of King *Henry* and the *Engliſh* a glorious and wonderful Victory was obtain'd; yet this great Prince was juſtly ſenſible of a ſuperior Cauſe, and that Evening at the Head of his Army he ſolemnly prais'd the Sovereign of the Univerſe for his Succeſs, directing the 115th Pſalm to be ſung; and at that Verſe, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy Name be the Glory*, he commanded all his Army to proſtrate themſelves to the Ground as a Token of their Humility. After that in the Preſence of his Nobility and Officers, and five *French* Heralds, who were ſent for Leave to bury their Dead, he declar'd, *That it was not his own, but an Almighty Hand which had gain'd ſo great a Victory; and that the diſmal Sight they had before their Eyes, was order'd by the Divine Juſtice to puniſh the Sins of* France. Then he put the Queſtion in Form both to the *French* and *Engliſh* Heralds, *Whether he or the King of* France *was to be acknowledg'd Victor*? And having the Honour adjudg'd to him, he ask'd the Name of the next Caſtle, to which Anſwer was made *Agincourt*. *Then*, reply'd he, *let this to all Poſterity be call'd* THE BATTEL OF AGINCOURT. After which, the Night growing late, he march'd with his weary'd Soldiers out of the Field to *Maſconcelles*, where they had lodg'd the Night before. In this memorable Battel were kill'd on the *French* Side the General himſelf the Conſtable of *France*, the Admiral of *France*, the Dukes of *Brabant*, *Bar* and *Alenſon*, the Earls of *Nevers*, *Marle*, *Vaudemont*, *Blammont*, *Rouſſy* and *Faukemberge*, and many other Noblemen, of which we have a long Catalogue upon Record. In all were killed about ten thouſand Men, of whom ſeven or eight thouſand were Noble, and above a hundred of them Princes, who had Banners carry'd before them in the Field. The Account given by *Elmham* is this, That there were kill'd one Arch-Biſhop, three Dukes, ſix Earls, ninety two Barons, fifteen hundred Knights, and ſeven thouſand Eſquires and Gentlemen. Of the Priſoners ſixteen hundred were Men of Quality, among whom were the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Marſhal *Bouciqualt*, and the Earls of *Eu*, *Vendoſme* and *Richemont*. All this was effected with a very inconſiderable Loſs on the *Engliſh* Side: For *Walſingham* only reckons the Duke of *York* Uncle to King *Henry*, the young Earl of *Suffolk*, four Knights, one Eſquire, and twenty eight common Soldiers; tho' others account the Number of the ſlain to be about four or five hundred.

The King's Generoſity.

Upon the Day after the Battel, the twenty ſixth of *October*, King *Henry* took his March towards *Calais*, and paſſing the bloody Field, he order'd Search for all the *Engliſh*, whom he caus'd to be interr'd according to their Quality; but he took the Bodies of his Uncle the Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* along with him, in order for a more honourable Interment in *England*. Then viewing his Army, in a Speech made to his Men, he applauded their Valour, *of which he had ſeen ſuch admirable Effects in the ſtupendious Victory*: Yet he admoniſh'd them, *To aſcribe all to the Favour of the Almighty who had wrought a Miracle, in making a Handful of Men victorious over ſuch a numerous Army to abate their Vanity and Preſumption.* He further added, *That he could not but adore the Divine Providence for its Care of the Lives of his Subjects, that ſo few had fallen in Battel. Yet he could not behold ſuch Streams of Blood, and Heaps of Carcaſſes, tho' of Enemies, without Horror; but the Sight of his own Fellow-Soldiers affected him with the tendereſt Compaſſion; therefore he had perform'd the laſt*

Rites

His Behaviour to the great Priſoners.

His Anſwer to the Duke of Burgundy.

Rites due to ſuch magnanimous Souls in burying their Bodies, that they might not be expos'd to Wolves and Vultures. In his March to *Calais* this generous Prince ſhew'd the moſt obliging Behaviour to his Noble Priſoners, the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Bourbon* and the reſt; and entertaining them at Dinner, he with the greateſt Modeſty condol'd their Condition, and applauded their Valour, attributing nothing to himſelf, but to the Hand of Heav'n, which had deſign'd to puniſh the crying Sins of *France*; and after Dinner he preſented to every one of them a Robe of rich Damask; further teſtifying the ſame Inclinations to Peace now, as before he began the War. Afterwards, when the Duke of *Orleans* appear'd very melancholly and declin'd Eating, the King with the moſt ingaging Air ſaid, *Courage, good Couſin, I have not conquer'd you, becauſe I am ſuperior in Merit, but becauſe God wouldpuniſh the* French *People for their Sins; and if he is juſtly angry with them, it is not decent for you to be angry with Him, or to repine at his Proceedings.* Shortly after the Duke of *Burgundy*, inrag'd at the Loſs of his two Brothers the Duke of *Brabant* and Count *de Nevers*, ſent a Herald with a Gauntlet of Defiance, threatning him with the utmoſt Revenge. The King calmly return'd the Gauntlet with this wiſe Anſwer, *Go tell your Maſter, that he has no reaſon to be my Enemy; that I am ſorry for the Death of his Brothers, which is not to be chargea upon me or my Soldiers; and if he pleaſe to come to* Bologn, *he ſhall be ſatisfy'd from the Priſoners I have, that the* French *alone are guilty of their Blood, and of them he is to require it.* As this Battel was highly afflicting to all *France*, ſo it affected the *Dauphine* to ſuch a degree, that he dy'd ſhortly after.

He lands at Dover.

His Entry into London.

The City's Preſent.

On the ſixteenth Day of *November* the triumphant King left *Calais*, and embark'd for *England*; and after a violent Storm arriv'd ſafely at *Dover*, where he was receiv'd with loudeſt Acclamations of rejoicing People, that cover'd all the Shore. Arriving near *Canterbury*, the Arch-Biſhop, Abbot and Monks met him in their richeſt Habits; and as he approach'd *London*, the Mayor and Aldermen, and four hundred of the principal Citizens in their Gowns, attended his Coming on *Black-Heath*; and at St. *Thomas* of *Watering* the Clergy of the City waited on him in a ſolemn Proceſſion, with the Relicks of ſeventy Saints. As he paſs'd through the Streets, he ſaw both Sides of the Way hung with the richeſt Tapeſtry, wherein were repreſented the glorious Actions of the *Engliſh* Kings in War; he heard Pſalms and Hymns ſung in Joy for his Victory. Yet ſtill giving all the Glory to God, he declin'd his own Praiſes; and in all this Triumph would not permit his dinted Helmet, and bruis'd Armour to be carry'd before him as the Trophies of his daring Valour, but expreſsly forbad it, as too vain an Affectation of Glory. At St. *Paul*'s Cathedral he alighted from his Horſe, and made his Offerings with the utmoſt Devotion; and then proceeded to *Weſtminſter*, where his Palace was prepar'd for his Reception, and for the Lodging of the chief of the *French* Priſoners. In the Morning the Mayor and Aldermen, with two hundred of the Citizens, attended his Majeſty with a Preſent of a thouſand Pounds in Gold, in two Golden Baſons worth five hundred Pounds more, which were receiv'd with the moſt obliging Marks of Gratitude. Then that all his Subjects might join with him in Praiſing God for the Succeſs of his Arms, he appointed Days of Thankſgiving to be obſerv'd through all his Dominions: And that he might perform the laſt Rites to the Memory of the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Suffolk*, he ſummon'd a great Number of Biſhops and Abbots to celebrate their Obſequies; the former being bury'd at *Fotheringay* in *Northamptonſhire*, and the latter at *Ewhelme* in *Oxfordſhire*. And this in the main concluded that great and memorable Year for *England*'s Glory, 1415.

A.D. 1416. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

The Emperor mediates a Peace between England *and* France.

II. As the Wars between *England* and *France* alarmed all *Europe*, and a Peace was generally deſir'd, that the Chriſtian Princes might unite againſt the common Enemy the *Turk*, ſo to effect this Work *Sigiſmund* the Emperor, a Man of great Wiſdom and Abilities, employ'd his Mediation. Intending to viſit both theſe Weſtern Monarchs, he came firſt to the *French* Court, attended with eight hundred Horſe, where he earneſtly ſollicited King *Charles* to an Accommodation; and finding in outward Appearance that he was ready to embrace the Motion, he took with him the Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims* as Ambaſſador from the *French* King, and travell'd in the ſame State to *Calais*. Here the Governor of the Town, the Earl of *Warwick*, with the Garriſon in Arms entertain'd him at King *Henry*'s Charge, with ſo much Honour and Gallantry, that his Imperial Majeſty was charm'd with the Reception, and afterwards told the King, *That no Chriſtian Prince had a Knight equal to him for Wiſdom, good Breeding and Courage; and that if all Courteſie were loſt, it might be found again in the Earl of* Warwick. After two Days Continuance, thirty of King *Henry*'s Ships arriv'd, in which the Emperor embark'd with a noble Retinue conſiſting of a thouſand Perſons, among whom were the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Milan*, and many Sovereign Princes both of *Germany* and *Italy*. On the twenty ninth Day of *April* he landed at *Dover*, where he found the Duke of *Gloceſter*, Conſtable of the Caſtle, with many *Engliſh* Nobility on the Shore; who boldly ſtepp'd into the Water with their drawn Swords, as the Emperor was ready to ſet his Foot on Land, declaring, *That if he came as a Mediator for Peace, they would receive him with the Honours due to the Imperial Dignity; but if as Emperor to claim any Authority in* England, *which was a free Kingdom, they were ready to oppoſe his Landing.* The Emperor aſſuring them, *That his Thoughts were free from any ſuch Deſign, and that he came to eſtabliſh Peace between* England *and* France, the *Engliſh* Nobility receiv'd and conducted him very honourably. At *Canterbury* he was met by the Arch-Biſhop, at *Rocheſter* by the Duke of *Bedford*, at *Dartford* by the Duke of *Clarence*, and at *Black-Heath* by the King himſelf, not only with that Reſpect which his Dignity and Merits challeng'd, but with an Affection due to a Perſon related to him by the Marriage of *Barbara* Daughter of the Earl of *Zilie*, the King's Couſin-German. His Entertainment was magnificent, and his Charges all born by King *Henry*, who the more to honour him inſtall'd him Knight of the Garter at *Windſor* after the moſt ſolemn and pompous Manner; and the Emperor ſo eſteem'd this Honour, that he always wore the Collar when he ſat in any Aſſembly.

He comes into England.

He is magnificently received by King Henry.

Shortly after the Emperor inſiſted upon the Buſineſs for which he came, and preſs'd for a Peace with *France*, in which he was calmly heard by the *Engliſh* King; but upon new Diſpleaſures for ſome Loſs of Men in the Territories of *Roan*, the Motion at that Time was quaſh'd, and could not ſucceed, *Leſt the* French *ſhould ſuppoſe him diſcourag'd at a ſmall Loſs.* Yet the Emperor, continuing his Interceſſion for Peace, had probably effected it by his powerful Perſuaſions, had not the *French* about that Time beſieg'd *Harfleur* both by Sea and Land. For not long before the Earl of *Dorſet*, Governor of that Place, having made an Inroad into the County of *Caux*, was attack'd by the Earl of *Armagnac*, now Conſtable of *France*, and ſo diſtreſs'd that he was forc'd to retire into an Orchard or Wood, with the Loſs of three hundred of his Men. After which, in his March towards *Harfleur*, he was intercepted by the Earl, with ſuch Numbers, and ſuch Advantages by the Sea-ſide, that the Conſtable was ſo ſure of Victory that he ſent a Herald to the Earl of *Dorſet* to ſummon him to ſurrender himſelf and all his Men Priſoners. To which *Dorſet* heroically reply'd, *That it was not the Cuſtom of the* Engliſh *to yield without Fighting, nor was he ſo cowardly as to ſurrender to an Enemy whom God might deliver into his Power.* Upon which *Armagnac* march'd fiercely down the Hill to ſeize his Prey, but was ſo vigorouſly ply'd by the Archers with a perpetual Shower of Arrows, that his Troops were extreamly ſhatter'd before they could come to charge the Enemy. After which a cloſe Fight was long maintain'd at the Sword's Point, 'till the *Engliſh* by their incomparable Valour and Bravery prevail'd againſt the Inequality of Numbers, and defeated the Conſtable with the Loſs of twelve hundred of his Men, and the great Hazard of his own Perſon: Which Victory was the more conſiderable, ſince the Number of the *Engliſh*, according to *Walſingham*, was no more than fifteen hundred, and that of the *French* fifteen thouſand. To repair this Diſgrace, the Conſtable firſt hang'd up many of his Men, and after a Reinforcement he beſieg'd the Town of *Harfleur* by Land, while the Viſcount *Narbon* Vice-Admiral of *France*, with a Fleet of different ſort of Ships, enter'd the Mouth of the *Sein*, and did the ſame by Water.

The Bravery of the Earl of Dorſet *in* Normandy.

Harfleur *beſieg'd by the* French.

King *Henry* hearing of this News, immediately recall'd his Ambaſſadors, the Biſhop of *Norwich* and Sir *Thomas Erpingham*, then in Commiſſion for an Accommodation with *France*; and the Emperor well perceiving that the *French* took all Advantages, and that King *Henry* would not bear ſuch Uſage, ſaw it in vain to make any further Endeavours, therefore he reſolv'd to leave them to the ſad Effects of War, and enter into a League with the King of *England*, which was ſoon concluded to this Effect: 'That
'ſince his Imperial Majeſty, deſiring to eſtabliſh a general
'Peace in Chriſtendom both as to Church and State, had
'endeavour'd to compoſe all Differences between *France*
'and *England*; and ſince the *French* King had induſtriouſly
'declin'd all Offers that might contribute to the Happineſs
'of either: Therefore the King of *England*, and the Em-
'peror *Sigiſmund* had enter'd into a ſtrict Alliance, mu-
'tually to ſupport and defend each other againſt all Per-
'ſons, the Church and Pope of *Rome* only excepted.
'That neither of them ſhould purſue any Deſigns injuri-
'ous to the other's Advantage; but contribute all they
'could to the Advancement of each other's Honour and
'Benefit. That, without any Acts of Hoſtility, the Sub-
'jects of both Princes ſhould have free Liberty of Trading

A League between the Emperor and King Henry.

‘ in all their Dominions, paying the uſual Tolls and Cu-
‘ ſtoms. That neither of the two Princes ſhould allow
‘ Sanctuary to any Rebel or Exile of the other's Subjects;
‘ nor ſhould engage in any War, without the Knowledge
‘ and Conſent of the other. That both the Princes might
‘ proſecute the War againſt *France* for the Recovery of their
‘ Rights; and that they ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other
‘ for the obtaining of that End. And, if a Peace ſhould
‘ be concluded with *France*, and the demanded Territories
‘ reſtor'd, they ſhould mutually maintain each other in the
‘ Poſſeſſion of them. This League was concluded and
ſign'd *Auguſt* the Fifteenth, and not long after confirm'd
in Parliament.

The French *defeated at Sea.*

In the mean Time the *French*, who had felt the heavy Hand of the *Engliſh*, and ſeen that King *Henry* had recalled his Plenipotentiaries for Peace, reſolv'd to rig out their greateſt Naval Power, both to block up *Harfleur*, and annoy the *Engliſh* Nation. But becauſe the *French* King could not ſuddenly provide ſuch a Number of Ships as the Occaſion requir'd, he hir'd of the Republick of *Genoa* eight large Carracks, and other Veſſels from *Spain* and *Flanders*, which with his own Ships made up a Fleet of five hundred Sail. Theſe cruiſing about the *Engliſh* Seas with many Inſults, King *Henry* deſign'd to have gone in Perſon againſt them, but the Emperor diſſuading him from the Attempt, the Charge of that Enterprize was committed to his Brother *John* Duke of *Bedford*, accompany'd with the Earls of *Marche*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Saliſbury* and *Devonſhire*, who having three or four hundred Ships, and twenty thouſand Men on Board, reſolv'd to fight the *French* Fleet. Shortly after a fierce and long Engagement happen'd, in which the Valour of the Duke of *Bedford* and his brave Adventurers ſo far prevail'd that the *French* Ships were moſt of them batter'd, ſunk and taken; and, according to *Harding*, their Loſs amounted to twenty thouſand Men. Immediately after, the Duke ſupply'd *Harfleur* with Ammunition, Victuals and other Neceſſaries, which the Garriſon extreamly wanted; which ſo diſcourag'd the Conſtable *D' Armagnac*, that he broke up the Siege, and return'd to *Paris*. This extraordinary Service was ſo admir'd by the Emperor, that he openly declar'd, *That* England *was happy in having ſuch a King, but the King more happy in having ſuch Subjects*; and ever after ſhew'd a particular Eſteem for the Duke of *Bedford*.

Harfleur *reliev'd.*

The King Accompanies the Emperor to Calais.

The Emperor's Affairs being finiſh'd, and all Royal Entertainments gratefully acknowledg'd, he prepar'd for his Return towards *Germany*, and King *Henry*, to do him more Honour, accompany'd him to the Town of *Calais*; where, after their Arrival, the Duke of *Burgundy* repair'd to pay his Homage to the Emperor; which Duke, ſome Months before, had concluded a Truce with the Earl of *Warwick*, in Behalf of King *Henry*, for the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*. *Henry* therefore in Hopes of a farther Amity with a Man of his Intereſt, ſent his Brother the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earl of *Marche* to lie as Hoſtages at St. *Omers* for *Burgundy*'s ſafe Paſſage and Conduct, with whom he ſent the Earl of *Warwick* to conduct him to *Calais*. His Reception was very honourable both from the Emperor and the King of *England*; with the former he perform'd his Homage, and with the latter renew'd the Truce for two Years longer; both which were ſo diſpleaſing to the *French*, that the Emperor was condemn'd by 'em for augmenting thoſe Miſeries in *France* which he pretended he came to relieve, by animating *Burgundy* againſt *Orleans*, and encouraging King *Henry*'s Vanity in the Thoughts he had entertain'd of prevailing againſt a weak King. This is certain from the Archives of this Kingdom, that ſecret Articles were ſign'd at *Calais* by the Duke of *Burgundy* in Vindication of King *Henry*'s Title, in which he acknowledg'd him to be rightful King of *France*, and accordingly would declare himſelf for him in due Time. Yet in a few Months Time, as tho' he had forgot all, he conſented and ſwore to a League with the King and *Dauphine* of *France* againſt the Power of *England*, and acted accordingly.

The Duke of Burgundy*'s unfair Dealings.*

The Emperor and King take leave.

After the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Departure, the King prepar'd for his Return into *England*, and the Emperor made ready to go by Sea to *Dort* in his Way to *Germany*. He deſpair'd of obtaining a Peace between *England* and *France*, and was extreamly diſſatisfy'd that he had waſted ſo much Time in an unſucceſsful Mediation; he deteſted the Inſincerity and mean Shifts of the *French*, and highly applauded the Plain-Dealing of the *Engliſh*. There had been ſo free and open a Correſpondence between him and the King of *England*, that one did not keep any Thing ſecret from the other; and the like mutual Affection and Confidence was ſcarce ever known between two Princes. After the moſt amicable Parting, the Emperor ſet Sail for *Dort*, to which Place he was attended by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, Sir *John Tiptoſt*, and many other *Engliſh* Knights and Gentlemen, to whom he preſented a thouſand Crowns in Gold; and likewiſe ſent many rare and valuable Preſents to King *Henry*, as Pledges of his Love and Gratitude. From *Dort* his Imperial Majeſty purſuing his Journey, at length repair'd to the famous Council of *Conſtance*, which had now continu'd near three Years, and of which we ought to ſay ſomething, becauſe the *Engliſh* had ſo great a Concern in it.

The Council of Conſtance.

The Churches throughout Chriſtendom had been diſturbed for the Space of twenty nine Years, and now inſufferably afflicted thro' the Schiſmatical Ambitions maintain'd by three Papal Monarchs, mounted into St. *Peter*'s Chair, each of them ſo violently graſping the Seat, that the Joints of it were torn aſunder, and the Triple Crown ſo batter'd by their fulminant Execrations, that it was render'd unfit for any of their Heads. The three Contenders were *Benedict* XIII. elected by the *Spaniards*; *Gregory* XII. ſet up by the *French*, and *John* XXIV. preferr'd by the *Italians*. To prevent the Miſchiefs ariſing from this furious Struggle, the Princes of Chriſtendom appointed a general Council to be held at *Conſtance* in *Germany*, which began in *February* 1414, and continu'd above the Space of three Years; to which were aſſembled the Emperor, the Pope, the Palſgrave of the *Rhine*, four Patriarchs, twenty ſeven Cardinals, forty ſeven Arch-Biſhops, a hundred and ſixty Biſhops, Princes, Barons and Gentlemen, with their Attendants, above thirty thouſand. To this Council King *Henry* ſent the Biſhops of *London*, *Saliſbury*, *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Norwich*, *Hereford* and St. *David*'s, with the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* and Prior of *Worceſter*, accompany'd alſo with the Earl of *Warwick*, to make the nobler Appearance; themſelves and Attendants amounting to eight hundred Horſe: So that it was doubtful whether their honourable Preſence more grac'd the Aſſembly, or their Learning and Judgment improv'd the whole Body of the Council. For two of theſe Biſhops were made Cardinals, and of the thirty ſelected to aſſiſt the Cardinals in their Election of a new Pope the Biſhops of *London*, *Litchfield*, *Bath* and *Wells* were choſen, and the Biſhop of *London* was firſt nominated for Pope; but he himſelf nominated the Man that ſucceeded, which was *Otho Colonna* by the Name of *Martin* V. whoſe Coronation was with mighty Magnificence ſolemniz'd by the five Nations aſſembled; with this Honour given to the *Engliſh*, That the Prior of St. *John*'s was the Supporter of the Triple Crown. Touching the Decrees of this Council, it is ſufficient to obſerve that *Wickliff*'s Books were condemn'd as Heretical, that *John Huſs*, and *Hierom* of *Prague*, were both burnt, the Holy Maid *Bridget* canoniz'd for a Saint, and that *England* was made a Nation in Rank before *Spain*.

The Appearance of the Engliſh *there.*

A Parliament in England.

Before this Council was diſſolv'd, King *Henry* had called a Parliament in *London*, in Order to proſecute his Title to the *French* Crown, where the Lord Chancellor, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Cardinal, in the King's Behalf made an eloquent Oration declaring the earneſt Deſire his Maſter had to make a Peace with the *French* which their King continually oppos'd, and againſt the Law of Arms deny'd upon Ranſom to deliver the Priſoners taken at *Agincourt*, ſo that the Peace to be expected muſt be purchas'd by the Sword alone. To which the whole Body conſented, and granted the King a Subſidy and a Tenth, which was graciouſly accepted; but it was too ſhort for the mighty Charge of the deſign'd Expedition, therefore the King was oblig'd to pawn his Crown to his Uncle the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* for a large Sum of Mony, as he did certain Jewels to the Lord Mayor of *London* for ten thouſand Marks. Yet in this Parliament, after he had created the valiant Earl of *Dorſet* Duke of *Exeter*, he order'd him a thouſand Pounds *per Annum* out of the Exchequer, and forty Pounds out of the Cuſtoms at *Exeter*; which liberal Example was ſo well approv'd by the Lords, that they rather thought it too little, and not proportionable to the Merits and Services of that noble Perſon.

A. D. 1417.
Reg. 4/5.

King Henry's ſecond Expedition into France.

IV. The Emperor's Mediation between *England* and *France* being fruſtrated by the Eluſions of the *French*, King *Henry* diſdain'd to relinquiſh his Right ſo often demanded, therefore reaſſuming his Claim, he began this Year with great Preparations for War. And having got all Things in a Readineſs, with a puiſſant Army, he reſolv'd upon a ſecond Expedition into *France*, taking Advantage of the two preſent Factions in that Kingdom, that of *Burgundy*, and that of *Orleans*; in which the King of *France* join'd with the former, and the *Dauphine* with the latter. King *Henry*'s Fleet conſiſted of fifteen hundred Sail, having on Board many Lords and Men at Arms, with twenty five thouſand five hundred and twenty ſeven Soldiers, beſides a thouſand Carpenters, Artificers and Labourers. But before his Departure, he appointed his Brother *John* Duke of *Bedford* to be Protector of *England*, during his Abſence; which done, upon the twenty eighth Day of *July*, he took ſhipping, the Sails of his own Veſſel being of Purple Silk moſt richly embroider'd with Gold. On the firſt of *Auguſt* he landed in *Normandy* with ſuch Terror to the Inha-

He lands in Normandy.

bitants, that they fled from the Shores, and left the Country without Men or Cattle; inſomuch that twenty five thouſand of them retir'd to *Bretaign*, ſo formidable was the Approach of the *Engliſh*. No ſooner had King *Henry* ſet his Foot on Land, but he honour'd forty eight of his brave Followers with Knighthood; and then gave ſtrict Orders, upon Pain of Death, that the Perſons of Eccleſiaſticks, and of Women, ſhould be inviolable, and likewiſe all others that ſubmitted themſelves to his Government.

He takes ſeveral Places.

Caen *taken by Storm.*

Falaiſe *ſurrenders.*

King *Henry* began with taking a View of *Harfleur*, after which he laid Siege to *Conqueſt*, one of the ſtrongeſt Caſtles in *Normandy*, which he took on the Sixteenth of *Auguſt*, and gave both it and the whole Demeſns belonging to it to his Brother the Duke of *Clarence:* And to the Earl of *Saliſbury*, the Commander of his ſecond Line, he gave the Caſtle of *Damvillers*, which at the ſame Time he won by his Arms; as alſo that of *Lovers* to the Earl-Marſhal; and theſe were the firſt that were inveſted with any Revenue in *France*. Next he march'd againſt *Caen*, one of the Capital Cities of the Province, which Place was ſtrongly fortify'd, well mann'd and victual'd, ſo that nothing was wanting for a vigorous Defence. Yet the King ſat down before it, and his Batteries not working the deſign'd Effects, he attempted it by Mines, and ruin'd a great Part of the Wall; yet ſtill the Beſieg'd made a manful Defence, and bravely drove the *Engliſh* back from the Breach. Nevertheleſs *Henry*, ſeeing that they could not long ſubſiſt, unwilling to carry it by Storm, which muſt be to the Deſtruction of the Inhabitants, whom he ſought to make his loving Subjects, ſummon'd them by a Herald, and promis'd them Mercy; which they in hopes of Relief utterly deſpis'd. Upon which he proceeded to a Storm, which was ſucceeded by a great Slaughter, 'till the King ſtay'd the Soldiers Fury, and caus'd the Citizens to diſarm themſelves, ſetting a ſtrong Guard, as well to keep his Men from pillaging, as the Inhabitants from Hoſtile Attempts: And they that diſobey'd were either put to Death or Ranſom, which was freely diſtributed among his Captains and Soldiers; by which regular Action King *Henry* here gain'd the Eſtimation of a great Commander, and an upright Prince. The Report of his Clemency and Generoſity to thoſe he had conquer'd ſpreading through the Country, the Governors of the neighbouring Towns ſent to him the Keys of their Gates. The King to invite and incourage the People, made Proclamation, that they who voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves ſhould enjoy all Safety and Privileges under the Protection of his Government. King *Henry* proceeding in his Conqueſts, upon the firſt of *December* ſat down before the ſtrong Town and Caſtle of *Falaiſe*, and tho' it was the Depth of Winter, with invincible Patience he continu'd the Siege 'till the twentieth of *December*, when the Garriſon of the Town, being no longer able to hold out, deſir'd a Parly, and ſurrender'd upon Articles, too many to relate in this Place.

The Scots *invade* England.

A vaſt Army provided againſt them.

They retire.

While this valiant Prince had by a ſwift Conqueſt in four Months recover'd a great Part of thoſe Dominions which anciently belong'd to the *Engliſh* Kings in *France*, the *Scots* thinking his own Kingdom unprovided, and hoping to make Advantage of a diſcontented Party in the Nation, invaded *England* with a great Army, and waſted the Country with Fire and Sword. Theſe ſtill pretending that King *Richard* was alive, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Albany* and the Earl of *Douglas*, brought along with them a counterfeit King, and laid Siege both to *Roxborough* and *Berwick*, where all imaginable Methods were us'd for the taking of thoſe two Places. But before they could ſucceed in their extraordinary Attempts, the Protector *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and the new Duke of *Exeter*, had made ſufficient Proviſion againſt them, and with an Army march'd into the North, where joining with the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, their Forces amounted to a hundred thouſand Men, a great Part of them well form'd and regular: So that the Duke of *Exeter* ſaid he could draw out of them forty thouſand equal in Courage and Military Skill to any the King had. A remarkable Inſtance of the Strength of the Nation, which beſides the Forces employ'd in *France*, could on a ſudden raiſe ſuch an Army. To theſe join'd *Henry Benet* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who was ſo decrepid with Age, that he was born in his Chair about the Field; and the Fame of his Arrival, and the Dread of the great *Engliſh* Generals ſo diſcourag'd the *Scots*, that they broke up their Sieges in great Diſorder, and left all their Tents, Ladders and Engines. This was ſucceeded for a conſiderable Time after with great Devaſtations made by the *Engliſh* in many Parts of *Scotland*.

New Proceedings againſt Sir John Oldcaſtle.

He is burnt alive.

The King's Affairs thus eſtabliſh'd in the North, the Clergy were much eas'd by the Securing of the Lord *Cobham*, their great Diſturber in the South; who had lately made new Steps towards the expoſing of their Errors, and oppoſing their exorbitant Power. But one main Complaint againſt him was, That he had defac'd the Pictures of the Saints in many Maſs-Books; ſome of which were ſhewn to the People at St. *Paul's* Croſs, where the Preacher inſinuated that the Offence was done to the triumphant Saints in Heaven. A Parliament being then aſſembled by the Protector's Authority, for a Supply of Mony againſt *France*, it was there thought a Matter of that Importance, that a great Reward was offer'd for any that could take him. Not long after the Lord *Poweſs* took him in *Wales*, after a noble Reſiſtance and many Wounds; and brought him to *Weſtminſter*, where he appear'd before the Parliament. Having been before out-law'd upon Treaſon in the *King's Bench*, and excommunicated by the Arch-Biſhop for Hereſie, it was adjudg'd upon the Record and Proceſs, that he ſhould be carry'd to the Tower, and thence drawn through the City to the new Gallows in St. *Giles*'s Fields, and there to be hang'd about the Middle, and burnt hanging in a Chain. All which was perform'd with the higheſt Execrations of the Prieſts, who adjur'd the People not to pray for a Man who was certainly going to Hell, becauſe he dy'd in obſtinate Rebellion againſt the Pope. Thus dy'd the great Lord *Cobham*; and as this was the firſt Noble Blood that was ſhed in *England* on the Account of Religion by Popiſh Malignity, ſo perhaps never any ſuffer'd a more cruel Martyrdom.

A.D.
1418.
Reg. 5/6.

Great Conqueſts in Normandy.

The Strength and Greatneſs of Roan.

In the mean Time the unhappy Kingdom of *France* was more and more fill'd with the Noiſe and Miſeries of War, which King *Henry* proſecuted with ſuch unweary'd Vigour, that he beſieg'd and took Towns in the Depth of Winter, nor could all the Rigours of the Seaſon ſtop the Progreſs of his Conqueſts. To make the ſwifter Advances in ſubduing *Normandy*, by beſieging many Towns and Caſtles at the ſame Time, he divided his Army into ſeveral Bodies. The valiant Duke of *Clarence* at the Head of one of them beſieg'd *Chambroiſe*, and the Caſtle of *Beche-Lovyn*; the Surrender of the firſt being concluded on *March* the ninth, and that of the latter on the fourth of *May* following. The Duke of *Glouceſter* led another Body of the Army into the County of *Conſtantine*, a large Neck of Land reaching into the Sea, over-againſt *Portland* on the *Engliſh* Shore. The Town and Caſtle of *Vire* were agreed to be ſurrender'd *February* the twenty firſt, and the like Agreement was made about St. *Lo*, *March* the twelfth. On the ſixteenth of the ſame Month the Town and Caſtle of *Carenton* capitulated; on the ſeventeenth *Pontdown* was deliver'd to him, and eight Days after St. *Saviour le Vicon-te*. The ſtrong Town of *Cherburgh*, which ſtood in the Sea, made a longer Defence than any of the reſt, but at length was forc'd to capitulate in the latter End of *Auguſt*. While theſe and ſeveral other Places were taken by the *Engliſh*, King *Henry*, after ſome new Offers of Accommodation, reſolv'd to beſiege *Roan*, the great and Capital City of *Normandy*; a City ſtrongly fortify'd with extraordinary Walls, Towers, and a vaſt Ditch, and containing a very numerous Garriſon. The Citizens alſo preſuming upon the Strength of the Garriſon, and in their own Numbers, which were near three hundred thouſand, reſolv'd to defend the Place with the greateſt Vigour, and to endure all Extremities, rather than ſurrender, ſince to that one Place the Inhabitants of *Normandy* had brought all their Treaſure, accounting it their laſt Refuge and Retreat, and by a prudent Foreſight had been diligent to fortifie it in the Beginning of the War.

Roan *beſieg'd by* K. Henry.

The King after he had taken *Pont de l' Arche*, eight Miles diſtant from *Roan*, and accounted the Key of the River *Sein*, laid cloſe Siege to this important Place: But underſtanding the obſtinate Reſolution of the Beſieg'd, he would not laviſh the Lives of his Soldiers in continual Attacks, but determin'd to cut off all Proviſions and Relief, and reduce it by Famine. To this End his Army ſurrounded it by Land, and a Squadron of good Ships, which he had from the King of *Portugal*, block'd up the Mouth of the *Sein*. Then to ſecure his Camp from all Aſſaults, he encompaſs'd it with a large Intrenchment pitch'd with ſharp Stakes, and defended by a high Rampart, Bulwarks and Turnpikes. Sir *Robert Bapthorp* was appointed to overſee this Work, which he perform'd with great Skill and Diligence, as he had before the Trenches between the Camp and the Town. The King himſelf lodg'd on the Eaſt of the City, the Duke of *Clarence* on the Weſt, and the Duke of *Exeter* on the North; between whom was quarter'd the Marſhal, join'd with the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Lords *Harrington* and *Talbot*. Before the Port of St. *Hillary*, the Lords *Roſs*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh* and Sir *William Porter* encamp'd their Forces. The Earls of *Mortaign* and *Saliſbury* lodg'd near the Abby of St. *Katharines*; Sir *John Gray* about the Chappel Mount St. *Michael*'s, and Sir *Philip Leech* upon a Hill adjoyning. The River *Sein* was block'd up with three Iron Chains, one of them laid two Foot above the Water, another level to it, and the third two Foot below it, to hinder all Relief into the City by Boats; the Charge of which was committed to *Thomas* Baron of *Carew*, who very exactly perform'd it. On the other Side the River were encamp'd the Earls of *Warren* and *Huntington*, the Lords *Nevill* and *Ferrers*, and Sir *Gilbert Umfreville*, directly before the great *Port de Pont*; and for a general Communication of one Part of the Army with the other, a Bridge was made over the River *Sein*, ſufficient for Carriages as Occaſion ſhould require.

The Beſieg'd ſuffer all the Miſeries of Famine.

Fifty thouſand of them periſh.

A Treaty made,

but in vain.

During this memorable Siege, many martial Exploits happen'd, but no general Aſſaults; and thus it continu'd from the Beginning of *July* 'till *December*, when the Beſieg'd began to be in great Diſtreſs for Want of Proviſions; and to diſburthen themſelves, they thruſt out twenty thouſand Men, Women and Children, who were unſerviceable for the Defence of the City, and expos'd them to the Mercy of the *Engliſh*. When King *Henry* ſaw this miſerable Multitude ſhut out of the Gates, tho' he reſolv'd to force them back to increaſe the Miſery of Famine, yet being unwilling to attack a Company of Wretches unarm'd and helpleſs, he gave Orders to pour upon them a Shower of Arrows, ſhot from Bows ſlightly drawn, to affright rather than wound them. Fear drove the poor ſtarv'd Creatures to ſhelter themſelves in the Ditches of the Town; and while they remain'd there three Days in great Miſery, many of the Women were deliver'd: At laſt, the Cries and Groans of ſo many thouſands prevail'd upon the King's Compaſſion to ſend 'em Food, 'till the Pity of the Garriſon was mov'd to receive many of them again within the Walls. The Famine and Mortality ſoon grew to that Height, that fifty thouſand of both Sexes periſh'd; and in one Burying-Place above two and thirty thouſand were thrown into the Ground. Perſons of the better Quality eat their own Horſes, and the poorer People fed on Dogs, Cats, Rats and Mice; ſo obſtinate were they in holding out to the laſt Extremity. Little Infants hung on the Breaſts of their ſtarv'd Mothers as they lay dead in the Streets; and the Rage of Famine forc'd the diſtracted Multitude to a thouſand Violencies, and they wounded and kill'd one another to take away the vileſt Nouriſhment of Life. And ſo tyrannical was the Force of Hunger over the moſt powerful Conſiderations, that young Virgins abandon'd their Modeſty, and proſtituted themſelves for a Piece of Bread. In this deplorable Condition, Relief was often promis'd, but inſtead of Supplies, the Biſhop of *Beauvois*, accompany'd with the Cardinal of *Urſins*, ſent from the Pope, were diſpatch'd to King *Henry* to beg a Peace; and the better to effect it they brought the Princeſs *Katharine*'s Picture, which gave King *Henry* great Satisfaction, inſomuch that ſome ſay he fell in Love with her at the Sight of it. But he demanding a Million of Crowns, with the Dukedoms of *Normandy*, *Gaſcony*, *Anjou*, and other Territories for her Portion, nothing material was concluded.

The Beſieg'd capitulate.

A. D. 1419. Reg. 7.

They ſurrender upon hard Articles.

At length the inrag'd *Roannois*, helpleſs of Succour, and deſpairing of Peace, reſolv'd to make a brave Sally upon the King's Quarters, to perform which, ten thouſand ſelect Men, with their Commanders, iſſu'd out of the Town. The Vant-Guard, conſiſting of two thouſand, being paſt and engag'd with the Beſiegers, by Misfortune the Draw-Bridge broke down with the overweight of Men, and drown'd, kill'd and hurt many. This ſo ruin'd the Paſſage, that they cou'd not come to the Relief of their Companions ingag'd, but by another Gate at a conſiderable Diſtance; and before they came in to their Aſſiſtance, their whole Body was broken for want of Support, and moſt of them kill'd and taken Priſoners. Upon which ſtrange Diſaſter the Soldiers within mutiny'd againſt *De Boutellier* their General, boldly complaining that he had contrived the breaking of the Bridge. In theſe Calamities, after ſeveral Remonſtrances on both Sides, King *Charles* returning towards *Paris*, ſent a Meſſage to the Beſieged, *That they muſt take care of themſelves*; which ſurpriſing Anſwer ſtruck a fatal Damp upon their Hearts, and rais'd the Rage of the Multitude to that Degree, that they willingly agreed to a Treaty with King *Henry*; which being propos'd to the King, three magnificent Tents were erected at *Port* St. *Hilarie* for the Reception of the Commiſſioners, which were four Eccleſiaſticks, four Knights and four Burghers of the Town: Thoſe for the King were the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Warwick*. The Demands of the *Roannois* were many and high, but the Anſwers receiv'd were ſhort and peremptory, *That no Conditions wou'd be allow'd, but barely yielding to the King's Mercy*. Which Anſwer being return'd in a publick Aſſembly, Rage and Deſpair prompted them to all Extravagancies that cou'd proceed from Fire, Sword, and the Demoliſhment of the whole City. But the generous King pitying a wretched People ſo obſtinately bent on their own Ruin, reſolv'd to ſave them in ſpite of themſelves, and to have that noble City deliver'd to him, untouch'd by Fire. Remitting therefore the Rigour of his firſt Demands, he again ſent for the Commiſſioners by the Arch-Biſhop to treat upon milder Conditions, which was at laſt concluded in twenty three Articles. Of which one was, That the Inhabitants ſhou'd pay the Sum of three hundred thouſand Crowns of Gold, two of which to make an *Engliſh* Noble. For which the Citizens of *Roan* ſhou'd enjoy all the Liberties and Privileges that had been granted by any of the Kings of *England*, and Dukes of *Normandy*, before *Philip de Valois*. And thus *Roan* was ſubdu'd to the Crown of *England*, two hundred and fifteen Years after the Conqueſt of it by *Philip* King of *France*.

King Henry's Entry into Roan

His Eſtabliſhments in that City.

He keeps his Court at Roan.

The Agreement was concluded on the nineteenth Day of *January*, when the half-famiſh'd Citizens in great Multitudes repair'd to the *Engliſh* Camp to buy Victuals, which ſo abounded with Proviſions, that a fat Sheep was ſold for ſix Sols. On the following Day King *Henry* made a Triumphant Entrance into the City, accompany'd with four Dukes, ten Earls, eight Biſhops, ſixteen Barons, and a great Number of Knights, Eſquires and Men at Arms. At his Entring the Gates all the Bells of the City were rung, and the Abbots and Prieſts met him in a ſolemn Proceſſion, in which were carry'd forty two Croſſes, with the Relicks of the Saints. They march'd before him to *Notredame* the great Cathedral, where at the Porch he alighted, being receiv'd with the utmoſt Solemnity by the Biſhops and Canons; then entring the Church he offer'd up his Thankſgivings at the High Altar, and order'd his Chaplains to ſing a Pſalm of Praiſe. He lodg'd in the Caſtle that Night, and continu'd in it the next Day, receiving Homage from the Citizens. In the Morning he gave Orders that *Alain Blanchart*, an Incendiary excepted in the Articles, ſhou'd be beheaded, but pardon'd the reſt that were left to his Mercy, impoſing only a Fine upon them. Then to ſettle his new Conqueſts, he eſtabliſh'd in this City his Exchequer, Coinage, and Chamber of Accounts of the Revenues of *Normandy*, and built a Tower behind the Caſtle, as an additional Strength to keep the City in Subjection. He fortify'd the Bridge, and began to build a Palace on the *Sein*, and publiſh'd new Orders to regulate the Buſineſs of Trade, reducing the Meaſures to a certain Standard. He kept his Court at *Roan* for ſome ſpace, and wore the Ducal Robes as Duke of *Normandy*. On *February* the fifteenth he order'd Proclamation to be made, that all who wou'd come in and ſwear Allegiance to him ſhould be receiv'd into his Favour and Protection: And *March* the twelfth he gave Orders, that an exact Account ſhou'd be taken of the Names of all the Inhabitants, Men, Women and Children, within the Bailywicks of *Roan*, *Conſtantin* and *Alenſon*.

The Duke of Burgundy *endeavours for a Treaty with King* Henry.

King *Henry* had now not only the Dukedom of *Normandy* ſubjected to him, but *Picardy* and the *Iſle of France* lay open to his Arms; inſomuch that tho' the *French* King and the Duke of *Burgundy* had ſtrongly garriſon'd the Frontiers to ſtop the Incurſions of the *Engliſh* Troops, yet they pierc'd as far as *Ponthoiſe*, *Cleremont*, *Beauvais*, *Montdidier*, *Bretevil*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville* and St. *Valerie*; and waſting all Places, enrich'd themſelves with great Booty. This mighty Progreſs firſt brought the Duke of *Bretaign* to an Alliance with King *Henry*, who finding *France* unable to protect him, agreed to a mutual Amity, and that no Acts of Hoſtility ſhould be committed by either of their Subjects, without a Declaration of War ſix Months before. In the mean Time the *Dauphine*, who in Oppoſition to the Duke of *Burgundy* had taken upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government in *France*, invited the King of *England* to a Treaty; but when the Ambaſſadors ſhou'd have met to appoint the Place and Manner, the *French* not only fail'd in coming at the fix'd Time, but ſhew'd ſuch Colluſion when they came, that all prov'd ineffectual. However the Duke of *Burgundy* became ſo apprehenſive of the *Dauphine*'s growing Intereſt, that he once more deſir'd a Treaty with King *Henry*, that by the Help of ſuch a potent Ally he might ſecure himſelf againſt the Deſigns which that Prince had to ruin him. It was therefore determin'd in the Council of the King of *France*, *That it was expedient for the Safety of the Nation to ſettle an Alliance with the King of* England, *by giving him in Marriage the Princeſs, with ſome Provinces of the Kingdom.* After an Embaſſy and a ſhort Truce, it was concluded that the two Kings ſhould have a ſolemn Interview at *Melun*, where the Queen and Princeſs ſhou'd be preſent. For that Purpoſe a ſpacious Field was well intrench'd and ramparted with ſtrong Gates, and two ſtately Pavillions erected in it, the one for the two Kings to converſe and repoſe, and the other for their Agents to conſult in.

The Treaty of Melun.

King *Charles*, Queen *Iſabel*, the Princeſs *Katharine*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Count St. *Paul*, firſt arriv'd, with a Train and Guard of a thouſand Horſe. On the other ſide King *Henry* with his Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloceſter*, attended with a thouſand Horſe, obſerv'd the appointed Time and Place: And now the illuſtrious Company met with the utmoſt Pomp and Ceremony; King *Henry* ſaluted the Queen and Princeſs, and receiv'd *Burgundy* into his Arms; and the two Nations,

the

tho' mortal Enemies, demean'd themſelves with ſo much Civility, that no Cauſe of Quarrel was offer'd on either Side. Many Points were debated, and many Offers were made to King *Henry*, particularly, That all the Territories and Towns contain'd in the Treaty of Peace made at *Bretaign* with *Edward* III. and the whole Dukedom of *Normandy*, and all other Places now in his Poſſeſſion, ſhou'd be confirm'd to him and his Heirs. Many Days were ſpent without coming to a Concluſion, and many Conferences were held, from which the Princeſs had abſented her ſelf. The Queen had brought her to the firſt Interview, in hopes that the Charms of her Beauty, which were very extraordinary, might prevail more on a young Conqueror than all the ſubtle Arts of Stateſmen in a Treaty. Nor was ſhe wholly miſtaken; for his Heart, tho' arm'd with fierce Bravery and undaunted Courage, was not impenetrable to the ſofter Paſſions; and that Soul which never knew Fear, at the firſt Sight of ſo engaging a Lady was ſenſible of Love. The diſcerning Queen ſoon obſerv'd that her Daughter's Eyes were more powerful than all the Arms of *France*, and reſolv'd to make all poſſible Advantage of this violent Affection; flattering her ſelf that the King wou'd comply to any Conditions, provided his Marriage with the Princeſs were one of them. She thought therefore to practiſe upon him the uſual Arts of her Sex, and to inflame his Paſſion by the Abſence of his Miſtreſs; but her Deſign had a different Succeſs than ſhe expected, for he ſoon obſerving the Artifice, the Senſe of the Affront made him inflexible to any Condeſcenſion, ſo that he inſiſted more firmly on his firſt Propoſitions. And knowing that the chief Affairs of *France* were committed to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Thought that it was he who obſtructed the Concluſion of the Peace and Marriage, fir'd him with the greateſt Indignation againſt him. When therefore the Duke remonſtrated the Exceſs of his Demands, the King in a great Paſſion ſaid, *I'll not only have your Princeſs, but your King himſelf in my Power; and I will have what I demand in Marriage with her, or force him from his Throne, and you out of his Kingdom.* To whom the Duke more calmly reply'd, *Before you can dethrone my King, and expel me the Kingdom, you may find cauſe to repent the Enterprize; and I doubt not, but we ſhall make you weary of the War.*

King Henry *incens'd.*

The Treaty breaks up.

This Convention at *Melun* ended *June* the thirtieth, at which Time it was agreed to meet again on the third of *July* following; and King *Henry* came, but the *French* diſappointed him. And in Reality it was manifeſt by all their Proceedings, that they never deſign'd to conclude a Peace, but only aim'd to amuſe the *Engliſh* with vain Offers and Promiſes. They had promis'd that King *Henry* ſhould poſſeſs all his Conqueſts, and hold them without Dependance; and that all ſhou'd be confirm'd to him, which had been granted in the grand Treaty between *Edward* III. of *England*, and *John* King of *France*: But when the Articles came to be drawn into Form, and ingroſs'd, the *French* perplex'd all Things by ſtarting new Difficulties and Queſtions. The Duke of *Burgundy*, whoſe Heart was truly *French*, all the Time of the Convention had frequent Meetings with the *Dauphine* near *Paris*, and it was now ſtrenuouſly endeavour'd to reconcile the grand Parties of *Burgundy* and *Armagnac*; and accordingly Proclamation was made at *Paris*, that none ſhould raiſe any Conteſt on the account of ſuch Names of Diſtinction. King *Henry* therefore, perceiving the Artifices of the *French*, reſolv'd to break off the Treaty; and according to the firſt Agreement, he gave publick Notice of its Diſſolution; complaining of the unfair Proceedings of his Enemies, who had continually deceiv'd him, and only deſign'd under Colour of a Treaty to work Delays and hinder his Conqueſts. Sortly after he underſtood that the *Dauphine* and the Duke were reconciled, and enter'd into a firm Alliance, which much rais'd the Indignation of the Hero; and tho' in Appearance all the Forces of *France* were united againſt him, this was ſo far from diſcouraging him, that it rous'd his martial Ardor to oppoſe the growing Danger. And having taken care to regulate and reform the Corruption of Manners and Diſcipline in the Churches of *England* and *Normandy*, he reſolved to proceed with the utmoſt Vigour and Vigilance.

The Duke of Burgundy *proves falſe to King* Henry.

*King*Henry *makes new Conqueſts.*

Ponthois was the next fortify'd Town which lay in the Courſe of King *Henry*'s Conqueſts, the Poſſeſſion of which wou'd open his Way to *Paris*. To attempt which on the laſt Day of *July* he ſent three thouſand Foot, which before Day Light, and undiſcover'd by the Centinels, ſet their ſcaling Ladders to the Walls, mounted up, and crying out St. *George!* ſome enter'd the Town, to the great Amazement of Monſieur *de L' Iſle Adam*, Marſhal of *France* and Governor of the Place, who immediately fled out at another Gate next *Paris*, and was immediately follow'd by above ten thouſand of the Inhabitants. So that the *Engliſh* eaſily became Maſters of the Town, which was ſo conſiderable for its Riches, and ſuch an advantageous Poſt, that the King in a Letter ſaid, *he accounted it the moſt important Place he had taken ſince the War.* Yet his great Soul was ſo little elevated by this Succeſs, that he ſent this Meſſage to the King of *France*, *That tho' he had taken ſo conſiderable a Place, which open'd a Way to the Conqueſt of his Capital City, yet he now offer'd him Peace upon the ſame Terms he had propos'd at the Treaty of* Melun. All *Paris* was in a great Conſternation upon the Loſs of this Place, and the Terror was ſo general thro' all the adjacent Country, call'd the Iſle of *France*, that the Villages were univerſally deſerted. The King of *France* with his Queen and Daughter, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and many Noblemen, retir'd to *Troyes* in *Champaign*, leaving *Paris* under the Government of the Count *St. Paul* and *De Lactre* Chancellor of *France*, while the Duke of *Clarence* march'd to the Walls of that vaſt City, and lay before it two Days, his Troops ravaging all the adjacent Country. After which the Caſtle of *Giſors*, which held out three Weeks, was taken by Compoſition; the Earl of *Hantington* ſack'd *Preaux*, burnt *Bretveil*, *Clermont* and the Caſtle of *Vendveil*; and King *Henry* himſelf beſieg'd the Caſtles of *Galliart* and *Rochguien*, two of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Normandy*, which ſurrender'd upon Articles. Then returning to *Mante*, the King divided his Army into three Bodies, with one of which he order'd the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who had taken *Ivry*, to ſtorm the Caſtle of *St. Germain en Lay*, which was ſoon ſurrender'd to him; the other he ſent to attack the Caſtle of *Montjoy*, which the *Engliſh* by fierce Aſſaults forc'd to yield. At the Head of the Third, the King himſelf march'd to beſiege *Meaulan*, in the Iſle of *France*, ſituated on the *Sein*, not far diſtant from *Paris*, a Place naturally ſtrong, and ſurrounded by that great River. Yet by the new invented floating Towers, the Reſolution of King *Henry*, and the invincible Patience of his Soldiers, the Town capitulated *November* the thirtieth. In the mean Time the Earls *Marſhal* and *Huntington*, Sir *John Green*, *Cornwall*, and Sir *Philip Leach*, were order'd into the Country of *Main*, where they bravely encounter'd a ſtrong Body of *French* ſent by the *Dauphine*, and defeated them with the Slaughter of five thouſand upon the Spot, and the Captivity of ſix hundred Priſoners, with the Marſhal *de Rous*, other Noblemen, and many Standards.

The French *King flies from* Paris.

Further Advantages gain'd by the Engliſh.

Thus the Glory of the *Engliſh* Arms, and the Miſeries of the Kingdom of *France* daily encreas'd, which now had her Bowels torn in Pieces by Foreign Power and Domeſtick Factions. For tho' the latter ſeem'd to have been allay'd, yet ſtill there was a ſecret and irreconcileable Hatred between the *Dauphine* and the Duke of *Burgundy*; and the former was ſo much prevail'd upon by the Councils of thoſe about him, that he believ'd the Miſeries of *France* cou'd not be ended but by the Duke's Death. In order to effect this treacherous Deſign, the *Dauphine* being at *Montereau* a Town in *Brie*, ſent for the Duke from *Troyes* under Pretence of concerting Meaſures with him about their further Alliance, and employing their united Powers againſt the common Enemy the *Engliſh*. The Duke at firſt made ſeveral Excuſes, having innumerable Suſpicions revolving in his Mind; but hurry'd on by his own Fate and former Guilt, he repair'd to *Montereau* with ſome Noblemen, five hundred Horſe, and two hundred Archers; at the Entrance of which Place the *Dauphine* had fix'd three ſeveral Barricadoes, and himſelf ſtood in Arms beyond the third to receive the Duke, with only ten Followers. The Duke approaching his Preſence, kneel'd down upon one Knee, and ſaluted him with all the Reſpect due to his Quality; but the other neglecting all Ceremonies, immediately charg'd him with Breach of Fidelity, and Nonperformance of many Promiſes, and after a few Words proceeded ſo far as to call him Traitor, and to give him the Lye. The Duke putting his Hand behind him to adjuſt his Sword that had been alter'd by his kneeling, *Robert de Loire* deſignedly cry'd out, *What, are you drawing upon your Prince?* At which, an old Servant of the murder'd Duke of *Orleans* ſtruck him on the Face with a Battel-Ax, and cut off his Chin; and others with many Wounds put an End to his Life, before he cou'd draw his Sword in his own Defence. Thus fell the great Duke of *Burgundy*, who as he had twelve Years before caus'd the Duke of *Orleans* to be aſſaſſinated in the Streets of *Paris*, ſo by the Requital of the Divine Juſtice, his own Life was abandon'd to vile Treachery. And it is highly remarkable, that as he was exorbitant in his Luſts, both as to Ambition and Women, ſo one of his Miſtreſſes, Madam *Giac*, was the principal Perſon that betray'd him to his Ruin. However this manifeſt Murder was juſtly reſented by a great Part of the Kingdom of *France*; but ſo far by Queen *Iſabel*, Mother to the *Dauphine*, that ſhe did not only excite *Philip*, now the new Duke of *Burgundy*, to revenge his Father's Death, but alſo tormented her weak Huſband's Spirits in urging him to diſinherit the *Dauphine*, and give his Daughter *Katharine* in Marriage to King *Henry*, now in the Bowels of *France*.

The Dauphine murders the Duke of Burgundy.

Revenge threaten'd.

As theſe expreſs'd ſuch paſſionate Reſentments of the Duke's Death, ſo his Son *Philip* with as much Heat and more Efficacy purſu'd the Vengeance of his Father's Blood, and Swore, *He would never lay down his Arms, nor make Peace nor Truce till he had extirpated all his Murderers.* In order to effect his Purpoſe, he ſent the Biſhop of *Arras* with other Ambaſſadors to King *Henry* at *Roan* to mediate a Peace; and again ſent the ſame Biſhop with ſuch Propoſals to the King, that he thought fit to ſend the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Gaſcony* to *Arras*, who were very acceptable to the young Duke: So that between *Roan* and *Arras* Emiſſaries continually paſs'd till a Truce was concluded; which, notwithſtanding all the Offers and Obſtructions of the *Dauphine*, was proclaim'd to continue from about the Feaſt of *Epiphany* 'till Mid-*March* enſuing between King *Henry*, King *Charles*, and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*. Affairs thus far ſucceeding with King *Henry*, King *Henry* wrote to the new Pope, ſolliciting his Holineſs's Conſent to admit him his moſt Chriſtian Son of *France*, and to give his Benediction, for the Confirmation of the Marriage and Amity, deſign'd between theſe two famous Princes. King *Henry*'s Right to the Crown of *France* was alledg'd, and the Miſeries of that Kingdom diſplay'd; but the *Dauphine*'s Intereſt was ſo great with the Pope, that he refus'd to confirm any Thing to the Prejudice of his Title.

A Treaty propos'd to King Henry.

A.D. 1420. Reg. 7/8.

However the Negotiation ſtill went forwards, and the Place agreed on for Confirmation of Articles was *Troyes* in *Champaign*, where King *Charles* and his Queen then reſided; and to which Place the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Kyme*, and the Lord *Roſs* and others, attended with five hundred Horſe, were ſent Ambaſſadors from King *Henry*. Theſe arriving at *Troyes*, were honourably receiv'd, and amicably reſolv'd on a final Peace; and there the Princeſs *Katharine* was attended as the *Engliſh* Queen, and particular Perſons left to guard her by King *Henry*'s Command. His Ambaſſadors being return'd, and his Affections inflam'd, he himſelf attended by his Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloceſter*, the Duke of *Exeter*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Huntington* and *Saliſbury*, and many of the Nobility, with a Guard of ſixteen hundred Men, departed from *Roan* to *Ponthois*, to St. *Denis*, and ſo into *Champaign*, where he was met near *Troyes* by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and many other *French* Noblemen; and with the moſt magnificent Attendance conducted into the Town.

The Treaty concluded with a Peace.

King *Henry* immediately after his Arrival made a Viſit to the *French* King, the Queen, and the Princeſs *Katharine*; to the latter of whom he made his Addreſſes, and preſented her with a Ring of ineſtimable Value. There were afterwards many Aſſemblies of the King's Council fully to conclude the Peace and the Alliance; and King *Henry* having alter'd what he miſlik'd in the Treaty, which before had been drawn up in Writing, it was at laſt entirely compleated on the twenty firſt Day of *May* 1420. The Articles of this Treaty were large and numerous, and very much to the Advantage and Honour of King *Henry*.

The Subſtance of it.

The Dauphine excluded.

By theſe it was agreed, 'That the ſaid King *Henry* ſhould marry the Princeſs *Katharine*, and allow her the uſual Dowry of the Queens of *England*, forty thouſand Crowns *per Annum*: That after the Death of King *Charles*, who was to hold his preſent Poſſeſſions during Life, the Crown of *France*, with all the Rights and Dominions appertaining to it, ſhould devolve upon King *Henry* and his Heirs for ever. But becauſe King *Charles* was indiſpos'd and uncapable to reign, the whole Power and Exerciſe of the Government of *France* ſhould immediately be transferr'd to King *Henry* as Regent of that Kingdom, to govern in Conjunction with the Council of the Eſtates of the Realm, according to the known Laws and Uſages of it. To make which the more eaſie to King *Henry*, all the Nobility both Spiritual and Temporal, and all Corporations and Communities ſhould be oblig'd to take particular Oaths of Fidelity to King *Henry*, both as to his preſent Adminiſtration, and future Inheritance. Then to preſerve an intire Peace and Concord between *England* and *France*, whenever King *Henry* or any of his Heirs ſhould come to wear the Crown of *France*, the two Kingdoms ſhould ever be united under one King, *viz.* under King *Henry* during his Life, and after under his Heirs in a continu'd Succeſſion, and not at the ſame time be govern'd by two Kings; and yet the Rights, Liberties and Laws of each Kingdom ſhould be kept diſtinct and inviolable, without ſubjecting one to the other: The better to eſtabliſh which, all Hatred, Animoſities, Diviſions and Wars, ſhould ceaſe between the two Nations, and the People be mutually united in Affections, Counſels, and Defence againſt all Enemies. But becauſe the *Dauphine* and his Adherents ſtill oppos'd the common Peace of both Kingdoms, King *Henry* ſhould make uſe of all the Power of his Arms to reduce all Territories, Cities, Towns, Caſtles and Perſons joining with him; and never enter into any Treaty of Peace with him, without the Conſent of King *Charles*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the three Eſtates of *England* and *France*.

Theſe, and ſeveral other ſubſervient Articles, being confirm'd, the Princeſs *Katharine*, who had alſo the Title of Dutcheſs of *Bar*, was affianc'd to King *Henry* in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Troyes*. The King came attended with forty *Engliſh* Nobles and Gentlemen, and the Dutcheſs of *Clarence* with her Train of Ladies; and the Queen of *France* and the Princeſs were attended by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and forty of his Council. King *Henry* and the Queen of *France* met in the middle of the Church, and went together up to the high Altar, where the Articles of Peace being openly read, were ſealed with the two Seals of both the Kings, and a ſolemn Oath taken to obſerve them; and the King and Princeſs joining their Hands, were contracted. Then the Duke of *Burgundy* took an Oath to obey King *Henry* as Regent of *France* during the preſent King's Life; and that after his Deceaſe he would become his Liege Subject. On the other Side King *Henry* promis'd that he would deliver to the Duke all the Murtherers of his Father who ſhould fall into his Power. In concluſion of all, the Peace was proclaim'd firſt in the *French* Tongue, and then in the *Engliſh*; and the Articles of it publiſh'd at *Paris*, and all the principal Cities of *France*. King *Henry* alſo in a Letter to his Brother the Duke of *Bedford*, gave him an Account of the Concluſion of this great Treaty, ordering him to proclaim the Peace throughout *England*, and inſtructing him about altering his Title in his Seals and Proclamations during the *French* King's Life, which was now to run thus: Henry *by the Grace of God King of* England, *Heir and Regent of the Realm of* France, *and Lord of* Ireland. On the thirtieth of *May*, the Nuptials were ſolemniz'd between King *Henry* and the Princeſs *Katharine*, with extraordinary Pomp and Magnificence, and grac'd with the Preſence of the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Count *de Luxemburgh*, and the principal Nobility of *Burgundy* and *France*.

King Henry *made Regent of* France.

He marries Katharine *Daughter to the* French *King.*

The French *Nobility ſwear Fidelity to him.*

King *Henry* being now proclaim'd Regent of *France*, all the Nobility that were at *Troyes* readily ſwore Fidelity to him: For the Fame of his Heroic Actions in War, when his Perſon was unknown to them, had acquir'd him an univerſal Eſteem, and they knew not which moſt to admire, his Courage, Conduct or Succeſs; but now his noble Preſence happily joyn'd with Majeſty and Affability, procur'd a greater Veneration. They knew him to be prudent in Counſels, experienc'd in War, undaunted in Danger, and proſperous in all Attempts; and therefore perſuaded themſelves that their Country would be happy under the Influences of his Government. Their good Opinion of him was confirm'd, when they heard him in a full Aſſembly thus expreſs the Moderation and Temper of his Soul. *My noble Lords, I do aſſure you, it is and ſhall be my perpetual Concern, how by all my Councils and Actions I may make both theſe Nations, now by the Favour of Heav'n ſo fortunately united, a great and flouriſhing Kingdom; and as it is at preſent the moſt glorious in* Europe, *ſo all Animoſities and Factions extinguiſh'd, it may continue happy as well as great to all future Succeſſions. To accompliſh this noble Deſign, it is neceſſary that we all endeavour to ſuppreſs the Flames of thoſe Civil Diſſenſions, which are alone kept alive by that Perſon whom you have juſtly depriv'd of the Honour of being* Dauphine *of* France. *That our Country therefore may flouriſh in Peace and undiſturb'd Greatneſs, we muſt uſe our utmoſt Power to reduce him to that Obedience he owes to his Father and his Sovereign, and to oblige him to ſubmit to that Government which has been eſtabliſhed by an Aſſembly of the States of the Kingdom; which if not effected,* France *will not only be expos'd to preſent Calamities, but the Fears of greater, from the Government of one who has already ſhewn ſuch Marks of Tyranny.* After which he proceeded to declare his high Eſteem for the *French* Nation, and urg'd them all to an Union of Hearts and Affections, as well as Nations, with ſuch an obliging Gracefulneſs and Greatneſs, that they all departed with the utmoſt Reliance and Satisfaction.

His Speech to them.

A. D. 1420. Reg. 7/8.

V. The mighty King *Henry* had now in a great meaſure arriv'd at the Top of his Aims and Deſigns, obtaining not only an admirable Queen, but alſo the Sovereignty over a new Kingdom; yet ſtill the *Dauphine* and his Followers vigorouſly oppos'd him, and reſolv'd never to deſiſt 'till they had brought him to their own Terms. Their firſt Counſel was how to preſerve themſelves in ſo imminent a Danger; they were ſenſible that to ſit ſtill would but increaſe the Succeſs of the *Engliſh*, and to riſe without ſufficient Strength would plunge themſelves into further Miſfortunes. In this Diſtraction that Voice was beſt heard that ſpoke moſt for the Safety of the *Dauphine*, whoſe Breath alone gave Life to the after-Hopes of *France*, and for the fortifying thoſe Places which might be of moſt Offence to the Enemy. This then was agreed in a Council of War, That the *Dauphine* ſhould at no time hazard his Perſon in the Field, and that Levies of Soldiers ſhould be made, to be garriſon'd in convenient Places, and leave

The Dauphine and his Adherents oppoſe King Henry.

the reſt to Time and Opportunity; in which Reſolution every Man took to his Charge, and all to oppoſe the Actions of King *Henry*. As theſe conſulted for the State of the *French*, ſo at the ſame time in *Paris* a Parliament of the three Eſtates was aſſembled, in which ſuch as were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Death were ſentenc'd, the Diſinheriting of the *Dauphine* confirm'd, and Forces prepar'd againſt thoſe Towns that held for him.

King Henry *takes ſeveral Towns from the* Dauphine.

The Siege of Melun.

In the mean time the two Kings with their Queens, and the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Burgundy* march'd againſt *Sens*, a Town in *Burgundy*; which after twelve Days Siege ſurrender'd upon Compoſition of Life, thoſe only excepted that were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Death. *Montereau* was the next Place, which was enter'd by Force, where the Body of the Duke of *Burgundy*, undecently bury'd by the *Dauphinois*, was taken up, and by his Son *Philip* ſent in great Pomp to *Dijon*, the Capital of his Dukedom, and there honourably interr'd. The Town being taken, the Caſtle held out, under the Government of the Lord *De Guitry*, to whom were ſent ſome *French* Priſoners under a Guard to perſuade him to ſurrender, which they did with Tears and on their Knees; but his obſtinate perſiſting, and his affronting the Herald ſent to ſummon him to ſurrender, occaſion'd the Hanging up of thoſe Priſoners, as Rebels to the *French* King, their natural Sovereign. The Beſieged held out eight Days longer, and then ſurrender'd the Caſtle on Condition of having Life, Liberty and Goods ſecur'd; but all Perſons concern'd in the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Murder were excepted. Next the King undertook the Siege of *Melun*, a Town of great Strength on the *Sein*, and made more ſtrong by the Valour of its Governors, who were the Lord *De Barbaſan* and *Pierre de Bourbon*, the former an admirable Commander, and the latter a Prince of the Blood, whoſe Garriſon conſiſted of ſeven hundred *Dauphinois*. Theſe made ſo ſtout a Defence, that the Beſiegers could not make their Approaches without great Difficulty and Danger; but the Cannon making a Breach, the *Engliſh* and *Burgundians* enter'd a ſtrong Outwork, and built a Bridge of Boats over the River *Sein*, ſo that from either Quarter they had Communication with each other without Impediments. Both King *Henry* and the Duke of *Burgundy* fortify'd their Camps after an extraordinary Manner, and in this Poſture the Siege continu'd eighteen Weeks, in which time the Soldiers of the Garriſon made ſome, tho' not frequent Sallies. King *Henry*, impatient of Delays, preſs'd forward the Siege to the utmoſt, and made a large Mine underneath the Walls, which being perceiv'd, the Beſieg'd countermin'd againſt him; where the King with great Reſolution entering firſt into the Mine, and *Barbaſan* likewiſe his within the Town, met each other with their drawn Swords, and nobly perform'd the Parts of private Combatants. 'Till at length they reſolv'd to diſcover themſelves, and firſt *Barbaſan* made known his Name, then King *Henry* did his; whereupon the *French* Lord ſuddenly retiring, caus'd the Barricadoes to be clos'd, and King *Henry* return'd ſafe to his Camp.

The French *King appears before the Place,*

and the King of Scots,

but in vain.

During this Siege, King *Henry* often went to *Corbeil*, where the Court then was, which now conſiſted of *French* and *Engliſh*, the Dutcheſs of *Clarence*, and other Ladies of the higheſt Quality being the chief Ornaments of it. Here he perſuaded the King of *France* to repair with him to the Camp, that his Preſence before the Walls might influence his Rebellious Subjects to return to their Duty. But when they were ſummon'd to yield to their natural Sovereign, they reſolutely anſwer'd, *That they would joyfully open their Gates to their Monarch, but they would never obey an* Engliſh *King, the ancient and mortal Enemy of* France. Tho' neither the Preſence nor Authority of the *French* King could avail, yet he ſtill continu'd in the Camp, to which the beautiful Queen of *England* likewiſe came with a ſhining Train of Ladies, for whoſe Entertainment a fair Houſe was built at ſuch a Diſtance as ſecur'd them from all Danger. To entertain them with martial Muſick, eight or ten Trumpets were ſounded every Morning and Evening before the Tent of the King of *England*, who had the State and Magnificence of a Court amidſt all the Noiſe and Diſorders of War; and yet with uninterrupted Diligence employ'd himſelf in all the Buſineſs of the Siege. As there was a ſtrong Party of *Scots* in the Garriſon, the young King of *Scotland*, now in the Army with King *Henry*, ſent to require them upon their Allegiance, that they ſhould not employ their Arms againſt Troops where he was in Perſon, but come and fight under the Standard of their King. To whom they return'd this Anſwer, *That they would not own or obey him as their King, who was in the Power of another*; for which Affront, twenty of them were afterwards executed. About the ſame time mandatory Letters were ſent by King *Charles* into *Picardy*, to put all Places that held for him in thoſe Parts into King *Henry*'s Poſſeſſion, and to take the Oath of Obedience to him as the only Heir, Succeſſor, Regent and Governor of *France*, the Execution of which was committed to the Care of ſeveral of the *French* Nobility.

Melun *ſurrenders.*

A ſtrict Act of Juſtice.

The Diſtreſs of *Melun* now became exceeding great, as well upon the Beſiegers as Defendants; the one afflicted and extreamly weaken'd with Mortality, and the other violently oppreſs'd with Famine, and other Calamities incident to long Sieges. After eighteen Weeks Siege, the *Engliſh* were ſupply'd with Soldiers out of *Picardy*, the Sight of which at firſt put the Town in Hopes of Relief from the *Dauphine*; but the Garriſon finding themſelves unhappily diſappointed, in Deſpair capitulated, and were forc'd to ſurrender upon hard Articles, one of which was That they ſhould be all made Priſoners of War, and that all the *Engliſh* and *Scots* ſhould in a ſpecial Manner be left to the abſolute Diſpoſal of the King of *England*; and that all Acceſſaries to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Murther ſhould ſuffer Death. The Articles being concluded, an *Engliſh* Garriſon was put into *Melun*: The Men at Arms who adher'd to the *Dauphine*'s Party, of whom the principal were *Pierre de Bourbon*, and the Lord *de Barbaſan*, with five or ſix hundred Perſons of Quality of both Sexes, and the greateſt Part of the chief Citizens, were convey'd under a ſtrong Guard to *Paris*, and there committed Priſoners to the *Chaſtelet*, the *Baſtile*, and other Places. Two Monks, who were convicted of ingaging in *Burgundy*'s Murder were beheaded in the City, with a Gentleman of King *Henry*'s Houſhold, whoſe Name was *Bertrand de Chaumont*. This latter had renounc'd the Intereſt of *France*, and devoted himſelf to the Service of the King of *England*, and was highly in his Favour, as a Man of approv'd Valour. But clear Evidence being brought againſt him, That during the Treaty for ſurrendring the Town, for a Sum of Mony he had favour'd the Eſcape of one *Aimerion de Lau*, a ſuſpected Accomplice in the Duke's Murder; the King, tho' with Regret to loſe ſo gallant a Man, and tho' the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Burgundy* interceded for his Life, would not pardon him, but gave Order for his Execution, declaring, *He would have no Traitors in his Army*: yet to ſhew his Value for his Abilities, he was heard ſorrowfully to ſay, *He would have given fifty thouſand Nobles that* Chaumont *had not been guilty of ſuch a Crime*. The valiant *Barbaſan* was accus'd by the Duke of *Burgundy* as an Accomplice in his Father's Murder; but he in an open Tryal defended himſelf, proteſting, *That tho' he was a Servant to the* Dauphine, *he was ſo far from conſenting to the Fact, that he knew nothing of it, 'till it was effected.* Tho' the Evidence againſt him was not clear, yet there was ſo ſtrong a Suſpicion as not to admit of his being ſet at Liberty; ſo that he continu'd a Priſoner nine Years. Some Writers inform us that he ſav'd his Life by pleading, *it would be a Diſhonour for King* Henry *to put a Perſon to Death, who was his Brother in Arms, and had ſignaliz'd himſelf in a ſingle Combate with him*; which by the Heralds was allow'd to be the ſame Thing as if he had fought with him in appointed Liſts.

The Entry of the Kings of England *and* France *into* Paris.

King Henry's *Grandeur and Power.*

Melun thus taken, and the Government given to the Earl of *Huntington*, the two Kings with the Duke of *Burgundy* made a publick Entry into *Paris*, being met by the Citizens, who in great Solemnity came out to congratulate their Arrival. The Streets were ſpread, and the Houſes hung with rich Cloth, while the People in all Parts expreſs'd their extraordinary Joy in the higheſt Acclamations. The two Kings rod together under a rich Canopy, *Henry* on the left Hand, next to whom followed the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Bedford*, and on the other Side of the Way the Duke of *Burgundy* in deep Mourning; the Princes and Nobility in each Nation follow'd in Order, the Clergy with Proceſſions, and their venerable Relicks, going before them to *Notredame* Cathedral. Rich Preſents, Flags, Streamers and Conduits running with Wine, were all us'd by the Citizens to expreſs how grateful the Peace was to them, and how much they exulted in the Honour of having two Kings reſident among them. King *Henry*'s Palace was prepared in the *Louvre*, and was moſt rich and magnificent, and King *Charles*'s Court in the *Hoſtel St. Pol*, and much inferior in all Reſpects; for, as one Author obſerves, young *Henry* commanded all, and his Brothers exercis'd ſupream Authority, while old *Charles* ſtood as a Cypher, and the *French* Nobility had nothing to do. As King *Henry* had the Diſpoſal of all Places of Honour and Truſt, ſo the *French* Nobility and Gentry addreſs'd themſelves to him, and endeavour'd to raiſe their Fortunes by obtaining an Intereſt in his Favour. He made a great Alteration of the Officers, diſplacing many who had been put in by the old Duke of *Burgundy* or his Son, and conferring their Employments on others whom he accounted more firm to his Intereſt. As Regent of *France* he alſo redreſs'd Grievances, reform'd Abuſes, and corrected all Miſcarriages in the Government; and he caus'd a new Coin to be ſtamp'd to expreſs the Union of the two Kingdoms, in the Reverſe of which the Arms of *England* and *France* were quarter'd together.

A Parliament meet at Paris,

which recognize King Henry,

and condemn and diſinherit the Dauphine.

The better to eſtabliſh all Things during King *Henry*'s Stay at *Paris*, a grand Parliament was ſummon'd to meet at that City; in which was the final Agreement between the two Kings openly acknowledg'd by King *Charles*, as made by his Aſſent, and with the Advice of all the Council of *France*; whereupon it was there alſo ratify'd by the general States of the Kingdom, and ſolemnly ſworn to by all the Nobility and Magiſtrates, Spiritual and Temporal, who alſo ſet their Seals to the Inſtruments of the Agreement, which were ſent into *England* to be kept in the King's Exchequer at *Weſtminſter*. But in this Parliament the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy* was in a more ſpecial and particular manner examin'd, and the Actors with all their Accomplices were ſolemnly ſentenc'd; and Methods were us'd to oblige them likewiſe to build Churches, and perform ſeveral publick Acts of Charity, in order to expiate that execrable Fact. And the Aſſembly proceeded ſo far as to ſummon the *Dauphine* himſelf before the Grand Marble Table, with all the uſual Formalities. Upon his Non-Appearance, he was publickly attainted and convicted of Murder, was declar'd unworthy of all Succeſſion, namely of that to the Crown of *France*, and was baniſh'd the Kingdom for ever. From this Sentence, as given by incompetent Judges, and contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, the *Dauphine* appeal'd to God and his Sword, and immediately transferr'd the Parliament and Univerſity to the City of *Poictiers*, at which Place the moſt illuſtrious Members of thoſe two Bodies did not fail to appear. Thus almoſt every thing was double in the Kingdom of *France*; there were two Kings, two Regents, two Parliaments, two Conſtables, two Chancellors, two Admirals, and ſo of moſt of the great Officers, not to mention the Multitude of Marſhals of *France*, whereof each Party made as many as they thought fit.

King *Henry* having eſtabliſh'd the grand Affairs of *France*, as well as theſe unſettled Times would permit, reſolv'd for a while to return to *England*, and there perform the Solemnities of his beloved Queen's Coronation; in order to which he firſt appointed for his Lieutenant of *France* his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, a brave Prince inferior to none but himſelf, and alſo left the Duke of *Exeter* with five hundred Men at Arms to continue in the City of *Paris*; and ſo attended with great Magnificence he repair'd to *Amiens*, and then to *Calais*. But before he took Shipping, he adjuſted ſeveral Affairs in *Normandy* and other Parts, treated with the Duke of *Bretaign*, and generouſly diſcharged the Count *De Richemont*, who had been Priſoner ever ſince the Battel at *Agincourt*. But for the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was diſcharg'd afterwards, he agreed for a Ranſom of no leſs than a hundred thouſand Crowns, beſides other Advantages. From *Calais* with a glorious Train the King croſs'd the Seas to *Dover*, and made a triumphant Entry at *London*, the People receiving him as an Angel from Heav'n, with Torrents of Joy and Exultation to ſee their King return crown'd with new Victories, and with the Acceſſion of another Kingdom to his own. But as he piouſly aſcrib'd the Glory of all his Conqueſts to a ſuperior Power, ſo he gave all the Praiſe to Heav'n, and commanded the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to appoint a publick Day of Thankſgiving.

King Henry *and his Queen come into* England.

A. D. 1421. Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$.

Queen Katharine's *Coronation.*

VI. The mighty King *Henry* was now in the Height of his Grandeur, and on his Return into *England* he found the Nation flouriſhing and proſperous under the Government of *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter* his Brother, who had ſucceeded the Duke of *Bedford* in the Regency with equal Wiſdom and Succeſs. The Arms of the King had not only been ſucceſsful in *France*, but alſo in *Ireland*, ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown; ſo that he found no Diſaſter to cloud his Joy in the Poſſeſſion of the moſt excellent Princeſs of that Age, or to diſturb the Pomp which was preparing for her Coronation. The Day appointed for this great Solemnity was the twenty fourth of *February*; where after the Ceremonies of the Coronation in *Weſtminſter* Abby, the Queen with her noble Retinue came into the Hall, where many Tables were ſpread, and a ſplendid Entertainment provided for the Nobles, Biſhops, Ladies, Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. On the Right Hand, and End of the Queen's Table, were ſeated the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Cardinal Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; on the Left the King of *Scotland* in his Robes, with the Dutcheſs of *York*, and Counteſs of *Huntington*. The Earl of *Marche* holding the Royal Scepter in his Hand, kneel'd on the Right Hand of the Queen, and the Earl-Marſhal in like manner on the Left; the Counteſs of *Kent* ſat at her Right Foot, and the Counteſs Marſhal at her Left; while the Duke of *Gloceſter*, as Overſeer, ſtood before her Majeſty bare-headed The reſt of the ſplendid Train had their ſeveral and diſtinct Tables in the Hall; and the whole Feaſt, tho' in the Time of *Lent*, and furniſh'd all with Fiſh, was great and pompous to the utmoſt Degree. After the Solemnities of the Coronation, the King, with the Queen and ſome of the Nobility, took a Journey to *York*, where they were joyfully and magnificently receiv'd, and the Citizens made them many rich Preſents. The Queen continu'd at *York*, but the King went in Pilgrimage to *Bridlington*, where having paid his Devotions, he afterwards viſited a great Part of his Kingdom: and in all Places where he came his Ears were open to the Complaints of the injur'd and oppreſs'd; He redreſs'd their Wrongs, puniſh'd the Corrupters of Juſtice, and reform'd the Abuſes in Government. Particularly a great Abuſe in the Church, ariſing from the Pope's Diſpoſal of the vacant Biſhopricks and Benefices was this Year remov'd; and with that Vigour and Reſolution, that it gave ſuch a Blow to the uſurping Power of *Rome* in this Kingdom, as greatly weaken'd, and at laſt entirely deſtroy'd it.

King Henry *regulates Abuſes.*

He calls a Parliament.

He ſets the King of the Scots *at Liberty.*

In *May* the King met his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and repreſented to them the State of the publick Affairs, the Conqueſts he had made in *France*, and the Supplies neceſſary to continue the War; that the *Dauphine* and his Party, who maintain'd ſome Provinces and Cities againſt him, being ſubdu'd, that Kingdom might be annex'd to the *Engliſh* Crown. The Commons chearfully gave a Fifteenth, tho' a Petition was preſented, fill'd with the ſad Complaints of the Poverty of the People, and intolerable Burden of the War, fomented by ſome Perſons more affecting their private Intereſt than the Proſperity of their Country, who regretted to part with any Mony to advance the Greatneſs and Honour of the Government. At the ſame time there was a Convocation of the Clergy at St. *Paul*'s, who offer'd a Tenth to the King, and the rich Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in Advance of the Mony lent him twenty thouſand Pound. At the ſame time the King wiſely took Care to ſecure his Kingdom from any Invaſion of the *Welſh* or *Scots* during his Abſence. He compos'd the Tumults in *Wales*, and reduc'd that People to their Duty; and to make the *Scots* his Friends, he gave Liberty to their King to return to his Country and Throne, ten Years after his being firſt taken by King *Henry* IV. and detain'd in the *Engliſh* Court. But he did not return 'till a few Years after in the next Reign. He alſo eſtabliſh'd a Peace with him, ſtrengthen'd with an Alliance, by giving him in Marriage the Lady *Anne* his Neice, and Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*. It was agreed that her Dowry ſhou'd pay Part of his Ranſom; that for the Payment of the reſt he ſhou'd give Hoſtages, and likewiſe engage himſelf never to make War upon *England*. Having taken all neceſſary Precautions, King *Henry* with a choice Army of four thouſand Men at Arms, and twenty four thouſand Archers, return'd into *France* to proſecute thoſe Wars.

A famous Ingagement with the Duke of Clarence *in* France.

The Duke ſlain in Battel.

The King now found his Preſence highly neceſſary, for before he took Shipping, he was ſurpris'd with the News of the unfortunate Miſcarriage of his admirable Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, of which this was the Occaſion. The Earl of *Buchan*, and the Earl of *Douglas*, and other Commanders, with ſeven thouſand *Scots* had paſs'd over into *France* to the Aſſiſtance of the *Dauphine*; and joining with his Party in *Anjou*, deſign'd to ſurpriſe the Duke of *Clarence* before he was provided: In which Enterprize, four ſtragling *Scots*, taken and brought Priſoners to him as he ſat at Dinner, diſcover'd the Deſign and Strength of the Enemy, whoſe Approach was very near. Upon hearing of this News the Duke, all in a Flame, too ſuddenly took Horſe, crying, *They are all ours!* leaving his Troops to follow him with what Expedition they could. His unexpected Appearance caus'd ſome of the *Scots* to take into the Church of *Baugy* for their Safety, where while they were defending themſelves, the reſt of their Forces took the Alarm, and the Earl of *Buchan* ſecur'd the main Bridge, to whoſe Aſſiſtance came *Hugh Kennedy* with a hundred Horſe. The Duke of *Clarence* ſeeing no Poſſibility to force his Paſſage with his ſlender Troop of Horſe, diſmounted with his Men, and made a noble Charge upon the Earl of *Buchan*; and the *Engliſh*, fir'd with Diſdain to meet with their old Enemies, fought with the greateſt Fierceneſs imaginable. But none was more brave and daring than the Duke himſelf, who being diſtinguiſh'd by his rich Armour, and a golden Coronet ſparkling with Jewels, but more remarkable for his Valour, was ſingled out by *John Swinton* a *Scotch* Cavalier, who with his Lance wounded him on the Face. The Duke notwithſtanding ruſh'd undauntedly into the thickeſt of the Enemy's Troops, where the Earl of *Buchan* on Horſeback ſtruck him down with a Truncheon, which put an End to his Life. The *Engliſh*, diſhearten'd at the Fall of ſo great a General, and being furiouſly attack'd by the whole Army, were ſoon routed with the Loſs of fifteen hundred Men, after they had ſlain above a thouſand of the Enemy. The Deaths of the Lords *Roſs* and *Gray*, and Sir *Gilbert Umfreville*, and the Captivity of the Earls of *Huntington*, *Somerſet* and *Perche*, the Lord *Fitz Walter* and Sir *William Bower*, caus'd a General Concern in the *Engliſh* Army; yet the Duke of *Clarence* had the greateſt Share in their Sorrow, who as he was generally belov'd for his Wiſdom, Valour and other excellent Qualities, ſo his Death was univerſally lamented not only by the *Engliſh*, but by the Enemy. His Body remain'd a few Hours in their Hands, who were carrying it to the *Dauphine*; but they did not long keep either that or the Field of Battel; For tho' the Body of the Army, which under the Earl of *Salisbury* had follow'd the Duke, could neither keep Pace with his ſwift March, nor advance Time enough to prevent his Fate and the Loſs of ſo many gallant Soldiers, yet they came up ſoon enough to force the *French* to a diſorderly Retreat, and to recover the dead Body of the Duke, which was convey'd into *England*, where it was interr'd with great Solemnity. The Earl of *Buchan* for his Valour was by the *Dauphine* made Conſtable of *France*.

His Body ſent into England.

King *Henry*, both griev'd and inrag'd at the Loſs of a Brother he ſo juſtly lov'd and admir'd, haſten'd his Expedition into *France*; and leaving his Brother *John* Duke of *Bedford* his Lieutenant, and his beloved Queen honourably attended, upon the tenth Day of *June* he landed at *Calais* with all his Forces, making now his laſt Entrance into *France*. On the Day after his Arrival he diſpatch'd the Earl of *Dorſet* and the Lord *Clifford* with twelve hundred Horſe and Foot into *Paris*, to relieve the Duke of *Exeter*, who was ſtraiten'd of Proviſions by the *Dauphinois*, that harraſs'd the adjacent Country, and had taken *Boneval*, *Glandon*, and ſome other Forts, and after that march'd to *Chartiers*, and inveſted it with ſeven thouſand Men at Arms, four thouſand Croſs-Bows and ſix thouſand Archers. King *Henry*, after a ſhort Continuance in *Calais*, march'd to *Monſtrelet*, and there quartering his Army, he found the Duke of *Burgundy* ſomewhat impair'd in his Health. Three Days being ſpent in Conference, the King march'd into *Ponthieu*, and the Duke to *Abbeville* upon *Somme*, to facilitate his Paſſage there to be made, of which they had ſome Doubt, by reaſon of the Diſſatisfaction of many of the Inhabitants. *Henry* in his March took the Fort call'd *La Ferte*, commanded by the Baſtard of *Belluy*, which ſurrender'd upon Summons; but being committed to the Cuſtody of *Borſlers* of *Picardy*, was again betray'd into the Hands of the *Dauphine*. From hence the King paſs'd the River at *Abbeville*, where he was ſplendidly entertain'd and richly preſented; from whence he march'd to *Beauvois*, *Giſors* and *Bois-de-Vincennes*, where King *Charles* and his Queen reſided, and receiv'd him with great Honour, and laſtly to the City of *Paris*, where he was receiv'd in Joy and Triumph.

King Henry *makes his laſt Expedition into* France.

He enters Paris.

But this Heroe, more regarding Laurels and Conqueſts than the delicate Pleaſures of a Court, after he had concerted Meaſures, and levy'd *French* Forces to add to the *Engliſh*, march'd towards *Meaux*, reſolving in Revenge of his Brother's Death to fight the *Dauphine*, who now had laid before *Chartiers* the Space of three Weeks. But he hearing of King *Henry*'s Approach at the Head of a formidable Power, broke up the Siege and retir'd; upon which the King march'd directly to *Dreaux*, and ſat down before that Place. The Inhabitants and Garriſon, apprehenſive of their Danger, beat a Parly, and agreed to ſurrender the Town, if the *Dauphine* did not relieve them by a certain Day; which being expir'd, the Town was deliver'd, and eight hundred of the *Dauphine*'s Party permitted to retire upon their Oaths not to bear Arms againſt King *Henry* for the Space of one Year. While *Henry* lay before this Place, *Mezeray* tells us, That an honeſt Hermit unknown to him, came and repreſented to him the great Evils he brought upon Chriſtendom by his unjuſt Ambition and Uſurpation of the Kingdom of *France*, againſt known Right and the Will of Heaven; wherefore in the Name of God he threaten'd him with a ſevere and ſudden Puniſhment if he did not deſiſt. The King took this Exhortation either for a viſionary Fancy, or a Suggeſtion of the *Dauphine*'s, therefore proſecuted his Deſigns with greater Vigour; and purſuing the flying *Dauphine*, he took *Baugency* and *Vendoſme* upon the River *Loire*, with other Forts, but could not encounter that Prince who ſo induſtriouſly avoided Battel. And tho' he had the greater Army, and had engag'd himſelf by his Heralds to meet the King of *England* in the Field, confirming it alſo with an Oath, he contenting himſelf with waſting the Country, drew off to *Bourges*, as a Place of ſafe Retreat, both for the Strength of the Place, and the Fidelity of the People: And for his conſtant Reſidence there, he was by way of Jeer call'd *The King of* Bourges. King *Henry* finding it was in vain to attack him in that advantageous Poſt, firſt ravag'd the Country, and then reſolv'd to beſiege *Meaux*, the Capital City of the County of *Brie*, a Place of great Strength and Conſequence. Having provided Engines, and all other Neceſſaries, he ſent his Uncle the Duke of *Exeter*, with four thouſand Men, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Suburbs, to prevent the Garriſon from firing them; and then following himſelf with an Army of twenty thouſand Men, on *October* the ſixth he inveſted the Place, incloſ'd his Camp with an Intrenchment, and rais'd his Batteries againſt the Walls and Gates. The Governor of the City was the Baſtard *De Varus*, who had with him many other Officers, and a thouſand ſelect Soldiers, beſides the Inhabitants, who were alſo reſolute to defend the Place to the laſt Extremity. And indeed they bravely held out for the Space of ſeven Months, while great Numbers of the *Engliſh* and *Burgundians* dy'd either by Sickneſs, Sallies, or the Shot from the Walls.

He takes ſeveral Towns from the Dauphine.

The Siege of Meaux.

A. D. 1422.
Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$.

During this tedious Winter Siege, the King had the Satisfaction of hearing that his Queen was deliver'd of a young Prince at *Windſor* on St. *Nicholas*'s Day, to whom he gave the Name of *Henry ſur les Fous*. It is commonly related, that when he heard his Son was born in *Windſor* Caſtle, he rais'd a bad Omen from the Place, as foreboding ſome unhappy Fate; and, as *Hall* ſays, ſpoke theſe prophetical Words to the Lord *Fitz-Hugh* his Chamberlain: *I* Henry *born at* Monmouth *ſhall a ſmall Time Reign, and gain much; and* Henry *born at* Windſor *ſhall reign long, and loſe all; but God's Will be done.* Among thoſe to whom the Care of this Royal Infant was committed, *Jaqueline de Bawieri* Dutcheſs of *Brabant* had the principal Imployment. At the ſame Time the Duke of *Richemont*, whom King *Henry* had releas'd without Ranſom, came at the Head of a numerous Body of Horſe to the Camp before *Meaux*, to ſerve him in the Siege, which was ſtill proſecuted vigorouſly; tho' upon Notice that ſome of the *Dauphine*'s Troops had ſurpriz'd *Auranches*, and kill'd and taken two or three hundred of the Garriſon, the King order'd a ſtrong Detachment to march to the Aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Salisbury* Governor of *Normandy*, who with thoſe Recruits ſoon recover'd the Town. About that Time *Jaques de Harecourt*, in Service of the *Dauphine*, with ſeven hundred Soldiers harraſs'd the Parts about *Vimen*, againſt whom ſome *Engliſh* Garriſons aſſembling, ſlew three hundred of his Men, himſelf hardly eſcaping by the Fleetneſs of his Horſe. Likewiſe *Oliver de Mauny* invaded *Conſtantine*, notwithſtanding he had ſolemnly ſworn at the Surrender of *Falaiſe* never to bear Arms againſt King *Henry*; but in the midſt of his Career he was defeated and taken Priſoner by the Earl of *Suffolk*. This perfidious Man being brought before King *Henry*, a true Obſerver of all Faith, he openly ſpoke thus to him, *You are an ancient Knight, and ought to have obſerv'd your Faith and Honour, which you have baſely broken, and by the Law of Arms deſerve immediate Death: But we give you your ignominious Life, and ſhall only ſend you into* England, *there to learn the Language, and truer Maxims of Honour.*

Henry VI. *born.*

His Father's Words upon his Birth.

His Words to De Mauny.

King *Henry*'s Forces being diminiſh'd by theſe Commotions in *Normandy*, and his Thoughts much employ'd that way, the valiant *De Offemont*, whom the Garriſon of *Meaux* earneſtly deſir'd ſhould be their Governor, found an Opportunity to approach the Walls with forty ſelect Soldiers, in Order to enter the Town; but ready to be receiv'd by Ladders over the Walls in the Night, Centinels diſcover'd the Men, and he himſelf not being able to recover the Ladders, fell into the Ditch, where not being able to free himſelf from his heavy Armour, he was wounded, and then taken Priſoner, with moſt of his Followers. King *Henry* eſteem'd the Taking of ſo brave and valiant a Commander as a Prize of great Importance, and puſh'd forwards the Siege with freſh Vigour and Reſolution. At length the Defendants, hopeleſs of Relief, and finding themſelves unable to hold out, carry'd all their Goods from the Town into the Caſtle; but the Beſiegers diſcovering their Actions, and fearing to loſe their Booty, made a ſudden and furious Attack, and by Force made way into the Town with Sword in Hand. Then *Henry* planting his Cannon, began to batter the Caſtle, and ſhortly reduc'd it to that Extremity, that beſides want of Bread, moſt of their Hand Weapons were broken, and the Men dangerouſly wounded; yet they did not deſiſt from provoking the *Engliſh* with opprobrious Words and vile Indignities, which caus'd harder Conditions to be laid upon them, than in any other Town taken the whole War. By which the whole Garriſon and the Inhabitants were to be Priſoners at the King's Pleaſure, only having their Lives ſav'd; but the Governor *De Varus*, and ſome other Men of Note and Quality, were to be deliver'd up to immediate Execution. The City thus ſurrender'd, King *Henry* immediately ſent eight hundred ſelect Men Priſoners to *Paris*, *Roan* and *England*. The Governor was beheaded, and his Body hung on a Tree before the Town, call'd by his own Name, becauſe he had formerly hang'd on it many *Engliſh* and *Burgundians*, and his Head was fix'd on a Pole upon the Top of the ſame Tree. This was follow'd by the Execution of ſeveral others of Quality in *Paris*, who had given more than common Provocations during the Time of the Siege; and all the Riches of the City

Meaux *ſurrender'd.*

Many other Places yield to King Henry.

was diſtributed by King *Henry* to his Commanders and moſt deſerving Men. Orders being taken for the repairing the Breaches, and the City well garriſon'd, *Creſpy*, the Caſtle of *Pierrepont*, *Merlau*, *Offemont*, and ſeveral other Places ſubmitted to the King's victorious Arms; while others were ſet on Fire to hinder him of the Fruits of his Conqueſts. When the Governors of Places in the Marches of *Beauvais* heard how King *Henry*, by a Courage and Conduct which nothing could reſiſt, had taken Towns and Forts which they thought impregnable, they had ſuch an Apprehenſion of his Might, that they ſent Deputies to treat about ſurrendering at an aſſign'd Time, if the *Dauphine* did not give them due Aſſiſtance.

Queen Katharine *arrives in* France.

Queen *Katharine* in *England* daily hearing of the King's Succeſs, greatly deſir'd the Sight of his Perſon, and for that End prepar'd for a Voyage to *France*, under the Conduct of Duke *John* the King's Brother, then Regent of *England*, who for the Time of his Abſence deputed his Brother *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*, and took Shipping at *Southampton*. The Winds being proſperous, on the twenty firſt of *May* ſhe landed at *Harfleur*, and with encreaſing Trains of Nobility by eaſie Journies came to *Roan*, and from thence to *Bois-de-Vincennes*, where her Royal Husband, with her Father and Mother, came in great Pomp to meet her with the utmoſt Demonſtrations of Joy. From thence they all enter'd the City of *Paris*; and at the Celebration of the Feſtival of *Pentecoſt*, a magnificent Feaſt was prepar'd in the great Hall of the *Louvre*, where at one Table the King and Queen of *England* ſat with their Imperial Crowns and Robes, and at the other many of the *French* and *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry. The *French* Court at the *Hoſtel St. Pol* was at the ſame Time very thin, and King *Charles* ſaw himſelf neglected and abandon'd by thoſe who were born his Subjects, who now ador'd their young riſing Sovereign. The former had the Title of King of *France*, while the latter govern'd all; at which, tho' many of the *French* were uneaſy, yet the *Engliſh* King was manifeſtly too great to be oppos'd. Here he made a bold Effort of his Power, in cauſing the Tax rais'd on the Marks of Silver for Minting his new Mony to be collected at *Paris*, as it had been in other Places; and tho' the People murmur'd and talk'd out their Diſcontents, yet they were ſo aw'd, that they durſt not break out into any Tumult. But their Reſentments were abated, or rather turn'd into Affection, when they felt the kind Influences of King *Henry*'s juſt and moderate Government, and obſerv'd his exact Adminiſtration of Juſtice in redreſſing Wrongs, and puniſhing the Actors without Partiality or Favour. By this juſt Conduct he eſpecially gain'd the Love of the Common People, who regarded him not as their Conqueror, but as their Father and Protector.

The Grandeur of King Henry *at* Paris.

Tho' the Princes of *Champaign*, *Picardy*, *Brie*, *Normandy*, and *Iſle of France*, were in King *Henry*'s Poſſeſſion, yet all were not reduc'd to a quiet Obedience; for a great and ſtrong Part ſtill held out for the *Dauphine*, who with twenty thouſand effective Men beſieg'd *La Charitie* upon the *Loire*, and took it; from whence he march'd to *Cone* upon the ſame River, where the Beſieg'd treated about a Surrender, and gave Hoſtage to deliver it up on the ſixteenth of *Auguſt*, if they were not reliev'd before that Time by the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Prince and the Duke by Conſent agreed to put the Cauſe to the Deciſion of a Battel, to be fought on the ſaid ſixteenth of *Auguſt*; and this was mutually declar'd by their Heralds. The Duke not only ſent Orders to levy new Forces to augment his Army, but likewiſe begg'd King *Henry*'s particular Aſſiſtance; to which the King gave Anſwer, *That he himſelf would come at the Head of his whole Army to join with him in the Battel.* But as this mighty Conqueror prepar'd for his March, Heav'n thought fit to put a Period to all his encreaſing Glories, and ſtruck him with a Diſtemper that prov'd fatal to him; and all he could do was to command the Duke of *Bedford* and Earl of *Warwick* to give all neceſſary Aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Burgundy*. Tho' he was much weaken'd by his Diſeaſe, he was yet animated by a Courage natural to him; ſo that taking his laſt Leave of King *Charles* and the two Queens at *Senlis*, he repair'd to *Melun*, with a Deſign to go from that City, and put himſelf at the Head of the Army. But his Diſtemper increaſing, his Body was too feeble to anſwer the invincible Greatneſs of his Soul: And therefore tho' he went in a Litter, to be carry'd among his Troops, yet finding himſelf extreamly ill, he was oblig'd to return and ſtay at *Bois-de-Vincennes*, while the Duke of *Bedford* by his Order march'd with the whole Army to join the Duke of *Burgundy* at *Vezelay*.

King Henry *deſigns to fight the* Dauphine.

His laſt Sickneſs.

The Duke of *Burgundy* gratefully acknowledg'd the King of *England*'s Kindneſs; and joining all the Forces, he took his March to *Cone*, which was beſieg'd by the *Dauphine*, and encamp'd near the Town, preparing for that important Battel which was to be fought the next Day. The *French* Prince finding his Enemies to exceed him in Number and Strength, notwithſtanding he had made a publick Defiance by his Heralds, immediately broke up the Siege, and retreated to *Bourges* and *Berry*. The Duke having thus rais'd the Siege, and forc'd his Enemies to a moſt diſhonourable Retreat without Fighting, return'd to *Troyes* with his Army. In their March the Duke of *Bedford* receiv'd the mournful News, that his Brother King *Henry*'s Life was in Danger; upon which he left his Army, and, attended with a few choice Friends, rod full ſpeed to *de Vincennes*. The brave King ſenſible that he was a dying, gave Orders that the Duke of *Bedford*, the Duke of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *Lewis Robeſſart*, and ſeven or eight more, who had the greateſt Place in his Affection and Confidence, ſhould ſtand around his Bed. To whom he ſpoke to this Effect; *I am juſt now approaching the Period of my Life, which tho' ſhort, has been glorious and conducing to the Good and Honour of my People; and tho' it has been ſpent in Wars and Bloodſhed, yet ſince milder Methods have been ineffectual, and nothing leſs could vindicate my Right, the Miſeries produc'd are not to be imputed to me, but to my Enemies, as the Effect of their Injuſtice. As Death never appear'd formidable in ſo many Battels and Sieges, ſo I can now without Horror behold its gradual Approaches in a Diſeaſe; and ſince it is the Will of Heaven to put an End to my Days, I chearfully reſign myſelf to its Pleaſure. Nor ſhould I leave the World with the leaſt Reluctancy, if two Things did not nearly touch me. One is, that I muſt go out of it when my Subjects are involv'd in the Confuſions of a War, before I ſee the Enemy, who oppoſes the Peace and Glory of both Nations, intirely ſubdu'd by my Arms; and the Other is, that I ſee my ſelf call'd from the Throne at a Time, when my Son is only an Infant, and incapable of filling it.* Therefore to obviate all future Inconveniencies, he with the moſt pathetick and endearing Expreſſions urg'd them all ſtrictly to obſerve his Advice and Inſtructions. The Subſtance of which was, *That they would take the moſt exact Care in the Education of his Son, and inviolably preſerve their Loyalty to him; and that they would comfort his beloved Wife, now the moſt diſconſolate Princeſs living: That they would keep ſtrict Faith with the Duke of* Burgundy, *and never make Peace with the* Dauphine, *on any other Condition than that of having all the Dukedom of* Normandy *entirely ſecur'd to the* Engliſh *Crown: That they would preſerve a ſtrict Union among themſelves, and not diſcharge the Duke of* Orleans, *the Count* d' Eu, *and ſome other noble Priſoners, 'till his Son was of Years to govern: That his Brother the Duke of* Bedford, *with the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of* Burgundy, *ſhould manage the Kingdom of* France; *and that his Uncle the Duke of* Exeter, *with his Brother the Duke of* Gloceſter, *ſhould govern that of* England.

His Speech upon his Death Bed.

His Inſtructions.

The ſorrowful Nobles obſerv'd in profound Silence, and with aſſured Promiſes gave their Approbation to theſe laſt Counſels ſo ſenſibly urg'd by their expiring Monarch; who having thus eſtabliſh'd his ſecular Affairs, had his Thoughts wholly imploy'd about the Condition of his Soul now departing into another World. Ordering his Phyſicians to come to him, he demanded of them how long he had to live; but they declining a direct Anſwer, and flattering him with the Hopes of Life, the King with Diſſatisfaction charg'd them upon their Allegiance to declare their Opinion in poſitive Terms. After ſome little Conſultation among themſelves, one of them kneeling down in the Name of the reſt ſaid, *Sir, think upon your Soul, for as we judge, without a Miracle, you cannot live longer than two Hours.* Upon which with the higheſt Devotion he proceeded to Confeſſion, commanding his Prieſts to ſing the ſeven penitential Pſalms; and when in the fifty firſt Pſalm they came to thoſe Words, *Build up the Walls of* Jeruſalem, he bad them ſtop, and with a loud Voice declar'd upon the Word of a dying Man, *That after the Settlement of the Kingdom of* France, *he really intended, with the Will of Heav'n, to have made War againſt the Infidels, for the Conqueſt of* Jeruſalem. Having finiſh'd their Devotion, this great King expir'd at the Hour which the Phyſician had foretold, on the thirty firſt Day of *Auguſt*, in the Prime of his Years the thirty fourth of his Age, after a ſhort, but moſt glorious, magnificent and triumphant Reign of nine Years, four Months, and eleven Days.

His Devotion, and Death

By the Gratitude of this Age his Funeral Obſequies were proportion'd to his Worth and Grandeur. His Body, embalm'd and encloſ'd in Lead, was laid on a Chariot of State, richly adorn'd with Cloth of Gold; and on a Bed in the ſame Chariot was laid a lively Figure of his Perſon, with Imperial Robes, a Crown of Gold, a Scepter and Globe, like a triumphant Monarch; and over all was a glorious Silk Canopy. The Chariot was drawn by ſix Horſes in rich Harneſs: The firſt bore the Arms of St. *George*, the ſecond the Arms of *Normandy*, the third thoſe of King *Arthur*, the fourth thoſe of St. *Edward*, the fifth the Arms of *France*, and the ſixth thoſe of *England* and *France*. *James* King of the *Scots* follow'd it as principal Mourner; and

His pompous Obſequies.

and after him the Duke of *Exeter*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Marche*, *Stafford* and *Mortaigne*, the Lords *Fitz-Hugh*, *Hungerford*, *Bourchier*, *Fanhope* and *Cromwell*, Sir *Robert Robeſſart*, and Sir *John Cornwall*. The Banners of the Saints were born by the Lords *Lovel*, *Audely*, *Morley* and *Zouch*; the Baron *Dudley* bore the great Standard, and the Earl of *Longueville* the Banner. The Hachments were carry'd by twelve Commanders, and around the Chariot rode five hundred Men at Arms all in black Armour, their Horſes barb'd black, and their Lances held with the Points downward. Three hundred cloath'd in white, bearing lighted Torches, alſo ſurrounded the Chariot, with Lords bearing Banners, Bannerols and Penons; thoſe of the King's Houſhold cloath'd in Black follow'd it, and after them the Royal Family in deep Mourning; while the ſorrowful Queen with a noble Retinue follow'd at a League's Diſtance. In this ſolemn Manner the Body was convey'd from *Bois-de-Vincennes* to *Paris*, and ſo to *Roan*, to *Abbeville*, to *Calais*, to *Dover*, from thence through the City of *London* to *Weſtminſter*, where it was interr'd with ſuch pompous Ceremonies, ſuch Mournings of the Nobility, Prayers of the Eccleſiaſticks, and Lamentations of the Commons, as were never known before in the Kingdom of *England*. He was bury'd in the Abby-Church, and his Queen caus'd his Image in Silver gilt, of the full Proportion, to be laid on his Tomb.

His Character.

Theſe were the laſt Honours done to this mighty Monarch, the Wonder of all Chriſtendom, who was ſo highly reverenc'd and lov'd by all his People, that his Funerals were attended with an univerſal Sorrow. They ſaw all their Hopes of ſubduing *France* loſt in the Death of a Prince, who only knew how to conquer it, and that with an Army never exceeding thirty thouſand; ſo that ſome believe his Enemies took away his Life by Poiſon, which they could not deſtroy in open War. He had all the Accompliſhments of Body and Mind which are requir'd to the finiſhing a great Man. His Stature was tall and majeſtick; his Body, tho' lean and ſlender, had all its Limbs well proportion'd, and ſtrongly fram'd; his Neck long, his Hair black, and a manly Beauty ſhin'd in his Face, as well as ſparkled in his Eyes. His Strength and Agility was admirable in all the Exerciſes he perform'd; which was continually preſerv'd by his being temperate, chaſte, enur'd to all the Hardſhips of War, patient of Heat and Cold, Hunger and Thirſt, and moderate in Sleep. He was a nice Obſerver of Juſtice, pious in his Religion, conſtant in his Devotions, a great Patron of the Church and Clergy, and abounding in Works of Charity; wiſe in his Counſels, magnanimous in his Deſigns, and reſolute in purſuing them; great and ſomewhat reſerv'd in his Temper, given to ſpeak little, but all he ſaid was like himſelf. As to his Valour and Bravery his whole Reign was a continu'd and wonderful Inſtance of it; in the Exerciſe of which, his ſtricteſt Orders were ſo nicely obey'd, that he reviv'd the martial Diſcipline of the old *Romans*, by which they conquer'd the World: And never was the *Engliſh* Valour ſo glorioully diſplay'd, as in this Reign. For his great Acts he has been compar'd to no leſs than three of the nine Worthies of the World; to *David* the Prophet for Piety; to *Cæſar* the invincible, for Glory; and to *Alexander* the Great, for Magnanimity: And with this Advantage, that he was not unchaſte like *David*, vain-glorious like *Cæſar*, nor intemperate like *Alexander*; who while they conquer'd others, became Slaves to their own Paſſions. As he exceeded them in theſe Qualifications, ſo he was not inferior to them in his Fortunes, being neither ſo dejected as *David*, ſo much envy'd as *Cæſar*, nor ſo dreaded as *Alexander*; it being his good Fortune never to be diſtreſs'd, diſtruſted or deſpis'd. But the unexpected Loſs of this Prince in the Flower of his Youth, and in the Midſt, or rather Riſing of his proſperous Fortune, will ſerve for a pregnant Inſtance and Example to ſhew what ſlender Hold mortal Man has of Worldly Greatneſs and Glory, being continually ſubject either to the ſudden Loſs of it, or as ſuddenly to be taken from it: And indeed there ſeems to be ſomething of the more immediate Hand of Providence in it, which now began to chaſtiſe the Progeny of Hing *Henry* the Fourth.

His Publick Works.

His Works of Piety were ſhewn in erecting the Monaſteries of *Bethlem* and *Bridget*, near his Manor of *Richmond*, as alſo his bounteous Gifts to the Works and Furniture of *Weſtminſter* Church, beſides the Fraternity of St. *Giles* without *Cripplegate*; and many other greater Things he had projected at *Oxford* and other Places. To leave a Teſtimony of his Affection to Arms, he firſt inſtituted *Gartar* principal King at Arms; beſides other honourable Augmentations to the Order of St. *George*. In this Reign flouriſh'd, beſides the moſt renowned Soldiers, many Men of Note for Arts and Learning, as *William Linwood* the great Canoniſt of that Age, *Stephen Patrington*, *Robert Maſcal*, *Alain de Lyn*, *Thomas Otterborn*, *John Sherburn*, *John Leland*, and many others.

SECT. III.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Sixth.*

Containing 38 *Years*, 6 *Months*, *and* 4 *Days*.

A. D. 1422. Reg. 1.

Henry an Infant proclaim'd King.

AFTER God had depriv'd the *Engliſh* of the greateſt King in the World, he thought fit that an Infant ſhould ſucceed him, now but nine Months old, who upon the thirtieth Day of *Auguſt* was by the Sound of Trumpets proclaim'd King of *England* and *France*, by the Name of *Henry* the Sixth. But as the Wiſdom of ſome ſupplies the Defects of Age in others, ſo his Father had by his laſt Will appointed, and now the Lords by their Conſent confirm'd the grand Care of the Publick to his two brave and powerful Uncles, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*: The former, joining with the Duke of *Burgundy*, had the Regency of *France*, and the latter the Government of *England*; and the Care and Tuition of the Royal Infant was committed to the two Brothers, *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry Beaufort* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Chancellor of *England*. This Appointment prov'd really advantageous to the *Engliſh* Nation; for they all carry'd themſelves ſo upright and carefully in their ſeveral Stations, that it well appear'd the Truſt repos'd in them by the dying King, had made a noble Impreſſion of Love and Loyalty towards his Son. And indeed the Beginning of this Reign, like the fair Morn of a moſt tempeſtuous Day, promis'd nothing leſs than a Continuance of paſt Felicities. For the State of the *Engliſh* Affairs was great and flouriſhing; *England* without Tumult, the natural fierce Humours of her People conſuming or encreaſing themſelves in *France*; and *France* her ſelf, for the nobler Parts, together with the grand City of *Paris*, was at their Devotion. There wanted nothing but the mighty *Henry* himſelf to compleat the Work begun; for beſides the valiant Duke of *Bedford*, there were the two Terrors of *France*, *Thomas* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *John* Lord *Talbot*, and Armies of veteran Soldiers, where almoſt each Man was equal to a Commander. Yet Providence in Time thought fit to change the whole Courſe of Affairs; and the firſt Diſadvantage which happen'd to the *Engliſh* Cauſe was the Death of *Charles* King of *France*, who ſurviv'd King *Henry* no more than fifty three Days. This may be truly call'd the firſt Diſadvantage, becauſe the Imbecilities of that Prince were a great Strength to the *Engliſh*; and on the other Side the Infancy of young *Henry* was an Advantage to *Charles* the *Dauphine*, who by thoſe of his own Party was now proclaim'd King of *France*, as the *Engliſh* in Deriſion us'd to ſtile him King of *Berry*, becauſe he had not much more left than that Province.

The Protector and Guardian appointed.

Charles King of France dies.

A Parliament in England.

In *England* a Parliament was aſſembled the better to eſtabliſh the Crown upon the Infant, and to provide for the publick Uſes and Neceſſities of the State; among which Money was liberally granted, particularly five Nobles upon every Sack of Wool. It was a new and uncommon Sight to the *Engliſh* Nation, to ſee an Infant ſitting in his Mother's Lap, and exerciſing Sovereign Power in open Parliament; for Queen *Katharine*, to illuminate that publick Aſſembly with the Preſence of her Royal Babe, remov'd from *Windſor* to *London*, and with him in her Arms was carry'd through the City in a pompous and ſplendid manner to *Weſtminſter*; where being ſeated upon his Throne, by the ordinary Mouth of that high Court, he ſaluted the Auguſt Body, and propos'd Matters of the higheſt Conſequence to their moſt mature Conſideration. As the Affairs of this young Monarch were wiſely eſtabliſh'd in *England*, ſo they were no leſs vigorouſly proſecuted in *France* by the worthy Regent the Duke of *Bedford*; who heartily joining with the Duke of *Burgundy*, fortify'd the Frontiers of their Poſſeſſions, aſſembled their Deputies and Repreſentatives, and us'd all Methods to retain the Hearts of their own Party. In a publick Aſſembly at *Paris* the Duke of *Bedford* in a ſolemn Speech exhorted the Nobility of *France*, *Not to violate their ſworn Allegiance, nor endeavour by themſelves or others to defraud their Sovereign Lord King* Henry *of his rightful Inheritance; nor to countenance any faithleſs Men who would revive the expiring Animoſities between the* French *and* Engliſh *Names and Nations. That they would remember, how by the Bounty of Providence, the two Kingdoms of* France *and* England *were in perpetual League united into one glorious Monarchy, and lately eſtabliſh'd beyond the Extent of all Human Force. That tho' they had been great Sufferers by the War, yet they would be no leſs Gainers, if they honour'd, lov'd and obey'd their lawful Sovereign King* Henry, *and according to their bounden Duty proſecuted his Enemies to the utmoſt Extremity.* This Speech found plauſible Admiſſion; and young *Henry* was in *Paris* ſolemnly

The Duke of Bedford's Care in France.

pro-

Young Hen*ry proclaim'd there.*

proclaim'd King of *England* and *France*, and ſuch Noblemen as were preſent did their Homages, and took their Oaths of Fealty. The like Obligations and Oaths of Allegiance were in the ſame manner put upon all *Frenchmen* in the *Engliſh* Dominions in *France*.

A. D. 1423. Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.
The Dauphin*'s Endeavours against him.*

The *Dauphine*, who now ſtil'd himſelf King of *France* by the Name of *Charles* the Seventh, being then about twenty ſeven Years of Age, full of Courage and new Hopes, gather'd together what Forces he could. He had the Duke of *Alenſon*, with ſeveral Princes of the Blood and Peers of *France* on his Side, all whom he purchas'd at a dear Rate; for he was conſtrain'd to engage his Caſtles and the beſt Part of his Demeſnes in Pawn for them. But the greateſt Strength of his Army conſiſted of ſome thouſands of the *Scottiſh* Nation, who as true Enemies to the *Engliſh*, ſerv'd under his Banner. The firſt Attempt made by *Charles* his Forces prov'd unfortunate; for marching to relieve *Cravant*, which the *Engliſh* had beſieg'd, they were put to Flight with the Loſs of two thouſand of their Men. *Charles* and his Adherents were ſo far from ſinking under the Apprehenſions of ſo ill an Omen, that they reſolv'd to encounter adverſe Fortune with Encreaſe of Courage. Purſuing this Reſolution, they in a ſhort Time after repair'd the late Loſs by an Overthrow which they gave to a Party of *Engliſh*, from whom, with the Slaughter of fifteen hundred, they recover'd a great Booty, eſpecially of Cattle, which they had gotten in the Counties of *Nugion* and *Main*. Proceeding in this Courſe *Charles* took *Meulan* upon the *Sein*, and put the *Engliſh* Garriſon to the Sword: But the Poſſeſſion was ſhort, and the Revenge ſpeedy; for the Earl of *Salisbury*, whom *Polydore* compares to the old *Romans* for Valour and Bravery, taking with him *John* of *Luxemburg*, General of the *Burgundian* Horſe, ſoon recover'd the Place, and kill'd all the *French* that were found in it.

An Alliance between the Dukes of Bedford, Burgundy *and* Bretaign.

The better to eſtabliſh the *Engliſh* Affairs, at the City of *Amiens* in *Picardy*, the three great Dukes of *Bedford*, *Burgundy* and *Bretaign*, with the Earl of *Richemont*, met in great State; where they renew'd the former League, adding, 'That each ſhould be the other's Friend, and that all 'of them ſhould unite their Forces in the Defence of King '*Henry*'s Right. But for the better Confirmation of this profitable Alliance, the Duke of *Bedford*, then a Batchelor, marry'd the Lady *Anne*, Siſter to the Duke of *Burgundy*; and the Earl of *Richemont* marry'd another of the Duke's Siſters nam'd *Margaret*. While the Regent was abſent from *Paris* upon theſe juſt Occaſions, the *Pariſians*, who not long before had ſent Ambaſſadors into *England* to acknowledge King *Henry*, now enter'd into a Deſign to deliver up the City to *Charles* the new King. The Regent had timely Notice of this dangerous Conſpiracy, and with his Preſence reduc'd them to their Duty, with the Execution of ſeveral of the chief Actors. Not long after there ſeaſonably arriv'd out of *England* ten thouſand freſh Soldiers, over whom for Commanders he appointed the famous Earl of *Salisbury*, *William Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Willoughby* and others; while he himſelf for the general Service led eight hundred Horſemen, and eight thouſand Foot. With theſe Field Forces the main of the *Engliſh* Eſtate in *France* was ſupported and held together, tho' not without Difficulties and various Adventures; in which the Regent took from *Charles* ſeveral ſtrong Towns and Forts, as *Crotoy*, *Compeigne*, *Baſas*, and many others.

A. D. 1424. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.
The Duke of Bedford *is ſucceſsful.*

The Regent's chief Deſign was to draw *Charles* to a general Battel, hoping by that to finiſh his Work; to which End he march'd into *Normandy*, while the other muſter'd his Soldiers in *Tourain*. To promote this Deſign, the Regent laid Siege to *Yvry*; whereupon the Duke of *Alenſon* was detach'd at the Head of ſixteen thouſand Men, with Inſtructions to fight, if Occaſion ſerv'd, but *Charles* himſelf was not permitted to hazard his Perſon. Not far from the Town of *Vernevil*, which the *Engliſh* had taken before *Alenſon* and his *Charolines* could relieve it, the two Armies drew up in Battalia. The Fight began with Arrows and Darts, which being not quick enough to diſpatch the Work, the eager Combatants proceeded to Hand-Blows, where for ſome Hours they maintain'd a conſtant and doubtful Conflict with prodigious Fury. The *Engliſh*, enur'd to the *French* Wars, having born the firſt and fierceſt Attacks of their Enemies, by an uniform Courage intirely broke them and put them to Flight; and the Regent himſelf with his Battel-Ax did Wonders, and won immortal Honour in the bloody Conteſt. In this Battel, which was fought on the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, were ſlain on the *French* Side five Earls, two Viſcounts, twenty Barons, and above ſeven thouſand Soldiers, beſides two thouſand ſeven hundred *Scots* lately arriv'd; and the *Engliſh* took the Duke of *Alenſon* himſelf Priſoner, with two hundred other Men of Note, beſides inferior Soldiers; all which coſt them the Lives of two thouſand one hundred common Soldiers, and the two Lords *Dudley* and *Charleton*. After which, the Regent return'd to *Paris*, and the Earl of *Salisbury* with ten thouſand Men took the ſtrong City of *Maus*, the Town of St. *Suſan*, the Fort of St. *Bernard*, and other Places; from whence marching into *Anjou*, he there perform'd ſuch Heroick Acts, that his very Name grew terrible to all *France*. The News of theſe Tranſactions arriving in *England*, caus'd great Rejoicings among the People, both for the Victory in the open Field, and the gaining of ſo many conſiderable Places; for which general Proceſſions and publick Thankſgivings were appointed.

He defeat the French *at* Vernevil.

Rejoicings in England.

James *King of* Scotland *at full Liberty.*

In *England*, during theſe proſperous Proceedings, *James* the Firſt, King of *Scotland*, whoſe Ranſom had been ſettled in the late Reign, was now fully ſet at Liberty: But before his Departure out of the Kingdom he did Homage to young King *Henry* in *Windſor* Caſtle in the Preſence of many of the Nobility and Gentry in theſe Words, *I* James Stuart, *King of the* Scots, *will be true and faithful to you Lord* Henry, *King of* England *and* France, *the Superior Lord of* Scotland, *and to you I make my Fidelity for the ſaid Kingdom, which I hold and claim of you, and will do you Service for the ſame, ſo help me God, and theſe Holy Evangeliſts.* But notwithſtanding this ſolemn Oath, and the many munificent Preſents that were made to him, he did not long continue in the *Engliſh* Intereſt, but afterwards became as firm to the *French* as any of his Predeceſſors. After *Eaſter*, in the Third Year of this Reign, by the Advice of the Peers, the young King call'd a Parliament; and going to the Houſe himſelf, he was convey'd through the City upon a noble Courſer, in extraordinary Triumph, the People thronging the Streets to behold the Child, whom they judg'd to have the lively Features and Countenance of his glorious Father, and likely to ſucceed him in all mighty Qualifications and Abilities, as well as Kingdoms and Dominions. During this Seaſon, *Edmund Mortimer* the laſt Earl of *Marche* of that Name, and neareſt Heir to the Crown of *England*, deceas'd without Iſſue, and his great Patrimony deſcended to *Richard Plantagenet* Earl of *Cambridge*, Son and Heir to the ſame Earl of *Cambridge* that was beheaded in the Beginning of the laſt Reign. In the time of this Parliament alſo Sir *John Mortimer*, Couſin to the deceas'd Earl, either out of Deſert or Malice, was impeach'd for High-Treaſon, and publickly executed; from whoſe Death there aroſe no ſmall Murmurings among the common People.

His Homage.

A Parliament.

The Earl of Marche *dies.*

His Couſin beheaded.

In the mean Time the Amity and Alliance with the Duke of *Burgundy*, which the *Engliſh* had found ſo advantageous in their Conqueſts, having otherwiſe receiv'd ſome ſlight Flaws, was now in danger of being utterly broken upon this Occaſion. *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*, Protector of *England*, following Advices unworthy of his Perſon and Station, contracted himſelf with the Lady *Jaqueline* of *Bavaria*, Inheritrix of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Hainault*, and of many other fair Dominions in the *Netherlands*, notwithſtanding that the Duke of *Brabant* her Husband was then living, and that the Suit of Divorce commenc'd by *Jaqueline* was ſtill depending between them. The Duke of *Burgundy* in this Affair join'd with *Brabant*; which ſoon raiſed the Indignation of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who not being us'd to meet with Oppoſition, went over in Perſon with an Army to take Poſſeſſion of *Hainault* in Right of his ſuppos'd Wife; but finding himſelf diſappointed by the Succours which *Burgundy* ſent to the Duke of *Brabant*, he proceeded to challenge the former in Combate, and to call him Traitor. This was accepted, but by the Duke of *Bedford*'s Mediation the Challenge fell, and the Matter was accommodated; ſo that the Duke of *Gloceſter*, without performing any thing for which he came, left his Lady at her Town of *Mons*, and return'd into *England*. Here *Mezeray* is of Opinion that if this unſeaſonable Conteſt had not happen'd, the reſt of *France* at this time had undoubtedly been ſubdu'd. Not long after the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Return, the firſt Marriage which had been made and conſummated between the Duke of *Brabant* and the ſaid Lady *Jaqueline* was pronounc'd lawful and valid by Pope *Martin* the Fifth. Whereupon the Duke of *Gloceſter*, having ſuſtain'd many Loſſes both of Friends and Treaſure, in Puniſhment of his Crime of taking another Man's Wife, ſhortly after marry'd *Eleanor*, Daughter to the Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*; by which he is ſaid to have made her Compenſation for that unlawful Familiarity that had formerly paſs'd between them.

A Breach between the Dukes of Gloceſter *and* Burgundy.

They are reconcil'd.

A. D. 1425. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.
A Diſpute between the Duke of Gloceſter *and Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

II. By this time the Court of *England* began to diſcover the uſual Effects of an Infant's ſitting upon the Throne, by the dangerous Emulation of the two principal Men in the Nation, the Duke of *Gloceſter* and his Uncle the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the one Protector of the Kingdom, and the other a Tutor to the King. Whether it was that the former hated the Riches and pompous Living of the latter, or that the latter envy'd the great Authority of the former; it is certain that the *Engliſh* Court, the City of *London*, and the whole Kingdom was diſturb'd by this unhappy Contention: Alterations not to be wonder'd at; for as Thunder foreruns a Storm, ſo King *Henry*'s Misfortunes were not to fall out without a Precedency of many Diſorders, which tho' ſeparately conſider'd were of no great Moment, yet being join'd were ſuch as at length caus'd his Ruin. The News of theſe Domeſtick Diſturbances oblig'd the great Duke of *Bedford* to return from *France*, tho' the State of that Realm ſufficiently requir'd his Preſence. For the Duke of *Bretaign*, notwithſtanding his late Renovation of the League with the Regent, growing jealous of the *Engliſh* Greatneſs, ſuddenly turn'd to *Charles*'s Party; and with him the Earl of *Richemont* his Brother. This gave freſh Life to the declining Prince, who made *Richemont* Conſtable of his Part of *France*, in the Room of the Earl of *Douglas* ſlain in the Battel of *Vernevil*; and he to ſhew his Gratitude gather'd about twenty thouſand Men, and ſuddenly inveſted St. *Jean*, a Town in *Normandy*, upon the Frontiers of *Bretaign*, which the Duke of *Somerſet* Governor of *Normandy* had lately fortify'd and repleniſh'd with Soldiers. This unexpected Approach of the *French* at firſt much perplex'd the *Engliſh*; but upon better Conſideration, they valiantly ſally'd upon them, both on the Front and the Rear, which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into them, that with the Loſs of their Artillery, and many of their Men, they abandon'd the Siege. To redeem which Diſhonour *Richemont* turn'd his Fury againſt the Country of *Anjou*, pillaging and depopulating many Places. The Regent having reſolv'd to return into *England*, left behind him the valiant *Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* for his Lieutenant, who was lately arriv'd in *France* with ſix thouſand freſh Soldiers. Having enter'd the City of *London*, the Duke was magnificently receiv'd by the Citizens, and preſented with two Silver Baſons gilt, and a thouſand Marks in Mony, as an Inſtance of their Eſteem and Gratitude.

To reconcile which the Duke of Bedford *returns into* England.

The happy Preſence of the Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, was highly uſeful to the State of *England*. For the Wiſdom and Authority of ſo great a Prince, eldeſt Uncle to the King, and one whom many Actions had render'd famous, ſoon allay'd the Diſtemper which he found at his Arrival. It was a Work worthy of his Labour, and he found it a Work not eaſie to be effected by a Labour and Power leſs than his own. The Differences were debated firſt at St. *Albans*, then at *Northampton*, and laſtly in a Parliament at *Leiceſter*, which continu'd there 'till towards the End of *June*. The Duke of *Bedford* himſelf, to avoid all Marks of Partiality to his Brother of *Gloceſter*, here would not intermeddle otherwiſe than in general Words to incourage Amity, but had the whole Cauſe referr'd to the moſt conſiderable Men in the Nation, both for Birth and Wiſdom. By the prudent Endeavours of theſe all their Differences, Grievances and Accuſations were equally thruſt into one Bag, to be ſealed up by Oblivion for ever; and without Mention of Compenſations on either Side, the Duke ſwore by his Princehood, and the Biſhop by his Prieſthood, truly to obſerve the Award, and were for that time fully reconcil'd. This pious and neceſſary Work of private Reconciliation was ſucceeded by ſeveral Acts of Feſtivity and Honour. For in the ſame Town of *Leiceſter*, the young King, not then five Years of Age, was at the high Feaſt of *Whitſuntide* ſolemnly knighted by his Uncle the Regent of *France*. Immediately after the King honour'd *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Heir to the late Earl of *Marche*, with the ſame Order of Knighthood, and about forty more with him. This Earl of *Cambridge* was at this Parliament, by a fatal Error, not only reſtor'd to his Blood, tainted by his Father, but likewiſe created Duke of *York*; and he was the Perſon that afterwards caus'd the Extirpation of the Male Lines, both of his own and the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. And it was more than probable that he would never have made ſuch a bold Attempt, had he not been promoted to this Honour, and to other Dignities and Places of Truſt, that gave him Opportunity to effect his Purpoſes. But Providence governs Affairs here below by Means contrary to ſecular Reaſon; for while Men weakly imagine that good Turns will extinguiſh the Memory of paſt Offences, Examples manifeſt how often they have been ſuperſeded by Intereſt, Humour and Ambition.

Reconciliation made.

The Earl of Cambridge, *Heir to the Crown, made Duke of* York.

A.D. 1426. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.

The Duke of Exeter *dies.*

The Earl of Warwick *ſucceeds.*

His Actions in France.

Now the triple Cord began to be untwiſted, and one of the great Supporters of the King's Infancy, the Duke of *Exeter*, departed this Life; a Man of no ſmall Wiſdom and Abilities, who having no Sons, made the King his Heir, tho' beſides the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Brother, and the Counteſs of *Weſtmorland* his Siſter, he had many Nephews. To ſupply his Room, *Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* was conſtituted Guardian and Tutor to the young King. But he did not immediately return into *England*, for being Lieutenant to the Duke of *Bedford* in *France*, he continu'd there for ſome time, and perform'd many noble Actions. He enter'd into the Country of *Main* and took the Town of *Chaſteau de Loire*, and after that the Caſtles of *Maiet* and *Lude*, in all which he put Garriſons and *Engliſh* Governors. Here he was inform'd that the *French* were gather'd together in the Country of *Beaux*, upon which he haſten'd to have given them Battel, but they underſtanding his Deſign, fled at the Terror of his Name and Nation. The Earl in his Return won the Caſtle of *Montdubleau*, where leaving the valiant Lord *Willoughby*, he return'd to *Paris*. It would be endleſs to take Notices of all the Sieges, Skirmiſhes, and Enterprizes in theſe Wars both foreign and domeſtick. There was not a City or Borough in *France* without Garriſons; Forts and Caſtles were built in all convenient Places, upon Hills, Rivers, narrow Ways and open Fields; every Lord had his Soldiers, or rather his Bands of Robbers, who maintain'd themſelves by feeding upon the poor miſerable Country People. During theſe Calamities, Means were us'd by the Duke of *Burgundy* for the Freedom of the Duke of *Alenſon*, taken at the Battel of *Vernevil*; and now for the Sum of two hundred thouſand Crowns he was ſet at Liberty; but nothing could induce him to acknowledge King *Henry*'s Title in *France*.

A. D. 1427. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$.

The Duke of Bedford *goes into* France.

The great Duke of *Bedford* having at length worthily eſtabliſh'd the Peace of *England*, took Shipping with his Lady, and landed at *Calais*, where the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who went over with him, receiv'd the Habit, Cap and Dignity of a Cardinal; which Promotion the late King, with a penetrating Eye ſeeing his boundleſs Ambition, had more than once defeated. But now the King being young, and the Regent his Friend, he obtain'd his Purpoſe to his great Profit, and the Impoveriſhment of the Spiritualities of *England*; For by a Legantine Bull, which he purchas'd from *Rome*, he gather'd ſo much Treaſure, that he gain'd the Name of the rich Cardinal of *Wincheſter*. With the Regent there went over a great Number of ſelect freſh Soldiers, under the Command of that renowned Lord *Talbot*, whoſe Victories, ſays *Polydore*, were ſo numerous, that his Name was not only formidable to the *French*, but famous throughout the World, even to this preſent Time. To give a Taſt of his Temper and Fierceneſs, upon one Side of his broad Sword he had this Motto, *Sum Talboti*, and on the other this boiſterous Sentence, *Pro vincere Inimicos meos*. Not long after his Arrival, at *Montarges*, near *Orleans*, a Party of *Engliſh* receiv'd an Overthrow with the Loſs of about fifteen hundred Men; and in *Bretaign* the *French* ſuſtain'd great Damages from a Commander under the Duke of *Somerſet*. After which the Inhabitants of *Mans* in *Maine* had let in the *French* by Night, who barbarouſly maſſacred moſt of the *Engliſh* in the Place. *William* Earl of *Suffolk*, Governor of the Town, retiring with ſome Men into the Caſtle, ſent to the Lord *Talbot* for Succour. He immediately came, and his Men unexpectedly crying out St. *George a Talbot!* the *French* were ſuddenly reduc'd to the laſt Extremity, and moſt of the Soldiers put to the Sword. All the reſt were ſpar'd, only thirty Citizens and thirty five Prieſts and Religious were beheaded as Traitors, and the City remain'd in its former Condition; and it was hard to judge which of three Things were moſt commendable in *Talbot*, his Wiſdom, his Celerity, or his Valour.

The Lord Talbot's *Valour.*

He relieves the Earl of Suffolk.

A. D. 1428. Reg. $\frac{6}{7}$.

Above a Year after the Earl of *Warwick* had been declared Governor to the King, he left *France* and return'd into *England*; and the Earl of *Salisbury* ſucceeded him in his Charge, who went over with five thouſand Soldiers. Conſulting with the Regent, he bethought himſelf of ſome Action that might anſwer the Greatneſs of his own Name, and the publick Occaſions; and the Siege of *Orleans* was by him propos'd in Council. The Credit of the Earl was a ſufficient Reaſon to convince them how practicable it was; and he was accordingly furniſh'd with all competent Proviſions. The Inhabitants of *Orleans*, dreading the approaching Storm, with great Diligence provided for their Defence; and the Suburbs, as large as ſome Cities, were levell'd to the Ground, that the Enemy might not annoy them from thence; and they wanted not Men, Victuals, Ammunition and a conſtant Reſolution to fight. The Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Talbot*, and a formidable Force under expert Commanders, in a ſhort time preſented themſelves before this large and beautiful City. No Enemies appearing abroad, the Earl approach'd near to the Walls; and finding Attacks fruitleſs, he intrench'd about the City, and to ſecure his Camp, he caſt up Ramparts, and other Works of Defence. He ſeiz'd upon the Fort which ſtood at the Bridge Foot beyond the River *Loire*, and ſurrounded the Beſieged on every ſide, ſo that *Charles* of *France* could ſend no ſufficient Relief to them. When Human Helps fail, God often interpoſes his Hand, which is generally moſt conſpicuous in the Deliverance of Nations. The City was reduc'd to the laſt Diſtreſs, the Siege having laſted ſixty Days, not without great Bloodſhed on both Sides. The valiant Earl of *Salisbury*, impatient of ſuch Delay, propoſed to give a general Aſſault; and the better to conſider of the Manner of it, he ſtood to take a View at a Window, barr'd with Iron, which over-look'd the City towards the Eaſt. Here Providence began to ſhew it ſelf againſt the *Engliſh* Affairs; for a Cannon Bullet levell'd by a Boy

The Siege of Orleans *by the Earl of* Salisbury, &c.

The Earl of Saliſbury *ſlain.*

The Engliſh *Affairs decline in* France.

againſt the Window, ſtruck the Iron Grates, ſo that the Splinters ſo wounded the Earl, and one Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, that they both dy'd within a few Days. Here our Author tells us, That ſoon after this Man's Death the Fortune of War chang'd; and now both mortal and immortal Powers began to look favourably on the declining State of *France*. This to the *Engliſh* was ſaid to be the Beginning of Misfortunes, for after this by ſeveral backward Steps they loſt all their Poſſeſſions in that Kingdom; and tho' they ſometimes gain'd after that, yet they uſually loſt three times as much. For which Reaſon *Polydore*, after many Encomiums upon the Earl, calls him the Man in whom the Safety of the *Engliſh* State conſiſted.

A. D. 1429. Reg. $\frac{7}{8}$.

However the Siege of *Orleans* did not end with his Life; for *De la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Talbot* and the reſt maintain'd the ſame all Winter. The Wants of the Camp were reliev'd by a Convoy from *Paris*, under the Command of Sir *John Falſtolfe*, and fifteen hundred Soldiers, who ſafely arriv'd, notwithſtanding all the Endeavours of ten thouſand *French* to intercept them. At length the City offer'd to ſurrender, but not to the *Engliſh*; the Beſieg'd were content that the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould have the Honour: A ſubtle Artifice to break the Alliance between the *Engliſh* and him. The Regent and his Council being ſent to, they concluded it unreaſonable, ſince the *Engliſh* had been at all the Labour and Charge. The Duke of *Burgundy* ſecretly reſented this Refuſal, which ever after pall'd his Reliſh to the *Engliſh* Friendſhip: Yet the Regent's Anſwer was juſt and honeſt, *That the War was made in King* Henry*'s Name, therefore* Orleans *ought to be his.*

Joan *of* Arck *appears in publick.*

In theſe Difficulties were the *French* Affairs involv'd: But while *Charles* of *France* grew more ſenſible of the miſerable Straits of his beloved City, and ignorant how to remedy ſo near a Misfortune; at *Chenon* a young Virgin of eighteen Years of Age preſented her ſelf to him, call'd *Joan* of *Lorrain*, Daughter to *James* of *Arck*, dwelling in *Damremy* upon the *Meauſe*, an ordinary Shepherdeſs, who bad him *not to faint*, conſtantly affirming, *That God had ſent her to deliver the Realm of* France *from the* Engliſh *Yoke, and reſtore him to all his Dominions.* She was not immediately credited; but when the wiſeſt of Eccleſiaſticks and Military Men had put many Queſtions to her, and ſhe ſtill continu'd to her firſt Words, uttering nothing but what was modeſt, chaſt and holy, Honour and Belief was at length given to her Sayings. Upon which *Joan* arm'd her ſelf like a Man, and requir'd to have that Sword which hung in St. *Katharine*'s Church of *Fierebois* in *Tourain*; which Demand encreas'd their Admiration of her, ſince ſuch a Sword was found among the old Donaries or Votive Tokens of that Church. Thus warlikely accouter'd ſhe rod immediately to *Blois*, where Forces and freſh Proviſions lay for the Relief of *Orleans*; with which ſhe and the Admiral and Marſhal of *France* ſafely enter'd. This highly incourag'd the declining *French*; and *Joan* the Maid of God, as ſhe was now call'd, wrot this peculiar Letter to the Earl of *Suffolk*, then lying before the Town. *King of* England, *do Juſtice to the King of Heaven, in his Blood Royal; deliver up to the Virgin the Keys of all the good Cities you have forc'd. She is come from Heav'n to reſtore the Blood Royal, and is ready to make a Peace, if you be ready to do Juſtice: Yield therefore, and reſtore what you have taken, King of* England. *I am the Chief of this War, therefore I encounter your Men in* France, *and will purſue them; if they will obey, I will take them to Mercy. The Virgin comes from Heav'n to drive you out of* France: *If you will not obey, ſhe will raiſe ſuch a Flame as has not been known this thouſand Years in* France. *And be aſſur'd that the King of Heav'n will ſend to her, and her good Men of Arms, more Forces than you have. Go in God's Name into your Country: Be not obſtinate, for you ſhall not hold* France *of the King of Heav'n; but* Charles *ſhall enjoy it, the King and lawful Heir, to whom God has given it, he ſhall enter* Paris *with a noble Train. You Earl of* Suffolk, *Lord* Talbot, *Lord* Scales, *Lieutenants to the Duke of* Bedford; *and you Duke of* Bedford, *terming your ſelf Regent of* France, *ſpare innocent Blood, and leave* Orleans *at Liberty. If you do not Juſtice to them you have wrong'd, the* French *will perform the greateſt Exploit that ever was known in Chriſtendom. Underſtand theſe News from God and the Virgin.*

She arms her ſelf in the Defence of Orleans.

Her Letter to the Earl of Suffolk.

This Letter was entertain'd by the *Engliſh* with Laughter, and *Joan* reputed no better than an Enthuſiaſt or Enchantreſs; though to ſome it was thought more honourable to the *Engliſh* that they were not to be repell'd by Human Force, but by ſomething extraordinary, if not Divine. *Du Serres* gives this Character of the Virgin, That ſhe was of a modeſt Aſpect, ſweet, civil and reſolute; her Diſcourſe moderate, rational and reſerv'd; her Actions demonſtrating great Chaſtity, without Vanity, Affectation or Levity. Whatever her Qualifications were, by her Encouragements and Conduct the *Engliſh* ſoon loſt their Hopes of *Orleans*, after they had ſuffer'd the Duke of *Alenſon* to enter with new Forces, and with great Loſs were conſtrain'd to break up the Siege. In all Actions ſhe was one and foremoſt, and ſhe made ſeveral fierce Sallies upon the *Engliſh*; in one of which being ſhot through the Arm with an Arrow, ſhe couragiouſly cry'd out, *This is a Favour from Heav'n, let us go on; they cannot eſcape the Hand of God*: The *Engliſh* loſt in this Siege the Earl of *Saliſbury*, the Lord *Molins*, the Lord *Poynings*, and great Numbers of inferior Perſons, ſlain by the Sallies of this martial Virgin. The Lord *Talbot* march'd off in good Order with above nine thouſand Men, whom *Joan* would not ſuffer the *French* to purſue. In Memory of this extraordinary Deliverance the City of *Orleans* erected a Monument, where *Charles* the Seventh King of *France* and *Joan* the martial Maid were repreſented, kneeling in Armour, elevating their Eyes and Hands to Heav'n, in Token of their Thanks and Acknowledgment.

Her Character.

She relieves Orleans.

A Monument erected to her Memory.

Now there was an interchangeable Taking and Recovering of Towns, and Places of Importance on both Sides. The Caſtle of *Galiard* was ſurrender'd to the *French* upon Compoſition, where in a grated Chamber they found the valiant Lord *Barbaſon*, who having ſworn to be a true Priſoner, could not be induced to come out of that Place, 'till Captain *Kingſton*, to whom he had given that Oath, was upon ſafe conduct recall'd to acquit him, which was accordingly done: A rare Example of Conſtancy in him, conſidering how little Regard the reſt of the Nation at that Time had to Oaths. The Lord *Talbot* took *Lavall*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* threw himſelf into *Jergeaux*. To which laſt Place the Duke of *Alenſon* with *Joan* and other great Commanders march'd, and forc'd it by Storm. Sir *Alexander Pool* Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk* was ſlain, with many others in the Encounter, and the Earl himſelf was taken Priſoner. After the Duke of *Alenſon* had added ſome other Places to his Conqueſts, his Numbers were augmented by the Conjunction of the Conſtable of *France*, the Earl of *Vandome*, the Lord *Dalbret* and others; ſo that now their whole Army conſiſted of about twenty three thouſand effective Men. With theſe they ſuddenly attack'd the valiant Lord *Talbot*, who had not above a fifth Part of their Number, at a Village called *Patay*, whom they charg'd ſo unexpectedly, that his Archers had no Time to fortifie their Stations after their uſual Manner, by Paliſadoes or Empalement of Stakes, ſo that they were driven to uncommon Difficulties. After three Hours brave Reſiſtance, the *Engliſh* were put to the worſt; and the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hungerford*, Sir *Thomas Rampſtone*, and even the Lord *Talbot* himſelf, after a great Wound in the Back, were taken Priſoners. The Footmen forc'd to truſt to their Swords, under the Shelter of ſuch Horſemen as remain'd, retreated in good Order, and got to a Place of Safety, after they had loſt about twelve hundred Men, and the *French* about half that Number. This Blow ſhook the very Foundation of the *Engliſh* Greatneſs in *France*, and awak'd Multitudes, even of thoſe who had before ſworn Fealty to King *Henry*; and now having a Colour of Divine Warrant for violating their Oaths, they readily join'd with the Victors for Recovering of the common Liberty. There ſucceeded an immediate Revolt of ſeveral Towns; and it was not long before *Charles* himſelf iſſued out in Arms, and recover'd the City of *Rheims* in *Champaign*; where, according to the Maid's Direction, he was ſolemnly crown'd King of *France*. Hitherto ſhe might plauſibly be thought prophetical and fortunate; and it ſeem'd that the chief Part of her Imployment was accompliſh'd, yet ſhe flouriſh'd for ſome Space longer.

Barbaſon's *Fidelity.*

The Engliſh *worſted at* Patay.

Charles *crown'd at* Rheims.

The Duke of *Bedford* to prop the declining State of the *Engliſh*, upon the unfortunate News of the Relief of *Orleans*, and Captivity of *Talbot*, gather'd his whole Forces together, which amounted to about ten thouſand *Engliſh*, beſides certain Auxiliaries of *Normans*. With theſe he march'd out of *Paris*, and bravely oppos'd himſelf againſt the Current of *Charles*'s new Proſpects, who now deſign'd to have attempted that Capital City; being incourag'd by ſome of the Citizens, who held ſtrict and ſecret Correſpondence with him. But this Prince knowing the Regent's Valour and Reſolution, ſuſpended the Execution of his Deſign, as yet having no Hopes to effect it; and being by *Joan* diſſuaded from Fighting, the Regent return'd to *Paris*. Shortly after *Compeign* and *Beauvois* voluntarily ſubmitted to the new crown'd King. The Regent having ſettled the State and Garriſons of the chief City, paſs'd into *Normandy*, to provide for a ſafe Retreat there, if the *Engliſh* ſhould be conſtrain'd to quit their other Holds and Dominions; of which he began to be apprehenſive, becauſe he had Information of many ſecret Endeavours to win the *Burgundians* from King *Henry*'s Side. While the Regent was abſent upon this Occaſion, *Charles* gain'd the Town of *St. Denis*, not far from *Paris*, but held it not long in Poſſeſſion. From whence he ſent the Duke of *Alenſon* with the Maid of *France*, to try their

The Regent prepares againſt him.

Friends and Fortunes at *Paris*. Here they found none of their expected Succeſs; for the *Engliſh* gave them ſo rough an Entertainment, that *Joan* her ſelf was wounded, and the reſt with great Slaughter repell'd. The Regent hearing of theſe Attempts, entruſted the Coaſt Towns of *Normandy* to the Care of the Duke of *York*, and *Roan* the Capital City to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and haſten'd to *Paris*, where he highly commended the Soldiers and Citizens for not imitating the Diſloyalty of their Neighbours.

A. D. 1430. Reg. 8/9.

New Supplies arriving out of *England*, the next Enterprize was to reduce *Compeign* to Obedience; to effect which *John* of *Luxemburgh* with the *Burgundians* and ſome *Engliſh* Soldiers inveſted it. Here all the Glory of *Joan* the Maid of *France* came to a Period; for coming to relieve the Place, ſhe ſucceſsfully enter'd; but afterwards ſallying out, her Troops were beaten, and her ſelf, as ſome ſay betray'd, taken Priſoner by the ſaid *Burgundian* Knight, who for the Value of her Ranſom, which was ten thouſand Pounds *Tournoys*, and three hundred Crowns annual Rent, deliver'd her into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. Notwithſtanding the Siege was rais'd; after which they ſent *Joan* to the City of *Roan*, where about nine or ten Months after ſhe was burnt alive. The *Roman Clælia* was ſav'd by *Porſenna*; and it is not to be doubted but that the Magnanimity of the *Engliſh* would have ſpar'd her, had they not found it neceſſary to deface the Opinion which the *French* to the higheſt Superſtition had entertain'd of her. The *Engliſh* Writers ſhew, how the Courſe of her Life being legally examin'd by the Biſhop of *Beauvois*, in whoſe Dioceſe ſhe was taken, and ſhe being for Sorcery, Bloodſhed, and unnatural Uſe of Maſculine Habiliments, condemn'd to die, was notwithſtanding, upon her ſolemn abjuring all her lewd Practices, pardon'd her Life, 'till again convicted of a perjurious Relapſe, tho' acknowledging her ſelf a Strumpet, and feigning her ſelf with Child, ſhe deſervedly met with that Puniſhment which ſhe thought to have deferr'd. Many of the *French* Writers ſhew the higheſt Value for her Memory; and *Mezeray* ſays, That being on the Pile for Execution ſhe foretold the *Engliſh*, *That the Hand of God was ready to ſtrike them, and that his Juſtice would not only drive them out of* France, *but purſue them into* England, *and make them ſuffer the ſame Miſeries and Calamities they had inflicted on the* French. However this is certain, that ſhe was one of extraordinary Valour and Spirit, and the main Reſtorer of the Kingdom of *France*; and if ſhe did not drive the *Engliſh* from thence, as ſhe her ſelf boaſted, ſhe was the chief, or at leaſt one of the chief Human Cauſes why the *Engliſh* loſt *France*.

Joan *taken Priſoner,*

and burnt alive.

Her Character.

A. D. 1431. Reg. 9/10.

The *Engliſh* Affairs ſtill more and more declin'd; but to remedy their Misfortunes, it was by the wiſeſt thought neceſſary for young King *Henry* to come over and be crown'd in *Paris*. He had the laſt Year with great Solemnity receiv'd the Crown of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, being then about nine Years of Age, and ready to receive all Impreſſions either of Good or Bad. This Year reſolving for *France*, before his Departure, *Richard* Duke of *York* was by a particular Patent made High-Conſtable of *England* during Life; which gave him a more ſenſible Taſte of Greatneſs, and ſecretly whetted his ambitious Appetite. The Affairs of *England* being ſettled, and new Supplies of Mony granted by Parliament; the young King with a Noble Retinue took Shipping at *Dover*, and landed at *Calais*, from whence, after ſome Continuance, he remov'd to *Roan*, where he was receiv'd with all the Marks of Joy and Triumph. In the Month of *November* he departed from *Roan* in order to make a publick Entry into the City of *Paris*; all which was magnificently perform'd in the Company of the two great Cardinals of *Wincheſter* and *York*, and the chief Princes of the Blood, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Prelates, the Flower of the *Engliſh*, *French*, *Burgundians* and *Normans*, with a ſelect Body of three thouſand Men for the Guard of his Perſon. It would be tedious to mention with what Honour and Pomp he was receiv'd into this glorious City, and what Pageants, Ornaments and Entertainments were prepar'd to render the Thing more ſolemn and triumphant. On the ſeventh Day of *December* he was publickly crown'd King of *France* in the grand Cathedral at *Paris* by his great Uncle the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*; and in his Return to the Palace he had one Crown on his Head, and another born before him, as likewiſe one Scepter in his Hand, and a ſecond carry'd before him; implying that he was a King of two ſeveral Kingdoms. The Duke of *Bedford* entertain'd the great Aſſembly with a ſet Speech, in which he declar'd *King* Henry *his Nephew's undoubted Title to the Crown on his Head, and recommended the ſame to their Fidelities, adding large Promiſes both of Honour and Advantages*. Such of the *French* Nobility as were then preſent did their Homage: the People had obliging and gracious Words given them, and Quantities of Mony, Corn and Wine by way of Donative liberally beſtow'd amongſt them; and Proclamations made that all *Frenchmen* who came in by a fix'd Day, ſhould be protected.

King Henry *goes into* France.

He is crown'd at Paris.

This great and ſplendid Feaſt did not paſs without ſome Diſpleaſure among the *Engliſh* Nobility; for the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, who at this Time would ſuffer no Equal, commanded the Duke of *Bedford* to lay aſide the Name of Regent during the King's Preſence, alledging, that while he was there in Perſon, the Power of a Subſtitute was at an end. The Duke of *Bedford* took ſuch a ſecret Diſpleaſure at this haughty Proceeding, that he never after favour'd the Cardinal, but oppos'd him in all his Actions; and this was the Root, as ſome think, of that Diviſion among the *Engliſh* Nobility, whereby their Glory in the Realm of *France* began firſt to decline. After five Days Continuance in *Paris* from the Coronation, which were ſpent in publick Tournaments and the moſt ſplendid Entertainments, the King was adviſ'd to leave the Air of *Paris* and remove to *Roan*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas*. Still *Charles* of *France* eſteem'd himſelf no leſs a King, but daily purſu'd his Affairs; and his Men took the City of *Chartres* by Stratagem, and put the Biſhop of the Place and others to the Sword. Nor were the *Engliſh* unemploy'd; for the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick* and *Suffolk*, ſoon made up the Loſs with much Advantage; which was increas'd by the Deliverance of the valiant Lord *Talbot*, who by vertue of an Exchange was now ſet free. It was obſervable among Foreigners, and not without Admiration, that the ſmall and diſtant Country of *England*, under the Government of an Infant, ſhould ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully contend with ſuch a potent and populous Kingdom as *France*. But at that Time ſuch was the Valour and Martial Vigour of the *Engliſh* Nation, that they ſcarce knew any Medium between Death and Victory; always preferring an honourable End before a lingring Servitude. This mov'd Pope *Eugenius*, and all the Chriſtian Princes, ſo often to make Overtures of Accommodation between theſe two contending Kingdoms, but 'till this Year could effect nothing, but a very imperfect Truce for ſix Years. Which being agreed upon, King *Henry* took his laſt Farewel of *France*, and landing at *Dover*, upon the twenty firſt Day of *February* he was triumphantly receiv'd at *London*.

A Truce with France.

A. D. 1432. Reg. 10/11.

III. Young King *Henry* being ſafely return'd from his Foreign Kingdom of *France*, his Uncle the Duke of *Glocester* gave a very faithful Account of his Government in *England*; of which the Suppreſſion of an Inſurrection at *Abbington* in *Oxfordſhire* was not the leaſt Service. A Weaver, the Bailiff of the Town, was the corrupt Head to which all the Contagion gather'd; who changing his Name, call'd himſelf Jack Sharp *of* Wigmore'*s Lands in* Wales. One of his main Deſigns was to have maſſacred Prieſts, whoſe Heads he ſaid he would make as cheap as Sheeps Heads; for which he deſervedly loſt his own, and had his four Quarters hung upon Stakes. However his Pretenſions were, the mentioning of *Wigmore*'s Lands, the ancient Inheritance of Earl *Mortimer*, and now in Poſſeſſion of the fatal Duke of *York* who from thence challeng'd the Crown of *England*, did inſinuate and ſignifie ſomething further. It is to be wonder'd the Council of State under King *Henry* hearing that Title ſo often glanc'd at, provided no better againſt the Miſchief; but the Eyes and Hearts of the wiſeſt are blind, when God reſerves a ſecret Scourge, or deſigns to hide that Fire which ſhall afterwards conſume a Nation. Unquiet Humours were now abroad as well as at home; for the Soldiers of *Calais*, diſſatisfy'd with their Wages, began to be very mutinous and troubleſome. But the Regent going there in Perſon, ſoon put an end to the Tumult by beheading four of the Ringleaders, and caſhiering and baniſhing a hundred and ten of the reſt, as had been formerly done to ſix-ſcore others. Theſe were inconſiderable Affairs; but the Loſs of *France* began to be more conſpicuous, and it is worthy to obſerve the Steps that Providence ſeems to have us'd in depriving *England* of that Kingdom. In the Regent's Journey, King *Henry*'s Intereſt was apparently depreſs'd; for being a Widower, and arriving at *Turwin*, without the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Privacy, he marry'd the Lady *Jaquet*, about Seventeen Years of Age, Daughter to *Peter* of *Luxemburg* Earl of St. *Paul*, no Friend to the Duke. The Match was injurious to the *Engliſh* Affairs; for *Anne*, the Regent's former Wife, Siſter to the Duke of *Burgundy*, a ſtrong Ligament of Amity between them, weaken'd the ſame by her Death; and this ſecond Marriage, unpleaſing to the Duke, did ſtill more and more diminiſh it.

A Diſturbance in England.

Steps towards the Loſs of France.

A. D. 1433. Reg. 11/12.

Still the Accidents of War between the *Engliſh* and *French* were numerous and various, ſometimes the one, and ſometimes the other, getting and loſing, as Opportunities ſerv'd; which Uncertainties produc'd the ordinary Effects of inteſtine Convulſions, great Outrages, an unreſtrain'd Licentiouſneſs, and a Scarcity of Neceſſaries for Human Life. It would be both tedious and endleſs to re-

Various Fortunes in that Country.

The Miſeries of France.

count the particular leſſer Actions, and almoſt impoſſible to deſcribe all the Sieges, Suprizes, Skirmiſhes, and the like, being ſo confus'dly related by Authors. Yet the Fortune of *Reyner* Duke of *Anjou* and *Barre* is not to be omitted, becauſe King *Henry* afterwards unhappily marry'd into his Family. His Wife was *Iſabel*, Daughter and Heireſs to *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, upon whoſe Death *Reiner* expected to ſucceed him in all his Dominions; but the Earl of *Vallemont*, Brother to Duke *Charles*, preſuming he had a nearer Title, drove the Matter to be decided by War. *Charles* King of *France* was a ſteady Supporter of *Reyner*'s Claim, in Conſideration of the like Services done to him in Times of the greateſt Difficulty; and the Regent and Duke of *Burgundy* eſpous'd the Cauſe of the Earl. The Aſſiſtance of the latter prevail'd ſo far, that *Reyner*'s Troops were beaten from the Siege of *Vallemont*, with the Loſs of three thouſand Men, and himſelf with two hundred others remain'd Priſoners to the Duke of *Burgundy*, one of whoſe Subjects commanded in chief in that Enterprize. The King of *France* might ſeem to have ſuſtain'd a mighty Loſs by the Captivity of the Duke; but the *Engliſh* gain'd no Advantage by it, for his Perſuaſions, and private Services on the behalf of King *Charles*, did not a little prepare the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Heart in due time to receive Impreſſions of Reconciliation. The *French* who liv'd under the Regency, or were in danger of the *Engliſh* Power, made Choice of the Duke of *Burgundy* to protect them, from which they could not be fairly debarr'd, becauſe as yet he appear'd to be King *Henry*'s Friend. Indeed this Scene and unfix'd State of Affairs was full of Horror and Confuſion, which *Polydore* deſcribes after this manner. While the *Engliſh* and the *French* contended for Dominion, Sovereignty and Life it ſelf, Mens Goods were violently taken by the Licentiouſneſs of War, Churches robb'd, People in all Places murder'd, wounded or tortur'd; Matrons abus'd, Virgins torn from their Parents Arms to be raviſh'd, Towns daily taken, daily plunder'd, daily defac'd, the Riches of the Inhabitants us'd at the Conqueror's Pleaſure; Houſes and Villages on all Sides flaming with Fire; no kinds of Cruelty unpractis'd upon the miſerable *French*; omitting innumerable other Calamities, which all at once oppreſs'd them. Add to this, that the whole Republick being deſtitute of the Benefit of Laws, which for the moſt part are ſilent in Times of War and Mutiny, floated up and down without any Anchorage of Right or Juſtice. Nor was *England* herſelf free from theſe Calamities, who every Day heard the News of her valiant Childrens Funerals ſlain in perpetual Skirmiſhes and Encounters, and found her general Wealth continually ebbing and decreaſing; ſo that the Evils ſeem'd almoſt equal, and the whole Weſtern World eccho'd the Groans of either Nation's Quarrels, as being the common Foundation of Diſcourſe and Compaſſion throughout Chriſtendom.

A.D. 1434. Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

Normandy *in Rebellion.*

The Methods at this time us'd by the *Engliſh* did only faintly keep alive the general State of the Regency in *France*, without putting a Period to the War, either by finiſhing the Conqueſt, or eſtabliſhing what was gain'd. Some Perſons urg'd to have large Supplies of Men and Mony to be levy'd, that King *Charles* might have no Reſt in any Place; of which Opinion was the Regent himſelf, with the two Dukes of *York* and *Somerſet*. This Counſel was not follow'd, but others in Appearance more frugal, which ſtill fed the Evils, but redreſs'd none; which ſhew'd that preſent Sparings often draw after them infinite Waſtes, and that no Husbandry is ſo pernicious as unſeaſonable Parſimony. In the mean time, the Earl of *Arundel* and Lord *Talbot* rang'd about with victorious Forces, terrifying *Anjou*, *Main*, and other Parts, with their ſeveral Succeſſes. In *Normandy*, neverthele$\!$ſs, the common People gather'd together in great and dreadful Multitudes; of whom were ſixty thouſand rebellioully combining in *Vex* in *Normandy* and twenty thouſand in *Caux*. Their Deſign and Pretenſions were to drive out all the *Engliſh* Officers, and to have favour'd King *Charles*'s Intereſt; but what are a Multitude without Advice or Conduct? To ſtop their Inſolency, and the Progreſs they made towards *Caen*, the Earl of *Arundel* with *Robert* Lord *Willoughby*, with thirteen hundred light Horſe, and ſix thouſand Archers, march'd againſt them, by the Direction of the Dukes of *York* and *Somerſet*, who had the chief Lieutenancies in *Normandy*. The Earl laid in Ambuſcade with two Parts of his Men, while the Lord *Willoughby* drew the Rebels into it with a third. The Conſequence was that a thouſand of them were cut in pieces before the Soldier's Hands could be ſtopp'd to ſpare the reſt, who baſely threw down their Arms, and begg'd for Mercy. The Multitudes were permitted to return home, but the Ringleaders loſt their Lives by Execution; and all the World could gather from this popular Inſurrection was, That the *Normans* would gladly be freed from the *Engliſh* Government. Not long after, the Earl of *Arundel*, after ſeveral noble Actions perform'd during the Wars in *France*, receiv'd his Death's Wound in a Skirmiſh at *Gerberoy* in *Beauvoiſin*, where *La Hire*, a famous *French* Commander, won the Day.

A.D. 1435. Reg. $\frac{13}{14}$.

The Treaty of Arras.

The King of France *and Duke of* Burgundy *reconciled.*

The Regency ſtill continu'd, and the Miſeries of *France* were no ways diminiſh'd; and nothing could put a Period to them while the Duke of *Burgundy* kept faithful to the *Engliſh*. Therefore to prepare Matter for a Separation between the Regent and the Duke, ſuch of the Nobility as went over to the latter inſinuated to him, *That King* Charles *had upon all Occaſions ſpoke honourably of him, and inwardly wiſht well to him; and that he never heard the Murder of his Father nam'd, but it caus'd him with Sighs and Proteſtations to declare his Innocence.* Theſe and the like mollifying Allegations ſoon began to operate, when apply'd to the Mind of one whoſe Affections towards the *Engliſh* daily decreas'd, by means of ſeveral Jealouſies and Averſions; ſo that there wanted nothing but an outward honourable Occaſion to bring him intirely to the *French* Party. In the mean time, to put an End to the general Calamity, the Deputies of the grand Council urg'd the *French*, *Engliſh* and *Burgundians* to come to a Treaty; and the City of *Arras* was appointed for that Purpoſe. From the Pope and Council of *Piſa* came the Cardinals of St. *Craſſe* and *Cyprus*, with twelve Biſhops; For the King of *France* were the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Richemont*, the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, and many other great and learned Men: For the King of *England* were the two Cardinals of *York* and *Wincheſter*, the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Huntington*, the Lord *Hungerford*, and ſeveral Doctors of Divinity: For the Duke of *Burgundy* were the Duke of *Guelders*, the Earl of *Naſſau*, and ſuch a Number of other Noblemen as were ſufficient to ſhew that tho' in Title he was but a Duke, yet in Greatneſs he was equal to a King. *Mezeray* ſays that it was the greateſt and nobleſt Aſſembly that had been known to this Age, where all the Princes of Chriſtendom had their Ambaſſadors; and the Harbingers took up Stabling for ten thouſand Horſes. But notwithſtanding all this Care, it prov'd ineffectual; for the *Engliſh* being in Poſſeſſion ſtrenuouſly urg'd the Right of Deſcent, and the Act of the late King *Charles* the Sixth, by which the Crown of *France* was ſettled upon *Henry* the Fifth, and the Iſſue of *Katharine* his Wife; and therefore they propos'd no other Conditions of Peace, but that *Henry* their King ſhould have all, and *Charles* to hold under him. The *French* offer'd intirely the two Dukedoms of *Normandy* and *Gaſcony*; and the Aſſembly broke up without any further Agreement. King *Charles* therefore reſolving to maim the *Engliſh* Faction upon any Terms, tho' never ſo mean, ſent the Duke of *Burgundy* a blank Paper, bidding him preſcribe his own Conditions and Demands, which he did: And his Conditions, ſays a *French* Author, were ſo numerous as to fill a Volume, and ſo unreaſonable, that it was amazing that ſo great a Monarch ſhould ſtoop ſo much to his Subject and Vaſſal. But Neceſſity urging, they both join'd upon the twenty fourth Day of *September*; and the Duke, tranſported by Profit, declar'd himſelf an Enemy to all Oppoſers of King *Charles*, after he had caus'd the Deaths of three hundred thouſand Men in his Quarrel, beſides the Deſtruction of innumerable Cities and Towns.

The Advantages of the Reconciliation.

This may be ſaid to have been the firſt parting Blow which ſeparated the *French* Dominions from the *Engliſh* Sovereignty; and the Event declar'd, That the *Engliſh* had done more politickly, if they had accepted of *Normandy* and *Gaſcony*, but in thoſe Circumſtances they could not in Honour comply: and if Counſels were to be determin'd by the Event, the moſt fooliſh would ſometimes paſs for prudent. By this Conjunction King *Henry* loſt not only a powerful Ally, but was conſtrain'd to rely upon his own ſingle Strength, as well againſt King *Charles* his declar'd Enemy, as now againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, who more than ſeem'd to have betray'd the Cauſe. To give a fair Colour to this Fact, the Duke diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors into *England* to King *Henry*, to give the Reaſons of his Treaty with King *Charles*, and to perſuade him to reſt ſatisfy'd with what had been tranſacted; which Embaſſy was ſo odious to the *Engliſh*, that they took the Liberty to call the Duke a *Time-Server, a perjur'd Man, and a Traitor*; and the popular Fury aroſe ſo high againſt the Duke's Subjects reſiding in *London*, that many of them were beaten and ſlain, before a Proclamation could put a Stop to it. The Ambaſſadors return'd with honeſt Admonitions to their Maſter, againſt which his Ears and his Senſes were irreſiſtably fortify'd; for King *Charles* had ſurrounded and loaded him with Royalties, Privileges, Honours, Mony, Cities, Towns, and indeed whole Provinces, that were confirm'd to him, only to oblige him to abandon the *Engliſh*. His extraordinary Munificence ſoon made the Duke a true *Frenchman*; and tho' he paid ſo vaſtly dear for his Alliance, yet it was worth the Expence, for *Æmilius* tells us, That the Ceſſation of his Anger redeem'd the *French* from a Foreign Government, as his firſt aſſuming of it made the *Engliſh* Lords over *France*. But however the Duke's Indignation for the Murder of his Father had mov'd him firſt to embrace the *Engliſh* Intereſt, he afterwards, by way of Compenſation, ſubtilly converted his Revenge to the Enlargement of his own Riches and Power. After the Return of his Ambaſſadors, he ſent back all Contracts to the Duke of *Bedford* at *Paris*, and renounc'd the Alliance of *England*, declaring, *That every Man ſhould look to himſelf.*

Upon this each Party made new and vigorous Preparations, in order to recover that by Force which they could not obtain by Reaſoning: But all Things manifeſtly favour'd the *French* Deſigns; for this was the general State of the *Engliſh* Affairs. King *Henry* was ſcarce out of his Childhood, and after that not Man enough to deal with ſuch turbulent Occurrences; the Princes of the Blood weakly united for the common Good; the Protector tho' vigilant over *England*, and the Regent careful for *France*, yet both privately envy'd; *Richard* Duke of *York*, encreaſing in Strength, but ambitiouſly reſerving himſelf for a ſelect Day; many of the great *Engliſh* Warriors ſlain; and in Sum, a declining Inability through the whole Body of the *Engliſh* Forces; which tho' otherwiſe they might have prolong'd the War, and kept their Footing, yet the Death of the mighty Regent doubled the Difficulty, or almoſt the Impoſſibility. In removing this triumphant Hero, God made it manifeſt that he accounted the *Engliſh* unworthy and unfit to continue their Empire any longer among the *French*. This Prince, not long after the Revolt of the Duke of *Burgundy*, dy'd at the City of *Paris*, after a fourteen Years Regency; uncertain to ſome whether out of Grief for the Evils he foreſaw, or of ſome other Diſtemper. How powerful this Prince was appears in ſome meaſure from his Titles, which were Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford*, *Alenſon* and *Anjou*, Earl of *Maine*, *Richmond* and *Kendale*, and High-Conſtable of *England*. And what exceeded his Greatneſs was his being one of the beſt Patriots and Generals that ever ſprung out of the Royal Stem of the *Plantagenets*. His Valour was not more formidable to the Enemy, than his Memory was honourable; for *Lewis* XI. the next King of *France*, being afterwards adviſ'd by certain envious Perſons to demoliſh his ſtately Tomb at *Roan*, in which was buried all the good Fortune of the *Engliſh*, he generouſly return'd this noble Anſwer. *What Honour can it be to Us, or You, to deface this Monument, and to diſturb the Bones of him, who when living, neither my Father, nor your Progenitors with all their Power, were once able to repel? Who by his Strength, Policy and Conduct kept them all out of the principal Dominions of* France, *and out of this noble Dukedom of* Normandy: *Wherefore I ſay firſt, God ſave his Soul, and let his Body now lye at reſt; who when he was alive would have terrify'd the Proudeſt of us all: And as for his Tomb, I think it not ſo worthy or convenient, as his Honour and Acts deſerv'd.* It is obſervable that none of the Sons of King *Henry* the Fourth did degenerate; a Thing not uſual in ſo large a Family: *Henry* the Fifth dy'd gloriouſly in the Purſuit of his Conqueſts, the Duke of *Clarence* valiantly fighting, and tho' *Bedford* of a natural Death, and *Gloceſter* afterwards of a violent, yet they dy'd not with leſs Fame than the reſt. So as Nature having done her utmoſt in them, if ſhe fail'd in the preſent *Henry*, it is not to be admir'd; for having cloath'd him with the inner Garments of Piety, ſhe was ſparing in an upper Robe of other Virtues and Fortune.

The Death of the Duke of Bedford, *Regent of* France.

His Character.

A.D. 1436. Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$.

The Engliſh *Affairs decline in* France.

IV. The Regent of *France* being dead, the late Treaty between King *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy* ſoon produc'd Effects moſt dangerous to the *Engliſh* Cauſe; for many Towns immediately revolted, and Multitudes of the *French*, who through Fear had been reſtrain'd, falling away, all the *Engliſh* Dominions were fill'd with private Aſſemblies, Practices and Correſpondencies with the Enemy. Such *Engliſh* as were then in *France* were not altogether idle, but yet, through a fatal Security or Negligence at home, they wanted Recruits to ſupport them. To ſupply the Vacancy of the great Duke of *Bedford*, *Richard* Duke of *York*, now a prevailing Favourite, was created Regent of *France*; and *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, his perpetual Rival, ſtill continu'd Governor of *Normandy*. This latter violently oppos'd the Advancement of the former to this nice Station; wiſely foreſeeing more than the Protector and all the Council of *England:* Yet his Oppoſition was unſeaſonable and fruitleſs; for *York*'s Carriage had won ſuch a Party about the King, that notwithſtanding the Diſadvantage of his latent Title, which alone was ſufficient to have excluded him from great Truſts in a politick Government, he prevail'd. But before he could arrive in *France*, the Capital City of *Paris* was loſt. *Robert* Lord *Willoughby* was then Governor for the *Engliſh*, who had not above two thouſand Soldiers with him; for in caſe of Extremity, the Faith of the Citizens was preſum'd to ſupply all Defects againſt a common Reſiſtance. But on the contrary the Citizens, perceiving the Declenſion of the *Engliſh*, eſpecially after the Regent's Death, conſpir'd againſt them; and the Treaſon was carry'd on ſo ſubtilty by ſome of the principal Magiſtrates, who articled for a general Pardon from King *Charles*, that the Deſign took Effect before it could be diſcover'd. The Lord *Beaumont* introduc'd the Loſs with his own Misfortune; for the Earl of *Richemont*, Conſtable of *France*, hovering about *Paris*, in hopes to recover the Place, the Lord *Beaumont* with ſome hundreds of *Engliſh*, falling in with him about St. *Dennis*, were worſted. While the Rumour of this inconſiderable Defeat was freſh, and much aggravated, the *French* advanc'd their Banners up to the City Walls, upon which a Gate was immediately open'd to them by their Partiſans. And now the Citizens, who were lately Subjects, ſuddenly turn'd Enemies; and Women and Children attack'd the *Engliſh* from their Windows with all Sorts of miſſive Weapons, and many were beaten down, and maſſacred in the Streets. The Lord *Willoughby*, Governor of the Place, with many others fled to St. *Anthony*'s Gate and the *Baſtile*, Places which they had reſerv'd for Defence in Times of Neceſſity. Many more had been ſav'd in thoſe Places, but the perfidious Citizens drew Chains over the Streets, and ſtopp'd their Paſſage. At length thoſe in the *Baſtile*, after ſome Shew of Defence, demanded a Parly, and agreed to depart with their Lives and Baggage. They were conducted about the Town beneath the *Louvre*, to embark upon the River *Sein*, and ſo paſs to *Roan*; for they could not ſafely paſs through the City. The People being adviſ'd of this ran to the Walls, and with great Shouts baited the *Engliſh* like Dogs, whom lately they had fear'd and honour'd as their Maſters. Thus *Paris* return'd to its former Government, above ſixteen Years after the Duke of *Clarence* had plac'd a Garriſon there in behalf of his Brother *Henry* the Fifth.

The Duke of York *made Regent.*

Paris *loſt from the* Engliſh.

Paris was loſt in the worſt Time to march an Army, which was wiſely projected by the *French*, elſe their Deſign might have fail'd; for the Duke of *York*, the new Regent, being hinder'd by the Badneſs of the Seaſon, arriv'd afterwards, accompany'd with the Earls of *Saliſbury* and *Suffolk*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, and other worthy Perſons, and an Army of eight thouſand Men. But this Regent never did any good Service in *France*; tho' ſtill the *Engliſh* Affairs were not come to the laſt Extremity. In the late conquer'd Parts of *France* they held *Normandy* entire, but not without much Trouble; for the People again rebell'd in *Caux*, which Diſturbance was quell'd with a greater and more mercileſs Deſtruction of the Authors and Actors, than the former. No leſs than five thouſand of them were cut in Pieces, and trampled on by the juſt Fury of the *Engliſh*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hoo*, and others; who burnt all their Habitations, made Booty of their Goods, and drove the whole Body of them out of the Country. The Lord *Scales* not long after defeated *La Hire* and his Men not far from *Roan*. The War was manag'd on all Sides without full or compleat Armies; Skirmiſhes were the ordinary Ways of Fighting; and the *French* were cautious in venturing all upon a pitch'd Battel.

The Duke of *Burgundy* as yet had not in Perſon given any Proof againſt the *Engliſh* of his Affection to King *Charles:* But now he ſet himſelf to an Enterprize worthy that Expectation, which was the Recovery of *Calais*; tho' he is believ'd to have been mov'd to this Action by a Deſire of private Revenge. For the *Engliſh*, upon his forſaking their Alliance, had endeavour'd to ſtir up the Inhabitants of *Gaunt*, and other *Flemmiſh* Towns ſubject to the Duke, to riſe in Rebellion; but the Opinion that King *Henry*'s Fortunes in *France* were dangerouſly declining, made them unwilling to move. However the News of this ſucceſsleſs Attempt excited the Duke to a Revenge; and caus'd him to bring an Army of forty thouſand Men before *Calais*. The chief Commanders there for King *Henry* were the Lord *Dudley*, who had the Charge of the Caſtle, and Sir *John Ratcliff* of the Town. The Duke's Deſign was to have block'd up the Harbour by ſinking Ships loaden with Stones; but upon the Ebb-Tide the *Caliſians* eaſily remov'd thoſe Impediments. King *Henry* being inform'd of the Siege of this important Place, the Protector the Duke of *Gloceſter* was ſent over in Perſon with a powerful Fleet and Army, who bravely challeng'd the Duke of *Burgundy* to meet him in the open Field. Here Authors differ, yet they generally agree in this, That the Duke of *Burgundy* rais'd the Siege without any Battel. Some ſay that the very Rumour of the Protector's Approach drove him away, and that the Protector came the next Day after the *Burgundians* Flight; and others excuſe him by alledging that the *Flemmings* grew mutinous, and reſolv'd to return home. The Protector became Maſter

Calais *beſieg'd by the Duke of* Burgundy;

But in vain.

of the Duke's Camp, and ſpent eleven Days in his Dominions, burning *Poppering* and *Bell*, and doing great Damages about *Gravelin*, *Boloign* and other Places; then ſettling the Affairs of *Calais*, he return'd home with great Honour to his Charge in *England*. The *Engliſh* were thought to have created new Work for this active Duke in his own Dominions, where many great Tumults aroſe, in one of which his own Perſon was indanger'd at *Bruges*, where *Liſle Adam* the Captain of his Guard was ſlain. Hence it came perhaps that a Medium was found out, by Contracts made with *Iſabel* the Dutcheſs, his third Wife and an ingenious Woman, to hold a League with *England*, and yet make no Breach with *France*.

A. D.
1437.
Reg. 15/16.
The Deaths of three Princeſſes.

The following Year was memorable for the Death of three great Princeſſes, *Katharine*, Mother to the preſent King *Henry*, and Siſter to the King of *France*; the old Dowager of King *Henry* the Fourth, Daughter to the King of *Navarre*; and the Old Counteſs of *Armagnack*, Daughter to the Duke of *Berry*, and Mother to the Duke of *Savoy*; who all dy'd within forty eight Hours of each other. The former of the three, not long after the Death of her Husband *Henry* the Fifth, ſecretly marry'd to *Owen ap Tudor*, a *Welſh* Gentleman, and of the Court, the moſt noble and beautiful Perſon of that Nation, who drew his Deſcent from *Cadwallader*, the laſt King of the *Britains*; by which Husband ſhe had ſeveral Children, two of whom, *Edmund* and *Jaſper*, bear a Part in the Royal Hiſtory. The former, (being afterwards created Earl of *Richmond*, and marry'd to *Margaret*, the Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, who was Grandſon to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*) became Father to the famous King *Henry* the Seventh. In the ſame Year the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Bedford*, Widow to the late Regent of *France*, marry'd alſo below her Degree to Sir *Richard Woodvile*, who became Father to the Lady *Elizabeth*, who had the Honour to marry King *Edward* the Fourth, and by this was both her ſelf a Queen, and a Progenitreſs of thoſe Kings and Queens that follow'd; For from her and this Match ſprung another *Elizabeth*, the renowned Wife of King *Heury* the Seventh, as King *Henry* himſelf did of the former Match. Both theſe Matches prov'd moſt fortunate to *England*; but another happen'd which now threaten'd preſent Danger to King *Henry*, and that was what *James* King of *Scotland* made with *France*, who marry'd his Daughter *Margaret* to *Lewis* the *Dauphine*, and ſent new Supplies of Men againſt the *Engliſh*. He deſign'd alſo to have attempted ſomething in Perſon, but before he could effect it, he was moſt impiouſly murder'd by certain bloody Traitors at *Perth*, ſuborn'd by the Earl of *Athol* his near Kinſman, in hopes to attain the Crown; for which in Part of his Puniſhment he had a red hot Crown of Iron put upon his Head. Tho' King *James* was a Prince of noble Worth and Virtues, yet this horrible Murther is by ſome Hiſtorians accounted as a juſt and deſerv'd Puniſhment upon him, for his voluntary Breach of his Homage, Oath and Fidelity made to King *Henry* the Sixth, at the Time when he was ſet at Liberty after his long Captivity in *England*. And here an *Italian* Author makes this Remark upon the *Sotch Hiſtory*, That among the numerous Race of Kings in that Nation, about one half of the Number met with untimely Deaths.

James King of Scotland *murder'd by his Subjects.*

In *France*, the new Regent the Duke of *York* continu'd active, but perform'd nothing memorable, tho' he wanted not Advantages and Opportunities of ſignalizing himſelf. For two thouſand *French* Horſemen were mutinous, and rang'd about in great Diſorder: *Paris* was dreadfully puniſh'd with Famine, and its uſual Attendants, peſtilential Diſtempers: The Countries adjacent lay open and deſolate; and the Courtiers were diſcontented and divided. Still nothing of Note was done by the Regent; which ſome impute to the Oppoſition he met with from the Duke of *Somerſet*, who out of Envy and Diſdain incommoded his Diſpatches. However the Duke of *Somerſet*, accompany'd with the Lords *Talbot* and *Falconbridge*, and other brave Men, and a competent Force laid Siege to *Harfleur*, which the *Normans* in the late Rebellion had ſeiz'd, and maintain'd under *French* Commanders. King *Charles* upon this ſent a Body of four thouſand Men to relieve the Place, but not being able to effect it, *Harfleur* ſurrender'd to the Duke. Not long after the Duke of *York* was recall'd, and in *November Richard* Earl of *Warwick* was ſent over to ſucceed him as Regent of *France*: He carry'd with him a thouſand freſh Soldiers, and arriving at *Harfleur*, he from thence march'd to *Roan*, now the chief City of the *Engliſh* Dominions in North *France*, as *Bourdeaux* was in the South; to which laſt Place the Earl of *Huntington*, with certain Troops of Soldiers, was ſent as Lieutenant.

The Duke of York *re-call'd from* France.
The Earl of Warwick *ſent.*

A. D.
1438.
Reg. 16/17.

This new Regent vigorouſly apply'd himſelf to the Buſineſs of his Station; and under him the Duke of *Burgundy* and his Forces were driven from *Crotoy* by the brave Lord *Talbot*: *Abbeville* was freed from the Danger of a Fort with which the Duke had bridled the Town; and the *Engliſh* for twenty Days together took their Pleaſure in ravaging the Country of *Picardy* about *Amiens* and *Artois*. After this the Earl of *Mortaign* Son to the Duke of *Somerſet* arriv'd at *Cherburg* with four hundred Archers and three hundred Spears, and paſſing through *Normandy* into the Country of *Maine*, he beſieg'd a Caſtle call'd *Anian*, in which were three hundred *Scots*, beſides *Frenchmen*. He ſoon took this Caſtle by Storm, ſlew all the *Scots*, and hung up the *French*, becauſe they had been ſworn to the *Engliſh* Government. After theſe, and many other inferior Actions of the like Nature, at the Sollicitations of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* and the Pope's Legate, a grand Conference was held between *Graveling* and *Calais*, the Deputies of *England* and *France*, and thoſe of *Burgundy* meeting to treat about a Peace. But the *Engliſh* not receding from that Condition, that *Normandy* and their other Conqueſts ſhould be left to them in full Sovereignty, they parted without effecting any Thing. Still the *Engliſh* Intereſt was retain'd in *France*, not only by means of King *Henry*'s Miniſters and Forces, but alſo by the Remiſsneſs of King *Charles*, who gave his Son an Occaſion to raiſe a Rebellion againſt him; but the Fear of the *Engliſh* Power, and the wiſe Management of ſome, ſoon produc'd a perfect Reconciliation. Before any great Advantage could be made of this hopeful Breach, the Regent the Earl of *Warwick* after many worthy Actions dy'd at *Roan*; and the Duke of *York* was a ſecond Time ſent over in Quality of Regent of *France*.

Various Actions in France.

A. D.
1439.
Reg. 17/18.

The Earl of Warwick *dies.*
The Duke of York *returns to* France.

A. D.
1440.
Reg. 18/19.

King *Charles* was now fallen into ſome Diſfavour with his People, but to redeem his Credit, he attempted the Recovery of *Ponthoiſe*, near *Paris*, which the Lord *Clifford* had not long before ſurpris'd by a Stratagem; and accordingly he ſat down before it with ten or twelve thouſand Men, while the Lord *Clifford* made a brave Defence within. The Duke of *York* lately landing in *Normandy*, as Regent aſſembled his chief Forces, conſiſting of ſeven or eight thouſand Men, and offer'd the King Battel; but he kept himſelf within his Trenches. The Regent, agreeable to the Humour of the *Engliſh*, eager of preſent Action, unexpectedly paſs'd the River *Oyſe*, which ran between the two Camps; which caus'd King *Charles* to remove with ſuch Precipitation, that the *French* could hardly excuſe him from flying. The Duke having gain'd the Spoil of the *French* King's Camp, reinforc'd *Ponthoiſe*, and attack'd a Fortreſs where King *Charles* had left three thouſand Men to maintain the Appearance of a Siege. But it was judg'd more advantagious to purſue the King who was arriv'd at *Poiſie*; where the Duke again very nobly provok'd him to the Field. King *Charles* finding the Hazards unequal, endur'd the Bravado; ſo that the Duke was conſtrain'd to return to his main Charge in *Normandy*. King *Charles* fell into ſuch Obloquy and Contempt with his People by this diſhonourable Retreat, eſpecially with the *Pariſians*, that if he had not a ſecond Time attempted and prevail'd againſt *Ponthoiſe*, it might have endanger'd his whole Fortunes; for a Faction was then ready to make uſe of any falſe Step. He therefore return'd in a great Fury to the Siege, and took it by a general Aſſault, with extraordinary Bloodſhed on his own Side, and the Loſs of five hundred of the *Engliſh*. The King was one of the firſt that enter'd at the Breach, chuſing to be rather thought raſh than timorous; by which Exploit he re-eſtabliſh his Reputation with his People.

The French *King ſucceeds.*

Both Sides began by this Time to grow weary of the War; and the State of *England* under King *Henry*, whoſe Softneſs and Lenity gave way to ſeveral dangerous Court Factions, requir'd ſome Reſt. For which reaſon Commiſſioners for a Treaty met at *Calais*; where nothing was concluded but the Freedom of *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, for a Ranſom of three hundred thouſand Crowns, after he had been Priſoner in *England* about twenty ſix Years, ever ſince the famous Battel of *Agincourt*, where he was taken. The Duke of *Burgundy* was a main Agent as to his Enlargement, deſigning to ſecure his own Greatneſs by Acts of Beneficence; this high-born Prince, for the Murder of his Father, being naturally the Head and Spring of that unfortunate Feud that had moſt mortally rag'd between the Houſes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*. The Duke of *Gloceſter* prudently foreſeeing the Dangers like to enſue upon *Orleans*'s Liberty, ſtrenuouſly oppos'd it, and that upon important Reaſons, which he requir'd to have Regiſter'd, that they might remain on Record for a Teſtimony of the Diſcharge of his Duty. This great Duke had no better Succeſs when he ſet about to reform the State of *England*, which ſuffer'd much from the Miſmanagements of the two Cardinals of *York* and *Wincheſter*, eſpecially the latter. For tho' the Duke was Governor of the King, and Protector of the Realm, yet the Cardinal of *Wincheſter* with the other acted many Things without the Conſent of the King or him; at which being greatly offended, he in Writing declar'd to the King how much the Cardinal and the

The Duke of Orleans *releas'd.*

A. D.
1441.
Reg. 19/20.

The Duke of Glocester's *Complaints againſt the Cardinal of* Winche-ſter.

the Arch-Biſhop had offended both his Majeſty and the Laws of the Nation. This Complaint of the Duke's was drawn up in twenty four long Articles, which chiefly imported, That the Cardinal of *Winchester* had continually, through his ambitious Deſire of ſurmounting all others in Honour and Dignity, ſought to inrich himſelf, to the great Damage of the King, as not only defrauding him of his Treaſure, but alſo practiſing Things highly prejudicial to his Affairs in *France*, particularly by freeing the King of *Scotland* upon ſuch eaſie Conditions that his Majeſty became a great Loſer. Tho' theſe Things were heard and examin'd before the Council, yet the Cardinal found ſo many Friends, as not only protected him, but afterwards found Means to effect the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Ruin.

A.D. 1442. Reg. $\frac{20}{21}$.

Various Fortunes in France.

Still the Miſeries and Calamities of *France* continu'd, and the Wars were carry'd on with various Succeſs, but yet after a more feeble and languid manner than formerly. The County of *Amiens* was ravag'd by the *Engliſh* under the Lords *Willoughby* and *Talbot*; the Regent and the Duke of *Somerſet* march'd into *Anjou*, where they loaded their Carriages with much Plunder, and return'd into *Normandy:* After which the Duke of *Somerſet* parted from the other; and perform'd ſeveral Exploits in and about *Bretaign*. *Dieppe* in *Normandy* being beſieg'd by the *Engliſh*, was reliev'd by the *Dauphine*, to the great Loſs of the former; while the *French* King gain'd ſome Advantages in and about *Gaſcony*. During theſe variable Tranſactions, *John* the valiant Lord *Talbot*, lately recall'd into *England*, was, for his approv'd Courage and Wiſdom, both in *England* and *France*, as well in Peace as War, created Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and with a Body of three thouſand Men ſent over again into *Normandy*, for the better Defence of that Country.

A.D. 1443. Reg. $\frac{21}{22}$.

King Henry *affianc'd to the Earl of* Armagnack's *Daughter, yet after that was contracted to the Duke of* Anjou's *Daughter.*

Not long after the Counteſs of *Cominges* dying, the King of *France* and the Earl of *Armagnack* became violent Competitors for the Inheritance. The Earl took Poſſeſſion; but fearing the King of *France*'s Greatneſs, offer'd his Daughter in Marriage to the King of *England*, with a large Portion in Mony; promiſing alſo to deliver full Poſſeſſion of all ſuch Towns and Caſtles, as were by him or his Anceſtors detain'd in *Gaſcony*, and had been formerly conquer'd by King *Henry*'s Predeceſſors. The Ambaſſadors for this Affair were graciouſly receiv'd by King *Henry*, and honourably ſent back: After whom were ſent Sir *Edward Hall*, Sir *Robert Roſs*, and others, to conclude all Things; by whom the young Lady was by Proxy affianc'd to King *Henry*. But the King of *France* highly diſliking this Match, ſent the *Dauphine* with a powerful Army, who took the Earl Priſoner, with his youngeſt Son, and both his Daughters, and gain'd the Counties of *Armagnack*, *Louverne*, *Rovergne* and other Parts, chaſing the Baſtard of *Armagnack* out of the Country; by which means the Conſummation of the Marriage was deferr'd, and never effected.

In this Diſtraction of Chriſtendom many Princes, as the Kings of *Spain*, *Denmark* and *Hungary*, became Mediators for a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*. Ambaſſadors on all Sides were ſent, many Meetings were heard, and many Propoſals made; but in Concluſion only a Truce for eighteen Months was agreed on.

A.D. 1444. Reg. $\frac{22}{23}$.

During this Negotiation, *De la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, a great Favourite, and one of the Commiſſioners for this Peace, took upon him a bold Thing beyond his Commiſſion; and without acquainting his Aſſociates, treated of a Marriage between the King of *England* and *Margaret* the Daughter of *Reyner* Duke of *Anjou*, and Neice to the Queen of *France*. This *Reyner* now ſtil'd himſelf King of *Sicily*, *Naples* and *Jeruſalem*; and the Earl of *Suffolk* was ſo active in this Affair, that it brought the Aſperſion of Bribery upon him; and without his Maſter's Warrant he proceeded ſo far as to appoint an Interview between the two Kings, which was to be held betwixt *Roan* and *Chartres*. Upon the Return of the Commiſſioners, the Earl of *Suffolk* ſet forth the Beauty and Qualifications of the propos'd Bride, and the Benefits of Peace that would redound to the Kingdom by this Match. The King and many others were eaſily induc'd to credit the Relation, but the worthy Duke of *Gloceſter* bravely oppos'd it, partly becauſe it was a manifeſt Injury to the Earl of *Armagnack*'s Daughter, to whom the King had been ſolemnly affianc'd, which Match was honourable and advantagious; and partly becauſe the latter brought nothing with it but Loſs and Diſhonour, as the Delivery of the Dukedom of *Anjou* and County of *Maine*, Bulwarks to *Normandy*, which now ought eſpecially to be retain'd in order to conclude a laſting Peace with *France*. But all Reaſons were of no effect, when the Heav'ns had decreed that for this Cauſe the Duke ſhould loſe his Life, the King his Crown and Dignity, the Kingdom all its foreign Poſſeſſions, and the People that Peace at home they had hitherto enjoy'd. King *Charles* underſtanding that *Henry* had conſented, he ſent over the Count of *Vendoſme* and the Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims*, who concluded the Contract; and the more to honour this unfortunate Match, King *Henry* created three Dukes and one Marqueſs, which latter was the Earl of *Suffolk*, who for his further Honour was made his Deputy to celebrate the Formality of the Nuptials, and to bring the Bride into *England*.

A.D. 1445. Reg. $\frac{23}{24}$.

The Marriage compleated.

All Things being in Readineſs, the new Marqueſs went over into *France*, with his Wife, and great Numbers of Ladies and Gentlemen gloriouſly adorn'd, and Letters from the Bride's Father, who tho' he was rich in Titles of imaginary Kingdoms, was not able to ſend her honourably to her Husband; ſo that all the Charge, which was vaſt and extraordinary, fell to King *Henry*'s Share. The noble Company being arriv'd at *Tours*, the Marqueſs marry'd the Lady in the Name of his Maſter, in the Preſence of the King of *France*, the Queen, and a numerous Train of Princes and Noblemen, among whom were the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Calabria*, *Alenſon* and *Bretaign*; and the Nuptials were ſolemniz'd with magnificent Feaſts and Tournaments. After this the Lady in great State was convey'd into *England*, and at *Southwike* in *Hampſhire* was ſolemnly marry'd to King *Henry*. From thence ſhe remov'd to *London*, being met after a moſt pompous manner by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and others of the Nobility; and the famous Poet *John Lydgate* Monk of St. *Edmund's-Bury* compos'd the Speeches for ſuch triumphant Receptions as were made upon her Entrance into the City. A few Days after, on the thirtieth of *May*, ſhe was crown'd Queen at *Weſtminſter* with all the uſual Solemnities.

The Character of the new Queen.

Polydore gives no improper Character of this beautiful Queen, when he ſays ſhe was one ſufficiently provident, ambitious of Glory, abounding in Diſcourſe, Counſel, Officiouſneſs and maſculine Courage; in which appear'd much Ingenuity, Vigilance and Care; but not free from the Humour of Women, which, as he ſays, is uſually vehement and apt to change.

A.D. 1446. Reg. $\frac{24}{25}$.

The Beginning of England's *Miſeries.*

V. The Kingdom of *France* had for above thirty Years ſuffer'd all the Convulſions and Calamities of War, both Civil as well as Foreign; but thoſe Miſeries ſeem'd to be transfer'd by gradual Steps to *England*, and from this Time began the apparent Forerunners of the Nation's Misfortune. Here ſome of our *Engliſh* Writers very freely tell us, That it appear'd that God was not pleas'd with the late Marriage: For from that Day forward the Fortune of the World began to fall from the King, ſo that he loſt all his Friends in *England*, and all his Dominions in *France:* For in a little Time all was govern'd by the Queen and her Council, to the great Detriment of the King and his Realm, and the no leſs Obloquy of the Queen, who thereby became expos'd to many falſe Reports. All which Miſery, ſays *Fabian*, aroſe from BREACH OF THE PROMISE made by the King to the Earl of *Armagnack*'s Daughter, as moſt Writers agree: All which Miſery, as he adds, will in ſome meaſure appear by the Loſs of *Normandy*, and the reſt of *France*, the Diviſion of the Lords within this Kingdom, the Rebellion of the Commonalty againſt their Prince and Sovereign, and finally the King himſelf depos'd, and the Queen with the Prince forc'd to fly the Land, and loſe the Government of it for ever. Theſe and many other Evils were the Products of the ſucceeding Times. However ſtill ſome Care was taken about the Affairs of *France*; and the Parliament granted Supplies of Mony to carry on the War upon the Expiration of the Truce.

The Duke of Somerſet *made Regent of* France.

The Duke of *York* was recall'd from his Regency, and the Duke of *Somerſet* in an unfortunate Hour was ſent in his Place, with ſuch Proviſions as were reputed competent.

A.D. 1447. Reg. $\frac{25}{26}$.

The Duke of Glocester *in Danger.*

The renowned Protector, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, felt the firſt fatal Blow of the evil Angel that was ſent to puniſh *England*, and to root out her Nobility. This Duke had been a brave Oppoſer of the late Marriage, and was much hated by the Queen and her Faction, as the only Man who by his Prudence, as alſo by the Honour and Authority of his Birth and Place, ſeem'd to hinder that Sovereign Power which they pretended to ſettle in the King's Perſon, but deſign'd indeed, as is uſual under ſoft Princes, to reign themſelves in another's Name. The Marqueſs of *Suffolk*, and ſeveral of the Nobility, at the Time of a Parliament held at St. *Edmund's-Bury*, were drawn on to concur to his Ruin; not perceiving, that by ſo doing they pull'd up the Flood-Gate, at which the Duke of *York* enter'd, overwhelming all of them in a Deluge of Blood. Whether they had any real Fear of *Gloceſter* himſelf, leſt perhaps he ſhould take Revenge upon ſome particular Perſons among them, is uncertain; tho' it ſeems probable enough, that they had. Beſides the Duke's frequent Conteſts with the Cardinal of *Winchester*, and ſeveral others, there were ſome former Accidents that concurr'd to make Way towards his Ruin. For about five Years before, *Eleanor* his Dutcheſs was convented for Witchcraft and Sorcery, and afterwards indited for Treaſon before the Earls of *Hun-*

tingtons

tington, *Stafford*, *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, and other Lords and Judges; of which Crime ſhe was appeal'd by one *Bolingbrook* an Aſtronomer, and *Thomas Southwell* a Canon, which laſt was charg'd with ſaying Maſſes over certain Inſtruments, by which the Aſtronomer ſhould practiſe Negromancy againſt the Life of the King. Theſe being taken accus'd her as an Acceſſary, and one who had deſired the Aſſiſtance of their Art to know her Fortune; and Part of this ſhe confeſs'd, for which ſhe was put to publick and ſolemn Penance in *London*, upon three ſeveral Days, with extraordinary Shame to her Perſon, and after that ſhe was committed to perpetual Impriſonment under the Care of Sir *Thomas Stanley*. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, her unhappy Lord and Husband, whom by Love-Potions ſhe was ſaid to have inchanted, being provok'd with this Reproach, might reaſonably be ſuppos'd to have ſtirr'd in this Affair. However it was, his Deſtruction certainly borrow'd Countenance from that Opinion. The Duke therefore being come to attend at this Parliament at St. *Edmund*'s *Bury*, in the ſecond Day of the Seſſions he was arreſted of High-Treaſon by the Lord *Beaumont* Conſtable of *England*, the Duke of *Buckingham* and others, and all his Followers taken from him, whereof thirty two were committed to ſeveral Priſons; and the Day after his Impriſonment he was found murder'd in his Bed. Yet he was expos'd the ſame Day with a Deſign to have it thought he dy'd of a Palſie or Impoſtume, tho' all that ſaw his Body found that he dy'd of a violent and unnatural Death; ſome ſay ſtrangled; ſome that a hot Spit was thruſt up his Fundament; and ſome that he was ſtifled between two Feather-Beds. His Corps was convey'd the ſame Day to St. *Albans*, and there interr'd. Five of his menial Servants being condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn and quartered, the Marqueſs of *Suffolk*, to affect Popularity, brought their Pardons, and ſav'd their Lives, after they had been hang'd, let down quick, ſtript naked, and mark'd with a Knife to be quarter'd. By a Pardon granted to one of his Servants may be ſeen the Pretence made for committing the Murder; namely, he was one of the many Traitors who came with the Duke of *Gloceſter* to deſtroy the King, and ſet his Wife *Eleanor* at Liberty.

He is arreſted of High-Treaſon,

and murder'd.

His Character.

Such was the End of this great Prince, who, notwithſtanding his Body was expos'd, and many Crimes pretended, was by the People of *England* thought to be doubly murder'd, in his Reputation, as well as his Perſon. His Death was much lamented by the whole Kingdom, from whom he deſerv'd the Sirname of *Good*, for he was a Lover of his Country, a Friend to Good Men, a Protector of the Learned, of which himſelf was one, and ſo great an Incourager of them, that he built the Divinity Schools at *Oxford*, a Work worthy to be admir'd in all Reſpects. His main Opinion concerning the Government of King *Henry*'s *French* Dominions was generally oppos'd by the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and ſome others, who altogether perſuaded Peace, to which this Heroical Duke, nicely inſiſting upon the Honour and Majeſty of the *Engliſh* Name, was a profeſs'd Enemy: From which Fountain of divided Councils flow'd innumerable Inconveniences. Tho' he had many virtuous Qualifications, yet he has been blam'd for Incontinency and Ambition, one or both of which formerly caus'd a dangerous Breach with the Duke of *Burgundy*. After him the Title of *Gloceſter* was reputed ominous; for the four laſt *Gloceſters* came to violent Ends: *Thomas*, Son to *Edward* the Third, was ſtrangled at *Calais*; *Thomas Spenſer* Earl of *Gloceſter* beheaded at *Bury*; *Humphry* the preſent Duke dy'd as now related; and *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* afterwards ſlain in Battel. The Death of the preſent Duke, prov'd the Queen, who was eſpecially concern'd in it, not to have been ſo careful or politick as common Reaſon ſeem'd to require of her; for while he liv'd his Authority and near Relation to the Crown would eaſily have ſtifled the Duke of *York*'s Claim: And here were the firſt Seeds ſown between the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, whoſe Badge was the *Red-Roſe*, and the Houſe of *York*, who gave that of the *White*. And now, ſays *Polydore*, Good Men, apprehenſive of their own Safeties, voluntarily forſook the Court, into whoſe Places ſucceeded many, who for the moſt Part ſeeking their own Intereſt, open'd an eaſie Way for new Factions. The Duke of *Gloceſter* was ſoon follow'd by his great Enemy the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, the other chief Counſellor of the Nation; ſo that the whole Frame of the Government was laid upon the Queen, and ſuch Favourites as the King, by her Recommendation, approv'd of. We are aſſur'd that when this rich Prelate lay upon his Death-Bed he cryed out, *Why ſhould I dye that have ſo much Wealth? If the whole Kingdom would ſave my Life, I am able by my Policy to get it, or by my Mony to buy it. Will not Death be brib'd, nor Mony do nothing?* Being dead, he was ſucceeded in his Biſhoprick by a more worthy Perſon, *William Wanfleet*, ſo called from the Place of his Nativity in *Lincolnſhire*, tho' his real Name was *Patin*; who afterwards founded *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, one of the nobleſt Foundations in *Europe*.

The Cardinal of Wincheſter *dies.*

A. D. 1448. Reg. $\frac{26}{27}$.

The Deſigns of the Duke of York.

The Marqueſs of *Suffolk*, now the chief Favourite, was created a Duke, which render'd him a more conſpicuous Mark of Envy than ever, beyond even the Protection of the King or the Queen. And now the Affairs of *France*, where *Somerſet* was Regent, were neither duly inſpected, nor the Governors of the Country well adviſ'd; but the King and Realm of *England*, much more than *France*, lay expos'd to the deep and pernicious Deſigns of *Richard* Duke of *York*. He, by an Error of the State, being made great, and grown ſtronger by affected Popularity, perceiving the King to be a Ruler and not to govern, began ſecretly to allure his Friends of the Nobility, and privately declar'd to them his Title to the Crown; as likewiſe he did to certain Governors of Cities and Towns; which Attempt was ſo politickly and ſecretly carry'd on, that his Proviſion was ready, before his Purpoſe was diſclos'd. The publick State of Affairs ſeem'd to favour this fatal Conſpiracy: There was a milder King than *England* then deſerv'd; a Council out of Favour with the People; numerous Loſſes and Diſhonours abroad; a turbulent and unſettled Condition of all Things at home. Of all which, and many more Miſchiefs, the Duke of *York*, having *Henry* the Fourth for a dangerous Precedent, made his pernicious Uſe, cheriſhing the popular Averſions, without ſeeking to redreſs any Evils, but repreſenting them worſe than they were, only to bring about his ambitious Purpoſes. His Removal from the Regency of *France* did not a little diſoblige him, becauſe the Duke of *Somerſet* gain'd it from him; but it was not long before *Somerſet*'s ill Management of that Truſt, and the declining Fortune of the *Engliſh* gave him Occaſion to rejoice at the Foil of his dreaded Enemy. Which in ſhort was thus.

A. D. 1449. Reg. $\frac{27}{28}$.

During the Truce between *England* and *France*, one Sir *Francis Surienne* a Knight of *Arragon*, ſerving under the Regent, ſurpris'd the City of *Fougers*, belonging to the Duke of *Bretaign*, where he met with a Booty of above ſixteen hundred thouſand Crowns. Upon which Reparation and Reſtitution was demanded; but the Duke of *Somerſet* a proud Man, contrary to good Diſcipline, cheriſhing his Soldiers in their Riots and Diſorders, wilfully neglected the Juſtice of Nations in that Point. After ſix Months Delays the Duke of *Bretaign* began the Revenge, and by the *French* King's Conſent ſurpris'd *Pont de Larche*, and Town after Town, ſo many and ſo faſt, that King *Charles*, after he found no Reſtitution would be made, uniting his Forces, ſoon became Maſter of *Roan* it ſelf, of *Caen*, *Bayeux*, and indeed of all other Places belonging to the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts; to the great Diſhonour of the Duke of *Somerſet* and the *Engliſh* Nation. And thus was all *Normandy* regain'd by the *French*, or rather, as *Mezeray* ſays, help'd to recover it ſelf, in one Year and ſix Days; after it had continu'd in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* above thirty Years from the Conqueſt of it by *Henry* the Fifth. In this Dukedom were a hundred ſtrong Towns and Forts, all tenable and of Conſequence, beſides thoſe deſtroy'd in the Wars; and it alſo contain'd one Archbiſhoprick and ſix Biſhopricks. Some are of Opinion that the *Engliſh* wanted Strength, either to Man the Towns as they ought, or Numbers to inhabit the Country, which was the Reaſon they could not keep it. Others charge it upon the Avarice of the Duke of *Somerſet*, who kept not half the Number of Soldiers for which he was allow'd, and thoſe ſo ill paid, that he was forc'd to connive at all their Outrages. But the principal Cauſe, as moſt agree, was the fatal Diviſions within the Kingdom of *England*, where every great Man deſiring rather to be reveng'd on his Foe at home, than the common Enemy abroad, no timely Succours could be ſent. Yet ſtill if we conſider the general Deportment of the *Engliſh* Nation, the Concurrence of Martial Men, their Counſel, Diſcipline and Deſigns, from the Beginning of *Edward* the Firſt to this Time, which was a hundred and eighty Years; it muſt be acknowledg'd that they were Men of extraordinary Worth and Valour, and carry'd the Palm of Victory before them where-ever they went.

All Normandy *loſt from the* Engliſh.

The Cauſes of it.

A. D. 1450. Reg. $\frac{28}{29}$.

The Miſfortunes in England.

VI. After the diſhonourable Loſs of *Normandy*, the Calamities of *England* began to diſcover themſelves more openly than ever: For while the *French* triumph'd in their new Acquiſitions, three cruel Enemies, among many others, grievouſly urg'd on the Ruin of the Nation at home. One was Preſumption in Governing, by ſome that were moſt unfit to rule, as the Queen with her Privy-Counſellors and Favourites; next the inveterate Malice and Pride, as well as inſatiable Avarice in the States both Spiritual and Temporal; and laſtly the general Diſcontents of the People, who began to ſink under the Tediouſneſs as well as Weight of their Burdens. Theſe finding that by Miſgovernment all Things were running towards Confuſion, as well within the Realm as without, they began to

The Duke of Suffolk *impeach'd.*

exclaim againſt the Duke of *Suffolk*, charging him as the only Cauſe of the Delivery of *Anjou* and *Main*, the chief Procurer of the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Death, the very Occaſion of the Loſs of *Normandy*, the Devourer of the King's Treaſure, the Remover of good and virtuous Counſellors from about the Prince, and the Advancer of vicious Perſons, and ſuch as were Enemies to the Publick. The Queen at this apprehending not only the Duke's Deſtruction, but alſo her own Confuſion, caus'd the Parliament, which had met at *London*, to be adjourn'd at *Leiceſter*, thinking there, by Force and Rigour of Law, to ſuppreſs all the Malice and ill Opinions conceiv'd againſt the Duke and her ſelf. At which Place few of the Nobility would appear; therefore the Parliament was again adjourn'd to *Weſtminſter*, where there was a full Appearance. In this Seſſion the Commons drew up many Articles of Impeachment againſt the Duke of *Suffolk*, conſiſting of ſeveral Crimes, as well Treaſon as leſſer Miſdemeanors; moſt of which he deny'd. But when he was charg'd with making the unhappy Marriage for the King, and the Loſs of *Anjou* and *Main*, he alledg'd that the very next Parliament after the Conſummation of the Match had ſo well approv'd of it, as to vote him Rewards for his Service. But notwithſtanding all his Defence, the Queen juſtly doubting ſome Commotion if he paſs'd with Impunity, caus'd him for a Colour to be committed to the Tower: Where remaining about a Month, he was again deliver'd, and reſtor'd to the King's Favour; which ſo diſpleas'd the People, that if extraordinary Care had not been taken, innumerable Miſchiefs might have happen'd. For the common People in ſeveral Places of the Kingdom aſſembled in numerous Bodies, and choſe a Captain for themſelves, whom they called *Bluebeard*; but before they had perform'd any Enterprize, their Leaders were apprehended, and the Matter pacify'd without any further Damage.

He is baniſhed,

and then murder'd.

His Character.

After theſe Outrages were allay'd, the Parliament was adjourn'd to *Leiceſter*, where the King and Queen appeared in great State, and with them the Duke of *Suffolk* as chief Counſellor. The Houſe of Commons not forgetting their old Reſentments, petition'd the King that all ſuch Perſons as conſented to the Delivery of *Main* and *Anjou* might be duly puniſh'd. And as privy to that Fact they accus'd the Duke of *Suffolk* as Principal, with *John* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and Sir *James Fines*, Lord *Say*, and divers others. The King perceiving that no common Methods would appeaſe the Peoples Fury, to pacifie their inveterate Hatred, he firſt remov'd the Lord *Say* from being High-Treaſurer, and ſome others of the Duke's Adherents from their Offices and Places; and after that baniſh'd the Duke himſelf for five Years, as being the preſent Annoyance of the Nation. But he was now purſu'd by a more inevitable Vengeance from Above: for embarking in *Suffolk* to go for *France*, he was ſet upon by a Man of War belonging to the Earl of *Exeter*, taken by the Captain, and brought into *Dover* Road, where his Head was ſtricken off in a Cock-boat, and his Body ignominiouſly thrown upon the Shore; from whence it was taken by one of his Chaplains, and bury'd in the College of *Wingfield* in *Suffolk*. This was the remarkable End of *William de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*; a Perſon of very conſiderable Abilities, who had warr'd in *France* forty four Years without Intermiſſion, in ſeventeen of which he never ſaw his own Country. When he was taken Priſoner his Ranſom coſt him twenty thouſand Pounds, tho' then he was only a Knight; he was of thirty Years ſtanding of the Order of the Garter, his Father was ſlain at the Siege of *Harfleur*, his eldeſt Brother at *Agincourt*, and his two younger in the ſame Wars; ſo that it cannot be deny'd but that his Prince and Country did owe much to him, ſince he ſpent his Life in the Service of the one, and his Reputation in the Service of the other. But after all, ſuffering himſelf to be guided by a prodigious Ambition, he fell into two dreadful Errors, his making of a State Marriage, not only pernicious in it ſelf, but contrary to an Expreſs Contract before; and his contributing towards the worthy Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Murther: for which he met with ſuch a Puniſhment, as look'd more like the Hand of Heav'n, than the Hatred of the People.

The Duke of York's *further Deſigns.*

The Death of this Miniſter was highly prejudicial to the King, who greatly ſtood in need of his Service and Support; and this Chance did much animate thoſe of the Duke of *York*'s Faction, who now ſpar'd no Pains to render the King deſpicable, and the Queen odious. They alſo inſiſted upon the Duke's brave Management in *Ireland*, where at preſent he reſided as Governor, and where by his Wiſdom and Valour he had in a manner tam'd a ſavage People, and reduc'd them to that Diſcipline and Obedience, that he thereby ſhew'd how much *England* wanted ſuch a King. Theſe Inſinuations were not only privately whiſper'd, but publickly diſpers'd: and every Man had the Vanity to blaze 'em abroad, to ſhew their Wiſdom, and their Affection to the publick Weal. The Duke of *York* before the Death of *Suffolk* had wrought the End of *Adam Molleins*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and Lord Privy-Seal; for fearing that a Man of his Integrity might oppoſe his Deſigns, he caus'd him to be aſſaſſinated by Fiſhermen at *Portſmouth*, that he might be thought to be ſlain by the outragious Commotion of that baſer ſort of People. But theſe Things tending more to the ruining than the raiſing of his Projects, he deſign'd to begin his Work with ſome popular Sedition, which precipitating the Rebels into a Crime unpardonable, and the Fear of Puniſhment making them obſtinate, he might uſe them either collected or diffus'd as Occaſion ſhould ſerve. For that End the common People of *Kent* were excited to take up Arms, under the Conduct and Command of *Jack Cade*, who had formerly been a Servant to Sir *Thomas Dagre* a *Suſſex* Knight, and killing a Woman with Child, abjur'd the Land and turn'd *French*; and returning was an Inſtrument to hang out *Mortimer*'s Name, as a Flag, to draw in a Party, feigning himſelf of that Family, and to be a Couſin to the Duke of *York*. A peſtilent Contrivance to ſound the Affections of the Multitude, and to proclaim that Title to the Crown, which the Duke as Heir to the Family afterwards challeng'd: For who would not ask what ſhould move him to uſe the Name of *Mortimer*?

Jack Cade's *Rebellion in* Kent.

The King marches againſt them.

Cade *is ſucceſsful.*

The King retires to Warwickſhire.

This *Cade*, a Man of no ſmall Courage, having drawn great Numbers together, encamp'd at *Black-Heath* by *Greenwich*, and in his Writings ſtil'd himſelf the *Captain of* Kent, and Captain *Mendall*; and his Pretences, like thoſe of all other Rebels, were the publick Good of the Nation. The King and his Council being mov'd at the News of this dangerous Inſurrection, this Captain ſent a large Roll of Complaints and Demands to his Majeſty. One of which was, That *Richard* Duke of *York* ſhould be recall'd out of *Ireland*, and with the Duke of *Buckingham* and certain others be principally us'd in Council. Another was, That as the Duke of *Gloceſter* had been falſely proclaim'd Traitor, ſo the Authors of his Death might be puniſh'd. Beſides theſe and other plauſible Demands, great Complaints were made of many Grievances and Extortions, proceeding from the Courts of the King's-Bench and the Exchequer, with many other Particulars too numerous to recite here. Theſe Matters being inſiſted upon with extraordinary Inſolence and Bravado's, the King ſoon became ſenſible of the Indignity and Danger; and raiſing an Army of fifteen thouſand Men, he march'd in Perſon againſt the Rebels. Upon which *Cade* politickly withdrew his Forces into *Sevenoke* Wood; upon Notice of which the King retir'd again to *London*; but the Queen longing for a Diſpatch, ſent the two *Staffords*, Sir *Humphry* and *William*, with many fiery Youths of the Court, to follow the Rebels. But theſe were ſoon cool'd; for they found the *Kentiſh* Captain in good Order ready to receive them, and in the firſt Encounter ſlew Sir *Humphry*, and afterwards his Brother, and put all the reſt to Flight. The King's Forces being at *Black-Heath*, could neither by Threats or Entreaties be oblig'd to march to their Reſcue; but rather wiſh'd the Queen and her Favourites to meet with the *Staffords* Fate: Or that the Duke of *York* were in *England*, to aſſiſt his Couſin *Mortimer*; and many of them ſtole away to the Rebels, whoſe Numbers from *Suſſex* and *Surry* daily encreas'd. And now the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Duke of *Buckingham* were ſent to expoſtulate with the Rebels about their Demands; to whom *Cade* gave civil Language, but directly deny'd a Ceſſation from Arms, unleſs the King in Perſon would hear the Grievances of his Subjects, and paſs his Royal Word for the Redreſs of them. This Reſolution being made known to the King, who was not ſure of his Soldiers Fidelity, he and his Queen retir'd to *Kenelworth* Caſtle in *Warwickſhire*; having firſt committed the Tower to the Cuſtody of the Lord *Scales* and the renown'd *Matthew Gouge*, and the City of *London* to the Fidelity of Sir *Thomas Charlton* Lord-Mayor.

Cade *enters* London.

The *Kentiſh* Captain taking Advantage of the King's Abſence, march'd into the Borough of *Southwark*, where he quarter'd his Men, ſtrictly charging them to commit no Outrage, nor do Injury to any; which was duly obſerv'd. The next Morning, being the ſecond of *July*, he march'd to *London*-Bridge, where without Reſiſtance he caus'd his Men to cut the Ropes of the Draw-Bridge; and ſo in good Order march'd into the City, and coming to *London-Stone*, he ſtruck his Sword upon it, crying, *Now is* Mortimer *Lord of* London! The Lord-Mayor, ſtanding by his Door, bad him *Beware of attempting any Thing againſt the Peace of the City*; to whom he made Anſwer, *Let the World judge of our honeſt Intentions by our Actions.* And indeed the orderly Behaviour of himſelf and his Company gain'd him an extraordinary Opinion among the common Sort of People. And now aſſuming to himſelf the Place of Chief, he ſent out his Letters of ſafe Conduct to ſuch as he thought fit to employ; among others he wrote to *Thomas Cock*, Woollen-Draper of *London*, commanding him to bring him a certain Number of Arms and Horſe, and a thouſand Marks of Mony, at the Charge of the *Genoeſe*, *Venetian*

and

His Tyrannical Behaviour.

and *Florentine* Merchants; and threatning to take the Heads of all that refus'd Payment: All which was perform'd by thoſe Foreign Merchants. At Night he return'd into *Southwark*, where *Robert Poynings*, Eſq; was his Sword-Bearer and Carver. The next Morning he return'd into the City, and immediately ſent to the Lord *Scales* to bring his Priſoner the Lord *Say* to *Guild-Hall*, to which Place he ſummon'd the Lord Mayor and his Brethren. Before theſe he caus'd the Lord *Say* to be arraign'd, who deſiring to be try'd by his Peers, was ſuddenly taken from his Keeper, hurry'd to the Standard in *Cheapſide*, and had his Head ſtrucken off, which upon the End of a Pike was born before him to *Mile-End*, where he went to confer with the Rebels of *Eſſex*; and in the Way meeting with Sir *James Cromer*, High-Sheriff of *Kent*, and lately marry'd to the Lord *Say*'s Daughter, he alſo caus'd his Head to be taken off, and carry'd before him in Deriſion. The next Morning he again enter'd the City; where after publick Execution done upon ſome of his Aſſociates, who had acted contrary to his Proclamation, upon ſome diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt Alderman *Malpas*, he ſent and ſeiz'd upon all his Wares and Goods, and fin'd Alderman *Horn* five hundred Marks.

He is inveſted at London *Bridge.*

Cade taken and ſlain.

The Rebellion ended.

The chief Citizens now finding the intolerable Inſolence of *Cade*, and that they had born too much before, ſecretly ſent to the Lord *Scales* in the Tower for Aſſiſtance; and the brave *Matthew Gouge* with ſome Forces in the Night came to them. The Rebels in *Southwark* hearing that their Entrance would be diſputed, ran furiouſly to Arms, and *Cade* endeavour'd to open his Paſſage by Force; but notwithſtanding all his Power, the Citizens made good and defended *London*-Bridge againſt him, tho' with the Firing of ſeveral Houſes, and the Loſs of many honeſt and valiant Men, for the Conflict continu'd all Night, 'till nine in the Morning. Among ſuch as were ſlain on the King's ſide were *John Sutton* Alderman, *Robert Heyſand* and *Matthew Gouge* himſelf: Which laſt, an Eſquire of *Wales*, was a Man of admirable Virtue, Manhood and Zeal for his Country, and of great Renown in the Wars of *France*, where he had nobly ſerv'd for above twenty Years; and his Deſerts at this Time merited a Statue in the City, for whoſe Deliverance he ſpent his laſt Blood. To give quick Diſpatch to theſe Troubles, Impunity was proclaim'd for all Offenders, and ſent them in the King's Name by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord-Chancellor, under the Great Seal of *England*. The Rebels were ſoon diſpers'd with this Aſſurance of their Safeties, and every Man retir'd in Peace from following ſuch a peſtilent Impoſtor. *Cade* afterwards attempting new Troubles in *Kent*, a thouſand Marks were promis'd to him who kill'd or took this Counterfeit *Mortimer*; and *Alexander Eden*, a Gentleman of *Kent*, had the good Fortune to diſcover and kill him by main Force at *Hothfield* in that County. His Body was brought to *London*, and beheaded and quarter'd; his Head ſet upon *London*-Bridge, and his Quarters diſpers'd in divers Places in *Kent*; to which Country the King came ſhortly after in Perſon, where tho' five hundred were found guilty, only eight were executed. Tho' *London* was the chief Stage of this Rebellion, yet other Counties were not free, eſpecially *Wiltſhire*; for the Rebels there proceeded ſo far as to draw *William Askot*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, from the high Altar, when he was ſaying Maſs in *Edington* Church, to the Top of the Hill, and there in his Epiſcopal Robes moſt inhumanly murder'd him.

A. D. 1451. Reg. $\frac{29}{30}$

The Duke of York *proceeds in his former Deſigns.*

He takes up Arms.

The *Kentiſh* Rebellion being thus pacify'd and ended, far greater and more dangerous Troubles ſucceeded, as it is uſual to Human Bodies, which by Relapſes are ſhaken more terribly than ever. All theſe Troubles had their prime Source from *Richard* Duke of *York*, the true Son of that *Richard* whom *Henry* the Fifth had created Earl of *Cambridge*, and loaden with Wealth and Favours; but as no Bounty nor Benefits can change a treacherous Diſpoſition, ſo He conſpir'd the Death of his Benefactor *Henry* the Fifth, as the Duke of *York* his Son labour'd to depoſe the preſent King *Henry* his great Advancer. The Humours of the People were in the laſt Commotion not obſcurely diſcover'd; and the Commonwealth had really ſome Enormities, through the Miſmanagement of great Officers, but yet ſuch as the Malady was far leſs pernicious than the Remedy. Upon Intelligence of which the Duke of *York* came ſuddenly out of *Ireland*, and to begin his uſurp'd Authority, he apprehended *John Sutton* Lord *Dudley*, *Reginald* Abbot of *Glanſtenbury*, and another, and impriſon'd them in his Caſtle of *Ludlow*. *Edmond* Duke of *Somerſet* was the Man, who, after *Suffolk*'s Death, moſt ſupported the King's Intereſt by his Vigilance, Hazards and good Counſels, endeavouring by all Methods to clear the Realm from Factions, and to preſerve the Kingdom in Quiet. *York* ſeeing this, ſoon found that *Suffolk* periſh'd in vain, if the ſame Favours were conferr'd upon *Somerſet*; againſt whoſe Perſon he had a particular Pretence of Quarrel, becauſe the City of *Caen* in *Normandy*, the Duke of *York*'s own Charge, was by him deliver'd to the *French*; when the *Engliſh* Affairs became deſperate in thoſe Parts; Sir *David Hall*, then Lieutenant to the Duke of *York*, not allowing it, tho' the renown'd *Talbot* was preſent at the Surrender, and became a Hoſtage for Performance of Articles. The Duke of *York* hereupon conſulted with his chief Friends the Earl of *Salisbury* and his Son, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Lord *Cobham* and others, how he might beſt get into the Throne of *England*, and how to ruin the Duke of *Somerſet*, from whom they were to expect the greateſt Oppoſition. At length they agreed to have recourſe to Arms, but to ſmother the mention of the Duke of *York*'s Title, they publiſh'd to the World, *That they deſign'd all Honour and Obedience to King* Henry, *but only would remove certain ill Men from about his Perſon, who oppreſs'd the People, and made a Prey of the Publick.* Which to gain the more Credit, and to blind the eaſie King, the ſubtle Duke in a Proclamation us'd theſe Hypocritical Words: *God knows, from whom nothing is hid, I am, have been, and ever will be, his true Liege-man,* &c. *For Proof of which I offer my ſelf to be ſworn on the bleſſed Sacrament, and receive it as a Pledge of my Salvation at the Day of Doom.* Becauſe it was the Misfortune of the Duke of *Somerſet*, that *Normandy* was loſt during his Regency, his Enemies had the more Opportunity to aſperſe him with the People, who forbore not at his Return to offer him ſeveral Injuries and Indignities, 'till upon the Pain of Death they were reſtrain'd, for the Breach of which Proclamation one was beheaded in *Weſt-Cheap* in *London*.

The King does the ſame.

The Duke parlies with the King.

The King anſwers him.

Notwithſtanding all the winding Artifices of the Duke, the King ſaw ſo much of his Deſigns, as not to rely upon his plauſible Pretenſions; but by the Advice of his Friends, and chiefly of the Duke of *Somerſet*, he ſoon gather'd a more numerous Force than the Duke, and march'd againſt him towards *Wales*; in which the King acted wiſely, but not ſo much as the Occaſion requir'd. The Duke having Notice of the King's Approach, turn'd aſide, and with the utmoſt Expedition march'd towards *London*; but that City, the vain Hope of all Rebellions, would not hearken to them. Upon which he retir'd with his Forces into *Kent*, the Place of his greateſt Intereſt, and incamp'd at *Brent-Heath* near *Dertford*, about twelve Miles from *London*, deſigning to fight the firſt Opportunity. The King with no ſlow Marches return'd back, and pitched his Royal Standard upon *Black-Heath*, with a full Purpoſe to teach his Couſin of *York* more Duty and Loyalty. Here we may ſee the Fate of *England*; when God had put an excellent Opportunity into the King's Hands of rooting out all Hazards and Dangers that threaten'd his Family, for the Duke was far inferior in Numbers. Such therefore as ſecretly favour'd him, fearing his Overthrow, were ready to adviſe the King to an Accommodation; and Meſſengers were daily ſent between the two Armies. The Duke in a Letter to the King, after his uſual Manner, pretended Loyalty and particular Injuries, *as that the King's Servants, Sir* John Talbot *at* Holt *Caſtle, Sir* Thomas Stanley *in* Cheſhire, *and others in other Places, were ſent to be Spies upon him. That by two of the* Norris's, Bulkley, Gurſt, Bould, *and other Gentlemen, he was forbidden to land at* Bewmaris, *or to have any Refreſhment, affirming to him that he was againſt the King's Intentions, and as a Traitor.* The King condeſcended to anſwer this Letter, letting him underſtand, *That the Suſpicion univerſally conceiv'd of his Behaviour produc'd thoſe Effects: Nevertheleſs, in regard of the humble Obedience he had lately proteſted, he, for the eaſing the Duke's Heart, does declare, repute and admit him as a true and faithful Subject, and as his well-beloved Couſin.* The Duke upon this advanc'd one Step further, and wrote to the King, *That Juſtice might be done upon all Perſons of what Degree ſoever, which were guilty, or reported to be guilty of Treaſon*; aiming at the Duke of *Somerſet* in particular, whom he doubted not to overwhelm with Slights and Calumnies, as he and his Adherents had done to the Duke of *Suffolk*.

A. D. 1452. Reg. $\frac{30}{31}$

The Duke of Somerſet *accuſes him of Treaſon.*

The poor King relying upon weak and treacherous Counſels, was contented that *Somerſet* ſhould be commanded Priſoner to his own Houſe, and that the Duke of *York* having firſt disbanded his Forces ſhould come in Perſon, and put himſelf into the King's Hands. All this being done, in the King's Preſence he exhibited a grievous Complaint againſt the Pride and Avarice of the Duke of *Somerſet*, and very artfully accuſing none but him, he ſought the Favour and good Opinion of all others. A moſt ſubtle Project, by which he threw upon his Enemy all the Envy of the People, and left him ſingly to ſtand againſt the Effects. *Somerſet*, a Prince of great Wit and Spirit, reſolving as well for his own Honour as the Intereſt of the Publick, not to endure ſuch an Indignity, bravely preſented himſelf before the King, Face to Face anſwer'd the Duke of *York*, and in expreſs Terms accus'd him of the higheſt Treaſon, *as having conſpir'd to depoſe*

The Duke of York *ſubmits and ſwears Allegiance to the King.*

the King, and uſurp the Sovereignty himſelf: Vehemently urging, *That the Duke might be committed and arraign'd, that by his deſerved Death, and the Incapacity of his Poſterity, all civil War might be extinguiſh'd*; finally praying, *That Heaven would not ſuffer the Enemy of the Kingdom to eſcape the Hand of Juſtice.* This in probability had been effected, but the publick Faith ſeem'd engag'd for the Duke's Indemnity as having come upon the King's Word, and alſo that the Hearts of the People were not well aſſur'd to the King, which by executing the Duke might have been more unſettled, becauſe they would have been ready to believe, that he was ſacrific'd to *Somerſet*'s Reſentments, and not for the Safety of the Nation. Upon theſe Conſiderations, and the Reports of the Duke's Son being ready with an Army to reſcue his Father, the Duke was no longer kept under Reſtraint, as he had been by *Somerſet*'s weighty Accuſations; but to aſſure the gentle and indulgent King of his Allegiance, he made a formal Submiſſion, and ſolemnly took his Oath to be a true, faithful and obedient Subject. This was firſt done in St. *Paul*'s Church in the Preſence of the King and moſt of the chief Nobility, as the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Norfolk* and *Somerſet*, nine Earls, two Viſcounts, many Barons, both the Arch-Biſhops of the Realm, and three Biſhops. The Form of Words to which he ſwore and ſubſcrib'd, were long, expreſs and moſt ſolemn, and may be ſeen both in *Hollingſhed* and *Speed*; which being afterwards reiterated by him at *Weſtminſter*, and then at *Coventry*, the Breach of them do manifeſtly diſplay the higheſt Degree of Perjury, Treachery and Treaſon.

A. D. 1453. Reg. $\frac{31}{32}$.

Talbot *Earl of* Shrewſbury *ſent into* Gaſcony.

He is ſlain there.

His Character.

Gaſcony *and* France *quite loſt to the* Engliſh.

A memorable Saying.

As it were to divert theſe domeſtick Rancors and Diſturbances, two *French* Noblemen came ſecretly over from *Gaſcony* into *England*, petitioning for an Army into their Country, declaring that *Bourdeaux* and the *Gaſcoigns* would readily return to the *Engliſh* Subjection, if they were duly ſupported againſt the *French* King. Upon which an Army was ſoon decreed for their Reduction; and the renown'd *Talbot*, firſt Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was made General in that Enterprize; who landing in *Gaſcony*, the Fame of ſuch a Soldier caus'd ſeveral Places to yield. The City of *Bourdeaux* it ſelf ſecretly open'd a Gate to him, which the *French* Garriſon perceiving, fled out at a Poſtern; but many being overtaken, were cut in pieces by the Lord *L'Eſparre* and the *Engliſh*. After which new Supplies and Proviſions arriv'd, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s younger Son; and *Bourdeaux* being well mann'd and fortify'd, the Earl receiv'd Advice that the *French* had laid Siege to *Caſtillion*, a Place of Importance upon the River *Dardonne.* To that Place the Earl directed his March; but too adventrouſly charging the Enemy upon unequal Terms, he was there, together with his Son, unfortunately ſlain. The *Engliſh* Fortunes and Hopes which began to revive, with this Commander made an unhappy Concluſion, to the infinite Loſs of the *Engliſh*, and the great Affliction of the *Gaſcoigns*, who generally miſlik'd the *French*, and approv'd of the *Engliſh*, as having ſo long and honourably govern'd thoſe Dominions. This was the End of that mighty Earl in the eightieth Year of his Age, after he had ſerv'd his King and Country in the *French* Wars for twenty four Years with the higheſt Commendations; a moſt noble and valiant Man, by whoſe Virtue the *Engliſh* Name did principally become formidable to *France*. *Bourdeaux* it ſelf, and all other Places after this, were by Siege reduc'd again to the *French* King, who proſecuted thoſe Affairs in his own Perſon. From that Time forwards the *Engliſh* never obtain'd any further Hold or Footing in thoſe Parts, the Fortune of this Attempt breaking all further Combinations of the *Gaſcoigns*. This Dukedom of *Gaſcony* or *Acquitain* was a large Province, containing four Arch-Biſhopricks, twenty four Biſhopricks, fifteen Earldoms, two hundred and two Baronies, and above a thouſand Captainſhips and Bailywicks; ſo that the World may eaſily conjecture how great the Loſs was of ſuch a noble Inheritance, which had continu'd *Engliſh* for about three hundred Years. Here in a great Meaſure ended all the *Engliſh* Sovereignty in *France*, when all the martial Men were recall'd from that Country, to carry on more unfortunate and calamitous Deſigns in their own. At this Time a *French* Captain ſcoffingly ask'd an *Engliſh* Man, *When they would return again into* France? To whom the latter made this memorable Anſwer, *When your Sins are greater and more crying than ours*: A Sentence worthy the Notice of all *Engliſh* Men to this Day.

Conſtantinople *taken by the* Turks.

In this fallen Eſtate of the *Engliſh*, the Queen, upon the thirteenth Day of *October*, was deliver'd of a firſt Son, whoſe Name was *Edward*; proving the Child of Sorrow and Infelicity. And as this was an unfortunate Year to *England*, ſo it was no leſs to all *Europe* by the great Progreſs of the *Turks*, who in the ſame Year became Maſters of the famous City of *Conſtantinople*, and finally diſſolv'd the *Grecian* Empire, after it had laſted from *Conſtantine* the Great eleven hundred and twenty three Years.

A. D. 1454. Reg. $\frac{32}{33}$.

The Duke of York *ſtill purſues his old Deſign.*

He arreſts the Duke of Somerſet.

VII. After all the Loſſes and Misfortunes of the *Engliſh* abroad, they ſoon felt greater at home, and the long Miſeries and Calamities of *France* ſeem'd to be all transferr'd to the Kingdom of *England*. The grand Occaſion and Foundation of them was the ſubtle and ambitious Duke of *York*, who ever reſtleſs in his Deſigns, now contrary to the moſt religious and ſolemn Oaths reſolv'd to mount the Throne of *England*. He doubted that King *Henry*'s known Goodneſs and Piety would render the Buſineſs extreamly difficult; eſpecially ſince he held the Crown not by any Uſurpation of his own, but by two ſucceſſive Deſcents from Father and Grandfather, and both worthy Princes. This Conſideration ſo far prevail'd as long to keep him within the Bounds of Diſſimulation; for knowing how dangerous it might prove if he made known his Deſigns, he thought it beſt to make the World believe that he acted for the publick Good, when he ſought only his own Ends. He knew alſo that by reviving his Pretenſions againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, he might revenge himſelf of a mortal Enemy, free himſelf from his greateſt Obſtacle, deprive the King of his greateſt Supporter, and at the ſame time purchaſe the Love of all Men; the Love of the People, by ruining a Man deteſted for the Loſs of *Normandy*, and the Love of the Nobility, by reducing him who for his exorbitant Authority was highly envy'd by moſt of them. But not contented with this, he forbore not to vilifie King *Henry*'s Reputation, repreſenting him to be poorly ſpirited, and affirming the Condition of the preſent Times requir'd a King that would not be govern'd by his Wife, or any Third Perſon, but by his own Judgment, a wiſe Man and vigorous, and Maſter of ſuch Virtues as were not to be found in him. Having by theſe Means prepar'd the People's Inclinations, he firmly ſecur'd to himſelf two extraordinary Men, the Father and Son, the one the Earl of *Salisbury* whoſe Daughter he had marry'd, and the other the Earl of *Warwick*; the firſt celebrated for his wiſe Counſel, and the latter for his invincible Reſolution. By the Aſſiſtance of theſe two, he caus'd the Duke of *Somerſet* to be arreſted in the Queen's own Lodgings, and ſent to the Tower; to which he was more embolden'd by reaſon of the King's being at that Time ſick; whoſe double Weakneſs both of Body and Mind encourag'd him, and aſſiſted his working himſelf into the Government.

A. D. 1455. Reg. $\frac{33}{34}$.

The Duke of York *raiſes an Army.*

The firſt Battel, at St. Albans.

The King worſted.

But as ſoon as King *Henry* recover'd his Health, underſtanding that Malice and Deſign were the chief Cauſes of *York*'s Accuſations, he not only ſet the Duke of *Somerſet* at Liberty, but alſo made him Governor of *Calais* with the County of *Guiſnes*, the only Remainder the *Engliſh* had in *France*. This gave new Occaſions of Diſguſt, and *York* finding that he had twice fail'd in his Endeavours to ruin him, retir'd into *Wales*, where having gather'd a conſiderable Army, he march'd towards *London*, accompany'd with the foremention'd Lords, and many others. The King ſo much diſtruſted the Fidelity of that City, that he would not ſtay for the Duke's coming there, but went and encamp'd with his Forces at St. *Albans*, where the Adverſary preſented himſelf to give him Battel. The King had in his Camp the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Ormond*, *Pembroke*, *Stafford*, *Northumberland*, *Devonſhire* and *Dorſet*, with the Lords *Clifford*, *Ludley*, *Berners*, *Roſs* and others; and proceeding according to his pacifick Diſpoſition, he ſent ſome to the Duke to know why he came in that hoſtile Manner. The Duke in a Letter to the King requeſted, *That he would deliver up ſuch Perſons as he ſhould Name to deſerv'd Puniſhment.* The King, to let him know his Authority, return'd this Anſwer, *That he and the reſt of his Adherents were Traitors; and rather than they ſhould have any Lord from him at that Time, he himſelf would live and dye in the Quarrel.* Upon this the bold Earl of *Warwick* unawares attack'd the Vantguard Royal, and diſorder'd it before the Duke of *Somerſet* could remedy the ſame; ſo that the Forces on both Sides falling in, a bloody Battel enſu'd; in which, on the King's Party were ſlain the Duke of *Somerſet* himſelf, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Stafford*, and the Lord *Clifford*, with about five thouſand of the inferior ſort, and about ſix hundred on the other Side. The King himſelf was ſhot in the Neck with an Arrow, the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Scales* in the Faces, and the Lord *Dorſet* was ſo wounded, that he was forc'd to be carry'd away in a Cart. The King's Army being at length all diſpers'd or ſlain, the King himſelf, unguarded, fled to a poor thatcht Houſe not far off; of which the Duke of *York* having Notice, he with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, the Father and Son, approach'd him on their Knees, humbly craving his Royal Pardon; declaring, *That ſince the common Enemy was dead, they had no more to re-*

quire. Upon which the poor King with Trembling anſwer'd, *Let there be no more Bloodſhed, and I will do what you will have me.* This firſt Battel of St. *Albans* was fought upon the twenty third Day of *May*, and thirty third Year of this Reign; and the Bodies of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Clifford* were bury'd in the Chappel of that Town. And now the Duke of *York* in the King's Name commanded a Ceſſation from further Hoſtilities, and with a great Appearance of Reverence convey'd the King to *London*, where they kept the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* together.

A Parliament call'd.

A Parliament was immediately call'd, in which all Things were decreed directly oppoſite to what had been enacted in former Parliaments, to teſtify that the late Government had been unjuſt, and the King abus'd by the Malice of thoſe who counſell'd him; *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter* was declar'd to have been Loyal to the King, and Faithful to his Country; all Grants whatſoever, whether by Patent from the King or by Parliament, beginning from the firſt Day of the preſent Reign, were revok'd as Things that impoveriſh'd the Crown and diminiſh'd its true Luſtre. And that the late Inſurrection, tho' condemn'd by all Laws, might be thought meritorious, Declaration was made, That the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Thorp*, and *William Joſeph*, were the grand Occaſions of it, by detaining a pacificatory Letter, which if it had been deliver'd to the King, it would have remov'd the Foundation of the foreſaid Diſorders; wherefore the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Saliſbury* and *Warwick* and their Adherents ought not to be blam'd for the future. Theſe Pretences thus paſs'd over, they proceeded more directly to their Buſineſs by framing a Triumvirate for the Groundwork of their deſign'd Monarchy; *York* caus'd himſelf to be created Protector of the Kingdom, *Saliſbury* Lord Chancellor, and *Warwick* Governor of *Calais*; ſo that the Political Authority remain'd in the Firſt, the Civil in the Second, and the Military in the Third; Whilſt *Henry*, King only in Name, was depriv'd of all Authority and Safety; all that had a Dependance upon the King were gradually remov'd from his Council and from all Places of Truſt and Honour; and *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter* was by Force taken from *Weſtminſter*, whither he was fled for Sanctuary, and ſent Priſoner to *Pomfret* Caſtle; a Sacrilege not formerly ventur'd on by any King.

The Duke of York *increaſes in Power.*

A.D. 1456. Reg. $\frac{34}{35}$.

The King was now in a very declining Condition, and the Queen ſo ſuſpicious, that ſhe durſt only truſt thoſe, who being injur'd, were to run the like Fortune with her Husband. Yet the Reſpect due to the King was not ſo much diminiſh'd, nor his Majeſty ſo much darken'd, but that the young Duke of *Somerſet*, the Duke of *Buckingham* and other Lords, reſolv'd no longer to endure the Injury done to him, and to quit themſelves of the imminent Danger that threaten'd them: For every Man now ſaw *York*'s Deſigns to be the Uſurpation of the Crown, and that his Delays proceeded from the Apprehenſions of Danger; for the King by reaſon of his Piety being reverenc'd by the Beſt, he thought he could not ſuddenly compaſs his Deſigns without direct Scandal; and being oppos'd by the greateſt Part of the Kingdom, if that happen'd it might for the preſent ruin, and for the future totally loſe all his Hopes. After a Conſultation had with the Queen, who was of a high Spirit and impatient under Subjection, a great Council was call'd at *Greenwich*, wherein it was reſolv'd, That ſince the King was no Child, and conſequently needed no Protector, nor was ſo void of Underſtanding as to be govern'd by other Men's Diſcretions, therefore the Duke of *York* ſhould be freed from his Protectorſhip, and the Earl of *Saliſbury* from being Lord Chancellor, and that he ſhould ſurrender the Great Seal to whom the King ſhould think fit. The Duke of *York* could not fence himſelf from this ſudden Blow, being taken unprovided; and it was ſtrengthen'd with Reaſons not to be gainſaid without a direct Rebellion; ſo that he was now forc'd to endure it, but not without the great Diſlike of his Adherents, who were not wanting to add new Fuel to the Fury of the People. This they did by cauſing them to riſe in a Tumult in the City of *London*, occaſion'd by a Diſſention between a Merchant and an *Italian*; but tho' an Inſurrection was made, yet Matters did not ſucceed as they expected; for after having pillag'd many Houſes of the *Venetians*, *Florentines* and other Foreigners, the Tumult was appeas'd, and the Authors of it puniſh'd.

The King reaſſumes his Power.

A. D. 1457. Reg. $\frac{35}{36}$.

The Scots *and* French *inſult the* Engliſh.

The Duke of *York* left the Court confirm'd in his former Deſigns by this new Affront, while the *Scots* took the Opportunity to enter *England* in one Part, and the *French* in two other. The *Scots* having endamag'd the Borders, retir'd with their Booty into their own Country; the *French* pillag'd ſome Houſes, ſurpris'd *Sandwich*, took ſome Ships and return'd to *Normandy*, but the Surpriſe of *Sandwich* did them no great Service, they finding it not tenable againſt ſo many Enemies. *England* was now like a Body oppreſs'd by a general Diſtillation, malignant Humours diſpers'd themſelves in every Part, and the vital Faculties the Laws had not Force enough to repel them; for while one Party endeavour'd to deſtroy the other, all Care of the Common-wealth was laid aſide, and Juſtice and Equity clearly baniſh'd the Realm. Many Quarrels happen'd between the Nobility; particularly between the Baron of *Egremont* and the Earl of *Saliſbury*'s Sons, in which a conſiderable Number of People were ſlain and hurt. In the mean time the Queen, not being able to ſecure her ſelf, the King and Kingdom, but by the Ruin of the Duke of *York* and the two Earls of *Saliſbury* and *Warwick*, nor yet able to work their Ruin but by Fraud and Stratagem, caus'd the King to go to *Coventry*, under Pretence of paſſing away his Time in Hunting and Hawking, and of Changing the Air. She found that *London* was too much inclin'd to ſupport their Intereſts, therefore feigning ſome grand Affair, ſhe ſent for theſe three Perſons by expreſs Letters from the King, requiring their immediate Preſence at *Coventry*, to which Place without Suſpicion of Danger they obediently reſorted. But being admoniſh'd by private Friends of what was deſign'd againſt them, they by Flight avoided that Danger, which otherwiſe might have been fatal to them. So without taking Leave they departed from Court; the Duke to *Wigmore* in the Marches of *Wales*, the Earl of *Saliſbury* to his Caſtle of *Middleham* in the North, and the Earl of *Warwick* to *Calais*. And tho' theſe Three were ſeparated in their Perſons, yet they continu'd firmly united in Hearts and Intereſts, and kept an uninterrupted and faithful Correſpondence with each other.

The Queen's Deſigns againſt the Duke of York.

A.D. 1458. Reg. $\frac{36}{37}$.

The King propoſes an Accommodation.

The good King was much diſpleas'd at theſe Proceedings of the Queen, as being contrary to his pious Inclinations; wherefore returning to *London* he call'd a grand Council, where having ſtated the Condition of the Kingdom, he ſhew'd, *That the late Diviſions had encourag'd both the* Scots *and the* French *to aſſault him at home, and therefore a Reconciliation was neceſſary, which if the Failings of particular Men, and thoſe of his own Family were likely to obſtruct, he for his Part would forget the Injuries done to himſelf, and would endeavour for his Relations Agreement with them, who in the late Conteſts had ſhed their Blood*; promiſing, *That the Duke of* York *and his Friends ſhould in this Affair have nothing to do, but barely to aſk and deſire.* Upon this obliging Declaration, choice was made of proper Perſons to be ſent to the chief Men of both Parties, many of whom had forborn coming to Court ſince the Battel of St. *Albans*; and theſe were deſir'd to come and treat of Things neceſſary and expedient for the publick and private Peace. The Duke of *York* accordingly came to *London*, and with four hundred well appointed Men lodg'd at his Houſe called *Baynard*'s Caſtle; the Earl of *Saliſbury* with five hundred lodg'd at his Houſe call'd the *Herbour*; the Duke of *Exeter*, lately releas'd, and the Duke of *Somerſet* with eight hundred more were lodg'd within *Temple-Bar*; the Earl of *Warwick* with ſix Hundred, all in one ſort of remarkable Habit, were lodg'd at *Gray-Friars*; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, with the Lords *Egremont* and *Clifford*, with fifteen hundred Men were lodg'd in *Holbourn*: Such was the Cuſtom of that military Age. Upon the ſeventeenth of *March* the King and Queen came to *London*, and were lodg'd at the Biſhop's Palace; and *Godfrey Bolein*, the Mayor and Anceſtor to the famous *Anne* Queen to *Henry* the Eighth, having five thouſand Men in Readineſs, with a competent Number rod daily round the City, for the Preſervation of the King's Peace. The Lords lodging within the City, held their Council at *Black-Friars*; the other at the Chapter-Houſe in *Weſtminſter*.

All Parti meet at London.

They come to a hopeful Agreement.

After a few Meetings by the prudent and pious Exhortations of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other worthy Prelates, the Parties offended were induc'd to a Communication, and afterwards to a final Agreement, upon ſeveral Articles in Writing, in which the King himſelf, as a Perſon of Impartiality and Integrity, was made the ſole Arbitrator of their Differences. Certain particular Satiſfactions were awarded to be made by the Duke of *York*, and his two Friends the Earls of *Saliſbury* and *Warwick*, upon the Account of the Death of the Duke of *Somerſet*, and others ſlain in the Battel of St. *Albans*. And the ſaid Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Clifford*, ſlain at St. *Albans*, were declar'd true Liege-Men to the King at the Day of their Deaths, as well as the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Saliſbury*. Many other healing Articles and Awards were made in order to reconcile and unite the alienated Hearts and Affections. The Rejoycings for this hopeful Accommodation were extraordinary among all good *Engliſhmen*, who in great Multitudes throng'd to the publick Celebration of it. For upon the twenty fifth of *March*, a moſt ſolemn Proceſſion was made into St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, where the King adorn'd with his Crown and Royal Robes, went in Perſon, before whom walk'd the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Earl of *Saliſbury* in one Rank, the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Warwick* in another, and ſo one and one of each Party, 'till

The Solemnity of it.

'till they were all marſhall'd: And behind the King himſelf, came the Queen led by the Duke of *York*, with the moſt obliging Marks of Satisfaction on both Sides.

A. D. 1459. Reg. 37/38.

VIII. The Affairs of the Publick for a ſhort Time ſeem'd to have been in a peaceable and happy Condition; but Providence had ſtill reſerv'd far greater Puniſhments for the *Engliſh* Nation, which were to be brought about by the Head and Hands of *Richard* Duke of *York*. It is not to be doubted but a Man of his profound Thought and reſtleſs Ambition, ſtill continu'd his Deſigns for the Crown, notwithſtanding all his varniſh'd Pretences, and did only ſeem to lay it aſide, becauſe he preſum'd the Time incommodious. On the other ſide the Queen, who was the Head and Life of the contrary Party, in regard of her ſelf, her Husband and Son, may probably be thought to have omitted any Thing rather than that Vigilance and Jealouſie which former Perils, and the Enemy's preſent Power might juſtly keep alive in her. The thin Aſhes therefore which cover'd theſe glowing Coals were eaſily unrak'd and blown away, and particularly by means of this Accident. While the King and many of the Lords continu'd at *Weſtminſter*, there happen'd, or perhaps was deſign'd, a Quarrel between one of the King's Servants and an Attendant of the Earl of *Warwick*, who hurt the King's Servant. Upon which his Fellow-Servants of all ſorts, and with all kinds of Weapons, in a great Diſorder aſſaulted the Earl himſelf, as he was coming from the Council; in which Conteſt many were hurt, and the Earl with great Difficulty eſcap'd into a Barge, and gain'd the City. The Queen immediately commanded the Earl to be committed to the Tower, but he foreſeeing the Danger, poſted into *Yorkſhire*, where he acquainted the Duke of *York* and his Father the Earl of *Saliſbury* of all the Occurrences, with the Queen's inveterate Diſpoſition, adviſing them to ſtand upon their Guard, and provide againſt the approaching Storm. The *Yorkiſts* directly charged the Queen with all this as a Plot laid for the Earl's Deſtruction; and *Warwick* haſten'd to *Calais*, and being then Lord Admiral, he took with him all the King's Ships that were in Readineſs; and ſcouring the Seas, met with five great Carricks, three of *Genoa* and two of *Spain*, and after two Day's Fight took three of them, which he carried into *Calais*. There unloading their Fraight he found it worth ten thouſand Pounds in ſtaple Commodities, beſides the Ships and Priſoners. Shortly after the young Duke of *Somerſet* was ſent to be Governor of *Calais*; but *Warwick* refus'd to reſign, notwithſtanding the King's Commands, alledging he was conſtituted by the Parliament. So that *Somerſet* was rejected not only with Danger to his Perſon, but with the Loſs of ſeveral of his Mens Heads, which *Warwick* commanded to be cut off. Theſe were bold Proceedings in this Earl; whom yet the unſkilful and impetuous Multitude highly extoll'd and applauded.

The Earl of Warwick *in Danger.*

The Duke of *York* in the mean Time, and *Warwick* with his Father the Earl of *Saliſbury*, the Triumvirate of *England*, carefully conſulted of their Affairs: *Saliſbury* reſolv'd with Sword in Hand to expoſtulate the Danger and Injury offer'd to his Son at *Weſtminſter*. The Queen, a Lady of great Magnanimity and Penetration, being juſtly ſenſible, that now King *Henry* or the Duke of *York* muſt periſh, and that one Kingdom was not capacious enough for both their Families, actively ſtirr'd herſelf to maintain the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, and advance her own Son Prince *Edward*, by ruining the other's Houſe, whoſe whole Building conſiſted of *Lancaſtrian* Beneficence. Therefore ſhe daily conſulted, ſent, ſpoke, gave, and ſtrengthen'd her ſelf with Friends on all Sides, eſpecially in *Cheſhire*; cauſing her Son to diſtribute Silver Swans, as his Badge and Device, to all the Gentlemen of that County, and to many others throughout *England*. In a ſhort Time *Saliſbury* ſet forwards from his Caſtle at *Middleham* with four or five thouſand Men; but *James Touchet* Lord *Audley*, by the Queen's Orders, unadviſedly encounter'd him upon *Blore-Heath* near *Muckelſtone*. The Fight was long and bloody, but at length King *Henry*'s evil Fortune gave the Advantage to the Earl of *Saliſbury*; where, beſides the valiant Lord *Audley* himſelf, were ſlain no fewer than two thouſand four hundred Men; but the chief Loſs fell upon the *Cheſhire* Men, who wore the Prince's Livery. This was the ſecond Battel fought between the Families of *York* and *Lancaſter*, which was the Chance that ruin'd both Parties, tho' for a while it was fortunate to *York*'s Succeſſor; for God, after having chaſtis'd one Side and the other, was pleas'd at length to appeaſe his Anger, by uniting both the Houſes, and putting a Period to the Civil Wars.

The Civil War begins again.

The ſecond Battel, at Blore-Heath.

By this laſt Action the Earl of *Saliſbury* open'd himſelf a Paſſage to *Ludlow*, where the Head of their Combination the Duke of *York* employ'd himſelf in gathering of Forces; and being met, they concluded, that ſince the Conteſt was become Mortal, they would act no longer in Clouds, but fight it out to the laſt Extremity. Men were drawn out of all Parts with large Hopes and Promiſes of ſharing in their Fortunes; and the Earl of *Warwick*, leaving his Charge at *Calais*, with the valiant Captain *Andrew Trollop*, and a Troop of ſelect Men, came to the general Rendezvous of the *Yorkiſts*, at the Caſtle of *Ludlow*. The King in the mean Time, according to the Exigency of his Affairs, aſſembled a great Number of faithful Subjects; and being attended by the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, and others of his choice Friends, march'd againſt his Enemies. He began firſt with offering them a general Pardon; which they utterly refus'd, calling it *a Staff of Reed, or a Glaſs-Buckler*. Upon which the King commanded his Standards to advance towards the Enemy; but during this March, a Letter fill'd with the uſual hypocritical Pretences was deliver'd to the King: In which, among many other Inſinuations, were theſe alſo: *Moſt Chriſtian King, right, high and mighty Prince, and our moſt dread Sovereign Lord*, &c. *we ſent unto your Grace by the Prior of the Cathedral Church of* Worceſter, *and divers other Doctors, and among others by* M. William Linwood *Doctor of Divinity, who ſeverally miniſtred to us the bleſſed Sacrament of the Body of* Jeſus, *upon which we all of us depos'd of our ſaid Truth and Duty.* But the Letter made no Overture of any Condition upon which they would yield to lay down their Arms, alledging, *They would but make their Way to the King for Redreſs of Abuſes; and that they were conſtrain'd to ſtand together for their own Defence, againſt ſuch great Courtiers and Favourites as deſign'd their Deſtruction*; meaning in Reality ſuch Perſons whoſe Vigilance and Valour might protect and guard him from their violent Practices.

The Duke of York*'s Letter to the King.*

The King now came in Sight of his Foes, when the Triumviri, *York*, *Warwick* and *Saliſbury*, being ſtrongly intrench'd before *Ludlow*, deſign'd to attack him. Upon the Approach of the Armies, the King generouſly caus'd Proclamation to be made, *That whoever would abandon the Duke of* York *ſhould be receiv'd into Mercy, and have Pardon.* Upon this the brave *Andrew Trollop*, finding himſelf deceiv'd by the Duke and his Party, who pretended nothing but the King's Preſervation, abandon'd the Duke's Camp at Midnight, and with all his ſelect Men, not only preſented his Service to the King, but alſo diſcover'd all the Duke's Counſels. This extreamly diſcourag'd the Duke, who reſolv'd to betake himſelf to Flight; but whether it proceeded from his Fear of *Trollop*'s Valour and Wiſdom upon whom he had much rely'd, or from the Fear that his Example ſhould induce others to follow his Steps, is uncertain. However, taking his younger Son the Earl of *Rutland* with him, he haſten'd into *Ireland:* The Earl of *Marche*, his eldeſt Son and Heir, the Earls of *Saliſbury* and *Warwick*, with much Difficulty eſcap'd to *Calais*; which Place, as *Polydore* obſerves, if *Henry* had in Time taken from his Enemies, they had without queſtion been irrecoverably ruin'd. The Multitude that ſerv'd under the Triumvirate found Mercy; but their Tenants were many of them executed, maim'd, or for the moſt Part pillag'd. The Town of *Ludlow* it ſelf was plunder'd to the bare Walls, and the Dutcheſs of *York* depriv'd of all her Goods; and nothing leſs could be the Effects againſt the Friends of ſuch Adverſaries, upon ſo publick an Act and Advantage. The Cauſe was purſu'd more ſeverely againſt the great Offenders in the next Parliament, which was held at *Coventry:* Where *Richard* Duke of *York*, *Edward* Earl of *Marche* his eldeſt Son, *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *Edmund* Earl of *Rutland*, *Richard* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *Alice* his Wife, by whoſe Right he was Earl, two or three Lords, nine Knights, and certain others, were publickly and ſolemnly attainted of High-Treaſon, and their whole Eſtates confiſcated.

The Duke and his Adherents diſperſe and fly.

They are declar'd Traitors in Parliament.

Thus was *Henry* once more abſolutely King, and *Somerſet* was made Governor of *Calais*, who with the Lords *Roſs* and *Audley* was ſent over with Forces to take it from *Warwick* and his Adherents. Their Succeſs was unfortunate, for *Somerſet* was forc'd to fly, his Soldiers were pillag'd by *Warwick*'s Men, the Lord *Audley* was taken into the Town, and the Lord *Roſs* could hardly eſcape. Letters were hereupon written from the Court into Foreign Parts, deſiring *That no Relief might be given to the Traitors, that kept* Calais *againſt the King*; and all Men at home were forbidden *to tranſport any Victuals or Refreſhment to that Place.* The Duke of *Somerſet* being at *Guiſnes*, a neighbouring Caſtle, daily diſturb'd the *Caliſians*; but *Warwick*'s main Buſineſs was, to conſult the Duke of *York* in *Ireland*, who now had that Kingdom at his Command. But hearing that the King had certain Ships lying at *Sandwich*, to tranſport Supplies and Succours to *Somerſet*, that he might not leave ſuch Danger behind him, he ſent away Sir *John Denham* with a Company of Soldiers more valiant than numerous, who with a Wind as favourable to them as contrary to their Enemies, enter'd the Haven and Town of *Sandwich*, which being unguarded and her Inhabitants aſleep, he took the Lord *Rivers* and his Son in

The Earl of Warwick *keeps* Calais.

His Succeſs.

their Beds; and tho' the Soldiers awaken'd, made head and wounded *Denham* ſo as to lame him, he notwithſtanding worſted them, and plunder'd many Houſes; and being favour'd by the Mariners, he made himſelf Maſter of the King's Ships, furniſh'd with all warlike Proviſions, and brought them with ſeveral Priſoners into *Calais*. With theſe Ships *Warwick* convey'd himſelf into *Ireland* to the Duke of *York*; and in his going and coming, he was ſo favour'd by the Winds that he ſpent not above thirty Days in his whole Voyage. The Duke of *Exeter* was made Admiral, with Orders to intercept his Paſſage; but he fail'd in the Attempt, and many of his Men deſerting him, he durſt not attack the Earl, nor was he willing to attack the Duke, upon Pretence that he was of the King's Blood; ſuch was the Artifice and Subtlety of the *Yorkiſts*, to pretend Reverence to that Blood they moſt deſir'd to ſhed. Five hundred freſh Soldiers waited at *Sandwich*, to be ſhipped over to the Duke of *Somerſet* for his ſafe Conduct into *England*; but *Warwick*'s Men came ſuddenly upon them, ſlew *Montfort* the Commander, with many others, and diſarm'd the reſt. Such was the diſtracted State of miſerable *England*, through the Pride and reſtleſs Ambition of one or two preſumptuous Men. And tho' nothing was more true, than that the Duke of *York* ſought the Crown of *England*; yet nothing was more plain than that his Friends pretended the contrary: For the Veneration of King *Henry*'s Piety and Purity was likely to turn greatly to their Prejudice and Diſadvantage.

The York*iſts Remonſtrance.*

The King quits London.

The King failing thus to gain the Perſon of the Earl of *Warwick*, or his Town of *Calais*, the *Yorkiſts* ſent over certain Articles into *Kent*, in which they ſubtlely complain'd *of certain general Enormities concerning Injuries done to the Church, and the ill Adminiſtration of Juſtice, Abuſe of Purveyors, the King's Poverty by the Corruption of his Officers*, and other Things of the like plauſible Nature. Where they mention'd the Perſon of the King, they freed him from all Exceptions, as being of *as noble, virtuous, righteous, and bleſſed a Diſpoſition as any earthly Prince whatever*. When they mention'd their Enemies, who were the King's faithful Friends and Subjects, they nam'd the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and the Lord *Beaumont*, as principal Perſons concern'd in the Attainders of the *Yorkiſts* at *Coventry*. Where they ſpoke of themſelves and their Intentions, *they profeſs'd all Sincerity and Loyalty* to King *Henry*, and that they only meant to come upon their Guard to ſpeak with him concerning the Common Good, and their own Safeties; and that now they would attempt the ſame again *in the Name of the Land*, and not ſuffer ſuch Miſchiefs to gain upon them. In the Concluſion of theſe their ſpecious Pretences they had theſe Words; *Requiring you, on God's Behalf, therein to aſſiſt us, doing always the Duty of Liege-men in our Perſons to our ſaid Sovereign Lord, to his Eſtate, Prerogative and Preeminence, and to the Security of his moſt noble Perſon, to which we have ever been, and will be as true as any of his Subjects alive; whereof we call God, our Lady St.* Mary, *and all the Saints in Heav'n to Witneſs*. With theſe treacherous and impious Proceedings they prevail'd upon the unthinking Multitude; and the Lord *Fauconbridge* was ſent over to ſound their Affections, and draw the purulent Matter to a Head; and ſhortly after, the Earls of *Marche*, *Warwick* and *Saliſbury* landed in *Kent*. But the People were not the only deluded Perſons; for the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other venerable Men, believ'd they ſpoke Truth; which that they might do effectually, the Earl of *Warwick* publickly took an Oath upon the Croſs of *Canterbury*, *That they had ever born true Faith and Allegiance to King* Henry. The King before their Arrival had quitted the City of *London*, as not greatly truſting the Affections of the Citizens, who hated ſeveral of his Miniſters, and appointed the Rendezvous of his Forces at *Northampton*, where he reſided. The Enemy advanced that way; and in the mean Time their Accomplices endeavour'd to take the Tower of *London*, in which were ſeveral Loyal Noblemen, as the Lord *Scales*, *Hungerford*, *Veſcie*, *Lovel*, *De la Ware*, and others.

A.D. 1460. Reg. 38 39.

The third Battel, at Northampton.

The King defeated and taken Priſoner.

The Hypocriſie of the Victors.

In the mean Time the Queen, with the King in her Company, had gather'd a conſiderable Army at *Northampton*; and among other Lords in the Army were the Duke of *Somerſet* lately return'd from *Guiſnes*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, who were no ſooner arriv'd but they heard of the Enemy's Approach, therefore paſſing the River, they went and encamp'd in the neighbouring Fields. The Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick*, being deny'd Admittance to the King's Preſence, proceeded to a new Piece of Subtlety, and order'd a Cry to go through the Field, That no Man ſhould lay Hands upon the King, nor the common People, but upon the Lords, Knights and Eſquires. Early in the Morning the Earl of *Marche*, urg'd on by his Youth and Valour, began the Battel, which was very bloody and obſtinate for five Hours together, without any great Inequality. At length, the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen* running over to the Earl's Side, the King was defeated with the Death of ten thouſand Men; a great Loſs, but not of ſuch Conſequence had he not loſt himſelf; for being depriv'd of his Defenders who were ſlain round his Perſon, he fell into the Power of his Enemies. This dreadful Battel was fought upon the ninth Day of *July*, in which the King's Ordnance could not play by reaſon of the Rains, wherein were ſlain the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, (who fighting valiantly did not degenerate from his Father) the Lord *Egremont*, the Viſcount *Beaumont*, beſides many other Knights and Gentlemen: And the Priſoners were very numerous, eſpecially among the Knights and Gentlemen; for being alighted from their Horſes to fight on Foot, they had no means to eſcape. The Queen, with Prince *Edward* her Son and the Duke of *Somerſet*, fled to the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. The Victors being return'd to *London*, inflicted ſuch Puniſhments as uſually attend the Injuſtice of Civil Wars; among ſuch of their Adverſaries as were found in the City, thoſe who could eſcape had the beſt Fortune. *Thomas Thorp*, ſecond Baron of the Exchequer, endeavouring to eſcape in the Habit of a Monk, was taken and committed Priſoner to the Tower, and after that by the Commons beheaded at *High-Gate*. Thoſe in the Tower had yielded upon certain Conditions, which forc'd the Lord *Scales* to endeavour to take Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*; but being upon the *Thames* he was murder'd by certain Watermen belonging to the Earl of *Warwick*, and his Body wallowing in Blood, was ſtript of all its Apparel, and left to the publick View of all Men. Yet ſtill the two Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick* continu'd their uſual Hypocriſie to the King, now in their Poſſeſſion, and thus addreſs'd themſelves to him, *Moſt noble Prince, be not diſpleas'd that God has granted us the Victory over our mortal Enemies, who by their inveterate Malice have unjuſtly excited your Highneſs to baniſh us from the Land, and would have put us to final Shame and Confuſion. We come not to diſquiet or afflict your Highneſs, but to pleaſe your noble Perſon, tenderly deſiring the Proſperity of that and all your Realm, and to be your true Liege Subjects as long as our Lives ſhall endure.*

The Death of James *the Second of* Scotland.

James *the Third ſucceeds.*

The Death of the French *King.*

In the mean Time *Scotland*, by reaſon of the late Affinity with the Houſe of *Beaufort*, whoſe Head was the Duke of *Somerſet*, deſcended from *John* of *Gaunt*, was a ſpecial Support to King *Henry* in all his tempeſtuous Adverſities; but now that Refuge was much hazarded. For King *James* the Second, partly in Favour of King *Henry*, laid Siege to *Roxborough* Caſtle, then in Cuſtody of King *Henry*'s Enemies; where going into the Trenches to ſee the *Lion*, a famous Piece of Ordnance, and the other Artillery diſcharg'd, one of them broke, and with a Shiver of it ſlew the King, and dangerouſly wounded the Earl of *Angus*. This unfortunate Accident happen'd upon *Sunday* the third of *Auguſt*. The Queen of *Scotland* nevertheleſs maintain'd the Siege, and gain'd that Place as well as the Caſtle of *Warke*, both which ſhe in Revenge laid level with the Ground. *James* the Third, a Child of ſeven Years of Age, ſucceeded his Father, as well to the Support of the diſtreſſed *Engliſh*, as to the Crown of *Scotland*. The Death of the King of *Scots* was follow'd by that of *Charles* King of *France*, which tho' it was not violent, was no leſs ſtrange and unuſual. Being ſick, ſome of his Flatterers, to manifeſt their Zeal, put an Imagination into his Head that ſome Perſons deſign'd to poiſon him; which caus'd him to abſtain from all Suſtenance for ſeveral Days. And when his Phyſicians told him that his Weakneſs proceeded from want of Meat, and not from any Sickneſs, he endeavour'd to eat but could not; for the Channels through which his Meat ſhould paſs were clos'd up; whereupon he dy'd with Hunger, and left his Kingdom to his Son *Lewis* the Eleventh.

The Duke of York's *Entry into* London.

The News of the Battel of *Northampton* being convey'd to the Duke of *York* in *Ireland*, he now reſolv'd to throw off the Mask he had ſo long worn, and with all Expedition came to *London*, where the Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick* had ſummon'd a Parliament to meet in the King's Name upon the Eighth Day of *October*. He made his Entry with numerous Troops of Men, and Trumpets ſounding before him; cauſing the Sword to be carry'd before him as Kings uſually did, only with this difference, that it was now carry'd naked, whereas in the Preſence of Kings it us'd to be ſheath'd. He alighted from his Horſe at the King's Palace at *Weſtminſter*, and entering into the upper Houſe of Parliament, he laid his Hand a conſiderable Time upon the Throne, as if by that Act he had taken Poſſeſſion of it; and, when he remov'd his Hand, he turn'd to thoſe that were by, as deſirous to read his future Succeſs in their Countenances; and as it is uſual for Men to flatter themſelves in what they moſt paſſionately deſire, he thought they approv'd of this Action. But the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſtanding up and asking him, *If he would be pleas'd to go and ſee his Majeſty*, he chang'd

He claims the Crown of England.

Countenance and angerly anſwer'd him, *He knew none in the Kingdom to whom he ow'd that Duty, but on the contrary all Men ow'd it to him.* The Arch-Biſhop going forth to acquaint the King with his Anſwer, who lay in the Queen's Lodgings, the Duke likewiſe went forth and boldly enter'd the King's Lodgings, and broke open all the Doors and Locks, to the great Indignation of many. After this, without any Reſerve, he made his Claim to the Crown of *England*, notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn Oaths and Ingagements to the contrary; and publiſh'd it in open Parliament, together with his Pedigree. Moſt of the Houſe ſtood amaz'd, both to find him ſeated on the Royal Throne, and for this unexpected Challenge. But the Duke, tho' at firſt he fully deſign'd to have depos'd King *Henry*, and crowned himſelf by the firſt of *November*, yet finding ſuch Aſtoniſhment and Silence, he ſent them his Pedigree and his Claim in Writing, that they might better conſider of it; yielding, as he pretended, to ſubmit to their general Determination.

The Subſtance of his Claim.

The Subſtance of the Duke of *York*'s Claim to the Crown of *England* was as follows: ‘ King *Edward* the Third had ſeven Sons, *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *William* of *Hatfield*, *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Edmund* Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, and *William* of *Windſor*. *Edward* the Eldeſt dy'd during his Father's Life, and left one Son, King *Richard* the Second, who dy'd without Iſſue, as alſo did King *Edward*'s Second Son *William*. *Lionell* the Third Son had only one Daughter nam'd *Philippa*, who being marry'd to *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *Marche*, ſhe had by him *Roger* Earl of *Marche*, who afterwards had two Sons and two Daughters, of whom three dy'd without Iſſue; only *Anne* the ſole Heireſs of the Houſe marry'd to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Son of *Edmund* Duke of *York*, the Fifth Son of King *Edward* the Third, which Earl of *Cambridge* begot *Richard* Duke of *York* the preſent Claimant. On the other Side *John* of *Gaunt*, the Fourth Son of King *Edward* the Third, and younger Brother to *Lionell*, had a Son nam'd *Henry*, who immediately after King *Richard*'s Reſignation, unrighteouſly enter'd upon the Throne; becauſe *Edmund* Earl of *Marche*, Son to *Philippa* the Daughter and Heireſs of the foreſaid *Lionell* elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, was then alive; and the ſaid *Henry*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, and his Succeſſors, had hitherto held the Crown of *England* unjuſtly, becauſe the ſaid *Richard Plantagenet*, the preſent Duke of *York*, was the lawful Heir, as being the Son of *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* and *Anne* before-mentioned.

The Anſwer to it.

This was the Subſtance of the Duke of *York*'s Title and Claim, which as to Matter of Genealogy was undoubtedly true; tho' in Bar to this Claim King *Henry*'s Friends, without denying any Part of the Premiſſes, had not a little to plead for him; and among other Things they alledg'd, ‘ That King *Richard* the Second reſign'd up his Crown and Authority at large; and that no other making Claim but *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, he was admitted to the Throne by the Conſent of the three Eſtates of the Land: That *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* was attainted of High-Treaſon and executed, and his Iſſue render'd incapable of any Inheritance; that *Richard* his Son now challenging the Crown of *England*, being reſtor'd and advanc'd by the meer Clemency and Goodneſs of King *Henry* the Sixth, had voluntarily acknowledg'd him for his lawful Sovereign, and ſolemnly ſwore to the ſame; and that the ſame *Richard* after that had been juſtly attainted for Treaſon, and adjudg'd incapable of inheriting. They further alledg'd ſeveral Acts of Parliament to eſtabliſh the Right of the Line of *Lancaſter*; the Succeſſion of three Kings, *Henry* the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth, the politick Government of the Firſt, the noble Victories of the Second, and the pious Life of the Third; which three Kings Reigns contain'd no leſs than ſixty Years, in which Number this was the thirty ninth of King *Henry* the Sixth, who was deſcended from the Male Line, and the Duke of *York* but from the Female, which Line had never been in Poſſeſſion of the Crown. Theſe were thought great and weighty Points, and the more conſiderable, becauſe King *Henry*'s Perſon being no better than a Priſoner, no Act of his to eſtabliſh the Duke's Title could bind in Law or Conſcience; and the leſs, becauſe he had a Wife and a Son both at Liberty, and ready to free him by Force of Arms, or to hazard the Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* Name. But they who on the Duke's Behalf abſtractedly diſputed theſe high Queſtions, inſiſted upon a Rule of Law, *That the Rights of Blood are not to be alter'd by Civil Powers*; and the *Lancaſtrians* were not without their ſpeculative and remote Conſiderations, to countenance the Particulars of their Cauſe. By which it appear'd that in Monarchies, tho' the nobleſt Form of Government, where Lineal Succeſſion is the Rule of Inheritance, there ſometimes happen as great and as indeterminable Difficulties, as where Election deſigns the Succeſſor: Of which both *France* and *England* have been miſerable Inſtances.

The Controverſie determin'd by Agreement in Parliament.

While this weighty Controverſie was debating, there happen'd this ſurpriſing Accident: A Crown that was hung up for Ornament in the Parliament Houſe, without the leaſt Touch or Blaſt of Wind ſuddenly fell down; as likewiſe did another, which for the ſame Cauſe was plac'd upon the higheſt Tower of *Dover* Caſtle: Which was generally believ'd to portend, That King *Henry*'s Reign was ended, and that the Crown ſhould be transferr'd from one Line to another. The Lords forgot not the Duke's Demands, and to take the better Directions, divers of them both Spiritual and Temporal, with many grave and wiſe Perſons of the Commons, daily met at the *Black-Friars* and other Places to treat of this Matter, that was of ſo great Importance. During which Time the Duke of *York*, tho' both the King and himſelf were lodg'd in the Palace Royal, would by no Inducements once viſit his Majeſty, 'till ſome Concluſion was made in the Affair; declaring, *That he was ſubject to no Man, but only to God, under whom he had no Superior.* After a long debating of the Matter, and deliberate Conſultation among the Peers, Prelates and Commons, upon the Vigil of *All-Saints* it was thus concluded and determined, ‘ That foraſmuch as *Henry* had been acknowledg'd King for the Space of thirty eight Years and more, he ſhould enjoy that Name and Title, and the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, during his natural Life. And if he either dy'd, or reſign'd, or forfeited the ſame by breaking or violating any Point of this Contract, then the ſaid Crown and Dignity ſhould immediately be devolv'd upon the Duke of *York*, and the lawful Heirs of his Body, excluding all thoſe of King *Henry*. This ſolemn Agreement being put into divers Articles, was ingroſs'd, ſign'd, ſeal'd and ſworn to by the King and Duke, as likewiſe all enacted in this Parliament. For Joy of this, the King, accompany'd with the Duke of *York*, on *All-Saints* Day, rode in ſolemn Proceſſion to the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s with the Crown upon his Head. And upon the *Saturday* following, the Duke of *York* was by Sound of Trumpets ſolemnly proclaim'd Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, and Protector of the Realm.

The Queen and her Friends ſtand out.

The Active Queen, now in the North, would by no means allow of this Determination, ſo prejudicial to her ſelf and Poſterity; therefore when the King, at the Duke of *York*'s Inſtigation, ſent for her to repair to him at *London*, ſhe relying upon the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, and other Royaliſts, utterly refus'd; and *Henry* being ſtill acknowledg'd as King, the Arms taken for his Deliverance had the greater Juſtice. The Duke of *York* miſſing his expected Prey, left the King at *London* with the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Warwick*; and taking with him his young Son the Earl of *Rutland*, the Earl of *Saliſbury*, and five thouſand Men, he march'd towards *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire* to purſue the Queen and her Son, ſending Orders to the Earl of *Marche* to follow with all his Power. In the Caſtle of *Sandall* within view of *Wakefield* the Duke took up his Quarters upon *Chriſtmas* Eve, waiting for the Encreaſe of his Army. The Queen being advis'd of this, thought it Wiſdom to fight before the Duke grew too ſtrong; and thereupon advanc'd with an Army of eighteen thouſand Men, led by the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, the Earls of *Devonſhire* and *Wiltſhire*, the Lords *Nevill*, *Clifford* and *Roſs*, and in effect all the Northern Nobility. Part of the Army preſented it ſelf before *Sandall* Caſtle, in order to provoke the Duke to Battel; who fir'd with this Bravado, and perhaps ignorant of his Enemies Multitude, reſolv'd to meet them, tho' the Earl of *Saliſbury* and Sir *David Hall* earneſtly urg'd him to ſtay 'till his valiant Son the Earl of *Marche* came up with his numerous Forces. But the Vengeance of Heav'n would forbear him no longer, but like a ſtrict Maſter reſolv'd to call him to an immediate Account; by which he might find whether all the Kingdoms in the World were worth the leaſt Sin, much leſs a wilful Perjury.

The Fourth Battel, at Wakefield.

The Duke of York *ſlain.*

The Queen therefore added Policy and Stratagem to her Power, that his Ruin might be inevitable; for which Cauſe, on the laſt Day of *December*, the Earl of *Wiltſhire* upon one Side of the Hill, and the Lord *Clifford* upon the other, lay in Ambuſcade to get between him and the Caſtle; while the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter* drew up in open Field. This Deſign had its deſir'd Effect; for the Duke iſſuing out of the Caſtle with his ſmall Army down the Hill, ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded; and tho' he ſhew'd great Valour and Bravery, within half an Hour his whole Forces were defeated, himſelf with many of his dear Friends beaten down and ſlain. There lay dead about him the Lord *Huntington*, Sir *Thomas Nevill* Son to the Earl of *Saliſbury*, Sir *David Hall*, with ſeveral Knights, and others to the Number of two thouſand eight hundred Men; among whom were the Heirs of many Southern Gentlemen of great Account, whoſe Blood was ſhortly after ſeverely reveng'd. The Duke's Chaplain, and Tutor to the Earl of *Rutland*, a hopeful Lad of twelve Years of Age, ſeeing the ill Succeſs, led his Charge out to ſave him; but the Lord *Clifford* obſerving his rich Habit, follow'd, and with a Dagger in his Hand demanded who he was. The unfortunate Youth ſtruck dumb with Fear, with Knees, Hands and Eyes begg'd for Mercy and Pardon; and the Chaplain, who by naming him thought to have ſav'd him, told him whom he was, and, *That if he would ſave his Life, he would ſpend it in his Service*; but *Clifford* ſwore dreadfully, *That as his Father had ſlain his, ſo would he ſerve him and all his Progeny*, and then ſtruck his Dagger into his Heart, rejoicing at the moſt barbarous and inhuman Revenge that ever cruel Man took. And not ſatiſfy'd with this, caſting himſelf upon the dead Body of the Duke he cut off the Head, and crowning it in Deriſion with a Crown of Paper, he preſented it to the Queen, who poorly and ungenerouſly made herſelf merry with that ghaſtly and bloody Spectacle. This was the fatal End of the famous *Richard*, who contrary to all Oaths and other Obligations, had caus'd infinite Miſchiefs to the *Engliſh* Nation; of whom it was ſaid by the Duke of *Somerſet*, his former Antagoniſt, *That if he had not learn'd to play the King by his Regency in* France, *he had never forgot to obey as a Subject in* England. The Earl of *Saliſbury*, here taken Priſoner, was with other Priſoners beheaded at *Pontfract*, and their Heads together with the Duke's ſet upon the Gates of *York*; while the Victors triumph'd and rejoic'd, who not many Days after bewail'd their own Calamity, as did the Queen, or ſhar'd in the like Fortune, as did the Lord *Clifford*.

His ignominious Treament.

A. D. 1461. Reg. 39.

The Earl of *Marche*, Son and Heir to the deceas'd Duke of *York*, hearing of this tragical Adventure, with a Mind full of Grief and Revenge, and an Army of twenty three thouſand Men, reſolv'd to march againſt the Queen. But he found more immediate Imployment; for being inform'd that *Jaſper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke*, half Brother to King *Henry*, and *James Butler* Earl of *Ormond* and *Wiltſhire*, had with them a great Force of *Welſh* and *Iriſh* to intercept his March; this youthful and valiant Man, whoſe amiable Preſence and Behaviour render'd him gracious to the People, eſpecially to the Female Sex, reſolv'd firſt to try his Fortune againſt thoſe Earls. He therefore ſuddenly turn'd back from *Shrewsbury*, and at a Place call'd *Mortimer*'s *Croſs* near *Ludlow*, he engag'd the Enemy on *Candlemas-Day*. In the ſame Morning, we are told there appear'd three Suns in the Heav'ns, that ſuddenly join'd in one; which fortunate Omen exceedingly fir'd the Earl of *Marche*, and was judg'd to be the Reaſon why he us'd for his Badge, or Royal Device, the *Sun in his full Brightneſs*; The Armies maintain'd the Fight with great Fury; but at length the Earl of *Marche* obtain'd a compleat Victory, with the Deaths of three thouſand eight hundred of his Enemies; the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Wiltſhire* ſaving themſelves by Flight. But Sir *Owen Tudor*, Father to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and Husband to King *Henry* the Fifth's Queen, with ſeveral other Priſoners of Note were beheaded at *Hereford*, as a Sacrifice to the Manes of his Father the Duke of *York*.

The fifth Battel, at Mortimer's Croſs.

The Queen on the other Side being incourag'd by her late Victory, after ſhe had ſettled her Affairs in the North, march'd towards *London* with an Army conſiſting of *Scotch*, *Welſh* and *Iriſh* as well as *Engliſh*. But when her Soldiers were once South of *Trent*, as if that River was the utmoſt Limits of their good Behaviour, they proceeded to ravage the Country after a barbarous Manner. Advancing near to St. *Albans*, they were inform'd that the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, with the King in Perſon, were prepar'd to give them Battel; whereupon they haſten'd to march through the Town. But being not ſuffer'd to paſs, they furiouſly attack'd their Enemies in the Field call'd *Bernard-Heath*; where perceiving the main Battel to ſtand ſtill and not to advance, as it was manag'd by the Treachery of *Lovelace*, who with the *Kentiſh* Men had the Command of it, they ſoon caus'd the Southern Men to betake themſelves to Flight; upon which the reſt, doubtful of each others Fidelity, made the beſt of their Way. The Lords about the King's Perſon, perceiving the Danger, withdrew themſelves; only the Lord *Bonvile* coming in a complimental Manner to the King, and declaring his Affection to his Majeſty, was unfortunately importun'd by him, together with Sir *Thomas Kyriel* a *Kentiſh* Knight, to ſtay with him; he paſſing his Royal Word that their Stay ſhould be no Injury to them. Upon which Promiſe they ſtaid, but to their Ruin; for the Queen hearing how the Commons had beheaded Baron *Thorp* at *High-Gate*, without conſidering her Husband's Word, in Revenge caus'd both their Heads to be taken off at St. *Albans*. So that there were ſlain in this Battel about twenty three thouſand Men, but none of any Note or Name, but only Sir *John Gray*, who the ſame Day was Knighted with twelve others, at the Village of *Colney*. This Battel was the ſixth fought in theſe unhappy Civil Wars, and the ſecond at St. *Albans*, it being upon *Shrove-Tueſday* the ſeventeeth of *February*.

The ſixth Battel, which was the ſecond at St. Albans.

The King ſet at Liberty.

And now the King was advis'd to ſend a Meſſenger to the Victors to let them know, That he would gladly come to them, if it might be done with Safety and Conveniency; upon which the Earl of *Northumberland* appointed ſeveral Lords to attend him to the Lord *Clifford*'s Tent, where the Queen and the young Prince met him with extraordinary Joy. But it was now obſerv'd, as it were in the Deſtiny of King *Henry*, that tho' he was the moſt Pious Prince in his Age, yet no Enterprize of War did ever proſper where he was preſent; which ſhews that Human Proſperity is not inſeparable to Piety. At the Queen's Requeſt the King honour'd thirty Gentlemen with Knighthood, who the Day before had fought againſt that Part of the Army where he was: The young Prince, now eight Years of Age, was alſo Knighted. After which they went to the Monaſtery, where they were receiv'd with Anthems, and likewiſe an humble Petition to be protected from the Outrages of the looſe Soldiers; which was promis'd, and Proclamation made accordingly, but to ſmall Effect, for the Northern Men alledg'd, That by Agreement they were to have all the Spoil in every Place after they had paſs'd the *Trent*, and ſo acted like lawleſs People, to the great Damage, or rather Ruin of the King's Affairs. For about this Time the Queen ſent Commands to the Lord Mayor of *London* to ſend her in Proviſions for her Men, which he obey'd; but the People oppos'd him, and ſtopp'd the Carts at the City Gates: Which ſhews the Error that deludes ſome Princes, when they promiſe themſelves Obedience from a diſſatiſfy'd People; and who without Fear of Puniſhment have already begun to diſobey. The Magiſtrate laid open all the Miſchiefs that might enſue, but could not prevail; for ſtill they cry'd out the more, *That the City had no Occaſion to relieve them that came with a Deſign to pillage it.* This Diſobedience grew yet more obſtinate by reaſon of an inſolent Troop of Horſe, who at the ſame Time came from St. *Albans* to pillage the Suburbs; and many of them haſtening to *Cripplegate* where the Carts were ſtopp'd, and endeavouring to enter, they were beaten back, and three of them ſlain, to the great Concern of the wiſer ſort; for it was fear'd that the Queen being in Arms, and ſo many ways offended, would rigorouſly reſent it. The Mayor ſent to excuſe himſelf to the Council reſiding at *Barnet*, and the Dutcheſs of *Bedford* accompany'd by the Lady *Scales* and ſome Prelates, went to the Queen to pacifie her. They perſuaded her that ſome Lords might be ſent, with four hundred armed Men, who riding about the Streets, might appeaſe the Tumult, and that part of the Aldermen ſhould come to meet her at *Barnet*, to bring her and the King peaceably into the City.

The People againſt him.

The Earl of Marche, *Son to the Duke of* York, *enters* London.

But all theſe hopeful Deſigns ſuddenly vaniſh'd at the News of the Defeat of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Wiltſhire*, and that the Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick* were joined, and marching towards *London*, with a Force not eaſily to be reſiſted. This ſo terrify'd the Queen, that ſhe ſuddenly return'd towards the Northern Parts, where ſhe had moſt Friends; impolitickly leaving ſome Marks of Severity and Cruelty behind her. The Earl of *Marche* on the contrary, who for his amiable Qualifications was in every Man's Mouth and Affections, hearing of the Queen's Retreat, march'd directly to *London*, where, upon the twenty eighth of *February*, he was receiv'd with the univerſal Applauſes of the People. On *Sunday*, the ſecond of *March*, the Earl of *Warwick*, a zealous Friend to the Earl of *Marche*, muſter'd all his Army in St. *John*'s Fields, and having drawn them in a large Ring, and read aloud to them the Agreement of the laſt Parliament, and then demanded, *Whether they would have King* Henry, *who had violated that Agreement, to reign over them*? They all cry'd out, *No, no!* Then he ask'd them, *Whether they would have the Earl of* Marche, *who according to the ſame Agreement ought to be King, to reign over them!* They with a great Clamour anſwer'd, *Yea, yea!* Upon which ſome Commanders, and others of the City, repair'd to the Earl of *Marche* at *Baynard*'s Caſtle, to acquaint him with what had paſs'd; who at firſt ſeem'd to excuſe himſelf, as unable to execute ſo great a Charge: But being animated by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London* and *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, he at laſt conſented to take it upon him. On the next Morning he went in Proceſſion to St. *Paul*'s Cathedral; and after *Te Deum* ſung, he was in great State convey'd to *Weſtminſter*. There ſeated in the moſt conſpicuous Place of the great Hall, with the Scepter of St. *Edward* in his Hand; he made a Declaration of his double Title to the Crown: *Firſt, By Deſcent as Heir to the third Son of King* Edward *the Third: Secondly, By Authority of Parliament, which upon the Examination of the Duke of* York's *Title had conferr'd the Crown immediately on him and his Heirs, when* Henry *the Sixth ſhould make Forfeiture of it, by Death, Reſignation, or Breach of that Agreement there ſolemnly ſworn by them. And that this Agreement was* *broken, the Slaughter of the Duke of* York *at the Battel of* Wakefield *did ſadly manifeſt. Nevertheleſs he proteſted himſelf ready to give up the Juſtice of his Claim, rather than enter upon it without their free Vote.* At which, with loud Applauſes, all cry'd, *King* Edward, *King* Edward! tranſported when they found their Voices were required to confirm him King, who had declar'd he would not receive that Title without their Suffrage. The Formality of this ſecond Election thus paſt, he went in Proceſſion to the Abby Church; whence after much Solemnity, and Homage from the Nobility preſent, he return'd by Water to the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, and was immediately proclaim'd King throughout the City by the Name of *Edward* the Fourth. This was done upon the Fourth Day of *March*, after King *Henry*, now near forty Years of Age, had paſſed over an unfortunate and inglorious Reign of thirty eight Years, ſix Months and four Days.

He is proclaim'd King.

The End of King Henry's Reign.

Here in the Courſe of all Writers ends the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, of whom it is obſerv'd, That never any came to be King ſo ſoon after his Birth, nor ceas'd to be King ſo long before his Death; the former being but eight Months, and the latter twelve Years. It has alſo been truly obſerv'd, That all the Sons of King *Edward* the Third, as well as himſelf; all the Sons of *John* of *Gaunt*, and all the Sons of *Henry* the Fourth, were compleat Hero's, Men the moſt renown'd in their Age for Perſonal Strength, Courage and Bravery: But when this Heroical Diſpoſition was at the Height in *Henry* the Fifth, how it came to degenerate in *Henry* the Sixth, is attributed to his Mother, who tho' a Woman of a noble Spirit, yet being deſcended from a crazy Father, it was no Wonder if ſhe prov'd the Mother of a crazy Iſſue. Yet as to his Perſon he was comely and well proportion'd, and had Virtues ſufficient to make a Saint; no King ever ſhewing more Piety and Devotion than himſelf. He had one Immunity peculiar to himſelf, that no Man could ever be reveng'd on him, becauſe he never offer'd any Man an Injury. He was ſo chaſt and modeſt, that when in a publick Mask ſome Ladies preſented themſelves before him with their Breaſts uncover'd, he immediately roſe up, and exclaim'd againſt their Behaviour: So merciful, that when he ſaw the Quarters of a Traitor over *Cripple-Gate*, he caus'd them to be taken down, declaring, *He would have no Chriſtian ſo cruelly treated for his Sake*; So free from Swearing, that he never us'd any Aſſeveration but *Forſooth* and *Verily:* So patient, that to one who ſtruck him when he was taken Priſoner, he only ſaid, *You wrong your ſelf, more than me, to ſtrike the Lord's Anointed:* So devout, that on the chief Holy Days, he us'd to wear Sack-Cloath next his Skin: And ſo innocent in general, that his Confeſſor declar'd, *That for ten Years Space he never found any thing he had ſaid or done, for which he might juſtly enjoin him Penance.* And herein conſiſted his Happineſs, that he was the only Prince perhaps in the World that never diſtinguiſh'd between Adverſity and Proſperity; being ſo intent upon his Devotion, as to think nothing Adverſity that did not interrupt that. But this brought him under the ſole Power of others, and made him fitter for a Prieſt than a King; and had his Virtues been as uſeful to the Publick, as thoſe of his pious Father, neither the Duke of *York* nor his Son durſt have conteſted with him for his Kingdom. Not to exclude Providence, the Peoples Inclinations was then the only Thing which took the Kingdom from one, and gave it to the other; which may teach Princes that long Poſſeſſion without the Practice of Princely Actions, is not ſufficient for their Conſervation. In him was confirm'd that wiſe Sentence, *Wo to that Nation whoſe King is a Child*, and rather ſhews it means in *Government* more than in *Years*; For as long as he continu'd a Child in Years, his Kingdoms flouriſh'd by the Care of his Uncles; but when he ceas'd to be ſo in Years, and continu'd to be ſo in Government, all Things ran to ruin both in *France* and *England*; and a great Part of his Time was a Reign of Diſgrace, Miſery and Blood. And notwithſtanding his extraordinary Piety, his manifeſt Breach of Faith to the Earl of *Armagnack* ought not to paſs uncenſur'd by a Chriſtian Hiſtorian; and the great *Raleigh* obſerves, that as he refus'd the Daughter of that Prince, by which he might have defended his Inheritance in *France*, and marry'd the Daughter of *Anjou*, by which he loſt all that he had in that Country; ſo in condeſcending to the unworthy Death of his Uncle of *Gloceſter*, the main Pillar of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, he drew on himſelf and his Kingdom the greateſt Loſs and Diſhonour, that ever it ſuſtain'd ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt.

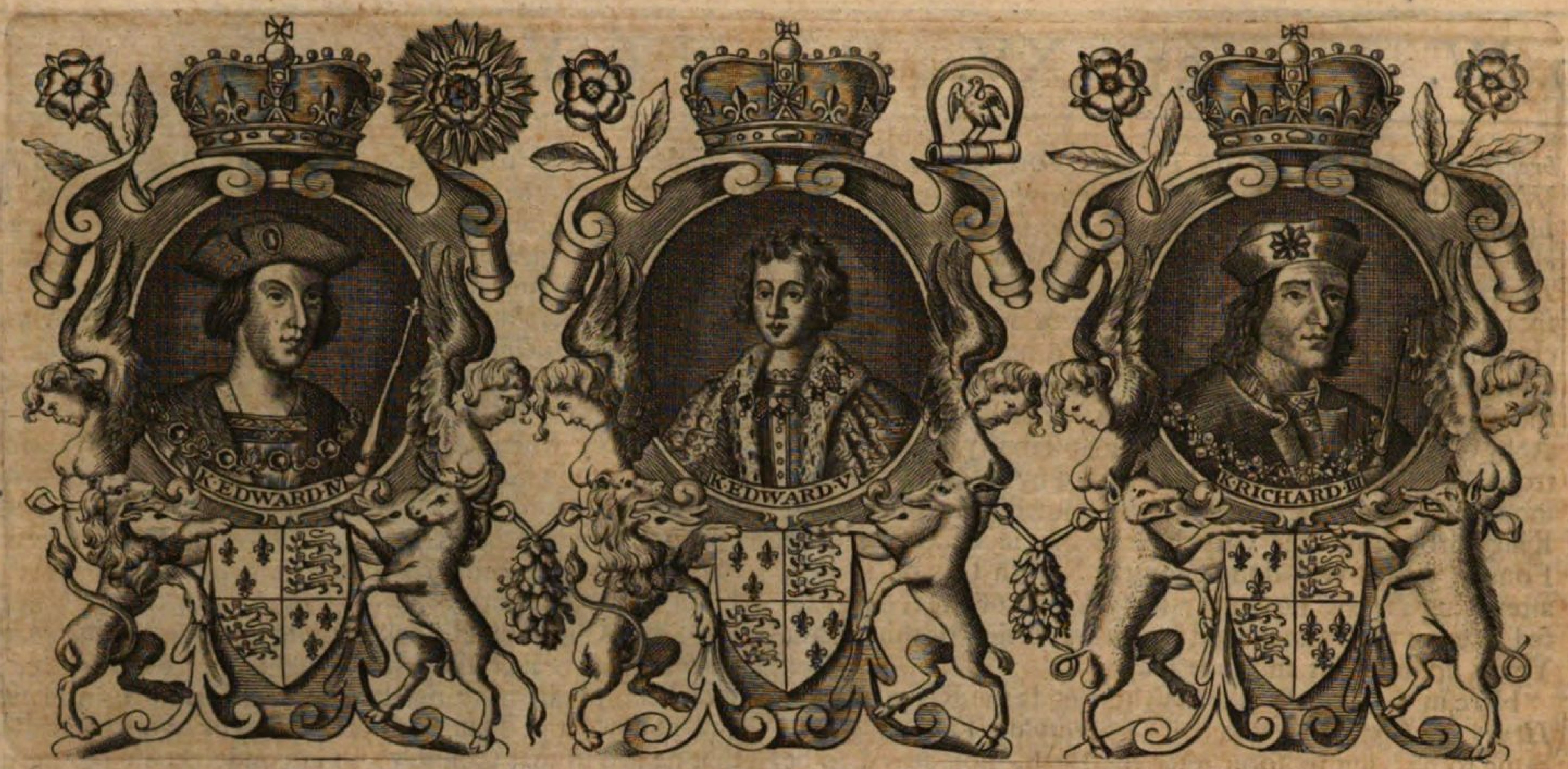
His Character.

Matters of note in his Reign.

Notwithſtanding this Reign was both troubleſome and calamitous, it was remarkable for many pious and charitable Foundations, and for ſeveral eminent and worthy Men. The King himſelf founded two famous Colleges, the one in *Cambridge* called the *College Royal* or *King's-College*, and the other at *Eaton* near *Windſor*; to the Maintenance of which he gave three thouſand four hundred Pounds *per Annum*; and the glorious Chappel of the former ſhews of what wonderful Magnificence the whole ſhould have been, had the Founder reign'd to finiſh it. In the twentiy eighth Year of this Reign Queen *Margaret* began the Foundation of *Queen's-College* in *Cambridge*. Three Colleges in *Oxford* were alſo founded in this Reign, *All-Souls*, *Bernard* and *Magdalen*; the two firſt by *Henry Chichely* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the latter by *William* of *Wanfleet* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; as alſo the famous Divinity School by *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*. There were many other Foundations and Buildings made in other Places, as the College of *Tatſhall* in *Lincolnſhire* by *Ralph* Lord *Cromwell*; *Leaden-Hall* in *London* by *Simon Eyre* Mayor; the Standard in *Cheapſide*, &c. As to Men of Valour, we have already taken notice of the chief, ſuch as the Duke of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and others; ſo that it may be ſaid, as there never was a more Heroical King of *England* than *Henry* the Fifth; ſo never any King had more Heroical Subjects than *Henry* the Sixth, who had been train'd under his Father and Grand-father. As to Men of Learning, they are too numerous to be particulariz'd; we ſhall only mention *John Leland* the Elder, who wrote divers Treatiſes for Inſtruction of Grammarians; *Peter Baſſet*, Eſq; one of the Privy-Chamber to *Henry* the Fifth, whoſe Life he wrote; *Thomas Walſingham*, *Thomas Radburn*, *John Capgrave*, and *John Wethamſted*, all Writers of ſome Parts of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory; *John Lydgate*, a Monk of *Bury* and celebrated Poet; *Richard* and *Robert Flemming*, *Thomas Dando*, and *Robert Bale*.

Here ends the Royal Line of Lancaſter.

CHAP.



CHAP. V.

The Plantagenets *divided*; *The Royal Houſe of* York: *From the Depoſition of King* Henry *the Sixth, to the Death of King* Richard *the Third, and the Union of the two Families.*

Containing the Space of about 24 Years.

SECT. I.

The Reign of King EDWARD *the Fourth.*

Containing 22 Years, 1 Month, and 5 Days.

A. D. 1461. Reg. 1.

King Edward's ſevere Beginning.

I. IN the midſt of the Miſeries of an unfortunate Nation, we are now arriv'd at the Hiſtory of the Second, yet neareſt great Branch of the *Plantagenets*, that ſat upon the *Engliſh* Throne. And from the fourth Day of *March*, in the Year 1461, according to the common Computation in thoſe Days, commenc'd the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, who was then about twenty Years of Age, in the prime of his Youth and Beauty, and whoſe charming Looks and Behaviour render'd him the Object of all Peoples Love and Affection. Yet great Numbers were ſtill intire Friends to the depos'd King *Henry*, who was now with his Queen raiſing a powerful Army in the North: and not a few in *London* it ſelf, as King *Edward*'s Jealouſie gave him cauſe to ſuſpect: Of whom one *Walker* a ſubſtantial Citizen and a Grocer was an unhappy Proof, who only for Words ſpoken concerning his own Son, *That he would make him Heir to the Crown*, meaning the Sign of the Crown in *Cheapſide*, was on the eighth Day of this King's Reign apprehended, and beheaded in *Smithfield*. And tho' the Words only contain'd an unſeaſonable Jeſt, and no real Treaſon; yet it being a Time when the Crown lay at Stake, the Law was ſtretch'd, and ſomewhat more, to remove the Man that ſpoke 'em. This ſevere Beginning caus'd many to believe, that they had injur'd themſelves in wronging King *Henry*; which Opinion was more confirm'd by *Edward*'s retaining a large Sum of Mony borrow'd of the Staplers-Merchants, and diſburs'd in his Affairs, the Reſtitution of which he utterly deny'd with an angry Command to ſurceaſe their Demands.

Oppoſition in the North.

And now hearing how King *Henry* was belov'd in the North, and what Numbers were gather'd to recover him the Crown, upon the twelfth Day of *March* he with a compleat Army ſet out from *London*, accompany'd with his two Brothers, and many other Noblemen. Then marching towards *Pontfract* in *Yorkſhire*, he there appointed the Lord *Fitzwater* to keep the Paſſage of *Ferribridge*, omitting no Directions of a worthy Commander. King *Henry*, tho' no ways warlike, thought it beſt Policy to employ ſuch Commanders whom the Thirſt of Revenge had animated againſt the Houſe of *York*; ſuch were the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, whoſe Fathers had been ſlain in the firſt Battel of St. *Albans*: Which laſt, tho' in Degree the leaſt Man, yet ſought to raiſe his Fame with the firſt; and therefore to leave no Enterprize unattempted, he ſo ſuddenly attack'd the Party appointed for *Ferribridge*, that he not only defeated the Men, but alſo ſlew the Lord *Fitzwater*, with the Baſtard of *Salisbury*, and many others, before they well knew whence the Diſturbance aroſe. The Noiſe of this Defeat came firſt to the Ears of the ſtout Earl of *Warwick*, who too much tranſported at the evil Fate of the firſt Attempt, rode almoſt breathleſs to King *Edward*, and killing his Horſe in his Preſence, he cry'd out, *God have Mercy upon the Souls of thoſe, who for your Sake have already loſt their Lives! Let him fly that will fly.* Then kiſſing the Hilts of his Sword, he ſaid, *By this Croſs, I will ſtand by him that ſtands by me.* The valiant Lord *Fauconbridge*, fearing that this Beginning ſhould prove dangerous, ſoon got over the River at *Caſtleford*, three Miles from *Ferribridge*, deſigning to ſurround the late Victors; which *Clifford* perceiving, ſought to avoid; and whether out of Haſte or Heat, he put off his Gorget, when ſuddenly an Arrow without a Head, ſhot from an unknown Hand, pierc'd thro' his Throat, ſtuck in his Neck, and put a Period to his Life. A Death too honourable for him; ſince the innocent Blood of the Earl of *Rutland* requir'd one foreſeen, painful and cruel. But his Son met with the Puniſhment he eſcap'd; who being ſav'd by a poor Shepherd, liv'd a Beggar during three Reigns, 'till he was reſtor'd by King *Henry* the Seventh.

The ſeventh Battel between the Houſe of Lancaſter *and* York, *at* Towton.

The next Day, more fatal for *England*'s Blood, being *Palm-Sunday*, early in the Morning both Armies came in ſight of each other; a dreadful Meeting, which like the Soul and Body never parts but by Death. The Field was between *Gaxton* and *Towton*, from the latter of which this Battel afterwards took its Name. Upon a full Survey of King *Henry*'s Army, ſo formidable for Numbers, Proclamation was made in King *Edward*'s Camp, *That whoever fear'd to fight might immediately depart, but if any remaining Soldier ſhould endeavour to fly, he ſhould be ſlain by his next Fellow, who ſhould receive a great Reward.* And further it was proclaim'd, *That no Quarters ſhould be given, nor Priſoner taken.* A neceſſary Cruelty, and not to be avoided without Hazard of King *Edward*'s Ruin;

in regard the common Soldiers, in hopes of Spoil or Ranſom, might be wanting in their Duty. About nine in the Morning both Armies drew near; ſixty thouſand for King *Henry*, then in *York*, and for King *Edward* ſcarce forty thouſand, only the Preſence and Courage of the latter made an Equality. The experienc'd Lord *Fauconbridge*, to whom the Van was committed, immediately before the Battel, commanded his Archers, as ſoon as they had ſhot their firſt Flight, to fall ſome Steps back, and make a Stand; by which they might avoid their Enemies Arrows. Which Stratagem had its deſign'd Succeſs; for the Northern Men with a ſudden Fury anſwer'd the Onſet, and having empty'd their Quivers, haſten'd to a cloſe Battel: But the Arrows they had diſcharg'd, not having reach'd their Adverſaries, turn'd now to their Annoyance and Diſtraction, and ſo far gall'd them by the Splinters ſticking in the Ground, that they were forc'd to a confus'd Stop. In this Trouble the Southern Men ſhot another Flight; and the Wind conſpiring with their Policy, blew a Storm of Hail and Snow in their Faces; ſo that the Vanguard, led by the Earl of *Northumberland* and *Andrew Trollop*, gave back. Yet the main Battel did not ſtir with this Motion; but, as if the Enemy had gain'd no Advantage, continu'd with the firſt Conſtancy.

For ten Hours together the Victory hung in ſuſpence; equal Courage on both Sides; equal Hopes in the good, and equal Deſpair in the bad Succeſs; which occaſion'd ſo much Obſtinacy and Cruelty in the Battel. But at length, after a moſt piteous Slaughter, the Nothern Men began to hope for Safety only in Flight; nor did they yield to the prevailing Fortune of the Enemy, 'till their Courages were diſmay'd with the Sight of ſo many eminent Men ſlain before their Eyes. For the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, the Lords *Beaumont*, *D'Acres*, *Gray*, *Scales*, and *Wells*, with many others of greateſt Reputation for their Rank and Courage, had already fallen; and in their Deaths taught the Survivors what to expect. The Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, ſeeing all Things deſperate, the greater Part of the Army ſlain, the reſt broken and flying, poſted to *York* to carry the fatal News to the unfortunate King *Henry*; whoſe Virtue ſtill had a Patience greater than his Ruin. In no Battel ſince the Conqueſt was ever ſhed ſo much *Engliſh* Blood; ſo that the Fields were not only diſmally ſtain'd, but the Rivers alſo ran red for a great diſtance: For in this and the preceding Day were ſlain no leſs than thirty ſix thouſand ſeven hundred Perſons; all of one Nation, many near in Alliance, ſome in Blood, fatally divided by Faction, yet all animated by the ſame Zeal to maintain their Prince's Right: Which being ſo difficult to determine nicely, doubtleſs it made the Conteſt on both Sides, how ruinous ſoever to their Families, not unſafe to their Conſciences. And it is worthy of Obſervation, that in this long and cruel Conflict between the two Royal Families, never any Stranger of Note was preſent at their Battels, as if the *Engliſh* had diſdain'd to conquer or periſh by any other Weapons than their own.

The York*iſts prevail*

The Greatneſs of the Bloodſhed and Victory.

After this great Victory King *Edward* rode to *York*, from whence King *Henry* was fled, where he was receiv'd with the utmoſt Solemnity; and firſt he caus'd the Heads of his Father, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and other of his Friends, to be taken from the Gates, and bury'd with their Bodies: And then he caus'd the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and three others to be beheaded, and to have their Heads put on the ſame Places. In the mean time the unfortunate King *Henry* haſten'd with his Wife and Son to the Town of *Berwick*; and leaving the Duke of *Somerſet* in that Place, he went into *Scotland*, begging the Counſel and Aſſiſtance of the young King of that Nation. He was receiv'd with all Humanity, and had Proviſion made for him of a certain Penſion by the King of the *Scots*, who likewiſe agreed that the Princeſs *Margaret* his Siſter ſhould marry to Prince *Edward*, Son to King *Henry*, tho' this Marriage was never after conſummated. And *Henry* to requite theſe Civilities, did more than he would in Time of Proſperity, and gave up the Town of *Berwick* to King *James*, a Place very advantagious to the *Scots*, and long deſir'd by them. The Queen his Wife went with her Son into *France*, to procure Aſſiſtance from her Father *Reyner*, Duke of *Anjou*; and ſhe obtain'd alſo of King *Lewis* of *France* free Acceſs for as many *Engliſh* as were of her ſide, and Baniſhment for thoſe of the contrary Party; Matters of no great Conſequence. And thus we find the unfortunate King *Henry*, after above thirty eight Years Reign, not only to have been driven from his Throne and Crown, but alſo out of all his Dominions.

King Henry *flies into* Scotland.

In the Interim King *Edward*, with as glorious a Triumph and dilated Joy as Victory could beget, march'd towards *London*, where the Citizens, who were deeply intereſted in his Fortune, receiv'd him with great Splendor and Magnificence. And on the twenty eighth Day of *June* he was with great Solemnity crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, where in St. *Peter*'s Church it was the next Day again ſolemnly ſet on his Head, and the third ſo crown'd he came to St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, and there was cens'd with the extraordinary Applauſe of the People. That no Circumſtance of Soveraignty might be wanting, a Parliament was ſummon'd to meet in *November*; by which his Title to the Crown was confirm'd, King *Henry* and his Son diſinherited, his Friends rewarded, and his Enemies puniſh'd. And tho' private Reſpects were his chief Buſineſs, deſiring to diſanul all Acts made in Prejudice of the Houſe of *York*, and its Adherents, yet his outward Pretenſions were the Safey and Quiet of the Realm. For he publickly profeſs'd that his only Care was to have ſuch wholſom Laws enacted, as might redreſs Diſorders crept into the State, by the free Liberty given to Rapines in the former Troubles. By which Appearance of earneſt Care for quieting a diſturb'd Republick, he gain'd Authority among the Wiſe, and founded a Belief in all, that his Government in Peace would be as fortunate as his Proceedings in War. Having by his Wiſdom and Care thus won the Opinion of the Generality, he proceeded to confer his Favours on particular Perſons whom Blood and Service had render'd dear to him. He created his two Brothers, *George* and *Richard*, Dukes; the Elder of *Clarence*, and the Younger of *Gloceſter*. He made the Lord *Nevill*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, Viſcount *Montague*; *Henry Bourchier*, Brother to Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Earl of *Eſſex*; and the Lord *Fauconbridge*, Earl of *Kent*; giving others the Title of Barons, and honouring many with that of Knighthood. The Concluſion of this great Aſſembly was with ſeveral Puniſhments: For *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Aubery Vere* his Son, Sir *John Tiddenham* Knight, *William Tyrrel* and *Walter Montgomery* Eſquires, were without Anſwer convicted of Treaſon, and beheaded; A formidable Proceeding, and too much manifeſting the Actions of a Conqueror.

King Ed*ward's Coronation.*

Eſtabliſhments in Parliament.

Favours confer'd.

Puniſhments inflicted.

A. D.
1462.
Reg. 2.

Advantages abroad.

Affairs thus happily ſettled for King *Edward*'s Intereſt, to check the Inſults of tranſmarine Neighbours, who had thrown Injuries on the Nation when weaken'd with Diſcords, the new-created Earls of *Eſſex* and *Kent*, with the Lord *Audley*, were ſent with ten thouſand Soldiers to ſcour the narrow Seas; who firſt landing in *Bretaign*, took the Town of *Conquet*, and afterwards in the Iſle of *Ree*, pillag'd that little Country, and return'd with Victory. By which Enterprize, tho' of no ſignal Conſequence to his Affairs, yet King *Edward* let the *French* know how unſafe it was to irritate the *Engliſh* when govern'd by an active Prince, who might hereafter appear in Perſon, for the Recovery of thoſe Provinces, which nothing but the Nation's Diſſentions could have loſt; and likewiſe ſtruck ſome Terror into all foreign States which ſhould adhere to King *Henry*, who both in Courage and Fortune was ſo far his Inferior. And now was the Proſperity of *Edward* in ſo much Splendor, and ſo dark a Cloud hung over the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, that *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet*, and Sir *Ralph Piercy* forſook the Ruins of that Family they had ſo long endeavour'd to ſupport. The Submiſſion of two ſuch Perſons of Intereſt and Power, was as pleaſing to King *Edward* as a Victory; and they by his Favour were immediately reſtor'd to full Poſſeſſion both of Honour and Eſtate; and the ſame Grace was promis'd to any others, whom their Example ſhould perſuade.

A. D.
1463.
Reg. 3.

The Attempts of King Henry*'s Queen for his Reſtoration.*

Yet did not the indefatigable Queen loſe any Part of her Spirit or Endeavours; but in *France* us'd all Means and Methods to gain Succours towards the Reſtitution of her Husband. At length, having obtain'd an inconſiderable Number of *Frenchmen*, ſhe paſs'd over with them to *Scotland*, and from thence with the Shew of a great Enterprize, ſhe ſail'd for *England*; and touching upon the Bay of *Tinmouth*, out of ſome peculiar Apprehenſions, ſhe and her *French* put back to Sea, where ſuch a ſudden Tempeſt overtook them, that had not the Queen in a ſmall Veſſel got into *Berwick*, ſhe had loſt her Life, or fallen into her Enemies Hands. Her *French* Forces, by the Baſtard *Ogle* and other Friends of King *Edward*, were driven into *Holy-Iſland*, where many were ſlain, and four hundred put to their Ranſoms. This feeble *French* Enterprize, tho' it enervated the Minds of many, yet it no ways daunted the Courage of the Queen, whoſe chief Hopes were founded upon the *Scots* Valour. So leaving her Son *Edward* in *Berwick* for Safety, ſhe with the King her Husband and a *Scotch* Army furiouſly enter'd into *Northumberland*, took the Caſtle of *Bamburgh*, and ſo paſs'd into the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, their Forces daily increaſing by the Confluence of ſuch *Engliſh* as favour'd King *Henry*. Among theſe the Duke of *Somerſet*, and Sir *Ralph Piercy*, with other of King *Henry*'s Friends, revolted from King *Edward*, and came over to this Army. But many others came over in Hopes of Spoil; for his Army pillag'd and burnt Towns, and deſtroy'd Fields whereſoever they came.

King *Edward* hearing of theſe Commotions in the North, made Preparations both by Sea and Land, and with his two Brothers and many Noblemen march'd to the City of

York: From whence he ſent the new Viſcount *Montague* with a conſiderable Party to ſecure the Loyalty of the *Northumbrians*; who paſſing forwards, at a Place call'd *Hegley-Moor*, he was ſuddenly attack'd by the Lords *Hungerford* and *Roos*, and Sir *Ralph Piercy*. But *Montague* bravely ſtood the Aſſault, and in the firſt Encounter repuls'd the Lords, and at length ſlew the ſaid *Piercy*, who would not be driven from the Field, but in dying cry'd out, *I have ſav'd the Bird in my Boſom*, meaning his Oath made to King *Henry*. *Montague* finding Fortune thus proſperous, advanc'd forwards; and learning by his Spies that *Henry*'s Army lay incamp'd in a fair Plain call'd *Livels* near *Hexham*, he haſtened his March, and ſo valiantly attack'd their Camp, that after a great Slaughter, he totally defeated their Army, with the Loſs of two thouſand Men. The unfortunate King *Henry* fled into *Scotland*; but the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lords *Roos*, *Mollins* and *Hungerford*, with other Perſons of Note, as unfortunately fell into the Hands of their Enemies, and were afterwards, according to the uſual Proceedings of theſe miſerable Times, beheaded in cold Blood. Sir *Ralph Gray* was firſt ſolemnly degraded from his Honour of Knighthood, and then led to Execution. Thus was the white Roſe in every Place dy'd red with the Blood of the Nobility; and the red Roſe turn'd pale with Horror to view the Calamities occaſion'd by this Diſſention.

The eighth Battel, at Hexham.

The York*iſts victorious.*

King *Edward* having with a little Water extinguiſh'd a Flame which was like to have ſet all *England* on Fire, fortify'd all the Frontiers, and built Forts upon ſuch Parts of the Sea, as were fitteſt for Landing; he threaten'd heavy Puniſhments againſt any who ſhould favour or harbour King *Henry*, Queen *Margaret*, or any of their Adherents. He us'd the like Care in other Places of his Kingdom, eſpecially in the Southern Parts, where Landing was eaſieſt for ſuch as ſhould come from *Normandy*. In the Rooms of the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke*, who were fled with *Henry*, he created *John Nevill* Viſcount *Montague* Earl of the former, and *William Herbert* Earl of the latter. But the former being afterwards reſtor'd, *Nevill* gave up the Title, and was rewarded with that of a Marqueſs. In the mean time King *Henry*, hurry'd on by his own Fate, paſs'd into *England* in diſguis'd Apparel; where in a ſhort Time he was betray'd, while he ſat at Dinner in *Waddington* Hall, from whence he was carried to *London* after a diſgraceful manner, with his Legs bound under the Horſe's Belly. Here, with Dr. *Manning*, Dean of *Windſor*, he was arreſted by the Earl of *Warwick*, his gilt Spurs taken off, and he committed cloſe Priſoner to the Tower of *London*. A ſudden and ſtrange Alteration of Eſtate, when he that was once the moſt potent Monarch for Dominions that ever *England* had, was not now Maſter of one ſingle Spot of Ground, nor Owner of his Liberty. So various are the Changes and Fortunes of this tranſitory Life; which appear'd further from his diſtreſſed and diſconſolate Queen, who with her Son was driven once again to fly for ſhelter into *France*.

King Henry *taken,*

and made Priſoner in the Tower.

A. D. 1464.
Reg. 4.

King Edward's Regulations in the Publick.

II. The Impriſonment of King *Henry*, the Abſence of his Queen and Son, with the Deaths, Flight and Baniſhment of the chief of their Party, for a long Time ſecur'd King *Edward* in his Throne. This Calm afforded him Occaſion of reforming many Diſorders in the Publick, to which the late Troubles had given Birth. For ſeveral Days together he ſat publickly with his Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, on the King's-Bench, to acquaint himſelf with the Orders and Proceedings of the Court, either at Bench or Bar. He likewiſe order'd the Officers of the Exchequer to take more moderate Fees, and to be more intentive of their Duties, for the Benefit of the Subject, than their own Profit; and not under Colour of preſerving the King's Revenues, to inrich themſelves and oppreſs the Nation. And to ſhew his Liberality and Gratitude to thoſe who had ſerv'd him, he diſtributed the confiſcated Goods of the late Delinquents to as many as had merited Reward; in which he dealt ſo wiſely, that none were diſſatiſfy'd. Then to gain the Love of all Men, he ſhew'd himſelf more familiar both with the Nobility and Commonalty, than as ſome thought was convenient either for his State or Dignity. To his Affability he added Clemency, and pardoned all thoſe who in what manner ſoever had formerly oppos'd his Greatneſs, provided they would abandon all who perſiſted in their Averſeneſs to him: By which means he won ſuch an Opinion of the People, that afterwards by their Aſſiſtance he ſurmounted Difficulties which otherwiſe would have been inſuperable. The Laws of the Realm he in part reform'd, and in part augmented; and the Coin both of Gold and Silver he new invented and divided; for the Gold he nam'd *Royals* and *Nobles*, and the Silver he call'd *Groats* and *Half-Groats*. He ordain'd penal Statutes againſt exceſſive Pride in Apparel, particularly againſt long pick'd Shoes, then uſually worn, which grew to that Extream, that the Pickes in the Toes were turn'd upwards, and with Silver Chains or Silk Laces ty'd to the Knees. But among many good Proviſions one prov'd injurious; for concluding a League with the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon* in *Spain*, he granted them Liberty to tranſport certain Numbers of *Coteſwold* Sheep, which ſo much increas'd, that it afterwards prov'd a great Hinderance to the *Engliſh* Merchants in the Sale of their Woollen Cloths in the *Levant* Seas.

His Ordinances.

The publick Affairs being thus eſtabliſh'd, King *Edward* deſcended to what more particularly concern'd himſelf; and that was to provide a Queen, by whom he might have Iſſue and a ſufficient Alliance againſt the Power of King *Henry*. Three Marriages were propos'd to him; *Margaret* Siſter to *James* King of *Scotland*; *Iſabel* Siſter to *Henry* King of *Caſtile*, and *Bona* Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*, and Siſter to the preſent Queen of *France*. The two former were ſet aſide for particular Reaſons, and the laſt approv'd of in Council; and none was thought more fit to ſollicit this Affair than the mighty Earl of *Warwick*, a Man eſteem'd as a King in Power and Revenues, and exceeding all in Magnificence and Hoſpitality; in whoſe Houſe at *London* ſix Oxen were ſpent every Day, and moſt Taverns in the City were full of his Meat and Proviſions. This Earl in great State arrived at *Tours*, and his Meſſage known, was accordingly entertain'd in the *French* Court, where he wrought the Queen her ſelf to be the chiefeſt Agent, who engag'd her Siſter *Bona* with recommending the State and Stile of a Magnificent Queen, and her Husband *Lewis* with the Aſſurance of a Wiſe and Potent Ally; a Subject ſufficiently pleaſing to this ſoft-natur'd Prince. In a ſhort Time all Parties were fully ſatisfied, and the Earl of *Warwick* diſmiſs'd with no ſmall Compliments, and the Earl of *Damp-Martin* was to paſs into *England* for the final Concluſion.

The Earl of Warwick *ſent to treat of a Marriage in* France.

But while the Earl of *Warwick* highly valu'd himſelf for his Succeſs abroad, King *Edward*'s Affection was working another Way at home. For the young amorous King after Hunting coming to viſit the Dutcheſs of *Bedford* at her Manor of *Grafton* near *Stony-Stratford*, was ſollicited by a fair Petitioner, the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, Daughter to the Dutcheſs, and Widow of Sir *John Gray*, ſlain on King *Henry*'s Behalf at the Battel of St. *Albans*. The King could deny no Requeſt made by ſuch an eloquent Tongue, and conquering Beauty; and immediately himſelf became as earneſt in ſolliciting her, but in a more unlawful Suit. But ſhe arm'd herſelf with a Modeſty ſufficient to deſtroy the moſt violent Batteries of Luſt; and tho' ſhe was on all Sides attack'd by the moſt inſinuating Temptations, ſhe repuls'd her Enemy ſo nobly, that he offer'd to parly upon honourable Terms. For when the King perceiv'd her adorn'd with Chaſtity ſtrong enough to reſiſt him, who ſcarce ever fail'd in ſuch Attempts, he became enamour'd on the Beauty of her Mind, and concluded that her Virtue was Dowry enough to marry her to the higheſt Monarch upon Earth. The Reaſons of State were directly againſt this Marriage, which ſhew'd the Danger of exaſperating ſo potent an Allie as the *French* King, and ſo dangerous a Subject as the Earl of *Warwick*, as likewiſe the Inconveniences of raiſing a Widow to his Bed, who could bring nothing but Poverty and an unprovided Iſſue; who if not advanc'd would be a Scorn to his Children, and if otherwiſe a Charge to his Exchequer, and an Envy to the Nobility. Yet the charming Object, and his unbounded Paſſion prevail'd ſo far, that notwithſtanding the Dutcheſs of *York* his Mother moſt violently oppos'd him, by throwing the higheſt Calumnies upon the Lady *Gray*, and alledging a Pre-Contract with the Lady *Lucy*, he broke through all Difficulties, and marry'd her privately. Not long after, upon the twenty ſixth Day of *May*, he crown'd her Queen with the uſual Solemnities. Her Mother was *Jaquellin* Daughter to *Peter* of *Luxemburgh* Earl of St. *Paul*, and Dutcheſs to *John* Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*; after whoſe Death ſhe marry'd to Sir *Richard Woodville* Knight, and among others bore him this celebrated Lady.

King Edward *falls in Love with the Lady* Gray.

A. D. 1465.
Reg. 5.

He marries her.

None were pleas'd with this Match, the Nobility leſs than the Commonalty; their Grandeur being obſcur'd by the ſudden Splendor of the Queen's Relations: Her Father was created Earl of *Rivers*, and ſhortly after made High Conſtable of *England*: Her Brother *Anthony* was enrich'd by the Marriage of the Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Scales*, which Title was likewiſe confer'd upon him: Her Son *Thomas Gray*, whom ſhe had by her former Husband, afterwards marry'd the Daughter of the Lord *Harrington*, and was created Marqueſs of *Dorſet*. Hiſtorians obſerve many Calamities that were caus'd by this Marriage; as the Deaths of innumerable *Engliſh* Men, King *Edward*'s Expulſion from his Dominions, his Children declar'd ſpurious, and murder'd, and the Queen's Houſe extirpated. All which begun from the proud Earl of *Warwick*, who being by this deceiv'd and wounded in his Reputation, parted from *France* with ſuch furious Reſentments, as he could not wholly conceal from the *French* King. Being return'd into *England*, he ſo behav'd himſelf with King *Edward*,

The Earl of Warwick *enrag'd at it.*

His Deſigns.

that he ſeem'd not at all diſoblig'd; while the preſent Injury reviv'd the Remembrance of many formerly receiv'd. He ſaw how the King apprehended his Greatneſs, and grew jealous of his Power; that his Deſign was to depreſs him, when himſelf was better eſtabliſh'd; that he thought himſelf no King, while Men judg'd him as neceſſary to the Conſervation of the State, as he was in the obtaining of it; and that he ſought all Occaſions to bereave him of Mens good Opinions. All which caus'd him to believe that he was ſent into *France* for the ſame purpoſe. To which ſome add, that King *Edward* had provok'd him by attempting the Chaſtity of his Daughter or Neice; thereby endeavouring to diſhonour the Family of his Kinſman, Servant and Benefactor. Theſe Conſiderations join'd together, begot in him ſuch a Hatred that all *England*, *France* and *Flanders* could never extinguiſh; ſo that he reſolv'd to depoſe him and reinthrone King *Henry*, as ſoon as a fit Occaſion ſhould preſent itſelf. In order to which, by the King's leave he retir'd to *Warwick*, under a Pretence of Indiſpoſition of Health; yet the King made ſome Diſcovery of his Diſcontents, but not ſufficient for his own Security; for he thought him not ſo able to drive him from, as to lift him into a Throne.

A. D. 1466. Reg. 6.

King Edward*'s Alliances.*

A. D. 1467. Reg. 7.

A Marriage between the Duke of Burgundy *and King* Edward's *Siſter* Margaret.

In the following Year the Queen was deliver'd of a Daughter, nam'd *Elizabeth*, who afterwards put a happy Period to the Civil Wars, by marrying with King *Henry* the Seventh. In which Year King *Edward* concluded a Treaty of Alliance with the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, who upon Occaſion might by way of Diverſion aſſiſt him in *Gaſcony* and *Languedock*; and likewiſe for the ſame Reſpect, he concluded a Truce with *Scotland* for fifteen Years. But the Alliance of the old Duke of *Burgundy* was that which moſt avail'd him, and which re-eſtabliſh'd him in his Kingdom when he had loſt it. This Prince had a Son, *Charles* the Count *Caralois*, who by two ſeveral Wives having but one Daughter, his Father deſir'd to marry him a third Time, hoping to ſecure the Succeſſion by Iſſue Male. He bethought himſelf of *Margaret* Siſter to King *Edward*, a Princeſs of admirable Beauty, and endu'd with a Spirit not uſual to her Sex; but her being of the Houſe of *York* made him ſtagger in his Reſolutions, becauſe he was nearly related to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. Yet ſince he could make no Alliance more formidable to *France*, or more advantagious to the *Low-Countries*, he ſent over *Anthony* the Eldeſt of his Natural Sons, commonly call'd the Baſtard of *Burgundy*, with ſome others, as Ambaſſadors into *England* for this Purpoſe. He came with a pompous Retinue of four hundred Horſe, with rich Liveries, and richer Furniture; and was graciouſly receiv'd by King *Edward*. The Affair being propos'd in Council, none withſtood it but the diſoblig'd Earl of *Warwick*; for forming the Rebellion he had formerly deſign'd, he conceiv'd the Match would be injurious to King *Lewis*, on whom he intended to rely, and beneficial to King *Edward*, whom he intended to deſtroy. But he having but a ſingle Vote, the Ambaſſadors Requeſt was granted, and King *Edward* promis'd Amity to the Friends of *Burgundy*, and threaten'd Enmity to his Adverſaries. He preſented his Siſter to the Lord *Anthony*, and the other Ambaſſadors, who kiſs'd her Hand, as their Princeſs, and preſented her with many rich Jewels, which ſhe accepted with Terms of Gratitude both to her Father-in-Law and Husband. The Entertainments made upon this Occaſion were great and magnificent; and Challenges at Tilt paſs'd between *Anthony* and the Lord *Scales*, Brother to the Queen, and between his Followers and the *Engliſh* Gentry. In the midſt of theſe Rejoycings, News was brought of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Death, which much afflicted the Lord *Anthony*; ſo taking leave of the King, with rich Preſents he paſs'd over into *Brabant*, and made ſuch a Relation of the Princeſs to the new Duke his half Brother, as abundantly ſatisfy'd him; who in the following Year deſir'd King *Edward* to ſend her over to him, according to the Articles of the Contract; which accordingly was perform'd. After a ſolemn and magnificent Departure, ſhe took Shipping at *Dover*, attended by five hundred Horſe, and accompany'd by her two elder Siſters the Dutcheſs of *Exeter* and *Suffolk*. She landed at *Sluice*, and went from thence to *Bourges*, where the Marriage was conſummated.

A. D. 1468. Reg. 8.

The Sum of Warwick's *Reſentments*

His two Brothers join with him.

The high Earl of *Warwick*'s Reſentments againſt King *Edward* ſtill daily encreaſing, he reſolv'd immediately to perform what he had long deſign'd; and becauſe dangerous Reſolutions are not to be undertaken without great Supports, he judg'd the Aſſiſtance of his two own Brothers moſt proper, the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Marqueſs *Montague*. Diſcourſing with them of the Reaſons that mov'd him to this Undertaking, he made an odious Parallel between *Henry* and *Edward*, magnifying the Gratitude and Goodneſs of the Former, and aggravating the Ingratitude and Wickedneſs of the Latter, 'Who when their 'Family had been foremoſt to ſpend their Lives and Eſtates 'in the Service of his Father and himſelf, he had not recompenc'd them according to their uncommon Deſerts; 'and durſt ſtill upbraid them with his being the Raiſer of 'their Family, when next to Heaven they ought their 'chiefeſt Honour to King *Henry*: That not contented to 'villifie them, he had endeavour'd to diſgrace them in a 'moſt tender Point, by attempting to violate the Honour 'of a Daughter of their Family. That he had thrown ſuch 'an Affront upon him in relation to the Match with the 'Lady *Bona*, as he would not have done to the moſt deſpicable of his Subjects; and that he no ways excus'd it, 'but paſs'd it over in Silence, not conſidering that a Man's 'Honour was more dear to him than his Life. Since 'therefore he had acted ſo contrary to Juſtice and Gratitude, his Reſolution was to uſe all Means to take that 'Crown from him, which he had plac'd on his Head, and 'put it again upon *Henry*, a good and lawful King. That 'ſince they were Sharers in the Injuries, they ought to be 'ſo in the Revenge; which might eaſily be effected, if 'they would be as vigorous and as hearty, as many of the 'chief Nobility of the Nation, as alſo ſeveral foreign 'Princes.' This unexpected Propoſition ſurpris'd the two Brothers, who ſeem'd averſe to a Compliance. But the Arch-Biſhop after long Diſputes giving way, the Marqueſs with much Difficulty ſuffer'd himſelf to be perſuaded, but ſtill with great Unwillingneſs. Which Ambiguity was the Ruin of them all; for being not able to deny his Brother, nor to betray his Prince, he did amiſs on both Sides: He aſſiſted *Edward* by not cordially aſſiſting his Brother, and betray'd his Brother by not reſolutely betraying *Edward*.

He gains the Duke of Clarence *to his Party.*

The Earl of *Warwick* having thus laid the Groundwork of his ruinous Building, he purſu'd the Fabrick with the King's ſecond Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, who being then a Male-content, he reſolv'd to ſound the Bottom of his Inclinations. But he partly anticipated the Earl's Complaints by exclaiming againſt the King his Brother, 'That he was in own Nature diſobliging and ungrateful, 'and chiefly to ſuch as had moſt oblig'd him: That ſince 'he had no Eſteem for his own Brothers, much leſs would 'he ſhew any to his other Friends, but more valu'd his 'Wife's Blood, than his own. That he had diſpoſed of 'three of the richeſt Heireſſes of the Nation to her Son, 'her Brother, and the Lord *Haſtings*, three upſtart Lords; 'and that without any Regard to his own Brothers.' Continuing ſuch like angry and threatning Diſcourſe, he gave the Earl Occaſion to lay himſelf open to him, and to offer his Daughter to him, with a Portion equivalent to thoſe he had nam'd, with innumerable other Promiſes and Proſpects. The Duke at this Time blinded with Paſſion and Reſentment, contrary to all Reaſon and Policy, join'd with the ambitious Earl in a Deſign which might eaſily and naturally prove the Ruin of them both. The Order they took was to retire themſelves to *Calais*; and that the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Marqueſs *Montague* ſhould privately procure ſome Inſurrection in the North of *England*, and give the Occaſion of the War, while they being beyond Sea, might not be thought the Authors of it. Being thus repair'd to *Calais*, and having ſworn by the Holy Sacrament to all Things agreed between them, the Duke upon the foreſaid Promiſes and Expectations marry'd the Earl's Daughter.

A. D. 1469. Reg. 9.

A Rebellion rais'd,

The two Brothers being gone to *York*, of which one was Archbiſhop, and the other Preſident, fail'd not to put in Execution what was agreed among themſelves. The firſt Occaſion of Arms was rais'd from the Abuſe of a Charity in an Hoſpital dedicated to St. *Leonard* in the City of *York*, whoſe Revenue conſiſted chiefly of Corn, which ſeveral factious Perſons alledg'd was miſapply'd, and given from the Poor to the Rich. To redreſs which Grievance, one *Robert Huldern* enter'd into Action, and with fifteen thouſand ſtrong attempted the City of *York*, where the Marqueſs *Montague* was Preſident for King *Edward*, who with a ſelect Body of Men iſſu'd out againſt the Enemy, repuls'd them, and ſtruck off the Head of their Captain before the Gates of the City: But whether he did this in Policy to gain Credit with the King, or elſe in Duty or Irreſolution, as not throughly moulded to this Commotion, is uncertain. But however the Rebels were no ways diſcourag'd at *Huldern*'s Death, but became more reſolute and vigorous in purſuing what they had begun. To which end they choſe themſelves two Commanders of greater Note, and of eminent Calling, which were *Henry*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Fitz-Hugh*, and Sir *Henry Nevill*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Latimer*, the one being Nephew and the other Couſin-German to the Earl of *Warwick*. Theſe being but young, and not fully experienc'd in Arms, choſe for their Conductor Sir *John Conyers*, a Knight of ſuch Conduct and Valour as was ſcarcely to be found in all the North; who deſigning to ſtrike at the Head, determin'd to march directly for *London*, proclaiming in his Paſſage, *That* Edward *was neither a juſt Prince to God, nor a profitable King to the Nation.*

King Edward's *Preparations.*

King *Edward* hearing of theſe Northern Proceedings, and that his own Brother and *Warwick* were preparing againſt him, ſent for the Lord *Herbert*, whom he had created Earl of *Pembroke*, to be General in the North; who joyfully undertook the Service, partly to deſerve the King's Favour, and partly in Revenge to the Earl of *Warwick*, who had hinder'd his Son from marrying with a rich Heireſs. So taking with him his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, a valiant Gentleman, and ſix or ſeven thouſand well arm'd *Welſhmen*, he advanc'd forwards, and was join'd by the Lord *Stafford* with eight hundred Archers. Underſtanding that the Northern Army was near *Northampton*, he march'd that Way; and deſiring to know their Number and Order, Sir *Richard Herbert* offer'd to make the Diſcovery. He with two thouſand *Welſh* Horſe took Shelter in a Wood, by which they were to paſs; and having view'd them, and deſirous to return with the Relation to his Brother, he could not with-hold his Men from charging them on the Rear; which marching in good Order, as expecting ſuch an Attack, fac'd about, and fighting valiantly, ſlew many of them, took many Priſoners, and diſpers'd the reſt, now too late ſorry that they had not obey'd their Leader.

King *Edward* underſtanding this ill Beginning, muſter'd his Subjects on every Side, deſigning to ingage with the Northern Forces in Perſon; and the Earl of *Warwick*, as vigorous on the other Side, gather'd his Friends to encounter with *Pembroke* and the *Welſh*. But before any Supplies came to either of them, Fortune brought the two Armies together upon a fair Plain call'd *Danes-More* near the Town of *Hedgecot*, within three Miles of *Banbury*. The Earl of *Pembroke* and the Lord *Stafford* were lodg'd in *Banbury*; where, to avoid Diſputes, they agreed each of them to take ſuch Lodgings as Chance ſhould preſent them. *Stafford* being lodg'd to his Satisfaction, the Earl, forgetting his Agreement, and uſing Authority, oblig'd him to give Place, and remove; which he unwillingly obey'd, becauſe by this he was to quit the Company of a fair Gentlewoman in the ſame Place. However to ſhew his Reſentment, he baſely abandon'd the Town with all his Men, and left the Earl deſtitute of the Archers, who were the moſt neceſſary Part of the Army; which ſtill did not diſcourage the Earl, who reſolv'd to ſuffer any Miſchief rather than retreat. Early in the Morning the Lord *Latimer*'s Son, Sir *Henry Neville*, one of the Northern Leaders, thinking he had been too idle, went forth to Skirmiſh, being attended by a Company of light Horſe; but preſſing on too eagerly, he was taken Priſoner, and ſoon after put to Death in cool Blood; his Youth, Nobility and Valour not being ſufficient to ſave him. This Act of Cruelty highly incens'd the Northern People, who reſolving to revenge his Death, let fly their Arrows with their utmoſt Fury, and ſoon forc'd their Adverſaries to come to a general Battel, which was very ſharp and bloody. The Earl of *Pembroke*, who fought with Diſadvantage, thought it not ſufficient to execute the Part of a Commander, but alſo of a common Soldier; while his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, hurry'd on with a prodigious Impetuoſity, ſo behav'd himſelf, that the true Story of his Valour is not to be exceeded in fabulous Romances; For forcing his Way through the Enemies Troops, with his devouring Sword, he twice paſs'd the Length of their Army, returning to his own Men, if not untouch'd, yet without any mortal Wound: Occaſion'd, as it was believ'd, by his uncommon Worth, which being admir'd by all who ſaw it, by joining Delight with Danger, and Wonder with Delight, reſtrain'd the Hands of all Men from hurting him. The Victory ſeem'd wholly on his Side, 'till *John Clapham*, a Servant to the Earl of *Warwick*, coming in with a few freſh Soldiers, and crying out *A* Warwick, *A* Warwick! ſo much terrify'd the *Welſh*, that believing *Warwick* was arriv'd with all his Forces, they betook themſelves to Flight, leaving a bloody Field, cover'd with five thouſand ſlain upon the Spot.

Diſſentions in the King's Army.

The ninth Battel, at Danes-More *or* Banbury *Field.*

The Lancaſtrians *prevail.*

This Battel, like the reſt of thoſe in theſe miſerable Times, was ſucceeded by ſomething more dreadful and ſhocking than War it ſelf; which was the ſedate Execution of many great and worthy Men. For the Earl of *Pembroke* with Sir *Richard* his Brother, and many other Gentlemen of Note, were taken Priſoners, and without any Tryal at Law, beheaded at *Banbury*. The Earl, who was appointed to ſuffer firſt, pathetically addreſſing himſelf to *Coniers* and *Clapham*, who ſat as Judges, petition'd them in Behalf of his Brother; alledging his Youth and graceful Perſon anſwerable to his martial Mind; that his Valour, even by themſelves admir'd, might one Day be ſerviceable to his Country. But the Death of *Henry Neville* had ſo far exaſperated them, that it occaſion'd not only the Execution of theſe two, but alſo of many others; a deplorable Tragedy repreſented by ſo many worthy Men. Their Cruelties did not ceaſe here; for thoſe of *Northampton* having choſen one *Robert* of *Riddiſdale* for their Commander, and joining certain others with them, they ſurpris'd the Earl of *Rivers*, Father to the Queen, and his Son *John* in his Manſion-Houſe of *Grafton*, brought them to *Northampton*, and without any Proceſs of Law beheaded them: That deformed Body hark'ning to no Arguments but thoſe of Blood and Fury. An envy'd Life and a cruel Death was the Sum of all thoſe Favours which Fortune conferr'd upon this Earl, who eſteem'd himſelf ſo happy in his Marriage with the Duke of *Bedford*'s Widow, and in that of his Daughter's with the preſent King. For as his Aſcent to theſe extraordinary Heights was ever view'd with malignant Eyes, ſo his Deſcent was ruinous and fatal; not any one of his ſeven Sons leaving behind him Iſſue to perpetuate his Name; ſome of them likewiſe coming to violent Ends. A Misfortune either ſeldom hap'ning, or not obſerv'd in meaner Families. As to the Lord *Stafford*, the Cauſe of this Overthrow, he met with a deſerv'd Puniſhment from King *Edward*'s Party; for by diligent Enquiry being found in *Devonſhire*, he loſt his Head at *Bridgewater* without any Proceſs.

Great Severities.

In the mean Time the Victors were retir'd to *Warwick*, where the Earl of that Name was arriv'd with a great Body of armed Men; and underſtanding that King *Edward* was marching towards him, he gave Advice of it to the Duke of *Clarence*, who immediately joyn'd him with a conſiderable Force. They were ready to come to Battel with all Speed, according to the uſual Cuſtom of the *Engliſh*, had not ſome great Perſons, deſirous of Peace and the publick Good, interpos'd to find ſome Way of Accommodation. This Negotiation made King *Edward* ſo careleſs, that confidently truſting to a Peace, he neglected all the Duties of military Diſcipline, and began in his Camp to taſte the Pleaſures of a Court; while *Warwick*, more wary than he, being certify'd by his Spies of the Negligence of the Guards and all the reſt, who behav'd themſelves as if they had no Enemies, ſet upon the King by Night, and without any Reſiſtance took him Priſoner. Thus was King *Edward* betray'd into the Hands of an inſulting Enemy, who in the moſt inſolent Terms upbraided his Priſoner with Ingratitude to his great Merits; and boaſted, *It was now both in his Power and Reſolution to plain that Mountain he had rais'd, and to elevate the Vally of King* Henry'*s Fortunes to the Throne he once poſſeſs'd:* And immediately ſent away the King Priſoner to *Middleham* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*, there to be kept by the Archbiſhop of *York* his Brother. But as through Negligence he fell into this Condition, ſo by good Fortune he freed himſelf from it; making uſe of his wonted Affability, by which he caus'd the Archbiſhop to treat him like a King, not a Priſoner, allowing him not only the Liberty of the Caſtle, but the Freedom to hunt, ſetting but a ſmall Guard upon him, who either could not or would not ſecure him. For *Edward* having ſent to Sir *William Stanley* and Sir *Thomas Burgh*, his faithful Friends, to come with a ſelect Body of Men to reſcue him; they ſucceſsfully perform'd the Service, whilſt he was a hunting, meeting with no Reſiſtance from the Guards, who were either too weak, or elſe, which is moſt probable, were brib'd to this Behaviour. The Earl of *Warwick* hearing of this Eſcape, was at firſt diſtracted with a thouſand Imaginations; but finding no Remedy, made uſe of Neceſſity, and gave it out, *That himſelf had ſo caus'd it, having the Power to make and unmake Kings at his Pleaſure.*

Warwick *takes King* Edward *Priſoner.*

He makes his Eſcape.

King *Edward* immediately repair'd to *York*, where he was receiv'd with great Honour and Satisfaction, which made him reaſonably hope for a further Supply of Men and other Neceſſaries; but failing in that Point, after a ſhort Stay, fearing the Archbiſhop's Purſuit, he with a ſmall Train poſted to *Lancaſter*, where he found the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlain well ſtrengthen'd for his Convoy. His Spirits then reviv'd, and his Train daily increaſing, with ſpeedy Journies he got to *London*; where all his Studies and Conſultations were, how to be reveng'd on theſe diſloyal Lords, his Brother *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick:* And they on the other ſide, enrag'd at the Archbiſhop's Folly and Neglect, ſought Means to encreaſe their Party and Intereſt againſt the King. The miſerable Nation thus torn by theſe unnatural Diviſions, and no Eſtate ſure to enjoy what was their own, the Nobility again began to ſollicit both Parties to an Accommodation. To that End having firſt obtain'd Liberty to ride freely without Moleſtation, and ſo effectually laid open the State of the Land, whoſe Ruin was become ſo imminent by theſe inteſtine Wars, that the Natives languiſh'd, Foreigners rejoyc'd, and God in his Diſpleaſure had made the *Engliſh* in an unnatural Rage turn their Swords into their own Bowels, they at length ſo far prevail'd, that the Duke and Earl upon perfect Confidence came to *London*, accompany'd with ſmall Numbers in reſpect to their great Danger. Here falling into a formal Conference with *Edward* at *Weſtminſter*, he ſeverely tax'd them with Diſloyalty, and they him with Ingratitude; ſo that their Reſentments were nothing appeas'd, but much more exaſperated; upon which with

A Parly between King Edward *and the Earl of* Warwick.

angry Words they departed, the King to *Canterbury*, and they again to *Warwick*.

A. D. 1470. Reg. 10.

The enrag'd Earl of *Warwick* now caus'd new Commotions to be rais'd in *Lincolnſhire*, under the Guidance of Sir *Robert Wells*, an expert Soldier, and Son to the Lord *Wells*, who with thirty thouſand Men in Arms diſturb'd the Country, and in every Place proclaim'd King *Henry*; and at length encamping not far from *Stamford*, he there reſolv'd to wait for the Approach of his Oppoſers. King *Edward* hearing of this Inſurrection, ſent for the Lord *Wells* his Father, and getting him into his Poſſeſſion, commanded him to write to his Son to deſiſt; and then marching towards *Stamford*, he took this Lord in his Company, hoping that the Son would not bear Arms againſt his own Father in the Field. But whatever he wrot, or the King conceiv'd, Sir *Robert* proceeded in his former Deſigns; which ſo inrag'd King *Edward*, that he beheaded the Lord *Wells*, with Sir *Thomas Dymock* who had marry'd his Daughter, tho' he had given them his Promiſe for their Lives and Safeties. An Action barbarous and unfaithful! the Report of which generally clouded the Reputation of King *Edward* and his Army near *Stamford*, where between both Parties was fought a moſt terrible bloody Battel. At length Sir *Robert* was taken Priſoner, with Sir *Thomas Deland* and others, which ſo diſcourag'd the *Lincolnſhire* Men, that throwing off their Coats they all fled; upon which Account it was afterwards call'd, *The Battle of Looſe-Coat Field*, in which were ſlain at leaſt ten thouſand Men. After which Victory King *Edward* proceeding in the uſual Practice of theſe calamitous Times, commanded *Wells* and many others of Note to be put to Death, as the chief Cauſers of theſe dangerous Commotions.

The tenth Battel, at Stamford, *called* Looſe-Coat Field. *The* Yorkiſts *prevail.*

This untimely Conflict and Overthrow drove *Clarence* and *Warwick* to the laſt Extremity, who being unprovided to encounter King *Edward*'s Forces, gave way to Neceſſity, and from *Dartmouth* embark'd themſelves and their Ladies, both to apply themſelves to King *Lewis*, no Friend to *Edward*, and to ſecure themſelves in *Calais*, where *Warwick* was Governor. Theſe caſting Anchor before the Town, and giving Notice that they were ready to land, the Lord *Vauclere*, a *Gaſcoign*, whom *Warwick* had made his Deputy, to their great Surpriſe diſcharg'd ſome Canon againſt them, and let them know that they ſhould not enter there. In the mean Time the Dutcheſs of *Clarence* fell in Labour, and on Shipboard was deliver'd of a Son, which Child *Vauclere* would hardly ſuffer to be baptiz'd in the Town, nor without much Entreaty permit two Flaggons of Wine to be convey'd to the Dutcheſs in the Haven. For which Uſage and Service King *Edward* by his Letters Patents made him chief Governor of *Calais*, and diſcharg'd the Earl as a Rebel and Traitor. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who hated *Warwick* for hindring his Marriage, was alſo ſo well ſatisfy'd with *Vauclere*, that he ſent Thanks to him with a Promiſe of an annual Penſion of a thouſand Crowns, if he would be true and faithful to King *Edward*, as he had already ſhewn himſelf. But tho' *Vauclere* gave both his Word and his Oath to be faithful to King *Edward*, he privately ſent Word to *Warwick* of the Danger he would meet from the Duke of *Burgundy*, and from *Duras* the King's Admiral, ſo that to land there would turn to his final Confuſion. His Advice was therefore that he ſhould haſten into *France*, where the King was his particular Friend, but as for the Town of *Calais* he wiſh'd him to take no Thought, but promis'd to give him a good Account of it, when Time ſhould ſerve. Upon this Advice he ſail'd towards *Dieppe* in *Normandy*, and in his Paſſage took ſeveral Ships belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and gain'd a conſiderable Treaſure towards his preſent Occaſions. Arriving at *Dieppe*, by the Command of King *Lewis* he was receiv'd with great Reſpect, and after that by him met at *Amboiſe*; where cauſing him to be provided with all Neceſſaries, he promis'd him his beſt Aſſiſtance, and caus'd many Ships to be fitted out for him, well furniſh'd with Soldiers and Mariners. And this he did the ſooner, becauſe the Duke of *Burgundy* had threaten'd him, if he aſſiſted *Warwick*, or any other againſt his Wife's Brother King *Edward*. King *Henry*'s Queen *Margaret* came to meet him as ſoon as ſhe heard of his Arrival, and with her the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Oxford*, the laſt of whom had lately eſcap'd out of Priſon in *England*. King *Lewis* to have the ſtronger Obligation, caus'd Queen *Margaret*'s Son Prince *Edward* to marry with *Anne* the Earl of *Warwick*'s ſecond Daughter; ſo that *Warwick* took for his Son-in-Law the Son of him whom he formerly depos'd, that he might now depoſe him who he had plac'd in his Room. Upon this Marriage, *Warwick* and the Duke of *Clarence* took an Oath never to put a Period to the War, 'till King *Henry* or his Son *Edward* ſhould recover his Kingdom; and Queen *Margaret* promis'd to make them two Governors of the Nation, 'till her Son ſhould be of full Age.

Clarence *and* Warwick *leave the Nation.*

They are receiv'd by the French King.

They make new Alliances.

King *Edward* in the midſt of his Pleaſures, hearing of this Confederacy againſt him, began to rouze himſelf, and deal more ſeverely with thoſe of the *Lancaſtrian* Faction; ſo that many of them daily took Sanctuary, or yielded themſelves to his Mercy: Among whom the Marqueſs *Montague*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, was one, who with fair Promiſes was receiv'd into Favour. But while both Parties were making their Preparations, a ſubtle and ingenious Gentlewoman was ſent over to *France*, who under Colour of viſiting the Dutcheſs of *Clarence*, might prevail upon her Husband. Being arriv'd at *Calais*, ſhe impos'd upon *Vauclere* by making him believe that Affairs were near to an Accommodation, and that King *Edward* had ſent her over for that Purpoſe; which caus'd him freely to give her a ſafe Conduct. Having gain'd Acceſs to the Duke of *Clarence*, the Secret to be deliver'd was to counſel him 'Not to cauſe the Deſtruction of his 'own Family, by again ſetting up the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, 'but to remember their ancient Hatred and Diviſion; adding, That he might well aſſure himſelf that the Earl of '*Warwick*, having marry'd his Daughter to the Prince of '*Wales*, and already done Homage to him, would by all 'poſſible Methods ſeek to make him King; not only to the 'Ruin of the King his Brother's Intereſt, but alſo to his own.' This Gentlewoman ſo wiſely executed the Charge committed to her, that ſhe won over the Duke of *Clarence*, who promis'd to revolt to King *Edward*, immediately after his Return into *England*: Which ſhews of what little Efficacy Oaths and Alliances are, when a powerful Intereſt comes in place. She was a Perſon nicely advis'd, and of few Words, and by reaſon of her Sex had leave granted to paſs to her Miſtreſs, when a Man would have been refus'd; and notwithſtanding the profound Cunning of *Vauclere*, ſhe went beyond him, and was the ſole Manager of an Enterprize, which at length ruin'd *Warwick* and his whole Faction.

A Gentlewoman ſent over to the Duke of Clarence,

Who prevails with him to quit Warwick's *Intereſt.*

And now all Things being in Readineſs, as Ships, Men and Mony, ſupply'd by the *French* King, the Admiral of *France* was ſent to ſecure them from the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Fleet, which with great Numbers and Forces lay in the Mouth of the *Seyne*, to fight with *Warwick*, when ever he began to ſet ſail. But here Providence gave a remarkable Turn to King *Edward*'s Affairs, and ſent ſuch a Storm againſt the Duke's Fleet, the Night before the deſign'd Expedition, as deſtroy'd ſeveral of them, and diſpers'd the reſt, ſome into *Scotland*, and ſome into *Denmark*. Shortly after the *Engliſh* ſet Sail with a fair Wind and a calm Sea, and landed at *Dartmouth*, from whence they had been driven into *France* almoſt ſix Months before. King *Edward* relying upon *Burgundy* abroad, and imagining all to be Friends who flatter'd him at home, by Day gave himſelf up to Hunting and Hawking, and at Nights to Dancings and amorous Addreſſes to fair Ladies; little regarding the Approach of them, who deſign'd to deſtroy all his Pleaſures. For *Warwick* being landed, proclaim'd King *Henry*, commanding all from ſixteen to ſixty upon the ſevereſt Penalties to take Arms againſt *Edward* Duke of *York*, the moſt unjuſt Uſurper of King *Henry*'s rightful Crown; and it was almoſt incredible to ſee the Confluence of them who came daily in to him, and who not long before applauded and approv'd of none but King *Edward*. Thus marching towards *London*, his Numbers continually increas'd; which the youthful and vigorous King ſeem'd little to regard; but conceiving he had now *Warwick* in a Snare, wrote to the Duke of *Burgundy* to ſecure the Seas againſt his Retreat, and to the Lords of *England* to attend him in his Wars. But moſt of them neglected his Commands, and very few repair'd to him; which ſoon gave him ſuch a Sight of his Danger, that with his Brother of *Glouceſter*, the Lords *Haſtings* and *Scales*, he ſuddenly retir'd from *London*, and haſten'd towards *Nottingham*, there to determine what Methods to follow.

Warwick *and his Party land at* Dartmouth.

His Progreſs and Succeſs.

King Edward *retires.*

In the mean Time the Baſtard *Fauconbridge* in the Weſt, and the Earl of *Pembroke* in *Wales*, proclaim'd King *Henry*; and at the ſame Time Doctor *Godard* preaching at *Paul's-Croſs*, declar'd by reading of Bills and other Proofs, that King *Henry* was the true and undoubted Heir to the *Engliſh* Crown. Nor was the Marqueſs *Montague* the ſame Perſon he lately ſhew'd himſelf, who having gather'd ſix thouſand Men in the Name of King *Edward*, and brought them near *Nottingham*, ſuddenly drew back his Forces, alledging, *That* Edward *was ungrateful, and regardleſs of his Friends, of whom himſelf was an Example, who having ſerved him in many bloody Battels, was only rewarded with the bare Title of* Marqueſs, *without any Maintenance at all: And therefore he had juſt Cauſe never more to draw his Sword in his Quarrel, and thoſe who did would receive no better Reward than himſelf.* Theſe and the like Allegations being divulg'd among the rude Multitude, it caus'd a further Change in their Inclinations and Affections; in every Street Bonfires were

made,

He leaves England, *and flies to the Duke of* Burgundy.

made, in every Church Bells rung, Pſalms and Songs were ſung at every Meeting, and every Man ſhouted *King* Henry, *King* Henry! whoſe Eccho likewiſe redoubled *A* Warwick, *A* Warwick! And indeed all ſo applauded the preſent Face of Affairs, that King *Edward* finding no Place of Safety, he went with ſome Danger to *Lynn*, where he found two *Holland* Ships and one *Engliſh*; where he imbark'd himſelf with ſeven hundred Men, without the leaſt manner of Baggage or Mony. In his Paſſage he was encounter'd by eight *Eaſterling* Ships, ſo that with great Difficulty he eſcap'd to *Alchemar* in *Holland*, belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy*; where having no Mony to pay for his Waftage, he gave the Captain a rich Veſtment lin'd with Sables, promiſing not to forget his Civility, and to ſatisfie him better afterwards. A ſtrange Change of Fortune happening in a few Hours to ſuch a Prince merely out of Remiſneſs and Careleſsneſs; who loſt a Kingdom without one Blow given, and was conſtrain'd to fly to a Prince, whoſe Preſence alone upbraided him with his Negligence, Luſt and Male-Adminiſtration.

Warwick *comes to* London.

King Henry *deliver'd by him out of Priſon.*

In theſe Times of Miſery, Queen *Elizabeth*, the Original of theſe Alterations, ſeeing herſelf deſtitute and abandon'd, took Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, where with a ſmall Attendance ſhe was deliver'd of a Son nam'd *Edward*; he who a ſhort Space after his Father's Death, was the Fifth King of that Name, who ſympathiz'd in Birth, Fate and Death with his Couſin the Son of the Dutcheſs of *Clarence* born on Ship-board before *Calais*. Many of her beſt Friends likewiſe betook themſelves to ſeveral Sanctuaries, who afterwards prov'd highly ſerviceable at *Edward*'s Return. The *Kentiſh* Men, prone to Inſurrections, finding that one King was fled, and the other in Priſon, came to *London*, and pillag'd the Suburbs, and deſign'd to have enter'd the City, had not the Earl of *Warwick* diverted them, who coming there, puniſh'd the Accomplices of the Inſurrection; which Piece of Juſtice added much to his Reputation and the Peoples Love. This great Earl accompany'd with his Brother the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Prior of St. *John*'s, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Baſtard *Fauconbridge*, the Lord *Stanley*, and other Gentlemen, ſome for Love, ſome for Fear, and ſome to gaze at a changeable World, upon the ſixth Day of *October* enter'd the Tower of *London*, where King *Henry* had been detain'd Priſoner about ſeven Years, and there again nominated him for their lawful King. Immediately they convey'd him roab'd in a long blue Velvet Gown through the City to the Biſhop's Palace, where a pompous Court was kept till the thirteenth of the ſame Month; upon which Day he went in Proceſſion crown'd to the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, the Earl of *Warwick* bearing his Train, and the Earl of *Oxford* his Sword, the People crying out *God ſave King* Henry! forgetting that not long before they had pray'd for *Edward* againſt him. Thus was the Crown plac'd ſometimes upon *Henry*, and ſometimes upon *Edward*, according to the Power of the prevailing Party.

King Henry *recogniz'd, and* Edward *declar'd a Traitor in Parliament.*

In King *Henry*'s Name a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, upon the twenty ſixth Day of *November*; in which *Edward* was declared a Traitor to his Country, and an Uſurper of the Crown, his Eſtate confiſcated, all Statutes made in his Name and by his Authority annull'd, the Crowns of *England* and *France* confirm'd upon *Henry*, and the Heirs Male of his Body, and for want of ſuch, upon the Duke of *Clarence*, and his Heirs Male, who hereafter was to be acknowledg'd the next Heir to his Father *Richard* Duke of *York*; and *Edward*, for his Crimes committed, depriv'd of his Birthright, and all other Advantages attending it. The Earls of *Pembroke* and *Oxford* were reſtor'd to their Blood, Dignities and Eſtates; and the Marqueſs *Montague* was receiv'd into Favour, and his Fault pardon'd, ſince his Revolt from *Edward* was the chief Cauſe of his deſerting the Kingdom. Thoſe who ſided with him were depriv'd of their Honours, Titles and Faculties; and ſuch puniſh'd as in this Conteſt had taken up Arms againſt King *Henry*. Upon which Account *John Tiptoſt* Earl of *Worceſter*, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland* for *Edward*, being found in a Hollow Tree near *Huntington*, was brought to *London* and beheaded on *Tower-Hill.* Finally the Government of the King and Kingdom was committed to the great Earl of *Warwick* and his Son-in-Law the Duke of *Clarence:* So that King *Henry*, who ſcarce ever poſſeſs'd more than the Name of a King, ſeem'd not ſo much to be ſet at Liberty, as to have his Keepers chang'd, and his Priſon enlarg'd.

About this Time *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, going into *Wales* to view his Lands in *Pembrokeſhire*, found there the Lord *Henry*, Son to *Margaret*, the only Daughter and Heir to *John Beaufort* the firſt Duke of *Somerſet*, not then full ten Years of Age, kept in ſome meaſure like a Priſoner, yet honourably educated by the Lady *Herbert*. This remarkable Youth was brought by him to *London*, and preſented to King *Henry*; who after he had ſeriouſly fix'd his Eyes upon him, ſolemnly ſpoke thus to the Lords about him, *Lo, this is the Perſon to whom, after all our violent Struggles, both we and our Adverſaries muſt at laſt ſubmit.* Which afterwards happening, confirm'd the Opinion that was held of his uncommon Sanctity, ſince by the Spirit of Prophecy he foreſaw the Succeſſion of King *Henry* the Seventh, when at that Time many of both Houſes were alive to precede him.

Henry*'s prophetical Words concerning King* Henry *the Seventh.*

A. D. 1470.
Reg. 10.
King Edward*'s Endeavours for his Reſtoration.*

III. While all Things in *England* happily ſucceeded for King *Henry*'s Intereſt, his Rival *Edward* was uſing all poſſible Endeavours to recover his Kingdom by the Aſſiſtance of his Brother the Duke of *Burgundy*. Before his Landing in *Holland* that Duke was inform'd that he was dead, which was no unpleaſing News to him, being biaſs'd by his ancient Inclination to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; and tho' *Warwick*'s Power did much diſturb him, never expecting to gain him, yet he hop'd ſtrongly to oppoſe him, by Means of the two Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, who had been maintain'd by him in Time of rheir Diſtreſs. But hearing of *Edward*'s Arrival in *Holland*, he was at firſt confounded, for to aſſiſt him openly would draw on him the Enmity of King *Henry*; nor could he in Honour deny him Succours, ſince his Wife was the other's own Siſter. However to prevent all Relief, *Warwick*'s firſt Deſigns were to divert the Duke of *Burgundy*, juſtly conceiving that while he was buſied with the Arms of *France* in *Picardy*, and thoſe of *England* near *Calais*, Danger would oblige him to look wholly to his own Affairs, without concerning himſelf with thoſe of other Men. Accordingly he ſent a Body of Men to *Calais*, to make Inroads into the Parts about *Bouloigne*, which were with all dutiful Reſpect receiv'd by *Vauclere*; which freed him from all Suſpicion of being inclin'd to the contrary Party. For as ſoon as the News of *Henry*'s Re-eſtabliſhment arriv'd at *Calais*, every one there took upon him the Earl of *Warwick*'s Enſigns and Impreſs, which was a Ragged Staff made of Gold, Silver, Silk or Cloth, according to the Condition of him that wore it. And *Vauclere* was the firſt who did ſo. Still the Duke of *Burgundy* knew not that *Calais* was at *Warwick*'s Command; but building much upon *Vauclere*'s former Uſage towards *Warwick*, and his accepting a Penſion from himſelf, he ſent the famous Hiſtorian *Philip Comines* to ſee what he had to rely on. Upon his Arrival, he ſoon found his Labour uſeleſs; for all he met wore the Earl's Colours; the Gate of his own Lodgings and Chamber-Door were mark'd with the White-Croſs; and Songs were every where ſung of the ſtrict Amity between King *Lewis* and *Warwick.* This alter'd *Comines*'s Meaſures, and caus'd him to aſſure *Vauclere*, That the Duke of *Burgundy* had made no Perſonal Alliance with *Edward*; ſince the Articles of the Contract only mention'd *England* and the King thereof; that therefore the Amity between *England* and *Burgundy* ſhould ſtill continue the ſame, the Name of *Henry* being put in inſtead of *Edward.* The Duke was not diſpleas'd at this Agreement, tho' it was not altogether to his Deſire; for by this he might ſecretly act as he pleas'd, while he was free from being ſuſpected by King *Henry*'s Party. In the mean Time *Edward* us'd all poſſible Arguments and Perſuaſions to his Brother *Burgundy*, which at firſt were but coldly entertain'd by him; for the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter* had ſhewn him what was owing to his Birth, he himſelf coming from the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and had promis'd what he could deſire againſt *Warwick*, to whom they were both irreconcileable Enemies. *Edward* was not pleas'd to be nouriſh'd with Hopes, while his Brother made him believe that his Diſſembling was neceſſary for them both; for himſelf, becauſe he was not to fight with two Kingdoms at the ſame Time; and for his Brother, becauſe Opportunity might render his Succour more effectual.

The cautious Management of the Duke of Burgundy.

A. D. 1471.
Reg. 11.
He ſecretly aſſiſts King Edward.

At length, *Edward* reſolving not to bear any longer Delays, the Duke caus'd four Ships to be made ready for him at *Vere* in *Holland*, which being a free Port, the Ships might ſeem to be ſet out by *Edward* himſelf; and hir'd fourteen more for him of the *Eaſterlings*, bargaining that they ſhould tranſport him into *England*, and ſerve him fifteen Days after his Landing. He alſo caus'd fifty thouſand Florins to be ſecretly deliver'd to him, and that this Aid might not ſeem to be given by him, he by Proclamation forbad all Men to aſſiſt *Edward*; by which he freed himſelf from giving Suſpicion to *England*, and whatever the Succeſs was, he remain'd Friends to both Sides. And now the Seaſon ſerving, King *Edward* being two thouſand ſtrong, beſides his Mariners, took Shipping for his former Kingdom of *England*, attempting firſt to land in *Norfolk*; but theſe Coaſts being ſtrongly guarded, he hover'd more Northwards, and entring *Humber*, landed at *Ravenſpur* in *Yorkſhire*; the ſame Place where King *Henry* the Fourth landed, when he came to deprive *Richard* the Second of the Crown,

King Edward *lands in* Yorkſhire.

and

His falſe Pretences.

He ſeizes York.

and uſurp it to himſelf. Then imitating the ſame Perſon, but much more his own Father, who upon the like Occaſion thrice forſwore himſelf, he laid aſide all Claim to the Crown, and by Oath declar'd he came only to recover his Inheritance, the Dutchy of *York*. He ſhew'd the rude Multitude, that flock'd in to his Army, the Letters and Seal of the Earl of *Northumberland*, which as he affirm'd, and caus'd them to believe, was ſent for his ſafe Conduct to enjoy the ſame; and in every Place where he came, he proclaim'd King *Henry* himſelf, wearing an *Eſtrich* Feather, his Son Prince *Edward*'s Livery. In the Practice of theſe popular and plauſible Pretenſions he approach'd the City of *York*, which was prepar'd to oppoſe him; but by his inſinuating Behaviour and Affability towards the Magiſtrates, he obtain'd leave to enter upon his ancient Patrimony, upon Condition he ſwore to two Particulars; Firſt that he would treat the Citizens according to his proffer'd Articles, and ſecondly that he would be faithful to all King *Henry*'s Commands. To both which he ſolemnly ſwore; but immediately after broke the Firſt by ſeizing the City into his own Hands, and ſoon after the latter by reaſſuming his former Title to the Crown. In which may be obſerv'd both the Forbearance and Juſtice of Heav'n; the one in not immediately puniſhing him, the other in extending the Puniſhment to his Family; manifeſting, that the deferring of Vengeance is oftentimes the rendring of it more ſignal.

He is proclaimed at Nottingham.

The Duke of Clarence *comes over to him.*

The Earl of *Warwick*, now hearing that *Edward* was landed, before he had march'd many Miles; ſent ſtrict Commands to his Brother the Marqueſs *Montague*, then reſiding at *Pontfract* with an Army ſufficient to ſecure thoſe Parts, that he ſhould not ſuffer his Entrance into *York*; whilſt himſelf was preparing what Forces he could procure to join him. But whether the Marqueſs purpoſely conniv'd, or rather wholly ſhut his Eyes, it is certain he made no haſte to intercept his Paſſage to *York*; nor indeed did he give him any Impediment, when ſhortly after he in a more hoſtile Manner march'd from thence towards *Nottingham*, paſſing quietly near *Pontfract* through the Midſt of his Enemies: Which incourag'd many to favour his Deſigns, juſtly believing that *Montague* was either a real Friend, or afraid to meet with ſuch a powerful Enemy. At *Nottingham*, *Edward* was proclaim'd King, contrary to the Tenure of his firſt Pretenſions, and his Oath at *York*. People flock'd to him every Hour; and thus without Fear he paſs'd on to *Leiceſter*, that he might approach his Enemy who lay then at *Warwick*, under the Command of the Earl of that Name, accompany'd with the Earl of *Oxford*, reſolving either to give him Battel, or elſe to find Means to join with his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*. The Earl was not well ſatisfy'd with the Marqueſs his Brother, who by not oppoſing him had incourag'd and ſtrengthen'd the Enemy: He levy'd Soldiers with all Speed that he might come to Battel, and ſent to the Duke of *Clarence* to haſten his March towards him; but apprehending the Danger of his temporizing, he reſolv'd to fight alone himſelf with thoſe Troops he had, and with this Deſign repair'd to *Coventry*. *Edward*, who ſoon after his Departure from *Warwick* came thither, follow'd him the ſame Way; which much perplex'd the Earl, who was ſure of nothing but Battel, his Safety depending much upon the Will of Fortune, ſince he had reaſon to fear that both his Son-in-Law and Brother were corrupted. Having intrench'd himſelf, he waited the Arrival of the Duke of *Clarence*, who he underſtood was not far diſtant. In the mean Time *Edward* broke up his Camp, as if he deſign'd to give his Brother *Clarence* Battel by himſelf, and drew up in Battalia before him. But as ſoon as they were in Sight of each other, the Duke of *Glouceſter* ran into *Clarence*'s Camp, without ſo much as demanding the uſual ſafe Conduct, and they ſeem'd to treat of what long before they had concluded between themſelves. Peace was immediately publiſh'd, and *Edward* proclaim'd King, and the two Brothers joyfully embrac'd each other, as tho' there had never been any Conteſt between them.

Warwick's *Anger and Reſolution.*

Edward *enters* London, *and again impriſons* Henry.

The Duke of *Clarence* immediately ſent Meſſengers to excuſe his Proceeding to the Earl of *Warwick*, offering him alſo very honourable and advantageous Conditions with the King his Brother, if he would ſubmit, and prevent the Effuſion of ſo much Blood. But *Warwick* had a Spirit too ſtubborn to incline to any Conditions but thoſe of his own propoſing, much leſs from One who had directly betray'd him; therefore with Indignation he rejected all Offers of Courteſie, and ſpoke thus to the Meſſengers, *Go tell your Maſter, I had rather be an Earl, and like my ſelf, than a falſe and perjur'd Duke; and before I falſifie my Oath, like him, I will lay down my Life at my Enemies Feet, which I doubt not but will be dearly purchas'd.* This bold Reſolution caus'd *Edward* to be more wary, and to reſolve firſt to ſecure *Henry*, and gain the City of *London*; whoſe Citizens hearing of his Approach, and the Encreaſe of his Army, and conſidering that *Henry* was unable to oppoſe him, they thought it more ſafe to ſail with the faireſt Wind, therefore ſet open their Gates, and with publick Applauſe cry'd out King *Edward!* Upon which the Duke of *Somerſet* and others, left to attend the innocent King *Henry*, fled from the City; ſo that *Henry* was abandon'd, void of Help, Dexterity, and Reſolution. And *Edward* entring ſix Months after the Loſs of his Kingdom, put *Henry* again into the ſame Priſon, from whence he had been taken by the Earl of *Warwick*, in which, if unmoleſted, he might have been more happy, according to his Inclinations, than at Liberty and Governing among ſo many Viciſſitudes of Fortune, above which his Piety had already ſet him. *Edward* in a publick Oration commended thoſe Citizens who had been loyal to him, but ſo ſeverely threaten'd ſuch Merchants and others as had aſſiſted King *Henry* with Monies, that he made the reſt to tremble. But he who had not his Equal in captivating Mens Minds, after he had held them in a long and dreadful Suſpence, encourag'd them by expreſſing his laſt Words with as much Clemency, as he had done his former with Terror: Which not being procur'd by the Importunity of Officers, or Supplications, but from his own meer Motion, did ſo win the Hearts of thoſe that were diſintereſted, that for the future they did that out of Love, which formerly nothing but Fear could have produc'd. And it is probable that it was his inſinuating Behaviour that gave him ſuch an eaſie Entrance into *London*. Tho' *Comines* alledges three Reaſons, of which the Reader muſt be left to judge: Firſt, the Gentlemen that were in the Sanctuaries, and the young Prince lately born: Secondly, *Edward*'s great Debts in the City, which gain'd him the Merchants good Wiſhes, ſince the Payment of his Debts depended upon his Succeſs: Thirdly, the Love of many of the chief Citizens Wives, who having been familiar with him, drew their Husbands and Friends to favour him.

King Edward *marches againſt the Earl of* Warwick, *&c.*

So ſoon as *Edward* had ſettled his Affairs in *London*, he led forth his Army to oppoſe the Earl of *Warwick*, who having re-united his ſcatter'd Forces, by eaſy Marches was come to St. *Albans*; in hopes that his Reputation among the Inhabitants of *London* would draw over many to his Side, or at leaſt ſo divide them, as to render them of little Advantage to his Enemy. But *Edward*, jealous of their Levity, which he had often found, interpos'd his Army between the City and the Earl of *Warwick*, to cut off all Means of Communication and Intelligence; and that the Preſence of King *Henry* might occaſion no Diſturbance in *London*, he took him into his Camp; by which the poor diſtreſſed King, whatever Side prevail'd, was morally certain of Deſtruction. King *Edward* encamp'd upon *Gladmore* near *Barnet*; his Van was commanded by the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Rear by the Lord *Haſtings*, and the main Battel by himſelf. On the other Side the Earl of *Warwick* with great Reſolution prepar'd his Forces; the Right Wing conſiſting of Horſe, he committed to the Earl of *Oxford*, with whom was join'd the Marqueſs *Montague*; the Left to the Duke of *Exeter*, and the main Battel, compos'd of Bills and Bows, to the Duke of *Somerſet*. He himſelf with invincible Courage gave Directions in every Quarter; and when he had ſurvey'd his whole Army, and lik'd both their Order and Behaviour, he ſent away his Horſe, reſolving to fight on Foot, and try the utmoſt of his Fortune, prefixing in his Thoughts no Medium between Death and Victory. Then he affectionately embrac'd all his great Commanders, in each of whom appear'd a Reſolution equal to the Cauſe; and having by many Proteſtations declar'd their ſincere Faith and Forwardneſs to the preſent Service, every Man betook himſelf to his reſpective Charge.

The Eleventh Battel, at Barnet, *call'd* Barnet-Field;

It was *Eaſter Sunday* in the Morning, a Day remarkable for that it was ſtain'd with ſo much Blood, when both Armies approach'd each other for Battel. That for King *Edward* took Courage from the Juſtice of their Cauſe, and the Fortune of their Prince: That for the Earl, from the mighty Valour of their Commander, and from the Piety of him for whoſe Redemption they now hazarded their Lives. Both fought for their Kings, both Kings having been crown'd and acknowledg'd by ſeveral Parliaments; and indeed the Queſtion was ſo nice and ſubtle, that even among Divines it had continu'd long, and at that Day remain'd not abſolutely decided. No wonder then if the common Soldiers on both Sides had the ſame Aſſurance of Truth, and with equal Juſtice began a Battel which was one of the fierceſt that had ever been fought by enrag'd Men; the Kingdom and Life being the Queſtion on one Side, and Life and the Kingdom on the other. For ſix Hours the Victory continu'd doubtful, tho' it often tended to the Earl of *Warwick*'s Side; till at length Error alone brought Diſorder upon his Army, and that a final Overthrow. For the Earl of *Oxford* giving his Men a Star with Streams for his Device, rais'd a Miſtake in the Army that they were Part of the Enemy whoſe Badge was the Sun, which was occaſion'd by the Miſtineſs of the Weather: Wherefore when they were ſucceſsfully preſſing for-

wards,

The Yorkiſts *prevail.*

Warwick *and his Brother ſlain.*

wards, they were thought to be King *Edward*'s Men flying, which caus'd their own main Battel to attack them fiercely on the Back. Upon which Error *Oxford* ſuſpecting Treaſon in *Warwick*, immediately fled with eight hundred Men; and King *Edward* with certain freſh Troops in Reſerve, ſoon took the Advantage of this Diſorder, and forc'd them all to ſhrink back. *Warwick* us'd all Methods both of Language and Example; but when nothing could prevail, he furiouſly ruſh'd into the thickeſt of his Enemies, hoping either that his Men would bravely follow, or that Death would prevent the Miſery of a Defeat. *Montague* ſeeing to what Danger his Brother was reduc'd, ran violently in to his Reſcue; and both ſoon oppreſs'd with Numbers fell, and with them the Spirit of the whole Army. In their Deaths they both clear'd thoſe Calumnies with which they were blemiſh'd; *Warwick* with having a ſwift Horſe in Readineſs for Flight; and *Montague* with holding Intelligence with King *Edward*. Soon after their Fall, King *Edward* obtain'd a compleat Victory, with the Death of ten thouſand of his Adverſaries, and fifteen hundred of his own Men; among whom were none of Note, beſides Sir *Humphrey Bourcher*, Son to the Lord *Barnes*. The Duke of *Somerſet* and Earl of *Oxford* fled towards *Scotland*; but fearing Danger by the Length of the Way, they repair'd to *Wales* to find out the Earl of *Pembroke*. The Duke of *Exeter*, who was left half ſlain among the dead Bodies, with great Difficulty eſcap'd, and took Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*. The great Slaughter of the common People is attributed to this: That whereas *Edward* in his other Battels was wont to cry out, *Kill the Lords and Commanders, and ſpare the reſt*; he acted contrary at this Time, being highly offended that they more eſteem'd the Earl of *Warwick* than himſelf.

Their Glory extinguiſh'd.

Their Bodies expos'd.

This was the End of the mighty *Warwick*'s worldly Glory, the greateſt and buſieſt Subject of theſe Times, whoſe Ambition was to make and unmake Kings; and it could not be expected that ſuch a ſtormy Life ſhould be concluded by a calmer Death. His Ruin took its Riſe from his Father, who being Couſin-German to *Henry* the Fifth, forſook his Reſpect to Conſanguinity, for that of Affinity with *Richard* Duke of *York*, who marry'd his Siſter *Cicily*, Mother to the preſent King *Edward*. Treading in his Father's Steps, by which he ruin'd innocent King *Henry*, he proceeded like an indiſcreet Builder, ſo delighted to pull down and ſet up, that at length Part of the Frame he had erected himſelf, fell upon him and cruſh'd him to Death. When by the moſt powerful Engines of Policy and Valour, he had rais'd up his Thoughts to the higheſt, by making himſelf King in Authority, and cauſing the Crown to be entail'd upon the two Princes who had marry'd his Daughters, Providence in one Overthrow ruin'd him, and permitted his Sons-in-Law, with their Wives, not long after to be extinguiſh'd by ſtrange Deaths, none anſwering his Hopes but the younger Daughter, and that prepoſterouſly to his Deſign. For ſhe indeed by marrying the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Murderer of her Husband Prince *Edward*, became Queen to an Uſurper; and ſoon after by Poiſon, as it was juſtly believ'd, put a Period to her Glory. His Grand-children by the Duke of *Clarence*, who arriv'd to any Age, dy'd by the Axe upon a Scaffold; and all that Greatneſs he ſo violently labour'd to confirm in his Poſterity, by unnatural Deaths was reduc'd to nothing. His Brother *Montague* was unhappily involv'd in the ſame Ruins; and both were thought ſo conſiderable in the Eye of the Nation, that when King *Edward* return'd triumphantly into *London*, he caus'd their dead Bodies to be expos'd three Days together to all Comers, that every one might be ſatisfy'd in the Reality of their Deaths. After which they were permitted to be convey'd to *Bilſam* Abbey, and interr'd in that Priory among their Anceſtors.

Queen Margaret *lands with her Forces at* Weymouth.

While King *Edward*'s Affairs thus far proſper'd at *London*, the Winds that had ſtopp'd King *Henry*'s Queen *Margaret* at *France* came ſavourably about to fill her Sails for *England*, and indeed to accompliſh the Decree which Heaven had prefix'd. She and her Son Prince *Edward*, with their *French* Followers, being landed at *Weymouth*, were ſoon entertain'd with the melancholy News of the Loſs at *Barnet* Field; which ſo affected the unfortunate Queen, that at firſt ſhe fell into a Swoon, and after a little Recovery withdrew her ſelf to the Abbey of *Ceerne*. Here the chief of her Party reſorted to her, as *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, with the Lord *John* his Brother, *John Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, *John* Lord *Wenlock*, and *John Longſtrother* Prior of St. *John*'s. Theſe with many promiſing Expreſſions comforted the ſorrowful Queen, and offer'd their Aſſiſtance to eſtabliſh her Son *Edward*, tho' it were with the Loſs of their Lives, deſiring her only to undertake the Authority of the War, and they would ſuſtain the Charge and Burden of it, by whoſe Power and Valour they did not doubt but to abate the Pride of *Edward* the Uſurper; who holding himſelf ſecure, began to relapſe into his former Negligence. To theſe Reſolutions the warlike Queen conſented, and us'd all Diligence in her Proceedings; when conſidering what Methods to follow, her Care was moſt fix'd upon the Life and Safety of her Son: And therefore, as well for their Advantage, as for the reſtraining of the *Yorkiſts*, ſhe thought it beſt to ſend him back again into *France*; from whence he might ſupply them with new Forces, or at leaſt over-awe *Edward* from tyrannizing too far. But on the contrary the Lords alledg'd, that Prince *Edward*, being the ſole Hopes of the *Lancaſtrians*, ought to be preſent in the Field; the Sight of whom would add Courage to his own Soldiers, and cauſe many of the contrary Side to come over to him. Which Opinion prevailing, every Perſon departed to make what Preparations he could; and the Queen with her *French* repair'd to *Bath*, where the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Earl of *Devonſhire* were high in Reputation, and by whoſe Authority new Forces daily came in to the Prince's Service.

King Edward *marches againſt them.*

King *Edward* had hardly Time to breath after the Battel at *Barnet*, when he heard Queen *Margaret* was landed, and of the Confluence of People out of *Cornwall*, *Devonſhire*, and the *Weſtern* Parts, which hourly flew to her Aſſiſtance: Wherefore committing King *Henry*, and *George* Archbiſhop of *York* to the *Tower*, with a ſelect Company of Men he march'd out to meet them, deſigning to deſtroy thoſe many Springs before they could have time to join in the Body of a River which might prove dangerous to his Safety. Therefore from *Windſor*, *Abington*, *Chicheſter* and *Malmesbury* he continu'd his Progreſs, ſeeking out and urging his Enemies to Battel. But the Queen and her Forces fearing to continue in *Bath*, remov'd to *Briſtol*, to *Berkley*, to *Gloceſter*, and at laſt to *Tewkesbury*; where the Duke of *Somerſet* encamp'd his Forces, without ſtaying for the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Arrival. Here he haſtily drew up in three Battels, of which himſelf and his Brother *John* Lord *Somerſet* commanded the Firſt, the Middle was led by *Edward* the young Prince, under the Conduct of the Lords *St. John* and *Wenlock*; and the Rear was commanded by *John* Earl of *Devonſhire*, a mortal Enemy to the Houſe of *York*. The Queen finding King *Edward* to approach, and that her Soldiers ought to have the Advantage in Valour to equal their Enemies who had it in Numbers, took the Prince with her, and rode about the Army. In her Looks appear'd nothing but Life and Reſolution, and in her Language almoſt an Aſſurance of Victory; ſo ſubtilly ſhe conceal'd the Wound her Deſpair had given her, and ſuffer'd it only to bleed inwardly.

The Twelfth Battel, at Tewkesbury.

The Yorkiſts *prevail.*

King *Edward* being come within Sight of his Enemies, likewiſe drew up in three Lines of Battel, committing the firſt to his Brother *Richard*, Duke of *Gloceſter*; the ſecond he undertook himſelf, and the Rear was commanded by the Lord *Haſtings*, his Chamberlain. The Armies thus drawn up, and a Signal given, an obſtinate Battel began. The King had planted his Ordnance to great Advantage, which *Gloceſter* employ'd againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Men; and they being lodg'd between Ditches, Buſhes and Hedges, with their Showers of Arrows ſo gaul'd *Gloceſter*'s Line, that he commanded them to give back, as tho' they had fled. Which *Somerſet* perceiving, with too much Raſhneſs he left his beſt Places of Strength to purſue them, and advanc'd as far as King *Edward*'s Quarter; expecting to be follow'd and ſupported by the Lord *Wenlock*, who ſeem'd to have had no ſuch Deſign. *Gloceſter* ſpying the Advantage, made good his Retreat, and with freſh Supplies of Spears ſo charg'd *Somerſet*'s Battalion, that his Men were ſoon put to Flight. He himſelf recovering the middle Line, found the Lord *Wenlock* idle, and without Action, whom he moſt opprobriouſly revil'd with the Name of a Traitor, and with his Battel-Ax clove his Head in Pieces: When immediately the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and after him King *Edward* enter'd the Trenches, and ſoon put an End to the Battel by defeating all the Queen's Party. For there were ſlain on her Side *John* Lord *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Lord *Wenlock*, Sir *John Delves*, Sir *Edward Hampden*, Sir *Robert Wittingham*, and Sir *John Lewkener*, with no leſs than three thouſand Men beſides. This was the twelfth Battel fought between the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, and the ſixth and laſt that was fought in King *Edward*'s Reign; in which, or ſoon after, both the Queen and her Son Prince *Edward* were taken Priſoners. But the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Prior of St. *John*'s, with many Knights and Eſquires took Sanctuary in the Abbey, and other Places in the Town; notwithſtanding which, they were violently taken out and arraigned before the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who that Day ſate Conſtable of *England*, where they were without Mercy, or Regard to Blood, condemn'd to Death, which they immediately ſuffer'd upon a Scaffold erected in the Town. With theſe Lords dy'd twelve worthy Knights, beſides others of inferior Note. By this Violation of the Sanctuary King *Edward* made good the Opinion the World had before conceiv'd of him, 'That Religion could never ſo far prevail

‘ upon his Conſcience, as to be any Bar either to his ‘ Pleaſures or Revenge.’

King Henry's Son brought before King Edward,

and murther'd in his Preſence.

Young Prince *Edward* fell into the Hands of Sir *Richard Crofts*, who intended to have conceal'd him; but King *Edward* having promis'd a Penſion of a hundred Pounds *per Annum* to whoſoever ſhould bring him alive or dead, and Life to the Prince if he was not already dead; *Crofts* believing he would not falſify his Promiſe, preſented him to him. King *Edward* fixing his Eyes upon him, and admiring the Sweetneſs of his Youth and Diſpoſition, demanded of him, *How he durſt come with flying Colours into his Kingdom, and raiſe his People againſt him*? To which he couragionſly anſwer'd, *That he came to recover his Father's Kingdom, his proper and natural Inheritance, deſcended to him by ſeveral Generations.* King *Edward*, highly offended at theſe Words, thruſt him diſdainfully away with his Gantlet, and ſome ſay ſtruck him on the Mouth: Upon which Encouragement the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloceſter*, the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, and the Lord *Haſtings*, ſeiz'd ſuddenly upon the Prince, and with their Poniards moſt barbarouſly murder'd him; contrary to the Laws of God, Nature and Nations; whoſe Blood was afterwards reveng'd upon every one of them in particular. His Body was bury'd without any Solemnity, among other poor and mean Perſons, in the Church of the Monaſtery of the *Black Fryars* in *Tewkesbury*.

The Baſtard Fauconbridge attacks London.

He is repuls'd.

Shortly after this laſt Battel, King *Edward* had Notice that the *Northern* Men were in Arms, and deſign'd to hazard themſelves for the Queen's Liberty; upon which he march'd towards *Coventry* with ſuch a Power, that they were ſoon diſcourag'd, and came thronging in to offer him Subjection. Yet all the *Lancaſtrians* were not ſo determin'd, but rather deſign'd once more to try whether Fortune would favour them. They had one fit Inſtrument to promote the Enterprize, the Baſtard *Fauconbridge*, Son to the Earl of *Kent*, a great Supporter of King *Edward*'s Intereſt. However, this Son, being a Man of a turbulent Spirit, and bold and active, the Earl of *Warwick* had made him his Admiral, to ſecure the narrow Seas againſt King *Edward*'s Power; which Office he executed beyond his Commiſſion, and became a Terror to all Merchants. Having got three hundred Malecontents from *Calais*, he reſolv'd to try his Fortunes at Land; and putting in at *Dover*, great Numbers of looſe Perſons, moſt of them the Dregs of former Rebellions, daily repair'd to him, ſo that his Forces came to be ſeventeen thouſand ſtrong. With theſe he march'd to *London*, and in a hoſtile Manner demanded Admiſſion into the City, and the Releaſement of King *Henry* out of Priſon; but was reſiſted by the Mayor and Citizens on one Side, and the Lieutenant of the *Tower* on the other. Upon which he brought up his Shipping to St. *Catharines*, and leaving in them Men ſufficient to receive the Booty brought, with the reſt he march'd to *Kingſton* Bridge; promiſing his Soldiers by the way to give them the Plundering of *Weſtminſter* for their Dinners, and of the Suburbs of *London* for their Suppers, but *London* it ſelf ſhould be their Breakfaſt the next Morning. But being diſappointed at *Kingſton*, and hearing of King *Edward*'s March towards *London*, he turn'd back to *Southwark*; when to open his Way into *London*, he caus'd the Bridge to be fir'd; and three thouſand of his Men being by his Veſſels ſent over the *Thames*, divided themſelves into two Parties, one attempting to enter at *Aldgate*, and the other at *Biſhopſgate*. Both theſe they ſet on fire, ſo that the City was in three Places both fir'd and aſſaulted at the ſame Time; but by the Care and Valour of ſome Noblemen and Citizens, the bold *Fauconbridge* was at laſt driven to his Ships with the Loſs of ſeven hundred of his Men, and not long after his Forces were diſpers'd, and himſelf beheaded.

King Edward returns to London.

King Henry murder'd in the Tower.

On the twenty firſt Day of *May*, King *Edward* with the chief Lords of *England*, and a Body of thirty thouſand Men came to *London*, where he was triumphantly receiv'd, which he as gratefully requited, giving the Order of Knighthood to the Mayor and ſome others who had bravely repuls'd the late Rebels, commending both their Valour and Loyalty, and promiſing to reward the meaneſt of his good Citizens Loves with ample Satisfaction, as ſoon as the Common-wealth had recover'd its former Quiet. In the mean Time the cruel Duke of *Gloceſter* took an Occaſion to viſit King *Henry* in the Tower, where obſerving his unmov'd Behaviour, either out of Pity of his unbounded Injuries, or of Envy at his unparallel'd Patience, or out of Jealouſie of the Life of one idoliz'd by many thouſands in the Nation, he ſtabb'd him to the Heart with his own Hands, or at leaſt commanded it to be done in his own Preſence. The Body of this murder'd King was with Guards, and ſome ſhow of Funeral Rites, brought into St. *Paul*'s Church, where with the Face uncover'd it was expos'd to the Curioſity of every Eye; for the King reſolv'd rather to endure the Scandal of his Murder, than to hazard the Queſtion of his Life. Here it bled again afreſh, and became a melancholy Spectacle to moſt of the Beholders. From thence it was carry'd to the *Black-Friars* Church, where being laid barefac'd, it bled as before, to the great Amazement of the ſorrowful Spectators; who look'd upon it as a miraculous way of demanding Juſtice from Heaven, when it was not to be had on Earth. At length it was put into a Boat, without Prieſt, Clerk, Torch or Taper, Singing or Saying, and was ferry'd into the Abbey of *Chertſey* in *Surry*, and there without any Pomp interr'd.

The Miſeries of his Queen.

Her Character.

Thus dy'd the juſt and innocent King in near the Fiftieth Year of his Age, who had been proclaim'd in the Cradle, crown'd in his Infancy, and again at more Age in the of City *Paris*; living in all Piety, and loving his Subjects, and reigning thirty eight Years, was in that Time toſs'd with infinite Variety and Mutations: For he was twice impriſon'd and deprived of his Crown, betray'd, ſmitten, and wounded, and in all Things became a memorable Example of Fortune's Inconſtancy. His diſconſolate Wife *Margaret*, who twenty ſix Years before had with the utmoſt Pomp and Magnificence been crown'd Queen of *England*, and had rul'd over all, was now become a poor Priſoner in Want and Diſtreſs, and wore out her Time in Tears and Lamentations: Which being known to Duke *Reyner* her Father, he afterwards offer'd Terms of Ranſom to King *Edward*, which prov'd ſo burthenſome to that Prince, that he was conſtrain'd to pawn or ſell the greateſt Part of his Dominions to purchaſe her Liberty: So that the beſt of her future Condition was only the Return of a miſerable Daughter to an indigent Father. Her Marriage with King *Henry* was both contrary to Policy and Juſtice on his Side; and as ſoon as ſhe found her Husband's Weakneſs, ſhe us'd all Machinations to reduce him to her ſole Command, with the Deſtruction of his moſt faithful Friends; ſo that ſhe was both unfortunate to herſelf, and ruinous to the Kingdom. Her Proſperous Fortune preſents her in her worſt Colours, a factious, buſie and imperious Queen; her Adverſe in the beſt, an induſtrious Woman to recover what her Folly had loſt, an excellent Wife, and indulgent Mother; ſo that had ſhe never acted but when Misfortunes had compell'd her, ſhe had been rank'd among the beſt Examples of her Sex. Her Life was the Diſcourſe of the preſent and ſucceeding Times, becauſe it occaſion'd the Deſtruction of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, then the moſt conſiderable in the Chriſtian World; but her Death was ſo obſcure, that we do not find it in Hiſtory when ſhe left this World.

A D. 1472. Reg. 12.

King Edward's Care for his future Safety.

The Earl of Richmond flies to Bretaign.

The Miſfortunes of great Perſons.

IV. The victorious *Edward* being thus ſucceſsful, and having deſtroy'd the very Root of the *Lancaſtrian* Party, he proceeded to ſettle the Nation, and to lop off all ſuch Branches as might diſturb the Peace of that, or his own Security. And firſt under a Pretence of Treaſon, he ſecur'd the Archbiſhop of *York*, Brother to the late Earl of *Warwick*, and ſeiz'd all his Goods, Lands, and Lordſhips, and got Poſſeſſion of his rich Plate and Jewels, of which one in his Mitre was of ſuch a Value, that the King caus'd it to be ſet in his own Crown. After this he ſent him over to the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, where he continu'd a Priſoner, with leſs courteous Uſage than himſelf had ſhewn to King *Edward* when he was his Priſoner. In which Times of Fear and Danger, *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, with his Nephew young *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, fled into *Bretaign*, where they were honourably receiv'd and entertain'd by the Duke of that Province. Their Eſcape created ſuch a Jealouſie in King *Edward*, that he offer'd large Sums of Money to that Duke, if he would deliver them up to his Power: To which the Duke reply'd, *That he could not in Honour deliver up thoſe diſtreſſed Princes that had implor'd his Protection; but for his ſake, he would take ſuch Care of them, that he ſhould have no Cauſe of Apprehenſions from them:* And to that End he remov'd their own Servants from them, and appointed *Bretaigns* to attend upon them. *John* Earl of *Oxford*, after *Barnet* Field, for a while ſecur'd himſelf in St. *Michael*'s Mount in *Cornwall*, but afterwards yielding himſelf to King *Edward*, had his Life pardon'd: But yet he was ſent over Sea to the Caſtle of *Hammes*, where for the Space of twelve Years, 'till the Death of King *Richard* the Third, he was kept a cloſe Priſoner. His Counteſs, who was Siſter to the late Earl of *Warwick*, was never permitted to come to him, nor had any Thing allow'd for her Subſiſtance, but was compell'd to live upon the Charities of others, and what ſhe could get by her Needle or other Work. But ſtill more deplorable was the Condition of *Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Huntington*, who after he had made ſo mighty a Figure for many Years, was reduc'd to ſuch Wants, as may be an Example to all Men of the Uncertainty of Secular Grandeur. For *Comines* tells us, That he himſelf ſaw the Duke of *Exeter* running bare-leg'd after the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Train, begging his Bread for God's ſake; but he declar'd not his Name, being neareſt of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and Brother-in-Law to King *Edward* himſelf; but afterwards his Quality being known, *Burgundy* gave him a ſmall Penſion to maintain him. Not long after, he was found dead upon the Shore of *Dover*, quite ſtrip'd and naked; but how he came by that Death, no Diſcovery could be made.

A. D. 1473. Reg. 13.

All Things being brought to a reaſonable Quietneſs, and *Edward* reigning without any Competitor or dangerous Diſturber, caus'd a Parliament to be aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, in which he re-eſtabliſh'd thoſe Acts which King *Henry* had abrogated, and annull'd thoſe that were made againſt his Friends and Favourites, at the ſame Time pardoning all former Offences. During this Seſſion the Duke of *Burgundy* ſent his Ambaſſadors to King *Edward*, deſiring his Aſſiſtance againſt the *French* King, which was the more readily heard and granted, as well for the Favours receiv'd of the Duke, in the Time of his Neceſſities, as for his Reſentment againſt *Lewis*, who had furniſh'd *Warwick* to diſpoſſeſs him of his Crown. And indeed this was a Spark that would probably ſet the *Engliſh* Hearts on Fire to recover *France*, which was loſt by *Henry* the laſt King. But Money being wanted for ſo great an Enterprize, the King having expended what had been given him the laſt Year, he proceeded to a new Invention, which was to cauſe a Liſt to be made of the richeſt and ableſt Men of the Kingdom; who being ſummon'd before him, he by his inſinuating Arts of Perſuaſion ſo far prevail'd upon them, as they all willingly ſuffer'd themſelves to be aſſeſs'd, ſome to gratifie him, ſome for Example, and ſome for Fear. By this means he rais'd vaſt Sums of Money, which he call'd by the new Name of *Benevolence*; in the raiſing of which, we are told of a rich old Widow, who being by the King courteouſly demanded what ſhe would contribute upon ſuch an urgent Occaſion, ſhe anſwer'd, *For your Majeſty's Royal and Amiable Countenance I will contribute twenty Pounds Sterling.* This Anſwer and Gift ſo pleas'd the King, that he teſtify'd his Gratitude by giving her a hearty Kiſs; which ſo tranſported the Gentlewoman, that ſhe immediately doubled her Sum, and added twenty Pounds more. By which ſlight Paſſage, a Judgment is eaſie to be made of the King's Temper; either of it ſelf full of Humanity, or without Difficulty bending to the loweſt Courteſie, when it any ways concern'd the Advancement of his Profit.

The Duke of Burgundy *deſires Aid of King* Edward.

An Invention to raiſe Mony.

A. D. 1474. Reg. 14.

The King embarks for France *with a mighty Army.*

All Things being a Readineſs, King *Edward* repair'd to *Dover*, and there embark'd himſelf for *Calais* with an Army more formidable than any that hitherto had invaded *France*: For he had almoſt all the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, Fifteen hundred Men at Arms compleatly accouter'd, fifteen thouſand Archers on Horſeback, beſides a great Number of Footmen, Pioneers and others; which was the more ſurpriſing and remarkable, becauſe ſo much Blood and Money had been ſpent in the late Civil Wars. This Army was about twenty Days in paſſing between *Dover* and *Calais*; but before their Landing, King *Edward* ſent a Letter of Defiance to the *French* King, in which he demanded no leſs than the whole Realm of *France*, threatning if he refus'd, to invade his Dominions with Fire and Sword. King *Lewis* receiving the Letter, which *Comines* ſays was excellently well penn'd, he privately conferr'd with the Herald that brought it, and in Subſtance return'd this Anſwer: *It is far better and wiſer for the new King your Maſter to truſt us an old Adverſary, than to rely upon two ſuch new Deceivers as the Duke of* Burgundy *and the Earl of St.* Paul *will prove, if he complies with them. And ſo commend me to your Maſter.* Which the Herald promiſing to do, he was graciouſly diſmiſs'd with an honourable Reward of three hundred Crowns, and thirty Ells of Crimſon Velvet, with a Promiſe of greater Acknowledgments, if a Peace was concluded; as alſo with a Preſent of a ſtately Horſe, a wild Boar and a Wolf for King *Edward.*

He defies the French *King.*

His Anſwer.

The Duke of Burgundy *fails King* Edward.

And now to make good the *French* King's Allegation to the Herald, the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had promis'd upon the Word of a Prince to bring to *Calais* two thouſand Lances, and four thouſand Light-Horſe, fail'd to come. Upon which the Lord *Scales* was ſent by King *Edward* to the Duke to remind him of his Agreement, and to haſten his Arrival with his promis'd Forces. But his Journey was to no great Effect, only occaſioning the Duke with a ſmall Troop of Horſe to come to the King, formally to excuſe himſelf for his Backwardneſs; alledging this Reaſon, that having been employ'd in the Siege of *Nuz*, he could not leave the Place without infinite Diſgrace, if either Compoſition or Submiſſion were enforc'd; for that Reaſon he was compell'd too much to treſpaſs upon his Patience by the Obſtinacy of the Beſieg'd; but promis'd to ſupply all Defects, both with his Preſence and Power, and that with all Speed. The Earl of St. *Paul* likewiſe by his Letter perſuaded King *Edward* to proceed in the Enterprize, and not to doubt of any Accommodations both from the Duke and himſelf. Upon this Aſſurance and Encouragement King *Edward* advanc'd forwards, but in his Paſſage found no Performance of Promiſes, either from the one or the other; for the Duke did not accommodate his Soldiers at *Peronne* with Victuals or Lodging, as was requiſite and expected; and the Earl inſtead of ſurrendring up St. *Quintin's* according to Agreement, ſally'd out upon ſuch as were ſent from King *Edward* to take Poſſeſſion, and play'd upon them with the Cannon of the Town. This caus'd King *Edward* to ſuſpect the Truth of the *French* King's Character of the Duke and Earl; and from thenceforward ſtood upon his own Guard, giving no further Credit to their Proteſtations: Which being reſented by the Duke of *Burgundy*, he pretended extraordinary Occaſions, and promiſing a ſpeedy Return with his Forces, he took his Leave and departed, which did not a little increaſe the King of *England's* Suſpicions.

He ſuſpects him and his Friend.

The *French* King having Intelligence of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Departure, and foreſeeing the Danger if they ſhould unite their Powers, he reſolv'd with himſelf to make a Tryal to mediate a Peace in the Duke's Abſence; and yet to treat in ſuch a Manner, that if it took not Effect, he might diſclaim the Knowledge of the Overture. Whereupon he privately diſpatch'd a Meſſenger, in Appearance a Herald, but in Reality a Perſon of no Office or Eſtimation, and not known to any of the King's Houſhold, but to *Villiers* the Maſter of the Horſe, who only was acquainted with the Project and Party. This counterfeit Purſivant at Arms, cloath'd with a Trumpet's Banner-roll, addreſs'd himſelf to the King of *England*, and upon Admiſſion into his Preſence, 'he firſt ſhew'd the great Deſire the King his Maſter had for Peace, whoſe Amity for *England* he had ever eſteem'd; excuſing his Reception of the Earl of *Warwick* with the Neceſſity of the Times, whom he aſſiſted not againſt King *Edward*, but the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had drawn the *Engliſh* to theſe exceſſive Charges only to repair his own broken Fortunes, and to make a good Compoſition for himſelf. Laſtly, He deſir'd that the King of *England* would grant a ſafe Conduct to the Ambaſſadors of the *French* King his Maſter, who ſhould fully inform his Majeſty, and give his ſafe Conduct for a further Conference in theſe Affairs.' This Meſſage being deliver'd in a ſubmiſſive Tone, expreſſing much Humility, and ever yielding to the King's Greatneſs of Spirit, and the Nation's Glory, together with a Promiſe of ſuch Conditions as ſhould be honourable and profitable, begot a favourable Audience. And many of the great Lords, who had plentiful Revenues at Home, were as ready as the King to hearken to Peace, and forſake unneceſſary Dangers Abroad. Nor did the greateſt Stateſmen diſlike a Treaty, conſidering that almoſt all the *Engliſh* Wars in *France* had rather purchas'd Fame than Treaſure to the Kingdom; and when the Soldiers return'd Home, their Scars were uſually greater than their Spoils. Upon theſe Conſiderations King *Edward* granted a ſafe Conduct, and ſent with this Meſſenger an *Engliſh* Herald, to receive the like and other Aſſignments from the *French* King.

The French *King ſends a Meſſenger to* Edward.

who yields to an Accommodation.

But when the Duke of *Burgundy* underſtood that a Peace was Negotiating between the two Kings, he in Haſte poſted to the *Engliſh* Camp, attended only by ſixteen Horſemen. The Diſtraction of his Look and Geſtures expreſs'd the Wildneſs of his Thoughts; ſo that the whole Army diſcover'd his Diſcontent before he declar'd it. At his firſt Appearance before King *Edward*, he broke into a moſt paſſionate fierce Language, 'upbraiding him with inglorious Sloth, and the indefatigable Courage of the former Kings of *England*, upon whoſe Attempts ever attended the nobleſt Victories. He made a ſcornful Repetition of the Mirth his Enemies would make at his Return, as if he had come over with ſuch a numerous Army, Merchant-like to Traffick for a little Money; and the deſpicable Appearance of his People, when they ſaw the mighty Conqueſts their Contributions had procur'd.' King *Edward* charg'd him with Neglect and other Miſcarriages, and the Earl of St. *Paul* with ſomething worſe; and when he intimated that he and the Duke would ſtill be included in the Peace, *Burgundy* diſdainfully rejected it; 'proteſting the Love he bore to the *Engliſh* Name, not Care of his own Safety, had inclin'd him to this Enterprize.' And to ſhew how little Dependency his Fortune had on any other, and how without any Mediation he was able to make his own Peace, he vow'd to conclude none with *France*, 'till the *Engliſh* Forces had been Three Months retir'd. After he had thrown out theſe diſorder'd Speeches, in much Diſcontent he left King *Edward*; who not a little admir'd to hear himſelf ſo diſdainfully treated, having rarely been

The Duke of Burgundy's *Reſentments.*

But to no Effect.

been accuſtomed to any Language, but what was ſoften'd and poliſh'd by Compliment and Flattery.

A Peace concluded.

The Peace being reſolv'd between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, the Place appointed for Conference was near *Amiens*; and the Parties aſſign'd from the *French*, were the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, Admiral of *France*, the Lord St. *Pierre*, and the Biſhop of *Eureux*. For the *Engliſh*, were the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Thomas St. Leger*, and Dr. *Morton*, Lord Chancellor of *England*. All theſe meeting, they ſoon concluded a Peace, the Subſtance of which Articles were as following: 'That the *French* King ſhould 'immediately pay to the King of *England* ſeventy five 'thouſand Crowns of the Sun; and annually fifty thou'ſand Crowns at *London*, during King *Edward*'s Life. 'That *Charles* the *Dauphine* ſhould marry the Lady *Eliza*'*beth*, eldeſt Daughter to King *Edward*, and they two to 'have for their Maintenance the whole Dukedom of *Gaſ*'*cony*, or elſe fifty thouſand Crowns yearly to be paid in 'the *Tower* of *London* for the Space of nine Years; and 'at the End of that Term, the *Dauphine* and his Lady was 'to have *Gaſcony*, of the Charge of which the *French* 'King was be acquitted. That the Lord *Howard*, and 'Sir *John Cheney* Maſter of the Horſe, ſhould remain in 'Hoſtage, till the *Engliſh* Army had quitted *France*, and 'a general Peace for nine Years concluded; in which the 'Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretaign* were alſo to be in'cluded, if they thought fit.' This was ſo acceptable to the *French* King, that he gave great Preſents of Plate, Money and Jewels to the *Engliſh*; and beſides he made moſt magnificent Entertainments for all of that Nation at the City of *Amiens*, of which *Comines* gives us a very particular Account. The Duke of *Glouceſter* ſolely oppos'd this Agreement, as not honourable, or rather not ſuiting with his Deſigns; however it met with no great Delay: And to compleat all, it was agreed that the two Kings ſhould have a Perſonal Interview at *Picquigny*, a Town three Miles from *Amiens*, ſeated in a Bottom, upon the River *Somme*. Over this River a ſtrong Bridge was purpoſely built, and in the midſt of it a Grate made with Croſs Bars, no wider than was ſufficient for Men to thruſt in their Arms, cover'd with Boards above to avoid the Rain, and the Bridge ſo broad, that twelve might ſtand in a Rank on both Sides.

An Interview between the Kings of England *and* France.

The Day approach'd, and the two Kings repair'd to the Place in great Splendor: He of *France* came firſt to the Grate, accompany'd with twelve Perſons, according to appointment; of whom *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, the Cardinal his Brother, and *Comines* Lord of *Argenton*, were the principal. King *Edward* enter'd the Bridge on the other End, with his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlain, and the Lord Chancellor with eight more; being himſelf gloriouſly adorn'd with Cloth of Gold, and wearing a black Velvet Cap richly beſet with Diamonds. *Comines* ſays that his very Preſence ſpoke him a King; and that both gracefully approaching the Grate, with a reverend Bow and Bending of the Knee, the two Monarchs embrac'd through the Partition with mutual Courteſy. *Lewis* firſt broke Silence, and declar'd, *That he never coveted any Sight ſo much as This; and that he bleſs'd God who had brought them together to ſo glorious an End.* After this the Biſhop of *Ely*, who was Chancellor of *England*, made an Eloquent and Learned Oration; and then read the Articles of Peace, and demanded of the two Kings whether they were done with their full Conſents. Which being acknowledg'd, each of them laying one Hand upon the Miſſal, and the other upon the Holy Croſs, took their ſolemn Oaths to obſerve the ſame. And then falling into a more familiar Converſation, *Lewis* with a pleaſanter Air told King *Edward*, *That he would one Day invite him to* Paris *to viſit and court the fair Ladies of that City; and if he ſhould chance to make any falſe Steps with them, he would aſſign the Cardinal of* Bourbon *for his Confeſſor*; by which he at once handſomely touch'd upon the Infirmities of both Perſons. After ſome Compliments, and more private Diſcourſes, both Kings parted with great Satisfaction; only *Lewis* began to be under ſome Fears that *Edward*'s Curioſity might carry him to *Paris*, the Delicacies and Beauties of which City had invited too many *Engliſh* Princes before.

The Artifices of the French *King.*

Many of King *Edward*'s Servants were diſpleas'd with this Agreement, believing he had not conſulted his own Honour; particularly one of them nam'd *Lewis de Bretailles*, who being with *Comines*, and demanded by him in how many Battels *Edward* had been preſent; he anſwer'd, *In nine, and was Victorious in all, but in this you have made him loſe, for his Return into* England *without Fighting or Danger, will redound more to his Diſhonour, than all his Victories have done to his Honour.* *Lewis* being inform'd of this Anſwer, ſwore according to his Cuſtom, *That this Man's Mouth muſt of Neceſſity be bridled*; and immediately caus'd him to ſent for to dine with him, making great Offers to draw him to his Service; which being refus'd, he gave him a thouſand Crowns, with particular Promiſes to him and his Relations, if he would cultivate the Amity between *England* and *France*. Such Artifices was *Lewis* oblig'd to uſe; and there were few *Engliſh* Lords, great in the Opinion of the State, but ſhar'd proportionably of his Bounty; even the ſcrupulous Duke of *Glouceſter* return'd not home without a large Preſent both of Plate and Horſes. The Affection of the Lords was generally bought up, according to the ordinary Courſe in Markets; as they were worth more in King *Edward*'s Eſtimation, ſo was their Price rais'd. The principal Men of Name who were in Penſion, were the Lord *Haſtings*, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheney*, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, and Sir *Thomas Montgomery*. Among theſe, beſides the preſent Gift, he annually diſtributed ſixteen thouſand Crowns, and exacted from every Man an Acquittance; which none refus'd to give but the Lord *Haſtings*, who declar'd, *His Hand ſhould not be ſeen among the King's Accounts at* Paris; but ſtill receiv'd the Penſion, which without that Formality was continu'd. At what Rate King *Lewis* valu'd his Amity with *England*, is eaſily to be judg'd by his profuſe Liberality; but how lawful it was in the Receivers, we will not ſtrictly determine. For though in this King's Reign, as likewiſe in that of *Henry* the Seventh, many of the great Counſellors were in Penſion to *Lewis*, and his Son *Charles*, yet it is hard to judge how it could agree with their Dignity; it being beneath a noble Mind to owe any Revenues to a Prince, whoſe Safety muſt never be in the firſt Place of their Care.

King Edward returns into England.

King *Edward* having receiv'd the Money agreed by Articles, and given his Hoſtages, march'd to *Calais*, in order to paſs over into *England*. It ſeem'd very ſtrange to many, that after he had enter'd *France* with the nobleſt Army that any King of *England* had before, ſo ſmall a Sum ſhould cauſe him to return. Writers have had different Apprehenſions as to this Matter; but after all, conſidering King *Edward*'s former Condition and Circumſtances, it was thought Wiſdom in him, after he had been fail'd by the Duke of *Burgundy*, deluded by the Earl of St. *Paul*, allur'd by *Lewis* with Monies, Penſions, and chiefly with the Promiſe of ſo honourable and advantagious a Match, to withdraw himſelf; avoiding thereby ſuch Snares into which the Contingencies and Guilt of War might throw him, as well at Home as Abroad. And ſuch the Generality of his Friends accounted it; and when he return'd to *London*, he was receiv'd with the Acclamations and Triumphs of a Conqueror.

A. D. 1475. Reg. 15.

V. The Remainder of this Reign, which continu'd about ſeven Years longer, was without any extraordinary Actions, and for the moſt part calm and undiſturb'd. The King enjoy'd his Dominions without any Moleſtation from Foreign Enemies, by means of the late Treaty with *France*: *Burgundy*'s Enmity did no ways trouble him, which was ſoon diverted another Way, to the Loſs of that Prince's Life: *Scotland* was in a ſafe Condition, by reaſon of the Truce, the Quality of her preſent Government, and the want of Encouragement from *France*: And at Home he found himſelf freed from all dangerous Oppoſers, who were come to their Ends either from the Sword in the Field, or the Axe on the Scaffold; of neither of which he was ſparing. The Life of young *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, now in *Bretaign*, was what alone could give him real Trouble: He could not poſſibly live at Eaſe, and attend ſuch Pleaſures to which he was naturally addicted, ſo long as this Worm did gnaw upon his Heart; that Earl being the only Relict of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, who might probably deprive him of his Quiet and Kingdom, if he was not remov'd out of the World. In order to this he ſent Doctor *Stillington*, and others, Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Bretaign*, with large Sums and fair Promiſes, That he deſign'd to marry his eldeſt Daughter *Elizabeth* to the Earl of *Richmond*, by which all unhappy Cauſes of Diſſentions might be entirely extinguiſh'd. The Ambaſſadors ſo far prevail'd upon the Duke, that he deliver'd the Earl to them, who conducted him to St. *Malo*'s; where while they ſtaid for a fair Wind, the young Earl, by the ſubtle Contrivances of *Peter Landoes*, the Duke's Treaſurer, who had not been well gratify'd by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, made his Eſcape, and fled to a Sanctuary; from whence neither Intreaties nor Promiſes could allure him. Nevertheleſs upon *Landoes*'s Promiſe that he ſhould be ſafely kept and confin'd to that Place the Ambaſſadors return'd Home, and acquainted King *Edward* with the Duke of *Bretaign*'s Courteſy in delivering him, and their own Negligence in ſuffering him to eſcape; affording no other Satisfaction than *Landoes*'s Promiſes. King *Edward* diſſembled his Concern, and the better to ſecure his Family, he created his eldeſt Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *&c.* and his ſecond Son Duke of *York*; giving the Order of Knighthood to the Son and Heir of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and many others. He alſo created twenty four

The King fears the Earl of Richmond

but to no purpoſe.

Knights of the *Bath*, of whom *Brian*, Chief-Juſtice, and *Littleton*, a Judge of the *Common-Pleas*, were two.

A. D. 1476. Reg. 16.

His way of living in Time of Peace.

King *Edward* being now in a great Meaſure free from all Apprehenſions of Danger, the better to give Luſtre to that Peace he had ſettled, began to addict himſelf to a profuſe Hoſpitality; a way of Greatneſs in which the Monarchs of *England* have in all Ages exceeded the other Princes of *Europe*. And upon all ſolemn Times, when Ceſſation from Labour licens'd the Vulgar to admire the glorious Outſide of a State, he ſhew'd a particular Grandeur to the Eye, by preſenting as well Martial Exerciſes in Juſts, Fiſtings, Tournaments, and the like, as the ſofter Entertainments of Wit and Ingenuity. Never any Prince was more familiar with his Subjects than King *Edward*; for now all Things ſucceeding without Interruption, he ſet his Heart upon Pleaſures, which had hitherto been afflicted with continual Troubles; and frequently laying aſide the State of a Prince, he often would freely converſe with the inferior Part of his People. At *Windſor* he ſent for the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, with others, upon no other Occaſion than to Hunt in his Company; and himſelf to eat, drink, and be merry with them. As alſo another Time he did the like at *Waltham*, where he gave them a moſt friendly and familiar Entertainment, and ſent to their Wives two Harts, ſix Bucks, and a Tun of Wine; which gain'd a nearer Affection than many greater Favours. He was wont often to court and converſe with beautiful Women, which Fault by King *Lewis* was noted and prevented as to the *French* Ladies; but in *England* he ſeem'd to take his full Scope of Liberty: For beſides the Lady *Lucy*, formerly mention'd, and ſome others, by whom he had Iſſue, he kept three Concubines; who, according to his own Words, all excell'd in very different Qualifications; *One the merrieſt, another the wiſeſt, and the third the holieſt Harlot in the Kingdom, as one whom no Man could get out of the Church, unleſs it were to his Bed.* The merrieſt was *Jane Shore*, Wife to a Citizen of *London*, in whom he took extraordinary Pleaſure; the other two were greater Perſons, but in their Humility were content to be nameleſs, and to forbear the Praiſe of thoſe Properties.

His Concubines.

A. D. 1477. Reg. 17.

Deſigns againſt the Duke of Clarence.

In theſe Times of Eaſe and Pleaſure, *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* began to ſhew his Ambition and Malice, which he chiefly levell'd againſt his own Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, a Prince of greater Spirit than did become a Brother and a Subject. As his Ruin was long deſign'd, ſo there were three Things that concurr'd to the bringing it about; the King's Suſpicion, the Queen's Hatred, and his own Miſmanagement; which latter would not have effected it without the other two. His former Rebellion and Alliance with the Earl of *Warwick*, were Faults long forgiven; yet ſtill there remain'd a Fear that theſe old Inclinations, laid aſide for a preſent Advantage, might be reaſſum'd; eſpecially when he had the Pretence of an Agreement in Parliament, that he ſhould ſucceed to the Crown, upon the Failure of King *Henry*'s Heirs. This Conſideration wounded the Queen to the Soul; ſhe thought that if her Husband dy'd firſt, her Children would never ſucceed their Father; and ſhe was confirm'd in this Opinion by the Rumour of a Prophecy, That *G* ſhould be the firſt Letter of his Name that ſucceeded King *Edward*; and this Duke's Name being *George*, it was thought he ſhould be the Murderer of *Edward*'s Sons, which *Gloceſter* afterwards really was. To theſe, other Reaſons were added, which render'd the former more ſuſpicious; his attempting to marry *Mary*, only Daughter to the late Duke of *Burgundy*; in which the Queen oppos'd him, endeavouring to have marry'd her to her Brother, the Earl of *Rivers*; ſo that their Diſguſts and the King's Jealouſies were continually augmented. But the Imputations which gave ſome Colour to the Juſtification of his Condemnation, were, That he caus'd a Report to be rais'd among the People, that *Thomas Burdet* was unjuſtly put to Death, who had lately been executed only for wiſhing in a Paſſion *that the Horns of a Deer had been in the King's Belly*: That the King us'd Necromancy and Poiſon, to bring ſuch as he hated to their Ends; That *Edward* was illegitimate, and not begotten by the Duke of *York*; That he had procur'd many to ſwear to him and his Heirs, without reſerving due Obedience to his Brother; and that he had pretended to the Crown by Virtue of the Contract made with *Henry* the Sixth.

Accuſations againſt him.

A. D. 1478. Reg. 18.

He is drowned in a Butt of Malmeſey.

Theſe ſeveral Accuſations were brought publickly upon the Stage, and into open Parliament, where he was found guilty, and ſent cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower* of *London*. Here upon the eleventh of *March* he was ſecretly put to Death; the manner, as it is generally receiv'd, was by thruſting his Head into a Butt of *Malmeſey* Wine, by which he was ſuffocated. His Body was firſt expos'd, and then bury'd at *Tewkesbury* in *Gloceſterſhire*, by that of his Dutcheſs *Iſabel*, Counteſs of *Warwick*, who being with Child, dy'd of Poyſon not long before. The Death of this Prince, which may modeſtly be accounted the Vengeance of Heav'n, every where begot an extraordinary Cenſure; the unnatural Severity taking away all Excuſe from thoſe who moſt favour'd the King. It was generally condemn'd, both in regard of the Manner, it being prodigious to be drown'd without Water upon dry Land; and of the Quality of the Perſon, he being the firſt Brother to any King of *England* that ever was attainted. King *Edward*, who had conſented to it, was afterwards ſo afflicted with the Remembrance of it, that when any ſu'd for the Life of a condemn'd Man, he uſually cry'd out, *Oh unfortunate Brother, who had no Man to intercede for him!* This Prince left Iſſue behind him, *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Margaret*, afterwards Counteſs of *Salisbury*, both Infants, and Followers of their Father's Misfortunes; He a continual Priſoner, at twenty four Years of Age beheaded under *Henry* the Seventh; and She, at ſixty two, loſt hers in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, which put a full Period to the famous Name of the *Plantagenets*. The ſame Year in which the Duke of *Clarence* was murder'd, the Nation was puniſh'd with ſuch a raging Peſtilence, that the Sword in fifteen Years before devour'd not ſo many as this did in four Months.

The Misfortunes of his Family.

A. D. 1479. Reg. 19.

King Edward*'s Severities.*

After the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, King *Edward* ſoon began to give another Face to his Temper and Diſpoſition; and from being affable and liberal, he became auſtere and covetous, to the great Wonder and Diſſatisfaction of his People. For whereas the Laws of *England* granted many Things in Favour of their Kings, which the Kings themſelves ſeldom put in Execution, as being too full of Rigor; he by virtue of thoſe Laws took ſuch Penalties as they who were rich incurr'd for want of punctual Obſervance of them; and making no Difference in reſpect of Blood, Quality or Title, he made all ſorts of Men apprehend that he would become formidable to the whole Nation: For having abated the Courage of other Men by his Brother's Death, there were now none that dar'd to contradict him. But the greedy heaping up of Money was ſo much the more monſtrous to him, becauſe it was contrary to his natural Temper; ſo that ſuch a Change ſeem'd to foreſhew approaching Death.

A. D. 1480. Reg. 20.

His miſtakes

In theſe Times Ambaſſadors were frequently ſent from *England* to *France*, and from *France* to *England*; the Former, that according to their Obligation, the *French* might ſend for the contracted Lady *Elizabeth* Daughter to King *Edward*; and the Latter to excuſe their Delays, charging it upon the Wars of *Burgundy* and the *Low-Countries*, in which all the chief Men in the Kingdom being employ'd, ſhe could not be ſent for in a Manner becoming the Dignity and Greatneſs of both the Crowns. So as he who earneſtly deſires a Thing, is by nothing more eaſily deceiv'd than by the Confirmation of new Promiſes; *Edward* was eaſie to believe, and *Lewis* made Advantage of his Falſhood, and brought about his Purpoſes of marrying his Son another Way; which if he had carry'd more openly, he could not have effected them. And King *Edward* being grown groſs in Body and more unactive in Mind, ſeem'd to reſt ſatisfy'd with the Fame of his former Victories, and the preſent Enjoyment of his annual Tribute from *France*, which was duly paid into his Exchequer. So that they are not much miſtaken who ſay *that the* Engliſh *have generally won more Honour by Fighting than by Treaties.*

A. D. 1481. Reg. 21.

A Treaty with Scotland.

In theſe Times of Peace, *James* the Third of that Name, King of *Scotland*, ſent his Ambaſſadors into *England*, to move and treat of a Marriage between the Lady *Cicely*, King *Edward*'s ſecond Daughter, and his eldeſt Son *James* Prince of *Scotland*. King *Edward* and his Council thinking this Affinity might be both honourable and profitable for *England*, did not only readily grant his Suit, but alſo furniſh'd him with certain Sums of Money, that the Marriage ſhould not hereafter be interrupted; upon this Condition, that if the intended Marriage ſhould by any Accident be broken off, either on the *Scots* or *Engliſh* Side, that the Provoſt and Merchants of *Edinburgh* ſhould be bound for the Repayment of the Money. All Hiſtories repreſent King *James* as a Man much addicted to his own Will, and to deſpiſe the good Advice of his ancient Nobility, and his grave and faithful Counſellors; and that none might reprehend his Actions, he entertain'd and preferr'd Men of mean Birth and worſe Conditions; by whoſe evil Counſel he ſo afflicted his Nobility with Exactions and Impriſonments, and ſome with Death, that divers of them choſe a voluntary Exile and liv'd in foreign Countries. Others he himſelf baniſh'd, particularly his ſecond Brother *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, who was entertain'd by King *Edward*; and moreover caus'd the Veins of *John* his third Brother to be open'd, ſo that he bled to Death. Beſides this his Carriage towards his Brothers, Friends and Nobility, by the Inſtigation of the *French* King, who repin'd at this laſt League and Alliance, he neglected his Promiſe and Affinity made with King *Edward*, and caus'd an Army to be rais'd in order to invade the Kingdom of *England*. And relying upon his own Valour and the Aſſiſtance of *France*, he ſent a peremptory Meſſage to King *Edward*, That he ſhould

not

The King of Scots breaks with King Edward.

not dare to aid his Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* againſt King *Lewis*, who was the *Scots* Ally; and alſo with Threats of War he commanded him to deliver to his Ambaſſadors the Duke of *Albany*, then reſiding in the *Engliſh* Court; and laſtly to make full Satisfaction for all Damages done upon the *Scots* Borders.

A. D. 1482. Reg. 22.

A War commences.

King *Edward* not a little inrag'd at theſe falſe and diſhonourable Dealings, even in the Winter Seaſon muſter'd his Men, prepar'd his Artillery, and fitted out his Navy, that nothing might be wanting in the following Spring: Which was no ſooner advanc'd, but he appointed for his Lieutenant his Brother *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who with the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords *Stanley*, *Lovell*, *Greiſtock* and others, with the Duke of *Albany* himſelf, march'd into the North with an Army of above twenty thouſand ſtrong. And firſt *Gloceſter* beſieg'd the important Town of *Berwick*, and then marching forwards with great Terror and Devaſtations, he enter'd the chief City of *Edinburgh*, urging King *James* to perform his Covenants concerning the Marriage between Prince *James* his Son and the Lady *Cicely*, before agreed upon, and threatning Ruin and Devaſtation, if the Match was not conſummated. The *Scots* Nobility reflecting upon their own imminent Danger, put to Death the King's wicked Counſellors, ordain'd the Duke of *Albany* Vicegerent of *Scotland*, and promis'd to repay the Money receiv'd according to Covenants. After which, with the Surrender of the ſtrong Town of *Berwick*, which had been out of the *Engliſh* Poſſeſſion for twenty one Years, a general Peace was concluded between the two Nations. Whereupon not long after, *Garter* King at Arms was ſent into *Scotland*, with a formal Inſtrument in Writing to the Provoſt and Burgeſſes of *Edinburgh*, who had undertaken to diſburſe the Money, to ſignify King *Edward*'s Mind touching the Marriage intended, and to demand the ſaid Sum by a fix'd Day, which was accordingly repaid.

A Peace concluded.

A. D. 1483. Reg. 23.

As King *Edward* was greatly diſappointed in the Marriage of his ſecond Daughter to *Scotland*, ſo he met with a greater as to that of his eldeſt Daughter to *France*. For the *French* King finding the Daughter of *Auſtria* more proper for his Son's preſent Intereſt, deluded *Edward* with Shews of firm Faith, 'till he had effected his Purpoſe. The naming of this ſounded ſo harſhly in King *Edward*'s Ears, that he would never ſuffer that String to be touch'd in his Preſence, but ever believ'd that the *French* deſign'd honourably, tho' the Truth of their Deſigns was confirm'd by the Duke of *Auſtria*'s Ambaſſadors reſiding in *England*. Yet ſtill *Edward* would not ſo much as entertain a Suſpicion againſt the *French* King, and therefore ſuffer'd him to encroach upon thoſe Parts of *Picardy* that join'd to *Calais*, and to gain Time 'till it was paſt recalling. For then the Lord *Howard* returning from *France*, confidently told him, That he was preſent, and ſaw the Lady *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Daughter to Duke *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick*, receiv'd into *France* with great Pomp and Splendor, and at *Ambois* contracted and eſpous'd to the *Dauphine*. The King became ſo nicely ſenſible of this Abuſe, that he immediately reſolv'd upon a Revenge; and every one with Chearfulneſs provided for War, the Clergy ſupplying in Monies what they could not do in Perſon. But while he was paſſionately endeavouring to call *Lewis* to an Account for his Crimes, he was ſummon'd by Death to give a full Account of all his own. Being ſeiz'd by a melancholy Fit, or as others ſay a Surfeit, and finding little Hopes of Recovery, he began to conſider the Vanity of all his Victories, which he had purchas'd with the Expence of ſo much *Engliſh* Blood; and to reflect upon the deceitful Beauty of his ſenſual Pleaſures, which now appear'd with all the Marks of Horror and Deformity. Then cauſing his Lords, which were then numerous in Court, to be ſent for, he upon his Bed pathetically recommended to them the Care of the young Princes his Sons; ſhewing them, *That they being ſo young they ſtood in need of extraordinary Counſellors, which in the Diſtraction of private Contentions could hardly be found: That they having all Relation to him, ſome by Blood, ſome by Affinity, all by Love and Duty, they were to join in a reciprocal Affection to each other, that the Conformity of their Minds might beget the like in their Actions, and in their Ends neceſſarily conducing to the Service of an Infant King, and the general Good of the Kingdom.* Then reminding them of the innumerable Evils ariſing from Civil Wars and Diſſentions, he heartily begg'd of God *that out of his particular Goodneſs no ſuch might hereafter happen*; *but as this Favour was never to be expected without the forgetting of paſt Injuries, it cauſ'd him in the Name of the ſame God, as the laſt Comfort he ſhould receive, to deſire of them all a ſincere Forgiveneſs of any Injuries done by him.* All that were preſent fell into Tears; and thoſe who had born the greateſt Hatred freely ſhook Hands in Token of their laſt Obedience to the dying King; who being pleas'd with theſe outward Expreſſions of Love, ſoon after expired in the forty ſecond Year of his Age, upon the ninth Day of *April*, after a tumultuous, great and various Reign of twenty two Years, one Month, and five Days.

King Edward deluded by France.

His laſt Sickneſs.

His Death.

His Interment.

The Manner of his Interment was thus: Firſt, the Corps was cover'd from the Navel to the Knees, and ſo laid naked upon a Board for ten or twelve Hours, to be view'd by all the Lords in *London*, as well as the Lord Mayor and his Brethren; and then he was ſeared. The next Day he was brought into St. *Stephen*'s Chapel, where three Maſſes were ſung over him in the Morning, and *Dirige* and *Commendam* in the Afternoon; at Night he was well watch'd by the Nobles and his Servants. In this manner he reſted eight Days, and on the ninth he was convey'd to *Weſtminſter* Abbey, born by ſeveral Knights and Eſquires, cover'd over by a large black Cloth of Gold, with a Croſs of Cloth of Silver, and above that a rich Canopy of Cloth Imperial fring'd with Gold and black Silk, born by four Knights having at the Corners four Banners born by four other Knights, the firſt of the *Trinity*, the ſecond of our *Lady*, the third of St. *George*, and the fourth of St. *Edward*. The Lord *Howard* bore the King's Banner before the Body, and the Officers of Arms about him on every Side. In the Hearſe in *Weſtminſter* Abbey, above the Body and Cloth of Gold, was a Perſonage in the Similitude of a King, in Royal Robes, and a Crown on his Head, a Scepter in one Hand, and a gilt Ball of Silver in the other, with a Croſs *patee*. After many Solemnities perform'd, the Body was plac'd in a Chariot drawn by ſix Horſes, and ſo with great Pomp went to *Charing-Croſs*, where the Chariot was cens'd, and from thence to *Syon*, and ſo to *Eaton*, where it was met by the Proceſſion of *Windſor*. At the Caſtle Gate the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* cenſed the Corps; and from thence they paſs'd to the new Church, where in the Choir was appointed an admirable wrought Herſe, being that Night watch'd by many Nobles and Eſquires of the Body, and was there bury'd with all Solemnities befitting ſo great and victorious a King.

His Perſon and Character.

To ſay ſomething of his Perſon and Character, *Comines* tells us, That he was the goodlieſt Gentleman that ever his Eyes beheld, tall of Stature, fair of Complexion, and of a moſt noble Preſence; yet too much inclining to Fat and Groſſneſs in his latter Days. Yet the Gifts of his Mind ſeem'd to ſtrive for Priority with thoſe of his Body, having a moſt couragious Heart, and a magnanimous Diſpoſition, being politick in Council, witty in Converſation, and in Adverſity undaunted. In Battel he was bold and adventurous, being preſent in nine ſeveral Engagements, in which to his great Renown he always fought on Foot, and was ever victorious. He was far from being proud, yet very ambitious; and to gain his Ends, no Man was Maſter of more inſinuating Methods than himſelf. In the midſt of all his ſhining Qualifications he could ſet no Bounds to his Luſt or his Ambition, in both of which he was remarkably puniſh'd. As to the former, it was obſerv'd that never Man was fram'd by Nature more apt to the Exerciſe of it, and whom amorous Courtſhip did leſs miſbecome: Yet this Sin, tho' black in the Eye of Heav'n, by Politicians is too often excus'd in a Prince as not generally injurious to his Subjects. But notwithſtanding that Opinion, beſides the fatal Example, if we obſerve the Revolution of Kingdoms, we find no Iniquity in Princes ſo commonly puniſh'd: The Diſhonour of one Lady abus'd often cauſes the Diſgrace of ſeveral Families, and mighty Factions joining for Revenge; for no Injuries like theſe are ſo cruel to human Nature, and with ſo little Patience diſſembled. For this King *Edward* was peculiarly puniſh'd in his Sons, who were both depriv'd of all Things by their unnatural Uncle; and there was ſo much Appearance of Right in that Uſurper, by their Father's Incontinency, that even an Act of Parliament was made to Baſtardize them both. As to his Ambition, tho' according to the exact Rules of lineal Succeſſion he had the neareſt Right to the Crown, yet conſidering the innumerable Perjuries, Treaſons, Bloodſheds, and other Calamities that brought him and ſecur'd him in the Throne, his and his Father's Actions were leſs juſtifiable than thoſe of many real Uſurpers: And all thoſe Victories he obtain'd, were againſt his own Nation, and his greateſt Adverſaries were in Conſanguinity with him; ſo that he may more properly be ſaid to have let himſelf Blood than his Enemies; or rather for the Preſervation of his own Body, to have cut off his principal and moſt neceſſary Limbs. The Hand of Heav'n lay heavy upon his Generation, and notwithſtanding all his Succeſs he was deſcended from a moſt unfortunate Family, he being the only Male of all his Houſe, except a Child of *Richard* the Third, that dy'd a natural Death, after it claim'd the Crown. His Grand-Father the Earl of *Cambridge* was beheaded at *Southampton*; the Duke of *York* his Father ſlain before *Sandall*; of his three Brothers, the Earl of *Rutland* was ſlain in cold Blood, the Duke of *Clarence* drown'd in a Butt of *Malmeſey*, and the Duke

The Misfortunes of his Family.

Duke of *Gloceſter*, after he had ſtrangled his Nephews, loſt his Kingdom and Life in Battel. So that we meet with no Tragedy, whether true or fabulous, where we find ſo many various and cruel Deaths as in this Family. Beſides two Sons, King *Edward* left ſeven Daughters, of whom *Elizabeth* the Eldeſt met with good Fortune, and was marry'd to King *Henry* the Seventh: *Cicely* was marry'd to Viſcount *Wells*, and after that to another, but had Iſſue by neither: *Anne* marry'd to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, whoſe Children dy'd all young: *Bridget* was a Nun in *Dartford*: *Mary* promis'd to the King of *Denmark*, but dy'd before Marriage: *Margaret* dy'd young: *Catharine* was married to *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, and he had *Edward* Earl of *Devonſhire*, who dy'd without Iſſue in *Padua*, in the Year 1556.

Learned Men.

The Art of Printing.

In this Reign flouriſh'd ſeveral Men eminent for Arts and Learning, as well as Valour, as *Thomas Littleton* a famous Judge of the Common Pleas, who brought a great Part of the Law into Method which before was confus'dly diſpers'd: *John Forteſcue* a Judge, and Chancellor of *England*, who was famous for underſtanding the Laws and Conſtitution of *England*: *John Harding* and *William Caxton*, both Writers of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory: *Scogan* a learned Gentleman, and a Student of *Oxford*, who for his pleaſant Wit and jocular Conceits was call'd to Court. And that which now began to give new Encouragement to Learning was the famous Art of Printing; which was firſt found out in *Germany* by *John Gutterbergen* about the Year 1440, or ſomewhat later, and was brought into *England* by *William Caxton*, a Mercer of *London*, and probably the ſame with the Hiſtorian, who firſt practis'd the ſame in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, *Anno Dom.* 1471, and the eleventh of this Reign.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of King EDWARD *the Fifth.*

Containing two Months, and twelve Days.

A. D. 1483.
Reg. 0.
Young Edward proclaim'd King

I. KING *Edward* the Fourth left two Sons behind him, *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, twelve Years and five Months old, and *Richard* Duke of *York*, about nine Years of Age. The firſt of theſe by all Writers is call'd by the Name of *Edward* the Fifth, as being lawful and rightful Heir to the Crown of *England*, and was accordingly proclaim'd King. But if we conſider the Nature of his Reign, it may rather be call'd an *Inter-Regnum*, or perhaps more properly the Tyranny of *Richard* the Third, who from the Death of King *Edward* the Fourth, both rul'd as a King, and rag'd as a Tyrant. Of this Man, who was now Duke of *Gloceſter*, we are told ſtrange Stories, as to his monſtrus Birth, his deformed Perſon, and his barbarous Diſpoſition; of all which we have not ſo much Certainty, as that his Ambition had long prompted him to uſurp the Crown of *England*. This was in part diſcover'd by means of one *Miſtlebroke*, who in the ſame Night that King *Edward* dy'd, haſtily went to one of the Duke's Friends in the City call'd *Potter*, and rouſing him out of his Bed, declar'd that King *Edward* was departed. To whom the other with great Satisfaction reply'd, *Then will my Maſter the Duke of* Gloceſter *be King.* This ſoon appear'd in the Event; tho' at that Time the Duke was in the *North* of *England*; for which Reaſon the Lord *Haſtings*, then Lord Chamberlain, ſent an immediate Expreſs to him of the King his Brother's Death; acquainting him withal, that he had committed the young King, the Queen, and his other Children, to his Care and Government; and likewiſe putting him in mind, how neceſſary it was for him ſpeedily to repair to *London*. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* needed no Spur to ſet him forwards, who was already in a full Career; and as he had long projected how he might attain to the Crown, he now found the Way more open than ever.

The Duke of Gloceſter deſigns to uſurp the Crown.

His Policy.

Young Prince *Edward*, now call'd King, was at *Ludlow* in *Shropſhire* when his Father dy'd, where he had liv'd for a conſiderable Space, in order to awe the *Welſh*. Here he had many of his Mother's Relations about him; but Sir *Antony Woodvile*, the Lord *Rivers*, was appointed his chief Counſellor and Director. This placing ſo many of the Queen's Friends about the young Prince was thought to be good Policy in her; but the Duke of *Gloceſter* turn'd it to their Deſtruction, and upon that Ground laid the Foundation of all his unhappy Fabrick. For whomſoever he found either diſpleas'd at them, or Friends to himſelf, he diſcover'd his Thoughts to them, ſome by Words, and ſome by Writings and ſecret Meſſengers, *That it was not to be ſuffer'd either in Reaſon or Policy, that the young King their Maſter ſhould be in the Hands and Cuſtody of his Mother's Relations, ſequeſter'd in a Manner from their Company and Attendance, who were far ſuperior to them both in Birth and Merits.* With theſe and the like Inſinuations he ſoon ſet ſeveral on Fire who were but too apt to kindle into a Flame; eſpecially the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord Chamberlain *Haſtings*, both of great Power and Authority. Theſe two, not having ſo much Affection for each other, as Hatred to the Queen's Party, agreed in this Point with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, That they would entirely remove from the King's Society all his Mother's Friends, under the Name of Enemies to the Publick. This firſt Step gain'd, the Duke of *Gloceſter* underſtanding that the Lords then about the King deſign'd to bring him to be crown'd at *London*, accompany'd with ſuch a Power of their Friends, that it would be difficult for him to effect his Purpoſe, without ſuch Numbers as would raiſe the Appearance of a Rebellion; he therefore ſecretly, and by various Methods, caus'd the Queen to be perſuaded, That if her Son came to *London* with ſuch a numerous Retinue, it would cauſe many Miſchiefs, and adminiſter Matter of Suſpicion and Jealouſie to ſeveral who were but lately reconcil'd. Upon this the Queen ignorantly in all Haſte ſent to her Son and her Brother, earneſtly requiring them, for ſome Cauſes known to her ſelf, to diſmiſs their Guard; which was the ſooner obey'd, becauſe the Duke of *Gloceſter* himſelf, and other Lords of his Party, wrote to the King ſo reverently, and the reſt ſo lovingly, that without any great Suſpicion the King mov'd forwards with an inconſiderable Train.

He goes to meet young Edward at Northampton.

He ſeizes upon the Earl Rivers.

and ſeveral others.

This ſecond Work effected, *Gloceſter*, *Buckingham*, and ſeveral Lords reſolv'd to meet the King in his Paſſage; and coming to *Northampton*, where the King was arriv'd, pretending it was incommodious for ſo many to lodge in the ſame Place, they caus'd the King to go to *Stony-Stratford*, twelve Miles further. But the two Dukes ſtay'd behind; and under Pretence of Honour, kept the Earl *Rivers* with them, and feaſted him with ſuch Demonſtrations of Joy, and ſo unuſual, that if Opinion had not blinded him, he might have eaſily diſcover'd the Deceit. Upon his going to his Lodgings, the two Dukes caus'd the Keys of the Gates to be brought to them, to ſecure any from going out; and ſpending the greateſt part of the Night in Counſel and Advice, early in the Morning they ſent to all the Neighbouring Villages, where their Servants were billeted, ordering them to be ready on Horſeback, and ſecure the Way to *Stony-Stratford* from all Paſſengers going thither. A ſtrange Diligence, which yet wrought no Impreſſion in ſuch as obſerv'd it; believing it to be done that none might come to the King before themſelves. But *Rivers* was of another Opinion, and after ſeveral Conjectures, he reſolv'd to go himſelf, and diſcover the Bottom of the Deſign; but upon his firſt appearance they roughly charg'd him with endeavouring to keep them from the King and ruin them, which he ſhould not be able to effect; and tumultuouſly interrupting him when he was making a Reply, they committed him to the Cuſtody of ſome of their own Servants. Then haſtning to *Stony-Stratford*, they found the King juſt mounting his Horſe, to whom they addreſs'd themſelves with the utmoſt Reverence, and he as lovingly receiv'd them, without conceiving their Deſigns. Then coming up to the Lord *Richard Gray*, Brother to the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and Half-Brother to the King, they immediately accus'd him of joining with his Brother the Marqueſs, and his Uncle *Rivers*, to get the Government of the King and Kingdom into their own Hands, and ſowing Diviſions among the Nobility: In order to which, the Marqueſs had taken out of the *Tower* of *London* all the Royal Treaſure, and had ſent Men to Sea for dangerous Deſigns. To which the young King calmly made Anſwer, *That for what concern'd the Marqueſs, he was ignorant, becauſe of his Abſence; but for his Uncle* Rivers, *and his Brother* Richard, *he was ſure they could not be guilty, becauſe they had always been in his Company.* To this *Buckingham* reply'd, *His Majeſty was deceiv'd; that their Deſigns were conceal'd from him; and that they did not deſerve to be excus'd by ſo good a Prince.* And immediately they arreſted the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan* and Sir *Richard Hawte*, in the King's Preſence; and the King, inſtead of going forwards, was brought back with his Company to *Northampton*. Such of his Attendants as *Gloceſter* durſt not truſt were remov'd, and others put in their Place; at which the poor King could not refrain from Tears, having only the Name of a King, and wanting Age and Power to defend himſelf, as well as his Kindred and Servants. And that Diſſimulation might not be wanting, even where there was no Occaſion, the Duke of *Gloceſter* the next Day ſent a Diſh of Meat from his own Table to the Earl of *Rivers*, deſiring him *to be at Eaſe, for all ſhould be well with him.* The Earl handſomly baulking the former Injury, return'd Thanks for the Honour done to him, and deſir'd the Meſſenger that he would carry it to his Nephew *Richard, for he being young, and unaccuſtom'd to Adverſity,* *ſtood more in need of this Favour.* This feign'd Courteſie was like the Lightning that foreruns Thunders; for after many Change of Priſons, they were all brought to *Pontfract*, and afterwards loſt their Heads.

The News of theſe Tranſactions was brought to the Queen in the Night, who immediately gueſs'd at the Duke's Deſign: She too late repented the Counſel given to her Brother to diſband his Forces; and apparently ſaw her own Danger, but much more that of her ſecond Son the Duke of *York*, and her Daughters. At the ſame Hour ſhe fled with her Children from her Palace, and took Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*, to the great Compaſſion of all that ſaw ſo much Hurry and Precipitation at that unſeaſonable Time. The Lord *Haſtings* had receiv'd the like Advice, but with contrary Sentiments: He could not but rejoice at the Queen's Sufferings; but loving King *Edward* and his Children, he after Midnight diſpatch'd a Gentleman to the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, Lord-Chancellor of *England*, who with Difficulty being brought in, acquainted him with what had been done to the young King and his Friends; not concealing the Queen's flying to Sanctuary, but at the ſame Time aſſuring him, *All would be well.* The Arch-Biſhop haſtily anſwered, *Be it as it will, it will never be ſo well as we have ſeen it*; and as ſoon as the Gentleman departed he aroſe from his Bed, and cauſing all his Family to do the ſame, and to arm themſelves, he took the Great Seal, and went with them to the Queen. There he found nothing but Haſte and Confuſion, People juſtling each other, ſome carrying in Goods, others going out to fetch more; and Sighs and Lamentations every where. The Queen her ſelf was ſeated by her Children in the moſt diſconſolate Manner upon the Ground; whom the Chancellor comforted with ſuch Reaſons as Hope then could ſuggeſt, acquainting her with what the Chamberlain *Haſtings* had let him know; conceiving that he who had been oblig'd to the late King would join with his Children and Family. But the Queen loathing to hear that Name, reply'd, *That he was the Man that endeavour'd the utter Extirpation of her Blood.* The Arch-Biſhop not able to diſſuade her from that Opinion, diſcourſing from the leaſt Dangers to the greateſt, aſſur'd her, *That if any other King ſhould be crown'd but her eldeſt Son, they would crown the Duke of* York, *who was now in her Poſſeſſion:* Upon which he deliver'd to her the Great-Seal of *England*, for the Uſe and Benefit of that Son, and ſo departed about Day-light, not then weighing the Importance of this Delivery, nor how prejudicial it might be to him. But being return'd home, and ſeeing from his Window the *Thames* cover'd with Boats fill'd with *Gloceſter*'s Servants, watching if any went by Water to Sanctuary; and hearing that there were Tumults and Cabals in the City, Lords and others appearing in Arms, he conſider'd that he had been too raſh in parting with the Great-Seal to the Queen, who could reap no Advantage by it; and thereupon privately ſent for it again, and after that carry'd it, according to Cuſtom, openly in the Sight of all Men.

The Queen-Mother takes Sanctuary.

The Arch-Biſhop of York *comforts her.*

In the mean Time the Commotions in the City encreas'd; moſt believing that the Proceedings at *Northampton* were caus'd to hinder the Coronation; and more Troubles might have follow'd, had not the Lord *Haſtings* at a publick Aſſembly aſſur'd them, 'That *Rivers*, *Gray* and the 'reſt were impriſon'd for certain Conſpiracies againſt the 'Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Buckingham*, as would appear by 'due Proceſs of Law. That no Doubt was to be made 'of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, ſince he had always continu'd 'faithful to the King; but to ſuſpect it, might prove of 'dangerous Conſequence, and if they did not lay down 'their Arms with the ſame Facility they had taken them 'up.' This Aſſurance quieted the greateſt Part of the People, eſpecially when they underſtood the King was coming, attended by the Duke his Uncle with all manner of Reſpect; as alſo that among *Rivers*'s Carriages certain Barrels full of Arms were found; which tho' not much regarded by the wiſer Sort, yet *Gloceſter*'s Adherents inſiſting much upon it, it rais'd Doubts in ſome who otherwiſe would not have been perſuaded to it. The King, met by the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Sheriffs and Aldermen, all in Scarlet, accompany'd with five hundred Citizens on Horſeback, cloath'd all in Purple, enter'd the City the fourth Day of *May*, in the firſt and laſt Year of his Reign. The ſubtle Duke of *Gloceſter* ſhew'd ſuch Appearance of Reverence and Affection to the King his Nephew, that he chang'd their former Suſpicions into a high Eſteem for him. Inſomuch that when a Protector was to be choſen in Council, as was uſual in the Minority of Kings, he without any Contradiction was nominated for the Perſon; not only as a Relation and a Friend, but as moſt loyal, affectionate, and fitteſt for that great Charge. At this Council many were remov'd from their Offices; particularly the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and not without ſharp Reproof for having left the Great-Seal with the Queen. He was ſucceeded by Dr. *Ruſſel* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, a Man wiſe and experienc'd, and one of the moſt learned in the Nation. Divers Lords and Knights were appointed to fill up Vacancies; but the Lord-Chamberlain and ſome others ſtill retain'd their Places.

The young King enters London.

The Duke of Gloceſter *made Protector of the Land.*

II. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, now Protector, having gain'd ſo much Advantage, reſolv'd to proceed to the utmoſt; but his main Difficulty was that he could not free himſelf from one Brother without the other; and if the Elder was deſtroy'd, the Duke of *York* the Younger would ſtill ſucceed. In this he was to uſe his beſt Policy; for the Queen being ſuſpicious of him, and the young Duke in a Place not to be violated, he could reach him only by Deceit or Sacrilege. Therefore at the next Meeting of the Lords in Council, he repreſented the Queen as highly culpable in detaining the Duke of *York* in Sanctuary, *when the Honour, the Health and Conveniency of the King his Brother requir'd his Preſence and Company with him in his Palace.* After ſome further Allegations and Aggravations, he declar'd, 'That the Coronation could not be compleated 'without Scandal, while the Duke of *York*, who was to 'be next the King in that Solemnity, continu'd in a San'ctuary, a Shelter only for Criminals and Delinquents; 'affording Matter to the common People to judge accord'ing to their Ignorance, and to Foreign Princes accord'ing to the Appearance of falſe Suppoſitions; which muſt 'redound to the Diſhonour and Prejudice of them all. 'Therefore in his Opinion, ſome Perſon ſhould be ſent to 'the Queen, whom ſhe did not miſtruſt, yet ſuch as would 'be zealous of the Honour of the King and Council, who 'might rectifie her, and let her know what Injury ſhe 'did to all. And if this did not prevail, the Duke of *York* 'ought by regal Power to be taken from his Priſon, and 'brought to the King his Brother.' He propos'd the Cardinal Arch-Biſhop of *York* for this Deſign, remitting himſelf to their Pleaſure, if they ſhould not approve of him, from which he profeſs'd *he would not diſſent.* They all commended his Opinion, and agreed with him, that if the Duke was not remov'd, Inconveniencies might enſue. But the Cardinal, with ſome Eccleſiaſticks there preſent, was of another Opinion, ſo far as related to taking him by Force, alledging, 'That the Sanctity of the Place was in'violable upon many Accounts; but he hop'd that Force 'would be needleſs, ſince the Queen in Reaſon would de'liver him up; which if ſhe ſhould not do, the Fault was 'not to be attributed to her, nor him: Not to him, be'cauſe he would not be failing in his Duty; nor to her, 'ſhe being excuſable in reſpect of her Maternal Affection, 'and the Weakneſs of her Sex.' But the Duke of *Buckingham* not approving theſe Circumſpections, with an Oath cry'd out, *That the Queen well knew ſhe had no Cauſe of Fear; that her Fears were merely fictitious, and of Malice; and if ſhe would be believ'd becauſe her Kindred were hated according to their Deſerts, ſhe ſhould diſtinguiſh between thoſe who were of Kin to her, and thoſe ſo to the Royal Blood. That her Kindred had given Cauſe for Hatred, as ſhe her ſelf had done through her own Malignity; but in her extending it to the Duke of* York, *the Diſtribution was too large and odious. That he likewiſe had the Honour to be of Kin to him, nor would he in his Zeal for his Service give way to any Perſon, no not to his own Mother; who ſince ſhe deſir'd to keep him, not without Danger and Scandal, his Opinion was that he ought to be taken from thence.* Then he diſcours'd largely of the Uſe and Abuſe of Sanctuaries, concluding *That the Duke of* York *was incapable of the Uſe of them; and it was no Abuſe to take any Perſon from thence when it was with a Deſign to do him good.* All the Council joining with him in this Opinion, it was reſolv'd, That if the Cardinal could not prevail with his Perſuaſions, he ſhould be taken by Force, and brought to them. This being concluded, they all remov'd to the *Star-Chamber*, as the neareſt Place, there to expect what would be the Iſſue.

His Endeavours to get the King's Brother into his Poſſeſſion.

The Duke of Buckingham *joins with him.*

The Cardinal went with ſeveral Lords, either becauſe the Protector would not truſt a Matter of that Weight to a ſingle Man, or becauſe the Appearance of ſo many might make the Queen perceive it was not he alone that deſir'd the Delivery of her Son, and that ſhe might ſee her Danger if ſhe refus'd. The Cardinal firſt told her, *That he was ſent by the Protector and the Privy-Council to let her know how much her detaining of the Duke of* York *in that Place had given Offence to them and others; as if one Brother liv'd in Danger, and could not be preſerv'd but by the other's Life. Therefore they deſir'd and expected to have the Duke ſet at Liberty, and to have him brought to his Brother, where he might live anſwerable to his Condition and Quality.* After further Diſcourſe, finding her altogether averſe to any Compliance, he proceeded to Perſuaſions and Arguments drawn from Nature and Affection, as well as Prudence and Policy; and to inform her, *That ſhe neither ought nor could keep him in Sanctuary, and that taking of him by Force would be no Violation of it.* To all theſe ſhe gave diſtinct and rational Anſwers, and began freely to de-

The Arch-Biſhop of York *goes to the Queen.*

clare

He perſuades her to deliver up her Son.

clare the Apprehenſions ſhe had from the Protector; which became uneaſie to the Cardinal, who had a better Opinion of him. So that growing warm, in ſome Paſſion he told her, *He was not come to argue with her, but to demand the Duke; and if ſhe would deliver him up, he would pawn both his Body and Soul for his Safety. If ſhe refus'd, he would leave her to her ſelf, finding her fix'd in a Belief that they all wanted Underſtanding or Fidelity; the former, in being ſo dull as not to perceive the Protector's Deſigns; and the latter, in procuring her Son to be deliver'd into the Hands of one who would deſtroy him.*

The poor Queen was now reduc'd to great Perplexities, haſtily weighing within her ſelf the divers Hazards ſhe ran whether ſhe deliver'd him or not. By delivering him, ſhe conſider'd the Miſchiefs that might happen both to him and his Brother: In detaining him, ſhe fear'd that the Protector would immediately come in Perſon and take him; and ſhe wanted Time to provide againſt this; many Things were requir'd in ſending him elſewhere, none of which were like to ſucceed. And not having thought of it before, ſhe knew not whither to ſend him; ſhe had not appointed People to conduct him; ſhe had not Time enough to keep the Secret undiſcover'd, and him from being intercepted. Finding the Miſchief greater in letting him go by Force, than by Choice, ſhe began to hope her Suſpicions might be falſe: She did not doubt the Cardinal's good Intentions, nor yet theirs who were with him; ſhe was ſatisfy'd they were not corrupted, but not ſure they might not be deceiv'd; therefore her appearing to believe them would oblige them. Wherefore taking the young Duke by the Hand, in the Preſence of all, ſhe ſpoke thus, *My Lord, and all my Lords; I am neither ſo unthinking as to doubt your Underſtanding, nor ſo ſuſpicious as to miſtruſt your Fidelity; of which I deſign to make you ſuch a Proof, that if either were wanting in you, would bring me to infinite Sorrow, the Realm to incurable Damage, and you all to indelible Reproach. For I here preſent to you the Perſon, whom I doubt not but I could have kept beyond Oppoſition; tho' at the ſame Time I am ſure there are ſome ſuch mortal Enemies to my Blood, that if they thought there was any of it in their own Bodies, they would open their Veins to let it out. We have alſo Experience that the Thirſt of Government knows no Kindred; and if Brothers have not been ſpar'd, much leſs ſhall Nephews eſcape. Each of my dear Children is the other's Defence, while they are aſunder, and each of their Lives lye in the other's Body: Notwithſtanding this moſt tender Point, I here reſign one into your Hands, and the other in him, that I may at all Times redemand them of you both before God and all the World.* Then aſſuring them of her Confidence in their Abilities and Loyalty, ſhe concluded thus, *One Thing I conjure you, by the Truſt his Father ever had of you, and by the Truſt I now put into your Hands, that as far as you think my Fears too great, you would be as cautious, that your own be not too ſmall.* After which, turning to the young Duke, with the moſt ardent Affection ſhe cry'd, *Farewel, my dear ſweet Son, the Lord be thy Protector! let me kiſs thee now, leſt I never kiſs thee more.* Then with Kiſſes, Bleſſings and a mingling of Tears, ſhe deliver'd him to the Lords; who immediately brought him to the *Star-Chamber*, where with longing Expectations, and the kindeſt Careſſes, he was receiv'd by his Uncle. He brought him to the King his Brother, who was lodg'd in the Biſhop's Palace near St. *Paul*'s; from whence, with great Pomp and Shew of Honour, they were both convey'd to the fatal *Tower*, from whence they never departed.

She unwillingly conſents to deliver him.

The King and him convey'd to the Tower.

III. The Protector having gain'd ſuch a ſignal Advantage, ſtill wanted the Aſſiſtance of ſome particular Men, eſpecially the Duke of *Buckingham*, who 'till now probably did not know the Bottom of his Deſigns. There were great Inducements for him to join with the Protector; particularly he had ſo offended the young King in impriſoning his Relations, that in due Time he could expect nothing leſs than a ſevere Revenge, whether he liv'd, or they eſcap'd. The Protector had provided himſelf of a Guard, and arm'd himſelf while no Man thought of it; truſting the Management of his Affairs to none but thoſe whoſe Fortunes totally depended upon him. He ſet Spies about *Buckingham*, thinking it impoſſible he ſhould be equally wicked with himſelf, not having the like Deſigns; and was reſolv'd, if he found him defective, to be his immediate Ruin. He made uſe of his moſt profeſs'd Friends; and no wonder if they were Traitors, ſince the Conformity of evil Inclinations had caus'd the Friendſhips between them and their Maſter. Yet had not *Buckingham* join'd heartily, but upon very advantagious Conditions; for when he oblig'd himſelf to make the Protector King, the other oblig'd himſelf to take the Duke's Daughter in Marriage to his only Son, promiſing with this the Earldom of *Hartford*, claim'd by him as his Inheritance; which being deny'd him by the late King, was the firſt Cauſe of his Defection, by that revenging himſelf upon his Children. Moreover, of his free Motion he promis'd him a great Part of the Treaſure left by King *Edward*, together with a large Proportion of the Wardrobe. Theſe Things being fix'd, they erected a new Council, conſiſting of the greateſt Men, to treat of Matters belonging to the Coronation, that they and the People at preſent might be amus'd with a Belief of the Reality of it; and to that End they commanded the abſent Lords to repair to *London*, and aſſiſt at the Solemnity. Beſides this, they had a private Council conſiſting of certain ſelect Perſons, who treated of the Means how to bring the Protector to the Throne; ſo that while both the Arch-Biſhops, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lords *Stanley* and *Haſtings*, with others, were buſying themſelves about an unneceſſary Ceremony to eſtabliſh a lawful King, they treated how to eſtabliſh in his Place an unlawful Tyrant and Uſurper. The firſt Council was compos'd of many of the beſt Rank; the ſecond of few, and thoſe of the worſt Condition; but the Protector's Dealings not being eaſily penetrated, the People began to murmur, tho' they could not gueſs at the real Miſchief intended. It was impoſſible from ſo many Circumſtances and vain Delays as were by this Council propos'd to the other, but Jealouſies would ariſe. All which were increas'd by the Protector's taking from the *Tower* all the King's Servants, and placing his own in their Room; ſo that the King was ſoon left deſtitute of all Manner of Company, Magnificence and Regal Splendor; all which were in reality convey'd over to the Houſe and Perſon of the Protector.

An Alliance between the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham.

Two diſtinct Councils.

Among thoſe who were admitted into the ſecret Council there was one *Catesby*, a Man well skill'd in the Laws of the Land; who being employ'd by the Lord Chamberlain *Haſtings* in all his Affairs, and by his Favour advanc'd in the Court, had won ſuch Credit with all Men, eſpecially in *Leiceſterſhire*, where the ſaid Lord was very powerful, as nothing was tranſacted without him: So that being a Creature of his, and by his Means highly in favour, the Chamberlain thought he would never fail to inform him of any thing of moment done in that Council, eſpecially if it might be prejudicial to him. But Gratitude having forſaken him who had loſt all Loyalty, he was the Original of many enſuing Evils. For the Lord *Stanley* juſtly doubting this Cabinet Council, had endeavour'd to croſs it, by the Favour and Aſſiſtance of many who likewiſe fear'd it, had not the Lord Chamberlain prevented him, relying wholly upon *Catesby*'s Fidelity. The Protector naturally lov'd the Chamberlain, he always having been his Friend, and one from whom he had receiv'd Kindneſſes, in the King his Brother's Time; nor had he reſolv'd upon his Ruin, had he not fear'd to have met with Oppoſition, if he ſhould diſcover his Secrets to him. He therefore employ'd *Catesby* to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to bring him entirely to his Side. But *Catesby* either perform'd it not at all, or if he did, he gave the Protector ſuch a ſiniſter Account, that changing his Love into Hatred, he reſolv'd to have his Life; yet treating him with his uſual Confidence, he by that gain'd two Advantages. He caus'd him to be ſlower in executing ſuch Reſolutions as he might have done againſt him; and he the more dexterouſly brought about his own Deſigns to the other's Ruin, while he leaſt thought of it. Inſomuch that when the Chamberlain acquainted *Catesby* with the Jealouſies this ſecret Council had rais'd in many, thinking to gain from him ſome Aſſurance, he not only gave him no Satisfaction, but perſuaded the Protector to diſpatch him as ſoon as he could, as if his Life was fatal to his Deſigns. An Advice politickly taken by the Protector, tho' not given out of Zeal to his Service, as it ſeem'd to be; but that by his Death *Catesby* might enter into the plenary Authority, which the Chamberlain ſolely had in his Country.

A Deſign againſt the Lord Haſtings.

The Protector having fix'd his Reſolution, upon the thirteenth Day of *June*, three Hours before Noon, he came into the *Tower* to the Lords in Council, who were ſettling the approaching Coronation. At his firſt Entrance he civilly ſaluted all the Lords preſent, excuſing himſelf for coming ſo late; and diverting his Diſcourſe, he deſir'd the Biſhop of *Ely* to ſend for a Diſh of Strawberries from his Garden at *Holborn*, ſaying *he had never eaten better*. The Biſhop taking it for a Favour, immediately ſent for them; while he ſoon after riſing up, deſir'd the Lords to diſpence with his Abſence for a ſhort Space. Within leſs than an Hour he return'd with ſuch a ſevere and fierce Countenance as made them all amaz'd; and being ſate down, with angry Eyes, and frowning Looks, and biting his Lips, he for a while kept Silence. At laſt he demanded of them, *What Puniſhment they deſerv'd who had plotted his Deſtruction, who was next in Blood to the King, and by Office his and the Kingdom's Protector?* This Queſtion ſtartled the Council, not knowing for whom it was intended, tho' each was ſatisfy'd with his own Innocence. The Chamberlain finding all ſilent, very readily made Anſwer, *That they ought without Exception to be puniſh'd as Traitors.* To which the reſt aſſenting, the Protector ſaid, *The Protector quarrels with him.*

It was his Brother's Wife, and others with her; at which thoſe who favour'd the Queen were much concern'd. But the Chamberlain, who fear'd it was ſome of his own Friends, was overjoy'd when he heard the Queen nam'd; tho' he was ill pleas'd, that he was not before made privy to this Matter, as he had been to the taking off her Relations, who were by his own Conſent before appointed to be beheaded at *Pontfract* this very Day; little imagining that his own Execution ſhould be the ſame Day at *London*. The Protector continuing his Complaints, ſtripp'd his Arm bare, and ſhew'd it to be dry'd and wither'd, very unlike the other, declaring, *That the Queen and* Shore's *Wife, her Counſellor and Coadjutor in this Wickedneſs, had by their Sorceries and Witchcraft thus waſted his Fleſh.* The Lords, who knew this Arm had never been otherwiſe, immediately conceiv'd he had now ſome impious Deſign; eſpecially ſince it was ſo improbable that the Queen ſhould aſſociate with *Shore*'s Wife, whom ſhe moſt hated, as the Concubine moſt doated on by her Husband. The Chamberlain had unfortunately and fooliſhly given the Protector this Advantage by taking this Woman, whom he had long lov'd, and keeping her for his own Miſtreſs; therefore with ſome Extenuation he anſwer'd, *If they have been thus guilty, they deſerve heinous Puniſhment.* At which the Protector cry'd, *What, doſt thou anſwer me with Ifs and Ands? I tell thee they are thus guilty, and that I'll make good on thy Body, Traitor.* Then giving a great Blow upon the Table, as an appointed Signal, a Cry of Treaſon was heard from without, the Door was forc'd open, and the Chamber immediately fill'd with armed Men; and one of them ſtriking at the Lord *Stanley*, had undoubtedly cleft his Head, had he not haſtily ſhrunk beneath the Table, yet not ſo ſuddenly but that he receiv'd a terrible Wound. Immediately the Protector arreſted the Chamberlain by the Name of *Traitor*; and being by him in all Humbleneſs demanded whether he ſpoke to him or no; he reply'd, *Yes, to thee, Traitor.* And ſecuring all the reſt in other Rooms, the Protector ſwore by St. *Paul*, *That he would not dine before he ſaw his Head taken off.* It avail'd nothing to aſk Queſtions and beg for Mercy, but heavily taking the next Prieſt that was ready, he made a ſhort Confeſſion, ſince a longer would not be permitted; and being led to the Green before the *Tower* Chapel, he had his Head ſtruck off upon a Log of Timber; being afterwards bury'd at *Windſor*, near King *Edward*'s Tomb.

and then cuts off his Head.

Beſides a remarkable Dream of the Lord *Stanley*, which occaſion'd his adviſing him to fly from Danger, and other ominous Preſages of this ſudden Execution, we may well take notice of a particular Paſſage that happen'd the Morning before he went to Council. Being come to the *Tower*, he met a Purſivant near the Place where he was beheaded; and recollecting that he had met him in that very Place, when by Procurement of the Earl of *Rivers* he formerly was made Priſoner for a ſhort Space, and much doubted his Life; he ask'd him, *Whether he remember'd that he had met him in that Place, at a Time when he was in great Danger?* The Purſivant reply'd, *Yes, my Lord, I well remember it; but, Thanks to Heav'n, the Authors got no Advantage, nor you no Damage.* The Chamberlain knowing that *Rivers* and the reſt were that Day to loſe their Heads, with a chearful Air anſwer'd, *You would ſay more, if you knew as much as I do: I never was ſo afraid as then; but Times are happily chang'd, and my Enemies are now as much in Danger as I was before, as you will ſoon know; ſo that I never was more joyful and ſecure than at preſent.*

A remarkable Inſtance of God's Vengeance.

Now this Lord having formerly imbru'd his Hands in the innocent Blood of King *Henry*'s Son Prince *Edward*, and lately by his Advice join'd to the taking off the Heads of *Rivers* and others without any Proceſs upon this very Day, the Vengeance of Heav'n became more conſpicuous and ſignal in his own extraordinary Execution. So that the great *Raleigh* upon this Occaſion declares, 'That a greater Judgment of God, than this upon *Haſtings*, he had never obſerved in any Story.' And we may truly obſerve, that ſcarcely any State Homicide ever eſcapes a natural and proper temporal Puniſhment, either in his Perſon or Family.

The Protector's Vindication.

To colour over this open Violence, the Protector immediately after Dinner ſent for many of the principal Citizens to the *Tower*; at whoſe coming, himſelf and *Buckingham* ſtood harneſs'd in old ruſty Armour, which was to ſhew the Greatneſs of their Surpriſe and Danger, as having no Time to procure better. And after having inſiſted upon the Mercy of Heav'n in their Eſcape from the Treaſon of *Haſtings* and others, a Herald of Arms was diſpatch'd into the City with a formal Proclamation in the King's Name, implying, 'That the Lord *Haſtings* and ſome others had conſpir'd the ſame Day to have ſlain the Lord Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*, as they ſate in Council; and after that to have aſſum'd the Government of the King and Kingdom at their own Pleaſures; inſiſting likewiſe upon many Crimes of the Lord *Haſtings*, as well as thoſe of *Shore*'s Wife.' This Proclamation, which was publiſh'd within two Hours after the Lord Chamberlain's Execution, was ſo curiouſly indicted, ſo long, and ſo fairly ingroſs'd on Parchment, that the weakeſt Perſon alive might perceive it was prepar'd before: Which occaſion'd various Diſcourſes, ſome venturing to ſay, *It was writ by the Spirit of Prophecy.* The Protector having accus'd *Shore*'s Wife, as an Acceſſary and Adviſer, ſent the Sheriffs of *London* to her Houſe, and caus'd her to be plunder'd of all her Eſtate, which was above three thouſand Marks, not out of Avarice, but Malice and Deſign; and then being impriſon'd, ſhe was charg'd with many treaſonable as well as improbable Practices, tho' ſhe was convicted of none but Incontinency, which ſhe did not deny. For this laſt Crime, the Protector deliver'd her over to the Biſhop of *London*, to do Penance after the moſt publick Manner; which ſhe did the following *Sunday*, being led in ſolemn Proceſſion, with a Wax Taper in her Hand, and the Croſs born before her: In which Action, tho' ſhe was deſtitute of all manner of Ornament, yet ſhe appear'd ſo lovely and decent, that, her Bluſhes adding to her Beauty, all the Spectators did not only blame the Severity, but were charm'd with her comely Aſpect, which was the Cauſe of their Compaſſion, as well as her own Ignominy. This remarkable Woman was well born, and civilly educated; but her Ruin was her being unequally marry'd as to Years, which made it eaſy for King *Edward* to win her, and to break through all the Obligations of Duty. Beſides her extraordinary Beauty, Wit, Eloquence and good Humour, ſhe had ſome Qualifications not uſual to Perſons of her Life and Converſation; as particularly ſhe ſeem'd to be born to do Good, and no Harm to any one: She reſtor'd many who had unjuſtly fallen from the King's Favour, and caus'd many confiſcated Eſtates to be return'd without any Degree of Avarice. She was more deſirous to oblige others, than to enrich her ſelf; deſiring rather to do good Turns than to receive them; always affable, never inſolent; and all her Ambition was to be eſteem'd. Yet now, being reduc'd to Poverty, and afterwards to old Age, her Beauty quite loſt, and her numerous good Turns as much forgotten, ſhe was forc'd to beg of thoſe, who if they had not formerly beg'd of her, might have been greater Beggars than her ſelf.

Jane Shore does Penance.

Her Character.

The Earl of Rivers *and others beheaded at* Pontfract.

The Protector had given Orders, that on the ſame Day in which the Lord Chamberlain was beheaded at *London*, the Earl *Rivers* and Lord *Gray*, the one Brother, the other Son to the Queen, ſhould loſe their Heads at *Pontfract*; and the two Knights, ſeiz'd with them at *Northampton*, bore them Company in the Puniſhment. The Execution was committed to the Care of Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, a Favourite of the Protector's, and privy to all his Deſigns; who being of a fierce and mercileſs Temper, was judg'd moſt proper to manage ſuch an odious Affair. He caus'd them to be brought out of Priſon, and being expos'd to publick View as Traitors, they were beheaded without any manner of Proceſs or Juſtice. He would not ſuffer them to ſpeak, leſt their Innocence being made known, and commiſerated, might make the Author of this Tyranny more deteſtable. Thus theſe unfortunate Men ſuffer'd without being guilty of any Crime in this Reign; but ſo far as they might contribute to the Injuſtice and Bloodſhed committed againſt the laſt King *Henry*, and his Family, it was more the Hand of Heav'n, than the Puniſhment of Men.

The Protector's laſt Projects.

IV. The Protector had now remov'd all Obſtacles, and hop'd ſhortly to compleat his Deſign; but as the Succeſs of Things cannot be repreſented upon a Theatre without the Concourſe of ſeveral Perſonages requiſite to the Compoſure of the Plot, ſo it was neceſſary for him to make uſe of many others to the forming of this Treaſon. Among the reſt, Sir *Edmund Shaw*, Lord-Mayor of *London*, his Brother *John Shaw*, and *Pinker*, Provincial of the *Auguſtine* Fryars, were ſome. The firſt was to draw the City to the Protector's Will, and to ſuppreſs Tumults; the other two were Doctors of Divinity, and by the People eſteem'd famous Preachers, and were choſen to give Authority and Fervor, as is uſual in ſuch like Actions. The Knot of this Buſineſs lay in finding out ſpecious Pretexts to exclude the Heirs of *Edward* the Fourth; for which Purpoſe they were to inſiſt upon two in a ſpecial Manner; The firſt was, 'That King *Edward*, and the Duke of *Clarence*, were both the Iſſue of Adultery; that they were not Sons to the Duke of *York*, whoſe only legitimate Heir the Protector was.' The ſecond was, 'That *Edward*'s Children were not only ſpurious upon that Account, but as born in an illegitimate Marriage, he being firſt engag'd to the Lady *Lucy* before he marry'd their Mother: For both which Reaſons the Protector muſt be the only Heir to the Crown.' Thoſe Preachers were to make theſe two Points the Subject of their Sermons; but becauſe the firſt was horribly ſcandalous, and highly reflecting upon the whole Houſe of *York*, and the Protector's Mother in particular, they reſolv'd not to treat of it in downright Terms, but by oblique Inſinuation: But in the ſecond Point they were to be open and bare-fac'd without Reſerve. *Pinker* was appointed to preach at the *Spittal*, and *Shaw* at *Paul*'s-*Croſs*; but the former loſt his Voice, ſo that he was forc'd to leave off in the midſt of his Diſcourſe. *Shaw* took for his Subject this Sentence out of the *Wiſdom of* Solomon, *Baſtard Plants ſhall take no deep Root*; and after many Proofs of his Poſition, and an odious Diſcourſe againſt the Legitimacy of King *Edward*'s Family, he proceeded to make a long Panegyrick upon the Protector, declaring him *to be the only Image of his Father*, *for Valour*, *and all other good Qualifications.* It was alſo further deſign'd, that when he enter'd into this Encomium, the Protector ſhould appear, that the People might think the Preacher inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, and be ready to cry *King* Richard! But the Protector coming ſomewhat too late, *Shaw* in a diſorderly manner reaſſum'd his Subject, and carry'd it on after ſuch a fulſome way before his Face, that the People were amaz'd at his nauſeous Flattery, and ſtood like Statues. So that both the Protector and Preacher being utterly out of Countenance, the one return'd confus'd to his Palace, and the other to his Houſe; where underſtanding by his Friends how much he was condemn'd, he a few Days after dy'd, out of Grief and Shame.

The Duke of Buckingham'*s Management in his Favour.*

The Protector reſolving not to be diſcourag'd at this Failure, upon *Tueſday* following he ſent the Duke of *Buckingham*, accompany'd with many Lords and Gentlemen, to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, with whom were likewiſe the Common Council of the City, commanded purpoſely to attend at *Guild-Hall*. Here the Duke, who wanted neither Parts nor Aſſurance, made a long, plauſible and artificial Speech to the whole Aſſembly, ‘ highly aggravating all the Miſmanagements, Cruelties and Calamities of the laſt Reign, in order to bring an Odium upon King *Edward*'s Poſterity; inſiſting upon *Shaw*'s Sermon, as a clear Proof of the Illegitimacy of his Children; and that the Protector was the only undoubted Heir to the Crown; in which the Lords of the Kingdom were ſo well ſatisfy'd, that they agreed to accept of him for their King; and now himſelf was come to acquaint them with it, and to require their Conſents.’ Having ended his ſtudy'd Oration, and expecting the Applauſes of the People that they ſhould cry *King* Richard! he was amaz'd to find the contrary; and drawing near to the Lord-Mayor, who was to have prepar'd them for it, he ask'd the Reaſon of their Reſervedneſs and Silence; who not knowing what to ſay, anſwer'd, *That he thought he was not well underſtood.* Upon which the Duke in a louder Tone, and plainer Words, repeated all that he had ſaid before; but ſtill to no better Effect. Then the Duke whiſpering with the Mayor, it was judg'd that the Citizens being us'd to have ſuch Motions made to them by their Recorder, they would better hear it from him; and thereupon the Recorder was commanded to move the ſame Matter to them. But the Recorder, being lately come into the Place, and miſliking the Task, unwillingly repeated the Subſtance of the Duke's Speech, but carefully avoided any Addition of his own, that they might not believe his Vote went with it. The People ſtood ſtill more unmov'd than ever; at which the Duke told the Mayor, *That he never met with ſuch an obſtinate Silence.* Then ſtanding up a third Time, he ſaid, *He was come thither to perſuade them to concur in an Affair*, *where their Aſſiſtance perhaps would not be neceſſary*; *for the Nobility and Commons of the other Provinces would do it without them: But bearing a particular Affection to that noble City*, *he deſir'd that they might have the firſt Share of the Honour: Therefore he deſired them to declare*, *whether in Conformity with the reſt of the Kingdom*, *they would nominate the preſent Protector for their King.* At which Words the People began to whiſper among themſelves ſecretly; but their Voice was neither diſtinct nor loud, 'till at laſt in the lower End of the Hall, ſome Servants belonging to the Protector and the Duke, with ſome Prentices gotten into the Croud, began to cry aloud *King* Richard, *King* Richard! and threw up their Hats for Joy: tho' the Citizens turning about kept their former Silence. The Duke wiſely making uſe of this Diſorder, declar'd, *He was tranſported to find ſuch Unanimity in their Voices for making that noble Prince their King*; *with which he would acquaint him*, *ſo as to make it turn to their Advantage*; *deſiring them to be ready the next Morning to go with him to the Protector*, *in order to perſuade him to comply with a Matter ſo much deſir'd by them and the whole Kingdom.* Upon this the Aſſembly was diſſolv'd, and moſt departed with a melancholy Countenance, and a more melancholy Heart.

His Succeſs.

The next Morning the Lord-Mayor aſſembled the Aldermen and Common-Council-Men of the City, and repair'd with them to *Baynard*'s Caſtle in *Thames-ſtreet*, where the Protector then lodg'd; and there according to Appointment the Duke of *Buckingham* came, accompany'd with a great Number of Lords, Knights and Gentlemen; who ſent a Meſſage to the Protector, *That an Aſſembly of honourable Perſons were come to wait upon his Grace in a Matter of great Importance.* The Protector ſeem'd amaz'd, and unwilling to appear before ſuch Numbers, unleſs he firſt knew the Deſign of their coming; which feign'd Ignorance *Buckingham* ſoon turn'd to the Advantage of the Protector's Honour and Integrity. He ſent a ſecond Meſſage, *That the Buſineſs was not to be imparted to any but himſelf*, and in ſuch a humble and ſubmiſſive way, as might have wrought Belief in any one who had really doubted. At length the Protector appear'd, in a Gallery above, with a Biſhop on each Side of him, as if he was ſtill apprehenſive of the worſt. The Duke of *Buckingham*, making a low Reverence, begg'd two Things of his Grace, *The one*, *that he would permit him to make a humble Supplication to him*; *the other*, *that he would pardon him*, *in caſe it ſhould prove unacceptable to him: For tho' he aim'd at nothing but his Honour*, *and the Good of the Kingdom*, *yet he fear'd his Modeſty might take it contrary to their Intentions.* The Protector anſwer'd, *He was ſo aſſur'd of their Integrity*, *that he hop'd they would propoſe nothing that would diſpleaſe him*, and ſo granted the Leave and Pardon they demanded. *Buckingham*, after a long Digreſſion of the Kingdom's Grievances, ſaid, *That they were expreſly come to petition him*, *that conſidering the illegitimate Birth of King* Edward'*s Children*, *he would in Commiſeration of the Neceſſities of the Publick*, *vouchſafe*, *together with the Government of the Kingdom*, *to accept of the Crown*, *to the Honour of God*, *and Safety of the Realm*; *reſting aſſur'd that never any People would think themſelves more happy than under his plenary Protection.* The Protector, as if offended at his Requeſt, with an angry Look anſwer'd, *That tho' there was much Truth in what he ſaid*, *yet his Love to his Brother* Edward, *his Affection to his Children*, *and the Regard to his own Honour*, *would not permit him to accept of ſuch a Burthen: For it was to be fear'd*, *that ſhould he depoſe his Nephews*, *and make himſelf King*, *the Ignorant and Malignant would accuſe him to all the Princes of the World*, *as if it did not proceed from his own juſt Right*, *the Importunity of the People*, *and the Neceſſities of the Nation*, *but purely from his own Ambition: Yet notwithſtanding*, *he did not only pardon them*, *but return them Thanks*, *ſince he conceiv'd it proceeded from their Love and Affection*; *which he deſir'd might be turn'd to their King*, *whom he with his Perſon and beſt Advice would ſerve*; *hoping ſo to ſettle the Affairs of the Kingdom*, *that they ſhould have nothing to deſire*; *as he had already given ſome Proof*, *notwithſtanding the Malice of ſome*, *which had been rather ſuppreſs'd by Divine Providence*, *than by Human Wiſdom.*

He, *with the Citizens*, *petition the Protector to accept of the Crown.*

The Protector's Anſwer.

This Anſwer being given, the Duke of *Buckingham* ſtepp'd aſide, as if he conſulted with the Noblemen, the Lord-Mayor, and the reſt; which being done, he again deſir'd Pardon; and having obtain'd it, he with a more exalted Voice declar'd, *That the Kingdom was abſolutely reſolv'd not to permit* Edward'*s Children to reign*; *not ſo much becauſe they had proceeded beyond all Hopes of Pardon*, *as becauſe the publick Good requir'd it: That therefore he beſeech'd him to accept of the Crown*, *which if he deny'd*, *they ſhould be compell'd to offer it to one who would not refuſe it.* The Protector, affrighted, as it were, at theſe Threats, expreſs'd much Concern, *That they ſhould have ſo hard an Opinion of his Brother's Iſſue: He own'd he could not govern or reign without their Affections: Therefore ſince it was their Reſolution*, *and there was none to whom the Crown did of Right belong beſides himſelf*; *and that to his natural and legal Titles*, *they had added that of* Election, *the moſt valuable of all others*; *he yielded to their Intreaties and Requeſts*, *by taking upon him from that Time forwards the State and Regal Preheminence of the two Kingdoms of* England *and* France; *the former to be govern'd and defended by him and his Heirs*, *and the latter by God's Aſſiſtance and their Valour to be ſubdu'd*, *and for ever eſtabliſh'd in due Obedience to the Realm of* England, *of whoſe Grandeur and Honour he was ſo ambitious*, *that he deſir'd God to continue him no longer upon Earth*, *than his Life might be ſerviceable to that End.* At this they all cry'd out *King* Richard, *King* Richard! and the Lords went up to him to kiſs his Hand, while the People departing, talk'd diverſely of the Matter, every one as his Fancy guided him. They were diſpleas'd at nothing more than the counterfeit Management of the Buſineſs, which tho' it had been plotted and reſolv'd before, there had been us'd ſo many Stage-like Actions, as if it had never been conceiv'd till then; and as if Choice had been made of the Spectators, as of the moſt ſenſeleſs and ſtupid People of the Land. Here all Hiſtorians conclude the imaginary Reign of King *Edward* the Fifth, which ended upon the eighteenth Day of *June* 1483, after it had continu'd only two Months and twelve Days, he being at that Time twelve Years and about ſeven Months old.

He complies.

The End of King Edward'*s Reign.*

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Reign of King RICHARD *the Third.*

Containing 2 Years, 2 Months, and 4 Days.

A. D. 1483. Reg. 1.

Richard *proclaim'd King.*

He ſtrengthens himſelf.

I. RIchard Duke of *Gloceſter* was the eighth and youngeſt Son of *Richard* Duke of *York* and *Cicely Nevil* his Wife, and was now leſs than thirty Years of Age when the Crown was thus tumultuouſly conferr'd upon him, which in a ſhort Time was more legally offer'd him in Parliament, with all the Marks of the vileſt Flattery. Being proclaim'd King upon the twenty ſecond Day of *June*, believing to eſtabliſh his Tyranny by reſting it upon unaccuſtom'd Circumſtances he went into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, ſate down in the King's Bench, where in doubtful Caſes the Kings of *England* anciently us'd to ſit, and where he avow'd his Acceptance of the Crown; which he expreſs'd in a formal Oration, and ſo well compos'd, that thoſe who had not known him, would have believ'd *England* had never been bleſs'd with ſo good a King. And to begin himſelf with a pretended Clemency, he pronounc'd Pardon of all Offences committed againſt him; for Confirmation of which he ſent for one *Fogge*, who had taken Sanctuary, and whom he mortally hated, and in the Sight of all the People took him by the Hand, and aſſur'd him of his future Love and Affection. By which Act he made a great Impreſſion upon the common ſort, but thoſe who were better advis'd took it for Artifice and Diſſimulation. In his Return to the Palace, he courteouſly ſaluted ſuch as he knew had no Affection for him, thinking by this ſervile Flattery to inſinuate into their Minds, and to eſtabliſh his Government. Yet ſtill he durſt not rely upon his preſent Fortune, but ſecur'd his Coronation with an unuſual Appearance of Forces, cauſing five thouſand Men to come from the North, where he was moſt favour'd, to aſſiſt at the Solemnity. Theſe Northern Men appear'd ſo ill cloath'd and accouter'd, that they became the Subject of Mens Deriſion; and it was believ'd that if he ſhould have Occaſion to uſe them, they would not have ſerv'd his Purpoſe; and that it was neither thoſe nor greater Forces, but a meer Fatality, had precipitated the Nation into ſuch a miſerable Subjection.

He makes new Titles.

Nothing now was wanting to his full Poſſeſſion of the Crown, but the Ceremony of his Coronation, for which all Things were ready, as having been before prepar'd for that of his Nephew. Two Days before, he went with his Wife and young Son to the *Tower*, where he created the Lord *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Thomas Howard* his Son Earl of *Surrey*; he made *William Barkley* Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Francis Lovell* Viſcount and Lord-Chamberlain, and likewiſe made ſeventeen Knights of the *Bath*. The Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Lord *Stanley*, and the Biſhop of *Ely* had been Priſoners in the *Tower* ever ſince the Lord *Haſtings* loſt his Head: He ſet the firſt at Liberty, finding himſelf peaceably poſſeſs'd of the Kingdom, which otherwiſe he would not have done; for being an honeſt Man, he would never have conſented to the depoſing the true King: He freed the ſecond out of Fear; for his Son the Lord *Strange* was raiſing great Forces in *Lancaſhire*, ſo that it was neceſſary to appeaſe him. But he did not ſet the Biſhop of *Ely* at Liberty, who was a faithful Servant to King *Edward* the Fourth; for he was ſure he would never comply with his Children's Deprivation, nor his unjuſt Uſurpations; of which he had made Tryal in the Councils held in the *Tower*, while by oblique Means he was carrying on that Deſign. This celebrated Biſhop, *Morton* by Name, was of no great Birth; but having liv'd long in high Repute in *Oxford*, he was taken from thence, only a Doctor, and made a Privy-Counſellor by *Henry* the Sixth: *Edward* knowing his Integrity, kept him ſtill in that Condition, and choſe him at his Death to be one of his Executors. *Richard* therefore fearing him, would have kept him ſtill in Priſon, had not the Univerſity of *Oxford* interceded for his Enlargement; ſo being deſirous to oblige that Body, he was content to remove him from the *Tower*, as being too publick a Priſon: But that he might not give him his full Liberty, he committed him to the Cuſtody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who ſent him to a Caſtle of his in *Brecknockſhire* in *Wales*, where they jointly laid the firſt Groundwork of *Richard*'s Fall.

His Coronation.

The following Day, with mighty Pomp and ſplendid Attendance of Noblemen, *Richard* rode through the City of *London*, having three Dukes, nine Earls, two Viſcounts, twenty Barons, and ſeventy eight Knights, all moſt richly adorn'd. Among whom the proud Duke of *Buckingham* far exceeded the reſt in Appearance, having the Capariſons of his Horſe ſo charg'd with embroider'd Works of Gold, that it was born up by Footmen after an extraordinary manner. In the following Day, which was the Sixth of *July*, *Richard* with *Anne* his Wife was crown'd at *Weſtminſter* with more than uſual Solemnity, as may be ſeen in *Hall*, *Grafton*, and others. His Wife was Daughter to the great Earl of *Warwick*, who had made and unmade two preceding Kings, and Widow to Prince *Edward*, Son to *Henry* the Sixth; to whom ſhe was marry'd, when *Edward* the Fourth's Ruin was determin'd in *France*. So being deſtin'd to be a Queen, it was her ill Fortune to be marry'd to one who had been the Author both of her Huſband's and Father's Death. The Solemnity being ended, King *Richard* diſmiſs'd all the Lords that they might return to their own Houſes; recommending to ſuch as were in Office, the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice without Extortion or Injury, the Execution of the Laws, and Liberty of the Subjects; as being deſirous to have nothing ill done but by himſelf. He diſmiſs'd not the Lord *Stanley*, 'till ſuch Time as the Lord *Strange* his Son had disbanded the Forces he had rais'd. He alſo diſmiſs'd the five thouſand he had caus'd to come from the *North* both with Promiſes and Rewards; upon which they departed ſo well pleas'd, that becoming thereupon inſolent and tumultuous, they forc'd him to go in Perſon into thoſe Parts, to appeaſe the Diſturbances they had rais'd, which could not be effected without the Death of many of them. About this Time he ſent to *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, concerning the Continuance of the League made with his Brother *Edward*, demanding the Tribute then ſettled; but his Ambaſſadors arriving after the Death of his two Nephews, *Lewis* would not afford him Audience, judging his Friendſhip unworthy of any Human Correſpondence.

He ſends Ambaſſadors to France.

He contrives the Murder of his two Nephews.

In what concern'd their Deaths, he demean'd himſelf with great Caution. He firſt withdrew himſelf to *Gloceſter*, the Place of his former Patrimony and Title; his Conſcience not permitting him to ſtay in the Place where his Cruelty was to ſurpaſs that of all other Tyrants. He might have kept them Priſoners without any Danger, ſince they had no material Supporters; but he not accounting himſelf a King, while they were alive, ſent his truſty Servant *John Green* with Letters to Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, Conſtable of the *Tower*, commanding him to put them to Death; who, abhorring the Act, return'd Anſwer, *He would rather die than obey that Command.* *Richard* at this being highly diſſatisfy'd, and ſtill reſtleſs, his Page, who uſually lay in his Chamber, deſir'd his Majeſty, *That he would be pleas'd to acquaint him with the Reaſon of his Diſquiet.* To whom he reply'd, *He was miſerable, in not having a Man he could truſt; that his Service was ungratefully deny'd by thoſe, who for what they had receiv'd ought to think themſelves happy when bleſt with an Occaſion of ſerving him.* The Page immediately judg'd the Cauſe to be of a deſperate Nature, ſince any one durſt decline it; and calling a Gentleman to mind who lay in the Anti-Chamber, he nam'd him to the King, aſſuring him *There was nothing ſo dangerous or difficult, which he would not undertake.* His Name was *James Tyrrel*, a Man who might have deſerv'd a good Character, had he not been corrupted by diſhoneſt Ambition: He had left no Methods untry'd to gain Preferment in Court; but was diſcontented by being held back by *Richard Ratcliffe* and *William Catesby*, who govern'd the King, and fear'd a third Perſon, who if he ſurpaſs'd them in Audacity, might ſurpaſs them in Fortune, and throw them from the Favour they poſſeſs'd. This Page was a Friend of his, and knowing his Diſcontents, thinking to do him a good Office, he propos'd him to King *Richard*; who being then warm with the Imagination, roſe out of his Bed to make Tryal of him, awoke him, and acquainted him with what he deſir'd, urging him to a Compliance. This ambitious Man immediately undertook that execrable Deſign; and was next Day diſpatcht with Letters to *Brackenbury*, in which he was commanded to deliver up the Keys of the *Tower* for one Night to this *Tyrrel*, that he might exactly perform his Orders: All which was punctually obey'd by the Conſtable.

James Tyrrel *employ'd in it.*

The two innocent Youths had been more ſtrictly kept after their Uncle had quitted the Title of Protector, and aſſum'd that of King: They were not only debarr'd Viſits, but had their Servants taken from them, and others unknown to them appointed to attend them, rather in the Place of Guardians than Servants. *Edward* the Eldeſt was fully ſenſible he was no longer King, and that his Uncle was crown'd; and when the News was brought to him, he ſhew'd no Regard for the Loſs of his Crown, but with a tender Sigh ſaid, *I wiſh my Uncle would let me enjoy my Life, tho' I loſe all beſides.* After this Time he never put off his Cloaths, or ever went out of his Chamber; but being with his Brother full of melancholy Apprehenſions, he kept his Room 'till the Arrival of this miſerable Night. Of the four that attended him, *Tyrrel* choſe *Miles Forreſt*, a Man from his Youth brought up in Blood, to whom he join'd for his Companion *John Dighton*, the *who caus'd* Edward *the Fifth and his Brother to be murder'd in the Tower.*

Their Bones diſcover'd in the Reign of King Charles *the Second.*

Groom of his Stable, a ſtrong Man and fit for his Deſign. He caus'd them to go at Midnight into the Chamber where they ſlept; and there wrapping them up in their Bed-Cloaths, they ſtopp'd their Mouths with the Bolſter and Pillows, and ſo ſtifled them. The Buſineſs was ſoon diſpatch'd; and *Tyrrel* immediately bury'd them under a Heap of Stones near the Stairs Bottom: Which being done he took Horſe, and acquainted King *Richard* with what had paſs'd, which ſo pleas'd him, that 'tis ſaid he gave him the Honour of Knighthood. But being inform'd in what obſcure Place the Bodies lay, he gave Command for their better Interment; whereupon a Prieſt belonging to Sir *Robert Brackenbury* removing them, and dying ſhortly after, it could never be known whither they were carry'd: 'Till in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, *Ann.* 1674, ſome Perſons, who were employ'd in Rebuilding ſeveral Offices in the Tower, and to clear the white Tower from all contiguous Edifices, as they dug down the Stairs leading from the King's Lodgings to the Chapel in the ſame Tower, diſcover'd a wooden Cheſt ten Foot in the Ground, in which they found the Bones of two Striplings, and from the Proportion judg'd to have been in their Ages, they were concluded to be the Relicks of thoſe Royal Brothers, whereof one was about thirteen and the other eleven Years of Age. The Circumſtances from Story being fully conſider'd, upon good Preſumption that theſe were the Bones of the ſaid Princes, King *Charles* commanded them to be put in a Marble Urn, and depoſited among the Relicks of the Royal Family in *Weſtminſter* Abbey.

God's Vengeance upon the Murderers.

Both the Contrivers and Actors in this horrible Villany met with Rewards ſuitable to their Deſerts in no long Time after. King *Richard* himſelf, beſides his laſt Misfortunes, was both outwardly and inwardly tormented with Fears and Agonies; and according to the Relation of ſome moſt intimate with him, he after this execrable Fact enjoy'd not one Hour of Quiet: His Countenance was changed, his Eyes diſtracted and ghaſtly; he wore Coats of Mail underneath his Cloaths, and had almoſt always his Hand upon his Dagger ready to ſtrike, as if others were ſtriking at him. He ſpent whole Nights without Sleep; and if by chance he got a little Reſt, he waken'd with fearful Dreams, which forc'd him to quit his Bed, and ſo walk'd up and down his Room full of prodigious Fears. Sir *James Tyrrel* ſuffer'd on *Tower-Hill* for Treaſon in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, having firſt confeſs'd this Murder. The other two, tho' they eſcap'd human Juſtice, yet they were purſu'd by Divine Vengeance: For *Miles Forreſt* dy'd miſerably, having almoſt all his Members rotted and cut off: *Dighton* liv'd in daily Expectation of an ignominious End, and continu'd at *Calais* no leſs diſdain'd and hated, than pointed at by all Men.

King Richard *crown'd a ſecond time at* York.

A. D. 1484. Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.

The Duke of Buckingham *diſcontented.*

II. King *Richard* had now a more unqueſtionable Title to the Crown than ever, but ſtill further to ſecure it, he firſt caus'd himſelf to be crown'd a ſecond Time in the City of *York* with extraordinary Magnificence, and inveſted his Son *Edward* in the Principality of *Wales*. Then, having made many good Ordinances worthy of a better Man, he procur'd a Parliament who declar'd and adjudg'd the Marriage between his Brother and the Lady *Gray* to be unlawful, by reaſon of a prior Contract, and their Children to be illegitimate and uncapable of the Crown. But before theſe Projects were compleated, beſides his continual Axiety, he ſoon found himſelf diſappointed, firſt by the untimely Death of his Son, and then by the Revolt of his principal Supporter the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Cauſe of this laſt is not fully known; but it is ſuppos'd to ariſe from the Claim *Buckingham* had to the Duke of *Hertford*'s Lands; and he having done ſuch Services to King *Richard*, he concluded that he could deny him nothing. But theſe Lands having fallen from the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and being now annexed to the Crown, the King fear'd that if the Duke were poſſeſs'd of them, his Thoughts might ſoon exceed the Condition of a Subject. Inſomuch that when *Buckingham* demanded them, he receiv'd ſuch a threatning and ſcornful Reply, that he could not bear it, but feign'd himſelf ſick that he might not attend at the Coronation; ſo that *Richard* ſent him Word, *That if he would not come, he would force him to be brought thither.* At which he appear'd in that magnificent Manner before recited; but with ſuch Diſſatisfaction, that he was not able to behold the Crown on *Richard*'s Head. However it was, Pride and Diſcontent ſoon widen'd the Breach; and having retir'd himſelf to his Caſtle at *Brecknock* in *Wales*, he there compleated his Reſolutions by the Counſel and Encouragement of his Priſoner Doctor *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*.

His Deſigns againſt King Richard.

The Duke of Buckingham *and Biſhop of* Ely *mutually engage to advance the Earl of* Richmond

Here Sir *Thomas Moore* gives us the Particulars of a long and ſecret Debate between the Duke and this politick Prelate, which probably he learnt from the Biſhop's own Mouth. In which Conference, the Biſhop, after many Heſitations and Soundings of the Duke's Intention, 'freely inveigh'd 'againſt the numerous Crimes and Enormities of the preſent King *Richard*, and laſtly urg'd the Duke, as being 'of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, to take upon him the Title 'of King, and aſſume the Crown of *England*, to the Security of the Nation.' On the other Side the Duke made a plauſible Apology for all the Aſſiſtances he had given to the preſent Uſurper, declaring, 'That he had once 'an Intention to aſſume the Crown; but upon Reconſideration, he found the Earl of *Richmond* to be the neareſt Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and the propereſt 'Perſon; who if he marry'd the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt 'Daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth, and the neareſt 'Heir of the Houſe of *York*, he might both deſtroy King '*Richard*, and put a full Period to all the Troubles and 'Calamities of the Nation.' This Concluſion was highly pleaſing to the Biſhop of *Ely*, who conſulting with the Duke where firſt to begin, it was reſolv'd immediately to treat with the Counteſs of *Richmond*, it being neceſſary firſt to know from her the Intentions of the Earl her Son, who was then in *Bretaign*. In order to this, the Biſhop offer'd to bring one *Reynold Gray*, a domeſtick Servant of the Counteſs, a wiſe and diſcreet Man, and well vers'd in the Negotiation of great Affairs; and accordingly he wrote to him to come to *Brecknock* about a Buſineſs nearly concerning his Miſtreſs. Being arriv'd, the Inſtructions he receiv'd were theſe, 'That conſidering the Kingdom could 'not be reduc'd to Quiet, but by advancing the Earl of '*Richmond* to the Crown, and uniting the two Houſes of '*Lancaſter* and *York* by Marriage; that the Counteſs of '*Richmond* ſhould treat of that Matter with Queen *Elizabeth*, and having obtain'd her eldeſt Daughter, ſhe 'ſhould ſend into *Bretaign* to her Son; who if he promis'd 'to marry her whenever he was crown'd, they engag'd 'by joining the Forces of the Factions to make him King.' *Bray* being diſpatch'd away with this Embaſſy, the Biſhop likewiſe took leave of the Duke, who was extreamly unwilling to part with ſuch a wiſe Counſellor. However he reſolv'd to depart; and while the Duke fed him with Hopes, under Pretence of raiſing Men for his Journey, he ſtole away diſguis'd, and getting fortunately to *Ely*, he provided himſelf with Money, and paſs'd over into *Flanders*, where he became more Serviceable in this Matter than he could have been in *England*. Yet his Departure prov'd fatal to the Duke, for wanting his Advice, and meeting with unexpected Accidents, it caus'd his final Ruin.

with the Queen's Concurrence

Their Adherents.

Their Embaſſy to the Earl.

His Anſwer.

In the mean Time *Bray* acquainted his Lady with the whole Affair, who immediately approv'd of it; but the Queen being ſtill in Sanctuary, the Counteſs thought it not proper to go in Perſon, therefore ſhe ſent her Phyſician *Lewis*, a learned *Welſhman*, who had a ſpecious Pretence of viſiting a Perſon not well in Health. Having gain'd Acceſs, and being well known to her, he handſomely open'd the Cauſe, as a Matter not digeſted and concluded, but as an Opinion of his own, not hard to be effected if ſhe would approve of it. The Queen well underſtood him, and was rightly ſenſible that if the Earl of *Richmond* was marry'd to her eldeſt Daughter, it might naturally produce the greateſt of all human Felicities to her Family; therefore ſhe promis'd, if that could be effected, to aſſiſt by any Methods towards the Deſtruction of the Uſurper. The Phyſician having inform'd his Miſtreſs of the Queen's Intentions, ſhe immediately proceeded with all Vigour; and *Bray* ſecretly treated with ſuch as he knew faithful, and fit for a Matter of ſuch Importance; while the Queen negotiated with all thoſe who hated King *Richard*, and wiſh'd for nothing more than an Opportunity of ſerving her. Thoſe employ'd for the Counteſs, beſides *Bray* and the Phyſician, were Sir *Giles Aubery*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, *Thomas Ramney*, and *Hugh Conway*. This laſt being ſent by the Counteſs to her Son with a conſiderable Sum of Money, he took his way by *Plimouth* through *Cornwall*; while *Thomas Ramney* was ſent through *Kent*, that if one ſhould unfortunately miſcarry, the other might effect the Work; but both were ſo ſucceſsful, that they did not differ many Hours in their Meeting at *Bretaign*. Their Embaſſy to the Earl was, 'That he was ſent for as 'King, nominated by the great Men, and deſir'd by all; 'That the Marriage was agreed by the Queen and the 'Duke of *Buckingham*; That he ſhould come with all 'Expedition and land in *Wales*, where he ſhould find 'Friends and Aſſiſtance ſufficient for his Purpoſe.' The Earl, form'd by Nature for a Throne, communicated the Affair to the Duke of *Bretaign*, who notwithſtanding King *Richard*'s Threats and Promiſes, had given him his Liberty, and now generouſly conſented to befriend him in this nice Conjuncture. So that confident of good Succeſs, the Earl ſent *Conway* and *Ramney* back to his Mother, with Anſwer, *That he accepted of the Invitation, and that as ſoon as he could provide Neceſſaries he would come for* England; *in the mean time Order might be taken for the Affairs there, that he might find the leſs Impediments at his Arrival.* Upon this Meſſage, his Adherents took Courage,

rage, and began their Preparations; they ſent into convenient Places Perſons fit to make them good, and diſpos'd ſeveral Commanders in other Parts, that they might be ready upon all Occaſions. Others privately ſollicited the People to prepare them for an Inſurrection; and the Biſhop of *Ely* wrote from *Flanders* to ſuch as he knew hated King *Richard*, promoting the Buſineſs by the ſole Authority of his Letters.

Richard's *Preparations againſt them*

Tho' this Deſign was carry'd on with the utmoſt Caution and Secrecy, yet it could not be long conceal'd from the Jealouſies of the politick King; who placing his Spies in all Parts, betook himſelf to Arms; and ſoon concluding the Duke of *Buckingham* to be the prime Mover, he was of Opinion that the main Proviſions were to be made againſt him. But firſt he reſolv'd to try him with Offers, which if rejected, then to proceed to the ſevereſt Methods: Accordingly he ſent an Expreſs Meſſenger to him with Letters full of Courteſy, and the greateſt Promiſes; but the larger they were, they became ſo much the more ſuſpicious. He well knew the King's Temper, and that he had proceeded in the ſame manner with all thoſe he deſign'd to abuſe; therefore he deſir'd to be excus'd coming to him, alledging a great Indiſpoſition and Unfitneſs to travel. *Richard* not at all ſatisfy'd, wrote to him in contrary Terms, commanding him to appear immediately before him; to which the Duke, laying aſide all Artifices, gave Anſwer to the Meſſenger, *That he would not come to One whom he accounted his mortal Enemy*. Thus without further Diſſimulation they prepare for War; and the Rumour of it caus'd the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, Son to the Queen Dowager, to quit his Sanctuary, and to go and raiſe Forces in *Yorkſhire*; in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall* Sir *Edward Courtney*, and his Brother the Biſhop of *Exeter* did the ſame; and Sir *Richard Guilford*, aſſiſted by many other Gentlemen, began the War in *Kent*. King *Richard* was not taken altogether unprovided; but uſing all Diligence, he march'd towards *Salisbury*, while the Duke of *Buckingham*, with an Army of *Welſhmen*, advanc'd towards *Gloceſter*, there to paſs the *Severn*, and join with the two *Courtneys*, and the reſt of their Adherents; which if effected, the King probably had been ruin'd. But here Providence, that deſign'd to puniſh the Duke for all his Crimes, interpos'd, and ſent ſuch a Deluge of Rain, that the *Severn* was not only impaſſable, but Men, Women and Children were carried away in their Beds by the Violence of it, and the Tops of Mountains were cover'd with Waters. This Flood continuing for ten Days, the Duke was forc'd to ſtay, while his Soldiers almoſt drown'd with Rain, famiſh'd for want of Victuals, and having no Pay, took a Reſolution to Disband of themſelves; which they did, notwithſtanding all the Authority and Perſuaſions of the Duke to the contrary. Being all diſpers'd, and the Duke abandon'd, he retir'd near *Shrewsbury* to the Houſe of one *Humphrey Baniſter*, a Servant of his, who being highly oblig'd to him upon all Accounts, he concluded he might remain in Safety, 'till ſuch Time as he could either gather new Forces, or paſs over into *Bretaign* to the Earl of *Richmond*.

Both Parties take Arms.

The Duke of Buckingham's *Men diſband.*

The Disbanding of the Duke's Army being publiſh'd abroad, and it not being known whether he was alive or dead, ſuch Fear poſſeſt thoſe of *Kent*, *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, that laying down their Arms, they fled ſome into Sanctuaries, and others beyond the Seas, and moſt of the chief of them particularly into *Bretaign*. King *Richard* hearing of the *Welſhmens* Retreat, the Duke's Flight, and the reſt of the Conſpirators Deſign to ſave themſelves, he immediately ſent to all the Ports, and order'd all Paſſengers of any ſort to be ſtopp'd; making Proclamation, 'That whoever ſhould diſcover or deliver up the Duke of '*Buckingham* into his Hands, if he were under the Villenage, he ſhould be enfranchis'd; and if otherwiſe, together with a general Pardon, he ſhould have a thouſand 'Pounds ready Money given him.' Together with this he made ſtrong Preparations at Sea, being aſſur'd by Sir *Thomas Hutton*, who had been Ambaſſador in *Bretaign*, that the Earl of *Richmond* was certainly to be aſſiſted by that Duke both with Men and Money; he therefore ſent many Ships to the Coaſt of *Bretaign*, with Intention either to fight him, or hinder him from landing on the *Engliſh* Shore. In other Parts he left no Place unguarded, and none were permitted to land or take Shipping without the moſt diligent Search, that ſome News might be had of the Duke of *Buckingham*. *Baniſter*, into whoſe Hands the Duke had truſted his Life, hearing of the Proclamations and promis'd Rewards, out of Fear or Avarice, diſcover'd where he was to the Sheriff of *Shropſhire*; who coming to *Baniſter*'s Houſe, found the Duke in the Habit of a Day-Labourer digging in a Garden; in which Apparel he was ſent well guarded to *Shrewsbury*, where King *Richard* then reſided. He deny'd not the Conſpiracy, hoping by his free Confeſſion to have gain'd Admittance into the King's Preſence; ſome think with an Intention to have begg'd for Mercy, others to have kill'd the King with a Dagger which he wore underneath his Cloaths. But ſtern *Richard* not ſuffering him to be brought to him, he was on the firſt Day of *November* beheaded in the Market-Place, without any manner of Proceſs, and after the ſame Manner he had caus'd many others to ſuffer. Here Sir *Thomas Moore* takes notice of the Puniſhments which God ſent upon *Baniſter* and all his Family afterwards; but the Vengeance of Heav'n was more conſpicuous againſt the Duke, who now juſtly fell into the Hands of a Tyrant, whom contrary to all Juſtice he had rais'd into the Throne. The Duke was in his Death accompany'd by ſeveral others, particularly Sir *George Brown*, Sir *Roger Clifford*, and Sir *Thomas Saintlieger*, who was the laſt Husband to the Dutcheſs of *Exeter*, the King's Siſter.

The Duke taken.

and beheaded.

III. During theſe Tranſactions at Home, the Earl of *Richmond*, aſſiſted by the Duke of *Bretaign*, had got together five thouſand Men, and forty furniſh'd Ships, in which he embark'd for *England*. But in the next Night he met with a dreadful Storm, which diſpers'd all his Ships, and threw him ſingly upon the Coaſt of *Dorſetſhire*, near the Town of *Poole*; where he found the Shore all cover'd with Men to prevent his Landing. Here he caſt Anchor, expecting the Arrival of his other Ships; and then ſent a Boat near the Shore to diſcover whether they were Friends or not. Being come within Hearing, thoſe on the Shore ſaid, *They were ſent to conduct them to the Duke of* Buckingham, *who lay with a great Army not far diſtant, expecting the Landing of the Earl of* Richmond, *who might eaſily ruin King* Richard, *now abandon'd by moſt Men.* But the Earl ſoon diſcover'd this Deceit, and deſpairing to meet with the reſt of the Fleet, he put to Sea and landed in *Normandy*, from whence he diſpatch'd a Gentleman to *Charles*, the preſent King of *France*, to deſire a ſafe Conduct into *Bretaign*; and he commiſerating the Earl's Miſfortunes, did not only grant that, but alſo a conſiderable Sum of Money. Being arriv'd in *Bretaign*, and his Ships return'd, he then learn'd the ill Succeſs of his Affairs in *England*, how the Duke of *Buckingham* was executed, and the Queen's Son the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, with the reſt of his Companions, were come into *Bretaign*, which extreamly dejected him; yet he was comforted at the Arrival of his Friends, promiſing himſelf ſome Advantage from their Safeties. Here they again all reſolv'd to proceed in their firſt Deſign, and to make the Earl King, upon Condition he marry'd the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth. All this was ſworn to in the Cathedral Church of *Rennes*; where likewiſe the Marqueſs with all the reſt did Homage to the Earl, as their actual King. The Earl fail'd not to acquaint the Duke of *Bretaign* with all theſe Proceedings, and the Greatneſs of the Cauſe he undertook; and that he greatly ſtood in need of another Fleet, and Supplies of Money: To all which the Duke generouſly harkened and condeſcended.

The Earl of Richmond's *Fleet diſpers'd at Sea.*

In the mean Time the Tyrant *Richard* proceeded with great Severity, and put many ſuſpected Perſons to Death; and being return'd to *London*, he call'd a Parliament, in which the Earl of *Richmond*, and thoſe that had fled to him were declar'd Enemies to the Kingdom, and their Eſtates confiſcated. Tho' theſe Confiſcations amounted to large Sums, yet they were not ſufficient for his Purpoſes, and did not hinder him from laying inſufferable Taxes upon his Subjects. Fearing to provoke the People too much, he was content to keep the Earl of *Richmond*'s Mother only as a Priſoner, while the Lord *Stanley* her Husband paſs'd without any great Suſpicion. But for *William Collingburn*, who had been High-Sheriff of *Wiltſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, he caus'd him to be executed for writing this Rhime, *The Cat, the Rat, and* Lovell *the Dog, Do govern* England *under a Hog*; alluding to *Catesby*, *Ratcliff*, and the Lord *Lovell*, who gave the Dog for his Arms, as *Richard* did the Boar for his; being all three prime Favourites. Then to keep himſelf ſecure from foreign Diſturbances, *Richard* ſent Commiſſioners to treat with the King of *Scotland*, with whom he made a Truce for three Years, each of them to keep what they poſſeſs'd, only the Caſtle of *Dunbarre* was to be reſtor'd to the *Scots*. And that he might have a double Tye upon them, he concluded a Marriage between the Duke of *Rothſay*, Heir of *Scotland*, and his Neice *Anne* of *Poole*, Daughter to his Siſter *Anne* and *John* Duke of *Suffolk*. All theſe Precautions could not free his diſtracted Mind from thoſe Furies which had brought Hell into his Conſcience; and tho' *Buckingham* and many others were dead and baniſh'd, yet he could have no Peace or Security; his heinous Crimes, the Peoples Hatred, and the Earl of *Richmond* would not ſuffer him to enjoy an Hour's Reſt. He again endeavour'd to get the Earl into his Poſſeſſion, and loaded his Ambaſſadors with large Sums of Money, and other Gifts, to preſent to the Duke of *Bretaign*; alſo offering him *Richmondſhire*, all the Earl's Revenues, and all the Eſtates of thoſe

that

The Earl and his Adherents declar'd publick Enemies in Parliament.

Truce with Scotland.

that had fled to him. But the Ambaſſadors could not have Acceſs to the Duke, being come when he was under a delirious Fit; whereupon they made their Addreſſes to *Peter Landois*, who had Power to diſpoſe of the Prince and State as he pleas'd. Theſe large Offers had ſuch Effects upon his baſe Mind, that he was ready to comply with them, but not in the manner they were propos'd; for he demanded *Richmondſhire* for himſelf; upon which Meſſengers were ſeveral Times diſpatch'd into *England*, which Delay of Time prov'd the Earl's Security. For theſe Deſigns being diſcover'd in *England*, and to the Biſhop of *Ely* in *Flanders*, that Prelate immediately gave Notice to the Earl, adviſing him to fly with all Speed, or he would fall into the Enemy's Hands.

The Earl of Richmond *in great Danger.*

The Earl receiv'd this Advice at *Vennes*, from whence he immediately ſent for a ſafe Conduct from the *French* King, which being obtain'd, he left many *Engliſhmen* behind him, and with only five Followers in a Diſguiſe, fled out of *Bretaign* into *Anjou* ſo fortunately, that one Hour's Delay might have been his Ruin. The Duke of *Bretaign* having recover'd his perfect Senſes, was highly diſpleas'd at the vile Proceedings of *Landois*; and commanded that all the *Engliſh* might have Permiſſion to go to their Maſter, and their Charges honourably born by the Publick. He alſo ſent the Money he had promis'd to the Earl by *Edward Woodvile* and *Edward Poinings*, two *Engliſh* Gentlemen; for which the Earl, to ſhew his Gratitude, declar'd, *That he could never be at Reſt, 'till Fortune had afforded him Means in ſome ſort to requite his infinite Obligations to the Duke, by whoſe Favour only he now liv'd.* The King of *France* was then at *Langres*, where the Earl repair'd to him, inform'd him of the Reaſon of his Flight from *Bretaign*, and begg'd his Aſſiſtance in this extraordinary Cauſe; which was not hard to obtain from ſo generous a Prince, againſt one whoſe Name began to be odious in all Nations. King *Charles* promis'd to aſſiſt him, and brought him on his Way to *Montargis*, treating the Lords that attended him with Hoſpitality becoming a King. While thus he was ordering his Affairs, Fortune, the better to encourage him, ſent him a Man forgotten, and in Effect thought dead; *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who had been impriſon'd in *Hammes* Caſtle by King *Edward* the Fourth, not long after the Battel of *Barnet*. This Nobleman had ſo far prevail'd with Sir *James Blunt*, Captain of that Caſtle, and Sir *John Forteſcue*, Porter of *Calais*, that he did not only obtain his Liberty, but procur'd them to forſake their Commands, and go along with him under the Conduct of the Earl of *Richmond*. But *Blunt* having left his Lady and all his Goods in *Hammes*, he compleatly fortify'd it, and increas'd his Garriſon, that if it ſhould be beſieg'd, they might defend themſelves 'till Fortune turn'd againſt King *Richard*. King *Charles* being return'd to *Paris*, the Earl's Retinue increas'd; all that were fled from *England*, as well as the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, either as Scholars in the Univerſities, or returning from their Travels, flock'd to him: Among whom was one *Richard Fox*, a ſecular Prieſt, a Man of excellent Parts, who was ſhortly after advanc'd to great Places and Dignities.

Richard's *Proceedings.*

King *Richard* all this Time was not wanting to himſelf; his Thoughts were bent upon his own Preſervation, and the Security of the Crown which he unworthily wore: And tho' he ſaw Heav'n and Earth conſpiring againſt him, yet he thought by his own Subtlety to make his Party good againſt both. But underſtanding the Earl's Flight out of *Bretaign*, he ſtood amaz'd, and concluded that his main Remedy was to break the deſign'd Match between the Earl and his Neice *Elizabeth*. But barely to break it was not thought ſufficient; therefore he reſolv'd to break into the Laws of Nature, and marry his own Neice, whom formerly he had declar'd Illegitimate, and Inceſt would ſerve but as a Lawrel to crown his other Abominations. His Conſcience was now ſo harden'd, that he reſolv'd upon three Things, Deceit, Murder, and Inceſt; the former, with Allurements and Promiſes was to mollifie the Queen Mother, and to make way for the other two, the Murder of his Wife, and the Marriage with his Neice. To effect all this, he choſe Peſons fit for his Purpoſe, who in the moſt obliging manner made plauſible Excuſes to the Queen Mother for all that was paſt, pretending, 'That his Majeſty was ſenſibly afflicted for his dear Neices, that they ſhould make themſelves voluntary Priſoners, and miſtruſt the natural Affection of an Uncle, who like a Father thought of nothing but their Happineſs: That his great Deſire was to treat them according to their Birth, to have them to Court, and to provide them with worthy Husbands; and whenever the Death of his Wife ſhould happen (which muſt neceſſarily be in a ſhort Time, by reaſon of ſome extraordinary Indiſpoſitions) his Reſolution was to make the Princeſs *Elizabeth* his Queen, and would likewiſe prefer the Marqueſs *Dorſet* to the moſt honourable and profitable Plaees in the Nation, if he would leave the Earl of *Richmond* and return to *England*.' Theſe and many other Things, being dreſs'd up in all the Advantages of Honour and Profit, the Queen, through an unconſtancy of Reſolution, too often charg'd upon her Sex, at the firſt Onſet began to melt, and at the ſecond to yield to the King's Propoſals; at once forgetting the Murder of her two Sons, the Infamy thrown upon her Husband and ſelf by the preſent Poſſeſſor; and what was moſt material, the Oath that ſhe had given to the Counteſs of *Richmond* concerning the Marriage of her Daughter. Ambition ſo far prevail'd as to make her faulty to her own Honour, the Safety of her Daughters, the Generoſity of her paſt Actions, and her own Conſcience; ſo that nothing was thought equivalent to the Perſuaſions of her mortal Enemy. And thus abus'd, ſhe diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to her Son *Dorſet*, then in *France*, commanding him to leave the Earl and come for *England*; declaring, 'That all paſt Injuries were forgotten, and were to be repair'd with Honours and Preferments; and that King *Richard* deſir'd nothing more than to give him full Satisfaction.' And being thus reconcil'd to the King, they all remov'd out of their Sanctuary, and the young Princeſſes were convey'd to Court with extraordinary Solemnity.

He prevails upon the Queen Dowager, who quits her Sanctuary.

Richard having obtain'd the firſt of his three Deſigns, proceeded towards the ſecond, which would be imperfect without the third, and the third impoſſible without the ſecond. He could not marry his Neice unleſs his Wife was dead; upon this therefore he wholly bent his Thoughts. He conſider'd that to put her to a violent Death would too much alienate his People's Affections, which he ſometimes could and had gain'd by his hypocritical Proceedings. For this he hit upon a Method unknown to common Sinners; That Grief, Melancholy and Fear might jointly produce that Effect with the Appearances of Nature, which neither Sword nor Poiſon could do without Scandal. He forbore her Bed, and refus'd to ſpeak to her, denying her both his Society and his Preſence: He began to bewail his ill Fortune in having a Wife that was now barren; and made known his great Affliction to the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, whom he had ſet at Liberty, not doubting but he would declare it to his Wife, and hoping it might work the deſir'd Effect. The Arch-Biſhop, who was a wiſe Man, and well acquainted with the King's Diſpoſition, ſpoke of it to ſome of his intimate Friends, judging the unfortunate Lady's Life to be of no long Continuance. Shortly after the King caus'd it to be reported that ſhe was dead, that whenever her Death ſhould happen, it might appear leſs ſurpriſing, and likewiſe caus'd this Rumour to be brought to her own Ears; that every thing might add to her Grief, or at leaſt take off the Horror of the Fact. The Queen, who was of a ſoft and tender Diſpoſirion, and not able to ſtand againſt the Power of ſo many Machinations, was extremely confounded and diſpirited; well knowing that a dreadful Tempeſt muſt needs follow ſuch portentous Thundrings. She ran with great Eagerneſs to him, to know wherein ſhe had ſo highly offended him, as that he thought her not only worthy of Hatred, which was apparently ſeen, but of the Puniſhment that was to befall her, the World judging her to be dead already. His Anſwer was pleaſant in Words, but ſevere in Senſe, mingled with Smiles; which gave her more Cauſe of Suſpicion than Comfort. She retir'd to her own Lodgings, where a few Days after ſhe departed this Life, uncertain whether out of Grief or Poiſon. And this was the End of a Lady, who out of Ambition and Intereſt marry'd to one who had been the Author both of her Husband's and Father's Death.

King Richard's *Queen dies.*

A. D. 1485. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

IV. King *Richard* having obtain'd two of his Deſigns, he began to proceed towards the third, the Marriage of his Neice; but he was ſoon ſo interrupted and almoſt confounded with the publick Affairs, that he could never bring it to Effect. He found many of the Prime Nobility fled into *France* to the Earl of *Richmond*, and ſaw himſelf ſo nauſeous to the People, that they were ready to vomit him out. He began now alſo to have greater Jealouſies againſt the Lord *Stanley* than any other Nobleman; ſo that when that Lord deſir'd leave to return to his Country Houſe, under Pretence of ſome Domeſtick Affairs, he would not permit him 'till he had left his eldeſt Son *George Stanley* in Court, as an Hoſtage for his Father's Loyalty. Underſtanding of *Blunt*'s Revolt, and the Earl of *Oxford*'s Eſcape from *Hammes* Caſtle, he order'd the Garriſon of *Calais* to beſiege and reduce that Place; which was done with a Succeſs greater than was expected. This inconſiderable Advantage, and ſome falſe Repreſentations of the Weakneſs of the Earl of *Richmond*, and the Backwardneſs of the *French* King to aſſiſt him, prov'd a vaſt Diſadvantage to King *Richard*, who being both puff'd up and deluded, recall'd his Ships and diſbanded his Army; judging that the Nobility inhabiting the Maritime Parts, eſpecially thoſe of *Wales*, were ſufficient to oppoſe any Deſcent his Enemy could make.

The Earl of *Richmond* had really met with ſome Delays and Impediments in the Court of *France*, that caus'd the Marqueſs *Dorſet* ſecretly to fly from him; which might have been of great Damage to him, had he not been happily ſtopt in his Journey. Theſe Things made the Earl more diligent; and finding that Delays might be the Loſs or Ruin of his Friends, he judg'd it neceſſary to attempt that with a Few which he could not with Many. He borrow'd Money of the King and many others, leaving the Marqueſs *Dorſet* and Sir *John Bourchier* as Hoſtages; and having gather'd ſome Men, he repair'd to *Roan*, there waiting for the Ships from *Harfleur* that were to tranſport his Forces. Here he was inform'd of the Death of King *Richard*'s Queen, and of his Reſolution to marry his Neice, who by her Mother was promis'd to him. This extreamly diſcourag'd him and his Followers; who after a new Conſultation judg'd it a raſh Reſolution to undertake ſo dangerous an Enterprize with a Handful of Men; therefore they reſolv'd not to ſtir 'till they had receiv'd new Advices from *England*, and could gain over Sir *Walter Herbert*, a Gentleman of great Family and Power in *Wales*. But the Earl about the ſame Time receiving an Account that Sir *Rice ap Thomas* and Captain *Savage*, two Men of great Note in *Wales*, would declare for him, and that *Reynold Bray* had large Sums in Poſſeſſion to pay the Soldiers; he at length took Shipping on the fifteenth Day of *Auguſt*, with a few Veſſels, and two thouſand Soldiers. After ſeven Days he landed at *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*; from whence paſſing on to *Dale*, he march'd to *Weſt-Hereford*, where was receiv'd with all Satisfaction by the Inhabitants. Here he was diſcourag'd with the falſe News that *Thomas* and *Savage* had declar'd for King *Richard*, and ſoon after as much encourag'd by *Arnold Butler*, that the Inhabitants of *Pembrokeſhire* had join'd with his Uncle *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, their natural Lord; which caus'd him to march on to *Cardigan*, his Camp increaſing every Hour. Here he heard News that Sir *Walter Herbert* was at *Caermarthen* with a Deſign to oppoſe him; but he ſoon underſtood by his Scouts that there was no Enemy to be ſeen, the Country being open and free for his March. This Satisfaction was augmented by the coming in of *Richard Griffith* and *John Morgan*, with a good Body of Men. Yet the Earl ſeeing himſelf reduc'd to the Neceſſity of meeting with Victory or Ruin, and that without further Aſſiſtance he could not ſubſiſt long, he wrote to his Mother, and the Lord *Stanley*, with others, 'That being by their Advice arriv'd in *England*, it was their Aſſiſtance that muſt ſupport him; for having but few Men, one Defeat would be his Ruin: That Temporizing would now be fatal; and if Diſſimulation was once advantagious, it would be now pernicious, and diſcourage all his real Friends.' This Diſpatch being ſent away by a faithful Servant, he took his March towards *Shrewsbury*, and met with *Rice ap Thomas*, who with a conſiderable Number of *Welſhmen* ſwore Fealty to him, the Earl having promis'd to make him Preſident of *Wales*, as ſoon as he ſhould be King. At *Shrewsbury* he receiv'd an Anſwer from his Mother and others, according to his Deſire. From thence he paſs'd on to *Newport*, where Sir *Gilbert Talbot* with two thouſand Men came to meet him; as likewiſe did Sir *William Stanley* at *Stafford*, where he made ſome Stay to refreſh his People. After this he came to *Litchfield*, and was receiv'd by the Inhabitants as their lawful Prince. The Lord *Stanley* had been there two Days before with his Soldiers, and was remov'd from thence to make Way for the Earl, that he might not be ſeen in his Company; being extreamly cautious by reaſon of his Son's being an Hoſtage with King *Richard*, and ſo hourly in Danger of his Life.

The Earl lands in Wales.

His Progreſs.

King *Richard*, being now at *Nottingham*, heard of the Earl's Arrival; but with ſuch a Relation of his inconſiderable Forces, that he had no Regard to him. But afterwards well conſidering the Conſequences, he began to change his Mind, and his Affairs appear'd to be in a Condition not to be truſted to other Mens Directions, by reaſon of the general Hatred of the Nation. Therefore making a Scrutiny of ſuch as were moſt intereſted in the Preſervation of his Perſon and Dignity, he choſe *John* Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Surrey*, giving them Commiſſion to gather together what Friends and Forces they could; and he gave order to *Brackenbury* the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to do the ſame, and bring as Companions Sir *Thomas Bourcher* and Sir *Walter Hungerford*; not that he expected any Service from them, but to prevent their Conſpiring againſt him. All theſe Precautions did not ſatisfie him, when he underſtood the Earl had paſs'd the *Severn:* He then began to miſtruſt his Affairs, and to complain of thoſe who had promis'd to defend that Paſſage; and now he found that his Buſineſs was not to be truſted to any third Party, and growing jealous of all Men, he went in Perſon at the Head of his Army to give his Enemy Battel, executing himſelf the Duty of a Serjeant-Major. He came by Night to *Leiceſter* upon a white Steed, ſurrounded by Guards and a great Number of Foot, with a wild Countenance, anſwerable to the Speeches he utter'd againſt ſuch as had abandon'd him, and diſown'd him for their King. The Earl hearing of his Approach, encamp'd near *Tamworth*, where he was met by Sir *Thomas Bourcher* and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, who fearing King *Richard*, had privately ſlipp'd from *Brackenbury*'s Forces. From other Parts divers Men of Quality repair'd to him, who probably would have been his Enemies, had not their Hatred to King *Richard* mov'd them to join with him: Only the Lord *Stanley* durſt not appear openly for him, by reaſon of his Son's being in *Richard*'s Poſſeſſion. Both Sides were equally inclinable to fight, being mov'd by ſeveral Fears; *Richard* of being abandon'd, and the Earl of wanting Money and other Neceſſaries. But *Richard*'s Condition was apparently the worſe of the two, for Perſons daily deſerted from him; ſo that ſeeking out a fit Place for Battel, he encamp'd himſelf near a Village called *Boſworth*, not far from *Leiceſter*, where having refreſh'd his Men, he prepar'd to fight. Here we are told that the Night preceding the Battel, he in his Sleep had certain ſtrange and dreadful Apparitions that he believ'd to be Devils, which tormenting him, broke his Reſt, and left him in ſuch a Conſternation, that all that ſaw him were amaz'd.

King Richard *at the Head of his Army.*

The fatal Day being come, which was to decide the Fortunes of a Kingdom, *Richard* drew out his Troops in ſuch a manner as might make the greateſt Appearance; committing the Van to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and commanding the ſecond Line himſelf, where were the choiceſt and beſt armed Men, being guarded on the Flanks by Horſe, and on the Front by Archers. But notwithſtanding all this Show, his Numbers were but ſmall in reſpect of the Cauſe and Conſequence, yet ſtill much greater than the Earl had on the other Side. The Lord *Stanley* ſtood at a Diſtance almoſt between the two Armies with three thouſand Soldiers, affording Hopes and Fears to both Parties: For being deſir'd by the Earl that he would come and take care of the Ordering and Commanding his Men, his Anſwer was, *That he might do that Office himſelf, he would come as he ſaw it convenient*; and to *Richard*, who ſwore that if he did not come to him he would cut off his Son's Head before Dinner, he anſwer'd, *Let him uſe his Pleaſure, for I have more Sons than he.* This Ambiguity prov'd his Son's Security; for *Richard* having commanded he ſhould be beheaded, he ſuſpended the Order, not ſo much out of Pity, as Fear that *Stanley*'s Cloud which threaten'd a Tempeſt ſhould diſcharge all its Fury upon him when he moſt needed his Aſſiſtance. The Earl of *Richmond* taking Courage from his Father-in-Law's Anſwer, drew up his Men, placing the Archers in the Front under the Conduct of the Earl of *Oxford*; he gave Sir *Gilbert Talbot* Charge over the Right Wing, Sir *John Savage* commanded the Left, and he kept for himſelf and his Uncle the Earl of *Pembroke* a conſiderable Proportion of Horſe and a few Foot, as a Reſerve, with Intention to join with the Troops as Occaſion ſhould require. All his Forccs exceeded not five thouſand Men, and when join'd with the Lord *Stanley*, they ſcarcely amounted to half the Number that King *Richard* had.

Both Armies being drawn up, King *Richard* on one Side, and the Earl on the other, made long Speeches to their Soldiers, which Sir *Thomas Moore* has recited at large. At the joining together of the two Armies, their ſeveral Inclinations were ſoon diſcern'd; thoſe of the King's Side fought faintly, and others withdrew themſelves out of the Camp. The King had commanded thoſe in whom he moſt confided, to take care that all might be carry'd on without Diſorder, and that they would advertiſe him of any Danger that ſhould appear: Theſe ſeeing that ſome were negligent, and others retiring, advis'd him to ſave himſelf, concluding he was betray'd. But the Divine Juſtice would not ſuffer him to hearken to ſuch Advice, not even when the Victory appear'd evidently on his Adverſaries Side; for a fleet Horſe being preſented to him to further his Eſcape, he declar'd, *That Day ſhould either determine the War or his Life.* Underſtanding ſoon after that the Earl was not far from him, guarded but with a few Men, he ſpurr'd on towards him, and knowing him by ſome Marks, he ran furiouſly at him with his Lance. The Earl was not diſpleas'd at the Encounter, judging it the true Way to decide their Conteſt; but he could not meet him directly, being hinder'd by ſome of his own Men. *Richard* being diſappointed, puſh'd againſt the great Standard, and ſlew Sir *William Brandon* the Standard-Bearer; then advancing forwards, Sir *John Cheney* endeavouring to meet him, *Richard* bore him to the Ground, tho' he was a Man of great Strength and Valour. The Earl with his Sword in Hand ſtopp'd his Fury, at the very

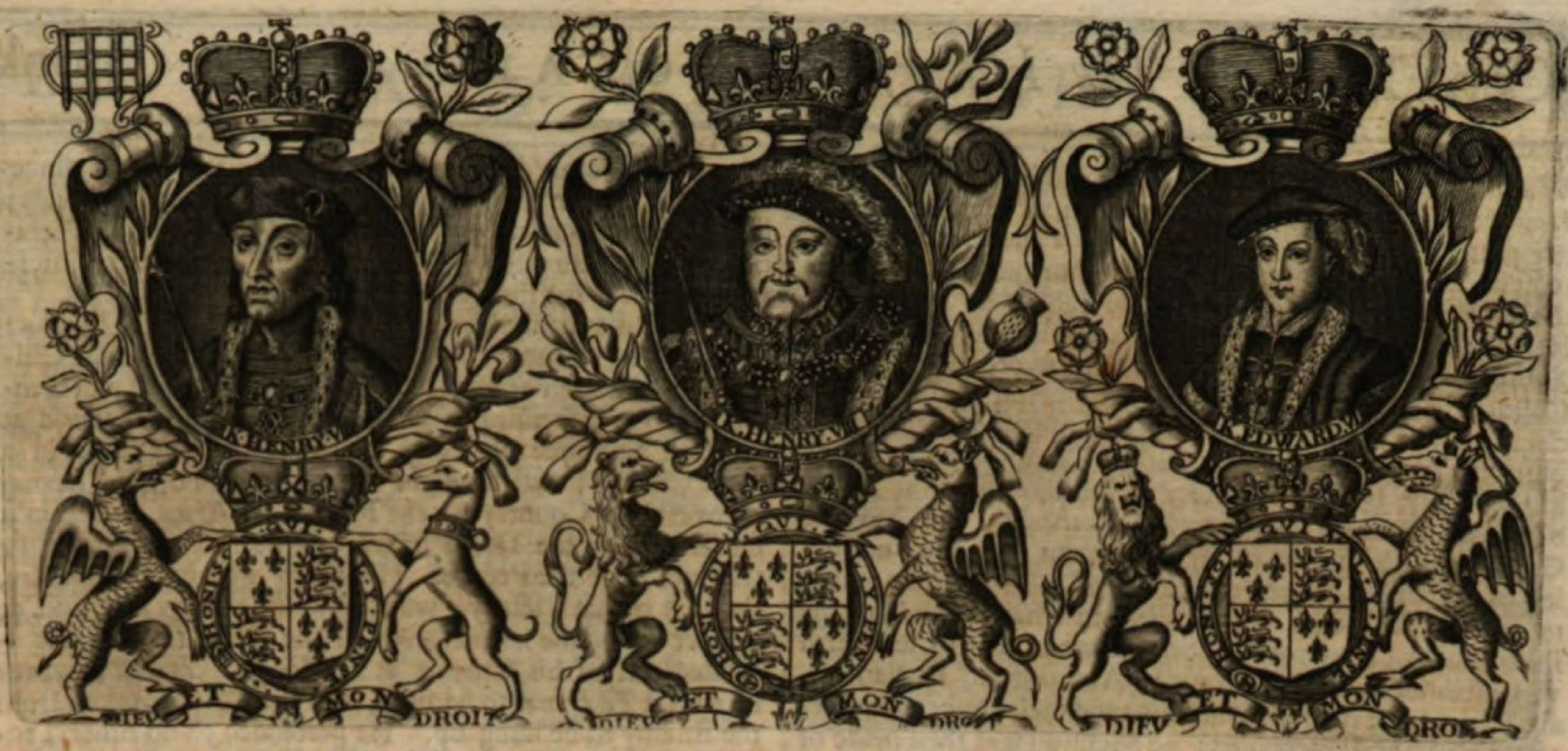
The thirteenth and laſt Battel, at Boſworth.

King Richard ſlain.

Inſtant when the Lord *Stanley* inveſting the King's Squadrons afforded Occaſion for as many to run away as thought fit. *Richard* perceiving this, left the Earl and thruſt himſelf into the thickeſt of the Battel, either to reunite his Men, or to meet Death the ſooner; which laſt ſoon happen'd to him; for fighting valiantly, he fell with the Sword in his Hand all over cover'd with Blood: So that he is ſaid to have gain'd more Honour in theſe two Hours by his Death, than he had done in all the Time of his Life. This happen'd on the twenty ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, in the Prime of his Years, after a deteſtable Reign of two Years, two Months, and four Days; his Body was carry'd to *Leiceſter* after a moſt ignominious Manner, like a ſlain Deer laid croſs a Horſe's Back, his Head and Arms hanging on one Side, his Legs on the other, ſcorn'd and ſtark naked, and beſmear'd with Blood, Dirt and Mire; and having lain two Days in this Manner, on the bare Earth, it was bury'd without any Solemnity or Funeral Rites.

In this Battel were ſlain not much above a Thouſand Men, among whom was the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Lord *Ferrers*. Sir *William Catesby*, who had betray'd the Lord *Haſtings*, was with ſome others beheaded at *Leiceſter*, according to his Deſerts. This was the thirteenth and laſt Battel fought in the Civil Wars between the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, which had broken out about thirty Years before, fill'd the Nation with Blood and Deſolation, and taken away the Lives of near a hundred thouſand Men, and eighty Princes of the Blood, as *Comines* aſſures us. This prov'd the Ruin and Extirpation of the Males of both Families, and ſoon after put an End to the very Name of *Plantagenet*, which had continu'd near three hundred and fifty Years in Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *England*. As to the Houſe of *York* in particular, which in Strictneſs had the neareſt Right to the Crown, it was founded and rais'd upon ſuch Violations of the Laws of God and Man, that it could not laſt above twenty four Years; tho' it was ſupported by all the Powers of Human Strength and Policy. *Richard* may truly be ſaid to have deſcended from an unfortunate Houſe: The Earl of *Cambridge*, his Grand-father, was beheaded at *Southampton*; the Duke of *York*, his Father, ſlain before *Sandal*; of his three Brothers, the Earl of *Rutland* was ſlain in cool Blood, the Duke of *Clarence* drown'd in a Butt of Malmeſey, and his two Nephews ſtrangled in their Beds: So that we can meet with no Tragedy, true or fabulous, where we find ſo many various and cruel Deaths as in this Family. *Richard* himſelf, whoſe Character we need not give, was reſerv'd for the laſt Stroke of the Divine Vengeance: Yet in theſe Proceedings of Providence we find that God, who is the Rewarder of Good in thouſands, is the Puniſher of Evil even in the third and fourth Generations, when ſome of the more immediate Actors eſcape in this World. It has been obſerv'd, That in *Richard* the Second he puniſh'd the Death of *Edward* the Second; in *Henry* the Sixth and his Son, the Death of *Richard* the Second; in *Edward* the Fifth and his Brother, the Death of *Henry* the Sixth and his Son; and in *Richard* the Third, the Death of *Edward* the Fifth and his Brother: And yet he was pleas'd to ſuffer thoſe to die in Peace which were the real Authors. *Edward* the Third, whoſe Mother's Crime gives ſome Aſperſions of Parricide; *Henry* the Fourth, who murther'd *Richard* the Second; and *Edward* the Fourth, who murther'd *Henry* the Sixth, remain'd all unpuniſh'd. But to *Richard* the Third, whoſe Crimes were beyond Example, he deny'd Life, and perhaps Repentance, his Inhumanity neither deſerving Succeſſor nor Pardon.

The End of the Second Book.



HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

The Union of the two Families, or two Roſes, *and the Royal Houſe of* TUDOR, *to the Conjunction of the Two Kingdoms under King* James *the Firſt.*

Containing the Space of about 117 *Years.*

CHAP. I.

From the Death of Richard *the Third, and the Beginning of the Reign of* Henry *the Seventh to the Death of* Edward *the Sixth.*

Containing the Space of about 68 *Years.*

SECT. I.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Seventh.*

Containing 23 *Years, and* 8 *Months.*

A. D. 1485. Reg. 1. Henry *Earl of* Richmond *enters upon the Throne.*

I. UPON the Death of King *Richard* the Third, at the Battel of *Boſworth*, *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, now about thirty Years of Age, both valiant and politick in all his Actions, directly enter'd upon the Crown of *England*; which he obtain'd more by Seiſure or Donation, than by any legal Inheritance. For having offer'd up his Thankſgivings for his Victory, granted the Spoils of the Field to his Soldiers, and honour'd many of them with Knighthood, they with great Acclamations cry'd out *King* Henry, *King* Henry! upon whoſe Forwardneſs the Lord *Stanley* took King *Richard*'s Crown, and ſet it upon the Earl's Head, by that Ceremony confirming the Election of the People; from which Time commenc'd the Reign of the new King with full Succeſs. But becauſe ſo great a Revolution happen'd in the Kingdom, as to transfer the Crown from one Family to another, it will be very proper to take notice of the Genealogy of this King, with his politick Claims and Pretenſions.

His Pedigree.

His Father *Edmund* of *Hadham* Earl of *Richmond*, was Son to *Owen Tudor* and Queen *Katharine*, Widow to King *Henry* the Fifth, whoſe Houſes had no Affinity nor Relation to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, or to the Crown of *England*. So that his Claims by Deſcent muſt proceed all from his Mother, the Lady *Margaret*, only Daughter to the firſt Duke of *Somerſet*, and Grand-Child to *John* of *Gaunt*, Father to King *Henry* the Fourth; which Lady pretended that in Caſe the then preſent Succeſſion ſhould fail, ſhe and her ſon were to ſucceed, as rightly deſcended from the ſaid *John*, the Father of the Houſe of *Somerſet*, as well as *Lancaſter*. But upon a ſtrict Examination, it might eaſily be diſcover'd, that beſides the Deficiencies in the Houſe of *Lancaſter* it ſelf, the Houſe of *Somerſet* was diſtinct, and without thoſe Pretenſions the other had, as it thus appears. *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* had three Wives, *Blanche*, *Conſtance* and *Katharine*, the laſt of whom was Mother to the Houſe of *Somerſet*; and the due Claims of his Children he had by them were not the ſame, in reſpect of the ſeveral Dowries, and different Qualities of the three Mothers. *Blanche* brought with her the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*; *Conſtance*, the Pretences to the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*; and *Katharine* nothing at all, being but a meer

Waiting-woman to the above-nam'd *Blanche*: So that if *Henry* the Fourth and his Siſters born of *Blanche*, could not pretend to the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, in prejudice to the Children of *Conſtance*; nor thoſe Children to the Dukedom of *Lancaſter*, in prejudice to *Henry* the Fourth and his Siſters; much leſs could the Children of *Katharine* have any Pretence at all, in prejudice to the Children by the two former Wives. And they were excludable with the greater Juſtice, becauſe they were really Baſtards, and with this aggravating Circumſtance, on the Father's Side born in Adultery: And tho' after the Death of *Conſtance*, the Duke marry'd *Katharine*, and had her Children made legitimate by Parliament; yet they not being of the whole Blood, the Houſe of *Somerſet* had nothing to do with the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, in what pertain'd to the Inheritance of the Crown. So that when *Henry* the Fourth was eſtabliſh'd in the Throne by Authority of Parliament, and by the ſame Authority his Sons and their Deſcendants declar'd his lawful Succeſſors; no Mention was then made of his half Brothers, in caſe his Succeſſion ſhould fail, or ſuch as ſhould deſcend from them. So that ſtrictly ſpeaking, King *Henry* the Seventh had no rightful Pretenſions to the Crown of *England*, not ſo much as the Houſe of *Lancaſter* had; but being Head of that Party, and endow'd with many excellent Qualifications, his great Succeſs was owing to the Wickedneſs of King *Richard*, and his Promiſe to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, the neareſt Heir to the Kingdom. The Troubles that afterwards afflicted him, aroſe from hence; for he always ſhew'd himſelf but lukewarm in his Affections towards his Wife, being an irreconcileable Enemy to her Family; inſomuch that having gain'd the Victory, and deſtroy'd his Oppoſer, he poſitively reſolv'd not to be King but by his own Title and Intereſt: He therefore deferr'd his Marriage and her Coronation, till ſuch Time as being crown'd himſelf, and eſtabliſh'd by Parliament, he had only accepted of the Title of *Lancaſter*, as the firſt and chiefeſt Fundamental; and of the other two, thoſe of Conqueſt and Marriage, but as Accidental, and as Supporters. All which was the leſs blameable, becauſe it did not proceed ſo much from any Hatred to the Houſe of *York*, as from the Love he bore to himſelf, and from a cautious Foreſight: For a Report being rais'd that the young Duke of *York* had eſcap'd from his deſign'd Murderers, his Claim by his Wife would have forbid him, if her Brother had been alive, who could not have been excluded but by the litigious Title of *Lancaſter*. And if this News were falſe, there ſtill remain'd other Scruples: As ſuppoſing ſhe ſhould die without Children, the bare Title of Marriage would not ſecure the Crown to him, which was to fall upon her Siſters; and if ſhe ſhould die with Children, the Crown would devolve upon them, to the Excluſion of himſelf. But if ſtill his Children and a Parliament ſhould be content to continue him in his Government, he knew there was a great Difference between reigning by Virtue of Birth and Law, by which he was oblig'd to no Man, and reigning by the Conſent of others, by which he was oblig'd to every Man. Then to make uſe of the Title of Conqueſt, was both odious and dangerous, which might alienate even thoſe that ſided with him. And tho' the Title of *Lancaſter* had been condemn'd in Parliament, and he himſelf arriv'd at the Crown not by the real Virtue of that, but that by marrying with the Princeſs *Elizabeth* all Diſputes between the two Houſes might be ended; yet mov'd by the foreſaid Conſiderations, and not valuing probable Inconveniencies, he declar'd himſelf King by Vertue of his own Birth, without naming the Princeſs *Elizabeth* in any Degree: Being willing to run the greateſt Hazard, rather than be King by the Courteſie of his Wife, while ſhe ſhould live; by the Good-will of his Children, if ſhe ſhould firſt die; or by the Permiſſion of a Parliament, if he ſhould have no Iſſue by her.

King Henry *impriſons the Earl of* Warwick.

With theſe nice Precautions this politick Prince began his Reign upon the twenty ſecond Day of *Auguſt*: And underſtanding that the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and *Edward Plantagenet*, Earl of *Warwick*, and Son to the Duke of *Clarence*, were in *Sheriff-Hutton* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*, there kept by King *Richard*'s Command; he order'd that the Princeſs ſhould be brought up to *London* to the Queen her Mother, whither ſhe was attended by ſeveral Lords and Ladies. But for the Earl of *Warwick*, he gave Order that the Keeper of the Caſtle ſhould deliver him into the Cuſtody of Sir *Robert Willoughby*, to be by him brought Priſoner to the *Tower* of *London*; for tho' he was not fifteen Years of Age, yet he was a Perſon not thought fit to enjoy his Liberty in ſuch uncertain and litigious Times. The new King march'd from *Leiceſter* towards *London*, without any Oſtentation of Victory or Conqueſt: His Journey was peaceful; all Military Inſolencies were forbidden, and forborn: He paſs'd on more like an old than a new Sovereign, being receiv'd in all Places with the higheſt Acclamations of Joy. His taking up the Olive-Branch, and laying aſide the Laurel, did highly encourage the People, who now promis'd themſelves that Quiet, which ſince *Henry* the Fourth's Time had only been enjoy'd by Intervals; being ſubject to ſo many Mutations, that the very Expectation and Apprehenſion of the enſuing Evils was as an intermitting Fever for the Space of fourſcore and ſix Years.

He enters London.

In the like manner he made his Entrance into *London*: For tho' he was met by the Mayor, Magiſtrates and Citizens, and himſelf attended with many Noblemen and Gentlemen, yet diſpenſing with the Pomp uſually obſerv'd at the firſt Entrance of Kings into that City, he came in a cloſe Chariot; that it might not be imagin'd, that having recover'd his Country by the Favour of Arms, and gain'd his Crown by the Death of a King, he had any Deſign to triumph over the People. His Entry was upon *Saturday*, the Day of his Victory; which Day he always ſolemniz'd, as ever being the happieſt Day of the Week to him: He alighted out of his Chariot at St. *Paul*'s Church; where he caus'd *Te Deum* to be ſung, and the Colours taken from the Enemy to be hung up. He pretended to no other Trophies; nor did he own this as the Effects of his own Valour, or from Fortune, but as from God, the only Fortune to which Sacrifice ought to be made. He made all Preparations for his Coronation; and becauſe it was ſaid he had given his Promiſe to marry the Lady *Anne*, Daughter and Heir to the Duke of *Bretaign*, which was by many believ'd to be true, he in an Aſſembly of the Chief Lords of the Kingdom, call'd for that Purpoſe, ratify'd his Promiſe to marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; by which he put a Stop to the Whiſpers and Jealouſies of many. Yet ſtill he referr'd the Conſummation, without Regard to Obloquy, 'till being Crown'd, and in Poſſeſſion of all by his own Title, he might avoid being call'd King in the Right of his Wife.

Not long after his Arrival at *London*, towards the End of *September*, both the City and the Kingdom was afflicted with a Diſeaſe hitherto unknown, call'd the *Sweating Sickneſs*; which was prodigious in its Nature, both as to the Swiftneſs of its Courſe, and the mortal Effects it produc'd. But it laſted not much above a Month; ſo that it was no Hindrance to the King's Coronation, which was the laſt of *October*; nor to the holding of the Parliament, which begun ſeven Days after. In order to the former, the King made his Entrance into the *Tower* on *Simon* and *Jude*'s Eeve, and on the Feaſt Day made twelve Knights Bannerets. After which *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, the King's Uncle, was created Duke of *Bedford*; *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, the King's Father-in-Law, Earl of *Darby*; and *Edward Courtenay*, Earl of *Devonſhire*. Two Days after he was Crown'd in the Abbey-Church of *Weſtminſter*, by Cardinal *Bourchier*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with the accuſtom'd Solemnities, and joyful Acclamations both of the Nobility and People. Upon the ſame Day, as if the Crown upon his Head had infus'd Jealouſies into his Thoughts, for the Security of his Perſon he inſtituted a Guard of fifty Archers under a Captain to attend him, by the Name of *Yeomen of the Guard*. This being a new Thing in *England*, where the Kings were uſually guarded by the Laws and their Subjects Affections, to remove all Cauſe of Suſpicions, he declar'd the Inſtitution to be perpetual; and that ſince the Kings of all other Nations had their Guards, Decency if not Neceſſity made the ſame requiſite here in *England*.

He is crown'd King.

He inſtitutes a Guard.

A general Pardon granted.

The Crown ſettled by Parliament.

Seven Days after a Parliament met, in which he annull'd all the Decrees for the Confiſcation of the Lives and Eſtates of ſuch as took part with him, and made the like Decree againſt the Principal of the other Side; and to remove all Jealouſies from the reſt, he granted out a general Pardon, which freed ſuch from Fear, who had real Cauſe to be afraid. For having condemn'd thoſe whom he deſign'd not to pardon, it was a certain Sign he would pardon the reſt; ſo that quitting their Sanctuaries and Places of Retreat, they ſwore Fealty to him, and did their Homage anſwerable to the Tenure of the Declaration, and re-enter'd into their Poſſeſſions. Afterwards as concerning his Title, which was the chiefeſt Concernment, he govern'd himſelf by ſuch peculiar Caution and Management, that without ſo much as naming the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, he caus'd the Act that was made to contain a double Senſe: That the Inheritance of the Crown ſhould remain in him and his Children lawfully to be begotten, not declaring whether it was his by Nature, or by Conqueſt; he knowing that whatſoever Interpretation was made of it would turn to his Advantage. He avoided to preſcribe any Succeſſion, in caſe he and thoſe that ſhould lawfully deſcend from him ſhould fail, becauſe it ſhould not be thought to be alone purpoſely to exclude the Houſe of *York*; he therefore left the Deciſion of that to the Laws. He procur'd this Statute to be confirm'd by the Pope's Bull, with particular Mention, by way of Recital, of his other Titles, both of Deſcent and Conqueſt. He in the ſame Parliament conferr'd new Honours upon ſeveral: He created Monſieur *de Chandos*, a Gentleman of *Bretaign*, Earl of *Bath*; Sir

Giles Dawbeny was made Lord *Dawbeny*, and Sir *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Brook*. He reſtor'd *Edward Stafford*, Eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to his Blood, Dignity, and Eſtate; and tho' his Confiſcation was great, yet his Father having been the firſt Promoter of his Riſe with his own Ruin, he reſtor'd all to his Son; which won him the Reputation of being generous and grateful. And tho' Kings ſeldom call'd Parliaments without deſiring ſome Aids, and cloſing ſome Acts of Grace, he would not make any ſuch Demand at this Time, as not having any Grace to confer proper to the Seaſon. For though the general Pardon was an Act of Grace, yet he would not pretend it to be ſuch, but rather a Correſpondency to the Satisfaction they had given him, in receiving him to be King by his own Title: Beſides, not having War with any at this Time, and having many Confiſcations fallen to him, he was willing to ſpare his Subjects Purſes.

The Parliament being diſſolv'd, he did not forget that he had left the Marqueſs *Dorſet* and Sir *John Bourchier* as Pledges in *France* for thoſe Sums he borrow'd to pay the Force he brought into *England*. Being deſirous therefore upon this Occaſion to try the Inclinations of the Citizens, he commanded the Lord Treaſurer to require from the Lord Mayor of *London* that the City might lend him ſix thouſand Marks; and after ſeveral Conſultations, the Matter was decided by a Loan of two thouſand Pounds Sterling; which tho' it came ſhort of the Sum deſir'd, he receiv'd with Courteſie, and ſupply'd the Remainder out of his own Coffers, that the Hoſtages might be wholly at Liberty. He forgot not the Service done to him by *John Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Exteter*, for which he made them both of his Privy-Council, and gave to *Morton* the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury*, which fell vacant by the Death of Cardinal *Bourchier*: He made *Fox* Lord Privy-Seal, promoting him through ſeveral Biſhopricks to that of *Wincheſter*, the richeſt of all the reſt.

The King's Marriage with the Princeſs Elizabeth.

And now having no Impediment to hinder the Performance of his Promiſe, upon the eighteenth Day of *January*, the long expected and deſir'd Marriage between him and the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was ſolemniz'd: Which Day of Marriage was celebrated with greater Triumph, and Demonſtrations of the People's over-flowing Joy, than the Day of his Entry or Coronation; which was rather noted than approv'd of by the King. For during the eighteen Years the Lady *Elizabeth* liv'd, he ſhew'd himſelf no very indulgent Husband towards her, tho' ſhe had all the Advantages of Beauty, Goodneſs and Fruitfulneſs. His Averſion towards the Houſe of *York* was too predominant in him, inſomuch that it took Place, not only in his Wars and Councils, but alſo in his Chamber and Bed.

A. D. 1486. Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.

A Diſturbance in the North.

It is quell'd.

Prince Arthur *born.*

II. All Things having ſucceeded thus happily, King *Henry* reaſonably imagin'd that now he ſhould meet with no more oppoſitions: He was King by his own Title, in his own Right; he had marry'd the Heir to the Crown: and by his general Pardon and Reſtitution of Goods, he had reconcil'd ſuch as were his profeſs'd Enemies. Yet after all, the Northern People, ſtill bearing a Love to the Houſe of *York*, and to the late King *Richard*, he thought it proper for himſelf to go into thoſe Parts; hoping by his Preſence to cure their infatuated Imaginations. He kept his *Eaſter* at the City of *Lincoln*; where ſhortly after he underſtood that the Lord *Lovel*, and the two Brothers *Humphrey* and *Thomas Stafford* had forſaken Sanctuary, but it was unknown to what Place they were retir'd: But arriving at *York*, he there underſtood that the Lord *Lovel* was not far from thence with a conſiderable Force; and that the *Staffords* having rais'd Men in *Worceſterſhire*, were marching towards *York* to attack him. This ſecond Information, tho' it did a little diſcompoſe him, yet he took it only for the Remainders of King *Richard*'s expiring Party at *Boſworth*. But he was more at a Loſs to find that he was amongſt a People that did not affect him, that join'd with the Houſe of *York*, and upon whom he could not ſafely rely. Amidſt theſe Difficulties, he muſter'd out of his Followers, Tenants and Dependants, in whom he might confide, three thouſand fighting Men; which being ill arm'd, but well aſſur'd, were deliver'd to the Duke of *Bedford*, giving him for his Van-guard a general Pardon, which like Cannon Shot was to ruin the Enemy at a Diſtance. This prov'd effectual: For the Duke coming in Sight of the Lord *Lovel*, and the Heralds having publiſh'd the Pardon, he was ſo confounded, that fearing both to be abandon'd, and to be deliver'd up Priſoner, he fled the ſame Night towards *Lancaſter*, and from thence to *Flanders*, to the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Burgundy*; while the reſt laying down their Arms yielded themſelves to the Duke. Upon which thoſe who had join'd with the *Staffords*, having loſt their chief Hopes, diſpers'd themſelves into ſeveral Places; and the two Brothers got into the Sanctuary at *Colnham* near *Abington*, where they found not the Safety they imagin'd; for the Privilege of the Place not extending to the Security of Traitors, they were taken from thence, and the eldeſt executed, the younger finding Mercy. This Rebellion quieted, the Northern People ſettled, and the King return'd to *London*, in *September* following, the Queen was deliver'd of her firſt Son, whom the King nam'd *Arthur*, in Honour of the *Britiſh* Race, from whom he was deſcended, according to the Name of that ancient worthy King of the *Britains*, in whoſe Acts, beſides what is fabulous, there is Truth ſufficient to render him famous. This to the moſt fortunate King was a new Happineſs, to the Queen a great Matter of Joy, to the Church a ſovereign Delight, to the Court an exceeding Pleaſure, and in Sum to the whole Kingdom an incredible Satisfaction.

The firſt Impoſtor ſet up, Lambert Symnel.

The Queen Dowager favours him.

Notwithſtanding all this, ſhortly after there follow'd a ſtrange Accident of State, of which the Relations that remain to us are ſo naked, that they leave it ſcarce credible, not ſo ſuch for the Nature of it, but for the Manner and Circumſtances of it, eſpecially in the Beginning. There liv'd in *Oxford* a ſubtle aſpiring Prieſt, nam'd *Richard Simon*, of mean Birth, and tolerable Education; who ventur'd to undertake what a far greater Man durſt not have attempted. This Man took upon him to educate a young Lad, nam'd *Lambert Symnel*; who, tho' only the Son of a *Baker*, had ſo ſweet and ingenious a Countenance, as he might readily be thought one of the higheſt Quality. The preſaging Aſpect of this Youth firſt gave *Simon* an Occaſion to take Advantage of two Rumours then ſpread abroad by the Enemies of King *Henry*: The one, that the Duke of *York*, ſecond Son to King *Edward* the Fourth, was ſtill alive; the other, that King *Henry* was reſolv'd ſecretly to put the young Earl of *Warwick* to Death, who was Priſoner in the *Tower*. The firſt was divulg'd to raiſe and nouriſh the Hopes of the Male-contents; the ſecond to blow up Hatred againſt the King, as if, equally cruel with his Predeceſſor, he was ready to treat the Earl of *Warwick* as *Richard* had treated his Nephews. Upon theſe Reports, *Simon* firſt deſign'd to make *Lambert* perſonate the Duke of *York*; but ſoon changing his Opinion, he judg'd it more advantagious to have him perſonate the Priſoner the Earl of *Warwick*; ſo that if his Endeavours ſhould ſucceed, and *Lambert* gain the Crown, he himſelf ſhould be rewarded with the chief Mitre of *England*, and with the Government of King and Kingdom. Nor did he fear to meet with any fatal Obſtacles; ſince the Love to the Houſe of *York*, ſtill remaining in the Hearts of moſt Men, had occaſion'd a great Diſſatisfaction that the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, who had now born the King a Son, ſhould yet want the Ceremony of a Coronation. Reſolving upon the Affair, he proceeded to give proper Inſtructions to *Lambert*, in whom he met with an Aptneſs anſwerable to his Deſigns: But conſidering afterwards that his Pupil was to repreſent a Perſon not known to many, and unknown to himſelf, he judg'd it impracticable without the Aſſiſtance of ſome converſant in the Court, who might be inform'd by thoſe that had ſerv'd the Earl, of his particular Converſation, and of all things that had befallen him ſince King *Edward*'s Death. None being fitter for ſuch an Office than the Queen Dowager, ſhe was conceiv'd to be the main Inſtructer; as having too great a Cauſe of Reſentment againſt King *Henry*, for ſo cooly treating her Daughter either as a Wife or a Queen. Not that ſhe was willing to make *Lambert* King, but to uſe him as an Inſtrument to depoſe her Son-in-Law, and to ſubſtitute the Infant Prince *Arthur* in his Place; and if that fail'd, *Warwick* or *Lincoln* might ſucceed, who were both of the Houſe of *York*. That which confirm'd this Opinion was the King's confining of her afterwards, upon no weighty Pretence; thinking it expedient to puniſh her under the Colour of a ſmall known Crime, for one more heinous not fitting to be known.

Lambert *goes into* Ireland.

However it was, *Lambert* aſſum'd the Geſtures and Behaviour of a great Perſonage, with ſuch a fortunate Exactneſs, as being join'd to his natural Sweetneſs, a true Prince could not be enrich'd with more real Perfections, than thoſe that appear'd to be true in him. The Reaſons that caus'd *Simon* to chuſe to have his Pupil perſonate the Son to the Duke of *Clarence*, rather than the young Duke of *York*, was, That when the Report was rais'd of his being eſcap'd out of the *Tower*, he obſerv'd ſo great a Joy in the People, that he judg'd it more proper for his Deſign, and that it would be eaſier to inſinuate a Deluſion in the Perſon of this Man, falſly ſuppos'd to have made an Eſcape, than in that other whoſe Eſcape would with more Difficulty be believ'd. Now to act the Comedy with Applauſe, he did not think *England* a fit Scene, a proportionable Diſtance being requir'd in Things of this Nature. He reſolv'd therefore to go over into *Ireland*, a Kingdom affectionate to the Houſe of *York*, and where King *Henry* had yet made no Alterations either in Dignity, Counſellor nor Officer; but the ſame commanded there as were plac'd by King *Richard*. All which made for *Simon*'s Deſigns;

who coming before *Fitz-Gerald* the Deputy, one well affected to the Houſe of *York*, preſented his pretended Prince to him, and *Lambert* acted his Part with ſo much Artifice, that the deluded Deputy believ'd him to be what his Maſter's Speeches, and his ſtudy'd Nobility made him appear: Inſomuch that acquainting ſome of his trueſt Friends with this Secret, he found them and the People ſufficiently inclinable to a Revolution. They receiv'd this fancy'd Prince with great Honour; they gave him the Caſtle of *Dublin* for his Lodging; and ſhortly after proclaim'd him King by the Name of *Edward* the Sixth. There was not any one Province that deny'd him Obedience, but all join'd in declaring War againſt King *Henry*; while on the other Side not one would draw a Sword in his Cauſe. But that Kingdom being bare of Money and Arms, and meanly furniſh'd with Soldiers, they rely'd upon the Houſe of *York*'s Friends in *England*, and *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, to aſſiſt them with their Supplies; to whom they gave Intelligence that *Edward Plantagenet* was eſcap'd out of the *Tower*, and come into *Ireland*, where he was proclaim'd King; that they deſign'd to bring him into *England*, his Hereditary Kingdom, if they would be ready to ſecure his Entrance, and that his Aunt of *Burgundy* would aſſiſt him with Money, Soldiers and Commanders. This Dutcheſs *Margaret* was Siſter to King *Edward* the Fourth, and third Wife to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, who after her Husband's Death took ſuch honourable Care of *Mary* his only Heir, and her Poſterity, that ſhe was in great Eſteem among the *Flemings*, who honour'd her as their natural reigning Princeſs. Her Husband had left her a plentiful Dowry; ſo that having no great Occaſion for Expences, ſhe might, by the Money ſhe had been gathering ſo many Years, eaſily undertake this remarkable Affair. She therefore willingly hearkned to the Embaſſy; not that ſhe was wholly ignorant of the Impoſture; but that ſhe might have an Occaſion to moleſt King *Henry* and the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, againſt which ſhe had inſuperable Prejudices. The Marriage with her Neice, which ſhould have reconcil'd her to King *Henry*, did more incenſe her againſt him, ſince it eſtabliſh'd him in the Kingdom, and took it from her Houſe without Hopes of Recovery: For which Reaſon ſhe readily promis'd Aſſiſtance, and in due Time perform'd it.

The Iriſh *make him King.*

The King hearing of this Inſurrection in *Ireland*, was extreamly concern'd; being too late ſenſible, that he had acted amiſs, in leaving that Nation under the Command of ſuch as depended upon his Predeceſſor. Hereupon he firſt call'd his Council together with great Secrecy; in which was propounded and concluded three Expedients: 'Firſt, That a general Pardon ſhould be proclaim'd to all 'who would diſcover their Crimes, and ſubmit by a Day 'prefix'd; which Pardon ſhould be deliver'd in ſuch a full 'and ample Manner, that no High-Treaſon, even againſt 'the King's own Perſon, ſhould be excepted.' Which tho' it might ſeem ſtrange, yet it was not ſo to a wiſe King who knew the moſt imminent Dangers aroſe not from the leaſt Treaſons, but from the greateſt: And this was deſign'd chiefly to bring in Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a powerful Oppoſer, of dangerous Intereſt. 'Secondly, That '*Edward* Earl of *Warwick* ſhould be taken out of the '*Tower*, and ſhewn publickly to the People, that they 'might be aſſur'd of his being alive; and that the ſuppos'd 'Earl in *Ireland* was a meer *Chimæra*, fram'd only to diſturb the State. Thirdly, That the Queen's Mother 'ſhould be confin'd to a Nunnery, and have all her Goods 'confiſcated; becauſe ſhe had promis'd the Princeſs *Eliza*'*beth* to the preſent King, when he was in *Bretaign*, and 'contrary to Articles of Agreement had deliver'd her, and 'the reſt of her Siſters, up to King *Richard*.' The Iſſue of theſe three Reſolutions were, That as to the firſt, Sir *Thomas Broughton* did not anſwer Expectation: As to the ſecond, the Earl of *Warwick* was led in Proceſſion from the *Tower* to St. *Paul*'s; being all the Way diſcours'd withal by divers of the Nobility, who knew him, eſpecially by ſuch of whom the King had any Suſpicion; that all might have full Conviction of his being alive. This prov'd ſucceſsful in *England*, but had no Effect in *Ireland*, where the Inhabitants turn'd the Impoſtor upon the King, and reported, That to defeat the true Inheritor, and to delude the World, he had dreſs'd up a Boy in the Likeneſs of the Earl of *Warwick*, and ſhew'd him to the People, without ſparing to prophane the Solemn Ceremony of *Proceſſion*.

*King*Henry *provides againſt him.*

The Queen Dowager confin'd to a Monaſtery.

The Reſolution concerning the Queen-Mother was what alone took Effect, who was thruſt into the Monaſtery of *Bermondſey*, and had all her Eſtate ſeiz'd into the King's Hands; but not without great Scandal and Obloquy againſt the Severity of his Proceedings. This Lady may be plac'd amongſt the greateſt Examples of Fortune's Inconſtancy; who being indued with rare Qualities, was ruin'd by her Abuſe in the Choice; and as Wiſdom and Wilineſs have too near a Reſemblance, ſhe miſtook the latter for the former. From being Widow to a bare Knight, by an unreaſonable Riſe, and through a peculiar Breach of Faith, ſhe became Wife to a great King; who being fled away, depos'd and baniſh'd, ſhe was forc'd, for the Security of her Perſon, to take Sanctuary, where ſhe bore her unfortunate Son. Her Husband afterwards returning Home victorious and triumphant, ſhe likewiſe ſhar'd in his good Fortune; but when he dy'd, ſhe was driven to the like Neceſſity of taking Sanctuary. Her Brother-in-Law having uſurp'd the Kingdom from her Sons, declar'd them to be Baſtards, and barbarouſly murder'd them; and for her greater Affliction, her Brother and one of her former Sons dy'd by the Hands of the Hangman; ſo that in leſs than three Months Space ſhe was diſmally wounded with the Deaths of three Sons and her Brother. Her eldeſt Daughter being marry'd to the preſent King, ſhe being mov'd by her Female Indignation to practiſe extravagant *Chimæras*, ſhe loſt her Honour, Eſtate and Liberty; and being abandon'd by her Friends, and not viſited by any, ſhe ſhortly after dy'd miſerably. She was buried by her Husband at *Windſor*; and it was ſhe that compleated the Foundation of *Queen*'s-*College* in *Cambridge*, which had been begun by *Margaret* Wife to King *Henry* the Sixth.

Her Death.

About this Time the Earl of *Lincoln* fled into *Flanders*, who was Son to *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Siſter to the two Kings *Edward* and *Richard*. The latter had declar'd him Succeſſor, in caſe he ſhould die without Children; which juſtly rais'd his Hopes, having a Wit and Courage capable of attempting the greateſt Enterprizes. His Deſigns, which were born to the Ground by his Uncle's Death, and *Henry*'s Acceſſion to the Crown, began to be reviv'd at this *Iriſh* News: For knowing the Falſhood of the pretended *Plantagenet*, he thought the Troubles likely to ariſe from thence, would bring him to what he deſir'd; for if *Henry* were once overcome, it would be eaſy for him to bear down the Impoſtor. The King had him oftentimes in his Thoughts; but the Earl of *Warwick*'s Impriſonment, at which the People were offended, was the Reaſon why he did not confine him. Which if he had, it would have increas'd the Odium; and he hop'd that tho' he were at Liberty, he could not hurt him ſo long as the other was in Priſon. In which if he was deceiv'd, it turn'd not to his Prejudice; for *Lincoln* being fled by the Advice of Sir *Thomas Broughton*, he repair'd to the Dutcheſs his Aunt, who after divers Conſultations ſent him into *Ireland*, accompany'd by the Lord *Lovel*, and other Fugitives, with a Regiment of two thouſand ſelect *Almains*, commanded by *Martin Swart*, a valiant Captain. She thought this ready Succour would produce many good Effects; as the confirming the Rebels in their Proceedings, the ſecuring of the counterfeit King in Poſſeſſion, and the encouraging of his Party in *England* towards the Ruin of King *Henry*: For the pretended *Edward* the Sixth was to be ſupported, as long as Occaſion requir'd, but not yet to be caſhier'd; and the true *Edward* in the *Tower*, to be put in his Place, contrary to the Earl of *Lincoln*'s Expectations. King *Henry* underſtanding this Flight, was extreamly perplex'd; and found that the Dutcheſs having declar'd her ſelf in Behalf of the Rebels, he muſt defend his Crown with the Sword. His firſt Care was to cauſe the Sea-Coaſts to be well guarded, that others might not follow *Lincoln*'s Example: He rais'd a powerful Army, and divided it under two Generals, the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Oxford*; expecting to be attack'd at the ſame time both from *Ireland* and *Flanders*: And tho' he believ'd it would not be before the next Spring; yet he took a Journey almoſt in the midſt of Winter into *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, to take Order for neceſſary Proviſions. And underſtanding by the way, that the Marqueſs *Dorſet* was coming to him, to clear himſelf of ſome Imputations charg'd upon him, he diſpatch'd the Earl of *Oxford* to meet him upon the Road, with Orders to carry him to the *Tower*, and to let him know, *That it was not done for his Deſerts, or for any ill Opinion of the King's, but to free him from the Danger of being perſuaded to undertake any Thing to his Prejudice; deſiring him to take this Uſage patiently, and promiſing to make him honourable and ſatisfactory Reparation.* The King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Norwich*; and went from thence by way of Devotion to our Lady of *Walſingham*, and from thence return'd by *Cambridge* to *London*.

Lambert *aſſiſted by the Dutcheſs of* Burgundy.

*King*Henry *prepares againſt him.*

A. D. 1487. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

The Earl of *Lincoln*'s Arrival in *Ireland* with ſo good a Force added to the Rebels Hopes: They were proud to ſee themſelves favour'd by the Dutcheſs, who had ſo readily aſſiſted 'em with Forces, and plac'd two ſuch Lords as *Lincoln* and *Lovel* at the Head of them. At their Appearance, *Lambert*, who was formerly proclaim'd King, had now the Ceremony of Coronation; and after ſome Time ſpent in Conſultations, they all embark'd with great Numbers of the poorer ſort of *Iriſhmen*, better furniſh'd with Hopes than with Weapons. They landed at *Fowdray*

Lambert *lands in* England.

in *Lancaſhire*, with *Lambert* clad in Royal Apparel; and were conducted by the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Kildare*, and Viſcount *Lovel*, follow'd by the *Dutchmen* under Colonel *Swart*. Sir *Thomas Broughton* met them at their Landing, but ſtill with a few Men: They march'd towards *York*, and paſſed in a peaceable manner, to ſhew that lawful Kings came to relieve, not to oppreſs their Subjects. But ſhortly after their Hopes began to grow cool, when they ſaw not any come into them in their ſolitary March; eſpecially ſince they had moſt reaſon to expect many to join with them in that Country which was ſo much inclin'd to the Houſe of *York* and King *Richard*. But Viſcount *Lovel* having found no Safety there the Year before, they might believe they were not now likely to ſucceed better. Some were of Opinion, that the Alienation of theſe People proceeded from a Diſtaſte they took that two Foreign Nations, the *Dutch* and *Iriſh*, ſhould pretend to preſent them with a King made by them: And tho' *Henry* the Fourth, *Edward* the Fourth, and the preſent King *Henry* had in like manner been preſented by Strangers, yet the Caſe was different. The Firſt and the Laſt were call'd in by a Part of the Kingdom, to free them from the two *Richards*, the Second and the Third; the one by divers Reaſons more hated than the other; and *Edward* the Fourth came of himſelf, building upon the Love of the People. Neither had *Henry* the Seventh given any Occaſion of Hatred, ſo as to cauſe him to be expell'd; rather the Opinion of his Worth, and his marrying with the Houſe of *York*, had eſtabliſh'd him. Moreover the Proceſſion was made to St. *Paul*'s, wherein the true *Plantagenet* was expos'd to View, and had caus'd the People not to regard the Impoſtor.

The Earl of *Lincoln* being reduc'd to this Neceſſity, reſolv'd to hazard all upon the Iſſue of a Battel; and march'd towards *Newark*, with a Deſign firſt to make himſelf Maſter of that Place. In the mean time King *Henry* being arriv'd at *Nottingham*, a Council of War was held, in which it was debated whether it was better to protract Time, or give Battel. The King was for the latter, being encourag'd by the Arrival of ſix thouſand fighting Men, moſt of them Volunteers, under the Command of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and the Lord *Strange*. And that the Enemy might not take the Advantage of *Newark*, the King encamp'd himſelf between them and the Town. *Lincoln* ſeeing himſelf cloſely purſu'd, retir'd to a Village call'd *Stoke*, planting himſelf upon the Side of a Hill, from whence he deſcended as ſoon as the King preſented him Battel; which was valiantly fought on both Sides, but for the Manner and Particulars, we have but an imperfect Account tranſmitted to us. It is related, that of the King's three Battalions only the Vant-guard fought, and the other two mov'd not at all; which ſeems the more ſtrange, becauſe one half of the Vant-guard was cut in Pieces, and that the King ſhould purchaſe the Victory at ſo dear a Rate. All the chief of the Enemy were ſlain, as *Lincoln*, *Kildare*, *Lovel*, *Broughton*, and Colonel *Swart*; great Slaughter was made of unarm'd *Iriſhmen*, who mov'd not from the Poſture they had plac'd themſelves in the beginning of the Battel. The Conflict laſted three Hours, in which dy'd four thouſand of the Enemy, and one half of the King's Vant-guard, but not one of Quality on the King's Side. The King was troubled at the Death of the Earl of *Lincoln*, becauſe he was depriv'd of the Means of learning from him what Correſpondence the Dutcheſs *Margaret* had in *England*. Many Priſoners were taken, among whom was *Lambert* himſelf, otherwiſe call'd *Edward* the Sixth, and *Simon* his Tutor and Seducer. The King out of Generoſity would not take *Lambert*'s Life, looking upon him as an Image moulded by the Hands of others; and likewiſe out of Wiſdom, thinking that if he ſuffer'd Death, he would be too ſoon forgotten; but being kept alive, he would be a continual Spectacle, and a kind of Remedy againſt the like Inchantments of the People for the future. His Puniſhment was the Kitchen, where he was put to the vileſt Employments; his Scepter and Crown were turn'd to Spits and Fire-Forks: He continu'd in the Office of Scullion, 'till by unknown Means he was preferr'd to be one of the King's Falconers, in which Condition he dy'd, not giving any further Occaſion of Story. As to *Simon*, being a Prieſt, he was committed to a cloſe Priſon, and heard of no more.

King Henry *meets and fights him.*

Lambert *defeated and made Priſoner.*

He is made the King's Scullion.

After the Battel of *Stoke*, the King remov'd not from the Camp 'till he had given humble Thanks to God for the Victory; which he likewiſe did three Days ſucceſſively at *Lincoln*, with Proceſſions, and other Religious Ceremonies; and he ſent his Standard to our Lady's Church at *Walſingham*, whither it had been devoted. He caus'd ſome of the Priſoners to be put to Death; but ſince it would have been thought too great a Cruelty to puniſh ſo many for one Crime, he was willing to commute the Blood of their Veins for that of their Purſes, impoſing pecuniary Puniſhments upon many in *Yorkſhire* and other Parts, with which both he and they were ſatisfy'd. After that he went to *Newcaſtle*; from whence he ſent Ambaſſadors to *James* the Third, King of *Scotland*, to treat and conclude a Peace with him; but that King, labouring under many Inconveniencies from diſcontented Subjects, he only obtain'd a Truce for ſeven Years; but with a Secret Promiſe of renewing it during both the Kings Lives. This Point being gain'd, King *Henry* return'd to *London*, where he enter'd in State, and in a triumphant Manner: And now being taught by the laſt Events, that his Hatred to the Houſe of *York* had been the Cauſe of his former Troubles, he prepared for the Coronation of his Queen; which was perform'd with great Solemnity on the twenty fifth Day of *November*, in the Third Year of his Reign, and two Years after his Marriage with her. Which ſtrange and unuſual diſtance of Time, made it ſubject to every Perſon's Obſervation, that it was an Act againſt his Inclination, and forc'd upon him by Neceſſity and Reaſon of State. Soon after, to ſhew that all Suſpicions were over, and that the Impriſonment of the Marqueſs *Dorſet* was more from the Danger of the Times than the Man, he ſet him at Liberty without Examination, or any other degrading Circumſtance. About the ſame time he diſpatched an Ambaſſador to Pope *Innocent* the Eighth, to inform him of his Marriage and Succeſs, to thank him for former Kindneſſes, and to offer himſelf and his Kingdom to be at his Service upon all neceſſary Occaſions. For which his Holineſs, by way of Correſpondency, gratify'd him, by moderating the Abuſes of Sanctuaries, and other privileg'd Places, and by ſending him a Bull, which prov'd a Check to Rebels and Traitors. In the ſame Year dy'd *Thomas Bourchier* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; and the famous *John Morton*, Biſhop of *Ely*, ſucceeded in his Place, who was afterwards created Cardinal, and Lord-Chancellor of *England*.

Queen Elizabeth *crown'd.*

A. D. 1487.
Reg. 3.

The French *King's Deſigns.*

III. Hitherto King *Henry* had been employ'd in ſettling his Affairs at home; but about this Time there broke out an Occaſion that caus'd him to look abroad, and hearken to Foreign Affairs. *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, having by the Management and good Fortune of his two immediate Predeceſſors receiv'd that Kingdom in a more flouriſhing and increaſing Condition than it had been for many Years before, and recover'd the Provinces of *Anjou*, *Normandy*, *Provence*, and *Burgundy*; he now caſt his ambitious Eyes upon the Dukedom of *Bretaign*, reſolving to annex and unite that to the Monarchy of *France*, and ſo to bring it to its ancient Bounds and Limits. Many Circumſtances gave him Encouragement in this Attempt; as the Duke of *Bretaign* old, and fallen into a Lethargy, ſerved by mercenary Counſellors, Father only of two Daughters, the one ſickly and not like to live long; on the other Side, himſelf in the Flower of his Age, his Subjects well train'd for War, and now in Peace with all the neighbouring Princes. He was apprehenſive of no Diſturbance but from the King of *England*, who had been under great Obligations to the Duke of *Bretaign*, and whoſe Intereſt it was not to ſuffer *Bretaign* to be join'd to the Monarchy of *France*. Therefore he diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to King *Henry*, who after ſeveral artificial Compliments repreſented to him, 'That their Maſter was enforc'd to enter into a juſt and neceſſary War with the Duke of *Bretaign*, who had receiv'd thoſe who were Traitors and declar'd Enemies to his Perſon and State; and ſuch as were of that Quality, as it was apparent they went not thither to protect their own Eſtates, but to invade his; among whom was the Duke of *Orleans*, the firſt Prince of the Blood, and the ſecond Perſon of *France*. Therefore the War was defenſive on his Side; that he purſu'd Rebels in a Prince's Country, who owing Homage to him ought not to receive them, and much leſs to join with them in the Conſpiracy.' Then they proceeded to inſinuate, 'That if the Duke of *Bretaign* had formerly ſhewn him Favour, he had deſtroy'd the Merit of it, ſince he fail'd on his part, ſo that he might have been utterly ruin'd and deliver'd up to King *Richard*. That their Maſter did not pretend to remind him of the Aſſiſtance and Favours receiv'd from him, which proceeded from meer Affection, and contrary to what Policy ſhould have perſuaded; ſince it had been more advantagious for him, that a Tyrant like *Richard* ſhould have reign'd in *England*, than ſo virtuous a King as himſelf: That if he would rightly weigh both their Services, he would find that his proceeded from true Friendſhip, and the Duke's from Self-Intereſt: That he did not deſire a Requital of Aſſiſtance, knowing he was but newly poſſeſs'd of a Kingdom he had purchaſed with great Expence and Trouble; but only that he would ſtand Neuter: That he would not by aiding the Duke, hinder the juſt Progreſs of his Arms, in puniſhing of Rebels, and correcting him who contrary to all Law had receiv'd them.' But touching the Myſtery of reuniting *Bretaign* to the Crown of *France*, either by War or Marriage with the Duke's Daughter, the Ambaſſadors care-

An Embaſſy to King Henry.

carefully declin'd all Mention of it, as what made moſt againſt them; but on the contrary declar'd the aſſur'd Purpoſe of their Maſter to marry with the Daughter of *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*; and entertain'd the King with ſome wandring Diſcourſes of their King's Deſign to recover the Kingdom of *Naples*, by an Expedition in Perſon: All to remove the King from all Jealouſie of any Deſign upon *Bretaign*, otherwiſe than for ſuppreſſing ſome rebellious Subjects.

Which diſpleaſes King Henry.

King *Henry* was very uneaſie at this Embaſſie, and after Advice taken with his Council, he anſwer'd to this Effect, 'That the King of *France* and the Duke of *Bretaign* were the two Perſons to whom he own'd the higheſt Obligations; therefore he ſhould think himſelf very unhappy, if the Conteſt ſhould ariſe to that Height as to hinder him from acquitting himſelf in Gratitude towards both; and that there was no Means for him, as a Chriſtian King and a common Friend, to ſatisfie all Obligations both to God and Man, but to offer himſelf for a Mediator of Peace between them: By which Courſe he doubted not but their King's Honour and Eſtate would be preſerv'd with more Safety and leſs Envy than by a War; and that he would ſpare no Coſt or Labour to effect it, tho' it were that of a Pilgrimage.' Then letting them know that he would expreſs himſelf more fully by an Embaſſie, which he would ſpeedily diſpatch to the *French* King for that Purpoſe, he diſmiſs'd them with that Anſwer; carefully avoiding to underſtand any Thing touching the re-annexing of *Bretaign*, as the Ambaſſadors had avoided to mention it. He was ſenſible of the *French* King's Deſigns, and was reſolv'd to prevent it, even by Force of Arms, if Neceſſity ſo requir'd. But he fully believ'd that Fortune would not prove ſo favourable to *Charles*, but that he might have Time to negotiate this Affair, grounding his Confidence upon the great Oppoſitions he had; on the one Side *Maximilian*'s Arrival, on the other the Forces of *Bretaign*, and the *Orleaniſts* in the Bowels of his Kingdom ready to raiſe a Civil War; together with the Inconſtancy of his Youth, ſufficient to make him change his Mind, and the whole Courſe of his Affairs.

He ſends an Embaſſie into France.

Upon theſe probable Suppoſitions he ſent over *Chriſtopher Urſenick* his Chaplain into *France*, giving him in Commiſſion, that if the *French* conſented to treat he ſhould immediately repair to the Duke of *Bretaign*, and conclude the Treaty on both Sides. *Urſenick* made Declaration to the *French* King, much to the Purpoſe of *Henry*'s Anſwer to the *French* Ambaſſadors; tenderly inſtilling ſome Overture of receiving the Duke of *Orleans* into Favour, and ſome Conditions of Accommodation. But King *Charles* on the other Side proceeded with the utmoſt Art and Diſſimulation in the Treaty; deſigning only to gain Time, and put off the *Engliſh* Succours under the Hopes of Peace, 'till he had got good Footing into *Bretaign* by Force of Arms. His Anſwer therefore to the Ambaſſador was, *That he would put himſelf into King* Henry'*s Hands, and make him Arbitrator of the Peace*; and readily agreeing that he ſhould go directly into *Bretaign*, to ſignifie his Conſent, and to know the Duke's Intentions; well foreſeeing that the Duke of *Orleans*, who rul'd all in *Bretaign*, taking himſelf to be upon irreconcileable Terms with him, would admit of no Treaty of Peace: By which he ſhould not only veil over his Ambition, and win the Reputation of a juſt and moderate Prince; but alſo endear himſelf in the Affections of the King of *England*, as one who had committed all to his Will. Theſe Grounds being ſubtilly laid by the *French* King, all ſucceeded as was expected: For when *Urſenick* arriv'd at the Court of *Bretaign*, he found the Duke in no Capacity to treat with him, but all things were directed by the Duke of *Orleans*; who giving Audience to this Ambaſſador, return'd an Anſwer full of Reſentments: 'That the Duke of *Bretaign* having been an Hoſt, a Parent and a Protector, in time of greateſt Neceſſities, he might juſtly have expected from the renown'd King *Henry* a number of brave Troops for his Succours rather than a vain Treaty for Peace. And if the King ſhould forget the Services done by the Duke; yet he well knew he would of his Wiſdom conſider of Futurity, how much it imported his own Safety and Reputation, not to ſuffer *Bretaign* to be ſwallow'd up by *France*, and ſo many good Ports and ſtrong Towns upon the Coaſts, to be in the Command of ſo potent a Neighbour, and ſo ancient an Enemy.' And therefore he deſir'd the King to think on this Affair as his own; and with that broke off, and denyed any further Conference for a Treaty.

The French *King's Diſſimulation.*

Urſenick firſt return'd to the *French* King, and related what had paſs'd to him; who finding Matters according to his Deſire, ſpeciouſly made Anſwer, 'That conſidering in whoſe Poſſeſſion the Duke of *Bretaign* was, there was no Hopes of Peace, but a mix'd Treaty of Force and Perſuaſion; and therefore he would proceed on the one, deſiring King *Henry* would not deſiſt from the other: But for his own Part, he faithfully promis'd to be ſtill in the King's Power to govern him in the Matter of Peace.' This was accordingly repreſented by *Urſenick* at his Return, in ſuch a Manner, as if the Treaty was in no Degree deſperate, but rather waited for a more nice and proper Conjuncture. Whereupon there continually paſs'd Packets and Diſpatches between the Two Kings concerning this Negotiation; from one out of Deſire, and the other of Diſſimulation. During this Intercourſe, the *French* King invaded *Bretaign* with a great Force, and laid cloſe Siege to the City of *Nantes*; and as one well vers'd in the worſt kind of Policy, the more he urg'd the Proſecution of the War, he at the ſame Time did more urge the Sollicitation of the Peace. Inſomuch that during the Siege of *Nantes*, after many Letters and particular Meſſages, the better to maintain his Diſſimulation, and to refreſh the Treaty, he ſent *D' Aubigny*, a Perſon of Quality, to King *Henry*, earneſtly deſiring him to make an End of the Buſineſs depending. Which caus'd the King to ſend over Three Commiſſioners, the Abbot of *Abington*, Sir *Richard Tunſtall*, and his Chaplain *Urſenick* formerly employ'd, to do their utmoſt Endeavours to perfect the Treaty and render it effectual.

King Henry *deceiv'd.*

The French *King invades* Bretaign.

A.D. 1488. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

During the Negotiation, the Lord *Woodvile*, Uncle to the Queen, a gallant Gentleman, and ambitious of Honour, deſir'd leave to go and aſſiſt the Duke of *Bretaign* with a Troop of Volunteers, with whom he would ſteal over privately, ſo that the *French* King ſhould have no Occaſion to complain of any but himſelf. It is not known whether the King ſecretly conſented to it, but in publick he deny'd his Requeſt, commanding him not to depart from the Court. Notwithſtanding which, he went to the Iſle of *Wight*, where he was Governor, and there rais'd Four Hundred fighting Men, with whom he ſail'd into *Bretaign*; which caus'd ſuch an Alteration among ſome of the Courtiers of *France*, that the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners would have been roughly treated; had not King *Charles*, conſcious of his own Diſſimulation, and not fearing Four Hundred Men, prevented all ill Uſage to them and their Followers. The Commiſſioners now diſcovering that King's Deſign, return'd into *England*, and acquainted King *Henry*, that all his Deſire of Peace was but counterfeit, the better to gain Time, and to make him loſe the Opportunity of hindering his Attempts upon *Bretaign*.

The Lord Woodvile*'s Expedition into* Bretaign.

Upon this King *Henry* call'd a Parliament; in which Supplies being granted, he rais'd Monies and muſter'd Soldiers; and to keep a Decency towards the *French* King, to whom he acknowledg'd himſelf oblig'd, he ſent a new Embaſſy to him, to intimate the Decrees and Reſolutions of his Parliaments, and to reiterate his Motion, That the *French* would deſiſt from Hoſtilities; or if War muſt enſue, to take it as the Acts of his People, who being ſenſible of the Cauſe of the *Bretaigns* as their ancient Friends and Confederates, had ſent them Succours; further proteſting, that to preſerve all Treaties and Laws of Friendſhip, he had limited his Force to proceed only in Aid of the *Bretaigns*, and not to War upon the *French*, otherwiſe than to maintain the Poſſeſſion of *Bretaign*. But before this formal Embaſſie could arrive, the Duke's Party had receiv'd a terrible Blow near the Town of St. *Albine*, where the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* were taken Priſoners, ſix thouſand of the ſame Side ſlain, with the Lord *Woodvile* and almoſt all his Soldiers: The *French* loſt twelve hundred Men with their Leader *James Galeot*, a great Commander. King *Henry* underſtanding this Defeat, ſent over eight thouſand fighting Men into *Bretaign*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Brook*, who joining themſelves with the Duke's Forces, march'd towards the Enemy the *French*, who knowing they lov'd not to encamp themſelves, but to come to Battel, thought to cool their Ardor by entrenching their Army, and ſallying out with their Light-Horſe; which they did, but with more Loſs than Advantage, eſpecially from the *Engliſh* Archers. But during theſe Tranſactions, the Duke of *Bretaign* left the World; upon whoſe Death, the Principal Perſons of that Country, partly being bought, and partly through Faction, threw all Things into Confuſion; ſo that the *Engliſh* not finding Head nor Body with whom to join their Forces, and being juſtly jealous of their Friends, as well as in Danger from Enemies, and the Seaſon advancing, they return'd home five Months after their Landing. So that the Battel of St. *Albine*, the Death of the Duke, and the Retreat of the *Engliſh* Succours, were follow'd a ſhort time after by the Loſs of that Dukedom; which ſome accounted as a Blemiſh of King *Henry*'s Judgment, but moſt as no more than a Misfortune of his Time. In ſum, the treacherous Proceedings of a King of no profound Reach or Judgment, prevail'd more than the Policy one of the wiſeſt Princes in *Chriſtendom*.

King Henry *ſends an Embaſſy into* France,

and Forces into Bretaign;

but to no Effect.

Tho' the temporary Fruit of the Parliament, in their Aſſiſtance given to *Bretaign*, did not proſper; yet the laſting Fruit of it, which was wiſe and good Laws, proſper'd for many Years, and moſt of them to this Day; particularly one that made it Capital for any Perſon to marry an Hei-

A Commotion in the North.

reſs by Force. But in the raiſing the Subſidies granted for the Expedition into *Bretaign*, great Diſturbances aroſe in *Yorkſhire* and the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; which two Counties poſitively deny'd the Payment of any Tax. They alledg'd that they had ſuffer'd great Grievances the laſt Years paſt, and were not able to bear any more; which Refuſal proceeded from the old Affection they bore to the Houſe of *York*, which with every Motion aroſe and floated with all other Conſiderations. The Commiſſioners for the aſſeſſing and collecting this Tax, wanting Means to enforce them, knew not how to proceed; for each of theſe two Counties had agreed in a direct Negative to the Act of Parliament. They went therefore to the King's Friend the Earl of *Northumberland* to conſult with him, who wrote to the King upon that Subject; and receiv'd Anſwer, *That the Subſidies being given by Parliament, and paid by all the reſt of the Kingdom, he was reſolv'd not to recede from one Penny of his Right.*

A. D. 1489. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.

The Earl of Northumberland *ſlain.*

The Earl calling together the principal Gentlemen and Free-holders of the County, in an imperious Manner acquainted them with the King's Anſwer; which many believing to have been invented by his own Head, the meaner Sort of the People broke into his Houſe, and murder'd him, together with many of his Servants. And not reſting here, they choſe Sir *John Eyremond* for their Head, a factious Perſon, who hated King *Henry*; and being alſo animated by a baſe Perſon, nam'd *John a Chamber*, an Incendiary much eſteem'd by the Vulgar, they broke out into open Rebellion, and in the plaineſt Terms declared, *They would go againſt King* Henry, *and fight with him for the Maintenance of their Liberties.* Upon which the King commanded *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, whom he had lately releas'd out of the Tower, to march and reduce them; which he ſoon did by defeating them, and taking *Chamber* Priſoner.

The Inſurrection quell'd.

Eyremond fled into *Flanders* to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*; *Chamber* was hang'd upon a high Gallows at *York*, and ſome others of the Principal of them were hang'd a little lower round about him. Nor did the King omit his Cuſtom to be firſt or ſecond in all his warlike Exploits; making good his uſual Saying when he heard of Rebels, *That he deſir'd but to ſee them:* For he march'd after in Perſon; and tho' in his Journey he heard the News of the Victory, yet he went as far as *York*, where he ſettled all the Taxes without the leaſt Abatement.

About the ſame Time that the King loſt ſo good a Servant, as the Earl of *Northumberland*, he likewiſe loſt a faithful Friend and Ally in *James* the Third, King of *Scotland*; who was brought to a miſerable Period rather by evil Counſel, than evil Nature. He had naturally good Inclinations; but they were all poiſon'd by the Practice of a ſort of People, that has been ever ominous and contagious to all Princes: His Thirſt after abſolute Sovereignty was inſatiable; and he eſteem'd not his legal Authority, but ſought for what was not permitted by the Conſtitutions of his Kingdom; ſo that his Ruin aroſe from his hating the Liberty of ſuch as gave him good Counſel; and loving Flattery in thoſe who adviſ'd him Ill.

Troubles in Scotland.

The Diſcontent and Hatred of many of his Nobility and People, breaking forth by Degrees into ſeditious Alterations at Court, this unfortunate Prince was at laſt deteſted by them; ſo that taking up Arms, and ſurpriſing the Perſon of Prince *James* his Son, partly by Force, and partly by Threats, they compell'd him to head their Party. Whereupon King *James* made Application to the two Kings of *England* and *France*, and likewiſe to Pope *Innocent* the Eighth; who highly reſented this Treatment, and might have ſuccour'd him in good Time, if he had had Patience to expect them in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, a Place ſufficiently ſafe. But he judging *Strivelin* to be a more convenient Place to receive thoſe whom he expected from the *Northern* Parts of his Kingdom, was in marching thither at *Bannock*'s *Bourn* engag'd and defeated: Whereupon retiring to a Water-Mill, in hopes of ſaving himſelf in certain Veſſels not far off, he was there miſerably ſlain;

James *the Third ſlain.*

and *James* the Fourth, his Son, by way of Penance, girt himſelf with a Chain of Iron, to which he added one Link every Year after as long as he liv'd. The Pope had diſpatch'd away *Adrian de Corneto* upon this Occaſion, for *Scotland*, a Man of noble Qualifications, who came to *London* two Days before the News of this unfortunate Accident. Deſigning to return, he was honourably entertain'd, and became in great Favour with King *Henry*, and no leſs Familiarity and Friendſhip with *Morton* the Chancellor. Inſomuch that the King, finding him agreeable to his Inclinations, preferr'd him to the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, and afterwards to *Bath* and *Wells*, and employ'd him in many of his Affairs of State, that had Relation to the Court of *Rome*. He was a Man of great Learning, Wiſdom and Dexterity in Buſineſs of State; and having not long after aſcended to the Degree of Cardinal, he gratefully paid the King, in his diligent and judicious Advertiſements of the Occurrences of *Italy*.

A Parliament.

In the latter End of the Fourth Year of this Reign the King again call'd a Parliament, more for the making of good Laws, than for the raiſing of any Subſidies. This Prince was always a celebrated Lawgiver; and among many good Laws in this Parliament, one was made to prevent Depopulations by Incloſures, with ſo much Care and Policy, that the military Power was thereby advanc'd, the middle Sort encourag'd, and the exorbitant Power of the Nobility in Courſe diminiſh'd. Nor did the King in this Parliament throw off his Cares and Hopes concerning *Bretaign*, but thought to recover all by Policy, tho' his Arms had been unfortunate, and to deprive the *French* King of the Fruit of his Victory. The Sum of his Deſign was to encourage *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, to proceed in his Suit for the Marriage of *Anne* the Heireſs of *Bretaign*, and to aſſiſt him in the Conſummation of it. But *Maximilian* was then reduc'd to great Straits by a Rebellion of his Subjects in *Flanders*, who made him Priſoner in the Town of *Bruges*, and oblig'd him to ſwear to ſeveral unreaſonable Things. And tho' this Indignity was reſented by his Father the Emperor, yet it was never effectually reveng'd; but the Inhabitants were ſo exaſperated, that the Lord *Ravenſtein* took Occaſion to join with the Lord *Cordes*, Governour of *Picardy*, and to ſeize upon *Ipres* and *Sluce*, while the other beſieg'd the Town of *Dixmude*.

King Henry *ſends Succours into* Flanders, *to the King of the* Romans.

King *Henry*, not willing to break with *France*, nor yet to let *Flanders* be loſt, ſent over the Lord *Morley* with a thouſand Men to the Lord *D' Aubigny*, Governor of *Calais*, with ſecret Inſtructions to aſſiſt *Maximilian*, and to raiſe the Siege of *Dixmude*. This was ſo well obey'd, that to thoſe thouſand another thouſand being added, which he drew from the Garriſons of *Guiſnes* and *Hammes*, he paſs'd over the Water of *Graveling* by Night, and got into *Newport*; where augmenting his Forces by ſix hundred *Germans*, and led on by a truſty Guide into *Dixmude*, while the Enemy had no Suſpicion of it, he ſet upon them unawares, and was Victorious, with the Slaughter of eight thouſand Men, and the gaining of all their Artillery and Baggage. The *Engliſh* only loſt about a hundred Men, and the Lord *Morley* himſelf; and the Lord *D' Aubigny* return'd to *Calais*, leaving his wounded Men with ſome Volunteers at *Newport*.

Their Succeſs.

The Lord *Cordes* being at *Ipres* with twenty thouſand Men, thinking to recover the Diſgrace at *Dixmude*, immediately inveſted *Newport*; and making a furious Attack upon it, he ſucceeded ſo far as to take the principal Fort or Tower, and to ſet up the *French* Standard upon it. Yet they were ſoon after beaten from it by the *Engliſh*, and the Help of ſome freſh Succours of Archers, by good Fortune arriving at that Inſtant in the Haven of *Newport:* Which ſo diſcourag'd the Lord *Cordes*, that he immediately broke up the Siege and retir'd. By this Means Affairs became more exaſperated between the two Kings of *England* and *France*; and the more by the vain Words of the Lord *Cordes*, who declar'd himſelf an open Enemy to the *Engliſh*, beyond what belong'd to the preſent Service, making it a common Saying of his, *That he could be content to lie ſeven Years in Hell, ſo he might win* Calais *from the* Engliſh.

A. D. 1490. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$.

The King of the Romans *contracted to the Heireſs of* Bretaign.

King *Henry*, not ſatisfy'd in aſſiſting *Maximilian* with his Arms, endeavour'd to do the like by his Counſel; perſuading him to reſume the Marriage with the Heireſs of *Bretaign*. Which *Maximilian* accordingly perform'd, and ſo far prevail'd with the young Lady, and the principal Perſons about her, as the Marriage was conſummated by Proxy, with a Ceremony unknown in theſe Parts. For ſhe was not only publickly contracted, but ſtated as a Bride, and ſolemnly bedded; and whilſt ſhe lay in Bed, *Maximilian*'s Ambaſſador came in, and in the Preſence of ſeveral of the Nobility, put his naked Leg between the Eſpouſal Sheets; that the Ceremony might be thought to amount to a Conſummation, and actual Knowledge. After which the publick Proclamations were made in the Names of '*Maximilian* and *Anne* by the Grace of God, 'King and Queen of the *Romans*, Duke and Dutcheſs of '*Bretaign*, &c. But *Maximilian* thinking himſelf ſecure, very imprudently neglected the Proſecution of this Affair, and proceeded to other Matters leſs material. In the mean Time the *French* King, after a Conſultation with his Divines, proceeded more effectually, and by ſecret Inſtruments and ſubtle Agents of both Sexes about the young Lady, firſt ſought to remove the Point of Religion and Honour out of the Mind of the Lady herſelf, in which there was a double Labour. For *Maximilian* was not only contracted to the Lady, but *Maximilian*'s Daughter was likewiſe contracted to the *French* King. For the Contract with the *French* King, it was readily alledg'd that *Maximilian*'s Daughter being under Years of Conſent, it was not obligatory, but diſſolvible at Pleaſure. But for the other Contract, the *French* King's Friends could only alledge, That it being done without the Conſent of her Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, whoſe Ward and Client ſhe was, it was ſufficient to vacate any Contract whatſoever, tho' it could not vacate a Marriage after

Coha-

The French *King breaks the Contract.*

Cohabitation and actual Conſummation. As for the Ceremonial Conſummation, they made Sport with it, and declar'd, *That it was an Argument that* Maximilian *was a Widower and a cold Lover, who could content himſelf to be a Bridegroom by Deputy, and would not take a ſmall Journey to put all out of Queſtion.* So that the young Lady, wrought upon by theſe Reaſons, finely inſtill'd by the *French* King's Agents; and allur'd likewiſe by the Youth and Grandeur of the Monarch, and fearing to make her Country the Seat of a ruinous War, at length ſecretly yielded to accept of the *French* King for her Huſband.

His ſubtle Management with K. Henry.

He marries the Heireſs of Bretaign.

King Henry VIII. *born.*

But during this ſecret Treaty with the Lady, the better to ſecure it from Oppoſition and Interruption, King *Charles* had Recourſe to his uſual Arts, and ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to King *Henry*, to treat of a Peace and a League with him; joining it with an Article in the Nature of a Requeſt, 'That the *French* King, according to his Right of 'Sovereignty and Tutelage, might with the King of *England*'s Leave diſpoſe of the Marriage of the young 'Dutcheſs of *Bretaign*, as he ſhould think good; offer'ing by a judicial Proceſs to make void the Marriage of '*Maximilian* by Proxy.' This was the Deſign and Subſtance of the Embaſſy, which was deliver'd in a long formal Oration, fill'd with Compliments and Artifice, and with amuſing Declarations of the *French* King's Deſigns of recovering the Kingdom of *Naples*, and conquering the *Ottoman* Empire. And the better to effect this Matter, the *French* King continu'd in his Court and Cuſtody the Daughter of *Maximilian*, who had formerly been ſent to him, to be bred and educated in *France*; and ſtill caus'd it to be reported, that he deſign'd to proceed in that Match. As for the Dutcheſs of *Bretaign*, he deſir'd only to preſerve the Right of Sovereignty, and give her in Marriage to ſome Ally, as might depend upon him. King *Henry* was much diſpleas'd at the Embaſſy, well perceiving the ambitious Deſigns of the *French* King, and that *Bretaign* would now be loſt. Therefore he reſolv'd to make uſe of that as a juſt Pretence for War, but at the ſame Time not to diſcourage the other's Deſigns upon the Kingdom of *Naples*. His Anſwer deliver'd to the Ambaſſadors was full of Caution and Regard to the preſent Circumſtances; yet he directly renew'd his Claim to the Dominions of *France*, or at leaſt to ſuch a Tribute as might be proportionable to what he ought to hold in Poſſeſſion. The Ambaſſadors were ſurpris'd at this Demand, and in ſome Heat declar'd, *That their Maſter's Sword would be ſufficient to maintain his Scepter*, and after ſome other Diſcourſes, they were all diſmiſs'd but one, and a new Embaſſy diſpatch'd from King *Henry* into *France*. All this prov'd of no Effect; for not long after, the King of *France*, breaking through all Difficulties, publickly marry'd *Anne* Dutcheſs of *Bretaign*, and took the Dukedom into his own Hands; having lately ſent home the Daughter of *Maximilian*. About the ſame Time was born the King's ſecond Son *Henry*, who afterwards reign'd by the Name of *Henry* the Eighth.

A. D. 1491.
Reg. 6/7.

A War declar'd againſt France.

A Benevolence granted.

Maximilian now perceiving that he was doubly defeated by one Blow, both as to the Marriage of his Daughter and his own, he loſt all Patience, and caſting off the Reſpect due to Princes, he fell to violent Invectives againſt the Perſon and Actions of the *French* King: Declaring him *To be the moſt perfidious Perſon in the World, who had made a Marriage compounded between an Advoutry and a Rape; permitted by the juſt Judgment of Heaven, that the Nullity being apparent to the World, the Progeny of a Man ſo unworthy might not reign in* France. And immediately he ſent Ambaſſadors both to King *Henry* and to *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, to excite them to War, and to enter into a League offenſive againſt *France*, promiſing to concur with great Forces of his own. Upon which King *Henry* call'd a Parliament, and propos'd the War to the Nobility and Gentry, 'rouſing them by the Fame of the 'glorious Victories at *Creſſy*, *Poictiers*, and *Agincourt*, 'and encouraging them to grant ſuitable Supplies for ſo 'great an Occaſion.' This had its Effects, and the War with *France* was with much Chearfulneſs approv'd of in Parliament; which judg'd that the Honour of the King and Kingdom had ſuffer'd by the Loſs of *Bretaign*. But the King's Intentions were very different from what they appear'd: He knew that he could not rely upon the Forces of *Maximilian*, who was ſo weak of himſelf; nor upon thoſe of *Ferdinand*, who had exhauſted his Powers by the Wars of *Granada*. He alſo knew that *France* was now entire, and at Unity within it ſelf, and never ſo powerful for many Years before; and that it was now come to a Cuſtom of Encamping cautiouſly, and not to fight but with apparent Advantage, which would weary his People, weaken his Forces, and impoveriſh his Kingdom. Finding therefore theſe Inconveniences and Difficulties, he projected for the gaining of two Points: 'The one, how 'to make the War turn to his Profit; and the other, how 'to recede from it with the Security of his Honour. For 'Profit was to be made two Ways, upon his Subjects for 'the War, and upon his Enemies for a Peace: For the 'Point of Honour, he knew that as he could not truſt to 'the Aſſiſtance of *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*; ſo the Impotence of one, and the double Proceedings of the o'ther, would give him a fair Occaſion to accept of a 'Peace.' Theſe Things he wiſely foreſaw, and did as artificially manage; by which every thing ſucceeded according to Expectation. The Parliament readily conſented that Commiſſioners ſhould go forth, for the gathering and levying a *Benevolence* from the more able Sort; which Tax, call'd *Benevolence*, was invented by *Edward* the Fourth, for which he ſuſtain'd much Envy, and was aboliſh'd in Parliament by *Richard* the Third, to ingratiate himſelf with the People. It was now reviv'd by this King, with the Conſent of Parliament, which was otherwiſe in King *Edward*'s Time, and rais'd exceeding great Sums; inſomuch that the City of *London* contributed more than nine thouſand Pounds. In this Parliament, Liberty was given for all Men to ſell or mortgage their Lands without Fines for Alienation, to furniſh themſelves with Money for the War; which prov'd a great Step to the Diminution of the Eſtates and the exorbitant Power of the Nobility.

The King of the Romans *in Diſtreſs.*

Succours ſent him by K. Henry.

King *Henry* having got great Sums by the Means of *Benevolences*, in a ſhort Time rais'd a powerful Army; and knowing that King *Charles* had renew'd his ancient Confederacy with *James* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*, he proclaim'd War againſt them both; but not without Suſpicion that *Maximilian* would fail him at his greateſt Need. For tho' his Wants and Weakneſſes were capable of Remedy, if he were ſuccour'd againſt his Subjects that moleſted him, yet his Nature was incapable of it. It was impoſſible for him to maintain ten thouſand Men for two Years, according to his Promiſe; tho' being enrag'd at his double Affront, he hop'd to raiſe ſomething out of nothing. But what ſtill weaken'd this Prince was the Rebellion of the Lord *Raveſtein*, who being ſupported by the *French* King, had poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Gaunt* and *Bruges*, the chief Cities of that Country; and then made himſelf Maſter of *Sluce*, and the two Caſtles that were its Security, ſeiz'd upon the Ships, and hinder'd the Commerce of the whole Country. The Duke of *Saxony*, Lieutenant to *Maximilian*, ſoon found Means to inveſt *Bruges* and *Sluce*, but could not take the latter without Forces by Sea; wherefore he ſent News of his Wants to *England*. King *Henry* being deſirous to ſupport *Maximilian*, ſent twelve Ships well furniſh'd with Men and Ammunition, under the Command of Sir *Edward Poynings*; who having block'd up the Haven of *Sluce*, beſieg'd the Town by Sea, while the Duke did the like by Land, and play'd with his Canon upon the two Caſtles in which the Preſervation of the Town conſiſted. They were valiantly defended for twenty Days, in which Space the Earl of *Oxford*'s Brother was ſlain; and might have held out longer, had not the Beſiegers in the Night burnt the Bridge built between the two Caſtles, which forc'd them to ſurrender, together with the Town of *Sluce*. *Bruges* ſoon follow'd, which gave Occaſion for many others to do the like.

King Henry *goes into* France *with a great Army.*

In the mean time King *Henry* paſt the Summer in ordering his Soldiers for his Expedition into *France*; and finding himſelf in a Readineſs, he ſent Sir *John Riſly* and *Urſenick* to *Maximilian*, to agree upon the Place for Meeting: But finding him utterly unprovided, they ſent ſecret Advice to the King, and waited for his further Commands. The King, who ſuſpected the ſame, prais'd their Diſcretion, and commanded them to tarry till new Directions were ſent them, and to conceal that Prince's Weakneſs, that his Men might not be diſcourag'd. His Army was compos'd of twenty five thouſand Foot, and ſixteen hundred Horſe; the chief Nobility flocking to it, ſome to purchaſe Merit, and others to avoid Diſgrace in not following their King. He landed at *Calais* on the ſixth Day of *October*, which caus'd many to admire that he ſhould undertake ſo great a War at ſo late a Seaſon. But theſe Difficulties ſerv'd him to make his People believe what he never deſign'd; declaring, *That ſince he intended a reſolute War, 'till he had conquer'd* France, *the Seaſon was of no Importance, having* Calais *at his Command, from whence he might eaſily draw out his Army in the Spring.* As ſoon as he was landed, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors from *Flanders* certify'd him that there were no hopes of Aſſiſtance from *Maximilian*, who was altogether unprovided of Men and Money. This was made known, and ſpread through the Army; and tho' the *Engliſh* were no ways diſcourag'd, yet it was a kind of Preparative to a Peace. To work the ſame Effect, there came Letters from the Lord *Cordes*, with an Overture for Peace in behalf of the *French* King; which contain'd ſuch Conditions, as it would have been unreaſonable not to have hearken'd to it. From other Parts it was confirm'd that King *Ferdinand* had agreed with him, having receiv'd from him the County of *Rouſilion*, without repaying the Money for which it was Mortgag'd to him: This made all Men ſee a Neceſſity of

Peace.

He inveſts Bologn.

Peace. King *Henry* notwithſtanding, playing the Game with Art, deputed the Biſhop of *Exeter* and the Lord *D'Aubigny* to meet the Lord *Cordes*; while he, without Delay, on the nineteenth Day of *October*, went and inveſted the Town of *Bologn*, a Place well fortify'd and garriſon'd, and not to be taken without much Time and Blood.

A Peace concluded. — *Tribute paid to England.* — *Several diſcontented.* — *The King returns to London.*

Bologn was beſieg'd near a Month without any memorable Action, and when all Things were ready for a general Aſſault, News was brought that a Peace was concluded, to the great Surpriſe of moſt of the Army, who had great Hopes of extraordinary Advantages. In Effect it was rather a Bargain than a Treaty, in which King *Henry* was to receive from the *French* King ſeven hundred forty five thouſand Crowns at preſent, for the Charge of this Expedition; and twenty five thouſand Crowns yearly, for his Charges ſuſtain'd in the aſſiſting *Bretaign*. This Annuity was left ſomewhat indefinitely, when it ſhould determine or expire; which caus'd the *Engliſh* to eſteem it a real Tribute, carry'd under fair Terms: For in Reality it was paid both to the King, and to his Son *Henry* the Eighth, longer than it could continue upon any Computation of Charges. The *French* King alſo aſſign'd great Penſions and rich Gifts, for the preſent, to all King *Henry*'s principal Counſellors and Miniſters: Which whether the King permitted, to ſave his own Purſe from Rewards, or to communicate to them the Envy of this Treaty, was diverſly interpreted. For unqueſtionably the King had no Inclination to own this Peace; and therefore not long before the Concluſion, he ſecretly prevail'd with ſome of his chief Officers to adviſe him to a Peace under their Hands, in the Nature of a Petition. This Peace was pleaſing to both the Kings; but gave great Diſcontent to ſome of the Nobility, and principal Perſons of the Army, who had either ſold or engag'd their Eſtates, upon the Hopes of the War. They took the Liberty to ſay, *That the King valu'd not the plundering his Nobility and People, to feather himſelf:* And ſome made Sport with what the King had ſaid in his Parliament, *That when the War was once begun, he would make it pay it ſelf*; declaring, *The King hath literally kept his Promiſe.* Having riſen from *Bologn*, at *Calais* he wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, applauding the great Sums he had obtain'd; well knowing that the full Coffers of the King was always good News to the City. Upon the ſeventeenth Day of *December* he arriv'd at *Weſtminſter*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas*.

America diſcover'd.

In the ſame Year, the Kingdom of *Granada* in *Spain*, after a War of eight Years ſucceſſively, was entirely conquer'd by the Reduction of the Capital City; *Boabdila* the laſt of the *Mooriſh* Kings, having ſuſtain'd a Siege of eight Months, ſurrender'd it to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*; which gave an Occaſion of ſolemn Rejoicings in the City of *London*, and Cathedral of St. *Paul*. Now as if every Thing had contributed to fill the Houſe of *Spain* with Honour and Riches, that they might transfer it to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, it happen'd almoſt at the ſame Time that *Chriſtopher Columbus* a *Genoeſe* diſcover'd the new World of *America*: which prov'd vaſtly advantagious to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and from its Riches obtain'd the Name of the *Weſt-Indies*.

A. D. 1492. Reg. 7.

The ſecond grand Impoſtor, Perkin Warbeck. — *His Birth and Education.*

IV. King *Henry*, having concluded all his Affairs with *France*, at the ſame time begun to be haunted with new Spectres rais'd by the Faſcinations of the Dutcheſs *Margaret*, who could never be at reſt 'till ſhe had produc'd a new Duke of *York* to embroil the Affairs of this King. This prov'd a more exquiſite Counterfeit than *Lambert Symnel*, more finely done, and own'd by greater Hands, the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, as well as the Dutcheſs herſelf. As for *Lambert*, his greateſt Excellency was his beautiful Preſence, and that he did not mis-become his Robes; but this Youth exceeded all former Actors, and became one of the ſtrangeſt Examples of Perſonation, that ever was known in elder or later Times. The Dutcheſs *Margaret* had entertain'd an irreconcilable Hatred againſt *Henry* and the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, inſomuch that ſhe valu'd no Fraud nor Injuſtice, ſo ſhe might oppreſs it, tho' her own Neice was ſo nearly concern'd in the Happineſs of it. For which Reaſon ſhe had formerly favour'd *Lambert*, whom *Simon* had ſet up; but failing in that Deſign plotted by a Prieſt, ſhe reſolv'd to contrive one herſelf, and to make ſo hard and intricate a Knot, as neither *Henry*'s Wiſdom, nor Sword, ſhould be able to untie or cut in ſunder. The Perſon ſhe deſign'd for this new Duke of *York* was a Youth of mean Extract, whoſe Father was a *Jew*, turn'd *Chriſtian*, nam'd *John Osbeck*, dwelling at *Tourney*; 'till being neceſſitated by ſome Occaſions, he went with his Wife to *London*, where ſhe bore him this Son. There King *Edward* did the Child the Honour to be his Godfather, which caus'd many to believe he had ſome ſecret Intereſt in him. He was nam'd *Peter*, which, according to the Cuſtom of the *Dutch* Tongue, was converted to *Perkin*; and thoſe who did not firſt know him gave him the Sirname of *Warbeck*, ſo that that Name which aroſe firſt from Ignorance, was afterwards by Cuſtom continu'd to him. His Father returning to *Flanders*, afterwards ſent him to *Antwerp*, and from thence to other Parts of the World; ſo that at length his Travels and Converſation with divers Nations, did not only make him ſkilful in many Languages, but alſo adapted him to all Mens Humours and Cuſtoms.

The Dutcheſs of Burgundy *inſtructs him.*

This Youth was accidentally preſented to the Dutcheſs, as moſt proper for her Deſigns, which gave her great Satisfaction; having all requiſite Qualifications, as Years, Beauty, Wit, Comlineſs and Majeſty. She took an Affection to him for being God-Son to her Brother; and the more, becauſe of his Beauty ſhe might judge him to be his natural Son: An Opinion which made her form and transform him with the greater Care and Diligence. She conſider'd of all that was to be inſtill'd into his Mind, or affix'd in his Actions: She omitted nothing that might make him exactly perſonate the deceas'd Duke of *York*; and decipher'd to him, as in ſo many Pictures, the Lineaments, Reſemblances and Behaviour of thoſe of the Blood Royal, as of the King, Queen, Prince and Princeſs; of the firſt he was to ſpeak as of his Father and Mother, of the reſt as his Brothers and Siſters. She bethought her ſelf what Queſtions might be ask'd him, and prepar'd him ſuch Anſwers as might become his Years: She did the like concerning ſuch paſt Occurrences as might have fallen within his Knowledge, and forgot not the Particulars of the *Sanctuary*; how the Queen with the Duke of *York* fled thither; how he was taken from thence; how he was ſent with his Brother to the *Tower*; the manner of their living there; the Servants that attended them; their terrible Apprehenſions, and the Providential Manner of his Eſcape. She chiefly taught him how to counterfeit innate Nobility, in which he was ſo docible, that he thought himſelf the very Duke of *York* whom he perſonated; and ſhe ſo adapted the Places of his Peregrination to the Times, that when he ſhould diſcourſe of what had there hapned to him, he might readily be credited. And finding him of a miraculous Capacity, and a Penetration beyond his Years, ſhe took a particular Delight to inſtruct him, and was tranſported with the Image of her own forming. She continually kept him in her moſt private Receſſes, not truſting him to the Air, for the chief Part of this Myſtery was, to make the World believe ſhe had never ſeen him. When afterwards ſhe perceiv'd that King *Henry* ſo proceeded in the Affairs of *Bretaign*, as he muſt of Neceſſity break with *France*, ſhe thought it beſt to keep him no longer, but firſt to ſend him into *Portugal*, under the Conduct of an *Engliſh* Lady, where he continued almoſt a Year; all which was done, that when he was to appear in publick, it might be from a third Place. In *Portugal* he had Directions ſent him to paſs into *Ireland*; for *Henry* having declar'd War againſt *France*, it was judg'd a proper Time to moleſt him, and to begin this grand Metamorphoſis.

He is ſent into Ireland, *where he perſonates the deceas'd Duke of* York. — *The* French *King ſends for him,* — *and acknowledges his Title to the Crown of* England.

According to Order, he went into *Ireland*, and made his Abode in *Cork*; where at his firſt Appearance he was eſteem'd a Perſon of great Conſequence: For his graceful Demeanor, and his Plenty of Money and other Things, were ſufficient to make the People miſtake one thing for another. Having for a while kept them in Suſpence, by a ſort of Force, he acknowledg'd himſelf to be the Duke of *York*, *who having eſcap'd out of the Tower, and paſs'd through various Fortunes, was come to that Kingdom, in Hopes that the Affection it had ever born to his Houſe, would now continue firm to him.* King *Henry* at that Time was not paſs'd into *France*, but was making Preparations for that Expedition; ſo that the *French* King hearing of this Apparition in *Ireland*, thought it might make for his Advantage to have him with him; either to moleſt King *Henry*, if he continu'd in Hoſtility, or to make his Peace upon eaſier Terms. Accordingly he ſent one *Stephen Frion*, a Secretary which had revolted from King *Henry*, together with another, as Ambaſſadors to *Perkin*, inviting him to come into *France*, and offering to aſſiſt him in the Regaining of *England*. An Invitation that blew up the extravagant Vanity of this Impoſtor; for being choſen by the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, receiv'd by the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and encourag'd by ſo great a Monarch, he concluded that Fortune never undertook ſo vaſt a Buſineſs without finiſhing it. When he had acquainted his chief Friends in *Ireland* with this Invitation, and by that gain'd new Credit and Reputation, he went to *France*, where he was receiv'd by the King with all Honour due to the Duke of *York*: He call'd him by that Title; and accordingly furniſh'd him with Money, Horſe and Servants, and with a Guard of Soldiers under the Command of the Lord *Congreſhal:* Sir *George Nevil* and Sir *John Taylor*, with above a hundred other *Engliſhmen*, waited continually upon him; and the Court, to follow the Prince's Example, ſhew'd him the like Reſpect. All this was done out of Policy; for the *French*

Upon a Peace he diſmiſſes him.

The Dutcheſs of Burgundy *receives him as her Nephew.*

King muſt needs have more than a bare Gueſs that this Buſineſs was an Impoſture. His Glory was not long liv'd here, for the Difference being ended between the two Kings, it was neceſſary for him to remove. King *Henry* demanded to have him deliver'd into his Hands; but the other eſteeming it an unworthy Action, refus'd to do it; only he oblig'd him to depart his Kingdom. *Perkin* retir'd into *Flanders*, where the Dutcheſs and he acted their Parts with the utmoſt Exactneſs: He ſeem'd as if he had never been in that Country; and ſhe as if ſhe had never ſeen him before: He pretended to fly thither as to a Sanctuary under the Protection of an Aunt, who ought to profeſs herſelf his Mother: She feign'd great Fears of being deceiv'd, as being taught Caution by *Lambert*'s Example; and that this might be a Counterfeit as well as he. She oftentimes ſent for him, pretending to make an exact Scrutiny; at firſt ſeeming very doubtful, afterwards not clearly ſatisfy'd, and then more inclining to believe well. At laſt ſhe broke out into an Admiration, and Thankſgiving to the Divine Providence, that had Commiſeration for innocent Blood, and had vouchſaf'd ſo miraculouſly to preſerve him. Then with extraordinary Paſſion ſhe call'd him *Nephew, the Bud of the white Roſe, the Hope of the Houſe of* York, *and the Reſtorer of the Honour of* England; and aſſign'd him a Guard of thirty Halberdiers. Now every one began to think him really him whom he perſonated; inſomuch that if he were reſpected in *France* as a Foreign Prince, he was little leſs than worſhipp'd in *Flanders* by all that affected the Dutcheſs.

A. D. 1493. Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$.

Various Cenſures in England.

Several of the Nobility ſend to enquire after Perkin.

This News being brought into *England*, it was there greedily ſwallow'd by many: Paſſions and Fancies augmented this Belief in ſuch as were of that Faction, in thoſe who deſir'd Novelties, in ſuch as were diſcontented, and in many that were Lovers of Equity: For the Crown had neither belong'd to *Henry* nor his Wife, if her Brother had been alive. Hereupon aroſe Whiſperings, Liberty of Diſcourſe and Complaints: The preſent ill Government was in every Man's Mouth; the endleſs Impoſitions, the King's inſatiable Avarice, which was the Cauſe of a diſhonourable Peace, and the no leſs diſhonourable Loſs of *Bretaign*. The Nobility were diſoblig'd and diſguſted at the ſmall Account the King made of them; ſo that moſt Mens Imaginations met in the ſame Point, That God being a juſt Judge, had preſerv'd the true Heir to ſeat him again in his Throne, which had been twice uſurp'd from him. For *Henry* had no Right to it himſelf, and wav'd the Right of his Wife, that he might reign alone; therefore it was not to be admir'd, if after ſo much Injuſtice, God had rais'd up his Brother-in-Law to puniſh him. Nor did the Matter end only in Diſcourſe; for there were ſome Perſons of great Quality, who were reſolv'd to ſound the Bottom of it; among whom were the Lord Chamberlain, Sir *William Stanley*, Brother to King *Henry*'s Father-in-Law, the Lord *Fitz-water*, Sir *Simon Montfort*, and Sir *Thomas Thwaite*. Theſe made Choice of ſome Perſons of Note to ſend into *Flanders*; but of many, only two wou'd undertake a Buſineſs, which if fictious might turn to their Ruin. Sir *Robert Clifford* and *William Barley* were the Two, both of good Families; who upon their Arrival at *Flanders*, were receiv'd with great Honour by the Dutcheſs: And having long diſcours'd with *Clifford*, that ſhe might underſtand the Intentions of thoſe that ſent them, ſhe brought him to a Sight of *Perkin*. After many Days Converſation with him, *Clifford* wrote back into *England*, That he was the real Duke of *York*, and that he knew his Perſon as well as he knew his own.

King Henry's *politick Management.*

The politick King on his Part was not aſleep; yet he thought, if he begun to arm and levy Forces, he ſhould immediately give too much Honour to the Idol. Nevertheleſs he ſhut up the Ports, that no ſuſpected Perſons might paſs; and for the reſt he choſe to work by Countermine. He had two diſtinct Deſigns; the one to lay open the Abuſe, and the other to break the Knot of the Conſpirators. To detect the Abuſe, he had only two Ways; the firſt to ſatisfie the World that the Duke of *York* was really murder'd; and the other to prove, that whether he was dead or alive, *Perkin* was an Impoſtor. For the firſt, he ſecur'd Sir *James Tyrrel*, and his Servant *John Dighton*, the only two that remain'd alive of the four who were concern'd in the Murder; for *Miles Foreſt*, the ſecond who ſlew the Princes, and the Prieſt who bury'd them, were dead. They depos'd, That *Tyrrel* ſaw them dead after they were ſmother'd; that he caus'd them to be bury'd underneath the Stairs, and cover'd them with a Stone; from whence, by King *Richard*'s Order, they were afterwards remov'd, and rebury'd by the Miniſter of the *Tower*, but in what Place they knew not. But the King not ſatiſfy'd with theſe Teſtimonies, to divert the Danger, and ſatisfy the World, he proceeded to ſearch into *Perkin*'s Condition and Deſcent. He employ'd certain ſelect Friends, and diſpers'd them throughout all *Flanders*: Thoſe who were not to ſtay in any ſettled Place, were order'd diligently to enquire after his Birth, and to give him daily Advice of what they ſhould learn: The other, who were to reſide where he was, were to counterfeit themſelves Fugitives and Well-wiſhers to his Party, and to profeſs that they were come to run the like Fortune with him. Theſe were more particularly to ſearch out the Deſigns and Correſpondencies; they were to grow familiar with *Perkin*'s beſt Friends, and to inſinuate to them the Vanity of the Undertaking, in going to cope with a wiſe King, not to be beaten without extraordinary Forces; that the Dutcheſs's Favours were not anſwerable to their Occaſions; that they wanted Aid, and were not certain of what they preſum'd to be ſecure, which was the Aſſiſtance of the Party, and the People's Inclinations, both which were ineffectual. For ſuch accurate diligent Proviſion was made, that all Men would forbear to declare themſelves, unleſs they might be encourag'd by the Sight of a powerful Army, which the Duke of *York* could not ſhew them, tho' all *Flanders* were to declare for him. But their chief Care was to ſound *Clifford* by taſting him with fair Promiſes; for to win him over, was almoſt to gain the Cauſe, he being the Cabinet of ſecret Correſpondencies between *Flanders* and *England*. Nor did they find much Difficulty in effecting it; for being brought to the Knowledge of the Impoſtor, he was at length prevail'd upon with the Promiſes both of Pardon and Reward.

He diſcovers Perkin's *Pedigree.*

Several executed.

In the mean time, *Henry*, by a particular Caſt of Policy, caus'd all his Agents in *Flanders* to be excommunicated in St. *Paul*'s, and declar'd his Enemies, that they might not be ſuſpected his Friends; nor did he forbear, contrary to the Rules of the Church, to ſollicit the Confeſſors of the greateſt Men, that he might learn how they were inclin'd. At length his Agents came to the perfect Knowledge of *Perkin*'s Birth, Name, Sirname, Country, Employments, and Voyages, 'till he was chang'd into the Duke of *York*: They likewiſe won over *Clifford*, who gave them ſuch Proofs of his Repentance, as ſatisfy'd the King. *Perkin*'s Genealogy was publiſh'd in the Court, and throughout the Kingdom; and *Henry* not thinking it fit that a Mechanick and Impoſtor ſhould with ſuch Oſtentation be protected in *Flanders*, he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Arch-Duke *Philip*, then a Child, deſiring, that after the Example of the King of *France*, the Impoſtor might be chas'd out of *Flanders*. The Anſwer given by the Miniſter of State was, *That the Dutcheſs was abſolute in her own Territories, and they could not hinder her from acting as ſhe thought fit.* King *Henry* was not ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, as knowing her Power to be leſs than was repreſented: And having learn'd that ſhe had a mighty Intereſt in the Arch-Duke's Council, and finding that *Perkin* would ſtill be protected in Oppoſition to him, he immediately recall'd the *Engliſh* Merchants from *Flanders*, and baniſh'd the *Flemiſh* Merchants out of *England*, and remov'd the Staple of Cloth and Wool from *Antwerp* to *Calais*, to the great Detriment of the Inhabitants of *Flanders*. Moreover upon Advertiſements from *Clifford*, the King impriſon'd the Lord *Fitz-Water*, Sir *Simon Montford*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William D'Aubigny*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Creſſenor*, *Thomas Atwood*, *William Worſeley* Dean of St. *Paul*'s, and certain Friars. Theſe were all arraign'd and convicted of High-Treaſon; for which *Montford*, *Ratcliff*, and *D'Aubigny* were beheaded; the Lord *Fitz-Water* being ſent Priſoner to *Calais*, by his endeavouring to eſcape, loſt both his Hopes and Life: The reſt were pardon'd; and the Lord-Chamberlain that Time was, out of Policy, left unmoleſted.

A. D. 1494. Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$.

Stanley *Lord Chamberlain Impeach'd.*

The King had created his ſecond Son *Henry* Duke of *York* in *Weſtminſter*, where, as it is uſual in ſuch Solemnities, divers Knights of the *Bath* were made. But hearing that *Clifford* was arriv'd in *England*, he withdrew himſelf to the *Tower*, there to examine him; that if he ſhould accuſe any of extraordinary Quality they might be impriſon'd without Noiſe or Obſtruction. *Clifford* being admitted into his Preſence, and having receiv'd Pardon upon his Knees, was commanded to declare what he knew of the Conſpiracy. He immediately accus'd the Lord-Chamberlain Sir *William Stanley*; at whoſe Name all preſent were ſtartled, it being highly improbable that a Man of his Quality and Riches, a Favourite ſo near the King, and the chief Inſtrument in his gaining the Crown, ſhould be a Traitor. Whereupon being advis'd to reconſider what he ſaid, he without Heſitation or Change of Countenance, accus'd him as before; for which Reaſon *Stanley* was confin'd to his Chamber, and the next Day examin'd by the Council. He deny'd ſome few Circumſtances, but confeſs'd the main Crime; relying upon his former Actions and Merits, for which he erroneouſly preſum'd the King would pardon him. Tho' he had put the Crown upon his Head, yet his Endeavours to take it away, had wholly cancell'd that Obligation. However King *Henry* was very doubtful whether he ſhould take his Life or not: The Love and Reverence which he bore to his Father-in-Law, pleaded for Clemency; but Example and the Condition of the Times urg'd for Severity. But if it be true what ſome Authors write, his Riches bore down the Balance; he being eſteem'd one of the moſt money'd Men in *England*; for in his Caſtle of *Holt* were found forty thouſand Marks in ready Money, beſides Jewels and Goods, and in Revenues in Land and Fee he had three thouſand Pounds a Year of old Rents, a conſiderable Eſtate in thoſe Days. However after ſix Weeks diſtance of Time, which the King did honourably interpoſe, both to give Space to his Brother's Interceſſion, and to ſhew to the World that what he did was with Conflict and Reluctancy, he was arraign'd of High-Treaſon, condemn'd, and ſoon after beheaded. This was a remarkable Inſtance of the Fall of a mighty Favourite, which afforded Occaſion for Diverſity of Diſcourſes, and for ſome to treat King *Henry*'s Memory with great Severity. We at this time are ignorant of the main Circumſtances of his Caſe, and the true Motives for the King's Proceedings; but what ſeems moſt probable is, that he thought his Merits beyond Reward, and therefore aſpir'd to a Greatneſs more than a Sovereign could bear. He was ſucceeded in his Place by *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny*, a Man of great Sufficiency and Valour, and the more becauſe he was gentle and moderate.

He is beheaded.

A.D. 1495. Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$.

Libels diſpers'd.

The Death of the Lord-Chamberlain threw the whole Court under Apprehenſions; one Man durſt not truſt another, and every one fear'd leſt his Friends might prove like *Clifford*. Yet ſuch was the Spirit of Detraction, that they made uſe of Pen and Paper to expreſs what they durſt not do with their Mouths: Swarms of Libels, thoſe Inſtruments of Sedition, were diſpers'd againſt the Council and the King himſelf; for which five mean Perſons were apprehended, and put to Death. *Perkin*'s Party daily decreas'd; no Man durſt think any more of him, and but a few tarry'd with him in *Flanders*; among whom *Barley*, *Clifford*'s Companion, was principal, who notwithſtanding afterwards chang'd his Opinion, and together with his Pardon obtain'd Leave to return home. And now the King finding *Ireland* to be the Place of greateſt Danger, it was neceſſary for him to eſtabliſh an undoubted Authority in that Kingdom. He made Choice of two to ſerve him in two ſeveral Offices; the Prior of *Langton* with Title of Commiſſioner, to inſpect the Civil Government of the Kingdom; and Sir *Edward Poynings*, who was to have Charge of the Militia, giving him many Soldiers, and a large Commiſſion, to which the Deputy the Earl of *Kildare* was ſubordinate. The Prior met with no Difficulty; the Laws being his Arms, and the peaceful People the Matter of his Juriſdiction; but *Poynings*, who was to deal with ſtubborn Men and Rebels, had not the like Fortune. For *Ireland* being full of Woods, Bogs and deſart Places, he ſpent much Time there to ſmall Purpoſe; killing and taking ſome few Priſoners, which made not much for the main Enterprize. So that being diſpleas'd with thoſe, who having no Intention to withſtand him, had no cauſe to fear him, he proceeded to accuſe the Earl of *Kildare*, as if he had ſecretly aſſiſted them. He therefore ſent him Priſoner into *England*, without any Proof againſt him beſides his own Suſpicion; and the Earl ſo fully juſtify'd himſelf, that he was declar'd Innocent and re-eſtabliſh'd in his former Government. But if *Poynings* had no Succeſs with thoſe who withſtood him, yet he had ſuch good Fortune with the reſt, as to prevail with them in Parliament to allow of all Ordinances made in *England* 'till that Day, which formerly had no Force in that Kingdom. This memorable Act is call'd *Poyning*'s *Law*, being made in the tenth Year of this Reign, and obſerv'd to this Day.

Ireland *eſtabliſh'd.*

The ill Succeſs of the Conſpiracy did not ſo quell the Reſolutions of *Perkin*, but that he thought the Affections of his Party rather oppreſs'd than expir'd; and that a new Spirit would ſo revive them, that *Henry* ſhould find it difficult to ſuppreſs them. Thus flattering himſelf, he aſſembled certain Troops of Men of deſperate Fortunes, who for Debts or Miſdemeanors durſt not appear otherwiſe; and embarking them, he came to Anchor before *Sandwich*, landing ſome of his Men to learn News, and to diſcover how the People were in thoſe Parts affected, reporting that he had great Forces coming in a Fleet after him. The King at this time was gone his Progreſs, and was now with his Mother in her Houſe at *Latham*, whom he went to viſit; that by his repairing thither, the World might know that the Death of Sir *William Stanley* had not really diſguſted his Father-in-Law. Here he heard of *Perkin*'s Arrival; by which he receiv'd the Advantage of the great Opinion of his People, who eſteem'd him a wiſe Prince, judging nothing had happen'd to him which he did not foreſee; and that his retiring into the *Northern* Parts was one of his Politick Fetches; for knowing he had left the *South* free from Danger, he deſign'd to allure *Perkin* to land, that he might be ſure not to eſcape. But however it was, at the firſt News he reſolv'd to return, and was not well pleas'd at the ſecond, which inform'd him that he was gone again; well perceiving that this Trouble might be of long Continuance. The Cauſe of *Perkin*'s Departure aroſe from the Care of the *Kentiſhmen*, who had well obſerv'd the Condition of thoſe who had landed, and that there were but few *Engliſh* among them, and thoſe of no Worth or Conſideration; wherefore they adviſ'd with the chief of the County concerning their taking Arms; which being determin'd, they ſhew'd part of their Men upon the Sea-Shore, to invite him on Land, and diſpers'd the reſt, as if they were ready to run away. But *Perkin* ſoon perceiving their Deſign, would not ſtir out of his Ship; but ſuffer'd ſeveral of his Men to be cut in Pieces on the Shore, and a hundred and fifty to be taken Priſoners. All which were hang'd upon the Sea-Coaſts of *Kent*, *Norfolk*, and *Suſſex*, for Sea-Marks or Light-Houſes, to teach *Perkin*'s People to avoid the Coaſt. Shortly after, the King returning to *London*, honour'd the Serjeant's Feaſt with the Preſence of himſelf and Queen; being a Prince ever ready to countenance the Profeſſors of the Law, after that declaring, *That as he govern'd his Subjects by his Laws, ſo he govern'd his Laws by his Lawyers.* In the ſame Year dy'd *Cecily Nevil*, Dutcheſs of *York*, Mother to King *Edward* the Fourth, in extream old Age; a Woman who had liv'd to ſee a numerous but wretched Progeny involv'd in Miſery and Blood; and to ſee three Princes of her Body Crown'd, and four Murder'd, beſides the many Executions of thoſe of her own Family, and the Infamy of being declar'd an Adultreſs by her own Son *Richard*: Afflictions that could ſcarcely happen to a Perſon leſs than her ſelf.

Perkin *lands ſome Men in* Kent, *but to no Effect.*

The Death of the old Dutcheſs of York.

The famous Statute of Submiſſion made.

In the ſame Year, and eleventh of this Reign, the King call'd a Parliament, where many Laws were made; the principal of which was the famous Statute of *Submiſſion*, which has been ſo much canvaſs'd of late Years. The Lord *Bacon*'s Account of it is in theſe Words: It was a Law of a ſtrange Nature; rather Juſt than Legal, and more magnanimous than provident. This Law did Ordain, that no Perſon that did aſſiſt in Arms, or otherwiſe, the King for the *Time Being*, ſhould after be impeach'd therefore, or attainted, either by the Courſe of Law, or by Act of Parliament. But, if any ſuch Attainder did happen to be made, it ſhould be void, and of none Effect; for that it was agreeable to Reaſon of *State*, that the Subject ſhould not enquire of the Juſtneſs of the King's Title or Quarrel; and it was agreeable to a good *Conſcience*, that, whatſoever the Fortune of the War were, the Subject ſhould not ſuffer for his *Obedience*. The Spirit of this Law was wonderful Pious and Noble; being like in Matter of War, unto the Spirit of *David* in Matter of Plague, who ſaid, *If I have ſinn'd, ſtrike me; but what have theſe Sheep done!* Neither wanted this Law Parts of prudent and deep Foreſight: For, it did the better take away Occaſion for the People to buſy themſelves, and pry into the King's Title; for that howſoever it fell, their Safety was already provided for. Beſides, it could not but greatly draw to him the Love and Hearts of the People, becauſe he ſeem'd more careful for them, than for himſelf. But yet it took off from his Party that great Tie and Spur of Neceſſity, to fight and go Victors out of the Field; conſidering their Fortunes were protected, whether they ſtood or run away.

In the mean Time *Perkin* being retir'd to *Flanders* to the Dutcheſs *Margaret*, it was judg'd neceſſary both by her and him, that he ſhould remove from thence, and proceed in the Work they had ſo unfortunately begun. This Reſolution was befriended by the Diſtaſte which *Maximilian* took at *Henry*, for taking the Commerce of *England* from their States; and by the like Diſguſt taken by the *French* King, for his having lately enter'd into a League againſt him, as to his Affairs in *Italy*. *Perkin* therefore went firſt into *Ireland*; but *Poyning*'s Care having prevented his chief Expectations, he retir'd into *Scotland*, grounding his Hopes upon the natural Enmity between the two Kingdoms, and upon the Recommendation of King *Charles* and *Maximilian*. He had ſolemn Audience given him by *James* King of *Scotland*, in the Preſence of his chief Nobility; where his Majeſtick Looks, augmented by a moſt happy Demeanor, captivated the Minds and Opinions of all that heard him. With a graceful Aſſurance he told the King, *That he was the unfortunate* Richard Plantagenet, *Son to King* Edward *the Fourth, who drawn by fraudulent Promiſes from the Boſom of his Mother, was brought to the* Tower *of* London, *there to be murder'd with his Brother* Edward; *but Pity ariſing in the Breaſt of thoſe who executed that cruel Office, they were contented with the Death of the eldeſt Brother, and ſav'd him, giving him Life, Liberty, and Means to eſcape.* Then he proceeded to recount the various Changes of Fortune that had attended his Fate; 'and to inſiſt upon the generous Encouragements he had receiv'd from Foreign Princes, who were inſpir'd with a Spirit of Greatneſs and Piety; and likewiſe to enlarge upon the innumerable Acts of Injuſtice and Treachery contriv'd againſt him by *Henry Tudor*, the preſent Uſurper of the *Engliſh* Throne;

Perkin *goes into* Scotland.

King James *receives him.*

'whoſe various Methods to aſperſe him, and his inceſſant Labours to deſtroy him, were alone ſufficient to prove he was no Impoſtor. Therefore he had Recourſe to the Arms of *Scotland*, whoſe King was of that Generoſity and Bravery, as not to refuſe the Supplications of a diſtreſſed Prince flying to him; eſpecially when he was ſure to meet with a Recompence anſwerable to the Greatneſs of the Favour.' In ſum, *Perkin*'s Expreſſions, the Compaſſion of his Caſe, the Recommendation of ſo many Princes, and their ſecret Promiſes, or perhaps the Occaſion to begin a War with King *Henry*, mov'd King *James* to promiſe him his Aſſiſtance; which he readily effected, tho' many, who knew the Impoſture, diſſuaded him from it. And moreover he did not only appoint him an Attendance and Entertainment, anſwerable to his pretended Quality; but that it might be believ'd he took him for the real Duke of *York*, he gave him in Marriage his neareſt Kinſwoman the Lady *Katharine Gordon*, a young Virgin of admirable Beauty and Virtue.

A. D. 1496. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$. *He enters* England *His Declaration.*

Such Proviſions being made as the Enterprize requir'd, King *James* with a conſiderable Army enter'd *Northumberland*; where *Perkin*, under the Name of *Richard* Duke of *York*, the true and lawful Heir to the Crown of *England*, publiſh'd and diſpers'd a formal Declaration, the Subſtance of which was this: 'That being by the Grace of God, and Favour of *James* King of *Scotland* enter'd into the Kingdom of *England*, he declar'd his Coming was not to make War upon his Subjects, but to free them from the Tyranny with which they were oppreſs'd. That tho' it was known the Crown belong'd to the Royal Houſe of *York*, of which there remain'd no other Pretender than himſelf, the only ſurviving Son of *Edward* the Fourth; yet *Henry Tudor* had uſurp'd the Crown from him, and by inhuman Methods deſign'd to deprive him of his Life, boaſting that he had eas'd the Nation of a Tyrant, when he had made himſelf a greater than the other. That *Richard*'s Tyranny was the more excuſable, ſince his Nephews being ſuppos'd to be dead, he had ſome Pretence to give a Colour to it: The Difference between the Two was, That *Richard* a true *Plantagenet*, had for his Aim the Honour of the Nation, and the Subjects Tranquility; but *Henry* meanly born, without Regard to either, had ſold the Kingdom's beſt Friends for ready Mony, made a diſhonourable Peace, and not only oppreſs'd the Subject, but unjuſtly put to Death the Lord Chamberlain *Stanley*, and ſeveral others, who were ready to withſtand his Oppreſſions. *Richard* had been mov'd to Tyranny by Ambition, *Henry* by Avarice; Ambition had made uſe of cruel Means, but Avarice, not only of cruel, but baſe extorting Methods: His Cruelty appear'd not only from the Deaths of many, but by his Impriſonment of the Earl of *Warwick*, Son to the Duke of *Clarence*; his Baſeneſs and Extortion, by his intolerable Subſidies, Taxes, and Impoſitions, under the Name of *Benevolences*, and by the Wars and Peace made only to heap up Treaſure. And becauſe his Uſurpation of the Crown had made him live in perpetual Fear, not only of Men, but of Women, he had marry'd Ladies of the Royal Blood to Perſons of mean Condition; particularly a Siſter of himſelf the Duke of *York*, and a Siſter of his Couſin the Earl of *Warwick*, that he might have leſs Reaſon to fear future Oppoſitions. Now as he came to free them from Violence, by ſuch Forces as God ſhould give him, ſo by his plenary Regal Authority, he did at that preſent Time free them from all Grievances, by perpetually aboliſhing all that had hitherto been impos'd upon them, contrary to Law and Cuſtom: And that the good Will of his Subjects might not be prejudic'd by the Law, for having illegally obey'd the Uſurper, he granted a general Pardon for all their Tranſgreſſions, upon Condition they ſubmit themſelves to him, and acknowledge him for their King; the moſt forward of whom ſhould enjoy the greateſt Marks of his Regal Favours. Next, he would maintain all that his Anceſtors, eſpecially what his Father *Edward* of glorious Memory, had ſworn to; which was the Preſervation of their Privileges and Liberties, the Franchiſes of the Clergy, Nobility and People. Then he promis'd a Thouſand Pound in ready Money, and a Hundred Marks a Year of Inheritance, to whomſoever ſhould take or kill *Henry Tudor*. Laſtly, he declar'd that the King of the *Scots* aſſiſting of him was not done out of any Pact or Promiſe prejudicial to *England*, but meerly out of Generoſity and Juſtice; and whenever he had put him in Condition to defend himſelf by his *Engliſh* Subjects, he would return to *Scotland*, only with the Honour of having reſtor'd an injur'd Prince.

It has no Effect.

This Declaration prov'd like Seed ſown on the Sands: Wherefore King *James*, after he had long in vain expected ſome Commotion, betook himſelf to plunder and deſtroy with as little Mercy as the *Scots* had wont to do in former Times. Having enrich'd his Soldiers, he return'd back, hearing that great Forces were marching againſt him, knowing it would be dangerous for him to ſtay, while he was incumber'd with the great Booty he took along with him.

A Treaty with Flanders.

A Subſidy granted againſt Scotland.

At this Time the Merchants were much diſcontented at the Breach of Commerce between *England* and *Flanders*; ſo that meeting with a fit Occaſion, they began to treat of it with their ſeveral Princes; ſince the reducing it to the former Condition, would make for the Advantage of both Sides, therefore it was deſirable by both. The Arch-Duke was now ſenſible that *Perkin* was an Impoſtor, and that to favour him any longer would injure his Reputation, as it had already leſſen'd his Revenues. Therefore being ready to comply, Commiſſioners were appointed on both Sides, who concluded a perfect Treaty both of Amity and Intercourſe, between King *Henry* and the Arch-Duke; containing Articles both of State, Commerce, and Freedom of Fiſhing. To theſe Articles, was added an Inhibition of either Side to entertain the Rebels of either Country; in which Article the Territories of the Dutcheſs *Margaret* were expreſly nam'd, that *Perkin*'s Adherents might not be ſhelter'd there. After the Intercourſe was thus reſtored, the *Engliſh* Merchants again repaired to their Manſion at *Antwerp*, where they were receiv'd with Proceſſion and great Joy. Having ſettled this Affair, the King call'd a Parliament, 'where he much aggravated the Malice, and the diſhonourable Treatment of the King of the *Scots*, who under the Pretence of ſupporting one whom all had diſcarded, had turn'd his Arms upon unarmed and unprovided People, only to pillage and depopulate, contrary to the Laws both of War and Peace: Concluding, that he could neither with the Honour, nor the Safety of his People, ſuffer theſe Injuries to paſs unreveng'd.' The Parliament well underſtood him, and gave him a Subſidy, limited to the Sum of a hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds, beſides two fifteens. For his Wars were always to him, a Mine of peculiar Ore; Iron at the Top, and Gold and Silver at the Bottom.

A. D. 1497. Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

A Rebellion in Cornwall.

The Lord Audley *heads the Rebels.*

The King, tho' he avoided to fight with the Enemies Abroad, yet he was ſtill enforc'd to fight for his Mony with Rebels at Home: For as ſoon as the Subſidy began to be levy'd in *Cornwall*, the Inhabitants exclaim'd againſt it, as an unjuſt Exaction: And ſince the *Scotch* Commotion was ſo far from them, they thought only the neighbouring Counties were oblig'd to Contributions; as if when the Head akes, the Legs and Feet were unconcern'd, and might transfer their Duties to the Arms and Neck, as the neareſt Members. To make good this Inſurrection, two mutinous Heads appear'd; the one a Black-Smith or Farrier, call'd *Michael Joſeph*; and the other an Attorney, nam'd *Thomas Flammock*, each of whom had their particular Ends: The Black-Smith was mov'd by Ambition, believing ſuch an Action would add Luſtre to his Memory, and that his clowniſh Loquacity would procure him the firſt Place among the People: The Attorney having gain'd Credit by his Profeſſion, had ſo far won upon their Opinions, as they believ'd the Refuſal of this Subſidy, and their Mutiny, to be legal and meritorious. His Opinion was of ſufficient Authority to interpret the Power of the King and Parliament; he had inſtructed them 'That they were not oblig'd to the Payment of any Subſidies for War with *Scotland*; that the Law had provided for it by *Eſcuage* and other Means, ſo that this Subſidy was invented to fleece the People. He therefore advis'd them to preſent a Petition to the King, who, for the Example of others, would certainly puniſh the Inventors of it;' and they both offer'd themſelves to lead them on, 'till they ſhou'd find ſome Perſon of Quality, under whom they might ſerve. 'But as for Matter of Life, there was no Hazard at all, their Demand being ſo juſt, as it would be approved by all the other Counties; and ſince the publick Good was conſulted, from which the King's particular Intereſt could not be ſeparated.' Being thus encourag'd, they took up Arms; and becauſe they were not all provided with Bows and Arrows, they arm'd themſelves with ſuch Tools as belong'd to their ſeveral Trades. They enter'd by *Somerſetſhire*, and paſs'd through *Devonſhire*, without offering any Manner of Outrage; but coming to *Taunton*, they ſlew one of the Commiſſioners for the Subſidy, who had ſhew'd himſelf more active than the reſt. At *Wells* they met the Lord *Audley*, who hurry'd on by a fatal Diſcontent, ſubmitted to be their General. They reſolv'd to march into *Kent*, out of an Opinion which *Flammock* had inſtill'd into 'em, That *Kent* had never been conquer'd, but were the freeſt Part of *England*, and moſt likely to join with them. But upon their Arrival, finding all Things to the contrary, ſome were amaz'd, and others enrag'd. The former wiſely drawing their Neck out of the Yoke, return'd Home; the reſt paſſing forwards, thought that ſince they had met with no Oppoſition in ſo long a March, the King and the City would ſuffer them to make their own Conditions:

They march into Kent.

And with this fooliſh Imagination they encamp'd themſelves within Sight of *London*, between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*.

The King prepares againſt them

London *in a Conſternation.*

The King was much concern'd at the firſt News of this Inſurrection, fearing leſt he ſhould have Three Miſchiefs to encounter at once; the People of *Cornwall*, *Perkin*'s ſecret Intelligence, and the War with *Scotland*. He took to his Arms as ſoon as the Parliament was ended, deſigning to march towards *Scotland*; but being diverted by the other Occaſion, he ſuſpended that Reſolution. And becauſe he had ſent the Lord *Dawbeny* with ſome Forces to the Borders of *Scotland*, he order'd him to return, to take ſuch Counſel as Neceſſity requir'd, and ſent the Earl of *Surry* in his Room, with Orders to defend the Country, in caſe the *Scots* ſhould fall in upon it. He mov'd not againſt the Rebels at the firſt News, according to his uſual Cuſtom; for the Country, not being endamag'd by them, did not require it; and he was confident that wanting Money and Ammunition, they would diſband of themſelves, as they had already begun to do, when they fail'd in their Hopes of the *Kentiſh* Men. But when he ſaw them encamp'd near *London*, he reſolv'd to attack them; and to free himſelf from all Hazards of Fortune, he divided his Forces, which far exceeded theirs, into Three diſtinct Bodies: He aſſign'd the firſt to the Earls of *Oxford*, *Eſſex*, and *Suffolk*; the Second to the Lord-Chamberlain, and commanded the Third himſelf. He appointed the Firſt to place themſelves behind the Hill where the Rebels were encamp'd, and to ſecure all the Paſſages beſides that towards *London*, that being inclos'd like wild Beaſts in a Toil, they might not be able to eſcape. He order'd the Lord-Chamberlain to give them Battel in the Front, having aſſign'd him the beſt and moſt experienc'd Soldiers in the Army, as having the greateſt Dependance upon their Valour; and he himſelf ſtay'd with the Third Body between *London* and them, to ſupply them, if it ſhould be needful, and to fight with ſuch as durſt march towards the City. In the mean time, the Citizens were in a great Conſternation, which caus'd much Confuſion in the Streets, ſome running to the Walls, others to the River, without Order, or Knowledge what to do: For they could not believe but their coming from *Cornwall*, the utmoſt Bounds of *England*, muſt be with Intention to enrich themſelves by the Plunder of that opulent City; and they did not think that their quiet Paſſage through other Counties, was to be taken as an Argument that they would do the like upon this Occaſion. But afterwards, underſtanding the good Order the King had taken; how that he had intereſted his own Perſon in the Danger; that the Enemy were to win three Battels, before they could come to the City; and that the Commanders were both faithful and valiant, they ſoon laid by their Fears.

The Rebels defeated.

Only three executed.

That the Rebels might be more unprovided, the King politickly caus'd it to be reported in the Army, that he would not fight till the *Monday* following: But towards the *Saturday* Evening, the Lord *Dawbeny*, according to Order, ſet upon ſome Troops which were lodg'd upon the Side of the Hill; and tho' they valiantly reſiſted, yet being but few in Number, they could not make good their Station: They quitting their Poſts, it was eaſy for the King's Forces to mount the Hill, make themſelves Maſters of the Plain, and fall in with their main Body. Tho' they were taken unawares, and their Troops out of Order, they ſo well receiv'd the firſt Attack, as the Lord *Dawbeny*, fighting at the Head of his Men, and playing the Part of a common Soldier, was taken Priſoner; but was ſoon after reſcued: For the Rebels being ill arm'd, without Commanders, Artillery, or Horſe, they could not ſo far reſiſt, but that in a ſhort Time two thouſand of them were ſlain, and great Numbers taken Priſoners. The Lord *Audley* the General, and the two Seducers the Attorney and the Black-Smith, baſely ſuffer'd themſelves to be taken alive. Three hundred of the King's Side were ſlain, and moſt of them by Arrows; for the *Corniſh* Men us'd very ſtrong Bows, and Arrows of a Yard in Length. The King came to the Place, and made many Knights Bannerets, as he had done before, when he was encamp'd in St. *George*'s Fields; and he gave the Goods of all the Priſoners to ſuch as had taken them. The Lord *Audley* was ignominiouſly led from *Newgate* to *Tower-Hill*, in a Paper Coat torn, and painted with his own Arms revers'd, and there beheaded. The Attorney and Black-Smith were brought to *Tyburn*, where they were hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, the Black-Smith not ceaſing to ſhew his Vanity and Vain-glory to the very laſt, not doubting *but in future Times his Name would be memorable in Hiſtory*. The King would not have their Quarters ſent into *Cornwall*, as it had been appointed; for, hearing they were not totally ſuppreſs'd, he thought it not Wiſdom to exaſperate them any further. All the reſt were pardon'd by Proclamation; ſo that beſides the Blood ſhed in the Field, the King ſatisfy'd himſelf with the Lives of only three Offenders, for the Expiation of this dangerous Rebellion.

Some Action with Scotland.

The King of *Scotland* hearing of this Rebellion, took Advantage from it, and went to beſiege *Norham* Caſtle, waſting all the Country in his Paſſage. This Caſtle belong'd to *Fox*, Biſhop of *Durham*, who foreſeeing it would be inveſted, had doubly furniſh'd it with all ſorts of Ammunition; cauſing the Herds of Cattel, and what elſe might be uſeful to the Enemy, to be withdrawn into the ſtrongeſt Receſſes. The Earl of *Surry*, who was ready upon all Occaſions in *Yorkſhire*, haſten'd thither, at the Head of a conſiderable Force. Which, when King *James* underſtood, he withdrew himſelf, and was purſu'd by the Earl; who, not able to overtake him, ſat down before *Aton* Caſtle, one of the ſtrongeſt Places between *Edinburgh* and *Berwick*, which he ſoon took. Not meeting with any Oppoſitions, he return'd to *Yorkſhire*; theſe two Actions having produc'd no Matter of Note, but the Preſervation of one Caſtle, and the winning of another; not anſwerable to the Power of the Forces, the Heat of the Conteſt, nor the Greatneſs of the Expectation.

A Treaty with Scotland.

A Truce concluded.

Perkin *ſent from* Scotland.

About the ſame Time arriv'd *Pedro D' Aiala*, a celebrated Man, ſent Ambaſſador from *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, King and Queen of *Spain*. The outward Pretence of his Embaſſy, was to accommodate the Differences between the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; but the true Cauſe was to negociate a Marriage between *Katharine*, their ſecond Daughter, and the young Prince *Arthur*. King *Henry*, who had a great Dexterity in getting ſuddenly into the Boſom of Ambaſſadors, readily embrac'd the outward Offer, being no ways inclinable to the unprofitable War with *Scotland*; by the Ceſſation of which, two great Advantages would redound to him: The one was the driving *Perkin* from that Kingdom, where he had his chief Support, and getting him into his own Hands; and the other, a peaceful Reign, freed from the continu'd Moleſtations of Impoſtors. So that agreeing with whatſoever *D' Aiala* ſhould propoſe, with the Preſervation of his Honour, he allow'd him to go into *Scotland*; where having projected the Affair, and by the Agreement of the Council perſuaded that King to hearken to a Peace, he wrote to King *Henry* to ſend ſome diſcreet Man, who, together with him, might end the Buſineſs with the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*; which Commiſſion was given to *Fox*, Biſhop of *Durham*, then reſiding at *Norham*. When they were met together in *Jedworth*, they could not agree, by reaſon of many Difficulties that aroſe. *Henry* demanded to have *Perkin* deliver'd up to him; and *James* could not do it without great Aſperſion to his Honour: For tho' he knew him to be no better than a State-Juggler, yet having call'd him the Duke of *York*, made War in his Name, and marry'd him to a near Kinſwoman of his own, to deliver him up, would injure his own Faith and Reputation. On *Henry*'s Behalf, was likewiſe demanded Satisfaction for the Loſs he had ſuſtain'd, and the Reſtitution of ſuch Booty as had been taken from *England*; which was impoſſible to be had, it being diſpers'd among the Soldiers: King *James* had not ſufficient to give Satisfaction to the other; and it was much eaſier for one to ſuffer the Loſs, than for the other to repay it. But all of them being met together with a Deſire of Peace, it was eaſie to find a Way to Accommodation; wherefore deferring the Treaty to another Seaſon, they agreed upon a Truce, upon Condition that *Perkin* ſhould be diſmiſs'd from *Scotland*. This being determin'd, King *James* call'd *Perkin* to him, and told him, That according to his Promiſe he had done what lay in his Power to ſerve him; then after as civil a manner as the Subject would bear, he let him know, That the preſent State of Affairs requir'd him to retire from his Kingdom. *Perkin* caſting all his bad Succeſs upon the Averſeneſs of Fortune, aſſured the King he would never be unmindful of his Favours, and ſo embark'd himſelf, together with his Wife, and ſuch whoſe deſperate Condition had compell'd them to follow him, in three Ships which the King gave him, and ſail'd into *Ireland*; for he had no Hopes in *Flanders*, by reaſon of the new Alliance between King *Henry* and the Arch-Duke.

He lands in Cornwall.

The *Corniſh* Men underſtanding that he was come into *Ireland*, petition'd him to come over to them, profeſſing their Obedience, their Lives and Fortunes, for the advancing his Pretenſions to the Crown. They who were taken Priſoners in the laſt Battel, having ranſom'd themſelves from their Captors at very ſmall Rates, were return'd home; interpreting the King's Clemency only as the Effects of Fear and Impotence. So running into new Imaginations, and believing that the other Counties would follow their Example, they receiv'd *Perkin* with great Applauſe; who landed there with four little Barks, in the Month of *September*, with only an hundred and forty Men. Three thouſand of the *Corniſh* Men preſented themſelves before him all arm'd in the Town of *Bodmin*; from whence he iſſu'd out a Declaration under the Name of *Richard* the Fourth, King of *England*, making large Promiſes for the Eaſe of the preſent Tyrannical Government.

He attempts Exeter *in vain.*

ment. He had three chief Counſellors to attend him, a broken Mercer, a Taylor, and a Scrivener; which three, joining with the reſt, were of Opinion, That the firſt Thing to be done was, to gain ſome good Town which might make for his Safety and Reputation, and might encourage the reſt. They ſate down before *Exeter*, which being a great and rich City, the Hopes of Booty invited many others to come over to *Perkin*. They made ſpecious Promiſes to the Citizens; among which one was, That King *Richard* would make their City a new *London*, in Recompence of their Fidelity, and for being foremoſt in acknowledging him for their King; but wanting Artillery to force them, bare Words were not ſufficient to perſuade them. The Citizens let down Meſſengers over the Walls, and ſent News of the Siege to the Court, deſiring immediate Succours; which being apprehended by *Perkin*, he us'd all Methods to make himſelf Maſter of the Place before Relief could arrive. He attack'd it by Scaling Ladders, and ſet fire to one of the Gates, endeavouring to enter both Ways: but the Walls being well defended, the Fire extinguiſh'd, and many of the Aſſailants ſlain, the Danger was ſoon over.

He flies, and takes Sanctuary.

His Wife is taken.

The King hearing of *Perkin*'s Siege of *Exeter*, made Sport with it, and ſaid to thoſe about him, *That the King of the Rake-Hells was landed in the Weſt, and he now hop'd to have the Honour to ſee him, which he never yet could do.* He was extremely pleas'd, for now he ſeem'd to ſee the Bottom of his Peril, and as it were to hold his Enemy empounded within the *Engliſh* Ocean, it being a perpetual and noble Wiſh of his, *That he might look his Dangers in the Face, and meet them in open Field.* He ſuddenly diſpatch'd away Forces to relieve *Exeter* under the Conduct of the Lord Chamberlain, attended by the Lord *Brook* and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*; with Directions to declare that he was following in Perſon. But the Lords living in thoſe Parts, knowing that they ſhould do an acceptable Piece of Service, if they came unrequeſted into the Field, aſſembled many Troops: The Earl of *Devonſhire*, with his Son, and the chief Gentlemen of the County on the one Side; and the Earl of *Buckingham* on the other; ſo as being join'd together before the Chamberlain arriv'd, they advertiz'd the King of what they had done, deſiring to receive his Commands. *Perkin* underſtanding theſe Preparations, rais'd his Siege, and march'd to *Taunton*, beginning to have one Eye upon the Crown, and the other upon the Sanctuary; tho' the *Corniſh* Men much encourag'd him, promiſing not to abandon him, while they had one Drop of Blood in their Bodies. But whether Fear or Warineſs had taught him not to truſt ſuch Promiſes, he reſolv'd to retire; having about ſeven thouſand Men with him, and ſeeming however to be couragious: But forſaking all theſe the next Night, he fled with threeſcore and ten Horſe to *Bewley*, where he took Sanctuary, ſhewing his wonted Compaſſion, *Not to be preſent when his Subjects Blood ſhould be ſpilt.* The King hearing of his Flight, ſent five hundred Horſe after him, fearing he ſhould eſcape by Sea; but finding he had taken Sanctuary, they us'd no other Violence, but to keep a ſufficient Guard till they ſhould receive new Commands. The Troops remaining in *Taunton* yielded themſelves to the King's Mercy; who pardon'd them all, except a few of their Heads, who were put to Death. The King firſt ſent to St. *Michael*'s Mount, where the Lady *Gordon* was left by her Husband *Perkin*, whom in all Fortunes ſhe entirely lov'd, adding the Virtues of a Wife to thoſe of her Sex; and he ſent with the greater Diligence, as fearing ſhe might be with Child, by which the Buſineſs would not have ended in *Perkin*'s Perſon. Being brought before the King, he receiv'd her not only with Compaſſion, but with Affection; a noble Pity giving more Impreſſion to her excellent Beauty and Demeanour. Wherefore comforting her, he ſent her to his Queen, and aſſign'd her an honourable Penſion, which ſhe enjoy'd during his Life, and many Years after. The Name of the *White-Roſe*, which had been given to her Husband's falſe Title, was continu'd in common Speech to her real Beauty.

He yields to the King.

He is led through London *as a Spectacle.*

His Confeſſion.

The King made a ſolemn Entry into *Exeter*, where having thank'd the Citizens for their Loyalty, he took off his Sword he wore, and gave it to the Mayor with Power to have it always carry'd before him. He ſent expreſs Meſſengers to the Sanctuary to *Perkin*, with Promiſe of Pardon; who ſeeing himſelf deſtitute of all Hopes of Safety, yielded himſelf into their Hands, and was brought to the Court, but not to the King's Preſence, tho' oftentimes out of Curioſity, he would ſee him out of the Gallery Window. Divers Commiſſioners were nominated to proceed againſt ſuch as join'd with *Perkin*, who were puniſh'd with Pecuniary Mulcts, which gave a general Satisfaction to the Nation. The Scorn and Mockery which *Perkin* receiv'd from the Courtiers, and from ſuch as ran to ſee him, as if he had been a Monſter, would have been a greater Puniſhment to a Man of Honour than a thouſand Deaths. When he came to *London*, he was led on Horſeback through all the City to the *Tower*, and from thence brought back to *Weſtminſter*; ſuffering by the Way all Kinds of opprobrious and injurious Language: For his greater Ignominy they led another bound near to him, who was Farrier to the King's Stables, and then a chief Counſellor to *Perkin*, who being taken in the Habit of a Hermit, he was brought to *London*, and hang'd after he had accompany'd his new Maſter in this Proceſſion. *Perkin* upon Examination fully declar'd his whole Genealogy; his Father, Mother, Grandfathers, Uncle, Couſins, their Employments, and Countries, his Travels and Voyages, together with many other ſuperfluous Things: But concealing, or not committing to Writing, what was moſt eſſential, the ſeveral Practices of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*. He acknowledg'd his going into *Portugal*, but not that he was ſent by her; and in like manner he laid open his Voyage to *Ireland*. Whereupon the Confeſſion, being firſt written with his own Hand, and afterwards printed, did not fully ſatisfy the Peoples Curioſity; ſince they found the Name of the chief Actreſs in the Comedy purpoſely conceal'd. But the King would not any further exaſperate her; thinking it ſufficient Puniſhment for her to be ſo variouſly cenſur'd as ſhe was, together with her own Vexation, that her Inventions not ſucceeding ſhould be made evident to the World. Thus this famous Impoſtor fell into King *Henry*'s Hands after he had tormented him by Intervals for about the Space of ſix Years.

A. D. 1498. Reg. $\frac{13}{14}$.

The King of the Scots *complains againſt King* Henry.

V. King *Henry* having now ſurmounted the greateſt Obſtacles in his Reign, there ſoon after occurr'd a trifling and untoward Accident, that in length of Time produc'd great and happy Effects. The Caſtle of *Norham* is parted from the Borders of *Scotland* by the River *Tweed*; ſo that Neighbourhood having caus'd Converſation and Friendſhip between ſome young Men of *England* and *Scotland*, the latter us'd often to paſs the River, and come to drink and ſport with thoſe of *Norham*. The Soldiers of the Garriſon growing jealous of this Cuſtom, did not think their coming proceeded from Friendſhip, but out of a Deſire to know the Strength of the Fortifications; whereupon falling firſt to Words, and then to Blows, the *Scotchmen* by the Diſadvantage of the Place, and Inequality in Number, were hardly treated, and ſome of them ſlain. King *James* taking this as a Deſign to injure him, diſpatch'd away an expreſs Herald to complain; and in caſe King *Henry* would not give Satisfaction, to denounce War. The latter regarding nothing ſo much as Peace, anſwer'd, *That he was ſorry for the Accident, which was wholly unknown to him; that he would enquire after the Aggreſſors, and give them ſuch Puniſhment, as there ſhould be no Occaſion to break the Truce.* But as Time paſs'd on, and nothing was perform'd, King *James* took it for Diſſimulation, and was more offended than formerly; and certainly great Miſchiefs might have enſu'd, had not the Biſhop of *Durham*, who was Lord of *Norham*, wiſely prevented it. For knowing that the Injury was done by his Men, he wrote in ſo ſubmiſſive a Manner to King *James* about it, as he reſted ſatisfy'd, and deſir'd the Biſhop to come to him, that they might treat upon the preſent Occaſion, and upon certain other Affairs that concern'd both the Kingdoms.

He propoſes to marry his Daughter.

Which cauſes a Peace.

The Biſhop acquainted King *Henry* with this, and obtain'd Leave to go into *Scotland*; where meeting with King *James* at *Melroſs*, he return'd ſuch ſoft and modeſt Anſwers to him, as ſoon brought him to a Reconciliation. After this the King more privately convers'd with him, and told him, *That his Deſire was to have a firm and ſtrict Amity, and the only way to effect it was by King* Henry'*s giving him for Wife his eldeſt Daughter* Margaret; *by which the Friendſhip between the two Nations would be perpetual: That this was the Reaſon why he deſir'd him to come into* Scotland, *hoping that by his Wiſdom he might bring the Affair to a happy Period.* The Biſhop modeſtly anſwer'd, *That he thought himſelf rather happy than worthy to be an Inſtrument in ſuch a Matter; but would do his beſt Endeavour.* Therefore returning to *England*, he acquainted King *Henry* with the whole Deſign, which prov'd very acceptable to him. The Matter being long debated in Council, the Match was determin'd, provided a Peace might precede it; all which was effected, and a Peace concluded during the Lives of the two Kings, and for one Year after. But the Celebration of the Marriage was to be deferr'd, becauſe the Lady was not yet ten Years of Age. About the ſame time dy'd *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, whoſe Obſequies were with great Pomp celebrated in *London* by King *Henry*, who could not forget the Favours he had receiv'd from him.

A. D. 1499. Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$.

In the mean time *Perkin*, who was made of Mercury, hard to hold or impriſon, deceiv'd his Keepers, and fled to the Sea-Coaſt. But ſuch diligent Care was taken, that in a ſhort Time he was forc'd to return back, and throw himſelf into the Priory of *Bethlem*, which had the Privilege

Perkin ſet in the Stocks.

He forms a Conſpiracy.

He is hang'd at Tyburn.

lege of Sanctuary. The Prior being a Man of Note and Eſteem, went to King *Henry*, and begg'd of him the Life of *Perkin*, leaving him otherwiſe to the King's Diſcretion. Many adviſ'd his Majeſty to take him immediately and put him to Death; but the King, who had ſo great a Spirit as he could not hate any that he deſpiſ'd, only ſaid, *Take out the Knave, and ſet him in the Stocks.* And ſo promiſing the Priſoner his Life, he cauſ'd him to be brought out; and two Days after, upon a Scaffold erected in the Palace Court at *Weſtminſter*, he was Fetter'd and ſet in the Stocks for the whole Day. And the following Day, the like was done at the Croſs in *Cheapſide*; and in both Places he publickly read his Confeſſion, which he had formerly committed to Writing, that the World might be fully convinc'd of his being an open Impoſtor. He was again put into the *Tower*, but he could not hold from relapſing into his former Error: For growing intimate with four of his Keepers, who were Servants to Sir *John Digby*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and making them believe he was the true Duke of *York*, he ſo far prevail'd with them, as they perſuaded the Earl of *Warwick* to eſcape away with *Perkin*; which by their Help was to be effected by murdering the Lieutenant, and taking the Keys of the *Tower*. But this Conſpiracy was reveal'd in Time, and prevented; and in this again the Belief of the King's nice Wiſdom did raiſe a ſiniſter Opinion, that *Perkin* was but his Bait to enſnare the unfortunate Earl of *Warwick*. For the Inſtant while this Conſpiracy was operating, there broke forth another Counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*, a Cordwainer's Son nam'd *Ralph Wilford*; a young Man ſet up and inſtructed by an *Auſtin* Friar, call'd *Patrick*. But this being miſmanag'd by the over Zeal of the Friar, they were both apprehended; the young Man was executed, and the Friar condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment. This Accident gave the King occaſion to ſend the true Earl of *Warwick* out of the World: Whereupon it was thought that *Perkin*'s Flight, and his ſecond Endeavour to do the like, were wrought by his Artifice; he giving way to the Firſt, that he might put *Perkin* to Death; and ſtirring the Second, to free himſelf from the Earl and *Perkin* together. But however it was, *Perkin* being convicted of this laſt Conſpiracy, and condemn'd to die, was hang'd at *Tyburn*; where he again openly read his Confeſſion, and affirm'd it upon his Death to be true. Here was the End of one of the longeſt Plays of that Kind that had been remember'd; and might perhaps have had a different Period, if he had not met with a King extraordinary wiſe, valiant and fortunate.

The Earl of Warwick *beheaded.*

The End of the Plantagenets.

Immediately after, the poor Earl of *Warwick* was arraign'd before the Earl of *Oxford*, as High-Steward of *England*, for conſpiring together with *Perkin*, againſt the State and Perſon of the King; and being prov'd guilty by his own Confeſſion, was ſhortly after beheaded upon *Tower-Hill*. This cauſ'd the King to be ſeverely cenſur'd, as having no Reaſon to condemn him; For having been Priſoner from the ninth Year of his Age to the twenty fourth, and always in fear of Death, he was kept in ſo great Ignorance, that he did not know a Duck from a Hen; and therefore ſo little capable of the Fault, that he was not capable of the Contrivance; and his Confeſſion of it was only in Hopes of a Pardon. King *Henry* endeavour'd to lay the Cauſe of his Death upon the King of *Spain*, ſhewing his Letters, in which he declar'd, 'He could not 'reſolve to marry his Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, ſince as 'long as the Earl of *Warwick* liv'd, he was not certain of 'the Kingdom's Succeſſion:' Which might be a Reaſon of State, but not of Juſtice; inſomuch that God would not give a Bleſſing to that Match; of which the Religious Princeſs *Katharine* was afterwards ſenſible. For Prince *Arthur* dying in a ſhort time, and ſhe being divorc'd from King *Henry* after twenty Years Marriage, ſhe juſtly ſaid, *It was no wonder if God had made her unfortunate in her Marriages, ſince they were ſeal'd with the Blood of the Earl of* Warwick. This Earl was the laſt Heir Male of the Blood and Sirname of *Plantagenet*; whoſe Race, as it was a long Time glorious for giving renown'd Kings to *England*, ſo in the latter End it became odious to God and Man, for the horrible Feuds, Murthers and Perjuries committed within it ſelf, which finally threw open all thoſe Fences, which the Poſſeſſion of Majeſty and Numeroſity of Iſſue had for ſome Ages caſt about it; letting in thereby the Sirname of *Tudor*, being but two Deſcents *Engliſh*, and which after Three Deſcents, and five Princes, did likewiſe wholly diſappear.

A. D. 1500.

Reg. $\frac{15}{16}$.

A Plague.

The King goes to Calais.

His Interview with Arch-Duke Philip.

The King returns.

The Nation being now freed from all civil Diſturbances, was afflicted by a great Plague, which rag'd ſo terribly in *London*, and other Parts of the Land, that it cauſ'd the King to go over to *Calais*, together with his Queen and Family. This being known to Arch-Duke *Philip*, he ſent Ambaſſadors to him to congratulate his Arrival, and to know *if he would be pleaſ'd that he himſelf ſhould come and viſit him*; *upon Condition he might be receiv'd in ſome open Place*; for which ſeveral ſpecious Reaſons were given. The Ambaſſadors were graciouſly receiv'd, the Condition was fairly interpreted, and St. *Peter*'s Church, not far from *Calais*, appointed for the Place. As he was coming towards *Calais*, the King went out to meet him, when he ſuddenly alighted from his Horſe to hold the King's Stirrup, which the King would not permit; but affectionately embracing him, he led him to the Church appointed for the Parly. The Cauſes of the Arch-Duke's coming were two; his own good Nature, becauſe he or his Council had offended him by protecting an Impoſtor, ſo that he would omit nothing that might give the King Satisfaction: The other, was the Advice of his Father, and Father-in-law, who counſell'd him to eſtabliſh a ſtrict Amity with King *Henry*, for the Benefit of the *Netherlands*, and his own Safety againſt the Violences of *France*; but chiefly, becauſe both hating the new King *Lewis*, they hop'd for many Advantages by his Friendſhip. The Arch-Duke fail'd not to uſe all the Art he could, though by Nature he was not addicted to Diſſimulations; terming him *his Father*, *Patron and Protector*. The Matters concluded between them were the Confirmation of the former Treaties, and two reciprocal Marriages; the one of the Duke of *York*, the King's ſecond Son, with the Arch-Duke's Daughter; the other of *Charles*, the Arch-Duke's Eldeſt Son, with *Mary* the King's ſecond Daughter: But all of them being either Children or Infants, theſe Marriages ſucceeded not, but wholly evaporated through Time and Intereſt. The Arch-Duke was but juſt retir'd, when the King of *France* ſent the Governor of *Picardy*, and the Bailiff of *Amiens* to viſit King *Henry*, acquainting him with his Victories, together with his gaining of the Dukedom of *Milan*, and his Impriſonment of the Duke *Lodowick Sforza*. The Plague being by this Time ceaſed, King *Henry* returned to *London*, well ſatisfy'd with the Teſtimony he had receiv'd, of the good Eſteem in which he was held by the neighbouring Princes.

The Pope propoſes a War againſt the Turks.

The King's Anſwer.

At the ſame Time *Jaſper Pons*, a learned and well-bred Man, came into *England* from Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, upon the Occaſion of the Year of *Jubilee*; for ſince they only receiv'd the Benefit of it who went to *Rome*, he thought it fit to have it commuted for by remote Countries, where the Inhabitants could not make ſuch long Journeys: Inſomuch as they ſtaying at Home, might receive the ſame Indulgences, if they would give a certain Sum of Money, to be employ'd againſt the *Turks*, whoſe Approaches *Hungary*, *Germany* and *Italy* did much apprehend. This Man ſo wiſely manag'd this Affair, that he obtain'd large Sums of Money, without any Murmurings, but againſt the King's Perſon; who being too much given to extort from his People, it was thought he would not have permitted ſuch Sums to be raiſ'd, unleſs he himſelf had been a Sharer. However the Matter was propounded from the Pope in the publick Conſiſtory, in the Preſence of all the Ambaſſadors, then reſident at Court, with a Deſign to invade the *Turkiſh* Dominions in three ſeveral Places; in *Thrace*, by the *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, and *Polanders*; in *Greece*, by the *French* and *Spaniards*; and at *Conſtantinople*, by the Pope himſelf, accompany'd by the King of *England*, and the State of *Venice*: And he ſent Nuncio's to all Princes, that they would join their Forces and Monies according to their Abilities, in ſo pious a Work. The Anſwer which the King gave to *Pons* was, 'That he was 'ready to accompany his Holineſs, but the remote Diſtance of his Country would put him to double the Inconveniences with any others: That the Kings of *France* 'and *Spain* were firſt to be made Friends, who were fitteſt 'to accompany him; which if it could not be effected all 'other Deſigns would prove vain. But if both ſhould refuſe, rather than his Holineſs ſhould go alone, he would 'wait upon him; upon Condition he might have ſome 'good Towns upon the Sea-Coaſts of *Italy* put into his 'Hands, for the Retreat and Security of his Men:' This Declaration, as ſuperficial as it was, gave the King that Reputation Abroad, that not long after he was elected by the Knights of *Rhodes*, Protector of their Order; all Things contributing to honour a Prince, who had gain'd ſuch high Eſteem for his mighty Wiſdom and Abilities.

The Concluſion of the fifteenth Century.

This Century concluded with the Deaths of three great Prelates in *England*; Cardinal *John Morton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Thomas Rotheram*, Archbiſhop of *York*; and *Thomas Langton*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The firſt was ſucceeded by *Henry Dean*, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*; the ſecond by *Thomas Savage*, Biſhop of *London*; and the third by *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Durham*; all Men eminent in their ſeveral Stations.

A. D. 1501.

Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.

The Marriage of Prince Arthur *with* Katharine *of* Spain.

VI. This ſixteenth Century began with the famous Marriage between Prince *Arthur* and the Infanta *Katharine* of *Spain*, who was ſent over with the greateſt Pomp and Attendance; a Marriage that was ſeven Years in compleating, then ſolemniz'd with the utmoſt Splendor and Magnificence,

ficence, and memorable for the wonderful Conſequences it produc'd many Years after. The Tedioufneſs of the Negotiation proceeded not only from the tender Years of the Perſons to be marry'd, but from the two Kings themſelves, who being both of great Policy and profound Judgment, ſtood long at a Diſtance viewing each others Fortunes and Succeſs; well knowing that the very Name of the Treaty gave a Reputation of a ſtrict Amity between them; which on both Sides ſerv'd to many Purpoſes, that their ſeveral Affairs requir'd, and yet they ſtill continu'd free. The Infanta had for her Portion two hundred thouſand Crowns, a nobe Dowry in thoſe Days, without any Covenant of Reſtitution either to her ſelf or Family; and in lieu of that ſhe had ſet out for Jointure the third Part of the Principality of *Wales*, the Dukedom of *Cornwall*, and the Earldom of *Cheſter*; and if ſhe ſhould come to be Queen, ſhe was then to have as much as any other Queen of *England* ever had. This Lady was now eighteen Years of Age, and Prince *Arthur* above fifteen; yet notwithſtanding it prov'd a great Queſtion, and a Matter of Controverſy ſeveral Years after, Whether ever he had Carnal Knowledge of her. In the Examination of which, a peculiar and material Paſſage was alledg'd, which tho' light, and diſagreeable to the Majeſty of Hiſtory, cannot fairly be omitted: That in the Morning after the Conſummation, Prince *Arthur* call'd for Drink, and finding the Gentleman who brought it, to ſmile at the Paſſage, as an unuſual Thing, he told him, *He had been in the middle of* Spain, *which was a hot Country, and his Journey had made him thirſty; and if he had been in ſo warm a Clime, he would have been drier than himſelf.* However it was, this marry'd Couple liv'd not many Months together; for on the ſecond Day of *April* Prince *Arthur* dy'd at *Ludlow* Caſtle, where he kept his Court as Prince of *Wales*. There is little remaining of the Character of this Prince, but only that he was very ſtudious and learned, beyond his Years, and beyond the Cuſtom of great Princes. His Death was a great Affliction to the King; the Infanta was left as a Burden to him, and if his Son Prince *Henry* was to marry another Wife, he was to find out a ſecond Jointure, a Matter repugnant to the publick State, and his frugal Diſpoſition: Whereupon reſolving to marry him to the ſame *Katharine*, he wrote concerning that Affair both to *Spain* and *Rome*. King *Ferdinand* was ſatisfy'd; but he met with Difficulties in procuring a Diſpenſation from the Pope, and gaining his Son's Conſent, who though he was but twelve Years of Age, much oppos'd the Matter, but at length was contracted, and afterwards marry'd to her: And the ſecret Providence of God ordain'd that Marriage to be the Cauſe, or rather the Occaſion of mighty Events and Revolutions.

A. D. 1502.
Reg. $\frac{17}{18}$.
Prince Arthur's Death.

Katharine *contracted to Prince* Henry.

About the ſame Time the King met with ſome new Diſturbances from the Houſe of *York*. *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, who was ſlain at the Battel of *Stoke*, left his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Suffolk*, Heir to his Humour, and his Miſfortunes; inſomuch, that reflecting that he was the Son to *Elizabeth*, Siſter both to King *Edward* the Fourth, and *Richard* the Third, he thought he might take an uncontroll'd Liberty under any King's Reign. He had kill'd a Man; and in ſuch a Manner, as the Circumſtances much aggravated the Crime. However King *Henry* granted him his Pardon; but ſo as he was oblig'd to paſs all the Courſe of Law, to appear before the Judges, and receive Sentence of Condemnation. This Manner of Proceeding was ſo ſenſible a Mortification to his high Spirit, that reputing the Favour as a Mark of Ignominy, he ſuddenly left the Nation and went into *Flanders* to his Aunt, the Dutcheſs *Margaret*. At which, tho' the King was offended, yet he was reſolv'd to apply nothing but Lenitives, giving Order to his Agents in thoſe Parts to offer him Pardon and Encouragement, if he would return; knowing 'That Deſpair 'in baniſh'd Men begets Thoughts little ſerviceable to 'themſelves, and very troubleſome to others.' It ſucceeded according to his Expectation; for the Dutcheſs, either becauſe ſhe found his Genius inferior to the King's, or being oblig'd by the Concealment of her Name in *Perkin*'s Publick Confeſſion, declin'd aſſiſting him; ſo that he return'd home, and was reconcil'd to the King. But arrogant and proud Diſpoſitions, ſuch as this unhappy Earl's, leading Men into Dangers and Difficulties, brought this Perſon at laſt to his Ruin, under King *Henry* the Eighth.

The Earl of Lincoln *diſaffected.*

He is reconcil'd to the King.

A. D. 1503.
Reg. $\frac{18}{19}$.
The King of the Scots *marries* Henry's *Daughter* Margaret.

The fortunate Marriage of *James* King of *Scotland* with the Princeſs *Margaret*, which was treated of ſome Years paſt by the Means of Biſhop *Fox*, was celebrated in the Beginning of this Year; which, together with the preceding Year, was remarkable for two Marriages, and two Deaths: For the Marriage of Prince *Arthur*, and his Death, the preceding Year; and for the Marriage of the King of *Scotland*, and the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* this preſent Year; that noted Queen died in Child-bed in the *Tower*, and the Child not long after. This Marriage was perform'd by Proxy, and publiſh'd in *January* at St. *Paul's Croſs*, where *Te Deum* was ſolemnly ſung. And certainly the wonderful Joy ſhewn by the Citizens was more than could be expected in a Caſe of ſo great and freſh Enmity between the Nations, eſpecially in *London*, which was ſufficiently diſtant from feeling any of the former Calamities of the War; therefore ſome have attributed it to a ſecret Inſtinct and Inſpiration touching the Happineſs to enſue in future Ages. The Marriage in *Auguſt* following, was conſummated at *Edinburgh*; the King bringing his Daughter as far as *Colli-Weſton*, on the Way, and then conſigning her to the Attendance of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who, with a noble Train of Lords and Ladies, brought her into *Scotland* to the King her Husband. The Portion given by King *Henry* was ten thouſand Pounds, and the Jointures and Advancement aſſur'd by the King of *Scotland*, was two thouſand Pounds a Year, after his Death, and one thouſand Pounds a Year in preſent, for the Lady's Allowance or Maintenance, to be ſet forth in Lands of the beſt and moſt certain Revenue. During this Treaty, the King remitting the Matter to the Council, ſome of the Table warily put the Queſtion, *That ſuppoſing the King's two Sons ſhould die without Iſſue, that then the Kingdom of* England *would devolve to the King of* Scotland, *which might prejudice the Monarchy of* England. To this Scruple the King made a ſort of a Prophetical Anſwer, *That if ſuch a Caſe ſhould happen,* Scotland *would be but an Acceſſion to* England, *and not* England *to* Scotland, *becauſe the greater would certainly draw the leſs; which was a ſafer Union for* England, *than that of* France. The Effect of this Marriage is thus deſcrib'd by the Biſhop of *Roſs*. 'There was a 'perfect Peace and ſincere Amity between the two Realms 'of *England* and *Scotland* for a long Time after. And 'truly during the Life of King *Henry*, no Cauſe of Breach 'was given by either of the Princes, but they continu'd in 'great Love and Friendſhip, and mutual Society; con'tracting of Marriages, continual Interchange of Mer'chandize between the Subjects of both Kingdoms, as if 'they had been all under the Obedience of one Prince; 'wherethrough Juſtice, Policy and Riches did flouriſh 'and abound throughout the whole Iſle of *Albion*.' And this is the happy Match that gave the lawful Succeſſion of *England* to the Kings of *Scotland*, which happen'd without Oppoſition in latter Days.

The happy Effects of the Marriage.

A. D. 1504.
Reg. $\frac{19}{20}$.
The King's covetous Proceedings.

VII. King *Henry* finding himſelf ſecur'd by the Amity of *Scotland*, ſtrengthen'd by that of *Spain*, cheriſh'd by that of *Burgundy*, and all Domeſtick Diſturbances extinguiſh'd, now more than ever indulg'd his avaricious Temper, by endeavouring to gather and heap up Treaſure. And as Princes more eaſily find Inſtruments for their Will and Humour, than their Service and Honour, he had gotten two Perſons proper for his Purpoſe, *Richard Empſon* and *Edward Dudley*, who became ſo exceſſive and burdenſome, that the People eſteem'd them as *Horſe-Leeches* and *Shearers*. *Dudley* was of a good Family, eloquent, and one that could put odious Buſineſs into good Language; but *Empſon*, who was the Son of a Mechanick, throwing off all Reſpect, always triumph'd upon the Fact perform'd. Theſe two being Lawyers by Profeſſion, and Privy-Counſellors by Authority, turn'd Law and Juſtice into Rapines and Extortions. Many Laws at that Time, either by reaſon of the Civil Wars, or the Neglect of the Judges, were forgotten, or grown out of Uſe; and the Patrimony of the Crown, enjoy'd by many by Vertue of long Leaſes, being become almoſt as good as *Fee-Simple*, mov'd the King to examine them ſtrictly; and theſe two, who were thought the beſt Practicers in the Law, were by him choſen for that Purpoſe, and full Authority given them. They rais'd up many Informers and Accuſers; and the Accuſed being put in Priſon, and there kept beyond the uſual Time, they were compell'd to purchaſe their Liberties with large Sums of Money. Others being cited by them, or their Delegates, were condemn'd, contrary to the ordinary Courſe of Law; ſometimes by falſe Witneſſes, and other times by falſe Pretences, by which many rich Perſons were impoveriſh'd. Such Judges as, govern'd by Integrity, reſiſted their Wills, were either better taught by Impriſonments, or ruin'd by Amercements. *Wards* were not ſuffer'd to enter upon their Lands without vaſt Diſburſements; and Laws which at ſeveral Times had been enacted more for Terror than Puniſhment, and ſome that had alſo been repeal'd, were, without any Remiſſion, rigorouſly put in Execution. Theſe, and many other Courſes fitter to be bury'd in Silence than repeated, they had of preying upon the People, both for their Maſter's Advantage and their own; inſomuch that they arriv'd at great Riches and Subſtance. In theſe Matters the King himſelf was too nearly concern'd to eſcape Cenſures and Reflections; and we have this peculiar Story remaining of his blameable Conduct. The King, as he came to *Henningham*, a Caſtle belonging to the Earl of *Oxford*, who was a principal Miniſter both in Peace and War, was there receiv'd and entertain'd with much Splendor and Magnificence.

The Extortions of Empſon *and* Dudley.

The King too ſevere.

cence. All that held Land by any Title of the Earl, came at that Time to give their Attendance; of which many were Gentlemen, and others Yeomen: They all wore the Earl's Blue Liveries, and his Feathers in their Hats; but the reſt of their Apparel was according to every Man's Condition. When the King came forth, and found them orderly plac'd in two Rows in the great Hall, he having nicely obſerv'd them, ask'd the Earl, *If they were all his Servants:* The Earl with a Smile anſwer'd, *They were his Tenants and Retainers, who, upon this Occaſion, came to wait upon his Grace.* The King having thank'd him for his good Entertainment, ſaid, *That the Report of his Hoſpitality came ſhort of the Truth; but he could not ſuffer his Laws to be broken in his Preſence; therefore his Attorney muſt talk with him about it.* The Nobility were then reſtrain'd from giving above a certain Number of Liveries; ſo that the Earl was forc'd to compound for no leſs than fifteen thouſand Marks. It is very probable that this unuſual Action of the King's, whoſe Buſineſs was ever to depreſs the Nobility, might proceed as much from Policy as Avarice.

The Earl of Suffolk *cauſes new Diſturbances.*

In the mean time the Earl of *Suffolk*, either through Hatred or Diſcontent, or for the Debts he contracted at Prince *Arthur*'s Marriage, fled a ſecond time into *Flanders* with his Brother *Richard*; to the great Diſſatisfaction of the People, who reaſonably judg'd that ſome Diſorder would enſue. The King reſorting to his former Arts, immediately caus'd Sir *Robert Curſon*, Governor of the Caſtle of *Hammes* near *Calais*, to fly from his Poſt, and offer his Service and Aſſiſtance to the Earl. This Knight having inſinuated himſelf into the Earl's Secrets, and learning from him who his chief Supporters were in *England*, he advertis'd the King of all with the utmoſt Secrecy; but ſtill maintain'd his own Credit and inward Truſt with the Earl. Upon his Advice the King attach'd *William Courteney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, who had marry'd the Lady *Katharine*, Daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth, *William De-la-Pole*, Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord *George Abergavenny*, Sir *James Tyrrell*, Sir *John Wyndham*, and Sir *Thomas Green*. The Iſſue was, *William Courteney* was detain'd Priſoner during the King's Life; not ſo much out of Guilt, as his near Relation to the Houſe of *York*: *De-la-Pole* was likewiſe kept Priſoner, tho' more at large; *Abergavenny* and *Green* were ſet at Liberty. *Tyrrell* and *Wyndham* were beheaded, and the reſt of inferior Quality were hang'd. This was that *Tyrrell*, who was concern'd in the Murder of *Edward* the Fifth and his Brother in the *Tower*; for whom ſo eaſy a Death was too ſmall a Puniſhment. Then to keep up *Curſon*'s Credit in *Flanders*, and conceal his Intelligence in *England*, about the ſame time there was publiſh'd at St. *Paul*'s Croſs the Pope's Bull of Excommunication and Execration againſt the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the ſaid *Curſon*, with ſome other Abettors of the Earl; in which it appears Heav'n was made too much to bow to Earth, and Religion to yield to Policy. But ſhortly *Curſon*, having perform'd his Buſineſs, return'd into *England*, where he gain'd as much the Favour of the King, as he did the Reproach of the People. His Departure extreamly abated the Courage of the Earl, who found he was betray'd: Therefore endeavouring to procure Help from Foreign Princes, he went into *Germany*, and from thence into *France*: But his Labours proving vain, he return'd into *Flanders*, under the Protection of Arch-Duke *Philip*, where he continu'd for about two Years.

Several executed.

A. D. 1505. Reg. $\frac{20}{21}$.

In a Parliament call'd this Year, where *Dudley* was choſen Speaker, ſeveral wiſe Laws were enacted; and there was alſo granted to the King a Subſidy both for the Temporalty and the Clergy. And yet notwithſtanding, before the Year was expir'd there went out Commiſſions for a general *Benevolence*, tho' there were no Wars, nor Fears of any. The ſame Year the City of *London* gave five thouſand five Marks for Confirmation of their Liberties; a Thing more proper for the Beginnings of Kings Reigns, than the latter Ends. Neither was it a ſmall Advantage that the *Mint* gain'd upon the late Statute, by the Recoinage of *Groats* and *Half-Groats*, ſince call'd Twelve-Pences and Six-Pences. As for the Mills of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, they ſtill did grind more than ever; ſo that it was ſurprizing to ſee what Golden Showers did pour down at once upon the King's Treaſury: The laſt Payment of the Marriage Portion from *Spain*, the Subſidy, the Benevolence, the Recoinage, the Redemption of the City's Liberties, and the ſeveral Contingencies. He had now but one Son, and one Daughter unprovided for; he was wiſe, of an exalted Spirit, who needed not to make Riches his Glory; and he excell'd in many other Things; only Avarice ever finds in itſelf Matter of Ambition. It ſeems he thought to leave his Son ſuch a Kingdom, and ſuch a Maſs of Treaſure, as he might chuſe his Greatneſs where he pleas'd. Then to add to his Honour and Fame, this Year Pope *Julius* ſent to him a Cap of *Maintenance*, and a Sword, as to a *Defender of the Church*; which Cap and Sword were receiv'd with many pompous Ceremonies.

The King increaſes in Riches.

A. D. 1506. Reg. $\frac{21}{22}$.

But not long after, the King was concern'd and perplex'd about the Death of the famous *Iſabel* Queen of *Spain*, and Mother to his Son's Wife; by reaſon of the exact Reſemblance that was in the Government of their Kingdoms, between *Ferdinand* and himſelf, both of them reigning in the Right of their Wives. And tho' *Henry* had obtain'd his Kingdom under the Title of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, won it by the Sword, and had it confirm'd both by Parliament and Pope, and tho' he had never admitted of his Wife's Right; yet he could not but be apprehenſive, That *Ferdinand*'s quitting the Crown to his Daughter, might by way of Example affect and prejudice his Cauſe, and make immediate Way for his Son Prince *Henry*. The Caſe was the ſame, and the foremention'd Securities were with many Men of no Weight, in Compariſon of Natural Extract. To determine this Matter with leaſt Oppoſition, Queen *Iſabel* left the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom to her Husband *Ferdinand* during his Life, tho' her Daughter *Joan* was immediate Heir. But this highly diſguſted the Arch-Duke *Philip* who had marry'd this Heir; for being become King of *Spain* in Right of his Wife, he thought he was injur'd, as being reputed unfit to govern without his Father-in-Law's Aſſiſtance and Superintendency. To remedy this Grievance, before *Ferdinand* ſhould be ſettled in his pretended Adminiſtration, he took Shipping with his Wife in *January*, when it was believ'd that he would never have taken a Voyage of that Nature. He had hardly left the Coaſt of *Flanders*, when taken by a ſudden Tempeſt, his Fleet was diſpers'd upon the Coaſt of *England*; ſo that he was forc'd to get on Shore at *Weymouth*, contrary to the Advice of ſome with him. The great Number of his Ships had given Alarm to the Country, ſo that many Troops of armed Men haſten'd to *Weymouth*, not knowing but it might be ſome Enemy to invade the Nation. Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, and Sir *John Carew*, who were their Commanders, underſtanding the Cauſe of his Landing, deſir'd him to reſt himſelf in Sir *Thomas*'s Houſe, 'till they could inform the King of his Arrival; to which he conſented, as knowing that otherwiſe they would not ſuffer him to depart. The King hearing of this, ſent the Lord *Arundell* by way of Compliment, to let him know that he himſelf would ſhortly come and give him a Viſit; but *Philip* fearing to loſe too much Time, reſolv'd to go himſelf to *Henry*, cauſing his Queen to come ſlowly after him. He was met ſix Miles from *Windſor* by Prince *Henry*, and one Mile from thence by the King, who receiv'd him with all the Terms of Honour and Friendſhip. He treated with them of the Marriage of their Children, and of his own Marriage with *Margaret*, the Dutcheſs *Dowager* of *Savoy*, Siſter to *Philip*: He renew'd all Confederacies made between them in the preceding Year, by the Name of Arch-Duke *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, now by the Name of King of *Spain*. Theſe had better Succeſs for the *Engliſh* than the former, eſpecially in the Fiſhing Trade; at which the *Flemmings* were much offended. He with much Difficulty obtain'd the Perſon of the Earl of *Suffolk*, who liv'd under the Protection of *Philip*: *Henry* knew ſo well how to perſwade him, by paſſing his Royal Word he would not put him to Death, that *Philip* ſent for him from *Flanders*; the one deſiring to have him before the other departed, and the other not to depart 'till he was arriv'd, that it might be believ'd that he had been in a Manner compelled to deliver him up. As ſoon as the Earl was arriv'd, and put in ſafe Cuſtody in the *Tower*, *Philip* departed well pleas'd from *England*, and was receiv'd in *Spain* without any manner of Reſiſtance, *Ferdinand* totally quitting the Government to him; which he enjoy'd but for a while, for he dy'd ſhortly after.

Arch-Duke Philip *driven into* England *by a Storm.*

His Entertainment.

He goes to Spain.

His Death.

A. D. 1507. Reg. $\frac{22}{23}$.

The Earl of *Suffolk* being in the *Tower*, and King *Henry* freed from all manner of Trouble and Moleſtation, he betook himſelf to Domeſtick Affairs, and ſent his Chaplain, the famous *Thomas Wolſey*, afterwards Cardinal, to the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat of the Marriage with the forenam'd Dowager of *Savoy*. This Treaty in a great meaſure prov'd the firſt Riſe of *Wolſey*, who perform'd the Journey and the whole Matter with ſuch Celerity of Diſpatch, as was almoſt incredible; for which he receiv'd the King's particular Thanks and Favour. This Marriage was never conſummated, by Reaſon of King *Henry*'s Indiſpoſition of Health that ſhortly enſu'd; for he now began daily to decline and draw towards his End: The Gout, a Diſeaſe more troubleſom than mortal, was the Forerunner of a Diſtillation, which falling upon his Lungs, brought him into a kind of Conſumption; which he perceiving, he began to give himſelf totally to pious Works. For this Year he gave greater Alms than ever he did before, and diſcharg'd all Priſoners about the City, that lay for Fees or Debts under forty Shillings. He haſten'd his Religious and Charitable Foundations; and hearing alſo of the Out-

King Henry *declines in Health.*

He proceeds to Acts of Charity.

cries of his People againſt the Oppreſſions of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, with their Accomplices, partly by devout People about him, and partly by publick Sermons, he began to be touch'd with great Remorſe and Compunction. Yet ſtill theſe two Devourers of the People, tho' they could not but hear of theſe Scruples in the King's Conſcience, as if the King's Soul and his Mony were lodg'd in ſeveral Offices, and the one never to interfere with the other, proceeded with as great a Rage as ever. Many for ſlight Cauſes were moleſted in their Eſtates, and in their Lives: One dy'd in Priſon before his Cauſe could be heard; another being in Priſon for denying to pay a Sum contrary to Law, was not let out 'till the next Reign, when *Empſom* was put in his Place.

A. D. 1508. Reg. $\frac{23}{24}$.

To make good the uſual Cuſtom of promiſing Obedience to new Popes, the King ſent Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, with two other Ambaſſadors, to Pope *Julius* the Second, which he had not formerly done, tho' he was elected ſome Years before. They urg'd much for the Canonization of King *Henry* the Sixth, but did not ſucceed; either becauſe the Pope held that Honour at an exceſſive Rate, or that he was willing to make a Diſtinction between Innocents and Saints. Being diſmiſs'd by the Pope, they carry'd the Garter, and all the Robes and Badges of that Order to *Guido Ubaldo*, Duke of *Urbin*, who thankfully accepted of the Honour. *The King's laſt Acts.* This Year the King furniſh'd his Hoſpital in the *Savoy*, which had been a noted Palace of the *Lancaſtrians*; and likewiſe he founded three Monaſteries for the *Conventual* Friars of the Order of St. *Francis*, and three for the *Obſervants* of the ſame Order, in diſtinct Places. Beſides which, his pious Mother the Lady *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Richmond*, not long before this Time, founded two noble Colleges in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, call'd *Chriſt* and St. *John*'s. Theſe were Spiritual Improvements and Advantages: But the laſt Act of State that concluded this King's Temporal Felicity, was the Agreement of a Glorious Match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, afterwards the great Emperor, both being of tender Years; which Treaty was perfected by Biſhop *Fox*, and other Commiſſioners at *Calais*, the Year before the King's Death. In which Alliance he took ſo much Satisfaction, that conſidering he was to have two Kings for his Sons-in-Law, he declar'd, *That he thought he had built a Wall of Braſs about his Kingdom.* So that now there was nothing to be added to this great King's Felicity, who had arriv'd at the Top of Human Glory, but a quiet and ſeaſonable *Exit* to ſecure him againſt any future Blows of Fortune.

A. D. 1509. Reg. 24.

And this prov'd his Fate, being foretold by a regular conſuming Sickneſs, which gave him full Time to provide againſt all the Terrors of his laſt Hour. He had liv'd almoſt all his Time in Troubles, but always with Succeſs and Victory: He found a Kingdom involv'd in Civil Wars, he left it in a ſettled Peace. His Subjects, who were impoveriſh'd by the paſt Diſorders, were notwithſtanding his Taxations, by reaſon of his wiſe Government become Rich; and he did not only free the Crown from all Debts, *His great Treaſure.* but left behind him in *Richmond* a vaſt Treaſure of a Million and eight hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling; ſo that he was juſtly accounted the richeſt Prince in *Europe*. To crown all, in his laſt Year, as well as his firſt, he did an Act of Piety worthy of Imitation; he granted a general Pardon, as expecting a ſecond Coronation in a better Kingdom; and did alſo declare by his Will, that Reſtitution ſhould be made of thoſe Sums, which had been unjuſtly *His Death.* taken by his Officers. And thus this *Solomon* of *England*, as he is call'd by ſome, dy'd at his Palace at *Richmond*, upon the twenty ſecond Day of *April*, in the fifty third Year of his Age, after a moſt politick and fortunate Reign of twenty three Years and eight Months.

His Interment. The Manner of his Interment was thus: His Body was brought into the great Chamber, where reſting three Days, it had ſolemn Maſs and Dirige ſung by a Miter'd Biſhop; whence remov'd into the Hall, had there the ſame Service the like Space, as alſo in the Chapel for three Days longer; and in every Place a Herſe adorn'd with Banners, Eſcutcheons and Pendants, and with the Attendance of Mourners. From whence it was convey'd into a Chariot, cover'd with black Cloth of Gold, drawn by five noble Courſers cover'd with black Velvet, adorn'd with Eſcutcheons of fine Gold, with his Effigies over it, apparell'd in rich Robes, with the Crown on the Head, and Scepter and Globe in the Hands, environ'd with Banners of Arms of all his Dominions, Titles and Genealogies; a great Number of Prelates praying, with other Attendants before the Body, and nine Mourners, and about ſix hundred Torches following it. In this Order it was met at St. *George*'s *Fields* by the Religious of all Sorts in and about the City, with the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Officers in Black; and was brought through *London* to St. *Paul*'s, and plac'd in the Choir under a ſtately Herſe. Whence after a ſolemn Maſs, and Sermon preach'd by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, it was next Day with the ſame State convey'd to *Weſtminſter*, having the Royal Banner born on a Courſer trapped with the Arms of the Defunct, and there by ſix Lords taken out of the Chariot, and ſet under a moſt glorious Herſe full of Lights; the Repreſentation lying upon the Coffin upon a Pall of Gold; about which the Mourners being placed within the firſt Rail, Knights with Banners within the Second, and Officers of Arms without the ſame, *Garter* King of Arms cry'd aloud, *For the Soul of the noble King* Henry *the Seventh!* when the Choir beginning *Placebo*, and ending at *Dirige*, clos'd the Solemnities of that Day. The next Day were three Maſſes ſolemnly ſung by Biſhops, at the laſt of which were offer'd the Banner and Courſer, Coat of Arms, Sword, Target and Helmet, the Nobility offering their rich Palls of Cloth of Gold, *&c.* And thus, the great Officers breaking their Staves, his Body was interr'd in his own magnificent Royal Chapel; in which a glorious Monument of Copper was erected for him, and finiſh'd by a *Florentine*, at the Expence of a thouſand Pound; which is thus deſcrib'd by the Lord *Bacon*: He lieth bury'd at *Weſtminſter* in one of the ſtatelieſt and daintieſt Monuments of *Europe*, both for the Chapel and the Sepulchre; ſo that he dwelleth more richly dead in the Monument of his Tomb, than he did alive in *Richmond*, or any of his Palaces.

His Character, and Reign. To ſay ſomething of the Perſon and Character of this mighty Prince; he was of great Vigour and Strength of Body, lean, and of Stature taller than the common Sort; of a wonderful Beauty and fair Complexion; with a Countenance pleaſing and ſmiling, eſpecially in Converſation. Yet he had a high Spirit, and haughty Courage, and govern'd without a Rival; not admitting any near or full Approach either to his Power, or to his Secrets, and all without any affected Oſtentation. He was a Man of wonderful Abilities, and had many excellent Qualifications; he was ſober, moderate, chaſte and pious, had a quick Wit, and a profound Penetration, which in all great Perils and Emergencies was ſupernatural, and in a manner Divine. And indeed as to Wiſdom and Policy he ſeem'd to excel all Princes, always ſhewing in them ſomething admirable and ſurpriſing; by which he ſurmounted infinite Difficulties, both before and after he came to the Crown, and brought Peace, Union and Tranquility to a Nation divided, diſtracted, and beſmear'd with Blood; gaining the full Poſſeſſion of a Throne by a Complication of all the Titles that ever made a Man King, as Inheritance, Marriage, Conqueſt, Uſurpation and Election, beſides the Pontifical Confirmation. Having obtain'd the Crown, he politickly took Care to put gradual Stops to the Power of the Nobility, who had lately rais'd ſuch Storms in the Nation, which he perform'd by procuring three ſeveral Laws: By one of which the Barons Lands were made alienable, which would cauſe them inſenſibly to divide and break in Pieces: By another he encourag'd Husbandry, aſcertaining Proportions of Land for Tillage; by which the Country Farmers, living more plentifully, would not ſo readily be ſeduc'd by their Lords to diſturb the publick Peace: By a third, Retainers were lopp'd off; ſo that the Nobility were ſtrip'd of their mighty Retinues, and could not eaſily compoſe a Cavalry, which was uſually made up of theſe Followers: By all which, the Balance of the Nation was gradually alter'd, and the Commons obtain'd a greater Power and Figure than ever they had before. As his Wiſdom was great, ſo he took care to be ſerv'd by the ableſt Men that could be found in the Nation, both as to War and Counſel; nor did he regard how ſubtle they were, for as to that he knew himſelf to have the maſter Reach. His Government and Power was extenſive and great, yet no King ever yielded more to his Parliaments, which ſtill made it greater, ſo that many foreign Princes either courted or dreaded it. Some reckon it among his principal Glories, that three Popes, *Alexander* the Sixth, *Pius* the Third, and *Julius* the Second, did in their ſeveral Times, with the Conſent of their Cardinals, elect him for *Chief Defender of Chriſt's Church*, before all other Chriſtian Princes. He always profeſs'd to love and ſeek Peace; and it was his uſual Preface to his Treaties, *That when Chriſt came into the World, Peace was ſung; and when he went out of the World, Peace was bequeath'd.* Yet he is blam'd with making himſelf ſomewhat little by being ambitious, and a little poor in admiring Riches: But as to his Ambition, it was better regulated than in any of his Predeceſſors; and his Avarice might be ſaid to be more the Effect of his Policy than his Temper. The moſt real Stains upon his Memory was his taking off the Lord *Stanley*'s Head, who had ſet the Crown upon his, and his unfair Execution of the young Earl of *Warwick*, without any certain Guilt, or perhaps none greater than his being the laſt of the *Plantagenet* Race; which ſeem'd to have been reveng'd upon his own Race and Progeny: For his Poſſeſſion in the firſt Line ended in his Grand-Children, as that of *Edward* the Third, and *Henry* the Fourth had done before him. He ſeems to have been more than ordinary ſollicitous about his Poſterity, and by

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a fam'd Tradition we are told that he ſent to enquire after his Succeſſors from a celebrated Prophet or Negromancer, who in his Anſwer return'd him this remarkable *Latin* Verſe, *Mars*, *Puer*, *Alecto*, *Virgo*, *Vulpes*, *Leo*, *Nullus*: But how far this was accompliſh'd in the Characters of his Succeſſors, will better appear from the following Hiſtory.

SECT. II.

The Reign of King HENRY *the Eighth.*

Containing 37 Years, 9 Months, and 5 Days.

A.D. 1509. Reg. 1.

IN the laſt Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, the two Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York* were join'd and cemented; but now they were entirely united in the Perſon of King *Henry* the Eighth, in whoſe Character and Life there was ſuch uncommon Variety, that he may be ſaid to have inherited the good and bad Qualifications of both thoſe famous Families. He ſucceeded his Father with the univerſal Applauſe and Satisfaction of the Nation; being now near nineteen Years of Age, and happily endow'd with all the Perfections of Body and Mind. As to his Perſon it was extraordinary tall, beautiful, and majeſtick, and he had great Strength and Agility of Body, which ſignally appear'd in ſeveral Juſts and Tournaments before and after he came to the Crown: For at Tilt he bore down a brave Man at Arms, both Horſe and Rider; at Barriers threw Sir *William Kingſton*, a Knight of great Strength, to the Ground; and with a Battel-Axe combated with *Giot*, a Gigantick *German*, and lent him more powerful Blows than he could repay. Then beſides his having a magnanimous Spirit, and extenſive Soul, he had the Happineſs of a nice and learned Education, being deſign'd by his Father, during the Life of his Brother *Arthur*, for the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*; and not only the more neceſſary Parts of Learning were infus'd into him, but even thoſe of Ornament; ſo that beſides his being an able Linguiſt, Philoſopher and Divine, he was alſo a curious Muſician and Compoſer. All which Qualifications, being join'd to ſo excellent a Perſonage, caus'd him to be lov'd and admir'd by his Subjects, and alſo to be courted and rever'd by his Neighbours.

The Beginning of King Henry's Reign.

Thus happily began this remarkable Reign, when the young King, following the Advice of able Counſellors, committed fewer Errors than when he govern'd by a more unlimited Will; for as they were ſelected by the wiſe Lady *Margaret* his Grandmother, ſo he took their Impreſſions readily, both out of Diffidence of his own Abilities in managing a Kingdom, and a Deſire to be free as to thoſe Exerciſes moſt agreeable to his Youth and Diſpoſitions. His chief Counſellors were *William Warham*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor; *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Secretary and Lord Privy-Seal; *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surry*, Lord Treaſurer; *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Steward of the King's Houſhold; Sir *Charles Somerſet*, Lord Chamberlain; Doctor *Thomas Ruthal*, Sir *Thomas Lovel*, Sir *Henry Wyat*, and Sir *Edward Poynings*.

His firſt Marriage, with Katharine of Spain.

His Coronation.

Empſon and Dudley committed.

By the Advice of theſe Counſellors, one of his firſt Acts, after the finiſhing his Father's magnificent Funeral, was his Care to perform his Father's former Appointment, in marrying the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother Prince *Arthur*; to which probably, but out of Reſpect to Filial Piety, he had not the greateſt Devotion; and for relinquiſhing of which, no doubt he might have more eaſily obtain'd a Diſpenſation from the Pope, than his Father had done for getting it allow'd. But Obſequiouſneſs to his Father's firſt Appointment, (tho' contrary to his laſt Thoughts) and Reſpect to the Advice of his Council, ſo far prevail'd with him, that he would not be crown'd 'till the Marriage was ſolemnized, that one Coronation might ſerve for both Parties. Accordingly, about ſix Weeks after his Father's Deceaſe, on the third Day of *June*, he marry'd the Princeſs *Katharine* at the Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s Houſe in *Fleetſtreet*; where among the numerous Ceremonies, this is remarkable, that tho' the Bride was a Widow, ſhe was attir'd all in White, to expreſs her untouch'd Virginity, upon which ſhe and her Friends ever inſiſted. Shortly after, the King, having made twenty four Knights of the *Bath* in the *Tower*, upon *Midſummer*-Day was crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, together with his Queen, by the Hands of *Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with wonderful Magnificence, and all the Circumſtances of State. All the Nobility, Spiritual and Temporal, did their Homage; and the People, according to ancient Cuſtom, being ask'd, *Whether they would receive him for their King*? They unanimouſly cry'd, *Yea*, *Yea*. Then to perform the moſt noble Part of his Father's Will, he proclaim'd a Pardon for all Crimes, except Treaſon, Murder, and Felony, and promis'd Reſtitution of all Goods unjuſtly taken from any of his Subjects. And becauſe the Inſtruments of ſuch Injuſtice are always moſt odious, and nothing gives a People more Satisfaction, than ſeeing their Perſecutors puniſh'd; he caus'd *Empſon* and *Dudley*, the two chief Actors in the late rapacious Proceedings, to be committed to the *Tower*, and divers of the inferior Agents, call'd *Promoters*, to be ſet in the Pillory in *Cornhill*, with Papers on their Heads, and then to ride through the City to *Newgate*, with their Faces to the Horſe-Tails.

A.D. 1510. Reg. 2.

They are executed.

The King's uſual Exerciſes.

And now the King, having taken ſeveral Proſpects of his neighbouring Princes, thought fit to call a Parliament in *January* following; in which the principal Proceedings ſeem to have Reference to *Empſon* and *Dudley*'s Extortions; which were ſo repreſented, that the King was willing in ſome Meaſure to reſtrain his own Authority, that he might enlarge the People's Confidence and Affection towards him. And as divers of thoſe Statutes, by which the late King *Henry* took Advantage of the People, were repeal'd, explain'd, or limited; ſo *Empſon* and *Dudley*, who had formerly been condemn'd, were now attainted of High-Treaſon. After they had continu'd above half a Year longer in Priſon, the King, to ſatisfie the importunate Clamours of the People, cauſed them both to be beheaded; in which, according to ſome, he acted more like a good King, than a good Maſter. However by this, and his remitting of ſeveral Fines, he gain'd the Love and Affection of the Nation at this Time, and was in perfect Peace and Safety with his People. This gave him Opportunity to follow thoſe Liberties and Pleaſures which were moſt ſuitable to his youthful and vigorous Diſpoſition; yet his Exerciſes were not ſportful alone, but had in them a Mixture of Letters and Arms. For tho' he us'd Feaſtings, Masks, Dancings, Singing, Playing upon many Inſtruments, making Verſes, and the like; yet his more ſerious Entertainments were Study of Hiſtory, and School-Divinity, in which he much delighted, as likewiſe in Juſts, Tourneys, and Barriers, and that not in an ordinary Manner, but with the two handed Sword and Battel-Axe. Theſe again were adorn'd and ſet out with moſt coſtly Pageants and magnificent Devices, and thoſe ſo frequently, that they did not only conſume much Time, but alſo great Part of his vaſt Treaſure. And indeed never any King delighted more in Pomp and Show; his Court was marſhall'd like a Camp, and his Camp ſet out like a Court; ſo that *Mars* and *Venus* ſeem'd to be in Conjunction all this Reign, and Love and Honour as faſhionable as in the Romances of thoſe Times. Nor needed he any Thing beſides his own Example to draw the young Nobility after him, who were now no leſs conſiderable for their Number than their Quality; ſo that all the neighbouring Nations were both ſenſible and apprehenſive of his growing and overbearing Greatneſs.

His Correſpondents.

A.D. 1511. Reg. 3.

He grants Aids to ſeveral.

For this Reaſon ſeveral Ambaſſadors repair'd to him from *France*, *Scotland*, *Denmark*, *Italy*, and other Places, who were entertain'd after a moſt magnificent and extraordinary Manner. The Buſineſs of *Lewis* the *French* King was chiefly to keep a good Correſpondence between the two Nations, while he proceeded with his Wars in *Italy*; which was the Cauſe of a new Treaty between *England* and *France*. And whereas at the Treaty in 1498, King *Lewis* had given Caution to *Henry* the Seventh to pay that which remain'd of the ſeven hundred and forty five thouſand Crowns, due from a former Treaty between *Charles* the Eighth and the ſaid *Henry*, in 1492; He did now ſtipulate to pay the Remainder of the ſaid Sum. The Buſineſs of *Scotland* was Congratulation, in the Name of King *James* the Fourth, his Brother-in-Law and Siſter, with a Confirmation of a late Treaty of Peace: And that of *Denmark* was chiefly to eſtabliſh a better Courſe for Trade and Commerce. But becauſe Pope *Julius* the Second became jealous of the Greatneſs of the *French* in *Italy*, he earneſtly ſollicited King *Henry*, by remembring him of the Glory of his Anceſtors, and offer'd him the Honour to be *Caput Fœderis Italici*. Upon this the King ſent *Bambridge*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, to reſide at *Rome*, and to treat of theſe Affairs. In the mean Time the *French* march'd forwards and inveſted *Bononia*, while the Pope lay ſick in the Place, and forced his Holineſs to very hard Conditions, which ſounded ſo ill, that King *Henry* immediately made a League with *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, for his Defence; which occaſion'd greater Actions afterwards. *Ferdinand* ſent an Embaſſy both to congratulate King *Henry* for the Birth of a Son, which liv'd near eight Weeks, and to deſire his Aſſiſtance againſt the *Moors* in *Africa*. His Requeſt was immediately granted, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy* was ſent with fifteen hundred Archers, who afterwards return'd Home richly rewardly. In the like manner *Margaret*, Regent of the *Low-Countries*, obtain'd of the King fifteen hundred Archers to aſſiſt her againſt the Duke of *Guelders*, tho' confederate both to the *French* and *Scotch*. Theſe under the

Command of Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, were upon their Landing met by the Lady Regent, and treated with great Teſtimonies of their Worth, and afterwards diſmiſs'd with unuſual Marks of Honour. So that at preſent every Thing contributed towards the Fame of the *Engliſh* King and Glory of the Nation.

The Seas infeſted,

and cleared.

Yet the King's Authority over the narrow Seas, which had been carefully preſerv'd by his Anceſtors, was about this time ſomewhat leſſen'd by the Piracies of *Andrew Barton* a *Scotch* Man. This Perſon, in Revenge of his Father's Death and other Injuries, having in vain ſought Redreſs for a Ship taken from him by ſome *Portugueze*, obtain'd *Letters of Mark* from *James* the Fourth his King, but upon Condition that he ſhould not exerciſe Piracy. Notwithſtanding which, he ſeiz'd upon ſeveral *Engliſh* Veſſels, upon Pretence of their carrying *Portugueze* Goods and pillag'd them. To remedy which Inconvenience, the two Sons of *Thomas* Earl of *Surry* were employ'd; the Elder, call *Thomas*, commanding in one Ship, and *Edward* the younger Brother, in another. In the open Sea they engag'd with *Barton*'s two Ships, which, tho' leſs than the other, maintain'd a cruel Fight; the obſtinate Pirate, tho' wounded even to Death, encouraging his Men with his Whiſtle to his laſt Breath. But the *Engliſh* ſo well purſu'd their Point, that at laſt they forced their Ships, took all the Men Priſoners, and at *London* preſented them to the King; who, upon their Submiſſion, graciouſly pardon'd them, upon Condition they departed the Kingdom within twenty Days. King *James* hearing of this; ſent to require Satisfaction, as being againſt the Treaty between them; but it was anſwer'd, *That it did not become a King to impute Breach of Treaty to his Confederate and Ally, only for ſhewing Mercy to Pirates.* The Meſſenger, rather ſilenc'd than ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, return'd to his King, who when Occaſion was offer'd, fail'd not to ſhew how much he reſented the Death of *Barton*. Having ſetled all Things in Quiet, King *Henry* paſs'd away his *Chriſtmas* at *Greenwich*, with the extraordinary Pomp of many unuſual Masks, Interludes, and other glorious and expenſive Entertainments.

A. D. 1512. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

The King declares War againſt France.

II. While King *Henry* liv'd in Peace and Felicity at Home, the *French* King proceeded in the Wars of *Italy*, with ſo much Succeſs, that the Pope was compell'd to ſollicit the Aſſiſtance of him and *Ferdinand* of *Spain*. This being variouſly debated in Council, it was at laſt determin'd, that this was a fair Opportunity to recover the *Engliſh* Dominions in *France*. Whereupon the King reſolv'd, together with calling a Parliament, to ſend to *Lewis* the Twelfth a monitory Embaſſy, requiring him to deſiſt from the War againſt the Pope; but *Lewis*, whether out of his own Courage, or that he thought the Emperor aſſur'd to him, regarded not his Advice. King *Henry* therefore, that he might have more than one Pretence to invade *France*, ſent bravely to require all his Patrimonial Inheritance of *Normandy*, *Gaſcony*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, &c. and in caſe of a Refuſal, to denounce War. This then being proclaim'd, Levies were commanded, and Supplies granted by a Parliament that met in the Beginning of this Year, in which ſeveral new Laws were enacted.

An Army ſent into Spain *to invade* France.

The War with *France* being determin'd, it was conſulted in what Part the *Engliſh* ſhould begin: And tho' that of *Calais* ſeem'd the moſt ready Way, yet becauſe King *Ferdinand* promis'd to join with the King of *England* in this War, it was by his Conſent reſolv'd to land in ſome Part of the *Spaniſh* Dominions; and that from thence, both their Armies being united, ſhould jointly invade *Guienne* and *Gaſcony*. The General nam'd by King *Henry* was *Thomas Gray* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, with whom went, beſides his three Brothers, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surry*, the Lord *Brook*, Lord *Willoughby*, and Lord *Ferrers*, with divers Knights and Eſquires, all of them brave Perſons, and ten thouſand Soldiers; of whom one half were Archers, who beſides their Bows and Arrows carry'd Halberts, which they pitch'd on the Ground while their Arrows were ſhot, and then took them again to do Execution on the Enemy. Theſe landed the third Day of *June* on the Coaſts of *Biſcay*, where within three Days after their Arrival there came from the King of *Spain* a Marqueſs and an Earl to receive them; but without any of thoſe Neceſſaries promis'd them. After the Army had lain many Days, expecting Aid and Proviſions from King *Ferdinand*, at length a Biſhop came from that King, deſiring them to have Patience for a while, and ſhortly they ſhould have full Satisfaction. In the mean time the *Engliſh* Men being forced to feed much upon Garlick, and to drink hot Wines, fell into ſuch Sickneſs, that many of them dy'd, to the Number of eighteen hundred Perſons; upon which Diſcouragement, the Lord Marqueſs ſent to *Ferdinand* to know his Reſolutions, who return'd Anſwer, that the Duke of *Alva* was ready to join him with a great Power. And ſhortly after the Duke of *Alva* did advance with a powerful Army, as if he deſign'd to join him according to Promiſe; but being come within a Day's March, he ſuddenly turn'd towards the Kingdom of *Navarre*, under Pretence it was neceſſary to begin the Expedition through that Country. Here that King not anſwering his Expectations, he took the Occaſion to drive him out of his Kingdom, and to conquer it for the uſe of King *Ferdinand*. This *Spaniſh* Policy was no ways pleaſing to the *Engliſh*, who finding nothing but Words from the King of *Spain*, and being weary of ſo many Delays, they fell upon ſome Towns in the Borders of *Guienne*; but for want of a competent Number of Horſes, they were unable to perform any thing of Moment. At which time the Lord Marqueſs fell Sick, and the Lord *Howard* ſupply'd the Place of General; to whom the King of *Spain* once again ſent Excuſes, deſiring him, ſince the Seaſon was ſo advanc'd, that he would be pleas'd to break up his Camp, and diſpoſe his Men into the neighbouring Towns till the following Spring, when he would not fail to make good all his Promiſes.

But to no Advantage.

King *Henry* in the mean time underſtanding the King of *Spain*'s Intentions, ſent his Herald *Windſor* with Letters to the Army, ordering them to continue there, for ſhortly he deſign'd to ſend them a new Supply of Forces, under the Conduct of the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlain. But this ſo incens'd the Soldiers, that in a Fury they had ſlain the Lord *Howard*, if he had not yielded immediately to return Home; who thereupon was forc'd to hire Ships, and in the Beginning of *December* they landed in *England*; being taught by this fruitleſs Expedition, what Reliance was to be had on *Spaniſh* Promiſes. King *Henry* was much offended, and deſign'd to have puniſh'd ſome of his Officers, but it was ſoon made appear to him, that King *Ferdinand* was only blamable, who had no greater Deſign than the Conqueſt of *Navarre*.

Sir Edward Howard *invades the* French *Coaſts.*

Tho' this Voyage was ſucceſsleſs, yet Sir *Edward Howard*, who conducted the Marqueſs to *Spain*, having with his Fleet firſt clear'd the Seas from Enemies, landed at a Bay in *Bretaign*, and march'd ſeven Miles into the Country, from whence, after burning ſome Towns, he brought away rich Spoils. Not ſatisfy'd with this, he put his Men on Shore at *Conquet*, and ſeveral other Places; where the *French* ſtill receiving the worſe, they at laſt deſir'd a Parley. The Subſtance of which was, 'That the '*Engliſh* ſhould deſiſt from this kind of deſultory and cruel 'War, which tended only to burning of Villages, and 'ruining the Poor.' But he reply'd, *He was not to take his Directions from them; that it was the Part of brave Gentlemen to defend their Country, and not meanly to ſue for Mercy.* After which, and a Banquet in his Ship, they were diſmiſs'd, and the *Engliſh* Admiral return'd Home. The *French*, in the mean time, making great Preparations by Sea, King *Henry* thought fit to reinforce his Fleet, adding to twenty Ships under the Command of his Admiral, twenty five more under the Command of thoſe brave Men that attended him; placing in the chief Ship, call'd the *Regent*, of a thouſand Tun, Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Maſter of his Horſe, and Mr. *John Carew*, with ſeven hundred Men; in the *Sovereign*, the famous Sir *Charles Brandon* and Sir *Henry Guilford*, with ſixty of the talleſt Yeomen of the Guard. This choice Fleet meeting with thirty nine Sail coming out of *Breſt* in *Bretaign*, attack'd them; where two of the greateſt Ships on both Sides being grappled, fell on Fire by ſome Accident, or as the *French* would have it by the Deſign of *Brimauguet* the Commander. The Captains of the *Engliſh* Ship, the *Regent*, and of the *French*, call'd the *Cordeliere*, together with the Soldiers in them, periſh'd all, except a few who eſcap'd by ſwimming. However the reſt of the *French* were ſo terrify'd with the Sight, that they immediately ſtood off, ſome to *Breſt*, and others to the adjoining Iſlands. To repair this Loſs, King *Henry* built a Ship the greateſt that ever had been ſeen in *England*, calling it *Henry Grace de Dieu*.

Preparations againſt France.

King *Henry* now finding that Affairs were grown to ſome Extremity between the two Nations, diſclos'd his Deſign of going in Perſon into *France*, chuſing rather to make War in his Enemies Country, than to attend it at Home. That he might the better perform this, he was adviſ'd to diſcover what Correſpondence he might expect from his Neighbours and Confederates; therefore he had formerly ſent Sir *Robert Wingfield* to negotiate with the Emperor *Maximilian*, and engage him to his Party, in which he found no great Difficulty; the Emperor being pleas'd, that the warlike Diſpoſition of the young King was turn'd againſt *France*, ſo that with Aſſurance of his Affection he encourag'd him to proceed. He endeavour'd likewiſe to gain the King of *Spain*, and the King of *Scotland*; but the former, having gain'd his Point as to *Arragon*, choſe rather to be quiet, and the latter had actually enter'd into a League with the *French* King. For which Reaſon the King ſent his Treaſurer, the Earl of *Surry*, into *Yorkſhire* and the *Northern* Parts, to have an

Army in readineſs, in caſe the *Scots* ſhould move in his Abſence. Order was alſo given that the Fortifications ſhould be repair'd, and all neceſſary Additions made to his Caſtles and Fortreſſes on the Sea-Coaſt. Together with all this Proviſion, he thought fit to call a Parliament, where beſides enacting divers good Laws, he obtain'd two Fifteenths, and four Demies, beſides a large Poll, according to every Man's Quality. In the mean time Pope *Julius* the Second, who had kindled the War againſt *France*, dy'd; and was ſucceeded by *Leo* the Tenth, who purſuing his Predeceſſor's Deſigns, encourag'd King *Henry* in the ſame War. But he having now accompliſh'd the Age of one and twenty Years, needed little Invitation; and the rather, becauſe he was aſſur'd of the Aſſiſtance of the Emperor, who was confident that however the Buſineſs ſucceeded between the two Nations, he could make his Advantage. That he might effect this the better, he politickly interpos'd ſome Difficulties; nor would he be wholly won, 'till he had obtain'd of King *Henry* a hundred and twenty thouſand *Ducats* towards his Charge, in bringing three hundred Horſe, and eight thouſand Foot, which ſhould enter *Burgundy*, as ſoon as the King attempted *Picardy*.

A.D.
1513.
Reg. 4/5.

King *Henry* being reſolv'd to proceed in his Expedition, thought fit in the firſt Place to clear the Sea from the *French* Navy; and therefore he ſent out his own Fleet, conſiſting of forty two Sail, under the Conduct of Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admiral, accompany'd with the Lord *Ferrers*, and many other worthy Perſons. Theſe ſailing to the Coaſt of *Bretaign*, arriv'd at *Bertram* Bay, and there lay at Anchor in Sight of the *French* Fleet, then commanded by one *Pregent*, a Knight of *Rhodes*, who keeping himſelf cloſe in the Haven of *Breſt*, the *Engliſh* Admiral deſign'd to attack him in that Place; but becauſe the Ships were too great to enter the Bay, he caus'd certain Boats to be mann'd out, expecting by that Means to towe out the *French*; but this proving ineffectual, he call'd a Council of War, where it was determin'd, that firſt they ſhould attack *Pregent* and his Gallies, lying in *Blancſable* Bay, and then ſet upon the reſt of the Fleet in the Haven of *Breſt*. And it was further appointed, That the Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, and others, ſhould land with a competent Number to attack the Forts which the *French* had there rais'd; while the Admiral with little Gallies and Barges enter'd the Bay, ſo that the *French* might at once be attack'd by Sea and Land. But tho' this was determin'd by a Council of War, yet the Admiral had a Project by himſelf, occaſion'd by a *Spaniſh* Knight, who affirm'd that he might enter the Bay with very little Danger; therefore calling a few ſelect Friends, he made them privy to his Deſign, which was to take upon him the whole Enterprize, with only their Aſſiſtance; and was ſo confident of Succeſs, that he wrote to King *Henry* to come in Perſon, and have the Honour of the Enterprize himſelf; but the King being otherwiſe diverted, did not come. On St. *Mark*'s Day the Admiral put himſelf in a ſmall Barge, appointing three little Gallies and his own Ship-Boat to attend him, with which he ſuddenly row'd into the Bay, where *Pregent* had moor'd up his Gallies juſt to the Ground; from whence, and the Forts on the Land, came a terrible Storm of Shot: Yet ſtill the Admiral row'd on; and coming to the Gallies, bravely drove out the *French* Soldiers. The Bay was ſhallow, and the other Ships, by reaſon of the Lowneſs of the Tide, could not enter; which the *French* Men perceiving, they enter'd the Gallies again, and renew'd the Fight with Pikes and other Weapons; whereupon the Admiral attempting to return to his Barge, which the Stream had driven from thence, was, with a Pike, thrown over-board, and drown'd; the juſt Iſſue of his inconſiderate Enterprize. Upon which ſorrowful Accident, the Lord *Ferrers*, with the reſt, return'd into *England:* After whoſe Departure, *Pregent* put to Sea with his Gallies, and coaſting about the County of *Suſſex*, burnt ſome poor Cottages; but the King ſuddenly made a new Admiral, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Brother to him that was drown'd, who ſo ſcour'd the Seas, that the *French* were no more to be ſeen on any Coaſt of *England*.

A ſucceſsleſs Attempt made upon Breſt.

All Preparations being made for the Expedition into *France*, it was yet debated whether King *Henry* ſhould go in Perſon: Some urg'd 'the Affection and Tenderneſs of the Nation for his Safety; and that if he died at this Conjuncture, the People were ſtill ſo affected to the Houſe of *York*, that they might take *Edmund De-la-Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, out of the *Tower*, and ſet him upon the Throne; and that the War in *France* was not of that Conſequence, that the King ſhould make ſuch a Perſonal Deſertion of his own Kingdom.' Others alledg'd, 'That to commit an Army, with the Flower of the Nobility and Nation, to any one Subject, was not only unſafe, but to the Prejudice of many worthy Competitors for that Honour; and that it was no new thing for the Kings of *England* to march at the Head of their Armies in Foreign Countries.' But it was reply'd, 'That 'till the King had a more numerous Iſſue, it was againſt all Reaſon of State to hazard the Kingdom in ſuch Tumults as might enſue;' to which Opinion it is believ'd the King would have condeſcended, had not freſh Letters arriv'd unexpectedly from the Emperor, in the Pope's Name, exhorting him ſpeedily to come over, and promiſing, 'That he would not only meet him, but take Pay under him.'

The Earl of Suffolk *beheaded.*

Therefore for a full Security, it was thought fit that *De-la-Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, who had continu'd many Years Priſoner under *Henry* the Seventh, ſhould have his Head ſtruck off, as that King had order'd upon his Death-Bed. He was certainly of a turbulent and audacious Spirit; but whether any late Matter was alledg'd againſt him, does not ſufficiently appear by any Record.

The King now reſolving to go in Perſon, thought fit to ſend his Vanguard before; which was commanded by *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was accompany'd by *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, *Thomas Dowra* Lord Prior of St. *John*'s, the Lords *Fitzwater*, *Haſtings* and *Cobham*, Sir *Robert Ratcliff*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, and many other gallant Knights and Eſquires, and the Number of above eight thouſand Men, who arriv'd at *Calais* in Mid-*May*. Theſe were again follow'd by the Middle-Ward of about ſix thouſand more, commanded by the Lord-Chamberlain *Herbert*, and accompany'd by the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent* and *Wiltſhire*, the Lords *Audely*, *De-la-Ware*, *Carew* and *Gurſon*, who came to *Calais* fifteen Days after. Theſe two Commanders tarrying ſome time for the King's Directions, at length march'd in good Order towards *Terouenne* in *Artois*, before which Town they arriv'd upon the twenty ſecond of *June*, pitching their Tents about a Mile diſtant. This Town was defended by a large Ditch, ſtrong Bulwarks, and ſufficiently provided with great Ordnance; there was in it a Garriſon of about two thouſand Foot, and two hundred and fifty Lances, commanded by Monſieur *de Teligny*, and Monſieur *de Crequy*. To relieve which, the *French* rais'd a puiſſant Army; to which were added ten thouſand Men more under the Duke of *Gueldres*, and ſix thouſand under *Richard De-la-Pole*, Brother to *Edmund*, lately beheaded. In the mean time King *Henry*, having conſtituted Queen *Katharine* Regent, paſs'd over to *Calais* upon the laſt Day of *June*; bringing with him the reſt of the Army, which was tranſported in four hundred Veſſels; and with him alſo the Almoner, and new Favourite *Thomas Wolſey*. The King, having ſtaid a few Days, and receiv'd ſome Viſits and Compliments, heard that the *French* deſign'd to relieve *Terouenne*, under the Command of the Duke of *Longueville*, and Marqueſs of *Rotelin*; which occaſion'd him to haſten his Departure with his Army, which conſiſted of about nine thouſand fighting Men, beſides near three thouſand more belonging to the Carriages. The famous Sir *Charles Brandon*, lately created Viſcount *Liſle*, had the Vanguard, accompany'd by the Earl of *Eſſex*: The King came in the main Battel, having the Duke of *Buckingham* on the Right Hand with ſix hundred ſelect Men, and Sir *Edward Poynings* on the Left with as many more, Sir *Henry Guilford* carrying the Standard Royal; the Rere-guard, being compos'd in a great meaſure of the Retinue of *Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Thomas Wolſey*, was led by Sir *William Compton*; and after all came Sir *Anthony Oughtred* and *John Nevil* with four hundred Spears. This ſmall, but well appointed Army, was ſcarce enter'd into the *French* Confines near *Ardres*, when News was brought that the Enemy appear'd; but as the *Engliſh* approach'd, they thought fit to retire. In the March of the King's Army two Pieces of Ordnance miſcarry'd, one of which was loſt, the other happily recover'd from the *French*. Upon the Fourth of *Auguſt* the King arriv'd at *Terouenne*, before which he caus'd a ſumptuous Pavilion to be erected, and continu'd to ſhew his uſual Splendor and Magnificence.

The King paſſes with an Army into France.

He comes before Terouenne.

The Emperor ſerves under him.

While the King thus lay before *Terouenne*, the Emperor *Maximilian* upon the Twelfth of *Auguſt* arriv'd at the Camp, in the Quality of the King's Soldier, and therefore not only wore the Croſs of St. *George*, but receiv'd his daily Pay, which was a hundred Crowns a Day: An Honour never ſhewn to any King of *England* before, for which he was royally receiv'd, and lodg'd in a Tent of Cloth of Gold: And as no Emperor had ever ſerv'd as a Soldier under a King, ſo no Soldier was ever lodg'd in ſo much State and Magnificence. At this time the City of *Terouenne* being in ſome Diſtreſs for want of Victuals, the *French* King appointed all his Horſe, to the Number of eight thouſand, to convey Proviſions into the Place: But King *Henry*, by the Advice of the Emperor, had made Bridges to paſs his Men over the River, to the other Side of the Town, where the Acceſs was eaſieſt; in ſuch a Manner, that when the *French* Convoy came with their

Pro-

The Battel of Spurs.

Terouenne *ſurrenders to the King.*

Proviſions, and thought to have enter'd the Town, they found the *Engliſh* Army there ready to oppoſe them. Whereupon a fierce Battel was fought between them; but in the Concluſion, the *French* were put to flight, and with ſo much Speed and Precipitation, that from thence it was call'd by the Name of *The Battel of Spurs*, becauſe they more us'd their Spurs in running away, than their Lances in fighting. In this Battel the Duke of *Longueville*, the Marqueſs of *Rotelin*, the Lord *Clermont*, and ſeveral others were taken Priſoners, with ſix Standards; for which Succeſs the King and the Emperor congratulated each other upon the Place of Battel, and afterwards aſſiſted at a ſolemn *Te Deum*. A few Days after, the *Engliſh* having obtain'd ſome new Advantages, the Town deſpairing of Relief ſurrender'd it ſelf and Ordnance to the King of *England*, upon Condition that the Garriſon might depart in an honourable Manner with all their Arms and Baggage. Upon which, on the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, the King, ſtill having the Precedence of the Emperor, enter'd the Town, and din'd in the Biſhop's Palace; where it was at length reſolv'd, that the Town and Fortifications ſhould be demoliſh'd, all but the Cathedral Church, and religious Houſes; and all the Ordnance was ſent to *Aire*, to be kept there for the King's Uſe.

Tourany *inveſted and taken.*

Great Entertainments.

The King returns to England.

After this it was concluded, that the King ſhould lay Siege to the City of *Tournay* in *Flanders*; whereupon he ſet forwards in three Bodies: The Earl of *Shrewſbury* led the Vanguard, the King and the Emperor the main Battel, and the Lord *Herbert* the Rere-ward. In this Order the King's Army advanc'd towards *Tournay*; but by the way, he went and viſited young Prince *Charles* of *Spain*, afterwards Emperor, and the Lady *Margaret* his Governeſs, in the Town of *Liſle*; where he was entertain'd with all Magnificence and Reverence. Being come within three Miles of *Tournay*, he ſent *Garter* King at Arms to ſummon the Place; but the Inhabitants, tho' they had but few Soldiers amongſt them, ſtood upon their Defence. Whereupon the King inveſted it on all Sides, and made ſuch fierce Batteries upon it, and tho' it was written on the Gates of the Town, *Thou haſt never loſt thy Virginity*, yet now it was forc'd to ſubmit, and likewiſe to pay ten thouſand Pounds Sterling, and an annual Penſion of four thouſand Pounds *Tournois* for the Space of ten Years. And then *Thomas Wolſey*, the King's Almoner, who was now made Biſhop of the Place, calling before him all the Citizens, young and old, ſwore them to the King of *England*; the Number of whom was eighty thouſand Souls. This done the King enter'd the Town triumphantly, and calling to his Preſence *Edward Guilford*, *William Fitz-Williams*, *John Danſy*, *William Tyler*, *William Huſſey*, *Chriſtopher Garniſh*, and ſome other valiant Gentlemen, he gave them the Honour of Knighthood. And then remembring the honourable Entertainment the Prince of *Spain* and the Lady *Margaret* had given him at *Liſle*, he invited them ſolemnly to his new City of *Tournay*, and conducted them into the Place with great Splendor and Triumph. During their Abode here, among other publick Entertainments, there were held ſolemn Juſts and Tournaments, the King and his Companion in thoſe warlike Exerciſes, *Brandon* Lord *Liſle*, victoriouſly anſwering all Comers. Beſides theſe there were Banquets, Dancings and Maſks, after an extraordinary Manner; and this was King *Henry*'s Cuſtom and Diſpoſition, that he could not with-hold from Revellings in the midſt of Arms and War; and fair Ladies and brave Soldiers were equally in his Eſteem. After he had concerted ſome new Meaſures with the Emperor, and finding the Seaſon far advanc'd, he left the Government of *Tournay* to Sir *Edward Poynings*, took leave of the Emperor, and return'd firſt to *Calais*, and ſo into *England*, to the general Reputation of his Arms throughout the Nation.

James *King* Scotland *invades* England.

But this was not the only Reputation gain'd by the *Engliſh* Arms this Year: For whilſt King *Henry* was employ'd in his War againſt *France*, *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, retaining in his Mind ſome Reſentments, thought he could not more ſeaſonably revenge himſelf, and more conveniently oblige the *French* King, than at this Time to invade the Kingdom of *England*. Therefore, having firſt denounc'd War by his Herald, he ſent the Lord *Humes* his Chamberlain to forage the Borders; which Sir *William Bulmer* hearing, us'd that Diligence, that he overtook and fought with him in his Retreat, ſo that he recover'd a rich Booty. King *James* hereupon in Perſon, with an Army of fifty thouſand Men or more, enter'd the Country, and after a few Days Siege took *Norham* Caſtle. Upon which *Thomas* Earl of *Surry* haſten'd his Army, conſiſting of twenty ſix thouſand Men, appointing his Son the Lord Admiral to come by Sea, and meet him near *Alnwick*; which was perform'd by this gallant Lord, who brought a thouſand Men with him; whom when the Earl had view'd, and given neceſſary Orders, he march'd towards King *James*, who had remov'd to a Hill call'd *Floddon*, on the Edge of Mount *Cheviot*, where he ſtrongly intrench'd his Army. Here the Earl of *Surry* deſir'd nothing more than a Battel, finding all the adjacent Country ſo forag'd and pillag'd, that he could not long ſubſiſt. Therefore on *September* the fourth he thought fit to ſend *Rouge-Croix* Herald, with a Trumpet and Inſtructions, to King *James*, to declare to him, *That in regard he had violated his Faith and League, and in a Hoſtile Manner enter'd the* Engliſh *Ground, that on* Friday *next he would give him Battel, if he would ſtay ſo long to accept it.* His Son the Admiral alſo requir'd the Herald to certify King *James* of his Voyage by Sea; and *becauſe he could meet no* Scotch *Ships there, he landed, that he might juſtify* Andrew Barton*'s Death:* Adding further, *As he expected no Mercy from his Enemies, ſo he would ſpare none, but the King himſelf, if he fell into his Hands; and to make all good, he would be in the Front of the Battel.* King *James* receiv'd the Meſſage with Joy, and as he was a Prince of great Courage, by his own Herald he aſſur'd the Earl, *That he did ſo much deſire to engage with him, that if he had been at* Edinburgh, *he would have left all Buſineſs for that Purpoſe; and therefore he would not fail to abide Battel at the appointed Day.* After that the Herald deliver'd to the Earl a Proteſtation, and a ſhort Vindication of his Maſter's Proceedings.

The Earl of Surry *marches againſt him.*

The Battel of Floddon *Field.*

King James *ſlain, and the* Scots *defeated.*

Upon the Return of the Meſſage, the Earl advanc'd within three Miles of *Floddon*; but perceiving that King *James* ſtill kept upon the Hill, which was inacceſſible, he ſent *Rouge-Croix* again with a Letter ſubſcrib'd by himſelf, his Son, and divers other Noblemen and Knights, where in reſpectful Terms, they provok'd him to deſcend from his Fortifications, and fight in a large Plain between them call'd *Milfield*, inſiſting alſo upon the Validity of his own Meſſage. But receiving no ſatisfactory Anſwer, the Earl remov'd with his Army to ſuch a Camp, that if the *Scotch* did not leave the Advantage of their Situation, he might cut off all their Proviſions. This caus'd the King to change his Meaſures, who firing his Huts, covertly remov'd by the Benefit of the Smoak, but ſtill kept on the high Ground, where he made a Stand. Immediately the Earl travers'd ſome Bogs and Marſhes, 'till he arriv'd at the Bottom of this Bank; where finding the Aſcent not very ſteep, he appointed the Van-guard to his two Sons, the main Battel to himſelf, and the Rear to Sir *Edward Stanley*, and then bravely encourag'd his Men to Battel. The King well obſerving this, and judging the *Engliſh* were making a very diſadvantageous Approach, he exhorted his Men to behave themſelves like valiant Soldiers, and thereupon join'd Battel. The Earl's youngeſt Son Sir *Edmund Howard* at firſt was in ſome Diſtreſs, by the ſingular Valour of the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, but the Lord *Dacres* coming to his Succour, as alſo one *Heron*, the Fight was renew'd; the Earl's eldeſt Son the Lord *Thomas* purſu'd his Cauſe better, but met with a noble Oppoſition from the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montroſs*. The King's Battalion and that of the Earl's likewiſe maintain'd a long and cruel Fight. In the mean Time Sir *Edward Stanley*, by means of his Archers, conſtrain'd the *Scotch* to deſcend the Hill, and to open their Ranks to avoid the Storms of Arrows, by which they ſeem'd to give one of the firſt Overtures of Victory to the *Engliſh*. Which being perceiv'd by the King, he redoubled his Courage, and perform'd Wonders; but the valiant Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Edward Stanley*, who had defeated their Oppoſites, coming in with the Lord *Dacres* Horſe, the *Scotch* were ſo diſtreſs'd, that for their laſt Defence they caſt themſelves into a Ring. No Man perform'd more than the King in his Perſon; but after a bloody Fight of three Hours, preſſing forwards he was ſlain in the Field, as the *Engliſh* Writers aſſert; others ſay afterwards. In concluſion the *Scots* were defeated, with the Loſs of moſt of their Nobility, one Arch-Biſhop, two Biſhops, four Abbots, and about ten thouſand others. On the *Engliſh* Side, according to *Polydore*, there dy'd about five thouſand, tho' others ſay fewer; and this Battel was call'd *Floddon-Field*, in which the Earl took all the *Scotch* Ordnance, and particularly ſeven extraordinary fair Culverins, call'd *The Seven Siſters*. Then giving God Thanks, the Earl diſmiſs'd the greateſt Part of the Army, and retir'd himſelf Home, 'till the News of King *Henry*'s coming to *Richmond* brought him thither; taking order in the mean time, that the dead Body of King *James*, being embalmed, ſhould be carry'd firſt to *Newcaſtle*, and then to *Shene* in *Surry*, where it was honourably interr'd. And thus was King *James* the Fourth cut off, in the thirty ninth Year of his Age, and twenty fifth of his Reign, who in regard of his Princely Virtues deſerv'd a longer Life and Reign; yet we know not how to free him from the Scandal of Breach of Faith in this laſt Expedition. He was ſucceeded in his Kingdom by his Son *James* the Fifth, then but two Years of Age.

King *Henry* having gain'd ſuch Advantages over *Scotland*, where his own Siſter Queen *Margaret* was now Regent,

A. D. 1514. Reg. 5.

New Advancements.

gent, he thought he could not act more juſtly and prudently, than to beſtow ſuitable Recompences upon his brave Commanders, who had been moſt ſerviceable to him. Accordingly upon the ſecond Day of *February*, *Thomas* Earl of *Surry* was by him created Duke of *Norfolk*, a Title conferr'd on his Father by *Richard* the Third, but again extinguiſh'd; his eldeſt Son the Lord *Thomas Howard* being alſo made Earl of *Surry*; together with which he had an Augmentation of Arms for his Atchievement in *Floddon-Field.* Sir *Charles Somerſet*, who in Right of *Elizabeth* his Wife was Lord *Herbert* of *Chepſtow*, &c. was now created Earl of *Worceſter.* Sir *Charles Brandon* Viſcount *Liſle*, was now alſo created Duke of *Suffolk*; and Sir *Edward Stanley*, not long after made Lord *Mounteagle.* Laſtly, the aſpiring Almoner *Thomas Wolſey*, Biſhop of *Tournay*, was alſo made Biſhop of *Lincoln.* And as the King conferr'd Honours upon others, ſo not long after he receiv'd ſome from the Hands of Pope *Leo*, who ſent him a Cap of Maintenance and a Sword; and being provok'd with the *French* King, he transferr'd, by Authority of the *Lateran* Council, the Title of *CHRISTIANISSIMUS* from him upon King *Henry.* This with great Pomp and Solemnity was publiſh'd the *Sunday* following in the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s, and afterwards attended with extraordinary Revellings, Masks and Tournaments; in which laſt the King and new Duke of *Suffolk* were victorious Defendants againſt all Comers; who having the noble Priſoners, Duke of *Longueville* and the Lord *Clermont*, for their Spectators, ſpread the Fame of their Valour and Chivalry into remote and foreign Nations.

About this time the great Friendſhip between King *Henry* and the *Flemmings* began to abate upon this Occaſion: King *Henry* the Seventh, his Father, had concluded a Match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*; but by reaſon of her Age, and the want of a ſecure Jointure, it was deferr'd during his Life. But now the preſent King ſeeing his Siſter of a ſuitable Age, began to revive the Contract, and ſignify'd as much to the Council of *Flanders*, from which he found nothing but formal Excuſes, and unneceſſary Delays. The *French* King had ſpeedy Intelligence how much King *Henry* was diſguſted at theſe *Spaniſh* Proceedings, and reſolv'd to make the moſt advantageous Uſe of it, which was to gain the Princeſs *Mary* for himſelf, and by that procure Peace with *England*, now he was ancient and fatigu'd with Wars. For this Purpoſe, he ſo far pleas'd the Pope as he became his Mediator; and both of them ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Henry*; the Pope to perſuade him to a Peace with *France*, the *French* King to treat about a Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary.* Upon whoſe Embaſſies, King *Henry*, partly to ſatisfy the Pope, and partly to advance his Siſter, did not unwillingly hearken to their Propoſals. But during this Negotiation, ſome Acts of Hoſtility paſs'd between the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleets, and ſome Ravages were committed in both Nations: Yet in no long time King *Henry*, by the Advice of his Council, and eſpecially of his then growing Favourite *Wolſey*, concluded both the Peace with *France*, and the Marriage of his Siſter *Mary* with the *French* King. The Subſtance of the Treaty and Agreement was, 'That the King of *England* was to hold *Tournay*, 'and King *Lewis* oblig'd himſelf in a Bond of a Million 'of Crowns, to be paid at ſeveral Payments to King '*Henry*, in Conſideration of the Expences of the War, 'and the Arrears of the Penſion ſtipulated in the Year '1492.' As to the Marriage, 'King *Henry* was to give 'four hundred thouſand Crowns with his Siſter, and '*Lewis* to aſſign her a Jointure, as great as any Queen of '*France* ever had, which ſhe was to enjoy during Life, 'where-ever ſhe reſided.

A Treaty with France.

The King's Siſter married to King Lewis.

Theſe, and ſome other Articles being concluded, the Princeſs *Mary* was brought to *Dover* by King *Henry* and his Queen, where with an honourable Train ſhe took Shipping, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquis *Dorſet*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, being her chief Conductors. Their Fleet had not paſs'd two Leagues at Sea, before a ſudden Storm ſeparated the Ships, whereof ſome were driven to the Coaſts of *Flanders*, others to *Calais*, and that of the Princeſs ſtruck in at *Boloign*; where by Boats her Train was landed, and her ſelf carry'd on Shore in the Arms of Sir *Chriſtopher Garniſh.* From hence with thirty ſix Ladies, riding upon fine Horſes trapped with Crimſon Velvet embroider'd with Gold, her own Horſes and Chariot ſet out with Tiſſue Cloth of Gold and Crimſon Velvet, and her ſelf with thoſe Advantages of Beauty, that made her ſeem more like an Angel than a human Creature, ſhe met with King *Lewis* at *Abbeville.* There on the Ninth of *October*, the Marriage was ſolemniz'd with great Splendor; where the *French* ſo gaz'd at their new Queen's Beauty, that neither they nor their infirm old King could be ſatisfy'd with any other Object while ſhe was preſent. On the Fifth of *November* ſhe was crown'd Queen of *France* at St. *Denis*, at which time *Francis* the *Dauphin* held the Crown over her Head, as being too ponderous for her to wear; and the following Day ſhe was receiv'd into *Paris*, after a moſt magnificent Manner. In Honour of this Marriage and Coronation, the *Dauphin* had caus'd ſolemn Juſts and Tournaments to be proclaim'd in *Paris* the Seventh of *November.* Upon Notice of which in *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis *Dorſet*, and his four Brothers, with ſeveral other Men of Quality, obtain'd Leave of King *Henry* to be at the Challenge; where they all behav'd themſelves with great Succeſs and Agility, eſpecially the great Duke of *Suffolk*, whoſe Glory the *Dauphin* ſo much envy'd, that he caus'd a *German*, the ſtrongeſt and talleſt in the Court of *France*, ſecretly to encounter him, purpoſely to have him foil'd: But this turn'd to his greater Honour; for by the Blows he gave the *German* at Barriers, he ſoon let the Aſſembly know he was his Superior. King *Henry* at home was no ways inferior in Magnificence; and at publick Juſts he himſelf broke no leſs than three and twenty Spears; and in one ſingle Encounter he overthrew Man and Horſe to the Ground. About this time the King rejoic'd at the Birth of a Son, which in a ſhort time dy'd. Nor was the Satisfaction of King *Lewis* much longer; who being aged and infirm, after eighty Days Poſſeſſion, rather than Enjoyment of his Queen, dy'd upon the firſt of *January* 1515. He was ſucceeded by *Francis de Valois*, a Prince of about twenty two Years of Age; in which, as well as Manners, there was much Conformity between King *Henry* and him; particularly they were judg'd two the fineſt and nobleſt Perſonages, not only of their Quality, but of their Time.

She is crown'd in France.

Her Huſband Lewis *dies.*

A. D. 1515. Reg. 7.

III. All Things being now in a State of Peace, and *Francis* the *French* King deſirous to hold a good Correſpondence with *England*, King *Henry* ſent over *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, and others, to the *French* Court to ſtrengthen the Alliance, and to bring over the Queen Dowager his Siſter into *England.* Here that Lady caſt her Eyes upon the graceful Duke of *Suffolk*, and entertain'd ſuch an Affection for him, that ſhe made no Scruple to diſcover her Inclinations to both Kings; deſiring *Francis* to mediate the Marriage, and her Brother *Henry* to approve of it. *Francis*, fearing leſt *Henry* by contracting her elſewhere might enter into ſome greater Alliances, readily conſented; but *Henry*, for the Conſervation of his Dignity, kept at a little Diſtance; however, he had long ſince deſign'd her for the Duke. The young Queen believing that this Formality was the greateſt Impediment, proteſted by Letters, *That if the King would have her marry'd otherwiſe than to her own Inclinations, ſhe would ſhut her ſelf up in a Religious Houſe.* Therefore to obviate all Difficulties, by a peculiar ſort of Courtſhip, ſhe prefix'd to the Duke the Term of four Days to gain her Conſent, *in which if he did not prevail, he ſhould for ever loſe all Hopes of obtaining her.* And thus without any Pomp they were privately marry'd in *France*; and by the Interceſſion of King *Francis* and *Wolſey* at Home, they ſoon recover'd King *Henry*'s Favour. After which they took their leave of the *French* Court; the Queen carrying with her of the Jewels, Plate and Tapeſtries of *Lewis* the Twelfth, to the Value of two hundred thouſand Crowns; among which was a noble Diamond call'd *Le Mirroir de Naples*, which King *Francis* would have gladly redeem'd at a great Price. Orders were alſo taken for the Payment of her Jointure, which was ſixty thouſand Crowns a Year. Being arriv'd in *England*, the Marriage between them was publickly ſolemniz'd with great Pomp, and peculiar Sort of Tournaments, in which King *Henry* highly ſignaliz'd himſelf; and ever after the Duke continu'd a ſpecial Favourite at Court, where he generally ſhew'd himſelf more of the brave Courtier than the profound States-Man.

She marries to Charles Brandon *Duke of* Suffolk.

But the greateſt Favourite of all was *Thomas Wolſey*, whoſe Power and Grandeur began now to ſwell to a prodigious Extent, and to ſuch as had not been known in the *Engliſh* Nation. This extraordinary Perſon was Son to an honeſt poor Man of *Ipſwich* in *Suffolk*; and by means of a handſome Education, his own Parts and Dexterity, he rais'd himſelf through Variety of Preferments, to the higheſt Sations both in Church and State, and to the Splendor and Magnificence of any Prince in *Europe.* His firſt Preferment was a Fellowſhip in *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*; from whence removing to *Calais*, he got to be Chaplain to King *Henry* the Seventh, who ſucceſſively made him Dean of *Lincoln*, chief Almoner, and a Privy-Counſellor. The preſent King *Henry* coming to the Crown, he ſo well conform'd himſelf to his Diſpoſition, that he ſoon engroſs'd his Favour to himſelf. Upon the taking of *Tournay*, the King made him Biſhop of that Place, and not long after Biſhop of *Lincoln*; and this Year upon Cardinal *Bembridge*'s Death, he was made Arch-Biſhop of *York*; and by the Intereſt of the two Kings of *England* and *France*, the Pope made him a Cardinal, and likewiſe

Cardinal Wolſey's *Riſe and Character.*

Legate *a Latere*, by which he had a Power ſuperior to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. Then that there might be no interfering between the *Legantine* and *Chancery* Courts, he was likewiſe made Lord Chancellor of *England*, in the Room of Arch-Biſhop *Warham*, who now retir'd to give Place to this aſpiring Favourite. Being thus at the Helm of Church and State, he made the moſt ſplendid Appearance of any Subject in *England*; and beſides the Purſe and Mace, he ever had two large Silver Croſſes and Pillars born before him by the talleſt Prieſts in the Kingdom. For the better Maintenance of this chargeable Eſtate, the King firſt beſtow'd on him the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and after that the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and the Abbey of St. *Albans* in *Commendam*; and with them he held in Farm the Biſhopricks of *Bath*, *Worceſter* and *Hereford*, enjoy'd by foreign Incumbents; and had likewiſe the Diſpoſal of all the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices in *England*. From all theſe, and the numerous Preſents he receiv'd from Foreign Princes, his annual Incomes equal'd, if not exceeded the Revenues of the Crown; and in this Capacity he kept eight hundred Servants, among whom were nine or ten Lords, fifteen Knights, and forty Eſquires. All foreign Treaties and Places of Truſt at Home were of his ordering; he acted as he pleas'd, and his Aſcendant over the King was ſuch, that there never appear'd any Party againſt him all this Time. He us'd the moſt inſinuating Artifices to gain the King to himſelf; undertaking to eaſe him of the Burden of Government, and to give him all the Pleaſure of it; he was the moſt earneſt and readieſt in all the Council to advance the King's only Will and Intention; and whereas others adviſ'd him to leave his Pleaſures, and attend his Affairs, this Prelate perſuaded him to what was moſt agreeable to his Appetite. Having got into ſuch Power, he obſerv'd the King's Inclinations exactly, and follow'd his Intereſts cloſely: For tho' he made other Princes retain him with great Preſents and Penſions, yet ſtill he never engag'd the King into any Alliance that was not for his Honour and Advantage. He was an extraordinary Miniſter of State, but as a Churchman, the Diſgrace of his Profeſſion; being lewd and vicious, and exorbitantly proud and oſtentatious, and indeed the main Debaucher of his Sovereign Maſter. In a Word, he had all the Qualifications neceſſary for a great States-man, and all the Vices ordinary in a great Favourite.

A.D. 1516.
Reg. 7/8.
Margaret *Queen Dowager of* Scotland *flies into* England.

During the grand Power of this Cardinal, King *Henry*'s Siſter *Margaret*, Queen of *Scotland*, having marry'd *Archibald Douglaſs*, Earl of *Angus*, by reaſon of Factions among the Lords of *Scotland*, was compell'd to fly into *England* with her Husband, and ſeek Protection from her Brother; who aſſign'd her the Caſtle of *Harbottle*, in *Northumberland*, for her Reſidence, where ſhe was deliver'd of a Daughter, nam'd *Margaret*. From thence the King ſent for her and her Husband to come to his Court; and thereupon, with a noble Attendance, Queen *Margaret* riding upon a white Palfrey, which the Queen of *England* had preſented to her, behind Sir *Thomas Parre*, paſs'd through *London* to *Baynard*'s Caſtle, and from thence to the Court at *Greenwich*: But her Husband, the Earl of *Angus*, was ſecretly before departed into *Scotland*; upon which King *Henry* with ſome Reſentment ſaid, *It was done like a* Scot. However ſhe was joyfully receiv'd by the King and Queen, and her Siſter *Mary*, Queen Dowager of *France*; who all enjoy'd a Happineſs rare for Princes in that Kind, which was to ſee each other, after they had been once diſpos'd in Foreign Parts. But as this was a Meeting of three Queens, ſo the Occaſion of it proceeded from the Marriage of two of them to inferior Perſons, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Earl of *Angus*. King *Henry*, for the more Honour of her Arrival, order'd ſolemn Juſts, in which he himſelf was the principal Challenger, and overthrew Sir *William Kingſton*, both Man and Horſe. In the ſame Year dy'd *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, Father to Queen *Katharine*; for whom King *Henry* caus'd a ſolemn Obſequy to be kept in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*'s. But the Mourning laſted not long; for it was ſhortly after ſucceeded by the Birth of the Princeſs *Mary*, afterwards Sovereign Queen of *England*. As to Queen *Margaret*, after ſhe had been a Year in *England*, ſhe return'd into *Scotland*.

The Birth of Queen Mary.

The publick Affairs being now left to the Management of Cardinal *Wolſey*, ſeveral great Men began to withdraw themſelves from the Court, as firſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who went and liv'd in their reſpective Dioceſes; next the Duke of *Norfolk*, who having borrow'd Money of the King for his Journey into *France*, and being unable through the Cardinal's Oppoſition to obtain a Remiſſion of it, or otherwiſe to pay it immediately, he retir'd into the Country; ſo that the Cardinal had an uncontroul'd Liberty to govern all under Colour of doing the King Service. For in whatſoever he acted, that was his Pretence, tho' in many Things he rather innovated than reform'd; from whence Clamours often aroſe among the People, who underſtanding nothing ſo much as their ancient Cuſtoms, ſeldom endure a Change, tho' for their real Advantage. In this Year all who manag'd any Money for the King in the Wars or otherwiſe, were by the Cardinal's Command call'd in Queſtion; among whom ſome by Bribery, and ſome by Policy eſcap'd, while others were condemn'd in great Sums; ſo that he might be ſaid to have ſo much of a good Servant, as not to ſuffer any other to deceive his Maſter; to accompany this Severity alſo, he caus'd Perjury to be vigorouſly puniſh'd, in which he is much commended. Some Courts alſo were erected in Favour of poor People, againſt the Oppreſſions of the Great, which at firſt were much frequented; but at laſt the People receiving many Delays and Diſappointments in their Suits, they left them, and had Recourſe to the common Law, as too much fearing Innovations. And the Character of Juſt cannot be deny'd to the Cardinal, in all Affairs of publick Judicature, of which he was ever apparently ſtudious; ſo that where Diſorders were committed, he generally puniſh'd with Severity. This he did both in Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil Affairs, by which means he accidentally became a prime Inſtrument in that great Work of the Reformation of the Church; which ſort of Work is oftentimes by the ordering and Wiſdom of Providence effected by the Hands of wicked and ſcandalous Agents.

Cardinal Wolſey's *Management.*

A.D. 1517.
Reg.
An Inſurrection in London.

About this Time there happen'd a great Riot and Sedition in the City of *London*, from ſome Citizens and Apprentices of the poorer Sort, who being offended that all their chief Guſtomers were won from them by the Diligence and Induſtry of Strangers, and others pretending to have receiv'd ſome Affronts and Indignities from them, found ſome Occaſion to make an Inſurrection againſt them; and the rather becauſe the ſeditious Sermons of one Dr. *Bele*, by the Inſtigation of *John Lincoln*, a Broker, had not a little incited them. The Apprentices and others being gathered together in great Numbers, began with breaking open ſome Priſons, from whence they took divers Perſons committed thither for abuſing and hurting of Strangers: Nor could the Mayor or Sheriffs then preſent hinder this Outrage; nor Sir *Thomas Moore*, tho' much reſpected by them, as being late Judge of the Sheriff's Court, and a Native of the City. The Priſoners now let looſe adviſ'd the Multitude to run to the Houſe of one *Meutas* a *French* Man, much hated by them; where they kill'd ſome, chac'd the reſt, and plunder'd all his Goods; from whence they went to other Strangers Houſes, which they pillag'd in the like manner. The Cardinal hearing of this, and not being much more in the Peoples Favour than the Strangers, fortify'd his Houſe with Men and Ordnance; but the Lieutenant of the *Tower* proceeded further, and diſcharg'd ſome of the great Pieces among them. This, with the Completion of their deſign'd Revenge, caus'd them about three a Clock in the Morning to diſperſe and go home. But on their Way, they were firſt apprehended by the City Officers, and afterwards by ſome Followers of the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Surrey*, who hearing of this Diſorder, and taking the Inns-of-Court Gentlemen with them, clear'd the Streets of this unruly Company. The beginning of the Sedition was hereupon examin'd, and Doctor *Bele* and *John Lincoln* ſent to the *Tower*. About three Days after the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Surrey*, his Son, with about thirteen hundred armed Men, came into the City, and joining with the Lord Mayor, proceeded legally againſt the chief Offenders, to the Terror of the Citizens, who were the more apprehenſive, becauſe the Duke of *Norfolk*, upon the killing of a Prieſt of his, was reported to have ſaid, *I pray God I may once have the Citizens in my Power*. By the Statute of the Second of *Henry* the Fifth, they were all found guilty of High-Treaſon: But however much Mercy was ſhew'd; for of two hundred and ſeventy eight Priſoners, only *Lincoln*, and three or four more, were hang'd, drawn and quarter'd; and about ten more were hang'd on Gibbets erected in the Streets. All the reſt in their Shirts, bound in Ropes and Halters about their Necks were brought to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the King ſate, attended with his principal Nobility: And when the Cardinal had charg'd them with the Greatneſs of their Offence, they all cry'd out *Mercy*, *Mercy!* upon which the King by the Mouth of the Cardinal pardon'd them all; which Clemency purchas'd the King no ſmall Love amongſt the common People.

It is quell'd.

All are par don'd but few.

In this ſame Year were the Beginnings of a much more remarkable Commotion in *Germany*, which did not only raiſe a grand Fermentation in that Country, but in a few Years affected all *England*, and the greateſt part of *Chriſtendom*. This was in ſome meaſure occaſion'd from the mighty Progreſs of *Selim* the *Turkiſh* Sultan, whoſe powerful Arms Pope *Leo* propos'd to repel with the utmoſt Vigour, both by Sea and Land. In order to that, he ſent his Emiſſaries to all Chriſtian Princes; and to excite the Peo-

ples

The Begin ning of th Reformati in Germany.

ples Devotion, and procure their Alms and Benevolence for ſo great a Work, he ſent ſeveral Agents to preach *Indulgences* in every Province. The Conditions of which were, 'That without Diſtinction of Perſons or Sins, whoſoever perform'd certain Religious Rites, and paid certain Sums of Money, ſhould obtain a full Remiſſion of all their Sins, and ſeveral other Benefits beſides.' The Management and Sale of theſe appear'd very ſcandalous to many good People, but eſpecially to a certain Monk nam'd *Martin Luther*, a Doctor and Reader in Theology in the Univerſity of *Wittenberg*, a Man of a bold Spirit, an impetuous Reſolution, and eloquent Tongue. The Agents had furniſh'd him with ſufficient Matter for Reproach: For they made direct Merchandize of what was judg'd the moſt ſacred Treaſures of the Church; they kept their Courts, or Shops rather, in Taverns, and conſum'd a great Part of what they collected in Debaucheries; and beſides it was certainly known, that the Pope deſign'd to apply conſiderable Sums to his own proper Uſe. Now tho' it was more agreeable to Reaſon and Policy to have remov'd the Occaſion of this Clamour; yet Pride and Intereſt ſo far prevail'd, that by neglecting, and perhaps deſpiſing the Arguments of a private Monk, the Conteſt ſoon grew high, and was gradually blown up by Declamations, *Theſes's*, and Books on either Side. *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, whoſe Wiſdom and Virtue was exemplary, both maintain'd and animated *Luther*, for the Honour of his new Univerſity of *Wittenberg*. He at firſt began with propoſing of Doubts; then being hard beſet and roughly treated, he engag'd to maintain and make them good; and afterwards meeting with greater Severity, he proceeded openly to declaim againſt the Pope, the Corruptions and Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, ſo as to bring about that mighty Work of the REFORMATION. So ſmall a Spark as this Colliſion firſt made, could never have rais'd ſo great a Fire, if the World had not been ſtrongly diſpos'd to it, by the juſt Prejudice they had conceiv'd againſt the Popiſh Clergy, whoſe Ignorance and lewd Lives had ſo expos'd them to Contempt and Hatred, that every one was ready to join with ſuch as oppos'd their Practices.

A.D. 1518. Reg. 10. *Wolſey's Grandeur and Power.*

The like Corruptions were at the ſame Time in *England*, and the Effects of theſe great Changes in Religion were ſoon felt in that Country, where now Cardinal *Wolſey* reign'd like a Pope of this other World. For this Year being made Legate *a Latere*, he was by a Bull from Pope *Leo* enabled to viſit not only Monaſteries, but all the Clergy of *England*, and to diſpenſe with Church-Laws for one whole Year: Which tho' it gave him great Power, it caus'd much Offence, as abridging the Authority of the Biſhops, and ſcandalizing the whole Clergy, who were extreamly defam'd by the Cardinal's Informations. And now the Pride and Oſtentation of this Prelate did ſo much increaſe, that on ſolemn Feaſt Days he would ſay Maſs after the Manner of the Pope himſelf; not only Biſhops and Abbots ſerving him in the Office, but even Earls and Dukes giving him Water and the Towel. All which was but a kind of Prelude to what follow'd. For erecting a particular Court of Juriſdiction, which he call'd the *Legate's Court*, and placing in it as Judge one *John Allen*, Doctor of Law, a Perſon of Infamy, all manner of Rapines and Extortions were committed there. For making Enquiry into the Lives of every Man, no Offence eſcap'd Cenſure and Puniſhment, unleſs they privately gave Money: And as the Rules of Conſcience are in many Caſes of larger Extent than thoſe of the Law, ſo he found Means to ſearch into the moſt ſecret Receſſes. Beſides, under this Colour, he arrogated a Power to call in queſtion the Executors of Wills and Teſtaments. He ſummon'd alſo all Religious Perſons whatſoever; who caſting themſelves at his Feet, were ſeverely chidden, and terrify'd with Expulſion, 'till they had compounded: Beſides, all Spiritual Benefits that fell were conferr'd on his Creatures. The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* underſtanding how all Orders were thus treated by the Cardinal, went and acquainted the King; who replied, *He ſhould not have heard of it but from him*, and deſir'd him *to go and tell* Wolſey, *that if any Thing be amiſs he would amend it.* Upon which this grave Perſon ſeriouſly admoniſh'd him to be cautious, and declar'd, *That, in concerning himſelf with the Wills of the Dead, he aſſum'd a Power not claim'd by the Pope himſelf; and his diſpoſing ſome Benefits in the Gift of the Nobility, he thought was an Uſurpation upon them.* All the uſe that *Wolſey* made of this was to hate the Arch-Biſhop, with whom he was formerly offended, only becauſe he ſtil'd himſelf his Brother, in the Subſcription of his Letter: But to prevent any ill Offices from him he temper'd his Speech for this Time. But ſhortly after his Agent *John Allen* being accus'd by one *London* a Prieſt, it ſufficiently appear'd that all the former Allegations againſt *Wolſey* were true; which caus'd the King to rebuke the Cardinal ſo ſharply, that after this Time he became better, or at leaſt more wary than before.

He is a little check'd.

But ſtill the Cardinal loſt no part of his Intereſt or the King's Favour; and ſtill retain'd the ſame Reputation and Influence in all foreign Courts, and particularly in that of *France*; between which and that of *England* he manag'd Affairs with ſuch a nice and exact Policy, that King *Henry* once openly ſaid, *That now he perceiv'd* Wolſey *would govern both.* The *French* King at this Time being very deſirous to have the City of *Tournay* reſtor'd to him, by large Preſents and larger Promiſes won the Cardinal to move the King in it; who upon his plauſible Perſuaſions was willing to treat about it. Upon which Account the *French* King ſent the Lord *Bonquet* High-Admiral of *France*, and the Biſhop of *Paris*, who with an unruly Retinue of about twelve hundred Men, arriv'd in *England*, and on the twenty ſeventh of *September* were met at *Black-Heath* by the Earl of *Surrey*, High-Admiral of *England*, attended with above five hundred Gentlemen and others, who conducted them to *London*, where they were lodg'd in *Merchant-Taylor*'s Hall. On the laſt of *September*, the Ambaſſadors went to the Court at *Greenwich*, where after a long Communication, a Treaty was at laſt concluded under Pretence of a Marriage between the *Dauphine* of *France*, then not a Year old, and the Princeſs *Mary*, Daughter to the King of *England*: That in Name of her Marriage Money, *Tournay* ſhould be deliver'd to the *French* King, he paying to the King of *England*, for the Caſtle he had built in that City, ſix hundred thouſand Crowns in twelve Years: And if the Marriage ſhould not take Effect, then *Tournay* ſhould be again reſtor'd to the King of *England*. Theſe and other Articles being concluded, noble Entertainments and great Preſents being made, the Princeſs *Mary*, of two Years of Age, was promis'd and betroth'd to the *Dauphine* in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral. And the Earl of *Worceſter*, with the Biſhop of *Ely*, and a Train equal to the *French* Ambaſſadors, were ſent to require Performance from King *Francis*, who thereupon took his Oath, gave eight Hoſtages for Payment upon the Surrender of *Tournay*, and contracted the Eſpouſals in the Name of his Infant Son the *Dauphine*.

An Embaſſie from France.

The young Princeſs Mary *contracted to the* Dauphine.

A. D. 1519. Reg. 11. Tournay *reſtor'd to the* French.

In Conſequence of this, on the eighth of *February* following, the Earl of *Worceſter* deliver'd up *Tournay* to the *French* King; but before that was perform'd, the Cardinal took ſuch Care that he ſhould have an annual Stipend of twelve thouſand *Livres Tournois*, for relinquiſhing the Biſhoprick of that Place. Thus was *Tournay* gain'd by the *French*, and divers concurrent Articles not perform'd afterwards: And here it is obſervable that it was fatal to the Princeſs *Mary*, to be a kind of Author of the Loſs of all the *Engliſh* Poſſeſſions in *France*; *Tournay* being reſtor'd upon Pretence of Dowry now, and *Calais* loſt in the Time of her Match with King *Philip* the Second.

King *Francis* having obtain'd this Point, about the ſame Time aſpir'd to another much greater, which was to be Emperor of *Germany*. For in the Beginning of this Year, the Emperor *Maximilian* dy'd; who having been Knight of the Garter, his Obſequies were ſolemnly kept in St. *Paul*'s, by King *Henry*, and the Knights of that Society. Upon his Death King *Francis* us'd great Endeavours to obtain the Empire; but after many Contrivances and Struggles, it was given to *Charles* King of *Spain*; for Joy of which great Solemnities were perform'd by the Order of King *Henry*, on the ſeventh Day of *July*. In the ſame Month an Enterview had been appointed between the Kings of *England* and *France*; but the Death of the Emperor, and what follow'd upon it, caus'd it to be deferr'd 'till the ſucceeding Year; both Kings in the mean Time agreeing not to cut off their Beards 'till they ſaw each other. *Francis* having now a ſecond Son, deſir'd the King of *England* to give him his Name; which was kindly acknowledg'd, and his Name call'd *Henry*, afterwards King, and ſecond of that Name. Nor did *Francis* omit any thing that might argue his Reſpect; therefore with continu'd Gifts he ſollicited Cardinal *Wolſey*, whom he call'd his *Father* and *Couſin*, ſent Preſents to the Princeſs *Mary*, and left nothing unattempted which might ſecure him on that Side, knowing well how puiſſant an Enemy the new Emperor might prove. *Charles* on the other Side, conſidering how much it concern'd him to keep the Cardinal at his Devotion, ſoon countermin'd the *French* King in his own way of Bribes and Preſents. *Francis* fearing the Conſequences, timely provided to keep the *Scotch* his Friends; and tho' it was formerly his Motion to compriſe the young King and that Nation in general within his League with *England*, yet now he ſtrove as much to withdraw them: Therefore when King *Henry* ſent to require their Oath to the Treaty, they refus'd; ſo that all that Buſineſs ended in a Truce only for one Year: And here the Cardinal's extream Ambition began to ſhew it ſelf more openly; who deſigning to make himſelf Pope, always comply'd with thoſe whom he thought his beſt Aſſiſtants. Therefore now that *Charles* the Emperor was grown the more potent; and beſides, it being manifeſt that to which Party ſoever King *Henry* in-

Charles *King of Spain made Emperor.*

Wolſey *courted by him and the* French *King.*

Wolſey *inclines moſt to him.*

clin'd, he would turn the Balance, he hop'd in favouring of *Charles* to obtain his Deſire. Nor wanted he continual Preſents on his Part, which were equal, if not exceeding the others; ſo that now he rejected the Aſſiſtance of *Francis*, tho' he had actually offer'd him the Voices of fourteen Cardinals, and chiefly apply'd himſelf to the Emperor.

A.D. 1520. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

Preparations for an Enterview between the Kings of England *and* France.

Yet ſtill the Cardinal promoted the Enterview between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, which was appointed to be betwixt *Guiſnes* and *Ardres*; for having an equal Mixture of Pride and Vanity, he was deſirous of bringing and ſeeing thoſe two together, whom he was generally thought to govern. He knew alſo that his Preſents would not be ſmall; therefore he perſuaded King *Henry* to build a new Houſe near *Guiſnes*, as might be worthy of the Reception of two ſuch Monarchs; and to perform this, two thouſand Artificers were employ'd. He alſo ſummon'd the prime Nobility to attend the King this Journey, with that Splendor which might become Perſons of their Dignity; and becauſe the Duke of *Buckingham* repin'd at the Expence, it prov'd one great Step to his Ruin. For the greater Magnificence, a King of Arms was ſent to the *Engliſh* on the Part of the *French* King, with a Proclamation declaring, 'That in *June* next, two Kings, *Henry* 'and *Francis*, with fourteen Aids, would in a Camp be'tween *Guiſnes* and *Ardres*, anſwer all Comers at Tilt, 'Tourney and Barriers;' and the like Proclamation was made by *Clarenceaux* in the *French* Court. Theſe friendly Defiances ſtopp'd not here; for they were ſent by King *Henry* to the *Low-Countries*, *Burgundy* and *Germany*, and by King *Francis* into *Spain* and *Italy*. And now the Principal Noblemen, having made themſelves ready to attend their Sovereign Maſter, and none more magnificently than the Duke of *Buckingham*; the King went to *Canterbury* on the twenty fifth Day of *May*, deſigning there to keep his *Whitſontide*.

The Emperor endeavours to break it, by coming into England.

In the mean time *Charles* the Emperor, who much deſir'd to break this deſign'd Enterview, had ſo contriv'd his Voyage from *Spain*, that the Day following, he himſelf, accompany'd with many Lords and beautiful Ladies, came unexpectedly to *Dover*. The Cardinal hearing of this, poſted away immediately to aſſure him of his Welcome; and the King very early next Day came to *Dover* Caſtle, where the Emperor was lodg'd, who met him on the Stairs, with all the Marks of Courteſie and Affection. *Charles* had great Deſigns at this Time, as well as the *French* King, therefore he continu'd his Endeavours to break this Enterview, as well as all other Correſpondence with *Francis*; and knowing no Prince could ſo much help or hinder him, as the King of *England*, he offer'd more advantagious Conditions than *Francis* had done. And to make all the more acceptable, he made large Preſents to the Cardinal, promiſing upon a Vacancy to make him Pope; and that he might the better exceed his Competitor *Francis* in Preſents, a great Part of the Spoils of *Mexico* had been brought him. As to the Enterview King *Henry* excus'd himſelf to the Emperor, as being engag'd in Honour to meet *Francis*; but as to any Treaty, he would be as ſerviceable as he could. From thence then King *Henry* invited him to *Canterbury*, where he with great Satisfaction ſaw his Aunt Queen *Katharine*; but he was much more affected with the admirable Beauty of the Queen Dowager of *France*, once deſign'd for his Wife; and ſuch paſſionate Emotions aroſe in his Mind, that he could not be perſuaded to dance with the reſt of the illuſtrious Company. And now having paſs'd over the *Whitſon* Holy-Days in theſe Sports and Entertainments, which the King gave him, he departed to *Sandwich*, took Shipping, and arriv'd at his Native Country of *Flanders*; while King *Henry* the ſame Day paſs'd to *Dover*, and from thence with all his noble Train and Company to *Calais*.

The Manner of the famous Enterview

On the fourth Day of *June*, King *Henry*, with the two Queens, and the reſt of his Train, remov'd to his new built Palace near *Guiſnes*, being a Square of Timber every Side containing three hundred and twenty eight Foot; the Parts of which extraordinary Building, being artificially fram'd in *England*, were now put together, and afterwards taken aſunder, and brought home. King *Francis* had another Building to anſwer this, near *Ardres*, which like the other was moſt ſumptuouſly furniſh'd. Before the Kings met, the Cardinal went to viſit *Francis*, and to treat with him concerning ſome Particulars relating to the Marriage between the *Dauphine* and the Princeſs *Mary*, which were ſoon concluded. On the following Day the famous Enterview began with a Signal from a Warning-Piece, when both the Kings were nobly mounted, and moſt magnificently attended. The Meeting of theſe two great and beautiful Monarchs was with the Sound of Trumpets, and all the Solemnity that could be invented for Perſons of their Rank and Character; and being diſmounted, after mutual Embraces, they walk'd Arm in Arm to a Pavilion of Cloth of Gold erected for that Purpoſe; where after they had made their ſeveral Compliments, they took leave, and return'd to their reſpective Lodgings.

The Valour of King Henry.

Two Days after, both Kings came to view the Camp or Place of Exerciſe, being three hundred Yards long, and a hundred and ſix broad, well ditch'd and fenc'd, with convenient Scaffolds on each Side for the Spectators. There were alſo ſet up two artificial Trees, with the Arms of the two Kings and their ſeveral Aſſiſtants, on which were affix'd the Articles of the Juſts, Tourney and Barriers. The Aſſiſtants or Supporters on the *Engliſh* Side were the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, Sir *William Kingſton*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Mr. *Nicholas Carew*, and Mr. *Anthony Knevet*: On the *French* Side were the Duke *de Vendoſme*, Mr. *St. Paul*, Mr. *de Montmorency*, Mr. *de Bryon*, Mr. *de St. Meſme*, Mr. *de Brucall*, and Mr. *Tabanes*. To encounter theſe many noble Perſons and famous Knights came from Foreign Countries; who preſenting their Arms to the Heralds, were admitted to the Exerciſe, which was appointed on *Monday* the eleventh of *June*, when the Queens and Ladies took their Places, and the two Kings with their Aſſiſtants enter'd the Liſts after a glorious and magnificent Manner. We want Room to particularize the Courſes of theſe Champions, which are more largely deſcrib'd by *Hall* and *Hollingſhed*; it may be ſufficient to take Notice that none exceeded, if equall'd the two Kings, eſpecially King *Henry*; who in the ſecond Courſe diſabled Mr. *de Grandeville*, and after that ſucceſsfully encounter'd Mr. *de Montmorency*. This Exerciſe continu'd four Days, and on the following Week the Tourney began, in which there was a furious Encounter with Swords; yet the two Kings and their Aſſiſtants beat the Counter Party to Diſarming; and King *Henry* particularly got that Honour, that a brave *French* Nobleman with whom he fought, preſented him with his Horſe as a Gage of his Victory. The next Day King *Henry* in Tourney likewiſe broke the Pouldron of Mr. *de Fleuranges*, and forc'd him to depart the Field. The following Day the Barriers began, and after that the caſting of Hand-Spears or Darts, with the Target, and fighting with the two-handed Sword; at which ſort of Exerciſe much Commendation was given to King *Henry*, who with a few Strokes diſarm'd his Adverſary. Thus with variety of Masks, Interludes, Banquetings, and other Entertainments, and after many Compliments, Embraces, and rich Preſents, the two Kings took their Leaves on the twenty fourth Day of *June*, and King *Henry* came with all his Train to *Calais*.

The Emperor meets him near Calais.

He returns into England.

Shortly after, the Emperor being at *Graveling*, with his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, King *Henry* at their Requeſt admitted of a ſecond Enterview. And for that Purpoſe going towards *Graveling*, the Emperor met him in the way, and conducted him thither, giving him and the reſt of the *Engliſh* all that good Entertainment ſo ſmall a Place could afford. The next Day, the Emperor and the Lady *Margaret* went with King *Henry* to *Calais*, where in the midſt of extraordinary Maskings and Entertainments, Buſineſs was not forgot. For here all the Articles of the Tripartite League between the Emperor and the Kings of *England* and *France* were review'd; to which the King of *France* had ſo fully condeſcended, that he ſent Mr. *de Roche* to the Emperor with Letters of Credence, *That on the Word of a Prince he would inviolably obſerve them all.* But he ſoon began to change his Pretenſions, and from this preſent Enterview he began to be jealous of King *Henry*'s Proceedings, as judging his Affection to himſelf and the Emperor inconſiſtent. King *Henry* having no more Buſineſs at *Calais*, took his Leave of the Emperor, who made him ſeveral new Preſents, and ſafely return'd with his Train into *England*; having made a Journey that diſplay'd both his own and the Cardinal's Grandeur.

A.D. 1521. Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

The King writes againſt Luther.

IV. All Things being in a peaceable Poſture, the Doctrines of *Luther* began to ſpread themſelves in many Parts after an extraordinary manner: And King *Henry* being at leiſure, and much delighting in Learning, thought he could not give better Proof either of his Zeal or Education, than to write againſt *Luther*. To which alſo he was exaſperated, becauſe *Luther* had oftentimes ſpoken contemptuouſly of the learned *Thomas Aquinas*, who was particularly eſteem'd both by the King and Cardinal. He therefore compil'd a Book, wherein he ſtrenuouſly oppos'd *Luther* in the Point of *Indulgences*, Number of *Sacraments*, the *Papal Authority*, and other Particulars, to be ſeen in that Work of his Entituled *De ſeptem Sacramentis*. A principal Copy of this being richly bound, was ſent to Pope *Leo*, and preſented by Doctor *John Clark*, Dean of *Windſor*, the King's Ambaſſador, appearing in a full Conſiſtory: The Pope knowing the glorious Preſent he brought, firſt gave him his Foot, and then his Cheeks to kiſs; then receiving the Book, he promis'd to do as much for the Approbation of it to all Chriſtian Princes, as ever was done for St. *Auſtin*'s or St. *Jerom*'s Works; aſſuring him with-

For which the Pope gives him the Title of Defender of the Faith.

withal, he would beſtow a publick Title upon King *Henry* in the very next Conſiſtory. This accordingly was done, and his Holineſs gave him the honourable Title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, in a pompous Letter ſign'd by himſelf and twenty ſeven Cardinals: In which the King took great Pleaſure, always affecting it beyond all his other Titles, tho' ſeveral of the former Kings of *England* had carry'd the ſame Title, as *Spelman* informs us. Being thus inclin'd to Learning, the King was much courted by all neceſſitous Scholars, who generally over *Europe* dedicated their Books to him, with ſuch flattering Epiſtles, that it very much leſſens him to ſee how he delighted in ſuch kind of Extravagancies. And indeed of all Things Flattery did generally moſt affect him; and no ſort of Flattery pleas'd him better than to have his great Learning, Parts and Wiſdom commended. And in this his Parliaments, his Courtiers, his Chaplains, Foreigners and Natives, all ſeem'd to vie in their Exceſſes, and came to ſpeak to him in a Stile that was ſcarce allowable to any Creature.

The Duke of Buckingham *proſecuted by* Wolſey.

He is try'd for Treaſon,

and beheaded.

But none manag'd him with greater Dexterity than the Cardinal, who had gain'd ſuch an Aſcendant in the Nation, that he could ſacrifice the greateſt Men to his Reſentments; the Force of which were about this time felt by *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, eminent both for his high Blood and his large Revenues. The Cardinal had long hated him for ſpeaking certain detracting Words of him; and it was further ſaid, that the Duke once holding the Baſon to the King, the Cardinal, as ſoon as the King had done waſhing, dipp'd his Hands into the ſame Water, which rais'd ſuch Indignation in the Duke, that he pour'd the Water upon his Feet; and this ſo provok'd the Cardinal that he declar'd *He would ſit upon his Skirts.* To make a Jeſt of this vulgar Expreſſion, the Duke appear'd before the King the next Day in a Garment without Skirts, and told his Majeſty *That it was by Way of Prevention*; which added new Fuel to a Fire that could not be extinguiſh'd without his Blood; ſo dangerous it is for great Men to deſcend to Jeſting. To remove all Supporters, the Cardinal had caus'd the Duke's chief Friend and Father-in-Law, the Earl of *Northumberland*, to be impriſon'd upon ſome ſuggeſted Crimes; and his Son-in-Law, the Earl of *Surry*, to be ſent Deputy into *Ireland*; ſo that his Friends being ſequeſter'd from him, he might be expos'd to the worſt ſort of Accuſations. The Duke being in this Condition, the Cardinal treated ſecretly with one *Charles Knevet*, whom the Duke had angrily diſmiſs'd from his Stewardſhip, and who thereupon diſcover'd his late Maſter's Life; confeſſing that the Duke by way of Diſcourſe was accuſtom'd to ſay, *That if King* Henry *dy'd without Iſſue, he would obtain the Crown, and that he would puniſh the Cardinal:* Beſides, that he had ſpoken the ſame to *George Nevil* Lord *Abergavenny*, who had marry'd his Daughter. The Duke being deſcended from the Daughter of the youngeſt Son of King *Edward* the Third, it was thought ſufficient Reaſon for his Accuſation; which was ſo aggravated to King *Henry*, that he order'd him to be apprehended and try'd by his Peers, and the Duke of *Norfolk* appointed Lord High-Steward for that time. Being arraign'd, he was accus'd by *Knevet*, a Monk call'd *Hopkins*, and others, of ſeveral treaſonable Deſigns to obtain the Crown of *England*; for which he was found guilty of High-Treaſon, and the Duke of *Norfolk* with a Flood of Tears deliver'd the formal Sentence of Execution. To which the other ſubmitted, but with a Declaration of his Innocence, and Reſolution not to ſue to the King for his Life. Whereupon he was brought back to the *Tower*, where all the Favour he receiv'd was to die the Death of a Nobleman, and be beheaded. Thus ended the Duke of *Buckingham*, much lamented by the People, who libel'd the Cardinal for it, as being thought Criminal rather through Folly and raſh Words than any real Intention againſt the King's Perſon; and therefore not uncapable of Mercy, if he had ſu'd for it in proper Terms. How far he was involv'd or purſu'd by his Father's Crimes, in the Reign of *Edward* the Fifth, we have no great Certainty; only we obſerve, that together with this Duke, that great Place of High-Conſtable of *England* remains extinguiſh'd, unleſs ſome extraordinary Occaſion revive it.

Wolſey *ſent to Calais.*

He makes a private League with the Emperor.

About the ſame time a new War began between two of the principal Monarchs of *Europe*, the Emperor and the King of *France*; which at divers Times and Places, continu'd near forty Years, and coſt the Lives of above five hundred thouſand Men. For the compoſing or managing of which, the Cardinal was ſent over to *Calais*, with a ſplendid Attendance of ſeveral Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and many Knights and Gentlemen. Arriving on the ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, he was met by the Chancellor of *France*, and the Count *De Paliſſe*, attended with four hundred Horſe, as Ambaſſadors from the *French* King; and the like Number from the Emperor, with Commiſſions to treat and conclude of Peace. There were alſo Ambaſſadors from the Pope, whom the Cardinal mov'd to to have his Holineſs to be a Party alſo in the League; but they wanting full Commiſſions, Letters were immediately ſent to *Rome* about that Affair; and 'till Anſwer might be receiv'd, the Cardinal went to *Bruges*, to conſult with the Emperor. After thirteen Days magnificent Entertainment, he return'd to *Calais*; and then immediately proceeded to the Treaty of Peace with the *French* Commiſſioners, but in a colder Manner than before, as having his Fervor abated by ſome Tranſactions with the Emperor; ſo that nothing material was concluded, but that the Fiſhermen of both Princes might fiſh in the Narrow-Seas without Moleſtation, 'till the End of *February* following, of which he ſent Advice to each Prince. During the time of the Cardinal's ſtay at *Calais*, all Writs and Patents were ſeal'd by him at that Place; and no Sheriff could be choſen for want of his Preſence, having the great Seal with him, and ſuch a Power as if the King had been there in Perſon. Before he return'd he made a new and private League with the Emperor, of which the Lord *Herbert* has the Particulars; and intimated to the *French* King, 'That he doubted whether the King of *England* would hereafter be as much his Friend as formerly.' At which, tho' King *Francis* was much offended, yet he ſignify'd by his artificial Letters that he would as much as ever continue the King of *England*'s Friend: Only he inveigh'd againſt the Cardinal, as a Man of no Fidelity, and withdrew many Penſions granted by him to *Engliſh*-Men. Shortly after, *Tournay* was beſieg'd by the Lord *Moncada*, a *Spaniard*; and tho' the *French* ſent great Forces to relieve it, it was ſurrender'd to the Emperor on the laſt Day of *November*. And here in this Year 1521, we may take notice of the Invention of Muskets, which *Bellay* ſays were firſt us'd in this War. In the ſame Year, on the firſt of *December*, dy'd Pope *Leo* the Tenth; ſome ſay out of Joy, and others by Poiſon.

A. D. 1522. Reg. 13/14.

He aſpires to the Papacy.

But is diſappointed.

Upon News of this Pope's Death, immediately the *Engliſh* Cardinal aſpir'd to the Triple Crown; and ſent Dr. *Pace*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, with all Speed to *Rome*, to uſe all poſſible Means to make him Pope. At the ſame time he wrote earneſt Letters to the Emperor *Charles*, firſt reminding him of his Promiſe to him; next repreſenting to him 'how unjuſt and factious it would be in him, openly to have a Pope of his own nominating; and ſince it was the Place of King *Henry* to be Arbiter of *Chriſtendom*, it would be his alſo to be the chief Inſtrument of it, if he were elected.' Some other Reaſons *Pace* alſo was order'd to give among the Cardinals at *Rome*, where he was to repreſent how much Occaſion of Calumny the *Lutherans* and other Enemies of the Church would find, if an unfiting Choice were made at this Juncture; which muſt follow, if any belonging to *Charles* or *Francis* were elected. The Cardinal alſo did not forget *Francis*, to whom Indifferency, if not Favour was promis'd, in Caſe he were Pope; which was more than he could hope for any other Way. But before *Pace* could arrive at *Rome*, *Adrian* Cardinal of *Tortoſa*, and Tutor to *Charles* the Emperor, was choſen Pope on the ninth of *January*; tho' not with ſuch an univerſal Conſent, but that Cardinal *Wolſey* had ſometimes nine, ſometimes twelve, and ſometimes nineteen Voices. *Pace*, upon this Diſappointment, having ſecond Inſtructions to countenance his Employment, departed to *Venice*, where he mediated a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*; urging them to join with him and the King of *England* againſt King *Francis*, who had firſt broken the common Peace made 1518, in which the State of *Venice* was compris'd. But the *Venetians*, being engag'd to *Francis*, only took Time to adviſe upon it.

The French *King breaks with* England.

In the mean Time King *Francis*, not being fully provided to war with King *Henry*, continu'd for ſome time his ſmooth Letters to the Cardinal; but at length between Impatience, and Hopes to give a great Diverſion in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, he began to declare himſelf. Therefore his Subjects having made ſome Attempts upon the *Engliſh* Merchants, when Satisfaction was requir'd, he deferr'd, or rather deny'd Reparation; which particular Inſults were accompany'd with a main Breach of Treaty, as King *Henry* alledg'd. For the Duke of *Albany*, who ought to have continu'd in *France*, was now after five Years Abſence return'd to his Charge in *Scotland*; and the *Engliſh* Merchants diſcovering an approaching Storm, withdrew their Effects from *France*, and the Scholars their Perſons and Studies from *Paris*. King *Henry* alſo wrote ſharply to *Francis*, declaring, 'That whatever Excuſes he made for ſending over the Duke of *Albany*, he knew nothing was done without his Direction; and that it was the manner of his Country to make Pretenſions;' reproaching him alſo with Breach of his Oath. *Francis*, enrag'd at this rough Expoſtulation, objected the laſt Year's ſecret Treaty at *Bruges* with the Emperor, requiring King *Henry* to declare himſelf; and caus'd all the Remainder of the *Engliſh* Mer-

Merchants Goods to be ſeiz'd, eſpecially thoſe at *Bourdeaux*, where they had both paid for their Wines, and Cuſtom for them. King *Henry* upon this confin'd the *French* Ambaſſador to his Houſe, and ſecur'd all the *French* and *Scotch* in his Kingdom for a time, or 'till they had paid pecuniary Mulcts; and the Vice-Admiral, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, was order'd to Sea with a ſtrong Fleet, to ſecure the *Engliſh* Merchants, and take what *French* he could. Moreover, becauſe the *French* deny'd the reſt of the Money due, and detain'd the *French* Queen's Dower, the King caus'd the *French* Hoſtages to be kept under a ſtricter Guard, without uſing further Rigour; and becauſe *Francis* had urg'd him to declare himſelf, he ſent over *Clarenceaux* his Herald, declaring, 'That ſince *Francis* was the Infringer of the common Peace, the King of *England* muſt join with the Emperor againſt him.' Upon which Ambaſſadors were recall'd on both Sides, and War expected. Howbeit, as the Lord *Brook*, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *John Beachy*, and Sir *Edward Belknap*, all brave Commanders, dy'd about this time, of Poiſon or a Peſtilential Air; ſo King *Henry* loſt thoſe whoſe Service he now moſt needed.

The Emperor comes into England.

Still the Cardinal kept up his Reputation to the Height, and perform'd ſeveral popular Acts; and as the Manner of the moſt ſubtle Favourites is uſually to do great rather than good Actions, ſo this Cardinal, by the perpetual Variation he ſeem'd to cauſe in the Affairs of *Chriſtendom*, not only held the Minds of the People in Suſpence, but render'd his Counſels more conſiderable to the King, than if he had purſu'd any one ſingle Way. The laſt Change of which he was Author, had its Beginning at *Bruges*, where among other Things, the Emperor reſolv'd to repair to *England*, particularly to conſult King *Henry* concerning the Affairs of *Europe*, and to treat of a Marriage between him and the King's Daughter the Princeſs *Mary*; and laſtly, which was a ſingular Pleaſure to King *Henry*, be perſonally inſtall'd of the Order of the *Garter* at *Windſor*, while he himſelf ſat there as Chief. And now for the more magnificent Reception of the Emperor, the Marqueſs *Dorſet* was ſent to *Calais*, and the Cardinal with a glorious Train to *Dover*; where upon the twenty ſixth Day of *May* he aſſur'd that Prince of his Welcome, which King *Henry* in Perſon ſoon after confirm'd. From hence the King conducted him to his Palace at *Greenwich*, where the Queen his Aunt receiv'd him with extraordinary Joy. Here to honour the Emperor's Preſence, Royal Juſts and Tourneys were appointed; where the King, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and ten Aſſiſtants, bravely kept the Place againſt the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and ten other Aſſiſtants on their Part. On the ſixth of *June* the King and Emperor, with all their Trains rode into *London*, where the City receiv'd them with all the Ornaments and Magnificence of a Coronation; and the Emperor was lodg'd at the *Black-Friars*, and all his Lords in the new Palace of *Bridewell*. On *Whit-Sunday* the King and Emperor rode to the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s, where the Cardinal ſung High-Maſs with an unuſual Pomp; in the Beginning of which two Barons gave him Water; after the Goſpel, two Earls; and at the laſt Lavatary two Dukes held the Baſon, which rais'd the Indignation of ſome of the *Spaniards*. After many Entertainments, they both repair'd to *Windſor*, where on the nineteenth Day of *June*, the Emperor wearing the Robes of the Order, and ſitting in his Stall, accompany'd the other Knights in all his Rites and Ceremonies uſual at that Time. Which being done, the two great Monarchs receiv'd the Sacrament together, and ſwore upon the Holy Evangeliſts to obſerve the League concluded between them: The Subſtance of which was, 'That they ſhould unite their Powers againſt King *Francis*, and that the Emperor ſhould marry the Princeſs *Mary*, when ſhe ſhould be at a proper Age.' Beſides which, the Emperor gave his Oath to ſave King *Henry* harmleſs for all the Sums of Money and Penſions, which were or ſhould be due to him from King *Francis* upon former Agreements.

He is inſtall'd Knight of the Garter.

He is convoy'd by the Engliſh *Admiral to* Spain.

Shortly after the Emperor took his Leave of the King, and repair'd to *Southampton*, where the Earl of *Surry*, the *Engliſh* Admiral, attended as his Convoy, who by a particular Patent had alſo been conſtituted Admiral to the Emperor, on the eighth Day of *June*. This Earl having accepted of that Honour by King *Henry*'s Conſent, landed his Men in *Normandy* near *Cherbourg*; and having deſtroy'd the adjacent Parts, all but Religious Houſes, he return'd to *Portland*. From whence ſetting Sail a ſecond time, he landed near *Morlais* in *Bretaign*, and with ſeven thouſand Men march'd thither; where he fortunately enter'd the Town, which was ſoon plunder'd and burnt, and a rich Booty carry'd to the Fleet. After which the Earl caus'd ſixteen or ſeventeen *French* Ships, which he found on the Coaſts, to be burnt: And then leaving his Vice-Admiral to ſcour the Seas, he made certain Knights for their good Services, and return'd to *Southampton*, from whence he ſafely convoy'd the Emperor to his Kingdom of *Spain*. In the mean time divers inferior Exploits paſs'd between the Garriſons of *Calais* and *Bologn*, in which the *French* were for the moſt Part Loſers. Likewiſe at the ſame time the Lords *Roſs* and *Dacres* of the *North*, appointed to keep the Borders againſt *Scotland*, burnt the Town of *Kelſie*, and fourſcore Villages, and overthrew eighteen Towers of Stone, with all their Bulwarks. Shortly after the Duke of *Albany*, being eſtabliſh'd Governor of *Scotland*, rais'd an Army of eighty thouſand Men, as ſome write, with which he approach'd the Borders, but made no Invaſion, concluding that the Name of ſuch an Army would terrify the *Engliſh*. But this did not hinder the Marqueſs *Dorſet* from entring into *Tividale*, and to *Galloway*, where he burnt many Towns and Villages, and carry'd away four thouſand Head of Cattle.

The King, to raiſe Money, makes a Survey of the Nation.

Theſe Warlike Exploits being expenſive, oblig'd the King to make uſe of his Subjects Affections; the better to underſtand which, he caus'd a general Muſter or Deſcription to be made of all his Kingdom, commanding 'that each hundred ſhould certify the Names of all above ſixteen Years of Age: That they ſhould repair to a certain Place aſſign'd with their Arms, declare their Names, their Pariſhes, the Lords and Parſons of each Town, the Worth of the Lands and Benefices, and alſo the Eſtates and Revenues, as well as the Employments and Occupations of every particular Perſon:' So that this Survey was almoſt in the Nature of another *Domeſday* Book. The King rejoic'd to find his Kingdom ſo ſtrong and wealthy; yet as he was not ready for a Parliament, he borrow'd of the Citizens of *London* twenty thouſand Pounds, and ſent Privy Seals to ſeveral other rich Perſons of the Kingdom; in conſequence of which he demanded a Loan of the Tenth of the Temporality, and a Fourth of the Spirituality: All which extraordinary Ways of furniſhing the preſent Neceſſities, yet ended in a Parliament the next Year. The King having thus rais'd ſome Money, proclaim'd open War againſt *France*, unleſs that King made Peace with the Pope or Emperor; and accordingly commanded the Earl of *Surry*, after his Attempts by Sea, to go over to *Calais*, and with convenient Forces to join with *Florence d'Egmond*, General of the Emperor's Troops. Theſe meeting between *Ardres* and St. *Omers*, ſpoil'd and burnt all the Villages in their Way, till they came to *Heſdin*, in which the *French* had put a ſtrong Garriſon. But *Autumn* being far advanc'd, and the Weather unſeaſonable, they only could take the Town; the Caſtle being too ſtrong to be attempted at this Seaſon. They march'd therefore towards *Dourlans*, which they took and burnt, with all the adjoining Villages. The Seaſon ſtill continuing foul, and the *Engliſh* very unhealthful, the Army diſſolv'd, and the ſooner, becauſe the two Generals could not agree about their Deſigns. Yet before the Earl of *Surry* departed, he burnt *Marquiſe*, and ſome other Places near the *Engliſh* Pale; after which he return'd Home, and gave the King an Account of his Expedition.

A. D.
1523.
Reg. 14/15.
A Parliament meets.

By the Methods of the Cardinal, as it is believ'd, Parliaments had been diſus'd for about ſeven Years; but now it was thought neceſſary to call one upon the Fifteenth of *April*, to be held at the *Black-Friars* in *London*; and here the Cardinal took care, that the Spirituality ſhould lead the Way. The Buſineſs of a Subſidy therefore being brought into the Convocation, in general met with a fair Paſſage; yet *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Phillips* a Canon of *Paul*'s oppos'd it. But the induſtrious Cardinal ſilencing ſome, and cauſing others to abſent themſelves, ſo far prevail'd, that one half of the Spiritual Revenues for one Year was granted, to be paid in five Years following. From hence the Cardinal went to the Houſe of Commons, where in an eloquent Oration, 'Breach of Faith was charg'd upon the *French* King, upon the League ſworn for the general Peace of *Chriſtendom*: And beſides, the Default of Payment for *Tournay*, and other Matters were objected; ſo that the King could do no leſs in this publick Cauſe, than join in War againſt him with *Charles* the Emperor. And becauſe the Charge of it was judg'd to amount to eight hundred thouſand Pounds, it was requir'd that the foreſaid Sum might be rais'd out of the Fifth of every Man's Lands and Goods, to be paid in four Years.' This being propos'd, the next Day Sir *Thomas More*, Speaker of the Houſe, enforc'd this Demand, demonſtrating 'how it was not unreaſonable on this important Occaſion, to pay four Shillings in the Pound.' To this many Replies were made, and Objections rais'd; as it was alledg'd, That of the thirteen thouſand Pariſhes then in *England*, the greateſt Part of them could not regularly produce a hundred Marks. At laſt, after ſome Debate and Contention, it was agreed that every Man's Eſtate of twenty Pound yearly, ſhould pay two Shillings in the Pound; and from twenty Pound a Year downwards to forty Shillings, one Shilling in the Pound; and under forty Shillings, every Head of ſixteen and upwards, ſhould pay four Pence in

Aids granted for War againſt France.

two Years. The Cardinal hearing no more intended, with great Warmth enter'd the Houſe of Commons, and told that great Aſſembly, *That he deſir'd to reaſon with thoſe who oppos'd his Demands*; but being anſwer'd, *That it was the Order of that Houſe to hear, and not to reaſon but among themſelves*, the Cardinal departed without Satisfaction. Yet by the liberal Motion of ſome, thoſe of fifty Pounds Land and upwards, were induc'd to add one Shilling more, for three Years to come; which at length being continu'd to the fourth Year, was all that could be obtain'd. In this Parliament a College of Phyſicians was erected, and many Privileges granted to the Members of it: And alſo an Act paſs'd, That the King ſhould have Authority for Life by his Letters-Patents to reverſe and annul all Attainders of High-Treaſon, and to reſtore their Heirs, *&c.* As there had been no Parliament call'd for ſeven Years before this, ſo by the Cardinal's Means there was none ſummon'd for ſeven Years after. Then by Virtue of his *Legantine* Authority, the Cardinal diſſolv'd the Convocation at St. *Paul*'s, convok'd by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and call'd him, and all the Clergy, to St. *Peter*'s at *Weſtminſter*, but we do not find any thing material tranſacted.

The King of Denmark *viſits King* Henry.

In the mean Time the *Scots* joining with the *French*, began again to threaten the *Engliſh* Nation; but after ſome Struggles, they were ſo diſcourag'd, that a ſhort Truce was made between the two Kingdoms. This gave King *Henry* Opportunity of proſecuting more important Affairs, in Foreign Countries. But before he could bring them to any great Effect, *Chriſtian* the Second, King of *Denmark*, being by his Subjects expell'd his own Country, came from *Flanders* into *England* with his Queen, and a ſmall Retinue ſuitable to their Misfortunes. This did not hinder them from finding a Reception worthy of their Quality; and Queen *Katharine*, being Aunt to the other of *Denmark*, took particular Compaſſion on them. Therefore after all manner of Royal Entertainment, for the Space of about three Weeks, and divers rich Preſents beſtow'd upon them, they thought fit, upon ſome new Hopes of Recovering their Kingdom, to return into *Flanders*.

An Army ſent into France *under the Duke of* Suffolk.

The Progreſs of it.

And now King *Henry* began to ſhew himſelf more and more vigorous againſt the *French*; and in the Month of *Auguſt* ſent over the Duke of *Suffolk*, attended by the Lords *Montague*, *Herbert*, *Ferrers*, *Mowney*, *Sands*, *Berkley*, and *Powis*, with divers other Knights and Gentlemen, and about thirteen thouſand Men. With this ſmall but ſelect Army, the Duke march'd from *Calais* into the Enemy's Country, and took ſeveral inferior Places; then joining with the Emperor's General *Florence d' Agmond*, the Army amounted to twenty thouſand ſtrong; yet it being near the End of *September*, and the Weather more unſeaſonable than uſual for that Month, it was difficult to perform any great Action. King *Henry* order'd them to begin with *Boloign*, but the *Imperialiſts* alledg'd it was impregnable, and that for entering *France*, it was better to coaſt the River *Somme*, which they did, with Deſign to come to Battel. But finding no Forces in the Field, they beſieged *Bray* on the River *Somme*, in which Place was a ſtrong Garriſon; but a Breach being made by the *Engliſh*, and furiouſly attack'd, the Governor ſet Fire to the Town, and fled over the Bridge, with the Remainder of his Men, with great Loſs. From hence paſſing over the *Somme*, they march'd towards *Roye*, taking ſome leſſer Places by the Way. This Town being ſummon'd, and promiſing to yield, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, with four hundred Men, was ſent to take Poſſeſſion of it. From thence the Army advanc'd towards *Montdidier*, being oppos'd in the Way by two Commanders, who were at laſt taken Priſoners, with ſome others of Note. In *Montdidier* there was a Garriſon of twelve hundred Men, under the Command of *Roche-baron*; but after ſome few Hours Diſcharge of the Cannon, they capitulated and ſurrender'd. The Duke with his Army had now paſs'd the River *Oyſe*, and was come within eleven Leagues of *Paris* it ſelf; which threw the Citizens into a terrible Conſternation. Nor could the Arrival of Monſieur *de Vendoſme* with ſome Forces, cure them of their Fears. But the Seaſon being far advanc'd, and the Weather ſo extreamly cold, that almoſt all the Corn in *France* was frozen and deſtroy'd this Year, the Army was forc'd to return; eſpecially ſince the Lady Regent in the *Low-Countries* withdrew the Pay from her Soldiers, and let all the Charge fall upon King *Henry*. However they took the Caſtle of *Bouchain* near the Emperor's Territories, before they broke up; which notwithſtanding, with the other Places, was ſoon recover'd by the *French*. Thus ended this Year's Campaign, to the Diſſatisfaction of King *Henry*, it being more to the Terror of *France*, than the Advantage of *England*.

King *Francis* was at the ſame time turning his Forces againſt *Italy*, when on the fourteenth Day of *September* Pope *Adrian* dy'd, by Poiſon, as it was believ'd. The News of this rouz'd the Ambition of Cardinal *Wolſey*, who, by Letters to King *Henry*, humbly intreated him to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt in this important Affair, and likewiſe to write with his own Hand to the Emperor for his Intereſt in this Matter. But notwithſtanding all theſe Endeavours, the Emperor a ſecond Time fail'd him, and *Julio de Medici* was made Pope, by the Name of *Clement* the Seventh: Upon which, *Wolſey* artificially diſſembling his Reſentments, thought fit in Juſtification of his Merits to write again to the King, declaring, 'That the Election was not 'ſo clearly carry'd, but that many of the Cardinals were 'for him; tho' by reaſon of his Abſence, and the dangerous State of *Italy*, which call'd for preſent Remedies, 'they inſiſted on the other.' Whereupon it was thought fit by the King and Cardinal to diſpatch an Embaſſy to the new Pope, to congratulate his Election, and to deſire him to continue his former Diſaffection to *France*, and to give publick Teſtimonies of it according to the Greatneſs of the Power inveſted in him. The Cardinal alſo, by a particular Diſpatch, deſir'd *Richard Pace*, then at *Rome*, to procure an Enlargement of his *Legantine* Authority; proteſting, 'That by reaſon of the King's Prerogative and other 'Cauſes, it was not a thouſand Ducats yearly to him; yet 'if his Power and Faculties might be increas'd, it ſhould 'be thankfully acknowledg'd.' To all which Pope *Clement* condeſcended, and the *Legantine* Power, which formerly had been granted only for five Years at a Time, was now, by a new Precedent, given him for Term of Life. Thus, to comfort him after his Repulſe at *Rome*, the Cardinal had a kind of a Papal Authority in *England*; of which he made the utmoſt Uſe: For forming vaſt Things in his Mind, and deſigning two famous Colleges to be erected; one at his native Place *Ipſwich*, and the other at *Oxford*, towards the carrying on of thoſe Works, he ſoon procur'd a Bull from the Pope to ſuppreſs ſeveral of the leſſer Monaſteries in *England*. In this he met with ſome Difficulties from the King; but *Henry*, who often wanted Mony, conſidering, 'That if for his urgent Occaſions he was oblig'd 'at any Time to ſeize on the other Religious Houſes, he 'might this way diſcover how the People ſtood affected,' at laſt granted his Requeſt. And King *Henry* thus concurring with the Pope, who, in favour of the Cardinal, gave way to this Suppreſſion, that Overture was firſt made; which being afterwards purſu'd by the King's ſole Authority, became in Time the final Ruin of all the Monaſteries in *England*.

Wolſey *a ſecond Time aſpires to the Papacy in vain.*

He gets his Power enlarg'd.

His vaſt Deſigns.

A. D. 1524. Reg. $\frac{15}{16}$.

Actions with the Scots.

The *Scots*, the ancient Confederates of the *French*, began again to threaten the *Engliſh* Nation, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Albany*, who had lately been in *France*, and now approach'd the *Engliſh* Borders with a numerous Army. Hearing that the Earl of *Surry*, now, by his Father's Death, Duke of *Norfolk*, was aiming againſt him with a mighty Power, he ſent an Herald to him, promiſing upon his Honour *to give him Battel, and if he took him Priſoner, to give him good Quarter*: To which the *Engliſh* Duke ſeverely anſwer'd, *That he would not fail to ſtand Battel; but if he took him Priſoner, the Quarter he would give him, ſhould be to cut off his Head, and ſend it for a Preſent to his Maſter the King of* England. The *Engliſh* Forces lying at *Alnewick*, were join'd by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, the Lords *Clifford*, *Dacres*, *Lumley*, *Ogle* and *Darcy*, with many Knights and Gentlemen; in all compoſing an Army of about forty thouſand Men. In *October*, the Duke of *Albany* ſent two or three thouſand Men over the Water to beſiege the Caſtle of *Warke*; who by the Battery of their Ordnance, won the outward Work call'd the *Barnekins*; and continuing their Batteries, won the ſecond Work; but then Sir *William Liſle*, Governor of the Caſtle, ſally'd out with thoſe few he had left, and bravely repell'd the *French* Soldiers from the Place, with the Deaths of three hundred of them: A memorable Service, for which the Duke of *Norfolk* afterwards gave him particular Thanks. This brave Duke would gladly have follow'd his Enemies to their own Country, but only his Commiſſion was to defend *England*, and not to invade *Scotland*. Shortly after, Queen *Margaret*, Mother to the young King of the *Scots*, ſent to her Brother King *Henry* for a Ceſſation of Arms, 'till they might conveniently have a further Communication; which being granted, the *Engliſh* Army broke up, and the Duke of *Norfolk* return'd to Court. In the latter End of the Year, and the Beginning of the next, Ambaſſadors from *Scotland* did negociate a Peace, and ſhewing that the Lords of *Scotland* were content to relinquiſh the *French*, upon Condition that a Marriage might be ſecur'd between their young King and the Princeſs *Mary*; but they requir'd that the Promiſe by which ſhe was ingag'd to the Emperor, might firſt be diſcharg'd. King *Henry* anſwer'd, he would firſt confer with the Emperor about it, and therefore nothing was concluded at this Time but a Truce for three Years and a half. The Emperor hearing of this Treaty, diſpatch'd an Embaſſy from *Flanders* to require that the Princeſs *Mary* might be deliver'd to him, promiſing hereupon to declare her Empreſs, and make her Governor of the *Low-Countries*; her Dower

A Truce concluded with them.

was alſo requir'd to be paid immediately, and that King *Henry* in Perſon would the next Year invade the Kingdom of *France*.

But before King *Henry* could give a perfect Anſwer to theſe Particulars, there happen'd a remarkable Change of Affairs, which did not only affect the Kingdom of *France*, but had an Influence upon a great Part of *Europe*. King *Francis* had this Year vigorouſly purſu'd his warlike Deſigns in *Italy*, in order to recover the Dukedom of *Milan*; and becauſe the Duke of *Bourbon*, out of great Diſguſt, had revolted from him, and was made General of the Emperor's Forces in *Italy*, King *Francis* warmly purſu'd him, and cloſely beſieg'd him in the City of *Pavia*. This Duke had alſo receiv'd particular Encouragement, and conſtant Pay from the King of *England*; but by means of the ambitious Cardinal, who had ſecret Reſentments againſt the Emperor, the Pay was ſuddenly ſtopp'd or withdrawn. This hapning at the Time when the Duke was beſieg'd by the *French* King in *Pavia*, it drove him to ſuch a Degree of Fear and Deſpair, that he reſolv'd upon a moſt dangerous Eſcape. In the midſt of a dark Night he order'd Part of his Men to attack the Beſiegers on the weakeſt Side of the Town, while he ſally'd privately out of a Poſtern on the contrary Side. The Watch being ſlender, and the Soldiers in a ſecure Sleep, a mighty Terror aroſe, in which the Beſiegers turn'd their Ordnance to the Place of the Outcry, when as ſuddenly *Bourbon* gaining upon their Backs, won all their Artillery, diſcharg'd them againſt their Owners, ſlew their Soldiers, cut down their Tents; and laſtly, by the Viceroy of *Naples*, the *French* King himſelf was taken Priſoner in the Field; behaving himſelf with the Courage and Bravery of a Monarch, both before and during his Captivity. This remarkable Accident happen'd on the twenty fourth Day of *February* 152$\frac{4}{5}$.

Francis *the* French *King taken Priſoner by the* Imperialiſts.

A. D. 1525.

Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.

K. Henry's *Proceedings upon it.*

V. King *Henry* had now a greater Opportunity than ever of exerting his Power, and diſplaying his Grandeur in the general Affairs of *Europe*; yet he was very cautious how to proceed upon ſo unexpected a Change. When the News was brought to *England*, in Council it was thought fit the King ſhould comply with his Confederate *Charles*, in giving ſome publick Demonſtration of Joy. Therefore the King going to St. *Paul*'s, and cauſing a Maſs to be ſung in a more ſolemn Manner than ordinary, ſeem'd to celebrate the Victory; tho' inwardly he was not ſo well ſatisfy'd with it: For, as he conſider'd the Emperor now grown to a Greatneſs ſcarce allowable with Reaſon of State, or due Terms of Neighbourhood, he deliberated with his Council what was moſt proper to be done next. Whereupon it was thought fit immediately to ſend Ambaſſadors into *Spain*, to repreſent to the Emperor, 'How that this 'War being made at a common Charge, it was reaſonable 'that both ſhould receive the Fruit of it: That the Part to 'which the King of *England* pretended, was Inheritance 'in *France*, which he deſir'd might be reſtor'd; in which 'the Emperor's beſt Aſſiſtance could not be doubted, both 'becauſe it was juſt in it ſelf, and agreeable to their late 'Treaty; by Virtue of which he was to require the Emperor to proceed in levying Forces againſt *France*, in which 'his Majeſty would likewiſe concur. Nor was it to be 'doubted that the Empetor would decline this Motion, 'ſince he himſelf would finally reap the Benefit of it; for 'as his Majeſty was reſolv'd to ratify and confirm the intended Match between the Emperor and the Princeſs *Mary*, who was Heir not only to the Crown of *England*, 'but to all the Titles in *France*, ſo all at laſt would devolve upon him; which therefore might be thought ſo 'advantageous, that he could not think it unreaſonable to 'deliver up King *Francis* into his Majeſty's Hands, upon 'conſigning the Princeſs to his.' This Advice being approv'd by all, an Embaſſy was diſpatch'd into *Spain*; in which it was further offer'd, That the Princeſs *Mary* ſhould be deliver'd into the Emperor's Hands, upon proper Conditions. But the Emperor being reſolv'd that none ſhould partake of the Profit or Honour of the late Victory, the Embaſſie found no real Reception in *Spain*; upon which King *Henry* return'd to that brave and wiſe Reſolution he had formerly taken, to make himſelf Arbiter of *Chriſtendom*, and to puniſh him who interrupted the publick Peace. To which he had alſo many other Inducements: For the Lady *Margaret* of *Flanders*, who by Articles was to have rais'd Forces againſt the *French*, began already to treat with them for an Accommodation; and when Demand was made for the Payment of the Mony lent to the Emperor in his greateſt Neceſſity, nothing was return'd but a dilatory Excuſe. Nor was the King ignorant of the Treaty which the Emperor had already begun for the ranſoming of *Francis*; of a Match propos'd with *Iſabella* Princeſs of *Portugal*, which reflected on his Daughter's Reputation. Laſtly the Pope's Breve, repreſenting the Danger of *Chriſtendom* from the increaſing Proſperity of the *Turks*, had ſo prevail'd with King *Henry*, that he thought fit to lay aſide all Ambition to recover his Inheritance in *France*, and to endeavour for an Univerſal Peace.

His brave Reſolves.

In Purſuance of this laudable Deſign, as the Remembrance of the obliging Interview between King *Henry* and *Francis* did not operate a little, ſo the Reputation that the latter had gain'd by his Courage in this laſt Action, had kindled in our generous King's Mind a compaſſionate Zeal for his Delivery. Therefore at the Requeſt of the King of *France*'s Mother, who had much diſpos'd King *Henry* to return to his ancient Friendſhip, he ſent particular Orders to his Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, to intercede for the Liberty of King *Francis*; who had already begun the Way in a particular Letter to the Emperor, in which he declar'd, 'That 'the greateſt Comfort he found in this abandon'd Condition, was his falling into the Hands of ſo generous a Prince, 'who would not oblige him to what might be unjuſt to require, or impoſſible to perform: That he therefore hop'd 'ſufficient Security would be accepted for his Freedom, 'ſince inſtead of detaining an unuſeful Priſoner, he ſhould 'make a King his Slave; when it was more advantageous 'to have him a faithful Friend, than to ſuffer him to die in 'Deſperation.' None yet was ſo vigilant and intentive in this Affair, or the general Good of the Kingdom, as Madam *Loviſa*, his Mother, and Regent of *France*, who by many forcible and reiterated Embaſſies, drew moſt of the Chriſtian Potentates and Republicks to favour the Deliverance of her Son. The Emperor finding ſuch powerful Interceſſions, of his own Accord ſent ſome Propoſitions and Articles to the Captive King; ſome of which were ſo hard and diſpleaſing to him, that he is ſaid to have drawn his Dagger, crying, *It is better for a King of* France *to die after this Manner*; but was prevented from uſing it by one of his Attendants. Yet to gratifie the Emperor he gave Order that two of the chief Priſoners, mention'd in the Propoſals, ſhould be ſet at Liberty. And after that, new Conditions were offer'd the Emperor, which tho' advantageous in themſelves, yet ſeveral Objections were rais'd againſt them, and nothing was concluded. About this Time the Emperor holding his *Cortes* or Parliament at *Toledo*, among other things it was petition'd by the Eſtates aſſembled, that 'the 'Emperor being now of Age to marry, ſhould take to his 'Wife *Iſabella* the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, and not the Princeſs *Mary* of *England*;' which was very agreeable to the Mind of him, who now aſpir'd to univerſal Monarchy.

His deſigns to releaſe the French *King.*

The *French* King being weary of his Reſtraint in *Italy*, at length procur'd himſelf to be remov'd into *Spain*, reputing his Change of Priſon as a ſecond Liberty. Being brought to *Madrid*, he fell ſo dangerouſly ſick, that the Phyſicians had little Hopes of his Life, unleſs the Emperor would be pleas'd ſpeedily to viſit him; upon whoſe Viſitation, in which there was a pathetick Interview, he ſoon recover'd his Health, tho' not immediately his Strength. Here new Propoſitions were made for his Deliverance, and new Objections were rais'd againſt them. In the mean Time the Pope, the *Venetians* and Princes of *Italy*, leagu'd together in Defence of the common Cauſe againſt the Emperor, and invited King *Henry* into the Treaty; nor did it leſſen their Suſpicion of *Charles*'s aiming at univerſal Monarchy, becauſe upon his taking *Francis* Priſoner, he wrote to the King of *England* and Princes of *Italy*, 'That he 'ſhould not take it well if any of them diſturb'd the Dominions of *Francis*, ſince being his Priſoner, he could do 'no leſs than protect him againſt all others.' Madam *Loviſa* the *French* Regent continu'd her Meſſages to King *Henry*, to procure his Aſſiſtance for the Redemption of her Son; 'till at length a Treaty for that Purpoſe was concluded at *Moore*, *Auguſt* the thirtieth, in which was to be an Amneſty of all Injuries done in the late Wars between *England* and *France*, and other Articles confirm'd. And by another Treaty this Year at *Lyons*, the Regent oblig'd herſelf to pay all the Arrears due to King *Henry*'s Siſter *Mary*, by Virtue of her Marriage with *Lewis* the Twelfth, and alſo to ſuffer her to enjoy her Jointure without Moleſtation. At length the Emperor concluded a Match with his Neice *Iſabella* of *Portugal*; alledging for his Excuſe to King *Henry*, 'That at the Petition of his States aſſembled 'at *Toledo* he had comply'd with his Subjects Deſires, which 'he hop'd would be underſtood as no Breach of Friendſhip.' King *Henry*, conſidering the tender Age of his Daughter, and that it was incongruous to allie himſelf with a Prince againſt whom he might ſoon draw his Sword, ſeem'd well ſatisfy'd to relinquiſh the Match upon mutual Conſent. After which time the Intimacy and Amity between them became ſo remiſs, that at length it was wholly diſſolv'd: Inſomuch that the Ambaſſadors on both Sides were recall'd, and the Emperor, who before us'd to ſign all his Letters by the Title of *Son* and *Kinſman*, from henceforwards only ſubſcrib'd *Charles*. It was the leſs to be wonder'd, that the Emperor began now to take ſuch State upon him, ſince a richer Booty than that of *Francis* fell into his Hands, that is, the Empire of *Peru*, where the Golden Mines of *Potoſi* and many others were firſt diſcover'd.

He makes a Treaty with France.

The Emperor declines in his Friendſhip to King Henry.

While

Some Diſturbances in England *about raiſing of Money.*

While Affairs thus paſs'd in foreign Parts, King *Henry*, who well knew that to maintain a ſure Peace at home was almoſt as expenſive as the making War abroad, adviſ'd with his Council how to provide himſelf with Money. Yet as the Cardinal had undertaken the King ſhould never want, as long as he might manage the publick Affairs, ſo they gladly diſcharg'd themſelves on him. But the Harmony of Government conſiſts in ſuch a nice Proportion, that no one Part can ſafely be ſtrain'd higher, unleſs the reſt can be well tun'd to it. And this appear'd in the Actions of this Year, when Commiſſions being granted out into all the Counties of *England*, for levying the ſixth Part of every Lay-Man's Goods, and the fourth of the Clergies, the People in general were ſo diſguſted, that they were ready to break out into Rebellion; alledging not only their own Poverty, but that the Commiſſions were againſt Law. The King upon this reſolv'd to diſavow the whole Proceeding; and by Letters to all Parts, declar'd, *He expected nothing from them but by Way of Benevolence.* This procur'd the Cardinal many Curſes, and the King as many Bleſſings; notwithſtanding under the Name of *Benevolence*, he requir'd great Sums of all his Subjects, and particularly the Citizens of *London*. This Way was likewiſe oppos'd by many, eſpecially in the Country, where ſome Perſons took up Arms; but by the Perſuaſion of the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* they ſubmitted themſelves, and were brought to *London*, and there ſecur'd. The King perſiſting in his Intention not to puniſh any on this Occaſion, brought the Matter to the Council-Table; where the Cardinal by way of Apology declar'd, 'He had done nothing without firſt adviſing with the Judges, who poſitively affirmed the King might lawfully demand any Sum by Commiſſion, and that the Council of State confirm'd this Method.' But the King declaring, 'That he was aſſur'd his Subjects were richer than he found them by this Commiſſion,' all the Blame was charg'd on the falſe Informers, and Pardon granted to all thoſe who deny'd the former Benevolence. Hereupon the Delinquents were brought to the *Star-Chamber*, where after a ſevere Reprimand given them, the Cardinal ſaid, 'That notwithſtanding their great Offences, the King in Conſideration of their Neceſſities, had granted them his moſt gracious Pardon, upon Condition they gave in Sureties for their good Behaviours.' But they replying, *They had no Sureties*, the Cardinal, to ſhew a popular Act, offer'd with the Duke of *Norfolk* to ſtand bound for them, at which they were diſcharg'd.

The Exorbitant Power of Wolſey.

The King's Pleaſures, *and natural Iſſue.*

The prodigious Cardinal, who by the Concurrence of the Papal and Regal Authority, had ſuppreſs'd ſeveral Monaſteries, and given ſuch a Terror to the reſt, as to draw large Sums from them, would not ſo deſiſt, but ſtill continu'd his Purpoſes of converting the Profits of all thoſe to other Uſes, which by any Colour might be reputed Supernumerary. And having thus eſtabliſh'd his extenſive Authority, he was judg'd by this Time, between Viſitations, making of Abbots, Probates of Teſtaments, granting of Faculties, Licenſes, and Diſpenſations, and many other Ways, beſides the great Penſions he had from Foreign Princes, to have made his Treaſury equal to the King's, notwithſtanding the Sums he often tranſmitted to *Rome*. In which way of enriching himſelf, his Agent *John Allen*, accompany'd with a great Train, and riding from one Religious Houſe to another, in a kind of perpetual Progreſs, or Viſitation, did the Cardinal no ſmall Service. But as this at laſt became a pubick Grievance, ſo the King took Notice of it in ſo ſharp a Manner, that the Cardinal was inforc'd not only to excuſe himſelf with much Submiſſion, but alſo to promiſe Amendment; proteſting withal, *That in his laſt Will and Teſtament, he had left a great Part of his Eſtate to his Highneſs*. He did not only oblige the King by this, but likewiſe having now built his fair Palace at *Hampton-Court*, and wiſely conſidering how it would increaſe Mens Envy againſt him, he freely gave it to the King, who in Exchange permitted him to live in *Richmond* Houſe. He always took Care to ſooth the warm Monarch in promoting all his private Pleaſures, in which he was often too great a Sharer with his Maſter. One of the Liberties the King took at his leiſure Hours, was to follow the Charms of Love: For as all Things concurr'd, his noble Preſence and Perſon being further exalted by his high Dignity and Valour, it was not ſtrange, if among ſo many beautiful Ladies at Court, and ſuch a Cardinal to encourage him, he both gave and receiv'd Temptation. Among whom Mrs. *Elizabeth Blunt*, Daughter to Sir *John Blunt*, was thought, for her rare Ornaments of Nature and Education, to be the Miracle of her Time; which caus'd ſuch a ſecret Intimacy between them, as ſhe bore him a Son. This Child proving ſo equally like both his Parents, that he became the beſt Emblem of their mutual Affection, he was call'd *Henry Fitz-Roy* by the King, and ſo much avow'd by him, that having at this Time attain'd the Age of ſix Years, he was publickly made a Knight, and the ſame Day created Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*, Lieutenant-General beyond *Trent*, and Warden-General of the Borders of *Scotland*, and ſhortly after Admiral of *England:* And he was the more cheriſh'd by the King, becauſe he now expected no Iſſue Male from his Queen.

A. D. 1526. Reg. $\frac{17}{18}$.

The French *King releaſed upon hard Terms.*

Such was the generous Diſpoſition of King *Henry*, that he not only interceded for the Captive King *Francis*, but likewiſe for the expell'd King *Chriſtian* of *Denmark*. Therefore he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Denmark*, to perſuade his Subjects to recall him Home; from whence nothing had ſo much chac'd him as the Guilt and Horror of ſhedding ſo much Blood among his People; but the exaſperated *Danes* poſitively refus'd either him or his Son. But he had better Succeſs as to the Liberty of the *French* King, which after a Year's Captivity, was obtain'd upon very hard Terms, if any Thing can be hard that ſets a King out of Priſon. For in the Beginning of this Year, a Treaty between the Emperor and the *French* King was concluded, call'd, *The Concord of* Madrid, conſiſting of forty four Articles, and more Particulars. Among many other Matters it was agreed, 'That on the ſame Day *Francis* was ſet at Liberty, his two Sons the *Dauphine* and the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould be deliver'd as Hoſtages into the Emperor's Hands: After which *Francis* was to deliver up the Dukedome of *Burgundy* to the Emperor, reſtore the Duke of *Bourbon* and all his Friends, marry the Emperor's Siſter *Leonora*, and indemnify the Emperor againſt all Demands on the Part of the King of *England*.' All which at large being ſolemnly ratify'd, and ſworn on both Sides, on the eighteenth of *March* the *French* King was exchang'd for his two Sons on the Borders of *France* with unuſual Niceneſs and Formality; and being once at Liberty, he immediately mounted a Fleet Horſe, and riding with the greateſt Swiftneſs cry'd out, *I'm a King*, *I'm a King!* in ſuch a Manner, as tho' he then deſign'd to have little Regard to the late Treaty. King *Henry* having been a Principal Agent in this Affair, both as to his Captivity and Deliverance, he immediately diſpatch'd Sir *Thomas Cheyney* to congratulate his ſafe Return, and to take his Oath to the Treaty of *Moore*; which *Francis* accepting, ſent a Meſſenger to inform King *Henry* of the Conditions of his Delivery, and to acknowledge that he chiefly ow'd his Liberty to him; which Acts of Civility, afterwards produc'd a more firm Correſpondency between theſe two Monarchs. By the Treaty of *Moore*, it was agreed that the *French* King ſhould pay two Millions of Crowns to the King of *England*, at ſome appointed Days; and after that to pay to King *Henry* during Life, the annual Sum of a hundred thouſand Crowns.

The Clementine *League againſt the Emperor.*

Not long after a new famous League was made between the Pope and *Francis*, the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, call'd by the Name of the *Clementine League*, and ſign'd at *Coignac* in *France*, *May* the twenty ſecond, by which the Pope abſolv'd the *French* King from the Oath he had ſworn at *Madrid*, and they all united againſt the Emperor, and further declar'd the King of *England Protector of the League*. Upon which King *Henry*, debating in Council how he ſhould act in this Affair, it was nicely and ſuccinctly determin'd, *That he ought not to be a Party, where he might be a Judge*.

The French *King departs from his Articles with the Emperor.*

The Emperor was exceedingly alarm'd at this League, and ſolemnly proteſted againſt Pope *Clement* as an ungrateful Perſon, who by his Favour had been made both Cardinal and Pope, notwithſtanding ſome Allegations that he was ſpurious, and uncapable of either of thoſe Dignities. He exclaim'd againſt the *French* King, as perjur'd and falſe, and againſt the *Venetians*, as wavering and unconſtant: However, his principal Care was to intangle and divide them. And tho' in *Italy*, upon publiſhing the League by the Pope, they levy'd their appointed Numbers, yet *Francis* being in Hopes of the Reſtitution of his Children, delay'd ſo much on his Part, that the Imperial Army gain'd ſuch Advantage, that *Sforza* was conſtrain'd to yield the Dukedom of *Milan*, and fly to the *Italian* Army under the Duke of *Urbin*. About the ſame Time the Emperor was inform'd, That in Conſequence of the Pope's Relaxation of *Francis*'s Oath, the Parliament of *Paris* and the King's Council had totally diſannull'd the Treaty of *Madrid*, as being concluded by a Perſon under Conſtraint and Impriſonment. Further, to colour this Refuſal, *Francis* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Spain*, again to aſſure the Emperor, 'That *Burgundy* could not be alienated from the *French* Crown; and that if he would return his Sons at a reaſonable Ranſom, he would take his Siſter *Leonora* for his Queen; if not, he would recover them by Force.' The ſeveral Ambaſſadors alſo of the Confederates then in his Court, and particularly the *Engliſh*, concurr'd in this Matter; requiring further, 'That he would recall the *Spaniards* out of *Lombardy*, and reſtore *Sforza*; relinquiſh his Pretenſions to *Naples*, and not go to *Italy* with an Army; and that he would pay the King of *England*;

‘all the Confederates of the League, in caſe of Refuſal, denouncing War againſt him.’ The Emperor anſwer'd to all theſe Particulars, and declar'd, *He was ready to defend himſelf againſt them all.* Not long after King *Francis* ſent the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, with others, to deſire the Reſtitution of his Children; to which the Emperor, now more incens'd, reply'd, *If he would have his Children, he muſt, according to his Oath and Promiſe, return Priſoner himſelf.* After that he privately deſir'd the Ambaſſador to tell his Maſter, That by his own Acknowledgment, *He had done cowardly and perfidiouſly in breaking the Treaty of* Madrid, *and that if he deny'd it, he would make it good in Perſon againſt him.* King *Francis* wanted not Courage to reply in the ſame Language; but in the mean Time he caus'd an *Apology* to be publiſh'd, in Vindication of his Breach of Faith, and ſent it to all Chriſtian Princes; to which the Emperor reply'd with another, and with as much Severity as the Cauſe requir'd. In the mean Time King *Francis* enter'd into a new League with King *Henry*, which principally concern'd the Reſtitution of his two Sons, and the Moneys due from the Emperor to the King of *England*. This was ſcarcely concluded before the Family of the *Colunna's* in *Italy*, being of the Imperial Faction, with three or four thouſand Men, enter'd the City of *Rome*, and ravag'd part of it; and then forc'd the Pope to fly to the Caſtle St. *Angelo*, where he was oblig'd to a Truce of four Months with the Emperor, to withdraw his Forces out of *Lombardy*, and to pardon all paſt Offences.

The French *King makes a new League with* England.

A. D. 1527. Reg. $\frac{18}{19}$.

And now King *Henry*, finding no Advantage to be expected from treating with the Emperor, and underſtanding with what Indignity the Pope had lately been us'd, he reſolv'd according to his former League to join againſt that Prince who appear'd moſt refractory. Therefore conceiving the Fault to be in the Emperor, he immediately enter'd into a ſtrict League with *Francis*, chuſing rather to concur with him in Particular, than to embrace the *Clementine* League, as containing many Articles that no ways concern'd him. Therefore he propos'd to the *French* King the Princeſs *Mary* in Marriage, ſince the Emperor had deny'd him *Leouora*; and offer'd beſides to enter into an offenſive League with him, for the Recovery of his Children, and forcing the Emperor to reaſonable Conditions. *Francis* joyfully accepting this Motion, demanded the Princeſs *Mary*'s Picture, which, together with the King's, was granted, and the Match was treated in *France* by the *Engliſh* Agents, the Biſhop of *Bath*, and Sir *William Fitz-Williams*. The *French* King, if he marry'd her, requir'd ſhe ſhould be immediately given into his Hands; but King *Henry* diſſenting, becauſe ſhe was but eleven Years of Age, the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, the Viſcount *Turenne*, and the Preſident of *Paris*, came into *England*, where on the laſt of *April* three Treaties were concluded, as may be ſeen at large in the Lord *Herbert*. As to the Marriage, it was agreed, ‘That the Princeſs *Mary* ſhould be given either to *Francis* himſelf, or to his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleans*; and that Alternative was to be determin'd by the two Kings at an Enterview deſign'd afterwards at *Calais*, with Forfeitures on both Sides if the Marriage were hinder'd.’ Then in Conſideration that King *Henry* and his Succeſſors ſhould never moleſt the *French* King in any of thoſe Dominions he now poſſeſs'd, *Francis* did here bind himſelf and his Succeſſors, ‘to pay every Year at two ſeveral Terms, after the Deceaſe of King *Henry*, to all the Kings of *England* his Succeſſors, forty ſix thouſand Crowns *de Soleil*, and twenty four *Sols Tournois*, without Deduction or Prejudice to the Sums already due to King *Henry*, by the Treaty of *Moore* in 1525.’ Further the *French* King bound himſelf and his Succeſſors, ‘to give of the Salt of *Brovage* yearly, as well to *Henry* as his Succeſſors, to the Value of fifteen thouſand Crowns, as is above-mention'd.’ In theſe Treaties was the firſt Scruple rais'd by Foreigners, (particularly the Biſhop of *Tarbe*) concerning the Legitimation of the Princeſs *Mary*, which caus'd ſuch extraordinary Commotions afterwards.

Other Treaties concluded.

Before the Concluſion of this Treaty, Pope *Clement* had ſent Letters to King *Henry*, complaining of the Indignities offer'd to his Perſon by Cardinal *Colunna* and the *Imperialiſts*; aſſuring him, ‘That if he and the *French* King would effectually aſſiſt him, he would break the late Agreement made with the *Imperial* Party, to which he held himſelf not oblig'd, becauſe he was under Conſtraint.’ Upon which King *Henry*, who had always been true to the See of *Rome*, ſent him about thirty thouſand Ducats for preſent Uſe; which ſo encourag'd the Pope, that he cited Cardinal *Colunna* to appear at *Rome* upon Pain of Deprivation of his Dignity; while he on the other Side threaten'd to call a *Council* againſt him, and depoſe him for Simony, and other Incapacities. Upon which, the Pope with an Army enter'd the Kingdom of *Naples*, and took ſeveral Places belonging to that Family; but the Confederates coming ſlowly to his Aſſiſtance, and hearing that great Forces were coming from *Spain* againſt him, for to gain a Ceſſation of Arms for eight Months, he was compell'd to make a diſhonourable Compliance, and to give ſixty thouſand Ducats. Yet after this, being again encourag'd with ſome Hopes from his Allies, and having by a Simoniacal Creation of fourteen Cardinals rais'd three hundred thouſand Ducats, he ventur'd upon a ſecond Breach of Faith, and diſown'd the laſt Treaty; giving the Kingdom of *Naples* to Count *Vaudemont*, whom he ſent with Forces to ſubdue it. But for this he met with a greater Puniſhment than before; for the Duke of *Bourbon*, at the Head of the *Imperialiſts*, prevented all his Deſigns, and march'd directly with his hungry Army to the Walls of *Rome*; and giving the Aſſault, tho' he receiv'd a mortal Wound himſelf, yet that glorious City was ſoon taken by Storm, with the Slaughter of ſeveral thouſands of all Ages. That proud City never ſaw ſo ſad and diſmal a Day, not when it was ſack'd by the *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations; for the Soldiers kill'd whomſoever they met, and cut them in Pieces; the Streets flow'd with Blood, the Altars were deſpoil'd, the Churches and Monaſteries ranſack'd, the Nuns and Virgins raviſh'd, and the Palaces of the Pope, Cardinals and Princes, rifled and plunder'd; ſo that it is impoſſible to expreſs what Wealth and Riches lay in Heaps, and what precious Commodities belonging to Merchants were made a Prey to common Soldiers. But what made the Spoil greater, was the Number of Priſoners, who were all forc'd to pay ſuch Ranſoms as were laid upon them; and to augment the Ignominy, as well as Deſolation of this miſerable State, the Prelates were taken by the Soldiers, and in all their Habits and *Pontificalibus* ſet upon Aſſes and Mules, and led through the Streets with Contempt and Deriſion. The Pope amidſt theſe Diſtractions fled to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, with ſeventeen Cardinals, the Ambaſſadors of *England*, *France*, *Venice*, and *Florence*, and about five hundred Soldiers; where being ſtraitly beſieg'd, he was forc'd not only to ſurrender the Caſtle, with *Oſtia*, *Civita Vecchia*, and other Places, but alſo to give Hoſtages for four hundred thouſand Ducats, and after all to ſurrender himſelf Priſoner to the Emperor.

Rome *plunder'd by the* Imperialiſts.

The Pope taken Priſoner.

This gave mighty Offence to all the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, except the *Lutherans* of *Germany*; of which the Emperor was ſoon ſenſible, and immediately thought fit to give them Satisfaction. Among all which, none ſeem'd ſo conſiderable as King *Henry*; to whom, by a Letter dated *Auguſt* the Second, he made a kind of Apology for theſe Proceedings, declaring alſo the Cauſes why his Army could not be with-held from invading *Rome*; yet ſo as he diſclaim'd any Part, either the counſelling or authorizing the Fact: He forgot not alſo, upon the Inſtance of the *Engliſh* and *French* Ambaſſadors for the Pope's Liberty, to write obligingly to his Holineſs, offering his Love and Friendſhip, in caſe he deſir'd it; but to the chief Officers of his Army he ſent Inſtructions, which for ſome Space amus'd them: For he commanded them to ſet the Pope at Liberty, *Yet ſo to provide, that from a Friend he ſhould not become an Enemy.* This Myſterious Meſſage caus'd great Delays in the Pope's Deliverance, and much prolong'd his Miſery; which caus'd him to complain to King *Henry* and the Cardinal, proteſting, *That all the Help and Succour he could expect in this Extremity was from* England, *and therefore he implor'd his Aſſiſtance.* At the ſame Time the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in *Spain* potently mediated for the Deliverance of King *Francis*'s Sons upon more moderate Terms than was formerly propos'd; and in Concluſion ſo prevail'd, that the Emperor ſeem'd willing to relinquiſh his Demand of *Burgundy*, and to accept of ſuch a Ranſom as *Francis* had once voluntarily offer'd, which was two Millions of Crowns. But all this was again interrupted by the repeated Intelligence of the Pope's Impriſonment, which ſo rous'd the warm Temper of King *Henry*, that he would not ſo much as vouchſafe an Anſwer to the Emperor's Letter, but reſolv'd to join in a ſtricter League with *Francis*, concluding that *Charles* would never have ſo inſolently treated the Head of the Church, if he had not aſpir'd to univerſal Monarchy. Accordingly he enter'd into a new Confederacy with *Francis*, by which they mutually agreed to deſiſt from their War in the *Low-Countries*, and to tranſport it into *Italy*, with ſeveral other Particulars. Upon this, *Clarenceaux*, King at Arms, was ſent to King *Henry*'s Reſidenciaries in *Spain*, who were to declare to the Emperor, *That in Regard the King of* England *was at half the Charge of the War with* Francis, *the Emperor ſhould ſend him half the Prize and Booty taken at* Pavia, *and one of the two Hoſtages, or elſe* Clarenceaux *ſhould denounce War againſt him.* To which rough Meſſage the Emperor return'd a ſoft and ſubtle Anſwer, which ſhew'd he had no other Deſign at preſent but to gain Time.

He begs King Henry*'s Aſſiſtance.*

The two Kings of *England* and *France* being inform'd of the Emperor's dilatory Proceedings, together with the Pope's Diſtreſs, would no longer delay to give Orders for their own, as well as the general Affairs of *Chriſtendom.* Therefore the Cardinal, as the moſt proper Perſon, was order'd to *France*, both for concluding the Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary* either with *Francis*, or the Duke of *Orleans* his Son, as alſo for other Occaſions.

Wolſey's ſplendid Embaſſy into France.

A more magnificent Embaſſy than this of the Cardinal's was never known; he was attended with all the Pomp and Splendor of a Sovereign Monarch, and a glorious Equipage of a thouſand Horſe. At *Boloign* he was met by the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the Chancellor of *Alanzon*, with the like Number of Horſe, who accompany'd him in his Way to *Monſtreuil*, and afterwards to *Abbeville*, where he continu'd in great State for ſome Days. Shortly after the *French* King, with Madam *Loviſe* his Mother, coming to *Amiens*, the Cardinal with all his ſplendid Train ſet forwards from *Abbeville*; of which Notice being given, King *Francis*, being Royally attended, met him a Mile and a half from the Town; and the Cardinal was ſo exact in the honourable Circumſtances of Addreſs, that he would not yield to the *French* Monarch one Step in his Approaches. Being met with mutual Embraces, *Francis*, after a moſt obliging Acknowledgment that he ow'd his Liberty chiefly to the King of *England*, conducted him to his Lodgings.

Three Treaties concluded.

During many Ceremonies, Entertainments and Viſits, three Treaties were enter'd into, and concluded on the Eighteenth Day of *Auguſt*; by the Firſt of which ' the Princeſs ' *Mary* was to marry to the *French* King's ſecond Son the ' Duke of *Orleans*, but the Time not exactly appointed.' The Second related chiefly ' to any Treaty that might be ' made between either of the two Kings and the Emperor.' By the Third it was agreed, ' that no Act, Sentence, ' Bull, Letter or *Breve*, proceeding from the Pope, during his Captivity, and tending to the Damage of the two ' Kings, or the *Legantine* Power of the Cardinal, ſhould ' be obey'd, or have any Force.' And the Power theſe two Princes aſſum'd began and made way for the Taſte that King *Henry* took of governing the Clergy in chief; of which, as well as the Diſſolution of Monaſteries, the firſt Arguments and Impreſſions were deriv'd from the Cardinal; who having now in a Conference with ſome Cardinals at *Compeign*, reſolv'd that ſuch a Power for the Government of the Church was in theſe Times neceſſary, took on him the Charge of the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in *England*, under the Title of *Vicar-General*. On the Sixteenth of *September* the Cardinal prepar'd to return; whereupon *Francis* not only richly preſented him, but conducted him through the Town, and a Mile beyond, accompany'd with the King of *Navarre*, the Pope's Legate, and the chief Nobility. The Cardinal now haſtning homewards, came to *Calais*, where having eſtabliſh'd a new Mart, he arriv'd at the *Engliſh* Court in the End of *September*, where he was receiv'd by the King with great Demonſtrations of Affection.

The Reception of the French *Ambaſſadors.*

To correſpond with this Embaſſy, the *French* King ſent *De Montmorency*, *Grand Maiſtre*, and ſeveral Noblemen and others, to ratify the League in *England*; who, to the Number of ſix hundred Horſe, were conducted to *London*, and lodg'd in the Biſhop's Palace. They were firſt entertain'd by the Cardinal at *Hampton-Court*, with an unexpected Magnificence, and ſhortly after by the King at *Greenwich* with a Feaſt ſurpaſſing all Imagination, and then with a Comedy, in which his Daughter the Princeſs *Mary* had a particular Part. On this Day alſo the King of *England* receiv'd at the Hands of *Montmorency*, the Order of St *Michael*; and the King of *France*, with no leſs Solemnity, that of the *Garter* in *Paris*. Both Princes likewiſe gave their Oath and Seal of Gold for the Ratification of the late Treaty.

The Emperor's Deſigns.

The Emperor not being ignorant of theſe Treaties, thought fit to prevent the Execution of them, by a timely Compliance with all that could in reaſon be expected from him. Therefore on the Fifteenth of *September* he offer'd to the *French* and *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors reſiding at his Court, ' That the Article for the Reſtitution of *Burgundy* ſhould be razed out of the Treaty of *Madrid*; That ' *Francis* ſhould pay for the Ranſom of his Sons, the two ' Millions of Crowns that were offer'd; and out of them ' ſo much ſhould be allow'd, as would pay the King of ' *England*.' When theſe and ſome other Particulars were approv'd on both Sides, the *French* Ambaſſadors alledg'd that they wanted ſufficient Authority from their King to ſign them, which they promis'd to procure; ſo that the Concluſion of Peace was at this Time deferr'd on their Parts. The Emperor not much diſſatisfy'd, return'd to his former Arts of dividing the two Kings: therefore he ſent privately to the Cardinal, offering him large Sums for that Purpoſe, beſides his ordinary Penſion, which was twenty four thouſand Crowns *per Annum*. Notwithſtanding which, becauſe he had prevented him in the Papacy, and deny'd him the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, when both had been promis'd to him, he was found inexorable. Therefore on the Twelfth of *December* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors made particular Demands to the Emperor at *Bruges*; ' That he ' would immediately pay to their Maſter what Money had ' been lent him in the Time of Exigency, and pay a Penalty ' of five hundred thouſand Ducats, for not marrying the ' Princeſs *Mary* according to agreement; as likewiſe that ' he would deliver the Pope, and make full Satisfaction for ' the Damage he had ſuſtain'd.' To theſe the Emperor gave evaſive Anſwers, except to that concerning the Pope, to which he ſaid Orders were given for his Deliverance. This laſt prov'd true; for the Emperor having brought the Pope to new Terms, order'd him to be ſet at Liberty; but the Pope prevented them, by making his Eſcape in the Habit of a Merchant, the Night before they promis'd to deliver him.

The Pope recovers his Liberty.

His Hoſtages yet remain'd till the Sum agreed on was paid, towards raiſing of which, he was forc'd to make ſeveral Cardinals for Money, and granted Licences in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and other Places, for alienating of Eccleſiaſtical Goods and Poſſeſſions; giving therein a Beginning, as ſome obſerve, to that Liberty, which was afterwards taken in divers Places. The Pope being at Liberty he gave Notice of it to King *Henry* and Cardinal *Wolſey*, acknowledging them great Inſtruments in the happy Change, and deſiring the King to continue his Protection to the See of *Rome*. Upon which the Cardinal repair'd in ſolemn Triumph to the Cathedral of St. *Paul's*, and caus'd *Te Deum* to be ſung, and Bonfires and other Rejoycings to be made.

In the following Year the two Kings proceeded more openly, and ſent their ſeveral Heralds to the Emperor, *Clarenceaux* from the King of *England*, and *Guyenne* from the King of *France*, to expoſtulate their Grievances, and upon his refuſing to redreſs them, to defie him as their open Enemy.

The Kings of France *and* England *ſend Defiances to the Emperor.*

The Emperor heard the Heralds with great Temper, and anſwer'd *Clarenceaux* very mildly, *That he knew his Maſter's Grievances were grounded upon Miſinformations, in which he would ſhortly rectifie him by his Letters, as deſiring nothing more than to continue his Friend:* But he anſwer'd *Guyenne* very roughly, bidding him tell his Maſter, *That he had broken his Faith, in not performing the Covenants agreed upon for his Liberty*: And with theſe Anſwers he diſmiſs'd them; only *Guyenne* thinking it not proper to deliver his Anſwer by Word of Mouth in ſuch Terms, obtain'd to have it ſent in Writing. The Heralds return'd home, and delivering their Anſwers, the *French* King was ſo incens'd, that ſoon after he ſent another Defiance to the Emperor, declaring in plain Terms *That he ly'd in his Throat*; and thereupon challeng'd him to a ſingle Combate, requiring him to appoint the Field, and he would appoint the Weapons. The Emperor accepted the Challenge, but other Occurrences intervening hinder'd the Performance. In the mean time the Emperor, being unwilling to make a Breach with *England*, ſent a particular Embaſſie to King *Henry*, declaring, *That he had been ſo much oblig'd to him, that he could not take the Defiance given by his Herald, as a full Denunciation of War, till he had heard further of his Pleaſure.* To this King *Henry* reply'd in theſe Terms, *Tho' we highly reſpect your Maſter, yet we cannot ſuffer him to deſtroy the Realm of* France, *which is our true Inheritance, and for which our Brother and Allie the* French *King pays us yearly a great Penſion and Tribute, wherefore, out of Juſtice and Equity, we are oblig'd to maintain that Land, that yields us ſuch a conſiderable Rent and Profit.*

The State of Europe.

Thus ſtood the Affairs of *Europe* in this memorable Year 1528: The Emperor at Variance with the *French* King, and formidable to the Pope and the States of *Italy*: The King of *France* joining with the King of *England*, and both favouring the Pope: The King of *England* an Arbiter of *Chriſtendom*, whoſe Friendſhip was courted, and his Power dreaded by all of them, and who in a ſpecial Manner had oblig'd both the *French* King and the preſent Pope. A five Years Truce was made with *Scotland*; *Ireland* was quieted by the Return of the Earl of *Kildare*; and *England* in Peace, but only uneaſie under ſome Managements of the Cardinal, and a little diſturb'd by the Progreſs of *Lutheraniſm.* As to the King himſelf, he had been ſo great an Enemy to that Doctrine, ſo faithful a Friend to the *Roman* Church, and ſo ſtrong a Support to the Papacy, that if he had dy'd before this nineteenth Year of his Reign, he could ſcarce have miſs'd of being Canoniz'd, notwithſtanding all his Faults; for he abounded in thoſe Virtues, which had given Saintſhip to Kings for near a thouſand Years together, and had done more than any of them, by writing in Defence of the *Roman* Faith.

A. D. 1528. Reg. $\frac{19}{20}$.

VI. The great King *Henry* had for nineteen Years lived in all Splendor and Proſperity, and had enjoy'd all the Pleaſure and Glory of a mighty Monarch, who commanded both at home and abroad. His Wars were made with Honour and Reputation, and his Treaties were juſt and advantageous; and he had no Inquietudes in all his Affairs, but in his Endeavours to raiſe Mony, in which the Cardinal always eas'd and reliev'd him. But at this Juncture a

Domeſtick Trouble aroſe, which robb'd him of his former Eaſe, perplex'd all the reſt of his Government, and drew ſurpriſing Conſequences after it of the higheſt Nature to the Publick. By virtue of a Bull and Diſpenſation from Pope *Julius* the Second, in the Year 1503, King *Henry* in his Youth had been contracted to his Brother *Arthur*'s Widow; and by virtue of the ſame Diſpenſation, and by his Father's Means, he marry'd her when he came to the Crown, by the Advice and Conſent of his Council, tho' contrary to the laſt Thoughts of his Father, and the Opinion of ſome very conſiderable for Judgment and Learning. For many Years he enjoy'd this virtuous Queen, without any Scruple of the Validity of the Match, or outward Mark of Unkindneſs between them; ſhe having born him two Sons, who dy'd in their Infancy, and one Daughter, the Princeſs *Mary*, now about twelve Years of Age. This Daughter having been offer'd to ſeveral crown'd Heads, as has been formerly related, many Doubts began to ariſe concerning her Legitimacy and Right to the Crown, and the Validity of the King's own Marriage with his Brother's Widow. Now as other Princes had mov'd Scruples againſt a Marriage with this Princeſs, the Heir of ſo great a Crown, ſo eſpecially the King began to make ſome himſelf, or rather to publiſh thoſe he declar'd he had ſome Years before in his Mind. The King inſiſted upon all the Arguments of Conſcience, and ſeem'd to lay the greateſt Weight on the Prohibition in the *Levitical* Law of marrying his Brother's Wife; and he being converſant in the Writings of the School-Men, found that they eſteem'd theſe Laws as Moral, and for ever binding, and that by Conſequence the Pope's Diſpenſation was of no Force, ſince his Authority did not extend ſo far as to diſpenſe with the Laws of God. This caus'd him to reflect upon the Death of his Sons, which he now look'd on as a Judgment from Heaven for that unlawful Marriage; ſo that he was very deſirous to have the Advice and Opinion of the chief Divines in the Nation. All the Biſhops of *England*, except *Fiſher* of *Rocheſter*, declar'd by a Writing under their Hands and Seals, that they judg'd the Marriage unlawful. And as the Point of Conſcience wrought on his Mind, ſo the Intereſt of the Kingdom requir'd that there ought to be no Scruples concerning the Succeſſion to the Crown; leſt as the bloody War between the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York* had been bury'd with his Father, ſo a new one ſhould ariſe at his Death.

The King's Marriage queſtion'd by Foreigners,

and ſcrupled by himſelf and his Biſhops,

Affairs ſtanding thus, no Probability of the Queen's Fruitfulneſs appearing, and ſhe having contracted ſome Diſeaſes that made her unacceptable to the King, he reſolved to have Recourſe to the Court of *Rome*; comforting himſelf, that there was no other Difficulty in removing all theſe Inconveniences, than the obtaining a Diſpenſation to diſſolve that Marriage, which only a Diſpenſation had firſt made. He knew that the ſame Key that had lock'd, could unlock again; and he had reaſon to expect a quick and favourable Diſpatch of his Buſineſs at *Rome*, where Diſpenſations or Divorces in Favour of Princes uſually paſs, more with regard to the Merits of the Prince that deſires them, than the Cauſe it ſelf. His Alliance ſeem'd then neceſſary to the Pope, who was at that time in Captivity; nor could the Emperor with any good Pretence oppoſe his Suit, ſince he had broken his Contract with his Daughter upon the Account of the Doubtfulneſs of the Marriage. The Cardinal had alſo given him full Aſſurances of a ſatisfactory Anſwer from *Rome*; whether upon the Knowledge he had of that Court, and of the Pope's Temper, or upon any Promiſe made him, is not certain. But that the Suit might not be ſhocking and reflecting upon the Authority of the Papal Chair, the Reaſons to be alledg'd for the annulling the former Bull of Diſpenſation, upon which the Divorce was to follow in Courſe, were grounded upon ſome falſe Suggeſtions in the Bull itſelf, and upon the Proteſtation the King had made when he came to be of Age. In reality they were ſo material, that a favourable Pope, left wholly to himſelf, would have yielded to them without any Scruple.

He applies to the Pope for a Divorce,

and inclines to Anne Bolen.

About this time the King began to ſhew ſome Favours to Mrs. *Anne Bolen*, a Lady at Court, which caus'd many to believe that all this Proceſs was mov'd by the unſeen Spring of that ſecret Affection. But it is not probable that the Ingagement of the King's Affections to any other gave the Riſe to all this; for ſo prying a Courtier as *Wolſey* was would have diſcover'd it, and not have projected a Marriage with the *French* King's Siſter, as he did not long before, if he had ſeen the King prepoſſeſs'd: It is more probable the King conceiving himſelf in a manner diſcharg'd of his former Marriage, gave a free Liberty to his Affections, which ſoon began to ſettle upon Mrs. *Bolen*. This memorable Woman was Neice to the then Duke of *Norfolk* by her Mother, and related to ſeveral good Families, and was for ſome Years educated in the *French* Court, where ſhe was much admir'd, and no leſs in that of *England*, after her Return. She continu'd to live without any Blemiſh, till her unfortunate Fall gave Occaſion to ſome malicious Writers to defame her in all the Parts of her Life: She wanted no Charms relating to Wit or Perſon, tho' ſhe was more beautiful than graceful, and more pleaſant and witty, than nicely diſcreet in her Behaviour. Upon her coming to the *Engliſh* Court, the Lord *Piercy*, being then a Domeſtick of the Cardinal's, made Love to her, and proceeded ſo far as to engage himſelf to marry her; and her Conſent ſhews ſhe had then no Aſpirings to the Crown. But the Cardinal, upon ſome private Reaſons, uſing Threats and other Methods, with great Difficulty put an End to the Deſign; for which it is ſaid the Lady ever after hated the Cardinal.

But to return to the famous Proceſs; Doctor *Knight*, then Secretary of State, was ſent to *Rome* to prepare his Holineſs in this important Affair; and the Family of the *Caſſali* having much of the Pope's Favour, they were likewiſe imploy'd to promote it. The Cardinal ſent a large Diſpatch to Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, ſetting forth all the Reaſons both in Conſcience and Policy, for obtaining a Commiſſion to himſelf to judge the Affair. Great Promiſes were made in the King's Name, both for publick and private Services, and nothing was omitted that might probably influence the Pope, or thoſe Cardinals who had greateſt Credit and Intereſt with him. Secretary *Knight* made Application to the Pope, after the moſt private Manner, and met with a very favourable Anſwer; for the Pope readily promis'd to diſſolve the Marriage: But a contrary Promiſe being exacted of him in the Emperor's Name, not to proceed in this Affair, he was reduc'd to exceeding Difficulties, not ſo much in reſpect of his Promiſes, which were impoſſible to keep on both Sides, as to his Intereſts. He was then in Captivity, and at the Mercy of the Emperor, whom he hated and diſtruſted, and at the ſame time was infinitely deſirous to ſerve the King of *England*; therefore he projected to gain Time, and begg'd, *That if the King would reſpite the Matter for a little Space, he ſhould not only have the Diſpenſation, but every Thing that was in his Power to grant.* At the ſame time the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* made ſome Scruples concerning the Bull that was demanded, 'till he had rais'd his Price, and got a large Preſent; and then the Pope actually ſign'd both a Commiſſion for *Wolſey* to try the Cauſe, and judge in it, and alſo a Diſpenſation, and deliver'd them into Secretary *Knight*'s Hands; but with Tears begg'd of him *That there might be no Proceedings upon them, 'till the Emperor was put out of Capacity of executing his Revenge upon him, and then he was ready to own this Act of Juſtice which he did in the King's Favour.* And being a very ſubtle Man, he propos'd an Expedient, which if follow'd by the King, it might have put a quicker and eaſier End to the Proceſs: He found, that his ſending Bulls, or a Legate to *England* would become publick, draw the Emperor upon him, and admit of dangerous Delays; therefore he propos'd, *If the King was ſatiſfy'd in his own Conſcience, in which he believed no Doctor could reſolve him better than himſelf, then he might without further Noiſe cauſe Judgment to be given in* England; *and upon that marry another Wife, and ſend over to* Rome *for a Confirmation; which would be very eaſily granted, if the Matter was actually done.* But ſtill the Pope deſir'd that this might be repreſented to the King as the Advice of the Cardinals, and not as his own. But the King's Counſellors thought this more hazardous than the Way of a Proceſs; for if upon the King's ſecond Marriage, a Confirmation ſhould be deny'd, then the Right of Succeſſion would be ſtill more dubious; therefore they utterly declin'd it.

The Pope is is favoura- to him.

The Pope was at this time diſguſted with Cardinal *Wolſey*; for he underſtood, that during his Captivity, he had been forming a Deſign to make himſelf Vicar of the Papacy, and was to have ſate at *Avignon*, which might have produc'd a new *Schiſm*. *Staphileus*, Dean of the *Rota*, being then in *England*, was prevail'd upon by the Promiſe of a Biſhoprick, and the Hopes of a Cardinal's Hat, to promote the King's Affair; and by him the Cardinal wrote to the Pope, after the moſt preſſing Manner, for a Diſpatch of this Buſineſs; and deſir'd, *That an indifferent and tractable Cardinal might be ſent over, with a full Commiſſion to join with him and judge the Matter*; propoſing Cardinal *Campegio* to the King's Ambaſſadors, as the fitteſt Man; and when a Legate ſhould be nam'd, he order Preſents to be made to him, and that they ſhould haſten his Diſpatch, and ſee that the Commiſſion be full. But upon the Arrival of the Couriers from *Rome*, *Gardiner* the Cardinal's Secretary, and *Fox* the King's Almoner, the one a Canoniſt, and the other a Divine, were ſent thither with Letters, both from the King and Cardinal to the Pope; and they carry'd Orders, moſt like to ſucceed, which was to make large Preſents to the Cardinals. They alſo carry'd with them the Draught of a Bull, containing all the ſaving Clauſes that could be invented, that it might not fail of Acceptance; one Clauſe was to declare the Iſſue of the

Marriage good, as being begot *bona fide*; which probably was inſerted to make the Queen more eaſie, ſince by that it appear'd, that however it was determin'd, her Daughter would be no Sufferer. The Cardinal, in his Letters to *Caſſali*, ſhew'd the Height of his Zeal, and offer'd to take the Blame on his own Soul if his Holineſs would but grant this Bull; and with Earneſtneſs as hearty and warm as Words can expreſs, he urg'd the Matter, and added, *That he perceiv'd, that if the Pope continu'd inexorable, the King of* England *would proceed another Way.*

He ſends over a Decretal Bull by Cardinal Campegio.

Theſe Sollicitations had ſuch Effects, That Cardinal *Campegio* was declar'd Legate, and order'd to go for *England*, and join in Commiſſion with *Wolſey*, for judging this nice Cauſe. This Cardinal was Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and a tractable Man, as was deſir'd; yet to raiſe his Price the higher, he mov'd many Scruples, and ſeem'd to enter upon this Employment with great Fear and Averſion. *Wolſey*, who knew his Temper, vehemently urg'd him to uſe Expedition, aſſuring him of great Rewards from the King; to which he kept ſo cloſe, that in a Letter he wrote to him, among other Motives to perſuade him, that of *a good Conſcience* being put in the firſt Draught, the Cardinal ſtruck it out, as knowing how little it would ſignifie to Men of his Temper. At length *Campegio* ſet out from *Rome*, and carry'd with him a poſitive Decretal Bull for annulling the King's Marriage, which was truſted to him, and he was authoriz'd to ſhew it to the King and *Wolſey*; but was ſtrictly commanded not to give it out of his Hands to either of them. At this time *Wolſey* was ſeiz'd with the Sweating-Sickneſs, which then rag'd in *England*; and by a Compliment which both the King and Mrs. *Bolen* wrote to him on the ſame Paper, it appears he was then privy to the King's Deſign of marrying her, and deſign'd to advance himſelf ſtill higher, by his Merits in procuring her the Crown. This Year alſo he eſtabliſh'd his two great Colleges; and finding both the King and People much pleas'd with his converting ſome Monaſteries to ſuch Uſes, he deſign'd to ſuppreſs more, and to change them to Biſhopricks and Cathedral Churches, which becauſe the Pope was unwilling to grant, by reaſon of ſome Oppoſitions, *Gardiner* told him, *It was neceſſary, and muſt be done*; therefore a Power for ſo doing was added to the Legate's Commiſſion.

The Queen applies to the Emperor,

Who eſpouſes her Cauſe.

While Affairs paſs'd thus between *Rome* and *England*, the Queen labour'd with all thoſe Paſſions which Jealouſie of the King's Affection, Senſe of her own Honour, and the Legitimation of her Daughter could produce, and vigorouſly apply'd herſelf to her two Nephews, the Emperor and his Brother, to eſpouſe her Cauſe; complaining much of the King, and more of the Cardinal. The Emperor undertook the Cauſe more willingly, becauſe the King was then in the Intereſt of *France*; and to help forwards this Buſineſs, a certain Breve was now found out, or more probably forg'd, of the ſame Date with the Bull that diſpens'd with her Marriage in the Year 1503: But with ſtronger Clauſes in it, to anſwer thoſe Objections that were made againſt ſome Defects in the Bull; tho' it could not ſeem probable, that in the ſame Day, a Bull and a Breve ſhould be granted for the ſame Things in ſuch different Terms. The moſt conſiderable Variation was, That whereas the Bull did only ſuppoſe that the Queen's Marriage with Prince *Arthur* was *Perhaps carnally conſummated*; this Breve did ſuppoſe it abſolutely, without the Word *Perhaps*. This was thought a Prejudice to the Queen's Cauſe, as much as the Suſpicion of Forgery was a Blemiſh to her Agents.

Campegio *comes into* England:

Who refuſes to ſhew the Bull in Publick.

In *October* Cardinal *Campegio* arriv'd in *England*, where he was receiv'd with great Solemnity; and in his Speech at his firſt Audience, he declar'd the King, *The Deliverer of the Pope, and the City of* Rome. After the firſt Compliments were over, he privately adviſ'd the King to deſiſt from the Proſecution of his Suit; and then counſell'd the Queen in the Pope's Name to make her Vows, and enter into a Religious Life, but both were ineffectual; and he by affecting a nice Impartiality, almoſt loſt both Sides. But he in a great Meaſure pacify'd the King when he ſhew'd him the Decretal Bull he had brought over for annulling the Marriage; but he would not part with it out of his Hands, nor leave it for one Minute either with the King or the Cardinal, declaring, *That upon theſe Terms it was granted, and that he brought it to let the King ſee how well his Holineſs was affected to him.* Upon this, great Inſtances were made at *Rome*, that *Campegio* might be order'd to ſhew the Bull to ſome of the King's Counſellors, and proceed to the Determination of the Buſineſs, otherwiſe *Wolſey* would be ruin'd, and *England* loſt from the Papacy. Yet all this did not prevail in the crafty Pope, who knew what was intended by getting the Bull out of *Campegio*'s Hands, that then the King would leave him to the Mercy of the Emperor; therefore he ſaid, *That he would gladly loſe a Finger to recover the Bull:* Yet ſtill he left the Legates in *England* free to judge as they ſaw Cauſe, and promis'd that he would confirm their Sentence. Upon this Sir *Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes* were diſpatch'd to *Rome* with new Propoſitions, to offer this Expedient: If both King and Queen took Religious Vows, ſo that their Marriage was upon that annull'd, whether the Pope would engage to diſpenſe with the King's Vow, or elſe grant him a Licence for having two Wives: For which there were divers Precedents vouch'd from the Old Teſtament. *Wolſey* alſo offer'd in the King's Name, to ſettle a Pay for two thouſand Men, that ſhould be a Guard to the Pope, and to procure a Reſtitution of ſome of his Towns, ſeiz'd by the *Venetians*. But the Pope had no Inclination to have his Guards paid by other Princes, which was in Effect to be their Priſoner; and he dreaded every Thing that might bring new Calamities upon him. Therefore he now reſolv'd to unite himſelf firmly with the Emperor, by whoſe Means only he hop'd to re-eſtabliſh his Family at *Florence*; and from this Time forwards, all the Uſe he made of King *Henry*'s Earneſtneſs in his Divorce, was only to draw in the Emperor on better Terms to his Intereſt. The Emperor was alſo at that Time preſſing him hard for a general Council; which, beſides the general Averſion of the Court of *Rome*, he had great Reaſon to fear; for being himſelf a ſpurious Iſſue, he was threaten'd with Deprivation, as uncapable of holding his Dignity. Thus paſs'd the firſt Year of this memorable Proceſs, in which it was believ'd that if the King had employ'd that Mony, unneceſſarily ſpent at *Rome*, on a War in *Flanders*, it had ſo diſturb'd the Emperor, and incourag'd the Pope, that he had ſooner granted that, which in a more fruitleſs Way was ſought of him.

The Pope's Policy and Knavery.

A. D. 1529. Reg. $\frac{20}{21}$.

Campana *ſent to deceive the King.*

The Imperialiſts at *Rome* all the Time preſs'd hard to have the Legates in *England* inhibited, and the Cauſe to be recall'd and heard before the Conſiſtory; but the Pope diſlik'd that Motion as dangerous: But his conſtant Maxim being to promiſe and ſwear deepeſt, when he intended leaſt, to molifie King *Henry*, he ſent over *Campana*, one of his Bed-Chamber, into *England*, with Compliments too high to gain much Credit. He aſſur'd the King, *That his Holineſs would ſerve him in every Reſpect, not only in Juſtice and Equity, but in the Plenitude of his Power; and tho' he had reaſon to be apprehenſive of the Emperor's Reſentments, yet that ſhould never divert his Zeal for the King's Intereſt, in which he would not be wanting, tho' it were with the Reſignation of the Popedom it ſelf.* He was alſo order'd to require the Legates to put a ſpeedy Period to the Buſineſs; but his ſecret Inſtructions to *Campegio* were of a contrary Strain; he charg'd him to burn the Decretal Bull, and to protract the Matter by all the dilatory Methods he could invent. Yet ſtill the Pope continu'd his Compliments to thoſe the King ſent over, and gave new Aſſurances, *That tho' he did not grant a Bull, by which the Divorce ſhould be immediately his own Act, yet ſtill he was ready to confirm the Legate's Sentence.* But at the ſame Time the Pope propos'd a Journey *incognito* into *Spain*, and deſired Cardinal *Wolſey* to go with him, in order to obtain a general Peace for Chriſtendom. Tho' in ſecret he was then making Offers of Compliance with the Emperor, and gave his Agents Aſſurances, *That tho' the Legates gave Sentence, he would not confirm it.* Upon which the King's Correſpondents at *Rome*, wrote to him to puſh on the War more vigorouſly againſt the Emperor, for nothing was to be expected at that Court, unleſs the Emperor's Affairs declin'd.

The Pope ſickens.

But an unexpected Accident put ſome Stop to all Proceedings in the Court of *Rome:* For the Pope was taken ſuddenly ill, and fell into a dangerous Sickneſs; upon which the Imperialiſts began to prepare for a Conclave; but *Farneſe*, and the Cardinal of *Mantua* oppos'd their Deſigns, and ſhew'd a great Inclination for *Wolſey*, *whom they reverenc'd as a Deity*, as his Correſpondents wrote to him. Upon this he ſent a Courier to *Gardiner*, then in his Journey to *Rome*, with large Directions how to manage the Election; in which it was concluded, That the King of *France*, joining heartily with the King of *England*, of which he was confident, there were only ſix Cardinals wanting to make the Election ſure; and beſides Sums of Mony and other Rewards, he was to give them Aſſurance, that the Cardinal's Preferments ſhould be divided among them. Theſe were the ſecret Methods of attaining that Chair, that was believ'd to be attended with Infallibility. But the Pope's Recovery put an End to theſe dark Intrigues; which yet were ſoon after reviv'd by a long and threatning Relapſe. Then new Labours were undertaken to gain many Cardinals to favour King *Henry*'s Cauſe; and many Precedents of Divorces were produc'd, that had been granted in Favour of Princes, upon much ſlighter Grounds. But the Imperialiſts were ſo powerful at *Rome*, that they could not hope for Succeſs, without the Emperor was firſt gain'd; upon which a ſecret Negotiation was ſet on Foot with him, but it had no other Effect, than to give great Jealouſie both to the Pope and

He is guided by the Emperor's Intereſt.

French King. Another Diſpatch was ſent to *Rome*, to procure a Commiſſion with fuller Power to the Legates, and a Pollicitation under the Pope's Hand to confirm the Sentence: The latter was granted, but the former utterly refuſ'd; for the Pope was reſolv'd to proceed no further in that Matter, tho' *Wolſey* wrote to *Rome*, *That if any Juſtice were deny'd the King, not only* England, *but likewiſe* France *would withdraw their Obedience from the Apoſtolick See*; becauſe by that it would be inferr'd, that the Emperor had ſuch Influence at *Rome*, as to oblige the Pope to be partial or favourable as he pleas'd. At this time the Cardinal was bargaining for his Bulls for the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, which were rated at fifteen thouſand Ducats; but ſince it was a Tranſlation from *Durham*, ſo that a new Compoſition would ariſe for that Vacancy, he refuſ'd to pay above a third of what was demanded.

He becomes more obſtinate.

As the Pope recover'd his Health, ſo he inclin'd more to join with the Emperor, who now by his Ambaſſador at *Rome* enter'd a Proteſtation in the Queen of *England*'s Name againſt the Legates, as unreaſonably partial in King *Henry*'s Favour, which was receiv'd by the Pope, tho' much oppos'd by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador. Upon this, *Gardiner*, who was a Man of great Subtelty and Penetration, wrote to King *Henry*, aſſuring him, 'That he was to 'expect nothing more from the Pope, who was reſolv'd 'to offend neither the Emperor nor him; therefore he ad'vis'd him to procure the Legates to give Sentence with all 'poſſible Expedition; and when it ſhould come to the 'Emperor's Turn to ſollicite for Bulls againſt the King, 'the Pope would be as backward as he was now.' All this he deſir'd might not be ſhewn to the Cardinal; for he was now making his own Fortunes, and had at the ſame time a private Correſpondence with Mrs. *Bolen*, whom he expected would in time be Queen. In the Pollicitation which the Pope ſign'd to confirm the Legate's Sentence, ſome Clauſes were inſerted, by which he could eaſily break looſe from it; therefore *Gardiner* endeavour'd to procure another in fuller Terms, by this Artifice: He told the Pope, *That the Courier had met with an Accident in paſſing a River, by which the Inſtrument was ſo defaced with the Water, that it could not be of any Uſe.* But the Pope was ſuch a Maſter in the Arts of Diſſimulation and Policy, that inſtead of being catch'd with this, and to grant a new one, he was heartily glad it was defac'd, and poſitively refuſ'd to renew it. And a long and earneſt Letter wrote from the Legates to the Pope, urging him to end the Matter by a Decretal Bull, aſſuring him, 'It was only a Scruple of 'Conſcience that wrought on the King, and no Deſire of 'a new Wife, and that the whole Nation was much of'fended at the Delays of this Matter, in which all were ſo 'nearly concern'd,' prevail'd nothing on him; for he conſider'd it was only done by them in Compliance with the King, who thought he had intirely gain'd *Campegio*, ſince the Scandals of his Life were ſo publick, that the Motives of Intereſt muſt certainly have the Aſcendant over him. But by all the Arts that could be invented, they were not able to over-reach the Pope, who whatever he might be in his Deciſions, ſeem'd infallible in his Sagacity and Jealouſie. The Queen's Agents ſtill preſs'd hard for an Avocation; but the Pope was unwilling to grant that, 'till he had finiſh'd his Treaty in all other Points with the Emperor, and he began to complain much of the cold Proceedings of the Confederates, and that they expos'd him both to the Emperor's Mercy, and the Scorn of the *Florentines*; by which it was viſible, he was ſeeking Pretenſions for throwing himſelf into the Emperor's Arms. Great Objections were made to the Motion for an Avocation, 'That it was contrary to the King's Prerogative to be cited 'at *Rome*; wherefore he would ſeek Juſtice from the 'Clergy of *England*, if deny'd by the Pope: It was alſo 'contrary to the Pollicitation under the Pope's Hand, to 'recall the Legate's Commiſſion, and his Faith often de'liver'd by Word of Mouth, chiefly of late by *Campana*.' But verbal Promiſes did not much bind the Pope, they vaniſh'd into Air, and *Campana* ſwore he had made none; and for the written Pollicitation, there was a ſaving Clauſe in it, by which he could eſcape; ſo that he was at Liberty from all Engagements, but thoſe he had privately given in Diſcourſe, and to theſe he was no Slave.

King *Henry* being well inform'd of what paſs'd at *Rome*, recall'd *Gardiner* and *Bryan*, and ſent Doctor *Bennet* to *Rome* to hinder the Avocation of the Cauſe, of which he was ſo apprehenſive, that he not only intercepted thoſe Diſpatches ſent to *Rome* from *Campegio*, or any elſe, but alſo thoſe Intelligences which the Queen ſhould give to her Aunt *Margaret* of the *Low-Countries*. So that now the King finding his Conſcience unſatisfy'd, his Nobility in Suſpence, and the People murmuring at theſe Delays in an Affair of the greateſt Importance, he charg'd the two Cardinals to proceed with all Expedition. The Place appointed for hearing and determining the Cauſe, was the great Hall in *Black-Friars*, the Time the thirty firſt of *May*; when both the Cardinals appear'd in great Pomp; ſo that *Wolſey* might be ſaid to be now in the Height of his Grandeur, when he ſate Judge of his own Sovereign's Cauſe, upon which no leſs than the Succeſſion of the Kingdom depended. The Court being ſate, a peremptory Citation was iſſued out for the King and Queen, to appear on the eighteenth of *June*; upon which Day the Queen appear'd in Perſon, and proteſted againſt the Cardinals as incompetent Judges. Endeavours were therefore us'd to terrify her into ſome Compliance, and a formal Complaint was made againſt her, 'That ſhe favour'd ſome who deſign'd to de'ſtroy the King and Cardinal; That ſhe carry'd herſelf 'very diſobligingly to the King, and us'd many indecent 'Arts to render her ſelf popular: That the King was in 'Danger of his Life by her Means, and therefore he could 'no longer keep her Company, either as to Bed or Table:' But ſhe was a Woman of ſuch Reſolution and Conſtancy, that no Threatnings could intimidate her. At the next Court Day, both the King and Queen appear'd; but the latter, inſtead of anſwering to the Legates, kneel'd down before the King, and made a Speech that had all the Inſinuations to raiſe Commiſeration in the Audience. She declar'd *She had been his dutiful Wife for twenty Years, had born him ſeveral Children, and had always ſtudy'd to oblige him; therefore ſhe begg'd to know where was her Offence.* She inſiſted upon her Virginity when ſhe came to his Bed, alledging, *That the Marriage was made by both their Parents, who were wiſe Princes, and had good Counſellors when it was made; but at preſent ſhe being a Stranger and a Subject, had neither indifferent Judges to hear, nor indifferent Lawyers to plead her Cauſe; therefore ſhe could expect no Juſtice in that Court.* Upon which ſhe went out of the Court, and would never after appear in that Place. At her Departure, the King gave her a great Character for her extraordinary Qualities, and proteſted, *He was actuated by no other Principle, than that of Conſcience*, and clear'd Cardinal *Wolſey* from being the firſt Mover in this Suit; declaring, That he firſt mention'd the Matter in Confeſſion to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and had deſir'd the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to procure him the Reſolution of the Biſhops of *England* in this Caſe; and that they had under their Hands declar'd, *That his Marriage was unlawful.* The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* deny'd he had ſign'd ſuch a Paper; but the Arch-Biſhop alledg'd, That he gave him leave to make another write his Name to it, which the other ſtill deny'd. The Legates however proceeded according to the Forms of Law; but the Queen, inſtead of appearing, appeal'd from them to the Pope, and excepted both againſt the Place, the Judges, and her Lawyers. Yet ſtill they pronounc'd her Contumacious, and proceeded to the Examination of Witneſſes for ſeveral Days, the Subſtance of which Allegations were, That there were many violent Preſumptions appear'd, That Prince *Arthur* had Carnal Knowledge of the Queen; and it could not be expected that greater Proofs could be made twenty ſeven Years after their Marriage. [As to ſome Miſtakes that may be in this Paragraph, I refer the Reader to Biſhop *Burnet*'s Third Volume of *The Hiſtory of the Reformation*, Page 45, 46, &c.]

The Proceſs begun in England *under* Campegio *and* Wolſey.

The Queen appeals to the Pope.

And now ſince the Proceſs was thus carry'd on, the Emperor's Agents vehemently preſs'd the Pope for an Avocation, to remove it to *Rome*; and all poſſible Endeavours were us'd by King *Henry*'s Agents to prevent it; they omitted nothing that could operate upon the Pope's Temper, either by Way of Perſuaſion or Threatning. It was repreſented to him, 'That there was a Treaty on 'foot between the King of *England* and the *Lutheran* Prin'ces of *Germany*; and that upon his Holineſs declaring 'himſelf ſo partial, as to grant the Avocation, he would 'certainly imbark in the ſame Intereſts with them, and ſo '*England* would be loſt from the Apoſtolick See.' But as the Pope concluded the King was ſo far engag'd in Honour, that he could not be induced to unite with *Luther*'s Followers in Points of Religion; ſo he did not imagine, that the Effects of his Avocation would be ſo diſmal and fatal as the Cardinal's Creature had repreſented them, or as he himſelf afterwards found them. He thought it would probably ruin the King's Affairs, which might occaſion his Agents to uſe ſuch Threatnings; but he did not much regard that, becauſe he hated him in his Heart. In Concluſion, after the Emperor had engag'd to reſtore his Family to the Government of *Florence*, he reſolv'd to publiſh his Treaty with him: But that the granting the Avocation might not look like a ſecret Article, as it was in reality, he reſolv'd to begin with that; and with the profoundeſt Marks of Sorrow, he declar'd to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, *That he could not avoid it, both becauſe all the Lawyers had aſſur'd him, It could not in common Juſtice be deny'd, and becauſe he could not reſiſt the Emperor's Forces which ſurrounded him on all Sides.* Their Endeavours to gain ſome Time by Delays, were alſo as fruitleſs as their other Arts had been; for on the fifteenth of *July* the Pope ſign'd it, publiſh'd the Treaty on the Eighteenth, and ſent the

Who grants an Avocation, and joins with the Emperor.

Inſtrument of Avocation on the nineteenth by an expreſs Meſſenger to *England.*

During this Management at *Rome*, the Legates, eſpecially *Campegio* who was the Senior, protracted the Matter by all the Delays that could be invented, and gain'd much Time under the Pretence of not precipitating the King's Affairs. At laſt, being reduc'd to a ſort of Neceſſity of pronouncing Sentence, inſtead of proceeding to that, *Campegio* unexpectedly adjourn'd the Court 'till *October*, declaring, *That they being a Part of the Conſiſtory of* Rome, *were oblig'd to obſerve their Times of Vacation.* The King, who was in the next Chamber, was unexpreſſibly ſurpris'd, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, then in Court, in a Rage ſwore by the Maſs, *That no Cardinal ever did good in* England. To whom *Wolſey* ſeverely reply'd, *If I poor Cardinal had not been here, you would not have kept your Head upon your Shoulders.* This was one of the laſt Flights of the mighty States-Man, whoſe Grandeur being at the Height, was now ready to ſink: *Campegio* had nothing to loſe in *England*, but the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*, for which the Pope or Emperor could eaſily recompence him; but *Wolſey* began to be under all the Terrors that are incident to an exorbitant Favourite, upon the Change of his Fortune; none being more abject in Misfortune than thoſe who are moſt elevated with Proſperity. When the Avocation was brought into *England*, the King ſubmitted ſo far as to allow the Legates to declare the Commiſſion void; but would by no means ſuffer the Letters citatory to be ſerv'd, for he look'd upon it as below the Dignity of his Crown, to be cited to appear at any other Court in Chriſtendom. This was the firſt Step he made towards the Diminution of the Pope's Authority. Yet upon this Occaſion he govern'd himſelf with more Mildneſs than was expected from the Warmth of his Temper; he civilly diſmiſs'd *Campegio*, only his Officers ſtrictly ſearch'd his Coffers, when he took Shipping, with a Deſign, as it was thought, to ſee if the decretal Bull could be found. *Wolſey* was now upon the Point of being diſgrac'd, tho' the King ſeem'd to treat him with the ſame Confidence he had uſually ſhewn to him; it being common for many Princes to hide their Deſigns of diſcarding their Favourites, with higher Expreſſions of Kindneſs than ordinary, 'till their Ruin, being unforeſeen, breaks out with great Violence. Mrs. *Bolen*, who in the Time of the Proceſs had been diſmiſs'd the Court, was now return'd; and the King's Thoughts for a while were divided by many Doubts and Perplexities. He had the more Reaſou to be circumſpect in his Affairs, becauſe the Pope and Emperor were now united in the former Alliance: The Pope's Nephew, who had been lately marry'd to the Emperor's Daughter, was now Duke of *Florence*. And the Emperor went afterwards in Perſon, and was crown'd with great Magnificence by the Pope; who when the Emperor was kneeling down to kiſs his Foot, humbled himſelf ſo far as to draw it back, and kiſs his Cheek. In this Year alſo another Peace was concluded at *Cambray* between the Emperor, the *French* King, and the Lady *Margaret* of *Flanders*, call'd the *Womens Peace*; where King *Henry* firſt found the Deceitfulneſs of the *French* Alliance; for he was not ſo conſider'd in the Treaty as he expected, and he found that *Francis* would not embroil his own Affairs in Favour of his Divorce.

The Treaty of Cambray.

The King wiſely judg'd it neceſſary to ſecure himſelf of the Affections and Confidence of his People, before he ventur'd on any Thing that ſhould diſpleaſe two ſuch Potentates as the Pope and Emperor; therefore he thought fit to call a Parliament, which had been diſuſed in *England* for ſeven Years, and probably by the Advice of the Cardinal, who before the calling of it fell into a ſinking Condition. His too much Obſequiouſneſs to the See of *Rome* in the laſt Proceſs, and ſome inferior Accidents, render'd him obnoxious to the King and his neareſt Friends. So that he firſt commanded him to deliver up the Great Seal, which was with great Reluctancy obey'd, and given to Sir *Thomas More*, who was not only eminent in his own Profeſſion, the Law, but in all Sorts of Learning; being much eſteem'd for the Strictneſs of his Life, and his Contempt of Money. Shortly after, *Hales* the Attorney-General put in an Information againſt the Cardinal in the King's Bench, importing, 'That notwithſtanding the Statute of '*Richard* the Second, againſt procuring Bulls from *Rome* 'upon Pain of *Premunire*, yet he had procur'd Bulls for 'his *Legantine* Power, which he had for many Years ex'ecuted.' To this he pleaded his Ignorance of the Statute, and ſubmitted to the King's Mercy; upon which it was declar'd, That he had forfeited all his Goods and Chattels to the King, and that his Perſon was liable to be ſeiz'd. Immediately his rich Palace of *York Houſe*, ſince call'd *White-Hall*, was ſeiz'd to the King's Uſe; together with all that vaſt Wealth and Royal Furniture that he had heap'd up together, which was prodigious, and beyond any Thing that had ever been ſeen in the Kingdom of *England.* But ſtill the King had no Deſire to ruin him intirely, but only to reduce him lower, to ſee if the Terror of that would have any Influence on the Pope; therefore he firſt granted him his Protection, and then his Pardon, reſtor'd him to the See of *York* and *Wincheſter*, and gave him back in Money, Goods and Plate, to the Value of above ſix thouſand Pounds. But as he had carry'd his Greatneſs with moſt exorbitant Pride, ſo he was no leſs meanly abjected with his Misfortunes, and a deep Melancholy overcame his Spirits. The King, as he more and more relented, ſent him frequent Aſſurances of his Favour; all which he receiv'd with extravagant Tranſports of Joy; and he that us'd to join or prefer himſelf to the King, now fell down on his Knees in the Dirt to a Meſſenger who brought him a Ring from his Majeſty. Yet his Enemies had gone too far, ever to ſuffer a Man of his Temper and Abilities, to return to Favour. Therefore they found Means to bring in a high Charge of forty four Articles againſt him in open Parliament. They related chiefly to his Legantine Power, contrary to Law, to his Inſolence and Ambition, his lewd Life, and other Things brought to defame his Reputation as well as deſtroy his Perſon. Theſe eaſily paſs'd in the Houſe of Lords, where he had but few Friends and many Enemies; but when the Charge was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, it was ſo manag'd by the Induſtry of *Thomas Cromwell*, who had been his Servant, that no Treaſon could be laid to his Charge, ſo that the Accuſation drop'd.

A Parliament call'd.

Wolſey *is diſgrac'd.*

He is impeach'd in Parliament.

The Parliaments Proceedings.

In this ſame Parliament, the Commons prepar'd ſeveral Bills againſt ſome of the Corruptions of the Clergy; one againſt the Exactions for the Probates of Wills, another for Regulating Mortuaries, and a third againſt Pluralities of Benefices and Non-Reſidence. The Clergy abhorr'd the Precedent of the Commons intermedling in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; and Biſhop *Fiſher* ſpoke violently againſt ſuch Proceedings, declaring, *That all flow'd from want of Faith.* Upon which the Commons complain'd to the King, for his reproaching their honourable Houſe, while the Houſe of Peers either thought it no Breach of Privilege, or were willing to connive at ſuch a Reflection. But *Fiſher* being hated at Court for his firm Adherence to the Queen's Intereſt, was put upon his Purgation to explain himſelf, and the Matter paſs'd over, and the Commons proceeded to their Bills; which, tho' ſtrenuouſly oppos'd by the Clergy, were at length paſs'd by the Royal Aſſent. Beſides theſe, a very peculiar Bill was brought in for the Relief of the King, who in this long Interval of Parliaments had borrow'd ſeveral large Sums of his Subjects: Now this Parliament, both to diſcourage that Way of ſupplying Kings for the future, and to ruin the Cardinal's Creatures, who had been moſt ready to lend, as having the greateſt Advantages from the Government, did by one Act diſcharge the King of all thoſe Debts. This occaſion'd great Murmurings among the Sufferers; but to qualify the general Diſcontent, the King granted a free Pardon to all Offenders; only to terrifie the Pope, and to keep the Clergy in Submiſſion, he excepted ſuch as had incurr'd a *Premunire*, by acknowledging a Foreign Juriſdiction.

A. D. 1530.
Reg. $\frac{21}{22}$.

The King had ſtill a particular View to the now ſubmiſſive Cardinal, and ſoon found that his Caſe was not much regarded at *Rome*. The Emperor hated him for his late Actions, and the Pope was jealous of his vaſt Aſpirings; ſo that tho' they were not well pleas'd to ſee a Cardinal ſo us'd, yet they could behold *Wolſey*'s Downfal without much Concern. This Prelate was fondly deſirous to have ſtaid at *Richmond*, which the King had given him in Exchange for *Hampton-Court*, which he had alſo built; but that was too near the Court, and his Enemies were reſolv'd to remove him further from it. Accordingly he was order'd to repair to his Dioceſe of *York*; in which Journey the very Ruins of his State were conſiderable, for he travell'd with a hundred and ſixty Horſe in his Train, and ſeventy two Waggons follow'd him with his Houſhold Stuff. Having continu'd there a few Months, and perform'd many charitable and popular Acts, he was attach'd for High-Treaſon by the Earl of *Northumberland*, and committed to the Cuſtody of the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who was order'd to bring him to *London*. And even then he had gracious Meſſages from the King, but they gave him no great Relief; for whether he knew himſelf guilty of ſome ſecret Practices with the Pope or Emperor, or whether he could ſtand no longer under the King's Diſpleaſure and this abject Condition, he was ſo diſpirited, that on his Way to *London*, he ſicken'd at *Sheffield* in the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Houſe, from whence by ſlow Journeys he went as far as *Leiceſter*, where he is ſaid to have taken Poiſon to end his miſerable Life. Being near his Departure, among other Things, he ſpoke this Sentence, worthy to be remember'd by all Favourites, *Had I ſerv'd my God as diligently as I have ſerv'd my King, he would not have given me over in my grey Hairs; but this is my juſt Reward.* He ſaid further to Sir *William King-*

ſton,

Wolſey *is attach'd for High Treaſon.*

He dies.

ſton, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, *If ever you be one of the King's Council, beware of what you put into his Head, for you will be never able to put it out again.* Thus dy'd this prodigious Man, on the twenty eighth Day of *November*, who had been the mightieſt of all *Engliſh* Subjects, and was the greateſt Inſtance that ſeveral Ages had ſhewn of the Variety and Inconſtancy of Human Things, both in his Riſe and Fall. By his Temper in both, it appears he was unworthy of his Greatneſs, which renders his Character more ſurpriſing, that he ſhould be able of himſelf to perform ſo many Wonders; and it cannot but be accounted a ſingular Felicity, that during his Adminiſtration, all Things ſucceeded better than afterwards; tho' the Impreſſions he gave did probably occaſion ſeveral ſucceeding Irregularities. Notwithſtanding the general Hatred he had rais'd, few ever fell from ſuch a lofty Station, with leſſer Crimes objected againſt him. But as his being ſo ſubſervient to his Sovereign's criminal Pleaſures, was a greater Crime than his own lewd Life, or what was objected againſt him; ſo his ſacrificing the Duke of *Buckingham* to his Reſentments, was ſuch a Villany as call'd down the Vengeance of Heaven upon him, which rarely ſuſpends its Power, in Caſe of publick Blood.

Cranmer's *Riſe.*

The News of the Cardinal's Death being brought to the King, he could not with-hold from expreſſing a tender Concern, and declaring, *That he had rather ſuffer'd the Loſs of twenty thouſand Pounds.* But now his Thoughts were more poſſeſs'd with another riſing Favourite, of a finer Spirit, and more real Merit, Doctor *Thomas Cranmer*, a Fellow of *Jeſus* College in *Cambridge*, who in the preceding Year, meeting accidentally with *Gardiner* and *Fox* at *Waltham*, and being ask'd to declare his Thoughts concerning the King's Marriage, he propos'd a new and more rational Method: This was, 'That the 'King ſhould ingage the chief Univerſities and Divines of '*Europe*, to examine into the Lawfulneſs of his Marriage; 'and if they declar'd their Opinions againſt it, then the 'Marriage in Courſe muſt be pronounc'd void, becauſe 'the Pope's Diſpenſation could not derogate from the 'Laws of God.' As this was new, and reaſonable in it ſelf, ſo they propos'd it to the King, who was extreamly affected with it, as a Method that might have ſav'd him a vaſt Expence of Money and Trouble; and ſaid in a coarſe way of ſpeaking, *He had the Swine by the right Ear.* He perceiv'd that this way was more like to be effectual, and would extreamly mortifie the Pope, who had ſo much deluded him; therefore Doctor *Cranmer* was ſent for to Court, where he ſo admirably behav'd himſelf, that the King conceiv'd an high Opinion both of his Learning and Prudence, and of his Probity and Sincerity, which took ſuch a deep Root in his Heart, that no Artifices nor Calumnies were ever able to remove it.

The chief Univerſities and Divines in Europe *declare the King's Marriage null.*

This new Method being reſolv'd on by the King, he firſt order'd Doctor *Cranmer* to write upon the Subject of the Divorce; and then ſent to procure the Concluſions of the two Univerſities of *England.* Here the King met with greater Obſtructions than from the Foreign Univerſities, by reaſon that Doctor *Cranmer*, and Mrs. *Bolen*, who was now like to be Queen, were thought Favourers of *Lutheraniſm:* Yet after a little Space, by a Majority, the Seals of both Univerſities were obtain'd; and they gave their Opinions, *That the Marriage of the Brother's Wife was contrary both to the Laws of God and Nature.* Dr. *Crook*, a learned Man in the *Greek* Tongue, was employ'd in *Italy*, to procure the Reſolutions of Divines and Univerſities there; in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that beſides the great Diſcoveries he made in ſearching the Manuſcripts of the *Greek* Fathers, concerning their Opinions in this Point, he engag'd ſeveral Perſons to write for the King's Cauſe; and alſo got the *Jews* to give their Opinions of the Laws in *Leviticus*, that they were Moral and Obligatory. The State of *Venice* would not declare themſelves, but ſaid they would be Neuters; and it was not eaſie to perſuade the Divines of the Republick to give their Opinions, 'till a Brief was obtain'd from the Pope, permitting all Divines and Canoniſts to deliver their Opinions, according to their Conſciences; which was not granted but with great Difficulty. For the Pope abhorr'd this way of Proceeding, tho' he could not decently oppoſe it; yet he ſaid in great Scorn, *That no Friar ſhould ſet Limits to his Authority.* Beſides many Divines and Canoniſts, not only, whole Houſes of Religious Orders, but even the Univerſity of *Bononia*, tho' the Pope's Town, declar'd the *Levitical* Laws concerning the Degrees of Marriage were Parts of the Law of Nature, and that the Pope could not diſpenſe with them. The Univerſity of *Padua* determin'd the ſame, as alſo that of *Ferrara*; ſo that *Crook* ſent over to *England* an hundred ſeveral Books and Papers, with many Subſcriptions, all condemning the King's Marriage as unlawful in it ſelf. At *Paris* the famous *Sorbon* made their Determination, and after three Weeks impartial Study, they agreed, *That the King's Marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope could not diſpence with it.* At *Orleans*, *Angiers*, and *Tholouſe*, and at other Univerſities in *France*, they determin'd to the ſame Purpoſe.

The chief Nobility of England *write to the Pope.*

His Anſwer.

The King's Cauſe being favour'd and fortify'd by theſe, and many other Authorities, he procur'd many Members of Parliament, in a Time of Prorogation, to ſign a Letter to the Pope, complaining, 'That notwithſtanding the great 'Merits of their King, the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and the 'Importance of it to the Safety of the Kingdom, yet his 'Holineſs ſtill made new Delays; they therefore earneſtly 'preſs'd him to diſpatch it ſpeedily, otherwiſe they ſhould 'be compell'd to ſeek for other Remedies, tho' they were 'unwilling to drive Matters to Extremities, 'till it became 'unavoidable.' This Letter was ſign'd by the two Arch-Biſhops, four Biſhops, forty two Peers, twenty two Abbots, and eleven Commoners: To this the Pope wrote an Anſwer: 'He took notice of the Vehemence of their 'Stile: He freed himſelf from the Imputations of Ingratitude and Injuſtice: He acknowledg'd the King's great 'Merits, declaring he had done all he could in his Favour. He had granted a Commiſſion, but could not refuſe to receive the Queen's Appeal; all the Cardinals 'had with one Conſent judg'd, that an Avocation was 'neceſſary. Since then the Delays did not proceed from 'him, but the King; that he was ready to proceed, and 'would bring it to as ſpeedy an Iſſue, as the Importance of it would admit; and for their Threatnings, 'they were neither agreeable to their Wiſdom, nor their 'Religion.' But the King finding the Pope reſolv'd to grant nothing, and apprehending that ſome Bull might be brought into *England* in favour of the Queen, he ſet out a Proclamation againſt any who ſhould purchaſe or publiſh any Thing from *Rome* contrary to his Royal Prerogative, threatning Impriſonment, and other Puniſhments, which were founded upon the Statute of *Proviſors* and *Premunires.* After this he caus'd an Abſtract of all the Reaſons and Authorities of the Fathers, or Modern Writers, againſt his Marriage, to be publiſh'd both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*; by which it appear'd, That according to the Authority given to Tradition in the Church of *Rome*, the King had clearly the Right on his Side. Yet ſtill the Queen continu'd firm to her Reſolution of leaving the Matter in the Pope's Hands; and therefore would hearken to no Propoſitions that were made to her, for the referring the Cauſe to the Arbitration of ſome ſelect Perſons on both Sides. In the Judgments that People paſs'd, the Sexes were divided; the Men generally approv'd the King's Cauſe, and the Women as much favour'd the Queen.

A. D. 1531.
Reg. $\frac{22}{23}$.

The Clergy ſu'd in a Premunire.

A Seſſion of Parliament follow'd in the Month of *January*; in which the King caus'd all the Deciſions of the Univerſities, and the Books written for the Divorce, to be firſt read in the Houſe of Lords, and then they were carry'd down to the Commons, by the Chancellor *More*, and twelve Lords, both of the Spirituality and Temporality. There were twelve Seals of the Univerſities ſhew'd, and their Deciſions were read, firſt in *Latin*, and then tranſlated into *Engliſh*. There were alſo a hundred Books produc'd, written on the ſame Argument; upon the ſhewing of which, the Chancellor deſir'd them to report to their ſeveral Countries, 'That they now clearly ſaw, 'That the King had not attempted this Matter out of his 'meer Will and Pleaſure, but for the Diſcharge of his 'Conſcience, and the Security of the Succeſſion to the 'Crown.' This Affair was alſo brought into the Convocation, where the Clergy declar'd themſelves ſatisfy'd concerning the Unlawfulneſs of the Marriage; but their unfortunate Circumſtances at that Juncture, render'd their Declaration leſs conſiderable. For Cardinal *Wolſey* by exerciſing his Legantine Authority, having, as before related, fallen into a *Premunire*, they by joining in his Courts, were alſo involv'd in the ſame Guilt; and this Matter being excepted out of the late Act of Pardon, an Indictment was brought into the King's Bench, againſt all the Clergy of *England*, for breaking the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Premunires*; by which they were declar'd out of the King's Protection, their Goods forfeited, and their Perſons liable to Impriſonment. Now theſe old Statutes were reviv'd, that the Terror of them might not only mortifie the Court of *Rome*, but alſo oblige the Clergy to an intire Submiſſion, and to redeem themſelves by a conſiderable Subſidy. They alledg'd that they had err'd ignorantly; for the King, by his Favour to the Cardinal, ſeem'd to encourage that Authority he then exercis'd: It was a publick Error, therefore they ought not to be puniſh'd for it. To all which it was reply'd, that the Laws which they had tranſgreſs'd were ſtill in Force, therefore no Ignorance could excuſe the Violation of them. Upon which the Convocation of *Canterbury* made their Submiſſion, and in their Addreſs to the King, he was ſtil'd *The Protector, and Supream Head of the Church of* England; but ſome diſliking that, they added *as far as it is agreeable to the Law of Chriſt.*

They ſubmit, and compound with the King.

Chriſt. This was ſign'd by nine Biſhops, fifty Abbots and Priors, and the greateſt Part of the Lower Houſe; and with it they offer'd the King a Compoſition of a hundred thouſand Pounds, and promis'd for the future, not to make or execute any Conſtitutions without a Royal Licence. The Convocation of *York* did with ſome Reluctancy acknowledge the King the *Supream Head*, and ſubmitted with an Offer of above eighteen thouſand Pounds; all which being well receiv'd, the Clergy were all reſtor'd and pardon'd. But when the King's Pardon was brought into the Parliament Houſe, the Laity complain'd, That they were not included in it; for many of them were alſo obnoxious on the ſame Account, and liable to the ſame Puniſhment; therefore they addreſs'd to the King for Eaſe and Security. The King return'd Anſwer, *That his Mercy was neither to be reſtrain'd, nor extorted*; which put the Houſe of Commons under great Apprehenſions. But ſoon after they had paſs'd the Act, the King freely ſent a Pardon to all his Temporal Subjects, which was receiv'd with Univerſal Joy; and they acknowledg'd, *That in this Action, his Majeſty had happily temper'd his Greatneſs with his Clemency.*

The Pope joins with France.

The King finally parts with the Queen.

Theſe Proceedings were highly mortifying to the Court of *Rome*, and the Pope, who being about this Time much diſoblig'd by the Emperor, reſolv'd to unite himſelf to the Crown of *France*; and *Francis*, to gain him more entirely, propos'd a Match between his ſecond Son *Henry* and the Pope's Neice, the famous *Katharine de Medici*; which as it wrought much on the Pope's Ambition, ſo it was like to prove a great Support to his Family. The Pope joining with the *French*, and out of Danger from the Emperor, by reaſon of the preſent Progreſs of the *Turks*, King *Henry*'s Affairs might have eaſily been adjuſted, if he had not proceeded ſo far already; for the Pope's Conſcience being directed by his Intereſt, it was more than probable that at this Time he would give the King Satisfaction. He ſaw the Danger of loſing *England*, the Intereſt of the Clergy ſinking, *Lutheraniſm* encreaſing, and the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* taking Advantage from the preſent Employment of the Emperor; all which were melancholy Views. At the ſame Time King *Francis* enter'd into a League with the Proteſtant Princes, for the Conſervation of their Privileges; and ſo prevail'd upon King *Henry*, that he ſent over fifty thouſand Crowns for the ſame Deſign. And now, as it were, declining all Aſſiſtance from the Court of *Rome*, he us'd all Methods to prevail with the Queen to ſubmit; but nothing could remove her Reſolutions. And when ſome Lords repreſented to her the great Burden of Conſcience that lay upon the King's Mind, ſhe pray'd God *to ſend the King a quiet Conſcience, for ſhe was his lawful Wife, and would ſo continue, 'till the Court of* Rome *declar'd the contrary*. Upon which the King forbore to ſee her, and order'd her to chuſe to which of her Manors ſhe would pleaſe to retire; ſhe anſwer'd, *That wherever ſhe retir'd, nothing could move her from being his Wife*. Upon which Anſwer the King took his final Leave of her at *Windſor*, upon the fourteenth of *July*, and never ſaw her more. Here ended all the Temporal Grandeur of Queen *Katharine* of *Spain*, after ſhe had been twenty two Years Wife and Queen to one of the greateſt Monarchs of the Age; who tho' ſhe was a Lady of unqueſtionable Piety and Devotion, ſhe had both her Marriages attended with uncommon Misfortunes. This latter was examin'd by the Chief of all Chriſtendom, cenſur'd and pronounc'd Inceſtuous: But the former, which was ſeven Years in finiſhing by the two wiſeſt Kings in *Europe*, had the Way made to it by the Deſtruction of the Innocent Earl of *Warwick*; which made the religious Queen acknowledge, *That her Misfortunes were the Hand of Heaven, ſince her firſt Marriage was founded in Blood.*

A. D. 1532. Reg. $\frac{23}{24}$.

A new Seſſion of Parliament.

An Act againſt Annates *paid to* Rome.

VII.

King *Henry*, after four Years mighty Struggle, had now freed himſelf from the Perſon of his Queen; but not being yet regularly divorc'd, the Affair did not end here; and the former Proceedings had ſtill further Effects upon the King, the Clergy, and the whole Body of the Nation. In the Beginning of this Year, a new Seſſion of Parliament was held, in which the Laity complain'd of the Spiritual Courts, of their Way of Proceeding *ex Officio*, and not admitting Perſons accus'd to their Purgation. But theſe Complaints were at this Time ſtifled, by reaſon of an ill Underſtanding between the King and the Houſe of Commons, about a Bill concerning *Wards*; and tho' the King thought himſelf diſoblig'd, yet the Parliament being compos'd of Men very ill affected to the Clergy, he kept it ſtill in Being, to terrifie the Court of *Rome*. And in this Parliament the Foundation of the great Breach that afterwards follow'd with *Rome* was laid, by an Act for reſtraining the Payment of *Annates* or *Firſt-Fruits* to that Court. The Act ſets forth, 'That they were founded on no Law, but being firſt given to defend Chriſtendom againſt Infidels, they were ſince kept up as a Revenue to the Papacy, and Bulls were not granted 'till they were paid; for eight hundred thouſand Ducats had been carry'd out of *England* to *Rome* upon that Account, ſince the Beginning of the laſt Reign. The King was bound by the Royal Care of his Subjects to hinder ſuch Oppreſſions; therefore all benefic'd Perſons were requir'd not to pay *Firſt-Fruits* for the future, under Pain of forfeiting their Goods and Livings: And thoſe who were preſented to Biſhopricks were appointed to be conſecrated, tho' their Bulls were deny'd at *Rome*; and were requir'd to pay no more than five *per Cent.* of the clear Profits of their Sees. If the Pope ſhould upon this proceed to Cenſures, the Clergy were notwithſtanding commanded to perform all Divine Offices. But by an extraordinary Proviſo, it was referr'd to the King to declare at any Time between then and *Eaſter* in the following Year, whether this Act ſhould take Place or not.' The King, being afterwards provok'd by the Pope, by his Letters Patents declar'd the Act to be in force.

The Pope writes to the King.

His Anſwer;

The Pope cites him to Rome;

Before the Parliament broke up, the Pope, upon the Motion of the Imperialiſts wrote to the King, complaining, 'That notwithſtanding a Suit was depending concerning his Marriage, yet he had put away his Queen, and kept one *Anne Bolen* as his Wife, contrary to a Prohibition ſerv'd on him; therefore he exhorted him to live with his Queen, and put away the other.' Upon which the King ſent Doctor *Bennet* to *Rome*, with a large Diſpatch, in which he complain'd, 'That the Pope having proceeded upon the Suggeſtion of others, who were ignorant and raſh Men, he had carry'd himſelf inconſtantly and deceitfully, and not like *Chriſt's Vicar*: He had granted a Commiſſion, with a Promiſe never to recal it; and had ſent over a Decretal Bull determining the Cauſe. Either theſe were unjuſtly granted, or unjuſtly recall'd; If he had Authority to grant them, where was the Faith of a Friend, or a Pope, who had broke his Promiſe? If he had not Authority to grant them, he had juſt Cauſe to diſtruſt all that came from him. It was therefore plain that he was govern'd more by Intereſt than Conſcience; and that as he had often confeſs'd his own Ignorance in theſe Matters, ſo he wanted learned Men to adviſe him, otherwiſe he would not maintain a Marriage which almoſt all the learned Men and Univerſities in *England*, *France* and *Italy*, had condemn'd as unlawful.' After this he declar'd, 'That he would not queſtion his Authority, unleſs he was compell'd to it, and deſign'd only to reduce it to its firſt and ancient Limits, which was much better than to let it run on with Precipitation and Error.' This high Letter put the Pope upon a Reſolution to proceed and end this great Affair, either by a Sentence or a Treaty. Accordingly King *Henry* was cited to anſwer to the Queen's Appeal at *Rome* in Perſon, or by Proxy: Upon which Sir *Edward Karne* was ſent thither in the new Character of the King's Excuſator, to excuſe the King's Appearance, upon ſuch Grounds as could be founded on the Canon Law, and upon the Privileges of the Crown of *England*; and Doctor *Bonner*, a forward and ambitious Man, who would ſcruple at nothing that brought him Preferment, was ſent over with him.

Some Cardinals gain'd to the King's Side.

They arriv'd at *Rome* in the Month of *March*, where they found great Heats in the Conſiſtory about the King's Buſineſs: The Imperialiſts vehemently preſs'd the Pope to give Sentence; but all the wiſe Cardinals, who obſerv'd by the Proceedings of the Parliament, that the Nation would adhere to the King, if he ſhould be provok'd to ſhake off the Pope's Yoke, were very apprehenſive of a Breach, and ſuggeſted milder Counſels to the Pope; and the King's Agents aſſur'd him, that if he would give the King Satisfaction, the late Acts againſt *Annates* or *Firſt-Fruits* ſhould not be put in Execution. At that Time the Cardinal of *Ravenna* was conſider'd as an Oracle in the Conſiſtory, therefore the King's Agents reſolv'd to gain him with great Promiſes; but he ſubtilly reply'd, *That Princes were liberal of their Promiſes, 'till their Turns were ſerv'd, and then uſually forgot them.* Therefore before he would proceed he caus'd Doctor *Bennet* to give him a Promiſe in Writing of the Biſhoprick of *Ely*, or the firſt that became vacant, and he alſo ingag'd that the King ſhould procure him Benefices in *France* to the Value of ſix thouſand Ducats a Year, for the Service he ſhould do him by his Divorce. This was an Argument of ſuch powerful Efficacy with the Cardinal, that it abſolutely turn'd him from being a great Enemy, to be as great a Promoter of the King's Cauſe, tho' with no ſmall Artifice. Several other Cardinals were likewiſe mollify'd and prevail'd upon by the ſame Topicks. The King's Agents put in his Excuſatory Plea in twenty eight Articles; and it was order'd that three at a Hearing ſhould be diſcuſs'd before the Conſiſtory, 'till all ſhould be examin'd: But that Court ſitting no more than once a week, the Imperialiſts, after ſome of them had been heard, procur'd an Order, that the reſt for greater Diſpatch ſhould be heard in a Congregation or Committee of Cardinals, before the Pope: Which being refus'd by *Karne*, it was referr'd back to the Conſiſtory. Againſt this the Imperialiſts proteſted, and refus'd to appear any more; upon which *Karne* complain'd of their Contumacy, declaring they were diſtruſtful of their Cauſe.

During the Examination of this Plea, News were brought to *Rome* from *England*, That a Prieſt for preaching up the Pope's Power was caſt into Priſon; and that a Perſon committed by the Arch-Biſhop for Hereſie, appeal'd to the King as *Supream Head*, which was receiv'd and judg'd in the King's Courts. The Pope made great Complaints upon this; but the King's Agents only ſaid, *The beſt Method to prevent the like for the future, was to do the King Juſtice.* At this Time a Bull being deſir'd, was granted to the King for ſuppreſſing ſome Monaſteries, and erecting ſix new Biſhopricks out of them. *Cheſter* was nam'd for one; and the Cardinal of *Ravenna* was ſo pleas'd with the Revenue deſign'd for it, that he ſecur'd it to himſelf, 'till *Ely* ſhould fall vacant. In concluſion, the Pope ſeem'd to favour the King's Excuſatory Plea, which rais'd the Clamours of the Imperialiſts; but this amounting to no more than to excuſe the King's perſonal Appearance, the new-gain'd Cardinals adviſ'd the King to ſend over a Proxy for anſwering to the Merits of the Cauſe, and not to waſte more time in that dilatory Plea; 'and they having before declar'd themſelves againſt the King in that Plea, could now with the better Credit ſerve him in the Other.' The Vacation coming on, it was reſolv'd by the Cardinals then neither to admit nor reject the Plea; but both the Pope and College wrote to the King to ſend over a Proxy for determining the Matter next Winter. Doctor *Bonner* was alſo ſent to *England* to aſſure the King, That the Pope was now ſo much in the *French* Intereſt, that he might confidently refer his Matter to him; and likewiſe to declare to him, 'That ſince the grand Queſtion was, Whether the Pope could grant the Diſpenſation or not, it could not regularly be committed to Legates, but muſt be judg'd by the Pope and the Conſiſtory.

A Bull for erecting ſix new Biſhopricks.

A new Seſſion of Parliament.

During theſe dilatory and fruitleſs Proceedings at *Rome*, a new Seſſion of Parliament was call'd in *England*; in which the Clergy gave in their Anſwer to the Complaints made of them by the Commons in the former Seſſions. But when the King gave it to the Speaker, he expreſs'd his Diſpleaſure againſt one *Temſe*, a Member of their Houſe, who had mov'd for an Addreſs, That the Queen might be brought back to the Court, and declar'd, *That the Subject touch'd his Conſcience, which was not to be determin'd by their Houſe: He wiſh'd the Marriage was good, but many Divines had declar'd it unlawful: He did not make this Suit out of Luſt or fooliſh Appetite, being then paſt the Heats of Youth; but as his Conſcience was troubled, he deſir'd the ſame might be reported to the Houſe.* Shortly after, the King ſent again for the Speaker, and told him, *That he had found the chief Clergy of the Realm were but half Subjects, or ſomething leſs.* For it appear'd that every Biſhop or Abbot, at the entring upon his Dignity, took an Oath to the Pope, inconſiſtent with that of their Fidelity to the King, which Contradicton he deſir'd might be remov'd by the Parliament. Whereupon theſe two Oaths being by the King's Order read and conſider'd, the Parliament ſo treated the matter, as it occaſion'd the final Renunciation of the Pope's Authority about two Years after. A Plague put a ſudden End to this Seſſion, about which time Sir *Thomas More* laid down his Office of Lord-Chancellor, which was conferr'd on Sir *Thomas Audley*. He now ſaw how far the King's Deſigns tended; and tho' he was for oppoſing the Papal Incroachments, and chearfully concurr'd with the Suit of the *Premunire*; yet when he ſaw a total Rupture like to enſue, he could not keep pace with others, but retir'd to a private Life with a Greatneſs of Mind equal to what the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* had expreſs'd on ſuch Occaſions. He diſliked Mrs. *Bolen*, and her Father, who endeavour'd to faſten ſome criminal Imputations on him, in the Diſtribution of Juſtice; but his Integrity was ſuch, as nothing could be brought againſt him to blemiſh his Reputation.

Sir Thomas More *quits his Office.*

In *September* following, the King created Mrs. *Anne Bolen* Marchioneſs of *Pembroke*, that ſhe might have a gradual Riſe to that Height for which he had deſign'd her. And in *October* he paſs'd the Seas with her, and had a ſolemn Enterview with the *French* King, according to former Articles; where on both Sides all paſs'd all poſſible Compliments and Endearments, with the utmoſt State and Magnificence, and a firm Union was concerted of all their Affairs. Extraordinary Entertainments and Diverſions were made for them both at *Bologn* and *Calais*; and their Rule of Proceeding was, That while *Francis* was on *French* Ground, he gave Place, but when he came to the *Engliſh* Pale he receiv'd it. As to the Matter of King *Henry*'s Divorce, *Francis* incourag'd him to proceed to a ſecond Marriage, promiſing to aſſiſt him in it, if Occaſion ſo requir'd; and aſſur'd him, That he intended to reſtrain the Payment of *Firſt-Fruits* to *Rome*, and would demand of the Pope a Redreſs of that and other Grievances, which if deny'd, Remedies ſhould be ſought in a Provincial Council. An Enterview was alſo propos'd between the Pope and him, at which he deſir'd King *Henry* to be preſent, to which he was not unwilling, if he could have Aſſurance that his Buſineſs would finally be determin'd. The Pope about this time offer'd to King *Henry* to ſend a Legate to any indifferent Place out of *England*, to form the Proceſs, reſerving only the final Sentence to himſelf; and propos'd to him, and all Princes, a general Truce, that ſo he might call a general Council. The King of *England* in his Reply declar'd, 'That it was contrary to his Prerogative to ſend a Proxy to appear at *Rome*; That by the Decrees of General Councils, all Cauſes ought to be judg'd on the Place, and by a Provincial Council; and that it was more proper to judge it in *England*, than any other Place; That by his Coronation Oath, he was bound to maintain the Dignities of his Crown, and the Rights of his Subjects, and not to appear before any other Foreign Court.' So Sir *Thomas Elliot* was ſent over with Inſtructions, to move that the Cauſe might be judg'd in *England*: Yet if the Pope had real Intentions to give the King Satisfaction, he was not to inſiſt on that Particular. And to make the Cardinal of *Ravenna* ſure, he ſent him the Offer of the Biſhoprick of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, then vacant.

A ſecond Enterview between the Kings of England *and* France.

But before any Anſwers could be return'd, the King marry'd the late advanc'd Mrs. *Bolen*, on the fourteenth Day of *November*, at *Calais*; the Office being perform'd by *Rowland Lee*, afterwards Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, with great Privacy, tho' in the Preſence of the Duke of *Norfolk*, her Father, her Mother, and her Brother. It was now concluded among them, That the former Marriage being declar'd void by the profoundeſt Heads in *Europe*, the King might lawfully proceed to another: And probably it was hoped, that as the Pope himſelf had formerly propos'd the very Method, ſo he would now readily join with him. But tho' the Pope had join'd himſelf to *France*, yet he ſtill ſo much dreaded the Emperor, that he reſolv'd not to provoke him; and therefore would not be prevail'd upon by any of the Expedients which Doctor *Bennet* propos'd, which was either to determine the Cauſe in *England*, according to the Council of *Nice*, or to refer it to the Arbitration of particular Perſons nam'd by the Pope and the two Kings of *England* and *France*; for all theſe he ſaid tended to the Diminution of the Papal Authority. Wherefore a new Citation was iſſu'd out for the King to anſwer to the Queen's Complaints; but the King's Agents proteſted, 'That as their Maſter could expect no Juſtice from *Rome*, where the Emperor's Power was ſo great; ſo he was a Sovereign Prince, and the Church of *England* a free Church, over which the Pope had no juſt Authority.'

The King's ſecond Marriage, with Anne Bolen.

A.D. 1533. Reg. 24/25.

The Parliament condemns all Appeals to Rome.

In the mean time the threaten'd Breach with the See of *Rome* was much promoted by a new Seſſion of Parliament, begun on the fourteenth of *February*, which paſs'd an Act, condemning all Appeals to the Pope; declaring, 'That the Crown was Imperial, and the Nation a compleat Body, with full Power to do Juſtice in all Caſes, both Spiritual and Temporal: And that as former Kings had maintain'd the Liberties of the Kingdom againſt the Uſurpations of *Rome*, ſo they found the great Inconveniences of allowing Appeals in Matrimonial Cauſes, by occaſioning unreaſonable Charges and Delays: Therefore it was enacted, That thoſe hereafter ſhould be judged in the Kingdom, and no Regard had to any Appeals to *Rome*, or Cenſures from it; but Sentences given in *England*, were to have their full Effect; and all that executed any Cenſure from *Rome*, were to incur a *Premunire*. Appeals were to be from the Arch-Deacon to the Biſhop, and from him to the Arch-Biſhop: Only in Cauſes that concern'd the King the Appeal was to be to the Convocation.' This Matter was likewiſe diſcuſs'd in the Convocation, which at preſent wanted a Head; for in the preceding Year dy'd *Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who had been a great Patron of Learning, a good Canoniſt, and a wiſe Stateſman, but a cruel Perſecutor of Hereticks, and too much inclin'd to believe Fanatical Stories. Doctor *Cranmer* was then in *Germany*, diſputing in the King's Cauſe with ſome of the Emperor's Divines. The King reſolv'd to advance him to that Dignity, and ſent a Meſſage to haſten his Return; but a Promotion ſo far above his Thoughts, had different Effects on him: He had a true and primitive Senſe of ſo mighty a Charge; and inſtead of aſpiring to it, he was really afraid of it, and he both return'd very ſlowly to *England*, and us'd all his Endeavours to be excus'd from that Advancement. At length, by the King's Order, Bulls for his Conſecration were deſir'd at *Rome*, notwithſtanding the late Act againſt *Annates*; which the Pope granted, tho' it could not be grateful to him to ſend them to one who had ſo publickly diſputed and queſtion'd

Cranmer *made Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury.

queſtion'd his diſpenſing Power: Only a ſmall Compoſition was paid, and theſe were the laſt Bulls that were received in *England* during this King's Reign. On the thirtieth of *March*, Doctor *Cranmer* was conſecrated by the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, and St. *Aſaph*; in which the Oath to the Pope rais'd ſome Scruples: Therefore he made a formal Proteſtation before he took it, *That he conceiv'd himſelf not bound by it in any Thing contrary to his Duty to God, to his King, or Country*, all which he openly repeated when he took the Oath: So if this ſeem'd too artificial for a Man of his Sincerity, yet ſtill he acted fairly, and without actual Deceit.

The Convocation condemns the King's firſt Marriage.

Cranmer gives the final Sentence

The Birth of Queen Elizabeth.

Upon his Conſecration and Inveſtiture, he took his Place in the Convocation, where two Queſtions were then warmly debating: The firſt was, concerning the Lawfulneſs of the King's Marriage, and the Validity of the Pope's Diſpenſation; the other was of Matter of Fact, Whether Prince *Arthur* had conſummated the Marriage or not. To determine both, the Opinions of the Univerſities and foreign Divines were conſider'd, with all the preſumptive Evidences of Prince *Arthur*'s Conſummation. After a ſolemn Debate, the King's Marriage was declar'd unlawful and null, and by ſo great a Majority in the upper Houſe, that it paſs'd under the Title of *Nemine Contradicente*. And the Church of *England* having made ſuch a full Deciſion, nothing remain'd but a judicial Sentence of Divorce. The new Queen *Anne* began to appear big with Child, which was look'd upon as a great Proof of her Chaſtity with the King before Marriage; and on *Eaſter* Eve ſhe was firſt declar'd Queen of *England*. Shortly after Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, with *Gardiner*, now Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Bath* and *Wells*, with many Divines and Canoniſts, went and held a Court at *Dunſtable*, near Queen *Katharine*, who reſided at *Ampthil*. The King and Queen were both cited; he appear'd by Proxy, but the Queen, refuſing to ſhew any Regard to the Court, after three Citations, was declar'd contumacious; and all the Merits of the Cauſe formerly mention'd, were examin'd. At length, on the twenty third of *May*, Sentence was given, declaring the Marriage to have been null from the Beginning; and ſome Days after, the Arch-Biſhop gave another Judgment, confirming the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*. Upon this, on the firſt Day of *June*, ſhe was crown'd Queen of *England*, with ſuch Pomp and Solemnity, as was anſwerable to the Magnificence of the preſent Monarch, as may be ſeen at large in *Hollingſhed* and other Writers. Various Cenſures paſs'd upon this; but all admir'd at the new Queen's Conduct, who in a Courſe of ſo many Years manag'd the Spirit of a King ſo violent, as neither to ſurfeit him with too many Favours, nor to provoke him with too much Niceneſs. Her being ſo ſoon with Child, gave Hopes of a numerous Iſſue; and they who lov'd the Reformation, expected better Days under her Protection; but many Prieſts and Friars, both in Sermons and Diſcourſes, condemn'd the King's Proceedings, as prepoſterous, as well as unlawful. On the 13th or 14th of *September* the Queen brought forth a Daughter, chriſten'd *Elizabeth*, afterwards the renown'd Queen of *England*, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was her God-Father. Great Rejoycings were made at her Birth, and ſhe was ſoon after declar'd Princeſs of *Wales*; tho' Lawyers thought it againſt Law, for ſhe could only be *Heir preſumptive*, but not *apparent* to the Crown, becauſe a Son coming after muſt have been preferr'd.

In the mean time the King ſent Ambaſſadors to all the Courts of *Europe*, to give Notice of his new Marriage, and to juſtifie his Proceedings: At the ſame time he ſent Perſons to Queen *Katharine*, to command her to aſſume no other Title than *Princeſs Dowager*; and to give her Hopes of her Daughter being put next the Queen's Iſſue in the Succeſſion, if ſhe would ſubmit her ſelf to his Will. But the afflicted Queen would not yield, declaring *She would not damn her Soul, nor ſubmit to ſuch Infamy*; and reſolv'd that none ſhould ſerve her, who did not treat her as a Queen. All her Servants ſo adher'd to her Intereſt, that no Threatnings or Promiſes could prevail upon them; and what the King did in this was thought below that Height of Mind which appear'd in his other Actions; for ſince he had ſtripp'd her of the real Greatneſs of a Queen, it was too much to refuſe her the Pageantry of the Title. The News of theſe Proceedings made great Impreſſions in foreign Parts: The Emperor ſeem'd ſwell'd with Reſentments. The *French* King was colder than King *Henry* expected; yet he promis'd to intercede with the Pope, and the Cardinals, on his Account: But he was now ſo intirely gain'd by the Pope, That he reſolv'd not to involve himſelf as a Party in King *Henry*'s Quarrel; and he alſo receded from the Deſigns he once had of erecting a Patriarchate in *France*, for the Pope had lately granted him a Satisfactory Power over his own Clergy. The Emperor was not a little pleaſed with the *French* King's Coldneſs and Backwardneſs; for this might probably ſeparate thoſe two Kings, whoſe Conjunction had been ſo dangerous to him. At *Rome* the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction loudly exclaim'd againſt the Attempt made on the Pope's Power, ſince a Sentence was given in *England* in a Proceſs depending at *Rome*; therefore they urg'd the Pope to proceed to Cenſures. But inſtead of putting the Matter paſt Reconciliation, there was only a Sentence given, annulling all that the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* had done; and the King was requir'd, under Pain of Excommunication, to reduce all Things to their former State, before *September* next; which Sentence was ſoon after affix'd in *Dunkirk*.

The Pope annuls Cranmer's *Sentence:*

Yet promiſes to give Satisfaction to King Henry.

At the ſame time King *Henry* ſent a great Embaſſie to the *French* King, who was then removing towards *Marſeilles*, where the Pope was to meet him: The Deſign was to diſſuade him from the Journey, unleſs the Pope might be procur'd to give King *Henry* Satisfaction. The King of *France* declar'd he was ingag'd in Honour to make that Journey, but aſſur'd the Ambaſſadors, *That he would remember their Maſter's Concerns, with as much Zeal, as if they were his own.* At *Marſeilles*, the Marriage was concluded between the young Duke of *Orleans*, afterwards King *Henry* the Second, and the Pope's Neice; to whom the Pope gave a hundred thouſand Crowns, and many Principalities, which he pretended were either Fiefs of the Papacy, or belonging to him in the Rights of the Houſe of *Medici*. There was a private Agreement made between the Pope and *Francis*, 'That if King *Henry* would refer his Cauſe 'to the *Roman* Conſiſtory, with an Exception to the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction, and would in all other 'Things return to his Obedience to the Apoſtolick See, 'then Sentence ſhould be given in his Favour;' but this was to be kept ſecret. So that *Bonner*, not being truſted with it, and ſent thither with an Appeal from the Pope to the next general Council, made it with ſuch Heat and Inſolence to the Pope's Perſon, it is ſaid, that he was threatened to be thrown into a Cauldron of melted Lead, or to be burnt alive; upon the Apprehenſion of which he fled away privately. But when *Francis* return'd to *Paris*, he ſent the Biſhop of that City to King *Henry*, to let him know what he had obtain'd of the Pope in his Favour, and the Terms on which it was promis'd; which ſo prevail'd upon the King, that thinking them ſecure, he immediately conſented to them. Upon which, the Biſhop of *Paris*, tho' in the middle of Winter, took a Journey to *Rome*; aſſuring himſelf of the Scarlet, if he were Inſtrumental in regaining *England*, which was then upon the Point of being loſt. What the Aſſurances were that the Pope gave, may be gather'd from a Letter wrote by the Arch-Biſhop of *York* and Biſhop of *Durham*, which declares, That the Pope ſaid at *Marſeilles*, *That if the King would ſend a Proxy to* Rome, *he would give Sentence for him againſt the Queen, for he knew his Cauſe was good and juſt.*

But afterwards proceeds haſtily to Sentence:

Upon the Biſhop of *Paris*'s Arrival at *Rome*, the Matter ſeem'd determin'd; for it was promis'd, 'That upon King '*Henry*'s ſending a Writing under his Hand, to put Things 'in their former State, and his ordering a Proxy to appear 'for him, Judges ſhould be ſent to *Cambray* for making 'the Proceſs, and Sentence ſhould be immediately given.' Upon Notice given of this, and of a Day that was prefix'd for the Return of the Courier, King *Henry* with utmoſt Expedition diſpatch'd a Perſon, with a formal Promiſe under his Hand; ſo now the Conteſt ſeem'd at an End, and the Wound that was thought fatal, was almoſt healed. But God thought fit to ruin the Attempt; and the Meſſenger, who had a Sea and the *Alps* to paſs, beſides ill Ways and Weather to encounter, could not obſerve the prefix'd Day: Which caus'd the Imperialiſts to ſhew their Reſentments, and violently to urge the Pope to proceed to Sentence, againſt one who had abus'd his Eaſineſs. The Biſhop of *Paris* mov'd only for a Delay of ſix Days, which he thought a reaſonable Requeſt for one who had Patience ſo many Years; but the Deſign of the Imperialiſts was to hinder all Terms of Reconciliation; therefore with the utmoſt Aggravations they urg'd, 'That King *Henry* was 'ſeeking Delays and Conceſſions meerly to delude the 'Pope; and that he had gone ſo far in his Deſigns againſt 'the Apoſtolick See both by Books and Libels, that it was 'neceſſary to proceed to Cenſures.' The inrag'd Pope was ſo fir'd with theſe Repreſentations, and the News he heard from *England*, that without conſulting his ordinary Prudence, he brought the Matter to the Conſiſtory: where the Imperialiſts being moſt numerous, it was hurry'd on with ſuch Precipitation, that they tranſacted that in one Seſſion, which according to Form ſhould have been done in three. They gave the final Sentence, declaring King *Henry*'s Marriage with Queen *Katharine* good; and requir'd him to live with her as his Wife, otherwiſe they would proceed to Cenſures. Two Days after that, the Courier came with King *Henry*'s Submiſſion in due Form, and with earneſt Letters from King *Francis* in his Favour. This ſo ſenſibly affected all the indifferent and wiſe Cardinals, that they begg'd of the Pope to conſider the Matter again, before all was loſt. A new Conſiſtory was call'd; but the Imperialiſts preſs'd with greater Violence than ever, ‘ That they would not give ſuch a Scandal as to revoke a definitive Sentence of a Marriage, and give the Hereticks ſuch Advantages by their Unſteadineſs in Matters of that Nature.’ Upon which it was carry'd, That the former Sentence ſhould take Place; and the Execution of it was committed to the Emperor himſelf. This was amazing to all *Europe*, to ſee the Court of *Rome* throw off *England* with ſo much Contempt, as if they had been ſurfeited with the Obedience and Profits of ſo famous a Kingdom; and their Proceedings look'd as if they had been ſecretly directed by a Divine Providence that deſign'd to draw mighty Conſequences from this Breach, and did ſo infatuate thoſe who were moſt concern'd to prevent it, that they needleſly drew it upon themſelves.

Which cauſes a final Breach with K. Henry.

A.D. 1534. Reg. $\frac{25}{26}$.

When King *Henry* had heard this, and underſtood that he was us'd with ſo much Scorn and Indignity at *Rome*, he was extreamly inrag'd, and the more becauſe he had made ſo great a Submiſſion; therefore he reſolv'd to make a total Breach with that See, that had put him to ſuch vaſt and uſeleſs Expences, and had treated him for ſeveral Years with all the Artifices that could ariſe from Subtilty and Perfidiouſneſs. And in this Matter he had partly anticipated the Deſigns of that Court; for judging it the beſt Way to procure a Peace, was to manage the War vigorouſly, he had held a Seſſion of Parliament from the fifteenth of *January* to the thirtieth of *March*, in which he procur'd a great Change in the whole Conſtitution of the Government of the Church. The Pope's Power had then for four Years together been nicely examin'd and diſputed in *England*; in which the Repreſentatives proceeded by theſe Steps. They firſt controverted his Power of diſpenſing with the Law of God: From that they paſs'd on to examine what Juriſdiction he had in *England*, upon which followed the convicting the Clergy in a *Premunire*, with their Submiſſion: And that led them to diſpute the Pope's Right to *Annates*, and other Exactions, which they condemn'd: And the condemning all Appeals to *Rome* naturally follow'd that. And now ſo many Branches of that Power being cut off, the very Root was next ſtruck at, and the Foundations of the Papal Authority were examin'd. For near a Year together there had been many publick Debates about it; and both in the Parliament and Convocation the Subject was long canvaſs'd; and all that could be alledg'd on both Sides, maturely conſider'd. The ſeveral Arguments being fully open'd in many Diſputes, and publiſh'd in ſeveral Books, all the Biſhops, Abbots and Priors in *England*, excepting *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, were ſo far ſatisfy'd with them, or ſo unwilling to leave their Preferments, that they reſolv'd to comply with the Changes which the King was reſolv'd to make: *Fiſher* was in great Eſteem for Piety and Strictneſs of Life, therefore great Pains were us'd by the Arch-Biſhop and others to bring him to a Compliance, but with no Effect.

The Steps towards deſtroying the Pope's Supremacy in England.

Every *Sunday* during this famous Seſſion of Parliament, a Biſhop preach'd at St. *Paul*'s, and declar'd, That the Pope had no Authority in *England:* Before this, they had only ſaid, That a general Council was above him, and the Exactions of the *Roman* Court, and Appeals to it were unlawful; but now they rais'd a ſtrain higher, to prepare the People for receiving the Acts then in Agitation. On the ninth Day of *March* the Houſe of Commons began the noted Bill for taking away the Pope's Power, and ſent it to the Lords in five Days Time; who after ſix Days longer, paſs'd it without Oppoſition. In this Bill, ‘ They ſet forth the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, grounded on the Pope's Power of Diſpenſing; and that as none could diſpenſe with the Laws of God, ſo the King and Parliament only could diſpenſe with the Laws of the Land: Therefore ſuch Licenſes and Diſpenſations as were formerly in uſe, ſhould for the future be granted by the two Arch-Biſhops, ſome of which were to be confirm'd under the Great Seal; and they appointed that hereafter all Commerce with *Rome* ſhould ceaſe. They alſo declar'd, That they did not deſign to alter any Article of the Catholick Faith of Chriſtendom, or of that which was declar'd neceſſary to Salvation. They confirm'd all the Exemptions granted to Monaſteries by former Popes, but ſubjected them to the King's Viſitation; and gave the King and his Council Power to examine and reform all Indulgences and Privileges granted by the Pope: The Offenders againſt this Law were to be puniſh'd according to the Statutes of *Premunire*.’ This Act reducing the Monaſteries entirely to the King's Authority, put them in no ſmall Confuſion; and thoſe who lov'd the Reformation, rejoyc'd both to ſee the Pope's Power extirpated, and to find the Scriptures made the Standard of Religion.

It is deſtroyed by Act of Parliament.

The Act of the Succeſſion.

After this, another remarkable Act paſs'd both Houſes in ſix Days Time, and without any Oppoſition, ‘ Settling the Succeſſion of the Crown; confirming the Sentence of Divorce, and the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*, and declaring all Marriages within the Degrees prohibited by *Moſes* to be unlawful: All that marry'd within them were appointed to be divorc'd, and their Iſſue illegitimated; and the Succeſſion to the Crown was ſettled upon the King's Iſſue by the preſent Queen *Anne*, or in Default of that, to the King's right Heirs for ever. All were to take a particular Oath, to maintain the Contents of this Act, againſt all manner of Perſons whatſoever; and if any refus'd the Oath when requir'd, or ſhould ſay any Thing to the Slander of the King's Marriage, he was to be judg'd guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, and to be puniſh'd accordingly.’ And thus was the King's Marriage confirm'd by Parliament; and when the Commons return'd this Bill to the Lords, they ſent them another with it, which was receiv'd and paſs'd, regulating the Proceedings againſt Hereticks, ‘ That whereas by a Statute of *Henry* the Fourth, Biſhops might commit Perſons upon Suſpicion of Hereſie; and Hereſie being generally defin'd, *To be whatever was contrary to the Scriptures, or Canonical Sanctions*, which was liable to great Ambiguity; therefore that Statute was repeal'd, and none were to be committed for Hereſie, but upon a Preſentment made by two Witneſſes; and none to be accus'd for declaring againſt Things only grounded upon the Pope's Canons. Bail was to be taken for Hereticks, and they were to be brought to their Tryals in open Court; and if upon Conviction they did not abjure, or were Relapſers, upon the King's Writ obtain'd, they were to ſuffer the former Puniſhment of Burning.’ This was a mighty Check to the Tyranny of the Popiſh Biſhops, and gave no ſmall Satisfaction to all that favour'd the Reformation.

Another to regulate the Proceeding againſt Hereticks.

The Submiſſion of the Clergy.

As the Parliament was proceeding in theſe uſeful Laws, there came a Submiſſion from the Clergy, then ſitting in Convocation, to be paſs'd into an Act. In it ‘ They acknowledg'd that all Convocations ought to be aſſembled by the King's Right, and promiſed upon the *Word of Prieſts*, never to make or execute any Canons, without the King's Aſſent: And ſince many of the receiv'd Canons were found to be contrary to the King's Prerogative, and the Laws of the Land, there was to be a Committee of thirty two, the one half out of both Houſes of Parliament, and the other of the Clergy, to be nam'd by the King, and empower'd to abrogate or regulate them, as they ſhould ſee Cauſe. Appeals to *Rome* were again condemn'd, and an Appeal was allow'd from the Arch-Biſhop to the King, upon which the Lord Chancellor was to grant a Commiſſion for a *Court of Delegates*. A Proviſo was added, that till the Committee of thirty two ſhould ſettle a Regulation of theſe Canons, thoſe then in Force ſhould ſtill take Place, except where they were contrary to the King's Prerogative, and the Laws of the Land.’ In this Parliament another Act paſs'd, for the better regulating the Elections and Conſecrations of Biſhops; condemning all Bulls from *Rome*; and appointing, ‘ That upon a Vacancy, the King ſhould grant a Licence for an Election, with a miſſive Letter ſignifying the Perſon nam'd to be elected: Within twelve Days after, the Dean and Chapter, *&c.* were requir'd to return an Election of the Perſon nam'd by the King, under their Seals. The Biſhop Elect was to ſwear Fealty, and a Writ to be iſſued out for his Conſecration after the uſual Manner: After which, he was to do Homage to the King, and be reſtor'd to the Spiritualities and Temporalities of the See; and Biſhops were to exerciſe their Juriſdiction as they had done before. All Tranſgreſſors of this Act were made guilty of a *Premunire*.’ A private Act alſo paſs'd, depriving Cardinal *Campegio*, and *Jerome di Ghinuccii* of the Biſhopricks of *Saliſbury* and *Worceſter*; the Reaſons given for it were, ‘ Becauſe they did not reſide in their Dioceſſes, for preaching the Word of God, and keeping Hoſpitality, but liv'd at the Court of *Rome*, and carry'd no leſs than three thouſand Pounds a Year out of the Kingdom.

An Act for Election of Biſhops.

The Attainder of the Nun of Kent.

The laſt Act of a publick Nature, tho' relating only to private Perſons, was concerning one *Elizabeth Barton*, call'd *The Holy Maid of* Kent; who was the firſt Occaſion of ſhedding any Blood in the Quarrel, which was much cheriſh'd by all the Superſtitious Clergy, that adher'd to the Intereſts of Queen *Katharine*, and the Pope. This *Barton*, a Nun of *Kent*, being ſuborn'd by Monks, to uſe ſome ſtrange Geſticulations, and to produce ſome feign'd Miracles, accompany'd with Prophetical Sayings, ſhe drew much Credit and Concourſe to her; inſomuch that ſome Perſons of the higheſt Note, as the late Arch-Biſhop, the late Chancellor Sir *Thomas More*, and Biſhop *Fiſher*, gave no little Countenance to her; and notwithſtanding the Danger of encouraging a particular Prediction of hers, *She is executed.*

That the King ſhould not live one Month after his Marriage with Mrs. Bolen, ſhe was ſtill applauded for her extraordinary Gifts. But the Plot being at laſt diſcover'd, ſhe was attainted of Treaſon in this Parliament, and ſhortly after executed with her chief Accomplices; at which Time alſo ſhe confeſs'd the Names of ſuch as had been Promoters of the Deſign, among whom were *More* and *Fiſher.* Upon the firſt Diſcovery of this Cheat, *Cromwell*, now Secretary of State, ſent *Fiſher*'s Brother to him to reprove him for his Carriage in that Buſineſs, and to adviſe him to aſk the King's Pardon for the Incouragement he had given to the Nun. But that Biſhop excus'd himſelf, declaring, 'He had only try'd whether her Relations were true 'or not; and that he thought it neceſſary to diſcover 'what ſhe ſaid concerning the King's Death, becauſe he 'knew that ſhe had told the ſame to the King; therefore 'he deſir'd to be no more troubled with that Matter.' But upon this Anſwer, *Cromwell* wrote him a ſharp Letter, ſhewing him, 'That he had proceeded raſhly; be'ing ſo partial to the Matter of the King's Divorce, that 'he believ'd every Thing that ſeem'd againſt it; that the 'higheſt Caution was to be us'd before new Revelations 'were receiv'd; otherwiſe the Peace of the World would 'be in the Power of ever bold and crafty Impoſtor.' Yet in Concluſion, he adviſ'd him 'to aſk the King's Pardon 'for his Raſhneſs, for he was confident, that he was rea'dy to forgive that, and every Thing elſe, by which he 'had offended him.' But *Fiſher* was ſtill obſtinate, and would make no Submiſſion, and ſo was included in the Act for Miſpriſion of Treaſon; yet it was not put in Execution 'till he drew a heavier Storm of Indignation upon himſelf.

The Oath of Succeſſion ſworn.

Upon the breaking up of the Parliament, both the Regular and Secular Clergy did in all Places take the Oath of Succeſſion; and none more zealouſly promoted it than *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. And the religious Orders, being apprehenſive of the King's Jealouſies, ſent in Declarations under the Seals of their Houſes, 'That in 'their Opinion the King's preſent Marriage was lawful, 'and that they would ever acknowledge him *Head of the 'Church of* England; That the Biſhop of *Rome* had no 'Authority out of his own Dioceſs, and that they would 'continue obedient to the King, notwithſtanding his Cen'ſures; That they would preach the Goſpel ſincerely ac'cording to the Scriptures, and pray for the King as *Su'pream Head of the Church of* England.' A Meeting of the Council ſat at *Lambeth*, to which many were cited in order to take the new Oath; among whom was Sir *Thomas more*, and Biſhop *Fiſher*.

More and Fiſher *refuſe the Oath.*

More declar'd, *He neither condemn'd ſuch as made the Act, nor ſuch as took the Oath, and was willing to ſwear to the Succeſſion of the Crown, but he could not take the Oath as it was now made*; and *Fiſher* made the ſame Anſwer, but all the reſt took the Oath. The Arch-Biſhop told *More*, *If he did not condemn thoſe who took the Oath, he was not perſuaded it was a Sin, and ſo was only doubtful of it*; *but he was ſure he ought to obey the Law, if it was not ſinful*; *ſo there was a Certainty on one Side, and only a Doubt on the other, therefore the former ought to determine him. More* ſaid, *If the Parliament of* England *was againſt him, he believ'd the reſt of Chriſtendom was on his Side:* In Concluſion both he and *Fiſher* declar'd, *That they believ'd it in the Power of the Parliament to ſettle the Succeſſion to the Crown, therefore they were ready to that Particular, but not to the reſt of the Oath, that pronounc'd the King's Marriage unlawful.* The Arch-Biſhop wiſely urg'd that this might be accepted; for if they ſwore to maintain the Succeſſion, it would conduce much to the Quiet of the Nation. But ſharper Counſels were then more acceptable; ſo they were both committed to the Tower, and Pen, Ink and Paper deny'd them; and the old Biſhop was treated with ſuch Hardſhip, as to Diet and Cloaths, as can never be excus'd.

For which they are impriſon'd.

The King by Act of Parliament made Supream Head of the Church of England.

In Winter another Seſſion of Parliament was held, in the Beginning of which that memorable Act was made, declaring the King to be the *Supream Head on Earth of the Church of* England, and appointing that to be added to his other Titles; empowering alſo him and his Succeſſors to reform all Hereſies and Abuſes in the Spiritual Juriſdiction. By another Act they gave the King the *Firſt-Fruits* and *Tenths* of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, as being the Supream Head of the Church; for the King being put in the Pope's Room, it was thought reaſonable to give him the *Annates*, which the Popes had formerly exacted. Another Act paſs'd, declaring ſome Things Treaſon; one of which was the denying the King any of his Titles, or calling him *Heretick*, *Schiſmatick*, or *Uſurper of the Crown:* And by another Act Proviſion was made for erecting twenty ſix Suffragan Biſhops over *England*, for the more ſpeedy Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and the better Service of God. In this Parliament Subſidies were alſo granted, which had been diſus'd for about twelve Years; and now introduc'd with the higheſt Preamble of the Nation's Felicity under the King's Government theſe twenty four Years, that Eloquence and Flattery could dictate. *Fiſher* and *More* by two ſpecial Acts were attainted of Miſpriſion of Treaſon; and five other Clerks were in like manner condemn'd, for refuſing to take the Oath of Succeſſion. Thus all Things conſpir'd to pull down the Power of *Rome*, and to make a greater Change than ever had been known in the Kingdom of *England.*

The Pope dies.

But before theſe Things were accompliſh'd, the preſent Pope *Clement* dy'd, who was one of the greateſt Diſſemblers and State-Jugglers that ever mounted the Chair: He was ſucceeded by *Aleſſandro* of the Houſe of *Farneſi*, under the Title of *Paul* the Third.

A.D. 1535. Reg. $\frac{26}{27}$.

VIII. The mighty King having paſs'd through the Traverſes and Toſſings of his famous Suit, and having with the Concurrence of his Clergy and Parliament compaſs'd what he had projected, ſeem'd now at eaſe in his own Dominions. But tho' theſe Matters were ſmoothly and ſucceſsfully carry'd in publick Aſſemblies, yet the Change was ſo ſhocking, that it caus'd many ſecret Diſcontents, which being fomented both by the Pope, and the Emperor's Agents wrought him infinite Trouble, ſo that the reſt of his Life was fill'd with uncommon Vexations and Diſquiets. The Nobility and Gentry were in general well ſatisfy'd with the Change; but the Body of the People were more ſubject to the Power of the Prieſts, who endeavour'd to infuſe great Fears of a Change in Religion: It was continually inſinuated, 'That the King was joining himſelf to 'Hereticks, and that they were favour'd by the new 'Queen, Arch-Biſhop and Secretary.' The Monks and Friars ſaw themſelves left to the Mercy of the King, and that their Bulls could be no longer uſeful to them; and they had ſome Intimations that *Cromwell* was forming a Project for ſuppreſſing them. So they thought it neceſſary for their own Preſervation to embroil the King's Affairs as much as was poſſible; therefore both in Confeſſions and Diſcourſes, they were inſtilling into the People a Diſlike of the King's Proceedings, which had ſuch Effect upon them, that if the Emperor's Affairs would have permitted him to make War upon the King, he might have done it with great Advantage, and found a ſtrong Party in *England* on his Side.

Great Diſcontents among many.

which began to ſower the King's Temper.

But the Practices of the Clergy at home, and of Cardinal *Pool*, an *Engliſhman*, abroad, the Libels that were publiſh'd, and the Rebellions that were afterwards rais'd in *England*, wrought ſo unhappily upon the King's buſie Thoughts, that he loſt much of his former beneficent Temper and Patience, and became too ready upon ſlight Grounds to bring his Subjects to the Bar; and his new Title of *Head of the Church*, ſeem'd to have increas'd and ſwell'd his imperious Temper, and made him fancy that all his Subjects were oblig'd to regulate their Belief by the Meaſures he ſet them. Yet it does not appear that Cruelty was natural to him, or that he thirſted after Blood; for in twenty ſix Years Reign, none had ſuffer'd for any Crime againſt the State, but *La Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, and both under reaſonable Pretenſions. But in the ten laſt Years of his Life, tho' he always proceeded upon Law, yet there occurr'd many Inſtances of Severity, for which this King is rather to be pity'd, than either imitated, or perhaps ſeverely cenſur'd. If there had been the leaſt Hope of Impunity, the laſt part of his Reign would have been one continu'd Rebellion; therefore to prevent a more profuſe Effuſion of Blood, it ſeem'd neceſſary to execute Laws ſeverely in ſome particular Inſtances.

Some few are executed.

When the Supremacy was inveſted in the King, by Law, it was made a *Premunire* not to ſwear to it; but it was made Treaſon to deny it, or ſpeak any Thing againſt it. As there were ſeveral of the Pope's Agents that ventur'd to break this Law, and ſometimes with no ſmall Inſolency and Obſtinacy, ſo it was thought neceſſary by the King and Council to make a ſpeedy Redreſs of theſe Miſchiefs. Therefore ſome Priors, and other Eccleſiaſticks, that were criminal in this Matter, being found guilty by the new Statute, were this Year executed as Traitors, being the firſt that ſuffer'd in this Kind. This Piece of Juſtice was not yet become familiar to the King, which caus'd him not only to mourn inwardly, but alſo to have his Head bald, and his Beard, formerly ſhaven, to be cut round; for which his Enemies maliciouſly ſaid, *It was only putting a new Countenance upon a new Dignity.* But if he proceeded thus rigorouſly againſt the Oppoſers of his Supremacy, he did no leſs puniſh the many pretended Reformers or Contradictors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion. Therefore, as in the laſt Year he had condemn'd *John Frith*, a Sacramentary, to the Fire, ſo he now caus'd divers *Hollanders* in *London*, who invented ſome different Religious Opinions, to be burnt in *Smithfield.* Shortly after, ſome others again were executed for denying the Supremacy; ſo that on both Sides it prov'd a ſevere Seaſon. Only, as King *Henry* found the Terrors already given, not ſufficient to keep

The Sufferings of Biſhop Fiſher.

His Character.

the reſt in awe, he reſolv'd to make ſome great Examples, and proceed againſt Biſhop *Fiſher* and Sir *Thomas More*. As to the former, the Pope's officious Kindneſs to him in declaring him a Cardinal, when in Priſon, did haſten his Ruin; tho' he valu'd the Honour ſo little, that he ſaid, *That if the Hat were lying at his Feet, he would not take it up*. He was try'd by a Jury of Commoners, and found guilty of Treaſon, for having declar'd againſt the King's Supremacy; and was condemn'd to be beheaded, which was executed on the twenty ſecond Day of *June*. On that Day he dreſs'd himſelf with more than ordinary Care, declaring, *He was now to be a Bridegroom*; and being led out he open'd the new Teſtament at a venture, and pray'd that ſuch a Place might turn up as might comfort him in his laſt Moments. The Words on which he caſt his Eyes were, *This is Life Eternal to know Thee, the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent*. On the Scaffold he repeated the *Te Deum*, and then laid his Head upon the Block, which was ſever'd from his Body in the eightieth Year of his Age. He was a learned and devout Man, but much addicted to Superſtition and Severity. He had been long Confeſſor to the King's Grandmother, the Counteſs of *Richmond*, and it was believ'd that he perſuaded her to thoſe Noble Deſigns of Founding two Colleges in *Cambridge*, *Chriſt*'s and St. *John*'s, and Divinity Profeſſors in both Univerſities, in Acknowledgment of which he was choſen Chancellor of *Cambridge*. King *Henry* the Seventh made him Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, which he would never exchange for any other, ſaying, *His Church was his Wife, and he would not part with her becauſe ſhe was poor*; and he was much eſteem'd by the preſent King, 'till his ſtrict Adherence to his Marriage, the Pope's Supremacy, and the Nun of *Kent*, brought this Misfortune upon him.

The Sufferings of Sir Thomas More.

His Character.

It was more difficult to find Matter againſt Sir *Thomas More*; for he was very cautious, and ſatisfy'd his Conſcience by not ſwearing to the Supremacy, but would not declare againſt it. Yet he ſaid, *The Act was like a Sword with two Edges, for if a Man anſwer'd one Way, it would confound his Soul, and if another, it would condemn his Body*. This was all the Meſſage he ſent to *Fiſher*, when he deſir'd to know his Opinion about it; he had alſo ſaid the ſame to the Duke of *Norfolk* and ſome Counſellors that came to examine him. When *Rich*, the King's Sollicitor, came as a private Friend to perſuade him to take the Oath, urg'd him with the Act of Parliament, and ask'd him, *If he ſhould be made King by Act of Parliament, whether he would acknowledge him*? He anſwer'd, *He would*; *becauſe a King might be made or depos'd by a Parliament*; *but the Matter of the Supremacy was a Point of Religion, to which the Power of Parliaments did not extend*. All this being witneſs'd againſt him, theſe Particulars were laid together, as amounting to a Denial of the King's Supremacy, and upon this he was judg'd guilty of Treaſon. He receiv'd his Sentence with that equal Temper of Mind which he had ſhew'd in both Conditions of Life; expreſſing great Contempt of the World, and much Wearineſs in living in it. His uſual Facetiouſneſs remain'd with him to the laſt Moment on the Scaffold; and that Way of Rallery had been ſo cuſtomary to him, that Death did not diſcompoſe him, nor put him out of his ordinary Humour: Which ſome too juſtly cenſur'd as little and indecent, and as having more of the Stoick than the Chriſtian in it. He was beheaded on the ſixth of *July*, in the fifty third Year of his Age; being a Man of great Capacities and eminent Virtues, who in his Youth had freer Thoughts, but was afterwards much corrupted by Superſtition, became fierce for all the Intereſts of the Superſtitious Clergy, and wrote much in Defence of the old Abuſes. The Execution of theſe two great Men, chiefly upon a Point of Conſcience, may juſtly be reckon'd among the Blemiſhes of that Reign: Yet we cannot but obſerve the Juſtice of Heaven, in thus retaliating their own Severities to others; for as *Fiſher* grievouſly proſecuted the Preachers of *Luther*'s Doctrine, ſo *More*'s Hand was heavy upon them, as long as he had Power, and he ſhew'd them no Mercy, but the Extremity of the Law, which himſelf felt now to be very heavy indeed.

The Progreſs of the Reformation by Queen Anne,

Cranmer,

and Cromwell.

The Greatneſs of Cromwell.

Theſe Inſtances and Examples unqueſtionably ſtruck a Terror into the Nation, and much haſten'd that great Work of the Reformation, ſo much deſir'd by many pious Perſons in the Kingdom. Queen *Anne* gave particular Encouragement to it, and took *Latimer* and *Shaxton* to be her Chaplains, and promoted them to the Biſhopricks of *Worceſter* and *Saliſbury*. Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* was fully convinc'd of the Neceſſity of it, and that he might carry it on with true Judgment, and juſtifie it by good Authorities, he made a famous Collection of the Opinions of the ancient Fathers, and later Doctors, in all the Points of Religion. He was a Man of rare Candor, Patience and Induſtry; and ſo on all Accounts admirably prepar'd for that Work, to which Providence did now call him; and tho' he ſeem'd in ſome Things too much ſubject to the King's Imperious Temper, yet he always ſhew'd he wanted not the Courage that became a Biſhop in ſuch critical Times. Next to him was Secretary *Cromwell*, his great and conſtant Friend; a Man of mean Birth, being the Son of a Blackſmith, but of noble and ſhining Qualities, as appear'd in two ſignal Inſtances; the one was his hearty Pleading in Parliament for his fallen and diſgrac'd Maſter the Cardinal, when others more oblig'd had abandon'd him; a rare Demonſtration of Gratitude in a Court, to a ſinking Favourite. The other was, That when he was in the height of his Greatneſs, hapning to ſee a decay'd Merchant of *Lucca*, who had pity'd and reliev'd him, when he was a poor Stranger in *Italy*, but did not as much as know him, or pretend to any Returns for the ſmall Favours formerly ſhew'd him, he treated him with ſuch extraordinary Acknowledgments, that it became the Subject of ſeveral Pens, which ſtrove who ſhould moſt celebrate his Generoſity. Having by his great Qualifications rais'd himſelf to the King's Favour, he was this Year made *Vicar General*, and Viſitor of all the Monaſteries and Churches of *England*, with a Delegation of the King's Supremacy to him; he was alſo impower'd to give Commiſſions ſubaltern to himſelf; and all Wills, where the Eſtate exceeded two hundred Pounds, were to be prov'd in his Court. This Power was afterwards enlarg'd, and he was made not only a Baron and Privy-Seal, but likewiſe the King's *Vice-gerent* in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and had the Precedence of all Perſons next the Royal Family, and his Authority was in all Points the ſame, that the Legates had in the Time of Popery: For as the King's Authority ſucceeded that of the Pope, ſo the King's *Vicegerent* was the ſame in Power that the Legates had formerly been.

The regular Clergy hate the preſent Eſtabliſhment.

The King and his Miniſters being reſolv'd to proceed, the Biſhops and Abbots us'd all reaſonable Methods to free the King of any Jealouſies that might be rais'd concerning them. At *Oxford* a publick Determination was made, to which every Member aſſented, *That the Pope had no more Authority in* England, *than any other Foreign Biſhop*. But the Regular Clergy, the Monks and Friars, whoſe Houſes and Government was generally exempted from the Biſhop's Juriſdiction, and more immediately dependant on the Pope, 'till this late Change, were ſecretly averſe, tho' openly complying. And having by a thouſand Artifices gain'd the Opinion of the People, it was therefore reſolv'd that ſome effectual Means ſhould be taken for leſſening their Credit and Authority among the Vulgar. Upon which Doctor *Leighton*, who had been in the Cardinal's Service with *Cromwell*, propos'd a general Viſitation of all the Monaſteries and Religious Houſes in *England*; and judg'd that nothing could reconcile the Nation ſo much to the King's Supremacy, as to ſee ſome good Effects flow from it. Others thought this too bold a Step, and that it might prove too dangerous a Provocation to the Religious; yet it was known that they were guilty of ſuch prodigious Diſorders, that nothing could ſo effectually keep them in awe, as a ſtrict Enquiry into them. To this the Arch-Biſhop led the Way by a Metropolitan Viſitation, for which he obtain'd the King's Licence; he took care to ſee the Pope's Name ſtruck out of all the Churches, and to have the King's Supremacy acknowledg'd.

A general Viſitation of the Monaſteries.

In *October* the grand Viſitation of the Monaſteries began, to the Terror of great Numbers of impious and ſcandalous Perſons of both Sexes. They were then about ſix hundred in Number, and very lowly valu'd at near two hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, beſides vaſt Riches in many of them; and ſeveral of them had the Privilege of *Sanctuaries* to all that fled to them. The numerous Abuſes, ariſing from the Nature of their Inſtitutions, as well as the Practices of the Monks, caus'd many to deſire a Diſſolution; and the King himſelf urg'd it forwards upon ſeveral Accounts. He deſign'd to erect new Biſhopricks, in order to which it was neceſſary to convert ſome of their Revenues: He alſo apprehended a War from the Emperor, and for that end, he intended to fortifie his Harbours, and to encourage Shipping and Trade, upon which the Ballance of the World began then to turn: And in order to that he reſolv'd to make uſe of the Wealth of thoſe Houſes, and judg'd the beſt Way to effect it would be firſt to expoſe their Abominations, that they might loſe their Eſteem, and make way for their Suppreſſion. The Arch-Biſhop promoted the ſame, both becauſe theſe Houſes were founded upon groſs Errors and Abuſes, and ſubſiſted by them, and that theſe were neceſſary to be remov'd, if a Reformation was purſu'd. The Extent of ſeveral Dioceſes were too great to be manag'd by one Biſhop; therefore he deſign'd to have more Biſhopricks founded, and to have Houſes at every Cathedral for the Education of thoſe who ſhould be employ'd in the Paſtoral Charge. For this famous Viſitation many Commiſſioners were employ'd, and nice Inſtructions were given to them, deſiring them to

Some of them ſurrender to the King.

inquire into all manner of Abuſes and Neglects. Theſe went all over *England*, according to their Precincts, and found in many Places moſt monſtrous Impieties and Diſorders. All the Sins of *Sodom* were found in many Houſes, great Factions and barbarous Cruelties were in others, and in ſome they found Inſtruments for Coining Money. The Report which was made at their Return contain'd many abominable Particulars, not fit to be mention'd by a Chriſtian, or a modeſt Pen, ſome of which were printed, but the greateſt part are loſt. Upon theſe Diſcoveries, ſome of the Houſes immediately ſurrender'd to the King, the firſt of which was *Langden* in *Kent*; which Example was follow'd by two others in the ſame Year, and four more in that which follow'd.

A. D. 1536. Reg. $\frac{27}{28}$.

The leſſer of them ſuppreſs'd by the Parliament.

Wales united to England.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

The ſame Year the Parliament met in *February*, after a Prorogation of fourteen Months; and one main Buſineſs of this Seſſion was the ſuppreſſing all the Monaſteries under two hundred Pounds a Year. Accordingly an Act was made, 'Setting forth the infinite Diſorders of thoſe 'ſmaller Houſes, and the many unſucceſsful Attempts 'that had been made to reform them; therefore the Re'ligious that were in them, were order'd to be remov'd 'into the larger Houſes, where Religion was better ob'ſerv'd, and the Revenues of them were given to the King.' Thoſe Houſes, which were three hundred and ſeventy in Number, were much richer than they ſeem'd to be: For an Abuſe that had run over *Europe*, of keeping the Rents of the Church at their firſt Rates, and exacting great Fines upon all Qccaſions, was ſo groſs in thoſe Houſes, that ſome rated but at two hundred Pounds were in real Value worth many thouſands: In this Parliament an Act was made of another Nature, which had been long projected, which was for the entire uniting and incorporating of the Principality of *Wales* with the Kingdom of *England*; which was now compleatly effected, two hundred and fifty two Years after that Country had been conquer'd or reduc'd by King *Edward* the Firſt. In the Convocation, which ſate at the ſame Time, a Motion was made for tranſlating the Bible into *Engliſh*, which had been formerly promis'd when *Tindal*'s Tranſlation was condemn'd. The Matter was fully debated on both Sides, and at length by the Means of the Arch-Biſhop and ſome others it was carried in the Affirmative; and by Queen *Anne*'s Intereſt it was ſo far promoted at Court, that Orders were given for the performing of it with all Expedition. After all Buſineſs was finiſh'd, this famous Parliament, which had done the King ſuch eminent Service, and had now ſate ſix Years, was diſſolv'd on the fourteenth of *April*.

The Death of Queen Katharine.

Her Character.

But before this happen'd, the afflicted and unfortunate Queen *Katharine*, who had often been the Subject of their Debates, dy'd at *Kimbolton* in *Huntingtonſhire*. Her Sufferings begot great Compaſſion in the People, and all the ſuperſtitious Clergy zealouſly ſupported her Intereſts; but now her Troubles ended with her Life. She deſir'd to be bury'd among the *Obſervant* Friars, who had ſuffer'd moſt for her; and order'd five hundred Maſſes for her Soul, and that one of her Women ſhould go on Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Walſingham*, and give two hundred Nobles on her Way to the Poor. When ſhe found Death approaching, ſhe wrote to the Emperor, earneſtly recommending her Daughter *Mary* to his Care; and likewiſe to the King, with this Inſcription, *My dear Lord, King and Husband*: In which, 'She forgave him all the Injuries he had done 'her, deſiring him to have regard to his Soul.' She re'commended her Daughter to his tender Care, and begg'd 'of him to provide Matches for her three Maids, and to 'pay her Servants a Year's Wages; and concluded thus, '*Mine Eyes deſire you above all Things*.' She dy'd in the fiftieth Year of her Age, and thirty three after ſhe came into *England*; and was a ſufficient Inſtance that Greatneſs and Happineſs are of two diſtinct Natures. She was a devout and exemplary Lady, who us'd to work much with her own Hands among her Women; and the Severities and Devotions that were known to her Prieſts, and her Alms-Deeds join'd to her Misfortunes, rais'd a high Eſteem of her in all ſorts of People. The King indeed often complain'd of her uneaſie Temper; but that perhaps was to be imputed as much to the Provocations he gave her, as to any Sowerneſs in her own. The King receiv'd the News of her Death not without Tears; and order'd her to be bury'd in the Abby-Church at *Peterborough*. But Queen *Anne* did not carry her Death ſo decently as became a happy Rival; expreſſing too much Joy, both in her Behaviour and her Habit.

The Fall of Queen Anne.

It was but a few Months after, that this flouriſhing Queen met with a Fall more unfortunate and fatal than the other; which in all Probability was occaſion'd by thoſe who now began to be diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of the *Romiſh* Party. For the King now proceeding both at home and abroad in the Point of Reformation, they found that the Intereſt the Queen had in him, was the great Obſtacle of their Deſigns: She increas'd not only in the King's Eſteem, but in the Love of the Nation; and in the laſt nine Months of her Life, ſhe gave above fourteen thouſand Pounds in Alms to the Poor, and was much employ'd in doing of Good. But many Circumſtances contributed to her Ruin. Soon after Queen *Katharine*'s Death, ſhe brought forth a dead Son, which was believ'd to have made ſome unfortunate Impreſſion on the King's Mind. It was alſo conſider'd by ſome Courtiers, That now Queen *Katharine* was dead, the King might marry another Wife, and be fully reconcil'd with the Pope and Emperor: And the Iſſue by any other Marriage would never be queſtion'd; whereas, while Queen *Anne* liv'd, the Ground of the Controverſie ſtill remain'd, and her Marriage being accounted null from the Beginning, would never be allow'd by the Court of *Rome*, or any of that Party. With theſe Reaſons of State, the King's Affections too much concurr'd; for he now entertain'd a ſecret Love for the Lady *Jane Seymour*, who had all the Charms of Youth and Beauty, and her Humour temper'd between the Gravity of Queen *Katharine*, and the Gaiety of Queen *Anne*. The poor unfortunate Queen us'd all poſſible Arts to blow up an expiring Flame in his Breaſt; but the King was chang'd, and inſtead of being warm'd by her Careſſes, he began to conſider them as Artifices to varniſh over ſome other criminal Affection. Her chearful Humour was not always govern'd by the moſt nice Decency, and exact Rules of Diſcretion; and her Brother's Wife, a Woman of Infamy, being jealous of her Husband and her, poſſeſs'd the King with her own Apprehenſions, and fill'd his furious Head with many Stories. *Norris*, *Weſton* and *Brereton* the King's Servants, and *Smeton* a Muſician, were by her Enemies thought to be too officious about her; and ſomething was pretended to have been ſworn by the Lady *Wingfield* at her Death, that determin'd the King, but we find nothing particular. It is reported beſides, that when the King held a Tournament at *Greenwich*, he was diſpleas'd at the Queen for letting her Handkerchief fall to one for wiping his Face; but this ſeems a Fiction, becauſe the Parliament was ſummon'd the Day before that, and then was her Ruin determin'd.

The King jealous of her.

She is impriſon'd.

Cranmer writes for her to the King.

However it was, upon that Day the King confin'd her to her Chamber, and order'd her Brother, and the four fore-mention'd Perſons to be committed to the *Tower*, and herſelf to be ſent after them the Day following. On the River ſome Privy-Counſellors came to examine her, but ſhe made deep Proteſtations of her Innocence; and as ſhe landed at the *Tower*, ſhe fell down on her Knees, and pray'd Heaven *ſo to aſſiſt her, as ſhe was free from the Crimes laid to her Charge*. The Confuſion ſhe was in ſoon rais'd a Storm of Vapours within her; ſometimes ſhe laugh'd, and at other Times wept exceſſively: She was alſo devout and light by Turns; and ſometimes ſhe ſtood upon her Vindication, and at other times ſhe confeſs'd ſome Indiſcretions, which ſhe afterwards deny'd. All about her took Advantage from every Word that fell from her, and ſent it immediately to Court. The Duke of *Norfolk* and others that came to examine her, the better to make Diſcoveries told her, That both *Norris* and *Smeton* had accus'd her; which tho' falſe, had this Effect on her, that it caus'd her to confeſs ſome ſlight Acts of Indiſcretion, tho' no ways eſſential, which totally alienated the King from her. Yet whether theſe ſmall Acknowledgments were real Truths, or the Effects of Imagination and Hyſterical Emotions, is very uncertain. All the Court now turn'd againſt the miſerable Queen, and began to adore a riſing Sun; but *Cranmer* was a Stranger to thoſe Arts, and had a more Noble Soul; therefore her Enemies procur'd an Order for him not to come to Court. Yet he put all to hazard, and wrote to the King a long and nice Letter in that critical Juncture, in which 'he acknowledg'd if the Crimes reported of the 'Queen were true, it was the greateſt Affliction that ever 'befel the King, and therefore exhorted him to bear it with 'Patience and Submiſſion to the Will of God: He con'feſs'd he never had a better Opinion of any Woman than 'of her; and that next the King, he was more oblig'd to 'her, than to all Perſons living; and therefore he begg'd the 'King's leave to pray that ſhe might be found Innocent: 'He lov'd her not a little, becauſe of the Love which ſhe 'ſeem'd to bear to God, and his Goſpel; but if ſhe were 'guilty, all that lov'd the Goſpel muſt hate her, as having 'given the greateſt Slander to the Goſpel: But he pray'd 'the King not to entertain any Prejudice to the Goſpel on 'her Account, nor give the World reaſon to ſay, *That his* '*Love to that was founded on the Power ſhe had with him*.' But Jealouſies, and the King's new Affection, had now defac'd all the Remainders of Eſteem for his once belov'd Queen: Therefore *Norris*, *Weſton*, *Brereton* and *Smeton* were all brought to their Tryal at *Weſtminſter-Hall*. They all pleaded not guilty; only *Smeton*, probably in hopes of ſaving his Life, confeſs'd Lewdneſs with the Queen; and he with the other three were pronounc'd guilty, and condemn'd to die as Traitors.

Her Tryal.

Her Condemnation.

Her Divorcement.

Three Days after, the Queen of *England*, by an unheard-of Precedent, was brought to the Bar, and indicted of High-Treaſon, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, as High-Steward, and a Court of twenty ſeven Peers. Her Brother, then a Peer, was alſo try'd with her, and the Crime charg'd upon her was, That ſhe had procur'd her Brother and four others to lye with her, and had often ſaid, *That the King never had her Heart*; all which was to the Slander of the Iſſue begotten between the King and her, and was Treaſon by the Act that confirm'd her Marriage: So that the ſame Act that was made for her Marriage, was now turn'd to her Ruin; which had too near Reſemblance to a Puniſhment from Heaven. It does not appear that any living Evidence was brought againſt her; for *Smeton*, already condemn'd, could be of no uſe; and he never being brought to confront her, gave great Suſpicion, that his Confeſſion was extorted by bare Practices. All the Evidence we find, was the Declaration of a dead Woman; yet this, or rather the Terror of offending the King, ſo wrought on the Lords, that they found her and her Brother guilty; and Judgment was given, that ſhe ſhould be burnt, or beheaded, at the King's Pleaſure. Yet all this did not ſatisfie the inraged King; he reſolv'd likewiſe to illegitimate his Daughter *Elizabeth*, and in order to that to annul his Marriage with the Queen. It was now remember'd that the Earl of *Northumberland* had ſaid to Cardinal *Wolſey*, *That he had inaged himſelf ſo far with her, that he could not recede*; which perhaps was done by ſome Promiſe conceiv'd in Words of the *Future Tenſe*, tho' no Promiſe, unleſs in Words of the *Preſent Tenſe*, could annul the ſubſequent Marriage. Perhaps the Queen did not underſtand that Difference; or probably the Terrors of her Execution wrought ſo upon her, that ſhe confeſs'd a Contract with the Earl; tho' that Lord poſitively deny'd it, and took the Sacrament upon it, with a Wiſh that it might turn to his Damnation, if ever there were either Contract or Promiſe of Marriage between them. However, ſhe was ſecretly carry'd to *Lambeth*, where, upon her Examination, and her own acknowledging a Pre-contract, her Marriage was regularly declar'd null from the Beginning. Theſe two Sentences paſs'd upon her were inconſiſtent and contradictory; for if ſhe never was the King's Wife, ſhe could not be guilty of Adultery; becauſe, if ſhe was not truly marry'd, there could be no Breach of the Faith of Wedlock. But the impatient King was now reſolv'd to be freed from her, and the Succeſſion of her Iſſue; and in that Tranſport did not conſider, how much the Method he took diſcover'd the Injuſtice of his Proceedings.

Her humble Carriage.

Her Execution.

The King's third Marriage, with Jane Seymour.

The abandon'd Queen having Intimations given her to prepare for Death; among other Things ſhe reflected on her Carriage to the Princeſs *Mary*, to whom ſhe had been too ſevere a Step-Mother: Therefore cauſing one of her Women to ſit in the Chair of State, ſhe fell down on her Knees before her, and with a Flood of Tears charg'd her to go to the Princeſs *Mary*, and in that Poſture, and in her Name, to ask her Forgiveneſs for all ſhe had done againſt her. This generous Tenderneſs of Conſcience gave much Credit to the continual Proteſtations of her Innocence, which ſhe made to the laſt. The Day before her Death, ſhe ſent her laſt moving Meſſage to the King, aſſerting her Innocence, and recommending her Daughter to his Care; and particularly ſhe thank'd him *for advancing her from a Gentlewoman to be a Marchioneſs, and then to be a Queen, and now when he could raiſe her no higher on Earth, for ſending her to be a Saint in Heaven.* On the Day ſhe dy'd, the Lieutenant of the *Tower* wrote to Secretary *Cromwell*, 'That it was not fit to publiſh the Time of her Execution, for the fewer that were preſent it would be the better; ſince he believ'd ſhe would declare her Innocence at the Hour of her Death; for that ſhe had made great Proteſtations of it, when ſhe receiv'd the Sacrament, and ſeem'd to long for Death, and had great Joy and Pleaſure in it: She was glad to hear the Executioner was good, for ſhe ſaid *ſhe had a little Neck*, at which ſhe laugh'd heartily.' A little before Noon, on the nineteenth of *May*, ſhe was brought a pitious Sight to the Scaffold, where were preſent ſome of the chief Officers and great Men of the Court, to behold the laſt Scene of this fatal Tragedy. It ſeems ſhe was prevail'd on, out of Regard to her Daughter, to make no Reflexions on the Hardſhips ſhe ſuſtain'd, nor to ſay any Thing touching the Grounds on which Sentence paſs'd againſt her, only ſhe deſir'd, *That all would judge the beſt*: She highly commended the King, and ſo took her leave of the World. She was for ſome time in her private Devotions, and concluded, *To Chriſt I commend my Soul*; upon which the Executioner, who was brought from *Calais* on this Occaſion, dexterouſly ſever'd her Head from her Body; and both were put into an ordinary Cheſt, and bury'd in the Chapel in the *Tower*. *Norris* was much urg'd to accuſe her, and had his Life promis'd him upon that Condition; but he generouſly rejected the baſe Offer, declaring, *That he knew her Innocent, and he would die a thouſand Deaths rather than defame her*: So he and the other three were beheaded, and all continu'd to vindicate her to the laſt Moment. *Smeton* only was hang'd, and it was ſaid, that he retracted all before he dy'd, but of that there is no Certainty. Thus fell the unfortunate Queen in the twenty ninth Year of her Age, after ſhe had been marry'd about four Years and a half; and this uncommon Tranſaction met with various Cenſures. Some obſerv'd that ſhe who had ſupplanted Queen *Katharine*, did now meet with harder Meaſure; and they judg'd her faint Way of ſpeaking concerning her Innocence at laſt, was too great a Compliment to the King: Yet ſhe wrote a Letter to the King in ſo high a Strain both of natural Wit and Eloquence, in her Juſtification, that it may be reckon'd one of the beſt compos'd Pieces of that Time. The violent and jealous Behaviour of the King in this Matter can never be vindicated; and nothing more clearly diſcover'd the ſecret Cauſe of the Queen's Ruin, than his marrying *Jane Seymour*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, the very next Day after her Execution. This Lady gain'd more upon him than any of his Wives, for ſhe was ſo happy as not to out-live his Love to her.

A. D. 1536. Reg. $\frac{27}{28}$.

The Princeſs Mary's Submiſſion.

IX. The active and diſturb'd King *Henry*, from the Blood of his Subjects, had now ventur'd upon that of his Wife; and upon this Turn of Affairs there ſucceeded a great Change of Counſels. There was nothing now that kept up the Breach between him and the Emperor, but the Illegitimation of the Princeſs *Mary*, now about twenty Years of Age; and if that Matter could be adjuſted, the King would meet with no further Diſturbance from him: Therefore it was propos'd, that ſhe might be reſtor'd to Favour, upon making her Submiſſion to her Father. She offer'd to confeſs the Fault of her former Obſtinacy, and in general to yield up her Underſtanding entirely to the King: But that would not ſatisfy, unleſs ſhe would be more particular; ſo that at length ſhe was contented to do it in the fulleſt Terms that could be deſir'd: 'She acknowledg'd the King to be the *Supream Head of the Church of* England *under Chriſt*, and utterly renounc'd the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and promis'd in all Things to be obedient to the Laws then made; all which flow'd from her inward Belief and Judgment, in which ſhe would for ever continue: And ſhe alſo did acknowledge that the King's Marriage with her Mother, was *unlawful* and *inceſtuous*, both by the Laws of God and Man.' All this ſhe wrote with her own Hand, and ſubſcrib'd it; upon which ſhe was receiv'd into Favour and an Eſtabliſhment was made for a Family about her, in which forty Pound a Quarter was all the Allowance for her Privy-Purſe, ſo great was the Frugality of that Time. The hopeful Princeſs *Elizabeth* continu'd to be educated with great Care, and was ſo forward, that before ſhe was four Years old, ſhe both wrote a good Hand, and underſtood *Italian*; and there are Letters extant, as ſome ſay, written by her in that Language to the new Queen *Jane*, when ſhe was with Child, in which ſhe ſubſcrib'd her ſelf *Daughter*.

A new Parliament.

The Act of Succeſſion.

About this time a new Parliament was ſummon'd, which met on the eighth Day of *June*: When the Chancellor told them, That the King had call'd them to ſettle the Succeſſion of the Crown, in caſe he ſhould die without Children lawfully begotten, and to repeal the Act made concerning his Marriage with Queen *Anne*. After ſome Debates and Conſideration, upon the thirtieth of *June* a Bill was brought in accordingly, which was ſoon diſpatch'd without Oppoſition: 'By it the Attainder of Queen *Anne* and her Accomplices was confirm'd, as likewiſe were both the Sentences of Divorce upon the King's two former Marriages; and the Iſſue by both was Illegitimated, and for ever excluded from claiming the Crown by Lineal Deſcent: And the Succeſſion was eſtabliſh'd on the King's Iſſue by the preſent Queen, or any to whom he might afterwards marry. But becauſe it was not proper to declare who ſhould ſucceed in Default of that, leſt the Perſon ſo nam'd ſhou'd raiſe Commotions; in Confidence of the King's Wiſdom, and Affection to his People, he was allow'd to nominate his Succeſſor, either by Letters Patents, or by his laſt Will ſign'd by his Hand. It was declar'd Treaſon to maintain the Lawfulneſs of his former Marriages, or of his Iſſue by them; and it was made not only Treaſon, but a Forfeiture of the Right of Succeſſion, if any of thoſe whom the King ſhould name in Default of others, ſhould endeavour to uſurp before them.' The *Scots* complain'd of this Act, by which the King was now made Soveraign indeed, and had the Crown put intirely into his Hands, to be diſpos'd of at his Pleaſure; and his Daughters were now wholly to depend upon his Will: By this alſo he had it in his Power in a great Meaſure to pacifie the Emperor, by providing that his Kinſwoman *Mary* might ſucceed to the Crown.

The new Pope offers a Reconciliation.

About the ſame time the new Pope *Paul*, who upon the Execution of Biſhop *Fiſher* had thunder'd out a formidable Sentence of Depoſition againſt the King, the Queens *Katharine* and *Anne*, who were the Occaſions of the Breach, being now dead, he thought it a proper Seaſon to endeavour for a Reconciliation; and therefore order'd *Caſſali* to acquaint the King, *That he had always favour'd his Cauſe when he was a Cardinal, that he was forc'd contrary to his Inclinations to paſs Sentence againſt him*; *and that now it would be eaſie for him to recover the Favour of the Apoſtolick See.* But the King, inſtead of hearkning to the Propoſition, procur'd two Acts to be paſs'd, 'The 'one was for the utter extinguiſhing the Pope's Authority; 'and it was made a *Premunire*, for any to acknowledge 'it, or perſuade others to it: And a ſtrict Charge was 'given to all Magiſtrates under ſevere Penalties to enquire 'after all Offenders. By another Act, All Bulls, and 'Privileges flowing from them, were declar'd null and 'void, excepting Marriages, or Conſecrations of Biſhops; 'all which were alſo requir'd to be brought into *Chancery*, upon which the Arch-Biſhop was to make a new 'Grant of them, which being confirm'd by the great Seal, 'was to be of full Force in Law.' In this Parliament another Act paſs'd, explaining an Exception that was in an Act for the Reſidence of all Incumbents, by which thoſe who were in the Univerſities were diſpens'd with Non-Reſidence. Another Act paſs'd in Favour of the King's Heirs, if they ſhould reign before they were of full Age; 'That whatever Acts were made before they were twenty 'four Years of Age, they might repeal and annul by their 'Letters Patents.' From all theſe Acts there appears ſomething wonderful, *viz.* That the King was abſolute Maſter both of the Affections and Fears of his Subjects, when in a new Parliament ſuddenly call'd, and ſitting but ſix Weeks before it was diſſolv'd, Acts of ſuch high Importance were paſs'd, without any publick Proteſtation or Oppoſition.

Acts againſt the Pope's Power.

The Acts of the Convocation.

During this Seſſion of Parliament the Convocation was no leſs buſily imploy'd; and one of the firſt things they did was to confirm the Sentence of the Divorce of the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*. They acknowledg'd the King *Supream Head of the Church*, and proceeded to many Points of Religion, and to many Complaints of Corruptions and Abuſes. Moſt Mens Eyes began now to be open'd, yet many being blinded by Intereſt and Deſign, ſeveral Conteſts were rais'd, and ſome Attempts made to the Detriment of *Cranmer*, *Shaxton* and *Latimer*, and other Promoters of the Reformation. But all Projects fail'd that were levell'd at *Cranmer*, who was fully eſtabliſh'd in the King's Favour: And *Cromwell* was ſent to them with a Meſſage from the King, 'That they ſhould '*reform* the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Rules of Scripture, which ought to be prefer'd to all Gloſſes or Decrees of Popes.' This being debated, it occaſion'd new Diſcuſſions and Diſputations, which might have been proſecuted with too much Warmth, had not the King, to end Differences, ſent a Scheme of about ten Articles to be conſider'd by that learned Body. Theſe eſtabliſh'd the Authority of Scriptures, the three Creeds, and the four general Council,; as likewiſe three of the ſeven *Romiſh* Sacraments, *Baptiſm*, the *Euchariſt* and *Penance*, with a truer Notion of *Juſtification*, and the Uſe of ſome Ceremonies. After ſome Conſideration theſe Articles were ſign'd by *Cromwell*, the two Arch-Biſhops, ſixteen Biſhops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty of the lower Houſe; to which the King join'd a Preface, 'declaring the Pains he and his Clergy had undergone for 'removing of all Differences in Religion, approving of the 'Articles, and requiring all his Subjects to accept them 'with the like Unanimity with which they were ſubſcrib'd.' Theſe Articles did not ſatisfie either the ſtrict Reformers, or the *Romiſh* Party: Yet the former were well pleas'd to ſee Things brought under Examination; and ſince ſome Things were at this time chang'd, they did not doubt but more Changes would follow: They were glad to find the Scriptures and the ancient Creeds made the Standards of Faith, without *Tradition*, and that the Nature of *Juſtification* was rightly ſtated, and that ſome groſs Abuſes were remov'd, tho' there remain'd ſtill ſome hard of Digeſtion. Some of the ſtricter Sort thought that theſe Articles had too much of a Political Compliance; and that it was not agreeable with the Sincerity of the Goſpel, ſtill to allow of ſo many Errors. To which it was anſwer'd, 'That 'our Saviour did not deliver all Things to his Diſciples, ''till they were able to bear them; and the Apoſtles did 'not at once aboliſh all the Rights of *Judaiſm*, but by a 'gentle Progreſs wean'd their Chriſtian Converts from 'them. The Clergy were to be drawn by ſlow and eaſie 'Steps out of their Ignorance and Superſtition; whereas 'driving forwards with Precipitation, might ruin the Deſign, and alienate thoſe who by ſlower Methods might 'be gain'd; and it alſo might much endanger the Peace of 'the Nation.

Articles concluded.

When theſe things were known in Foreign Parts, the Court of *Rome* made great Advantage of them, to let all Princes ſee the Neceſſity of adhering to the Holy See; for as ſoon as *England* departed from that, it began alſo to change the Doctrine. The Pope had iſſu'd out Summons for a general Council at *Mantua*, and had cited the King to it; from which the King appeal'd to a general Council rightly conſtituted. And a Motion being made that the Convocation ſhould deliver their Opinion in this Particular, they drew up a Paper, 'In which they ſet forth the 'great Good that might follow from a general Council 'rightly call'd; but that nothing could be more miſchievous 'than one call'd on private Malice and Deſign: And they 'thought neither the Pope, nor any one Prince, had ſufficient Authority to call one, unleſs all Princes, who had 'intire and ſupream Government over all their Subjects, 'did agree and concur.' This was ſign'd by the whole Body on the twentieth of *July*, and ſo the Convocation was diſmiſs'd.

Shortly after the King publiſh'd a long and ſevere Proteſtation againſt the Council ſummon'd by the Pope; firſt denying that he had any Authority to ſummon his Subjects, and next ſhewing that no Advantage could be expected from any Council where the Pope preſided, *Since the reſtraining his exorbitant Power was one of the chief Occaſions that the World had for a Council.* Many Books were written on both Sides, upon this and other Subjects, in theſe buſy Times: But none appear'd more induſtrious than Cardinal *Pool*, who by his Mother was deſcended from the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fourth; and was likewiſe, by his Father, the King's near Kinſman. To this high Quality was join'd a great Sweetneſs of Temper, and Diſpoſition for Letters, which the King cheriſh'd much, and gave him the Deanery of *Exeter*, and ſome other Preferments, deſigning him the higheſt Dignities in the Church. He liv'd many Years in foreign Parts; and at *Paris* he firſt incurr'd the King's Diſpleaſure, in obſtructing the Determinations of the *French* Univerſities for his Divorce; yet after that he came to *England*, and was preſent when the Convocation declar'd the King to be their *Supream Head*. But the King ſuffering him to go out of the Nation, he could never draw him back again: Inſtead of which he wrote ſeverely againſt all the King's Proceedings, comparing him to *Nebuchadnezzar*; and addreſſing himſelf to the Emperor, he pray'd him rather to turn his Arms againſt King *Henry* than the *Turk*. This Indignity, which was High-Treaſon in a Subject, ſo far provok'd the King, that it afterwards drew a heavy Storm upon all his Kindred.

Cardinal Pool's Actions.

But nothing could ſtop the Progreſs of the vigorous King and his Miniſters, who purſuant to the Act of Parliament, now proceeded to the Diſſolution of the leſſer Monaſteries. Commiſſioners were appointed, and requir'd to carry along with them the Concurrence of the Gentry near them, and to examine the exact Value of their Revenues and Goods: They were to try how many of the Religious would take *Capacities*, and return to a ſecular Courſe of Life; but thoſe who deſign'd to continue in that State, were to be ſent to the larger adjacent Monaſteries; and a Penſion was to be aſſign'd to the Abbot, or Prior, during Life. There were loud Complaints made againſt the Proceedings of theſe Commiſſioners, both of their Violences and Briberies, and probably not without Reaſon, in the midſt of ſo many Temptations and Opportunities. About ten thouſand of the Religious were ſent to ſeek their Livings, with forty Shillings and a Gown to each Man. The Goods and Plate were eſtimated at a hundred thouſand Pounds, and the valu'd Rents of their Houſes at thirty two thouſand Pounds, which were really worth above ten times as much. The Churches and Cloiſters were in moſt Places pull'd down, and the Materials ſold; all which gave a general Diſcontent, and the Monks were now as much pity'd, as they were formerly deteſted. It was thought prodigious to ſee the King devour what his Anceſtors had dedicated to God and his Saints. The Nobility and Gentry, who often provided for their younger Children and Friends in thoſe Sanctuaries, were ſenſible of their Loſs: The People, who had been fed at the Abbot's Tables, and in Travelling found thoſe to be Places of Reception for Strangers, immediately ſaw the Inconvenience: But the more ſuperſtitious, who thought their Friends muſt now lye ſtill in Purgatory, without that Relief procur'd by their Maſſes, were out of meaſure offended at theſe Proceedings. The mighty Diſorders of theſe Houſes had now but ſmall Effects upon the People, who alledg'd, 'That there was no Reaſon to deſtroy 'whole Foundations for the ſake of ſome vicious Perſons, who ought to have been expell'd and made Examples.

The Diſſolution of the leſſer Monaſteries.

Great Diſcontents.

Crom well's Policy.

To remove this general Diſcontent, the politick *Cromwell* adviſ'd the King to ſell theſe Lands at very eaſie Rates to the Nobility and Gentry, and to oblige them to retain the wonted Hoſpitality; which would be both grateful to them, and engage them to aſſiſt the Crown in all the late Alterations; and would be pleaſing to the People, when they found the old Hoſpitality preſerv'd. And upon a Clauſe in the Act empowering the King to found a-new ſuch Houſes as he ſhould think fit, there were fifteen Monaſteries, and ſixteen Nunneries, which were more regular than the reſt, refounded, or rather repriev'd, 'till the general Diſſolution came afterwards. But all this did not ſo pacify the People, but ſtill there was a great Outcry fomented by many of the Clergy, who laid great Weight upon this Notion, That King *Henry* being an Heretical Prince, and actually depos'd by the Pope in the preceding Year, was no longer to be acknowledg'd; and this for five hundred Years had been receiv'd as an Article of Faith, and was decreed in the ſame Council that eſtabliſh'd *Tranſubſtantiation*. To allay or divert theſe Diſturbances, ſome Injunctions were publiſh'd in the King's Name by *Cromwell*, relating chiefly to the regular Behaviours, and faithful Duties of the Clergy of the Nation, which was the firſt Act of pure Supremacy done by the King. This increas'd the ill Diſpoſition; for the *Romiſh* Clergy deteſted this Precedent of the King's giving Injunctions without the Concurrence of a Convocation, and by which, they alledg'd, they ſhould be made Slaves to his *Vice-gerent:* They alſo complain'd of thoſe heavy Taxes that were laid upon them; and that Images, Relicks, and Pilgrimages would by theſe Injunctions be brought under great Contempt. Both the Regular and Secular Clergy were ſo ſenſibly concern'd in theſe Things, that they us'd all Methods to inflame the People. The great Abbots were not wanting in the ſame Deſign; they were now burden'd with the Crouds of thoſe who were ſent to them from the ſuppreſs'd Houſes, and they expected to meet with the ſame Fate: Nor were the Fears remov'd by a Letter that was ſent about in the King's Name for ſilencing all Reports that were given out of his Intentions to ſuppreſs them; for this rather increas'd than leſſen'd their Jealouſie.

New Complaints.

A Rebellion in Lincolnſhire.

The People continu'd quiet 'till they had reap'd their Harveſt; but in the Beginning of *October* twenty thouſand roſe in *Lincolnſhire*, led by one Doctor *Mackrel*, Prior of *Barlings* in that County, and diſguis'd like a Cobler. They took an Oath to be true to God, the King, and the Common-wealth, and ſent a Paper of their Grievances to the King; ‘ In which they complain'd of ſome Acts of ‘ Parliament, of the Suppreſſion of many Religious ‘ Houſes, of mean and ill Counſellors, and bad Biſhops; ‘ praying the King to redreſs their Grievances by the Ad‘ vice of the Nobility: But ſtill they acknowledg'd him ‘ to be their *Supream* Head, and that the *Tenths* and *Firſt‘ Fruits* of Livings belong'd of Right to him.’ The King ſent the Duke of *Suffolk* to levy Forces againſt them, and to give an Anſwer to their Petition; declaring, ‘ It was ‘ not the Buſineſs of the Multitude to direct Princes what ‘ Counſellors to chuſe: The Religious Houſes were ſup‘ preſs'd by Law, and the Heads of them had under their ‘ Hands confeſs'd ſuch ſcandalous Enormities as were a ‘ Reproach to the Nation; and ſince in many of them there ‘ were not above four Perſons, who waſted the whole ‘ Rents in riotous Living, it was much better to apply ‘ them to the common Good of the Nation, than leave ‘ them in ſuch Hands: He requir'd them to ſubmit to his ‘ Mercy, and to put two hundred of their Leaders into the ‘ Hands of his Lieutenants.’ The diſcontented Clergy having brought ſuch Numbers together, us'd all Methods to inſpire Heat and Spirit into them, and perſuaded them, *That if they did not now maintain their Faith and Liberties, both would be loſt.* Some of the Gentry were compell'd to join with them for their own Preſervation; and they ſent Advices to the Duke of *Suffolk*, to procure the Offer of a general Pardon from the King, which would effectually diſſipate them. At the ſame time there was a more formidable Inſurrection in *Yorkſhire*, which being in the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, was like to draw Aſſiſtance from that Kingdom; tho' their King was then gone into *France*, to marry *Francis*'s Daughter. This mov'd King *Henry* to uſe more Expedition in ſettling the Affairs of *Lincolnſhire:* He ſent them ſecret Aſſurances of Mercy, which ſo prevail'd on the greateſt Part, that they diſpers'd themſelves, and the moſt obſtinate repair'd to them in *Yorkſhire*. *Mackrel* the pretended Cobler, and ſome few others, were taken and executed.

Another in Yorkſhire,

As to the Northern Rebellion, the Diſtance of the People from the Court gave them Time to form themſelves into a better Method: One *Ask*, a Gentleman, commanded in Chief, and perform'd his Part with great Dexterity. Their March and Progreſs was call'd *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, having on their Banners and their Sleeves the five Wounds of our Saviour; and they took an Oath to reſtore the Church, ſuppreſs Hereticks, preſerve the King and his Iſſue, and drive from him all mean born Men and ill Counſellors. In a few Days their Number increas'd to forty thouſand; and meeting with no Oppoſition, they forc'd the Arch-Biſhop of *York* and the Lord *Darcy* to ſwear to their *Covenant*, and to go along with them. They inveſted *Skipton*, but the Earl of *Cumberland* ſecur'd it againſt them; and Sir *Ralph Evers* bravely held out *Scarborough* Caſtle, tho' for twenty Days he and his Men had no Proviſions but Bread and Water. There was alſo an Inſurrection in all the other Northern Counties, againſt whom the valiant Earl of *Shrewsbury* made Head; and the King ſent ſeveral of the Nobility to his Aſſiſtance, particularly the Duke of *Norfolk*, who join'd him with ſome regular Troops. Theſe Noblemen poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Doncaſter*, and reſolv'd to ſecure that Paſs 'till the reſt of the Forces order'd by the King ſhould come up to them; for they were not in a Condition to engage with ſuch Numbers of deſperate Men; and it was probable upon any Miſfortune, the People would have riſen on all Sides. Therefore the Duke of *Norfolk* reſolv'd to keep intirely to *Doncaſter*, and ſuffer the Rage as well as Proviſions of the Rebels to ſpend, and then by gaining a little Time, they might probably fall into Factions, and ſo diſſolve their Power. They were now decreas'd to thirty thouſand; but the King's Forces were not above the ſixth of that Number. The Duke of *Norfolk* politickly propos'd a Treaty, and caus'd ſome to go amongſt them as Deſerters, and ſpread Reports that their Commanders were making private Terms for themſelves. They were perſuaded to ſend their Petitions to the Court; and the King, to ſatisfy them of their Security, diſcharg'd a Rendezvous that he had appointed at *Northampton*, and ſent them a general Pardon, excepting ſix by Name, and reſerving four to be afterwards nam'd: But this threw them all into ſuch Apprehenſions, that it made them more reſolv'd and deſperate; yet the King, to give his People ſome Content, put out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to continue the Uſe of all the Ceremonies of the Church.

More formidable.

The Rebels Demands.

At length three hundred were employ'd to carry the Rebels Demands to the King, which were, ‘ A general Par‘ don to be granted; a Parliament to be held at *York*, and ‘ Courts of Juſtice erected there; That ſome Acts of Par‘ liament might be repeal'd; That the Princeſs *Mary* ‘ might be reſtor'd to her Right of Succeſſion, and the ‘ Pope to his wonted Juriſdiction; That the Monaſteries ‘ be again reſtor'd; That *Audley* Lord-Chancellor, and ‘ *Cromwell* Privy-Seal, be remov'd from the King, and ‘ that ſome of the Viſiters of Monaſteries be impriſon'd ‘ for Bribery and Extortion.’ But theſe being rejected, the Rebels reaſſum'd their Courage; upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* adviſ'd the King to gentle Methods: He in his Heart wiſh'd that all their Demands might be granted; and the Lord *Darcy* afterwards accus'd him, as if he had encourag'd them to make them. The King ſent him a general Pardon without any Exception, to be us'd according to his Diſcretion. In the mean Time the Rebels, finding that with the Loſs of Time they loſt Strength, reſolv'd to attack him and force him from *Doncaſter:* But at two ſeveral Tryals, when they had agreed to paſs the River, there fell ſuch Rains, as made it impracticable; which being magnify'd as a Miracle, caus'd very diſcouraging Impreſſions. The King ſent a long Anſwer to their Demands, in which ‘ He aſſur'd them he would live and die ‘ in the Defence of the Chriſtian Faith; but the Multitude ‘ ought not to preſcribe to him, and the Convocation, in ‘ that Matter.’ As to the Monaſteries, he gave the ſame Anſwer as he had done to the Men of *Lincolnſhire*. For the Laws, ‘ They were not to preſume to alter what was ‘ eſtabliſh'd, and he had govern'd them twenty eight Years ‘ with Security to their Eſtates, and Clemency to their ‘ Perſons. And whereas it was reported that when he be‘ gan to Reign, he had many of the Nobility in his Coun‘ cil, and now none but thoſe of mean Extract; this was ‘ falſe, for at firſt he found but two Noblemen of his ‘ Council, and at preſent there were ſeven Temporal ‘ Lords and four Biſhops in it. He found it neceſ‘ ſary to have ſome that were converſant in the Laws ‘ of *England*, and Treaties with foreign Princes; there‘ fore he call'd *Audley* and *Cromwell* to the Board. If ‘ they had any Complaints to make of any about him, ‘ he was ready to hear them; but would not ſuffer them ‘ to direct him what Counſellors to employ; nor could ‘ they judge of the Biſhops that were promoted, who ‘ were unknown to them: He charg'd them not to believe ‘ Lies, nor to be govern'd by Incendiaries, but to ſubmit ‘ to his Mercy.’ Accordingly on the ninth Day of *December*, he ſign'd a Proclamation of Pardon without any Reſtrictions.

The King's Anſwer.

When this was fully known, and the Rage of the People abated, they were willing to take the Advantage of it; and all the Artifices that ſome of the Clergy and their Com-

A.D. 1537. Reg. $\frac{28}{29}$.

They are all quieted.

Commanders could uſe, had no other Effect but to draw ſuch Numbers together as brought them under new Guilt, and caus'd them to forfeit the Benefit of the King's Pardon. Many came in and renew'd their Oaths of Allegiance, promiſing all future Obedience; and *Ask* was invited to the Court, and well treated by the King, that he might learn from him all the ſecret Correſpondences they had in other Parts of the Kingdom; for the Diſpoſition to rebel was general, only all had not the like Opportunities. It was particularly believ'd that the great Abbots cheriſh'd the Rebellion; for which ſome of them were afterwards try'd and attainted. The Lord *Darcy* earneſtly pleaded his great Age, being then fourſcore, and the eminent Services he had done the Crown for fifty Years together, and that he was compell'd for his own Preſervation to go along with the Rebels; but yet he was put into Priſon. This gave the Clergy an Occaſion to infuſe into the People, that the King's Pardon was precarious; ſo that eight thouſand flock'd together again, and endeavour'd to ſurpriſe *Carliſle*; but the Duke of *Norfolk* ſet upon them and routed them, and by Martial Law hang'd their Captains and ſeventy other Perſons. Others deſign'd to have ſurpris'd *Hull*, but were likewiſe defeated, and many of them executed. Many other ſmall Inſurrections were ſoon diſpers'd; and the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Vigour and Vigilance was ſo remarkable, that he was ready for them in all Places, before they could make their Numbers conſiderable; ſo that in a few Months from the Beginning, the Country was abſolutely at reſt. *Ask* left the Court without leave, but was ſoon retaken and hang'd at *York*. The Lords *Huſſy* and *Darcy* were arraign'd at *Weſtminſter*, and condemn'd by their Peers; the one for the *Lincolnſhire*, and the other for the *Yorkſhire* Rebellion. *Huſſy* was beheaded at *Lincoln*, and *Darcy* on *Tower-Hill*; the laſt being much lamented upon the Account of his old Age and former Services. In his Tryal he accus'd the Duke of *Norfolk* of favouring the Rebels; but his late Services were ſuch, as the King would not ſeem to have any Jealouſie of him. After theſe and other Executions, the King proclaim'd a general Amneſty in *July*, by which the Nation was again put in a quiet Condition; and the threatning Storm diſſipated without the Effuſion of much Blood but what was drawn by the Sword of Juſtice. At the ſame Time *James* King of *Scotland*, returning from *France* with his new Queen, Daughter to the *French* King, and touching on the Coaſt of *England*, many of the People fell down at his Feet, begging him to aſſiſt them, and he ſhould have all; but he was then bound up by his Father-in-Law, and therefore return'd home without giving them any Incouragement. And thus ended this Rebellion, which was chiefly promoted by the *Romiſh* Clergy, under the Pretence of Religion.

The Lords Huſſy and Darcy *are executed.*

The Birth of King Edward the Sixth.

To crown the King's Happineſs, not long after, upon the twelfth Day of *October*, he had a Son born at *Hampton-Court*; who three Days after, with great Splendor and Solemnity, was baptiz'd by the Name of *Edward*; the Arch-Biſhop and the Duke of *Norfolk* being his Godfathers. After he was Chriſten'd by one of the Biſhops, his Name was aloud proclaim'd by *Garter King at Arms*, and call'd Prince *Edward*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Cheſter*; and ſo attended by the two Princeſſes, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, he was carry'd to the Queen's Apartment with great State and Magnificence. But the Joy of his Birth was much allay'd by the Departure of the admirable Queen, who, contrary to the common Opinion of many Writers, dy'd twelve Days after the Birth of this Prince, as appears from unqueſtionable Manuſcripts; having been well deliver'd, and without any Inciſion, as others have maliciouſly reported. On the twelfth of *November*, her Body was with great Solemnity convey'd to *Windſor*, and there magnificently interr'd in the midſt of the Choir. This was a great Affliction to the King; for of all his Wives, ſhe was the deareſt and moſt charming to him; and his Grief for that Loſs is given as the Reaſon, why he continu'd two Years a Widower.

The Death of Queen Jane.

A. D. 1538. Reg. $\frac{29}{30}$.

X. The prevailing King was now deliver'd from all his Apprehenſions of Diſturbances at home; he was Maſter of his own Subjects by his Genius as well as his Power, and no longer to be diſobey'd. For he had not only broken the Rebellion of his People, and by Alliance ſecur'd himſelf from the Dangers threaten'd by the Pope; but all the *Romiſh* Expectations from the Princeſs *Mary* were now clouded by the Birth of Prince *Edward*. Being thus encourag'd, he reſolv'd to proceed in his Deſigns of ſuppreſſing the reſt of the Monaſteries, and reforming ſome other Points of Religion. Accordingly a new Viſitation was appointed, to enquire into the Converſation of the Monks, how they ſtood affected to the Pope, and how they promoted the King's Supremacy; and likewiſe to examine what Impoſtors were among them, either in Images or Relicks, which might work upon the Superſtition of the credulous Vulgar. Some few Houſes of greater Value were prevail'd with the former Year to ſurrender to the King. Many of the Houſes that had not been diſſolv'd, tho' they were in the former Act, were now ſuppreſs'd; and many of the greater Abbots were wrought on to ſurrender to the King by ſeveral Motives: Some had been culpable during the late Rebellion, and ſo offer'd a Reſignation to prevent a future Storm: Others approv'd of the Reformation, and were willing to comply: Some were found guilty of ſuch horrid Diſorders, that to prevent a ſhameful Diſcovery, they offer'd their Houſes to the King; and others had made ſuch Waſtes and Dilapidations, that having provided for themſelves, they had no Concern for others. Many Abbots and Monks were willing to accept of Penſions for Life, which was generally proportion'd to the Value of their Houſes, and Innocence of their Lives. Some who favour'd the Reformation, deſir'd to convert their Houſes to better Uſes, for Preaching, Study and Prayer; and Biſhop *Latimer* earneſtly preſs'd the Vice-gerent *Cromwell*, that two or three Houſes might be reſerv'd for ſuch Purpoſes in every County. But the Reſolution was at once taken to extirpate all; and the Viſiters proceeded with that Vigour and Expedition, that a hundred and twenty one Houſes were this Year reſign'd to the King, and thirty three more before the Parliament met. And what further promoted the Downfal of the Monaſteries, beſides the ſhameful Diſorders of the Houſes, was, that many of the Abbots and Priors were found guilty of Rebellion and Treaſon, for which ſeveral were actually executed.

Many of the larger Monaſteries ſurrender.

Yet all theſe perſonal Blemiſhes did not work much on the Peoples Minds, to whom it ſeem'd unreaſonable to extirpate noble Foundations, for the Crimes of ſome Individuals. Therefore another Method was purſu'd, which had better Effect: They diſcover'd many Impoſtures about Relicks, and wonderful Images, to which *Pilgrimages* were uſually made. Among many other, *The Rood of Grace* at *Boxley* in *Kent* had been highly eſteem'd, and drawn many Pilgrims to it. It was obſerv'd to bow, and roll its Eyes, and at particular Times to look well pleas'd or angry, to the great Admiration of the credulous Multitude: But all this was diſcover'd to be a Cheat, and it was brought to St. *Paul*'s Croſs, where all the Springs were openly ſhewn, that govern'd its ſeveral Motions. Many other notorious Impoſtures were alſo diſcover'd, both as to Relicks and Images, which contributed much to the undeceiving the People. The richeſt Shrine in *England* was *Thomas Becket*'s at *Canterbury*, whoſe Actions and Behaviour may be read in the Reign of King *Henry* the Second. By the Incouragement of the Court of *Rome*, his Shrine grew to be of ineſtimable Value: He had two Holy Days appointed for him, and a Jubilee every fifty Years, with Indulgences granted to all who viſited his Tomb; which in the Year 1420 brought no leſs than a hundred thouſand Pilgrims to the Place. It is hard to tell whether the Hatred to his ſeditious Practices, or the Love of his rich Shrine, did moſt incite King *Henry* to Unſaint that Prelate. His Shrine was broken, and the Gold of it was ſo heavy, that it fill'd two Cheſts, which was as much as ſixteen Men could carry out of the Church; and his Skull, which had been ſo much worſhipp'd, was prov'd to be an Impoſture; for the true Skull was with the reſt of his Bones in his Coffin. His Bones were burnt, according to ſome; but others ſay they were ſo mingled with other Bones, that nothing but a Miracle could have diſtinguiſh'd them afterwards.

Several Impoſtures diſcover'd.

Becket's Shrine broken.

When theſe Tranſactions were known at *Rome*, all the eloquent Pens were there employ'd to repreſent King *Henry* as the moſt ſacrilegious Tyrant that ever reign'd; who made War with Chriſt's Vicar on Earth, and his Saints in Heav'n; and he was compar'd to the worſt Princes that the World ever ſaw. In many of theſe, Cardinal *Pool*'s Stile was ſufficiently known, and they were all at leaſt much incourag'd by him; which provok'd the King to ſhew implacable Reſentments againſt him and his Family. The Pope proceeded further; for now he publiſh'd all thoſe Fulminations with which he had threaten'd him three Years before: In which 'He profeſs'd himſelf to be God's Vicar on Earth, who had Power to eradicate and deſtroy, and had Authority over all the Kings in the World: And therefore after he had enumerated all King *Henry*'s Crimes, he requir'd him to appear within ninety Days at *Rome*, and his Accomplices within ſixty Days; which if refuſed, he declar'd him to have fallen from his Crown, and them from their Eſtates. He put the whole Kingdom under an *Interdict*; and abſolv'd all his Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance: He declar'd him and his Accomplices Infamous; and put their Children under Incapacities. He requir'd all the Clergy to go out of *England* within five Days after the prefix'd Time ſhould expire; leaving only ſo many as might ſerve for baptizing Children, or giving the Sacrament to ſuch as dy'd in Penitence. He charg'd all his Subjects to riſe in Arms againſt him, and that none ſhould aſſiſt him. He abſolv'd all other

The Pope's Bull againſt the King.

‘ Princes from their Confederacies with him, and obteſted ‘ them to have no Commerce with him. He requir'd all ‘ Chriſtians to make War on him; and to ſeize on the Perſons and Goods of all his Subjects, and make Slaves of ‘ them. He charg'd all Biſhops to publiſh the Sentence ‘ with due Solemnities: and ordain'd it to be affix'd at ‘ *Rome*, *Tournay* and *Dunkirk*.’ This was firſt given out in the Year 1535; but it had been all this Time ſuſpended, 'till the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, and the Rumour of burning of *Becket*'s Bones, did ſo inflame the Pope, that he reſolv'd upon the utmoſt Extremities. Therefore this Year he publiſh'd the Bull, which he declar'd *He had long ſuſpended at the Interceſſion of ſome Princes, who hop'd that King* Henry *might have been reclaim'd by gentler Methods; and therefore ſince his Impieties daily encreas'd, he was compell'd to proceed to his higheſt Cenſures.* The Pope alſo wrote to the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, to excite them againſt King *Henry*; and if this had been an Age of *Croiſades*, no doubt one had been undertaken againſt him. And thus the Breach between King *Henry* and the Pope was now paſt all Reconciliation; and at *Rome* it was declar'd equally meritorious to fight againſt him, as againſt *Turks* and Infidels; and Cardinal *Pool* made it more meritorious, in a Book of his writing.

The Biſhops and Clergy aſſert the Power of the King.

The Thunders of the Vatican had now loſt their Force; yet to prevent any Inconveniences that might ariſe, the King procur'd all the Biſhops and eminent Divines of *England* to ſign a Declaration againſt all Churchmen who pretended to the Power of the Sword, or to Authority over Kings; and all who aſſum'd ſuch Powers, were Subverters of the Kingdom of Chriſt. Many of the Biſhops did alſo ſign another Paper, declaring the Limits of the Regal and Eccleſiaſtical Power, that both had their Authority from God, for ſeveral Ends, and different Natures; and that Princes were ſubject to the Word of God, as well as Biſhops ought to be obedient to their Laws. There was alſo another Declaration ſign'd by *Cromwell*, the two Arch-Biſhops, eleven Biſhops, and twenty Divines, aſſerting the Diſtinction between the *Power of the Keys*, and the *Power of the Sword*. And to give the cleareſt Lights, this Year the *Engliſh* Bible was finiſh'd and publiſh'd; and *Cromwell* procur'd a general Warrant from the King, allowing all his Subjects to read it, for which *Cranmer* wrote his Thanks to *Cromwell*, *Rejoycing to ſee the Day of Reformation now riſen in* England, *ſince the Word of God did ſhine over it all, without a Cloud.* Not long after *Cromwell* iſſu'd out Injunctions to the Clergy, requiring them all to ſet up Bibles in their Churches, and to incourage all to read them; with ſome other Particulars which ſtruck at ſome of the main Points of the former Superſtition, both concerning Images, Pilgrimages, and the Invocation of Saints: But the free Uſe of the Scriptures gave the moſt deadly Blow; yet all the Clergy ſubmitted to the Injunctions without Murmuring.

The Bible publiſh'd in Engliſh.

Thus the Reformation increas'd and ſucceeded daily; yet ſtill the Doctrines of the *Real Preſence* and of *Tranſubſtantiation* were retain'd with great Strictneſs by the King and moſt Divines. Biſhop *Gardiner*, a ſubtle Man and ſecret Enemy to the Reformation, us'd one Topick which prevail'd much with the King, That his Zeal againſt Hereſie was the greateſt Advantage that his Cauſe could have over all *Europe*; and therefore he preſs'd him to begin with the *Sacramentaries*, the Deniers of the *Corporal Preſence*; and thoſe being condemn'd by the *German* Princes, he had the leſs Reaſon to fear the imbroiling his Affairs by his Severities againſt them. Accordingly a conſiderable Divine, call'd *Lambert*, was brought before the King, and with great Solemnity try'd in his Preſence, and condemn'd to be burnt for denying the Corporal Preſence in the Euchariſt. His Execution in *Smithfield* was very barbarous: For there was not Fire enough under him to conſume him ſuddenly; ſo that his Legs and Thighs were burnt away while he remain'd alive; yet he bore it with admirable Patience, and continu'd to cry out, *None but Chriſt*, *None but Chriſt!* This gave ſome Satisfaction and Life to the *Romiſh* Party, and added Vanity to the King, who now made ſome new Promotions in the Church. Doctor *Bonner* was advanc'd to the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, by the Death of *Fox*; and *Stokesby* dying not long after, he was tranſlated to *London*. *Cromwell* thought he had rais'd a Man that would be a faithful Friend to *Cranmer* in his Deſigns of Reformation, who indeed needed Aſſiſtants; not only to ballance the Oppoſition made him by other Biſhops, but to diminiſh the Prejudices he ſuffer'd by the Weakneſs and Indiſcretion of many of his own Party. For ſuch great Complaints were brought to Court of the Raſhneſs of the new Reforming Preachers, that *Cranmer*'s Intereſt was ſunk ſo low, that he had ſcarcely any to depend on but *Cromwell*. There now wanted a Queen in the King's Boſom to ſupport them, therefore *Cromwell* continually endeavour'd to ingage the King in ſuch an Alliance with the Princes of *Germany*, as might prevail with him both in Affection and Intereſt, to carry on what he had thus began. And the Beauty of *Anne* of *Cleve*, Siſter to the Duke of *Cleve*, was ſo repreſented to him, that he reſolv'd to effect that Match.

Lambert's *Sufferings.*

A.D. 1539. Reg. $\frac{30}{31}$.

A new Parliament.

But before this could be accompliſh'd, a new Parliament was ſummon'd to meet on the twenty eighth Day of *April*; to which all the Miter'd Abbots had their Writs. After many Struggles by *Cranmer*, and ſome of the Reformers, to oppoſe the preſent Proceedings, the famous Bill paſs'd againſt Diverſity of Opinions in Religion. The Subſtance of it was, ‘ That the King being ſenſible of the Benefit of ‘ Union, and the Miſchief of Diſcord, in Matters of Religion, had come to the Parliament in Perſon, and there ‘ laid open many Points of high Learning, and that with ‘ the Aſſent of both Houſes, he ſet forth theſe ſix Articles. ‘ 1. That in the Euchariſt there was no Subſtance of ‘ Bread and Wine, but only the Natural Body and Blood ‘ of Chriſt. 2. That Chriſt being entirely in each Kind, ‘ the Communion in both was not neceſſary. 3. That ‘ Prieſts by the Law of God ought not to marry. 4. That ‘ Vows of Chaſtity, taken after the Age of twenty one ‘ Years, ought to be kept. 5. That private Maſſes were ‘ lawful and uſeful. 6. That Auricular Confeſſion was ‘ neceſſary, and ought to be retain'd. Such as did ſpeak ‘ or write againſt the Firſt of theſe were to be burnt, without the Benefit of Abjuration; and it was made Felony ‘ to diſpute againſt the other Five: And ſuch as did ſpeak ‘ againſt them, the firſt Offence was *Premunire*, and the ‘ ſecond Felony. Marry'd Prieſts, who did not put away ‘ their Wives, were made guilty of Felony; in thoſe that ‘ liv'd incontinently, the firſt Offence was a *Premunire*, ‘ and the next Felony; and the Female Criminals to be ‘ puniſh'd after the ſame manner. Thoſe that contemn'd ‘ Confeſſion and the Euchariſt, and abſtain'd from it at the ‘ accuſtom'd Times, for the firſt Offence incurr'd a *Premunire*, and the ſecond was Felony. All Proceedings ‘ were to be made in the Forms of Common Law, by ‘ Preſentments and a Jury; and all Churchmen were com‘ manded to read the Act in their Churches once a Quarter.’ Theſe were call'd the ſix bloody Articles, which were bravely oppos'd by Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* in the Parliament, who declar'd himſelf bound in Conſcience to vote againſt the Act, tho' he was ſure it would paſs. This Act was receiv'd with great Joy by all the *Romiſh* Party, who concluded they had gain'd their Cauſe: The unhappy Reformers were now expos'd to the Rage of their Enemies, and had no Comfort from any Part of it, but that they were not deliver'd up to the Cruelty of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, but were to be try'd by Juries: Yet the Denying the Benefit of Abjuration, was a Severity without Precedent, and was forcing a Martyrdom upon them, ſince they could have no Advantage from their Apoſtacy. However they might have ſome Comfort from what the King declar'd to the *German* Ambaſſadors, who were diſguſted at the Act, *That he did not deſign to put it in Execution, but upon great Provocation.*

The Act of the Six Articles.

An Act for Suppreſſing the Monaſteries,

And erecting new Biſhopricks.

This Act being paſs'd, to the Satisfaction of the *Romiſh* Party, another for Suppreſſing all Monaſteries found a more eaſie Admittance. The Words of the Act ſeem to to run otherwiſe. ‘ For by it no Monaſtery was directly ‘ ſuppreſs'd, but only the Reſignations made, or to be made, ‘ were confirm'd; and the King's Right founded either on ‘ their Surrenders, Forfeitures, or Attainders of Treaſon, ‘ was declar'd good in Law: All Churches belonging to ‘ them, and formerly exempted, were put under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop, or of ſuch as ſhould be appointed ‘ by the King. Which laſt Proviſo produc'd a great Miſchief to the Church; for many that purchas'd the Abby-Lands, had this Clauſe put in their Grants, That they ſhould be Viſiters of the Churches; and by this they ſtill do, or pretend to continue exempted from the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction. As the Monaſteries were to be ſuppreſs'd, ſo to counter-ballance their Loſs, another Bill was brought in ‘ to empower the King to erect what Biſhopricks he ‘ thought fit, and to aſſign what Limits and Diviſions, and ‘ appoint them what Statutes he pleas'd.’ The firſt Draught of the Preamble of this Act was written by the King himſelf; and indeed he us'd extraordinary Care in correcting both Acts of Parliament and Proclamations with his own Hand. All Papers in Matters of Religion, publiſh'd by Authority, were revis'd by him, and in many Places large Corrections were made by his own Hand; which manifeſted both his great Judgment, and his extraordinary Application to Buſineſs: And as he was fond of his two acquir'd Titles of *Defender of the Faith*, and *Supream Head of the Church*, ſo he affected nothing more, than to diſcover his Activity, as well as Learning and Underſtanding in Matters of Religion. He alſo writ a Liſt of all the new Biſhopricks he deſign'd to erect, which were for the Benefit of nineteen ſeveral Counties; and he had form'd a glorious Deſign of endowing many Sees, and making many other noble Foundations; yet the great Change made in the Councils and Miniſtry before this took Effect, caus'd but too ſmall a Part of his high Projects to be accompliſh'd.

Other Acts.

In this Parliament ſeveral other Statutes were made; particularly an Act to inforce due Obedience to the King's Proclamations, which in ſome Caſes was made Treaſon. An Act was alſo made, eſtabliſhing the Precedence of the Biſhops; by which the two Arch-Biſhops firſt, then the Biſhops of *London* and *Durham*, and then *Wincheſter*, as Prelate of the Garter; and all other Biſhops were to take Place according to the Date of their Conſecrations. Laſtly, a Bill of Attainder paſt, not only confirming the Sentences that had been given againſt the Marquis of *Exeter*, the Lord *Montacute*, and others, that had been condemn'd at Common Law; but of ſome that were newly attainted without a Tryal: Of theſe ſome were abſent, and others in Priſon; but it was not thought convenient to bring them to make their Anſwers. The principal of theſe were the Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, Mother to Cardinal *Pool*. It was queſtion'd whether this could be done in Law or not: The Judges deliver'd their Opinion, ' That it was againſt natural Juſtice to condemn ' any without hearing them, and then when the Parliament ' proceeded as a Court, they were oblig'd to follow the ' common Rules of Equity; but if they acted otherwiſe, ' yet ſince they were the Supream Court of the Nation, it ' could not be revers'd.' In concluſion, the latter Part of this was inſiſted on, and the former neglected; ſo the Act paſs'd: And this Council was aſcrib'd to *Cromwell*; and he being the firſt that was executed upon ſuch a Sentence, gave occaſion to many to obſerve the Juſtice of Heaven, in making ill Councils turn upon thoſe that give them.

The King's Care for Cranmer.

When the Parliament was prorogu'd the King remember'd his trueſt Friend *Cranmer*, and the Apprehenſions he might have from the ſix Articles; therefore he ſent both *Cromwell* and the Duke of *Norfolk* to dine with him, and aſſure him of the Conſtancy of his Kindneſs to him. At the Table they expreſs'd great Eſteem for him, and acknowledg'd ' he had oppos'd the Articles with ſo much Learning ' and Gravity, and thoſe who moſt differ'd from him, ' could not but highly value him; and that he needed not ' fear any thing from the King.' *Cromwell* ſaid, the King made that Difference between him and the reſt of his Council, that he would not ſo much as hearken to any Complaints made againſt him; and comparing him to Cardinal *Wolſey*, he ſaid, *The one loſt his Friends by his Pride and Oſtentation, and the other gain'd his Enemies by his Humility and Mildneſs.* The Arch-Biſhop was not only encourag'd by the King, but was alſo allow'd by him to write his Reaſons againſt the ſix Articles, for the King's Uſe; all which he perform'd, to the great Hazard of his Perſon and Fortunes. But the Act fell much heavier upon many other Perſons; *Shaxton* and *Latimer* not only reſign'd their Biſhopricks, but being preſented for Words ſpoken againſt the Articles, they were put in Priſon, where they continu'd 'till a Recantation diſcharg'd one, and the King's Death freed the other. There were about five hundred others preſented on the ſame Account; but upon the Interceſſions of *Cranmer*, *Cromwell*, and others, they were ſet at Liberty, and a Stop was put to the Execution of this Act 'till *Cromwell*'s Fall.

The Biſhops hold their Sees by a new Tenure.

The Biſhops of the *Popiſh* Party took unjuſtifiable Methods to inſinuate themſelves into the King's Confidence; for they took out Commiſſions by which they acknowledg'd, ' That all Juriſdiction, Civil ' and Eccleſiaſtical, flow'd from the King; and that they ' only exercis'd it at the King's Courteſie; and as they ' had this of his Bounty, ſo they were ready to deliver it ' up, when he ſhould think fit to call for it: And there' fore the King did empower them in his Stead, to Ordain, ' give Inſtitution, and exerciſe all the other Parts of the ' Epiſcopal Function, which was to laſt during his Plea' ſure.' By this they were in Reality made *the King's Biſhops*; in which *Bonner* ſet an Example to the reſt; but it does not appear that *Cranmer* took out any ſuch Commiſſion all this Reign.

All the Monaſteries ſuppreſs'd.

And now follow'd the final Diſſolution of the Monaſteries of *England*, of which fifty ſeven had ſurrender'd this Year, and twelve of them Parliamentary Abbies. When all had thus reſign'd, Commiſſioners were appointed by the Court of Augmentations to ſeize on the Revenues and Goods belonging to thoſe Houſes, and to eſtabliſh the Penſions that were to be given to the Abbots and Monks, and to pull down the Churches, or ſuch other Parts of the Fabrick, as they judg'd ſuperfluous, and to ſell all the Materials. The Number of the Monaſteries firſt and laſt ſuppreſs'd were ſix hundred and forty five; of which twenty eight were in this Reign Mitred or Parliamentary Abbies, whoſe Abbots ſate in the Houſe of Lords, which were as following.

The Mitred Abbies.

St. *Albans*, in *Hartfordſhire*; St. *Peter*'s, in *Weſtminſter*; St. *Auſtin*'s, in *Canterbury*; *Glaſſenbury*, in *Somerſetſhire*; St. *Edmund*'s *Bury*, in *Suffolk*; St. *Bennet*'s, in the Holm, in *Norfolk*; *Bardney* and *Croyland*, in *Lincolnſhire*; St. *Mary*'s in *York*, and *Selby* in *Yorkſhire*; *Shrewſbury*, in *Shropſhire*; *Eveſham*, in *Worceſterſhire*; *Glouceſter*, *Tewxbury*, *Winchelcomb*, and *Cirenceſter*, in *Glouceſterſhire*; *Abington* and *Reading*, in *Barkſhire*; *Malmeſbury*, in *Wiltſhire*; *Peterborough*, in *Northamptonſhire*; *Thorney*, in *Cambridgeſhire*; *Ramſey*, in *Huntingtonſhire*; *Battle*, in *Suſſex*; *Hide* by *Wincheſter*, in *Hampſhire*; St. *John*'s, in *Colcheſter*, and *Waltham*, in *Eſſex*; *Coventry*, in *Warwickſhire*; and *Taveſtock*, in *Devonſhire*. The valu'd Rents of all the Abby Lands in *England* were exceeding low; but the real Worth and Value of them was judg'd at that Time to amount to above fifteen hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. So that never any King in *England* had ſuch mighty Advantages of inriching the Crown, and making noble Foundations. But whether out of Policy to ſatisfie the Gentry, by ſelling them at low Rates, or out of Eaſineſs to his Courtiers, or out of his unmeaſur'd Expences, all this melted away in a few Years, and his great Deſigns were but in part accompliſh'd. He deſign'd to have founded eighteen new Biſhopricks, but he founded only ſix; and other noble Projects alſo became abortive. In particular one that was deſign'd by the famous Sir *Nicolas Bacon*, which was a Royal Seminary for Ambaſſadors, Stateſmen and Hiſtorians; which would ſupply one Loſs proceeding from the Fall of Abbies, in moſt of which was kept a Chronicle of the Times. However the King laid out great Sums in building and fortifying many Ports, in the Channel, and other Ports of *England*; and in the demoliſhing theſe Houſes, he had ſo tender a Regard to Learning, that he not only preferr'd many able Perſons he found there, but took ſpecial Care to preſerve the choiceſt Books of their well-furniſh'd Libraries.

All the Ground that *Cranmer* gain'd this Year, in which there was ſo much loſt, was a Liberty that all private Perſons might have Bibles in their Houſes; and tho' it was violently oppos'd by *Gardiner*, yet a particular Patent for that Purpoſe was iſſu'd out, and put to the Management of the Vice-gerent *Cromwell*.

A new Treaty of Marriage with the King.

This great Miniſter was now projecting a Match for the King, that might ſupport him and his Friends; and tho' Perſons were propos'd both by the Emperor and the King of *France*, yet *Cromwell*'s Management prevail'd, and the King fix'd upon *Anne*, Siſter to the Duke of *Cleve*, whoſe eldeſt Siſter had been marry'd to the Duke of *Saxony*. *Hans Holbin*, the famous Painter of that Age, took her Picture very much to her Advantage; for the nice King never lik'd the Original, as he admir'd the Picture. The Duke of *Saxony* diſcourag'd the Match, becauſe the King was making backward Steps in the Matter of the Reformation; but *Cromwell* purſu'd it with a fatal Aſſiduity. It was ſaid, the Lady had great Charms in her Perſon; but ſhe could ſpeak no Language but *Dutch*, which the King underſtood not; nor was ſhe bred to Muſick, which he admir'd: And ſhe had a Stiffneſs in her Breeding, not at all accommodated to the King's Inclinations. The Match was at length concluded, and in the End of *December* the Lady was brought over into *England*. The King was impatient to ſee her, and went *incognito* to *Rocheſter*; but the Sight of her damp'd all his Ardour. There appear'd ſuch Unpoliteneſs in her Perſon and Behaviour, that the King ſwore, *They had brought over a* Flanders *Mare to him*, and immediately conceiv'd an incurable Averſion to her. He reſolv'd to break the Match, if it were poſſible; but his Affairs then requir'd the Friendſhip of the *German* Princes; ſo that he did not think it adviſable to put any Affront upon the Dukes of *Cleve* and *Saxony*. The Emperor had at this Time made a haſty Journey through *France*; and *Francis* and he had a magnificent Enterview, where, as the King was inform'd, by the Pope's Inſtigation a Project was forming againſt him. *Francis* was alſo contriving how to take *Calais* from him; it was eaſie for him to have engag'd the King of *Scotland* againſt him; and the People in the North were thought to retain their former Diſpoſition to rebel; ſo that a War made on the King in ſuch Circumſtances, would probably find him at a great Diſadvantage. This caus'd the King to be more tender of offending the *Germans*; but hearing there had been a Contract between the Duke of *Lorrain* and his intended Bride, he reſolv'd to try if that would furniſh him with a fair Excuſe to break off the Match. The King expreſs'd his great Trouble and Uneaſineſs, both to *Cromwell*, and many of his other Acquaintance; upon which one of them ſaid, *That mean Perſons had this Advantage over Princes and great Men; that the former choſe their own Wives, while the latter were oblig'd to take ſuch as were brought them.* But nothing could be founded on that Pre-contract, which was only an Agreement between the Fathers, when their Children were under Age, and which was afterwards broken and annull'd by their Parents. So *Cranmer* and *Tonſtall* being requir'd to give their Opinions as Divines, declar'd, There was nothing in it to hinder the King's marrying with the Lady.

A. D. 1540. Reg. $\frac{31}{32}$.

The King's fourth Marriage with Anne *of* Cleve.

He diſlikes her.

At length the King finding himſelf preſs'd on all Sides, on the ſixth Day of *January*, marry'd her; but expreſs'd his Diſlike of her ſo manifeſtly, that all about him were apprehenſive of it; and the Day after he told *Cromwell*, as an intimate Friend, *That he had not conſummated the Marriage, and believ'd he never ſhould: He ſuſpected ſhe was no Virgin, and had ſuch ungrateful Smells about her, as had increas'd his Averſion to an inſuperable Degree.* This was a mortal Stab to *Cromwell*, who well knew how delicate the King was in theſe Matters, and that ſo great a Misfortune muſt needs fall heavy upon him, who was the chief Promoter of it. He us'd all Methods to overcome theſe Inclinations, but to no Effect; and tho' the King liv'd five Months in her Company, and lay often in Bed with her, yet his Averſion rather increas'd, than abated. She ſeemed not much concern'd at it, and expreſs'd a great Readineſs to concur in every Thing that might diſengage him from a Marriage ſo highly unacceptable to him. Inſtruments were brought over, to ſhew that the Contract between her and the Prince of *Lorrain* was void; but the King's Advocates took ſome Advantage, becauſe it was not declar'd whether the Contract was in the Words of the Preſent, or of the Future Tenſe, and reſolv'd to make uſe of that upon a proper Occaſion.

Cromwell *ſent to the Tower.*

Notwithſtanding the King's inſuperable Diſlike of this Match, he was ſo far from diſcarding the chief Promoter of it, that two Days after a Seſſions of Parliament was called, he created *Cromwell* Earl of *Eſſex*, upon the fourteenth of *April*, the Male Line of the *Bourchiers*, who had born that Title, being extinguiſh'd. So that being now Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chamberlain, Knight of the Garter, and Maſter of the Rolls, and above all, the King's Vice-gerent, he was arriv'd at the Height of his Grandeur, and equal to that of any Subject in *England*. This laſt Title of Earl was too much like Lightning before a dreadful Storm of Thunder; for ſuddenly after, the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had ſecret Reſentments againſt him, arreſted him of High-Treaſon, and ſent him Priſoner to the Tower, to the great Surpriſe of all his Friends. He had many Enemies: The Meanneſs of his Birth caus'd the prouder Sort of the Nobility to be diſguſted, when they ſaw the Son of a Blackſmith advanc'd above them all. The *Romiſh* Clergy had conceiv'd inſuperable Prejudices againſt his Actions and Authority: They imputed the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, and the Injunctions laid on them, to proceed chiefly from his Counſels; and it was believ'd, that principally by his Means the King and the Emperor continu'd in ſuch Miſunderſtandings. The King by his late Informations was now ſenſible, that no Accommodation was like to be made between the Emperor and the *French* King; and he was ſure that either of them would court his Friendſhip, in caſe of a War, which made him leſs concern'd for the Favour of the *German* Princes. This caus'd *Cromwell*'s Counſels to be of leſs Moment; with which concurr'd a more near and ſecret Reaſon: The King did not only hate his new Queen, but had now ſettled his Affections upon the Lady *Katharine Howard*, Neice to the Duke of *Norfolk*; which both rais'd the Intereſt of that Relation, and depreſs'd *Cromwell*, who had made this late Match. The King was alſo too willing to throw upon him all the Errors that had been committed of late, and by making him a Sacrifice, he hop'd to regain the Affections of his People. The King had alſo Informations brought him, That he ſecretly encourag'd thoſe who oppos'd the ſix Articles, which highly provok'd his Majeſty; ſo that his Fall was as inevitable, as it was unexpected.

All forſake him but Cranmer.

A Bill of Attainder againſt him.

In his Fall he had the common Fate of all diſgrac'd Miniſters, to be forſaken by his Friends, and inſulted by his Enemies: Only the generous *Cranmer* ſo retain'd his former Simplicity, that he could never learn theſe Court Arts. Therefore the next Day he wrote earneſtly to the King in his Favour, 'Declaring he had found that he had ever lov'd the King above all Things, and had ſerv'd him with ſuch Fidelity and Succeſs, that he believ'd no King of *England* had ever a more faithful Servant: And he wiſh'd the King might find ſuch a Counſellor, who was both willing and able to ſerve him as he had done.' So great a Soul had *Cranmer*, that he cou'd not be turn'd by the Changes of his Friend's Fortunes, nor the Dread of an imperious Prince; for had not the King's Kindneſs been deeply rooted, this Letter had ruin'd him. But the King was now reſolv'd to ruin *Cromwell*; and that unjuſt Practice of Attainting, without hearing the Parties anſwer for themſelves, which he had too much promoted, was now turn'd upon himſelf. He had ſuch Enemies in the Houſe of Lords, that the Bill of Attainder was diſpatch'd in two Days, during the Abſence of *Cranmer*, when no one durſt venture to plead for him. He met with more Juſtice in the Houſe of Commons, where it remain'd ten Days; but in Concluſion, a new Bill was drawn againſt him, and ſent up to the Lords, where it paſs'd theirs and the Royal Aſſent. It conſiſted of an Accumulation of ſeveral Crimes, Miſdemeanors and Suggeſtions, and of ſeveral Heretical Principles and Practices, and indeed of ſome great Improbabilities; for which he was attainted both of High Treaſon and Hereſie. In all this Matter, he is thought to have met with great Hardſhips; not only becauſe he was not permitted to anſwer, but becauſe the principal Matters objected againſt him might eaſily have been clear'd, he being able to have produc'd the King's Orders for moſt of them.

The King's laſt Marriage annull'd.

The King and Queen ſeparate.

Cromwell's Fall was the firſt Step to the King's Divorce; for immediately after, an Addreſs was mov'd to be made to him by the Lords, that he would permit his Marriage to be examin'd. *Cranmer* and others were ſent down to deſire the Concurrence of the Commons; and they order'd twenty of their Number to go along with the Lords in one Body to the King. The Matter being concerted before, he granted their Deſire, and Commiſſion was ſent to the Convocation to diſcuſs it. *Gardiner* open'd the Cauſe to them, and they appointed a Committee for Examination of Witneſſes. The Subſtance of the whole Evidence amounted to theſe Particulars; That the Matter of the Precontract between the Queen and the Prince of *Lorrain* was not fully clear'd; That the King had marry'd her againſt his Will, without an inward Conſent; and that he had never conſummated the Marriage, ſo that they ſaw he could have no Iſſue by the Queen. Upon theſe Grounds the whole Convocation with one Conſent annull'd the Marriage, and declar'd both Parties free; which was the groſſeſt Compliance that the King had from his Clergy in his whole Reign. For as they knew that there was nothing material in the Pre-contract; ſo by vacating the Marriage, becauſe the Conſent was not internal and free, they made a moſt pernicious Precedent for breaking all publick Treaties. But in reality, the King was reſolv'd to be freed from the Queen, and the Clergy reſolv'd not to diſoblige him; and they rather ſought out Reaſons to give Colour to their Sentence, than paſs'd it on the Force of thoſe Reaſons. *Cromwell* in the *Tower* was requir'd to ſend a Declaration of all he knew concerning the Marriage, which he did; but being overwhelm'd with the Greatneſs of his Fall, he ended with theſe abject Words, *Written with the heavy Heart, and trembling Hand, of your Highneſs's moſt heavy, and moſt miſerable Priſoner, and poor Slave*, Thomas Cromwell; And under his Subſcription he wrote, *Moſt ſacred Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.* The Judgment of the Convocation, and their Reaſons, were reported to the Parliament; and both Houſes reſted ſatisfy'd. The following Day ſome Lords were ſent to the Queen, who had retir'd to *Richmond*, and told her, The King was reſolv'd to declare her his adopted Siſter; and ſettle four thouſand Pounds a Year upon her, if ſhe would conſent to it; which ſhe chearfully embrac'd: And it being left to her Choice, either to live in *England*, or return to her Brother, ſhe preferr'd the former; and was likewiſe prevail'd on to write to her Brother, that all this was done with her free Will; that the King had us'd her like a Father, and that he and the other Allies ſhould not take the Matter amiſs. When Affairs were thus prepar'd, the Parliament paſs'd an Act confirming the Judgment of the Convocation, without Oppoſition.

Several Acts paſs'd.

Subſidies granted.

In this Parliament there paſs'd ſeveral other Acts; particularly one for Suppreſſing the Knights of St. *John of Jeruſalem*, ſince call'd the Knights of *Rhodes* and *Malta*, who ſucceeded the Knights *Templers*. Another Act paſs'd to mitigate one Clauſe in the Act of the ſix Articles; 'by which the Pains of Death for the Marriage or Incontinency of the Clergy, were chang'd into a Forfeiture of their Goods and Benefices.' Another Act paſs'd, 'Authoriſing thoſe Committees of Biſhops and Divines, nominated by the King, both for the Doctrine and Ceremonies, to proceed in it; and appointing, That what ſhould be concluded by them, and publiſh'd with the King's Approbation, ſhould bind the Subjects.' But a Proviſo was added, 'That nothing might be done by them contrary to the Laws then in force;' which Contradiction in the Proviſo's ſeems to have been made to keep all Eccleſiaſtical Proceedings under the Inſpection of the Secular Courts. Another peculiar Act paſs'd, 'That no Pretence of a Pre-contract ſhould be us'd to annul a Marriage duly ſolemniz'd and conſummated; and no Degrees of Kindred, but thoſe enumerated in the Laws of *Moſes*, might hinder a Marriage.' This laſt Clauſe was added to enable the King to marry to the Lady *Katharine Howard*, who was Couſin-German to *Anne Bolen*, which was one of the Degrees prohibited by the Canon Law. The Province of *Canterbury* gave the King a Subſidy of four Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in two Years, with a Preamble of high Acknowledgments of their Happineſs under his Protection. A Subſidy was alſo demanded of the Laity, but it was much oppos'd in the Houſe of Commons: Many alledg'd They had given the King the Abby Lands, in Hopes that no Subſidies ſhould be demanded for the future; and it ſhew'd a ſtrange Profuſeneſs, that one ſhould be demanded within one Year after. But it was anſwer'd, That the King had been at great Charges in fortifying his Coaſts, and ſupporting ſuch Foreign Leagues as preſerv'd the Nation in Safety; therefore a Tenth and four Fifteens were granted. Several Bills of Attainder were paſs'd; and in Concluſion, the King ſent a general Pardon, out of which *Cromwell* and ſeveral others were excepted, and on the twenty fourth Day of *July* the Parliament was diſſolv'd.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

And now the unfortunate *Cromwell*, who had been ſix Weeks a Priſoner, was brought to his Execution, notwithſtanding all his Endeavours for his Preſervation. Once he wrote to the King in ſuch melting Terms, that he caus'd the Letter to be read thrice, and was ſenſibly affected with it; but the Charms of *Katharine Howard*, and the Endeavours of the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* at length prevail'd: So a Warrant was ſent to cut off his Head on *Tower-Hill*, on the twenty eighth of *July*. Being brought to the Scaffold, his Kindneſs to his Son made him very cautious in what he ſaid; 'He thank'd 'God for bringing him to die in that Manner, which was 'juſt, on the Account of his Offences againſt God and his 'Prince. He declar'd he doubted of no Article of the 'Catholick Faith, nor of any Sacrament of the Church. 'He ſaid he had been ſeduc'd, but now he dy'd in the 'Catholick Faith; and deny'd that he had ſupported the 'Preachers of evil Opinions.' Then praying fervently for the King, and the Remiſſion of his own Sins, upon giving the Sign, the Executioner cut off his Head very barbarouſly. Thus fell that wonderful Miniſter of State, who had rais'd himſelf meerly by the Strength of his natural Parts. For tho' his Extract was mean, and his Education and Learning as low; yet his mighty Wiſdom and Dexterity in Buſineſs, mounted him through various Aſcents, 'till he had gain'd the utmoſt Height of a Subject. He carry'd his Greatneſs with an admirable Temper and Moderation; and fell more under the Weight of a popular Odium, than any real Guilt with which he was charg'd. Yet he cannot be excus'd in two Particulars: His too boldly dipping his Hands in Sacrilege, and his too ready joining in condemning Perſons unheard: The laſt of which prov'd his own Fate; which ſeems more like the Vengeance of Heaven, than the Puniſhment of Men. With him fell the Office of the King's *Vice-gerent*; and none after ever aſpir'd to that Title and Character, that prov'd ſo fatal to him who firſt bore it. The King is ſaid to have lamented his Death when it was too late; and the Miſeries that fell on the new Queen, and on the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Family afterwards, were look'd upon as ſo many Scourges of Providence, for their implacable Proſecution of this unfortunate Miniſter.

Cromwell *beheaded. His Character.*

With his Fall, the Progreſs of the Reformation ſtopt; for *Cranmer* could never gain much Ground after this, and indeed many hop'd to ſee him made the next Sacrifice; and ſome complain'd of him in the Houſe of Commons, and Informations were brought to the King, that the chief Incouragement that the Hereticks had, came from him. In the mean Time the King purſu'd his Amours, and marry'd the Lady *Katharine Howard*, and ſhortly after, upon the eighth Day of *Auguſt*, ſhew'd her publickly as Queen. Still the Eccleſiaſtical Committees were imploy'd by the King, and gave their laſt finiſhing to a Book formerly prepar'd, but at this time corrected and explain'd in many Particulars. This was purſuant to the late Act of Parliament, and was an Explanation of Faith, Juſtification, the Apoſtle's Creed, the Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, Free-Will, Good Works; all writ in a plain and maſculine Stile, and accommodated to any Capacity. This was publiſh'd by Authority, and the People requir'd by the King to read it, and print it in their Hearts. Tho' this Book in many Particulars condemn'd the *Romiſh* Tenets, yet that Party re-aſſum'd much Courage, and *Bonner* began to ſhew his Severity and Cruelty, which occaſion'd *Barnes*, *Gerrard* and *Jerome*, three Preachers, to be condemn'd for Hereticks. When they were carry'd to *Smithfield*, three others, *Abel*, *Featherſtone* and *Powell*, who were attainted for denying the King's Supremacy, were coupled with them in the Hurdles that carry'd them; the King affecting in this an extravagant Appearance of Impartiality in his Juſtice. In the End of this Year, the King began to endow his new Biſhopricks: *Weſtminſter* was the firſt; after which he endow'd *Cheſter*, *Gloceſter* and *Peterborough*, and laſtly *Oxford* and *Briſtol*. And here ends the Series of the King's Advances towards a Reformation, which was now digeſted and form'd into a Body. What follow'd was not in a Thread, but by Starts, ſometimes in Favour of the one, and ſometimes of the other Party. Nor was he truly ſteady in his Councils as to State Affairs; for ſince *Cromwell*'s Death he had no Miniſter about him, that had a juſt Aſcendant over him. So that the King was now left too much to himſelf, at a time when Years, Sickneſs and Oppoſition had made him more humorous, impatient and violent than formerly; ſo that more Errors were committed in the laſt ſeven Years of his Government, than in all his Reign beſides.

The King's fifth Marriage, with Katharine Howard.

Several ſuffer for Religion.

A. D. 1541. Reg. $\frac{32}{33}$.

XI. In the latter part of this Reign, by the Commotion of the unſettled Times, and the growing Indiſpoſitions of the King, Bloodſheds and Executions became more frequent in the Nation than formerly. A little Rebellion now appearing in *Yorkſhire*, in which Sir *John Nevil* was an Accomplice, the King took Order to ſuppreſs it in due Time, and commanded that Knight to be put to Death at *York*. Shortly after follow'd the Execution of the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, which was probably occaſion'd by the late Rebellion, as being judg'd to ariſe from her Son Cardinal *Pool*'s Inſtigation. The old Lady, above ſeventy Years of Age, being brought to the Scaffold, erected in the *Tower*, was commanded to lay her Head on the Block; but ſhe poſitively refus'd, ſaying, *So ſhould Traitors do, but I am none.* Nor did it avail, that the Executioner told her *It was always cuſtomary*; but turning her gray Head every Way, ſhe cry'd out, *If you will have my Head, get it as you can*: So he was conſtrain'd to take it off barbarouſly. And thus ended the laſt of the right Line of the famous *Plantagenets*. There ſtill remain'd one of that Name, *Arthur*, a natural Son to King *Edward* the Fourth, who this Year dy'd with Joy at *Calais*.

The Execution of the Counteſs of Salisbury.

The End of the Plantagenets.

In Summer, the King, with his fair and beloved Queen, went to *York*, to meet his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, who promis'd to give him an Enterview in that City. He was an extraordinary Prince, a great Promoter both of Learning and Juſtice; but ſtill unmeaſurably addicted to his Pleaſures. The Clergy of *Scotland* were very apprehenſive of his ſeeing his Uncle *Henry*, leſt he ſhould perſuade him to follow the Copy he had ſet to his Neighbours; and they us'd ſuch Perſuaſions, that being ſeconded by a Meſſage from *France*, they diverted him from this Purpoſe; which provok'd his Uncle, and gave Occaſion to a Rupture not long after. King *Henry* being arriv'd at *York*, he iſſu'd out a popular Proclamation, 'That all who had been aggriev'd 'for want of Juſtice, by any whom he had formerly im'ploy'd, ſhould repair to him and his Council for Redreſs;' all which was done to caſt all paſt Miſcarriages on *Cromwell*, and to put the People in hopes of better Times.

The King and Queen go to York.

He was now ſo captivated with the Charms of his Queen, at his Return to *London*, he gave publick Thanks to God for the Happineſs he enjoy'd by her Means. But this prov'd very ſhort-liv'd Pleaſure; for the next Day the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* came to him, and deliver'd him a melancholy Account of the Queen's lewd Life, as it had been brought him by one *John Laſſels*, who had told him from his Siſter, an old Servant belonging to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and concern'd in the Queen's Education, that the Queen had often been wicked with two Perſons nam'd *Deirham* and *Mannock*, with other ſcandalous Circumſtances not fit to be related. By the Advice of the Lord-Chancellor, and other Privy-Counſellors, *Cranmer* put down the Particulars in Writing, and deliver'd it to the King, as not well knowing how to open it in Diſcourſe. When the King ſaw it, he was much confounded, but he lov'd the Queen ſo tenderly, that he at firſt look'd upon it as a Forgery; ſo that if full Evidence had been wanting, it had certainly turn'd to the Arch-Biſhop's Ruin. The King imparted the Matter to ſome other Counſellors, and with the utmoſt Secrecy ſent to examine *Laſſels* and his Siſter; which being confirm'd by them, he order'd *Deirham* and *Mannock* to be arreſted upon ſome other Pretences. But they being examin'd, not only confeſſed what was inform'd, but reveal'd ſome other Circumſtances that ſhew'd the Queen had laid aſide all Senſe of Modeſty, as well as the Fear of a Diſcovery; three ſeveral Women having been Witneſſes to her lewd Practices. The Report of this ſtruck the King into a moſt profound Penſiveneſs, and caus'd him with a Flood of Tears to lament his Misfortune. The Arch-Biſhop and ſome other Counſellors were ſent to examine the Queen; who at firſt deny'd every thing, but finding it was already known, ſhe confeſs'd all, and ſet her Hand to it. It alſo appear'd, that ſhe had intended to continue in that impious Courſe of Life, for ſhe had brought *Deirham* into her Service; and at *Lincoln*, by the Lady *Rochford*'s Means, one *Culpepper* was brought to her in the Night, and ſtay'd many Hours with her in a Cellar; and at his Departure, ſhe gave him a Gold Chain. *Culpepper* being examin'd confeſſ'd the Crime; for which, both *Deirham* and he ſuffer'd; and others were indicted of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, and condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment.

The Queen's ill Life diſcover'd.

A. D. 1542. Reg. $\frac{33}{34}$.

This unfortunate Affair occaſion'd a new Parliament to be ſummon'd on the ſixteenth of *January*; in which a Committee was particularly appointed to examine the Queen: Their Report is recorded only in general, that ſhe

An Act of Attainder againſt the Queen.

confeſs'd, but no Particulars are mention'd. Upon which they paſs'd an Act in the Form of a Petition: 'After deſiring the King not to be griev'd at this Miſfortune, they 'pray'd, that the Queen and her Complices, with her 'Procureſs the Lady *Rochford*, might be attainted of Treaſon: And that all thoſe who knew of the Queen's vicious Courſe before her Marriage, might be attainted of 'Miſpriſion of Treaſon, for not revealing them to the 'King in due time; among whom were her Father and 'Mother, and her Grand-Mother the Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*. It was alſo declar'd Treaſon to know any thing 'of the Incontinence of any Queen of *England* for the future, and not to reveal it. And it was made Treaſon, 'in any whom the King intended to marry, judging they 'were Virgins, not to reveal it, if they were not really ſuch.'

The Queen beheaded.

This remarkable Act being paſs'd, the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the twelfth of *February*, about ſeventeen Months after ſhe was marry'd to the King, and had founded her Greatneſs in the unfortunate Blood of *Cromwell*. The Queen confeſs'd the Miſcarriages of her former Life, before the King marry'd her, which had brought her to this fatal End; but did poſitively deny, before God and his Angels, and upon the Salvation of her Soul, that ſhe was ever guilty of betraying her Sovereign's Bed; yet the unbounded Looſneſs of her former Courſe of Living, inclin'd the World to believe the moſt ſcandalous Things that could be reported. But all obſerv'd the Judgments of Heaven upon the Lady *Rochford*, who had a principal Part in the Death of Queen *Anne Bolen*, and her own Husband; and her appearing ſo vile a Woman, tended much to raiſe their Reputations again, in whoſe Fall her Spite and other Artifices had ſo criminal a Share. The Attainting her Kindred and Parents, for not diſcovering her former Lewdneſs, was thought extream Severity; for in them it would have been a hard Piece of Duty to have diſcover'd ſuch a Secret: Yet tho' they lay ſome time in Priſon, the King pardon'd them all when his Rage was a little qualify'd. That other Proviſo, which oblig'd a young Lady to diſcover her own Frailties, if the King ſhould pleaſe to make Love to her, was thought a Piece of grievous Tyranny: Upon which thoſe who thought fit to rally the Sex, took Occaſion to ſay, 'That after this, no one, reputed a Virgin, could be in'duc'd to marry the King:' So that it was not ſo much Choice, as Neceſſity, that caus'd him to marry a Widow two Years after.

The Kings of England *firſt ſtil'd Kings of* Ireland.

In this Parliament there paſs'd another Act that made Way for the Diſſolutions of Colleges, Hoſpitals, and other Foundations of that Nature. The Courtiers had been practiſing with the Preſidents and Governors of ſome of theſe, to make Reſignations to the King; which were conceiv'd in the ſame Stile with the Surrenders of Monaſteries. Eight of theſe were already procur'd; but they could not make any great Progreſs, becauſe by their local Statutes it was provided, that the Conſent of all the Fellows was neceſſary to make their Deeds good in Law; which were not ſo eaſily obtain'd. Therefore all ſuch Statutes were now annull'd; and none for the future were any more to be ſworn to them. In this Parliament it was obſerv'd, That the Kings of *England* for many Years had govern'd *Ireland* by no other Title than *Lords* of that Iſland; King *Henry* now thought fit to change the Stile, and honour a populous and warlike Nation with the Title of a King. Therefore in a Parliament held at this time in that Country, he gave Orders to be declar'd King of *Ireland*; which was alſo proclaim'd in *England* during this Parliament, and afterward finally enacted in the thirty fifth Year of this Reign.

A War with Scotland.

The Death of King James *the Fifth.*

This gave Offence to *James* King of *Scotland*; and by the Inſtigation of the *French* King, a War broke out between the two old contending Kingdoms. King *Henry* ſet out a Declaration, importing that the Crown of *Scotland* ow'd Homage to that of *England*; and cited many Precedents to ſhew that it had been done not only by their Kings, but by Conſent of their States; for which he appeal'd to Original Records. The *Scots* aſſerted they were an independent Kingdom, and the Homages they paid were for Lands in *England*, or elſe were extorted by Force of Arms. And thus a War began in *October*, when the Duke of *Norfolk* made an Inroad into *Scotland* with twenty thouſand Men; but after he had burnt ſome ſmall Towns, and waſted *Teviotdale*, he return'd into *England*. In the End of *November*, an Army of fifteen thouſand *Scots*, with a good Train of Artillery, was gather'd together, with a Deſign to march into *England* by the Weſtern Road. King *James* repair'd thither in Perſon; but he was at this time violently diſturb'd in his Fancy, and imagin'd the Ghoſt of one whom he had unjuſtly put to Death follow'd him continually; ſo that he not only left his Army, but Commiſſion'd *Oliver Sinclare*, then call'd his *Minion*, to command in chief. This highly diſguſted the Nobility, who were weary'd out with the Inſolence of that Favourite; inſomuch that they refus'd to march, and were beginning to ſeparate. While they continu'd in this inglorious Diſorder, five hundred *Engliſhmen* appear'd; and the *Scotch* apprehending it was an advanc'd Part of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Army, refus'd to fight: So the *Engliſh* ſet upon and diſpers'd them, and took all their Ordnance and Baggage, and a thouſand Priſoners, of whom two hundred were Gentlemen, the Earl of *Glencarn* and *Caſſiles* being the chief. This unexpected News ſo overcharg'd the melancholy King, that he dy'd ſhortly after; leaving only an Infant Daughter newly born to ſucceed him. The *Scotch* Lords that were taken, were brought to *London*, and lodg'd in the Houſes of the *Engliſh* Nobility: *Caſſiles* was ſent to *Lambeth*, where he receiv'd thoſe Seeds of Knowledge, which afterwards produc'd a plentiful Harveſt in *Scotland*. The other Priſoners were alſo ſo well inſtructed, that they ſoon had very different Thoughts of the Changes made in *England*, than what the *Scotch* Clergy had taught them; who had given the greateſt Encouragement to this War. The King's Death, and the Crown falling to his Daughter, caus'd the *Engliſh* Council to make uſe of this as a proper Conjuncture for uniting the whole Iſland; therefore they ſent to the *Scotch* Lords, and propos'd the marrying the young Prince *Edward* with their Queen; which was ſo acceptable, that they promis'd to promote it to their utmoſt Power. But that unfortunate Princeſs was not born under ſuch happy Stars, tho' ſhe was Mother to him, in whom this long deſir'd Union took Effect. However, upon giving Hoſtages for Performance of their particular Promiſes, the Lords were ſent home honourably; being highly pleas'd both with the Splendor of the King's Court, and with the Way of Religion which they had ſeen in *England*.

A. D. 1543. Reg. $\frac{34}{35}$.

A Parliament call'd.

An Act about Religion.

Shortly after a Parliament was called, in which the King had large Subſidies granted him of ſix Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in three Years. A Bill was now propos'd for the Advancement of true Religion, by *Cranmer* and ſome other Biſhops; for the Spirits of the *Romiſh* Party were much ſunk ſince the Death of the laſt Queen; yet at this Time a Treaty was ſet on Foot between the King and the Emperor, which began to raiſe them again: For ſince the King had Thoughts of engaging in a War with *France*, it was neceſſary for him to make the Emperor his Friend. *Cranmer*'s Motion was much oppos'd, and the timorous Biſhops forſook him; yet ſtill he puſh'd the Matter as far as he was able, tho' in moſt Points Things went contrary to his Deſire. By the Act '*Tindall*'s Translation of the 'Bible was condemn'd; but Bibles of another Tranſlation 'were ſtill allow'd to be kept, only all Prefaces or Annotations were to be daſh'd or cut out: All the King's Injunctions were confirm'd: No Books of Religion might 'be printed without Licence; there was to be no Expoſition of the Scripture in Plays or Enterludes; nor none 'of the Laity might read the Scripture, or explain it in any publick Aſſembly. Noblemen, Gentlemen and their 'Wives, or Merchants, might have Bibles; but they 'were forbidden to ordinary Perſons, Tradeſmen and 'Husbandmen. Every Perſon might have the Book ſet 'out by the Biſhops, and the Pſalter, and other Rudiments 'of Religion in *Engliſh*. All Churchmen that preach'd 'contrary to that Book, were to recant for the firſt Offence, to carry a Faggot and abjure for the ſecond, 'and to be burnt for the third: The Laity for the third 'Offence were only to ſuffer Loſs of Goods and perpetual Impriſonment; but they were to be proceeded againſt within a Year, and the accus'd Parties were allow'd Witneſſes for their Purgation. The Act of *the* '*Six Articles* was here confirm'd, and Liberty was left to 'the King to change this Act, or any Proviſo in it.' As this Act about Religion was a great Mitigation of former Severities, ſo it brought the Reformers to depend wholly on the King's Mercy for their Lives; ſince he could now chain up, or let looſe the Act of *the Six Articles* upon them at his Pleaſure. This Proviſo was highly grateful to the King, who too much affected to have his People depend entirely upon him.

A League with the Emperor.

Soon after the Concluſion of this Parliament, on *Trinity Sunday* a League Offenſive and Defenſive was ſworn between the King and the Emperor, for *England*, *Calais*, and the adjacent Places, and for all *Flanders*, with many other Particulars ſet down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. Here Aſſurances were given, that tho' the King would not declare the Princeſs *Mary* Legitimate, upon which the Emperor much inſiſted, yet ſhe ſhould be put in the Succeſſion to the Crown next Prince *Edward*. By this Treaty the Emperor gain'd much; for having engag'd the Crowns of *England* and *France* in a War, and drawn off King *Henry* from his League with the Princes of *Germany*, he was now more at Leiſure to proſecute his aſpiring Deſigns in that Country.

Affairs in Scotland.

But the Negotiation did not ſo well ſucceed in *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Arran*, next in Blood to the Infant Queen, was eſtabliſh'd in the Government during her Minority. King *Henry* ſent Sir *Ralph Sadler* to him to induce him to promote the Queen's Match with Prince *Edward*, and to offer the young Princeſs *Elizabeth* to his Son. This was ſo acceptable, that it was agreed and confirm'd in Parliament, That the young Queen ſhould be bred in *Scotland* 'till ſhe was ten Years old, and the King of *England* to ſend a Nobleman and his Lady with others not exceeding twenty, to wait on her, after which Age ſhe was to be ſent into *England*; and in the mean Time ſix Hoſtages were to be given. But all the Clergy, headed by Cardinal *Beaton*, together with the Queen-Mother, violently oppos'd this Deſign; and it was alledg'd, 'That a Match 'with the *French* would be more advantageous to the Na'tion, who being at ſo great a Diſtance could not ſo eaſily 'oppreſs them as the *Engliſh*: For if the *French* oppreſs'd 'them, it would be the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* to protect 'them; but if they came under the Yoke of *England*, they 'could expect no Protection from any other Prince.' This meeting with that Antipathy then form'd between the two Nations, and being inflam'd by the Clergy, turn'd the People in general to prefer a Match with *France* before the other propos'd with Prince *Edward*. The *French* ſent over the Earl of *Lenox* to make a Party againſt the Governor, together with the Governor's natural Brother; who together us'd ſuch Threatnings and Artifices, as had their full Effects upon him: For he turn'd off wholly from the Intereſts of *England*, and gave himſelf up to the *French* Councils. When they had thus reſolv'd to break the Match with *England*, the Lords who had left Hoſtages with King *Henry* for the faithful Performance of their Promiſes, now little regarded either their own Honour, or the Safety of their Hoſtages. Only the brave Earl of *Caſſiles* thought it unworthy of him to break his Faith in ſuch a mean manner; therefore he went into *England*, and generouſly deliver'd himſelf Priſoner to King *Henry*; who expreſs'd the higheſt Value for him, and call'd him a ſecond *Regulus*, but treated him after a better manner: For he gave him his Liberty and a noble Preſent, and ſent him back honourably to *Scotland* with all his Hoſtages; but he reſolv'd to take a ſevere Reparation of thoſe who had fail'd him in that Kingdom.

At the ſame Time he reſolv'd upon a War againſt *France*, their great Supporter on all Occaſions; for which there were many Reaſons and Provocations. Among others one was, That King *Francis* had fail'd in the Matter of ſhaking off the Pope's Authority, and advancing a Reformation, in which he had promis'd to ſecond him. But before this was undertaken, the King reſolv'd upon another Marriage, in which he met with ſome Difficulty, by reaſon of the late Act concerning the Virginity of the Perſon to be marry'd with him: Therefore at length he fix'd upon the Lady *Katharine Parr*, Widow to the Lord *Latimer*; who as ſhe was a Lady of much Integrity and Worth, and ſome Maturity of Years, ſo the King for the moſt part liv'd happily with her. She was a ſecret Favourer of the Reformation; yet could not divert a Storm, which at this Time fell on ſome of her Party at *Windſor*, particularly *Perſon*, *Teſtwood*, *Filmer* and *Marbeck*, all but the laſt of whom were burnt alive; tho' ſome of their Accuſers were afterwards convicted of Perjury. Others were alſo accus'd and threaten'd by the *Romiſh* Party, but none ſo induſtriouſly aim'd at as the Arch-Biſhop himſelf. The Plot againſt him was laid very deep by Biſhop *Gardiner* and ſeveral others, and a long Paper of his Heretical Principles and Practices were deliver'd to the King; who in this ſhew'd himſelf ſo true a Friend to him, and the other ſo true a Chriſtian, that it ſunk and vaniſh'd into Air. Shortly after when *Cranmer* gain'd the moſt apparent Advantage over his Enemies and Accuſers, he would make no other Uſe of it than to diſplay his Readineſs to forgive, and to do Good for Evil; for which he became ſo celebrated, that it was commonly ſaid, *That the beſt way to obtain his Favour, was to do him an Injury.*

The King's ſixth and laſt Marriage, with Katharine Parr.

Cranmer's *Behaviour.*

A. D. 1544. Reg. $\frac{35}{36}$.

The laſt Act of Succeſſion.

XII. We are now arriv'd at the latter Scenes and Tranſactions of this buſie and memorable Reign; when a new Parliament was ſummon'd that paſs'd the laſt remarkable Act for the Succeſſion of the Crown. By this it was enacted, 'That in Default of Heirs of Prince *Edward*'s Body, or 'of Heirs by the King's preſent Marriage, the Crown 'ſhould devolve on the Lady *Mary*; and in default of 'Heirs of her Body, or if ſhe did not obſerve ſuch Limi'tations or Conditions as ſhould be declar'd by the King's 'Letters Patents, or by his laſt Will under his Hand, it 'ſhould next fall to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and her Heirs; 'or if ſhe had none, or ſhould not keep the Conditions 'declar'd by the King, it ſhould fall to any other nominat'ed by the King's Letters Patents, or his laſt Will ſign'd 'with his Hand. An Oath was alſo appointed both againſt 'the Pope's Supremacy, and for the maintaining the Suc'ceſſion according to this Act, which all were requir'd to 'take under the Pains of Treaſon, and it was made Trea'ſon to ſay or write any Thing contrary to this Act, or 'to the Slander of any of the King's Heirs nam'd in it.' By this, tho' the King did not Legitimate his Daughters, yet it was made Treaſon to declare them Spurious. In another Act, 'The Stile of King of *England*, *France* and '*Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of '*England* and *Ireland*, in Earth the Supream Head, was 'united and annex'd for ever to the Imperial Crown of '*England*.' Another Act was paſs'd, qualifying the Severities of the Act of *The Six Articles*; 'by which none 'were to be impriſon'd, but upon a legal Preſentment, 'except upon the King's Warrant; and none was to be 'challeng'd for Words, but within a Year, nor for a Ser'mon, but within forty Days.' All this was to prevent ſuch Conſpiracies as had been diſcover'd the former Year. Another Act renew'd the Authority given to thirty two to reform the Eccleſiaſtical Law, which *Cranmer* much promoted; and to effect it, drew out of the Canon Law a Collection of many things inconſiſtent with the preſent Eſtabliſhment, to ſhew that ſuch a Book ought not to continue in Credit in *England*: But he could not bring this to a good Iſſue, during this Reign. By another Act all the King's Loans were diſcharg'd, and ſuch as had receiv'd Payment requir'd to bring back the Money into the *Exchequer*. This was cenſur'd as a direct Piece of Injuſtice; and it was thought ſtrange, that ſince the King had done this once before, he could have the Credit to raiſe more Money, and be tempted to do it a ſecond Time. Laſtly, a general Pardon was granted, out of which *Hereſie* was excepted; and ſo the Parliament was prorogu'd till the next Winter.

Other Acts.

The King makes War both with France *and* Scotland.

The valiant King was now ingag'd in a War, both with *France* and *Scotland*; and to make his Treaſure more effectual, he embas'd the Coin in a very extraordinary Manner. The Earl of *Hartford* was ſent with an Army into *Scotland*, who landing a little above *Leith*, burnt both that Town and the Capital City of *Edinburgh*; but did not ſtay to take the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, or to fortifie *Leith*, but waſted all the Country between that and *Berwick*. He perform'd too much, if it was intended to gain the Hearts of that Nation; and too little if it was deſign'd to ſubdue them: For this did only more highly inflame their Spirits, by which they were ſo implacably united againſt *England*, that the Earl of *Lenox*, who had been thrown off by *France*, and had join'd with the *Engliſh* Intereſt, could form no Party in his Country, but was conſtrain'd to fly into *England* for Preſervation. In the mean time *Audley*, the Chancellor, deceaſing, *Wriotheſly*, who was of the *Romiſh* Party, was put in his Place; and in his Room, Doctor *Petre*, a great Friend to *Cranmer*, was made Secretary of State; ſo equally did the King preſerve the Ballance between both Parties. And being ready to croſs the Seas, he left a Commiſſion for the publick Adminiſtration, during his Abſence, to the Queen, the Arch-Biſhop, the Chancellor, the Earl of *Hartford*, and Secretary *Petre*: And if there ſhould be Occaſion to raiſe any Forces, he appointed the Earl of *Hartford* his Lieutenant. He gave order alſo to tranſlate the Prayers, Proceſſions and Litanies into the *Engliſh* Tongue, which gave the Reformers ſome new Hopes that he had not quite abandon'd the correcting of ſuch Abuſes, as had crept into the Worſhip of God.

He goes into France.

Affairs being thus ſettled at home, the gallant King having ſent his Forces before him, croſs'd the Seas with his uſual Pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloth of Gold. He landed at *Calais* on the fourteenth of *July*; and the Emperor preſs'd his marching directly to *Paris*. But he judg'd it of more Importance to take *Boloign*; and after two Months brave Siege, it was ſurrender'd to him; ſo that in a ſhort time, he is obſerv'd to have gain'd that, which neither his Father, nor the former Kings of *England* could ever win. After a triumphant Entrance into the Place, he found that the very next Day, the Emperor, to carry on his Deſigns in *Germany*, had unfairly concluded a Treaty with the *French* King, upon the nineteenth of *September*, which is ſet down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. On the thirtieth of that Month, the King return'd into *England* with freſh Laurels; and to prevent future Invaſions, he caus'd Fortifications to be made at *Graveſend* and *Tilbury*, and afterwards at *Dover*, *Portſmouth*, and many other Places. He alſo took an exact Account of his Ordnance; and he himſelf invented certain ſmall Pieces of Artillery, not unlike *Drakes*, for Defence of his Waggons, as alſo certain Forms of Bulwarks: For as he was a great Soldier, ſo he had a ſingular Capacity in apprehending all the new Inventions daily appearing; and as the Musket was firſt in uſe in this Reign, ſo in this Year the Piſtol came firſt in requeſt among the *French* Horſe.

He takes Boloign.

A. D. 1545. Reg. $\frac{36}{37}$.

The following Year, the *French* King reſolving to recover *Boloign*, and to take *Calais*, and ſo expel the *Engliſh* out of *France*, intended firſt to make himſelf Maſter of the Sea. Accordingly he ſet out a great Fleet of a hundred

and

Several Tranſactions abroad.

and fifty large Ships, and ſixty of a leſſer Sort, beſides many Gallies brought from the *Streights*. But after the *French* Fleet had view'd the *Engliſh* Coaſt, unſucceſsfully attempted to land, both in the Iſle of *Wight* and *Suſſex*, and had ingag'd in a Sea-Fight for ſome Hours, they return'd without any conſiderable Action: Nor did they perform any thing at Land. But King *Henry*'s Fleet made a ſucceſsful Deſcent upon *Normandy*, and deſtroy'd the Country; ſo that this Year prov'd likewiſe glorious to the King. The Emperor had now effected what he had long deſign'd; and therefore being courted by both Crowns, he undertook a Mediation, that under Colour of that, he might the better keep up the War. The Princes of *Germany* ſaw what Miſchiefs were threaten'd them; and the famous Council of *Trent* was now open'd, and was condemning their Doctrine. A League was alſo concluded between the Pope and the Emperor, for procuring Obedience to their Canons and Decrees; and an Army was rais'd. The Emperor was alſo reviving ancient Conteſts with ſome of the Princes; and a firm Peace was concluded with the *Turk*. So that if the Crowns of *England* and *France* were not brought to an Agreement, they might be ruin'd; therefore they ſent Ambaſſadors to both Courts to mediate a Peace. With them *Cranmer* join'd his Endeavours, but he wanted a *Cromwell* in the Court to manage the Temper of the King; who was ſo exaſperated with the ill Treatment from *France*, that he would not come to any Agreement; nor would he reſtore *Boloign*, without which the *French* would hear of no Peace. *Cranmer* had now almoſt prevail'd with the King to make further Steps in a Reformation; but *Gardiner*, then Ambaſſador in the Emperor's Court, wrote to the King, that the Emperor would certainly join with *France* againſt him, if he made any further Innovation in Religion. This diverted the King from the Deſign; and in *Auguſt*, this Year, the only great Friend *Cranmer* had in the Court dy'd, *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, who for many Years continu'd in the Height of Favour; which was ever preſerv'd, not only by an Agreement of Diſpoſitions between the King and him, but by the conſtant Succeſs that attended his valiant Exploits. By his Death *Cranmer* was in a great Meaſure left alone, without Friend or Support.

The Death of Charles Brandon.

The Parliament meets.

The King's Speech.

In *November* following, a new Parliament was held, where towards the Expence of the King's Wars, the Spirituality gave him a Subſidy of ſix Shillings in the Pound, payable in two Years. The Temporalty alſo not only gave him a Subſidy for the War, but confirm'd all the Surrenders that had been made of Chantries, Chappels, Colleges, Hoſpitals, and other Foundations, for ſaying Maſſes for departed Souls; and they empower'd the King during his Life to grant Commiſſions for ſeizing on the reſt of them. Yet the King found that this would probably give new Diſcontent to the Gentry, to whom theſe belong'd; ſo he made but a ſmall Progreſs in it, and many were reſerv'd to be devour'd by his Son's Courtiers. The King diſmiſs'd the Parliament with a long Speech, which was the laſt he ever ſpoke in that Place. In it, 'After he had thank'd them for the Bills in his Favour, he earneſtly exhorted them to Charity and Concord in Matters of Religion; and to forbear all Terms of Reproach, ſuch as *Papiſt* and *Heretick*: He complain'd much of the Obſtinacy of ſome Churchmen, and of the Indiſcretion of others, who both gave ill Examples, and ſow'd the Seed of Diſcord among the Laity: He, as God's Vicar on Earth, thought himſelf oblig'd to ſee theſe Abuſes reform'd. He alſo reprov'd the Temporalty for the ill Uſe they made of the Scriptures; for inſtead of being taught by it to live better, and to be more Charitable to one another, they only rail'd at each other, and made Songs out of it, to diſgrace thoſe that differ'd from them; ſo he exhorted them to ſerve God, and to love one another, which he would eſteem the beſt Expreſſion of their Duty and Obedince to him.' The King had appointed a Diſtribution of five hundred and fifty Pounds a Year in ſeveral Cathedrals for the Poor, and about four hundred Pounds a Year for High-ways; ſo this Year ſome Biſhops were appointed to ſee whether theſe Payments were made as he had order'd, or not. The two Univerſities were now in great Danger of having their Colleges ſuppreſs'd by the late Act of Parliament; but upon their Applications to the King by Doctor *Cox*, Tutor to Prince *Edward*, they were deliver'd from their Fears.

A. D. 1546. Reg. $\frac{37}{38}$.

We are now enter'd upon the laſt Year of this King's Reign; in which the War with *France* was manag'd with doubtful Succeſs; yet the Loſſes were greater on the *Engliſh* Side. And the Forces being commanded by the Earl of *Surry*, who was brave but unſucceſsful, he was not only blam'd, but recall'd, and the Earl of *Hartford* ſent to command in his Room. But *Surry* being of an aſpiring Spirit, and diſdaining to ſee the Earl of *Hartford* exalted above him, dropt ſome Words of a high Reſentment, and violent Contempt, which not long after caus'd his Ruin.

A Peace with France

Luther's Death.

The King was now ſingle in the War, which was very chargeable to him; and obſerving the Progreſs that the Council of *Trent* was making, where Cardinal *Pool* was one of the Legates, he had reaſon to expect ſome ſevere Decree to be made againſt him, ſince none was ſo much hated by the Court of *Rome* as himſelf: Therefore he hearkned to Counſels of Peace. And tho' he was not old, yet he was extreamly corpulent, and felt ſuch Decays in his Strength, as he judg'd he could not live long: Therefore that he might not leave his young Son involv'd in ſo great a War, a firm Peace was concluded in *June*, which was manag'd much to the King's Honour and Wiſdom, tho' the taking and keeping of *Bologn* for eight Years, according to Articles, coſt him above a Million and three hundred thouſand Pounds. The Peace was proclaim'd in *London* with a great Proceſſion; and all the richeſt Silver Croſſes out of the Pariſh Churches were carry'd, and the fineſt Copes worn, for the greater Solemnity; which was the laſt time that they were publickly us'd. The two Kings had new Projects for Reformation on foot, and the Animoſities which the former War had rais'd between them, were converted into a firm Friendſhip; which became ſo ſtrong in King *Francis*, that he never was ſeen to rejoice in any Thing, after he heard of King *Henry*'s Death. In this Year dy'd the famous *Martin Luther*, in the ſeventy third Year of his Age.

Cranmer *in Danger.*

There was at this Time a new Proſecution of thoſe that deny'd the Corporal Preſence in the Euchariſt; and *Shaxton* was accus'd of ſome Words about it, but he abjur'd, and comply'd ſo entirely, that ſoon after he preach'd a Sermon at the Execution of *Anne Aiſcough*, a Gentlewoman who was firſt barbarouſly rack'd, and then burnt at *Smithfield*, with two others. In this Year there were alſo two burnt in *Suffolk*, and one in *Norfolk*, on the ſame Account. But the chief of the *Romiſh* Party were not ſatisfy'd with theſe ſmaller Sacrifices; therefore they perſuaded the King that *Cranmer* was the Source of all the Hereſy in *England*, but becauſe of his great Favour to him none durſt appear againſt him: So they deſir'd that he might be once put in the *Tower*, and then it would appear how many would inform againſt him. The King ſeem'd to conſent to this, and they reſolv'd to execute it the next Day; but in the Night the King ſent for the Arch-Biſhop, and generouſly told him the whole Deſign. He thank'd the King for not ſuffering him to be ſurpris'd, and ſubmitted to it; only he deſir'd he might be heard to anſwer for himſelf before indifferent Judges who underſtood theſe Matters. The King was amaz'd to ſee him ſo little apprehenſive of his Ruin, and very generouſly told him, *He muſt take Care of him, ſince he took ſo little Care of himſelf.* He therefore gave him Inſtructions to appear before the Council, and to deſire to ſee his Accuſers before he was ſent to the *Tower*; and that he might be us'd by them, as they would deſire to be us'd in the like Caſe: And if he could not prevail by the Force of Reaſon, then he was to appeal to the King in Perſon, and was to ſhew the King's Seal-Ring, which he took from his Finger and gave him; which was ſo well known to them all, that they ſoon ſtopp'd when they once ſaw that. According to his Expectation, being ſummoned before the Council next Morning, he came over to *White-Hall*, where he was unhandſomely detain'd in the Lobby, before he was call'd in. When he appear'd, and had obſerv'd the Method the King had order'd him to uſe, and had at laſt ſhewn the Ring, they all roſe in great Confuſſion, and went to the King, who had deſignedly abſented himſelf that Day. He ſeverely reprimanded them, and expreſs'd his Eſteem and Kindneſs for the Arch-Biſhop in ſuch Terms, that his Enemies were glad to retreat, by pretending they only deſign'd to clear his Innocence in a publick Tryal; and were now ſo convinc'd of the King's unalterable Favour to him, that they never made any more Attempts upon him.

Deſigns againſt the Queen.

But what they durſt not attempt in Relation to the Arch-Biſhop, they thought they might more ſafely experience againſt the Queen, who was known to love the Reformation, and to have Sermons in a Privy-Chamber; which could not be ſo ſecretly carry'd, but that it came to the King's Knowledge. Yet her Conduct in all other Reſpects was ſo exact, and ſhe expreſs'd ſuch a tender Care of the King's Perſon, as ſhe gain'd much upon his Affections; but his Peeviſhneſs being increas'd by his Diſtempers, made him often uneaſie, and ſometimes to her. They frequently diſcours'd of Points of Religion, and often concerning the Reformers; and once in Defence of them ſhe provok'd the King's Humour ſo far, that before he was cool, he expreſs'd his Diſpleaſure to Biſhop *Gardiner*, who greedily ſeiz'd on this Opportunity to perſuade the King, That ſhe was a great Cheriſher of Hereticks. Chancellor *Wriotheſly* join'd with him in the ſame Artifice, and fill'd the angry King's Head with many Conjectures and Surmiſes; inſomuch that he ſign'd the Articles upon which ſhe was to be impeach'd. But the Chancellor careleſly dropping the

Paper, it was accidentally taken up by one of the Queen's Friends, who carry'd it to her. Upon which ſhe repair'd to the King, and ingeniouſly brought in a Diſcourſe about Religion; and after a little Oppoſition, ſhe artificially yielded, and ſeem'd convinc'd by the King's Arguments, and told him, *That ſhe only argu'd with him by way of Inſtruction; ſometimes to engage him in Diſcourſe, and to divert his Pains*; and this ſhe ſeconded with ſuch nice Flattery, that he was perfectly ſatisfy'd, and reconcil'd to her. The following Day, as they were walking in the Garden, the Chancellor came thither with a Deſign to have carried her to the Tower; but the King ſtepping aſide, chid him ſeverely for his Attempt, and was heard to call him *Knave* and *Fool*. The good-natur'd Queen innocently interpos'd to mitigate his Diſpleaſure; but the King handſomely told her, *She of all others had leaſt Reaſon to plead for him.* Thus the Deſign vaniſh'd, and *Gardiner*, who promoted it, entirely loſt the King's Favour.

The Fall of the Duke of Norfolk, *and his Son the Earl of* Surry.

But the chief of the Party, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surry*, fell under deeper Misfortunes. The Father had many Years been Treaſurer, and had ſerv'd the King with great Fidelity and Reputation: His Son was a Man of rare Qualities, great Wit, and more than ordinary Learning; but particularly hated the Earl of *Hartford*, and deſpis'd an Alliance with him, which his Father had projected; which was to unite his Family to the *Seymours*, by marrying his Son to the Earl of *Hartford*'s Daughter, and his Daughter the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, to *Hartford*'s Brother, Sir *Thomas Seymour:* But both his Children refus'd to comply in this Matter. The *Seymours* were apprehenſive upon the King's Death, of the Oppoſition they might meet with from the Earl of *Surry*, who was of a high Spirit, had a vaſt Fortune, and was the Head of the *Romiſh* Party; and it was likewiſe ſuſpected, that he kept himſelf unmarry'd in Hopes of gaining the Princeſs *Mary*. The Duke's Family was alſo fatally divided: His Dutcheſs had been ſeparated from him about four Years, and now turn'd Informer againſt him: His Daughter hated her Brother, and was a Spy upon him; and one *Holland*, a jilting Miſtreſs of the Duke's, did alſo betray him, and diſcover'd all ſhe could; yet all amounted to no more than ſome Complaints of the Father, who thought his great Services too little regarded, and ſome indiſcreet Threatnings of the Son. It was alſo alledg'd, that the Father gave the Coat of Arms belonging to the Prince of *Wales*, and his Son gave the Arms of *Edward* the Confeſſor; but this ſeem'd rather a Pretence to create a Clamour among the People, and to cover the Want of more material Objections againſt them. One *Southwell* indeed alledg'd Matters of a higher Nature againſt the Earl of *Surry*; which he deny'd, and deſir'd a Tryal by Combat, and to fight in their Shirts. But all Challenges avail'd nothing, for the Father and the Son were, upon Reaſons of State, mark'd out for Ruin, and both ſent Priſoners to the *Tower*.

A.D. 1547. Reg. 38.

The Earl of Surry *beheaded.*

The Earl of *Surry* being but a Commoner, was try'd by a Jury of nine Knights and three Eſquires, by whom he was found guilty of Treaſon, and had Sentence of Death paſs'd upon him, which was executed on the nineteenth of *January* on *Tower-Hill*. This was generally condemn'd as an Act of great Hardſhip and Severity, which loaded the *Seymours* with a popular *Odium* that they could never overcome. He was much pity'd, as a Man of great Parts and Courage, and other noble Qualifications; but yet was thought to have too much dipp'd his Hands in the Blood of *Cromwell*, and others of his Party. The Storm fell next upon the old Duke, who ſaw a Parliament call'd to deſtroy him by an Act of Attainder, ſince there was not Matter enough to ruin him by Common Law: Therefore to prevent that, he made ſuch an humble Submiſſion to the King, as might have mollify'd the moſt obdurate Diſpoſition. He wrote to him, 'That he had ſpent his whole Life in his Service, without entertaining one Thought to his Prejudice; and that he had obey'd all his Laws, and was reſolv'd to obey all that ever he ſhould make. He earneſtly begg'd that he might be heard with his Accuſers Face to Face; and that the King would take all his Lands and Goods, and only reſtore him to his Favour, and grant him ſuch an Allowance for his Subſiſtance, as he thought fit.' Becauſe this had no Effect, he proceeded further, and ſet his Hand to a Confeſſion of ſeveral Crimes; 'as Firſt, his revealing the Secrets of the King's Council; Secondly, his concealing his Son's Treaſon in giving the Arms of *Edward* the Confeſſor; and Thirdly his own giving the Arms of *England*, with the Labels of Silver belonging only to the Prince; which he acknowledg'd to be High-Treaſon, and therefore humbly begg'd the King's Mercy and Compaſſion.' But all this had no Effect upon the King, who, as one expreſſes it, never hated or ruin'd any Body by halves.

The Duke of Norfolk's *Submiſſion.*

He is attainted in Parliament.

He eſcapes narrowly.

When the Parliament met, the King was not able to come to *Weſtminſter*, but he ſent his Pleaſure to them by a Commiſſion. He declar'd his Intention was to have his Son *Edward* crown'd Prince of *Wales*; and therefore deſir'd they would make all poſſible Haſte in the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, that ſo the Places which he held by Patent might be diſpos'd of to others, who ſhould aſſiſt at the Coronation: Which, tho' it was a very ſlight Excuſe for ſo high a Piece of Injuſtice, yet had that Effect, that in ſeven Days both Houſes of Parliament paſs'd the Bill. On the twenty ſeventh of *January*, the Royal Aſſent was given by thoſe commiſſion'd by the King; and the Execution was poſitively order'd to be the next Morning. There was no ſpecial Matter in the Act, but that of the Coat of Arms, which he and his Anceſtors were wont to give, according to Records in the Herald's Office; ſo that this was condemn'd by all Perſons as a moſt inexcuſable Act of Tyranny. But the Death of the King that Night put a Stop to the Execution, which, tho' it was conceal'd three Days from the Nation, yet we are aſſur'd it was reveal'd by an extraordinary Viſion to the Duke that Morning, by which he narrowly and fortunately eſcap'd. Yet both Parties made their Inferences from this Calamity that befel him; The *Romaniſts* ſaid it was God's juſt Vengeance upon him, for his too great Obſequiouſneſs to the King in many Particulars. But the Reformers ſaid, it was a juſt Return upon him, for what he had acted againſt *Cromwell*, and many others upon the Account of Opinions. The Arch-Biſhop would not concern himſelf in that Affair, but retir'd himſelf to *Croydon*; whereas Biſhop *Gardiner*, who had continually been his Friend, ſtill kept to the Court.

The King's Sickneſs.

His Will.

His Death and Obſequies.

The King was now overgrown with Corpulency and Fatneſs, and became ſo exceeding unwieldly, that he could not go up and down his Stairs, but as he made uſe of an Engine for that Purpoſe. He had an old Ulcer in his Leg, which became very uneaſy to him; and all the Humours of his Body ſinking down thither, he was much afflicted, and became exceeding froward and intractable, to which his late Severities may be in a great meaſure imputed. His Servants durſt ſcarcely ſpeak to him, to put him in mind of his approaching End, leſt they might be brought within the Statute that made it Treaſon to foretel the King's Death. His Will was made ready, and was ſign'd, or rather ſtamp'd, on the thirtieth Day of *December*. He had finiſh'd one at his laſt going over to *France*; and all the Change he made in this was, that he order'd *Gardiner's* Name to be ſtruck out, for in his former Will he was nam'd one of the Executors. When Sir *Anthony Brown* endeavour'd to perſuade him not to put that Diſgrace upon an old Servant, he continu'd poſitive in his Reſolution, and declar'd, *That he knew* Gardiner's *Temper ſufficiently; and tho' he could govern him, none of them would be able to do it, if he were put into ſo high a Truſt.* The moſt material Clauſe in this Will was, That in the Succeſſion of the Crown, he preferr'd the Children of his ſecond Siſter by *Charles Brandon*, to the Children of his eldeſt Siſter, the Queen of *Scotland*. On his Death-Bed he finiſh'd the Foundation of *Trinity*-College in *Cambridge*, one of the nobleſt in *Europe*; and likewiſe founded Chriſt's Church Hoſpital near *Newgate*; yet this laſt was not ſo fully ſetled as was needful, 'till his Son compleated what he had begun. On the twenty ſeventh of *January* his Spirits ſunk ſo low, that it was apparent he had not long to live; and when all declin'd touching upon ſo unwelcome a Subject, Sir *Anthony Denny* had the Honeſty and Courage to do it, deſiring him to prepare for Death, and to call upon God and Jeſus Chriſt for Mercy. Upon which the King expreſs'd his Sorrow for the Sins of his paſt Life; yet he ſaid, *he truſted in the Mercies of Chriſt, which were greater than his Sins.* Then *Denny* ask'd him if any Churchman ſhould be ſent for, and he anſwer'd, *If any, it ſhould be Arch-Biſhop* Cranmer. Upon which *Cranmer* was ſent for to *Croydon*; but before he arriv'd, the King was ſpeechleſs. Therefore *Cranmer* deſir'd him to give ſome Sign of his Dying in the Faith of Chriſt; upon which he tenderly ſqueez'd his Hand, and ſhortly after dy'd, upon the twenty eighth Day of *January*, and fifty ſixth Year of his Age; after a moſt active and wonderful Reign of thirty ſeven Years, nine Months, and five Days. His Funeral Obſequies were as pompous and magnificent as his Reign, as appears from *Sandford* and others; being bury'd at *Windſor*, where he had begun a noble Monument, and founded a College for thirteen poor Knights, and two Prieſts. Nor were theſe laſt Rites perform'd by his own Subjects only; but a ſolemn Obſequy was kept for him by King *Francis*, at the Cathedral of *Paris*, notwithſtanding his Excommunication, and all the Fulminations of the Court of *Rome*.

His Character.

To ſay ſomething of the Perſon and Qualifications of this woundrous Prince; his Hiſtory will be the trueſt Character and Deſcription, which contain'd an uncommon Variety, in all his Capacities, as a Man, a King, and a Chriſtian. He had all the Qualifications of Nature and

Education, with no leſs Perfections of Body and Mind. His Perſon was extraordinary tall and majeſtick, of a mighty Strength and Activity; his Looks great and ſurpriſing, and his whole Countenance beſpoke the Monarch. His Mind was ſtill more capacious than his Body, vigorous and vaſt, his Temper generous and fiery, his Spirit magnanimous and invincible, and his Judgment profound and penetrating; ſo that with all his Failings he was every Way a proper Inſtrument to effect thoſe amazing Works deſign'd by Providence. As to Matters of State, never Prince proceeded upon truer Maxims for this Kingdom, which was to make himſelf Arbiter of *Europe*; in which, inſtead of being a bare Spectator, he was ſo much an Actor, that there was no Treaty or State Aſſembly in Chriſtendom, in which he had not his particular Agent and Intereſt; which was one of his extraordinary Ways of ſpending Money. At home, it was his Manner to treat much with his Parliaments, where he ſometimes made uſe of rough Methods; yet none of his Predeceſſors underſtood the Temper of Parliaments better than himſelf, or more dexterouſly prevail'd upon ſuch a numerous Body. His Diſpoſition was certainly very aſpiring, and his Ambition very extenſive; which by Means of Flattery and ill Counſel, in the latter Part of his Reign produc'd Effects very formidable to his Subjects: So that he has been too juſtly charg'd with Cruelty, Rapaciouſneſs and Luſt; all which have been unmeaſurably aggravated by his Enemies, whoſe Numbers were very great. His Cruelties appear both from the Number and Manner of the Executions in his Reign, which were generally towards the latter End of it, at a Time when he had met with unſufferable Provocations and Oppoſitions, and when leſs Severities might probably have ruin'd him and all his Deſigns: And really it is extraordinary wonderful, that ſuch Alterations in the Nation ſhould be made with ſo little Bloodſhed. His Rapaciouſneſs appears from his Sacrilegious ſwallowing ſuch vaſt Quantities of Church Revenues: To palliate which, beſides its being done by the Repreſentatives of the Nation, it has been alledg'd that the Religious Orders of the Kingdom would have aſſiſted thoſe who threaten'd Invaſion from abroad, and that he had no other Means but their Revenues left to defend himſelf. However he had laid noble Deſigns for Reparation, and tho' he accidentally fell ſhort of them, yet he actually founded ſix Biſhopricks, endow'd Deaneries, Prebends, and other Offices, in fourteen ſeveral Sees, and founded *Chriſt-Church* Hoſpital, *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, Profeſſors in both Univerſities, and many Grammar-Schools. As to his Luſts, they are as much aggravated as any other of his Vices, of which the Number of his Wives are but a weak inſignificant Proof. Fornication in Princes is never to be excus'd by a Chriſtian Politician; yet this may be alledg'd for him, that he was not ſo exorbitant as many other Princes, and we find but one Miſtreſs that he kept, which was in his younger Years, when incourag'd by a Churchman, and indulgent Confeſſor. It is true, the general Steps he made were ſometimes bold and deſperate, yet with all his Crimes and Exorbitancies he was one of the moſt glorious Princes of his Time; and if his Crimes were ſtill greater, it would be no juſt Aſperſion upon the Reformation he effected; ſince Providence often brings about the nobleſt Deſigns by the moſt exceptionable Inſtruments, when the beſt Men have been deny'd that Honour. In ſhort, as his Reign affords the greateſt Varieties, ſo in his Character there was a wonderful Mixture of Virtues and Vices; and the Hand of Heaven ſeem'd to lie heavy upon him and his Family; for notwithſtanding all his extraordinary Methods to obtain Poſterity, and his peculiar Eſtabliſhments of the Succeſſion, from ſix ſeveral Wives he was not able to produce one Grand-Child.

SECT. III.

The Reign of King EDWARD *the Sixth.*

Containing 6 Years, 5 Months, and 9 Days.

A. D. 1547. Reg. 1. *The great Abilities of Prince* Edward.

I. THE Imperial Crown of *England*, that had for thirty ſeven Years been worn by the moſt martial and vigorous Monarch of the Age, now devolv'd upon a Child of little more than nine Years old; but a Child of thoſe promiſing Virtues, and admirable Abilities, that might well beſpeak him a Man in Wiſdom and Underſtanding. This Prince had a moſt noble Education given him by his Father, who at ſix Years of Age put him under the Government of Doctor *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*, the one his Preceptor for Philoſophy, Morality and Divinity, and the other for Languages and Mathematicks. He was alſo provided with Maſters for the *French* Tongue, and other Parts of Learning becoming a Prince, who was Heir to ſuch famous Dominions. He gave early Indications of a rare Diſpoſition to Knowledge, of a moſt wonderful Probity of Mind, and of the higheſt Veneration for Religion and Piety: So that once in his Childiſh Diverſions, ſomewhat being wanted which he and his Companions could not reach, one of them laid a great Bible on the Floor to ſtep on, which he beholding with Indignation, reverently took it up, and gave over his Play. He was ſo forward in Languages, that beſides his Proficiency in *French*, *Italian* and *Spaniſh*, at eight Years of Age he frequently wrote *Latin* Letters to the King, to the laſt Queen, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Uncle the Earl of *Hartford*. In all things he was a Prince of extraordinary Hopes; but ſuch unuſual Beginnings ſeem'd rather to threaten the too early End of a Life, that was to produce ſuch aſtoniſhing Things.

He is receiv'd by the Lords of the Council.

King Henry's Teſtament.

A Protector choſen.

His Father's Death was conceal'd from the Publick for three Days; during which Time, his Uncle the Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, were ſent by the Council to *Hartford* where he reſided, to conduct him to the *Tower* of *London*. Having brought him to *Enfield*, with his Siſter the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, they told him that his Father was actually dead; which News was receiv'd with ſuch real Sorrow, that it was hard to know whether Tears did more obſcure or illuſtrate their Beauties. At the *Tower*, his Father's Executors with the reſt of the Privy-Council receiv'd him with a profound Reſpect due to their King; ſo tempering their Sorrows for their Maſter's Deceaſe with their Satisfaction for his Son's ſucceeding him, that by an Exceſs of Joy they might not ſeem too ſoon to have forgot the one, nor by Extremity of Grief to apprehend Ill from the other. The firſt Thing they did was the opening of King *Henry*'s Will, by which they found that he had nominated ſixteen Perſons to be his Executors, and Governours of his Son 'till he ſhould be eighteen Years of Age. Theſe were the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord-Chancellor *Wriotheſly*, the Lord *St. John* Great Maſter, the Lord *Ruſſel* Privy-Seal, the Earl of *Hartford* Lord Great-Chamberlain, Viſcount *Liſle* Lord Admiral, *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *William Paget* Secretary of State, Sir *Edward North* Chancellor of the Augmentations, Lord Chief Juſtice *Montague*, Judge *Bromley*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert* Chief Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, Sir *Edward Wotton* Treaſurer of *Calais*, and Doctor *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. By the Conſent of theſe Sixteen, the King and his Siſters were to be diſpos'd in Marriage; but with this Difference, that it was only order'd that the King ſhould marry by their Advice; but the Siſters were ſo limited in their Marriages, that they were to forfeit their Right of Succeſſion if they were marry'd without their Conſents; it being of greater Importance to the Good of the Nation, who ſhould be their Husbands, if they came to the Crown, than who ſhould be the King's Wife: And King *Henry* was empower'd by Act of Parliament to leave the Crown to them with what Limitations he ſhould think fit to appoint. Beſides theſe Sixteen there was a Privy-Council nominated to be their Aſſiſtants in the Government; and if any of the Sixteen dy'd, the Survivors were to continue in the Adminiſtration, without a Power of ſubſtituting others in the Rooms of the Deceas'd. He alſo charg'd them to pay all his Debts, the Legacies he left, to perfect all the Grants he had begun, and to make good every thing he had promis'd. It was now propos'd that one ſhould be choſen out of the Sixteen, to whom Ambaſſadors ſhould addreſs themſelves, and who ſhould have the chief Direction of Affairs; but ſhould be reſtrain'd from acting without the Conſent of the major Part of the reſt. The Chancellor, who thought the Precedence in ſecular Affairs fell to him by his Office, oppos'd this much, and ſaid it was changing the King's Will, who had made them equal in Power and Dignity; and if any were rais'd above the reſt in Title, it would be impoſſible to keep him within juſt Bounds, ſince greater Titles made way for exorbitant Power. But the Earl of *Hartford* had ſo prepar'd his Friends, that it was voted that he ſhould be declar'd *The Governor of the King's Perſon, and the Protector of the Kingdom*; with this Reſtriction, that he ſhould not act without the Advice and Conſent of the reſt. Upon this Advancement, and the Oppoſition made againſt it, two ſeveral Parties were form'd, the one headed by the new Protector, and the other by the Chancellor: The Favourers of the Reformation were for the Former, and the Oppoſers of it were for the Latter.

After this the Chancellor was order'd to renew the Commiſſions of the Judges and Juſtices of Peace; and King *Henry*'s Great Seal was to be us'd 'till a new one ſhould be made. Then all the Executors took their Oaths to execute their Truſt faithfully; and the Privy-Counſellors were

The Biſhops Commiſſions

were brought into the King's Preſence, who all expreſs'd their Satisfaction in the Choice of a new Protector; and it was order'd that all Diſpatches to Foreign Princes ſhould be ſign'd only by him. All that held Offices were requir'd to come and renew their Commiſſions, and to ſwear Allegiance to the King; and even the Biſhops themſelves took out ſuch Commiſſions as were granted in the former Reign; only by thoſe they were ſubaltern to the King's Vice-gerent, but none being now in that Office, they were immediately under the King: And by them they were to hold their Biſhopricks only during the King's Pleaſure, and were impower'd in the King's Name, as his Delegates, to perform all the Parts of the Epiſcopal Function. The ill Conſequences of this unjuſtifiable Method being ſoon foreſeen, the Biſhops afterwards promoted were not put under ſuch unreaſonable Obligations, but were appointed to hold their Biſhopricks during Life. After a Diſpatch of ſome Buſineſs relating to *Scotland*, the Protector knighted the young King, being authoriz'd to do it by Letters Patents; and the King at the ſame time knighted Sir *John Hublethorn*, the Lord-Mayor of *London*. An Account of ſome Diſturbances being now preſented to the Council, concerning the pulling down ſome Images in Churches, Orders were ſent to the Juſtices of the Peace, to take Care of the Peace and Government of the Nation, to meet frequently, and every ſix Weeks to advertiſe the Protector of the State of the Country where they reſided.

King Edward's Coronation.

On the thirteenth Day of *February*, the Obſequies of the late King were ſolemniz'd with the utmoſt Degree of Pomp and Magnificence. Shortly after follow'd the Diverſions of the Coronation; before which, according to the late King's Intentions, the Protector was made Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Eſſex* Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Lords *Liſle* and *Wriotheſly* Earls of *Warwick* and *Southampton*; *Seymour*, *Rich*, *Willoughby* and *Sheffield* were made Barons. In order to the King's Coronation, the Office of that Ceremony was now review'd, and much ſhorten'd: One remarkable Alteration was, that formerly the King was always preſented to the People at the Corners of the Scaffold, and they were ask'd, *If they would have him to be their King*? Which look'd more like a Rite of an Election, than a Ceremony of Inveſting one who was already King. This was now chang'd, and the People were deſir'd only to give their Aſſents and good Will to his Coronation, as they were bound by their Duty of Allegiance. On the nineteenth Day of *February*, the King rode in great State and Splendor from the *Tower*, to the Palace of *Weſtminſter*; and the following Day he was crown'd by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, according to the Form preſcrib'd. We are aſſur'd that when three Swords were deliver'd to him as King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, he ſaid, *He wanted another Sword yet, the Holy Bible, the Sword of the Spirit, without which they could all do nothing*. At this Time a general Pardon was proclaim'd to all Offenders, ſix only excepted, namely the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pool*, *Edward Courtney*, Mr. *Forteſcue*, Mr. *Throgmorton*, and Doctor *Pates* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who was fled to *Rome*, to avoid the Oath of Supremacy; all which ſix continu'd unpardon'd, 'till the firſt of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, and then were reſtor'd.

The Lord Chancellor turn'd out.

The Protector's Patent.

The Lord Chancellor, who was eſteem'd the Head of the *Romiſh* Party, now gave an Advantage againſt himſelf, which ſoon occaſion'd his Diſgrace. He granted a Commiſſion to the Maſter of the Rolls and three Maſters of Chancery, to execute his Office in the Court of Chancery, as if he were preſent; only the Decrees were to be brought to him to be ſign'd, before they ſhould be Inroll'd. This being perform'd without any Authority from the Protector, and the other Executors, was thought a high Act of Preſumption, ſince by this he devolv'd that Truſt on others which was depoſited in his own Hands. Several Lawyers complain'd of this Practice to the Protector, being apprehenſive of ſome dangerous Innovations in that high Court. The Judges being deſir'd to give their Opinions, made Report, *That what the Chancellor had acted, was againſt Law, that he had forfeited his Place, and was liable to Impriſonment during the King's Pleaſure*. But he carry'd it with a high Hand, and with Threats both to the Judges and Lawyers; and when it was urg'd, That he had forfeited his Place, he alledg'd, *He had it from the late King, who had likewiſe nominated him one of the Executors during his Son's Minority:* To which it was anſwer'd, *That the Major Part had Power over any of the reſt, otherwiſe one of them might rebel, and pretend the reſt could not bring him to Puniſhment*. Being driven from this Hold, he became more humble, and acknowledg'd he had no Warrant for granting the Commiſſion, *but thought he might lawfully do it by his Office:* He ask'd Pardon for his Offence, and begg'd that he might loſe his Place with as little Diſgrace as was poſſible; upon which it was reſolv'd the Seal ſhould be taken from him, and a Fine laid upon him as ſhould be thought proper. He was permitted to go home with the Seal; but the Lord *Seymour* and ſome others were ſent to demand it of him. He was alſo confin'd to his Houſe, and kept under the Terror of an arbitrary Fine; but upon giving a Bond of four thouſand Pounds to be paid upon Demand, he was freed from his Confinement. Yet he was not remov'd from the Truſt of the King and Government; for probably the Council look'd upon that to be out of their Power. The Protector, the better to ſecure himſelf, took out a Patent for his Office under the Great Seal, 'by which he was confirm'd in his Authority, 'till the King ſhould be eighteen Years of Age; he was alſo authoriz'd to bring in new Counſellors, beſides thoſe enumerated in the Patent, who were both the Executors and Counſellors nominated by the late King: The Protector, with ſo many of the Council as he thought fit, were empower'd to adminiſter the Affairs of the Kingdom; but the Council was limited not to act any thing without his Advice and Conſent.' And thus was he as fully eſtabliſh'd in his extraordinary Authority as Law could do it: He had a Negative on the Council, but they had none on him; and he could either bring his own Creatures into it, or ſelect a Cabinet-Council out of it, at Pleaſure: And the other Executors having by this Patent deliver'd up their Authority to him, were only Privy-Counſellors as the reſt, without retaining any Authority peculiar to themſelves, as was particularly provided by King *Henry*'s Will.

The Emperor's Deſigns in Germany.

The Council of Trent.

The German *Princes ſue to* England.

The firſt foreign Affair that requir'd great Conſideration, was the *German* War, then begun between the Emperor and the Princes of the *Smalcaldick* League; by which the Emperor, if ſucceſsful, was in a probable Way, both to extirpate *Lutheraniſm*, and to make himſelf abſolute Maſter of *Germany*. But he politickly diſguis'd his great Deſign to other Princes: To the Pope he pretended it was only to extirpate Hereſie; to other Princes, that it was only to ſuppreſs ſome Rebels, and deny'd all Intentions of ſuppreſſing their new Doctrines; all which he manag'd ſo artificially, that he divided *Germany* it ſelf, and gain'd ſome *Lutheran* Princes to declare for him, and others to be Neutrals: And having, by granting an Edict for Liberty of Religion, obtain'd a liberal Supply for his Wars with *France* and the *Turk*, he made Peace with both thoſe Princes, and reſolv'd to imploy the Money the *Germans* had given him, againſt themſelves. That he might deprive them of their chief Allies, he us'd all Means to ingage King *Henry* and *Francis* in a War; but that was compos'd chiefly by their Interpoſition: And now when the War was to be purſu'd with great Vigour, they loſt both thoſe Princes; for as *Henry* dy'd in *January*, ſo *Francis* dy'd the *March* following. Many of their Confederates began to capitulate and fall off; and the divided Command of the Duke of *Saxony* and Prince of *Heſſe*, loſt them great Advantages the former Year, in which they might have eaſily driven the Emperor out of *Germany*. The Pope deſir'd to ingage the Emperor in a War with *Germany*, that *Italy* might be unmoleſted; in order to which, and the imbroiſing the Emperor with the *Lutherans*, he publiſh'd his Treaty with him, to ſhew the World that the Deſign of the War was to extirpate Hereſie, tho' the Emperor was making great Proteſtations to the contrary in *Germany*. He alſo open'd the Council of *Trent*, which tho' formerly deſir'd by the Emperor, was now unſeaſonable to his Affairs: For the Proteſtants all declar'd, That they could not eſteem it as a free General Council, ſince it was ſo intirely at the Pope's Devotion: Nor could the Emperor prevail with the Council to relax their Proceedings againſt Hereſie; but the more he obſtructed it by his Delays, the more vigorouſly the Pope drove it on, to open the Eyes of the *Germans*, and engage them more unanimouſly againſt the Emperor, who now gave them ſuch ſecret Aſſurances of tolerating the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, that the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* declar'd for him; and this, join'd with the Hopes of an *Electorate*, drew in *Maurice* of *Saxony*. The Count *Palatine* was old and feeble, the Arch-Biſhop of *Coloign* would make no Reſiſtance, but retir'd, and many Cities ſubmitted; and *Maurice*, by falling into *Saxony*, forc'd the Elector to ſeparate from the Prince of *Heſſe*, and return to the Defence of his own Dominions. This was the general State of the Affairs in *Germany:* So that it was a difficult Point to determine what Anſwer the Protector ſhould give to the Duke of *Saxony*'s Chancellor, whom he ſent to beg an Aid in Mony, for carrying on the War. It was certainly of great Importance to the Safety of *England* to preſerve the *German* Princes; and yet it was very dangerous to begin a War of ſuch Conſequence under an Infant King. However at preſent they promis'd within three Months to ſend the Duke fifty thouſand Crowns by certain Merchants to *Hamburgh*; but reſolv'd to do no more 'till new Emergencies ſhould lead them to new Counſels.

Diviſions in England.

The Nation was now in an ill Condition for a War with ſuch a mighty Prince, the Government in ſeveral Things disjointed, labouring under great Diſtractions at home; the People generally cry'd out for a Reformation, they deſpis'd the *Romiſh* Clergy, and lov'd the new Preachers. The Prieſts were for the moſt part very ignorant and ſcandalous in their Lives and Converſations; and were many of them degraded Monks crept into ſmall Benefices. Theſe were zealouſly engag'd againſt all Changes, and were encourag'd in their Oppoſition, by the Protection they expected from *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and *Tonſtall*, who were Men of great Reputation, and in high Stations: And above all, the Princeſs *Mary* did openly declare againſt all Changes, 'till the King ſhould be of Age. But on the other Hand the diligent *Cranmer*, who poſſibly had been too obſequious to King *Henry*, being now at Liberty, reſolv'd to proceed more vigorouſly: The Protector was firmly united to him, as alſo the young King's Tutors; and he himſelf was as much ingag'd as could be expected from ſo young a Perſon; for both his Knowledge and Zeal were far above his Years. Doctor *Ridley*, now made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Doctor *Latimer* by his popular Sermons, were both very ſerviceable in this Affair. Moſt of the Privy-Council were conſenting towards a further Reformation; and according to the Power inveſted in them, it was reſolv'd to begin with a general Viſitation of all *England*, which was divided into ſix Precincts; and two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Regiſter were appointed for each. But before they were ſent out, Letters were written to all Biſhops, giving them Notice of it, and ſuſpending their Juriſdiction, while the Commiſſion laſted. The greateſt Difficulty that the Reformers found, was in the Want of able and prudent Men; and thoſe that were moſt eminent were to be imploy'd in *London* and the Univerſities. Therefore the only Thing by which the People could be univerſaly inſtructed, was a Book of Homilies; ſo the twelve firſt Homilies in the Book, ſtill known by that Name, were compil'd to be us'd by every Miniſter. Orders were alſo given, that a Bible ſhould be kept in every Church, which tho' it was commanded by King *Henry*, yet had not been generally obey'd; and for underſtanding the New Teſtament, the Paraphraſe of *Eraſmus* was publiſh'd in *Engliſh*, and appointed to be ſet up in every Church. They alſo renew'd the Injunctions made by *Cromwell* in the late Reign, which after his Fall had been neglected, as thoſe for inſtructing the People, for removing of Images, and aboliſhing all Cuſtoms abus'd to Superſtition; for reading the Scriptures in *Engliſh*, for frequenting Sermons and Catechiſing, for the exemplary Lives of the Clergy, and the other Parts of their Functions.

A Viſitation of all Churches.

The War with Scotland.

Whilſt theſe and many other Things were tranſacting towards a Reformation, a War with *Scotland* was under a cloſe Conſultation: But the Protector being apprehenſive that *France* would engage in the Conteſt, ſent an Embaſſy to congratulate the new King *Henry* the Second, to deſire a Confirmation of the laſt Peace, and to complain of the *Scots*, who had broken their Faith with King *Edward* on the Point of the Marriage of their Queen. The *French* King refus'd to confirm the Treaty, 'till ſome Articles were firſt explain'd, and diſown'd what had been done by his Father's Agent *Poligny*; and for the *Scots*, he declar'd he could not abandon them, if they were in Diſtreſs. The *Engliſh* alledg'd that *Scotland* was ſubject to *England*. But the *French* had no Regard to that, and would not ſo much as look on the Records that were offer'd to prove the Subjection; declaring, 'That they would eſteem the Cauſe as 'they found it, and not look back to a Diſpute of two or 'three hundred Years old.' This caus'd the *Engliſh* Council to be more cautious in beginning one War, which in all Probability would bring another upon them from *France*. The Caſtle of St. *Andrews* was ſurrender'd, and all the Penſioners in *Scotland* were not able to do them much Service: The *Scots* were now much elevated; for as *England* was under the Government of a Child, ſo the Court of *France* was govern'd by the *Scotch* Queen Dowager's Brothers. The *Scots* began to make Inroads upon *England*, and Deſcents into *Ireland*; Commiſſioners were ſent to the Boders to treat on both Sides; and the Protector rais'd a powerful Army, which he bravely reſolv'd to command in Perſon. But the Meetings on the Borders were ſoon ended; for the *Scots* had no Inſtructions to treat concerning the Marriage, and the *Engliſh* were order'd to treat of nothing elſe, 'till that ſhould be firſt concluded. As to the Records that were ſhewn to prove the Homages of the *Scotch* Kings to the *Engliſh*, they had no great Effect; for the *Scots* either ſaid they were forc'd or extorted from ſome weak Princes, or were only Homages for their Lands in *England*, as the Kings of *England* did Homage to the Crown of *France*, for their Lands in that Country. They alſo ſhew'd their Records, by which their Anceſtors had aſſerted themſelves free and independent of *England*.

The Protector enters that Kingdom with an Army.

All Hopes of Peace vaniſhing, on the twenty firſt Day of *Auguſt* the Protector took out a Commiſſion to be General, and to make War in *Scotland*; in order to which he left Commiſſions of Lieutenancy to his Brother and other Noblemen, and during his Abſence devolv'd his own Power on the Privy-Council. He came upon the Borders by the End of *Auguſt*, and enter'd the *Scotch* Ground the ſecond of *September*, where he found the Paſſes abandon'd, and ſmall Forts that were in his March were ſurrender'd upon Summons. On the ninth, he arriv'd at *Falſide*, where there was a long Struggle in ſeveral Parties, in which thirteen hundred of the *Scots* were ſlain. And now they were in Sight of the *Scotch* Army, which for Numbers of regular Men was one of the greateſt they had ever brought together, conſiſting of thirty thouſand Men, with a fair Train of Artillery both of Braſs and Iron Guns. On the other Side, the *Engliſh* Army conſiſted of about fifteen thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, but all excellently well appointed. The *Scots* were now inflam'd with the old National Quarrel to *England*; it was rumour'd that the Protector was come to carry away the Queen, and enſlave the Kingdom; and for their Incouragement, it was ſaid, that the *French* were coming with a great Fleet to their Aſſiſtance. The Protector ſent a Meſſage to the *Scots*, 'Inviting them by all the moſt inſinuating Arguments, to conſent to the Marriage; and if 'that would not be granted, he deſir'd Ingagements from 'them, that their Queen ſhould be contracted to no other 'Perſon, at leaſt 'till ſhe came of Age, and by the Advice 'of the Eſtates, ſhould chuſe a Husband for her ſelf.' All this the Protector offer'd, that he might be diſingag'd from this unſeaſonable War upon honourable Terms; but the *Scotch* Lords thought this great Condeſcenſion the Effect of Fear, and believ'd the Protector was ſtraiten'd for Want of Proviſions; ſo inſtead of publiſhing this Offer, they reſolv'd to fall upon him the next Day: And all the Return that was made, was, *that if the Protector would march back without any Act of Hoſtility, he ſhould not be moleſted*; which the Protector rejected, as knowing that ſo mean an Action at this nice Conjuncture would ruin his Reputation. At the ſame Time a Perſon went officiouſly with the Trumpeter, and challeng'd the Protector in the Earl of *Huntley*'s Name, to decide the Conteſt by their private Valour; but the Protector anſwer'd, *He was oblig'd to fight no Way but at the Head of his Army*; yet the Earl of *Warwick* accepted the Challenge, but it appear'd that *Huntley* had given no Commiſſion for it.

The Battel of Muſſelburgh.

The Scots *defeated.*

The Protector returns to England.

On the tenth of *September* the two Armies drew out, and ingag'd in the Field of *Pinkey* near *Muſſelburgh*; in the Beginning of which Action, a Cannon Ball from the Ships cut off a whole Lane of Men, and ſo diſorder'd the *Highlanders*, that their Commanders could not make them keep their Ranks. The Earl of *Angus* made a brave Charge, but ſtill was repuls'd; and the *Engliſh* upon this broke in with ſuch a dreadful Fury upon the *Scots*, that they threw down their Arms and fled. About fourteen thouſand were kill'd, and fifteen hundred taken Priſoners, among whom was the Earl of *Huntley*, and five hundred Gentlemen; and all the Artillery was taken. This Loſs quite diſhearten'd the *Scots*, ſo that they all fled to *Striveling*, and left the whole Country to the Mercy of the Protector; who the next Day went and took *Leith*, and the Soldiers in the Ships burnt ſome of the Sea-Towns of *Fife*, and recover'd ſome *Engliſh* Ships, that had been taken, from the *Scots*. The Protector ſent ſome Ships to the Mouth of the *Tay*, and took the Caſtle of *Broughty*, that commanded that River, and likewiſe waſted *Edinburgh* it ſelf, with other Places. If he had follow'd this remarkable Blow, and march'd directly to *Striveling*, where the Governor of *Scotland* and the young Queen were retir'd, it is probable that under that great Conſternation he might have taken the Place, and put an End to the War. But the Party his Brother was making at Court gave him ſuch an inward Alarm, that he drew off before he had finiſh'd his Work: And the *Scots* making Overtures for a Treaty, which was only to gain Time, he order'd them to ſend their Commiſſioners to *Berwick*, and ſo march'd back. The ambitious Earl of *Warwick* who had a large Share in the Honour of the Victory, but knew that the Errors in Conduct would much diminiſh the Protector's Glory, which otherwiſe might have been too exorbitant, was not diſpleas'd at it. Yet ſtill he wanted not new Opportunities of Triumphing; for in his Return he took all the Caſtles in the Counties of *March* and *Teviotdale*, and caus'd all the Gentry to ſwear to be true to King *Edward*, and to promote the Marriage. After twenty five Days Continuance in *Scotland*, the Protector return'd into *England*, cover'd with Glories, having in the whole Expedition loſt but ſixty Men, taken eighty Pieces of Cannon, bridled the two chief Rivers of the Kingdom by Garriſons, and gain'd ſeveral ſtrong Places. And now it may eaſily be imagin'd how much this rais'd his Reputation in *England*, eſpecially ſince he had done ſuch great Services in *France*, ſo that all had great Expectations under his Government. And if the Breach between his Brother and him had not loſt him the preſent Advantages, this Action had laid a Foundation of prodigious Fortunes to him.

The young Queen of Scots *carry'd into* France.

The *Scots* ſent no Commiſſioners to *Berwick*, but inſtead of that, they ſent ſome to *France*, to offer their Queen to the *Dauphine*, and to throw themſelves on the Protection of that Crown; and ſo the Earl of *Warwick*, whom the Protector left to treat with them, return'd back, with no ſmall Share in the other's Glory. This remarkable Man was Son to that *Dudley* who was attainted and executed in the firſt Year of the late Reign, and was one of extraordinary Abilities, had not inſatiable Ambition and profound Diſſimulation ſtain'd his other noble Qualities. By means of the *Scots*, the Wars were continu'd, and manag'd the following Year by the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* with various Succeſs. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was alſo ſent with fifteen thouſand Men; againſt him, for the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, was ſent the *Rhinegrave* with ten thouſand *French*; who entering into a Conſultation how to remove the young Queen beyond the *Engliſh* Power, provided a Fleet, and ſailing round the North of *Scotland*, notwithſtanding the *Engliſh* Fleet lay in Readineſs to ſtop their Paſſage, yet ſhe was convey'd ſafely into *France*, being about ſix Years of Age, and was long afterwards marry'd to the *Dauphin* of *France*.

A. D. 1547. Reg. 1.

A Parliament meets.

The Six Articles *repeal'd.*

Other Acts.

II. The Protector having obtain'd ſuch ſignal Advantages, proceeded in the Buſineſs of the Reformation, and to ſummon a new Parliament. As to the former, great Inferences were made from one Particular, that on the ſame Day in which the Images were burnt in *London*, the *Engliſh* Army obtain'd a ſignal Victory in *Scotland*, which was the ſame Day of the Victory of *Floddon* Field, thirty four Years before. All ſubmitted to the new Viſiters; only the two Biſhops, *Bonner* and *Gardiner*, for refuſing the Injunctions, were both impriſon'd. Upon the fourth of *November* the Parliament was open'd; the Day before which, the Protector gave too publick an Inſtance how he was elevated by his Proſperity: For by a Patent he was authoriz'd to ſit under the Cloth of State, on the Right Hand of the Throne; and to have all the Honours and Privileges that any Uncle of the Crown ever had, with a *Non-obſtante* to the Statute of Precedence. The Lord *Rich* was made Lord-Chancellor; and the firſt Act that paſs'd was ‘A Repeal of all Statutes that had made any Thing Treaſon or Felony in the late Reign, which was not ſo before; particularly of the *Six Articles*, and the Authority given to the King's Proclamations, as alſo of the Acts againſt *Lollards*. All who deny'd the King's Supremacy, or aſſerted the Pope's, the firſt Offence was Forfeiture of Goods, the ſecond a *Premunire*, and the third Treaſon: But if any intended to deprive the King of his Eſtate or Title, that was made direct Treaſon. It alſo repeal'd the Power the King had of annulling all Laws made, 'till he was twenty four Years of Age, and reſtrain'd it only to the annulling them for the Time to come, but that it ſhould not be of Force for the declaring them null from the Beginning.’ In paſſing of this Act five Biſhops diſſented; and another Act paſs'd with the ſame Diſſent, ‘For the Communion in both Kinds, and that the People ſhould always Communicate with the Prieſt; and by it, Irreverence to the Sacrament was condemn'd under ſevere Penalties.’ Another Act paſs'd without any Diſſent, ‘That the *Conge d'elire*, and the Election purſuant to it, ſhould ceaſe for the future, and that Biſhops ſhould be nam'd by the King's Letters Patents, and thereupon conſecrated; and ſhould all hold their Courts in the King's Name, excepting the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; and were to uſe the King's Seal in all their Writings, excepting Preſentations, Collations, and Letters of Orders, in which they might uſe their own.’ After an Act againſt idle Vagabonds, came the Act for giving the King all the *Chantries*, which the late King had not ſeiz'd by vertue of the Grant made to him of them. *Cranmer*, with ſeven other Biſhops diſſented, but could not prevent the Act from paſſing at laſt. Laſt of all came the King's general Pardon, with the common Exceptions, among which the Duke of *Norfolk* was nam'd. And thus ended this Seſſion; when the Protector, being eſtabliſh'd in his Power without Contradiction, took out a new Commiſſion, in which beſides his former Authority, he was empower'd to ſubſtitute one in his Room during his Abſence.

The Affairs of Germany.

During theſe Tranſactions at home, the poor *German* Princes, who rely'd upon the Aſſiſtance of *England*, were ruin'd by the Emperor: The Duke of *Saxony* was defeated and taken Priſoner; the Prince of *Heſſe* was perſuaded to ſubmit, and by an Artifice detain'd Priſoner; upon which all the Princes and Towns of the *Smalcaldick* League ſubmitted, and purchas'd their Pardon, at what Terms the Conqueror was pleas'd to impoſe. Now all *Germany*, except *Magdeburg* and *Breme*, was at the Emperor's Mercy; ſome Cathedrals were again reſtor'd to the Biſhops, and Maſs was ſaid in them; a Diet was alſo held in which the Emperor obtain'd a Decree, by which Matters of Religion were referr'd wholly to his Care. The Pope, inſtead of rejoicing at this Blow given to the *Lutherans*, was extreamly concern'd at it: For the Emperor had now in one Year finiſh'd a War, which he hop'd would have imbroil'd him his whole Life; ſo that *Italy* was more than ever expos'd to his Arms, where he had many Reaſons to be jealous of his Power. The Emperor's Ambaſſadors became very uneaſie to the Legates at *Trent*, and urg'd a Reformation of Abuſes, and endeavour'd to reſtrain them from proceeding in Points of Doctrine; upon which they took Advantage from the Death of one who ſeem'd to have ſome Symptoms of the Plague, and remov'd the Council to *Bononia* in *Italy*. By this all the Advantages the Emperor had from the Promiſes of the Proteſtants, to ſubmit to a free General Council aſſembled in *Germany*, were defeated: And it was judg'd a wonderful Turn of Providence, that when *Lutheraniſm* was ſo near its Extirpation, a Stop was put to it by what was leaſt imagin'd; ſince it was highly probable that perfecting ſuch a Deſign would have reconcil'd the wideſt Differences between the Pope and the Emperor. So unexpected an Accident caus'd the Favourers of the Reformation to aſcribe it to the immediate Care that Heaven had of that Work, at a Time when all humane Supports were remov'd. However upon the Emperor's Advantages, the Foreign Reformers, who generally made *Germany* their Sanctuary, were now forc'd to come into *England*: *Peter Martyr* and *Bernard Ochinus* came over firſt, and *Bucer* and *Fagius* follow'd. They were invited over by the generous *Cranmer*, who entertain'd them at *Lambeth*, 'till Proviſion was made for them; *Martyr* was ſent to *Oxford*, and *Bucer* and *Fagius* to *Cambridge*, where ſhortly after the latter dy'd. In this Year there were ſome Differences between the *French* and *Engliſh*, concerning ſome new Forts, which were made about *Bologn*, on both Sides, yet a Truce was concluded; for the Protector, who began to have Troubles in his own Family, had no Deſire to ingage in a War againſt *France*.

The Foreign Reformers repair to England.

A. D. 1548. Reg. 2.

The Progreſs of the Engliſh *Reformation.*

The great Work of the Reformation was ſtill carry'd on by continu'd Steps and Progreſſions; and much Care was taken to remove what related to Ignorance and Superſtition. As *Candlemas* and *Lent* were approaching, *Cranmer* procur'd an Order of Council againſt the carrying of Candles on *Candlemas*-Day, of Aſhes on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, and Palms on *Palm-Sunday*. By a Proclamation, the creeping to the Croſs, and taking Holy Bread and Water were aboliſh'd; and Power given to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to certifie, in the King's Name, what Ceremonies ſhould be afterwards laid aſide. Shortly after, a general Order follow'd for a Removal of all Images out of Churches, of which ſome were of a very groſs Nature: The only Occaſion given to cenſure this Order, was, that all Shrines, and the Plate belonging to them, were appointed to be brought in to the King's Uſe. Eighteen Biſhops, and ſome Divines, were now imploy'd to examine the Offices of the Church, and to ſee which of them needed Amendment. They began with the *Euchariſt*, and the firſt Step now made was a new Office for the Communion, and the Diſtribution of the Sacrament; which differ'd not much from what is ſtill in Uſe, and was printed with a Proclamation, requiring all to receive it with ſuch Reverence and Uniformity, as might incourage the King to proceed further. *Auricular Confeſſion* was alſo examin'd, which being then us'd as a mere Trade, it was now thrown out of the Church, and private Confeſſion was declar'd indifferent. After this a general Reformation of the whole Liturgy was under Conſideration, that all the Nation might have an Uniformity in the Worſhip of God, and be no more canton'd to the ſeveral Uſes of diſtinct Dioceſes. It was reſolv'd to have a Liturgy, as might bring the Divine Worſhip to a fit Medium, between the Pomp of Superſtition, and a naked Flatneſs: And it was reſolv'd to have nothing chang'd meerly in Oppoſition to receiv'd Practices, but rather in Imitation of what Chriſt did, in the Inſtitution of the two Sacraments of the Goſpel, that conſiſted of Rites us'd among the *Jews*, but bleſs'd by him to higher Purpoſes, to comply with what had been formerly in uſe, as much as was poſſible, thereby to gain the People. It was alſo reſolv'd to have the whole Worſhip in the vulgar Tongue; and the Morning and Evening Prayers were put almoſt in the ſame Method, in which they are ſtill us'd, only there was no Confeſſion or Abſolution. The Liturgy thus compil'd, was publiſh'd with a Preface concerning Ceremonies; the ſame that is ſtill in the Common-Prayer-Book, written with extraordinary Judgment and Temper. Of all theſe Eccleſiaſtical Tranſactions the Reader may ſee a large Account in Doctor *Burnet*'s ſecond Volume of *The Hiſtory of the Reformation*.

The Affairs of State took up the Council, as much as the Matters of Religion imploy'd the Biſhops; the War with *Scotland* became chargeable, and was ſupported from *France*, but the Sale of the *Chantry* Lands brought in ſome Mony to the Council. About the ſame time Biſhop *Gardiner*, who was lately releas'd from his Impriſonment, again raiſed ſome Diſturbances againſt the Reforming Preachers; for which, not without ſome Hardſhip, he was ſent to the *Tower*. Another Accident alſo rais'd no ſmall Diſputes in the Court, which was the ſecond Marriage of the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, which was try'd at this time, for his firſt Wife being convict of Adultery, he and ſhe were ſeparated. He had mov'd at the end of the late Reign, that he might be ſuffer'd to marry again; therefore a Commiſſion was then granted, and was renew'd in the preſent Reign to ſome Delegates to examine what Relief might be given to the innocent Perſon in ſuch a Caſe. But this being new, and *Cranmer* proceeding in it with his uſual Exactneſs, which was often accompany'd with Slowneſs, the Marqueſs became impatient, and marry'd a ſecond Wife. This gave Offence to the Council, who order'd them to be parted 'till the Delegates ſhould give Sentence; which after famous Debates, and Conſideration of all Arguments, was at length given in his Favour, and his ſecond Marriage confirm'd. Yet four Years after, he was advis'd to have a ſpecial Act of Parliament for confirming this Sentence.

The Marqueſs of Northampton's *Divorce.*

Affairs in Scotland.

The War with *Scotland* ſtill continu'd, where being incourag'd by a great Supply from *France*, the Clergy could not be ſatisfy'd, 'till they had put all things out of their Power, by ſending away their Queen into *France*, as was before-mention'd. The *Engliſh* had fortify'd *Hadington*, a *Scotch* Town well ſituated, and in a fruitful Country; upon which the Governor of *Scotland*, joining with the *French*, ſate down before it; a great Recruit ſent to the Garriſon from *Berwick* was intercepted and cut off, but they were well ſupply'd with Ammunition and Proviſions. Some Caſtles that the *Engliſh* had gain'd were taken by Surpriſe, and others by Treachery: A Fleet was ſent to waſte the Coaſt of *Scotland*, under the Admiral's Command; but he only made two Deſcents, in both which he had ſuch ill Succeſs, that he loſt near twelve hundred Men. The Earl of *Shrewſbury* advanc'd with a conſiderable Army to the Relief of *Hadington*, broke up the Siege, and well ſupplyed the Place. But as *Deſſy* the *French* General march'd back to *Edinburgh*, his Soldiers committed great Outrages upon the *Scots*, ſo that *Shrewſbury* might have taken great Advantages, ſince the *Scots* were ſo weary of their imperious Friends the *French*; but he march'd back, having perform'd his Commiſſion. *Deſſy* follow'd him, and made a great Inroad into *England*, but would not give the *Scots* any Share of the Spoil, and treated them in all Things as a conquer'd People; and being juſtly apprehenſive of them, he fortify'd himſelf in *Leith*, which before was but an inconſiderable Village. He alſo attack'd the Fort which the *Engliſh* had in *Inchkeith*, and took it; but he was recall'd upon the loud Complaints that were ſent to the Court of *France* againſt him. Now the People began to be ſenſible of their Slavery, and to deteſt thoſe who had advis'd the ſending their Queen to *France*, particularly the Clergy; and were by that the more diſpos'd to hearken to ſuch Preachers, as diſcover'd their Superſtition and Corruptions. And thus ended this Year's War between *England* and *Scotland*, with a Mixture of good and bad Succeſs. The *Engliſh* had preſerv'd *Hadington*, but loſt all Hopes of the Marriage, and were in danger of being ingag'd in a War with *France*, at a time when the King's Affairs were in an ill Condition, his People divided and diſcontented at home, and his Treaſure much exhauſted by the preſent Expences.

Differences between the Protector and the Admiral his Brother.

The Protector had us'd ſeveral Methods to bring the *Scots* to a ten Years Truce, but with no Effect; for he had now moſt unhappy Troubles rais'd in his own Family by the Ambition of his Brother the Admiral, who being alſo Uncle to the young King, expected to have ſtill a larger Share in the Government. This aſpiring Man had formerly made his Addreſſes to the Princeſs *Elizabeth* the King's Siſter, but finding no Hopes of Succeſs, he made early Applications to King *Henry*'s Queen Dowager, who comply'd with him a little undecently; for it was afterwards objected to him, that he marry'd her ſo ſoon after the King's Death, that if ſhe had conceiv'd immediately after this Marriage, it might have been dubious whether it was by the late King or himſelf. Yet the Marriage was for ſome Time conceal'd, and the Admiral ſubtilly mov'd the King and his Siſters, to write to the Queen in his Favour: The Princeſſes excus'd themſelves, that it was not proper for them to interpoſe in ſuch a Matter; but he prevail'd upon the young King, and upon his Letter the Queen publiſh'd her Marriage. The Admiral being by this poſſeſs'd of great Wealth, and finding the King frequently repairing to the Queen's Lodgings, he endeavour'd to gain him, and all that were about him; and often took Occaſion to furniſh the King with ſmall Sums of Mony. Having thus inſinuated himſelf to the King's Acquaintance, his Deſign was this; that whereas, in former Times, when Infant Kings had two Uncles, one was Protector of the Realm, and the other Governor of his Perſon, ſo now theſe two Truſts might be divided, and that he might be made Governor of the King's Perſon. This is the moſt probable Foundation of the Breach between the unfortunate Brothers; for the vulgar Story of the Quarrel between their Wives about Precedence, ſeems an ill-grounded Fiction: For there was no Pretence of a Competition between the Queen Dowager and the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*; only the latter being of a moſt haughty Spirit, might probably inflame her Huſband's Reſentment, over whom ſhe had an unreaſonable Power, which gave riſe to the Story, and to other Miſchiefs. At firſt the Protector was eaſy to be reconcil'd to his Brother, but after the numerous Provocations he receiv'd from him, he too much threw off Nature. When he was in *Scotland*, the Admiral was daily forming a Party againſt him; and the good Advices given him by *Paget*, to treat ſuch as Enemies as were making a Breach between them, had no Effect to cure a Mind impetuouſly hurry'd on by a fatal Ambition. During the laſt Seſſion of Parliament the Admiral prevail'd with the King to write a Meſſage with his own Hand to the Houſe of Commons, to make him Governor of his Perſon; and when his Brother and his Friends endeavour'd to divert him from this Deſign, he declar'd, *That if he was croſs'd in his Attempt, he would make this the blackeſt Parliament that ever was in* England. Upon this he was ſent for to appear before the Council, but he refus'd to come; but when they threaten'd to turn him out of all his Places, and to ſend him to the *Tower*, he ſubmitted, and he and his Brother ſeem'd perfectly reconciled.

The Admiral's Deſigns.

The Parliament being broke up, in the Month of *September* the Admiral's Wife, the Queen Dowager, dy'd, not without Suſpicion of Poiſon; upon which he boldly renew'd his Addreſſes to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*. But finding it vain to expect that his Brother and the Council would conſent, and knowing that if ſhe marry'd without their Conſent, ſhe would be excluded the Succeſſion, he reſolved to ſecure the King's Perſon, 'till he had made a ſufficient Change in the Government. Accordingly he fortify'd his Houſe in the Country, prepar'd Magazines, liſted great Numbers of Men, and openly complain'd, *That his Brother deſign'd to enſlave the Nation, and govern all*; and he alſo enter'd into a Treaty with ſeveral of the Nobility, who envy'd his Brother's Greatneſs, promiſing that they ſhould be of the Council, and that he would diſpoſe of the King in Marriage to one of their Daughters. The Protector imploy'd many to divert him from theſe deſperate Deſigns; but his reſtleſs Ambition being incurable, he was oblig'd to proceed to Extremities, and to ſend him Priſoner to the *Tower*, together with his Confederate *Sharington*, who being Vice-Treaſurer of the Mint at *Briſtol*, had ſupply'd him with Mony, and had coin'd much baſe Mony for his Uſe. Many were ſent to purſuade him to a better Temper of Mind, and his Brother was again willing to be reconcil'd to him, if he would retire from the Court and publick Buſineſs; but he was ſtill violent and intractable. Upon which many Articles were drawn up againſt him, both of his Deſigns againſt the State, and of his Maleverſation in his Office, ſeveral Pirates having been entertain'd by him; and many Witneſſes, and Letters under his own Hand, were produc'd againſt him. The greateſt Part of the Council went to the *Tower*, and examin'd him; but he refus'd to give any particular Anſwers, but declar'd he expected a fair and open Tryal. The whole Council upon this acquainted the young King with it, and deſir'd him to refer the Matter to the Parliament then ſitting; which he granted, with a Caution and Reſpect becoming one of riper Years. Upon which ſome Counſellors were again ſent to him to ſee what they could draw from him; but he ſhew'd a peculiar Sullenneſs, and after he had anſwer'd to three of the Articles, denying ſome Particulars, and excuſing others, he refus'd to proceed any further.

He is ſent Priſoner to the Tower.

He is intractable.

A.D. 1549. Reg. 3.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

The old Parliament met in the latter End of the Year 48, but no Bills were finiſh'd before *February* following: The firſt was concerning the marry'd Clergy, which was finiſh'd by the Commons in ſix Days, but lay ſix Weeks before the Lords; nine Biſhops and four Temporal Lords proteſting againſt it. 'By it, it was declar'd, that tho' it 'was better for Prieſts to live unmarried, and free from 'worldly Cares; yet ſince the Laws compelling it had 'occaſion'd great Filthineſs, and other Inconveniences, 'they were all repeal'd. Another Act paſs'd, confirming the Liturgy, which was now finiſh'd; eight Biſhops, and three Temporal Lords only proteſting againſt it. There was a long Preamble, 'ſetting forth the Inconvenience of 'the former Offices, and the Pains taken to reform them; 'and that divers Biſhops and Divines had, by the Aid of 'the Holy Ghoſt, with an uniform Agreement concluded 'on the new Book: Therefore it was Enacted, That all 'Divine Offices ſhould be perform'd according to that; 'and whoever us'd other Offices, for the firſt Offence 'ſhould ſuffer ſix Months Impriſonment, loſs of Benefice 'for the ſecond, and perpetual Impriſonment for the third.' There was alſo another Act paſs'd concerning Faſting, declaring, 'That tho' all Days and Meats were of themſelves 'alike, yet Faſting, being a great Help to Virtue, and to 'the ſubduing the Body to the Mind, and a Diſtinction of 'Meats conducing to the Fiſhing Trade, it was Enacted, 'That *Lent*, and all *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, and *Ember* 'Days ſhould be Fiſh-Days, under ſeveral Penalties, excepting to the Weak, or thoſe that had the King's Licenſe.' Theſe and ſome other Things being paſs'd, and Subſidies granted to the King, the Parliament was prorogu'd in *March* to *November*.

The Admiral attainted.

But what occaſion'd as great Diſcourſe as any Thing in this Parliament was the Attainder of the Admiral; which was begun in the Houſe of Lords, who had been too much accuſtom'd to paſs ſuch Bills in the late Reign. All the Judges and the King's Council deliver'd their Opinions, that the Articles produc'd againſt him were Treaſon. When the Evidence was produc'd, many Lords gave it ſo fully, that all the reſt with one Voice conſented to the Bill; only the Protector, for the ſake of natural Pity, deſir'd Leave to withdraw. The Lords diſpatch'd it in two Days; but in the Houſe of Commons many argu'd againſt ſuch Attainders without a Tryal, or bringing the Party to make his Anſwers. At length a Meſſage was ſent from the King, deſiring them to proceed as the Lords had begun; and the Lords who had given Evidence againſt him in their own Houſe, were ſent down to the Commons. Upon which the Bill paſs'd, and had ſhortly after the Royal Aſſent. On the ſeventeenth of *March* the Council ſign'd a Warrant for his Execution, to which both the Lord Protector and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſet their Hands. And on the twentieth he was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*; but we find not his Behaviour on the Scaffold, only that he declar'd, *That he had never committed, or meant any Treaſon againſt the King or Kingdom.* Thus fell *Thomas* Lord *Seymour*, Lord High-Admiral of *England*; a Man of high Thoughts, of great Violence of Temper, and unmeaſurably aſpiring; ſo, as other ambitious Men, he was like a Bubble, which is ſwell'd by every ſmall Breath, and broken by every great Blaſt. This Execution caus'd divers Cenſures, particularly againſt the Protector, who ſet his Hand to the Warrant; for the popular Notion, of its being againſt Nature for one Brother to deſtroy another, was eaſily entertain'd by the Multitude, who could not penetrate into the Myſteries of State. Then the Attainting of a Man without hearing him was condemn'd, as contrary to natural Juſtice; ſo that the Protector loſt one who could have been a mighty Prop, and ſuffer'd almoſt as much by his Death, as he could have done by his Life.

He is beheaded.

The Building of Somerſet-Houſe.

III. The Protector having now loſt the chief Support of his Houſe, deſign'd to repair that Ruin, by erecting a magnificent Palace. Accordingly he caſt his Eyes upon a Piece of Ground in the *Strand*, on which ſtood one Pariſh-Church and three Epiſcopal Houſes; the former dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and the latter belonging to the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, *Litchfield* and *Landaff*: All which he aſſum'd into his Hands without any great Oppoſition. Having clear'd the Place and projected the intended Fabrick, the Workmen found that more Materials would be wanting to finiſh it, than the demoliſh'd Church and Houſes could afford. He therefore reſolv'd to take down the Pariſh Church of St. *Margaret*'s in *Weſtminſter*, and appointed a particular Portion of the Abby-Church to be mark'd out for the Uſe of the Pariſhioners. But in this his Workmen were prevented by an Inſurrection of the Multitude, who finally diſcourag'd the Undertaking. In the next Place he was inform'd of ſome ſuperfluous, or rather ſuperſtitious Buildings about St. *Paul*'s, as a regular Cloyſter with a Chappel, and a fair Charnel Houſe, and another Chappel belonging to it. This was conceiv'd to be a ſafer Undertaking, while the Churchmen continu'd to be little better than Tenants at Will; and thereupon he employ'd his Workmen to take all down, and convert the Stone, Timber, Lead and Iron, to the uſe of his intended Palace, leaving the Bones of the dead Bodies to be bury'd in the Fields. But all this not being ſufficient for his Work, the Steeple, and the greateſt Part of the Church of St. *John*'s of *Jeruſalem*, not far from *Smithfield*, a beautiful Building, was pull'd down, and the Stone imploy'd to the ſame Purpoſe. Such was the Ground, and ſuch were the Materials of the Duke's new Palace, call'd *Somerſet-Houſe*; which either he liv'd not to finiſh, or elſe it muſt be unaccountably ſtrange, that after the demoliſhing of two Churches, two Chappels, and three Epiſcopal Houſes, to build one Palace, there ſhould be no particular Room erected for Religious Offices.

As this Year began, ſo it proceeded; in which nothing more was to be found than Troubles, Commotions and Diſquiets both in Church and State. For about this Time there ſtarted up a ſort of Men, call'd by the Name of *Goſpellers*, who held peculiar Notions as to Puniſhments and God's Providence, and making God the Author of Evil. And at the ſame Time the *Anabaptiſts* from *Germany* began to vent their Opinions in *England*, which were not only a Denial of Infant Baptiſm, but alſo of the Trinity, the Divinity of Chriſt, and other Heretical Principles. For the ſtifling of this Miſchief, ſome of the Principal of them were conven'd before the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Divines and Civilians; and being convicted of their Errors, ſome of them were diſmiſs'd only with Admonition, ſome ſentenc'd to a Recantation, and others condemn'd to bear their Faggots at St. *Paul*'s *Croſs*. But they proceeded further with one *Joan Bocher*, commonly call'd *Joan of Kent*, who deny'd the Incarnation of Chriſt; and being unmeaſurably vain and conceited of her Notions, ſhe ſcornfully rejected all Inſtructions that were offer'd her. Upon which ſhe was condemn'd as an obſtinate Heretick, and deliver'd to the ſecular Power; but it was very difficult to perſuade the tender King to ſign the Warrant for her Execution: He thought it an Inſtance of the ſame Spirit of Cruelty, for which the Reformers condemn'd the Papiſts; and that it was unreaſonable to burn a Perſon for ſome wild Opinions, eſpecially when they ſeem'd to flow from a diſturb'd Brain. But *Cranmer* perſuaded him, that being God's Lieutenant, he was oblig'd to puniſh direct Blaſphemers, according to the Laws of *Moſes*. This rather ſilenc'd than ſatisfy'd the young King; who ſign'd the Warrant with Tears in his Eyes, and told the Arch-Biſhop, *That ſince he reſign'd himſelf to his Judgment, if he ſinn'd it ſhould lye at his Door*. This ſenſibly ſtruck the Arch-Biſhop; and both he and *Ridley* took her to their Houſes, and try'd how far Reaſon, join'd with Gentleneſs, could prevail. But being ſtill more inſolent, at laſt ſhe was burnt, and ended her Life with ſuch indecent Jeers and Reproaches, that ſhe was thought a Perſon more fit for a dark Chamber than a Stake. Afterwards a *Dutchman*, nam'd *George van Parre*, was alſo condemn'd and burnt, for denying the Divinity of our Saviour, who was a Man of exemplary Piety, and ſuffer'd with great Compoſedneſs of Mind. Theſe Things caſt a great Blemiſh upon the Reformers, who were ſaid to condemn Cruelty only when it was exercis'd on themſelves; and the Papiſts made great uſe of this in the next Reign; and when *Cranmer* and *Ridley* ſuffer'd, it was thought a juſt Retaliation upon them, by that Providence that does Juſtice to all Mankind.

Variety of Opinions in Religion.

Great Tumults about Incloſures.

At this Time a ſort of Contagion of Rage and Violence ran over all the Commons of *England*: The Nobility and Gentry finding more Advantage by the Trade of Wool than by their Corn, did generally incloſe their Grounds, and turn them to Paſture, and ſo kept but few Servants, and took large Portions of their Eſtates into their own Hands. Yet ſtill the Numbers of the People increas'd, ſince Marriage was allow'd to all; and the Abrogation of many Holy-Days, and the putting down of Pilgrimages, gave them alſo more Time to work. By theſe Means the Commons were under terrible Apprehenſions, and fear'd to be reduc'd to great Miſery. Some propos'd a ſort of *Agrarian* Law, for regulating this threatning Inconvenience; and the King himſelf wrote a Diſcourſe about it, that there might be ſome Equality in the diviſion of the Soil among the Tenants. The Protector being naturally juſt and compaſſionate, was a great Friend to the Commons, and much complain'd of the Oppreſſion of the Landlords. There was therefore a Commiſſion iſſu'd out, to enquire concerning Incloſures and Farms, and whether thoſe who purchas'd the Abbey Lands, and were oblig'd to keep up Hoſpitality, perform'd it, or not; and what Encouragement they gave to Husbandry. This having but little Effect, the Commons roſe in moſt Parts of the Nation, but chiefly in the Inland Counties; but they were eaſily diſpers'd, with a Promiſe that their Grievances ſhould be redreſs'd. The Protector, contrary to the Council's Opinion, ſet out a Proclamation againſt all new Incloſures, and for indemnifying the People for what was paſt. Commiſſioners were alſo ſent into moſt Counties, to hear and determine all Complaints; but the Power that was given to them was ſo arbitrary, that the Landlords call'd it an Invaſion of Property, when their Rights were thus ſubjected to the Pleaſure of ſuch Men. The Commons underſtanding that the Protector was ſo favourable to them, ſoon fell into greater Outrages than ever: Inſomuch it was afterwards objected to him, that the Convulſions of *England* were chiefly owing to his ill Conduct; in which he was the more blam'd, becauſe he acted againſt the Opinion of the Majority of the Council.

A Rebellion in Devonſhire, *commanded by* Arundel.

The moſt dangerous Commotions, which continu'd ſo long as to gain the Name of Rebellions, were thoſe of *Devonſhire* and *Norfolk*; Counties remote from each other, but ſuch as ſeem'd to have communicated Counſels, for carrying on the Deſign. The firſt was in *Devonſhire*, where the Inſurrection was very formidable, the Superſtition of the Prieſts joining with the Rage of the People; ſo that they ſoon became ten thouſand ſtrong. The Lord *Ruſſel* at firſt was ſent againſt them with a ſmall Force, and was order'd to try if he could compoſe the Diſturbance without Bloodſhed; but *Arundel*, a Man of Quality, commanding the Rebels, they prov'd not a looſe Body of Men, eaſily diſſipated. They boldly ſent their Demands to the Court, 'That the old Service and Ceremonies might 'be reſtor'd; That the Act of the *Six Articles*, and the 'Decrees of General Councils might again be in Force; 'That the Bible in *Engliſh* might be call'd in; That Preach-'ers ſhould pray for the Souls in Purgatory; That Cardi-'nal *Pool* ſhould be reſtor'd; That half the Abbey Lands 'ſhould be reſtor'd, to found two Abbies in every Coun-'ty, and that Gentlemen of a hundred Marks a Year ſhould 'have but one Servant:' And they deſir'd a ſafe Conduct for their chief Leaders, in order to redreſs their particular Grievances: Afterwards they moderated their Demands only to Points of Religion. Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* wrote a large Anſwer to theſe, 'ſhewing the Novelties and Su-'perſtition of thoſe Rites and Ceremonies, and of the 'whole Way of Worſhip of which they were ſo fond: 'That the Amendments and Alterations had been made 'according to the Scriptures, and the Cuſtoms of the Pri-'mitive Church; and their being fond of a Worſhip they 'did not underſtand, and deſirous to be kept ſtill in Igno-'rance without the Scriptures, ſhew'd that their Prieſts 'had a greater Influence over them, than the common 'Reaſon of all Mankind: As for the *Six Articles*, that Act 'had never paſs'd if the King had not gone in Perſon 'to the Parliament, and argu'd for it; yet he ſoon ſaw 'his Error, and was ſlack in executing it.' After that there was a high threatning Anſwer ſent them in the King's Name, condemning them for their Rebellion, and blind Obedience to their Prieſts: In which, the King's Authority under Age was largely ſet forth; becauſe the Pretence of the King's Minority caus'd the People in general to believe, that their Inſurrection was no Rebellion. In Concluſion, 'They were earneſtly invited to the King's Mer-'cy, as others had done, whom the King had not only 'pardon'd, but had redreſs'd their juſt Grievances.'

The Rebels beſiege Exeter.

But this giving no Satisfaction, the Rebels march'd with all their Forces to beſiege *Exeter*; carrying before them in their March the conſecrated Hoſt, born under a Canopy, with Croſſes, Banners, Candleſticks, and other Utenſils. But all theſe had no Effect upon the Citizens, who were no leſs gallantly reſolv'd to make good the Town, than the other were deſperately bent to force it. To which Reſolution of the Citizens, the natural Defences of the City gave not more Encouragement than ſome inſolent Speeches of the Rebels, boaſting, *That they would ſhortly meaſure all the Silks and Sattens in it, by the Length of their Bows.* They ſet Fire to the Gates, and wrought Mines, but all to no Effect; at length they reſolv'd to try how far Famine would prevail, and after many Days Siege they reduc'd the Citizens to great Extremities. They were forc'd to feed upon Horſes, eſpecially for twelve Days; during which Time, they were encourag'd by an aged Citizen, who brought out all his Stores, and declared, *That he would eat one Arm, and fight with the other, before he would yield to the Seditious.* After they were reduc'd to theſe Neceſſities, the Lord *Ruſſel* with his ſmall Army reſolv'd to attack the Rebels; who had poſſeſs'd themſelves of a Bridge behind him, both to ſurround him, and to hinder others from joining him: But he ſuddenly march'd back, and ſoon beat them from the Bridge with the Loſs of ſix hundred of their Men; by which Attempt he perceiv'd how eaſie a Work it would be to diſperſe them. Shortly after the Lord *Gray* and *Spinola*, commanding ſome *Germans*, joining him, he proceeded to raiſe the Siege of *Exeter*. They had block'd up the Ways, and left two thouſand Men to keep a Bridge, where the King's Forces were to paſs; but the Lord *Ruſſel* bravely broke through them, and kill'd about a thouſand of them; upon which they were forc'd to raiſe the Siege and retire to *Lanceſton*. Having purſu'd them with new Slaughter, the Lord *Ruſſel* enter'd the City of *Exeter* on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, where he was joyfully receiv'd by the half-ſtarv'd Citizens; whoſe Loyalty the King rewarded with an Encreaſe of Privileges, and the Manor of *Eviland*. This very Day has been ever ſince obſerv'd amongſt them for an annual Feaſt, in perpetual Gratitude to God, for their happy Deliverance. *Arundel*, and the reſt of the Heads, were taken and executed; and the Vicar of St. *Thomas*, a principal Incendiary, was hang'd on the Top of his own Tower, in his *Popiſh* Attire, and his Beads at his Girdle. And thus was the Rebellion happily ſuppreſs'd in the Weſt, to the great Honour of the Lord *Ruſſel*, who finiſh'd it with little or no Loſs.

They are totally ſuppreſs'd.

Another Rebellion in Norfolk *under* Ket *a Tanner.*

In the mean Time the *Norfolk* Rebellion broke out, on the twentieth Day of *June*, beginning at a Place call'd *Attleborough*; but was not conſiderable either for Power or Numbers, 'till the ſixth of *July*; when it was greatly increas'd by *Robert Ket* a Tanner of *Windham*, who undertook to lead the Multitude. Theſe Men at firſt pretended only againſt Incloſures, and Religion ſeem'd to be kept as a Reſerve; but when their Numbers were greatly increas'd, their Inſolence was ſuch, as nothing would ſatisfie them, but the total Suppreſſion of the Gentry, the placing of new Counſellors about the King, and other Things to be done in favour of the old Religion. Concerning which they made large Remonſtrances both to the King and People. The Sheriff of the County came boldly to them, and requir'd them in the King's Name to diſperſe and go home; but had he not been well mounted, they would have put him to a cruel Death. After this they march'd directly towards *Norwich*, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Mouſhold-Hill*; which gave them a full Proſpect over, and a compleat Command upon that large City, where they had many Friends. To this Place great Numbers reſorted out of *Suffolk* as well as *Norfolk*, many for Want, and many upon a turbulent Mind and a weak Notion of *Levelling the World*; and in all Parts Beacons were fir'd and Bells rung to promote the Inſurrection; ſo that in a ſhort Time the Multitude increas'd to twenty thouſand, which were rather to be eſteem'd a Number than an Army. Their Companies rang'd through all the neighbouring Parts, and took what Goods they thought fit; and beſides Deer out of Parks, they brought ſuch Quantities of Beaſts and Proviſions, that a fat Sheep was ſold for four Pence. This was interpreted as a preſent Plenty, but it afterwards made ſuch a Scarcity, as could not be repair'd in ſeveral Years. Their Actions were diſguis'd with the uſual Coverings in Time of Rebellion, which were Religion and Juſtice: For the former they had one *Coniers* for their Chaplain, an idle vicious Perſon, who Morning and Evening read Prayers to them, and often Preach'd. But Doctor *Parker*, afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, coming to Preach before them, ſo fully laid open their notorious Impieties, that he was in Danger of his Life. As for Juſtice, *Ket* aſſum'd to himſelf the Power of Judicature, and in Imitation of the ancient *Druids*, under an old Oak, ſince call'd *The Oak of Reformation*, together with two of each Hundred in the Country, did ſuch Juſtice as might be expected from ſuch a Judge, and in ſuch a Camp.

The Rebels incamp before Norwich.

The Marqueſs of Northampton *unſucceſsful againſt them.*

The Marqueſs of *Northampton* was ſent againſt them, but with Orders to keep at a Diſtance from them, and to cut off their Proviſions; for it was hop'd that without much Bloodſhed, they might in Time be reduc'd. But at the ſame Time there was an Inſurrection in *Yorkſhire*, the Commons being further encourag'd by a Prophecy, That there ſhould be no King nor Nobility in *England*; that the Kingdom ſhould be rul'd by four Governors choſen by the Commons, who ſhould hold a Parliament in Motion, to begin at the South and North-Seas; which they apply'd to the *Devonſhire* Men on the South-Seas and to themſelves on the North-Seas. They at the firſt Riſing fir'd Beacons, and ſo gather'd the Country as if it had been for the Defence of the Coaſts; and meeting two Gentlemen and two others, they without Provocation murder'd them, and left their naked Bodies in the Road. At the ſame Time the *French* King reſolv'd to take Advantage of theſe Commotions, and to regain the Town of *Boloign*: Three Days before he march'd with his Army, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador preſſing him upon the Intimations that were given him of his Deſigns, he aſſur'd him, *On the Faith of a Gentleman, he would not begin a War, 'till he had firſt given Warning*: But many Princes reckon it a Part of their Prerogative, to be exempted from ſuch Obligations as bind poor Subjects. All theſe Misfortunes falling upon the Government at once, it may eaſily be imagin'd that the Council was under no ſmall Conſternation. Therefore a ſolemn Faſt was proclaim'd at Court, where Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* preach'd with a true Chriſtian Freedom and Vehemence. This was the more ſeaſonable, becauſe the Marqueſs of *Northampton* was at this Time unſucceſsful in *Norfolk*; for having eleven hundred Men with him, he did not ſtrictly obſerve his Orders, but enter'd the City of *Norwich*. The Rebels rejoic'd at an Occaſion to engage with him, and fell in upon him the next Day with great Fury; and the Place not being tenable he was forc'd to quit it, with the Slaughter of a hundred of his Men, among whom was the Lord *Sheffield*, who was much lamented. The Rebels alſo took about thirty Priſoners, fir'd great Part of the City, and return'd in Triumph to their Camp.

The French take Advantage.

The Earl of Warwick *ſent againſt the* Norfolk *Rebels.*

He defeats them.

This being underſtood at Court, the Protector ſuffer'd his moſt dangerous Enemy, the valiant Earl of *Warwick*, to march againſt the Rebels with ſix thouſand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horſe, that were prepar'd for an Expedition to *Scotland*. He with difficulty enter'd the City of *Norwich*, but was ſcarce able to defend it, nor was he well aſſur'd of the Inhabitants. But he entertain'd the Rebels with frequent Skirmiſhes, and ſo cut off their Proviſions, that having waſted all the Country about them, they forſook the Hill, and retir'd to a Place call'd *Duſſing-Dale*, where by a Prophecy they expected great Succeſs. Here they came to a Battel, where the Rebels plac'd in the Front all the Gentlemen they had taken Priſoners, deſigning that they ſhould be firſt ſlain; but the brave Earl of *Warwick* ſo manag'd his Men, that without any great Hurt to the Gentlemen, he defeated the Rebels with the Death of above two thouſand of them. And now again the Earl offer'd them Pardon, if they would ſubmit; but notwithſtanding all their Loſſes, they continu'd ſtill obſtinate. At laſt the Earl ſent to know if they would accept of a Pardon, if he ſhould come in Perſon to offer it to them: This ſo ſenſibly mov'd them, that they anſwer'd, *They knew him to be ſo honourable, that from himſelf they would embrace it.* Whereupon the Earl riding to them, and cauſing their Pardon to be read, they threw away their Arms, and cry'd, *Long live King* Edward! The Principals of them were taken and deſervedly executed: *Robert Ket* was hang'd in Chains upon *Norwich* Caſtle, and his Brother *William* upon the Top of the high Church-Tower of *Windham:* Nine of his chief Followers were hang'd on as many Bows of the *Oak of Reformation*, where *Ket* held his Courts; of whom two were Seducing Prophets, and one a moſt excellent Cannonier, who had done extraordinary Service to the Rebels. This great Deliverance was celebrated in the City of *Norwich* by a publick Thankſgiving, on the twenty ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, which has been ſince annually obſerv'd. The Rebels in *Yorkſhire*, who were more than three thouſand in Number, hearing of this Succeſs, accepted of the Pardon that was ſent them; only ſome few of the Ringleaders, continuing obſtinate, were executed at *York*. After this the Protector publiſh'd a general Pardon in the King's Name, of all that had been done, with ſome few Exceptions; tho' many of the Council oppos'd it, as Mercy too profuſe, judging it better to keep the Commons under the Laſh; but the Protector and his Friends thought, that in this Caſe Fear was a greater Cauſe of Diſorders than Impunity. Thus was *England* deliver'd from one of the moſt threatning Storms that had broke out for many Years; in which Deliverance the ſingular Prudence and Temper of the Protector ſeems to have had no ſmall Share.

The Rebels in all Parts are quieted.

The Engliſh *unſucceſsful abroad.*

The *Engliſh* Affairs in Foreign Parts were very unſucceſsful this Year; for when *England* was ſo diſtracted at home, it was no wonder if the *French* and *Scots* took what Advantages they could. Moſt of the Forts about *Boloign* were taken by the *French*; but thoſe who commanded them, for their Excuſe alledg'd they were ill provided; yet *Thuanus* ſays, they were all well ſtor'd. From theſe they came and ſate down before *Boloign*, with their King in Perſon; and tho' the Plague broke out in the *French* Camp, yet the Siege was not rais'd; but the King left the Army under the Command of *Coligny*, the famous Admiral of *France*. He found the only Way to take the Place was to cut it off from Sea, and ſo to keep out all Supplies; in order to which he deſign'd to have ſunk a Gally full of Stones and Gravel in it; but this and ſeveral other Attempts prov'd unſucceſsful. The Winter coming on, compell'd him to raiſe the Siege; but he lodg'd the greateſt Part of his Army in the adjacent Forts, ſo that the Town was in danger of being loſt the next Year. In *Scotland* there was alſo a great Turn; the Caſtle of *Broughty* was taken by the *Scots*, and the Garriſon almoſt intirely cut off. The *Engliſh* took particular Care of *Hadington*, to ſupply it well, expecting a Siege, upon which the *Scots* deſiſted from attacking it; yet the Charge of keeping it was ſo great, and the neighbouring Country ſo waſted, that it was neceſſary to ſend all their Proviſions from *Berwick:* So that the Protector thought it more adviſable to abandon it; and upon that ſent Orders to the Garriſon to demoliſh the Works, and return into *England*. So that now the *Engliſh* had no Place beyond the Borders but *Lauder*; and *Thermes* the *French* General ſate down before that; and if a Peace had not been concluded, it would have fallen into his Hands.

Several Expedients propos'd.

Affairs being in this Diſorder both at home and abroad, the Protector had nothing to depend on, but the Emperor's Aid; who was ſo diſſatisfy'd with the Changes made in Religion, that much was not to be expected from him. At this Time the Emperor brought his Son *Philip* into the *Netherlands*, that he might put him in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Provinces; where he ſettled ſeveral Limitations both as to Civil and Military Power, and made a ſpecial Proviſion, that in Caſe his Son ſhould break theſe Rules, the Provinces ſhould not be oblig'd to obey him any longer: Which was the chief Ground both in Law and Conſcience, upon which they afterwards juſtify'd their ſhaking off his Yoke. The Emperor was now Maſter of the Princes of *Germany*, who ſaw no way to recover their Liberty but by the Aſſiſtance of the *French* King; therefore Applications were made to him, which were chearfully receiv'd, only he was reſolv'd firſt to make himſelf Maſter of *Boloign*, and then to turn his whole Force towards *Germany*. Advertiſements were given of this to the Protector, who thereupon enter'd into a deep Conſultation with his Friends what was proper to be done in ſo critical a Conjuncture; whether it was better to deliver up *Boloign* to the *French* by a Treaty, or to engage in a War to preſerve it, which would not only be vaſtly expenſive, but highly dangerous in theſe unſettled Times. He himſelf was inclin'd to deliver up *Boloign*; but his Enemies, who were a Majority in the Council, ſaw the Continuance of the War like to ruin him, whereas a general Peace would put the whole Nation into his Hands; therefore they ſet themſelves againſt all Motions for a Treaty, declaring that the Sale of ſuch a Place as *Boloign* would be a laſting Reproach to the Government. Many conſiderable Arguments were us'd on both Sides; and the Iſſue of their Conſultations was the ſending over Sir *William Paget* to the Emperor, to learn what might be expected from him. His publick Inſtructions were ſome ſuperficial Matters relating to former Treaties and Trade; but his ſecret Inſtructions were to ſee whether the Emperor would include *Boloign* in the Defenſive League, and ſo protect it; or whether he would take it into his Hands, and what Recompence he would give for it. The Emperor long ſhifted him off with Delays and Pretences of great Buſineſs, and at laſt would give him no ſatisfactory Anſwer as to *Boloign:* So he was oblig'd to return home, and give an Account of his Negotiation to a divided Council.

The Emperor refuſes his Aid.

A Faction againſt the Protector:

Upon this ill Succeſs the Protector found that his Power was in a declining Condition. But to finiſh this perplexing Affair, it was propos'd in Council, Whether ſince *Boloign* by a former Treaty was to be deliver'd up within a few Years, it were not better to prevent a new War and a Siege, where the Iſſue was like to prove very dangerous, and to enter into a Treaty for doing it immediately; and at the ſame Time, whether it were not more adviſable to finiſh the War with *Scotland*, ſince there was no Poſſibility of compaſſing the Marriage, for which it was firſt begun. Upon this Motion, all the Protector's Enemies took off the Mask, and declar'd themſelves againſt it. The Earl of *Southampton* and the Earl of *Warwick* were Chief of the Party; the one hated him for turning him out of his Office, and the other expected to be the principal Man in Buſineſs, if he ſhould be remov'd. Various Things concurr'd to raiſe the Protector many Enemies: His Partiality to the Commons provok'd the Gentry; his cutting off his Brother's Head, and his Palace in the *Strand*, ſacrilegiouſly erected in the Time both of War and Plague, diſguſted the People. The Clergy hated him, not only for his promoting the Changes made in Religion, but for his enjoying ſo many of the Biſhop's beſt Manors: His entertaining Foreign Troops, both *Germans* and *Italians*, tho' done by the Conſent of Council, yet gave a general Diſtaſte: And the high Station he had obtain'd, wrought much on himſelf and others; raiſing the Pride of the former, and the Envy of the latter. The Privy-Counſellors complain'd, that he was become ſo Arbitrary in his Proceedings, that he ſcarcely regarded the Oppoſition made by the Majority to any of his Deſigns. All theſe Particulars concurr'd to beget him many Enemies; and except the generous *Cranmer*, who never forſook his Friend, and *Paget* and *Smith*, all turn'd againſt him, and violently oppos'd his Propoſition for a Treaty with *France*. They alſo complain'd that the Places about *Boloign* were loſt by his Careleſneſs, and Neglect of well furniſhing them, and that he had recall'd the Garriſon out of *Hadington*. They put him in mind of the Conditions upon which he was firſt made Protector, by which he was limited to act nothing without their Advice; tho' he had ſince that taken out a Patent, which inveſted him with far greater Power. Then they charg'd him with ordering *Paget* to procure no better Anſwer from the Emperor, that he might be furniſh'd with an Excuſe for a diſhonourable Treaty with *France*. Thus all the Month of *September* there were great Heats in the Council, when ſeveral interpos'd to no Effect; for the Faction againſt him was now ſo ſtrong, that they reſolv'd to ſtrip him of his exorbitant Greatneſs, and reduce him to an Equality with themſelves.

Which turns to a publick Breach.

Upon theſe Animoſities, the Protector carry'd the King to *Hampton-Court*, and put many of his own Creatures about him, which increas'd the former Jealouſies; therefore nine of the Privy-Council met at *Ely* Houſe, and aſſum'd to themſelves the Name and Authority of the Council;

Great Heats

and Secretary *Petre* being ſent by the King, to demand the Reaſon of their Meeting, inſtead of returning join'd himſelf to them. They made a large Declaration of the Protector's Male-Adminiſtration and dangerous Deſigns, and of his engaging the King to ſign Letters for raiſing of Men, and for diſperſing ſeditious Papers; therefore they reſolv'd to provide for the Safety of the King and Kingdom. Both the City of *London*, and the Lieutenants of the *Tower* declar'd for them; and they alſo ſent Letters all over *England*, deſiring the Aſſiſtance of the Nobility and Gentry. They were join'd by ſeven more Privy-Counſellors; and all wrote to the King, 'Complaining of the Protector's Obſtinacy, and his refuſing to hearken to their Counſels, tho' the late King had left the Government of his Perſon and Kingdom to them in common, and the Protector was advanc'd to that Dignity over them, upon the Conditions which he had little regarded; therefore they deſir'd that the King would make a good Conſtruction of their Intentions and Proceedings.' The Protector had remov'd the King from *Hampton-Court*, as being an open Place, to *Windſor*, which had ſome better Defence about it; and had arm'd ſome of his own Servants, and plac'd them about the King's Perſon, which ſtill encreas'd the former Jealouſies; yet ſeeing himſelf abandon'd by moſt of his Friends, and finding the Party againſt him ſo formidable, that it would be in vain to ſtruggle any longer, he offer'd to ſubmit himſelf to the Council. Accordingly a Propoſition of a Treaty was ſet on Foot; and the Lords at *London* were deſir'd to ſend two of their Number with their Propoſitions, and a Paſſport was ſent them for their Safety. *Cranmer*, *Paget* and *Smith* wrote to the Council, to diſpoſe them to an Agreement, 'and not to follow *cruel Counſels*.' Many falſe Reports, as is uſual in all ſuch Occaſions, were carry'd of the Protector, as if he had threaten'd, that if they deſign'd to put him to Death, the King ſhould die firſt; which ſerv'd to improve their Prejudices againſt him. The Council wrote to *Cranmer* and *Paget*, 'Charging them to look well to the King's Perſon, that he ſhould not be remov'd from *Windſor*, and that the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Servants might be remov'd from his Preſence, and his own ſworn Servants admitted to wait; proteſting alſo that they would proceed with all Moderation and Favour that was poſſible towards the Duke of *Somerſet*.'

The Protector's Fall.

The Popiſh *Party are elevated.*

The Council underſtanding that all Things were prepar'd, as they had deſir'd, firſt ſent three of their Number, to take care that the Protector, and ſome of his Favourites, *Smith*, *Stanhop*, *Thynne*, *Wolf* and *Cecil* ſhould be confin'd to their Lodgings; and on the twelfth of *October* the whole Council went to *Windſor*, and made great Proteſtations of their Duty to the King, which he receiv'd favourably, and aſſur'd them he took all they had acted in the beſt Senſe. The Protector, with the reſt of his Friends, except *Cecil*, were ſent to the *Tower*, and many Articles were drawn up againſt him, 'That he being Protector, with this Condition that he ſhould act nothing, but by the Conſent of the other Executors, had ſeparately treated with Ambaſſadors; had made Biſhops and Lord-Lieutenants without their Knowledge; had held a *Court of Requeſts* in his Houſe; had embas'd the Coin of the Nation; had neglected the Places the King had in *France*; had incourag'd the Commons in their late Inſurrections, and had given out Commiſſions, and proclaim'd a Pardon without their Conſent: That he had animated the King againſt the reſt of the Council, and had proclaim'd them Traitors; and had put his own Servants armed about the King's Perſon.' And thus fell the Duke of *Somerſet* from his high Offices and great Truſt; but it appears by the Articles, that what was charg'd upon him were rather Errors and Infirmities, than notorious Crimes, ſuch as are incident to all who are ſuddenly exalted to a diſproportion'd Greatneſs. He was not charg'd with Cruelty, Rapine or Bribery, or yet Sacrilege; and his embaſing the Coin was done upon a common Miſtake of weak Governments, which in the Neceſſity of Affairs uſually fly to that as their laſt Refuge. He bore his Fall more equally than he had done his Proſperity; and in his Impriſonment, he ſet himſelf to the Study of moral Philoſophy and Divinity, and wrote a Preface to a Book of Patience, which had noble Impreſſions upon his Mind. However his Fall was a great Affliction to all who lov'd the Reformation; which was increas'd by the Apprehenſions they had of the two chief Men of the Party againſt him, *Southampton* and *Warwick*; the one a known Papiſt, and the other eſteem'd as a Man of no Religion: And both at the Emperor's Court, and in *France*, it was expected, that upon this Revolution, Matters of Religion would be reduc'd back to the ſame Poſture, in which King *Henry* had left them. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and Biſhop *Gardiner*, now hop'd to be ſet at Liberty; and *Bonner*, who for his Principles and Diſobedience had this Year been depriv'd of his Biſhoprick, expected to be re-eſtabliſh'd; and all the People began much to decline from the Uſe of the new Service. But the Earl of *Warwick* finding the King ſo zealouſly addicted to the Reformation, as nothing could more recommend a Man than that, ſoon forſook the Popiſh Party, and appear'd a mighty Promoter of that Work. Upon this the Earl of *Southampton* left the Court in great Diſcontent: He was neither reſtor'd to his Office of Chancellor, nor made Lord-Treaſurer, nor one of the Six who had the Charge of the King's Perſon, as he expected. Therefore he began to lay a Train againſt the Earl of *Warwick*, who being too quick for him, he retir'd, and not long after dy'd by the Force of Poiſon or Grief.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

The Protector fin'd:

And reſtored to Favour.

In *November*, a Seſſion of Parliament met; in which an Act was paſs'd, declaring it Treaſon to call any to the Number of twelve together, about any Matter of State, if being requir'd, they did not diſperſe themſelves: Other Riotous Aſſemblies were alſo declar'd Felonious; and the giving out of Propheſies concerning the King or Council, was alſo made penal. Another Law was made againſt Vagabonds, the former Statute was repeal'd, as too ſevere, and Proviſions were made for the Relief of the Sick and Impotent, and employing ſuch as were able to work. The Biſhops made a great Complaint, of the Growth of Vice and Impiety, and that their Power was ſo much abridg'd, that they could not ſuppreſs it: Therefore a Bill was read, enlarging their Authority, which tho' great, was at length ſo moderated, that the Lords paſs'd it: But the Commons rejected it; and inſtead of that, ſent up a Bill, that empower'd thirty two, who were to be nominated by the King, the one half of the Spirituality, and the other of the Temporality, to compile a Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, within the Compaſs of three Years; and that thoſe, not being contrary to the Common or Statute Law, and approv'd by the King, ſhould have the Force of Eccleſiaſtical Laws: Of the thirty two, four were to be Biſhops, and as many to be common Lawyers. Six Biſhops and ſix Divines were alſo empower'd by an Act to prepare a new Form of Ordination, which being confirm'd under the Great Seal ſhould take place after *April* following. On the ſecond of *January*, a Bill was brought in againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, containing the Articles formerly mention'd, with a Confeſſion of them, ſign'd by his own Hand. But ſome objected, that they ought not to proceed, 'till they knew whether his ſigning of it was voluntary or not: Accordingly ſome were ſent to examine him, to whom he acknowledg'd that he had done it freely, but proteſted that his Errors had flow'd rather from Indiſcretion than Malice, and poſitively deny'd all treaſonable Deſigns againſt the King or the Realm. Upon which he was fin'd in two thouſand Pounds a Year, and in the Loſs of all his Offices and Goods. He complain'd of the great Weight of this Cenſure, and earneſtly begg'd to be reſtor'd to the King's Favour, and promis'd for the future to carry himſelf ſo humbly and obedient, as ſhould make full Amends for his paſt Follies: All which was thought by ſome to be the Sign of an Abject Spirit; tho' others excus'd it, for that the Power and Malice of his Enemies was ſo predominant, that he could not be ſafe, while he continu'd a Priſoner. He was diſcharg'd in the Beginning of *February*; ſhortly after he had his Pardon, and did ſo manage his Intereſt with the King, his Nephew, that he was brought both to the Court and Council in *April*. And thus the Storm paſs'd over him more gently than was expected; but his Carriage in it was thought to have ſo little of the *Heroe*, that after this he was never much conſider'd.

A. D.
1550.
Reg. 4.

Cardinal Pool choſen Pope, but loſt it.

IV. After this Diſturbance and Confuſion was over, the Reformation was again carry'd on with great Vigour. The Council ſent Orders over all *England*, to require all to conform to the new Service, and to call in all the Books of the old Offices. To give a more publick Declaration of their Zeal, an Act paſs'd in Parliament to the ſame Effect; by which all the old Books and Images were appointed to be defac'd, and all Prayers to Saints were to be ſtruck out of the Primers publiſh'd by the late King. A Subſidy was granted, and the King gave a general Pardon, out of which all State Priſoners and Anabaptiſts were excepted. In this Seſſion it is obſerv'd, that the eldeſt Sons of Peers were firſt allow'd to ſit in the Houſe of Commons. The Committee appointed to prepare the Book of Ordination, finiſh'd their Work with common Conſent; only *Heath* Biſhop of *Worceſter* refuſ'd to ſign it, for which he was impriſon'd by Order of Council. While the Reformation thus ſucceeded in *England*, Pope *Paul* dy'd; and Cardinal *Pool*, the grand Enemy to the Work, for his great Services and Sufferings was elected Pope, in the Night Time. He did by no means aſpire to this Dignity; ſo that when a full Number had agreed and came according to Cuſtom to adore him, he receiv'd it with his uſual Coldneſs, and ſaid, *God lov'd Light*, adviſing them to defer the Matter 'till the Morning. The *Italians*, among whom Ambition paſſes for Greatneſs of Mind, look'd on this as an unſufferable Piece of Dulneſs and Stupidity; upon which the Cardinals ſhrunk from him before Day, and choſe *de Monte* to be Pope, who reign'd by the Name of *Julius* the Third. The firſt Promotion he made was very extraordinary, for he gave his own Cardinal's Hat to a Servant that kept his Monkey; and being aſk'd what he obſerv'd in him to make him Cardinal, he anſwer'd, *As much as the Cardinals had ſeen in him to make him Pope.*

A Treaty with France.

Bologn deliver'd to the French.

A Peace concluded.

At this time the Council was daily perplex'd concerning the Affair of *Bologn*; and tho' they had oppos'd the Surrender of it by the Protector, yet that great End being ſerv'd in pulling him down, they were convinc'd of the Neceſſity of doing it, and ſo were induc'd to hearken to the Propoſition that one *Guidotti*, an *Italian*, made for a Treaty. He was employ'd by the Conſtable *Monmorancy*, and gave them Aſſurances, that as ſoon as that was effected, the *French* King would engage in favour of the oppreſs'd Princes of the Empire. For this End Ambaſſadors were ſent over to *France*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, and *Paget* now made a Lord, with ſome others, to ſettle the Treaty of Peace. They were order'd in the firſt Place to demand the Delivery of the *Scotch* Queen, and the Payment of the perpetual Tribute or Penſion from *France* to *England*: But the *French* refus'd to treat upon theſe Heads; their Maſter deſign'd to marry the *Scotch* Queen to the *Dauphine*, and would not be ſo tributary to another Prince as to pay a perpetual Penſion; but they offer'd a particular Sum of Mony for *Bologn*. Some Difficulties were rais'd about demoliſhing the Fortifications in *Alderney* and *Sark*, two ſmall Iſlands in the Channel which the *French* expected; and about the Surrender of *Roxburgh* and *Aymouth* to the *Scots*, then in the Hands of the *Engliſh*. The Council order'd the Commiſſioners to inſiſt upon theſe Particulars, and to offer to break the Negotiation rather than yield to them; but if that had no Effect upon the *French*, then they were to drop them as honourably as they could. In Concluſion, the *Engliſh*, after a ſpecial Proteſtation, by which they reſerv'd to their King all the Rights he had at the Beginning of the War, agreed to deliver up *Bologn*, and all the Places about it, with all the Ordnance in it, except what the *Engliſh* had caſt; for all which the *French* were to pay four hundred thouſand Crowns, each amounting to the Value of an *Engliſh* Noble. Likewiſe all the Places which the *Engliſh* held in *Scotland* were to be deliver'd up, and the Fortifications demoliſh'd; and ſix Hoſtages were to be diſpos'd on both Sides for the Performance of Articles, who were the Sons of Men of the higheſt Quality. Thus was the Peace fully concluded; and the Articles were exactly perform'd on both Sides. The Council all approv'd of the Proceedings of their Plenipotentiaries; only the high Earl of *Warwick*, who had violently declared himſelf againſt the Delivery of *Bologn*, pretended Sickneſs, and abſented himſelf when the Peace was proclaim'd, on the twenty ninth Day of *March*.

The Earl of Warwick's Deſigns.

And now the King was entring in the fourth Year of his Reign, free from all Wars, which had hitherto diſtracted his Government, ſo that the Council was more at leiſure to ſettle Affairs at home. But the Earl of *Warwick* beginning to form great Deſigns, reſolv'd firſt to make himſelf popular, by calling all concern'd in the King's Affairs to a ſtrict Account; and either to make them compound for large Sums, by which the King's Debts ſhould be paid, or to keep them under Power, 'till he had made them ſubſervient to his Ends. He began with the Earl of *Arundel*, who being charg'd with many Things, ſubmitted to a Fine of twelve thouſand Pounds, to be paid in twelve Years time. This was the more publickly obſerv'd, becauſe *Southampton*, *Arundel* and he, with Sir *Richard Southwell* Maſter of the Rolls, had been the chief Contrivers of the Protector's Fall: *Southampton* was diſappointed and driven away, *Arundel* was fin'd, and *Southwell* ſoon after impriſon'd for diſperſing ſome ſeditious Papers. This wrought much on the Vulgar, who imputed it to a ſecret Curſe on thoſe who had conſpired againſt the Protector; and the Delivery of *Bologn* ſtill made it more apparent, that the Charge againſt him was chiefly grounded on Malice. After *Arundel*'s Diſgrace all the Protector's Friends made their Compoſitions, and were diſcharg'd. Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, *Thomas Fiſher*, and *William Gray*, each of them acknowledg'd they ow'd the King three thouſand Pounds; and Sir *John Thynn* ſubmitted to ſix thouſand Pounds Fine.

All Things being now quieted at home, and compos'd abroad, there was a Diſcourſe on Foot of a Marriage between the King, and a Daughter of *France*, which griev'd the Reformers, who more deſir'd him to marry a Siſter of *Maximilian*'s, who was believ'd to favour the Reformation, and was eſteem'd one of the beſt Men of the Age. Old *Latimer* upon this Occaſion preach'd at Court, and freely warn'd the King of the ill Effects of Marriages, made up only as Bargains, without Affection between the Parties, which occaſion'd ſhameful Whoredoms and Divorces: He alſo complain'd of the Luxury and Vanity of the Age, and of many call'd *Goſpellers*, who were concern'd for nothing but Abby and Chantry Lands, preſſing for a primitive Diſcipline in the Church: He complain'd that the King's Debts were not paid, and yet his Officers became vaſtly rich. He preach'd this as his laſt Sermon; and therefore us'd the greater Freedom. The Reformation ſtill was carry'd on with Succeſs; and *Ridley* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, a moſt learned and zealous Reformer, was made Biſhop of *London*, in the Room of *Bonner* depriv'd. *Gardiner* was ſtill kept a Priſoner, and treated with a Severity not altogether excuſable. Doctor *Hooper* was at this Time made Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, who being over Scrupulous about the Church Veſtments, unhappily gave Riſe to Diſputes and Heats about indifferent Things, which have continu'd to this Day. This Diſpute was too much promoted by *John a Laſco*, a *German* Reformer driven from his Country, who being allow'd to ſet up a Congregation in *England*, took an indecent Liberty in the *Engliſh* Affairs, and wrote againſt the *Habits*, and kneeling at the Sacrament. About the ſame Time, the famous *Polydore Virgil*, who had been now almoſt forty Years in *England*, growing old, deſir'd leave to go nearer the Sun, all which was allow'd; and in Conſideration of the publick Service he was thought to have done the Nation by his Hiſtory of *England*, he was permitted ſtill to hold his Arch-Deaconry of *Wells*, and Prebend of *Nonnington*. He is ſaid to have pillag'd the publick Libraries at his Pleaſure; and at laſt to have ſent over a whole Ship Load of Manuſcripts to *Rome*. At this Time the Young King, now thirteen Years of Age, began to diſplay his Parts and Abilities by means of his induſtrious Pen, which ſtill went beyond his Years: Particularly he wrote a Journal with his own Hand of his Reign, and of all Foreign Affairs; and wrote a Scheme for amending many Things amiſs in the Government; and alſo another Diſcourſe in *French* againſt Idolatry, with a Preface to it, dedicated to his Uncle the Protector.

The Progreſs of the Reformation.

The young King's Abilities.

A. D. 1551.
Reg. 5.

The further Progreſs of the Reformation.

The Government was now free from all Diſturbances, the Coin was regulated, and Trade incourag'd; and the Faction in the Court ſeem'd to be extinguiſh'd, by a Marriage between the Earl of *Warwick*'s Son and the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Daughter. All which gave Opportunity for the Reformation to be carry'd on with great Vigour and Succeſs; and the *Romiſh* did now generally comply with every Change that was made in the Church. The Principle by which moſt of that Party were govern'd, was this; They believ'd they ought to oppoſe all the Changes, before they were eſtabliſh'd by Law, yet when once done, they might afterwards comply with them. *Cranmer*, who was of great Temper and Prudence, was willing to accept of any Thing they offer'd, rightly judging, that whether they acted ſincerely or not, their Compliance would be a Means to quiet the Nation; and he was ſo naturally compaſſionate, that he would not uſe Extremities, againſt Men that were grown old in their Errors, and could not eaſily be wean'd from them. Only *Gardiner* and *Bonner* were ſuch deceitful and cruel Men, that he thought it more excuſable to make Stretches, for delivering the Church from them; for as *Bonner* had formerly loſt the Biſhoprick of *London*, ſo this Year *Gardiner* was formally depriv'd of *Wincheſter*, and *Poinet* put in his Room. About the ſame Time that eminent Reformer *Martin Bucer* dy'd at *Cambridge*, a Man of great Learning and excellent Temper of Mind; and by an Order from *Cranmer* and Sir *John Cheek*, he was bury'd with the higheſt Solemnities that could be invented, to expreſs the Eſteem the Univerſity had for him. By this Time the greater Number of the Biſhops were Men that heartily receiv'd the Reformation; ſo it was reſolv'd now to proceed to a Settlement of the Doctrine of the Church. Accordingly, after ſome mature Debates and Conſiderations, they fram'd a Body of Articles, which contain'd the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: They were caſt into forty two Articles, and afterwards ſome few Alterations being made in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, they were reduc'd to THIRTY NINE, which continue in Uſe and Force to this Day. Altars began to be put down, and Communion-Tables were plac'd in their Room; and the Common-Prayer-Book was review'd and alter'd, and put in the ſame Order and Method, in which it continues to this Day, excepting only ſome inconſiderable Variations, that have been made ſince. At this Time ſix of the moſt eminent Preachers were appointed to wait on the Court by Turns, two at a Time, and the other four were ſent as Itinerant Preachers, into all the Counties of *England*, in a Circuit, for ſupplying the Defects of the Clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty.

The Princeſs Mary a great Oppoſer of it.

The greateſt Oppoſer of the Reformation was the Princeſs *Mary*; and the Maſs conſtantly ſaid in her Chapel, was now again diſputed. The Court became leſs apprehenſive of the Emperor's Diſpleaſure than formerly, and therefore would no longer bear with ſo publick a Breach of

Law; and the Promiſe they made being but temporary, and not in Writing, they were not under any further Obligation. But the Emperor aſſuring her, that he had an abſolute Promiſe for that Privilege, ſhe was ſo much incourag'd, that when the Council wrote to her to deſiſt, ſhe declar'd *She would adhere to the Catholick Church, and her Father's Religion.* She ſtill meeting with Oppoſition, a ſtrange Project was form'd, which was to have a Ship ready upon the Coaſt of *Eſſex*, to convey her ſuddenly into *Flanders*; and if this had taken Plaee, ſhe muſt have been intirely ſhut out from ſucceeding to the Crown. The Emperor ſo warmly eſpous'd her Cauſe, that he threatened to make War, if ſhe met with any hard Uſage; and the *Engliſh* Merchants having then great Effects at *Antwerp*, it was not thought Policy to give him a Pretence to ſeize them; ſo the Council was willing to let the Matter fall of it ſelf, and only advis'd her to have her Maſs ſaid privately: Yet the conſcientious King could not eaſily be induc'd to yield to that, for he ſaid *He ought not to connive at Idolatry*. By Order of the Council, *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Poinet* went to ſatisfie him in this Point; and they convinc'd him, *That tho' he ought not to conſent to any Sin, yet he was not at all times oblig'd to puniſh it:* Upon which he burſt out into Tears, lamenting his Siſter's Obſtinacy, and his own hard Circumſtances, that oblig'd him to comply with ſuch an impious Way of Worſhip. After new Meſſages to the Emperor to no great Effect, the Council ſeiz'd two of her Chaplains; and after much Strugling, gain'd this Point, that for the future ſhe had her Maſs ſaid ſo ſecretly, that ſhe gave no Occaſion of publick Offence. As to the King's Siſter *Elizabeth*, ſhe in all Things conform'd to the Laws; for her Mother at her Death had earneſtly recommended her to the Care of Doctor *Parker*, a great Reformer, who well inſtructed her in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion.

The Earl of Warwick's *vaſt Ambition.*

While the Affairs of Religion were thus in Debate, the aſpiring Earl of *Warwick* began to form Deſigns of bringing the Crown into his Family: He found the King was now alienated from his Siſter *Mary*, and the Privy-Council had ſo nearly concerned themſelves with her, that they would be eaſily ingag'd againſt her. The Pretence againſt both the Siſters was the ſame, that they ſtood Illegitimated by two Sentences in the Spiritual Courts, confirm'd by Acts of Parliament; ſo that it would be a Diſhonour to the *Engliſh* Nation to ſuffer the Crown to devolve upon ſpurious Iſſues. And ſince the Apprehenſions of the Revenge of the Princeſs *Mary*, made the Council willing to exclude her; he found that the only Reaſon on which they could ground that, muſt likewiſe take Place againſt the Princeſs *Elizabeth*. And therefore tho' the Crown was appointed to them, both by Act of Parliament, and the late King's Will; yet theſe being founded on an Error that was inſuperable, which was the Illegitimacy of their Deſcent, they ought not to take place. They being thus laid aſide, the Daughters of the *French* Queen by *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* ſtood next in the Act; tho' there was a ſtrong Suſpicion that they were alſo Illegitimate, by reaſon of a private and ſecret Marriage he was ſuppos'd to have made with one *Mortimer*. The Duke's two Sons dy'd both in one Day of the ſweating Sickneſs, which rag'd in *England* this Year: His eldeſt Daughter was marry'd to *Gray* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, a weak and good Man, who was made Duke of *Suffolk*, and had three Daughters; of which the Eldeſt the Lady *Jane* had all the charming Qualities of her own Sex, and was judg'd to be the Wonder of both. So the Earl of *Warwick* projected a Match between her and his fourth Son *Guilford*, his three eldeſt being already marry'd; but becauſe the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was like to be the moſt effectual Obſtacle, a Deſign was laid to ſend her out of *England*, and a Match was treated for her with the King of *Denmark*. To amuſe the King himſelf, a moſt ſplendid Embaſſie was ſent into *France* with the noble Order of the *Garter*. The Marqueſs of *Northampton* carry'd it, accompany'd with three Earls, the Biſhop of *Ely*, five Barons, and above two hundred Gentlemen. They were to make a Propoſition of a Marriage for the King with the *French* King's Daughter *Elizabeth*. The Biſhop of *Ely* made the firſt Speech, which was anſwer'd by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and it was ſoon concluded; yet neither Party was to ſtand oblig'd, either in Honour or Conſcience, 'till the Lady ſhould be of Years to give Conſent. In return, a magnificent Embaſſie was ſent from *France* to *England*, with the Order of St. *Michael*. The *French* Ambaſſadors deſir'd in their Maſter's Name the Continuance of the King's Friendſhip, and that he would not be mov'd by vain Rumours and malicious Reports, to break the Alliance. Upon this the wondrous young King immediately return'd this Anſwer with his own Mouth, *That Rumours were not always to be credited, nor always to be rejected; for it was no leſs vain to fear all things, than to doubt of nothing: If any Differences ſhould ariſe, he ſhould be always more ready to determine them by Reaſon than Force, ſo far as was conſiſtent with his Honour.*

But while all this was in Agitation, there was a Deſign laid to deſtroy the Duke of *Somerſet*; who had now ſuch Acceſs to the King, and ſuch Freedom with him, that the Earl of *Warwick* expected no leſs than the Ruin of his Projects. Therefore to prevent that, and to raiſe himſelf and his Friends higher, he procured a great Creation of new Honours: He himſelf was made Duke of *Northumberland*, the Blood of the *Percies* being then under an Attainder; *Pawlet* was made Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, *Herbert* was made Earl of *Pembroke*, and a little before this, *Ruſſel* had been made Earl of *Bedford*, and *Darcy* was made a Lord. There was none ſo likely to take the King out of the new Duke of *Northumberland*'s Hands as the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was beginning to form a new Party about the King; therefore upon ſome Informations, both the Duke of *Somerſet* and his haughty Dutcheſs, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, and ſeveral others, of whom ſome were Gentlemen of Quality, and others Servants to the Duke, were all committed to the *Tower*. The Commitment of *Palmer* was to delude the World, for he had really betray'd the Duke, and was ſecur'd as an Accomplice, and then pretended to diſcover a Conſpiracy: He declar'd, that the Duke deſign'd to have rais'd the People, and that when *Northumberland*, *Northampton* and *Pembroke* had been invited to dine at the Lord *Paget*'s, he determin'd to have ſet upon them by the Way, or to have kill'd them at Dinner; that *Vane* was to have two thouſand Men in Readineſs; *Arundel* was to have ſeiz'd on the *Tower*, and all the *Gens d' Arms* were to have been cut in Pieces. All theſe Particulars were related to the young King with ſuch aggravating Circumſtances, that he too eaſily believ'd them; and upon that was much alienated from his Uncle, as one really guilty of ſo ſhameful a Conſpiracy. It was added by others, that the Duke deſign'd to have rais'd the City of *London*, and one *Crane* confirm'd *Palmer*'s Teſtimony; ſo that both the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget* were alſo committed as Accomplices.

He is made Duke of Northumberland.

He cauſes the Protector to be ſent to the Tower.

who is try'd by his Peers

On the firſt of *December*, the unfortunate Duke was brought to his Tryal: The Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* was Lord High-Steward, and twenty ſeven Peers ſate to judge him, among whom were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*. The Particulars charg'd upon him were, a Deſign to ſeize on the King's Perſon, to impriſon the Duke of *Northumberland*, and to raiſe the City of *London:* But it ſeem'd prodigious to ſee *Northumberland* ſit a Judge, when the Crime objected, was a Deſign againſt his Life; for tho' by the Law of *England* no Peer can be challeng'd in a Tryal, yet by the Law of Nature no Man ought to judge where he is a Party: And what ſtill made the Deſign appear worſe, was, that the Lord Chancellor, tho' a Peer, was left out, upon Suſpicion of a Reconciliation which he was making with the Duke. In this Tryal, the Duke not being well skill'd in Law, neither objected to the Indictment, nor deſir'd Council to plead for him, but only anſwer'd to Matters of Fact: 'He deny'd all Deſigns to raiſe the People, or to aſſaſſinate '*Northumberland*; and if he had mention'd it, it was in 'Paſſion without any Intention: And it was ridiculous to 'believe, that he with a ſmall Troop ſhould deſign to de'ſtroy the *Gens d' Arms*, who were nine hundred in Num'ber. The armed Men he had about him, were only for 'his own Defence; he had done no hurt to his Enemies, 'tho' it was once very much in Power; and he had ſur'render'd himſelf without making Reſiſtance: He alſo de'ſir'd the Witneſſes might be brought Face to Face, and 'objected many Things againſt them, eſpecially *Palmer*.' But this laſt was not allow'd; and their Depoſitions were read. The King's Council pleaded upon the Statute againſt unlawful Aſſemblies; that to contrive the Death of Privy-Counſellors was Felony, and to have armed Men about him for his Defence was alſo Felony. The material Defence was unhappily omitted; for by that Statute thoſe Aſſemblies were not Felonious, except the Parties refus'd to diſperſe themſelves, after they were legally requir'd; and it did not appear that any ſuch Proclamation had been made in this Caſe. The Proofs of his raiſing Rebellion were altogether inſufficient, ſo he was acquitted of Treaſon, which immediately rais'd a mighty Shout of Joy, that was heard as far as *Charing-Croſs*; but this was ſoon allay'd when they heard he was found guilty of Felony, in intending to impriſon the Duke of *Northumberland*. During the Tryal he carry'd himſelf with great Temper; and the Sharpneſs which the King's Council expreſs'd in pleading againſt him, did not provoke him to any indecent Paſſion. But when Sentence was given he ſunk a little under the Weight, and ask'd Pardon of the three Lords that were his Enemies, for his ill Deſigns againſt them, and made Sute for his Life, and for his Wife and Children. It was generally conclud-

His Defence.

He is found guilty of Felony.

ed, That nothing being found againſt him, but an Intention to impriſon a Privy-Counſellor, which never took Effect, one ſo nearly related to the King would not have ſuffer'd Death upon ſuch an Account. It was therefore neceſſary to raiſe in the King a ſtrong Averſion to him: accordingly a Story was brought to the King, as if in the *Tower* he had confeſs'd a Deſign of employing ſome to aſſaſſinate thoſe Lords; and the Perſons nam'd for that impious Purpoſe, were alſo perſuaded to undertake it. This being unfortunately believ'd by the King, he took no further Care to preſerve him; and Aſſaſſination being a Crime of that barbarous Nature, it poſſeſs'd him with the utmoſt Horror, even againſt his Uncle; and therefore he was deliver'd up to the Rage of his Enemies.

Some Friends of his condemn'd.

Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, and Sir *Ralph Vane*, were next brought to their Tryals; the two firſt were not much pity'd, for they had made a very ill Uſe of their Intereſt in the Duke, during his Greatneſs; but the other two were much lamented. *Arundel*'s Jury was ſhut up a whole Day and a Night; and thoſe who were for acquitting him, were compell'd by the Fury of the reſt, only that they might ſave their own Lives, and not be ſtarv'd. *Vane* had done noble Services in the Wars, but carry'd himſelf with a Magnanimity that was too extravagant: They were all four condemn'd, and *Partridge* and he were hang'd, and the other two were beheaded. As to the Duke himſelf, the Lord Chancellor *Rich* was now become a ſecret Friend to him; which was thus unhappily diſcover'd: He once went aſide at Council and wrote a Note, giving the Duke Notice of what was then in Agitation againſt him, and indors'd it only *For the Duke*, and ſent it to the *Tower*; but his Servant not having particular Directions, imagin'd it was for the old Duke of *Norfolk*, and not *Somerſet*, and carry'd it to him. This Duke, to make *Northumberland* his Friend, ſent it to him; upon which the Chancellor, underſtanding the Miſtake into which his Servant had fallen, prevented the Diſcovery, and went immediately to the King, and pretending ſome Indiſpoſitions, deſir'd to be diſcharg'd; and upon that he took his Bed, ſo that it ſeem'd too barbarous to proceed any further againſt him; only the Great Seal was taken from him, and was given to the Biſhop of *Ely*.

He is brought to the Scaffold.

His laſt Speech,

and Execution.

Two Months had almoſt paſs'd between the Duke's Sentence of Condemnation and his Execution, in all which Time no one either did or could plead ſufficiently in his Favour; ſo that on the twenty ſecond Day of *January*, he was brought to his Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*. His whole Deportment was very compos'd and agreeable to the melancholy Occaſion: He firſt kneel'd down, and pra'yd, and then riſing up he made a Speech to the People, 'Vindicating himſelf from all ill Deſigns againſt the King or Government: He confeſs'd his private Sins, and acknowledg'd the Mercies of God in granting him ſuch Time for Repentance: He declar'd he had acted ſincerely in all he did, in Matters of Religion, while he was in Power; and heartily rejoic'd for his being inſtrumental in ſo good a Work: He exhorted the People to live ſuitably to the Doctrine receiv'd amongſt them; otherwiſe they were to expect ſignal Judgments from Heaven.' As he was proceeding, there was a prodigious Noiſe heard, like the blowing up of ſome mighty Fabrick; which ſo extreamly terrify'd the People, that many ran away without knowing the Reaſon. At the ſame Time Sir *Anthony Brown* came riding haſtily towards the Scaffold, which caus'd the People with the greateſt Acclamations to cry out, *A Pardon, a Pardon, God ſave the King!* by which it was perceiv'd how dear he was to the People. But this proving a Miſtake, the Duke in a compos'd Manner proceeded in his Speech. 'He declar'd his chearful Submiſſion to the Will of God, and deſir'd them likewiſe to acquieſce in it: He earneſtly pray'd for the King and Council, and exhorted the People to continue obedient to them: And laſtly, he ſincerely ask'd Forgiveneſs of all whom at any Time he had offended.' Then taking leave of all about him, he undreſs'd himſelf for the Block, without any Change of Countenance: He continu'd calling *Lord Jeſus ſave me!* 'till the Executioner ſever'd his Head from his Body.

His Character.

Thus fell the Duke of *Somerſet* from the higheſt Places, Station and Titles in the Kingdom; a Perſon of extraordinary Virtues, of great Candor, and eminent Piety; who was always a Promoter of Juſtice, and a Patron of the Oppreſſed. He was really a better Captain than a Counſellor; and was too eaſie and open-hearted, to be ſo cautious, as ſuch Times, and ſuch Employments requir'd. It was generally believ'd, that all this Conſpiracy, for which he and the other four ſuffer'd, was only a Forgery; all the other Accomplices were ſoon diſcharg'd, and *Palmer*, the chief Witneſs, became *Northumberland*'s particular Confident; and the indiſcreet Words ſpoken by the Duke, and his gathering armed Men about him, was imputed to *Palmer*'s Artifices, who had put him in Fear of his Life, and made him act and ſpeak thoſe Things, for which he loſt it. His four Friends did all end their Lives with the moſt ſolemn Proteſtations of their Innocence; and *Vane* added, *That his Blood would make* Northumberland'*s Pillow uneaſie to him.* The People, tho' formerly diſguſted, were infinitely affected with this Execution, and many threw their Handkerchiefs into the Duke's Blood, to preſerve the Remembrance of him; and one Lady that met *Northumberland*, when he was led through the City in the next Reign, ſhook her bloody Handkerchief at him, crying, *Behold the Blood of that worthy Man, that good Uncle of that excellent King, which ſhed by thy malicious Practice, does now apparently revenge it ſelf on thee.* His Innocence as to this Crime, made others to believe this Puniſhment to be more the Hand of Heaven; particularly for the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Death of the Earl of *Surry*, occaſion'd likewiſe by a Conſpiracy of their own Servants, in which he was thought to have been too active. It is hard to vindicate his ſacrilegious Attempts upon Churches and Biſhops Lands, which lay heavy upon him and his Family; but the frequent Remark made by modern Writers, that for that Reaſon he wanted a Heart to beg the Benefit of his Clergy, is founded upon a palpable Error. For in the Act by which he was condemn'd, it was particularly provided that no Clergy ſhould be allow'd.

A. D. 1552. Reg. 6.

A new Seſſion of Parliament.

V. The pious King *Edward*, tho' very young, had lived to ſee the violent Deaths of his two Uncles, and was now in a great Meaſure thrown into the Hands of the aſpiring Duke of *Northumberland*, who was daily graſping at Power, Wealth and Grandeur. And now a new Seſſion of Parliament being met, and finding that *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham* was impriſon'd upon ſome treaſonable Suſpicions, he caſt his ambitious Eye upon his Honours and Revenues: He deſign'd to erect a great Principality for his Family in the North; and the Acceſſion of the Juriſdiction of the County *Palatine*, lodg'd in that See, ſeem'd ſo conſiderable, that to make way to it he reſolv'd to ruin the Biſhop; who being a Man of Candor and Temper, tho' an Oppoſer of the Reformation, *Cranmer* ſtood up for him, and proteſted againſt the Bill of Attainder that was brought againſt him, by which he abſolutely loſt the Duke of *Northumberland*. Yet all the Popiſh Lords and Biſhops went along with it, and ſome Depoſitions being read amongſt them to juſtify the Bill, it paſs'd in that Houſe; but when the Bill was ſent to the Houſe of Commons, they reſolv'd to put a Stop to that Way of condemning Men unheard. Therefore they ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, that he and his Accuſers might be heard Face to Face; which not being done, they let the Bill fall. By theſe Indications, it appear'd that the Houſe of Commons had no great Affection for this powerful Duke; and many of them had been oblig'd to the Duke of *Somerſet*: For which Reaſon it was reſolv'd to have a new Parliament; and this which had ſate almoſt five Years was diſſolv'd on the fifteenth Day of *April*.

The Common-Prayer Book eſtabliſh'd.

Other Acts.

But before this happen'd, ſeveral conſiderable Acts were paſs'd: The firſt was to eſtabliſh the Common-Prayer Book as it was laſt amended; to which only one Earl, two Biſhops, and two Barons diſſented. By this the Book 'was appointed to be receiv'd in all Places of publick Worſhip from *All-hallows* next; and the Biſhops were requir'd to proceed by the Cenſures of the Church againſt ſuch as did not come thither: They alſo authoriz'd the Book of Ordinations, and enacted the ſame Penalties againſt Offenders, that were in the Act for the former Book three Years before.' Another Act paſs'd for the Marriage of the Clergy, with the Diſſent of four Earls and ſix Barons, 'Declaring that whereas the former Act concerning it was only thought a Permiſſion of it, as ſome other unlawful Things were conniv'd at; upon which the Wives and Children of the Clergy were reproachfully treated, and the Word of God was not heard with due Reverence, therefore their Marriages were declar'd valid and good.' An Act alſo paſs'd, empowering Church-Wardens to gather Collections for the Poor, and the Biſhops to proceed againſt ſuch as refus'd to contribute; which tho' it was a Bill that tax'd the People, yet had its firſt Riſe in the Houſe of Lords. The Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter* was by an Act united to *London*, only the Collegiate Church was ſtill continu'd. As to temporal Matters, a Bill concerning Treaſon paſs'd with little or no Oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, but it was much oppos'd by the Commons; for the multiplying of Treaſons was always eſteem'd a Severity in the Government. One Bill was rejected, but another was paſs'd, 'If any call'd the King, or his Succeſſors, nam'd in the Statute of the thirty fifth of *Henry* VIII. Heretick, Tyrant, or other opprobrious Name, the firſt Offence was Forfeiture of Goods, the ſecond a *Premunire*, and the third Treaſon; but if done in Printing or Writing, the firſt Offence was Treaſon. None were to be proſecuted for Words, but 'within three Months; and two Witneſſes were made neceſſary, who ſhould aver their Depoſitions to the Party's Face.' This laſt ſeems to relate to the Proceedings againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, in which the Witneſſes did not appear; when many Times Innocence and Guilt diſcover themſelves, by the Party's being confronted. As to this Duke, a Bill was ſent to the Houſe of Commons, ſign'd by the King, repealing the Settlement of his Eſtate, formerly made in Favour of his Children by his Second Wife, to exclude the Children by his firſt, from whom are deſcended the *Seymours* of *Devonſhire*; which ſome imputed to a Jealouſie he had of his firſt Wife, and others aſcrib'd it to the Aſcendant the ſecond Wife had over him. But the Commons were very unwilling to vacate a Settlement confirm'd in Parliament, and ſo for fifteen Days it was debated: A new Bill was drawn up, which was much alter'd, but was not quite finiſh'd 'till the Day before the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

The End of the Reformation in this Reign.

In the mean Time the Convocation ſat and confirm'd the Articles of Religion that had been prepar'd the former Year; and thus was the Reformation of Worſhip and Doctrine now brought to ſuch Perfection, that ſince that Time there have been very little Alterations made in either. But another Branch of it was yet unfiniſh'd, and was now under Conſultation, touching the Government of the Church, and the Rules of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Great Pains and Induſtry was ſhewn by the moſt eminent Men of the Nation, to bring theſe Matters to Perfection; and at length they reduc'd all to a Method, and caſt the Work into fifty one Titles; which if put in Force and Practice, might have been of admirable Uſe to the Church: But the King's Death, and other Accidents, put an End to that noble Deſign, which was never after reaſſum'd. There were alſo at this Time Remedies under Conſideration, to correct thoſe Diſorders of the Clergy, ariſing from their

The Poverty of the Clergy.

extream Poverty; but the Laity was ſo nearly concern'd in this, that there was no great Hopes of a Redreſs, till the King ſhould come of Age, and by his Authority recover a competent Maintenance for the Clergy, out of the Hands of thoſe who had devour'd their Revenues. Both *Heath* and *Day*, the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, were this Year depriv'd of their Biſhopricks, by a Court of Delegates that were all Lay-Men; but it does not appear, for what Offences they were ſo cenſur'd. In every See, as it fell vacant, the beſt Manors were ſeiz'd by ſuch voracious Courtiers, as had the Intereſt to procure the Grant of them. It was thought by many, that the Biſhops Sees were ſo unmeaſurably inrich'd, that they could never be made poor enough; but ſuch Haſte and Heat was ſhewn in pillaging them, that they were reduc'd to ſo low a Condition, that it was ſcarcely poſſible for a Biſhop to ſubſiſt in them. If what was thus taken had been converted to pious Uſes, and to the ſupplying the inferior Clergy, it had been ſome Mitigation of ſo heinous a Robbery: But their Lands were frequently ſnatch'd up by Lay-Men, who thought of making no Compenſation to the Church, for the Revenues thus ſwallow'd by them.

Many Agents call'd to an Account.

There was alſo at this Time a very ſtrict Enquiry made into the Accounts of all Miniſters and Agents, who had been employ'd in the former Part of the Reign; for it was believ'd that the Viſiters had embezell'd much of the Plate of the Churches; and theſe being the Creatures of the Duke of *Somerſet*, it caus'd *Northumberland* to examine and proſecute them with the utmoſt Strictneſs and Hatred. But on none did the Storm break more ſeverely than the Lord *Paget*; who was not only fin'd ſix thouſand Pounds, but was degraded from the Order of the *Garter*, with a particular Mark of Infamy on his Extraction; yet he was afterwards reſtor'd to it with as great a Degree of Honour and Applauſe. He had been a conſtant Friend to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and that caus'd his Enemies to execute ſo ſevere a Revenge upon him. *Northumberland* was induſtriouſly preparing for a new Parliament, and being a Man of an inſolent Temper, as abject in Adverſity, as ſwell'd in Proſperity, he thought the higheſt Severity the only Way to oblige the Nation to comply with his Adminiſtration; but this Method, tho' for ſome Time ſucceſsful, when he moſt needed its Support, turn'd violently upon his own Head: For nothing can ſo effectually prevail with a free People as Juſtice and Clemency in the Government.

In this Year the good King proceeded in paying his Debts, reforming the Coin, and other Ways that might make the Nation great and wealthy; and a great Deſign

The Encreaſe of Trade.

was now ſetled, that prov'd to be the Foundation of all that Riches and Trade, that has ſince that Time ſo much flouriſh'd in the Nation. *Henry* III. had been much ſupported in his Wars by the Aſſiſtance he got from the free Towns of *Germany*, in Recompence of which he gave them great Privileges in *England*; where they were form'd into a Corporation, and liv'd in the *Still-yard* near *London*-Bridge. They had ſometimes exceeded the Limits of their Charters, which were thereupon judg'd to be forfeited, but by great Preſents they purchas'd new ones; They traded in a Body, and ruin'd others by underſelling them: and by making Preſents at Court, or lending great Sums, they had the Government on their Side. Trade was now much increaſing, and Courts began to be more magnificent in Habits; ſo that there was a greater Conſumption of Cloth in particular, than formerly. *Antwerp* and *Hamburgh*, lying one near the Mouth of the *Rhine*, and the other at the Mouth of the *Elbe*, had then the chief Trade in theſe Parts of the World; and their Factors in the *Still-yard* had all the Markets in *England* in their Hands, and ſet ſuch Prices as they pleas'd both on what they imported or exported, and broke all other Merchants to ſuch a Degree, that in the laſt Year they ſhipp'd forty thouſand Cloths, when all the other Traders had not ſhipp'd above eleven hundred. Upon this the Merchant-Adventurers complain'd of the *Still-yard* Men; and after ſeveral Hearings, it was judg'd that they had forfeited their Charter, and that their Company was diſſolv'd: Nor could all the earneſt Application of the *Hanſe* Towns, ſeconded by the Emperor's own Interceſſion, ever procure them a new Charter.

Cardan *in* England.

About this Time *Cardan*, the great Philoſopher of that Age, paſs'd through *England*, as he return'd from *Scotland*; where the Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews* had ſent for him out of *Italy*, to cure him of a Dropſie: In this he had great Succeſs; but being much converſant in Aſtrology and Magick, he told him, *That tho' he had ſav'd his Life, he could not change his Fate, which was to die upon a Gallows.* He waited on King *Edward* as he return'd, who receiv'd him with great Honour and Civility; and *Cardan* was ſo charm'd with his mighty Knowledge and rare Qualities, that he always ſpoke of him as the moſt extraordinary Perſon he had ever ſeen: And after his Death, when Flattery could be no Advantage to him, he wrote a Character of him, in which for Learning, Parts and all Abilities, he repreſented him as a Miracle of Mankind.

The Affairs of Germany.

To conclude this Year, there was a great and unexpected Turn of Affairs in *Germany*. The Council was open'd at *Trent*, where the Emperor, by means of the *Spaniſh* Biſhops, began ſo much to bear down the Power of the Court of *Rome*, that the Pope united himſelf to *France*, and reſolv'd to break the Council on the firſt Occaſion, and in order to that the Legates ſuſpended it for two Years. At the ſame time *Maurice* of *Saxony*, who was ſet up by the Emperor, form'd great Deſigns, ſet up for the Liberty of *Germany* and the Proteſtant Religion, and took *Ausburgh* and ſeveral other Towns. The King of *France* alſo fell in upon the Empire with a great Power, and made himſelf Maſter of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, and was near gaining of *Straſburgh*; while the Emperor was ſo ſurpris'd and preſs'd by *Maurice*, that he fled into *Italy*. Thus that very Army and Prince, that had been chiefly inſtrumental in the Ruin of the Empire, did now aſſert its Freedom; and the Emperor's great Deſign on *Germany* was now ſo blaſted, that he could never after this put any Life into it: He was forc'd to diſcharge his Priſoners, call in his Proſcriptions, and by the Edict of *Paſſaw* allow the free Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion: And thus ended the Storm that had almoſt overwhelm'd the Princes of that Perſuaſion. The Emperor's Misfortunes increas'd upon him; for againſt all Reaſon he beſieg'd *Metz* in *December*, but after he had waſted his Army before it, he was compell'd to raiſe the Siege. Upon that he retir'd into *Flanders*, in ſuch Diſcontent, that for ſome Time he would admit none to come near him. Here it was believ'd that he firſt form'd that Deſign, which ſome Years after he effected, of forſaking the World, and exchanging the Magnificence of a Court for the Retirement of a Monaſtery.

An Account of the Council of Trent.

As to the Council of *Trent*, we may diſmiſs the Subject with obſerving, That this Council had been much deſir'd both by Princes and Biſhops, in hopes of compoſing the Differences of Religion, and reforming the Corruptions of *Rome*, which caus'd the Popes to be very apprehenſive of it: But ſuch was the Subtilty of the Legates, the Voices of the *Italian* Biſhops, and the Diſſenſions of the *European* Princes, that it had Effects directly contrary to what all Sides expected. The Breaches in Religion were now put paſt Reconciliation, by the poſitive Deciſions they made; the Abuſes of the Court of *Rome* were confirm'd by the Proviſo's for the Privileges of the Apoſtolick See; and the World was ſo cured of the Longings for a *General Council*, that none has been deſir'd ſince that Time.

A. D. 1553.
Reg. 7.

A new Parliament meets.

We are now arriv'd at the laſt and fatal Year of this Young King's Life and Reign; and the firſt thing done was a Regulation of the Privy-Council, where ſeveral Committees had proper Work aſſign'd them, and Directions given them for their Conduct; of which there remains an exact Account corrected with King *Edward's* own Hand. A new Parliament was alſo call'd, the ſecond in this Reign, which ſate the firſt of *March*; where a Motion was made for a Subſidy of two Tenths, and two

Fifteenths to be paid in two Years, which was granted. At the paſſing of the Bill, a great Debate aroſe in the Houſe of Commons, which ſeems to have been concerning the Preamble; for it contain'd a high Accuſation of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Adminiſtration, which was promoted by the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Party, to make the King ſenſible how well pleas'd the Repreſentatives of the Nation were with his Fall. At this Time the Sons of the Nobility and Gentry had frequently Prebends given them, under a Pretext of following their Studies, and fitting themſelves for Holy Orders; which was like to be very prejudicial to the Clergy when ſo many Church Dignities were in Lay-Hands. Therefore the Biſhops procur'd a Bill to be paſs'd in the Houſe of Lords, that no one might hold ſuch, who was not either Prieſt or Deacon; but at the third Reading, it was thrown out by the Commons. Another Bill paſs'd for ſuppreſſing the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and erecting two new Sees, the one at *Durham*, and the other at *Newcaſtle*; but tho' the Secular Juriſdiction of that See was given to the Duke of *Northumberland*, yet the King's Death ſtopt the further Progreſs of this Affair. Biſhop *Tonſtall* was depriv'd, as *Heath* and *Day* were, by a Court of Lay-Delegates, upon the Informations that had been brought againſt him of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, and was kept in the *Tower* 'till Queen *Mary* ſet him at Liberty. At the End of the Parliament the King granted a general Pardon, and ſo diſſolv'd that Body on the laſt of Day *March*, after but one Month's Seſſion. For it ſeems either the Duke of *Northumberland* was not pleas'd with the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, or that he was reſolv'd to call frequent Parliaments, and wholly to vary from the Meaſures of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

It is diſſolv'd.

Another Viſitation of Churches.

Shortly after Viſitors were ſent out to examine what Plate was in every Church, and to leave them one or two Chalices of Silver, with Linnen, for the Communion-Table, and for Surplices, and to bring in all other Things of Value to the Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold, and to ſell the reſt, and give it to the Poor. This was ſtill a new Rifling of Churches, by which it appear'd ſome were reſolv'd not to deſiſt, 'till they had reduc'd them to a Primitive Poverty, as well as the Reformers deſign'd to have rais'd them to a Primitive Purity. The King himſelf ſet his Hand to theſe Inſtructions; from which ſome have ſeverely inferr'd, That he was ill principled in himſelf, when at ſuch an Age he join'd his Authority to ſuch Proceedings. But he was now in his laſt Sickneſs, and ſo weak, that it is probable he ſet his Hand to every Thing ſent him by his Council, without anxiouſly examining the Contents of it. He had now contracted great Colds by violent Exerciſes, which in *January* ſettled in a deep Cough; and all Medicines proving ineffectual, there was a ſtrong Suſpicion blown and ſpread over all *Europe*, that he was poiſon'd: But of that we find no certain and convincing Proofs.

The King's laſt Sickneſs.

His Care for publick Charities.

During his Sickneſs, Biſhop *Ridley* preach'd before him, and took an Occaſion to launch out in the Subject of Charity, and the Obligations that lay on Men of high Condition to be eminent in Works of that Nature. This ſo ſenſibly touch'd the pious King, that immediately after Sermon he ſent for the good Biſhop; and commanding him to ſit down and be cover'd, he reſum'd moſt of the Heads of the Sermon, and declared, *That he look'd upon himſelf, in his Station, to be principally concern'd in it*; *deſiring, as he had already given him the Exhortation in general, to direct him to perform his Duty in that Particular.* The Biſhop aſtoniſh'd and overjoy'd at the generous Tenderneſs of ſo young a Prince, broke out into Tears and Tranſports to find ſuch noble Inclinations; and told him he muſt take time to conſult with the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen about a Matter of that Importance, upon which the King wrote by him to them, to conſult ſpeedily how the Poor ſhould be reliev'd. After ſome Conſideration, the Biſhop brought the King a Scheme of ſeveral Foundations, one for the Sick and Wounded, another for ſuch as were wilfully Idle or Mad, and a third for Orphans. Upon which he made ſeveral munificent Endowments, St. *Bartholomew*'s Hoſpital for the Firſt, his Palace at *Bridewell* for the Second, and *Chriſt-Church* near *Newgate* for the Third; and alſo he enlarg'd the Grant he made the former Year, for St. *Thomas*'s Hoſpital in *Southwark*. And when he ſet his Hand to theſe Foundations, which was done upon the twenty ſixth Day of *June*, he heartily thank'd God for prolonging his Life, 'till he had finiſh'd that good Deſign. Theſe Houſes, by good Government, and the Charities of others, continu'd to be ſo uſeful, and became ſo well endow'd, that now they may be reckon'd among the nobleſt Foundations in *Europe*.

His Noble Foundations.

Before theſe were compleated, ſeveral Marriages were at once ſolemniz'd by means of the Duke of *Northumberland:* The Duke of *Suffolk* had only three Daughters, the eldeſt of whom was marry'd to the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, younger Son to *Northumberland*, the ſecond to the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Son, and the third, who was crooked, to one *Keys* the King's Groom-Porter; and *Northumberland* to ſtrengthen his Family alſo marry'd his own two Daughters, the one to Sir *Henry Sidney*, and the other to the Earl of *Huntington*'s eldeſt Son. Theſe Marriages at this Time were much obſerv'd; and the People were highly inflam'd againſt the inſolent Duke, for it was generally reported, that he was Sacrificing the King to his own extravagant Ambition. He ſeem'd little to regard their Cenſures, but conſtantly attending the languiſhing King, he reſolv'd to improve all the Apprehenſions he had concerning Religion, to the Advantage of his Son's Wife the Lady *Jane Gray*. The King was eaſily perſuaded to order the Judges and his learned Council to put ſome Articles, which he had ſign'd for the Succeſſion of the Crown, into the common Form of Law. They anſwer'd, *That the Succeſſion being already ſettled by Act of Parliament, it could not be alter'd by any other Power*; yet ſtill the King requir'd them to perform what he had commanded. The next Time they came to the Council, they further declar'd, *That it was made Treaſon to change the Succeſſion by any Act paſs'd in this Reign*, ſo they could not concern themſelves in it. *Montague* was Chief-Juſtice, and ſpoke in the Name of the reſt; upon which *Northumberland* flew into a violent Paſſion againſt him, and call'd him *Traytor*, for not obeying the King's Commands; the common Language of an Arbitrary Miniſter who acts againſt Law. But the Judges were not ſhaken by his Threatnings; and when they were again brought before the King, who ſharply rebuk'd them for their Delays, they ſaid, *That all they could do would be of no Force without a Parliament.* Upon which the King ſaid, *He would call a Parliament ſhortly, and have it ratify'd there*; and requir'd them to do it in the beſt Manner they could. At laſt *Montague* deſir'd that they might have a Pardon, for what they were to do; and that being granted, all the Judges, except *Goſnald* and *Hales*, agreed to ſign the Patent, and deliver'd their Opinions, That the Lord Chancellor might put the Seal, and then it would be good in Law: Yet *Goſnald* was at laſt prevail'd upon to ſign it, ſo *Hales* was the only Man who entirely ſtood out; who tho' he was a zealous Proteſtant, yet would not give his Opinion againſt his Conſcience, upon any Conſiderations whatſoever. The Privy-Counſellors were next requir'd to ſet their Hands to it: *Cecil*, in a Relation he wrote of this Tranſaction, ſays, That hearing ſome of the Judges declare ſo poſitively, that it was againſt Law, he refus'd to ſet his Hand to it as a Privy-Counſellor, but ſign'd it only as a Witneſs to the King's Subſcription. *Cranmer* long ſtood out, he came not to the Council when it was paſs'd there, and refus'd to conſent when he was urg'd to it; for he ſaid, *He would never be concern'd in the diſinheriting his late Maſter's Daughters.* But the dying young King was at laſt ſet upon him, and being aſſur'd by the beſt Lawyers, *That he might legally Subſcribe*, he was prevail'd upon by Importunity, and the threatning Proſpects of Religion.

He is perſuaded to leave the Crown to the Lady Jane Gray.

For which a Patent is ſign'd.

In the whole Courſe of the King's Sickneſs, he expreſs'd a great Submiſſion to the Will of God, and ſeem'd pleas'd at the gradual Approaches of Death; only the Conſideration of Religion and the Church ſenſibly touch'd him, and upon that account he ſaid, *He was deſirous of Life.* When the Phyſicians began to deſpair of his Recovery, a confident Woman undertook his Cure, and he was put into her Hands; but ſhe left him in a worſe Condition than ſhe found him; all which increas'd the Jealouſie of the Duke of *Northumberland*, who had introduc'd her, and remov'd his Phyſicians. At laſt, to crown all his Deſigns, he procur'd the King to write to his Siſters to deſire them to come and divert him in his Sickneſs; and the Buſineſs of the Excluſion had been carry'd ſo ſecretly, that they, apprehending no Danger, had already begun their Journey. Shortly after he felt Death nearly approaching, and prepar'd himſelf for it after the moſt ſolemn and devout Manner. His whole Exerciſe was in ſhort Prayers and Ejaculations; and a few Moments before his Death he was heard, with the utmoſt Reſignation to pray earneſtly, *That God would deliver him out of this miſerable and wretched Life: He committed his Spirit to him, and interceded very fervently for his Subjects, that God would preſerve* England *from Popery, and maintain his true Religion amongſt them.* Seeing ſome about him, he ſeem'd concern'd that they were ſo near, and had heard him; but then with a ſmiling Countenance he ſaid, *He had been praying to God.* Soon after, the Pangs of Death coming upon him, he ſaid to Sir *Henry Sidney*, who tenderly embrac'd him in his Arms, I am faint, *Lord have Mercy on me, and receive my Spirit!* And thus calmly breath'd out his pious Soul, upon the ſixth Day of *July*, in the ſixteenth Year of his Age, after a moſt Religious Reign of ſix Years, five Months and nine Days.

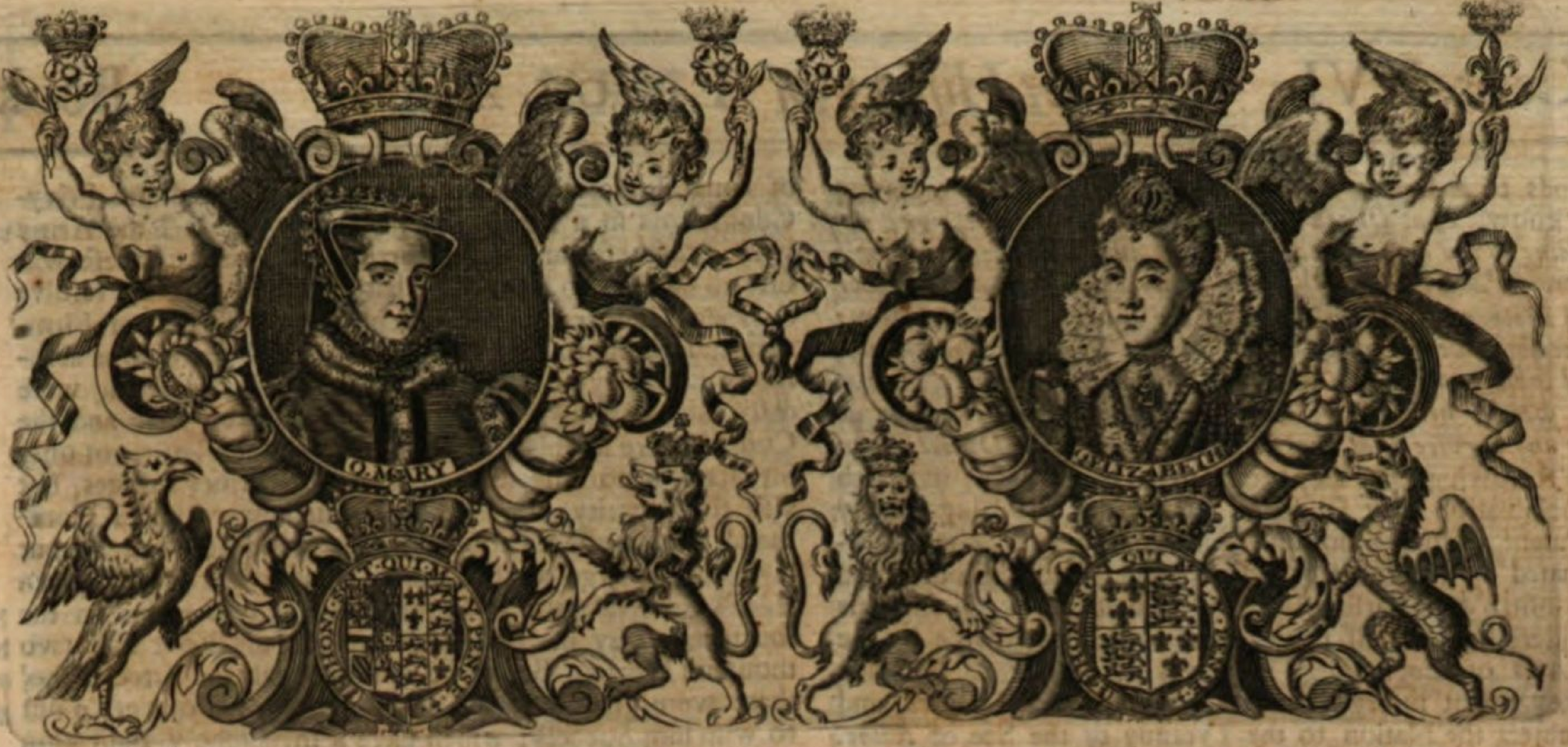
The King's laſt Hours.

His Death.

His Character.

Concerning the Perſonage of this admirable young Prince, he was of a ſtrait and well-proportion'd Body, of a ſweet and beautiful Aſpect, eſpecially in his Eyes, which ſeem'd to have a ſtarry Livelineſs and Luſtre in them. As there was a great Vivacity in his Looks, ſo the Beauties and Perfections of his Mind were incomparable for his Age. He was not only learn'd in the Tongues, and the Liberal Sciences, but was well skill'd in the State of his Kingdom: He kept a Table-Book, in which he had writ the Characters of all the eminent Men in the Nation; he ſtudy'd Fortification, underſtood the Mint, and knew all the Pots, Havens and Harbours in his Dominions, with the Depth of the Water and way of Acceſs to them. He was ſo well vers'd in Foreign Affairs, that the Ambaſſadors that were ſent into *England*, publiſh'd extraordinary Things of him in all the Courts of *Europe*. He had great Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, but being diffident of his Memory, he took Notes of every material Thing he heard, in *Greek* Characters, which he afterwards copy'd out fair in the Journal he kept. His Virtues were admirable, being truly juſt and merciful in his Diſpoſition; and taking ſpecial Care of the Petitions that were given him by the poor and oppreſs'd. But his pious Zeal for Religion crown'd all the reſt; which did not proceed from an angry Heat, but from a true Tenderneſs of Conſcience, founded on the Love of God, and his Fellow-Creatures. Theſe extraordinary Qualities, adorn'd with a charming Sweetneſs and Affability, made him univerſally belov'd by all his People. Some call'd him their *Joſias*, others *Edward the Saint*, and others the *Phœnix* that roſe out of his Mother's Aſhes; and all concluded that the Sins of *England* muſt have been very great, ſince they provok'd God to ſnatch away ſo ſignal a Bleſſing from the Nation. As to the Reign itſelf, it was generally weak and tumultuous, defam'd by Sacrilege, and diſtracted by Parties and Factions. Great Complaints were made by good Men of the Vices of this Time, which were grown ſo common, that many Men became Strangers to all Shame. Luxury, Oppreſſion, and a Hatred to Religion had over-run the higher Rank of the People, who countenanc'd the Reformation meerly to rob the Church; by which and their other Practices, they became a Scandal to ſo noble a Work. Such open Offence was given by the Spoil made of ſo many rich Endowments, that they who underſtood little of Religion, labour'd under great Prejudices againſt any Thing that was advanc'd by ſuch mercenary Inſtruments. And theſe Things, as they rous'd up the Vengeance of Heaven, ſo they diſpos'd the People much to that diſmal Cataſtrophe in the following Reign.

The Corruptions of the Nation.



CHAP. II.

From the Death of King Edward *the Sixth, to the Death of Queen* Elizabeth.

Containing the Space of about 49 *Years.*

SECT. I.

The Reign of Queen MARY *the Firſt.*

Containing 5 *Years,* 4 *Months, and* 11 *Days.*

A. D. 1553. Reg. 0.

I. THE mighty Changes and violent Oppoſitions made in the Reign of the late King *Henry*, cauſ'd the *Engliſh* Government to be much weaken'd and diſunited; and in his Son's Reign, whoſe Minority was an inſuperable Diſadvantage, the Members of that Government became ſtill more relax'd and diſjointed; all which were Divine Judgments due to the Sins and Corruptions of the People. But before the Time came, that God was pleas'd to reſtore the Glory of a degenerate Nation, he thought fit to puniſh it with a Reign more calamitous and diſhonourable than the worſt Years of the two laſt; which was unfortunately introduc'd by an *Inter-regnum*, and the ſetting up a popular, but unexpected Title. For by King *Edward*'s Death, according to King *Henry*'s Will and an Act of Parliament, the Crown devolv'd upon his eldeſt Siſter *Mary*; who was now in her Way to *London*, in Obedience to the Letter written to her to come and viſit her Brother in his Sickneſs. She was come within half a Day's Journey of the Court, when ſhe receiv'd private Advice from the Earl of *Arundel* that her Brother was dead, and what was done concerning the Lady *Jane*'s Succeſſion; and likewiſe that the King's Death was conceal'd, with a Deſign to enſnare her before ſhe knew of it; and therefore he adviſ'd her to retire. At firſt ſhe was at a great Loſs, but recollecting that the Duke of *Northumberland* was much hated in *Norfolk*, for the great Slaughter he had made of *Ket*'s People in the laſt Reign, ſhe therefore choſe to go that way to the Caſtle of *Framingham* in *Suffolk*: Which Place being of Strength, and not far from the Sea, if her Deſigns ſhould miſcarry, ſhe might have an Opportunity from thence to fly over to the Emperor, who was then in *Flanders*.

The Princeſs Mary *in Danger.*

She retires to Suffolk.

But before ſhe arriv'd there, ſhe wrote on the ninth of *July* to the Council, and let them know, 'She underſtood 'that her Brother was dead, by which ſhe was to ſucceed 'to the Crown, but was ſurpris'd ſhe had no Account 'from them: She was ſenſible in what Conſultations they 'were engag'd; but ſhe was willing to pardon all that was 'tranſacted, to ſuch as would return to their Duty, and 'proclaim her Title to the Crown.' Upon this Letter, they found the King's Death could be no longer conceal'd; therefore the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland* repair'd to *Durham* Houſe, where the Lady *Jane* lodg'd, and acknowledg'd her for their Sovereign Queen. As ſhe had a moſt tender Affection for the King, ſo his Death was a great Affliction to her; and the new Proſpect of a Crown rather increas'd than diminiſh'd her Sorrow. She was a Lady that ſeem'd born to the higheſt Fortunes; and being ſixteen Years of Age, had all the Excellencies and Perfections both of Body and Mind. Her Tutor was Doctor *Elmer*, from whom ſhe learn'd the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues to a mighty Perfection: And delighting much in Study, ſhe imbib'd the Precepts of true Morality ſo early, that as ſhe was not tainted with the Levities, not to ſay Vices, of thoſe of her Age and Condition, ſo ſhe attain'd to the Practice of the higheſt Notions of Philoſophy. *Roger Aſcham*, Tutor to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, coming to wait on her at her Father's Houſe in *Leiceſterſhire*, found her reading *Plato*'s Works in *Greek*, while the reſt of the Family were hunting in the Park, he aſk'd her, *How ſhe could be abſent from ſuch pleaſant Diverſions?* She anſwer'd, *The Pleaſures of the Park were but Shadows to what ſhe had been in reading* Plato'*s* Phedon; and added, *That ſhe eſteem'd it one of the greateſt Bleſſings God had given her, That ſhe had ſharp Parents and a gentle Schoolmaſter, which made her delight ſo much in her Studies.* She read the Scriptures much, and had attain'd great Knowledge in Divinity; and yet with all theſe Advantages of Birth and Parts, ſhe was ſo humble, ſo gentle, and pious, that ſhe charm'd all Perſons that knew her, and none more than the late King, who was about the ſame Age, and with all his Abilities was judg'd inferior to her in Learning. In thoſe ſudden Turns of her Condition, as ſhe was not exalted at the View of a Throne; ſo ſhe was as little dejected, when her Palace was made her Priſon. The only Paſſion ſhe ſhew'd was that of the nobleſt Kind, in the Concern ſhe expreſs'd for her Father and Huſband, who fell with her, and ſeemingly on her Account, tho' really *Northumberland*'s Ambition, and her Father's Weakneſs, ruin'd her. When the Crown was firſt offer'd by them, ſhe rejected it, declaring, *She knew that of Right it belong'd to the late King's Siſters, and ſo ſhe could not with a good Conſcience aſſume it.* But it was told her, *That both the Judges and Privy-Counſellors had declar'd that it fell to her according to Law*; which being join'd with the Importunities of her Huſband, who had more of his Father's Temper, than of her Philoſophy, cauſ'd her at laſt to ſubmit.

The Council ſets up the Lady Jane Gray.

Her Character.

She is proclaim'd Queen.

Upon this, Orders were given for proclaiming her Queen the next Day; and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with twenty more of the Nobility and Privy-Council, ſet their

Hands to a Letter written to the Princeſs *Mary*, letting her know, *That Queen* Jane *was now their Sovereign, according to the ancient Laws of the Land, and the late King's Letters Patents*; *and that the Marriage between her Father and Mother was declar'd null by the Laws of God and Man: Therefore they required her to recede from her Pretenſions, and ſubmit to the preſent Eſtabliſhment*; *promiſing, That if ſhe ſhew'd her ſelf obedient, they would be all ready to do her any Service that was conſiſtent with their Duties.* On the following Day they proclaim'd Queen *Jane*; in which Proclamation they ſet forth, 'That the late King had by Patent excluded both his Siſters, who had been illegitimated by Sentences paſs'd in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and confirm'd in Parliament; and at beſt they were only his Siſters by the half Blood, and ſo not inheritable by the Laws of *England*. There was alſo cauſe to fear that they might marry Strangers, and change the Laws, and ſubject the Nation to the Tyranny of the See of *Rome*. Next to them the Crown fell to the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*; and it was provided, that if ſhe ſhould have no Sons, when the King dy'd, the Crown ſhould devolve on her Daughter, who was born and marry'd in the Kingdom: Upon which they aſſerted her Right, as ſhe promis'd to maintain the true Religion, and the Laws of the Land.' When this was proclaim'd, great Multitudes were gather'd to hear it; but there were very few that ſhouted with the Acclamations ordinary on this Occaſion. And whereas a Vintner's Boy expreſs'd ſome Scorn, when he heard the Proclamation, he was the next Day ſet in a Pillory, and had his Ears nail'd to it; while a Herald in his Coat read the Nature of his Offence to the People, who were call'd together by the Sound of Trumpets.

Various Cenſures upon it.

Upon this Proclamation the People were in great Diſtractions, and Variety of Cenſures and Opinions paſs'd upon it. Thoſe who look'd upon the King of *England*'s Power to proceed immediately from God, ſaid it muſt deſcend only by Inheritance; and ſince the King's Siſters were under Sentences of Illegitimation, it ought to deſcend to the young Queen of *Scotland*, who was the next Heir. Others ſaid, that tho' a Prince were nam'd immediately by God, yet upon great Reaſons he might alter the Succeſſion from its uſual Courſe, as *David* preferr'd *Solomon* to *Adonijah:* But it was ſaid this did not belong to the Kings of *England*, whoſe Rights and Prerogatives did not ariſe from any Divine Deſignation, but from a long Poſſeſſion and the Laws of the Land; therefore as the King could by Law limit the Prerogative, ſo he could likewiſe limit the Succeſſion of the Crown; which had been the Opinion of Sir *Thomas More*. Others alledg'd *Charles Brandon*'s Iſſue by the *French* Queen to be illegitimate, upon a Suppoſition of a prior Marriage with one *Mortimer*. Others demanded, if the Right of Blood could not be cut off, why was the *Scotch* Queen excluded? Then as to half Blood, it was ſaid to be only a Rule in Law for private Families, which did not extend to the Crown. The Power of limiting the Succeſſion by Patent or Teſtament was ſaid to be only a Perſonal Truſt in King *Henry* VIII, and that it did not deſcend to his Heirs, ſo that King *Edward*'s Patents were thought to be of no Force. Then the Severity againſt the Vintner's Boy in the Beginning of a dubious Title, was thought a great Error in Policy; it being a well-grounded Maxim, That all Governments ought to begin with Acts of Clemency, and to affect the Love rather than the Fear of the People. And *Northumberland*'s Proceeding againſt the late Protector, by a foul Conſpiracy, and the Suſpicions he lay under of being the Author of the late King's untimely Death, begot a violent Averſion in the People to him; which much diſpos'd them to ſet up the Princeſs *Mary*.

Many repair to the Princeſs.

Northumberland marches againſt her.

Queen *Jane* was proclaim'd in many Towns near *London*, yet the People were generally running to the Princeſs *Mary*, who now at *Framingham* Caſtle declar'd her ſelf Queen of *England*. Many from *Norfolk* repair'd to her, and a greater Body of *Suffolk* Gentlemen and others gather'd about her, who were all for the Reformation. They urg'd her to declare whether ſhe would alter the Religion eſtabliſh'd in the late King's Reign; to whom ſhe gave full and ſolemn Aſſurances, *That ſhe would make no Innovation or Change, but would be ſatisfy'd with the private Exerciſe of her own Religion.* Upon which they were poſſeſs'd with ſuch a firm Belief of her Sincerity, that they reſolv'd to hazard their Lives and Eſtates in the Cauſe of one, who had given them ſuch faithful Promiſes. The Earls of *Bath* and *Suſſex* rais'd Forces, and join'd with her; as likewiſe did the Sons of the Lord *Wharton* and *Mordant*, with many others. When the Council heard of this, they ſent the Earl of *Huntington*'s Brother to raiſe Men in *Buckinghamſhire*, and then to join the Forces that ſhould be ſent from *London* to *New-Market*. The Duke of *Northumberland*, as the moſt valiant and ſafe Commander, was order'd to be General of the Army; but he was much confounded and diſtracted in his Thoughts. He found it of equal Importance to preſerve *London* and the Privy-Counſellors in a ſteady Fidelity, as to conduct the Army with Exactneſs; and a Miſcarriage of either of theſe was ſure to be fatal to him. So that he could ſcarcely reſolve in what Manner to proceed; he wanted a Man of Firmneſs and Spirit to leave behind him; and yet it was abſolutely neceſſary at once to diſſipate the Forces that were daily increaſing about Queen *Mary*. Queen *Jane* and the Council were by this Means remov'd to the *Tower*, not only for State, according to the Cuſtom of former Princes, but alſo for Security; for here the Council were under Command, and in effect Priſoners. He could do no more, but lay a ſtrict Charge on the Council to adhere firmly to Queen *Jane*'s Intereſts; and ſo he march'd out of *London* on the fourteenth Day of *July* with ſix thouſand Foot and two thouſand Horſe. But as he rode through the Streets, tho' there were great Crouds of Spectators, no one cry'd out to wiſh him Succeſs; which gave a melancholy Indication how ill they were affected to him.

Her Party increaſes.

She is proclaim'd at London.

The End of Queen Jane's *Reign.*

In the mean Time the Council us'd all Methods for their own Security, and gave the Emperor Notice of the Lady *Jane*'s Succeſſion, and complain'd of the Diſturbance that was rais'd by the other Competitor, and that his Ambaſſador had too officiouſly intermeddled in their Affairs; but the Emperor would not ſo much as receive their Letters. Biſhop *Ridley* was appointed to preach upon Queen *Jane*'s Title, and to animate the People againſt Queen *Mary*; which he too raſhly obey'd. At the ſame Time *Northumberland* being at *Cambridge*, where he was both Chancellor and Steward, caus'd the Vice-Chancellor to preach to the ſame Purpoſe; but he kept to ſuch general Terms, that no great Offence was given. By this Time Queen *Mary* had caus'd her ſelf to be proclaim'd at *Norwich*; and ſent Letters all over *England*, requiring the Peers, and others of Quality, to come to her Aſſiſtance. Some Ships had been ſent to lye on that Coaſt for intercepting her, if ſhe ſhould fly away; but thoſe who commanded them were ſo manag'd, that inſtead of acting againſt her, they declar'd for her. Sir *Edward Haſtings* having rais'd four thouſand Men in *Buckinghamſhire*, inſtead of joining the Duke of *Northumberland*, went over with them into her Service; and her Forces daily increaſing, ſhe was proclaim'd Queen in ſeveral Counties. All which made the Privy-Council now to ſee their Danger, and to contrive how to free themſelves: The Earl of *Arundel* hated the Duke of *Northumberland*; the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* was dextrous in ſhifting Sides for his Advantage; the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Son had marry'd Queen *Jane*'s Siſter, which made him think it neceſſary to provide for his own Safety by a ſpeedy Turn; and to theſe many others were join'd. They now pretended that it was neceſſary to give an Audience to the foreign Ambaſſadors, who would not receive it in the *Tower*; and the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Houſe was fix'd upon, he being leaſt ſuſpected. They alſo reported it was neceſſary to treat with the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, for ſending more Forces to the Duke of *Northumberland*, concerning which he had very earneſtly writ to them. But as ſoon as they were got out, the Earl of *Arundel* preſs'd them to declare for Queen *Mary*; laying open all the Cruelties of *Northumberland*, under whoſe Tyranny they muſt reſolve to be enſlav'd, if they did not now ſhake it off. Upon this they ſent for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and eaſily perſuaded them to concur with them; and ſo they went immediately to *Cheapſide*, and proclaim'd Queen *Mary* on the nineteenth Day of *July*; and from thence they repair'd to St. *Paul*'s, where *Te Deum* was ſung. They ſent next to the *Tower*, requiring the Duke of *Suffolk* to quit the Government of that Place, and the Lady *Jane* to lay down the Title of Queen; to which ſhe ſubmitted with as much Greatneſs of Mind, as her Father did with Abjectneſs of Spirit. They alſo ſent Orders to *Northumberland* to diſmiſs his Forces, and to obey Queen *Mary*; and the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget* were ſent to carry this joyful News to her, who ſtill continu'd at *Framingham* Caſtle. And thus ended the Reign of Queen *Jane*, which continu'd no longer than nine Days. She in no manner conſented either to the Receiving, or the Poſſeſſing of her imaginary Kingdoms; but having always fear'd there ſtood a Scaffold ſecretly behind the Throne, ſhe was as well prepar'd to act her Part upon one, as ſhe did upon the other.

When the Duke of *Northumberland* heard of this Turn of Affairs, he reſolv'd to ſwim with the Stream, and without ſtaying for Orders, he diſcharg'd his Forces, and went to the Market-Place at *Cambridge*, and proclaim'd the Queen, throwing his own Hat up for Joy, and crying, *God ſave Queen* Mary! But this would not ſecure him; for the next Morning the Earl of *Arundel* came from the Queen to arreſt him; and when he was brought to him, he ſunk at once, and fell proſtrate at his Feet to beg his Favour, as it is uſual with a Mind ſwell'd with Ambition, which out of meaſure turns inſolent or abject, with the

various

Northumberland *and others impriſon'd.*

Queen Mary *enters* London.

various Changes of Fortune. He, and three of his Sons, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, who was his wicked Inſtrument againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, were all ſent Priſoners to the *Tower*. And now all the People went to implore the Queen's Favour, and Biſhop *Ridley* among the reſt; but he was ſent to the *Tower*; for ſhe was both offended with him for his Sermon, and reſolv'd to reſtore *Bonner* again to the See of *London*. Some of the Judges, and ſeveral Noblemen were alſo ſent thither, among the reſt the Duke of *Suffolk*. But three Days after the laſt was ſet at Liberty; for he being a weak Man, and not very dangerous to the State, was fix'd upon as the firſt Inſtance of the Queen's Clemency at her Acceſſion to the Throne. As the Queen came towards *London* ſhe was met on the Way by her Siſter *Elizabeth*, with a thouſand Horſe, who came to ſhew their Zeal to maintain both their Titles, which in the late Conteſt had been ſo cloſely ally'd. She made her Entry into *London* with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity; and coming to the *Tower*, ſhe gave Liberty to ſeveral conſiderable Perſons, as the old Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been almoſt ſeven Years Priſoner; Biſhop *Gardiner*, who had been five Years there; the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, who had been kept there near two Years; and the Lord *Courtney*, Son to the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, who had been detain'd fifteen Years, ever ſince his Father's Attainder. So now ſhe was peaceably ſettled in the Throne without any Effuſion of Blood; having broke through a Confederacy againſt her, which ſeem'd to be ſo ſtrong, that if the chief Head of it had not been univerſally odious to the Nation, it could not have been ſo eaſily diſſipated.

A. D.
1553.
Reg. 1.

Her former Life and Behaviour.

II. Queen *Mary* was thirty ſeven Years of Age when ſhe came to the Crown; being a Lady of great Virtues, and ſtrict in her Religion even to Superſtition. Her Temper was generous, but much corrupted by Melancholy, which was partly natural to her, but much encreas'd by the croſs Accidents of her Life, both before and after her Advancement; ſo that ſhe became ſower and ſplenatick, and had too much of the *Spaniſh* Moroſeneſs. She adher'd ſo reſolutely to her Mother's Intereſts, that it was believ'd her Father once deſign'd to have taken her Life: Upon which her Mother wrote a very devout Letter to her, charging her to truſt in God, and keep her ſelf pure, and to obey the King in all Things, except in Matters of Religion; and ſent her two Books in *Latin* for her Entertainment, St. *Jerom*'s Epiſtles, and a Book of the *Life of Chriſt*. The King's Diſpleaſure was then ſo great, that neither the Duke of *Norfolk*, nor *Gardiner*, durſt venture to intercede for her: *Cranmer* was the only Man that would hazard himſelf, and did it ſo effectually, as intirely to prevail with the King. But after her Mother's Death, ſhe hearken'd to other Counſels; ſo that upon *Anne Bolen*'s Fall ſhe made a full Submiſſion to him, as was formerly mention'd. She alſo in many Letters, which ſhe wrote both to her Father and to *Cromwell*, ſolemnly proteſted great Sorrow for her former Obſtinacy, and declar'd, *That ſhe put her Soul into his Hands, and that her Conſcience ſhould be always directed by him:* And being ask'd what her Opinion was concerning Pilgrimages, Purgatory and Relicks, ſhe anſwer'd, *That ſhe had no Opinion, but ſuch as ſhe receiv'd from the King, who had her whole Heart in his keeping; and might imprint upon it, in theſe and all other Matters, whatever his ineſtimable Virtue, exalted Wiſdom, and excellent Learning ſhould think convenient for her.* So perfectly had ſhe learn'd the Stile, that ſhe knew was moſt acceptable to her Father. After that, ſhe was in all Points obedient to him; and during her Brother's Reign, ſhe only pleaded for that Way of Worſhip, that was in Uſe at her Father's Death.

Her preſent Deſigns.

Biſhop Gardiner's *Contrivances.*

He is made Lord-Chancellor.

But now being come to the Crown, notwithſtanding her Promiſes to the *Suffolk* Gentlemen to ſtand by her Brother's Religion, neither that nor her Father's could ſatisfie her; yet when ſhe thought where to fix, ſhe was diſtracted between two different Schemes that were preſented to her. *Gardiner*, and all that had comply'd in the former Times, mov'd, That at firſt ſhe ſhould bring all Things back to the ſame State they had been fix'd, when her Father dy'd; and after that by eaſie and regular Steps ſhe might again return to a full Obedience to the See of *Rome*. But ſhe her ſelf was more inclin'd to return immediately into the Boſom of the *Romiſh* Church; and ſhe thought ſhe could not any other way be legitimated; but in this ſhe was in danger of proceeding too haſtily. *Gardiner* finding that Political Maxims made no great Impreſſion upon her, and that he was eſteem'd by her as a ſubtle temporizing Man, addreſs'd himſelf to the Emperor, who better underſtood Government and Mankind; and undertook, that if he would procure him to be Chancellor, he would ſo manage Affairs, that in a ſhort Time he would effect all things to the Queen's Deſire; and that there was no Danger but in her making too large Steps, and being ſo much govern'd by *Italian* Councils: For he underſtood that ſhe had already ſent for Cardinal *Pool*. The People had a ſtrong Averſion to the Papal Authority, and the Nobility and Gentry were apprehenſive of loſing the Abby-Lands; therefore it was neceſſary gradually and ſlowly to remove thoſe Prejudices. He alſo aſſur'd the Emperor, That he would zealouſly ſerve all his Intereſts, and ſhew'd him how neceſſary it was to ſtop the coming of Cardinal *Pool*, who ſtood attainted by Act of Parliament; and in this he was the more urgent, becauſe he knew the Cardinal hated him. The Emperor upon this wrote ſo effectually to the Queen to depend upon *Gardiner*'s Counſels, that on the thirteenth of *Auguſt* he was made Lord-Chancellor, and the Conduct of Affairs put chiefly into his Hands. The old Duke of *Norfolk* was alſo much regarded by the Queen, who being now at Liberty, alledg'd that he was never truly Attainted, and that it was no legal Act that had paſs'd againſt him; by which Plea he recover'd his Eſtate, and all the Grants that had been made out of it were declar'd void at Common Law.

The Tryals of Northumberland *and others.*

They are beheaded.

He was likewiſe made Lord High-Steward for the Tryal of the Duke of *Northumberland*, with his Son the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Marqueſs of *Northampton*. All that they pleaded for themſelves lay in two Points; the one was, 'Whether any thing acted by Order of Council, and 'the Authority of the Great Seal, could be Treaſon?' The other was, 'Whether ſuch as were as guilty as them'ſelves, could ſit and judge them?' The Judges anſwer'd, 'That the Great Seal, or Privy-Council of one that was 'not lawful Queen, could give no Authority, nor Indem'nity:' And, 'That all Peers who were not convicted by 'Record, might legally judge them.' Theſe Points being determin'd againſt them, they pleaded *Guilty*, and ſubmitted to the Queen's Mercy; ſo Sentence paſs'd upon them: And the next Day Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and ſome others, were try'd and condemn'd: But of all theſe, it was reſolv'd, that only *Northumberland*, *Gates* and *Palmer* ſhould ſuffer. Biſhop *Heath* was appointed to attend on *Northumberland*, and to prepare him for Death: He then profeſs'd, *He had always been of the old Religion in his Heart, and had comply'd againſt his Conſcience*; but whether it was true, or ſpoken in Hopes of Life, as it cannot be certainly known, ſo it ſhews he had but little Religion, either in his Life, or at his Death. But he was a Man of ſuch a high Temper, that it was reſolv'd to put him out of a Capacity of revenging himſelf upon his Enemies: So on the twenty ſecond of *Auguſt*, he and the other two were beheaded. There paſt ſome Expoſtulations between him and *Gates*, each accuſing the other as the Author of their Ruin; but they were ſeemingly reconcil'd, and profeſs'd they forgave one another. The Duke made a long Speech, confeſſing his former ill Life, and the Juſtice of the Sentence againſt him; 'He exhorted the Peo'ple to ſtand to the Religion of their Anceſtors, and to re'ject all Novelties, and to drive the Preachers of them 'out of the Nation; and declar'd he had temporiz'd a'gainſt his Conſcience, and that he was always of the 'Religion of his Forefathers.' And thus dy'd the ambitious Duke of *Northumberland*; who was an extraordinary Man, 'till he was rais'd very high: But that tranſported him beyond Meaſure, and he was ſo ſtrangely chang'd in the laſt Paſſages of his Life, that it increas'd the Jealouſies of his having haſten'd King *Edward*'s Death; and that the Horrors of that Guilt did ſo haunt him, that both the Judgment and Courage ſhewn in the former Parts of his Life, ſeem'd now to have quite abandon'd him. However the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Blood lay heavy upon him; and it is obſervable, That as he ſuffer'd under the ſame Fate, and upon the very ſame Block, that the other did; ſo it was his Fortune to be laid under the ſame Stone, in the ſame Grave, where they now lye like good Friends, who living were irreconcilable Enemies.

King Edward*'s Funeral.*

As to King *Edward*'s Death, there was no ſtrict Enquiry made after it; and all the Honour done to his Memory, was to allow him Funeral Rites. On the eighth Day of *Auguſt*, he was bury'd at *Weſtminſter*; and the Queen had a ſolemn Obſequy, and Maſſes for him in the *Tower*. Biſhop *Day* was appointed to preach the Funeral Sermon; in which he prais'd the King, but ſeverely exclaim'd againſt the Adminiſtration of Affairs under him. It had been reſolv'd to bury him according to the old Forms; but *Cranmer* oppos'd that, and prevail'd that he ſhould be bury'd according to the Form then eſtabliſh'd by Law. He himſelf officiated, and ended the Solemnity with a Communion; all which he perform'd with a moſt lively Sorrow, as having both lov'd the King beyond Expreſſion, and looking on his Funeral as the Burial of the Reformation, and as a great Step towards his own. This ſoon began to appear; for in a few Days after ſeveral Advances were made towards that Work. The Queen at firſt, to mollifie the Proceedings, declar'd in Council, on the twelfth Day of *Auguſt*, *That tho' ſhe was fix'd in her own Religion, yet ſhe would not compel others to it; but would leave that to*

A Diſturbance at St. Paul's.

The Queen's Inhibitions.

the Motions of God's Spirit, and the Labours of good Preachers. The Day following, Doctor *Bonner* went to St. *Paul*'s, where the Sermon was preach'd by *Bourn* his Chaplain; who extreamly extoll'd his Patron, and violently inveigh'd againſt the Sufferings he had ſuſtain'd. Upon this a Tumult was rais'd by the People, who could not bear any Reflections upon the pious King *Edward:* Some threw Stones at him, and one darted a Dagger at the Pulpit, with ſuch Force, that it ſtuck faſt in the Wood. *Rogers* and *Bradford*, two eminent Preachers, were preſent, and ſo much in Credit with the People, that they eaſily quieted them, and convey'd *Bourn* ſafe to his Houſe. This was a very deſirable Accident to the *Romaniſts*; and gave them a Colour to prohibit Preaching, by a publick Inhibition in the Queen's Name. In which ſhe declar'd, 'That her Religion was the ſame that it had been from her Infancy, but that ſhe would compel none of her Subjects in Matters of Religion, *'till publick Order ſhould be taken in it by common Conſent.* She requir'd her People to live peaceably, and not to uſe the Terms of *Papiſt* or *Heretick*, or other reproachful Speeches; and that none ſhould preach *without her ſpecial Licenſe:* She alſo charg'd them not to puniſh any on the Account of the late Rebellion, *but as they ſhould be authorized by her.* She would be ſorry to be driven to execute the Severity of the Law; *but was reſolv'd not to ſuffer Rebellious Actions to go unpuniſh'd.*' This gave great Occaſion for Cenſure: It ſhew'd what Religion ſhe profeſs'd, which was worſe than that of her Father: Her ſpecial Licence was an immediate Interdict upon all the Pulpits in *England*; and her threatning to proceed againſt ſuch as were guilty of the late Revolt, ſtruck a great Terror to the City of *London*; for the chief of the City were principally concern'd in it.

Her Treatment of the Suffolk *Gentlemen:*

And of Judge Hales:

And of Judge Montague.

Now all Things began to be carry'd on with great Warmth and Violence; yet ſtill the *Suffolk* Gentlemen imagin'd that their Services and the Queen's Promiſes gave them a Title to own their Religion more avowedly: But Orders were ſent to the Biſhop of *Norwich* to execute the Queen's Injunctions, and to ſee that none preach'd without a ſpecial Licence. Upon which ſome of thoſe who had been moſt ſerviceable in her Neceſſities, came to put the Queen in mind of her poſitive Promiſe: But ſhe ſent them home with a ſevere Anſwer, *That the Members ought not to rule the Head; but they were to learn to obey, and not to govern:* And when one of them more confidently inſiſted upon her Promiſe, he was order'd to ſtand three Days in the Pillory, as having ſaid Words tending to defame the Queen; which was a diſmal Omen of a ſevere Government, when the claiming of Promiſes paſs'd for a Crime. *Bradford* and *Rogers* were alſo ſecur'd, upon a Pretence that the Authority they ſhew'd in quieting the Tumult, was a Proof that they had firſt rais'd it. *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonſtal*, *Heath* and *Day* were all reſtor'd to their Biſhopricks, and the Sentences paſs'd againſt them in the late Reign null'd. *Gardiner* had Authority given him to grant Prieſts Licences to preach in any Church, as he ſhould appoint; by which the Reformed were not only ſilenc'd, but their Churches and Pulpits were thrown open to ſuch as that unreaſonable Man ſhould ſend among them. This caus'd the Impriſonment of many, and particularly the two Biſhops of *Exeter* and *Glouceſter*, *Coverdale* and *Hooper*. Images began to be ſet up, and the old Rites were in many Places renew'd, all which was incourag'd by the Government, tho' directly againſt Law. Of this Judge *Hales* was ſenſible, who thought his Refuſing to concur with the reſt for excluding the Queen gave him no common Privilege; therefore when he went his Circuit, in his Charge at *Kent* he requir'd the Juſtices to ſee to the Execution of King *Edward*'s Laws, that ſtill continu'd in Force. But upon his Return, he was for this committed to the *Marſhalſea*, and remov'd from Priſon to Priſon, where the good old Man was ſo terrify'd with his Enemies Deſigns, that his Brain was turn'd; and he firſt made an Attempt upon his Life with a Pen-knife, and tho' he was afterwards ſet at Liberty, his Diſorder was ſo great that he drown'd himſelf. On the other ſide Judge *Bromley*, tho' he had made no Scruple in declaring for the Queen's Excluſion, yet ſince he profeſs'd himſelf a Papiſt, was made Lord Chief Juſtice: And *Montague*, who had proceeded in it with extream Averſion, yet becauſe he was for the Reformation, was impriſon'd, depriv'd of his Lands given him by the late King, and ſeverely fin'd: Tho' he had this Merit to plead, that he had ſent his Son and a Body of Men to declare for the Queen; and had this alſo to recommend him to her Pity, that he had a Family of ſix Sons, and eleven Daughters.

Cranmer, Latimer, *and others impriſon'd.*

Great Numbers leave the Nation.

During theſe melancholy Proſpects, *Cranmer*, who for a while had kept himſelf quiet, was advis'd by ſome Friends to fly beyond Sea; but he anſwer'd, *That tho' he could not diſſuade others from flying in ſuch a threatning Storm, yet it was unbecoming a Man in his Station, who was ſo deeply concern'd in the Changes formerly made.* Therefore he prepar'd a Paper, 'In which he declar'd himſelf, with *Peter Martyr*, and ſome others, ready to prove the Errors of the Maſs, and to defend the whole Doctrine and Service publiſh'd by the late King, as moſt conformable to the Word of God, and the Practice of the ancient Church for many Ages.' This being diſcover'd by an Accident, the Arch-Biſhop was cited to the *Star-Chamber*, to anſwer to it: He acknowledg'd it was his, and declar'd he deſign'd to have inlarg'd it, and affix'd it on St. *Paul*'s and other Churches. He was at this Time diſmiſs'd; for *Gardiner*, who ſaw the Queen deſign'd to put Cardinal *Pool* in his See, now us'd all Endeavours to preſerve him. Some diſcreetly mov'd that a ſmall Penſion might be aſſign'd him, and that he ſhould be ſuffer'd to live privately: For the happy Sweetneſs of his Temper had procur'd ſuch an univerſal Love from the People, that it was thought too bold a Step to proceed to Extremities with ſuch a Man. Others ſaid, he had been the chief Author of all the Hereſie in the Nation, and that it was not decent for the Queen to ſhew any Favour to him, that had pronounc'd the Sentence of her Mother's Divorce. Theſe laſt Counſels prevail'd moſt with the zealous Queen; and within a Week after, he and Biſhop *Latimer*, and ſeveral other Preachers, were committed to Priſon. *Peter Martyr*, who had come over upon the publick Faith, had leave given him to depart the Nation; ſo had *John a Laſco*, and the *German* Congregation. Many of the *Engliſh* foreſeeing the Storm, reſolv'd to withdraw in Time; and when the Strangers were requir'd to be gone, they went under that Covert in great Numbers. But the Council underſtanding that about a thouſand had ſo convey'd themſelves away, gave Order that none ſhould be ſuffer'd to go as Strangers, but thoſe who had a Certificate from the Ambaſſador of the Princes to whom they belong'd. With thoſe who fled beyond Sea, ſeveral eminent Preachers went; among whom were *Cox*, *Sandys*, *Grindal* and *Horn*, all highly advanc'd by Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Queen's Coronation.

Her Largeſs to her Subjects.

Theſe Things began to alienate the People from the Government, therefore on the other Side, great Care was taken to mollifie and ſweeten them. The Queen beſtow'd the chief Offices of her Houſhold on thoſe who had aſſiſted her in her Extremity; there being no Way more effectual to ingage all to adhere to the Crown, than the grateful Acknowledgment of paſt Services. An unuſual Honour was done to *Ratcliff* Earl of *Suſſex*, who had a particular Licence granted him under the Great-Seal to cover his Head in the Queen's Preſence. Theſe Things being ſettled, ſhe proceeded to her Coronation; and on the laſt Day of *September* ſhe rode in her open Chariot through *London* towards *Weſtminſter*, attended with a glorious Cavalcade in this Order. Firſt rode a great Number of Gentlemen and Knights, then Doctors, then Judges, then Biſhops, then Lords, then the Council; after whom follow'd the Knights of the *Bath* in their Robes, then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Lord-Chancellor, and the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* Lord High-Treaſurer: Next came the Duke of *Norfolk*, and after him the Earl of *Oxford*, who bore the Sword; then the Lord Mayor in Crimſon Velvet, who bore the Scepter of Gold: Then came the Queen's Chariot, follow'd by another Chariot, in which ſate her Siſter *Elizabeth* with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*; who were likewiſe follow'd by a noble Train of Ladies and Gentlewomen on Horſeback. In this Order they rode through the principal Streets to *Weſtminſter*, where in many Places were magnificent Pageants and Shows, and many rich Preſents were made to the Queen. The next Day ſhe was publickly crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, by Biſhop *Gardiner*, who with ten other Biſhops, all in their Mitres, Copes and Croſiers, perform'd that Ceremony with great Pomp and Solemnity; and Biſhop *Day* preach'd the Coronation Sermon. But *Gardiner* had prepar'd a Largeſs of an extraordinary Nature for the Queen to diſtribute that Day among the People; beſides a general Pardon, he caus'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd, ſetting forth, 'That the Queen did diſcharge her Subjects of the two Tenths, two Fifteenths, and a Subſidy that had been granted by the laſt Parliament: And ſhe alſo declar'd that ſhe would both pay her Father's and her Brother's Debts; and tho' her Treaſure was much exhauſted, yet ſhe eſteem'd the Love of her People her beſt Treaſure, and forgave their Taxes, in lieu of which ſhe deſir'd only the Hearts of her Subjects, and that they would ſerve God ſincerely, and pray earneſtly for her.

The firſt Parliament in this Reign.

Not long after, on the tenth of *October*, a Parliament met according to Summons: In many Places of the Country, Men had been choſen by Force and Threats; in other Places thoſe imploy'd by the Court, by Violence hinder'd the Free-holders from coming to chuſe; in many Places falſe Returns were made; and ſome zealous for the Reformation were forcibly turn'd out of the Houſe of Commons; all which was afterwards offer'd as a Ground upon which that Parliament, and all Acts made in it, might be annull'd. There only came two of the reform'd Biſhops to the Houſe of Lords, *Taylor* and *Harley*, the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford*; the two Arch-Biſhops, and three Biſhops were then in Priſon, and the reſt ſtaid at home. When Maſs began to be ſaid the two reform'd Biſhops went out, as ſome reported, but were never ſuffer'd to return to their Places; others ſay, that refuſing to join in that Worſhip, they were violently thruſt out. In the Houſe of Commons, ſome of the moſt forward mov'd, that King *Edward*'s Laws might be review'd; but Things were not ripe enough for that Project. The Commons ſent up a Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, which the Lords ſent down amended in two Proviſo's; and the Commons did not then inſiſt upon their Privilege, that the Lords could make no Alterations in a Money-Bill. The only publick Bill that was finiſh'd this Seſſion, was a Repeal of all the late Statutes making any Crime Treaſon, that was not ſo by the twenty fifth of *Edward* the Third; or Felony, that was not ſo before King *Henry* the Eighth: Excepting from the Benefit of this Act all that were put in Priſon before the End of *September* laſt; who were likewiſe excepted out of the general Pardon. The Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and her Son the Earl of *Devonſhire*, were reſtor'd to Blood by two private Acts; and then the Parliament was prorogu'd for three Days, that it might be ſaid, the firſt Seſſion under the Queen was merely for Acts of Grace and Mercy.

The Queen's Illegitimation repeal'd.

Other Acts.

The Lady Jane, Cranmer, *and others, attainted of Treaſon.*

At their next Meeting, a Bill paſs'd through both Houſes in four Days, repealing the Divorce of the Queen's Mother; ' In which they declar'd the Marriage to be lawful; ' and that malicious Perſons had poſſeſs'd the King with ' Scruples concerning it; and had by Corruption procur'd ' the Seals of Foreign Univerſities condemning it: Upon ' which *Cranmer* had pronounc'd the Sentence of Divorce, ' which had been confirm'd in Parliament: They there' fore looking upon the Miſeries that had befallen the Na' tion, ſince that Time, as Judgments from God for that ' Sentence, did now condemn it, and repeal the Acts con' firming it.' By this *Gardiner* perform'd his Promiſe in procuring her to be declar'd Legitimate, without mentioning the Pope's Authority: But in the drawing of it, he ſhewed that he was paſt all Bluſhing; when he procur'd ſuch a Repeal of a Sentence, which he had ſo ſervilely promoted: And when he particularly knew the Falſhood of this Pretence, that the Foreign Univerſities were corrupted; as alſo that he had encourag'd it long before *Cranmer* ingag'd in it, and ſate in Court with him when Sentence was pronounc'd. By this Act the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was in effect illegitimated a ſecond Time, ſince the Ground on which her Mother's Marriage ſubſiſted, was the Divorce of the firſt: And it was upon this Pretence, or from old Reſentments, or a new Rivalry, that the Queen, who had hitherto treated her as a Siſter, began now to uſe her more ſeverely. The next Bill was a Repeal of all the Laws made in King *Edward*'s Reign concerning Religion; ' By which all Matters of Religion were again ' brought back to the ſame State King *Henry* had left ' them; and this was to take Place about two Months af' ter, 'till when all were at Liberty to uſe the old or new ' Service, as they pleas'd.' Another Act paſs'd againſt all that ſhould diſquiet any Preacher for his Sermons, or interrupt Divine Offices; ' By which the Queen was em' power'd to reſtore the Service in all Particulars, as it ' had been before her Father made the Breach with *Rome*.' Another Law was made, ' That if any to the Number of ' Twelve ſhould meet to alter any Thing in Religion, or ' for any Riot, or ſhould by any publick Notice, ſuch as ' Bells and Beacons, gather the People together, and ſhould ' not diſperſe themſelves, upon Proclamation, they and ' their Aſſiſtants were made guilty of Felony: And if any ' more than two met for thoſe Ends, they ſhould ſuffer a ' Year's Impriſonment.' By this all the Favour of the former Act of Repeal vaniſh'd, and prov'd no better than Deluſion. The Marqueſs of *Northampton*'s ſecond Marriage was anull'd, as being founded upon falſe Surmiſes; and ſo was the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk* ſet aſide by this Parliament. At the ſame time Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, *Guilford Dudley*, and his Wife the Lady *Jane*, and two of his Brothers were try'd for Treaſon: They all confeſs'd the Indictments, only *Cranmer* appeal'd to the Judges, who knew with what Reluntancy he had conſented to the Excluſion of the Queen, and that he refus'd it, 'till they, whoſe Profeſſion it was to know the Law, had ſign'd it. They were all attainted of Treaſon for levying War againſt the Queen, and their Attainders were confirm'd in this Parliament. Thus was *Cranmer* legally diveſted of his Arch-Biſhoprick; but ſince he was put into it by the Pope's Authority, it was reſolv'd to degrade him by the Forms of the Canon Law; and the Queen was willing to pardon his Treaſon, that it might appear ſhe did not act upon a Spirit of Revenge, but Zeal. In Reality, ſhe was often prevail'd upon to pardon Injuries done againſt her ſelf, but was ever inexorable in Matters of Religion.

The Queen's ſecret Deſigns.

Cardinal Pool *order'd for* England.

About this Time two Things began to be diſcover'd, which put the Parliament and Nation in much Diſorder: The one was the Queen's ſecret Treaty with the Court of *Rome*, and the other her deſign'd Marriage with the Emperor's Son *Philip*. As to the *Firſt*, when ſhe came to the Crown, the Pope's Legate at *Bruſſels* ſent over *Commendone*, afterwards a Cardinal, to try if he could ſpeak privately with her, and to perſuade her to reconcile her Kingdom to the Apoſtolick See. The Management of the Affair was left to his Diſcretion, for the Legate would not truſt his important Secret to *Gardiner*, nor any of the other Biſhops. *Commendone* came over in the Diſguiſe of a Merchant, and by Accident met with one of the Queen's Servants, who had liv'd ſome Years beyond Sea, and being known to him, by his Means he procur'd Acceſs to the Queen. She aſſur'd him of her firm Reſolution to return to the Obedience of that See, but charg'd him to proceed with great Niceneſs and Prudence; for if it were too early diſcover'd, it might diſturb her Affairs, and obſtruct the Deſign. By him ſhe wrote both to the Pope, and to Cardinal *Pool*, and urg'd the ſending over *Pool* with Legantine Power: She alſo ask'd him, whether the Pope might not diſpenſe with the Cardinal to marry, ſince he was only in Deacon's Orders. This prov'd the Foundation of *Commendone*'s Advancement, and was a joyful Meſſage to the Court of *Rome*; where was a publick Thankſgiving for three Days, and the Pope ſaid Maſs himſelf; and gave a Largeſs of Indulgences, in which he was the more liberal, becauſe they were like to recover their former Reputation. Yet all that *Commendone* declar'd in the Conſiſtory, was, *That he underſtood from good Hands, that Queen* Mary *was diſpos'd to a Re-union.* Some of the ſtiffer Cardinals thought it below the Pope's Dignity to ſend a Legate, 'till an Embaſſie came firſt from the Queen to deſire that Favour; but the Secret being generally whiſper'd among them, and the Succeſs inſur'd, Cardinal *Pool* was appointed to go Legate, with a plenary Authority. *Gardiner* was very apprehenſive of this Man, and therefore advis'd the Emperor to ſtop him in his Journey; and to touch the Emperor in the tendereſt Part, it is ſaid that he let him know that the Queen had ſome Inclinations for the Cardinal. The Emperor had now propos'd a Match with her for his Son, tho' he was eleven Years younger than ſhe; yet ſhe being but thirty ſeven, there was Reaſon ſufficient to hope for Children, and the uniting *England* to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſeem'd to be all that was wanting to the Ruin of the *French* Kingdom. The Queen found ſtrong Inducements to determine her to this Propoſition; for ſhe found it would be difficult, if not impracticable, to make a full Eſtabliſhment of her Religion without the Aſſiſtance of a Foreign Power.

The Queen's Meſſage to him.

His Anſwer.

The reſtoring of the Papal Power, and the Match with the Prince of *Spain*, were two things of ſuch uneaſie Digeſtion, that it was not fit to adventure on both at once; therefore the Emperor urg'd the Queen to begin with her Marriage, and by that ſhe would be enabled to carry on her other Deſigns. At length the Queen herſelf was perſuaded to ſend to *Pool*, to adviſe him to ſtop his Journey for ſome Time; to whom ſhe ſent over the Acts of this Parliament, ' To let him know what Progreſs ſhe was ' making, and to aſſure him ſhe would uſe all convenient ' Expedition in the Re-union: But the Parliament had ex' preſs'd ſo great an Averſion to the reſtoring the Pope's ' Power, and were ſo apprehenſive of loſing the Abby' Lands, that it would greatly prejudice her Affairs, if ' he came over before her Subjects Minds were better ' prepar'd.' To ſhew her Confidence in him, ſhe alſo deſir'd him to ſend her a Liſt of ſuch as were moſt proper to be made Biſhops, in the Room of thoſe remov'd. The Cardinal was very uneaſie at his being ſtopp'd in his Journey, and wrote her a long Anſwer, ' In which he re' joic'd at the Acts that were paſs'd, but obſerv'd great ' Defects in them: In that concerning her Mother's Mar' riage, there was no mention made of the Pope's Bull of ' Diſpenſation, by which only it could be a lawful Mar' riage: The other for ſetting up the Worſhip, as it was ' in the End of her Father's Reign, was more exceptiona' ble, for the Nation was then in a State of Schiſm, and ' ſo this had eſtabliſh'd Schiſm by a Law. He declar'd ' that he had been very frankly diſpatch'd by the Pope and ' the Conſiſtory, with many favourable Inſtructions; but ' if theſe were ſo deſpis'd, and he ſtill ſtopp'd, it might ' provoke his Holineſs to recall his Power. He was ſen' ſible all this flow'd from the Emperor, who would per' haps adviſe her to follow ſuch Political Maxims as had ' govern'd him; but his ill Succeſs in the Buſineſs of the ' *Interim*, might well diſcourage others from following ſuch

'Counſels: And he fear'd that carnal Policy might govern her ſo much, as ſhe would fall from her Simplicity in Chriſt. He deſir'd her to take Courage, and depend upon God; and adviſ'd her to go herſelf to the Parliament, having firſt prepar'd ſome to ſecond her, and to declare, *That ſhe was touch'd in Conſcience with a Senſe of the Sin of Schiſm, and that therefore ſhe deſir'd the Act of Attainder that ſtood againſt Cardinal* Pool *might be repeal'd, and that he might be invited to come over, and reconcile them to the Apoſtolick See:* And ſhe might aſſure them, *That all neceſſary Caution ſhould be taken to prevent the Nation's being brought under a Thraldom to the Papacy.*' But the Queen was prepoſſeſs'd with *Gardiner*'s Counſels, and eſteem'd the Cardinal's Advice as more candid, than really prudent. *Gardiner* perſuaded her that tho' he was a good and learned Man, yet he underſtood not the preſent Genius of the Nation; and *Pool* look'd upon *Gardiner* as a Man of no Conſcience, and more converſant in Intrigues of State, than touch'd with any Senſe of Religion: But the Emperor was convinc'd that *Gardiner*'s Methods were more ſecure, therefore he preferr'd them to thoſe of the other.

The Parliament diſoblig'd,

And diſſolv'd.

Vaſt Bribes ſent over by the Emperor.

When the Treaty of the Queen's Marriage was publickly known, the Houſe of Commons was much alarm'd at it; and they ſent their Speaker and twenty of their Members, with an Addreſs to her, not to marry a Stranger; in which they ſhew'd ſo much Heat and Reſentment, that the Court judg'd it neceſſary to diſſolve the Parliament. Upon this *Gardiner* let the Emperor know, 'That the Jealouſies rais'd upon the Account of the Match were ſo ſtrong, that except very extraordinary Conditions were offer'd, it would occaſion a general Rebellion.' He alſo wrote to him that large Sums muſt be ſent over, both to gratifie the Nobility, and enable them to carry the Elections in the next Parliament, againſt all Oppoſers. As for Conditions, the Emperor was reſolv'd to grant any that ſhould be demanded; for he concluded that if his Son were once marry'd to the Queen, it would be eaſy for him to govern the Councils as he pleas'd: And for Money there was no leſs than four hundred thouſand Pounds order'd to be divided in the Nation, at the Diſcretion of *Gardiner*, and the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, at ſeveral Times. This Money was borrow'd by the Emperor from ſome of the free Towns of *Germany*; and when they were urging him for the Re-payment of it about a Year after, he for his Excuſe alledg'd the Charge he had been at for his Son's Marriage, but that he hop'd to be re-imburs'd from *England*, *which was thus bought and ſold by a deſigning Prelate, and a corrupted Parliament.* *Gardiner* did alſo baſely make uſe of his Power, as Chancellor, to oblige all People to comply with him; and in his Court of *Chancery* no Favour or common Juſtice was ſhewn to any Perſons who were not of his Intereſt.

A. D.
1554.
Reg. ½.

A Treaty of a Marriage between the Emperor's Son Philip, *and the Queen.*

In the beginning of the following Year, a noble Embaſſie came over from the Emperor, to agree on the Conditions of Marriage between his Son and the Queen. In the managing of this Treaty, *Gardiner* had a principal Share; for he was the Oracle of the Council-Board, as having thirty Years Experience in Affairs, and a great Knowledge of the Courts of Chriſtendom, and of the State of *England*. In drawing the Articles of the Marriage, he had a double Deſign; one was, to have them ſo fram'd, as they might eaſily paſs in Parliament; and the other was, to exclude the *Spaniards* from having any Share in the Government of *England*, which he deſign'd to hold in his own Hands. Accordingly it was agreed, 'That the Government, and Gift of Places, ſhould be entirely in Queen *Mary*; and tho' Prince *Philip* was to be call'd King, nam'd in all Writs, and his Image put on the Coin and Seals, yet the Queen's Hand alone was to give Authority to every Thing, without his: No *Spaniard* was to be capable of any Office: No Change was to be made in the Law, nor was the Queen to be requir'd to go out of *England* againſt her Will; nor might their Iſſue go out of *England*, but by the Conſent of the Nobility. The Queen was to have a Jointure of forty thouſand Pounds a Year out of *Spain*, and twenty thouſand Pounds out of the *Netherlands*: If the Queen had a Son it was to inherit *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands* as well as *England*; and if *Philip*'s preſent Son dy'd it was to inherit all the *Spaniſh* Dominions: If the Queen had only Daughters, they were to ſucceed to her Crown, and have ſuch Portions from *Spain*, as was uſually given to Kings Daughters. Prince *Philip* was to have no Share in the Government after her Death: And the Queen might ſtill keep up the League with *France*, notwithſtanding this Match.' Theſe were the Conditions concluded at preſent, and afterwards confirm'd in Parliament; by which it appears that the *Spaniards* were reſolv'd to have the Marriage upon any Terms; not doubting, but if Prince *Philip* were once in *England*, he could eaſily enlarge his Authority at Pleaſure.

It Cauſes great Diſcontents.

Wiat's *Rebellion in* Kent.

Yet all theſe did not ſatisfie the Nation, which look'd upon them as ſo many Baits to enſnare them into Slavery. The Severities of the *Spaniards* Government and Inquiſition in their own Provinces, and the monſtrous Cruelties exercis'd in the *Weſt-Indies*, were loud in every Man's Mouth; and it was ſaid, That *England* muſt now preſerve itſelf, or for ever be in Bondage. Theſe Things had great Influence upon many; but the chief Conſpirators were the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Wiat*, and Sir *Peter Carew*: The firſt was to raiſe the Mid-land Counties, the ſecond the County of *Kent*, and the third *Cornwall*; hoping by riſing in ſuch remote Places, that might engage the Commons, who were now as much diſguſted with their Queen, as they were formerly fond of her. But before the Deſign was ripe, the Project in the Weſt was diſcover'd, upon which *Carew* fled into *France*. *Wiat* gather'd ſome Men about him in *Kent*, and on the twenty fifth of *January* he made Proclamation at *Maidſtone*, 'That he deſign'd nothing but to preſerve the Nation from the Yoke of Strangers; and aſſur'd the People that all *England* would make an Inſurrection upon the ſame Cauſe.' The Sheriff of *Kent* requir'd him, under Pain of Treaſon, to diſperſe his Company, but he did not obey his Summons. One *Knevet* alſo rais'd a Body of Men about *Tunbridge*, and march'd towards him, but was intercepted and defeated by a Force commanded by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was ſent with two hundred Horſe and ſix hundred *Londoners* to diſperſe their Inſurrection: But ſome who came over from *Wiat* as Deſerters, perſuaded the *Londoners* that it was a common Cauſe, in which they were engag'd to maintain the Liberty of the Nation; upon which they all went over to *Wiat*, crying out, *We are all* Engliſh *Men!* This oblig'd the Duke of *Norfolk* to retire back to *London*; and *Wiat*, who had kept himſelf under the Defence of *Rocheſter* Bridge, advanc'd forwards, ſending to the Duke of *Suffolk* to haſten his Deſigns. But that Duke, who was always of a mean Spirit, after a feeble Attempt to raiſe the Country, deſiſted and fled to a private Houſe, where he was taken and brought Priſoner to the *Tower*.

The Queen's Preparations againſt him.

He enters London.

He yields himſelf to the Queen.

Wiat's Party increaſing, the Queen ſent an Offer of Pardon to him and his Men, but that not being receiv'd, ſhe ſent ſome of her Council to treat with him; and he being greatly ſwell'd with his ſmall Succeſs, propos'd, 'That the Queen ſhould come to the *Tower* of *London*, and put the Command of it into his Hands, 'till a new Council was eſtabliſh'd about her. Upon theſe extravagant Propoſals, there only paſs'd high Words, without any Determination. Upon which the Queen attended with many Noblemen went to *Guild-Hall*, and before the Citizens gave an Account of her Meſſage to *Wiat*, and his Anſwer: And as for her Marriage, ſhe declar'd, *She had done nothing without the Advice of her Nobles; That having liv'd ſo long a Virgin, ſhe was willing to continue in the ſame Condition, if the States of the Realm thought it proper.* *Wiat* was now four thouſand ſtrong, and march'd into *Southwark*, on the ſecond of *February*, but could not force the Bridge of *London*: He was inform'd that the Citizens would all riſe, if he ſhould come to their Aſſiſtance; but he could not find Boats for his Paſſage over into *Eſſex*, therefore he was oblig'd to go to the Bridge of *Kingſton*. On the fourth he came to *Kingſton*, where the Queen had order'd the Bridge to be cut; but his Men repairing it, he croſs'd the River that Night: And though he loſt much Time in mending one of his Carriages that broke by the Way, he was at *Hide-Park* by nine a Clock next Morning, it being *Aſh-Wedneſday*. The Earl of *Pembroke* had gather'd a conſiderable Body of Men to have attack'd him, for his own Men were now in great Diſorder; but they ſtood as Spectators, to let him throw himſelf into their Hands. He did not march by *Holborn*, as ſome adviſ'd, but came down to *Charing-Croſs*, where the Lord *Clinton* fell in between the ſeveral Bodies of his Men, and ſo diſpers'd them, that he had not five hundred left about him: But with thoſe that remain'd he paſs'd through the *Strand* and *Fleet-ſtreet*, to *Ludgate*, where he ſtopp'd, expecting to have the Gates open'd to him. Upon his Return towards *Temple-Bar*, he found himſelf ſurrounded by the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Horſe; and *Clarenceaux*, King at Arms, preſs'd *Wiat* to yield himſelf, *and not by drawing the Blood of ſo many valiant Men, forfeit all Hopes of the Queen's Mercy.* His Men ſeem'd to be reſolute, but he in Deſpair yielded, and was carry'd to the Queen; who all this while ſhew'd great Courage, and would not go to the *Tower*, as many adviſ'd her, but went with her Women and Prieſts to her Devotions. Thus ended this Rebellion, which being raw and ill-form'd was as fortunate for the Ends of the Court, as if *Gardiner* himſelf had projected it; for in a weak Government, an ill-digeſted Inſurrection raiſes the Power of the Prince, and adds as much Spirit to his Friends, as it depreſſes the Faction againſt him, and gives a Handle to ſome Things, for which otherwiſe they could neither find Colour nor Inſtruments.

The Lady Jane and her Husband order'd to die.

Her Behaviour upon it.

One Effect of this was, the ſevere Proceedings againſt the Lady *Jane*, and her Husband the Lord *Guilford*, who were both order'd to prepare for Death. The admirable Lady was not much diſorder'd at the fatal Meſſage; for ſhe knew, upon the firſt Jealouſie ſhe muſt be the Sacrifice, therefore had now liv'd ſix Months in the continual Meditations of Death. Doctor *Fecknam*, afterwards Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, was ſent to her from the Queen, who had a long Converſation with her. But ſhe anſwer'd him with that Calmneſs of Mind, and Clearneſs of Reaſon, that it was amazing to find ſo young a Perſon, of her Sex and Quality, look on approaching Death with ſo little Diſorder, and talk ſo ſenſibly and judiciouſly of the higheſt Points of Religion. *Fecknam* left her without any Hopes of prevailing; but procur'd the Continuance of her Life for three Days longer, and waited on her upon the Scaffold. She wrote to her Father to moderate his Grief for her Death, which muſt needs have been great, ſince his Actions occaſion'd it; declaring. 'It was a mighty Matter of Joy to her, that ſhe was near the End of her 'Miſeries, and the Enjoyment of eternal Glory.' There was one *Harding*, who had been her Father's Chaplain, and a zealous Preacher in the Reign of King *Edward*, and before his Death had animated the People to prepare againſt Perſecution; yet now had fallen away himſelf. To whom ſhe wrote a Letter in an extraordinary Strain, full of zealous Expoſtulations, and ſevere Threatnings for his Apoſtacy; but it had no juſt Effect upon him. The Night before her Execution, ſhe ſent her *Greek* Teſtament ſhe always us'd to her Siſter, as the richeſt Preſent in the World; with a Letter in the ſame Language, in which, in the moſt pious and pathetick Expreſſions ſhe diſplay'd the mighty value of the Book, and the glorious Advantages ſhe might obtain by it. She had alſo compos'd a very devout Prayer for her Retirements: And theſe were the laſt Exerciſes of this admirable young Lady.

Her Husband's Execution:

And her own.

The diſmal Morning being come, and all People melted into the tendereſt Sentiments of Pity, her Husband was firſt led out to a Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where he ſuffer'd with a moſt Chriſtian Meekneſs. He had obtain'd leave to ſee his beloved Spouſe, and to take his laſt Farewell; but ſhe declin'd that Ceremony, as a Circumſtance that would more increaſe their Diſorder, than their Conſolation; declaring, *That ſhe hop'd they would ſhortly meet, and be united in a happier State.* Yet ſhe had ſuch a Preſence of Mind, as to look on him through the Window, when he paſs'd to the Scaffold; and with an Heroick unmov'd Countenance ſaw his headleſs Body afterwards brought back to be interr'd in the Chapel of the *Tower*. There was no doubt but the Death of this innocent Lady would excite the higheſt Degrees of Compaſſion and Regret; therefore ſince the World could not bear ſo moving a Sight, a Scaffold was erected within the Verge of the *Tower*, where ſhe might ſatisfy the Severity of the Law, without any Danger to the State. As ſhe was brought out, the Lieutenant of the *Tower* deſir'd her to favour him with ſome Memorial of hers; upon which ſhe ask'd for her Table-Book, and wrote three ſhort Sentences in *Greek*, in *Latin*, and in *Engliſh*, by which ſhe aſſerted her Innocency, declaring, *That if her Fault deſerv'd Puniſhment, her Youth, at leaſt, and her Ignorance, were excuſable, and that God and Poſterity would ſhew her Favour.* At laſt the beauteous Victim having ſaluted the Croud as ſhe paſs'd along, and with a charming Air of Modeſty deſired their Prayers, ſhe mounted that Throne, where ſhe was to receive a Crown of ineſtimable Value. Here ſhe kindly embrac'd Doctor *Fecknam*, ſaying, *God will abundantly requite you, good Sir, for your Humanity to me, tho' it gave me more uneaſineſs than all the Terrors of my approaching Death.* Then turning to the Spectators, ſhe confeſs'd *That ſhe had ſinn'd in aſſuming the Title of Queen, and that her Conſent to it was unlawful; but ſtill it was neither procur'd, nor deſir'd by her.* At which ſhe wrung her Hands in Token of her Innocency. Then ſhe declar'd, *She dy'd a true Chriſtian, and hop'd for Salvation only by the Mercy of God in the Blood of Chriſt:* Acknowledging, *That ſhe had too much neglected the Word of God, and too much lov'd herſelf and the World, for which ſhe was juſtly puniſh'd from Heaven; but ſhe bleſs'd God, who by this had led her to Repentance.* Having ſaid this, ſhe commended herſelf to the Divine Mercy; then caus'd herſelf to be diſrob'd by ſome of her Ladies, who with weeping Eyes and bleeding Hearts perform'd that Office, which was no more unwelcome to her than a Preparation to Sleep. Being ready for the Block, with the ſame unconcern'd Countenance, as ſhe had acted the reſt of her Tragedy, ſhe loudly repeated the fifty firſt Pſalm; then crying, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*, ſhe ſubmitted her Neck to the Executioner; while all the People about her were cover'd with Floods of Tears.

Her Father's Execution.

The Princ[illegible] Elizabeth impriſon'd.

Thus dy'd the incomparable Lady *Jane Gray*, on the twelfth Day of *February*, being about ſixteen Years of Age; whoſe Death was as much lamented, as her Life had been admir'd. It had a moſt violent Operation on Judge *Morgan*, who had pronounc'd the Sentence; for ſoon after he fell mad, and in all his Ravings ſtill call'd to take away the Lady *Jane* from him. Indeed the Odium of her Death was generally caſt on her Father, rather than the Queen, who ſeem'd to be driven to it, rather from Conſiderations of State, than any Reſentments of her own. Her Father was ſoon after try'd by his Peers, condemn'd, and executed; and was the leſs pity'd, becauſe by his Means his Daughter was brought to her untimely End. *Wiat* was brought to his Tryal, who begg'd his Life in the moſt abject manner; but he was condemn'd and executed. A Slander was caſt upon the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, as if they had promoted the deſign'd Inſurrection in the Weſt; for *Wiat*, in Hopes of Life, had accus'd them, but he did them Juſtice at his Death; yet ſtill they were both put in Priſon about it. Fifty eight were executed in ſeveral Places, and ſix hundred of the Rabble were appointed to come before the Queen with Halters about their Necks, and beg their Lives, which ſhe granted them. And thus was the Storm diſſipated; only the Effuſion of Blood after it was thought too liberal, and this Exceſs of Puniſhment was generally caſt on *Gardiner*, who by this means became hateful to the Nation, which has been always much mov'd at Acts of Severity.

A. D. 1554. Reg. 2.

Vaſt Severities againſt the Reformed Clergy.

An Impoſtor in London.

III. Queen *Mary* being by the Death of one, and the Impriſonment of another, freed from all Fears of Rivalry as to the Crown, now proceeded after her own Way, without Reſerve. She gave a ſpecial Commiſſion to *Bonner*, *Gardiner*, *Tonſtal*, *Day* and *Kitchin* to proceed againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and the Biſhops of *St. Davids*, *Cheſter* and *Briſtol*, and to deprive them of their Biſhopricks for having contracted Marriage. She alſo authoriz'd them to ſummon the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Gloceſter*, and *Hereford*, who held their Biſhopricks only during their good Behaviour, and to declare their Biſhopricks void. And thus were ſeven of the Reformed Biſhops depriv'd at once, without any Form of Proceſs, by an Act of meer arbitrary Government. Biſhop *Goodrick* dy'd this Year: *Scory*, Biſhop of *Chiceſter*, renounc'd his Wife, and did Penance, but ſoon after fled beyond Sea; and *Barlow* reſign'd his Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, and alſo fled beyond Sea. By all theſe Deprivations and Reſignations, there were ſixteen new Biſhops created, in whom the Queen confided, which made no ſmall Change in the Face of the *Engliſh* Church. Now the old Service was ſet up in all Places; in which *Bonner* us'd ſuch Precipitation, that before the Royal Aſſent was given to the Bill for it, he began the old Services and Proceſſions, which were perform'd after an extraordinary Manner. Great Numbers of the Clergy were ſummarily depriv'd for being marry'd; and of the ſixteen thouſand Clergymen then in the Nation, there were about twelve thouſand, according to *Parker*, turn'd out upon this Account: Moſt of them were judg'd upon common Fame, without any Proceſs but a Citation; and many of them then in Priſon were puniſh'd for Non-Appearance. Many Books were written, numerous Reflections paſs'd, and great Diſturbances were occaſion'd. And at this time a notorious Impoſtor was diſcover'd in *London:* One ſeem'd to ſpeak out of a Wall in a ſtrange Tone, which caus'd great Numbers to flock about the Houſe, where they heard ſeveral things utter'd relating to Religion and the State. It was found to be one *Elizabeth Crofts*, who by a Whiſtle ſpoke through a Hole in the Wall; for which ſhe was oblig'd to do publick Penance at St. *Paul*'s.

The Second Parliament in this Reign.

On the ſecond Day of *April* a new Parliament met, which was the ſecond in this Reign; but the moſt conſiderable Members were before corrupted by *Gardiner*, who gave them Penſions, ſome two hundred, and others a hundred Pound a Year for their Voices. The firſt Act that paſs'd was Declaratory, 'That all the Prerogatives and 'Limitations, which by Law belong'd to the Kings of *England*, were the ſame, whether the Crown fell into the 'Hands of a Male or Female. The real Meaning of this was little known; ſome fear'd there was a pernicious Deſign in it, and that it being declar'd that ſhe had all the Authority of any of her Progenitors, it might be inferr'd that ſhe by this could pretend to a Right of Conqueſt, and like *William* the Conqueror ſeize on the Eſtates of the *Engliſh*. But it was ſo conceiv'd, that the Queen was put under the ſame Limitations, as well as acknowledg'd to have the ſame Prerogatives, with her Predeceſſors. The Secret of this Act was afterwards diſcover'd: A projecting Man, who had ſerv'd *Cromwell*, and had been deeply ingag'd in the Lady *Jane*'s Affair, and the late Inſurrection, by making a timely Application to the Emperor's Ambaſſador, obtain'd his Pardon; and for Amends he offer'd a Project to the Ambaſſador, that the Queen ſhould declare, that ſhe ſucceeded to the Crown by the Common-Law, but was not bound by the Statute-Law, which only oblig'd Kings and not Queens, by which ſhe might pretend to be a Conqueror, and rule at Pleaſure; and by that might reſtore both Religion and the Abby-Lands without any Reſtraint. This was brought to the Queen by the Ambaſſador, who begg'd of her to keep it very ſecret. She diſlik'd the Paper, yet ſhe ſent for *Gardiner*, and charg'd him to give her his Opinion of it ſincerely, *as he would anſwer to God for it at the great Day*. He read it carefully, and told her, *It was a moſt pernicious Contrivance*, and begg'd of her *not to hearken to ſuch Platforms, which might be brought her by baſe Sycophants:* Upon that ſhe burnt the Paper, and order'd the Ambaſſador to bring her no more of ſuch Projects. This gave *Gardiner* ſenſible Apprehenſions of the Miſchiefs that *Spaniſh* Counſels might bring upon the Nation, and therefore he procur'd the forementioned Act to be made, by which the Queen was as much bound by the Statute-Law as her Predeceſſors. He alſo procur'd an Act to be paſs'd, ratifying the Articles of the Marriage of the Queen with very ſtrong Clauſes, for keeping the Government intirely in the Queen's Hands; ſo that Prince *Philip* might not take it upon him, as *Henry* VII had done, when he marry'd the Heir of the Houſe of *York:* For as that King ſet up a Title in his own Name, and kept the Government in his own Hands; ſo the *Spaniards* began now to derive a Deſcent from *John of Gaunt*, Father to *Henry* IV, which caus'd *Gardiner* to be the more cautious in this Matter. And it muſt be acknowledg'd, that the preſerving of the Nation out of the Hands of the *Spaniards*, was almoſt only owing to his Care and Wiſdom. In this Parliament ſeveral other Bills were prepar'd againſt the *Lollards*, and for the Six Articles, but none of them paſs'd; nor nothing material was enacted beſides a Confirmation of former Attainders, and the Reſtoration of the Biſhoprick of *Durham:* So the Parliament was diſſolv'd on the twenty fifth Day of *May*.

The Articles of the Queen's deſign'd Marriage confirm'd.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

During this Parliament, the Convocation ſate; and that they might remove the Objections that ſome made, that the chief of the Reformers were kept in Priſon, while the Cauſe was debating in the laſt Meeting, they ſent a Committee of their ableſt Men to *Oxford*, to diſpute with *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Latimer*, who were alſo ſent thither. When *Cranmer* was brought before them, they exhorted him to return to the Unity of the Church, and fell into a long Diſpute; in which *Weſton* the Prolocutor often call'd him an *Unlearned and Impudent Man:* But he carry'd himſelf with that Gravity and Mildneſs, that it drew Tears from the Eyes of many. Yet the whole Action was carry'd with ſuch indecent Hiſſing and Inſulting, and ended with ſuch Shouts of Triumph againſt *Cranmer*, that it was viſible there was nothing intended, but to abuſe the Ignorant People, and make them imagine he was utterly defeated. *Ridley* was brought out the next Day, who began with deep Proteſtations of his Sincerity, and that nothing but the Force of Truth had caus'd him to change thoſe Opinions in which he had been firſt educated. Yet the Diſpute was carry'd on with the ſame Inſultings, that had been us'd the Day before; and in Concluſion the Prolocutor bid the Aſſembly cry out with him, *Truth has the Victory!* *Latimer* was brought out the third Day, who told them he was fourſcore Years of Age, and had his Memory impair'd; and tho' he could not diſpute with the Accuracy of ſome Men, yet his Faith was firmly founded on the Word of God. They ſeem'd more to laugh than to anſwer him; and during the whole Debates, the Noiſe and Diſorder was ſuch, that it look'd more like a Country Game, than a Diſpute among Divines. At length the Committee of Convocation condemn'd them all, as obſtinate Hereticks, and declar'd them to be no Members of the Church. They appeal'd from their Sentence to the Judgment of God, and expreſs'd mighty Joy at the Hopes they had of glorifying God by dying in his Cauſe. *Cranmer* ſent a Petition to the Council, complaining of the Diſorder of theſe Diſputes, which were ſo manag'd, that the World might be abus'd with the Name of a Diſputation: But this was not deliver'd, for the Deſign was to make the Nation believe, That the Champions of the Reformation were publickly baffled. It was alſo reſolv'd to carry ſome of the Priſoners to *Cambridge*, and in the ſame Manner to erect new Trophies in that Univerſity, as they had done at *Oxford*. Upon which, three of the impriſon'd Biſhops, and ſeven Divines, ſign'd a Paper, by which they declar'd, 'They would ingage in no Diſpute, but in 'Writing; unleſs it were in the Preſence of the Queen, 'or the Council, or before either of the Houſes of Parliament. For it was viſible, the Deſign of Diſputing was 'not to find out the Truth; nor could they expect any 'fair Dealing, where their Enemies were to be their Judges, 'who would not ſuffer them to ſpeak their Minds freely; 'and after ſo long an Impriſonment, their Books and Pa'pers being detain'd from them, they could not be fur'niſh'd to anſwer many Things objected againſt them.' Then they added a ſhort Account of their Perſuaſions in the chief Points of Controverſie, which they would be ready to defend on fair and equal Terms; and concluded with a Charge to all the People, 'Not to rebel againſt the Queen, 'but to obey all her Commands, that were not contrary 'to the Law of God.

A publick Diſputation at Oxford.

The reform'd Divines remonſtrate.

Reg. 2. Phil. 1.

The Arrival of Prince Philip.

Not long after, on the twentieth of *July*, Prince *Philip* with a numerous Fleet arriv'd at *Southampton*; and at his firſt Landing, he drew his Sword, and carry'd it for ſome Time naked in his Hand; which was interpreted as an Omen, that he deſign'd to rule by his Sword, but his Friends ſaid, it ſignify'd, *That he would draw his Sword for the Defence of the Nation*. The Mayor of *Southampton* brought him the Keys of the Town, which he took from him, and return'd them, without the leaſt Indication of his being pleas'd with this Reſpect ſhewn only to their Sovereign Prince; which being contrary to the Genius of the *Engliſh* Nation, which is always oblig'd at the gracious Smiles of their Kings, was thought a Sign of vaſt Pride and Moroſeneſs. The Queen met him with a noble Train at *Wincheſter*, where Biſhop *Gardiner* marry'd them with great Solemnity on the twenty fifth of *July*; he being then in the twenty ſeventh, and the Queen in the thirty eighth Year of her Age. Here the Emperor by his Ambaſſador reſign'd to him his Titular Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, and his more valuable one of *Naples:* So that they were proclaim'd with a pompous Enumeration of all their Titles; at which Time they ſhew'd themſelves publickly with two Swords born before them, in regard of their diſtinct Capacities. From *Wincheſter* they remov'd to *Baſing*, and ſo to *Windſor*, where on the fifth of *Auguſt*, he was ſolemnly inſtall'd Knight of the *Garter*. On the twelfth of the ſame Month, he made a magnificent Entry through the principal Streets of *London*, with all the Pomps uſual at a Coronation. The Triumphs of which Entertainment had continu'd longer, if the Court had not put on Mourning for the old Duke of *Norfolk*, who dy'd at *Framingham* Caſtle in *September*, to the great Sorrow of the Queen, who intirely lov'd him.

He is marry'd to the Queen.

The Duke of Norfolk *dies.*

King *Philip*'s ſullen Gravity was very unacceptable to the *Engliſh*; who ever lov'd a Medium between the Stiffneſs of the *Spaniard*, and the Gaiety of the *French*; but if they were not pleas'd with his Temper, they were extreamly in love with his Bounty and Wealth: For he brought over a vaſt Treaſure with him, twenty Carts loaden with Bullion, and ninety nine Horſes and two Carts loaden with coin'd Gold and Silver; the greateſt Part of which was diſtributed among thoſe who had ſold their Country and Religion. At his Arrival at *London*, he procur'd the Pardon of many Priſoners, and among others, of *Holgate* Arch-Biſhop of *York*; but his moſt popular Act was his interpoſing for the Preſervation of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire*. *Gardiner* was much fix'd againſt them, and thought the Work but half finiſh'd, while the Princeſs liv'd: *Wiat* had accus'd them both, in hopes of ſaving his own Life; but when that did not preſerve him, he publickly vindicated them on the Scaffold. The Earl of *Devonſhire*, to be freed from all Jealouſie, went beyond Sea, and dy'd a Year after in *Italy*, as ſome ſay, of Poiſon, being the eleventh and laſt Earl of that noble Family. King *Philip* at firſt took care to preſerve the Princeſs, upon a generous Account, pitying her Innocence, and hoping by ſuch a publick Act of Favour, to recommend himſelf to the Nation; but afterwards Intereſt fortify'd thoſe good and wiſe Inclinations; for when he had loſt Hopes of Iſſue from the Queen, he conſider'd that the Queen of *Scotland*, ſoon after marry'd to the *Dauphine*, was next in Succeſſion to *Elizabeth*; ſo that if ſhe were remov'd, the Crown of *England* might become an Acceſſion to that of *France*. Therefore he took particular Care to preſerve her, and probably with Hopes to have prevail'd ſo far upon her, by theſe good Offices, that if her Siſter ſhould die without Children, ſhe might be induc'd to marry him. But this was the only Act that was really grateful and acceptable to the Nation; for he affected ſuch an extravagant State, and was ſo ſullen and ſilent, that it was not eaſie for any to come within the Court, and there was no Acceſs to him without demanding it with almoſt as much Formality as Ambaſſadors us'd to foreign Princes: And indeed his Carriage was ſuch, that the Acting him and his *Spaniards* was afterwards one of the great Diverſions of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Court. This and other Matters caus'd a general Diſcontent to ſpread through moſt Places of the Kingdom; only *Gardiner* was well ſatisfy'd, ſince the Conduct of Affairs was put ſo intirely into his Hands. Many malicious Reports were ſpread of the Queen, particularly in *Norfolk*; where it was reported that ſhe was with Child before the King came over, which ſenſibly touch'd the Queen; but after ſtrict Examinations, the Rumour vaniſh'd into Air.

King Philip *preſerves the Princeſs* Elizabeth.

The third Parliament in this Reign.

Cardinal Pool *comes into England:*

Who in Parliament reconciles the Nation to the See of Rome.

On the eleventh Day of *November*, the Queen's third Parliament met; and in the Writ of Summons, the Queen's Title of *Supream Head of the Church* was omitted; tho' hitherto ſhe had not only us'd the Name, but exercis'd the Power to the higheſt Degree. Cardinal *Pool* was now permitted to come ſo near as *Flanders*; and the Temper of the Parliament being ſoon found favourable to the Work he was projecting, the Queen ſent two Lords, *Paget* and *Haſtings*, to conduct him into *England*. At the opening of the Parliament, both King and Queen rode in State to *Weſtminſter*, each having a Sword of State, and a Cap of Maintenance carry'd before them. The firſt Bill that paſs'd, was a Repeal of *Pool*'s Attainder, which was read by the Commons three Times in one Day; and the Bill was perfected, without making a Seſſion by a ſhort Prorogation. He came over, and enter'd privately into *London*; for the Pope's Authority not being yet acknowledg'd, he could not be receiv'd as Legate. His Inſtructions were full and ample, beſides the Authority commonly lodg'd with Legates; which conſiſts in a Power to overthrow and diſpenſe with almoſt all the Rules and Canons of the Church. He made his firſt Speech to the King and Queen, and then to the Parliament, in the Name of the common Paſtor, lovingly inviting them to return to the Sheepfold of the Church. As he was delivering his plauſible Speech, the Queen felt an unuſual Emotion of Joy within her, which ſhe judg'd to be a Child quickning in her Womb; which Belief being heighten'd by the flattering Court Ladies, the Council order'd Biſhop *Bonner* to ſing *Te Deum* at St. *Paul*'s, which was ſucceeded with all the uſual Marks of Exultation. Both Houſes agreed upon an Addreſs to the King and Queen, 'That they would intercede with the Legate, to reconcile them to the See of *Rome*; offering to repeal all the Laws they had made againſt the Pope's Authority, in Token of their Repentance.' Upon this the Cardinal came to the Parliament; where in a long Speech he firſt thank'd them for repealing his Attainder, 'in Recompence of which, he came now to reconcile them to the Body of the Church: Then he inſiſted upon the Converſion of the *Britains* and *Saxons* to the Faith, on the Obedience they had paid to the Apoſtolick See, and the numerous Favours granted to the Crown by the ſame See, of which none was more Eminent than the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, The Ruin of the *Greek* Church, the Diſtractions of *Germany*, and the Confuſions they had ſuffer'd, ſince their Departure from the Unity of the Church, might convince them of the Neceſſity of entirely preſerving that Bond.' In concluſion, he gave them and the whole Nation a Plenary Abſolution, which all preſent receiv'd upon their Knees; and the reſt of the Day was ſpent in ſinging *Te Deum*, and the Night in Bonfires.

The Act for repealing all Laws againſt that See.

Other Acts.

Shortly after the famous Act paſs'd, repealing all Laws made againſt the Pope's Authority, only it met with a ſmall Impediment, by reaſon of a Proviſo, which the Houſe of Lords inſerted for ſome Lands, which the Lord *Wentworth* had of the See of *London*. This was ſo much oppos'd by the Commons, that after the Bill had been offer'd to the Royal Aſſent, it was boldly cut out of the Parchment by *Gardiner*, who ſaid, *Now I truly do the Office of a* CHANCELLOR; alluding to the Word *Cancelling*, from whence he would have the Word CHANCELLOR deriv'd. 'The Bill enumerated and repeal'd all Acts made ſince the twentieth of *Henry* VIII. but all Foundations of Biſhopricks and Cathedrals, all Marriages, tho' contrary to the Laws of the Church, all Inſtitutions, all Judicial Proceſſes, and Settlements made, either of Church or Abby Lands, were confirm'd. The Convocation had join'd their Interceſſion with the Cardinal, that he would confirm the Right of the preſent Poſſeſſors of thoſe Lands: Upon which he did confirm them, but with a heavy Charge, requiring thoſe who had any of the Churches Goods to remember the Judgments of God upon ſuch Detainers; and that at leaſt, they would take Care that ſuch as ſerv'd the Cures ſhould be ſufficiently maintain'd: All which was put into the Act, and confirm'd by it; and it was declar'd that all Suits concerning thoſe Lands were to be try'd in the Civil Courts; and that it ſhould be a *Premunire*, if any diſturb'd the Poſſeſſors, by the Pretence of Eccleſiaſtical Power. It was alſo declar'd, That the Title of *Supream Head of the Church* did never of Right belong to the Crown, and enacted that it ſhould be left out of all Writs for the future. All Exemptions granted to Monaſteries, and now continu'd in Lay-Hands, were taken away; and all Churches were made ſubject to Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, excepting only the Privileges of the Univerſities, *Weſtminſter*, *Windſor* and the *Tower* of *London*. The Statute of *Mortmain* was repeal'd for twenty Years to come; and all Things were brought back to the State in which they were, in the twentieth Year of *Henry* VIII.' The lower Houſe of Convocation gave Occaſion to many Clauſes in this Act, relating to the Reſtoration of Tithes, the burning of Heretical Books, to Pluralities and Non-Reſidence, to Simoniacal Factions, the Payments of Firſt-Fruits and Tenths, and the Limitation of *Premunires*. By another Bill all former Acts againſt *Lollards* were reviv'd. The Commons offer'd another Bill for voiding of all Leaſes made by marry'd Prieſts, but it was laid aſide by the Lords; and thus were the Penſioners and aſpiring Men in the Houſe of Commons, either labouring to redeem former Faults, or hoping to merit great Rewards by the Forwardneſs of their Zeal. By another Bill ſeveral Things were made Treaſon; and it was declar'd, 'That if the Queen dy'd before the King, and left any Children, the King ſhould have the Government in his Hands, 'till they were of Age; and during that Time, the Conſpiring his Death was made Treaſon, but none were to be try'd for Words, but within ſix Months after they were ſpoken.' Another Act paſs'd, declaring it Treaſon for any to pray for the Queen's Death, unleſs they repented of it, and then they were to ſuffer Corporal Puniſhment at the Judges Diſcretion. A ſevere Act was alſo paſs'd againſt all that ſpread lying Reports of the King, the Queen, the Peers, Judges, or great Officers: Some were to loſe their Hands, others their Ears, and the reſt were to be fin'd according to the Degree of their Offence.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

All the Bills being finiſh'd, this remarkable Parliament was diſſolv'd upon the ſixteenth Day of *January*, to the great Satisfaction of Biſhop *Gardiner*, who had now perform'd all he had undertaken to the Queen or Emperor; and his Reputation was much rais'd for bringing about ſo vaſt a Change in ſo ſmall a Time, and with ſo little Oppoſition. Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Rome* to give Notice of the happy Reſtoration of *England* to that See, and a ſolemn Proceſſion was appointed of many Biſhops and Prieſts, where *Bonner* carry'd the Hoſt to thank God for reconciling the Nation to St. *Peter*'s Chair: And this having been done upon St. *Andrew*'s Day, that was appointed to be Anniverſary, and was call'd, *The Feaſt of the Reconciliation*.

A.D. 1555. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$. Phil. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Conſultations about Proceeding againſt Hereticks.

A Perſecution begun.

Rogers *the firſt Martyr.*

IV. The Queen and her Favourites, having now obtain'd their main Cauſe, they took it into Conſideration in what Methods they ought to proceed againſt the Hereticks. *Pool* was an Enemy to ſevere Proceedings, he thought that a Churchman ought to have the Tenderneſs of a Father, and the Care of a Shepherd, whoſe Duty it is to reduce and not devour the ſtray Sheep: He had obſerv'd that Cruelty rather inflam'd than cur'd that Diſtemper; therefore he thought the better Way was to begin with an effectual Reformation of the Manners of the Clergy. *Gardiner* on the other ſide, being of an abject and cruel Temper himſelf, thought that the ſtrict Execution of the Laws againſt *Lollards* would be moſt ſerviceable to the Church; tho' he confeſs'd that a Reformation of the Clergy was a good Thing, but then he thought the preſent Times would not bear it. The Queen was for joining both theſe Councils together, and deſign'd to proceed at the ſame Time, both againſt ſcandalous Churchmen, and Hereticks: So that in a ſhort Time the Perſecution began, in the latter End of the Month of *January*. *Rogers*, a learned Man, who had been Prebendary of St. *Paul*'s, was the firſt Victim, who would not fly from Perſecution, tho' he was ſtrongly induc'd by a Wife and Family of ten Children. Both he and Biſhop *Hooper* were brought before *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonſtall*, and three other Biſhops. They demanded of them whether they would ſubmit to the Church or not? but they anſwer'd, *That they look'd upon the Church of* Rome *as Antichriſtian.* Upon which *Gardiner* charg'd them with reproaching the Queen; but *Rogers* declar'd, *That he honour'd the Queen, and expected no Ill at her Hands, but as ſhe was excited by them.* This caus'd *Gardiner* and the other Biſhops to declare, *That they were ſo far from exciting the Queen in this Matter; that ſhe had commanded them to act as they did*; and this was confirm'd by two Privy-Counſellors then preſent. In Concluſion, after a little Time allow'd them, they declar'd them obſtinate Hereticks, and ſo degraded them from their Functions. *Rogers* was not permitted to ſee his Wife nor his Children, yet ſo little did his terrible Sentence of Burning fright him, that the Morning of his Execution he was found in a quiet and calm Sleep. He was carry'd from *Newgate* to *Smithfield*, on the fourth of *February*, where a Pardon was offer'd him at the Stake, if he would recant; but he refus'd it upon thoſe Terms, and anſwer'd, *He would not exchange a ſhort Fire for everlaſting Burnings*, declaring, *That he reſign'd up his Life with Joy, as a Teſtimony of the Doctrine he had preach'd.* As for *Hooper* he was ſent to *Gloceſter*, his former Biſhoprick, at which he greatly rejoic'd, for he hop'd by his Death to confirm many in that Place. He diſcours'd with ſeveral whom he had formerly known, and ſome of them melted into Tears, which much affected the Biſhop, who ſaid, *All he had*

Hooper's Sufferings.

ſuffer'd in his Impriſonment had not mov'd him ſo much. On the ninth of *February* he was brought to the Stake, where a Pardon was alſo offer'd him, but to no Effect. While he was burning a great Wind blew, and hinder'd the Flame from riſing ſo high as to choak him, or deſtroy his Vitals; ſo that he was near three Quarters of an Hour in exquiſite Torment: But he ſtill continu'd calling on God, and at laſt cry'd out, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit. Sanders*, Miniſter of *Coventry*, and *Taylor* Miniſter of *Hadley* in *Suffolk*, were at the ſame Time condemn'd, and ſent to be burnt at the Places where they had ſerv'd: The former was firſt committed for Preaching without a Licence, after the Queen's Prohibition; and the latter, for oppoſing ſome Prieſts, who violently broke into the Church, and ſaid Maſs in it.

Gardiner was now in hopes that theſe four Executions being made in ſeveral Parts of *England*, would have ſtruck ſuch a general Terror into the whole Party, that there would have been little Occaſion for further Severities: But when he ſaw ſix more apprehended on the ſame Account, and that the Spirits of thoſe call'd Hereticks were now rather inflam'd than depreſs'd, he reſolv'd to concern himſelf no farther in thoſe Tryals; and turn'd over that invidious Task to *Bonner*, whoſe Temper was ſo cruel and brutal, that he chearfully undertook it, tho' the Nation ſtood amaz'd at theſe Proceedings. He had for ſome Months kept one *Tomkins* a Weaver in his Houſe, who was found to doubt of the *Real Preſence*; for which he us'd ſeveral Cruelties to him, as the tearing out the Hair of his Beard, and the holding a Candle to his Hand, 'till the Veins and Sinews burſt aſunder: And theſe not prevailing to make a Change, he was at laſt burnt in *Smithfield*. One *Hunter*, an Apprentice, not above nineteen Years of Age, was condemn'd and burnt on the ſame Account; whom *Bonner* was ſo much concern'd to preſerve, that he offer'd him forty Pounds to change his Faith; ſo mercenary did he imagine were the Conſciences of ſome Men. Two Gentlemen, *Cauſton* and *Higbed*, one *Laurence* a Prieſt, and two meaner Perſons, were burnt near their own Houſes in *Eſſex*. The Method in theſe and in all other Proceedings, during the reſt of this Reign, was ſummary, and *ex officio:* Upon Complaint made, Perſons were impriſon'd, and Articles were offer'd to them, which they were requir'd to anſwer; and if their Anſwers were judg'd Heretical, they were burnt without any further Objections, or Proofs againſt them. *Ferrar*, who had been Biſhop of St. *David's*, was treated in the ſame manner by his Succeſſor *Morgan*; and tho' he appeal'd to Cardinal *Pool*, it had no other Effect, but ſtopping his Execution three Weeks. *Rawlins White*, a poor Fiſherman, was condemn'd by the Biſhop of *Landaffe*, and afterwards burnt. *Marth*, a Prieſt, was burnt at *Cheſter*; and to the ordinary Cruelty of Burning, they added a new Invention of pouring melted Pitch on his Head. One *Flower*, a raſh and inconſiderate Man, wounded a Prieſt while he was officiating at *Weſtminſter*; for which he was condemn'd as a Heretick, and burnt: But the Fact was diſapprov'd by all the Reformed, and he became a ſincere Penitent for it, before he dy'd. After this, for the Space of a few Weeks, there was a Stop put to theſe Severities, which gave the moſt terrible Apprehenſions to the Nation.

Bonner's cruel Proceedings.

The uſual Way of Proſecution.

The Queen, to teſtifie her real Zeal, about this Time ſent for her Treaſurer, and ſome other Officers of her Revenue, and told them, That ſhe thought herſelf bound in Conſcience to reſtore all the Lands of the Church, that were then in her Hands: And if it ſhould be objected, that the Crown was poor, and that ſhe could not maintain her Dignity without them, ſhe declar'd, *That ſhe valu'd the Salvation of her Soul more than ten Kingdoms, and thank'd God that her Huſband was of the ſame Mind.* She thought they were unlawfully acquir'd, and that they could not be held without Sin, therefore ſhe reſolv'd they ſhould be diſpos'd as Cardinal *Pool* ſhould think fit. To this ſhe was much excited by a Bull of Excommunication againſt ſuch as detain'd Church-Lands, iſſu'd out by Pope *Julius* this Year. That Pope dy'd ſhortly after, and was ſucceeded by *Marcellus*; who turn'd his Thoughts wholly to the Reformation of Abuſes, of which he was ſo ſenſible, that he once cry'd out, *That he did not ſee how any could be ſav'd who ſate in that Chair!* Which had ſuch Effects upon him, that he dy'd within twenty two Days after his Election. Upon his Death, the Queen endeavour'd for the Promotion of Cardinal *Pool*, but without his Knowledge or Approbation: But at *Rome* they were ſo apprehenſive of another reforming Pope, that they haſten'd their Election, and ſet up *Caraffa*, call'd *Paul* the Fourth, who was the moſt ambitious and inſolent Pope, that had reign'd for many Years. Upon the Day of his Election, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors enter'd *Rome* in great State with a Train of a hundred and forty Horſe of their own Attendance; but the Pope would not admit them to an Audience, till they had accepted of a Grant of the Title of the Kingdom of *Ireland* from himſelf; to which they ſervilely ſubmitted. Their publick Audience was given with great Solemnity, in which the Pope declar'd, *That in Token of his pardoning the Nation, he had added to the Crown the Title of the Kingdom of* Ireland, *by that Supream Power which God had given him to deſtroy, or erect Kingdoms at his Pleaſure.* But in private Diſcourſes, he ſo much complain'd of the unpardonable Sin of Detaining the Abby-Lands, and was ſo poſitive in the Reſtitution of them, that it extreamly mortify'd the Lord *Montacute*, who was one of the Ambaſſadors, and whoſe Eſtate chiefly conſiſted in thoſe Lands.

The Queen reſtores the Church Lands.

The Pride of Pope Paul *the Fourth.*

In *England* the Court was now in mighty Expectations of the Queen's Delivery; and in *May*, the Envoys were nam'd that were to carry the good News to the neighbouring Courts. In the Beginning of *June* ſhe was believ'd to be in Labour, and the Report flew all over *London* that ſhe had brought forth a Son. The Prieſts had ſettled all their Hopes on that, ſo that *Te Deum* was ſung in all Parts; and one more officious than the reſt, made a Sermon about it, and deſcrib'd all the Lineaments of their young Prince. But they ſoon found they were abus'd; and that it was either an Abortion, or a Timpany, or ſome other Diſtemper; or, as ſome have been ready to judge, a notorious Impoſture, but defeated by the Vigilance of King *Philip*. However it was, from this Time all Hopes of Iſſue ceas'd, which much encreas'd the Sourneſs and Severity of her Temper; and King *Philip*, being ſo much younger than her, out of Averſion or Reſentment, never eſteem'd her, but in a few Months left her and the Nation. He found it was impoſſible to get *England* into his Poſſeſſion without Children, therefore he gave over all Deſigns about it; and having liv'd with her about fifteen Months, he thought it neceſſary to take more Care of his Hereditary, than his Matrimonial Crown, and for the future conſider'd *England* rather as a ſure Ally, than an additional Power. Not long after, his Great Father, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, reſign'd all his Dominions to him; which Reſignation drew the wondring Eyes of all *Europe* upon it. This mighty Prince had enjoy'd his Hereditary Dominions forty Years, and the Empire thirty ſix. He had indur'd vaſt Fatigues, by the numerous Journies he had made; nine into *Germany*, ſix into *Spain*, ſeven into *Italy*, four through *France:* He was ten Times in the *Netherlands*, made two Expeditions into *Africa*, was twice in *England*, and had croſs'd the Sea eleven Times. He had unuſual Succeſs in his Wars; he had taken a Pope, a King of *France*, and ſome *German* Princes, Priſoners; and had a prodigious Acceſſion of Wealth and Empire from the *Weſt-Indies*. But now being much afflicted with the Gout, his Fortune chang'd, and ſeveral Deſigns blaſted, he declar'd, *That there ought to be an Interval between the Affairs of the World, and the Hour of Death*; he reſign'd all his Dominions with a Greatneſs of Mind, much ſuperior to his Conqueſts. He liv'd a retir'd religious Life, with a hundred thouſand Crowns Penſion; and at the end of two Years dy'd, having given the World a great Inſtance of a Mind ſurfeited with Human Glory, that ſought for Quiet in a private Cell, which in vain it had ſearch'd after in Camps and Palaces.

The Queen's Delivery in vain expected.

King Philip *leaves her.*

He becomes King of Spain *by his Father's Reſignation.*

In *England* Orders were ſent to the Juſtices to look narrowly to the Preachers of Hereſie, and to have ſecret Spies in every Pariſh, for giving them Information of all Peoples Behaviour. This was thought to riſe from *Spaniſh* Counſels, which became very odious to the People, who grew ſo averſe to theſe cruel Proceedings, that *Bonner* himſelf finding their Temper, ſlack'd his Hand, and burnt none for five Weeks. Upon which the Queen wrote to him, and requir'd him *to perform the Office of a good Paſtor, and either to reclaim the Hereticks, or proceed againſt them according to Law.* This Admonition prov'd very agreeable to his cruel Diſpoſition; and immediately new Fires were kindled. *Cardmaker*, once a Prebendary of *Bath*, and *Warne* a Tradeſman, were burnt in *Smithfield*. Seven were burnt in ſeveral Parts of *Eſſex*, who were condemn'd by *Bonner*, and ſent down to ſuffer near the Places of their Abode. The Council wrote to the chief Men of the County, to gather many together, and aſſiſt at thoſe diſmal Spectacles; and when they heard that ſome had come of their own accord to the Burnings at *Colcheſter*, they deſir'd the Lord *Rich* to give their Thanks to thoſe Perſons for their Zeal; ſo induſtriouſly did they ſtudy to cheriſh a Spirit of Cruelty among the People. *Bradford*, who had generouſly ſav'd *Bourne* the Preacher at St. *Paul's*, was notwithſtanding condemn'd; and after many Methods us'd by the chief of the *Popiſh* Party to make him recant, he ſuffer'd at *Smithfield* with great Joy and a noble Conſtancy, together with a young Apprentice, whom he much incourag'd in his Sufferings. *Thornton*, *Harpsfield* and others, rais'd a Perſecution at *Canterbury*, tho' Cardinal *Pool* was averſe to ſuch Proceedings; but he durſt not now diſcover ſo much, for the Pope had an inveterate Hatred to him,

Great Numbers burnt in ſeveral Parts of the Nation.

and was reſolv'd to recal him upon the firſt Occaſion, and for that End he enter'd into a Correſpondence with *Gardiner*, who now hop'd to have been made a Cardinal, and Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*: And upon thoſe Hopes, he ſtill preſerv'd *Cranmer*; for tho' he now ſtood condemn'd for Hereſie, yet the See was not accounted void, 'till he was formally degraded. Some declar'd it was moſt proper to begin with him, who had been the chief Promoter of Hereſie in *England*: But *Gardiner* ſaid, it was better to try if it were poſſible to ſhake him, and it would be a mighty Blow to the whole Party, if he could be prevail'd on to forſake it; whereas if he ſuffer'd Burning with the ſame Reſolution that others expreſs'd, it would much raiſe the Spirits of his Followers. The See of *Canterbury* was now only ſequeſter'd in *Pool*'s Hands, and he fearing to fall under the Pope's Rage, was forc'd to ſuffer the cruel Prebendaries of that Church to act as they pleas'd: So they burnt two Prieſts and two Lay-men at *Canterbury*, and ſent a Man and a Woman to be burnt in other Places in *Kent*. Two that belong'd to the Dioceſes of *Wincheſter* and *Chicheſter* were condemn'd by *Bonner*, and were burnt near the Places of their Abode. Theſe ſuffer'd in *July*. In *Auguſt* ſeven were burnt in ſeveral Places; ſix more were burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*, and four were burnt elſewhere. In *September* five were burnt at *Canterbury*, and ſeven in other Places. In *October*, two were burnt at *Ely*, by *Shaxton*'s Means, who now compleated his Apoſtacy by his Cruelty.

The Sufferings of Biſhop Ridley *and* Latimer *at* Oxford.

Thus did the Perſecution rage in ſeveral Places; to the great Terror and Deteſtation of the People; but the moſt memorable Sufferers this Year were the two famous Biſhops *Ridley* and *Latimer*. Three Biſhops, *Lincoln*, *Gloceſter* and *Briſtol* were ſent to *Oxford*, with a Commiſſion from Cardinal *Pool* to proceed againſt them. *Ridley* ſaid, *he paid great Reſpect to* Pool, *for his Royal Extract and his Abilities, but as he was the Pope's Legate, he would ſhew no Reverence to him, nor be uncover'd before any that acted by his Authority.* After a long Diſcourſe, and ſeveral Arguments, and a Night's Conſideration granted them, they were condemn'd as obſtinate Hereticks, and deliver'd to the ſecular Arm, and the Writs were ſent down for their Burning. The Night before the Execution, *Ridley* was very joyful, and invited the Mayor and his Wife *to be at his Wedding next Day:* At which, when the Mayor's Wife melted into Tears, he ſaid, *He perceiv'd ſhe did not love him*, but told her, *Tho' his Breakfaſt would be ſharp, he was ſure his Supper would be ſweet*; *and was glad to hear that his Siſter would come and ſee him die*; and continu'd in ſuch Compoſure of Mind, that they were all amaz'd at it. As they were led out to Execution, they earneſtly caſt their Eyes up to *Cranmer*'s Window in the Priſon, hoping to have ſeen him; but he was then engag'd with ſome Friars: Yet he look'd after them with the utmoſt Tenderneſs, and kneeling down pray'd earneſtly, That God would now ſtrengthen their Faith and Patience in their laſt painful Paſſage. When they came to the Stake before *Baliol* College, they imbrac'd each other with great Affection, and *Ridley* ſaid, *Be of good Courage, Brother, for God will aſſwage the Flame, or enable us to abide it.* *Smith* preach'd the Sermon, and compar'd their Dying in this Manner, to that of *Judas*, who hang'd himſelf. *Ridley* deſir'd leave to anſwer ſome Points in his Sermon; but it was told him, *That he was not to be ſuffer'd to ſpeak, except he deſign'd to recant:* So he turn'd himſelf to God, when he ſaw Men ſo unreaſonable to him. He ſent a Petition to the Queen in Behalf of the Tenants of the Biſhoprick of *London*, from whom he had taken Fines, for which they had renew'd their Leaſes; and pray'd that either their Leaſes might be confirm'd, or their Fines reſtor'd out of thoſe Goods which had been ſeiz'd when he was firſt impriſon'd. Then they both pray'd, and fitted themſelves for the Stake; *Latimer* crying to *Ridley*, *Be of good Comfort, we ſhall this Day light ſuch a Candle in* England, *as by God's Grace ſhall never be extinguiſh'd.* Being thus prepar'd, and Gun-powder hang'd about their Bodies, the Wood was fir'd, which ſoon put *Latimer* out of his Pain; but *Ridley* had a more lingring Torment: For they threw on ſo much Wood, that it was long before the Flame broke through it, and his Legs were almoſt conſum'd before his Vitals were affected. Thus triumphantly did theſe two excellent Biſhops end their Days and their Miniſtry: *Ridley* was eſteem'd one of the Ableſt of all that promoted the Reformation, both for Piety, Learning and Solidity of Judgment: The other, who was eighty Years of Age, was regarded as a truly Primitive Biſhop, who ſeem'd to have more of the Simplicity of the firſt Ages, than the Politeneſs or Learning of the latter Times.

It was particularly obſerv'd that *Gardiner* was very impatient to have theſe Biſhops burnt, and he ſtaid long for Dinner that Day, 'till he underſtood that the Fire was actually kindled. When the Meſſengers arriv'd at four in the Afternoon, he went chearfully to dine: But at Dinner he was ſtruck with a remarkable Illneſs, which turn'd to a terrible Suppreſſion of Urine, and held him many Days 'till he dy'd on the twelfth of *November*. He went twice to the Parliament, which was open'd the twenty firſt of *October*, but after that was confin'd to his Houſe: He expreſs'd great Sorrow and Remorſe for his former Life, and often cry'd out, *I have err'd like St.* Peter, *but not repented as he did!* Thus dy'd this remarkable Man; who was believ'd to be of noble Extraction, tho' baſely born; for his true Father was ſuppos'd to be *Richard Woodvill*, Brother to *Edward* the Fourth's Queen, who was Grand-Mother to *Henry* the Eighth. He was a Man well skill'd in the Canon and Civil Laws, and moderately in Divinity; he had a good Stile in *Latin*, and underſtood *Greek* well; but his great Strength lay in a profound Diſſimulation, a Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, a nice Proſpect of Affairs, an artificial Concealment of his Mind, and a ſubtle Way of Inſinuating himſelf into the Credit and Affections of other Perſons. He had certainly brought about great Deſigns; and now when a Cardinal's Hat was juſt falling upon his Head, Heav'n ſtopp'd him in his Career, and all his ambitious Projects fell with him. Only the Conſequences of his Cruelty did not ceaſe; for three Perſons were burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury* in *November*; and the famous *Philpot* was burnt in *Smithfield* in *December*. In all, there were ſixty-ſeven burnt this Year, of whom four were Biſhops, and thirteen Prieſts.

Biſhop Gardiner's *Death and Character.*

The Fourth Parliament in this Reign.

A new Parliament was now aſſembled, by which it appear'd Mens Minds were much alienated from the Clergy, and alſo from the Queen, whoſe Deſire was to reſtore them to great Wealth and Power. It was propos'd to give the Queen a Subſidy, and two Fifteenths: Which was the firſt Aid that the Queen had ask'd, tho' ſhe was now in the third Year of her Reign; and what was deſir'd, was no more than ſhe might have exacted at her firſt coming to the Crown. Therefore ſince ſhe had forgiven ſo much at her Coronation, it ſeem'd unreaſonable to deny it at this Time; yet ſtill great Oppoſitions were made againſt it: Many ſaid the Queen was impoveriſhing the Crown, and giving away the Abby-Lands, and therefore ſhe ought to be ſupply'd from the Clergy, and not preſs upon the Laity: But it was anſwer'd, That the Convocation had given her ſix Shillings in the Pound, but that would not anſwer her preſent Neceſſities, upon which the Debate became violent; but to prevent further Heats, the Queen ſent a Meſſage declaring ſhe would accept the Subſidy without the Fifteenths, and upon that it was granted. The Queen ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and told him She could not with a good Conſcience exact the *Tenths* and *Firſt-Fruits* of the Clergy, ſince they were given to her Father to ſupport his unlawful Dignity of being the *Supream Head of the Church:* She alſo thought, That all Tythes and Impropriations were the Patrimony of the Church, and therefore was reſolv'd to reſign ſuch of them as were in her own Hands. The former Part, as to *Tenths* and *Firſt-Fruits*, eaſily paſs'd in the Houſe, but great Oppoſition was made to the latter Part of her Motion; for it was thought to be a Step towards taking all Impropriations out of the Hands of the Laity; yet upon a Diviſion of the Houſe, it was carry'd by ſixty-ſeven Voices. A Bill was brought in againſt the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, and ſeveral Reformers, who had gone beyond Sea to enjoy their Conſciences, requiring them to return under ſevere Penalties: The Lords paſs'd it, but the Commons threw it out; for they now began to repent of the ſevere Laws they had formerly made, and were reſolv'd to add no more. They alſo rejected another Bill, for incapacitating ſome to be Juſtices of the Peace, who were blam'd for their Remiſsneſs in proſecuting Hereticks. An Act was brought in for debarring one *Bennet Smith*, who hired ſome Aſſaſſinates to commit a moſt execrable Murder, from the Benefit of the Clergy, which by common Law would have ſav'd him. In this Parliament there was ſuch a Heat in the Houſe of Commons, that Sir *Antony Kingſton*, an active Member, boldly took the Keys of the Houſe from the Serjeant; but when the Parliament was diſſolv'd, on the ninth of *September*, he was for that ſent to the *Tower*, but ſoon after releas'd. The next Year he and ſix others were accus'd of a Deſign to rob the Exchequer; for which they were all hang'd beſides himſelf, who dy'd before his Tryal. In the Convocation, Cardinal *Pool* made ſome laudable Attempts to reform the ill Lives and Practices of the Clergy, in which he was oppos'd by Pope *Paul*, who endeavour'd to have ſet up an Inquiſition in *England*; and the Cardinal has been much commended for refuſing at this Time all Incouragement in *England* to the new Order of *Jeſuits*, who were making great Pretenſions to gain Poſſeſſion of the Abby-Lands.

The Queen gives up the Tenths *and* Firſt-Fruits.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

In the Beginning of the following Year, the great Victim *Cranmer* was offer'd up to the Zeal and Rage of the *Romiſh* Party.

A. D.
1556.
Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.
Phil. $\frac{2}{3}$.

Cranmer's *Sufferings.*

He is degraded.

Party. Towards the effecting of this, in *September* laſt, *Brooks* Biſhop of *Gloceſter* came down to *Oxford*, with Authority from Cardinal *Pool* to judge him; with *Brooks* two Delegates, *Martin* and *Scory*, were ſent to aſſiſt him in the King and Queen's Name. When he was brought before them in St. *Mary*'s Church, he pay'd the Reſpect that was due to thoſe who ſate in the King and Queen's Name, but would ſhew none to *Brooks*, *Since he ſate there by an Authority deriv'd from the Pope, which he would never acknowledge.* After that he learnedly diſcours'd againſt the Power and Uſurpations of the See of *Rome*. *Brooks* and the two Delegates objected many Things againſt him, as to his former Actions; to all which he gave diſtinct and modeſt Anſwers. After much Diſcourſe had paſs'd on both Sides, *Brooks* requir'd him to appear before the Pope within eighty Days, and anſwer to ſuch Things as ſhould be objected againſt him. He ſaid, *He would go moſt willingly, with the King and Queen's Conſent, which he could not poſſibly do, if he was ſtill detain'd Priſoner.* But the Pope not expecting his coming, in leſs than twenty Days, by Letters to the King and Queen, commanded that he ſhould receive Condemnation, and be deliver'd to the Secular Arm. Therefore in *February*, this Year, new Powers were granted by the Pope to *Bonner* and *Thirleby*, who were ſent to *Oxford* publickly to degrade him from all Things relating to his Function. In Deriſion he was cloath'd with all the Pontifical Robes made of Canvas; which were taken from him, according to the Ceremonies of Degradation, in which *Bonner* proceeded with all the Inſolence and Scorn that could ariſe from a Mind fill'd with Revenge; but *Thirleby* perform'd his Part in the Ceremony with great Expreſſions of Sorrow, and many Tears. In all this *Cranmer* ſeem'd very little concern'd; He declar'd, *It was a groſs Piece of Injuſtice to condemn him for not going to* Rome, *when he was ſhut up in Priſon; but he was not ſorry to be thus cut off, with all this Pageantry, from any Relation to that Church:* He deny'd the Pope had any Authority over him, ſo appealed from this Sentence to a free General Council.

He recants.

But now numerous Engines were imploy'd, to perſuade him to recant: Both *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Divines had many Conferences with him; he was remov'd from Priſon to the Dean's Lodgings at *Chriſt-Church*; he was put in hopes of Life, of Preferments and all other Favours; and all the Arguments that could be invented were us'd to procure him to ſign a Paper they had prepar'd for him. In Concluſion, as St. *Peter* himſelf had with Curſes deny'd his Maſter, ſo he who reſiſted almoſt three Years, was at laſt overcome, and human Infirmity, the Fears of Death, and Hopes given him, prevail'd with him to ſign a Recantation of all former Opinions, concluding it with a Proteſtaon, *That he had done it freely, only for the Diſcharge of his Conſcience.* This was the moſt unfortunate Blemiſh of his whole Life, which was immediately Printed, to the wonderful Surpriſe and Dejection of all his Party. But this did not ſatisfie the furious Queen, who was reſolv'd ſtill to make him a Sacrifice to all her Reſentments; She ſaid, *That his Repentance was good for his Soul; but ſince he had been the chief Diffuſer of Hereſie over the Nation, it was neceſſary to make him a publick Example.* Therefore a Writ was ſent down to burn him; and after ſome Stop had been made in the Execution of it, new Orders came out for doing it ſuddenly. This was kept from *Cranmer*'s Knowledge; for they deſign'd to have carry'd him to the Stake without giving him any Notice, and ſo hop'd to make him die in a deſpairing Condition. Yet having ſome Suſpicion of their Deſign, he wrote a long Paper, containing a Confeſſion of his Faith, ſuch as had been dictated purely by his Conſcience, and not his Fears.

He recovers again.

He is burnt at Oxford.

The twenty-firſt of *March* being fix'd for his Execution, he was brought to St. *Mary*'s Church, and ſet in a conſpicuous Seat erected for that Purpoſe; where *Cole* Provoſt of *Eaton*, preach'd the Sermon, ‘ In which he exhorted him to perſiſt in the Faith, of which he had lately publiſh'd a Confeſſion, and even to Death it ſelf, which was the Will of the Magiſtrate to inflict on him this Day; ſince the Divine Vengeance for the Execution of *More* and *Fiſher*, under King *Henry*, could not otherwiſe be expiated. And ſince his Converſion was the immediate Hand of Heaven, nothing could be more acceptable to God and all good Men, than a publick Declaration of the Reality of it.’ It is no wonder that he was thrown into the utmoſt Conſternation at ſuch an unexpected Denunciation: But recollecting himſelf, and rouſing his former Courage, he boldly ſtood up, and made an excellent Speech to the People, ‘ In which having premis'd many Things concerning Reformation of Life and Morals, he exactly declar'd the principal Heads of his Faith and Doctrine, affirming, That the Kingdom of *Anti-Chriſt* was contain'd and eſtabliſh'd in the Power of the Pope; and finally repreſenting how heinouſly he had offended God by renouncing the Truth, he declar'd this ſurpriſing Reſolution, *That the ſame Right Hand that had ſo impiouſly err'd in ſubſcribing his Recantation, ſhould be the firſt Sufferer in the Flames.*’ This caus'd a vaſt Confuſion in the Aſſembly; and ſome calling to him to diſſemble no more, he cry'd out, *That he ever lov'd Simplicity, and excepting that Inſtance, he never diſſembled in his Life.* Upon which, without ſuffering him to proceed, with great Clamours and Revilings, they immediately hurry'd him to the Place of Execution, which was the ſame where *Ridley* and *Latimer* had ſuffer'd. Here he ſtood, the moſt melancholy and piercing Spectacle in the World; the Primate of all *England*, lately flouriſhing in the higheſt Honours and Authority with Princes, venerable for his Perſon and Age, his Piety and Learning, and innumerable Excellencies of Mind, now by the Malice of the *Romaniſts*, dreſt in a ridiculous old Habit, baited with Scurrility and opprobrious Jeſts, and drag'd to a moſt inhuman and tormenting Death. When the Fire was kindled, he ſtretch'd out his Right Hand into the Flame, and with an amazing Steadineſs held it 'till it was conſum'd; ſometimes ſaying *That unworthy Hand!* and often crying, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit*, 'till he quite expir'd in the Torment. Tho' his Body was conſum'd to Aſhes, his Heart was found intire and untouch'd; which remarkable Accident was much obſerv'd, and if it had happen'd to one of the contrary Party, it would have caus'd his Canonization.

His Character.

Pool *made Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury.

Thus dy'd the famous *Thomas Cranmer*, in the ſixty-ſeventh Year of his Age, and the twenty-third of his Primacy: A Perſon rais'd up by God for mighty Services, and truly fitted for them by his Primitive Humility, his indefatigable Induſtry, and his inviolable Friendſhip. His laſt Fall was nobly expiated by a patient Martyrdom; and thoſe who compar'd ancient and modern Times, did not only liken him to *Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe* and *Auſtin*, the Glories of the Church in the fourth and fifth Centuries, but to the more immediate Followers of the Apoſtles, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, and *Cyprian*. No man had paſs'd through more numerous Difficulties for above twenty Years than himſelf, which has given Occaſion to many to charge him with too much Obſequiouſneſs and Compliance, in which perhaps he cannot be ſtrictly vindicated, no more than his burning of *Joan* of *Kent* and *Van Parre* for Heretical Opinions, for which ſome think his own Death was a Judgment upon him. But this muſt be confeſs'd for him, and the other chief Reformers, that they were really Men, and had Mixtures of Fear and Human Infirmities, with their other excellent Qualities: And indeed *Cranmer* was in all other Points ſuch an extraordinary Perſon, that perhaps it was fit there ſhould be ſome Ingredients in his Temper, to leſſen the Veneration which his uncommon Worth might have rais'd too high, if it had not been for theſe Feebleneſſes, which upon ſome Occaſions appear'd in him. On the Day after *Cranmer*'s Execution, Cardinal *Pool* was conſecrated Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; which gave Occaſion to many to apply the Words of *Elijah* to him, *Thou haſt kill'd, and taken Poſſeſſion.* Three Days after, on the Feaſt of *Annunciation*, attended by many of the Nobility to *Bow-Church*, he receiv'd the Pall with great Pomp and Solemnity.

Great Numbers burnt this Year:

This Year prov'd as black and diſmal as the laſt by the Numbers that were ſacrific'd in Flames to the *Romiſh* Cruelty. In *January*, five Men and two Women were burnt at one Stake in *Smithfield*; and one Man and four Women were burnt at *Canterbury*. In *March* two Women were burnt at *Ipſwich*, and three Men at *Salisbury*. In *April* ſix *Eſſex* Men were burnt in *Smithfield*; a Man and a Woman were burnt in *Rocheſter*, and another at *Canterbury*; and ſix who were ſent from *Colcheſter*, were condemn'd by *Bonner*, without giving them more than the Afternoon to conſider of a Recantation: For he was now ſo harden'd in his Cruelty, that he grew weary of keeping his Priſoners, and uſing of Perſuaſions; ſo he ſent them back to *Colcheſter*, where they were burnt. He alſo condemned both a blind Man and an aged Cripple, and they were both burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford*. In *May*, three Women were burnt in *Smithfield*; and ſoon after two more at *Gloceſter*, one of them being blind. Three were burnt at *Beccles* in *Suffolk*; five were burnt at *Lewes*, and one at *Leiceſter*. But in *June*, *Bonner* gave the moſt ſignal Inſtance of his Cruelty that *England* had yet ſeen; for eleven Men and two Women were burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford:* The Horror of which Action ſeem'd to have ſome Operation on him, for he burnt none till *April* in the next Year. In *June* three were burnt at St. *Edmund's Bury*, and three afterwards at *Newbury*. This Cruelty was not confin'd to *England*, but it extended as far as the adjacent Iſlands: For in *Guernſey*, a Mother and her two Daughters were burnt at the ſame Stake: One of them was a Marry'd Woman and big with Child; the Violence of the Fire burſting her Belly, the Child fell out into the Flame, which was ſnatch'd out by one more merciful than the reſt; but the other barbarous Spectators threw it back into the Fire. Two were after this burnt at *Greenſtead*, and a blind Woman at *Darby*; four were burnt at *Briſtol*, and as many at *Mayfield* in *Suſſex*, and one at *Nottingham*. So that eighty-five were martyr'd this Year, without any Regard had to Age or Sex, to young or old, to Lame or Blind; which rais'd ſuch an extream Averſion in the Nation to that Religion, that it is no Wonder, if the Apprehenſions of ſo dreadful a Yoke broke out into moſt violent and convulſive Symptoms. Yet by theſe Means the Reformation was ſo far from being extinguiſh'd, that it daily ſpread more and more, and mightily quicken'd the Zeal of thoſe who profeſs'd it. They had frequent Meetings, and ſeveral Teachers that inſtructed them; and their Friends that went beyond Sea, and ſettled in *Strasburgh*, *Franckfort*, *Emden*, and ſome other Places in *Germany*, took care to ſend over many uſeful Books for their Comfort and Inſtruction.

Which quickens the Minds of the Reformers.

A.D. 1557. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$. Phil. $\frac{3}{4}$.

Nor was the Rage and Fury of theſe Times exercis'd only on the Living; for the Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paul Phagius*, who had been long bury'd, were dug up, formally arraign'd for Hereſie, and with much ſavage Ceremony publickly burnt in the Market-Place at *Cambridge*. *Peter Martyr*'s Wife, who dy'd at *Oxford*, was likewiſe raked out of her Grave, and ignominiouſly bury'd in a Dunghil. But the Juſtices of Peace were generally ſo ſlack in their Proſecution of Hereticks, that it ſeem'd neceſſary to find out other Inſtruments; ſo the dreadful Courts of *Inquiſition* were deſign'd to be ſet up in *England*. As a Step towards it, a Commiſſion was given to *Bonner* and twenty more, moſt of them Lay-men, to ſearch all over *England* for Perſons ſuſpected of Hereſie, and to proceed againſt them by Preſentments or any other politick Ways. Many other Commiſſions, ſubaltern to theirs, were iſſu'd out for ſeveral Counties and Dioceſes; which was look'd upon as ſuch an Advance towards an *Inquiſition*, that all concluded it would ſhortly follow. The Burnings were carry'd on furiouſly in ſome Places, but coldly in moſt Parts; for the Deteſtation of ſuch Cruelties became almoſt univerſal. However, without naming Particulars, ſeventy-nine were burnt this Year, in ſeveral Parts of the Nation, beſides Impriſonments and other Puniſhments and Severities. But all this Cruelty did not ſatisfie the Popiſh Clergy, they complain'd that the Magiſtrates were remiſs, and negligently perform'd their Duties; upon which ſharp Letters were written to ſeveral Towns, from the Council-Board; and zealous Men were recommended to be choſen Mayors, in many Corporations. Arch-Biſhop *Pool* was for milder Methods, and was ready to accept of any Acknowledgement from the proſecuted Perſons, by which he might on the one Hand preſerve their Lives, and yet not be expos'd to the Rage of the Pope, as a Favourer of Hereticks, on the other.

New Projects for Perſecution.

Many more Burnings.

In this Year a horrible Murder of one *Argol* and his Son was committed by the Lord *Stourton*, and ſome of his Servants; who when they had butcher'd them after a moſt barbarous Manner, bury'd them fifteen Foot deep in the Ground. The Lord *Stourton* was a zealous Papiſt, and proteſted againſt all the Acts that had paſs'd in King *Edward*'s Reign; yet the Queen not only refus'd to pardon him, but would not ſo much as change the infamous Death of Hanging into a Beheading. She was reſolv'd to ſhew no Favour, but only allow'd this Diſtinction, that the Lord might be hang'd in a ſilken Rope, while his Servants had common Halters. This was highly extoll'd as a worthy Inſtance of the Queen's Impartial Juſtice; and it was ſaid, 'That ſince ſhe left her Friends to the Law, her Enemies had no Reaſon to complain of the Execution of it upon them.' Notwithſtanding which, we are inform'd that a Pardon was at laſt granted, but it came too late.

The Lord Stourton *hang'd.*

V. As this Reign had been furious and calamitous at home, ſo at length it began to ſhew itſelf feeble and diſhonourable abroad; all which had its firſt Riſe from the vaſt Pride and Inſolence of the Pope, who the laſt Year broke the Truce between *France* and *Spain*. He was highly offended at the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and principally at *Ferdinand*'s aſſuming the Title of *Emperor*, without his particular Conſent: He was wont to ſay, *That all Kingdoms were ſubject to him: That he would ſuffer no Prince to be too familiar with him*; *and that he would ſet the World on Fire, rather than ſubmit to act below his Dignity*. It was believed that he deſign'd to advance one of his Nephews to the Crown of *Naples*, in order to which he had ſent another into *France*, to abſolve the King from the Truce which he had ſworn, promiſing to create what Cardinals that King ſhould nominate, if he would make War upon *Spain*; tho' to the Queen of *England*'s Ambaſſadors, and all others at *Rome*, he declar'd, That he would mediate a Peace between the Crowns, for a Truce did not ſufficiently ſecure the Quiet of *Europe*. The *French* King was too eaſily perſuaded by the Inſtigation of the Pope, and the Houſe of *Guiſe*, to break his Faith, and begin the War. The Pope began it in *Italy*, and made ſome Levies among the *Griſons*, that were Hereticks; but he ſaid, *He eſteem'd them as Angels, and was confident that God would convert them.* It gave great Scandal to the World to ſee the Pope himſelf exciting ſo perfidious a Breach of Truce; and no leſs Wonder, to ſee a great Monarch of fifty ſix Years of Age retire to a Monaſtery, whilſt the ſame Year a Man bred a Monk, and fourſcore Years old, ſet *Europe* in a Flame. King *Philip* had a great Deſire to ingage *England* in this War; and the Queen had Reaſon to complain of the kind Reception given to many that fled from *England* into *France*, and it was believ'd that the *French* ſecretly ſupply'd and encourag'd them to embroil her Affairs. One *Stafford* had this Year gather'd many of them together, and landing in *Yorkſhire*, he ſurpris'd the Caſtle of *Scarborough*, and publiſh'd a Manifeſto againſt the Queen, declaring, 'That by bringing in Strangers to govern the Nation, ſhe had forfeited her Right to the Crown:' But few came in to him; ſo that he and his Accomplices were compell'd to ſurrender, and four of them were hang'd. At the ſame Time Doctor *Wotton*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in *France*, diſcover'd that the Conſtable had a Deſign to take *Calais*: For he had ſent his own Nephew to him, whom he ſecretly inſtructed, and who pretended he was ſent from a great Party in that Town, who were reſolv'd to deliver it up; at which the Conſtable was tranſported, and enter'd into a long Diſcourſe with him of the Methods of taking it. Yet all this made no juſt Impreſſions upon the Queen: All her Council, chiefly the Clergy, were againſt her ingaging; for they ſaw the War abroad would oblige them to ſlacken their Severities at home. Upon which King *Philip*, after he had been abſent about two Years, found it neceſſary to come over in Perſon, and perſuade her to it. Having ſtayed about ſix Weeks he prevail'd with her; and after a Proclamation of War, ſhe ſent over eight thouſand Men to his Aſſiſtance, who joining the *Spaniards*, compos'd an Army of fifty thouſand, which immediately ſate down before St. *Quintin*, in *Picardy*. The Conſtable of *France* advanc'd with a great Force to raiſe the Siege; but when the two Armies were in view, the *French* by a Miſtake in the Word of Command, fell into Diſorder; upon which the *Spaniards* charg'd them with ſuch Advantage and Succeſs, that the whole Army was defeated. Two thouſand five hundred were kill'd on the Spot, and many were taken Priſoners, among whom was the Conſtable himſelf; and the *Spaniards* only loſt fifty Men. Had King *Philip* follow'd his Blow, and march'd directly to *Paris*, he had found all *France* in a great Conſternation; but he ſate ſtill before St. *Quintin*, which held out till the Terror of this Defeat was almoſt over. The Conſtable here loſt his Reputation, as well as his Liberty; and all eſteem'd it as a Judgment from Heaven upon the *French* King, for the plain Breach of his Faith.

A Breach between France *and* Spain.

England *join againſt* France.

The Battel of St. Quintin.

Upon this the *French* Troops were call'd out of *Italy*, which immediately expos'd the Pope to the *Spaniards*, and threw him into extravagant Fits of Rage and Paſſion; and particularly he exclaim'd againſt *Pool*, for ſuffering the Queen to join with the Enemies of the Apoſtolick See: And having made a general Decree, recalling all his Legates and Nuncio's in the *Spaniſh* Dominions, among the reſt he recall'd *Pool*'s Legantine Power; which neither the Interceſſions of the Queen's Ambaſſadors, nor the other Cardinals, could prevail with him to alter. He further requir'd *Pool* to come to *Rome*, and anſwer to ſome Complaints made againſt him, for the Favour he ſhew'd to Hereticks; and he alſo made the Queen's Confeſſor, Fryar *Peyto*, a Cardinal, and declar'd him his Legate for *England*, and wrote to the Queen to receive him in that Capacity. But the Queen order'd the Bulls and Briefs that were ſent over, to be laid up without opening them, according to the Method formerly practis'd, when unacceptable Bulls were brought to Court; and ſhe ſent a Meſſage to *Peyto* not to come into *England*, otherwiſe ſhe would ſue him, and all that acknowledg'd him, in a *Premunire*. Cardinal *Pool* laid aſide the Enſigns of a Legate, and ſent over *Ormaneto* with ſo ſubmiſſive a Meſſage, that the Pope was much mollify'd; and *Peyto* dying, and a Treaty of Peace between King *Philip* and the Pope following, this Storm went over, and publick and ſolemn Rejoicings were made in *England*.

The Pope inrag'd.

But the Effects of it did not yet ceaſe; for the War being proclaim'd between *England* and *France*, the *French* ſent to the *Scotch* Queen Regent to ingage *Scotland* in the War with *England*: All that favour'd the Reformation were for the War; but the Clergy ſo oppos'd it, that the Majority of the Convention declar'd on the ſame Side. The Queen-Regent upon this thought to draw them unexpectedly into the War, and ſent *D'Oiſell* to beſiege *Warke* Caſtle in *England*; but the *Scotch* Lords highly exclaim'd againſt it, and requir'd him to deſiſt, otherwiſe they would declare him an Enemy to the Nation: So that after ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes on the Borders, the Conteſt was ended on both Sides. Upon this the Queen-Regent wrote to *France*, urging the Concluſion of the Marriage between the *Dauphine* and the Queen of *Scotland*; and a Meſſage was ſent from the Court, deſiring the *Scots* to ſend over Commiſſioners to treat about the Articles of the Marriage, and ſome of every State were diſpatch'd for ſettling that Affair.

England *in a low Condition.*

There was at this Time a great want of Mony in the Exchequer of *England*; and the Coldneſs and Uneaſineſs of the laſt Parliament made the Council unwilling to call a new one. It was try'd what Sums could be rais'd by Loans, upon Privy-Seals, and the like Methods; but theſe ſo little anſwer'd Expectations, that at length a new Parliament was ſummon'd to meet in *January* next. Yet in the mean Space, the Council continually receiv'd Advices of the ill Condition of the Garriſons of *Calais*, and the neighbouring Places, and that the *French* had an abſolute Deſign upon them: But either they believ'd there was no Danger during the Winter, or the want of Mony was ſo great, that no reaſonable Care was taken for their Security.

A.D. 1558. Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$. Phil. $\frac{4}{5}$.

This ſufficiently appear'd in the Beginning of the next Year, which was too much noted for the Loſs of all the *Engliſh* Dominions in *France*. For the Duke of *Guiſe*, being deſirous of doing ſome great Action, while the Conſtable was a Priſoner, ſuddenly ſate down before *Calais*, on the firſt of *January*. The Lord *Wentworth* had then the Command of it; but the Garriſon conſiſted only of five hundred Men, and there were not above two hundred of the Townſmen that could be ſerviceable in a Siege: and tho' King *Philip* had offer'd to put Men into it, yet the *Engliſh* were ſo infatuated with Jealouſies, that they left it in ſo naked a Condition, that the Governor could perform little to preſerve it. So that the two Forts about it, of which one call'd *Newnambridge* commanded the Avenues by Land, and the other call'd the *Risbank* commanded the Harbour, were taken with ſmall Oppoſition; for the Lord *Wentworth* could not ſpare Men enough to defend them. After this the *French* drew the Water out of the Ditches, and having prepar'd Inventions to paſs without ſticking in the Mire, they made the Aſſault, and carry'd the Caſtle by Storm, which was thought impregnable. After ſuch Succeſs, the Town could make no conſiderable Reſiſtance, ſo it was unfortunately ſurrender'd, and the Governor with fifty Officers made Priſoners of War. Thus in a Week's Time, and in the Winter, was this ſtrong and important Place loſt by the *Engliſh*, which had been gloriouſly obtain'd by King *Edward* III. and held by the *Engliſh* above two hundred and ten Years, to the great Curb of *France*, being accounted the Key of that Nation. From this Place the Duke of *Guiſe* march'd to beſiege *Guiſnes*, which had a better Garriſon of eleven hundred Men, but they were much diſhearten'd by the Loſs of *Calais*: They retir'd into the Caſtle, and abandon'd the Town to the *French*; but yet they once beat them out of it. The *French* after a long Battery gave the Aſſault, and forc'd them to Capitulate; and the Soldiers, as at *Calais*, had liberty to march away, but the Officers were made Priſoners of War. The Garriſon in *Hammes*, that lay in a Marſh thought inacceſſible, ſeeing themſelves cut off from the Sea, abandon'd the Place before the *French* ſummon'd them. And thus were the *Engliſh* diſhonourably driven out of the Continent of *France*, without retaining one Foot of Land; which *Mezeray* ſays was the Fruit of that Alliance their Queen had made with *Spain*; upon which the Pope pleaſantly ſaid, *That the Loſs of* Calais *was the Dower of that Princeſs.*

The Loſs of Calais,

Guiſnes,

and Hammes.

Great Diſcontents in England.

The mighty Diſcontents that this Loſs gave the *Engliſh*, were ſuch, that the Queen could never hope to ſurmount them; and it ſunk ſo deeply into her Mind, that it did not a little haſten her Death. Both Sides took Occaſion to draw Arguments from this great Misfortune: The Reformers ſaid, It was a Judgment upon the Nation, for the Contempt of the true Religion, and the late Cruelties practis'd againſt it: The Papiſts ſaid, That the Hereticks had found ſuch Shelter and Connivance there, that it was no wonder the Place was loſt. King *Philip* offer'd his Aſſiſtance to go and retake the Place, before the Fortifications were repair'd, if the *Engliſh* would ſend over a Force anſwerable to ſuch an Undertaking: But they, upon an Eſtimate made of the Expence of this, and of a War for the enſuing Year, found it would amount to above half a Million of Mony; and as the Treaſury was exhauſted, and could not furniſh ſuch a Sum, ſo they had no Reaſon to expect a liberal Supply from a provok'd People. The Biſhops fear'd that the Continuance of War would render it neceſſary to proceed more gently againſt Hereticks, and thought it better to be quiet with the Loſs of *Calais* than run that Hazard: They ſeem'd confident that within a Year, they ſhould be able to purge the Kingdom from all Hereſie; and therefore mov'd that Preparations might be made for a War to begin the Year after this.

The Fifth Parliament in this Reign.

A new Parliament was open'd on the twentieth of *January*; for which the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* and the Prior of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem* had their Writs, and ſate in it. The Lords deſir'd a Conference with the Commons, concerning the Safety of the Nation, which was found ſo weak, that a Subſidy, a Tenth, and a Fifteenth were given by the Laity; and the Clergy gave eight Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in four Years. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter* mov'd, that the Privileges of Sanctuary might be again reſtor'd to his Houſe; but that was ſoon laid aſide. The Procurers of wilful Murder were now deny'd the Benefit of the Clergy; but great Oppoſition was made to that Act in the Houſe of Lords. A Bill was alſo brought in, confirming all the Letters-Patents, which the Queen had granted, or might grant for the future. This related to the Foundations of Religious Houſes, which the Queen had already made; for beſides the Abby of *Weſtminſter*, ſhe had founded a Houſe for the *Franciſcans* at *Greenwich*, two for the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans* in *London*, one for the *Carthuſians* at *Skeen*, and a Nunnery at *Sion*. One *Coxley* oppos'd this Act, and inſinuated, *That the Confirmation of all Grants might give the Queen a Colour to diſpoſe of the Crown from the right Inheritors.* At which the Houſe expreſs'd great Diſlike, and ſhew'd *That they would not have it ſo much as imagin'd, that the Princeſs* Elizabeth *ſhould ever be excluded.* He had a publick Reprimand, for ſpeaking ſo much to the Queen's Diſhonour: So the Parliament in *March* was prorogu'd to *November* next.

Shortly after a Propoſition of Marriage was privately made by the King of *Sweden* to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; but ſhe declar'd, ſhe could not ſuffer a change in her Condition, ſo the Motion became ineffectual. It ſeems her Averſion to a marry'd State was very great, otherwiſe her preſent Condition was neither ſo eaſie, nor ſo ſecure, but that ſhe had Reaſon to deſire to be out of her Keeper's Power; and to apprehend that her Danger increas'd, as the Queen's Health was impair'd: For many of the Biſhops, fearing ſhe would overthrow that Building which they had cemented with ſo much Blood, were now offering cruel Counſels againſt her. To mention ſome of the Sufferings of this admirable Lady; ſhe had been firſt ſent for upon the Breaking out of *Wiat*'s Rebellion; and tho' ſhe then lay ſick in Bed, ſhe was forc'd to go to Court. There ſhe was at firſt confin'd to her Lodgings, and was afterwards carry'd to the *Tower*, and ignominiouſly led into it by the Traitor's-Gate, where ſhe was ſtrictly guarded: Her Servants were all put from her, and none had Acceſs to her, but ſuch as were Spies upon her: Nor was ſhe ſuffer'd to walk on the Leads, or have the ordinary Comforts of Air; and a Boy of four Years old was ſeverely threaten'd, for his carrying Flowers to her. Some were put to the Rack to extort Confeſſions from them; but none accus'd her but *Wiat*, and he retracted all he had ſaid upon the Scaffold. When it appear'd that nothing could be prov'd againſt her, ſhe was ſent down to *Woodſtock*; where ſhe was kept under ſevere Guards, and very roughly treated by Sir *Henry Benefield*, whom ſhe uſually call'd *Her Jaylor*. But King *Philip* ſo far molify'd the Queen by degrees, that he prevail'd with her to bring her to Court, and to admit her into her Preſence. *Gardiner* and many others dealt very ſubtilly with her, to confeſs her Offences, and ask the Queen's Pardon; but ſhe always ſtood firmly to her Innocence, as well as her Religion, declaring, *She had not offended the Queen, ſo much as in Thought.* When ſhe was brought before the Queen late at Night, ſhe with Tears upon her Knees renew'd the ſame Proteſtations to her, and begg'd *That ſhe would entertain a good Opinion of her.* The Queen, tho' ſhe urg'd her much to acknowledge ſome Guilt, yet ſeem'd ſatisfy'd with what ſhe ſaid, and parted with her in good Terms; of which King *Philip* had ſome Apprehenſions, for he had convey'd himſelf into a ſecret Corner of the Room, to prevent a further Breach, in caſe the Queen ſhould be too much incens'd. Shortly after, her Guards were diſcharg'd, and ſhe ſuffer'd to retire into the Country; but ſhe had always ſo many Spies about her, that to avoid all Suſpicion, ſhe concern'd herſelf in no ſort of Buſineſs, but gave herſelf wholly to Study; in which ſhe arriv'd to a mighty Perfection. And thus ſhe paſs'd the greateſt Part of this Reign, under continual Apprehenſions of Death; which perhaps was a neceſſary Preparation for that exalted State to which ſhe was ſoon advanc'd, and which ſhe held in the longeſt Courſe of Proſperity and Glory, that ever was attain'd by any of her Sex.

The Sufferings of the Princeſs Elizabeth.

More Burnings and other Cruelties.

Still the Popiſh Biſhops continu'd their Cruelties; and *Cuthbert Simpſon*, one in Deacon's Orders, having been taken at the Meeting at *Iſlington*, was rack'd with the extreameſt Severity, to make him confeſs all the Friends he had in *London*: But nothing was diſcover'd from him; ſo in *March* he and two others were burnt in *Smithfield*. Several Books being printed beyond Sea, and ſecretly convey'd into *England*, a Proclamation of a very ſtrange Nature was ſet out, 'That if any receiv'd any of theſe Books, 'and did not immediately burn them, without either 'reading them, or ſhewing them to any other Perſon, they 'were to be preſently executed by Martial Law.' Several others were burnt this Year, to the Number of thirty nine; and all that were burnt during the whole Reign, according to *Fox*, were two hundred and eighty four; tho' *Grindall*, who liv'd in that Time, writes, That in two Years Time eight hundred ſuffer'd at the Stake. Many more were thrown into Priſon, where ſixty of them dy'd miſerably; others, after much cruel Uſage by Whips and Tortures from *Bonner*'s own Hands, were prevail'd on to abjure; but carry'd in their Minds a mortal Averſion to that Cruelty which had tempted them to ſuch Apoſtacy.

Many Calamities in England.

The Battel of Graveling.

As to the War with *France*, this Year the Lord *Clinton* was ſent with a Fleet of a hundred and twenty Sail, and ſeven thouſand Land-men, who landed near *Breſt*, with a Deſign to have ſeiz'd on that Port, but was repell'd with the Loſs of ſix hundred Men; ſo that after an inglorious and expenſive Expedition, he return'd to *England*. The *Engliſh* had loſt their Hearts and Bravery, and began to believe that Heaven was againſt them; and extraordinary Accidents increas'd theſe direful Apprehenſions: A vaſt Storm of Thunder caus'd an unuſual Terror in *Nottinghamſhire*; the River *Trent* ſwell'd prodigiouſly, and with a violent Wind did great Damage: Hail-ſtones of uncommon Bigneſs fell in other Places; and which was more terrible, a contagious intermitting Feaver, not unlike the Plague, ſo rag'd through the Nation, that three Parts of four were infected with it, and in many Counties there were not Men ſufficient to reap the Harveſt. All theſe melancholy Symptoms concurr'd to increaſe the People's Averſion to the Government, which ſoon diſpos'd the Queen to hearken to Overtures of Peace. This was projected between the Biſhop of *Arras*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who were the chief Favourites of the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*: The Cardinal of *Lorrain* was moſt earneſt in it, becauſe the Conſtable, who was the Head of the Faction againſt the Houſe of *Guiſe*, was ſuſpected to favour the Reformation, and his three Nephews the *Coligny's* were known to incline to it. The King of *France* was the more inclinable to a Treaty, becauſe he had receiv'd a ſecond Blow this Year. The Marſhal *de Thermes* being ſurrounded by the Count of *Egmont* near *Graveling*, where the *French* Army being engag'd by the Count, and gall'd by the *Engliſh* Ordnance from their Ships lying near the Land, was defeated; five thouſand kill'd, and the Marſhal and other chief Officers taken Priſoners. The *French* King thought the Expulſion of the *Engliſh* out of *France* a Compenſation both for that, and his Loſs at St. *Quintin*; ſo that both Princes reckoning their own Advantages, they were diſpos'd to a Treaty, which was open'd at *Cambray*, but not finiſh'd in this Reign. Biſhop *Godwin* obſerves that all Perſons concern'd in this unjuſt War, and Breach of Faith, were puniſh'd by Heaven; and particularly Queen *Mary*, by the Loſs of *Calais*, and the other Places, at a Time when nothing but contrary Winds hinder'd her Fleet from affording them Relief.

The Dauphine marry'd to the Queen of Scotland.

After a Determination of many Years continuance, in this *April* the *Dauphine* was marry'd to the Queen of *Scotland*; which Marriage was adorn'd by an *Epithalamium* wrote by *Buchanan*, eſteem'd one of the moſt perfect Pieces of *Latin* Poetry. The Deputies ſent from *Scotland* were deſir'd to offer the *Dauphine* the Crown of *Scotland*, in the Right of his Wife; but they declar'd, That exceeded the Bounds of their Commiſſion, ſo they only promis'd to repreſent the Matter to the States of *Scotland*, but could not conceal the Averſion they had to the Propoſal. Shortly after four of the ſeven that were ſent over dy'd, and the fifth narrowly eſcap'd; it being generally ſuſpected that they were poiſon'd. When the reſt return'd to *Scotland*, an Aſſembly of the States was call'd, in which it was agreed to allow the *Dauphine* the Title of King, but with this Proviſo, 'That he ſhould have no Power over them, 'and that it was only a bare Title which they offer'd him.' This was appointed to be carry'd to him by the Earl of *Argyle*, and the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, who had been the moſt warm Agents for the *French* Intereſt, in Hopes of the Queen-Regent's Protection, againſt the Rage of the Biſhops, in Matters of Religion.

The Parliament meets.

The Queen's laſt Sickneſs,

and Death.

In *England*, a new Seſſion of Parliament met on the fifth of *November*; and the Queen being ill ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and laid before him the feeble Condition of the Nation, and the Neceſſity of putting it in a Poſture of Defence: But the Commons were ſo diſguſted at the general Conduct of Affairs, that they could come to no Reſolution; Therefore on the fourteenth of that Month, twelve of the chief Lords of both Eſtates came down to the Houſe of Commons, and deſir'd them to grant a Subſidy to defend the Nation, both againſt the *French* and *Scots*; but ſtill the Commons came to no Reſolution, 'till the Queen's Death three Days after put an End to the Parliament. Her former falſe Conception, her Husband's Neglect, her Deſpair of Iſſue, and her melancholy Apprehenſions, which receiv'd a Surcharge from the Loſs of *Calais*, brought her into an ill Habit of Body, which turn'd to an incurable Dropſie. When ſome of her Viſitants endeavour'd to divert her ſorrowful Thoughts, ſhe told them, *They were Strangers to her Diſtemper, but if they would diſſect her after her Death, they would find* Calais *next her Heart*. She endeavour'd to have ſet aſide her Siſter *Elizabeth*, and brought in the Queen of *Scotland* to the Crown; but ſhe was hinder'd from proceeding in it as a Matter impracticable. Thus on the ſeventeenth Day of *November* ſhe ended her unfortunate Life, in the forty third Year of her Age, after a ſhort and miſerable Reign of five Years, four Months, and eleven Days. At the ſame Time, as if one Star had rul'd both their Nativities, her Cardinal *Pool* was alſo expiring in the fifty ninth Year of his Age, being a Perſon of Learning, Humility, Prudence and Temper; who had certainly the beſt Notions of any of his Party then in *England*, ſo that if his Projects had been follow'd, Popery would probably have been fix'd in the Nation. But God deſign'd another Eſtabliſhment; and the Queen, whoſe Temper and Principles were fierce and ſevere, preferr'd the bloody Counſels of *Gardiner* and *Bonner* to thoſe wiſer and more rational Methods he often propos'd. And tho' his Zeal for the Church of *Rome* ſtill continu'd, yet his Eyes were open'd in many Things. His being Legate at *Trent*, and his Retirement at *Viterbo*, had both enlighten'd and compos'd his Mind; which being join'd to his Probity and ſweet Diſpoſition, produc'd extraordinary Effects in him.

Her Character.

As to the Character of the Queen, we need not ſay much after her Hiſtory; only as to her Perſon, as ſhe was not very amiable, ſo ſhe was without any Deformity; nor did ſhe want Parts or Underſtanding, but had the Advantages of Learning, and a good Underſtanding in the *Latin* Tongue. She was a Woman of a ſtrict and ſevere Life, who allow'd herſelf few of the Diverſions belonging to Courts; was conſtant at her Devotions, and violently addicted to the Intereſts and Humours of the *Romiſh* Prieſts. She had great Reſentments of her Uſage in her Father's and Brother's Reign, which eaſily induc'd her to take her Revenge, tho' ſhe colour'd it with her Zeal againſt Hereſie. She much endeavour'd to expiate and reſtore the Sacrileges of the two laſt Reigns; beſides which laudable Intention, a froward ſort of Virtue, and a melancholy Piety, are the beſt Things that can be ſaid of her. Her former Diſſimulations, her publick Breach of Faith to the *Suffolk* Gentlemen and others, and her barbarous Cruelties to thoſe call'd *Hereticks*, are inexcuſable Blemiſhes in her Character; and God thought fit to puniſh her with a Barren Womb and an untimely Death, and the World with a blaſted Name, which has made an indelible Impreſſion of Horror upon the Nation. To conclude, her Death was as little lamented, as of any that had worn the Crown, excepting by the Popiſh Clergy; and had it not been for the two worthy Foundations of *Trinity* and St. *John's* Colleges in *Oxford*, there had been ſcarce any Thing in this Reign to have made it memorable, beſides the Calamities and Misfortunes of it.

SECT. II.

The Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

Containing 44 *Years*, 4 *Months*, *and* 6 *Days*.

A.D. 1585. Reg. 1.

Queen Mary's Death declar'd.

I. THE ſhort and furious Storm that had rag'd within the Nation, being happily diſpell'd by the Deceaſe of Queen *Mary*, a glorious Sun-ſhine ſuddenly ſucceeded; which did not only illuminate the *Engliſh* Hemiſphere, but gradually diſplay'd its reviving Beams both to neighbouring and remote Regions. All which proceeded from the renown'd Princeſs *Elizabeth*, who without Oppoſition mounted the Throne of *England* by the Providence of Heaven, by Virtue of her Birth-Right, and the Act of Succeſſion made in the thirty fifth Year of King *Henry* the Eighth. Queen *Mary*'s Death was conceal'd for a few Hours, 'till about nine in the Morning, the Lord-Chancellor *Heath* with a melancholy Countenance imparted the News to the Houſe of Lords; which, as it ſtruck the Biſhops with no ſmall Fear, ſo thoſe Counſellors who had been ſevere to her Siſter, were very apprehenſive of the Treatment they might receive. Yet they all agreed to proclaim her Queen, and by the Zeal ſhewn for her Acceſſion to the Crown, deſign'd to ballance the

Errors to which they had been formerly driven, more in Compliance to the Sovereign's Reſentments, than any real Prejudice to her Perſon. They immediately ſent for the Houſe of Commons, to whom the Lord-Chancellor ſignify'd the Queen's Deceaſe; *which*, he ſaid, *would have been a much more ſenſible Affliction, if they had not ſuch a Succeſſor, who was the next and indiſputed Heir to the Crown,* ELIZABETH, *of whoſe Right and Title none could make any Queſtion; therefore the Lords were unanimouſly reſolv'd to proclaim her Queen.* This was immediately reſounded and eccho'd with innumerable repeated Acclamations, *God ſave Queen* Elizabeth! *Long and happily may ſhe Reign*! They firſt proclaim'd her at *Weſtminſter*, and then in *London*, in Conjunction with the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen; which was accompany'd with ſuch unuſual Tranſports of Joy, as gave the melancholy Prieſts juſt Cauſe to fear a new Revolution in Religious Affairs; and tho' the Queen's Death moſt ſenſibly afflicted them, yet the Joy in this Change was ſo great and univerſal, that a ſad Look was thought Criminal, and the Prieſts were forc'd to vent their Griefs in private Corners, and the moſt ſecret Receſſes.

Elizabeth *proclaim'd Queen.*

Her Perſon and Character.

This admirable Princeſs was now twenty five Years of Age, excelling in all the Perfections of her Sex, whether of Body or Mind. Her Perſon was graceful, her Mien noble, her Shape fine, and her Stature and Gait both agreeable and majeſtick. Her Face had not all the Regularities of a finiſh'd Beauty; yet her Complexion was perfectly fair, her Eyes lively and ſparkling, and her whole Countenance carry'd ſomething ſo bright and dazling, as cover'd all ſmaller Defects. In every Thing ſhe ſaid or did, there was an Air of Majeſty, that naturally ſtruck more Awe than Love; but ſtill at her Pleaſure ſhe could aſſume ſuch powerful Charms, as few were able to reſiſt; and there was ſuch a happy Mixture of Greatneſs and Sweetneſs, that all Perſons admir'd her. Her Mind was heroical and magnanimous, her Underſtanding was pregnant and penetrating, enlarg'd and poliſh'd by all the Advantages of a moſt refin'd Education. She wrote Letters in *Engliſh* and *Italian*, when ſhe was in her youngeſt Years; and before ſhe was ſeventeen ſhe became perfect in the *Greek, Latin, French* and *Italian* Tongues, and not unacquainted with the reſt of the *Europæan* Languages. From whence ſhe proceeded by her indefatigable Induſtry to an extraordinary Knowledge in Philoſophy, Rhetorick, Hiſtory and Divinity; not forgetting Poetry, Muſick, and other Ornaments of Converſation. Of all that ſhe read or learn'd, ſhe made the beſt and trueſt Uſe; and being of a quick Apprehenſion, and a ſtrong Memory, ſhe drew from the Annals of all Nations, the Actions of the greateſt Men, with all their Fights and Conqueſts. She would frequently ſet before her the Monuments of her Predeceſſors, the illuſtrious Triumphs and Victories obtain'd by the *Engliſh* at *Creſſy, Poictiers, Agincourt* and *Vernevil*; and was wont to ſay, *Theſe Victories were more owing to the Aſſiſtance of Heaven, than the Arms of Men.* Being thus nobly accompliſh'd, train'd up to the moſt exalted Piety, and taught by her late Afflictions the profoundeſt Humility, ſhe became truly worthy of the *Engliſh* Crown; which ſhe receiv'd at a Time when the Nation was moſt low and afflicted, doubly embroil'd with the *French* and *Scotch* War, overcharg'd with the Debts of *Henry* the Eighth, and *Edward* the Sixth, the Treaſury exhauſted, the *Engliſh* Dominions in *France* loſt, the People diſtracted with different Opinions in Religion, and ſhe herſelf deſtitute of all potent Friends, and foreign Alliance.

The preſent State of the Nation.

She was at *Hatfield* when ſhe receiv'd the News of her Siſter's Death, and that ſhe herſelf was proclaim'd Queen; upon which, 'tis ſaid, ſhe fell down upon her Knees, and after a ſhort Silence broke out in the Words of the *Pſalmiſt*, '*It is the Lord's Doing, and wonderful in our Eyes!* Which Words in *Latin* ſhe afterwards took for her *Motto* in ſome of her Gold Coins. She ſoon remov'd from thence to *London*; and on the nineteenth of *November* ſhe was met at *High-gate* by all the Biſhops, whom ſhe receiv'd with great Sweetneſs, excepting *Bonner*, who being polluted with ſo much Blood, ſhe thought that common Civility to him would give ſome Countenance to his Crimes. She was receiv'd into the City with ſuch numerous Throngs as was almoſt incredible, and ſurrounded with the loudeſt Acclamations of over-flowing Joy. When ſhe arriv'd at the *Tower*, upon her firſt Entrance ſhe devoutly kneel'd down and offer'd up her Thanks to God, *Who had thus bounteouſly chang'd her former Priſon into a preſent Palace.* She ſoon clear'd all Men's Apprehenſions as to thoſe Hardſhips ſhe had formerly ſuſtain'd, and ſhew'd that ſhe had abſolutely forgot from whom ſhe had receiv'd them; not excepting *Benefield* himſelf, who had been the chief Inſtrument of her Sufferings. She gave immediate Notice of her Siſter's Death, and her own Succeſſion, to all Foreign Princes, and wrote particular Acknowledgments to King *Philip*, for the kind Offices he had done. Among the reſt ſhe wrote to Sir *Edward Karn*, who was her Siſter's Ambaſſador at *Rome*: but the haughty Pope in his uſual Stile told him, *That* England *was a Fee of the Papacy, and that it was a high Preſumption in her, to aſſume the Crown without his Conſent, eſpecially ſince ſhe was illegitimate: But if ſhe would renounce her Pretenſions, and refer herſelf wholly to him, ſhe might expect all the Favour that could conſiſt with the Dignity of the Apoſtolick See.* The Queen hearing this, with no ſmall Reſentment, recall'd *Karn*'s Power; but he being a zealous Papiſt, continu'd ſtill at *Rome*. King *Philip* ſent her a kinder Meſſage, and propos'd a Marriage with her; undertaking to procure a Diſpenſation from *Rome*. But the Queen, as ſhe continu'd her whole Life averſe to that State, ſo ſhe knew how unacceptable a Foreigner, eſpecially a *Spaniard*, would be to her People; and ſhe had made it the ſteady Maxim of her Reign, from which ſhe never would deviate, '*To rule in their Affections, as well as over their Perſons.*' Neither could ſhe hearken to the Pope's Diſpenſation: For if two Siſters might marry the ſame Man, then two Brothers might likewiſe marry the ſame Woman; which would overthrow all the Arguments for her Father's Divorce with Queen *Katharine*, upon which depended the Validity of her Mother's Marriage, and her own Legitimation. Yet tho' ſhe firmly reſolv'd not to marry King *Philip*, ſhe thought, that during the Treaty of *Cambray*, it was not fit to put him out of all Hopes. Upon which he ſent to *Rome* for a Diſpenſation; but the *French* ſent to oppoſe it, and ſet up a Pretenſion for the young Queen of *Scotland* as the righteous Heir to the Crown of *England*.

The Queen enters London.

She writes to Foreign Princes.

King Philip *propoſes a Marriage with her in vain.*

The Queen's wiſe Management.

The wiſe Queen continu'd to employ moſt of her Siſter's Privy-Counſellors, as the Lord-Chancellor *Heath*, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, and others, who had before ſo often turn'd in Matters of Religion, that it was very probable they would be complying at this Time. But ſtill to ballance theſe ſhe added ſeveral others of the Reformed Religion; the moſt celebrated of whom were Sir *William Cecil*, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, both of extraordinary Abilities. She order'd all who were impriſon'd upon the Account of Religion to be ſet at Liberty: Upon which one who us'd to take an innocent Liberty with her, ſaid, *The four Evangeliſts ſtill continu'd Priſoners, and that the People much long'd to ſee them freed:* To which ſhe as pleaſantly anſwer'd, *She would talk with them her ſelf, and know how they ſtood affected.* Some propos'd the anulling of all Queen *Mary*'s Parliaments, becauſe Force was us'd in the Election of the Firſt, and the Writs for another were not legal, becauſe the Title of *Supream Head* was omitted in the Summons; but this was thought too bold an Attempt and Precedent to anull Parliaments upon Errors in Writs, or particular Diſorders. The Queen deſir'd that all the Changes to be made, might be ſo carefully manag'd as to breed as little Diviſion among her People, as was poſſible; and ſhe was not pleas'd with the Title of *Supream Head*, as importing too ſublime an Authority. She lov'd Magnificence in Religion, as ſhe affected it in all other Affairs; which made her inclinable to preſerve ſome former Ornaments, and even Images in Churches; and that the Popiſh Party might have the leſs Cauſe of Offence, ſhe deſign'd to have the Manner of Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament defin'd in general Terms, that it might comprehend all Sides. A Scheme was form'd of the Method in which it was moſt adviſeable for the Queen to proceed, and put into *Cecil*'s Hands. By this, 'It was judg'd neceſſary to do nothing 'till a Parliament was call'd: The Queen had reaſon to expect all the Diſturbance the Pope could give her, who would certainly excite the *French* and *Scots*, and perhaps the *Iriſh*, againſt her. The Clergy, and thoſe employ'd in the late Reign would oppoſe it, and uſe all Methods to inflame the Nation; and the greateſt Part of the People lov'd the Pomp of the old Ceremonies. It was therefore propos'd, That the Queen on any Terms ſhould make Peace with *France*, and incourage the Party in *Scotland* that deſir'd a Reformation. The Clergy were generally hated for their Cruelty, and it would be eaſie to bring them within the Statute of *Premunire:* Care was alſo to be taken to expoſe the former Counſellors for their ill Conduct in the laſt Reign, and by that Means to diminiſh their Reputation. It was likewiſe propos'd to examine well the Commiſſion for the Peace and Militia, and to inſpect the Univerſities; and ſome Learned Men were to be order'd, to conſider what Alterations were fit to be made, and by what Steps they ſhould proceed.

Her Deſigns as to Religion.

A Scheme propos'd.

By this Time the Exiles that had fled beyond Sea, return'd home; and theſe with ſome other zealous Perſons began in many Places to break down Images, and ſet up King *Edward*'s Service again. Upon this the Queen order'd, That the Litany, and other Parts of the Service ſhould be perform'd in *Engliſh*, and that no Elevation ſhould be us'd in the Maſs; but requir'd her Subjects by Proclamation, to avoid all Innovations, and uſe no other

Forms,

Queen Mary's Funeral.

Doctor Parker advanced.

Forms, but what ſhe retain'd in her Chapel, 'till it ſhould be otherwiſe appointed in Parliament. On the fifth of *December* ſhe order'd her Siſter's Obſequies to be celebrated with great Magnificence at *Weſtminſter*: *White* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who preach'd the Sermon, not only extoll'd her Government, but ſeverely reflected upon the preſent State of Affairs; for which he was for ſome Time confin'd to his Houſe. And many Sees being vacant, one of the firſt Things that came under Conſultation, was the finding proper Men to ſupply them. Doctor *Parker* was ſelected, as the fitteſt for the Metropolitan See of *Canterbury*: He had been Chaplain to Queen *Anne Bolen*, and had been employ'd in inſtructing the Queen in the chief Points of Religion, when ſhe was young: He was well known to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*; and both he and *Cecil* gave ſo high a Character of him, that it meeting with the Queen's particular Eſteem, it was reſolv'd to advance him. But as ſoon as he knew it, he us'd all poſſible Arguments againſt it, both from the Weakneſs of his Body, and his Unworthineſs of ſo high a Charge. He deſir'd rather to be put into ſome ſmall Benefice of twenty Nobles a Year, ſo far was he from aſpiring to Wealth or Honour; and as *Cranmer* before him, he continu'd for many Months ſo averſe to it, that it was hard to overcome him. And it was thought no ſmall Honour to the Reformation, that the two chief Inſtruments that promoted it, *Cranmer* and *Parker*, gave ſuch Evidences of a Primitive Spirit, in being ſo unwillingly advanc'd.

A.D. 1559. Reg. ½.

New Promotions.

Sir Nicholas Bacon made Lord-Keeper.

In the Beginning of the new Year, the Queen thought fit to make ſome new Promotions: Particularly Sir *William Parre* was created Marqueſs of *Northampton*; *Edward Seymour* was made Viſcount *Beauchamp*, and Earl of *Hartford*; the Lord *Thomas Howard* was made Viſcount of *Bindon*; Sir *Oliver Saint John*, Lord *Saint John* of *Bletſo*; and Sir *Henry Carew*, Lord *Carew*, of *Hundſden*. They were all averſe to the Popiſh Religion; and as the Queen was not prodigal in any Thing, ſo ſhe was moſt ſparing in Diſtributions of Honour, by which ſhe advanc'd it to the higheſt Eſteem with all Men. The Seals were taken from Arch-Biſhop *Heath*, who could not join in the Queen's Deſigns, and given to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, who was declar'd *Lord-Keeper*, and had all the Dignity and Authority of the Chancellor's Office, without the Title; which was perhaps an Effect of his great Modeſty, that adorn'd his other great and noble Qualities. As he was eminent in himſelf, ſo he was happy in being Father to the great Sir *Francis Bacon*, one of the chief Glories in the *Engliſh* Nation.

Her Coronation.

Theſe Acts of Grace and Favour being thus diſpatch'd, one the twelfth Day of *January* the Queen went to the *Tower*, in order to make a triumphant Paſſage through *London* to her Palace at *Weſtminſter*, before the Solemnity of her Coronation. As ſhe mounted her Royal Chariot at the *Tower*, with the profoundeſt Marks of Devotion, ſhe bleſs'd the All-powerful God, *Who had ſav'd her, like the Prophet* Daniel, *out of the Mouths of Lions, and preſerv'd her to ſee that joyful Day*. As ſhe paſs'd through the City in great Splendor, ſhe was all the Way entertain'd with the moſt joyful Acclamations that cou'd proceed from dilated Spirits; which ſhe continually return'd with the moſt charming Smiles, and often ſaying, *God bleſs you, my People!* which was always accompany'd with ſuch a modeſt Affability, and obliging Gracefulneſs, that it drew Tears of Joy from the Eyes of many, and infinite Prayers and Thankſgivings from the Hearts of all. But nothing more endear'd her to the Spectators than her Behaviour as ſhe paſs'd under one of the Triumphal Arches; where a rich Bible was let down to her, as from Heaven, by a Child repreſenting *Truth*: She with great Reverence kiſs'd both her Hands, and receiving it with another Kiſs, laid it next her Heart; profeſſing, *She was better pleas'd with that ſingle Gift, than all the magnificent Preſents ſhe had that Day receiv'd from the City.* On the next Morning, with the like Splendor and Magnificence, ſhe was attended to the Abby-Church at *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe was ſolemnly Crown'd, according to the Order of the *Roman* Pontifical, by *Oglethorp* Biſhop of *Carliſle*; with ſo much Satisfaction to the People, that afterwards, without any Command, and by an univerſal Conſent, they every Year celebrated her Coronation-Day with a Religious Joy. Yet none of the Biſhops, beſides *Carliſle*, would join in the Solemnity; for they ſaw the Alterations ſhe was daily making; and tho' many of them had often chang'd, yet they reſolv'd now to keep firmer to what they had lately profeſs'd, and for which they had ſhed ſo much Blood. Yet no Objection could be made to her Piety and Devotion, which was conſtant and remarkable both in private and publick, and ſhe moſt attentively heard all Sermons preach'd before her: But ſtill ſhe preferr'd the publick Prayers, and often us'd the Saying ſhe had read of her Predeceſſor *Henry* the Third, *That ſhe had rather converſe with God in Prayer, than hear others ſpeak eloquently of him.*

The Treaty of Cambray.

A Peace made with France *and* Scotland.

Abroad, the Treaty of *Cambray* was ſtill negotiating by the *Engliſh*, *Spaniſh* and *French* Commiſſioners; in which the greateſt Obſtacle was the Reſtitution of *Calais*; and King *Philip* for a long time inſiſted ſo poſitively on that Article, that he refus'd to make Peace upon any other Terms. *England* had loſt it by a War, in which they engag'd on his Account, ſo that in Honour he was oblig'd to ſee it reſtor'd; but when the Hopes of marrying the Queen vaniſh'd, and he found ſhe was making Changes in Religion, he became more regardleſs of her Intereſts, and told the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, that unleſs they would enter into a League for continuing the War ſix Years longer, he muſt ſubmit to the Neceſſity of his own Affairs, and conclude a Peace. Upon which the Queen hearken'd to Propoſitions ſent from *France*; but much complain'd of the Queen of *Scotland*'s aſſuming the Title and Arms of *England*: It was anſwer'd, That ſince ſhe had born the Title and Arms of *France*, ſhe had no Reaſon to contend upon that Account. She ſaw ſhe could not now make War with *France* alone, and knew that *Philip* had made a ſeparate Peace; and ſhe had no Deſire to begin her Reign with a War, that would probably be unſucceſsful, and certainly ſo burdenſome to her Subjects Purſes, as might endanger the Loſs of their Affections. And certainly in reſpect of her Sex, and want of Treaſure, Peace at this Time was more eligible than the juſteſt War, to her, who was wont to ſay, *It was more glorious to eſtabliſh a Peace with Wiſdom, than to finiſh a War with the moſt gallant Armies.* The Loſs of *Calais* was no Reproach to her, but fell wholly on her Siſter's Memory; therefore ſhe reſolv'd to make a Peace with *France*, upon the beſt Terms that could be obtain'd. So at length it was agreed, 'That the *French* ſhould hold *Calais* eight Years, at which Time it ſhould either be reſtor'd, or five hundred thouſand Pounds paid in lieu of it to the Queen of *England*: Yet if, during that Space, ſhe made War, either in *France* or *Scotland*, ſhe was to forfeit her Right to that Town: *Aymouth* in *Scotland* was be demoliſh'd, and all Differences on the *Borders* there were to be determin'd by ſome deputed on both Sides.' This being adjuſted, a general Peace between the Crowns of *England*, *France*, *Spain* and *Scotland* was concluded; to the Diſſatisfaction of many of the *Engliſh*, who made great Complaints againſt particular Perſons in the laſt Reign.

The Firſt Parliament in this Reign.

The Queen deſired to Marry.

Her Anſwer.

The wiſe Queen having happily for her own Deſigns made Peace both with *France* and *Scotland*, was now more at Liberty to ſettle her Affairs at home. She had call'd a Parliament, which was open'd on the twenty fifth Day of *January*; at which the Lord *Bacon* made a long Speech, both concerning Matters of Religion and the State of the Nation. 'He deſir'd they would examine the former Religion without Heat or partial Affection; that all Reproaches might be forborn, and Extreams avoided; and that Particulars might be ſo eſtabliſh'd, as all might agree in an Uniformity in Divine Worſhip. He laid open the Errors of the former Reign, and aggravated the Loſs of *Calais*; but ſtill ſhew'd that it cou'd not be eaſily recover'd. He made a noble Encomium upon the Queen, but when he ſhew'd under what Neceſſities ſhe lay, he declar'd, *She would deſire no Supply, but what they ſhould freely and chearfully offer.*' After ſome Debates about the Title of *Supream Head*, that was wanting in the Queen's Writs, and came to no Effect; the firſt Bill that was brought to try the Temper of the Parliament, was for the Reſtitution of the *Tenths* and *Firſt-Fruits* to the Crown; againſt which all the Biſhops proteſted. But that was all the Oppoſition that was made to it; 'By which, not only that Tax and Impoſition was again laid on the Clergy, but alſo all the Impropriated Benefices which *Mary* had ſurrender'd, were reſtor'd to the Crown.' After this the Commons made a modeſt and handſome Addreſs to the Queen, 'Deſiring her to chuſe ſuch a Husband, as might make both herſelf and the Nation happy.' She received the Propoſal kindly, 'Since they had neither limited her to Time, nor Nation; but declar'd, That as hitherto ſhe had liv'd with great Satisfaction in a ſingle State, and had refus'd the Propoſitions that had been made to her, both in her Brother's and Siſter's Reign, ſo ſhe had no Inclination to change her Courſe of Life: If ever ſhe did, ſhe would take care, that it ſhould be to the Good and Satisfaction of her People. She thought ſhe was marry'd to the Nation at her Coronation, by the Ring ſhe then receiv'd, and look'd upon her People as her dear Children; and ſhe would be highly ſatisfy'd, if her Tombſtone might tell Poſterity, HERE LIES A QUEEN WHO REIGN'D SO LONG, AND LIV'D AND DY'D A VIRGIN.' This Matter was ſoon dropt, and an acceptable Bill for the Recognition of her Title to the Crown was brought in: It was not thought neceſſary to repeal the Sentence of her Mother's Divorce, for it was declar'd, *That the Crown purg'd all Defects*; and it was thought needleſs to look back into a Matter, which could not be done without caſting ſome Reproach on her Father: So it was in general Words Enacted, 'That they did aſſuredly believe and declare, That by the Laws of God and the Realm, ſhe was their lawful Queen, and was rightly and lineally deſcended to the Throne.' This was thought a wiſer Way, than if they had examin'd the Sentence of Divorce that paſs'd upon the Confeſſion of a Pre-contract; which muſt have reviv'd the Remembrance of Things that ought to be forgotten; which was alſo thought the true Reaſon why in all her Reign no Apology was printed for her Mother. Other Bills were brought in, and one paſs'd, 'That reviv'd all Acts made againſt the Pope's Power, in King *Henry*'s Reign, and repeal'd thoſe made by Queen *Mary*: They enacted an Oath for acknowleding the Queen *Supream Governor in all Cauſes, and over all Perſons*; and the Refuſers of it were to be turn'd out of all Offices either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, and to be under a Diſability during Life: If any ſhould advance the Authority of a Foreign Power, the firſt Offence was Fine or Impriſonment, the ſecond a *Premunire*, and the third Treaſon: The Queen was alſo impower'd to give Commiſſions, for Judging and Reforming Eccleſiaſtical Matters, under certain Limitations.' From this laſt was the Court, call'd the *High Commiſſion Court*, founded; which in reality was nothing, but the diſtributing that Authority into many Hands, which was in one Perſon in King *Henry*'s Reign.

Her Title to the Crown acknowledged.

Her Supremacy aſſerted.

During theſe Parliamentary Proceedings, great Complaints were made of Seditious Sermons, preach'd by the Popiſh Clergy; upon which the Queen follow'd her Siſter's Precedent, and forbad all Preaching without a Royal Licence obtain'd: She likewiſe ſent an Order to the Convocation, requiring that Body to make no Canons, under the Pains of a *Premunire*. Yet the lower Houſe inſiſting ſtill upon ſeveral Points, a publick and ſolemn Conference was appointed by the Queen, to be held between the *Roman* Biſhops and the Proteſtant Divines. This was firſt propos'd to Arch-Biſhop *Heath*, who was ſtill a Privy-Counſellor; and after ſome Conſultation with his Brethren, he accepted of it. Nine of each Side were appointed formally to diſpute upon theſe three Points; Worſhip in an unknown Tongue; the Power that every particular Church had to alter Rites and Ceremonies; and concerning the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Maſs: All which were to be given in Writing. The laſt Day of *March* was the firſt Day of the Conference, which was held in *Weſtminſter*-Abby, in the Preſence of the Privy-Council, and both Houſes of Parliament, and vaſt Numbers of People who were gather'd together at ſo unuſual a Sight. The Applauſes of the Aſſembly were ſo much on the Proteſtants Side, that after the firſt Day, the other Party obſtinately refus'd to proceed according to the Form firſt agreed; and the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln* ſaid, 'The Faith of the Church ought not to be examin'd, but in a Synod of Divines; That it gave too great Incouragement to Hereticks, to diſpute with them; and that the Queen and Council ought to be Excommunicated, for ſuffering them to argue againſt the Catholick Faith before an unlearned Multitude.' Upon this they were ſent to the *Tower*, and the Lord-Keeper diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly with this Sentence to all the Biſhops, *Since you are not willing that we ſhould hear you, you ſhall very ſhortly hear from us.*

A publick Conference about Religion.

This being over, the Parliament was now in a better Diſpoſition to paſs the Bill for the *Uniformity* of the Service of the Church: The Book of Common-Prayer was now revis'd, and the moſt conſiderable Alteration, the expreſs Declaration made againſt the corporal Preſence, in the ſecond Book ſet out by King *Edward*, was now left out; that none might be driven out of the Communion of the Church upon that Account; therefore the Matter was left undetermin'd, as a ſpeculative Point, in which the People were at their Liberty. The Book of Ordination was not ſpecially mention'd in the Act, which occaſion'd *Bonner* afterwards to queſtion the Legality of Ordinations made by it; but it had been made a Part of the Common-Prayer-Book in the fifth Year of King *Edward*, and the whole Book, then ſet out, was now confirm'd: So that by a ſpecial Act made ſome Years after this, it was declar'd, 'That that Office was underſtood to be a Part of it.' Great Oppoſitions and many Speeches were made in the Houſe of Lords againſt this famous Act of *Uniformity*; but at length it paſs'd with the Diſſent and Proteſtations of eight Spiritual and nine Temporal Lords, and has continu'd in Force to this Day. Another Act paſs'd with greater and juſter Oppoſition, 'That the Queen might reſerve ſome Lands belonging to Biſhopricks to herſelf, as they became void, giving in lieu of them Impropriated Tithes to the Value of them:' This was moſt oppos'd in the Houſe of Commons, who reaſonably apprehended, That under this Pretence, new Spoils might be made of Church-Lands; ſo that upon a Diviſion of the Houſe, ninety were againſt it, but a hundred and thirty-three being for it, it paſs'd. Another Act paſs'd with the like Oppoſition, 'By which all Religious Houſes founded by Queen *Mary*, were ſuppreſs'd, and united to the Crown.' A private Act paſs'd, 'declaring the Deprivation of the Popiſh Biſhops in King *Edward*'s Reign valid in the Law, and all the Leaſes made by their Succeſſors legal.' At laſt a Subſidy, two Tenths and two Fifteens were given, with the Tonnage and Poundage for the Queen's Life, and ſo the Parliament was diſſolv'd on the eighth of *May*.

The Act of Uniformity *paſs'd.*

Other Acts.

Shortly after, in order to put the Laws in Execution, a general Viſitation was appointed, and a High Commiſſion Court ſet up; by which Means the eſtabliſh'd Liturgy in the vulgar Tongue, was ſoon brought into all Churches; Images were remov'd without Tumult, and the Oath of Supremacy offer'd to the Popiſh Biſhops, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, which had been taken by moſt of them in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth. As many as refus'd the Oath, were, according to Law, turn'd out of all their Preferments; and of the nine thouſand four hundred Benefices, then nam'd in *England*, fourteen Biſhops, ſix Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Arch-Deacons, fifteen Heads of Colleges, fifty Prebendaries, and eighty Rectors, was the whole Number of thoſe that were depriv'd. But it was ſtrongly believ'd, that the greateſt Part comply'd againſt their Conſciences, and would have been ready for another Turn, if the Queen had dy'd while that Race of Incumbents liv'd, and the next Succeſſor had been of another Religion. All the Biſhops were at firſt under Confinement, but they were ſoon after ſet at Liberty; only *Bonner*, *White* and *Watſon* were detain'd Priſoners. Many grievous Complaints were brought againſt *Bonner*, for the illegal Cruelties he had exercis'd, and the Tortures he had put to his Priſoners; but the Queen reſolv'd not to ſtain the Beginning of her Reign with Blood; and the Reformed Divines were not for revenging themſelves, but for leaving all to the Juſtice of Heaven. *Heath* liv'd privately at his own Houſe, where he was ſometimes viſited by the Queen: *Pates*, *Scot* and *Goldwell* had leave to go beyond Sea. A few Gentlemen, and all the Nuns went likewiſe out of *England*; and ſo mild and gentle was the Queen, that ſhe deny'd that Liberty to none that asked it.

The Number of the Churchmen that were turn'd out.

The Queen proceeded next to fill up the vacant Biſhopricks, and began with *Canterbury*; in which Affair Doctor *Parker* ſtood out for many Months, and he would not undertake ſo high a Charge, till his Friends had us'd all ſorts of Arguments both Threatning and Perſuaſive, to induce him to comply. Upon the ſending of the *Conge d'eſlire*, he was elected by the Chapter of *Canterbury*; and ſhortly after the Queen iſſu'd out a Warrant for his Conſecration, and after that a ſecond, directed to *Kitchin* Biſhop of *Landaff*, the only complying Biſhop in Poſſeſſion, and to *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale*, three Biſhops depriv'd in the laſt Reign, and to *Bale* Biſhop of *Oſſory*, and two ſuffragan Biſhops beſides. Accordingly, on the ſeventeenth Day of *December*, by four of theſe, he was conſecrated in the Chapel at *Lambeth*, according to the Book of Ordination, ſet out under King *Edward*, only the Ceremony of the Paſtoral Staff was omitted; All which is apparent, not only from the Teſtimony of the Earl of *Nottingham* who ſaw it, but from the Records of the Crown, the Regiſters of the See of *Canterbury*, and the original Inſtrument deſcribing all the Particulars of his Conſecration, ſtill preſerv'd in *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Cambridge*. And this inconteſtably confutes the ſcandalous Fable of the *Nag's-Head* Ordination, and all other improbable Stories, afterwards invented by the Enemies of the eſtabliſh'd Church of *England*. After this Arch-Biſhop *Parker* proceeded regularly to conſecrate many other Biſhops; as *Grindall*, for the See of *London*; *Cox*, for *Ely*; *Horn*, for *Wincheſter*; *Merick*, for *Bangor*; *Young*, for St. *David*'s; *Bullingham*, for *Lincoln*; the famous *Jewell*, for *Saliſbury*; *Davis*, for St. *Aſaph*; *Gueſt*, for *Rocheſter*; *Berkley*, for *Bath* and *Wells*; *Bentham*, for *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; *Alley*, for *Exeter*; and *Parre* for *Peterborough*. *Barlow* and *Story* formerly depriv'd, were put into the Sees of *Chicheſter* and *Hereford*: And the Sees of *York* and *Durham* were kept vacant a Year, upon ſome Hopes that *Heath* and *Tonſtall* ſhould have conform'd; but after that, *Young* was tranſlated from St. *David*'s to *York*, and *Pilkington* advanc'd to *Durham*. In all theſe, and many other Advancements, when a Man was recommended to the Queen, as worthy of Preferment, ſhe uſually ask'd, *If there were not others to be found, of more Learning and Piety, to whom ſhe might recommend the Care of the Church.*

Doctor Parker *made Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury.

His Conſecration aſſerted.

Many new Biſhops Conſecrated.

Thus did this excellent Queen not only reſtore Peace to the Nation, but in the Compaſs of a Year recover the Reformation of Religion; while all Chriſtendom ſtood amaz'd to ſee it effected with ſo little Commotion. And all Things were carry'd with ſuch a general Temper and Moderation, that for ten Years there was no Diſturbances about Religion, nor any ſevere Puniſhment of *Roman* Catholicks. By means of this Change and Eſtabliſhment, as

The Happi-neſs of England.

the Politicians obſerv'd, *England* became the moſt free of all Kingdoms in Chriſtendom, and the Scepter deliver'd from the foreign Servitude of *Rome*; the Nation grew more wealthy than in former Ages, when infinite Sums were annually exported to *Rome* for *Firſt-Fruits*, *Indulgences*, *Pardons*, *Appeals*, *Diſpenſations*, *Palls*, and other Things, to the ſtrange Impoveriſhment of the Republick. And thus having recover'd the almoſt Shipwreck'd Veſſel to a ſafe Port, the Queen was able by the Bleſſing of God both to ſettle her Religion, and to lay the Foundations of a laſting Peace at home and abroad.

A. D. 1559. Reg. 2.

The Troubles of Scotland.

The Queen-Regent depos'd.

II. While *England* was thus ſettled, and happy at home, *Scotland* was diſtracted, and began to ſuffer great Convulſions; all ariſing from the Factions within its own Bowels, and the Severity and Provocations of the Queen-Dowager, who was Regent of the Kingdom, and wholly in the Intereſt of *France*. The real Queen of *Scotland*, now ſeventeen Years of Age, was ſtill in *France*, and this Year her Husband the *Dauphine* ſucceeded to the Crown, under the Name of *Francis* the ſecond. He being govern'd by the Counſel of the *Guiſes*, who bore the chief Sway in *France*, join'd with the Queen-Regent in all her violent Proceedings in *Scotland*. Vaſt Diſturbances were rais'd, and innumerable Outrages committed in all Parts, upon the Account of Religion and Reformation: And at length the People made ſuch a general Inſurrection, that the Queen-Regent was compell'd to retire to *Dunbar* Caſtle. She was once willing to refer the whole Matter to a Parliament; but two thouſand Men coming over from *France*, and Aſſurances being ſent her of a greater Force to follow, ſhe aſſum'd new Courage, went and fortify'd *Leith*, and broke her Agreement with the People, which ſhe had more than once done before, upon a Pretence, *That Princes were not ſtrictly to be charg'd with their Promiſes, eſpecially when made to Hereticks.* Upon which the Lords alledg'd, 'That in their Queen's Minority, the Government 'was chiefly in the States, and that the Regent was only 'the chief Adminiſtrator, and accountable to them:' Therefore they reſolv'd to depoſe her from her Regency. They objected many Mal-Adminiſtrations, as her beginning a War in the Kingdom, and bringing in Foreigners to ſubdue it, her embaſing the Coin, Governing without the Conſent of the Nobility, and breaking her Faith and Promiſes to them; upon which they declar'd, That ſhe was fallen from her Regency, and ſuſpended her Power, till the next Parliament. The Lords, now call'd *The Lords of the Congregation*, retir'd from *Edinburgh* to *Sterling*; upon which the *French* came to *Edinburgh*, and ſet up the Maſs in the Churches which had been laid aſide; and ſoon after a new Supply came from *France*, commanded by the Marqueſs of *Elbeuſe*, one of the Queen-Regent's Brothers, ſo that now there were four thouſand *French* in *Scotland*. By means of this Foreign Force, the whole Nation came to be united againſt the Queen-Regent, and to look on her as a common Enemy.

The Scots *beg Aid of the Queen of* England.

The *Scots*, who had been hitherto animated, and ſecretly ſupply'd with Mony and Ammunition from *England*, were now forc'd more openly to beg the Queen's Aſſiſtance, which occaſion'd ſeveral Debates in the Council, and many Things were alledg'd to induce the Queen to join in this Affair. Particularly ſhe had been highly provok'd by the young Queen of *Scotland*, who together with her Husband the *French* King had aſſum'd and uſurp'd the Arms of *England*; which laid the Foundations of ſuch a Jealouſie as nothing but Death could extinguiſh. Beſides it was thought highly impolitick to ſuffer the *French* to remain in *Scotland*, whoſe Deſigns were known to be deep and ſubtle, and their Ambition boundleſs: Inſomuch that it was become a Proverb in theſe Days, '*That* France *could neither be poor* '*nor peaceable for three Years together:* And Queen *Elizabeth* frequently us'd that Saying of *Valentinian*, '*Chuſe the* 'French *for your Friends*, *but not for your Neighbours.* It was therefore finally reſolv'd, That it was juſt, honeſt and neceſſary, immediately to drive the *French* out of *Scotland*.

A. D. 1560. Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

The Duke of *Norfolk* was ſent to *Berwick* for this Purpoſe, and to treat with the Lords of the Congregation now headed by the Duke of *Chattelherault*. On the twenty-ſeventh of *February*, they agreed upon theſe Conditions, 'That the *Scots* ſhould be perpetual Allies to the Queen of '*England*; and that after the *French* were driven out of '*Scotland*, they ſhould continue their Obedience to their 'own natural Queen.' Upon which two thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot, under the Lord *Gray*, were ſent to aſſiſt the *Scots*, who after ſome Offers to the *French*, inveſted *Leith*. During that Siege, there were conſiderable Loſſes on both Sides, but thoſe on the *Engliſh* Side were more eaſily ſupply'd from the neighbouring Parts, than the other. And this ſo affected the *French*, that they offer'd to reſtore *Calais* to the Queen of *England*, if ſhe would withdraw her Forces from *Scotland*: She gave them a quick Anſwer, *That ſhe did not value that Fiſh-Town, ſo much as ſhe did the Quiet and Security of all* Britain. But ſhe offer'd to mediate a Peace between them and the *Scots*; but before that could be effected, the Queen-Regent dy'd, having firſt ask'd Pardon of ſeveral of the *Scotch* Lords for the Injuries ſhe had done them. However, not long after, a Peace was concluded between *England*, *France* and *Scotland*: 'An Oblivion was granted for all that was paſt; 'the *French* and *Engliſh* were to be ſent out of *Scotland*; 'the Queen of *Scotland* was to quit the Arms of *England* 'and *Ireland*: During the Queen's Abſence, the Kingdom 'was to be govern'd by a Council of Twelve, all Natives; 'of whom the Queen was to nominate Seven, and the 'States Five: All other Matters were referr'd to a Parliament.' Thus both *Engliſh* and *French* remov'd out of *Scotland*, and a Parliament met in *Auguſt*; in which all thoſe Acts that favour'd the old Way of Worſhip were repeal'd; and the Lands and Revenues of the Church were ſpoil'd after an unheard-of Manner. However theſe Articles were rejected with Scorn by the King of *France*, ſo that the *Scots* began to apprehend a new War: but ſhortly after, the Death of that King, after a Reign of ſeventeen Months, deliver'd them from all their Fears: And the *Scotch* Queen, having no longer the Support of ſo great a Crown, was afterwards oblig'd to return home, and govern in ſuch a Manner, as that Nation thought fit to allow. Thus did the Queen of *England* ſeparate *Scotland* from its ancient Dependance on *France*, and ſo united it to her own Intereſts, that ſhe was not only ſecure on that Side of her Dominions, but rais'd ſo great an Intereſt in *Scotland*, that Affairs there were generally govern'd according to the Directions ſhe ſent. This Peace was accounted advantageous for all *Britain*, the ancient Liberty of *Scotland* retain'd, and the Dignity of *England* preſerv'd, which from that Time fear'd nothing from *Scotland*: So that the *Engliſh* joyfully acknowledg'd their Queen to be the Founder of their Security, and the *Scotch* Proteſtants the Defender of their Liberty.

The Treaty of Edinburgh.

The Queen's Influence over Scotland.

The many Matches offer'd to her.

But all in vain.

She, like a true Mother of her Country, was all the while ſo intent upon the publick Welfare, that ſhe left no Room in her Thoughts for the Addreſſes of the moſt potent Princes. For beſides thoſe of King *Philip*, formerly mention'd, the Emperor *Ferdinand* recommended his younger Son *Charles*, Duke of *Auſtria*, to her for a Husband. And when this ſucceeded not, *John* Duke of *Finland*, ſecond Son to *Guſtavus* King of *Swedeland*, was ſent by his Father to ſollicit for his eldeſt Brother *Ericus*; who was honourably receiv'd, but the Match rejected. Then *Adolphus* Duke of *Holſtein*, Uncle to *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, came into *England*, with great Hopes of Succeſs; but the Queen beſtow'd upon him the Honour of the Garter, and an annual Penſion, but not her own Perſon. Likewiſe *James* Earl of *Arran* was recommended to her by the Proteſtants of *Scotland*; but neither the Man nor the Motion prov'd acceptable. Of inferior Fortunes, that were ſome at home that pleas'd themſelves with the Hopes of obtaining her: Firſt, Sir *William Pickering*, a Gentleman of a noble Family, but moſt commended for his polite Studies, and ſweet Demeanor: Then *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, exceeding rich, but now in his declining Age: Then *Robert Dudley*, youngeſt Son to the Earl of *Northumberland*, of excellent Features, and in the Flower of his Age, afterwards one of her chief Favourites. Neither theſe, nor any other could ever prevail upon this Maiden Queen; tho' ſhe was daily tempted to change her Reſolution by all the alluring Pleaſures of a Court, which ſhew'd itſelf in Interludes, Banquets and Balls, and ſurrounded with all Things that might provoke the moſt cool and languiſhing Deſires. Her Juvenile Age, and the Intemperance which ever attends a publick Court, gave occaſion to ſome injurious Reports; but ſhe eaſily waſh'd off that ſlanderous Infamy, one of the moſt raging Crimes of this Age, by the incredible Continence and Chaſtity of her whole Life, all natural Inclinations being over-rul'd by her Modeſty and Prudence. Her *Maids of Honour* always took a wonderful Pleaſure in her Manners, her Diſcourſes and Converſation, and wholly apply'd themſelves to imitate her, borrowing from her the moſt illuſtrious Examples of Modeſty and Chaſtity.

The Pope's Endeavour to gain her to his Intereſt.

As this Queen was courted in Marriage by many temporal Princes, ſo ſhe was courted in a different Manner by Pope *Pius* the Fourth, who being ſenſible of the Errors of his arrogant Predeceſſor, declar'd *He would humble himſelf even to Hereſie itſelf, in regard that whatſoever was done to gain Souls to Chriſt, did become that See.* Accordingly he wrote a moſt loving Letter to her, kindly exhorting her to return to the Unity of the Catholick Church: And it is ſaid, he made her great Offers, if ſhe would hearken to his Counſel; particularly, That he would recall the Sentence pronounc'd againſt her Mother's Marriage, confirm the Book of Common-Prayer in *Engliſh*, and permit her People to uſe the Sacrament in both Kinds. But the Queen, according to her fix'd *Motto, Semper Eadem*, perſiſted conſtant in her Reſolution, to maintain that Religion, which in her Conſcience ſhe was perſuaded to be moſt agreeable to the Word of God, and moſt conſonant to the Primitive Church. Likewiſe in the following Year, when the Pope ſent the Abbot *Nartiningo* as far as *Flanders*, the Queen ſent her Commands to him not to croſs the Sea but at his Peril: And tho' the Emperor and the King of *Spain* did earneſtly intreat that he might be heard, yet ſhe ſtood her Ground, and reply'd, *That ſhe could not treat with the Biſhop of* Rome, *whoſe Authority was totally excluded out of* England *by Act of Parliament.* This Anſwer ſhe return'd to give them ſome Satisfaction, but to the Pope's *Nuncio* ſhe only gave a direct Denial: For ſhe well perceiv'd this Remedy did not tend to the healing of the Wounds of the Church, but to the making them incurable; and the Event juſtify'd her Conduct.

Her Care of the Church.

The Queen being now more ſecure, that the Church might continue uncorrupted, ſhe ſet forth two remarkable Proclamations: By one ſhe commanded the *Anabaptiſts*, and ſuch Heterodox People, who had flock'd from Foreign Countries to the Sea-Coaſts of *England*, to depart the Realm within twenty Days, upon Pain of Impriſonment and Loſs of Goods. By the other ſhe reſtrain'd a Sacrilegious Kind of People, who under Colour of aboliſhing Superſtition, began to pull down ancient Monuments, to deface the Epitaphs and Eſcutcheons of the nobleſt Families, and other venerable Remains of Antiquity, and to take the Bells and Lead from the Churches. She alſo converted the famous Abby of *Weſtminſter* into a Collegiate-Church; inſtituting a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, a School-maſter, an Uſher, forty Scholars, with ſeveral Officers, to the great Advantage of Religion and Learning. And then to the great Advancement of her Glory, ſhe began gradually to call in the Braſs Mony, and reſtore the Coin to its current and ſterling Purity, and to repair the Honour of the Kingdom, by preventing the Frauds of thoſe who adulterated the Coin both at Home and Abroad. All which ſhe happily perform'd within a few Months without Commotion; Firſt, by prohibiting the Melting down any Mony, whether Braſs or Sterling; then by reducing Baſe Mony to its juſt Value; and laſtly by purchaſing all that was bad with her own Mony, provided it was brought into the Mint at a fix'd Time. So that to Queen *Elizabeth* is to be aſcrib'd the Happineſs of having better and purer Mony in *England* than had been us'd for two hundred Years before; a great and memorable Act, which neither King *Henry* did, King *Edward* could, nor Queen *Mary* durſt undertake.

She regulates the Coin.

A. D. 1561. Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

Theſe Things happily accompliſh'd, the Queen ſent the Earl of *Bedford* into *France*, to condole the Death of King *Francis*, and congratulate his Succeſſor *Charles* the Ninth, who was then but eleven Years of Age. The Earl, together with *Throgmorton* the Queen's Agent, often ſollicited the Widow Queen of *Scotland* to confirm the Treaty of *Edinburgh*; But her Anſwer was always the ſame, *That ſhe neither could, nor would do it without the Advice of the Nobility of* Scotland. Upon which Queen *Elizabeth*, ſuſpecting that this Anſwer was only to amuſe her, while ſome dangerous Deſign was practiſing againſt her, ſent Sir *Thomas Randolph* into *Scotland*, to perſuade the Lords of that Country to enter into a League of mutual Amity with her, and other Proteſtant Princes; and likewiſe to uſe all juſt Methods to hinder their Queen from contracting a ſecond Marriage with a Foreign Prince; for which many convincing Reaſons were alledg'd. In the mean Time the Queen of *Scotland*, deſigning to return into her own Country, ſent *D' Oiſely*, a *French* Lord, to deſire Queen *Elizabeth*, That with a ſafe Conduct ſhe herſelf might paſs by Sea into *Scotland*, and *D' Oiſely* paſs through *England*. But the incens'd Queen, in the Preſence of a great Multitude, deny'd both the one and the other, unleſs ſhe would confirm the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, declaring, *If ſhe perform'd that, ſhe ſhould find all the Kindneſs of a Queen, a Kinſwoman, and a Neighbour, whether ſhe went by Sea or Land.* The Queen of *Scotland* was ſenſibly affected with this Anſwer, and vehemently expoſtulated the Matter with *Throgmorton*, as tho' ſhe condeſcended too much in deſiring the Favour, which ſhe rather eſteem'd as a Piece of Juſtice. And now reſolving to run all Hazards, ſhe ſet Sail from *Calais*, and by the Benefit of a Fog, paſs'd by the *Engliſh* Fleet, which was thought to have ſtood ready to intercept her, and ſafely arriv'd in *Scotland*; where contrary to Expectation, ſhe us'd all poſſible Clemency to her Subjects, made no Changes in Religion tho' tumultuouſly ſet up, but began to govern the Kingdom by wiſe and excellent Laws. Soon after ſhe ſent Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, offering all Obſervance and Readineſs to enter into a League with her, *provided ſhe might by Parliament be declar'd Heir apparent to the Crown of* England, *in Caſe ſhe dy'd without Iſſue.* This was a great Surpriſe to Queen *Elizabeth*, who expected nothing leſs than the Confirmation of the Treaty; ſo that the Subſtance of her Anſwer was, *That for her Amity ſhe wiſh'd her well, but as to her Propoſal, ſhe was not yet weary of her Life.* Yet to ſhew her Reſpect ſhe entertain'd her Uncles, the Dukes *D' Aumarl*, and *D' Elbeufe*, and the other *French* Lords that brought her home, and return'd through *England*, with great Splendor and Magnificence. Theſe two Queens had indeed both great Spirits, and Wiſdom, but there aroſe ſuch unhappy Jealouſies of State between them, that it kept them further aſunder in Love than in Blood, and was the Cauſe of many unkind Paſſages between them: In all which, tho' the Queen of *Scotland* was almoſt equal to the Queen of *England* in the Abilities of her Mind, yet in the Favours of Fortune ſhe was much her Inferior.

The Queen of Scots *deſires a ſafe Conduct from* England.

She arrives in Scotland.

A Diſagreement between the Queens.

And now the wiſe and provident Princeſs, tho' ſhe found her Treaſure exhauſted, to ſecure herſelf and People, began to furniſh her Armory with all neceſſary Proviſions for War, expending great Sums for Arms in *Germany*, and caſting great Numbers of Iron and Braſs Pieces of Canon; which laſt was happily favour'd by a Diſcovery of a plentiful Mine of Braſs at *Keſwick* in *Cumberland*, ſufficient to ſupply *England* and Foreign Nations. She likewiſe caus'd the firſt making of Gun-powder in *England*, that ſhe might not be oblig'd to beg or purchaſe it of her Neighbours. She increas'd alſo the Garriſon of *Berwick*, advanc'd their Pay, and fortify'd the Town with ſeveral new Works, which were finiſh'd in a ſhort Time. She ſent diſcreet and worthy Men to rebuild the ſtrong Caſtles within twenty Miles of the Borders of *Scotland*, and erected another upon the Banks of *Medway*, for the advantage of her Fleet; which ſhe ſo well furniſh'd and improv'd, as did not only exceed what had been ſeen by *Britain*, but Strangers worthily ſtiled her, *The Reſtorer of the Naval Glory, and the Queen of the North-Sea.* The wealthier Inhabitants of the Sea-Coaſts did likewiſe follow the Queen's Example, in building Ships of War with all imaginable Chearfulneſs, inſomuch that the Queen's Fleet, in Conjunction with her Subject's Shipping, was able to furniſh twenty thouſand fighting Men for Sea-Service. Moreover the Noblemen and Commons were in all Places as induſtrious in providing themſelves Arms; ſo that every Nobleman's Houſe was a compleat Armory. Frequent Muſters were obſerved, and the young Men were train'd up to the Arts of War, and exercis'd in Mock-Campaigns: And the Country People, when Licence was granted for the Tranſportation of Corn, began to follow their Husbandry with a double Diligence, and great Advantage. For the good of the Publick, ſhe increas'd the Salary of the Judges, and firſt allow'd them Proviſion for their reſpective Circuits: And tho' in many Caſes ſhe was a little ſparing, yet ſhe was never to learn where, when and how far to Extend her Bounty; being really an equal Friend to Thrift, and Benefactor to Merit. In the midſt of theſe Cares and Concerns, the tall and beautiful Spire of St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, five hundred and twenty Foot in Height, was burnt down by Lightning from Heaven, as it was then believ'd; for which Reaſon it was for near ſeventy Years reckoned among the ordinary *Epoches*, or Accounts of Time, in the common Almanacks; 'till an old Plumber at his Death confeſs'd that it happen'd through his Negligence, in leaving a Pan of Coals in the Steeple, when he went to Dinner.

Queen Elizabeth's *Military Care of the Nation.*

The Strength of her Fleets.

St. Paul's *Steeple burnt down.*

A. D. 1562. Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.

The Troubles of France.

While *England* was happy under the Government of a Maſculine Queen, *France* became miſerable under that of a Minor King. Violent Diſſentions were rais'd among the Peers, who were ſoon form'd into two Factions, both uſing the glorious Pretext of Religion: Of the one, the Duke of *Guiſe*, a Papiſt, was Head, of the other the Prince of *Conde*, a Proteſtant; and the Profeſſors of his Religion were moſt grievouſly afflicted, which by Degrees caus'd a War to break out, that was carry'd on for thirty Years together. Queen *Elizabeth* ſoon began to apprehend that *England* might feel the Heat of the neighbouring Flames: For ſhe underſtood that the *Guiſes*, to allure the King of *Navarre*, had made a private Offer to him of that Kingdom, and the Queen of *Scotland* for his Wife, together with the Kingdom of *England* in Dowry; and all this by the Wealth of *Spain*, and the Authority of the Pope, who ſhould diſſolve the Marriage of *Navarre* with his Wife, as being an Heretick, and depoſe the Queen of *England* for the ſame Reaſon. Upon which ſhe ſent over Sir *Henry Sidney*, a Perſon of approv'd Abilities, to ſound the Bottom of this Affair, and to perſuade the Heads of each Party to an Accommodation. But the Matters were gone too far to admit of any Remedy of that Kind; whereupon he return'd out of *France*, and was immediately ſent to the Queen of *Scotland*, to defer the Interview which ſhe had deſir'd with the Queen in *England*, till the following Year, or till the Wars in *France* were ended. All this was agreed; and Queen *Elizabeth*, after mature Deliberation, took into her Protection the *French* King's Subjects in *Normandy*, and made a Compact with the Prince of *Conde*, *Rohan*, *Coligny* and others, 'That ſhe would pay them a hundred thouſand

The Queen aſſiſts the French *Proteſtants.*

'ſand Angels, and ſend them ſix thouſand Men, of which 'one half ſhould defend *Diepe* and *Roan*; and that they 'ſhould deliver into her Hands *Haure-de-Grace*; which 'ſhould be held by three thouſand *Engliſh* Soldiers, in the '*French* King's Name, 'till *Calais* ſhould be reſtor'd.' On the ſame Day that this Compact was made, ſhe by a publick Writing declar'd the Reaſons of her Proceedings; and in the Month of *September*, one Part of the *Engliſh* Army, under Sir *Adrian Poynings*, arriv'd at *Haure-de-Grace* or *Newhaven*, to the great Joy of the Inhabitants, and the other Part at *Dieppe*. After the Arrival of the Earl of *Warwick*, General of the whole Army, they made ſome little Excurſions into the neighbouring Parts of the Country; to prevent which the *Rhinegrave* came and encamp'd near them. Nevertheleſs ſeveral ſlight Skirmiſhes paſs'd between the *French* and the *Engliſh*; and the Mariners of the Fleet in the mean Time ſcour'd the Seas, and almoſt every Day brought in rich Prizes.

Haure-de-Grace *put into her Hands.*

Several great Perſons condemn'd, yet ſav'd.

At home, ſeveral great Perſons were this Year call'd in Queſtion: *Margaret* Counteſs of *Lenox*, Neice to King *Henry* the Eighth, and her Husband the Earl of *Lenox*, for keeping ſecret Correſpondence with the Queen of *Scotland*, were deliver'd Priſoners to Sir *Richard Sackville*, Maſter of the Rolls, and detain'd for ſome Time. Alſo *Arthur Pool* and his Brother, Great Grand-Children to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fourth, *Anthony Forteſcue*, who had marry'd their Siſter, and others, were arraign'd, for Conſpiring to withdraw themſelves to the Duke of *Guiſe* in *France*; and from thence to return with an Army into *Wales*, to proclaim the *Scotch* Queen Sovereign of *England*, and *Arthur Pool* Duke of *Clarence*. All which they confeſs'd at the Bar, and were thereupon condemn'd to die; but their Lives were generouſly ſpar'd by the Queen, in regard they were of the Royal Blood. But the Lady *Katharine Gray*, Siſter to Queen *Jane*, met with leſs kind Uſage in the caſe of a ſmaller Fault: She having formerly been marry'd to the Earl of *Pembroke*'s eldeſt Son, and ſoon after legally divorc'd from him, afterwards ſhe was found with Child by *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hartford*, who being at that Time in *France*, was immediately order'd to return: And being examin'd before the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and affirming that they were lawfully marry'd, but not being able within a limited Time to produce Witneſſes of their Marriage, they were both committed to the *Tower*, where the Lady was deliver'd of a Son. Afterwards, by Connivance or Corruption of their Keepers, being ſometimes permitted to come together, ſhe was again with Child by him; which ſo provok'd the Queen, that Sir *Edward Warner*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, was turn'd out of his Place, and the Earl was fin'd five thouſand Pounds in the Star-Chamber, and kept in Priſon nine Years after: Tho' in pleading of his Cauſe, one *John Hales* argu'd, They were lawful Man and Wife, by Virtue of their own bare Conſent, without any Eccleſiaſtical Ceremony. The unhappy Lady, afterwards with Grief falling into a mortal Sickneſs, humbly deſir'd the Queen's Pardon, for having marry'd without her Knowledge, and recommending her Children to her Clemency, dy'd in the *Tower*.

A.D. 1563.
Reg. $\frac{5}{6}$.
The Second Parliament in this Reign.

The Queen's Supremacy aſſerted.

The Practices of the Papiſts, and the Dangers threatning both the Queen and Kingdom, occaſion'd her to call a new Parliament, which met on the twelfth of *January*, and particularly paſs'd an Act for the Preſervation of the Queen's Majeſty and the Realm, and for avoiding the future Inconveniencies and Diſhonours, ariſing from the uſurp'd Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. 'In which it 'was made High-Treaſon for any to aſſert Thrice by Wri'ting, Word or Deed, the Authority of any foreign 'Prince, Prelate or State, in Spiritual Matters, in *Eng*'*land*, or any other of the Queen's Dominions; or refuſe 'the Oath of Supremacy to the Queen in Matters Spiri'tual, or over Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, after it had been 'twice tender'd; yet ſo as that they ſhould not fall under 'an *Attainder*, nor forfeit their Goods and Chattels; nor 'that this Oath ſhould be exacted of any, but ſuch who 'were, had been, or ſhould be in Holy Orders, or did 'then bear, had born, or ſhould bear ſome Eccleſiaſtical 'Office; or that after Warning given, ſhould refuſe to ob'ſerve the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *Eng*'*land*; or ſhould diſhonour the ſame in Publick, or ſhould 'celebrate Maſs, *&c.*' as may be ſeen in the Statute itſelf.

Other Acts.

In this Parliament ſeveral other good Laws were made, for the Relief of the Poor, the ordering of the Navy, the Support and Improvement of Tillage, beſides others for the puniſhing of Vagabonds, Forgers of Evidences, Conjurers and Fortune-Tellers, and ſuch as ſhould be guilty of Sodomy or Perjury; and one was made particularly for tranſlating the Bible into the *Welſh* Tongue. The Parliament moreover, as a Congratulation upon the happy Turn of Affairs, granted the Queen a Subſidy, beſides two Fifteenths and Tenths, in Conſideration that ſhe had reform'd the Faith, reſtor'd Peace to her Kingdoms, reſcu'd *England* and *Scotland* from the common Enemy, refin'd the Coin, rebuilt the Navy, provided Ammunition for Sea and Land, and likewiſe the great Care ſhe expreſs'd towards *France* for the Security of its young King, the Safety of *England*, and the Regaining of *Calais*. So upon the tenth of *April*, the Parliament was prorogu'd to *October*, and then from Time to Time, for about three Years.

The Church Eſtabliſh'd.

The Convocation was no leſs buſily imploy'd about the Good of the Church and Publick: The Prelates had obſerv'd ſome Deviation from the Doctrine in King *Edward*'s Reign, and ſome other Irregularities as to Diſcipline; which they were willing to impute to the Want of ſome known Rule, by which they were to regulate their Judgments, and conform their Actions. Therefore it was thought expedient, that the Book of Articles agreed in Convocation *Anno* 1552, ſhould be revis'd, and accommodated to the Uſe of the Church; all which was perform'd with the greateſt and wiſeſt Conſideration. Theſe Articles were now reduc'd to the Number of thirty-nine, and publiſh'd both in *Engliſh* and *Latin*, and are in full Force to this very Day. Thus was the Church of *England* fix'd and eſtabliſh'd upon a laſting Foundation, and the Reformation in a great Meaſure compleated; which was a noble Work, that with ſeveral Intermiſſions, had been carry'd on for above thirty Years before it could be perfected.

Haure-de-Grace *ſurrender'd.*

A great Plague.

III. Affairs were happily ſettled at home, but abroad they had a various Aſpect, and ſuch croſs and different Deſigns appear'd among the great Men in *France*, as requir'd a nice Politician to underſtand their Aims. The Wars and Diſturbances in that Country, caus'd the *French* Hoſtages, detain'd in *England* for the Payment of five hundred thouſand Crowns, if *Calais* were not reſtor'd, to prepare ſecretly to eſcape out of the Nation; but being ready to take Shipping they were diſcover'd, and brought back again. The Prince of *Conde* in his expeditious Journey to the *Engliſh* Auxiliaries in *Normandy*, was intercepted and taken Priſoner in the memorable Battel of *Dreux*, by the Duke of *Guiſe*: Which had been a great Diſappointment to the *Engliſh*, but the Duke of *Colen* join'd with him, beſieg'd *Caen* in *Normandy*, and took it, together with *Bayeux*, *Falaiſe* and St. *Lo*. In the mean Time the Prince of *Conde*, drawn on with Hopes of marrying the Queen of *Scotland*, and to have the chief Government in *France* during the King's Minority, concluded a Peace with the King and the *Guiſes*; ſo that now all *France*, both Proteſtants and Papiſts, requir'd to have *Haure-de-Grace* deliver'd up. But the Earl of *Warwick*, perceiving the Unſteadineſs of the *French* Proteſtants, firſt to deſire his Preſence, and now upon ſo ſlight an Occaſion to require his Abſence; he ſuddenly turn'd all the Inhabitants of both Perſuaſions out of the Town, and ſeiz'd on their Ships: On the other Side the *French* were ready to attack the Town, alledging, 'That they fought not now for 'Religion, but their Country; and it was neceſſary that 'both Parties ſhould join their Forces, ſince they had al'ready concluded a Peace between themſelves.' And hereupon the Duke of *Montmorency* ſent a Trumpet to the Earl of *Warwick*, commanding him to ſurrender the Town; and upon Anſwer, *That he would do nothing without the Queen's Leave*, he inveſted the Place, and carry'd on a furious Siege. This being known to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe ſent Orders to the Earl of *Warwick* to ſurrender upon honourable Conditions; which was accordingly perform'd in a ſhort Time, after the *Engliſh* had held the Place about eleven Months: And then return'd into *England*, without any Diſhonour in yielding up a Town, which the Peſtilence made him no leſs unwilling than unable to hold. But what was more unfortunate than the Loſs of that Place, he brought the Plague with him into *England*, which rag'd throughout the Nation, and above twenty thouſand dy'd in *London*. The Recovery of this Town not only caus'd the *French* to triumph, but hereupon the Chancellor of *France* openly pronounc'd, 'That 'by this War the *Engliſh* had loſt all their Right to *Calais*, 'and were no more to require it, ſince it was one of the 'Conditions, that neither of the Nations ſhould make 'War upon the other:' A Point much inſiſted upon afterwards.

The Queen of Scots Deſigns as to Marriage.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, Uncle to the Queen of *Scotland*, was ſlain in the Heat of the War, upon which her Dowry-Mony was ſtopp'd, Duke *Hamilton* turn'd out of his Office, and the *Scots* excluded from being of the Life-Guard to the *French* King; all which that Queen highly reſented. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, another of her Uncles, being apprehenſive that this might provoke her to deſert the *French*, and court an *Engliſh* Intereſt, he once mov'd a Marriage with *Charles* of *Auſtria*, and offer'd the County of *Tyrol* in Jointure. She civilly imparted the Affair to Queen *Elizabeth*, who unwilling ſhe ſhould marry any Foreign Prince, perſuaded her to take a Husband out of

England, and particularly recommended to her the Lord *Robert Dudley*; promiſing, *If ſhe conſented, ſhe ſhould by Act of Parliament be declar'd, her Siſter, her Daughter, and her Succeſſor, if ſhe dy'd without Iſſue.* But when her Uncles and the Queen's Mother were inform'd of this Motion, they look'd upon it with much Diſdain, and promis'd her, That if ſhe refus'd the Match, and adher'd to the *French* Intereſt, all her Dowry ſhould be paid, and the *Scots* reſtor'd to their former Privileges in *France.* They further ſuggeſted to her, 'That Queen *Elizabeth* 'could never be in earneſt, when ſhe made this Propoſal, 'as expecting to have *Dudley* herſelf, and deſiring that the 'other ſhould never marry.' The Queen of *Scotland* came to no Reſolution in this Matter, but referr'd herſelf to a Conference; having her Thoughts extreamly employ'd about her Affairs at home, which now were in great Confuſion and Diſorder. As for the King of *Spain*, he had indeed a Leiger Ambaſſador here in *England*, but rather by way of Compliment, and to watch Advantages, than for any real Affection; which he began to withdraw from the *Engliſh*, as ſuſpecting them to deſign a Trade in the *Weſt-Indies.*

The Death of ſeveral great Perſons.

This being the ſixth of this Queen's Reign, prov'd a fatal Year for the Death of many great Perſons. Firſt for that of *William* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Governor of *Berwick*, a Man famous for his great Services in War, and his Incouraging the Reformation. *William* Lord *Paget*, a Man as highly uſeful in Matters of Peace, who by his great Merits had advanc'd himſelf to many great Places; and tho' he was zealous in the *Roman* Religion, yet he was held in great Eſtimation by the Queen to the laſt part of his Life. Next dy'd *Henry Mannors* Earl of *Rutland*, deſcended by his Mother from King *Edward* the Fourth. And laſtly *Frances* Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, Daughter to *Charles Brandon* and King *Henry*'s Siſter *Mary*; after ſhe had ſeen her eldeſt Daughter *Jane* proclaim'd Queen, and beheaded with her Husband; her ſecond Daughter *Katharine*, divorc'd from her Husband, and confin'd to the *Tower*; her third Daughter *Mary* thrown away upon an unequal Match; and herſelf, forgetting her noble Deſcent, marry'd to *Adrian Stokes*, a mean Gentleman, which tho' it prov'd to her Diſhonour, ſhe did it for her Security.

A. D. 1564. Reg. 5/7.

Foreign Trade regulated.

In the following Year great Complaints were rais'd, that the *Engliſh* Merchants were injuriouſly treated both in *Spain* and the *Netherlands*, upon Pretence of civil Differences, but chiefly out of Hatred to the Proteſtant Religion. Upon which the *Engliſh* remov'd their Mart or Staple of the *Engliſh* Cloaths and Commodities to *Emden* in *Freezland.* At this Time *Camden* aſſures us, that the Commerce between *England* and the *Netherlands* amounted to above twelve Millions of Ducats, and the *Engliſh* Cloaths alone to five. Therefore *Goiſman* the *Spaniſh* Agent, finding the great Damages that the *Netherlands* ſuſtain'd by theſe Differences, us'd all Methods to compoſe them; and upon that Affair the Viſcount *Montague*, *Nicholas Wotton*, and *Walter Haddon* Maſter of the Requeſts, were ſent to *Bruges* in *Flanders*; who after many Interruptions, brought the Affair at laſt to a tolerable Agreement.

But a greater Affair ſtill was tranſacted this Year: For when the Heat of the War between *England* and *France* was rather imperfectly ſmother'd, than intirely extinguiſh'd, Queen *Elizabeth*, having been ungratefully treated by the *French* Proteſtants, reſolv'd no longer to hazard her own Safety to ſecure other Mens, and began to entertain cool and ſerious Thoughts as to a Peace. This was negotiated by Sir *Thomas Smith*, a Perſon of great Senſe and Conduct; and *Throgmorton*, who was a kind of a Priſoner at large in *France*, was join'd with him in the ſame Commiſſion. *France* ſubmitted the Matter to the Management of the Biſhop of *Orleans* and the chief Secretary; who in *April* concluded a Peace at *Troyes* in *Champaign:* The Subſtance of which was, 'That there ſhould be a 'free Trade on both Sides; and no Rebels to be ſhelter'd, 'nor no Letters of Repriſal to be granted: That the Reſervation of all Rights, Titles, Claims and Demands, 'ſhall remain on both Sides ſafe and intire. That a certain Sum of Mony ſhall be paid to the Queen of *England*, at appointed Times: That the Hoſtages, for the 'Reſtoration of *Calais*, ſhould be return'd from *England*, 'upon the Payment of ſix hundred and twenty thouſand 'Crowns; and *Throgmorton* ſhould be at full Liberty.' This Peace was ratify'd by Oath, both from the Crowns of *England* and *France*; and the *French* ſhew'd many ſignal Inſtances of their Joy and Satisfaction; and not long after the *French* King was inveſted with the noble Order of the *Garter* from *England*, with all the uſual Ceremonies and Solemnities.

A Peace concluded with France.

IV. A general Peace being thus eſtabliſh'd, the Queen was at leiſure to take ſome particular View of her Kingdom, and accordingly went in Progreſs to enjoy the Pleaſures of the Country, and viſited the Univerſity of *Cambridge.* There ſhe was receiv'd with the higheſt Marks of Honour, and entertain'd with Tragedies, Comedies and Scholaſtical Diſputations. She view'd every College, and in a *Latin* Oration of her own, acknowledg'd their Civilities, commended their Plenty and Variety of good Learning, and recommended the Study of it to their firſt and greateſt Care, with a Promiſe that ſhe would be always ready to promote and incourage them. At this Time, as Doctor *Heylin* informs us, were unhappily ſown the Seeds of thoſe Diviſions which have ever ſince diſtracted the Church of *England.* For it happen'd that Mr. *Preſton* of King's College, and Mr. *Cartwright* of *Trinity*-College, were appointed for two in the Divinity Diſputation; in which the firſt, by reaſon of his graceful Perſon and Demeanour, was both lik'd and rewarded by the Queen, while the other receiv'd neither Reward nor Commendation: Which, according to this Author, ſo incens'd this proud and opiniated Man, that he retir'd to *Geneva*, where being thoroughly inform'd of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of that Eſtabliſhment, he return'd home with a Deſign to repair his Credit, or to gain himſelf a Name, by raiſing ſuch unhappy Flames in the Church, as probably could not be extinguiſh'd but by the immediate Hand of Heaven.

The Queen viſits Cambridge.

The Beginnings of Presbytery in England.

At the Queen's Return, ſhe began farther to advance her mighty Favourite *Robert Dudley*, the Maſter of her Horſe; who now was made Baron *Denbeigh*, and had receiv'd all the Poſſeſſions belonging to the Honour; and to recommend him to the Favour of the Queen of *Scotland*, he was the next Day made Earl of *Leiceſter*, which Honour was conferr'd upon him with the greateſt State and Solemnity that ever was known. This prodigious Man was now in the Verdure and moſt flow'ring Spring of his Youth, of a graceful Behaviour, a ſtately Carriage, a beautiful Face, a modeſt and grave Look, and in outward ſhew of a pleaſant and eaſie Diſpoſition; and being endow'd with all thoſe flattering Accompliſhments the City and Court could produce, he had inſinuated himſelf into the Favour and Familiarity of the Queen, by his ſpecious ſhews of Loyalty, Induſtry and Vigilance in her Service, and long manag'd the greateſt Station in the Court, and was reputed the prime Miniſter of State. His Brother *Ambroſe*, who was made Earl of *Warwick*, was Heir to the Eſtate, but he to the Abilities of his Family; for he had all the Arts and Policies of his Father: He was the moſt reſerv'd Man of that Age, who ſaw all, and was inviſible himſelf; carrying a Depth not to be fathom'd but by the *Searcher of Hearts.* He became afterwards ſullen to his Superiors, haughty to his Equals, inſolent to his Inferiors, ungrateful to his Friends, and pernicious to his Enemies; and in a Word, inſupportable to all but the Queen. He put himſelf forwards, and aſſum'd the diſtant Employments of Peace and War; was continually working to find the Studies, Abilities, Forces and Diſpoſitions of other Men; and ſo great was his Application and Parts, that he rarely miſcarry'd in his Enquiries. He by his Intereſt advanc'd his Dependants, Kindred and Relations, to all Honours and Employments; and when he found the Opportunity, he as craftily ſold his Miſtreſs's Favours, and the Employments he had taken from others. He had by his ſubtle Projects and Counſels ingroſs'd all the Rewards of Virtue, Riches, Honours, Attendants, and the firſt Place of Miniſter of State; and he manag'd them, and liv'd without any Religion towards God, or Fidelity to Men, making it his great Deſign to cover all Things with Luxury, Cruelties and Rapines. For a conſiderable Time few were call'd to the Council-Table, or admitted to Titles of Honour, but by his Commendation and Procurement; ſo that he ſeem'd not ſo much to be the Queen's particular Favourite, as her Partner in the Sovereign Power, and was accordingly courted and revered by the reſt of the Nobility. If we may believe ſome Men's Characters of him, he had all the Tyranny, Inſolence and moſt aſpiring Ambition of the worſt of Favourites; and all the Luxury, Treachery, and moſt abominable Villanies of the worſt of Men: and Queen *Elizabeth*, with all her Virtues and Excellencies, was ſcarce able to ſecure herſelf from being made infamous and unfortunate by the monſtrous Wickedneſs of this Earl.

The Character of the Earl of Leiceſter.

Having his Honours heap'd upon him, in order to gain the Favour of the Queen of *Scotland*, he immediately accus'd the Lord-Keeper *Bacon* to the Queen, as having interpos'd in the Succeſſion of *Scotland*, and being privy to a Book in which *Hales* endeavour'd to derive the Title of the Crown of *England* to the Houſe of *Suffolk*, in caſe the Queen dy'd without Iſſue. Hereupon *Hales* was committed to the *Tower*; but *Bacon*, tho' he deny'd it, was with much Difficulty reſtor'd to Favour by the Means of *Cecil*, who in this Point kept his Judgment faſt lock'd within his Breaſt, and ſo always reſolv'd to do, *Unleſs the Queen herſelf commanded him to deliver it.* Theſe Tranſactions were not hid from the Queen of *Scotland*, who

The Queen of Scots *Deſigns to marry the Lord* Darnly.

Queen Elizabeth *propoſes the Earl of* Leiceſter.

to prevent any *Engliſh* Deſigns, ſent for *Matthew Stewart* Earl of *Lenox*, who had marry'd *Margaret Dowglaſs*, Neice to King *Henry* the Eighth by his eldeſt Siſter, and had been kept as an Exile in *England* for twenty Years. That Queen invited him into *Scotland*, under Pretence of reſtoring him to his ancient Patrimony; but in Reality to confer with him about a Marriage with his Son the Lord *Darnly*: for he being reputed Heir to the Crown of *England*, next to herſelf, ſhe thought by matching with his Son, to ſtrengthen her own Title, and to prevent the Hopes of others. Queen *Elizabeth* upon earneſt Solicitation, gave the Earl leave to go; but ſoon after ſuſpecting the *Scotch* Queen's Intentions, by way of Prevention, ſhe ſent Sir *Thomas Randolph*, to remonſtrate to her, 'That if ſhe proceeded in the Match, ſhe would exceedingly injure herſelf; for it was ſo highly diſlik'd by the *Engliſh*, that ſhe was forc'd to prorogue her Parliament, to prevent ſomething being enacted againſt her Right of Succeſſion: But if ſhe would marry the Earl of *Leiceſter*, ſhe ſhould then be declar'd next Heir to *England* in Parliament:' Hereupon, in *November*, the Earl of *Bedford* and Sir *Thomas Randolph* for Queen *Elizabeth*, the Earls of *Murray* and *Liddington* for Queen *Mary*, at *Berwick* enter'd into a Treaty concerning the Marriage with the Earl of *Leiceſter*. The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners urg'd the great Benefits that this Match would bring to the Queen of *Scotland*, and her whole Kingdom: On the other ſide the *Scotch* alledg'd the great Diſparagement it would be to their Queen, if after her Refuſal of ſo many honourable Matches, ſhe ſhould condeſcend to ſo mean a Perſon as the Earl of *Leiceſter*. This Affair was long depending, partly becauſe the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners were ſo inſtructed by Queen *Elizabeth*; and partly becauſe the *Scotch* Commiſſioners had a Deſire to hinder their Queen from all Matches; and partly becauſe the Earl of *Leiceſter* having ſtill Hopes of obtaining Queen *Elizabeth*, by ſecret Letters warn'd the Earl of *Bedford*, not too much to urge the Marriage with the Queen of *Scotland*, but privately to favour the Lord *Darnly*.

A. D. 1565. Reg. $\frac{7}{8}$.

The Queen of Scots *falls in Love with the Lord* Darnly.

Queen Elizabeth *endeavours to hinder the Marriage.*

This Affair being thus protracted for a long Space, the Queen of *Scotland*, impatient of longer Delays, found Means to obtain Leave of Queen *Elizabeth*, that the Lord *Darnly* might go into *Scotland*, only for three Months, to be a Partner of his Father's Reſtoration. Accordingly in *February* he came to *Edinburgh*; and being a Gentleman of nineteen Years of Age, of a beautiful and noble Preſence, and of a fine and ſweet Diſpoſition, the Queen immediately fell in Love with him: Yet modeſtly diſſembling her Thoughts, ſhe firſt ſent to procure a Diſpenſation from *Rome*, becauſe of their nearneſs in Conſanguinity. And now her Inclination being grown ſo apparent, that ſhe could no longer conceal it, ſhe ſent *Liddington* to Queen *Elizabeth* to deſire her Conſent. But ſhe, by the ſly Suggeſtions of the Earl of *Murray*, being induc'd to believe, that the *Scotch* Queen deſign'd by this Marriage both to gain the Crown of *England*, and to introduce Popery, enter'd into Conſultation with her Privy-Council, how to hinder the Match. Here it was concluded, that the moſt effectual Means were: Firſt to have a ſufficient Number of Soldiers for Terror's ſake about the Borders of *Scotland*: Next to impriſon the Counteſs of *Lenox*, Mother to the Lord *Darnly*, and to recall the Earl and his Son from *Scotland*, upon Pain of the Loſs of all their Poſſeſſions in *England*: Then that thoſe *Scots* who were known to be averſe to the Marriage, ſhou'd be reliev'd and aſſiſted: And laſtly, that *Katharine Gray*, with the Earl of *Hartford*, ſhould be receiv'd into ſome Favour, as being the only Perſons whom the Queen of *Scotland* eſteem'd as her Co-Rivals in the Succeſſion. Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was ſent to the Queen of *Scotland* to adviſe her in the Queen's Name not to proceed in the Marriage, and to ſhew her the numerous Inconveniences that would ariſe from it. But ſhe anſwer'd, *That the Matter was too far gone to be recall'd, and that the Queen of* England *had no cauſe to be diſpleas'd, ſince ſhe had now follow'd her former Advice, Not to match with a Foreigner but an* Engliſhman *born.*

The Queen of Scots *Marriage with the Lord* Darnly.

Troubles ariſe upon it in Scotland.

Queen *Elizabeth* being inform'd of this Anſwer, immediately call'd home the Earl of *Lenox*, and the Lord *Darnly* his Son, commanding them upon their Allegiance to return: The Father modeſtly excus'd himſelf by Letters; and the Son humbly begg'd of her not to be a Hindrance to his Preferment, which he vow'd to employ in her Majeſty's Service, to the utmoſt of his Power. And now to make him a more proper Match, the *Scotch* Queen firſt honour'd him with Knighthood; then with the Dignities of the Lord *Armanack*, Earl of *Roſſe*, and Duke of *Rothſay*; which Dukedom by Birth belongs to the eldeſt Sons of the Kings of *Scotland*. After this, before he had been five Months in *Scotland*, ſhe marry'd him; and with the Conſent of many of the Peers, declar'd him King. Never did a Marriage prove more calamitous to the Parties themſelves, more diſhonourable to the Nation, or finally more ſcandalous to both Religions, and fortunate in nothing but the Birth of *James* the Sixth, who became the firſt Governor of both Kingdoms. Upon this the Earl of *Murray* and his Party were extreamly inrag'd, and began to move turbulent Queſtions, 'As whether it was lawful to admit a Popiſh King? Whether the Queen of *Scotland* could chuſe a Husband at her own Pleaſure? And whether the Peers of the Kingdom might not of their own Authority impoſe one upon her?' But however they took up Arms, and had diſturb'd the Nuptials, but that the Queen levy'd an Army to oppoſe them; with which ſhe purſu'd them ſo cloſely, that they were forc'd to fly into *England* for Protection; where Queen *Elizabeth* made no ſcruple to receive them, ſince the *Scotch* Queen had before receiv'd *Taxly*, *Standon* and *Walſh*, who were fled out of *England*. The politick Queen of *England*, tho' expreſſing an open Diſpleaſure, was not much troubled at the Marriage; partly becauſe of the mild Diſpoſition of the Lord *Darnly*, and the ſmall Acceſs of Strength it brought to the Queen of *Scotland*; but chiefly becauſe ſhe ſaw that great Troubles would ariſe in *Scotland* about it, which would certainly promote the Quiet of *England*, which, as the true Mother of her Country, was the principal Thing ſhe endeavour'd.

New Propoſals of Marriage to Queen Elizabeth:

Which cauſes Factions in the Court;

The King of Sweden's *Siſter comes to viſit the Queen*:

As alſo Donald Mac-Carty.

Upon this Marriage, thoſe for the Proteſtant Intereſt in *England*, thought nothing could more effectually promote that End, than if Queen *Elizabeth* would be pleas'd to marry herſelf, and ſo defeat all the Queen of *Scotland*'s Hopes as to the Succeſſion. And very ſeaſonably for that Purpoſe, the Emperor *Maximilian* did now renew his former Suit for his Brother *Charles* of *Auſtria*, by his Ambaſſador *Adam Smircorite*. The Propoſal was much oppos'd by the proud Earl of *Leiceſter*, and as much promoted by the brave Earl of *Suſſex*, who was almoſt the only Man who durſt withſtand him: Which occaſion'd ſo great a Conteſt between them, that the Court became divided into Parties and Factions; and the Earls, whenever they went abroad, carry'd vaſt Retinues of armed Servants. But after a few Days the Queen interpos'd and reconcil'd them, or rather occaſion'd them to ſmother their Reſentments. As for the Feuds of the Nobility, and that vulgar Motto, *Divide & Impera*, now us'd as a mock Phraſe, the good Queen utterly condem'd; as being of Opinion, that the Force of Authority lay moſt in the ready Inclinations of ſuch as were to obey. Every thing ſhe ſaid or did was worthy of herſelf; and her Praiſes reſounding in all Kingdoms of the North and Weſt, did now invite *Cecily*, Siſter to the King of *Sweden*, and Wife to the Marqueſs of *Baden*, to undertake a tedious Journey both by Sea and Land, from the furtheſt Parts of the North, to ſee the Splendor of her Court, and obſerve the Wiſdom of her Government. While ſhe was at the *Engliſh* Court ſhe was deliver'd of a Son, to whom, in Requital of her Kindneſs, the Queen was God-Mother, and gave him the Name of *Edward Fortunatus*, beſides an annual Penſion to her and her Husband. At this Time alſo, for the great Fame of her Wiſdom, *Donald Mac-Carty*, a great Potentate of *Ireland*, came and deliver'd into her Hands his ample Territories; and then receiv'd them again to hold them to him and his Heirs, and for want of ſuch to revert to the Queen. She likewiſe in Requital inveſted him with the Honour of Earl of *Glencarn*, and his Son with the Baron of *Valence*; and beſides many Preſents given him, ſhe paid the Charges of his Journey.

A. D. 1566. Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$.

The Order of St. Michael *ſent over to her.*

To add to the Reputation of this mighty Queen, in the Beginning of the following Year *Charles* King of *France* ſent his Ambaſſador *Ramboulet* into *England*, with the Robes and Ornaments of the Order of St. *Michael*, to beſtow on which two of her Nobility ſhe pleas'd. She made choice of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the one for his Nobility, and the other out of Amity; and accordingly they were inveſted with that Honour which had never been conferr'd upon any *Engliſh* Man, but *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, tho' afterwards proſtituted with too little Diſtinction.

She makes a Viſit to Oxford.

After this the Queen took her Progreſs into the Country for her Recreation; and to ſhew herſelf no leſs favourable to the Muſes at *Oxford* than ſhe had been at *Cambridge*, ſhe made a Viſit to that Univerſity; where ſhe receiv'd a magnificent Entertainment, and ſtaid ſeven Days. She was extreamly delighted with the Pleaſantneſs of the Place, the Beauty of the Colleges, and the Wit and Learning of the Students, who diverted her in the Days with curious Diſputations, and at Nights with Tragedies and Comedies: For which ſhe with great Sweetneſs return'd them her Thanks in a *Latin* Oration, and took of them and the Place a moſt gracious Farewel.

Beſides the Diverſions of this Year, the Queen was entertain'd with ſomething of another Nature, which gave her a Mixture of Diſquiet and Curioſity; which was the News of the *Scotch* Queen's Delivery of a Son, upon the nine-

The Birth of King James *in* Scotland.

nineteenth Day of *June*, brought her by Sir *James Melvil.* With all her Spirit and Greatneſs ſhe ſecretly envy'd her Rival the Honour of being a Mother before her; and could not conceal her Uneaſineſs from ſome of her Ladies, ſaying, *The Queen of* Scotland *has brought forth a Prince, but I am a barren Tree.* Yet ſhe diſpatch'd away Sir *Henry Killegrew* to congratulate her ſafe Delivery, and the Birth of an Heir: And being afterwards deſir'd to be God-Mother to the Royal Infant, ſhe readily ſent over the Earl of *Bedford*, with a noble Preſent of a Golden Font; but expreſly commanded that neither he, nor any *Engliſh* Man in his Company, ſhould give the Title of King to the Lord *Darnly*. On the fifteenth Day of *December*, the Baptiſm was ſolemniz'd with great Pomp and Ceremony, and the Prince was publickly proclaim'd by his Names and Titles, CHARLES JAMES, *Prince and Steward of* Scotland, *Duke of* Rothſay, *Earl of* Carrick, *Lord of* the Iſles, *and Baron of* Renfrew.

The Second Seſſion of the Second Parliament of this Reign.

But before this paſs'd, the Parliament of *England* met, after it had been ſeveral Times prorogu'd from the Year 1563. They ſoon fell into a warm Debate about the ſubject Matter of the Succeſſion, and moving the Queen to marry; in which Points ſome proceeded ſo far as to accuſe the Queen, as one diſregarding Poſterity; to defame *Cecil* with Libels and Reproaches, as a great Counſellor in this Matter, but above all to curſe Dr. *Huic*, her Phyſician, who was thought to diſſuade her from Marriage, on Pretence of ſome ſecret Impediment. At length in the Houſe of Lords it was agreed, that the Lord-Keeper *Bacon* ſhould in all their Names humbly beſeech the Queen to marry; and withal to declare a Succeſſor to the Crown, in caſe ſhe dy'd without Iſſue: For which he gave her many Reaſons, 'Laying open the great Miſchiefs that threaten'd the Kingdom, if ſhe ſhould die before a Succeſſor was appointed.' But in the Houſe of Commons, *Bell* and *Mouſon*, two great Lawyers, and ſome others, proceeded to bolder Expreſſions, and a Diſparagement of the Queen's Authority, declaring, 'That Princes were oblig'd to appoint a Succeſſor; and in refuſing to do it, the Queen would ſhew herſelf no better than a Parricide of her Country.' The Queen was contented to bear Words ſpoken in Parliament, which ſhe would not have endur'd in another Place: But not willing to expoſtulate the Matter with the whole Body, ſhe commanded thirty of the Upper Houſe, and as many of the Lower, ſhould attend her; whom ſhe qualify'd with the moſt obliging Expreſſions; and after a Reproof that carry'd a Sweetneſs mix'd with Majeſty, ſhe diverted them from their Reſolutions, promiſing them not only the Care of a Prince, but the Tenderneſs of a Mother. And whereas the Parliament had offer'd extraordinary Subſidies, on Condition ſhe would declare her Succeſſor, ſhe utterly refus'd thoſe unuſual Grants, accepted of an ordinary Sum, and then remitted the fourth Part of what was granted, generouſly declaring, *That Mony in her Subjects Purſes, was as good as in her own Exchequer.* And on the laſt Day of the Parliament, ſhe made ſuch an affectionate Speech to both Houſes, as ſtifled all Commotions; which were ſo ſettled and compos'd by Time, that few but Mal-contents and Seditious Perſons appear'd ſollicitous in the Buſineſs of a Succeſſor.

The Queen deſir'd to marry.

She qualifies their Heats.

Epiſcopacy Eſtabliſh'd.

During this Parliament, beſides other Things for the publick Advantage, by reaſon of the unjuſt Pretences of *Bonner* and ſome others, it was unanimouſly declar'd, 'That the Election, Conſecration, Confirmation and Inſtalment of Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops of *England*, were Lawful; and that the ſaid Biſhops were duly elected and conſecrated according to the Laws and Statutes of the Land. And it was likewiſe enacted, that both they, and ſuch as ſhould be hereafter conſecrated, were and ſhould be eſteem'd as rightly and duly conſecrated, notwithſtanding any former Law or Canon to the contrary.' And thus the Church of *England*, as it were, had its finiſhing Stroke; and had all the neceſſary Advantages of a Human, as well as a Heavenly Eſtabliſhment. And now having finiſh'd all Buſineſs, the Parliament was diſſolv'd on the ſecond Day of *January*.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

A. D. 1567.
Reg. $\frac{9}{10}$.

Great Troubles in Scotland *from the Earl of* Murray.

V. The great Queen of *England*, and her Kingdom, were now in a happy and flouriſhing Condition; but the *Scots* and their Queen began at this time to fall into infinite Troubles and Diſtractions; the Riſe of which, among others, proceeded from the ambitious Earl of *Murray*. This Man was the natural Son of King *James* the Fifth, and ſo the baſe Brother of the Queen; made at firſt Prior of St. *Andrews*, but not pleas'd with that Religious Title, he rather affected ſome Temporal Honour. This being deny'd him when the Queen was in *France*, he in a ſullen manner return'd into *Scotland*, where by the Advice of *Knox*, whom he eſteem'd a great Patriarch, he ſo manag'd Affairs, that in an Aſſembly of the States, the Religion was alter'd, and the *French* baniſh'd out of *Scotland*. Yet as ſoon as the Queen was a Widow, he haſten'd into *France*, and ſo ingratiated himſelf with her, that ſhe created him Earl of *Murray*, and promoted him to an honourable Marriage. Being thus exalted, he return'd into *Scotland*; where to ſooth his ambitious Deſigns, he ſow'd Seeds of Sedition, often complaining of the Miſeries of a Female Government, and affirming, *That Sovereignty was not to be confin'd to any Family or Kindred, but to Virtue alone, whether the Parties were Legitimate or not*; by which he endeavour'd to make way for himſelf to the Kingdom. To this End he us'd all Methods to ſecure the Queen from marrying again; but that not ſucceeding, he was compell'd to fly into *England*, where notwithſtanding, he ſtill by his Agents found means to create Diſcord between her and her Huſband. The Love that was ſo warm now daily diminiſh'd; and ſhe that had ſo ſuddenly heap'd Honours upon him, was now as ready to withdraw them: For whereas in publick Acts, ſhe was wont to place her Huſband's Name firſt, now ſhe caus'd it to be plac'd laſt, and in the Coining of Mony began to leave it quite out. This Unkindneſs between them was much fomented by one *David Rizio*, an *Italian*, whom the Queen had taken into her Service, firſt as a Muſician, and afterwards as her Secretary for the *French* Tongue; and after that he became ſo much in Favour, that it reflected no ſmall Diſhonour upon the Queen, being often allow'd ſecret Conferences with her, when the King her Huſband could not be admitted. The King himſelf being much addicted to his Pleaſures of Hunting and Hawking, did not ſo much reſent this Indignity, as ſome Lords who were his Friends; who told him plainly, *That it was not conſiſtent with his Honour to ſuffer this inſolent Man to live.* Being fir'd with the Senſe of Injury, at an appointed Time, the King with the Lord *Ruthven* and others with drawn Swords ruſh'd into the Queen's Apartment when ſhe was at Supper; where finding *Rizio* at the ſame Table, he ſeiz'd upon him while he hung about the Queen's Waſte for Protection, and dragg'd him into another Chamber, where with many Wounds he was murther'd; the Queen being at that Time big with Child, and near miſcarrying with the Fright. This Fountain of Blood being open'd, a new Stream follow'd: For not many Months after, the King was firſt poiſon'd, and ſhortly after barbarouſly murther'd in his Bed at Midnight; and to make the Surpriſe the greater, the Houſe was blown up by Gun-powder, and his Body thrown out into an Orchard.

The Murder of David Rizio.

And of the King.

The Rumour of this Murther being ſpread abroad, common Fame immediately laid it upon *Murray*, lately recall'd home, and upon *Morton* and *Bothwell*; and they on the other Side charg'd it upon the Queen: But we are not to give Credit to *Buchanan*'s Account of it, who to ingratiate himſelf with the Earl of *Murray*, wrote moſt ſcandalouſly concerning the Queen; of all which he earneſtly repented and acknowledg'd before his Death. The King thus murther'd, and the Queen left alone to her ſelf, ſhe was ſoon adviſ'd to marry with ſome Perſon that might be able to aſſiſt her againſt all Oppoſers: *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwell*, being then highly in her Favour, and eminent for his Courage and Valour; and tho' he was one who committed the Murther, yet he was by *Murray* and his Confederates recommended to the Queen. To this Motion, as being deſtitute of Friends, and not knowing whom to truſt in theſe dangerous Times, ſhe at laſt conſented; but upon theſe Conditions, that above all Things, Reſpect ſhould be had to her young Son; and that *Bothwell* ſhould firſt be legally acquitted both from the King's Murther, and from the Obligation of his former Marriage. Hereupon a Project was contriv'd, by which *Bothwell* was formally call'd to the Bar; and *Morton* being his Advocate, and *Lenox* his chief Accuſer not daring to appear, he was fully acquitted by Sentence of the Judges. Upon this he was created Duke of *Orkney*, and by the Conſent of ſeveral of the Nobility, was precipitately marry'd to the Queen; which Action increas'd the Suſpicion of many, that the Queen was an Acceſſary in the Murther, the Belief of which was the only thing they intended by the Marriage. This Suſpicion being blown up to the Heighth, *Murray* politickly retir'd to *France*; and the ſame Perſons who had acquitted *Bothwell*, and gave him their Conſents to marry the Queen, immediately took up Arms againſt him. But ſtill they gave him ſecret Notice to provide for himſelf; both to prevent his diſcovering the Plot, if once taken, and alſo to make uſe of his Flight, the more plauſibly to charge the Queen with her Huſband's Murther. After that they proceeded ſo far as to ſeize on her Perſon, and treated her after the moſt contemptuous Manner, and allowing her but ordinary Cloathing, they impriſon'd her at *Loch-Levin*, and put her into the Cuſtody of *Murray*'s Mother; who having been Miſtreſs to *James* the Fifth, inſulted over the captiv'd Queen's Misfortunes, and boaſted that ſhe was the lawful Wife of King *James*; and that her Son *Murray* was his Legitimate Iſſue. All theſe Miſeries did King *James* bring upon his Kingdom, and unfortunate

The Queen marries the Earl of Bothwell.

tunate Daughter, by breaking the Precepts of Heaven with one Woman; the common Effects of unlawful Love in Princes and great Men, and naturally more fatal than in inferior Perſons.

Queen Elizabeth *interpoſes by her Agent* Throgmorton.

When Queen *Elizabeth* had Notice of this unexpected Revolution, ſhe ſent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* to expoſtulate with the Confederates concerning this ſtrange Uſage of their Queen; and to conſult by what means ſhe might recover her Liberty. *Throgmorton* found the Confederates more inſolent than had been reported: Being divided in their Opinion concerning their Proceedings with the Queen, ſome advis'd to have her perpetually baniſh'd into *England* or *France*; others, to have her examin'd before the Judges, committed to perpetual Cuſtody, and her Son proclaim'd King: But ſome, more inhuman, would have her at once depriv'd of Regal Authority and Life; and this was the Doctrine of *Knox*, and ſome other Miniſters, in their Pulpits. *Throgmorton* on the other Side, 'Alledg'd many 'Paſſages out of the Scriptures concerning Obedience to 'the higher Powers, and maintain'd, that the Queen was 'ſubject to no Tribunal under Heaven; that there was no 'Office nor Juriſdiction in *Scotland*, but was deriv'd from 'her Authority, and revokable at her Pleaſure.' They again oppos'd, 'The peculiar Right of the Kingdom of '*Scotland*; and that in extraordinary Emergencies, extra-'ordinary Decrees muſt be made;' borrowing the Arguments of *Buchanan*, who at that time wrote a Dialogue, in which he endeavour'd to prove, that the People have Power both to create and depoſe their King. After long Debates, all that *Throgmorton* could gain from them was a Writing without any Subſcription, in which they proteſted, 'They had ſecur'd the Queen for no other Deſign, but 'to keep her from *Bothwell*, whom ſhe lov'd ſo deſperate-'ly, that to enjoy him, ſhe regarded not all their Ruins; 'deſiring him to reſt ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, 'till the 'reſt of the Peers could meet.' And notwithſtanding all his Arguments, they brought the Queen to a more ſevere Reſtraint, tho' in the humbleſt Manner ſhe beſought them to deal more gently with her, and let her but once have a Sight of her Son; which would not be granted her. At length, when civil Perſuaſions would not prevail to make her freely reſign her Kingdom, they openly threaten'd to bring her to a publick Tryal for Incontinence, Murther and Tyranny; ſo that through Fear of Death, ſhe was compell'd, unheard, to ſet her Hand to three Inſtruments: By the Firſt of which, ſhe reſign'd the Crown to her Son, then ſcarce thirteen Months old: By the Second, ſhe conferr'd the Regency upon *Murray*, during the Minority of her Son: In caſe he refus'd it, the Third conferr'd that Power upon the Duke of *Caſtel-Herault*, with the Earls of *Argyle*, *Lenox*, *Atholl*, *Morton*, *Glencarn* and *Marre*. Next ſhe repreſented to the Queen of *England*, that ſhe reſign'd upon Force, and by the Counſel of *Throgmorton*, who told her, that ſuch an extorted Reſignation was void of it ſelf.

The Queen of the Scots *reſigns her Crown to her Son.*

King James *crowned at thirteen Months of Age.*

Five Days after this Reſignation, *Charles James*, the Queen's young Son, was anointed and crown'd King, by the Name of *James* the Sixth; and *John Knox* preach'd the Coronation Sermon: And the *Hamiltons* enter'd a Proteſtation, that it ſhould not prejudice the Title of the Duke of *Chaſtel-Herault* to the Succeſſion, in oppoſition to the Houſe of *Lenox*. But Queen *Elizabeth* forbid *Throgmorton* to be preſent at the Solemnity, leſt ſhe might be thought to give Countenance to this uncommon Proceeding by the Appearance of her Ambaſſador. Fifteen Days after *Murray* himſelf return'd out of *France* into *Scotland*, and ſhortly repair'd to the Queen with ſome other of the Confederates, who charg'd her with many Crimes, and urg'd her, as ſhe tender'd her Life and Honour, to obſerve theſe Preſcriptions: 'Not to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, 'nor deſire to be at Liberty: Not to excite the Queen of '*England*, or the King of *France*, to infeſt *Scotland* with 'any foreign or domeſtick War; nor to think any more of '*Bothwell*'s Love, or mediate any Revenge upon *Both-'well*'s Adverſaries.' *Murray* being now proclaim'd Regent of *Scotland*, bound himſelf under his Hand and Seal to act nothing concerning War or Peace, the King's Perſon or his Marriage, or the Liberty of the Queen, without the Conſent of the Confederates; and then gave *Throgmorton* Notice by *Lydington*, not to make any further Interceſſion for the Queen's Liberty, *for he and the reſt were reſolv'd to run the utmoſt Hazards rather than conſent to it.* Shortly after he executed *John Hepburn*, *Daglaſh*, and ſome other of *Bothwell*'s Servants, for being concern'd in the Murther of the King. But they, contrary to Expectation, when ready to die, moſt ſolemnly proteſted, *That* Bothwell *had told them, that* Murray *and* Morton *were the firſt Authors of the Murther.* They freed the Queen from all Suſpicion, as did *Bothwell* himſelf afterwards, who when Priſoner in *Denmark*, both living and dying, declar'd the Queen was Innocent. And fourteen Years after, *Morton* going to Execution, confeſs'd that *Bothwell* had urg'd him to conſent to the Murther; but when he refus'd, unleſs he had the Queen's Hand for his Warrant, *Bothwell* anſwer'd, *That could not be, for the Fact was to be done without her Knowledge.* But as to the unfortunate Queen, notwithſtanding all the Solicitations of the Queen of *England*, and the King of *France*, they could not procure her Liberty.

Murray *made Regent.*

Some Executions.

Calais *demanded in vain.*

As to the *French* Affairs, the eight Years limited for the Delivery of *Calais* to the *Engliſh* were now expired; and Sir *Thomas Smith* and Sir *William Winter* were ſent into *France* to demand it; but they ſo delay'd and protracted the Debate, that by Degrees it expir'd in Silence, by means of Civil Wars ariſing in *France*. And without doubt the *French* never deſign'd to reſtore it, for as ſoon as it was taken, they threw down the old Forts, let out the Houſes and Lands for fifty Years, and gave ſome away for ever. While this was negotiating in *France*, Count *Stolberg* came into *England* from the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat of the former deſign'd Marriage with the Arch-Duke *Charles*; about which the Queen had lately ſent the Earl of *Suſſex* to the Emperor; in which Service that Earl us'd his utmoſt Endeavours, that the Queen might be marry'd to a Prince, and *Leiceſter* be diſappointed of his Hopes. Nothing was more frequently ſaid by *Suſſex*, than *that a Foreign Prince was to be preferr'd before the nobleſt* Engliſh *Man, whether we reſpect Honour, Power or Riches.* Inſomuch that one of the other Party pleaſantly reply'd, *That where thoſe three only were regarded in Marriage, the World and the Devil were the Match-makers.* *Suſſex* ſtaid five Months in *Auſtria*, and was honourably entertain'd at the Emperor's Charge; but many Difficulties ariſing about Religion, Maintenance, Titles, and the Succeſſion, Time wore out thoſe Propoſals that had been ſeven Years making by honourable Mediators. The Arch-Duke not long after marry'd to the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Daughter; yet both he and the Emperor ever after continu'd a good Correſpondence with the Queen. About the ſame time Ambaſſadors came from *Muſcovy* with rich Furs of Sables, and the like, and made large Offers to the Queen, which were accepted; from whence the Company of *Ruſſia* Merchants had its Eſtabliſhment. With the Ambaſſadors *Anthony Jenkinſon* return'd into *England*, who in his Travels made curious Obſervations of *Muſcovy* or *Ruſſia*, ſet out a Geographical Deſcription of it, and was the firſt of the *Engliſh* that ſail'd through the *Caſpian* Sea. In the ſame Year, *June* the eighth, Sir *Thomas Sackvile* was created Baron of *Buckhurſt*.

The Duke of Auſtria *revives his Suit.*

The Ruſſia *Company begun.*

A.D. 1568. Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$.

The Queen of Scots *eſcapes out of Priſon.*

Having before paſs'd over the firſt Act of the Queen of the *Scots* Tragedy, we are now arriv'd at the ſecond: Having been eleven Months detain'd Priſoner, by the Aſſiſtance of *George Douglaſs*, to whoſe Brother ſhe was committed, ſhe made her Eſcape from *Loch-Levin* to *Hamilton*'s Caſtle. Here upon the Teſtimonies of *Robert Melvil* and others, in an Aſſembly of a great Part of the Nobility, a Declaratory Sentence was pronounc'd, 'That the 'Reſignation extorted from the Queen, during Confine-'ment, was abſolutely void from the Beginning.' Upon which Declaration great Multitudes repair'd to her, ſo that within two Days ſhe had gotten an Army of ſix thouſand Men: But when they ventur'd to join Battel with *Murray*, being raw and undiſciplin'd, they were ſoon defeated. In this melancholy Condition, the Queen to ſave herſelf travell'd threeſcore Miles in one Day, and by Night arriv'd at the Houſe of *Maxwell* Lord *Heris*; chuſing rather to commit her ſelf to the Mercy of the Sea, and the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, than to the Loyalty of her own Subjects. From hence ſhe ſent *John Beton* to the Queen of *England*, with a Diamond Ring, which ſhe had formerly receiv'd from her, as a Pledge of mutual Amity; intimating that ſhe would come into *England*, and implore her Protection, if her Subjects perſiſted in their Rebellious Hoſtilities. Queen *Elizabeth* promis'd her all the Love and Kindneſs of a Siſter; but before the Meſſenger was return'd, contrary to the Advice of her Friends, ſhe enter'd a ſmall Bark, and with the Lord *Heris* and *Flemming*, and a few others landed at *Wirkinton* in *Cumberland*, upon the ſeventeenth Day of *May*. From hence ſhe immediately wrote Letters in *French* with her own Hand to the Queen, importing, 'That having providentially eſcap'd 'out of the Hands of her inſolent and rebellious Subjects, 'ſhe was now come into *England*, upon ſure Confidence 'of her approv'd Clemency; and therefore humbly re-'queſted, That ſhe might be forthwith conducted to her 'Preſence;' Queen *Elizabeth* with Letters ſent by Sir *Francis Knolles*, kindly promis'd her Protection *according to the Equity of her Cauſe*; but deny'd her Acceſs, as being reputed guilty of many heinous Crimes, and gave command to have her brought to *Carliſle*, as a Place of greater Safety. The *Scotch* Queen receiving this Anſwer, and finding Acceſs deny'd her, by another Letter requeſted, 'That ſhe might have leave both to unfold the Injuries ſhe 'had receiv'd, and to anſwer the Crimes objected, in her

She is defeated.

She flies into England.

‘own Preſence; humbly beſeeching her, That either ſhe might be admitted to have Conference and Aſſiſtance, or elſe have free Liberty to depart out of *England*, to gain Supplies elſewhere, and not be detain'd Priſoner in *Carliſle*; ſince ſhe came voluntarily into *England*, relying upon the Love ſhe had ſo often profeſs'd.

Upon theſe Letters Queen *Elizabeth* exceedingly commiſerated her unfortunate Condition, and could have yielded to admit her into her Preſence, but that her Counſellors conceiv'd it to be a Matter for mature Conſultation, how to act in ſuch a nice Caſe. To detain her in *England* had many Miſchiefs attending it; to ſend her into *France*, as many; and to ſend her back into *Scotland* many more. Therefore in Concluſion, the Majority were of Opinion to have her detain'd, as one taken by Right of War, and not to be diſmiſs'd, 'till ſhe had made Satisfaction for aſſuming the Arms and Title of *England*, and for the Death of the Lord *Darnly* her Husband, who was born an *Engliſh* Subject. In the mean Time *Murray* the Regent call'd a new Parliament in *Scotland*, in the King's Name, and proſcribed ſome of the Queen's Adherents, and ſeiz'd on their Poſſeſſions. At which the Queen of *England* being highly diſpleas'd, ſent him a ſharp Meſſage by *Middlemore*, ‘That ſhe could not permit the ſacred Authority of Princes to be held in ſuch Contempt, and ſubmitted to the Will of factious and rebellious People; and tho' they had forgot the Duty of Subjects, and their Loyalty to their Queen, yet ſhe could not be undmindful of any Office, either of Piety or Kindneſs to her Siſter and Neighbour; and therefore commanded him to appear before her, and give an Account of his Actions.

The Queen of Scots *detain'd in* England.

Murray having no Means to maintain his Regency in *Scotland*, but what depended upon *England*, obey'd the Summons, and came to *York*, the Place appointed to determine this unuſual Affair. He brought with him ſeven of his intimate Friends, as Deputies for the Infant King, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Adam* Biſhop of *Orkney*, *Robert* of *Dumfermelin*, *Patrick* Lord of *Lindſey*, *James Mac-Gilly*, *Henry Balnaw*, and *George Buchanan*; together with *Lydington* the Secretary. And the ſame Day came *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Radcliff* Earl of *Suſſex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, a Privy-Counſellor, appointed Commiſſioners for Queen *Elizabeth*. For the Queen of *Scotland* there appear'd *John Leſley* Biſhop of *Roſs*, *William* Lord *Levingſton*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, *Gawin* of *Gilwinin*, *John Gordon*, and *James Cockburn*. Being met on the ſeventh of *October*, *Lidington* firſt freely adviſ'd his Countrymen, ‘Maturely to conſider what Prejudice they would draw upon themſelves, by publickly accuſing their own Queen before the *Engliſh*, who were profeſs'd Enemies to their Nation. Wherefore he thought they ought to deſiſt, unleſs the Queen of *England* would enter into a mutual and firm League, againſt all thoſe, who under this Pretence, ſhould endeavour to moleſt them.' Upon this Speech the Deputies for the Queen of *Scotland* made Proteſtation, ‘That tho' their Queen thought fit that the Cauſes between her and her diſloyal Subjects ſhould be debated before the *Engliſh*; yet being a free Princeſs, ſhe did not thereby acknowledge her ſelf ſubject to the Sovereign Command of any.' On the contrary the *Engliſh* proteſted, ‘That they did in no wiſe admit of that Proteſtation, in Prejudice to the Right which the Kings of *England* have anciently challeng'd as *Superior Lords of the Kingdom of* Scotland.

Commiſſioners meet at York *to hear her Cauſe.*

The next Day the *Scotch* Queen's Deputies ſet forth at large, ‘The injurious Proceedings of *Murray*, *Morton*, and others againſt the Queen, whom they had by the Fears of Death compell'd to reſign her Kingdom; which therefore was of no Force.' *Murray* and his Adherents made Anſwer, ‘That they had done nothing but by the Conſent of the Peers in Parliament; and that to proſecute *Bothwell*, the Author of the King's Murder, whom the Queen protected; and as for her Reſignation, it was a voluntary Act of her own.' All this the Queen of the *Scots* Deputies anſwer'd and confuted, particularly affirming, ‘That of the hundred Earls, Biſhops and Barons that had Voices in Parliament, not above four Earls, one Biſhop, two Abbots, and ſix Barons were preſent in that tumultuous Aſſembly: Wherefore they pray'd, That the Queen of *England* would conſider of theſe Indignities, and take ſome courſe for a ſpeedy Redreſs.' After this ſome new Commiſſioners from Queen *Elizabeth* were added to the former, as *Bacon*, *Arundell*, *Leiceſter*, *Clinton*, and *Cecil*; to ſome of whom the *Scotch* Queen took Exception, ‘Unleſs the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors might be join'd with them, her ſelf admitted to the Preſence of the Queen and them, and *Murray* be oblig'd to appear before them, whom ſhe was able to prove the chief Agent in the Murder of her Husband *Darnly*.' This was accounted a juſt Demand by ſome of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners; upon which Queen *Elizabeth* with ſome Reſentment ſaid publickly, *The Queen of* Scotland *would never want an Advocate while* Norfolk *was alive.* After a long Agitation of this Affair, and nothing concluded, *Murray*, a little before his Return into *Scotland*, privately propounded the Marriage of the *Scotch* Queen with the Duke of *Norfolk*; which he with a modeſt Anſwer declin'd, as a thing full of Danger. But withal, *Murray*, the more to alienate Queen *Elizabeth*'s Mind, caus'd a Report, That the *Scotch* Queen had transferr'd her Right to the Crown of *England* to the Duke of *Anjou*, and that the Tranſaction was confirm'd at *Rome*. He alſo ſhew'd Letters which the Queen of the *Scots* had written to ſome intimate Friends, in which ſhe accus'd the Queen of *England* for not treating her according to Promiſe, and boaſted of the Succours ſhe expected from others. The laſt Clauſe ſomewhat diſturb'd Queen *Elizabeth*, who could not conjecture from whence ſuch Succours ſhould come; ſince *France* with the Civil Wars, and the King of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries* had ſufficient Imployment at home. But at laſt the ſecret broke out, that one *Ridolph* a *Florentine*, under the Habit of a Merchant in *London*, was ſuborn'd by Pope *Pius* the Fifth to cauſe a ſecret Commotion of the Papiſts in *England* againſt the Queen, which he perform'd with extraordinary Privacy and Subtilty. Whereupon the Queen of *Scotland* was remov'd from *Bolton* Caſtle, where all the neighbouring People were Papiſts, to *Tutbury*, more towards the Heart of the Country, under the Cuſtody of the Earl of *Shrewſbury*. As this was very hard upon Queen *Mary*, ſo it was not a little unfortunate to *Elizabeth*, who deteſting the Inſolency of the *Scotch* Subjects for depoſing their Queen, yet durſt not permit one Act or Step towards her Reſtoration.

Murray *propoſes a Match between the Queen of* Scots *and the Duke of* Norfolk.

And indeed the Queen began now to meet with ſome Perplexities, both in Church and State; and the Peace of the former was diſturb'd by a twofold Enemy: *Thomas Harding*, *Nicholas Sanders*, and other Fugitive *Romiſh* Prieſts, took upon them by Authority from the See of *Rome* to grant Abſolution to the Queen's Enemies, and to corrupt her Subjects in Point of Religion and Allegiance. On the other ſide, *Coleman*, *Button*, *Hallingham* and *Benſon* openly call'd in queſtion the Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, and endeavour'd to reform it after the *Geneva* Pattern; and this Sect did greatly increaſe in a ſhort Time, by means of their reſolute Temper, the Negligence of ſeveral Biſhops, and the Favour of ſome Noblemen, who were thirſting after the Patrimony of the Church; and this Sect was ſoon known by the inviduous Name of *Puritans*. In all theſe Troubles the good Queen took care as much as poſſible to preſerve the Peace and Unity of the Church, as likewiſe to ſuccour all diſtreſſed Proteſtants in foreign Parts. For about the ſame Time the *Guiſes* in *France*, and the cruel Duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, began to endeavour the utter Extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion. In *France*, the Miniſters of the Goſpel were commanded to depart the Kingdom within a limited Time; when the Queen forgetting the Unſteadineſs of the Proteſtants at *Haure-de-Grace*, once again took them into her Protection, generouſly ſupply'd them with two hundred thouſand Crowns in Mony, beſide Ammunition in Abundance, and with great Humanity receiv'd ſuch as fled into *England*; and the readier, becauſe they made ſolemn Proteſtation, *That they did not take up Arms againſt their Prince, but only ſtood upon their own Defence.* In the *Netherlands*, the Duke of *Alva* breathing nothing but Slaughter and Blood, and ſowing the Seeds of a long and dangerous War, great Numbers of the Inhabitants fled into *England* as into a Sanctuary. Theſe were kindly receiv'd, and by the Queen's Permiſſion, they ſeated themſelves at *Norwich*, *Colcheſter*, *Sandwich*, *Maidſtone* and *Southampton*, to the great Benefit and Advantage of the *Engliſh* Nation: For they were the firſt that brought into the Kingdom the Art of making *Bays* and *Says*, and other Linnen and Woollen Manufactures of the ſame kind.

The Beginning of the Puritans.

Queen Elizabeth *aſſiſts the Proteſtants in* France,

and in the Netherlands.

About the ſame Time a mighty Maſs of Mony borrow'd from the *Genoeſe*, and other *Italian* Merchants, was ſent out of *Spain* into the *Netherlands*, there to be imploy'd in Bank; which being brought by Shipping, was purſu'd by the *French*, and forc'd to fly for Succour into the *Engliſh* Havens, whom the Queen commanded to be protected, as conceiving the Mony to belong to the King of *Spain*. But at the ſame Time, Cardinal *Odeſte* coming out of *France* into *England*, and giving Information to the Queen, That the Mony did not belong to the King of *Spain*, but to certain *Italian* Merchants, from whom the Duke of *Alva* had taken it againſt their Will, with a Deſign to employ it to the Ruin of the Proteſtants; ſhe reſolv'd to borrow it of the Merchants, and give Security for it, as Princes uſually do of Goods found in their Ports, and as the *Spaniard* himſelf had often done. The Detaining of this Mony gave Occaſion to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and ſeveral of the prime Nobility, to ſhew their ſecret Hatred againſt Sir *William Cecil*; whom they envy'd for his great Favour with the Queen, and upon a Suſpicion that he inclin'd to the Houſe of *Suffolk* in the Matter of the Succeſſion. Here-

Cecil *in Danger.*

upon they ſecretly conſpir'd to throw him into the *Tower*; and *Throgmorton*, his chief Emulator, ſuggeſted, *That if he was once impriſon'd, they might ſoon find means to cruſh him:* But the Queen, well knowing the Worth of ſuch a Miniſter, in due Time ſurpris'd them, and by the Authority of her Royal Preſence, aw'd them out of theſe little Contrivances. But this Mony being detain'd cauſ'd a greater Diſturbance from the Duke of *Alva*, who upon Notice of it, ſeiz'd upon all the Goods of the *Engliſh* in the *Netherlands*, and kept the Men Priſoners: The Queen reſolutely did the like by the *Low-Country* Merchants, with much greater Advantage: Letters of Repriſal were granted on both ſides; which occaſion'd ſuch a Conteſt between the Nations, that, being nouriſh'd and increas'd by ſucceeding Differences, in Time it produc'd the famous *Spaniſh* Invaſion, which will be memorable to all future Ages.

The Beginnings of the Wars with Spain.

A. D. 1569. Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

Further Troubles in Scotland.

The *Scotch* Affairs began more and more to create Troubles to *England*, and the Earl of *Murray* being return'd into *Scotland*, rais'd new Diſturbances in that Kingdom. He cauſ'd an Aſſembly to meet at *Edinburgh*, under Pretence of reſtoring the Queen to her Liberty; but as her Friends, *Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſtel-Herault*, who had been appointed her Vicegerent, and the Lord *Heris*, were coming thither, he intercepted them, and threw them into Priſon; and immediately after, in open hoſtile Manner, he ſuppreſſed all her chief Favourers. It is reaſonably thought, that this prevailing Earl could have willingly conſented to have the Queen freed from a Priſon; but he knew that her Liberty could not be effected without his Servitude: And Queen *Elizabeth* probably would gladly have had her reſtor'd to her Kingdom; but ſhe fear'd, That ſuch a Reſtoration would endanger her Security. And thus while both regarded their own Intereſts in the firſt Place, and hers but in the ſecond, ſhe had the Fortune to be pity'd, but not the Happineſs to be reliev'd: And all ſhe was able to do was only to tye her Bonds the ſtronger; which by ſitting ſtill might have looſen'd of themſelves, but by moving would entangle her to her Ruin.

The Duke of Norfolk's *Deſigns in marrying the Queen of the* Scots.

The Duke of *Norfolk*'s Intereſt being involv'd in that of this unfortunate Queen, his fatal Deſtiny began at this Time to operate. It was now ſtrongly reported that the Duke was to marry her in a ſhort Time; and in Reality Motions had actually been made, but the Buſineſs was not ſo forward as it was generally believ'd. It was firſt propos'd to the Duke of *Norfolk* by the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and afterwards, in Pretence at leaſt, by *Murray* himſelf at *Hampton-Court*; but the Duke, before he would reſolve in the Matter, conſulted with ſeveral of the Nobility, and with *Leiceſter* himſelf, who all judg'd it proper for him to acquaint her Majeſty with it firſt, and then leave the Matter to her Pleaſure. Shortly after *Throgmorton* meeting the Duke at *Weſtminſter*, adviſ'd him to move the Earl of *Leiceſter* himſelf to embrace the Match, ſince he had formerly ſu'd for it; but if he declin'd it, then at leaſt to take him along with him, for he believ'd that he alone would hardly be able to obtain the Queen's Conſent. Two Days after, *Leiceſter* himſelf propos'd the Matter to the Duke, and then communicated the ſame to the Earls of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, who together with *Throgmorton*, wrote Letters to the *Scotch* Queen, recommending the Duke of *Norfolk* to her for a Husband. The Duke likewiſe wrote himſelf to her, with a particular Tender of his great Love and Reſpect to her. Upon this Articles were drawn, written by *Leiceſter*'s own Hand, and ſent to the *Scotch* Queen; to which if ſhe conſented, they then promis'd to procure Queen *Elizabeth*'s Approbation, that ſhe ſhould alſo be reinveſted in her Kingdom, and the Succeſſion be confirm'd to her. The Queen of *Scotland* readily accepted of the Terms, tho' her Husband *Bothwell* was alive, and a Priſoner in *Denmark*; and the Duke imparted the Matter to the Lord *Lumley*, and by *Leiceſter*'s Conſent, afterwards to Secretary *Cecil*.

Articles drawn.

The Report of this Marriage was ſoon brought to the Queen's Ears; which the Duke underſtanding, he earneſtly ſollicited the Earl of *Leiceſter* to have the Matter immediately propos'd to her Majeſty. *Leiceſter* treacherouſly made Delays, and pretended Cauſes to defer it; upon which *Cecil* fairly adviſ'd the Duke to go and acquaint the Queen with it himſelf; which Council *Leiceſter* oppos'd, promiſing to open it to the Queen, as ſhe went in her Progreſs. But while he with fair Words ſtill delay'd him, the Queen took the Duke to her Table at *Farnham*, and pleaſantly adviſ'd him *to Beware upon what Pillow he laid his Head.* After this, *Leiceſter* fell into a real, or pretended, Sickneſs at *Tichfield*; and when the Queen in a Viſit adviſ'd him to be of good Chear, he with Sighs and Tears crav'd Pardon for his Crime, and diſclos'd to her the whole Tranſaction, with all the Circumſtances. Upon which the Queen call'd the Duke into the Gallery, and ſharply reprimanded him for attempting ſuch a Marriage, without her Knowledge; and commanded him upon his Allegiance to deſiſt. The Duke make her a free and hearty Promiſe of Obedience; and added by Way of Slight to the Queen of *Scotland*, *That his Revenues in* England *were not much leſs than hers in* Scotland; *and when he was at his Tennis-Court in* Norwich, *he thought himſelf not inferior to ſome Kings.* But notwithſtanding, diſcovering the Queen's Anger by her Countenance, and finding *Leiceſter* in a manner alienated, and moſt of the Nobility cold and regardleſs of his Perſon, he became extremely dejected, and immediately prepar'd to leave the Court; deſigning to ſtay at *Norwich*, 'till by his Friends Interceſſion, and his own ſubmiſſive Letters, the Queen's Heart might be mollify'd. At his Departure, the Queen with Indignation rejected the *Scotch* Ambaſſador, who ſu'd for the Enlargement of his Miſtreſs, adviſing *Her to reſt ſatisfy'd, leſt ſhe ſaw ſome of her greateſt Supporters ſhorter by the Head.* The Court was apprehenſive leſt the Duke ſhould raiſe a Rebellion; and if he did, it was thought the Queen of the *Scots* would ſuddenly be diſpatch'd. But returning again ſhortly after, and being examin'd concerning the Marriage, and his ſecret Conferences with the Biſhop of *Roſs*, he confeſs'd moſt of the Objections, and was committed to the *Tower*. Two Days after the Biſhop of *Roſs* was likewiſe examin'd, and together with *Ridolph* the *Florentine*, was deliver'd to the Cuſtody of Sir *Francis Walſingham*; and the Earl of *Pembroke* was confin'd to his Houſe and examin'd; but his Confeſſion was not committed to Writing, as being not able to write himſelf.

Queen Elizabeth *oppoſes it.*

The Duke ſent to the Tower.

At this Time the Rumour of an Inſurrection in the North grew very ſtrong, by reaſon of ſome frequent Meetings between the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, and others; who being for this commanded upon their Allegiance inſtantly to repair to the Queen, made dilatory Pretences, waiting indeed for Supplies, both from the *Scots* and the Duke of *Alva*. Whilſt the Earl of *Northumberland* continu'd in Suſpence, he was purpoſely frighted by his Friends, who in a tempeſtuous Night cry'd out, *That an armed Power was ready to ſeize him*, which cauſ'd him to riſe out of his Bed, and repair with all ſpeed to *Branſpith*, the Earl of *Weſtmorland*'s Houſe, where great Numbers acquainted with the Enterprize were aſſembled. Here they broke out into an open Rebellion, being the firſt that had diſturb'd the publick Peace, after eleven Years Calm in this Reign. The chief Incendiary was *Nicolas Morton* a *Romiſh* Prieſt, ſent by the Pope to pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* an Heretick, and one that had forfeited all Right of Soveraignty, and immediately they publiſh'd a Writing, in which they declar'd, 'they took up Arms only to reſtore the Religion of their Fore-fathers, remove evil Counſellors from the Queen, and relieve the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other Loyal Noblemen now under Diſgrace; but to the Queen they profeſs'd themſelves moſt dutiful Subjects.' They alſo wrote Letters to the Papiſts throughout the Kingdom, requiring them to come to their Aſſiſtance; but they were ſo far from joining with them, that many ſent both the Letters and Bearers of them to the Queen; every one freely offering his Purſe and his Perſon againſt them, and particularly the Duke of *Norfolk*. So that from hence the Queen aſſuredly underſtood the great Affection of her Subjects towards her; and was not backward in acknowledging the Goodneſs of Heaven to her upon that Account.

A Rebellion in the North.

The Rebels, to the Number of four thouſand Foot and ſix thouſand Horſe, march'd directly to *Durham*, where they impiouſly tore and trampled upon all the *Engliſh* Bibles and Common-Prayer Books, which they found in that Cathedral and other Churches: But when they underſtood that the Queen of *Scotland*, for whoſe Deliverance they took up Arms, was convey'd from *Tutbury* to *Coventry*; that the Earl of *Suſſex* had rais'd a powerful Army againſt them; that Sir *George Bowes* had a ſelect Party on their Rear, and that the Lord *Scroop* and the Earl of *Cumberland* had reinforc'd *Carliſle*, they return'd to *Bernard* Caſtle, beſieg'd and took it by Compoſition. On the ſame day they were Proclaim'd *Traitors*; *Suſſex* march'd againſt them with ſeven thouſand Men, accompany'd with the Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Evers*, and the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*. Being advanc'd as far as *Aukland*, the Rebels fled in great Fear to *Hexham*, and afterwards through By-ways to *Naworth* Caſtle; where hearing that the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Clinton* Lord Admiral, purſu'd them with twelve thouſand Men, from the South Parts of *England*, the two Earls with a ſmall Company, and unknown to their Confederates, withdrew themſelves into *Scotland*. *Northumberland* was deliver'd into the Hands of *Murray*; and *Weſtmorland* eſcap'd into the *Netherlands*, where he led a poor miſerable Life, even to old Age, living upon a ſlender Penſion from the *Spaniards*. The reſt being diſpers'd ſav'd themſelves, ſome by Flight, and ſome by hiding in ſecret Places. Threeſcore and ſix, for a Terror to others, were hang'd at *Durham*, and ſeveral at *York* and other Places. The two Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, and about fifty more of the higher Birth, were convicted of Treaſon, and proſcrib'd; but the reſt,

The Rebels diſperſe themſelves.

who had no Eſtates, or had not fled the Land, were pardon'd. Thus happily ended this Rebellion; and *Vitelli*, Agent and Promoter from the Duke of *Alva*, before the Queen and Lords openly admir'd, but inwardly griev'd, that it was ſo ſuddenly and early extinguiſh'd, and that his coming into *England* was of no Effect.

A ſecond Rebellion.

Yet not long after, out of the Aſhes of this Rebellion there broke out another Flame at *Nuworth* in *Cumberland*, kindled by *Leonard Dacres*, Son to the Lord *Dacres* of *Gilleſland*, for the Deliverance of the Queen of *Scotland*. He was a Party with the Earls in their Rebellion; but they breaking out ſooner than he expected, and he at that Time being at the Court, and there tend'ring his Service to go againſt them, to that purpoſe he was ſent into his Country: But in his Journey branding himſelf with Treachery and Diſloyalty, he conſulted with the Rebels, and encourag'd them to proceed; and by Vertue of a Letter of Credence from the Queen, he ſurpris'd the Caſtle of *Greyſtock*, and other Houſes of the *Dacres*, and gather'd together an Army of three thouſand Men. He was attack'd by the Lord *Hunſdon*, whom he receiv'd with great Bravery; but being overcome, he fled into *Scotland*, from thence he croſs'd the Sea into *Flanders*, and dy'd in a miſerable Condition at *Lovain*; where he inherited his Father's Curſes laid upon him on his Death-Bed for his Diſobedience. The Lord *Hunſdon* having taken in the Caſtles, committed the Charge of them to the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Men; and the Queen by publick Proclamation pardon'd the Multitude, whom their Leader had excited to Rebellion.

It is quell'd.

The French *Proteſtants again reliev'd.*

Tho' the Queen's Affairs were thus embroil'd with one Rebellion after another, yet ſhe was not at all regardleſs of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants in *France*: For ſtill ſhe excited the Proteſtant Princes to defend the common Cauſe, ſupply'd the Queen of *Navarre* with Mony, and gave leave to *Henry Champernon* to lead into *France* a hundred *Engliſh* Gentlemen, all brave Voluntiers; among whom was the famous *Walter Raleigh*, a very young Man, who now began to launch into the World. The *French* King, to exhauſt the Treaſure of *England*, and turn the Stream into ſome other Channel, reſolv'd to raiſe a new War in *Scotland* againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and deſign'd to ſend *Sebaſtian Montigues* with an Army into that Country; but he being kill'd at the Siege of St. *John de Angeli*, that Deſign vaniſh'd into Air. Nor was *Ireland* in this Year free from Rebellions, for *Edmond* and *John Butler*, Brothers to the Earl of *Ormond*, being aſſiſted by the Pope and the *Spaniard*, endeavour'd to re-eſtabliſh the Popiſh Religion, and to diſpoſſeſs Queen *Elizabeth* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. To ſupport this Rebellion, *Juan Mendoza* was ſent privately out of *Spain*; and to put an End to it the Earl of *Ormond* went from *England* to that Kingdom, who being extreamly griev'd that any Plot ſhould fall upon his noble Family, perſuaded his Brothers to lay down their Arms, and ſubmit to the Queen's Mercy, and at his Requeſt their Pardons were granted, and the Rebellion ſoon ended.

Diſturbances in Ireland.

A. D. 1570.
Reg. 12/13.

VI. The Rebellions in *England* and *Ireland* being happily extinguiſh'd, new Accidents aroſe from *Scotland*, where *Murray* the Regent earneſtly endeavour'd to have the Queen of the *Scots* deliver'd into his Hands; and therefore to ingratiate himſelf with Queen *Elizabeth* by ſome meritorious Exploit, he march'd into the *Scotch* Borders in queſt of the *Engliſh* Rebels, of whom he took ſeveral. But when he thought himſelf moſt ſecure, riding through the Streets in *Lithgow*, he was ſhot into the Bowels by one *Hamilton*, in a private Revenge for Injuries done to him, who immediately eſcap'd into *France* to avoid the Puniſhment. *Spotſwood* ſays his Death was greatly lamented by all good Men, having in a little above a Year quieted a broken and diſorder'd State; and was ſo remarkable for Devotion and Piety, that ever after he was call'd by the Title of *The good Regent*. However, as his Ambition was too aſpiring, ſo his Activity was too irregular to be vindicated; and *Melvil* was wont to tell him, *He was like an unskilful Player in a Tennis-Court, ever running after the Ball; whereas an expert Artiſt would diſcern where it would light or rebound, and with ſmall Labour let it fall into his Racket.*

Murray *the* Stotch *Regent ſlain.*

His Character.

After *Murray*'s Death, the Kingdom being without a Regent, there aroſe many violent Diſorders; and *Thomas Carre* and *Walter Scot*, two principal Men in the *Scotch* Borders, and devoted to their Queen, made Inroads into *England*, waſting all Places with Fire and Sword; 'till by Forces ſent out of *England*, under the Command of the Earl of *Suſſex*, and the Lord *Hunſdon*, they were defeated: In whoſe Purſuit, three hundred Villages were fir'd, and fifty Caſtles deſtroy'd. For theſe and other Services ſoon after, the Earl made ſeveral Knights, as Sir *William Drury*, Sir *Thomas Mannors*, Sir *George Carie*, and Sir *Robert Conſtable*; and now to prevent further Diſorders, the Lords of *Scotland* being ready to meet about the Election of a new Regent, they deſir'd Queen *Elizabeth*'s Advice in the Matter: Her Anſwer was, *That ſhe would not intermeddle in the creating a Regent, leſt ſhe might ſeem to prejudice their Queen, whoſe Cauſe was not yet decided.* But ſoon after they choſe the Earl of *Lenox*, the King's Grandfather, to be Regent of *Scotland*, without any Oppoſition from Queen *Elizabeth*; who knew that out of natural Affection, he would be tender of his Grandſon, and affectionate to the *Engliſh* for the Civilities he had receiv'd; and doubted not his being at her Devotion, ſince ſhe had his Wife in her Power. In the mean time the contrary Party, *Hamilton* Duke of *Caſtle-Herault*, with the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, imploy'd the Lord *Seton* to the Duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, to uſe all Arguments, 'That the ten thouſand Ducats aſſign'd the Queen of the *Scots* might be paid, 'and that he would aſſiſt her for the Recovery of her Liberty; alledging how acceptable it would be to all Chriſtian Princes, and to the whole Catholick Church. The Duke promis'd to give all neceſſary Aſſiſtance; the *French* King alſo ſollicited Queen *Elizabeth* to the ſame purpoſe; and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors in his Maſter's Name, urg'd it with no leſs Vehemence. Queen *Elizabeth*, violently attack'd with all theſe Importunities, made Anſwer, *That as ſhe would omit nothing that might tend to the reconciling of the Queen of* Scotland *and her Subjects; ſo ſhe muſt take leave to provide for her own and her Peoples Security and Quiet, according as Nature, Reaſon, and her Princely Reputation and Honour requir'd.*

The Earl of Lenox *made Regent.*

Endeavours to free the Queen of the Scots.

Pope Pius's *Bull againſt Queen* Elizabeth.

When all other Means prov'd ineffectual, the *Romiſh* Party in a Rage had recourſe to their laſt Effort, Pope *Pius* the Fifth; who having the laſt Year Excommunicated Queen *Elizabeth*, and excited her Subjects to a Rebellion, now caus'd his Plenary Bull to be fix'd upon the Gates of the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, under this Title: *A Declaratory Sentence of our holy Lord Pope* Pius Quintus, *againſt* Elizabeth, *the pretended Queen of* England, *and the* Hereticks *her Adherents. In which alſo her Subjects are declared abſolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance, and any other Duty they owe to her; and whoever ſhall henceforward obey her, are included in the ſame* Anathema. In the Bull it ſelf, which is long, the Pope declares himſelf *to have a Power over all Nations and Kingdoms, to pluck up, deſtroy, ſcatter, conſume, plant and build.* And afterwards, pronounces *Elizabeth* to be a *Heretick*, as likewiſe all her Adherents, and Excommunicated from that Church, *out of which there is no Salvation:* 'And further declares her to be depriv'd 'of all Titles, Dominions, Dignities and Privileges whatſoever; and commands all her Subjects that they preſume 'not to obey her, or her Orders, Mandates and Laws, 'upon pain of the ſame Sentence.

An Inſurrection in Norfolk.

The *Romiſh* Subjects of *England*, being thus debauch'd from their Allegiance by the Pope's Authority and Approbation, there ſoon follow'd ſeveral Seditions and Inſurrections; and ſome of the Nobility and Gentry of that Perſuaſion, who had felt all the Happineſs of the Government, in compliance with their Religion, began to be ill-affected towards their Sovereign. The firſt Inſurrection, after this Bull appear'd in *England*, was among ſome of the Hot Gentry of *Norfolk*, who reſolving to ſet their Duke at Liberty, form'd a Plot, that when the People reſorted to a Fair at *Harleſtone*, they ſhould gather the Multitude together by Sound of Trumpet, under pretence of expelling the Foreigners out of *England* that had fled from the Duke of *Alva*. But their Deſigns were diſcover'd and prevented before they came to Maturity; and of the many that were condemn'd, only three were executed, the principal of whom was *John Throgmorton*, who tho' he ſtood mute at the Bar, confeſs'd at the Gallows that he had been the Author of the Sedition. Not long after *John Felton*, that had ſet up the Pope's Bull upon the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, not attempting to fly, was taken, and being arraign'd, undauntedly confeſs'd the Fact, without acknowledging any Crime, and was hang'd near the Place of his Treaſon, where by his Sufferings he obtain'd the Reputation of a Martyr: Tho' the more moderate ſort of Papiſts diſallowed of the Pope's whole Proceedings, as unjuſt and Illegal. The ſame Day that *Felton* was arraign'd, the Duke of *Norfolk*, upon his Confeſſion of having acted imprudently, and ingaging under his Hand not to concern himſelf further in the Marriage, without the Queen's Approbation, was diſcharg'd from Impriſonment. *Cecil* being his Friend earneſtly mov'd him to marry ſome other Perſon with all ſpeed, and ſo remove all future Suſpicion; yet ſome again thought that this Inlargement of the Duke's, was purpoſely to bring him into new and greater Dangers.

The Duke of Norfolk *ſet at Liberty.*

Many Conſpiracies at the ſame Time were form'd to ſet the Queen of the *Scots* at Liberty; for the effecting of which, *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley*, younger Sons to the Earl of *Darby*, were chiefly concern'd; but the Matter being diſcover'd, they were ſoon ſuppreſs'd, and ſome ſuffer'd Death. And now the *Scotch* Lords of their Queen's Party, continuing to protect the *Engliſh* Rebels, the Earl of *Suſſex* once again, accompany'd with the Lord *Scroop*, enter'd ter'd *Scotland*, burnt the Villages all along the Valley of *Anandale*, and compell'd Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, under a Writing ſign'd with their own Hands and Seals, to abandon the *Engliſh* Rebels. *Suſſex*, upon his Return, Knighted ſeven Gentlemen for their Valour; and he himſelf, for his approv'd Wiſdom and Virtue, was admitted of the Queen's Privy-Council. And now the Queen being too often diſturb'd by Conſpiracies, ſent Sir *William Cecil* and Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Queen of *Scotland*, then at *Chatteſworth* Houſe in *Darbyſhire*, to conſult with her by what means to make up the Breach in *Scotland*, to reinveſt her in her former State, and to ſecure both her Son and the Queen of *England*. The *Scotch* Queen did nothing but deplore her wretched Condition, throwing herſelf wholly upon the Queen's Clemency; and then the Commiſſioners made to her certain Propoſitions of Agreement: Firſt, ' That the Treaty of *Edinburgh* ſhould be confirm'd: Then, That ſhe ſhould renounce her Right and Title to *England*, during Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life, or any Children of her Body lawfully begotten: And, That ſhe ſhould ſend her Son for a Hoſtage into *England*, with ſix others, ſuch as the Queen ſhould nominate: Laſtly, That the Caſtle of *Humes* and *Eaſt-Caſtle*, with ſome others, ſhould be held by the *Engliſh* for three Years.' To theſe Articles, the Queen of *Scotland* for the preſent made a prudent Reply; but referr'd a more compleat Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Roſs*, her Ambaſſador in *England*, and ſome other Commiſſioners; who afterwards approv'd of ſome of the Propoſitions, but diſallow'd of the reſt: So that the Treaty dropp'd, and the Matter reſted in the former State.

Offers made to the Queen of the Scots:

But to no Effect.

The twelfth Year of this Reign being happily expired, in which ſome credulous Papiſts had expected, according to the Prediction of certain Fortune-Tellers, their *Golden-Day*, as they term'd it, all good Men throughout *England* triumph'd with Thankſgivings, Sermons in Churches, repeated Prayers, publick Tournaments, and feſtival Joy; and ſo ſolemniz'd the ſeventeenth Day of *November*, being the Anniverſary of the Beginning of her Reign; which Day, in Teſtimony of their great Affection to her, they never ceas'd to obſerve as long as ſhe liv'd; a Day ſo memorable, that it has never yet been forgotten. And indeed the Love of the People was ſo juſt and general, notwithſtanding ſome ſecret Enemies, that if this excellent Queen happen'd to be ſick, or a little diſorder'd in her Health, her Courtiers would be ſo allarm'd at it, that they would ſcarcely ſtir from her to eat or drink, or take any Care of themſelves: And all Degrees of People would fly in vaſt Numbers to the Churches, and with the moſt devout Prayers and Tears beg her Health and Continuance of her happy Government, 'till God had heard their Petitions, and reſtor'd her to her Health.

The Anniverſary of this Reign firſt celebrated.

A. D. 1571. Reg. $\frac{13}{14}$.

Still the Affairs of the *Scots*, and their Queen, was the great Concern of the Court of *England*; and this Year, in the Name of the King of *Scotland*, there came the Earl of *Morton*, the Abbot of *Dunfermelin*, and *James Mac-Gilly*; whom Queen *Elizabeth* requir'd to ſhew more clearly, for what Cauſes they had depos'd their Queen. They exhibited a large Diſcourſe, in which, with peculiar Freedom, they endeavour'd to prove, ' By the ancient Right of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the People were ſuperior to the King; and urg'd *Calvin*'s Authority, that Popular Magiſtrates were conſtituted for Moderation of the Licentiouſneſs of Princes; and that it was lawful for them, upon juſt Cauſes, both to impriſon and to depoſe Kings.' The Queen could not read this Writing without Indignation; but gave this Anſwer to the Deputies, *That ſhe ſaw no juſt Cauſe for the ſevere Treatment of their Queen*; therefore ſhe order'd them *to conſult immediately about Methods for healing the Diſſentions in* Scotland. Hereupon in the Houſe of the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, a Propoſition was made to the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and the other Deputies for the *Scotch* Queen, ' That for the Security of the Kingdom, and the Queen of *England*, it was neceſſary, that before the Queen of *Scotland* ſhould be ſet at Liberty, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, the Lords *Humes*, *Heris*, and another Baron ſhould be deliver'd for Hoſtages, and the Caſtles of *Dunbriton* and *Humes* yielded to the *Engliſh* for three Years.' But they made Anſwer, ' That to yield up ſuch Men, and ſuch Fortifications as were demanded, was only to leave the miſerable Queen deſtitute of faithful Friends, and naked of Places fit for Guard and Defence:' Yet they offer'd to give two Earls and two Barons for Hoſtages, 'till two Years were expired. This not being accepted, they immediately concluded, and publickly ſaid, *That now they perceiv'd the* Engliſh *deſign'd to keep their Queen perpetual Priſoner, and to break off the Treaty; ſince they inſiſted upon ſuch Security as* Scotland *was not able to give.* And now Queen *Elizabeth* perceiving that nothing could be effected for the Safety of her ſelf, and the King and Queen of *Scotland*, unleſs both the *Scotch* Parties conſented; ſhe held it proper that the Lords of *Scotland* ſhould themſelves appoint ſome ſelect Perſons to accommodate this nice Affair.

Propoſals about the Queen of the Scots.

While theſe Tranſactions paſs'd in *England*, the Queen of the *Scots* Party were ſeverely treated in *Scotland*, many executed and ſeveral ſlain, the ſtrong Caſtle of *Dunbriton* taken, and *J. Hamilton* Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and Brother to the Duke of *Caſtle-Herault*, as an Acceſſary to the Lord *Darnly*'s Murther, was hang'd without being arraign'd according to Law. In *England* the Queen of the *Scots* had all her Servants taken from her, except ten, and a Prieſt to ſay Maſs; with which Indignities that Queen was ſo exaſperated, that ſhe caus'd a large Writing of her Counſels, with certain Love-Letters to the Duke of *Norfolk*, to be carry'd to the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, by *Ridolpho* the *Florentine*. This being firſt brought to the Duke, was copy'd out by *Higford* his Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber; who being commanded to burn all that he had writ, ſecretly hid the Papers under a Mat in the Duke's Bed-Chamber. *Ridolpho*, to induce the Duke to be Head of the Diſaffected Party in *England*, aggravated the Injuries he had ſuffer'd; how contrary to Law he had been detain'd Priſoner, and now not ſummon'd to the Parliament; He exhibited to him a Catalogue of ſuch of the Nobility, as had promis'd to aſſiſt him: He ſhew'd ' how the Pope, to promote the Catholick Religion, would himſelf bear all the Charge of the War; and had already depoſited a hundred thouſand Crowns, of which he himſelf had diſtributed twelve thouſand among the *Engliſh* Fugitives: He promis'd alſo that the King of *Spain* would ſend four thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot to his Aſſiſtance.' To theſe Reaſons the Biſhop of *Roſs* added, ' That it was an eaſie Enterpriſe for him to ſurpriſe the Queen; and when he had her once in Poſſeſſion, he might then with no Difficulty obtain both the Liberty of the *Scotch* Queen, and a Toleration of Religion.' The former Reaſons made ſome Impreſſion upon the Duke; but this Point of ſurpriſing the Queen, he abhorr'd as an impious Fact, and to be rejected as pernicious and dangerous.

Troubles in Scotland.

A Deſign againſt Q. Elizabeth.

In *France*, not long before this, the Marriage was ſolemniz'd between *Charles* the Ninth, King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*, Daughter to the Emperor *Maximilian:* In Congratulation of which, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent over the Lord *Buckhurſt*, who was receiv'd with great Magnificence, and perhaps the greater, in regard of a Motion now to be made. For the Lord *Buckhurſt* having in his Retinue one *Cavalcanti*, a Nobleman of *Florence*, the Queen-Mother of *France*, as a Native of the ſame Place, had frequent Conferences with him, and often inſiſted upon the Happineſs that would accrue to both Kingdoms, if a Match were made between the Queen of *England* and her Son *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, and at laſt deſir'd him to recommend the Motion to Queen *Elizabeth*, both from her, and her Son the King of *France*, as highly deſirable to both. The Lord *Buckhurſt* return'd, being preſented by the King of *France* with a Golden Chain weighing a thouſand *French* Crowns; and *Cavalcanti* at his Return made the Motion to the Queen, who ſeem'd not unwilling to hearken to it; for by this Match might be added to the Kingdom of *England* the rich Dukedoms of *Anjou*, *Bourbon* and *Auvergne*, and in Poſſibility the Kingdom of *France* it ſelf. Upon which a Treaty was negotiated, in which the *French* propos'd three Articles, ' One concerning the Coronation of the Duke; another, concerning the joint Adminiſtration of the Government; and a third, concerning a Toleration of his Religion.' To which it was anſwer'd, ' That the two firſt Articles might in ſome Meaſure be compos'd; but the third was ſcarce practicable: *For tho' a contrary Religion might be tolerated between Subjects of the ſame Kingdom, yet between a Husband and Wife it ſeem'd very incongruous and inconvenient.*' Yet the Matter at laſt was brought to this Concluſion, ' That if the Duke would afford the Queen his Preſence at Divine Service, and not refuſe to hear and learn the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, he ſhould not be compell'd to uſe the *Engliſh* Rites, but at his Pleaſure uſe the *Roman*, as far as was conſiſtent with God's Word.' But upon this Punctilio, they could not come to Agreement; and the Treaty, after it had continu'd almoſt a Year, intirely broke off. It was indeed generally believ'd, That the Match was never really deſign'd on either Side, but that both pretended it to promote their own Intereſts: For the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who knew more of the Queen's Thoughts than any Man, wrote at this time to *Walſingham* the Queen's Ambaſſador in *France*, *That he found the Queen's Inclinations ſo cold in the Matter, that tho' the Point of Religion were fully agreed; yet ſhe would ſtill find one Point or other to prevent the Marriage.*

A Match propos'd between the Queen and the Duke of Anjou.

The Treaty broke off.

But the *French* King took not greater Pains for accompliſhing this Marriage, than ſome *Engliſh* did to haſten a Marriage between the Queen of the *Scots* and the Duke of

Norfolk,

A Match deſign'd between the Duke of Norfolk *and the* *Queen of the* Scots.

The Duke again ſent to the Tower.

Norfolk, whom they had again drawn into the Snare; which came to be diſcover'd by a Packet of Letters, ſent by *Ridolpho* to the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and by the Confeſſion of *Bayliff*, who brought the ſaid Letters. Upon which the Biſhop of *Roſs* was confin'd to the Iſle of *Ely*; Sir *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, and *Rolton*, were committed to the *Tower*; and *Henry Howard*, who had aſpir'd to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, was committed to the Cuſtody of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. At the ſame time the Queen of the *Scots* ſent Mony to her Confederates in her own Kingdom; which was by *Higford*, the Duke's Gentleman, deliver'd to one *Brown* as only ſo much Silver: But he finding by the Weight that it was Gold, he became ſuſpicious; and thereupon went and deliver'd the Mony and Letters to the Lords of the Council. Upon this, *Higford* being examin'd, confeſs'd the whole Project, and withal gave Information of the ſecret Writing of the Queen of the *Scots*, which he had hid under the Mat unknown to the Duke his Maſter. Two Days after, the Duke himſelf, being Examin'd by the Council, and knowing nothing of what his Servants had confeſs'd, he deny'd every Particular; and thereupon was again ſent to the *Tower*, to the great Concern and Affliction of the People. After him *Baniſter*, his Lawyer, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Lumley* and *Cobham*, *Henry Piercy*, *Lowder*, *Powel*, *Goodier*, and others were committed to Priſon; who, upon Hopes of Pardon, confeſs'd all they knew concerning this peculiar Affair. When theſe Things, and eſpecially the private Writing, which the Duke thought had been burnt, were ſhew'd him, he in Confuſion cry'd out, *I am betray'd by my Confidents, being unwilling to be diſtruſtful, tho' it is the very Eſſence of Wiſdom.* And then with the moſt humble Submiſſion he beg'd the Lords to mediate for him to the Queen; towards whom, he proteſted he never had the leaſt Thought of doing any Prejudice.

Debates about the Biſhop of Roſs.

He is committed to the Tower.

The Regent of Scotland *ſlain.*

The Biſhop of *Roſs*, by the Confeſſion of all the Criminals, and the Duke himſelf, being charg'd as the chief Projector of the whole Conſpiracy, it caus'd great Debates how to proceed againſt him, who was an Ambaſſador; but the learned Civilians, having upon ſome curious Queries determin'd that he had loſt the Privilege of an Ambaſſador, he was brought before the Council, and told, *That by his Actions he had forfeited his Character, and ſhould be puniſh'd according to his Deſerts.* The Biſhop anſwer'd, *He was the Ambaſſador of an abſolute, tho' unfortunate Queen, whoſe Privileges by the Law of Nations were not to be violated.* Upon which *Cecil* in a grave Reply ſhew'd him, *That the Privilege of an Ambaſſador could not protect a Perſon in Crimes againſt the publick Majeſty of a Prince, and conſequently he was liable to Puniſhment; or elſe every wicked Ambaſſador might plot againſt the Lives of crown'd Heads without Controul.* He urg'd that the Privileges of Ambaſſadors had never been violated *Via Juris*, but *Via Facti*; and adviſ'd them *not to uſe harder Meaſures to him, than had been us'd to the* Engliſh *Ambaſſadors*, Throgmorton *in* France, Randolph *and* Tamworth *in* Scotland; *who had there rais'd Rebellions, without any other Puniſhment, than to be oblig'd to depart at a limited Time.* And when *Engliſh* Evidences were to be produc'd againſt him he alledg'd, as a Cuſtom obtaining the Force of a Law, *That the Teſtimony of an* Engliſhman *againſt a* Scot, *or of a* Scot *againſt an* Engliſhman, *was not to be admitted.* However, after ſome further Conſultations, this Biſhop was committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*. At this very time *Matthew Steuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, and Regent of *Scotland*, being ſurpris'd by the Nobility of the adverſe Party, was murther'd by *Bell* and *Caulder*, after he had carefully govern'd the Kingdom about fourteen Months; and was ſucceeded in the Regency by *John Areskin*, Earl of *Marre*; who being a Man of a mild Diſpoſition, and harraſs'd between the different Counſels of his Friends, and the Inſults of his Enemies, he ended his Days with Sorrow, after he had govern'd about thirteen Months.

The third Parliament in this Reign.

Acts paſs'd.

But long before this happen'd, a new Parliament was call'd, which met on the ſecond Day of *April*; and her Majeſty with great Splendor and Attendance open'd it with theſe Words, which ſhe pronounc'd with a Grace that charm'd the whole Aſſembly; *My right loving Lords, and you my right faithful and obedient Subjects, We in the Name of God, for his Service, and for the Safety of this State, are now here aſſembled, to his Glory I hope, and pray that it may be to your Comfort, and the common Quiet of ours, yours, and all ours for ever.* And then the Parliament proceeded to Variety of Buſineſs; and among other Things it was Enacted, That if any one affirm'd, that any 'other hath a Right to the Crown, than the preſent Queen; 'or that the Laws and Statutes cannot limit and determine the Right of the Crown, and the Succeſſion thereof, every ſuch Perſon ſhall be guilty of High-Treaſon.' By another Statute it was Enacted, 'That whoever ſhould 'reconcile any Perſon to the Church of *Rome*, and thoſe 'alſo who ſhould be reconcil'd, ſhould incur the Penalty 'of High-Treaſon.' Theſe ſevere Laws were judg'd neceſſary at this time to quel the turbulent Spirits of ſome reſtleſs Men. Therefore a Bill alſo was brought in againſt the Queen of the *Scots*, that if ſhe again offended againſt the Laws of *England*, ſhe ſhould be judg'd as the Wife of an *Engliſh* Peer: But here the Queen interpos'd her Authority, and would not ſuffer ſuch a peculiar Law to paſs. After ſeveral other Acts had paſs'd, the Parliament was diſſolv'd on the twenty ninth Day of *May*. About which Time a ſolemn Tournament was perform'd at *Weſtminſter*, where the chief Challengers were *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles Howard*, Sir *Henry Lee*, and *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Eſq; who all perform'd valiantly, but the Earl of *Oxford* gain'd the greateſt Honour. This was not long after ſucceeded by the Execution of Doctor *John Story*, who tho' he pretended to be a Foreigner, was convicted and ſuffer'd for High-Treaſon.

A. D. 1572. Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$.

The Tryal of the Duke of Norfolk.

He is found guilty of Treaſon.

But in the Beginning of the next Year, was try'd a more conſiderable Man, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*; who became a new and ſorrowful Spectacle in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, ſuch as had not been ſeen for eighteen Years. He was arraign'd before *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, conſtituted Lord High-Steward upon that Occaſion, and twenty five other Lords. The Subſtance of his Indictment was, 'That in the 'eleventh Year of this Reign he had traiterouſly conſulted 'to depoſe the Queen, and to bring in Foreign Forces to 'invade the Kingdom: That he treated with the Queen 'of the *Scots* concerning Marriage, contrary to his Promiſe, and to the Hazard of the Realm: That he ſent 'Mony to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, 'who had rais'd a Rebellion againſt the Queen: That he 'implor'd Aids from the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the 'Duke of *Alva*, for the freeing the Queen of the *Scots*, 'and reſtoring the Popiſh Religion: And laſtly, That he 'had ſent Supplies to the Lord *Heris*, and other of the 'Queen's Enemies in *Scotland*.' The Duke yielding to be try'd by his Peers, firſt *Barham*, Serjeant at Law, then *Gerrard* the Queen's Attorney, and laſtly *Bromely* her Sollicitor, enforc'd the Crimes objected againſt him: To all which the Duke made handſome and colourable Anſwers; but moſt of them being mov'd by ſufficient Teſtimony, he occaſionally ask'd, *Whether the Subjects of another Prince, in League with the Queen, were to be accounted Enemies?* To which *Cataline* anſwer'd, *They were; and that the Queen of* England *might make War with any Duke of* France, *and yet keep Peace with the* French *King.* After a long Tryal, the Lord High Steward demanded of the Duke, if he had any thing more to alledge for himſelf; who anſwer'd, *I rely upon the Equity of the Laws.* After this the Lords withdrawing a while, brought him in guilty of High-Treaſon; and the Lord High-Steward with a Flood of Tears pronounc'd his Sentence in the uſual Form. His Condemnation produc'd a new Conſpiracy from *Barney* and *Mather*, who joining with one *Herle*, reſolv'd to kill certain of the Counſellors, and ſet the Duke at Liberty; but *Herle* diſcovering the Matter, the other two were both executed. As to the Duke, the greateſt Favour he begg'd was, *That her Majeſty would be kind to his Children and Servants, and that his Debts might be paid.*

The fourth Parliament in this Reign.

This Plot, and ſeveral other Practices to deliver the Priſoner, occaſion'd the Calling of a new Parliament, againſt which the Queen honour'd *Walter D' Evereux*, Viſcount *Hereford*, with the Title of Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, with that of Earl of *Lincoln*; and alſo ſummon'd four new Barons to this Parliament, *John Powlet* of *Baſing*, *Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheiney*, and *Henry Norris*. The Parliament met on the eighth Day of *May*, and within ſix Weeks Time broke up, without a Diſſolution, or enacting very much beſides the preſent Security of the Nation. The principal Law paſs'd was, 'That 'whoever ſhould endeavour to free any Perſon impriſon'd 'during the Queen's Commandment, for Treaſon, or 'Suſpicion of Treaſon, before his Indictment, ſhould forfeit his Eſtate during Life, and be impriſon'd by the 'Queen's Pleaſure; if indicted, he ſhould incur the Pains 'of Death; and if condemn'd, the Penalty of High-Treaſon.' As the Severity of this Law was only neceſſary for the Times, ſo the Parliament thought fit to make it Temporary. But ſo many Deſigns of this Nature were ſet on foot, as haſten'd the unfortunate Duke's Execution; which however was deferr'd for about four Months. For before that Time, neither the Commons in Parliament, the Counſellors at Court, nor the Importunity of Preachers, by ſuggeſting of the Greatneſs of the preſent Danger, could overcome the Queen's Clemency.

The Duke of Norfolk *brought to the Scaffold.*

But on the ſecond of *June*, the great Duke was brought to a Scaffold erected on *Tower-Hill*, accompany'd by *Nowell* Dean of St. *Paul*'s; and after Silence obtain'd, he thus deliver'd himſelf to the Multitude, *It is no new Thing for Men to ſuffer Death in this Place; tho' ſince the Beginning of our moſt excellent Queen's Reign, I am the* Firſt, *and God grant I may be the* Laſt: To which the People moſt affectionately cry'd *Amen!* He then acknowledg'd, ‘ That he was juſtly condemn'd by his Peers; and acknowledg'd he had treated with the Queen of the *Scots* in Matters of great Conſequence, contrary to his Sovereign's Knowledge; and after Pardon obtain'd, and Promiſes given, he had repeated the ſame Crime; for which he was a humble Penitent. He clear'd himſelf of ſome Imputations, and declar'd, That he had not been addicted to Popery, ſince his firſt Notions of Religion; tho' he had ſome of that Profeſſion among his Servants and Familiars: And if he had offended God, the Church, or the Proteſtants, he begg'd that all would forgive him.’ Then after the Recital of one or two Pſalms, he cry'd out, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*! After which tenderly embracing Sir *Henry Leigh*, he whiſper'd ſomething to him and Dean *Nowell*, who turning to the People, ſaid, *The Duke deſires you all to pray to God for his Mercy to him*; and when one reach'd him a Handkerchief to cover his Eyes, he refus'd it, couragiouſly ſaying, *I fear not Death*. So devoutly falling upon his Knees, and fixing his Mind upon Heaven, he laid his Head upon the Block, which at one Stroke was ſever'd from his Body, and by the Executioner ſhewn as a melancholy Sight to the weeping Spectators; whoſe Sorrows were augmented by the Conſideration of his noble Preſence and Greatneſs, his Affability and Munificence; and by the Remembrance that his Father, at the ſame Place met with the ſame Fate twenty five Years before, only for Quartering the Arms of *Edward the Confeſſor* with his own. But as the Crimes of his Father and Grand-father were greater, than thoſe for which they ſuffer'd; it is no Wonder if Providence did extend the Puniſhment further than their Perſons.

He is beheaded.

The Earl of Northumberland *beheaded.*

Not long after, *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had formerly rebell'd, and fled into *Scotland*, was for a Sum of Money deliver'd by the Earl of *Morton* to the Lord *Hunſdon*, Governor of *Berwick*; and after that was beheaded at *York*. And now as theſe two great Men were fatally taken off by violent Means, ſo three others this Year were remov'd by a natural Death. Firſt, *William Powlet*, the old Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*; who notwithſtanding his continual Adherence to the Popiſh Religion, was by the wiſe Queen continu'd in his Place to the laſt, being then ninety ſeven Years of Age, and having ſeen a hundred and three Perſons of the Iſſue of his own Body. Next dy'd *Edward* Earl of *Darby*, with whom the Glory of the *Engliſh* Hoſpitality ſeem'd to fall aſleep, as *Camden* obſerves. Laſtly, Sir *William Peter*, a great Benefactor to *Exeter* College in *Oxford*, who from an honeſt Parentage rais'd himſelf to be Privy-Counſellor and Secretary to four crown'd Heads, *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*. The Lord Treaſurer's Place was fill'd up by Sir *William Cecil*, whom the Queen the laſt Year had created Lord *Burleigh*; with Commendations anſwerable to his extraordinary Worth and ſuperlative Abilities.

Expoſtulations with the Queen of the Scots.

A few Days after the Death of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord *De la Ware*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Doctor *Wilſon*, and *Thomas Bromley*, were ſent to the Queen of *Scotland* to expoſtulate with her Majeſty as to her Proceedings; ‘ That ſhe had uſurp'd the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of *England*, and had refus'd to renounce the ſame, contrary to the Treaty of *Edinburgh*: That ſhe had endeavour'd the Marriage with the Duke of *Norfolk*, without acquainting his Sovereign, and had us'd all forcible Means to free him out of Priſon: That ſhe had rais'd a Rebellion in the North, and reliev'd the Rebels both in *Scotland* and the *Netherlands*; and had implor'd Aids from the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and others: That ſhe had conſpir'd with certain *Engliſh* Men to free her out of Priſon, and proclaim her Queen of *England*: Laſtly, That ſhe had procur'd the Pope's Bull againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and ſuffer'd herſelf publickly to be ſtil'd Queen of *England* in Foreign Countries.’ All which Accuſations ſhe either abſolutely deny'd, or plauſibly extenuated; and tho' ſhe declar'd her ſelf to be a free Queen, and not ſubject to any Creature upon Earth, yet ſhe was content, and requeſted that ſhe might make her Perſonal Anſwer in the next Parliament.

A League with France.

About the ſame Time *Charles* the *French* King, in all Appearance, fixing his Thoughts upon the *Netherland* War, concluded a Peace, and enter'd into a League with Queen *Elizabeth*; which was to remain firm, not only during their own two Lives, but alſo between their Succeſſors, if the ſaid Succeſſor ſhould ſignifie to the Survivor within a Year, that he accepted it, otherwiſe to be at Liberty. It was likewiſe agreed what Aid by Sea and Land they ſhould each of them afford to the other upon Occaſion. And for the Ratification of this League, the Earl of *Lincoln*, Admiral of *England*, was ſent into *France*, accompany'd with the Lords *Dacres*, *Rich*, *Talbot*, *Sands*, and others. The *French* King likewiſe ſent the Duke of *Montmorency* and *Paul Foix* into *England*, with a ſplendid Retinue; that the Queen in the Preſence of them and the ordinary Ambaſſador might ſwear to the League, which ſhe did at *Weſtminſter*, on the ſeventeenth of *May*; the Day after which ſhe honour'd *Montmorency* with the Order of the *Garter*. This Duke, while he ſtay'd in *England*, interceded in his Maſter's Name, That all Favour, not really dangerous, might be ſhewn to the Queen of *Scotland*; and then again reviv'd and promoted the Queen's Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*: But finding great Obſtacles, by Reaſon of the Diverſity of Religion, he without further Expectation return'd into *France*, where his Maſter began to grow cold and remiſs as to the *Scotch* Queen, becauſe ſhe inclin'd more to the *Spaniard* than to him. Shortly after the Queen-Mother of *France* commanded the *French* Ambaſſador in *England* to propoſe a Marriage between Queen *Elizabeth*, and her youngeſt Son *Francis* Duke of *Alenſon*, which he did at *Kenelworth*: But the Queen modeſtly excus'd her ſelf, upon the Difference of Religion and Inequality of Age, he being but ſeventeen, and ſhe thirty eight, yet ſhe promis'd to conſider of it, ſo that *Alenſon* proſecuted his Suit with Vigour by the Mediation of *Flerie*. But at the ſame Time greater Preparations were made for a Marriage between *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and the Lady *Margaret* the *French* King's Siſter; to which great Solemnity, with profound Diſſimulation, the Queen of *Navarre* and the Heads of all the Proteſtants were allur'd, with Promiſes that there ſhould be a Renovation of Love, and a perpetual Peace eſtabliſh'd. The Earl of *Leiceſter* likewiſe and the Lord *Burleigh* were invited out of *England*, and the Sons of the Elector Palatine out of *Germany*, under the Colour of Reſpect and Honour; but in Reality, that they and the reſt might be inſnar'd, and that the Proteſtant Religion at one Blow might be exterminated, or receive a mortal Wound. For upon the Celebration of the Marriage, there immediately follow'd the infamous and execrable *Maſſacre of Paris*, and the terrible Slaughter of the Proteſtants throughout all the Cities of *France*. But to put a Colour of Equity upon the Fact, Edicts and Proclamations were ſet forth, importing, That the Proteſtants had conſpir'd againſt the King, and all the Royal Family; and in Memory of it Medals were ſtruck, as of an Action fortunate and honourable. But the King of *France*, notwithſtanding all his Shews of Piety, did not eſcape the Divine Vengeance; for before two Years were expir'd he was ſeiz'd with unnatural Diſtempers, and ſtrange Irruptions of Blood, and afterwards with long and grievous Torments ended his Life.

A Match propos'd between the Queen and the Duke of Alenſon.

The Maſſacre of Paris.

The Queen's Care of the Publick.

The Queen, who had enjoy'd a perfect Health, fell ſick of the Small-Pox at *Hampton-Court*, but fully recover'd before her Illneſs was known abroad, and immediately proceeded to the Care of the Government; commanded *Portſmouth* to be new and ſtrongly fortify'd, increas'd the Number of the Ships; made Muſters of the Train'd-Bands in every County, and caus'd the Youth to be taught the Exerciſe of Arms, and all this in a time of profound Peace. And having formerly borrow'd Mony of her Subjects, ſhe now repaid it with ſuch Thanks, as won her no leſs Love, than if ſhe had given it; and at this Time ſhe gain'd further Love by iſſuing out two Proclamations; by one of which ſhe commanded the Nobility to obſerve the Laws againſt keeping many *Retainers*; by the other, ſhe reſtrain'd *Informers*, who under Colour of diſcovering Crown Lands conceal'd by private Perſons, ſacrilegiouſly ſeiz'd upon the Lands of Churches and Alms-Houſes, piouſly endow'd by the Queen's Anceſtors. What ſtill added to her Honour and Eſteem was the performing two Acts of Juſtice much deſir'd; by one ſhe ſatisfy'd the Merchants out of the detain'd Goods belonging to the *Dutch*, reſtor'd the reſt to the Duke of *Alva*, and made a full Agreement with the Merchants of *Genoa*, for the Mony intercepted: By the other ſhe diſcharg'd *England* of the Debts which her Father and Brother had contracted with Foreigners, which were much increas'd by annual Intereſt; and likewiſe caus'd the Charters of *London*, which had been ſo often renew'd, to be now reſtor'd, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Citizens. In *Ireland* were ſome Commotions, occaſion'd by the too rigorous Conduct of Sir *Edward Fitton* Governor of *Cownaught*, for which the Queen remov'd him from that Poſt, and made him Treaſurer of *Ireland*. In *Leinſter* alſo the *O-Moors*, a ſeditious kind of People, made an Inſurrection; but being proclaim'd Traitors, they return'd to their Duties at the Perſuaſion of the Earl of *Kildare*.

A. D. 1573. Reg. 15/16.

Great Troubles in the Netherlands.

VII. While *England* was generally at Peace within it ſelf, and free from Foreign Diſturbances, the *Netherlands* felt all the Troubles of inteſtine Convulſions, and the Miſeries of Tyrannical Proceedings. The King of *Spain*, by his Ambaſſador, had complain'd to Queen *Elizabeth*, that the *Netherland* Rebels were harbour'd and entertain'd in *England*, contrary to the Articles of the League: Whereupon the Queen iſſu'd out a ſevere Proclamation, commanding all the *Dutch*, ſuſpected of Rebellion, immediately to leave the Nation; which yet turn'd little to the Advantage of the Duke of *Alva* or the King of *Spain*. For upon this, Count *Vander-Mark*, and other *Dutch* going out of *England*, ſoon ſurpris'd the *Brill*, and then *Fluſhing*; and drawing other Towns to revolt, in a ſhort Time they in a manner excluded the Duke of *Alva* from the Sea; which was judg'd a great Error in that active Governor. Shortly after many Military Men in *England*, having no Imployment at home, went over to the *Netherlands*, ſome to the Duke of *Alva*, but the far greater Number to the Prince of *Orange*, who headed the contrary Party, who in Time caus'd himſelf to be declar'd Stadtholder to the King of *Spain*. The firſt who went over was *Thomas Morgan*, who carry'd three hundred *Engliſh* to *Fluſhing*; and then by his Procurement follow'd nine Companies more under the Conduct of *Humphry Gilbert*; and afterwards it became the Nurſery of all the *Engliſh* Soldiers. After theſe Misfortunes, the Duke of *Alva*, contrary to his Inclinations, began to ſhew more Kindneſs towards the *Engliſh*, ſo that in the Month of *January* this Year, the Trade which had been forbidden in the Year 1568, was now allow'd again between the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* for two Years. But all that this Duke could do, did not hinder him from being recall'd from his Government; and *Zuniga*, a Man of a more peaceable Diſpoſition, was ſent in his Room. Thus were the Foundations of the Liberties of the *United Provinces* in the *Netherlands* laid in the Blood of its Inhabitants; and were at firſt as zealouſly promoted by the Popiſh Subjects, to preſerve their Civil Privileges, as by the Proteſtants to ſecure their Lives and Fortunes from the Fury of the *Spaniards*.

Many Engliſh *go thither.*

The Duke of Alva *remov'd.*

In *France*, the laſt Year, in *November*, a Daughter was born to the *French* King, to whom he requeſted Queen *Elizabeth* to be God-Mother; who accordingly ſent the Earl of *Worceſter* into *France* with a Font of Maſſie Gold, to ſtand as her Deputy at the Solemnity. Upon this, and the Queen's Promiſes to obſerve the League ſtrictly, the *French* King and the Queen-Mother began more tenderly to affect her, and the Duke of *Alenſon* writ ſeveral Love-Letters to her, while the *French* King and his Mother paſſionately interceded for the Marriage. At this Time the Queen, upon many Conſiderations, began to think it proper for her to marry; but the Courtiers, for their own Intereſt, us'd as many to diſſuade her from it. At length the Queen-Mother of *France* became extreamly importunate, That her Son *Alenſon* might have leave to come and viſit her; and ſhe being wearied with continual Letters and Meſſages, gave her Conſent; but with this Precaution, *That he ſhould not take it for any Diſhonour to him, if he return'd without obtaining his Suit.* But as ſoon as ſhe underſtood that his Brother *Henry* was elected King of *Poland*, and that the King of *France* was dangerouſly ſick, ſhe gave Intimation to *Alenſon*, *That he ſhould not too much haſten his Paſſage into* England; *but ſhould firſt procure a Peace in* France, *and declare by ſome memorable Action his Affection towards the Proteſtants, by which he might become a more welcome Gueſt in* England. Upon this, a Peace was concluded in *France*, and in ſome Places the Proteſtants were allow'd to exerciſe their Religion: And then again the *French* King and the Queen-Mother us'd all their Endeavours to promote the Marriage; and withal, they requeſted of Queen *Elizabeth*, that if the Duke of *Anjou* took his Voyage into *Poland* by Sea, he might have publick Security to ſail through the *Britiſh* Ocean. To this laſt Requeſt, ſhe not only conſented with all Readineſs, but alſo offer'd him a particular Fleet to conduct him. In the mean Time *Alenſon* fell ſick of the Meaſles, which his Mother ſignified to Queen *Elizabeth* by Count *Gondy*, with an Excuſe for his not coming to *England* as he had determin'd. The Count found the Queen at *Canterbury*, who receiv'd him with great Honour; and Arch-Biſhop *Parker* gave as noble an Entertainment to them both, as had been given to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, and King *Henry* the Eighth, at the ſame Palace in the Year 1519.

The Duke of Alenſon *proſecutes his Suit.*

The Affairs of Scotland.

In *Scotland*, ſince the Death of the Earl of *Marre*, there had been no Regent; but now chiefly by the Procurement of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Earl of *Morton* was made Regent; who by the Authority of a Parliamentary Aſſembly, Enacted many profitable Laws for the Defence of Religion againſt Papiſts and Hereticks, in the Name of the King: But the Protection and Keeping of the King's Perſon was confirm'd to the young Earl of *Marre*, as a Right belonging to that Family; yet upon theſe Conditions, That no Papiſts nor Factious Perſons ſhould be admitted to his Preſence. In the mean Time the *French* King ſent his Ambaſſador to corrupt the Earls of *Atholl* and *Huntley* with large Promiſes, to oppoſe the Regent; while Queen *Elizabeth* as much labour'd to defend him, and inſiſted upon the Popiſh Cruelties in the late *Maſſacre of Paris*. But tho' by the Management of *Killigrew*, ſhe had drawn Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Huntley*, and the moſt Eminent of their Party to acknowledge the Regent upon indifferent Conditions; yet the Lord *Grange*, Governor of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, the Lord *Humes*, Biſhop *Lidington* and others, would by no means admit of the Regent's Government, but by *Lidington*'s Advice, held out that Caſtle in the Name of the Queen of *Scotland*, relying upon the Strength of the Place, and the Promiſes of the *French* and *Spaniards*. When no Perſuaſions could prevail upon thoſe Men, Queen *Elizabeth* ſuffer'd her ſelf to be intreated by the Regent, to ſend Forces, Guns and Ammunition, for attacking the Caſtle, upon Condition that ten Hoſtages ſhould be ſent into *England*, to be Security for returning all the Men and Ammunition, not loſt by the common Hazard of War. The Conditions being ſettled, *William Drury*, Marſhal of the Garriſon at *Berwick*, with ſome great Ordnance, and fifteen hundred Soldiers, and ſeveral brave Volunteers, enter'd into *Scotland*, and inveſted the Caſtle, which after thirty three Days Siege was deliver'd up to the Regent for the King's Uſe, with all the Perſons that were in it. The Lord *Grange* and his Brother, with one or two more, were hang'd; tho' extraordinary Offers were made to ſave the Life of the firſt: The Lord *Humes* and the reſt were ſpar'd, through the gracious Interceſſion of Queen *Elizabeth*. *Lidington* was ſent to *Leith*, where he dy'd, not without Suſpicion of Poiſon; a Man of an excellent Wit, and great Underſtanding, but too variable in his Temper. And now from this Time *Scotland* began to breath, after long Civil Wars; and the Commanders, as well as Soldiers of both Parties, betook themſelves to *Sweden*, *France* and the *Netherlands*, where they reap'd more Laurels than they did in their own Country. As for the famous Biſhop of *Roſs*, he was ſet at Liberty, but commanded immediately to depart out of *England*; and being beyond Sea, he ſtill continu'd to ſollicite the Cauſe of his Miſtreſs, the Queen of *Scotland*, with moſt of the Potentates of Chriſtendom; from whom he met with many Promiſes, but no effectual Performances.

They are ſettled by Queen Elizabeth's *Power.*

In *Ireland*, many particular Inſurrections were made this Year by the *O-Conors*, and the *O-Moors*, but more eſpecially by *Mac Phelim* and his Adherents, who burnt *Carickfergus*, and committed many Outrages. Againſt theſe the valiant *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex* offer'd his Service to the Queen; and with great Expence to himſelf, went over with ſeveral brave Adventurers. But meeting with many unexpected Difficulties, for which the Earl of *Leiceſter* has been much condemn'd, after the waſting of a Year's Time and much Treaſure, with no anſwerable Succeſs, he obtain'd leave to return home to *England*. Here all Things were ſtill in a quiet Condition, only the Queen and the Eccleſiaſtical State were much tormented with a new Sect call'd *Puritans*, who under a Pretence of greater Purity in Doctrine and Diſcipline, endeavour'd to eradicate Things that were well eſtabliſh'd, to make way for their own Novelties; therefore the Queen, to prevent a Schiſm in the Church, commanded the Law concerning Uniformity of Publick Prayers to be in all Places put into Execution. It was thought the more neceſſary to reſtrain all new Opinions and Notions, by reaſon of one *Peter Bourchet* of the *Middle-Temple*, who taught that it was lawful to kill any that oppos'd the Truth of the Goſpel; and ſo ſtrictly purſu'd that Principle by his Practice, that it brought upon him the Guilt of Murder, for which he ſuffer'd Death, according to Law.

The Earl of Eſſex *goes into* Ireland.

The Queen ſtrict againſt Puritans.

A.D. 1574.
Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.
Alenſon *revives his Suit.*

The Duke of *Alenſon*, the moſt importunate of all the Queen's Suitors, by Letters and *Malveiſeir* the *French* Ambaſſador, now reviv'd his Amours, and begg'd leave he might come into *England* and proſecute them in Perſon; and the Queen having an Eſteem for him, and at preſent ſome Inclinations to marry, ſhe granted him a ſafe Conduct, with Demonſtrations of great Reſpect for his Perſon. But before her Anſwer came to him, it was ſuſpected by the Queen-Mother, That he and the King of *Navarre* would remove her from the Government, and therefore they had Keepers ſet over them, and were committed to Cuſtody: For the *Guiſes* had ſuggeſted that *Alenſon* held intimate Correſpondence with Admiral *Coligny*, the Head of the Proteſtants in *France*. But *Thomas Wilkes*, *Dale*'s Secretary, came privately to them both, and comforted them in the Queen of *England*'s Name, promiſing ſhe would omit no Opportunity to relieve them: For which the ſubtle Queen-Mother made ſuch Complaints to Queen *Elizabeth*, that *Wilkes* was compell'd to go into *France* and beg Pardon for his Fault; tho' twenty five Years after, he receiv'd

The King of France *dies.*

the Honour of Knighthood from *Navarre*, when he was King of *France* Queen *Elizabeth* ſent *Thomas Randolph* into *France* to the Queen-Mother, that if it were poſſible he might gain Reconciliation for *Alenſon* her Son; and for the King of *Navarre*: But before he landed in *France*, King *Charles* dy'd in great Torment, as was hinted before; whoſe Funeral Obſequies were ſolemnly perform'd in St. *Paul's* Cathedral in *London*. Now *Henry* the Third ſucceeding to the Crown of *France*, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent the Lord *North* to congratulate his Return out of *Poland* to his own Inheritance, and deſir'd him to reſtore *Alenſon* into Favour, but the Ambaſſador effected nothing material; for *France*, puſh'd on by its own fatal Deſtiny, ran deſperately into a Civil War. Nevertheleſs, the new King and his Mother ſent *Le Garde* into *England*, again to promote the Marriage with the Queen, and to divert the young Duke from War and Faction at home.

Exceſs in Apparel reſtrain'd.

In theſe Times, *Camden* obſerves, That an extraordinary Exceſs in Apparel had ſpread it ſelf over all *England*, and the Habit of the Country, by a peculiar Vice incident to an imitating Nation, grew into ſuch a Diſeſteem, that Men by their new-faſhion'd Garments, and gaudy Attire, diſcover'd the Deformity and Weakneſs of their Minds, while they ſhin'd in their Silks laced or embroider'd with Silver and Gold. The Queen obſerving, that to maintain this Exceſs, large Sums were yearly exported to buy Silks, and other Foreign Ornaments, to the impoveriſhing of the Republick; and that many of the Nobility that might be ſerviceable to the State, and others of noble Extract, not only waſted their Eſtates, but alſo ran ſo much into Debt, as to be tempted to raiſe Commotions in the Nation; ſhe therefore commanded them by Proclamation, That all Perſons ſhould within fourteen Days conform themſelves in Apparel to a certain preſcrib'd Faſhion, leſt they incurred the Severity of the Laws made under *Henry* the Eighth and Queen *Mary*: And ſhe began the Example herſelf in her own Court. But ſtill through the Untowardneſs of the *Times*, both the Proclamation and the Laws by ſeveral ſteps gave way to the Pride of the People; which alſo began to be attended with luxurious Banquets, and Prodigality in Buildings. For at this Time more large and magnificent Buildings were erected, than in any other Age before, to the great Ornament of the Kingdom, but, as our Author ſays, to as great Decay of the glorious Hoſpitality of the Nation.

A. D. 1575. Reg. $\frac{17}{18}$.

The ſecond Seſſion of the fourth Parliament of this Reign.

The Lord-Keeper's Speech.

The Conſideration of ſome of theſe Matters was the Occaſion of the Meeting of a new Seſſion of Parliament, upon the eighth Day of *February*; which was the very ſame Parliament that laſt broke up in the Year 1572, and is not mention'd by *Camden*, and the common Hiſtorians, either for the Shortneſs of the Seſſions, or the ſmall Importance of the Acts. Here one Subſidy, two Fifteenths and Tenths were granted the Queen, without any Oppoſition; and the Houſe of Commons again deſir'd, That her Majeſty would make the Nation happy in her Marriage. To which ſhe anſwer'd by the Mouth of the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, *That tho' in her own private Thoughts ſhe was no ways diſpos'd towards Matrimony, yet for their Sakes, ſhe would ſurmount her Averſion; when all things ſhould concur agreeable to the Majeſty of her Perſon, the Dignity of the State, and the Advantage of Religion.* This Speech was the laſt made by this great Man in Parliament, in which, in the Preſence of both Houſes, he among other Things declar'd, *That her Majeſty's Affections were ſo great to her People, that if the Virtues of all the Princes in* Europe *were united in her Perſon, ſhe would gladly employ them to their Good; and ſhe wiſh'd that the Benefits they receiv'd from her were Treble in Number, and Quadruple in Greatneſs and Goodneſs.* Then as to the Aids they had granted, *She eſteem'd their Readineſs to give, and the Heartineſs of their Love, more than ten Subſidies; and ſhe was ready to return all back to them, with the ſame Alacrity it was granted, if the Neceſſities of the Realm and their Security would permit it.* After this Speech, this Parliament was Prorogu'd on the fifteenth Day of *March* from Time to Time, during five Years, till the Year 1580.

The Earl of Eſſex in Ireland.

Notwithſtanding the Queen of *Scotland* was ſtill a Priſoner, all was calm and quiet in *England* for this Year; only a Difference aroſe between Sir *John Forſter* Governor of *Berwick*, and *John Carmichill* Warden of *Liddeſdale* in *Scotland*. In compoſing of which, the Regent himſelf having diſpleas'd the Queen of *England*, was oblig'd to come unarm'd before the Earl of *Huntington* the *Engliſh* Commiſſioner at *Bondenrod*; and thus the Matter was compos'd, and the Regent ever continu'd conſtant in obſerving the Queen's Pleaſure, and to his great Commendation reſtrained the Free-Booters of the *Borders*, to the Peace and Proſperity of both Kingdoms. In *Ireland*, the Earl of *Eſſex* having reſign'd up his Command in *Ulſter* to the Lord Deputy, as unable to proſecute his Deſigns with the ſmall Number allow'd him, he was commanded to re-aſſume it; but he had ſcarce march'd againſt *Turlogh*, but he receiv'd other Orders to finiſh the War, and make as honourable a Peace as he could. Which being ſoon effected, he march'd againſt the *Hebredian Scots*, who had ſeiz'd upon *Clandeboy*, and drove them into the retiring Places; and by the ſkilful Conduct of *Norris* attempted the Iſle of *Rachlin*, put four hundred of the Inhabitants to the Sword, forc'd the Caſtle, and garriſon'd it with *Engliſh*. But in the midſt of his Victories and Succeſſes, he was again, contrary to Expectation, commanded to reſign his Authority; only as an ordinary Captain he had the Command of three hundred Men given him, and by the wicked Contrivances of the Earl of *Leiceſter* was ever croſs'd in his good and honourable Deſigns.

The Affairs of the Netherlands.

In the *Netherlands* the Troubles and Commotions were greater; where *Zuniga*, Succeſſor to the Duke of *Alva*, was wholly reſolv'd to recover the Command of the Seas, which *Alva* had neglected: But not being ſufficiently provided with a Navy, he ſent *Boiſchoit* into *England*, that with the Queen's leave he might take up Ships and Seamen to act againſt the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*; but this ſhe would not grant. Next he deſir'd, That the Queen would not take it amiſs, if the *Engliſh* Exiles in the *Netherlands* ſerved the King of *Spain* by Sea againſt the *Hollanders*; and that they might have free Acceſs to the Ports of *England*, to buy Proviſions for ready Mony. This being alſo refus'd he then requeſted, That the *Dutch*, who were Rebels to the King of *Spain*, might be driven out of *England*; but neither would ſhe conſent to this, as being an Action void of Humanity, and contrary to the Laws of Hoſpitality. Yet becauſe ſhe would not be thought to violate the old *Burgundian* Alliance, ſhe commanded by Proclamation, That ſuch *Dutch* Ships as were in the *Engliſh* Ports ſhould be ſtopp'd, and thoſe *Dutch* who had taken up Arms againſt the King of *Spain* ſhould be hinder'd from entering the Ports of *England*, in which was nam'd the Prince of *Orange*, and fifty others of his Party. All this ſhe did with the more Readineſs, becauſe *Zuniga*, at the Interceſſion of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, had remov'd the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and other *Engliſh* Fugitives out of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, and had alſo diſſolv'd the *Engliſh* Seminary at *Doway*; tho' inſtead of that, the *Guiſes*, through the Procurement of Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, eſtabliſh'd another of the ſame Nature at *Rheims*.

The Confederate States chuſe Queen Elizabeth *for their Protector.*

And now the Politick Prince of *Orange* finding his Forces but ſmall, and having little Hopes of Aſſiſtance from *England*, enter'd into a grand Conſultation with the Confederate States, to whoſe Protection they could moſt ſecurely betake themſelves: They knew the Princes of *Germany* were not all of one Opinion, parted from their Mony with Difficulty, and could not unanimouſly concur with them in their Religion; therefore they were not Perſons proper for their Purpoſe. Next they ſaw the *French* were involv'd into a Civil War, and had ſufficient Imployment at home; beſides the Remembrance of the old Reſentments and Fewds between them and the *Dutch*; therefore neither were they thought proper for this critical Juncture. There remain'd then only the *Engliſh*, if they might be obtain'd, as beſt for their Deſigns, of the ſame profeſs'd Religion, and of a Language not much different, ſtrong in Shipping, and rich in Merchandize. After a full Conſultation, they ſent over an honourable Embaſſie of ſeveral Perſons, with Dr. *Melſen*; who in an eloquent Oration offer'd the Countries of *Holland* and *Zealand* to be poſſeſſed or protected by the Queen, as being deſcended from the Princes of *Holland*, by *Philippa*, Wife of the great *Edward* the Third, Daughter of *William* of *Bavaria*, Count of *Hainault* and *Holland*; by whoſe other Siſter, the Hereditary Right of thoſe Princes came to the King of *Spain*. To this Offer the Queen took time to reply, and after mature Conſideration, her Anſwer was, *That ſhe was not yet ſatisfy'd how ſhe might with her Honour and a ſafe Conſcience take thoſe Provinces into her Protection, much leſs into her Poſſeſſion; but promis'd to deal earneſtly with the* Spaniard *to procure them a happy Peace.* Shortly after *Zuniga* the Governor of the *Netherlands* dy'd; upon which the States of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and the other Provinces, aſſum'd the ancient Adminiſtration and Authority in the Republick; which the King of *Spain* was compell'd to confirm to them, 'till ſuch time as Don *John* of *Auſtria* was come among them, whom he deſign'd for their Governor. In the mean time Queen *Elizabeth*, in behalf of the King of *Spain*, ſent *William Daviſon* as Ambaſſador to thoſe Provinces, to exhort them to a peaceable and quiet Condition; which prov'd of no great Effect, by reaſon of the continual Outrages of the *Spaniſh* Soldiers.

A. D. 1576. Reg. $\frac{18}{19}$.

Great Troubles in the Netherlands.

Theſe daily increas'd, and the Inhabitants were roughly treated and harraſs'd with all manner of Injuries; *Antwerp*, the moſt beautiful and famous Place of Trade in all *Europe*, was miſerably pillag'd, and the Houſe of the *Engliſh* Merchants rifled; inſomuch that the States were driven to take up Arms, and Emiſſaries were ſent to all neighbouring Princes. To Queen *Elizabeth* was ſent Monſieur *D'Aubigny*, both to repreſent the juſt Reaſons they had for taking up Arms, and likewiſe to borrow a large Sum of Mony, to enable them to reſiſt the *Spaniards*; but ſhe being certainly inform'd, That they had firſt ſu'd to the *French* King for Aid, deny'd the Requeſt, yet promis'd earneſtly to intercede with the King of *Spain* for a Peace. And to that Purpoſe ſhe ſent Sir *John Smith*, who was Couſin-German to King *Edward* the Sixth, a Man of *Spaniſh* Behaviour, and well known to that King, who honourably receiv'd him at his Court; where this Ambaſſador with ſuch Diſcretion retorted the detracting Speeches of the Arch-Biſhop of *Toledo* and the *Spaniſh* Inquiſitors, who would not admit the Queen's Title of *Defender of the Faith*, that he obtain'd Thanks from the King of *Spain* himſelf, who deſir'd him not to mention the Matter to his Queen, and gave ſtrict Command that the Title ſhould be admitted. At this time Don *John* of *Auſtria*, natural Son to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, came into the *Netherlands* with Supream Power; to whom Queen *Elizabeth* ſent *Edward Horſey*, Governor of the Iſle of *Wight*, to congratulate his Arrival, and offer him Aſſiſtance in caſe the Confederate States call'd the *French* into the *Netherlands*. Yet at the ſame time, as a compleat Politician, upon the great Importunity of theſe States, ſhe ſent them twenty thouſand Pounds Sterling, upon Condition they ſhould neither change their Prince nor Religion, receive no *French* into their Country, nor yet refuſe a Peace, if Don *John* ſhould condeſcend to reaſonable Conditions: But if he embrac'd a Peace, then the Mony ſhould be paid to the *Spaniſh* Soldiers, who were ready to Mutiny for want of Pay. So careful was this great Queen to retain theſe wavering Provinces in their Fidelity and Obedience to the King of *Spain*.

Don John *Governor.*

England was at this time in a pleaſant Calm and Quiet, and the Trade between the *Engliſh* and *Portugueze* was inlarg'd; and at this time ſome Studious Heads, excited with a laudable Deſire to diſcover the more remote Regions of the World, undertook a Voyage to try if they could find any Sea upon the North Parts of *America*, leading to the wealthy Coaſt of *Cathay*, by which might be join'd in one Commerce the Riches of both the Eaſt and Weſt Parts of the Globe. In this Voyage was imploy'd *Martin Forbiſher*, who ſet Sail from *Harwich* the eighteenth Day of *June*; and the ninth of *Auguſt*, enter'd into that Northern Bay or Sea, but could paſs no further by reaſon of the Snow and Ice. The like Expedition was undertaken two Years after, but with no better Succeſs. In this Year 1576, dy'd *Maximilian* the Emperor, a Prince who had merited much from Queen *Elizabeth* and the *Engliſh*; and thereupon the famous Sir *Philip Sidney* was ſent to his Son *Rodolphus* King of the *Romans* to condole his Father's Death, and congratulate his Acceſſion to the Empire; as alſo to do the like to the Elector *Palatine*, *Frederick* the Third, with his ſurviving Son.

The Emperor's Death. Rodolphus *ſucceeds.*

As *Germany* had a great Loſs from the Death of theſe Princes, ſo *England* and *Ireland*, in Proportion, had no leſs from that of *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex*; who by the Envy of wicked *Leiceſter* was recall'd from *Ireland*, and by his Fears ſent back again with the empty Title of *Earl Marſhal of* Ireland; where with Grief, a bloody Flux, and probably with ſomething worſe, he ended his Days in great Torments. In the midſt of his Pains, by a kind of a prophetick Spirit, he deſir'd his Friends about him, to admoniſh his Son, who was then ſcarce ten Years of Age, *To have always in his Thoughts the thirty ſixth Year of his Age, as the utmoſt Boundary of his Life, which neither he nor his Father could paſs*, and to which his Son could never arrive, as will be ſhew'd in its proper Place. He likewiſe ſaid to young *Homines* his Page, *We have been both poiſon'd, you have only loſt your Hair, but I muſt loſe my Life.* This was believ'd to have been effected by one *Crompton*, by the Procurement of *Leiceſter*; which Suſpicion was much increaſed by that Earl's Behaviour immediately after his Death, who having by large Promiſes and Mony put away *Douglaſs Sheffeild* by whom he had a Son, openly marry'd *Eſſex*'s Widow. For tho' it was reported that he had already marry'd her in private, yet Sir *Francis Knolles* her Father, who was well acquainted with *Leiceſter*'s raving Amours, would not believe him in earneſt unleſs he himſelf was preſent at the Marriage, and had it teſtify'd by a publick Notary. At this time alſo dy'd Sir *Anthony Cook*, a learned Man, who had been School-Maſter to King *Edward* the Sixth, who had given ſuch a learned Education to his five Daughters, above their Sex, that he marry'd them all to Men of great Note and Honour: The firſt to the great Lord *Burleigh*, the ſecond to the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, the third to Sir *Thomas Hobby* who dy'd Ambaſſador in *France*, the four to Sir *Ralph Roulet*, and the fifth to Sir *Henry Killegrew*.

The Death of the Earl of Eſſex.

His Widow marries Leiceſter.

Hitherto the Papiſts in *England* had met with nothing but fair and calm Weather, and by a tender Connivance enjoy'd their own Way of Worſhip in their Houſes in a manner without Puniſhment; and tho' they were prohibited by the Laws of the Land, yet the merciful Queen thought that Violence was not to be offer'd to their Conſciences. But after the Thunders of the Vatican were levell'd againſt the Queen, this fair Seaſon turn'd gradually into Clouds and Tempeſts, and caus'd a ſtrict Law in 1571 againſt any who ſhould bring any Bulls from *Rome*, or any Marks of Papal Obedience, or ſhould reconcile any Perſon to the Church of *Rome*. Yet there was no Man in ſix Years time proceeded againſt upon that Law, tho' ſome were apprehended who had broken it: But this Year, *Cuthbert Main*, a Prieſt, was the firſt who felt the Severity of it; who being an obſtinate Maintainer of the Pope's Authority againſt his Prince, was put to Death at *Launſton* in *Cornwall*; and one *Tragion*, a Gentleman, who had harbour'd him, was condemn'd to loſe his Eſtate, and to perpetual Impriſonment.

A. D.
1577.
Reg. $\frac{19}{20}$.

Laws firſt put in Execution againſt Papiſts.

The Queen was every Day more neceſſitated to be ſtrict and vigilant, in relation to thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion, by reaſon of their many Plots and Conſpiracies, not only at home, but alſo in *Scotland* and the *Netherlands*. In which laſt Country, Don *John*, the Governor, tho' he pretended nothing but Peace and Gratitude to Queen *Elizabeth*, yet through a reſtleſs and treacherous Diſpoſition, he ſecretly treated with the Pope to deprive her of her Kingdom, and himſelf to marry the Queen of *Scotland*, and to invade *England* both from *Ireland* and *Scotland*; of all which Deſigns the Prince of *Orange* gave her the firſt Intelligence. Upon which, finding the *Spaniard*'s deep Diſſimulation, the great Hardſhips of the Confederate States, and the Dangers threatning the Proteſtant Religon, ſhe enter'd into a League with the ſaid States, for mutual Defence both at Sea and Land, upon certain fix'd Conditions; by which ſhe was to aſſiſt them with one thouſand Horſe and five thouſand Foot, whoſe *Engliſh* Commander ſhould be admitted into the Council of the Eſtates. But becauſe ſhe would not be ſlander'd with aſſiſting Rebels againſt their Prince, ſhe ſent *Thomas Wilkes* to the King of *Spain* with theſe Informations: 'That ſhe had always endeavour'd to preſerve the *Netherlands* in Obedience to the 'King of *Spain*; and had us'd both Perſuaſions and Threatnings to the Prince of *Orange* to accept of a Peace: But 'withal, if the King of *Spain* expected to have his Subjects 'obedient to him, ſhe requeſted him to do Juſtice to his afflicted People, and reſtore their Privileges; and likewiſe to 'remove Don *John* from his Government, who was not 'only her mortal Enemy, but labour'd by all Methods to 'reduce the *Netherlands* to an intire Servitude. If this 'were granted by the King of *Spain*, ſhe then faithfully 'promis'd, That if the States perform'd not their Allegiance to him, as they had oblig'd themſelves by Ingagements to her, ſhe would utterly abandon them, and uſe 'all her Forces to compel them.' While *Wilkes* remonſtrated theſe Matters in *Spain*, Don *John* on the other Side ſent his Ambaſſador to Queen *Elizabeth*, highly accuſing the States for their unreaſonable Diſobedience, and making a large Apology, and an Enumeration of the Reaſons why he had again taken up Arms. Thus Queen *Elizabeth* ſate as an Heroical Princeſs and Arbiter between the *Spaniards*, *French*, and Confederate States: Which was very agreeable to what an Author who wrote in thoſe Times obſerv'd, *That* France *and* Spain *were the Ballances in the Scale of* Europe; *and* England *the Beam to turn them either way*; for they ſtill prevail'd, to whom ſhe adher'd.

Don John's *Deſigns againſt Queen* Elizabeth.

The Queen enters into a League with the Confederate States.

Her Declaration.

Great Numbers went out of *England* into the *Netherlands* about this time, particularly *John North*, Eldeſt Son to the Lord *North*, *John Norris*, ſecond Son to the Lord *Norris*, *Henry Cavendiſh*, and *Thomas Morgan*, Colonels, with many Volunteers, to learn Military Experience. There came alſo *Caſamire* the Elector *Palatine*'s Son, with an Army of *German* Horſe and Foot, at the Queen of *England*'s Charge. Upon their Arrival Don *John*, aſſiſted by the Prince of *Parma*, and other chief *Spaniſh* Commanders, being aſſur'd of Victory, ſet furiouſly upon them, before they expected him, yet after a long Fight was forc'd to retreat: Then wheeling about, and endeavouring to break through certain Hedges and Coverts, where the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Volunteers had plac'd themſelves, he was again repuls'd; for the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* were ſo violently hot in the Conflict, that throwing away their Garments, they fought bravely in their Shirts faſten'd about their Thighs. *Norris* the *Engliſh* General, fighting valiantly, had three Horſes ſlain under him, and gain'd great Reputation; as alſo did *Stuart* a *Scotchman*, *Pingham* Lieutenant to *Cavendiſh*, and *William Markham*. To comfort the afflicted Provinces, Ambaſſadors were ſent from the Emperor, and the *French* King, and laſtly from the Queen of *England*, with Commiſſions to procure Conditions of Peace; but they return'd without effecting any thing, by reaſon that Don *John* refus'd to admit the Proteſtant Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* refus'd to return into *Holland*. About this time *Egremond Ratcliff*, Son to the Earl of *Suſſex*, who had been a violent Man in the

A. D.
1578.
Reg. $\frac{20}{21}$.

The Engliſh *Victorious in the* Netherlands.

Rebellion in the North, and now ſerv'd under the *Spaniard*, was accus'd by the *Engliſh* Fugitives, that he was ſecretly ſent to aſſaſſinate Don *John*; but whether it was true or falſe, he was thereupon apprehended and put to Death. The *Spaniards* affirm'd that at his Execution he confeſs'd, That he was freed out of *London* Tower, and mov'd by *Walſingham*'s large Promiſes to commit this Fact; but the *Engliſh* that were preſent deny'd that he confeſs'd any ſuch thing, tho' the *Engliſh* Rebels us'd all means to extort this Confeſſion from him. Shortly after Don *John* himſelf dy'd, as ſome ſay of Grief for being neglected by the King of *Spain* his Brother; a Man of an inſatiable Ambition, who firſt aim'd at the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and then that of *England*, and who without the Privity of the Kings of *France* or *Spain*, had made a League with the *Guiſes*, for the Defence of both Crowns.

The Death of Don John.

The Earl of Morton *remov'd from his Regency in* Scotland.

In the mean time new Alterations began to be made in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Morton* ſtill govern'd as Regent; who tho' he was a Man of great Wiſdom and Valour, was now ſo overcome with Avarice, that he became univerſally hated. Whereupon, with the joint Conſent of the Nobility, the Adminiſtration of the Government was transferr'd to the King, tho' he was yet but twelve Years of Age; and twelve of the Principal Lords were appointed to attend in Council, three of them by Courſe for three Months; among whom the Earl of *Morton* was one, that he might not ſeem to be totally laid aſide. The young, but underſtanding King, having aſſum'd the Adminiſtration to himſelf, immediately ſent the Earl of *Dumferlin* to Queen *Elizabeth*, acknowledging her great Favours to him, and deſir'd to have the Treaty of *Edinburgh* confirm'd; and withal, That his ancient Patrimony in *England*, deſcending from his Grand-father and Grand-mother, the Earl and Counteſs of *Lenox*, might be deliver'd to him, as neareſt Heir. The Queen readily promis'd to grant the former Demands, but a little heſitated on the latter; for ſhe would not grant, That *Arabella*, Daughter of *Charles* the King of *Scotland*'s Uncle, and born in *England*, was next Heir to the Lands in *England*; nor would ſhe allow the Ambaſſador's Proof out of Hiſtory, that the Kings of the *Scots*, born in *Scotland*, did anciently hold the Earldom of *Huntington* by Right of Inheritance. Yet ſhe commanded a Sequeſtration to be made of the Revenues of thoſe Lands by *Burghly* Maſter of the Wards; and ſignify'd to the Ambaſſador, That the King ſhould ſatisfy his Grand-mother's Creditors out of the Lands of the Earl of *Lenox* in *Scotland*. For ſhe took it unkindly that the King had recall'd the Infeoffment of the Earldom of *Lenox* made to his Uncle and his Heirs, and to the Prejudice of the Lady *Arabella*; tho' it was a Privilege of the Kings of *Scotland* to revoke Prejudicial Donations made in their Minority. The Earl of *Morton* in the mean time, not enduring the Diſgrace of being remov'd from his Regency, regarded not the Form of Government lately made, but drew the Adminiſtration of all Affairs to his own Perſon, and kept the King in his own Power at the Caſtle of *Sterling*, admitting none to his Preſence, but whom he pleas'd. The Lords being exaſperated at this Preſumption made the Earl of *Atholl* their Commander, and in the King's Name levy'd a powerful Army, and prepar'd to engage the Earl of *Morton*: But by the Interceſſion of *Bave*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, they were reſtrain'd from Blood-ſhed; and *Morton*, as weary of Employment, withdrew himſelf to his own Houſe, but the Earl of *Atholl* ſoon after dy'd not without Suſpicion of Poiſon.

The Pope and King of Spain combine againſt England.

While all Things ſeem'd ſafe and ſecure in *England*, the King of *Spain* and Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth held ſecret Conſultations, to invade at once both *England* and *Ireland*, and to work the abſolute Ruin of their moſt formidable Enemy Queen *Elizabeth*. Religion was the main Pretext, yet the Pope's chief Deſign was to gain the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his Son *James Boncompagni*, whom he had made Marqueſs of *Vincola*; and the King of *Spain*'s Intention was ſecretly to relieve the *Iriſh* Rebels, as Queen *Elizabeth* had aſſiſted the *Dutch*, while Amity in Expreſſions was all the Time maintain'd on both Sides. Theſe two well knowing, that the greateſt Strength of *England* conſiſted in the Royal Navy, and Merchant Ships, projected, that the *Italian* and *Low-Country* Merchants ſhould hire what Veſſels they could for long Voyages; while they were abſent the Queen's Navy might be ſurpris'd by a ſuperior Fleet; and at the ſame time *Thomas Stukely*, an *Engliſh* Fugitive, ſhould join himſelf to the *Iriſh* Rebels with new Forces. For he by his large and ſpecious Promiſes to the Pope, of procuring the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his natural Son, had ſo inſinuated himſelf with the ambitious old Man, that he adorn'd him with the glorious Titles of Marqueſs, Earl, Viſcount and Baron, of the principal Places of that Kingdom; and made him Commander over eight hundred *Italian* Soldiers, to be employ'd in the *Iriſh* War. With theſe Forces *Stukely* ſet ſail from *Civitta Vechia*, and at length arriv'd at *Portugal*; where he and his Forces were by the Divine Providence diverted another Way. For *Don Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, the chief Commander in the deſign'd Expedition againſt *England*, being firſt to diſpatch a War in *Africa*, in favour of *Mahomet* the Son of *Abdalla* King of *Fez*, perſuaded *Stukely* to accompany him firſt with his *Italian* Forces, into *Africa*, after which they would both join againſt *Ireland*. To this Motion *Stukely* ſoon conſented, and therein met with his Deſtiny; for in that memorable Battel where three Kings were ſlain, both he and *Sebaſtian* loſt their Lives. Had not *Sebaſtian*'s Fate diverted the *Spaniard*'s Mind from the Invaſion of *England* to the Hopes of gaining the Kingdom of *Portugal*, a violent Storm of War had fallen upon *England*. But upon Notice of this great Change, the *Engliſh* Fleet which waited for *Stukely* upon the Coaſts of *Ireland* was call'd home; and Sir *Henry Sidney*, who had been Lord Deputy about eleven Years, reſign'd his Place to Sir *William Drury*, Preſident of *Munſter*; leaving a Reputation behind him anſwerable to the Greatneſs of his Wiſdom and Valour.

The Deſign defeated.

A. D. 1579. Reg. 21.

In the following Year *John Caſimire*, Son to *Frederick* the Elector *Palatine*, came into *England* to excuſe himſelf about ſome Miſcarriages in the *Netherlands*, for which the *French* were chiefly blamable. He was moſt honourably receiv'd, and conducted with great Pomp into *London*, with lighted Torches, by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and to the Court by the chief of the Nobility; where he was entertain'd with Titlings, Tournaments, and magnificent Banquets, and honour'd with the Order of St. *George*, the Queen her ſelf putting on the *Garter* about his Leg; And after the ſettling of an annual Penſion on him, and many Preſents made to him, he return'd into the *Netherlands*, where *Alexander Farneſe*, Prince of *Parma*, was now made Governor. Not long after Queen *Elizabeth* ſupply'd the States with large Sums of Mony; for which *William Daviſon*, the Queen's Agent, brought into *England* the ancient Jewels and rich Plate of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, mortgag'd by *Matthias* of *Auſtria*, and the Confederate States.

The Prince of Parma *Governor of the* Netherlands.

Alenſon *revives his Suit with Queen* Elizabeth.

In the midſt of theſe Times of Action, ſtill the Duke of *Alenſon*, lately made Duke of *Anjou*, purſu'd his Amours with Queen *Elizabeth*. For the Proſecution of which, the laſt Year two ſeveral Ambaſſadors were ſent into *England*, and after that a third call'd *Simier*, a compleat Courtier, and exquiſitely vers'd in all the Arts of Love, who came accompany'd with a great Number of the *French* Nobility; whom the Queen entertain'd in ſuch an obliging Manner, that *Leiceſter* began to rage, as if his Hopes were now quite blaſted. And about this Time, when *Aſhley*, a Lady of the Bed-Chamber, covertly commended that Earl to her for a Husband, ſhe with Reſentment reply'd, *Do you think me ſo unlike my ſelf, and ſo regardleſs of my Royal Dignity, as to prefer the Servant I made my ſelf, before the greateſt Princes of Chriſtendom*? *Simier* never ceas'd by all inſinuating and amorous Inventions to perſuade the Queen to marry the Duke of *Anjou*; in which he gain'd ſo much Ground, that *Leiceſter* reported he wrought by the Power of Love-Potions, and other Infernal Arts. And *Simier* on the other Side us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to remove *Leiceſter* from the Queen's Favour, and firſt diſcover'd to her his Marriage with the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Widow: Which ſo provok'd the Queen, that ſhe confin'd *Leiceſter* to the Caſtle at *Greenwich*, and deſign'd to have ſent him to the *Tower*, had not the generous Earl of *Suſſex*, tho' his greateſt Adverſary, diſſuaded her, declaring, *That none ought to be moleſted for contracting a lawful Marriage*. Nevertheleſs *Leiceſter* was ſo incens'd at his Confinement that he turn'd all his Thoughts upon Revenge; and ſome ſay he hir'd one *Teuder* of the Queen's Guards to aſſaſſinate the *French* Ambaſſador. It is certain that the Queen by Proclamation commanded, That no Perſon ſhould offer any Affront to the Ambaſſador, or any of his Attendants. About which Time it happend that while the Queen for her Pleaſure was rowing in her Barge upon the *Thames* in the Company of *Simier*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and her Vice-Chamberlain *Hatton*, a young Man out of a Boat diſcharg'd a Gun, and ſhot one of the Queen's Bargemen through both his Arms. At which the Queen, who ſat near him, generouſly threw him her Scarfe for his Wounds, without any fear of her own Perſon; and when the offending Party was brought to his Tryal, and ſo to the Gallows, upon his Proteſtation that he had no malicious Intent, ſhe freely pardon'd him. Some would have perſuaded her, that it was deſign'd againſt her Majeſty or the *French* Ambaſſador; but ſhe was ſo far from ſuſpecting her Subjects, that ſhe often ſaid, *She would not believe any thing againſt them, which a Mother would not believe againſt her Children*. A few Days after, the Duke of *Anjou* himſelf came into *England Incognito*, and unexpectedly addreſs'd himſelf to the Queen at *Greenwich*, where they had ſome ſecret Diſcourſes together; and then without being known

The Queen in Danger.

Alenſon *comes Incognito.*

but to a very few, he return'd into *France*. After a Month or two the Queen commanded all her great Men, *Burleigh* Lord-Treaſurer, *Suſſex*, *Leiceſter*, *Hatton* and *Walſingham*, to conſider and draw up all the ſeveral Miſchiefs and Advantages that would accrue from this Marriage; which being nicely enumerated and examin'd, the Balance was ſo even, that nothing was determin'd by them.

The Beginning of the Turkey *Company.*

Sir Nicholas Bacon *dies:* Bromley *ſucceeds him.*

As in *England* there began to be ſeveral Fears from this *French* Man, ſo there were in *Scotland* at the ſame Time from another call'd *Eſme Stuart* Lord *D'Aubigny*, who now came into *Scotland* to viſit the young King his Couſin. He was the Son of *John Stuart*, Brother to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* the King's Grand-father, and had Denomination from *Aubigny* in *France*, which Title *Charles* the Seventh King of *France* had anciently conferr'd upon *John Stuart* of the Family of *Lenox*, who being General of the *Scotch* Army in *France*, vanquiſh'd the *Engliſh* in one Battel, and was ſlain by them in another; and from that Time the Title belong'd to the younger Brothers of that Houſe. This *Eſme Stuart* was embrac'd by King *James* with great Affection, made Lord Chamberlain of *Scotland*, Governor of *Dunbriton* Caſtle, and created firſt Earl and then Duke of *Lenox*. The Fears from this conſiderable Man aroſe from his being devoted to the *Guiſes*, and the Popiſh Religion; and what ſtill encreas'd them was his applying himſelf to the Earl of *Morton*'s Enemies, and his contriving to call home *Thomas Carre* Lord of *Ferniſhuſt*, who of all Men was moſt in the Intereſt of the *Scotch* Queen. In the ſame Year a Grant was procur'd from the *Turkiſh* Emperor, That the *Engliſh* Merchants might exerciſe a free Trade in all Places of his Dominions, as well as other neighbouring Nations: Upon which was erected the remarkable Company of *Turkey* Merchants; managing a moſt gainful Trade to *Conſtantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Egypt*, *Aleppo*, *Cyprus*, and other Parts, for Spices, Cottons, Raw-Silks, Tapeſtries, Indico, Currants, and other Commodities. About the ſame Time dy'd the Lord-Keeper, the famous Sir *Nicholas Bacon*; a Man of ſingular Wiſdom, admirable Eloquence and Memory, and a great Support in the Queen's Privy-Council: In whoſe Place ſucceeded Sir *Thomas Bromley*, the Queen's Sollicitor, with the Title of Lord-Chancellor of *England*. *Bacon*'s Death was follow'd by that of Sir *Thomas Greſham* Citizen of *London* and the Queen's Merchant; who for an Ornament to his Country, and for the Benefit of Merchants, built a noble Walking-Place in *London*, which the Queen nam'd, *The Royal Exchange*; and gave a large Houſe he had in the City to the Profeſſors of ſeveral Sorts of Learning, ſince call'd *Greſham-College*.

A. D. 1580. Reg. $\frac{22}{23}$.

Dangers from Seminaries,

and from Popiſh Emiſſaries.

VIII. There was now a general Calm throughout the Queen's Dominions, only ſome Diſturbances were rais'd in *Ireland* by *Fitz-Morris*, and by the Landing of ſome *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Soldiers, all which were ſoon ſuppreſs'd. But about this Time there aroſe other Kinds of Diſquiets in the Nation from the reſtleſs Endeavours of many of the *Romiſh* Party, and from the Management and Contrivances of Foreign Seminaries, which had been formerly erected to propagate their Religion in *England*. In theſe Seminaries, among other Diſputations, it was concluded, ‘ That the Pope had ſuch a Plenitude of Power, ‘ by *Divine Right*, over the whole Chriſtian World, both ‘ in Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Matters, that by Vertue ‘ thereof it was lawful for him to Excommunicate Kings, ‘ abſolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, ‘ and deprive them of their Kingdoms.’ From theſe Seminaries this Year there came two Emiſſaries into *England*, *Robert Parſons*, and *Edmund Campian*, both *Engliſhmen* and Jeſuits. *Parſons* was a *Somerſetſhire* Man, of a furious and violent Temper, and of an ungenteel Behaviour; *Campian* was a *Londoner*, well bred and of a ſweet and elegant Tongue; and both of them had been bred up in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and had profeſs'd the Proteſtant Religion. Theſe Men, upon their coming over into *England*, appear'd ſometimes in a Military Habit, ſometimes in the Dreſs of Gentlemen, at other Times in the Habits of the Clergy, and ſometimes like Apparators, and frequented the Country Houſes and Seats of the Popiſh Nobility and Gentry. *Parſons* was ſo warm with ſeveral of them for the direct depoſing the Queen, that ſome of them were ſtrongly inclin'd to deliver him into the Hands of the Magiſtrates. But *Campian*, more moderate, made it his chief Buſineſs to convert the People by his Writings, which were ſolidly anſwer'd by Doctor *Whitaker*. However theſe two Emiſſaries caus'd no ſmall Diſturbances; nor were there others wanting of the ſame Party, who publiſh'd in Print, That the Pope and King of *Spain* had reſolved to conquer the Kingdom of *England*; and this to inſpire their own Faction with Courage, and to terrify others from their Allegiance to their Prince and Country. The Queen being thus attack'd both by the Arms and Artifices of the Pope and *Spaniard*, publiſh'd a ſharp Proclamation, in which ſhe caution'd theſe Kind of Men, ‘ To ‘ behave themſelves prudently and modeſtly, and not to ‘ irritate her Juſtice any farther againſt them; for ſhe was ‘ now reſolv'd not to be cruel to her ſelf and good Subjects any longer, by ſparing ſuch Miſcreants, as they had ‘ ſhewn themſelves.

The third Seſſion of the fourth Parliament in this Reign.

Towards the ſuppreſſing of theſe Emiſſaries, a new Seſſion of Parliament met on the ſixteenth Day of *January*; which was the ſame Parliament that firſt met in the Year 1572, and the ſecond time in the Year 1575, and is not mention'd in the right Year by *Camden* and the Common Hiſtorians. In this Parliament an Act was made for the retaining the Queen's Subjects to their Obedience, chiefly againſt thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion; in which it was again made Treaſon for any to reconcile themſelves or others to the Church of *Rome*, and all Abſenters from the Church of *England* were condemn'd to pay twenty Pounds a Month. It was likewiſe unanimouſly reſolv'd to grant the Queen one Subſidy, two Fifteenths, and one Tenth of all the Revenues of the Kingdom. After which, the Parliament was prorogu'd on the eighteenth Day of *March*, from Time to Time, 'till it was finally diſſolv'd in the Year 1583, after it had continu'd in Being, by fourſcore ſeveral Prorogations, near twelve Years.

Captain Drake's *Voyages.*

In this Year 1580, was the Return of the famous Captain *Francis Drake*, who after a three Years celebrated Voyage round the Terreſtrial Globe, and many wonderful Adventures and Diſcoveries, arriv'd at *Plymouth*, where he firſt took Shipping, with vaſt Quantities of Gold and Silver, taken from the *Spaniards*, in ſeveral Parts of *America*. The Queen receiv'd him very graciouſly, and ſecur'd the Treaſure he brought by Way of Sequeſtration, that it might be ready, if the *Spaniard* ſhould demand it. His Ship was drawn up into a little Creek near *Deptford* upon the *Thames*, as a Monument of his fortunate ſailing round the World; where with great Ceremony he entertain'd the Queen, who conferr'd upon him the Honour of Knighthood. But *Mendoza*, the King of *Spain*'s Ambaſſador in *England*, ſoon ſhew'd his Reſentments, and vehemently demanded Reſtitution of the Goods, and further complain'd, ‘ That the *Engliſh* had ſail'd upon the *Indian* ‘ Ocean.’ To whom it was anſwer'd, ‘ That the Goods ‘ were already ſequeſter'd, and ready to make the King of ‘ *Spain* Satisfaction, notwithſtanding the Queen had expended more Mony againſt the Rebels incourag'd by him ‘ in *England* and *Ireland*, than what Captain *Drake* had ‘ brought home: And as for his ſailing on the *Indian* Ocean, That was as lawful for the Queen's Subjects as ‘ his own, ſince the Sea and Air were common to all ‘ Men.’ Notwithſtanding all which, a great Sum of Mony was repaid to *Pedro Sebura*, the King of *Spain*'s Agent in this Buſineſs, which was not reſtor'd to the legal Owners, but employ'd againſt the Queen's Intereſt in the *Netherland* Wars, as was diſcover'd afterwards, when it was too late to remedy the Miſchief.

A. D. 1581. Reg. $\frac{23}{24}$.

The Earl of Morton *beheaded in* Scotland.

About theſe Times new Commotions aroſe in *Ireland* from the Family of the *O-Coners*; but this Conſpiracy was timely ſuppreſs'd by the great Care of *Arthur*-Lord *Grey*, Deputy of the Kingdom, who by terrifying others, brought *Turlogh Lenigh* to Terms of Peace, who had rais'd Diſturbances in *Ulſter*, and reduc'd the *O-Brians*, and the *O-Moors* to Submiſſion. About the ſame time, great Feuds alſo aroſe among the *Scotch* Nobility; one Party having terrible Jealouſies of *Lenox* Lord *D' Aubigny*, leſt he ſhould abuſe the extraordinary Favours of the young King, by inducing him to marry into *France*, and bring back the Popiſh Religion into *Scotland*. *Lenox* by his Letters purg'd himſelf to Queen *Elizabeth*, and openly profeſs'd himſelf of the Proteſtant Religion; yet ſtill many Endeavours were us'd to remove him from the King's Perſon; but they were ſo far from taking Effect, that on the contrary the Earl of *Morton*, the laſt Regent and Head of the contrary Party, was ſhortly after accus'd by the Earl of *Arran* of being acceſſary to the Murder of the Lord *Darnly* the King's Father, and thrown into Priſon. Notwithſtanding all the Means the Queen could uſe to ſave him, not long after he was publickly beheaded at *Edinburgh*; becoming a memorable Inſtance of the Mutability of Fortune, who from the Height of Grandeur, came to this fatal End: A Man who tho' he had many noble Qualities, yet by his Ambitious Practices, had occaſion'd many violent Convulſions, and the Loſs of much Blood in his own Country.

In the *Netherlands*, about this time, the Count *Rhineberg* proceeded victoriouſly for the King of *Spain*, and inveſted *Steenwick* in *Freezland*; againſt whom the *States* ſent the *Engliſh* General *Norris*, who worſted *Rhineberg*'s Party, and rais'd the Siege: But afterwards ingaging with *Verdago* the *Spaniard* at *Northone*, even when the Victory was almoſt gain'd, the Fortune of the Battel turn'd, *Norris* was defeated and wounded, and a great Number of his Men ſlain; among whom were *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams*,

and

Drunkenneſs propagated in England.

Portugal *ſeiz'd by* Spain.

and *Biſhop*, all valiant Commanders. Here *Camden* aſſures us, That in theſe *Dutch* Wars, the *Engliſh*, who were the ſobereſt of all the Northern Nations, firſt learnt to be Drunkards, and brought the ſcandalous Vice ſo far to over-ſpread the Kingdom, that in the next Reign Laws were firſt made to reſtrain the growing Miſchief. But while the King of *Spain* and the *States* contended about a few Towns in the *Netherlands*, the former ſeiz'd upon the whole Kingdom of *Portugal*, upon the Death of King *Henry*, as being Son to his eldeſt Siſter. In ſeventy Days the Duke of *Alva* gain'd Poſſeſſion of that rich Kingdom, and put *Don Antonio* to Flight, whom the People had elected for their King. The Queen of *France*, who pretended a Title to that Kingdom, now enviouſly beholding the King of *Spain*'s Dominions thus enlarg'd, by a new Acceſſion of *Portugal*, and ſeveral Parts of the Eaſt *Indies*, advis'd Queen *Elizabeth*, among other Princes, to conſider of a timely Reſtraint of that King's exceſſive Greatneſs and Power. Whereupon the Queen receiv'd *Don Antonio*, and generouſly reliev'd him, as a Kinſman deſcended of the Royal Blood of *England*, and of the ancient Houſe of *Lancaſter*.

Alenſon *again proſecutes his Suit.*

The Articles of the Marriage.

Allegations to the French *King.*

And withal the Queen of *France*, and the King her Son, for a Foundation of a ſtricter Amity with Queen *Elizabeth*, urg'd more earneſtly than ever for the Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*. In order to which a glorious Embaſſie was diſpatch'd of ſeveral of the greateſt Men in *France*; who were receiv'd after an extraordinary Manner, and magnificently treated in a ſpacious Edifice purpoſely erected in *Weſtminſter*, richly and royally furniſh'd; and then entertain'd with Tilts and Tournaments perform'd at a vaſt Expence by the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Windſor*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil*, who challeng'd all Comers; not to mention many other Courtly Sports and ſplendid Diverſions. The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners for this Affair were the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Suſſex*, *Bedford* and *Leiceſter*. Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, and Secretary *Walſingham*: By whom Articles of Marriage were at length concluded; 'Firſt, That the 'Duke of *Anjou* and the Queen of *England*, within ſix 'Weeks after the Ratification of the Articles, ſhould con'tract a Marriage; and the reſt were moſt of them ſuch 'as were formerly agreed in the Marriage between King '*Philip* and Queen *Mary*, conſiſting chiefly in conferring 'Honour upon the Duke, but Power upon the Queen. 'It was alſo agreed, That all Particulars ſhould be rati'fy'd within two Months, by the faithful Promiſe and 'Oath of the *French* King, for him and his Heirs; and a 'Reſervation was alſo added apart, That Queen *Eliza'beth* is not bound to perfect the Marriage 'till ſhe and the 'Duke have given each other Satisfaction in ſome Parti'culars, and have certify'd the *French* King of the ſame 'within ſix Weeks.' Before the ſix Weeks were expir'd, *John Somers*, Clerk of the Council, was ſent into *France*, to require the *French* King's Confirmation: The King would not hear him, but preſs'd to have the Marriage accompliſh'd, as it was contracted. *Somers* on the other ſide, ſhew'd by the Articles, That a League Offenſive and Defenſive muſt firſt be concluded; which being diſclaim'd by the *French* King, *Walſingham* was immediately ſent to compoſe this Difference, who jointly with the Lord *Cobham*, Ambaſſador in ordinary, and *Somers*, alledg'd theſe Particulars to the *French* King: 'That Queen '*Elizabeth* conſented to marry for no other Reaſon, but 'for the Satisfaction of her People, and ſince many Im'pediments were come in the Way ſince the firſt Treaty, 'as the Civil Wars in *France*, and the Duke's Ingagement 'in a War with *Spain*, which now made the wiſeſt of her 'Subjects averſe to the Marriage; it had caus'd her to de'fer the Accompliſhment of it, tho' her Affection was ſtill 'conſtant towards the Duke. For this Cauſe the Queen 'would have no further Treaty to be held, 'till the Duke 'of *Anjou* be freed from the *Spaniſh* War, and a League 'of mutual Offence and Defence be concluded.' The *French* King promis'd willingly to enter into a League of Defence; but would conſent to no Offenſive League, 'till the Marriage was ſolemniz'd.

Alenſon *comes a ſecond Time into* England.

The Match believ'd to be concluded.

Severities againſt Stubbs *and* Page.

Not long after the Duke of *Anjou* himſelf came into *England*, having ſucceſsfully rais'd the Siege of *Cambray*; and was receiv'd with as much Honour and Affection as he could expect, and nothing omitted, by which he might judge himſelf truly welcome. Inſomuch that in *November*, as ſoon as with great Pomp ſhe had celebrated her Coronation-Day, ſhe was ſo far carry'd by the Force of modeſt Love, that in the midſt of Amorous Converſation, ſhe drew her Ring from her Finger, and put it upon his, upon certain Conditions between themſelves. All that were near unanimouſly concluded the Marriage in effect compleated, which variouſly affected the Minds of the Courtiers; ſome were tranſported with Joy, ſome ſeiz'd with Admiration, and others were dejected with Grief. *Leiceſter*, *Hatton* and *Walſingham* violently exclaim'd, as if the Queen, the Kingdom and Religion were all at once ruin'd. The Ladies and Maids of Honour, moſt intimate with her Majeſty, were fill'd with Sighs, and cover'd with Tears; and they ſo terrify'd and diſcourag'd her that ſhe could enjoy no Reſt that Night. The next Day ſhe ſent for the Duke of *Anjou*, and cauſing all Company to depart, ſhe held a long Diſcourſe with him in private. At length he withdrew himſelf to his Chamber, where in a Rage throwing the Ring from him, and taking it again, he with ſome ſevere Scoffs exclaim'd againſt the Levity of Women, and the Inconſtancy of Iſlanders. The Queen was perplex'd with a thouſand Thoughts and Difficulties, ariſing from the Conſequences both of the Marriage, and the *French* King's Alliance; and was much incens'd at a ſevere Book publiſh'd, Entitled, *The Gulph wherein* England *will be ſwallow'd by the* French *Marriage*. Upon which *John Stubs* of *Lincolns-Inn* the Author, *William Page* the Diſperſer, and *Singleton* the Printer of this Book, were apprehended; and Sentence paſs'd againſt them, That their Right Hands ſhould be cut off, by Vertue of a Law made in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, againſt the Authors and Diſperſers of ſeditious Writings. Hereupon *Stubbs* and *Page* were brought to a Scaffold, erected in the Market-Place at *Weſtminſter* where with a terrible Formality they loſt their Right Hands, but the Printer was pardon'd. When *Stubbs* Right Hand was cut off, he immediately uncover'd his Head with the other, and cry'd out *God ſave the Queen!* to the great Amazement of all the Spectators.

The Execution of Campian *and others.*

Next, the Queen, to remove the Fears of many, That Religion would be alter'd, and Popery tolerated, by the importunate Suit of her Council, permitted that *Edmund Campian* formerly mention'd, with two or three more Prieſts, ſhould be arraign'd at the Bar; where being indicted upon the Statute of the twenty fifth of King *Edward* the Third, for plotting the Ruin of the Queen and Kingdom, for adhering to the Pope the Queen's Enemy, and coming into *England* to raiſe Forces againſt the State, they were condemn'd of High-Treaſon; and obſtinately perſiſting to defend the Pope's Authority againſt the Queen, were Executed. For *Campian*, being demanded after Condemnation, Firſt, whether Queen *Elizabeth* was a lawful Queen, refus'd to anſwer; but when ask'd, Whether he would join with the Queen, or the Pope, if he ſhould ſend Forces againſt her, he openly profeſs'd, and teſtify'd under his Hand, That he would join with the Pope. Such were the preſent Times, that the merciful Queen, who always declar'd, *That Mens Conſciences ought not to be forc'd*, often complain'd ſhe was driven by Neceſſity to purſue ſuch Methods, *unleſs ſhe would ſee the Ruin of herſelf and Subjects, upon ſome Mens Pretence of Conſcience and the Catholick Religion.* Suſpicions were alſo daily increas'd by the great Numbers of Prieſts, who were induſtriouſly inſinuating and ſuggeſting, 'That Princes 'Excommunicated by the Pope were to be depos'd, and 'ſuch as profeſs'd not the *Romiſh* Religion had forfeited 'their Regal Authority; That the Biſhop of *Rome* had ſu'pream Authority, and abſolute Power over the World, 'even in Temporal Matters;' with other like Principles, inconſiſtent with the very Being of any independent Kingdom.

A.D. 1582.
Reg. $\frac{24}{25}$.

Alenſon *leaves* England.

He is unſucceſsful.

The Duke of *Anjou*, after three Months Continuance in *England*, began his Journey towards the *Netherlands* in *February*, accompany'd by the Queen herſelf as far as *Canterbury*; who commanded the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Lords *Howard*, *Hunſden*, *Willoughby*, *Windſor* and *Sheffield*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Thomas Ruſſel*, and ſome other eminent Knights, to wait upon him as far as *Antwerp*. And here ended the famous Courtſhip between this Foreign Prince and the *Engliſh* Queen, after it had continu'd with ſeveral Intermiſſions about ten Years. Being arrived at *Antwerp*, he was made Duke of *Brabant*, *Limburg*, *Lorrain*, &c. for the States had long before thrown off the King of *Spain*'s Government, and quitted the People from the Oaths of Allegiance, that it might be in their own Power to chuſe any other Prince. Here the Duke gave free leave to exerciſe the *Romiſh* Religion, to as many as would ſwear Fealty to him, and abjure the King of *Spain*'s Authority; but after all his Endeavours, having expended a mighty Maſs of Mony, which he receiv'd from *England*, and obſerving that only bare and empty Titles were conferr'd upon him, while the States retain'd all the Authority in their own Hands, he raſhly enterpriz'd an Aſſault upon *Antwerp* and ſome other Places, and ſhortly after departed, with almoſt as little Succeſs in War, as he had in Courtſhip.

And now the Queen, to ſtrengthen herſelf abroad againſt the *Spaniard*, receiv'd into the Order of the Garter *Frederick* King of *Denmark*; and to inveſt him with it ſhe ſent over the famous *Peregrine Bertie*, whom ſhe had lately made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby* in *Lincolnſhire*. In *Scotland*, to prevent the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Deſigns in that Kingdom, who was thought to uſe the Favourite Duke of *Le-*

nox's

The King of Scotland *confin'd.*

nox's Aſſiſtance to turn the King of *Scotland*'s Affections from the *Engliſh*; *William Reuthen*, whom the King had lately made Earl of *Gowry*, with others, endeavour'd by all Methods to remove *Lenox* and the Earl of *Arran* from the King. Accordingly, while *Lenox* was perſuaded to go to *Edinburgh* from *Perth*, where at that time the King reſided, and *Arran* was abſent upon a Journey, the Earls *Gowry*, *Marre*, *Lindſey*, and others, taking this Opportunity, invited the King to the Caſtle of *Reuthen*, and there detain'd him againſt his Will, and ſo terrify'd him that he durſt not ſtir abroad. They remov'd all his faithful Servants from him, threw *Arran* into Priſon, enforc'd the King to call home the Earl of *Angus*, and to ſend away *Lenox* into *France*, who being a Man of a ſoft and gentle Diſpoſition, readily conſented to this Hardſhip for the King's Safety. But not ſatisfy'd with all this, they further compell'd the timorous King to approve of this Confinement in his Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, and to declare an Aſſembly of the Eſtates ſummon'd by them to be juſt and legal. Yet they could by no Method induce *Buchanan* to approve of this Fact, who now with great Sorrow repented of many of his former Actions, and ſhortly after dy'd; having been one of the chief Maſters to the young King, of great Abilities, a polite Pen, and an admirable Latiniſt and Poet.

The Queen of the Scots *Complaints.*

A. D. 1583. Reg. 25/26.

In the mean time the moſt unfortunate Queen of *Scotland* daily bewail'd her own hard Fate, and the Diſtreſs of her Son King *James*; and now languiſhing with the Calamities of a long and hopeleſs Impriſonment, ſhe writ a ſolemn pathetick Letter to the Queen of *England*, in which ſhe largely enumerated the various Miſeries of her Life, and among other things declar'd, *That ſhe had harder Treatment than the vileſt Malefactors and Priſoners, who were allow'd their Defence, and had their Accuſers Face to Face. Therefore ſhe conjur'd her by the Croſs and Paſſion of Chriſt our Redeemer, that after ſo long languiſhing in Priſon, her Liberty might be reſtor'd upon reaſonable Conditions, that ſhe might refreſh her decay'd Body, now ſuffering under much Weakneſs, and ſeveral Diſtempers, and wanting common Neceſſaries and Attendants.* At length ſhe concludes in this manner, *Recall your ſelf to your innate Tenderneſs and Lenity, oblige your ſelf to your ſelf, and as you are a Princeſs, ſoften your Spirit, and lay aſide all Diſpleaſure towards me a Princeſs ſo nearly related to you in Blood, and ſo affectionate to you; that theſe Matters being compos'd between us, I may quietly depart this Life, and the Groans and Sighs of my afflicted Soul may not aſcend up to God.* Queen *Elizabeth* was ſtrangely affected with this Letter; and ſent to her *Robert Beal* Clerk of the Council, to expoſtulate with her concerning her querulous Letters, and jointly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to treat of the ſetting her at Liberty, and to aſſociate her with her Son in the Government of *Scotland*. And indeed ſerious Conſultations were held at the Council-Table about this Matter, where moſt were of Opinion, That upon certain Conditions ſhe ſhould have her Liberty; but the *Scotch* of the *Engliſh* Party ſo violently oppos'd it, that nothing of that kind was effected.

The King of Scotland *gains his Liberty.*

Shortly after, King *James* ſent Colonel *William Stuart* and *John Colvill* to Queen *Elizabeth*, offering all manner of Reſpect and Obſervance, and begging her Advice for appeaſing the Commotions in *Scotland*, and alſo for his contracting of Marriage. At which time News was brought, that the Duke of *Lenox* dy'd at *Paris*, and to the laſt Moment of his Life, had made ſolemn Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion; by which he confuted thoſe who had maliciouſly traduc'd him for a Papiſt. After whoſe Death, when thoſe who ſurpris'd the King were elevated with their own Projects, and concluded him ſecure; he, tho' ſcarce eighteen Years of Age, found Means to convey himſelf ſuddenly with a few Followers to the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, to whom the Nobility immediately repair'd, with an arm'd Force, apprehending ſome Danger to his Perſon. Afterwards in civil Terms he adviſ'd ſome of his Surpriſers to retire from the Court, for avoiding of Tumults, and promis'd them their Pardons, upon a full Submiſſion. But only *Gowry* ask'd Pardon, and ſubmitted, but with this Diſtinction, *That he had not offended in Matter, but only in Form*; and then the King ſent for the Earl of *Arran* to the Court, and reſpected him as his beſt Friend, and imploy'd him to compoſe the Differences among the Nobility, and to purge the Kingdom and his own Court from all Civil Diſſenſions.

Walſingham *ſent from Queen* Elizabeth *to give him Advice.*

During this laudable Care of the State, Sir *Francis Walſingham* came from the Queen of *England*, to adviſe him not to be miſ-led by evil Counſellors to the great Danger of both Kingdoms; and he found the King attended with the Flower of his Nobility, and a more promiſing Appearance of Things in *Scotland* than he expected. At his Audience, he reminded the young King of what Queen *Elizabeth* out of *Iſocrates*, in private Letters had formerly admoniſh'd him; *That a Prince ought to be ſuch a Lover of Truth, that more Credit may be given to his Word, than to another's Oath*; and in many Words adviſ'd him now in his Youth to be cautious of evil Counſellors, and to continue always like himſelf. The King readily anſwer'd, *That he was an abſolute Prince, and would not have others to appoint him Counſellors, of whom he did not approve; but however he had long ſince devoted the Firſt-Fruits of his Amity to the Queen of* England *his dear Siſter, and did willingly now make Offer of the ſame. Walſingham* next deſir'd him, 'Not to impute the late Commotions in *Scotland* to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Actions; ſhewing how beneficial to him, and to both Kingdoms, Amity had formerly been, and would ſtill remain, if not neglected; 'and that the ſame might be more effectually confirm'd, if 'the Feuds between the Nobility were laid aſleep by an 'Act of Oblivion in Parliament, and the Peers now remov'd from Court again recall'd, Religion inſpected, 'and a firm League concluded between both Kingdoms.' The King made Anſwer, *That he gladly would embrace Amity with* England, *and that he would conſtantly defend the Religion already eſtabliſh'd.* Afterwards the King lovingly diſmiſs'd this great Man, tho' he accounted him no true Friend to him, or his unfortunate Mother; and carefully viewing his Affairs, with an Underſtanding above his Years, propos'd and proffer'd Reconciliation to thoſe who had ſurpris'd and detain'd him, if within a limited Time they ask'd Pardon; in which they were ſo far from complying, that they enter'd into new Conſultations how to intercept him again. Upon which they were commanded within a ſet Time to leave the Kingdom; whereupon *Marre*, *Glames*, *Paſlet*, and ſome others, betook themſelves to *Ireland*; *Boyde*, *Zeſter*, *Weems* and *Lochlevin*, into the *Netherlands*, and *Dunſermelin* into *France*: The Earl of *Angus* was confin'd to his own Country; and only *Gowry*, forming new Contrivances, after the limited Time, ſtaid behind to his own Ruin.

Several of the Nobility leave Scotland.

The Queen treats with the Muſcovite.

About this time there happen'd a Conteſt, and thereupon a War, between the Emperor of *Muſcovy* and the King of *Sweden*, who apprehending himſelf unable to encounter the powerful Emperor, ſent a Royal Embaſſie to Queen *Elizabeth*, begging her to intercede for him to the Emperor. The Queen immediately undertook the Work, and by her Ambaſſador brought the *Muſcovite* to a Peace upon honourable Conditions. But this Emperor dying ſhortly after, and his Succeſſor *Theodorus* granting a free Trade to Merchants of all Nations into his Country, the Queen importun'd him to admit of none but *Engliſh*, and requir'd him to confirm the Privileges which his Father had granted them. To which by way of Anſwer, he order'd a free Trade for all the *Engliſh* Subjects, ſaying, *It was not fit that a ſmall Company ſhould hold a Monopoly, and all others be excluded:* But as for the Cuſtoms, he promis'd to take leſs by one Moiety of that Company than of any other, becauſe they firſt open'd the Way for Trading into his Country.

The Deaths of ſeveral great Men.

Diſturbances in the Church.

This Year prov'd mortal to ſeveral great Men; for firſt dy'd *Thomas Ratcliff*, Earl of *Suſſex*, a Man of a noble Spirit, and great Fidelity to his Country: Next dy'd *Henry Wriotheſly* Earl of *Southampton*, one extreamly devoted to the *Romiſh* Religion, and a great Favourer of the Queen of *Scotland*, which caus'd both Queen *Elizabeth*'s Diſpleaſure, and his own Impriſonment. There dy'd alſo Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, who was caſt away at Sea, in his Return from the North Parts of *America*, whither he lately ſail'd with five Ships, in hopes of planting a Colony in that Part of the World. Laſtly there dy'd *Edmund Grindall*, who had been near eight Years Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, a grave and pious Prelate, who ſtood highly in the Queen's Favour, till he was wrought out by the Artifices of *Leiceſter*, who hated him for diſallowing a Marriage between *Julio* an *Italian* Phyſician and another Man's Wife, which he had vehemently promoted. He was ſucceeded by Doctor *John Whitgift* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, a very pious and learned Man, who finding that the *Puritans* had made a great Diviſion in the Church, and that the Papiſts highly inſulted upon that Occaſion, and by that means drew many to their Party, this good and active Prelate to remove theſe Differences, and reſtore the Unity of the Church, propos'd three Articles to be ſubſcrib'd by the Miniſters. 'Firſt, That the Queen had Supream Power 'over all Perſons born in her Dominions, and that no 'Foreign Prince or Prelate hath, or ought to have, any 'Power Civil or Eccleſiaſtical within her Dominions. 'Secondly, That the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and that 'of *Ordination*, contain'd nothing contrary to the Word 'of God; and that all ſhould uſe that, and no other Form, 'either of Prayer or Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. 'Thirdly, That they approv'd the Articles of the Synod 'at *London*, publiſh'd in the Year 1562, and believ'd the 'ſame to be conſonant to God's Word.' It is almoſt incredible to believe what Controverſies and Diſputes, what Hatred and Opprobrious Speeches he ſuſtain'd from ſome Factious Miniſters, and what Troubles and Injuries

Whitgift's Management.

Troubles from the Papiſts

he ſuffer'd from ſome Noblemen, who by promoting undeſerving Perſons, caus'd Diſtractions in the Church, or by thirſting after its' Revenues, ſought to divide and deſtroy it. Nevertheleſs by his Conſtancy, Courage and Patience, he overcame all Difficulties, and at length reſtor'd the Church to Peace and Uniformity. At the ſame time, certain Popiſh Books written againſt the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate, withdrew divers from their Allegiance, and ſo intoxicated one *Somervill* a Gentleman, that he went privately to the Court, and breathing out nothing but Deſtruction to the Proteſtants, ſet upon one or two with his drawn Sword, intending, as he confeſs'd, to have murder'd the Queen. Hereupon he, with *Edward Arden* his Father-in-Law, *Arden*'s Wife, their Daughter, *Somervill*'s Wife, and *Hall* a Prieſt, were brought to the Bar, and all condemn'd; *Somervill* as Principal, the reſt as Acceſſary. Three Days after *Somervill* was found ſtrangled in the Priſon; *Arden* was executed and quarter'd, and the Women and Prieſt ſpar'd. The miſerable End of this Gentleman, who was drawn in by the Artifice of the Prieſt, and caſt by his Evidence, was generally imputed to the Malice of *Leiceſter*; becauſe he had often taken the Liberty to call him *Adulterer*, and other Ill Names he had too much deſerv'd.

Sanders's Death.

In *Ireland*, the famous Rebel *Girald Fitz-Girald*, the eleventh Earl of *Deſmond* of this Family, having by long abſconding eſcap'd the *Engliſh*, was now by a common Soldier found in a poor Cottage and ſlain; and his Head was ſent into *England*, and fixt upon *London* Bridge. He poſſeſs'd large Territories, and had of his own Name and Race above five hundred Gentlemen at his Command; who almoſt all loſt their Lives within three Years Space, after they had been excited to Rebellion by certain *Romiſh* Prieſts. Of whom the chief was *Nicolas Sanders* an *Engliſhman*, one of the greateſt Defamers of the Reformation and the preſent Queen, who at the ſame time dy'd of Famine, after a miſerable and unheard-of Manner; being found with a Scrip filled with certain Orations and Letters written to encourage the Rebels with Promiſes of large Rewards from the Pope and King of *Spain*. Upon the Rebels ill Succeſs, the Viſcount *Baltingglaſs* fled into *Spain*, where he miſerably pin'd away with Grief. He out of Zeal to the *Romiſh* Religion had lately taken up Arms with the Rebels; and writing a ſhort Letter to his Neighbour the loyal Earl of *Ormond*, who deriv'd his Deſcent from a Siſter of the famous *Thomas Becket*, he us'd theſe Words to perſuade him, *Had not bleſſed* Thomas *of* Canterbury *dy'd for the Church of* Rome, *thou hadſt never been Earl of* Ormond: For King *Henry* the Second, to expiate the Murther of *Thomas Becket*, had given large Poſſeſſions to his Anceſtors in *Ormond*.

Affairs in Scotland.

Earl Gowry *beheaded.*

In the Beginning of the following Spring, ſeveral of the *Scots*, together with Earl *Gowry*, again plotted to ſeize the King, pretending only a Care for Religion, and to remove Evil Counſellors from his Perſon; but the King having Intelligence of their Deſigns, us'd means by Colonel *Stuart* to have *Gowry* apprehended and impriſon'd. Whereupon *Marre*, *Glames*, *Angus*, and other of the Confederates, late return'd into *Scotland*, fled into *England*, and begg'd of the Queen to commiſerate their Condition, who had incurr'd the King's Diſpleaſure, only for ſerving her and the Kingdom of *England*. On the other ſide King *James* accus'd them to the Queen of heinous Crimes, and requir'd to have them deliver'd into his Hands as Rebels; while ſome about him adviſ'd him to deal favourably with ſuch great Men, alledging, *That Terror and Violence were weak and unſucceſsful Supports of Power*. But Secretary *Walſingham*, who really favour'd theſe Men, ſent Letters with a Command, That they ſhould be ſafely admitted into *Lindisferne*, or the *Holy Iſland*; where *Hunſdon* being Governor, and intirely in the Intereſt of the King of *Scotland*, reſiſted *Walſingham*'s Command, alledging that he could not ſatisfie the Secretary in this Point, unleſs he had the expreſs Commands of the Queen her ſelf. Hereupon there aroſe a Diſpute, whether a Secretary of State might not tranſact Buſineſs of State, without ſpecial Commiſſion from his Prince. It is uncertain how the Caſe was determin'd, but we certainly find that theſe Men never came there, tho' they had ſome Favour ſhewn them in *England*. In the mean time Earl *Gowry* was try'd by his Peers at *Sterling*, where being accus'd of many Acts of Treaſon, tho' he gave plauſible Anſwers to every Particular, yet he was found guilty, condemn'd, and beheaded. He was heard to make the common Regret which many great Men have done on the like Misfortunes, *That if he had ſerv'd God as faithfully as he had done the King, he had not come to that End.*

A.D. 1584. Reg. $\frac{26}{27}$.

New Projects for freeing the Queen of the Scots.

IX. The unfortunate Queen of *Scotland* had now languiſh'd under a tedious Impriſonment of about ſixteen Years, without ſo much as once ſeeing that Queen from whom ſhe had implor'd Protection; all which Miſeries were but the Forerunners of a more diſmal Tragedy, which at this time began terribly to threaten her. For new Projects were now form'd againſt Queen *Elizabeth* in favour of this diſtreſs'd Princeſs, which only ſerv'd to fix and haſten her Ruin; in which *Francis Throgmorton*, eldeſt Son to a Juſtice of Peace in *Cheſhire*, became firſt ſuſpected, by reaſon of ſome intercepted Letters directed to her from him. Upon his Apprehenſion, the Lord *Paget*, and *Charles Arundel* a Courtier, privately fled into *France*, grievouſly complaining againſt *Leiceſter* and *Walſingham*, for alienating the Queen from them, and uſing ſuch profound Artifices, as ſcarce any Man was able to live in Safety. The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Arundel* were confin'd to their Houſes, and the Counteſs of *Arundel* committed to Sir *Thomas Shirby*'s Cuſtody; *William Howard* the Earl's Brother, and *Henry Howard* their Uncle, were examin'd about Letters from the Queen of *Scotland*, and many Stratagems were carry'd on, dangerous to ſome particular Perſons, but thought neceſſary for the Security of the Queen. And certainly now the Malice of the Papiſts broke out more violently againſt her Majeſty than ever before; for in Printed Books they excited the Queen's own Servants to attempt the like upon her, that *Judith* did upon *Holofernes*. The Author of theſe Books could not be found; but the Suſpicion lay chiefly upon one *Gregory Martin*, formerly of *Oxford*; and *Carter* a Bookſeller, who printed them, was executed. And whereas the Papiſts maliciouſly traduc'd the Queen for Cruelty, ſhe, deſirous always to leave a glorious Name behind her, highly blam'd the Commiſſioners againſt the Papiſts, as uſing Severities injurious to her Honour. Inſomuch that they were forc'd to purge themſelves in a printed Declaration, proteſting, 'That they queſtion'd no Man barely for his 'Religion, but only for dangerous Attempts againſt the 'Queen and State; and that *Campian* himſelf was never 'ſo rack'd, but that he was immediately able to walk, 'and ſubſcribe his Confeſſion.' But all this did not give the Queen Satisfaction, and ſhe commanded the Commiſſioners to forbear Tortures, and the Judges other Puniſhments; and not long after, when no leſs than ſeventy Prieſts were taken, and ſome of them condemn'd, and the reſt in the ſame Danger, ſhe caus'd them all to be ſhipp'd off, and ſent out of *England*.

The Queen's Clemency.

Throgmorton's Confeſſion.

His Execution.

At this time *Mendoza*, the turbulent *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, was commanded to leave the Nation, for joining with *Throgmorton* in his Treaſon againſt the Queen: Whereupon Sir *William Wade* was ſent to the King of *Spain* to ſatisfie him how ill *Mendoza* had diſcharg'd the Office of an Ambaſſador in *England*. The King being diſguſted, refus'd him his Preſence, but in a ſlighting manner turn'd him over to his Council; upon which *Wade* with a juſt Indignation boldly affirm'd, *That it was a declar'd Cuſtom among Princes, tho' in the Height of War, to give Audience to all Ambaſſadors*, and return'd into *England* without being heard. The principal Matters charged upon *Mendoza* were learnt from *Throgmorton*'s Confeſſion; for when he was in Danger of being apprehended, he ſent to *Mendoza* a Box of Writings; and when his Cheſts were ſearch'd, there were found two Catalogues, in one the Names of the Ports of *England*, and in the other the Names of the Nobility and Gentry of *England* that favour'd the *Romiſh* Religion. Theſe being produc'd in the Preſence of *Throgmorton*, he declar'd they were Counterfeit, and ſtood firmly upon the very Rack; but being brought a ſecond Time to the Rack, he then confeſs'd all: 'That *Morgan*, by Letters out of *France*, had given 'him Information that the Catholick Princes had deter'min'd to invade *England*, and with the Aſſiſtance of the 'Duke of *Guiſe*, to free the Queen of *Scotland*; and that no'thing was now wanting but Mony and Aids in *England*: 'For the procuring of which, *Charles Paget*, under the 'feign'd Name of *Mope*, was ſent into *Suſſex*, where the 'Duke of *Guiſe* deſign'd to land; and that he had impart'ed all this Matter to *Mendoza*, and intimated the Names 'of the Ports, and the Noblemen that ſhould aſſiſt.' But being arraign'd at the *Guild-Hall*, he deny'd all this again, declaring, *He only made that Confeſſion to prevent being rack'd a ſecond Time.* Yet being condemn'd to die, he flying to the Queen's Mercy, made almoſt the ſame Confeſſion a ſecond Time; and then being brought to the Gallows, he again went about to deſtroy all that he had ſaid. So falſe is a Man's Mind to itſelf, while it is divided between Hopes and Terrors, and lyes under the Burden of ſome heinous Guilt.

New Propoſals by the Queen of the Scots.

The Matter did not end here; for Sir *William Wade* being return'd from *Spain*, was now employ'd to the Queen of *Scotland* concerning the Treaty begun two Years before: To whom the diſtreſs'd Queen ſincerely profeſs'd, 'That ſhe had devoted her Service and her ſelf to the 'Queen of *England*; and made ſolemn Promiſe, that if 'the former Treaty might proceed, ſhe would mediate 'with the King her Son to receive the Earl of *Angus*, and

‘ the other *Scotch* Lords into Favour, and would command the Biſhop of *Roſs* and *Glaſco*, her Agents in *France*, to have no further Concern with the *Engliſh* Fugitives.’ Theſe Things were gladly heard by Queen *Elizabeth*, who thereupon ſent *Beal* to the Queen of *Scotland*, who jointly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* ſhould ſignifie to her, ‘ That if ſhe continu'd in the ſame Thoughts ſhe had deliver'd to *Wade*, Sir *Walter Mildmay* ſhould come immediately to her, and treat concerning her Liberty:’ But withal, ſhe commanded *Mildmay* and *Beal* carefully to ſound her, to diſcover all the Practices that were carrying on by the Duke of *Guiſe*. To what ſhe had ſpoken to Sir *William Wade*, the *Scotch* Queen gave a very cautious Anſwer; but to that concerning the Duke of *Guiſe*, ſhe plainly confeſſed; ‘ That being ſickly herſelf, and weak of Body, ſhe had committed herſelf and her Son to the Protection of the Duke of *Guiſe*, her dear Couſin, of whoſe Deſigns ſhe knew nothing; nor if ſhe did, would ſhe diſcloſe them, unleſs ſhe might be ſure of her own Liberty. Laſtly ſhe requeſted, That being a free and abſolute Prince, ſhe might not be worſe treated, than Queen *Elizabeth* herſelf was when ſhe was a Subject, and detain'd in Priſon by her Siſter.’ Theſe Particulars had a Hearing, but not the expected Effect; and the rather becauſe of a ſtrange Accident: For *Creighton* a *Scotch* Jeſuit, being, as he was ſailing from the *Netherlands*, taken by *Dutch* Pirats, had certain Papers which he tore and threw Over-Board, which by the Wind were blown back into the Veſſel, and brought to Sir *William Wade*, who patching them together with much Labour and Art, diſcover'd by them ſome new Deſigns of the Pope, the King of *Spain* and the *Guiſes*, concerning the Invaſion of *England*. Whereupon, and upon divers other Rumours, the better to provide for the Security of the Queen, a great Number of her Subjects, of all Ranks and Conditions, having the Earl of *Leiceſter* at the Head of them, mutually bound themſelves to each other by their Oaths and Subſcriptions, to perſecute all ſuch to Death, who ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Queen: Which League of theirs they call'd *The Aſſociation*.

They are ineffectual.

An Aſſociation.

This was a new Blow to the Queen of *Scotland*, who immediately apprehended that this Aſſociation aim'd at her Deſtruction; therefore by her Secretary *Narve*, ſhe propoſed to the Queen and Council; ‘ That if ſhe might have her Liberty granted, and be aſſur'd of the Queen's Love, ſhe would comply in all Things, and enter into a ſtrict League and Amity with her; and paſſing by all Matters of Diſpleaſure, eſteem and honour her above all the Princes of the Chriſtian World: And, ſaving the ancient League between *France* and *Scotland*, ſhe her ſelf would be comprehended in the *Aſſociation*, and a League Defenſive, againſt all who ſhould endeavour to injure the Queen.’ Queen *Elizabeth* was highly pleas'd with this Submiſſion, and in all Probability did fully deſign to give her her Liberty; but was prevented by the Clamours of ſome in *England*, and a far greater Number in *Scotland*, who exclaim'd, *That Queen* Elizabeth *could be no longer in Safety, if Queen* Mary *was at Liberty: That both Kingdoms were intirely ruin'd, if ſhe was allow'd any Share in the Government of* Scotland; *and that the Reform'd Religion lay a bleeding, if Papiſts were admitted within the Court Walls.* Nor was this all; for the *Scotch* Miniſters in their Pulpits loaded their Queen with all manner of Calumnies, and moſt rudely ſlander'd the King himſelf, and his Council. And being cited to appear before him, they refus'd, declaring, *That the Pulpits were exempt from all Regal Authority, and that Eccleſiaſtical Perſons were not to be cenſur'd by the Prince, but by their own Conſiſtory.* Which was directly contrary to the Laws made this Year in the *Scotch* Parliament, ‘ By which the King's Authority over all Perſons, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, was confirm'd; That the King and Council were Supream Judges in all Cauſes, and whoever refus'd to be try'd by them ſhould be guilty of High-Treaſon: All Presbyterian and Lay-Conventicles were forbidden, Parity of Clergy remov'd, and the Authority of Biſhops reſtor'd, whoſe Function the Presbyteries had condemn'd as *Wicked* and *Antichriſtian:* And laſtly all Scurrilous Libels againſt the King or his Mother were prohibited, of which ſome were nam'd in the Act.

The Queen of the Scots *ſubmits.*

But all in vain.

The Queen of the Scots *remov'd.*

At this Time, upon the various Suggeſtions of her Adverſaries, the *Scotch* Queen was taken from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who had faithfully kept her for fifteen Years, and committed to the Cuſtody of Sir *Amias Powlet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*; and that purpoſely, as ſome were perſuaded, to drive her into Snares and deſperate Attempts. This gave her new Terrors, and now ſhe became more importunate with the Pope and the King of *Spain*, to haſten their Deſigns, whatever Miſchiefs befel her; which were like to be great indeed, if what ſome ſay be true, that *Leiceſter* ſent ſome Aſſaſſinates to murther her, but *Drury* deteſting the Villany, would not grant them Acceſs. And now intirely to alienate Queen *Elizabeth* from her, it was ſtrongly infus'd into her, ‘ That *Allen* for the Catholicks of the Clergy, *Ingleſield* for the Laity, and the Biſhop of *Roſs* for the Queen of *Scotland*, with the Approbation of the Pope and King of *Spain*, had mutually conſpir'd to depoſe her, and to bar the King of *Scotland* from his Hereditary Right of *England*, and to marry the Queen of the *Scots* to an *Engliſh* Nobleman of the *Romiſh* Religion, whom the *Engliſh* Catholicks ſhould chuſe King of *England*, and the Pope confirm the Election.’ All this was believ'd upon the Credit of *Hart* a Prieſt; but who was the *Engliſh* Nobleman, the ſubtle *Walſingham* inquir'd with all imaginable Diligence, but could never diſcover it. But the Suſpicion fell upon *Henry Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Brother, who was unmarry'd, and in great Eſteem among the *Romaniſts*.

New Fears concerning her.

In this Year the Traiterous Earl of *Weſtmorland* ended his Life obſcurely in a miſerable Exile, being the laſt of his Family, which had formerly been fruitful in Nobility. In *England* dy'd *Edmund Plowden*, the famous common Lawyer: In *France*, dy'd the Duke of *Anjou*, of a Sickneſs contracted by Grief and Uneaſineſs; and in *Holland* dy'd *William* Prince of *Orange*, being treacherouſly ſhot with three Bullets by *Balthazar* a *Burgundian*.

A. D. 1585.
Reg. $\frac{27}{28}$.

The Sixth Parliament in this Reign.

In the midſt of theſe buſie Times a new Parliament was call'd, which firſt met on the twenty-third Day of *November* 1584, and continu'd ſitting for about three Months at two ſeveral Meetings, between which was one Adjournment of about forty Days ſpace. In this Parliament, when a Bill was read againſt the Jeſuits in the Houſe of Commons, *William Parry* a *Welſhman*, and Doctor of the Law, ſingly ſtood up, and exclaim'd againſt it as a cruel and bloody Law; and his Reaſons being demanded, he ſtoutly refus'd, unleſs requir'd by the Lords of the Council. Upon which he was committed to the *Gate-Houſe*; but upon his Submiſſion he was again receiv'd into the Houſe. Shortly after, he was accus'd by *Edward Nevil*, for holding ſecret Conſultations about deſtroying the Queen, which at firſt he confidently deny'd, but being confronted by *Nevil*, and ſent to the *Tower*, he voluntarily confeſs'd, That the reading of *Allen*'s Book *againſt the Juſtice of* Britain, in which he taught Princes Excommunicate for Hereſie might be depriv'd of Life, had put him upon the Attempt: And tho' he had often Opportunities to effect it, yet the bright Majeſty of the Queen's Preſence quite aw'd and diſarm'd him. He likewiſe in his Letters to the Queen, the Lord *Burleigh* and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, acknowledg'd his Crime, and crav'd Mercy. A few Days after he was called to the Bar at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where he confeſs'd himſelf guilty, and receiv'd Sentence of Condemnation; upon which Sentence he cry'd out, *My Blood be amongſt you*, and in a Fury cited the Queen to the Judgment-Seat of Heaven. Five Days after he was plac'd upon a Hurdle, and drawn through the City to *Weſtminſter*, where at the Gallows he made a vain boaſting of his Fidelity to the Queen, but not ſo much as in one Word commended himſelf to God; and in the great Palace-Yard at *Weſtminſter* was executed as a Traitor.

Parry's *Tryal and Execution.*

In this Parliament great Attempts were made by ſome to reſtrain the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, and diminiſh Eccleſiaſtical Power; but the Queen utterly rejected ſuch Projects, as tending to the weakning of the eſtabliſh'd Church, and the Supream Authority granted her in Eccleſiaſtical Matters. The *Aſſociation* formerly mention'd was univerſally approv'd, and Enacted in this Form; ‘ That twenty four, or more of the Queen's Privy-Council, and Peers of the Realm, ſhould be ſelected and authoriz'd under the great Seal of *England*, *To make Enquiry of all ſuch Perſons as ſhall attempt to invade the Kingdom, or raiſe Rebellion, or ſhall attempt any Evil againſt the Queen's Perſon, for whomſoever, and by whomſoever that lays Claim to the Crown of* England; *and that Perſon for whom, or by whom they ſhall attempt any ſuch Thing, ſhall be altogether incapable of the Crown, proſecuted to Death*, &c.’ For the Security of the Queen's Majeſty, new Laws were alſo made againſt Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts, who ſhould ground any Deſigns upon the Bull of Pope *Pius Quintus:* In which ſome Caſes were made Treaſon, others Felony, and others a *Premunire*. Many other Laws being paſs'd, and Aids granted, the Queen with an obliging Speech, in which ſhe vindicated the Clergy of the Church of *England*, prorogu'd the Parliament upon the twenty ninth of *March*, and diſſolv'd it the following Year.

The Aſſociation *confirm'd.*

The Laws againſt the *Roman* Catholicks prov'd a great Mortification to their Party, and had ſuch Effect upon *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s eldeſt Son, whom the Queen had reſtor'd to Blood, that he reſolv'd to travel into Foreign Countries: For having been once or twice cited before the Lords of the Council, and confin'd to his Houſe, after Six Months Liberty, he wrote a Letter to the Queen, ‘ Recounting the fatal Misfortunes of his Great-Grand-Father, Grand-Father, and Father, and declaring, That for the Service of God, and his

Arundel *ſent to the* Tower.

Northumberland *ſhot.*

'Soul's Health, he deſign'd to leave his Country, but not 'his Loyal Affections towards her Majeſty.' But as he was taking Shipping, by the Treachery of his own Servants he was diſcover'd, apprehended, and committed to the *Tower*. In which fatal Place lay the Earl of *Northumberland*, Brother to him who ſuffer'd at *York*, a Man of great Vivacity and Bravery, who was made a Priſoner for his ſecret Contrivances with *Throgmorton*, the Lord *Paget* and the *Guiſes* for invading *England*, and freeing the Queen of *Scotland*. Not long after, in the Month of *June*, he was found dead in his Bed, ſhot into the Body with three Bullets, in his right Breaſt, and the Door ſecur'd on his Side. The Coroner's Inqueſt declar'd, he had murther'd himſelf; and three Days after, the Lords meeting in the Star-Chamber, *Bromley*, Lord-Chancellor, declar'd this Fact of the Earl's, and then commanded the Attorney-General to publiſh the Cauſe of his Impriſonment, and the Manner of his Death. Whereupon, *Popham* firſt, and then *Egerton* the Queen's Sollicitor, in long Orations lay'd open all his Treaſons, and how for fear of his Family, he had laid violent Hands upon himſelf.

The Queen's Alliances.

And now the Queen knowing that the Seeds of theſe Treaſons proceeded from abroad, ſhe ſought to ſtrengthen her ſelf by Foreign Alliances: And firſt to oblige the *French* King, whom the Year before ſhe had choſen into the Order of the *Garter*, ſhe ſent the Earl of *Derby* into *France* to inveſt him with the Robes and Ornaments, with great Pomp and Solemnity. And then underſtanding that the *Guiſes* had engag'd in a dangerous League againſt the Proteſtant Religion, the *French* King and her ſelf, ſhe reſolv'd to enter into another with the Princes of *Germany:* And to this Purpoſe ſhe ſent Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the King of *Denmark*, to the Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, to the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Wittenberg*, *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburgh*, to the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, and the Landgrave of *Heſſe*; and into *Scotland*, ſhe ſent Sir *Edward Wotton*, to let the King underſtand how ſincerely ſhe ſtood affected to him, and withal to perſuade him into a League of mutual Defence and Offence, and to recommend to him the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter in Marriage. The King was very inclinable to the Subſtance of the League, but at preſent the Negotiation was interrupted by the Death of *Francis Ruſſel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, ſlain at a Meeting appointed to compoſe a Difference between the Borderers, by a ſudden Tumult of the *Scots*, but the Author of the Fact was unknown. The *Engliſh* charg'd it upon the Earl of *Arran*, and the Lord *Ferniburſt* Governor of the Middle-Borders. Whereupon at the Queen's Complaint, the Earl of *Arran* was confin'd, and *Ferniburſt* committed to Priſon at *Dundee*, where he dy'd; being a Man of great Valour and Reſolution, and one who was always firm to the Intereſt of the Queen of *Scotland*.

The Affairs in Scotland.

A great Change in that Kingdom.

But Queen *Elizabeth* not thus ſatisfy'd, by way of Contrivance gave leave to the *Scotch* Lords, the *Hamiltons*, *Angus*, *Marre*, *Glames*, and other Exiles in *England*, to return ſecretly into *Scotland*, ſupplying them with Mony to ſuppreſs the Earl of *Arran*. For *Maxwell*, lately made Earl of *Bothwell*, Baron *Humes*, and others in *Scotland*, had already promis'd them their Aſſiſtance, even in the very Court; where by *Wotton*'s Policy, Sir *Patrick Gray*, *Belenden* the Juſtice-Clerk, and *Maitland* the Secretary, were perſuaded to join againſt *Arran*. The Exile Lords, upon their firſt Entry into *Scotland*, commanded all Perſons in the King's Name, to aid them for Conſervation of the Truth of the Goſpel, for freeing the King from corrupt Counſellors, and for maintaining of Amity with the *Engliſh*; ſo that they were ſoon join'd with about eight thouſand Men. The Earl of *Arran* hearing this, haſten'd to the King, and accus'd *Patrick Gray* as Author of this Commotion; but while *Arran* was making Proviſion for the Defence of the Town, his Enemies were ready to ſcale the Walls: Upon which *Arran* being inform'd, that they only aim'd at his Head, he ſecretly fled with one Servant, and the reſt retir'd to the King in the Caſtle; from whence the King ſent *Gray*, to demand the Reaſon of their Coming; they anſwer'd, *To ſubmit themſelves, and moſt humbly to kiſs the King's Hand.* The King offer'd Reſtitution of all their Poſſeſſions, if they return'd in Peace; but they deſir'd to be admitted into his Preſence, which was granted upon theſe Conditions: 'That they 'ſhould not attempt any Thing againſt the King's Perſon, 'or thoſe he ſhould nominate, nor make any Innovations 'in the Government.' They proteſted themſelves *ready to ſacrifice their Lives for the King's Safety; and of any Innovations, they had not ſo much as a Thought; only they requeſted to have their Adverſaries, and the Forts of the Kingdom, put into their Hands.* After a Day's Conſultation, they were admitted into the King's Preſence; and immediately the Earls of *Montroſs*, *Crawford* and *Rothes*, Colonel *Stuart*, *Downs*, *Arran*'s Brother, and others were deliver'd into their Hands: The Earl of *Arran*, who had fled into the Weſtern Iſlands, was call'd home; and themſelves were pardon'd, and pronounc'd good Subjects. *Hamilton* was made Governor of *Dunbritton*, *Humes* of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, *Angus* of the Caſtle of *Tontallon*, *Marre* of *Stirlin*, and *Glames* Captain of the King's Guard. Upon this all Proſcriptions and Outlawries againſt all Perſons ſince the King's Inauguration, except ſome few by Name, were call'd in; and with an unanimous Conſent of all Parties, the Treaty of a League with the Queen of *England* was determin'd, and Commiſſioners nominated for that Purpoſe.

A great Commotion in Ireland.

Happily ended.

In *Ireland* likewiſe was a great Commotion this Year; firſt the *Burks*, provok'd by the ſevere Government of *Richard Bingham* Governor of *Connaught*, rais'd a Rebellion; but this was ſoon ſuppreſs'd, for *Thomas Burk* dy'd fighting, and his two Brothers were taken and executed. After this the *Clan-Gibbons*, the *Clan-Donels*, and the *Joyes*, combin'd in great Numbers, and openly declar'd, That they would have one of the *Burks* to rule over them, or ſome other Lord out of *Spain*, and thereupon harraſs'd all the Country with Fire and Sword: And neither by the Perſuaſions of the Arch-Biſhop of *Tuam*, nor by the Intreaties of the Earl of *Clan-Richard*, would they be appeas'd, 'till *John Bingham*, the Governor's Brother, follow'd them into the Woods, drove away five thouſand Head of their Caſtle, ſo that after forty Days, half ſtarv'd, they came forth and ſubmitted themſelves. But the Diſturbances did not end here; for now the Governor underſtood, That two thouſand *Scotch* Iſlanders were landed, and ready to break into *Connaught*; upon which he gather'd his Men to give them Battel: But they flying into Bogs and Woods, he retreated with all the Signs of Fear, 'till drawing them out into firm Ground, he with his whole Force ſet upon their increas'd Body, and kill'd to the Number of three thouſand Men; among whom were the two Sons of *James Mac-Conel*, who had long diſturb'd theſe Parts, and the reſt of the *Burks* who were the Authors of this Rebellion. This was a famous Victory, for the Good of the preſent and future Times; for by this the Name of the *Mac-Williams*, or principal Lord in *Connaught* was utterly extinct, and the inſolent Attempts of the *Scotch* Iſlanders abſolutely ſuppreſs'd.

The States of Holland *fly for Succour to the Queen.*

She takes them into her Protection.

In the *Netherlands* at this Time the Confederate States were under great Difficulties; ſo that they held a ſolemn Conſultation, whether to fly for Protection, to the *French* King, or the Queen of *England*. The *French* Ambaſſador ſhew'd many Advantages, and gave many Reaſons, why they ſhould rather fly to the *French* King; the *Engliſh* on the other Side urg'd as many Arguments why they ſhould addreſs themſelves to the Queen of *England:* But in Concluſion, they had firſt Recourſe to the King of *France*, and afterwards being neglected by him, to the Queen of *England*. Therefore in *England* it was nicely conſulted and debated, Whether it was convenient to protect them; in which the Council was divided: Some were of Opinion, 'That it was neceſſary to relieve them, for that the '*Spaniard* by conquering them, would greatly indanger 'the Kingdom of *England:* Others again thought, That 'they were to be accounted no better than Rebels to their 'lawful Sovereign, and therefore unworthy of Aſſiſtance.' So that after a long Debate upon the Matter, the Queen refus'd them her Protection; Yet nevertheleſs to raiſe the Siege of *Antwerp*, then inveſted by the Prince of *Parma*, ſhe was willing to ſupply them with four thouſand Soldiers, provided the Town of *Sluce*, with all the Ordnance, were given into her Hands: But while this was diſcuſſing, the City of *Antwerp* was forc'd to ſurrender to the *Spaniard*. This gave new Concern to the generous Queen, who more ſeriouſly conſidering the Conſequences, partly as fearing the Growth of the King of *Spain*'s Power, and partly in Commiſeration of the diſtreſs'd Condition of the Proteſtants, ſhe at laſt reſolv'd to undertake their Protection, 'and to ſupply them with five thouſand Foot, 'and a thouſand Horſe under a ſufficient General, and to 'pay them during the War: Upon Condition on their 'Side, that by way of Pledge and Security for Repayment of all Charges, they ſhould deliver into her Poſſeſſion the Town of *Fluſhing*, and the Caſtle of *Ramekins*, and the Iſle of *Brill*, with the City and two Forts.' All which was concluded; and the Queen ſet forth a large Declaration to juſtify her Actions. Thus the Heroick Queen openly undertook the Protection of the *Netherlands*, while all the Princes of Chriſtendom admir'd at ſuch Female Fortitude, which durſt provoke ſo puiſſant a Monarch: Inſomuch the King of *Sweden* ſaid, *That Queen* Elizabeth *had now taken the Crown from her Head, and adventur'd it upon the doubtful Chance of War.*

The wiſe Queen knowing how much ſhe had incens'd the King of *Spain*, judg'd it beſt to turn his Anger to diſtant Regions; and thereupon ſent out Sir *Francis Drake* and *Chriſtopher Carliſle*, with a Fleet of twenty one Sail towards the *Weſt-Indies*, in which were two thouſand

Expedition againſt the Spaniſh-Indies.

Volunteers and Mariners. Theſe firſt ſurpris'd the Town of St. *Jago*, afterwards St. *Domingo*, where twenty five thouſand Crowns were given them to ſpare the Town from burning; and after that *Cartagena*, which they held ſeven Weeks, 'till the *Spaniards* redeem'd it for a hundred and ten thouſand Crowns. After this the *Calenture* growing hot, and diminiſhing their Forces, they return'd towards *England*, paſſing by *Virginia*, a Colony that Sir *Walter Raleigh* had there planted, from whence *Drake* brought home with him *Ralph Lane*, who was the firſt that brought *Tobacco* into *England*, which the *Indians* took againſt Crudities in the Stomach. In this Expedition were loſt about ſeven hundred Men, who chiefly dy'd of *Calentures*; and their Booty amounted to threeſcore thouſand Pounds Sterling, beſides two hundred and forty great Braſs and Iron Pieces of Cannon. Theſe Things were tranſacted under the *Torrid Zone* in *America*; when at the ſame Time Captain *Davis* with two Ships, at the Expence of *William Sanderſon* and other Citizens of *London*, found out a Way to the *Eaſt-Indies*, by the Northern Parts of *America*, under the *Frigid Zone*.

The Earl of Leiceſter *made General in the* Netherlands.

A. D. 1586. Reg. $\frac{28}{29}$.

His great Ambition.

During theſe Maritime Adventures, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, fir'd with Ambition of Command and Glory, and fearing his many Enemies at home, obtain'd Liberty of the Queen to go over into *Holland* with the Title of *General of the Queen of* England'*s Auxiliary Forces.* He was accompany'd with the young Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lords *Audley* and *North*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Arthur Baſſet*, Sir *Walter Waller*, and Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, beſides five hundred Gentlemen. Landing at *Fluſhing*, he was firſt entertain'd by his Nephew Sir *Philip Sidney* the Governor, and after that by the Towns of *Zealand* and *Holland*, after a moſt magnificent Manner: And coming to the *Hague* in *January*, the States by Patent committed to him the Command and abſolute Authority over the United Provinces, with the pompous Titles of *Governor and Captain-General of* Holland, Zealand, *and the Confederate Provinces.* So that now being attended with a noble Guard, call'd by all Men *Your Excellency*, ſooth'd with Flatteries, and ſeated in the higheſt Degree of Honour, he begun ambitiouſly to aſſume the Port and Behaviour of a real King. But Queen *Elizabeth*, who knew how to check the Exorbitancies of her greateſt Favourites, to allay his Aſpirings, poſitively wrote to him, 'That ſhe 'admir'd how a Man, whom ſhe had rais'd out of the 'Duſt, ſhould ſo contemptuouſly violate her Commands;' and therefore charg'd him upon his Allegiance, 'ſtrictly to 'obſerve the Injunctions ſhe ſent him by *Heneage* her 'Vice-Chamberlain.' In the other Letters ſhe expoſtulated with the States, 'That to her great Diſhonour, they 'had thrown upon the Earl of *Leiceſter*, her Subject, the 'abſolute Command over the United Provinces, without her Privity, when ſhe had refus'd it herſelf;' and therefore directed them 'To diveſt him of that abſolute Authority, to whom ſhe had ſet ſuch Bounds, as 'he ſhould not paſs.' The States return'd Anſwer, 'That 'they were heartily ſorry they ſhould incur her Diſpleaſure, by conferring ſuch Authority upon the Earl, without her Knowledge, but begg'd her to conſider the Neceſſity of it; ſince to avoid Confuſion, that Authority 'muſt be thrown upon ſome Perſon: Nor was there any 'thing ſhocking in the Word *Abſolute*, ſince the Power 'and Government ſtill reſted upon the People.' By theſe Letters, and *Leiceſter*'s artificial Submiſſion, the Queen was gradually appeas'd.

His Actions in the Netherlands.

The Death and Character of Sir Philip Sidney.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* all this time receiv'd Contributions and Rewards from all Provinces, and made Martial Laws; and endeavouring likewiſe to raiſe new Cuſtoms upon Merchandize, he incurr'd great Diſlike among the common People. His firſt Service was to relieve *Grave*, a Town in *Brabant*, which Count *Mansfield* had beſieg'd; to which Place he ſent Count *Hohenlo* a *German*, and *Norris* General of the *Engliſh* Foot, but notwithſtanding all their good Service, the Town at length was taken; but *Hemart* the Governor, for his cowardly Submiſſion, loſt his Head. After this, the Prince of *Parma* march'd into *Gelderland*, and ſat down before *Venlo*; where *Skenk* a *Freeſlander*, and *Roger Williams* a *Welſhman* perform'd a great Exploit; yet that Town was alſo taken ſhortly after. But in the mean time, the Lord *Willoughby*, Governor of *Bergen-op-Zome*, cut off the Enemies Convoys, and ſeiz'd their Proviſions; and Sir *Philip Sidney*, and *Maurice* Son to the Prince of *Orange*, upon a ſudden Attack bravely took *Axel*, a Town in *Flanders*. From *Venlo*, the valiant Prince of *Parma* march'd to *Berke*, garriſon'd by twelve hundred *Engliſh*, under the Command of Colonel *Morgan*, and laid Siege to the Place, which the Earl of *Leiceſter* came to raiſe; but finding his Numbers too ſmall for the Attempt, by way of Diverſion he inveſted *Duisburgh*, which he took before the Prince of *Parma* could come to relieve it. And now the Prince of *Parma*, fearing leſt *Zutphen* ſhould be in Danger, commanded Proviſions to be ſent thither, which the *Spaniards* carrying in a Fog, the *Engliſh* by chance met them, defeated a Troop of their Horſe, ſlew *Hannibal Gonzaga*, and ſeveral others. But in this Skirmiſh they loſt the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, Sir *Philip Sidney*, who having his Horſe ſlain under him, and mounting another, was ſhot into the Thigh, and after twenty five Days Torture he dy'd in the Flower of his Age, uſing theſe laſt Words to his Attendants, *Govern your Will and Affection by the Will and Word of your Creator*; *in me behold the End of this World and all its Vanities.* He had all the admirable Qualifications and Accompliſhments, that could belong to a Man, a Soldier, a Schollar, a Gentleman and a Chriſtian: His Obſequies were magnificently ſolemniz'd at St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, *James* King of *Scotland* made his *Epitaph*, and both the Univerſities diſplay'd the utmoſt of their Wit and Parts in celebrating his Memory.

Complaints againſt Leiceſter.

He returns into England.

After this the Earl of *Leiceſter*, full of Sorrow for his Nephew's Loſs, attack'd the Sconces near *Zutphen*, where ſetting upon a Fort he took it after a peculiar manner: For one *Edward Stanley*, catching hold of a *Spaniard*'s Launce with which he had charg'd him, held it ſo faſt, that he was drawn up by that into the Fort; which ſo terrify'd the *Spaniards*, that immediately they quitted it. The Earl knighted *Stanley* for this Act, gave him forty Pounds in preſent Mony, and an annual Penſion of a hundred Marks during Life. And now the Seaſon being far advanc'd, *Leiceſter* would not lay a formal Siege to the Place, but thought it ſufficiently block'd up by the Garriſons in the Towns ſurrounding it. Therefore he return'd to the *Hague*, where the States receiv'd him with great Complaints, 'That their Mony was not carefully ma'nag'd, that the Numbers of the *Engliſh* Supplies were 'not compleat, that Foreign Soldiers were levy'd without 'their Conſent, that the Privileges of the United Pro'vinces were diſregarded, and new Projects for Contri'butions invented; for all which Miſchiefs, they requeſt'ed him to provide ſome preſent Remedy.' And now deſigning for *England*, he gave a friendly Anſwer to theſe Complaints; but upon the very Day of his Departure, he firſt intruſted the Government of the Provinces to the Council of State, and at the very ſame Inſtant privately made another Act of Reſtriction, reſerving to himſelf the whole Authority over the Governors of Provinces, Cities and Forts; and beſides took away the uſual Juriſdiction from the Council of the States, and Preſident of the Provinces; and then ſail'd over into *England* upon the third Day of *December*.

Arundel *fin'd in the Star-Chamber.*

A League between England *and* Scotland.

At home the active Queen was very careful for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion; and ſhe caus'd the Earl of *Arundel*, who had been in Priſon a whole Year, to be brought to the *Star-Chamber*, where being charg'd with harbouring of Prieſts, correſponding with *Allen* and *Parſons* the Jeſuit, and offering to leave the Kingdom without Licence, he was fin'd ten thouſand Pounds, and condemn'd to Impriſonment during the Queen's Pleaſure. At the ſame Time the Queen ſupply'd the King of *Navarre* with a large Sum of Mony; through whoſe Side the *Guiſes* endeavour'd to wound the Reform'd Religion in *Scotland*. But her moſt intentive Care was how to unite *England* and *Scotland* in one intire Friendſhip: To which End ſhe ſent *Thomas Randolph* into *Scotland*, who making Propoſals to the King, concerning a League Offenſive and Defenſive, tho' the King at firſt requir'd ſome Additions, and the *French* Ambaſſador violently oppos'd the whole, yet at laſt he conſented to it. And in *July* following, there met at *Berwick*, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *William* Lord *Ewer*, and *Thomas Randolph* for the Queen of *England*; and *Francis* Earl of *Bothwell*, *Robert* Lord *Boyde*, and *Humes* for the King of *Scotland*. Here the *Scotch* miſliking the Word *Offenſive*, the League was concluded under the Name of *The League of ſtrict Amity*, containing ſeveral Articles; Firſt for the maintaining of the Reform'd Religion, and then other ſuch Articles, as were uſual in the moſt friendly Alliances.

A. D. 1586. Reg. 29.

X. We have hitherto ſeen the Queen of *Scotland* languiſhing under the Miſeries of eighteen Years myſterious Confinement; but now, when all Things ſeem'd in a peaceable Condition, a new Accident occurr'd, which brought this unfortunate Queen to the laſt Act of her fatal Tragedy; and this was the Diſcovery of a dangerous Conſpiracy againſt the Queen and Nation. The Beginning was from one *John Savage*, who by the Perſuaſion of *Gifford*, a Doctor of Divinity, and others, was induc'd to believe, That it was a meritorious Work to take away the Lives of Princes Excommunicate, and thereupon vow'd to kill Queen *Elizabeth.* But to throw the Queen and Council into a State of Security, at the ſame Time they wrote a Book exhorting the Papiſts in *England* to attempt nothing againſt their Prince, and to uſe only the Chriſtian Weapons of Tears, Prayers, Watching and Faſting.

Babington's *Conſpiracy.*

His Aſſociates.

The Proceedings.

About *Whitſontide*, one *Ballard* a Seminary Prieſt of *Rheims*, being acquainted with *Savage*'s Vow, having treated in *France* with *Mendoza* and *Charles Paget*, about invading *England*, came over in the Habit of a Soldier, and was by a feign'd Name call'd Captain *Foſcu*. Here he diſcover'd the whole Deſign to one *Anthony Babington*, a hopeful young Gentleman of *Darbyſhire*, who by the Biſhop of *Glaſco*, the *Scotch* Queen's Ambaſſador in *France*, had been recommended to her, as one worthy of her Affection; ſo that between that Queen and him, there often paſs'd Letters in unknown Characters. In a ſhort Time, *Babington* by his Management had drawn into the Plot ſeveral other Gentlemen, zealous for the *Romiſh* Religion; as *Edward Windſor* Brother to the Lord *Windſor*, *Thomas Saliſbury* of a good Family in *Devonſhire*, *Charles Tilney* one of the Queen's Penſioners, *Chydiock Tichburn* of *Hampſhire*, *Edward Abington* Son to the Queen's Cofferer, *Robert Gage* of *Surry*, *John Travers* and *John Charnock* of *Lancaſhire*; *John Jones*, *Barnwel* of a noble Family in *Ireland*, *Henry Dunne* Clerk in the Firſt-Fruit Office, and *Savage* formerly mention'd. One *Pollie* alſo inſinuated himſelf into their Company, a Man throughly acquainted with the Affairs of the *Scotch* Queen, who was thought daily to reveal all their Conſultations to *Walſingham*. To theſe Gentlemen *Babington* communicated his Affairs, but not all the Particulars to every one; to *Ballard*, *Tichburn* and *Dunne*, he ſhew'd the Letters that paſs'd between him and the Queen of *Scotland*; *Tilney* and the reſt were to be his Aſſiſtants. The Conſpirators often met at Taverns, where they every Day conſulted Expedients, and drunk and feaſted highly, pleaſing themſelves with the Expectations of great Honours, and were arriv'd to ſuch an extream Vanity, that the Men appointed to be the Aſſaſſins were pictur'd to the Life, and *Babington* in the midſt of them, with theſe Words, *Quorſum hæc alio properantibus.* This Picture was ſaid to be privately ſhewn to the Queen, who knew none of their Faces but *Barnwell*'s, who had been often in Court. It happen'd when the Queen was once walking abroad, ſhe eſpy'd this *Barnwell*, and turning to *Hatton*, Captain of the Guard, ſaid, *Am not I well guarded, that have not a Man in my Company that wears a Sword*? Thus much *Barnwell* himſelf told the reſt of the Company, and ſhew'd how eaſie it had been to have diſpatch'd her if the reſt had been preſent.

The Plot diſcover'd.

Walſingham's *rare Management.*

This Plot did not continue long undiſcover'd, which was firſt done by the fore-mention'd Doctor *Gifford*. This Perſon was a Gentleman of a good Family at *Chellington* in *Staffordſhire*, not far from *Chartley*, where the *Scotch* Queen was now kept Priſoner; and was lately ſent by the *Engliſh* Fugitives into *France*, under the feign'd Name of *Luſon*, to remind *Savage* of the Vow he had made, and to convey Letters between them and the Queen of *Scotland*. But being now troubled in Conſcience, corrupted with Mony, or terrify'd with Fear, he went privately to *Walſingham*, diſcover'd who he was, for what End, and by whom he was ſent into *England*. The ſubtle *Walſingham* entertain'd him very courteouſly, and ſent him into *Staffordſhire*, to perform the Work he had undertaken: Here *Gifford* with a few Pieces of Gold bribing the Brewer of the Houſe, where the *Scotch* Queen was lodg'd, ſo projected the Matter with him, that by a Hole in the Wall, uſually fill'd up with a looſe Stone, he ſhould give in and receive out Letters; all which by Meſſengers purpoſely laid in the Way came directly to *Walſingham*'s Hands, who broke them open, and copy'd them out; by the ſingular Skill of one *Thomas Philips* diſcover'd the Meaning of the private Characters, and by the nice Art of *Arthur Gregory* ſo curiouſly ſeal'd them, that no Man could imagine them to have been open'd, and always ſent them to the Parties to whom they were ſuperſcrib'd. In the like manner were the former Letters from the Queen of the *Scots* to *Babington* intercepted; as alſo other Letters written at the ſame Time to *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, *Charles Paget*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, *Francis Engleſield*, and others.

Babington and the reſt are taken.

As ſoon as the Queen by theſe Letters underſtood what a dreadful Storm hung over her Head, both at home and abroad, ſhe commanded *Ballard* firſt to be apprehended, who was ſuddenly taken in *Babington*'s Houſe, when he was ready for *France*. Hereupon *Babington* became toſs'd with a thouſand Uncertainties of an unreſolv'd Mind, and at laſt repair'd to *Walſingham*, with whom he had long been a Suitor, for a Licence to go into *France*, promiſing to perform great Services in diſcovering the Practices of the Fugitives. *Walſingham* with ſubtle Promiſes drove the young Gentleman off from Day to Day; and at length perſuaded him to lodge at his own Houſe at *London* for a ſmall Space 'till he could get his Licence ſeal'd, where they might have ſecret Intercourſe without Suſpicion. Thus far had *Walſingham* ſpun the Thread alone, without acquainting the reſt of the Queen's Council; and would have drawn it longer, but the Queen would not permit it, *Leſt*, as ſhe ſaid, *by not avoiding Danger when ſhe might, ſhe ſhould rather ſeem to tempt, than to truſt Providence.* Whereupon *Walſingham* ſent a Note to his Man *Scudamore*, that he ſhould more ſtrictly obſerve *Babington*; which Note was deliver'd in ſuch a Manner, that *Babington* ſitting by a Table when *Scudamore* read it, overlook'd him, and read the ſame. Hereupon ſuſpecting all was diſcover'd, the following Night, when he and *Scudamore* with two more of *Walſingham*'s Servants had ſupp'd plentifully in a Tavern, he aroſe ſuddenly from the Board, and leaving his Cloak and Sword behind him, haſten'd in the Dark to *Weſtminſter*, where *Gage* chang'd Cloaths with him, and immediately put on thoſe of *Charnock*; and then they withdrew themſelves into Sir *John*'s Wood near the City, whither alſo *Barnwell* and *Dunne* made their Retreat. In the mean Time they were proclaim'd Traitors all over *England*; which drove them into Woods and private Receſſes: They ſhav'd *Babington*'s Head, and disfigur'd his natural Beauty with the Rind of green Walnuts; and when they were half ſtarv'd, they repair'd to the Houſes of the *Bellamies*, near *Harrow on the Hill*; where they were hid in Barns, and put in Country Habits. But notwithſtanding all their Shiftings, they were diſcover'd within ten Days, and brought to *London*, to the great Joy of the Citizens, who publickly expreſs'd their Satisfaction for the Safety of their beloved Queen. The other Accomplices were ſoon after apprehended, moſt of them in the Suburbs of the City; *Saliſbury* and *Travers* in *Cheſhire*, and *Jones* in *Wales*, and *Bellamy*, who had harbour'd them in his Houſe, after he knew they were proclaim'd Traitors, was likewiſe taken; only *Windſor* was never found. Many Days were ſpent in their Examinations, whilſt they ruin'd each other by their Confeſſions, and diſcover'd the whole Truth of the Conſpiracy.

The Scotch *Queen's Servants and Papers ſeiz'd.*

All this buſie Time, the Queen of *Scotland* and her Servants were ſo ſtrictly obſerv'd by *Powlet*, that ſhe knew nothing of all theſe Tranſactions. As ſoon as the Conſpirators were apprehended, and in a ſafe Cuſtody, *Thomas George* was ſent to acquaint her with the whole Affair; which he did not perform, 'till ſhe was mounted on Horſeback to ride a Hunting, and was not then permitted to return, but under a ſhew of Honour, was led about to ſee the Houſes of the neighbouring Gentry. At the ſame Inſtant, Sir *John Manners*, Sir *Edward Aſton*, Sir *Richard Bagot*, and *William Wade*, ſeiz'd upon *Narve* and *Curle*, the *Scotch* Queen's Secretaries, and the reſt of her Servants, and deliver'd them to ſeparate Keepers and Places, that they might have no Diſcourſe between themſelves, nor with their Lady the Queen of *Scotland*. Next they broke open all Doors and Locks, and upon ſuch Desks and Boxes as had Papers in them, they ſet their Seals, and ſent them to the Queen: In which, before her Majeſty's Preſence, were found a great Number of Letters from Foreign Parts, likewiſe the Copies of Letters ſent to ſeveral Perſons, and at leaſt ſixty Alphabets of private Characters; as alſo, Letters to her from ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility, containing great Proffers of Love and Service: All which Queen *Elizabeth* diſſembled in Silence, according to her uſual Motto, *Video & Taceo*, I ſee, and ſay nothing. *Gifford*, who had all this Time ſerv'd their purpoſe, was now ſent into *France*, as if he had been baniſh'd out of *England*: But before his Departure, he left an indented Paper with the *French* Ambaſſador in *England*, with Inſtructions, that he ſhould deliver no Letters from the Queen of the *Scots* or the *Engliſh* Fugitives, but to that Perſon who ſhould ſhew the Counterpart thereof; which Counterpart was privately ſent by him to Sir *Francis Walſingham*.

The Tryal and Execution of the Conſpirators.

The Queen of Scots accus'd by her Servants.

On the thirteenth of *September* ſeven of the Conſpirators were arraign'd, and confeſs'd their Crime, *viz.* *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Savage*, *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, *Tilney* and *Abington*; and the other ſeven, two Days after, pleaded not guilty, but were condemn'd upon Tryal: Only *Pollie*, tho' he was privy to all Paſſages, yet, becauſe he had diſcover'd many things to *Walſingham*, was not call'd in Queſtion. *Babington* was executed with great Severity, and while he was cutting up, cry'd out, *Parce mihi, Domine Jeſu!* *Savage* broke the Rope and was cut up alive without any Hanging; which two, with *Ballard*, *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, *Tilney* and *Abington*, were executed with great Rigour, on the twentieth of *September*, in St. *Giles's Fields*. The next Day the other ſeven at the ſame Place were executed with more Mercy, the Queen deteſting the cutting them up alive, as had been done the Day before: Theſe were *Saliſbury*, *Dunne*, *Jones*, *Charnock*, *Travers*, and *Gage*, and with them *Bellamy*, who had concealed *Babington* after he was proclaim'd Traitor, whoſe Brother had ſtrangled himſelf in Priſon. When theſe Men were executed, the *Scotch* Queen's two Secretaries, *Narve* a *Frenchman* and *Curle* a *Scotchman*, were examin'd concerning the Letters, the Copies of Letters, and private Characters found in the Queen of the *Scots* Cloſet; and they under their own voluntary Subſcriptions acknowledg'd, that they were their own Hand-writings, dictated in *French* by the Queen her ſelf, taken by *Narve*, turn'd into *Engliſh* by *Curle*, and copy'd out in ſecret Characters. Hereupon Sir *Edward Wotton* was ſent immediately into *France*, to lay before the King the whole Order of the Conſpiracy, and ſhew him the Copies of the Queen of the *Scots* Letters, confirm'd by the Teſtimony of ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Nobility; ſo that the *French* King might be ſenſible to what Dangers the Queen of *England* had been reduc'd by the Practices of *Morgan*, *Paget*, and others in *France*.

Great Debates concerning her.

After the Puniſhment of inferior Perſons, a grand Debate aroſe how they ſhould proceed againſt a crown'd Head, the Sovereign Queen of *Scotland*, as ſhe was accounted by all her Friends; in which thoſe of the Council had various Sentiments. Some conceiv'd it was hard and improper to uſe any rigorous Courſe againſt her, but only to detain her in ſafe Cuſtody; both becauſe ſhe was not the Author of the Conſpiracy, but only an Acceſſary, and becauſe ſhe was infirm, and not like to live long. Others, out of a peculiar Care of Religion, were of Opinion, that ſhe ſhould be arraign'd and executed according to Law; and *Leiceſter*, according to his Methods, adviſ'd to have her poiſon'd, and ſent a Divine to *Walſingham* to prove it lawful, but he honourably proteſted againſt all ſuch Actions. Next there aroſe a Difference in Council, concerning what Law they were to uſe againſt her; whether the Statute of the twenty fifth of *Edward* the Third, ‘ That pronounc'd all guilty of ‘ Treaſon who plotted the Deſtruction of the King, rais'd ‘ Wars in his Dominions, or adher'd to his Enemies;’ or elſe by the twenty ſeventh of the preſent Queen, enacted a Year before. At length it was carry'd by thoſe who thought ſhe was rather to be try'd by this laſt Act, as being made for this very Purpoſe and Occaſion, and therefore to be put in Execution. Whereupon above forty of the Nobility and chief Men of the Nation were authoriz'd by the Queen's ſpecial Commiſſion, ‘ To enquire by virtue of that ‘ Law, and paſs Sentence againſt all ſuch as rais'd Rebelli‘ on, invaded the Kingdom, or attempted any Violence a‘ gainſt the Queen:’ All which ſolemn Commiſſion was deſign'd for to hear and determine the famous Cauſe of the Queen of *Scotland*.

A grand Commiſſion to try her.

The Commiſſioners meet at Fotheringay.

Accordingly theſe great Commiſſioners, with many Lawyers and Attendants, upon the eleventh Day of *October*, repair'd to *Fotheringay* Caſtle in *Northamptonſhire*, where the *Scotch* Queen was then detain'd Priſoner. The next Day they ſent to her Sir *Walter Mildmay*, *Powlet*, and *Edward Barker* a publick Notary, who deliver'd her the Queen's Letters; which ſhe receiv'd with a compos'd and majeſtick Countenance, and anſwer'd to this Effect, *That it was very ſurpriſing, that the Queen ſhould lay her Commands upon her, to ſubmit to a Tryal, as tho' ſhe were a Subject, when ſhe was a Queen, no leſs abſolute than her ſelf; therefore ſhe would never act any thing prejudicial to Perſons of her Dignity, nor to her Son the King of* Scotland. The next Day ſome Deputies from the Commiſſioners came to her, with Perſons learned in the Civil and Canon Law, to demonſtrate to her, ‘ That neither her Impriſon‘ ment, nor her Royal Prerogative, could exempt her from ‘ anſwering in the Kingdom of *England*, and therefore ad‘ vis'd her to hear what would be objected againſt her: O‘ therwiſe they threaten'd, *That by the Authority of the Law*, ‘ *they could and muſt proceed againſt her, tho' ſhe was ab*‘ *ſent.*’ To which ſhe anſwer'd, *That ſhe was no Subject, and would die a thouſand Deaths before ſhe would acknowledge her ſelf to be one; by which ſhe ſhould both injure the Majeſty of Princes, and ſubject her ſelf to the Laws, and even to the Religion of* England. *Nevertheleſs ſhe was ready to anſwer in a full and free Parliament; but as for this Aſſembly, it was, as ſhe perceiv'd, contriv'd againſt her, to give ſome Colour to a legal Proceeding; but ſhe deſir'd them to examine their Conſciences, andremember, That the Theatre of the whole World was larger than the Kingdom of* England. After ſeveral Meſſages and perſonal Conferences, *Hatton* the Vice-Chamberlain deliver'd himſelf after this plauſible manner; *Madam, you are accus'd, but not condemn'd: You ſay you are a Queen; be it ſo; the Royal Dignity is not exempted from anſwering, either by the Civil or Canon Laws, nor by the Laws of Nations and Nature; If you are Innocent, you injure your Reputation in declining a Tryal: You proteſt your ſelf Innocent; the Queen fears to the contrary with the deepeſt Sorrow and Affliction. To examine your Innocency are theſe honourable, prudent and upright Commiſſioners appointed, who will all rejoice to find you guiltleſs. The Queen her ſelf will be tranſported with Joy, who affirm'd to me at my Departure*, That ſhe never met with a greater Affliction, than to find you charg'd with ſuch a Crime. *Wherefore, laying aſide the bootleſs Claims of Royal Dignity, which now can be of no uſe to you, appear in Judgment, and diſplay your Innocence; leſt by avoiding Tryal, you draw upon your ſelf a Suſpicion, and ſtain your Reputation with an indelible Aſperſion.* This Speech, with ſome others, had ſuch Influence upon her, that at laſt with great Reluctancy ſhe ſubmitted to a Tryal.

She denies their Authority over her.

Yet at laſt ſubmits to a Tryal.

The Formality of the Proceeding.

The Queen appears and anſwers.

Upon this the Commiſſioners aſſembled themſelves in the Preſence-Chamber, where at the upper End was plac'd a Chair and Canopy of State for the Queen of *England*; and over-againſt that, below and at ſome diſtance, ſtood a Chair for the Queen of *Scotland*. By the Walls on both ſides were plac'd Benches, upon which, on the one ſide ſate the Lord-Chancellor, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Darby*, *Worceſter*, *Rutland*, *Cumberland*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, and *Lincoln*, and Viſcount *Montague*; on the other ſide the Lords *Abergavenny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Gray*, *Lumley*, *Stourton*, *Sandes*, *Wentworth*, *Mordant*, *St. John*, *Compton* and *Cheiney*. Nigh theſe ſate the Knights of the Privy-Council, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Sir *Francis Walſingham*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, and Sir *Anias Powlet*. Right before the Earls the two Chief Juſtices, and the Lord Chief Baron; on the other ſide the two Barons, and the other Judges, with *Dale* and *Ford*, Doctors of the Civil Law; and at a Table in the midſt, *Popham* the Queen's Attorney-General, *Egerton* her Sollicitor, *Gawdy* her Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two publick Notaries. With this Formality, and to this remarkable Aſſembly, the Queen of *Scotland* preſented her ſelf with all Majeſty and Decency; and being plac'd in her Seat, and Silence proclaim'd, *Bromley* Lord-Chancellor declar'd to her, *That the Queen of* England *had appointed theſe Commiſſioners, to hear what ſhe could anſwer to the Crimes laid to her Charge; aſſuring her, That nothing could cauſe more real Joy to the Queen, than to hear that ſhe had prov'd her ſelf Innocent.* Upon this, ſhe riſing up ſaid, *That tho' as an abſolute Princeſs, ſhe could not be compell'd to appear before theſe Commiſſioners, yet to manifeſt her Innocency, ſhe did condeſcend to appear.* Then Serjeant *Gawdy* open'd every Speciality of the Law lately made, againſt which ſhe had taken Exceptions; and ſhew'd at large, by *Babington*'s Confeſſion, by Letters paſs'd between them, by the Confeſſions of *Ballard* and *Savage*, by the Confeſſions of her Secretaries *Narve* and *Curle*, That ſhe was privy to their Conſpiracies, and conſented to the Invaſion of *England*, and the Deſtruction of the Queen. She readily and acutely anſwer'd to all Particulars, tho' very numerous, and alledg'd, ‘ That Let‘ ters might be counterfeited, her Secretaries might be cor‘ rupted, and her condemn'd Accuſers, in hopes of Life, ‘ might be induc'd to confeſs more than the Truth;’ and in this ſhe peremptorily inſiſted, ‘ That ſhe never conſented ‘ to any Attempts againſt the Queen's Perſon, and whate‘ ver ſhe had done was to free her ſelf from the Miſeries of ‘ a long and unjuſt Impriſonment.’ After many other Charges by the Commiſſioners, and as many Replies, which ſhe made with no leſs modeſt Behaviour than Preſence of Mind, ſhe in Concluſion requeſted, ‘ That ſhe might be heard ‘ in a full Parliament, or before the Queen her ſelf, and her ‘ Council.

Sentence paſs'd againſt her.

After this the Court was adjourn'd 'till the twenty fifth of *October* to the Star-Chamber at *Weſtminſter*, where the Commiſſioners met; and after *Narve* and *Curle* had upon Oath *Vivâ Voce*, voluntarily avow'd, affirm'd and juſtifyed all the ſeveral Letters, and Copies of Letters before produc'd, to be true and real, Sentence was pronounc'd againſt the Queen of *Scotland*, confirm'd under the Seals and Subſcriptions of the Commiſſioners, and the Reaſon for it recorded to this Effect, ‘ That ſince the firſt Day of *June*, in ‘ the twenty ſeventh of this Reign, divers Matters had been ‘ compos'd and imagin'd within the Realm of *England*, ‘ by *Anthony Babington* and others, with the Privity of the ‘ ſaid *Mary*, pretending a Title to the Crown of *England*, ‘ tending to the Hurt, Death and Deſtruction of the ſaid ‘ Lady the Queen of *England*. And alſo the aforeſaid ‘ *Mary* had alſo her ſelf compos'd and imagin'd divers Mat‘ ters tending to the Hurt, Death and Deſtruction of the ‘ Queen of *England*, contrary to a Statute ſpecify'd in the ‘ foreſaid Commiſſion.’ This Sentence, which depended chiefly upon the Credit of the *Scotch* Queen's two Secretaries, occaſion'd variety of Diſcourſe and Cenſure; while ſome thought them Perſons worthy of Belief, and others of no Credit in this Matter. However the ſame Day a Declaration was publiſh'd by the Commiſſioners and the Judges of the Land, ‘ That the ſaid Sentence did not pre‘ judice *James* King of *Scotland*, in his Title or Honour; ‘ but that he was in the ſame Place, Degree and Right, as ‘ if the ſaid Sentence had never been pronounc'd.’

The ſixth Parliament in this Reign.

A few Days after, upon the twenty ninth of *October*, a new Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, which was begun by Authority from the Queen, deriv'd to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord-Treaſurer, and the Earl of *Darby*; and that not without former Precedents. At this Parliament the Proſcriptions of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, Sir *Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, and the reſt of the late Conſpirators, were confirm'd, *They Petition the Queen for Execution.*

Her Anſwer.

firm'd, and their Goods and Poſſeſſions adjudg'd Confiſcate. The Eſtates of the Realm, having by their Votes approv'd and confirm'd the Sentence given againſt the Queen of *Scotland*, unanimouſly preſented a Petition to the Queen by the Hand of the Lord-Chancellor; in which they earneſtly beſought her, 'That for the Preſervation of Chriſt's true Religion, the Quiet and Security of the Realm, the Preſervation of her Majeſty's Perſon, and the Safety of themſelves and their Poſterity, the Sentence given againſt *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* according to Law might be publiſh'd.' The more to induce her, they called to her Remembrance the terrible Examples of God's Vengeance upon King *Saul* for ſparing of *Agag*, and upon *Ahab* for ſparing the Life of *Benhadad*. The Queen with great Majeſty both of Elocution and Countenance, anſwer'd to this Effect, 'That ſhe acknowledg'd God's miraculous Preſervation of her, and ſhe rejoic'd that after twenty eight Years Poſſeſſion of the Throne, ſhe found the Love of her People the ſame, if not greater than ever, *which if ſhe once loſt, ſhe might be ſaid to breath, but not to live.* And tho' her Life had been dangerouſly ſtruck at, yet ſhe proteſted that nothing ſo ſenſibly griev'd her as that one of the ſame Sex and Quality, and of the ſame Race and Blood, ſhould fall into ſuch a Miſdemeanor. Therefore if her own Life alone depended upon it, and not the Safety and Welfare of her dear People, ſhe would willingly pardon her; and if *England* might by her Death obtain a more flouriſhing Condition, and a better Prince, ſhe would gladly lay down her own Life; but for her People's ſake ſhe only deſir'd to live. After this ſhe proceeded to tell them a Secret, *That lately with her own Eyes ſhe had ſeen an Oath wherein ſome bound themſelves to kill her within a Month.* Yet after all, ſhe deſir'd ſome Space to conſider and weigh a Matter of ſo great Nicety and Importance, concluding, *That whatever the beſt of Subjects might expect from the beſt of Princes, that they might always expect to receive from her.*'

She is under great Conflicts about it.

The Parliament urge her again.

Her uncertain Anſwer.

Twelve Days after, having often revolv'd the Matter in her Mind, diſtracted with doubtful Thoughts and Cares, and in great Conflicts how to proceed in ſo difficult an Affair, ſhe ſent Meſſengers to both Houſes of Parliament, 'Deſiring them again to conſider of this important Cauſe, and find out a more grateful Expedient, by which both the Queen of *Scotland*'s Life might be ſpar'd, and her own Security preſerv'd.' After long and ſerious Debates, judging that both the Welfare and Detriment of their Queen concern'd all the Subjects, they unanimouſly concurr'd in their former Opinion, declaring, 'That the Queen's Life could not be in Safety, while the other Queen liv'd; unleſs the other repented and acknowledg'd her Crimes, or were kept in ſtrict Cuſtody, or bound by Oaths and Obligations, or gave Hoſtages, or laſtly departed the Kingdom: And ſince none of thoſe would probably be Remedies, it remain'd that only her Death could be the Nation's Security: Repentance in her was little to be expected, who would not own her ſelf guilty; cloſe Impriſonment, Obligations, Oaths and Hoſtages, would all vaniſh, if the Queen of *England* once loſt her Life; and if ſhe departed the Kingdom, ſhe would ſoon find Means to invade it.' Theſe Reaſons were urg'd to the gentle Queen by the Lord-Chancellor, and *Puckering* Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; and ſhe being harraſs'd with various Thoughts and melancholly Apprehenſions, proteſted, 'That her moſt earneſt Deſire had been, that for her People's Security, and her own Safety, ſome other Expedient might have been invented, than what they had propos'd; but ſince it was now evident, that her own Safety, without the other's Deſtruction, was altogether precarious, ſhe was violently affected with inward Sorrow; That ſhe, who had pardon'd ſo many Rebels, and by Connivance or Silence had neglected ſo many Treaſons, ſhould be compell'd at length to exerciſe Cruelty againſt a near Kinſwoman and a Queen. Therefore conſidering the great Conflicts in her Breaſt, ſhe deſir'd them *to accept of an Anſwer without an Anſwer*; concluding her Speech in theſe Words: *If I ſhould ſay I will not anſwer your Deſires, I might perhaps ſay more than I intend; and if I ſhould ſay I will do it, I might plunge my ſelf into as great Inconveniencies as you endeavour to prevent; which I am confident your Wiſdoms will not deſire, when you conſider the Circumſtances of Place, Time, and the Manners and Conditions of Mankind.*' After this the Parliament broke up for a few Days.

Notice of Death given to the Queen of the Scots.

About the ſame time the Lord *Buckhurſt* and *Beal* were ſent to the Queen of *Scotland* to inform her, 'That Sentence was pronounc'd againſt her, and confirm'd by Authority of Parliament as juſt and lawful, and that the Execution of it was inſtantly deſir'd by the States of the Realm, out of due Regard to Juſtice, Security, and Neceſſity; and therefore they perſuaded her, That before her Death ſhe would acknowledge her Offences againſt God and the Queen, *For if ſhe liv'd, the eſtabliſh'd Religion in England could not ſubſiſt.*' At this ſhe ſeem'd to triumph with more than uſual Joy, thanking God, and congratulating her own Felicity, *That ſhe ſhould be accounted an Inſtrument for the Re-eſtabliſhing Religion in this Iſland*; and earneſtly requeſted, That ſhe might have a Catholick Prieſt allow'd her to direct her Conſcience, and adminiſter the Sacraments to her. A Biſhop and a Dean being recommended to her for that purpoſe, ſhe utterly rejected both, and ſeverely retorted upon the *Engliſh* Nation, *That they were accuſtom'd to put their Kings to Death, no Wonder therefore if they exercis'd their Cruelty upon her who was of the ſame Blood.*

Sentence againſt her publiſhed.

She writes to Queen Elizabeth.

At the earneſt Deſire of ſome Courtiers, in *December* the Sentence againſt her was firſt proclaim'd in *London*, and then throughout all the Kingdom, in which Proclamation the Queen ſolemnly proteſted, 'That this Promulgation of the Sentence was extorted from her againſt her own Inclinations, by the Importunity of the whole Body of the Kingdom. The *Scotch* Queen being inform'd of this, ſeem'd no ways dejected; but writing to Queen *Elizabeth*, without any Interceſſion for her Life, in the moſt pathetick Terms begg'd of her, 'That ſhe might be oblig'd to her, and none elſe, for three particular Favours: Firſt, That when her Adverſaries had ſatiated themſelves with her innocent Blood, her Body might be convey'd into ſome Catholick Land for its Burial, particularly into *France*, where her Mother ſlept undiſturb'd, for in *Scotland* the Tombs of her Anceſtors were violated, and the Churches prophan'd; and in *England*, where lay both their common Progenitors, all Catholick Rites would be deny'd her: *So might her Body at laſt reſt in Peace, which while it was join'd with the Soul, could never find Reſt or Quiet.* Secondly, That ſhe might be put to Death in private, without her Knowledge, but in the Sight of her Servants and others, who might give Teſtimony of her Behaviour, and prevent all Aſperſions of her Memory. And Thirdly, That her Servants might freely and peaceably depart whither they pleas'd, and enjoy thoſe Legacies which ſhe had bequeath'd them by her Will and Teſtament.' But whether this Letter ever came to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Hands, is uncertain.

Great Interceſſions made for her from abroad.

The Condemnation of the Queen of *Scotland* became the Subject of every Mouth and Tongue in the Nation, which caus'd vaſt variety of Opinions and Cenſures; and as the Thing was ſtrange and ſurpriſing, it ſoon ſpread to diſtant Nations, and Interceſſions arriv'd from many Countries; and firſt from *Scotland*, where King *James* labour'd daily to ſave her Life, and omitted nothing that became a pious Son, and a prudent King. But the *Scots* were at this time torn by inteſtine Factions, and more at that time favour'd the Reigning than the Captive Queen; inſomuch that ſome of them ſecretly ſollicited Queen *Elizabeth* by Letters to haſten her Execution, which had been deferr'd above two Months, ſince Sentence was firſt paſs'd. The King of *Scotland*'s Agents were daily interceding, and all Arguments were us'd that might perſuade her Reaſon, or move her Pity: To which ſhe anſwer'd, *That ſhe was unmeaſurably ſorry that no Means could be found to ſave the Life of their Queen, and to ſecure her own.* But afterwards when they began to mix Threatnings with their Intreaties, ſhe with ſome Warmth ſaid, *Tell your King what I have done for him, to keep the Crown on his Head ſince he was born, and that for my Part, I deſign to keep the League between us; which if he break, it ſhall be a double Fault.* Sir *Robert Melvil*, finding her in a Paſſion, requeſted for eight Days Reſpite of Execution; to whom ſhe reply'd, *Not an Hour.* The *French* King alſo became an Interceſſor for the unfortunate Queen, and by his extraordinary Ambaſſador propos'd ſome Expedients, but to no Effect.

A. D. 1587. Reg. $\frac{29}{30}$.

A new Plot againſt Queen Elizabeth.

And now when the Neceſſities of the State, and the grand Stream of the Nation, ſeem'd to obſtruct and over-bear all Means for Clemency and Pity, the *French* Ambaſſador *L'Aubeſpin* fell from Arguments to Actions, and thought no way ſo effectual for ſaving the Life of one Queen, as taking away that of the other; and thereupon he firſt dealt ſecretly with *William Stafford*, a young Gentleman, prone to ambitious Expectations, whoſe Mother was of the Bed-Chamber to the Queen, and his Brother at this time Lieger Ambaſſador in *France*; and afterwards proceeded more openly with *Trappe* his Secretary, to murther Queen *Elizabeth*. This *Stafford*, tho' not daring enough to act ſuch a Villany himſelf, yet recommended one *Moody* to him, a reſolute and deſperate Man, who for Mony would certainly effect it. Upon this *Stafford* brought *Trappe* to *Moody*, who was then in the Common Jail, and upon *Trappe*'s Offers undertook the Attempt: But then the Conſultation was, by what Means it ſhould be effected. *Moody* propos'd Poiſon, or elſe to lay a Bag of Gunpowder under the Queen's Bed, and ſuddenly fire it; but *Trappe* approv'd of neither of theſe Methods, but choſe rather to have it done, as the bold Perſon did who ſhot the Prince of *Orange*.

It is diſcover'd.

But while they were thus conſulting about the Means of performing the Infernal Exploit, *Stafford* diſcover'd all to the Lords of the Council: Whereupon *Trappe*, who was ready for *France*, was ſuddenly apprehended, and upon Examination confeſs'd the whole Plot. This alſo caus'd the Ambaſſador to be ſent for to *Cecil-Houſe*, on the twelfth Day of *January*; where by the Queen's Appointment he was met by the Lord *Burleigh*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, and *Daviſon*, one of the Secretaries; who acquainted the Ambaſſador with every Particular that *Stafford*, *Moody* and *Trappe* his Secretary had confeſs'd. As ſoon as *Stafford* was brought forth, and began to ſpeak, the Ambaſſador interrupted him, and with Reproaches and Aſſeverations declar'd, that *Stafford* had firſt propos'd it to him; when *Stafford* falling upon his Knees, made fearful Imprecations, that the Ambaſſador firſt propos'd it himſelf. After *Stafford* had withdrawn, *Burleigh* gently reprov'd the Ambaſſador for being conſcious or acceſſary to ſo vile a Fact; to which he immediately reply'd, *That if he had known of any ſuch thing, yet being an Ambaſſador, he ought to give no Notice of it but to his own King*. After much Reaſoning, *Burleigh* admoniſh'd him *to beware how he offended hereafter in this kind, and provoke the Clemency of a Queen, who knew how to puniſh an ill Ambaſſador*; *and that he was not acquitted from the Guilt, tho' the Queen at this Time might ſpare his Puniſhment*.

Upon this new Conſpiracy, the *Scotch* Queen's Enemies rais'd many Terrors in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Mind, forming Reports, ' That the *Spaniſh* Fleet was arriv'd at *Milford* Haven; that the *Scots* had made an Irruption into ' *England*; that the Duke of *Guiſe* with a numerous Army was landed in *Suſſex*; that the Queen of the *Scots* ' was eſcap'd out of Priſon, and had rais'd an Army; that ' the Northern Parts were up in Rebellion, with other ' ſuch formidable Relations.' With ſuch terrifying Arguments as theſe, they ſo gain'd upon the Queen's wavering and perplexed Mind, that ſhe ſign'd a Warrant for putting the Sentence of Death in Execution; and one of the Perſons that puſh'd her upon this Extremity, was ſaid to be *Patrick Gray*, a Perſon ſent by the King of *Scotland* to diſſuade her from it, yet he was frequently uſing this Expreſſion, *Mortua non mordet*, *The Dead never bite*. The Queen notwithſtanding began to weigh with her ſelf, Whether it was really better to free her ſelf from her, or elſe to ſpare her Life; and many remarkable Reaſons offer'd themſelves on both Sides; but thoſe for ſparing of her were generally Speculative, while thoſe for deſtroying her were Practical, and enforc'd by great Numbers. The Courtiers were continually urging the ſame Point; ſome Preachers, more ſeverely than became their Functions, aggravated the Matter; and the Vulgar Sort, out of Hope, or Fear, inſolently exercis'd their Wits and Pleaſure upon the ſame deplorable Subject.

Queen Elizabeth *ſigns a Warrant for the Execution of the Queen of the* Scots.

In the midſt of theſe fluctuating and perplex'd Imaginations the Queen abandon'd her ſelf to a ſolitary and melancholy Life, ſitting in a ſilent and thoughtful Poſture, and often Sighing out, *Aut fer*, *aut feri*, *Either bear*, *or ſtrike*: At length from this Sentence, *Ne feriare*, *feri*, *Strike*, *leſt you be ſtricken*, ſhe deliver'd a Writing ſign'd with her own Hand to *Daviſon*, one of her Secretaries, commanding a Warrant under the Great Seal of *England* to be drawn up for the Execution; but only to lie in Readineſs, if any Commotion ſhould ariſe, and commanded him to diſcover it to no Man. But the next Day, while Fear made her apprehenſive of her own Thoughts, her Mind chang'd, and ſhe commanded *Daviſon* by *William Killigrew* that the Warrant ſhould not be drawn; but *Daviſon* came to the Queen, and told her Majeſty, *It was already drawn, and under the Seal.* The Queen ſeem'd extreamly concern'd, and blam'd him for his haſty Officiouſneſs: Notwithſtanding, he acquainted the Council with the Warrant and the whole Matter, and eaſily perſuaded them, who were ready to believe what they deſir'd, that the Queen had commanded it ſhould be executed. Hereupon *Beal*, who in reſpect of Religion, of all others was the *Scotch* Queen's greateſt Enemy, was without Delay ſent down with one or two Executioners, and a Warrant, wherein Authority was given to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others to ſee her executed: And all this without the Queen's Knowledge, nay expreſly againſt her Order; for ſhe had told *Daviſon*, *That ſhe would take another Courſe with the Queen of the* Scots; yet he would not command *Beal* to deſiſt and return: And this carries us to the laſt Act of this fatal Tragedy.

She changes her Mind.

The Warrant ſent without her Knowledge.

As ſoon as the Earls were arriv'd at *Fotheringay*, they together with Sir *Amias Powlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, her chief Keepers, came to her, read over the Warrant, and in few Words admoniſh'd her to prepare her ſelf to die the next Day. She with an undaunted and compos'd Spirit, made this Anſwer: *I did not think the Queen my Siſter would have conſented to my Death, who am not ſubject to her Laws; but ſince it is her Pleaſure, Death is moſt welcome to me; for I account that Soul unworthy of everlaſting Joys, whoſe Body cannot bear one Stroke of the Executioner.* She deſir'd to have Conference with her Almoner, her Confeſſor, and *Melvil* the Maſter of her Houſhold; but her Confeſſor was poſitively deny'd her, and the Biſhop and Dean of *Peterborough* recommended to comfort her. Upon her Refuſal of theſe, the Earl of *Kent* in a vehement Zeal, broke out into theſe Words, *Your Life will be the Death of our Religion, and your Death will be the Life of it.* When the Earls were departed from her, ſhe commanded Supper to be haſten'd, and ſitting down eat after her uſual temperate Manner. Then obſerving her Servants, both Men and Women, weeping and deploring her hard Fate, ſhe comforted them with a brave Courage and Magnanimity, commanding them, *Rather to rejoice that ſhe was ſoon to be freed from a World of Miſeries.* Towards the End of her Supper, ſhe drunk to all her Servants, who pledg'd her in Order upon their Knees, mingling Tears with their Wine, begging Pardon for their Neglect of their Duty, as ſhe alſo in like manner did of them. After Supper ſhe perus'd her Will, read over the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and wrote down the Names of thoſe to whom ſhe gave any Legacies. She put the Gold ſhe had in as many little Purſes as ſhe had Servants, more or leſs in every Purſe, according to their Qualities and Merits. She wrote a Letter to her Confeſſor, that he would make Interceſſion for her to God in his Prayers; and alſo wrote Letters of Recommendations for her Servants to the *French* King and the Duke of *Guiſe*. At the ordinary Hour ſhe went to her Repoſe, and ſlept quietly ſome Hours; and then Waking, ſhe ſpent the reſt of the Night in Prayer.

The Queen of the Scots *Behaviour.*

The fatal Morning being come, which was on the eighteenth of *February*, ſhe dreſs'd her ſelf in State, as ſhe us'd upon the higheſt Feſtivals; and calling her Servants, order'd her Will to be read, praying their Acceptance of the ſmall Legacies ſhe had given them, having no Ability to extend her Kindneſs in greater Matters. Then retiring to her Oratory, ſhe continu'd in Sighs, Groans and Prayers, 'till *Thomas Andrews*, Sheriff of the County, about eight a Clock, acquainted her, *That all was ready:* She anſwer'd, *I am ſo likewiſe*, and came forth in State, with a majeſtick and compos'd Countenance, a chearful Look, and in a modeſt Habit; her Head cover'd with a Linnen Veil hanging down to the Ground, her *Beads* at her Girdle, and an Ivory *Crucifix* in her Hand. In the Porch ſhe was met by the Noblemen, where *Melvil* her chief Servant, falling on his Knees, and melting into a Flood of Tears, bitterly deplor'd his miſerable Fate, that he muſt be the unhappy Meſſenger to *Scotland*, of the moſt unfortunate End of his Queen and Miſtreſs. She comforted him, and bad him *Rejoice, for he ſhould preſently ſee* Mary Stuart *freed from all her Miſeries.* Then ſhe order'd him to tell them, *That ſhe dy'd conſtant in her Religion, and firm in her Affection towards* Scotland *and* France: *And ſhe appeal'd to the omniſcient God, how greatly ſhe deſir'd that the Kingdom of* England *and* Scotland *might be united in one.* Next ſhe deſir'd him to pray her Son *to ſerve God, defend the Catholick Religion, govern his Kingdom in Peace, and never put himſelf into the Power of another, as ſhe had done*; *to certifie him that ſhe had done nothing prejudicial to the Crown of* Scotland, *and to deſire him to keep Friendſhip with the Queen of* England. With theſe Words, and ſome Tears falling from her Eyes, ſhe urg'd him *To be a faithful Servant to her Son*, and bad him ſeveral Times Farewel.

She comes out to Execution.

Then turning to the Lords, ſhe deſir'd that her Servants might be civilly us'd, and quietly enjoy the Legacies ſhe had given them; that they might ſtand by her at her Death, and afterwards be ſafely convey'd into their own Country. When the Earl of *Kent* ſcrupled their being preſent at her Death, for fear of ſome ſuperſtitious Ceremony, the Queen ſaid, *Fear it not, theſe harmleſs Souls only deſire to take their laſt Leave of their Miſtreſs; and I know my Siſter* Elizabeth *would not deny the Preſence of my Women, for the Honour of our Sex. I am her near Kinſwoman, deſcended from her Grandfather, Queen Dowager of* France, *and the anointed Queen of* Scotland. Then it was granted that ſuch of her Servants ſhould be preſent, as ſhe ſhould pleaſe to name, which were *Melvil*, *Burgoign* her Phyſician, her Apothecary, her Surgeon, two of her Women, and others; among whom *Melvil* bore up her Train. Thus, the Gentlemen, two Earls, and the Sheriff of the County going before her, ſhe came to the Scaffold, which was two Foot high, and twelve broad, erected in the Middle of the Hall; on which was plac'd a Chair, a Cuſhion, and a Block, all cover'd with black Cloth. Here *Beal* read the Warrant, and *Fletcher* Dean of *Peterborough* began a long Speech, concerning the Condition of her Life paſt, preſent and future. But the Queen interrupted him once or twice, deſiring him not to trouble

She aſcends the Scaffold.

himſelf, and proteſting *ſhe was immovably fix'd in the Roman Catholick Religion, and now came to ſhed her Blood for it.* When the Dean perſuaded her to a ſincere Repentance, and by Faith to rely upon the Merits of Chriſt, ſhe anſwer'd, *That in that Religion ſhe was born and educated, and now would die in it.* The Lords then ſaid they would pray for her, to whom ſhe reply'd, *I ſhall thank you heartily if you will pray with me; but for me to join in Prayer with you, who are of another Perſuaſion, would be a heinous Sin.* Then the Lords order'd the Dean to pray, with whom while the Multitude in the Hall were praying, ſhe fell upon her Knees, and holding the *Crucifix* before her, pray'd in *Latin* with her Servants, out of a Book call'd *The Office of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary.* When the Dean had finiſh'd his Prayers, ſhe in *Engliſh* recommended the Church, her Son, and Queen *Elizabeth* to God's Protection and Benediction; forgave all her Enemies, and kiſſing the *Crucifix*, and ſigning her ſelf with the Croſs, ſhe ſaid, *As thy Arms, O* Chriſt, *were extended upon the Croſs, ſo, Lord, receive me with the extended Arms of thy Mercy, and forgive me my Sins.* Then beginning to diſrobe her ſelf, the Executioners offer'd their Help; but ſhe put them back, ſaying, *She was not accuſtom'd to be ſerv'd by ſuch Grooms:* While her Women with melting Eyes were performing that Office, ſhe affectionately kiſs'd them, ſign'd them with the Croſs, and with a pleaſant Countenance bid them *forbear their Womaniſh Lamentations, for now ſhe ſhould reſt from all her Sorrows.* Having cover'd her Face, and laying her ſelf down to the Block, ſhe repeated the Pſalm, *In thee, O Lord, do I put my Truſt, let me never be confounded;* then ſtretching forth her Body, ſhe many Times ſaid, *Into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit!* And at two Strokes her Head was ſever'd from her Body, which appear'd to be ſomewhat gray, tho' ſhe was but forty five Years of Age. At the ſame Moment the Dean cry'd out, *So let the Enemies of Queen* Elizabeth *periſh!* The Earl of *Kent* anſwer'd *Amen*; but the Multitude reply'd with nothing but Sighs and Lamentations. Her Body was Embalm'd, and with Regal Obſequies interr'd in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*; but her Cloaths, the Block, and every thing elſe that had receiv'd a Drop of her Blood, were burnt, to prevent ſuperſtitious Conſequences.

She is Beheaded.

Her Character.

This deplorable End had *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, a Lady firm and conſtant to her Religion, of ſingular Piety towards God, invincible Magnanimity of Mind, Wiſdom above her Sex, and admirable Beauty; yet toſs'd and croſs'd with the Frowns and Varieties of Fortune beyond all the former Examples of crown'd Heads; which ſome believ'd to have proceeded from the Vengeance of Heaven, for ſuch ſecret Crimes of hers, as perhaps can never be either excus'd or prov'd 'till the great Day of Judgment; and others for her violent Adherence to Superſtition, and Severity to thoſe of a contrary Perſuaſion. But tho' we cannot nicely determine this myſterious Affair; yet we may here preſume, with a great Man, to obſerve and admire at the wiſe Diſpoſition and Ordering of the Divine Providence. For thoſe very Things which both the Queens moſt of all deſir'd, and propos'd to themſelves in all their Councils, were by this Means effected and accompliſh'd. Queen *Mary*, as ſhe declar'd at her Death, deſir'd nothing more ardently than that the divided Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* might be united in the Perſon of her dear Son: And there was nothing which Queen *Elizabeth* more induſtriouſly endeavour'd, than the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Safety and Security of her People: And that the great God granted both their Prayers, *England* ſaw with unexpected Satisfaction.

Queen Elizabeth afflicted.

The Death of this Princeſs however reflected upon the Fame and Conduct of Queen *Elizabeth*, who little imagin'd ſuch Severity had been acted; and ſhe receiv'd the News with ſuch a Mixture of Grief and Indignation, that her Countenance grew pale, her Speech faulter'd, her Spirits fail'd, and ſhe was under ſuch an Aſtoniſhment and Confuſion that ſhe had no Enjoyment of her Life. Company ſem'd a Burden to her, inſomuch that ſhe abandon'd her ſelf to Grief and Melancholy, put on deep Mourning, ſhed abundance of Tears, ſeverely rebuk'd her Council, commanded them out of her Preſence, and order'd *Daviſon* to be try'd in the Star-Chamber. Thus ſhe continu'd for ſome Space; but as ſoon as Grief would give her leave, ſhe wrote a Letter in haſte with her own Hand to the King of *Scotland*, and ſent it by Sir *Robert Cary*, beginning in theſe Words: *My deareſt Brother, Would to Heav'n you knew, but not felt, the inexpreſſible Grief that overwhelms my Mind, upon this deplorable Accident, which has happen'd contrary to my Meaning and Intention; which ſince my Pen trembles to mention, you will fully underſtand by this my Kinſman. I requeſt you, that as God and many others can witneſs my Innocency in this Matter, ſo you will alſo believe, that if I had commanded it, I would never deny it------That as I know this has happen'd deſervedly on her Part; ſo if I had intended it, I would not have charg'd it upon others.------ There is not any that loveth you more dearly, and taketh more Care for the Good of you and your Affairs.------God preſerve you long in Health and Safety.*

She writes to the King of Scotland.

Daviſon cited in the Star-Chamber.

While *Cary* was on his Journey to *Scotland*, *Daviſon* was cited to the Star-Chamber, before the two Arch-Biſhops and ſeveral Lords and Judges of the Land, appointed Commiſſioners for that purpoſe; where he was charg'd with Contempt of the Queen's Majeſty, and a Violation of his Truſt, in cauſing the Execution of the Queen of *Scotland*, without the Knowledge and Conſent of his own Sovereign; which Charge was much aggravated by the Pleadings of *Popham*, *Egerton*, *Gawdy* and *Puckering*. *Daviſon* anſwer'd, *That if he ſhould confeſs himſelf guilty of the Crimes objected againſt him, he ſhould injure his own Reputation, which was dearer to him than his Life; and if he ſhould conteſt with the Queen in his own Defence, he ſhould do what was miſbecoming the Obedience of a Subject, the Behaviour of a Servant, and the Truſt and Office of a Secretary. He proteſted before God and the Commiſſioners, That he had acted nothing in this Matter, but what he had perſuaded himſelf was the Queen's Will and Pleaſure; in which if he had wrong'd himſelf either through Ignorance or Negligence, he could not but be exceedingly afflicted, and patiently ſubmitted himſelf to the Cenſures of the Commiſſioners.* After many Debates, the Commiſſioners generally agreed that *Daviſon* was an honeſt Man, and that in this Act he had done the Nation great Service; but for the Manner and Management of it without the Queen's Knowledge, they fin'd him ten thouſand Pounds, and Impriſonment during the Queen's Pleaſure; and he never could recover her Favour, but only ſometimes to have his Wants reliev'd. Thus was *Daviſon*, an ingenious Man, but a Stranger to the Artifices of Courts and Courtiers, brought upon the Stage, as ſome thought, purpoſely to ſerve a Turn; but miſcarrying in the laſt Act, was thruſt off again, and, not without the Pity of many thinking Men, detain'd a long Time in Priſon.

He is fin'd and impriſon'd.

The King of Scotland's *Reſentments*

By this Time Sir *Robert Cary*, who was ſent with the Queen's Letter, arriv'd at the Borders of *Scotland*, but was not permitted to ſet Foot in that Kingdom: King *James* would ſcarce hear him by a third Perſon, and with much Difficulty receiv'd his Letters: He likewiſe recall'd his Ambaſſador from *England*, and breath'd out nothing but Reſentments and Revenge. Upon which the Queen labour'd by her able Miniſters and Agents, which ſhe never wanted, to appeaſe his Mind, and divert him from the War he intended. Theſe working with Art and Privacy upon the King's chiefeſt Counſellors, and thoſe of his Chamber which he moſt affected, they kept him off from breaking out into open Hoſtility, which was every Day expected. Firſt Secretary *Walſingham* by a long Letter to the Lord *Thirlſtane*, who was then moſt in Credit, and had the chief Adminiſtration of Affairs, propos'd divers weighty and important Conſiderations to divert the King from violent Reſolutions. Soon after the Lord *Hunſdon*, Governor of *Berwick*, admoniſh'd the King, 'How dangerous it would be for him now to begin 'a War againſt *England*, and what little Aids he could 'juſtly expect from either *Spain* or *France*: But if he con'tinu'd his Amity with *England*, he might be ſure that 'Queen *Elizabeth* would moſt lovingly account him as 'her own Son.' Then that he might be aſſur'd that the Queen his Mother ſuffer'd without her Privity, She ſent him the Sentence againſt *Daviſon*, under the Hands of all the Commiſſioners, and atteſted under the Great Seal of *England*; and likewiſe another Inſtrument ſign'd by the Judges of *England*, in which they averr'd, *That the Sentence againſt the Queen of* Scotland *could no ways prejudice his Right to the Succeſſion.* All theſe gradually gain'd upon his Reaſon and Judgment; and he ſoon began to be ſatisfy'd with the Arguments of *Walſingham* and *Hunſdon*, the fair Promiſes of the Queen, and the Hopes of being a Succeſſor in *England*; which laſt, conſidering his preſent Circumſtances among a divided Nobility, a factious Clergy, a diſcontented People, and a barren Country, was alone an anſwerable Argument to induce that King to conſult his own Intereſt, and compound the Matter without the Hazards of an unequal War.

He is reconcil'd to Q. Elizabeth.

A. D. 1587. Reg. 30.

XI. The mighty Queen *Elizabeth* was now freed from her Rival in Government, and the Head of a contrary Religion, who at different Times had given her great Diſquiets for near thirty Years: But theſe Domeſtick Storms were ſcarce allay'd, when others more formidable threaten'd the Nation from abroad, ariſing from the ſwelling Ambition and ſuperſtitious Reſentments of the moſt powerful Monarch in *Europe*, the King of *Spain*. This Prince, upon ſeveral Pretences, had many Times form'd Deſigns of invading the Kingdom of *England*; but at this time he began to exert his utmoſt Power, and made ſuch vaſt Preparations, as both ſurpris'd and kept all *Europe* in Suſpence,

The great Preparation of Spain *againſt England.*

Suſpence, not knowing over what Nation the Storm would break, tho' it was moſt generally thought to be deſign'd againſt the *Netherlands*. For the Diſcovery of this great Secret, *Walſingham* employ'd his niceſt Faculties and Endeavours, and with anſwerable Succeſs. This great Stateſman was famous for his Spies, his ſecret Intelligence, and wondrous Management; and is believ'd to have laid the Foundation of the Civil Wars both in *France* and the *Netherlands*, ſo advantageous to *England* in this Reign: Upon which he told the Queen, *That tho' the* Spaniard *had a ſtrong Appetite and a good Digeſtion, he had given him ſuch a Bone as would take him twenty Years to manage, and break his Teeth at laſt.* But now his Buſineſs was to diſcover the preſent Aims of the King of *Spain*, which were unknown to any but himſelf; 'till this Year he had Intelligence from *Madrid*, that King *Philip* had told his Council, That he had diſpatch'd an Expreſs to *Rome*, with a Letter writ with his own Hand to the Pope, acquainting him with the true Deſign of his Preparations, and begging his Bleſſing upon it; which for ſome Reaſons he could not yet diſcloſe to them, 'till the Return of the Courier. The Secret being thus lodg'd with the Pope, *Walſingham*, by the Means of a *Venetian* Prieſt retain'd at *Rome* as a Spy, got a Copy of the Original Letter, which was ſtolen out of the Pope's Cabinet by a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, who took the Keys out of the Pope's Pocket while he ſlept. After this, by his dextrous Management, he caus'd the *Spaniſh* Bills to be proteſted at *Genoa*, which ſhould have ſupply'd them with Mony for theſe extraordinary Preparations; by which Means he happily retarded this threatning Invaſion for a whole Year.

Walſingham's *Policy.*

Drake's *Expedition*:

In the mean time to divert and moleſt the *Spaniard*, the Queen ſent out the famous Captain *Drake*, with four of her Royal Ships and ſome others, to the Coaſt of *Spain*, to ſurpriſe and deſtroy his Ships in his Havens, and intercept his Proviſions. *Drake* faithfully perform'd his Office, and entering into the Port of *Cales*, ſunk, took and fir'd about a hundred Sail of Ships, in which were great Quantities of Ammunition and Proviſions. Then returning to Cape St. *Vincent*, he ſet upon three Forts, and compell'd them to ſurrender. Thence ſetting Sail to the Weſtern Iſlands, call'd the *Azores*, by good Fortune he met with a vaſt and rich Carrack, call'd St. *Philip*, returning from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and eaſily took it; whereupon the Seamen on both Sides, from the Name of *Philip*, judg'd it portentous to the King of *Spain*. At the ſame Time *Thomas Cavendiſh* of *Suffolk*, in the other Part of the World, who two Years before had ſet Sail from *England* with three Ships, paſſing through the Straits of *Magellan*, along the Coaſts of *Chile*, *Peru*, and *New-Spain*, fir'd a great Number of *Spaniſh* Towns, and took and plunder'd nineteen great Ships, and among them a rich Ship of the *Spaniſh* King's nigh *California*, in North *America*; and ſo by the *Philippine* Iſlands, the *Moluccos*, the Cape of *Good Hope*, and the Iſland of St. *Helen*, return'd home this Year, being the ſecond after *Magellan* that had ſail'd round the Globe.

And Cavendiſh.

The Treachery of Stanley *and* York.

As *Drake* and *Cavendiſh* at this Time gain'd great Fame and Renown, ſo two other *Engliſhmen* in the *Netherlands* purchas'd as much Infamy and Diſgrace; theſe were *William Stanley* and *Rowland York*. This laſt was a *Londoner*, an audacious Man, and of looſe Behaviour; noted for firſt bringing in the Uſe of the Rapier into *England*, whereas before Sword and Buckler were the only Weapons in Duels, and it was thought cowardly either to turn the Point or ſtrike below the Girdle. He ſuffering ſome Affront from the Earl of *Leiceſter*, fled, and for a Time ſerv'd under the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, 'till being reconcil'd to *Leiceſter*, he was made Governor of the Fort, near *Zutphen*; but being brib'd, he not only ſurrender'd the Place to the Enemy, but alſo by the like Treachery drew in *William Stanley* to betray *Daventer* to the *Spaniards*, a rich and ſtrong Town. As a Reward of their Treaſons, the *Spaniards* ſet *York* and *Stanley* at Variance, and poiſon'd the former and ſeiz'd his Effects, whoſe Carcaſs was three Years after digg'd up by the States, and hang'd upon a Gibbet 'till it rotted: *Stanley* went into *Spain* in Hopes of Advancement, but no Man would truſt him, according to a Saying in the Country, *It is ſometimes lawful to give Honour, but never Credit to a Traitor.* Theſe treacherous Proceedings brought the Earl of *Leiceſter* into much Envy with the Confederate States, becauſe the Traitors were intimate with him; and in long Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, they accus'd her Favourite for his publick Miſmanagement of Mony and Merchandize, as well as Military Affairs, and imputed the Miſchiefs ariſing from *York* and *Stanley* all to his Credulity. The Queen, for the examining and compoſing the Matter, ſent over *Thomas Sackvile*, Lord *Buckhurſt*, *Norris*, and *Bartholomew Clerk*: But when the officious Diligence of *Buckhurſt* ſeem'd to bear hard upon *Leiceſter*'s Reputation, his Favour with the Queen prov'd of that Force, that *Buckhurſt* at his Return was confin'd to his Houſe for ſeveral Months.

Leiceſter *goes into the* Netherlands.

Afterwards *Sluce* being inveſted by the Prince of *Parma*, the States ſent to the Earl of *Leiceſter* into *England* to come and relieve it. The Town being furiouſly batter'd with ſeventeen thouſand great Shot, and a large Breach made, was defended for a while by Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Francis Vere*, and Captain *Nicholas Baskervile*, with great Valour and Reputation; but when *Leiceſter*, who came to its Succour, thought fit to retire, it ſurrender'd to the Prince of *Parma*. And indeed the States durſt not commit any great Army to *Leiceſter*'s Command, who they knew had a Deſign to ſeize *Leyden*, and ſome other Towns into his own Hands, and to make himſelf abſolute Governor of thoſe Parts. Whereupon the States us'd ſuch Means with Queen *Elizabeth*, that *Leiceſter* was call'd home with Diſgrace; being ſucceeded by *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*, Son to the Prince of *Orange*, now but twenty Years of Age. *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*, a worthy Commander, was by the Queen made General of the *Engliſh* Forces in the *Netherlands*, to whom ſhe gave Command to reduce the *Engliſh* Factions to the States Obedience; which by the Aſſiſtance of Prince *Maurice* he eaſily effected. And now the haughty *Leiceſter* being come home, derided and exploded for his Title of *Excellency*, and perceiving that Accuſations were preparing againſt him by *Buckhurſt*, and others; he privately with Servile Tears caſt himſelf at the Queen's Feet, and begg'd, *That as ſhe had ſent him out with Honour, ſhe would not receive him back with Diſgrace; and that ſhe would not bury him alive, whom ſhe had rais'd from the Duſt.* This ſo far prevail'd upon her, that the next Day being call'd to Examination before the Lords, he took his Place amongſt them; and when the Secretary began to read the Heads of his Accuſation, he interrupted him, ſaying, *That the publick Inſtructions he had receiv'd were limited with private Reſtrictions*; and making his Appeal to the Queen, eluded the whole Complaint, to the great Diſappointment of his Adverſaries. Thus was the mighty Favourite reſtor'd, and gain'd ſo much Ground, that ſhortly after he procur'd a Patent to be Vice-Gerent in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*; but *Burleigh* and *Hatton* prevented this aſpiring Attempt, by ſhewing the Queen the Danger of it. And being diſappointed of his ambitious Deſigns, he retir'd into the Country, and dy'd the next Year; having his Goods ſeiz'd on by the Queen's Order, and publickly ſold for the Payment of Debts due to the Crown. And this was the End of this prodigious Man; who is deſcrib'd as the moſt ſubtle and impious Courtier, and the moſt aſpiring and prevailing Favourite that *England* ever ſaw. Tho' as to the latter Part, this great and wiſe Queen knew how to humble and reduce him; and once told him with a ſevere Frown and Oath, *That he muſt not expect to Monopolize her Favours, but ſhe would give and take back as ſhe pleas'd; and as ſhe had no Maſter her ſelf, ſhe would make him know that he had a Miſtreſs.*

He is call'd home with Diſgrace.

His Death and Character.

This Year 1587 was noted for the Death of ſeveral other great Perſons, as *Henry Nevil* Lord *Abergavenny*, Great Grand-Child to *Edward Nevil*, who in the Reign of *Henry* the Sixth, gain'd that Title in the Right of his Wife; *Anne Stanhope*, Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, ninety Years of Age, who was the Wife of *Edward Seymour* Duke of *Somerſet* and Protector of *England*; Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Chancellor of the *Dutchy*, and the laſt Banneret of *England*, in *Camden*'s and *Baker*'s Time; and laſtly *Thomas Bromley* Chancellor of *England*, who was ſucceeded in his Place by Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, who for his Honeſty, and Senſe of Equity was preferr'd before more able Lawyers.

A. D. 1588.
Reg. $\frac{30}{31}$.

The great Year Eighty Eight.

We are arriv'd at the thirtieth Year of this renown'd Reign, *Eighty Eight*, which a *Koningsberg* Aſtronomer above a hundred Years before, foretold ſhould be a *Year of Wonders*, and the *German* Chronologers preſag'd would be the *Climacterical Year of the World*. The Rumours of Wars, which had been feeble and remote, now daily encreas'd, and reſounded through the World, That a moſt prodigious Navy was rigg'd and prepar'd in *Spain* againſt *England*; and that the moſt famous Captains, renowned Commanders and expert Soldiers were ſent for from *Italy*, from *Sicily*, and from as far as *America*, to manage this vaſt Enterprize. Yet at the ſame Time a Treaty of Peace was depending between *England* and *Spain* in the *Netherlands*: The Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Croſs*, *Dale* and *Rogers*, Doctors of Law, were Commiſſioners for Queen *Elizabeth*; the Count *Aremberg*, *Champignie*, *Richardot*, *Mais* and *Garvyer*, were for the Prince of *Parma* and the *Spaniard*; and all had their continu'd Meetings near *Oſtend*. But it appear'd that the *Spaniſh* Commiſſioners deſign'd more to lull the *Engliſh* into a Security, that they might make no Proviſions for War, than that they had any Intentions of real Proceedings; ſince they rejected all reaſonable Conditions that were offer'd, and trifled and protracted Time, 'till the *Spaniſh* Fleet was come upon the Coaſt, and the Sound of the great Guns from Sea broke up the Aſſembly, and diſmiſs'd the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners.

The great Spaniſh *Armada.*

The Preparations of the King of *Spain* were extraordinary, his Fleet conſiſting of a hundred and thirty four Sail; whereof ſeventy two Galeaſſes and Galleons, vaſt bulky Ships like floating Caſtles; in which were about twenty thouſand Soldiers, eight thouſand Mariners, two thouſand Gally-Slaves, and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty Great Guns; beſides prodigious Quantities of Bullets, Powder, Field-Pieces, Muskets, Pikes, Halberts, Carriages, Horſes, Mules, Torches, Lanthorns, Canvas, Hides, Lead, Chains, Whips, Butchering Knives, and whatever elſe could ſerve for Oſtentation or Terror. In this Fleet were alſo about a hundred Monks and Jeſuits, under the Superintendency of Cardinal *Allen* an *Engliſhman*, who took care to tranſlate the Pope's Bull into the *Engliſh* Tongue*:* And there were above a hundred and twenty Noble Men Volunteers of great Account; nor was there a Noble Family in *Spain*, but had a Son, Brother, or Nephew in this Expedition, in Hopes of Riches and Revenues in *England.* For the greater Holineſs of the Action, twelve of their Ships were call'd by the Name of the *Twelve Apoſtles*; and their Cauſe and their whole Force were recommended to the Pope, and the Prayers of all good Catholicks, and ſet forth in a Book in Print, in which all their Preparations were recited; which were ſo extraordinary throughout all *Spain*, *Italy* and *Sicily*, that the *Spaniards* themſelves were amaz'd at the Fleet, and with the utmoſt Confidence ſtil'd it, *The Invincible Armada.* As this Pope *Sixtus Quintus* had Excommunicated Queen *Elizabeth*, abſolv'd all her Subjects, and conſecrated the Expedition, as a *Croiſado* againſt *Turks* and Infidels; it occaſion'd the Duke of *Savoy*, and ſome other Catholick Princes, to liſt themſelves Volunteers in ſo meritorious an Enterprize. Nor was this all, for the Prince of *Parma* in the *Netherlands* had made his utmoſt Preparations for the ſame Attempt, and was appointed to be ready with fifty thouſand old Soldiers, with all other Accoutrements to join the *Armada* on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and by his Shipping to tranſport the whole Army, and land them at the Mouth of the *Thames*.

The Queen's Preparations.

On the other ſide, the undaunted Queen, with indefatigable Induſtry, made all ſuitable Preparations againſt ſuch a formidable Invader, which ſhe manag'd with a Maſculine Skill and Bravery. The Command of the Fleet was given to the Admiral the Lord *Charles Howard* of *Effingham*, a Man nobly qualify'd for ſuch a Work, who with the valiant Sir *Francis Drake* the Vice-Admiral, was appointed to be ready at *Plimouth:* And the Lord *Henry Seymour*, ſecond Son to the Duke of *Somerſet*, was order'd to lye upon the Coaſts of *Flanders*, with forty *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, to hinder the Prince of *Parma* from coming out with his Forces. Twenty thouſand Soldiers were diſpos'd along the Coaſts for the Land-Service: Beſides which, two Armies were rais'd of well-experienc'd Men; the one conſiſting of twenty two thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, under the Earl of *Leiceſter*, which encamp'd at *Tilbury*; and the other under the Lord *Hunſdon*, conſiſting of thirty four thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, to guard the Queen's Perſon. *Arthur* Lord *Gray*, Sir *Francis Knolls*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, and other excellent Soldiers, were choſen to make a Council of War, and conſult about the ordering of the Land-Service. Theſe declar'd, among other Particulars, That the Places moſt convenient for the Enemy's Landing, as *Milford* Haven, *Falmouth*, *Plimouth*, *Portland*, the Iſle of *Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the *Downs*, the *Thames* Mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, and ſuch others, ſhould be well mann'd and fortify'd: That the Train'd Soldiers of thoſe Shires, which lay near the Sea-Coaſt, ſhould defend thoſe Places, and be ready at the Alarm to hinder the Enemy from Landing; and if they did Land to lay the Country waſte, that they might find no Subſiſtance, and by continually crying *Arm*, *Arm*, give the Enemy no reſt; but yet they were not to give Battel, 'till more Commanders and their Soldiers were come up. At the ſame Time, many fearing the Papiſts at home, no leſs than the *Spaniards* abroad, perſuaded the Queen to take off the Heads of ſome of the chief of them; but ſhe generouſly deteſting ſuch Cruelty, only took Order, that ſome of them ſhould be confin'd to *Wisbich* Caſtle. And having her piercing Eyes and capacious Mind every way, ſhe quicken'd the Confederate States, ſecur'd the Affairs of *Ireland*, and procur'd the King of *Scotland* to ſtand againſt the Power of the *Spaniard*.

The Armada *ſets Sail.*

It enters the Britiſh *Channel.*

All things being in a Readineſs on the *Spaniard*'s Side, the wondrous *Armada* ſet ſail from the Mouth of the *Tago*, on the twenty ninth Day of *May*, under the Command of Don *Alphonſo* Duke of *Medina*, and under him *John de Recalde*, an experienc'd Sea Captain. Never did the Weſtern Ocean behold ſuch a pompous and magnificent Spectacle before, it appear'd with all the Ornaments of Delight, and Horrors of Deſtruction. But this vaſt moving City, as it was call'd, was ſuddenly diſpers'd by a great Storm; ſo that with great Difficulty they met ſome few Days after near the *Groyne* in *Gallicia*, but could not proceed in their Voyage before the twelfth Day of *July*. Before which Time, the *Engliſh* ſet forwards out of *Plimouth*, ſtanding towards the Coaſts of *Spain*; but partly by reaſon of contrary Winds, and partly upon Advice that the *Spaniards* were return'd, and upon ſome Doubt alſo, that they might paſs by them into *England*, while they were ſeeking them at a Diſtance, they return'd back to *Plimouth*. At which Time, a confident, tho' falſe Report came to the Admiral, that the *Spaniards* could not poſſibly proceed in their Deſign this Year; upon which the *Engliſh* Officers were in Expectations of being disbanded, and many of the Men went aſhoar; when ſuddenly the famous *Armada* was diſcover'd near the Mouth of the *Britiſh* Channel. Upon which the Lord Admiral, finding the Winds contrary, tow'd out the Fleet into the main Sea, with ſingular Diligence and Induſtry, and with admirable Alacrity of the Seamen, whom he encourag'd, by performing their meaneſt Offices with his own Hands. The next Day the *Engliſh* diſcover'd the mighty Navy, with proud Turrets like Caſtles, in Front like a Half-Moon, with Wings extending ſeven Miles in Length, creeping with ſlow Pace, tho' with full Sails; as tho' the Winds grew faint with moving them, and the Ocean groan'd under the Vaſtneſs of the Burden.

The Firſt Fight.

The Second.

The Third.

The *Engliſh* Admiral wiſely ſuffer'd them to ſtalk by him, that he might chaſe them in the Rear with a full Wind; and on the twenty firſt of *July*, ſending a Pinnace before call'd the *Defiance*, denounc'd War by diſcharging her Ordnance, and without fearing their Numbers immediately fell in and thunder'd with the utmoſt Fury upon the *Spaniſh* Admiral, as he thought, though it prov'd to be *de Leva*'s Ship. He was bravely ſeconded by the gallant Commanders, *Drake*, *Hawkins* and *Forbiſher*, who pour'd in ſuch Vollies and Broadſides upon the hindmoſt Squadron, commanded by *Recalde*, that he was ſoon forc'd to fly to the main Fleet for Succour; finding that the *Engliſh* had a great Advantage, not only in the Wind, but in the Lowneſs of their Ships, and their extraordinary Celerity in tacking and moving as they had Occaſion. The Night following a vaſt Ship of *Biſcay*, where the King of *Spain*'s Treaſure was kept, took Fire by Chance or Treachery, but was timely extinguiſh'd by other Veſſels, and the Treaſure remov'd. This fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh* next Day, and a great Galleon with four hundred and fifty Men, having broken her Fore-maſt, was taken by Sir *Francis Drake*, and fifty five thouſand Ducats in Gold which he found in her were diſtributed among his own Men. On the twenty third Day of the Month, there was a ſecond Engagement, with terrible Thunders on both Sides, in which moſt of the *Spaniſh* Shot flew over the *Engliſh* Ships without Damage; only *Cock* an *Engliſh* Captain dy'd valiantly, who with his little Veſſel bravely charg'd into the midſt of his Enemies. The next Day they reſted on both Sides, in which Time the *Engliſh* Admiral rang'd his whole Fleet into four diſtinct Squadrons; the firſt commanded by himſelf, the ſecond by *Drake*, the third by *Hawkins*, and the fourth by *Forbiſher*. Thus on the twenty fifth Day they came to a third Engagement, in which the *Engliſh* by their extraordinary Management and Bravery, had again the Advantage: So that from this Time the *Spaniards* held on their Courſe, and diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to the Prince of *Parma*, requiring him immediately to join with the *Armada*, and withal to ſend them Bullets. The Day following, the Lord Admiral Knighted *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townſend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbiſher*, for their brave Services; and holding a Council of War, they reſolv'd not to attack the Enemy, 'till they came to the Strait of *Calais*, where the Lord *Henry Seymour*, and Sir *William Winter*, with a new Squadron waited for their Arrival. And now the *Engliſh* were ſo far from being terrify'd with this invincible Navy, that many of the Nobility and Gentry hir'd Ships at their own Charges, and came to the Admiral; as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brook*, *Charles Blunt*, *Walter Raleigh*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambroſe Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorge*, and others of conſiderable Note.

The Armada *anchors before* Calais.

On the twenty ſeventh of this Month the grand *Armada* came to Anchor before *Calais*, and was follow'd within Cannon-ſhot by the *Engliſh* Admiral, to whom *Seymour* and *Winter* join'd their Ships; ſo that the *Engliſh* now conſiſted of a hundred and forty Sail, all nimble and ſerviceable Veſſels, and furniſh'd with active and courageous Seamen; yet only fifteen of them did chiefly ſuſtain the Brunt of the Engagement. And now again the *Spaniards* ſent repeated Meſſengers to the Prince of *Parma*, to ſend them forty Fly-Boats, without which they were not able to fight with the *Engliſh*, by reaſon of the Bulk and Unwieldineſs of their Ships; and they urg'd him immediately to put to Sea with his great Army. But he was unprepar'd in many Reſpects, and his Flat-bottom'd Boats were leaky, and his Men not gather'd together; and beſides, the *Hollanders* lay cruizing before the Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, in ſuch a Manner and Condition, that he durſt not venture out. And yet, being an expert and induſtrious Commander, he ſeem'd to omit nothing that lay in his Power, through the vehement Deſire he had to conquer *England*.

The Armada *diſpers'd by Fireſhips.*

The fourth Fight.

The Armada *retires.*

But Queen *Elizabeth*'s wiſe Foreſight prevented both his Diligence, and the credulous Hopes of the *Spaniards*: For by her Command, the Day after the *Spaniards* had caſt Anchor, the Admiral made ready eight of his worſt Ships, cover'd with Wild-Fire, Pitch and Roſin, and fill'd with Sulphur, and other combuſtible Matter, and ſent them flaming down the Wind among the *Spaniſh* Fleet in the darkeſt Time of the Night, under the Command of *Young* and *Prowſe*. This unuſual Sight, which repreſented the Ocean and Skies in one Conflagration, rais'd a prodigious Fear in the *Spaniards*, as tho' theſe Ships were fill'd with unheard of Engines of Deſtruction; and with a diſmal Outry, they cut all their Cables, and put to Sea with the greateſt Precipitation and Confuſion. One of the largeſt Ships broke her Rudder, and floating without Command, was the next Day taken by *Preſton*, *Gerrard* and *Harvy*, who ſlew the Commander *Moncada*, and four hundred Soldiers, deliver'd three hundred Gally-Slaves, and took fifty thouſand Ducats in Gold; but the Veſſel and Ordnance became Wreck to the Governor of *Calais*. *Drake* and *Fenner* in the mean Time perceiving the *Spaniſh* Fleet gradually to gather together before *Graveling*, attack'd them with great Bravery, and began a fourth Engagement; and being join'd by the Admiral, and ſeveral other Commanders, they did vaſt Damage to the Enemies tall Ships, without receiving any conſiderable Hurt themſelves. The Galleon call'd St. *Matthew* was ſeverely batter'd by *Seymour* and *Winter*, driven towards *Oſtend*, attack'd by the *Zealanders*, and at laſt taken by the *Fluſhingers*. And now the inſulting *Armada*, wanting ſeveral Neceſſaries, and loſing all Hopes of the Prince of *Parma*'s Aſſiſtance, reſolv'd to return by the North to *Spain*; in which Paſſage they loſt many Ships and Men; the *Engliſh* Fleet ſtill following their Rear, 'till they were forc'd to deſiſt for want of Powder.

The Loſſes of the Spaniards.

While theſe things paſs'd at Sea, the Heroick Queen came to *Tilbury*, and with a maſculine Spirit view'd her Camp and Army; and riding about through the ſeveral Ranks with a Commander's Truncheon in her Hand, it was incredible what Fires were blown in her Soldier's Breaſts by her obliging Behaviour, and her invigorating Speeches. But in a ſhort time there was no further Occaſion for her Preſence; for the *Spaniards* having met with the moſt mortifying Diſappointments and Encounters, put their whole Safety in their Flight. And this terrible *Armada*, which made all *Europe* tremble, and was four Years in preparing with an infinite Expence, was in the Space of one Month many Times attack'd by the undaunted *Engliſh*, and at laſt overthrown, with great Slaughter and Damage on their Side, and with the Loſs of only a hundred Men, and one ſmall Veſſel on the *Engliſh*: And after it had been driven round about all *Britain* by *Scotland*, the *Orcades* and *Ireland*, thrown out all the Mules and Horſes, grievouſly toſs'd, and extreamly diſtreſs'd, impair'd and mangled by Storms and Wrecks, and endur'd all manner of Miſeries, at length return'd home with the greateſt Shame and Diſhonour. Of the hundred and thirty four Ships that ſet out from *Spain*, fifty three only return'd; about one half of the Men were loſt, and there was not a Family of Note in *Spain* but ſuffer'd in this Expedition, having loſt a Son, or a Brother, or ſome near Kinſman. But King *Philip* himſelf receiv'd the News with an aſtoniſhing Calmneſs: He was writing a Letter in his Cloſet, when he receiv'd Intelligence of the Ruin of his *Armada*, upon which he cooly ſaid, *He ſent his Fleet to fight againſt the* Engliſh, *and not againſt the Winds*; and without Change or Emotion, continu'd to finiſh his Letter.

Reg. 31.

A general Thankſgiving in England.

For the glorious Succeſs and Deliverance this Year the pious Queen commanded publick Prayers and Thankſgivings to be us'd throughout all the Churches in *England*, and ſhe herſelf was carry'd in a triumphant Manner, in an open Chariot, through the Streets of *London* to St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, being attended by a gallant Train of Noblemen and others, and receiv'd with all the Pomp, Splendor, and Exultation, that the whole City could demonſtrate. Being arriv'd at the Weſt Door of the Cathedral, where all the Enemies Banners were hung up and diſplay'd, ſhe proſtrated her ſelf to the Ground, and audibly return'd her Thanks to Heaven; afterwards ſhe heard a Sermon, wherein all the Glory of the Deliverance was given to God alone. On the Lord Admiral ſhe ſetled a conſtant Revenue for his happy Services, and frequently commended him and the Captains of her Ships, as Men born for the Preſervation of their Country. The reſt ſhe courteouſly ſaluted by Name as oft as ſhe ſaw them, which extreamly endear'd her to her People; and thoſe who were indigent or wounded, ſhe relieved with noble Penſions. In Memory of this Victory ſeveral Coins were ſtruck, with a Fleet flying with full Sails, and the Motto, *Venit, vidit, fugit*; and others to the Honour of the Queen, with Fireſhips, and a Fleet all in Confuſion, inſcrib'd *Dux Fœmina facti*. The learned Men, both at home and abroad, congratulating the Victory with tranſported Hearts, wrote Triumphal Poems in all Languages upon this glorious Subject.

The King of Scotland *true to the* Engliſh *Intereſt.*

The publick Joy was augmented by the Arrival of Sir *Robert Sidney* out of *Scotland*, who brought Intelligence from thence, that the King had over-paſs'd all Injuries, was lovingly affected to the *Engliſh* and the eſtabliſh'd Religion, and deſir'd to imbrace a ſincere and perfect Amity with Queen *Elizabeth*. For as to the King of *Spain* he pleaſantly told the Ambaſſador, *That he expected no other Favour from him, than what* Polyphemus *promis'd* Ulyſſes, *That after all the reſt were devoured, he ſhould be ſwallow'd laſt*. So that the mighty Queen was in the Height of all her Glory both at Home and Abroad; belov'd by her Friends, and fear'd by her Enemies, who were never after in a Condition to attack her Kingdom the ſecond Time; but found it difficult to defend their own againſt her, and her brave Martial Commanders. Thus, with the Death of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, formerly mention'd, and ſome inferior Tranſactions, ended the famous Year *Eighty Eight*; a Name doubly to be remember'd by the *Engliſh* Nation to all ſucceeding Generations.

A. D. 1589.

Reg. 31/32.

The ſeventh Parliament in this Reign.

The Papiſts Deſigns in Scotland.

XII. The mighty Queen having over-paſs'd two threatning Storms, the one from the Queen of *Scots* at home, and the other from the *Spaniards* abroad, began now to think of Repriſals, and to act more offenſively againſt her moſt formidable Enemies. Towards which Deſign a new Parliament was call'd, which is not mention'd by *Camden* and the common Hiſtorians. It met upon the fourth Day of *February*, and continuing no longer than the twenty ninth Day of *March*, it was then diſſolv'd. Here for the publick Safety of her Majeſty and her Realms, the Houſe of Commons with the utmoſt Alacrity aided her with the unuſual and extraordinary Gift of four Fifteenths and Tenths, and two entire Subſidies, to which the Clergy added two Subſidies of their own. In the Concluſion, the Parliament deſired her to proclaim open War againſt the King of *Spain*, who had ſo lately invaded her Dominions, whom they concluded to have been the Root and Fountain of all the Conſpiracies practis'd, and of all the Rebellions rais'd againſt her Majeſty, and the Proteſtant Religion. This appear'd about the ſame Time; for the *Spaniards* had another Plot againſt *England*, deſigning to invade it by way of *Scotland*. In which Affair they employ'd *Bruce* a Prieſt, and *Chreiton* and *Hays* Jeſuits, who eaſily drew into their Party the Earls of *Huntly*, *Athol* and *Crawford*, Zealots for the *Romiſh* Religion, and *Bothwell*, a Man of an unſteady and diſloyal Temper. Their chief Deſign was to ſeize upon the King's Perſon, to let in Foreign Troops, to reſtore Popery, to invade *England*, and to revenge the Death of the Queen of *Scotland*: But King *James* by a ſpeedy March againſt them, overthrew that Deſign in *Scotland*; and Queen *Elizabeth* by apprehending, trying, and condemning *Philip Howard*, Earl of *Arundel*, who eſpous'd the *Spaniſh* Party, tho' ſhe mercifully gave him his Life, put an End to the whole Enterprize.

An Expedition into Spain.

This being ſettled at home, the Queen gave leave to Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* to undertake an Expedition into *Spain* at their own private Charges; who being allow'd ſome Ships of War, they took along with them *Anthony* the Baſtard, who laid Claim to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, with eleven thouſand Soldiers, and fourteen hundred Seamen. On the fifth Day of *April* they ſet ſail from *Plimouth*, and arriv'd at the *Groyne* in *Galicia*; where with ſingular Valour they firſt took the lower Town, and then the higher: And from thence ſailing towards *Portugal*, they met the brave Earl of *Eſſex*, who thirſting after Glory, had put to Sea without the Queen's Knowledge. After two Days they arriv'd at *Penycha* a Town of *Portugal*, which they took, and left the Caſtle to Don *Antonio*; and from thence they march'd by Land towards *Liſbon*, ſixty Miles diſtant. The Foot Companies led by *Norris*, whom *Drake* promis'd to follow with the Fleet, being arriv'd at the Weſt Suburbs of *Liſbon*, they found no People but a few poor diſarm'd *Portugueze*, who cry'd out, *God ſave King* Antonio! The Day following the *Spaniards* made a Sally, in which Encounter, *Brett*, *Carſey* and

Carre, ſtout Commanders, and ſome common Soldiers were ſlain; yet the Earl of *Eſſex* bravely drove the *Spaniards* to the very Gates of the City. And now having tarry'd two Days, without being aſſiſted by any Revolt in the *Portugueze*, according to *Antonio*'s Aſſurance, and finding freſh Supplies come into the Town, their own Army ſickly, Proviſions and Powder failing, and what was moſt material, *Drake* not bringing up the great Ordnance; they departed from the Suburbs of *Liſbon* towards *Caſcaes*, a little Town at the Mouth of the River *Tago*, which Town was in the mean time taken by *Drake*, who excus'd his not coming to *Liſbon*, by reaſon of the Flats he had to paſs, and the Caſtle of St. *Julian*, fortify'd with fifty Pieces of great Cannon. Near this Place they found ſixty Veſſels belonging to the Hanſe Towns of *Germany*, laden with Corn, and all manner of Ammunition, which they took as lawful Prize towards their Charges; in regard the Queen had forbidden thoſe Towns to carry Proviſions or Ammunition to the *Spaniard*. From hence they ſet ſail to *Vigo*, a Place famous for a glorious Expedition in this latter Age, which they fir'd; and having waſted all the Country, they return'd into *England* with a hundred and fifty Pieces of great Cannon, and a very rich Booty, of which ſome Part was divided among the Seamen. This private Expedition prov'd a great Mortification to the *Spaniards*, and rais'd the Reputation of the *Engliſh* Valour; but it coſt the Lives of about ſix thouſand Soldiers and Seamen, not from the Hands of the Enemy, but by their eating of ſtrange Fruits, and from the Diſtempers of the Climate.

The Succeſs of it.

It now nearly concern'd the Good of *England* to look into the Affairs and State of *France*; for while theſe Things were tranſacted between *Spain* and *England*, the Popiſh Princes of *France*, under Pretext of defending the Catholick Religion, enter'd into a famous Combination, which they call'd *The Holy League*: The Deſign of which was, to root out all Proteſtants, and to divert the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*; for which they bound themſelves by Oath, to ſuffer none but a Catholick to be King of *France*; which was directly to exclude the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, if the preſent King dy'd without Iſſue. The Head of this remarkable League was the Duke of *Guiſe*, who having given ſome Defeats to the *German* Forces that came into *France* in Relief of the Proteſtants, was unmeaſurably extoll'd by the Clergy and others; and arriv'd to ſuch a Height of Reputation that triumphantly entering into *Paris*, he forc'd the King to leave the City, and oblig'd him in an Aſſembly at *Blois* to make him great Maſter of the *French* Cavalry, and to conſent by Edict to exterminate the Proteſtants. So that the King dreading his Greatneſs, at length us'd ſuch Means as he procur'd him to be aſſaſſinated in the very Court, and ſhortly after his Brother the Cardinal to be ſtrangled. Upon which ſo vaſt a Confuſion follow'd, that the People broke through all Obedience to Magiſtrates, and pillag'd the Palace Royal in *Paris*. The Confederates immediately made a new Seal, uſurp'd the Regal Authority, ſeiz'd the ſtrongeſt Places, intercepted the King's Revenues, call'd in *Spaniſh* Soldiers, and denounc'd War againſt their King. Inſomuch that the King was compell'd to fly to the Proteſtants, whom he had alſo diſoblig'd; upon which the Leaguers, by a deteſtable Villany, procur'd him to be murther'd by the Hands of *James Clement* a Monk. The King at his Death declar'd the King of *Navarre* his lawful Succeſſor; but the Confederates were for excluding him as a Heretick, yet could not well agree upon another Perſon: Some would have the Duke of *Lorrain*, ſome the Duke of *Savoy*, others the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Brothers, and others the King of *Spain*; but the greateſt Part gave their Votes for the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was one Degree nearer ally'd to the ſlain King, than his Nephew the King of *Navarre*. He therefore was proclaim'd King of *France*, by the Name of *Charles* the Tenth: But he being a Prieſt, the King of *Navarre* was proclaim'd King of *France*, by the Name of *Henry* the Fourth, and continu'd at *Dieppe* in *Normandy*, in no ſmall Danger of his Adverſaries.

The Holy League *in* France.

The French *King murther'd.*

His Succeſſor Henry IV. *implores Aid of Queen* Elizabeth.

The King of *Navarre* being thus rais'd in Dignity, but weak in Supports, implor'd Aſſiſtance of the generous Queen of *England*, and offer'd to enter into a League Offenſive and Defenſive. Upon which, out of Reſpect to a Proteſtant King, renown'd for his Martial Acts, the Queen immediately ſent him twenty two thouſand Pounds of *Engliſh* Money in Gold, ſuch a Sum of Gold Coin as he declar'd he had never ſeen at once; and withal ſupply'd him with four thouſand Soldiers, under the Command of the valiant *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*; appointing for Colonels, Sir *Thomas Wilford* Marſhal of the Field, Sir *John Burroughs*, Sir *William Drury*, and Sir *Thomas Baskeville*, with a Month's Pay advanc'd. Hereupon the Confederates, whom the King beyond Expectation had juſt defeated at *Argues*, began to ſink and give Way, and upon the Arrival of the *Engliſh* to vaniſh out of Sight. With this Addition of Forces, the new rais'd King march'd to *Paris*; and being ready to enter the City, he caus'd a Retreat to be ſounded, being unwilling to have that Capital City plunder'd, which he hop'd wou'd ſhortly be his own. After that by the good Service of the *Engliſh*, he recover'd *Mans*, *Alenſon*, *Falaiſe*, *Luxon* and *Honfleur*; and being fatigued with all the Inconveniences of a Winter Expedition, and five hundred Miles March, the *Engliſh* were diſmiſs'd, and ſent home with grateful Acknowledgments.

The Succeſs of it.

As Queen *Elizabeth* deſir'd to eſtabliſh *Navarre* in the Kingdom of *France*, ſo ſhe alſo deſir'd to marry his Siſter the Lady *Catharine* to the King of *Scotland*; but finding that that King had before plac'd his Affections upon *Anne*, the Daughter of *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, ſhe deſiſted, and approv'd of his Choice. Accordingly they were marry'd by Proxy in the Month of *Auguſt*; but the Lady ſailing for *Scotland*, by prodigious Storms was driven back to *Norway*, and ſo long detain'd, that the King, firſt adviſing with Queen *Elizabeth*, who ſent him noble Preſents towards the Celebration of the Marriage, ſail'd over into *Norway* in an extreme cold Seaſon, and there conſummating the Marriage at twenty three Years of Age, he continu'd in thoſe Parts 'till the following Year and Month of *May*. Many were of Opinion that theſe extraordinary Storms were rais'd by Magick and Witchcraft; which Belief was confirm'd by the Confeſſion of ſome impious Perſons, reputed Magicians, who declar'd they did it to hinder the Queen from Landing in *Scotland*, and that *Bothwell* had conſulted with them about the King's Death. For which he was thrown into Priſon, and eſcaping in a ſhort Time, he occaſion'd new Commotions in *Scotland*.

The King of Scotland *marries* Anne *of* Denmark.

In this Year ſeveral Noble Perſonages departed this Life; as *Frances* Counteſs of *Suſſex*, Siſter to Sir *Henry Sidney*; Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor and Vice-Treaſurer of the Exchequer; *William Somerſet* Earl of *Worceſter*, ſo numerous in his Progeny, that he could reckon more Children of both Sexes, than all the Earls in *England*: Alſo *John* Lord *Sturton*, *Henry* Lord *Compton*, and the Lord *Paget* and *Bruſſels*. The two firſt of theſe are worthily remember'd as the pious Founders of two Colleges, *Sidney* and *Emanuel*, in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, call'd the two Proteſtant Foundations.

The Deaths of ſeveral Perſons.

A. D. 1590. Reg. $\frac{32}{33}$.

The Queen's Care of her Revenues.

The wiſe Queen now ſpent much of her time in fortifying of Places, in managing her Treaſure to the beſt Advantage, and ſending Relief to her diſtreſſed Neighbours; for which ſhe expended large Sums both in *France* and the *Netherlands*. Inſomuch that many admir'd how her Revenues could ſerve ſo many great Ends; ſince ſhe was clear of all Debts, and was able to defend her ſelf and her Allies without any Foreign Helps, which none of her neighbouring Kings could do. But in reality ſhe was frugal with true Wiſdom and Underſtanding; and never ſpar'd when there was a juſt Occaſion, either for the Maintenance of her Royal State, the Defence of her Kingdom, or the Relief of her Neighbours. She took particular Care of her ſtanding Revenues, in which *Burleigh* her Treaſurer was an admirable Manager; yet this Year ſhe exceeded him and the reſt of her great Men; and at the Information of a ſubtle ordinary Man, call'd *Caermarden*, ſhe rais'd Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Farmer of ſome Cuſtoms, from fourteen to forty two thouſand Pounds, and then to fifty thouſand Pounds a Year. And when *Burleigh*, *Leiceſter*, and *Walſingham* firſt blam'd her Majeſty for heark'ning to *Caermarden*, an inconſiderable *Informer*, ſhe wiſely anſwer'd, *It was the Duty of a Prince to carry an equal Hand between the Higheſt and Loweſt; That ſuch as raſhly accus'd Magiſtrates and Counſellors, without being able to prove their Charge, were to be puniſh'd; but thoſe who accus'd them juſtly, were to be heard and incourag'd.*

Her Glory was now ſpread abroad, and her Reputation extended to remote Countries; having this Year obtain'd of the *Grand-Signior* Reſt and Quiet for the Vaivod of *Moldavia*, who had been miſerably harraſs'd by the *Turks*, and a Peace for the *Polonians*, who were threatned by them with a dangerous War; which was afterwards moſt gratefully acknowledg'd by them. In the mean time to confirm Amity with the King of *Scotland*, ſhe ſent the new Earl of *Worceſter* to congratulate his Marriage and ſafe Return out of *Denmark*, and to ſignifie to him, That he, together with the *French* King, were choſen into the Society of the Order of the *Garter*; and withal to urge him timely to ſuppreſs the Popiſh Faction, which grew ſtrong in *Scotland*. King *James* receiv'd him very graciouſly, and to maintain the Amity with *England*, and declare his great Affection to the publick Peace, he ſent Colonel *Stuart* into *Germany*, that Care might be taken with the King of *Denmark*, and the Ambaſſadors of the Princes there met, for renewing the Peace between *England*, *Spain* and *France*. As to *France*, that Country was now vio-

The Queen's Policy.

lently torn by a Civil War rais'd by the Leaguers, of which Queen *Elizabeth* could not be an unconcern'd Spectator, but perform'd all the Parts of a wiſe Prince and a pious Chriſtian; tho' ſhe was adviſ'd by many not to aſſiſt the new King of *France*. When ſome ſuggeſted to her, that while the Leaguers and the *Spaniards* were endeavouring to ſhare *France* between them, and cantonize it into ſeveral Principalities, ſhe might alſo ſeize upon the Maritime Countries of *Picardy* and *Normandy*, alledging what *Charles* of *Burgundy* was wont to ſay, *That the Neighbouring Nations would be happy when* France *ſhould be ſubject to twenty petty Kings*; She heard it with Diſlike, and rejected it with Indignation, ſaying, *The laſt Day of the Kingdom of* France, *whenever it comes, will certainly be the Eve of the Deſtruction of* England.

Walſingham's *Death and Character.*

In this Year dy'd ſeveral great Men, as *Ambroſe Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Sir *Thomas Randolph*, who had been imploy'd in many Embaſſies, Sir *James Crofts* Comptrollor of the Queen's Houſhold, and the Lord *Wentworth*, the laſt *Engliſh* Governor of *Calais*. But the moſt remarkable Man was Sir *Francis Walſingham*, principal Secretary of State, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and of the Order of the Garter; one of the moſt refin'd Politicians, and penetrating Stateſmen, that ever that Age produc'd. He had an admirable Talent both in diſcovering and managing the ſecret Receſſes of Human Nature; and had his Spies in moſt Courts in Chriſtendom, and allow'd them a liberal Maintenance; for his great Maxim was, *Knowledge is never too dear*. Accordingly he ſpent his whole Time and Faculties in the Service of the Queen and Publick; ſo that the Queen was heard to ſay, *That in Diligence and Sagacity he exceeded her Expectation*. This great Man after all his mighty Services to the Publick, gave a remarkable Proof at his Death, how far he preferr'd that to his own Intereſt; for he dy'd ſo poor that his Friends were oblig'd to bury him privately in the Night, leſt his Body ſhould be arreſted for Debt. He left only one Daughter, famous for having three Husbands of the greateſt Note; firſt Sir *Philip Sidney*, ſecondly *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, and laſtly the Earl of *Clan-Richard*, who was afterwards made Earl of St. *Albans*.

A. D. 1591. Reg. $\frac{33}{34}$.

Hacket's *Blaſphemy and Execution.*

In the following Year the City of *London* was much diſturb'd by the prodigious Behaviour of one *Hacket*, born at *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*, a mean Perſon of no Learning, who ſuddenly took upon him a Shew of wonderful Sanctity, hearing Sermons, getting Scriptures by heart, and counterfeiting Revelations from God, and extraordinary Calls. By which Means he was highly extoll'd by certain zealous Miniſters of the *Geneva* Diſcipline, eſpecially by two call'd *Coppinger* and *Arthington*; and they accounted him as ſent from Heaven, and a greater Prophet than *Moſes* or *John Baptiſt*; and finally that he was Chriſt himſelf, come with a Fan in his Hand to judge the World. This they proclaim'd in *Cheapſide*, making report that *Hacket* participated of Chriſt's glorify'd Body, by his ſpecial Spirit, and was now come to propagate the Goſpel over *Europe*, and ſettle a true Diſcipline in the Church of *England*; and that they themſelves were two Prophets, the one of Mercy, the other of Judgment, with many ſuch incredible Blaſphemies. Whereupon *Hacket* was apprehended and arraign'd, and at laſt hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, continuing at his very Death in his blaſphemous Aſſertions, to the great Horror and Amazement of the Spectators. *Coppinger* a while after ſtarv'd himſelf to Death in Priſon; *Arthington* repented, and made his Recantation in a publick Writing. Beſides theſe extravagant Managers, others alſo at this time oppos'd the eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church of *England*, exclaiming againſt the Function and Calling of Biſhops; with whom joyn'd ſome common Lawyers, affirming that the Queen could not depute, nor theſe Men exerciſe ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. But the Queen conceiving that ſhe was ſhot at through the Sides of the Prelates, ſuppreſs'd them as much as poſſible, and ſtrictly maintain'd the former Eſtabliſhment.

Greenvile's *Valour at Sea.*

And now Enmity daily increaſing between *Spain* and *England*, two Proclamations were ſet forth; one prohibiting upon pain of High-Treaſon, to carry Proviſions or Ammunition into any of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions: Another forbidding all Perſons to entertain any in their Houſes, 'till Enquiry be made what they were; leſt they ſhould entertain Popiſh Prieſts, who became very numerous in *England*, by reaſon the King of *Spain* had lately founded a Seminary at *Valadolid* for the *Engliſh*. About this time the Lord *Thomas Howard*, with ſix of the Queen's Ships, having waited at the *Azores* ſix whole Months, for the Arrival of the *Spaniſh* Fleet from *America*, was at laſt attack'd by *Alphonſo Baſſano*, with fifty three Ships, ſent for the Convoy of the ſaid Fleet; where *Richard Greenvile*, Vice-Admiral, being in the *Revenge*, and ſeparated from his Company, was ſo hemm'd in by the *Spaniſh* Ships, and ſo batter'd with large Shot, that moſt of his Men being ſlain, his Main-Maſt cut off, himſelf much wounded in the Head, he commanded to ſink the Ship, that it might not fall into the *Spaniards* Hands; but this being countermanded by moſt Votes, it was agreed to yield it to the *Spaniards*, upon Condition that the Men ſhould be ſet at Liberty. *Greenvile* himſelf was carry'd to the *Spaniſh* Admiral, where within two Days he dy'd, not without the Commendations of his Enemies. Thus the great Ship call'd the *Revenge* was yielded, but had ſo many Leaks in the Keel, that ſoon after it was caſt away in a Storm: And the Loſs of this one Ship was ſoon made good upon the *Spaniards*, by taking many of theirs.

***The Affairs of* France.**

But the Queen's greateſt Care was now for the State of *France*, and particularly that *Bretaign* ſhould not fall into the *Spaniards* Hands; wherefore by *Edmund York* ſhe promis'd the *French* King to ſend him new Forces to preſerve that Province, if he would name ſome Towns, as places of Retreat and Safety. Hereupon he nam'd *Cherbourg*, *Granvile* or *Breſt*, as moſt convenient; and it was agreed that three thouſand *Engliſh* ſhould be ſent into *Bretaign* and *Picardy*: But in the mean Time *Henry Palmer* was ſent to Sea with a Squadron, and ſeiz'd on thirteen *Spaniſh* Ships, as they were returning from *New France*. And now Sir *Roger Williams*, with a Company of ſix hundred Soldiers, paſs'd over to *Dieppe* in *Normandy*; and ſhortly after Sir *John Norris*, with the reſt of the Forces, haſten'd into *Bretaign*. Sir *Roger Williams* with his own ſix hundred Men, and the Aſſiſtance of *Charter* Governor of *Dieppe*, bravely defeated the Leaguers, who had block'd up the Paſſages; whoſe Valour was highly applauded by the *French* King in his Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*. Whereupon increaſing in Courage, and neglecting his Charge at *Dieppe*, he accompany'd the King to the very Suburbs of *Paris*, where in Honour of his Nation, he ſent a Challenge to the *Spaniards*, to ingage two hundred Pike-men and a hundred Musketeers of the *Engliſh*, againſt the ſame Number of *Spaniards*, in the open Field.

The Earl of* Eſſex *ſent thither.

Shortly after the *French* King acquainted Queen *Elizabeth*, that he deſign'd to take in *Roan* or *Havre-de-Grace*, before the Prince of *Parma* ſhould come into *France*, and thereupon requeſted her to ſend four thouſand *Engliſh* into *Normandy*, which upon certain wiſe Conditions ſhe granted; and ſent them under the Command of the brave Earl of *Eſſex*, accompany'd by *Thomas Leighton* and Sir *William Killigrew*, as Counſellors and Aſſiſtants. When the Earl arriv'd in *France*, he found that the King was at *Noyon*, and in *Normandy* no Preparation made for the War, which much perplex'd him; but ſoon after Sir *Roger Williams* came to him from the King, requeſting him to go to *Noyon* there to conſult about managing the War. The Earl made a tedious Journey to that Place, and at his Arrival the King inform'd him, That of Neceſſity he muſt go himſelf into *Champaign*; but promis'd to ſend Marſhal *Biron*, and the Duke of *Montpenſier* immediately to him, to lay Siege to *Roan*. Hereupon the Earl return'd to his Camp, expecting their Arrival, but neither of them came, which made the Earl more uneaſie than ever; ſo that being weary of an unactive Life, and inflam'd with Courage, he himſelf made an Approach to *Roan*, where his Brother *Walter Devereux* was unfortunately ſlain. Indeed the *French* King's Affairs were at this Time upon ſuch uncertain Terms, that before he could act what he had reſolv'd, ſomething ſtill interven'd that diverted him: For which by his Letters he excus'd himſelf to Queen *Elizabeth*; and by the Mediation of the Earl, and *Mornay* Lord *du Pleſſie*, who came into *England*, he obtain'd new Supplies, and then inveſted *Roan*. After a tedious Winter's Siege, the Earl of *Eſſex* challeng'd Monſieur *Villars* the Governor to a ſingle Combate; but being refus'd, and finding himſelf ill ſupported, he return'd into *England*, being call'd home by the Queen, whoſe Favour, by his long Abſence, began to be much in Danger. And now the *French* King, hearing that the Prince of *Parma* was coming into *France*, was once again compell'd to fly to the Queen of *England* for Succour, to whom upon certain Conditions ſhe granted an Army of four thouſand Men, and ſome great Guns, with which Sir *John Norris* was ſent into *France*; which yet was not employ'd by the *French* King according to Agreement, to the great Diſpleaſure of the Queen. The Prince of *Parma*'s coming into *France* was prevented by his Death, after he had govern'd the *Spaniſh Netherlands* fourteen Years; a Prince of many excellent Qualifications, and whom Queen *Elizabeth* never mention'd but with Honour.

A. D. 1592. Reg. $\frac{34}{35}$.

The Prince of* Parma's *Death.

Perrot's *Tryal.*

To return to *England*; at this Time Sir *John Perrot*, who had been Deputy of *Ireland*, and done great Service in that Country, was yet by the Malice of his Adverſaries, of whom *Hatton* was one, call'd in Queſtion before ſome of the Lords and Judges: His Accuſations were, 'Firſt, 'That he had ſpoken opprobrious Words againſt the 'Queen, ſaying, *She was Illegitimate and Cowardly*: Se-

‘ condly, That he had harbour’d notorious Traitors and ‘ Popiſh Prieſts; Thirdly, That he held Correſpondence ‘ with the Prince of *Parma*, and the Queen’s Enemies.’ To the firſt of which he confeſs’d, That in his Paſſion he had ſpoken unadviſedly of the Queen, for which he was infinitely ſorry; but deny’d all the reſt; and all Men knew he was never Popiſhly affected. His Accuſers were *Philip Williams*, ſome time his Secretary, *O-Roghan* an *Iriſh* marry’d Prieſt, whoſe Life he had ſav’d, and one *Walton*, a Man of no Worth or Reputation. Yet his Crimes being urg’d againſt him by *Popham* and other Lawyers, ’till almoſt Midnight, he was at laſt condemn’d of High-Treaſon; and Sentence was after twenty Days pronounc’d at the Inſtance of his Adverſaries. Upon which Day *Burleigh* is ſaid to have wept for the Gentleman’s hard Fortune, and, ſighing, ſaid, *The more unjuſt is Hatred, it is ſo much the more cruel.* But *Perrot* dy’d a natural Death in the *Tower*, when he had ſome Hopes given him of his Life, the Queen’s Diſpleaſure being appeas’d. For at this Time ſhe was often heard to commend that Reſcript of ſome of the *Roman* Emperors; *When any Man ſpeaks Ill of the Emperor, if it proceeds from fooliſh Levity, it is to be contemn’d; if from Madneſs, to be pity’d; if from Injury and Malice, to be pardon’d.* Thus did a deſerving and noble Gentleman procure his own Ruin by the unbridled Laviſhneſs of his Tongue; which commonly leaves a deep and dangerous Impreſſion in the Minds of Princes.

His Death.

Raleigh’s *Expedition.*

And now the wiſe Queen, conſidering that the King of *Spain*’s chief Strength was in his Gold of *America*, ſent out the valiant Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a Fleet of fifteen Ships of War to intercept the *Spaniſh* Flota; Sir *Walter* paſſing by a Promontory of *Spain*, receiv’d certain Intelligence, that the *Spaniſh* Flota was not to come out from *America* this Year. Whereupon he divided his Navy into four Parts; one of which he committed to Sir *John Boroughs*, and another to Sir *Martin Forbiſher*. Having diſpos’d themſelves for other Opportunities, a mighty *Spaniſh* Carack came in View, call’d *The Mother of God*, which was a hundred and ſixty five Foot in length from the Stem to the Stern, and ſeven Decks in Height, laden with rich Merchandize, and with ſix hundred Men on Board. This bulky Veſſel they took, and in it to the Value of a hundred and fifty thouſand Pound Sterling, beſides the great Quantities which the Commanders and Seamen imbezell’d. In that matter, no Orders from the Government nor Oaths could reſtrain them, boldly ſaying, *They had rather truſt their Souls to a merciful God by Perjury, than their Fortunes to the Hands of unmerciful Men.*

The Queen goes to Oxford.

This Year the Queen in her Summer Progreſs paſs’d through the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and ſtay’d there ſeveral Days; where ſhe was agreeably entertain’d with eloquent Orations, Plays and learned Diſputations, and with a ſplendid Treat by the Lord *Buckhurſt* Chancellor of the Univerſity. At her Departure ſhe courteouſly took her leave of them in a *Latin* Speech, proteſting, That ſhe preferr’d the Cordial Reſpects of that learned Body to all their Entertainments, tho’ they were highly pleaſing to her; for which ſhe return’d them all hearty Thanks, made a ſhort Prayer, and left ſome good Advice with them. The Prayer was, *That as ſhe deſir’d nothing more earneſtly, than the Safety, Honour and Happineſs of the whole Kingdom; ſo ſhe pray’d that the Univerſity, one of the great Lights of it, might flouriſh, and daily riſe to a greater Luſtre.* Her Advice was, *That they would firſt ſerve God, not after the curious and novel Faſhions of ſome, but according to the Laws of God and the Land; that they would not run before the Laws, but follow them; not diſpute the Goodneſs, but obſerve the Authority of them, and obey their Superiors, and embrace each other in Brotherly Piety and Unanimity.*

A. D. 1593. Reg. $\frac{35}{36}$.

The Eighth Parliament in this Reign.

In the following Year, upon the nineteenth Day of *February*, a new Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and enacted ſeveral Laws, for Reſtraining of Schiſmaticks and Popiſh Recuſants; concerning the Lands and Poſſeſſions of Monaſteries inveſted in King *Henry* the Eighth; for relieving of diſtreſſed Soldiers and Seamen, and concerning divers other Matters. And when they had ſeriouſly conſider’d how obſtinately the Enemies were reſolv’d upon the Deſtruction of *England*, by ſuppreſſing its Allies in *France*, *Scotland* and the *Netherlands*; and ſeizing the moſt convenient Places for Invading the Kingdom, they thought it neceſſary to grant the Queen ſufficient Supplies. Therefore, ‘ Acknowledging and extolling the great and Heroick Magnanimity of their Queen; a Woman, together ‘ with her provident Care, and ſingular Goodneſs towards ‘ her Subjects, who had in a War carry’d on with ſuch ‘ happy Succeſs againſt a rich and powerful Nation, expended more Mony out of her own Treaſury than any ‘ of her Predeceſſors, not only in defending her own ‘ Kingdom, but alſo in juſtly relieving her Confederates; ‘ they with moſt thankful and ready Hearts granted two ‘ entire Subſidies from the Clergy, and three from the ‘ Laity, with ſix Fifteenths and Tenths.’ On the laſt Day of the Seſſion, her Majeſty, after a moſt graceful and charming Manner, made an eloquent Speech to both Houſes, in which ſhe declar’d, *That tho’ this Kingdom had been bleſt with many noble and victorious Princes, to whom in Wiſdom and Fortitude ſhe would not compare her ſelf; yet in Love, Care, Sincerity and Juſtice, ſhe would compare her ſelf to any that ever did or ſhall ſit upon the Throne.* Then to ſhew that ſhe wanted not Courage, having been inform’d, that upon the *Spaniſh* Invaſion ſome upon the Sea-Coaſts forſook their Towns, and left the Country naked, ſhe ſwore by the living God, *If ſhe knew thoſe Perſons, or any that would do the ſame again, ſhe would make them know and feel what it was to be fearful in ſo urgent a Cauſe.* Then thanking them for their Bounty and Loyalty, and paſſing fourteen publick Bills, ſhe diſſolv’d the Parliament on the tenth Day of *April.*

The Queen’s Speech.

The French *King changes his Religion.*

The Queen was ever careful of the Happineſs of her own Subjects at home, and her Reputation abroad; and at this Time, by reaſon of her Correſpondence with the *Turk*, to preſerve a free Trade in thoſe Parts, it was maliciouſly reported by ſome, that ſhe had excited the *Turk* to a War againſt the Chriſtians. This caus’d her to write to the Emperor, ſhewing him the Falſeneſs of this Report, in which ſhe gave him full Satisfaction. But her greateſt Concern at this Time was for the King of *France*, of whom ſhe heard a Report, that he had already, or would certainly embrace the *Romiſh* Religion. Upon which diſcouraging News ſhe immediately ſent over *Thomas Wilks* into *France*, with Reaſons to divert him from it, if it were not already too late. But before his Arrival, the King had actually and openly profeſs’d the *Romiſh* Religion in the Church of St. *Dennis* in *Paris*; of which Change he declar’d the Cauſes and Reaſons to him at large, and laid before him the Neceſſity of it, unleſs he would ſuffer himſelf to be entirely driven out of his Kingdom. In the mean Time *Morlante* inform’d the Queen of the ſame, and with the moſt ſpecious Expreſſions offer’d her all Kindneſs in Behalf of his Maſter. She being extreamly diſquieted for one ſhe had ſo great an Honour, ſnatch’d up her Pen, and wrote thus to him, *Alas! what deep Sorrow, what vehement Griefs, what Sighs have ſeiz’d my Heart, for the News that* Morlante *brought? Was it poſſible that any ſecular Conſideration could move you to lay aſide the Fear of God? Can any Happineſs ſucceed ſuch a Fact? Or could you think that he, who has hitherto with his Right Hand ſupported and preſerv’d you, would now abandon you? It is a dangerous Expedient* to do Evil that Good may come of it. *In the mean Time I will pray for you, and beg of God that the Hands of* Eſau *may not loſe you the Bleſſing of* Jacob. To allay this Grief ſhe us’d the Holy Scriptures, the Writings of the Fathers, and even the Books of Philoſophers; tranſlating about that Time for an Amuſement, *Boetius de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, into elegant *Engliſh*. As to the *French* King he acknowledg’d himſelf oblig’d to her both for the Safety of his Perſon and Royal Dignity, and promis’d to take the Proteſtants into his ſpecial Care and Protection.

The Queen’s Letter to the French *King.*

A Plague.

Still the Queen took care of her People againſt the *Spaniards*, and ſtrengthen’d the Iſle of *Silly* with a new Fort, as alſo the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and other Places with great Charge, and much Willingneſs, tho’ the Times were ſomewhat ſad and diſcouraging. For all this Year *London* was grievouſly afflicted with the Peſtilence; of which almoſt eighteen thouſand Perſons dy’d: *Bartholomew* Fair was not kept, and *Michaelmas*-Term was held at St. *Albans*, twenty Miles from *London*. At which Town one *Richard Hasket* was condemn’d and executed for Treaſon; who being privately ſent by the *Engliſh* Fugitives, perſuaded *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby* to aſſume the Title to the Crown, deriving his Right and Claim from his Great-Grand-Mother *Mary*, Daughter to King *Henry* the Seventh, and made him large Promiſes of Men and Mony from the *Spaniard*; likewiſe threatning the Earl with a ſudden and aſſur’d Deſtruction, if he did not join in the Propoſal and conceal it. But the Earl, fearing leſt ſome Snare was laid for him impeach’d *Hasket*; who by his own voluntary Confeſſion acknowledg’d his Crime at the Bar, deteſting and curſing thoſe who had given him the Counſel. However his Threatnings were too prophetically verify’d, for the Earl dy’d about four Months after, in a moſt deplorable Manner, with all the infernal Appearances of Magick and Poiſon.

A. D. 1594. Reg. $\frac{36}{37}$.

The mutual Love and Amity between the Queen of *England* and the King of *Scotland*, the immoveable Conſtancy of the latter in Matters of Religion, which could not be overcome by all the Intreaties, Promiſes and Arts of the Papiſts, and the granting of Supream Authority to the King by the Eſtates of *Scotland*, did all ſo damp the Hopes of reſtoring the *Popiſh* Religion in *Scotland* and *England*, *A new Deſign of the Papiſts.*

England, that ſome in *England*, who had formerly been great Aſſerters of King *James*'s Title, began to think of ſubſtituting ſome *Engliſh* Papiſt into the Succeſſion. When they could not agree upon a proper Perſon of their own Religion, they caſt their Eyes upon the Earl of *Eſſex*, who always appear'd a very moderate Man: And him they pretended to have ſome Right to the Crown, by Deſcent from *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Son to King *Edward* the Third. But the *Engliſh* Fugitives were all for the *Infanta* of *Spain*; and deſiring to ſet the King of *Scotland* and the Earl of *Eſſex* at Variance, they publiſh'd a Book, dedicated to *Eſſex*, under the Name of *Doleman*, but was written by *Doleman*'s great Adverſary *Parſons* the Jeſuit, Cardinal *Allen*, and *Francis Englefield.* The Scope of which Book was, to exclude from the Succeſſion all Perſons, tho' never ſo near ally'd to the Crown, that were not *Roman* Catholicks; contending further for the Right of *Iſabella Infanta* of *Spain*, as being deſcended from *Conſtance*, Daughter of *William* the Conqueror; from *Eleanor* eldeſt Daughter to *Henry* the Second, marry'd to *Alphonſo* the Ninth King of *Caſtile*; and from *Beatrix*, Daughter to King *Henry* the Third: Titles obſolete, miſtaken, and exceeding the Bounds of Heraldry to diſcuſs. But while theſe Fugitives were finding an Heir in *Spain*, God ſent a Son to King *James* in *Scotland* on the nineteenth of *February*, who was chriſten'd by the Name of *Henry*, and Queen *Elizabeth* her ſelf was his God-Mother, who ſent over the Earl of *Suſſex* for her Deputy.

A Plot diſcover'd and puniſh'd.

As ſome ſtudy'd by their Pens to advance the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Crown of *England*, ſo others of their Religion were making the ſame Uſe of their Swords, ſending certain Aſſaſſins to murther Queen *Elizabeth*, while ſome *Spaniards* attempted to poiſon her. The *Spaniards* not daring to truſt the *Engliſh* in a Matter of that Conſequence, apply'd themſelves to *Roderick Lopez* a *Jew*, and Phyſician to the Queen, with *Stephen Ferreira*, *Emanuel Loyſie*, and other *Portugueze*, who were numerous in *England*, upon the Account of Don *Antonio* the exil'd King. Theſe being diſcover'd by intercepted Letters of theirs, were arraign'd at *Guild-Hall*, and by their own Confeſſions convicted of conſpiring againſt the Life of the Queen; they were all condemn'd and executed at *Tyburn*; where *Lopez* profeſs'd *he lov'd the Queen as well as he lov'd* Jeſus Chriſt, which coming from the Mouth of a *Jew*, mov'd the Laughter more than the Pity of the Spectators. The next Day after them was condemn'd *Patrick Cullen*, an *Iriſh* Fencing-Maſter, ſent over by the *Engliſh* Fugitives to aſſaſſinate the Queen, who was immediately executed, tho' he was ready to die of a languiſhing Sickneſs. Thus the *Engliſh* Fugitives, as well Prieſts as other villainous Perſons, out of a pernicious Principle, *That Princes Excommunicated are to be deſtroy'd*, and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters out of a virulent Hatred, did by all Means and Inventions ſet themſelves to effect the Ruin of the Queen. But ſhe continu'd undaunted, and with a maſculine Courage, and provident Caution, contemn'd their treacherous Practices; often reflecting upon that Paſſage of the Royal Pſalmiſt, *Thou art my God, my Times are in thy Hands.*

Several leſſer Expeditions.

About this Time, Sir *John Norris* having ſuſtain'd a vigorous Conflict at Sea againſt the *Spaniard*, where the valiant Sir *Martin Forbiſher* receiv'd his Death's Wound, was now call'd home, with a Deſign to ſend him into *Ireland.* Before which Time, *Richard Hawkins*, Son to Sir *John Hawkins* the famous Sea-Captain, had been ſent forth with three of the Queen's leſſer Men of War, and two hundred Men in them; of which one of them at the Iſle of St. *Ann* was fir'd by Chance; another of them, ſeparated by Storms, return'd into *England*; himſelf in the third, paſs'd the Straits of *Magellan*, being the ſixth Perſon, according to the *Spaniſh* Account, that had perform'd that Voyage. And having ſail'd into the vaſt Southern Ocean, he took five *Spaniſh* Ships laden with Merchandize, one of which he carry'd away, and the reſt were ſuffer'd to ranſom themſelves for two thouſand Ducats. But at laſt making toward *Africa*, he was attack'd by *Bertrand di Caſtro*, ſent out by the Vice-Roy with eight Ships againſt him; and after three Days ſevere Battery, he yielded upon honourable Terms; yet nevertheleſs he was ſent into *Spain*, and kept Priſoner for ſeveral Years. But *James Lancaſter* had better Succeſs in another Part of *America*; for being ſent out by ſome *London* Merchants with three Ships and a long Boat, he took thirty nine *Spaniſh* Ships. Then joing with *Venour* an *Engliſhman*, and others, at *Fernambuc* in *Braſil*, where the Riches of an *Eaſt-Indian* Carack were lately unloaden, he deſperately ventur'd on Shoar, held the Place thirty Days, loaded fifteen Ships with the Treaſure of the Carack, and with Sugar, Braſil-Wood, and other Merchandize, and then ſafely and victoriouſly return'd into *England*.

A.D. 1595. Reg. 37.

About this Time a conſtant Rumour was blown abroad from all Parts of *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* were again preparing an Expedition againſt *England*, with a far greater Fleet than that in *Eighty eight*, and that it was ready to put to Sea: Whereupon Soldiers were levy'd with all Diligence, and plac'd on the Sea-Coaſts; two Navies were made ready, one to wait for them in the *Engliſh* Channel, and the other to go for *America* under the Conduct of *Drake* and *Hawkins*. But this Rumour ſoon began to ſink and vaniſh, and no greater Fleet appear'd than four *Spaniſh* Ships, who coming from the Coaſts of *France*, and landing early in a Morning in *Cornwall*, fir'd a Church ſtanding alone in the Fields, and three Villages of Fiſhermen, *Mouſe-hole*, *Neulin* and *Penſans*, and then immediately retir'd, without taking or killing any one Perſon: And theſe were the firſt and laſt *Spaniards* that ever made any Hoſtile Landing in *England*. So that the Queen had no further Fear from the *Spaniard* this Year, for all her Corncern was from *France*, where Miſchiefs daily increaſing, many perſuaded that King to conclude a Peace with *Spain*, and the Queen her ſelf began to be apprehenſive of ſuch a Deſign, eſpecially having lately receiv'd Intelligence out of the Pope's Conclave, that he was receiv'd into the Boſom of the Church of *Rome*, with the Pope's particular Benediction, and upon Conditions prejudicial to the Proteſtants in general.

Raleigh's Expedition.

The Death of Drake and Hawkins.

And therefore at this Time were promoted ſeveral Expeditions of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Spaniard:* The firſt was undertaken by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, now Captain of the Queen's Guards, who having ſeduc'd a Maid of Honour, whom he afterwards marry'd, had loſt the Queen's Favour, and was kept in Priſon for ſome Months: But being ſet at Liberty, tho' baniſh'd the Court, he undertook a Voyage to *Guiana* in the *Weſt-Indies.* Setting Sail from *Plimouth* in *February*, he arriv'd at *Trinidado*, where he took St. *Joſeph*'s Town, but found no Mony in it. From hence with Boats, and a hundred Soldiers, he enter'd the vaſt River *Orenoque*, and rang'd up into *Guiana* four hundred Miles; but gain'd little more than Experience and new Diſcoveries. In his Return he fir'd *Cumana*, and ſome other Places, that refuſ'd to redeem themſelves with Money. In like manner, *Amyas Preſton* and *Somers* plunder'd ſeveral of the *Spaniſh* Towns in thoſe Parts; and three Ships of the Earl of *Cumberland* ſet upon a vaſt Carack, which in the Battel took Fire and conſum'd all the Goods and moſt of the Men. Theſe and ſome other Exploits were perform'd by private Men: But the Queen being inform'd that great Quantities of Treaſure for the King of *Spain*'s Uſe were convey'd to *Porto Rico*, in St. *John*'s Iſland, ſent out *Hawkins*, *Drake* and *Baskervill*, with Land-Forces; furniſhing them with ſix Ships out of her own Navy, and twenty other Men of War. Theſe ſet Sail from *Plimouth* the laſt of *Auguſt*, and twenty ſeven Days after arriv'd at *Grand-Canary*, which being ſtrongly fortify'd they did not think fit to attack. A Month after they arriv'd at the Iſle of St. *Domingo*; where five *Spaniſh* Ships being ſent out to watch the *Engliſh*, fell in with one of the ſmall *Engliſh* Ships, ſtray'd from the Company, and putting the Maſter and Seamen to the Torture, underſtood by them that the *Engliſh* Fleet was bound for *Porto-Rico.* Whereupon they us'd all poſſible Speed to give Notice to the Place, that they might put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence. And thereupon, as ſoon as the *Engliſh* had caſt Anchor in the Road of *Porto-Rico*, the *Spaniards* thunder'd upon them from the Shoar with unexpected Succeſs; and Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and *Brute Brown* dy'd of their Wounds. *Hawkins* himſelf, and alſo *Drake*, partly of Sickneſs, and partly out of Grief for their ill Succeſs, dy'd ſhortly after. At the End of eight Months, the Fleet return'd home, after they had fir'd ſome few Towns and Ships, but receiv'd infinite Damage themſelves; and loſt two ſuch Sea Captains, as were not left perhaps in *England* or all *Europe*. For the *Spaniards* having of late Years ſuſtain'd great Damages from the *French* and *Engliſh*, had now better ſecur'd themſelves with Fortifications not eaſily and ſuddenly taken.

During theſe remote Tranſactions, the Frugal Queen laid before the Confederate States of the *Netherlands* the immenſe Sums ſhe had expended in relieving them ten Years ſucceſſively; for which ſhe expected ſome conſiderable Recompence. The States acknowledg'd all their Safety and Happineſs to have riſen from her, but alledg'd their great Expences in the Year *Eighty Eight*, and ſince by repelling the *Spaniards* in her Cauſe; but however to prevent any Miſapprehenſions, they were content to eaſe the Queen of her uſual Charges in their Country, and to allow ſome reaſonable Retribution; but yet for the preſent nothing material was concluded. Likewiſe at this Time the Hanſe Towns in *Germany* made Complaint to the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire, That the Immunities from Cuſtoms anciently granted them by the Kings of *England*, began to be antiquated, and that a Monopoly of *Engliſh* Merchants was erected in *Germany:* To which the Queen by Sir *Chriſtopher Perkins*, firſt ſhewing the Cauſe of the Original Grant, and the Reaſon of Queen *Mary*'s ſucceeding Prohibition, gave them ſo ſatisfactory an Anſwer, that thoſe very Hanſe-Towns that had complain'd, brought into *England* at this Time Quantities of Corn, which prevented a Mutiny that was like to have happen'd in *London*, through the Scarcity of that Commodity.

and of ſeveral great Men.

In this Year dy'd *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, who was condemn'd in 1589, and pardon'd by the Queen; *William* Lord *Vaulx* a zealous Papiſt; Sir *Thomas Heneage* Vice-Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Dutchy; Dr. *William Whitaker*, Maſter of St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*, and the Queen's Profeſſor of Divinity; and laſtly Sir *Roger Williams* and Sir *Thomas Morgan*. So that this Year was noted for the Deaths of two great Lords, one exquiſite Courtier, one profound Scholar, and two famous Soldiers.

A.D. 1596. Reg. 38/39.

A grand Expedition againſt Spain *under the Earl of* Eſſex, *&c.*

XIII. For ſeven Years together, after the famous *Eighty eight*, the *Spaniards* had receiv'd and ſuſtain'd mighty Damages from the *Engliſh*, in ſeveral Parts of the World; but thoſe were generally in the Nature of private Expeditions: But this Year it was thought neceſſary by the Queen to make a more publick Attempt againſt that inveterate Enemy, which had been many Years plotting the Ruin of the Queen, often join'd with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and had lately become more formidable by taking of *Calais* from the *French*. Therefore to divert the King of *Spain* from farther Attempts, the Queen and Council judg'd it moſt proper to make an Invaſion of his Dominions. Whereupon a noble Fleet of a hundred and fifty Sail was made ready, of which ſeventeen were Capital Ships, and twenty two *Dutch* Men of War. In theſe were above ſix thouſand Soldiers under Pay, one thouſand Volunteers of the Nobility and Gentry, and almoſt ſeven thouſand Seamen, beſides thoſe of the *Netherlands*. *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Charles Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, who were at great Expences themſelves, were made Commanders in Chief with equal Authority, under the Title of Generals; yet ſo that the Admiral ſhould be ſuperior at Sea, and the Earl of *Eſſex* at Land. To theſe were join'd for a Council of War, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Coniers Clifford*. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; the Admiral commanded the Firſt, the Earl of *Eſſex* the Second, the Lord *Thomas Howard* the Third, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* the Fourth. The Officers of the Army were Sir *Francis Vere* Lieutenant-General, Sir *John Wingfield* Quarter-Maſter-General, Sir *George Carew* Maſter of the Ordnance, and Sir *Coniers Clifford* Serjeant-Major. The Colonels were *Robert* Earl of *Suſſex*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*; Sir *Edward Wingfield* was Commander of the Volunteers, and *Anthony Aſhly*, Secretary to the Council of War, was to Regiſter their Acts and Conſultations. The Commiſſions being drawn, the Queen gave them excellent Inſtructions, diſplaying both her Piety and Policy, and withal deliver'd them a ſhort Prayer of her own Compoſing, to be daily us'd in every Ship.

They attack Cales.

This powerful Fleet ſet Sail from *Plimouth* at the Beginning of *June*, with ſecret Orders not to be open'd till they had paſs'd Cape St. *Vincent*, near which Place they met with an *Iriſh* Ship, the Maſter of which inform'd them, That at *Cales* they were under no Apprehenſions; that there was only a ſmall Garriſon in the Place, and that in the Harbour were ſeveral Galleons, Gallies, Men of War, and many Merchants Ships laden for the *Indies*. On the twentieth Day of *June*, they caſt Anchor on the Weſt Side of the Iſland of *Cales*, and within two Days after they agreed to attack the *Spaniſh* Ships, at which the Earl of *Eſſex*, full of youthful Ardour, threw up his Hat for Joy. This Enterprize was allotted to the leſſer Ships, becauſe the Road was too ſhallow for the reſt. The Gallies ſoon gave way, and creeping along the Shore, all but one or two ſecur'd themſelves by Flight; but the *Spaniſh* Men of War that lay at the Point of Land call'd *Puntal*, turn'd their Broad-ſides, and a furious Fight began, which laſted from Morning 'till Noon. The Bravery of *Eſſex* and the *Engliſh* ſoon prevail'd, and the Galleons being miſerably torn and ſhatter'd, and many Men ſlain, the *Spaniards* reſolv'd to fire all their Veſſels, or run them on Ground. The Admiral of the *Spaniards*, a Ship of fifteen hundred Tun, was burnt by a *Moor*, and two other Ships near her took Fire, and periſh'd together. A diſmal Confuſion aroſe, great Numbers of Seamen threw themſelves overboard, ſome gain'd the Shore, ſome were taken, and ſome were drown'd; others as they ſwam cry'd out for Quarter, whom out of Pity the *Engliſh* Admiral ſav'd, and by his particular Care took and ſecur'd two great *Spaniſh* Ships call'd the St. *Matthew* and St. *Andrew*.

Eſſex *enters the Town.*

Which yields

The Sea-Fight being ended, the valiant *Eſſex* landed eight hundred Men at the *Puntal*, a League from the Town of *Cales*; and advancing within half a Mile of the Town with ſeveral brave Commanders, the *Spaniſh* Horſe and Foot ſhew'd themſelves and ſoon retir'd; but ſhortly after came out in greater Numbers. Upon which the Earl order'd his Forces to make a fair Retreat, and by that means having entic'd out his Enemies, he turn'd upon them with ſuch an impetuous Torrent, as drove them to the very Gates of the Town. *Eſſex* immediately got upon a new Work lately rais'd near the Gate, from whence he diſcover'd an Entrance into the Town, but ſo high and ſteep, that the Men muſt leap down a Pike's Length. To excite their Courage therefore, he threw down his own Colours into the Place; upon which *Evans* Lieutenant to *Suſſex*, *Savage* Captain of the Earl's Company, *Bagnal*, *Pooly*, and others leap'd down; while Sir *Francis Vere* broke down the Gate, and ruſh'd into the Town with the General and the reſt. After a ſharp Fight in the Streets, wherein many of the *Engliſh* were hurt from the Tops of Houſes, in half an Hour they made their way into the Market-Place, where Sir *John Wingfield* was ſhot in the Head, and *Savage* and *Bagnal* cover'd with Wounds and Blood were Knighted in the Place. At the ſame Inſtant the Lord Admiral and the reſt entring the Town, the *Spaniards* deſiſted, and retir'd to the Caſtle and Town-Houſe. The next Day they yielded upon Condition, 'That the 'Citizens ſhould depart in Safety with their wearing Gar'ments, and the reſt ſhould go to the Soldiers for Plunder; 'that four hundred and twenty thouſand Ducats ſhould be 'paid for their Ranſom, and for Security, forty of the 'principal Citizens ſhould be ſent as Hoſtages into *Eng'land*.' Shortly after Proclamation was made, that no Violence ſhould be offer'd to the *Spaniards*, who were all convoy'd in *Engliſh* Veſſels to *Port St. Mary*; the Ladies and Gentlewomen firſt, who were ſuffer'd to depart in their richeſt Apparel and Jewels: And the Generals in Perſon ſtood by the Water-ſide to ſee them ſhipp'd off, without Violence or Diſhonour from the ruder ſort of Soldiers.

It is plunder'd and demoliſh'd.

The Damage to the Spaniards.

In the mean Time Sir *Walter Raleigh* was commanded with his Veſſels to fire the Merchant Ships lying at *Port-Real*; upon which they immediately offer'd two Millions of Ducats to redeem them: But this Offer was rejected by the Admiral, who ſaid, *He was ſent to deſtroy Ships, not to ranſom them for Mony*; and accordingly they were all burnt, to the infinite Damage of the Merchants. Thus in an Inſtant a Fleet full of Men, Merchandize, Proviſions, Armour, and twelve hundred Pieces of Ordnance, all valu'd by themſelves at twelve Millions of Ducats, was ſuddenly ſunk, conſum'd or taken; and the Town alſo was plunder'd, every Soldier bringing ſome Portion of its rich Spoils into *England*, to ſhew the Service he had perform'd at *Cales*. They laid the Town in Aſhes, except the Churches, batter'd the Walls, demoliſh'd the Towers, pillag'd and burnt the Iſland it ſelf, and laid all waſte before them, leaving the Rubbiſh to declare the Ruins the *Engliſh* had made in *Spain*. The whole Damage that the *Spaniards* ſuſtain'd from this Expedition, was fairly computed at no leſs than twenty Millions of Ducats; and all this with the Loſs of only one Man of Note, Sir *John Wingfield*, who ſlew a *Spaniſh* Commander with his own Hand. Then ſixty Men being Knighted for their Valour, and the rich Spoils got on Shipboard, on the fifth of *July* the whole Fleet ſet ſail from thence, with this Commendation given them by the *Spaniards*, *That tho' in ſacred Things the* Engliſh *had ſhew'd themſelves Hereticks, yet in all other Matters, they behav'd themſelves like valiant Soldiers, wiſe Counſellors, and Men of Honour.* After ſome little Cruiſings on the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, they return'd ſafe into *England*, contrary to the Inclinations of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who not only would have kept *Cales*, but alſo have undertaken ſome new Expedition this Year.

Eſſex *diſguſted.*

The Spaniſh *Fleet ruin'd.*

The Queen receiv'd them at their Return with ſingular Affability, and gave particular Thanks to thoſe who had beſt ſignaliz'd themſelves, eſpecially to *Eſſex* and the Admiral, whoſe Acts and Conduct ſhe highly applauded. And now conſidering with her ſelf which of her Commanders to make Governor of the *Bril*, which was given up by the Confederate States as a Caution-Town for Mony due, ſhe made Choice of Sir *Francis Vere*, altho' the Earl of *Eſſex* had recommended others to her for that Poſt. But another thing he took with greater Diſſatisfaction, that in his Abſence ſhe had preferr'd the Lord *Burleigh*'s Son, Sir *Robert Cecil*, to be Secretary of State, where he had formerly with great Earneſtneſs recommended Sir *Thomas Podley*. Shortly after, the King of *Spain*, that he might retrieve the Honour he had loſt at *Cales*, rigg'd out a new Fleet for *England* and *Ireland*, with a great Number of *Iriſh* Fugitives. But being at Sea, moſt of his Ships were by Storms caſt away upon Rocks, and overwhelm'd in the Ocean: So that the very Elements ſeem'd to fight for the glorious Queen, who heard of her Enemies Fate, before ſhe was inform'd of their Deſign.

A League with France

At this Time the Queen, for the better Security of her People, enter'd into a League Defenſive and Offenſive with the *French* King, againſt the King of *Spain*, upon certain Conditions on both Sides; which League ſhe confirmed by Oath, in the Chappel at *Greenwich*, the twenty ninth Day of *Auguſt*, laying her Hand upon the Hand of *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bouillon*, and Marſhal of *France*; the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* holding out the Evangeliſts, ſurrounded by a great Number of the Nobility. In *September* following, *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury* was ſent Ambaſſador into *France*, to take the *French* King's Oath and to preſent Sir *Anthony Mildmay* for the Queen's Ambaſſador in Ordinary, in the Room of Sir *Henry Unton* lately deceas'd, and likewiſe to inveſt the King with the noble Order of the Garter: To which Order, deſign'd originally for the Honour of Military Men, the Queen had choſen him as a Prince highly renown'd for Martial Glory. And not long after Sir *Thomas Baskervill* went over into *Picardy* with two thouſand *Engliſh* Foot, according to the Agreement for this Year.

A. D. 1597. Reg. 39/40.

A new Expedition againſt Spain.

In the following Year, the Queen was inform'd, that the King of *Spain* was preparing a new Fleet againſt *Ireland*; whereupon ſhe alſo prepar'd a Navy of one hundred and twenty Sail, which were divided into three Squadrons, the firſt commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex*, the ſecond by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the third by Sir *Walter Raleigh*; in which alſo ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry were embark'd. On the ninth Day of *July* they ſet Sail from *Plimouth*, directing their Courſe to *Farol* and the *Groyne*; but before they had ſail'd forty Leagues, they were toſs'd with ſuch a terrible Storm for four Days, that the beſt Seamen were almoſt diſtracted, and with great Difficulty recover'd *Plimouth*, where they were detain'd by contrary Winds for a whole Month. On the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt* they got to Sea again, but before they came in view of *Spain*, they were diſpers'd by another dreadful Tempeſt, in which, one of the two great Ships taken at *Cales* was daſh'd in Pieces. At the Iſles call'd *Azores*, the Fleet met again, where *Raleigh* wanting Water, went on Shore without Leave; and before he could be furniſh'd, was commanded to follow *Eſſex* to *Fayall:* But not finding him there, he obſerv'd the Port, and calling a Council, the Commanders advis'd him to attack the Place. Upon which *Raleigh* with ſome of his prime Volunteers landed, and ſoon won the Town, but found no ſuch conſiderable Booty as they expected in it. The next Day *Eſſex* came thither, whom *Merrick* maliciouſly inform'd that *Raleigh* had made this Attempt to prevent his Lordſhip in the Honour of the Exploit. Whereupon ſome perſuaded the Earl to call a Council of War and caſhier him; and others even to take off his Head for Landing without Leave of his chief Commander. This Matter was ſoon adjuſted by the Mediation of the Lord *Howard*; but from this and other Matters aroſe ſuch an unhappy Conteſt and Emulation between theſe two great Men, that never could be throughly extinguiſh'd but by Death it ſelf.

A Fewd between Eſſex *and* Raleigh.

From hence the Fleet ſet Sail for *Gratioſa*, where the Inhabitants crav'd Mercy and obtain'd it; and here *Eſſex* would have tarry'd in Expectation of the *Spaniſh Indian* Fleet, but *Graves* the Pilot diſſuaded him becauſe of the Badneſs of the Harbour. This prov'd unfortunate Advice, for the *Engliſh* were not gone above an Hour or two, before the *Spaniſh* Fleet, conſiſting of forty Sail, arriv'd at the Place; but hearing that the *Engliſh* were in theſe Parts, they directed their Courſe to *Tercora*, where all gain'd the Harbour except three Ships which fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*; who deſign'd to have ſet upon the reſt in the Port: But finding the Attempt impracticable, they ſail'd from thence to St. *Michael*'s, where *Southampton*, *Rutland*, *Evers*, *Breedon* and *Dockway* were Knighted. And then *Eſſex* landed within ſix Miles of the chief Place, near *Villa-Franca*, a fair Town, and well furniſh'd with Merchandize, Wine, Wood and Corn; where they tarry'd ſix Days, and the common Soldiers found good Booty. At the ſame Time a rich Carack was diſcover'd coming from the *Indies*, which by Means of a Warning Piece from a *Dutch* Veſſel, perceiving the *Engliſh* to be near, run herſelf a-ſhore, unloaded the Merchandize, and then fir'd her ſelf. Thus the *Engliſh* met with Diſappointments in all Places; and on the ninth of *October* they ſet Sail for *England:* But within two Days, a violent Storm from the North diſpers'd them, and likewiſe the *Spaniſh* Fleet at the ſame Time, which had ſet out from the *Groyne* with great Preparations againſt *England*; ſo that they never came in view of each other. Not one of the *Engliſh* Ships periſh'd, but many of the *Spaniards* were loſt; one of 'em was caſt upon *Dartmouth*, where the half-ſtarv'd Seamen confeſs'd that the *Spaniards* deſign'd to have ſeiz'd upon ſome Port in *Cornwall*, which being near the Mouth of the Channel, might be convenient to receive Forces from *Spain*. But Providence now kept theſe two Nations aſunder, and diſappointed both their Deſigns, when they were haſt'ning to each others Ruin.

Both Nations are diſappointed.

The warm Earl of *Eſſex* at his Return found ſome Promotions made which infinitely diſguſted him; Sir *Robert Cecil* was made Chancellor of the Dutchy; and what more ſenſibly affected him, the Lord-Admiral *Howard* was created Earl of *Nottingham*, with a Relation in his Patent of the Victory in *Eighty Eight*, and his great Services at *Cales*. This Glory he envy'd him, and beſides was much diſoblig'd that he muſt now take Place of him: For it was Enacted in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, That chief Officers of the Kingdom ſhould have Precedence of all Men of their Degree. Whereupon the Queen, who had a ſingular Value for *Eſſex*, to ſatisfie him, created him Earl-Marſhal of *England*; by which he recover'd his Place again.

Eſſex *advanc'd.*

Shortly after an Ambaſſador came into *England* from the King of *Poland*; who, when the Queen expected he ſhould return her Thanks for procuring a Peace between the King his Maſter and the great *Turk*, on the contrary expoſtulated with her for Breach of Privileges in Trading with *Spain*, requiring a preſent Redreſs, or elſe the King his Maſter would do himſelf Juſtice. The Queen with Indignation reply'd *extempore* in *Latin*, *How have I been deceiv'd! I expected an Ambaſſador, and behold a Herald! ſuch a Speech I never heard before.*——And after ſome farther checking him for his too great Freedom, ſhe referr'd him to her Council, and retir'd with Diſpleaſure. But upon the Ambaſſador's more ſubmiſſive Behaviour, all Affairs were ſoon adjuſted. In the ſame Year the Chancellor of *Denmark* came into *England* to reſtore the Garter, with which the Queen had inveſted the King's Father, and withal offer'd his Maſter's Mediation to make a Peace between the Queen and the *Spaniard*. The Queen thank'd him, but deſign'd not to uſe his Mediation for what ſhe did not deſire, and eſpecially now, when he had lately invaded the *French* King her Allie, and had taken *Amiens*, the chief and ſtrongeſt Place in *Picardy*. For which Reaſon the King of *France* urg'd the Queen for a new Aid of four thouſand Men; intimating to her, That he was now offer'd by the Pope's Nuntio a very advantageous Peace, if he would abandon her Intereſt. But while theſe Matters were negotiating, *Amiens* was happily recover'd again by the great Valour of *Baskervill* and *Savage*, as the King in his Letters to the Queen thankfully acknowledg'd.

The Ninth Parliament in this Reign.

The Queen now to fortifie herſelf againſt all Inconveniences, call'd a new Parliament, that met at *Weſtminſter* on the twenty fourth Day of *October*, and was open'd with a Speech by Sir *Thomas Egerton*, made Lord-Keeper, in the Room of *Puckering* deceas'd. In this Parliament the Queen paſs'd ſeveral Laws very acceptable to the People; namely, For recovering Depopulations, committed upon Country Farms; For prohibiting Arable Land and Tillage from being turn'd into Paſture; Againſt imbezeling Lands and Goods given to Charitable Uſes; Concerning the Building of Hoſpitals and Work Houſes for the Poor; For preventing of Frauds in the Queen's Tellers, Receivers, &c. For building Houſes of Correction to puniſh Rogues and Vagrants; For the Reſtraining Extortions and Rapes; For Confirmation of the Depoſing thoſe Popiſh Biſhops in the Beginning of the Reign. 'For theſe Laws paſs'd, the 'true Religion reſtor'd, the Republick moſt happily go'vern'd, the Nation deliver'd from the Fear of Enemies; '*Ireland* defended, and the *French* King and the *Nether'lands* reliev'd, the Parliament moſt heartily congratula'ted her Majeſty: And that ſhe might not want ſufficient 'Aids in Time of Neceſſity, the Clergy voluntarily grant'ed three Subſidies, and the Laity pray'd her to accept of 'three Subſidies and ſix Fifteenths and Tenths; beſeech'ing her, as in the Year 1593, that ſuch Extraordinary 'Contributions might not be drawn into a Precedent, unleſs 'it were upon the like urgent Neceſſity.' After this the Parliament was diſſolv'd on the ninth Day of *February* in the following Year.

Great Aids Granted.

A. D. 1598. Reg. 40/41.

The Queen now underſtanding, as ſhe had ſome Time ſuſpected, That the *French* King, being importun'd by the Pope, and his own Subjects, began to incline to a Peace with *Spain*, immediately ſent Sir *Robert Cecil* and others into *France*, to diſſuade the Negotiation; and after that by Letters charg'd the *French* King with Ingratitude, declaring, *That if he gain'd any reaſonable Terms from the* Spaniards, *he was oblig'd to the* Engliſh *Succours for it*; *and That ſolemn Oaths and mutual Compacts were never deſign'd for Snares, unleſs by the worſt of Men.* But notwithſtanding all her Endeavours, and thoſe of the Confederate States, he with ſome Compliments and Acknowledgments to the Queen of *England*, concluded a Peace with the King of *Spain*, which is call'd the Treaty of *Vervin*. And now that King, who hitherto flouriſh'd in Martial Glory, began from this Time to reſtore and promote the Welfare of *France*, by maintaining and ſupporting Religion, as well the *Roman* as the *Reform'd*, reviving the Laws, cheriſhing Learning, reſtoring Commerce, and beautifying the Kingdom with ſplendid Edifices, inſomuch that he far ſurpaſs'd

A Peace between France *and* Spain.

all the Kings of *France* before him, and gain'd himſelf the Name of *Henry the Great*.

A Conſultation about a Peace with Spain.

In the mean Time the Queen carefully providing for her own and her Peoples Safety, ſent Sir *Francis Vere* to the Confederate States, to know if they were willing to join in a Treaty of Peace with the *Spaniard:* And if otherwiſe, what they would afford towards a War; and to urge them concerning the Repayment of Monies due to her from them. During the Negotiations, there was a grand Conſultation held at home, in which it was accurately debated, Whether it would be to the Benefit and Advantage of the Queen and Publick to make a Peace with the *Spaniard*; and many nice and curious Reaſons were urg'd on both Sides. The wiſe and ſedate Lord *Burleigh* declar'd for Peace, as moſt eligible and neceſſary in this critical Juncture. But the vigorous and valiant Earl of *Eſſex* ſtifly maintain'd, that no Peace could be made with the *Spaniards* but ſuch as would be diſhonourable to *England*, and fraudulent on their Side. Inſomuch that *Burleigh* was provok'd to ſay, *That he breath'd out nothing but Slaughter and Blood:* And after a warm Diſpute about this Subject, in a ſtrange preſaging Manner, the Treaſurer drew out a Pſalm-Book, and without ſpeaking any more Words, pointed him to this Verſe, *The bloody-minded Man ſhall not live out half his Days.* This Debate occaſion'd *Eſſex* afterwards to publiſh an Apology for himſelf, with Reaſons in Juſtification of his Opinion.

In carrying on this Buſineſs of Peace, and chuſing a fit Perſon to manage the Affairs in *Ireland*, which were now in great Diſorder, there aroſe a hot Debate between the Queen and the Earl of *Eſſex*, in the Preſence only of the Lord-Admiral, Sir *Robert Cecil*, and *Windebank* Clerk of the Seal. The Queen thought Sir *William Knolls*, Uncle to the Earl, to be the fitteſt Perſon to be ſent into *Ireland*, and *Eſſex* obſtinately aſſerted, that Sir *George Carew* was fitter than him; and ſince he could not perſuade her Majeſty to be of his Opinion, quite forgetting himſelf and his Duty, uncivilly and in Contempt turn'd his Back upon her, and gave her a ſcornful Look. Which ſo rous'd the Female Spirit of the Queen, that not induring ſuch rude Behaviour, ſhe gave him a Box on the Ear, and bad him *begon with a Vengeance!* He immediately in a Rage laid his Hand upon his Sword, while the Admiral ſtepp'd between, and ſwore *That he neither could nor would put up ſo great an Indignity*; *nor would he have taken it from her great Father* Harry; and in a violent Fury withdrew himſelf from the Court. In his Retirement the Lord-Keeper by a Letter advis'd him to ſubmit to the Queen his Soveraign, and to remember that Paſſage of *Seneca*, *If the Law puniſh one that is Guilty, he muſt ſubmit to Juſtice*; *if one that is Innocent, he muſt ſubmit to Fortune.* He anſwer'd his Letter with great Violence, and us'd theſe and the like Expreſſions, *I know what I owe as a Subject, and what as an Earl and Marſhal of* England; *but know not how to ſerve as a Drudge and a Slave. If I ſhould acknowledge my ſelf Guilty, I ſhould injure the Truth, and God the Author of it. My whole Body is wounded by that ſingle Blow*; *and having receiv'd this Indignity, it were Impiety to ſerve longer.* However, not long after, he became more Submiſſive, obtain'd his Pardon, and was receiv'd into Favour; the Queen being of ſuch an excellent Diſpoſition, that ſhe always thought it leſs misbecoming her Majeſty to exaſperate a Man, than to hate him. Yet from this Circumſtance his Friends began to date his Fall, who had obſerv'd, 'That Fortune 'ſeldom careſs'd her ſlighted Favourites, and Princes more 'rarely the Perſons they had offended.'

The Queen ſtrikes Eſſex.

His Reſentment.

Not long after, his Oppoſer the Lord *Burleigh*, being worn out with Labour of Mind, the Gout and old Age, and falling ſick, wrote a Letter to the Queen for her leave to lay down his Offices. The Queen viſited and comforted him; but within a few Days, having liv'd long enough for Nature, long enough for his own Glory, but not long enough for his Country, he peaceably reſign'd his Soul to God, in the ſeventy eighth Year of his Age: A Man of extraordinary Worth and Abilities, who, not to mention his Venerable Preſence, his calm and ſerene Deportment, was ſo diſpos'd by Nature, ſo poliſh'd by Education, and ſo enrich'd with Learning, that for Wiſdom, Integrity, Gravity, Induſtry, Temperance and Piety, he had no Superior; and was one of thoſe Few in the World who both lived and dy'd in Glory. His Saying was, *Prudens qui Patiens*, and, *That nothing was truly for a Prince's Profit, that was not for his Honour.* The knowing Queen had ſuch Eſteem for him, that ſhe would always cauſe him to ſit down in her Preſence, ſaying, *My Lord, we make uſe of you, not for your Legs, but for your Head:* And viſiting him in his Sickneſs, and the Servants at the Chamber-Door deſiring her Majeſty to ſtoop, ſhe generouſly anſwer'd, *For your Maſter's ſake I will ſtoop, but not for the King of* Spain. One great Service he did his Country a little before his Death, which was to bring the Confederate States to a Compoſition, for the Payment of eight hundred thouſand Pounds, by thirty thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; and likewiſe to the Concluſion of a new League; by which the Queen, beſides the receiving her Debts, was eas'd of a yearly Expence of a hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds. The Death of this great Support of the Nation was immediately ſucceeded by the Death of its moſt potent Enemy, *Philip* King of *Spain*, in the ſeventy firſt Year of his Age; a Prince of great Wiſdom and Patience, through his Father's Inſtructions and his own Experience; but in Matters of War for the moſt part Unfortunate: For being naturally weak, he was wary in taking Advice, and truſted to others in his Wars; by which the three Keys of the *Spaniſh* Empire, which his Father taught him to watch carefully, *Guletta* in *Africa*, *Fluſhing* in the *Netherlands*, and *Cales* in *Spain* were neglected; one being taken by the *Turks*, another by the *Hollanders*, and the third by the *Engliſh*, to the great Damage and Diſhonour of ſo great a Monarch: So that it was not without Cauſe that he advis'd his Son *Philip* to compoſe all Differences with the *Engliſh* and the *Netherlands*.

The Lord Burleigh's *Death and Character.*

His Services.

The Death and Character of Philip *King of* Spain.

Squire's *Conſpiracy.*

No Year was now free from Treaſons and Conſpiracies from the *Romaniſts*; and in this a new Traitor was diſcover'd, one *Edward Squire*, who had firſt been an ordinary Scrivener, afterwards a Groom in the Queen's Stable; and going as a Soldier in Captain *Drake*'s laſt Expedition, was taken Priſoner and carry'd into *Spain*, where he came acquainted with one *Walpole* an *Engliſh* Jeſuit, who caus'd him to be put into the Inquiſition for a Heretick. This Man, to avoid further Miſery, was eaſily induc'd to turn Papiſt, and afterwards to attempt any wicked Act for the Catholick Cauſe. His Ghoſtly Father taught him that it would be a very meritorious Act to deſtroy the Queen and the Earl of *Eſſex*; and ſent him into *England* with a peculiar Poiſon, to anoint the Pommel of the Queen's Saddle, and the Chair where the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould ſit; which he exactly perform'd, but neither of them took Effect. Whereupon *Walpole*, ſuſpecting the Fidelity of *Squire*, was reſolv'd to revenge it, and ſent a Perſon into *England*, who in general Terms ſhould caſt this Aſperſion upon him. This caus'd *Squire* to be apprehended and arraign'd for Treaſon, who not imagining that his Confeſſor would detect him, directly deny'd all at firſt; but finding himſelf really betray'd, confeſs'd the whole Matter, and ſuffer'd Death.

Ireland had often been in Rebellion againſt the *Engliſh* in this Reign, but never in ſo formidable a manner as in this Year: For the Head of the Rebels, the Earl of *Tyrone*, notwithſtanding he had lately obtain'd his Pardon for numerous Diſturbances, ſuddenly beſieg'd the Fort of *Blackwater*, and ingaging with Marſhal *Bagnal* his mortal Enemy, he gave the *Engliſh* ſuch a Defeat, as they had ſcarcely ſuſtain'd the like ſince they firſt ſet footing in *Ireland*; for beſides the General, thirteen valiant Commanders, and fifteen hundred common Soldiers were ſlain in this Encounter: By which the *Iriſh* gain'd Arms, Proviſions, Ammunition and Reputation, and the Fort of *Blackwater*; ſo that the *Engliſh* were reduc'd from an Offenſive to a defenſive War. This provoked the Queen, who ſent to the brave Earl of *Ormond*, then Lieutenant-General, to clear the Army of all the *Iriſh*; and ſhe ſent two thouſand Foot, and a hundred Horſe to recruit the Army. After this *Tyrone*, whoſe Fame increas'd daily, ſent four thouſand *Kerns* into *Munſter*; and the Preſident being not able to reſiſt them, by reaſon of the Smallneſs of his Forces, that whole Province alſo rebell'd, and began to kill, rob and ravage the *Engliſh*, without Meaſure or Mercy. Thus the Rebellion became in a manner general, and grew to that Height, that it became formidable to the Queen. *Tyrone* in the mean time ſent ſubmiſſive Letters to the Earl of *Ormond*, but with his uſual Treachery promis'd the *Spaniards* that he would accept of no Conditions from the *Engliſh*, magnifying his Victories beyond all Truth and Reaſon. So that now, by long uſe it was grown to a deſtructive Cuſtom in *Ireland*, that Rebels might with the Mony and Spoils they gain'd from the *Engliſh*, procure themſelves Protection and Pardon.

Tyrone's *Rebellion and Succeſſes in* Ireland.

A. D. 1599. Reg. $\frac{41}{42}$.

To extinguiſh this increaſing Flame, the Queen thought of ſending *Charles Blunt* Lord *Montjoy*, to be Deputy of that Kingdom; but the Earl of *Eſſex* intimated that he was a Man but of a Mean Eſtate, of no Experience, and too Bookiſh for ſuch a Martial Employment; and in forming the Character of a Man fit for that Office, he ſo Artificially drew his own Picture, that the Queen immediately reſolv'd to make him Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, and General of the Army. All this he made a ſhew of Refuſing, praying the Queen to beſtow thoſe Honours upon ſome abler Perſon; yet if any other Perſon was nam'd, he ſtill made Objections againſt him, and behav'd himſelf in ſuch a manner, as gave his Enemies the Advantage of ſaying, *He wanted nothing but an Army at his Command, to ſet up a Title to the Crown*, which his Friends and Flatterers had drawn up for him. Other Courtiers, who deſir'd the Abſence of this Favourite, puſh'd him forwards to accept the Command, knowing his youthful Ardour, and Thirſt of Glory, would haſten his Ruin; there being no way ſo certain to deſtroy a popular and aſpiring Man as forcing him upon Buſineſs improper for his Management. But tho' he was ſomewhat anxious, and fearful of his Father's Fate, yet he did not or would not perceive all theſe Arts; therefore with the general Applauſe of Queen and Council, he was made Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*. He had a greater Army allotted him than ever appear'd in *Ireland*, twenty thouſand Foot, and thirteen hundred Horſe; and whatever elſe he could deſire was obtain'd by the officious, but deceitful Intrigues of his ſecret Enemies, who were raiſing him on high, that his Fall might be the greater.

The Earl of Eſſex *made Lord-Deputy of* Ireland.

The unfortunate Earl went over into *Ireland* in the Month of *March*, and having receiv'd the Sword according to Cuſtom, he immediately made the Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horſe; and contrary to his Inſtructions, he march'd towards *Munſter* againſt the inferior Rebels, neglecting *Tyrone*, the moſt conſiderable Enemy in the Kingdom, againſt whom he was particularly ſent over; and all this without acquainting the Queen with his Reaſons for ſo acting, which caus'd her to be extreamly diſſatisfy'd with his Conduct. Two conſiderable Defeats the *Engliſh* ſuffer'd in *Ireland*; and at length the Earl, contrary to Order, treated ſecretly with *Tyrone*, and concluded a Peace with him. When the Queen had notice of this, and that with ſo ſtrong an Army, in ſo long a Time, and ſo great Expence of Mony, *Eſſex* had in effect done nothing, ſhe was highly incens'd, blam'd his Actions and Counſels as over-raſh, unfortunate and diſreſpectful to her ſelf, and freely ſaid, *That he had ſomething elſe in his Thoughts beſides doing his Prince and Country Service in* Ireland. Nor were her Suſpicions ill grounded; for now he began to project a wicked Deſign of returning into *England* with a Party of ſelect Men to reduce his Adverſaries to his Power by Force of Arms, being perſuaded that many would join with him, either out of Affection, or the Deſire of Novelties: And had certainly attempted it, if the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* had not deterr'd him from it, as an impious, bloody and dangerous Deſign. It does not fully appear whether the Queen had Intelligence of this Matter, tho' it is reaſonable to believe ſhe had; for at this Time an Army of ſix thouſand Men were rais'd in *London*, of which three thouſand were appointed to guard the Queen's Perſon, and the reſt to be always near and ready upon all Occaſions, under the Command of the Earl of *Nottingham*; but a few Days after the Army was diſbanded.

He is unſucceſsful and ſuſpicious.

He returns into England.

Within a Month the Earl of *Eſſex* poſted into *England*, and accompany'd with ſeveral ſelect Friends, went to *Noneſuch*, where the Queen then lay; and early in the Morning preſented himſelf on his Knees before her Majeſty in her Privy-Chamber, when ſhe had no Expectation of him. She receiv'd him ſomewhat graciouſly in a ſhort Conference, but not with ſo pleaſing a Countenance as formerly; and at his Departure commanded him to keep his Chamber: For as ſhe was before diſpleas'd with his ill Conduct, he had now incurr'd her further Diſpleaſure by leaving the Kingdom of *Ireland* without her Leave. Afterwards his Actions and Proceedings being generally diſlik'd by the Council, and aggravated beſides by the Fictions and Inventions of his Adverſaries, he was committed to the Cuſtody of the Lord-Keeper, that he might not be further withdrawn from his Duty by ſeditious Counſels. Here entring into Conſideration of his Caſe, he gave himſelf wholly to Divine Contemplations, and wrote remarkable Letters to his Friends concerning the Vanity of Human Affairs.

He is committed to Cuſtody.

To return to the Affairs of *Ireland*, where the ſix Weeks Truce was ſcarce expir'd, before *Tyrone* prepar'd again for open Hoſtilities, and being accus'd by the Council of *Ireland* for Breach of Faith, he declar'd he had juſt Cauſe to renew the War, ſince the Earl of *Eſſex*, on whom he depended for his Life and Safety, was committed to Cuſtody in *England*; nor would he for the future be concern'd with the *Iriſh* Council, which had heretofore dealt fraudulently with him. In the mean Time Rumours were ſpread abroad among the Rebels, that *England* in a ſhort Time would be imbroil'd in Civil Commotions, therefore he gave new Incouragement to the *Iriſh* Rebels to join with him, to the Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* Power in *Ireland*; to which he was farther encourag'd by the *Spaniards*, who had ſent him both Mony and Ammunition, and alſo by the Pope, who excited him by large Promiſes and Indulgences; all which Rebellious Practices in *Tyrone*, were either directly or indirectly charg'd upon the Earl of *Eſſex* by his Enemies. In the Depth of the Winter the Queen ſent *Montjoy* her Deputy into *Ireland*; who with great Care and Induſtry fortify'd the moſt important Places in that Kingdom, and ſo harraſs'd and manag'd *Tyrone* with continual Skirmiſhing, that he ſoon chang'd the Fortune of the War, drove that Arch-Rebel into his Faſtneſſes and abſconding Places, ſubdu'd the Rebels in *Ulſter* and *Leinſter*, and in all Places prov'd victorious. Nor had Sir *George Carew* leſs Succeſs in *Munſter*, againſt the Titular Earl of *Deſmond*; and ſo fully quieted and ſubdu'd thoſe Parts, that not ſo much as one Fort held out againſt the Queen.

Montjoy *made Deputy of* Ireland.

A. D. 1600. Reg. $\frac{42}{43}$.

A Treaty with Spain.

In *England* a new Conſultation was debating, concerning a Peace with the King of *Spain*, which was deſir'd both by him and the *French* King, and by *Albert* the Arch-Duke, who was now return'd into the *Netherlands* out of *Spain*, where he was marry'd to the *Infanta*. The Queen conſenting to the Treaty, left it to the *French* King to nominate both the Time and the Place for the Meeting of the Commiſſioners, who appointed the Month of *May*, and the Town of *Boloign* in *France*: But foreſeeing that a Queſtion would ariſe about Precedency, ſome Perſons were appointed to ſearch ancient Records concerning that Point. Theſe Perſons found in the Book of the *Ceremonies of the Court of* Rome, which according to the Canons gave Rule to the Chriſtian Princes, 'That among 'Kings, the firſt Place was due to the King of *France*, 'the ſecond to the King of *England*, and the third to the 'King of *Caſtile*, the chief Title of the Kings of *Spain*; 'and that the *Engliſh* quietly held this Privilege in the General Councils of *Baſil*, *Conſtance*, and others. Accordingly Pope *Julius* the Third gave Sentence for *Henry* 'the Seventh, King of *England*, againſt *Ferdinand* then 'King of *Caſtile*.' At the appointed Time the Commiſſioners met at *Boloign*; Sir *Henry Nevil*, Sir *John Herbert*, Sir *Thomas Edmunds* and *Robert Beal*, for the *Engliſh*; and a proportionable Number of others for the King of *Spain* and the Arch-Duke. The *Engliſh* had Inſtructions firſt to inſiſt ſtrictly upon Precedency; yet if the *Spaniards* contended the Matter, then to put it to the Deciſion of Lots, rather than diſſolve the Treaty; and for the reſt, to propoſe and mention the renewing the ancient *Burgundian* League, Freedom of Commerce, *&c.* At the Meeting, when they had ſeverally ſhewn their Commiſſions, the *Engliſh* challeng'd the Precedency, and the *Spaniards* did the ſame, and in ſuch a peremptory manner, that without that obtain'd, they would break up the Treaty. Hereupon the *Engliſh* made a Propoſal to drop the Queſtion concerning Precedency, and to tranſact the Buſineſs by Writing, and Meſſengers between both Parties; or that the Treaty might be prorogu'd for ſixty Days, ſo that it might rather ſeem diſcontinu'd than diſſolv'd. But all this, and ſeveral new Propoſals came to no Effect; ſo that after the Space of three Months, the Treaty of *Boloign* came to nothing.

But to no Effect.

In the mean Time the Confederate States were ſo far from regarding a Peace, that at this Time they were reſolv'd upon reducing the Sea-Coaſts of *Flanders* into their Command. Accordingly they landed an Army into that Country of fourteen thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, under the Command of Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*; and fifteen hundred of the *Engliſh* under the Command of the two valiant Brothers Sir *Francis* and *Horatio Vere*. At which Time there was fought the famous Battel of *Newport*, where Sir *Francis* order'd his *Engliſh* to throw off their Cloaths, telling them, *That ſhortly they ſhould need none, or get better*; and here nine thouſand *Spaniards* were ſlain, and the Victory by the Valour of the *Engliſh* fell to the Confederate States: For ſo forward and couragious were the *Engliſh* in the Battel, that of their fifteen hundred, eight hundred were ſlain or ſore wounded, eight Captains kill'd, and all the reſt hurt but two.

The Battel of Newport.

All this Year, and the laſt, ſeveral Conteſts and Complaints aroſe between the *Engliſh* and *French*, concerning the Reprizals of Goods taken from each other by Pirates of either Nation; alſo concerning Cuſtoms and Impoſitions, contrary to the Treaty of *Blois*, and corrupt and deceitful taking of *Engliſh* Cloaths, to the great Diſcredit of the Nation. With *Denmark* alſo aroſe Controverſies concerning Commerce, and the Fiſhing of the *Engliſh* upon the Coaſt of *Iſland* and *Norway*. The Queen likewiſe at that Time, for the Encreaſe of Navigation and Commerce, founded the Company of *Eaſt-India* Merchants, who having large Privileges granted them, ſettled ſeveral Factories in thoſe Parts, and carry'd on a great Trade even in this Reign.

The Pope's Deſigns againſt England.

In the ſame Year, Pope *Clement* the Eighth, perceiving the Queen to be declining in Years, ſent two bold *Breves* into *England*, the one to the Popiſh Clergy, the other to the Laity, in which he pretended to authorize no Perſon whatſoever to aſſume the *Engliſh* Crown after the Queen's Death, but ſuch a one as ſhould promiſe by Oath to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to promote the Catholick Religion, tho' he was never ſo near ally'd to the Blood Royal of *England*. This was deſign'd chiefly againſt the preſent King of *Scotland*; and as *Camden* obſerves, was the Foundation of the famous Powder-Plot in the next Reign.

Thus with a Year of extraordinary Scarcity of Corn, concluded the Sixteenth Century; in which there occurr'd more famous Varieties in Church and State, both in *England* and Chriſtendom, than in any Age ſince the firſt Propagation of the Goſpel and Chriſtianity.

A.D. 1601. Reg. $\frac{43}{44}$.

The Earl of Eſſex's *Cauſe.*

He is cenſur'd.

XIV. All things being in a reaſonable Degree of Peace and Security, the Seventeenth Century in *England* began with the fatal Tragedy of the gallant Earl of *Eſſex*, who was hurry'd on to his Ruin by a Temper too violent and impetuous. He had been ſix Months in Cuſtody under the Lord-Keeper, and now out of his own good Nature, the Senſe of his Afflictions, and the good Advice of his Friends, he began to repent of his ill Deſigns, and made ſuch a ſhew of Piety, Patience, Modeſty and Humility, that his Friends hop'd for his Converſion, his Adverſaries envy'd him, and the Queen, molify'd with his ſubmiſſive Letters, ſuffer'd him to retire to his own Houſe, under the free Cuſtody of Sir *Richard Berkley*, often proteſting, *That ſhe would do nothing againſt him for his Ruin, but only for his Reformation.* But ſince the vulgar Sort had openly proclaim'd his Innocency; that her Majeſty might not be ſuſpected of Prejudice or Injuſtice, ſhe thought fit to have his Cauſe heard, not in the Star-Chamber, leſt he ſhould be ſeverely fin'd, but in the Lord-Keeper's Houſe, before the Queen's Council, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges, and that ſome Cenſures ſhould be taken of his Actions, yet without any Charge of *Perfidiouſneſs.* The Heads of his Accuſation were, 'That ' contrary to his Commiſſion he had made the Earl of ' *Southampton* General of the Horſe, had drawn his Forces ' into *Munſter*, neglected the chief Rebel *Tyrone*, and held ' a private and ſuſpicious Parley with him, contrary to the ' Dignity of the Queen's Majeſty, and the Perſon of a ' Vice-Roy, which he repreſented: And ſome Aggrava' tions were made by the Lawyers of ſome abrupt Sen' tences in his Letter written to the Lord Privy-Seal.' The Earl kneeling at the Table, gave Thanks to God for his Mercies, and to his gracious Princeſs, that proceeded ſo mildly againſt him, profeſſing, *He would not contend with her, nor excuſe the Errors of his Youth, either in whole or in part; That he always meant well, tho' it happen'd otherwiſe in Appearance, but now he would bid the World Farewell.* And ſhedding a Flood of Tears, which caus'd many to ſympathize with him, the Lord-Keeper in Concluſion proceeded to Sentence, which was, That he ſhould be remov'd from the Place of Privy-Counſellor, ſuſpended from his Offices of Earl-Marſhal and the Maſter of the Ordnance, and be detain'd in Cuſtody during the Queen's Pleaſure. This Cenſure was approv'd by all the reſt; and many were in hopes that he would be reſtor'd to Favour, ſince the Queen had expreſly commanded, that he ſhould not be ſuſpended from being Maſter of the Horſe, and that this Cenſure ſhould by no means remain upon Record.

The Queen is reconcil'd.

Eſſex *relapſes.*

He raiſes Soldiers.

After this the Earl made a ſhew of extraordinary Humility, which ſo pleas'd the merciful Queen, that ſhe remov'd his Keeper from him, ſet him at Liberty, and gave him leave to retire into the Country; but admoniſh'd him now to make Diſcretion his Keeper, and by no means to come to the Court, or near her Perſon. But as ſoon as his Servant *Cuffe* had Acceſs to him, he began to poiſon his Ears, and to tax him with Cowardice and Weakneſs; which provok'd the Earl to command his Name to be ſtruck out of the Roll of his Servants, but *Merrick* his Steward, who was of the ſame Opinion, prevented it. And the Earl going into the Country, remember'd himſelf to the Queen by the Lord *Henry Howard*, in theſe Words, *That he kiſs'd the Rod, and the Queen's Hand, which had only corrected and not ruin'd him; yet he ſhould never enjoy real Comfort, 'till he might behold thoſe bleſſed Eyes, which had been his propitious Stars to guide him in his Courſe, while he ſteer'd at an awful Diſtance. But now he reſolv'd to feed in the Field like* Nebuchadnezzar, *'till it ſhould pleaſe his Queen to reſtore him to his Senſe.* The Queen ſecretly rejoicing at theſe Expreſſions, ſaid, *Would to Heaven his Actions were anſwerable to his Words; He has long try'd my Patience, I muſt now try his Humility.* And now the Earl grew ſo confident of the Queen's Favour, that he became a Petitioner to her for the Farm of the ſweet Wines, which was a Place of great Profit; but ſhe, to try his Temper, return'd him Anſwer, *That ſhe muſt firſt underſtand the Value of it: That Benefits were not to be beſtow'd blindfold: That a furious Horſe muſt be kept ſhort of Provender to bring him to due Management*; commending the Aphoriſm of the Phyſicians, *That corrupt Bodies are injur'd by feeding plentifully.* Theſe unexpected Anſwers ſo inrag'd the Earl that they threw him into his former Frenzy, fir'd him with Indignation, and caus'd him blindly to hearken to the Suggeſtions of *Cuffe*, *Merrick*, and other Incendiaries, whoſe implacable Malice hurry'd them to their own and their Maſter's Deſtruction. Their exaſperating Speeches caus'd him often to join with them, and to drop paſſionate and indiſcreet Words, which coming to the Queen's Knowledge with aggravating Comments and Inferences, alienated her Affections from him. But what moſt ſenſibly provok'd her, and made the Breach irreparable, was his indecent reflecting upon her Majeſty's Perſon, ſaying, *That the Queen was now grown an old Woman, no leſs crooked and diſtorted in her Mind, than in her Body:* Which ſome of the Court Ladies, whom he had formerly deluded in Matters of Love, taking up at the Rebound, ſo ſpitefully repreſented it, that it blew up new Flames of Diſcontent between them, and ſo ſtung his diſtracted Mind, that he began to revive the clandeſtine Deſigns he had form'd in *Ireland*, made court to the Puritans and their Miniſters, and alſo to the Papiſts, by ſeeming to commiſerate their Afflictions. He ſecretly entertain'd Soldiers, and daring Prodigals, whoſe Poverty made them ready for any unlawful Enterprize. He and his particular Friends, the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Sir *John Davis*, and *John Littleton* of *Frankel*, held their private Cabals in *Drury* Houſe, where they enter'd upon Reſolutions, to ſeize the *Tower*, the Court, the Queen's Perſon, and call a Parliament to erect another Government. Theſe frequent Aſſemblies, and the great Reſort to *Eſſex*'s Houſe under Pretence of hearing Sermons, encreas'd the Suſpicions the Court had entertain'd of him, and caus'd him to be call'd before the Council, which he refus'd to obey, being reſolv'd to preſerve his Liberty, tho' with the Price of his Blood, and to that end had gather'd to his own Houſe *Sands*, *Parker* and *Monteagle*, with about three hundred Gentlemen of good Quality.

He impriſons the Privy-Counſellors,

and excites the Citizens to Rebellion.

The Queen having order'd the Lord Mayor to keep the Citizens in due Obedience, ſent the Lord-Keeper, the Earl of *Worceſter*, Sir *William Knolls*, and Lord Chief Juſtice *Popham*, to know the Cauſe of this unuſual Aſſembly. They were admitted with much Difficulty into *Eſſex*'s Houſe, through the Wicket; and in the Court-Yard they found a confus'd Multitude, with *Eſſex* in the middle of them, together with *Southampton* and *Rutland.* The Lord-Keeper demanded the Cauſe of the Tumult, and aſſur'd him that if any had injur'd him, he ſhould have equal Juſtice againſt the Perſons; to which *Eſſex* anſwer'd, *There was a Plot againſt his Life*; and when the Lord-Keeper urg'd him to be particular, the Multitude interrupted him, crying out, *Away, let us begon, they come to betray you, kill them, throw away the Broad-Seal, ſecure them in Priſon.* Upon which *Eſſex*, retiring with them into the Houſe, commanded the Doors to be ſhut, ſaying to the Lords, *Have Patience, I will go into the City, and adviſe with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and return immediately.* Coming inconſiderately into *London*, with about two or three hundred in his Company, he cry'd out with the utmoſt Heat, *For the Queen! For the Queen! a Plot is laid for my Life!* and went directly towards Sheriff *Smith*'s Houſe in *Fen-Church* Street; and ſeeing the Citizens run about in a Maze, he bid them *Arm themſelves, or they could do him no Good:* But not one Man took up Arms for him; and the Sheriff in whom he confided, hearing of his coming, withdrew himſelf out at a Back-Door, to the Lord Mayor's Houſe, and would not ſee him. In the mean Time *Eſſex* by a Herald was proclaim'd a Traitor in all Parts of the City; and ſeeing none would eſpouſe his Cauſe, and that his own Party began to deſert, he gave *Gorges* leave to ſet the Privy-Counſellors at liberty, who did it, and went with them to the Court by Water. *Eſſex* returning to his Houſe, found a Chain drawn croſs the Street at St. *Paul*'s, and Pikes and Muſketeers planted againſt him by the Biſhop of *London*, under the Command of Sir *John Leviſon.* The Earl in a Rage drew his Sword, and commanded *Blunt* to fall on; which he did with great Reſolution, kill'd one *Waite*, and was himſelf deſperately wounded, and taken Priſoner. There fell alſo *Henry Tracy*, a young Gentleman for whom the Earl had a tender Affection, and one or two Citizens. Being thus repuls'd at this Place, his Hat ſhot through, and many ſecretly deſerting him, he return'd to his Houſe by Water, burnt ſeveral Papers, *That they might tell no Tales*, and fortify'd his Houſe on all Sides.

His Houſe beſieg'd.

Immediately the Houſe was inveſted by Land by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Burleigh*, the Lord *Compton*, and others; while the Lord Admiral, the Lord *Effingham* his Son, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *John Stanhop*, Sir *Robert Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil* enter'd into the Garden by the *Thames* Side; and being ready to attack the Houſe, he ſummon'd him by *Sidney* to yield. *Southampton* ask'd, *To whom they ſhould yield? If to their Adverſaries, their Ruin would be inevitable; If to the Queen, their Guilt would be apparent; but if the Lord Admiral would give them Hoſtages for their Security, they would appear before her Majeſty, or elſe they would ſell their Lives as dear as they could.* The Lord Admiral anſwer'd, *That ſuch Conditions were not to be propos'd by Re-*

He yields.

bels; but in Commiſeration to the weaker Sex, he would permit the Counteſs his Wife, the Lady *Rich* his Siſter, and their Women, who fill'd the Air with their diſmal Outcries, to depart in Safety. This the Earl took as a Favour, and only deſir'd the Space of an Hour or two to fortifie the Place, through which they ſhould paſs, which was granted. Now the Earl of *Eſſex* looking upon all Things as deſperate and loſt, after two or three Perſons were kill'd on each Side, once reſolv'd to force his Way through his Enemies, to which he was particularly incourag'd by the old Lord *Sands*, who declar'd, *That the braveſt Courſes were the ſafeſt, and that it was more honourable for a Nobleman to die by the Sword, than the Axe.* But *Eſſex* fluctuating in his Reſolutions, and having the Lord Admiral's Promiſe that all ſhould be civilly treated, all the Noblemen at ten a Clock at Night, falling upon their Knees, deliver'd up their Swords, and themſelves Priſoners to him. *Eſſex* and *Southampton* were firſt confin'd to *Lambeth*-Houſe, and ſhortly after with *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Monteagle*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, and Sir *Henry Bromley*, were committed to the *Tower*. The next Day, *Thomas Lea*, Captain of a Company in *Ireland*, intimating to one *Croſs* a Sea-Captain, how noble an Exploit it were for ſix brave Soldiers to go to the Queen, and forcibly compel her to releaſe *Eſſex* and *Southampton*, was immediately apprehended, examin'd, found guilty, and executed.

The Tryal of him and his Aſſociates.

They are condemn'd.

Upon the nineteenth of *February*, the two Earls, *Eſſex* and *Southampton* were brought to their Tryals in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, before many of their Peers, where the Treaſurer *Buckhurſt* was made Lord High-Steward for that ſolemn Occaſion. They were jointly indicted of High-Treaſon, namely, 'That they had plotted to deprive the 'Queen of her Life and Kingdom, to ſurpriſe her in her 'very Palace; and that they broke out into open Rebellion, 'by impriſoning the Counſellors of the Kingdom, by exciting the Citizens with vain Fictions, by aſſaulting the 'Queen's loyal Subjects, and by defending of *Eſſex*'s 'Houſe againſt her Majeſty's Forces:' To all which they pleaded *not guilty*, and *Eſſex* averr'd, *That he had done nothing, but what was agreeable to the Law of Nature, and upon urgent Neceſſity. Yelverton* the Queen's Sergeant, and *Edward Coke* her Attorney, open'd the Indictment, and according to the Cuſtom of Lawyers, upbraided *Eſſex* with the Queens's Favour, compar'd him to *Catiline*, and as ſome thought made too indecent Reflections and Inſults upon Men of their Quality and Unhappy Circumſtances: For *Coke* ended his Harangue with this ſevere Concluſion: *It were to be wiſh'd that this* Robert, *Earl of* Eſſex, *might be the laſt of this Name, who affected to be* Robert *the firſt of that Name King of* England. The Earl of *Eſſex* with great Courage and Modeſty anſwer'd, *That this Art of ſcandalous Oratory was common to Men of their Profeſſion, who accounted it their Glory to depreſs innocent Men with Multiplicity of Words*, and therefore pray'd the Lords *not to regard their Clamours and noiſie Suggeſtions, but weigh the Matter according to Truth, and not by Rigour and Quirks of Law.* The Evidences againſt them being heard, *Southampton* endeavour'd to excuſe himſelf out of his Love to *Eſſex*, and his Ignorance of the Laws, and with great Humility begg'd the Queen's Mercy, *whom he had always eſteem'd as the lively Image of the Divine Goodneſs, and againſt whom his Heart had never harbour'd a diſloyal Thought. Eſſex*, when the Heat was over between him and *Cecil*, anſwer'd more calmly, *That he had no Deſign but to repel Force by Force; nor would he have enter'd the City inconſiderately, if he had not thought his Life in Danger; Nor with ſo ſmall a Number, if he deſign'd any thing but to defend himſelf againſt his private Enemies.* After this the Lords withdrew, and in an Hour return'd to their Places, where every one of them pronounc'd *Eſſex* and *Southampton* guilty; who being brought again to the Bar, and acquainted with it, *Eſſex* humbly begg'd the Lords Favours, that they would intercede with her Majeſty for *Southampton*'s Pardon, who might do her good Service. *But*, added he, *for my own Life I value it not; for I deſire nothing more than to lay it down with ſincere Faith to God, and Loyalty to my Prince, tho' the Law has made another Interpretation of it. Yet I would have none to tell the Queen that I ſlight her Mercy, tho' I believe I ſhall never ſervilely beg it: And I beſeech you, my Peers, tho' you have condemn'd me by Law, that you would abſolve me in your Conſciences, who never deſign'd any Ill againſt my Prince.*

The next Day Sir *Robert Vernon*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *Edmund Bainham*, Knights; *John Littleton*, *Henry Cuffe* the Earl's Secretary, Captain *Whitlock*, *John* and *Chriſtopher Wright*, and *Orel* an old Soldier, were arraign'd; and aſſoon as they had held up their Hands, and the Queen was inform'd they were unwarily drawn into this Plot, ſhe commanded that none but *Littleton*, *Bainham* and *Orel* ſhould be try'd, and that the reſt ſhould be remanded to Priſon; and tho' Sentence paſs'd againſt thoſe that were try'd, yet at laſt all their Lives were ſpared. *Bainham* redeem'd his by a Sum of Mony paid to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *Littleton* dy'd of a Diſtemper, and *Orel* was pardon'd.

Eſſex's *Confeſſion.*

In the mean Time the ſorrowful Earl of *Eſſex*, diſturb'd in his Conſcience, and terrify'd by the attending Miniſter, deſir'd to diſcourſe with ſome of the Privy-Council, and particularly with Secretary *Cecil*. Upon which Requeſt, the Lord-Keeper, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord-Admiral and *Cecil* went to him; and after he had ask'd Pardon of the Lord-Keeper and *Cecil* for what he had done or ſaid againſt them, he aſſur'd them, *That the Queen could never be ſafe as long as he liv'd*, and therefore begg'd that he might be executed privately in the *Tower*. He diſcover'd ſeveral of his Aſſociates in the Conſpiracy; and deſiring to ſpeak with *Blunt* and *Cuffe*, as ſoon as he ſaw them, he cry'd out, *Ah* Cuffe! *Ask Pardon of God and the Queen: for you were the Perſons that chiefly provok'd me to this Diſloyalty.* Nor was he ſatisfy'd with this verbal Confeſſion, but in Writing diſcover'd the Conſpirators, which were then in ſeveral Countries, as *Scotland*, *Ireland* and the *Netherlands*.

The Queen diſturb'd in her Mind.

Eſſex *brought to the Scaffold.*

His Execution and Character.

The twenty fifth of *February* was appointed for the fatal Day of Execution, when *Thomas Montford* and *William Barlow* Doctors of Divinity, with *Aſhton* Miniſter of the *Tower* Church, were ſent to him early in the Morning, to prepare him for Death. In the Preſence of theſe Men he gave Thanks to God, *that his Deſigns, ſo dangerous to the Publick, had no Succeſs.* He freely told them, *That he had now look'd ſeriouſly into his Sins, and was heartily ſorry that he had ſo obſtinately defended an unjuſt Cauſe at the Bar.* He thank'd the Queen who had granted him a private Execution, *leſt his Mind, at preſent compos'd, might be diſturb'd by the Peoples Behaviour; for he had learn'd how vain a Thing was popular Breath, and how he deſerv'd to be cut off from the Commonwealth, for the Contagion of his Enterprize, which like a foul Diſeaſe had ſpread and infected many.* In the mean Time, the Queen's Mind was violently agitated with various Apprehenſions; and her former Affection reviv'd, which with the Remembrance of paſt Services, produc'd ſuch tender Emotions of Pity and Clemency, that ſhe ſent her Commands to Sir *Edward Cary*, that he ſhould not be executed: On the other Side his perverſe Obſtinacy, who ſcorn'd to ask her Pardon, and had openly declar'd, *That his Life would be the Queen's Deſtruction*, did ſo puſh her on to Juſtice and Severity, that ſoon after ſhe ſent a freſh Command by *Darcy*, that he ſhould be executed. Accordingly he was brought to a Scaffold erected in the *Tower*, near which ſate ſome few Lords, ſome of the Aldermen of *London*, and ſeveral Knights, among whom was *Raleigh*, purpoſely, as he ſaid, to anſwer to any Accuſation the Earl might make againſt him; but as others thought, to feed his Eyes with the Sufferings of his Enemy; therefore he was adviſ'd out of Decency to withdraw into the Armory, where he beheld the whole Tragedy. The Earl having aſcended the Scaffold with the above-nam'd Divines, uncover'd his Head, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, confeſs'd his Sins, and begg'd Mercy for them, eſpecially this laſt, which he call'd, *A bloody, crying and outragious Sin.* He pray'd the Queen and her Miniſters to forgive him, *And that God would give her a long and happy Reign*, proteſting *That he never deſign'd to lay violent Hands on her Perſon.* Then he pray'd to God *to ſtrengthen his Mind againſt the Terrors of Death*, and intreated the Spectators to join with him in a ſhort Prayer, which he deliver'd with great Devotion. Then he rehears'd the Apoſtle's Creed; and laying himſelf down plac'd his Neck upon the Block; and having repeated the firſt Verſes of the fifty firſt Pſalm, and commended his Spirit into the Hands of God, his Head was ſtruck off at the third Blow; but the firſt took away both Senſe and Motion. Thus fatally dy'd *Robert D'Evereux* Earl of *Eſſex*, in the thirty fourth Year and Prime of his Age; a Perſon endow'd with all thoſe Accompliſhments that ſerve to finiſh a Nobleman, and a gallant Warrior, whoſe Genealogy was ancient and illuſtrious. He had been a great Favourite, and loaden with Preferments, had a towering Spirit, and an obliging Affability; but he was not born for a Courtier, for he could neither flatter nor diſſemble, but always carry'd his Love and Hatred in his Countenance. His great Thirſt after Popularity, and his continual ingroſſing of Fame procur'd him many Enemies, and made his Mind boil into undecent Paſſions, more advantageous to his Enemies Deſigns than his own. For they lighted their Candle at his Fire; and this Heat being blown into a Flame by ſome fiery Spirits about him, ſtain'd his good Nature with Thoughts of Revenge, which his Enemies turn'd upon the Queen herſelf; ſo that the ſame Coal with which he deſign'd to conſume his Enemies Houſes, kindled his own Funeral Pile. Thus Pride and Ambition do often uſurp the Names of Greatneſs and Gallantry, 'till they prove the Downfal and Ruin of the braveſt Men upon Earth.

Other Executions.

Not many Days after Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gilly Merick*, and *Cuffe*, being accus'd of the ſame Crimes with the Earl, were brought to their Tryals, and being convicted by the Jury, receiv'd the Sentence of Death, and were all executed at *Tyburn*; except the two firſt, who being nobly deſcended, were beheaded upon *Tower-Hill*. To this Cauſe alſo there belongs a peculiar Cenſure, given at this Time in the Star-Chamber: The Earl of *Eſſex* complain'd at his Tryal, that his Letters were counterfeited, and upon a diligent Enquiry into the Matter, a bold Impoſture was diſcover'd. The Counteſs of *Eſſex*, being apprehenſive that in thoſe troubleſome Times ſome Miſchiefs might befal her Husband and her ſelf, put ſome Letters which ſhe had receiv'd from him into a Cabinet, and intruſted it in the Hands of a *Dutch* Woman call'd *Rihove*, who hiding them in her Houſe, they were accidentally diſcover'd by her Husband *John Daniel*; who reading them over, and obſerving ſome Paſſages in them that might incenſe the Queen and endanger the Earl, caus'd them to be tranſcrib'd by a Perſon expert at *Counterfeiting of Hands*. And when the timorous Counteſs was ready to be deliver'd of a Child, he told her that unleſs ſhe would give him three thouſand Pounds, he would put them into the Hands of her Husband's Enemies. The good Lady, to prevent the threatning Danger, immediately gave him eleven hundred and ſeventy Pounds; and ſtill for that great Sum the Impoſtor only gave her the Counterfeit Copies, and kept the Originals, to get another Sum for them from the Earl's Enemies. For which he was condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment, fin'd in three thouſand Pounds, two of which was to be paid to the Counteſs, and to ſtand with his Ears nail'd to the Pillory, with this Inſcription on his Breaſt, *A wicked Forger and Impoſtor*.

A piece of Forgery.

The tenth Parliament in this Reign.

Not long after the vigilant Queen ſummon'd her laſt Parliament, which met at *Weſtminſter* upon the twenty ſeventh Day of *October*; in which grievous Complaints were made by the Houſe of Commons concerning the Miſchiefs of Monopolies. The Queen, by way of Prevention, ſent out Proclamations, declaring the ſaid Licences and Patents to be void in part, leaving ſome Part to the Determination of the Laws; which was ſo acceptable to the Commons, that they immediately ſent eighty ſelect Perſons, together with their Speaker, to return their hearty Thanks to her Majeſty. She on the other Side in a tender Speech gave them Thanks, *For being ſuch faithful Miniſters to her, and recalling her from an Error proceeding from her Ignorance, not Will.* After that ſhe declar'd to them, *That ſhe had rather her Heart or Hand ſhould periſh, than that either one or the other ſhould allow ſuch Privileges to Monopoliſts as might be prejudicial to her dear People. That the Splendor of Regal Majeſty had not ſo blinded her Eyes, that licentious Power ſhould prevail more than Juſtice. That ſhe was none of thoſe Princes that would be deceiv'd by the Glory of the Name; for ſhe knew the Commonwealth was to be govern'd for the Good of thoſe committed to her, not of her ſelf to whom it was intruſted; and that an Account was one Day to be given before a Superior Judge. She thought her ſelf moſt happy, that ſhe had by God's Aſſiſtance ſo proſperouſly govern'd the Commonwealth; and that ſhe had ſuch loving Subjects, as for their Good ſhe would willingly leave both her Kingdom and Life.* This Speech, and her endearing Behaviour, ſo pleas'd and charm'd the Commons, that they now gave her greater Aids than ever ſhe had receiv'd, namely, four entire Subſidies, and eighteen Fifteenths and Tenths: After which this Parliament, after ſix Weeks Seſſion, was diſſolv'd upon the nineteenth Day of *December*.

The Queen's Generoſity.

Reg. 44.

The famous Siege of Oſtend.

During theſe Tranſactions at home, the Arch-Duke *Albert* beſieg'd *Oſtend* in the *Netherlands*, and the Confederate States being oblig'd for their own Preſervation to defend it, they made Sir *Francis Vere* Governor of it, under the Title of *General of all the Forces within and without* Oſtend. This Place, within the Memory of that Generation, was but a few Cottages for poor Fiſhermen on a naked Shore; but at the Beginning of the *Netherland* Wars, was fortify'd by the States, firſt with a Palliſado; afterwards upon the Sea working in, and making a very convenient Harbour, they added a Trench to it, and plac'd an *Engliſh* Garriſon in it. Theſe Men firſt under *John Conway*, and afterwards under Sir *John Norris*, ſo diſturb'd and over-run *Flanders*, that the Prince of *Parma* began to lay Siege to it, but in vain. *Le Motte* attempted it by Treachery, but was repell'd with great Loſs; and the Arch-Duke *Albert* ſurrounded it with ſeventeen Sconces: But when the Garriſons with theſe Sconces prov'd as burdenſome and vexatious to *Flanders* as the Enemies, and the Haven being thought convenient both to harbour the *Spaniſh* Gallies, and diſturb the Navigation of the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, the *Spaniards* reſolv'd to take it at any Expence, and the States on the other hand were as reſolute to preſerve it. Never in that Age was a Siege more obſtinately maintain'd, or more gallantly defended; nor a greater Slaughter of Men, or a Piece of Service that laſted a longer Space. At the End of five Months, Sir *Francis Vere* finding his Forces diminiſh'd by frequent Sallies, the Enemies Shot and the Peſtilence, a Part of the old Town ſwallow'd by the Sea, their Proviſion almoſt ſpent, and by reaſon of contrary Winds no Hopes of Supplies, which he had often in vain demanded; and underſtanding that the Enemy were ready to make a general Aſſault upon the Town, he deſir'd a Parley with the Arch-Duke concerning a Surrender of the Place; and after Hoſtages were given on both Sides, Commiſſioners were ſent to treat about it. But General *Vere* only protracted Time, and fed them with Hopes of a Surrender, 'till freſh Supplies of Men arriv'd; and then ſent back the Commiſſioners, excuſing himſelf by that military Axiom, *That to overreach an Enemy is both pleaſant and advantageous*, and therefore deſir'd their Pardon, if in caſe of the like Neceſſity he ſhould make uſe of the ſame Stratagem. The Arch-Duke in Revenge made a furious Aſſault the next Day, but was beaten back with Loſs; and General *Vere*, when he had repair'd the ſhaken and batter'd Places, was recall'd by the States, who thought fit every five Months to ſend a new Governor with freſh Supplies of Men; which Succeſſive Governors, with great Management and Reſolution, defended the Town above three Years and three Months, againſt all the furious Attacks of the Sea and the Enemy. And it would have been thought happy, by vaſt Numbers, if the Sea had been let in and had ſwallow'd it up; for the beſt and braveſt Soldiers of the *Netherlands*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Italy*, while they contended for a barren Plat of Sand, found here one common Sepulchre, tho' with that an eternal Monument of their Valour.

The Spaniards land in Ireland.

As to the Affairs of *Ireland*, the Inhabitants there had been in long Expectations of Aſſiſtance from *Spain*, which now to their great Joy arriv'd in Safety at *Kingſale*; and having peaceably enter'd the Town and refreſh'd themſelves, Don *John d'Aquila*, who commanded them, with the Title of *General of the Catholick King in God's War, for maintaining the Faith in* Ireland, publiſh'd ſeveral Papers, to perſuade the People, 'That Queen *Elizabeth* was 'by ſeveral Sentences of the Pope depriv'd of her Crown, 'that her Subjects were abſolv'd from their Oath of Alle'giance, and that now the *Spaniards* were come to deli'ver *Ireland* from the Jaws of Hell:' and by that ſpecious Pretence he induc'd great Numbers of lewd and diſſolute Perſons to join with him. The Lord-Deputy having drawn together what Forces he could, inveſted *Kingſale*, forc'd the Caſtle of *Kincurran* to ſurrender; and with the Aſſiſtance of Vice-Admiral *Leviſon*, ſtraiten'd the Town with a cloſer Siege, which was ſoon after a little relax'd, in regard *Leviſon* with his Fleet was oblig'd to ſail from thence againſt two thouſand *Spaniards*, landed at *Bear-Haven*, *Caſtle-Haven* and *Baltimore*, five of whoſe Ships he happily ſunk. About the ſame Time, *Tyrone*, *O-Donel*, *O-Rock*, and the principal Rebels drew near, and joining the new-landed *Spaniards*, compos'd an Army of ſix thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe; and were ſwell'd with ſuch an Aſſurance of Victory, as being freſh Men, more numerous, and well provided with Neceſſaries, while the *Engliſh* were extreamly fatigu'd with a Winter's Siege, and both Men and Horſes deſtitute of Proviſions and Conveniences. However when both Armies came to engage, they ſoon found their Error; for the *Spaniards* were miſerably ſlaughter'd, and the *Iriſh* threw down their Arms, and betook themſelves to Flight. Don *Alphonſo O Campo* was taken Priſoner, with three *Spaniſh* Leaders and ſix Enſigns; twelve hundred Men were ſlain, and nine Colours taken; and of the *Engliſh* few were kill'd, tho' many were wounded. Upon this the two Rebel Earls, *Tyrone* and *O-Donel*, made their Eſcape; the former to his Northern Shelters, and the latter into *Spain*. The next Day the Lord-Deputy commanded *Bodley* to ſurvey the Works about *Kingſale*, to finiſh the Mount, and draw the Trenches nearer the Town; which caus'd *D'Aquila* to ſend a Trumpeter and deſire a Parley, and that General ſignify'd to Sir *William Godolphin*, 'That he had found the Lord-Deputy a ſharp but 'honourable Enemy, and the *Iriſh* weak, rude and perfi'dious; that the Catholick King had ſent him to aſſiſt two 'Earls, whom he now queſtion'd whether they were in 'the World, ſince one Blaſt of War had blown one into '*Spain*, and the other into the North; wherefore he was 'willing to treat of a Peace, which might be advantage'ous to the *Engliſh*, and not prejudicial to the *Spaniards*; 'tho' he wanted nothing for a Siege, and daily expected 'Succours to enable him to perform his Maſter's Com'mands.' At length it was concluded that the *Spaniards* ſhould ſurrender *Kingſale*, with the Caſtles and Forts at

They and the Iriſh *are beaten.*

Bear-Haven, *Caſtle-Haven* and *Baltimore*, and depart honourably with their Goods and Liberties, without being moleſted by any *Engliſh* Ship in their Voyage to *Spain*; all which was ſoon after perform'd. Great and many were the Advantages of the Victory and Treaty; for *Ireland* that was ſtaggering, and ready to revolt, was hereby kept in Obedience, the *Spaniards* driven out of the Country, the Rebels diſpers'd, the Queen's Authority reſtor'd, the Hearts of honeſt Men reviv'd, and a ſolid and perfect Peace eſtabliſh'd in the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

They abandon the Kingdom.

1602.
Reg. 44/45.
The laſt Expeditions againſt the Spaniards.

The *Spaniards* being thus happily expell'd out of *Ireland*, the wiſe Queen, to prevent their Return into that Kingdom, ſent out Sir *Richard Leviſon* and Sir *William Monſon*, with eight of her own Men of War, and ſome inferior Ships, to make new Attempts upon the Coaſts of *Spain*. On the nineteenth Day of *March Leviſon* ſet Sail, and *Monſon* afterwards, having in vain tarry'd behind for ſome *Dutch* Ships to join with them. *Leviſon* in the mean Time fell in with the *Spaniſh* Fleet of thirty eight Sail, which brought the Treaſure from *America*, and ingag'd them, but to no great Effect. When *Monſon* was come up with the reſt of the Fleet, they receiv'd certain Intelligence that a mighty *Indian* Carack of ſixteen hundred Tun, and richly laden, was upon the Coaſt of *Portugal*, where they found it: But it lay cloſe under a Fort, attended with eleven Gallies, and the Carack it ſelf appear'd like a ſtrong Caſtle; yet they reſolv'd to fire it, if they could not take it. The next Day they thunder'd ſo furiouſly againſt the Gallies, that within ſeven Hours the Marqueſs of St. *Croſſe*, together with the Gallies he commanded, retir'd, and two of them were taken and fir'd, in which were great Quantities of Powder deſign'd for the *Netherlands*. Upon which *Leviſon* ſignify'd to the Captain of the Carrack, that the Gallies in which they confided were repuls'd and remov'd, therefore if they now refus'd Mercy, they were to expect none hereafter. After much Debate on both Sides, it was at laſt agreed, That the Carack, with all the Goods and Ordnance, ſhould be yielded up to *Leviſon*. Thus the *Engliſh* having a fair Wind, return'd home with a Booty amounting to a Million of Ducats, by the *Portugueze* Account, and not above five of their Men loſt in the Expedition.

A Conteſt between the Jeſuits and the Secular Prieſts.

About this Time a famous Conteſt aroſe between the Jeſuits and the Secular Prieſts in *England*: For *Blackwell*, who was wholly at the Command of *Garnet*, General of the Jeſuits in *England*, uſurp'd an Authority over the Secular Prieſts, depriv'd them of their Faculties, and procur'd a *Breve* from the Pope, declaring them Schiſmaticks and Hereticks, from which they clear'd themſelves by a Cenſure of the Univerſity of *Paris*. In publiſhing of ſeveral Books, the Secular Prieſts highly extoll'd the Queen, and made it appear, 'That in the firſt eleven Years of her 'Reign, there was not one Papiſt had his Life call'd in 'queſtion for his Religion; and that in ten Years after the 'Publication of the Bull of Pope *Pius Quintus*, and the 'Rebellion of the Papiſts, not above twelve Prieſts were 'put to Death for Treaſon, 'till in the Year 1580, when 'the Jeſuits firſt crept into *England*. Then they largely 'ſhew'd, That the wicked Deſigns of the Jeſuits confounded all, and enforc'd the making of ſevere Laws againſt 'Catholicks. That ever ſince *Engliſh* Seminaries had 'been erected by the Procurement of *Parſons* a Jeſuit, fifty 'had been yearly ſent to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom 'of *England:* That *Parſons* excited the *Spaniards* to invade *England* and *Ireland*, and ſet up the Title of the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Crown of *England:* That *Holt* a 'Jeſuit perſuaded *Hesket* to raiſe a Rebellion, and hir'd '*Cullen*, *York* and *Williams* to kill the Queen; and that '*Walpole* a Jeſuit perſuaded *Squire* to poiſon her. Inſomuch that the Queen, whoſe Judgment was, *That Conſcience ought never to be forc'd*, was neceſſitated to uſe 'Severity, or betray her own and her Kingdom's Safety. 'They reproach'd *Parſons* with being a Baſtard, the Dregs 'of the People, and a turbulent ſeditious Equivocator: 'They condemn'd the defamatory Libels which the Jeſuits 'had writ againſt the Queen, and the Authors as Traitors 'to God and her Majeſty; and deſir'd the *Engliſh* Catholicks not to ſend their Children to be educated in the Jeſuits Colleges, where they imbib'd the Poiſon of Treaſon 'and Rebellion with their firſt Rudiments.' Theſe Conteſts were politickly promoted by the Biſhop of *London*, as advantageous to the Church of *England*; but the Privy-Council were of Opinion, that notwithſtanding this pretended Animoſity, they were both agreed to pervert her Majeſty's Subjects, and therefore were both baniſh'd by Proclamation: Which prov'd very ſeaſonable; for while theſe Diſputes were depending, *Thomas Winter* and *Teſmund* a Jeſuit were ſent over into *Spain*, where they carry'd on a dangerous Conſpiracy for cutting off Queen *Elizabeth*, and excluding the King of *Scotland* from his Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*.

Both Parties are baniſh'd.

Foreign Affairs.

In *France*, the Marſhal *Biron*, for entering into dangerous Attempts againſt the publick Peace of that Nation, was arraign'd and beheaded. His Confeſſion brought ſome others into Danger; and amongſt them the Duke of *Buillon*, of the Proteſtant Religion, ſo that when he was cited, he durſt not appear, but fled into *Germany*. Upon this Accident the King of *France* ſent a Meſſage to Queen *Elizabeth*, complaining, 'That the Duke had declar'd his Marriage 'unlawful, and the Pope's Diſpenſation of no Validity, 'pronouncing his Sons Illegitimate; had deſtin'd the Prince 'of *Conde* to the Succeſſion of the Crown, and conſpir'd 'the Deſtruction of the chief of the Nobility.' The Queen was much concern'd for this Proteſtant Duke, and by her Leiger Ambaſſador adviſ'd the King, not too credulouſly to entertain thoſe Reports, as doubting theſe Suggeſtions might proceed from ſome of the *Spaniſh* Faction. Upon which the King became very angry, and ſaid, *That the Queen had a better Opinion of the Duke than he deſerv'd, and that he was one of the chief Founders of the Earl of* Eſſex'*s Treaſon, for that being queſtion'd by him about it, he was not able to deny it.* About the ſame Time alſo, the Duke of *Savoy* by Stratagems and open Force proceeded againſt the State of *Geneva*; upon which the generous Queen reliev'd them with large Sums of Mony, gather'd amongſt the Clergy and Laity all over *England*.

A. D.
1603.
Reg. 45.

As moſt Places began to be at reſt before the Death of the mighty Queen, ſo *Ireland* this Year was brought to a perfect Peace by the final Submiſſion of the Arch-Rebel *Tyrone*; who being haunted with an evil Conſcience, and ſuſpicious of his own Party, wrote ſubmiſſive Letters to the Queen and the Lord-Deputy, and gave ſuch Marks of true Repentance, that the Queen order'd the Lord-Deputy to receive him into Mercy, provided he would beg it upon his Knees with that Humility he promiſ'd in his Letters. Upon notice of this welcome News *Tyrone* repair'd to the Court at *Dublin*, and being admitted into the Preſence-Chamber, where the Lord-Deputy ſate in his Chair of State, with great Numbers about him, he fell on his Knees at the very Entrance, and then advancing nearer with a dejected Countenance, ſaid, *I acknowledge my Sin againſt God, and my Offence againſt my moſt gracious Queen and Sovereign, to whoſe Royal Clemency, as to a ſacred Anchor, I fly, offering up my Life and Eſtate to her Diſpoſal; and as I have felt her former Bounty and preſent Power, ſo now I humbly beg that I may taſte of her Mercy, and be made an Eternal Example of her Princely Clemency. My Age is not ſo far ſpent, my Body ſo feeble, nor my Mind ſo broken, but that by my valiant and faithful Service, I may yet expiate the Sin of my Rebellion.* Thus ended the famous *Tyrone*'s Rebellion by the auſpicious Fortune of the Queen, and the good Conduct of the Lord-Deputy *Montjoy*, about eight Years after it firſt began: Which was continu'd ſo long, by the too great Slight and Covetouſneſs of the *Engliſh*, who were unwilling to grant proportionable Supplies; and was protracted by unſeaſonable Emulations, diſſembled Truces, difficult Acceſſes in the Country, and by the Temper of the *Iriſh*, who truſted more to the Celerity of their Feet, than the Strength of their Hands.

Tyrone *ſubmits.*

And now all Things being in Peace at home, and in a fair Proſpect with *Spain* abroad, after the mighty Queen had acted the nobleſt Parts in the Theatre of the World, ſhe who had hitherto enjoy'd a continu'd State of Health, now became ſenſible of the Infirmities of old Age, by a general Weakneſs and Indiſpoſition that had lately ſeiz'd upon her. Therefore ſhe remov'd from *Weſtminſter* to her Palace at *Richmond*, which ſhe call'd her Warm Box, where ſhe could beſt truſt her diſtemper'd old Body, and where ſhe could more freely attend the Service of God, and the Salvation of her Soul. And here commanding her Inauguration Ring to be fil'd off her Finger, as being grown into the Fleſh and painful, it was by all thought an unfortunate Omen, and that the Marriage between her and her dear People was near a Diſſolution. Her Sickneſs began with a Swelling in her Throat, but that ſoon abated; and then by Degrees her Appetite fail'd, and ſhe had no Reliſh for any thing ſhe taſted. She much deſpiſ'd the Counſels of Phyſicians, declaring, *She was ſatiated with this preſent Life, and deſir'd to be tranſlated to a State of Immortality, and to eſcape out of this dark and diſorder'd State of human Affairs: That Death, ſo abhorr'd by many, was only the Payment of a Debt due to Nature; and that our Spirits were of Right to be reſtor'd to God from whom they came.* Thus her Body by ſlow Degrees conſum'd away, and ſhe became very lean, weak and faint; and her Mind ſeem'd more afflicted than her Body, being Night and Day diſturb'd with an uneaſie Remembrance of the late executed Earl of *Eſſex*, as likewiſe with her too great Compliance with *Tyrone*, whom ſhe had in ſome meaſure rewarded for his Treaſons and Perjuries. Her Sorrows were daily increas'd, and render'd more inſupportable by the melancholy Humour which then abounded in her Blood, and from a juſt Indignation to find her

The Queen's laſt Sickneſs.

ſelf

She nominates King James for her Succeſſor.

Her Death.

ſelf neglected by ſome who were too ready to worſhip a riſing Sun; yet ſtill ſhe bore her laſt Sickneſs with a wonderful Conſtancy and noble Patience of Mind. And now the Lord-Admiral informing the reſt of the Privy-Council, what the Queen had ſometime ſaid to him concerning the Succeſſion, they all thought fit that he, with the Lord-Keeper and Secretary of State, ſhould wait upon her Majeſty, and in the Name of all of them underſtand her Pleaſure concerning her Succeſſor. The Queen made Anſwer with a weak Voice, but ſound Mind, *I ſaid that my Throne was the Throne of Kings, and that I would have no mean Perſon ſucceed me.* The Secretary asking her the plain Meaning of theſe Words, ſhe ſaid, *I will that a King ſucceed me; and who ſhould that be, but my neareſt Kinſman the King of* Scotland? When ſhe had ſaid this, and recommended her Name and Memory to her Nobility, ſhe caſt off all Thoughts of this Life, and wholly betook her ſelf to Acts of Piety and Devotion; keeping the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* near her, with whom ſhe often pray'd with great Zeal and Fervency. When that pious Prelate adviſed her to place all her Truſt in the Merits of Chriſt, ſhe anſwer'd with a gaſping Breath, *That ſhe was weary of this miſerable Life, ſubject to ſo many Calamities and Dangers; that from her Soul ſhe begg'd to paſs to that eternal Light which flow'd with moſt perfect Felicity; and was haſtening to her Heav'nly Kingdom, to the Preſence, and into the holy Arms of her good Saviour.* Then turning a little, and laying her Head upon her right Arm, ſhe compos'd her ſelf for her Diſſolution, with a quiet Mind and calm Countenance; and when the Arch-Biſhop deſir'd her to keep her Thoughts upon God, ſhe juſt anſwer'd, *I do, nor does my Mind wander from him.* The laſt Moments of her Life were of the ſame Nature; for it appear'd by the Motions of her Hands and Eyes, that they were ſpent in moſt ſublime Devotions and Mental-Prayer. Thus gradually expiring, on the twenty fourth of *March*, near Mid-Night, ſhe peaceably reſign'd her pious Soul to God, after a long and incomparable Reign of forty four Years, four Months, and ſix Days, in the ſeventieth Year of her Age, to which Age no King of *England* but one ever arriv'd.

Her Character and Reign.

Thus dy'd the renown'd Virgin Queen, cover'd with all the Glories of this World, and nobly qualify'd for thoſe of the next; having had all the Virtues and Accompliſhments of her mighty Father, and ſcarce any of his Vices and Imperfections; only ſhe was in ſome Caſes a little too parſimonious, and a little too liable to Paſſion and the Love of Flattery. The News of her Death immediately fill'd the Court, the City and the whole Nation with ſuch Floods of Tears, and produc'd ſuch Marks of inexpreſſible Sorrow, as were never known before; and in Reality no Princes ſince the Creation had ever more ſincerely the Hearts of their Subjects, than this illuſtrious Queen. We have before given the Character of her Perſon, and mention'd her Qualifications; all which are ſtill more compleatly learnt from the Hiſtory of her Reign; which if the Goodneſs and Excellency of it may be meaſur'd by the great Happineſs of the People, may juſtly be eſteem'd the moſt glorious yet extant in our Annals. The Wiſdom, the Grandeur, and the Fame of it, have been largely celebrated and diſplay'd by the nobleſt Pens both at home and abroad. At *Rome*, where ſhe was both hated and excommunicated, Pope *Sixtus Quintus* us'd to ſpeak with the greateſt Honour of her Government; and profanely wiſhed he might enjoy her but one Night, that he might beget a ſecond *Alexander* the Great. Her Court was as compleat an Academy of honourable Counſellors, illuſtrious Peers, gallant Courtiers, learned Profeſſors, and profound Politicians, as ever attended any Chriſtian Prince: And as her great Stateſmen reflected new Luſtre upon her own Wiſdom and Underſtanding, in making ſo worthy a Choice; ſo ſhe never was ſo happy in her Choice, as when ſhe govern'd by her own Judgment without the Advice of others. Having ſurmounted the chiefeſt Difficulties in Church and State, one of her great Obſervations was *That the People of* England *were more governable in Times of War than in Times of Peace.* Tho' ſhe never thirſted after any unjuſt Inlargement of her Dominions, yet the great Affairs of *Europe* principally depended upon her Directions; while ſitting at the Healm of all, ſhe arbitrated and guided their Eſtates both in Peace and War. *Spain* endeavouring to overflow all, was driven back, and ſcarce able to maintain its own Banks. In *France*, the Houſe of *Valois* was happily ſupported by her Counſels, that of *Bourbon* advanc'd by her Countenance, Forces and Treaſure; *Scotland* reliev'd by her Love, the *Netherlands* by her Power, *Portugal*'s King by her Bounty, and *Poland* by her Commiſeration; Likewiſe *Germany*, *Denmark* and *Swedeland*, often took up and laid down Arms at her Pleaſure and Diſpoſal. Nor could the utmoſt Bounds of *Europe*, *Ruſſia* and *Tartary*, limit the Extent of her great Fame; but it ſpread further into the more remote Parts of *Aſia*, *Africa* and *America*, among the *Turks*, the *Perſians*, *Barbarians* and *Indians*. In moſt of whoſe Dominions, to the great Inriching of her Kingdom, ſhe ſetled Commerce, and gained large Privileges for the Encouragement of her Merchants, whom ſhe cheriſh'd as a moſt neceſſary and important Part of her Common-wealth.

The Blemiſhes in the Government.

Notwithſtanding all the various Excellencies of this Reign, and the admirable Virtues and Qualifications of the Queen her ſelf, we ought not to diſmiſs her Character without taking Notice of the real Spots and Blemiſhes of the Government, both as to Church and State. The Eſtabliſhment of the Reformation has been juſtly accounted one of the greateſt Glories of this Reign, and what procured the Bleſſings of Heaven upon it for ſo many Years: Yet in the ſame Parliament, the Queen conſented to ſeveral unjuſtifiable Incroachments upon the Lands and Revenues of the Church, for which it ſuffers to this Day, tho' ſome have been lately gloriouſly reſtor'd; not to mention ſeveral other bold Attempts in this Reign. The other Blemiſh is the myſterious Proceedings in the *Scotch* Affairs and ſtrange Treatment of the Queen of *Scotland*; but this is candidly interpreted to be more her great Misfortune, than her real Fault; as the other is thought by ſome to have been occaſion'd more by her Ignorance in that very Caſe, and from the Neceſſities of that infirm Juncture of Affairs; tho' ſome Alienations of the Church Revenues cannot be excuſed. Beſides theſe, ſeveral Scandals have been charg'd upon her by ſome implacable and malignant Pens; which, being as much beneath the Dignity of Hiſtory, as they are ſhort of Probability, are better omitted, than recited. But if we ſet aſide the foremention'd Particulars, and conſider the whole Reign in general, we find in the moſt ſurpriſing and amazing Thing in the World, that all that is great and glorious ſhould be manag'd, and the chief Affairs of *Europe* ſhould move and be directed by a Woman's Nod. This for a whole hundred Years has been a continu'd Subject of Admiration, 'till the new Wonders of our preſent Age began to eclipſe all the Glories of former Times, and, to our unexpreſſible Joy, have nobly convinc'd us, That as the greateſt Magnanimity is agreeable to the ſweeteſt Diſpoſition, ſo no Attempt can be too Extenſive, nor no Enterprize too Great, for the Female Sex.

The End of the Third Book.

HISTORY

K.JAMES
DIEU ET MON DROIT

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The Reign of King JAMES *the Firſt.*

Containing twenty two Years, and three Days.

A.D. 1603. Reg. 1.

King James *proclaim'd.*

HITHERTO we have treated of the Monarchy of *England* it ſelf, and with the different Acceſſions of *Ireland* and *Wales*; but now we are arriv'd at a new State of Affairs, and a more remarkable Addition to the *Engliſh* Empire, namely, the ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was happily join'd in the Perſon, and under the Subjection of *James Stuart* the preſent King of *Scotland*. And conſidering the vaſt Effuſion of Blood, and immenſe Sums of Mony, that for ſeveral Ages had been waſted and expended between the two contending Nations, nothing could be judg'd more fortunate and propitious, than this long deſir'd Conjunction, and nothing could ſooner alleviate and extinguiſh the Remembrance of the wonderful Felicities of the laſt Reign. So that all People began ſoon to dry up their Tears, and to caſt their Eyes towards the bright Northern Star, which was now to guide and influence the whole Iſland. Therefore immediately upon the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Lords of the Council gave full Satisfaction to the People in proclaiming *James* the Sixth, King of *Scotland*, by the Name of *James* the Firſt, King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. to the great Joy of all true *Engliſhmen*, as well for his unqueſtionable Claim, as his Profeſſion of the eſtabliſh'd Religion, as alſo for his ſingular Learning and Experience, with which he was qualify'd for the Management of ſo great an Empire; having now attain'd to the Age of thirty ſix Years and nine Months, and exercis'd in the Practice of Regal Government from the firſt Years of his Infancy. His Title was good beyond all Diſpute, being deſcended from the united Families of *Lancaſter* and *York*, King *Henry* the Seventh, and Queen *Elizabeth*, his Wife; whoſe Iſſue by the Male failing in the laſt deceas'd Queen *Elizabeth*, the Iſſue of *Margaret* their eldeſt Daughter was the next Heir, which Lady marry'd to *James* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*, and by him had *James* the Fifth, whoſe only Daughter Queen *Mary* was Mother to this preſent Monarch.

Notice given to him in Scotland.

The firſt News of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death was brought to him by Sir *Robert Cary*, a younger Son of the late Lord *Hunſdon*, who coming without Order, and the greateſt Expedition, was afterwards rewarded with a Barony of the Realm. But tho' this was ſufficient for the King's Information, yet it was not ſufficient for the Lords of the Council, in Diſcharge of their Duty; therefore as ſoon as they could provide proper Perſons, they ſent Sir *Charles Piercy*, and Mr. *Thomas Somerſet*, and after them Sir *Thomas Lake* Clerk of the Signet, a Man well acquainted with the State of the Kingdom, both to inform him of the general Applauſe and Satisfaction of the Nation, and of the preſent State and Condition of the Realm, that he might not be altogether a Stranger at his Arrival. Queen *Elizabeth* indeed had left him a great and flouriſhing Kingdom, without Incumbrance, rich and free; no Wars abroad, no Sedition at home; a Kingdom furniſh'd with all the Fruits of Peace, Plenty of all Things neceſſary, and the Chief of all Neceſſaries, a wiſe Council: For ſhe left Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord-Chancellor, *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurſt* Lord-Treaſurer, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham* Lord-Admiral, and Sir *Robert Cecil* principal Secretary of State; four ſuch Men, as the meaneſt of them were fit to ſit at the Helm of any Kingdom in *Europe*. All theſe the new King by his Letters kept in their Stations, and afterwards added ſome others of his own chuſing; as the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Henry Howard*, the one the Brother, and the other the Son of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who had ſuffer'd ſo much for the Queen his Mother. But tho' the advancing of theſe two laſt, was probably done out of Favour to that Family; yet, one of them being a known, and the other a reputed Papiſt, it was immediately apprehended as a Favour to the whole Party; and the Catholicks were not a little confident of his good Inclinations to them in general. And in reality it was convenient they ſhould at this Time have ſuch kind of Imaginations; for more than once in the late Reign *Breves* had been tranſmitted from *Rome* to the Catholicks in *England*, to admit of none to ſucceed in the Kingdom, *When that miſerable Woman ſhould die, but ſuch a Perſon, of whoſe good Inclinations to the See of* Rome *they ſhould at leaſt be well perſuaded.* Whatever this Prince's Inclinations and Actions were then and afterwards, this is certain that no King of *England* ever came to the Throne with greater Love and Reputation than himſelf.

He leaves Scotland.

King *James* having ſetled the Government of his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and made Preparations to take Poſſeſſion of a greater Kingdom, on the fifth of *April*, with a noble Attendance of Lords and others, he ſet forwards from *Edinburgh*, and on the ſeventh arriv'd at *Berwick*, and the ninth at *New-Caſtle*, where he ſtay'd three Days, and heard the Biſhop of *Durham* preach on *Sunday*; and the Inhabitants were ſo tranſported with his Arrival and Preſence, that during his Stay they bore all the Charge of his Houſhold. On the thirteenth of *April* he ſet forwards to *Durham*, from thence

His Progreſs

His Arrival at London.

New Advancements.

the fourteenth to *Waltworth*, and the fifteenth towards the City of *York*, where his Train increas'd to ſuch a Multitude that he was neceſſitated to publiſh an Inhibition to prevent too great a Concourſe. As he was in all Places receiv'd with Royal Entertainment and rich Preſents, ſo he carry'd himſelf with great Affability, and with much Freedom diſtributed his Favours, in moſt Places diſcharging all Priſoners that were not confin'd for Treaſon or Murther; and ſo great was the Obſequiouſneſs and Applauſes of all Men, that a rough *Scotchman* openly ſaid, *This People would ſpoil a good King*. After three Days ſtay at *York*, where the Earl of *Cumberland* was declar'd the King's Sword-bearer in that Place, his Majeſty went to Sir *Edward Stanhope*'s Houſe at *Grimſton*, from thence to *Pontfract*, and ſo to *Doncaſter*, and on the twenty firſt Day arriv'd at *Newark* upon *Trent*; where a Cut-purſe being taken in the Fact, was by the King's Warrant alone hang'd, without any formal Tryal, which afterwards gave ſome Occaſion for Reflection. On the twenty ſecond, hunting all the Way, he arriv'd at *Beavoir* Caſtle, and the twenty third at *Burleigh* Houſe near *Stamford*, where he tarry'd two or three Days with great Satisfaction. On the twenty ſeventh he remov'd to *Hinchinbrook* by *Huntington*, a Houſe of Sir *Oliver Cromwell*'s, where he was ſolemnly met by the Heads of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; and as he paſs'd through *Godmancheſter*, the Bailiffs of the Town preſented him with ſeventy Team of Horſe, all trac'd to fair new Ploughs, declaring to his Majeſty, 'That it was the ancient Cuſtom 'ſo to do when any King of *England* paſs'd through their 'Town, and by which they held their Lands as Tenants to 'the King.' At *Royſton* he firſt lodg'd at his own Charge; and from thence went to Sir *Thomas Sadler*'s Houſe at *Standon*, where he ſtaid on *Sunday*, and heard the Biſhop of *London* preach. On the ſecond of *May* he remov'd to *Brosbourn*, a Houſe of Sir *Henry Cook*'s, Cofferer to the late Queen, and now to the King, where he was met by the Lord-Keeper, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord-Admiral, and divers other Lords of the Kingdom. The next Day he arriv'd at *Theobalds*, a Houſe belonging to Sir *Robert Cecil*, who had accompany'd him from *York*; where all the Lords of the Privy-Council preſented themſelves; and there the Lord-Keeper made a ſolemn Oration. On *Saturday* the ſeventh of *May* he rode towards *London*, being met on the Road by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs, who by their Orator, Sir *Richard Martin*, made him an eloquent Speech; and thus the King arriv'd with a glorious Train at the *Charter-Houſe* near *Smithfield*, a Place belonging to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, where he ſtaid four Days. In his whole Journey, which laſted above a Month, he made many Diſtributions of Honour: At *Theobalds* he made ſeveral Noblemen of *Scotland* of his Privy-Council, as the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Hume*, Sir *James Elphingſton*, the Lord of *Kingloſs*, and immediately after the Lords *Zouch* and *Burgley*. After that he made Sir *George Hume* Earl of *Dunbarre*, Sir *Thomas Ereskin* Earl of *Kelley*, Sir *John Ramſey* Earl of *Holderneſs*, Sir *James Hay* Earl of *Carliſle*, and Sir *Richard Preſton* Earl of *Kildare*. As to Knights, he made great Numbers of both Nations, particularly twenty eight at *Theobalds*, about eighty at the *Charter-Houſe*, and a hundred not many Days after, and ſtill far greater Numbers before the Year was out, ſo that many admir'd what Occaſion the King could have for ſo many *Milites* in the Time of Peace: Yet it was thought fit to give a free Courſe to the Paſſage of Honour, which during Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign had been ſo ſtopp'd, that few Counties of *England* had Knights enough to make a Jury. On the ſeventeenth of *May* he made fourteen new Serjeants at Law, and on the twentieth, four new *Engliſh* Lords, namely, Sir *Robert Cecil* Baron of *Eſindon*, Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurſt*, Sir *William Knolls* Baron of *Greys*, and Sir *Edward Wotton* Baron of *Morley*; and ſhortly after, the Lord *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Thomas Sackvile*, Lord *Buckhurſt*, Earl of *Dorſet*.

The Queen and Family ſent for out of Scotland.

Tho' King *James* was now ſafely arriv'd at *London*, yet he accounted himſelf but half ſettled, 'till his Queen and Children were alſo with him; therefore there were now appointed many Lords and Ladies to conduct them into *England*: Of Lords, the Earl of *Suſſex*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, and Sir *George Carew*, Lord Preſident of *Munſter*: Of Ladies, the Counteſs of *Worceſter*, the Counteſs of *Kildare*, the Lady *Anne Herbert* Daughter to the Earl of *Pembrook*, the Lord *Scroop*'s Lady, the Lady *Rich*, Wife to the Lord *Rich*, and the Lady *Walſingham*, one of the late Queen's Bed-Chamber. But tho' theſe were only appointed by Name, yet many other Lords and great Ladies went voluntarily to attend their new Queen; as the Counteſs of *Bedford*, the Lady *Haſtings*, the Lady *Cecil*, the Lady *Hatton*, the Lady *Harington*, and ſeveral others: And with this glorious Attendance the Queen, with two of her Children, Prince *Henry* nine Years of Age, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, arriv'd at *York* on the eleventh of *June*. Where reſting themſelves a few Days, on the twenty ſeventh of the ſame Month they came to *Eaton* in *Northamptonſhire*, a Houſe belonging to Sir *George Fermor*, where the King himſelf met them at Dinner; and afterwards they rode together to a Houſe of Sir *John Forteſcue*, and ſo to the City of *London*. The King's younger Son, *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, did not come at this time, as being not three Years of Age, and therefore thought not able to endure ſuch a Journey; but the following Year, falling ſick of a Fever, Doctor *Atkins*, one of the King's Phyſicians, was ſent to take Care of him, who in ſix Weeks cur'd him of his Diſtemper; and in *October* brought him ſafe to *Windſor*, where the King then reſided; for which Service he met with great Rewards, and no leſs advantageous Practice.

Ambaſſadors from Foreign Princes.

The King had by this time found the Love and Affection of his own People, but the Inclinations of the neighbouring Princes toward him was at preſent in Suſpence; 'till about the Beginning of *June*, there came firſt an Ambaſſador from the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; ſhortly after another from the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*; then another from the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*; another from the King of *Spain*; a Fifth from the State of *Venice*; another from the Duke of *Tuſcany*, and laſtly Monſieur *de Roſny* from the King of *France*; all congratulating his happy Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*. For the more ſolemn Reception of which Ambaſſadors, and all others for the future, the King inſtituted a new Officer by the Name of *Maſter of the Ceremonies*, allowing him two hundred Pounds a Year Fee; and the firſt that had this Place was Sir *Lewis Lewkenor*, a Gentleman, who beſides other Accompliſhments, was very ſkilful in the neighbouring Languages. All this while the King mov'd within his own Sphere, and had tranſacted nothing out of the Nation: But now in the Month of *June* he ſent the Earl of *Rutland* Ambaſſador to his Brother-in-Law the King of *Denmark*, upon two Occaſions; the one was to offer himſelf to be God-Father to his Son, who was nam'd *Chriſtianus*, and the other was to preſent him with the honourable Order of the Garter: Upon the like Imployment, he ſhortly after ſent the Lord *Spencer* to *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*; both which Lords ſaw the ſaid Princes inveſted with the Garter, and after ſolemn Entertainments return'd home.

Tyrone *pardon'd.*

In *England*, it was probably conceiv'd that all Offences againſt Queen *Elizabeth* had been forgotten; but King *James*, more ſenſible of Wrongs done to her than himſelf, would not ſuffer *Valentine Thomas* ſo to eſcape; who after he had lain many Years Priſoner in the *Tower*, was on the fourth of *June* arraign'd at the King's Bench-Bar; and for Conſpiring againſt the late Queen and ſome of her Council, was on the ſeventh of *June*, after ſix a Clock at Night, drawn to Sir *Thomas Watrings*, and there hang'd and quarter'd. About this time the honourable *Charles* Lord *Montjoy* return'd out of *Ireland*, and brought with him the famous Rebel *Hugh O-Neal*, Earl of *Tyrone*; at whoſe Arrival the Lord *Montjoy* was ſworn of the King's Privy-Council; and *Tyrone* himſelf, who had been the Cauſe of ſuch an Effuſion of *Engliſh* Blood, was notwithſtanding pardon'd, and Proclamation made, that he ſhould be treated by all Men with Reſpect and Honour. The Lord *Montjoy*, as a Reward for his good Services, was created Earl of *Devonſhire*; and thus having given Way to new Creations, they ſoon after broke in like a Deluge upon the Nation; the King being an inexhauſtible Fountain of Honour, which might ſerve for all Kinds of Rewards and Purpoſes.

Reg. 1.

A ſtrange Conſpiracy.

Sir Walter Raleigh *diſguſted.*

While all Men enjoy'd the Bleſſings of Peace and Plenty, ſuddenly, like a Storm in a fair Day, there broke out a Conſpiracy of a ſtrange Compoſition; for as moſt Treaſons are compos'd of Men of one particular Faction, in this there were Perſons of all ſorts, Prieſts and Lay-Men, Papiſts and Proteſtants, Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen: So that ſeveral would have thought it to have been a deep laid Conſpiracy; but it prov'd ſo ſhallow, that it could ſcarce be obſerv'd what the Authors of it deſign'd, or what they would have effected. It ſeems the great Favour King *James* had ſhewn to the Earl of *Southampton*, who nearly eſcap'd when the Earl of *Eſſex* ſuffer'd, prov'd highly diſobliging to all his Oppoſers; and it was ſaid, that as the King had ſent to enlarge the Earl of *Southampton*, and appointed him to meet him upon the Way, ſo when he heard that his two chief Oppoſites, the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, were likewiſe deſign'd to meet him, he ſent them word, *That they might ſave themſelves that Labour*. However it was, they found ſome Cauſe for a fatal Diſcontent, which hurry'd them into the Company and Society of ſome who had more real Deſigns againſt the Government than themſelves. Sir *Walter Raleigh* had been turn'd out of his Place of Captain of the Guards, which was given to a *Scotch* Lord, to his great Diſguſt; and not long after parting with his Siſter at *Lon-*

don, he recommended himſelf to her Prayers, ſaying, *That he was going whence he thought never to return*; which ſhe underſtood of ſome Combate he had undertaken, and diſcovering it to her Neighbours, the Words were carry'd to Court, where they receiv'd a different Conſtruction. Upon this and other Accidents ſeveral were apprehended, as *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, *George Brook* his Brother, *Thomas* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parham* Knights, *Bartholomew Brookesby*, and *Anthony Copley*, Gentlemen, *William Watſon* and *William Clarke*, Romiſh Prieſts. Tho' they were apprehended in *July*, yet they came not to their Tryals 'till *November* following; for by reaſon of a Peſtilence then raging in *London*, the Term was deferr'd, and order'd to be kept at *Wincheſter*; only the Courts of the Exchequer, Wards and Liveries, and the Dutchy of *Lancaſter* were kept at the King's Manor at *Richmond*.

New Advancements.

The King's Coronation.

In the mean time his Majeſty held a ſolemn Feaſt at *Windſor*, where Prince *Henry* was inſtall'd Knight of the Garter, as alſo the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Marre*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*. After which Preparations were made for the King's Coronation, which was preceded by a new Stream of Creations and Honours. Sir *Thomas Egerton*, Lord-Chancellor, was made Baron of *Elſmere*; Sir *William Ruſſel*, Baron of *Thornaugh*; Sir *Henry Gray*, Baron of *Groby*; Sir *John Peter*, Baron of *Writtle*; Sir *John Harrington*, Baron of *Exton*; Sir *Henry Denvers*, Baron of *Dantſey*; Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Baron of *Gerrard Bromley* in *Staffordſhire*; and Sir *Robert Spencer*, Baron of *Wormeleyton*. After which the King conferr'd inferior Orders, and made Knights of all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, and all his Gentlemen Uſhers, with ſeveral others: And laſtly he made ſixty two Knights of the Bath, moſt of Noblemen's Sons, and the reſt Gentlemen of ſpecial Worth. Theſe Things compleated, on the twenty fifth Day of *July*, being the Feaſt of St. *James*, the King and Queen were both ſolemnly crown'd and anointed at *Weſtminſter*, by the Hands of *John Whitgiſt*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Preſence of the Nobility and others, namely Sir *Robert Lee* Lord-Mayor of *London*, the Aldermen his Brethren, and twelve principal Citizens admitted to attend on them. All other Citizens were ſtopp'd from paſſing either by Land or Water by reaſon of the Plague; and on the firſt of *Auguſt* following all Suitors were by Proclamation forbidden to repair to the Court 'till the Winter following. And indeed the Sickneſs rag'd ſo much, that in the City of *London* this Year there dy'd above thirty thouſand of that Diſtemper.

The Tryal of the Conſpirators.

They are condemn'd.

On the fourth of *November*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the reſt of the Delinquents formerly mention'd, were remov'd from the *Tower* by ſtrong Guards, and arraign'd at *Wincheſter*. 'Their Indictment lay for 'conſpiring to kill the King, to raiſe Rebellion, to alter 'Religion, to ſubvert the State, and to procure a Foreign 'Invaſion.' Concerning the firſt Point it was prov'd, 'That 'the Lord *Grey* deſign'd to obtain the levying of two thouſand Men, for the Defence of the *Netherlands*, and with 'them to ſeize upon the King and Prince, and ſecure the 'Lords of the Council in their Chambers.' For the other Particulars, it was prov'd or alledg'd, 'That the Lord *Cobham* and 'Sir *Walter Raleigh* met at St. *Martins* in the Fields, and 'there conſulted about moving Sedition, raiſing Rebellion, 'altering Religion, ſubverting the State, and ſetting up the 'Lady *Arbella Stuart*.' And for the particular Point of ſubverting the State, it was prov'd, 'That *Watſon* the 'Prieſt was deſign'd to be Lord-Chancellor, *George Brook* 'Lord-Treaſurer, Sir *Griffith Markham* Secretary, and 'the Lord *Grey* to be Maſter of the Horſe, and Earl-'Marſhal of *England*.' And for the effecting of theſe Treaſons, it was prov'd, 'That *Watſon* had drawn up par'ticular Oaths in Writing, by which all Parties were bound 'to Secrecy.' Then for the laſt Point, it was urg'd, 'That Sir *Walter Raleigh* was appointed to treat with 'Count *Aremberg* for a large Sum of Mony, and the Lord '*Cobham* to apply himſelf to the Arch-Duke and King of '*Spain*, to induce them to aſſiſt the Lady *Arbella*.' Theſe Particulars being largely alledg'd againſt them on the ſeveral Days of their Indictments, what was chiefly reply'd in Mitigation of their Crimes was, firſt, *That theſe Things could not be Treaſon, becauſe the King was not yet crown'd*; and ſecondly, *That the whole was but a verbal Matter, and never took Effect, therefore it could not be Treaſon.* But theſe Aſſertions being both refuted by the Court, they were all, but Sir *Edward Parham*, found guilty of High-Treaſon, and Sentence paſs'd upon them.

In Purſuance of this Sentence, the two Prieſts, *Watſon* and *Clerk*, were executed at *Wincheſter* on the twenty ninth Day of *November*; and *George Brook* was beheaded on the fifth of *December*; but then the Hand of Juſtice was ſtopp'd, and the King was pleas'd to ſhew Mercy after this peculiar Manner. After the Death of the three laſt nam'd Delinquents, he ſign'd three other Warrants for the Execution of the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Griffith Markham* upon a prefix'd Day; but before that Day he privately ſign'd another Paper, written with his own Hand, and directed to the Sheriff, by which he countermanded the former Warrants. And that this gracious Deſign might be manag'd with Secrecy, and produce an agreeable Surpriſe, he ſent the Paper by Mr. *John Gybbe*, a *Scotch* Man, and one utterly unknown to all in Office, upon this Occaſion, appointing him to deliver it in ſuch a Manner, that it might not take Effect, 'till after their ſeveral Confeſſions, and at the very Point of their Execution; all which was exactly perform'd. At which Moment it was remarkable to ſee how the Offenders upon their Knees lamented and deteſted their Crimes, and moſt of all applauded and extoll'd the King's uncommon Tenderneſs and Commiſeration. But tho' they were thus pardon'd, yet they were carry'd back to the *Tower*; where the Lord *Grey* not long after dy'd, which extinguiſh'd that Barony and Family which had formerly produc'd many valiant and worthy Men. Sir *Griffith Markham* after ſome Time was ſet at Liberty, and retired beyond Sea, where he liv'd long after in a very mean Condition. The Lord *Cobham* likewiſe was afterwards diſcharg'd from his Impriſonment, but depriv'd of his Eſtate, living many Years in great Penury and Miſery; and in his Perſon ended that noble Family, which had flouriſh'd in great Honour for many Ages. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was detain'd ſeveral Years in the *Tower*, where with great Reputation he ſpent his Time in Writing one of the nobleſt Hiſtories in the World; and might have continu'd a happy Man, had he never been releas'd.

Some are ſpar'd.

The Caſe of Sir Walter Raleigh.

As ſome have thought this whole Conſpiracy, as well as that of the *Gowries* in *Scotland*, to have been only a State Trick to weaken a Party, ſo moſt are of Opinion that the Part of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, ſo great a Man and a Proteſtant, was all Riddle and Myſtery. *Weldon*, if he may be credited, has ventur'd to unfold this, and tells us, That the greateſt Evidence againſt *Raleigh* was *Cobham*'s Accuſation, whom he only deſir'd might appear *Viva Voce*, and he would yield without further Defence; but his Enemies knowing that *Cobham* neither would nor could accuſe him, they made uſe of *Wade*, the Lieutenant of the *Tower* and *Cecil*'s great Confident, to perſuade him to Sign a Paper of Accuſation againſt him. This being refus'd, at laſt *Wade* prevail'd upon *Cobham*'s Weakneſs to ſet his Hand to a blank Paper, over which *Wade* wrote the Accuſation. *Cecil* therefore upon *Raleigh*'s Tryal, often asked him if he would confeſs, provided *Cobham* accus'd him under his Hand? *Raleigh* reply'd, *That he knew* Cobham *a weak Man, and knew not how far he might be inſnar'd; but was confident he would not accuſe him to his Face, and therefore he had no reaſon to venture his Life upon it.* On this Defence he inſiſted 'till nine at Night; at laſt his Fate carry'd him againſt his Reaſon, and he conſented that upon producing of *Cobham*'s Hand he would yield, when immediately that Paper was produc'd, which was really his Hand, but the Contents the Contrivance of *Wade*. Afterwards the Queen falling into a deſperate Sickneſs, which the Phyſicians thought incurable, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, being an excellent Chymiſt and Maſter of all Kinds of Learning, undertook and perform'd the Cure; for which he would receive no other Reward, but that his Majeſty would ſend certain Lords to the *Tower* to examine the Lord *Cobham*, *Whether he had at any Time under his Hand accus'd him of Treaſon.* Whereupon the King ſent ſix Lords, who were Enemies to *Raleigh*, to make Enquiry into this puzling Affair. *Cobham* proteſted, *That he never did nor could accuſe Sir* Walter, *but acknowledg'd that he was by a Slight prevail'd upon to ſet his Hand to a Blank-Paper, but never knew what the Contents of it were to be.* The ſix Lords returning to the King, made one of them their Spokeſman, who ſaid, *Sir, my Lord* Cobham *has confirm'd all that ever he wrote or ſaid*; which was a horrid Equivocation, for 'tis true, he made good whatever he wrote, but he wrote nothing to accuſe Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Thus was the Kingdom abus'd, according to *Weldon*'s Account, and Sir *Walter* much more; who by that Means was afterwards brought to entire Ruin. This Account is deny'd by Biſhop *Goodman* in his Book ſtil'd *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, *P.* 78, *&c.* to which we refer the curious Reader.

A.D. 1604. Reg. 2.

II. The King being now happily and peaceably eſtabliſh'd in his Throne, like a Wiſe and Pious Prince, proceeded to conſider the State of the true Religion in his Kingdom. He found a great Difference ariſing between the Epiſcopal Party, and thoſe call'd by the Name of *Puritans*, and both active in attaining their Ends, and that ſeveral Petitions were exhibited to him for the Reformation of Abuſes in the Church; therefore at the Importunity of both Parties he appointed a ſolemn Conference at *Hamp-*

The Conference at Hampton-Court.

The King's Speech.

The Complaints of thoſe call'd Puritans.

ton-Court, to be held by ſome Biſhops, Deans and Doctors, together with ſome of the moſt grave and modeſt among the Complainers. The Biſhops were thoſe of *Canterbury*, *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Durham*, *Worceſter*, St. *Davids*, *Chicheſter*, *Carliſle* and *Peterborough*; the Deans were thoſe of the Chappel, *Chriſt-Church*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, *Paul*'s, *Cheſter* and *Windſor*, together with Doctor *Field* and Doctor *King*. For the Petitioners were Doctor *Reynolds*, Doctor *Spark*, Mr. *Knewſtubb*, and Mr. *Chaderton*. All theſe being call'd into the Privy-Chamber, his Majeſty ſpoke to this Effect; *That following the Example of all Chriſtian Princes, who uſually began their Reigns with the Eſtabliſhment of the Church, he had now, at his Entring upon the Throne, aſſembled them, for ſetling an uniform Order in the ſame, for planting Unity, removing Diſſentions, and reforming Abuſes, which were naturally incident to all Politick Bodies. And that he might not be miſapprehended, and his Deſigns in aſſembling them miſconſtrued, he declar'd that his Meaning was not to make any Innovation of the Government eſtabliſh'd, which he knew was approv'd of God, but to hear and examine the Complaints that were made, and remove the Occaſion of them; therefore he deſir'd the Petitioners to begin, and to ſhew what were their Grievances.* Doctor *Reynolds* with the other three, falling upon their Knees, after a ſhort Preamble, reduc'd the Matters in Queſtion into two Heads; ſome he ſaid concern'd the Doctrine of the Church, and others the Government. Concerning the Doctrine, that in the Books of Articles, ſome Things were obſcure, and ſome Things defective, which they deſir'd to be ſupply'd and explain'd, of which he nam'd ſome Particulars; which being a while diſcuſs'd and debated, and the Doctor profeſſing he had receiv'd Satisfaction, the King ſaid, *That if theſe were their greateſt Grievances, ſuch Importunity need not to be us'd to him, and that a more private Courſe had been better.* Then proceeding to ſpeak of the Government of the Church, they complain'd of the Want and Scarcity of ſufficient Miniſters in every Pariſh, of the Subſcription urg'd to the Common-Prayer Book, the Cenſures inflicted by Lay-Chancellors, the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Ring in Marriage, the Surplice, and ſome other Circumſtantials. After about three Hours Debate, they were all commanded to meet again in the ſame Place ſome few Days after, at which Time they were to know his Majeſty's Pleaſure concerning theſe Matters.

They ſeem ſatisfy'd.

The King's Wiſdom.

Abp. Whitgift'*s Death.*

At the appointed Day, which was the eighteenth of *January*, the Biſhops, Deans and Doctors of the Arches being call'd firſt, the Arch-Biſhop preſented certain Notes of Explanation of the Liturgy, which the King had recommended to the Biſhop's Care. Accordingly the King queſtion'd them concerning the Exerciſe of the High-Commiſſion, the Oath *Ox Officio*, the Cenſure of Excommunication, and the Matter of Subſcription; and when they had anſwer'd to all Points to his Majeſty's Satisfaction, Doctor *Reynolds* and the others were deſir'd to appear in the Chamber, and the aforeſaid Explanations read to them, with which likewiſe they profeſs'd to be ſatisfy'd and content. The King upon this expreſſing a great Satisfaction with what had paſs'd among them, ſeriouſly exhorted them to the Preſervation of Unity, and the Biſhops to treat their Inferiors with all Lenity, and uſe the mildeſt Methods for reclaiming thoſe who were of a contrary Opinion; warning the others alſo to beware of Obſtinacy in their Opinions, and Diſobedience to the Orders of the Church. *Obedience and Humility*, added he, *are the Marks of good and honeſt Men, ſuch as I believe you to be; but I fear many of your Sort are humorous, and too buſie in perverting of others. The Exceptions againſt the Common-Prayer Book, as I perceive, are Matters of meer Weakneſs, and they who are diſcreet will be gain'd by Time and gentle Perſuaſions; and if they be indiſcreet, it is better to remove them, than the Church ſhould ſuffer by their Contentions. For the Biſhops I will anſwer, That it is not their Deſign immediately to enforce Obedience, but by Fatherly Admonitions and Conferences to gain thoſe that are diſaffected; but if any be of an obſtinate and turbulent Spirit, I will have them enforc'd to a Conformity. Neither tell me, That the wearing of a Surplice, or uſing the Croſs in Baptiſm, can diminiſh the Credit of Miniſters that were formerly of another Opinion; for that is the* Scotch *Argument, when any thing was concluded not agreeing with their Humours, the only Reaſon for their Diſobedience is,* that it ſtands not with their Credit to yield, having been ſo long of a contrary Opinion. *I will have none of that, but that a Time be limited by the Biſhops of every Dioceſe, and ſuch as will not ſubmit, whoever they are, let them be remov'd; for we muſt not prefer the Credit of a few private Men to the general Peace of the Church.* Throughout all this remarkable Conference, in every Point that was mov'd, or came to be diſcuſs'd, the King ſhew'd ſuch a Knowledge and Readineſs, as rais'd no ſmall Admiration in all the Hearers. The Lord-Chancellor *Egerton* being ſurpris'd to ſee him ſo expeditious and perfect in all Kinds of Divinity, ſaid, *That he had often heard and read, that* a King was a mixt Perſon with a Prieſt, *but never found it verify'd 'till that Day.* And Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift*, a moſt learned and pious Man, went further, and ſaid, *He was verily perſuaded that the King ſpoke by the Spirit of God.* This great Man, who had the higheſt Concern for the Church, finding the King inclinable after this to make ſome Alterations, is ſaid to have dy'd of Grief, on the twenty ninth of *February*. He was ſucceeded in his See by *Richard Bancroft* Biſhop of *London*, but not with the ſame Spirit; for what *Whitgift* ſtrove to effect with Sweetneſs and Gentleneſs, *Bancroft* proſecuted with Rigour and Severity, to the great Weakening of the Church, as many have rationally believ'd.

A new Tranſlation of the Bible.

A Proclamation againſt Jeſuits and Prieſts;

And for Uniformity.

Beſides the main Fruit of this famous Conference, the uniform Settlement of the Church, ſeveral other important Matters were at the ſame time projected, and by his Majeſty's provident Care had then their Conception, tho' Aftertimes brought them to Perfection. The firſt was his ſacred Order for a new Tranſlation of the Holy Scriptures, according to the Originals, as alſo for an uniform Reading of them in all Churches. To which pious End, three ſelect Companies from *London* and the two Univerſities, moſt skilful in Languages, being employ'd, after long Conference, much Reading, and diligent comparing of former Tranſlations, it was publiſh'd in due Time, and to this Day continues in Uſe. The King's ſecond Project was, that as in *England*, ſo alſo in *Ireland*, *Wales*, and the Northern Parts, the ſame Religion might be fully planted and eſtabliſh'd. Which Purpoſe he ſo zealouſly proſecuted, eſpecially for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that he held it not ſufficient to join theſe two Crowns into one temporal Monarchy, unleſs he ſaw them united in the Rites and Government of one Spiritual Hierarchy. Nor was his Wiſdom leſs conſpicuous than his Zeal, in making ſo happy a Choice of ſuch *Engliſh* Divines, as not long after were ſent for this Deſign into *Scotland*. The chief of whom was Doctor *George Abbot*, afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, whoſe Labours, as *Speed* aſſures us, were a Document to others, how admirably ſucceſsful is true Learning, where it is guided by true Prudence, and Piety to God is join'd with Charity to Men. But notwithſtanding all the King's Care, the Jeſuits being in hopes to catch ſomething by troubling the Stream, flock'd into *England* in great Numbers; and the King perceiving that their near Approaches put his Perſon and Religion into Danger, he iſſu'd out a Proclamation, commanding all Prieſts and Jeſuits to depart out of the Kingdom, and if any of them ſhould preſume to return again, they ſhould be proſecuted according to Law. This ſomewhat allay'd the Heats and Hopes of the Jeſuits, and their Correſpondents; but it made Way for more dark and ſecret Conſpiracies, which they afterwards put in practice. Another Proclamation came out for Uniformity in Religion, according to Law, and to reduce thoſe who had not receiv'd Satisfaction at the Conference at *Hampton-Court*; for now it became an invidious Queſtion among many, whether the Jeſuits or the Nonconformiſts were greateſt Enemies to the Church of *England*. The Conſequences of this were found to be afterwards, that of the ten thouſand Miniſters in *England*, not above forty nine ſtood out and were depriv'd. After this there came out many other Proclamations, againſt Monopolies, Salt-Petre Men, Purveyors, Cart-Takers, and other inſolent Officers that were grievous to the Subject.

The King rides thro' London *in State.*

The King's firſt appearing abroad was privately, to viſit ſome of his Houſes, for naturally he did not love to be gaz'd on; and thoſe Formalities of State which ſet a Luſtre upon Princes in the Peoples Eye, were but ſo many Burthens to him: For his private Recreations at home, and his Hunting Exerciſes abroad, were his greateſt Delight, when he met with the leaſt Company. Continuing in the *Tower*, in order to paſs through the City in State, he took great Pleaſure in baiting of Lions; and the firſt Parliament being to meet on the nineteenth Day of *March*, he with his Queen and Prince *Henry*, four Days before, rod from the *Tower* to *Whitehall*, having his Eyes entertain'd with the Pageants and Splendor of the City, and his Ears fill'd with the Compliments and Applauſes of the People. But he was not like his Predeceſſor, Queen *Elizabeth*, who with a well-pleas'd Affection met her Peoples Acclamations, thinking moſt highly of her ſelf when ſhe was born upon the Wings of their humble Supplications. He endur'd this Day's Fatigue with Patience, and that of his Triumphal Riding to the Parliament, as not expecting to meet with the like again; but afterwards in his publick Appearances, eſpecially in his Sports, the Acceſſes of the People render'd him ſo impatient, that he often diſpers'd them with Frowns, and ſometimes with Curſes: So various and noted are the Natures and Actions of Princes, that the ſame Perſon may paſs for a good Man, that will not be accounted a good Prince.

The firſt Parliament in this Reign.

The King's Speech.

A Recognition of the King's Title.

At the Opening of the Parliament, the King was pleas'd to entertain them with a very long and extraordinary Speech, containing great Variety both as to the Matter and Method, in which he interweav'd the Rights and Duties of the Monarchy, with the Privileges of the Subject, ſo that all Men thought it worthy of Commendation. In ſpeaking of the Prerogative he declar'd, *That the Difference between a rightful King and an uſurping Tyrant was this; that the Latter thought his Kingdom and People were ordain'd for the Satisfaction of his Deſires and unreaſonable Appetites; while the Former, on the contrary, acknowledg'd himſelf to be ordain'd for procuring the Wealth and Proſperity of his People, and that in theſe conſiſted his principal worldly Felicity.* And a little after he ſaid, *That as the Head is ordain'd for the Body, and not the Body for the Head; ſo muſt a righteous King know himſelf to be ordain'd for his People, and not his People for him.* Theſe and many other Paſſages gave a general Satisfaction, but ſome things he ſaid concerning Religion were not ſo univerſally receiv'd: For the Romaniſts were uneaſie at his ſaying, *They were unſufferable in the Kingdom, as long as they maintain'd the Pope to be their ſpiritual Head, and to have Power to dethrone Kings.* On the other ſide the Separatiſts were offended at his acknowledging *The* Roman *Church to be our Mother Church, tho' defil'd with ſome Infirmities and Corruptions*, and his declaring, *That if the Papiſts would lay aſide King-killing, and ſome other groſs Errors, he would be content to meet them half Way, ſo that all Novelties might be renounc'd on either Side.* So that every one grounded his Hopes, or his Fears, upon the Shallows of his own Fancy, not exactly knowing what Courſe the King would ſteer. But in general the Parliament applauding the King, and admiring his Abilities, made a Recognition of his Right to the Crown of *England*, to which they oblig'd themſelves, their Heirs and Poſterity; ſo that the King as it were triumph'd upon a Throne of the Peoples Love and Duty.

An Union attempted between England *and* Scotland.

The Churches Lands ſecured.

The Parliament prorogu'd.

One of the great Deſigns of the King was to have an intire Union made between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; accordingly the Parliament paſs'd an Act to authorize certain Commiſſioners, namely fourteen of the chief Lords of the Kingdom, and above double the Number of Commoners, to manage and effect that laudable End. Theſe Commiſſioners, any eight of the Lords, and twenty of the Commons, had Power to aſſemble, meet, treat and conſult with certain ſelect Commiſſioners to be nominated and authoriz'd by the Parliament in *Scotland*, concerning ſuch Matters and Cauſes, as they in their Wiſdoms ſhould think convenient and neceſſary for the Honour of the King, and the common Good of both Nations. In order to promote this great Work, the King caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd King of *Great Britain*, and the Names of *England* and *Scotland* to be diſcontinu'd; the *Scotch* Coins were made current, and the *Engliſh* Ships had St. *George*'s and St. *Andrew*'s Croſſes quarter'd together in their Flags. But all theſe Deſigns had not their deſir'd Effects, as appear'd afterwards; but ſtill many wiſe and good Laws paſs'd in this Parliament, too numerous to be recited in this Place. Only we ought not to omit mentioning the King's Religious Care of the Church, which, to the almoſt only Blemiſh to the laſt Reign, was much endanger'd and threaten'd by the ſeveral Alienations of its Lands and Revenues, which were often granted to ſuch as had leaſt Right to them. To prevent the like Miſchiefs, it was Enacted, 'That neither Arch-Biſhop nor Biſhops ſhould alienate, aſſure, give, grant, demiſe, or in any ſort convey, no not to the King himſelf, his Heirs or Succeſſors, any of the Honours, Caſtles, Manors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, being Parcel of the Poſſeſſion of his Arch-Biſhoprick or Biſhoprick; and if any ſo were made, to be utterly void and of none Effect, notwithſtanding any former Law, Statute, Act, or Ordinance to the contrary.' Beſides this laudable Care, the Clergy in Convocation, by the King's Directions and Authority, did many Things to the Honour and Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England*, and made many excellent Canons, which are in Force to this Day, and are the laſt that had a full and legal Sanction. The Parliament having ſate almoſt three Months, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons made a long Speech anſwerable to that made before by the King, after which it was on the ſeventh Day of *July* prorogu'd to the ſeventh of *February* following.

A Treaty of Peace concluded between England *and* Spain.

In relation to Foreign Affairs, King *James* had hitherto been conſider'd in two Capacities, one as King of *Scotland*, in which he was in perfect Amity with the *Spaniard*, and the other as King of *England*, which caus'd him to be at Enmity with that Monarch; but he as *Rex pacificus* choſe the beſt from both, and ſtood altogether for the Olive-Branch. Therefore when at his firſt Arrival in *England*, he found Letters of Repriſal granted againſt the *Spaniards*, he firſt caus'd them all to be call'd in, and then conſented to a Treaty of laſting Peace and Amity. In which Treaty, negotiated at *London*, the Commiſſioners for the King of *England* were the Earls of *Dorſet*, *Nottingham*, *Devonſhire* and *Northampton*, and Secretary *Cecil*, lately made Viſcount *Cranburn*; for the King of *Spain* were the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, the Earl of *Villa Mediana*, and *Alexander Robidius*, Profeſſor of Law; and for the Arch-Duke were the Count *de Aremberg*, *Richardot* Preſident of the Privy-Council, and *Werreikin* principal Secretary. By theſe a Peace was concluded, conſiſting of many Articles which were ſaid to be very advantageous to the *Spaniard*, and in a great Meaſure purchas'd by the Gifts of the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, which were ſo rich and numerous, that there was not one Courtier of Note who did not taſte of *Spain*'s Bounty either in Gold or Jewels; and we are told that *Audley-End*, and other magnificent Structures, had their Foundation from *Spaniſh* Gold. The Treaty being finiſh'd, the King of *Spain*, beſides the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, ſent *la Syerra*, his Great Chamberlain, accompany'd with ſeveral Marqueſſes, Earls and Barons, who arriving in *England* with great Pomp, were by the Earl of *Devonſhire*, on the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, brought to Court; where the King in his Chappel, and in the Preſence of the Commiſſioners and other *Engliſh* Lords, while the Conſtable held the King's Hands between his own, took his Oath upon the Holy Bible, religiouſly to obſerve and keep all the Articles agreed upon in the ſaid League and Treaty.

A. D. 1605. Reg. 3.

An Embaſſy into Spain.

Another into Flanders.

Oſtend *taken by the* Spaniards.

In *March* following, the Earl of *Nottingham*, Admiral of *England*, was ſent into *Spain*, in like manner to take the Oath of the *Spaniſh* King; who accompany'd with three Lords, many Knights, Gentlemen, and others, to the Number of ſix hundred and fifty, on the fifteenth of *April* arriv'd at the *Groyne*, from whence he was conducted three hundred Miles to *Valledolid*, where the King of *Spain* then kept his Court, being entertain'd in all Places at that King's Charge, with ſuch extraordinary Proviſions and Demonſtrations of Joy, as plainly manifeſted the great Satisfaction the *Spaniards* had in the *Engliſh* Amity. Indeed they were aſtoniſh'd at the Splendor of the Embaſſy, and the Beauty of the Gentlemen that made up the Retinue: For the Jeſuits had reported that the *Engliſh* had all the Uglineſs of Hell, as a Puniſhment for their Apoſtacy from *Rome*; but when they beheld the Looks of Angels, they with Indignation reſented the Impoſtors of their Confeſſors. The Lord Ambaſſador being arriv'd at Court, he caus'd *Thomas Knolls* to deliver the Preſents ſent from the King of *England*, which were ſix ſtately Horſes, with Saddles and Trappings richly imbroider'd, three for the King, and three for the Queen; two Croſs-Bows, with five Sheafs of Arrows, four Fowling-Pieces, inlaid with rich Plates of Gold, and a Couple of Lyme-Hounds of ſingular Excellencies; all which the King and Queen very kindly receiv'd. On the thirtieth of *May*, the Lord Ambaſſador being deſir'd to appear, the King came forth into a large Room, where having a Table ſet before him, and a Bible very reverently laid upon it, together with a Crucifix, the Arch-Biſhop of *Toledo* read the Oath, while the Lord Ambaſſador held the King's Hands between his own, and the King kneeling down, laid his Hands upon the Book, and after his Oath ſubſcrib'd the Articles formerly concluded. While the Earl of *Nottingham* was thus employ'd in *Spain*, *Edward* Earl of *Hartford* was likewiſe ſent to *Albertus* and *Iſabella*, Arch-Dukes of *Auſtria*, to take their Oaths, for Confirmation of the ſaid Articles of Peace; which were taken at *Bruſſels* the firſt Day of *May*, with extraordinary State and Solemnity. After which, as the Earl beſtow'd on the Arch-Duke's Servants to the Sum of three thouſand Pounds, ſo the Arch-Duke at his Departure preſented the Earl with a Jewel worth nine hundred Pounds, and a Suit of Arras worth three hundred, and bore his Charges all the Time of his Stay at *Bruſſels*. Thus was King *James* truly ſtil'd *Rex Pacificus*, being now in full Peace and Amity with all the Princes of Chriſtendom; a Happineſs which few of his Anceſtors ever enjoy'd; which continu'd Peace, as ſome have thought it the Glory, ſo others have accounted it the great Unhappineſs of his whole Reign. Before the full Concluſion of it, the ſtrong Town of *Oſtend*, after above three Years Siege, and the Deaths of above a hundred and twenty thouſand Men on both Sides, was taken by the Marqueſs *Spinola*, for which he was highly honour'd by the King of *Spain*.

Several new Promotions.

In theſe peaceable Times, the munificent King open'd new Fountains of Honour, beginning firſt with his ſecond Son *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, then but four Years of Age, who with unuſual Pomp and Solemnity was created Duke of *York*. Afterwards keeping St. *George*'s Feaſt at *Greenwich*, the King there made two Knights of the *Garter*, namely Duke *Ulrick* Heir of *Norway*, and Brother to the preſent Queen *Anne*, and the noble Lord *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*. A few Days after, in the Hall at *Greenwich*, richly hang'd with Arras, he created three Earls, one Viſcount, and four Barons; namely Secretary *Cecil*, and Viſcount *Cranburn*, Earl of *Saliſbury*; *Thomas Cecil*, Dowglaſs executed.

Cecil, Lord *Burleigh*, and his eldeſt Brother, Earl of *Exeter*; Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger Brother to the Earl of *Pembrook*, Earl of *Montgomery*; *Robert Sidney*, Baron of *Penſhurſt* and Lord-Chamberlain to the Queen, Viſcount *Liſle*; Sir *John Stanhope*, Vice-Chamberlain to the King, Lord *Stanhope* of *Harington*; Sir *George Carew*, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*; Mr. *Thomas Arundel* of *Devonſhire*, Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*; and Mr. *William Cavendiſh*, Lord *Cavendiſh* of *Hardwick*. Not long after, on the fifteenth of *June*, a notorious *Scotchman*, call'd *Thomas Dowglaſs*, was committed to the *Tower*, being ſent into *England* three Days before by the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. His Offence was, that he had counterfeited the King's Privy-Seal to ſeveral Princes of *Germany*; one to the Arch-Biſhop of *Cologn*, another to the Arch-Biſhop of *Triers*, another to the Duke of *Cleves*, another to the Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz*, and a fifth to the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. Of all which being examin'd and convicted, he was drawn on a Hurdle into *Smithfield*, and there hang'd and quarter'd. On the twenty ſeventh of *Auguſt*, the King with his Queen made a Viſit to the Univerſity of *Oxford*; where their Entertainment was ſuitable to the Dignity of their Perſons, and the Honour of ſo noble and auguſt a Body.

A.D. 1605. Reg. 3.

The Beginning of the Powder-Plot.

The Parties concern'd.

Their grand Deſign.

III. Whilſt all Things appear'd in a moſt happy and peaceable Condition, no Storms abroad, no Troubles at home, there was ſuddenly detected a horrible Conſpiracy againſt the King, and the whole Body of the State of *England*; of ſuch a prodigious and infernal Nature, as no Age or Hiſtory can parallel; proceeding from a reſtleſs Spirit of Envy, and an implacable Zeal inflam'd againſt the Proteſtant Succeſſion and Religion. This had its Riſe and Foundation in the latter End of the laſt Reign, when Pope *Clement* the Eighth publiſh'd his bold *Breves* in *England*, to exclude the King of *Scotland* from the Succeſſion; but all Endeavours failing then, and in the Beginning of this Reign, new and unheard-of Attempts were now put in practice to ſupport a deſperate Cauſe. The principal Contriver of this black Conſpiracy was *Robert Catesby*, a Gentleman of great Account in *Northamptonſhire*, deſcended from that famous *Catesby*, who had been chief Counſellor to King *Richard* the Third, to whoſe Family the Divine Vengeance ſeem'd now to have ordain'd a diſaſtrous Period: This raſh Gentleman, not able to perform the Work alone, drew in many to aſſiſt him, as *Thomas Piercy*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Graunt*, *Ambroſe Rookwood*, *Chriſtopher Wright*, *Francis Treſham*, *Guido Fawks*, and at laſt Sir *Everard Digby*, all zealous Papiſts and Promoters of the Catholick Cauſe. Five of theſe meeting together behind St. *Clement*'s Church, and conſulting by what Methods they might retrieve their declining Cauſe, *Piercy* immediately propos'd the killing of the King, and offer'd to perform it at the hazard of his own Life: But *Catesby*, who had a much deeper Contrivance in his Thoughts, reply'd, *That if he ſhould ſucceed, the* Catholick Cauſe *would be no better, while the Prince and Duke of* York *were alive; and if they were remov'd, ſtill the Counſellors, Nobility, Judges, Knights, and many others would remain, ſufficient to croſs all their Purpoſes: Therefore he had thought of a ſafer and more effectual Way, which was at one Time and with one ſingle Blow to cut off all their Enemies; by blowing up the Parliament-Houſe with Gun-Powder, at the very Moment the King and the Eſtates of the Realm were aſſembled.* This was approv'd on by all, as a noble and extraordinary Project; but firſt it was thought proper to ask the Opinion of their Ghoſtly Fathers, and be inform'd of the Lawfulneſs of the Fact, from *Henry Garnet*, *Oſwold Teſmond*, and *John Gerard* Jeſuits; who being conſulted applauded the Enterprize, aſſuring them, *They might proceed with a good Conſcience and perform the Deed, ſince the Deſign was againſt* Hereticks *and* Excommunicated *Perſons*.

Their Oath of Secrecy.

They find a Cellar for their Purpoſe.

Having gain'd this Point, and being ſatisfy'd in their Conſciences, for their greater Security, they proceeded to take an Oath of Secrecy, Swearing to each other, *By the ſacred Trinity and the bleſſed Sacrament, which they were then going to receive, that neither directly nor indirectly, by Words or Circumſtances, they would diſcover the Purpoſe they had taken to any whomſoever, nor would deſiſt from performing the ſame, without leave from their Aſſociates.* The Oath was adminiſter'd in the Preſence of *Gerard* the Jeſuit; and having heard Maſs, and receiv'd the Sacrament, *Piercy* was appointed to hire a Houſe cloſe adjoining to the upper Houſe of Parliament, for the more ſafe and ſecret Working of their Mine deſign'd for the Powder. This being obtain'd, and *Guy Fawks* aſſuming the Name of *John Johnſon* Servant to Mr. *Piercy*, about *Chriſtmas*, in the Year 1604, they began their Work with no ſmall Labour and Difficulty, in digging through a vaſt thick Wall; and had ſeveral Intermiſſions, by reaſon of the Prorogation of the Parliament from the ſeventh of *February* to the third of *October*, and laſtly to the fifth of *November*. About *Candlemaſs* they had almoſt wrought their Mine through the Wall, when ſuddenly they heard a Noiſe in the next Room, which threw them into a great Conſternation, for fear of a Diſcovery; but ſending *Guy Fawks* to find out the Occaſion, he brought advice, that it was a Cellar where Sea-Coals had been laid, which were now under Sale, and the Room offer'd to be let for a yearly Rent. This Room being directly under the Parliament-Houſe, and moſt proper for their Purpoſe, was immediately hir'd by Mr. *Piercy*, who brought thirty ſix Barrels of Gun-Powder from *Lambeth*, and placing them in this Cellar, cover'd them over with great Quantities of Sea-Coal, Billets and Faggots.

Their ſeveral Reſolutions.

The firſt Part of the Plot being brought to ſo hopeful an Iſſue, it now remain'd to conſider what was to be effected, when the fatal Blow ſhould be given: For tho' the King and Prince might be ſlain, yet the Duke of *York* and the Lady *Elizabeth* would ſtill be ſafe, and conſequently their main End endanger'd, if not defeated. Therefore *Piercy*, by reaſon of his Acquaintance in the Houſe, undertook to ſecure the Duke of *York*; and for ſurpriſing the Lady *Elizabeth*, they agreed upon a Match of Hunting near to *Dunchurch*, where under Colour of Sport they might draw Company together, and ſecure her at the Lord *Harrington*'s Houſe in *Warwickſhire*, where ſhe then reſided. The next Doubt they propos'd was where to procure Mony and Horſes; for which *Digby* made offer of fifteen hundred Pounds, *Treſham* of two hundred, and *Piercy* promis'd to bring all he could gather from *Northumberland* Rents, which he thought would amount to four thouſand Pounds, and to provide ten Horſes for his Share; not doubting, when having the Heir Apparent in their Hands, but they ſhould find Means for their Purpoſe. A third Queſtion propos'd, was what Lords they ſhould ſave from going to the Parliament; which they agreed to be as many *Catholicks* as they could prevent with Conveniency. Next it was mov'd amongſt them what Foreign Princes ſhould be acquainted with their Deſigns, and whoſe Aid they ſhould ſeek: In which it was agreed, That none of them ſhould be made privy to the Conſpiracy, as fearing they could not obtain their Secrecy; but for Aid after the Work perform'd, they might have Time to apply themſelves to *France*, *Spain* or *Flanders*. Laſtly they reſolv'd to make the beſt Uſe of the Lady *Elizabeth*, and to proclaim her Queen: To which purpoſe they had a Proclamation form'd, in which no mention was made of altering Religion, becauſe they wanted ſufficient Forces; and 'till they could ſufficiently ſtrengthen their Party, they would not acknowledge the Fact to be theirs, but uſe their Endeavours to charge it upon the Puritans.

The Plot firſt diſcover'd by a Letter.

Thus far the monſtrous Deſign was carry'd on with a promiſing Aſpect to all the Conſpirators; and now all Dangers being foreſeen, and all Engines provided againſt the fifth Day of the next *November*, there remain'd nothing but the Performance of the laſt Act of the intended Tragedy. But of a ſudden the infernal Secret, cover'd with all the Clouds of Darkneſs, and ſecur'd by all the Fences of Human Policy, was brought to Light after a wonderful Manner. The Lord *Monteagle*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*, being in his Lodgings at ſeven at Night, was ſurpris'd with a Letter given him by one of his Footmen, who receiv'd it in the Street from an unknown Perſon, with a ſtrict Charge to put it into his Maſter's Hand. The Letter was this: My Lord, *Out of the Love I bear to ſome of your Friends, I have regard to your Preſervation; therefore would adviſe you, as you tender your Life, to invent ſome Excuſe to ſhift off your Attendance at this Parliament: For God and Man have concurr'd to puniſh the Wickedneſs of this Time. Think not ſlightly of this Advertiſement, but retire your ſelf into your Country, where you may expect the Event in Safety: For tho' there be no Appearance of any Stir, yet I ſay they ſhall receive a terrible Blow in this Parliament, and ſhall not ſee who hurt them. This Counſel is not to be contemn'd, becauſe it may do you Good; and can do you no Harm; for the Danger is paſs'd as ſoon as you have burnt the Letter: And I hope God will give you the Grace to make good Uſe of it, to whoſe holy Protection I commit you.* It was only ten Days before the Parliament that this Letter was receiv'd, and but twelve Hours before their Meeting that the Plot was really diſcover'd; in which it ſeems wonderful, that when ſo many were concern'd in it, it ſhould remain conceal'd for almoſt the Space of a Year. Some Advices were indeed ſent to the King and ſeveral of the Council, from beyond Sea, 'That 'the Papiſts were preparing a Petition for a Toleration for 'Religion at the Meeting of the Parliament, *which ſhould 'be ſo well back'd, that the King would be loath to refuſe 'it*;' but theſe were only look'd upon as little Deſigns to put the King in Fear of a weak Party. And this Lord, when he receiv'd the Letter, ſtill doubted that it was only ſome private Artifice to deter him from attending the Par-

Which is communicated to the Council.

Parliament; but yet out of a Tenderneſs to the King's Preſervation, he reſolv'd to communicate it to the Earl of *Saliſbury*, the principal Secretary; and going the ſame Night to *Whitehall*, he deliver'd the Letter to him. The Secretary acquainted the Lord-Chamberlain, the Admiral, and ſome others of the Council with it; and examining every Line of it, reſolv'd to ſhew it to the King at his Return from his Hunting at *Royſton*, and not to ſearch further 'till they ſhould hear his Opinion.

The King's Opinion of it.

A Search made.

All things are diſcover'd.

Fawks confeſſes all.

The King returning to *London* on the laſt of *October*, the Letter was ſhewn him the next Day; and having carefully read and conſider'd it, he ſaid, *It was not to be contemn'd, for the Stile ſeem'd more quick and nervous than that of Libels, Paſquils, and the like.* The Secretary perceiving the King to apprehend the Matter more deeply than he expected, told him, *That the Letter ſeem'd to have proceeded from Folly or Madneſs*; and pointing to that Paſſage, '*The Danger is paſs'd as ſoon as you have burnt* '*the Letter*,' he ſaid, *The Warning would be of no Uſe, if the Burning of the Letter would remove the Danger.* But the King deſir'd him to conſider the former Sentence, where it was ſaid, '*They ſhould receive a terrible Blow in* '*the Parliament, and not ſee who hurt them*, and when he 'ſhould join that with the other, he ſhould find it to be a '*ſudden Danger* there meant, ſuch as Blowing up by 'Powder.' Therefore he order'd all the Rooms about the Parliament Houſe to be ſearch'd, both above and below, to prevent all future Dangers; which Buſineſs, belonging to the Lord Great-Chamberlain, was purpoſely deferr'd 'till the Afternoon before the firſt Seſſion of Parliament. At which Time the Lord-Chamberlain taking with him the Lord *Monteagle*, who was highly deſirous to ſee the Event, went and view'd all the Rooms, where he perceiv'd in the Vault under the Upper Houſe a great Quantity of Faggots, Billets and Coals; and demanding of *Whinyard*, the Keeper of the Wardrobe, to what Uſe he had put thoſe Cellars, he anſwer'd, *That Mr.* Piercy *had hired the Houſe and Cellar, and the Wood and Coals were the Gentleman's Fuel for Winter.* The Chamberlain caſting his Eye aſide, and eſpying a ſuſpicious Man in the Corner of the Vault, tranſiently ask'd who he was, and was anſwer'd, *He was Mr.* Piercy*'s Man who kept the Houſe for his Maſter.* Thus having view'd all Places after a ſeeming careleſs Manner, he return'd and made report of all to the King, which increas'd his Majeſty's firſt Apprehenſions; who thereupon gave order for turning up the Wood and Coals to the very Bottom; and if nothing were found, it was agreed that *Whinyard* ſhould pretend the Stealing of ſome of the King's Furniture in his Keeping, which might give Colour to the Search. Accordingly Sir *Thomas Knevet*, a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, and a Juſtice of the Peace for *Weſtminſter*, was appointed for this Buſineſs; who going thither with ſome few in Company about Midnight, found a Man ſtanding at the Entrance of the Vault in a Cloak and Boots, whom he immediately apprehended. Then entring the Place, by overturning the Billets and Coals, they ſoon found the Serpents Neſt, ſtor'd with thirty ſix Barrels of Gun-Powder; and ſearching the Villain who ſhould have brooded theſe Eggs, they found about him a Dark-Lanthorn, three Matches, and other Contrivances to have given Fire to the Train at an exact Juncture of Time. This was *Guido Fawks*, who paſs'd for *Piercy*'s Man, and was ſo far from relenting, that he declar'd with an Oath, *That if he had been found within the Houſe, he would have blown up himſelf and them together.* Sir *Thomas* ſecuring the Man, immediately repair'd to the Palace, and ſhew'd the Chamberlain and Secretary how he had ſucceeded; who making themſelves ready, with what Counſellors they could get, went all together to his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber. The King being awak'd, the Chamberlain, not able to conceal his Joy, cry'd aloud, *The Treaſon was diſcover'd, and the Traitor in their Hands!* Then the Council were order'd to examine the Priſoner concerning his Accomplices; but he, nothing dejected or mov'd with ſo honourable a Preſence, boldly avow'd the Fact, and was only ſorry that he had fail'd in the Execution, declaring, *That the Devil, and not God, had betray'd his good Deſign.* All that Day he would diſcover no one Aſſociate, but took all the Blame upon himſelf, profeſſing he had done it for Religion and Conſcience Sake; and ſpeaking of the King, he deny'd him to be his Sovereign, in regard he was a Heretick; and therefore it was no Sin to deſtroy him. This was his Behaviour for a while; but being convey'd to the *Tower*, and the Rack preſented, he laid open the whole Subſtance of the Conſpiracy, and confeſs'd the whole Truth.

The Conſpirators are taken.

In the Time of this ſtrange Diſcovery, *Catesby*, *Piercy*, *Winter*, *Treſham*, and the younger *Wright*, were lodg'd in the City; who hearing that all was diſcover'd, haſten'd into the Country, appointing to meet at *Dunchurch* in *Warwickſhire*, where *Digby* reſided. *John Graunt*, with ſome Confederate Recuſants, had the ſame Night broke open a Stable of one *Bourch*, a Manager of large Horſes, and took away ſeven or eight belonging to certain Noblemen in the Country; for he concluded the Conſpiracy had taken Effect, and was preparing to ſurpriſe the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, whoſe Reſidence was not far from the Place. But within a very ſhort Time, *Piercy* and others that were fled from *London*, aſſuring them of a total Miſcarriage, they deſperately reſolv'd upon a publick Rebellion, and pretending the Cauſe of Religion, endeavour'd to draw ſome Companies together; yet when they had gather'd all their Forces, they could not produce a hundred Men. In the mean Time Sir *Fulk Grevill*, Deputy-Lieutenant of *Warwickſhire*, hearing of *Graunt*'s Outrage, and ſuppoſing it the Beginning of a Rebellion, ſent Advice to the neighbouring Towns, and warn'd them to be upon their Guard. The Sheriff of the County likewiſe calling the People to Arms, purſu'd theſe deſperate People from Shire to Shire; and Sir *Richard Walſh*, the Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire*, having found where they had taken harbour, ſent a Trumpet and Meſſenger, commanding them in his Majeſty's Name to ſurrender, and promiſing to intercede for their Lives. But they, finding their Crimes to be unpardonable, return'd Anſwer, *That the Sheriff muſt have more powerful Aſſiſtance than he had brought, before he could command or compel them.* The Sheriff, provok'd by their inſulting Anſwer, prepar'd to attack the Houſe; and while they made their Defence, it happen'd that a Spark of Fire falling among ſome Powder they were drying, blew up the Houſe, which ſo ſcorch'd their Faces and Bodies, that loſing their Courage, they open'd the Gate, and expos'd themſelves to the Fury of the People. *Catesby*, *Piercy* and Sir *Thomas Winter* joining Backs, and reſolving to die rather than be taken, the two firſt were kill'd with one Shot, and the other after ſome Wounds was made Priſoner: The two *Wrights* were alſo kill'd, but *Rookwood*, *Graunt*, *Digby* and *Bates* were taken and ſecur'd. *Treſham* had ſtaid at *London*, and changing his Lodgings, thought to have met an Opportunity of eſcaping by Sea, but was at laſt diſcover'd; as likewiſe was *Robert Winter*, with one *Littleton*, who with all the reſt were committed to the *Tower* of *London*. Upon Examination, *Thomas Winter* ingenuouſly confeſs'd the whole Conſpiracy, writing down the Particulars with his own Hand, and acknowledging the Offence to be greater than could be forgiven. *Digby* extenuated the Crime by the Deſpair to which they were driven, having Hopes from the King at his Acceſſion to the Crown, That the Catholicks ſhould have a free Toleration of Religion, which being deny'd they had ventur'd upon theſe impious Attempts. *Treſham* in his Confeſſion nam'd *Garnet* the Jeſuit as privy to the Conſpiracy; but afterwards by his Wife's Inſtigation deny'd it, declaring he had injur'd him, and had not ſeen him for ſixteen Years; yet *Garnet* being apprehended after his Death, confeſs'd that they had met ſeveral Times within the laſt half Year.

The ſecond Seſſion of the firſt Parliament.

The King's Speech.

In the mean Time the King met his Parliament upon *Saturday* the ninth of *November*, and made a long and remarkable Speech to the publick Eſtates; in which having aggravated the Danger by many Circumſtances, and as much magnify'd the Mercies of God in the Diſcovery, when he mention'd the Tryal and Puniſhment of the Offenders, he was obſerv'd to retain an excellent Temper in his Diſcourſe, wiſhing that no innocent Perſon, either domeſtick or foreign, ſhould thereby receive any Hurt: *For*, added he, *however the blind Superſtition of their Errors in Religion has been the only Motive in this deſperate Attempt, it muſt not be thought that all who profeſs the* Roman *Religion are guilty of the ſame: For as it is true, that no other* Sect, *or* Hereſie, *not excepting* Turk, Jew, *or* Pagan, *or thoſe* that worſhip the Devil, *did ever maintain by the Grounds of their Religion, that it was lawful and meritorious to murther Princes or People upon the account of that; yet it is true on the other Side, that many honeſt Men, blinded perhaps with ſome Opinions of* Popery, *as if they be not ſound in the* Real Preſence, *the Number of the* Sacraments, *and ſome ſuch School-Queſtions, do either not know, or not believe at leaſt, all the true Grounds of* Popery, *which is indeed the* Myſtery of Iniquity. *And therefore we juſtly confeſs that many* Papiſts, *eſpecially our Forefathers, laying their only Truſt upon Chriſt and his Merits, may be ſav'd; deteſting in that Point, and thinking that Cruelty of* Puritans *worthy of Fire that will allow no Salvation to any Papiſt.* And then concluding that Part of his Diſcourſe he declar'd, *As on the one Part many honeſt Men, ſeduc'd with ſome Errors of* Popery, *may yet remain good and faithful Subjects; ſo on the other Part, none of thoſe who truly know and believe the whole Grounds of* Popery, *can prove either good Chriſtians or faithful Subjects.* Having finiſh'd his Speech, without further Buſineſs, he prorogu'd the Parliament to the twenty firſt Day of *January* next.

A. D. 1606. Reg. 4.

Congratulations and Preſents from Spain.

The King's Management and Wiſdom in this Affair was highly applauded, and univerſal Rejoicings appear'd among the People; inſomuch, that the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Spain* and the Arch-Duke made Bonfires, and threw Mony among the People in Token of their great Satisfaction. And on the fourth of *January* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador deliver'd a Preſent to his Majeſty from the King his Maſter, conſiſting of ſix Jennets of *Andaluſia*, with Saddles moſt richly imbroider'd, and Trappings of fine Cloth of Tiſſue. This was a Preſent ſent before any Knowledge had of the Powder-Plot; but as ſoon as this was known, there was immediately another Preſent from the Queen of *Spain* to the Queen of *England*, purpoſely to congratulate the King's happy Deliverance from the execrable Treaſon, and brought by Don *John de Mendoſa*, which was a curious Robe of Murry Sattin, twice embroider'd about every Seam and Skirt with Gold; the fore Part of which was ſet with forty eight Tags three Inches long of beaten Gold, hollow within, and fill'd with Amber-Greeſe: Alſo two large Chains of Gold, two rich Carkanets, a Velvet Cap with Gold Buttons, finely enamel'd, and a Girdle ſuitable to the Buttons; all which were preſented together in a capacious Veſſel of Gold, in Form of a Baſon: So that it ſeems none more rejoic'd for the Overthrow of this Plot for the Catholick Cauſe, than the Catholick King himſelf. And now King *James* was not unmindful of the Lord *Monteagle*, the firſt Diſcoverer of this;Conſpiracy; for he gave to him and his Heirs for ever, two hundred Pounds a Year in Fee-farm Rents, and five hundred Pounds a Year beſides, during his Life, as a Reward for his good Service.

The third Seſſion of the firſt Parliament.

On the twenty firſt Day of *January* the Parliament again met according to the Prorogation; and ſix Days after a Commiſſion was directed to ſeveral Lords and Judges of both Benches, for the Tryal of the ſeveral Conſpirators, namely, Sir *Everard Digby*, Knight, *John Graunt*, *Ambroſe Rookwood*, and *Robert Winter*, Eſquires, *Thomas Winter*, *Robert Keys*, *Thomas Bates*, and *Guido Fawks*, Gentlemen or Yeomen. Theſe were all fairly convicted and condemn'd to die; and on the *Thurſday* following Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *Graunt* and *Bates* were accordingly drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at the Weſt-End of St. *Paul*'s Church in *London*: and on the next Day, the other four, *Thomas Winter*, *Keys*, *Rookwood* and *Fawks*, were after the ſame manner executed in the Parliament Yard at *Weſtminſter*. Of all whom, none was ſo much lamented as Sir *Everard Digby*, and not without Cauſe; for he was a noble Perſonage, and of excellent Parts, and had it ſeems been ſubtilly drawn in, and bound to Secrecy by Oath, when he leaſt imagin'd ſuch a Treaſon. Not long after, *Henry Garnet*, Provincial of the *Engliſh* Jeſuits, was arraign'd at *Guild-Hall*, for concealing and promoting the aforeſaid Treaſon, where he was condemned to be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd; and accordingly on the third Day of *May*, he was drawn from the *Tower* to the Weſt-End of St. *Paul*'s Church, and there executed. At his Death he acknowledg'd his Crime, begg'd Forgiveneſs, and exhorted all Catholicks never to attempt any Treaſon againſt the King or State, as a Method to which God would never give Succeſs. Beſides thoſe who ſuffered Death, ſome others were brought into Danger and Trouble; particularly *Henry* Lord *Mordant*, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton*, who were brought from the *Tower* to the Star-Chamber; where tho' they were not charg'd with any direct Point of Treaſon, yet were obliquely accus'd of neglecting to appear at the Parliament, according to the Summons; for which Neglect alone, without any further Charge, the former was fin'd ten thouſand Marks, and the latter ſix thouſand, and both to be Priſoners during the King's Pleaſure. But the Burthen fell heavier upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, who after them being brought to the Star-Chamber, was more directly charg'd with Circumſtances concerning the Treaſon, eſpecially with regard to *Thomas Piercy*, whom he had admitted to be one of the King's Gentlemen-Penſioners, without adminiſtring to him the Oath of Supremacy, knowing him to be a Recuſant; for which he was puniſh'd with a thirty thouſand Pound Fine, Forfeiture of all his Offices, and Impriſonment during the King's Pleaſure.

The Puniſhment of the Conſpirators.

The People in a Conſternation.

While the Parliament was ſitting, and all Men in a pleaſing State of Security, the publick Satisfaction was ſtrangely diſturb'd by a ſudden Rumour and Outcry at Court, That the King was ſtabb'd with an invenom'd Knife at *Oking*, twenty Miles from *London*. Upon which the Court Gates were immediately ſhut, and double Guards ſet in all Places about the City, and all Mens Minds were infinitely confounded and diſtracted: But within two Hours all theſe Clouds were diſpers'd, and a new Sun-ſhine appear'd, when it was unqueſtionably known, that the King was ſafe, and in perfect Health: For which a Proclamation was immediately iſſu'd out to ſignifie the ſame to the People; and that Afternoon the King came himſelf to *Whitehall*, where innumerable Multitudes, tranſported with Joy, came flocking to ſee him. And ſo general was the Triumph, that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador gave Sir *Lewis Lewkenor*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, a valuable Chain of Gold for bringing him the News. Tho' afterwards, according to Sir *Richard Baker*, it was thought by ſome, that this Rumour was politickly invented to cauſe the Parliament and People to be more tender of the King's Safety; and by making them more ſenſible what a Treaſure they enjoy'd by his Life, they might more willingly part with their Treaſure for his well-living. However it was happy for the King, for the Parliament did every thing that might oblige his Majeſty, and gave him three intire Subſidies, and ſix Fifteenths; beſides four Subſidies of four Shillings in the Pound, granted him by the Clergy of the Realm in Convocation. The Parliament likewiſe made many material Laws for the Diſcovery and Suppreſſing of Popiſh Recuſants; and they attainted the Blood of thoſe Traitors that were executed, as alſo thoſe who were ſlain in the Field, or dy'd in the Priſon. And to compleat all, ‘With Hearts full of Affection for God's great Deliverance of the whole Kingdom from Ruin and Deſolation, they made a ſpecial Act to have the fifth Day of *November* for ever ſolemniz'd with publick Thankſgivings: Imputing the Diſcovery of the Treaſon to God, inſpiring the King with a divine Spirit to interpret ſome dark Phraſes in the Letters, above and beyond all ordinary Conſtruction.’ When this and many other Acts had paſs'd the Royal Aſſent, on the twenty ſeventh of *May* the Parliament was prorogu'd to the eighteenth of *November*.

The fifth of November *made a Holy-Day.*

And here happily ended that famous Conſpiracy, call'd the *Gun-Powder-Plot*, the Blackneſs of which hath been ever ſince annually diſplay'd by the moſt eloquent Tongues and Pens in the Kingdom; which *Thuanus* calls ſuch a *Monſter of Conſpiracies* as no Age or Country did ever produce; in which the King, Queen, the Royal Family, Nobility, Prelates, Judges, Knights and Gentry, and in effect the whole Body of the Kingdom, were to be exterminated; ſo that it might be well call'd a Wickedneſs beyond Expreſſion, as well as Excuſe. Yet ſo different are the Notions or Intereſts of Mankind, that *Garnet* and the reſt of the Traitors executed for this Plot, were afterwards reputed and pronounc'd Martyrs for the Catholick Cauſe by the College of Jeſuits in *Rome*.

A. D. 1606. Reg. 4.

The Arrival of Chriſtian *King of* Denmark.

IV. This laſt threatning Storm was ſucceeded by a Calm of ſeveral Years without any violent Agitations, or many memorable Actions; in which Pleaſures, Entertainments and Expences, took their ſeveral Turns in Court, City and Country. All which were introduc'd by the Arrival of *Chriſtianus* King of *Denmark*, Brother to the Queen, who having been long expected, with eight Ships enter'd the River *Thames*, and anchor'd before *Grave's-End*, being met the next Day by King *James* with Prince *Henry*, and ſeveral of the Lords in Barges, who formally conducted him to *London*, where he ſtaid above three Weeks. In which Time he was entertain'd with all the Magnificence that could be invented, the King and he riding in great State through the City, where ſtately Pageants were erected in many Places; and after he had been ſhewn all the chief Buildings and Rarities of the City, had been feaſted by the King, by the Earl of *Salisbury* four Days together at *Theobalds*, and had ſeen Tilting, Fencing, Wreſtling, and many other Exerciſes, on the twelfth of *Auguſt*, conducted by the King, the Queen and Prince, and many great Lords, he took Shipping, and in eight Days arriv'd ſafe in *Denmark*: A peculiar Happineſs when Princes can converſe together like private Perſons, and are not kept aſunder by Jealouſies of State. After the King of *Denmark*'s Departure, on the twenty third of *September* there arriv'd in *London*, *Francis* Prince of *Vaudemont*, third Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*, accompany'd with ſeven Earls, ten Barons, forty Gentlemen of Quality, and a hundred and twenty others; who all went by Coach to the King at *Hampton-Court*, where for fourteen Days together they were feaſted, and royally entertain'd, and then return'd home.

The fourth Seſſion of the firſt Parliament.

On the eighteenth Day of *November*, the Parliament according to Prorogation met again at *Weſtminſter*, where the main Conſideration was the Union with *Scotland*, which was much urg'd by thoſe who knew the King's Mind: Among whom Sir *Francis Bacon*, now his Majeſty's Sollicitor, was a Principal Inſtrument, who came prepar'd for it, and firſt mov'd the Houſe of Commons, That the *Scots* might be Naturaliz'd by Act of Parliament; which was oppos'd by ſeveral ſtrong and modeſt Arguments. After many ſeveral Debates and Arguings on both Sides concerning this remarkable Affair, on the laſt Day of *March* in the following Year, the King ſent for both Houſes of Parliament to *Whitehall*, to whom in a formal Speech he earneſtly preſs'd the Matter, and declar'd, ‘That as there was but *Unus Rex*, ſo there ought to be but *Unus Grex*, and *Una*

A. D. 1607. Reg. 5.

The King's Speech.

The Parliament againſt an Union with Scotland.

‘ *Una Lex*; and that his Intention was not, as ſome idly alledg’d, to give *England* the Labour and *Sweat*, and *Scotland* the Fruit and *Sweet*; and he profeſs’d, he ſought this Union only to advance the Greatneſs of the Empire here in *England*, yet with ſuch Cautions as might ſtand with the Weal of both States.’ He likewiſe gave diſtinct Anſwer to Objections againſt, and the Inconveniences ariſing from this Union; but all did not ſatisfie the Parliament, who ſtill apprehended the King’s Partiality to his Countrymen, and that Damage would proceed from an Union, where the Laws and Government were of different Natures. The *Scots* would by no means leſſen, or in any Degree derogate from the Dignity of their long continu’d Monarchy; and the *Engliſh* thought they had no Reaſon to yield to them, and derogate from themſelves; and ſo the Matter reſted in this Seſſion of Parliament. They ſtill fear’d that the King would have ſuch an Influence upon the Judges, that the *Scots* would be Naturaliz’d too ſoon, therefore they would not be acceſſary to it; which not long after was confirm’d in *Calvin*’s Caſe of the *Poſtnati*, and reported by the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Cook*, the Lord Chancellor *Elleſmere*, and moſt of the Judges of the Kingdom, in the *Exchequer* Chamber, tho’ many Arguments were brought againſt it. On the fourth Day of *July*, the Parliament were again prorogu’d firſt to the ſixteenth of *November* next, and then to the ninth of *February* in the Year 160$\frac{7}{8}$.

Diſturbances in the Midland Counties.

Before the Parliament broke up, ſome Diſturbances happen’d in the Midland Parts of the Nation, as in *Northamptonſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, and *Leiceſterſhire*, where many aſſembled together, firſt not in a treaſonable, but in a riotons and felonious Manner, throwing down many Incloſures, and committing many Outrages of the like kind, and all without any particular Head. ’Till at length there aroſe a mean Perſon, call’d *John Reynolds*, whom they nam’d Captain *Pouch*, becauſe he wore a large Leather Pouch by his Side, declaring to the reſt, *That in that he had ſufficient to defend himſelf againſt Oppoſers*; tho’ it afterwards appear’d that all the Magick in that Repoſitory lay in a piece of Green Cheeſe. A Proclamation was iſſu’d out, ſtrictly commanding them to ſurceaſe their Diſorders, and declaring them Traitors if they perſiſted; but this had no Effect, ’till the King ſent the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Exeter*, the Lord *Zouch*, and Sir *Edward Cook*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of *England*, to ſuppreſs them by Force of Arms, and to puniſh the Levellers according to the Nature of their Crimes; ſome by Death, as for Treaſon, and others by Fines, as for Riots; of the former Kind Captain *Pouch* was made an Example, which put an End to the Diſturbance. Beſides this Inſtance of ill diſpos’d Perſons of the meaner Sort, the Earl of *Tyrone*, ungratefully forgetting the King’s Clemency to him, together with *Tyrconnell*, the Lord of *Dungannon*, and ſeveral other *Iriſh* Lords, fled into Foreign Parts, purpoſely to ſollicit thoſe Princes againſt their own Sovereign, and to offer the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Pope; all which was immediately ſignify’d to the Realm by Proclamation.

The King made Free of the Cloth-Workers, *and the Prince of the* Merchant-Tailors.

Now the King paſs’d his Time in Eaſe and Diverſions; and in the Month of *June*, being attended by ſeveral Lords, he din’d with the Lord-Mayor of *London*, Sir *John Watts*; who after Dinner preſented him with a Purſe full of Gold, and humbly beſought his Majeſty, that he would be pleas’d to be free of his Company the *Cloth-workers*. To which the King graciouſly condeſcended; and thereupon call’d to Sir *William Stone*, Maſter of the Company, and familiarly ſaid, Stone, *give me thy Hand*, *I am now a* Cloth-Worker; *and in Token of my ſpecial Favour to this Society*, *I do hereby give a Brace of Bucks yearly for ever to this Company*, *at the Election of the Maſter and Wardens:* At which Time alſo many Lords and Gentlemen were made free of the *Cloth-Workers*. In the following Month, the King and Prince, with many Lords, din’d at *Merchant-Tailors-Hall*, where the Maſter and Wardens of that Society preſented his Majeſty with a Purſe of Gold, giving him humble Thanks for honouring their Company with his Royal Preſence: And likewiſe ſhew’d him a Roll wherein were regiſter’d the Names of ſeven Kings, one Queen, ſeventeen Princes and Dukes, two Dutcheſſes, one Arch-Biſhop, thirty one Earls, ſixty ſix Barons, ſeven Abbots, ſeven Priors, with a great Number of Knights and Eſquires, who had been free of that Company; which his Majeſty graciouſly accepted, but told them, *That he himſelf was already free of another Company*; *but the Prince his Son ſhould be free of theirs, and that he would ſee the Garland put on his Head.* Whereupon the Maſter preſented the Prince alſo with a Purſe of Gold, which he graciouſly accepted, and ſaid *That not only himſelf would be free of the* Merchant-Tailors, *but the Lords alſo that were with him ſhould do the like*; all which was perform’d with no ſmall Solemnity.

New Promotions.

And now the King proceeded to his wonted Bounty in new Creations, and by a Writ call’d Sir *Thomas Knevet* to the Parliament by the Name of Baron of *Eſtrick*; and the next Day Sir *Julius Cæſar*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was ſworn a Privy-Counſellor. Not long after Sir *Jervis Clifton*, Knight, was call’d to the Parliament by Writ, by the Name and Title of Baron of *Layton Brameſwold*; whoſe only Daughter and Heir was ſoon after marry’d to *Eyſme Stuart*, Baron *D’ Aubigny* in *France*, ſole Brother to the Duke of *Lenox*, whom he afterwards ſucceeded in that Dignity. And as the King in the laſt Year was pleas’d to advance two great Men to the honourable Order of the *Garter*, namely, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Thomas Howard* Viſcount *Bindon*; ſo in the following Year, and the Month of *May* 1608, he rais’d two others to that Honour, namely *George* Earl of *Dunbar*, and *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*; the former of which left both his Honour and Life not very long after, and was magnificently interr’d in the Abby Church at *Weſtminſter*.

A. D. 1608. Reg. 6.

The Scots *inclinable to an Union.*

The Deſign dropt.

Tho’ the Affair of the Union was not approv’d by the Parliament of *England*, yet that of *Scotland* at this Time was more inclinable to join in it, eſpecially when they found the King of *England* ſo zealous for it. He naturally thought that the Work would be more eaſily effected, if a Beginning was made in *Scotland*, and therefore he call’d a Parliament in that Kingdom, which was held by *Lodowick* Duke of *Lenox*, as Commiſſioner for his Majeſty, in the Room of the Earl of *Montroſs* then deceas’d. The Eſtates, to ſatisfie the King’s Deſire, did allow all the Articles concluded by the Commiſſioners in the Treaty, with this Proviſo, ‘ That the ſame ſhould be in like manner ratify’d by the Parliament of *England*, otherwiſe the Concluſions taken ſhould not have the Force of a Law’: And it was alſo declar’d, ‘ That if the Union ſhould take Effect, the Kingdom of *Scotland* notwithſtanding ſhould remain an abſolute and free Monarchy; and the Fundamental Laws receive no Alteration.’ But after all the King’s Endeavours, by means of the Suſpicions of the *Engliſh*, and the Stiffneſs of the *Scotch*, the whole Deſign fell and ſunk to nothing; and all that was obtain’d from the *Engliſh* Parliament, was, That the Laws of Hoſtility, anciently made between *England* and *Scotland*, were repeal’d, that the old Reſentments which caus’d the Diſunion might be remov’d. And in the ſaid Act they provided, ‘ That if a natural born *Engliſhman* did commit any Miſdemeanor in *Scotland*, and fly into *England*, he ſhould be try’d where he was taken, and not carry’d into *Scotland* to receive Sentence there; ’till ſuch Time as both Kingdoms ſhall be made one in Laws and Government.’ And further they proceeded not; for they found and fear’d the old Enmity would for ſome Time continue: For ſince the King’s coming into *England*, the looſe and unſettl’d Borderers, that liv’d upon Spoil and Rapine, had upon theſe new Changes committed new Outrages; who tho’ they were ſuppreſs’d by the Garriſons of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, and many of them made Examples, yet Cuſtom and Habit had bred a natural Fierceneſs in them, which nothing but new Laws and Uſages could fully reſtrain. The Laws made in *Scotland* to the Prejudice of the *Engliſh*, were likewiſe repeal’d; ſo that all Paſſages were made and left ſmooth on both Sides, for future Times to accompliſh that great Work.

Some Perſons executed.

This Year was ſomewhat remarkable for the Execution both of Prieſts and Pirates; for on the eleventh of *April*, *George Jervis* a ſeminary Prieſt, and the twenty third of *June* following, *Thomas Garnet* a Jeſuit, were both executed according to Law at *Tyburn*; and the latter had the Favour offer’d him to be pardon’d, if he would but take the Oath of Allegiance, which he utterly refus’d. About the ſame Time there were many famous *Engliſh* Pirats, ſome of whom likewiſe turn’d *Mahometans*, and liv’d in great State at *Tunis*, among which were *Ward*, *Biſhop*, Sir *Francis Verney*, and *Glanville*. Theſe and ſeveral others, after many Depredations and outragious Acts at Sea, were ſuppreſs’d partly by the King of *Spain*, and partly by the King of *England*, and nineteen of their Aſſociates being taken, were according to their Deſerts hang’d at *Wapping*.

The Earl of Dorſet’s *Death.*

Salisbury *made Treaſurer.*

In the ſame Year the Lord-Treaſurer, *Thomas* Earl of *Dorſet*, being at the Council-Table at *Whitehall*, dy’d ſuddenly, while he was pulling out ſome Papers of his Title to *Lucies* Lands in *Kent*, which put an End to that Diſpute which he had brought before the Council. His ſudden Death, and effeminate Life, gave Occaſion to his Enemies to make ſevere and unuſual Interpretations; but his Head being open’d, there were found in it certain little Bags of Water, which by breaking might naturally cauſe ſuch a Death. He was undoubtedly of excellent Parts, and in his Place exceeding induſtrious; in which he was ſucceeded by the famous Earl of *Salisbury*, a Courtier and Politician from his Infancy; tho’ Nature was not propitious to his Outſide, as having a crook’d Back, yet ſhe ſupply’d that Defect with admirable Endowments of Mind. The Earl of *Northampton* was alſo made Lord Privy-Seal; and theſe were the two prime Miniſters of State, upon whoſe Shoulders the King laid the main Burden of all his Affairs. Another great Miniſter was the Earl of *Suffolk*, who was made Lord Chamberlain; but he came far behind in the Management of the King's Buſineſs, having a Spirit of a groſſer Nature, fitter to part a Fray, and compoſe the Differences of a diſorder'd Court, than the Diviſions of a Kingdom.

A.D.
1609.
Reg. 7.
A Treaty between Spain *and* Holland.

Being ſupported by theſe Counſellors, the King joining with *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, undertook a Mediation between the King of *Spain* and the Confederate States of *Holland*, and brought them to a Treaty of Amity, in which the States were acknowledg'd *Free* and *Independant*; and this after they had manag'd a famous and bloody Conteſt of above forty Years Continuance: This was the firſt Scene in which King *James* appear'd abroad, either as a Party or Mediator, ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*; and tho' the Treaty prov'd of extraordinary Conſequence, yet it is ſaid that his Part in it was as mean as that of the King of *France* was glorious; and his Conduct towards the States, for whom he mediated, and towards *France* with whom he join'd, was quite different from the Methods and Maxims of his renown'd Predeceſſor. For beſides ſeveral unuſual Condeſcentions to the *French* in the Perſons of his Ambaſſadors, which gave Foreigners a mean Idea of his Government, he was tax'd with being ſubtle and inſincere in the Treaty which he appear'd to promote and incourage. And what Opinion the *French* Miniſters had of him in this Affair appears from the printed Negotiations of *Jeannin*, the chief Agent for *France*, who in ſeveral Letters to the *French* King his Maſter, wrote *That King* James *was never hearty in the Treaty, but had all along condemn'd the* Hollanders *for throwing off the Sovereignty of* Spain, *upon the Account of its bad Example.* In Anſwer to one of which Letters, King *Henry*, whoſe Opinion of King *James* was never very great, own'd his Knowledge of that King's ill Intentions towards the States, and withal told *Jeannin*, *That his Carriage did not break his Sleep*; and concluded his Letter with an Expreſſion of Contempt, rarely us'd among Princes of that Rank, *I know his Capacity, and the Inclinations of his Subjects.*

The New-Exchange *built.*

About this Time, the Suburbs between *London* and *Weſtminſter* had many ruinous Piles of Buildings, which Age had worn out, and Induſtry and Riches began to revive. Among the reſt the Lord-Treaſurer *Salisbury*, out of the old Stables of *Durham*-Houſe in the *Strand*, erected a noble Fabrick to be Rival to the *Old-Change*, which the King by his Preſence dignify'd with the Name of *Britain's Burſe*, ſince call'd the *New-Exchange*. But he took particular Notice of the increaſing Buildings upon the new Foundations, which he look'd upon as a weakly Conſtitution in the Head of the Kingdom, as drawing a Flux of Humours and Diſeaſes too near the Court; beſides he fear'd the Plague might endanger *Whitehall*, if that Diſtemper increas'd. And therefore, with mature Deliberation of his Council, he forbad all new Buildings to be erected for the future, within two Miles of the City; and by Proclamation ſtrictly commanded, if any were made, they ſhould be pull'd down, which however was not obſerv'd 'till ſeven Years after. On the eighth of *May*, by another Proclamation the King prohibited all Foreign Nations, that after *Auguſt* they ſhould not Fiſh upon any of the Coaſts of *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland*, nor the adjacent Iſles, without the ſpecial Licence from the Commiſſioners ordain'd for that Purpoſe. At this Time the making of *Allum*, which hitherto with great Charges had been brought from Foreign Parts, was by ſeveral that labour'd in it, and now laſtly by Sir *John Bourchier*, brought to Perfection in *England*; and thereupon the King prohibited upon Pain of Confiſcation any *Allum* to be brought from beyond the Seas, and aſſum'd the whole Trade and Buſineſs of it to himſelf.

Other Buildings prohibited.

A.D.
1610.
Reg. 8.

Prince Henry *created Prince of* Wales.

At this Time Prince *Henry*, arriving at ſixteen Years of Age, began to ſhew himſelf in a more Heroick Manner than was uſual with Princes of his Time, by Tiltings, Barriers, and other Martial Exerciſes on Horſeback; which captivated the Peoples Eyes, and made their Tongues the Meſſengers of their Hearts, in daily extolling his hopeful and gallant Behaviour to Admiration. Being thus qualify'd, the King now thought him full Ripe for the Honour of Knighthood, in order to which, according to an ancient Cuſtom, the King receiv'd an Aid of his Subjects throughout *England*, which was levy'd with great Moderation. Then to add new Splendor to this glorious Youth, he not long after created him Prince of *Wales*, after this ſolemn Manner: *Garter* King at Arms bore the Letters Patents, the Earl of *Suſſex* the Robes of Purple Velvet, the Earl of *Huntington* the Train, the Earl of *Cumberland* the Sword, the Earl of *Rutland* the Ring, the Earl of *Derby* the Rod, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Cap and Coronet, the Earl of *Nottingham* and *Northampton* ſupported the Prince, who was only in his Surcoat and Bare-headed. Being conducted in that Manner to the King, and attended by twenty five Knights of the *Bath* of eminent Note, Secretary *Salisbury* read the Letters Patents, while the Prince continu'd upon his Knees before the King; and at the accuſtom'd Words the King inveſted him with the Robe, the Sword, the Cap and Coronet, the Rod and the Ring, and then with a Kiſs the Solemnity ended. After this, it was thought proper that he ſhould keep his Court by himſelf; and thereupon Sir *Thoms Chaloner*, a learned Gentleman, who had before been his Governor, was now made his Lord-Chamberlain, Sir *Edward Phillips* his Chancellor, and all other Officers aſſign'd him belonging to the Court of a Prince, which was kept at St. *James*'s. In all his Management he ſhew'd himſelf ſo ripe for Majeſty, that he ſeem'd to be a King while he was yet but a Prince; and all Mens Eyes began to be fix'd upon him as the great Hopes of the Nation, to the encreaſing Jealouſie of the King himſelf, who now endeavouring to find a ſuitable Match for him, ſent Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Ambaſſador into *Spain*, to treat with that King for his eldeſt Daughter; but this never met with the deſir'd Effect.

He has a diſtinct Court.

The Death of King Henry *the fourth of* France.

This Year prov'd fatal to King *Henry* the Great of *France*, who in the midſt of all his Grandeur and Glory, was by one *Ravillack* aſſaſſinated and ſlain in the open Streets of *Paris*, to the Surpriſe of all Chriſtendom. It has been obſerv'd, That this great Man, when he came firſt to the Crown, was a profeſs'd Proteſtant; but finding himſelf in a tottering Condition among his Popiſh Subjects, he began firſt to comply with them in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; which yet ſo little ſatisfy'd the Jeſuits, that one of their Inſtruments ſtabb'd him into the Mouth with a Knife, without much Hurt: Upon which Accident an Intimate of his freely told him, *That the Hand of God was viſible in this Action; for he had now deny'd his Religion but with his Mouth; but let him take Care of denying it with his Heart, for if he did, he fear'd God would ſtrike him there alſo:* Both which were remarkably accompliſh'd. The Contagion and Fear of this Blow ſoon reach'd into *England*, where the King by Proclamation ſtrictly commanded all Jeſuits and Prieſts out of the Kingdom, and all Recuſants to their own Houſes, and not to come within ten Miles of the Court, without ſpecial Licenſe. Then to ſecure all his Subjects, he caus'd 'em to take the Oath of Allegiance; which the Parliament, then ſitting, both Lords and Commons began, and the reſt of the People follow'd, to the King's great Satisfaction. Then turning from Matters of Policy to thoſe of Trade, upon the humble Petition of the *Eaſt-India* Merchants, the King was pleas'd to enlarge their Patents granted them by Queen *Elizabeth*, gave them a Charter to continue for ever, and enabled them to be a Body Corporate; which ſo encourag'd the Merchants, that they built a Ship of twelve hundred Ton, the greateſt that was ever made in this Kingdom by Merchants; which the King and Prince honour'd with going to *Deptford* to ſee it, and then nam'd it *The Trades Increaſe:* And at the ſame Time gave to Sir *Thomas Smith*, Governor of that Company, a fair Chain of Gold, with a Jewel, wherein was his own Picture. But this great Ship, having been in the *Red-Sea*, and returning to *Bantham*, was there unfortunately Loſt, and moſt of her Men caſt away. But then the King himſelf built the fineſt Man of War that was ever known in *England*, being of the Burthen of fourteen hundred Tons, and carrying ſixty four Pieces of great Ordnance; which he gave to his Son Prince *Henry*, and nam'd it after his own Dignity, *The Prince*.

A Proclamation againſt Jeſuits.

The Eaſt-India *Company eſtabliſh'd.*

The fifth Seſſion of the firſt Parliament.

But long before theſe Tranſactions, the Parliament that had been prorogu'd in the Year 1607, met again on the ninth Day of *February*, and continu'd ſitting a great Part of the Year, with fewer Compliments and leſs Satisfaction than formerly. For the King and his Friends were now labouring hard, and uſing all Methods and Arguments to induce them to grant new Supplies of Mony, when many thought there was no juſt Occaſion; and there wanted not ſome in both Houſes that openly ſaid, *THE WHOLE WEALTH OF* England *was not ſufficient for the King's vaſt Bounty, and therefore it was in vain to give him Mony who would give it away again:* For it was ſaid that he had made Gold and Silver as plentiful in *Edinburgh*, as it was in *Jeruſalem* in the Reign of *Solomon*. Beſides this, they began to complain of general Grievances, and of the King's Incroachments upon the publick Liberty, by his Proclamation, the High Commiſſion Court, and by other Means. To put a ſtop to theſe and the like Oppoſitions, the King ſummon'd both Houſes of Parliament to *Whitehall*; where in a Speech he told them, *That tho' the King's Heart was in the Hands of the Lord, yet he would ſet it before the Eyes of the People*; aſſuring them, *That he never deſign'd to govern by any Law but that of the Land, tho' it was diſputed among them, as if he had an Intention to alter the Law, and govern by the abſolute Power of a King. He knew the Power of Kings, and compar'd it to the Power Divine: For as God can create and deſtroy, make and unmake at his Pleaſure, ſo Kings can give Life and Death,*

The King's Speech.

Death, judge all, and be judg'd of none. They can exalt low Things, and abaſe high Things, making the Subjects like Men at Cheſs, a Pawn *to take a* Biſhop *or a* Knight. *But ſtill all Kings, who were not Tyrants, or Perjur'd, would always bind themſelves within the Limits of the Laws; and they that perſuaded them to the contrary, were Vipers and Peſts both againſt them and the Common-wealth. Yet, as it was Blaſphemy to diſpute what God might do, ſo it was Sedition in Subjects to diſpute what a King might do in the Height of his Power: And as he would not have Subjects diſcourſe of his Power, ſo he would do nothing but what was conſonant to Law and Reaſon.* After this he proceeded to ſpeak much in Commendation of the Common Law, and to thank the Houſe of Commons for burning ſome Papers preſented as Grievances, giving them Rules how to receive Grievances, among which, *They ſhould not meddle with the main Points of Government, which would be to leſſen his* Craft, *who had been thirty Years at his* Trade *in* Scotland, *and ſerv'd an* Apprentiſhip *of ſeven Years here.* But after theſe, with more obliging Expreſſions he ſhew'd the emergent Cauſe of his great Expences, declaring, *That when he firſt open'd his Neceſſities to them, his Purſe only labour'd, but now his Deſires were made ſo publick, his Reputation labour'd as well as his Purſe: For the World would think it want of Love in them, or Merit in him, that had leſſen'd their Hearts, and ty'd up their Hands.* In Concluſion, after the paſſing of many good Laws, which the Reader will meet with in the Statute Book, he obtain'd one Subſidy and a Fifteenth; and after this Parliament had continu'd above ſix Years in Being, and had five Meetings, and went through a great Number of uſeful Act, sboth for promoting many Advantages, and ſuppreſſing many Miſchiefs, it was diſſolv'd upon the thirty firſt Day of *December*.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

A. D. 1611. Reg. 9.

V. All Things being now in a reaſonable State of Quiet and Calmneſs, the King may be ſaid to live at this Time in the Height of his Diverſions and Expences, keeping two ſeveral Courts beſides his own; for as the Prince was Maſter of St. *James*'s, ſo the Queen was Miſtreſs of *Somerſet*-Houſe, to which ſhe gave the Name of *Denmark*-Houſe, and that continu'd as long as ſhe liv'd. She was not without ſeveral great Men to attend her, for outward Magnificence, the Court being then in a continu'd Courſe of Interludes and Maſquerades, where ſhe and her Ladies, like ſo many Sea-Nymphs, or *Nereids*, often appear'd in ſtrange and various Dreſſes, to the Pleaſure and Wonder of the Spectators; while the King himſelf was not a little delighted with ſuch extraordinary Entertainments, that made the Night more glorious than the Day. She had alſo her particular Favourites in one Place, as the King had his in another; for ſhe affected the Earl of *Pembroke* the elder Brother, and he the younger, whom he made Earl of *Montgomery* and Knight of the Garter. But ſtill either not finding him ſuitable to his Humour or Affections, or viewing another more agreeable Object, his Fancy run with a violent Stream upon a young Gentleman, born about *Edinburgh*, of no great Parts or Birth, but of a comely Aſpect, and a courtly Addreſs. His Name was *Robert Car*, who being lately come from *France*, in a Tournament before the King, by a Fall off his Horſe broke his Leg; which Accident gave the King occaſion to take Notice of him, and hearing that his Name was *Car*, remember'd he had a Page of that Name when he came firſt into *England*, which was found to be the ſame Perſon. The King recollecting his Thoughts, fix'd them upon this Object of Commiſeration, and gave particular Orders to have him lodg'd in the Court, and to have his own Phyſicians and Surgeons uſe their beſt Endeavours for his Recovery. The King often viſited him during his Reſtraint, ſometimes an Hour or more diſcourſing with him upon ſeveral Subjects; and tho' he found no great Depth of Learning or Experience, yet ſuch a ſmooth and calm Outſide, made him judge there might be a fit Harbour for his moſt retir'd Thoughts. As ſoon as he recover'd, the King with great Satisfaction made him a Knight, and Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, took the Pains himſelf to teach him the *Latin* Tongue, and laid a Foundation by his daily Diſcourſes to improve him into a Capacity of receiving his moſt endearing Affections.

The Riſe of Robert Car.

And now all Addreſſes were made to Sir *Robert Car*, who was ſaid to be Favourite in Ordinary; no Suit nor Reward were manag'd but by his Means; his Hand diſtributed Favours, and his Hand reſtrain'd them; and the Lords could ſcarce have a Smile without his Approbation. And what greatly added to his encreaſing Power was the Death of the Earl of *Dunbar*, who was the King's old Servant, and the Cabinet of his Secret Councils; ſo that he ſolely took them into his Charge, together with the Office of Lord High-Treaſurer of *Scotland*, which Staff the other had left behind him: And tho' it could be no mighty Supporter, yet the Credit of it carry'd ſome Reputation into his own Country, where it was his Happineſs to be extoll'd, as well as in *England*. Then further to aggrandiſe this young Favourite, the King created him Baron of *Brandſpech*, and Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and ſhortly after Knight of the Garter, together with his Son *Charles* Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Arundel*. Thus was he drawn up by the Beams of Majeſty, to ſhine with the greateſt Splendor, often conteſting with the Prince himſelf in his own Sphere. For the Prince, being of a high-born Spirit, and meeting with a young Competitor in his Father's Affections, of a ſhort and ſudden Growth, thought the Infection would increaſe too near him, and therefore he us'd all reaſonable Means to ſtifle and ſuppreſs it: And this Conteſt was gradually blown up by ſome Sparks of Love, as well as Emulation, being both amorous, warm and youthful, and by Accident fixing their Thoughts upon one Object, contracted to a third Perſon, in which the Viſcount gain'd the Superiority, but to his final Ruin.

He is a great Favourite.

A. D. 1612. Reg. 10.

The Caſe of the Lord Sanquir.

In the mean Time, while Fortune thus ſmil'd upon the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, it frown'd with as much Severity upon the Lord *Sanquir*, a Baron of the ſame Nation, and marry'd into a conſiderable Family in *England*. This Man too much valuing himſelf upon his unfortunate Skill in Fencing, undertook a Deſign to affront and diſparage a Fencing-Maſter in his own School, whoſe Name was *John Turner*; but he apprehenſive of his Deſign, preſs'd ſo rudely upon the Baron, that he puſh'd out one of his Eyes. The Baron being afterwards in the Court of *France*, where that King, freely entertaining him in Diſcourſe, ask'd him how he loſt his Eye; and underſtanding it was done by a Sword, without knowing the Circumſtances, he reply'd, *Does the Man live that did it*? The Queſtion from the Mouth of a King blew up new Fires of Revenge in the Baron's Breaſt; and ſeveral Years after, coming into *England*, he hir'd two of his Countrymen, *Gray* and *Carliſle*, to murther the Fencing-Maſter, which they did with a Caſe of Piſtols at his own Houſe in *White-Friars*. One of the Murtherers was apprehended upon the Borders of *Scotland*, the other in a Ship bound for *Hamburg*; and the Lord *Sanquir* having abſconded, and hearing that no leſs than a thouſand Pounds was offer'd for his Head, he reſign'd himſelf to the King's Mercy, by the Mediation of Dr. *Abbot*, the laſt Year, made now Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, to whom he preſented himſelf as an Object of Commiſeration. But no Interceſſion could prevail, and their Lives ſatisfy'd the Law, without allowing the Baron the Death of a Nobleman, who in a very penitent Manner ſuffer'd before the Gate of *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

His Execution.

Still the juvenile Favourite *Rocheſter* maintain'd his Ground againſt all Oppoſers; and among his chief Friends Sir *Thomas Overbury* was the Creature he moſt particularly honour'd with his Familiarity. This begot an Emulation between the two great Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, who ſhould ingroſs him; each preſenting, proffering, and accumulating Favours upon *Overbury*'s Relations. His Father was accordingly made a Judge in *Wales*, and he himſelf was offer'd a Place; but being naturally of a rough and inſolent Temper, and ſwell'd with being the Confident of ſuch a Favourite, whoſe Munificence could not be retail'd without him, he with a kind of Scorn neglected both their Friendſhips, and yet made uſe of them when he had Occaſion. Before that Time the politick Miniſter, the Earl of *Salisbury*, had made an Alliance with the Houſe of *Suffolk*, by marrying his eldeſt Son, the Lord *Cranborn*, to *Katharine* the eldeſt Daughter of that Family; and that Reſentments might not become Hereditary, he was a great Inſtrument in marrying the young Earl of *Eſſex* to the Lady *Frances Howard*, another of thoſe Siſters. The Earl of *Eſſex* was then but fourteen Years of Age, and the Lady thirteen when they were marry'd; and therefore he was ſent to Travel in Foreign Countries 'till Time might capacitate their Co-Habitation. The Lady in the mean Time was kept by her Mother, and educated in all the inchanting Pleaſures of the Court; and being a celebrated Beauty, every Tongue became an Orator at her Shrine, and the Prince himſelf ſent out many amorous Glances as the Ambaſſadors of his Inclinations. But the victorious Lady more favouring the increaſing Fortunes of the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, the moſt zealous of her Adorers, the Prince ſlighted her, as tho' he had offer'd his Addreſſes more to diſtract the other's Amours, than to purſue his own Deſires. Upon the Return of the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Counteſs, who was actuated by the moſt violent Reſolutions of Enjoyment, had a double Task to undergo; firſt to hinder her Husband from carnal Knowledge of her, and then to ſecure the Viſcount's Affections; for unlawful Love always produces the greateſt Jealouſies and Confuſion. In order to effect her impious Deſigns, we are aſſured ſhe had recourſe to infernal Arts, and conſulted one Mrs. *Turner*, a Doctor of Phyſick's Widow, whom Prodigality had reduc'd to Poverty, and render'd her fit for any Miſchief; and ſhe introduc'd into their Conſultation one *Forman* an

The unhappy Marriage of the Earl of Eſſex.

The Wicked Deſigns of his Counteſs.

Aſtrologer, and a reputed Magician, who ſupply'd the Lady with Charms, Spells and philtrous Potions, both to debilitate the Ardour of the Husband, and to inflame the Paſſion of the Gallant. Theſe Things being manag'd and adminiſter'd according to unknown Arts, they gave this uneaſy Woman Aſſurances of extraordinary Effects. Her amorous Invitations that drew the Viſcount to admire her, were imputed to the Operation of thoſe Drugs he had taſted; and the very unnatural Comportment ſhe expreſs'd to her Husband was concluded by her to be the Effects of thoſe wonderful Potions and Powders adminiſter'd to him: So ready is the Imagination to take Impreſſion of thoſe Things we are willing to believe.

The Viſcount Rocheſter *intrigues with her.*

Salisbury *diſappoints him.*

The King's Profuſeneſs.

The innocent Earl being made ſenſible of his own Miſfortunes, complain'd to her Father, in hopes of Relief; and through his Importunities and Threatnings, ſhe was perſuaded to retire into the Country to *Chartley* with her Husband; where her Diſappointments ſo enrag'd her Spleen, that ſhe could ſcarce afford common Civility to him, and brought her ſelf to a continu'd Melancholy and Sullenneſs. At length ſhe wrote to her wicked Correſpondents *Forman* and Mrs. *Turner*, *That ſhe ſaw little Effect produc'd by all the Potions ſhe had given her Husband, for he ſeem'd more eager after her than ever, and ſhe was ſenſible that the Viſcount would never love her, if he knew her Husband enjoy'd her, whom with Difficulty ſhe had put off; but how long ſhe ſhould be able to reſiſt his Violence ſhe knew not; and therefore unleſs they deſign'd to ſee her the moſt miſerable Creature in the World, they ſhould ſpeedily aſſiſt her, and for their Reward they ſhould make their own Propoſals.* And now all the abominable Tricks that could ariſe from Sorcery and Female Averſion being imploy'd to debilitate the Earl, he at length ſuffer'd her to ſteer her own Courſe; and the next Winter came up with her to *London*, where ſhe us'd all the Ornaments that Art and Nature could invent, to inflame the Viſcount's Affections; and her Abſence increaſing his Paſſion, they had many repeated Meetings. Several Perſons qualify'd for ſuch kind of Offices were imploy'd; and when Nature was enfeebled and exhauſted, new Spirits were purchas'd at the moſt extravagant Rates to rekindle their unlawful Fires. Thus the Viſcount triumph'd in his Conqueſts, but as to the Heighth of the King's Favours, the great *Salisbury* was ſtill an Obſtacle in his Way, ſo that he could not arrive to that Pitch of Grandeur, in his Time, that he afterwards obtain'd. One Thing among the reſt, in which he defeated or diſappointed him, was in Moderating the King's Bounty to him on this Occaſion: The King had given to *Rocheſter* five thouſand Pounds, which this Treaſurer thought too extravagant a Preſent, where there was ſo little Merit, therefore he laid the Mony in Silver upon Tables in his Gallery at *Salisbury* Houſe; and having invited the King to Dinner, he made this Room the Paſſage to his Entertainment. The King ſurpris'd at the Sight of theſe great Heaps of Mony, ask'd for what purpoſe it was aſſign'd; to whom the Earl reply'd, *That he had Orders from his Majeſty to give ſo much to the Viſcount* Rocheſter. The King who either careleſly thought five thouſand Pounds was no more than the Name of ſo much in *Scotland*, or ſubtlely finding the Treaſurer's Meaning, ſaid, *It was too much for one Man*, and made him be contented with leſs than half of the Sum. But the King was generally profuſe to his Favourites; particularly one Day being in his Gallery at *Whitehall*, with only Sir *Henry Rich* a young ingenious Knight, and *James Maxwell*, one of his Bed-Chamber, ſome Porters paſs'd by with three thouſand Pounds going to the Privy-Purſe: Sir *Henry* whiſpering *Maxwell*, the King ask'd what he ſaid; and being told he wiſh'd for ſuch a Sum, he immediately order'd the Porters to carry it to his Lodgings, with this Expreſſion, *You think you have a great Reward; but I am more delighted in giving you the Mony, than you in receiving it.*

The Body of the Queen of the Scots *remov'd to* Weſtminſter.

Sir Robert Sherley's *Travels.*

And now the King caſt his Thoughts towards *Peterborough*, where the Body of his unfortunate Mother lay, which he caus'd to be tranſlated to a Magnificent Tomb at *Weſtminſter*; where many ſolemn Ceremonies were perform'd, to pay the laſt Tribute to her Memory. About the ſame Time the King, in ſpecial Favour for the preſent Plantation of *Engliſh* Colonies in *Virginia*, granted a Lottery to be held at the Weſt-End of St. *Paul*'s; of which one *Thomas Sharplys*, a Taylor of *London*, had the chief Prize, amounting to four thouſand Crowns in fair Plate. This Year was alſo obſervable for the Arrival of Sir *Robert Sherley*, third Son to Sir *Thomas Sherley* of *Suſſex*, who for ſixteen Years had betaken himſelf to Travel, and had ſerv'd ſeveral Chriſtian Princes for the Space of five Years, but chiefly *Rodolphus* the Emperor, who for his Services made him an Earl of the Empire. He afterwards travell'd into *Perſia*, and ſerv'd that Emperor ten Years, who made him General of the Artillery, and had ſo great an Eſteem for his Perſon, that he gave him the Lady *Tereſia* in Marriage, whoſe Siſter was one of the Queens of *Perſia*; After which, the *Perſian* imploy'd him to ſeveral Princes of *Europe*; and ſent him in a ſpecial Embaſſy to King *James* in *England*, to whom he deliver'd his Letters, and ſhew'd his Commiſſion; all which teſtify'd the *Perſian*'s great Love and Affection to his Majeſty, with voluntary Offers of free Commerce to all his Subjects throughout the *Perſian* Dominions. After a Year's Stay in *England*, in which Time his Lady was deliver'd of a Son, to whom the Queen was God-Mother, and Prince *Henry* God-Father, he left the Child in this Kingdom, and then with his Lady took Shipping for *Perſia*.

The Arrival of Frederick *Prince* Palatine.

The Death of Prince Henry.

Cenſures upon it.

It was in the tenth Year of King *James*'s Reign, and the ſixteenth of *October*, when the illuſtrious Prince *Frederick*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, with whom a Treaty of Marriage had been made with the King's Daughter *Elizabeth*, arriv'd at *Graveſend*; to whom the Duke of *Lenox* and ſeveral other Lords were ſent by his Majeſty, who conducted him to *Whitehall*, and from thence into the great Banqueting-Houſe; where the King, the Queen, the Prince, and the Lady her ſelf, entertain'd him after the moſt obliging Manner, and then by Barge conducted him to *Eſſex* Houſe appointed for his Reception. It was many Years ſince any King's Daughter had been marry'd in *England*; which now occurring, and to ſo worthy a Prince, was a juſt Cauſe of Triumph and Rejoycing: But according to the frequent Changes of human Happineſs, Joy was no ſooner ſet forth, but was purſu'd by an unexpreſſible Sorrow; firſt by the Sickneſs, and then the Death of that great Delight and Hopes of the Nation, Prince *Henry*, who on the ſixth Day of *November* was ſnatch'd away at the Age of eighteen Years, eight Months and ſeventeen Days. Several Paſſages are related of this excellent Prince that redound to his Honour; particularly once when he was Hunting the Stag, it happen'd that the Game was kill'd, and his Sport ſpoil'd by a Butcher's Dog; at which the Company endeavour'd to incenſe him againſt the Butcher, and told him, *That if his Father had been thus interrupted, he would have ſworn ſo that no Man could have endur'd it: Away*, reply'd the Prince, *all the Diverſion in the World is not worth one Oath.* At another Time, when the *French* Ambaſſador, upon taking his Leave, ask'd him, *What Service he would command him to his Maſter*, the Prince bad him tell his Maſter *What he was doing*, being then toſſing a Pike. The World is always ready to attribute the Deaths of beloved Princes to unfair Practices, and it became the general Rumour of that Time, that the Prince was poiſon'd. We dare not determine that nice Matter, yet the Preſumptions ſeem too ſtrong to be bury'd in Silence; eſpecially if we conſider the violent Conteſts between him and *Rocheſter*, and the wicked Practices of that implacable Man. For the Prince being an open-hearted Man, and reſenting every Injury done to his Nation, had once declar'd, *That if ever he was King, he would not leave one of that Family unpuniſh'd*; and therefore he and the *Howards* could not think themſelves ſecure, 'till he had paid his Debt to Nature; and ſo the manner of his Death was paſs'd over by a Certificate from ſome Court Phyſicians, 'That his Liver was paler than 'ordinary, his Gall without any Choler in it, his Spleen, 'Midriff and Lungs were very black, and his Stomach in 'no Part offended;' as if no Poiſon could produce ſuch Effects. On the ſeventh of *December* he was ſolemnly carried on a Herſe to *Weſtminſter*, where the Pomp of his Funeral was fully compleated by the Tears and Lamentations of the People.

A. D. 1613. Reg. 11.

Prince Frederick *marry'd to the King's Daughter* Elizabeth.

But all Tears were ſoon dry'd up at Court, where grand Preparations were making for the Solemnities of a *Chriſtmas*, and a Marrriage between the Prince *Palatine* and the excellent Lady *Elizabeth*. In order to the latter, on the ſeventh of *February*, the Prince was firſt inſtall'd Knight of the Garter at *Windſor*, together with the Deputy of *Grave Maurice* of *Naſſaw*. And on *Shrove-Sunday*, and St. *Valentine*'s Day, the much deſired Marriage was ſolemniz'd after an extraordinary Manner in the Chappel at *Whitehall*. The beautiful Bride was publickly led by two Batchellors, her Brother Prince *Charles*, and the Earl of *Northampton*, Lord Privy-Seal; ſhe being glorioufly adorn'd in White, having a reſplendent Crown of Gold upon her Head, her Hair diſhevel'd down her Back, nobly ſhining with Jewels like a Conſtellation, and her Train ſupported by twelve young Ladies, finely attir'd with all the Emblems of Innocence. The King himſelf gave her in Marriage, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* perform'd the Office, and the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* preach'd the Nuptial Sermon; during which Time, ſome peculiar Coruſcations and Lightnings of Joy appear'd in her Countenance, which ſome thought to be Preſages of her future Misfortunes. This Marriage was celebrated the firſt Night with a magnificent Maſque of the chief of the Nobility, both Lords and Ladies; the ſecond Night with another of the Gentlemen of the *Middle-Temple* and *Lincolns-Inn*; and the third Night with another as remarkable preſented by the Gentlemen of the *Inner-Temple* and *Grays-Inn:* And after this the Lord Mayor and Aldermen preſented the fair Bride with a Chain of Oriental Pearl, valu'd at two thouſand Pounds. Now when all Things had been perform'd for the Honour of this Marriage, which either Love and Obſervance could invent, or Art and Magnificence could effect, on the tenth of *April* the illuſtrious Couple took leave of the King and Queen at *Rocheſter*; and there taking Shipping, they arriv'd not long after at *Fluſhing*: From whence the Earl of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Viſcount *Liſle*, and the Lord *Harrington* waited upon them to their capital City of *Heidelberg*; being receiv'd in all Places as they paſs'd with great Pomp and State. On the fourteenth of *June* the *Engliſh* Lords return'd home; only the Lord *Harrington* dy'd by the Way at *Worms*, whoſe Corps was brought over, and interr'd in *England*. A Gentleman much lamented in his own Perſon, but much more in that of his admirable Son, whoſe Deceaſe ſhortly after put a Period to that noble Family.

They both retire to Germany.

The Earl of Saliſbury's *Death.*

Before this Time dy'd that famous Stateſman, the Earl of *Saliſbury*, and Lord Treaſurer of *England*; a Perſon of admirable Abilities, and one of whom *Oſborn* confeſſes, that with all his Faults, he was a Man of incomparable Prudence, who coming ſo near ſuch an unadviſed Scatterer as King *James*, might have much more inrich'd his Family, had he not look'd upon low Things with Contempt; leaving much to the Gleaning of his Servants, of whom many were afterwards advanc'd. He further inſinuates, 'That this Earl was the firſt ill Treaſurer, and the 'laſt good one ſince Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign;' the laſt Part of which Cenſure might naturally ariſe from the numerous and ſudden Changes in this high Office. For within this Reign, and the Compaſs of a very few Years, the Earl of *Saliſbury* was ſucceeded by five ſeveral Treaſurers: Firſt, the Earl of *Suffolk*, who held the Office longeſt, and was diſcharg'd in a great Meaſure for the Miſmanagement of his Lady: Secondly, Sir *Henry Montague*, taken from the King's Bench, and made Earl of *Mancheſter*, and within leſs than a Year diſcharged: Thirdly, Sir *Lyonel Cranfield*, who was made Earl of *Middleſex*, and then not only thrown out, but alſo fin'd fifty thouſand Pounds: Fourthly, Sir *James Lee*, taken from the King's Bench, and made Earl of *Marlborough*, who thought fit to reſign his Place in a ſhort Time: And laſtly, Sir *Richard Weſton*, from Chancellor of the Exchequer was made Lord Treaſurer, and ſhortly after Earl of *Portland*.

The great Changes in the Treaſury.

Rocheſter's *Greatneſs.*

Upon the Death of the Earl of *Saliſbury*, the aſpiring *Rocheſter* without Controul aſſum'd the whole Adminiſtration of the Government, executed the Place of Principal Secretary, receiv'd Pacquets and diſpatch'd Anſwers, without the Knowledge of the King or Council, and all done by the Privity, if not Aſſiſtance, of his Confident Sir *Thomas Overbury*. But when that Gentleman underſtood that *Rocheſter* deſign'd to marry the Lady *Eſſex*, he dealt freely and honeſtly with him, declaring to him, *That nothing could be more deſtructive to both their growing Hopes, than to lay a Foundation upon ſo much Injuſtice as to marry another Man's Wife, while her Husband was living*; and therefore paſſionately deſir'd him, *To fix his Thoughts upon a more honourable Object, and not upon one, whoſe Diſloyalty to her Husband was branded with perpetual Infamy*. This rough Advice found no Reception in the debauch'd Mind of the Viſcount, who being faſcinated with the Charms of his amorous Miſtreſs, did not only eſtrange himſelf from the Friendſhip of *Overbury*, but both denounc'd Enmity, and alſo excited the Fury of the Counteſs againſt him: and ſhe fir'd with the moſt implacable Reſentments, muſtring up all the Paſſion and Envy that a Female Malice could invent, never left him 'till ſhe had diſcharg'd all the Vollies of her Rage upon him. She importun'd the Earl of *Northampton* her Uncle, to vindicate the Honour of their Family; and he joining with the Viſcount, they agreed to take away *Overbury*'s Life by Poiſon; but that not being eaſy to be done in a publick Way, they contriv'd to exaſperate the King againſt him, and procure him to be impriſon'd, that they might with greater Privacy effect his Ruin. The King about this Time deſigning to ſend an Ambaſſador into *Flanders* to the Arch-Duke, the Viſcount treacherouſly recommended Sir *Thomas Overbury* to him for that Service; and dealing on both Sides, he us'd all Methods to diſſwade him from undertaking the Imployment, as well knowing that his Refuſal would highly diſoblige the King. *Overbury* was not ſo little a Courtier, or ſo void of Reaſon, as not to ſee the Danger of diſobeying the King's Commands; therefore the Viſcount promis'd him both to mollifie the King's Diſpleaſure, and to procure him better Preferment; while on the other Side he ſo aggravated his Offence in Refuſing his Obedience, and ſo incens'd the King, that the poor Gentleman was without Hearing ſent to the *Tower* for Contempt. Then to compleat his ſtrange Tragedy, Sir *William Wade* Lieutenant of the *Tower* was diſplac'd, and Sir *Jervaſe Elways* put into his Room.

Overbury *checks him.*

For which his Life is threatned.

He is thrown into the Tower.

This firſt Point being gain'd, the Counteſs, like another *Alecto*, drove on furiouſly with two Wheels, which ran over all Impediments; the one was to procure a Divorce between her and her Husband, that ſhe might marry the Viſcount; and the other was to remove Sir *Thomas Overbury*, who had laid ſuch a Stain upon her Honour, as nothing but his Blood could expiate. For theſe ſhe had ſeveral Inſtruments and Agents, particularly the Earl of *Northampton*, who reſenting his Niece's Grievances, acquainted the King with her Virgin Modeſty, how unwilling ſhe was to divulge her Husband's Infirmities, and how long ſhe had been marry'd without enjoying the Rights of a Wife; that the Earl's Inability muſt needs produce an unnatural Conjunction, ſuch as neither Law nor Reaſon could excuſe; and that there was an entire Affection between the Viſcount and her ſelf, which ought to be encourag'd, as more ſuitable to Equity and Nature. This was ſeconded by the Viſcount's humble Submiſſions to the King's great Wiſdom, who he acknowledg'd had not only rais'd him to his preſent Condition, but might yet make him more happy, by uniting him to a Lady of ſo much Honour and Virtue. The King, who abundantly delighted to compleat the Happineſs of thoſe he lov'd, immediately granted a Commiſſion under the Broad Seal, to ſeveral Biſhops and others, to try the whole Cauſe, who accordingly made their Appearance. But before they proceeded any further, they impanell'd a Jury of twelve diſcreet Matrons to ſearch the Counteſs, whether ſhe was a Maid or not, as ſhe pretended to be in her written Allegations, for if that prov'd true, they might fix upon a Nullity, and ſo ſeparate them for the Honour of her Virginity. The Counteſs, under a Pretence of Modeſty and Shame to undergo ſuch an Examination, would not expoſe her Face to the Light, but procur'd leave of the Court to appear in a Veil before the Matrons; by which means ſhe had an Opportunity, according to common Report, to ſend in a young Girl in her Place, who in the Opinion of the Jury paſs'd for a real Virgin. Then Articles being drawn up in Form, the good Earl, willing to be freed from ſo horrid a Plague, confeſs'd that he had ſeveral Times attempted to enjoy her, but he never did, and believ'd he never ſhould. Upon theſe Grounds the Judges proceeded to a formal Sentence of Divorce and Separation, in ſuch Terms as are more fit to be tranſcrib'd by Perſons of any Profeſſion than my own. The ſcandalous Reports that had flown about concerning this Lady, caus'd ſome worthy Men to decline the Buſineſs, particularly the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London* refus'd to appear, tho' they were nominated in the Commiſſion; and what is ſaid in Favour of the reſt of the Judges, is, That they might not know that another Female was impos'd upon the Jury inſtead of the Lady *Eſſex*.

The Counteſs of Eſſex *ſues out a Divorce againſt her Husband.*

They are parted by Law.

While one great Engine was working at *Lambeth*, the other had its Motion in the *Tower*, puſh'd forwards by the Lady *Eſſex* againſt the unfortunate Sir *Thomas Overbury*; and two of her Agents *Forman* and *Greſham* being dead, ſhe rely'd wholly upon the Aſſiſtance of Mrs. *Turner*, who procur'd one *Weſton*, formerly her Husband's Servant, and not unskill'd in the Art of Poiſoning, to be the Inſtrument to effect their impious Purpoſes. The Lady alſo procur'd Sir *Thomas Munſon* to recommend him to Sir *Jervaſe Elwayes*, and he to Sir *Thomas Overbury* to be his Attendant; by whoſe means, with the Aſſiſtance of one *Franklin*, and the Connivance of the Lieutenant, ſeveral Potions were adminiſter'd to conſume Nature inſenſibly. But theſe were not thought quick enough to ſatiate that Malice, that was as active as ſubtle; therefore ſtronger Ingredients were infus'd, and given him in his Broths, his Meats and his Tarts; and his very Salt was uſually mixt with *White-Mercury*. Thus was the poor abandon'd Gentleman daily rack'd and tortur'd with a horrid Diſtemper; but being young and of a ſtrong Conſtitution, was able to ſtruggle a long Time with theſe corroding Tormentors: But his Body being not always able to bear ſuch unnatural Preſſures, he fell extreamly ſick; and having no Friend that could or durſt viſit him, none to ſupplicate but the mercileſs Cauſers of his Miſery, he, without Knowledge of his Diſtemper, languiſh'd both in Body and Mind, after an unheard-of Manner.

Poiſon often given to Overbury *in the Tower.*

In the mean Time the Counteſs being freed from her Husband triumph'd and ſhin'd above all the Court Ladies, and became admir'd by the King, as well as lov'd by *Rocheſter*; who to deſerve ſo valuable a Lady was now created Earl of *Somerſet*; and all the ſplendid Equipage, and magnificent Preparations, that could fill a Court with Delight, or the People with Wonder, were not wanting for the Marriage. On the twenty ſixth Day of *December* the new Earl and Counteſs were marry'd at *Whitehall*, in the Preſence of the King, Queen and Prince, and a great Confluence of the Biſhops and Temporal Nobility. The Biſhop

Rocheſter *made Earl of* Somerſet.

He marries the Counteſs of Eſſex.

ſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* marry'd them, and the Dean of *Weſtminſter* preach'd the Nuptial Sermon, and that Night was concluded with a glorious Maſque of Lords and Ladies, which a few Nights after was much exceeded by another of the Prince's Gentlemen, to the extraordinary Satiſfaction of the King, who cauſ'd it to be acted a ſecond Time, upon the third Day of *January*. But *Whitehall* was too narrow to contain the Triumphs for this Marriage which were extended into the City; for on the next Day, the happy Pair, accompany'd by the Duke of *Lenox*, the Lord-Privy-Seal, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, with a numerous Train of Nobility and Gentry, were invited to a Feaſt in the City at *Merchant-Tailor's-Hall*; where the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen entertain'd them with extraordinary Pomp and Formality, and after the Treat with a *Waſſaile*, two Maſques, a Play and a Ball; and after all, the whole Company were invited to a magnificent Banquet, which continu'd 'till three in the Morning. Before theſe Pleaſures were well digeſted, upon *Twelfth-Day* the Gentlemen of *Grays-Inn* invited the Bride and Bridegroom to a ſolemn Maſque; which concluded all the triumphal Gaities of this remarkable Marriage.

A. D. 1614. Reg. 12.

The Pomp of the Nuptials.

The Noiſe of theſe Rejoycings reſounding in the moſt ſecret Receſſes, brought the News to Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a poor Relief to a Man in Miſery, who was conſcious to himſelf, that all his Sufferings proceeded from his Oppoſition to what was now fully ſurmounted; ſo that in his dark Confinement he could not ſee the leaſt Glimmerings of Liberty, when he conſider'd the implacable Nature of the Woman. But yet preſuming upon the former Friendſhip between the Earl of *Somerſet* and himſelf, he wrote to him in the midſt of his Glory, to let him know his deplorable Condition, *and how vaſtly his Health was impair'd, which he imputed to his Recluſeneſs and want of Air; humbly imploring his Aſſiſtance, that he might no longer languiſh under the Burden of his intollerable Infirmities.* *Somerſet* not willing to have him exclaim, made Anſwer, That the King was now full of great Buſineſs, but he would take the firſt Opportunity to move him for his Relief, and make his great Indiſpoſition a ground for the King's Mercy; including in the Letter a White Powder, which he deſired him to take; aſſuring him, *That tho' it made him a little ſick at firſt, it would do him much good in the End.* The poor abus'd Gentleman took his Powder, which having a poiſonous Quality, added to his Affliction; yet it was not ſtrong enough to compleat the Deſign. The Lieutenant of the *Tower* daily liſten'd to his Complaints with all the outward Marks of Commiſeration, but always declar'd what he ſaid to the Authors of his Calamities; ſo that his very Words were rack'd, as well as his Body tormented. Thus he continu'd in this diſmal Place above four Months, languiſhing under unheard-of Pains; 'till his Enemies being more impatient that he endur'd ſo long, than that he ſuffer'd ſo much, they finiſh'd their Work by an impoiſon'd Glyſter compounded by *Franklin*, which in a few Days ended his miſerable Life. Here we may ſee the unhappy Fate, and precarious Fame of Princes govern'd by Minions and Favourites; and how many Ways the King's Name was us'd and abus'd in perpetrating this execrable Fact: Firſt in procuring the King to ſend Sir *Thomas* on an Embaſſy into *Flanders*; Secondly in committing him to the *Tower* for his Refuſal; Thirdly, in continuing a cloſe Priſoner from all Relations and Servants, a Practice never known for a bare Contempt; and laſtly in practiſing his Death, when he was under the King's immediate Protection.

Overbury *in great Diſtreſs.*

His Death by Poiſon.

The Earl of *Northampton*, who was a great Actor in this Tragical Event, inhumanly endeavour'd to kill him a ſecond Time by ruining his Fame, and raiſing a Report, 'That he dy'd of the Pox, and had prodigious Sores and Ulcers in his Body, that produc'd ſuch Putrefaction, that the People, unable to indure the noiſome Smell, were forc'd to throw him in a looſe Sheet into a Coffin, and bury him privately on *Tower-Hill*; concluding in a Letter to the Earl of *Somerſet*, *That God was gracious in cutting off evil Inſtruments before their Time*;' tho' he little imagin'd that he was then pronouncing his own Sentence and Doom. For he being one of the principal Miniſters of State, and a Papiſt in Reality, tho' a Proteſtant by Profeſſion, he did many Kindneſſes to the *Roman* Catholicks contrary to Law; and a Letter of his being intercepted, that was directed to Cardinal *Bellarmine*, diſcover'd both his Religion and his Intentions: Which Things being firſt whiſper'd, then urg'd againſt him, they touch'd him to the Heart; ſo that he ſuddenly retir'd, diſpos'd of his Eſtate, and dy'd. He had a capacious Mind aiming at great Things, which he was the better able to effect by living a Batchelor to an old Age, being always attended with Gentlemen of Quality, to whom he was very bountiful. Leaving no Iſſue to propagate his Name, he built a noble Houſe by *Charing-Croſs* to continue it, by him call'd *Suffolk*-Houſe, and ſince *Northumberland*-Houſe. His contriving *Overbury*'s Death was yet a Secret, and made no Noiſe againſt him; but when it broke out, Fame loaded his Memory with all the Blackneſs that Infamy and Odium could produce.

The Earl of Northampton's *Death.*

Still the great Favourite, the Earl of *Somerſet*, and his Buſineſs, met with no Stop nor Interruption, 'till by Degrees he perceiv'd he muſt a little alter his Biaſs, or find ſome new Ways to bring in Mony; for the Revenues of the Crown were not ſufficient to maintain ſuch vaſt Expences, occaſion'd by his Riot, tho' he had all the Earl of *Weſtmorland*'s Lands at his Marriage and Creation added to his Earldom. Therefore a new Project was advanc'd, and now effected, which the Earl of *Salisbury* had formerly promoted, upon the Occaſion of new Colonies and Plantations to be eſtabliſh'd at *London-Derry* and *Colerain* in *Ireland*, of which Alderman *Cockain* was the firſt Governor. In order to promote theſe and the like Improvements, King *James* inſtituted a new Order of Knights, call'd *Baronets*, which were to be Hereditary, and to take Place next to Barons younger Sons, and appointed certain Laws to make them capable of being admitted: Firſt that they ſhould maintain thirty Foot Soldiers in *Ireland* for three Years, at the Rate of eight Pence a Day; and to pay down a whole Year's Wages at the paſſing of their Patent, the whole amounting to a thouſand Pound for their Honour: That they ſhould be Gentlemen of Blood of *Three Deſcents*; and laſtly ſhould have Land of Inheritance in Poſſeſſion, or immediate Reverſion, to the Value of a thouſand Pounds a Year. Then to keep the Order from ſwarming, it was limited to the Number of two hundred, and as the Iſſue ſhould fail, the Order to ceaſe; of theſe Sir *Nicholas Bacon* in the County of *Suffolk* was the firſt. Sir *Richard Baker* obſerves, That he who examines how well the Inſtitution and the Order has been obſerv'd, will find it to be here as it was in the Order of St. *Michael* in *France*, into which at firſt none were admitted but Princes and eminent Perſons, but afterwards all Sorts of Men without Diſtinction; which made it a Queſtion, Whether the Dignity of the Order did more grace the Perſons, or the Meanneſs of the Perſons diſgrace the Order; and when the Laws of an Inſtitution are not in ſome Meaſure obſerv'd, it ſeems to make a Nullity in the Collation.

The firſt Inſtitution of Baronets.

Notwithſtanding theſe, and other Projects of raiſing the Value of the Gold Coin, the King's Expences prov'd too large for his Incomes and Revenues; therefore after four Years Intermiſſion, he reſolv'd to have Recourſe to a Parliament, which was ſummon'd to meet on the fifth of *April*. There were ſeveral about the Court, preſuming to have Friends in every County and Borough, undertook to make Elections of ſuch Members for Knights and Burgeſſes, as ſhould ſolely comply with the King's Deſires; of whom *Somerſet* was the Head and Chief: But this prov'd a meer Embrio, and became abortive. For the Parliament meeting according to their Summons, when they were excited to give Money in Conſideration of the King's marrying his Daughter, and his unuſual Entertainments, with other Expences, they inſtead of contributing to the King's Wants, freely laid open his Waſtes, eſpecially thoſe made to the *Scots*, 'With whom they deſir'd a Share of his Favour; alſo beſeeching his Majeſty to ſtem the Current of the future Acceſs of that Nation to his Preſence and Bounty. They likewiſe enquir'd into the Cauſes of the unexpected Encreaſe of Popiſh Recuſants ſince the Gun-Powder Plot, the Deteſtation of which, they thought, ſhould have utterly extinguiſh'd the whole Party; and this they found was owing to his Majeſty's Admiſſion of Popiſh Nobility into his Councils; his Silencing of many watchful and diligent Miniſters; the ſeveral Treaties he had made, not only for the Marriage of the deceaſed Prince *Henry*, but for the preſent Prince *Charles*, with the Daughters of Popiſh Princes; all which diſheartned the Proteſtant, and incourag'd the Recuſant.' Theſe, and other Miſcarriages in the Government being freely remonſtrated, the King, without receiving any Advantage, or paſſing any Act, put a ſtop to all, and diſſolv'd the Parliament on the ſeventh Day of *June*. After which he committed ſeveral of the moſt tumultuous Members of the Commons to the *Tower* and other Priſons, without Bail or Main-prize. And laſtly he proceeded to the moſt uneaſie of all Aids in *England*, a *Benevolence* upon the Subject; where thoſe that did not give their Mony, were oblig'd to give their Names: So that what was in its Nature and Eſſence a free Gift, was judg'd in its Effect and Conſequence, a heavy Impoſition.

The ſecond Parliament in this Reign.

It is diſſolv'd.

In the ſame Year, and the Month of *July*, *Chriſtian* King of *Denmark*, out of a great Love to his Siſter and King *James*, came a ſecond Time into *England*; but being ſecure of himſelf, he travell'd privately, and with a ſmall Retinue, ſo that he unexpectedly enter'd *Somerſet*-Houſe, where

The King of Denmark's *ſecond Arrival in* England.

where the Queen reſided, before the Nation had any Knowledge of his Arrival. But King *James* being then in his Progreſs in *Bedfordſhire*, upon the News of it, immediately return'd back; and after he had entertain'd him fourteen Days with Hunting, Hawking, Running at the Ring, Bear-Baiting, Plays, Fire-Works, and Fencings, on the firſt of *Auguſt*, Prince *Charles* brought him aboard his Ship, where he took his laſt Leave and return'd home. Thus theſe two Kings met with a Happineſs, rare among Princes, of freely ſeeing and converſing with each other, without any Marks of Danger or Jealouſie.

A.D.
1615.
Reg. 13.

VI. The King having now reign'd above twelve Years in *England*, by turning the Stream of his Bounty into particular Channels, gave more and more Occaſion to uneaſie People to ſhew their Diſguſts and Reſentments; for he had generally the Misfortune, incident to many Princes, to be too much govern'd by Favourites. The Earl of *Somerſet*, lately made Lord-Chamberlain, now like a mighty Coloſs ſtood the Fury of all the Tempeſts rais'd againſt him, making thoſe who carry'd the greateſt Sail to ſtrike and come under him; nor would he ſuffer any Place in Court, or Dignity in State, to be conferr'd on any, which was not ſweeten'd with his Smile that gave it, or their Bounty that enjoy'd it. This Pride and Avarice, join'd to his other Miſcarriages, caus'd ſuch a Number of Underminers, that he ſoon found he had but a tottering Foundation, with no other Support but the King's Favour, which by Providence and inferior Accidents was gradually removed; making a Way towards the Vengeance due to the Blood of Sir *Thomas Overbury*.

The Riſe of George Villers.

For about this Time the King began to caſt his Eye upon a new and brighter Object, a young Gentleman nam'd *George Villers*, a younger Son to Sir *George Villers* of *Brookesby* in *Leiceſterſhire* by his ſecond Lady of the Family of the *Beaumonts*. This promiſing Youth being left by his Father with a ſmall Fortune, his Mother took an extraordinary Care in his Education; and having a beautiful Perſon and a graceful Deportment, to compleat his Accompliſhments ſhe ſent him into *France*, where he ſpent two or three Years in attaining the Language, and perfecting himſelf in the Exerciſes of Riding and Dancing, which laſt was his Maſter-piece: And thus taught and qualify'd, and gloriouſly attir'd, at the Age of twenty one Years, he made his Appearance in the Court of *England*, after he had been well acquainted with the Nature and Cuſtoms of that of *France*. The Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, that King *James*, of all wiſe Men living, was the moſt delighted and taken with handſome Perſons and fine Cloaths; ſo that he was ſoon captivated with this pleaſing Object, firſt affording him his Smiles, and making him his Cup-Bearer, and then bringing him nearer by ſeveral Steps, leſt he ſhould too much expoſe him to the Malice of a jealous Competitor. The Courtiers ſoon perceiving the King's Inclinations, began to adore this Riſing Star, and the more becauſe they hated *Somerſet*, and knew that the Riſe of one Favourite would be the Ruin of the other; for which Reaſon alſo, the Queen her ſelf, tho' ſhe expreſs'd great Fears of *Villers*'s future Power, conſented to join in his Advancement, to ſuppreſs the exorbitant Authority of the other. He was Cup-Bearer but a few Weeks before he mounted higher, and being Knighted, without any other Qualification he was made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and then Knight of the Order of the Garter; and in a ſhort Time, conſidering the Vaſtneſs of the Aſcent, he was made a Baron, a Viſcount, an Earl, and a Marqueſs, and became Lord High-Admiral of *England*, Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, Maſter of the Horſe, and entirely diſpos'd of all the Favours of the King, in conferring all the Honours and Offices of three Kingdoms without a Rival.

His Greatneſs.

Somerſet *declines.*

The Beginnings of theſe accumulated Graces became very formidable to the Earl of *Somerſet*, who as he began to decline, became more ſenſible of the Terrors ariſing from the innocent Blood of *Overbury*; therefore was as active to preſerve himſelf, as his Enemies were to ruin him. Tho' nothing at preſent was laid to his Charge but the imbezelling ſome of the King's Jewels, yet finding himſelf in a tottering Condition, he threw himſelf at the King's Feet, acknowledging *the great Truſt his Majeſty had repos'd in him, and the mighty publick Weight lying upon him, which through Youth and Ignorance might make him ſlip into ſome Miſcarriages; therefore he humbly beſought his Majeſty to grant him a general Pardon for what was paſs'd, that he might not be expos'd to the Malice of thoſe who would make the worſt Interpretation of all his Actions.* The King who had rais'd this fair Edifice, being unwilling to have it quite deſtroy'd, gave Order for the drawing up a general Pardon in ſo ample and full a Manner, that it might rather exceed than take riſe from any former Precedent; which was immediately ſent to the Broad-Seal. But the Queen having Intelligence of this, and uſing her Power with the Lord-Chancellor *Egerton*, put a ſtop to the Seal 'till the King ſhould come to Town, who was then on his Progreſs in the Weſt. And now what had been privately murmur'd in Corners, openly reſounded in the Streets; for the Apothecary's Boy that gave *Overbury* the Gliſter, falling ſick at *Fluſhing*, reveal'd the whole Practice, of which Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary of State, gave a full Relation by his Correſpondent; and a ſmall Breach being thus made, the Earl had Enemies enough to ruſh in and overwhelm him. The King being inform'd of theſe Tranſactions, and ſtruck with Horror at the Relation, he ſent for the Judges, and gave them ſtrict Charge to examine the Matter with the utmoſt Severity, making Imprecations againſt them and their Families if they did not endeavour to diſcover it; *and if he ſpar'd any that was guilty, he wiſh'd God's Curſe might light upon him and his Poſterity*; ſo zealous the King appear'd in the Proſecution of this black Affair. Upon this he repair'd to *Royſton*, and took *Somerſet* along with him, whoſe Ears were now continually tormented with freſh Reports and Diſcoveries; but he ſtill thought himſelf too firm in the King's Favour to be remov'd. Therefore when the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Cook* ſent for him, he went to the King with an open Complaint, reputing it an extraordinary Preſumption; but the King made Anſwer, *Thou muſt go then, for if* Cook *ſends for me I muſt go too.* Others ſay that when he came to take his Leave of the King, his Majeſty embraced and kiſs'd him often, urging him to haſten his Return, and ſhewing an extream Concern to be without his Company; but as ſoon as he was gone, ſaid with a Smile, *I ſhall never ſee thy Face again.* However it was, his Counteſs was apprehended before his Arrival at *London*, and committed to Cuſtody in *Black-Friars*; and as ſoon as he came he was ſeiz'd, and committed to the Charge of Dr. *Mountain*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*; and then they proceeded without Interruption, try'd, convicted, and condemn'd all the Offenders.

He and his Counteſs are impriſon'd for Over-bury's *Murther.*

Weſton was the firſt Man examin'd and try'd, who ſtood very ſtiff and obſtinate, 'till the Biſhop of *London* on one ſide, and the Lord *Cook* on the other, ſo effectually managed him, that he laid open the whole Conſpiracy; and being at the Gallows allur'd with Promiſes to deny his former Confeſſion, his Mind being prepar'd for Death, he reſiſted the Temptation, and penitentially ſeal'd the Truth of it with his laſt Breath; and *Hollis*, *Wentworth*, and *Lumſden*, who had violently urg'd him to pervert Juſtice, were afterwards fin'd and impriſon'd. Mrs. *Turner* follow'd next, a notorious Example of Pride and Laſciviouſneſs, who now became ſenſible of the Follies and Impieties of her paſt Life. Sir *Jervaſe Ellways*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, was the third, who ſuffer'd on *Tower-Hill*, and was pity'd more than the reſt, being ſeduc'd by the Earl of *Northampton* to be a Spectator, rather than an Actor in this bloody Tragedy; which Connivance was too Criminal to be vindicated. At his Death he left two uſeful Sentences for human Inſtruction: The firſt, *Not to vow any thing to God, but to perform it*; the ſecond, *Not to take too great Delight in a Pen*; for one began, and the other perfected his Ruin. The fourth that fell by the Hand of Juſtice was *Franklin*, a Man whoſe ſordid Behaviour at his Death agreeing with his pernicious Life, his Memory deſerves no further Notice.

The Condemnation of the reſt of the Offenders.

A.D.
1616.
Reg. 14.
Somerſet *and his Lady condemned and pardon'd.*

Their Exits.

After the Execution of theſe inferior Criminals, the primary Murtherers, the Earl of *Somerſet* and his Counteſs, were ſolemnly arraign'd before their Peers; where all the ſcandalous Letters between the Lady and *Forman* were read in open Court, and the Wax and Brazen-Poppets were publickly expos'd to diſplay the Folly, as well as the Malignity of her Actions. But the Earl and her ſelf being both condemn'd to die, found the King's Mercy, notwithſtanding his former Imprecation, and after ſome Time of Impriſonment in the *Tower* were ſet at Liberty, and liv'd in private and obſcure Condition: Manifeſting, That no Content or Happineſs can be truly eſtabliſh'd, but on the ſolid Foundation of Juſtice. For that Love that caus'd them to break through all Reaſon and Oppoſition, either on her Side declining towards ſome new Object, as was commonly reported; or on his inclining to Reluctancy towards the old, became at length ſo languid, that it quite pin'd away, and they liv'd long after in the ſame Houſe as Strangers to each other. Her Death happen'd firſt, having all reaſonable Marks of the Vengeance of Heaven, being accompany'd with ſuch loathſome and prodigious Circumſtances, as are not fit to be mention'd, only that they were directly oppoſite to all the fatal Charms of her former Beauty that ever could produce Love or Deſire. The Earl's Death was obſcure, without Fame, and without Poſterity; of whom we ſhall ſay no more, but that he had ſeveral commendable Qualities, and publick Affections, 'till they were all ſwallow'd up in this Gulf of Beauty, which plung'd him into theſe dangerous Contrivances. Sir *Thomas Monſon*, another of the Counteſs's Agents, had paſs'd one Day's Tryal at *Guild-Hall*; but the Lord Chief-

Juſtice *Cook*, in his Rhetorical Flouriſhes at his Arraignment, dropp'd ſome Expreſſions, as if he could diſcover more than the Death of a private Perſon; intimating, tho' remotely, That *Overbury*'s untimely Death had ſomething in it of Divine Retaliation, as if he had been guilty of the ſame Crime againſt Prince *Henry*; bleſſing himſelf with Admiration at the Horror of ſuch Actions. In which he flew to ſo high a Strain, that he was taken down by a Court Lure, Sir *Thomas Monſon*'s Tryal laid aſide, and he ſoon after ſet at Libery, and the Judge was humbled ever after. This ſudden ſtopping of *Monſon*'s Tryal fill'd Men's Minds with ſtrange Imaginations; and the Lady *Arabella* dying about this Time in the *Tower* rais'd new Apprehenſions and Suſpicions, that ſhe dy'd no natural Death; ſo naturally does one evil Action introduce the Belief of another. The Lady was Daughter to *Charles Stuart*, younger Brother to the Father of King *James* by *Elizabeth Cavendiſh*, who privately marry'd Sir *William Seymour*, Son to the Lord *Beauchamp*, and Grandſon to the Earl of *Hartford:* So that both were at ſome Diſtance ally'd to the Crown, which caus'd all her Trouble and Confinement; ſo dangerous is every Appearance that borders upon Sovereign Titles.

The Lady Arabella's *Death.*

During the ſeveral Tryals of *Overbury*'s Murtherers, ſome publick Acts were perform'd of another Nature; particularly a memorable one was compleated by Mr. *Hugh Middleton*, a Citizen and Goldſmith in *London*, who having an Act of Parliament for his Warrant, with infinite Expence, and indefatigable Labour, brought Water to the City of *London* from the two great Springs of *Chadwell* and *Amwell* in *Hartfordſhire*; having cut a Channel from thence to a Place near *Iſlington*, whither he convey'd it to a large Pond, and from thence in Pipes of young Elms to all Places of the City. As this was of a great Conveniency to the City, ſo another Act was perform'd which added much to the Pleaſure of the Place: For on the North-Side of *London*, a Place call'd *Moorfields*, environ'd with deep ſtinking Ditches, and noiſom Common-ſhoars, was now not only made fair and ſweet, but ſo levell'd into Walks and ſet with Trees, that it became the pleaſanteſt Place in all the City. On the following Year another thing was done for the Benefit and Beauty of the City; for *Smithfield*, which was before a rude and miry Place, was now pav'd all over, and ſtrong Rails ſeparating the middle Part of it, were ſet up to make it a fair Walking-Place, and fit for Markets or any other Publick Uſe.

Several Conveniences added to the City.

A.D. 1616. Reg. 14.

VII. In theſe peaceable Times, the Temples of *Janus* being ſhut, all warlike Habiliments were turn'd into Masking-Attire, *Halcyon* Days ſhin'd round the Iſle, and the Influence of the King's pacifick Mind had almoſt an univerſal Operation. *Spain*'s Ambition was content to be bounded with the *Pyrenean* Hills and the *Atlantick* Ocean, reaping the Fruits of *Italy* and *Sicily*, hoarding the Treaſures of the *Indies*, and willingly ſinging a *Requiem* to the *Netherlands*. *France* wanting ſufficient Exerciſe, began to ſurfeit with Diſeaſes at home, which by Fits broke out into Tumours among themſelves: And the *Germans* were ſwell'd into a Dropſie of Voluptuouſneſs, by a continual Plenty, and the Delights of Peace. In theſe Times of Reſt, the grand Care and Concern of the King of *England* was for his only Son *Charles*, now about ſeventeen Years of Age, whom this Year he ſolemnly made Prince of *Wales*, with a Creation of twenty five Knights of the *Bath*, and a publick Tournament of forty Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court*. But the principal Part of his Care was how to find a proper Match for him, about which he was ſo earneſt and intent that for moſt of the latter Part of his Reign, it over-rul'd all his Counſels, and had a mighty Influence upon the whole State of Chriſtendom. His Intentions were ever Zealous for the Honour and Height of Royal Majeſty, and his Deſire was to match him with one of the higheſt Rank; tho' of a different Religion. Therefore his Thoughts were ſo long and earneſtly fix'd upon *Spain*, that it gave that King great Advantages over him and his Creatures. There had been a Treaty of Marriage between the late Prince *Henry* and a Daughter of *Spain*, which on the *Spaniards* Part was found to be a meer Compliment, carry'd on with the accuſtomed Gravity and Formality of that Nation. For the wiſe Earl of *Salisbury* purſu'd and drove the Matter to that point, that the Duke of *Lerma*, wanting further Evaſions, diſclaim'd the very Being of a Marriage-Treaty. Nevertheleſs, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, to acquit himſelf to *England*, and vindicate his Honeſty, openly produc'd his Commiſſion, together with Letters of Inſtruction from the Duke's own Hand: Which manner of Dealing might have been a ſufficient Cauſe of Indignation againſt any future Motions of this Nature.

The King's Son Charles *made Prince of* Wales.

Therefore after the Death of Prince *Henry*, King *James* turn'd his Thoughts upon a Daughter of *Henry* the Fourth, late King of *France*, as the moſt proper Match for his Son *Charles*; and by Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, his Leiger Ambaſſador, endeavour'd to know the Mind of that Court; but could not diſcern their Affections, being not very willing to diſcover his own. At length, in this Year 1616, he took an Occaſion to ſend the Lord *Hays* extraordinary Ambaſſador to the *French* King, with unuſual Pomp and Magnificence, to congratulate his Marriage with *Anne* the Infanta of *Spain*; and at that Time reſolv'd to make a full and compleat Tryal. The Subject Matter was declar'd, and in Appearance well approv'd, but ſtill had no Succeſs; for the Duke of *Savoy* had engag'd King *Lewis*, and prevail'd for his Son the Prince of *Piedmont*. In the very Time of this Negotiation in *France*, the Duke of *Lerma* frequently intimated to Sir *John Digby*, Ambaſſador in *Spain*, 'An extraordinary Deſire in the King his Maſter, 'not only to maintain Amity with the King of *Great Britain*, but to join in all Methods that might be offer'd for 'the nearer Uniting of their Majeſties, and their Crowns; 'as alſo a Diſpoſition in this regard, to marry his ſecond 'Daughter to the Prince of *Wales*.' The Ambaſſador, remembring the laſt Defeat, was extraordinary cautious how he gave Ear to the *Spaniard*'s Propoſals; but after many Debates, innumerable Scruples rais'd, and Difficulties urg'd, the Matter was brought to this Iſſue: 'That the 'ſeveral Difficulties ſhould be digeſted into certain Heads, 'and ſelect Perſons be appointed for a Conference, but 'with this Proviſo, That the Kings on either ſide ſhould 'not be intereſted, nor their Names be us'd, 'till by clear'ing of Particulars there ſhould be great Appearances that 'the Marriage would take effect. Upon a Review of 'theſe Proceedings, *Digby* adviſ'd King *James* Not to ſuf'fer his other Reſolutions to be interrupted by this Over'ture, which might be made purely to divert the Match 'with *France*, and to keep his Majeſty from declaring 'himſelf againſt *Spain*, in the Affairs of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, 'ſtill undetermin'd; nevertheleſs, he might be pleas'd for a 'while to ſuſpend the *French* Treaty, and to entertain this 'Motion; to which End he deſir'd from him, only ſome 'private Inſtructions for his Direction and Warrant.' Theſe remote Conferences made Way for that tedious ſolemn Treaty of ſeveral Years Continuance, in which the Advantage was apparent on the *Spaniard*'s ſide, who was indeed very formal and ſpecious in it, but no ways warm and vigorous, if in any Degree real. But King *James* having a violent Inclination that way, when he was once induc'd and elevated with Hopes, was ſo fix'd upon it, that he would grant all things poſſible rather than break it, and was impatient in diſſembling his own Eagerneſs. This Affair was chiefly manag'd by the famous *Gondomar*, a Man exquiſitely form'd for the Purpoſe, who by his facetious Ways had highly captivated the King's Affections.

His Father's Deſign for his Marriage.

The Management with Spain.

The King now endeavour'd to remove all Impediments that lay in the Way to his darling Deſign, and ſtudy'd all Methods to render himſelf acceptable to *Spain*. The Walls of *Great Britain*, the *Engliſh* Fleet, once the ſtrongeſt of all *Europe*, now lay uſeleſs in the Road, diſarm'd and in a ruinous Condition; while *Gondomar*, as we are told, alledg'd to King *James*, that the refitting and furniſhing of it would raiſe Suſpicion in the King his Maſter, and avert his Mind from the deſign'd Alliance. Moreover the King reſolv'd to ſurrender the three Towns of *Fluſhing*, *Ramekins*, and *Brill*, which were held by way of Caution from the United Provinces 'till vaſt Sums were repaid, and which were the Keys of the *Netherlands*, and open'd the Paſſages in and out of the *Maes*, the *Rhine*, and the *Scheld*. For a Sum not amounting to the tenth Part of the Debt, due at this Time from *Holland* to *England*, he freed himſelf from thoſe Places, to prevent Requeſts and Propoſitions from the King of *Spain*, who claim'd the Propriety of them; and *Gondomar* puſh'd hard to obtain them, as knowing the great Advantage of their Situation. Such was the King's Care and Contrivance to keep Faith with the Confederate States, and not diſoblige *Spain*; and to make this appear a politick Action, it was alledg'd, 'That the vaſt Expence in keeping 'thoſe Forts, was as conſiderable as the Advantages of 'Poſſeſſion.' However the States were certainly great Gainers, and all the Power of the *Engliſh* Intereſt in their Country was by this Means weakned, and brought to a Period; and the Alienation between King *James* and theſe Provinces, which appear'd of late, and was nouriſh'd by *Bernvelt* a Penſioner of *Spain*, was now increas'd, by the Obſervation and Diſcovery of his Compliances with *Spain*.

The King delivers the Cautionary Towns to Holland.

His Intereſt loſt in thoſe Parts.

Before theſe Tranſactions, ſeveral Alterations were made in the Miniſtry, beginning with a Breach between the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Cook*, and the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, which open'd a Paſſage to both their Declenſions. Sir *Edward Cook* was diſcharg'd from his Place, and within two Days Sir *Henry Montague*, the King's Serjeant at Law, was plac'd in his Room. The Perſon remov'd was a Man of excellent Parts, and an extraordinary Lawyer, but Paſſion and Pride were too predominant in him; yet being turn'd out chiefly by *Villers*, he might have been reſtor'd,

Several Removals.

Sir Francis Bacon *Lord Chancellor.*

The Earl of Suffolk's *Fall.*

ſtor'd, if he would have given a Gratuity; but he honourably anſwer'd, *A Judge ought not to receive, or give a Bribe.* About the ſame Time, the Lord Chancellor, weary with Imployment, and weakned with Age, deſir'd the King's Permiſſion to retire; upon which the Seal and Place was given to the famous Sir *Francis Bacon*, the Attorney-General; and the Lord *Egerton*, or rather *Elleſmer*, wore out the Remainder of his Life in Quiet, dying in a good old Age full of Honour and Fame, proving the Fountain of a noble Poſterity, who were afterwards advanc'd to the Earldom of *Bridgewater*. Time and Age had alſo worn out Sir *Ralph Windwood*, the King's able and faithful Secretary, who dying, Sir *Robert Naunton*, and Sir *George Calvert*, were made Secretaries; Men of contrary Religions and Parties, but join'd by the King, like contrary Elements, to find a Medium between them. But the greateſt Remove was the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord Treaſurer, who began to ſink upon *Somerſet*'s Fall; and now both his and his Wife's Extortions and Briberies being laid open, he not only loſt his Place, which was given to Sir *Henry Montague*, but was alſo fin'd thirty thouſand Pounds. About the ſame Time, Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative Court, being charged by his own Servant with Bribery, he was turn'd out of his Place, and cenſur'd in the Star-Chamber to pay twenty thouſand Pounds; being ſucceeded by *William Byrde*, a Man of greater Integrity. Alſo Sir *Henry Yelverton*, the King's Attorney, for ſecretly adding new Privileges to the Charter of *London*, was remov'd in Diſpleaſure, and Sir *Thomas Coventry* put in his Room; tho' afterwards *Yelverton*, for his great Undertakings in the Law, was made a puiſny Judge of the Common-Pleas.

A. D. 1617. Reg. 15.

The Arch-Biſhop of Spalato's *Arrival.*

As there were frequent Varieties in Matters of State, ſo great Waverings were now diſcover'd in Mens Minds in Points of Religion; ſome went over from the Church of *England* to the See of *Rome*, and others came from *Rome* into the *Engliſh* Church. Among the reſt, one of eminent Note, M. *Antonius de Dominis*, Arch-Biſhop of *Spalato*, a Man tho' old, corpulent and unfit for Travel, came into *England*. Here he both preach'd and wrote againſt the Church of *Rome*, and extoll'd the Proteſtant Religion, 'till he came to be made Dean of *Windſor*, and Maſter of the *Savoy*, which he enjoy'd ſome Years: And then, whether out of an Humour of Change, or in Expectation of greater Preferment at home, he return'd to *Rome*, where he renounc'd and reproach'd the Proteſtant Religion: But all he could do to ſatisfie that Court had no Effect, for the *Inquiſition* laid hold upon him, he dy'd in Priſon, and after his Death they burnt his Body for a Heretick. We are aſſur'd that to this Man the World has been oblig'd for that noble Hiſtory of *The Council of Trent*; for by his Means, and the Meaſures he had concerted with the famous Father *Paul*, before he left *Italy*, Arch-Biſhop *Abbot* got the Manuſcript tranſmitted by Parcels into *England*.

The King's Journey to Scotland.

Buckingham's Greatneſs.

The King's Return.

It was now above fourteen Years ſince the King had ſeen his native Country *Scotland*, whereupon he reſolv'd to take a Progreſs thither, beginning his Journey in the Spring, and warming the Country as he went with the Glories of the Court. In his ſlow Paſſage, the Days were generally ſhorten'd with the Diverſions of Hawking, Hunting, and Horſe-Racing, and the Nights extended by the Entertainments of Feaſting, Masking and Dancing. And the King had proper Inſtruments for theſe Sports about his Perſon, as Sir *George Goring*, Sir *Edward Zouch*, Sir *John Fennit*, and others, who knew exactly how to pleaſe his Majeſty with their Witticiſms, their Diſguiſes and Maskarades; but chiefly his great Favourite *Villiers*, who being an excellent Dancer, brought that Paſtime into the higheſt Requeſt. Upon this Man he had ſhower'd many Titles and Preferments, one of which was Earl of *Buckingham*, who now reign'd ſole Monarch in the King's Affections; his Majeſty could not be well without him, and the Nobility could not be happy but by his Means, ſo that all Addreſſes were made to him for every Place or Office in the Court or Country. In the Diſpoſal of which, the Lord *Clarendon* ſays he was guided more by the Rules of Appetite than of Judgment, exalting almoſt all his own numerous Family, and Dependants, whoſe greateſt Merit was their Alliance to him; which equally offended the ancient Nobility and the People, who daily ſaw the Flowers of the Crown fading and wither'd, and the Demeaſns and Revenues ſacrificed to enrich a private Family, ſcarce known to the Nation, and the Expences of the Court ſo vaſt and unlimited, that they had a ſad Proſpect of that Poverty and Neceſſity, which afterwards fell on the Crown, almoſt to the Ruin of it. The King enter'd *Scotland* in the Beginning of *May*, where he ſtay'd about three Months, took ſeveral Progreſſes, receiv'd many Entertainments, and made ſeveral Eſtabliſhments, and return'd into *England* in the Month of *Auguſt*.

The Book of Sports publiſh'd.

The Boy of Bilſon *an Impoſtor.*

The King being a great Lover of Sports and Recreations, this Year put out a Book that gave Toleration for the uſe of all common Paſtimes after Evening Prayers on *Sundays*; which was call'd *The Book of Sports*; and all Miniſters were enjoin'd to read it to their Pariſhioners in the Churches, and thoſe who refus'd were ſummon'd into the High-Commiſſion Court, impriſon'd and ſuſpended; all which gave great Offence to many pious and conſcientious Perſons, and was one Cauſe of the many Miſchiefs in the ſucceeding Reign. This new Encroachment upon the Sabbath gave both King and People more Liberty to prophane the Day with Authority; tho' the Arch-Biſhop, and ſeveral of the Biſhops, took the Liberty to declare againſt ſuch Practices. And as Prophaneneſs crept in on one ſide, ſo Superſtition increas'd on the other, by the means of new Swarms of Romiſh Prieſts, who now dealt much in pretended miraculous Operations. One Company of them repair'd to *Staffordſhire*, among the Family of the *Giffords* in that Country, Gentlemen of plentiful Eſtates, where they practis'd their ſubtle Artifices to ſeduce the People. Among which there was a notorious Inſtance of the Boy of *Bilſon*, who pretended to be bewitch'd and poſſeſs'd by the Devil, proving one of the greateſt Impoſtures of the Age. After he had plaid many ſtrange and deluding Tricks, and caus'd a poor Woman to be condemn'd for a Witch at the Aſſizes, the Cheat was by much Time and Diligence detected by Dr. *Morton* Biſhop of the Dioceſe, who happily preſerv'd an innocent Woman, diſplay'd the *Roman* Forgeries, and converted a wicked Boy, who afterwards prov'd a good Man; as the whole Story may be ſeen at large in *Wilſon*.

Sir Walter Raleigh *undertakes a Voyage to* America.

He is betray'd.

About this Time the Fate of the famous Sir *Walter Raleigh* began to operate after a peculiar Manner; of whom Prince *Henry* was wont to ſay, *That no King but his Father would have kept ſuch a Man in a Cage.* He had been almoſt two Years releas'd out of the *Tower*, where he had been a Priſoner twelve Years, during which he compil'd his incomparable Hiſtory of the World, a Deſign and Performance ſo great, that no other Man of leſs Parts and Abilities could have accompliſh'd. Being now enlarg'd, and deſirous of Action and a full Liberty, he propos'd to the King to undertake a Voyage to *America*, upon a particular Aſſurance from one Captain *Kemiſh* of gaining a Mine of Gold in *Guiana*, a Country which he had formerly known. The King knowing him to be a Man of Skill and Bravery, gave him Liberty, and a Commiſſion under the great Seal of *England* to ſet out Men and Ships for that Service; but commanded him upon his Allegiance to give under his Hand the Number of his Men, the Burthen and Strength of his Ships, together with the Country and River which he was to enter. All which was exactly done, and came ſo timely to *Gondomar*'s Knowledge, that a full Account was ſent to *Spain*, and from thence to the *Indies*, before the *Engliſh* Fleet ſet ſail from the *Thames*: So that Sir *Walter* was unfortunately betray'd in the Beginning of a Deſign, which ſome thought too romantick in it ſelf.

He lands in Guiana.

St. Thomas *taken.*

In the mean Time his Reputation and Merit brought many Gentlemen of Quality to venture their Eſtates and Perſons, in this promiſing Enterprize; and being gallantly furniſh'd with all Things neceſſary for Peace or War, they ſet out with ten Ships, encountering no Difficulties 'till they came to *Cape Verde* in *Africa*; but there, and at *Bravo*, they met with many violent Storms, which prov'd a great Hindrance to their Voyage, being forc'd to leave their Cables, Anchors and Water-Casks behind them; ſo that by Length of Time, Heat of the Climate, and Want of Water, a great Sickneſs fell among them, and ſwept away many of their beſt Men, both for Sea and Land Service. But with much Patience and Hardſhips gaining Sight of the Coaſt of *Guiana*, they came to an Anchor in the River *Caliana*; where they landed their ſick Men, ſet up Barges and Shallops that were brought out of *England* in Quarters, waſh'd their Ships, and took in freſh Water, being furniſhed and aſſiſted by the *Indians* whom Sir *Walter* had formerly known. He, in this general Contagion, having ſtruggled with a long Sickneſs, and being yet unable to move otherwiſe than in a Chair, gave order to five ſmall Ships to ſail up the River *Orinoque*, under the Conduct of Captain *Kemiſh*, towards the Mine of which he had inform'd Sir *Walter* in *England*. In theſe five Ships were as many Companies of Foot, under Command of Captain *Walter Raleigh* the General's eldeſt Son, Captain *Parker*, Captain *North*, Captain *Thornhurſt*, and Captain *Chedley*, Gentlemen of great Valour, and infinite Patience, in ſuffering Hunger, Heat and Labour. As they paſs'd up the River, the *Spaniards* began the War, and fir'd at the *Engliſh* Ships with great and ſmall Shot; yet ſtill they landed their Forces without much Loſs, near the Town call'd St. *Thomas*, of which with little Difficulty they made themſelves Maſters, but with the Death of Captain *Raleigh*, to the great Grief of the Aſſailants. Tho' the *Spaniards* were not ſtrong enough to defend the Town, yet they were ſufficiently prepar'd to ſecure the Mine; ſo that Captain *Ke-*

miſh finding it impracticable to get up to it by Water, and the Avenues by Land ſo well guarded, he thought the Enterprize too hazardous, and with deep Sorrow return'd.

The Voyage unſucceſsful.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with the News of his Son's unhappy Death, and the fruitleſs Return of *Kemiſh*, was touch'd to the very Soul, crying out to *Kemiſh*, *That he had utterly ruin'd him, and wounded his Credit with the King beyond Recovery; but he, who was the firſt Mover of the Deſign, muſt expect to bear the Weight of the King's Anger as well as himſelf.* *Kemiſh*, as deeply tormented as himſelf, and leſs able to ſuſtain the Burden, retir'd to his Cabin overwhelm'd with Melancholy, and ſhot himſelf; and the Bullet only breaking the Rib, which was too ſlow for his Fury, he deſperately thruſt a Knife in after it up to the Haft, and with him the Glory of the whole Voyage expir'd. For the Deſign being thus diſcover'd and broken, their Ships being leaky, Proviſions failing, and the Men miſſing the Golden Showers they expected, ſeveral of them began to Mutiny, ſome would return home; and the major Part forc'd the General to ſwear, not to go home without their Allowance. Then ſome would go for *Italy*, ſome for *France*, and few for *England*, fearing the *Spaniſh* Power there more than they did in the *Indies*; and thus being ſhatter'd in Judgment, with greater Storms than the Seas and Winds had produc'd, Sir *Walter* at length arriv'd with four Ships at *Kingſale* in *Ireland*, where he ſtaid for ſome ſhort Space in Safety.

A. D. 1618. Reg. 16.

The King diſavows the Deſign.

Raleigh *committed to the Tower.*

His former Sentence reviv'd againſt him.

The News of the taking and burning St. *Thomas* coming to *Gondomar*, he violently ſet upon the timorous King, and inſiſted upon Reparation; and the Matter was aggravated with the blackeſt Circumſtances by thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Faction, as if this Enterprize not only might make a Breach of that deſign'd Marriage between Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta*, but alſo prove an Infringement of the Peace and Amity eſtabliſh'd between the two Crowns. The King's Fears beind kindled into Anger, he diſavow'd the whole Action; and leſt other of his Subjects ſhould by this Example attempt the like Hoſtility againſt *Spain*, he iſſu'd out a Proclamation, in which he ſhew'd his Deteſtation of ſuch Proceedings, and threaten'd ſevere Puniſhment to the Actors; which gave ſome Satisfaction to *Gondomar*; whoſe chief Deſign was now to get Sir *Walter Raleigh* into his Power. Therefore he ſubtlely veil'd over his Reſentments, that whilſt Sir *Walter* lay in *Ireland*, he neither found nor heard of ſuch great Difficulties, but that he might appear ſafely in *England*; and the Men not willing to be baniſh'd their own Country, put in at *Plimouth*. *Raleigh* was no ſooner on Shoar, but he had private Intimation, which gave him Cauſe to ſuſpect the Smoothneſs of the Beginning would have a rough Concluſion: Therefore he attempted an Eſcape from thence in a Bark of *Rochelle*; but being ſuddenly apprehended by Sir *Lewis Stukley*, his Kinſman, who had a private Warrant for that Purpoſe, he was brought to *London*, and recommitted to the *Tower*, from whence he attempted a ſecond Eſcape, but was taken upon the *Thames*, and more cloſely committed. Being now in ſafe Cuſtody, all his Tranſactions in this Voyage were put upon the Rack, and by his Adverſaries ſtretch'd to his Diſadvantage; yet he ſtill excus'd the main Charge by ſaying he was forc'd to take St. *Thomas* by the *Spaniards* firſt attacking him, without which he could not arrive at the Mine. *Gondomar* prov'd an Adverſary too powerful for him, ſo that at length his Life was offer'd up as a Sacrifice for *Spain*, but not upon ſuch Grounds as that Ambaſſador had deſign'd: For he deſir'd a Judgment upon the pretended Breach of Peace, that by this Occaſion he might ſubtlely gain from the *Engliſh* an Acknowledgment of his Maſter's Right in thoſe Parts of *America*, and prevent all future Attempts of that Kind. But the late Voyage was not ſo much as brought into Queſtion, only his former Condemnation, which was believ'd to have been obtain'd by an Artifice, was now reviv'd; his Arraignment at *Wincheſter* fifteen Years before was laid before him at the King's Bench Bar, where it was demanded of him, *Why Execution ſhould not paſs upon him, according to the Sentence therein pronounc'd?* Sir *Walter* couragiouſly anſwer'd, *That he was reſtor'd by the King's late Commiſſion, which gave him new Life and Vigour; for he that has Power over the Lives of others, muſt neceſſarily be Maſter of his own.* This reaſonable Plea, and unanſwerable with reſpect to Conſcience, was by no means admitted by the Court, therefore he deſir'd that ſome Time might be allow'd him to prepare for Death; but it was anſwer'd, *That the Time appointed was the next Morning, and it was not to be doubted, but that he had long ſince prepar'd himſelf for Death.*

He is beheaded.

His Character.

The next Day, to the deep Concern of many worthy Perſons, he was brought to a Scaffold purpoſely erected in the *Palace-Yard* in *Weſtminſter*, where with a brave Conſtancy and Chriſtian Courage he loſt his Head, in the ſixty ſixth Year of his Age; at which Stroke ſuch Abundance of Blood iſſu'd from his Veins, as ſhew'd he had a ſufficient Stock to have continu'd many Years, if it had not been taken away by the Hands of Violence. This was the fatal End of the great Sir *Walter Raleigh*, highly in Favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, and next to *Drake* the great Scourge and Terror of the *Spaniards*; a Man of extraordinary Bravery and admirable Abilities, who in his excellent Writings has nobly trac'd the Steps of the Divine Providence and Vengeance in the Falls of great Men, yet after all could not eſcape himſelf. This has given Occaſion to others to trace thoſe leading to his own Fate; and to inſinuate, as the Hardſhips he ſuſtain'd were Indications of the Hand of Heaven, ſo his unjuſt ſwallowing ſuch large Portions of the Church's Revenues in the late Reign, and his thirſting after the Blood of the Earl of *Eſſex*, did at length call for Puniſhment, by a double Deprivation, one of Eſtate, the other of Life.

Articles of the Spaniſh *Match.*

The Engliſh *averſe to it.*

However, it was one of the great Blemiſhes of the Reign of King *James*, who now ſeem'd totally wedded to the *Spaniſh* Intereſt, or at leaſt fully reſolv'd to carry his Cauſe in the Marriage of Prince *Charles* with the *Infanta.* Therefore after many tedious Delays and Obſtructions, he this Year enter'd into certain Articles with the King of *Spain*; the Sum of which were, 'That the Pope's Diſpenſation ſhould be firſt obtain'd by the King of *Spain:* That the Children of this Marriage ſhould not be compell'd in Matters of *Religion*, nor their Titles prejudic'd if they prov'd *Catholicks:* That the *Infanta*'s Family might be *Catholick*, and have a decent Place for Divine Service, according to the Uſe of the Church of *Rome*, the Eccleſiaſticks wearing their proper Habits: That ſhe ſhould have a competent Number of Chaplains, a Confeſſor, *&c.* That the Marriage ſhould be firſt ſolemniz'd in *Spain* according to the Council of *Trent*, and afterwards reiterated ſo as to make it valid according to the Laws of *England*.' In the allowing of theſe Articles, the King thus expreſs'd himſelf, *Since this Marriage is to be with a Lady of a different Religion from us, it becomes us to be ſo tender, as on the one ſide to give them all convenient Satisfaction, ſo on the other, to admit nothing that may blemiſh our Conſcience, or detract from the Religion here eſtabliſh'd.* The People of *England*, equally hating the *Spaniards* and the *Popiſh* Religion, were irreconcileably averſe to the Marriage, and would have bought it off at the deareſt Rate; and as far as they durſt, oppos'd it by Speeches, Counſels, Wiſhes and Prayers; but if any ſpoke louder than the reſt, he was ſoon ſilenc'd or check'd from above; when as in *Spain* and in *Flanders*, Books and Pictures were publiſh'd to expoſe both the King and State, for which the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in vain ſought for Satisfaction. The *Engliſh* Catholicks extreamly deſir'd the Match, hoping for a Moderation of Fines and Laws, perhaps a Toleration, if not a total Reſtoration of their Religion; for they gain'd more and more Indulgence by this ſlow-pac'd Treaty; and the Articles of Religion were long forming in the *Spaniſh* Court, and inlarg'd and multiply'd by endleſs Demands.

The King's Endeavours againſt Arminianiſm.

The King at this Time was alſo buſily employ'd in Matters of Religion, occaſion'd by the ſpreading of the Doctrines of *Arminius* in *Holland*, whoſe Followers were call'd *Remonſtrants.* The King hearing ſome Years ago, that the States of *Holland* were determin'd to chuſe one *Vorſtius*, the chief of theſe *Remonſtrants*, to be Divinity Profeſſor in *Leyden*, whoſe Opinions were contrary to thoſe King *James* had imbib'd, he earneſtly ſollicited the States, both by his own Letters and by his Ambaſſador Sir *Ralph Winwood*, by no means to admit the ſaid *Vorſtius* to that Employment, *leſt his Doctrines ſhould ſpread themſelves into his Dominions.* The Ambaſſador in the King's Name preſſing the Matter, the States anſwer'd in Juſtification of *Vorſtius*, 'That he was choſen according to ancient Cuſtom by the Curators of *Leyden*; and whereas he was afterwards charg'd by ſome Perſons to be unſound in Doctrine, the Curators thought fit, with the Conſent of *Vorſtius*, that both at *Leyden* and the *Hague*, he ſhould appear and anſwer his Accuſers, which he did, and none came to charge him. But not long after ſix Miniſters undertook to prove that *Vorſtius* had publiſh'd falſe Doctrine, who being heard in a full Aſſembly of the States, they could find no Reaſon to diſplace him: And they aſſuredly believ'd, That if his Majeſty of *Great-Britain* were inform'd of the true Circumſtances of this Affair, he would according to his great Wiſdom conceive favourably of them; their Proceedings being with all Reverence, Care and Reſpect to his Majeſty's ſerious Admonition. The King perceiving by this Anſwer, that the States thought ſo well of *Vorſtius*, that they would not comply with his Requeſt, he caus'd his Books to be publickly burnt in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard, and in both the Univerſities, and again wrote to the States, *That if they did not diſplace him, he would publickly proteſt againſt them.* Sir *Ralph Winwood* repreſented this to the States, and finding them cold and backwards in proceeding againſt

Vorſtius, he ſeverely remonſtrated againſt them; to which the King finding them only to make dilatory Anſwers, he at laſt exhorted them to call a National Council, to put an End to theſe Controverſies, to which they at length conſented.

The *Arminians* or *Remonſtrants* knowing that they were like to be out-number'd, oppoſ'd the calling of a Council; and it was diſcover'd that *Barnevelt*, the Chief of the *Remonſtrants*, now *Arminius* was dead, had ſecretly levy'd Soldiers in *Utretcht*, to defend themſelves againſt *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, who ſided with the contrary Party; on Notice of which the Prince with five hundred Men march'd to *Utretcht*, which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the new levy'd Companies, that at the firſt Word of Command they laid down their Arms and ſubmitted. After this, *Barnevelt*, *Hogenberts*, *Leydenberg*, and *Grotius*, the four Chiefs of the *Arminian* Party, were ſeiz'd, and committed to ſeveral Priſons. *Leydenberg* in Deſpair ſtabb'd himſelf in Priſon; *Hogenberts* and *Grotius* were condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment; but *Grotius* after ſome Time, made an Eſcape in a Trunk, which his Wife told the Soldiers of the Caſtle was full of *Arminian* Books, which ſhe would ſend away that they might not diſtract her Husband's Head. *Barnevelt* met with the hardeſt Fate, for he was beheaded at the *Hague:* Yet he liv'd long enough to ſee his own Opinions condemn'd at a National Synod held at *Dort*, whither King *James* ſent Dr. *Carlton*, Biſhop of *Landaff*; Dr. *Hall*, Dean of *Worceſter*; Dr. *Davenant*, Divinity Profeſſor, and Maſter of *Queen*'s College in *Cambridge*; Dr. *Ward*, Maſter of *Sidney* College in *Cambridge*; and Mr. *Belcanquel*, a *Scotchman* and Batchelor of Divinity; where they met with Divines from the *Palatine*, *Heſſe*, *Geneva*, *Bern*, *Embden*, and other Provinces, who generally agreed to condemn the Doctrines of *Arminius*, concerning Conditional Election and Reprobation, the Univerſality of Redemption, &c. But herein King *James* in a great Meaſure loſt his Aim; for this Cenſure caus'd theſe deep Points to be more nicely ſearch'd and examin'd, and theſe condemn'd Opinions ſprouted and gather'd Strength by being topt by a combin'd Party; ſo that in this and the next Reign, *Arminianiſm* became faſhionable in *England*, and was generally oppos'd to *Puritaniſm*.

The Synod of Dort.

Shortly after there appear'd a mighty Blazing-Star in *Libra*, which occaſion'd Variety of Conjectures concerning its Influence and Prognoſtication. Many thought it portended the Death of Queen *Anne*, who after its Appearance dy'd of a Dropſy at *Hampton-Court*, when ſhe was forty five Years of Age. She was brought from thence to her Palace in the *Strand*, for the more triumphant Glory of her Obſequies, which were celebrated at *Weſtminſter* above a Month after. She dy'd on the firſt Day of *March* $\frac{18}{19}$, to the deep Concern of all good Men and loyal Subjects; leaving behind her the Name of a peaceable and dutiful Wife, and a virtuous and pious Queen.

Q. Anne's *Death.*

A.D. 1619. Reg.17. *The King's Troubles.*

VIII. The King for a conſiderable Space continu'd a very melancholy Widower; which was a ſort of Introduction to further Troubles, Perplexities and Imbarraſſments; from which he was ſcarce ever free all the reſt, and indeed moſt infirm Part of his Reign. Theſe had their Riſe from the Fires that broke out in *Germany* in the preceding Year, between the Proteſtant Princes and the Houſe of *Auſtria*; which Commotions involv'd and drew along the Affairs of moſt Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially the two Potent Kings of *England* and *Spain*. The Catholick Cauſe, and the Lot of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, induc'd and oblig'd the King of *Spain*, who was the ſtrongeſt Branch of that Family; and King *James* was ingag'd both by common and particular Intereſt, the Religion he profeſs'd, and the State of his Son-in-Law, the Elector *Palatine*, who was a principal Agent in theſe Wars. It was a mighty Concern to the whole Chriſtian World, and the Iſſue had a main Dependance upon the King of *England*, being the moſt powerful Prince of the Proteſtant Profeſſion: But his Proceedings were now ſtrangely govern'd by the unhappy *Spaniſh* Treaty; ſo that it in conſequence brought great Diſhonour to himſelf, and inſuperable Calamities to his Son-in-Law.

The Troubles in Germany.

The *German* Troubles and Commotions began with the Emperor's Crowning his Couſin *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; but with a Reſervation of all Regal Power to himſelf during Life. The Conſequence of this ſoon prov'd a terrible Oppreſſion of the Proteſtants in *Bohemia*, which at that Time were very numerous, and had large Privileges, as well as great Power and Authority. The States and Nobles of the Country, ſummoning an Aſſembly at *Prague* to redreſs their Grievances, were oppos'd by ſome of the Emperor's Miniſters of State, the very Day of their Meeting; the manner of which exaſperated them to ſuch a Height of Paſſion, that they threw *Slabata* the Emperor's Chief-Juſtice, *Smeſantius* one of the Council, and *Fabritius* the Secretary, from a high Window into the Caſtle Ditch. Upon cooler Thoughts the *Bohemians* endeavour'd to palliate this raſh Action by Apologies to the Emperor; but at the ſame Time they ſtrengthen'd themſelves with new Levies both of Horſe and Foot, the better to ſecure their own Peace, and to baniſh the main Incendiaries, the *Jeſuits*, out of *Prague*, whoſe diſtemper'd Zeal had firſt kindled the Flame. The Emperor finding theſe Diſturbances, rais'd an Army under the Command of Count *Bucquoy*; and the Proteſtant States perceiving the Emperor inrag'd, rais'd two Armies, one commanded by Count *Thurne*, and the other by Count *Mansfeldt*. Some Skirmiſhes paſs'd between the Imperial and *Bohemian* Forces, and ſome Towns were taken on both Sides; but in the Heat of theſe Conteſts, the old Emperor dy'd in the Beginning of the Year 1619. Upon which the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, who in the *Interregnum* is chief Vicar of the Empire, publiſh'd his Right by the *Golden Bull* to govern in chief, 'till a new Emperor be choſen; and by Advice he aſſum'd the Power, requiring the People to demean themſelves peaceably under his Government.

The Emperor Matthias *dies.*

After many Struggles, *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and adopted Heir of *Matthias* the late Emperor, at *Frankfort* was elected King of the *Romans*, and afterwards crown'd Emperor of *Germay*. The States of *Bohemia* diſclaim'd the Election as invalid, becauſe he could not be an Elector himſelf as King of *Bohemia*; for that he had never been actually in Poſſeſſion of the Crown. And tho' their Diſſent could not leſſen the Election of *Ferdinand* to the Empire, yet they proteſted by Oath, never to acknowledge him their King. Theſe Heats grew into greater Flames, and the Proteſtant States of *Moravia*, *Sileſia* and *Hungary*, join'd with the *Bohemians*, and baniſh'd the Jeſuits. They were proſperous in the Beginning; but the *Auſtrian* Party receiv'd Vigour by new Supplies out of *Hungary* and *Flanders*; and the Emperor capitulated with the Duke of *Bavaria* to levy Forces to his Uſe, for the Expence of which he engag'd Part of his Country to him. The War daily encreaſing, the King of *England* interpos'd in theſe Differences, and ſent the Viſcount *Doncaſter* extraordinary Embaſſador to mediate a Reconciliation. His conſtant Love of Peace, and his preſent Fear of the fatal Iſſue of ſuch Commotions, together with the Requeſt of the King of *Spain*, mov'd him to undertake this Affair. It was the *Spaniard*'s Policy to make him a Reconciler, and ſo by that means to place him in a State of Neutrality, and fruſtrate the Hopes of that Support the Princes of the Union might expect from him by the Intereſt of the Count *Palatine:* For which Cauſe the King of *Spain* ſpread abroad ſpecious Pretences, *That King* James *ſhould be the ſole and grand Arbiter of this Cauſe of Chriſtendom.* Nevertheleſs his Mediation was neglected by the Catholick Confederates, and his Ambaſſador ſlighted and poſtpon'd in the Buſineſs. And at the ſame Time, the King's Agent Mr. *Cottington*, being ſenſible of their unworthy Dealings in the Court of *Spain*, profeſs'd, *That his moſt uſeful Service, and beſt agreeing with his own Conſcience, would be to diſengage the King his Maſter.* However the *Bohemians* reſolv'd to proceed in their own Way; and being aſſembled for that Purpoſe, with the Conſent of their Confederates, they ſolemnly elected *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine* for their King; ſtill hoping to be ſtrengthen'd and ſecur'd by the Alliance and Aſſiſtance of his Father-in-Law, the King of *Great Britain*.

Ferdinand *ſucceeds him.*

The Count Palatine *elected King of* Bohemia.

The Count *Palatine* being elected King of *Bohemia*, immediately crav'd Advice of King *James* his Father-in-Law, concerning the Acceptance of that Royal Dignity. When this Important Buſineſs was debated in the King's Council, Arch-Biſhop *Abbot*, whoſe Infirmities would not permit him to be preſent in the Conſultation, wrote a zealous and fervent Letter to the Secretary of State, to urge the King's utmoſt Aſſiſtance in this critical Juncture, which might turn highly to the Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion all over *Europe*. But the King was unfortunately engag'd in thoſe Ways, out of which he could not eaſily extricate himſelf. Beſides it did not pleaſe him to find Kingdoms diſpos'd after ſuch a Manner, as that his Son-in-Law ſhould ſnatch a Crown out of ſo hot a Fire; and he was wont to ſay, *That the* Bohemians *made uſe of him, as the Fox did of the Cat's Foot to pull the Apple out of the Fire for his own Eating.* In the mean Time, before the King could give any Anſwer, the Count *Palatine* was perſuaded by the Proteſtant States to accept of the Election; and thereupon he made his Entrance into *Prague* upon the laſt of *October*, and on the Fourth of *November* was ſolemnly crown'd King of *Bohemia*. Of all which he ſent ſpeedy Advice into *England*, excuſing the Suddenneſs of this Action, becauſe the Urgency of the Cauſe would admit of no further Deliberation. King *James*, ſurpris'd at this bold Step, diſavow'd the Act, and would never ſo much as

King James *diſapproves the Election.*

grace his Son-in-Law with the Stile or Title of his new Dignity. But Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *Edward Conway* were ſent Ambaſſadors into *Bohemia*, to make up the Breach between the Emperor and the Elector *Palatine.* And he was ſo very apprehenſive, leſt the *Palatine*'s Nearneſs to him might give Cauſe of Suſpicion to his Brother of *Spain*, that he commanded his Agent *Cottington* to give that King plenary Information of all Proceedings, and to let him underſtand that whatever the *Palatine* had done, was without his Countenance, Procurement or Allowance. The King of *Spain*, tho' he condemn'd *Doncaſter*'s Proceedings, was at length ſatisfy'd with King *James*'s Integrity, declaring, *That it would gain the more Authority and Eſtimation, if he ſhould continue to diſclaim that which had been done ſo contrary to his Opinion.*

A. D. 1620. Reg. 18.

The King of Bohemia *proſcrib'd by the Emperor.*

The Spaniſh *Deſigns.*

The Count *Palatine* was no ſooner ſetled in his new Kingdom, when the Emperor publiſh'd a Proſcription againſt him, 'wherein he proclaim'd him guilty of High-'Treaſon, excluded him out of the publick Peace, and 'proſecuted him as the publick Enemy of the Empire, and 'a Contemner of his Imperial Majeſty; likewiſe abſol-'ving all his Subjects from their Oaths and Duties to 'him, and commanding all Perſons whatſoever to aban-'don him and his Adherents.' All the Princes and Potentates in the Empire were alarm'd, and began to make ready for War, joining to that Side whither their Intereſts or Inclinations led them. In *Spain* alſo they made all Preparations for the ſame War; only the King of *England* would take no Alarm, abhorring War in general, and diſliking the *Palatine*'s Cauſe as a dangerous Precedent againſt Monarchy, being ſtill fed with Hopes of compoſing all Differences by the Succeſs of the *Spaniſh* Treaty. For which Purpoſe Sir *Walter Aſton* was ſent Ambaſſador into *Spain*, and *Gondomar* return'd into *England*, to continue there, 'till the long debated Match ſhould be concluded. The Articles of Religion for Securing Liberty of Conſcience to the *Infanta* and her Family were greatly enlarg'd by the Commiſſioners, and allow'd by the King of *England*; but ſtill without a Diſpenſation from *Rome*, all the Tranſactions were but Nullities. And for this Cauſe it was expected that King *James* ſhould propoſe ſuch Conditions for the Increaſe and Advantage of the Catholick Religion, that the Pope might deliberate whether they might any ways merit the Diſpenſation. To this Demand the King made Anſwer in his Letter to the King of *Spain*, 'That he had 'done as much in Favour of the Catholicks as the Times 'would bear, and promis'd upon the Word of a King, That 'no *Roman* Prieſt, or other Catholick, ſhould henceforth 'be condemn'd upon any Capital Law: And tho' he could 'not at preſent reſcind the Laws, inflicting only pecunia-'ry Mulcts, yet he would ſo mitigate them, as to oblige 'his Catholick Subjects to him: And if the Marriage took 'effect, his Daughter-in-Law ſhould find him ready to in-'dulge all Favours which ſhe ſhould requeſt for thoſe of 'her Religion.' With this the *Spaniſh* Council acknowledg'd great Satisfaction; and a Paper was drawn up accordingly by a *Junto* of Canoniſts, Lawyers, and Divines, to perſuade the Pope to perform his Part.

Sir Horatio Vere *ſent into the* Palatinate.

But with ſmall Succeſs.

In the mean Time an Army of thirty thouſand Men was raiſing in *Flanders*, under the Command of the Marqueſs *Spinola*; which gave King *James* an Occaſion to enquire after the Cauſe of ſuch great Preparations. The Marqueſs gave Anſwer, *That he receiv'd his Commiſſion ſeal'd up, with a Command, not to open it 'till his Army was compleated, and brought to a Rendevouz*; but the King had ſufficient Proof to aſſure him, that his Army was deſign'd for the *Palatinate*. Yet after all, no more than one Regiment, under the Command of Sir *Horatio Vere*, could be obtain'd from him, tho' two more were promis'd. When *Spinola* had his Rendevouz, where he muſter'd twenty ſix thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe, he open'd his Commiſſion, which requir'd him to make War againſt all ſuch as ſhould be confederate with the *Bohemian* Rebels; all which he communicated to the Ambaſſador of *Great Britain.* At the ſame Time the *Engliſh* began their March, with as brave a Regiment as had appear'd in any Age, conſiſting moſt of Gentlemen, under a moſt worthy Commander, who was accompany'd with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Eſſex*, Perſons ennobled as well by their own Virtues, as by thoſe of their Progenitors. This handful of Men reach'd the *Palatinate* with ſome Difficulty, by the particular Aid and Conduct of *Henry* Prince of *Naſſaw*. But *Spinola*, having got the Start of the *Engliſh*, by reaſon of a far ſhorter March, had no ſooner arriv'd, but he took in ſeveral Towns, and greatly prevail'd over a diſpirited People: Yet he cautiouſly declin'd the Hazard of a Battel with the Proteſtant Confederates; nor was the Marqueſs of *Anſbach*, the Head of them, very forward to engage his Forces. And now the great Acceſs of Strength to the Emperor's Party, and this ſlender Aid from the King of *Great Britain*, to preſerve his Childrens Inheritance, extreamly diſhearten'd the *German* Princes, and at length diſſolv'd the Confederacy. After a ſhort Space, the Seaſon of the Year advancing, the Princes of the Union retir'd into their ſeveral Countries, and the *Engliſh* Regiment was diſpos'd into three principal Garriſons: Sir *Horatio Vere* commanded in *Manheim*, Sir *Gerard Herbert* in *Heidelberg*, and Captain *Burroughs* in *Frankendale*; having only Power to preſerve themſelves in thoſe Walls, while the Enemy rang'd the Country at their Pleaſure.

The King of Bohemia *defeated at* Prague.

He loſes all his Dominions.

As the new King of *Bohemia* ſuffer'd extreamly in his Hereditary Dominions, ſo at this Time he met with a more ſevere Fate in his own Kingdom, which ſoon put a Period to his ſhort Reign. The Imperial Forces gathering Strength under *Bavaria*, *Bucqnoy*, and D. *Balthazar*, advanc'd towards *Prague*, with a Reſolution to fight King *Frederick*; upon which the *Bohemians* quitted their Garriſons, to make their Army the more compleat. So upon the eighth Day of *November*, being *Sunday*, both Armies met for the fatal Deciſion of the grand Controverſie: The *Bohemians* ſtood upon the moſt advantagious Ground, between the Imperialiſts and the City of *Prague*; but the Enemy breaking through, diſpers'd and ruin'd the whole Army, and effectually purſu'd their Victory. The King and Queen, ſurpris'd with this Defeat among a wavering People, in a City not very defenſible, were conſtrain'd to fly the next Morning, with what Things they could carry with them. The Queen being of the more gallant Spirit, bore it with moſt Undauntedneſs; but the King ſuffer'd doubly as he went, being condemn'd for keeping his Soldiers without Pay, having a vaſt Maſs of Money by him, which he was forc'd to leave behind him to augment the Spoils of his Enemies. Thus after one Year's Reign, King *Frederick* firſt loſt a deciding Battel, with all his Treaſure, and ſhortly after all his Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and not long after that, all his Hereditary Lands and Dominions in *Germany*; being at length forc'd to abandon his Native Country, all his Honours and Places, and with his Lady and Children retire into *Holland* for a Place of Refuge and Reſidence.

The Spaniſh *Policy.*

Gondomar's *Influence.*

The Misfortune of this Family began now to rouſe King *James*, and to move him both to Pity and to Action: Wherefore a Council being call'd, an Order was made to promote the *Palatine*'s Reſtoration; and the King, to encourage the Princes of the Union, and to keep them in Arms, ſent them thirty thouſand Pounds; yet withal reſolv'd to treat for a Peace, and diſpatch'd Sir *Edward Villers* to carry the *Palatine*'s Submiſſion to the Emperor, upon Conditions to be conceiv'd according to Equity and Conveniency. On the other Side the *Spaniards* never more flatter'd King *James*, than after the Defeat at *Prague:* They declar'd that he ſhould order all Things according to his Pleaſure, for the *Palatine*'s Reſtoration, and be obey'd; that the *Infanta*'s Portion was preparing, and that the Pope was oblig'd to grant the Diſpenſation, from whom they reſolved to take no Denial: All which was encourag'd by *Digby*, *Cottington*, *Arundel*, *Worceſter*, and eſpecially by *Buckingham* and *Gondomar*; which laſt had gain'd the Acceſs of a Favourite, rather than a Foreign Ambaſſador; ſo that Sir *Robert Naunton*, for ſhowing a Diſlike to him, notwithſtanding his known Worth, was remov'd from his Secretary's Place, and *Conwar* put in his Room. The King took great Delight in the Company and Converſation of *Gondomar*; a Perſon, as *Nani* obſerves, who with a ſtupendous Acuteneſs of Wit, ſo confounded pleaſant Things with ſerious, that it was not eaſie to be diſcern'd when he rally'd, or when he ſpoke of Buſineſs. He knew how to inſinuate and transform himſelf to the King's own Way and Humour; was full of Conceits, Jeſts and witty Sayings, and would ſometimes ſpeak falſe *Latin* purpoſely to pleaſe the King, telling him, *That his Majeſty ſpoke* Latin *like a Pedant, but himſelf like a Gentleman.* By ſuch little pleaſing Arts, and others of a more bountiful Nature with the Nobility and Ladies, he gain'd an extraordinary Influence, and ſerv'd his own Maſter with great Advantage.

The Power of Buckingham's *Mother.*

The Favourite Earl was now made Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, and to his Maſterſhip of the Horſe was added the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*; and continually lying in the King's Boſom, every Man paid Tribute to his gracious Smiles. His Mother was made Counteſs of *Buckingham*, her eldeſt Son was made firſt a Knight, and afterwards Viſcount of *Purbeck*, her other Son was created Earl of *Angleſey*; and now happy was that Perſon who could gain a Kinſwoman, it being the next way to a rich Office, or a ſwelling Title. The King, who never much regarded Women, had now his Court fill'd with young Ladies, Relations to the Marqueſs. Sir *Henry Montague*, Lord Chief-Juſtice, who was reported to have given twenty thouſand Pounds for the Office of Lord-Treaſurer, before the Year expir'd had it taken from him, and it was conferr'd upon Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, who by being bred up in the Cuſtom-houſe, and knowing the ſecret Arts of thoſe Offices, beſt knew how to ſupply by Projects, what was conſum'd by a riotous and prodigal Court. But the great Step to this Office, was *Cranfield*'s marrying one of the Marqueſs's Kindred, which ſoon rais'd him to be Earl of

Middleſex; and the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Montague* in lieu of his Mony, was made Preſident of the Council, Viſcount *Mandeville*, Earl of *Mancheſter*, and after *Worceſter*'s Deceaſe, Lord Privy-Seal. The Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, in Appearance, made all theſe Removes and Advancements, but in Reality moſt of the Affairs in Church and State were privately tranſacted by his Mother, for moſt Addreſſes were firſt made to her, and ſo convey'd to be finiſh'd by her Son, who generally regarded his Pleaſure more than his Profit: Which caus'd *Gondomar*, among his other pleaſant Stories, to write into *Spain*, *That there was never more Hopes of* England'*s returning to Popery than now*; *for there were more Prayers and Offerings made here to the Mother*, *than to the Son*.

The Marqueſs himſelf, as he was a Man of excellent Symetry and Gracefulneſs, ſo he affected Beauty where he found it; but being a general Lover, he treated all Women accordingly, only to gratifie his own unlawful Ends, and then diſmiſt them for the more prevailing Charms of the next fair Lady. He deſign'd to have practis'd this Method upon the Earl of *Rutland*'s only Daughter, who was to be Miſtreſs of all her Father's vaſt Fortunes: He ſpread his fine Nets for her, carry'd her to his Lodgings in *Whitehall*, kept her there for ſome Space, and then return'd her back to her Father. But the ſtout old Earl, fir'd with Indignation, ſent him this threatning Meſſage, *That he was too much of a Gentleman to ſuffer ſuch Indignity*; *therefore if he did not immediately repair his Daughter's Honour by marrying her*, *his Greatneſs ſhould not protect him from his Juſtice*. The Marqueſs, who perhaps made uſe of this Stratagem to gain her Father's Conſent, ſhe being the greateſt Match in the Kingdom, had no Reaſon to diſlike the Propoſal, and therefore he ſoon ſalv'd up the Wound by conſummating the Marriage. This young and beautiful Lady was bred up a *Roman* Catholick by her Mother, but was converted by Dr. *White* to be a zealous Proteſtant; which croſſing the Inclinations of the old Counteſs of *Buckingham*, who was a fiery Romaniſt, ſhe with the Help of her Jeſuit at length plac'd her on the firſt Foundation.

Buckingham *marries the Earl of* Rutland's *Daughter.*

A.D. 1621. Reg. 19.

The King himſelf being jealous of uncontroll'd Soveraignty, and impatient of his Peoples viewing the Myſteries of State, had fallen into a great Diſlike of Parliaments, and for ſeveral Years had given way to Patents, Monopolies, of ſuch diſtaſtful Projects: And probably many of his Miniſters, fearing an Enquiry into their own Actions, ſuggeſted to him, That he had better furniſh himſelf by thoſe Ways, and the Match now in Treaty, than by Subſidies accompany'd with the Redreſs of Grievances. Nevertheleſs he now reſolv'd to call a Parliament, conceiving it might prove of ſpecial Advantage: For he found the Affections of the People much rais'd for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, which would naturally open their Purſes to the Supply of his Wants; then the Treaty of *Spain* might effect the Buſineſs, without the Expence and Troubles of War, and the good Agreement between him and his People would quicken the *Spaniards* to conclude the Match.

The third Parliament in this Reign

Accordingly a Parliament was ſummon'd to meet on the thirtieth Day of *January* at *Weſtminſter*; where the King made a long Speech, which may be ſeen at large in the Introduction to *Nalſon*'s Collections; 'in which he laid open his great and numerous Expences, and handſomely pleaded for ſuitable Supplies; he alſo declar'd his great Readineſs to recover the *Palatinate*, for which rather than fail *he would engage his Crown*, *his Blood*, *and his Son's Blood*, *to effect it*.' At the ſame Time his Majeſty ſent the Lord *Digby* Ambaſſador to the Emperor, to urge him to a poſitive Anſwer, whether the *Palatinate* might be recover'd by Peace, before he proceeded to actual War; and now expecting the Emperor's Anſwer, the Parliament proceeded in their Work, receiving Petitions from ſeveral Perſons impriſon'd and ruin'd by the horrid Extortions of voracious Patentees and Monopolizers, who were active in promoting illegal Exactions, to which the King's Neceſſities and ill-advis'd Counſellors had driven him. The chief Inſtruments of theſe Grievances were Sir *Giles Mompeſſon*, and Sir *Francis Mitchel*. The former had Fortune ſufficient to have maintain'd him fairly in the Country, but at Court he wanted this Novelty for his better Support; to whom *Mitchel* was made a Co-Partner, a ſervile Suburb Juſtice of Peace, who living by the Failings of his Neighbouring Females, was brought to Court and Knighted, and corroborated by theſe Letters Patents to oppreſs the needy Commoners. All which being canvaſs'd and laid open in Parliament, *Mompeſſon* made his Eſcape, and Sir *Francis Mitchel* was cenſur'd after this Manner: Firſt he was degraded with all the debaſing Ceremonies that Juſtice could invent, and after that was made to ride through the City with his Face to the Horſe's Tail, with a Paper on his Breaſt and Back declaring his Crimes: This expos'd him to the Scorn and Contempt of the Rabble in his Paſſage; but a large Fine and long Impriſonment ſecur'd him from further Miſchief. The pecuniary Puniſhment fell as heavily upon *Mompeſſon*, and upon other leſſer Confederates, which put an End to this Grievance.

Oppreſſors puniſh'd.

The Lord Bacon's *Fall.*

Not long after the great Lord-Chancellor *Bacon* was brought to a Cenſure for the moſt extravagant Weakneſſes that ever enter'd into the Heart of a great and wiſe Man. He was a true Emblem of human Frailty, being more than a Man in ſome Things, and leſs than a Woman in others. His Crimes were Bribery and Extortion, yet more thoſe of his Servants and Dependants than his own, all which were prov'd and aggravated againſt him by ſo many Circumſtances, that he who in moſt Things was thought a Man of the greateſt Parts in the Kingdom, and elevated above Pity, now fell miſerably below it; and his eloquent Tongue that us'd to charm his Auditors with admirable Harangues, was now forc'd to deſcend to ſervile Supplications; for throwing himſelf and his Cauſe at his Judges Feet, before his Sentence was paſs'd, 'he humbly begg'd the Lords in Parliament, That his penitent Submiſſion might be his Sentence, the Loſs of the Great Seal his Puniſhment, and that their Lordſhips would recommend him to his Majeſty's Grace and Pardon for all that was paſt.' Thus his great and towering Spirit was brought low, and Humiliation might have rais'd him up again, if the Weight of his Miſdemeanors had not kept him down. He loſt both his Peerage and Seal, and the Beam was wavering whether he ſhould carry the Title of Viſcount St. *Albans* to his Grave, which now was all he had; and to heighten his Miſery, many were cruſh'd in Pieces by his Fall, through the Debts he had contracted; and tho' he had a Penſion from the King, he wanted to his laſt; living obſcurely in his Lodgings at *Grays-Inn*, where the Remembrance of former Plenty and Grandeur lay ſo heavy upon his ingenious and now melancholy Temper, that he pin'd and conſum'd away. He was of a very grave and comely Preſence; of a quick and high-flying Wit, ſtriving in ſome things rather to be admir'd than underſtood, and yet when he pleas'd to condeſcend no Man was more intelligible. In ſhort, he was of a moſt capacious Mind, and a great Maſter of all Kinds of Learning, and the World is ſo much oblig'd to his noble Diſcoveries in Nature, that his Name will be celebrated with Honour to Perpetuity. *Gondomar* hearing of his Miſcarriages, and metting him the *Lent* before his Cenſures, thought to pay him with his *Spaniſh* Sarcaſms, ſaying, *My Lord*, *I wiſh you a good* EASTER; *And you*, *my Lord*, reply'd the Chancellor, *a good* PASS-OVER: For he could neither endure his *Engliſh* Buffoonry, nor his *Spaniſh* Treaty; tho' he was too wiſe to oppoſe them publickly. He treaſur'd up nothing either for himſelf or his Family, but his fatal Error was his Indulgence to his Servants; and his Decrees were always made with ſo much Equity, that none were ever revers'd as unjuſt. He was ſucceeded in his Place by Dr. *Williams*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, who was firſt made Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *York*.

Dr. Williams *made Lord-Keeper.*

In this Parliament, tho' no Laws and Statutes were paſs'd, yet many Debates aroſe relating to the King's Power and Prerogative, and particularly in the Houſe of Lords, where the King had the ſtrongeſt Party; yet ſeveral of that Houſe ſtood up boldly for the publick Liberty, as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Southampton*, *Eſſex*, and *Warwick*, the Lord *Say* and *Seal*, and the Lord *Spencer*. This laſt Lord ſpeaking ſomething in the Houſe of Actions of their great Anceſtors, *Arundel* being diſpleas'd, ſaid, *My Lord*, *when theſe Things were doing*, *your Anceſtors were keeping Sheep*, reflecting upon the numerous Flocks he lov'd: *Spencer* immediately reply'd, *When my Anceſtors were keeping Sheep*, *as you ſay*, *your Anceſtors were plotting Treaſon*. This caus'd ſuch a Heat, that *Arundel* as the Aggreſſor was ſent to the Tower, where after ſome time, upon his Submiſſion to the Houſe, he was reſtor'd. The Commons on the other Side were no leſs warm and impatient, highly diſreliſhing both the Treaties with the Emperor and the King of *Spain*; and *Gondomar* had ſo rais'd the Peoples Fury, that he was revil'd and aſſaulted in the Streets of *London*. Upon which the King reſolv'd upon exemplary Juſtice; and being inform'd that one Man was apprehended, who had us'd railing Speeches againſt the Ambaſſador, it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that on the next Morning he ſhould be publickly and ſeverely whipt through *London*, beginning at *Aldgate*, and ſo along by the Place where the Affront was offer'd in *Fleet-ſtreet* to *Temple-Bar*, without any manner of Favour. This terrible Puniſhment more enrag'd the People againſt *Gondomar*, who by means of his Power with the King, had tranſported Ordnance, and other Warlike Proviſions, to furniſh the *Spaniſh* Arſenals; and it was believ'd that he privately procur'd the ſending of Sir *Robert Manſel* into the *Mediterranean* Sea, againſt the Pirates of *Algier*. The Merchants of *England*, by them much infeſted, were alſo induc'd to move for this Expedition, in which the *Engliſh* Fleet perform'd gallant Exploits, and bravely fir'd the Pirate Ships within their Harbours.

Heats in both Houſes.

Nevertheleſs, by this the *Engliſh* Strength was diverted, the Treaſure exhauſted, and the *Spaniſh* Fleets and Merchants ſecur'd from thoſe Robbers, and *Spain* left at Liberty to aſſiſt in ſubduing the *Palatinate*.

The Parliament adjourn'd by the King.

The Parliament having ſate about four Months, the King was deſirous to give them a Time of Receſs; therefore on the fourth of *June* a Meſſage was ſent to the Houſe, ‘ That his Majeſty, by the Advice of his Privy-‘ Council, thought fit to Adjourn the Parliament, leſt the ‘ Seaſon of the Year, by the continual Concourſe of Peo‘ ple, ſhould cauſe Infection:’ Which Adjournment, keeping the Parliament ſtill in Being, was thought better than a Prorogation. The Commons were extreamly ſorry at their Diſappointment, having but juſt before made ſo hearty a Declaration to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the Affair of the *Palatinate*. A Committee of both Houſes attending his Majeſty, he declar'd to them, *That he took it very ill, That the Commons ſhould diſpute his Reaſons of Adjournment, all Power being in him alone, to call, adjourn, prorogue, and diſſolve Parliaments.* The Adjournment was appointed 'till *November* following, with a Declaration, *That in the mean Time he would by his own Authority redreſs Grievances.* Moreover he iſſu'd out a Second Proclamation againſt licentious Speeches and Diſcourſes concerning Affairs of State: For notwithſtanding the Strictneſs of the King's former Commands, the Peoples inordinate Liberty of irreverend Language daily increas'd. Wherefore the King now threaten'd Severity, as well againſt the Concealers of ſuch Diſcourſes, as againſt the Laviſhneſs of audacious Tongues and Pens. The King grew more and more uneaſy, being continually ſollicited both from *Spain* and *Rome*, to enlarge his Favours to the *Popiſh* Recuſants; for Reports were then brought to *Rome* that all the Catholicks in his Dominions were cruelly treated. And beſides this, a Rumour was there ſpread, That King *James* in a Speech in Parliament had declar'd, *That notwithſtanding the* Spaniſh *Match, the* Engliſh *Catholicks ſhould not in the leaſt Point be in a better Condition*, when he had only ſaid, *That if any of that Party grew inſolent, let his People count him unworthy to reign, if he gave not extraordinary Puniſhment.* Thus was the King unhappily embarraſs'd and intangled in the Ways he had choſen; for it was not poſſible for him at once to pleaſe his People, and to ſatisfy his Foreign Intereſts.

The Second Meeting of the Parliament.

The Commons remonſtrate.

The King writes to the Speaker.

At the Beginning of the Winter, the Lord *Digby* return'd from ſolliciting the Emperor, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, to the Reſtoration of the *Palatinate*, where he had met with no reaſonable Succeſs. And on the twentieth of *November*, when the Parliament met the Second time, the King commanded him to give an Account of his Journey to the Houſe of Commons, and to repreſent how neceſſary it was for the King to obtain that by War, which he could not procure by a Peace. But tho' the King by his Miniſters encourag'd the Parliament to a War, yet they found him more inclinable to a Peace, both in regard of *Gondomar*'s Power with him, his Indulgence to the *Roman* Catholicks, and his Fondneſs of the *Spaniſh* Match, which he hop'd might heal all Breaches; tho' it was poſitively diſlik'd and diſapprov'd by all *England*, beſides *Romaniſts*, and thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Faction. Therefore the Houſe of Commons, before they granted Subſidies, reſolv'd to try the King's Spirit by a ſolemn Petition and Remonſtrance, in which they laid open to his Majeſty the ſeveral great and increaſing Dangers ariſing from the *Romiſh* Religion in general, the Power of the Papiſts in particular, and the great Oppreſſions of the Proteſtants in Foreign Parts; repreſenting at the ſame time proper Remedies for theſe great Calamities, too long to mention in this Place. The Commons were more apprehenſive of the Danger of their Religion, not only from the terrible Wounds lately given by the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but alſo from the Severities the Proteſtants met with in *France*, from *Lewis* the Thirteenth, who at this Time beſieg'd them in *Montaubon* and *Rochelle*, and other Places, againſt all the Arguments and Mediation of King *James*'s Ambaſſador. When the Remonſtrance was brought to Perfection, the King had a Copy of it before the Houſe had Time to ſend their Members with it; in which ſomething ſo highly diſpleas'd him, that he wrote the following Letter to Sir *Thomas Richardſon*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. *We have heard by divers Reports, to our great Grief, that ſome fiery and popular Spirits in the Houſe of Commons, have publickly argu'd and debated Matters far above their Reach aud Capacities, tending highly to our Diſhonour, and the Breach of the Royal Prerogative. Theſe are therefore to command You, in our Name to make known to the Houſe, that none therein ſhall preſume henceforth to meddle with any thing concerning our Government, or deep Matters of State, nor with our Son's Match with the Daughter of* Spain, *nor to touch the Honour of that King, or any other our Friends or Confederates. And if they have already touch'd any of thoſe Points, which we have here forbidden, in a Petition of theirs, which is to be ſent unto us, it is our Pleaſure that You tell them, That except they reform it before it comes to our Hands, we will not deign the hearing of it.*

The Parliament's Reply.

The King's Rejoinder.

When the Houſe had duly conſider'd the Reaſons they had to draw up their Remonſtrance, which at that Time were cogent and prevailing with them, they ſent the ſaid Remonſtrance, together with a new Petition to the King, in which they declar'd, ‘ That the Honour and Safety of ‘ the King and his Poſterity, the Welfare of Religion and ‘ State of the Kingdom, are at no Time unfit for a Parlia‘ mentary Conſideration; not that they took upon them‘ ſelves, but as Loyal Subjects, to demonſtrate ſuch Things ‘ to his Majeſty, which they were not aſſur'd could o‘ therwiſe come ſo fully and clearly to his Knowledge. ‘ And whereas his Majeſty ſeem'd to reſtrain them from ‘ intermedling with the Matters of Government, that have ‘ their Motion in the Courts of Juſtice, and ſeem'd to a‘ bridge them of the ancient Liberty of Parliaments, Free‘ dom of Speech, they were now forc'd to pray his Ma‘ jeſty to allow it, and to take away the Doubts and Scru‘ ples, which his Letter to the Speaker had brought upon ‘ them.’ After this the Houſes were much diſcourag'd to proceed to Buſineſs, while there was ſo great a Difference between the King and them; for the King thought their Actions an Incroachment upon his Prerogative, and they thought the King's Expreſſions an Infringement of their Liberty; therefore they reſolv'd to give over all Buſineſs, 'till they had an Anſwer to their Petitions. The King hearing of this, was exceedingly vex'd and uneaſy, and very roughly entertain'd the twelve Members that were ſent to him; ſome ſay he call'd for twelve Chairs for them, ſaying, *Here are twelve Kings come to me.* After he had conſider'd their Deſires and Requeſts in their laſt Petition, he return'd them a long Anſwer in Writing, mix'd with ſome ſevere Expreſſions, in which he ſaid, *That their firſt Petition was unworthy of Anſwer, that their giving Advice about his Son's Match, and urging him to a War, was Intrenching upon his Prerogative*, inſinuating that the Firſt concerning his Son was High-Treaſon. In the latter End he tells them, *That he wonders they ſhould make ſo unjuſt a Comment upon the Words in his Letter to the Speaker, as if he meant to reſtrain them from their ancient Privileges and Liberties in Parliament: For tho' he cannot allow the Stile, calling it* their ancient and undoubted Right and Inheritance, *but rather have wiſh'd that they had ſaid*, That their Privileges were derived from the Grace and Permiſſion of his Anceſtors and himſelf, *ſince moſt of them grew from Precedents, rather ſhewing a Toleration than an Inheritance, yet he gave them his Royal Aſſurance, that as long as they continu'd within the Limits of their Duty, he would be as careful to maintain their Liberties and Privileges, as ever any of his Predeceſſors did, nay, as he was to preſerve his own Royal Prerogative.*

The Petition of the Lords.

But before this Heat aroſe in the Houſe of Commons, the Lords began to conſider how cheap they were made by the Multitude of *Iriſh* and *Scotch* Earls and Viſcounts the King had created, not the Natives of thoſe Kingdoms, but private *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who had purchas'd and aſſum'd thoſe Titles, to get above the *Engliſh* Barony, contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Land. Therefore a Petition to the King was drawn up and ſign'd by thirty three Lords, praying that the Privilege of their Birth-Rights might be preſerv'd, and a Stop put to this growing Miſchief. The King was extreamly uneaſy at this Petition, not knowing what Conteſts the Endeavours for Place and Precedency might produce: And being fully prepar'd, he ſent for the Petitioners ſeparately, and privately expoſtulated the Buſineſs with them one by one, beginning roughly with ſome of them; yet ſtill he clos'd with them at laſt, as tho' his Anger was rais'd to make them humble, and reconcile themſelves to him, that he might the better reconcile himſelf to them. And to the Earl of *Eſſex* he threw out this Expreſſion, *I fear thee not*, Eſſex, *if thou wert as well belov'd as thy Father, and hadſt forty thouſand Men at thy Heels:* Which Words were utter'd with ſuch a Force, as if he had chid himſelf for letting them eſcape from him. And tho' this Petition did not derogate from the Dignity of thoſe Creations paſt, yet the King willingly reſtrain'd himſelf for the Time to come.

The Commons Proteſtation.

But the Houſe of Commons proceeded to bolder Attempts; and judging the King's Letters ſo many Impediments to their Privileges, and for all the King's Promiſes the Proteſtant Religion was unſecure, if the *Spaniſh* Match ſucceeded, they reſolv'd, whatever might be the Conſequence, to leave ſome Prints and Footſteps of their Parliamentary Rights and Privileges to their Poſterities, as their Anceſtors had done to them; and therefore on the nineteenth of *December*, they regiſter'd the following Proteſtation in their Journal Book after they had given two entire Subſidies. ‘ That the Liberties, Franchiſes, Privi‘ leges and Juriſdictions of Parliaments, are the ancient and undoubted Birth-Right and Inheritance of the Subjects of *England*, and that the arduous and urgent Affairs concerning the King, State and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church of *England*, and the Maintenance and making Laws, and Redreſs of Miſchiefs and Grievances, which daily happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects, and Matters of Counſel and Debate in Parliament. That in handling and proceeding in ſuch Buſineſs, every Member of Parliament hath, and of Right ought to have *Freedom of Speech*, to propound, treat, reaſon, and bring the ſame to Concluſions. That the Commons in Parliament have likewiſe Liberty and Freedom to treat of theſe Matters, in ſuch Order as in their Judgments ſhall ſeem fitteſt. That every Member of the ſaid Houſe hath like Freedom; from all Impeachment, Impriſonment and Moleſtation, other than by Cenſure of the Houſe it ſelf, for, or concerning any Speaking, Reaſoning, or Declaring of any Matter or Matters, touching the Parliament, or Parliament Buſineſs. And that if any of the ſaid Members be complain'd of, or queſtion'd for any Thing done or ſaid in Parliament, the ſame is to be ſhew'd to the King, by the Advice and Aſſent of all the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, before the King give Credit to any private Information.

The King oppoſes it.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

The King was again alarm'd by this Proteſtation, and he who naturally lov'd Peace both at home and abroad, had a War rais'd within his own Breaſt: For if he ſhould be ſilent or connive at this Proteſtation, it would remain as a ſtrong Bulwark for the People to Poſterity. Therefore neglecting his Pleaſures and Health in the Country, he came haſtily up to *London*, and upon the thirtieth of *December*, in a full Aſſembly of the Council, and in the Preſence of the Judges, he declar'd the ſaid Proteſtation void, invalid, and of none Effect, and with his Hand took the ſaid Proteſtation out of the Journal Book of the Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, and commanded an Act of Council to be made thereupon, and this Act to be enter'd in the Regiſter of the Council-Cauſes. And to put a Stop to all Complaints, as he conceiv'd, on the ſixth of *January* he by a Proclamation diſſolv'd the Parliament, after it had continu'd almoſt a Year, without paſſing one Act beſides the Subſidies, of which the Commons gave two, and the Clergy three. The Proclamation ſet forth, 'That the Meeting, Continuing, and Diſſolving of Parliaments, does ſo peculiarly belong to the King, that he needs not give any Account thereof to any other; yet he thought fit to declare, That in the Diſſolution of this Parliament he had the Advice and uniform Conſent of his whole Council; and that ſome particular Members took inordinate Liberty, not only to treat of his High Prerogatives, and Matters not fit to be argu'd in Parliament, but alſo to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of Foreign Princes: That they ſpent their Time in diſputing Privileges, and deſcanting upon the Words and Syllables of his Letters and Meſſages; and that theſe ill-temper'd Spirits ſow'd Tares among the Corn, and by their Carriage have impos'd upon him a Neceſſity of diſcontinuing the preſent Parliament. And laſtly he declar'd, *That tho' the Parliament was broken off, yet he intended to govern well; and ſhould be glad to lay hold on the firſt Occaſion to call another.*

Cenſures upon it.

This unexpected Diſſolution and Proclamation gave Occaſion to ſeveral ſawcy Tongues to ſlander their Sovereign and his Government, eſpecially when they found that ſeveral eminent Members of the Houſe of Commons, as Sir *Edward Cook*, Sir *Robert Philips*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Mallery*, and others, were committed to the *Tower* and other Priſons. They ſaid that *Great Britain* was now grown leſs than *Little England*, which had loſt its Strength by Changing of Sexes; and the ſcandalous Story of *David Rizio*, written by the King's Tutor *Buchanan*, had dy'd in every *Engliſh* Man's Opinion, if it had not been reviv'd by theſe Controverſies with the Parliament. And as Troubles bred Diſturbances at home, ſo they caus'd no leſs Diſhonour abroad, for they now deſpis'd the King's Power, as much as formerly they did his Courage; and in the King of *Spain*'s own Towns, in their publick Comedies, they preſented Meſſengers bringing News in haſte, that the *Palatinate* would ſhortly be repleniſh'd with a moſt formidable Army; *For the King of* Denmark *would furniſh them with a hundred thouſand Pickel'd Herrings, the* Hollanders *with as many Butter-Boxes, and* England *with as many Ambaſſadors*. In one Place they Pictur'd King *James* with a Scabbard without a Sword, and in another with a Sword that none could draw out, tho' ſeveral were pulling at it; and at *Bruſſels* they painted him with his Pockets hanging out, and no Mony in them, or his Purſe. And what was highly pitiable, as well as vilely diſhonourable, at *Antwerp* they pictur'd the unfortunate Queen of *Bohemia* like a poor *Iriſh* Mantler, with her Hair diſhevel'd, and her Child on her Back, with the King her Father carrying the Cradel after her. And every one of theſe Pictures had ſeveral Motto's, expreſſing the Fruitfulneſs of their Malice; ſuch Deriſions and Reflections were put upon the King, and in him upon the whole Nation. But *Spanhemius* more ſeriouſly and ſolemnly ſums up all the Ills that attended the Conduct of King *James*, and his Son-in-Law in *Germany*, 'That thereby the Proteſtant Religion was entirely rooted out of *Bohemia*, the Electoral Dignity transferr'd from the *Palatine* Family, the *Palatinate* it ſelf loſt, the Liberty of *Germany* overthrown, and the Famous Library of *Heidelberg* remov'd to *Rome*, to the irreparable Prejudice of Learning.' So that *Gondomar* ſeem'd to have ſome Reaſon to ſay in one of his Letters to the Duke of *Lerma*, *That he had lull'd King* James *aſleep, that he hop'd neither the Cries of his Daughter nor her Children, nor the repeated Sollicitations of his Parliament and Subjects on their Behalf, ſhould be able to awaken him.*

A. D. 1622.
Reg. 20.

Digby's Embaſſy into Spain.

The Character of Biſhop Williams.

IX. King *James* having freed himſelf from the Complainings of a troubleſome Parliament, ſtill retain'd his main Deſigns and Reſolutions of compleating the Marriage of his Son with the *Infanta* of *Spain*; where King *Philip* the Third being lately dead, was ſucceeded by *Philip* the Fourth. In order to effect this long and dilatory Affair, he ſent the Lord *Digby* his Ambaſſador Extraordinary into *Spain*; who landed at St. *Andero*, a poor Maritime Town in *Biſcay*, where the People uſually went bare-foot. In that mean Place his Lordſhip had the Patience to ſtay a Fortnight in Expectation of the *Spaniſh* Court Civilities; but in Reality was ſo ſlighted by tedious and impertinent Delays, and at laſt by baſe and ſordid Accommodations, that it was admir'd how he could bear it, and that the *Spaniards* were not aſham'd to offer it to an Ambaſſador. It was thought the more ſtrange, ſince King *James* had now treated the *Roman* Catholicks at home with ſo much Indulgence, that *Gondomar* boaſted he had releas'd four thouſand Recuſants by his own Mediation, either to make his Service more acceptable to his Maſter, or to let him ſee how willing King *James* was to advance that Match which had never been really deſign'd in *Spain*. Then to expedite the Diſpenſation at *Rome*, he wrote to ſome of the moſt active Cardinals there, and receiv'd Anſwers from them by *Gage*, his Agent, full of promiſing Hopes. And that he might give ſome publick Teſtimony of his Indulgence, he commanded Biſhop *Williams*, then Lord-Keeper, to paſs Writs under the great Seal, to require the Judges of every Circuit to enlarge all ſuch Papiſts as were impriſon'd for Recuſancy, which was accordingly obſerv'd and perform'd. This Biſhop, as was formerly hinted, ſucceeded the famous Lord *Bacon*; and for ſome Time continu'd in Favour with the Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, and the Counteſs his Mother, whoſe Creature he was, and who as it was believ'd, could mould and form him into any Shape to ſerve their Purpoſes; but afterwards growing high and ſtiff, they laid him aſide. He was of a comely and ſtately Preſence, which being animated with a great Spirit, made him appear very proud to vulgar Eyes; tho' really as he was a Man of extraordinary Parts, aiming at great Things, ſo he was of a bountiful Mind to all Men in Want, and a noble Patron to ſupport where Merit wanted a Supply. This was ſhewn in his Treatment of Monſieur *de Moulin*, a famous Miniſter of *France*, driven by Perſecution into *England*; which being told the Biſhop, he order'd Doctor *Hacket* his Chaplain to make him a Viſit from him, and likewiſe to carry him ſome Money, not naming any Sum, purpoſely to ſound the Generoſity of his Chaplain. Doctor *Hacket* finding the Biſhop to mention no certain Sum ſaid, *He could give him no leſs than twenty Pounds.* Upon which his Lordſhip ſuddenly anſwer'd, *Is twenty Pounds a fit Preſent from me to a Man of his Parts and Merit? Take a hundred Pounds, and preſent it from me, telling him he ſhall not want, and I will come ſhortly and viſit him my ſelf.* Which he afterwards perform'd, and made good his Promiſe, in ſupplying him during his Abode in *England*.

Archbiſhop Abbot's Misfortune.

About this Time, the Reverend Prelate Doctor *Abbot* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, began to fall into Diſgrace at Court, his Enemies taking Advantage of a late ſad Miſfortune; for ſhooting at a Deer with a Croſs-Bow in *Bramzil* Park, the Arrow glancing caſually kill'd the Keeper. This unfortunate Accident was ſuch a ſenſible Affliction to this pious Man, that he retir'd to an Alms-Houſe of his own Building at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, there to mortifie himſelf from the Enjoyment of worldly Pleaſures. Some were of Opinion that it diſabled him from exerciſing his Epiſcopal Function; but the King granting a Commiſſion to enquire into the Fact, he found Friends that reſtor'd him from his Alms-Houſe to his Palace, and he conferr'd a comfortable Subſiſtance upon the Widow and Children of this unhappy ſlain Man. But however, having diſguſted the King by diſapproving the *Spaniſh* Match, he never could recover any great Authority; and a Plant was now growing up that overſpread him while he liv'd, and after his Deceaſe obtain'd the Primacy.

The Riſe of Biſhop Laud.

And this was the famous Dr. *William Laud*, a Perſon of extraordinary Spirit and Zeal, who was now made Biſhop of St. *Davids*, by the Intereſt of the Marqueſs of *Buckingham* and the Lord-Keeper *Williams*. This great and fiery Man, at *Oxford* had ſhown himſelf a mortal Oppoſer of the *Puritans*, of whom *Abbot* was thought to be a Favourer, and was there charg'd not only with *Arminianiſm*, but with holding ſeveral of the *Romiſh* Tenets. But for the ſcandalous Manner of his Riſe, related by *Coke*, and pretendedly atteſted, it is ſo contrary to Probability, that it can deſerve no Place in Hiſtory. The King had been diſoblig'd at ſome Actions of his, therefore *Buckingham* his great Friend reſolv'd to make uſe of *Williams* to raiſe him into the Biſhoprick; and *Williams* knowing the Diſpoſal of the Seal was at the other's Pleaſure, found himſelf oblig'd to become *Laud*'s Advocate to the King. But his Majeſty was at firſt utterly averſe, for ſeveral Reaſons; but the Keeper earneſtly perſiſting; the King at laſt ſaid, *Is there no Hold, but you will carry it! Then take him to you; but on my Soul, you will repent it:* And ſo departed in a great Paſſion, with other fierce and ominous Words, publickly diſcours'd in Court; after this *Arminianiſm* daily increas'd, and *Puritaniſm* was more ſtrictly watch'd; but to reſtrain the licentious Tongues among either Party, the King iſſu'd out a Letter to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with ſeveral good Articles and Directions to all Preachers whatſoever, as may be ſeen at large in *Wilſon* and *Ruſhworth*.

As the King now labour'd to ſettle things at home, and keep his People in Obedience, ſo he was as active abroad to preſerve his own Reputation: For he ſtill concluded that he ſhould ſalve all Miſcarriages by the intended Match with *Spain*, and that his People might ſee he could diſcern further into deep Matters of State than they, and ſo make the Error theirs.

The King's Endeavours for the Spaniſh *Match.*

Therefore he induſtriouſly urg'd it by his Agents and Ambaſſadors, and all Indulgences to Recuſants were admitted to ſmooth and ſoften their Addreſſes. The Lord *Vaux*, a *Roman* Catholick, had Liberty to tranſport four thouſand *Engliſh*, to reinforce the King of *Spain*'s Armies, both againſt King *James*'s Confederates of *Holland*, where his baniſh'd Children had Refuge, and againſt their Country it ſelf the *Palatinate*, which he had ſo much endeavour'd to preſerve. The Articles of Marriage had taken up much Time in Debate, between the Commiſſioners of the two Kings, before they could be brought to any Form; and thoſe concerning Religion had many various Shapes and Turns, 'till they were dreſs'd to their Satisfaction; and when they were form'd and faſhion'd by them, the Pope ſtrip'd them, and new modell'd them as he pleas'd. So that the ſending and reſending between *Spain* and *Rome*, and *Rome* and *Spain*, waſted much Time, and might have ſerv'd for a Colour to draw the Treaty *in Infinitum*. Wherefore King *James* wrote ſeveral Letters to the Lord *Digby*, whom he made Earl of *Briſtol*; and he was commanded to declare plainly to the King of *Spain*, 'How far the King his Maſter had condeſcended in Matters of Religion, which was more than was capitulated in the late King of *Spain*'s Reign; and if that would give Content, to proceed to a Concluſion of the Marriage, without further Delay; if otherwiſe, that then without more Loſs of Time, the King his Maſter may diſpoſe of his Son, and the King of *Spain* of the *Infanta*, as they pleas'd.' But the *Spaniard* ſtill continu'd in his former Pace, and would not be ſpurr'd forwards; and the Earl of *Briſtol* ſtill aſſur'd his Maſter, *That the King of* Spain, *tho' ſlow in his Proceedings, was real in his Intentions.*

The Spaniards *unfair Dealings.*

And tho' the Articles were fully drawn up in form, and agreed on both Sides, yet it is plain from the King of *Spain*'s Letter to *Olivarez* this Year, that the *Spaniard* never deſign'd the Match at all, in which he poſitively tells him, 'That his Father had the ſame Deſign as well as himſelf, and ſo declar'd upon his Death-Bed; therefore he would have him break it off as ſoon as conveniently he cou'd.' Thus was King *James*'s Plain-heartedneſs deluded, his Honour blemiſh'd, his Love among his Subjects diminiſh'd, his Childrens Patrimony deſtroy'd, and he himſelf left without any Satisfaction.

A.D. 1623.
Reg. 21.
Buckingham's *ſtrange Project.*

This ſtrange and unreaſonable Management in the Court of *Spain* gave Riſe and Occaſion to a very peculiar, if not romantick Project form'd by the Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, who envy'd the Earl of *Briſtol* for having the ſole Management of ſo great an Affair. Therefore he took the Opportunity to inſinuate to Prince *Charles* the common Misfortune of Men of his Rank, 'That in ſo nice a Part of their worldly Happineſs, as depended upon their Marriage, they had ſo ſmall a Share, uſually depending upon the uncertain Credit of others, for the Nature, Humour and Beauty of the Ladies they were to marry. Next, how brave and gallant it would appear for his Highneſs to make a Journey into *Spain*, and bring home his Lady; that it would put an End to all thoſe ſlow Formalities, which might ſtill retard the *Infanta*'s Voyage for ſeveral Months; all which would be immediately remov'd by his engaging Appearance: That it would be ſuch a ſingular Obligation to the *Infanta*, as ſhe could never ſufficiently eſteem or requite, as being a Reſpect rarely paid by any other Prince, on the like Occaſion: That in the great Affair concerning the *Palatinate*, it was very probable the King of *Spain* might readily gratify his perſonal Interpoſition, which in a Treaty with an Ambaſſador might be protracted, or attended with the ſtarting of new Difficulties: However, the Mediation could not but be frankly undertaken by the *Infanta* her ſelf, who would ambitiouſly make it Part of her great Debt to the Prince, that he might by her Influence preſent to his Majeſty the Peace and Reſtitution of his Family; which could not be effected by any other human Means.' Theſe Diſcourſes made ſo deep an Impreſſion upon the Mind and Spirit of the Prince, who was naturally inclin'd to Adventures, that he was tranſported with the Thought of it, and impatiently ſollicitous to compaſs the Deſign. The moſt apparent Difficulty was how they ſhould procure the King's Conſent, who they knew to be very quick-ſighted in diſcerning Difficulties, and raiſing Objections, but very ſlow in maſtering and unravelling them; who, not knowing how to ſtruggle with deſperate Contingencies, abhorr'd to be involv'd and intangled with them. This was therefore firſt to be attempted by the Prince himſelf, and to communicate it to the King as his humble Suit, with this Circumſtance, that ſince all his Actions depended entirely upon his Majeſty's own Approbation, he would vouchſafe to promiſe Not to communicate the thing propos'd, before he had firſt taken his own Reſolution: And that this Condition ſhould be firſt obtain'd, before the ſubſtantial Part ſhould be diſcover'd; and ſo this Approach being firſt made, the Succeſs and Proſecution was to be left to the Credit and Dexterity of the Marqueſs.

The King acquainted with it.

All things being thus concerted, the two Adventurers ſoon found a proper Opportunity to make their Approaches. His Majeſty chearfully conſented to the main Condition of Secrecy, the Prince upon his Knees declar'd his importunate Suit and Requeſt, while the Marqueſs ſtood by and enlarg'd upon the infinite Obligations his Majeſty would accumulate upon the Prince, by his yielding to the tender Paſſion with which his Highneſs was tranſported; which being refus'd, would make a deep Impreſſion upon his Spirits, and be accounted as the greateſt Misfortune that could befall him in this World. The Prince taking Opportunity from the good Temper of his Father, inſiſted upon two Points, That his Preſence in *Spain* would immediately conclude the Marriage, and likewiſe determine the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* to his Brother and Siſter; both which the King paſſionately deſir'd. Theſe Diſcourſes, urg'd with the utmoſt Artifice and Addreſs, ſo prevail'd upon the King, that with leſs Heſitation than was uſual, and much leſs than was agreeable to his Wiſdom and Character, he gave his Approbation and Conſent that the Prince ſhould make the Journey he ſo earneſtly deſir'd.

The King conſents to the Prince's Journey.

They therefore, to prevent any new Meaſures which a ſolemn Preparation for ſo raſh an Undertaking might gradually occaſion, as ſoon as they had gain'd the King's Promiſe upon the main, repreſented, 'That the Security of ſuch a Deſign depended on Expedition; that were they to ſtay either to the equipping a Fleet to attend the Prince of *Wales*, or 'till a Paſs may be obtain'd from *France*, the principal Ends of their Journey would by Delays be diſappointed; That therefore, ſince the Deſign had hitherto been a Secret to all but themſelves, they might with the Attendance of only two Servants, get through *France*, before they could be miſs'd at *Whitehall*:' Which indeed was very probable, and ſo the more readily conſented to by the King; the Time of their Departure, the Servants that were to attend them, and whatever elſe ſhould be thought neceſſary, being deferr'd 'till a ſecond Conſultation on the next Day.

But when the timorous King in his Retirement came ſeriouſly to revolve what had been ſo looſely conſulted, as he had a wonderful Sagacity in ſuch Reflections, a thouſand Dangers and Difficulties occurr'd to his diſtracted Thought; ſuggeſted as well by the violent Affection of a Father to his only Son, as the Influence he thought it might have on his People, too much inclin'd to murmur, and complain of the leaſt Inadvertency; together with the Reputation he ſhould forfeit among all Foreign Princes, if he ſo much departed from his Dignity, as to expoſe the immediate Heir of three Kingdoms to all the Jealouſies and Dangers, that might ariſe from that fathomleſs Abyſs, *Reaſons of State*. Theſe Reflexions were ſo terrible to him, that they robb'd him of all Peace and Reſt:

He repents.

ſo that when the Prince and the Marqueſs came to him about the Diſpatch, he fell into a violent Paſſion with Tears, and told them, *That he was undone, and that it would break his Heart, if they purſu'd their Reſolution.* Then he recounted to them all the numerous Difficulties and Miſchiefs that had occurr'd to himſelf in his Retirement; particularly obſerving to the Marqueſs, who was already unpopular to the higheſt Degree, how unevitable his Ruin muſt be; concluding with that Diſorder and Paſſion with which he began, and with Sighs and Tears conjur'd them, *That they would no longer urge him to conſent to a thing ſo contrary to his Reaſon and Underſtanding, the Performance of which would prove his Death.* The Prince and the Marqueſs took no Pains to anſwer any of his Majeſty's Reaſons: His Highneſs only reminded him of the Promiſe he had made the Day before, *Which if he ſhould violate, it would make him never think of Marriage more.* But the Marqueſs, who better knew what Arguments would prevail, treated him more rudely, and with all the Inſolence of a Favourite told him, *His Breach of a Promiſe ſo ſolemnly made, would ruin his Credit with all Mankind; that ſome Raſcal had furniſh'd him with his pitiful Reaſons; and that it would be ſuch a Diſobligation to the Prince, whoſe Heart was fix'd upon the Journey after his Majeſty's Approbation, that he could never forget it, nor forgive any Man who had been the Occaſion of it.* So that at length the Prince by his humble and importunate Entreaties, and *Buckingham* by his rougher Dialect, prevail'd ſo far, that the Debate upon the Journey was reſum'd, in which it was agreed, That they ſhould take their Leaves of the King in two Days, his Highneſs pretending to hunt at *Theobalds*, and the Marqueſs to take Phyſick at *Chelſey*.

Buckingham *hectors him.*

They next proceeded to the manner of Attendance, and told the King, That being to have no more than two in their Company, they had fix'd upon Sir *Francis Cottington*, and *Endymion Porter*, who were both grateful to the King, the former being Secretary to the Prince, and the other of his Bed-Chamber; ſo that his Majeſty wiſh'd that it might be immediately imparted to them, becauſe many things might occur to them, as neceſſary to the Journey, which they two would not think on. Whereupon Sir *Francis Cottington*, waiting then in the outward Room, was quickly brought in; to whom the King ſaid, *Here is Baby* Charles *and* Stenny (for ſo he uſually call'd the Marqueſs) *have a mind to go Poſt into* Spain, *to fetch home the* Infanta, *and deſigning to have but two in their Company, have choſen you for one; what think you of the Journey?* Sir *Francis*, ſurpris'd and trembling at the Conſequence, reply'd, *That he could not think well of it; for the* Spaniards, *when they had the Prince in Poſſeſſion, would make what new Overtures they believ'd moſt advantageous to themſelves, and among the reſt, many that concern'd Religion, and the Exerciſe of it in* England, *and by that means ruin all the Attempts that have been for the compleating the Match.* Upon this the King threw himſelf upon his Bed, and ſaid, *I told you this before*, and fell into new Paſſion and Lamentation, *That he was undone, and ſhould loſe Baby* Charles! Hereupon the Marqueſs reproach'd *Cottington* with all poſſible Bitterneſs of Words, and told him, *That the King only ask'd him about the Journey, and beſt Way of Travelling, and not his Advice upon Matters of State, which he had the Preſumption to give againſt his Maſter, and which he ſhould repent as long as he liv'd.* This threw the poor King into a new Agony, on the Behalf of a Servant like to ſuffer for anſwering honeſtly; upon which he reply'd with ſome Heat, and a profane Oath, *You are very much to blame to uſe him thus; he has anſwer'd like an honeſt and wiſe Man to the Queſtion I ask'd him, and you know 'tis no more than I told you before he came in.* However, after all this Paſſion and Heats on both Sides, the King yielded; having by this plainly diſcover'd that the whole Intrigue was firſt contriv'd by the Marqueſs, and now purſu'd by his Spirit and Impetuoſity.

He yields.

The Prince and Buckingham *begin their Journey.*

The two Adventurers being ready, with their two Attendants, ſet forwards with falſe Beards to cover their ſmooth Faces, and paſs'd towards *Dover* under the Names of *Jack Smith* and *Tom Smith*, in all Places leaving greater Impreſſions of their Bounty than was agreeable with their Diſguiſes. At *Dover* the officious Mayor examin'd them ſo ſtrictly, that the Marqueſs was forc'd to diſcover himſelf in private, and tell him he was going to viſit the Fleet; ſo they had Liberty to take Shipping, and landed at *Bologn* the ſame Day, making the ſwifteſt Motion by Poſt Horſes 'till they arriv'd at *Paris*. There the Prince ſpent one Day to view the Grandeur of the City, and Splendor of the Court; and they both together ſaw the Queen-Mother at Dinner, the King in the Gallery after Dinner, and towards the Evening they had a full View of the Queen *Infanta*, and the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, with moſt of the Beauties of the Court, at the Practice of a Masking-Dance; being admitted by the Duke of *Montbaſon*, the Queen's Lord-Chamberlain, in Courteſie to Strangers, when many of the *French* were refus'd. Here the Prince ſaw thoſe Eyes, which afterwards ſo inflam'd his Heart, that it was thought to be one Occaſion of inflaming three Kingdoms. From *Paris* they paſs'd with all Expedition to *Bourdeaux*, where the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, Governor of the City, offer'd them the Civilities of his Houſe; but Sir *Francis Cottington* handſomly declin'd the Invitation, by informing him, *That they were Gentlemen that deſir'd to improve themſelves, and had not Breeding ſuitable to his Grandeur.* They met with ſome Difficulties alſo at *Bayonne*, the laſt Town in *France*, where the Count *de Gramont* was Governor; who being a pregnant Man, read ſomething extraordinary in their Looks, but this being a Time of Peace, he out of ordinary Civility let them paſs: Yet within a few Hours after they had taken Poſt, he had Notice by a Courier from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador to the *Engliſh* Court, that the Prince of *England* was among them; ſo that the Prince had great Fortune in meeting with ſuch little Interruption, when the *French* might have made great Advantages by ſtopping his Paſſage.

They arrive in Spain.

Upon *Saturday* the ſixth of *March* they arriv'd at *Madrid*; where the Prince and Marqueſs came one Day before *Cottington* and *Porter*, to raiſe the leſs Noiſe in Appearances. They lighted at the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Houſe in the Evening, where the Marqueſs brought in the Portmanteau, while his Maſter ſtaid without with the Guide, 'till he had prepar'd a way for Privacy. The Earl of *Briſtol* was aſtoniſh'd at the Sight; and the next Morning the City was fill'd with Rumours of the Arrival of ſome great Prince; which was ſufficiently known to the King of *Spain*, tho' he thought fit to conceal it. In the Evening *Buckingham* and *Briſtol* went to Court, and had private Audience of the King, who ſent his grand Favourite *Olivarez* back with them, to congratulate the Prince's Arrival, who let the Prince know *how infinitely happy his Maſter was in the Enjoyment of him there; and that the Obligation was ſo great, that he deſerv'd to have the* Infanta *thrown into his Arms*; all this while kneeling, kiſſing his Hands, and imbracing his Thigh, with all the Marks of *Spaniſh* Humility. Next he addreſs'd himſelf to the Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, telling him, *That now the Prince of* England *was in* Spain, *his Maſter and he would divide the World between them*, with other Flights of Rhetorick and Fancy. After his Departure, about ten a Clock at Night, the King of *Spain* came in a cloſe Coach to viſit the Prince, who having Notice of his coming, met him in the Way; and there they ſpent ſome Time in ſuch Careſſes and Embraces as are uſual at the Interviews of great Princes and Monarchs. *Gondomar*, lately return'd, had alſo his peculiar Compliment the next Day; for he declar'd to the Prince, *That he had ſtrange News to tell him, which was, That an* Engliſhman *was ſworn Privy-Counſellor to the King of* Spain; meaning himſelf, who had lately receiv'd that Honour, tho' he was an *Engliſhman* in his Heart.

Their kind Reception.

The Prince highly honour'd.

The common Sort did highly applaud this brave Adventure, and expreſs'd his Welcome by Shouts and Acclamations of Joy; and immediately they marry'd him to the *Infanta*, as it were by publick Voice. The King and Council contriv'd how to give his Highneſs the moſt honourable Reception, and decreed, that upon all Occaſions of Meeting he ſhould have the Precedency of the King; that he ſhould make his Entrance into the Royal Palace, in the ſame State that the Kings of *Spain* us'd to do on the Day of their Coronation, and that one of the chief Quarters in the King's Palace ſhould be prepar'd for his Lodgings; that an hundred of the Guard ſhould attend him, and all the Council obey him as the King's own Perſon. A general Pardon was publiſh'd; the Priſons were open'd, and hundreds of Offenders were ſet at Liberty; and a late Proclamation againſt Exceſs in Apparel was revok'd. The following Day after Dinner the King came in Perſon, with his Favourite *Olivarez*, and ſeveral other of the Nobility, to conduct the Prince from the Town to the Court, having Horſes and all Equipage proper for ſuch Shew and Grandeur. Thus nobly mounted, they rode through the Streets under a Canopy in as much State as at a Coronation, the Prince riding on the King's right Hand. The Queen and the *Infanta* from a Window in the Court ſaw them; and when they diſmounted the *Infanta* retir'd, and the Queen went to her Chamber, in Expectation of a Viſit. When the King and Prince enter'd her Room, ſhe roſe to meet them, making a low Obeiſance to the Prince, which he return'd with a profound reverential Bow; and after ſome Compliments, they ſat down on three Royal Seats, the Queen in the middle, and the Prince on her right Hand; when after half an Hour's Converſation, the Queen brought the Prince to the utmoſt Extent of her Chamber, and the King to a ſtately Apartment provided for him. Immediately after the Queen by her *Major-domo* gave him a further Welcome, with ſeveral rich Preſents of Perfumes, and coſtly wearing Linnen; and the King ſent him two Golden Keys, which would open all his private

Lodgings, and his Bed-Chamber, letting him know, that he had free Acceſs to him at all Hours. Here he was conſtantly attended and ſerv'd with *Grandees* and *Titulados*, as the King himſelf; and was entertain'd with many Shows and Triumphs, and ſeveral daily Paſtimes. And one Day running at the Ring, in Company of many of the Nobility, his Highneſs was the only Perſon that bore the Ring away, and that in the Preſence of the *Infanta* his Miſtreſs; which was interpreted as a fortunate Preſage at the Beginning of his Atchievement. In ſum, there wanted nothing that human Invention could produce to manifeſt and diſplay the Height of outward Glory. And now the *Engliſh* Nobility came over in great Numbers into *Spain*, and the Marqueſs of *Buckingham* had the new Title of Duke ſent him by King *James*, that he might be in the higheſt Rank among the *Spaniſh Grandees*; and the Prince was ſo incircled with a magnificent Retinue of his own People, that it might be ſaid, there was an *Engliſh* Court in the Palace of the King of *Spain*.

His Inclinations for the Infanta.

When all the ſplendid Ceremonies were a little over, the Prince began to conſider the main Buſineſs of his Journey, and deſir'd a more intimate Acceſs to his Miſtreſs, which *Olivarez* promis'd from Day to Day, but ſtill delay'd: But at length, when unperform'd Promiſes were heightened into Shame, he plainly confeſs'd that it was agreed by the King and Council, *That he might not ſee her as a Lover, 'till the Diſpenſation came from* Rome; but he had ſometimes Acceſs to her as a Prince in a publick Way, the King of *Spain* being always preſent, and the Earl of *Briſtol* Interpreter. It was obſerv'd that the Prince had ſometimes his Eyes immoveably fix'd upon the Lady for half an Hour together, in a thoughtful ſpeculative Poſture, other times he watch'd a full Hour in a cloſe Coach in the Streets to ſee her as ſhe went abroad; and one particular Time, he climb'd over a lofty Wall, and hazarded his Life, to ſee her in a Garden. But now the chief Obſtructions ſeem'd to have proceeded from the Pope, who us'd all Endeavours to cauſe the Prince to turn Catholick; the People of *Spain* were not a little elevated with ſuch Hopes, and Promiſes were made to him of great Aſſiſtance, if his own People

Endeavours to make him turn Catholick.

ſhould rebel upon that Conſideration. Orations and Proceſſions and pompous Shows were made to allure him; Popiſh Books were dedicated, and Popiſh Pictures were preſented to him; they carry'd him to the moſt Religious Places, and to Perſons famous for pretended Miracles; and the Pope himſelf wrote a ſmooth inſinuating Letter to him, and another to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to bring about this glorious Converſion. He return'd a civil Anſwer to the Pope's Letter, but as he had firſt anſwer'd *Olivarez*, *He came not thither for Religion, but for a Wife*, ſo he remain'd ſtedfaſt in his Religion, nor did he expreſs any ſhew of Change, when he was under the greateſt Temptations.

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At length, after innumerable Scruples and Impediments, the long ſollicited Diſpenſation came from Pope *Gregory* to the Court of *Spain*, but ſo clog'd that it caus'd new Delays and Difficulties, which were at laſt ſurmounted by the King of *Spain*, who now began to be ſeriouſly inclin'd to the Match, and caus'd it to be publickly declar'd at *Madrid*. After which certain Articles, to the Number of twenty three, were ſign'd and ſworn to by the King of *England*,

Articles of the Marriage.

the Prince and Privy-Council. Theſe were ſtil'd by the Cardinals, *Propoſitions for the right Augmentation and Weal of the* Roman *Catholick Religion*, and were much of the ſame Nature with thoſe which we have given the Subſtance, Page 394; only in one Article it was provided, 'That the 'Sons and Daughters that ſhould be born of Marriage, 'ſhould be brought up in the Company of the *Infanta*, at 'leaſt 'till the Age of ten Years.' Beſides theſe publick Articles, which were confirm'd under the Great Seal of *England*, *Ruſhworth* has given us ſome private Articles, ſworn to by King *James* and the Prince, greatly to the Advantage of the *Romaniſts* in *England*; but of theſe *Nalſon* juſtly doubts, as being too much void of Proof, as well as

K. James's *Satisfaction.*

Probability. Thus the great Buſineſs ſeem'd to have been accompliſh'd; which gave King *James* ſo much Satisfaction, that being tranſported with an Aſſurance of the Match, he was heard to ſay, *Now all the Devils in Hell cannot break it*; to which one ſoftly reply'd, *There was never a Devil left in Hell, for they were all gone into* Spain *to make it up.* In *Spain* the *Infanta* was ſtil'd *The Princeſs of* England, and was kept no longer in her Virgin Retirements. In *England* a Chapel was building for her at St. *James*'s, and Don *Carlos*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, laid the firſt Stone: Her Picture was every where to be ſeen, and a Fleet was prepar'd for her Paſſage; and the greateſt Enemies to the Alliance ſubmitted to the King's Will. But in all this Capitulation between the two Crowns, the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* was laid aſide; the King conceiving that the Conſummation of the Match would overrule and ſettle that Affair to his intire Satisfaction. The *French* were very apprehenſive of this Conjunction, and thought it ſafeſt to make Peace at home, and employ their Strength to bound the Incroachments of the Emperor and King of *Spain*: By which means a ſevere Perſecution ceas'd in that Kingdom; the Proteſtants were permitted to call home their baniſh'd Miniſters, to build their ruin'd Churches, and enjoy their Liberty in Religion. This Happineſs did King *James*'s joining with *Spain* procure to an almoſt ruined People.

New Delays in the Spaniſh *Court.*

But after all the King's Conceſſions, the *Spaniards* contriv'd new Delays, and propos'd harder Terms; and the Pope had oblig'd the Catholick King to ſee the Conditions perform'd, and to protract the Marriage, 'till Matters in *England* were put in perfect Execution. Whereupon the Divines adviſ'd the King, that the Promiſes of Marriage be immediately made, but the Conſummation and the Delivery of the *Infanta*, be deferr'd 'till *May* in the following Year. But while they were contriving new *Remora's*, Pope *Gregory* that granted the Diſpenſation dy'd, which furniſh'd them with a Pretence that the Diſpenſation was now invalid; yet with a Reſerve to keep up the Prince's Spirit, That it ſhould be no hindrance to the Match, for the new Pope would immediately perform his Part; and the King of *Spain* aſſur'd the Prince, That if he would ſtay 'till *Chriſtmas*, the Marriage ſhould then be really celebrated. Theſe repeated Delays, and continu'd Obſtructions, caus'd the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was highly diſobliged at *Olivarez*, to ſend home ſuch provoking Accounts of the *Spaniſh* Procraſtinations, that King *James* writ to *Buckingham* in the moſt expreſs Terms *to bring his Son back with all Speed, and if his Son's Youthful Follies ſhould tie him to a longer Expectation, he charg'd him upon his Allegiance to come away, and leave him there*. This Letter was immediately ſhown by the Duke to the Prince, which ſo effectually wrought upon him, that he took up a ſudden Reſolution to return into *England*. Of which the *Grandees* in *Spain* having Notice, they were exceedingly concern'd; for their Deſign was to detain the Prince there all Winter, not only hoping to turn him to their Religion, but to marry him to the *Infanta*, that ſhe being with Child before the Spring, they might keep her there 'till ſhe was deliver'd, that ſo the Child might be educated and naturaliz'd a *Spaniard*, both in Affection and Religion, which this ſudden Reſolution hindering, it extreamly ſtartled them. *Olivarez* charg'd the Duke of *Buckingham* with giving him Aſſurance of the Prince's turning Catholick, which the Duke told him was falſe; which caus'd very angry and reſenting Expreſſions on both ſides: So that the Duke, not regarding a ceremonious Farewel, departed haſtily a little before the Prince, pretending to prepare the *Engliſh* Fleet that lay at Port St. *Andero* for the Prince's Tranſportation. According to his open Temper, at his

Buckingham's *Departure.*

Departure, he told *Olivarez*, *That he was oblig'd to the King, Queen and* Infanta, *in an eternal Tie of Gratitude; but for himſelf, he had ſo far diſoblig'd him, that he could not, without Flattery, make the leaſt Profeſſion of Friendſhip for him*. *Olivarez* gave a ſhort Reply, *That he accepted of what he had ſpoken*. The Duke departing with ſo little Satisfaction, the *Spaniards* concluded, that he would endeavour by all Means poſſible to hinder the Marriage.

The Eſpouſals agreed.

But his Highneſs had gain'd an univerſal Love and Eſteem, and was look'd upon to be a truly noble, diſcreet, and well deſerving Prince; his grave Deportment ſuited with the very Genius of that Nation, which during the whole Stay was ſupported with the greateſt Affability, Solidity and Conſtancy, and at his Departure, with unparellel'd Bounty, preſenting Jewels of ineſtimable Value to the *Infanta*, and ſeveral *Grandees*. Before which, the King of *Spain* and the Prince both took ſolemn Oaths to accompliſh the Marriage, and to make the Eſpouſals ten Days after the Diſpenſation from the new Pope ſhould arrive; and a Procuration was ſeal'd by the Prince to the King of *Spain*, and his Brother, and left in the Hands of the Earl of *Briſtol*, to ſtop the Delivery of the Proxies, 'till further Direction from him, alledging, *That the* Infanta *might retire into a Cloiſter, and defraud him of a Wife*; but theſe Inſtructions were to be conceal'd from the Earl, 'till the Diſpenſation came from *Rome*.

The Prince's Departure.

After ſix Months Stay, to the vaſt Expence of the Kings of *England* and *Spain*, the Prince took a moſt ſolemn Farewel of the Queen and *Infanta*, who look'd upon the Marriage as compleated in Effect; and the *Infanta* caus'd many Divine Duties to be perform'd, for the Safety of his Return into *England*, expecting to follow him in no long Space. When the Prince told her, *His Heart could never be out of Anxiety, 'till ſhe had paſs'd the intended Voyage, and was ſafe on the* Britiſh *Land*, ſhe anſwer'd with a modeſt Bluſh, *That if ſhe were in Danger upon the Ocean, or diſcompos'd with the rolling Waves, ſhe ſhould take Courage, and remember all the Way to whom ſhe was going.* The King himſelf conducted him as far as the *Eſcurial*, and there nobly feaſted him; and at the Minute of parting acknowledg'd *the Obligation which his Highneſs had laid upon him*,

him, by putting himſelf in his Hands, a thing ſo unuſual with Princes: Proteſting, *He earneſtly deſir'd a nearer Conjunction of Brotherly Affection, for the more intire Unity between them.* The Prince extoll'd the high Favours he had found during his Aboad in his Court and Preſence, *which had begotten ſuch an Eſtimation of his Worth, as he knew not how to value; but he would leave a Mediator to ſupply his own Defects, if he would make him ſo happy as to continue him in her good Opinion, his moſt fair and moſt dear Miſtreſs.*

His Arrival in England.

From thence, attended with a Train of *Spaniſh* Courtiers to the *Engliſh* Fleet, he took Shipping, with great Hazard to his Perſon; and it was obſerv'd That the firſt Words he ſpoke after he was embarqu'd, were, *That it was a great Weakneſs and Folly in the* Spaniard, *to grant him a free Paſſage, after they had us'd him ſo ill.* He arriv'd at *Portſmouth* on the fifth of *October*, and ſoon appear'd to be the Kingdom's Delight and Darling; the Peoples Hearts were fir'd at the Sight and News of him, and unanimouſly praiſed God, without any publick Edict of Thankſgiving. Publick Societies and private Families overflow'd with the moſt rapturous Expreſſions of Pleaſure and Wonder; and when he enter'd *London*, the Bonfires, which the Peoples Joy had kindled, ſeem'd to turn the City into one Flame.

New Propoſals to Spain.

The King was then at *Royſton*, to whom the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham* rod Poſt, and gave him a fair and plauſible Narration of all their Proceedings, laying the whole Weight of Odium upon the *Spaniſh* Delays, and the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Miſcarriages; which the King, as an indulgent Father to his Son, and a kind Friend to his Favourite, took for current Payment, without further Examination. And to retaliate the former Uſage of the *Spaniards*, the Prince and Duke join'd with thoſe of the Council and Nobility who were averſe to the *Spaniſh* Match, cementing their Power with that Strength, that a Parliament was to be call'd, and the People conſulted; that they laying open the fraudulent Proceedings of the *Spaniard*, the King's Juſtice in breaking the Treaty might be more conſpicuous to the World. The News of a Parliament to break this Match was quickly carry'd through the Nation; and, according to their Expectations, it prov'd very grateful to the People, and gain'd them much Reſpect and Honour. But the firſt thing they did was to procure an abſolute Command from the King to the Earl of *Briſtol*, to ſuſpend the Delivery of the Proxy 'till *Chriſtmas*, tho' the Diſpenſation ſhould come ſooner; and being reſolv'd to affront the King of *Spain* for his former Delays, *Briſtol* in his Letter had poſitive Inſtructions to demand the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* and the *Electoral Dignity*, which had been wav'd and neglected in the Concluſion of the Treaty: The King in his Letter writing, *It would be very ſtrange in me to receive one Daughter in Joy, and leave another in Sighs and Tears.* But *Briſtol*'s Power of deferring the Eſpouſals 'till *Chriſtmas*, was to be kept within his own Breaſt, and not made publick, 'till the Diſpenſation ſhould come to diſcover it: And there was a Clauſe in the Procuration left by the Prince, that the Power of that Inſtrument ſhould expire at *Chriſtmas*; ſo that the Execution of it was to be reſpited 'till it was altogether invalid. All this was extreamly ungrateful to the Earl of *Briſtol*, who had ſo long labour'd, and was ſtill endeavouring to bring about the Match.

Great Proviſions for the Match in Spain.

In the mean Time the *Spaniards* made all ſolemn Proviſions for the accompliſhing ſo glorious a Work; and the King of *Spain* ſent a ſpecial Ambaſſador into *England* to congratulate the Prince's happy Voyage and ſafe Return; and from thence he had Inſtructions to go into *Flanders*, *Germany* and *Italy*, to make known to all Princes, Potentates and Allies, how near the Treaty of Marriage was to be conſummated. As ſoon as the Diſpenſation came from the new Pope, in the Beginning of *December*, Bonfires were made throughout all *Spain*, and the great Ordnance every where thunder'd out the general Joy. The ninth of the Month was prefix'd for the Marriage Day, a noble Terras was erected between the Court and the next Church, almoſt a quarter of a Mile in length, cover'd with Tapeſtry, for the greater Magnificence, and all things appointed in the higheſt State for ſuch an extraordinary Solemnity. Great Preſents were providing in the Court of *Spain* for King *James* and the Prince; the *Infanta*'s Family, deſign'd for *England*, was ſettled and eſtabliſh'd; ſhe had prepar'd the richeſt Suits for her Lord and Husband, had long practis'd the *Engliſh* Tongue to make it Natural, and began to draw the Letters which ſhe deſign'd to have written the Day of her Eſpouſals to the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father-in-Law. Her Journey into *England* was reſolv'd to be in the Beginning of *March*; and tho' her Portion was not nam'd in the Articles, yet it was fix'd at no leſs than two Millions of Mony, which was four Times as much as had been given with any Daughter of *Spain*. In this State and Perfection were the Affairs of *Spain*, when King *James*'s Commands at once blaſted all this blooming Glory: For *Briſtol* had now Orders to declare poſitively to the King of *Spain*, *That without the Reſtoration of the* Palatinate, *and the Electoral Dignity, the Treaty ſhould proceed no further*; which was a ſtrange Surprize to the King and *Infanta*, when the one was like to loſe his Honour, and the other her Lover. His Anſwer was, *That the* Palatinate *was none of his to give, and the* Electorate *was in the Power of another; but if the Emperor and the Duke of* Bavaria *would not yield to Reaſon, he would arm himſelf againſt them.* But this Anſwer was not ſatisfactory from one who had us'd ſo many ſubtle Pretenſions, and had been a prime Inſtrument in the Ruin of the Count *Palatine*. Therefore, a Breach being apparent, the King of *Spain* ſent to the Earl of *Briſtol* to demand no more Audiences of him, to deliver no more Letters to the *Infanta*, and gave Command that none hereafter ſhould call her Princeſs of *England*. This was the End of the famous ſeven Years Treaty; in which the King of *England*, a King of Peace, notwithſtanding all the *Spaniſh* Armado's, gain'd the Victory; and *Spain* for many Years did not receive ſo retaliating and diſhonourable a Defeat. And this was an Amazement to the Chriſtian World, that when the Match was brought to ſuch Perfection, the Motion ſhould be rejected by that Side, which purſu'd it with ſo much Eagerneſs and unweary'd Patience; which by ſome has been call'd a Maſter-piece, by others a Myſtery of State, of which many various and uncertain Conjectures have been made.

The Match ſuddenly broke.

The Death of Mr. Cambden.

With the Breach of this *Spaniſh* Match ended the Life of the famous Antiquary and Hiſtorian Mr. *William Cambden, Clarenceaux* King at Arms, in the ſeventy fourth Year of his Age; a Perſon highly eſteem'd by Foreigners, as well as thoſe of his own Country. The latter are oblig'd to him not only for his noble Productions, but alſo for his Munificence in founding a Hiſtory-Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, doubly immortalizing his Name, both in his own happy Diſcoveries, and the laudable Incouragement given to the Labours of Poſterity and future Ages.

A. D. 1624.
Reg. 22.

X. We are now approaching to the laſt great Turn of Affairs in this Reign, which had ſuch remarkable Effects in the next, namely the Marriage with *France*, which *Buckingham* had been a conſiderable Time in contriving and projecting. The Duke having by a long Converſe made himſelf Favourite to the Prince, as well as to the King, perſuaded his Highneſs to look back to the Beauty he had ſeen in *France*, which was nearer to him, and probably more eaſie to be obtain'd. But the Treaty with *Spain* ought firſt to be diſſolv'd, to give a Colour of Honour to a Proceeding with the other; and that was what nothing but a Parliament could fully accompliſh, who once removing the Cauſe, a Treaty of Peace, were beſt able to make good the Effect, which would be a War that muſt follow it. Therefore a Parliament was ſummon'd the twelfth Day of *February*; when the Grief that the ſudden Death of the Duke of *Richmond* had given the King, caus'd it to be deferr'd to the nineteenth of the ſame Month. Here the King, in a long and very obliging Speech, ‘ us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to ſweeten the Parliament into a good Opinion ‘ of all his Actions, and of his ſincere Deſires to comply ‘ with them in every thing, for the Good of the Kingdom, ‘ and his utter Averſion to the Infringement of their Liberties. He deſir'd to be accounted the Husband of his People; and becauſe he was blam'd for Remiſneſs in Maintenance of Religion, and incouraging a Toleration to ‘ *Papiſts*, he declar'd, *As God ſhould judge him, he never* ‘ *thought, or ever in Words expreſs'd any thing that ſavour'd* ‘ *of it: Only ſometimes, for ſpecial Reaſons, he did not ſo* ‘ *fully put the Laws in Execution, but conniv'd at ſome* ‘ *things that might have hinder'd more weighty Affairs.* As ‘ to what related to the breaking off the *Spaniſh* Match, he ‘ referr'd them to the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham*, to ‘ give them Satisfaction in that Affair. And towards the ‘ latter End he declar'd, *He ſpoke as a Chriſtian King, that* ‘ *never any Traveller, in the burning, dry and ſandy De-* ‘ *ſart, more thirſted for Water to quench his Thirſt, than he* ‘ *did for a happy Concluſion of this Parliament, and that it* ‘ *might atone for the Miſcarriages of the three former.*

The fourth Parliament in this Reign.

Within three or four Days, the Prince began to ſpeak of the *Spaniſh* Affairs in Parliament, in which he forgot not to mention the Duke of *Buckingham* with more than ordinary Affection, who obſerving the heavy Reſentment the King had of what was paſt, and the Affection he ſtill bore to the *Spaniſh* Treaty, reſolv'd to uſe all poſſible Means to ingratiate himſelf with the Parliament and People, who he knew always deteſted the Match, and indeed any Alliance with *Spain*. So when at a Conference between the two Houſes, which his Highneſs and the Duke were deſir'd to manage, the Prince had made a ſhort Introduction, and commended the Duke for his great Care of him in *Spain*, and his Dexterity in bringing him away, he referr'd the whole Relation to him, who before that auguſt Body declar'd, ‘ That the real Deſign of the Prince's Journey into ‘ *Spain*, had been to make a clear Diſcovery of the *Spani-*

Bucking-ham's *Narrative of the* Spaniſh *Treaty.*

'*ard*'s Integrity, and if he was ſincere in what he pretended. That the Ambaſſador, who had the ſole Management of that great Affair, wrote in one Diſpatch that all was concluded, and in the next, that new Difficulties and freſh Demands were ſtarted and inſiſted upon. Theſe Ebbs and Floods made the Prince apprehend, that their Buſineſs was to amuſe us while they had other ſecret Deſigns in Agitation; and thereupon his Highneſs had prevail'd upon his Father that he might make that Journey. That they were no ſooner arriv'd at *Madrid*, than they diſcover'd their Purpoſe never was to give him the *Infanta*. That inſtead of proceeding upon the Articles, which were thought concluded, they urg'd new Demands, and that ſo peremptorily in Matters of Religion, that the principal Clergy-Men, and moſt eminent of the King's Preachers, had not only frequent Conferences with the Prince to perſuade him to turn Papiſt, but had procur'd the Pope to write a Letter himſelf to his Highneſs upon the ſame Subject; but it had pleas'd God to give him not only a conſtant and unſhaken Heart in his Religion, but ſuch Strength of Argument to defend the ſame, that they ſtood amaz'd to hear him, and confeſs'd that they were not able to anſwer him. That the Prince was never permitted to confer with his Miſtreſs, and very rarely to ſee her, even when they pretended he was upon the Point of Marrying. That they never could obtain a more ſatisfactory Anſwer in the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, than *That it was not in the King of* Spain*'s Power to reſtore it*, tho' it had been taken by the ſole Power of *Spain*, and ſtill poſſeſs'd by their Forces; ſo that he was well aſſur'd there was no more real Intention in that Point of Reſtitution, than in the other of Marriage, and that there was no Hopes of recovering the *Palatinate* by any other Means than that of Force, which would eaſily effect it.' Throughout his whole Diſcourſe he frequently reflected upon the Earl of *Briſtol*, as if he was privy to the *Spaniſh* Deſigns, and concurr'd with them; and therefore the King had recall'd him, that he might account for all his Miſcarriages. Whereas in reality his Majeſty had ſent for him, rather to aſſiſt him againſt the Duke, than to expoſe him to his Malice and Fury.

The Parliament applaud him.

The Conference ended in an high Applauſe of the Prince's and Duke's Behaviour, and the Parliament, who had before look'd upon the Duke with a malignant Eye for tempting the Prince to ſo dangerous a Journey, when they found what extraordinary Effects it had produc'd, forgot all former Murmurings, and could ſcarce contain from acknowledging him the *Preſerver of the Nation*: His Diſcovery was highly extoll'd, and he ſoon became the Favourite of the Multitude. But the King himſelf was infinitely offended, when he heard what the Duke had ſo confidently avow'd, without any Authority or Direction from him, a great Part of which himſelf knew to be falſe; ſo that he only wanted the Aſſiſtance of a reſolute briſk Counſellor to deſtroy the Duke, and ſuch a one he promis'd himſelf in the Earl of *Briſtol*, whom he daily expected. However he reſolv'd to comply in all things with his Parliament, who now wiſely paſs'd over all Reflections upon particular Perſons; and having the Treaty of Marriage with *Spain* put into their Hands, they cruſh'd that Serpent in the Head, by adviſing the King to break the Treaty, and proclaim open War againſt the King of *Spain*, proteſting to aſſiſt the King in the regaining the *Palatinate*, *with their Lives and Fortunes*. But the timorous King, apprehending that when the War was begun there would not be ſufficient Means to maintain it, thank'd the Parliament for their Advice, and anſwer'd *That he would conſider better of it*. The Parliament finding the King begin to ſtagger and ſink, were reſolv'd to rouſe and keep up his Spirits; and therefore they offer'd him an extraordinary Aid of three entire Subſidies, and three Fifteenths and Tenths, payable in the Compaſs of one Year, and ſo cloſely urg'd him to the Beginning of the War, that he had no longer Room to make an Evaſion, but was forc'd to declare both againſt the Emperor, and the King of *Spain*, according to their Advice. Upon which it was reſolv'd, ſhortly to ſend ſix thouſand Men to join with the Forces of the States of *Holland*, that by weakning the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, they might have a freer Acceſs into *Germany*, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*.

They diſſolve the Spaniſh *Treaty.*

The Diſſolution of the Treaties with *Spain*, and the Preparations for War reſounding in every Ear, gave ſuch an Alarm to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, the Marqueſs of *Inoioſa*, that he reſolv'd to act his Revenge againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*. In order to effect it, by a Stratagem he thruſt a Paper into the King's Hands, containing the Particulars of ſome ſtrange and deſperate Deſigns form'd by the Duke againſt his Majeſty, in which the Prince himſelf wanted not his Share; which were ſo plauſibly drawn up, as might have diſtracted a Mind far leſs timorous than his own. This Contrivance ſo prevail'd upon the King, that he became deeply thoughtful and melancholy, and would entertain the Prince and Duke with no Diſcourſe but Riddles and broken Sentences, that like Flaſhes of Lightning from a dark Cloud, ſhew'd a Storm was gathering within. Immediately the Prince and Duke concluded themſelves in Danger; and upon Enquiry found that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and *Maeſtro* a Jeſuit of that Nation, had been with the King, and that ſome of the Ambaſſador's Family had boaſted, *That they had ſenſibly wounded the Duke, and laid ſuch a Train as ſhould blow the Parliament in pieces.* The King, amidſt theſe terrible Anxieties, prepar'd for *Windſor*, hoping to divert and eaſe his overcharg'd Imaginations: And at the End of *April* he took Coach together with the Prince, but made ſome ſlight Pretence to leave *Buckingham* behind him, as he was putting his Foot into the Coach: At which he broke out into Tears, and humbly begg'd of his Majeſty *To tell him his Crime, that he might confeſs it, or clear himſelf.* To which the King only reply'd with a profound Sigh, *That he was the moſt unhappy Wretch alive, to be forſaken by thoſe who were deareſt to him:* Which was follow'd by a Flood of Tears both from himſelf and the Prince; but the King drove away for *Windſor*, and left the diſconſolate Duke behind him. This coming to the Ear of the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, he haſten'd to the Duke's Houſe, where with Difficulty he gain'd Admittance to his Grace, whom he found lying on a Couch in a melancholy unmovable Poſture. But at length the Duke was perſuaded to declare the Caſe; at which the Keeper advis'd him immediately to follow the King to *Windſor*, and never to ſtir from his Preſence Night or Day; *for the Danger was, leſt any one ſhould gain the King's Ear, and perſuade him to diſſolve the Parliament, and upon the Diſſolution of it, get his Grace thrown into the Tower, and then God knows what would follow.* The Duke follow'd the Keeper's Advice, while the other in the mean Time, by a nice Piece of Dexterity, and through the Means of a Miſtreſs kept by the *Spaniſh* Secretary, found out the whole Occaſion of the Diſturbance: Which ended in a full and happy Reconciliation between the King, the Prince and Duke, at a Time when the Continuance of the Breach might have caus'd infinite Miſchiefs to them all.

The King ſuſpects Buckingham.

He is reconcil'd to him.

By this the Duke's Power was more firmly eſtabliſh'd, notwithſtanding the ſecret Reſentments of the King, who contrary to his Promiſe was prevail'd upon to reſtrain the Earl of *Briſtol* at his firſt Arrival, and without admitting him into his Preſence, to throw him into the *Tower*, upon Suſpicion of High-Treaſon. This noble Earl had left the *Spaniſh* Court with Honour and Reputation, where he was offer'd Places, Sums of Mony, and Protection againſt his Enemies in *England*, all which he generouſly refus'd: But now finding *Buckingham*'s Power and Popularity too mighty for him to oppoſe at this Inſtant, he was content with Submiſſion to gain his Liberty, and retire himſelf to a Country Privacy. The Duke, ſwell'd with Grandeur, next turn'd the Weight of his Authority againſt *Lionel Cranfield*, a Gentleman of great Abilities, who by marrying a near Relation of the Duke's, was rais'd by him to be made a Privy-Counſellor, Maſter of the Wardrobe, Maſter of the Wards, and ſhortly Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, and Earl of *Middleſex*. This Lord had by his great Dexterity gain'd ſo much Credit with the King, that during the Duke's Abſence in *Spain*, he not only refus'd to remit ſuch Sums of Mony as thoſe unlimited Expences requir'd, but took the Courage to diſpute his Commands, and appeal to the King, whoſe Ear was always inclin'd to him. Therefore when the Duke found his Intereſt in the preſent Parliament, he projected the Ruin of this bold Rival, and eaſily procur'd ſome leading Men in the Houſe of Commons to ſend up an Impeachment of ſeveral Corruptions and Miſdemeanors to the Houſe of Lords againſt that great Miniſter. The diſcerning King readily foreſaw the ill Conſequences of ſuch an Activity, which was a Breach upon his Royal Authority, and a dangerous Precedent againſt the Supports of the Regal Power. He therefore ſent for the Prince and Duke, who had both promoted the Matter, and earneſtly conjur'd them to make Uſe of their utmoſt Intereſt to reſtrain it, as a Wound to the Crown not eaſy to be cur'd; and finding the Duke unmov'd by all his Arguments and Commands, he with an angry Oath call'd him a direct Fool, and Prophetically told him, *That in this Fit of Popularity he was making a Rod to ſcourge himſelf.* Then turning to the Prince with the ſame Foreſight he ſaid, *That when he was dead, he would have his Belly-full of Parliament-Impeachments, and would remember to his Sorrow how much he had contributed to the Weakning of the Crown, by the two Precedents he was ſo fond of*; meaning as well the engaging the Parliament in the War, as the Proſecuting the Earl of *Middleſex*. But the Duke had gain'd ſo powerful an Intereſt in both Houſes, that the King's Interpoſition was ineffectual, and the Earl, notwithſtanding the good Defence he made, was at laſt condemn'd in a great Fine, to a long Impriſonment, and

The Earl of Briſtol *impriſon'd.*

The Riſe and Fall of the Earl of Middleſex.

an Excluſion from his Seat in Parliament during Life: A Clauſe of ſuch a Nature, as was never known before in any Judgment of Parliament, and indeed not to be inflicted on a Peer but by Attainder.

The Parliament petition againſt Popery.

The King's Anſwer.

The Parliament ended.

The Lords being now at Leiſure, began to conſider how highly neceſſary it was that they ſhould join with the Commons, in Petitioning the King to curb the Growth of Popery, and reſtrain the aſpiring *Romaniſts*. And after ſome Conferences between both Houſes, the Petition was reduc'd to two Propoſitions, and preſented to the King as two Petitions: The firſt was to beg his Majeſty, 'That all the Laws might be put in Execution againſt Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and other Orders of the Church of *Rome*, and generally againſt all Popiſh Recuſants.' The ſecond was, 'That his Majeſty would be pleas'd to ſecure the Hearts of his Subjects, by the Engagement of his Royal Word, That upon no future Occaſion of Marriage or Treaty, or any Requeſt of Foreign Prince or State, he would remove or relax the Execution of his Laws againſt the foreſaid *Roman* Catholicks.' To both theſe the King gave a particular Anſwer *viva voce* before the Lords and Commons; and as to the firſt he proteſted before God, *That his Heart had bled when he heard of the Increaſe of Popery, and that the Grief of it had been as Thorns in his Eyes, and Pricks in his Sides; therefore he was ready by Proclamation to command all the Jeſuits and Prieſts of the Nation to depart by a certain Day*. As to the ſecond he declar'd, *That ſince is was againſt the Rule of Wiſdom, that a King ſhould ſuffer any Subject to tranſgreſs the Laws by the Interceſſion of other Princes, therefore he aſſur'd them, That he would be careful that no ſuch Condition ſhould be foiſted in upon any other Treaty whatſoever*. From theſe Proceedings many Papiſts were turn'd out of Places of Truſt and Profit, which conſiderably cruſh'd their Party; 'till a new Treaty with *France* made a great Alteration, and gave them new Life and Incouragement. And now the Parliament having ſate above three Months, given three Subſidies, three Fifteenths and Tenths, paſs'd an Act of general Pardon, and thirty three other Acts of Conſequence, upon the twenty ninth of *May* it was prorogu'd from time to time, 'till the King's Death diſſolv'd it.

The Dutch *Cruelties at* Amboyna.

During this Seſſion, four Regiments of Foot, fifteen hundred in each Regiment, were tranſported into *Holland* under the Command of the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Willoughby*, ſince Earl of *Lindſey*. But while the *Engliſh*, the great Supporters of the *Dutch*, were fighting for them in their own Country, there arriv'd News out of the *Eaſt-Indies* of ſuch a horrid and barbarous Nature, as no Time nor Age could parallel. The *Dutch* graſping at the whole Spicery Trade in that Eaſtern World, and having induſtriouſly wrought out the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, endeavour'd to do the ſame by their beſt Friends the *Engliſh*, that they might engroſs the whole to themſelves; which cauſing many Conteſts between them, at length they came to Terms of Agreement, and the *Engliſh* conceiving themſelves ſecure, planted their Factories among them: Where after two Years, that they had reap'd the Fruit of their Dangers and Hazards, the *Dutch* began to attempt their utter Extirpation, not by the Sword of War or a Maſſacre, but by ſuch cruel and ſavage Tortures, as could hardly be thought to proceed from Chriſtians, or thoſe of human Race. The Iſland of *Amboyna* was the bloody Stage where they acted this diſmal Tragedy: For, pretending that Captain *Gabriel Towerſon*, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* Factory, had conſpir'd to ſeize the Caſtle, and expel the *Dutch* out of the Iſland, they ſeiz'd upon them, and having no Witneſſes againſt them but their Racks, they extended their Sinews to the full Length, and diſjointed all the Limbs of their Bodies; and with their other Engines making them ſuck in Water with their Breath, they ſwell'd their Bodies to a vaſt Proportion, 'till their Skins were ready to burſt, and their Eyes to ſtart out of their Heads. And thoſe whoſe Innocency and Courage could not be compell'd by thoſe Torments to accuſe themſelves of unacted Crimes, they burnt the Soles of their Feet with Candles, 'till the dropping Moiſture extinguiſh'd the Flame, and with thoſe fiery Inſtruments made ſuch Holes in their Sides, that they might ſee their Entrails, tho' the Monſters would not ſee their Innocence, but perſiſted in their exquiſite Cruelties; which being horrible to expreſs, muſt be inſupportable to ſuſtain. Having thus weary'd out the miſerable Men with Tortures, and they being willing to die quickly, confeſs'd and gave under their Hands whatever their barbarous Tormentors dictated to them, and ended their Cruelties by cutting off their Heads. Ten of the *Engliſh* loſt their Lives, and the reſt, being near as many more, with rack'd, ſwell'd and macerated Bodies, were ſent to the *Engliſh* Plantations; ſo the whole Factory was deſtroy'd, and the *Dutch* ſeiz'd that Trade into their Hands, which they have kept ever ſince.

A Treaty of Marriage with France.

The French *inſiſt upon high Terms.*

King *James* receiving the Account of this barbarous Tranſaction, is ſaid to have made a very cold Reply upon the Occaſion, having his Thoughts more nearly imploy'd about his own Family, and the Marriage of his Son with the Houſe of *France*; in order to which, ſoon after the Breach with *Spain*, his Majeſty ſent over the Lord *Kenſington*, newly made Earl of *Holland*, privately to find out the Inclinations of the *French* King, in relation to a Match between the Prince and the Lady *Heurietta Maria*, younger Daughter to King *Henry* the Great. He continu'd there a Month before he mov'd in that Matter; but as ſoon as he propos'd it to the *French* King, he was ſo deſirous of the Match, that he told the Earl, *He had rather have the Prince of* England *to be his Brother, than any other Man in the World*, and was ſo ready to comply, that he ſeem'd indifferent in making Terms for the Catholicks in *England*. But when he found King *James*, who dreaded a ſecond Diſapponitment, to be immeaſurably fond of this Alliance, he abated of his Forwardneſs, inlarg'd his Demands in Favour of Papiſts, and ſtrain'd the King to ſuch Conceſſions, as he had promis'd to his Parliament he would never grant upon the Mediation of Foreign Princes. The famous Cardinal *Richlieu* was now in the Infancy of his Riſe and Favour, and was made the principal Manager of this great Affair in Behalf of *France*; and the Earls of *Holland* and *Carliſle* were ſent Ambaſſadors Extraordinary from the Court of *England* in the Month of *June*. Theſe repreſented to the Cardinal, 'That the Propoſition they made of a Marriage being no new Thing, ſince it had been treated of many Years before to marry the Prince of of *Wales* with Madam *Chriſtiana*, who was afterwards marry'd to the Prince of *Piedmont*; they had nothing now to do, but to re-aſſume the Articles already made, and to continue on the ſame Foot with the Lady *Henrietta*.' But the *French* anſwer'd, 'That the Face of Affairs was chang'd ſince that Time, and that they had different Thoughts at preſent; that it was the King of *England*'s Intereſt to preſerve the Reputation of the *French* King in this Marriage; that at preſent they could not be contented with what they had formerly offer'd about Religion, after what had happen'd in *Spain*, when there was a Treaty of Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infanta*; urging, that it was neceſſary to begin the Negotiation by laying thoſe Articles upon the Table, which the King of *Great Britain* had agreed with *Spain* upon that Occaſion. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors rejecting this, one of the *French* anſwer'd, *He was much ſurpris'd that they were not come with Power to make the ſame Conceſſions to the* Moſt Chriſtian King, *as their Maſter had granted to his* Catholick Majeſty, *ſince they might eaſily imagine* France *would ſuffer no Inequality in this Affair*.

The English *and* French *agree.*

This put ſome Stop to the Negotiation, but in effect the Ambaſſadors of *England* ſoon conſented to agree to all the Articles with *Spain*, except three; of which one was concerning a Toleration for the *Engliſh* Catholicks; another for a publick Church for the Retinue of the Lady; and the laſt related to the Education of thoſe Children who ſhould be born of this Marriage, who 'till twelve Years of Age were to be in the Hands of the Queen, to educate them in her own Religion. The *French* repreſented it would do great Service to the King of *England*, by uniting to his Party all the *Engliſh* Catholicks, who would oppoſe themſelves to the *Puritans* and *Presbyterians*, by whom the King was not truly belov'd: But the Ambaſſadors would never conſent to grant a Church to the Papiſts, which would endanger a Mutiny in *London*, tho' they agreed to the Article concerning the Education of Children; but yet rejected to have a Biſhop ſent with the Lady, as a Matter of no Uſe. As for the Dowry, the King of *England* inſiſted upon eight hundred thouſand Crowns, of which one half was to be paid in *London* the Evening before the Marriage, two hundred thouſand a Year after, and the reſt in ſix Months after that. There was alſo a Proviſo made, that if the Lady ſhould die before the Prince without Children, he ſhould be oblig'd only to reſtore the Moiety. All this being agreed, the main thing was to procure a Diſpenſation from the Pope to permit the Lady to marry with an Heretick Prince; for his Holineſs was no ways pleas'd with the Marriage, leſt it might occaſion the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*. Therefore Father *Berullet*, who was ſent to *Rome* for that Purpoſe, us'd many Arguments with the Pope, and inſiſted upon the numerous Advantages that would accrue to the Catholick Religion by this Marriage; ſo that at length the Pope was mollify'd, and conſented to a Diſpenſation, which in three Months Time was compleated.

While one Negotiation was carry'd on at *Rome*, another more ſecret was managing in *England* by the Arch-Biſhop of *Embrun*, who was ſent over by the *French* King in Favour of the *Roman* Catholicks in *England*, and likewiſe to ſound King *James* about his Thoughts of the *Romiſh*

Re-

The ſecret Treaty of the Arch-Biſhop of Embrun *in* England.

He confirms ten thouſand in London.

Religion; of which remarkable Tranſaction we have this following Account from the Arch-Biſhop himſelf, and from Monſieur *D'Ageant*, a prime Miniſter of State in *France*. This Prelate, who was a Man of great Knowledge and Experience, having receiv'd his Orders from the *French* King, took a Voyage into *England*, in the Habit and Name of a Counſellor of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, whom Curioſity had induc'd to ſee the Nation. He was ſoon met and diſcover'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who told him, *That there was no Occaſion for him to change his Name or conceal his Quality, for he ſhould receive nothing but Honour, eſpecially from the King his Maſter, who had a very particular Eſteem for him.* Shortly after he introduc'd him to the King at *Royſton*, who entertain'd him very graciouſly, and order'd the Duke to be preſent all the Time of the Diſcourſe, which laſted above two Hours. At this firſt Meeting, he prevail'd ſo far, that Orders were immediately given to releaſe many *Roman* Catholicks out of Priſon, in *London* and other Places, and the Execution of many Laws againſt them was ſuſpended; and further he was permitted to adminiſter Confirmation to what Catholicks he pleas'd, in the Houſe of the *French* Ambaſſador, while the Doors were open. Accordingly he confirm'd above ten thouſand, in the Preſence of a great Concourſe of People at the Door and in the Street; at which many were extreamly offended, and complain'd of it to the King, but to no Effect, for his Majeſty anſwer'd them, *That he did nothing contrary to his Pleaſure*. The Arch-Biſhop had ſeveral Conferences with the King, in which his Majeſty teſtify'd his great Deſire to be ally'd to *France*, and the other inſiſted upon a Toleration, as the moſt effectual Means to give Satiſfaction to the Catholick Princes: Whereupon the King laying his Hand upon his Hand, ſaid, *I plainly ſee that you are a Perſon appointed by God, in whom I ought to confide, and to reveal the Secrets of my Heart.*

K. James's *Diſcourſes with him.*

Afterwards, he freely acknowledg'd to the Arch-Biſhop the good Opinion he had conceiv'd of the Catholick Faith, and ſo particularly, That he omitted nothing; proteſting to him, ‘ That during his Minority, his Tutors having perceiv'd his Inclination to that Religion, he ran great Hazards of being aſſaſſinated: As to a Toleration, he profeſs'd he had long deſign'd to grant it in his Dominions, and for that very Purpoſe, he intended to ſummon an Aſſembly of Prelates and other learned Men of *England*, together with an equal Number of Foreigners, and upon the Deciſions there made, to found the ſaid Liberty; adding, That he had already determin'd what Perſons ſhould be choſen among the *Engliſh*; and that if the Aſſembly could not meet at *Dover*, he would conſent that it ſhould be holden at *Boloign*, as ſoon as he ſhould be in a Condition to rely upon the King of *France*, by the Means of the intended Marriage: And to procure theſe good Effects, he thought convenient, that after the Conſummation of it, the Arch-Biſhop ſhould return into *England* under the Pretence of accompanying the Princeſs, at which Time he would deliver to him two Letters written with his own Hand, one for the *French* King, and the other for the Pope, containing his ſerious Reſolutions: He would alſo give him a diſtinct Memorial concerning his Intention, which he would Sign, that the Arch-Biſhop being furniſh'd with theſe Diſpatches, he ſhould go to *Rome*, under colour of viſiting the Apoſtolick See, there to treat with the Pope alone, for whom, he ſaid, he had a greater Reſpect and Affection, ever ſince he underſtood he had compos'd Verſes in his Youth of the violent Death of the Queen of *Scotland* his Mother, in Commendation of her, and of the Family of the *Stuarts*, which he ſhew'd to the Arch-Biſhop.’ He further declar'd, ‘ That in Caſe the Arch-Biſhop return'd from *Rome* with the Approbation of his Holineſs concerning the Convention, he would cauſe it forthwith to be aſſembled, whereupon extraordinary and admirable Events would enſue: But before he proceeded to diſcover his Deſign as to his own Perſon, he would negotiate with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, and with the Principal *Puritan* Lords of *England* and *Scotland*, and promis'd that all things ſhould tend to a happy Concluſion, and to the great Advantage of the Catholick Church. This, ſays the Arch-Biſhop, is the Subſtance of all the Diſcourſes they had at ſeveral Times upon this Subject.

His Letter to the Pope.

Monſieur *D' Ageant* further tells us, that being ſatisfy'd as to all the Points in Controverſie, the King wrote a long Letter to the Pope, by a Catholick Gentleman his Subject, whom he privately ſent to him on purpoſe, ‘ In which he acknowledg'd him as the *Vicar General of Jeſus Chriſt* on Earth, as the *univerſal Father of the Chriſtians*, and the *Chief of all Catholicks*; aſſuring him, that after he had taken Care of thoſe things to which he had agreed, he would openly declare himſelf: In the mean Time he promis'd not to ſuffer any Search to be made in his Kingdom after Prieſts that were ſent by his *Holineſs*, or the *Moſt Chriſtian King*, provided they were not *Jeſuits*, in whom he proteſted he could not confide, for ſeveral Reaſons; principally becauſe he accounted them the Authors of the Gun-Powder Treaſon, by which they were to have blown up him and the Chief of the Nation.’ In his Letter, among other Particulars, he intreated the Pope ‘ To vouchſafe that the Goods of the Church that were enter'd into the Patrimony of the principal Families of *England* ſhould not be taken from them; but that they ſhould be permitted ſtill to enjoy them, becauſe otherwiſe great Trouble and Commotions would enſue.’ He affirm'd moreover, ‘ That nothing could hinder him from making a publick Profeſſion of the Catholick Religion at this Time, but the Deſire he had to gain the King of *Denmark* his Brother-in-Law, whom he had for that End, tho' under another Pretence, ſollicited to come over into *England*, where he hop'd to convert him: That by doing this, he ſhould be able to eſtabliſh Peace in his own Dominions, which otherwiſe could hardly be maintain'd; and that they two united in the ſame Deſign, would draw after them almoſt all the Northern Countries.’ The Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Gentleman he ſent to *Rome*, were the only two Perſons, that were Subjects, to whom he communicated theſe Intentions. The Duke had promis'd to follow him, and had made a conſiderable Progreſs in the Affair; but all theſe remarkable Deſigns were made void by the Death of the King of *England* not long after, at which the *French* King, declaring the News to the Arch-Biſhop of *Embrun*, expreſs'd a very ſenſible Regret in theſe Words, *All our Hopes of* England *are loſt.* Thus far the two *French* Authors, Monſieur *D' Ageant*, and *William D' Hugues*, Arch-Biſhop of *Embrun*; of whom we can ſay no more, than that the Credit of their Narrative muſt be left to all nice and impartial Readers of this Reign.

The Marriage Treaty concluded.

Cenſures upon it.

In the mean Time the Marriage-Treaty with *France* ſucceeded, and held fewer Months than the Years that were ſpent in that of *Spain*. In *Auguſt* the Match was concluded, and in *November* the Articles were ſworn to by King *James*, Prince *Charles*, and the *French* King; tho' they were not fully concluded till *February* following, nor the Match conſummated 'till after the King's Death. Cardinal *Richlieu*, to prevent all Conteſts that might ariſe by Means of this Alliance, as in former Times had happen'd, oblig'd Madam the Princeſs to renounce all Succeſſions, both Direct and Collateral, which might accrue to her; for which eight hundred thouſand Crowns was to be given to her in Marriage. He alſo took care that her Houſe ſhou'd be compos'd of as great a Number of Officers, as any Queen of *England* ever had: That her Dowry ſhould be ſixty thouſand Crowns *per Annum*, which ſhould be aſſign'd her upon Lands, one of which ſhould be a Dutchy or an Earldom: That if ſhe became a Widow, ſhe ſhould have her Choice to ſtay in *England*, or come into *France*, whether ſhe had Children or not; and if ſhe return'd into *France*, the King of *England* ſhould be oblig'd to conduct her at his own Charge, with agreeable Honours, as far as *Calais*. The publick Articles concerning Religion were not much ſhort of thoſe for the *Spaniſh* Match; beſides which *Ruſhworth* mentions ſome private Articles in favour of the *Roman* Catholicks, which *Nalſon*, upon rational Grounds, looks upon as fictitious, particularly for not being to be found in Monſieur *D' Ageant*'s Memoirs, where the Secrets of the *Engliſh* Court were, or pretended to be, diſcover'd. Yet the *French* Author of Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Life in Effect declares as much as *Ruſhworth*, namely, that the King and Prince took a particular Oath to releaſe all the Catholick Priſoners, as ſoon as the Marriage was conſummated, and to prohibit for the future their being ill-treated for their Religion: And further, that they both gave a Promiſe in Writing, by which they bound themſelves, by no Way or Means whatſoever, to oblige the Princeſs to change her Religion. The Author likewiſe highly reflects upon the Wiſdom of King *James*, and ſays, ‘ As this Match was againſt all the Maxims of good Policy, ſo it drew upon his Son King *Charles* thoſe Miſchiefs, which perhaps never befel any King ſucceeding to an Hereditary Crown; and his Sons born of that Marriage, and ſeduc'd by their Mother's Perſuaſions, have been moſt unfortunate ſince his Death. And ſeveral were of Opinion, that Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was then contriving a War againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſent this Princeſs into *England*, as a Ball of Diſſention, that would create ſo much Trouble in that Nation, as would incapacitate them from diſturbing their Neighbours Affairs.

A. D. 1625.
Reg. 23.

Count Mansfield *comes into* England.

Yet ſtill King *James* thought it a propitious Match, and a great Step towards the Reſtoration of the *Palatinate*, and his unfortunate Progeny; but this prov'd no more ſucceſsful than another feeble Attempt this Year, made by Count *Mansfield*, who came into *England* for that Purpoſe, was receiv'd with great Splendor, and made Commander of an Army of twelve thouſand *Engliſhmen*. Theſe Forces were deſign'd to paſs through *France* into *Germany*, the *French* having promis'd, as well an Addition of Strength, as a free Paſſage. The *French*, notwithſtanding their Promiſe, and the Treaty of Marriage, delay'd, tho' not directly deny'd their Paſſage; nevertheleſs the whole Army was ſhipp'd off, and put over to *Calais*; and after a tedious Stay, in hopes yet to land and paſs through the Country, they were forc'd to ſet ſail for *Zealand*. Neither were they ſuffer'd to land there, coming ſo unexpectedly upon the States, and in a hard and ſcarce Time for Proviſion of Victuals. Thus they were long confin'd to their narrow Veſſels, and ſuffer'd the want of all Neceſſaries, by which means a Peſtilence broke out among them, and rag'd ſo extreamly, that they were thrown into the Sea by Multitudes: Inſomuch that ſcarce a third Part of the Men were landed, which alſo ſoon after decreas'd and diſpers'd, and the whole Deſign vaniſh'd into Air. Thus continually unfortunate was the King in the deplorable Caſe of his Children; and neither he nor his Son ſaw the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, which happen'd not 'till twenty three Years after, when the Monarchy of *England* was under a fatal Eclipſe, and its Sovereign Lord, by an unheard-of Example, brought to the Scaffold to loſe his Head.

His Expedition unfortunate.

Before King *James* could ſee the Misfortunes of Count *Mansfield*, or the Marriage of his Son, he was ſeiz'd with a Tertian Ague that prov'd fatal to him. This was preceded by the Deaths of two great and worthy Men, *Lodowick* Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, and *James* Marqueſs of *Hamilton*; which exceedingly affected the King, who being inform'd of the Death of the latter, ſaid, *If the Branches be thus cut down, the Stock cannot continue long:* Which Saying was ſhortly verify'd. His great Indiſpoſition meeting with a fat and unwieldy Body, and daily increaſing, he retir'd to *Theobalds*; and the Lord-Keeper *Williams* having Notice that they fear'd his Sickneſs was mortal, went and preſented himſelf before his Majeſty, endeavouring to divert him, and bring him to a chearful Diſcourſe, but all in vain: Thus he continu'd by his Bed-ſide 'till Midnight, but the King found no Comfort. The next Morning, after a Conſultation of Phyſicians, he ſaw no Hopes of Life, and therefore he ask'd leave of the Prince to acquaint his Father with his weak Condition, and put him in Mind both of his mortal and immortal State. Having the Prince's Conſent, he went into his Majeſty's Chamber, and kneeling down told him, *He knew he ſhould neither diſpleaſe nor diſcourage him, if he brought him the Meſſage of* Iſaiah *to* Hezekiah, *to ſet his Houſe in Order; for he concluded his Days to come would be but few in the World.* At which the King calmly reply'd, *I am ſatisfy'd, and I deſire you to aſſiſt me in preparing to go hence, and to be with Chriſt, whoſe Mercies I pray for, and hope to find them.* Finding himſelf much declining, he call'd the Prince his Son to his Bed-ſide, and recommended ſeveral uſeful Precepts to his future Conſideration; but one eſpecially, *viz. love his intended Wife, but not her Religion*; while the Keeper continually watch'd with his Royal Maſter, and never ſo much as put off his Cloaths to go to Bed, 'till after his Death. His great Buſineſs was frequently to pray, read and diſcourſe about Repentance, Faith, and Remiſſion of Sins, Reſurrection, and Eternal Life; all which was the Preparation on *Wedneſday* for the bleſſed Sacrament on *Thurſday*, which his Majeſty receiv'd *with ſingular Comfort*. On *Friday* he became ſenſibly weaker; ſo that now the Keeper ſtirr'd very little out of the Chamber, and that not only to comfort the departing King, but likewiſe to keep off ſome of the *Romiſh* Religion, who were watching about the Chamber-Door, whom, as a Privy-Counſellor, he commanded to keep at a greater Diſtance. As he drew near to his End, the Prayer uſually ſaid at the Hour of Death being ended, having repeated theſe Words, *Veni Domine Jeſu*, he gave up the Ghoſt without any Pangs, as are commonly ſeen in dying Perſons, and the Keeper clos'd his Eyes with his own Hands. This was upon *Sunday* the twenty ſeventh of *March*, being fifty eight Years of Age, and having reign'd twenty two Years and three Days. Many ſcandalous Rumours were ſpread concerning his Death; and ſome took the liberty to write that he was poiſon'd, as the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* had been before him; which might be occaſion'd by the too bold Officiouſneſs of the Duke of *Buckingham* in adminiſtring his own Phyſick. But upon opening his Body, there was found no Mark or Sign of Poiſon, his inward Parts being all ſound; only his Spleen was a little affected, which might be Cauſe enough to throw him into an Ague. His Body, for the greater State, was convey'd by Torch-Light from *Theobalds* to *Somerſet-Houſe*, where being depoſited from the twenty third Day of *April*, to the ſeventh of *May*, it was carry'd to *Weſtminſter*, where, according to Sir *Richard Baker*, it was interr'd with great Solemnity, but with greater Lamentation.

The King's laſt Sickneſs.

His Death.

His Character.

To come at laſt to the Perſon and Character of this Prince, we find it a hard Undertaking to draw the Picture of one who had ſo many different Aſpects; eſpecially where both Friends and Enemies have ſo far exceeded the Limits of Juſtice and Impartiality. As to his Perſon and Preſence he made but an Ordinary Figure; his Countenance was homely, his Features harſh, tho' not altogether uncomely; his Stature was of the middle Size, his Body not ill compacted, but fat and unwieldy in his latter Days, uſually wearing his Cloaths plain, large, and different from the common Mode. But as to his Mind, he has receiv'd the higheſt Applauſes and Commendations, particularly, That he was the *Solomon* of the Age for *Knowledge*, *Learning* and *Wiſdom*; one, who knew how to catch the Inclinations of the People at the firſt Rebound, not ſuffering them to mount higher than he could reach them, nor grow ſo ſtrong, but he could either alter or divert them: That he had an admirable Pregnancy of *Wit*, which being improv'd by continual Study, he acquir'd ſuch a Promptneſs and Elegancy in expreſſing his Mind, that his extemporary Speeches were little inferior to his premeditated Writings: That he was a *mild*, *peaceful* and *munificent* Monarch, ſuitable to the *Engliſh* Genius and Nation. All which Particulars were really true, but ſtill with a remarkable Mixture of Allay; and without that, *Wilſon* acknowledges, that his high, towering and maſtering Reaſon had been of a rare and ſublim'd Excellency. Upon which Account, his *Knowledge* has been by ſome thought fitter for the Head of a Society, than the Governor of a Kingdom; his *Learning* to border more upon Pedantry, than riſe to a compleat Underſtanding; his *Wiſdom* to have more of Subtlety, or a Sagacity in diſcovering Miſchiefs, than an Ability of ſurmounting them; and his *Wit* too often to deſcend to inferior Sorts of Jeſts and Quibbles, which was the common way of Wit in that Age. His *Munificence* was many Times a direct Profuſeneſs, and a waſting of the Revenues of the Crown; and his *peaceful Temper*, which made him take *Beati Pacifici* for his Motto, had too much of a timorous Diſpoſition, not to ſay Cowardize; which caus'd him not only to be often contemn'd by Foreign Princes, but alſo at home to be govern'd, and ſometimes inſulted by his Favourites, which was one of the greateſt of his Weakneſſes: And this led him to another Quality, or rather an Acquiſition, which ſome thought as wicked, as the other was weak, which he call'd by the Name of *King-Craft*, others an *exquiſite Skill in Diſſimulation*; in which he ſo much delighted, that it ſeems to be the greateſt of all his Blemiſhes. He had excellent Notions in Conception, but could bring but few into Action, tho' they tended to his own Preſervation: And this was one of his Maxims, of which he made no timely Uſe: *A Prince, who would avoid Conſpiracies, ought to be rather jealous of ſuch, whom his Favours have advanc'd, than of thoſe whom his Frowns have diſcontented: For the Latter want Means, while the Former have them at Pleaſure, to execute their Deſigns.* But to come to his moral Virtues, in ſpite of Calumny, he was eminent for his Chaſtity, which was remarkable in a Court ſo looſe and luxurious as his own. He was very temperate in his Exerciſes, and Diet, and not intemperate in his Drinking; yet he drank very often of the ſtrongeſt ſweet Wines, but always in very ſmall Quantities, and rather out of a Cuſtom than any Delight, as *Weldon* himſelf acknowledges. He was by Education patient, pious and religious; yet ſometimes his Choler and Paſſion would prevail over all, and throw him into the profaneſt Oaths and Curſes; for which he would afterwards ſhew himſelf heartily penitent: And indeed, he was not only ready to ask Forgiveneſs of God, but alſo of Men; and ſometimes in ſuch a peculiar Manner, that they could ſcarcely ſay whether it was a pious Condeſcenſion, or an abject Diſpoſition. As to his Religion, in which he diſplay'd the Height of his Parts and Learning, he was really a *Calviniſt* in moſt Points, excepting that of Epiſcopacy, as appears from ſome of his Books, and his Zeal for the Synod of *Dort:* Yet he gave very unhappy Suſpicions to the Nation, by making ſuch Advances to the Pope and Papiſts, upon the Account of the *Spaniſh* and *French* Treaties. Notwithſtanding his open Indulgencies, and perhaps ſecret Inclinations to the *Roman* Catholicks, yet in many publick Speeches he declar'd againſt them, and once in a very remarkable Manner, in the Preſence of many Lords, as we find it in *Croke*'s Reports; for having been charg'd with a Deſign of granting a Toleration to Papiſts, he made a ſolemn Proteſtation, *That he would ſpend the laſt Drop of Blood in his Body before he would do it; and pray'd, That before any of his Iſſue ſhould maintain any other Religion than his own, that God would take them out of the World.* How far this Imprecation reach'd or affected himſelf, or any of his Family afterwards, we leave to the Determination of an omniſcient Being.

His Reign in general.

To take ſome Notice of this Reign in general, it is highly remarkable, that tho' the Nation was warlike and ready to kindle at any Flame, yet this King kept it his whole Reign all in Peace, without any War from abroad, or Rebellion at home. It is true, there were ſome Heats between him and his Parliaments about the *Prerogative*; and it happen'd then, as it does in moſt Feuds, Things were carry'd to great Extremities: Yet impartial Writers think, that conſidering his Majeſty's Circumſtances, he was not well us'd, and that if the Houſe had been freed from half a dozen popular and diſcontented Members, the Diſturbances would ſoon have ended. It is alſo remarkable, that during this whole Reign the King never took away the Life of one Nobleman in *England*, but reſtor'd many; yet his artificial taking off Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by vertue of a former Condemnation, after an equitable Reſtoration, and his ſparing the Earl and Counteſs of *Somerſet*, after ſuch Imprecations upon himſelf and Progeny, are both real Blemiſhes in this King's Conduct. He came to the Crown with all the Advantages of Power, Love and Reputation, and the former Part of the Reign was more active and laudable; but the latter, with the encreaſing Weakneſs of the publick Miniſtry, became more paſſive, and declin'd in Vigour and Greatneſs to the laſt Moment of his Life. If we conſider the whole Reign with the former, it will bear no Compariſon; and tho' there was a great Increaſe of Affluence and Trade, the Reputation of *England* began ſenſibly to ſink; ſo that the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, when join'd under one Monarch, made a leſs Figure, than one of them had in former Ages. The martial Heat and Exerciſe of the Nation began gradually to decline, by the Example of a pacifick King; and Sir *Richard Baker* obſerves that two Things in this Reign grew to loſe their Luſtre: One, the Exerciſe of Tilting, which in the laſt Reign was ſo much us'd, that no Year paſs'd without ſpecial Solemnities in that Kind: The other, the Band of Gentlemen-Penſioners and Yeomen of the Guard, which in the Queen's Time conſiſted of the moſt ſelect Perſons of the Realm for Stature, and other Qualifications; and was ſo noble an Ornament in her Court, that no Prince in Chriſtendom could ſhew the like. But this King ſo little valued theſe Particulars, that both in his Time came utterly to be neglected; no Solemnity of Arms but by Accident, and no Regard had to what Perſons were admitted into that Service. In ſhort, the main Conduct of the Reign ſeems inconſiſtent with it ſelf, and differing from the common Methods of Mankind: Therefore whatever may be ſaid in Commendation of the Bleſſings of Peace and Plenty, and whatever Rhetorick has been us'd to extol the uninterrupted Pleaſures of this Reign, it cannot be deny'd, but that this admir'd Calm was only the Fore-runner of a moſt diſmal Storm, and that this peaceful Monarch was not only really unfortunate in himſelf and Daughter, but alſo left to his Son an unneceſſary War, an exhauſted Treaſury, and a Crown of Troubles and Thorns. Of which we may be more particular, when, in another Volume, we come to trace the ſeveral Steps, and lay open the various Springs of thoſe tumultuous and calamitous Times.

THE

PREFACE.

(As Printed to the Firſt Edition of the Second Volume.)

TO do real Juſtice, and to be truly faithful to myſelf at this Time, I muſt begin after the ſame Manner I did in the Preface to my Firſt Volume, and declare, That it was with the Advice, and at the Inſtance of ſeveral conſiderable Friends and others, that I undertook the Continuation, *as well as the former Part of the* Hiſtory of England: *Not then ſo clearly foreſeeing the numerous Difficulties and Diſcouragements I was to meet with, from the Rage and Blindneſs of Parties, the nice Taſte of ſome, and the wrong Taſte of others, the Scantineſs of my own Fortunes, my Diſtance from Books and able Aſſiſtants, and from other Impediments and Obſtructions, the Inconveniencies of which I have ſufficiently felt ſince this Continuation was begun, and may expect to feel more now it is going into the World. I was indeed inſenſibly led on, and drawn into a Work that appear'd ſo plainly beneficial to the Publick, and in no long Time I found myſelf irretrievably ingag'd. After which, without regarding any of theſe Difficulties, I proceeded with a full Reſolution to go through with it; and without Fear or Concern for any Objections that cou'd be made to the Work in General, whatever might be rais'd as to Particulars. But to ſay ſomething with Relation to Both.*

The main Reaſon given for writing of the Firſt Volume was, to ſave an Engliſhman *the Trouble of reading over a* Library *inſtead of a ſingle Hiſtory, which he muſt have done in effect to be Maſter of his Subject. The Reaſon will hold ſtronger in this Second Volume, of which the Materials and Writings were ſo various and numerous, that I was two or three Years in Procuring, Collecting, and Peruſing of them: And ſtill I am not certain whether I have got all that are material. However, above two hundred Writers, of all Sorts, have been us'd in this Volume; which, for the ſmall Number of Years, contains more ſurpriſing Variety than the Hiſtory of any other Nation known to this Part of the World.*

To name ſome of the chief of theſe Authors; For thoſe call'd Hiſtories *and* Chronicles, *I had the* Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, *by* J. D. *a judicious Writer us'd ſometimes by the Lord* Clarendon *himſelf, The* Complete Hiſtory of *England, lately written without a Name, the Lord* Clarendon, Sanderſon, Fuller, Heylyn, T. May, Sprigge, Clem. Walker, Ham. Leſtrange, Philips, Heath, Vicars, Fowlis, Temple, Walſh, Borlace, Cox, La Vaſſor, *and* Salmonet. *For the leſſer ſort, I had Sir* William Dugdale, *Sir* Roger Manley, *Dr.* Bates, Florus Anglicus, Standford, Mercurius Ruſticus, Coke, Hobbs, Price, Davies, *and Father* Orleans. *For* Collections, *I had* Ruſhworth, Nalſon, Whitelock *with Manuſcript Additions*, Frankland, *Sir* Edward Walker, Bibliotheca Regia, Scrinia Sacra, Crew, Prynne, Husbands, *and* Scobel. *For particular* Memoirs, *which were of ſingular uſe in this Work, I had Sir* Thomas Herbert, *Sir* Philip Warwick, *Mr.* Denzil Hollis, *Major* Huntington, *Col.* Bamfield, E. Cooke, H. Firebrace, *Sir* John Berkley, *the Lord* Fairfax, *Sir* John Bowring, D. Lloyd, *Biſhop* Guthry, *Dr.* Burnet, E. Ludlow, J. Locke, *and Dr.* Welwood. *Beſides theſe I had many Lives of particular Perſons, as of* Williams, Laud, Uſher, Bramhall, Heylyn, Tromp, Monk, Hacket, *&c. together with* Tryals, Journals, Miſcellanies, *and innumerable* Pamphlets *of all Kinds; beſides ſeveral* Manuſcripts *and particular* Informations *that never yet appear'd in the World.*

I have likewiſe made it my particular Care and Buſineſs to enquire and examine into all that has been ſaid for and againſt King Charles *the Firſt, his Reign, and Adminiſtration; and, as far as it was poſſible, have read over and conſider'd all the* Vindications, Apologies, *and* Defences *on one Side, and the* Charges, Accuſations, Reflections, *and* Libels *on the other, that were publiſh'd either in thoſe Times, or ſince the great Revolution in* 1688. *Upon which Subject greater Number of Books and Pamphlets have been written, than upon the Life and Actions, perhaps, of any one King or private Perſon ſince the Creation. To name a few of theſe Writers; on the one Side, we have the old Earl of* Briſtol, *the Lord* Falkland, *Sir* Edward Hyde, *Sir* Robert Holborn, *Sir* Edward Walker, *Sir* Philip Warwick, *Sir* Thomas Herbert, *Sir* William Dugdale, *Sir* Roger Manley, *Biſhop* Laud, *Biſhop* Hacket, *Biſhop* Guthry, *Mr.* Henderſon, *Dr.* Perrinchief, *Dr.* Heylyn, *Dr.* Ryves, *Dr.* Bates, *Mr.* Symmons, *Dr.* Burnet, *Dr.* Nalſon, *Dr.* Hollingworth, *Mr.* Tyrrel, *Mr.* Barron, *Mr.* Wagſtaff, *&c. together with* Salmatius, Du Moulin, *and ſome Foreigners. On the contrary Side, beſides the* Declarations *and* Remonſtrances *of the Long Parliament and Army, the* Originals *from whence moſt of them have Copy'd, we have* Prynne, May, Milton, Peyton, Goodwin, Withers, Lilly, Nevil, Ludlow, Baxter, Calamy, Welden, Coke, Walker, Oates, *and* Toland; *beſides ſeveral* Secret Hiſtorians, *and innumerable others who have not thought fit to oblige the World with their Names.*

The Trouble I had in Collecting, Ranging, and Digeſting theſe Materials, tho' great, and not eaſy to be judg'd of, was ſtill ſhort of what I met with from my ſedulous Application to Living Aſſiſtants. For at my firſt entring upon this Volume, I was infinitely deſirous to receive the beſt Advice and Inſtructions, and to obtain any unpubliſh'd Memoirs, Letters, Records, *and other* Papers, *that were likely to improve and enrich the Work. Accordingly I did, as much as I cou'd with Decency, get into the Acquaintance of thoſe in* London *and the two Univerſities, beſides others, that appear'd moſt capable of aſſiſting me; and, ſo far as I durſt, or could meet with Opportunity, I apply'd myſelf to Men of all Ranks and Parties; ſometimes to argue and debate upon particular Points and Difficulties, other times to get a Sight of uncommon Books and Manuſcripts, and at all times to acquire new Lights and Supports for the clearing and eſtabliſhing the Truth. To arrive at which, I made no Scruple as to their Opinions and Perſwaſions, but endeavour'd to enter into the Converſation of all that were ſenſible and knowing in my Buſineſs; without conſidering what Notions they taught, or what Profeſſions they made either as to* Religion *or* Politicks.

From ſome of all theſe I have gain'd conſiderable Helps and Advantages, of different kinds; ſometimes proper Hints, remote Directions, and awakening Notions; other times direct Informations, and more particular Lights and Diſcoveries, and ſometimes curious Books, valuable Letters, and other Manuſcripts. I am ſorry to ſay, that among thoſe to whom I offer'd myſelf and Service, I met with a ſtrange Variety of Treatment, as well as Variety of Diſappointment; ſome being ſo very frank, communicative, and couragious, and others ſo extreamly ſhy, reſerv'd, and apprehenſive, that it was ſurpriſing, to almoſt any but a Hiſtorian, to find ſo much Difference in the Natures and Circumſtances of Mankind. However, I acknowledge with all Gratitude that I have receiv'd a proportionable Knowledge from the major Part of thoſe from whom I expected it; and more from ſeveral of them, than to whom I know how to make a ſuitable Return. And here I deſire to teſtifie and declare my hearty Thanks to all that really did, or but endeavour'd to add Light to this Work, without preſuming to mention their Names: For to publiſh the Names of thoſe that aſſiſted and wiſh'd well to me, may be thought as vain and impertinent, as it wou'd be invidious and ill-natur'd to publiſh thoſe that refus'd and ſuſpected me. Indeed, if I had known of any Perſon of either Side that deſired it, he ſhou'd not have fail'd of being gratify'd.

AFTER ſuch a pompous Account of the Work as this, it is poſſible that the Reader's Imagination may have been too much rais'd, and ſo far as to expect at once to ſee the plenary Effects and Products of it: But here——with no little Concern, I muſt let him know, that the greateſt Part of this tedious and deep-founded Fabrick lies unhappily bury'd under Ground; and that moſt of that Expence of Time, Money, Labour, and Application, is, and muſt be ſtill inviſible to the World; and that from the outward Appearance of the Work, too little of the Contrivance, Pains, and Charges is to be diſcern'd even by curious Examiners, much leſs by tranſient Obſervers.

But to let the Reader know what is viſible, and what he may expect to ſee, if he pleaſes to peruſe the Work in Order as it was written, and not by Leaps, Starts, and diſtant Parcels;

Parcels ; It is a regular, uniform, and clear Account of about thirty five Years of the moſt important and wonderful Part of the Engliſh *Hiſtory ; and if not ſo large and voluminous, yet more full and complete than any one Author that has written before upon the ſame Subject. As this Period was very difficult and unweildy, as well from the Form and Mould into which it was to be caſt, as from the Contrariety and Redundancy of the Materials ; ſo I took particular Pains as to the due Modelling and Ranging the ſeveral Parts, and have actually improv'd the Method us'd in my former Hiſtories, in a more exact Diſtribution of the ſeveral Stages, and a more clear Diſtinction between the greater and the leſſer* Periods; *which I thought had been too little regarded by former Writers. Connection and Diſtinction, as well as Tranſitions and Diviſions, are highly conducing to the working up a regular Piece, by which the Reader inſenſibly finds the Light and Advantage, even before he knows the Cauſe, or from whence they ſpring : All which conſpire to produce the Majeſty and Simplicity, no leſs than the Beauty and Uniformity of a valuable Hiſtory.*

As to the firſt of theſe Qualifications, tho' I always kept it in View, and I hope ſo as to make it generally conſpicuous ; yet, to render the Whole more Complete, *and to anſwer the Expectations of a numerous ſort of Readers, curious in ſome Particulars, I have ſeveral times deviated and deſcended from the Dignity of an* Hiſtorian, *and voluntarily fallen into the lower Claſs of* Biographers, Annaliſts, *&c. more eſpecially in Catalogues of Mens* Names, *particular Deſcriptions of publick* Solemnities, Proceſſions, Entries, *&c. which I have been often aſſur'd, and am fully ſatisfy'd, wou'd be acceptable and uſeful to the Generality of the Nation. I have endeavour'd to provide Entertainment for the Weaker, as well as the Stronger Conſtitutions. But to the Former, I have diſpos'd of it in ſuch Portions, and at ſuch Seaſons, that I hope I may acquire the Pardon of the Judicious, at the ſame time that I obtain the Thanks of the Vulgar. And after all, it has been too uſual for Hiſtorians of the higheſt Claſs, and largeſt Views, frequently to omit and overlook Things little and trivial in Themſelves, only becauſe they are ſo in Themſelves ; without conſidering how neceſſary, and even ornamental, the pooreſt Materials are in the nobleſt Buildings, when they are put in their proper Places, and by the Hands of a ſkilful Workman.*

This ſeems often to have been the Caſe of our noble and beſt Hiſtorian, whoſe Work ought to continue as long as the Name of the Engliſh *Nation: And becauſe I may be thought too much to have trodden upon the Heels of that great Man, I ought to be a little particular, and ſay ſomething of what I have done with relation to Him ; and the rather, becauſe I know it is almoſt generally expected. In the firſt Place, I have taken a great deal of Pains to underſtand him throughly, and to compare him with my other Materials, which was no eaſy Task: I found uncommon Difficulties, and unaccountable Omiſſions, amidſt innumerable Beauties and Excellencies, beſides the glorious Marks of an Impartial and Extenſive, of a Penetrating and Profound Writer, who ſeem'd to have known Mankind above the beſt of Hiſtorians : So that the Work, tho' it has often given me the greateſt Eaſe and Light, it has much oftner occaſion'd me more hard Labour, and ſearching Pains, than if I had never ſeen or heard of it. And now I ſhall be ſo free with the Reader as to tell him, That I have made bold with that great Man upon all Occaſions, as well to skreen and vindicate, as to enrich and ennoble my own Work ; for the Benefit of which I have declin'd no Kinds of Liberties. As I have ſometimes copy'd, ſo I have oftner abridg'd him : I have ſometimes new-modell'd and methodiz'd him ; othertimes clear'd and explain'd him. Sometimes I have confirm'd and vindicated him ; and a few Times deſerted and contradicted him : And moreover I have often ſupply'd, and ſometimes improv'd him. ------ I ſpeak the laſt with the Pardon of my Readers, who, after theſe Commendations, may, if they think fit, add, That in ſome Places I have mutilated and debas'd him : Only, I may ſafely declare, That I never unhandſomely treated, or blackned him, as has been done by ſeveral Inſolent or Ignorant Writers of late. His Work indeed has been inhumanly ſtruck at by bold and deſperate Hands : Which not only confirms what is more generally known, That the nobleſt Writers can never be free from Faults or Cenſure ; but diſcovers ſuch a Malignancy, as if once let looſe, is ſufficient to darken the very Intellects, as well as infect the Morals of the Nation. If he be thus treated, how ſhall I expect to eſcape? ------ In ſuch Caſes nothing can protect an Author but Contempt and Obſcurity.*

But however, I ſhall not be afraid here to ſpeak for myſelf, and without Bluſhing to declare, That whatever Faults I have committed, and whatever Qualifications I have wanted, in the Writing of this Hiſtory, I never was deſtitute of Honeſty and Courage. I am ready to acknowledge as much Ignorance and Inadvertency as the moſt Ill-natur'd can demand of me, but I will give up no Part of my Integrity. I have had long Experience of the Heats and Fury, the Oppoſition and Wilfulneſs, as well as the Short-ſightedneſs and contracted Notions of Parties. *I have often look'd into the Infirmities as well as the Enormities that were intermix'd and abounded on both Sides ; and have writ boldly, without any Views of Obliging or Provoking any Man, or any Party of Men. I have conſider'd nothing more than the Enlightning of the Publick, and Poſterity, to whom I hope this Work, till a better appears, will be acceptable ; and, perhaps, when my Life is at an End, and ceaſes to be any longer uſeful to the World.* Impartiality *has always been* *my great Aim, a Thing not ſo hard to be Maſter of as the Generality of the World takes it to be: Error is much more difficult to deal withal, which oftentimes cauſes Ignorance to paſs for Partiality in a Writer: And yet ſtill the Charge of it as often ariſes from the Ignorance, or even Partiality of the* Reader, *as from the* Author *Himſelf. Impartiality is thought to be ſtrange, and almoſt incredible by thoſe whoſe Underſtandings are in the Poſſeſſion of a Party: But, as I hinted in my former Preface, I may venture to affirm, That, notwithſtanding the ſtrong Biaſs in Human Nature, it is ſtill as eaſy to be an Impartial Hiſtorian, as to be an Impartial Judge in* Weſtminſter-Hall; *and the One, as well as the Other, can certainly and unqueſtionably give juſt* Judgment, *tho' it ſhould prove never ſo much againſt his* Intereſt *and* Inclination. *However, it is a miſerable Miſtake to charge a Perſon with Partiality, becauſe he determines on one Side. There is ſometimes one great Difficulty indeed, which is to know how to judge Righteouſly; and another oftentimes as great, and that is, to make the World believe it: And he that is caſt in a Cauſe, too rarely believes that he has had Juſtice done him.*

But Aſſertions, Aſſeverations and Proteſtations of a Man's Probity in this Caſe, are to little purpoſe: Therefore I ſhall briefly alledge two Particulars, which I think will carry ſome Conviction along with them. Firſt, I alledge, it is now about eleven Years ſince this Volume was begun, when the Introduction *was ſubmitted to the ſtricteſt Scrutiny; during which Time, as every one knows, there have been ſeveral material Changes in the Government and Miniſtry, to which a deſigning Man might have been tempted to have caſt a ſquinting and malevolent Eye: Notwithſtanding which, neither before, nor at the Time it went to the Preſs, did I alter a ſingle Paſſage upon the Account of the* Times, *for the ſake of* Parties, *or with Reſpect to any particular* Perſon, *as may appear from the Manuſcript Copy: Which is ſome ſort of Proof that I have writ without* Views, *and clear from* Expectations; *tho' I ought not to preſume to think myſelf above* Acknowledgments.

Tho' I have not deſigned to exaſperate any, yet I fear that I have innocently offended many: Therefore, in the Second Place I alledge, That whereas it is more than probable, That through my own Short-ſightedneſs, Errors, or Negligence, I have ſometimes given juſt Offence either to particular Parties, or to private Families; I declare in all ſuch Caſes, both in this and the following Volume, upon due Information, and a reaſonable Proof of the Miſtake, I ſhall be ſo far from being tenacious in the wrong Notions of Honour and Humour, that I ſhall moſt readily and publickly recant and retract my Error; either in the next Edition *of this Work, if it ſhou'd ſhortly come to a Second, or in a particular* Appendix, *on purpoſe to be annex'd to it. And this free Offer I make out of a true Senſe of Honour and Conſcience, and of what a Writer is obliged by the ſtricteſt Tyes of Juſtice and Religion; and no ways out of Dread, Apprehenſion, or Regard to the Uſage I may meet with from any Man Living. I have all along writ with an honeſt and faithful Intention, without Fear or Reſerve, and without courting or engaging Friends or Enemies; and if I had obſerv'd and kept up to the Caution of ſome* wiſe *Men, I ſhou'd have made better Proviſion for my own Safety, but have render'd the Work much more Inſipid and Uſeleſs than it is at preſent.*

In Sum, if any Perſon, either in Print or otherwiſe, will generouſly inform me of my Miſtakes and Errors, I ſhall be heartily thankful to him, and will act accordingly; But if any Man ſhall publickly reproach me with them, I ſhall as much deſpiſe and contemn him. I ſhall look upon the Former as a worthy Benefactor to the Publick; and on the Latter, as a poor Diſcourager of all uſeful and laudable Deſigns.

April, 1718.

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

THE

INTRODUCTION,

(To the Second Volume as Firſt Printed.)

Giving ſome Account of the State of the Nation, and the Seeds of Publick Diſcontents, before the Acceſſion of King CHARLES *the Firſt.*

The Preface. I. TO give a clear and comprehenſive Account of ſuch a remarkable and melancholy Reign as that of King *Charles* the Firſt, it is highly requiſite to trace the main Steps, and lay open the chief Springs of thoſe Actions and Events, that at length not only prov'd uncommon, but even prodigious, and beyond the Reach of the moſt penetrating Foreſight: All which, without excluding the deep Mazes of Divine Providence, we ſhall modeſtly attempt, as far as our human Lights will direct us. In order to compaſs a Work of ſuch ſurpriſing Variety, it may be very proper, Firſt to take a tranſient and impartial View of human Nature in general, as it has been uſually diſcover'd, and Experimentally found in all Ages of the World: To conſider that great and extenſive Maſs, with all its various Mixtures, with its numerous Frailties, Corruptions, and Deviations from the Dignity of its firſt Creation; and to look upon the Majority of Men of all Nations, as Men, not as Saints, much leſs as Angels.

Human Nature conſider'd. As ſuch then we are to view the vaſt Body of Mankind; a Body liable to all the Imperfections and Misfortunes of a laps'd State, and a degenerate Condition; of which innumerable Members either have not been taught, or elſe cannot, or will not learn, much leſs practiſe their Duties. Some of them we find to be exorbitantly proud and imperious, ever imagining that no Reſpect or Rewards can be equal to their Merits and Abilities: Others to be implacable and revengeful, inſatiably thirſting after the Blood of their Enemies, and ſacrificing all rational Intereſts to their Reſentments: Another Sort are ſwell'd and inflam'd with Vanity and Popularity, conceitedly affecting to ſway the Power of the Multitude. Many are exceſſively covetous and rapacious, indefatigably working for their own private Intereſt and Profit: Others we find voluptuous and luxurious, impatient under any Oppoſition, and inrag'd with the leaſt Reſtraint of their Pleaſures and Humours: Several are ſubtle and deſigning, skilful in Diſguiſes and Artifices, and ready upon every Occaſion to propagate Lies and Calumnies: Great Numbers are found to be ſo light and credulous, as well as jealous and ſuſpicious, as to be deluded by every Repreſentation, and outward Appearance: Some are Chimerical and Romantick, whoſe prolifick Imaginations cannot keep within the Compaſs of Truth and ordinary Facts: And others are over-grown with Superſtition and Enthuſiaſm, and govern'd by unaccountable, as well as unintelligible Viſions and Impulſes. Moſt Men are apt to take firſt Impreſſions, and are by Nature partial, and have a mortal Averſion to hear well of their Enemies, or ſuch againſt whom they have any Prejudice. More ſtill are miſerably ſhort-ſighted, and exceedingly unacquainted with the Reaſons and Myſteries of State Affairs: And all Men have different Apprehenſions of many Things, whether Matters of Right, or Matters of Fact: Yet every Man is better qualify'd to diſcover Miſchiefs, than to cure them; frequently knowing what they wou'd not have, but very rarely what they would. So that conſidering theſe, and infinite other Alloys and Qualities almoſt inſeparable to human Nature, whether they may be term'd Mixtures or

Defects, Infirmities or Enormities, there is no Nation in the Univerſe but abounds with ſuch Numbers of Men, as are ſufficient and diſpos'd, by Nature or Accident, to overthrow the moſt Flouriſhing Kingdom in the World; and that without an *Univerſal Apoſtacy from Religion and Allegiance*. Eſpecially after ſuch a Surfeit of Peace, Pleaſures and Opulency, as *England* had receiv'd at the Death of King *James* the Firſt; and much more when there appear any Miſmanagements or Miſcarriages in the Government; which tho' of no threatning Conſequence in themſelves, are liable to be made fatal by the Aggravations and Miſrepreſentations of deſigning Men.

The State of England.

As theſe unfortunate Circumſtances are ever incident to all Kingdoms, States and Sovereignties on this ſide of Heaven, ſo they began to appear and operate in a particular Manner in *England* at the Time of the Acceſſion of King *Charles* the Firſt; about which Period of Time, it may be proper and inſtructive to conſider the State of the Nation in two main Capacities, *Civil* and *Religious*: In each of which we find ſome remarkable Misfortunes, in relation to the Fears and Apprehenſions of the People; more particularly in the firſt *Arbitrary Power*, and in the ſecond *Popery*; both which, together with ſome inferior Matters, dependant or coincident, prov'd extraordinary Diſturbers of the Quiet and Happineſs of the Kingdom.

The Civil State.

To begin then with the *Civil State* at this Time: Neither the Prerogative of the King, nor the Liberties of the People, were ſo fully fix'd and known, nor ſo effectually examin'd and canvas'd, as they have been in latter Times. The ancient Sovereignty of *Engliſh* Kings, either by inherent Right, frequent Practice, or meer Accident, was then more unlimited and uncertain; which caus'd the Power of Parliaments to be more precarious and reſtrain'd. For to ſay nothing of Divine and Original Claims, which have occaſion'd endleſs Diſputes in former Times by reaſon of the lage Revenues of *Crown Lands*, and *Fee Farms*, the *Court of Wards*, *Knights Service*, and other Emoluments as well as Privileges, the Kings were naturally more Independent, and conſequently the Parliaments were more Subſervient; excepting in tumultuous and neceſſitous Times, when the Badneſs of the Kings Titles, or their urgent Occaſions, accidentally encreas'd the other's Power and Authority.

Under Q. Elizabeth.

But to omit more ancient Practices, and to look back no further than the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, whoſe Name and Memory is ſtill ſo fragrant and glorious: We find ſeveral Inſtances of ſovereign Power on one ſide, and Subjects Submiſſion on the other, of which in our Times would neither be approv'd, nor allow'd. During her long and wonderful Reign, ſhe had but ten Parliaments, and thirteen diſtinct Seſſions, the longeſt of which continu'd but a little above four Months, and the ſhorteſt not much more than one; yet never was publick Buſineſs more happily diſpatch'd and concluded. She neither gave 'em Time to combine, nor Leave to examine her Prerogative, cenſure her Miniſters, or queſtion her Actions, whether they related either to Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. The Houſe of Commons, as *Naunton* obſerves, then generally conſiſted of grave and diſcreet Perſons, not factious and ambitious of Fame; ſuch as came not with a malevolent Spirit of Contention, but with Minds prepar'd to conſult the publick Good. Neither did the Houſe ever capitulate, or prefer their private Intereſt to the Neceſſities of the Queen and Publick, but waited their Times, and in the firſt place gave their Supplies, according to the Exigency of her Affairs, yet fail'd not at laſt to obtain their Deſires; ſo that the Queen and her Parliaments had ever the good Fortune to part in Love and Affection. All which ſeem'd not only owing to the happy Diſpoſition of the Members, but likewiſe to the Wiſdom and Penetration of the Queen, who knew ſhe could ſafely exert her Authority to the utmoſt, and even beyond common and perhaps unqueſtionable Limits, becauſe ſhe had entirely the Hearts of her People, who were aſſur'd ſhe would never uſe it to their Detriment. And herein conſiſted the admirable Wiſdom of her Government, that by founding her Dominion in the Affections of her Subjects, and by nicely husbanding her Treaſure and Revenues, ſhe was able by her ſingle Authority to diſperſe all Fears and Jealouſies, and ſtifle the Malignity of all State Factions, without leaving juſt Room for Murmurings and Diſcontents. Her Puniſhments and Severities, as well as her Rewards and Encouragements, were the Reſult of a profound and politick Head, continually join'd in the common Good. As to the Former, in her Courts of the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commiſſion*, and others, we find very bold Sallies upon the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and perhaps ſuch as might equal any Inſtance in ſucceeding Times; but ſtill the Art, Order, and Gravity of thoſe Proceedings, together with the apparent End, ſecur'd 'em from becoming the Ground of publick Complaint. For tho' they were often exorbitant upon the Compariſon, yet they were always deſign'd and manag'd, ſo as to puniſh the Offender, not to grieve the Subject; in ſhort, to eradicate the Miſchief, not to ruin the Agent. On the other ſide, her Rewards and Promotions were conſtantly diſtributed with a ſparing, but a ſkilful Hand, with a nice and diſcerning Judgment, ſo that they might never become cheap, but always retain their full Force, and ſhine with their true Luſtre. No Prince ever preſerved the Dignity of the Nobility, and the Honour of Knighthood, more than her ſelf; and, as Sir *Edward Walker* obſerves, during her whole Reign ſhe created but ſix Earls and eight or nine Barons; ſo that at her Death the whole Number of Lords conſiſted but of one Marquiſs, nineteen Earls, ten Viſcounts, and about thirty Barons. Thus, with her own continu'd Steadineſs and Magnanimity, and the Wiſdom and Bravery of her Miniſters, ſhe became the Delight of her Subjects, and the Terror of her Enemies; and the Spots that were in her Government, prov'd rather like thoſe that uſually ſet off Beauties, than thoſe that diſcover Deformities.

Under King James *the Firſt.*

In the calmer Reign of her Succeſſor King *James* the Firſt, the Reins of the Government began gradually to be relax'd, or held with a very unequal Hand; and probably they became more difficult to manage, by reaſon of the Addition of a new Kingdom, then various in Laws and Conſtitutions, as well as oppoſite in Intereſts and Affections; ſo that it would naturally require great Time, and Management, to extinguiſh the ordinary Prejudices and Reſentments between both Nations. This King was very ſagacious and diſcerning, and of a nice Underſtanding in the Nature of Government, but was leſs remarkable for Vigour and Action; and ſeem'd not ſo well to conſider Queen *Elizabeth*'s great Maxim, *That the People of* England *were more governable in Times of War, than in Peace.* Tho' he had ſeveral valuable and amiable Qualifications, and his Reign may be term'd a Complication of Peace, Plenty, and Pleaſure, yet he cannot be clear'd from ſome apparent Miſmanagements, and Flaws in Policy, which laid a Foundation for preſent Diſcontents, and future Miſfortunes. He unqueſtionably acted wiſely in employing the Miniſters of his glorious Predeceſſor; but they prov'd not immortal, and the Want of theſe Heads perhaps was never fully ſupply'd: However in a ſhort time he deviated from her uſual Practice, and became profuſe both in his Treaſure, and his Promotions; the Former of which caus'd him to be more dependant upon his Commons, and the Latter more diſtaſteful to his Nobility. His extraordinary Bounties, eſpecially to his Country-men and Favourites, occaſion'd his Commons to diſpute his Requeſts, and to queſtion his Expences and Management, as well as his Authority and Prerogative. So that of the four Parliaments he held in his Reign, he had the ill Fortune to part with only one upon amicable Terms. Tho' at the ſame time, the Parliaments were not without Blame, which generally conſiſted of younger and hotter Heads, than thoſe in the laſt Reign; who being indulg'd by the King's Reaſonings and Harangues, ſometimes took Advantage of his Lenity, as well as Neceſſities, and proceeded to unuſual Liberties, both in Speech and Action. Theſe caus'd the King to be more out of Love with Parliaments, inconſiderately tho' not unprecedently to impriſon ſeveral Members, and to give Occaſion to his Enemies to pretend he deſign'd to govern arbitrarily; and after that to raiſe Mony by *Loans*, *Privy-Seals*, *Benevolences*, *Monopolies*, and other Ways, moſt diſpleaſing to the Generality of the Nation. So that the People, who could bear the Extremities of Prerogative, when it was apparently for 'em, would ſcarce endure any Part of it, when they thought it turn'd againſt 'em. And this probably might occaſion that new unfortunate Diſtinction of *Court* and *Country Party*, which in Time prov'd ſo fatal to the Kingdom; and likewiſe introduc'd that weak Practice of State, of Buying off and Promoting the moſt troubleſome Oppoſers; which tho' ſometimes neceſſary, uſually ſerves to multiply factious Spirits, and is the common Symptom of an infirm Government, unable to exert a juſt Authority.

The Promotions of this Prince were as exceptionable as his Expences, which he ſeem'd to diſtribute with an unreſtrain'd Hand, increaſing the Nobility to double the Number to what he found them: Which diſcontented the ancient Lords, and Gentlemen of great Families and Fortunes, and caus'd the People neither to reverence Nobility ſo much as when the Numbers were leſs, nor the King who conferr'd the Honour: This prov'd one great Diminution to the Authority of the Crown; for the King being unable to ſatisfie them all, many of them became both factious and popular; contrary to the Methods of preceding Ages, when the Nobility not being numerous, did all at proper Times ſhare the Royal Favours, and ſtood as a Wall between the King and People, for the Benefit of both. And as this Bounty weaken'd the Monarchy, ſo the new Degree of *Baronets* amongſt the Commons, did as much diſguſt ancient Families; eſpecially when they found ſuch

Titles were conferr'd principally, if not ſolely, for Mony. But nothing ſeem'd more to incenſe the Nation, than the profuſe Favours he heap'd upon ſome particular Perſons of obſcure Fortunes, ſuch as *Somerſet* and *Buckingham*, to whom he manifeſted a Fondneſs, not eaſily accounted for by the Rules of Reaſon and Policy. Theſe Particulars, together with his unfortunate Attempt for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, his Eagerneſs for the *Spaniſh* Match, and ſome others that croſs'd the Humours of the People, unhappily rais'd Diſcontents and Jealouſies, eſpecially amongſt turbulent Spirits of all Ranks, who began to inſinuate the Fears of *Lawleſs* and *Arbitrary Power* in a King, who they thought rather purſu'd his own private Intereſts and Projects, than the publick Good, and Benefit of the whole Nation. Yet after all, if we come coolly and candidly to conſider the pacifick Temper, as well as religious Diſpoſition of this Prince, together with the uncertain Limits of the Prerogative at that Time, we may juſtly, as well as charitably believe, That the Miſmanagements of his Government ought rather to be called Misfortunes and Infirmities, than real Crimes and Enormities. However, of this we are certain; That his Failings have been unreaſonably repreſented, and unmeaſurably aggravated, by the Tongues and Pens of ignorant, as well as malicious Men.

The Religious State and Eſtabliſhment.

II. Thus Affairs ſtood in reſpect of the Civil State of the Nation; but ſtill the Fears ariſing from thence, ſeem'd not to be ſo infectious, as thoſe proceeding from Religion, ſuch as the general Apprehenſions of *Popery*, and the Hatred of many to the preſent Eccleſiaſtical Authority and Conſtitution. For the more clear underſtanding of which, it will be proper to take a backward View, and conſider the Beginning and the Riſe of the Legal Eſtabliſh'd Church of *England*. This Eſtabliſhment was a Performance of infinite Labour and Difficulty, begun in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, and attended with ſurpriſing Accidents and Changes; but not compleatly perfected 'till the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, after thirty Years various Struggles through innumerable Oppoſitions and Impediments: And conſidering the prodigious Alterations it occaſion'd, and the wonderful Effects it produc'd, in remote as well as neighbouring Parts, it ſeems next to a Miracle that it caus'd no greater Bloodſhed and Convulſions in the State. The Beginnings and Progreſs of this mighty Work were attended with ſome unaccountable, and perhaps unjuſtifiable Proceedings, as are often incident to the moſt laudable Deſigns; but if we examine the whole Fabrick, with all ſurrounding Inconveniencies, we find that it was erected and model'd with the profoundeſt Wiſdom, carry'd on with the calmeſt Temper, and moſt natural Fervour, and likewiſe cemented with the Blood of the moſt pious and learned Men in the Kingdom. At laſt, excepting ſome Precariouſneſs in the Revenues, it was eſtabliſh'd by the utmoſt of human Authority, Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil, and receiv'd its finiſhing Stroak under the moſt glorious Queen then known in the World; when it ſoon ſhone with that Splendor, that it became the Envy of one Part of Chriſtendom, and the Wonder of all the reſt.

The Enemies to it.

The Church of *England*, thus flouriſhing under the Influence of a vigilant and powerful Mother, was ſoon attack'd by Enemies of different Kinds, particularly *Roman-Catholicks*, and *Puritans*, the former charging it with *Schiſm* and *Apoſtacy*, and the latter with *Superſtition* and a *Want of a thorough Reformation*. The *Roman* Religion, which was ſtill far from being extirpated in the Nation, was at this Time extreamly odious and terrible to the Generality of the People; not ſo much, as we may conceive, from the Burthens attending it, as from the barbarous Severities practis'd in the preceding Reign, which gave it one of the moſt fatal Wounds it receiv'd; but when the Church was eſtabliſh'd almoſt beyond their Hopes of Retrieve, for the firſt ten Years of the Reign, the *Romaniſts*, tho' numerous and powerful, were for the moſt part moderate and peaceable, were frequently employ'd in publick Affairs, and often conformable to the new Eſtabliſhment; 'till the Court of *Rome* thought it neceſſary to prohibit their *Occaſional Compliances*, leſt they might gradually cauſe a general Defection. And when the *Puritans*, who were fond of foreign Models, and a novel Diſcipline, began to appear in conſiderable Numbers, then the *Papiſts*, by means of new Orders from *Rome*, proceeded to open Hoſtilities, and not only acted in publick and audacious Attempts, but likewiſe privately fomented the new Diviſions; which they effected by ſubtle Diſguiſes, and a ſupercilious Imitation of a Sanctity and Purity, then ſtrangely growing into Faſhion. And tho' it cannot be ſaid, that they were the real Founders of *Puritaniſm*, which had its Cauſe and Riſe in foreign Countries, yet certainly they were indefatigable Promoters of That, and thoſe Sects that follow'd It, and likewiſe blew up ſuch Flames in the Church, as could never yet be extinguiſh'd. Of which Truth we have inconteſtable Evidence from ſome Inſtances in *Nalſon* and others; where it appears, That the firſt *Independent* Congregation in *England* was gather'd by a *Popiſh Dominican* Frier; to which *Camden* adds other Reaſons of the Encreaſe of this Party, 'as their reſolute 'Temper, the Negligence of ſeveral Biſhops, and the Fa'vour of ſome Noblemen, who thirſted after the Patrimo'ny of the Church, which at that time was not out of the 'Reach of Alienations. Their Numbers by theſe means encreaſing, they gradually fell into Subdiviſions, and different Denominations, ſuch as *Presbyterians*, *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Familiſts*, *Goſpellers*, and ſeveral others; which at length occaſion'd innumerable Heats, Conteſts and Commotions in the Kingdom.

The State under Queen Elizabeth.

But while the triumphant Queen reign'd, neither Theſe, nor the *Romaniſts* could gain any ſuch Ground as might prove fatal to her Government, or the Peace of the Nation. She underſtood the Secret, and knew the beſt Means to give Happineſs to her Kingdom, and how and when to exert her Authority; which ſhe manag'd with no leſs Diſcretion than Vigour. She was an exact Obſerver of two Maxims of State; the One was, *Never to force Men's Conſciences*, the Other, *Never to ſuffer Factious Practices to go unpuniſh'd*. And no Perſon perhaps knew better how to diſtinguiſh between the one and the other; between a ſincere Zeal, and a turbulent Flame. And as ſhe was ſenſible that all religious Factions, how oppoſite ſoever to each other, did continually threaten her Prerogative and Authority, and the Peace and Proſperity of her Subjects; ſo ſhe effectually oppos'd their Encroachments by her vigilant Adminiſtration, and her new-erected Court of *High Commiſſion*, and involv'd both *Romaniſts* and the other *Diſſenters* under the common Title of *Recuſants*. Still this was her particular Felicity, that tho' ſhe was ſevere upon thoſe Diſſenters that were the moſt declar'd Enemies to the Church of *Rome*, even in ſome Caſes to the taking of Life it ſelf; yet ſhe never gave the Nation the leaſt Jealouſie or Apprehenſion of favouring the *Romiſh* Religion; which to many People in *England* was then more formidable than the greateſt Tyranny upon Earth, and was by them look'd upon with as much Deteſtation as *Mahometaniſm* or *Paganiſm*.

Under King James *the Firſt.*

Upon King *James's* Acceſſion to the Throne, all Parties under Reſtraint began to conceive ſome new Hopes; and likewiſe began to make ſome little Struggles and Efforts, tho' with no great Succeſs. This Prince, in the Beginning of his Reign, acted very laudably, and with great Reputation in reſpect of the eſtabliſh'd Church; both as to the Settlement of the Revenues, and as to the famous Conference with the Diſſenters at *Hampton-Court*. But being of a frank and converſable Diſpoſition, which more induc'd him to argue with, and convince encroaching Men, than to ſuppreſs them by legal Methods, he was not in the Event ſo fortunate as his Predeceſſor, nor could he long maintain a Power ſo ſteady and uniform, as was agreeable to her Maxims; for it was his uſual Practice, through the whole Courſe of his Government, to ballance one Extream by the other; countenancing the *Papiſts* againſt the *Puritans*, and the *Puritans* againſt the *Papiſts*, the better to preſerve the Church of *England* in Safety between both Oppoſites. A Practice that ſhew'd much of Policy, but leſs of Authority; and which ſeem'd to declare that he wanted more Courage and Power, than Will and Inclination to extinguiſh thoſe Religious Factions. In his Speech to the Firſt Parliament, ſome Perſons took Offence at his acknowledging *The* Roman *Church to be our Mother Church, tho' defil'd with ſome Infirmities and Corruptions*; and his declaring, *That if the* Papiſts *would lay aſide King-killing, and ſome other groſs Errors, he would be content to meet them half Way*. But the horrid *Powder-Plot* ſhortly after threw them much out of his Eſteem, eſpecially the *Jeſuits*; 'till towards the latter End of his Reign, his great Earneſtneſs to marry the Prince his Son with *Spain*, and afterwards with *France*, both contrary to the main Bent of the Nation, oblig'd him to ſhew ſuch Favours to the *Roman* Catholicks, as rais'd new Jealouſies and Apprehenſions of Popery: So that he was thought no true Proteſtant, that would not believe that the Proteſtant Religion was like to be undermin'd.

The loudeſt Outcries came from the *Puritan* Party, who daily gather'd Strength under the Remiſsneſs, if not Indulgence of ſome whoſe Buſineſs was to diſcourage them. And about this time began that popular Name and Charge of *Innovations*, as alſo that unhappy Diſtinction of *Arminian* and *Calviniſt*, which ſo intoxicated the Heads of the Vulgar, that every ſtrict Church-man was call'd an *Innovator*, and an *Arminian* accounted as dangerous as a *Papiſt*. Theſe Circumſtances and Accidents, the Conteſts of Preachers, together with *The Book of Sports*, which gave Offence to many worthy and pious Perſons, ſoon blew up the Fears of the Multitude; inſomuch that at King *James's* Deceaſe, *Popery* was as much apprehended from ſome, as *Arbitrary Power* was from others. Yet after all, ſetting aſide ſome few warm Proſecutions, both the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Government were either ſo infirm, or ſo unactive, that every

very Man declar'd his Thoughts, as if they had been under the Power of no Reſtraints; ſo that it ſeems probable, that notwithſtanding ſome Incroachments of the Prerogative, the Nation ſuffer'd more real Detriment from this unfortunate Prince's Lenity, than from all the Exceſſes of his Authority.

Both States conſider'd.

III. And now at laſt, to conſider both the *Civil* and *Religious* State of the Nation, at one View, we find moſt of the Seeds of the following Diſcontents and Troubles ſown and planted in the Reign of King *James* the Firſt; occaſion'd chiefly on one ſide by ſeveral Failures in the Government, and on the other in a great meaſure by the Licentiouſneſs of many Perſons, too much cover'd with the Ruſt of Peace and Wantonneſs: Both which meeting, and croſſing each other, by the Intervening of new Accidents and Materials, ſuch a Flame was at length blown up, as more than endanger'd the whole Kingdom. Moſt of the publick Complaints and Grievances, which afterwards ſwell'd to ſo vaſt a Bulk, had their Beginnings, or at leaſt their ill Appearances, in this Reign; ſuch as Diſſentions with Parliaments, Impriſoning of Members, Loans and Privy-Seals, Benevolencies, Monopolies, unequal Severities to ſome, and profuſe Favours to others, the Indulgence towards Papiſts, *The Book of Sports*, the Advancement of the Clergy's Grandeur, and ſome other Things, diſtaſtful to a jealous and ſagacious Nation. On the other ſide, beſides the Diſguſts and Waverings of the Nobility and great Men, the People proceeded to unprecedented Liberties, which naturally led them into many Errors, and dangerous Paths and Precipices, ſo that they aſſum'd to themſelves a Power of cenſuring and intermedling with ſuch Matters of State and Religion, as were unqueſtionably above their Sphere and Capacity. Beſides all theſe, one ſignal Misfortune to the Nation, as it afterwards prov'd, was owing wholly to the laſt Parliament, fir'd chiefly by the ſpecious Pretences of the Duke of *Buckingham*, which was a precipitated War with the King of *Spain*, and the Emperor, contrary to the Will and Judgment of King *James*, who wiſely foreſaw that he ſhould not be ſufficiently ſupported under ſuch a mighty Expence. To which we may add another Miſchief and falſe Step in Politicks, ſtrongly oppos'd by the King, which was a violent Promoting of Impeachments, and principally owing to the Power of the Duke, and not without the Concurrence of the young Prince; and this in a ſhort Time encreas'd to an Exorbitancy, that prov'd more formidable to good Miniſters, than terrible to bad.

The Concluſion.

If, after all, we carefully conſider the Conjunction of all theſe ſeveral Grievances, Troubles and Accidents, together with thoſe innumerable Miſchiefs, Infirmities and Depravities attending human Kind, as were formerly hinted; we may eaſily conceive what mighty Difficulties and Diſcouragements attended King *Charles* the Firſt at his Acceſſion to the Crown; and we may modeſtly conclude, That his Father unhappily left him entring upon an expenſive and perhaps unneceſſary War, with a broken and exhauſted Treaſury, a divided and factious Miniſtry, a Nobility diſoblig'd and watching for Advantages, a People ſuſpicious both of *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery*, and in a Word, a Crown environ'd with Troubles and Thorns: So that he ſeem'd not ſo much to aſcend a Throne, as to enter upon a Theatre, to wreſtle with all the Misfortunes of a State, which at the ſame Time was both enervated with Pleaſures, and awaken'd with Surmiſes and Jealouſies.

The End of the Introduction.

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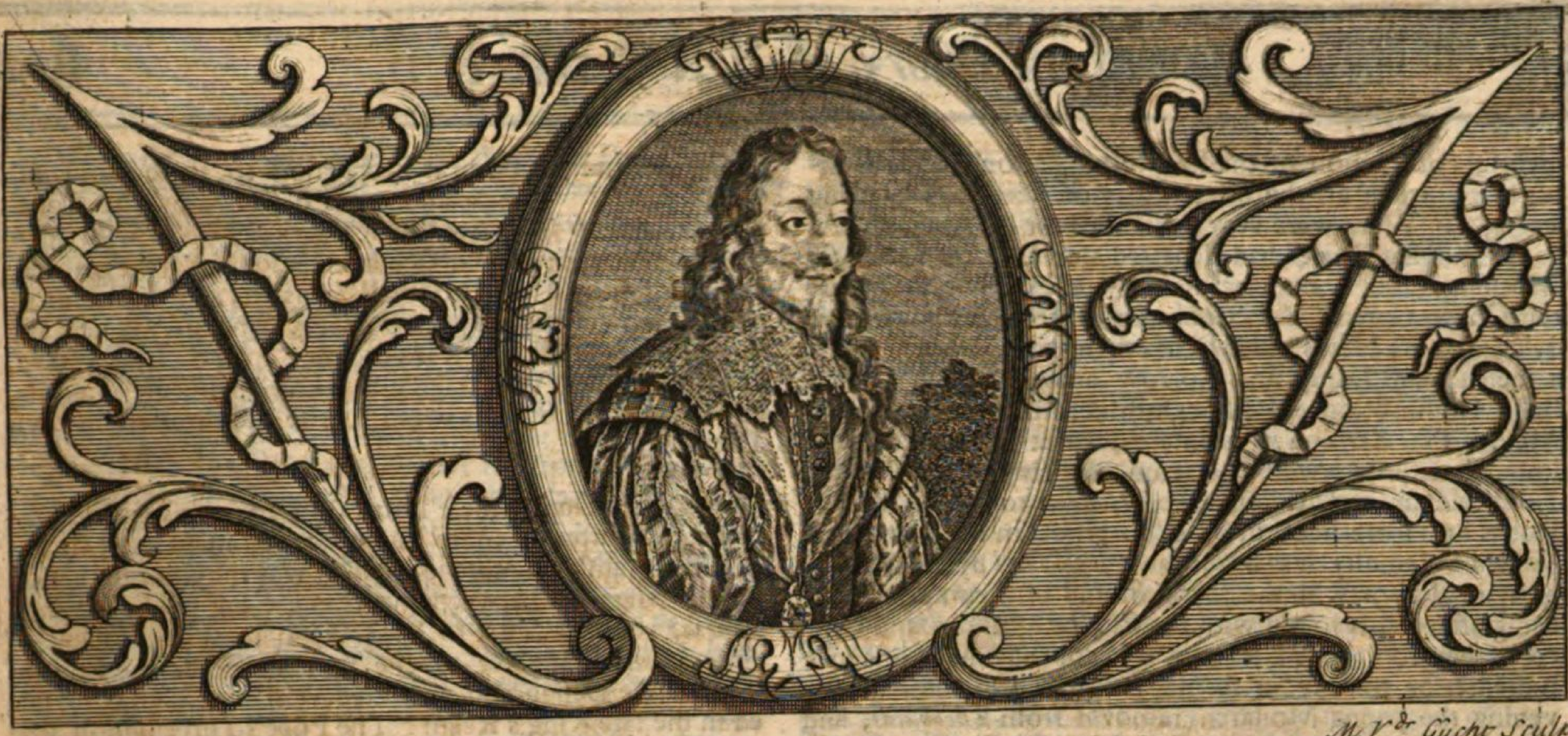
HISTORY



M. V^{dr} Gucht Sculp.

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

Conſiſting of the calmer Part of the Reign of King CHARLES *the Firſt: From his Acceſſion to the Throne, to the Beginning of the* LAST *and* LONG PARLIAMENT.

Containing the Space of 15 *Years, and about* 7 *Months.*

CHAP. I.

From the King's Acceſſion to the Throne, to the Diſſolution of the Third Parliament, when thoſe Aſſemblies began to be diſcontinued.

Containing the Space of almoſt Four Years.

1625. Car. I. CHARLES *the Firſt.*

I. 1. IT was with all the forementioned Inconveniencies and Difficulties, that the Hopes of the Nation, Prince *Charles*, the ſole ſurviving Son of King *James* the Firſt, aſcended his Imperial Throne, to govern three Kingdoms, in ſeveral Degrees different in Laws and Conſtitutions, as well as Intereſts and Perſuaſions. He was now in the Flower and Vigour of his Youth, about four Months above twenty four Years of his Age, of a grave Aſpect and manly Behaviour, chaſte and temperate beyond Exception, clear from all known perſonal Vices, and uninfected with thoſe licentious Exceſſes, which are not only incident to that Age and Fortune, but in ſuch Caſes almoſt thought excuſable; as Mr. *May*, and ſome other Enemies, acknowledge.

His Birth and Childhood. This Prince's Birth and Childhood are ſaid to have been attended with ſome very remarkable Preſages, both of his future Greatneſs and Misfortunes. Yet in his younger Days he was ſubject to ſeveral Infirmities as to his Conſtitution, which were accompany'd with an appearing Obſtinacy in his Temper: For the Weakneſs of his Body at firſt inclining him to private Receſſes, and ſome Imperfections in his Speech cauſing Diſcourſe and Converſation to be tedious and unpleaſant, he was ſuſpected to be ſomewhat perverſe in his Nature; but more Age and Strength qualifying him for manlike Exerciſes, and the publick Hopes inviting him from his Retirements, he gradually freed the Nation from all ſuch Apprehenſions. So that after that, ariſing to an eminent Proficiency in Learning, he proceeded to a more active Life, and became ſo perfect in Vaulting, Riding the Great Horſe, Running at the Ring, Shooting with Croſs-Bows, Muskets, and ſometimes Great Guns, that if Soveraignty had been the Reward of Excellencies in thoſe Arts, he would have acquir'd a new Title to the Crown; being accounted the moſt celebrated Mark's-Man, and the moſt perfect Manager of the Great Horſe, of any in the three Kingdoms.

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His Youth and Exerciſes. As to publick Affairs, he choſe rather to entertain himſelf with theſe healthful and martial Exerciſes, than to be at the Head of any political Meaſures; he quietly enjoy'd his Privacies and Reſervedneſs in the very Court, and left the Management of State Affairs entirely to his Father, and his Favourite Council. And, except his joyning with the Duke of *Buckingham* in the laſt Parliament, he had never yet declared himſelf of any Party or Faction, or had ſcarce interpoſed in any publick Proceedings, tho' ſome Things had been tranſacted with great Detriment to his own preſent and future Fortunes. What appear'd moſt conſpicuous with relation to Government, was an inviolable Steadineſs and a hearty Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion, as at this Time eſtabliſh'd by the Laws of *England*; from which no Artifices nor Arguments, either of Papiſts or of other Diſſenters, could ever move or divert him. So that upon the whole, no Prince ever came to the Throne with fewer Blemiſhes, as to his Morals; or fewer Prejudices, or Objections againſt his Perſon.

His Acceſſion to the Crown. 2. With theſe Qualifications and Accompliſhments, the young Prince ſucceeded his Father upon the 27th Day of *March*, in the Year 1625; and notwithſtanding the diſcouraging Circumſtances before-mentioned, it was with the u-

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niverſal Satisfaction of the People, and at one happy Conjuncture, when all the other Parts of *Chriſtendom*, being engag'd in War, were very ſollicitous for his Alliance. As ſoon as King *James* had departed this Life on a *Sunday* Morning, this Prince was ſolemnly proclaim'd King before the Court Gate at *Theobalds*, the Place where his Father dy'd; and the News of his Death flying to *London*, it rais'd a melancholy Damp and Sorrow among Many, and no ſmall Commotion and Thoughtfulneſs in the Minds of all Men. The Sermon was interrupted at *White-Hall*, and immediate Orders were ſent from the Privy-Council to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London* to appear in their Robes on Horſe-Back in order to proclaim the new King. Which Solemnity was begun at *White-Hall* by all the Nobility in Town with the joyful Sound of Trumpets; and being afterwards join'd with the City Magiſtrates and Officers, they compleated it with a Pomp and Magnificence not inferior to any in former Reigns. On the ſame Evening the young Monarch remov'd from *Theobalds*, and came privately to St. *James*'s in a cloſe Coach; but the Corps of his deceaſed Father remain'd in the ſame Place, attended by all the Servants in Ordinary.

His Care of the Publick.

The next Morning King *Charles* was waited on by all the old Privy-Counſellors and chief Officers of State; and the whole Day was buſily employ'd in various Conſultations, in adminiſtring of Oaths, in preparing of Proclamations, and iſſuing out Commiſſions for Authorizing the Great Seal, Privy Seal and Signet, till new ones cou'd be finiſh'd, and for continuing the Powers of Judges, Sheriffs, Juſtices, and other Civil Officers, whoſe Truſts were legally determined by the Deceaſe of King *James*. A particular Proclamation was publiſh'd, in which the young King ſignify'd his Father's Death, together with his own undoubted Right of Succeſſion to the Crown Imperial of this Realm; finally declaring; 'That as He, for his Part ſhou'd, 'by God's Grace, ſhew Himſelf a moſt benign and gracious 'Sovereign to all his good Subjects, in their lawful Suits 'and Cauſes; ſo he doubted not but They, on their Parts, 'would ſhew Themſelves to Him, their natural Liege 'Lord, moſt loving, faithful and obedient Subjects.' And thus far all Things had a fair and pleaſing Proſpect to the Nation.

His Wants.

3. The new King being thus enter'd upon his Throne, he ſoon diſcover'd his moſt preſſing Inconveniency; he found his greateſt Concern was immediately to ſupply an exhauſted Treaſury, which was to furniſh out Money for three extraordinary and ſolemn Occaſions, namely a Funeral, a Marriage, and a Coronation, beſides a new projected War, likely to be more expenſive than all the other joyn'd together. For which Reaſons a Parliament was determined to be call'd, in which the King was ſo urgent that he thought of ſummoning the laſt that met in his Father's Reign, till the Lord-Keeper *Williams* inform'd him, 'That it was inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution of the 'Kingdom, which diſſolv'd all Parliaments upon the De'ceaſe of a King.' Upon which he commanded the Lord Keeper immediately to iſſue out his Writs, and not to loſe one Day; to which the other modeſtly alledg'd, *That ſuch a haſty Summons would turn to his Majeſty's Diſadvantage, ſince his beſt Friends and Servants wou'd want ſufficient Time to make their Intereſts in their reſpective Countries, and ſo miſs of their Elections.* But the King anſwer'd, *It was high Time to have Supplies granted for maintaining a War with the King of* Spain, *for which purpoſe the Fleet muſt ſet out in the Summer.* To this the Keeper gave an unwilling Conſent, as well in relation to the War, as to the Parliament; for which he was diſmiſs'd with an unuſual Coldneſs from the King, which, together with the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Behaviour towards him, became evident Prognoſticks of the Declenſion of this great States-Man.

After the Writs for a new Parliament, and Preparations for other Matters of great Moment, the chief publick Concern was for a magnificent Funeral for the late King. In order to which Solemnity, on the 23d Day of *April*, the Body was remov'd from *Theobalds* to *London*, with a pompous Attendance of Nobility and Perſons of Quality, who by the Light of Torches conducted it to *Somerſet-Houſe*, where a royal and glorious Herſe was erected, daily viſited and view'd by infinite Multitudes of People, who came from all Parts to be Spectators of the unuſual Sight.

King James's Funeral.

The ſeventh of *May* was the appointed Day of Burial, when the Body and Herſe, with a lively Statue of the deceaſed Monarch, were brought in extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity to *Weſtminſter* Abbey. The new King, to expreſs his filial Piety, and willing to diſpenſe with Majeſty, and the Niceties of State, follow'd his Father's Herſe; being ſupported by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Pembrook*, and having his Train born up by twelve Peers of the Realm. This was the third Funeral he had attended as principal Mourner; which, as *Heylyn* ſays, gave ſome Occaſion to preſage, 'That he ſhou'd prove *a Man of Sorrows*, and 'that his End ſhou'd bear Proportion to theſe mournful 'Beginnings.' The Sermon was deliver'd by the Lord-Keeper, Biſhop *Williams*, which was adorn'd with high Strains of Rhetorick and Commendations of the Preacher, and accompany'd with no ſmall Sighs and Lamentations of the People. Thus the pacifick King, who always held the Title of *Peace-Maker*, was peaceably lodg'd in his Grave, at a Time when War reign'd in all Neighbouring Nations, and unexpected Storms began to riſe and threaten his own Dominions.

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Preparations for the King's Marriage.

II. 1. During theſe Funeral Preparations and Solemnities, a Matter of more immediate Moment to the Publick was tranſacting abroad; which was the Conſummation of the Marriage between the young King and *Henrietta Maria*, younger Siſter to *Lewis* XIII, the preſent King of *France*, and Daughter to the famous *Henry* the Fourth. The whole Deſign was projected, and well nigh concluded in the late King's Reign: The Pope's Diſpenſation was obtain'd, the Marriage Articles were ſign'd, and nothing remain'd but the Ceremony of the Eſpouſals in the *French* Court; to compleat which the King had appointed, for his Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners, the Earls of *Holland* and *Carliſle*, and likewiſe ſent over his Procuratorial Letters for the Duke of *Chevereux* to act in his Name; that Duke being of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, from which Houſe his Majeſty deriv'd himſelf by his Great Grand-Mother, Wiſe of King *James* the Fifth of *Scotland*. Upon *Sunday* the eleventh Day of *May*, the grand Solemnity began with all the Marks of Joy and Triumph, when the Royal Bride was conducted from the *Louvre* by the King, Queen, and all the Court of *France*, all in glorious Attire, to a magnificent Theatre purpoſely erected before the Front of the Cathedral of *Notredame*, where the Ceremonies were perform'd by the famous Cardinal *Richlieu*, who upon this Occaſion obtain'd the Superiority of the Archbiſhop of *Paris*. Here the Duke of *Chevereux*, adorn'd with Gold and Diamonds, ſtood between the Earls of *Holland* and *Carliſle*, clad in beaten Silver, under a rich Canopy plac'd upon the Scaffold; into whoſe Hands the King of *France*, and Monſieur his Brother, conſign'd the Queen of *Great Britain* their Siſter; and the Marriage was ſolemniz'd according to the ordinary Ceremonies of that Church. Which being perform'd, they repair'd in the ſame Order and Solemnity to the Choir of *Notredame*, and after Maſs to the Hall of the Archbiſhop's Palace, where the Royal Feaſt was celebrated with as noble Exultations and Magnificence as can well be expreſs'd. And that all ſorts of Perſons might partake of theſe publick Triumphs, Priſoners for Debts were ſet at Liberty, and Pardon was granted to ſeveral Criminals, as an Earneſt of the King's Affection to his Siſter, and his Reſpect to the new Alliance. The News of which was not confin'd to the Walls of *Paris*, but in a few Days reſounded through all the Streets in *London*, where it was generally receiv'd with unuſual Expreſſions of the moſt dilated Joy and Satisfaction.

The Ceremony at Paris.

The Duke of Buckingham's Appearance there.

Not long after, the Feſtivals and Triumphs in *Paris* were renew'd and multiply'd, by the Arrival of King *Charles*'s prime Favourite, the Duke of *Buckingham*, who with the Earl of *Montgomery*, and other *Engliſh* Lords, came to conduct the Royal Bride home to her new Spouſe. The Pomp and Splendor of the Court, and the Entertainments was very great and ſurpriſing, eſpecially the Feaſt made by Cardinal *Richlieu*; yet nothing equall'd the glorious Appearance of the *Engliſh* Duke, who was adorn'd with all the Luſtre that Wealth and Vanity could produce; and his charming Face, and graceful Mein, attracted the Eyes of all People to a ſort of an Adoration of his Perſon. This ſo inflam'd his ambitious Spirit, that he aſpir'd ſo far as to dedicate his moſt violent Affection to a Lady of ſublime Quality, generally believ'd to be the Queen of *France*, and to purſue it with ſuch importunate Addreſſes, that when the King had brought the Queen his Siſter as far as he had deſign'd, and deliver'd her into the Hands of the Duke, in his Journey he once more took a Reſolution to make a Viſit to the Lady, which he thought might be effected with ſufficient Privacy: But it was early diſcovered, and ſuch Proviſion made for his Reception, that had he purſu'd his Attempt, he muſt have been aſſaſſinated; of which he had juſt ſo much Notice as ſerv'd him to eſcape the Danger. Upon this Diſappointment he boldly ſwore, *That he would ſee and ſpeak with that Lady, in ſpight of the Strength and Power of* France: And from that Time he took all Opportunities of affronting and exaſperating that Court and Nation; and never deſiſted, till he had involv'd the King his Maſter in an unreaſonable and unfortunate War, which prov'd fatal to Himſelf, and diſhonourable to his Country: To ſuch unwarrantable and exorbitant Practices will ſome Mens Luſt and Ambition tranſport them.

His Preſumption.

The ſecond Day of *June* was the Time appointed for the new Queen's Departure, when with a noble Retinue they left *Paris*, and arriv'd at *Amiens*, where with great

Splendor

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Splendor ſhe was entertain'd for fourteen Days. King *Charles* having Notice that ſhe had left that City, ſent a Royal Fleet of above twenty large Ships to tranſport her from *Bologn*, which gave a lofty Salutation with a Hundred Pieces of Cannon. Here among other great Ladies the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham* was ſent to kiſs her Majeſty's Hand, as from the King her Husband, propoſing to her *To chuſe her own Time for her Paſſage, with moſt Conveniency to her Perſon.* Accordingly on the twenty ſecond of *June* new Stile, having taken leave of *Monſieur* her Brother, and other Friends and Relations, ſhe ſet ſail from *Bologn*, and ſafely arriv'd at *Dover* after a ſhort but dark tempeſtuous Paſſage; which being ſignify'd to the King then at *Canterbury*, with the choiceſt of his Nobility he repair'd to her the next Morning, and receiv'd her with all the Tranſports of Joy and Affection, profeſſing, *That he could be no longer Maſter of Himſelf, than while he was a Servant to Her.* The ſame Day he conducted her to *Canterbury*, where receiving her from the Hands of the Duke of *Chevereux*, he conſummated the Marriage, and ſurrender'd himſelf to thoſe Embraces, which he ever preſerv'd with ſuch a Conjugal Purity, that on the Day before his Death he commanded his Daughter the Princeſs *Elizabeth* to declare to her Mother, *That his Thoughts had never ſtray'd from her, and that his Love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt.* On the other ſide the new Queen, in Teſtimony of her Love and Reſpect, made the firſt Suit to her Royal Spouſe, 'That 'he would not be angry with her for her Faults of Ignorance, before he had firſt inſtructed her to avoid them; 'for being young, and arriving in a ſtrange Country, both 'might occaſion her to commit many Errors: And ſhe 'begg'd of him, In ſuch Caſes to uſe no third Perſon, but 'by Himſelf to inform her when he found ſhe acted any 'thing amiſs.' The King readily granted her Requeſt, and thank'd her for it, deſiring her *To uſe Him, even as ſhe deſir'd Him to uſe Her.* Which ſhe moſt willingly promis'd to obſerve.

The new Queen arriv'd.

The Marriage conſummated.

From *Canterbury* the Royal Pair advanc'd by eaſy Stages to *Graves-End*, attended by a glorious Concourſe of Lords and Ladies, and all the Knights, Gentlemen and Train-Bands of *Kent*. Here with an Encreaſe of new Multitudes from *London* and other Places they enter'd their Imperial Barge, and paſſed up the River in a triumphant Manner; being entertain'd with continual Peals of Ordnance, from the Men of War, Merchant Ships, and the *Tower* of *London*, till they ſafely arriv'd at their Palace of *White-Hall*. Extraordinary Preparations were made in the City of *London* for the Reception of her Majeſty, but moſt of the Show and Appearance was omitted, by reaſon of the Plague, which now daily encreas'd in the City and Suburbs, and ſoon prov'd the greateſt that had been known in the Nation. This gave a great Damp to the Joy and Glory of the Court, which notwithſtanding was very ſplendid. The Queen was ſetled with her Family in *Denmark* or *Somerſet*-Houſe, which was particularly furniſh'd for her Reception, with a Chapel for *Popiſh* Service, according to the Articles of Marriage; and afterwards with a Convent of *Capuchin* Friars, who had Permiſſion to walk abroad in their Religious Habits. From thenceforward, it was obſerv'd, That greater Numbers of Seminary Prieſts and Jeſuits repair'd out of Foreign Parts into *England*, to the great Uneaſineſs of many zealous Proteſtants.

A great Plague.

2. The Queen herſelf was now in the Bloom of her Youth and Beauty, about ſixteen Years of Age; a Lady of excellent Air and Preſence, of a warm Zeal and great Spirit, and of no leſs Vivacity in her Looks, than Activity in her Motions and Behaviour. Her Perſon was not altogether unknown to the King, who when he was Prince ſaw her at *Paris* in his Paſſage to *Spain*; upon which Occaſion we are inform'd that ſhe ſaid, *The Prince need not have gone ſo far as* Spain *for a Wife:* And when afterwards ſhe receiv'd two Letters at the ſame Time, one from King *James*, and the other from the Prince, ſhe put the Former into her Cabinet, and the Latter into her Boſome. The Account of which extreamly pleas'd King *James*, who declar'd, *That he took it for a happy Omen, That ſhe wou'd preſerve his Name in her Memory, and lodge* Charles *in her Heart.* However auſpicious this Marriage appear'd to Him, and many others who promoted it, it prov'd one great Occaſion of the future Calamities of the Nation, and againſt the main Bent and Genius of the People: notwithſtanding it was carried on with the unanimous Conſent of the laſt Parliament, as *L'Eſtrange* aſſures us. For almoſt all the Proteſtants took the Allarm, as if the Marriage had been only made to introduce the *Roman* Catholick Religion; King *James* having in effect condeſcended to ſo many Particulars in favour of the Queen's *French* Domeſticks, and the *Engliſh* Papiſts, and taken ſo little Care for the Education of the Children to be born of this Marriage, in the Proteſtant Religion, that unleſs he was reſolv'd to break his Word, the Articles of the Contract were to be judg'd a Deſign to ſtrengthen the *Romiſh* Party in *England*. So that they brought a peculiar Misfortune upon King *Charles*, which attended him during the greateſt Part of his Reign, and much hinder'd him from being thoroughly known to his Subjects. For being in his Opinion inviolably ſteady to the Principles of the Church of *England*, and yet at the ſame Time neceſſitated by theſe Articles ſometimes to comply with things not agreeable to his Sentiments, he fell into ſuch Difficulties as to be accus'd by two oppoſite Parties; the *French* and their Party continually charging him with Breach of Faith, in not duly obſerving theſe Articles; and the *Puritan* Party with Affection to Popery, in conſenting to them at all. But to return to the Perſon and Behaviour of the Queen, who afterwards had ſo prevailing an Aſcendant on her Husband, we cannot pretend to give her Character in full Length, ſince all the beſt Writers have in a great Meaſure declin'd it, and have only told us in general of her Beauty, Wit, Spirit, and ordinary Qualities and Accompliſhments. Therefore ſince we have juſt brought the young King to his Settlement, both in his Kingdom and Family, we think it very convenient and uſeful to proceed to the Characters of ſome few Perſons of Quality, who at this Time had the greateſt Influence upon the Publick both in the Church and State, reſerving others to a more proper Place. Theſe at preſent were the Duke of *Buckingham*, Doctor *Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Doctor *Williams* Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal and Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and Doctor *Laud* Biſhop of St. *Davids*; Men more differing in their Intereſts and Deſigns, than their main Principles and Opinions.

An Account of the Queen.

The Match unfortunate.

1625. Car. I.

George Villiers, Duke of *Buckingham*, may well be rank'd among the Prodigies of Fortune, and the Miracles of Favourites; who from a bare Gentleman of twenty one Years of Age, and no viſible Eſtate, was by twenty ſeveral Steps hurried and mounted to the higheſt Degrees of Honour and Power, far above all the Nobility of the Kingdom, and all within the Space of twelve Years. For not to enumerate all his Offices and Titles, he was made a Knight of the Garter, a Baron, a Viſcount, an Earl, a Marqueſs, a Duke, Maſter of the Horſe, Conſtable of *Windſor* Caſtle, Maſter of the King's-Bench-Office, Lord-Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, and Lord High Admiral of *England*, and intirely diſpos'd of the King's Favours, in conferring all the Honours and Places of three Kingdoms without a ſingle Rival. So that if any Courtiers did but venture to withdraw themſelves from their abſolute Dependance upon him, as the Lord-Keeper *Williams* and the Earl of *Middleſex* did, they uſually met with inevitable Ruin. Yet all his Offices and Dignities, as Sir *Henry Wotton* obſerves, were but the Facings and Fringes of his Greatneſs, in compariſon of that Truſt which his Maſter repos'd in him, by putting into his Hands the Hopes and Heir of all his Dominions, in a hazardous if not romantick Journey into *Spain*; in which Affair, tho' he broke all the King's Deſigns, yet he met with a ſtrange Turn of Succeſs from both Houſes of Parliament, who gave him the higheſt Applauſes, and proceeded to ſuch Flights of Compliment, that ſome blaſphemouſly call'd him The *Saviour of the Nation.* All theſe Honours and Advantages, which like a Torrent came flowing in upon him, might naturally ſwell the Ambition of an older and better Man; and it is no wonder if at ſome Times he was intoxicated with ſuch a mighty Scene of Proſperity, and that his Preſumption ſhould ariſe to that Height as to affront, and to offer to ſtrike Prince *Charles*. Tho' this Indignity was not ſoon forgot, yet when this mild Prince came to his Throne, being rivetted by an inviolable Friendſhip and Familiarity, and charm'd by ſome Qualifications that were really very wonderful, he took him into the ſame Degree of Favour with his Father, and preſerv'd an equal Tenderneſs and Intimacy to the Day of his Death. So that all Preferments in Church and State were given by him; all his Relations and Friends promoted as he thought fit, and all his Enemies and Oppoſers diſcountenanc'd as he appointed. And his Power and Intereſt had ſuch an Aſcendant, that the Queen, notwithſtanding all her Spirit and Activity, could have no Influence as to publick Affairs while he liv'd. And towards her Majeſty, he often manifeſted a Rudeneſs contrary to his affable Diſpoſition, and once proceeded to that Degree of it, that upon an Imagination of a ſlight Diſreſpect ſhewn to his Mother, he told her, *That there had been Queens of* England *who had loſt their Heads.* Yet his Compoſition ſeem'd to have been made up of all the Elements of Affability, Courteſie, Generoſity and Munificence; and tho' his Paſſions were impetuouſly ſtrong, ſo as to bear no Oppoſition from the Greateſt, yet he never endeavour'd to guard himſelf with that Degree of Diſſimulation, as is thought neceſſary for Men in his Station; but whenever he deſign'd any ill Offices, he without Reſerve told the Parties what they were to expect. In this Place we ſhall enter no fur-

An Account and Character of the Duke of Buckingham.

ther into his Character and Behaviour, but leave it to the Imagination of the Reader to conceive what Numbers of Enviers and Enemies would naturally ariſe againſt ſuch a prodigious Favourite, and how much a young and good-natur'd Prince may ſuffer in the Opinion of ſuch, as know not how to make candid Allowances for the Heights of Friendſhip, and the Neceſſities of rewarding extraordinary Services. Therefore we proceed to

Of *Archbiſhop* Abbot,

Doctor *George Abbot*, who had been now fourteen Years Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; a Perſon who had been Maſter of *Univerſity* College in *Oxford*, and Dean of *Wincheſter* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and after that ſucceſſively Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *London*; and all without ever being a Curate, Vicar or Rector of any Pariſh; which many believe gave him a Tincture of too little Reſpect towards thoſe who had the immediate Cure of Souls, and to make him generally favour the Laity above the Clergy in all Caſes brought before him. Yet he was a celebrated Preacher both in *England* and *Scotland*, and of a grave and voluble Eloquence; he was painful, ſtout, ſevere againſt bad Manners, very hoſpitable, zealous againſt the *Roman* Church, and no leſs againſt thoſe call'd *Arminians*, which latter gave him great Diſquiets. He had built and endow'd a beautiful Hoſpital at *Guilford*, the Place of his Nativity; he had ſent what Succour he could ſpare to King *James*'s Daughter, the Queen of *Bohemia*; was an active Counſellor for the Defence of the *Palatinate*; was generally acceptable to the Nobility and Gentry, and highly in Favour with King *James*'s Queen *Anne*, and by her Intereſt became a great Inſtrument in the Riſe of the Duke of *Buckingham*. This prov'd contrary to the natural Inclinations of that good Queen, who like a Prophet foretold him, *That his Benefactors would be the firſt whom that young Man would undermine*. This plainly appear'd in no long Time, ſo that this Prelate began ſenſibly to decline in Power and Intereſt; and afterwards his bodily Infirmities, and his accidental killing of a Man, gave him ſuch a Blow as he could never fully recover in the late Reign. The Vigour of his Body and Mind ſeem'd much to decreaſe, and he was by many thought a better Man than an Archbiſhop, and that he was better qualified with Merit for the Dignity, than with a Spirit anſwerable to the Height of the Office; in the Exerciſe of which he was conceiv'd too eaſie and yielding, and was ſo very remiſs in exacting Conformity to the fix'd Orders of the Church in point of Ceremony, that he ſeem'd to reſolve thoſe legal Determinations into their firſt Principle of *Indifferency*; ſo that the very Reſtitution of them afterwards was termed all *Innovation*. His ſuppos'd Favours to the *Puritan* Party, his Zeal againſt the *Arminian* Opinions, his growing Diſtempers, and uncourtly Behaviour, gave ſufficient Occaſion to his active Oppoſers to have him ſoon laid aſide in this preſent Reign. Yet ſtill he was both pitied and reſpected by many of eminent Note, and Age and Hardſhips might naturally ſour his Temper againſt a then prevailing Party; ſo that his Doors were moſt open to Puritanical Perſons and Malecontents, who had a particular Veneration for his Piety and Gravity. By which Means, and the Fame of his Moderation, a Faction was preſerv'd and encreas'd, which diſturb'd both Church and State; and indeed both were real Sufferers by the Management and Misfortunes of one, who had both a Predeceſſor and a Succeſſor ſo differing from him in Actions and Opinions.

Of *Biſhop* Williams,

Doctor *John Williams*, a *Welſhman* by Birth, and of a noble Family, had been advanc'd to many conſiderable Preferments, firſt by the Lord-Chancellor *Egerton*, and then by the Duke of *Buckingham*, till he came to be Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, and Biſhop of *Lincoln*; which firſt was an Honour and Office not held by any Clergyman ſince the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. He was a Man without Queſtion of a very ſublime and towering Genius; of a ready Wit, great and aſpiring Spirit, and of a general Learning and Knowledge of Things and Men. He may alſo be ſaid to be one of infinite Subtlety and Sagacity, of great Inſight in Politicks and the Affairs of a Court, and admirably qualified for Buſineſs and Diſpatch, which caus'd him to be highly in Favour with King *James*, and to be employ'd in the moſt nice and difficult Affairs. And what gave a ſingular Advantage to his Activity and Induſtry, was the great Happineſs of his Conſtitution, which never requir'd above three Hours Sleep in twenty four. He had a moſt generous and munificent Diſpoſition, which he ſignally diſplay'd upon all Occaſions; but his Grandeur, Benefactions and Hoſpitality, have ſometimes been thought to have been allay'd with too much Oſtentation and Vanity. This great Man in the late Reign, continued a prime Miniſter of State for four or five Years, without any conſiderable Rubs, but what aroſe from the Reſentments of the Lawyers, who were highly diſoblig'd that ſo noble an Office ſhould be transferred from their Profeſſion. Till at length the Duke of *Buckingham*, whoſe Power was almoſt as unlimited as his Ambition, finding him unmanageable in ſome Particulars, reſolved to ſet him aſide; which by Degrees he effected under this preſent King: So that during much of the happy Part of this Reign, he was not only neglected by the Court, but alſo overwhelm'd with Clouds and Diſhonour. Yet ſtill his Intereſt and Abilities ſo far prevail'd upon the Minds of the Nation, that upon his Account a Faction was rais'd and blown up, which prov'd longer, and had more powerful Effects than that in favour of Archbiſhop *Abbot*, whoſe Cauſe he ſeem'd earneſtly to eſpouſe. For Biſhop *Laud*, to whom he had been a particular Benefactor, unhappily joining towards his firſt Declenſion, there ſoon aroſe a fatal Oppoſition between theſe two eminent Prelates, rais'd by mutual Diſtruſt and Emulation, and ever after kept up and fomented by reciprocal Injuries, and falſe Repreſentations on each ſide. So that they ſeemed never rightly to have known each other, but both expreſt a Temper which became neither of them, and carried on a Conteſt which prov'd of infinite Miſchief to the Publick. By Means of this Oppoſition, *Williams* has been frequently charg'd with *Puritaniſm*, and being a Lover of that Party, as alſo *Laud* was with *Popery*, and being a Favourer of that Religion; both which Accuſations we believe were really and equally falſe, but neither of them groundleſs. For had not this, and ſome extraordinary Accidents hapned, it is highly probable, that the Orthodoxy of their Principles would no more have been called in queſtion, than the Sobriety of their Lives, in which they were both unqueſtionably eminent.

And of Bi-*ſhop* Laud.

Doctor *William Laud*, a Native of *Reading*, and of creditable Parentage, had by his own Induſtry and Abilities raiſed himſelf through all the Offices of the Univerſity, and almoſt all the Dignities of the Church, till by the Intereſt of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the immediate Interceſſion of the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, he was made Biſhop of St. *Davids*, about four Years before this preſent King's Acceſſion to the Throne. He was now about fifty two Years of Age, which was nine more than his preſent Rival Biſhop *Williams*; having been for the moſt part reſident in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was Preſident of St. *John*'s College, and a moſt active Oppoſer of *Puritaniſm*, and that call'd *Anti-Arminianiſm*. He was a Man of great Parts, and good Learning, of an elevated Thought and vigorous Mind, of a diffuſive, generous and heroick Spirit, and adorn'd with unqueſtionable Honeſty and Integrity; yet ſo unhappily allayed with ſome unpopular Infirmities of Nature and Education, that he could not be Maſter of the nice Meaſures and Maxims of a Court, where there are ſo many Windings and Intricacies as to Politicks. Theſe Failures were ſoon diſcover'd by the famous Judge *Whitlock*, who, before his chief Advancements, was uſed to ſay, *That he was too full of Fire, tho' a juſt and a good Man, and that his Want of Experience in State Matters, and his too much Zeal for the Church, and Heat, if he proceeded in the Way he was then in, would ſet this Nation on Fire.* His ſtrict and poſitive Zeal for the Honour of God and the eſtabliſh'd Church, was apt to tranſport him into paſſionate Proceedings, which caus'd him to believe that Innocence and Fidelity were ſufficient Guards to a Man in his Journey through the World, in whatever Company and Ways he travelled. This alſo cauſed him to fail in thoſe Cautions and Prudences, which belong to a great Miniſter of State, who like a nice Phyſician is to conſider Times and Seaſons, as well as Perſons and Diſeaſes, and to regard their Complications, which are uſually mix'd in ill Habits of Body; and particularly to beware of removing an old and ſettled Diſtemper by ſtrong Medicines, when Time and Alteratives are to work the Cure. As he had great Courage and Reſolution, ſo being aſſur'd that he propoſed no End in all his vigorous Deſigns, but what was pious and juſt, he never ſtudied the moſt refined Ways to attain thoſe Ends; ſo that he courted Perſons too little, and did not enough value the Friendſhip of ſome great Men. In ſhort, the Rectitude of his Nature render'd him an unfit Inſtrument to ſtruggle with the Obliquity of theſe Times: And he had alſo this peculiar Infirmity, that he believ'd thoſe forward Inſtruments, which he employ'd, followed the Zeal of their own Natures, when they did but obſerve that of his; ſo that upon the firſt Emergency they generally vaniſh'd, and ſhew'd from whom they borrow'd their Heat. This fervent and vehement Temper ſeems to have been well known to King *James*, who had entertain'd ſome Prejudices againſt him, eſpecially for an unjuſtifiable Marriage, and was very averſe to the giving him the Biſhoprick of St. *Davids*; but at length was conquer'd by the Importunity of Biſhop *Williams*, who by reaſon of this Backwardneſs ſaid, *He wou'd never deſire to ſerve that Maſter, who could not forgive one Fault in his Servant.* However, by the Favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, he gain'd ſome Ground in that Reign; but much more in this; in which he ſucceeded ſo far, as at length to govern without a Rival, in all Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

A Compariſon of Williams *and* Laud.

We ſhall have Occaſion to ſay much more afterwards of this eminent Man: But becauſe the violent Differences between Him and Biſhop *Williams* had ſuch a baleful Influence upon the publick Tranquility, it may be very proper to make a ſhort Compariſon of theſe two great Perſons, who by ſeveral Writers have each been repreſented more like Monſters than Men. Upon the ſtricteſt Examinations, we ſincerely believe that both were great and pious Men, zealous Chriſtians, and hearty Lovers of the ornamental, as well as the eſſential Parts of the eſtabliſh'd Church of *England*: But by reaſon of the Diſſentions formerly hinted at, and the continual Increaſe of them, they never cou'd come to a juſt Underſtanding and Knowledge of each other; but One ever believ'd Something of the Opinions and Deſigns of the Other, which really was not true. They had both great and aſpiring Spirits, which probably might occaſion them ſooner to differ in their Opinions as to the Management of the Church, and all its Oppoſers. *Laud* was a ſtrict and rigid Aſſerter of the Church-Diſcipline, and wou'd not yield by any Means in the leaſt Punctilio's; for his Maxim was, *There is no End of Yielding*. The Temper of *Williams* was much more complying and inſinuating; and his Policy was to let Neceſſity govern in Matters of leſs Moment, and in ſuch Things to bend his Private Inclinations to the Prevalency of the Times. *Laud* believ'd that Compulſion and Authority was more prevalent, and *Williams* judg'd that Perſuaſions and Inſinuations wou'd more effectually reduce the Diſſenters. The former was like a bold Pilot who wou'd ſteer his Veſſel directly into the Port, tho' there were many Rocks and Shelves in the Way; but the Other knew better how to avoid thoſe hazardous Places, and by proper Windings and Turnings, cou'd more ſafely arrive in the Harbour. In ſhort, *Laud*'s rigid Honeſty made him fit for Primitive Times, but *Williams*'s Policy taught him how to manage the Infirmities of his own; the One being fit to govern *Saints*, the Other to deal with *Men*, which is by far the more difficult Task. To conclude all in the Phraſe of the Scriptures, which is proper for the Characters of Church-Men, *Laud* had always the Innocence of the Dove, but not ſo much the Wiſdom of the Serpent: *Williams* had very much of the Latter, but we have reaſon to fear not the full Perfection of the Former.

The FIRST PARLIAMENT.

The King's Speech.

The Keeper's Speech.

III. 1. The Treaties with *Spain* being broke in the laſt Reign, and a War projected for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, the young King had taken all poſſible Care for the raiſing of Soldiers, and other Preparations: But now the critical Time arriv'd, when he muſt try the Love and Affections of his Subjects in Parliament; which he had the more Reaſon to expect, becauſe he had never perſonally diſoblig'd Them. The laſt Parliament had heartily join'd with Him in this intended War, when he was Prince, tho' contrary to the Inclinations of his Father; wherefore he might naturally hope for their Compliances; and had nothing more to do, than to deſire Supplies proportionable to ſo mighty an Undertaking, without which he cou'd not be conſiderable either at home or abroad. This Parliament prov'd ſo much the ſame with the former, that we are aſſur'd, that not ten of the old ſurviving Members were omitted in the Election. Theſe met upon *Saturday* the 18th of *June*, which hapned ſeaſonably for the *French* Lords, who ſaw with what Royal Magnificence the King was attended to the Houſe by the Prelates, Peers, and other Officers of State. His Majeſty open'd the Seſſion with a modeſt and obliging Speech, in which he declar'd, 'That their Meeting was upon no new Affair, but what was begun by his Father of bleſſed Memory; therefore hoped they wou'd maintain the Cauſe as freely as they adviſ'd his Father to undertake it. In which juſt and glorious Work, it was his Wiſdom not to begin, till he found Means to ſupport it; but when he found himſelf abus'd abroad, he follow'd their Advice; and the Aſſiſtance of thoſe in *Germany*, the Fleet ready for Action, and the other Preparations, did all ſufficiently prove that his Father enter'd into this Undertaking. He hoped therefore they wou'd remember That they employ'd him to break off the Two Treaties then on foot; and tho' he might poſſibly enter upon it like a raſh young Man, yet it being begun by their Advice, and the Eyes of all *Europe* being now fix'd upon Him, it wou'd be a great Diſhonour to Him and Them, if it ſhould fail for want of their Aſſiſtance. Then he mov'd for Expedition and Diſpatch, by reaſon of the infectious Seaſon, which by their long Continuance might endanger their Lives. Laſtly he ſolemnly declar'd his firm Adherence to the true eſtabliſh'd Religion, againſt all the Aſperſions of ſome malicious Men.' He concluded with an unuſual Condeſcenſion, the Veiling his Crown; and his Speech was ſeconded by the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, who with his uſual Eloquence addreſs'd himſelf to the venerable Body, and declar'd, 'That his Majeſty's main Reaſon of ſummoning Them was, to mind them of his great Engagements from them for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, which was the very Center of all the ſeveral Treaties, Alliances and Preparations. And then recommended three Circumſtances to their Conſiderations, Firſt the *Timing* of it, in which his Majeſty deſir'd them to beſtow this Meeting upon Him, and the next ſhou'd be Theirs: Secondly, the *Supply*, which laſt had already been expended: Thirdly the *Iſſue of the Action*, which being the firſt, highly concern'd his Majeſty's Honour and Reputation, for which he rely'd upon their Love *with the greateſt Confidence that ever King had in his Subjects*.

Debates of the Houſe of Commons.

At this Time there were many Reaſons to diſpoſe the Hearts of the People to a general Concurrence and Satiſfaction; and it cannot be deny'd but here were all the wiſe and juſt Meaſures, that a new Prince cou'd take to render himſelf acceptable to his People, and conſiderable to the World. The Houſe of Commons preſented Sir *Thomas Crew*, Serjeant at Law, for their Speaker; and his Majeſty's Acceptance of him was thought the more agreeable, becauſe he had been Speaker in the very laſt Parliament, and ſo better acquainted with the Affairs at this Time depending. The Houſe began with various Debates, but what retarded the main Buſineſs was, their having by them two Petitions, one concerning Religion, the other againſt Grievances; which, having been model'd in King *James*'s Time, and preferr'd to him in the Cloſe of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, had never been anſwer'd. Some call'd for an immediate Account of the laſt Subſidies granted for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*: Others were for putting the Laws in Execution againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits, and ſuch Papiſts as reſorted to the Chappels of Foreign Ambaſſadors: And others declaim'd againſt the Dangers of *Arminianiſm*, and the Spreading of thoſe Tenets, eſpecially by means of Mr. *Richard Montague*'s Book, intitled *An Appeal to Cæſar*. On the other ſide it was calmly urg'd by the King's Friends, 'That the Grievances at preſent were ſo few and inconſiderable, that they were not yet worth a Complaint; deſiring them to remember That his Majeſty, when Prince, had been very inſtrumental in ſoliciting the Cauſe of Parliament and People with his Royal Father, and had yet done nothing but in purſuance of the Meaſures taken in that former Reign; therefore it wou'd be the Wiſdom of the Houſe to expreſs their Duty by an effectual Supply, and with it to offer nothing but a humble Petition for the Honour and Safety of Religion.

Several Complaints.

Subſidies granted.

But ſtill the Houſe inſiſted, 'That it was the ancient, and as they conceiv'd a moſt prudential Practice, to preſent their Petitions at the beginning of a Parliament, ſo that the King might have Time to return a full and deliberate Anſwer: That they were reſolv'd to purſue the ſame Courſe, and give Priority of Diſpatch to thoſe Petitions, before any other Buſineſs whatſoever.' Accordingly they appointed ſeveral Committees, *Tonnage* and *Poundage* was conſider'd, and the Impoſition upon Wine was voted a Grievance. Mr. *Montague* was likewiſe brought to the Bar of the Houſe for his forenam'd *Appeal*, which Book he had dedicated to the King, who by his legal Delegates was the proper Judge of it. However they took the Liberty to vote it contrary to the Articles of the eſtabliſh'd Religion, and his Majeſty's Honour, and took Two Thouſand Pounds Bond for *Montague*'s Appearance, which remain'd uncancell'd. Which new way of Proceeding caus'd the King to intimate to the Houſe, That he was not pleas'd with what they had done againſt one of his Chaplains, *for he conceiv'd That his Servants were as free from Arreſts and Impriſonments, as the Servants of the Knights and Burgeſſes, therefore he had taken the Matter into his own Hands*; at which the Commons ſeem'd much diſpleas'd. However to the ſeveral Heads of Grievances his Majeſty gave a diſtinct and ſatisfactory Anſwer, and gave a full Promiſe to their Petition for Religion; and the better to induce them to a Supply, he laid before them the ſeveral Diſburſements, relating both to the Army and Navy; a Condeſcenſion rarely practis'd by his Predeceſſors; which had ſo good an Effect, that the Laity frankly gave him two Subſidies, voting the Papiſts to pay double; and the Clergy three. The Lord *Conway* related to both Houſes, 'That the King graciouſly accepted of their Offers, but the Neceſſities of the preſent Affairs ſtill requir'd their further Counſels: That the late King was provok'd beyond his Nature to undertake a War, the Charges of which amounted to ſeven hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year, to ſupport the *Netherlands*; and to prevent the Emperor's Deſigns in *Germany*, he levy'd an Army under Count *Mansfield*, the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* another; and to ſuſtain the *Netherlands*, the Charge of *Mansfield*'s and *Denmark*'s Armies muſt ſtill continue.

Theſe inſufficient Levies, amounting to about a hundred and fifty thouſand Pound, were all that the King cou'd obtain from this Parliament; whoſe Proceedings after this, for the moſt part, prov'd diſguſtful both to Him and his Miniſters, *The firſt Diſguſts.*

ſters, eſpecially the Duke of *Buckingham*. For, beſides ſome other Deſigns, the Commons prepar'd a Bill of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which they limited to one Year, whereas it had been uſually given for the Life of the Prince, eſpecially from the Time of *Henry* the Seventh. This Reſtraint was thought hard and unſeaſonable, tho' the Reaſon for it ſeems to be, becauſe King *James* had rais'd ſome new Impoſitions on ſeveral imported and exported Commodities; which Prerogative was eſteem'd a juſt and neceſſary Flower of the Crown; becauſe the Rate upon Merchandize cou'd not well be perfectly fix'd, in regard foreign Princes cou'd impoſe in their Countries what Rate they pleas'd; therefore in all Nations ſuch Rates on foreign Commodities were caſually vary'd by every Prince, that they might ballance and hold Proportion to other Duties on their own Commodities: Which thing had been done by Queen *Elizabeth* in the Currants, and other Goods. This Bill was the Baſis on which the People built much of the future Diſcontents; but however the Limitation appeared either ſo unkind, or ſo unreaſonable to the Lords, that they utterly refus'd the whole.

A Conſultation about an Adjournment.

The Plague at this Time raging in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, the King was reduc'd to a great Uncertainty, as not knowing well how to detain, nor how to diſmiſs the Parliament. He was very deſirous of trying them in ſome other Place, and propos'd to adjourn to *Oxford* at a Council held at *Hampton-Court*. The Duke of *Buckingham* zealouſly promoted the Deſign, but the Lord-Keeper *Williams* appear'd againſt it, declaring, *That it was not another Place, but another Time that muſt do his Majeſty's Buſineſs.* Which firſt he ſhew'd from the 'Uneaſineſs which wou'd happen 'to the Lords and Commons, for being forc'd to travel 'in ſuch a dangerous Seaſon; which might cauſe them to 'vote out of *Diſcontent*, and look upon ſmall Offences as 'great in the Beginning of a Reign. Secondly it was to 'be conſider'd, that the Parliament had already given two 'Subſidies; and tho' they remov'd to *Oxford*, yet it being 'the ſame *Seſſion*, they wou'd probably inſiſt upon the Cu'ſtom of not giving twice in one Seſſion, which was too 'great a Hazard for his Majeſty to run at that Time.' To all which the Duke reply'd, *That publick Neceſſity ought to preponderate one Man's Jealouſie.* Hereupon the Keeper begg'd the Favour to ſpeak with the King in private, where he particularly inform'd his Majeſty, *That the Duke had Enemies in the Houſe of Commons, who had prepar'd Complaints againſt Him, and wou'd waſte the Time at* Oxford *upon that Subject: Therefore it wou'd be a Weakneſs to continue a Seſſion, that had no other Proſpect, but to bring the Duke upon the Stage. But if his Majeſty thought, that this was like a Hectick, ſoon known but hardly cur'd, his humble Motion was, that this Miſchief might be laid aſleep till after* Chriſtmaſs; *for by that Time he hoped to give ſuch an Account, by managing the chief Sticklers, that they ſhould recede from their Bitterneſs againſt his great Servant; and ſo the Paſſage to his weighty Counſels be made ſmooth and peaceable.* Here the King ask'd him, *Why he conceal'd this from* Buckingham? To which the other warmly reply'd, *He wou'd gladly begin at that End, but He wou'd not hear him with Moderation.* This Diſcovery, as it was believ'd, compleated the Duke's Hatred againſt the Keeper, and haſtned his Ruin: For his Grace, now grown jealous, bad Defiance to Him and his Confederates, and urg'd that the Parliament might be continu'd, that he might clear himſelf. So dangerous is it to ſhew a great Man his Ruin, tho' never ſo near it; becauſe he is apt to look upon the firſt Diſcoverer, as the Author of it.

The Parliament adjourn'd to Oxford.

Thus the Duke carried his Deſign, and on the 11th Day of *July*, after a Seſſion of three Weeks and two Days, the Parliament was adjourn'd to meet at *Oxford*, on the firſt Day of *Auguſt*.

Ships lent to the French.

2. During this Receſs, there began a certain Action at Sea, which, through the Aggravations of ſome, and Miſunderſtandings of others, afterwards turn'd much to the Diſadvantage of the King. This was founded in the Reign of King *James*, who during the Marriage-Treaty with *France* had agreed to lend one Man of War to the *French* King, and to permit ſeven Merchant Ships to be hir'd of the Owners, upon a particular Promiſe, *That they ſhould not be employ'd againſt the Proteſtants of* France, but only againſt the King of *Spain*, or his Allies in *Italy*, particularly *Genoa*. But the Proteſtants intimating their Suſpicion, that the Deſign was to fall upon the *Rochellers*, and others of their Religion, which were then in Arms, King *James* directed that the greater Part of thoſe that ſerv'd in the Ships ſhou'd be of the *Engliſh* Nation. To perform this Ingagement, Captain *John Pennington* was now ſent in the *Vauntguard*, a principal Man of War, with ſeven large Merchant Ships, to ride upon the Coaſt of *France*, for the Service of that King; who, inſtead of employing them againſt the common Enemy, had now reſolv'd to make uſe of them againſt his Proteſtant Subjects at *Rochelle*, and for the ſame End had borrow'd twenty Ships of War from the *Hollanders*. Captain *Pennington* was ſenſible of this Deſign, and therefore ſent back a Memorial to the Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord High Admiral, to decline the Service, and to return in Honour and Safety; but he ſoon receiv'd Letters from the Duke, and a Warrant from Secretary *Conway* in the King's Name, to command him to deliver up the Ships to ſuch *Frenchmen* as his *Chriſtian Majeſty* ſhou'd appoint, but not to deſert his own Charge over them. Theſe Orders were deliver'd to him near *Dieppe* by the *French* Ambaſſador, together with a Letter from the *French* King, requiring him to receive his Soldiers, and his Admiral the Duke of *Montmorancy*, and join with his Fleet againſt his rebellious Subjects. *Pennington* very briſkly refus'd; upon which a Diſpute ariſing, the *French Ambaſſador's* Secretary came two ſeveral times to the Captain's Ship, to proteſt againſt him as a Rebel to his King and Country: But at the making the laſt Proteſt, inforc'd both by Threats and Promiſes, the Soldiers and Seamen flew into ſuch a Fury, that they got up their Anchors and ſet ſail for *England*, declaring, *That they had rather be hang'd at home, than be Slaves to the* French, *and fight againſt the Proteſtant Religion.*

The Soldiers Reſolution.

The French obtain their Ends.

When they came to Anchor in the *Downs*, Captain *Pennington* ſent an Expreſs to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to inform him of what had happen'd, and to aſſure him, *That his Seamen wou'd rather die than return again to* France. All this while the whole Body of the Council knew of no other Deſign than that of *Genoa*; tho' they receiv'd ſome Intimations to the contrary from the Duke of *Rohan*. However the King, that he might not break the Ingagement with his Brother-in-law upon an uncertain Conſequence, ſent an Expreſs and ſtrict Order to *Pennington*, to put his former Inſtructions in execution; to reſign the *Vauntguard*, with all her Furniture, into the Hands of the Marqueſs *D'Eſfiat*; and to require the ſeven Merchant Ships to put themſelves into the Service of the *French* King, under the utmoſt Penalty. Upon which *Pennington* ſail'd back to *Dieppe*, and put the *Vauntguard* into the abſolute Power of the *French* King, and for the ſame Purpoſe deliver'd up the other Ships, who were weighing Anchor, and making their Way, but upon a Shot from *Pennington* they came in again, only Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* ſtoutly brought off his Ship, call'd the *Neptune*. The Companies in the reſt unanimouſly declar'd againſt ſerving the *French*, and quitted their Ships all but one Gunner; and *Pennington* himſelf came away for *England*. This Expedition, with the Miſapplication of the *Engliſh* Ships by the *French*, afterwards produc'd great Miſchiefs, not only from the Clamours of ſome Perſons againſt the King and Duke, but alſo for laying a Foundation for a War againſt *France*, which prov'd diſhonourable to the one, and fatal to the other.

The Second Seſſion of the Firſt Parliament.

3. After an Adjournment and Receſs of three Weeks, the Parliament met at *Oxford*, where the Divinity School was appointed for the Houſe of Commons, and the Galleries above for the Houſe of Lords. The Speaker being plac'd in or near the Divinity Profeſſor's Chair, was thought ſo much to inſpire ſome of the Members with controverſial Knowledge, that from thence no Parliaments in this Reign were without a *Committee for Religion*, that ventur'd to determine the abſtruſeſt Points in Divinity. Here Mr. *Montague* was ſummon'd to appear, and his Book again appointed to be examin'd. His Cauſe was recommended to the Duke of *Buckingham*, by the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, *Oxford*, and St. *David's*, as the Cauſe of the Church of *England*, alledging, *That ſome of the Opinions in his Book were the reſolv'd Doctrines of the Church, and others Scholaſtical Points, wherein learned Men were left at their own Liberty.* They likewiſe inſiſted upon the Judgment of King *James*, who approv'd of the Opinions in this Book; and that Matters of Differences in the Church ought to be determin'd only by the King and the Biſhops in a National Synod. However the Debates run high, Grievances were alledg'd, and heavy Complaint was made by Sir *John Elliot*, of ſix *Romiſh* Prieſts being lately pardon'd, which the Duke had prevail'd upon the King to be done in his Preſence at *Hampton-Court*.

The King moves for further Supplies.

The King finding a general Neglect of his main Buſineſs, upon the fourth Day of *Auguſt* ſummon'd both Houſes to *Chriſt-Church* Hall, where 'he reminded them of adviſing 'his Father to break the Treaties with *Spain*, and leading 'him into an expenſive War; and earneſtly urg'd them to 'give ſufficient Supplies, which at preſent were very much 'wanting.' His Speech was ſeconded by the two Secretaries, the Lord *Conway*, and Sir *John Cooke*, who urg'd new Reaſons, 'and declar'd the preſent State of Affairs 'with reference to *Germany*, *France*, the *Low-Countries*, '*Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Italy*; and then laid open the pre'ſent Condition and Neceſſities of the Fleets and Armies.' After this the Lord Treaſurer laid open 'the Debts of 'King *James*, which amounted to above three hundred 'thouſand Pounds; next the Debts and Expences of the ‘present King, amounting to near two hundred thouſand Pounds; and beſides, the Navy wou'd require, for the intended Expedition, at leaſt three hundred thouſand Pounds.

Warm Debates in the Houſe of Commons.

Theſe preſſing Occaſions for Supply caus'd ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons to take Advantage of the King's Neceſſities, and aggravate the popular Diſcontents, which then probably might have been allay'd by ſoft Words, and ſome Promotions: But finding the Court bent wholly upon Supplies, they flew into higher Pretenſions, and complain'd, ‘That the Treaſury was miſapply'd, and that evil Counſels guided the King's Deſigns; alledging that the Nation's Neceſſities were owing to a wrong Management; and tho' the former Parliament did engage the late King in a War, this was not oblig'd to be carry'd blindfold by the other, where ſound Counſels were wanting; and that it was not uſual to grant Subſidies twice in one Parliament, and no Grievances redreſs'd. That all Miſcarriages were chiefly owing to the Potency of the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom they condemn'd for the Match with *Spain*, and that with *France*, and other Particulars; reaſſum'd the Buſineſs of Mr. *Montague*; reſolv'd that Religion ſhou'd firſt be debated, next the Kingdom's Safety, and then Supplies: That the King be deſired to give his Anſwer in full Parliament to the Petition for Religion, and concerning the Impoſition upon Wines. They enquir'd whither the new Fleet and Army were intended, after the great Sums of Money given for Places; and if the Money deſign'd for the *Palatinate*, did not maintain the Ships lent againſt *Rochelle*;' with other popular Matters which gave the Court no ſmall Uneaſineſs. In theſe Debates none was more high and furious than Sir *John Elliot*; eſpecially where the Duke was immediately concern'd, to whom he was an implacable Enemy.

A Petition about Religion.

A Conference was held between the Lords and Commons upon the Subject of theſe Debates, and more eſpecially upon the eſtabliſh'd Religion. After which both Houſes were order'd to meet at *Chriſt-Church*, to receive an Anſwer to their famous Petition concerning *Religion*; in which they ſhew'd the King the Dangers that threatned the Church and State by the more than ordinary Increaſe of Popery: They inſiſted upon eight ſeveral Cauſes, and propos'd ſixteen diſtinct Remedies for this outragious Miſchief; to every Clauſe of which his Majeſty anſwer'd in a Parliamentary way, with ſo much Fairneſs and Satisfaction, that nothing cou'd be deſir'd more; as may be ſeen at large in *Ruſhworth*, *Frankland*, and others. The Petition ſhew'd that the Jealouſies of Popery were then very high and formidable; and the Anſwer aſſur'd them, that the King wou'd effectually ſuppreſs thoſe Fears and Apprehenſions. And for a more full Conviction, at the Time of reading the Petition and Anſwer, it was farther intimated to the Commons, ‘That as his Majeſty was pleas'd with their minding him of the Care of Religion, ſo he wou'd have acted and granted the ſame things, if they had not petition'd for them. And what he had done in this Particular, aroſe from thoſe two Fountains, Conſcience and Duty to his Father, *who in his laſt Speech recommended to him the Perſon, but not the Religion of his Queen.*

The King's Anſwer.

But ſtill the main Grievance of ſome of the Commons was, to ſee the Duke of *Buckingham* ſo highly in Favour with the King, whoſe prevailing Aſcendency had caus'd very ſevere Speeches and Replies. Therefore the Duke thought it proper to make ſome Apology and Defence for himſelf; and took the Opportunity to do it when both Houſes had juſt receiv'd his Majeſty's obliging Conceſſions. He acquainted them, ‘That by his Maſter's Command he came to give them an account of the Fleet and the Preparations made: That when he had laſt the Happineſs to ſpeak in that Auditory, it was of the *Spaniſh* Match, and then he was ſo fortunate as to be applauded by both Houſes; and he made no Queſtion, but ſpeaking now with the ſame Heart, he ſhou'd be no leſs acceptable to them.' He farther requeſted the Favour of the Houſe of Commons, and proceeded to ſum up the ſeveral Objections againſt himſelf and his Proceedings, and gave particular Anſwers with ſuch Grounds of Reaſon, that many of the Houſe of Commons were for giving a preſent Supply; and urg'd, ‘That it was not for the King's own particular Wants, but for the Honour and Defence of the Kingdom; and that it might prove dangerous not to comply with his Majeſty in ſuch a juſt and modeſt Deſire.' But Sir *John Elliot*, with other diſſatisfy'd Members, were of a contrary Inclination, and declar'd, ‘It was rather their Duty to preſent to the King how he might live glorious at home, and be fear'd abroad, by having his Deſigns better manag'd; and that they ought to be better ſecur'd from Domeſtick Foes, before they engag'd againſt Foreign Enemies: That the great Sums given for Honours and Offices, wou'd go far in ſetting out the Fleet.' Then again they excepted againſt the Greatneſs of the Duke, endeavouring to diveſt him both of his Honours and his Riches; and thus the Debate was adjourn'd 'till another Day.

The Duke of Buckingham*'s Defence.*

It has no Effect.

This unexpected Treatment might have provok'd the Indignation of a milder Man than the Duke; for it muſt needs be a ſhocking Diſappointment, to find thoſe Men, who had flatter'd him with the Title of *Our Saviour*, for bringing the Prince ſafe from *Spain*, now to call him the Corrupter of the King, and the Betrayer of the People, without imputing any Crime to him but what was as well known to them then, as at this time. In the midſt of this Perplexity and Uneaſineſs, the Keeper *Williams*, tho' much fallen in his Favour, ventur'd to give him this friendly Advice, *To wind up the Seſſion quickly; having this reaſonable Pretence of two Colleges and eight Houſes being viſited by the Plague: To let the Members be calmly and fairly promiſed, that they ſhall meet again after* Chriſtmas: *To requite the Injuries done to him with Benefits, not Revenge; ſince no wiſe Man wou'd ſhew himſelf angry with the People of* England: *To confer one or two of his greateſt Places upon his ſafeſt Friends; which wou'd make him grow leſs in Envy, but not in Power: And at the Cloſe of the Seſſion to declare himſelf forwardeſt to ſerve the King and Commonwealth, and to give the Parliament Satisfaction.* Then he promiſed him to undertake the Care of the reſt, ſo that he ſhou'd receive no future Detriment. But the Duke, inſtead of thanking him, reply'd in a Paſſion, *I will look whom I truſt to*, and departed with ſuch a Countenance as ſufficiently foretold the other's Declenſion. However the King was more mild, and ſent a courteous Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, ‘To deſire them to conſider his Affairs, which required a ſpeedy Diſpatch, and indeed a quick Supply. He offer'd, upon his Royal Word, that the Parliament ſhou'd meet again in Winter, at what time they pleas'd; and then ſit till they had perfected all Things for the Common Good:' And, in Concluſion, he deſir'd them *to conſider, that this was the firſt Requeſt he had ever made to them.*

The Keeper's Advice to the Duke.

The King's Meſſage to the Commons.

Upon this Meſſage ſome Members earneſtly preſſed ‘the granting of two Subſidies, and two Fifteens, in Regard to his Majeſty's Honour, and the Neceſſity of the Publick Affairs.' But others warmly reply'd, ‘That *Neceſſity* was a dangerous Counſellor, and liable to be us'd as a continual Argument for Supplies in all Parliaments: That thoſe Miniſters, who had thrown the King and Kingdom into ſuch *Neceſſity*, ought to anſwer for it: That there was as much Neceſſity for redreſſing of Grievances, as for the granting more Subſidies.' However they unanimouſly agreed to ſend a ſhort Declaration to his Majeſty, in which ‘They thank'd him for his gracious Anſwer concerning Religion; and declar'd their loyal Intentions to ſerve him in due Time, and a Parliamentary Way; and alſo beſeech'd him to reſt aſſured of their true and hearty Affections, and to eſteem the ſame to be the greateſt Reputation and Security a juſt King can have, and to account all ſuch Enemies and Slanderers of the Commonwealth, who ſhall dare to ſay the contrary.

The Commons Declaration.

Had the Keeper's Advice been follow'd, and this Declaration receiv'd in the moſt favourable Senſe, 'tis probable the King had obtain'd his Ends, and parted amicably with his Parliament. But inſtead of uſing Lenitives in this nice Juncture, at *Woodſtock*, where the Court reſided, the Commons were cenſur'd *as ſpiteful and ſeditious; therefore not fit to continue, but to be diſſolved.* The Keeper hearing this, us'd his utmoſt Endeavours by Arguments, Tears and Supplications, to put a ſtop to ſuch Proceedings; begging his Majeſty to remember, *That in his hearing his bleſſed Father had charg'd him to call Parliaments often, and continue them, tho' their Raſhneſs might ſometimes offend him. But chiefly, let it never be ſaid, that he had not kept good Correſpondence with his firſt Parliament.* The Keeper had almoſt all the Lords of the Council of the ſame Opinion with him in this Point; but *Buckingham* being intirely againſt it, the King ſent a Commiſſion, directed to ſeveral Lords, for the Diſſolution of the Parliament. Accordingly, the Uſher of the Black Rod was ſent to call the Commons up to the Lords Houſe; but they being reſolv'd into a Grand Committee, and knowing the Deſign of the Meſſage, refus'd to admit the Meſſenger, or ſuffer the Speaker to take the Chair, 'till Mr. *Glanvil*, Chair-man of the Committee, had made a Report in Form of a Proteſtation. Then the Houſe went up, and hearing his Majeſty's Commiſſion, it was accordingly executed, and the Parliament diſſolv'd, upon the twelfth of *Auguſt*, after a ſhort and troubleſome Seſſion of ten Days. Thus abruptly and tumultuouſly ended the Firſt Parliament; which much turn'd to the Diſreputation of the King and Nation abroad: For Foreigners ſaw how little the King cou'd do without his Parliament, and how little the Parliament was like to do for him; therefore *Spain* and the Emperor apprehended no great Danger in their Diſpoſal of the Count *Palatine*'s Dominions; and *France* and *Holland* knew, if the King wou'd purſue a *Spaniſh* War, he muſt proceed under them.

The Keeper's Advice to the King.

The Firſt Parliament diſſolv'd.

Here began the firſt Miſunderſtandings between the King and his People; and here he might well remember his Father's Prophetick Words, when he warn'd him againſt the War with *Spain*, and his Proſecution of Noblemen. But tho' this abrupt Diſſolution was contrary to good Policy, upon ſeveral Accounts, yet it cannot be deny'd but this Parliament, tho' it had Reaſon for Complaints, was really hard and unkind in ſome Particulars in reſpect both to the King and the Duke.

An Account of Sir John Elliot*'s Reſentments.*

But becauſe the Duke's Proſecution had ſuch unfortunate Effects, and was in a great meaſure inflam'd by the Fury and Activity of Sir *John Elliot*, it may be proper here to lay open the Spring of that violent Reſentment, in this remarkable Account. This *Elliot* was a Gentleman of a new Family, but a fair Eſtate in *Cornwall*; was formerly a Fellow-Traveller, and an intimate Companion with the Duke before his Riſe; and after that as obſequious, and as great a Flatterer of him as any Man. Within his own Pariſh there liv'd one Mr. *John Moyle*, a Gentleman of very good Note and Character in his Country, who, together with his Son, had afterwards the Honour to ſerve in Parliament. Whether out of Rivalſhip, or otherwiſe, Mr. *Elliot*, having upon a very ſlight Occaſion entertain'd a bitter Grudge againſt the other, went to his Houſe under the Shew of a friendly Viſit, and there treacherouſly ſtabb'd him, while he was turning on one ſide to take a Glaſs of Wine to drink to him. And now ſuppoſing he had perfected his Revenge, he immediately haſten'd to *London* to addreſs himſelf to his ſure Friend the Duke of *Buckingham*, in order to get his Pardon; which, to his great Diſappointment, he could not obtain, without firſt advancing a conſiderable Sum of Money into the Exchequer. But as ſoon as his Pardon was ſeal'd, and the Money paid, he receiv'd Intelligence that Mr. *Moyle* was unexpectedly recover'd. Upon the happy Aſſurance of this, he again apply'd himſelf to the Duke to procure the Repayment of the Money; but that being ſwallow'd up in the Occaſions of the Court beyond any Recovery, all that he could obtain in lieu of it was to be Knighted: Which, tho' it might have allay'd the Heat of his Ambition, was ſo heinouſly taken at the Hands of a Perſon once his Equal, that after that he never ceas'd to be his Mortal Enemy, but help'd to blow up ſuch a Flame in the Houſe, as was never extinguiſh'd: A remarkable Conſequence of a reſtleſs and indefatigable Malice, when mix'd with the plauſible Appearance of a publick Good. Mr. *Moyle* out-liv'd this baſe Attempt above Forty Years, who, with ſome others of his Family, often told the Particulars to his Grandſon Dr. *Prideaux*, the Dean of *Norwich*, and other Relations, from whom I had this particular Account.

A War with Spain.

The King in Want.

A Proclamation againſt Papiſts.

IV. 1. After a proſperous Calm of twenty three Years Peace and Traffick with all *Europe*, a War now began with *Spain* and the Emperor; which being enter'd on with weak Supplies, ended with ſmall Succeſs. The great want of Mony did gradually drive the King to ſome Meaſures that were extraordinary; but that of borrowing from Subjects by their own Conſents was firſt try'd, as the leaſt liable to Exception. To which Purpoſe the King directed his Letters to the Lord-Lieutenants in the ſeveral Counties, deſiring them to join with their Deputy-Lieutenants, and return the Names of all ſuch Gentlemen as were of Ability to lend, and the Sums they thought they might ſpare. Accordingly Privy-Seals were ſent to the ſeveral Perſons, obliging the Repayment of the Money in eighteen Months; and the Collectors were order'd to return the Names of ſuch as diſcover'd a Diſpoſition to delay or excuſe the lending the Sums requir'd of them. This Project did not ſo much anſwer the King's Occaſions, as it open'd the Mouths of the People; it being attended with ſome invidious Circumſtances and Marks of Compulſion, that gave great Uneaſineſs to many. On the contrary his Majeſty obliged the Generality of the Nation, by iſſuing out his Proclamation 'to command the Return of all *Engliſh* 'Youth educated in Foreign Schools and Seminaries: 'That no Biſhop or Prieſt of the Church of *Rome*, ſhall 'preſume to confer Eccleſiaſtical Orders, or exerciſe his 'Function or Juriſdiction towards any of his natural Subjects; and that all Statutes againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits ſhall 'be put in Execution.' Warrants were alſo iſſu'd out for diſarming of Popiſh Recuſants; and Letters were directed to thirteen Lords of that Communion, to deliver up their Arms accordingly. And the Council being inform'd from the Lords-Lieutenants, *That there was a great and unaccuſtomed Reſort to the Houſes of Papiſts*, they authoriz'd them to enquire into the Reaſons and Occaſions of ſuch Aſſemblies; and whether there were any Preparation of Arms, or other Practices among them.

A League made with Holland *and other Potentates.*

In order to carry on the great War, a few Days after the Parliament's Diſſolution, the King enter'd into a League Offenſive and Defenſive with the States of *Holland*; in which was mainly promoted the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Prince *Palatine* to his Paternal Eſtate and Dignity. 'The 'League was to continue fifteen Years at leaſt, and each 'Party to keep up an Army of twenty five or thirty thouſand 'Foot, and four or five thouſand Horſe, againſt the King 'of *Spain* and his Adherents, till he ſhou'd be reduc'd to 'Reaſon and Juſtice.' Notwithſtanding which, the King made a particular Proteſtation, 'That it ſhou'd not prejudice the Right of his Subjects againſt the *Dutch Eaſt-'India* Company, for the Torture and Execution of his 'Subjects at *Amboyna*; for which, if the States-General 'gave not Satisfaction in eighteen Months time, it ſhou'd 'be lawful for them to take it by Repriſal.' All which was concluded on the 25th Day of *Auguſt* at *Southampton*. Shortly after the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Holland* were ſent Ambaſſadors to the United Provinces, where, with Sir *Dudley Carleton*, they met the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Denmark* at the *Hague*, and concluded a League with them and the States, both for reſtoring the Elector *Palatine*, and the Liberties of the *German* Empire. All things ſeem'd to have a good and promiſing Aſpect, and honourable Preſents were made by the States to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at their Return; and particularly the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Preſent, of a Gold Baſon with the Caſe, was valu'd at two thouſand Pounds.

Preparations for the War.

In purſuance of this League, the King of *Denmark*, having receiv'd conſiderable Promiſes both from *England* and *Holland*, readily took up Arms; but prov'd unfortunate in the Event: Which he afterwards imputed to the *Engliſh* King's Non-performance of what was promiſed on his Part; and which was really occaſion'd by the Parliament's Failure of granting ſufficient Supplies. And for the ſame Reaſon, the Fleet, which ſhou'd have been ſent out in the Beginning of Summer, to make Attempts upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, was not ready till the Month of *October*. In which Expedition, Sir *Edward Cecil*, now made Viſcount *Wimbleton*, had the Command of the whole Fleet; and the Earl of *Eſſex* was made Vice-Admiral under him. This Sir *Edward* came more with the Reputation of a Land Soldier, than a skilful Sea-Man; and his being a Stranger to the Navy was the more reſented, becauſe, in the Choice of Officers for this Service, Sir *Robert Manſel*, an old Sea Commander, was neglected, which much diſguſted the common Seamen, who had great a Eſteem for him.

The Expedition againſt Cadiz.

It is unſucceſsful.

The Fleet, which with the Addition of ſome *Dutch* Veſſels, conſiſted of eighty good Ships, at their firſt ſetting out were met by ſuch a violent Storm, that the greateſt part of them were diſpers'd for ſeven Days; and a brave Ship of *Ipſwich* was loſt, with a hundred and ſeventy Men. After this great Impediment, the Fleet met at the *Southern Cape*, where they formally conſulted where to make their Attempt: The Earl of *Eſſex*, being inflam'd by the Glory obtain'd by his Father at *Cadiz*, propos'd the attacking the *Spaniſh* Fleet, then in that Harbour; but there appear'd ſo many Difficulties in the Enterprize, and ſo much Time was ſpent in the Debate, that the whole Coaſt of *Spain* was alarm'd, and the Inhabitants had Opportunity to prepare for their Defence; ſo that when they arriv'd near *Cadiz*, they landed their Men with great Danger and Oppoſition. The firſt Place they attempted was *Puntol* Caſtle, under the Shelter of which rode the *Spaniſh* Ships; in order to reduce it, twenty *Engliſh* and five *Dutch* Ships were employ'd; but, after they had ſpent two thouſand great Shot againſt it with ſmall Effect, they retir'd. This not ſucceeding, the General ſent Sir *John Burroughs*, with a ſelect Regiment of Foot, to attack the Fort by Land; who, at their firſt Appearance, were encounter'd by ſome *Spaniſh* Forces, which were drawn together for the Defence of the Country; and after a ſharp Engagement they defeated the *Spaniards* in the Sight of the Caſtle; upon which the Commander within beat a Parly, and ſurrender'd the Place, with fifteen Barrels of Powder and eight Pieces of Cannon. While the Parly was concluding, the *Spaniards* hal'd moſt of their beſt Ships under the *Port-Royal*; ſo that Sir *Samuel Argale*, who was ſent to fire the Ships, was wholly diſappointed. But that which might have been very fatal, was the Miſmanagement of the Soldiers, who, by the Avarice or Negligence of their Commanders, were permitted ſo to gorge themſelves with the Wine they found in the Place, that they became more like Beaſts than Men, and might have been made an eaſy Prey to the *Spaniards*; and being thus ungovernable, the General fearing the Conſequence, ſpeedily caus'd them to be embark'd, and left behind him only the Hopes of Fame and Victory. From thence they ſail'd to the *Southern Cape*, where they continu'd twenty Days in Expectation of the Plate Fleet; but the Inclemency of the Air, and the Intemperance of the Sea-men, caus'd ſuch a Contagion in the Navy, that they wanted Men to manage the Tackling. And becauſe ſome Ships were more infected than others, they invented a pernicious Courſe, which was to order every Ship by Lot to take two Sick in exchange for ſo many ſound Men; which propagated the Peſtilence, and forc'd the General to an untimely

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Return, four Days before the Plate-Fleet arriv'd. Thus inauſpicious was the firſt War, as well as the firſt Parliament, and tho' many were blam'd, none were puniſh'd. Only *Wimbleton* was for ſome time forbid the King's Preſence; but excus'd himſelf by laying a great Part of the Miſcarriage upon the Stubbornneſs of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

Williams diſplac'd.

Sir Thomas Coventry made Keeper.

2. During the time of this unfortunate Expedition, the King was making Preparations for two ſolemn Occaſions, his Coronation, and another Parliament; one for Grandeur, and the other for Buſineſs. To make the way eaſie to the latter, the former was thought ſubſervient; and to prepare for their more amicable Meeting, his Majeſty enjoyn'd the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to proceed againſt Popiſh Recuſants by Excommunication and other Cenſures, and to endeavour to unmask thoſe diſaffected to Religion, tho' no profeſs'd Papiſts; and by Proclamation requir'd all convicted Papiſts to remain confin'd to their dwelling Places, or within four Miles, unleſs ſpecially licens'd: The King deſign'd alſo to leave Mr. *Montague* and his Cauſe to the Parliament; which being told by the Duke to Biſhop *Laud*, he ſaid, with a Sigh, *He ſeem'd to ſee a Cloud ariſing, and threatning the Church of* England. But the Storm fell ſooneſt upon Biſhop *Williams*, who, tho' he us'd all Arts and Methods to preſerve his Intereſt, cou'd not withſtand the mighty Power of the Duke, who cou'd bear no Diminution as to his own Grandeur; therefore caus'd him to be ſequeſter'd from the Council-Table, and the Preſence of the King, and upon the 25th of *October* the Great-Seal to be taken from him, which was given to Sir *Thomas Coventry*, his Majeſty's Attorney-General. His Enemies acknowledge that his Diſgrace proceeded from the private Diſpleaſure of the Duke; with whom the Lawyers are ſaid to have join'd, out of a Deſire to get that high Station once again into their own Poſſeſſion. As this great Stateſman declined, ſo Biſhop *Laud* aſcended; and from that time grew as much in the King's Favour, as before he had been in the Duke's; becoming as it were his Majeſty's Secretary for all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

Preparations for the Coronation.

The Plague ceaſes.

The King had declar'd his Intentions to be crown'd upon *Candlemaſs* Day; and requir'd all Perſons, who, by reaſon of their Offices and Tenures, were oblig'd to any Duties at that Solemnity, to pay their Attendance, and perform their reſpective Services. For a Preparation, ſeveral Biſhops were appointed to conſult and draw up a *Form of the Service and Ceremony* then to be us'd. But becauſe Biſhop *Williams*, as Dean of *Weſtminſter*, was to have a chief Part in thoſe Ceremonies, the Duke's Intereſt ſo prevail'd, that he was order'd not to appear, but to have his Place ſupply'd by Biſhop *Laud*: A double Diſappointment to this Prelate, to have his Preſence deny'd, and his Office executed by one whom he believ'd to be his Enemy. Orders were made for the creating ſeveral Knights of the *Bath*; and Precepts were directed to all Sheriffs, commanding them to proclaim, That all ſuch as had forty Pounds a Year of Lands and Revenues, and were not yet Knights, ſhou'd at their Perils preſent themſelves in his Majeſty's Preſence by the 31ſt of *January*, to receive the Order of Knighthood. Which being an obſolete Law and Cuſtom, the Revival of it, when the Value of Eſtates bore ſo little Proportion to the Quality of Knights, was afterwards exploded as a legal Oppreſſion. Before the time of the Solemnity, the Plague, which had rag'd for near a Year, abated; for which a general Thankſgiving was appointed both in *London* and in the Country. *London* had been ſtrangely abandon'd, and *Michaelmaſs* Term was adjourn'd to *Reading*; yet within the City and Suburbs, there dy'd above thirty five thouſand People.

The King's Coronation.

Two Things obſerv'd.

Upon *Thurſday* the ſecond of *February* was the grand Solemnity of the King's Coronation; in the external Pomp of which, his Majeſty, according to his Father's Example, omitted the ancient and triumphant Cavalcade through the City from the *Tower* to *Whitehall*; partly to ſave a Charge of ſixty thouſand Pounds, and partly to prevent the Danger of popular Concourſe, ſince there were ſtill ſome Remainders of the Peſtilence. In the Sacred Part there was a particular Clauſe added, which had been omitted ever ſince the time of *Henry* the Sixth, namely, 'Let him obtain Favour of the People, like *Aaron* in the Tabernacle, '*Eliſha* in the Waters, *Zacharias* in the Temple; give him '*Peter*'s Key of Diſcipline, and *Paul*'s Doctrine.' Which Clauſe had been ſet aſide in the time of Popery, as intimating more Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to the Kings of *England*, than the Court of *Rome* wou'd allow. The Coronation Oath, tho' the contrary was ſuggeſted, and Biſhop *Laud* particularly condemned for it, was the very ſame which had been taken by the King's Predeceſſors, as appears by the Records of the Exchequer. The Day prov'd bright and glorious; and it was obſervable, that amidſt an incredible Concourſe of People, nothing was loſt, or broke, or diſorder'd; the Theatre was clear, and free for the King, the Peers, and the Ceremony; and the Nobility obſerv'd that they never had ſeen any Solemnity, tho' much inferior to it, perform'd with ſo little Noiſe, and ſo great Order. Yet two things were remarkable this Day, which were thought to have ſomething of Preſage. *Senhouſe* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, who preach'd upon this Occaſion, had choſen a Text more proper for a Funeral than a Coronation, *viz. I will give thee a Crown of Life*: Which was rather thought to put the new King in mind of his Death, than his Duty in Government; and to have been his Funeral Sermon when he was alive, as if he was to have none when he was bury'd. It was obſerv'd alſo, that his Majeſty on that Day was array'd in *White*, contrary to the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, who uſually wore *Purple*: And this not out of Neceſſity, as ſome thought, but out of Choice, to declare that Virgin Purity with which he came to be eſpous'd to his Kingdom. And this was alſo look'd on as an ill Preſage, that the King laying aſide the Robe of Majeſty, ſhou'd cloath himſelf in the Robe of Innocence; as if it was foreſignified, that he ſhou'd diveſt himſelf of that Regal Majeſty, which might have been his continual Security, to rely wholly on the Innocence of a virtuous Life, which finally expos'd him to Ruin.

The Death of Sir John Davies,

Mr. Barlow

Dr. Chaloner,

Dr. Richardſon,

Serjeant Finch,

Dr. Lodge,

Mr. Fletcher,

And Dr. Gibbons.

Having brought the young King to the moſt compleat Settlement, we ſhall deſcend a little to Biography, and conclude the firſt Year of his Reign, as well as all the reſt, with embalming the Memories of a few of the moſt noted Men deceaſed. And firſt, Sir *John Davies*, a Perſon celebrated both for his valiant Exploits abroad, and his excellent Skill in the Mathematicks; who having been deeply involv'd with his Maſter, the unfortunate Earl of *Eſſex*, with great Difficulty obtain'd his Pardon, and ſpent the Remainder of his Days in a retired and ſtudious Courſe of Living, which this Year he peaceably concluded at his Houſe in *Barkſhire*. Next, Mr. *William Barlow*, Arch-Deacon of *Saliſbury*, a very learned Divine, but ſtill more diſtinguiſhable by his extraordinary Diſcoveries made in the Loadſtone, which was known to him twenty Years before the famous Dr. *Gilbert* publiſh'd his Book upon that Subject: He found out ſo many curious Magnetical Secrets, and ſo happily reduc'd his Experiments to Practice, that Poſterity will ever be oblig'd to his worthy Labours. After him there died Dr. *Edward Chaloner*, Principal of St. *Alban*'s Hall in *Oxford*, and Chaplain to two ſeveral Kings; a moſt eminent Divine for his Age, having nothing in his Compoſition ſo mean, which the greateſt Men did not eſteem; but in the thirty fourth Year of his Age he was ſnatch'd away by the Plague, to the great Affliction of many of his Acquaintance. Dr. *John Richardſon* was another celebrated and worthy Divine that dy'd this Year, who was ſucceſſively Maſter of *Peter-Houſe* and *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, and for his Learning had particularly the Honour to be employ'd in the laſt Tranſlation of the Bible, appointed by King *James* himſelf. Sir *Henry Finch*, Serjeant at Law, ought likewiſe to be remember'd, a Perſon in great Eſteem for his Knowledge in his Profeſſion, which Knowledge ſtill was not confin'd to the Law; who left behind him a Son that came to be Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, of whom more hereafter. Dr. *Thomas Lodge*, the Phyſician, ſhou'd not be forgotten; who, having improv'd himſelf by travelling into Foreign Countries, became eminent not only for his Skill in Phyſick, but alſo for his peculiar Talent in Poetry, for which he has been celebrated by the chief Wits of the Age. Nor muſt we forget that charming Dramatick Poet, Mr. *John Fletcher*, Son to Biſhop *Fletcher* of *London*, a Perſon of a moſt luxuriant Wit and Fancy, who, for the moſt part joyning with the judicious Mr. *Beaumont*, produc'd ſuch a Body of Plays, as will remain perpetual Monuments of their refined Parts, and moſt extenſive Knowledge of Mankind: He out-liv'd his Friend *Beaumont* ten Years, and the great *Shakeſpear* nine; and, leaving no Equal or Rival behind him beſides *Ben. Johnſon*, he dy'd of the Plague in the forty ninth Year of his Age. And becauſe the Memory of Men excelling in all Profeſſions ought to be preſerv'd, we ſhall laſtly mention Dr. *Orlando Gibbons*, the moſt admirable Muſician and Organiſt of that Time, exceeding all Men of that Age in Skill and Practice; who being order'd to adorn and improve the Nuptial Solemnities between the King and the Queen at *Canterbury*, there unexpectedly dy'd, to the ſenſible Trouble and Concern of the whole Court.

The SECOND PARLIAMENT.

VI. After an Intermiſſion of about ſix Months, the Time arriv'd that the King ſhou'd a ſecond time try the Hearts and Affections of his People aſſembled in Parliament. Theſe by the Court began now to be meaſur'd by a miſtaken Survey of the Inſolence and Ambition of particular Perſons; and by the ſame Standard the People began to conſider the Honour and Piety of the Court. In which the King was the greateſt Sufferer, who had the Miſfortune to harbour Perſons about him, who with their utmoſt Malignity repreſented the Faults and Infirmities of the Court to the People; and at the ſame time us'd the

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greateſt Endeavors to render the People diſtaſteſul to the King. As the Duke of *Buckingham* had been very much threatned, ſo he us'd his utmoſt Intereſt to model this new Parliament, but with little Succeſs. Biſhop *Williams*, tho' now in Diſgrace by his means, ſtill us'd his Endeavours to ſerve him, and to his violent Enemies he frequently us'd the ſubtle Similitude *of a Beaſt got into the midſt of a Field of Wheat, if the Neighbours ran in and hunted it about with their Dogs, they wou'd tread down more Corn than five more cou'd devour.* But to his Friends he freely declar'd, *That the Duke in Policy ought to remove himſelf by ſome great Embaſſy, till the firſt Seſſion was ended; and as far as* Vienna, *if he durſt truſt the King of* Spain'*s greateſt Friend and neareſt Ally.* But this Advice did not pleaſe thoſe of the Duke's Intereſt, who thought their Party ſtrong enough to ſecure him; and as he uſed to boaſt himſelf, *That he wou'd make his Majeſty the greateſt Monarch in* Europe; ſo he had thoſe who wou'd as highly extol and flatter him. Even the Earl of *Holland* in a Letter to him has theſe Words, *I hope nothing will light upon your Lordſhip but what you deſerve, who, to my Knowledge, are of more Value and Eſteem than any Man in the World could, or ever can merit from this Kingdom.* Several Methods were us'd to hinder the Elections of the Duke's Opponents, but Sir *John Elliot* ſtill was choſen. Some were pevented, or ſo deſign'd, by being made High-Sheriffs of their reſpective Counties, as Sir *Edward Coke* for *Buckinghamſhire*, Sir *Robert Philips* for *Somerſetſhire*, and Sir *Thomas Wentworth* for *Yorkſhire.* The like Hardſhip was us'd towards ſome Members of the Houſe of Lords, as the Earl of *Briſtol* and the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, both left unſummon'd; which ſtrange Proceedings did him more Injury than real Advantage.

The Keeper's Speech.

On *Monday* the ſixth of *February* the Parliament met after the uſual Manner, but with this Difference, that his Majeſty now declin'd to open it with a Speech in Perſon, but referr'd them wholly to the Lord-Keeper *Coventry*, who mention'd nothing of Supplies, but ‘ inſiſted upon the Benefits and Conſtitution of Parliaments, and the King's Affection to them; particularly his ſtriving whether he ſhou'd be *major* or *melior*, a greater King or a better Man: That the Cauſes of calling them, were to make good Laws, and to execute Juſtice; and that his Majeſty was reſolv'd to confine this Meeting to a ſhort Period of Time.' Two Days after the King approv'd of the Speaker, Sir *Heneage Finch*, Serjeant at Law and Recorder of *London*, who in an elegant Oration ‘ extoll'd the Goodneſs and Greatneſs of his Majeſty, and celebrated the Excellencies of Monarchy, Parliaments, Prelates, Lords, Commons, Laws, Judges, and all that were then in Place; and inveigh'd againſt Popery, and the King of *Spain*: And concluded with the uſual Petition, That his Majeſty wou'd allow them the Privilege of Parliament, Freedom of Debates, and Acceſs to his Royal Perſon.

The Speaker's Speech.

The Commons Complaints.

The Commons began with Thanks to his Majeſty for his late gracious Anſwer to the late Petition for Religion; and then a Bill was brought in to adminiſter an Oath for rendring a true Account of all general and publick Taxes, Rates and Collections; and another againſt ſcandalous Miniſters. A Committee was appointed for Religion, another for Grievances, and another for Secret Affairs, to ſit upon particular Days. They highly complain'd of the Miſcarriage of the Fleet at *Cadiz*, of Evil Counſellors about the King, of the Miſemployment of the Publick Revenue, of favouring of Papiſts, of Loans, *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, with ſeveral other Political Diſorders. They likewiſe exhibited Articles againſt Mr. *Montague*'s Book, which they deſir'd might be ſuppreſs'd and burnt; which ended with a formal Conference among ſome ſelect Divines, without any poſitive Determination. They proceeded to farther Enquiries and Grievances, while the Privy-Council requir'd the Biſhop of *Durham* to apprehend ſuch of his Majeſty's Subjects as ſhou'd be preſent at Maſs, and to commit them to Priſon; and the King's Attorney ſent Letters to the Judges, to direct their ſtrict Proceedings againſt all Recuſants in their Circuits. Which Proceedings occaſion'd ſome to complain, and a Member of Parliament to ſay, *That there were many Ginns and Snares ſet for the Papiſts, but not one Mouſe-trap for the Puritans*; for which Conceit he was expell'd the Houſe.

A Supply demanded.

Farther Complaints.

While the Commons were proceeding in their own way, after a conſiderable Time, Mr. Secretary *Cook* deliver'd them a Meſſage from the King, declaring his Majeſty's Occaſion for a Supply; which was ſeconded by a Conference with the Lords, where the Earl of *Pembroke* in particular urg'd ſeveral Reaſons for an immediate Aſſiſtance. But inſtead of complying, the Commons proceeded farther upon Grievances, and made ſeveral Complaints, namely, ‘ The Diminution of the Kingdom's Strength and Honour: The Increaſe and countenancing of Papiſts: The ill guarding of the Narrow Seas: Pluralities of Offices in one Hand: Sales of Honours and Places of Truſt: The Delivery of Ships to the *French*; and the Miſemployment of former Subſidies. They order'd alſo that the Duke, on whom theſe Miſcarriages chiefly reflected, ſhould have Notice of their Intention, ſuddenly to reſume the Debate of theſe Particulars.' And Mr. *Clement Coke*, Son to Sir *Edward*, in his Speech upon this Subject, boldly declar'd, *That it was better to die by an Enemy, than to ſuffer at home*; which Saying was highly reſented by the Court. The Lords ſeem'd more complying with the King's Deſires, and appointed a Committee to conſider of the Defence of the Kingdom, and Safe-guard of the Seas. The Committee adviſed one Fleet to be immediately ſet out againſt the King of *Spain*, and another to guard the *Engliſh* Coaſts and Merchants; all which was ſent to the Houſe of Commons, but ill reſented by them.

1626.
Car. 2.

The King's Letter.

2. After the Houſe of Commons had ſat above a Month, without doing any of the King's Buſineſs, his Majeſty ſent a warm Letter to the Speaker for a Supply, in which he declar'd, *That as he preſs'd for nothing beyond the preſent State and Condition of his Subjects, ſo he would accept no leſs than what was proportionable to the Greatneſs and Goodneſs of the Cauſe*; and promis'd *Redreſs of Grievances, if preſented in a dutiful and mannerly way.* This was further urg'd in a Meſſage from Sir *Richard Weſton*, who after ſeveral Reaſons, propos'd *to know, without farther Delay of Time, what Supply they wou'd give to his Majeſty.* To this the Commons return'd a general Anſwer, promiſing Supplies, but ſtill complaining of Grievances. This laſt provok'd the Patience of the Court; ſo that the King in reply told them, *He wou'd be as willing to hear their Grievances as any of his Predeceſſors, if they wou'd apply themſelves to redreſs Grievances, and not to enquire after them.* And farther ſaid, *I will not allow any of my Servants to be queſtioned amongſt you, much leſs ſuch as are of eminent Place. I ſee you eſpecially aim at the Duke of* Buckingham, *I admire what has ſo alter'd your Affections towards him.* Then he declar'd, *That his Service to the Publick had rather impair'd than improv'd his Eſtate*; and concluded thus, *I deſire you wou'd haſten for my Supply, or elſe it will be worſe for your ſelves; for if any Evil happens, I think I ſhall be the laſt that ſhall feel it.*

A Second.

Dr. Turner*'s Queries.*

This was thought to be too much like ſtemming a popular Torrent, which cauſes it to overflow the Banks, and adds Strength and Reputation to the Complainants. Thus it prov'd in the Conſequence, for the Majority of the Houſe now fell directly on the Duke, as the chief Cauſe of all publick Miſcarriages. And an inconſiderable Court Dependant, call'd Dr. *Turner*, brought in a new-faſhion'd Charge againſt him, by way of Six Queries, namely, ‘ Whether the Duke, being Admiral, had not caus'd the Loſs of the King's Royalty in the Narrow Seas? Whether the late ill Succeſſes of the Fleet had not happened by the Admiral's not having perſonally executed his Place? Whether the Duke had not engroſs'd all great Offices, and preferr'd his undeſerving Kindred? Whether he had not ſold Places of Judicature, *&c.*? Whether his Mother was not Patroneſs of the *Popiſh* Party? And whether immenſe Liberality, *&c.* had not waſted the King's Treaſury?' Hereupon two other Queſtions were mov'd in the Houſe, ‘ Whether theſe ſix Heads, that were grounded upon Common Fame, ſhou'd be debated in Parliament? And whether an Accuſation upon Common Fame, by a Member of the Houſe, be a Parliamentary Way?' Upon the Opinions of Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Mr. *Noy*, Mr. *Selden*, and others, the Houſe voted, *That Common Fame is a good Ground of Proceeding for the Houſe of Commons.*

The King's reſenting Meſſage.

The Heats encreaſe.

All this ſtill widen'd the unhappy Breach, and the King ſent a ſecond Meſſage to the Houſe by Sir *Richard Weſton*, in which he took Notice of the ſeditious Speech of Mr. *Coke*, and Dr. *Turner*'s Queries againſt the Duke of *Buckingham, which in reality were againſt the Honour and Government of himſelf, and of his Father. That he cannot ſuffer an Inquiry on the meaneſt of his Servants, much leſs againſt one ſo near him; and wonders at the fooliſh Impudence of any Man, that can think he ſhou'd be drawn to offer ſuch a Sacrifice, much unworthy the Greatneſs of a King, and Maſter of ſuch a Servant. He deſires the Juſtice of the Houſe againſt the Delinquents, that he might not be conſtrain'd to uſe his Royal Authority to right himſelf againſt theſe two Perſons.* Upon this Meſſage Dr. *Turner* ſtood up and explain'd himſelf, and juſtify'd his Proceeding upon Common Fame by the Imperial Laws, and Canons of the Church; and the next Day, being indiſpos'd, he wrote a Letter to the Speaker in his farther Vindication. And this Reſentment of the King did but encreaſe the Ferment againſt the Duke: So that on *Monday* following, Sir *William Walter* repreſented to the Houſe, that the Cauſe of all Grievances was that which happened in the Court of *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, namely, *That all the King's Council rode upon one Horſe.* And the furious Sir *John Elliot* made a bold and ſevere Speech upon the Subject of the Duke's Miſmanagements and the Publick Grievances. But to qualify theſe Heats, with all Reſpect to his Majeſty, and with a Deference to the Neceſſity of Publick Affairs, on *March* the twenty ſeventh the Commons voted three Subſidies, and three Fifteens; to which they ſoon after added a fourth Subſidy; but the Act was not to be brought in, till the Grievances were preſented to his Majeſty, and anſwer'd by him.

The King's ſevere Speech to both Houſes.

This laſt Reſtriction, together with their general Proceedings, caus'd the King to ſummon both Houſes to attend him at *Whitehall*, where he declar'd to them, *That he call'd them for ſeveral and diſtinct Reaſons; the Lords, to thank them for their Care of the Publick; the Commons, to ſhew them their Errors:* And ſo referr'd them to the Lord-Keeper, who, in a long Speech, aſſur'd the Commons, 'That after the great Affairs were ſettled, and Satisfaction 'given to his Majeſty's Demands, he wou'd hear and an'ſwer their juſt Grievances. Then he told them, That 'his Majeſty excepted againſt their not puniſhing Mr. *Coke* 'and Dr. *Turner*; and prais'd the Duke, concerning whom 'his Majeſty *knew the Sincerity of his Proceedings*, and muſt 'believe that their Aim at him is to wound the Honour 'and Judgment of himſelf and Father. That as to the 'Supply voted, it was dilatory and ſcanty; for the *Meaſure* 'of it, ſo far from making him ſafe at home and fear'd a'broad, that it wou'd expoſe him both to Danger and to 'Diſeſteem; and for the *Manner* of granting it, very diſ'honourable and full of Diſtruſt. Therefore commands 'them to go together, and by *Saturday* next return their 'final Anſwer what they will give, and that without Con'dition: Which if they did, his Majeſty was ready to for'get whatſoever was paſt.' The Keeper ending, the King ſpoke again; and after mentioning the Parliament's cauſing him to break with *Spain*, he proceeded thus: *Now that you have all Things according to your Wiſhes, and that I am ſo far engag'd, that you think there is no Retreat; now you begin to ſet the Dice, and make your own Game. But I pray you, be not deceiv'd; it is not a Parliamentary Way, nor is it a Way to deal with a King. Mr.* Coke *told you,* It was better to die by a Foreign Enemy, than be deſtroy'd at home: *Indeed I think it more Honour for a King to be invaded, and almoſt deſtroy'd by a Foreign Enemy, than to be deſpis'd by his own Subjects. Remember that Parliaments are altogether in my Power for their Calling, Sitting, and Diſſolution; therefore as I find the Fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue, or not to be. And remember, if now, inſtead of mending you perſiſt in your Errors, you make them greater and irreconcileable; but if you go on chearfully to mend them, and look on the diſtreſſed State of* Chriſtendom, *and the Affairs of this Kingdom, you will do your ſelves Honour, and encourage me to go on with Parliaments, and I hope all* Chriſtendom *will feel the Good of it.*

Buckingham's mollifying Speech.

Theſe ſevere menacing Expreſſions, which were ſuppos'd to proceed from the Duke of *Buckingham*, ſet the Houſe of Commons into a Flame; and immediately reſolving themſelves into a grand Committee, order'd the Doors to be ſecurely lock'd, and all other Proceedings to ceaſe, till the Houſe ſhould come to a Reſolution in this Matter. The King being inform'd of the great Exceptions taken at his late Speech, to mollify the Heat, commanded the Duke to give Satisfaction at a Conference to be held between both Houſes: In which 'he endeavour'd to excuſe his Majeſty's 'preſcribing a ſhort Day for their granting a Supply; and 'aſſur'd them that they ſhou'd have a larger Time, if the 'Buſineſs did require their further Conſideration. He let 'them underſtand, that the King's inſiſting upon a larger 'Aid than what they had already voted, was owing to the 'great Neceſſity of his Affairs, and the Benefit of being 'enabled to carry the War to the Enemies Doors. That 'his Majeſty did not deſign to interrupt their Proceedings 'upon Grievances; but only hop'd that they wou'd not 'ſo much ſeek Faults, as the Means to redreſs them. 'At the ſame time he made an Addreſs to both Houſes in 'his own Behalf; in which he gave them an handſom Ac'count of his Negotiation in the *Low-Countries*, and the 'Management of the Fleet; and concluded with a cour'teous intreating their charitable Opinion of him and his 'Actions.' Then the Lord *Conway* ſtood up, and made a formal Vindication 'of the Duke from the ſeveral Sug'geſtions and Jealouſies rais'd againſt him; and alſo laid 'before them an Account of the Sums of Mony diſburs'd 'for the War, before the fifteenth of *June*, 1625, which 'amounted to near three hundred thouſand Pounds.

The Commons Remonſtrance.

Tho' the Duke's Apology ſeem'd a little to allay the Heat, yet it cou'd not divert the Commons from proceeding in their Enquiries into publick Grievances: And in Anſwer to the King's and Lord-Keeper's Speeches, they drew up a humble and ſolemn Remonſtrance, 'in which 'they in a great Meaſure deny the Words to have been 'ſpoken by Mr. *Coke*; they excuſe the Behaviour of Dr. '*Turner*, and avow their Proceedings againſt the Duke, 'or any other Subject, to be according to the Rights of 'all Parliaments; and in Concluſion they pray his Majeſty 'not to give Ear to officious Reports of private Perſons 'for their own Ends.' Upon the Delivery of this Remonſtrance, they expected a preſent Anſwer, which poſſibly might have had a happy Effect: But the King, either conſcious of his own Integrity, and the Duke's Fidelity, or being perfectly averſe to all Meaſures that might retard the War, only told them, *That he cou'd give no preſent Anſwer*; but deſir'd the Houſe to adjourn for a Week, as the Lords had done; and accordingly they adjourn'd. So both Houſes had a ſhort Reſpite and Receſs, after a troubleſome Seſſion of about two Months.

A Week's Adjournment.

Some Diſcontents in the Houſe of Lords.

3. The Troubles and Jealouſies of this Parliament were not wholly confin'd to the Commons, but likewiſe took their Turns in the Houſe of Lords. For tho' the King in his laſt Speech had diſtinguiſh'd them from the Commons by his particular Thanks and Approbation; yet ſome Occaſions of Offence did ſoon offer, which rais'd unhappy Diſguſts in that high and honourable Body. They thought it an Intrenchment on the Liberties of Peerage, as well as a Breach into the Legiſlature, that Writs were not iſſu'd to ſome of their Fellow-Peers; and when by Importunity obtain'd, were ſtill attended with expreſs Orders that they ſhou'd not appear in Perſon. Another Grievance was, that ſome of the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Nobility pretended to claim a Precedency of the *Engliſh* Lords; which they reſented as an Indignity and Affront to their Quality and Honour; concerning which they by Petition obtain'd a favourable Anſwer from his Majeſty. Another Offence was taken at the infringing of their Liberties, by the King's committing of the Earl of *Arundel* to the *Tower*, in the Time of Parliament, without expreſſing the Cauſe. It was conceiv'd to be for the Marriage made between the Lord *Maltravers*, the Earl's eldeſt Son, to the Siſter of the young Duke of *Lenox*, a Relation of the King's. The Earl having been committed in *March*, the Lords enter'd into a grand Debate concerning their Privileges; when the Lord-Keeper deliver'd a Meſſage to the Houſe, *That the Earl of* Arundel *was reſtrain'd for a Miſdemeanor that was perſonal to his Majeſty, and had no relation to Matters of Parliament.* But the Lords, upon ſearching of Precedents, unanimouſly reſolv'd, *That it is the Privilege of the Parliament, that no Lord, during the Seſſion, is to be impriſon'd without Sentence of the Houſe, unleſs it be for Treaſon, Felony, or Breach of the Peace.* Upon which they order'd a Remonſtrance, or Petition, claiming the Privileges from Arreſts, *&c.* which on the nineteenth of *April* was preſented by the whole Houſe to his Majeſty; and the next Day the Lord-Preſident deliver'd the Anſwer from the King, *That the Buſineſs being of ſome Conſequence, his Majeſty ſhou'd be thought raſh, if he ſhou'd give a ſudden Anſwer; therefore he wou'd adviſe, and give a full Anſwer in convenient Time.* This Anſwer being deferr'd ſeveral Days, on the ſecond of *May* their Lordſhips order'd the Lord-Keeper to move his Majeſty for a ſpeedy Anſwer to their Petition: To which the King reply'd, *He had been interrupted with Buſineſs, but wou'd with all Conveniency return them an Anſwer.* On the ninth of *May*, the Lords ſuſpecting the Delay to be a Denial of Juſtice, drew up a ſecond Petition; to which they received this Anſwer from his Majeſty, *That he little look'd for ſuch a Meſſage from the Houſe; therefore when he receiv'd a Meſſage fit to come from them to their Soveraign, they ſhou'd receive an Anſwer.* When the Lords deſir'd to know at what Part of their Petition his Majeſty took Exception, the Lord-Preſident reported to them, *It was at the Peremptorineſs of the Term* preſent Anſwer: *That the King wonders at their Impatience, ſince he has promis'd an Anſwer in a convenient Time.* However their Lordſhips ſtill purſu'd their Petitions, till at the Beginning of *June* the Earl of *Arundel* was reſtor'd to his Liberty; but with ſo much Reluctancy, that the Favour was rather deſpis'd than duly acknowledg'd.

The Earl of Arundel's *Caſe.*

The Conteſt between the Duke of Buckingham *and the Earl of* Briſtol.

But what principally fomented the Diſcontents, and the Factions in the Houſe of Lords, was the famous Conteſt between the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Briſtol*; the former ſupported by the greater Power, and the latter guarded by the deeper Policy. They had begun their Emulation in the Court of *Spain*, where the Duke had been moſt officious to oblige the Perſon of the Prince, and the Earl had thought himſelf more ſerviceable in aiming at the Honour of the Nation. At the Earl's Return, upon the Suggeſtions of the Duke, he was forbidden Acceſs to his Majeſty; was ſtrictly examined by a ſelect Number of Lords; was kept under Reſtraint, and was deny'd his Writ to Parliament: And when, by the Interceſſion of the Lords, he obtain'd his Summons, yet he receiv'd it with a particular Order not to make his Perſonal Appearance. It was indeed allow'd to him, *Whether he would ſit ſtill and enjoy the Benefit of the late King's Pardon, or to wave it, and put himſelf upon Tryal for his Negotiation in Spain.* But he ventur'd to ſend a Petition to the Houſe, ſetting forth the Injury done to him, deſiring to be heard, that he might clear himſelf, and prefer his Accuſation againſt the Duke of *Buckingham.* This ſo highly offended the King, that he ſent this Meſſage by the Lord-Keeper to the Houſe of Lords: *His Majeſty has heard of a Petition prefer'd by the Earl of* Briſtol, *ſo void of Duty and Reſpect to his Majeſty, that he has great Cauſe to puniſh him.---- His Majeſty commands that the Earl be ſent for as a Delinquent, to anſwer in this Houſe his Offences committed in his Negotiations before his Majeſty's being in* Spain, *and his Offences ſince his Majeſty's coming from* Spain, *and his ſcandalizing the Duke of* Buckingham *immediately, and his Majeſty by Reflection.*

Articles againſt the Earl of Briſtol.

Upon this Meſſage the Lords order'd that the Earl of *Briſtol* ſhou'd be brought to the Bar of their Houſe on the firſt of *May*; where Sir *Robert Heath*, Attorney-General, exhibited againſt him eleven Articles of High Treaſon, and other Miſdemeanors, under three ſeveral Head, *viz.* 1. *Offences committed before his Majeſty's going into* Spain, *when he was Prince.* 2. *Offences committed during the Time of the Prince's being in* Spain. 3. *Offences committed after the Prince's coming from* Spain. Of which the moſt criminal Part of the Charge was, 'That he had aſſur'd King *James*, that the *Palatinate* ſhou'd be reſtor'd, and the Prince's Match effected, when neither was intended: That he deſign'd only to make his own Fortune by the Treaty: That he intended to introduce Popery in *England*, and in *Spain* perſuaded the Prince to change his Religion.' The Articles being read, and Mr. Attorney being ask'd by the Earl who was his Accuſer, he ſaid that the King had commanded the Proſecution. To which the Earl reply'd, 'That he wou'd not contend with his Soveraign; but it might be of dangerous Conſequence, if the King ſhou'd be Accuſer, Judge, Witneſs, and have the Confiſcation: Therefore he deſir'd that their Lordſhips wou'd firſt receive his Charge againſt the Duke and the Lord *Conway*, and not ſuffer his Teſtimony to be invalidated by a contriv'd Impeachment.' So he tender'd to the Houſe his Articles againſt the Duke, which were receiv'd: And ſhortly after the Earl, at the Bar of the Houſe, made a long and eloquent Speech, 'charging the Duke with many ill Counſels and arbitrary Actions, and defending his own Innocence and Honour; particularly inſiſting upon the very dying Opinion of King *James*, who declared *that* Briſtol *was an honeſt Man.*' After which, upon a Promiſe to anſwer the Attorney-General's Charge as ſoon as might be, he was remitted to the Cuſtody of Mr. *Maxwell*, the Gentleman-Uſher.

The Earl's Articles againſt Buckingham *and* Conway.

Then were read the Articles againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, which were twelve in Number; the moſt conſiderable Part of which was, 'That he had plotted with *Gondamor* to bring the Prince into *Spain*, to change his Religion: That in *Spain* the Duke had frequented the *Popiſh* Service, and ador'd their Sacrament: That the Pope had ſent a Bull to the Duke, to incourage him in the Perverſion of the Prince: That he had broken the Match out of his own particular Ends and Indignation; and that he had abus'd King *James*, and both Houſes of Parliament, by a ſiniſter Relation of thoſe Affairs.' The Articles of the ſaid Earl againſt the Lord *Conway*, deliver'd and read at the ſame Time, were eleven in Number; 'all tending to prove the Lord *Conway* to be the Duke's Servant and Creature, and a Promoter and Abetter of all Miſcarriages committed by the Duke.' After reading the ſeveral Articles, the Lords order'd, that the King's Charge againſt the Earl of *Briſtol* ſhould be firſt heard, and then the Charge of the Earl againſt the Duke; yet ſo that the Earl's Teſtimony againſt the Duke ſhou'd not be prevented or prejudic'd. This occaſion'd a new Meſſage from the King by the Lord-Keeper to this Effect; *That the Articles exhibited againſt the Duke were ſuch, as the King of his own Knowledge cou'd teſtify his ſincere Carriage in them; that they had been kept in the Earl's own Breaſt for two Years, contrary to his Duty, and were now vented by way of Recrimination; and that therefore they ſhould put a Difference between his Majeſty's Charge againſt one that appears as a Delinquent, and the Recrimination of the ſame Perſon againſt his Majeſty's Witneſs.*

The King interpoſes for the Duke.

Now the Majority of the Lords were more inclined to eſpouſe the Cauſe of the Earl, having a better Opinion of his Character and Perſon, than they had of the Duke; and being more ready to commiſerate his Misfortune, who had incurr'd the King's Diſpleaſure by oppoſing the other's Ambition. Upon Appearance of this Inclination in the Houſe, a new Deſign was promoted, to remove the Earl's Cauſe out of the Cognizance of the Lords, and proceed againſt him by way of Indictment in the King's Bench. But this Attempt did only gain the Earl more Friends in the Upper Houſe, and made them ſenſible, that taking the Cauſe out of their Hands wou'd infringe their Authority, and leave an Imputation upon their Honour and Juſtice. Therefore they ſtopt the Revocation of it; and a Fortnight after the Earl's Impeachment, they receiv'd his formal Anſwer, which he introduc'd with a plauſible Oration: Wherein he firſt aſſerted his conſtant and ſtrict Adherence to the Proteſtant Religion; and then inſiſted upon his Honour and Integrity in his Negotiations in *Spain.* After which he exhibited his large and full Anſwer to the ſeveral Articles preferr'd againſt him: 'In which he produc'd ſeveral Letters of Thanks for his Care concerning the *Palatinate*, and anſwer'd punctually to every Particular concerning the Match with *Spain*, eſpecially where any Attempts were made upon the Proteſtant Religion. In ſpeaking of which, he mention'd a Saying often in King *James*'s Mouth, *That he was the true Martyr, that ſuffer'd more for his Religion than all the Princes in Chriſtendom*; *particularly that he cou'd not match his Children with Kings of their own Rank, without the Pope's Leave.* In the Concluſion of his long Defence, he hop'd their Lordſhips would find him a faithful Servant to his late and preſent Majeſty; and that therefore they wou'd take ſuch Courſe as they in their Wiſdom ſhould think fit, not only for ſupporting the Honour of a Peer of this Realm, but likewiſe for becoming humble Suitors to his Majeſty, that he may be reſtor'd to his Favour, which above all worldly Things he moſt deſir'd.

The Earl's Anſwer and Vindication.

The Commons Impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham.

4. The Conteſts and Accuſations between theſe two great Men, was a Matter of Sport to ſome, and Concern to others: But before either cou'd be brought to a final Iſſue a greater Storm appear'd; which was a ſolemn Impeachment of the Duke of *Buckingham* by the whole Body of the Commons, which had been long in modelling; and now upon the eighth Day of *May* was brought to Perfection, and deliver'd at a Conference between both Houſes, which laſted two Days. It was manag'd by ſix of the ableſt Lawyers of the Houſe, namely *Glanvile*, *Herbert*, *Selden*, *Pym*, *Wansford* and *Sherland*; the Prologue was made by Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and the Epilogue by Sir *John Elliot*. The Articles were thirteen in Number, introduc'd by Sir *Dudley Diggs* with a lofty and pompous Oration, 'comparing *England* to the World, the Commons to the Earth and Sea, the King to the Sun, the Lords to the Planets, the Clergy to the Fire, the Judges and Magiſtrates to the Air, and the Duke of *Buckingham* to a prodigious Comet, from whoſe malignant Influence aroſe all the Misfortunes of the Nation.' Then the Articles were read, which in Subſtance were, 'Firſt, His engroſing of Offices, and Multiplicity of Places: Then his buying of the Office of Admiral, as likewiſe the Offices of Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Conſtable of *Dover*, with the Neglect of the Duty and Truſt repos'd in him by theſe Offices. Next, his illegal ſtopping of a Ship call'd *Peter of Newhaven*, by which he got twenty thouſand Pounds; and his extorting ten thouſand Pounds from the *Eaſt India* Merchants, by ſtaying their Ships. Then his procuring the *Vaunt-Guard*, and ſix Merchant Ships, to be put into the Hands of the *French* King, which were employ'd againſt *Rochelle*. Next, the Sale of Honours, in which he oblig'd the Lord *Roberts* to give ten thouſand Pounds for his Title; ſold the Office of *Treaſurer* to the Lord *Mancheſter* for twenty thouſand Pounds, and the Office of the *Maſter of the Wards* to Sir *Lionel Cranfield* for ſix thouſand Pounds. Next, his procuring Titles and Penſions for his Kindred, and Grants of Crown Lands of a great Value for himſelf. Laſtly, the Playſter and Potions given to King *James* in his laſt Sickneſs, which was declar'd a *tranſcendent Preſumption of a dangerous Conſequence.*' Theſe were all laid open, and enlarg'd with all the aggravating Circumſtances that the Wit and Rhetorick of the ſix great Lawyers cou'd ſuggeſt. And for a Concluſion, Sir *John Elliot* made a furious Speech, 'in which he compar'd the Duke to a Beaſt call'd *Stellionatus*, ſo blurr'd, ſo ſpotted, ſo full of foul Lines, as they knew not how to deſcribe it: One who intercepted, conſum'd and exhauſted the Revenues of the Crown, not only to ſatisfie his own Luſts, but the Luxury of others; and by emptying the Veins of the Kingdom, had caſt the whole Body into a high Conſumption.' After other Marks of an implacable Hatred, he concluded with a particular Compariſon of him to one of the worſt of Miniſters in the Reign of King *Richard* the Firſt. For which bitter Reflections, he was afterwards ſent to the *Tower*, as alſo Sir *Dudley Diggs*, who made the Prologue to this Impeachment.

The Subſtance of their Accuſation.

Elliot *and* Diggs *impriſon'd.*

It was wonder'd at by many, that, conſidering the Duke's Power and Influence in the Government, greater Offences were not objected againſt him: But whatever Hardſhips his Friends thought he ſuſtain'd, it cou'd not be deny'd but he had brought the ſame upon the Earl of *Middleſex* in the laſt Reign; which open'd a wide Paſſage for the Commons to treat him and others after the ſame Manner. The King, who had alſo promoted the ſame Impeachment, was now, if not before, made ſenſible of his Error, by a Letter wrote by an eminent Hand, which made an ingenious Recital of the ſeveral Intereſts and Affections united againſt the Duke, proving, 'That theſe Parliamentary Diſcourſings were never ſuffer'd ſince the Time of *Henry* VI. as being the certain

A private Letter to the King.

'certain Symptoms of ſubſequent Rebellions, Civil-Wars, and the dethroning of our Kings.-------- That never any Nobleman was queſtion'd in Parliament, except by the King himſelf in Caſe of Treaſon, but in the Nonage and tumultuous Times of *Richard* II. *Henry* VI. and *Edward* VI. which prov'd to the Deſtruction both of the King and Kingdom. Of later Years, in the Time of *Henry* VIII. *Wolſey*'s exorbitant Power and Pride, and *Cromwell*'s Contempt of the Nobility and Laws, were not yet permitted to be diſcuſs'd in Parliament, tho' moſt odious and grievous to all the Kingdom. Under Queen *Elizabeth*, *Leiceſter*'s undeſerv'd Favour, and Faults; *Hatton*'s Inſufficiency, and *Rawleigh*'s Inſolence, far exceeded what yet has been objected againſt the Duke; yet no Lawyer durſt abet, nor any other begin any Invectives againſt them in Parliament.------It therefore behoov'd his Majeſty to ſupport the Duke againſt them; for if he be but decourted, it will be the Corner-Stone on which the Demoliſhing of his Monarchy will be builded. If they prevail in this, they have form'd a thouſand other Demands to pull the Feathers of the Royalty; they will appoint him Counſellors, Servants, Alliances, Limits of Expences, Accounts of his Revenue; but chiefly, if they can, they will now dazle him in the Beginning of his Reign.' The Truth of theſe notable Predictions afterwards appear'd by the Event.

The King vindicates the Duke.

The Commons in a Heat.

Diggs *and* Elliot *releas'd.*

On the eleventh of *May*, the King went to the Houſe of Lords, where in a ſhort Speech he vindicated the Duke of *Buckingham*, and ſaid, *That he cou'd clear him of every one of the Matters whereof he was accus'd.* But the Commons, by a Meſſage to the Lords, deſir'd that the Duke might be committed; and the Duke in the Lord's Houſe deſir'd that his Tryal might be haſtned. The quick Reſentments of the King, and the ſeeming Defiance of the Duke, did but irritate the Commons to a more importunate Proſecution. And being incens'd at the Commitment of their Members, they turn'd themſelves into a grand Committee, lock'd up their Doors, and wou'd not proceed in any other Buſineſs till they were righted in their Liberties. In which Committee Sir *Dudley Charlton* made a very reconciling Speech, 'and mov'd the Houſe not to intrench upon his Majeſty's Prerogatives, leſt it ſhou'd make him out of love with Parliaments: He urg'd the Neceſſity of a good Correſpondence to be kept up between the King and his People: And laid ſome Blame on Sir *Dudley Diggs* and Sir *John Elliot*, and inferr'd that they had ſpoke beyond their Commiſſion: The former ſpeaking of the Plaiſter apply'd to King *James*, ſaid *He did forbear to ſpeak further, in regard of the King's Honour*, which his Majeſty conceiv'd to be to his Diſhonour; and the latter uſing ſo many uncivil and bitter Reflections upon the Duke, that the King thought fit to commit them both.' Hereupon every Member made a Proteſtation, *That he did not give conſent that Sir* Dudley Diggs *ſhou'd ſpeak the Words charg'd upon him*; and thirty ſix Lords proteſted, *that they did not hear thoſe Words.* Sir *Dudley Diggs* being releas'd, proteſted that he never ſpoke the Words, in which the King was alſo ſatisfy'd: Shortly after Sir *John Elliot* was releas'd, who excus'd and juſtify'd the Paſſages of his Speech, objected againſt him; and by a Vote the Houſe juſtify'd him and Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and all the reſt of the Managers of the Impeachment.

The Duke elected Chancellor of Cambridge.

5. While the Duke was preparing to give in his Anſwer, and while he lay under the Scandal of his Impeachment, he was unexpectedly elected Chancellor for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; which appear'd much to his Advantage at this Time, becauſe his other Honours did rather help to ſink him, while this was like to add to his Support. This Place became void by the Death of the Earl of *Suffolk*; and the Univerſity, to ſhew their Reſpect to the King, and their Diſlike to the Commons, made Choice of the Duke, in Oppoſition to the Earl of *Berkſhire*, ſecond Son of the deceas'd Chancellor, who loſt it but by five Votes. It was obſervable, that almoſt all the Doctors and Seniors were for the Duke; and that the Houſe of Commons, thinking themſelves affronted, wou'd have interpos'd by their Letter againſt him. But the King by a Meſſage forbad the ſending it, challenging thoſe Matters to belong ſolely to himſelf, juſtify'd the Duke to the Houſe, and by an obliging Letter to the Univerſity applauded their new Election.

The Duke's full Defence.

Shortly after, on the eighth of *June*, the Duke made his Defence before the Houſe of Lords, and with an ingenious Speech uſher'd in his Anſwer to the Impeachment of the Commons, whom he handſomly courted, yet juſtify'd himſelf, alledging, *That his Accuſer, Common Fame, was too ſubtle, and the Houſe of Commons too great for him to conteſt withall; but he doubted not but in Time it wou'd be found, that Common Fame had abus'd both them and him.* Then he gave in diſtinct Anſwers to the thirteen Articles againſt him, moſt of which had a fair and plauſible Aſpect. The chief Strength of them lay 'in the Knowledge of the King and his Father, and their Direction of the particular Paſſages; with his Obedience to Orders, and his following the Advice of the Privy Council. He deny'd his direct purchaſing the two great Offices of Admiral and Warden of the Cinque-Ports. He deny'd that he receiv'd the Benefit of thoſe great Sums of Mony charg'd upon him, but part was paid into the Exchequer, and part diſpos'd for his Majeſty's particular Service; As to the Grants and Favours ſhewn to himſelf and Family, he own'd them to be the Bounty of two ſeveral Kings. But in the laſt Place he abſolutely deny'd his applying the Plaiſter, or giving the Potion to King *James* in his Sickneſs; but the King knowing that the Duke had been cur'd of an Ague by thoſe Medicines, he deſir'd to try them, and took them in the Preſence of his Phyſicians, who taſted of the Potion. He concluded his Defence with acknowledging *how eaſie it was for him in his younger Years to fall into thouſands of Errors, but hop'd he had been preſerv'd from running into any high and heinous Crimes. But in what he had unwillingly offended, he claim'd the Benefit of his late and preſent Majeſty's Pardon.*

A ſurpriſing Spectacle.

The Anſwer that the Duke made to his Impeachment, was a kind of a new Grievance to his Adverſaries; for it was contriv'd with ſo much Art, and intermixt with ſo much Modeſty and Humility, that it was like to have a powerful Influence towards the Converſion of many, who expected a Defence of another Spirit, and a more diſdainful Nature. Tho' many of the better ſort were thus diſappointed, yet an Accident at this time happened which was thought very portentous by the Vulgar; which was a ſtrange prodigious Spectacle upon the *Thames*, which after a turbulent Motion of the Waters aroſe like an Exhalation, and appear'd in a circular Form of about ten Yards diameter, and as many Foot elevated from the River. This Cataract, or Spout of Waters, was carry'd impetuouſly croſs the River, and made a furious Aſſault upon the Garden Walls of *York-Houſe*, where the Duke then reſided; after which, it broke aſunder with a fuliginous Smoak, like that of a Furnace, and gradually aſcended, till it quite vaniſh'd, to the great Admiration of the Spectators. At the ſame Inſtant there happened in the City ſuch a dreadful Storm of Rain and Hail, with terrible Claps of Thunder, that a great Part of the Church-Yard Walls of St. *Andrew*'s Church in *Holborn* fell down; and ſeveral Graves were laid open, and many Coffins tumbled into the midſt of the Street.

The King's laſt Meſſage to the Houſe.

The Commons prepare a Remonſtrance.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

The Day after the Duke's Defence, the King, reſolving to try the Commons once more, ſent a Letter to the Speaker to quicken them about the Subſidies; in which he told them, *That now he gave them his laſt and final Admonition, and that he wou'd account all further Delays and Excuſes to be expreſs Denials.* Inſtead of an Anſwer they preſented an humble Petition againſt Popiſh Recuſants, in which they nam'd thoſe in Places of Government and Truſt; and pray'd that they might be turn'd out. After which they deſir'd to attend his Majeſty, where by their Speaker, and in Writing, 'they profeſs'd their Affection and Loyalty to the King; but withal deſir'd that his Majeſty wou'd not permit the Duke to have any more Acceſs to him.' But not receiving a favourable Anſwer, they agreed to prepare a formal Remonſtrance againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, and againſt the taking of *Tonnage and Poundage*; which after ſome high Conteſt, was allow'd by the Houſe to precede the Bill of Subſidy. Upon which the King was ſo extreamly incens'd, that he reſolv'd upon an immediate Diſſolution; which being made known to the Commons, they order'd every Member to have a Copy of their Remonſtrance. But the Lords proceeded more calmly, and petition'd his Majeſty not to diſſolve the Parliament at preſent: But he declar'd his Reſolution not to receive any ſuch Petition; and ſo by a Commiſſion he diſſolv'd the Parliament upon the fifteenth Day of *June*. Thus ended this great, warm and ruffling Parliament, as *Whitlock* calls it, after it had ſat above eighteen Weeks, without paſſing one ſingle publick Act; a Period of Time greater than the longeſt Parliament in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

The King's Declaration, &c.

On the ſame Day of the Diſſolution, the Earl of *Briſtol* was again committed to the *Tower*, and the Earl of *Arundel* confin'd to his Houſe; which, with many other Marks of Diſtinction, unhappily improv'd the general Diſcontent: To remove which his Majeſty publiſh'd *a Declaration of the Cauſes of diſſolving the two laſt Parliaments*, in which he charg'd the Misfortunes chiefly upon *the violent and ill-advis'd Paſſions of a few Members of the Commons for private and perſonal Ends, ill beſeeming publick Perſons truſted by their Country.* This was ſeconded by a Royal Proclamation, taking notice of the *Remonſtrance* drawn up by the Commons, and commanding all Perſons who had any Copies of it to burn the ſame, that the Memory thereof might be utterly aboliſh'd. But notwithſtanding all the Reaſons alledg'd in theſe publick Appeals, and the unreaſonable Violence of ſome Members, this Diſſolution was thought precipitate, and contrary to true Policy; and that it did not only prove unfortunate to his Majeſty, but at length fatal to his Favourite.

Several Projects for raiſing Money.

VI. 1. The publick Affairs being now in Diſorder, and Perſons heated with Paſſion, it cou'd not be expected, that Counſels ſhould be very ſound, or well weighed; Neceſſities corrupting Mens Judgments, and Dangers forcing them to graſp at ſomething, which either was too weak for a Support, or too thorny to be held long. Accordingly ſeveral Projects were ſet on foot to ſupply the King's Occaſions: And for a Foundation, the Privy-Council advis'd his Majeſty to take *Tonnage and Poundage*, by an Inſtrument under the Great Seal, till it ſhou'd be paſs'd in Parliament; declaring it 'a principal 'and neceſſary Part of the Revenue of the Crown, which 'had been conſtantly continu'd for many Ages, and de'ſigned to have been ſettled by the two laſt Parliaments, 'had not their Diſſolution intervened:' All which was declar'd illegal by ſucceeding Parliaments. And becauſe the late Parliament had voted the King four Subſidies and three Fifteens, the Sums which the King requir'd by his Privy-Seals were according to the Proportion of the Subſidies, *viz.* about two hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds. But to prevent Miſunderſtandings, it was declar'd, 'that 'the Supplies now demanded were not the Subſidies in'tended to be given by the Parliament, but merely a free 'Gift from the Subject to the Soveraign, upon ſuch weigh'ty and preſſing Occaſions of State.

They are all diſlik'd.

This was as much condemn'd as the laſt; and indeed all the Court Inventions became liable to the Exceptions of the Nation. One Method was to improve the Forfeitures ariſing from the Laws againſt *Popiſh* Prieſts and Recuſants; and this was by appointing Commiſſioners to compound with the ſaid Recuſants under ſuch Conditions and Immunities as they ſhould think convenient, *his Majeſty rather deſiring their Converſion than Deſtruction.* But this was ſuſpected as a Toleration of *Popery* in thoſe who cou'd purchaſe it, and as a Power of diſpenſing with the Penal Laws. A Proclamation was likewiſe publiſh'd declaring the King's Reſolution to make his Revenue certain, by granting his Crown Lands, as well Copy-hold as otherwiſe, to be henceforward holden in *Fee-Farm.* This alſo was diſlik'd, as an Impoveriſhment of the ſtated Revenue of the Crown by raiſing preſent Fines. The King's Letters were ſent to the Nobility and Gentry, that according to former Precedents on the like Occaſion, they would grant him their private Aſſiſtance, by way of Contribution, or Loan; *expecting ſuch a large and chearful Teſtimony of their Loyalty, as may be acceptable to Himſelf, and exemplary to his People.* But this was reſented as a Way of asking by Authority, which ſavour'd more of Extortion than Requeſt. Beſides all, a peculiar Charge was laid upon the ſeveral Ports and Maritime Counties, to furniſh and ſet out Ships for the preſent Service, in ſuch and ſuch proportionable Numbers; particularly twenty for the City of *London.* This Project alſo met with great Oppoſition and Complaint. The Deputy-Lieutenants and Juſtices of *Dorſetſhire* preſented a Plea of Excuſe to the Council-Table, alledging, 'That this was an Impoſition without Prece'dent.' The Lord-Mayor and Commonalty of *London* made a like Petition, and pleaded for an Abatement at leaſt of the Number of Ships requir'd of them; but the Council gave a general Anſwer, 'That Petitions and Pleadings 'againſt a neceſſary Command did but obſtruct the publick 'Service, and therefore were not to be admitted.

A Proſecution againſt Buckingham.

Theſe Times being very uneaſy, and the Kingdom expos'd to Danger both foreign and domeſtick, a ſolemn Faſt was appointed, to implore a Bleſſing upon the Endeavours of the State, and divert the Judgments due to the Sins of the Nation. A Proclamation was alſo publiſh'd to prohibit the Preaching and Diſputing about the *Arminian* Controverſies; which now began to be manag'd with ſuch Heat and Faction, as to threaten the Peace both of the Church and Kingdom. And becauſe the Duke of *Buckingham* had been ſo obnoxious to the Hatred of moſt People, an Information was preferr'd by the King's ſpecial Command againſt him in the *Star-Chamber*, for high Offences and Miſdemeanours, and in particular for the Plaiſter apply'd to King *James*, according to the laſt Article preferr'd againſt him by the Commons. The Duke put in his Anſwer, and ſeveral Witneſſes were examin'd; but it came to no judicial Determination: So that it ſerv'd only to gratify the ill-natur'd Surmiſes of ſome of his Enemies.

The King of Denmark's Misfortunes.

2. About this Time there hapned new Matters to encreaſe the King's Troubles; and he daily found Himſelf ingag'd in Foreign, as well as Domeſtick Conteſts. For his Uncle the King of *Denmark* had taken up Arms againſt the Emperor, in Alliance with the Princes of the Lower *Saxony*, and therein claim'd the Aſſiſtance of the King of *England* for the Reſtitution of One ſo near related to both Him and the Elector *Palatine.* Hereupon the King ſent a Fleet to be join'd with the *Daniſh* Ships to ſecure the Entrance of the River *Elbe*, and ſo prevent the Tranſportation of Commodities for the Service of the *Spaniards.* And beſides this Aid by Sea, the King was ſending over ſix Thouſand Land-men, under the Command of Sir *Charles Morgan*; but before they cou'd arrive, the King of *Denmark* and his Confederates, unfortunately meeting with Count *Tilly* the Emperor's General near *Luttern*, upon the 27th of *Auguſt*, were forc'd to an unequal Battel, and entirely defeated.

Letters for a General Loan.

The News of this Diſaſter was a great Affliction to the King of *England*, who finding himſelf under various Difficulties, advis'd with his Council by what Means and Ways he might be ſpeedily furniſh'd under theſe Emergencies. After ſeveral Days Conſultation, they came to this Reſolution, 'That the Urgency of Affairs not admitting the 'Way of Parliament, the moſt ſpeedy, equal, and con'venient Means were by a *General Loan* from the Sub'ject, according as every Man was aſſeſs'd in the Rolls of 'the laſt Subſidy. Upon which Reſult, Letters of Commiſſion were iſſu'd out, bearing Date the 13th of *October*, directed to certain Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen in their ſeveral Counties: In which they were requir'd to acquaint the People, 'That his Majeſty's Uncle the King of *Den'mark* was brought into great Diſtreſs; That without pre'ſent Succour the *Sound* wou'd be loſt, his Garriſon in '*Stoad* reduc'd by the Emperor's Forces; the *Eaſt-land* 'Trade, and the Staple of *Hamburgh* wou'd be gotten from 'him: As alſo that the two great Kings of *Spain* and '*France*, together with the Pope, were join'd to root out 'our Religion: That the *French* and *Spaniſh* Admirals 'were before *Rochelle*, endeavouring to block it up; and 'that there were Store of Land-Men ready in the Court of '*Bretaign*, with other Forces to invade *England.* Upon 'which Grounds, and the Urgency which wou'd not 'give leave to the calling of a Parliament, they were re'quir'd to pay their ſeveral Proportions; which ſhou'd all 'be faithfully repaid, and ſhou'd not be made a Precedent 'to charge them or their Poſterity.

The Ways of promoting it.

Complaints againſt it.

This Loan being General, and to go thorow the whole Nation, various Methods and Endeavours were us'd to render it effectual: For, beſides the ſtrict and private Inſtructions given to the Commiſſioners, divers Lords of the Council were order'd to repair to their ſeveral Counties for the Advancement of the Cauſe. Biſhop *Laud* was alſo appointed to reduce into Form ſome Inſtructions, partly Political, partly Eccleſiaſtical, to ſhew the Urgency of the King's Occaſions; which were ſent to the two Arch-Biſhops, to be diſpers'd among the inferior Clergy, and to be publiſh'd in all the Pariſhes of the Realm. But no Art nor Intereſt cou'd ſtop the Mouths of a great many Murmurers upon this Occaſion; for there being plauſible Reaſons on both Sides, the Diviſion prov'd the greater: And in ſuch Diſputes the higheſt Authority has uſually the moſt Diſadvantage; for few can diſcern the juſt Provocations and Neceſſities of a Prince, but all can ſee that their Liberty of not being tax'd, without their Repreſentatives, is due to them; and their keeping their own Money, tho' to the Hazard of all the reſt, is an eligible Thing. The Reluctancy of private Perſons made the Government more ſevere in the Execution of the Project, and the Severity made the People more averſe to it; ſo that the Steps taken to promote the Deſign, caus'd it to have leſs Succeſs, and to appear more odious.

Promoted by Dr. Sibthorp.

And Dr. Manwaring.

As the Clergy had been earneſtly excited from above, to promote and advance this Deſign, ſo ſome of that Body were judg'd more officious than became their Function in ſuch a ſecular Affair; and a few ſo indiſcreet, as to make it a Doctrine of their Pulpits to urge the Duty of anſwering whatever the King demanded. In particular, Doctor *Robert Sibthorp*, Vicar of *Brackley* in *Northamptonſhire*, preach'd an Aſſize Sermon upon this Subject, which was afterwards publiſh'd, and dedicated to the King under the Title of *Apoſtolick Obedience.* 'The whole Scope of 'it was to advance the Loan, and to juſtify the King's 'impoſing publick Taxes, without Conſent of Parliament; 'and to prove that the People, in Point of Conſcience, 'were bound to ſubmit to the Royal Will and Pleaſure.' Doctor *Roger Manwaring* promoted the ſame Cauſe in two Sermons, preach'd before the King and Court, and publiſh'd under the Title of *Religion and Allegiance*; in which he advanc'd theſe Doctrines, 'That the King is not bound 'to obſerve the Laws of the Realm concerning the Sub'jects Rights and Liberties, but his Royal Will and Com'mand in impoſing Loans and Taxes, without Conſent of 'Parliament, does oblige the Subjects Conſcience, upon 'Pain of eternal Damnation: That thoſe who refus'd to 'pay this Loan, offended againſt the Law of God, and 'the King's Supreme Authority, and became guilty of Im'piety,

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'piety, Diſloyalty and Rebellion.' For which Doctrines, he was afterwards cenſur'd in Parliament; which occaſion'd ſome hard Reflections upon the Clergy in general; when in ſo large a Body only Two were found to run into ſuch Extreams. And of thoſe, *Sibthorp* has this Character given him by *Wood*, a zealous Loyaliſt; *A Perſon of little Learning, and of few Parts, only made it his Endeavours, by his Forwardneſs and Flattery, to gain Preferment.*

Great Oppoſition againſt it.

Many Sufferers.

But neither theſe Doctrines, nor the urgent Neceſſities of the King, did ſo far prevail among the People, but that the Commiſſioners for the Loan met with greater Oppoſition than they expected. Many, who had been Members in the two late Parliaments, oppos'd it with their utmoſt Power, and drew a conſiderable Number of Others to the like Refuſal. The Benchers of *Lincolns-Inn*, demurring upon it, as not in due Form of Law, receiv'd a Letter of Reproof from the Lords of the Council, with a Command to return the Names of the Refractory. The common Sort of *London*, who deny'd the Rates requir'd of them were, by the Council's Warrant directed to the Commiſſioners of the Navy, impreſt to ſerve in the Ships ready for his Majeſty's Service. And others of them were made to appear before the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to be enroll'd among the Land-Forces; with this Reaſon declar'd, *That they who refus'd to aſſiſt with their Purſes, ſhou'd ſerve in their Perſons, for the Common Defence.* The Gentry in ſeveral Counties, refuſing to ſubſcribe, were bound over by Recognizance to appear at the Council-Table; and upon refuſing to comply, were many of them committed to Priſon, without Benefit of their *Habeas-Corpus.* They were generally confin'd to diſtant Counties from their own; of whom the principal were Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, and Mr. *George Ratcliff*, of *Yorkſhire*; Sir *Walter Earl*, and Sir *John Strangeways*, of *Dorſetſhire*; Sir *John Hevingham*, and Sir *Nathaniel Bernardiſton*, of *Suffolk*; Sir *Thomas Grantham* of *Lincolnſhire*, Mr *Richard Knightly* of *Northamptonſhire*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone* of *Eſſex*, Mr. *John Hampden* of *Buckinghamſhire*, and Sir *John Elliot* of *Cornwall*. Theſe and others were branded as *Puritans*, while the *Papiſts*, who were moſt liberal in this Affair, were careſs'd by the Courtiers; which ſtill added to the popular Diſguſts.

Sir Randolf Crew *One.*

Among thoſe that ſuffer'd, Sir *Randolf Crew*, ſhewing himſelf diſſatisfy'd, was remov'd from his Place of Lord Chief Juſtice, and Sir *Nicholas Hide* was put in his Room; a Perſon of ſufficient Abilities; but being a Creature of the Duke's, and ſucceeding a Perſon ſo well belov'd, he enter'd upon his Place with great Prejudice. The politick Biſhop of *Lincoln* cou'd not wholly eſcape in this critical Juncture; who delivering his Thoughts concerning this Loan, a Complaint was ſent up to the Lords of the Council; and upon this Occaſion an Information of other pretended Matters was afterwards preferr'd againſt him in the *Star-Chamber.*

Biſhop Laud *further promoted.*

As this great Prelate daily declin'd in Intereſt and Favour with the Court, ſo another aſcended, and began to ſhine with unuſual Splendour; which was Biſhop *Laud*, who this Year was tranſlated from the Biſhoprick of St. *Davids*, to that of *Bath and Wells*. His great Activity and Services in the ſame Year brought him into another honourable Poſt of great Nearneſs to his Majeſty's Perſon, and this was the Deanery of the Royal Chappel. At his Entrance upon this Office, he prevail'd with his good Maſter to break one ill Cuſtom, that obtain'd at Court ſince the Acceſſion of King *James*: And this was, that whenever the King came to the Chappel, the Divine Service then depending was ſuddenly broke off, and an Anthem ſung, to make immediate Way for Sermon. Which Cuſtom having an Appearance of Prophaneneſs, or Contempt of the Liturgy, this new Dean did very honourably repreſent the Scandal of it to the King, who piouſly comply'd with a Redreſs of it. Shortly after, the Duke of *Buckingham*, attended with ſeveral Lords, took him to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was ſolemnly incorporated into that Body; and the whole Company treated with Splendor and Satisfaction.

The Death of Biſhop Lake,

Biſhop Andrews,

To make way for theſe two new Preferments, there dy'd two great Men, whoſe Memories ought to be carefully recorded, Dr. *Arthur Lake*, and Dr. *Lancelot Andrews*. The former was Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; a Perſon of ſingular Learning and Temper, and of exemplary Piety and Hoſpitality; worthy of his high Office, and of true Fame in Hiſtory. The latter was Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, a Perſon ſtupendouſly profound, as *L'Eſtrange* expreſſes it, ſurpaſſing in Languages and Theology, whoſe excellent Works breath nothing but the Faith of the ancient Fathers; nor can we read thoſe great Men, more than we ſhou'd have done in his very Aſpect, Geſture and Actions; ſo venerable in his Preſence, ſo grave in his Motions, ſo pious in his Converſation, ſo primitive in All. *Fuller* ſays that the World wanted Learning to know how learned he was; ſo skill'd in all Languages, that ſome conceiv'd he might have almoſt ſerv'd as an *Interpreter General* at the Confuſion of Tongues: To which we muſt add, that he converted many Papiſts; and, beſides great Sums in his Life-time, he left four thouſand Pounds for the Maintenance of poor Men and Widows.

1626.
Car. 2.

The Lord Bacon,

Serjeant Davies,

Dr. Goſlyn,

And Mr. Gunter.

In the ſame Year there dy'd another wonderful Man, *Francis* Lord *Bacon*, a Prodigy of Knowledge, and of as ſublime and univerſal Genius, as the Nation ever produc'd; His capacious Soul had ſoar'd above all the Riches of the World, yet by means of his Condeſcenſion, and Indulgence to his Dependants, he became unaccountably ſully'd and debauch'd by them; and ſhewing a melancholy Example of Human Frailty, he ſuddenly fell from the higheſt Poſts, and dy'd in great Poverty, in the ſixty ſixth Year of his Age. To conclude the Year, we ſhall mention three other Men of Note and Worth, as Sir *John Davies*, Serjeant at Law, a Perſon celebrated by the Wits of the Age for his ſhining Parts and Learning, as well as his Skill in his Profeſſion; who ſuddenly dy'd in the fifty ſeventh Year of his Age, when he was juſt nominated Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*. Dr. *John Goſlyn*, Maſter of *Caius* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and the King's Profeſſor of Phyſick; a general Scholar, an admirable Phyſician, and a publick Benefactor to his Colledge; who dy'd when he was a ſecond time Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity. Laſtly, Mr. *Edmund Gunter*, Aſtronomy Profeſſor of *Greſham* Colledge, a Perſon fam'd for his Skill in the Mathematicks, and juſtly to be remember'd by late Poſterity, for his many uſeful Inventions, as well as practical Performances.

1627.
Car. 3.

An unfortunate War with France.

The Cauſes of it.

VII. I. The King had been unſucceſsful in all his main Deſigns, eſpecially in the War againſt *Spain*; but this Year, when all Means ought to have been us'd to extinguiſh that Flame, he found himſelf involv'd in a new and precipitate War againſt *France*: So that at once he was ingag'd with the two great Monarchs of *Europe*, when his own Monarchical Government ſeem'd to be in diſpute at home. There were ſeveral remote Steps and Cauſes of this War; but it was chiefly hurry'd on by the Power and Paſſion of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had great Reſentments againſt the *French* Court, and againſt Cardinal *Richlieu* in particular, who had caus'd the *French* King to deny him Admittance as an Ambaſſador. Upon which the Duke, having alſo been diſappointed in his high Amour, is ſaid to have ſworn in a Rage, *That ſince he was hinder'd entering* France *in a peaceable Manner, he wou'd force his Paſſage with an Army.* The King's firſt Diſobligation to *France* was the Miſ-employing the ſeven *Engliſh* Ships againſt the Proteſtants of *Rochelle*, when by ſolemn Treaty they were lent only to aſſiſt upon the Coaſts of *Italy*; which caus'd his Majeſty to demand a Reſtitution of the Ships, and a Reaſon why they were employ'd againſt the *Rochellers*. The *French* King juſtify'd his Proceedings by the Neceſſity of his Affairs, and made peculiar Excuſes againſt a preſent Reſtitution. The Ships having been diſhonourably employ'd, and injuriouſly detain'd, the Duke, as Lord Admiral, by Command, made a Repriſal, by ſeizing the St. *Peter of Newhaven*, and other *French* Merchants; which provok'd the King of *France* not only to refuſe the Return of the ſeven Ships, but to lay an Arreſt upon the *Engliſh* Merchants Goods in his Dominions, to the Value of three hundred thouſand Pounds. Theſe Feuds were thought to be induſtriouſly improv'd by the Emulation between the two prime Miniſters of both Nations, the Duke and the Cardinal. But however upon Reaſons of State, the two Kings and Brothers were reconcil'd; and ſome Satisfaction being made to the *French* Merchants, the *Engliſh* Ships were reſtor'd, and the Goods releas'd the laſt of *May*, 1626; which ſeem'd to make up a perfect Amity between the two Crowns.

The Inſolence of the Queen's Family.

But ſeveral Diſtaſtes and Jealouſies were ſtill remaining; and both Courts were diſpos'd to a Rupture upon every ſmall Occaſion. Theſe caus'd the King and the Duke to be more jealous of the Queen's Family, as ſending Intelligence, and ſpreading Reports, and doing other ill Offices between the two Nations. It had been unhappily agreed by the Articles of Marriage, that the Queen ſhou'd chuſe her own Servants, of her own Country and Religion; and in particular, ſhou'd have a certain number of Prieſts for her Houſhold Chaplains, together with a Biſhop, who ſhou'd exerciſe all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in Matters of Religion. Theſe being courted by the *Engliſh* Papiſts, and ſtrongly ſupported by the Queen's Favour, had Opportunities of being highly ſerviceable to their own Country, and the *Romiſh* Religion; which increas'd to ſuch an inſolent Forwardneſs, as excited the Queen to ſuch Courſes as created great Diſtaſtes and Unkindneſſes between the King and herſelf. For which his Majeſty repreſented his Uneaſineſs to his Brother of *France*; imputing all to the crafty and evil Counſels of the Queen's Domeſticks, contrary to her own Inclinations; therefore declar'd, 'he

‘ wou'd no longer bear with the known Cauſers and Fomenters of this Diſturbance : That he cou'd give many Inſtances of their rude Behaviour, but thought one might ſuffice, That without his Knowledge they had made his Royal Conſort walk to *Tyburn*, there to pay her Devotions ; *an Action that cou'd have no greater Invective, than the bare Relation.* In ſum, they had ſo much abus'd his Patience, and affronted his Perſon, that he wou'd no longer ſuffer it.

Theſe behaving themſelves more like Miſſionaries than Domeſticks, they caus'd great Diſorders, and rais'd no ſmall Clamours among the Diſaffected to the Court. Therefore, not long after the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, the King, attended by the Duke, and ſeveral of his Nobility, repair'd to *Somerſet-Houſe*, and commanding the Appearance of all the Queen's Servants, he freely told them, *He was driven to that Extremity, as perſonally to acquaint them, that he deſir'd their Return into* France : *That tho' the Deportment of ſome had been inoffenſive, yet others had ſo abus'd and affronted him, that he neither cou'd nor wou'd any longer endure it.* The Biſhop of *Mende* and Madam *St. George*, who had been the greateſt Offenders, began to make their Apologies; but the King turn'd from them, ſaying only, *I name none, but I tell you my Reſolution.* As ſoon as the Queen heard of this ſudden Change, ſhe fell into a furious Paſſion, upbraided his Majeſty with the utmoſt Diſaffection to her, and flew into great Indecencies in Words and Actions. He us'd the moſt tender and obliging ways to pacifie her; but when he had try'd all gentle Perſuaſions, he inſiſted upon his Authority, and bad her *be ſatisfied, for it muſt be ſo.* About a hundred and twenty were diſmiſs'd, and ſent into *France* ; which, with other Matters, was ſo reſented by the Dutcheſs of *Chevreaux*, a ſubtle and intriguing Lady, that joining with Cardinal *Richlieu*, ſhe afterwards became one of the greateſt Embroilers of the *Engliſh* Affairs, even to the Ruin of the King, as the *French* themſelves acknowledge. This was thought ſome Indignity to a Daughter of *France*, and a great Hardſhip upon the Servants, tho' they receiv'd Wages and Gratuities to the Value of twenty two thouſand eight hundred Pounds; but, beſides the Juſtneſs of the Provocation, it was no more than what the *French* King had done before in diſcharging all the *Spaniſh* Courtiers which his Queen had brought with her. However there was this happy Conſequence, that, after this Set of Creatures were remov'd, the Queen, who really had been a very ill and troubleſome Wife, became much more obliging and obedient ; ſo that at length no Couple were more mutually endearing than they.

The King diſmiſſes all the Queen's Attendants.

Theſe Inlets towards a Breach with *France* were much widen'd by an Abbot, now in Diſ-favour with Cardinal *Richlieu* ; but the King ſent over the Lord *Carleton* to the *French* Court, to give Notice of this Action, and to prevent all hard Conſtructions of it. The *French* King immediately declar'd his ill Reſentments of it, and complain'd of an expreſs Violation of the Marriage-Articles ; and for a preſent Act of Hoſtility, ſeiz'd upon a hundred and twenty *Engliſh* Ships that then were in his Ports and Havens. Upon which the King of *England* publiſh'd a Declaration of War againſt *France*, which, as the Lord *Clarendon* intimates, had only the Name of the Duke of *Buckingham* to it, who was both Admiral and General. The Grounds expreſs'd were, 1. ‘ That the Council of *France* had obſtructed the Landing of Count *Mansfield*'s Army, contrary to Promiſe ; with whom the *French* ſhou'd have join'd for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*. 2. That the King of *France*, contrary to the Articles with his Proteſtant Subjects, had block'd up their Towns, Garriſons and Forts. 3. That the *French* King had committed an Example of great Injuſtice in full Peace, by ſeizing the *Engliſh* Ships, with all their Merchandize and Artillery.’ Thus an unhappy War began with *France*, in a moſt unhappy Seaſon, the preceding Year ; but did not forceably break out 'till the preſent Year 1627.

The Declaration of War againſt France.

2. The War againſt *Spain* had been manag'd without immediate Hazard to the Duke of *Buckingham*, but this againſt *France* was left wholly to his own perſonal Command ; which caus'd the People to be more indifferent as to the Succeſs. He had only one Advantage againſt many Impediments ; and this was the plauſible Pretext of fighting for the Proteſtant Religion, which gave him a fair Proſpect of retrieving what was loſt in the Expedition againſt *Cadiz*. For which Purpoſe he was made Commander in Chief over the Fleets and Armies, to conduct and employ them according to the private Inſtructions he ſhou'd receive from the King, and to advance to the Order of Knighthood ſuch Perſons as he in his Diſcretion ſhou'd think fit.

Buckingham *made Chief Commander.*

His Expedition for the Relief of Rochelle.

With theſe full Powers the Duke ſet Sail from *Portſmouth* upon the twenty ſeventh Day of *June*, with a Fleet conſiſting of a hundred Sail of Ships, Men of War and others, and ſix or ſeven thouſand Land-Soldiers. Towards the End of the next Month he appear'd with great Show before the Town of *Rochelle*, and ſent a Meſſage to the Inhabitants to have them join with him in the Relief of the oppreſs'd Proteſtants in *France*. But the *Rochellers*, who had been ſo importunate for the coming of the *Engliſh*, were now afraid of their Appearance, and unexpectedly ſhut their Gates againſt them. Upon this Surpriſe the Duke ſent Sir *William Beecher*, accompany'd by the Duke of *Sobiez*, who with ſome Difficulty were admitted into the Town. The Magiſtrates, for their more ſolemn Reception, call'd an Aſſembly, in which Sir *William* repreſented to them, ‘ That the Duke of *Buckingham* was arriv'd with a great Fleet and Army, which his Royal Maſter out of Commiſeration had ſent to their Aſſiſtance, to require from the *French* King the Performance of the late Articles made by his Mediation, on Behalf of the Proteſtants of *France*. Declaring, if they refus'd this Deliverance, he proteſted before God and Man, his Maſter was clear'd of all Engagements for their Relief, both upon Honour and Conſcience.’ This was ſeconded by the earneſt Solicitations of their Friend and Country-Man, the Duke of *Sobiez* ; but the Magiſtrates and chief Men were ſo poſſeſs'd with the Fear of the *French* King's Army, them marching againſt them, and many ſo aw'd by a Party in the Town, that they durſt give no other Anſwer than, ‘ Rendering their hearty Thanks to his Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* ; but they were bound by Oath of Union to act nothing without the common Conſent of the reſt of their Proteſtant Brethren in *France*. Therefore, after repeated Thanks and Prayers, they deſir'd Suſpence and Forbearance, 'till they had ſent to the reſt of the Proteſtant Towns, who were in Union with them.’ This was the main Step towards their own Deſtruction ; and the *French* Hiſtorians obſerve, That the want of Union among themſelves, was one of the principal Cauſes of the Ruin of the Proteſtant Party.

The Rocheller's *ill Management.*

Before the Departure of *Sobiez* from the *Engliſh* Fleet, it was debated upon which of the two Iſlands the Duke of *Buckingham* ſhou'd land his Men, *Oleran*, or *Rhee*. It was determin'd for the former, as moſt feaſible, tho' the latter was moſt conſiderable, and better provided. However in his Abſence, the Duke alter'd his Reſolution, directed his Courſe to the Iſle of *Rhee*, and upon the thirtieth of *July* ſtood near the Shore. The next Day he order'd a Squadron of twelve Ships to lye before the Mouth of Port *Brelen*, falling down with the reſt of the Fleet to the Port *de la Pree* ; againſt which they thunder'd with their Cannon, ſtill making their Approaches nearer to the Land. *Thoiras*, Governor of the Iſle, highly alarm'd, march'd out from the Cittadel of St. *Martin*, with his whole Power, to prevent the *Engliſh* from landing: But under the Cover of their own Cannon, the braveſt of the *Engliſh* Officers, Sir *John Burroughs*, Sir *Alexander Bret*, Sir *Charles Rich*, with Monſieur *St. Blanchard*, went firſt on Shore, follow'd and ſupported by twelve hundred Men. The Enemy having a thouſand Horſe and Foot, beſides Voluntiers, immediately advanc'd towards the *Engliſh* ; there began a very warm Encounter, in which were ſlain Sir *William Heyden*, and many of the *Engliſh*, with Monſieur *Blanchard*, a Proteſtant Agent from the Duke of *Rhoan* ; and on the *French* Side the Governor's Brother, the Baron of *Chuntal*, and ſome others. The total that fell on both Sides were reckon'd at about nine hundred, of which the Enemy bore the greateſt Share.

The Duke lands in the Iſle of Rhee.

By ſeveral Advances at length the *Engliſh* forc'd the Enemy to retreat, and gain'd room for their whole Army to land. The Governor retir'd with his wounded Men to the Cittadel of St. *Martin*'s ; and if the *Engliſh* had immediately purſu'd, in probability they had been ſoon Maſters of the Place, and the whole Iſle. The Fort *la Pree* near the Landing-place, and meanly provided, was alſo ſlighted or neglected, when the eaſie Reduction of it wou'd have beſt prevented the landing of *French* Succours, and was moſt proper to ſecure a Retreat for the *Engliſh*. But five Days being unaccountably ſpent before the *Engliſh* Army mov'd, *Thoiras* had opportunity both to fortifie the Cittadel of St. *Martin*'s, and to ſend to the *French* Court for Supplies. It is certain the Court was in a great Conſternation upon this *Engliſh* Invaſion : The King fell ſick, as if by the Impreſſion of the ill News, and ſent Orders to give the Proteſtants honourable Terms, if they wou'd not join with the *Engliſh* ; inviting the Head of their Party, the Duke of *Rhoan*, with great Offers of Money and Honour, to ſecure him from falling in with this great Juncture of Deliverance to his oppreſs'd Brethren. In the mean time the Duke of *Buckingham* debark'd all his Land-Forces, and ſent *Sobiez* and Sir *William Beecher* to *Rochelle* to ſolicit for Recruits; who by their Intereſt ſoon return'd with five hundred Foot. Upon which the Duke in two Days March advanc'd with his Army before St. *Martin*'s, and publiſh'd a Manifeſto, declaring ‘ his Royal Maſter's Care and Zeal to reſtore the ancient Liberty and Splendor to the Reformed

The French *in Conſternation.*

‘ed Churches of *France*; which laudable Deſigns had been ‘perverted near to their Ruin, by a Breach of Promiſe in ‘the *French* King, who had employ'd the *Engliſh* Ships ‘againſt *Rochelle*, &c.

The Duke beſieges St. Martin's

Upon the formidable Approach of the Duke, the *French* quitted the Town of St. *Martin*'s, and retir'd into the Cittadel, which the Duke cloſely inveſted: And raiſing Intrenchments, and Batteries, he fir'd upon the Fort, and continu'd the Siege for about three Months together; when it's believ'd he might have ſtarv'd it in leſs Time, if he had ſtop'd up a Well within his Trenches, from which the Enemy had their ſecret Draught of Water, during the whole Siege. Before this unfortunate Place the *Engliſh* endur'd great Fatigue and Loſs; and more eſpecially ſuffer'd in the Death of that great and gallant Soldier Sir *John Burroughs*, who was ſlain on the twentieth of *September*, with a Muſquet Ball from the Cittadel, while he was viewing the *Engliſh* Works. His Body was brought over, and honourably interr'd at *Weſtminſter*.

Sir John Burroughs *ſlain.*

Murmurs at home.

3. This Siege, proving tedious and ineffectual, occaſion'd many Cenſures and clamorous Reports in *England.* Some murmur'd that the Duke had receded from the Opinion of *Sobiez*, and landed in the wrong Iſland; others ſaid his Landing was more a Feint than a hearty Attempt; that he was not expeditious in his Motions, nor did he take the Fort *la Pree*; nor was he now in earneſt beſieging St. *Martin*'s, ſince many Preſents and Compliments had continually paſs'd between him and the Governor. Some freely declar'd their Minds, and cry'd *There muſt be a Parliament; That ſome muſt be ſacrific'd, and Biſhop* Laud *as ſoon as any.* Theſe threatning Speeches caus'd that Prelate to acquaint the King with them, who made this Reply to him, *I deſire you not to trouble your ſelf with any Reports, till you ſee me forſake my other Friends.* But under theſe Perplexities the King reſolv'd to ſend a Squadron of Ships with Recruits of Men, Ammunition and Proviſions to the Army at *Rhee*; and appointed the Earl of *Holland* to take them into his Charge, tranſport and conduct them to the Iſland, and deliver them to the Duke of *Buckingham.* Some Recruits indeed, to the Number of ſixteen hundred *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, were ſent before, and arriv'd about the End of *September*, but before that Time the *French* had got into the Harbour, and reliev'd the Cittadel with Proviſions in ſight of the *Engliſh* Fleet and Army; which ſupported them for ſome Time.

Recruits ſent.

The Arrival of the freſh Recruits of the *Engliſh* extreamly diſcourag'd the Governor *Thoiras*, who was in great Pain how to ſend Intelligence to the *French* Court. At laſt one *Sandgrine* ventur'd out, and eſcaping the Guard, got ſafe to the King; but to repair his Miſcarriage *Thoiras* prevail'd with three of his Garriſon to ſwim over to the main Continent; of whom one got ſafe to Land, and deliver'd his Meſſage of the low Condition of the Garriſon.

The French *King comes againſt* Rochelle.

The *French* King at this Allarm drew down his Army toward *Rochelle*, forming a ſort of a Blockade, as if he deſign'd to take that Town; when his preſent Intention was by that Means to land Forces in *Rhee*, and throw in Proviſions into the Cittadel of St. *Martin*'s. This formidable Approach open'd the Eyes of the *Rochellers*, and caus'd them to ſee their former Error in refuſing to join with the *Engliſh* at firſt. So that now they publiſh'd a Manifeſto, and declar'd for *England*; and the Duke of *Rhoan* gave Commiſſions to raiſe Forces to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* in Preſervation of the Edict of Peace lately granted, and ſince violated by the King of *France.* On the other Side the King made publick Declaration, That he wou'd on his Part obſerve the ſaid Edict of Peace; and proclaim'd the Duke of *Rhoan*, and his Brother *Sobiez*, to be Traytors, and offer'd Rewards to ſuch as ſhou'd kill them.

By this Time the *French* had obtain'd a great Supply of Shipping from the *Spaniards*, which with their own, amounted to above a hundred Sail. This was ſuperior in Number to the *Engliſh*, yet ſtill they declin'd Engaging, and only propos'd to throw ſufficient Proviſions into the Cittadel, and tire out the Beſiegers. To carry on the Deſign, *Thoiras* ſeem'd to enter into a Treaty of Surrender upon honourable Terms; and prevail'd with the Duke for ſafe Conduct for a Meſſenger to be ſent to the *French* King for leave to retire with Honour. The Duke conſented, upon Condition that an *Engliſh* Gentleman ſhould accompany the ſame Meſſenger, and be allow'd to paſs through *France* into *England*; but arriving at the Court, in open Breach of Faith, the *Engliſh* Gentleman was ſecur'd, while the Agent of *Thoiras* perform'd his Meſſage effectually. *Thoiras* manag'd this Sham-Treaty, and protracted Time, till he gain'd the Point of receiving a conſiderable Relief of Men and Proviſions; and then broke off the Treaty in Deriſion, ordering his Men upon the Walls to advance their Pikes with Mutton and Fowl upon the Heads of them, to reproach the Beſiegers with their unexpected Plenty. And they were further animated with News of the *French* landing more Forces at a Place call'd the *Meadow-Caſtle*, which had been fatally neglected by the *Engliſh*; againſt whom the Duke ſent out a ſtrong Detachment, leaving his Trenches unguarded. Upon which Advantage the Enemy ſally'd out of the Citadel, and got Poſſeſſion of the deſerted Trenches; ſo that when the *Engliſh*, after ſome Succeſs, had forc'd the new Recruits to ſhelter themſelves under the Cannon of the Citadel, upon their Return they were oblig'd to diſpute the Recovery of their Trenches, to the Loſs of many Lives, before they cou'd regain them.

Succours ſent into St. Martin's.

Under theſe diſcouraging Circumſtances, in the Middle of *October* the Duke call'd a Council of War, and thought it convenient to decamp and re-imbark for *England*; and communicated his Reaſons to *Sobiez*, That the Seaſon was declining, his Army diminiſh'd, his Proviſions conſum'd, and his Officers inclinable to retire. But *Sobiez* earneſtly diſſuaded the Duke, alledging, that the Relief brought to the Beſieged was inconſiderable; the Earl of *Holland*'s Fleet was advancing with Supplies; and the Retreat wou'd draw after it the Loſs of *Rochelle*, and bring an irreparable Diſhonour to the King of *England.* Upon which Inducements the Duke continu'd the Siege, and ſhortly after reſolv'd to ſtorm the Citadel and Outworks: Accordingly on *November* the Sixth, for a laſt Effort, a general Aſſault was made; but after the Loſs of many Men, the Place was found provided and inacceſſible. This Repulſe, with the News of more *French* Forces continually pour'd into the Iſland, made the Duke reſolve to raiſe the Siege, and return home. So on the eighth of the ſame Month he was conſtrain'd to break up the Siege, to the great Detriment of his Reputation; and the *French* Writers ſay, that he had three Months beſieg'd a Fort, which before a well-commanded Army wou'd not have held out eight Days.

The Siege rais'd.

The Duke retreats.

But the Duke cou'd not eſcape with a bare ſingle Retreat; For upon the firſt Motions of ſuch a Deſign, the Enemy appear'd, equal in Foot, and far ſtronger in Horſe, ready to fall upon the *Engliſh* Rear. The Duke ſeveral times drew up the Army in their March, and bravely made a Stand to offer Battel; but the cautious *French* declin'd an open Battel, having projected a greater Advantage with leſs Hazard. For when the *Engliſh* in their Retreat had enter'd a narrow Cauſe-way, lin'd on both ſides with Salt-Pits and deep Ditches, which had been too much neglected by the *Engliſh*, the *French* took this Advantage, and fell with great Fury upon the *Engliſh* Horſe, who preſs'd their Foot into extraordinary Diſorder, and made the Crowd ſo tumultuous upon the Bridge, that great Numbers were drown'd in the River, beſides many that were plung'd into the Salt-Pits, and many falling by the Sword. Yet the *Engliſh*, who had paſs'd the Bridge with great Reſiſtance and Courage, rally'd again, and drew up to fight their purſuing Enemy; who being afraid of any equal Terms, barely repaſs'd the Bridge, which the *Engliſh* guarded with a ſelect Party all Day, and burnt it down at Night; and, without farther Impediment from the Enemy, were put on Board the next Day. The *Engliſh* are ſaid to have loſt fifty Officers, near two thouſand Common Soldiers, thirty five Priſoners of Note, and forty four Colours, which were hung up as Trophies in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* in *Paris. Sanderſon* makes the Loſs to be leſs, but *L'Eſtrange* gives us this Account; who farther adds, That the King of *France* in a Bravery diſmiſt the Priſoners, as a kind Token to his Siſter the Queen of *England:* And when the Lord *Mountjoy* offer'd a large Sum for his Ranſom, the King told him, *his Redemption ſhould only be a Couple of* Engliſh *Hounds*; which was thought to be a Slight upon his Lordſhip, who had got more Diſhonour in the Retreat than any other Commander: For having his Troops charg'd in the Rear, he broke in upon the *Engliſh*, and made ſuch terrible Confuſion, that Sir *Charles Rich* is reported to have cry'd out, *Kill him! kill him! tho' he be my Brother.*

The Engliſh *Sufferers.*

Upon the Duke's weighing Anchor to retire, the *French* with an Air of Serious̄neſs ſaid, *Tho' the Duke cou'd not take the Citadel of St.* Martin's, *yet it was odds but he wou'd take the Tower of* London. However the Duke ſent a civil Promiſe to the *Rochellers*, that he wou'd come again to their Relief; and immediately ſet Sail for *England*, where he met the Earl of *Holland* juſt coming out of *Plymouth*; who excus'd his Delay with many reaſonable Allegations. But the Duke himſelf had greateſt need of Apologies, who was thought to have behav'd himſelf more like a gallant Courtier than a diſciplin'd Soldier, and who had gone out a hated Favourite, and return'd an unfortunate General. All he had to plead, was his acting by the Advice of a Council of War, and his want of timely Supplies. Yet ſome ſay he behav'd himſelf bravely: But whatever others ſaid of him, the King receiv'd him with full Favour and Affection, and only told him, *He was glad to find the Loſs not ſo great as Sir* Sackvil Crow *had repreſented in a Letter to him.* But the King's Indulgence augmented the popular Reſentments; ſo that all Tongues and Pens were ſharpned againſt this inglorious Ex-

Loud Clamours againſt this Expedition.

pedition; and the Pulpit it ſelf could not be reſtrain'd from ſome Reflections upon it. And indeed the Loſs and Diſhonour produc'd ſuch a general Conſternation over the Face of the Nation, as if all the Armies of *France* and *Spain* were united together, and had cover'd the Land. The Cry of the People was ſo great, and the King's Neceſſities ſo preſſing, that every Man ſaid a Parliament muſt be call'd, to prevent the Powers of two neighbouring Kings, who were ready to over-run them. The Citizens murmur'd againſt a viſible Decay of Trade; the Merchants were diſcourag'd from building of Ships; the Mariners came in Multitudes to *White-Hall* clamouring for their Pay; Land-Soldiers were kept up, Soldiers were billeted, and Martial Law exercis'd. In ſum, the Duke was univerſally deteſted; and upon his Account every Grievance or Misfortune was aggravated, and repreſented in the moſt hideous Manner.

Other Diſcontents.

4. During the time of this unhappy Expedition abroad, ſeveral unpopular things were tranſacted at home, which added to the general Diſcontent. Many Gentlemen ſtood committed for refuſing to comply with the Demands of the Loan; and being brought before the Council, were re-manded to ſeveral Priſons. In particular, Sir *John Elliot*, a Priſoner in the *Gate-houſe*, had his Petition for Diſcharge rejected. Sir *Peter Hayman*, upon refuſing Complyance to the Loan, was commanded by the Council to go upon his Majeſty's Service in the *Palatinate*, to which he was obedient. Many of the like Sufferers, upon Return of a *Habeas Corpus*, were deny'd Bail; which occaſion'd great Struggles, and Variety of Pleadings.

Archbiſhop Abbot *diſgrac'd.*

But what particularly increas'd the Diſguſts of one Party, was the Diſgrace of Archbiſhop *Abbot*, who was ſequeſter'd both from his Office and Juriſdiction. Being grown very infirm and unactive, and, as many thought, uſeleſs and unfit for his Station, Advantage was taken againſt him upon the Account of Dr. *Sibthorp*'s Sermon, formerly mention'd; which was preſented to the Duke, and recommended to the King, to incourage the Publiſhing of it. The Biſhop of *London* politickly declin'd the Licenſing, or purpoſely threw the Temptation upon the Archbiſhop, to whom a Copy was brought by Mr. *Murrey*, requiring his Approbation and Licence in the King's Name. The Archbiſhop made Exceptions to ſeveral Paſſages, and begg'd of the Meſſenger to acquaint his Majeſty with the Reaſons why he cou'd not give his *Imprimatur*. A few Days after, Mr. *Murrey* return'd, and told the Archbiſhop, *His Majeſty wou'd inſiſt upon it*; and upon his ſtill waving the matter, another Meſſage was brought him by the ſame Perſon, *That if he did not diſpatch it, the King wou'd take ſome other Courſe with him.* Upon this his Grace put his Objections into Writing, and ſent them to the King, which were communicated to Biſhop *Laud*, and three other Biſhops, in whoſe Names an Anſwer to the Exceptions was drawn up, and ſent by Mr. *Murrey* to *Lambeth*: But no Arguments or Authority cou'd prevail with him to licence the Sermon; which was ſoon after licenced by the Biſhop of *London*. This was ſo far reſented at Court, that on *July* the fifth the Lord *Conway* was ſent to *Croyden*, to inform him, *It was his Majeſty's Pleaſure he ſhou'd withdraw himſelf to* Canterbury, *and ſhould not hereafter meddle with the High Commiſſion.* The Archbiſhop deſir'd he might rather retire to his Houſe at *Foard*; which the King readily aſſented, and allow'd convenient Time for his Removal. The Report of this Hardſhip brought him more Viſiters to take their leave of him, to ſuch Degrees of Popularity, that the Court was further incens'd againſt him; and making no Submiſſion in his Retirement, he was upon the ninth of *October* ſequeſter'd from his Juriſdiction, and his Authority transferr'd to the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, *Oxford*, and *Bath* and *Wells*. The Reaſon alledg'd was his Inability of Perſonal Attendance; but the Archbiſhop publiſh'd a particular Narrative of his Diſgrace and Circumſtances, from whence this is taken; in which he bears very hard both upon the Duke of *Buckingham* and Biſhop *Laud*.

His Authority transferr'd.

What further increas'd the Troubles of the Nation, and the Perplexities of the King, was the deplorable Condition of the *Rochellers*, who after the Departure of the *Engliſh* were ſoon reduced to great Staits both by Sea and Land; who made piteous Complaints, and ſent moving Petitions for preſent Relief. But alas! they were not reduc'd to much greater Neceſſities by their Prince, than the *Engliſh* King was by his People, and his exigent Affairs. In this unhappy State, Sir *Robert Cotton*, the famous Antiquary, was call'd before the King and Council to deliver his Opinion in point of Hiſtory and Law, upon the preſent Juncture, which he did in a judicious Speech, concluding with the Neceſſity of calling a Parliament. Upon which, and the like Conſiderations, repreſented to the King, on the twenty ninth of *January*, it was reſolv'd in Council for a Parliament to meet on the ſeventeenth of *March*. And to prepare the way, Warrants were ſent into all Counties to releaſe the impriſon'd Gentry for the Buſineſs of the Loan; by which there were ſet at Liberty twenty four Knights, fifteen Eſquires, and thirty two Gentlemen and Citizens, that were confin'd to ſeveral Priſons, or in the Hands of Meſſengers. One Effect of their Liberty was, that as ſoon as the Writs came down to the Counties and Boroughs, theſe Sufferers were moſt in the Peoples Eſteem to be elected Members, as the beſt Patriots for their Country's Rights and Liberties. The like gracious Orders were iſſu'd from the Council to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, to uſe great Moderation in demanding the Loans from thoſe Citizens who had deferr'd a Compliance with it. And among other ſoftning Methods, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was reſtor'd, and with him the Earl of *Briſtol*, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who had lain under peculiar Hardſhips, had by expreſs Direction their Writs ſent to them to ſit in the Houſe of Peers this enſuing Parliament.

A new Parliament reſolv'd upon.

Some diſobliging Meaſures.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſmooth Preparations, the Nation being in a Ferment, and Things not like to be well weigh'd, ſome unhappy Meaſures were taken, that ſerv'd to renew the Popular Fears and Jealouſies: For immediately after the Parliament Writs, a Privy-Seal was granted to *Philip Burlemach*, a *Dutch* Merchant, to receive thirty thouſand Pounds from the Treaſury, to be return'd into the *Netherlands* to Sir *William Balfour* and *John Dalbier*, for the raiſing of a thouſand *German* Horſe, with Arms, to be ſent into *England* within a Month; which, tho' a neceſſary Preparation for the King's Foreign Engagements, was ſuſpected by the People as a Deſign of a ſtanding Army: And the more, becauſe the King, near the ſame Time, granted a Commiſſion to twenty three Lords and others, to raiſe Money by Impoſitions in the Nature of Exciſe. And the levying of *Ship-Money* upon the ſeveral Counties was then under Debate in the Council; as if Methods were concerted to ſubſiſt without Parliaments, if the next ſhou'd refuſe to grant Suplies.

A ſet of Jeſuits diſcover'd.

An Accident happen'd alſo about this time, which occaſion'd great Rumous, which was a Diſcovery of a Society of Popiſh Recuſants at *Clerkenwell*, moſt of them *Jeſuits*; among whoſe Papers was found a Copy of a Letter written to their Rector at *Bruſſels*, upon the Subject of the enſuing Parliament; in which they thus expreſs themſelves--- *We hope as much in this Parliament, as ever we fear'd any* in Queen Elizabeth'*s Days*------*We have made great Uſe of this* Anarchical Election, *and prejudicated and anticipated the great* One, *that none but the King's Enemies and* His *are choſen of this Parliament.*-------*Now we have planted that Sovereign Drug* Arminianiſm, *which we hope will purge the* Proteſtants *from their* Hereſie------*The* Materials *are the Projectors and Beggars of all Ranks, to introduce a new Form of Government which is* Oligarchy--------*We have ſo handled the Matter, that both Duke and Parliament are irreconcilable.*----- *I cannot but laugh to ſee how ſome of our own Coat have accoutred themſelves: You wou'd ſcarce know them if you ſaw them, and 'tis admirable how in Speech and Geſture they act the* Puritans. The Senſe of the Letter was to ſhew their Hope of Diviſion among the Proteſtants; and the Diſcovery of it did unhappily ſerve to promote the Argument of it: For it encreas'd the Apprehenſions between Church-man and Puritan, and between the Court and Country.

Thus ſtood the Publick Affairs before the Meeting of the new Parliament; but for a Concluſion of this Period, beſides Sir *John Burroughs* formerly mention'd, we ſhall take Notice of the Deaths of four Men worthy of Remembrance; as firſt, Dr. *Nicholas Felton*, a *Cantabrigian* and Biſhop of *Ely*, a particular Friend of the great Biſhop *Andrews*, a profound Scholar, and painful Preacher, ſufficiently conſpicuous for his Hoſpitality and Charity, and happy in the wiſe Choice of all his Curates and Chaplains. After him follow'd Mr. *John Day*, a venerable Divine, Miniſter of *Thirlow* in *Suffolk*, a Perſon of great Reading, and admirably well vers'd in the Fathers, School-men and Councils; a plain Man, a primitive Chriſtian, and as it were wholly compos'd to do good in his Function. Next was Dr. *Matthew Gwinne*, Medicine Profeſſor of *Greſham*, and one of the College of Phyſicians, a conſiderable Traveller and Linguiſt, and noted for Poetry, Philoſophy, and Humanity, as well as Skill in his own Profeſſion of Phyſick, which render'd him highly valuable in the City of *London*. Laſtly, Sir *John Hayward*, Doctor of Law, and King *James*'s Hiſtoriographer at *Chelſea*-College, a Perſon learned, and better read in Theological Writings, than in thoſe of his own Profeſſion; yet ſtill is to be remember'd here for his Writing the Reigns of King *Henry* the IVth, and King *Edward* the VIth, with ſome other Tracts, tho' his Stile is thought to be a little too pungent and dramatical for an Hiſtorian.

The Death of Biſhop Felton,

Mr. Day,

Doctor Gwinne,

And Sir John Hayward.

The THIRD *PARLIAMENT.*

VIII. 1. With all the fore-nam'd unfortunate Circumſtances, after an Intermiſſion of one Year and nine Months,

162$\frac{7}{8}$.
Car. 3.

The King's Speech.

Months, the King's Third Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* upon *Monday* the ſeventeenth Day of *March*. Biſhop *Laud* preach'd the Sermon upon *Unity*; and his Majeſty in his Speech to both Houſes in clear Terms told them, ‘ That theſe Times were for *Action*, therefore hop'd they wou'd not ſpend their Time *unneceſſarily*, not to ſay *dangerouſly*; ſince now *tedious Conſultations* were as hurtful as *ill Reſolutions*. That common Danger was the *Cauſe* of this Parliament, and Supply the chief *End* of it; and if the true Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the State, and the juſt Defence of true Friends and Allies, be not ſufficiently perſuaſive, then no Eloquence of Men or Angels will prevail. That it was his and their Duties to ſeek the Maintenance of the Church and Commonwealth; and there never was a Time, in which this Duty was more neceſſarily requir'd than *now*. He judg'd a Parliament to be the ancient, ſpeedieſt and beſt way by Supplies to ſecure *Themſelves*, and to ſave their *Friends* from immediate Ruin; wherefore if they fail'd in their Duties, he muſt in Conſcience uſe thoſe *other Means* which God had given him, to ſave what the *Follies* of particular Men might otherwiſe hazard to loſe. He bad them not to take this as a *Threatning*, for he ſcorn'd to threaten any but his Equals; but as an *Admonition* from him who had moſt Care of their Preſervations; and hop'd their Demeanour wou'd be ſuch as ſhou'd oblige him in Thankfulneſs to meet *often* with them. One thing more he wou'd add, which was, *To remember a Thing, to the end we may forget it.* That he ſhou'd gladly forget and forgive what was paſt, ſo they wou'd leave the former Ways of Diſtractions, and follow the Counſel lately given them, *To maintain the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.*' This Speech was ſeconded by a longer from the Lord-Keeper *Coventry*, ‘ Who chiefly labour'd to lay before them the formidable Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the mighty Preparations made by the King of *Spain*, the Diſtractions at the preſent in the *Low-Countries*, the Dangers threaten'd by the *French* King to the Proteſtants in his Dominions, and the Neceſſity that lay upon his Majeſty to provide for the Support of them, as well as for the Peace and Preſervation of his own Nation: Concluding with ſeveral Reaſons to invite them to aſſiſt their Sovereign with a bountiful and ſpeedy Supply, according to the Exigency of his Affairs.

Sir John Finch *Speaker.*

The Commons made Choice of Sir *John Finch* to be their Speaker, who being preſented to the King on the nineteenth of *March*, made a cuſtomary Speech to be excus'd; but the Choice of the Houſe was approv'd by his Majeſty. Before the Commons enter'd upon any Debates, there was a long bold Letter communicated to the Members, directed *To his noble Friends of the Lower Houſe of Parliament*, reciting and inveighing againſt many Grievances; and was induſtriouſly diſperſt under the Title of *a Speech without Doors*, to the augmenting of the preſent Flames. But on the twentieth of *March*, the Houſe ſettled their grand Committees for Religion, Grievances, Courts of Juſtice and Trade; and alſo drew up a Petition for a ſolemn Faſt, to which the Lords conſented.

Grievances debated.

Two Days after they enter'd upon the Publick Grievances, which were warmly debated; ſuch as Billetting of Soldiers, Loans by Benevolence and Privy Seals, Impriſonment of Men refuſing to lend, and denial of Releaſe upon a *Habeas Corpus*. The Houſe inclin'd not to ſupply his Majeſty, 'till theſe Grievances were redreſs'd; to which Purpoſe many ſevere Speeches were deliver'd by Sir *Francis Seymour*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Robert Philips*, and others. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* ſpoke as a Moderator between King and People, and told them, *That this was the Criſis, when they ſhou'd know if Parliaments liv'd or dy'd*; wherefore he advis'd, *To truſt his Majeſty, and to breed a Truſt in him, by giving him largely, according to his Wants; then humbly proſtrating their Grievances at his Feet.* The chief Advocate for the Prerogative was Sir *John Cook*, Secretary of State, who inſiſted, *That they were all as Inhabitants of one Houſe, where each ought to amend ſomething; but if all the Houſe be on Fire, wou'd they then begin to amend, and not rather quench the Flame.* He confeſs'd, *That illegal Courſes had been taken, and that a Redreſs ſhou'd be made:* But he reſolv'd thoſe Courſes into the *Law of Neceſſity*; declaring, That to offer Grievances before a Supply, *wou'd ſeem to Condition with his Majeſty, a wiſe King, jealous of his Honour.*

Shortly after the ſame Perſon renew'd the Motion for Supply, as preparatory to the Conſideration of Grievances; inſiſting upon the Neceſſity of Union, by acquainting Them, *That the Ambaſſador of* France *had told his Majeſty, That in the laſt Parliament he had wrought Diviſions between the King and People of* England, *and was rewarded for it.* Other Members argu'd for preferring the Matter of Grievances, declaring, *They cou'd have no Thanks for giving, till his Majeſty might ſee they had a Right to give.* The next Day the Secretary preſented to the Houſe ſome Propoſitions from the King concerning a Supply; and inform'd them, *That as to Aid and Grievances, his Majeſty wou'd not ſtand on Precedence in Point of Honour; but the ſame Committee might conſider both in what Order they pleas'd.* Upon which the Houſe reſolv'd Themſelves into a Committee, and made Sir *Edward Littleton* the Chair-Man. They debated the Grievances relating to the Perſon of the Subject, under ſix Heads; and after many learned Speeches by Mr. *Creſwell*, Sir *Robert Philips*, Sir *Edward Coke*, Mr. *Hackwell* and Mr. *Selden*, they unanimouſly Reſolv'd, ‘ 1. That no Free-Man ought to be Impriſon'd, without Cauſe ſhewn, either by the King or Council. 2. That a *Habeas Corpus*, in that Caſe, ought not to be deny'd. 3. That if no Cauſe of Commitment be return'd, the Party is to be bailed.' Then as to the Property of the Subject in his Goods, they made this grand Reſolve, ‘ That no Tax, of what kind ſoever, ought to be levy'd upon the Subject, without an Act of Parliament.

1628.
Car. 4.

Reſolves of the Commons.

2. The Commons had proceeded thus far, before the King's Propoſitions for Supply were receiv'd and read, which was upon the twenty ſixth of *March*. Theſe conſiſted of fourteen in Number, and were all the Particulars of his Majeſty's Wants both by Sea and Land, with all Arrears. But the Debate concerning them was poſtpon'd; and the Commons had a Conference with the Lords about a Petition againſt Popiſh Recuſants, in which both Houſes agreed. This Petition being prepar'd, the King appear'd at the Houſe of Lords, and in a Speech to the whole Parliament he freely declar'd his Approbation of the Thing, and his inviolable Adherence to the Proteſtant Religion; but at the ſame Time urg'd them to a ſpeedy Supply, *elſe he ſhou'd not be able to put one Ship to Sea that Year.* After this the Clerk read the firſt Article of the Petition, and the Lord-Keeper read his Majeſty's Anſwer to it, and ſo through the whole, which conſiſted of eight Articles, all repreſenting the Dangers of Popery. To all which the pious King gave them direct and full Satisfaction, concluding and declaring, *That his Mildneſs towards thoſe of the* Popiſh *Religion, had been in hopes that Foreign Princes wou'd have us'd the like Moderation to the* Proteſtants: *But not finding the Fruits of it, he was reſolv'd to add ſome further Severity to what the Petition deſir'd.*

A Petition againſt Popiſh Recuſants.

The King's Anſwer.

Upon the ſecond Day of *April*, the King's Propoſitions for Supply were debated, and Speeches on that Occaſion were made by Sir *Francis Seymour*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, and Sir *Henry Martin*, who ſpoke moſt with ſome Reflexion on the late Managements of War, and ſeem'd averſe to any new Foreign Expeditions. After which the Houſe proceeded to Grievances, and took into Conſideration two other Heads of the Liberty of the Subject in his Perſon, namely *Confinement*, and *Deſignation to Foreign Imployment*; and came to this Reſolution, ‘ That no Free-Man ought to be confin'd by the King, Council, or Others, but by Act of Parliament, or due Courſe of Law.' The Day following Mr. Secretary *Cook* deliver'd a Meſſage from the King, ‘ in which he clear'd the Duke of *Buckingham* from ſome Words ſuppos'd to have been ſpoken by him in Council, and declar'd, *That the Duke was the firſt who perſuaded him to this Parliament*; and afterwards declar'd, *He counted it his greateſt Glory to be a King of Free-Men, and not of Villains.*' After ſome Debates of this Meſſage, the Houſe acknowledg'd that his Majeſty had put a three-fold Obligation upon them, of *Satisfaction*, *Aſſurance* and *Advice*; and therefore promis'd *to carry Themſelves like their Progenitors, who were never mark'd for ſtepping too far on the King's Prerogative.*

A farther Reſolve.

The next Day Mr. Secretary *Cook* deliver'd another gracious Meſſage from his Majeſty, to aſſure them of all their Rights and Liberties: And after ſome Debate, the Houſe came to this unanimous Reſolve, *That five Subſidies be given to the King*; and Mr. Secretary was appointed to acquaint his Majeſty with this Reſolution. This caus'd great Joy and Satisfaction in the Court, and the Duke of *Buckingham* made a magnificent Speech upon this Occaſion, owning *That now the Commons ought to be the Favourites, and He no longer.* Three Days after the Secretary reported to the Houſe, ‘ That his Majeſty accepted of the Subſidies, and was pleas'd to ask *by how many Voices they were granted?* I ſaid *but by One*; his Majeſty ask'd *how many were againſt Him?* I ſaid *None*; *for they were voted by one general Voice and Conſent.* His Majeſty was much affected with it, and call'd the Lords in Council, where I gave them an Account of what had paſs'd. Beſides it gave his Majeſty no ſmall Content, that tho' five Subſidies be inferior to his Wants, yet it is the greateſt Gift that ever was given in Parliament. And now he ſees by this he ſhall have the Affections of his People, which will be beyond all Value to him. *He ſaid he lik'd Parliaments at the firſt, but ſince, he knew not how, he was grown to a diſtaſte of them; but was now where he was before:*

Five Subſidies voted.

The King's Satisfaction.

'*He loves them, and ſhall rejoyce to meet with his People often.*' Mr. Secretary farther acquainted the Houſe with the Duke's Speech, upon the Report of the five Subſidies; which was very pleaſing and popular. Only Sir *John Elliot* expreſs'd his Diſlike, that the Duke's Name ſhou'd be intermingled with the King's, *contrary to the Cuſtom of our Fathers, and the Honour of our Time.*

A Conference with the Lords.

3. The Commons having thus far expreſs'd their dutiful Affection towards his Majeſty, now prepar'd to tranſmit their Reſolves to the Lords for their Concurrence; and ſeveral Members were appointed to manage a Conference about the Liberties and Properties of the Subject. Sir *Dudley Diggs* open'd the whole by way of *Introduction*; Sir *Edward Littleton* ſpoke at large upon the Subject of *Perſonal Liberty*; Mr. *Selden* inſiſted upon the *Precedents* in that Matter; and Sir *Edward Coke* maintain'd the Argument as to the *Rational Part of the Law.* In ſum, they inſiſted 'That their Reſolutions were confirm'd by *Magna Charta* and ſix Acts of Parliament, by twelve Precedents in Terms, and thirty one more.' After this, other Grievances were debated in the Houſe of Commons, and a new Diſpute aroſe concerning their Right of Adjournments, occaſion'd by his Majeſty's deſiring them to make no Receſs upon the *Eaſter* Holydays, *That the World might take Notice how earneſt he was for the publick Affairs in Chriſtendom.* Secretary *Cook* mov'd for Expedition in the Vote of Subſidies, and to turn it into an Act: Sir *Dudley Diggs* ſeconded the Motion; but Sir *Thomas Wentworth* propos'd a middle Way, which paſs'd into a Reſolution of the Houſe, *That Grievances and Supply go hand in hand.*

A Supply again urg'd.

The Speaker's Repreſentation.

The next Day Mr. Secretary *Cook* deliver'd another Meſſage from his Majeſty to haſten the Supply; in which this Paſſage more eſpecially gave Offence, *I muſt with ſome Grief tell you, that Notice is taken as if this Houſe preſs'd not upon the Abuſes of Power only, but upon Power it ſelf: This touches the King and Us, who are ſupported by that Power.* He was bid to explain what he meant by the Word *Power:* He anſwer'd, *I cannot deſcend to Particulars, or go from that his Majeſty gave me Warrant to deliver.* About two Days after he again quicken'd the Buſineſs of the Supply; and after ſome Debate it was order'd 'That a ſpecial Committee of eight Perſons ſhou'd immediately conſult upon the Subſtance of a fair Repreſentation to the King, to be deliver'd on *Monday* next in a Speech by the Speaker, together with a Petition againſt Billeting of Soldiers. Accordingly on *Eaſter Monday* the Commons were admitted to the King's Preſence, where the Speaker endeavour'd to ſatisfie his Majeſty in the Manner of their Proceedings, 'That whereas, according to ancient Cuſtom, Parliaments took into Conſideration the common Grievances of the Nation, before they enter'd upon the matter of Supply; yet, for a full Expreſſion of their Zeal and Affection, this Aſſembly, contrary to ordinary Proceedings, had given Precedency to the Supply before the preſent Grievances; only joyning it with thoſe fundamental and vital Liberties of the Kingdom, which give Subſiſtance and Ability to the Subject. Towards the End of his Speech he introduc'd the Petition of the Commons concerning the Billetting of Soldiers. To the Speech and Petition his Majeſty made Reply, *That they ſhou'd go on ſpeedily with their Buſineſs, without more Apologies: And to what concern'd their Petition, he wou'd give Anſwer in convenient Time.*

The King's Reply.

Debates towards a Petition of Right.

From this Day to *Friday* the twenty fifth of *April*, the Houſe in a grand Committee ſpent moſt of their Time in debating about Martial Law; and in holding two Conferences with the Lords, concerning ſome Reſolves in Order to a new Law call'd *a Petition of Right*, tranſmitted from the lower Houſe to the Upper. Againſt which the King's Serjeant *Aſhley* argu'd, That the Propoſal of the Commons tended to Anarchy; and that they muſt *allow the King to govern by Acts of State*; for which the Lords committed him, and he made a Recantation. Another Conference was likewiſe held between the Lords and the Commons; in which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made a ſmooth and ſoftning Speech, to introduce ſome new Propoſitions from the Upper-Houſe, of the ſame Nature with the Commons *Petition of Right*, only more reſpectful and ſubmiſſive to the King. Theſe were communicated to the Commons; but they were not ſatisfy'd with them.

The Keeper's Speech.

4. The King finding his Ends and Purpoſe not ſufficiently anſwer'd, on the twenty eighth of *April* came to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons, the Lord-Keeper made a Speech to them to urge a Diſpatch of the Supply without Interruption; and inform'd them That his Majeſty commanded him to let them know, *That he held* Magna Charta, *and other ſix Statutes inſiſted upon, to be all in Force; and aſſures them he will maintain all his Subjects in the juſt Freedom of their Perſons and Eſtates: That he will govern according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; and that they ſhou'd find as much Security in his Royal Word and Promiſe, as in any Law they cou'd make.* This Declaration rais'd ſome Difficulties in the Houſe of Commons, ſome thinking if over-nice to be rigidly debated. Mr. Secretary *Cook* made a Speech for Reliance on his Majeſty's Royal Word and Promiſe. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* mov'd that the Effect of the King's Promiſe might be put into a Bill; and accordingly it was order'd 'That a Committee of Lawyers do draw up a Bill, containing the Subſtance of *Magna Charta*, and the other Statutes that concern the Liberty of the Subject;' which Buſineſs took up two whole Days. But while this Bill was preparing, Mr. Secretary deliver'd a ſhort Meſſage from his Majeſty, To know whether the Houſe wou'd reſt on his Royal Word or no? *Which if they did, he again aſſur'd Them, it ſhou'd be Royally perform'd.* This rais'd new Difficulties, and caus'd a Silence in the Houſe, and then two Days Debate; in which Sir *Robert Philips* freely ſaid, *That they were now come to the end of their Journey; and an Anſwer to this Meſſage wou'd give Happineſs or Miſery to the Kingdom.* In Concluſion, Sir *Thomas Wentworth* declar'd, *That ſince there had been a publick Violation of the Laws by the King's Miniſters, nothing cou'd ſatisfy but a publick Amends.* Which ſo well agreed with the Senſe of the Houſe, that they made it the Subject of a Meſſage to be deliver'd to the King.

A Meſſage to the Commons.

Their Anſwer.

Another Meſſage.

Amidſt theſe Debates, another Meſſage was deliver'd from his Majeſty, 'That Publick Affairs wou'd not endure long Debate or Delay; ſo that this Seſſion muſt continue no longer than ten Days: But upon Diſpatch and good Correſpondence, there ſhou'd be another Seſſion at *Michaelmas* next, for the perfecting ſuch Things as cou'd not be now done.' Upon this, after a new Debate, the Commons agreed upon an Anſwer to all preceding Meſſages, to be preſented to the King by their Speaker; who humbly *beg'd his Majeſty's Leave to lay hold of his gracious Offers, which gave them Aſſurance, That if they thought fit to ſecure themſelves in their Rights and Liberties by way of Bill, he wou'd be graciouſly pleas'd to give way to it.* His Majeſty's Reply was deliver'd by the Lord-Keeper, that *He expected an Anſwer by their Actions, and not Delay by Diſcourſes. He was content that a Bill be drawn for a Confirmation of* Magna Charta, *and the other ſix Statutes inſiſted upon, ſo as it be without Additions, Paraphraſes, or Explanations.*

The Commons Anſwer.

The King's Reply.

The Commons finiſh their Bill.

On the ſixth of *May*, Mr. Secretary *Cook* by another Meſſage preſs'd the Houſe to rely upon the King's Word. This caus'd the Doors to be lock'd up, and was now the more diſpleaſing, becauſe they thought it a little retracting from the late Intimation of the King's good Pleaſure for a Bill. However in two Days the Bill for *Petition of Right* was finiſh'd, and a Clauſe about Martial Law added to it; which was deliver'd in a Conference to the Lords for their Concurrence. Soon after their Lordſhips deſired another Conference, in which the Lord-Keeper inform'd the Commons, *That they had propos'd ſome ſmall Matters to be alter'd, to make the Bill more ſweet and paſſable to his Majeſty*; and then he communicated a Letter from the King to the Lords, in which he inſiſted upon *ſome Caſes of Commitment ſo tranſcendent as might not be diſcover'd, and which were above the Capacity of the Judges*; but ſtill promis'd to govern by Law, and deſir'd Expedition. The Commons were much diſſatisfy'd with this Letter, conceiving the Deſign of it was to defeat their *Petition of Right*. Shortly after their Lordſhips had another Conference with the Commons, and being more intereſted in the Prerogative, they propos'd an additional Clauſe to be added to the End of the Bill, which was *Not to infringe the Sovereign Power.* This was chiefly brought in by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*; but was totally diſlik'd by the Commons, who were againſt any *Saving* in the Bill, and in a high Debate declar'd, 'That *Sovereign Power* was no Parliamentary Word, and that there cou'd be no ſuch Thing diſtinct from the Power of the Law, or a legal Prerogative.

They diſagree with the Lords.

Several Conferences.

After this, ſeveral Conferences were held; wherein the Lords offer'd Reaſons for their Amendent, and the Commons for not conſenting to it; upon which Subject Mr. *Glanvile* and Sir *Henry Martin* made remarkable Speeches. However, upon the twenty ſixth of *May*, the Lords at another Conference agreed with the Commons in the *Petition of Right*, with ſome ſmall Amendments; which being agreed to by the Commons, the Bill was ingroſs'd, read a Third Time, and order'd to be preſented to the King. And in another Conference, two Days after, both Houſes agreed That no Addition or Preface be us'd to the King, but that upon the Preſenting of the *Petition*, his Majeſty be deſir'd, for the Satisfaction of his People, he will be pleas'd to give his gracious Anſwer in full Parliament. Thus after numerous Debates and Struggles, both Houſes perfected their great Work, the *Petition of Right*, at the End of ten Weeks.

The Lords and Commons agree in the Petition of Right.

5. The grand Affair being brought to this Iſſue, and the Supply in great Forwardneſs, upon *Monday* the ſecond of

June

The King's Speech.

June the King came to the Parliament, and made this ſhort Speech to both Houſes: *I am come hither to perform my Duty: I think no Man can think it long, ſince I have not taken ſo many Days in anſwering the Petition, as you have ſpent Weeks in framing it. And I am come hither to ſhew you, That as well in formal Things, as in Eſſential, I deſire to give you as much Content as in me lies.* Then the Lord-Keeper, recommending the King's Favour to them, deſir'd them to hear their own *Petition* read; the greateſt Part of which conſiſted of Complaints of great Hardſhips, and References to *Magna Charta*, and ſeveral former Acts of Parliament. But the Petitioning Part, which was to continue for ever as a Law, runs in theſe Words, ———

The Petition of Right.

That no Man hereafter be compell'd to make or yield any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, or ſuch like Charge, without common Conſent by Act of Parliament; and that none elſe be call'd to make Anſwer, or take ſuch Oath, or to give Attendance, or be confin'd, or otherwiſe moleſted or diſquieted concerning the ſame, or for Refuſal thereof. And that no Freeman, in any ſuch Manner as is before mention'd, be impriſon'd or detain'd. And that your Majeſty will be pleas'd to remove the ſaid Soldiers and Mariners, and that your People may not be ſo burdened in Time to come. And that all Commiſſions for proceeding by Martial Law, may be revok'd and annull'd; and that hereafter no Commiſſions of like Nature may iſſue forth to any Perſons whatſoever, to be executed as aforeſaid, leſt by colour of them, any of your Majeſty's Subjects be deſtroy'd or put to Death contrary to the Laws and Franchiſe of the Land.

The King's Anſwer to it.

The whole being read, the King's Anſwer was deliver'd in theſe Words: *The King willeth, That Right be done according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm; and that the Statutes be put in due Execution, that his Subjects may have no Cauſe to complain of any Wrong or Oppreſſion, contrary to their juſt Rights and Liberties, to the Preſervation whereof, he holds himſelf in Conſcience as well oblig'd, as of his Prerogative.*

The Commons not ſatisfy'd.

Dr. Manwaring's *Puniſhment.*

If this had been taken as a free and full Anſwer, it might have caus'd a happy Union of King and Parliament; but ſome of the Members, from the Prefatory Speech, conceiting it to be an extorted Compliance, believ'd the Anſwer to be ſomewhat ſcant and dubious. Therefore when it was read the next Day in the Houſe, many Complaints were made, and Sir *John Elliot* fell afreſh upon the publick Grievances, and mov'd that a Remonſtrance of them might be made to the King. This was held unſeaſonable by ſome; yet it was ſeconded by Others, and a Committee appointed accordingly. They began with Dr. *Manwaring*, for his Sermons formerly mention'd, againſt whom Mr. *Rouſe* had before made very great Complaints to the Houſe. A formal Declaration was made againſt him, and Sentence by the Lords was given, ' That he ſhou'd be impriſon'd, and ' fin'd a thouſand Pounds; That he ſhou'd make a publick Submiſſion; That he ſhou'd be ſuſpended for three ' Years, and be diſabled from holding any Eccleſiaſtical ' Dignity, or Secular Office, and from Preaching at Court; ' and that his Books ſhou'd all be burnt at *London*, and the two ' Univerſities. According to part of the Sentence, he with Tears in his Eyes upon his Knees humbly crav'd the Pardon of the Lords and Commons, for the Errors and Indiſcretions he had committed in the ſaid Sermons.

High Debates.

The Speaker enjoyns Silence.

In the mean Time the King ſent two Meſſages to the Houſe of Commons, ' prefixing the eleventh of this Month ' as the End of the Seſſion, and requiring them not to enter upon new Buſineſs, which may ſpend Time, or lay ' any Aſperſion upon the Government or Miniſtry. This laſt ſerv'd but to augment their Fears and Jealouſies; and they were put into a new and greater Ferment in their Debates. When Sir *John Elliot* came to that Part of the Meſſage which imply'd their laying Aſperſions upon ſome Miniſters of State, the Speaker roſe from his Chair, and apprehending Sir *John* was aiming at the Duke, he enjoyn'd him Silence, telling him, *There was a Command laid upon him not to proceed.* Upon which Sir *John* ſat down; and Sir *Dudley Diggs*, in a great Concern, cry'd, *Muſt we not proceed? Let us ſit in Silence: We are miſerable, and know not what to do.* And there was a profound Silence in the Houſe for a while; till Sir *Nathaniel Rich* ſaid, *We muſt now ſpeak, or for ever hold our Peace.* Some objected, That the Speech lately ſpoken by Sir *John Elliot* had probably given Offence to his Majeſty. Upon which the Houſe voted, ' That every Member was free from any undutiful Speech, from the Beginning of the Parliament to that ' Day: And order'd the Houſe to be turn'd into a Committee, to conſider what is fit to be done for the Safety ' of the Kingdom, and that no Man go out upon Pain of ' being ſent to the *Tower*; and Mr. *Whitby* was put in the ' Chair. Only the Speaker obtain'd leave to retire. In this Committee Mr. *Wandesford* mov'd, That they ſhou'd not fear to make a Remonſtrance of their Rights; and Sir *Edward Coke* ſpoke out, *Let us palliate no longer; if we do, God will not proſper us. I think the Duke of* Buckingham *is the Cauſe of all our Miſeries; and till the King be inform'd of that, we ſhall never go out, or ſit with Honour. That Man is the Grievance of Grievances.* The Houſe agreed upon ſeveral Heads for a Remonſtrance; but while they were putting the Queſtion, *Whether the Duke of* Buckingham *ſhou'd not be declar'd the principal Cauſe of all the preſent Evils*, the Speaker brought this Meſſage from the King, *That his Majeſty commands for the preſent they adjourn the Houſe till to Morrow Morning, and that all Committees ceaſe in the mean Time.* And the Houſe was accordingly adjourn'd; and likewiſe the Houſe of Lords obey'd the ſame Command.

A ſudden Adjournment.

The next Day the Speaker brought a more acceptable Meſſage from the King, declaring his Majeſty's Intentions *not to bar them from what has been their Right, but only to avoid all Scandals on his Council and paſt Actions.* After ſome Debate, the Commons ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, ' That they wou'd joyn in a humble Requeſt, That a clear ' and ſatisfactory Anſwer be given by his Majeſty, in full ' Parliament, to the *Petition of Right.* The Lords agreed to it; and the King very obligingly came the next Day to receive it in full Parliament: Which being read, his Majeſty graciouſly reply'd, *The Anſwer I already gave, was made with ſo good Deliberation, and approv'd by ſo many wiſe Men, that I concluded it wou'd have given you full Satiſfaction. But to avoid all ambiguous Interpretations, and to ſhew there is no Doubleneſs in my Meaning, I am willing to pleaſure you as well in Words, as Subſtance. Read your Petition, and you ſhall have an Anſwer that I am ſure will pleaſe you.* The Petition or Bill was read, and Anſwer was given, *Soit droit fait comme il eſt deſire.* Then his Majeſty proceeded, *This I am ſure is full, yet no more than I granted you in my firſt Anſwer; the Meaning of which was to confirm your Liberties; knowing that you neither mean nor can hurt my Prerogative. My Maxim is, That the People's Liberties ſtrengthen the King's Prerogative, and the King's Prerogative is to defend the People's Liberties. I have done my Part: Wherefore if the Parliament have not a happy Concluſion, the Sin is yours; I am free from it.*

The King paſſes the Petition of Right.

A general Joy.

Thus, after many Difficulties and Windings, was obtain'd that famous Law call'd The Petition of Right; a Law eſteem'd next to *Magna Charta*, yet, as the Earl of *Clarendon* ſays, of no Prejudice to the Crown; tho' the Court Endeavours to evade it, ſhew'd it was not pleaſing there. Upon the paſſing of it, the Houſe teſtify'd their Joy with a mighty Shout, and immediately the Bells rung, and Bone-Fires were kindled all the City over; every one partaking of the general Satisfaction. And it was ſaid that, upon this happy Agreement, the Lords made Suit to the King to receive into Grace thoſe Lords who were out of Favour, to which he readily comply'd; and admitted the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Warwick*, *Briſtol*, and the Lord *Say* to kiſs his Hand.

The Commons make a Remonſtrance.

6. And now there was thought ſuch a fortunate Harmony between the King and Parliament, that Nothing cou'd defeat the Happineſs of either; but it ſeems this laſt Conceſſion, inſtead of cooling the preternatural Heat, inflam'd many of the Houſe of Commons to preſs a little further, and to proceed to finiſh an intended *Remonſtrance.* And Sir *John Strangeways*, afterwards a great Royaliſt and Sufferer, unhappily ſaid, *Let us perfect our Remonſtrance; for King* James *was wont to ſay, He knew that by Parliaments, which otherwiſe he could never have known.* So in a few Days they compleated their Deſign, and drew up a long Remonſtrance of Grievances, conſiſting of ſix Branches. Impeachments and Remonſtrances are double-edg'd Weapons, which have been always the Diſturbers of Parliaments; and in this it was obſerv'd, that moſt of the Abuſes complain'd of, were either ſecur'd to the Nation, or elſe paſt Remedy, ſuch as the Defeats at *Rhee* and *Rochelle.* Yet in Concluſion they ſay, ' Of all theſe Evils and ' Dangers, the principal Cauſe is the Duke of *Buckingham*'s exceſſive Power, and Abuſe of that Power. Therefore they humby ſubmit to his Majeſty's Wiſdom, whether it can be ſafe for Himſelf, or his Kingdom, that ſo ' great Power by Sea and Land, as reſts in him, ſhou'd be ' truſted in the Hands of any one Subject whatever.

The King diſoblig'd.

This prov'd very diſobliging to the King, who having heard it in the Banquetting Houſe, with ſome Indignation told the Commons *That he little expected ſuch a Remonſtrance, after he had paſs'd* the Petition of Right: *However, as to their Grievances, he wou'd conſider of them as they ſhould deſerve.* It is ſaid that ſoon after the King order'd a formal Anſwer to be drawn up in Writing to the ſaid Remonſtrance, denying or excuſing the ſeveral Charges in it. But in the mean Time he ſent a peremptory Meſſage by Sir *Humphry May* that he deſign'd to end the Seſſion on the twenty

A ſecond Remonſtrance.

twenty ſixth Day of *June*. And that he might appear ready to redreſs every juſt Grievance, he order'd the Lord-Keeper to report in the Upper Houſe, *That his Majeſty had cancell'd the Commiſſion of Exciſe, and the Warrant for putting the Seal thereto.* And a Meſſage was alſo ſent to the Commons, to ſhew them the ſaid cancell'd Commiſſion and Warrant. This did not ſo ſatisfie, but the Commons proceeded to prepare a Bill for *Tonnage* and *Poundage*; and prepare another Remonſtrance, in which they declar'd theſe two main Things, 'First, That there ought to be no Impoſition laid upon the Goods of Merchants, without common Conſent by Act of Parliament. Secondly, that the receiving of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, and other Impoſitions, not granted in Parliament, is contrary to the late *Petition of Right*.

The King's laſt Speech to both Houſes.

When the King was inform'd of this ſecond *Remonſtrance*, he was reſolv'd to prevent the Delivery of it: Therefore on the appointed Day, *June* the twenty ſixth, before the Lords cou'd put on their Robes, while the Remonſtrance was reading in the lower Houſe, he ſent for the Speaker and the Commons, and after this Manner ſhew'd his Reſentment. *It may ſeem ſtrange I ſo ſuddenly end this Seſſion, before I give my Aſſent to the* Bills. *I will tell you the Cauſe, tho' I muſt avow,* I owe the Account of my Actions to God alone. *Not long ago the Houſe of Commons gave me a* Remonſtrance, *how acceptable any Man may judge; for I am ſure no wiſe Man can juſtifie it. Now ſince I underſtand that a* ſecond Remonſtrance *is preparing for me, to take away my Revenue of* Tonnage *and* Poundage, *one of the chief Maintenances of the Crown, by alledging I have given away my Right to it by my Anſwer to your* Petition: *This is ſo prejudicial to me, that I am forc'd to end this Seſſion ſome few Hours before I meant it; being unwilling to receive a* Remonſtrance, *to which I muſt give a harſh Anſwer. And ſince the Houſe of Commons already begins to make a falſe Conſtruction of what I ganted, I will now declare the true Intent of it. The Profeſſion of both Houſes, while they were hammering this Petition, was no ways to trench upon my Prerogative, ſaying* they had neither Intention or Power to hurt it: *Therefore it muſt be conceiv'd, that I granted no* new, *but only confirm'd* ancient *Liberties. Yet to ſhew I neither repent, no mean to recede, I declare, that thoſe things that were done, and were the true Ground of the* Petition, *ſhall not hereafter be drawn into Example for your Prejudice; and upon the Word of a King you ſhall not have the like Cauſe to complain. But for* Tonnage *and* Poundage, *it is a thing I cannot want; and was never intended by you to* ask, *nor meant by me to* grant. *I command you all therefore to take Notice of my true Intent and Meaning in granting your* Petition; *eſpecially you, my Lords the Judges, to whom alone, under me, belongs the Interpretation of Laws: For neither Houſe of Parliament, either joint or ſeparate, have any Power to make or declare a Law, without my Conſent.* Then paſſing the Bill of five Subſidies given by the Temporality, and as many given by the Clergy, with above twenty more, publick and private, the Lord-Keeper declar'd this Seſſion to be ended, and that the Parliament be prorogu'd till the twentieth Day of *October*.

The Parliament prorogu'd.

Thus abruptly did the Parliament break up, after a Seſſion of fourteen Weeks and three Days: In which were ſome of the greateſt mutual Obligations between King and People; yet unfortunately no Satisfaction given on either Side. The King had made the greateſt Conceſſions, and the People had given the greateſt Supplies; yet, by reaſon of the Struggles and Miſunderſtandings between both, the one was left with Uneaſineſs, and the other fill'd with Jealouſies; and all departed with a preſaging Heat and Ferment.

A Fleet ſent to Rochelle,

IX. 1. During this famous Seſſion of Parliament, the diſtreſſed *Rochellers* were more and more ſtraitned, and almoſt block'd up by the *French* King and the Cardinal. Still they had a Dependance upon the Word of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and an Expectance from the *Engliſh* King and Council, to whom they had made very moving Applications. Upon this Occaſion a Fleet of about fifty Sail were early fitted out, under the Command of the Earl of *Denbigh*; who, beſides the Mariners, took in, for the Service of a Deſcent, two thouſand two hundred able Land-Men; who ſetting Sail from *Plymouth*, after the middle of *April*, came to Anchor at *Charleboy* in the Road of *Rochelle* on the firſt of *May*. He found there twenty Sail of the *French* King's Ships, riding before the Harbour; and being much ſuperior in Strength and Number, he ſent Advice into the Town, that he wou'd ſink the *French* Ships, as ſoon as the Wind turn'd Weſt, and caus'd a higher Flood. About the eighth of the ſame Month the Wind and Tide ſerv'd accordingly, when the *Rochellers* earneſtly expected and ſolicited for that Seaſon of Deliverance. But the Earl, for ſome unknown Reaſon, without taking Advantage of the Opportunity, weigh'd Anchor and ſail'd away, permitting four of the *French* Ships to purſue as it were the *Engliſh* Fleet, that arriv'd at *Plymouth* towards the end of the Month.

With no Succeſs.

Great Complaints.

The Duke of Buckingham *blamed.*

This other inglorious Expedition ſtruck an exceeding Damp to the diſtreſſed *Rochellers*, and increas'd the popular Fears and Jealouſies of a Popiſh Intereſt at home: So that many concluded the whole Deſign to be a Feint, and meant rather by the Court Party to reduce *Rochelle* than relieve it. Some clamour'd againſt the Earl of *Denbigh*, and ſaid no better Succeſs cou'd be expected from the Brother-in-Law of the Duke of *Buckingham*. Others imagin'd it to be a Plot in one *Clark*, a Bed-chamber Man, who had been chief Commiſſioner in both the Expeditions; and being a reputed Papiſt, was ſuppos'd to be imploy'd for an Inſtrument of Miſcarriage. A *French* Captain in the *Engliſh* Fleet, call'd *La Brun*, gave in Depoſitions before the Mayor of *Plymouth*, which argu'd Treachery, or apparent Cowardiſe, in the Management of the Expedition. Which Account was certify'd by the Mayor to the Burgeſſes of that Town in Parliament, by whom it was communicated to the Council-Table; from whence a Letter was directed to the Duke of *Buckingham*, as Lord High-Admiral, 'to ſignify his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that the Earl of *Denbigh* ſhou'd return back to relieve the Town of *Rochelle*, with the Fleet under his Command, with other Ships prepar'd at *Portſmouth* and *Plymouth*. But notwithſtanding this Order of Council, we find no ſuch Return made, nor any Enquiry into the Obſtruction of it. Some of the *French* Writers are very open and free in charging this, and ſome other Miſcarriages, upon the Duke of *Buckingham*; and all upon the Account of his extraordinary Amour with *Anne* of *Auſtria*, the preſent Queen of *France*. Between theſe two there was thought to have been a ſecret Correſpondence; and that, either out of Affection to his Perſon, or a Deſign of cauſing Delays in the Expedition, that Princeſs gave him Grounds to hope, that if he wou'd wait with Patience, he might one Day become a happy Lover. But in this nice Affair we cannot preſume to determine poſitively. However the King was moſt earneſt in Behalf of the *Rochellers*; and in one of his Letters to the Inhabitants he has theſe Words: *Aſſure your ſelves, that I ſhall never abandon you; and that I ſhall employ the whole Power of my Kingdom for your Deliverance, until God aſſiſt me to obtain for you an aſſured Peace.*

The People's Hatred againſt the Duke.

Dr. Lamb *murther'd.*

The City fin'd.

2. Theſe Misfortunes abroad did more and more awaken the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Fate at home, which was now hurry'd on to a black and ſpeedy Determination. The People's Hatred began to be univerſal; ſo that when the Joy was firſt publiſh'd for the paſſing of the *Petition of Right*, many hop'd that the King had deliver'd up the Duke to be ſent to the *Tower*, and were ready to pull down the old Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, ſaying, *His Grace ſhou'd have a new one.* A few Days after, one Dr. *Lamb*, a ſuppos'd Creature of the Duke's, was barbarouſly ſet upon in the Streets of *London* by the Rabble, and ſo roughly beaten, that he dy'd of his Bruiſes the next Day: And ſome of them were heard to ſay, *That were his Maſter the Duke there, they wou'd give him as much.* This riotous Murder was the unhappy Cauſe of a wider Breach between the Court and City. For ſoon after the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen were conven'd and examin'd before the Council, and threatned with the Loſs of their Charter, if they did not diſcover and deliver up the principal Criminals; and in Concluſion had a Fine of ſix thouſand Pounds impos'd upon them. The Sufferer was a Man of an impudent ſcandalous Converſation, a reputed Magician, who had been publickly arraigned for practiſing his Infernal Arts upon the Body of the Lord *Windſor*: And tho' he had no ſpecial Acquaintance with the Duke, yet being aſſaulted upon his Account, he became more apprehenſive of the popular Rage againſt him. And ſome thought it more ominous, becauſe on the ſame Day the Duke's Picture fell down in the High Commiſſion Chamber at *Lambeth*: Which being related to the Lady *Davis*, as foreboding ſome Fatality to the Duke, ſhe reply'd, *No, his Time is not come till* Auguſt.

The Duke's Fears.

Preſages of his Death.

However the Duke, in the latter Part of his Life, began to be fill'd with preſaging Fears and Apprehenſions; which, being incident to Men of his extraordinary Circumſtances, might have render'd him the Object of Men's Pity, rather than their Envy. Sir *Henry Wotton* tells us, that while he was in the Iſle of *Rhee*, and at Bed disburdening his Mind to his Secretary Dr. *Maſon*, he paſſionately proteſted, *that neither his Diſpatches to Princes, nor the great Buſineſs of a Fleet, an Army, a Siege, a Treaty of War or Peace, all of them filling his Head at the ſame time, did ever ſo much break his Repoſe, as an Imagination, that ſome about the King at home, of whom he had well deſerv'd, were now content to forget him.* The ſame Author alſo, as well as others, doth mention ſome ominous Predictions of this great Man's Fate; but no Story was more remarkable than that related by

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by the Lord *Clarendon*, concerning the Appearance of his Father's Ghoſt to an Officer of the King's Wardrobe at *Windſor*, engaging him three ſeveral times to forewarn his Son of the Dangers that threatned him; at length adding ſome private Tokens, as infallible Credentials of the Certainty of the Apparition. The Story is long and entertaining, and is confirm'd by ſome others, with a few differing Circumſtances. But to gratify and inform the Reader in this uncommon Affair, we ſhall relate the Subſtance of what is ſtill more Authentick, namely, the Account given by Mr. *Edmund Windham*, a Gentleman of *Somerſetſhire*, in the Year 1652, and carefully enter'd in a Book then in the Herald's Office in *London*, chiefly to confute *William Lilly*'s falſe and defaming Narrative of that Matter. The principal Perſon was Mr. *Nicolas Towſe*, who for ſome time had an Office in *Windſor* Caſtle, tho' his Houſe was in *Biſhop-Gate-ſtreet* in *London*; a virtuous, religious and well-diſpos'd Gentleman, a fine Muſician, and a very good Companion, who gave this Account to the aforeſaid Mr. *Windham*.

An Account of the Ghoſt that foretold his Death.

One Night, being in Bed, and perfectly awake, with a Light by him, as he uſually had, there came and ſtood by the Bed-ſide an old Gentleman, in ſuch a Habit as was worn in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time: At whoſe firſt Appearance he was extreamly ſurpris'd; but after a little Recollection, he demanded of him in the Name of God *What he was*? He was anſwer'd, *The Ghoſt of Sir* George Villers, *Father to the Duke of* Buckingham, *whom he might well remember, ſince he went to School with him at ——— in* Leiceſterſhire. Upon which, Mr. *Towſe* found that he had the perfect Reſemblance of his old Friend, Sir *George Villers*, and the ſame Habit he had often ſeen him wear in his Life-time. The Apparition proceeded to tell him, *that he cou'd not but remember the great Kindneſs he had expreſs'd to him, while he was his Fellow-Scholar in* Leiceſterſhire; *upon which Conſideration, he believ'd he lov'd him; therefore he had made Choice of him to deliver a Meſſage to his Son, to prevent ſuch Miſchiefs, as wou'd otherwiſe prove his inevitable Ruin.* Then inſtructing him in the Meſſage he was to deliver, Mr. *Towſe* ſhew'd a great Averſion to appear upon ſuch an ungrateful Errand, *by which he ſhou'd gain nothing but Reproach and Contempt, and the Name of a wild Enthuſiaſt*; therefore deſir'd to be excus'd from the Employment. But the Apparition earneſtly preſs'd him to undertake it, aſſuring him, *That the Circumſtances, and the Diſcoveries he ſhou'd make of ſuch Paſſages, as were only known to the Duke, wou'd make it appear, that the Meſſage was not the Fancy of a diſtemper'd Brain, but a perfect Reality:* And thus the Apparition took his Leave for that Night, telling him, *He wou'd give him time to* **conſider, till the next Night, and then receive his Anſwer, whether he wou'd undertake the Meſſage or no.* Mr. *Towſe* ſpent that Day in great Trouble and Perplexity, earneſtly debating with himſelf, whether he ſhou'd venture upon this ſtrange Undertaking; but in Concluſion, he reſolv'd to perform it; and the next Night he gave his Anſwer to the Apparition accordingly, and ſo receiv'd his full Inſtructions.

After which, Mr. *Towſe* repair'd to the Court, and found out Sir *Thomas Bludder* and Sir *Ralph Freeman*, by whom he was brought to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and had ſeveral private and long Audiences with him. And Mr. *Windham*, the Relator, by the Favour of his Friend Sir *Edward Savage*, was once admitted to ſee him in private Conference with the Duke; where, tho' he heard not their very Words, he obſerv'd great Earneſtneſs in their Actions and Geſtures. After which Conference, Mr. *Towſe* told him, that the Duke wou'd not follow the Advice that was given him, which intimated 'the caſting off, and the rejecting 'of ſome Men who had great Intereſt in him, and his 'performing ſome Popular Acts in the enſuing Parliament; 'for which Parliament the Duke deſir'd him to ſtand Bur'geſs: But he utterly refus'd it, alledging, *that unleſs his Grace wou'd follow his Directions, he muſt do him hurt, if he ſat in the Houſe.* The Duke confeſs'd indeed, *That he had told him thoſe things which no Creature knew but himſelf, and which none but God or the Devil cou'd reveal to him*; and offer'd to have the King Knight him, and to give him Preferment. But he ſtill refus'd all Offers, declaring, *that unleſs he wou'd follow his Advice, he wou'd receive nothing from him.* Mr. *Towſe* having finiſh'd the Relation, freely told Mr. *Windham*, *that the Duke wou'd inevitably be deſtroy'd before the End of* Auguſt. He likewiſe inform'd him, that he had written down the ſeveral Diſcourſes he had with the Apparition, whoſe coming was now as familiar to him as the Viſits of a Friend, and particularly declar'd to him theſe ſtrange Prophetick Words, *That --- ſhou'd by his Counſels be the Author of great Troubles to the Kingdom, by which it ſhou'd be reduc'd to the Extremity of Diſorder and Confuſion; and that it ſhou'd ſeem to be paſt all Hope of Recovery, without a Miracle: But when all People were in Deſpair of ſeeing happy Days, the Kingdom ſhou'd ſuddenly be reſtor'd and re-ſettled again in a moſt happy Condition.* Among other Particulars, ſufficiently remarkable, Mr. *Towſe* alſo foretold the very Time of his own Death, which hapned not long after that of the Duke, as his Wife afterwards aſſur'd the aforeſaid Mr. *Windham*.

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The Duke's Expedition.

But to return to the Duke, who had certainly a firm Belief of his approaching Fate, and a particular Apprehenſion upon the Account of his intended Expedition, which was reſolv'd upon for the Relief of the diſtreſſed *Rochellers*: But he found that he cou'd not with any Degree of Honour decline an Expedition, that had been projected and fix'd, both by His Maſter and himſelf. He readily reconcil'd himſelf to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, which put the other in great Hopes of being re-eſtabliſh'd in the King's Favour; and ſo haſtned towards the Fleet, which was great and powerful, and was the third that had been prepar'd for the Relief of *Rochelle* and the diſtreſſed Proteſtants of *France*. Being to take leave of Biſhop *Laud*, whom he knew well plac'd in the King's Affection, after ſome kind Expreſſions, he ſaid, *I know your Lordſhip has good Acceſs to the King our Sovereign, pray put his Majeſty in mind to be good to my poor Wife and Children.* Which Words he ſpoke with ſuch a boding Countenance, as gave the Biſhop no ſmall Concern for his Friend. Going towards *Portſmouth*, the very Day before his Death, after much ſerious and private Diſcourſe with the King himſelf, he embrac'd his Majeſty at his departing in a very unuſual and paſſionate Manner; and did the ſame to his Friend the Earl of *Holland*, as if his Soul had been aſſur'd he ſhou'd never ſee them more.

His laſt Leave.

The Deſign againſt him

Saturday the twenty third of *Auguſt* was the fatal Period of his Life, which was brought about by *John Felton*, late Lieutenant under Sir *John Ramſey*, a Man obſcure in his Perſon, tho' of a good Family in *Suffolk*; who having been refus'd a Company by the Duke, when his Captain had been kill'd in the Iſle of *Rhee*, threw up his Commiſſion, and retir'd from the Army at the Time that the Houſe of Commons had declar'd the Duke *the principal Cauſe of all the Evils the Kingdom ſuffer'd.* This, and a libellous Book of Dr. *Eggleſton*'s againſt the Duke, ſo far wrought upon this melancholick Gentleman, that he thought in killing the Duke he ſhou'd do God good Service, and therefore reſolv'd to effect it. Accordingly before nine in the Morning, he repair'd to the Room where the Duke was dreſſing and preparing to eat, which was fill'd with Perſons of Quality, and Officers of the Army, and particular Monſieur *Sobiez*, Brother to the Duke of *Rohan*, and ſeveral *French* Gentlemen, who were all urgent with him for the Departure of the Fleet deſign'd for *Rochelle*, which as the Duke was then inform'd, had reliev'd it ſelf from the Siege. Theſe Gentlemen much inſiſted upon the Impoſſibility that the Intelligence cou'd be true, and that it was contriv'd by their Enemies to abate that Zeal us'd for their Relief: Which Diſcourſe was held with ſo much Heat and Vehemence, that the Company who underſtood not *French*, thought they were angry, and that they offer'd Rudeneſs to the Duke; who underſtanding that his Breakfaſt was ready, drew near the Door, where the Hangings were held up; and in that Paſſage, turning himſelf to ſpeak to a Colonel, Sir *Thomas Fryar*, he was in an Inſtant ſtruck over Sir *Thomas*'s Shoulder upon the Breaſt with a Knife, which pierc'd him to the very Heart. Upon which amazing Stroke, without any more Words than *The Villain has kill'd me!* he pull'd out the Knife himſelf, and the ſame Moment expir'd with a Stream of Blood upon the Floor.

He is ſtabb'd by Felton.

There immediately ſucceeded a great Hurry and Confuſion; his Dutcheſs above was thrown into an Agony, the Company into a Conſternation, and the Town into a Hubbub. No Man had ſeen the Blow, or the Perſon who gave it; ſo that the *French* were in moſt imminent Danger, for every Man was ready to conclude them guilty from their late warm Diſcourſes. But ſo diſtracted were the Thoughts of the Company, that they, who juſt before crowded to be of his remoteſt Followers in a few Minutes forſook his dead Body, which was laid upon the Table; and ſcarce any of his Domeſticks were left to attend him: So ſoon does the Shadow vaniſh from the gilded Dial, when the Sun is gone. In the Crowd near the Door a Hat was found upon the Ground, having ſew'd in the Inſide a Paper with a few Lines of the Declaration of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Duke, and one or two ſhort Ejaculations towards a Prayer. All readily concluded that the Hat belong'd to the Murderer, but cou'd not imagine who was the Perſon; till at length a Man was ſeen walking very compoſedly before the Door without a Hat. Upon which one crying out *Here is the Man that kill'd the Duke*, and others demanding *which is he!* he calmly anſwer'd *I am he:* And when ſome of the moſt Furious were running violently upon him to kill him, while others, of equal Concern but more Diſcretion, defended him, he with open Arms invited ther Swords, deſiring rather to fall by the Precipitation of their Rage, than be reſerv'd to the Terrors of a deliberate Execution. Being carry'd into a private

His Body deſerted.

Felton *ſecur'd.*

Room before Perſons of the beſt Condition; in order to a Diſcovery, they firſt alledg'd *That the Duke was only much wounded, but not without Hopes of Recovery.* Upon which *Felton* ſmil'd, and ſaid, *He well knew he had given ſuch a Blow, as had determin'd all their Hopes.* Then being demanded at whoſe Inſtigation he had committed that execrable Fact, he reſolutely anſwer'd, *That their Enquiry was needleſs; That no Man living had Intereſt enough with him to diſpoſe him to ſuch an Action; That it proceeded meerly from the Impulſe of his own Conſcience; That he had fix'd his Motives to it in his Hat, becauſe he thought he might probably periſh in the Attempt.* Then he proceeded to the Particulars of the Fact, as they have already been related. It is wonderful, that at the ſame Inſtant that the Duke was Stabb'd, Mr. *Towſe*, before mention'd, being at *Windſor-Caſtle* with his Wife, ſuddenly ſtarted up from his Chair, and cry'd out, *Wife, the Duke of* Buckingham *is ſlain!* as we find it in the forementioned Book, in the Heralds-Office.

Thus fell this great Peer in the thirty ſixth Year and Bloom of his Age, in the midſt of a numerous Concourſe of Friends, Suiters and Dependents, and within four Miles of the Court at *Southwick*; to which the ſurpriſing Account was immediately carry'd by Sir *Thomas Hippeſly* to his Majeſty, who was then at Divine Service. Sir *Thomas* enter'd the Room with a troubled Countenance, and without Reſpect to the Office then performing, went directly to the King, and whiſper'd the ſtrange Accident in his Ear. His Majeſty continu'd unmov'd, without any Change in his Looks or Actions, till Prayers were ended; when ſuddenly he retir'd to his Chamber, and with extream Paſſion threw himſelf upon his Bed, with a Flood of Tears lamenting the Loſs of an excellent Servant, and the horrid manner of being depriv'd of him; and continu'd in this diſconſolate Condition for many Days. Yet his even Manner of receiving the News in Publick, caus'd many, who knew not the Paſſion he expreſs'd in his Retirement, to believe the Accident not very ungrateful to him; as being freed from a Favourite ſo ungracious to the People, and ſo prejudicial to all Overtures made in Parliament for his Service. But, as the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, ſuch as proceeded upon this Belief, took very ill Meaſures: For from that Time the King admitted very few into any Degree of Truſt, whom he believ'd to have been Enemies to the Duke, and no Prince ever expreſs'd a more tender Concern to the Family, and all that was dear to this great Man, than his Majeſty; who was nicely careful in diſcharging his numerous Debts, which in reality had all been contracted for his Service, tho' there remain'd no Evidence of it. Yet by reaſon of the Favours of two Kings, his many Places, and the extraordinary Fortune of his Lady, the Jewels he left were valu'd at three hundred Thouſand Pounds. His Bowels were interr'd at *Portſmouth*, by his beloved Siſter the Counteſs of *Denbigh*, and a handſom Memorial erected there; and his Body was brought to *York-Houſe*, where for ſome time it lay in State, and was then intomb'd in the Abbey Church in *Weſtminſter*, where it was adorn'd with a glorious Epitaph, in honour of his invincible Fidelity to his two gracious Maſters.

The News carry'd to the King.

His Majeſty'sConcern.

The Duke's Interment.

Much has been already ſaid concerning the Fortune and Character of this great Man, which ſhews ſomething very glaring, if not ſhining in both. We ſhall now only obſerve, That his great Miſfortune was the Want of a wiſe Friend, ſufficient to ſtem the Current, or rather Torrent of his impetuous Paſſions; and then probably he had committed as few Faults, and done as worthy Actions, as any Man in his Sphear. But theſe being let looſe, and without Bounds, he was hurry'd on to ſeveral Exorbitancies, both as to Luſt and Revenge, and to a blood-thirſty Spirit, that ſeldom goes unpuniſh'd in this World. This ſufficiently appear'd in his violent promoting the two Wars againſt *Spain* and *France*; from whence his Ruin took its Date, and never left purſuing him, till this execrable Act upon his Perſon. The Malice of this was contracted by that evil Spirit of the Time, and the Venom of that Seaſon increas'd and gather'd Strength, till from one Licence to another, the Nation was corrupted to that monſtrous Degree, that it grew ſatiated and weary of the Government it ſelf; tho' it had enjoy'd a greater Meaſure of Felicity under it, than any People were ever poſſeſs'd of before, and which could never be ſecur'd to them without it.

A ſhort Account of him

As to *Felton*, the Duke's Murderer, being made a Priſoner at *London*, there was a frequent Concourſe of People about him, ſome to ſee the reſolute Man, and others to diſcover his Inducements to ſo bold an Attempt. Being examin'd before the Council, and clearing all Perſons but himſelf, he was threatned with the Rack; upon which he told Biſhop *Laud*, *He could not tell whom he might nominate in the Extremity of Torture.* But the Queſtion being put to the Judges, they declar'd it to be no legal way of proceeding. He never made any other Confeſſion, 'But 'that he had long believ'd the Duke to be an evil Inſtru' ment in the Commonwealth, of which he was finally ' convinc'd by the Remonſtrance of the Parliament.' He was a Man of that ſtout and violent Spirit, that upon receiving an Injury from a Gentleman, he cut off a piece of his little Finger, and ſent it to him with a Challenge, to let him know he valu'd not his whole Body, ſo he might obtain his Revenge. But upon his Tryal he behav'd himſelf with all Humility, Acknowledgment and Repentance; and ſo far, as to beg of the Judges, that before his Execution, his Hand might be cut off, that committed the Fact; which Requeſt was determin'd to be illegal. He was hang'd at *Tyburn*, and his Body was from thence remov'd to *Portſmouth*, and there hung in Chains.

Felton's Character and Puniſhment.

3. Notwithſtanding the Death of the Duke, the King purſu'd the Deſign of relieving *Rochelle*, now miſerably diſtreſs'd by the *French* King and Cardinal *Richelieu*; and a Fleet under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſey* ſet ſail on the 8th Day of *September*; but was very defective in the Store of Victuals and Tackle, as Information was afterwards given to the King and Council. When they came before *Rochelle*, they found no *French* Fleet to oppoſe them, only the immenſe Barricado croſs the Entrance of the Fort was now compleatly finiſh'd. Many brave Attempts were made by the *Engliſh* to break through, but all ineffectual. The Inhabitants were now in a deplorable Condition, labouring under all the Miſeries of Want and Famine, and reduc'd to that Extremity, that above fifteen Thouſand periſh'd for want of Suſtenance; and the Remainder were ſo thin and pale, that they rather reſembled Skeletons than living Perſons. At length finding no Relief, in Deſpair the Inhabitants implor'd the King's Pardon; and having with Difficulty obtain'd ſome Articles, on the 8th of *October* the Place was given up, and with it, as it is believ'd, the Liberties of *France*; of which the Mareſcal *de Baſſompierre* was ſo ſenſible, that tho' he was in Perſon againſt it, he ſaid, *I think we ſhall be ſuch Fools at laſt, as to take* Rochelle. It is ſaid, that upon the Surrender of the Place, *Guiton*, the valiant Mayor, told the Cardinal, *It was far better to yield to a King, who knew how to take* Rochelle, *than to another who knew not how to relieve it.*

The miſerable State of Rochelle.

It ſurrenders.

Thus it was that the Cardinal ſubdu'd *Rochelle* to the Deſpotick Power of *France*; a Deſign in which he ſpent vaſt Sums, and ſacrific'd the Lives of above forty Thouſand of his Maſter's Subjects, as well of one Religion as the other. After which the *French* Proteſtants in all other Parts were ſo ſeverely treated, that they cou'd not but reſolve upon ſome laſt Efforts for Self-Preſervation; and ſent again to the King of *England* to implore his Aſſiſtance, with this pathetical Expreſſion, *that what they now wrote was with their Tears, and with their Blood.* But the King was in no Condition to proſecute the War with any probable Succeſs, but aim'd at a Peace with *France*; tho' he had been before told in Council, 'That it was leſs prejudicial to *England* to loſe the Kingdom of *Ireland*, than to ' ſuffer the Reduction of *Rochelle*, and the Ruin of the ' Proteſtant Religion in *France*.' And yet, humanly ſpeaking, the *Rochellers* not ſuffering the *Engliſh* at firſt to enter their Town, and the want of Union among the Proteſtant Party, was the chief, if not the ſole Cauſe of their Ruin, which cou'd never after be retriev'd.

The ſad State of the French *Proteſtants.*

From this Epocha, or Period of Time, Sir *P. Warwick* ſeems juſtly to date the entire, tho' encreaſing Greatneſs of *France*, both as to her Land, and naval Powers. The great Inconveniencies of which gave ſufficient Occaſion for the Complaints of the King's Enemies at home, and the Proteſtant Sufferers abroad; as if the King and his Favourite had deſignedly neglected, if not betray'd the Cauſe, tho' it is more natural to ſuppoſe it proceeded from the Miſmanagement in *France*, and the Inabilities in *England*, and from the Miſfortunes of both. It is plain from the Duke of *Rohan*'s Memoirs, that the King was ever hearty in their Cauſe; and that unfortunate Nobleman declares how, that in Order to protect Them, he had promis'd *to employ all his Kingdoms, and his own Perſon, in ſo juſt a War.* And by way of Apology he has theſe Words, *I refer it to all the World, if I can juſtly be call'd the Author of this War, conſidering I was ſolicited to it by the King of* Great Britain. Other Writers think the War againſt *France* one of the falſeſt Steps in King *Charles*'s Reign, and the Duke's Promoting of it one of his greateſt Crimes. And ſome go yet farther, and ſay That the King by aiding thoſe of *Rochelle*, train'd up his own Subjects in the School of Rebellion, and taught them to confederate with Foreigners, and at length brought down the Judgments of Heaven upon his own Head.

Reflections upon their Fate.

4. But to return to the Affairs of *England*, where before this Time was a great Change in the Miniſtry, and ſeveral new Promotions. The Earl of *Marlborough* was remov'd from the Treaſury, as a Man in Years, and too cautious in advancing the King's Revenue; and Sir *Richard*

Sir Richard Weſton *made Lord Treaſurer.*

Weſton,

1628.
Car. 4.

Weſton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was made Lord Treaſurer, as a Miniſter more acute and active, and fit for the Neceſſities of raiſing Money. Chief Baron *Walter* was for the like Reaſon diſplac'd, tho' he complain'd that he ought not to be remov'd but by a *Scire facias.* Biſhop *Laud* ſtill encreas'd in the King's Favour, and was tranſlated to the See of *London*; Mr. *Montague* was made Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and Dr. *Manwaring* was pardon'd and preferr'd. *Weſton* the new Treaſurer had a great Power after the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Death, tho' inferior to his; and finding an increaſing Emulation between the two famous Speakers in the Houſe of Commons, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, and Sir *John Elliot*, he reſolv'd to make the Diviſion irreconcileable, and bring Sir *Thomas* into the King's Favour, who in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament had particularly been diſoblig'd by the Advancement of his continual Competitor *Savill* into a Barony. The Treaſurer ſo far prevail'd, as to gain this great Man over to the King, and not only procur'd him to be one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, but to be made Lord Preſident of the North, and advanc'd into the Title of Viſcount *Wentworth*; to the great Envy and Mortification of the furious Sir *John Elliot*. Being thus gain'd, he became the moſt devout Friend to the Church, the greateſt Zealot for advancing the Monarchy, and the ableſt Miniſter of State, that any of our former Hiſtories can ſhew. Coming to a right Underſtanding with Biſhop *Laud*, they two enter'd into ſuch an inviolable League of Friendſhip, that nothing but Death cou'd ſeparate.

Sir Thomas Wentworth *advanc'd.*

Theſe Alterations and Promotions were not generally pleaſing to the People, but to ſoften their Minds before the next Seſſion of Parliament, which was now prorogu'd from the twentieth Day of *October* to the twentieth of *January*, ſome Popular things were done by the Court. As to the Horſe levy'd in *Germany*, which many ſuſpected was for a Standing Force in *England*, the Privy-Council wrote to *Dalbier* to diſpoſe them into the Service of his Majeſty's two Allies, the King of *Sweden* and the Duke of *Savoy*. Archbiſhop *Abbot*, the more popular for his late Diſgrace, was ſent for to *Whitehall*, and from his Barge receiv'd by the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Earl of *Dorſet*, and by them ſolemnly introduc'd to the King, who gave him his Hand with a particular Countenance of Favour, bidding him not fail the Council-Table twice a Week. Dr. *Potter*, a great *Anti-Arminian*, was made Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and *Montague*'s Appeal was call'd in by Proclamation; and other pleaſing Orders were given againſt *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, at this time the two Terrors of the Common People.

Softning Methods.

Yet before the Parliament met, ſome things were tranſacted which adminiſter'd further Occaſions of Diſputes and Conteſts. The Merchants and Traders were in great Diſturbances about the Payment of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*; for upon the late Declaration of the Commons, and concurrent Opinion of the Lawyers, many had declar'd, and even refus'd to pay the Impoſitions: For which Contempt they were ſummon'd before the Council-Table, and committed to the *Fleet* and *Marſhalſea*, and not ſet at Liberty without entering into Bonds for the Payment of what was demanded. This was the Caſe of Mr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Vaſſal*, Mr. *Rolls*, and other Merchants; which caus'd many Pleadings, and Complaints of Grievances, and the Diſcouragement of Trade. To remedy theſe probable Obſtructions, as the meeting of the Parliament drew nigh, the King conſulted with a ſelect Committee of the Privy-Council, how thoſe of them who were Members of Parliament, ſhou'd demean themſelves there. It was propos'd, 'That if the Commons ſhou'd ſtrongly inſiſt upon the Delivery of the Merchants Goods, which had been ſeiz'd, before they proceeded to the Bill of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, the Anſwer ſhou'd be, That if they deſign to grant it, as it had been to his Predeceſſors, it wou'd end all Diſputes: But if not, then the King was to tell them, If they wou'd paſs the Bill to him as his Anceſtors had it, he wou'd declare he claim'd it not but by Grant in Parliament; but if this did not ſatisfy, then to avow a Breach.' They adviſ'd alſo, 'That the Bill of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* be prepar'd in the ſame Form that it had paſs'd for King *James*, adding Words to give it from the firſt Day of the King's Reign, and that it be preſented at the firſt Sitting of the Parliament; and thoſe of the Privy-Council to move for a ſpeedy Anſwer, whether they will paſs the Bill or not.' It was farther adviſ'd, 'That if they proceeded to cenſure the late Duke of *Buckingham*, to accuſe the King's Servants, to aſperſe his Counſellors, to handle Matters of Religion improper for them, to raiſe Objections againſt his Majeſty's laſt Speech, and the like Matters, then they of the Privy-Council were to intimate, That thoſe Debates tended to a Breach, and the King immediately to declare, that he wou'd not ſuffer ſuch irregular Proceedings.

Some diſobliging.

Preparations for the Parliament.

1628/9.
Car. 4.

Thus were Matters prepar'd for the ſecond Meeting of the Parliament; but for a Concluſion of the Year, we ſhall firſt take notice of the Deaths of ſome conſiderable Perſons, as Dr. *Tobie Mathew*, who by his Merits was rais'd through many Preferments to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, in which laſt Station he dy'd; having been highly admir'd for his Learning, Eloquence and Preaching, and no leſs belov'd for his pleaſant Converſation and facetious Wit, and all without any Treſpaſs upon the Epiſcopal Gravity. Next, was Dr. *George Carleton*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, a Perſon who for his various Learning and profound Judgement, was ſelected by King *James* to be one of the five *Engliſh* Divines ſent over to the Synod of *Dort*, where he behav'd himſelf highly to the Honour and Credit of the *Engliſh* Nation. We ought alſo to take Notice of Dr. *John Preſton*, the moſt celebrated Divine and Head of the Puritan Party, an exquiſite Preacher, a ſubtle Diſputant, and a deep Politician, who once was highly in Favour with the Duke of *Buckingham*, ſo that his Friends ſay he might, if he had pleas'd, have been made Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal. Sir *Thomas Ridley* is likewiſe to be remember'd, who was Vicar-General to the preſent Archbiſhop *Abbot*, a Perſon of general Learning and Knowledge, and eminent for his Skill in his Profeſſion, the Civil Law, of which he was juſtly honour'd with the Title of Doctor. Mr. *Samuel Purchas* was a Perſon of another Genius, fam'd for his indefatigable Induſtry; who ſo diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his large and various Collections of *Voyages*, *Travels* and *Pilgrimages*, that he obtain'd the Name of *The Engliſh Ptolemy*. Beſides theſe, we are to remember three other great Men, as that worthy Lawyer and Judge, Sir *John Doderidge*, who by his great Parts and unwearied Labours became not only eminent in his own Profeſſion, but in Arts, Divinity and Civil Law; ſo that it was hard to determine, in which of theſe Faculties he excell'd. Next, Sir *Fulk Grevil*, afterwards Lord *Brook*, a Favourite of Queen *Elizabeth*, an intimate Friend of the renowned Sir *Philip Sidney*, a very fine Gentleman, and a polite Scholar; who in the 74th Year of his Age was ſtabb'd by *Haywood*, a Servant of his, who immediately after murder'd himſelf. Laſtly dy'd Sir *James Ley*, whoſe ſingular Learning and Abilities rais'd him thro' all the great Poſts of the Law, till he came to be made Earl of *Marlborough*, Lord High Treaſurer, and Lord Preſident of the Council.

The Death of Archbp. Mathew,

Biſhop Carleton,

Doctor Preſton,

Sir Thomas Ridley,

Mr. Purchas,

Judge Doderidge,

Lord Brook,

And the Earl of Marlborough.

X. I. After a Receſs of near ſeven Months, the Parliament met according to Prorogation upon the 20th Day of *January*. The Duke of *Buckingham* being now dead, it might have been hop'd that this Seſſion wou'd have entirely bury'd thoſe Jealouſies, which had ſo much prejudic'd his Majeſty's Honour abroad, and his Subjects Felicity at home. But it ſoon appear'd that his Removal wou'd not anſwer the Expectation of ſome, nor the Pretenſions of others: But the Commons reſolv'd to begin at the ſame Point where they ended laſt Seſſion, namely, the Buſineſs of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, the enforcing of which was thought a Violation of the late Act, the *Petition of Right*; tho' there wanted not many Precedents for it in former Reigns. They complain'd that the *Petition of Right* had been printed with the Addition of the King's laſt Speech, and that fifteen hundred Copies without, were ſuppreſs'd by Warrant from the Attorney-General; but *Tonnage* and *Poundage* was their main Grievance, which they deſign'd to declare illegal; eſpecially upon the Account of the late Conteſts with the Merchants, particularly Mr. *Rolls*, a Member of the Houſe, to whom it was ſaid by ſome of the *Cuſtom-Houſe* Officers, *If all the Parliament were in you, we wou'd take your Goods.*

The Second Seſſion of the Third Parliament.

The Commons Complaint.

The Queſtioning this neceſſary Part of the Crown Revenue, was a tender Point on the King's Side; and had been thought the unkindeſt, if not moſt blameable Attempt of the Commons in the firſt Parliament, when contrary to the Will of the Lords, they wou'd have confin'd it to a ſingle Year. Therefore after ſome warm Debate concerning this Matter, his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, willing them to deſiſt till the next Day, when he wou'd ſpeak with them at the *Banqueting-Houſe* at *Whitehall.* Where in a full Aſſembly of Lords and Commons, he told them in a gentle Manner, 'That the particular Occaſion of his calling of them together at that Time, was a Complaint made in the Lower-Houſe for ſtaying Men's Goods that deny'd *Tonnage* and *Poundage*: Which might receive an eaſy and ſhort Concluſion, if he was rightly underſtood. For by paſſing the Bill as his Anceſtors had it, his former Actions wou'd be included, and his future Proceedings authoriz'd. That he took not thoſe Duties as appertaining to his *Hereditary Prerogative*; for his Meaning was ever to enjoy them by the Gift of his People, not challenging it as of Right, but *de bene eſſe*; for the *Neceſſity*, not for the *Right* he had to take it, as he ſhew'd them by his laſt Speech, being aſſur'd they then wanted *Time*, not

The King's Speech.

162$\frac{8}{9}$ Car. 4.

'*Will* to give it him. He therefore expected, that without 'Loſs of Time, they by paſſing the Bill wou'd put an End 'to all theſe Queſtions; and was glad that by their Actions 'he found them Complainers, not ſeeking Complaints, as 'there was ſome Reaſon to ſuſpect from the largely penning their Order on *Wedneſday* laſt. Laſtly he aſſur'd 'them, *That the Houſe's Reſolutions, not particular Men's* '*Speeches, ſhou'd make him judge well or ill*; not doubting 'but this Seſſion, beginning with Confidence, might end in 'perfect good Underſtanding.

Not receiv'd with Approbation.

Arminianiſm *complain'd of.*

Tonnage *and* Poundage *poſtponed.*

This Speech was, by many, thought very healing and affectionate, and the main Propoſal likely to be embrac'd; but by reaſon of former Jealouſies, and preſent Diſguſts, it had not the deſir'd Effect. For three Days after, when Mr. Secretary *Cook* brought a Meſſage from the King, urging, 'That the Bill for *Tonnage* and *Poundage* might 'be ſpeedily taken into Conſideration, and that no Time 'might be loſt;' a Popular Notion aroſe, That the Bill muſt not be impos'd upon them, but muſt naturally proceed from the Motions of their own Houſe. For which Reaſon they judg'd it moſt proper to ſuſpend the Bill for ſome time, while they proceeded upon other Grievances; and in the firſt Place upon thoſe relating to Religion, particularly the Danger of *Arminianiſm*; which Mr. *Rous* in a violent Speech, call'd *an Error that made the Grace of God lackey it after the Will of Man, that made the Sheep to keep the Shepherd, and a mortal Seed of an immortal God; and that an* Arminian *was the Spawn of a* Papiſt, *ready to open the Gate to* Romiſh *Tyranny and* Spaniſh *Monarchy*, &c. A Report was made from the Committee for Religion, that a Remonſtrance upon that Subject in the laſt Seſſion had been commanded away by the King; for want of which the Committee cou'd not proceed. Hereupon Mr. Secretary *Cook* brought a ſecond Meſſage from his Majeſty, 'That notwithſtanding the Remonſtrance concerning Re'ligion was call'd for, yet to avoid all Diſpute, he was 'pleas'd to deliver it back to them; hoping, nevertheleſs, 'they wou'd proceed with the Bill for *Tonnage* and *Poun*'*dage*, and give Precedency to that Buſineſs.' But this Meſſage being referr'd to a Committee, they came to this Reſolution, 'That the Conſideration of Religion ſhou'd 'take Place before the Bill for *Tonnage* and *Poundage*.' Upon which, warm Speeches were made by Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Francis Seymour*, and Sir *Robert Philips*, the latter of whom ſaid, *Two Sects are damnably crept in to undermine King and Kingdom; the one ancient* Popery, *the other new* Arminianiſm. And a Complaint was made againſt one *Lewis*, that ſaid, *The Devil take the Parliament*; which tho' ſpoken out of Parliament, was reſolv'd to be an Offence againſt the Parliament, and it was order'd he ſhou'd be ſent for.

It is earneſtly preſs'd.

But in vain.

The next Day Secretary *Cook* brought another Meſſage from his Majeſty, 'That if the Houſe wou'd diſpatch the 'Bill of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, they ſhou'd not thereby 'be interrupted in Matters of Religion, provided they did 'not intrench upon that which did not belong to them.' This was thought ſo reaſonable, that Sir *Thomas Edmunds* preſs'd earneſtly for a Compliance, and us'd theſe Words, *You your ſelves are Witneſſes, how induſtrious his Majeſty was to procure you gracious Laws in his Father's Time, and ſince, what Enlargement he has made of our Liberties, and ſtill we give him Cauſe to repent of the Good he has done: Conſider how dangerous it is to alienate his Majeſty's Heart from Parliaments.* But after a Reply by Mr. *Corriton*, the Houſe reſolv'd to ſend an Anſwer to the King, 'That theſe Meſſages were inconvenient, and bred Debate 'and Loſs of Time; and did further reſolve, That *Tonnage* 'and *Poundage*, ariſing naturally from this Houſe, they 'wou'd in fit Time take ſuch a Courſe therein, as they 'hop'd wou'd be to his Majeſty's Satisfaction and Honour: 'And for the preſent, they wou'd proceed in Matters of 'Religion.

Sir John Elliot*'s Speech.*

The Proteſtation of the Houſe.

Upon this Occaſion Sir *John Elliot* deliver'd himſelf in a violent Speech, in which he had theſe Words; *As to* Popery *and* Arminianiſm, *our Faith and Religion is in Danger by the King's late Declaration; for theſe, like an Inundation, break in at once upon us. It is there ſaid, If there be any Difference of Opinion concerning the ſeaſonable Interpretation of the thirty nine Articles, the Biſhops and the Clergy in Convocation have Power to diſpute it, and to order which way they pleaſe: And then for ought I know,* Popery *and* Arminianiſm *may be introduc'd by them.------We ſee ſome among our Biſhops who are not Orthodox, nor ſound in Religion, as they ſhou'd be; witneſs the two Biſhops complain'd of the laſt Meeting of the Parliament.* His Speech put the Houſe into ſuch a Ferment, that they made this ſolemn Proteſtation, 'We the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, 'do claim, proteſt, and avow for Truth, the Senſe of the 'Articles of Religion, which were eſtabliſhed by Parliament 'in the thirteenth Year of our late Queen *Elizabeth*, which 'by the publick Act of the Church of *England*, and by the 'general and current Expoſitions of the Writers of our 'Church, hath been deliver'd unto us. And we reject the 'Senſe of the *Jeſuites*, and *Arminians*, and all others 'wherein they differ from us.' This Declaration was thought to be more dubious, and of greater Latitude, than any Interpreter had us'd in expounding the Articles before.

162$\frac{8}{9}$. Car. 4.

A Faſt deſir'd.

Granted.

Declaration of the Commons.

Laud *and* Montague *ſuſpected.*

In purſuance of Religion, both Houſes join'd in an Addreſs to the King, to appoint a Day of Faſting and Prayer, in Conſideration of the *Miſeries of the Reformed Churches abroad*. The King finding his own Buſineſs delay'd, anſwer'd with ſome Diſguſt, *That Fighting wou'd do them more Good than Faſting, tho' he did not diſapprove of the latter*; and ſo granted it with this Note, *That it ſhou'd not be brought into Precedent for frequent Faſts.* Soon after the Houſe of Commons preſented a Declaration to the King, in Anſwer to his Meſſage for haſtning the Bill of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*; to repreſent, 'That they cou'd 'not without Impiety to God, Diſloyalty to his Majeſty, 'and Unthankfulneſs to thoſe who ſent them, proceed 'therein, without giving Precedency to Religion, which 'was in great Danger from *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*.' The King anſwer'd, 'That the Bill of *Tonnage* and *Poun*'*dage* was firſt regularly offer'd, and he muſt be ſtill in'ſtant with them, that they proceed in it with Diligence: 'And as for the Cauſe of Religion, *none of them ſhou'd* '*have a greater Care of it than himſelf.*' And now the Spirit being rais'd, it was the Art of ſubtle Men to keep it up; therefore ſhortly after the Houſe fell into a Debate upon the King's Declaration to prohibit Diſputes about Religion; concluding the main End of it was to ſuppreſs the *Puritan* Party, and give Liberty to the oppoſite Side. They conceiv'd that Biſhop *Laud* and Biſhop *Montague* had advis'd the King to that Declaration; and complain'd of the King's Pardon granted to the latter; obſerving that the Warrant to draw it was for him only, yet three others were put in, Dr. *Coſens*, Dr. *Sibthorp*, and Dr. *Manwaring*. Upon which Account Sir *John Elliot* cry'd out, *In this* Laud *is contracted all the Danger we fear; for he that procur'd thoſe Pardons, may be the Author of thoſe new Opinions.*

A Member ſerv'd with a Subpœna

Mr. Noy's *Speech.*

London *Sheriff ſent to the* Tower.

2. The Parliament had ſat about three Weeks without concluding any publick Buſineſs, when an unfortunate Accident hapned which help'd to add new Flame to the former. For upon the tenth Day of *February*, amidſt the Debates upon Religion, the Ware-houſe of Mr. *Rolls*, a Merchant and a ſitting Member, was lock'd up by a Purſuivant, and he himſelf call'd forth and ſerv'd with a *Subpœna*. This put the Houſe into a great Ferment, tho' Sir *Humphry May*, a Privy-Counſellor, declar'd, That it did not proceed from the King or Council; and the Attorney-General wrote to Mr. *Rolls* to excuſe the thing as a Miſtake. However this Matter was referr'd till two Days after the Houſe was in a Committee upon *Tonnage* and *Poundage*; when they admitted the Complaints of ſeveral Merchants, That their Goods were ſeiz'd, and Informations preferr'd againſt them in the *Star-Chamber*. Upon which Occaſion Mr. *Noy* freely ſaid, *We cannot ſafely give, unleſs we be in Poſſeſſion; for it will not be a Gift, but a Confirmation: Neither will I give, without a Declaration in the Bill, 'That the King 'hath no Right, but by our free Gift:' If it will not be accepted as it is fit for us to give it, we cannot help it; if it be the King's already, we do not give it.* Upon which the Houſe order'd a Meſſage to be ſent to the Barons of the Exchequer, to vacate their Injunctions and Orders about the ſtopping of Merchants Goods. To which the Lord Treaſurer and Barons return'd an Anſwer, 'That in their ſaid 'Orders and Injunctions they did not determine, nor any 'ways touch upon the *Right of Tonnage and Poundage*.' But this Anſwer was ill reſented by the Houſe, as a Juſtification of the Proceedings in the Exchequer; into which they reſolv'd to make a farther Enquiry. At the ſame Time an Information againſt Mr. *Chambers* in the *Star-Chamber*, for refuſing to pay *Tonnage*, while his Petition was lodg'd in Parliament, rais'd another Ferment in the Houſe; which was ſo provok'd, as to ſend Sir *William Acton*, the Sheriff of *London*, to the *Tower*.

The Biſhop of Winchester *complain'd of.*

On the ſame Day the Fire was further blown up by a Report made from the *Committee of Religion*, about ſolliciting and obtaining the Pardons lately mention'd. And 'tis obſervable, that the Hand of Mr. *Oliver Cromwell* was in this Religious Feud: He was one of this warm Committee, and inform'd the Houſe, That *Neile* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* gave Countenance to ſome Divines that preach'd flat Popery; and it was by his Means that *Manwaring* was now advanc'd to a rich Living: Concluding, *If theſe be Steps to Church Preferment, what are we ſhortly to expect?* It was the Artifice, or at leaſt the Countenance of this Committee, that brought in the Bookſellers and Printers of *London* with a Petition, complaining of the Reſtraint of Books written againſt *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, and the contrary Books allow'd, by the only Means of *Laud* Biſhop of *London*, who had reſtrain'd Licenſing to himſelf and his

Chaplains. So that the next Day the Houſe was buſily imploy'd about the Increaſe of *Popery*, and made Enquiry concerning the ten Prieſts arraign'd at the *King's-Bench*; of which one was only condemn'd, and he repriev'd, and the other nine releas'd. Upon this Subject Sir *Robert Philips* complain'd, 'That five hundred at a time have been 'ſeen coming from Maſs in *Somerſet-Houſe*; and that there 'were nine hundred and forty, *Engliſh*, *Scots* and *Iriſh*, in 'Religious Houſes in the *Netherlands*, maintain'd by Pa-'piſts of *England*.' And tho' the Secretary and the Attorney-General gave fair Accounts of the King's Juſtice and Mercy in Execution of the Penal Laws, they cou'd not qualify the general Outcry.

The Encreaſe of Popery.

The King's Meſſage.

After ſome ſmaller Debates in the Houſe, a few Days after, ſeveral Officers of the Cuſtoms were examin'd, and charg'd with Breach of Privilege, in ſeizing the Goods of Mr. *Rolls*, a Parliament Man. But while the Houſe was debating of Reparation and Puniſhment, on *Monday* the twenty third of *February* the King ſent a Meſſage, declaring, 'That what 'the Cuſtom-Officers did, was by his own direct Order 'and Command at the Council-Board.' Upon which a Committee reſolv'd, 'That Mr. *Rolls* ought to have had 'Privilege of Perſon and Goods; but the Command of 'the King was ſo great, that they left it to the Houſe.' Upon which follow'd many ſevere Speeches and long Debates: Some took Occaſion to ſay, *That theſe Interruptions proceeded from ſome Prelates, and others, Abettors of the Popiſh Party, who fear to be diſcover'd, and wou'd provoke to a Breach.* Sir *Humphry May* ſaid, *We all agree a Wound is given: We have Wine and Oil before us; if we go to puniſh Delinquency, there is Vinegar in the Wound; therefore think on ſome Courſe to have Reſtitution.* And becauſe the Houſe was willing to make a Diſtinction between the Intereſt of the Farmers, and the Commandment of the King, his Majeſty ſent a condeſcending Meſſage to thank them for the Reſpect they had ſhewn to his Perſon, tho' he cou'd not in Honour diſavow his own Orders. Which Meſſage was no ſooner deliver'd, but in a tumultuous and diſcontented Manner they cry'd out *Adjourn, Adjourn!* and thereupon, without any new Exaſperation, they adjourn'd till *Wedneſday* following.

The Parliament abruptly adjourn'd.

Adjourn'd again by the King.

3. From this Time there was an incurable Breach between the King and the Houſe of Commons, without the paſſing of one Bill, or concluding any publick Buſineſs. At other Times the King's chief Struggles were for Supplies, but now he ſtrove only for Confirmation of what he had poſſeſs'd ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown: Therefore finding great Delays and little Hopes of Succeſs, when the Houſe met upon the *Wedneſday*, he immediately adjourn'd it to *Monday* the ſecond Day of *March*. Yet they found ſo much Time as to read over certain Heads and Articles agreed on concerning the Dangers of *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*; which were ſufficiently ſevere and reflecting upon ſome great Perſons.

Sir John Elliot's Speech.

The Houſe in a Ferment.

The appointed *Monday* being come, and the Houſe full of Fervour and Expectation, Sir *John Elliot* without any Reſerve exclaim'd againſt the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, but more eſpecially *the great Lord Treaſurer, in whoſe Perſon all Evil is contracted: I find him acting and building on thoſe Grounds, laid by his Maſter the* Great Duke; *and his Spirit is moving to theſe Interruptions, and they for Fear break Parliaments, leſt Parliaments ſhou'd break them: I find him the Head of the Great Party; the* Papiſts, *all* Jeſuites *and* Prieſts, *derive from him their Shelter and Protection.*------ After a little Interruption, Sir *John Finch* the Speaker deliver'd a Meſſage from his Majeſty, to command them to adjourn the Houſe till *Tueſday* come Sevennight following. Upon which the Houſe, in a great Flame, inſiſted, 'That it was not the Office of the Speaker to de-'liver any ſuch Command to them; for the Adjournment 'of the Houſe did properly belong to themſelves: And 'after they had ſettled ſome Things, they wou'd ſatisfy 'the King.

A great Diſturbance.

Sir *John Elliot* proceeded to exclaim againſt the Lord Treaſurer, and others, and ſaid, *That no Man was ever blaſted in that Houſe, but a Curſe fell upon them*; and then he offer'd a Remonſtrance againſt *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which was refus'd to be read either by the Speaker or the Clerk, and return'd to him again. Upon which Sir *Miles Hobart* ran and lock'd the Door of the Houſe, and kept the Key himſelf; and the Diſturbance was ſo great, that Mr. *Coriton*, after an unprecedented manner, aſſaulted and ſtruck Mr. *Winterton*, a Member of the Houſe. Mr. *Strode* cry'd out that the Remonſtrance might be read, *That we may not be turned off like ſcatter'd Sheep, and ſent home as we were laſt Seſſions, with a Scorn put upon us in Print.* Whereupon Sir *John Elliot* read out the Remonſtrance himſelf, and it was offer'd to be put to the Queſtion; but the Speaker ſaid, *He was otherways commanded by the King.* Then ſaid Mr. *Selden*, *Dare not you put the Queſtion when we command you? If you will not put it, we muſt ſit ſtill, and be able to do nothing. We ſit here by Command from the King, under the Great Seal; and you before both Houſes are appointed for our Speaker; and do you now refuſe to perform your Office?*

The Speaker held by Force in the Chair.

He expoſtulates with them.

Angry Words.

Upon this the Speaker declar'd *He had an expreſs Command from his Majeſty, to riſe as ſoon as he had deliver'd his Meſſage*; and accordingly he roſe and left the Chair: But Mr. *Denzil Holles*, and Mr. *Valentine*, with others who were prepar'd, immediately drew him back and held him in the Chair by Force. And notwithſtanding Sir *Thomas Edmunds*, and other Privy-Counſellors, endeavour'd to free the Speaker, Mr. *Holles* ſwore *God's Wounds he ſhou'd ſit ſtill, till it pleas'd them to riſe.* Then the Speaker, with Abundance of Tears, anſwer'd, *I do not ſay I will not, but I dare not*; deſiring, *That they wou'd not command his Ruin, in regard he had been their faithful Servant, and wou'd ſacrifice his Life for the Good of his Country; but he durſt not ſin againſt the expreſs Command of his Sovereign.* Mr. *Selden* reply'd, *That he ever lov'd his Perſon well, but he cou'd not chuſe but condemn him now: That he being a Servant of the Houſe, ſhou'd refuſe their Commands; which Obſtinacy wou'd be a Precedent to Poſterity, if it ſhou'd go unpuniſh'd*; therefore he wiſh'd him to proceed: Which he ſtill refus'd with freſh Tears, and many Intreaties. Sir *Peter Hayman*, a Gentleman of his own Country, told him, *He was ſorry he was his Kinſman, for that he was the Diſgrace of his Country, and a Blot of a noble Family; and that Poſterity wou'd remember him with Scorn and Diſdain: And that for his Part, ſince he wou'd not be perſuaded to do his Duty, he thought it fit he ſhou'd be call'd to the Bar, and a new Speaker choſen.*

The Proteſtation of the Houſe.

In the mean time, ſince neither Perſuaſions nor Threats cou'd prevail upon his Fidelity to the King, they required Mr. *Holles* to read certain Articles, as the Proteſtations of the Houſe, which, jointly as they were read, were allow'd with a loud Voice by the Houſe. They were as following. 'I. Whoever ſhall bring in *Innovation* in Religion, or by 'Favour ſeek to extend or introduce *Popery* or *Arminia-'niſm*, or other Opinions diſagreeing from the true and Or-'thodox Church, ſhall be reputed a Capital Enemy to the 'Kingdom and Commonwealth. II. Whoever ſhall coun-'ſel or adviſe the taking and levying the Subſidies of *Ton-'nage* and *Poundage*, not being granted by Parliament, or 'ſhall be an Actor or Inſtrument therein, ſhall be reputed an 'Innovator in the Government, and a Capital Enemy to 'this Kingdom and Commonwealth. III. If any Mer-'chant, or Perſon whatſoever, ſhall voluntarily yield or pay 'the Subſidies of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, not being granted 'by Parliament, he ſhall likewiſe be reputed a Betrayer of 'the Liberties of *England*, and an Enemy to the ſame.

The King highly provok'd.

The King hearing of theſe ſtrange Diſorders, and that the Houſe continued to ſit, notwithſtanding his Command for an Adjournment, immediately ſent a Meſſenger for the Serjeant with his Mace, which being taken from the Table, wou'd ſtop all Proceedings; but the Door being lock'd upon him, he cou'd not attend his Majeſty. This ſo provok'd the King, that he ſent *Maxwell*, the Uſher of the Black Rod, to diſſolve the Parliament; but being inform'd that neither he nor his Meſſage wou'd be receiv'd into the Houſe, he in a great Indignation ſent for the Captain of the Penſioners and Guards to force an Entrance. But the Houſe, after two Hours ſitting, and an Adjournment to the tenth of *March*, roſe ſuddenly, and prevented the Inconveniencies or Miſchiefs that might have probably enſu'd.

Biſhop Williams trys to heal the Breach.

His Advice.

4. And now the Breach was perfected between the King and his Commons: Yet ſtill the politick Biſhop of *Lincoln* us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to heal theſe unhappy Diviſions. He had before this apply'd himſelf to the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, who had been his Adverſary, inform'd him what Coals were blowing up againſt him, and proffer'd himſelf to bring Sir *John Elliot* to him, to be reconcil'd, and be his Servant. For which he obtain'd many Thanks and large Promiſes from the Treaſurer; but at the ſame time he highly diſoblig'd the great Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, for offering to bring his Rival into Favour. To make up the laſt Breach, he importun'd the Treaſurer to carry this Meſſage from him to his Majeſty, 'That the 'Parliament might meet again for all this, and that there 'might be a Conference between both Houſes, to debate 'about Differences: And that he hop'd that the *Lords* wou'd 'check, if not cenſure thoſe *Commons* that were ſo rude; 'and, being aſham'd for what they had done, they wou'd 'make Amends by their Submiſſion: But if they were im-'penitently obſtinate, he did not deſire to intercede for 'them.' What the Event of this Counſel might have been, God only knows; for the King, who cou'd not moſt artfully manage his great Oppoſers, did not hearken to it. For the quieting of all Men, he had drawn up a general Pardon, which paſs'd the Houſe of Lords, but the Commons did not ſo much as read it. Therefore ſeeing little Hopes of Accommodation, he reſolv'd to diſſolve the Par-

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liament, being chiefly induc'd to it, as is believ'd, by the Lord *Weſton*, and Biſhop *Laud*; which laſt in his Diary tells us, *That this Parliament ſought his Ruin*; and no doubt it was his Judgment, that they ſought the Ruin of the eſtabliſh'd Church.

Several Members queſtion'd.

A Proclamation was preparing for the Diſſolution, and the very next Day after the Tumults in the Houſe, Warrants were directed from the Council to nine leading Members, *Denzil Holles* Eſquire, Sir *Miles Hobart*, Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, *John Selden* Eſquire, *William Coriton*, *Walter Long*, *William Stroud*, and *Benjamin Valentine*, commanding their Perſonal Appearance the following Day. At which time Mr. *Holles*, Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Coriton* and Mr. *Valentine* appearing, and refuſing to anſwer out of Parliament, for what was ſaid and done in Parliament, were committed cloſe Priſoners to the *Tower*; and Warrants were given for the ſealing up the Studies of Mr. *Holles*, Mr. *Selden*, and Sir *John Elliot*, the three moſt fiery and formidable Members; and Proclamations were iſſu'd out for the apprehending of others, who did not appear.

The King's laſt Speech.

To conclude the Parliament, on the tenth of *March*, his Majeſty in his Royal Throne, with his Crown on his Head, in his Robes, and the Lords in their Robes, the Commons not ſent for, tho' ſeveral appearing below the Bar; the King ſpoke thus: MY LORDS, *I never came here upon ſo unpleaſant an Occaſion, it being the Diſſolution of a* Parliament.------ *I thought it neceſſary to come here to Day, and declare to You and all the World, That it was meerly the undutiful and ſeditious Carriage in the* Lower Houſe, *that hath made the Diſſolution of this Parliament*; *and you*, my Lords, *are ſo far from being any Cauſers of it, that I take as much Comfort in your dutiful Demeanor, as I am juſtly diſtaſted with their Proceedings: Yet to avoid their Miſtakes, let me tell you, That it is ſo far from Me to adjudge all the Houſe alike guilty, that I know that there are many there as dutiful Subjects as any in the World, it being but* ſome few Vipers *among them that did caſt this Miſt of Undutifulneſs over moſt of their Eyes. Yet to ſay the Truth, there was a* good Number *there, that cou'd not be infected with this Contagion*; *inſomuch that ſome did expreſs their Duties in Speaking, which was the general Fault of the Houſe the laſt Day. To conclude*, my Lords, *as theſe evil*-affected Perſons *muſt look for their Puniſhment, ſo you, that are of the Higher Houſe, may juſtly expect from me that Favour and Protection, that a good King oweth to his loving and faithful* Nobility. *And now*, my Lord-Keeper, *do what I have commanded.* Upon which the Lord-Keeper pronounc'd the Parliament diſſolv'd.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

Thus unhappily ended the third Parliament in this Reign, after it had been kept in Being almoſt a Year, but with a long Receſs. The firſt Seſſion continu'd above fourteen Weeks, and this almoſt ſeven; in the former ſeveral Laws were made, in the latter were none. The Diſcontents of the People were rais'd and artificially improv'd upon this Occaſion; and ſoon after two Libels were thrown about the City, one againſt Biſhop *Laud*, to this Effect; '*Laud*, look to thy ſelf, be aſſur'd thy Life is ſought; as thou art the Fountain of Wickedneſs, repent of thy monſtrous Sins before thou be taken out of the World; and aſſure thy ſelf, neither God nor the World can endure ſuch a vile Counſellor or Whiſperer to live.' The other was as virulent againſt the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*.

Diſcontents and Libels.

Upon the many Murmurs and Tendencies to Sedition, the King thought it proper to qualify the Minds of his loving Subjects by a formal *Declaration of the Cauſes which mov'd him to diſſolve the laſt Parliament*: 'In which he gave an Hiſtorical Account of the unreaſonable Diſturbances, and the Miſchiefs ariſing from ſome of the Houſe of Commons, which occaſion'd his laſt Subſidies to be return'd *in ſuch a ſcanty Proportion, as was infinitely ſhort, not only of his great Occaſions, but of the Precedents of former Subſidies*. He gave a fair Account of the Right of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, and ſhew'd that ſeveral Kings were in actual Poſſeſſion of it, before it was granted them by Parliament. He complain'd of the exorbitant Encroachments of the Commons, in their unprecedented Searches into all Offices, not ſparing the Honour of the Council-Board it ſelf. While the Duke of *Buckingham* was alive, all Evils were charg'd upon his mal-Adminiſtration; but after he was dead, *no Alteration was found among thoſe envenom'd Spirits, which troubled the then bleſs'd Harmony between Him and his Subjects*: A manifeſt Proof that the Duke was not the only Mark they ſhot at, but as a *near Miniſter, taken up in their Paſſage to more ſecret Deſigns*. He did not impute theſe Diſaſters to the whole Houſe of Commons, but to ſome malevolent Perſons, *who like Empericks and lewd Artiſts, ſtrove to make new Work, and to have ſome Diſeaſe on Foot, to keep themſelves in Requeſt, and to be employ'd in the Cure*. Then he declar'd, that theſe Provocations had not chang'd his good Intentions to his Subjects, but he wou'd ſtill maintain the true Religion againſt *Popery* and *Schiſm*; and their Rights and Liberties, with ſo much Conſtancy and Juſtice, that they ſhall acknowledge, *they live in a more happy and free Eſtate, than any Subjects in the Chriſtian World*. Laſtly he appeal'd, whether, *in Reſpect of the free Paſſage of the Goſpel, indifferent and equal Adminiſtration of Juſtice, Freedom from Oppreſſion, and the Peace and Quietneſs every one enjoys under his own Vine and Fig-Tree, the Happineſs of this Nation can be parallell'd by any Neighbouring Countries*.

The King's Declaration.

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The Concluſion of this Period.

Thus, with all Simplicity and Fidelity, we have given a regular Account of King *Charles*'s three firſt Parliaments, together with all coincident Affairs, coming within the Compaſs of the firſt four Years of his Reign: And we have been the more particular and diffuſive, that the Reader may have a clearer View of what is thought to be the moſt erroneous, or exceptionable Period of his Government. And after a cool Conſideration of all the Particulars, compar'd and weigh'd with each other, the Reader is left to judge of the Failings and Miſmanagements on both Sides; which have already been the Subject of many Treatiſes, which have weakly, or wickedly repreſented them, according to the Intereſt or Malice of the Authors. He is alſo left to decide this important Queſtion, That ſuppoſing the Errors of the Court to have been equal to the Complaints of the Commons, Whether it was not more *reaſonable* and *healing* for the Houſe to have confirm'd by Bill the *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, in immediate Return for *the Petition of Right*, than by an artful deferring of it, to make it the chief Subject of Debate the next Seſſion, and laſtly a Cauſe of a final Separation.

CHAP. II.

From the Diſſolution of the Third Parliament, to the Beginning of the Tumults and Troubles in Scotland.

Containing the Space of 8 *Years, and above* 4 *Months.*

1629.
Car. 5.

A long Calm.

I. I. HAVING got thro' the firſt four Years of this Reign, which may be call'd ruffling and ſtormy, we gradually fall into a Calm, of more than double that Space of Time; and tho' there were ſome Interruptions, and warm Struggles, as well as Seeds of direful Evils, yet for the greateſt part of twelve Years, no Nation in the World ever enjoy'd at home more Peace and Plenty, more Wealth and Felicity, than *England*; to the Wonder and Envy of all other Parts of *Chriſtendom*. And here upon the Entrance into this happy Period, it may be proper to take a ſhort View of the Court, as it continu'd for a conſiderable Time, and of thoſe great Men belonging to it, who had the principal Influence upon the Affairs of the Publick.

An Account of the Court.

Of the King.

The Court it ſelf was moſt regular and ſplendid, during the greateſt Part of this Reign; and the King ever took Care to keep up the Dignity of it, limiting Perſons to Places ſuitable to their Qualities, unleſs he particularly call'd for them. His Deportment was very Majeſtick, not receding from the Height of his Station to the greateſt Foreigners, that came to viſit him and his Court; for tho' he was naturally far from Pride, yet he was careful of Majeſty, and wou'd be approach'd with full Reſpect and Reverence. His Converſation was free and rational, his way of Arguing calm and patient; yet he wou'd diſcountenance all bold and forward Addreſſes to him: And in Suits, or Buſineſs, he wou'd permit none to enter into them abruptly, but expected that the greateſt Perſons ſhou'd, in Affairs of that Nature, addreſs to him by his proper Miniſters, or by ſome ſolemn Deſire of ſpeaking to him in their own Perſons. He ſaw and obſerv'd Men long, before he receiv'd them about his Perſon; and did not love Strangers, nor very confident Men. So that uſually Favours came ſlowly from him, and being not extreamly bountiful in his Nature, he pauſed too long in giving, which made the Receiver leſs ſenſible of the Benefit. An appearing Haughtineſs did too much prevail in the Court, and the King wanted that artificial Condeſcenſion, and exquiſite Way of ſetting off a Favour, which was ſo well known to Queen *Elizabeth*; ſo that he had not ſo many affectionate Admirers, nor ſo many faithful Servants, as his Innocence and Simplicity really deſerv'd. Yet this reſerv'd Grandeur in the Court was thought to be much owing to the Temper of the Queen, who was very Stately, and often profuſe in Matters of Show and Form; yet perhaps too much debaſing her ſelf to the Compliments of ſome Perſons, eſpecially in the Caſe of her Diverſions. By her Means the Court was fill'd with Maſquerades, Interludes, and ſuch Entertainments,

And the Queen.

moſt delightful to Ladies; yet beſides the Women attending on herſelf, the King admitted very few great Officers to have their Wives in the Family.

After the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the King's Favours were more ſparing and diffus'd, and the principal Conduct of Affairs he more immediately committed to three great Men, Dr. *Laud* Biſhop of *London*, the Lord *Wentworth*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*; the firſt preſiding in the Affairs of *England*, the ſecond of *Ireland*, and the third of *Scotland*; and each of them thought an unfortunate Inſtrument towards his Ruin. Some Account has already been given of the Favour and Management of the firſt; therefore we proceed to the ſecond, the Lord Viſcount *Wentworth*, who was firſt a Baronet, of an ancient Family and fair Eſtate, in *Yorkſhire*.

A Character of the Lord Wentworth.

There was a current Story in thoſe Times, and acknowledg'd by his Friends, concerning ſome ſtrange Prognoſticks of the Greatneſs and Fate of this extraordinary Man, reveal'd before his Birth to his Father in a Dream, when he was adjudg'd to be at the Point of his Death. However, his ſurpriſing Abilities, accompany'd with a vigorous and haughty Temper, ſoon render'd him conſpicuous to the Eyes of the Nation: And he gave an early Specimen of the Roughneſs of his Nature, in his eager joyning with the Houſe of Commons againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*; whom he purſu'd with ſuch Reſentment, that when the Houſe was conſulting how to frame a particular Charge againſt him, he adviſ'd to make a general One, to accuſe him of Treaſon, *and to let him get off as he cou'd*. Thus he gave Counſel againſt Another, which was afterwards taken up and turn'd againſt Himſelf; and ſo preſſing upon another Man's Caſe, he awaken'd his own Fate. For a long time he heartily join'd with Mr. *Pym*; but deſigning to make his Peace with the Court, we are told that he ſent to meet him in private, and in a ſet Speech ſounded him about the wrong Proceedings at preſent, and the Advantages of liſtning to the Court Offers. Upon which Mr. *Pym*, gueſſing at his Inclinations, interrupted him with this Expreſſion, *You need not uſe all this Art to tell me, That you are going to be undone: But remember, That tho' you leave us now, I will never leave you while your Head is upon your Shoulders.* Being come over to the Court, he was ſo ſuddenly made Privy-Counſellor, Preſident of the North, a Baron, and a Viſcount, that the Duke of *Buckingham* himſelf flew not ſo high in ſo ſhort a Space of Time. The laſt Honour was conferr'd with great Solemnity at *White-Hall*, when the Heralds fetch'd his Pedigree from the Blood Royal of *John of Gaunt*; which occaſion'd the Lord *Powis*, who diſlik'd his Perſon and Temper, to ſwear, *If ever he came to be King of* England, *he wou'd turn Rebel.* He was unqueſtionably of extraordinary Parts and Endowments of Nature, which were excellently cultivated by Education; of a piercing Judgment and a pregnant Fancy, and ſo furniſh'd with Reaſon, that he might rather be ſaid to demonſtrate, than to argue. In ſhort, his Abilities in general were ſo eminent, that afterwards Cardinal *Richelieu*, by Way of Indignation againſt the *Engliſh*, pronounc'd him the wiſeſt Head in their Nation. But being of too high and ſevere a Deportment, of a Cholerick Diſpoſition, and too regardleſs of Ceremony, he ſoon gain'd many Enemies; for he proceeded as tho' he wou'd be juſt to all, but gracious to none, but to ſome Intimates: So that as his Friend Biſhop *Laud* ſeem'd too much to neglect, ſo he too much to overlook the Amity of ſuch as afterwards deſerted him. Tho' for the future he continu'd invincibly loyal to the King, and faithful to the Church; yet his active Proceedings, meeting with a ſtrange Series of Accidents, highly promoted the Ruin of Himſelf, his Friend, and his Maſter.

Of James *Marquis of* Hamilton.

James Marquis of *Hamilton* was a young *Scotch* Peer, his Family of a very high and noble Deſcent, and near in Blood to the Crown itſelf. In his Youth he had marry'd the Niece of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Daughter of the Earl of *Denbigh*, who marrying the Duke's Siſter, was rais'd to this Title from a private Gentleman of the Houſe of *Fielding*. Not long after, upon ſome Diſcontent the Marquis retir'd into *Scotland*; but after the Duke's Death, he was recall'd, made Maſter of the Horſe, Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber, and Privy-Counſellor in both Kingdoms. He was treated with great Intimacy and Affection, and had a large Proportion of his Majeſty's Favour and Confidence; and knew very dextrouſly how to manage both, advantagiouſly to accompany the King in his hard Chaces of the Stagg, and the toilſom Pleaſures of a Racket. Tho' he carry'd every Thing with great Modeſty and Warineſs, yet he had a mighty Influence upon the greateſt Affairs at Court, eſpecially when they related to his own Country-men. At his firſt Appearance there, many Courtiers took particular Notice of his remarkable Aſpect, as tho' it portended ſomething extraordinary. But the Lord *Clarendon* intimates, that his natural Darkneſs and Reſervedneſs in his Diſcourſe, and his ſerving under the King of *Sweden* afterwards, made him thought a wiſer and valianter Man, and conſequently a more dangerous Enemy, than really he was. He ſeem'd to have had a peculiar Art in Management, and naturally lov'd to gain his Point rather by ſome ſerpentine Winding, than by a direct Path. But for thoſe treacherous Actings of which he was thought to be guilty, they ſhall have a more proper Place: Only we ſhall here obſerve, That by his Influence, and the King's Fondneſs towards his native Country, the Court became fill'd with *Scotch-Men*, who obtain'd Places and Revenues to a Proportion that was thought againſt all the Rules of Reaſon and Policy.

A Character of other great Men.

2. Thus we have given ſome Account of the Court, and the *Triumvirate* that preſided, or had greateſt Influence in the Adminiſtration, during the happieſt Part of this Reign, and was thought to haſten on the Part that was moſt unhappy. But there were ſeveral others, who were very near to the King, and in Places of the greateſt Truſt, who ought alſo to be taken Notice of, as belonging more immediately to the Court; ſuch as the Lord-Keeper, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Earl Marſhal, the Lord-Steward, the Lord-Chamberlain, ſome Privy-Counſellors, and the two Secretaries of State; in which we ſhall follow the Lord *Clarendon*, with ſome Improvements.

Of the Lord Keeper Coventry.

The Lord-Keeper of the great Seal was Sir *Thomas Coventry*, a Son of the Robe, and newly made a Baron. His Skill in the Law, by a rare Aſcent rais'd him to be Recorder of *London*, Sollicitor-General, and the King's Attorney, before he was forty Years of Age. Upon the Removal of the Biſhop of *Lincoln* he was made Lord-Keeper, which Place he enjoy'd with an univerſal Reputation to his Death; having his Train and Followers ſo agreeably diſpoſ'd, as to avoid both Envy and Contempt, particularly without the Oſtentation of his two Predeceſſors. He proceeded in a regular Courſe; and beſides the Knowledge of the Law, he had a clear Inſight into the whole Policy of the Government, both in Church and State, which, through the Ignorance of well-meaning Men, had too much juſtled each other. His Preſence had ſomething venerable in it, and he deliver'd himſelf without much Ornament of Speech; ſo that tho' he wou'd frankly deny, yet it was with ſo much Candour and Condeſcenſion to the Perſons he cou'd not oblige, that few departed from him with ill Wiſhes or Reſentment. But this happy Temper rather preſerv'd him from violent Enemies, than furniſh'd him with hearty Friends; ſo that he was a Man, rather exceedingly lik'd, than paſſionately lov'd. His Security conſiſted in having but little Credit with the King; therefore he liv'd within himſelf, without venturing to oppoſe the growing Miſchiefs, which he knew he had no Power to reſtrain; and he dy'd in a happy Time, before they arriv'd to their fatal Operation.

Of the Lord Treaſurer Weſton.

Sir *Richard Weſton*, afterwards Earl of *Portland*, was Lord High Treaſurer, and advanc'd at a ſlippery Seaſon, when five of that high Office were then alive, the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Earl of *Middleſex*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and himſelf. He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, bred up ſome Years in the Study of the Law, and at an Age fit for Obſervations and Reflections, ſent into Foreign Parts; after which he liv'd in Court with an Awe agreeable to the Modeſty of the Age, when Men were ſeen ſome Time before they were known, and well known before they were advanc'd, or durſt pretend to it. Having gain'd the Staff, he grew more ambitious, and tho' he had full Share in his Maſter's Eſteem, he ſhew'd a vehement Deſire to be ſole Favourite: So that he became more exact in prying into other Mens Duties, than in the Diſcharge of his own; and even his Vices admitted thoſe Contradictions in them, that he cou'd hardly enjoy the Pleaſure of any of them. That which firſt expos'd him to the Jealouſy of the Publick, was the Suſpicion of his Religion, his Wife and all his Daughters being profeſs'd Papiſts; and tho' he and his Sons appear'd ſometimes at Church, he was never thought a Friend to it: His moſt familiar Converſation was with thoſe of the *Romiſh* Perſuaſion; and yet he was ſo little in Credit with that Party, that they were the only People who did not believe him of their Profeſſion. He took a politick Care to ſupport himſelf by the Aſſiſtance of thoſe accounted Patriots, and procur'd the Advancement of old Sir *John Savile*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and the famous Mr. *Noy*; yet, like his Maſter *Buckingham*, he much oppos'd the Queen, and croſs'd her Pretences and Deſires with more Rudeneſs than was natural to him. He had not long enjoy'd his Office, before he loſt the Reputation of a ſtout, bold, magnanimous Man, which in worſe Times he had obtain'd; and after all the King's great Bounties and Honours beſtow'd on him, and after vaſt Sums of Mony gotten, and rather conſum'd than en-

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joy'd, in a few Years he dy'd unlamented by any, leaving a numerous Family, who were in a ſhort time worn out, and yet out-liv'd the Fortune he had left them.

Of the Earl of Mancheſter, *Lord Privy Seal.*

The next great Officer of State was *Henry Mountague*, the Lord Privy-Seal, who from Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, had been made Lord High Treaſurer in King *James*'s Reign; but in leſs than a Year, by the recalling that Favour, he was reduc'd to the almoſt empty Title of Preſident of the Council. To allay the Senſe of the Diſhonour, he was created Viſcount *Mandevile*, and after that Earl of *Mancheſter*, and made Lord Privy-Seal, which, in the midſt of many Removes and Degradations from other Offices, he enjoy'd to his Death. He was a wiſe Man, and of an excellent Temper, of great Induſtry and Sagacity in Buſineſs, in which he much delighted. But his Honours having grown quicker upon him than his Fortunes, in his old Age he became too ſolicitous to advance the latter; whereby he made himſelf leſs capable of ſerving the Publick, and expos'd himſelf to many Reproaches and Inconveniencies. Then he was often unhappily us'd as a Check upon the Lord-Keeper *Coventry*, and his Authority call'd for againſt the other's Objections in Law, to the frequent gratifying the unjuſtifiable Deſigns and Pretences of the Council. Yet ſtill his Virtues ſo outweighed his Infirmities, that he ever preſerv'd a good Reputation in general with the People, being eſteem'd zealous for the Proteſtant Religion, and faithful to the King; and ſo continued till near eighty Years of Age, and dy'd at a Time when no Man cou'd promiſe Security from his Religion or Fidelity.

Of the Earl of Arundel, *Earl Marſhal.*

Thomas Earl of *Arundel* was the next in Office, as being Earl Marſhal, tho' in his own Right and Quality he preceded the reſt of the Council, being of the famous Family of the *Howards*. His Perſon and Aſpect ſhew'd ſomething very great, which he preſerv'd in his Gait and Motion, and alſo in his peculiar Habit and Dreſs; which caus'd many to look upon him as the Image and Repreſentative of the primitive Nobility. He was generally thought to be a proud Man, and ſeem'd to live as in another Nation, his Houſe being the common Reſort of Strangers, or thoſe who affected to appear as ſuch. He ſometimes went to Court, becauſe There only was a greater Man than himſelf, and went the ſeldomer becauſe there Was a Man greater than himſelf. Sir *Edward Walker* looks upon him as the greateſt Aſſertor of the Splendor and Greatneſs of the Crown, and the ancient Honour of the Nobility, that liv'd in his Time. Yet he affected not Popularity nor Dependents; but by his promoting of Arts, Paintings, Sculptures and Buildings, his Expences always exceeded his great Revenues. He was thought rather to have no Concern for Religion in general, than to incline to any Party; and had little other Affection for the Nation, than as he had a great Share in it, where like the Leviathan he might ſport himſelf; from which he withdrew as ſoon as a Storm aroſe, and the Repoſe of it began to be diſturb'd, and dy'd in *Italy* under the Suſpicion of the *Romiſh* Religion.

The Earl of Pembroke, *Lord Steward.*

William Herbert, Earl of *Pembroke*, was a Man of another Mould and Fame, and Reputation with all Men, being the moſt univerſally belov'd and eſteem'd of any Man of that Age: And as he had a great Number of the beſt ſort of Friends, ſo no Man had the Confidence to avow himſelf his Enemy. He was firſt made Lord Chamberlain, and afterwards Lord Steward of the Houſhold; and the Court appear'd with more Luſtre, becauſe he had the Government of that Province. And ſure never Man was planted in a Court, that was fitter for that Soil, or brought better Qualities with him to purify that Air. He was a great Lover of his Country, and of Religion and Juſtice, which he believ'd cou'd only ſupport it, his Friendſhip and Converſation lying only among Men of thoſe Principles. Yet all theſe rare Qualities were ſtrangely allay'd with Vice, and clouded with great Infirmities, which he had in too exorbitant a Proportion. He indulg'd to himſelf the Pleaſures of all Kinds, almoſt in all Exceſſes; and to Women he was immoderately addicted; but in that likewiſe he continu'd ſo much himſelf, that he was not ſo tranſported with outward Allurements, as charm'd with the Beauties of the Mind. To theſe he ſacrific'd himſelf, his Time, and much of his Fortune; and ſeveral believ'd that his natural Vivacity and Vigour began to decline, by thoſe exceſſive Indulgences. So that within two Years after the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham* he dy'd ſuddenly, and exceedingly lamented by Men of all Qualities.

The Earl of Montgomery, *Lord Chamberlain.*

His Brother *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, and the Earl of *Dorſet*, were likewiſe of the Privy-Council; Men of very different Talents and Qualifications. The former, at King *James*'s Entrance, being ſcarce of Age, had the good Fortune by the Comelineſs of his Perſon, and indefatigable Application in Hunting, to attract the Eye of that Monarch towards him; and in a Year or two to be made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Earl of *Montgomery*. He was paſſionate and inſolent in his Behaviour, rough and noiſy in his Converſation, and pretended to no other Qualifications than to underſtand Horſes and Dogs very well, and to be believ'd honeſt and generous, which rais'd him many Friends, and left him then no Enemy. Afterwards, when *Robert Carr* came into Favour, without Murmur he left all Doors open for his Admittance; which ſo highly oblig'd the King, that he ſtill gave him a ſecond Place in his Affection, and recommended him to his Son at his Death, as a Man of Honeſty and Fidelity; tho' it will appear in the Sequel, that he had not ſufficient Ballaſt to endure a Storm. The other, *Edward Sackvill* Earl of *Dorſet*, was in every Reſpect another Man; his Perſon beautiful, vigorous and graceful; his Wit pleaſant, ſparkling and ſublime; and his other Parts of Learning and Language, of that Luſtre, that he cou'd not fail in the World. The Vices he had, were of the Age, which he cou'd not tell how to contemn, or reſiſt; but gave both his Perſon and Parts their full Scope without Reſtraint, and indulg'd himſelf in all the Pleaſures, that the Seaſon of his Life cou'd ſuggeſt to him. Notwithſtanding his Defects, his great Parts, and Reputation he acquir'd, inclin'd King *James* to call him to his Privy-Council before his Death: And had he not given too much Way to his natural Conſtitution and Proſperity, nor been wrung by an uneaſy Fortune, he had certainly prov'd an excellent Man for Buſineſs; for he had a quick diſcerning Spirit, a generous obliging Temper, and was withal of a moſt entire Fidelity to the Crown.

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The Earl of Dorſet.

There were two others of great Authority in the Council, being much eſteem'd in the Court, and as accompliſh'd Courtiers as any in *Europe*; namely, the Earls of *Carliſle* and *Holland*, both Men of Pleaſure, yet well acquainted with the Affairs of the Kingdom, and better vers'd in thoſe abroad, than any who ſat then at the Board. The former, nam'd *James Hay*, a *Scotch* Gentleman of a noble Family, who, by his fine Breeding, polite Learning, and graceful Behaviour, was through ſeveral Steps advanc'd by King *James* to his Earldom; and by his Means he alſo obtain'd a ſole Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Denny*, and with her a fair Inheritance in Land. He rather maintain'd a civil Intelligence than a real Friendſhip with the other Favourites; and having Credit enough with the King to ſecure his own Intereſt, he took no Care for that of other Men. He made no Scruple of running in Debt, and borrowing all he cou'd for the Support of his Luſtre and Luxury; for he was a Man of prodigious Expence in his own Perſon, both for Cloaths and Diet, being indeed an Original of thoſe Inventions, which others did no more than copy. He dy'd with the Reputation of a fine Gentleman, and after having jovially ſpent above four hundred Thouſand Pounds, which he receiv'd from the Crown, he dy'd in all Appearance in as much Tranquility of Mind, as a Man of a more ſevere Life and Virtue; and without leaving a Houſe or Acre of Land to preſerve his Memory. The other, *Henry Rich*, Earl of *Holland*, was the younger Son of a noble Houſe, who after ſome Experience in the Field abroad, grew very acceptable to the Duke of *Buckingham*; by whoſe Means, and that of a lovely winning Preſence, he found an eaſy Admiſſion into the Court and King *James*'s Favour. Tho' his Friendſhip was more entire to the Earl of *Carliſle*, who was more of his Nature and Humour, he took all Care to endear himſelf to the Duke, whoſe Creature he ſtill deſir'd to be eſteem'd; and in this he ſo well ſucceeded, that the King cou'd not be more in haſte to advance the Duke, than the Duke was to promote Him. He was preferr'd by him to a Wife, the Daughter and Heir of *Cope*, by whom he had the Seat and Manor of *Kenſington*, of which he was created Baron; after which he was made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to Prince *Charles*, Earl of *Holland*, Captain of the Guard, Knight of the Garter, and Privy-Counſellor; and likewiſe employ'd in the Queen's Marriage in *France*, as was formerly mention'd. After the Duke's Death, having the particular Advantage of the Queen's Favour, he was at continual Variance with the Lord Treaſurer *Portland*, and whoever elſe was not for aggrandizing her Authority. Thus he continu'd to flouriſh while the Weather was fair, but as ſoon as the Storm aroſe, he fell from his former Honour and Gratitude, into a Condition which there will hereafter be too much Cauſe to mention more largely.

The Earl of Carliſle.

The Earl of Holland, *Captain of the Guard.*

The two Secretaries, Sir John Cook, *and Sir* Dudley Carleton.

To conclude with the two Secretaries of State, then Officers of leſs Importance than in latter Times, who were Sir *John Cook*, and Sir *Dudley Carleton*. The firſt, of a narrow Education and narrower Soul, was at fifty Years of Age call'd to a painful Employment in the Navy-Office, upon the Reputation of his Induſtry and Diligence; and from thence remov'd to be Maſter of Requeſts, and Secretary of State, in which Office he continu'd to a very great Age. His grand Perfection was Induſtry,

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and his eminent Infirmity, Covetouſneſs. He was by Experience well acquainted with the State and Affairs of *England*; but was a perfect Stranger to all Foreign Tranſactions, and the common Intereſt of *Chriſtendom*. Of a quite contrary Nature and Education was his Aſſociate, Sir *Dudley Carleton*, who well underſtood all Foreign Affairs, but was a Stranger to the Conſtitution of his own Country, and the Nature of the People. He was a Man of Parts, and had been ſent Ambaſſador to *Venice*, and twice to *Holland*; being the laſt of the *Engliſh* Nation who was admitted to vote in the general Aſſembly of the States. After which he was made a Privy-Counſellor; and the laſt Piece of Workmanſhip the Duke of *Buckingham* liv'd to finiſh, was the making him Secretary of State, and a Peer of the Realm, when he had ſcarce any viſible Eſtate to ſupport that Honour.

A general Obſervation.

3. Such was the State of the Court at this Time, and for a conſiderable Space after; by which it appears that there had not been the moſt happy Choice in the Miniſtry, and that the major Part was not over capable, nor very likely to ſerve the King well. It was certainly a licentious Age, in the midſt of great Regularities; and it has been juſtly made a Wonder that the Court ſhou'd be ſo corrupt in Manners, when the King himſelf was an inconteſtable Example of Piety, Chaſtity and Sobriety. The greateſt Part of theſe Miniſters were chiefly intent upon their own Accommodations in their Fortunes, in which they did not abound, or in their Eaſe and Pleaſure, which they paſſionately affected; having no further Care of the Publick, than that no Diſturbance might break in upon them in their own Days. The reſt, who had larger Hearts, and more publick Spirits, us'd their Labour and Activity chiefly to ſecure the Empire at home by all peaceable Arts, and Advancement of Trade, which might gratify the People, and repleniſh the King's exhauſted Treaſury: Towards which they all unanimouſly Concurr'd in their Advice to the King, ‘To put the quickeſt Period he cou'd to the expenſive War againſt the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*.’

A Proclamation concerning Parliaments.

Of ill Conſequence.

Scarce any of them had any Reaſon to be in love with Parliaments; therefore ſoon after the King had publiſh'd an appeaſing Declaration concerning the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, as was formerly mention'd, an unhappy Step was made, and a Proclamation iſſu'd out, in which it was declar'd, ‘That ſince for ſeveral ill Ends the Calling again of a Parliament was divulg'd, however his Majeſty had ſhew'd, by his frequent Meeting with his People, his Love to the Uſe of Parliaments, yet the late Abuſe having for the preſent driven his Majeſty unwillingly out of that Courſe, *he ſhall account it Preſumption for any to preſcribe any Time to his Majeſty for Parliaments*.’ Which Words were generally interpreted, as if no more Parliaments were to be expected, and that all Men were prohibited to ſpeak of thoſe Aſſemblies. This produc'd two very ill Effects of different Natures: It affected many good Men, even ſuch as had been Scandaliz'd at the Diſtempers that provok'd the King; and caus'd them to open their Ears to the Inſinuations of thoſe who made it their Buſineſs to infuſe an Opinion, That there was a real Intention to alter the Form of Government both in Church and State. Then this Freedom from the Danger of a Parliamentary Inquiſition did not only encourage Ill Men to all Boldneſs and Licence; but even thoſe who had leſs Propenſity, imagining themſelves above the Reach of ordinary Juſtice, learn'd by Degrees to think that no Fault, which was like to find no Puniſhment.

New Projects.

A Peace with France.

In Confirmation of this Opinion, ſome new Projects began to be ſet on foot for raiſing of Mony; the Payment of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* was ſtrictly requir'd, to preſerve the narrow Seas, and a Corporation of *Starch-Makers* was ſettled, in Order to bring in a yearly Revenue to the Crown. His Majeſty made a particular Declaration concerning Religion, ‘To preſerve that Unity of Doctrine and Diſcipline eſtabliſh'd in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*; and likewiſe the Laws were order'd to be put in Execution againſt Popiſh Recuſants. But the main Buſineſs at preſent was to bring about a Peace with *France* and *Spain*; the former of which was compleated in a ſhort Time, and publiſh'd in *England* upon the tenth Day of *May*. The Articles contain'd nothing extraordinary, therefore are here omitted; only at the Inſtance of the Queen, in regard of a joyful Peace, his Majeſty was pleas'd that certain Prieſts and Recuſants, who were then in ſeveral Priſons, ſhou'd be releas'd, and deliver'd to the *French* Ambaſſador to be tranſported beyond the Seas.

A Peace deſign'd with Spain.

The King has a Son, who dies immediately.

II. 1. His *Britiſh* Majeſty had now happily clear'd himſelf of the moſt threatning War; and for *Spain*, that King, by his Loſs in *Italy*, was brought low enough to ſue for Peace with *England*. To ſolicite this Affair, *Peter Paul Reubens* the renowned Painter of *Antwerp*, Secretary and Gentleman of the Chamber to the Arch-Dutcheſs, was ſent to Court as an Agent, and ſeem'd to offer the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, which was but a Bait to bring on other Terms. Upon the Jealouſie of the *Spaniards*, and the Honour of the *Engliſh* Court, this Negotiation proceeded ſlowly, till *Reubens* was recall'd, and Don *Carlos de Colomos* was ſent over as Ambaſſador, and brought it to a Concluſion in the following Year. The Peace with *France* was one great Step towards the Quiet of the Court; and it was but three Days after when the Queen before her Time was deliver'd of a Son, and the *Romiſh* Prieſts were ſo daring in the Bed-Chamber, that they wou'd have immediately baptiz'd the Child in their Way, if the King had not ſtepp'd in, and expreſly aſſign'd that Office to his Chaplain Dr. *Webb*, who baptiz'd him by the Name of *Charles*: He dy'd about an Hour after, and was interr'd at *Weſtminſter* by the Biſhop of *London*.

1629. Car. 5.

Proceedings againſt the late Members of Parliament.

They refus'd to Submit to the Star-Chamber.

The Court had now ſufficient Leiſure to proſecute the impriſon'd Members, that had rais'd ſuch Commotions in the Houſe of Commons, and it was firſt reſolv'd to proceed againſt them in the *Star-Chamber*: Accordingly the Attorney-General propos'd ſome Queſtions to the Judges, concerning their Powers and Privileges, to which they gave diſtinct Anſwers, and expreſly declar'd, ‘That if Parliament-Men committed an Offence againſt the King or Council, not in a Parliamentary Way; or if they rais'd falſe Rumours and Slanders againſt the Lords of the Council and Judges, they were puniſhable out of Parliament, and after the Parliament is ended.’ Upon which an Information was exhibited in the *Star-Chamber* againſt the Members in Cuſtody: Sir *John Elliot*, *Denzil Holles*, *Benjamin Valentine*, *Walter Long*, *William Corriton*, *William Strode*, *John Selden*, Sir *Miles Hobart*, and Sir *Peter Hayman*, for their undutiful Speeches and Actions in the late Parliament. In *Trinity-Term* they ſeverally brought a *Habeas Corpus*, and after Pleading, a Return was made, that their Cauſe of Commitment was Special, and they ought not to be Bail'd. Yet in *Michaelmaſs* Term the Judges came to a Reſolution, ‘That the Priſoners ſhou'd be Bail'd, upon giving Securities for their Good Behaviour. But this Motion of Diſcharge proceeded from the King Himſelf, who had conferr'd with the Judges, and had declar'd his Willingneſs to have the Priſoners Bail'd, notwithſtanding they were ſo obſtinate, that they wou'd not by Petition expreſs, *That they were ſorry he was offended with them*. But the Priſoners began now to value Themſelves upon their Sufferings, and had ſo much Countenance from ſeveral of their late Fellow-Members, that they wou'd not now accept of a Deliverance, but unanimouſly refus'd to find Sureties for their Behaviour: And Mr. *Holles* was ſo induſtrious to be continu'd in Cuſtody, That when a Friend offer'd his own Bail, he wou'd not yield to the uſual Courſe of the Court, to be bound with him Himſelf. Alſo Mr. *Long*, who had actually found Sureties in the Judge's Chamber, declar'd in Court, That his Sureties ſhou'd continue no longer. Such a Merit did they place in Confinement, as to labour againſt their own Liberty; and by ſuch a glorying in Perſecution raiſe a Popularity to Themſelves, and an Odium on the King, and Court.

They are puniſh'd in the King's-Bench.

Upon this untractable Humour the King purſu'd another Method as more likely to take place, and dropping the Proceſs in the *Star-Chamber*, it was reſolv'd to proceed againſt them by Common-Law at the *King's-Bench* Bar, where in this *Michaelmaſs* Term an Information was exhibited by the Attorney-General, to which the Defendents put in a Plea againſt the very Juriſdiction of the Court. Yet the Court did not immediately over-rule the Plea, but gave a Day to join in Demurr that Term; when after long and learned Arguments on both Sides, the Judges agreed, ‘That the Court, as this Caſe is, ſhall have Juriſdiction, although theſe Offences were committed in Parliament, and that the impriſon'd Members ought to anſwer.’ But the Defendants pertinaciouſly refus'd to put in any other Plea: Upon which, on the laſt Day of the Term, Judgment was given againſt them upon a *Nihil dicit*, namely, ‘That every Defendant ſhou'd be impriſon'd during the King's Pleaſure, and none to be releas'd, 'till he gave Security in this Court for his good Behaviour, and made Submiſſion and Acknowledgment of his Offence. That Sir *John Elliot*, as the greateſt Offender and Ringleader, ſhou'd pay a Fine to the King of two Thouſand Pounds, Mr. *Holles* a Thouſand Marks, and Mr. *Valentine* five Hundred Pounds.’ They all refus'd to ſubmit to any Thing but the Neceſſity of a long Impriſonment, where ſome of them dy'd in Cuſtody, and others treaſur'd up a Reputation of Confeſſors for the Privilege of Parliament; and when the Times turn'd, receiv'd an ample Reward of Thanks and Mony.

The Death of Sir John Elliot.

Sir *John Elliot* was likewiſe diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt by being impriſon'd in the *Tower*, where in this or the next Year he dy'd, not without Complaints from his Friends of the Cloſeneſs of his Confinement. He was a

Man

1629. Car. 5.

The Earl of Totneſs,

Mr. Speed,

Mr. James,

Sir Edwin Sandys,

And Judge Yelverton.

Man of very great Parts and Activity, ſufficiently able to have done much Good; yet very wiſe Men have thought that the Proſecution of the Civil Grievances miſcarry'd, chiefly becauſe he ſtood up to manage them. For if we look upon the Pride and Turbulency of his Spirit, his treacherous Barbarity to Mr. *Moyle*, and both his Flatteries and his Spite to the Duke of *Buckingham*, we cannot help concluding him one of the greateſt Incendiaries in the Nation; and that there is no Man more pernicious and dangerous, than a diſguſted Courtier that ſets up for a Patriot. In this Year alſo dy'd three or four other Men of Note, as *George Carew*, Earl of *Totneſs*, who by his Merits was advanc'd to Places in three ſeveral Reigns; having been a valiant Commander, an honeſt Counſellor, a polite Scholar, a Lover of Antiquities, and a great Patron of Learning. Next was *John Speed*, a *Cheſhire* Man, and ſuppos'd to have been firſt a Taylor; but Sir *Fulk Grevil* putting him in a Condition to follow his Studies, he ſucceſsfully compil'd the Hiſtory of *England*, and had the Aſſiſtance of the foremention'd *Carew*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Mr. *Camden*, and others: And he alſo with Reputation compos'd the Scripture Genealogies, formerly annex'd to the Bible. After him was *Thomas James*, a great Friend of Mr. *Camden*'s, a famous Antiquary, and Promoter of Learning, and a terrible Scourge to the Papiſts and Romaniſts; who dy'd this Year at *New-College* in *Oxford*. Next was Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Son to the Archbiſhop of *York* of the ſame Name, a Perſon of ſingular Judgment and Ingenuity, and of a polite, copious and commanding Pen, and not leſs remarkable for Policy and State Affairs. Laſtly dy'd Sir *Henry Yelverton*, one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*, a very Religious Gentleman, and well read in the Municipal Laws of the Land, who, if the Duke of *Buckingham* had liv'd, wou'd in all probability have been made Lord-Keeper of the great Seal.

1630. Car. 6.

The Earl of Pembroke'*s Death.*

2. The following Year was uſher'd in by the much lamented Death of a great Miniſter of State, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord *Warden* of the *Stanneries*, Governour of *Portſmouth*, Knight of the Garter, Lord High Steward of the Houſhold, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, whoſe Character has already been given. His Death had been foretold both by his Tutor *Stanford*, and the Lady *Davis*, and that he ſhou'd not out-live his Birth-Day, when fifty Years of Age; for which the latter was for ſome Time impriſon'd. But being very pleaſant and healthful that Day, after he had Supt, and return'd from the Counteſs of *Bedford*'s Table, *he ſaid he wou'd never truſt a Woman Propheteſs, for the Lady* Davis'*s Sake*. He went very well to his Repoſe, but before eight in the Morning, he was ſnatch'd away by an Apoplexy; a Diſtemper that has prov'd fatal to many who have been exceſſive in their Pleaſures. He dy'd very much in Debt, but left many of his Servants and Dependents Maſters of good Eſtates, rais'd out of his Employments and Bounty. Having no Heir of his own, his Honour deſcended to his Brother *Philip*, Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, of whom we have already given ſome Account.

Biſhop Laud *made Chancellor of* Oxford.

Upon the Earl's Death, the Chancellorſhip of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition made by Biſhop *Williams*'s Intereſt, was by a great Majority conferr'd upon Dr. *Laud* Biſhop of *London*, who now became the greateſt Patron of Learning and Religion, the greateſt Promoter of Diſcipline and Government, and the greateſt Benefactor to all publick Deſigns of Piety and Charity, and therefore the moſt fit for this Honour. The Largeneſs of his Soul may be meaſur'd by thoſe munificent Projects, which he ſet down this Year, moſt of which he finiſh'd in Time, as may be ſeen in the Particulars at the End of his Diary, publiſh'd by Mr. *Wharton*. All which ſufficiently ſhew'd the Greatneſs of his Undertakings, which ought to be noted by a Hiſtorian as a glorious Mitigation of his Infirmities, ſince the breaking through all Impediments, and the perfecting his noble Deſigns, were chiefly owing to that Fervour and Impetus of Mind, which prov'd the greateſt Cauſe of his Ruin.

Several Projects for Mony.

1630. Car. 6.

3. The Parliament having omitted the proper Seaſon for Accommodation after the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Death, the Court was neceſſitated to have Recourſe to ſuch Ways of raiſing Supplies, as upon great Exigencies had been practis'd in former Reigns, tho' long diſus'd, and to revive old and obſolete Laws, to gain that as a Right and Duty, which cou'd not be obtain'd of free Will and Bounty. Several Projects were diverſly ſet on foot, particularly the Lords of the Council adviſ'd the King to put forth a Proclamation, declaring his Pleaſure to confirm to his Subjects their defective Titles in their Eſtates, as well by Colour of former Grants, as without any Grant from the Crown. Accordingly a Proclamation was iſſu'd out, to inform the People, That his Majeſty had renew'd a Commiſſion to ſome Lords, Judges and others, to ſell, grant and confirm to them all Poſſeſſions, where their Titles were defective, by making of ſuch Compoſition, as the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhou'd approve and accept. This did not turn to any good Account, but rather to a popular Notion of new Grievances; and another Attempt had leſs Succeſs. For in Order to bring in Mony, the King ſent his Letters to the Judges and Attorney-General, to frame and publiſh certain Orders for Execution of the Office of Receiver and Collector of Fines and Forfeitures, erected by the late King his Father, and by his preſent Majeſty confirm'd to particular Perſons. But the Judges after a Conſultation concluded, that the ſaid Letters-Patents were both againſt Law and the King's Profit, and ſent an Account of the Exceſſes and Irregularities in the ſaid Patent, to the Lord-Keeper and the Lord-Treaſurer. This quaſh'd the Deſign; and tho' it ſhew'd the Integrity of the Judges on one ſide, and the King's Readineſs to recede, when his Judges cou'd not pronounce a Thing ſtrictly legal, yet it was apply'd to the Prejudice of the Court, as if they were purſuing Methods not juſtifiable by Law.

That of Knighthood, &c.

Another Project was reaſſum'd, and principally aſſign'd to the Lord *Wentworth*'s Management, which was for raiſing of Mony upon the long omitted Aid due at the King's Coronation for Knighthood; which in *Edward* the Second's Time was payable by every Man, that had fifteen Pounds *per Annum:* But then for the Eaſe of inferior Sort of Subjects, it was carry'd by Statute to twenty Pounds *per Annum*, which was a ſufficient Evidence of its Antiquity and Legality. But at this Time, becauſe of the different Valuations of Mony, none were charg'd that had leſs than forty Pounds *per Annum*; and by this Commiſſion through the Kingdom was ſuppos'd to be rais'd a hundred Thouſand Pounds, but with many ungrateful Struggles and Oppoſition. For moſt Men lookt upon it as illegal, becauſe it ſeem'd antiquated; not conſidering that former Parliaments had uſually laid it aſleep by their timely Supplies: But now the King's Neceſſities were ſo preſſing, that he ſeem'd reſolv'd to make uſe of any Authority, which his Regality by Cuſtom or Law had formerly exercis'd. And under Pretence of this Kind crept in divers Monopolies and Projects probably leſs warrantable; in which the Envy and Reproach came to the King, and the Profit to other Men. Inſomuch that of two hundred thouſand Pounds drawn in a Year from the Subject, by theſe Ways, ſcarce fifteen Hundred came to the King's Uſe, or Account.

A great Riot in London.

At this Time Diſaffection and Sedition were ſo induſtriouſly fomented in the City of *London*, that upon Occaſion of an Arreſt made by the Sheriffs Officers in *Fleet-ſtreet*, a very tumultuous Riot was made upon it; and the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs, and Train'd-Bands, coming down to diſperſe the Multitude, did for a while meet with open and violent Oppoſition. Among the Ringleaders, one *John Stamford* was apprehended, and convicted of Murder; a Perſon who had been much in Favour with the Duke of *Buckingham* for his ſingular Activity and Strength of Body. The King out of his natural Tenderneſs had been too ready to grant Pardons to Malefactors; but now being made ſenſible by his Judges, he reſiſted his own Inclinations, and the Reſpect to his deceaſed Favourite, with all the Importunities of *Stamford*'s Friends; which Piece of Juſtice is highly applauded and celebrated by the Pen of Sir *Henry Wootton*.

The Caſe of Dr. Leighton.

His Puniſhment.

About the ſame Time a Criminal of another Nature occaſion'd a new Diſturbance to the Publick, Dr. *Alexander Leighton*, a *Scotch* Divine, who had publiſh'd a furious and ſeditious Book, entitled, *An Appeal to the Parliament, or a Plea againſt Prelacy*; for which an Information was exhibited againſt him in the *Star-Chamber*. Here ſeveral Expreſſions appear'd ſo exorbitant, and ſo inſolent againſt the Government, that the two Lord Chief Juſtices, that were preſent, deliver'd their Opinion, 'That they wou'd have 'proceeded againſt him for *Treaſon*, if the Cauſe had come 'before them;' and other Lords declar'd it 'to be his Ma'jeſty's great Mercy and Goodneſs, that he was brought 'to receive the Cenſure of this Court, and not arraign'd 'for a *Traitor* at another Bar.' In Concluſion, he was ſentenc'd to Impriſonment during the King's Pleaſure, and to a Fine of ten Thouſand Pounds; to be degraded in the Eccleſiaſtical Court; to be then twice Pilloried and Whipp'd, to have both his Ears cut off, his Noſe ſlit, and his Face ſtigmatiz'd. But waiting in vain for the Penitence of the Offender, after five Months Reſpite, and the Perſon making his Eſcape, he was brought back to the *Fleet*, and had the Sentence executed upon him with full Severity. And tho' the Nature of the Crime, the Obſtinacy of the Offender, and the Neceſſity of ſuppreſſing ſuch a furious Spirit, ſufficiently requir'd this or the like Puniſhment; yet it had the natural Effect of moving Pity in the People, and of raiſing new Prejudices againſt the Court and Government.

Several Caſ's in Weſtminſter-Hall.

Not only the *Star-Chamber*, but *Weſtminſter-Hall* was exercis'd with ſome ſingular Caſes, that may ſerve to expreſs the Diſpoſition of the Times. Sir *Henry Martyn*, the

Judge of the Admiralty, made a great Complaint to his Majeſty againſt the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, for granting Prohibitions againſt his Court. Upon which the Judges were call'd before the King, where they ſtoutly juſtify'd their Proceedings in thoſe Caſes to be according to Law, and from whence they cou'd not depart by Vertue of their Oaths. Not long after the Feoffees in Truſt for the buying in of Impropriations to be beſtow'd upon preaching Miniſters, were brought into the *Exchequer* for Breach of their Truſt in not augmenting poor Vicarages, but giving arbitrary Penſions to Lecturers, and diſaffected Preachers: Their Corporation was thereupon diſſolv'd, and their Fund and Stock adjudg'd to the King. About the ſame time Mr. *Huntley*, a Miniſter of *Kent*, having been cenſur'd and impriſon'd by the *High-Commiſſion* Court, brought his Action of falſe Impriſonment againſt the Keeper Mr. *Barker*, and ſome of the Commiſſioners by Name; and after a long Debate, the Judges order'd that two of the Commiſſioners ſhou'd anſwer. The Biſhop of *London* made the King ſenſible, That the Authority of the *High-Commiſſion* Court wou'd fall to Nothing, if the Judges of it muſt be thus expos'd to perſonal Actions. Upon which the King ſent his Advocate, Dr. *Ryves*, to the Lord Chief Juſtice, requiring him to proceed no farther in that Cauſe, till he had ſpoken with his Majeſty. The Chief Juſtice conſulted with the Judges, who came to this Reſolution, 'That they conceiv'd ſuch 'a Meſſage not to ſtand with their Oaths, as commanding 'an indefinite Stay of a Cauſe between Parties, that might 'ſtop the Courſe of Juſtice as long as the King pleas'd.' After this, upon the Importunity of the Commiſſioners, who wou'd no longer act, if thus expos'd to Suits at Common-Law, the King aſſum'd the Matter to himſelf, and ſending for the Judges, charg'd them expreſly, *That they ſhou'd not put the Commiſſioners to anſwer.* The Judges ſtoutly anſwer'd, *That they cou'd not, without Breach of their Oaths, perform that Command.* Afterwards the Matter was handled at the Council-Table in the Preſence of the Judges; where, after a long Debate, it was determin'd, 'That the Judges had done their Duty, and that the Com'miſſioners ought to anſwer.' Theſe, and other like Determinations, ſufficiently prove that the preſent Set of Judges were no ſervile Creatures of the Court, and that the King did not finally inſiſt upon their obſequious Compliance with him; but they gave their Judgments with Freedom and Courage, and the King generally acquieſc'd in their Opinion, tho' contrary to his own.

The Judges vindicated.

The Birth of King Charles *the Second.*

4. During theſe inferior Struggles in the Publick, a Matter of great Joy happen'd to the City and Nation; on the 29th Day of *May*, a little before One in the Afternoon; the Queen was deliver'd of a Son at the Palace of St. *James's*; for which the King rid publickly to St. *Paul's* Church to give Thanks to God for the great Happineſs; at which Time a Star appear'd in a clear Sky, to the Wonder of numberleſs Spectators. In Honour of this Prince's Nativity, Medals were ſtruck, repreſenting the Star at his Birth, with other Devices, and this Motto, *Hactenus Anglorum nulli*; ſignifying that no *Engliſh* Man before him was born to ſuch high Titles and large Poſſeſſions, he being the firſt Prince of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland.* Upon the 27th of *June*, the Royal Infant, with extraordinary Pomp, was carry'd to the Font, and baptized *Charles* by the Biſhop of *London*, having for God-Fathers his two Uncles, the *French* King and the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, repreſented by their Proxies the Duke of *Richmond* and the Marquis of *Hamilton:* The Queen-Mother of *France* being his God-Mother, was repreſented by the Dutcheſs of *Richmond.* All the Lords Spiritual and Temporal about *London* were invited to this grand Solemnity, only the declining Biſhop of *Lincoln* was deſignedly omitted; which with great Uneaſineſs caus'd him to ask the Reaſon of the Earl of *Holland*; who freely told him, *That he muſt expect worſe than this, because he was ſuch a Champion for* The Petition of Right; *that there was no Room at the Table for thoſe that lik'd It.*

Great Rejoycings.

The Birth of this Prince, as it gave Cauſe of great Rejoycings to the Generality of the Nation, ſo it prov'd no ſmall Diſcouragement to many of the *Puritan* Party, who it ſeems had laid their Line another Way, and deſir'd that the King ſhou'd have no Children. Inſomuch that at a publick Feaſt, when ſome ſhew'd great Joy at the Queen's Pregnancy, a leading Man of the Party openly ſaid, *He cou'd ſee no ſuch Cauſe of Joy*, and freely declar'd this Reaſon for it, *That God had already better provided for them, in giving ſuch a hopeful Progeny to the Queen of* Bohemia, *brought up in the* Reform'd *Religion*; *while it was uncertain what Religion the King's Children wou'd follow, being to be brought up by a Mother devoted to the Church of* Rome. It ſeems the Impreſſions of Religion which King *James* had made, had caus'd the ſtrongeſt Influence upon the Mind of his excellent Daughter; and ſhe was ſo zealous a *Proteſtant*, that *L'Eſtrange* tells us, That upon a Suſpicion that her Son ſhou'd have been educated in the Emperor's Court, and marry his Daughter, ſhe declar'd, *That ſhe had rather be his Executioner, than ſuffer her Child to be bred up in Idolatry.* Her Warmth and Steadineſs caus'd her to be very dear to a Party in *England*; and they were then prepoſterouſly endeavouring for that which Providence ſince has ſeem'd to effect, after an unforeſeen Manner.

The Puritans *not not pleas'd.*

The Queen of Bohemia's *Firmneſs.*

Upon the ſame Day of Prince *Charles's* Birth, a great Cauſe was heard in the *Star-Chamber*, concerning a Diſcourſe entitl'd, *A Propoſition for his Majeſty's Service to bridle the Impertinency of Parliaments*; which after the laſt Diſſolution had given ſo much Offence and Jealouſy, that the King order'd his Attorney-General to prefer an Information againſt the Earls of *Bedford*, *Clare* and *Somerſet*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *St. John*, and others, for ſpreading the ſaid Libel. Upon Examination it appear'd to be an old Diſcourſe, and lately reviv'd to caſt an Odium upon the Court: But while the Cauſe was hearing in a great Preſence of Nobility and Gentry, the King ſent a Meſſage to the Lord-Keeper, 'That in Reſpect of the great Joy, upon the Birth 'of his Son, he ſhou'd immediately order the Proceedings 'to be ſtopp'd, and the Defendents to be diſcharg'd.' Accordingly the Keeper acquainted the Court with his Majeſty's ſpecial Command; upon which the ſaid Writing was order'd to be burnt as Seditious and Scandalous, and the Proceedings were taken off the File. Tho' the ſtopping of this Proceſs was a generous Act of Favour in the Time of publick Joy, and tho' it was found to be a private Eſſay and a Foreign Project; yet ſome Perſons turn'd it to the Diſadvantage of the Court, as if the Scheme had been really form'd againſt the Uſe of future Parliaments, and therefore drop'd without a full Examination.

A Libel examin'd in the Star-chamber.

The Expedition of Guſtavus Adolphus *King of* Sweden.

5. Notwithſtanding the King's Wants at home, he this Year exerted ſome Power in Foreign Parts; for while a happy Calm was promiſing and ſettling in *England*, both a dreadful and deſirable Storm began to hover over the *German* Empire; rais'd by the famous *Guſtavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, who being excited by the Deſire of Glory, and by the Aſpirings of a generous Mind, reſolv'd upon a vaſt Attempt of delivering *Germany* from the Yoke of Tyranny, which was beginning to be twiſted about their Neck. In which the King of *England* was nearly concern'd, both in Honour and Tenderneſs, to take this Opportunity to relieve his Siſter, and reſtore the *Palatinate* to her Husband. In order to which the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* was commiſſion'd to tranſport an Army of ſix thouſand Men, for the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Sweden*, to be employ'd againſt the *Imperialiſts*, or any other Enemies, *for reſtoring our oppreſſed Friends in* Germany. Articles of Agreement, between the King of *Sweden* and the Marqueſs, were ſign'd in Form; and ſhortly after that warlike Prince croſs'd the *Baltick* Sea, and landed with an Army upon the Coaſts of *Pomerania*, cauſing great Wonder and Expectation throughout all *Europe.* To enable the Marqueſs for this Expedition, the King granted him a Leaſe of the Cuſtoms of the Wines in *Scotland* for ſixteen Years, ſuppos'd to amount to twenty thouſand Pounds *per Annum.* Upon which Fund he levy'd his Men in *Scotland*; and towards Winter return'd to the Court in *England*, to receive the King's final Orders: But here one *Mackay*, Lord *Ochiltry*, charg'd the Marqueſs with a treaſonable Deſign of raiſing this new Army to make himſelf King of *Scotland.* The Lord Treaſurer *Weſton* incourag'd this Suggeſtion, and urg'd it home to the King, who freely told *Hamilton* what an Accuſation was brought againſt him: But he generouſly declar'd to him, *That the World might know what Confidence he had in his Loyalty, he ſhou'd lye in his Bed-Chamber that Night.* And the Marqueſs did accordingly continue in the moſt intimate Acceſſes to the King, who hitherto retain'd this Principle, 'Never to ſuſpect or deſert his Friends.

The Marqueſs of Hamilton *ſuſpected and clear'd.*

Before this a Dyet was held at *Ratisbone* in *Germany*, to which an Ambaſſador was ſent from King *Charles*, and another from his Brother-in-Law, to move for the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate.* They met with nothing more than Compliments: For the Emperor propos'd to the Dyet to paſs an Act, That the Prince *Palatine* ſhou'd continue a baniſh'd Man, and that no Offers of Return ſhou'd be made to him: And many other of the Proteſtant Princes had their Lands confiſcated, and other great Hardſhips impos'd upon them. Upon which the Dyet broke up in *November*, leaving the *Palatinate* and the whole Proteſtant Intereſt in a more deſperate Condition than ever. This excited the Reform'd Princes to enter into a Conſultation for their own Safety; and by a Letter from the Duke of *Saxony* to the Emperor, they obtain'd Leave to hold a Dyet for themſelves at *Leipſick*, where they laid open their Grievances to his Imperial Majeſty; and upon Denial of their Requeſts, they enter'd into a League to redreſs themſelves. The Emperor iſſu'd out his Imperial *Ban* againſt them; but they ſupported their Cauſe and Courage by the powerful Advances of the King of *Sweden.*

Endeavours for recovering the Palatinate.

1630.
Car. 6.

A Peace concluded with Spain.

The happy Effects of it.

In the mean time, the King of *Spain* promiſing that he wou'd improve his utmoſt Intereſt with the Emperor towards the Reſtoration of the Prince *Palatine*, a laſting Peace was concluded between the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*; at a remarkable Seaſon, when the Clouds of War began to be ſpread over moſt Parts of *Chriſtendom*. The Articles were the ſame that had formerly been concluded between King *James*, and *Philip* the Third of *Spain*; and the Peace was proclaim'd on *Sunday* the twenty ſeventh of *November*, with great Solemnity by the Heralds, accompany'd by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. Two Days after the Articles were publickly ſworn to at the Chappel at *Whitehall*; the King and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador went into their ſeveral Retirements while an Anthem was ſung; and the Dean, Dr. *Laud*, with three other Biſhops, all in their Caps, went up to the Altar with a *Latin Bible*, upon which the King laid his Hand. Secretary *Cook* having read the Oath, the King kiſs'd the Book, and ſign'd the Articles, which he deliver'd to the Ambaſſador; and from thence paſs'd to the *Banquetting Houſe*, where was provided a magnificent Entertainment. So that now the King was freed from two very expenſive and very ineffectual Wars, which had unhappily diſcover'd him to be too weak and indigent in his Affairs both at home and abroad. Theſe Treaties brought a great Increaſe of Trade to this Iſland; the *Spaniards* ſent yearly in *Engliſh* Bottoms, no leſs than ſix hundred thouſand Crowns in Bullion, for the Uſe of the *Netherland* Forces; which turn'd much to the King's Benefit in the Coinage, and no leſs to the Profit of the Merchants, moſt of the Mony being return'd into *Flanders* in Cloth, and other Commodities of *England*. And now the *Dutch* and *Eaſterlings*, being great Traders, look'd upon *London* to be the ſafeſt Bank not only to lodge, but to encreaſe their Treaſure; ſo that in a ſhort Time, the greateſt Part of the Trade of *Chriſtendom* was driven upon the River *Thames*.

The Death of Biſhop Dove,

Dr. Benefield,

And Mr. Briggs.

The three Sherleys.

To conclude this Year, beſides the Earl of *Pembroke* before mentioned, there dy'd three other conſiderable Men; as firſt, Dr. *Thomas Dove*, who had been thirty Years Biſhop of *Peterborough*, the laſt of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Biſhops, a Perſon celebrated for his reverend Aſpect and Deportment, his good Preaching and his Hoſpitality. Next Dr. *Sebeſtian Benefield*, the *Margaret*-Profeſſor of Divinity in *Oxford*; a noted *Calvinian* Theologiſt, excellently vers'd in the Fathers and School-men, reſerv'd and moroſe in his Diſpoſition, yet highly valuable for his extraordinary Piety, Strictneſs of Morals, and unblemiſh'd Integrity. Laſtly Mr. *Henry Briggs*, Profeſſor of Geometry in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, an excellent Scholar, and one of the moſt admired Mathematicians of his Time, being particularly regarded and eſteemed by the famous Lord *Neper* of *Scotland*. In this Year we may properly mention the three famous *Sherleys*, all Brothers and Knights, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Anthony*, and Sir *Robert*; who by their ſtrange Exploits and valiant Adventures, in many diſtant Parts of the World, became the Diſcourſe and Wonder of many Nations, and the Subject of ſeveral Poems, Plays, and Romances.

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The Repairing of St. Paul's *Cathedral.*

III. 1. In this happy Time of Peace, Plenty and Commerce, the religious King, excited by the Zeal and Activity of the Biſhop of *London*, began to undertake a great Work, the repairing and beautifying the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s; a vaſt and noble Pile, which through Age and Accidents had fallen into a great Decay. He went himſelf in Perſon to the Church, and made a kind of Proceſſion to view it, and granted a Commiſſion to ſome Biſhops and others, to raiſe Contributions, and ſee the Work compleated. This had ſo good Succeſs, that in eight Years Time the whole Body of the Church was finiſh'd, and the large Tower ſcaffolded up to the top, in order to raiſe it to a more ſtately Height, and to add four great Pinacles to it. The publick Contributions that were brought into the Chamber of *London*, amounted to more than a hundred thouſand Pounds; yet there was ſomething more done in it by the Munificence of the King, and the Bounty of the private Subject: His Majeſty, to give Life to the Work, had beſtow'd above ten thouſand Pounds towards the ſaid Sum; with Part of which he caus'd a ſtately Portico to be erected at the Weſt-End of the Church, rais'd on *Corinthian* Pillars; which diſplay'd the Skill of that admirable Architect Mr. *Inigo Jones*. On the other Side the generous Sir *Paul Pindar* firſt repaired the Decays of the great Partition at the Weſt-End of the Choir, adorning the outward Front of it with fair Pillars of Marble, and Statues of thoſe *Saxon* Kings who had been Founders and Benefactors; beautifying the inward Part with Figures of Angels, Cherubims, *&c.* richly gilded, with the Addition of curious Hangings at the upper End; and afterwards beſtow'd four thouſand Pounds in repairing the South-Part of the Croſs-Iſle.

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Offences taken at it.

It was ſcarcely to be imagin'd, that this new Structure of the Principal Church in the Metropolis of the Kingdom, cou'd have met with any Exceptions or Murmurings againſt it; yet it ſo hapned, that by means of ſome Neceſſities or Overſights in the Management of this Work, Offences were taken, and great Complaints made. For ſome Houſes and Shops adjoining to the Church were thought fit to be demoliſhed, for the greater Safety or Beauty of the Fabrick; and tho' reaſonable Compenſation was made to the Owners, yet this was call'd obtruding and extorting. Again, the Church-Yard was to be inlarg'd, and to be clear'd from the Obſtruction and Encroachment of ſome Walls and Buildings; all which had the Appearance of Waſte and Depopulation. A Vault for Burial, belonging to the Pariſh of St. *Gregory*'s, running too near the Sides of the Cathedral, and threatning the Foundations of it, was order'd to be fill'd up with Earth. Then the Church of St. *Gregory*'s was found neceſſary to be pull'd down by Order of Council; upon which the Pariſhioners were aſſign'd to the Weſt-End of *Chriſt-Church*, even againſt the Conſent of that Pariſh. After all, when further Supplies were ſtill wanting for this vaſt Expence, the Fines and Commutations in the *High-Commiſſion* and Spiritual Courts were commonly aſſign'd to this Uſe; and this caus'd Offenders to murmur, as if their Penalties were impos'd only for a Tax to this Church. In Reality, this noble Deſign of Biſhop *Laud*, tho' it might naturally have remov'd all other Prejudice againſt him, yet it unhappily ſerv'd to foment the Paſſions of many, who turn'd all the Marks of Generoſity and Magnificence, into Tokens of Pride and Ambition. So that when he fell into his Troubles, the firſt Year the Contributions fell from fifteen thouſand to fifteen hundred Pounds, and ſo to nothing; till at length, after an unheard-of Manner, the whole became a Stable for Horſes.

The Earl of Caſtlehaven *condemn'd to die.*

His Character.

2. But to return to the preſent Year 1631, which became noted for three remarkable Tryals, as different in their Nature, as in their Proceedings. The firſt was ſuch, as we cou'd wiſh the Laws of Hiſtory wou'd allow a Veil to be drawn over it; namely, that of *Mervin* Lord *Audley*, Earl of *Caſtlehaven* in *Ireland*, who had three Indictments found againſt him at *Salisbury* Aſſizes, for aſſiſting in a Rape upon his own Lady, and for Sodomy with ſeveral Perſons. For all which he was ſolemnly try'd by his Peers in *Weſtminſter-Hall* on *April* the twenty fifth, and being found guilty of thoſe deteſtable Crimes, with all the moſt ſcandalous Circumſtances, he receiv'd Sentence of Death. His Majeſty had ſo great an Abhorrence for Vices ſo unnatural, that he wou'd grant no Pardon, but only the Favour of being Beheaded, which was executed *May* the fourteenth on *Tower-Hill*. He was of noble Extraction, well qualify'd with Gifts of Nature, ſharp and quick of Apprehenſion, his Diſcourſe ſublime, and of high Conception, with great Subtilty diſguiſing his Actions from common Appearance, masking them till they became ſo foul, that the Habit of Sin took away all Senſe of Honour. Shortly after two of his Aſſociates, Mr. *Broadway* and *Fitz-Patrick*, ſuffer'd at *Tyburn*, for the ſame Crime.

The Caſe of Sir Giles Arlington.

His Sentence.

The ſecond Tryal was for a Crime of an inferior Nature, yet the Subject of great Diſcourſe and Speculation: This was of Sir *Giles Arlington*, a rich Knight, who, contrary to Admonition and Authority, had married his Niece, the Daughter of Mr. *Dalton*, for which inceſtuous Marriage he was queſtion'd by the *High-Commiſſion* Court, with which he had a long and hard Struggle. His Advocate pleaded it was not within the *Levitical* Interdict, where the Marriage of the Nephew and the Aunt is forbidden, but not of the Uncle with the Niece, for which they alledg'd *Bellarmine*'s Authority. But theſe Arguments being judg'd not better than Evaſions, Sir *Giles* had Recourſe to the *Common-Pleas*, from whence he obtain'd two Rules, one requiring the *High-Commiſſioners* to ſhew Cauſe why a Prohibition ſhou'd not be granted; and the other intimating, that if they proceeded, a Prohibition ſhou'd follow. This was judg'd ſo great an Incroachment, that the King thought fit to interpoſe, and by the Lord-Keeper to blame the Judges, who thereupon deſiſted; and the rather becauſe the Biſhop of *London* proteſted *He wou'd excommunicate the Judges in his Dioceſe, and denounce it himſelf at St.* Paul'*s, in caſe the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *did not do it in his Province.* Upon this Sir *Giles* was forc'd to ſubmit to the *High-Commiſſion* Court, where by the Mouth of eight Biſhops and four Civilian Judges, he receiv'd a ſolemn Sentence to pay a Fine of twelve thouſand Pounds to the King, to give twenty thouſand Pounds Security never to cohabit with his Niece, and to be impriſon'd or give ſufficient Bail, till both he and his Niece had done Penance at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, and St. *Mary*'s Church in *Cambridge*.

The third Tryal was more peculiar, and of more different Proceedings; occaſion'd by the former Accuſation of High-Treaſon given againſt the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*; about which the Lord-Keeper and Judges, upon the twenty ſecond of *Auguſt*, conſulted how to examine into the Truth of that remarkable Charge. The Lord *Rea*, a *Scotch* Baron, impeach'd *Ramſey* and *Meldrum* for exciting him beyond Sea

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A Tryal by Way of Combate.

to join in this Conſpiracy ; but they poſitively denying it, and no Witneſſes being produc'd, *Ramſey*, who was a Soldier, offer'd to clear himſelf by a ſolemn Combat. This Challenge being accepted by *Rea*, the Judges declared, 'Firſt, that it was an high and horrible Treaſon, if the Matter in theſe Examinations were found true : Secondly, That the Tryal might be by an Appeal of Treaſon, after the manner of the Civil Law, wherein the Judges were not to intermeddle.' Upon which a Court of Chivalry was erected by a particular Commiſſion under the Great Seal, and a Lord High-Conſtable and Earl Marſhal call'd. And after very long and formal Proceedings, with the Nomination of Time, Place, Armour, Weapons, *&c.* when the Parties were juſt ready for the Combate, the King himſelf interpos'd, and ſecuring their Perſons, put an End to the long Diſpute.

The Birth of the Princeſs of Orange.

The Death of two Judges,

Archbp. Harſenet,

Biſhop Buckridge,

Bp. Howſon,

Sir Robert Cotton,

Dr. Donne,

Mr. Drayton,

Dr. Sibs,

Mr. Hilderſham, *And Mr.* Bolton.

The Court it ſelf afforded little this Year, only the Queen on the fourth Day of *November* was deliver'd of her eldeſt Daughter, the Lady *Mary*, who was afterwards marry'd to the Prince of *Orange*. Before which time, this Year there dy'd two learned Judges, Chief Baron *Walter*, and Sir *Nicholas Hide*, Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench* ; the latter of whom Judge *Whitlock* gives this Account of, 'That he liv'd in the Place with great Integrity and Uprightneſs, and with great Wiſdom and Temper, conſidering the Ficklenefs of the Times. He wou'd never undertake, or adventure to give the King a reſolute Anſwer in any weighty Buſineſs, when the Queſtion was of the Law ; but he wou'd pray that he might confer with his Brethren : *And the King ever gave way to it.*' Which latter Acknowledgment from an eminent Judge, not partial to the King, is a great Argument that ſome following Opinions of the Judges were not extorted by Threats or Promiſes. Beſides theſe two, there dy'd ſeveral other eminent Men this Year, particularly three worthy Biſhops, as Dr. *Samuel Harſenet*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and a Privy-Counſellor, a learned and judicious Divine, and the firſt perhaps who us'd the noted Expreſſion of *Conformable Puritans*, ſuch as conform'd out of Policy, and diſſented in their Judgments : Dr. *John Buckeridge*, Biſhop of *Ely*, a Perſon of ſingular Gravity and Learning, who had formerly been Tutor to Biſhop *Laud* himſelf ; and Dr. *John Howſon*, Biſhop of *Durham*, a very learned Man, and plentifully furniſh'd with the Virtues and Abilities proper for the Epiſcopal Function. Here we muſt not omit that worthy and famous Antiquary, Sir *Robert Cotton*, a Man who had no Superior, or ſcarce any Equal in his Skill that way, and one whom the World is infinitely oblig'd to for his noble Collections preſerv'd in his Library at *Weſtminſter* : He was of that great and publick Spirit, that his uſual Saying was, *He had the leaſt Share in himſelf*, his Country and his Friends having always the greateſt Intereſt in him. Dr. *John Donne* is alſo to be remember'd, who after many Travels and Imployments was made Dean of St. *Paul's* ; a Perſon of admirable Parts and Ingenuity, who was a learned Divine, a great Linguiſt, and an excellent Poet, whoſe Memory was held in Veneration by the greateſt Wits, and moſt polite Men of his Time. To him we may join Mr. *Michael Drayton*, a firſt-rate Poet of this Time, a particular Friend and Country Man of the famous *Shakeſpear*, who by his Heroical Epiſtles, and other Poems, obtain'd the Name of the *Engliſh Ovid*. To conclude, we ſhall mention three noted Divines, as Dr. *Richard Sibs*, Maſter of *Catherine*-Hall in *Cambridge*, a pious Improver, and a worthy Benefactor to that ſame College ; Mr. *Arthur Hilderſham*, and Mr. *Robert Bolton*, two great and ſhining Lights of the Puritan Party, both juſtly celebrated for their ſingular Learning and Piety.

The Progreſs and Victories of the King of Sweden.

3. At this time the King's Thoughts were moſt abroad, where the Fate of the *German* Empire was depending, and where the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* was employ'd with ſix thouſand Men in the Service of the renowned King of *Sweden*. He landed in *Pomerania* not before *Auguſt*, where he ſtay'd for the Arrival of ſix thouſand *Swedes* to march with him through the Enemies Quarters to the King ; but that Convoy failing, he loſt the Honour of being engag'd in the famous Battel of *Leipſick*, to the great Regret of himſelf and his Army. The King of *Sweden*, in a Letter under his own Hand, gave the King of *England* an Account of this Victory obtain'd againſt *Tilly* the Imperial General ; after which ſignal Defeat he marched on with a mighty Torrent of Succeſs and Terror. In *September*, Sir *Henry Vane* was ſent Ambaſſador extraordinary to the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and other Princes and States of *Germany* ; and in *January* he had Audience of the King of *Sweden* at *Frankfort*, where he earneſtly preſs'd that victorious Prince, That he wou'd undertake the Reſtitution of the Elector *Palatine*, to his Eſtates and Dignity. The King anſwer'd, 'That he cou'd not bring this about, without having a War with *France* and *Bavaria* ; which he cou'd not undertake, unleſs the King of *England* wou'd enter into an Alliance with him againſt *Spain*.' However it was concerted, That upon the Prince *Palatine's* Arrival at the *Swediſh* Camp, where he was ſpeedily expected, the Chancellor of the *Swedes*, and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, ſhou'd enter into a Treaty about this difficult Affair.

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His Offers to the Elector Palatine.

Rejected.

The King of *Sweden* ſtill purſu'd his Victories with a moſt rapid Courſe, into the very Bowels of the *German* Empire, raiſing Terror and Wonder in all Places. And being Maſter of the Field even in the *Palatinate*, the Prince Elector, about the Middle of *July*, had his laſt Audience ; when the King, more like a Conqueror than a Friend, offer'd theſe hard Propoſals : '1. That the Elector ſhou'd hold his Country as a Donative of the King of *Sweden*. 2 He ſhou'd make no Martial Levies without the *Swedes* Conſent. 3. During this War he ſhou'd furniſh the *Swedes* with a ſet Number of Men upon his own Pay. 4. Two of the chief Towns ſhou'd ſtand Cautionaries for the Performance of Covenants. 5. He ſhou'd make no League nor Article with any other Prince, without the *Swedes* Conſent.' The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador knew, That his Maſter and the Prince, and all Mankind wou'd think theſe Terms diſhonourable ; and therefore he expoſtulated with the King of *Sweden*, in ſo much Freedom of Speech, that they both parted in a Paſſion, and the Treaty broke off. The King of *England* perceiving his Forces not likely to be employ'd for the Service of the *Palatinate*, as he deſign'd Them, wrote to the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* to make an Excuſe and return home. He ſent Letters alſo to the King of *Sweden*, charging him with obſtructing a League between them ; and ſo recalling his Ambaſſador, Inſtructions were left with his Secretary Mr. *Curtius*, who ſtaid behind as his Majeſty's Agent with the King of *Sweden*.

The King of Sweden's *Death and Character.*

Still the *Swediſh* Army paſs'd on with prodigious Succeſs againſt the Emperor : His great General *Tilly* had been often defeated, and at laſt wounded to Death ; and Count *Walleſtein*, in great Diſguſt for former Neglects, had been now forc'd to be courted to re-accept the Office of Generaliſſimo of the Imperial Army. While the Elector *Palatine* was again put in Hopes of his Reſtoration, by the Advances and kinder Offers of the King of *Sweden*, Heaven put a Stop to the great Heroe in the full Career of all his Triumphs, by a Death natural to his Profeſſion. This hapned at the memorable Battel of *Lutzen*, on the 6th of *November* ; where the brave King being too adventurouſly engag'd in the Thickeſt of his Troops, was ſlain by an unknown Hand : Yet his Death prov'd ſo ſmall a Diſcouragement to the Army, that it inſpir'd them with a new Spirit of Revenge, and redoubling their Martial Fury, they gain'd a bloody Victory. Such was the End of the moſt renowned Warrior that *Europe* had known for many Ages ; who in two Years time won and gain'd two Hundred and ninety ſix Cities, Forts and walled Towns, as we are aſſur'd by the impartial *Priorato*. He dy'd before he was thirty eight Years of Age, or Fortune had forſaken him. His Character is too copious to be drawn in this Place ; only we may obſerve, That the Majeſtick Gracefulneſs of his Preſence, and the Heroick Magnanimity of his Spirit, had made ſo powerful an Impreſſion upon all ſorts of Men, that after his Death his very Pictures were almoſt idoliz'd, as his Perſon had been before.

The Elector Palatine's *Death and Character.*

This King's Death was ſoon after ſucceeded by the unfortunate Prince *Palatine*, King of *Bohemia*, who was carry'd off by an Infection taken at *Mentz*, on the 29th of the ſame Month. To ſay a Word of his Perſon, he was of a comely and handſome Appearance, and of a fair Stature, with an Aſpect duſkiſh and inclining to Melancholy ; but his Mind ſeem'd more ſuited to the Management of his Domeſtick Affairs, than prepared for vigorous and maſculine Attempts, ſuch as were proper to ſupport a conteſted Title, and the Dignity of a Crown : So that we do not find any Thing very great in his Character, his Queen generally ſhewing a Nobler and more Heroick Spirit under all the late Misfortunes. He left a numerous Iſſue of ſix Sons and five Daughters, the youngeſt of which, the Princeſs *Sophia*, then two Years of Age, ſince proving the Proteſtant Heir to the Crown of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. Shortly after his Death, the Earl of *Arundel* was ſent over by King *Charles* to his Siſter at the *Hague*, to condole the great Loſs of her Husband, and to invite Her and her Children into *England*. But ſhe ſent an Excuſe for the preſent, as being extreamly immers'd in Sorrow, and not yet able to undertake the Journey.

Of the Muſcovites *and* Poles.

This Year the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, deſigning to regain the Town of *Smolensko* from the King of *Poland*, apply'd himſelf to the King of *England* for Leave to raiſe two Thouſand Men ; who by Conſent were rais'd, and commanded by Colonel *Sanderſon*, and landed and march'd to the Siege of *Smolensko*. Here, upon a Punctilio of Honour, Colonel *Sanderſon* was baſely murder'd by Colonel *Leſley*, for which he ſuffer'd a cruel Death. This drew the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* into Parties of Revenge and Defence ;

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upon which the *Poles* took the Advantage of this time of Diſtraction, and fell upon the *Muſcovites* with that Fury and Succeſs, that they forc'd them to quit the Siege, and comply with diſhonourable Terms of Peace.

The Lord Went-worth *ſent into* Ireland.

4. But to come nearer home, this Year his *Britiſh* Majeſty had great Occaſion to turn his Thoughts towards his Kingdom of *Ireland*, which being under the Government of Lords Juſtices, was now labouring under great Ferments and Diſtempers, owing chiefly to the powerful Encreaſe of the *Papiſts*, eſpecially the Clergy, who openly erected an Univerſity in *Dublin*, in Emulation or rather Defiance of the King's College there. To reduce the troubleſome Affairs of that Kingdom into better Peace and Order, the King ſent over the Lord Viſcount *Wentworth*, under the Title of Lord-Deputy, upon good Experience of that vigorous Spirit of Diſcipline and Conduct he had exercis'd as Preſident of the *North*. When he came to his new Government, he found all Things in great Diſorder, the Revenue ſo low that *Ireland* was a Burthen to the Crown of *England*, which by Degrees he not only remov'd, but ſo improv'd the Trade of the Nation, and the Revenue of the Crown, that that Kingdom was not only able to ſupport it ſelf, but to lend Supplies to *England*.

The King reſtrains the Reſort to London.

He has the Small-Pox.

At home his Majeſty this Year took particular Notice of the too great Reſort of the Nobility, Gentry, and the dignify'd Clergy to the Court and City, and thereby leaving the Country deſtitute of Hoſpitality, and other Benefits of Reſidence. For which Reaſon his Majeſty by his Proclamation in *June* did command, 'That before the End of 'Forty Days, all Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and Clerks, 'do reſort to their ſeveral Counties of Reſidence, there to 'keep their Habitations and Hoſpitality; except ſuch as 'were of his Majeſty's Council, or bound to Attendance 'at Court.' But the more immediate Cauſe of this Diſmiſſion, was an Apprehenſion, that the Acceſs of People from infected Places in the Country, might again endanger the City, lately deliver'd from the Plague. And therefore another Proclamation was iſſu'd out, 'To inhibit the Re'ſort of his Majeſty's People to the Court, for Cure of the '*King's Evil*, and to reſtrain the Acceſs of others from 'infected Places.' Not long after the King himſelf fell much indiſpos'd, and had the *Small-Pox* appearing on him; but the Diſeaſe prov'd very gentle and ſafe, tho' ſo fatal to many of his Royal Poſterity.

Several Removals in the Church.

Winde-bank *made Secretary.*

Still Biſhop *Laud*'s Intereſt ſtood firm with his Majeſty, or rather encreas'd; and he daily promoted the Grandeur of the Church with indefatigable Induſtry, in Oppoſition both to *Popery* and *Puritaniſm*; yet uſually reſtraining his Favours to thoſe call'd *Arminians*, in Oppoſition to the *Calviniſts*. He always proceeded by the brighteſt Integrity, tho' ſometimes clouded by the Storms of Paſſion; which was generally ſucceeded by a Shower of Tears. His great Care was to recommend ſuch Perſons to the Dignities of the Church, as he thought were of the greateſt Probity and publick Spirit. Under this View, Biſhop *Neyle* was tranſlated from *Wincheſter* to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, Biſhop *Curl* from *Bath and Wells* to *Wincheſter*, and Dr. *Pierce* promoted to *Bath and Wells*. Biſhop *White* was tranſlated from *Norwich* to *Ely*, Biſhop *Corbet* from *Oxford* to *Norwich*, and Dr. *Bancroft* promoted to *Oxford*. Biſhop *Morton* was likewiſe tranſlated from *Coventry* and *Litchfield* to *Durham*, Biſhop *Wright* from *Briſtol* to *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and Dr. *Linſel* promoted to the See of *Peterborough*, as alſo Dr. *Juxon* made Clerk of the King's Cloſet. But Biſhop *Laud*'s Intereſt did not reſt here; for upon the Death of *Dudley* Lord *Carleton* this Year, whoſe Character we have already given, he procur'd his old Friend, Mr. *Francis Windebank*, to be made Secretary of State. This Perſon prov'd afterwards ſo much a Creature of the Queen's, and ſuch an Advocate and Patron to all ſuffering Prieſts and Jeſuits, that he got the Character of a Papiſt, and encreas'd the Odium againſt Biſhop *Laud*, who by preferring him was to anſwer to the Nation for his good Behaviour.

The Death of Judge Whitlock,

Mr. Allen,

*Dr.*Taylor,

Beſide the Lord *Carleton*, this Year there dy'd the famous Judge *Whitlock*, a Perſon not only excellent in what related to his own Profeſſion, but alſo in many others; by whoſe Deceaſe the King loſt as good a Subject, his Country as good a Patriot, and the People as juſt a Judge as ever liv'd, as his own Son teſtifies in his *Memorials*. Beſides him, we are to mention two Divines, and three Stateſmen: The Divines were Mr. *Thomas Allen*, and Dr. *Thomas Taylor*; the former was alſo a moſt eminent Antiquary, Philoſopher and Mathematician, highly eſteem'd and courted by great Men in *England* and Foreign Parts; but being delighted with Retirement and an Academical Life, he refus'd a Biſhoprick and other Preferments, and dy'd in *Glouceſter-Hall* in *Oxford*, in the 90th Year of his Age. The later, Dr. *Taylor*, was a *Cantabrigian* of *Chriſt-College*, and afterwards a celebrated *London* Preacher, where diſplaying a ſingular Excellency in opening and purſuing an Allegory, he became ſo noted and admired, as to gain the Name of *The Illuminated Doctor*. The Stateſmen were Sir *Iſaac Wake*, Sir *George Calvert*, and Sir *Robert Naunton*: The firſt had been worthily employ'd by King *James* in ſeveral Foreign Embaſſies; being a Man of very refined Learning and ſtrong Parts, and obſerv'd, when in *Oxford*, to have had a Pen more at Command in the *Latin*, *Engliſh* and *French* Tongues, than any of his Time in the Univerſity. The other two, Sir *George Calvert* and Sir *Robert Naunton*, were both made Secretaries of State by King *James*, which Places they diſcharg'd with Honour and Dexterity, and the former was particularly rewarded with the Barony of *Baltimore* in *Ireland*.

1632.
Car. 8.

Sir Iſaac Wake,

Sir George Calvert *and Sir* Robert Naunton.

1633.
Car. 9.

The King reſolves to be crown'd in Scotland.

IV. 1. The King being now ſurrounded with a general Tranquillity, without the Fear of Enemies from abroad, and leſs of Inſurrections at home, he reſolv'd to make a Progreſs into the North, and to be ſolemnly crown'd in his ancient and native Kingdom of *Scotland*, which he had never ſeen ſince the time of his Infancy. This prov'd a great Step towards the future Commotions, and conſequently his own Misfortunes; but he had many Motives to undertake this publick Solemnity. His Preſence and Coronation had been expected in *Scotland* almoſt ever ſince the Death of his Father, and his long Delay had been unkindly interpreted in that Kingdom; ſo that ſome Murmurs were given out, *That if the King did not think the Crown of* Scotland *worth his Journey thither, there might be ſome other Way of diſpoſing of it.*

The State of Scotland,

In Civil Affairs,

The *Scots* Nation, by King *James*'s pacifick Deportment whilſt there, and his obliging Bounty whilſt in *England*, had with great Plenty enjoy'd a continual Peace for above forty Years; which none of their Records can give an Account of for ſo long a Time before. But notwithſtanding this extended Train of Felicity, there were now many Diſcontents in the Kingdom, both in reſpect of the Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical State. The Nation had for many Ages enjoy'd Kings of their own, whoſe Courts they had always preſent with them; whereas by the annexing of that Kingdom to *England*, their Kings reſided in *England*, as the more conſiderable of the two; which made them highly complain, 'That now they ſhou'd have none of their 'King's Court with them, but they who had ſo long en'joy'd their own Kings, muſt at laſt become a Province, 'and be govern'd by an *Engliſh* Deputy.' Yet this was not the only Reaſon of their Diſcontents, for another Matter gave them a greater Caſe of Murmuring, eſpecially to the Nobility and great Men, which was this: By the Connivance of *Murray*, and other Regents in the Minority of King *James*, thoſe Lands belonging to the Cathedral Churches and Religious Houſes, which by Act of Parliament had been convey'd to the Crown, were parcell'd and ſhar'd among the great Men of the Kingdom; who being thus poſſeſs'd of the ſaid Lands and Regalities annex'd, exercis'd an arbitrary Power over the Clergy and Peaſants under their Juriſdiction. King *Charles* finding little Aid from his *Scots* Subjects, by the Advice of his Council of that Kingdom, proceeded to the Recovery of his Right in thoſe Lands and Regalities; which he endeavour'd to effect firſt by an *Act of Revocation*, and that failing, by a Commiſſion for *Surrendring of Superiorities*. But the aſpiring Poſſeſſors of theſe Advantages choſe rather to expoſe their Country to imminent Danger, than to part with any of that Power they exercis'd on their Vaſſals; and thereupon reſolv'd to oppoſe the King in the next Parliament, which was appointed to meet ſoon after his Arrival.

And in Religious.

Epiſcopacy eſtabliſh'd.

But becauſe Religion, and the Care of that, was like to make the greateſt Impreſſion upon the Vulgar, the Name of it was much inſiſted on, and the Dangers threatning it daily aggravated. The true State of it was briefly this: The Kirk of *Scotland* from the Reformation in 1560, was govern'd firſt by Superintendents, and then Biſhops, till 1580 in an Aſſembly at *Dundee*, Epiſcopacy was condemn'd as contrary to the Word of God, and Presbytery eſtabliſh'd, firſt by Tumult, and afterwards by Law in 1592. But King *James* finding the encreaſing Power of the Miniſters and Preachers, which often overtop'd that of the Civil Magiſtracy, took Occaſion and Advantage from ſome of their Exorbitancies and Miſcarriages, to reſtore Epiſcopacy in the Nation by a Parliament in 1612; and accordingly nominated thirteen new Biſhops for ſo many Epiſcopal Sees as had been anciently in that Church: Which Biſhops he alſo arm'd with the Power of an *High-Commiſſion*, the better to curb the Spirit of the Presbyterians, the Heat and Fervour of which was hardly to be parallel'd in any other Nation. This Step being made, that King advanc'd towards an Uniformity in the Worſhip and Ceremonies of *England*: But in this he met with greater Oppoſition, and all that he obtain'd was, That in one Aſſembly at *Aberdeen* an Act paſs'd for the compoſing a Liturgy for the uſe of the Church of *Scotland*; and in another at *Perth*, the five

Articles,

1633.
Car. 9.

Other Advances.

Articles, that bore the Name of that Place, were ſettled, and afterward eſtabliſh'd in Parliament in the Year 1621. Theſe were, 'Kneeling in the Sacrament; Private Communion in Caſes of Neceſſity; Private Baptiſm in the 'like Caſe; Confirmation of Children; and the Obſervation of the Holy Days of *Chriſt's Nativity*, *Paſſion*, *Reſurrection*, and *Aſcenſion*, and the *Pentecoſt*.' The King alſo about that Time mov'd that a Liturgy ſhou'd be fram'd and us'd according to the Model of the *Engliſh* Church; but the Difficulties in obtaining theſe five Articles was one great Cauſe of laying it aſide, and the old Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, then Commiſſioner, aſſur'd the Parliament, *That his Majeſty ſhou'd not in his Days preſs any more Change, or Alteration in Matters of that Kind, without their Conſents.*

The King's Progreſs towards Scotland.

2. Such was the State of *Scotland* when King *Charles* came to the Crown, and for a few Years after; when he reſolv'd to make a ſolemn Progreſs into that Kingdom. To perform this with the greater Pomp and Regularity, in the Beginning of *May*, his Majeſty by Proclamation order'd, 'That competent Proviſions ſhou'd be made for his Royal 'Perſon and Attendants, in the ſeveral Parts of this Realm 'through which he was to paſs; and that the Prices of 'them ſhou'd be Rated by the Clerk of the Market of the 'King's Houſhold.' And the next Day another Proclamation was publiſh'd, 'For the better Ordering his Maje'ſty's Court and Train in his Journey to *Scotland*, and his 'Return from thence.' His Gueſts Stays upon the Road being fix'd as to Time and Place, on *May* the thirteenth his Majeſty ſet out from *London* with a glorious Retinue of the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Arundel*, *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, and *Holland*, the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, the Biſhop of *London*, and many other Perſons of Quality, who were all to go at their own Expences. The whole Progreſs was perform'd with the moſt imaginable Grandeur and Magnificence; all Perſons of Quality and Condition, whoſe Seats border'd upon the Northern Road, receiv'd the Nobility and Attendance of the Court with a ſuitable Hoſpitality. The King accepted of many noble Entertainments by the Way, as at *Welbeck* from the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, at *Raby* Caſtle from Sir *Henry Vane*, at *Durham* ſeveral Days from Biſhop *Morton*, and at *York* and *Newcaſtle* from the Magiſtrates of thoſe Places. The greateſt Exceſs of Feaſting was then introduc'd, or at leaſt Feaſting was then carry'd on to a Height it never had attain'd before, from whence in this Reign it hardly ever declin'd, to the great Damage of the Eſtates and Manners of the Nation. The great Offices and Places in the Court, were pretty equally divided between the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*; the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Carliſle*, with almoſt all the ſecond Rank of Attendants about his Majeſty's Perſon, being of that Kingdom: So there was a ſort of an Emulation between the two Nations who ſhou'd now appear in the greateſt Luſtre and Splendor in their Equipages; and eſpecially the *Scottiſh* Nobility, who exceeded themſelves, and were reſolv'd to confute all thoſe, who had believ'd their Country to be very poor.

He enters Edinburgh.

Where he is ſolemnly Crown'd.

On the twelfth Day of *June* the King enter'd his Native Country *Scotland*, when immediately all his *Engliſh* Officers and Servants yielded up their Attendance to thoſe of that Nation; all the Tables of the Houſe were laid down by them, and taken up again by the *Scots*, who kept them with the ſame Order and Splendor, and treated the *Engliſh* with all imaginable Freedom and Courteſy. His Majeſty was met by numerous Throngs of all ſorts of People, which daily encreas'd as he drew nearer to the capital City of *Edinburgh*; which he enter'd on the fifteenth Inſtant with extraordinary Pomp and Magnificence, where he was receiv'd with loud Acclamations, fine Speeches, rich Pageants, and all the Expreſſions of the moſt profound Reſpect, and dilated Exultation. Three Days after began the Solemnities of the Coronation, when his Majeſty deſcended from the Caſtle, and paſs'd with a glorious Parade of all his great Officers and Nobility, with the utmoſt State, to the Abbey Church; where the Sermon was preach'd by Dr. *Lindſey* Biſhop of *Brechin*, upon theſe Words, *And all the People ſaid, God ſave King* Solomon! and the chief Ceremonies were perform'd by the eminent Dr. *Spotſwood*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s. The whole Spectacle was very ſurpriſing and charming, the Concourſe of People beyond Expreſſion, and the Marks of their Joy in Richneſs of Apparel, ſumptuous Feaſtings, and loud Applauſes, nothing inferior to that Concourſe. The King was highly pleas'd with his Reception, which equall'd any Thing he cou'd expect in *England*: But the Debts contracted at that Time by the Nobility and Gentry, occaſion'd by the preſent Luxury and vaſt Expence, with the Wants and Temptations that ſucceeded, very much contributed to the Kindling that Fire, which not long after broke out into ſo terrible a Combuſtion.

1633.
Car. 9.

He holds a Parliament.

3. The Nobility and great Men ſeem'd to ſtand well and equally in the King's Favour, till after the Parliament, which met on the twentieth Inſtant, and ſolemnly rode from the King's Palace to the Parliament-Houſe, the Honours carry'd, and uſual Ceremonies obſerv'd. Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* preach'd the Sermon, and the King made a very gracious Speech. Within eight Days Time thirty one publick Acts were paſs'd, two of which were of the Nature of Aids and Subſidies to the King, which met with no Difficulty. But at the paſſing of two Others, the King began more openly to ſee the Diſcontents of ſeveral great Men and Others, who made an unexpected Oppoſition. One was intitl'd *An Act concerning his Majeſty's Royal Prerogative, and Apparel of Kirk-men*; The Other, *An Act of Ratification of the Acts touching Religion.* The King finding this, took out a Liſt of the whole Aſſembly, and ſaid, *Gentlemen, I have all your Names here, and I'll know who will do me Service, and who will not, this Day.* However thirteen Noblemen, and as many *Barons* and *Burgeſſes* declar'd their Diſſent; among the former were the Earls of *Rothes*, *Caſſils*, and *Lothian*, and the Lords *Lindſey*, *Porplichin*, *Sinclar*, *Balmerino*, *Cooper*, *Yeſter*, and four more. Upon the paſſing all theſe Acts, on the twenty eighth of *June*, the Parliament was diſſolv'd, after a ſhort Seſſion of not above eight Days.

It is diſſolv'd

Several Diſcontents.

The Paſſing the Act concerning Eccleſiaſtical Habits, by which the *Surplice* was thought to be intended, did much perplex the diſſenting Lords and others; which occaſion'd ſome of them to publiſh a Libel in Writing reflecting upon his Majeſty's Proceedings, in which they expoſtulated, 'How grievous a Thing it was for a King in that Place, 'by making of his Subjects Votes, to Over-awe his Par'liament: And that the ſame was a Breach of Privilege, &c.' This Writing, as afterwards appear'd, was drawn by one *William Hagg*, who fled for it, but being found in the Cuſtody of the Lord *Balmerino*, who was alſo known to be diſaffected to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, that Lord, by the Inſtigation of the Privy-Council, was in a Court of his Peers found guilty of *Concealing Treaſon*, and therefore condemn'd to loſe his Head. But tho' he obtain'd a gracious Pardon, and made ſolemn Promiſes of Loyalty, before the Privy-Council, yet it made ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion, that he cou'd never forgive the King nor Them. Biſhop *Guthry* relates this Story with ſome Difference, and that the Earl of *Rothes* was alſo concern'd in the ſame Matter; concerning whom Sir *Edward Walker* tells us, he had a particular Reſentment againſt the King. For when his Majeſty went into the County of *Fife*, that Earl being Hereditary Sheriff, aſſembled all his Friends and Dependents in the beſt Equipage to receive Him; but the King, either by Accident or Deſign, went another Way, and miſs'd him. This was never forgot by the Earl, who became one of the Firſt and moſt active Inſtruments in the future Troubles and Commotions.

And great Complaints.

Some other Things alſo concurr'd to open a Way to thoſe fatal Diſturbances: For beſides the two Acts beforemention'd, there were two or three more paſs'd, which did much leſſen the Authority of the great Men, and the Subjection and Dependance of their Tenants; which ſerv'd to incenſe the one, and make the other more licentious. Then it alſo now appear'd, That, excepting the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, the *Scotch* Noblemen, who had been greateſt Favourites in the *Engliſh* Court, had the leaſt Intereſt in their own Country; and that the Bounties, heap'd upon them by the King and his Father, were not eſteem'd as any Favour to the Nation, but as Obligations caſt upon thoſe particular Men, who by being more gracious with the King, were the more ſuſpected to the People. But laſtly, the moſt dangerous of all was the Fears and Jealouſies taken up by the Kirk Party: They were taught to be upon their Guard by the Biſhop of *London*'s waiting upon the King; and they look'd with a worſe Eye upon him, when they heard him preach in the Royal Chappel at *Edinburgh*, chiefly on the Benefit of Conformity, and the Reverence due to the Ceremonies of the Church. They grew more exaſperated, when the King during his Stay had erected and endow'd an Epiſcopal See at *Edinburgh*, and had promoted ſome of the Biſhops to be principal Officers of State, and likewiſe committed the Framing and Compoſing of a Liturgy for the Church of *Scotland* to a ſelect Number of their Biſhops. Theſe ſeveral Steps were with great Indignation exclaim'd againſt, as a Project to ſubject *Scotland* to all the Forms and Eſtabliſhments of *England*, which they pretended wou'd make their Kingdom appear like a depending Province, and leave their Kirk depriv'd of all the Remainder of its own Way of Reformation.

Notwithſtanding theſe preſaging Appearances, the King was nobly receiv'd in a Progreſs he made through ſeveral Parts of the Country; who after a dangerous Paſſage over *Edinburgh* Frith, at length arriv'd at *Berwick*, upon the

ſixteenth

The King's Return to Greenwich

ſixteenth of *July*, after he had continu'd in *Scotland* about five Weeks. From hence he went Poſt in four Days to his Queen at *Greenwich*, coming no nearer *London* than *Black-Wall*. But in this he is obſerv'd to have laid aſide the Majeſty of his Predeceſſors, eſpecially of Queen *Elizabeth*, who ſeldom ended any of her Summer Progreſſes, but ſhe made her Paſſage to *White-Hall* through a conſiderable Part of the City; not only requiring the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen to come forth and meet her, but the ſeveral Companies of the City to attend ſolemnly in their Formalities as ſhe went along: By which, and other Arts, ſhe preſerv'd the Heighth of Majeſty and Reverence, with a happy Mixture of Love and Popularity. But theſe being laid aſide by King *James*, and not reſum'd by King *Charles*, there follow'd firſt a Neglect of their Perſons, which *Majeſty* wou'd have made Sacred, and afterwards a Miſlike of their Government, which *Popularity* wou'd have made more grateful.

The Death of Archbiſhop Abbot.

He is ſucceeded by Biſhop Laud

V. I. The King being again ſettled in his chief Kingdom, the firſt Accident of Moment, that hapned after his Return, was the Death of Dr. *Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had continued twenty one Years in that high Station; whoſe Character we have formerly given with all Impartiality. The King took very little Time to conſider who ſhou'd be his Succeſſor, but the very next Time the Biſhop of *London* came to wait upon him, he chearfully receiv'd him with this Compellation, *My Lord's Grace of* Canterbury, *you are very welcome!* and gave Order the ſame Day for the Diſpatch of all neceſſary Forms for his Tranſlation, which were all expedited and compleated in a little above a Month's Time, at *Lambeth*, where he kept a moſt ſolemn and magnificent Feaſt. He had been lately made a Privy-Counſellor in *Scotland*, as before in *England*, and was now advanc'd to the higheſt Station of Honour and Truſt in the Church; and, which is remarkable, about the ſame Time he was offer'd, what in other Nations is accounted ſtill more honourable, a Cardinal's Cap. His Anſwer was, *That he cou'd not accept the Offer, till* Rome *were otherwiſe than it was*; all which he acquainted the King with, as he likewiſe did when the ſame Offer was reinforc'd a Fortnight after: Upon which ſecond Refuſal, the Tempter for ever left him. The beginning of this Grandeur was attended with an Accident, which was thought very ominous; for when he went firſt to *Lambeth*, the Ferry-Boat that carry'd his Coach and Horſes and Servants, after a ſtrange Manner ſunk to the Bottom of the *Thames*, without Damage to the Men or Goods; which he enter'd in his Diary as an Eſcape of ſignal Note.

A farther Account of Dr. Laud *and his Proceedings.*

We have already given the Character of this great Prelate, yet ſtill it will be uſeful to take a farther View of him in this exalted State, which continu'd in great Splendor and Envy for about ſeven Years. His Proceedings, notwithſtanding he was now Sixty Years of Age, were with the utmoſt Vigour and Activity; and while he had the Honour of God and the Church, and the Service of his Maſter in View, he did not much conſider preſent Obſtructions, or future Conſequences. He had ſtood againſt innumerable Oppoſitions, as well before as ſince he was Biſhop, relating to that diſtracting Controverſy of *Arminianiſm* and *Calviniſm*. So that when he came to great Authority, he is thought to have retain'd too keen a Memory of Thoſe who had ſo ſeverely perſecuted him before; and was ſo far tranſported with the ſame Paſſions he complain'd of in his Adverſaries, that as they accus'd him of *Popery*, becauſe he had ſome Doctrinal Opinions, not agreeable to theirs, tho' nothing ally'd to that Religion; ſo he entertain'd too much Prejudice to ſome Perſons, as if they were Enemies to the Diſcipline of the Church, becauſe they concurr'd with *Calvin* in ſome Points of Doctrine: Whereas they abhorr'd his Diſcipline, reverenc'd the Government of the Church, and pray'd for the Peace of it with a Zeal equal to any, which they did manifeſt by their Lives and their Sufferings with it and for it. Of this Sort were Dr. *Davenant*, *Prideaux*, *Brownrig*, *Oldſworth*, *Shute*, *Udall*, &c. moſt of whom had the Misfortune not fully to know, and not rightly to be known by this Prelate, till it was too late.

His promoting the Grandeur of the Church.

The Archbiſhop's Heart was entirely ſet upon the Advancement and Grandeur of the Church of *England*, which he brought to that Height, that it ſhew'd rather a Rivalſhip, than a Reſemblance of the Church of *Rome*; which rais'd more the Envy, than the Admiration of its Enemies. In this, and all his great and pious Deſigns, he had the hearty Concurrence of the King, ſo that he thought he had no Reaſon to fear the moſt powerful Oppoſers; yet for a Support, he caus'd his worthy Friend and Companion, Dr. *William Juxon*, to ſucceed him in the Biſhoprick of *London*: And not long after, upon the Death of his Enemy, *Weſton* Lord High Treaſurer, he was made one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury and Revenue, which he had Reaſon to be ſorry for, becauſe it rais'd him new Enemies, and engag'd him in Civil Affairs, and Matters of State, in which he had little Experience. And as he was thus involv'd Himſelf, ſo to enhance the Reputation of the inferior Clergy, he caus'd many of them to be advanc'd into Civil Offices; ſo that Doctors and Miniſters of Pariſhes were every where made Juſtices of Peace; and they not living with their former Condeſcenſion towards their Neighbours of Quality and Patrons, it increas'd the common Hatred, more than their own Authority. As he lov'd Pomp and Ceremony in the Church, ſo he promoted Beauty and Regularity with a fervent Zeal; he caus'd the Communion Tables to be plac'd Altar-ways, and decently to be rail'd in, and was ſo ſtrict about the Veſtments, and other inferior Matters, that had been long neglected, that all was call'd by the odious Name of *Innovations*. That which caus'd greateſt Heats was the eager Manner of inforcing the Practice; about which aroſe innumerable Diſſenſions, and Books were written for and againſt it, with the ſame Earneſtneſs and Warmth, as if the Life of Chriſtianity had been at Stake; and what was more dangerous, it caus'd a ſort of a Schiſm among the Biſhops themſelves, and much Uncharitableneſs among the moſt learned of the Clergy. As to theſe, and all his various Projects, Dr. *Heylyn*, in the Opinion of others, ſays thus of the Archbiſhop; 'That he was too ſudden and precipitate in the 'Purſuit of his Undertakings, the Fruits whereof he deſir'd 'to taſte before they were ripe; That his Embracements 'were too large and general, having more Irons in the 'Fire at once, than cou'd be well work'd in one Forge; 'not ſuffering one of his Counſels to hold on a Probationſhip, before it was retarded by another.

His Influence on the Publick.

However his preſent Greatneſs was too high for Oppoſition, and he continu'd ſome Years without a Rival in Church and State. He was a vigorous Actor, and had a ſingular Influence, in three great Juriſdictions, beſides what was properly his own, namely The *Council-Table*, the *Star-Chamber* and the *High-Commiſſion*; all which were afterwards made the main Subject of Grievances. Theſe were formerly look'd upon as ſo many Chanels to convey the Royal Authority to Subjects, for the Good of them and the Publick; but now, either by the Exorbitancy of the Managers, or the Obſtinacy of the Sufferers, they were accounted firſt burdenſom, and then unſufferable. Yet in the happy Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, no leſs Arbitrary Power had been exercis'd in theſe Courts, but with different Effects: For, beſides the Advantage the Government had by having its Reins held by a ſtrict and ſteady Hand, there was this material Difference; That in thoſe Proceedings, they generally us'd ſo much Art, Privacy and Dexterity, that the ſuffering Party felt only the Weight of the Judgment, and not the Paſſion of the Judges; but now the long Debates, warm Speeches, and perſonal Reflections, were often thought a greater Puniſhment, or at leaſt a greater Provocation, than the Severity of the Judgment. In theſe Matters the Archbiſhop was much condemn'd, as often unable to avoid ſharpneſs of Language and Expreſſions, which was ſo natural to him, that he cou'd not debate the leaſt Thing without Commotion. This ſort of Proceedings caus'd the Parliament afterwards in a Remonſtrance to complain, *That the* High-Commiſſion *grew to ſuch Exceſs of Sharpneſs and Severity, as was not much leſs than the* Romiſh Inquiſition. Yet upon an Examination into the Acts of that Court, it appear'd, That during the twenty one Years of Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s Government, there were more Sentences of Suſpenſions, and other Eccleſiaſtical Puniſhments, by Three, in every ſeven Years of his Time, than in the ſeven Years of the preſent Archbiſhop.

His Behaviour towards great Tranſgreſſors.

But what gave the greateſt and moſt fatal Diſlike to him was, That he wou'd not ſuffer the common Vices of Great Men to go unpuniſh'd; and being arm'd by the King's Pleaſure on one ſide, and the *High-Commiſſion* on the other, he had more ſignal Opportunities of making Examples, than any Man ſince the Reformation. For if the Faults and Vices were fit to be examin'd, let the guilty Perſons be who they wou'd, they were ſure to find no Connivance or Favour from him: He deſign'd the Diſcipline of the Church ſhou'd be felt, as well as ſpoken of, and be apply'd to the greateſt and moſt ſplendid Tranſgreſſors, as well as to the Puniſhment of ſmaller and meaner Offenders; and thereupon brought thoſe upon the Stage, who were not careful to cover their own Iniquities, thinking themſelves above the Reach of other Men, or their Power or Will to chaſtiſe. Perſons of Honour and great Quality of the Court and Country, were frequently cited into the *High-Commiſſion* Court, upon the Fame of their Incontinence, or other Scandal in their Lives, and were there proſecuted to their publick Shame and Puniſhment. This was a tender and dangerous Point, in a licentious Age, to offer to interrupt, much more to puniſh the Pleaſures of great Men; and this they call'd *an inſolent Triumph upon their Degree and Quality, and level-*

ling them with the Common People, and accordingly reſented it with the utmoſt Reſolutions of Revenge. The Court at this time was full of Exceſs, Idleneſs and Luxury, and the Country full of Pride, Mutiny and Diſcontent, notwithſtanding the wonderful Affluence of Riches and Plenty; ſo that there was more Cauſe to complain of the headſtrong and hard-mouth'd Horſe, than of the ſtrait Rein or ſteady Hand of the Rider. However, by means of theſe, and other Proceedings lately or formerly mention'd, this pious Prelate, being in the higheſt Pitch of his Glory, exceedingly provok'd, or underwent the Envy, and Reproach, and the Malice of Men of all Qualities and Conditions, who agreed in nothing elſe but in their Hatred to him.

The Occaſion of the Book of Sports.

2. There happened two ſorts of Proceedings this Year, which afterwards turn'd much to the Diſadvantage of the Archbiſhop; namely, the reviving the *Book of Sports*, and the Proſecution of Mr. *Prynn*. The firſt was chiefly occaſion'd by ſome Complaints made concerning *Ales* and *Revels* upon the *Wakes* or *Dedication-Sundays* in *Somerſetſhire*; where the Lord Chief Juſtice *Richardſon* in his Circuit made an expreſs Order againſt them, and that Publication of it ſhou'd be made by the Miniſters in every Pariſh Church. This being done without the Conſent or Knowledge of the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, it was found to be ſuch an Incroachment upon the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, that Biſhop *Laud* complain'd to the King of this Irregularity; and after that writ to the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, to give a full Account how the Feaſts of the *Dedication* of Churches, commonly call'd *Wakes*, were obſerv'd in thoſe Parts; and whether the Diſorders of them might not be prevented by the Juſtices of the Peace, without abrogating the *Feaſts* themſelves; which if decently retain'd might encourage Neighbourly Meetings, and a ſeaſonable Recreation of the People. The Biſhop return'd Anſwer, under the Hands of above ſeventy of the ableſt Clergy, 'That 'the ancient Cuſtom of thoſe *Feaſts* was laudable and inno'cent; That the late Suppreſſion was very unacceptable; 'and the Reſtitution of them wou'd be grateful to the 'Clergy, Gentry and Common People. Upon this Report, and other Enquiries, Judge *Richardſon* was reprov'd at the Council-Table, and ſo ſeverely by Biſhop *Laud* himſelf, that he came out complaining, *That he had been almoſt choak'd with a Pair of Lawn Sleeves.* However with great Uneaſineſs he revok'd his Order at the next Aſſizes; which Revocation, however well intended, was thought to countenance the miſpending and profaning the Lord's Day: And many devout Perſons were ſo highly offended at it, that from an awful Reſpect, they proceeded to a rigid Preciſeneſs, and abſolutely condemn'd all the Cuſtomary Sports and Diverſions upon *Sundays*, which after Divine Service had been long practis'd without Scruple.

This one Extream of the *Puritan* Party put the Government upon another, which prov'd more unhappy, and this was the renewing King *James*'s Declaration *concerning lawful Sports to be us'd upon* Sundays, *after Evening Prayers ended*, from thence commonly call'd *The Book of Sports*, which in the Year 1618 had been order'd to be publiſh'd from the Biſhop of each Dioceſe, through all the Pariſh Churches. The King and Council finding the rigorous Notions of a *Sabbath* to encreaſe, and the Doctrines of ſome tending to downright *Judaiſm*; and to reſtore the *Feaſts of Dedication* of Churches, thought fit to revive and confirm the ſaid Declaration, 'with ſome ad'ditional Orders to Magiſtrates to permit the Uſe, and 'prevent the Abuſe of theſe Paſtimes; which in the firſt 'Place were to be no Impediment to the Duty of the Day; 'next, no Recuſants ſhou'd be capable of the Benefit of 'them, nor any others who were not diligently preſent at 'Divine Service, and did not keep themſelves to their own 'Pariſhes.' The Publication of this, however piouſly intended, gave great Offence to many of no ſmall Devotion; and the more, becauſe, tho' there was nothing expreſs in the Declaration, that the Miniſter of the Pariſh ſhou'd be oblig'd to the publiſhing it, yet ſome Miniſters for refuſing to read it, were ſuſpended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, ſome depriv'd, and more moleſted in the *High-Commiſſion* Court. This one Thing caus'd more ſpecious Grounds of Complaint againſt the King and the Archbiſhop, than any other Part of the Publick Adminiſtration, as having ſuch outward Appearances of Irreligion and Prophaneneſs. For tho' ſuch Liberties may be ſo limited in the Notions of learned Men, as to make them lawful; yet it is hardly practicable ſo to confine them to the Actions of the People, as to keep them from degenerating into Licentiouſneſs; So that the Declaration after a while dy'd of itſelf, and it was wiſh'd by many wiſe and ſober Men, that it had never been reviv'd.

It is order'd to be read in Churches.

An Account of Mr. Prynn.

3. The Proſecution of Mr. *William Prynn* prov'd another great Diſadvantage both to the Archbiſhop, and the Government. This noted Gentleman had his firſt Education in *Oxford*, and was now an utter Barriſter of *Lincoln's-Inn*; where he had been a great Follower and Admirer of the famous Puritan Lecturer Dr. *Preſton*, formerly mention'd. He brought ſome Learning from the Univerſity, which he daily improv'd by Indefatigable Study; and being found to be of a warm and enterpriſing Spirit, and eager in the Purſuit of what he had once imbib'd, he was eſteem'd by *Preſton* as the propereſt Perſon to venture upon ſuch Exploits, in which calm and conſiderate Men durſt not appear. Whereupon he was encourag'd, and put into the Road of Writing, out of which no Threats or Puniſhments cou'd ever deter him; ſo that he became the moſt voluminous and violent Compiler, that perhaps the Nation ever produc'd. Beſides his defending of the *Calvinian* Principles, he began with laſhing the Looſeneſs and Debauchery of the Times, againſt drinking of Healths, wearing long Hair, ludicrous Entertainments, with other real and ſuppos'd Corruptions: 'Till after divers new Models and Additions, in the Year 1632 he publiſh'd a large Rhapſody againſt Stage-Plays, and innumerable other Diverſions, intitled *Hiſtriomaſtix*, &c. This various Work conſiſted of above a thouſand Pages, with infinite Quotations; in which he breath'd out Diſgrace to the Nation, Infamy to the Church, Reproaches to the Court, Diſhonour to the Queen, and ſome things believ'd to be tending to the Deſtruction of his Majeſty's Perſon.

His firſt Proſecution and Puniſhment.

This Book being fill'd with ſuch libellous Expreſſions and dangerous Inſinuations, Biſhop *Laud* firſt ſhew'd it to the King, and employing Dr. *Heylyn* to pick out the moſt virulent Paſſages, the Attorney-General *Noy* was order'd to proſecute Mr. *Prynn* in the *Star-Chamber*, which was done this preſent Year. In this Tryal Judge *Richardſon* extoll'd the King's Mercy in proceeding rather in a *Criminal* than a *Capital* Way; declaring, *That if he had been turn'd over to his Tribunal, he muſt have been left to a Jury, of whom no Mercy cou'd be hop'd for ſo great an Offender.* In ſhort, there appear'd ſo many foul and ſcandalous Reflections, that the Judges of the Court generally concurr'd in this Cenſure of him, 'To be fin'd five thou'ſand Pounds to the King; expell'd the Univerſity of '*Oxford*, aud *Lincoln's-Inn*; degraded and diſabled from 'his Profeſſion in the Law; to ſtand in the Pillory in '*Weſtminſter* and *Cheapſide*, and in each Place to loſe an 'Ear, to have his Book burnt before his Face by the Hand 'of the Common Hangman, and laſtly to remain Priſoner 'during Life.' This publick and ſolemn Puniſhment was by many thought to exceed the Proportion of the Crimes, eſpecially by thoſe who favour'd his Opinions; and the Terror of it ſerv'd to increaſe the popular Averſion againſt the *Star-Chamber*, and the principal Judges concern'd.

His Behaviour.

It much more increas'd the Fury of the Crimnal, who became a moſt violent Incendiary, and a moſt implacable Enemy to the Archbiſhop, and the preſent Powers, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil. In which he proceeded with ſuch a reſtleſs Vigour, and diſtemper'd Fervour, as ſhew'd him a notorious Inſtance how much a Man may be actuated by Zeal, Conſcience and Religion, and how little by the true Spirit of Chriſtianity. Yet after all, by means of his Publick Sufferings, his honeſt Pretenſions, his voluminous Writings, and his invincible Struglings, he obtain'd the Reputation of one of great Learning and Piety, and the Title of *The* Cato *of the Age*, which Name was ſaid to have been given him firſt by the King himſelf.

The Birth of King James *the Second.*

4. On the fourteenth Day of *October* this Year, the Queen was deliver'd of her third Son, but the Second now living, who was immediately proclaim'd Duke of *York* at the Court Gates; and upon his Account ſeveral Medals of Silver were caſt abroad. On *Sunday* the twenty fourth of the ſame Month, he was baptiz'd by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and by the Name of *James*, who came afterwards to be King of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; a Prince unfortunate to Himſelf, but more than fortunate to his Kingdoms, in bleſſing them with two Daughters, whoſe Merits and Virtues can never be too highly celebrated.

A famous Maſque by the Inns of Court.

To congratulate this Birth, and to welcome his Majeſty from *Scotland*, and likewiſe to ſhew a publick Diſapprobation of *Prynn*'s *Hiſtriomaſtix*, the whole Body of the Gentlemen of the four *Inns of Court*, by ſome of their principal Members, offer'd a moſt Splendid Maſque to be perform'd at *White-Hall* by their Societies jointly, as a ſingular Expreſſion of their Love and Duty to their Majeſties. Such Performances were highly taking at Court, therefore the Offer was graciouſly and readily accepted; The Management of the whole was left to the moſt conſiderable Men of each Inn, ſuch as Mr. *Noy*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Hyde*, Mr. *Whitelock*, Sir *Edward Herbert*, Sir *John Finch*, &c. and the beſt of Poets, Muſicians, Painters, Workmen and Projectors were imploy'd, to bring it to the Height of Magnificence and Perfection. On *Candlemaſs* Night it began

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with a glorious Proceſſion from *Ely-Houſe* in *Holborn* to *White-Hall*, attended with infinite Numbers of Lights and Flambeaus, which diſcover'd ſuch ſurprizing Shows as the City had never ſeen. The Performance at the *Banquetting-Houſe* prov'd to the great Delight and Satisfaction of the King, Queen, and Court; and the Queen not only condeſcended to dance in Perſon, but alſo deſir'd to have the ſame acted again in the City. Whereupon Intimation being given to the Lord-Mayor, he invited the King and Queen about a Fortnight after, and made a noble Entertainment for them at *Merchant-Taylor's* Hall; where all was perform'd in the ſame Manner, to the no leſs Satisfaction of the City than the Court. *Whitelock* has given a full Account of this extraordinary Maſque, and tells us that the Expence of it amounted to above one and twenty Thouſand Pounds.

The Affairs of Ireland.

In *Ireland*, great Confuſions began to be compos'd this Year by the vigilant and active Lord Lieutenant *Wentworth*, who in the Beginning of it wrote a Letter to his Majeſty, in which he adviſ'd 'The Calling of a Parliament, and 'ſuggeſted the Ways and Means of their Supply to make 'up the Revenue, which within a Year wou'd fall ſhort 'twenty Thouſand Pounds, to diſcharge a Debt upon the 'Crown of eighty Thouſand Pounds, and to Support the 'Army; with *Propoſitions* for the Peace and Intereſt of his 'Majeſty's Affairs, and *Conſiderations* for the better Government of the Church and Clergy in that Kingdom.' In which he preſcrib'd, and afterwards purſu'd ſuch Meaſures as ſhew'd him to be an expert Soldier, a moſt able States-Man, and a zealous Churchman and Chriſtian. As to Foreign Affairs, the King's Thoughts of reſtoring the *Palatinate* ſeem'd at preſent to dye with the Prince Elector; but to countenance his Son and Heir, the young Prince, his Majeſty beſtow'd on him the Honour of a Garter.

The Death of Biſhop Godwin,

The Lord Falkland,

And Mr. Ferrars.

Beſides the Death of Archbiſhop *Abbot* this Year, we are to take notice of that of Dr. *Francis Godwin*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, a pious Man, an eminent Divine, a skilful Mathematician, an excellent Philoſopher, and an admirable Hiſtorian, yet a Stranger to the World: He was no leſs critical than the learned *Selden*, and is celebrated for his indefatigable Pains in collecting the Succeſſion of all the *Engliſh* and *Welſh* Biſhops, ſince the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. We ought alſo to mention the Death of *Henry Cary*, Lord *Falkland*, a Perſon highly eſteem'd for his great Abilities and Experience in State Affairs; and no leſs noted for the admirable Son he left behind him. Laſtly, we ſhall mention Mr. *Henry Ferrars*, an honourable Gentleman of *Warwickſhire*, much eſteem'd by the Great Mr. *Camden*; who proſecuting his Studies of Heraldry, Genealogies, and Antiquities, became highly valued for his eminent Knowledge in them, by which he not only gave a fair Luſtre to his ancient and noble Family, but alſo to the Country of his Nativity.

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The Beginning of Ship Money.

VI. 1. The Kingdom ſtill enjoy'd a profound Peace, and was free from thoſe Wars that diſturb'd the Quiet of *Europe*; but by means of ſome Piratical Encroachments, and the King's new Wants in ſuppreſſing them, it gradually fell into further Troubles and Diſcontents at home. In order to Supplies, the Court had ſet on foot many Projects and Monopolies formerly mention'd, and had deſcended ſo low as to lay a ſort of Tax upon Cards and Dice; all which caus'd much more Hatred, and leſs Profit to the King, than was generally expected. But for a more certain and continu'd Supply, this Year was invented an extraordinary Project, which in ſome Reſpects prov'd of real Advantage to the King and Kingdom, and in others of great Miſchief to both; it being the moſt exceptionable Expedient, and thought the moſt irreconcileable to the Conſtitution, of any Practis'd at this Time. This was commonly call'd by the Name of *Ship-Money*; to judge of the Reaſonableneſs and Legality of which, we muſt always carefully diſtinguiſh between the Opinions and Eſtabliſhments of theſe Times, and thoſe of our own at preſent.

The Occaſion of it.

The Occaſion of this Tax was as follows: The narrow Seas were at this Time infeſted with Pirates of all the neighbouring Nations; and the *Dutch* began to challenge ſuch a Right of Fiſhery, as wou'd have deſtroy'd the King's Right to that Dominion, which had been always claim'd and exercis'd by his Royal Progenitors. To juſtify this new Pretenſion and Incroachment, they incourag'd the famous *Grotius* to aſſert their free Uſe of Shipping, in a Treatiſe ſtil'd *Mare Liberum*; which was fully anſwer'd and refuted by that learned Antiquary Mr. *Selden*, in his *Mare Clauſum*; of which the Materials had been collected at the Motion of King *James*, and were now reduc'd to order, and publiſh'd by the Command of King *Charles*. But this Controverſy was too material to be determin'd by Paper Arguments: Therefore to ſhew a juſt Concern for the Honour and Safety of the Nation, his Majeſty publiſh'd two ſeveral Proclamations; the firſt prohibiting the Mariners and Seamen to enter into Foreign Service without a Special Licence; the ſecond ordering a Diſtinction to be made between the Flags in the Royal Navy, and in the King's Service, and thoſe us'd by Merchants and private Traders.

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The firſt Model by Mr. Noy.

But the Main Difficulty was how to raiſe Money for fitting out a Navy ſufficient to guard the Seas, as Neceſſity now requir'd, not only againſt the Encroachments of the *Dutch*, but againſt the encreaſing Inſolence of the *Turkiſh* and *Algerine* Pirates. Wherefore by Degrees a Project was fram'd out of many ancient Records by the deep-ſighted Attorney-General Mr. *Noy*, to impoſe upon every Sea-Port and Place of Merchandiſe the Obligation of finding ſuch a Number of Ships and Men, in Proportion to their Wealth and Trade. And the firſt Writ for the Tax was directed to the City of *London*, 'commanding the Citizens 'at their Charge to provide ſeven Ships of War, furniſhed 'with Men and Warlike Proviſions, to be at *Portſmouth* 'by the firſt Day of *March*, and to continue from thence 'twenty ſix Weeks in his Majeſty's Service, for the Defence of the Seas, *&c.*' The Writ being read in the Common-Council at *Guild-Hall*, it gave a general Diſguſt, and caus'd a formal Petition to the King, in which they repreſented, 'That by ancient Privileges, Grants and Acts 'of Parliaments, they were exempt, and were to be freed 'from that Charge.' But this Petition ſeem'd to have had no other Effect, but only to expreſs a Diſſent, when there muſt follow a Compliance; and the Example of Submiſſion, however extorted from the City of *London*, wou'd have its ſure and certain Influence upon all inferior Places.

Great Diſguſts.

Mr. Noy's *Death and Character.*

The Legal Right of this Aid was not yet diſputed in any Court of Judicature, but by Degrees it created a general Offence and Odium. The Nobility and Gentry became more and more jealous of any Methods of raiſing Money out of Parliament: The Merchants and Traders had the Grievance of thinking the whole Burden caſt upon Them: The Clergy cou'd not at firſt obtain an Exemption from their conſiderable Share; and the Country Farmers thought it little leſs than ſeizing their Corn and Cattle to be ſent on Ship-board. The Murmurs indeed were ſo univerſal, and ſo artificially improv'd by the Enemies of the Court, that they look'd upon the Death of the Projector *Noy* to be a Judgment ſent upon his Head; which hapned on the 9th of *Auguſt*, juſt at the Time when the Writs were compleated. This Perſon had been extoll'd for a great Patriot in the three laſt Parliaments, but by Means of the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, he was by the Lure of his Place brought over to the Court, where he ſtill retain'd the ſame affected Moroſity. He was a Man exceeding humourous, of a cynical Ruſticity, a moſt indefatigable Searcher of ancient Records, whereby he became an eminent Inſtrument both of Good and Ill to the King's Prerogative. He had a Roughneſs which made him unapt to flatter other Men, yet that and his Pride render'd him moſt liable to be flatter'd Himſelf. By which Means, he was by the Artifices of others brought to think that he cou'd not give a greater Proof, that his Skill in the Law was greater than all other Mens, than by making that Law, which all other Men believ'd not to be ſo. He wanted a due Knowledge of Men, and left a very ſtrange Will behind him, being by ſome accounted a Papiſt, if not an Atheiſt. But the Archbiſhop had a better and juſter Opinion of him, and in his Diary tells us, *That he had loſt a dear Friend of him, and the Church the greateſt ſhe had of his Condition, ſince ſhe needed any ſuch.*

Judge Finch's *Character.*

Upon the Death of this noted Man, Sir *John Banks* was made Attorney-General; and Sir *Robert Heath* being unexpectedly remov'd from the Honour of Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, Sir *John Finch* was advanc'd to that Station. This ſudden Change occaſion'd various Diſcourſes; but within four Days after the Writs for *Ship-Money*, it was reported that he was to be inſtrumental in promoting that invidious Buſineſs. This Gentleman had been Speaker in the laſt Parliament, and having a good Stock of Wit and natural Parts, and no great Fortunes, or Skill in the Profeſſion he embrac'd, he was willing to uſe thoſe Weapons he beſt underſtood, and took up *Ship-Money* where Mr. *Noy* left it. And being a Judge, he carry'd it up to that Height, that it overwhelm'd him, and almoſt ſunk him. He very much influenc'd his Brethren the Judges in this Matter; and being afterwards Lord-Keeper, upon a Demurrer to a Bill founded upon no other Equity than an Order of Council, he declared, *That while he ſat in that Poſt, no Man ſhou'd preſume to diſpute thoſe Orders, but the Wiſdom of the Board was, and ſhou'd be Ground enough for him to make a Decree in* Chancery: Which was ſuch an Aggravation of the Exceſs of that Table, that it receiv'd more Prejudice from that unreaſonable Addition, than from the higheſt Contempt that cou'd be offer'd to it.

Sir Edward Coke's *Death and Character.*

The Death of Mr. *Noy* was ſhortly after ſucceeded by that of the Oracle of the *Engliſh* Law, Sir *Edward Coke*, in the 83d Year of his Age. He had been Attorney-General to Queen *Elizabeth*, and Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*

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under King *James*; which Advancement he loſt the ſame Way he got it, which was by his Tongue. His Receſs was far from being inglorious, and he was ſo excellent at improving a Diſgrace, that King *James* us'd to compare him to a Cat, *that whatever hapned, wou'd always light upon her Feet.* Finding a Cloud at Court, he met with fair Weather in the Country, where he ſo eſpous'd the Cauſe of the People, that in ſucceeding Parliaments the Prerogative felt him, as its moſt able and active Oppoſer. We are told that the Duke of ***Buckingham*** wou'd have reſtor'd him, if he wou'd have given a Gratuity; but he anſwer'd, *A Judge ought not to take a Bribe, nor give a Bribe.* He was an upright Judge, and a cloſe Arguer; and his uſual Saying was, *Matter lyes in a little Room.* Upon his Death many of his Papers were ſeiz'd by Order of Council, and afterwards return'd to his Heir; but his Will was by that Means quite loſt. Beſides the Deaths of theſe two great Lawyers, we are to mention thoſe of two celebrated Poets this Year, *Thomas Randolphe* and *George Chapman:* The former was a *Cantabrigian*, an adopted Son of famous *Ben Johnſon*, and accounted one of the moſt facetious and pregnant Wits of his Time; but too much indulging Himſelf with the Converſation of his Admirers, he was unfortunately worn out in the 29th Year of his Age. The Other alſo was an intimate Friend of *Ben Johnſon's*, and was likewiſe extoll'd and eſteem'd, as well for his ſeveral Dramatick Performances, as his laborious Verſion of the Works of *Homer* and the *Minor Poets*.

Tom Randolphe,

And George Chapman.

The Earl of Newcaſtle's *Entertainment of the King and Queen.*

2. This Summer the King and Queen thought fit to make a Progreſs towards the *North*; and having paſs'd the *Trent*, they were nobly entertain'd at *Bolſover* Caſtle in *Derbyſhire* by the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, where nothing was ſpar'd which might add Splendor to the Feaſt, ſo much honour'd with the Preſence of both their Majeſties. The Earl invited all the Nobility and Gentry of the Counties of *Nottingham* and *Darby* to wait upon their Majeſties, who repair'd thither with the utmoſt Chearfulneſs, and were treated with the Height of Civility and Magnificence. The Expence of the Entertainment at *Bolſover* this Year, and that at *Welbeck* the preceding Year, was modeſtly reckon'd at above ten Thouſand Pounds. All which was but an Earneſt of this Earl's Love and Duty to his Prince: For afterwards, when the unhappy Wars broke out, he adventur'd both Life and Fortune for the King; and being of the ſuffering Side, his Eſtate was ſeiz'd and ſold by the Parliament, who rais'd above a hundred and eleven Thouſand Pounds out of it: Beſides he had other great Loſſes out of his Eſtate Real and Perſonal, during thoſe calamitous Times.

Great Deſigns of Archbiſhop Laud.

In the mean time Archbiſhop *Laud*, proceeding with his uſual Vigour and Activity, enter'd upon two or three new and great Deſigns. The firſt was to bring the *French* and *Dutch* Churches to a perfect Conformity with the Church of *England*. This met with great Oppoſition, not only from thoſe Foreigners, who inſiſted upon particular Immunities and Exemptions, but alſo from the *Puritan* Party, and many others who were jealous of the Archbiſhop's Deſigns. Yet at laſt this Injunction was put in Force, 'That the Foreigners of the firſt Deſcent might continue in their former Ways; but all of the ſecond Deſcent, born here in *England*, ſhou'd reſort to their ſeveral Pariſh Churches.' This was ſo vigorouſly purſu'd in the Dioceſe of *Norwich*, by Biſhop *Wren*, that if we may believe *Roger Coke*, a *Suffolk* Man, it frighted Thouſands of Families out of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* into *New England*, to the great Damage of the Woollen Manufactures, and the Ruin of the Trade of *Ipſwich*, and other Places. Another Deſign of the Archbiſhop's, in which he was very active, was to ſettle a regular Uniformity of Worſhip in all the *Engliſh* Factories beyond the Seas; ſo that it was hop'd that there wou'd be a Church of *England* in all Courts in *Chriſtendom*, in the chief Cities of the great *Mahometan* Princes, and in all the known Parts of the World; by which it might become as Diffus'd and Catholick as the Church of *Rome*. He had conſiderable Succeſs in this Deſign, but not ſo great in a third, which was to augment the Revenues of the Parochial Miniſters of *London*, which by Time and Corruptions had fallen into great Decay. This had not the deſir'd Succeſs; yet this, and others, were brought againſt him afterwards as heinous and capital Crimes.

The Affairs of Ireland.

In this Year, *Ireland*, under the vigorous Government of the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, had a Parliament call'd to conſider of Ways and Means to maintain the Army, and to diſchage a Debt of eighty Thouſand Pounds, there contracted by the Crown. By the great Courage and Management of the Lord Deputy, theſe Ends were happily obtain'd, and three Subſidies were granted. Likewiſe a great Alteration was made as to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; For in a concurrent Convocation, there was a Canon paſs'd, 'fixing the Agreement of the Church of *England* and *Ireland* in the Profeſſion of the ſame *Chriſtian Faith*, by receiving the *Book of Articles of Religion*, agreed by the *Engliſh* Convocation held at *London* in the Year 1562.' This new Eſtabliſhment was charg'd upon the Lord Deputy, and his Chaplain Dr. *Bramhall*, as an *Arminian* Project, when the Primate *Uſher*, and other *Anti-Arminians* perceiv'd, That the thus admitting the 39 Articles of the Church of *England*, had repeal'd the Articles of the Church of *Ireland*, eſtabliſh'd in 1615; wherein the *Lambeth* Articles, determining the Predeſtinarian Doctrine, and other *Calvinian* Principles, were aſſerted and receiv'd.

Foreign Affairs.

As to Foreign Parts, there was nothing ſo remarkable this Year as the ſignal Victory obtain'd by the *Imperialiſts* againſt the *Swedes*, who had got Poſſeſſion of about Half of *Germany*. The Latter, under the Command of *Guſtavus Horn* and Duke *Bernard*, were on the 6th of *September* attack'd by the *Imperial* Army near *Nordlingen*, commanded by the Duke of *Lorrain* and *John de Wert*, ſupported by the Cardinal *Infanto*, who had march'd from *Milan* thro' *Switzerland* with the old *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Troops. The Victory was compleat on the *Imperial* Side, and the *Swedes* loſt, beſides their Cannon and Baggage, above ten Thouſand Men; and of their two Generals Duke *Bernard* was wounded, and the brave *Guſtavus Horn* taken Priſoner. The *Engliſh* Court had no great Concern for this Action, having an Alliance with both Parties, tho' no very good Underſtanding with either of them. The great Miniſter of *Sweden*, Chancellor *Oxenſtiern*, had this Year ſent his eldeſt Son as Ambaſſador into *England*; but either wanting proper Credentials from the Queen of *Sweden*, Regent in her Son's Minority, or making hard Propoſals for aſſiſting the Elector *Palatine* againſt the Emperor, he was ſo much ſlighted and diſoblig'd, that he left *England* in Diſcontent, and made ſuch a Report of his Uſage to his Father, that he and his Family reſented the Affront, ſo as never to forgive the King of *England*.

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3. In the following Year, there began to appear the good and bad Effects of the Tax call'd *Ship-Mony*; the Good in the ſcouring the Seas, and the Bad in the Diſguſts of the People. By this Fund the King was enabled to ſet out a Fleet of forty Men of War, under the Earl of *Lindſey* Admiral, and twenty Sail more under the Earl of *Eſſex* Vice-Admiral, for ſecuring of the narrow Seas, and aſſerting the *Engliſh* Dominion of them. And indeed the mighty Encreaſe of the *French* Navy, and their threatning the Sea-Ports in *Flanders*, together with the *Dutch* Encroachments upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, and the Piratical Invaſions of the *Algerines* and others, who infeſted the very *Channel*; were a great Proof of the Neceſſity of ſetting out a Fleet, which under the preſent Exigencies cou'd not be done without extraordinary Aid. To make this Aid more ample, and more continual, it was found expedient to enlarge the Extent of it; and whereas in the preceding Year the Writs were directed only to Maritime Towns, it was now reſolv'd to bring in all Counties of the Kingdom to ſome proportionable Share, as being Partakers of the general Benefit. And accordingly *Inſtructions* and *Directions* were prepar'd by the Lords of the Council, to be ſent with the Writs to the reſpective Sheriffs, to inform them, 'That his Majeſty, for his own Honour, the ancient Renown of the Nation, and the common Safety of his People, had iſſu'd the like Writs to all Counties, Cities and Towns in the Kingdom; that for due Execution, they ſhou'd firſt ſettle the general Aſſeſſment of the County, and then ſubdivide the particular Charge on each Hundred and Pariſh.' To promote the Execution of theſe Writs, the Lord-Keeper *Coventry* deliver'd a Charge in his Majeſty's Name to all the Judges of *England*, in the *Star-Chamber*, concluding with the Affair of the Navy, ordering them 'That in their Charges at the Aſſizes, they ſhould let the People know, how juſt it was, that his Majeſty ſhou'd require this Aid for their Defence, and with what Chearfulneſs they ought, and how much they were bound in Duty, to contribute towards it.

The Ship-Mony encreas'd.

Theſe Charges at the County Aſſizes began much to allarm the Country, and to make them feel the Burthen before it touch'd them; and what was before thought a private Proviſion to be made by particular Parts for their own Safety, was now found to be intended for a national Tax, and therefore the more odious, for want of the Authority of Parliament. And tho' the Weight it ſelf was not very heavy, for the yearly Income through the whole Kingdom amounted to no more than two hundred and thirty ſix thouſand Pounds; yet the making it an univerſal Aid, and the aſſeſſing and collecting it in the Parliamentary Methods, gave it much the greater Appearance of Grievance and Oppreſſion. Yet ſtill the King's Charges were ſo great in ſupporting his Fleets, and maintaining the Dominion of the *Britiſh* Seas, that he was oblig'd to make uſe of other Projects for improving his Revenues: As by erecting an Office for Licenſing Subjects to travel in Foreign Parts: By grant-

The yearly Sum.

Further Projects.

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ing the Profits of the Office for receiving the Forfeitures incurr'd by profane ſwearing and curſing: By fixing a Letter-Office both for *England* and *Scotland:* By renewing a Commiſſion, to ſell, grant and confirm to the People their defective Eſtates and Titles; and By inflicting Penalties on exceſſive Carriages that were to the Deſtruction of the High-Ways; and by other Ways and Means, which were more and more look'd upon with a jealous Eye by the People. Yet the Dangers from abroad were really very imminent, and might well juſtify ſome extraordinary Proviſions. For the *Dutch* had made a League with the *French* againſt the *Spaniards*, by which a *French* Army was to invade *Flanders* by Land, and to attempt *Dunkirk*, while a *Dutch* Fleet were to lay by, and aſſiſt at Sea. And probably the Deſign had been effected, if the Terror of the *Engliſh* Navy had not timely obliged the *Dutch* to draw off their Ships, and return home.

New Regulations.

This Year alſo the King undertook to regulate two Inconveniencies, one accruing to the Country, and the other to the City. As to the firſt, his Majeſty had iſſu'd out a Proclamation to reſtrain the extraordinary Reſort of the Nobility and Gentry to the City of *London*, which prov'd much to the Damage of the Country, and was thought to encreaſe the City Infection. And now by his Attorney-General an Information was exhibited in the *Star-Chamber* againſt ſeven Lords, about ſixty Baronets and Knights, and a hundred Eſquires, with divers Ladies of Quality, for Non-Obſervance of this Proclamation. The other was the laying a Reſtraint upon the too great Increaſe, and other Inconveniencies ariſing from the Hackney Coaches in the Streets of *London.* And here it may be obſerv'd, That in the firſt Year of this Reign, no Hackney Coaches ſtood in the Streets, but in their Stables, to be us'd only as Perſons had Occaſion to ſend for them; and there were not at that time above twenty in Number to be hired in and about *London*. Alſo at that time the great Judges of the Law conſtantly rode on Horſe-back to *Weſtminſter*, in all Weathers, with great Solemnity.

The Arrival of the Prince Palatine.

In *November*, *Charles* the new Prince *Palatine* came over to ſollicite his Uncle to promote his Reſtoration; and in a Month after came his younger Brother Prince *Rupert*, who were receiv'd after a great and honourable Manner: And their Cauſe ſeem'd to have a more hopeful Aſpect by the late Concluſion of a Peace at *Prague*, whereby at leaſt the Proteſtants were reſtor'd to their Liberties and Profeſſion, as ſettled in the Year 1627. On the twenty eighth Day of *December* the Queen was deliver'd of a ſecond Daughter, nam'd *Elizabeth*; who prov'd a Lady of incomparable Abilities and rare Virtues, but of a cruel and untimely Fate, being in her Youth over-whelm'd with the Extremity of Grief for the Loſs of her Liberty, and much more for that of her Royal Father. To congratulate the preſent Acceſſion of Happineſs to the Court, the States of *Holland* ſent over a ſolemn Embaſſy, with a noble preſent of Amber-Greaſe, *China* Baſons, a Clock made by *Rodolphus* the Emperor, and ſome exquiſite Pieces of *Painting* by *Titian*, and other great Maſters.

The Queen deliver'd a ſecond Daughter.

The Death of Biſhop Corbet.

We ſhall conclude this Year with the Deaths of four noted Men: The firſt was Dr. *Richard Corbet*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, a Perſon who in his younger Years was eſteem'd one of the fineſt Wits in the Univerſity of *Oxford*; afterwards admired for his polite and quaint Preaching, and laſt of all for his pious Munificence and Hoſpitality. The ſecond was Mr. *George Herbert*, a fam'd *Engliſh* Poet, a younger Brother of the noble Family of the *Herberts* of *Montgomery*, choſen Orator to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and then piouſly undertook to be Rector of *Bemerton* near *Salisbury*; a Perſon of a florid Wit, obliging Humour, fluent Elocution, and great Proficiency in Arts and Sciences. The third was Dr. *Alexander Gill*, the famous Maſter of St. *Paul*'s School, a learned Critick and Divine, and one who had ſuch an excellent way of training up Youth, that many eminent Perſons, in Church and State, eſteem'd it their greateſt Happineſs, that they had been educated under him. The laſt was noted only for his extraordinary great Age, being the Wonder of his Time, a *Shropſhire* Man, named *Thomas Parr.* He was now an hundred and fifty two Years old, and brought to *London* in good Health by the Earl of *Arundel*, as a great Rarity; and 'tis believ'd he might have continu'd ſome Years longer, had not the Fatigue of his Journey, and the Change of his Diet ſhorten'd his Days. He was born in the laſt Year of King *Edward* the Fourth, and in Effect had ſeen the Reigns of eight Kings and Queens of *England.*

Mr. Herbert,

Dr. Gill,

And old Thomas Parr.

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4. Archbiſhop *Land* was now in the Height of his Glory and Power, but ſtill encreaſing as to the Enmity that daily appear'd againſt him. Being a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, he met with much Oppoſition from the Lord *Cottington*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, who, by his profound Diſſimulation, often impos'd upon him, and took Advantage of the Vehemency of his Temper. And what gave him greater Trouble, his old Friend *Windebank*, who had been rais'd by him, forſook him, and joyn'd with the Chancellor and his Party. While he was Commiſſioner he found that the Treaſurer's Place was worth above ſeven thouſand Pounds a Year, without defrauding the King, or abuſing the Subject; and he obſerv'd, that divers Treaſurers of late had rais'd themſelves from private Fortunes to the Titles and Eſtates of Earls, which he believ'd cou'd not be done without Wrong to both. Therefore he reſolv'd to recommend a Perſon for this high Office, who had no Family to raiſe, and who wou'd better manage this great Truſt; and this was his Succeſſor Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, whom he brought in without any Oppoſition, to the great Surprize of the Court, which had not ſeen any of that Profeſſion ſo exalted ſince the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh. The Staff was deliver'd to him on the ſixth of *March*, on which Day he was ſworn Privy-Counſellor; and on the firſt of the next Term he was conducted in great State from *London-Houſe* to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the Archbiſhop riding by him, and moſt of the Lords and Biſhops about the Town, with many Gentlemen of the beſt Note and Quality, following in a regular and pompous Proceſſion.

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Bp. Juxon *made Lord Treaſurer.*

It was much fear'd by ſome, and hop'd by others, that the new Lord-Treaſurer wou'd have ſunk under the Burden of the Place; and in this Promotion the Archbiſhop was juſtly conceiv'd neither to have conſulted his own preſent Peace, nor his future Safety. Had he ſtudy'd the former, he wou'd have open'd the Door for the Lord *Cottington*, who took himſelf to be neareſt ally'd to the Place; if the latter, he wou'd have recommended the Earls of *Bedford*, *Hartford* or *Eſſex*, the Lord *Say*, or ſome other of the Popular Nobility, who might have ſupported him in Time of Extremity. However he was infinitely pleas'd with what he had done, and unhappily believ'd that he had provided a ſtronger Support for the Church, as appears from his Diary; and never abated any thing of his Severity, and Sharpneſs of Language towards Men of all Conditions. But the Lord *Clarendon* tells us, This Promotion inflam'd more Men than were angry before, and not only encreas'd the Envy and Malice againſt the Archbiſhop, but unjuſtly diſpos'd many towards the Church it ſelf; which they look'd upon as the Gulph ready to ſwallow all the great Offices of State. He alſo gives ſo ſlight a Character of Biſhop *Juxon* himſelf, that *le Clerk* took him for One by no means fit for the Place; but to ſupply that Defect, we ſhall give his Character from Sir *Philip Warwick*, and others, who probably knew him better than his Lordſhip.

Many diſoblig'd.

Bp. Juxon's *Character.*

Dr. *William Juxon* had been a long and intimate Friend of the Archbiſhop's; they were both eminent for Integrity; and had Nature mingled their Tempers, and allay'd the latter by the Prudence and Foreſight of the former, or invigorated the former with the Zeal and Activity of the Other, Nature had form'd a finer Maſs, than ſhe uſually does in her moſt exact Workmanſhip about Mankind. This Prelate was a Man of an excellent Temper, of a meek Spirit, and of a ſolid and ſteady Judgment; and having addicted his firſt Studies to the Civil Law, in which he commenc'd Doctor, this fitted him more for Secular and State Affairs. Tho' he found the Revenue low and much anticipated, yet meeting good Times, and the King inclin'd to Frugality, he happily ſupported the Dignity of his Majeſty's Houſhold, the Splendor of the Court, and all Publick Expences with Juſtice in all Contracts, ſo as to have as few Complaints in his Time, as perhaps in any; and yet he clear'd off all Anticipations on the Revenue, and ſet his Maſter beforehand. His Proceedings were always with Calmneſs and Circumſpection, and the King highly valu'd his Advice in all Emergencies; declaring to a Friend of his, *That he never got his Opinion freely in his Life, but when he had it, he was ever the better for it.* His mild Behaviour and Prudence wrought ſo effectually upon all Men, that tho' he bore the two moſt invidious Characters, one of a Biſhop, the other of a Lord Treaſurer, yet neither drew Envy upon his Perſon, tho' the Humour of the Times tended to brand all great Men in Employment. So that the Lord *Faulkland* afterwards, in a ſevere Speech againſt Biſhops in Parliament, cou'd not but give him this Teſtimony, *That in an unexpected Place and Power, he expreſs'd an equal Moderation and Humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the Crozier, or the White-Staff.* It was by means of this admirable Temper and Conduct, that he weather'd the moſt dreadful Storm that ever the Nation felt, and at laſt rode triumphantly in the Harbour; and all without any Ship-wreck of his Honour or Principles. Sure there never was a more fortunate Pilot, nor never a more honeſt Man.

5. The Treaſury being thus hopefully eſtabliſh'd, his Majeſty's great Care was to have a more powerful Fleet at Sea, to enlarge his Character abroad, and preſerve the Peace at home, by making the Nation ſenſible of a juſt and wiſe

Diſpoſal

The Royal Soveraign *built.*

Notice taken of Mr. Selden *and his Book.*

Diſpoſal of the *Ship-Mony.* Accordingly he undertook to build a Ship, call'd the *Royal Soveraign*, a Veſſel the largeſt in Bulk, the richeſt in Price, the fineſt in Workmanſhip, and in ſhort the moſt wonderful floating Caſtle then known in the World. The Fame of it, when Building, drew vaſt Multitudes from all Parts to ſee it; which ſufficiently ſhew'd both the Taſte of the King, and the Skill of the Projectors and Builders. And further to give Countenance to theſe Naval Improvements, he took into Conſideration Mr. *Selden*'s famous Book, entitled *Mare Clauſum*, which by his Order he had written with extraordinary Pains and Reputation; and requir'd one of the ſaid Books to be kept in the *Council Cheſt*, another in the Court of *Exchequer*, and a Third in the Court of *Admiralty*, as a full and faithful Evidence of the Right of the Crown of *England* to the Dominion of the *Britiſh* Seas. This great Man was ſtyl'd by his Adverſary *Grotius*, *The Glory*, and by other Foreigners, *The great Dictator of Learning of the* Engliſh *Nation*; who having been greatly provok'd by his Uſage in the *High-Commiſſion* for his *Hiſtory of Tythes*, and his Impriſonment for his Freedom in the laſt Parliament, he prov'd a great Oppoſer of the Prerogative. But now he was highly courted by the King and Archbiſhop, and at laſt induc'd to publiſh his learned Book; in which he did not only aſſert the *Engliſh* Dominion of the *Britiſh* Seas, but clearly prov'd by conſtant and continual Practice, That the Kings of *England*, without any Parliament, us'd to levy Mony from their Subjects for the providing of Ships and other Neceſſaries for Maintaining that very Dominion. This he prov'd without Interruption to the Reign of *Henry* II. and 'tis believ'd he cou'd have brought it much nearer to his own Times, and ſo open'd a Way for the Payment of *Ship-Mony*; but he was too much engag'd in the Country Party to encourage ſuch Opinions.

The Earl of Northumberland'*s Character and Succeſs.*

Further to promote the Naval Power, the King by Proclamation renew'd an Order of King *James*, 'Reſtraining 'all Foreigners whatſoever from Fiſhing upon any of the 'Coaſts and Seas of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and the adjacent Iſles, without Licence firſt obtain'd: Declaring al'ſo his Reſolution to keep ſuch a competent Strength of 'Shipping upon his Seas, as may be ſufficient both to hin'der ſuch further Encroachments upon his Regalities, and 'protect all his good Friends and Allies. Accordingly he this Year put out a Fleet, much greater than any ſince the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, under the Command and Conduct of *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*; who was of an ancient and high-born Family, that had lain under frequent Blemiſhes of Want of Fidelity to the Crown. But this Perſon being a very graceful young Gentleman, of great Sobriety and Regularity, and in all Kinds promiſing to be an eminent Ornament to the Court, by means of the Lord *Wentworth* the King unhappily caſt a friendly, and a fatherly Eye upon him, uſing him both with the Reſpect of a Friend, and the Tenderneſs of a Miſtreſs; and from being Maſter of the Horſe to the Queen, he made him Lord High-Admiral of *England*, as great a Truſt as cou'd be given to any Man. He prov'd faithful for a conſiderable Time, and ſucceſsfully ſet out with ſixty Sail from the *Downs* to the North, where the *Dutch* Veſſels were Fiſhing upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts. At firſt he requir'd them to deſiſt, but they refuſing, he fired among them, took ſome, ſunk others, and diſpers'd the greater Part of them. Upon which the *Dutch* immediately prevail'd with the Admiral to mediate with the King, that they might by his Permiſſion proceed this Summer to fiſh upon the Coaſts, and agreed for this Year to give the King thirty Thouſand Pounds, which was accordingly paid: And the *States* expreſs'd their Willingneſs to obtain a Grant from the King, for his Permiſſion of their Veſſels to fiſh for the future, and to pay a Yearly Tribute for it. But the Terms of Agreement afterwards prov'd like Nails well driven, but not well clincht; and they not being well held faſt, it made them more ſuſceptible of obſtinate Counſels from *France*, who was at this Time undermining the general Peace by Way of *Scotland.* For both *France* and *Spain*, as well as *England*, dreaded the Conſequence of the *Ship-Money*.

Great Oppoſitions againſt the Ship-Money.

Yet all this honourable Diſpoſal of the *Ship-Money*, and the apparent good Effects of it, cou'd not reconcile the People of *England* to a new Tax levy'd without an Act of Parliament: For great Murmurs, and a general Senſe of Oppreſſion, ran throughout the Kingdom. In *London*, one Mr. *Chambers*, a Merchant, had peremptorily refus'd to pay, for which he had been committed to Priſon by Sir *Edward Bromfield*, Lord Mayor, againſt whom he commenc'd a Suit for Treſpaſs and falſe Impriſonment: Which Caſe, when it came to be heard before Sir *Robert Berkley*, one of the Judges of the *King's Bench*, he wou'd not ſuffer the Point of the Legality of *Ship-Money* to be argu'd by *Chambers*'s Council; but declar'd in open Court, *That there was a* Rule of Law, *and a* Rule of Government; *and that many Things which might not be done by the Rule of Law, might be done by the Rule of Government.* But this Diſtinction was thought very dangerous by many: And this Way of ſilencing a Cauſe, occaſion'd the People more to ſuſpect it. And the City of *London* now ſhew'd ſuch an Averſion to this Tax, that the Lords of the Privy-Council were oblig'd to write twice to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in which they told them with Severity enough, 'That they cou'd not impute their Excuſe to any 'Thing but Want of Duty; therefore in his Majeſty's 'Name, they requir'd them to ſee the Directions of their 'Letter perform'd upon their Allegiance, and as they wou'd 'anſwer the contrary at their Perils.' When the City perceiv'd they cou'd not ſhake off the Burden, they deſir'd at leaſt a Mitigation of it, and preſented a Petition for an Abatement of the Number of Ships allotted to them. But this was alſo deny'd, and in ſuch a Manner as made the Denial more grievous. For by Order of Council Mr. Secretary *Cook* told Them, 'That Petitions and Pleadings a'gainſt ſuch Commandments were not to be receiv'd; and 'ſince they mention'd Precedents, they ſhou'd know that 'the Precedents in former Times were *Obedience* not *Di'rection*; that there were alſo Precedents of the Puniſh'ment of thoſe that diſobey'd his Majeſty's Commands.

The twelve Judges declare it legal.

This Anſwer, and theſe Methods ſerv'd only to encreaſe the general Averſion, and the Murmurs of the Nation. Therefore the King, who in his Nature lov'd not harſh Proceedings, took a more ſoft and plauſible Method, and order'd the Legality of this Tax to be formally decided by his twelve Judges, putting the grand Queſtion to them in Writing. After a Conſideration of every Judge by Himſelf, and a Conſultation of all of them together, they return'd their Anſwer in theſe Words; 'We are of Opinion, 'That when the *Good and Safety of the Kingdom in gene'ral is concern'd*, and the *Kingdom in Danger*, your Maje'ſty may by Writ, under the Great Seal of *England*, com'mand all your Subjects of this your Kingdom, *at their 'Charge* to provide and furniſh ſuch a Number of Ships 'and Men, Victuals and Munition; and for ſuch Time as 'your Majeſty ſhall think fit, for the *Defence and Safeguard* 'of this Kingdom from ſuch Danger and Peril; and that '*by Law* your Majeſty may *compel* the Doing thereof in 'Caſe of Refuſal or Refractorineſs. And we alſo are of 'Opinion, that in *ſuch Caſe* your Majeſty is the *ſole Judge*, 'both of the *Danger*, and *When*, and *How* the ſame is to 'be prevented and avoided.' This Opinion was ſign'd and ſubſcrib'd with theſe Names, *Bramſton*, *Finch*, *Davenport*, *Denham*, *Hatton*, *Jones*, *Crooke*, *Trevor*, *Vernon*, *Berkley*, *Crawley*, and *Weſton*.

Cenſures upon it.

Theſe Judges had been generally noted for their Learning and Integrity, and moſt of them had often and briskly oppos'd the private Deſigns of the Court; and the Court had as often acquieſc'd in their Opinions, and ſhew'd a great Readineſs to be determin'd by them at this Time. Upon which account many have believ'd, with Sir *Philip Warwick*, That Nothing cou'd have led them into this judicial Opinion but their Books. But the Lord *Clarendon* thinks otherwiſe of the Matter, and ſeverely condemns both the Judges and their Opinion, as cauſing an open Violation of the Sacredneſs of the Law. And *Whitelock* tells us, That all this was obtain'd after much Solicitation by the chief Juſtice *Finch*, who us'd great Promiſes to ſome, and Threatnings to Others, whom he found doubting. The Suſpicion of Temptation and Awe encreas'd the more, becauſe ſome of them betray'd a Surpriſe, when they heard their Reſolution openly read by the Lord-Keeper in the *Star-Chamber*; as if they had deſign'd to deliver it for the private Satisfaction of the King and Council, and not for the Knowledge of the whole Nation. However it was, it gave a new Allarm to the Kingdom, and caus'd this new Tax to be thought a greater Grievance than ever it was before.

Archbiſhop Laud *gains the Right of viſiting the Univerſities.*

He entertains the Court at Oxford.

6. During theſe Struggles and Conteſts about *Ship-Money*, the Archbiſhop, now in the Height of his Proſperity and Grandeur, drew a new Load of Envy upon Himſelf, by his claiming the Right of Viſiting the two Univerſities, *Jure Metropolitico.* For both theſe learned Bodies deny'd his Claim, and pleaded, that as they were founded by Kings, they were only ſubject to Royal Viſitations. The Cauſe was brought to a Hearing before the King and Council at *Hampton-Court* in *June*; where Sir *John Banks*, Attorney-General, argu'd for the Archbiſhop's Right againſt the Royal Prerogative, and Mr. *Gardiner*, Recorder of *London*, pleaded their Subjection only to Royal Power, in behalf of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, as Serjeant *Thinne* did in behalf of that of *Oxford.* The King Himſelf argu'd for the Archbiſhop, and at laſt gave Judgment for him, that is, as many believ'd, againſt his own Crown and Dignity. Having gain'd this material Point, and compleated a new Body of Statutes for *Oxford*, the Archbiſhop, to do that Univerſity and Himſelf ſome Honour in the Eye of the Kingdom, invited the King and Queen, the Prince Elector and his Brother, with the whole Court, to an Academical Entertainment, which was to begin on the twenty ninth

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Day of *Auguſt*. Their Majeſties Reception was very great and ſolemn, accompany'd with ſeveral glorious Speeches, and three Comedies, which were repreſented with as much Variety of Scenes and Motions, as cou'd be invented by the fine Head of Mr. *Inigo Jones*. The Archbiſhop was particularly honour'd by the King and Court at his own College, St. *John*'s; where, in the new Gallery of his own Building, he had provided a moſt magnificent Dinner, to the Wonder and Satisfaction of all that were preſent. Upon the ſame Day that the Court remov'd, he made another Solemn Feaſt for the Heads of the Colleges; and Order was given at his Departure that the three Comedies ſhou'd be acted again, for the Pleaſure of the Univerſity; *all Things then going well and happily*, as he hints in his Diary.

Foreign Affairs.

Beſides his Domeſtick Concerns, the King was ſhortly after engag'd again in Foreign Affairs, occaſion'd by the Death of the Emperor of *Germany*, and the Succeſſion of his Son *Ferdinand* the Third, towards the latter End of this Year. Upon the Notice of which Change, his Majeſty ſent over the Earl of *Arundel*, Earl Marſhal of *England*, his Ambaſſador, with a moſt ſplendid Equipage to the new Emperor, to repreſent the unhappy Condition of the Elector *Palatine*, now in the *Engliſh* Court, and to ſollicite the Reſtitution of his Patrimony. The Emperor return'd a civil Anſwer, ' That in Time his Reſtitution might be ' conſider'd as to the *Lower Palatinate*; but for the *Upper* ' *Palatinate*, it concern'd the Duke of *Bavaria*, with ' whom Conſultation muſt be had in that Affair.' But upon a freſh Conſultation, *Bavaria* anſwer'd like a Soldier, *That what he had won by the Sword, he wou'd maintain by the ſame Power.* Upon which, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador ſo far reſented the Slights and Indignities put upon him, that he came away without taking Leave; and made ſuch a Report to the King, that he ſhew'd his particular Diſpleaſure to the Imperial Agent; all which further obſtructed the King's Endeavours of reſtoring his Nephew.

The Birth of the King's third Daughter.

The Death of Sir Julius Cæſar,

Sir Humphry Lynd,

Dr. Goad,

Mr. Brett,

And Mr. Welby,

This Year prov'd calamitous by the Plague, which broke out at *London* in the Beginning of it, and reign'd in ſome Meaſure the whole Summer and Autumn. It decreas'd in the latter End, when a new Pleaſure was added to the Court by the Birth of the Queen's third Daughter, baptiz'd by the Name of *Anne*, who dy'd before ſhe was four Years of Age. In the ſame Year there dy'd four noted Perſons, two Lay-men, and two Divines; the Lay-men were Sir *Julius Cæſar*, and Sir *Humphry Lynd*: The former had worthily executed many Offices, in three ſeveral Reigns, and dy'd *Maſter of the Rolls*; being a Perſon of great Gravity and Integrity, and of that prodigious Bounty to all of Worth, or in Want, that he might have been taken for Almoner General to the Nation. The latter was a moſt learned Knight, a pious and zealous *Puritan*, a warm Member of Parliament, and noted for being a profeſt Enemy to thoſe call'd *Arminians* and *Pontificians*. The two Divines were Dr. *Thomas Goad*, and Mr. *Richard Brett*; the former had been Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and made Rector of *Hadley* in *Suffolk*, and further preferr'd; being a general Scholar, an exact Critick and Hiſtorian, a Poet, Schoolman and Divine, who upon the Indiſpoſition of Dr. *Hall*, was thought worthy by King *James* to be ſent over to the Synod of *Dort*. The latter, Mr. *Brett*, was the learned Rector of *Quainton* near *Aylesbury*, who had been appointed by King *James* for one of the Tranſlators of the Bible; a Perſon highly eminent for his Skill in the Oriental Languages, his vigilant Care, and diligent Preaching, and his Charity and Munificence upon all juſt Occaſions. Beſides theſe four, we are to mention a Perſon, whoſe Life was more remarkable than all of them, *Henry Welby* Eſquire, a *Lincolnſhire* Gentleman of a Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, who after he had enjoy'd the Benefit of the Univerſities, the Inns of Court, and Foreign Countries, and the Reputation of a publick and honourable Way of Living, in the 40th Year of his Age, he ſuddenly retir'd from all Mankind to his Houſe at *London*, and liv'd after an unheard-of Manner for 44 Years; where in true Acts of Charity he outſhin'd the moſt Bountiful of his Eſtate, and in real Solitude out-rival'd the greateſt Recluſes of the *Romiſh* Church: For which he was call'd the *Phœnix of the Times*.

1637.
Car. 13.

VII. 1. At this Time *England* had a mighty Show of Glory and Felicity; the Court was great and magnificent, adorn'd with all outward Splendor; the Church was ſhining in the Grandeur, Piety and Learning of its Governours; the City and Country rich and wealthy, all Commerce thriving and encreaſing; and the Univerſities flouriſhing and abounding with all Arts and Sciences. But the Happineſs and Corruption of the Nation being too great to continue unalterable, the common Tranquillity began now to be interrupted; and tho' it had been diſturb'd by Wars abroad and Plagues and Complaints at home, yet this may be ſaid to be the firſt calamitous Year of this Reign; when a Flame broke out in *Scotland*, which in Time almoſt conſum'd the three Kingdoms. Both Civil and Religious Grievances were the Ground, or the Pretence of the Complaints and Diſcontents that contributed towards that unhappy Fire; but the latter had the Aſcendency among the middle and vulgar Sort. As there were many Tranſactions in *England* that before had a great Effect upon the Affairs of *Scotland*, ſo in this Year there were ſome that had a more particular Influence, and help'd to bring all the Troubles to a *Criſis*. Of all which we ſhall give an Account before we come directly to the Hiſtory of the Heats and Diſturbances of that Kingdom, which are to begin the next Chapter.

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The Beginnings of the Troubles.

Many tranſport themſelves to the Weſt-Indies.

A Reſtraint put upon them.

As to the Eccleſiaſtical Power, two Topicks were often and vehemently inſiſted on, the Unreaſonableneſs of the Cauſe, and the Severity of the Proſecution; and the latter, which ſome call'd Exorbitancy, frequently occaſion'd the former to be ſuſpected, as Popiſh and Superſtitious. It was this that caus'd ſeveral of factious and ungovernable Tempers, who had met with ſharp Cenſures in thoſe Courts, to think of taking Refuge in Foreign Plantations, where their Trade and Humour in Religion might be free to themſelves. Till at length the Number of the Families, thus tranſported, began to raiſe the Jealouſy of the State, as fearing thoſe Parts of *America*, wherein they propos'd to ſettle, might prove ſuch a Receptacle of diſaffected People, as wou'd be of very bad Conſequence both to the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power at home. Wherefore a Proclamation was iſſu'd out to reſtrain the diſorderly tranſporting his Majeſty's Subjects to the Plantations in *America*, without a Royal Licenſe, *Becauſe of the many idle and refractory Humours, whoſe only or principal End was to live without the Reach of Authority.* After which an Order was made in Council, ' That ſpeedy and effectual Courſe ſhou'd ' be taken for ſtopping of eight Ships, then in the *Thames*, pre- ' par'd for *New-England*; and Order be given for the put- ' ting on Land all the Paſſengers and Proviſions, intended ' for that Voyage.' And becauſe ſome of the Clergy, under Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, were ready to fly to the ſame Refuge and Protection, there was another Order of Council, ' To ſtop all Miniſters, unconformable to the Diſci- ' pline and Ceremonies of the Church; and that no Clergy- ' man ſhou'd be ſuffer'd to go to the Foreign Plantations, ' without Approbation of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ' and Biſhop of *London*. All this, tho' founded on Reaſon of State, encreas'd the Murmurs and Complaints of the People thus reſtrain'd, and rais'd the Cries of a double Perſecution, to be vex'd at home, and not ſufferr'd to ſeek Relief abroad. However, there was this certain Conſequence, that ſome of the principal Refugees, holding *New-England* by a Patent from the King, drew thither ſuch a Tribe and Colony of their own, as caſt off all Subjection to the *Engliſh* Church, to which their Poſterity were never yet reconcil'd.

The Judges ſupport the Spiritual Courts.

The Proceedings in the Spiritual Courts, not only againſt open Separatiſts and Puritans, but even againſt many true Members of the Church that did not come up to new Meaſures, were ſo ſtrict and ſevere, that this Year it gave Occaſion to ſtrike at the Juriſdiction of thoſe Courts, and to plead that they were held illegally, becauſe not kept by Vertue of the Broad Seal, and becauſe the Proceſſes were not in the King's Name. Theſe Objections being publickly alledg'd in the *Star-Chamber*, an Order was there made to have the Opinion of the twelve Juges in this Caſe; who in Writing unanimouſly return'd their Opinion, ' That ' the preſent Method of Proceeding in the Eccleſiaſtical ' Courts was according to Law, and that they had no Ob- ' ligation to act under the Broad-Seal, or to uſe the King's ' Name in their Proceſſes.' This being regiſter'd in all the Courts of *Weſtminſter*, the King iſſu'd out his Proclamation, to give a further Sanction to it, and a Satisfaction to his Subjects. This was look'd upon by the Archbiſhop and his Friends as a great Point gain'd, and their Proceedings were thought to have unqueſtionable Weight, as well as Aſſurance of Succeſs, ſo that the Severities were never leſs relax'd, but it ſerv'd more to encreaſe the general Diſſatisfaction, and to haſten the Ruin of themſelves and the Church. The Archbiſhop was moſt unhappy in his ſubordinate Inſtruments, whom he thought to be inſpir'd with the ſame Virtue and Fervour with himſelf, whereas many of them only borrow'd their Heat from him, inſtead of receiving of it from above. Some of them endeavour'd to introduce many things, which had too near a Reſemblance of Popery; nor were they blameleſs in their Lives, ſeveral being vicious to a Scandal, nor ſo humble and meek as they ought to have appear'd, but ſo very high, that One was complain'd of for ſaying, *He hop'd to ſee the Day, when a Miniſter ſhou'd be as good a Man, as any Upſtart Jack Gentleman in* England. By theſe Miſmanagements, the Puritans became great Gainers, being Perſons generally free from outward Scandal, excepting ſome Particulars in Commerce, ſhewing a moſt demure Formality and ſupple Mildneſs, which caus'd them deeply to inſinuate into the Eſteem of the Vulgar, who cou'd not then perceive that theſe Sheep and Doves had Teeth and Claws, which grew to be far more ſharp and terrible than thoſe of the Prelates.

The Proſecution of Baſtwick, Burton *and* Prynn.

2. Thus the Symptoms encreas'd, and drew on towards a fatal *Criſis*; and this Year there happened three or four Proſecutions and Hearings that had a great, tho' unforeſeen Influence upon the future Calamities. The firſt was the Proſecution of three famous Offenders, *John Baſtwick* Doctor of Phyſick, *Henry Burton* Batchelor of Divinity, and *William Prynn* Barriſter at Law; all Men of furious Spirits, who were try'd in the *Star-Chamber* for writing and publiſhing Seditious, Schiſmatical and Libellous Books againſt the Hierarchy of the Church, and the Peace of the Government. The two firſt of them had been ſo daring and exorbitant, that it occaſion'd a Meeting of the Judges at *Serjeants-Inn*, to determine whether ſeveral Paſſages in their Books did not amount to High-Treaſon. However it was agreed at laſt, that they ſhou'd be proſecuted in the High Court of *Star-Chamber*, together with Mr. *Prynn*, who ſince his Puniſhment, and in his Impriſonment, had ſhewn himſelf more fierce and virulent than before.

Their ſeveral Crimes.

Dr. *Baſtwick* was an *Eſſex* Man, who being educated a ſhort time in *Cambridge*, travell'd nine Years beyond the Seas, and was created Doctor of Phyſick at *Padua*. Returning home, he practis'd at *Colcheſter*, and publiſh'd a Book in elegant *Latin*, intitl'd *Flagellum Pontificis, &c.* For which he was accus'd in the *High-Commiſſion* Court, and committed to the *Gate-Houſe*, where he wrote a furious Book againſt the Injuſtice of the Proceedings in the *High-Commiſſion*, for which he was now proſecuted. Mr. *Burton*, a *Yorkſhire* Man, and a Divine, had been a Servant in the Cloſet to the preſent King when Prince of *Wales*. He took it very ill that he was not ſent as one of the Chaplains into *Spain*, when the Prince was there; but worſe, that *Laud*, then Biſhop of St. *David*'s, ſhou'd execute the Office of *Clerk of the Cloſet*, while Biſhop *Neil* was ſick. Inrag'd at this Indignity, as he then conceiv'd it, he put a ſcandalous Paper into the Hands of the King, for which, and ſome other Inſolencies, he was commanded to depart the Court; and being never able to regain Admittance, he breath'd out nothing but Rage and Malice againſt the King and the Biſhops; and never deſiſted, even in his Sermons at his Pariſh in *London*, till he was ſtopp'd by the preſent Proceedings. Mr. *Prynn*, in his Impriſonment, among other Books publiſh'd a Libel call'd *News from* Ipſwich, chiefly deſign'd againſt Dr. *Wren* Biſhop of *Norwich*, a learned Man, but thought of a ſevere and ſower Temper, wherein he wittily deſcanted upon the Archbiſhop with his *Arch-Piety*, *Arch-Charity*, *Arch-Agent for the Devil*; and call'd the Biſhops *Luciferian Lords*, *execrable Traitors*, *devouring Wolves*, with other curious Appellations, that rather ſeem'd to come out of *Bedlam* than the *Tower*, where he was lodg'd.

After ſeveral Delays, the Cauſe of all three came on in *Trinity*-Term; at which Time they had drawn up ſome Anſwers, but ſo libellous and full of Scandal, that no Counſellor wou'd put his Hand to them, according to the Courſe of that Court. Inſtead of which they exhibited a Croſs-Bill againſt the Archbiſhop and his Confederates, charging them with the ſame Reproaches that had been the Subject of their former Libels; which being only ſign'd by their Hands, and ſo tender'd to the Lord-Keeper, was rejected, and themſelves taken *pro confeſſis*, as being ſelf-convicted, for want of anſwering in due Form of Law. Accordingly they receiv'd this Sentence, '*Prynn*, as the 'moſt inveterate Offender, to be fin'd five thouſand Pounds, 'to loſe the Remainder of his Ears in the Pillory, to be 'branded on both Cheeks with the Letters *S. L.* for a '*Schiſmatical Libeller*, and to be perpetually impriſon'd in '*Canarvan* Caſtle: *Baſtwick* and *Burton* to ſuffer the ſame 'Fine, to be Pillory'd and loſe their Ears, and to be impriſon'd in the Caſtles of *Lanceton* and *Lancaſter*. A few Days after, they were all three brought with great Formality to the *Palace-Yard*, where three Pillories were erected, on which the Sentence was rigorouſly executed. Their Speeches and Behaviour were generally admir'd, with Applauſe by ſome, and Abhorrence by others: *Burton* ran a Parallel between the Sufferings of our Bleſſed Saviour and his own; and *Baſtwick* declar'd, *That if he had as much Blood as would ſwell the* Thames, *he wou'd loſe it every Drop in this Cauſe*; *Prynn* was more modeſt, and ſeem'd to lay the greateſt Blame upon the Cowardiſe of his Council. After this they were carefully convey'd to their ſeveral Priſons, where there was ſuch an extraordinary Reſort by ſuch as pity'd their Sufferings, that the State thought fit to remove them further; *Prynn* to the Caſtle of *Mont Orgueil* in the Iſle of *Jerſey*, *Burton* to *Caſtle-Cornet* in the Road of *Guernſey*, and *Baſtwick* to St. *Mary*'s Caſtle in the Iſle of *Silly*, where they continu'd about three Years.

Their Puniſhment,

And Behaviour.

At the Delivery of the Sentence, Archbiſhop *Laud* made a long and remarkable Speech to clear himſelf and his Brethren from the *Innovations*, which of late had been ſo highly exclaim'd againſt by the Sufferers and Others. Yet ſtill this ſignal Puniſhment of three ſuch Men, had very direful Effects upon all the Biſhops and the Tranquility of the Publick. For tho' their Crimes were of that daring Nature, as cou'd not have eſcap'd Cenſure in the beſt and worſt of Governments; yet partly for the Severity of it, and partly the great Diſcontents of the People, their Caſe came to be extreamly pity'd, and themſelves look'd upon more as Martyrs than Criminals. It prov'd very ſhocking to the Generality, 'and 'it gave great Trouble to the Spirits of many very moderate and well-meaning Men, to ſee the three eminent Profeſſions in the World, Divinity, Law and Phyſick, to 'be ſo wretchedly diſhonour'd in the Perſons of theſe 'Malefactors, as was obſerv'd by the Archbiſhop himſelf 'in his Letter to the King.' As to the Sufferers, they glory'd in what they had done and endur'd, and became more turbulent than ever; and *Prynn* became ſo implacably furious, that he never reſted till he had taken off the Archbiſhop's Head, ruin'd Epiſcopacy, and involv'd the Nation in the moſt imaginable Confuſions. But at length having ſeen a thouſand unexpected Calamities, and growing weary of himſelf, when he had in a manner no Enemy to engage him, he began to look up, and heartily to repent his former Career, wiſhing, *That when they had cut off his Ears, they had cut off his Head*; and in the End became a happy Inſtrument of Peace both in Church and State.

It occaſions great Diſguſts.

The Proſecution and Puniſhment of theſe three ſignal Offenders, was ſhortly after ſucceeded by another, which had no ſmall Influence upon the Publick Tranquility; which was that of *John Lilburne*, a poor Tradeſman, of a good Family and pregnant Apprehenſion, who for the ſake of the Law was taken into the Service of Mr. *Prynn*; a Man of ſuch undaunted and ungovernable Spirit, as can ſcarcely be parallell'd in any Nation. This Perſon joyning with his Maſter in printing and publiſhing Libels againſt the Biſhops, *&c.* was ſentenc'd in the *Star-Chamber* to be whipp'd from the *Fleet* Priſon to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, before which to be pillory'd with his Aſſociate *John Warton*. The Whipping was executed with great Severity; and in the midſt of his Torments, inſtead of Submiſſion, he utter'd many railing Speeches againſt the Tyranny of the Prelates and his Perſecutors; and being ſet in the Pillory, he continu'd the ſame Virulency with his Tongue, and ſcatter'd out of his Pockets ſeveral ſeditious Pamphlets among the People. Upon theſe ſtrange Inſults, the Lords of the *Star-Chamber*, then ſitting, immediately order'd him to be gagg'd the reſt of the Time of his ſtanding; but when he cou'd not expreſs his Rage and Reſentment with his Tongue, he did it with his Feet, by continual ſtamping, to ſhew that he was altogether invincible. He was cloſe impriſon'd for about three Years, till the Change of the Times, and obtain'd the Name of *Free-born John*. Being again at Liberty, and coming into Play, he became a grand Leveller, a Modeller, a Ring-leader, and a violent Incendiary, and Oppoſer of all that was Uppermoſt; till after various Struggles and ſtrange Eſcapes, he at laſt dy'd a Quaker. In ſhort, he had that inveterate Spirit of Contradiction, that it came to be a common Saying, *That if the World was empty'd of all but himſelf*, John *wou'd be againſt* Lilburne, *and* Lilburne *againſt* John: An Antichriſtian Temper, which no Pretence of Honeſty, Juſtice, or a good Cauſe can vindicate.

An Account of John Lilburne, *and his Puniſhment.*

3. Before theſe laſt Proceedings were fully finiſh'd, there came on the famous Cauſe in the *Star-Chamber*, againſt a far greater Man, Dr. *Williams* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, which had different, tho' no leſs remarkable Effects. This eminent States-Man, who had been ſo great in the laſt Reign and the Beginning of this, did exceedingly decline in Favour for ſeveral Years, was oblig'd to quit the Court, and retire to his Palace at *Buckden* in *Huntingtonſhire*, where notwithſtanding he liv'd with great Splendor and Concourſe of Viſitants. The King and the Archbiſhop had entertain'd inſuperable Prejudices againſt him, and look'd upon him as a dangerous Affector of Popularity, and a Favourite of the *Puritan* Faction; and then his Subtle and Serpentine Ways in all Difficulties, gave too juſt an Occaſion to many to believe him not ſtrictly honeſt. The Difference in our beſt Writers has made it extreamly hard to judge exactly as to the laſt; but we have great Reaſon to believe that the Court was under ſeveral Miſtakes about this Prelate, and that the Diſtruſt and Emulation between the Archbiſhop and Him, with the Height of both their Spirits, caus'd ſuch a fatal Oppoſition, that they cou'd never come to a right Knowledge of each other's Characters. Then *Williams* being of the ſuffering Side, and believing himſelf highly injur'd, he ſometimes expreſs'd his Reſentments with a Freedom and Openneſs, as was not agreeable to his uſual Policy; which caus'd the Court to have a more vigilant Eye upon him and his Actions.

The Caſe of Biſhop Williams.

1637.
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An Account of his Troubles.

The Beginning of his Troubles aroſe from Sir *John Lamb* and Dr. *Sibthorp*, who with *Allen* and *Burden*, two Proctors, being at Dinner with him at *Buckden*, there began a Diſcourſe concerning Nonconformiſts. Now the Biſhop knowing theſe to be all active Men in the Proſecution of them, adviſ'd them to abate their Severity, for he knew the King wou'd treat them more mildly for the future, being a conſiderable Party that much influenc'd Parliamentary Affairs; adding further, *That the King had communicated this to him with his own Mouth.* A few Years after, upon ſome Difference with the Biſhop, Sir *John Lamb* and Dr. *Sibthorp* inform'd againſt him in the *Star-Chamber* for *Revealing the King's Secrets.* But the Information being either not well laid, or ſufficiently ſupported, the Biſhop by Evaſions and Delays found Means to fence againſt it for ſome Years together, but with great Vexation and Expence. In the mean Time the Diſpleaſure of the Court increas'd againſt him, ſo that he was daily put to ſome new Trouble, and not ſuffer'd to have any Reſt. This caus'd him to apply himſelf to the Lord *Cottington*, and begg'd *to know how he might procure his Peace, and ſuch ordinary Favours as other Biſhops had from his Majeſty.* That Lord adviſ'd him to two Things, to reſign his Deanery of *Weſtminſter*, and to reſtrain his great and magnificent Way of Living: Both which he refus'd, the Former out of good Reaſon, and the latter out of a reſolute Temper.

At length *Kilvert*, a Proctor in the *Arches*, a Perſon very ſcandalous and cunning, who before had been employ'd in Hunting *Bennet*, a corrupt Judge in the *Prerogative*, to his final Sentence, was retain'd by ſome great Men to proſecute this Biſhop to the like Confuſion. This Man having found by diligent Inquiry, and ſubtle Practices, that the Biſhop's Purgation depended chiefly upon one *Prigeon*, the Regiſter of the Court of *Lincoln*, he made it his chief Buſineſs, by diſcrediting the Witneſs, to invalidate his Evidence, and ſo laid a Baſtard to his Charge, there appearing a ſufficient Ground for an Indictment againſt him. The Biſhop apprehending himſelf under a Neceſſity to ſupport the Reputation of *Prigeon*, engag'd himſelf more zealouſly than was thought conſiſtent with the Dignity of ſo great a Prelate, for ſo inconſiderable a Man. He was at a vaſt Expence to ward off the Blow, and the Fathering of the Baſtard was bandied between *Prigeon* and one *Booth* from Seſſions to Seſſions, and from one Year to another, till the Mother of the Child was found to have been tamper'd with by ſome of the Biſhop's Creatures to charge it wholly upon *Booth*, who, when it was too late, actually own'd himſelf to be the true Father. On the Diſcovery of which Practice, *Kilvert* let go his former Hold, and exhibited a new Bill againſt the Biſhop for *Tampering with the King's Witneſſes*, a Crime moſt proper for the *Star-Chamber.* The Biſhop finding Himſelf plung'd into new Difficulties, and under the Weight of a mercileſs Proſecution, endeavour'd to obtain a Compoſition with the King, being willing to pay four, and then eight Thouſand Pounds to purchaſe his own Peace, and his Majeſty's Favour; which, tho' for a while accepted of, afterwards was urg'd againſt him, as a Proof of his Conſciouſneſs and Guilt of the Crime charg'd upon him.

His Tryal in the Star-Chamber, *and Puniſhment.*

About the Middle of *July* the Cauſe came to a full Hearing, which held nine Days Debate, with an extraordinary Concourſe of People, who highly pity'd the Biſhop, 'as a Man mark'd out for a Sacrifice to the Court, and one 'who was like to bleed in his Purſe towards a deſign'd 'War againſt *Scotland.*' In Concluſion he was condemn'd 'to ten Thouſand Pounds Fine to the King, a Thouſand 'Marks to Sir *John Mounſon*, who was concern'd againſt '*Prigeon*, Suſpenſion in the *High-Commiſſion* from all Office and Benefice, and Impriſonment during his Majeſty's 'Pleaſure.' All this was executed without the leaſt Abatement; and *Walker* his Secretary, *Powel* his Steward, and one *Land*, were ſeverally fin'd, and order'd to be impriſon'd. But they all eſcap'd both Fine and Impriſonment, which were in a ſhort Time commuted into ſuch other Offices as they were to do for *Kilvert* againſt their Maſter; as he ſoon found to his new Perplexity and Damage. For after the Biſhop had been impriſon'd in the *Tower*, and had his Goods to a vaſt Value ſhamefully waſted by *Kilvert* at *Buckden*, in the rifling of his Papers, *Powel* found a Letter writ to him about five Years before by Mr. *Osbaldſtone* the School-maſter of *Weſtminſter*, in which there were ſome Enigmatical Expreſſions, which were thought highly reflecting upon the Archbiſhop and the then Lord-Treaſurer *Weſton.* This being produc'd, *Kilvert* took the Advantage, and exhibited a new Bill againſt him for *divulging Scandalous Libels againſt Privy-Counſellors.* The Biſhop deny'd that ever he had receiv'd the Letter, but it being found in a Box in his Chamber, with another Paper that ſeem'd fully to explain it, he was condemn'd in another Fine of eight Thouſand Pounds. *Osbaldſtone*, tho' he explain'd his Letter in a very favourable Senſe, was fin'd five Thouſand Pounds, depriv'd of all Preferments, and condemn'd to the Pillory; but he eſcap'd all by a ſeaſonable Flight, which was accompany'd by a Jeſt, *That he was gone beyond* Canterbury.

A Second Blow.

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Biſhop *Hacket* exclaims heartily againſt all theſe Proceedings, and according to his Account, with the ſeveral Circumſtances, this Prelate met with extraordinary Hardſhips, both from the Archbiſhop, and the Court in general; yet in all his Troubles and Defences, there ſtill appear'd more of the Serpent than the Dove, which by a charitable Conſtruction may rather be call'd Counter-Mining, than Under-Mining. However theſe Proceedings did raiſe a very deep Diſtaſte in the Hearts of many People, which was expreſs'd in great Murmurings againſt the Archbiſhop and others; and the Hardſhips were ſo apparent, that *Fuller* believes, that this Biſhop's Sufferings did much haſten, if not chiefly cauſe the Suppreſſion of that famous Court of the *Star-Chamber.* That Court had been for many Ages, the Glory, and now thought the Grievance of the *Engliſh* Nation; The uſual Subject was the Defence of Honour and Honeſty; and generally conſiſted of thirty or forty of the Greateſt, Wiſeſt, and moſt Learned of all Profeſſions in the Kingdom, and oftentimes with the King at the Head of them; ſo that no Court came ſo near the venerable Senate of *Rome* in State, Honour and Judicature. The Lord *Bacon* calls it one of the ſageſt and nobleſt Inſtitutions of the Kingdom, chiefly remarkable for its *Cenſorian Power:* But this gradually retrenching upon the Common Law, and degenerating to ſome Exorbitancies, private Paſſions, and Slaviſh Puniſhments, ariſing from the Indiſcretion of the Judges, and Neceſſities of the Government, it ſunk by its own Weight, and the King and Nation ſoon loſt a Benefit that cou'd never yet be retriev'd.

An Account of the Star-Chamber.

4. There was another Cauſe came on this Year, which tho' of very ſmall Concern to the Defendent, yet was thought of higheſt Moment to the Publick, which was that of *Ship-Mony*, that was now brought to a ſtrict Examination, and ſolemn Tryal at Law. This was occaſion'd by the famous Mr. *Hampden*, a *Buckinghamſhire* Gentleman, of extraordinary Parts and Reſolution; who refuſing to pay his Share of the *Ship-Mony*, amounting to leſs than thirty Shillings, had a *Scire Facias* brought againſt him in the Exchequer, in the midſt of *May.* Upon his Pleading, and the King's Council Demurring, the Legality of the Tax was graciouſly allow'd to be examined and argu'd at full Length, without any Interruption. This great Cauſe continu'd for ſeveral Weeks, after the moſt publick Manner, continually opening the Ears and Eyes of all People. It was firſt argu'd by two great Men, Mr. *Oliver St. John*, and Mr. *Robert Holborn*, for the Defendent; and on the King's Side by Sir *John Banks*, Attorney-General, and Sir *Edward Littleton*, Solicitor-General; and then very largely and elaborately diſcuſs'd and debated by the twelve Judges, in ſo many ſeveral fine Speeches. The Arguments both at the Bar and Bench were full of nice and admirable Learning, Variety of Precedents, Records and Pieces of Hiſtory; as may be ſeen imperfectly in *Ruſhworth*, but much more perfectly in *Frankland*, conſiſting of a hundred and ſixty Pages in a large Folio, with infinite References and Quotations. *Precedents* and *Neceſſity*, with the *Publick Benefit*, were great Topicks inſiſted on by the Judges; and becauſe the *Petition of Right* bore hard and near upon them, they acknowledg'd 'That the King cou'd not impoſe a *Pe-* '*cuniary Charge* by way of *Tollage*, but only a *Perſonal* '*one* by way of *Service.*' So all the Judges, except *Hutton* and *Crook*, gave Judgment againſt Mr. *Hampden*, to the great Diſappointment and Diſſatisfaction of the People. *Whitlock* tells us that Judge *Crook* was reſolv'd to deliver his Opinion for the King, and accordingly had prepar'd his Argument; but a few Days before the Time, he chang'd his Mind, by means of a ſerious Debate with his Friends, and his own Wife, who in particular told him, with a Courage not uſual to her Sex, *That ſhe won'd be contented to ſuffer any Want or Miſery with Him, rather than occaſion him to do or ſay any Thing againſt his Judgment and Conſcience.*

Mr. Hampden's *Caſe of the* Ship-Mony.

He is Caſt.

This Cauſe, and the Judgment given, was attended with ſuch Niceties and Intricacies in the Law, as were Matters of real Difficulty, and not of full Certainty in thoſe Times, tho' they are quite otherwiſe in ours at preſent; which ought always to be diſtinguiſh'd by thoſe that wou'd rightly judge of this Affair. However, it was directly againſt the main Bent of the Nation, and by the wiſeſt and beſt Men thought a dangerous Inſult and Breach upon the Conſtitution; for which the Judges cannot be too much condemn'd. The Cauſe being of an univerſal Concern, Nothing cou'd have done the King greater Diſſervice than this Determination; for the Tax was born with much more Chearfulneſs before, than ever it was afterwards. Men before might pleaſe themſelves with doing ſomething for the King, to which they were not oblig'd; but when this Teſtimony of their Affection was remov'd by declaring that to be Law, which might cut off all future Power of ſhewing it, they look'd upon it with the utmoſt Reſentment, and as an Impoſition of

Divers Cenſures upon it.

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of the Judges, to which they thought themſelves bound in Conſcience not to ſubmit. Wherefore the Lord *Clarendon* ſays, That the Damage cannot be expreſs'd, that the Crown and State ſuſtain'd by the deſerved Reproach and Infamy attending the Judges, by being us'd in this and the like Acts of Power; there being no Poſſibility to preſerve the Dignity, Reverence and Eſtimation of the Laws themſelves, but by their Innocency and Integrity. Yet after all, the Opinions and Arguments were various in thoſe Times; but we cannot better determine the Difficulties, than by referring the Reader to a printed Propoſal to the long Parliament in the Year 1640, by an eminent Hand, intitl'd *The Caſe of Ship-Mony*, which ſets it in a ſhort and clear Light; and tho' it fairly condemns it, yet at the ſame time it honeſtly preſcribes ſuch Remedies, as might have ſav'd the Nation, if they had been ſeaſonably apply'd.

The Death of Mr. Fludd,

Mr. Gellibrand,

And Ben Johnſon.

Thus ſtood the Affairs of *England*, at and ſoon after the Time of the Beginning of the Tumults and Troubles in *Scotland* in 1637; in which Year there dy'd three remarkable Men, all different in Genius, *Robert Fludd*, *Henry Gellibrand*, and *Benjamin Johnſon*. The Former, in *Latin* call'd *de Fluctibus*, was a celebrated Phyſician, a great Traveller, a *Roſa-Crucian* Philoſopher and Chymiſt, and a Man ſtrangely profound in obſcure Matters, and out of the Common Road; whoſe myſtical and paradoxical Writings have been greatly receiv'd and admir'd by Foreigners, as Rarities not to be match'd in any Country. Mr. *Gellibrand*, the Second, was fam'd for his ſudden and forward Proficiencies in Geometry and Aſtronomy, for which he was deſervedly made Aſtronomy Profeſſor of *Greſham* College, in the Room of Mr. *Gunter* formerly mention'd; but he was ſnatch'd away in the 40th year of his Age, to the great Loſs of the Mathematical Faculty. *Ben Johnſon*, the Laſt, was one of the moſt eminent Dramatick Poets that ever the Nation produc'd; who being educated under the famous Mr. *Camden*, became wonderful in Eſteem with the great Men in the Kingdom for his ſublime Wit and Parts, his uncommon Skill in Poetry, and his admirable Judgment, as well as penetrating Inſight, as to Human Nature. He outliv'd all that cou'd pretend to any Rivalſhip in his Art, as *Shakeſpear*, *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*, and in the ſixty third Year of his Age left the Stage of this World, deeply concern'd, and very penitent, upon the account of the undue Liberties he had too often taken with the Holy Scriptures in ſeveral of his Comedies.

CHAP. III.

From the Beginning of the Tumults and Troubles in Scotland, *to the Beginning of the Long Parliament in* England.

Containing the Space of 3 Years, and above 3 Months.

1637.
Car. 13.

The Beginnings of the Scots *Diſturbances.*

Their Management againſt Epiſcopacy.

I. 1. THE better to underſtand the Occaſion of the Tumults that now broke out in *Scotland*, and which at length prov'd ſo fatal to *England*, we muſt briefly conſider the State and Temper of the Nation, during this Reign, eſpecially ſince the Coronation of the King. The People in general were highly jealous of the Power and Prevalency of the *Engliſh* Nation; and from the Time of Queen *Elizabeth* till now, they may truly be ſaid to have walk'd by a dark Lanthorn, by which they ſaw all the *Engliſh* Affairs, and yet mov'd undiſcern'd by Them in any Thing they deſign'd. Their Behaviours were as ſubtle, as their Reſentments were ſtrong; and beſides the Diſcontents formerly mention'd in the Year 1633, the prevailing Part of the Kingdom was moſt violent againſt the Eſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy, and particularly againſt the Conduct and Management of moſt of the preſent Biſhops, who had given too much Occaſion for Cenſure. In Order to deſtroy both, the Presbyterian Miniſters, after many unſucceſsful Struggles, uſually kept a private Faſt in their own Congregations, upon the firſt Sabbath of every Quarter. Upon which Days, in their Sermons they generally hinted 'at the Danger of 'Religion by Prelacy, and all its Dependencies, and in 'their Prayers ſupplicated for Relief, with a Bleſſing upon 'all good Means which Providence ſhou'd afford for that 'End;' by which Methods they daily gain'd upon the Minds of the Vulgar. The ſame Party had for a long Time entertain'd one Mr. *Borthwick* at *London*, a Perſon admirably ſkill'd for their Deſign, who ſucceſsfully tranſacted with the Non-Conformiſts there, to attempt a Reformation, as ſoon as the Work ſhou'd begin in *Scotland*; and upon his Return, gave them great Hopes and Encouragement. They had alſo a cloſe Correſpondence with the *Scottiſh* Miniſters in the *North* of *Ireland*, who by their Inſtigation grew ſo tumultuous againſt the Order of that Church, as caus'd their Biſhops to turn them out: Upon which they came over to *Scotland*, with high Exclamations againſt Perſecution, and were by their Friends accounted as ſo many Martyrs, and were cheriſh'd and receiv'd with all the invidious and odious Reflections upon the Epiſcopal Function.

1637.
Car. 11.

The Want of Union among the Scotch *Biſhops.*

The Occaſion of it.

The Biſhops gave frequent Advantages to their Adverſaries, particularly by the Want of Harmony and Union among Themſelves; which chiefly proceeded from the different Meaſures taken by the Father and the Son in their Promotion, King *James* and King *Charles*. It had been the Cuſtom of the former, when a Biſhoprick fell void, to appoint the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* to convene the reſt of the Biſhops, who nominated three or four of the beſt qualify'd Men in the Nation; out of which Liſt the King fix'd upon One, whom he preferr'd to the Dignity. By which Means, the moſt worthy Men were advanc'd during his Reign, ſuch as *Cooper* to *Galloway*, *Ballantine* to *Dumblain*, *Forbes* to *Aberdeen*, *Lindſey* to *Brichen*, and *Guthrey* to *Murray*, beſides the famous Primate Himſelf, *Spotſwood* of St. *Andrews*. But King *Charles* unhappily follow'd another Method, and without any Conſultation with the Biſhops, preferr'd Men according to their Intereſt at Court. So that upon the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Recommendation, *Leſley* was made Biſhop of *The Iſles*, and by *Maxwell*'s of the Bed-chamber, *Maxwell* his Relation was made Biſhop of *Roſs*: By Archbiſhop *Laud*'s means *Syderſerfe* was made Biſhop of *Brichen*, and *Wedderburne* of *Dumblain*; and when the former was tranſlated to *Galloway*, *Whitford* was made Biſhop of *Brichen* by the Intereſt of the Earl of *Sterling*, the Secretary of *Scotland*. Theſe New Biſhops were far ſhort of the Wiſdom and Experience of the Elder, and none was generally eſteem'd qualify'd for the Office, beſides *Maxwell*, who was undoubtedly a Man of great Parts, but of ſuch a graſping and unbounded Ambition, as prov'd a great Cauſe of the Ruin of all the reſt. Now theſe, having no Obligations to the old Biſhops for their Preferments, became independent of their Seniors, and kept up a ſeparate Correſpondence among Themſelves; and hap'ning to gain an Intimacy with Archbiſhop *Laud*, it occaſion'd him to procure to Himſelf a Power from the King to preſcribe Rules to the old Biſhops, which they never well approv'd or countenanc'd.

Several Prejudices againſt them.

Their particular Enemies.

Theſe Biſhops, not knowing the wiſeſt Uſe of their Power, or the true Temper of the People, gradually loſt the Eſteem of the Nation, and that upon ſeveral Accounts. The People had at that Time ſwallow'd the deepeſt Prejudice againſt any thing that ſavour'd of *Popery*, or promoted *Arminianiſm*, and had entertain'd the profoundeſt Veneration for the Morality of the Sabbath. Now the Biſhops in their Sermons and Diſcourſes had often mollify'd the Errors of the Firſt, promoted the Opinions of the Second, and diſcountenanc'd the rigid Practices in reſpect of the Laſt; all to the great Diſſatisfaction of the People. But what prov'd moſt fatal to theſe and the reſt, was their gaining ſo many Secular Places, and endeavouring to repoſſeſs themſelves of the alienated Tythes and Impropriations: All which highly diſguſted the Nobility and Great Men, who being more immediately concern'd, daily tax'd them 'with Worldly Deſigns, not only of trampling upon 'the Church, but of domineering over the State.' Beſides *Rothes* and *Balmerino*, formerly mention'd, ſome Noblemen, being diſappointed as to State Preferments, charg'd all upon the Biſhops; and others, who were already advanc'd, were highly jealous that they deſign'd their Fall. Of the former Sort was the Lord of *Lorn*, afterwards the famous Earl of *Argyle*, a Perſon highly conſiderable for Parts, Power and Intereſt, who upon the Vacancy of the Office of High Chancellor, earneſtly preſs'd to obtain it; but the King, having before conferr'd ſeveral Favours and Advantages upon him, refus'd his Requeſt, and gave the Place to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*. This, and other like Diſappointments, provok'd him and others to ſhew their Reſentments againſt the whole Body of the Biſhops. Of the other Sort, was the Earl of *Traquair*, Lord High Treaſurer, a Perſon outwardly profeſſing great Friendſhip to the Biſhops, but a ſecret Confederate with their Enemies; for having conceiv'd a Jealouſy that the Prelates deſign'd his Fall, and finding that *Maxwell* Biſhop of *Roſs* was aſpiring at his Place, he privately carry'd on a politick Intrigue to ſupplant them and their Authority.

A Liturgy projected.

2. Affairs being in this unhappy Poſture, Providence afforded the faireſt Occaſion their Adverſaries cou'd deſire, for appearing in Action againſt them; which began when the King came to be crown'd in *Scotland*. At which Time Biſhop *Laud*, who had formerly been encourag'd by Biſhop *Maxwell*, held a Conference with the *Scottiſh* Biſhops, and others of the Clergy, in which he complain'd of the Nakedneſs of their Form of Worſhip in ſeveral Reſpects,

ſpects, but chiefly for the Want of a *Liturgy*, and certain *Canons*, which he conceiv'd wou'd ſupply all Defects. The old Biſhops reply'd, 'That in King *James*'s Time 'there had been a Motion made for a *Liturgy*, but that the 'Forming of it was deferr'd, in regard the *Articles of* '*Perth*, then introduc'd, prov'd ſo unwelcome to the 'People, that they thought it not fit nor ſafe, at that 'Time, to venture upon farther *Innovations*; and they were 'ſtill under ſome Apprehenſions, that if it ſhou'd be now 'attempted, the Conſequence of it might prove very diſ'mal.' But Biſhop *Maxwell*, *Syderſerfe*, *Mitchel* and ſome others preſs'd hard, 'That it might be undertaken, 'declaring that there was no kind of Danger in the At'tempt,' Whereupon Biſhop *Laud* immediately mov'd the King to declare it to be his Will, that there ſhou'd be a Liturgy in the Church of *Scotland*. His Majeſty had been appris'd of the Matter before, and had been inclinable, with Biſhop *Laud*, to have the very ſame Liturgy with the Church of *England*. But upon the Opinion of the *Scotch* Biſhops, it was agreed to frame a new Liturgy, with ſome little Variations from the *Engliſh*, and alſo a Book of Canons to inforce that and other Eccleſiaſtical Matters. All which were to be tranſmitted into *England*, and examin'd and approv'd by the King and three Biſhops, *Laud*, *Juxon* and *Wren*.

And agreed upon.

As ſoon as this Deſign came to be reported abroad, the finiſhing of it was not more wiſh'd by the Epiſcopal Party, than by thoſe of the contrary Judgment, tho' upon very different Accounts: The former, to ſhew their Readineſs to obey the King, and out of a Belief that it wou'd turn to the Benefit of the Church: But the others more rationally concluded, That the Noiſe of it wou'd ſtartle the whole Nation, and excite them to engage in a War for oppoſing it, which they thought might eaſily cauſe the Extermination of Epiſcopacy, and all its Dependencies. However the Biſhops in the mean Time were buſily employ'd in the Work; and yet proceeded ſo ſlowly, that it was towards the latter End of the Year 1636, before they compleated their intended Reformation. And even then the proper Method was inverted, by preſenting a Body of Canons to precede the Liturgy; the Conſideration of which was referr'd by the King to the three *Engliſh* Biſhops beforenam'd; who after ſome Alterations made, by the Conſent of the *Scotch* Biſhops, return'd them to the King: And his Majeſty, without further Ceremony, iſſu'd out his Proclamation for the due Obſervance of them throughout all *Scotland*. This being done without the general Approbation of the Clergy, or Privity of the Council, they were eſteem'd as ſo many new Laws, impos'd upon the whole Nation by the King's ſole Authority, and contriv'd by a few private Men, Strangers to the Conſtitution of the Kingdom.

It is finiſh'd, with a Book of Canons.

3. But the Liturgy became ſtill more formidable to the People; and while they were conſidering how to put it in Practice, there aroſe a mighty Clamour againſt the Biſhops, 'That Religion was undermin'd by a Conſpiracy between 'the *Engliſh* Archbiſhop and Them, and that they, being 'ſuborn'd by his Intereſt, were bringing in the *Maſs Book*.' This being ſuddenly ſpread throughout the Land, wrought ſo powerfully upon the Vulgar, that all Men concluded there was no Way to avoid a Publick Rupture, but by ſuppreſſing the Book. And indeed the good Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, with the wiſeſt of his Brethren, calmly conſider'd of it, and wrote to Archbiſhop *Laud* to prevail upon the King, to have the Book kept back, till the Nation was better prepar'd to receive it; which poſſibly might have taken Effect, if the *Scotch* Biſhops had been unanimous in the Matter. For thoſe who had been preferr'd in this Reign, being generally warm, and wanting the Experience of the Elder Sort, went not along with them, but joyn'd with the Lord Treaſurer *Traquair*, whoſe declar'd Opinion was, *That the Work ſhou'd proceed*, tho' with a Deſign far different from Theirs. The Lord *Clarendon* thinks very favourably of this unhappy States-man; but Biſhop *Guthry*, *Heylyn* and others, repreſent him as treacherous and ungrateful. The latter tells us, he was rais'd by the Power of Archbiſhop *Laud*, who with the greateſt Confidence rely'd upon his Honeſty, to the Ruin of his Affairs in *Scotland*. The former gives us a particular Account, That deſigning to deſtroy Epiſcopacy, he got ſome Letters under the Hands of the younger Biſhops, to promote the new Liturgy, and with them poſted to the *Engliſh* Court, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to whom he ſuggeſted, 'That there was no Danger to be apprehended, only the 'old Biſhops were timorous Men, and fear'd where there 'was no Cauſe of Fear; in Proof of which, if his Grace 'wou'd move the King to lay his Commands upon him, '*Upon his Life he wou'd carry through the Buſineſs, with*'*out any Diſturbance*.' The Archbiſhop being ignorant of the Treaſurer's Deſigns, eſpecially when he brought Letters from his chief Correſpondents, was ſo affected with theſe Promiſes, that tho' he thought a Work of that Nature improper to be committed to a Lay-man, he yet procur'd to Himſelf a Warrant from the King to command the Biſhops, upon all Hazards, to proceed in the Work; withal threatning them, 'That if they delay'd any longer, 'his Majeſty wou'd remove them from their Places, and 'fill them with vigorous and couragious Men, who wou'd 'not be afraid to do him Service.

Deſigns againſt it.

The Earl of Traquair's Treachery.

The Biſhops having receiv'd this peremptory Command, at the Earl's Return, were not equally affected with it: The younger ſort were tranſported with Joy, and eſteem'd the Treaſurer as their ſureſt Friend, who had obtain'd the main thing they deſir'd. But the wiſe old Biſhops were of another Opinion, and reflected much upon the Conſequence; however they had no Way left them, but to proceed, or to ſuffer. And now being greatly encourag'd by the Treaſurer's ample Promiſes of Aſſiſtance, and ſharing in their Fortune, they went on with Aſſurance, as if there had been no Danger. And it is very remarkable, that hereafter they generally acted ſo much contrary to thoſe Rules of Prudence and Policy, by which they uſually manag'd their Affairs, that all Men began to diſcover a Fatality in it. For they did not endeavour, as they formerly had done in inferior Matters, to have their Book brought in by an Eccleſiaſtical Sanction; but having procur'd it to be authoriz'd by an Act of Council, they immediately proceeded to urge the Practice of it. By which they highly provok'd the greateſt Part of thoſe very Miniſters that were Epiſcopal in their Judgments, who thought it a very diſmal Thing, 'That a Liturgy ſhou'd be impos'd upon the 'Church, without the Knowledge and Conſent of the 'Church; and judg'd it ſuch a dangerous Preparative, 'that by this Means the Civil Power might afterwards in'troduce any thing, tho' never ſo injurious to Religion, 'and the Church never get one Voice in it.' And they were the more ſenſibly offended, in regard King *James* himſelf had never preſs'd any thing that way; but whatſoever he wou'd have done in ſuch Affairs, he always took *a Church Way*, as it was call'd, to bring it to effect. Nor did they firſt urge the Practice of this Liturgy in the remoteſt Dioceſes, and ſuch Places, where there was leaſt Averſion to the Change, but they determin'd to make the firſt Tryal, where they were moſt like to meet with the greateſt Oppoſition.

Falſe Steps made by the Scotch *Biſhops.*

Thus they fix'd upon *Edinbugh* for the Place, and *Eaſter* this preſent Year 1637 for the Time. But the Lord Treaſurer perſwaded the King to defer it till *July*, that Preparation might be made for the more chearful Reception of it. Others believe that this was to give the oppoſite Party more Time to unite and confederate againſt it. It is certain, they found ſufficient Opportunity to defeat the Deſign; and in *April* they ſent over two eminent Men, Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* out of *Fife*, and Mr. *David Dick* out of the Weſt-Country, to conſult with their Friends at *Edinburgh*, and carry on their Cauſe after the moſt ſecret and effectual Manner. The former of theſe, *Henderſon*, had in his Youth been very Epiſcopal, and being made Profeſſor of Philoſophy in St. *Andrews*, at his Entrance upon the Place, he choſe Archbiſhop *Gladſtone* for his Patron, with a very flattering Dedication, for which he ſhortly after obtain'd the Kirk of *Lenchars*. But afterwards, upon ſome particular Reaſons, he turn'd, and became the Head of the Presbyterian Party, upon whom all their Miniſters depended; he being a Perſon who for Gravity, Learning, Wiſdom and State Policy, far exceeded any of them. He and Mr. *Dick* coming privately to *Edinburgh*, communicated the Minds of thoſe that ſent them to the Lord *Balmerino*, Sir *Thomas Hope*, and others. And theſe afterwards meeting with ſeveral zealous Matrons of ſome Note, it was recommended to them, 'That they and their Female Ad'herents ſhou'd give the firſt Affront to the Book when 'read; aſſuring them that the Men ſhou'd afterwards take 'the Buſineſs out of their Hands.' This being reſolv'd upon, Mr. *Henderſon* privately return'd to *Fife*, and Mr. *Dick* retir'd to the Weſt; both waiting for the great Iſſue, when the Liturgy ſhou'd be firſt us'd, which was to be upon *Sunday* the twenty third Day of *July*.

Secret Deſigns againſt them and the Liturgy.

4. On the appointed Day, the new Service Book was begun to be read in the great Church of *Edinburgh*, call'd St. *Giles*, in the Preſence of many of the Council, both the Archbiſhops, and divers other Biſhops, the Lords of the Seſſion, the Magiſtrates of the City, and a great Auditory of all ſorts of People. No ſooner had the Dean of *Edinburgh* appear'd in his Surplice, and begun to read, but a Multitude of the meaner Sort, moſt of them Women, with Clapping of Hands, Execrations and Outcries, rais'd a hideous Noiſe and Confuſion in the Church. The Biſhop of the Place, who was to preach that Day, ſtept into the Pupilt, hoping to appeaſe the Tumult, by minding them of the Sacredneſs of the Place; but they were more inrag'd, and one *Janot Gaddes*, an old Woman, uſher'd in the fu-

The Liturgy begun in Edinburgh.

Great Diſturbances upon it.

ture War by throwing a Stool at his Head, which might have endanger'd his Life. Upon this the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, Lord Chancellor, was oblig'd to call down from the Gallery the Provoſt, Bailiffs and other Magiſtrates to their Aſſiſtance, who at length with great Difficulty thruſt the unruly Rabble out of the Church, and ſecured the Doors. After which the Dean proceeded in the Service, but ſtill was greatly diſturb'd by the loud Clamours of the Multitude without, who pelted the Doors and Windows with Sticks and Stones, and cry'd out *A Pape, a Pape! Antichriſt! pul him down! ſtane him!* with all the Marks of ungovernable Fury. Notwithſtanding, the Service was ended, but not the People's Rage, who watching the Biſhop's Retreat to his Lodgings juſt by, ſo aſſaulted him, that if he had not been reſcu'd by a ſtrong Hand, he had probably been murder'd. Nor was St. *Giles*'s Church thus only diſturb'd and profan'd, but in other Churches alſo the People's Diſorders were anſwerable, tho' not in ſo ſignal a Manner. The Morning thus paſt, the Lord Chancellor and Council aſſembled to prevent the like Darings in the Afternoon, which they ſo effected, that the Liturgy was read without any publick Diſturbance. Yet ſtill the Biſhop of *Edinburgh* was, in his Return to his Lodgings, rudely treated by the People, the Earl of *Roxborough*'s Coach, in which he paſs'd, ſerving for no Protection to him: Tho' the Earl himſelf was highly favour'd by the People, and not without ſome Cauſe ſuſpected to have been a Promoter of the Commotions of that Day.

Other falſe Meaſures.

Hitherto no Perſon of Note or Diſtinction appear'd to countenance the ſeditious Confuſion; nor did they ſeem to own the Tumult, but attributed it to the Rabble of the People: Only the zealous Kirk-mens, extoll'd it in their Pulpits, and magnify'd the Actors for the moſt *Heroical Sparks that ever God inſpir'd and rais'd in this laſt Age of the World*; and for the *happy Mouths and Hands, which God had honour'd that Day with the Beginning of their Bleſſed Reformation.* The Biſhops it ſeems thought it not of Moment to implore any Protection of the Council, but without applying there, or joining the Lay Lords with them, they ſent an Expreſs to the King, with a full Account of what had paſs'd, and a Petition That his Majeſty wou'd take what Courſe he thought beſt for the promoting his Service. After which they ran into a worſe Error, in leaving *Edinburgh* to itſelf, and retiring almoſt all of them to their own Dioceſes, to the great ſtrengthning of the adverſe Party. But in this they might naturally think themſelves unſecure, ſince neither the Lords of the Council, nor the City Magiſtrates took any Care for the puniſhing the Ringleaders of ſo dangerous a Tumult. And wiſe Men have thought that if two or three, the moſt notorious among them, had ſuffer'd Death, it might poſſibly have ſav'd all the ſucceeding Torrent of Blood that overflow'd three Kingdoms. All that the Magiſtrates did, was the calling in of a ſeditious Pamphlet, Intitled *A Diſpute againſt the* Engliſh Popiſh *Ceremonies obtruded on the Kirk of* Scotland. They likewiſe addreſs'd their Letters to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, profeſſing their Innocency, and their Diſlike of the late Tumult: And after that bound themſelves by an obligatory Act of the Common-Council, both for the Indemnity and the Maintenance of ſuch as ſhou'd read the Service-Book; the Miniſters generally refuſing to perform their Parts, without ſuch Encouragements.

Petitions againſt the Liturgy.

In the mean Time, *Henderſon* and *Dick*, the two Chiefs of the Kirk-Party, carry'd on their Cauſe with great Diligence and Secrecy, to whom were join'd four other Miniſters, *Cant*, *Ramſey*, *Rollock* and *Murray*; all which were encourag'd by ſeveral great Men, as the Earls of *Rothes*, *Lothian*, *Caſſels*, *Egglington* and *Hume*, and the Lords *Lindſey*, *Lowdon*, *Lorn*, *Balmerino*, &c. *Henderſon* and *Dick* deliver'd a Petition to the Lords of the Council againſt the Service-Book, which found an Acceptance from the Lord-Treaſurer greater than the Biſhops expected. This was follow'd with ſeveral other Petitions from the above-nam'd Lords and others, who obtain'd a Promiſe from the Council that they ſhou'd receive an Anſwer from the King by the ſeventeenth Day of *October*. The Oracle whom theſe Petitioners conſulted about the Legality of their Proceedings, was Sir *Thomas Hope*, his Majeſty's own Advocate; who, tho' he profeſſed to be no ways concern'd in the Buſineſs, as being the King's Servant, yet in the mean time he privately laid down the Grounds and Ways by which they might proceed: And to prevent being obſerv'd, he fix'd upon the Lord *Balmerino* and Mr. *Henderſon* to be the Men, who ſhou'd occaſionally come to him, and receive his Overtures.

Great Multitudes at Edinburgh.

5. Upon the appointed Day, the ſeventeenth of *October*, when the Harveſt was over, there appear'd a mighty Conflux of all Sorts of People at *Edinburgh*, to join in Petitioning; which was ſo general, that beſides the Encreaſe of many Noblemen, there were few or no Shires on the South of the *Grampian* Hills, that ſent not Gentlemen, Burghers, Miniſters and Commons. Yet ſtill if his Majeſty's Anſwer, which the Council receiv'd, had tended to the Diſcharging the Service-Book, as was hop'd and expected by all peaceable Men, it is believ'd the greater Part had return'd ſatisfy'd, and the reſt wou'd have met with an inſignificant Support. But inſtead of this, three Proclamations were read to them at the Market Croſs, 'The firſt 'appointing no Church Buſineſs to be at preſent treated of 'at the Council Table, and commanding all to repair to 'their Dwellings, under Pain of Rebellion: The ſecond, 'for removing the Council and Seſſion to *Lithgow*, and ſo 'to *Sterling*. And the third, for burning the foremention'd 'Pamphlet, againſt the *Engliſh* Ceremonies.

New Tumults and Diſcontents.

But theſe ſerv'd rather like the pouring on of Oyl to encreaſe the Flame, than of Water to extinguiſh it: For the next Morning, the Women in a great Rage aſſembled to the Number of three hundred, and made their firſt Attempt upon the Biſhop of *Galloway*, who going to the Council Houſe, was purſu'd along the Streets with bitter Railings and Curſes to the very Door; where being drawn in from the Fury of the Multitude, they immediately beſet the Houſe, demanding the Delivery of him, and threatning his Deſtruction. The Earl of *Traquair*, the Treaſurer, being inform'd of the Danger of the Biſhop, who had formerly been his Tutor, came to his Relief, and with great Difficulty forc'd an Entrance through the Preſs; but ſoon found himſelf in as ill a Condition as the Biſhop, the Noiſe and Multitude encreaſing, with terrible Outcries, *God defend thoſe that defend God's Cauſe! God confound the Service-Book, and all the Maintainers of it!* Hereupon the Provoſt and City-Council were call'd to raiſe the Siege; but they return'd Anſwer, *That their Condition was the ſame:* For they were ſurrounded with the like Multitude, who by threatning them with Fire and Deſtruction, at length forc'd them to ſign a Paper, importing, 'That they wou'd adhere to them in Oppoſition to the Service-Book, and that 'they would reſtore to their Places *Henderſon*, *Ramſey* and '*Rollock*, who had been ſilenc'd for rejecting of it.' No better Anſwer being return'd, the Lord Treaſurer, with the Earl of *Wigton*, ventur'd in Perſon to the Town-Houſe, where they found the Heat of the Fury ſomewhat abated, becauſe the Magiſtrates had ſign'd the Paper; and return'd with ſome Hopes that they wou'd now calm the Diſorders about the Council-Houſe, ſo as to preſerve the Biſhop. But they no ſooner preſented themſelves in the great Street, but they were moſt rudely aſſaulted, the Throng being ſo outragious, as they pull'd down the Lord Treaſurer, took his Hat, Cloak and white Staff from him, and ſo hal'd him to the Council-Houſe. The Lords finding ſuch imminent Danger, fix'd upon the beſt Expedient for their Safety, and deſir'd the Aſſiſtance of ſome of the Nobility and Gentry as were diſaffected to the Service-Book. They ſoon obtain'd the Favour of theſe Lords and Gentlemen, who came and offer'd their Perſons and Power to protect them; by which Means they were quietly guarded to *Haly-Rood* Houſe, and the Biſhop to his Lodgings.

A Propoſition againſt Biſhops.

It is ſubſcrib'd.

Theſe were the Beginnings of their intended Work of *Reformation, which*, they ſaid, *God even to a Miracle had graciouſly proſper'd in their Hands:* And indeed this Advantage gain'd at *Edinburgh*, had a powerful Influence upon the reſt of the Boroughs of the Kingdom. And notwithſtanding the Proclamation commanding the Petitioners to leave *Edinburgh*, they ſtill remain'd in the Town, and met the next Day at their ſeveral Tables, conſulting how to proceed; where, to prevent ſuch Miniſters from obeying the Proclamation, who were not inform'd of the grand Secret, the Noblemen made an unwilling Diſcovery to them, 'How they had Aſſurance from the Treaſurer, that no 'Notice ſhou'd be taken of their remaining in Town, provided they did not appear openly in the Streets.' Whereupon they continu'd in their Meeting-Houſes all that Day, while the Lord *Balmerino* and Mr. *Henderſon* were privately managing their great Work with Sir *Thomas Hope*. In Concluſion, *Henderſon* brought a Propoſition to the Miniſters, 'That whereas they had formerly petition'd to be freed 'from the Service-Book, &c. they might now take in the 'Biſhops alſo, complain of them as Underminers of Religion, and crave Juſtice to be done upon them.' But to this many of the Miniſters were averſe, profeſſing, *That they came there only to be freed from the Service-Book, and otherwiſe had no Quarrel with the Biſhops*; which being reported to the Noblemen, they ſent the Earl of *Rothes* and the Lord *Lowdon*, who with long Speeches, mixt with Threats and Promiſes, ſo prevail'd upon the Miniſters, that the Challenge againſt the Biſhops, being ready prepar'd, was inſtantly ſubſcrib'd by them all, and deliver'd to the Clerk of the Council. Copies were alſo given to them, to be carry'd home to their ſeveral Presbyteries and Pariſhes, to be ſubſcrib'd by all Ranks, and return'd againſt the next Council Day, which was to be the 15th Day of *November*.

1637.
Car. 13.

This being finiſh'd, the Miniſters were diſmiſs'd for that Time, and returning home behav'd themſelves ſo furiouſly in their Pulpits, that upon the fore-nam'd Day, Multitudes of all Sorts, and from all Quarters, repair'd to *Edinburgh* with their Petitions, in greater Numbers than before. And among other of the Nobility there appear'd the Earl of *Montroſs*, the Fame of whoſe Parts and Activity caus'd the Epiſcopal Party to fear an impending Storm. This and other tumultuous Meetings, which threatned the Peace of the whole Kingdom, produc'd a new Proclamation from the King, in which he let them know ‘ How unwilling he was that his Loyal Subjects ſhou'd be poſſeſs'd with groundleſs Doubts and Fears touching their Religion: That as he abhorr'd all Superſtitions of *Popery*, ſo he wou'd be moſt careful that nothing ſhou'd be allow'd within his Dominions, but that which ſhou'd moſt tend towards the Advancement of the true Religion, as it is now profeſs'd within his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*; and that nothing was or ſhou'd be done therein, againſt the laudable Laws of that his native Kingdom. This Proclamation had not the intended Effect, but inſtead of a Submiſſion, a new Petition was fram'd, not by the rude Multitude, but by Noblemen, Barons, Miniſters, Burgeſſes and Commons, againſt the Liturgy and Canons. And the Lord Treaſurer was ſent to the King to repreſent to his Majeſty the diſorder'd Affairs of the Kingdom.

The King's Proclamation.

163⅞.
Car. 13.

A Second Proclamation.

6. Upon which ſad Proſpect the King firſt ſent the Earl of *Roxborough*, and after that iſſu'd out another Proclamation, in which he let them know the Piety of his Intentions in appointing the Liturgy, ‘ and that he had no other End in it, than the Maintenance of the true Religion there already profeſs'd, and the beating down of all Superſtition, *&c.* That ſuch as had aſſembled for ſubſcribing the late Petition, had made themſelves liable to the higheſt Cenſures, both in Life and Fortune: Notwithſtanding, he was pleas'd to diſpenſe with the Error, as proceeding from a prepoſterous Zeal not contrary to Sovereignty, on Condition they retir'd themſelves, as good and dutiful Subjects. He therefore interdicted the like Concourſe that had been made in *Edinburgh*; commanding that none of them ſhou'd repair to *Sterling*, to which the Term was adjourn'd, without Warrant from the Lords of the Council; and that all ſuch Strangers ſhou'd within Six Hours Notice depart the Town, under Pain of Treaſon. Finally, that he wou'd not ſhut his Ears againſt any Petition, upon that or any other Subject, provided the Matter and Form of it be not prejudicial to his Regal Authority.

A Proteſtation againſt it.

The Publication of this Proclamation prov'd like a Cannon only charg'd with Powder, producing a great Noiſe and no Execution: For immediately after the Reading of it at *Sterling*, it was ſharply encounter'd with a Proteſtation, publiſh'd by the Earl of *Hume*, the Lord *Lindſey*, and many others, Barons, Miniſters and Burgeſſes, juſtifying Themſelves in their Proceedings, and inſiſting upon ſix Particulars, 1. ‘ That they might have immediate Recourſe to their ſacred Soveraign, to preſent their Grievances. 2. That the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, Parties complain'd on, ſhou'd not be allow'd as lawful Judges, to ſit in any Judicatory upon any of the Supplicants. 3. That no Act or Proclamation, paſs'd in the Preſence of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, ſhou'd be any ways prejudicial to them. 4. That none of them ſhould incur any Danger in Life or Lands, for not obſerving Acts, Books, Canons, *&c.* introduc'd without General Aſſemblies, or Acts of Parliament. 5. That the Inconveniencies, ariſing from preſſing the *Innovations*, ſhou'd not be imputed to Them, who ſought only for *Reformation*. 6. That their Requeſts, proceeding from Conſcience, and a due Reſpect to his Majeſty's Honour, tended only for Redreſs of their preſſing Grievances,' Before Midnight the whole Town was fill'd with Armed Men from all Quarters of the Country, not without Threats againſt the Lord Chancellor, Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*; and the next Day, the Noblemen and others, to the Number of about two Thouſand, rod from *Sterling* to *Edinburgh*, there to conſult about further Proceedings.

The Scotch Tables.

In purſuance of their Deſigns, they erected a new Form of Government among Themſelves, ſufficiently deſpotical in reſpect to their Adherents, and unaccountable to the King for their Acts and Orders. This Government conſiſted of four diſtinct *Tables* in *Edinburgh*, for the four Orders of the State, namely the Noblemen, Barons, Burgeſſes, and Miniſters; each Order at its own *Table* conſulting of ſuch Things as were neceſſary for the carrying on of the great Work; which being reduc'd into Form, were offer'd, debated and concluded at the *General Table*, which conſiſted of a ſelect Number of Commiſſioners out of all the reſt. From all theſe they form'd and finiſh'd their celebrated COVENANT, under this ſubtle Title: ‘THE CONFESSION OF FAITH OF THE KIRK OF *SCOTLAND*, ſubſcrib'd at firſt by the *King's Majeſty*, and his *Houſhold*, in the Year 1580; thereafter by Perſons of *all Ranks* in the Year 1581, by Ordinance of the Lords of the *ſecret Council*, and Acts of the *General Aſſembly*; ſubſcrib'd again by *all ſorts of* Perſons in the Year 1590, by a *new Ordinance* of Council, at the *Deſire* of the General Aſſembly; WITH A GENERAL BAND for Maintenance of the *true Religion*, and the *King's Perſon*, and now ſubſcrib'd in the Year 1638, by us Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes, Miniſters and Commons under Subſcribing; together WITH OUR RESOLUTIONS AND PROMISSES for the Cauſes after Specify'd, *&c.*' The *Band* was fitted and accommedated to the preſent Occaſion, and by that they enter'd into *Covenant* for the Maintenance of the Religion then profeſs'd, and his Majeſty's Perſon, but tending to the Deſtruction of Both, as appears both from the *Band* itſelf, and their *Gloſs* upon it. For by the One, they had bound Themſelves to defend each other againſt all Perſons whatſoever, not excepting the King Himſelf; and by the Other, they declar'd, That under the general Names of *Popery*, *Hereſy* and *Superſtition*, which were there expreſs'd, they had abjur'd not only the new *Liturgy* and *Canons*, but the *Epiſcopal Government*, and the *Five Articles of* Perth, tho' confirm'd by Parliament. And to this *Covenant*, in this Senſe, they requir'd an Oath of all the Subjects of *Scotland*; which was as large a Step as they cou'd make, for confirming their own Authority, and the Peoples Obedience, in any Project which ſhou'd hereafter iſſue from theſe *Tables*.

They enter into COVENANT.

1637.
Car. 13.

The Nature of it.

Zealouſly promoted in all Parts.

This was the famous *Scotch Covenant*, and *League* that confederated all the Malecontents in both Kingdoms into a Civil War, that at length prov'd fatal to the Projectors and all their Adherents. It was publickly read and ſubſcrib'd upon the firſt of *March*, by a numerous Aſſembly, with great Joy and Shouting; which was the Introduction of innumerable Miſeries and Calamities. The Original is now preſerv'd in *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, as a great Rarity. The King's Declaration calls it, *That lewd Covenant, and ſeditious Band annex'd to it*, and the *Firſt Dung which from theſe Stables was thrown upon the Face of Authority and Government.* Yet never was Human Compoſition ſo extoll'd by the People, who carry'd it on with incredible Flights and Applauſes, to a ſort of Adoration and Idolatry. It was ſoon impos'd upon all ſorts of Perſons, and Mr. *Cant*, in his Sermon at *Glaſcow*, told the People *He was ſent to them with a Commiſſion from Chriſt, to bid them ſubſcribe, it being Chriſt's Contract: That he came as a Wooer for the Bridegroom, to call upon them to be hand-faſted, by ſubſcribing that Contract: That he wou'd not depart, till he had got the Names of all Refuſers, of whom he wou'd complain to his Maſter.* Beſides theſe Ways, great Violence and Menaces were us'd in many Places, with Beatings, tearing of Cloaths, drawing of Blood, and expoſing Men to a thouſand Injuries and Indignities at *Edinburgh*, St. *Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, *Glaſcow*, *Lanerick*, and many other Places. The good old Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, coming to *Edinburgh*, and hearing what was paſs'd, ſaid, *Now all that we have been doing theſe thirty Years is thrown down at once*; and fearing Violence, immediately fled to *London*, as did the reſt of the Biſhops, excepting four, of whom three ſav'd themſelves from Sufferings by their ſolemn Recantations. Theſe were *Ramſey* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *Graham* of *Orkney*, and *Fairly* of *Argyle*: But *Guthry* Biſhop of *Murray* wou'd neither fly nor recant, but patiently endur'd Excommunication, Impriſonment, and other Sufferings, ſtill juſtifying Epiſcopal Government to the Day of his Death. Likewiſe all thoſe Profeſſors in Colleges, and Miniſters, who did neither perſuade others, nor cou'd be perſuaded themſelves to take this *Covenant*, were put out of their Places; and all Things began to appear with a black and threatning Aſpect.

1638.
Car. 14.

II. 1. Thus the long Calm in *England* began to be interrupted by a threatning Storm from the *North*; which for a Time was thought to be of no Conſideration or Moment. At firſt it was ſcarcely obſerv'd in *England*; and the King himſelf had always been ſo careful of the Privileges of his Native Country, that it might not be ſuſpected of having any Dependence upon *England*, that he never ſuffer'd any thing relating to That to be debated in his Privy-Council, but manag'd all thoſe Affairs himſelf with two or three *Scotch* Men, who always attended at Court for that Purpoſe; who were ſtill under the Direction of the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*. And indeed there was ſo little Curioſity, either in the Court or Country, to know any thing of the *Scotch* Affairs, that when the whole Nation was deſirous to know what paſs'd in all other Parts of *Europe*, none enquir'd what was tranſacting in *Scotland*, nor had that Kingdom a Place in any of the News-Papers. But by

Degrees

The Diſcontents and Proceedings in England.

Degrees every One ſaw the dark Clouds ariſing, and the Storm approaching which prov'd more Dangerous, as it met with a divided Nation, already labbouring under too many Diſcontents. For in *England* the *Ship-Mony*, juſt now determin'd for the King, the Proſecutions in the *Star-Chamber*, and other Severities, were look'd upon as dangerous Grievances. Many Perſons grew clamorous, being ſtrictly proſecuted upon the Account of Church Ceremonies, and ſeveral of the Gentry were fin'd and impriſon'd; and in ſhort all manner of Perſons, diſoblig'd by the Court or Church, now began to take Pleaſure in the remote Proſpects of Revenge, and blew up thoſe Coals they ſaw kindling in the *North*. The famous Cardinal *Richlieu*, by his Agents, did very much contribute towards this Flame, the better to make his Advantages upon *Spain* and *Flanders*. The Popiſh Emiſſaries had a buſy Hand in this Work, upon a Religious Account; for finding the King and Archbiſhop *Laud* as much their Adverſaries, as the oppoſite Faction charg'd them to be their Friends, they had no Hopes but in ſome new Revolution. Bitter Invectives were likewiſe publiſh'd againſt Both by the *Covenanters*, which they were not contented to ſend into *England* only, but alſo ſent them to the Reformed Churches, by which they rais'd ſo great a Prejudice, that too many of them believ'd, ‘ That the King had a real Deſigu to change Religion, and introduce Popery.

The Archbiſhop reprints his Conference with Fiſher.

Therefore Archbiſhop *Laud*, to open the Eyes of thoſe who look'd on him as a Papiſt, and to juſtify the King from the like Slanders, did this Year enlarge and reprint his famous *Conference with* Fiſher *the Jeſuit*, and ſolemnly preſented it to his Majeſty: A Piece ſo ſolidly compos'd, that *L'eſtrange*, none of his greateſt Friend, commends it as *the exacteſt Maſter-Piece of Polemick Divinity then extant; in which he had for ever diſabled the Papiſts from being ſo much their own as before.* And Sir *Edward Deering*, his profeſs'd Adverſary, confeſs'd that in this Book, *He had muzzled the* Jeſuite, *and ſhou'd ſtrike the* Papiſts *under the Fifth Rib, when he was dead and gone. That whereſoever his Grave ſhou'd be,* Paul's *wou'd be his perpetual* Monument, *and his own Book his* Epitaph. Yet ſuch was his preſent Fate, that upon the Publication of it, when one of the King's Chaplains had preach'd two ſuch Sermons, as had occaſion'd one to ſay, *That the Doctor had pull'd up Popery by the very Roots*, an immediate Reply was made, *That the Archbiſhop might preach, and the Doctor might preach what they pleas'd againſt Popery, but neither of them ſhou'd be thought the leſs Papiſts for that:* A Sentence that needs no greater Aggravation than the Relation. The Archbiſhop had made ſeveral Converts from the Church of *Rome*, and particularly the great Mr. *Chillingworth*, a Man of ſo ſtrong a Head, that it became a Saying in *Oxford*, *That He and the Lord* Faulkland *had ſuch extraordinary clear Reaſon, that if the* Great Turk *or the* Devil *were to be converted, they were able to do it.* And this Year he had to deal with a Man of a different Kidney, the celebrated Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton*, a Perſon of infinite Reading and Ingenuity, and as communicative of his Knowledge, as the Celeſtial Bodies of their Light and Influences. This Man had imbib'd ſeveral Heterodoxical Notions in Religion, but by the Archbiſhop's great Induſtry, he was brought over to be a true Son of the Church of *England*, made his Chaplain, and preferr'd to the Church of *Windſor*. Yet none of theſe Things cou'd ſatisfy or mollify the People of *England* or *Scotland*, who by this Time had entertain'd inſuperable Prejudices againſt him and all his Proceedings.

His Converts.

The Queen Mother's Arrival.

The approaching Storm was thought to be haſtned and encreas'd by the Arrival of *Mary de Medices*, the Queen Mother of *France*, who by the Invitation of the Queen her Daughter came this Year into *England* for Pleaſure and Protection. This hapned upon the 19th Day of *October*, at the Time of ſuch extream wet and windy Weather, that the Watermen diſtinguiſh'd it by the Name of *Queen Mother Weather*. She was with great State convey'd through the Streets of *London* to St. *James*'s; and many and great were the Apprehenſions upon this Buſineſs. For indeed the *Engliſh* Nation hated her, or ſuſpected her, for her own, for her Church's, for her Country's, and for her *Daughter*'s Sake; and having ſhifted her Reſidence in other Courts, upon Calamities and Troubles which ſtill purſu'd her, the People thought it her Fate to carry along Misfortunes with her, and ſo dreaded her as an ill-boding Meteor, wherever ſhe appear'd. It is obſervable that ſhe arriv'd not long after the Birth of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, the mighty Monarch of *France*, a Prince who has been the Occaſion of more Actions, Battels, Sieges, *&c.* and a greater Deluge of Blood, than perhaps any one Man ſince the Creation: But whether to his Honour, or Infamy, we leave to impartial and diſintereſted Men, if there be any ſuch in *Europe*.

The Birth of Lewis XIV. *of* France.

The Affairs of Scotland.

2. But to return to *Scotland*, that began to threaten the Peace of *England*, where the whole Nation came to be divided into the two Denominations of *Covenanters* and *Anti-Covenanters*; and the former encreaſing and prevailing, all Things tended to Deſolation and Confuſion. But whether this Torrent was the unnatural Overflowings of the Waters of Populacy, or the Artifice of the Great Men, which deſtroy'd the Sluces and Flood-gates of thoſe Laws, which kept the Populacy and Presbytery in their due Bounds, it is hard to determine with Exactneſs. Upon the Noiſe of theſe Diſturbances in *England*, the King ſent a Meſſage to the Council at *Scotland*, requiring the Attendance of the Earls of *Traquair* and *Roxborough*, and the Lord *Lorn*; who all repaired to the Court, and after a full Conſultation, his Majeſty reſolv'd to ſend down the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, his Commiſſioner, with full Power to ſettle all. The Lord *Lorn* return'd ſhortly after, but the other two remain'd at Court, till the Commiſſioner was ready to begin his Journey; and the Reaſon of the former's Haſte, was ſaid to be the Advice given to the King by his Father the Earl of *Argyle*, who being then at Court deſir'd the King not to let him return to *Scotland*, or elſe *He wou'd wind him a Pin*, as he expreſs'd it. His Majeſty thank'd the Earl for his Counſel, but declar'd, *He ought to be a King of his Word; and having call'd him by his Warrant, he wou'd not detain him.* Thus *Lorn* was diſmiſs'd, and was the firſt in *Scotland* who declar'd the King's Deſigu in ſending the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*. Upon Notice of which the few that remain'd *Anti-Covenanters* were much diſcourag'd, expecting no Benefit from him; and took Occaſion to revive the former Story of the Debate between the Lord *Ree* and *Ramſey*, concerning his Pretenſions to the Crown of *Scotland*, with many other Matters, much to this great Man's Diſadvantage.

The King's Care of his Word.

Further Endeavours to propagate the Covenant.

In the mean time, great Pains was taken to propagate Presbytery and the *Covenant* in the North of *Scotland*, where they met with greateſt Oppoſition. For this Purpoſe the Earl of *Montroſs*, with the three celebrated Miniſters, *Henderſon*, *Dick* and *Cant*, afterwards call'd *The Apoſtles of the* Covenant, repair'd to *Aberdeen*, where they had long Diſputes with the learned Doctors of that Univerſity, which were publiſh'd and printed. The Doctors withſtood all their Arguments, and gave notable Replies; for which they were afterwards ſo perſecuted, that they were forc'd to fly their Country, to ſave their Lives. Yet *Montroſs*, with the three Miniſters, prevail'd with many of the Citizens to ſubſcribe the Covenant, and by their Example had the like Succeſs with moſt of the Miniſters and People throughout the adjacent Shires. And ſo being accompany'd with a great Multitude of Proſelytes, they return'd to *Edinburgh*, to wait for the coming down of the Lord-Commiſſioner *Hamilton*.

Upon the third Day of *June*, the Marqueſs arriv'd at *Berwick*, where the Earl of *Roxborough* firſt inform'd him, ‘ That the People wou'd not be pacify'd without the *Covenant* allow'd to them, the *Articles of* Perth annull'd, the *Service-Book* and *Canons* aboliſh'd, and *Epiſcopacy* limited; all to be done in a General Aſſembly and Parliament ſuddenly to be call'd.’ The Marqueſs cou'd not think it honourable ſo ſoon to comply with any Terms; ſo with a very ſmall Attendance he went to *Dalkeith*, where the Lords of the Council were then aſſembled for Safety, as it was alledg'd, by Reaſon of the Combuſtions at *Edinburgh*, which daily encreas'd. For the chief of the *Covenanters* became ſtill more violent in their Courſes; increas'd the Meetings of their *Tables*, ſubdivided them into ſeveral Committees, augmented their Proviſions of Arms, and infus'd Fears and Jealouſies into the People, by exaſperating Sermons; caus'd *Edinburgh* Caſtle to be ſurrounded with ſtrong Guards, and hinder'd all Perſons to go to the Marqueſs, to treat or diſcourſe with him in the Buſineſs for which he was ſent, giving out, that there was a Plot to blow them up with Gun-Powder, if they went to *Dalkeith*; and at the ſame time receiv'd in two Ships loaden with Arms and Ammunition.

The Diſturbances increaſe.

The Marqueſs of Hamilton *ſent by the King to* Edinburgh.

Upon theſe Diſturbances, at the Requeſt of the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, the Marqueſs took his Journey from *Dalkeith* to that City, to the King's Palace at *Haly-Rood Houſe*. And being attended by the Council, and ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry as were affectionate to his Majeſty, about two Miles from *Edinburgh* he was met by the whole Body of the Nobility, Gentry and *Covenanters* then in the City, who came in a diſtinct Party to ſhew how numerous they were in Compariſon of the Company they met. Thus was he conducted to the Palace with Multitudes of both Sexes, whoſe Applauſes conſiſted of Execrations and Exclamations againſt *Popery* and *Biſhops*. Being ſettled, the *Covenanters* growing more clamorous, he immediately offer'd two Propoſitions to their Conſideration: ‘ Firſt, What they wou'd expect to hear in the King's Name for accommodating their Grievances? Secondly, What he

The Scots *Stiffneſs.*

‘ might expect from them in renouncing their *Covenant*, ‘ and returning to their Obedience?’ Both which were with Scorn rejected, and nothing cou'd ſatisfy them but a General Aſſembly, and a Parliament: Nor wou'd they acknowledge they had ever departed from their Obedience; and for the *Covenant, They wou'd as ſoon renounce their Baptiſm as abate one Word or Syllable of it*; accounting it *more uſeful and available than all the Laws which had been enacted ſince the Time of* Fergus *their firſt King*. And the Peoples Fury encreas'd to that Degree, that they clap'd new Guards upon the Caſtle, and the Pulpits reſounded with furious Sermons and Prayers; and they became ſo bold, that they ſent a Prohibition againſt reading the *Engliſh* Service-Book in the King's peculiar Chappel, where the Marqueſs himſelf and the Council reſided.

The Marqueſs's publick Proceedings.

His private Meaſures.

The *Covenanters* choſe the Earl of *Rothes*, the Earl of *Morton*, and the Lord *Londore*, together with the three Miniſters *Henderſon*, *Dick* and *Cant*, to treat with the Marqueſs; who ſtill proceeded like a faithful Subject, and upon the fourth of *July* caus'd his Majeſty's Proclamation to be publiſh'd at the Market-Croſs, declaring ‘His Reſolution ‘ to maintain the true Proteſtant Religion; and for clearing ‘ of Scruples, aſſur'd them, That he wou'd never preſs the ‘ Practice of the *Canons* and *Service-Book*, otherwiſe than ‘ in ſuch legal Way, as ſhou'd ſatisfy his loving Subjects, ‘ that he neither intended *Innovation* in Religion or Laws; ‘ warning all his good People to beware of Diſobedience.’ This was ſolemnly proteſted againſt by many thouſands, in an inſulting and hoſtile Manner; and they concluded, ‘ That ‘ if his Majeſty wou'd not allow their Proceedings, they ‘ themſelves wou'd call a General Aſſembly, as being agreeable to the Laws and Practice of that Church and ‘ Kingdom.’ On the Morrow, the forenam'd Lords and Miniſters return'd to his Grace, and found him more pliable in treating with them, even publickly before *Roxborough*, *Southesk* and others. To which Biſhop *Guthry* adds this remarkable Paſſage, That at their parting from the Lords of the Council, he took them into the Gallery, and in private thus expreſs'd himſelf to them; *My Lords and Gentlemen, I ſpoke to you before thoſe Lords of the Council as the King's Commiſſioner; now there being none preſent but your ſelves, I ſpeak to you as a Kindly* Scotchman: *If you go on with Courage and Reſolution, you will carry what you pleaſe; but if you faint and give Ground in the leaſt, you are undone: A Word is enough to wiſe Men.* This became the Subject of publick Diſcourſe in a ſhort Time, and the Earl of *Montroſs* ſeem'd not a little ſurpris'd at it, who declar'd to this Author, *That he wou'd look more narrowly to* Hamilton'*s Walking*. Sir *James Turner*, in his Manuſcript Obſervations upon *Guthry*'s Memoirs, which are now by me, ſeverely reflects on the Biſhop for this Story, and charges much of it upon the Malice, or rather ſubtle Deſigns of the *Covenanters*, particularly Mr. *Cant*: But ſtill what he ſo zealouſly urges for the Honour of the Marqueſs, ſeems to have been more founded upon the Arguments of Reaſon, than the Evidence of Witneſſes.

He returns to London.

The Marqueſs, to avoid the Indiction of an Aſſembly and Parliament, lay quiet at *Haly-Rood-Houſe* for a few Days, and then retir'd to his Houſe at *Hamilton*; where being again preſs'd by the Lords and Miniſters, and aſſur'd, *That nothing but a Parliament and General Aſſembly cou'd ſettle Buſineſs*; his Grace deſir'd Leiſure to make a Journey to the Court for procuring the ſame. And thus he left the Nation on the ninth of *July*, promiſing to return with his Majeſty's Anſwer before the twelfth of *Auguſt*: And a little to pacify them, before his Departure, he ſent a Proclamation to the Market Croſs of *Edinburgh*, for the Council and Seſſion to ſit there again, which was readily obey'd.

His ſecond Journey to Edinburgh.

3. The Marqueſs went directly to the Court at *Greenwich*, where he gave a large Account of the Condition of *Scotland*, and of the Strength and Rage of the *Covenanters*, and of the Fears and Inconſtancy of many of the ſecret Council. And therefore to obviate theſe Difficulties, he advis'd the King to renew the Confeſſion of Faith ratify'd in Parliament, 1567, and to enlarge his Inſtructions for the Indicting a free General Aſſembly, and for diſcharging the Uſe of the *Service-Book*, the Canons, and the Practice of the *High-Commiſſion*. With theſe Powers, and with Letters and Declarations of the King, the Marqueſs return'd back to *Edinburgh* on the eighth of *Auguſt*, where he found Affairs in a much worſe Poſture than he had left them: For the *Covenanters* had come to publick Reſolutions, ‘ That they ‘ wou'd have a General Aſſembly, that the Biſhops ſhou'd ‘ have no Vote in it, that Epiſcopacy ſhould be aboliſh'd, ‘ the Articles of *Perth* condemn'd, and all Perſons, under ‘ Pain of Excommunication, ſhou'd take the *Covenant*.’ The Marqueſs declar'd in Council, That he had obtain'd Allowance from his Majeſty to indict a Parliament and General Aſſembly, provided the *Covenanters* wou'd comply with ſome preparatory Articles. Upon which wiſe and peaceable Men endeavour'd much to diſpoſe them to a Compliance, but all in vain; for thoſe Articles being civilly offer'd to them, were utterly rejected. Upon this his Grace told them, *That his Inſtructions did not warrant him to grant any Parliament or Aſſembly, till his Majeſty was further petition'd*; and therefore deſir'd Time till the twentieth of *September* to bring a fuller Anſwer from his Majeſty; which upon the twenty fifth of *Auguſt* was agreed to, upon Condition there ſhou'd be no further Delays after that Day.

He again returns to Court.

His third Journey to Scotland.

His Compliances.

Thus the Marqueſs took a ſecond Journey to the Court, carrying with him Articles of Advice offer'd to the King by three Lords, on whoſe Fidelity his Majeſty much depended, *Traquair*, *Roxborough* and *Southesk*, who propos'd to diſcharge the *Service-Book*, *Canons* and *High-Commiſſion*; to forbear preſſing the *Five Articles of* Perth, and to revive the Confeſſion of Faith with a *Covenant* as ſign'd by King *James* in 1580; and ſo upon the Word of a King to pardon what was paſt. The Marqueſs at Court urg'd his Majeſty to the like Compliance, and obtain'd new Inſtructions, to empower him to perform all that was ſo advis'd. While he was there, a bold Treatiſe was printed at *Edinburgh*, and ſpread abroad, *Shewing Reaſons for the Church's Power to hold Aſſemblies without the Magiſtrate's Allowance, in Caſe of his Averſeneſs*; which plainly ſhew'd the Deſign of the *Covenanters*, if the King refus'd to comply with them. They proceeded ſo far, that when the Marqueſs arriv'd this third Time at *Edinburgh*, and produc'd the Old Confeſſion of Faith ſign'd by King *James*, which was the very Title of their own *Covenant*, they gave it out to the People, *That what the Marqueſs brought tended to the Subverſion of their Liberties and Religion*; *That a new* Covenant *was ſet on foot to deſtroy theirs*; *and if they did not reſiſt now, all they had done was loſt.* Nevertheleſs the Marqueſs and the Council did proclaim and ſubſcribe the foreſaid Confeſſion of Faith, or old *Covenant*. And, what was thought pleaſing to the moſt Furious and Violent, by Proclamation at the Croſs, they finally diſcharg'd the *Service-Book*, the *Canons*, and *High-Commiſſion*, declaring the Articles of *Perth* to have no Force, and appointed a General Aſſembly to ſit at *Glaſcow* the twenty firſt Day of *November*, and a Parliament at *Edinburgh* the fifteenth of *May* following.

The Troubles and Tumults ſtill encreaſe.

4. It was now hop'd that all Malecontents wou'd have been ſatisfy'd, and indeed all moderate Men were overjoy'd; and it was certainly believ'd That a faithful Miniſtry, and theſe Conceſſions at firſt, wou'd have put an End to all the Miſchiefs at once. But extorted Favours ſeldom give Satisfaction; and the Leaders of the Party, inſtead of acquieſcing, went boldly and tumultuouſly to the Croſs, and with Swords in Hand publiſh'd a ſtrange Proteſtation, wherein they attributed Infallibility to their Covenant; affirming *It was approv'd from Heaven with rare and undeniable Inſtances*. And the *Sunday* following, all the Pulpits reſounded with violent Invectives and Declamations againſt his Majeſty's Declaration, branding it with *the Depth and Policy of Satan*. This furious Carriage ſtartled great Numbers, and made them apprehenſive, That the Leaders in this Buſineſs had more in their View and Deſign, than ever they profeſs'd. But ſtill they carry'd Things with ſuch a potent Sway, that none had the Courage to ſpeak againſt Them; all went along with them, tho' with ſecret Reluctance: And it was no Wonder, conſidering, that by this Time they had almoſt engag'd the whole Nation to the *Covenant*, even the greateſt Part of the *Highlanders*. Thoſe who had Dependence upon the Houſe of *Argyle*, which were five Counties, prov'd violent Aſſerters of it, to gratify their Superior, the Lord *Lorn*, who about this Time, by the Death of his Father, became Earl of *Argyle*; and who, tho' he profeſs'd to ſtand by the King, and always joyn'd with the Council, was known to be hearty for the *Covenanters*, and to have an intimate Correſpondence with them: And the reſt, tho' in their Hearts they abhor'd the *Covenant*, yet to avoid Dangers and Sufferings, they went along with the Multitude.

The Cunning Management of the Covenanters.

The Aſſembly of *Glaſcow* being thus Indicted, they craftily projected that the Commiſſioners ſhou'd be elected out of the moſt rigid and enthuſiaſtical Spirits that were to be found: And they took care that no Miniſter ſhou'd be choſen who had formerly been the King's Chaplain, a Member of a Biſhop's Chapter, a Juſtice of the Peace, or upon the *High-Commiſſion*; the principal *Covenanters* perſuading the People, that the King deſign'd no Performance of what he promis'd in his laſt Proclamation, no not the Aſſembly it ſelf, but to gain Time till he was ready for their Ruin. They likewiſe ſent for all their Party to flock to *Edinburgh*, as if now the Danger was greater than ever; encreas'd their Guards about the Caſtle, and their Preachers publiſh'd in the Pulpits, *That whoever ſubſcrib'd the King's* Confeſſion *and* Covenant, *were perjur'd Villains*. Moreover they caus'd a moſt furious and ſcandalous Libel to be drawn

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up againſt the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, exhibited to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, and procur'd to be publickly read in the Pulpits. Whereupon all the Prelates were cited by the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, to appear as Criminals before the next General Aſſembly at *Glaſcow*. And the more to infatuate the Minds of the Multitude, they ſet up a Female Impoſtor, one *Michelſon*'s Daughter, ſaid to have been long diſtracted with Fits, and then pretended to be inſpired with Divination, who was much extoll'd for her ſtrange Ravings againſt the Biſhops; and *Rollock*, a Presbyterian Miniſter, gave out, *That God ſpake through Her*; her Expreſſions being, *that it was reveal'd unto her from God, that their* Covenant *was approv'd from Heaven.*

Preparations for the General Aſſembly at Glaſcow.

And ſhortly after this, they Indicted an Aſſembly, by their own Authority, to be upon the twenty firſt Day of *November*. But upon Aſſurance that the Lord Marqueſs, his Majeſty's Commiſſioner, was reſolv'd to hold the Aſſembly at the Time and Place appointed by the King's Proclamation, they alter'd their Purpoſe, and ſent out Papers for a General Meeting at *Edinburgh* upon the twelfth of *November*; and to ſtay there, till they were to go to *Glaſcow*, about five Days after. Then conſidering how fit it wou'd be, that beſides the Commiſſioners, the Gentry of the Country ſhou'd be drawn thither, to guard the Aſſembly, and make it terrible to Gain-ſayers; they found out a handſom Pretence to bring that about. There were then ſome Robbers up in the *Highlands*, of whom they made a Report to paſs, That they wou'd come down and beſet the Ways, and offer Violence to the Commiſſioners in their Journey to *Glaſcow*; to prevent which, it was convenient that all who were zealous for the Cauſe, ſhou'd convoy their Commiſſioners thither, and guard them there during their Sitting; all which was readily obſerv'd.

The Aſſembly begins.

5. Thus the General Aſſembly began at *Glaſcow*, on the twenty firſt Day of *November*, which prov'd a further Occaſion of the Calamities, which afterwards embroyl'd and enſlav'd the *Scotch* Nation. Never was known a greater Confluence in the Kingdom of all ſorts of People; and the Aſſembly conſiſted of about two Hundred and Sixty Commiſſioners, ſome of whom, as Mr. *Burnet* tells us, cou'd neither write nor read; and likewiſe of many Lay-Elders and Aſſeſſors. After the King's Commiſſion was read, the Marqueſs in a Speech exhorted Them to a peaceable and moderate Carriage, giving ſome Glances of the Diſorders that had paſs'd. To which Anſwer being made by a Nobleman, and Lay-Elder, *That they had given his Grace Satisfaction for all their Proceedings*, they went to the Choice of a Moderator, without the Approbation and Conſent of the King's Commiſſioner, and reſolv'd upon Mr. *Henderſon*, as their ſureſt Friend; againſt whom, when the Marqueſs proteſted, ſuch was their exorbitant Behaviour, that by the Hands of Dr. *Hamilton*, they preſented to Him a *Declinator* and Proteſtation againſt his Proceedings, in the Name of the Biſhops. But the Marqueſs had yet a deeper Reſentment of their Behaviour in another Caſe; for the King having nominated ſix Lords of the Privy-Council to be Aſſeſſors to Him, his Commiſſioner in that Aſſembly, they abſolutely refus'd to admit them, or allow their Suffrages, declaring, *That if the King Himſelf were preſent, he ſhou'd have but one Voice, and that no Negative One neither.* Several Proteſtations were made on the other Side againſt their new Lay-Elders, but to no Effect; and as their Elections were generally undue, ſo were their Actions in the Aſſembly; all being carry'd by Fury and Faction, as well as clancular Contrivances, as appear'd from their own private Papers of Inſtructions: Neither was there any Freedom of Debate, but what tended to the Advancement of their own particular Deſigns.

Inſolences towards the Marqueſs of Hamilton.

He diſſolves the Aſſembly

The Aſſembly had ſat but eight Days, when the Marqueſs finding their inſolent Demeanor, declar'd to the Lords of the Council his Reſolution to diſſolve it; and accordingly, upon the ſame Day, after a long Speech againſt the Illegality and Nullity of their Proceedings, he concluded with diſſolving the Aſſembly in his Majeſty's Name, and diſcharging their further Proceedings upon Pain of Treaſon. The Moderator and the Earl of *Rothes* made Anſwer, *They were ſorry he left them, but their Conſcience bore them Witneſs, they had done nothing amiſs, and therefore wou'd not deſert the Work of the Lord.* Accordingly they form'd a ſolemn Proteſtation, wherein they declar'd *for a Freedom of uninterrupted Sitting*, and for his Majeſty to *contramand*, was *to prejudge the Prerogative of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Liberties of the Kirk.* And at the ſame Inſtant the Lord *Ereskyn*, and three other mean Perſons, came and begg'd *to be admitted into their bleſſed Covenant:* Which Offer, tho' purpoſely contriv'd, was made ſo good uſe of by the Moderator, That he deſir'd *it might be admir'd as God's Approbation, and Sealing of their Proceedings.* Accordingly they reſolv'd to ſit on without Interruption: And what added much to their Strength was the coming in of the Lord *Lorn*, now Earl of *Argyle*, who went the ſame Day into the Aſſembly, notwithſtanding he had juſt before acted as one of his Majeſty's ſix Aſſeſſors. His Joyning with them caus'd great Rejoycing, yet many of the Party thought the Strain of his Speech much wanting of that Prudence that was expected from him: For he clearly confirm'd his Father's former Opinion of him, and told them, *That from the Beginning he had been Theirs, and wou'd have undertaken that Cauſe as ſoon as any of them, if he had not conceiv'd that his former Profeſſions for the King, and his joyning with this Council, was more available to Them, than if he had declar'd himſelf at firſt.* This Earl's Example, together with the yielding Deportment of the Commiſſioner himſelf, then in the midſt of the Country where his Power lay, ſo wrought upon the Lords of the Council, and other *Anti-Covenanting* Noble Men, that many of them, during this Illegal Seſſion, and others ſhortly after, joyn'd wholly with the *Covenanters*.

The Earl of Argyle *declares for the* Covenanters.

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The Aſſembly by their own Power aboliſh Epiſcopacy, &c.

Upon the Diſſolution of the Aſſembly, the Lord Commiſſioner retir'd, but ſtill the Aſſembly continu'd by its own Authority, and ſat above twenty Days. During which Time, among other Acts, they declar'd ſix General Aſſemblies to be null and void; of which two were then in Force by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and part of the other confirm'd by Parliament. They condemn'd the *Service-Book*, the Book of *Canons*, the Book of *Ordination*, the *High-Commiſſion*, and the Five Articles of *Perth*, together with that *Covenant* which had been allow'd in the Year 1580 by King *James*, and declar'd their own to be ſubſtantially One. They alſo condemn'd Epiſcopacy as *Antichriſtian*, tho' it ſtood confirm'd both by many Acts of Parliament and Aſſemblies; and the Biſhops themſelves were all depos'd, and moſt of them Excommunicated. All *Arminian* Tenets were condemn'd, and many Miniſters depos'd; and it was ordain'd that Mr. *Henderſon* ſhou'd be tranſlated from *Lenchars* to *Edinburgh*. They concluded that a Letter ſhou'd be drawn up and ſent to the King for obtaining his Royal Aſſent to all Things they had enacted: So upon the twentieth of *December* the Aſſembly aroſe in Triumph.

The Marqueſs leaves Scotland, *and returns to Court.*

Many Miniſters were oblig'd to fly into *England*, but *Ramſey* and *Rollock* for their Services found Favour; and Mr. *Henderſon*'s Kirk of *Lenchars* was preſented to Mr. *Borthwick*, formerly mention'd, who had ſtay'd ſo long at *London* to incourage the Non-Conformiſts there; but in a ſhort Time he was ſent back to the ſame Place, by the Leaders of the Cauſe, to promote the former Deſign, where he continu'd till his Death. In the ſame Manner the Earl of *Haddington*, who, after his Father's Death, had gone up to kiſs the King's Hand, remain'd at *London*; and it was whiſper'd, That under Pretence of waiting on his Majeſty, he tranſacted the ſame Buſineſs with the Nobility, which *Borthwick* did with the Citizens, and Others of the inferior Rank; of which he kept Intelligence with his Brother-in-law the Earl of *Rothes*. In the mean Time the Marqueſs, finding the Tumults encreaſing in *Edinburgh* and other Places, obtain'd leave of his Majeſty to return into *England*; and after a fruitleſs, and perhaps injurious Negotiation, at the End of *December*, he a third Time return'd to the Court, leaving all in an Uproar and Confuſion.

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The Scots *reſolve upon a War.*

They ſeize upon Edinburgh, *&c.*

6. Shortly after his Departure, Mr. *Windrom* of *Liberton* was ſent to the Court with the Aſſembly's Letter to the King, which was receiv'd and read before the *Scotch* Council there. They were all of Opinion, That it was a moſt humble and well penn'd Letter, or at leaſt ſo they declar'd; upon which his Majeſty took his anſwering of it into Conſideration, and ſhortly after ſent down a Letter to the Council at *Edinburgh*, importing, 'That for the better ſettling 'of their Affairs, he wou'd be at *York* upon the firſt Day 'of *April*, and wou'd call the *Scotch* Council to come 'there and give him Advice.' Notwithſtanding this, the Noblemen and Miniſters, who govern'd all at *Edinbugh*, profeſs'd they had Intelligence, That the King deſign'd nothing but War, and was now raiſing an Army to invade their Kingdom. Upon which Foundation, before Mr. *Windrom*'s Return and Anſwer, they call'd a General Meeting of all Sorts to be at *Edinburgh* upon the twentieth Day of *February*, to reſolve upon a Defenſive War. And being met, a Paper was read ſetting forth the Lawfulneſs of ſuch a War, being compos'd by *Balmerino*, *Hope* and *Henderſon*; which was receiv'd with ſo much Satisfaction and Conviction, that they unanimouſly conſented to the raiſing of an Army, and voted General *Leſly* to be their chief Commander, a Soldier of eminent Experience in the Wars of *Germany*, who having been deny'd the Favour of a Barony by the King, readily accepted of the Office. The next Day they ſeiz'd upon *Edinburgh*, without Reſiſtance, and two Days after upon the King's Houſe at *Dalkeith*, where they took away the *Regalia*, and great Store of Arms and Ammunition; and not long after they became Maſters of the chief Parts of *Scotland*. The Commiſſioner *Hamilton* has been blam'd for the Loſs of *Edinburgh* Caſtle,

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and the Treaſurer *Traquair* for the *Regalia* and Arms at *Dalkeith*; but how juſtly, we cannot Determine.

Their Fondneſs for the Covenant.

In all theſe Matters the Miniſters were moſt induſtrious, who in their Pulpits cry'd out of the *Ruin of Religion and Liberties*, that all were to expect Popery and Bondage, *If they did not quit themſelves like Men.* Curſes were thunder'd out againſt thoſe *Who went not out to help the Angel of the Lord againſt the Mighty*; and they taught the People that there was a Neceſſity of bearing Arms againſt the King upon Pain of Perjury and Damnation. Moreover they procur'd divers Libels to be diſpers'd in *England*, for Juſtification of their Proceedings, and Defamation of Eccleſiaſtical Government; inciting his Majeſty's Subjects in that Kingdom, to make the like brave Attempts. One of them refus'd to pray for the Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, then lying upon his Death-bed, only becauſe he had not ſubſcrib'd the *Covenant*; and ſo much was that Paper Idoliz'd, that many Miniſters wou'd not admit thoſe to the Sacrament who had not ſubſcrib'd it, but in their Exhortation barr'd them in expreſs Terms with *Adulterers*, *Slanderers*, *Blaſphemers*, &c. One preach'd *That the Non-Subſcribers of the Covenant were Atheiſts*; and another exhorted the People never to give over, *till they had the King in their Power, and then he ſhou'd ſee what good Subjects they were*. Others preach'd, *That the Service-Book was fram'd at* Rome; and one preach'd, *That the Wrath of God wou'd never leave that Kingdom, till all the Prelates were hang'd up before the Lord, like the ſeven Sons of* Saul. Theſe and innumerable other ſtrange Expreſſions and Scandals, they publiſh'd in their Pulpits, which they call'd *The Chairs of Truth*: And to haſten the Peoples Inſurrection, they endeavour'd to perſuade them, that the King deſign'd an Invaſion of their Kingdom, and to make it a Province; as alſo to deſpoil them of their Laws and Liberties, and to give them new Laws, as if they were a conquer'd Nation.

Their Incouragements to undertake a War.

It may juſtly be thought a Matter of Amazement, that this low and unprovided Nation, ſhou'd dare to put ſuch Inſults upon their lawful King, who was then ſupported by the united Forces of *England* and *Ireland*, obey'd at home, and made formidable to all his Neighbours by a powerful Fleet on all Sides. Therefore it is rightly judg'd that they had ſome extraordinary Incouragements to enflame them to theſe bold Attempts; which are reaſonably thought to have been theſe following. Firſt they had the King for their natural Country-Man, born in that Air, retaining an Affection for them to the very laſt; and who by uſually giving them the Title of *His Ancient and Native Kingdom*, occaſion'd many to believe that he lov'd them above the *Engliſh*. They had in the next Place ſuch a ſtrong Party of *Scots* about him, that he cou'd neither move or ſpeak, ſcarce ſo much as think, but they were made acquainted with it. In the *Bed-Chamber* they had an equal Number of Gentlemen, and ſeven Grooms for one; in the *Preſence-Chamber* more than an equal Number among the Gentlemen Uſhers, Quarter-Maſters, *&c.* and in the *Privy-Chamber*, beſides the Carvers and Cup-Bearers, a vaſt Diſproportion of the Gentlemen belonging to it. By which the King was ſo obſerv'd, and withal betray'd, that as far as they cou'd diſcover his Meaning by Words, Signs or Circumſtances, it was immediately ſent into *Scotland*; ſome of his Bed-Chamber becoming ſo audacious, as to examine his Pockets when he was aſleep, to tranſcribe ſuch Letters as they found, and to ſend Copies by Way of Intelligence to their Countrymen. For Offices of Truſt and Credit, they were as well accommodated as with thoſe of Service: *Hamilton*, Maſter of the Horſe, who fill'd the Stables with that People; the Earl of *Morton*, Captain of the King's Guards; the Earl of *Ancram*, Keeper of the Privy-Purſe; the Duke of *Lenox*, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Conſtable of *Dover* Caſtle; *Balfore*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and *Wemmys* Maſter Gunner of the King's Navy. In the Church, ſo many of that Nation were benefic'd and preferr'd in all Parts of *England*, that their Eccleſiaſtical Revenues amounted to more than all the Yearly Rents of the Kirk of *Scotland*; and moſt of theſe heartily eſpous'd and promoted their Cauſe among the People. Beſides they had no leſs Aſſurance of the *Engliſh* Puritans, than they had of their own, by means of their Emiſſaries in *London*; thoſe in the Court, being headed by the Earl of *Holland*, and thoſe in the Country by his Brother the Earl of *Warwick*; the firſt being call'd, *The ſpiritual and inviſible Head*, the other, *The viſible and temporal Head of the Puritan Faction.*

The Marqueſs of Hamilton's *dark Proceedings.*

But their greateſt Advantage ſeems to have been from the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, their Lord and Patron, who had ſuch Authority in the Court of *England*, and ſuch Influence on the Council of *Scotland*, that in Effect he was King of their Nation. As to his general Behaviour in theſe great Affairs, the various Accounts we find have rais'd many Difficulties. Many Writers have more than blam'd his Conduct, and have charg'd him with Treachery and Ingratitude to the King, who had granted him his Favours in the moſt invidious Inſtances, even in the moſt blameable Projects and Monopolies. Great Pains have been taken by an eminent Pen to vindicate his Reputation, from original and unqueſtionable Papers; all which, tho' redounding to his Honour, ſeem more to ſhew the Confidence of the Prince, than the Fidelity of the Subject. So that notwithſtanding Sir *James Turner*'s Vindication, we know not how wholly to disbelieve Biſhop *Guthry*, who being better inform'd in ſome Particulars, has diſcover'd and condemn'd his private Tranſactions; of which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more hereafter. His Ways were generally indirect and ſerpentine, and ſuch as gave the ſtrongeſt Suſpicions both to Friends and Enemies. For the Solution of which the Lord *Clarendon* intimates to us in a remarkable Story, how, by great Subtilty and Induſtry, he ſo inſinuated Himſelf with the King as to gain his Conſent to make Promiſes, and to ingratiate Himſelf with his Enemies, the better to ſerve his Majeſty: And that the King aſſur'd Him, *That it ſhou'd not be in any Man's Power to infuſe the leaſt Jealouſy of him into his Breaſt.* The Subſtance of this Story is confirm'd by Sir *Philip Warwick*, who well knew the Man, and diſapprov'd of his winding Paths, as being contrary to the honeſt Temper of his younger Brother. This, if true, was a ſtrange Piece of Policy, which gave him Opportunity of doing much Good or Hurt to the Publick at this Time.

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The Death of Serjeant Hoskyns,

Thus paſs'd the tumultuous Year 1638; for the Concluſion of which, we ſhall mention the Deaths of ſome conſiderable Men, that hapned the ſame Year. Firſt, *John Hoskyns*, Serjeant at Law and a *Welſh* Judge, a great *Grecian* and an admired Poet, who ſo poliſh'd *Ben Johnſon*, that he ever after call'd him *Father Hoskyns*. His Wit and Parts caus'd him to be much admir'd by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Mr. *Camden*, *Selden*, *Daniel*, *Martin*, Dr. *Donne*, Sir *Henry Wotton*, and Sir *Benjamin Rudyerd*. Next we are to mention *Richard James*, Nephew to *Thomas James*, formerly mention'd, Batchelor of Divinity of *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Oxford*, a Perſon humourous, but incredibly induſtrious, and skilful in Critical Learning, Antiquities and Languages; for whoſe Helps both Mr. *Selden* and Sir *Robert Cotton* were particularly oblig'd, which were carry'd on with that Labour, that he is believ'd to have dy'd with hard ſtudying. Next Mr. *Joſeph Mede*, Batchelor of Divinity and Fellow of *Chriſt* College in *Cambridge*, a ſingular Ornament of that Univerſity, a Perſon of excellent Variety of Learning, and of exemplary Piety and Charity. He had an admirable Faculty in interpreting the Holy Scriptures; and tho' ſome of his Opinions were a little peculiar, yet he has been juſtly accounted the moſt modeſt and moſt judicious of all the *Apocalyptick* Writers. The Foreign *Vertuoſi* took great Notice of him; and uſually rank'd him with the Lord *Bacon* and Mr. *Lydyat* of *Oxford*; and underſtanding that He and Mr. *Lydyat* were very meanly preferr'd, they ſaid, *The* Engliſh *did not deſerve to have ſuch excellent Scholars, ſince they rewarded them no better.* Next we ſhall mention Sir *Richard Hutton*, one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*, a worthy Lawyer, very conſcientious and charitable, and a great Reſpecter of the Clergy; who became more ſignally conſpicuous for giving his Judgment againſt the Legality of the *Ship-Mony*; with which the good King was ſo little diſoblig'd, that he ſtill continu'd to call him THE HONEST JUDGE. Shortly after him dy'd Sir *Dudley Diggs*, one of the great Oppoſers of the Duke of *Buckingham*, formerly mention'd, and ſince made *Maſter of the Rolls*; a Perſon of eminent Knowledge and Experience in the World, and of no leſs Virtues and amiable Qualities. He was a ſhining Example of Honour and Integrity, and it was hard to ſay, whether he was a better Father, Husband, Brother, or Friend; and his Death hapning at the very Concluſion of this Year, the wiſeſt Men have reckon'd it among the publick Calamities of theſe Times.

Mr. James,

Mr. Mede,

Judge Hutton,

And Sir Dudley Diggs.

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The Power of England.

III. I. *England* was now ſufficiently alarm'd by the black Appearance of the *Northern* Clouds, and rous'd from the Enjoyment of as full a Peace and Proſperity, as had bleſs'd any People for ſo many Years together. Yet the Nation had never leſs Reaſon to fear a Storm, if well united: The Strength of it was encreas'd both by Sea and Land, and the Revenue ſo improv'd by the preſent Lord-Treaſurer's Management, as was ſufficient for the undertaking any noble Enterprize. So there is no Queſtion, but if all of the *Scotch* Nation, who were Confederates in the Deſign, had appear'd in the Army, and publickly avow'd the *Covenant*, which in their Hearts they privately ador'd, neither the King nor Kingdom cou'd have ſuſtain'd any great Damage by them, nor the Memory of their Preſumption been preſerv'd in any thing but a more memorable Overthrow. But the too yielding King, unwilling to condemn a Nation for the Tranſgreſſion of a Part of it, and hoping to retrieve it from a general Defection by the Fidelity of a ſuperior Party, ſtill repos'd the ſame Confidence

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in thoſe who attended his Perſon, tho' in reality they were no better than Spies, and, as was before hinted, kept up the Spirits of their Country-men by their ſecret Intelligence.

The King's Preparations againſt Scotland.

Indeed his Majeſty had ſome Thoughts of uſing Force the laſt Year, as appears from his Letters to the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, whom he adviſ'd to uſe Delays, and gain what Time he cou'd. And theſe Intentions increas'd, with the Behaviour of the *Scots*, till they came to a full Reſolution of raiſing an Army, to reduce thoſe turbulent Spirits, and deſtroy the Idol they had ſet up. For the carrying on of which, beſides the Money in the Exchequer, conſiderable Contributions were made by the Nobility, Judges and Officers, in which the Biſhops and Clergy were generally more liberal towards this War; ſo that the *Covenanters* call'd it *Bellum Epiſcopale, the Biſhop's War*, and publiſh'd ſeveral Libels, by which they branded the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* as the firſt who adviſ'd the King for the raiſing of Arms againſt them; tho' his real Advice was for Peace, and thought the Controverſie *might better be compos'd by Ink than Blood.* However his Majeſty began with publiſhing a large Declaration, giving a full Account of the *Scots* Proceedings, and after a Proclamation, 'In 'which he inſiſted upon his many gracious Conceſſions 'and Condeſcenſions on one ſide, and their inſolent and 'rebellious Practices on the other; and takes God to wit'neſs, that he was conſtrain'd by their Treaſons to take 'Arms for the Safety of that and this Kingdom.' To this the *Covenanters* return'd an Anſwer, under the Title of *An Ordinance of their Aſſembly*, in which after a ſtrange Preamble, declaring their Reſolutions to proceed, they add, 'That for doing any Harm to *England*, curſed be their 'Breaſts, if they harbour'd any ſuch Thought; they there'fore implore the good Opinion of their Brethren there: 'They cite the Law Natural and Civil, which is enough 'for Defence, that the Offer of Offence or the juſt Fear 'of Offence go before, as they profeſs their Caſe, even the 'Defence of God and his Religion.

His Proclamation.

The Scots *Anſwer.*

The Engliſh *Army.*

In a ſhort time the King rais'd an Army, ſaid to be the beſt for Quality of the Perſons, Compleatneſs of Arms, Number of ſerviceable Horſe, and neceſſary Proviſions of all Sorts, that ever attended an *Engliſh* King in a War with *Scotland.* Moſt of the Nobility in Perſon waited on the King; and the Flower of the *Engliſh* Gentry chearfully put themſelves upon Action, upon a Confidence of getting Honour for themſelves, as well as their King or Country; of whom many were at no ſmall Expences. And not a few of the old *Engliſh* Commanders, who had been train'd up in the Wars of *Holland* and *Germany*, left their Employments there to ſerve their Sovereign at home, with no leſs Gallantry than Affection. The Horſe amounted to near ſix thouſand, as good as the Kingdom cou'd produce; the Foot were of a ſufficient Number, tho' not proportionable to the Horſe, ſtout and couragious, and generally well affected to the Cauſe. Beſides which the King had a powerful Fleet, with a Body of three thouſand Men on Board, who were to deſtroy the *Scotch* Trade, and make all proper Attempts upon their Lands. The Earl of *Arundel* was made General, whoſe Character has been already given, a Hater of the *Scots*, and the Puritans, but neither of a warlike Diſpoſition, or Experience; yet of that high Rank, that no Man cou'd decline ſerving under him. The Earl of *Eſſex*, the moſt popular Man in the Kingdom, and the Favourite of the Sword-men, was made Lieutenant-General; who between Hatred and Contempt of the *Scotch* Nation, proceeded with great Alacrity. And the Earl of *Holland*, by the Queen's Mediation, was declar'd General of the Horſe, contrary to the Inclination of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had rather have choſen that Poſt himſelf. But the greateſt Truſt, the Fleet, was committed to the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, who particularly promis'd *ſo to viſit his Country-men on their Coaſts, as that they ſhou'd find little Eaſe or Security in their Habitations*, as Sir *Philip Warwick* aſſures us. Here was a Force ſufficient to have trampled all *Scotland* under their Feet, at this Juncture, and to have made an abſolute Conqueſt of the Nation. But there appear'd no Reſolution in the King for ſuch an Attempt, or for any Bloodſhed, only that the Terror of his Arms he hop'd wou'd reduce the *Scots* to Obedience. And afterwards, when ſome took Occaſion to mention the Earl of *Holland*'s Infidelity to the King, his Majeſty reply'd, *That if that Army had been in earneſt, he wou'd have choſen other Commanders.*

The ſeveral Commanders.

A ſtrange Omen.

At the King's leaving the Court for this Expedition, there hapned a very ſtrange Accident, which was then, as well as ſince, interpreted as a fatal Omen: There was a Statue or Buſto of the King's Majeſty, grav'd by the famous Hand of *Cavaliero Bernini* at *Rome*, a Perſon who had never ſeen the King, but had done it from ſome excellent Draughts of *Vandike*'s Pencil, and ſo much to the Life, that it exceeded all Imitation. This ſtanding in a Room of the King's Store-Yard at *Greenwich*, upon his Majeſty's Journey, was order'd to be remov'd, and carry'd into the Queen's Buildings, then near finiſh'd: In the Way thither, a Swallow, or ſome other Bird, flying over it, dung'd in three places upon the very Face of the Statue, which was ſurpriſingly converted into three Drops of Blood, that by no cleanſing cou'd be got out. But more ominous were the Words of the ſame *Bernini*, an excellent Phyſiognomiſt as well as Statuary, who viewing the Draughts from *Vandike*, without being inform'd whoſe Face it was, told the Meſſenger that brought them, *He was ſure the Perſon, there repreſented, was born to great Honour, and certainly to as great Misfortune.* But what may ſtill be thought more ominous, or more unfortunate, was his not following the Advice of his old experienc'd Counſellor Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, who coming to take leave of his Majeſty at this time, we are told that he left theſe three Advertiſements at his going. 'Firſt, That he wou'd ſuffer none of the *Scotiſh* 'Nation to remain in the Army; aſſuring him, *They wou'd* '*never fight againſt their Country-men, but rather hazard* '*the whole Army by their Tergiverſation.* Secondly, That 'he would make a Catalogue of all his Counſellors, Hou'ſhold Officers, and Domeſtick Servants; and then with 'his Pen expunge all the *Scots*, beginning firſt with himſelf, 'the Archbiſhop who had given the Counſel; conceiving, '*That no Man wou'd accuſe his Majeſty of Partiality, when* '*they found the Archbiſhop of St.* Andrew's, *who ſo many* '*Years had ſerv'd his Father and himſelf, expung'd among* '*the reſt.* Thirdly, He muſt not hope to win upon them 'by Condeſcenſions, Sweetneſſes, or Acts of Grace; but 'ſhou'd reſolve to reduce them to their Duty, *by ſuch* '*Ways of Power as God had put into his Hands.*' The Reaſon of which Counſel was, becauſe he had found by ſixty Years ſad Experience, That they were generally a People ſo ſtubborn, *That they were gain'd by Puniſhments, and loſt by Favours.*

Archbiſhop Spotſwood's *Advice to the King.*

2. With theſe differing Proſpects, the unfortunate King began his March upon the Anniverſary of his Inauguration, the twenty ſeventh of *March*, and within a few Days arriv'd at *York*, with a glorious Attendance of Nobility and Gentry. Here was the general Rendezvous of his Army, which look'd more like the Pomp and Parade of an Eaſtern Prince, than the Expedition of an *Engliſh* Monarch. If there had been none in the March but Warriors, in all Probability an honourable Peace wou'd ſoon have been brought about; but the Progreſs was more illuſtrious than the March, and the Soldiers were the leaſt Part of the Army, and the leaſt conſulted. But the King more deſign'd the Pomp of his Preparations, than the Strength of them, and did ſtill hope that the One wou'd ſave the Labour of the Other; preſuming that the Splendor of ſuch a viſible Appearance of the Nobility, wou'd repreſent ſuch an Union, as wou'd at once terrify and reduce the *Scots.* This did no ways anſwer his Expectations, but, as the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, it was his fatal Misfortune, which proceeded from the Excellency of his Nature, and his Tenderneſs of Blood, that he ſo long deferr'd his Reſolution of uſing his Arms; and after he had taken that Reſolution, it was not proſecuted with more Vigour.

The King meets his Army at York.

Some Inconveniencies and bad Proſpects at York.

The Inconveniencies of theſe Delays, and of ſuch a Conflux of People, ſoon began to appear at *York*, where his Majeſty found it neceſſary to ſtay ſome Days. The Court was too numerous to be left to its own Liberty, and the Multitude of the *Scots* in it rais'd great Offence and Jealouſie to all ſorts of Perſons, who had too juſtly believ'd that the King was every Day betray'd; their uſual Diſcourſe being a Magnifying the good Intentions of their Country-men, and their Duty to their King, or an undervaluing the Power and Intereſt of thoſe who diſcover'd themſelves againſt the Church. They inſinuated to the *Engliſh* Lords the Dangers they wou'd bring upon themſelves by the Pride and Tyranny of the Biſhops, if the *Scots* were ſubdu'd; and ſo mitigated the Diſpleaſure of ſome, and took off the Edge of others, that they did not leave *York* the ſame Men they came thither. The Earls of *Roxborough* and *Traquair* are ſaid to have been deeply concern'd in theſe double Dealings. The former was accus'd for his Correſpondence with the *Covenanters*, and his ſaying to ſome *Engliſh* Noblemen, *That the Ruin of the* Scotch *Army wou'd enable the King to command more in* England, *than they wou'd be willing to obey.* The latter was accus'd by the *Scotch* Biſhops, and others, for his treacherous Deportment in *Scotland.* But his Majeſty was very unwilling to harken to any Complaints of that Nature; therefore only gave them a ſlight Confinement, and diſmiſs'd them.

However he ſoon diſcover'd that the *Engliſh* Lords were much alter'd, and their Zeal againſt the *Scots* much cool'd and abated: Therefore for the better ſecuring and uniting his Party, it was thought fit by the whole Body of the Council, that a ſhort Proteſtation ſhou'd be drawn, in which all Men ſhou'd upon Oath 'profeſs their Loyalty and O'bedience to his Majeſty, and diſclaim and renounce the

A Proteſtation form'd.

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‘ having any Intelligence, or holding any Correſpondence ‘ with the Enemy.’ Many thought that none of the *Engliſh* nor the *Scotch* wou'd refuſe this Proteſtation, and conſequently there wou'd be no Diſcovery from that Teſt; but there they were deceiv'd: For tho' the *Scots* took it to a Man, without wounding their Conſcience, or reforming their Behaviour; yet among the *Engliſh* Nobility, the Lord *Say* and the Lord *Brook*, two Popular Men, undevoted both to the Church and Government, abſolutely refus'd it in the King's own Preſence, declaring *That it was againſt the Law to impoſe any Oaths or Proteſtations, which were not enjoyn'd by the Law; therefore, that they might not betray the common Liberty, they wou'd not ſubmit to it.* This occaſion'd Matter of new Diſpute at a very unſeaſonable Time. They were firſt committed to the Sheriffs of *York*, and afterwards interrogated upon certain Articles touching their Approbation, or Diſlike of the War; to which their Anſwers were ſo doubtful and unſatisfactory, that his Majeſty thought it ſafer for him to diſmiſs them to their own Houſes. And the better to ſatisfy the People in general, before he left *York*, the King was graciouſly pleas'd to recall and diſcharge thoſe Patents and Monopolies, that were moſt diſtaſteful to the Nation.

Two Lords refuſe it.

The Earl of Eſſex*'s good Behaviour.*

3. As to the carrying on of the War, the Lieutenant General, the Earl of *Eſſex*, was detach'd with a Body of Horſe and Foot to ſecure the Town of *Berwick*, which the King was inform'd wou'd be ſpeedily garriſon'd by the *Scots*. Which as he chearfully undertook, ſo he courageouſly perform'd it, notwithſtanding all the Terrors and Damps he daily met in his March. For being encounter'd by ſeveral *Scotch* Noblemen, then going to *York*, they us'd all Methods to diſſuade him from the Attempt, aſſuring him, ‘ That either the *Scots* wou'd be in the Town before ‘ him, or that their whole Army wou'd be ſo near, that his ‘ further Progreſs wou'd expoſe him to inevitable Ruin.’ Theſe Advertiſements caus'd him to quicken his Marches, inſomuch that he reach'd *Berwick*, and enter'd it without the leaſt Oppoſition, ſooner than he firſt deſign'd; and by all the Enquiries he made, he cou'd not diſcover that any of their Forces had been drawn that Way, nor indeed had they then any conſiderable Body of Men together, nearer than *Edinburgh*. Being poſſeſs'd of this Poſt, the Earl immediately inform'd the King of the Intelligence he had receiv'd from ſuch conſiderable Men then with him at *York*, who juſtly deſerv'd to be ſuſpected for publiſhing ſuch groſs Falſhoods. But they ſtill perſiſted in the ſame Reports, and ſeem'd confident that the Earl was defeated, and his Party cut off; and yet they underwent no other Reproach, than that their Fears had multiply'd the Sight and Proſpect, and that they had been frighted by other Men's Relations: Which Remiſſneſs, or ſomething worſe, was an ill Omen of the Diſcipline likely to be obſerv'd.

As the *Scots* were approaching, they ſent humble and inſinuating Letters to his Majeſty, proteſting ‘ the Loyalty of their Hearts and Affections, and that they deſir'd ‘ nothing but to be admitted into the Preſence of their ‘ gracious Sovereign, to lay their Grievances at his Royal ‘ Feet, *and leave the Determination of them to his own* ‘ *Wiſdom and Pleaſure*.’ By which they gain'd their Ends both as to Time and Popularity, and even Pity from their Enemies. But during theſe ſubmiſſive Appearances, their Preparations ſo increas'd, that the King thought it neceſſary to march towards the Borders of *Scotland*, by *Newcaſtle* to *Berwick*, where the General had the Army drawn up in Battalia; and the King march'd at the Head of them, till he came near the *Tweed*, two Miles Weſt from *Berwick*, in an open Field call'd *The Berks*, where he encamp'd, and lodg'd in his Tent with the Army.

The King advances to the Borders of Scotland.

Upon the thirtieth of *May*, the King had Intelligence that General *Leſley*, with about ſix thouſand Men, was quarter'd at *Dunce*, a Town about ſeven Miles diſtant from the *Engliſh* Camp. Upon which the Earl of *Holland* was order'd to march towards them with three thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Foot; and coming thither, he found the *Scots* drawn up on the Side of a Hill, where the Front cou'd be only in View, with great Herds of Cattle at a Diſtance upon the Hills on either Side; A Stratagem of *Leſley*, to cauſe the Appearance of a formidable Body, when he had not above three thouſand Men, ill arm'd, and ordinary Fellows, brought thus together for a Show. The Earl of *Holland*, having by ill Fortune his Foot and Artillery three or four Miles behind, was ſo terrify'd with the Apparition of the *Scotch* Army, that he ſent Orders to his Foot, not to advance, and made his Retreat towards them; and thus, when he had the Opportunity of finiſhing the War, he moſt ingloriouſly return'd to the King's Camp; with another Misfortune of having quarrell'd with the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, which afterwards produc'd a Challenge. Which mock Attempt was ſeconded by another of no better Conduct or Succeſs: For two Days after, Information being brought that the *Scots* were about ſix Miles Diſtance at *Kelſo*, with only fifteen hundred Men, it was reſolv'd in a Council of War to ſend a Detachment towards them. Upon which the Earl of *Holland* with a Body of two thouſand Horſe, and as many Foot, march'd again over the River *Tweed* towards *Kelſoe*, and with his Horſe came within Sight of the Enemy, while the Foot was ſtill three Miles behind. The *Scots* immediately drew up their Forces to ſo much Advantage and Surpriſe, that the *Engliſh* General again retreated to his Foot, and ſo peaceably return'd once more to the Camp. Theſe two Salleys of Bravery, ſo ſtrange and unaccountable, gave great Diſcouragement to the King's Army, by keeping them from the Glory and the Reward of Action; and made the *Scots* more bold and daring, when they found it was likely to be no otherwiſe than the Jeſt of a War.

The Earl of Holland's *inglorious Attempt.*

A Second as ill.

1639.
Car. 15.

The Expedition at Sea, under the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, where much was promis'd, met with no better Succeſs. His firſt Arrival with twenty large Men of War, rais'd no ſmall Terror, being in the Road of *Leith*, and near the Capital City; ſo that the Lord *Aboyn* took the Field with the *Gordons*, and other *Anti-Covenanters* in the North, and ſent an Invitation to the Marqueſs, that he wou'd be pleas'd to employ his Land Soldiers to join with them, which his Lordſhip refus'd. The Fortifications of *Leith* were carry'd on with a Multitude of Hands of all Sorts, and none were more buſie in bearing the Rubbiſh than Ladies of Honour. But they found no Occaſion for Reſiſtance: For the Marqueſs having anchor'd his Fleet in the *Frith*, and landing ſome of his ſpent Men in a little Iſland, to give them ſome Breath and Refreſhment, receiv'd a Viſit from his Mother, a moſt rigid *Covenanter*; which caus'd the *Scots* on Shore to ſay with no ſmall Laughter, *They knew the Son of ſo gude a Mother cou'd never hurt them*. And ſo it prov'd; for he ſpent his Time in a fruitleſs Correſpondence with the Earl of *Rothes*, the Lord *Lindſey*, the Lord *Lowdon*, and other great *Covenanters*, and with ſome of them in a very ſuſpicious Manner. Theſe ſo inſiſted upon their Rights and Privileges, and ſo much extoll'd their Power, that the Marqueſs ſoon poſſeſs'd the King of the Dangers of further Hoſtilities: So that indeed all Things unhappily conſpir'd to loſe the Opportunity of Honour and Succeſs in this Royal Expedition. The Memoirs of his Life give a fair Account of the Marqueſs's Proceedings, and the attending Difficulties at this Time; but Biſhop *Guthry*, who probably knew more of the Caſe, plainly condemns his Conduct, and further tells us, it particularly wrought upon the Earl of *Montroſs*, who now entertain'd further Jealouſies of his Ways than before. In which Caſe, Sir *James Turner* ſeems to have made no ſufficient Vindication.

The Marqueſs of Hamilton *has no Succeſs.*

4. Thus ſtood the King's Affairs in Relation to the *Scots*; the Generals and Admiral were indifferent, or rather complaiſant in their Proceedings; the Common Soldiers and Sea-men were ſick and weary of the Mock-Show; the Courtiers and Council thought it wiſer not to carry Things to Extremity, while there were any Hopes of Submiſſion. All which gave ſo great Incouragement to the *Scots*, that they diſpers'd their Letters abroad amongſt the Noblemen at Court, eſpecially three, which they directed to the three Generals, *Arundel*, *Eſſex* and *Holland*. That to the Earl of *Eſſex* was more ſubmiſſive than the others: They repreſented to him, ‘ That they had not the leaſt ‘ Thought of engaging in a War againſt *England*, their ‘ chiefeſt Hope being to defend their own Rights and Liber- ‘ ties; and how deſirous they were the Earl ſhou'd under- ‘ ſtand their main Grievance, was the Intereſt of the Marqueſs ‘ of *Hamilton*; who they knew was in no Degree accep- ‘ table to the Earl, and therefore, They begg'd they might ‘ by his Means be admitted to his Majeſty's Preſence.’ The Earl, who was a punctual Man in Points of Honour, ſent this Letter to King his Maſter without returning any Anſwer, or entertaining the Meſſengers with any Conference, or the leaſt Ceremony. But the Earls of *Arundel* and *Holland* gave another Sort of Reception to the Letters they receiv'd: The firſt us'd them with greater Reſpect than was agreeable to the Office of a General; and the latter was, from that Time at leaſt, found inclinable enough to their Intereſt. By theſe Means they had a ſhort and hopeful Proſpect of having their Petition graciouſly receiv'd by his Majeſty.

The Scots *take Courage, and write to the* Engliſh *Generals.*

They had from the Beginning obſerv'd a ſubtle and peculiar Stile in their Addreſſes, in which under the Liberty of accuſing the Behaviour of Others, whom they did not name, they virulently reproach'd the immediate Directions of the King Himſelf; and at the ſame time made the moſt ſolemn Profeſſions of Duty to his Majeſty's Perſon. On the other Side the King was ſo tender of their Caſe, that he was more ready to receive their Petition, than they to offer it. As he declin'd all Bloodſhed, ſo he refus'd to inflict any Puniſhment, to the infinite Miſchief of Himſelf and Others afterward. So that when a well experienc'd Commander offer'd him, That with two Thouſand Horſe, he wou'd ſo waſte and ſpoil the Country, *That the Scots ſhou'd creep upon their Bellies to implore his Mercy*, he wou'd by no Means hearken to the Propoſition. As the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, it was the King's Misfortune at this Time not to have one Perſon about him of his Council who had the leaſt Regard to his Honour, or any Friendſhip for thoſe who ſat at the Helm, excepting the young Duke of *Lenox*, a Perſon of ſmall Experience, tho' of true Honour, and very good Parts. The reſt who were in any Offices of Attendance, were the Earl of *Holland*, formerly Characteriz'd, One who neither lov'd the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, nor the Lord *Wentworth*, nor the Archbiſhop, nor hardly any Thing then done in Church or State. Secretary *Cook* was near eighty Years of Age, who knew nothing of the Affairs of *Scotland*, and thought nothing there worth the preſent Expedition. Sir *Henry Vane* was Comptroller of the Houſhold, a buſy plodding Man, who car'd for no Man further than he found it convenient for his own Intereſt. The Earl of *Arundel* had much of that Temper, and thought he had been General long enough. The Earl of *Pembroke* lov'd Hunting and Hawking too well, not to favour all Overtures towards an Accommodation. So that the *Scots* found Perſons enough to mediate according to their own Deſire. Only the brave Earl of *Eſſex* ſtill preſerv'd his Exactneſs and Grandeur; nor wou'd he hold any Correſpondence with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners till the Pacification was concluded.

The King's Eaſineſs and Miſfortune.

On the other hand the Covenanters continu'd firm to their Principle, and juſtify'd all they had done, 'Deſiring thoſe might be ſeverely puniſh'd, who had miſrepreſented them to the King, and that ſome noble Lords might be nam'd to treat upon all Particulars.' Upon this Submiſſion only, Commiſſioners were appointed to treat of a Pacification, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Holland*, *Saliſbury* and *Berkſhire*, with Sir *Henry Vane* and Secretary *Cook* on the King's Side; and on the Other Party, the Earls of *Rothes* and *Dumferlin*, the Lord *Lowdon*, *Douglas* Sheriff of *Tividale*, and two Inferior Perſons, Mr. *Henderſon* and Mr. *Johnſon*. But the Earl of *Arundel* was principal Commiſſioner for the King, in whoſe Tent the Treaty was manag'd; where the King unexpectedly appear'd in Perſon, which put ſuch a Reſtraint upon the Mouths of his Commiſſioners, that ſcarce any of them wou'd ſpeak, but the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Saliſbury*, who began highly to court the *Scots*. This is look'd upon by Sir *Edward Walker* as one of the Infelicities of this Expedition; who thinks that the King's Abſence might have procur'd a Peace more laſting, or a War more ſucceſsful.

Commiſſioners appointed for a Treaty.

A Pacification agreed.

After five or ſix Days Debates, the Commiſſioners on both Sides came to this Concluſion on the Seventeenth Day of *June*, Firſt, 'That his Majeſty ſhou'd confirm whatever his high Commiſſioner had granted in his Name, and that from thenceforth all Matters *Eccleſiaſtical* ſhou'd be determin'd by the Aſſemblies of the *Kirk*, and all Matters *Civil* by the Parliament: And to that End a General Aſſembly ſhou'd be Indicted on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, where *his Majeſty deſign'd to be in Perſon*, and a Parliament on the twentieth of the ſame Month; in which Parliament an Act of Oblivion ſhou'd paſs, for the common Peace and Satisfaction of all Parties.' Next the *Scots* were to agree to ſeven Articles, the Subſtance of which were, 'That upon Publication of this Declaration, they ſhou'd within forty eight Hours diſband all their Forces, diſcharge all their *Tables* and Meetings, and reſtore to the King all his Caſtles, Forts and Ammunition of all Sorts. The like Reſtitution was to be made to all his good Subjects, of the Liberties, Lands, Houſes, Goods and Means whatſoever, taken and detain'd from them ſince the firſt Day of *November*: That thereupon his Majeſty ſhou'd immediately recall his Fleet, withdraw his Land Forces, and cauſe Reſtitution to be made to all Perſons of their Ships and Goods detain'd and arreſted ſince the firſt of *February*.' On the following Day theſe were ſign'd on both Sides, a few Hours before the Arrival of the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, ſo that he cou'd not well ſhare either in the Honour, or the Odium.

The Articles.

Very diſhonourable on the King's Side.

Such was the Concluſion of this unaccountable Pacification, after a three Months War without Bloodſhed: In which the chief Grounds of the Conteſt, the Proceedings of the Aſſembly at *Glaſcow*, were left at large and undecided. Had it been inviolably obſerv'd, it might have been happy, but not honourable on the King's Side; but He ſoon found that his Army was diſbanded without a Peace made, and that the *Scots* were equally inclin'd, and more in Power, to affront him than before. Sure Nothing but the moſt tender Regard to Mens Lives cou'd induce a Prince at the Head of ſuch an Army, to allow ſuch uncertain Submiſſions, and ſo ſuddenly to diſband all his Forces. The Earl of *Holland*, who ſeem'd moſt backward in this Expedition, cou'd not but diſapprove of this, who ſoon after told the Archbiſhop, *That his Majeſty ſo ſuddenly diſſolv'd his Army, that every Body wonder'd at it: That for his Part he was ſo ſorry, eſpecially for the Horſe, which were as good as any in* Chriſtendom, *that he offer'd to keep one Thouſand of them for a Year at his own and his Friends Charges, till the King might ſee all Things well ſettled again in* Scotland.

IV. 1. *England* now began to have the happy Appearance of a Calm, and for a while the Clouds ſeem to have been diſpers'd; tho' a blacker Storm was ſtill gathering both at home and abroad. The unfortunate Effects of the Expedition ſoon diſcover'd Themſelves in *England*; and the Calamities that befel the King upon this ſtrange Treaty, are not to be expreſs'd; who was ſo in haſte, that he diſbanded the Army with the moſt diſobliging Circumſtances. The Gentry, who with great Charge had engag'd themſelves, in hopes of gaining Honour to their King, Country or Themſelves, were ſuddenly diſmiſs'd, without the Honour they aim'd at, or any Acknowledgement of their Love and Loyalty: A Thing ſo ungrateful to them, that few of them appear'd in the next Year's Army, and many of them turn'd againſt him in the following Troubles. The Earl of *Eſſex*, who had committed no falſe Step, either in Counſel or Action, was diſcharg'd in the Crowd, without ordinary Ceremony; and ſhortly after was unreaſonably refus'd the Command of *Needwood Foreſt*, which lying at his Door, wou'd have infinitely gratify'd him: All which inflam'd his high Nature, and expos'd him to the Power of ſome Impreſſions afterwards, which otherwiſe wou'd not have found ſo eaſy an Admiſſion. The Factions and Fewds at Court were rather greater that before: And the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, Governour to the Prince, who had at his own Charge brought in a brave Troop of Horſe againſt the *Scots*, had been ſo affronted in the Order of his March by the Earl of *Holland*, that he now ſent him a Challenge; and the King upon Notice was forc'd to interpoſe his own Authority, but to the Satiſfaction of neither Party. The Marqueſs of *Hamilton* alſo was more and more afraid of his Country-Men, and enter'd upon dark Deſigns that render'd him ſuſpected on all Sides.

Several unhappy Steps.

The King very uneaſy and much troubled.

Theſe Things made a deep Impreſſion upon the King, who grew very melancholy, and ſoon found he had loſt Reputation both at home and abroad; and thoſe Counſellors that had been moſt blameable, ſhifted every Man the Fault from himſelf, and found ſome Friend or other to excuſe him. But it being requiſite ſo infamous a Matter ſhou'd not be bury'd in abſolute Oblivion, it fell to old Secretary *Cook*'s Turn to be made the Sacrifice, a Perſon then very little regarded. He being diſmiſs'd, upon the Pretence of ſome Errors or Omiſſions, Sir *Henry Vane* the Comptroller, by *Hamilton*'s fatal Contrivance, and the powerful Influence of the Queen, was made Secretary of State. And this again gave Occaſion to an unſeaſonable Diſpleaſure in the Queen afterwards againſt the Deputy *Wentworth*, who out of Kindneſs to the old Man, then near eighty Years of Age, and Hatred to *Vane*, but chiefly out of Deſire of ſome greater Expiation for ſuch a Miſcarriage, oppos'd it ſo vigorouſly, as drove the Queen to the Exerciſe of her full Power to effect it; which afterwards produc'd many dangerous Miſchiefs. So that by means of this unhappy Pacification, the Flame that firſt broke out in *Scotland*, kindled many Fires in *England*, both in the Court and Country.

New Inſolencies among the Scots.

2. As to the *Scots*, from whom all Peace and Calmneſs might have been expected, notwithſtanding their ſpecious Pretences for Religion and Liberty, and their Promiſes, *That they wou'd ever in all Things carry themſelves like humble and loyal Subjects*, they ſoon diſcover'd the Weakneſs, and Inſignificancy of this New Treaty. For no ſooner had the King diſbanded his Army, but the *Scots* openly proteſted againſt the Pacification, and in very ſeditious and diſhonourable Terms reflected both upon It and his Majeſty; and likewiſe publiſh'd a turbulent Paper, entitul'd, *Some Conditions of his Majeſty's Treaty with his Subjects of* Scotland, *before the* Engliſh *Nobility*, &c. ſo falſe and ſcandalous, that it was afterwards by the King and Council order'd to be burnt by the Common Hangman; which occaſion'd a fooliſh miſtaken Report, that the Agreement it ſelf was burnt. Nor did they, according to the firſt Article, diſband their Forces; for tho' they diſmiſs'd ſome, yet ſeveral Bodies were ſtill kept in Being, and all their Officers in Pay: The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was deliver'd up, but the Fortifications of *Leith* were ſtill continu'd, and Garriſon'd by Themſelves, contrary to the ſecond and ſixth Articles. Nor, according to the fifth Article, did they diſſolve their former *Tables* of illegal Councils and Meetings, that ſo much derogated from the King's Honour and Authority. Moreover they enforc'd the Subjects to ſubſcribe to all the Concluſions in their late Aſſembly at *Glaſcow*, tho' contrary to the King's Proclamation; and were ſo far from reſtoring the King's Friends to their Liberties and Profeſſions, according to the fourth Article,

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They obſerve more of the late Articles.

that they branded them with the Name of Incendiaries and Traytors to God and their Country, and charg'd them with greater Taxes for the Payment of their Army. In ſum, they ſhew'd ſo general a Hatred and Diſſatisfaction, that they kept not one Article of the Pacification, and declin'd no Ways or Means, tho' never ſo falſe or diſhonourable, that might bring the King into Diſgrace or Odium among the People. And many of his Council and great Miniſters, who formerly did not defend their riotous Proceedings, now began freely to eſpouſe their Intereſt, and became Heads of their Party; particularly the Earl of *Argyle*, who ow'd his Protection from the Fury of his incens'd Father, to his Majeſty's ſole Power and Kindneſs.

Their unfair Dealings with the King.

The Beginnings of theſe further Troubles being made known to the King, before his leaving the *North*, he requir'd Twelve of their Chiefs to repair to his Court at *Berwick*, with whom he might conſult about the Way of his coming there to hold the General Aſſembly and Parliament in Perſon. Theſe were the Earls of *Argyle*, *Rothes*, *Montroſs*, *Lothian*, *Caſſels* and *Dumferling*, the Lords *Lindſey* and *Lowdon*, Sir *William Douglaſs* and Mr. *Henderſon*, Mr. *Johnſon* and Mr. *Edgar*. Of theſe only ſeven appear'd, *Rothes*, *Montroſs*, *Lothian*, *Douglaſs*, *Johnſon* and *Edgar*; who kiſſing the King's Hand, were commanded to ſend back Poſt for the reſt. Which being done, they prepar'd and took Horſe, but had contriv'd the Buſineſs, that before they cou'd leave *Edinburgh*, Multitudes were met to ſtop them, upon Pretence that if they went, they wou'd be all detain'd Priſoners. Whereupon the Lord *Lowdon* wrote an Excuſe to the King, who being diſoblig'd, he diſmiſs'd thoſe who were with him, upon a particular Promiſe that they wou'd return and bring the reſt along with them. But being got to the City, the Matter was debated, and reſolv'd that it was not ſafe for them to go; and thereupon *Lindſey* and *Lowdon* were ſent to the King to excuſe their Appearance. This ſo provok'd his Majeſty, to be thus ſhamefully diſtruſted, that inſtead of coming to *Edinburgh* to hold the enſuing Aſſembly and Parliament in Perſon, upon the 29th of *July*, he left *Berwick*, and took his Journey for *London*. This caus'd new Exclamations from the *Covenanters*, who readily imputed it to ſome Advertiſement from the Queen and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the latter of whom they call'd *The great Firebrand: Tho'*, as he ſays in his own Hiſtory, *many of them had warm'd themſelves at him, yet he had never fir'd any of them.* They took him for their greateſt Enemy; yet he there ſolemnly declares, That *the* Scottiſh *Nation in General, the City of* Edinburgh *in Special, very many particular Men of* good Worth, *and ſome Men of* Honour, *beſides* Clergy-men *of all Sorts; had been more beholden to Him, than to any Ten* Engliſh *Subjects, of what Rank and Condition ſoever.*

A General Aſſembly at Edinburgh

3· The Time approaching for the Meeting of the General Aſſembly, in the Room of the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* the King appointed the Earl of *Traquair* for his Commiſſioner, the Lord Treaſurer often mention'd, whom Sir *Philip Warwick* accounts the moſt verſatile Man in *Scotland*; and others worſe. The Aſſembly being ſat, according to the appointed Time, and Mr. *Dick* being Moderator, and aſſiſted by *Henderſon*, they proceeded to confirm all that had been agreed in the Aſſembly at *Glaſcow*, namely the utter Extirpation of Epiſcopacy, the aboliſhing the five Articles of *Perth*, the *High-Commiſſion*, the *Liturgy* and *Book of Canons*; and likewiſe ratify'd the *Covenant*, ordaining it to be ſworn to and ſubſcrib'd by all the Members in the Kingdom. All this was compleated in a few Days, and receiv'd the Conſent of his Majeſty's Commiſſioner. In Concluſion, they fix'd the Divinity Profeſſors for the four Univerſities, Mr. *Adamſon*, for *Edinburgh*; Mr. *Rutherford*, ſupported by Mr. *Blair*, for St. *Andrews*; Mr. *Dick* for *Glaſcow*, and Mr. *Cant* for *Aberdeen*. Theſe were all Men of great Zeal, and the placing of them in the Univerſities, in proceſs of Time prov'd the moſt effectual Support of the Cauſe: For when the young Men, who had their Education under them, came to be Miniſters in the Church, they prov'd incomparably furious, and ſo far outvy'd the elder Men of their own Perſuaſion, that if any of them hapned to incline towards Moderation, they were reckon'd *Laodicean Politicians*, &c. And, as *Guthry* ſays, the Madneſs of the Time was ſuch, that thoſe who were moſt cruel, were moſt cry'd up.

A Parliament at the ſame Place.

Upon the breaking up of the Aſſembly, the Parliament met on the 31ſt of *Auguſt*; where, becauſe the Aſſembly's aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy had deſtroy'd one of the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, they were at a Loſs how to proceed according to Rule, in which the conſtant Method was this: The King having firſt nominated eight *Biſhops*, thoſe Biſhops elected eight *Noblemen*, thoſe Noblemen eight *Barons*, and thoſe Barons as many *Burgeſſes*; and all theſe, with eight Officers of the Crown, made up a ſelect Committee of *Forty*, whoſe Buſineſs was to prepare Things for the Parliament: This had been the Uſage and Cuſtom for near three hundred Years, and theſe were call'd *The Lords of the Articles*: But now this antient Cuſtom was laid aſide, by the Abſence of the Biſhops, who were not permitted to act or ſit; yet upon the Motion of the Commiſſioner it was granted, that not to prejudice his Majeſty's Right, he ſhou'd now have the Election of eight Noblemen inſtead of the eight Biſhops uſually nominated, and for the future every State ſhou'd chuſe their own Commiſſioners. Thus at once they deſtroy'd the firſt Eſtate of the Kingdom, ſo eſſential to the Conſtitution; and then having ratify'd the Acts of the Aſſembly, they proceeded to the Act of Oblivion; but inſtead of that urg'd that an Act for Juſtification of all their Actions might be recorded in Parliament. Which being done, they proceeded to high Demands from the King; 'That the Coin, a Prerogative peculiar to the Crown, ſhou'd not be manag'd but by Advice of Parliament; That no Foreigner ſhou'd have Command of their Caſtles; no Honour granted to any Stranger, but ſuch as had a competent Eſtate in *Scotland*, and that Commiſſioners of Juſticiary or Lieutenancy ſhou'd have Power but for a limited Time.' The King having notice of theſe and other Exorbitancies, deſign'd to eclipſe his Royal Authority, he ſent ſpeedy Orders to his Commiſſioner *Traquair* to prorogue their Sitting till *June* in the next Year. Upon the Earl's acquainting the Houſe with his Majeſty's Command, they immediately proteſted againſt it, declaring it invalid and of no Force, and without Precedent, that the Commiſſioner ſhou'd by a private Warrant prorogue the Sitting of a Parliament: Yet for the preſent they reſolv'd to make Remonſtrance to his Majeſty, and that ſome of each Eſtate ſhou'd ſtill remain at *Edinburgh* to attend his Anſwer.

Their high Demands.

Traquair *prorogues them.*

They ſend Deputies to London.

Accordingly they ſent the Earl of *Dumferlin*, and the Lord *Lowdon*, as their Deputies to the King; but they coming without Warrant from his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, were the firſt time ſent back without Audience. After which they return'd with two more, Sir *William Douglaſs* and Sir *Robert Berkley*; and their Buſineſs was to plead Integrity, and to demonſtrate their Fidelity, but were not impower'd to propoſe any Particulars towards a Mediation to the King's Satisfaction. At their Arrival at *London*, *Whitelock* tells us they had great Reſort to them, and many ſecret Councils held with them by the diſcontented *Engliſh*, chiefly by thoſe who were no Friends to Biſhops, or had ſuffer'd in the late Cenſures in the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commiſſion*, and other Judicatories. Thoſe alſo who were inclin'd to a Republick, had great Correſpondence with them; and they courted all, fomented every Diſcontent, and made large and religious Promiſes of *Future happy Times*. He further informs us, that the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Bedford*, and *Holland*, the Lord *Say*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Pym*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, of great Intereſt and Quality, were deep in with them. They were likewiſe further incourag'd by a ſtrange Artifice of ſome of the *Engliſh*, as we are told from the Memoirs of Duke *Hamilton*, That an *Engliſh* Nobleman, not nam'd, went to the *Scotch* Lords *Dumferlin* and *Lowdon*, and with great Vehemence preſs'd them to a new War, and among other Motives brought them Engagements in Writing from moſt of the greateſt Peers in *England*, to joyn with them, and aſſiſt them when they ſhou'd come into *England* with an Army. This did highly animate them, and had an extraordinary Effect afterwards; yet all this the next Year was diſcover'd to be a direct Forgery. The Memoirs do not mention the Contrivers Names; but Dr. *Wellwood*, who relates the Story with ſome Variations, ſays it was the Lord *Savile*, afterwards made Earl of *Suſſex*; which likewiſe agrees with the Memoirs of the Earl of *Mancheſter*. But to return to the *Scotch* Deputies, who being commanded to attend a Committee at an appointed Time, reſented the Thing, and did not think themſelves oblig'd to treat with any but the King only. Upon which his Majeſty vouchſaf'd his Preſence in the ſaid Committee, where the Lord *Lowdon*, a bold Speaker, began with declaring 'The Independency of the Crown of *Scotland*, and juſtify'd the Tranſactions of the Aſſembly and Parliament; That they were according to the Articles of Pacification, and Laws and Cuſtoms of the Nation; therefore they deſir'd a Ratification of their Proceedings, and that the Parliament might go on to determine of all Bills for Settlement of Religion, Peace, &c.' Having finiſh'd his Speech, their Commiſſion was examin'd by the Council, and found not at all obligatory to thoſe that ſent them; yet an imperfect Paper was produc'd, authorizing *Dumferlin* and *Lowdon*, which was at length accepted. Yet they were ſoon check'd, for after they had inſiſted upon their foreſaid Requeſts, their Treaſons were ſumm'd up to them, and a Letter produc'd by the King, wherein they petition'd for Aid of the *French*, and endeavour'd to invade theſe Kingdoms with a Foreign Enemy. This Letter, tho' written by a ſecret Juncto, and managed with all poſſible Secrecy, fell into the King's Hands. It was directed to the

They are much careſs'd by many.

A ſtrange Incouragement.

A Letter from the Scots *to the* French *King.*

French King, with this Title, *Au Roy*, a Stile only uſ'd from Subjects to their natural King, and ſubſcrib'd *Rothes*, *Montroſs*, *Leſley*, *Marr*, *Montgomery*, *Lowdon*, *Forreſter:* In which they addreſs'd to his Majeſty, 'As the Refuge 'and Sanctuary of afflicted Princes and States, moſt humbly beſeeching him to give Faith and Credit to Mr. *Colvil*, whom they had ſent to repreſent the Candour and 'Ingenuity of their Proceedings, and to aſſure Themſelves 'of an Aſſiſtance ſuitable to his wonted Clemency.' This was found to be *Lowdon*'s own Hand, who being examin'd, refus'd to give any other Anſwer than, *That it was writ before the Agreement, and thereupon reſerv'd and never ſent; That if he had committed any Offence, he ought to be queſtion'd for it in* Scotland, *and not in* England; *therefore, upon his ſafe Conduct, he expected his Liberty to return.* But this Treaſon and bold Excuſe of it rais'd ſuch an Abhorrence in the King's Council, that He and *Colvil* were both ſecur'd, and the firſt committed to the *Tower*; and had they been brought to a ſpeedy Tryal, it might have ſtruck Terror in the *Scots*, and render'd their Proceedings more odious to all the World.

Lowdon *and* Colvil *ſecur'd.*

But they daily gather'd Strength both at Home and Abroad. At Home, where the People were ſo fluſh'd with the Hopes of what was to be done for them, that their Lives and Fortunes were now at their Leaders Service; and the Tide was ſo impetuous, that moſt of the King's Privy Council, and great Miniſters fell into the Faction: And when part of the Walls of *Edinburgh* Caſtle fell down on the 19th of *November*, the King's Birth-Day, not without ſome Preſage of his future Misfortunes, they wou'd neither ſuffer Timber nor any Materials to be carry'd to repair it. Abroad they enter'd into Correſpondence with *Holland*, and obtain'd Credit for Arms and Ammunition, and were alſo raiſing Men in *Germany* and *Sweden*; but in *France* they met with ſpecial Encouragement, from whence the great Cardinal *Richlieu* ſent over *Chamberlain*, a *Scot*, his Chaplain and Almoner, to aſſiſt the Confederates in advancing the Buſineſs, and to attempt all Ways for blowing up the *Firſt Heat*; with Orders not to leave them, till he might return with favourable News: And upon that he appointed one of his Secretaries to reſide in *Scotland*, to march along with them into *England*, to be preſent at all Councils of War, and direct their Affairs. On the other Side, *Hamilton*'s Chaplains had free Acceſſes to *Con*, the ſame Country Man, at ſuch Time as *Chamberlain* was negociating for the Cardinal, to increaſe the Flames, which already had begun to rage. The Cardinal alſo ſent them Arms and Ammunition, and promis'd them Aſſiſtance proportionable to any Enterprize they ſhou'd freely undertake; the Subſtance of which is acknowledg'd by the *French* Writers Themſelves. The Jeſuit *d' Orleans*, one of the beſt of them, freely owns the Fact, and ſays, That beſides the unreaſonable Oppoſition the Cardinal met with from the *Engliſh* at *Rhee* and *Rochelle*, he was lately diſappointed in a new Deſign by the King of *England*. He and the Prince of *Orange* had form'd a Project to attack the Maritime Places of the *Spaniſh Flanders*, particularly to beſiege *Dunkirk* and *Graveling* at the ſame Time; to effect which, they agreed that the Cardinal ſhou'd prevail with King *Charles* to obſerve an exact Neutrality. Accordingly he ſent over the Count *D'Eſtrades* into *England*, to apply himſelf to the Queen, and to induce her to perſuade the King her Husband to continue Neuter in this Juncture; inſinuating, *That* France, *in Time of Neceſſity, wou'd ſupport him under thoſe Troubles that then diſtracted his Dominions.* Both the King and the Queen receiv'd the Propoſal with equal Contempt, and the King in a high manner ſaid, *It was inconſiſtent either with his Honour, or Intereſt, to grant the Neutrality demanded; that he ſtood not in need of any Man's Help, to reduce his Subjects to their Obedience.* The Queen alſo told the Count, *That as to the Cardinal, ſhe was acquainted with his Deſigns, that he was no Friend to Her, and ſhe expected Nothing from Him.* Upon the Return of theſe Anſwers, he wrote to the Count, *That he was glad he had diſcover'd the Senſe of the Court of* England, *which might have given him much Trouble, had they known how to have conceal'd it:* Accordingly he gave him Directions how to aſſiſt and encourage the *Scots*, and declar'd, *It ſhou'd ſoon appear he was not a Perſon to be deſpis'd, for before a Year was paſs'd, the King and Queen of* England *ſhou'd repent their Rejecting his Offers.* Thus all Things conſpired to bring on a ſecond War, more dangerous and formidable than the firſt.

The Scots *incourag'd and aſſiſted, by Cardinal* Richlieu.

The Occaſion of it.

The Lord Wentworth *made Earl of* Strafford.

4. Theſe threatning Inſults from the *North* caus'd the King to reſolve upon new Meaſures; and, as if the Oracle at *Delphos* was to be conſulted, the great Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* was ſent for over, and with no ſmall Solemnity made Knight of the Garter, and Earl of *Strafford* in *Yorkſhire*. Great was the Expectation of all the *Engliſh*, what might be the Effect of his Arrival, and great was the Opinion which Men generally had conceiv'd of his Parts and Abilities; looking on him Him as the only Hinge, upon which the State was now likely to turn. But the Conjectures of the Gentlemen of that Time were very various, as to the Uſe this great Stateſman wou'd make of his Power and Favour; and ſome ſaid freely, *That he was ſent for only to compleat that bad Work, which others of leſs Brains than He, had begun.* Yet he was not ſole *Dictator*, but only one of the *Triumviri*, which, beſides himſelf, conſiſted of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*. It is plain that the Latter was by his Maſter eſteem'd rather unfortunate, than treacherous, and lay undiſcern'd to thoſe two great *Engliſh* Men, who otherwiſe wou'd never have incorporated with him; ſo that theſe two ſeem'd neither to have well conſulted the State of *Scotland*, nor that of *England*. For the Archbiſhop being reingag'd, moſt Men again look'd upon it as an Eccleſiaſtick Expedition; and *Hamilton* reimploy'd, they expected, that in the ſame Man would be found the ſame Heart; and the Earl of *Strafford* being freſh come in, many envy'd his Greatneſs, and dreaded his Proſperity. Sir *Henry Vane*, being lately made Secretary of State, was unhappily an Aſſiſtant to this Juncto, a Man of no clear Head, but a buſtling ſubtle forward Courtier in Affairs of his Capacity; who, tho' a Creature of the Queen's, and a Confident of *Hamilton* and *Northumberland*, was both deteſted and deſpis'd by the Earl of *Strafford:* And *Vane* had a mortal Hatred to *Strafford* for taking the Title of *Raby*, then his Seat and Habitation, purchas'd from the Crown, and conſequently his Ambition; tho' by Deſcent, or Blood, the other had the fairer Pretenſion.

A new Juncto.

Unhappily temper'd

With this untemper'd Mortar was the poor King forc'd to build in a moſt tempeſtuous Seaſon; which afterwards ſhew'd how dangerous it is for a Prince, not truly reverenc'd and fear'd, to have a Body of Council made up of diſagreeing Members. However they began in the moſt plauſible and popular Manner, and upon the fifth of *December* reſolv'd upon the calling of a Parliament, which was receiv'd with great Marks of Joy both in the City and Country; tho' many thought it an ominous and unſeaſonable Expedient at this Juncture. This was appointed to meet on the thirteenth of *April*; but they likewiſe concluded of a Parliament in *Ireland*, which ſhou'd ſo long precede that in *England*, as that the Earl of *Strafford* might be both at That and the Other. But in regard it might be a conſiderable Time before Subſidies cou'd be rais'd, and the *Scots* being more forward than the King, it was thought neceſſary to have ſome preſent Supply of Money: Therefore the Earl of *Strafford*, by way of immediate Advance, ſubſcrib'd to lend the King twenty thouſand Pounds, the Archbiſhop ten thouſand Pounds, and the Lord Keeper as much: And moſt of the Nobility, either out of Zeal on the one ſide, or Shame on the other, ſubſcrib'd according to their Abilities, ſome few only refuſing. The Duke of *Lenox* exceeded all, who, tho' his Fortune was not extraordinary, ſubſcrib'd forty thouſand Pounds; and reflecting upon the Refuſal or Backwardneſs of *Hamilton*, he ſmilingly ſaid, *I will ſerve the King in his Perſon, tho' I carry but his Cloak, as well and as chearfully as any in the greateſt Truſt.* The Judges of the Law, with their Officers and Dependants, and many private Gentlemen, readily brought in their Proportions: But none were more free of the Loans than the Popiſh Recuſants; in which the Queen was very active, and appointed Sir *Kenelm Digby* and Mr. *Walter Montague* to negociate with the *Roman* Catholicks for that End, which they yielded to with great Readineſs and Alacrity, to the further Jealouſie and Diſguſt of the People.

Their Proceedings.

Great Subſcriptions againſt the Scots.

5. Before the Concluſion of theſe Tranſactions, there arriv'd in the Court of *England* the Elector *Palatine*, who after his Defeat in *Weſtphalia*, was adviſ'd by the Prince of *Orange* again to apply himſelf to his Uncle the King of *England* to put him in a Condition towards his Reſtoration. The King ſatisfy'd him that the Difficulty of his own Affairs in *Scotland* wou'd not at preſent allow him to furniſh him with any Supplies; therefore all he cou'd do was to recommend him to the *French* Ambaſſador, who undertook to make an Intereſt for him with his Maſter, and with Cardinal *Richlieu*. But the Cardinal becoming ſuſpected to the Court of *England*, as a Fomenter of the *Scotch* Troubles, it was thought more adviſeable for the Prince to go *Incognito* through *France* to the *Swediſh* Army, who upon his Appearance were to receive him as their General, than to truſt to the Sincerity of *Richlieu*, or the Delays of a Treaty. Accordingly he took his Journey, and paſs'd diſguis'd through *France* till he came to *Lyons*, where being unfortunately diſcover'd, was made Priſoner by the Order of the *French* King, who interpreted this Proceeding, while he was in Treaty with him, to be ſome ill Deſign againſt his Crown and Dominions.

The Elector Palatin *comes into* England.

Made Priſoner in France.

Not long after his Departure, the whole Nation was ſtrangely allarm'd by the unexpected Appearance of a *Spa-*

1639.
Car. 15.

A great Ingagement between the Dutch *and* Spaniſh *Fleets.*

niſh Fleet upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, conſiſting of above ſeventy Sail of conſiderable Ships, commanded by *Don Antonio d'Oquendo.* Theſe were met by an inferior Fleet of the *Hollanders*, who furiouſly ſet upon them, and forc'd them into the *Downs* near *Dover*, where the *Spaniards* expected to be ſafe under the King of *England*'s Protection. There they continu'd for ſome time, when the Weather growing ſtormy, *Van-Trump* the *Dutch* Admiral told ſome *Engliſh* Gentlemen, *That if they lay there a little longer, the King of* England *wou'd have their Guns, the Country their Wreck, and the Devil their Men.* Both Parties being Allies to *England*, it was judg'd by the Law of Nations, that the Shore and Harbours of a neutral Prince ſhou'd be a Refuge to protect the Weaker; but at laſt *Van-Trump* upon a ſlight Pretence, without the Ceremony of asking leave, fell in upon the *Spaniards* with that Vigour and Bravery, that he burnt, ſunk and drove aſhore far the greateſt Part of their formidable Navy, in the very Sight of our *Engliſh* Fleet. This, tho' not juſtify'd upon the Rules of Honour, was yet highly pleaſing to the common People, who hated the Appearance of a *Spaniſh* Armado, and had too much Reaſon to ſuſpect their Deſign: For tho' they pretended only to carry Recruits and Money to *Dunkirk*, yet ſuch a Deſign not requiring ſo many Ships or Men, the Expedition ſeem'd to have been meant for ſome greater Purpoſe. By ſome Evidences ſince recover'd, it appear'd that the Project was very much like that memorable One in Eighty Eight; and on the beginning of the following Parliament a Book was produc'd in the Houſe of Commons, containing, 'The Papiſts fiſhing in troubled Waters, 'whilſt the King was at War with the *Scots*, with Prayers 'in it for the *Holy Martyrs* that ſuffer'd in the Fleet ſent 'againſt the *Hereticks* in *England*, *Anno* 1639. However this prov'd ſuch a fatal Blow to the Maratim Power of *Spain*, that they never ſince recover'd it, or have been able to appear conſiderable upon the Seas.

The Spaniards *defeated.*

The Deaths of Sir Henry Wotton,

Before we paſs on to the following Year, we ought a little to embalm the Memory of ſome eminent Men who dy'd in this: As firſt Sir *Henry Wotton*, Knight, and Provoſt of *Eaton* Colledge, formerly a great Traveller, and Secretary to the unfortunate Earl of *Eſſex* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and after that employ'd by King *James* in eleven ſeveral Embaſſies to Foreign Potentates. He was a Man of ſingular Politeneſs, Wit, Learning and Piety; but for all his great Services to the Crown, no otherwiſe rewarded than with Knighthood, and the Provoſtſhip of *Eaton.* Next was Mr. *Robert Burton*, commonly known by the Name of *Democritus Junior*, which he gave himſelf before his famous Book call'd *The Anatomy of Melancholy*; a Divine, and Fellow of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, celebrated for a moſt general Scholar, an exact Mathematician, and a thorough-pac'd Philologiſt; as alſo for being a Devourer of Authors, an honeſt and facetious, yet melancholy and humorous Perſon. After him follow'd *Philip Maſſenger*, the moſt noted Dramatick Poet after *Ben. Johnſon*, a Perſon of great Modeſty and extraordinary Parts, extreamly belov'd by the Wits of the Age; and there were few but what took it as an Honour to join with him in a Play, in which Art he was highly eſteem'd both for the Purity of his Stile, and the Oeconomy of his Plots. Beſides theſe of inferior Stations, there alſo dy'd two great Miniſters of State, firſt *John Spotſwood*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, Primate and Chancellor of *Scotland*; a Perſon juſtly advanc'd to that high Character, which he ſupported with ſuch excellent Wiſdom and Integrity, as ſhew'd he deſerv'd his Honour and Dignity. He was bury'd at *Weſtminſter* Abby, near his beloved Maſter King *James*; coming to the Grave in Peace and a good old Age, without being Witneſs to thoſe Calamities which afterwards hapned to his Country, whoſe Affairs he knew as well as any Man whatſoever. Laſtly dy'd Sir *Thomas Coventry*, who had been Lord Keeper fifteen Years, a worthy Miniſter, whoſe Character we have formerly given, who upon his Death-bed ſent this laſt Requeſt to the King, *That his Majeſty wou'd take all Diſtaſtes from the Parliament ſummon'd againſt next* April, *with Patience, and ſuffer it to ſit without an unkind Diſſolution.* With this good Advice he dy'd, to the King's great Detriment rather than his own; and was ſucceeded by Sir *John Finch*, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, already mention'd; a Man exceedingly obnoxious in the Caſe of *Ship-Mony*, and not of ſufficient Authority and Reputation to countenance and advance the King's Service.

Mr. Burton,

Mr. Maſſenger,

Archbp. Spotſwood

And the Lord Keeper Coventry.

Succeeded by Judge Finch.

1640.
Car. 16.

Preparations and Steps towards

VI. We are now arriv'd at the remarkable Year, which prov'd ſo fatal to the general Repoſe of *England*, 1640; the Beginning of which was buſily employ'd in the Election of a new Parliament, an Aſſembly that the Nation had not ſeen for about twelve Years. Great were the Expectations of the People, who had almoſt laid aſide the thoughts of future Parliaments; and great were the Endeavours of the Nobility and Gentry of the *Scotch* Faction to obtain their Deſigns. Many Pulpits were employ'd to this Purpoſe, and no Pains ſpar'd in packing of Voices, and making of Parties; and were often ſo violent, that thoſe Meetings for Elections appear'd more like riotous Tumults, than orderly Conventions. Yet after all, the Election had that Succeſs, that the Commons in general prov'd exceedingly diſpos'd to pleaſe the King, and to do him Service. To make way for their Proceedings, the Lord Lieutenant *Strafford* firſt ſummon'd a Parliament in *Ireland*, whom he manag'd with ſuch a Fortunate Dexterity, that he preſently obtain'd for his Majeſty four intire Subſidies, with farther Promiſes, as alſo publick Thanks given to the King for *placing over them ſo Juſt, Wiſe, Vigilant and Profitable a Governour.* In the mean Time, the Court, that it might not appear apprehenſive of any Thing from the ſucceeding Parliament, ſtill proceeded in the ſame unpopular Ways; *Ship-Mony* was levy'd with the ſame Severity, and the ſame Rigour us'd in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, without complying with the Humour of any Man: A Steadineſs that vaniſh'd in no long Time,

1640.
Car. 16.

The FOURTH PARLIAMENT.

On *Monday* the thirteenth of *April* the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* with the uſual Ceremony and Formality; and about Noon his Majeſty accompany'd with all his Nobles, and other principal Officers in great State, rode from *White-Hall* to *Weſtminſter-Abby*, where he heard a Sermon from Dr. *Wren* Biſhop of *Ely*. Being remov'd to the Houſe of Lords, and ſeated on the Throne, with the Prince on his left Hand, he made this ſhort Speech to both Houſes. My Lords and Gentlemen, *There was never a King that had a more great and weighty Cauſe to call his People together than my Self. I will not trouble you with the Particulars; I have inform'd my Lord Keeper, and command him to Speak, and deſire your Attention.* After which the Lord Keeper *Finch* deliver'd a long Speech, in which he inform'd that great Aſſembly, 'That his Majeſty's Kingly Reſolutions 'were ſeated in the *Ark* of his Sacred Breaſt, and it were 'too high a Preſumption, for any *Uzzah* uncall'd to touch 'it; therefore they were to remember that tho' the King 'ſometimes lay'd by the Beams and Rays of Majeſty, yet 'he never laid by Majeſty it ſelf. But the main Scope was 'to lay before them the Happineſs of the *Engliſh* Nation, 'with the undutiful Proceedings in *Scotland*; that the King 'was reſolv'd to reduce his diſaffected Subjects, and by no 'Means to admit of their Mediation, as being in his own 'Nature inclinable to all Grace and Goodneſs: But before they enter'd into any other Debates, he expected 'their immediate Aid and Supply; and afterwards wou'd 'give them full Time for Conſidering any juſt Grievances 'to be heard and redreſs'd.' Upon finiſhing of which, the King reaſſum'd his Speech, and gave them an Account of the Letter he had intercepted, which had been directed to the *French* King, which he caus'd to be read by the Lord Keeper, together with the Tranſlation; informing Them that he had ſecur'd one of the Parties concern'd in the *Tower.* Upon this he diſmiſs'd the Commons to chuſe their Speaker; to which Serjeant *Glanvile* was deſign'd and elected; a Perſon fully acquainted with Parliamentary Proceedings, of a ready Conception, and a voluble Expreſſion, dextrous in the way of diſpoſing the Houſe, and acceptable both to Them and his Majeſty.

The King's Speech.

The Houſe of Commons having ſettled the Committees for Religion, Grievances, Priviledges and Courts of Juſtice, Mr. Secretary *Windebank* acquainted the Houſe with the Examination of the Lord *Lowdon*, who with Difficulty acknowledg'd 'that to be his Hand-Writing, which was 'ſubſcrib'd to the Letter directed to the *French* King, and 'did conceive the other Names ſubſcrib'd were the Hand-'Writings of thoſe Perſons.' After which the Houſe proceeded to agree upon a Day of Solemn Faſting and Humiliation, and a Meſſage was ſent to the Lords to deſire their Concurrence. Divers Petitions were then alſo read, preſented by ſeveral Knights of the Shire, complaining of *Ship-Mony*, *Projects*, *Monopolies*, *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commiſſion*, &c. which occaſion'd two Days Debates, and many long Speeches. Mr. *Harbottle Grimſton* ſpoke upon the Subject of Grievances, and argu'd, 'That the Dangers at 'home were greater than thoſe from abroad; and that the 'Diſeaſes and Diſtempers in the Body Politick were grown 'to that Height, that for a Cure, Examples ought to be 'made, ſo that the Cauſers and Authors of the Nation's 'Miſeries, might be as Treacle to expel the Poyſon of 'Miſchief out of Others.' Then Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* ſpoke againſt the Diſcontinuance of Parliaments, 'and that 'during the Vacation of thoſe Meetings, many Diſorders 'had been committed, which muſt now be ſet right, to 'vindicate God in his Religion, the King in his Honour, 'and the Common-Wealth in its gaſping Extremities. Yet 'he acknowledg'd the Greatneſs of the King's Wants, and 'when his *Power and Neceſſity meets, he will not be long 'diſappointed*; therefore they ought to reſpect Temper and 'Moderation, leſt the Race of Parliaments ſhou'd be rooted 'out.' The next Day Mr. *Pym*, a Man of publick Reputation

Several Speeches in the Houſe of Commons.

putation and long Experience in Parliaments, made an elaborate Speech againſt Grievances, reducing them to three Heads; 1. ‘Thoſe which during the long Interval were againſt the Liberties and Priviledges of Parliament. 2. *Innovations* in Matters of Religion, and 3. Grievances againſt the Propriety of our Goods. Concluding with this Propoſal, That for a Remedy he advis'd to preſent them to the Houſe of Peers, that they might join with them to go to his Majeſty, and pray that thoſe Grievances may be voted: If any thing in the Vote be queſtion'd, that it may be debated and drawn into a *Remonſtrance*, with an humble Petition of both Houſes for Redreſs. And he hop'd the Wiſdom of this Houſe wou'd prepare ſuch a Remedy, as *wou'd make his Majeſty a great King, and the People Happy.*

The Ship-Money *debated.*

As to the Buſineſs of the *Ship-Mony*, which was thought the greateſt of the Civil Grievances, Mr. *Grimſton* inſiſted upon the irregular and prepoſterous Engaging the Judges to deliver their Opinion to the King, and ſaid, That he was perſwaded, *that they did it againſt the Dictamen of their own Conſciences.* Mr. *Peard*, a bold Lawyer of ſmall Note, more warmly inveigh'd againſt it, and call'd it *An Abomination.* Upon which Mr. *Herbert*, the King's Solicitor, with great Addreſs and Civility, put them in mind, ‘with what Candour his Majeſty proceeded in that, and all other Matters of Juſtice: That, tho' he was perſwaded of the Juſtice, as well as Neceſſity of it, yet he iſſu'd not his Writ for levying *Ship-Mony*, till he was aſſur'd of its Legality by all the Judges in *England.* That no Cauſe was ever more freely and publickly debated, when the Payment was oppos'd by Mr. *Hampden*, a worthy Gentleman then preſent: And after all This, and a Judgment pronounc'd with ſo much Deliberation and Solemnity, by which his Majeſty was as legally poſſeſs'd of that Right, as of any elſe he had, for any particular Man to call it *An Abomination*, was very unwarrantable; therefore he mov'd that the Gentleman, who had us'd that Expreſſion might explain Himſelf, and then withdraw.’ Upon this many were for calling him to the Bar; and the Solicitor's Speech was thought to have ſo much Weight in it, that Mr. *Peard* very hardly eſcap'd a ſevere Reprimand: Which ſhews the Houſe to have been in a good Temper, and had a real Inclination to oblige the King. Yet ſtill they retain'd the Remembrance of the tumultuous Concluſion of the laſt Parliament, and ſtrictly inquir'd into the Proceedings againſt Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Hollis*, and the impriſon'd Members; and were very warm about the late Speaker, Sir *John Finch*'s leaving the Chair, contrary to the Order of the Houſe, tho' by the King's Special Command, and voted it a particular Breach of Priviledge.

The Keeper's Speech to both Houſes for a Supply.

2. The Commons having ſat about ſix or ſeven Days, without any Advances towards a Supply, the King was diſpleas'd that his main Buſineſs ſhould be neglected or deferr'd; wherefore upon the twenty firſt of *April*, he commanded the Lords and Commons to attend him in the *Banqueting-Houſe*, where he order'd the Lord Keeper, in his own Preſence, to acquaint them, ‘That the Cauſe of Calling this Parliament was for the Aſſiſtance and *Supply* of his Majeſty; that if the *Supply* was not *Speedy*, it wou'd be of no Uſe; for the Army was now marching, and ſtood his Majeſty at leaſt in *One Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Month*; and if proper Means were not immediately us'd, his Majeſty's Deſign wou'd be loſt, and the Charge all caſt away. As to *Ship-Mony*, his Majeſty had been ſo far from making any private Benefit of it, that for the ſame End he had Expended great Sums of Mony out of his own Coffers. He inform'd them, That in one Parliament in *Ireland* they gave his Majeſty ſix Subſidies, and in the laſt *four*, every Subſidy worth *fifty or ſixty Thouſand Pounds.* Laſtly upon granting a *Supply*, his Majeſty wou'd give them Scope and Liberty to preſent their juſt Grievances to him, and wou'd hear them with a gracious Ear, and give ſuch an Anſwer, as ſhou'd give Joy and Satisfaction to Them and all the Kingdom.

Mr. Wal*ler's Speech in the lower Houſe.*

On the Report made the next Day in the Houſe of Commons of the Keeper's Speech, *Edmund Waller* Eſquire made a ſevere Harangue, ‘in which he charg'd the Biſhops and Miniſters of State with a Deſign of ſetting up a new Species of abſolute Monarchy. Yet he acknowledg'd *That the Perſon of no King was ever better belov'd of his People, than his preſent Majeſty:* That his Wants were not ſo great, but they might find Means to ſupply Him, nor their Deſires ſo unreaſonable, but that his Majeſty might well ſatisfie them. That Phyſicians, tho' they were call'd very late, ſhou'd not reſent it, or talk *what might have been*, but apply themſelves briskly to the Cure. He concluded with this Motion, That there might be an Order immediately made, that the firſt Thing the Houſe ſhou'd conſider of, ſhou'd be the reſtoring of the Nation in General to the fundamental and vital Liberties, and then to conſider of the deſir'd Supply.

The King's Speech to the Lords.

While the Commons were thus reſolving on the Redreſs of Grievances, his Majeſty came unexpectedly to the Houſe of Lords, and earneſtly repreſented to them ‘That his Neceſſities were ſuch that cou'd admit of no Delay; That whatſoever he had promis'd by the Lord Keeper, he wou'd perform, if the Houſe of Commons wou'd truſt him. That tho' they truſted him in part at firſt, yet before the Parliament ended, he muſt totally truſt Them; and in Concluſion, for the Execution of all Things they muſt wholly truſt Him; Therefore ſince the Matter was no more than who ſhou'd be firſt truſted, and that the Truſt of Him was but a Truſt in part, he deſir'd the Lords to take into their Conſideration His and their own Honour, and the Safety of the Kingdom, and by their Advice diſpoſe the Commons to give Precedence to the Supply.’ This had ſuch a ſenſible Effect upon the Lords, that they immediately reſolv'd to oblige the King, and accordingly mov'd it in a Conference with the Commons: But in this they met with a very different Effect, for inſtead of a Compliance, it rais'd an unſeaſonable Diſpute about the Priviledges of their Houſe, and they unanimouſly declar'd, ‘That the Lords propounding a Supply, was a Violation of their Priviledges; therefore they cou'd proceed upon no other Buſineſs, till they had firſt receiv'd Satisfaction from the Houſe of Peers; which they demanded the next Day in a Conference.’ The Lords were ſenſible of their Error, and acknowledg'd the Priviledge of their Houſe, particularly ‘That Mony-Bills ought to have their Beginning there, and after they were paſs'd by the Lords, they ought to be return'd back to the Commons, and by their Speaker preſented to the King: But they deſir'd it might not obſtruct the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom, but that they wou'd proceed in their own Way and Method.’ This ſtill gave no Satisfaction; the Thing was univerſally reſented, and a Committee appointed to examine Precedents, and to prepare a Proteſtation to be ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, and enter'd in their own Journal; and in the mean Time no Publick Proceedings to be in the Houſe, except from ſome Report from a Committee.

The Commons diſoblig'd at the Lords.

The King's laſt Propoſal to the Commons.

3. The Houſe had ſat near three Weeks, without giving any Supplies, when the King finding that the Interceſſion of the Lords did but irritate the Commons, he took another Method, which, as it was believ'd, wou'd not fail of Succeſs. This was to ſend two Meſſages to them by his new Secretary Sir *Henry Vane*, the firſt ſhewing Them ‘The Neceſſity of a ſudden Supply’; and the ſecond ſoon after promiſing ‘Them upon the preſent granting of *Twelve Subſidies*, to be paid in three Years Time, (*viz.* five the Firſt Year, four the Second, and three the Third) his Majeſty wou'd not only at preſent forbear the levying of any *Ship-Mony*, but wou'd give Way to the utter aboliſhing of it by any Courſe that they ſhou'd like: And for *Grievances*, he wou'd give them as much Time as may be now, and another Seſſion the next *Michaelmaſs*; to which he expected a preſent and poſitive Anſwer.’ This Sum deſir'd amounted to leſs than eight hundred Thouſand Pounds, and was about three Years Purchaſe for the *Ship-Mony*; which, conſiſting of a greater Number of Subſidies than ever had been given at one Time, was by many thought an exorbitant Demand; but by thoſe who conſider'd the great Decreaſe in Subſidies of late Years, the three Years in levying them, and the total giving up of *Ship-Mony*, the Propoſal was thought very healing and reaſonable.

A long Debate upon it.

Upon this grand Matter the Houſe enter'd upon a full Debate the Day following; which continu'd from Nine in the Morning, till Four in the Afternoon, with great Warmth and Earneſtneſs. They who deſir'd to obſtruct the giving any Supply, objected the greatneſs of the Sum; and others obſerv'd, ‘That the purchaſing a Releaſe of a very unjuſt Impoſition, wou'd in effect confeſs it to be juſt; and therefore wiſh'd that the Judgment upon Examination might be declar'd void; that what they then preſented the King, might appear to be a Gift, and not a Recompence.’ But this was rather modeſtly inſinuated, than ſtifly inſiſted upon; and the greater Number reflected more on the Proportion demanded, which ſome ignorantly thought wou'd exceed the preſent Stock of Mony in the Nation. There were very few indeed, except thoſe of the Court, who had but little of their own to give, but thought the Sum too great, and wiſh'd a leſs might be accepted, and were willing the Debate might be adjourn'd till the next Morning. All this was in a Committee of the whole Houſe, and Mr. *Lenthall* in the Chair; but throughout the whole Day, ſcarce an offenſive or angry Word was ſpoken, except what a Country Gentleman ſaid, *That* *the Supply was to be employ'd in ſupporting* Bellum Epiſcopale, *which the Biſhops were fitteſt to do Themſelves.*

Which is re-aſſumed the next Day.

The Propoſal defeated by Sir Henry Vane.

The next Morning, the Houſe again in a Committee, and the ſame Man in the Chair, they proceeded in the Debate, and many ſpoke with more Reflexion upon *Ship-Mony*, and ſaid *it deſerv'd no Conſideration, but in a ſhort time wou'd appear null and void.* And this ſo agreed with the Senſe of a great Part of the Houſe, that Mr. *Hambden*, the moſt popular Man there, thought the Matter ripe for the Queſtion, and deſir'd that it might be put, ' whether the ' Houſe wou'd conſent to the Propoſition made by the ' King, as it was contain'd in the Meſſage;' which he knew wou'd be oppos'd by all who thought the Sum too great, or wou'd not have it as a Recompence for Ship-Mony. Hereupon Serjeant *Glanvile*, now out of the Chair, ſtood up, and in a moſt pathetical Speech, endeavour'd to perſwade the Houſe, *To comply with his Majeſty's Deſire, for the Good of the Nation, and to reconcile him to Parliaments for ever.* He made it appear how inconſiderable a Sum twelve Subſidies were, by informing them how much upon Computation his own Proportion wou'd be; and when he had nam'd the Sum, he being known to have a great Eſtate, it ſeem'd not worth any further Deliberation. The natural Warmth of his Rhetorick, and his artificial mingling of ſome Expreſſions againſt the *Ship-Mony*, made a wonderful Impreſſion upon the Houſe; and ſcarce any Speech ever ſo united the Inclinations of a popular Council to the Speaker, as this: And if the Queſtion had been immediately put, it was believ'd few wou'd have oppos'd it. But after a ſhort Silence, the other Side, recovering new Strength, call'd again with ſome Earneſtneſs, *That Mr.* Hambden*'s Queſtion might be put*, which being like to meet with a Concurrence, Mr. *Hyde* ſtood up, and objected againſt it as a *captious Queſtion* of ill Conſequence, and propos'd, ' That to the End every Man might freely ' give his Yea or No, the Queſtion might be put only upon ' giving the King a Supply; which if carry'd, another might ' be put upon the Manner and Proportion; if not, it wou'd ' have the ſame Effect with the other propos'd by Mr. ' *Hambden*. This was receiv'd with great Approbation by ſome, and no leſs Paſſion by others, and diverted by various Propoſitions, till Serjeant *Glanvile* propos'd that his Countryman, Mr. *Hyde*, might again propoſe his Queſtion; which being done, and ſome Objections anſwer'd by him, there follow'd a confus'd Clamour and Call, *Mr.* Hambden*'s Queſtion! Mr.* Hyde*'s Queſtion!* The Call appearing much ſtronger for the laſt, it was generally believ'd that the Queſtion had been put, and carry'd in the Affirmative, tho' poſitively and unaccountably oppos'd by the Solicitor *Herbert*, had not Sir *Henry Vane*, the Secretary, ſtood up and declar'd, *That the putting and carrying that Queſtion wou'd be of no Uſe; for he had Authority to tell them, That if they paſs'd a Vote for Supply, and not in the Proportion and Manner propos'd in his Majeſty's Meſſage, it wou'd not be accepted by him; therefore he deſir'd that the Queſtion might be laid aſide:* Which being again urg'd by the Solicitor, upon the ſame Authority, and the other Privy-Counſellors being ſilent, tho' highly diſpleas'd with the Secretary's Declaration, the Buſineſs was no more preſs'd; but it being near five in the Afternoon, and the Houſe weary, they agreed to adjourn till the next Morning. Juſt before which, Mr. *Waller* himſelf ſpoke earneſtly to Sir *Thomas Jermyn*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, to ſave his Maſter from the Effects of ſo bold a Falſity deliver'd by Sir *Henry Vane*; *for*, ſaid he, *I am but a Country Gentleman, and cannot pretend to know the King's Mind.* But Sir *Thomas* had not the Courage to contradict the Secretary; and his Son afterwards acknowledg'd to Mr. *Waller*, *That his Father's Cowardiſe had ruin'd the King.*

He and the Solicitor Herbert *cauſe the King to diſſolve the Parliament.*

The Miſchief that Sir *Henry Vane* did, is apparent by the Effects, but the Malice is unfathomable: For the beſt Writers agree, that if he cou'd not induce the Houſe of Commons to give twelve Subſidies, he ſhou'd deſcend to eight, and ſix, according to the Orders of the King, who with great Anger afterwards declar'd, *That he had given him no ſuch Authority as he aſſum'd; That any Supply wou'd have been welcome to him, the Reputation of his Subjects aſſiſting him in that Conjuncture, being all that he deſir'd.* Sir *Edward Walker* ſays he heard it was the Earl of *Strafford*'s Advice *To relinquiſh all, rather than make a Breach:* But having an implacable Hatred againſt that Earl, whoſe Ruin was then upon the Anvil, he ſeem'd willing to bring all things into Confuſion; and did not only diſoblige the Commons, but the very ſame Night went to the King and told him plainly, *That it was in vain to expect longer, or to make any other Overture to them; for no Money wou'd be had againſt the* Scots. This being ſeconded by the Solicitor, for Reaſons ſtill unknown to the World, they two, and they only, wrought ſo far on the King, that the next Morning he call'd a Council at ſix a Clock, where he unhappily determin'd to diſſolve the Parliament. And going the ſame Morning to the Houſe of Peers, he ſent for the Speaker and the other Houſe before they cou'd begin to ſit, and in a ſhort Speech vindicated himſelf ' as to Religion ' and ſome other Matters, heartily thank'd the Lords, and ' blam'd the Commons for not obſerving what had been ' told them, *That Delay was the worſt kind of Denyal*; ' and then declaring his Reſolutions to maintain the true ' Religion, and the Liberties of his Subjects, he diſſolv'd ' them. Thus abruptly ended the fourth Parliament in this Reign, upon the fifth of *May*, after it had ſat three Weeks and one Day; which laid a Foundation for making the next perpetual, and producing all the Miſeries and Calamities of the Nation.

The King repents it.

This Diſſolution caſt an univerſal Damp upon the Spirits of the whole Nation, except thoſe who had moſt oppos'd the King's Deſires, who cou'd not conceal the great Joy of their Hearts; well knowing that the King muſt ſhortly call another Parliament, when they were ſure ſo many unbyaſs'd Members wou'd not be return'd again. Particularly Mr. *Saint John*, a Man of a cloudy Aſpect, and ſeldom known to ſmile, finding Mr. *Hyde* deeply concern'd That in the Time of ſuch Confuſion, ſo wiſe a Parliament ſhou'd be ſo imprudently diſſolv'd, he told him with a pleaſant Look, *That all was well; that Things muſt grow worſe; before it cou'd be better; and that this Parliament cou'd never have done what was neceſſary to be done;* as indeed it wou'd not, what he and his Friends thought neceſſary. The King himſelf, upon better Thoughts, was extreamly ſorry for what he had done, expreſs'd his Reſentments againſt Sir *Henry Vane*, and conſulted whether he might by Proclamation recall them; but finding it impracticable, he proceeded to a Courſe he had formerly us'd, and publiſh'd a *Declaration to all his loving Subjects of the Cauſes which mov'd him to diſſolve this laſt Parliament.* This did not give full Satisfaction, eſpecially ſince he was thought to have ſhewn too much Anger againſt the leading Members, if ever he deſign'd to meet them again. The Lord *Brook*'s Study, Cabinets and Pockets were ſearch'd for Papers; *Henry Bellaſis* Eſquire, Sir *John Hotham* Knight and Baronet, and *John Crew* Eſquire, were impriſon'd; and ſome occaſional Rebukes were given to many others, to the increaſing of future Diſſenſions.

The Proceedings of the Convocation.

4. As the Parliament was generally thought to have continu'd too ſhort a Time, ſo the Convocation was believ'd by many to have ſat too long. During the Seſſion of Parliament, beſides a Project for ſome new Canons, the Clergy had agreed in Convocation to give the King ſix Subſidies, payable in ſix Years, each Subſidy amounting to twenty Thouſand Pounds; but the Act of it was not made up. His Majeſty, being under preſſing Neceſſities, was not willing to loſe theſe Subſidies, therefore he thought upon the continuing the Convocation, when the Archbiſhop was going about to diſſolve it, forgetting that he was to have the King's Writ for Diſmiſſing, as well as Convening of it. Accordingly he told the Archbiſhop, *He was willing to have the Subſidies, which they had granted him; and that they go on with the finiſhing thoſe Canons, for which he had given them Power under the Broad-Seal of* England. And when the other reply'd, *It wou'd probably be excepted againſt by ſeveral*, and deſir'd his Majeſty to adviſe well upon it; the King anſwer'd, *He had ſpoken with the Lord Keeper* Finch, *who had aſſur'd him it was Legal.* However, the Archbiſhop, and ſome of the Clergy, well knowing the Spirit of Bitterneſs contracted againſt them, ſince the *Scotch* Commotions, deſir'd to have the Opinion of the Learned in the Law concerning that Matter. This was graciouſly approv'd by the King, and in the Preſence of the Council, the Queſtion was put to the Lord Keeper and ſeveral of the Judges, who ſubſcrib'd this Writing: ' The *Convocation* being call'd by the King's Writ, under the Great ' Seal, doth continue, until it be diſſolv'd by Writ, or ' Commiſſion under the Great Seal, notwithſtanding the ' *Parliament* be diſſolv'd; *Finch, Mancheſter, Bramſton, Littleton, Whitfield, Banks, Heath.*

It ſits after the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

Upon this Judgment, and a new Commiſſion granted, they proceeded according to the Power requir'd by the Statute of the 25th of *Henry the Eighth*, and according to a Precedent under Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, in the 29th of Queen *Elizabeth*; and ſo finiſh'd their Act of Subſidies, which they call'd by the Name of *Free Benevolence*. Beſides this they went on and finiſh'd their ſeveral *Canons*, to the Number of Seventeen, with as little Oppoſition as cou'd be imagin'd. In one of which they oblig'd the Clergy and their Dependents to take a Sort of *Anti-Covenanting* Oath in theſe Words, ' I *A. B.* do ſwear, that I do approve the Doctrine and Diſcipline of Government eſtabliſh'd in the ' Church of *England*, as containing all Things neceſſary to ' Salvation: And that I will not endeavour by my Self, ' or any Other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popiſh Doctrine, contrary to that ſo eſtabliſh'd: Nor will ' I give my Conſent to alter the Government of this Church ' by *Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans,* and *Archdeacons,* &c. as

‘ it ſtands now eſtabliſh'd, and as by Right it ought to ‘ ſtand ; nor yet ever to ſubject it to the Uſurpations and ‘ Superſtitions of the See of *Rome*.’------ The firſt Canon aſſerted the Regal Power, two others were for ſuppreſſing the Growth of *Popery* and *Socinianiſm*, another to regulate the *Converſation of the Clergy*; and all were then thought to the Honour and Advantage of the Church and State. However before they were paſs'd, they were laid before the King, the Lords of the Council, the Judges and other Lawyers, where they were deliberately read and approv'd, and laſtly ſubſcrib'd by the Members of both Houſes. And Serjeant *Crook*, one of the Judges who was againſt *Ship-Mony*, upon reading of them lift up his Hands, and gave Thanks to Almighty God, *That he had liv'd to ſee ſuch good Effects of a Convocation.*

It is diſſolv'd.

Theſe being finiſh'd, the Convocation, or rather Synod, was diſſolv'd on the 29th of *May*.

It was hop'd by many that theſe Proceedings wou'd have added Strength, as well as Ornament to the Church of *England*; but they rather prov'd like new Blaſts of Wind againſt a Fabrick, which by the Underminings of ſome, and the open Attempts of others, was ready to fall before.

Cenſures,

The Canons and the Oath were afterwards moſt violently exclaim'd againſt, and all the deſign'd Supports in this Reign, by their own Weight, help'd to haſten the Church's Ruin; and tho' theſe laſt underwent all the Scrutiny of the Laity, yet the whole Storm fell all upon the Biſhops and Clergy, but more eſpecially upon the Archbiſhop Himſelf. During their Sitting, the Libels from *Lilburn* and others ſo incens'd the People againſt them, that they were in continual Danger of being pull'd out by the Rabble; ſo that the King was forc'd to place a Guard upon *Weſtminſter-Abby* where they ſat.

And Tumults.

About five Hundred of them beſet *Lambeth* Houſe at Midnight, and doubtleſs had made the Archbiſhop a Sacrifice to their Rage, cou'd they have got him into their Power. But having Notice of their Intentions, he provided ſome Arms and Ammunition, with which they were repuls'd, without doing or receiving any great Damage. The next Day ſeveral of theſe ſeditious People were apprehended and committed to the *White-Lyon* Priſon in *Southwark*; but three Days after ſome of their Confederates got together, broke open the Priſon and releas'd them: Nevertheleſs one of the Ringleaders of the Mutiny was afterwards taken, arraign'd, condemn'd, and hang'd, drawn and quarter'd; which put ſome End to the preſent Inſurrection.

VI. I. ***England*** began now to approach towards an unnatural Ferment, being daily excited and influenc'd by the new Clouds and Meteors ariſing from the *North*. Theſe Tumults and Diſorders were the firſt Symptoms of the Nation's Calamities, and *Scotland* was their great Encouragement; Therefore the King, rous'd with Indignation, took a Reſolution to reduce that Nation to a better Obedience.

The King's Preparations againſt the Scots.

Their raiſing a new Army, and threatning an Invaſion, was a ſufficient Caution to provide againſt them; but the King found himſelf under great Difficulties to proſecute a War that ſhou'd prove effectual. Therefore he made Choice of a ſelect Committee, or *Triumvirate*, as was formerly obſerv'd, for this Emergency, upon whom the Burthen and Envy of all great Affairs was to reſt, *viz.* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Cottington*. A few others were alſo join'd with them, as the Earl of *Northumberland* for Ornament, the Biſhop of *London* for his Treaſurer's Place, the two Secretaries, Sir *Henry Vane* and Sir *Francis Windebank*, for Service and Intelligence: Only the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* indeed by his Skill and Intereſt, bore juſt as great a Part as he thought convenient; by whoſe Procurement the Lord *Lowdon* was diſcharg'd out of his Confinement, and after a few Days kind Reception, diſmiſs'd into *Scotland*. Theſe Perſons made up the Committee of State, which in Court was enviouſly call'd the *Cabinet Council*; and by others reproachfully call'd *The Juncto*; and they were to meet as often as they thought fit, upon any extraordinary Occaſion.

An Account of thoſe who compos'd the new Juncto.

Of the Firſt of theſe we have formerly given a full Account; of the Second, the Earl of *Strafford*, we have likewiſe given a juſt Character; only it is to be obſerv'd, that both were univerſally hated by the *Scotch* Nation, and the Latter, as well as the Former, had contracted the Enmity of ſeveral of the Nobility of *England*. The Lord *Cottington*, tho' he was a wiſe Man, knew better how to make his Maſter great abroad, than gracious at home, and had been concern'd in many hard Shifts to raiſe Mony, and was likewiſe ſuſpected as a Favourer of the Papiſts. There were two Things that render'd him as odious as any, to the preſent *Reformers*; One, he cou'd not be perſuaded to countenance any of their Deſigns; the Other was, he had two good Places, the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer, and the Maſterſhip of the Wards, without which their Reformation wou'd be imperfect: Then his being a ſubtle Enemy to the Archbiſhop, render'd him more unfit for this preſent Exigency. The Marqueſs of *Hamilton* was thought to have had more Enemies and fewer Friends, in Court and Country, than any of the other. For by means of his Intereſt in the King's Affection, he had more outfac'd the Law in bold Projects and Preſſures upon the People, than any other Man durſt have undertaken: So that he had as much Reaſon to fear, and perhaps more Policy to prevent, than any of the reſt of the Committee. The Earl of *Northumberland*, formerly ſpoken of, was a great Man and a Favourite, who if he had thought the King as much above him, as he thought himſelf above other conſiderable Men, he might have prov'd a good Subject. Biſhop *Juxton* of *London*, who has been fully characteriz'd, had by his Wiſdom and Integrity preſerv'd himſelf from all Blame, but what aroſe purely from the Envy of his Treaſurer's Place. Secretary *Windebank*, rais'd by the Archbiſhop, ungrateful to him, and hateful to the Puritans, was particularly obnoxious to the People, not only for his favouring, but his open protecting great Numbers of *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits. Secretary *Vane*, notwithſtanding his late Carriage in the Parliament, was ſtill further truſted, who took ſuch Notes of their Debates, as afterwards by the help of his Son, were the principal Cauſes of the cutting off the Earl of *Strafford*.

With theſe jarring and unequal Members was the unfortunate King forc'd to form his Council, and proceed in this Emergency. They generally adviſ'd him to an Offenſive War, ſhewing his Majeſty many eſſential Reaſons,

Their Deſigns and Meaſures.

‘ That a Defenſive War wou'd only heighten the *Covenanters* in their Demands, and encourage their Faction ‘ in *England*: That by an Offenſive War he might eaſily ‘ ruin them, upon whoſe Aid and Policy the factious Spirits ‘ at home chiefly depended; which effected, they wou'd be ‘ eaſily brought to a Compliance: That any Delay of ‘ Time wou'd both ſtrengthen the *Scots* there, and their ‘ Party here.’ But how Mony ſhou'd be rais'd to undertake this War, was the next, and indeed the main Point to be debated. To call a Parliament for effecting it, beſides the tediouſneſs of the Time, it might likewiſe prove vain and uſeleſs, as Experience had already taught them; for, as the Lord *Cottington* then alledg'd, *The Lower Houſe ſeem'd too little to value King or Church:* Therefore other Ways were to be conſider'd for raiſing of Mony; and Advice was given, that the Collection of *Ship-Mony* ſhou'd be rigorouſly put forwards, and that a Loan of a hundred Thouſand Pounds ſhou'd be deſir'd from the City of *London*. But the Citizens pleaded Poverty, tho' they never were in richer Circumſtances; but indeed they were at this Time highly diſguſted, having lately by a ſolemn Sentence in the *Star-Chamber* been depriv'd of their Plantation at *London-Derry* in *Ireland*, after they had been at very great Expences, their Patent adjudg'd to be forfeited, and the Undertakers ſeverely fin'd, to the Sum of fifty Thouſand Pounds: And tho' they offer'd by Way of Compoſition, to build a ſtately Palace for the King in St. *James*'s Park, to pull down *White-Hall*, and make a noble Way by the *Thames* ſide to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, yet it wou'd not be accepted. This happen'd in a very unſeaſonable Time for the King's Affairs, who now was forc'd to ſtretch every String of the Prerogative to procure Supplies. Yet ſtill he had ſo much the Hearts of his Subjects, that by a particular Loan of Lords, Gentlemen and others, he had three hundred Thouſand Pounds paid into his Exchequer, in leſs than three Weeks Time: A Sum that ſufficiently manifeſts the Plenty of the Times, and greater than moſt Princes in *Europe* cou'd have commanded in ſo ſhort a Space.

300000 l. advanc'd.

An Army rais'd.

By Means of this Advance an Army of above twenty Thouſand Men was ſoon rais'd, in the Command of which, the Earl of *Eſſex* and ſome others were unhappily neglected and laid aſide, which occaſion'd that haughty Earl thus to expreſs his Reſentment to Sir *Edward Walker*, *It ſeems the King lays by all thoſe that faithfully ſerv'd him laſt Year, whom if he had pleas'd to employ again, both wou'd and cou'd have ſerv'd him as well as thoſe he now truſts.*

The chief Commanders.

But the King truſted the chief Command to the Earl of *Northumberland*, whom before he had made High Admiral of *England*, with as great Characters of Power and Favour as cou'd be imprinted on a Subject. The Earl of *Strafford* was made Lieutenant General, and the Command of the Horſe was given to the Lord *Conway*, whoſe Father had been rais'd by King *James* from a private Condition to be his Secretary, and a Peer of the Realm; he himſelf being a Man of *Epicurean* Principles, a great Devourer of Books and good Entertainments, and who lay under ſome Reflection ſince the Action in the Iſle of *Rhee*; yet his Parts and Qualifications made him eſteem'd by many, particularly the Archbiſhop, who look'd upon him as a zealous Defender of the Church, when in truth he had little or no Senſe of Religion. Of theſe three Commanders, it was obſerv'd, ‘ That the Firſt had ſufficient Health, but had ‘ no Will to the Expedition; the Second had a good Will to

‘ it, but wanted Health; and that the Third had neither the One or the Other.’ The reſt of the Commanders, ſuch as *Wilmot*, *Goring*, *Aſhburnham*, *Oneal*, &c. were generally merry Companions, and none of them real Friends to *Strafford*, but more Dependents upon the Earl of *Holland*. Yet as infirm as the Earl of *Strafford* found himſelf, he chearfully undertook the Charge of the Army in the Abſence of the General, who by a Letter to the Archbiſhop ſignify'd, *That he durſt venture upon the Peril of his Head to drive the* Scots *out of* England; *but he did not hold it counſellable as the Caſe then ſtood. If any other of the Lords had adviſ'd the King to try his Fortune in a Battel, he doubted not of ſending them home, in more Haſte than they came; but the* Scots *had render'd him unfit to make the Motion, leaſt it might be thought that he ſtudy'd more his own Concernments, than the King's.*

The Politick Proceedings of the Scots.

But theſe politick Invaders, finding by whoſe Counſels the King govern'd his Affairs, reſolv'd to draw them into Diſcredit, both with Prince and People. And therefore it was declar'd in a *Remonſtrance* they publiſh'd before this ſecond Attempt, ‘ That their Propoſitions and Deſires, ſo neceſſary and vital to their Kingdom, cou'd find no Acceſs to the Ears of their gracious King, by reaſon of the powerful Diverſion of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Deputy of *Ireland*, who, ſtrengthned with the high and mighty Faction of *Papiſts* near his Majeſty, preſided in all Matters Temporal and Spiritual; making the Neceſſity of their Service to his Majeſty to appear in being fit Inſtruments to oppreſs both the juſt *Liberties* of his Free Subjects, and the true *Reform'd* Religion in all his Kingdoms.’ They ſeconded this *Remonſtrance* with another Pamphlet call'd, *The Intention of the Army*, in which they there ſignify'd to the good People of *England*, ‘ That they had no Deſign either to waſte their Goods, or ſpoil their Country; but only to become Petitioners to his ſacred Majeſty to call a Parliament, and to bring the ſaid Archbiſhop, and Lord Lieutenant, to their condign Puniſhment: Modeſtly declaring, That as they deſir'd the unworthy Authors of their Trouble, who had come out from Themſelves, to be try'd at home, according to their own Laws; ſo they wou'd preſs no further Proceſs againſt the Archbiſhop and Lieutenant, and the reſt of the pernicious Counſellors in *England*, *the Authors of all the Miſeries of both Kingdoms*, than what their own Parliament ſhou'd diſcern to be their juſt Deſerving.’ And that the *Engliſh* might ſee whom they chiefly aim'd at, a Book was publiſh'd by the Name of *Laudenſium Autocatacriſis, or the Canterburians Self-Conviction*; in which the Author by a ſtrange Inverſion wou'd prove out of the Works of the Archbiſhop Himſelf, That there was a peculiar Deſign on foot for introducing *Superſtition*, *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, to the Subverſion of the Goſpel, and ſuppreſſing the Religion of *England* eſtabliſh'd by Law.

The Birth of the Duke of Glouceſter.

This Invaſion of the *Scots* welcom'd into the World the King's fourth Son, and the third now living, who was born on the eighth Day of *July*, at *Oatlands* in *Surrey*, and on the 22d of the ſame Month was baptiz'd by the Name of *Henry*, and intitled Duke of *Glouceſter*. This gave Joy, but not Unity to the Court of *England*, which at this Time was full of Faction and Animoſity, where each Member more deſign'd the Ruin of his Adverſary, and the ſatisfying his Reſentments, than advancing his Maſter's Service, or complying with his publick Duty; while every Man unwiſely thought the Oppoſer of his Enemies, a Friend to himſelf, or rather by the narrowneſs of his Underſtanding, and extent of his Paſſions, contracted all his other Affections to that ſingle one of Revenge.

The King's Proclamation againſt the Scots.

2. With theſe unhappy Circumſtances, the King, having ſent his Army before, on the 20th of *Auguſt* left *London*, and haſtned to his Rendezvous at *York*. Shortly after he publiſh'd a Proclamation, in which he declar'd, ‘ That he had, by all Ways of Mildneſs and Clemency, endeavour'd to appeaſe the Rebellious Courſes of his Subjects in *Scotland*, who under Pretences of Religion had ſought to ſhake off his Regal Government, and did now take Arms, and invade the Kingdom of *England*: and therefore he declar'd, *That all thoſe, who had already enter'd, or ſhou'd preſume in a Warlike Manner to enter any Part of* England, *ſhou'd be adjudg'd, and were thereby denounc'd Rebels and Traytors againſt his Majeſty*. However, if they wou'd yet acknowledge their former Crimes, crave Pardon, and yield Obedience for the Time to come, *he tender'd them his Gracious Pardon*, they retiring home, and demeaning themſelves like loyal Subjects for the future,’-------A Prayer was likewiſe compos'd and publiſh'd to be ſaid in all Churches for the King, in his Expedition againſt *the Rebels of Scotland*. But nothing cou'd alter the Opinion and Humour of ſeveral of the Officers and private Soldiers of his Army, who in their March did not ſpare to give their Judgments againſt this War, particularly, *That they wou'd not fight to maintain the Power and Pride of the Biſhops*. All which Temper was ſufficiently known to the *Scots*, who had ſo contriv'd an Intelligence with ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry, that nothing ſucceeded in the Counſels or Actions of the King againſt them; by which means they took Courage to make ſuch Invaſions, which otherwiſe they durſt not have attempted: And this Treachery was afterwards boaſted of in *Cromwell's* Reign by Mr. *Archibald Johnſon* himſelf, who valu'd himſelf *in being the chief Contriver in it, as that which gave the Occaſion of Ruin to the Family of the* STUARTS.

The Scotch *Army enter* England.

From theſe Encouragements, and further from a Forgery of the Lord *Savile's*, the *Scots* reſolv'd to do more than in their laſt Expedition; and therefore having gather'd a new Army under their old General *Leſley*, *Montroſs*, and others, on *Friday* the twenty firſt of *Auguſt* they enter'd the Kingdom of *England* without Oppoſition: And to give the greater Encouragement to the Soldiers, the Earl of *Montroſs* leading the Van, alighted off his Horſe, and went through the River *Tweed* on Foot; ſo zealous did he ſtill ſeem for the Cauſe. The Army advancing through *Northumberland*, came to *Newburn* upon *Tine*, about five Miles from *Newcaſtle*, where the Lord *Conway* was advantageouſly poſted with three Thouſand Foot, and fifteen Hundred Horſe, able to have made a ſufficient Reſiſtance. The Armies being in view, *Leſley* ſent a Meſſenger to the Lord *Conway*, deſiring leave to paſs with a Petition to his Majeſty; to which Anſwer was return'd, *That he might have liberty to paſs with a few, but not with his Army*. Upon which *Leſley* commanded three Hundred Horſe to ford the River; which they did, but were ſoon forc'd to retire by the Muſketeers firing from behind a Breaſt-Work. Which *Leſley* perceiving, play'd ſo furiouſly upon it with his Cannon, that the Soldiers ſoon abandon'd their Poſt, threw down their Arms and fled: Whereupon the *Scotch* Cavalry re-advanc'd, and tho' they met with ſome Oppoſition, yet the *Engliſh* retir'd with ſuch Precipitation, that but few of them cou'd be either kill'd or taken Priſoners. Our Writers do not well agree about the Loſs and Particulars, yet none deny but the Action was unfortunate and diſhonourable to the *Engliſh*, and the Lord *Clarendon* expreſſes his Indignation, and calls it an infamous and irreparable Rout. It is ſaid that the *Scotch* Army that gave this Rout conſiſted of above twenty Thouſand Men; however this firſt Attempt was the laſt good Succeſs they ever met with in the whole War.

The Lord Conway *routed at* Newburn.

The immediate Conſequence was very great, and there was a prodigious Conſternation of all Ranks of People, who fled in vaſt Numbers with their Goods and Families into *Yorkſhire*; and the Terror increaſing, Biſhop *Morton* of *Durham* retir'd to his Caſtle at *Stockton*, and ſo towards the South, and Dr. *Belconqual* the Dean made haſte to ſecure himſelf, the *Scots* threatning him as an Incendiary for penning the King's large Declaration. The Day after their Victory, the *Scots* were ſaluted by Commiſſioners from *Newcaſtle*, who came to treat for the Surrender of the Town, a Place of far the greateſt Conſequence in the North of *England*, which was ſuddenly abandon'd by Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, having firſt ſunk the Cannon in the River. On *Sunday* the thirtieth of *Auguſt*, the *Scotch* Army enter'd *Newcaſtle*, where they found the King's Magazine, both of Arms and Victuals, as alſo an Opportunity of enlarging Mr. *Colvill*, who had been ſent by them to *France* with Letters to the *French* King, and Cardinal *Richlieu*. The ſame Day Mr. *Henderſon* preach'd in the great Church of the Town, and after Sermon the General and Nobility were feaſted by the Mayor. The Earl of *Lothian* was made Governour of the Place, having two Thouſand Men allow'd him; which Truſt they thought him well deſerv'd, for his Zeal to the Cauſe was ſuch, that tho' both his Father and He ow'd all their Wealth and Greatneſs to the King's Bounty, yet he was one of the firſt that ingag'd againſt him and his Undertakings. At the ſame Time a more diſmal Fate purſu'd the Lord *Haddington*, who having avowedly fallen from the King's Side, and liſted under *Leſley*, was left at home with his Regiment to attend the Motions of the Garriſon of *Berwick*. For that End he kept his Quarters at *Dunglaſs*, where ſtanding at Noon-Day in the Court Yard with about Sixty Gentlemen, the Caſtle having a Magazine of Powder, was ſuddenly blown up, and in a Moment bury'd him and all his Company, ſo that they were never more ſeen. Which Tragical Event being reported at Court, the Royaliſts were not ſo moderate in their Cenſures as the King himſelf, who only ſaid, *That tho' he had been very ungrateful to him, yet he was ſorry he had not ſome Time to repent*.

The Scots *enter* Newcaſtle.

The Lord Haddington's *Fate*.

It was under theſe diſcouraging Circumſtances, that the Earl of *Strafford* met the *Engliſh* Army at *Durham*, who brought with him a Body much broken with his late Sickneſs, and a mind labouring under the Dregs of it; which being inflam'd and exaſperated at the late Diſhonour, render'd him leſs inclin'd to ingratiate Himſelf with the Officers upon his firſt Entrance into his Charge. An Opportunity thoſe, who by this Time were retain'd for that Purpoſe, laid hold of to incenſe the Army againſt him; and ſo far ſucceeded, that in a ſhort Time it was more prejudiced againſt him than the Enemy. The Lord *Conway* was highly blam'd by him, but to no Effect; the Soldiers were inſolent and unruly, having committed ſeveral outragious Actions even in the Churches: So that he found it neceſſary to retire to the Skirts of *Yorkſhire*, leaving all *Northumberland* and the Biſhoprick of *Durham* to the Pleaſure of the Conquerors; who, beſides a Proviſion of Coals and Forage, Seſs'd thoſe Parts at a Contribution of eight Hundred and fifty Pounds a Day; that is, three Hundred to be paid out of *Northumberland*, three Hundred and fifty out of the *Biſhoprick*, and two Hundred out of the Town of *Newcaſtle*. Under which miſerable Servitude, the Poor People continu'd a Year before they cou'd be fully reliev'd.

Northumberland *and the* Biſhoprick *left to the* Scots.

The Scots *Petition.*

3. The *Scots* having ſeated Themſelves in *Newcaſtle*, where they were indulg'd with good Proviſions, and better Entertainment than they enjoy'd in their own Country, thought fit to ſtay there till they ſent a Petition to the King, which they entitled *The humble Petition of the Lords in the laſt Parliament, and other his Majeſty's Loyal Subjects in* Scotland: 'In which they in general complain'd of their 'Grievances, for Relief of which they were now conſtrain'd to come, without Prejudice to the Peace of '*England*, or any of the Subjects therein, till they preſs'd 'with Strength of Arms to oppoſe their Paſſage at *Newburn:* That now they preſented Themſelves to his Majeſty's Goodneſs for Satisfaction of their full Demands, 'and Reparations of their Wrongs and Loſſes, with the 'Advice of the Parliament of *England* to be convened.' The King by the Earl of *Lanerick*, his Secretary for *Scotland*, on the fifth of *September* return'd an Anſwer, 'That 'he expected their Demands in particular, and commanded 'them to advance no further.' Three Days after they return'd their Reply to the Earl, declaring, 'That as nothing 'in the World was more eligible to them than his Majeſty's Favour, ſo they deſired nothing but what ſuited 'with his Majeſty's Honour, and Peace of his Dominions: That they wou'd have expreſs'd the Particulars of 'their Deſire in their *Petition*, had they not before done it 'in their *Printed Declarations*; however they now recited 'the Sum of them. Firſt, That the late Acts of Parliament might be publiſh'd with the States of Parliament: 'That *Edinburgh* Caſtle, and other Forts in *Scotland*, might 'be repair'd, and us'd for their Defence: That their Country-men in *England* and *Ireland* might not be forc'd to 'Oaths and Subſcriptions, contrary to their *National Oath and Covenant:* That the common Incendiaries in the 'King's Dominions might be brought to Cenſure: That 'their Ships and Goods, with all Loſſes, Damages and 'Charges, be repair'd: That the Declaration made againſt 'them as *Traytors* be recall'd: That all Garriſons be remov'd from the *Borders*, and all Impediments that may 'ſtop a free Trade: And that the Parliament of *England* may 'meet as ſoon as poſſible, as the only Means to ſettle 'Peace, and enable them to obey the King's Prohibition 'of advancing further. For as Nothing, but *invincible Neceſſity* had brought them out of their Country, ſo nothing leſs ſhou'd draw them beyond the Limits appointed 'by his Majeſty.

Their Demands.

Their earneſt Preſſures for haſtning of the *Engliſh* Parliament was ſuppos'd to ariſe from their clear Belief, That the *Engliſh* Populacy, being now ſo generally inclin'd to their Faction, the Houſe of Commons wou'd favour both Them and their Projects; and they had the leſs Reaſon to doubt it, ſince the City of *London* had already ſeem'd to joyn with them, by preſenting a Petition to the King, exactly anſwerable to their Deſires. In which they highly complain'd of the Grievances, 'The unuſual Impoſitions 'upon Merchandiſe, The levying of the *Ship-Mony*, with 'the Loſs of Veſſels by Pirates; The Multitude of Monopolies, Patents and Warrants, and the Decay of Trade; 'The *Innovations* in Religion, the new *Oath* and *Canons*, 'which were like to deprive them of their Miniſtry; The 'great Concourſe of Papiſts about the City and Suburbs, 'and the ſudden Diſſolution of Parliaments, before Grievances were redreſs'd: That the great Fears they and their 'Families had for the Danger of his Sacred Perſon in the 'War, had greatly obſtructed Trade; therefore they concluded with a Deſire for the ſudden calling a Parliament.' At the ſame Time another Petition was ſent from twelve Lords, very much of the ſame Strain, in which they alſo expreſs'd a great fear of Danger to his ſacred Perſon, and concluding with the ſame Deſire for a Parliament, ſubſcrib'd themſelves, *Bedford*, *Eſſex*, *Hertford*, *Warwick*, *Briſtol*, *Mulgrave*, *Say and Seal*, *Howard*, *Bullingbrook*, *Mandevile*, *Brook*, and *Paget*. This being reported to the *Scots*, their Zealots were pleas'd to ſay, *That* Haddington *and* Borthwick *had not labour'd in vain, and that the Work wou'd ſhortly begin in* England *alſo.* They alſo grew very high, and beſides the eight hundred and fifty Pounds *per Diem*, they ſeiz'd the Rents of the Biſhop, Dean and Chapter, and Papiſts, as Enemies to their Deſigns, and *Leſley* ſuffer'd his Soldiers to rifle and break open Shops and Houſes; and likewiſe ſeiz'd on four great *Engliſh* Ships, loaden with Corn, as lawful Prize. Theſe and many other Exorbitancies were committed by them, beſides their Threats and Menaces to do more, in caſe the *Engliſh* came not to a ſudden Accommodation.

The Petition of the City of London, *And of twelve Lords.*

In theſe Diſtractions, between an Enemy inſolent with Succeſs, an Army corrupted or diſheartened, a Country mutinous and inclin'd to the *Scots*, and a Court infected all three Ways, the King cou'd not but find himſelf in miſerable Straits. His Treaſure was likewiſe exhauſted; for the unfortunate raiſing and disbanding his firſt Army had coſt Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds, which the good Husbandry of the Treaſurer had reſerv'd for an Emergency; and the Borrowing as much for the uſe of the latter Army had drawn ſuch Burthens and Anticipations upon the Revenue, that there was not enough left to defray the neceſſary Expence of the King's Houſhold. A Parliament cou'd not meet Time enough to relieve theſe Extremities; therefore a new Invention was thought of, or rather the Revival of a very ancient Cuſtom, that had not been practis'd in ſome Hundreds of Years, and this was the Calling of a Grand Council of all the Peers of *England* to meet and attend his Majeſty; that by their Advice the great Affairs might be more proſperouſly manag'd. This Reſolution being taken, Writs were immediately iſſu'd under the Great Seal to all the Peers of the Realm to attend his Majeſty at *York* within twenty Days; and Preparations were accordingly made in all Places.

A new Project.

A grand Council of the Peers at York.

VII. 1. In this unhappy State and Condition were Things and Perſons, when the great Council of Peers met at the City of *York*, upon the twenty fourth Day of *September*. Where his Majeſty being ſeated under a Canopy, in the Hall of the Dean's Houſe, in a Speech to this noble Aſſembly declar'd, 'That it had been the Cuſtom of his 'Predeceſſors, upon ſudden Invaſions or Dangers, as 'cou'd not admit the uſual Delays of a Parliament, to aſſemble the Great Council of the Peers, by whoſe Advice and Aſſiſtance they might give timely Remedies. 'That this being his preſent Condition, an Army of Rebels lodg'd in his Kingdom, he thought fit to ſummon 'their Lordſhips, to conſult how they might joyntly proceed for the Chaſtiſing of their Inſolencies, and ſecuring 'his good Subjects: But firſt, ſince he deſir'd nothing 'more than to be rightly underſtood of his People, of his 'own accord he had already given Order to the Lord-Keeper for the immediate Calling of a Parliament, to aſſemble on the third of *November* next enſuing. In the 'mean Time he deſir'd their Advice in two Points; Firſt, 'what Anſwer to give to the Petition of the Rebels, and 'in what Manner to treat with Them: Secondly, How 'the Army ſhou'd be kept on foot, till the Parliament cou'd 'meet; for he thought no Man cou'd adviſe him to 'disband, ſo long as the *Scots* continu'd in *England*.' But becauſe the Call of a Parliament was the moſt popular Propoſal, that the Queen might have the Honour of it, whom he exceedingly deſir'd to endear to the People, he inform'd them, *That by a Letter the Queen had adviſ'd him to it.*

A new Parliament deſign'd.

After which the *Scots* Petition, and other Papers were ſucceſſively read; then by his Majeſty's Command, the Lords were inform'd of the Grounds and Reaſons which mov'd the Privy-Council to adviſe the raiſing an Army againſt the *Scots*; and the Demands, acknowledg'd by the Lord *Lowdon*, were read, and explain'd by the Earl of *Traquair*; who prov'd to their Lordſhips 'That ſome of 'thoſe Demands ſubverted the fundamental Laws of *Scotland*, others the Prerogative and Dignity of the King, 'deriv'd to him from his illuſtrious Anceſtors; and that 'many of them were to the Detriment of his Majeſty as 'to Profit and Revenue, and prejudicial to divers of his 'good Subjects in that Kingdom.' But the ſame Day another Petition was preſented to the King from the *Scots*, ſo full of Submiſſion, as wou'd probably beget a Treaty; and the Council having conſider'd and debated theſe Matters, it was agreed, that as to the firſt Point propos'd by his Majeſty, certain Lords ſhou'd be ſent as Commiſſioners to treat with the *Scots*.

Commiſſioners appointed to treat with the Scots.

But then the King was caution'd, not to intruſt any ſuch ungracious Perſons in it as might create Jealouſies in the *Scots*, and ſo render the Negotiation fruitleſs. For which Reaſon the Earls of *Hertford*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, *Saliſbury*, *Eſſex*, *Holland*, *Briſtol* and *Berkſhire*, the Lords *Mandevile*, *Wharton*, *Dunſmore*, *Paget*, *Brook*, *Savile*, *Paulet*, and

Howard of *Eſcrick*, were appointed by the King: All ſixteen popular Men, and ſcarce one of them a Friend, or ſo much as civilly inclin'd towards the Earl of *Strafford*. Thoſe from the *Scotch* Army were much inferior in Quality, having only two Noblemen, *Dumferling* and *Lowdon*, Sir *Patrick Hepburn*, Sir *William Douglaſs*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Wedderburn*, Mr. *Henderſon* and Mr. *Johnſon*. Some thought it ſtrange to ſee *Henderſon* and *Johnſon*, two Clergymen, made Commiſſioners for this and the laſt Treaty, when they had acted ſo furiouſly againſt their Biſhops for intermedling in Civil Affairs. But now the *Scots* bore down all before them, and were ſo ſtrict, that they refus'd to come to *York*, as a Place not ſecure, in regard their chief Enemy, the Earl of *Strafford*, commanded there in chief; ſo *Rippon*, a Town about ſixteen Miles from *York*, was the Place appointed for the Treaty.

The Treaty of Rippon *begins.*

2. Upon the firſt Day of *October* the Treaty began at *Rippon*, where the Earl of *Traquair* was excepted againſt, as not being authoris'd as a Commiſſioner; but after ſome Reaſons given by the *Engliſh* Lords, he was allow'd to be preſent, but not to vote. The *Scotch* Commiſſioners made the moſt cloſe and particular Applications to the Earls of *Bedford*, *Eſſex*, *Holland*, and the Lord *Mandevile*; tho' in Publick they ſeem'd equally to careſs them all, where, beſides declaring their Duty and Veneration for their Sovereign, they ran out into voluminous Expreſſions 'Of 'their Affection to the Kingdom and People of *England*, 'proteſting they had the ſame Regard to their Laws, Liberties and Privileges, as to their own. That as the Invaſions upon their native Country had forc'd them upon 'this Manner of Addreſs, ſo they hop'd it might prove to 'the Benefit of *England* and all its Subjects, in affording 'them this Opportunity of vindicating their own Liberties 'and Laws, which were infring'd by thoſe very Men, who, 'when they had finiſh'd their Work in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, intended to eſtabliſh the ſame Slavery in their own 'Kingdom; all which wou'd be prevented by removing 'three or four Perſons from the King, who of himſelf was 'graciouſly inclin'd to his People; but thoſe ill Men had 'too great an Influence upon his Counſels.' After theſe plauſible Inſinuations, they proceeded to this Propoſal, 'That to prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, all Hoſtility ſhou'd ceaſe on either ſide; which cou'd not effectually be done, unleſs preſent Care were taken for the 'Payment of their Army, ſtill reſtrain'd to cloſe and narrow Quarters.' There was not one of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners but approv'd of theſe Motions, and promis'd to himſelf ſome Advantage from the Alterations which were like to happen. To thoſe Lords, with whom they deſir'd a ſtricter Confidence, the *Scots* ſpoke more freely 'Of the Exceſs of the Queen's Power, which was ſo prevalent with 'the King, that he cou'd never be happy, till he had ſuch 'about him, as were of Honour and Experience, and zealous for the Proteſtant Religion, now in great Danger 'from the exorbitant Power of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and others influenc'd by him. Then they aſſur'd 'them of their Affections to their Kingdom, that tho' they 'ſhou'd receive immediate Satisfaction as to their own 'Concerns, they wou'd not deſiſt, till Proviſion was likewiſe made for the true Intereſt of *England*, and a Reformation in Church and State.' This Model was approv'd by moſt of the King's Commiſſioners; who patiently liſten'd to all they ſaid in publick, of which they deſign'd to give an Account to the King, and willingly heard whatever they ſaid in private, drawing ſuch an Uſe from it, as they thought moſt conducing to their own Ends.

The chief Propoſal of the Scots.

Thus the *Scots* gain'd Ground with little or no Oppoſition: But during theſe Tranſactions, a great Complaint was made to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners by two *Durham* Gentlemen againſt *Meldrum*, Secretary to the *Scotch* General *Leſley*, who at the Time the new Aſſeſſment was laid upon the *Biſhoprick*, publickly ſpoke theſe Words in the Shire-Houſe; *I wonder you are ſo ignorant, that you cannot ſee what is good for your ſelves: For they in the* South *are ſenſible of the enſuing Good, and that we came not unſent for, and that oftner than once, or twice, by your Great Ones.* There being a Doubt made at theſe Words, *Great Ones*; he reply'd to them, *your own Lords*, with a further Explanation. All this was offer'd upon Oath by the two Gentlemen to the Commiſſioners; but the Lords only requir'd them to write down the Words, and ſubſcribe their Names, which were *John Killinghall* and *Nicolas Chayter*. The Paper being ſhewn to the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, they ſent it to General *Leſley* at *Newcaſtle*; who ſent back another Paper to *Rippon*, in which his Secretary deny'd the Words. Whereupon ſome of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners requir'd they ſhou'd go to the *Scotch* Camp at *Newcaſtle*, and give in their Teſtimony before *Leſley* himſelf. The Gentlemen reply'd, *They had rather, and cou'd more ſafely teſtify it in any Court of* England; *yet they wou'd do it there, provided they might have a ſafe Conduct from the* Scotch *Commiſſioners*; there being as yet no Ceſſation of Arms. Hereupon a Meſſenger was ſent to them for a ſafe Conduct for the Gentlemen; but he brought this Anſwer from the Earl of *Dumferling*, *That the two Gentlemen were unwiſe, if they went to give ſuch Teſtimony at the Camp*: And then ſpeaking with the Lord *Lowdon*, he again told the Meſſenger, *That ſuch a ſafe Conduct cou'd not be granted, and that he wou'd ſatisfy the Earl of* Bedford. Upon which laſt Anſwer the two Gentlemen were diſmiſs'd, and the Buſineſs ſeem'd to be at an End.

A Complaint of ſome Words ſpoken by a Scot,

But to no Effect.

However by means of private Intercourſes, another Diſcovery was made of more than ordinary Importance; which was a forg'd Ingagement of the Lord *Savile*'s, formerly hinted at, which having the Names of many *Engliſh* Lords and great Men, ſeems to have had greater Effects than all the real Invitations. The *Scots* now not meeting with expected Performances, according to this Ingagement, the Lord *Lowdon* and Mr. *Johnſon* privately apply'd themſelves to the Lord *Mandevile*, and with ſevere Expoſtulations charg'd the Earls of *Bedford*, *Eſſex* and *Warwick*, the Lords *Say*, *Brook*, *Savile* and himſelf with Breach of Promiſe and Ingagement, profeſſing, *That they had never invaded* England, *but upon Confidence of their keeping Faith with them, according to thoſe Articles they had ſign'd and ſent to them.* They likewiſe urg'd it as an Act of great Ingratitude towards them, *who had hazarded all that was dear to them, upon the Perſwaſions and Ingagements of thoſe Lords.* This Diſcourſe both ſurpris'd and amaz'd the Lord *Mandevile*; who procur'd a Meeting with the Lord *Savile* next Day, where to that Lord's great Diſhonour and Mortification, it was diſcover'd and own'd to be all a Forgery, and that he had counterfeited the Hands of thoſe great Men, whom he thought moſt zealous for the *Scotch* Cauſe. After ſome Extenuations and Profeſſions of Good to the Cauſe, it was thought convenient to proceed no further in the Diſcovery, than the clearing the Lords that ſtood charg'd, and cutting out their Names from the forg'd Ingagement; and all this without reſtoring the Ingagement it ſelf. The Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Memoirs are very particular in this Matter, and further aſſure us, That the *Scots* labour'd under ſuch Difficulties, by the Failure of thoſe Supplies they expected from their ſuppos'd Confederates, that they once deſign'd to retreat with their Army to the *Borders*, and caſt themſelves upon his Majeſty's Grace and Favour, by a Petition and Remonſtrance, ſetting forth this Invitation and Ingagement that had brought them into *England*. But tho' they were not ſo formally invited as they believ'd, yet they met with a hearty Welcome; and conſidering the mighty Conſequences of this bold Attempt, it may be ſaid, That Providence often ſeems to play with Human Affairs, and influence the Fate of Kingdoms by the moſt improbable Meaſures and Counſels, if he had not deſign'd them to be ſubſervient to his great Ends.

A remarkable Diſcovery.

The Lord Savile's *Forgery.*

The Engliſh *Commiſſioners return to* York.

3. The Treaty had continu'd but a few Days at *Rippon*, when the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners return'd to the King at *York*, and gave him an Account of what had paſs'd, and how zealous the *Scots* were to his Majeſty's Service; which was the more magnify'd, becauſe they had politickly, if not generouſly, reſtor'd the Officers taken Priſoners at *Newburn*, particularly *Wilmot* and *O-Neal*, who much extoll'd the Diſcipline and Strength of their Forces. Three of the Commiſſioners, and no more, were of the King's Council, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Holland*, who were all influenc'd by the *Scots*, and approv'd of whatever they pretended to deſire. Beſides theſe the King had but five to adviſe with, the Lord-Keeper *Finch*, a Perſon ſo obnoxious to the People, tho' affectionate to his Majeſty, that he ſtrove to ingratiate himſelf with thoſe he found able to protect him; the Duke of *Richmond*, young, and more us'd to diſcourſe with the King in the Bed-Chamber, than at the Council-Board; the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, who had leave to be wary, and to move in the Clouds; Sir *Henry Vane*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, which laſt was the only Man, whoſe Advice was of any Credit with the King. And he thought there was but one Way, and that not proper to be heard in Council, which was to drive the *Scots* out of the Kingdom by the *Engliſh* Army: Wherefore he ſent Major *Smith* with a Party of Horſe, who defeated two or three of their Troops in the *Biſhoprick*, and made it appear that the Kingdom might be freed from the reſt, if it were vigorouſly purſu'd. Upon this General *Leſley* complain'd, That he had forborn any ſuch Attempt out of Reſpect to the Treaty; and the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners fancy'd themſelves affronted in it. And when it was known that the commanding Officer was a Papiſt, it increas'd the Clamour; and the King was prevail'd with to reſtrain his General from giving any more ſuch Orders.

They go back to Rippon.

The King was ſo far diſpleas'd with the Temper of the Commiſſioners, that he thought the Parliament wou'd be more jealous of his Honour than they appear'd to be; and therefore he ſent them back to renew the Treaty, and conclude

The Articles of the Treaty.

The Treaty remov'd to London.

clude a Ceſſation of Arms upon the beſt Terms they cou'd. After many high Demands, and much Time ſpent, upon the 26th Day of *October* they agreed upon twelve Articles, The Subſtance of which was ‘ A preſent Ceſſation of Arms, with a peaceable Retaining what both Parties were in Poſſeſſion of; A Continuation of the eight Hundred and Fifty Pounds *per Diem*, in which Payment *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* were alſo to be included: That the River *Tees* was to be the Boundary of both Armies, and private Inſolencies to be no Breach of the Treaty. And after all it was agreed that the Treaty ſhou'd be adjourn'd and transferr'd to *London*, where further Demands were to be heard;’ the only Thing deſir'd by the *Scots*, without which they cou'd never have effected their great Deſigns. At the ſame time the Earl of *Pembroke* was ſent to borrow two hundred Thouſand Pounds of *London* for the Payment of both Armies, while the Ceſſation and Treaty ſhou'd continue; to which the City eaſily agreed, being to be repaid out of the firſt Mony that ſhou'd be rais'd in Parliament. Thus the unfortunate Treaty broke up, but not ended; about which Time the Earl of *Montroſs*, who had been fatally engag'd with the *Covenanters*, began to deteſt their Proceedings, and having written a dutiful Letter to the King, with general Expreſſions of Loyalty and Affection, the King had ſuch Attendants about him, that the Subſtance of it was ſent back to General *Leſley*; who challenging *Montroſs* with holding Intelligence with the Enemy, he undauntedly own'd it, asking *Who it was, that durſt reckon the King an Enemy*? And with this Bravery quaſh'd this Charge, ſo that they dared not to proceed againſt him in a judicial Manner.

Cenſures upon it.

Thus *England* lay under the Weight of two diſtinct Armies in her Bowels, which, beſides private Oppreſſions without Number, was a certain Charge of fifty Thouſand Pounds a Month. Several Errors and falſe Steps are juſtly complain'd of by good Writers in the Management of this War and Treaty. But the laſt prov'd the moſt fatal, which was the removing the Treaty from *Rippon* to *London*, and upon any Terms conſenting that the *Scotch* Commiſſioners ſhou'd reſide there before a Peace concluded. This is call'd a confounding Error, which not only gave them Opportunity to publiſh all their Counſels and Directions in their Sermons to the Multitude, and to give their continual Advice to ſuch of the *Engliſh* who yet knew not how to compaſs their Ends, but alſo to interpoſe in the Name of their Nation, and make ſuch Demands on the Behalf of *Scotland*, as under no leſs Stile wou'd have receiv'd any Countenance. This carrying with it the Inclinations of an incens'd People, brought an univerſal Terror upon thoſe of neareſt Relation to the King's Service, as well as many at a greater Diſtance, whoſe greateſt Warineſs and Wiſdom was employ'd to preſerve Themſelves from the Power of the approaching Parliament.

The Treatment of the Scotch *Commiſſioners at* London.

The Earl of *Rothes*, and two or three more were added to the *Scotch*, and it is almoſt incredible to ſhew how much their Commiſſioners were admir'd and even idoliz'd in the City of *London*; they were feaſted and preſented by all ſorts of People, and their Lodgings viſited as the Repoſitories of Divine Truths, tho' the Petition and Tumults that follow'd were generally form'd in thoſe Places; and indeed, both by Parliament and City, they were look'd upon as Angels of Light; and they frequented the Congregations of the Diſſenting Miniſters, who from all Quarters of the Kingdom flock'd into the City; as if they were to convert an unſanctify'd Heathen Nation. Epiſcopacy was run down as Tyrannical, the Rites of the Church as Superſtitious, and Bowing at the Name of *Jeſus* had a Book written againſt it with no leſs Title, than *Jeſus-Worſhip confuted:* So that it was obſerv'd by a pleaſant Gentleman, *If a Mahometan had heard it cry'd about*, as it was, *he might have reaſonably thought, that the Nation at that Time was going about to deny their Saviour.*

A Mob in London.

4. Theſe were all ſo many Symptoms and Fore-runners of the Downfall of the Church of *England*; a glorious Fabrick, which with frequent Repairings had ſtood the full Age of Mankind, fourſcore Years, with all the Appearance of Strength and Firmneſs. But now its Ruin began to be apparent, being haſtned on by the Unskilfulneſs of the late Artificers, and the Treachery of ſome of the Workmen, as well as all the violent Attacks from without. Archbiſhop *Laud* was the moſt vigorous, but moſt unſucceſsful Supporter of it, and when Priſoner in the *Tower* ſaid to a Friend, *That he endeavour'd the Repair of an old Houſe; but it had been ſo much neglected, and run to Ruin, as to fall about his Ears in the Attempt.* The People indeed began to entertain inſuperable Prejudices againſt Him and his Order, and all the ſeveral Means us'd to ſtrengthen and ſupport it. For beſides their diſperſing of great Numbers of ſcandalous Papers and Libels; not many Days before the Parliament met, a Mob of no leſs than two Thouſand *Browniſts*, and the like Sectaries, enter'd St. *Paul's* Cathedral, where the High-Commiſſion Court then ſat, and after a ſtrange Manner tore down all the Benches, and with great Tumult cry'd out, *No Biſhop! No High-Commiſſion!*

The Impudence and Boldneſs of the Papiſts.

But ſtill the moſt general Outcry among the Vulgar was the Danger from the *Papiſts* and *Arminians*; and the Archbiſhop was exclaim'd againſt as a Favourer of One, as well as the Other. The Former had for many Years enjoy'd a great Calm, and were treated as good Subjects at Court, and as good Neighbours in the Country. But, as the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, they were not prudent Managers of this Proſperity; and tho' their Numbers might not ſo much encreaſe, yet their Pomp and Boldneſs did to a Degree that ſeem'd to threaten the eſtabliſh'd Religion. They appear'd more publickly, and diſputed more openly, than had been formerly known: They reſorted to Maſs at *Somerſet-Houſe*, and return'd in great Multitudes, with as little Reſervedneſs, as others came from the neighbouring Churches: They attempted to make Converts of uninform'd Ladies, with ſuch Circumſtances, as provok'd the Rage, and deſtroy'd the Charity of great Families, which long'd for their Suppreſſion; and they were likewiſe deeply concern'd, in being the publick Promoters and Receivers, in the moſt odious and grievous Projects. Their Prieſts, tho' liable to the higheſt Penalties, were departed from their former Fear and Modeſty, and were as willing to be known, as to be eſteem'd; and for the moſt invidious Protection of the whole Party, a publick Agent from *Rome* uſually reſided at *London*; publickly careſs'd and viſited, and avowedly attended by the *Romaniſts* of all Conditions, over whom he aſſum'd a particular Juriſdiction. In their Contributions, formerly mention'd, they had expreſs'd more Vanity than Prudence would have admitted; which by the Queen were preſented as a Free-Will Offering from the King's Catholick Subjects, for the carrying on the War againſt the *Scots*; which drew upon them the Rage of that Nation, with little Reverence to the Perſon of her Majeſty, as if ſhe deſir'd to ſuppreſs the Proteſtant Religion in both Kingdoms, by the Arms of the Papiſts. In ſhort, ſays the noble Hiſtorian, they carry'd themſelves ſo, as if they had been ſuborn'd by the *Scots* to root out their own Religion.

The Archbiſhop blam'd for all.

Still the Archbiſhop bore a great Share of the Blame, and was ſaid to be more than Popiſhly affected; notwithſtanding his famous Book againſt the Jeſuite *Fiſher*, and the conſiderable Converts he had made; notwithſtanding his zealous promoting the Collections for the *Palatine* Churches, and his hearty Proviſions for the diſtreſſed *Rochellers* and their Religion. It is certain that he ſhew'd ſome Favours to the *Romaniſts*, and ſometimes conniv'd at their Practices; but that was, as he declar'd, to obtain the like Indulgences for the Proteſtants that liv'd under Popiſh Princes. But what was thought the moſt criminal part of his Charge, was a Deſign of working a Reconciliation between the Church of *England* and *Rome:* This is boldly aſſerted by ſome, and partly own'd and vindicated by others, as a Project agreeable to the moſt extenſive Charity. But upon a full Examination, it appears, That all the pompous Ceremonies, and the *Approaches towards Popery*, ſo zealouſly promoted, may be comprehended under the Name of a Rivalſhip, more than any Imitation of the Church of *Rome.*

The chief Papiſts take him for their Enemy.

For tho' the Puritans exclaim'd againſt him for a Papiſt, and many of the Papiſts look'd upon him as their own, yet the wiſeſt and moſt knowing of their Party were of a direct contrary Opinion. So that when a Novice with great Joy had told a Father of the *Engliſh* College at *Rome*, *That now the* Engliſh *were returning to their Mother Church, for they began to ſet up* Altars, *to officiate in* Copes, *to adorn their Churches, to have the Pictures of* Saints, *&c.* To this the old Father reply'd with ſome Indignation, *That he talk'd like an ignorant Novice; That theſe rather tended to the Ruin, than the Advancement of the Catholick Cauſe; for the Church of* England *now drawing nearer to the antient Uſages, the Catholicks there wou'd ſooner be brought off from them, than any more come over to* Rome. This Dr. *Heylin* had from a Perſon of known Nobility; which Opinion is ſufficiently confirm'd by two Certificates publiſh'd by Mr. *Wharton*; which ſhews that the Archbiſhop's Death was reported at *Rome* with great Satisfaction, where an Abbot declar'd, *They had Cauſe to rejoice, that in* England *the greateſt Enemy of the Church of* Rome *was cut off, and the greateſt* Champion *of the Church of* England *ſilenc'd.* Page 616.

A Plot againſt the King and the Archbiſhop.

The Papiſts, who hop'd to gain great Advantages by the Power and Prevalency of the Queen, found the Archbiſhop ſo averſe to their Practices, and the King ſo immoveable in the Maintenance of the Church of *England*, that they thought it neceſſary to ſet them both aſide, before they cou'd effect any Thing anſwerable to their Expectation. A Confederacy was form'd amongſt them this Year, conſiſting of ſome of the moſt ſubtle Heads in the Jeſuitical Party; by whom it was concluded to foment the Broils begun in *Scotland*,

land, and to blow up thoſe Flames, that the King being drawn into a War, might afford them Opportunity to effect their Deſign of ſending Him and the Archbiſhop to the other World. Which being, out of Compunction of Conſcience, made known by one of their Party to *Andreas ab Habernsfield*, who had been Chaplain, as was ſaid, to the Queen of *Bohemia*, they both together gave Intimation of it to Sir *William Boſwell*, the King's Reſident at the *Hague*; having firſt bound him by Oath not to reveal it to any Man living but the Archbiſhop Himſelf, and by Him to the King. This was ſignify'd by *Boſwell*'s Letter in *September*, together with a general Draught of the Deſign, tranſmitted to the Archbiſhop, under the Hand of *Habernsfield* Himſelf, the firſt Diſcoverer of the Plot. On the Receipt of which Diſpatches, the Archbiſhop, incouraging *Boſwell* to proceed to a further Diſcovery, ſent the Intelligence with all imaginable Speed to the King at *York*; begging nothing more than his Secrecy, 'That he wou'd not *truſt his Pockets* 'with thoſe dangerous Papers, and that he wou'd further 'declare his Pleaſure for the Proſecution of the Buſineſs.

Which is not much credited.

A Foreigner's Obſervation.

Thus far both the King and He had very good Reaſon to be ſenſible of the Dangers that threatned them: But when *the Large Diſcovery* was brought to him in *Boſwell*'s Letter in *October*, he found ſome Names in it, which diſcredited the whole Relation, as well in his Majeſty's Judgment, as his own. For beſides the naming of ſome profeſs'd Papiſts, as the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham*, the Counteſſes of *Arundel* and *Newport*, *Mountague*, *Digby* and *Winter*, whoſe Fidelity the King was not willing to ſuſpect, he nam'd the Earl of *Arundel*, Secretary *Windebank*, and *Porter* a Groom of the Bed-chamber, whom he plac'd among the King's Enemies, and ſuch as betray'd his Secrets to the Pope's Nuncio; all whom his Majeſty look'd upon as Men of approv'd Loyalty and Affections to him. By Reaſon of which, no ſufficient Credit being given to the Advice they had from *Boſwell*, the Danger ſo much apprehended at firſt, became more ſlighted and neglected, than conſiſted with his Majeſty's Safety, and the Condition of the Times, ſo pregnant with Miſchief. For tho' the Party who firſt open'd the Diſcovery might be miſtaken in the Names of ſome of the Accomplices, by reaſon of their near Relation to the Church of *Rome*; yet the Calamities which ſoon after fell upon both, with their fatal Ends, ſufficiently declare, that there was ſome greater Reality in the Plot, than the King was willing to believe. But as it had been his Father's Maxim, *That Suſpicion was the Sickneſs and Diſeaſe of a Tyrant*, which expos'd him to the dark Practices of ſubtle Projectors; ſo this King's natural Conſtitution was, not to be jealous of any Man of whom he had once thought well, as *Clarendon* aſſures us: And his Maxim was, *It was better to be deceiv'd, than to diſtruſt*; which is believ'd to have open'd a Paſſage to all thoſe Miſfortunes, which fell upon him in the whole Courſe of his Reign, eſpecially for ten Years laſt paſt. Then, through a modeſt Diffidence of Himſelf, he unhappily yielded to be led by Others, who were wanting either in Skill, Fidelity, or Courage; which caus'd ſo many falſe Steps in this nice Juncture: So that *le Clerk*, a Foreigner not partial in his Favour, thus concludes, 'If there have been Kings, as 'doubtleſs there have been many, who have deceiv'd their 'Subjects; there never was One, whom his Subjects did 'did ſo frequently and cruelly deceive, as *Charles* the 'Firſt.

The unhappy State of the Nation.

Thus the Clouds were gathering in all Parts, while the Parliament was approaching; whoſe Meeting was expected by the Nation with ſuch Longings and Impatience, that every Moment that retarded it, was thought a Grievance or Miſfortune: For moſt Men began to think that Nothing cou'd make the Nation happy but a Parliament, and that no Parliament cou'd make it miſerable. The King Himſelf was reduc'd to great Straits and Perplexities, yet was full of hopes that his Condition was better than it ſeem'd to be: But the main Care and Buſineſs of the Courtiers was, to preſerve themſelves from the Cenſure of the enſuing Parliament, and to render Themſelves gracious to Thoſe who were like to be powerful in the Houſe. Tho' all Things tended towards a Confuſion and Combuſtion, yet the Lord *Clarendon* is of Opinion, That the Fire, which ſhortly after burnt the whole Kingdom, might at this Time have been cover'd under a Buſhel. But if the Fire was ſo ſmall, the combuſtible Matter was prodigiouſly great, and ſo unhappily diſpos'd, that a Blaſt from any Corner was ſufficient to throw it into a Flame.

The Death of Dr. Jackſon,

Archbiſhop Neile,

Judge Jones,

Dr. Chaderton,

And Dr. Alabaſter.

But before we enter upon this fatal Parliament, we ſhall conclude this Period with the Deaths of three eminent Men this Year. The firſt was Dr. *Thomas Jackſon*, the Ornament of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge, and Dean of *Peterborough*; a Man of great Piety and Worth, Induſtry and Abilities, a great Maſter of the Fathers, and profoundly read in Theology, as appears from his many learned Treatiſes. The next was Dr. *Richard Neile*, Archbiſhop of *York*, who by his Merits had paſs'd through all the Degrees and Orders of the Church of *England*, having been School-Maſter, Curate, Vicar, Parſon, Chaplain, Maſter of the *Savoy*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Clerk of the Cloſet to two Kings, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Litchfield*, *Lincoln*, *Durham* and *Wincheſter*, and laſtly Archbiſhop of *York*; in which he dy'd but three Days before the Parliament met, full of years, as he was full of Honours; a faithful Subject to his Prince, an indulgent Father to his Clergy, a bountiful Patron to his Chaplains, and a true Friend to all that rely'd upon him. A little above a Month after he was follow'd by Serjeant *William Jones*, one of the Judges of the King's Bench, a Perſon of eminent Skill and Knowledge in the Municipal Laws of the Nation; but his Memory ſuffers upon the Account of his open Judgment for the *Ship-Mony*, the unhappy Conſequences of which he did not live to ſee. Beſides theſe three, we may juſtly mention two Others, Dr. *Laurence Chaderton*, the firſt Maſter of *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*; a Perſon who was choſen by the *Puritans* to be one of their four Repreſentatives in *Hampton-Court* Conference, and was afterwards employ'd to be one of the Tranſlators of the Bible. He was a grave, pious and excellent Preacher, who freely reſign'd his Maſterſhip of the Colledge, liv'd to ſee ſeveral of his Succeſſors, and dy'd extreamly old, in the Hundred and Fifth Year of his Age. The Other, with whom we ſhall conclude, was Dr. *William Alabaſter*, a very conſiderable Divine, educated in *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*; yet ſo remarkable in other Reſpects, that *Wood* acknowledges that he was the rareſt Poet and *Grecian*, that any one Age or Nation has produc'd.

The End of the Firſt Book.

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

Conſiſting of the calamitous Part of the Reign of King CHARLES *the Firſt: From the Beginning of the* LONG PARLIAMENT, *to the Day of the King's Death.*

Containing the Space of 8 *Years, and about* 3 *Months.*

CHAP. I.

From the Beginning of the Long Parliament, to the Death of the Earl of Strafford, *when the Conſtitution was alter'd, and the Parliament made Perpetual.*

Containing the Space of 6 Months, and 9 Days.

1640. Car. 16.

I. 1. HAVING through various Steps and Turnings paſs'd over the longeſt, and moſt happy Part of this Reign, we are entring upon the dark and ſtormy Part; which to the Nation prov'd diſmal and calamitous, as much beyond Expectation as Example. And all this occaſion'd by what was then thought a certain Cure for all Diſtempers, a Parliament. The ſhort Continuance, as well as the Diſcontinuance of thoſe Aſſemblies, was accounted one of the greateſt Grievances of the Kingdom; therefore all poſſible Care was taken to prolong this, and to make it ſupply all former Defects; and no leſs Endeavours were us'd in the Choice of Members that were judg'd proper for ſuch relieving Purpoſes.

Preparations towards a Change in the Government.

Thoſe few who bore the greateſt Sway in the Elections, and afterwards in the Parliament it ſelf, ſuch as the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Kimbolton*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Stroude*, Mr. *Knightley*, and ſome others, had for a conſiderable Time been watching for all Advantages in reſpect to the publick Errors and Grievances, and with infinite Skill and Induſtry were labouring for a Change in the Government; ſuch an Alteration as might intirely weaken, if not root out that prevailing Power that produc'd them. As they were Perſons neglected and unimploy'd by the Court, and ſome of them Sufferers from it, they were implacably bent againſt the Authority then practis'd both by the Civil and the Eccleſiaſtical Judges; and accordingly they manag'd and purſu'd their Deſigns with indefatigable Vigour, as well as admirable Dexterity. Mr. *Hampden* went Yearly to conſult with his Friends in *Scotland*, Mr. *Pym* rode through divers Counties in *England*, and others us'd the like Endeavours to effect the main Deſign; and by their Pains and Subtlety they daily gather'd ſuch Strength, that long before the Parliament met, one of the Head of them boaſted, *That their Party was then ſtrong enough to pull the King's Crown from his Head, but the Goſpel wou'd not ſuffer them.*

Several Meetings among the Projectors of it.

In Order to bring about their deep Projects, theſe Politicians had ſeveral private Committees, both in the City of *London* and the Country: But the moſt conſiderable were the Meetings in *Oxfordſhire* and *Northamptonſhire*, the one at *Broughton*, the Lord *Say*'s Seat, and the other at *Fawſley*, the Houſe of Mr. *Knightley*. It was much obſerv'd that in the Lord *Say*'s Houſe, there was a particular Room, and a Paſſage to it, which his Servants were not permitted to come near; and when the Company was compleat, great Noiſes and Talkings were uſually heard amongſt them, to the Admiration of thoſe who liv'd in the Houſe, who cou'd not ſee or diſcover the Perſons Themſelves. At other Times they met at *Fawſley*, where, as at other Places in the Kingdom, they had their Council-Chambers and chief Speakers; and what *Embryos* were conceiv'd in the Country, were often ſhap'd at *London*, in *Grays-Inn-Lane*. But their grand Scheme, to which they reſolv'd to adhere, ſeem'd at length to have receiv'd its finiſhing Stroke at Mr. *Knightley*'s own Houſe, where their main Reſolutions were determin'd and concluded. By which Scheme it appears, that they deſign'd many ſtrange Things, which cou'd not be effected without great Struggles and Convulſions, but not thoſe prodigious Alterations that afterwards hapned in Church and State; many of which were indeed the Effects of a Thouſand unforeſeen Cauſes and Accidents. As to the Management and Purſuit of their Cauſe, in Craft and Politicks they ſhew'd themſelves more than Men; but if we judge by the Conſequences and their Diſappointments, they prov'd themſelves weaker than Women: They had all the Succeſs of a Conqueſt, yet all the Misfortunes of a Defeat.

1640. Car. 16.

The Nature of their Scheme.

The firſt Scheme that theſe Men principally aim'd at, as I have been well inform'd, was much the ſame with That which ſeveral Years after appear'd under the Title of *Plato Redivivus*. The Foundation of which was this choice Maxim receiv'd amongſt them, *That all Empire is founded in Property*; ſo that the larger the Lands are, the greater is the Power. ‘ But whereas the Kings of *England*, by the ‘ Alienation of the Crown-Lands, &c. had loſt moſt of ‘ their *natural* Power, and now chiefly retain'd what was ‘ *artificial*; they thought it neceſſary to retrench a great ‘ Part of what the King at preſent enjoy'd, and to make ‘ other proper Regulations. Four great Things were ‘ thought too much to be poſſeſs'd by the Kings of *England*, 1. Their abſolute Power of making Peace and War, ‘ 2. Their ſole Diſpoſal and Ordering the Militia, 3. Their ‘ Power of nominating all great Officers of Truſt and ‘ Profit, and 4. Their Right of diſpoſing of the Common ‘ Revenues of the Crown. To regulate all which, theſe ‘ four *Magnalia* of Government, as they were call'd, were ‘ to be exercis'd by the Conſent of four ſeveral Councils to ‘ be appointed for that End; and theſe, as well as the Creations of Noblemen, to be nam'd and fix'd in Parliaments, ‘ which were to meet every Year without any Writs or ‘ Summons from the Crown.’ This is the Sum of that Scheme which they are ſaid to have form'd, which was moulded and wrought up with peculiar Fineneſs and Curioſity, ſo that it appear'd infinitely plauſible in the Theory, tho' it prov'd ſtrangely defective in the Practice. However fallible they might prove as to ſome Particulars, being highly incens'd at ſeveral Exorbitancies in the Government, they in General reſolv'd to ſtrike at the chief Prerogatives of the Monarchy, as well as all the Powers of the Hierarchy.

In

Preparations towards Elections.

The Temper of the new Parliament.

In Order to effect which, all neceſſary Correſpondencies were ſettled, all Preparations were made, either of Force or Stratagem: Scarce a Sectary in *London*, but had before the Meeting of the Parliament furniſh'd himſelf with Arms, to ſerve each Boy in his Houſe; and many Porters Loads of Muskets had been ſeen carried in the Evenings into the Houſes of Men notoriouſly diſaffected, who convey'd both Arms and Libels, printed at the publick Charge, to their Country Aſſociates. Nor durſt the Lord Mayor make Inquiſition, for fear of being accounted an Enemy to the Peace of the Kingdom, then diſcompos'd with Fears and Jealouſies from Papiſts and other Enemies. Then at the Elections they ſhew'd their utmoſt Skill and Diligence, and rode from County to County with that Succeſs, that the Earl of *Warwick* wrote from *York* to his Friends in *Eſſex*, *That the Game was well begun.* But the Danger of the true Religion was moſt of all cry'd up, and had a prodigious Influence upon the Inferior Sort: Of this Mr. *Hampden* was juſtly ſenſible, when in Anſwer to a private Friend, who ask'd him, *Why they pretended Religion, when Liberty, Property, and temporal Matters were the chief Ends*, he reply'd, *Shou'd we not uſe the Pretence of Religion, the People wou'd not be perſuaded to aſſiſt us.* For this Reaſon they exclaim'd againſt the Nomination of any who belong'd to his Majeſty's Service, and gave Votes for Men of the new Religion, and notorious Oppoſers of the King or the Clergy; whoſe Names they had before privately liſted, by which divers Citizens and Lawyers were choſen Members for thoſe Corporations, that never ſo much as heard of them. Theſe and many other uncommon Practices were us'd to defeat the King's Friends; yet after all their Artifices and Endeavours, the Puritans for Number cou'd not make above a third Part of the Houſe of Commons; and the Numbers were yet much ſmaller of Thoſe who caus'd the great Flames and Convulſions in the Nation; there being few who had the Power of Leading, tho' Multitudes were diſpos'd to follow. Yet this ought to be declar'd, That there were ſtill many great and worthy Men, as eminent as any Age ever produc'd; but moſt of them came with Reſentments, which tho' grounded on juſt Reaſons, prov'd too ſtrong for their Wiſdom and Foreſight, and help'd to overwhelm them and their Friends in the common Ruin. They had unqueſtionably ſeveral real Grievances to redreſs, but few of them were able to apply the right Cures, or to ſtop when the End was actually and effectually obtain'd: In ſhort, they cou'd not enough gueſs at the Conſequences of violent Methods, nor yet ſee, ‘ That while they were defeating their Enemies, they were ‘ haſtning on their own Ruins.

The Characters of the Reformers in the Upper Houſe.

The Earl of Bedford,

2. Such were the Preparations towards the Meeting of this famous Parliament, which was to ſave the Nation. But before we enter upon the Acts and Proceedings of it, it will be very proper to take ſome Notice of the preſent Temper of both Houſes, and to give ſome Account of the few Perſons who were the firſt and chief Movers towards thoſe prodigious Alterations that ſo ſoon hapned. In the Upper Houſe, which conſiſted of about 110 Lords, beſides the Biſhops, there were ſeveral who were highly diſguſted at ſome Severities they felt, and no leſs diſappointed at the Want of Places; and there were more who deſir'd to bring about a Reformation in Church and State; ſo that many were ready to move forwards towards any plauſible Alteration. The chief Leaders of theſe, who with thoſe in the Lower Houſe were call'd *Reformers*, were the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*. The firſt, the Earl of *Bedford*, was the moſt moderate, and beſt natur'd of all the reſt, the greateſt Perſon of Intereſt of all the popular Party, and the moſt likely to govern the reſt. He was a wiſe Man, and of too large a Fortune to wiſh a Subverſion of the Government; and it ſoon appear'd, that he, as well as ſome others, only deſign'd to advance Himſelf and his Friends at Court, and not to leſſen the Court it ſelf. So that his Death, which hapned within a few Months after the Meeting of the Parliament, was more thought a Detriment to the King's Cauſe, than any Hindrance of the Deſigns of his Party.

The Lord Say,

The Lord Viſcount *Say*, before mention'd, was a Man who had the deepeſt Hand in the Original Contrivance of all the Calamities which befel the Nation, tho' he had not the leaſt Thought of diſſolving the Monarchy, and leſs of levelling the Ranks and Diſtinctions of Men. For no Man valu'd himſelf more upon his Family, or had greater Ambition to advance it, and to raiſe his Fortune, which was but mean in reſpect to his Title. He was of a proud, moroſe and cholerick Temper, and of a moſt aſpiring Ambition; but ſuch as wou'd not be ſatiated with Offices and Preferments, without ſome Condeſcenſions and Alterations in Eccleſiaſtical Matters. He had great Parts, and much convers'd with Books, and from his Infancy he had ſuck'd in an implacable Malice againſt the Government of the Church; ſo that for many Years he had been the Oracle of thoſe call'd *Puritans* in the moſt rigid Senſe, and ſteer'd all their Councils and Deſigns. As he was a profeſs'd Enemy to the Church, ſo he was to moſt of the eminent Church-Men, with ſome of whom he had particular Conteſts. His Commitment at *York* laſt Year, with the Lord *Brook*, had given him much Credit; and in Reality he had very great Authority with all the diſſatisfy'd Party in the Kingdom, and a good Reputation with many others, who look'd upon him as a wiſe Man, and ſerviceable in the Preſervation of the Laws in a licentious Age. So that he became the very Pilot to all thoſe Veſſels which were freighted with Sedition and Diſcontent.

The Lord Kimbolton.

The Lord *Kimbolton*, commonly call'd the Lord *Mandevile*, and afterwards the Earl of *Mancheſter*, eldeſt Son to the Lord Privy-Seal, was a Man of greater Civility and good Breeding, having been early brought up in the Court, under the Shelter of the great Duke of *Buckingham*, and call'd to the Houſe of Peers during the Life of his Father, which was an extraordinary Favour. But afterwards, having marry'd the Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*, the richeſt, tho' not moſt rigid Patron of the *Puritans*, he totally eſtrang'd himſelf from the Court, and clos'd in with the Lord *Say*, and others before mention'd, who were moſt zealous for a general Reformation. In a Letter afterwards written to this Lord, we find that the Earl his Father, who ſeem'd not to value a particular Religion, had acted a double Part in providing for his two eldeſt Sons, adopting this into the *Puritan* Party, and entering the other in the *Popiſh* Religion, ſo that one might never fail of an Intereſt in Times of Extremity. However this Lord having liſted himſelf in the Fraternity of the *new Reformers*, his generous Diſpoſition, and his Endeavours to improve a Popularity, caus'd him to live above the narrow Allowance made to him by his wary Father, and to contract a Debt which lay very heavy upon him. So that his Father, who was firm to the Crown, and was wont to ſay, *That the lopping its Prerogative wou'd endanger the whole Nation*, did now often bewail that his Son ſhou'd be ſo deeply engag'd in a popular Party; yet at this Time he found the Benefit of being skreen'd by his ſole Intereſt, from that Infirmity that run through his whole Life, of refuſing Nothing that was given him. Indeed this Lord having ſo great a Share of the moſt obliging Behaviour and good Nature, no Man became a greater Confident of the diſcontented Party than He, and none to whom the whole Maſs of their Deſigns, as well thoſe in *Embryo*, as thoſe in full Form, was more entirely communicated.

And the Earl of Eſſex.

Theſe three Lords therefore are here mention'd as the principal Agents in the Houſe of Peers; for they were chiefly rely'd on, and without Reſerve truſted by thoſe who were to manage All in the Houſe of Commons, and to raiſe that Spirit which upon all Occaſions was to inflame the Lords, or might by any Means increaſe their Party. By their Artifices, and Application to the Vanity and popular Humour of the Earl of *Eſſex*, they prevail'd, and got full Poſſeſſion of Him. He was the unhappy Son of an unfortunate Father, and in King *James*'s Reign he had met with great Hardſhips at Court upon the Account of the Favourite Earl of *Somerſet*; which made ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion upon him, that going to ſerve in *Holland*, he was heard to ſay, *It was Time to learn the Uſe of Arms, if ever he meant to requite that Indignity.* Yet ſtill he might have been ſecur'd to the Court, had he been treated according to his Deſerts in reſpect to the *Scotch* Expedition; for tho' he had a high Opinion of his Merits, he had no Ambition of Title, Office or Preferment, but only to be kindly look'd upon and ſpoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own Fortune; and no Man naturally abhorr'd Rebellion more than He, nor cou'd he have been led into it without a thouſand Diſguiſes and Impoſitions. But having been long neglected, and more than once diſoblig'd by the Court, he was deluded by the Artifices and Inſinuations of others, and at laſt ſhew'd the World how a weak Judgment, ſome Vanity, and much Pride, will hurry a Man into as dangerous Attempts, as the moſt unlimited and inſatiable Ambition. Such was the preſent Temper of the Leaders in the Houſe of Peers, where *Warwick*, *Brook*, *Wharton*, *Paget*, *Howard*, and ſome others, implicitely follow'd and obſerv'd the Dictates of the foremention'd Lords, and ſtarted and ſeconded whatever they were directed.

The Characters of the Reformers in the Lower Houſe.

Mr. Pym,

3. To give ſome Account of the Houſe of Commons, where there were ſo many great and worthy Men; as there were three or four in the Upper Houſe, that had ſo ſucceſsful a Management in that Place, ſo in this about half a Dozen had the Aſcendent, and prevail'd after a wonderful Manner, to the hurrying on their own as well as their Enemies Fate; ſuch as Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Fiennes*, Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, and Mr. *Holles*. The Firſt, Mr. *John Pym*, appear'd an extraordinary Man, tho' of a private Quality and Condition of Life, having been long a Clerk in the Exchequer, whoſe great Parts were more acquir'd by Induſtry, than furniſh'd by Nature,

or adorn'd by Art. He had been well known in former Parliaments, and impriſon'd upon the Account of his Freedom of Speech in King *James*'s Reign; ſo that his great Experience in thoſe Aſſemblies, and his Religious Concern for the *Anti-Arminian* Principles, gave him a mighty Reputation and Authority, both among the younger, and the *Puritan* Members, tho' he profeſs'd to follow the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*. His grave and graceful Way of expreſſing Himſelf, with great Volubility of natural and proper Words, and his peculiar Talent of aggravating the Errors and Failures in the Government, render'd Him for ſome Months the moſt popular Man, and the moſt able to carry a Cauſe, than any that ever appear'd in the Houſe. But meeting with a Proſpect of Preferment, with his great Friend the Earl of *Bedford*, and inclining a little towards the Court, his Intereſt viſibly abated in the Houſe: So that loſing his Hopes by the Death of the ſaid Earl, and finding that he was then better able to go forwards than backwards, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be carry'd by thoſe who wou'd not follow him, and ſo with indefatigable Pains continu'd to the Day of his Death in the Head of thoſe who made the moſt deſperate Propoſitions.

Mr. Hampden, Mr. *John Hampden* was a Gentleman of a good Extract and a fair Fortune in *Buckinghamſhire*, a Perſon of admirable Parts and Abilities, who from a Life of great Pleaſure and Liberty, had ſuddenly withdrawn to extraordinary Sobriety and Strictneſs, and yet retain'd his uſual Chearfulneſs and Affability; which, together with the Opinion of his Wiſdom and Juſtice, and his Courage in ſolely oppoſing the *Ship-Mony*, exceedingly rais'd his Reputation, not only in his own County, but generally throughout the Kingdom. So that when this Parliament met, the Eyes of all Men were fix'd upon him, as their great Patriot, and the Pilot that muſt ſteer their Veſſel through all the threatning Rocks and Tempeſts; and at that Time it was believ'd his Power and Intereſt was greater to do Good or Hurt, than any Man's in the Nation, or than any Man of his Rank has had at any Time; for his Reputation of Honeſty was univerſal, and his Affections ſeem'd ſo publickly guided, that no corrupt or private Ends cou'd byaſs them. He was a Man of infinite Addreſs and Penetration, had a Sovereign Command of his own Paſſions, and conſequently a great Power over other Mens; ſo that in all Debates, he appear'd the moſt modeſt and calm, yet the moſt inſinuating and ſubtle Speaker, of any in the whole Houſe. And Sir *P. Warwick* obſerves, That he had a peculiar Dexterity, when a Queſtion was to be put, that did not agree with his own Senſe, in drawing it over to it, by adding ſome equivocal or crafty Word that wou'd enervate the Meaning of it, as it was firſt put. His rare Affabilities and ſeeming Humility gain'd upon great Numbers at firſt; but as none ever had a greater Power over Himſelf, ſo none was leſs the Man he ſeem'd to be; which by Degrees appear'd to all Men, when he found it leſs needful to keep on the Maſque.

Mr. St. John Mr. *Oliver St. John* was a Branch of the noble Houſe of *Bullingbrook*, a Lawyer of *Lincolns-Inn*, noted for his Parts and Induſtry; who having been ten Years before committed and brought into the *Star-Chamber*, with others of great Name and Reputation, tho' he and the reſt were graciouſly diſcharg'd, he never forgave the Court that firſt Aſſault. This caus'd his Name to be more known; but he was not much taken notice of, till he argu'd the Caſe of the *Ship-Mony* in behalf of Mr. *Hampden*; which gave him great Reputation, and call'd him into all Courts, and all Cauſes, where the King's Prerogative was moſt conteſted. He was a Man naturally ſubtle and reſerv'd, of a dark and clouded Countenance, very proud, and converſant with few, but thoſe of his own Humour and Inclinations, from whom he had contracted an implacable Diſpleaſure againſt the Church. Tho' the Court endeavour'd ſhortly to have brought him off, yet being deeply ingag'd with the Earl of *Bedford*, and the reſt, he became more deeply involv'd in all the Miſeries of the Nation; in which *Holles* in his Memoirs tells us, that his Opinion always concluded in the ſeverer Side, that he never ſtopp'd, where there was any Way to it, till he came to Blood, or to the Deſtruction of Eſtate and Fortune. He proceeded ſo far in his myſterious Ways, as afterwards to be call'd *Cromwell*'s *Dark-Lanthorn*.

It was generally believ'd, that theſe three Perſons, with the other three Lords before-mention'd, were of the moſt intimate Truſt with each other, and made up that popular Engine which mov'd all the reſt; yet it was viſible that Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes* and young Sir *Harry Vane* were receiv'd by them with full Confidence, and without Reſerve. Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, The Former was the ſecond Son of the Lord *Say* before mention'd, a Man of good Parts and Learning, who for ſome Years had been educated at *New-College* in *Oxford*, where his Father had been Fellow, by means of his Affinity with the Founder. Leaving the Univerſity, he ſpent his Time Abroad, in *Geneva*, and amongſt the Cantons of *Switzerland*, where he improv'd that Diſinclination to the Church which had been inſtill'd in him by *Old Subtilty* his Father. From his Travels he return'd through *Scotland*, at the Beginning of the Inſurrections in that Kingdom; and was but little known, except among that People which convers'd wholly among Themſelves, till he was now found in Parliament, when it was ſoon diſcover'd that he was the Darling of his Father, and like to make good all that was promis'd in his Family; which he perform'd in his inceſſant promoting the moſt ſevere and violent Meaſures.

Sir Henry Vane *Junior*, The other, Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, the eldeſt Son of the preſent Secretary of State, often call'd Sir *Humourous Vanity*, was a Man of great natural Parts, and of a very profound Diſſimulation, as well as of a quick Conception, and weighty Expreſſion; and if he was not ſuperior to Mr. *Hampden*, he was inferior to no other in the moſt ſubtle and exquiſite Artifices. His peculiar Aſpect and unuſual Phyſiognomy made Men think there was ſomething Extraordinary in Him; and the whole Courſe of his Life verify'd that Imagination. Leaving his Studies at *Oxford*, where his Life was not very ſtrict, he ſpent ſome Time in *France*, but more in *Geneva*, where he firſt ſuck'd in that bitter Prejudice to the Church, which after his Return into *England* he contracted to ſo high a Degree. In this Unſteadineſs, which much did, or ſeem'd to offend his Father, who ſtill appear'd highly conformable, he tranſported himſelf into *New-England*; where among thoſe profeſs'd Enemies to the *Engliſh* Church, his Parts and Quality ſo far prevail'd, that at the next Election they choſe him their Governor; in which Poſt, by Means of his New and Enthuſiaſtical Scruples, he had the ill Fortune to be diſpleas'd with Them, and they with Him. But having ſown new Seeds of Diſſenſions, he return'd again into *England*, and ſeeming much reform'd from his former Extravagancies, by his Father's Approbation and Intereſt he obtain'd a young Lady of Fortune in Marriage, and alſo a Place of great Truſt and Profit in the Navy, and appear'd to be well ſatisfy'd with the Government. Upon the Diſobligation the Father receiv'd from the Earl of *Strafford*, they abandon'd themſelves to all imaginable Thoughts of Revenge; and from that Time the Son ingag'd himſelf into the Friendſhip of Mr. *Pym*, and all other diſcontented Perſons, and contributed all that Intelligence which was deſign'd for the Earl's Deſtruction, which acquir'd him the entire Confidence of all thoſe who promoted the ſame: So that in ſhort, Nothing was conceal'd from his Knowledge, tho' 'tis believ'd that he communicated his own Thoughts to very few.

And Mr. Denzill Holles. Beſides theſe two laſt, Mr. *Denzill Holles*, the younger Son, and younger Brother of the Earls of *Clare*, was as much eſteem'd by the whole Party as any Man, being of more accompliſh'd Parts than any of the reſt, and of ſingular Reputation for what he acted in Oppoſition to the Court and the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the Parliament in the fourth Year of this Reign, and his long Impriſonment and ſevere Proſecution afterwards upon that Account; the Memory of all which he retain'd with great Reſentment. He was a Man full of Fire and Vivacity, a vigorous Mover in difficult Paths, and a zealous Promoter of the *Scots*; whom in his Memoirs he has vindicated, or at leaſt commended more than any of their own Hiſtorians. But he wou'd not concern himſelf againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, who had marry'd his Siſter, and had all his Children by her, which made him a Stranger to all thoſe Conſultations; yet he did not leſſen his Friendſhip with the Proſecutors Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, the Lord *Digby*, *Strode*, *Haſlerigg*, and thoſe moſt incens'd againſt the Earl, or fearful of Themſelves, ſuch as *Hotham*, *Cholmley* and *Stapleton*, with ſome popular Lawyers, who had no Suſpicion of any Wickedneſs in Deſign, and ſo gradually became involv'd in the Worſt, obſerving and following the Directions of the Other, according to the Parts aſſign'd them upon emergent Occaſions.

Theſe were the firſt and principal Leaders, who in the Beginning had a greater Influence than thoſe who afterwards bore the greateſt Sway, ſuch as the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, *Lenthall*, *Pierepoint*, *Whitelock* and *Cromwell* himſelf. And this was the Temper and Conſtitution of this famous Parliament at the firſt Meeting, where they immediately obſerv'd all thoſe who were not, nor were like to be of their Opinions, with all imaginable Jealouſy; and whenever their Elections came to be diſputed, they were ſure to be turn'd out, and then all Artifices were us'd to bring in more ſanctify'd Members; ſo that every Week their Party encreas'd, either from new Elections, or Proſelytes they gain'd upon the Old; and all this under the ſpecious, yet juſt Name of *Reformation*, and Redreſſing of open and manifeſt Grievances.

The Meeting of the LONG PARLIAMENT.

II. 1. With all theſe ill-bodeing Circumſtances the famous Parliament met on the third Day of *November* at *Weſtminſter*, with a fuller and more formidable Appearance than was formerly known. The very Day was thought Ominous; ſo that before the appointed Time ſome perſwaded the Archbiſhop to move the King to have the Sitting reſpited for a Day or two longer, becauſe the Parliament in

Henry the Eighth, which ended with the Diminution of the Clergy's Power and the Diſſolution of Religious Houſes, began the ſame Day; but the Archbiſhop took little Notice of the Advertiſement. But the Place was really more ominous and hazardous than the Day, and the appointing of That was thought a fatal Error; for no Place at this Time was ſo dangerous as the Neighbourhood of *London*; but *York* was adjudg'd moſt proper, which by means of the *Scotch* Affairs was now in effect the Center of the King's Buſineſs. In the Meeting alſo his Majeſty declin'd the accuſtom'd Way of Riding in a magnificent State from *Whitehall* to the Church of *Weſtminſter*, and his Solemn Entrance at the great Weſtern Gate; but choſe to paſs privately in his Barge to the Parliament Stairs, and ſo to the Church, as if it had been to a Return of a prorogu'd or adjourn'd Parliament. The thrifty Omiſſion of the publick Pomp at this Conjuncture, caus'd ſome to preſage that it wou'd prove as inauſpicious to him, as the like Neglect had done at his Coronation; and that this Parliament, which began without Solemnity, wou'd end with Sorrow.

The King's Speech.

As every Thing had a Melancholy Aſpect, ſo the King's Speech was with leſs Spirit and Majeſty than was uſual. Being Seated on his Throne in the Houſe of Lords, He told both Houſes, 'That the Knowledge he had of the 'Deſigns of his *Scotch* Subjects, was the Cauſe of his Calling 'the laſt Parliament; wherein, if he had been believ'd, he did 'ſincerely think, that Things had not hapned as they now ſaw 'them. But it was no Wonder that Men were ſo ſlow in Be'lieving that ſo great a *Sedition* cou'd be rais'd on ſo little 'Ground. But now, ſince the Honour and Safety of the 'Kingdom lay ſo near at Stake, he was reſolv'd *to put 'Himſelf freely and clearly on the Love and Affection of his* 'Engliſh *Subjects*: Therefore he ſhou'd not at all mention 'his own Intereſt, or that Support he might juſtly expect 'from them, till the common Safety was ſecur'd: Though 'he muſt tell them, That he was not aſham'd to ſay, thoſe 'Charges he had been at were meerly for the Security and 'Good of his Kingdom, tho' Succeſs had not anſwer'd 'his Deſires. Wherefore he ſhou'd only deſire them to 'conſider the beſt Way for the Safety and Security of the 'Kingdom; wherein were two Things chiefly conſidera'ble; Firſt the chaſing out of *Rebels*; Secondly the Sa'tisfying their juſt *Grievances*, in which he promis'd ſo to 'concur with them, as to ſatisfy the World of his In'tentions to make this a flouriſhing and glorious King'dom. Two Things more he wou'd acquaint them with'all; Firſt, that the Loan of the City of *London*, and the 'Mony advanc'd by thoſe Lords who waited upon him at '*York*, wou'd pay his Army but two Months from their 'Advance; and therefore he referr'd it to their Conſidera'tion, what a great Diſhonour and Miſchief it wou'd be to 'this Kingdom, if his Army for Want of Mony ſhou'd be 'forc'd to disband, before the *Rebels* were put out of it: 'And Secondly, the Redreſſing the great Calamities the '*Northern* Counties endur'd, in which all *England* was 'like to ſuffer with them. Laſt of all, deſiring them to '*lay aſide all Suſpicion of one another*, and declaring *it 'ſhou'd not be his Fault if this were not a good and happy 'Parliament*, he referr'd them to the Lord-Keeper.' That Lord in a long Harangue, after his inſiſtingupon the Perſonal Worth and Virtues of his Majeſty, and naming this uſual Saying of his, *He ſerves me beſt, who ſerves me with Honeſty and Integrity*, he gave a full and ſatisfactory Account of the *Scotch* Invaſion, with all the threatning Dangers that attended ſo formidable an Appearance.

Beſides other ill Beginnings, there befell at this Time an irretrievable Misfortune, as to the King's Affairs, in the Choice of a Speaker. His Majeſty deſign'd Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Recorder of *London*, to have been the Perſon, as being every Way worthy of the Place; but being a known Friend to the King, the Enemies of the Court had prevented his Election, not only in the City, but in all other Places where he ſtood. So that upon a ſudden Mr. *William Lenthall*, a Bencher of *Lincoln*'s-*Inn*, was fix'd upon by the King, a Lawyer of competent Practice, not then noted for any Diſaffection to the Government, either in Church or State. He was rather prevail'd with, than perſuaded to accept the Charge, and yet the King cou'd not have made a worſe Choice among all the Profeſſion; for he was a Man of a very narrow and timorous Nature, and of no Experience or Converſation in the Affairs of the Kingdom, beyond what he had been ingag'd in by the very Drudgery of his Profeſſion, in which all his Deſign was to make himſelf rich. In ſhort, he was in all Reſpects unequal to the Work, not knowing how to preſerve his own Dignity, or to reſtrain the Exorbitancies of others; ſo that his Weakneſs as much contributed to the growing Calamities, as the Malice of the chief Projectors. Two Days after he was ſolemnly approv'd by his Majeſty, who at that Time underſtanding, that great Offence had been taken by the *Scots* and their Friends, becauſe in his Speech he had twice call'd them by the Name of *Rebels*, he choſe to explain Himſelf in another Speech, and in theſe Words: *I told you that the* Rebels *muſt be put out of this Kingdom; it's true, I muſt needs call them ſo, ſo long as they have an Army that invades us; and tho' I am under Treaty with them, and I under my great Seal do call them* my Subjects, *and ſo they are too.* This is thought to have given the Commons too great a Senſe of their own Power, and his Compliance; ſo that they reſolv'd not ſo eaſily to part with their *Scotch* Friends, as the King hop'd and expected.

A Character of Mr. Lenthall *the Speaker.*

The King explains his Speech.

Grievances and Petitions.

2. The Houſe of Commons had ſat about four Days, ſettling of ſmaller Matters, when they began to open the dark Scene of Complaints and Grievances. A wonderful elated Countenance was obſerv'd in many of the Members, who ſhew'd themſelves full of Hopes and Reſentments; and the ſame Men who ſix Months before were thought to be very calm and moderate, talk'd now in another Dialect both of Things and Perſons: They alledg'd, *That now they muſt not only ſweep the Houſe clean below, but pull down all the Cobwebs above, to prevent new Duſt, and a foul Houſe hereafter; that now they cou'd make their Country happy, by eradicating the Cauſes of all Grievances, if all wou'd do their Duties.* Many tragical Petitions were deliver'd to the Houſe, in behalf of the moſt notorious Sufferers formerly mention'd, as *Prynne*, *Burton* and *Baſtwick*, *Lilburn*, *Leighton*, &c. Then the particular Grievances of the ſeveral Counties were repreſented; as thoſe of *Hertfordſhire* by Mr. *Arthur Capel*, of *Yorkſhire* by Mr. *Bellaſis* and the Lord *Fairfax*, of *Lincolnſhire* by Sir *John Wray*, of *Weſtmoreland* by Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, of *Wilts* by Sir *Francis Seymour*, of *Worceſterſhire* by Sir *John Packington*, of *Rutland* by Sir *Guy Palmes*, of *Norfolk* by Sir *Edmund Montford*, of *Eſſex* by Sir *Thomas Barrington*, of *Kent* by Sir *John Culpeper*, and of other Counties and Towns by their reſpective Knights and Burgeſſes.

Speeches, by Mr. Pym,

Sir B. Rudyard,

Mr. Bagſhaw,

And Sir J. Holland.

The grave and leading Mr. *Pym* open'd the Scene in an Harangue of two Hours long upon all the Grievances of the Nation, under three Heads; Firſt, againſt the Privileges of Parliaments, Secondly to the Prejudice of Religion, and Laſtly againſt the Liberty of the Subject: All which he ſubdivided into numerous Branches, diverſify'd and aggravated with no ſmall Skill and Management, and particularly inveigh'd againſt that great and unparallel'd Grievance the *Ship-Mony*, and alſo inſiſted upon the Legality of *Annual Parliaments*. Then Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* deliver'd a Speech chiefly againſt the *Innovations* in Religion; yet he ſpoke honourably of *his Majeſty's free putting Himſelf into the Hands of his Parliament, and of his being wiſer than his Adviſers*; had let fall this healing Expreſſion, *The King is reduc'd to great Straits, in which it were* Undutifulneſs *beyond* Humanity *to take Advantage of Him; let us rather make it an Advantage for him, to do him* beſt *Service when he has* moſt *need.* Mr. *Bagſhaw* ſpoke more ſeverely, and concluded with this Propoſal, *Let the woful Violation of the Statute of* Monopolies, *and the* Petition of Right, *be made* Felony, *or* Premunire *at leaſt; but in the interim, let them be made Examples of Puniſhment, who have been the Authors of thoſe Miſeries, according to the Counſel of* Solomon, '*Take away the Wicked from before the King,* '*and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſh'd in Righteouſneſs.*' Sir *John Holland* ſpoke next with more Modeſty and Temper: He touch'd upon the Grievances, and recommended a Redreſs of them, but then he ſaid, *Touching ſupplying his Majeſty's Wants, I humbly deſire we may proceed therein within its due Time, and that with as much Loyal Duty and Liberality as ever any People expreſs'd towards their Prince.----- Let us remove the* Scotiſh *Army with a ſoft and gentle Hand of Mediation and Reconciliation, if it may be wrought with his Majeſty's Honour, and the Kingdom's Safety: If not, then to repel them with ſtout and reſolute Spirits, with valiant and united Hearts and Hands, ſuch as beſt ſuit with our Duty to God, our King, and our Country.*

Committees.

So numerous were the Complaints and Petitions concerning Grievances, that the whole Houſe was divided, and ſubdivided into above forty Committees to hear and examine them: But the main were reducible to theſe four Heads, 1. Committees concerning *Religion*, *Innovations* in the Church, and Grievances in the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*. 2. Committees concerning publick Affairs in general, and particularly *Ireland* and *Scotland*. 3. Other Committees relating to *Ship-Mony*, *Judges* and *Courts of Juſtice*. 4. Committees concerning *Popery*, the *Popiſh Hierarchy*, the Pope's *Nuncio*, *Plots*, *Deſigns*, &c. ſo that all Things began to appear more and more with a formidable Aſpect.

Speeches, by the Lord Digby.

3. After an Appointment of a ſolemn Faſt, and a ſtrict Enquiry after Papiſts, the next Day began with a freſh Stream of Complaints and Harangues made by the Lord *Digby*, Sir *John Culpeper*, and Mr. *Harbottle Grimſtone*. The Firſt made a celebrated Speech againſt the intolerable Bur-

den

Sir J. Culpeper,

And Mr. Grimſton.

den of *Ship-Mony*, the Abuſes in Preſſing Soldiers, the Multitude of *Monopolies*, and other common Grievances; where mentioning the new *Canons* and *Oath*, he call'd the latter *a Covenant againſt the King for Biſhops and the Hierarchy, as the* Scoth *Covenant was againſt the King and Biſhops.* Then he ſatyrically quibled upon Biſhops and the late Convocation, whom he term'd a *new Synod, made up of an old Convocation*, and call'd their granting a Benevolence to the King, *a Malevolence in them to the Parliament, and a Malevolence in the Refuſers from the Biſhops, with a Penalty of no leſs than the Loſs of Heaven and Earth; Heaven by Excommunication, and Earth by Deprivation.* He highly extoll'd the King's Virtues, but no leſs condemn'd evil Counſellors; ſo that *whereas Money rais'd from Subjects was formerly as Vapours by the Sun exhal'd from the Earth, to be diſtill'd again in fructifying Showers; of late they were only Clouds to darken the Sun, and had fallen upon the Land in Hail-Stones and Mil-Dews.* Therefore to remove ſuch dangerous Men, he mention'd an Aphoriſm in Phyſick, *That to purge Bodies effectually, their Humours muſt firſt be made fluid and moveable*; and ſo concluded with urging for a Remonſtrance to be made to his Majeſty of the deplorable State of the Kingdom. Sir *John Culpeper* ſeconded him upon moſt of the ſame Topicks, but moſt ſeverely inveig'd againſt the Train of Monopolizers, *thoſe Swarms of Vermin, which had overſpread the Land, and like the Frogs of* Ægypt, *had gotten Poſſeſſion of their Dwellings, ſo that ſcarce a Room was free from them; thoſe Leeches that had ſuck'd the Common-Wealth ſo hard, that it was almoſt become Hectical.* Mr. *Grimſton* expatiating upon ſome of the ſame Heads, mention'd a Paſſage he had from a Judge of the King's Bench, who upon a particular Occaſion told his Brethren *They begin to ſay in the Town, that the Judges have overthrown the Laws, and the Biſhops the Goſpel.* This he mention'd with ſome mollifying Words after it; but very ſeverely exclaim'd againſt the Monopolizers, whom he call'd *Achitophels, Hamans, Woolſeys, Empſons* and *Dudleys, Treſilians* and *Belknapps*; and concluded with moving for a Committee for a Remonſtrance, for which twenty four were ſoon appointed.

A Meſſage from the King.

Speech by Sir E. Deering.

At this Time alſo the Houſe of Commons was diſpleas'd That the King had made the Lord *Cottington* Conſtable of the *Tower* of *London*, over the Lieutenant himſelf, and plac'd a Garriſon of four Hundred Men, to preſerve the City from Tumults; and they further complain'd againſt the Confluence of Popiſh Recuſants about the City. Whereupon his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe, acquainting them, ‘ That he had commiſſionated a Conſtable over the ‘ *Tower*, for the better ſecuring the Peace of the City, but ‘ that now he wou'd recall his Commiſſion, and leave the ‘ *Tower* to the Government of the Lieutenant only; and ‘ as for the Papiſts, they ſhou'd be remov'd by Proclama‘ mation to the Places of their Habitation.’ But becauſe Religion was thought greatly in Danger, eſpecially from *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, Sir *Edward Deering* made a zealous Speech in the Houſe, and notwithſtanding the King's immediate Wants in this Emergency, he thus cry'd out, *Let the Sword reach from the* North *to the* South, *a general Perdition of all our remaining Right and Safety threaten us in open View, it ſhall never make me decline the firſt Setling of Religion.* After which he ſpoke very ſeverely againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, concluding, *That before the Year run round, he hop'd his* Grace *wou'd either have* more Grace, *or* no Grace *at all: For our manifold Griefs do fill a mighty and vaſt Circumference; yet ſo, that from every Part our Lines of Sorrow do lead to* Him, *and point at him the* Center, *from whence our Miſeries in this Church, and many of them in the Common-Wealth do flow.*

Monopolizers ejected.

About the ſame Time the Houſe of Commons proceeded to a very popular Act, and ejected out of their Houſe moſt of thoſe Members as receiv'd any Benefit from Monopolies, or unlawful Projections. However this was look'd upon as contrary to ancient Cuſtom, and it was complain'd, *That they who ſo much declaim'd againſt Innovations, were the firſt Innovators:* For we are aſſur'd that there was never any Precedent to be found, that the Commons had Power to exclude any Members from their Places in Parliament, neither upon the Account of falſe Elections, or any other Pretence whatſoever; and if not for undue Elections, they had much leſs Power to ſuſpend thoſe who acted by the King's Patent, and for his Service. Yet in this ſort of purging the Houſe, they ſubtilly paſs'd over ſome of the greateſt Criminals, whoſe Offences wou'd naturally render them obnoxious to their Power, or obſequious to their Deſigns. Nor did there want Complaints in the Houſe of Lords, who highly reſented the Breach of their Privilege, by the ſearching of the Packets, Cabinets and Studies of the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Brook* for Papers, at the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament: For which Sir *William Beecher* the Agent, one of the Clarks of the Council, being brought before them, tho' he alledg'd the Command of the two Secretaries of State for Juſtification of Himſelf, yet he was committed Priſoner to the *Fleet*. Thus began the black Cloud to ſpread it ſelf on all Sides, which at firſt appear'd but like a Man's Hand, yet afterwards overſhadow'd and confounded three Kingdoms.

The Earl of Strafford's *Troubles.*

The King perſuades him to come to Parliament.

III. 1. The Parliament had not ſat above eight Days, when the Publick was allarm'd with a new Matter, and the Fortunes of the Earl of *Strafford* began to have their fatal Operation. We underſtand from *Whitelock* that that great Man was firſt urg'd by the King at *York* to appear in Parliament, as one of whoſe Service he ſhou'd have particular Occaſion, much relying upon his Fidelity and Abilities. But the Earl humbly deſir'd his Majeſty to excuſe his Going at that Time, alledging, ‘ That he ſhou'd not be ‘ able to do his Majeſty any Service there, but rather be a ‘ Means to hinder his Affairs; as foreſeeing that the Envy ‘ and Animoſity of the Parliament and the *Scots* wou'd be ‘ turn'd againſt him. Whereas if he kept out of their Sight, ‘ he ſhou'd be leſs in their Thoughts; and if they ſhou'd ‘ proſecute him, when at a Diſtance, he might better avoid ‘ the Conſequence, and retire from Danger, go over to ‘ *Ireland*, or any other Place, where he might be moſt ſer‘ viceable to his Majeſty. But if he ſhou'd throw himſelf ‘ into their Power, by appearing in Parliament, he knew ‘ that the *Scots* and all their Party were ſo provok'd at his ‘ coming againſt them, that they wou'd immediately en‘ deavour his Ruin.’ The King, notwithſtanding theſe Reaſons, continu'd very earneſt for the Earl's coming up to Parliament; for which he laid his Commands upon him and told him, *That as he was King of* England, *he was able to protect him from any Danger; and that the Parliament ſhou'd not touch one Hair of his Head.* The Earl thank'd the King, but reply'd, *That if there ſhou'd happen any Difference between his Majeſty and his Parliament concerning him, it wou'd prove a mighty Diſturbance to his Majeſty's Affairs; and that he had rather ſuffer himſelf, than his Maſter's Affairs ſhou'd in any meaſure ſuffer upon his Account.* But the King remain'd unalterable in this Reſolution, and declar'd *That he wou'd not want his Advice, in the great Tranſactions that were like to be in this Parliament*; and in obedience to his Commands, the Earl prepar'd for his Journey.

He reſolves upon it.

But before his Removal, ſome of his Friends in Parliament poſted Letters to him in the *North*, advertiſing him of Secret Deſigns againſt him, and the Apprehenſion they had that a Storm was gathering, which wou'd ſhortly be diſcharg'd upon him; leaving it to his own Judgment whether to come up to the Parliament or not. However they adviſ'd him, if he did reſolve to come, that he ſhou'd come prepar'd to impeach ſome of the Principal of his Enemies of a Confederacy with the *Scots* in their invading of *England*, and ſo as the Duke of *Buckingham* had formerly treated the Earl of *Briſtol*, to cruſh their Accuſations in the Bud, by obliging them firſt to clear themſelves. Thoſe who were his intimate Friends, adviſ'd him abſolutely to decline his Appearance in Parliament, and made uſe of the ſame Arguments that he had before urg'd to the King. But being once reſolv'd, nothing cou'd intimidate this couragious Earl, who had much more of the Oak than the Willow in his Temper; ſo that confiding in his own Innocence and Abilities, and conceiving he had got ſufficient Evidence againſt the Lord *Say* and other Friends to the *Scots*, and digeſting his Intelligence almoſt into the Form of an Impeachment, he took Poſt with the ſame, deſigning to preſent it to the Houſe of Pears at his firſt Arrival. But his Enemies prov'd too ſubtle and diligent for him; and knowing how great Influence the firſt Blow muſt have, before he cou'd accompliſh his Intentions, they prevented him by an Impeachment as quick as it was unexpected.

Several Speeches againſt him.

For upon *Wedneſday* the eleventh of *November*, a ſudden Motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, by his declar'd Foe Mr. *Pym*, alledging That he had a Matter of Importance to acquaint the Houſe, and deſir'd that the Doors might be lock'd up, and the Keys laid upon the Table. This being done, and a ſecret Advertiſement given to ſome of the Lords to keep their Houſe from riſing, Mr. *Pym* in a long labour'd Speech, conſiſting of ſeveral Topicks, inveigh'd againſt the Earl with all his uſual Arts and Aggravations, *who from a zealous Patriot, had long ſince turn'd an Apoſtate, and became the greateſt Enemy to the Liberties of his Country, and the greateſt Promoter of Tyranny, that any Age had produc'd.* ------ He inſtanc'd in many high and imperious Actions both in *England* and *Ireland*, and mingled ſome lighter Paſſages of his Vanity and Amours, that they who were ſufficiently incens'd againſt him for the former, might have leſs eſteem for his Virtue and Diſcretion; and concluded with a ſolemn Motion to all the worthy Members, to prevent the Continuance of that great Man's Power and Credit with the King. Mr. *Pym* was ſeconded by Sir *John Clotworthy*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman purpoſely brought into this Parliament, who made a long and confus'd Relation of his Tyrannical Carriage in *Ireland*,

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and particularly that at his leaving that Kingdom, he had declar'd, *That if he return'd, he wou'd not leave a* Scotch-Man *to inhabit in* Ireland. Sir *John Hotham* and ſome *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen continu'd the Invective, and inſiſted upon an Expreſſion made by the Earl, *That they ſhou'd find the little Finger of the King's Prerogative heavier than the Loins of the Law*; which Expreſſion, at this Time miſtaken, extreamly increas'd the Paſſion and Prejudice againſt him. So that in Concluſion, after many Invectives and Hours ſpent, it was mov'd according to a ſecret Reſolution before made, That the Earl might be forthwith impeach'd of High-Treaſon; which was no ſooner mention'd, than it found almoſt an univerſal Approbation and Conſent from the whole Houſe.

He is impeach'd in the Houſe of Lords.

And committed to Cuſtody.

Mr. *Pym* was appointed for the fatal Meſſenger to perform this Office, who enter'd the Houſe of Lords but a few Minutes after the Earl's firſt Appearance there, and in the Name of all the Commons of *England* impeach'd the ſaid Earl, with the Addition of all his Titles, of High Treaſon, and other heinous Crimes and Miſdemeanours; deſiring in their Name that he might be immediately ſequeſter'd from all Councils, and be put into ſafe Cuſtody. Upon which, the Earl, with more Clamour than became the Gravity of that High Court, was call'd upon to withdraw, hardly obtaining Leave to be firſt heard in his Place, tho' he had a Right to challenge it. He then 'pathetically lamented his great Misfortune, to lye under ſo heavy a Charge; profeſs'd his Innocence and Integrity, deſiring he might have his Liberty, till ſome Guilt ſhou'd be prov'd againſt him: He wiſh'd them to conſider what fatal Miſchiefs they were bringing upon Themſelves, if upon a general Charge without the mention of any one Crime, they committed a Peer of the Realm to Priſon, and of what Conſequence ſuch a Precedent might be to their Privilege and Birth-Right;' and then withdrew. The Peers upon a very ſhort Debate reſolv'd, 'That he ſhou'd be committed to the Cuſtody of the Uſher of the Black Rod, till the Commons ſhou'd produce a particular Charge againſt him.' Whereupon he was immediately committed to the Cuſtody of Mr. *Maxwel* the Uſher; and that the Commons might diſable him of the Teſtimony and Aſſiſtance of Sir *George Ratcliff* his great Friend and Confident, it was preſently reſolv'd to make him a Party, and accuſe him of High-Treaſon and Confederacy with the Earl. And when a remarkable Debate aroſe upon his being a Member of the Parliament in *Ireland*, Whether he cou'd without Breach of Privilege be ſent for? It was reſolv'd as a Thing out of all Doubt, 'That in Caſe of High-Treaſon, Privilege of Parliament neither here nor there cou'd protect any Man:' A Reſolution which they wholly ſet aſide, when ſome of their own Members came to be accus'd of the ſame Crime.

A Failure in him.

He lyes under great Hardſhips.

Here again it was conceiv'd that the Earl did not ſhew that exalted Courage and Reſolution, which formerly had conducted him through ſo many Difficulties, in giving over his Deſign: For tho' he had loſt the Opportunity of ſtriking the firſt Blow, yet he had Time enough to ſtrike the ſecond, which might have been a ſingular Advantage to his Preſervation. For had he offer'd his Impeachment, and proſecuted it in the ſame Steps and Method, as that which was brought againſt him, it was thought the Buſineſs on both Sides might have been huſh'd up without much Damage to either. But his own Fate now began to hurry him from one Extremity to another; and not many Days after, upon Articles exhibited by Mr. *Pym*, he was committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*. The Commons us'd the ſureſt Methods to cut off all Advantages from him, and order'd, 'That no Member of their Houſe ſhou'd viſit Him, during his Reſtraint, without Licence firſt obtain'd from the Houſe;' and the like Order was alſo obſerv'd in the Houſe of Lords. And that they might the more effectually ruin him, they voted a peculiar and cloſe Committee; which was oppos'd by ſeveral, and reſented by an old Factioner, Sir *Peter Hayman*, who alledg'd *It was making the reſt of the Members ſee by other Mens Eyes.* This was obſerv'd by Mr. *Warwick*, who remembring how turbulent he had been in the third Parliament, with a Satyrical Laugh told him *Every Parliament muſt out-pitch the other by a Bar.* In ſum, the Earl was hunted and purſu'd with all the Marks of an inſatiable Deſire after Blood; yet Sir *Roger Manley* intimates as if that Thirſt might have been allay'd at firſt, who tells us that there were ſome Motions made in order to his Preſervation, in caſe the King wou'd conſent to advance ſome of the Grandees of the Party to the great Offices of the Crown: But that being delay'd, or imprudently manag'd, they became more implacable than before. So that this great Man now felt the Effects of his rough and haughty Temper, and found the Irregularities and Hardſhips he had formerly promoted againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, redoubled upon himſelf.

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2. By this large Step the Houſe of Commons ſoon became formidable to the whole Nation; and they ſeem'd to have laid the main Streſs of their Deſigns upon this Hinge, the Removal of the Earl: For ſome of them were heard to ſay, *If they cou'd perſuade the King to part with* Strafford, *he cou'd then deny them Nothing.* And to make the Blow full and fatal, ſuch Care was taken, that the Earl cou'd not be admitted to Bail, tho' ſeveral of High Quality and unqueſtionable Security had offer'd their Service; ſo that all he cou'd obtain was to have Council and a Solicitor.

The Commons borrow Mony.

Having gain'd ſo great a Point, the Commons found Time to conſider the Burden and Charge which lay upon the *Northern* Countries in maintaining two great Armies in their Bowels; therefore by Way of Relief, they order'd the Borrowing a hundred Thouſand Pounds upon Intereſt from the City of *London*; for which ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons ſtood engag'd, till ſuch Time as it cou'd be repaid out of the Subſidies to be rais'd. Of which Mony, fifty Thouſand Pounds was ſent as a Preſent to the General of the *Scotch* Army; which Gratuity, B. *Guthry* tells us, was to be altogether without Prejudice to the eight Hundred and fifty Pounds *per Diem*, formerly appointed them.

Debates about the Judges.

Shortly after there aroſe a great Debate in the Houſe concerning the Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, upon which Mr. *Selden*, and the reſt of his Fellow Priſoners, had demanded to be bail'd, but were refus'd by the Judges of the *King's Bench*, who requir'd of them Sureties for their good Behaviour. This, tho' happing twelve Years before, was ſo far aggravated by ſome, that they mov'd 'That the Priſoners might have Reparation out of the Eſtates of thoſe Judges, who then ſat in the *King's Bench*, and remanded them to Priſon;' which Judges they nam'd to be *Hyde*, *Jones*, and *Whitelock*; but for Judge *Crook*, one of the ſame Court, they excus'd him, as differing in Opinion from the reſt. Upon which Mr. *Bulſtrode Whitelock*, Son to the Judge, ſtood up and ſpoke in Behalf of his Father, 'That it was not unknown to ſeveral worthy Members of the Houſe, that Judge *Whitelock* had been an able and faithful Aſſertor of the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of this Kingdom, for which he had been many ways a Sufferer: Particularly by a cloſe Impriſonment, for what he ſaid and did, as a Member of this Houſe in a former Parliament. And he appeals to thoſe noble Gentlemen, who remember thoſe Paſſages, and ſome who were then Sufferers with him. And for his Opinion and Carriage in the Caſe of the *Habeas Corpus*, it had been the ſame with Judge *Crook*'s, for which he appeals to many there preſent.' This Motion was ſeconded by Mr. *Hampden* and ſeveral others, who affirm'd much of the Fact, and expreſs'd themſelves with great Reſpect and Honour to the Memory of the deceaſed Judge, who was thereupon reckon'd by the Houſe in the ſame Degree with Judge *Crook*, as to the Cenſure and Proceedings.

A bold Attempt.

A Speech of Sir Edward Deering.

This Matter was not long over before the Houſe was allarm'd by a bold Attempt of one *James* a Papiſt upon Mr. *Heyward*, an active Juſtice of Peace in *Weſtminſter*, who had carefully drawn up a Catalogue of the Recuſants there, to be preſented to the Committee of Religion. This ſo far provok'd the Zeal of Mr. *James*, that meeting him in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, he publickly ſtabb'd him. Mr. *Heyward* eſcap'd with Life; but the Fact, tho' done by one little better than a Mad-Man, caus'd a great Diſturbance, and help'd to ſwell all the old Fears and Jealouſies of the Dangers from Popery and Papiſts. Religion began now to be more and more the Outcry of the Parliament and People; and in a grand Committee for that Purpoſe the zealous Sir *Edward Deering* made his ſecond Speech, crying aloud, *That God's true Religion was violently invaded by two ſeeming Enemies, but indeed, like* Herod *and* Pilate, *faſt Friends for the Deſtruction of the Truth; the* Papiſts *for one Party, and the* Prelating Faction *for the other.* Likewiſe declaring, *That he had rather ſerve one as far off as* Tiber, *than to have him come ſo near as the* Thames; *a* Pope *at* Rome *wou'd do him leſs Hurt, than a* Patriarch *might do at* Lambeth. And he concluded with a Motion, 'To ſelect a Committee of a Few, and to empower them for the Diſcovery of the Numbers of oppreſſed Miniſters, under the Tyranny of the Biſhops for theſe ten Years laſt paſt.

3. Upon the Removal of the Earl of *Strafford*, the Parliament's next Aim was at the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and their Deſign was to ſequeſter him from the King's Councils, then to confine him to his Dioceſe, and laſtly to deprive him of his Archiepiſcopal Authority. This appears to be the utmoſt of their Intentions at this Time; in order to which it was thought proper that his Majeſty ſhou'd be firſt mov'd to releaſe his high Oppoſer the Biſhop of *Lincoln* from his long Impriſonment in the *Tower*, and to reſtore him to his Place in the Houſe of Peers. This was

The Biſhop of Lincoln *releas'd.*

done upon the 16th of *November*, five Days after the firſt Confinement of the Earl of *Strafford*; and the following being a Day of Humiliation, he was conducted into the Abby Church at *Weſtminſter*, and there he officiated as Dean, before ſix Biſhops who attended him thither. He had not been many Hours in the Houſe of Peers, before he was amaz'd to ſee ſuch warm Proceedings, and ſuch violent Intereſts on foot; where the diſcontented Party thought Themſelves ſure of this Prelate, and that a Man of his high Spirit wou'd not forget his former Sufferings. He ſhew'd ſome Reſentments indeed againſt the Archbiſhop and the Lord-Keeper, who had oppos'd his Inlargement, and he was at firſt more honour'd than any of his Order: But in a few Days they found themſelves extreamly miſtaken, inſomuch that one of them cry'd out, *We have conjur'd up a Spirit, I wou'd we cou'd lay him again*; and ſome directly declar'd, *That he was good for Nothing*. His Majeſty was ſoon acquainted with his Loyalty, ‘ and ‘ that he took the Freedom to fall ſharply upon thoſe Lords ‘ to whom he ow'd his Releaſement, for not ſpeaking dutifully of his Majeſty, or reverently of his Actions.’ Upon which the King, notwithſtanding former Prejudices, ſent for him, and had a Conference with him till after Midnight: And to make him ſome Satisfaction for his paſt Troubles, he commanded all Orders Filed up againſt him to be cancell'd and eraz'd, that no Memorial of them might remain to Poſterity.

Miſlik'd by the Party.

Orders were likewiſe made by the Houſe of Commons for releaſing ſuch as were impriſon'd by the *Star Chamber*, *Council-Table*, or *High-Commiſſion*; and more particularly for the remanding of the three famous Criminals mention'd in 1637, *Prynne*, *Baſtwick*, and *Burton*, from the ſeveral Iſlands to which they were confin'd. There can hardly be a greater Inſtance of the mutinous Spirits of the City of *London*, now the Sink of all the ill Humours of the Kingdom, than the triumphant Entry of theſe Incendiaries. *Prynne* and *Burton* landed at the ſame time at *Southampton*, where they were careſs'd with extraordinary Marks of Eſteem and Affection, and their Charges were not only born with great Magnificence, but liberal Preſents were ſent them; which Method and Ceremony was continu'd to them all their Journey. And as they came near *London*, Multitudes of People met them ſome Miles from the Place; and at two in the Afternoon they were attended into the City by above ten thouſand Perſons, with Bays, Roſemary and Flowers, and the loudeſt Expreſſions of Joy for their Deliverance and Return; mingling in their Acclamations bitter Expreſſions againſt the Biſhops, *who had ſo unmercifully perſecuted ſuch godly Men!* This was upon the twenty eighth of *November*; and a few Days after, upon the Return of Dr. *Baſtwick*, in the ſame triumphant Manner, they were admitted to the Houſe of Commons to preſent their Petitions againſt their Perſecutors; which they did with all imaginable Aggravation, and Defiance of that Court of Juſtice that had cenſur'd them.

The Return of Prynne, Burton *and* Baſtwick.

This had a ſtrange Influence both upon the City and the Parliament, and more and more exaſperated the Minds of both: And now having gather'd Strength, upon the ſeventh Day of *December*, the Commons enter'd upon the grand Debate concerning *Ship-Mony*; at which time the famous Lord *Falkland* made a vehement Speech againſt that Impoſition, declaring *That they had done nothing, if they did no more*, highly inveighing againſt the Judges, *who ſhou'd have been as Dogs to defend the Sheep, but had prov'd as Wolves to worry them.* Then he declar'd, that the Cauſe of all our Miſeries and Jealouſies, was, *That a moſt excellent Prince had been moſt infinitely abus'd by his Judges, telling him that by Policy he might do what he pleas'd:* And laſtly he mark'd out the Lord-Keeper *Finch* as the principal Adviſer and Abetter in this Matter. Upon the whole the Commons reſolv'd *Nemine Contradicente*, without Examination of the Reaſons of the Judges, ‘ That the Charge impos'd upon the Subjects for the providing and furniſhing ‘ of Ships, and the Aſſeſſments for raiſing of Mony for ‘ that Purpoſe, commonly call'd *Ship-Mony*, the extrajudi‘cial Opinion of Judges, and the Ship-Writs themſelves, ‘ in the whole and every Part of them, are againſt the Laws ‘ of the Realm, the Right of Property, and the Liberty of ‘ the Subject, contrary to former Reſolutions in Parliament, ‘ and the *Petition of Right*:’ All which was afterwards confirm'd in the Houſe of Lords.

Lord Falkland's *Speech*

Ship-Mony condemn'd by the Commons.

On the 8th Day of the ſame Month, the Court was under ſome Affliction by the Loſs of the Princeſs *Anne*, the King's third Daughter, who dy'd at *Richmond* before ſhe was full four Years old. She was a Child of pregnant Parts, much above her Age; and the Manner of her dying, ſhews what religious Education her Father had given her: For being minded by thoſe about her to call upon God, when the Pangs of Death were upon her, ſhe anſwer'd, *I am not able to ſay my long Prayer*, meaning the Lord's Prayer; *but I will ſay my ſhort one*; which was, *Lighten my Eyes, O Lord, leſt I ſleep the Sleep of Death!* Which being ſaid, ſhe quietly gave up the Ghoſt.

Death of the Princeſs Anne.

4. None had greater Influence upon the publick Affairs than the *Scotch* Commiſſioners and their Dependents; who were vaſtly eſteem'd, and almoſt Idoliz'd by great Numbers of the Citizens, as was formerly obſerv'd. The Earl of *Rothes* and the Lord *Lowdon* were the Chiefs of theſe Reformers, who were carefully lodg'd in the Heart of the City near *London-Stone*, in a large Houſe ſo near St. *Antholin*'s Church, that there was a Way out of it into a Gallery of the Church; where one of their own Chaplains always preach'd, who were reſorted to by Multitudes, out of Zeal, Faction or Curioſity, to that Degree, that on every *Sunday* the Church was crowded within and loaded without, from Morning till Night; tho' their Sermons, as the Lord *Clarendon* ſays, were the moſt flat and inſipid that cou'd be deliver'd upon any Deliberation. They were highly careſs'd by the Parliament, and a new Committee of both Houſes, ſuch as were very acceptable to them, was nominated to renew the Treaty. Then they publiſh'd their Declaration againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in which they ſhew'd, ‘ That ‘ as they reſerv'd Thoſe of their own Nation, who had ‘ been Incendiaries between the two Kingdoms, to the Inquiſition of their own Parliament; ſo they wou'd reſt ſatisfy'd with what Juſtice the Wiſdom of this Parliament ‘ ſhou'd think fit to decree againſt thoſe two Criminals.’ That Expreſſion concerning *Thoſe of their own Nation*, plainly ſhew'd, That they deſign'd no Hurt to the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, againſt whom at firſt all their Reſentments were levell'd. But by means of his Friendſhip to the Lord *Lowdon*, his Dexterity with the *Scots* Commiſſioners at *York*, and his Promiſes of future Offices and Services, he had obtain'd both from the *Engliſh* and the *Scotch* all Aſſurance of Indemnity; which they ſo punctually obſerv'd, that they were not more induſtrious to procure Evidence and Information againſt the other two great Men, than they were careful to divert and ſtifle all that cou'd be produc'd againſt the Marqueſs. But Secretary *Windebank* durſt not ſtand theirs nor the *Engliſh* Scrutiny, who being accus'd of reprieving ſome Prieſts and Jeſuites, upon a Summons from the Commons on *December* the 10th fled beyond the Seas: Which muſt needs make an Impreſſion upon the King, that he muſt be aſſaulted on the one Hand, and deſerted on the other; becauſe not able to protect his Miniſters, nor they able to vindicate Themſelves.

The Power and Influence of the Scotch *Commiſſioners.*

Secretary Windebank's *Flight.*

The Intereſt and Influence of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners daily increas'd the Boldneſs and Hatred of the inferior Sort againſt the eſtabliſh'd Church, inſomuch that immediately after the Secretary's Flight, Alderman *Pennington*, with a Multitude of the Refuſe of the People, preſented a ſtrange Petition to the Commons, alledg'd to be ſubſcrib'd by fifteen Thouſand Men, in which they did not only complain of *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, but in plain Terms requir'd the total Extirpation of *Archbiſhops*, *Lord Biſhops*, *Deans*, *Archdeacons*, &c. This led the Way for other Petitions of the like Nature, which were generally procur'd by a ſtrange Diſingenuity, which came extreamly in Practice. Firſt they uſually prepar'd a Petition very modeſt and dutiful for the Form, and not very unreaſonable in the Subſtance. which they carefully communicated at ſome publick Meeting, to get it receiv'd with Approbation. The Subſcription of a few Hands fill'd the Paper it ſelf, which contain'd the Petition, and therefore more Sheets were annex'd for the Reception of the Number, which was to countenance the Undertaking. When many Hands were procur'd, the Petition it ſelf was cut off, and a New One, anſwerable to the Deſign on Foot, annex'd to the long Liſt of Names, which were ſubſcrib'd to the former Petition.

Unfair Methods in Petitioning.

Of this Sort was *Pennington*'s Petition, which ſtruck ſo boldly at all Eccleſiaſtical Government, that it was very ſhocking to a Parliament not yet prepar'd for ſuch large Steps. Many ſober Men in the Houſe were ſurpris'd at it, tho' they were not unwilling to have the Abuſes in Church-Government reform'd; ſo that after a long Debate, the Petition was referr'd, and only order'd not to be rejected. But thoſe that favour'd the Buſineſs, tho' they were unſucceſsful in it, ſhortly after fell upon another Topick more plauſible, which was an Inſpection into the Legality of the late Convocation, and the Canons there confirm'd. Several ſevere Speeches were made upon this Occaſion: Sir *Edward Deering* call'd the Convocation *A Conventual-Synodical-Aſſembly of Commiſſioners, a threefold Chimæra, a Monſter to our Law, and a* Cerberus *to our Religion:* That the Clergy *had ramm'd into their Canons a prodigious, ungodly Oath*; and inſiſted upon the Illegality of all their Determinations, without the Conſent of the Laity. Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes* reflected violently upon the Faults and Miſchiefs ariſing from moſt of the Canons Themſelves, beſides the unprecedented Oath, and concluded with a Motion to

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have them all damn'd, as dangerous and deſtructive to the Laws of the Land and the Rights of Parliaments. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* ſpoke warmly againſt the proud *Beckets* and *Woolſey* Prelates; *but if he found but one good* Cranmer, Latimer, *or* Ridley, *he ſhou'd eſteem them as rich Jewels fit to be ſet in the King's own Cabinet:* But for the Canons, *they were ſo heavy and droſſy, that he wou'd have them melted down and diſſolv'd, diſmounted and deſtroy'd.* Mr. *Holborn* ſpoke two Hours in Defence of them; but after two Days Debate, the Commons reſolv'd, without dividing, 'That the Clergy had no Power to make Canons, Conſtitutions or Laws to bind either Laity or Clergy, without a Parliament; and that the Canons are againſt the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, the King's Prerogative, Property of the Subject, the Right of Parliaments, and do tend to Faction and Sedition.' The *Benevolence* granted to the King was in the ſame manner condemn'd; and to keep the Clergy in Awe, they likewiſe fram'd a Bill for fining all ſuch as ſat in Convocation, ſo that none of them durſt appear to defend their ancient Rights.

They are all condemn'd.

All this was done on the 15th of this Month, by which Time *Prynne* and his Adherents had fill'd the Town with Libels and Ballads full of all manner of Scurrility againſt the Biſhops, eſpecially againſt *Canterbury* Himſelf. This was the Prelude to the Downfal of the Archbiſhop, who having been heavily charg'd by the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, on the 18th was by Mr. *Denzil Holles* impeach'd in the Name of all the Commons of *England*, of no leſs than High Treaſon; and immediately committed to the Cuſtody of Mr. *Maxwell*, the Uſher of the Black Rod. The Accuſations againſt him were numerous, and the Hatred of all Sorts almoſt univerſal; yet nothing particular was brought up in Form to the Houſe of Lords till ten Weeks after; all which Time he lay at a very great Expence. But the Reſentments of the great Men ſoon appear'd in that remarkable Caſe of Sir *Robert Howard* and the Lady Viſcounteſs *Purbeck*. The latter having liv'd in an open State of Adultery with Sir *Robert*, was in the Year 1627 ſentenc'd in the *High-Commiſſion* to do Penance: But avoiding that Sentence by a Retreat, after ſome Years continuance in the ſame Courſe, and having ſeveral Children by him, they became ſo bold as to live together in the Face of the Court at *Weſtminſter*. This gave great Offence to the King himſelf, who particularly encourag'd the Archbiſhop to proceed againſt them in the *High-Commiſſion*, by whoſe Order they were both confin'd, till ſhe ſhou'd perform the Penance formerly put upon her. Sir *Robert* found Means to convey her away in Man's Apparel, but he himſelf was for that Reaſon continu'd a Priſoner for two or three Months. This was ſo reſented by Sir *Robert* and others, that as ſoon as the Archbiſhop was now committed, upon his Petition, the Lords immediately condemn'd him to pay five Hundred Pounds by way of Satisfaction to Sir *Robert*; and their Commands were ſo ſtrict, that he was oblig'd to lay down the Mony without Delay, which he did with great Difficulty, and the Help of Friends.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury *impeach'd of Treaſon.*

The Lady Purbeck's *Caſe.*

5. The Commons having ſecur'd the great Stateſ-man the Earl of *Strafford*, and the great Church-man Archbiſhop *Laud*, and driven away the chief Secretary, began to prepare an Impeachment againſt the great Officer of the Law, the Lord-Keeper *Finch*. Upon Notice of which, on the 21ſt of this Month, he deſir'd Leave to ſpeak for Himſelf in the Houſe of Commons; which he did in a very eloquent and moving Speech, deliver'd with an excellent Grace and Geſture. But notwithſtanding the Pity he had rais'd, he was voted a Traytor, '1. For refuſing to read the Remonſtrance againſt the Lord-Treaſurer *Weſton*, when the Parliament deſir'd it. 2. For perſuading and threatning the Judges to deliver their Opinion in Favour of *Ship-Mony*. 3. For ſeveral illegal Actions in Foreſt Matters; and 4. For ill Offices done in making the King diſſolve the laſt Parliament, *&c.*' The Lord *Clarendon* makes it viſible, That this great Man was ſtill ſo much in Favour of the Houſe of Commons, that they wou'd have gladly preſerv'd him in his Place, and that they us'd Artifices to give him all Advantages; but finding the Accuſation cou'd not be ſtifled, they gave him an Opportunity to fly into *Holland*, before it was carry'd up to the Houſe of Lords. Upon his Flight, which hapned next Morning, Sir *Edward Littleton*, Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, was made Lord-Keeper in his Place; a Man of great Reputation in the Law, an excellent Judge, and above all Suſpicion of Corruption, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter.

The Lord Keeper Finch *voted a Traytor.*

He flys.

This being done, the Commons proceeded to threaten ſeveral of the Judges, and caus'd the Lords to oblige them to put in great Bail for their Appearance upon all Occaſions, ſo that they might lye continually under the Laſh of the Parliament. Thus the Commons became formidable to the whole Nation, and in a few Weeks had remov'd two of the greateſt Counſellors of the Kingdom from their Maſter's Ear, under the Name of High-Treaſon, frighted away the Lord-Keeper and one of the Secretaries of State, and prepar'd many of the principal Gentlemen throughout the Kingdom, to expect ſuch a Meaſure of Puniſhment as their future Carriage ſhou'd draw upon them for their former Failures. And indeed great Numbers, from the Higheſt to the Loweſt, upon the Account of *Ship-Mony*, or ſome other Grievance, found themſelves involv'd under ſome of their Votes, and liable to be proſecuted upon the firſt Provocation: Whereby they were kept in ſuch terrible Awe in both Houſes, that they durſt not appear to diſlike, much leſs to oppoſe whatſoever was propos'd. For this Reaſon many of the King's Friends, who perceiv'd themſelves any ways obnoxious, made it their main Buſineſs to ſooth and oblige the new Reformers, who being ſupported by the *Scotch*, began to bear down all before them. So that his Majeſty was often not only debarr'd, but expos'd to the treacherous Advice of ſome who were moſt oblig'd to him. Yet ſtill the Commons ſhew'd great outward Reſpect to his Perſon, and under Pretence of inſpecting his Revenue, which was graciouſly allow'd them, by a particular Meſſage they promis'd him, *Not only to ſettle and augment it, but to make his Majeſty one of the richeſt Princes in Chriſtendom.*

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Thus after a Seſſion of near two Months, doing vaſt Buſineſs and granting no Mony, they concluded the old Year with an Adjournment of Themſelves, and a ſhort Receſs of ten Days.

A ſhort Receſs.

IV. 1. The King was now exceedingly perplex'd and diſturb'd by the Proceedings of the Parliament, and the Loſs of his moſt faithful Friends; and being infinitely deſirous of ſaving the Earl of *Strafford*, he began to incline to an infirm, tho' ſometimes neceſſary Piece of Policy, namely, courting and obliging his moſt violent Oppoſers. Theſe Men when they found there was no further Danger from *Canterbury*, *Strafford* and others, now reſolv'd to repair as well as demoliſh; and accordingly Care was taken to infuſe into the King by the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, who had ſecur'd his own Stake, 'That his Majeſty having declar'd to his People, That he ſincerely intended a *Reformation* of all Exceſſes in Church and State, the moſt gracious Inſtance he cou'd give of ſuch Intention, was to call ſuch to his Council, whom the People thought inclin'd to ſuch a Reformation.' Hereupon the Earls of *Hertford*, *Bedford*, *Eſſex* and *Briſtol*, the Lords *Say*, *Savile* and *Kimbolton*, were ſworn Privy-Counſellors all in one Day; and the Earl of *Warwick*, in a very ſhort time after. All this the King did chearfully, juſtly inclining to ſome of them, and not miſtruſting any Inconvenience from the other, who he thought wou'd be reform'd, or at leaſt reſtrain'd by this Act of Grace. But ſome of them, notwithſtanding, prov'd of the greateſt Diſſervice to him; for inſtead of preſerving and vindicating their new Juriſdiction, they reſolv'd principally to ſupport the Greatneſs of the Parliament, to which they had reaſon to believe they ow'd their own Greatneſs. And therefore when the King requir'd the Advice of his Privy-Council, in Matters of the higheſt and niceſt Importance, theſe new Counſellors declar'd 'That they might not give his Majeſty any Advice, that was not agreeable to the Senſe of the Parliament, his *Great Council*, by whoſe Wiſdom he was entirely to guide himſelf.' As this Notion was unaccountably urg'd by ſome, ſo it was ſtupidly ſubmitted to by others; ſo that the King in a Moment found himſelf bereav'd of all publick Advice, when he moſt needed it: And tho' the ſole Buſineſs at this time was to conſider what Propoſals of the Parliament were to be receiv'd, and what to be rejected; he was now told, *That he was only to be adviſed by the two Houſes*, or rather, that he muſt do whatever they deſir'd of him.

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Several new Privy Counſellors.

Beſides the making of theſe new Privy-Counſellors, a further Project was laid for the Advancement of the chief of their Party: The Earl of *Bedford* was to be Lord Treaſurer; in Order to which Biſhop *Juxon* of *London* had already begg'd Leave of the King to reſign his Staff, and ſo reſolv'd to withdraw from the impending Storm with no leſs Honour than Security. Mr. *Pym* was to be made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Lord *Say* Maſter of the Wards; and the Lord *Cottington*, upon Promiſe of Indemnity for the future, was to ſurrender both theſe Places. Mr. *Denzil Holles* was to ſucceed *Windebank* as Secretary of State, and Proviſion was made for the Satisfaction of *Eſſex*, *Kimbolton*, *Hampden* and others, whoſe overflowing Zeal at that time might probably have been diverted. Thus far the King comply'd with the Project for Preferments, and it was unhappy that it was not fully executed, that he might have had ſome able Men to adviſe and aſſiſt him; which it was believ'd theſe Men would have done, after they had been ſo thoroughly engag'd: Whereas his Majeſty had none left near him in any great Truſt, excepting a very few about his Perſon, who did not betray, or ſink under

A further Project for Places,

But not executed.

the Weight and Reproach of it. *Bedford* and *Pym* had both engag'd to obtain a liberal Proviſion and Settlement for the King's Revenues, the Want of which had occaſion'd all the ill and unpopular Projects; and others had made ſuitable Promiſes: But by means of ſome Accidents, the King unhappily ſuſpended the Execution of this Deſign; which ſerv'd but to increaſe the Party's Hatred againſt the Earl of *Strafford*. And to this Purpoſe was hinted afterwards in one of the King's Declarations, in which he ſignified 'What Overtures had been made by them, what Importunity for Offices and Preferments, what great Services ſhou'd have been done for him, and what other Undertaking, even to have ſav'd the Life of the Earl of *Strafford*.' By which Diſcovery, as he blemiſh'd the Reputation of ſome Leaders in the Eyes of many of the People, ſo he gave no ſmall Cauſe of Wonder to many others, when they were told from his own Pen, *at how cheap a Rate* he might have ſav'd the Life of ſuch an able and faithful Miniſter.

Mr. St. John *made Sollicitor-General.*

All that was done at this time was the Advancement of Mr. *Oliver St. John*, one of the moſt inveterate of the Party, who by the Earl of *Bedford*'s Means was made Sollicitor-General, in room of *Herbert*, who was remov'd into *Banks*'s Place of Attorney-General, as he was into that of *Littleton* in the *Common-Pleas*. The King readily comply'd in his Preferment, hoping that this noted Lawyer and Patriot wou'd in the preſent Exigence have been very uſeful to ſupport his Service in the Houſe of Commons, where his Authority was then very great; at leaſt, that he wou'd be aſham'd to appear in any thing prejudicial to the Crown. But his long and rooted Malignity againſt the Government was ſuch, that he loſt no Credit with his Party, who had no Apprehenſion of his changing Sides: And he made good their Confidence; no ways abating his black and clowdy Diſpoſition, or diſſembling it; but notwithſtanding his Obligations as Sollicitor, with equal Obſtinacy he oppos'd every thing that might advance the King's Service.

The Keeper Finch *impeach'd.*

2. In the mean Time, the Houſe of Commons, after their ſhort Receſs, proceeded in the ſame Steps, and gave Incouragement to all diſcontented Petitions againſt the Biſhops and the Hierarchy. And upon the fourteenth of *January* they exhibited Articles of Impeachment againſt the abſent Lord-Keeper *Finch*: Upon which Occaſion the Lord *Falkland* made a vehement Speech againſt that Miniſter, declaring *That his were Crimes of Supererogation, ſo that High-Treaſon was but part of the Charge: He gave our Goods to the King, our Lands to the Deer, our Liberties to the Sheriffs; ſo that there was no way by which we had not been oppreſs'd and deſtroy'd, if the Power of this Perſon had been equal with his Will, or the Will of his Majeſty had been equal to his Power.* Mr. *Hyde* was a particular Aſſiſtant to his Lordſhip in this Matter, and together with him, Mr. *Whitelock*, and Mr. *St. John*, obtain'd the Thanks of the Houſe, both for this Impeachment, and their transferring the Buſineſs of the *Ship-Money*, and other Matters concerning the Liberty and Property of the Subject.

The Lord Digby's *Speech for Triennial Parliaments*

The Impeachment againſt the Lord *Strafford* was ſtill carry'd on with private and regular Steps; but before the finiſhing Stroke they had a great Point to gain, namely a Remedy to prevent the long Intermiſſion of Parliaments. In which Matter, on the nineteenth of this Month, the Lord *Digby* ſhew'd himſelf very zealous, in a ſevere Speech, where he thus exclaim'd: *Let his Majeſty hear our Complaints never ſo compaſſionately, purge away our Grievances never ſo efficaciouſly, puniſh ill Miniſters never ſo exemplarily, or choſe good ones never ſo exactly; if there be not a way ſettled to keep them good, the Miſchiefs and they will all grow again like* Sampſon's *Locks, and pull down the Houſe about our Heads.* Then he mention'd Mr. *Noy* and Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, who had both been ſo ſignally ſerviceable in *The Petition of Right, yet to the eternal Aggravation of their infamous Treachery, had turn'd Apoſtates to the Common-wealth: The Firſt, he hop'd God had forgiven in the other World; but the Latter muſt not hope to be pardon'd in this, till he be diſpatch'd to the other.* In Concluſion, he declar'd, *That in chaſing ill Miniſters, they did but diſſipate the Clouds that might gather again; but in voting this Bill, they ſhou'd contribute to the perpetuating our Sun, our Sovereign, in his vertical meridian Luſtre.* Accordingly the Bill for Triennial Parliaments was finally paſs'd in the Commons, and carry'd up to the Lords by the ſaid Lord *Digby*. Having gain'd this Step, they renew'd their Civilities to the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, and within three Days deſcended to this diſhonourable Vote, 'That a *Friendly Aſſiſtance* and *Relief* ſhall be given towards Supply of the Loſſes and Neceſſities of the *Scots*; and that in due Time the Houſe will conſider the Meaſure and Manner of it.

A Vote for the Scotch.

The King's healing Speech to both Houſes.

3. All theſe Proceedings were ungrateful to the King, who ſtill carry'd it with great Patience and Temper, tho' he met with none of his expected Supplies or Aſſiſtance. Therefore to heal all Breaches, upon the twentyfifth of this Month he ſent for both Houſes to the Banqueting-Houſe, where after he had inſiſted upon the Inconveniencies of Delays, and the Preſſures of the two Armies, he inform'd them 'of the *Diſtractions* that were then occaſion'd through the *Connivance* of the Parliament, there being ſome Men, who more maliciouſly than ignorantly, wou'd put no Difference between *Reformation* and *Alteration* of Government: From whence it came that *Divine Service* was irreverently interrupted, and *Petitions* in an indirect Way procur'd and preſented: That he wou'd chearfully concur with them for reforming all *Innovations* both in Church and Common-wealth, and for reducing all things to the ſame Condition they ſtood in the beſt and happieſt Times of Queen *Elizabeth*: And whatſoever Part of his Revenue was found illegal, or heavy to his Subjects, he was willing to lay it down, truſting in their Affections. That he cou'd not but take Notice of many ſtrange *Petitions* given in the Name of divers Counties, againſt the eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church, and of the great Threatnings againſt the *Biſhops*, That they wou'd make them to be but Cyphers, or at leaſt their Voices to be taken away: That if upon ſerious Debate, they cou'd ſhew him that the Biſhops had ſome *Temporal Authority* not ſo neceſſary for the Government of the Church, and upholding Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, he wou'd not be unwilling to have them lay it down; and finally, if they had encroach'd too much upon the Temporality, he was content that all Abuſes of that kind ſhou'd be redreſs'd; and that he wou'd go with them ſo far, and no further. As to their Bill concerning *frequent Parliaments*, he miſlik'd their giving his Power to Sheriffs and Conſtables, but he was content to have a Bill for that Purpoſe, ſo it did not trench upon his Honour and the ancient Prerogative of the Crown, and for that End he had order'd his learned Council to attend upon them; for he own'd that frequent Parliaments were the beſt Means to keep a right Underſtanding between him and his People. To conclude, he had ſhewn them the State of his Affairs, his clear Intentions, and the Rocks they were to avoid, as alſo the Deſire he had to give them Satisfaction; which they ſhould alſo find by thoſe Miniſters he had or ſhou'd have about him, all which he queſtion'd not but wou'd bring Peace and Happineſs to his Subjects, and Contentment to them All.

Complaints againſt Papiſts.

It is believ'd that if this Speech had been deliver'd in the preceding Parliament, it had hardly fail'd of the Bleſſings of Unity and Peace; for the Conceſſions of it were ſufficient to have reconcil'd all Things. But the ſpecious Proſpect of the *Scotch* Army in the North, and the Influence of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners in the Town, made the leading Members too fond and exalted with their Advantage over the King's Neceſſities: So that inſtead of Thanks for the Speech, and a juſt Conſideration of it, four Days after a Remonſtrance of the two Houſes was deliver'd to his Majeſty, againſt the Impunity of Papiſts, and the Pardon of *Goodman* a Jeſuit, declaring, 'That there was more need now than ever to put the Laws in ſtrict Execution, by reaſon of the great Increaſe of Popery, and great Conflueuce of Popiſh Prieſts, &c. and therefore they deſir'd that *Goodman* might be left to the Mercy of the Law.' Shortly after his Majeſty anſwer'd the two Houſes at *Whitehall* in a gracious Speech, 'That he took in good Part their Care of the true Religion eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom, *from which he wou'd never depart*: That it was againſt his Mind that Popery or Superſtition ſhou'd any ways increaſe; and that he wou'd reſtrain the ſame, by cauſing the Laws to be put in Execution; for which he wou'd ſpeedily publiſh a Proclamation. And that the Reaſon why he repriev'd *Goodman* the Prieſt, was, that neither Queen *Elizabeth*, nor his Father, did ever avow, that any Prieſt in their Times was executed *merely for Religion*: However, he wou'd remit the Cauſe to the two Houſes, and deſir'd them to conſider the Inconveniencies that might fall on his Subjects and *other Proteſtants* abroad by ſo great Severity.' Upon which *Goodman* himſelf in a Petition to the King deſir'd, *That if the Storm was raiſed for his Sake, for the Good of others that he might be made a Sacrifice, and thrown into the Sea.*

The King's Anſwer.

The Scots *Demands.*

But neither cou'd this yielding to the Stream put any Stop to it; for the leading Part of the Houſe depended all upon the *Scots*; and whatſoever their Commiſſioners were pleaſed to demand, was in a Manner granted to them. As Firſt, 'That all Acts made in their Parliament, ſhou'd be publiſh'd in the King's Name with Conſent of the Eſtates. 2. That the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and other Forts of the Kingdom ſhou'd, with the Advice of the

' Eſtates

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'Eſtates in Parliament, be furniſh'd and uſ'd for Defence of the Kingdom. 3. That all *Scotch-Men* in *England* and *Ireland* ſhou'd be reſtor'd to their Liberties, and freed from Cenſure, for ſubſcribing the *Covenant*, and not be oblig'd to any Oath contrary to the Religion there eſtabliſhed. 4. That his Majeſty wou'd not employ any Perſons in any Office or Place, that ſhou'd be judg'd incapable by Sentence of Parliament; nor make uſe of their Service, or grant them Acceſs to his Perſon, without Conſent of Parliament. 5. That all Ships taken and ſtopt, ſhou'd be reſtor'd on both Sides, and four thouſand Pounds immediately advanc'd, towards ſetting forth eighty *Scotch* Ships ſtop'd in the *Engliſh* Ports. 6. That from the Juſtice and Kindneſs of *England*, Reparation be made for the great Loſſes the Kingdom of *Scotland* had ſuſtain'd, and the vaſt Charges they had born in the late Troubles. 7. That all Pamphlets both in *England* and *Ireland*, writ againſt them, be ſuppreſs'd. 8. That Monuments and Tokens of Hoſtility upon the Borders of the two Kingdoms, be taken away; and not only the Garriſons of *Berwick* and *Carliſle* be remov'd, but the Works ſlighted, and the Places diſmantled.

They are debated.

Theſe Demands were in a great Meaſure granted; only the ſixth concerning Reparation was now debated. For the *Scots* being deſir'd to bring in their Account in Writing, they made it amount to five hundred fourteen thouſand one hundred and twenty eight Pounds nine Shillings; beſides four hundred and forty one thouſand Pounds, for their Loſſes and Neglect of their Fortunes; and beſides their eight hundred and fifty Pounds *per Diem* on the Northern Counties, and all their Waſtes and Plunderings. Theſe exorbitant Sums, which they ſtil'd *Modeſt Demands*, at firſt ſtartled the Houſe of Commons, and after ſome Debate, Sir *Jarvis Hollis*, a conſiderable Member, ſtood up, and in a Speech us'd theſe Words: *Our younger Brother of* Scotland, *like* Jacob, *ſeems to ſupplant us, and take away our Birth-Right. No Man had a more charitable Conſtruction of their Intentions than I had, while they made their Addreſſes in humble Diſtance becoming Subjects to their Sovereign;-------but now, Sir, when I ſee them ſwell in their Demands, beyond all Proportion; when I hear them enlarge upon their firſt Propoſitions, and require things unfit for the King to grant, and diſhonourable for this Nation to ſuffer, I cannot but fix a Mark of Danger upon them: I fear we have nouriſh'd in our Boſom thoſe that will ſting us to Death.* Upon this free Speech Sir *Jarvis*, not giving Satisfaction in his Explanation, was expell'd the Houſe; and they proceeded to this Reſolution, 'This Houſe doth conceive the Sum of three hundred thouſand Pounds a fit Proportion for the friendly Aſſiſtance and Relief thought fit to be made towards the Loſſes and Neceſſities of our *Brethren of* Scotland:' And in fine, they accepted the Thanks of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, for the ſaid Aſſiſtance, and the Stile of *Brethren* given them in the Vote of the Houſe. This chargeable Correſpondence between the *Scotch* in Arms, and the *Engliſh* in Parliament, was the fatal Combination that deſtroy'd the King. The Commons look'd upon the *Scots* as their Protectors, and the *Scots* eſteem'd the Commons as their Pay-maſters; and no longer valu'd the King's calling them *Rebels*, while the Parliament call'd them *Friends* and *Brethren*.

Three hundred thouſand Pounds voted them.

4. Having gain'd theſe Advantages, the Commons proceeded more vigorouſly with Relation to Epiſcopacy and the Church, concerning which there paſs'd ſeveral ſmart Sayings and Replies among the Members; and when the Miniſters Remonſtrance about Eccleſiaſtical Government was read, Mr. *Grimſtone* propos'd this ſubtle Argument againſt the Biſhop's Authority: *That Biſhops are* Jure Divino, *is a Queſtion; that Archbiſhops are not* Jure Divino, *is out of Queſtion; Now that Biſhops which are queſtion'd whether* Jure Divino, *or Archbiſhops which out of Queſtion are not* Jure Divino, *ſhou'd ſuſpend Miniſters that are* Jure Divino, *I leave to your Conſideration.* Upon which the learned Mr. *Selden* with great Quickneſs thus retorted his Argument: *That the Convocation is* Jure Divino, *is a Queſtion; that Parliaments are not* Jure Divino, *is out of Queſtion; that Religion is* Jure Divino, *there is no Queſtion: Now that the Convocation which is queſtionable whether* Jure Divino, *and Parliaments which out of Queſtion are not* Jure Divino, *ſhou'd meddle with Religion which queſtionleſs is* Jure Divino, *I leave to your Conſideration, Mr. Speaker.* To which Mr. *Grimſton* reply'd, *But Archbiſhops are not Biſhops, Mr. Speaker:* And to that Mr. *Selden* briskly rejoin'd, *That, Mr. Speaker, is no otherwiſe true, than that Judges are no Lawyers, and Aldermen no Citizens.*

Sharp Repartees.

Debates about Epiſcopacy.

After theſe and the like Rubs, they proceeded to the Conſideration of the *Londoners* Petition, againſt the whole Body of the *Hierarchy*, which had been dormant for about two Months; which occaſion'd many Debates and remarkable Speeches by the Lord *Digby*, Mr. *Fiennes*, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, the Lord *Falkland*, Mr. *Bagſhaw*, Mr. *Plydell*, Mr. *Grimſtone*, &c. The Lord *Digby* was very ſevere upon the Petition, which he compared to *a Comet kindled out of the poyſonous Exhalation of a corrupted Hierarchy*; but the fifteen thouſand that join'd in it he thought was *a terrible Tail, pointing towards the North, which caus'd no leſs Diſtempers by its Influence, than it portended by its Appearance.* The whole he ſaid was *a Mixture of Things Contemptible, Irrational and Preſumptuous.* After many Particulars he agreed *that the Reformation of Church Government was moſt neceſſary; but to ſtrike at the Root, he cou'd never give his Vote till three things were clear'd. Firſt, that no Rule or Boundaries cou'd be ſet ſufficient to reſtrain Biſhops from ſuch Exorbitancies. Secondly, ſuch a Frame of Government muſt be laid before them, as no Time, no Corruption cou'd make liable to Inconveniencies proportionable to thoſe they aboliſh'd. Thirdly, whether that new Model wou'd be practicable in State, and conſiſtent with Monarchy.* The reſt generally inveigh'd againſt the exorbitant Power, and the unneceſſary Severities of the Biſhops, and mov'd for Regulations and Boundaries; but Mr. *Fiennes* and Mr. *Bagſhaw* join'd with the Petition, and were for an utter Extirpation. But they cou'd not immediately come to a Determination in ſo great a Change. Yet in a ſhort time after, they and their Party obtain'd this reſtraining Vote in the Houſe of Commons, 'That no Biſhop ſhou'd have any Vote in Parliament, nor any Judicial Power in the *Star-Chamber*, nor bear any Sway in Temporal Affairs; and that no Clergy-Man whatſoever ſhou'd be in Commiſſion for Juſtices of the Peace.

The Clergy reſtrain'd.

5. During theſe increaſing Diſtractions, the Leiger Ambaſſador of *Holland* having made ſeveral Overtures of a Match between the young Prince of *Orange*, and the Princeſs *Mary*, the King's eldeſt Daughter, his Majeſty very willingly inclin'd to the Alliance, in Regard of that Prince's great Affection to the Proteſtant Religion. Yet he reſolv'd to acquaint the Parliament with his Intentions, before he proceeded to any Determination; which being done in a Speech from the Throne, it was receiv'd with very great Applauſe by the Parliament, and with infinite Satisfaction by the People in general, who were extreamly pleas'd, that the King ſhou'd condeſcend to make a Match with an inferior Prince for the Sake of the Proteſtant Religion. This Marriage, which was concluded a few Weeks after, prov'd afterwards of a wonderful Conſequence to the *Engliſh* Nation; and the very Name of it at preſent much abated the Fears and Jealouſies, which the Parliament had infus'd into the People, of the King's Deſigns to introduce Popery. But theſe they thought fit to revive with all Speed, and accordingly the very next Day four Members of the Commons were ſent up with a Meſſage to the Lords, to acquaint them of a formidable Plot of the Papiſts, an inviſible Army of fifteen thouſand of them in *Lancaſhire*, eight thouſand more in *Ireland*, and uncertain Numbers in other Places, all well arm'd and in Pay, rais'd by the Earl of *Strafford*, the Earl of *Worceſter*, and others; but both the Men and the Arms all vaniſh'd with the Meſſage, and totally diſappear'd.

A Marriage deſign'd between the Prince of Orange *and Princeſs* Mary.

Two Days after the Commons proceeded to an Impeachment, formidable to the Judges and many more; which was that of Sir *Robert Berkley*, one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, who having given his Opinion for the *Ship-Mony*, was by Sir *John Culpeper* and others accus'd of High-Treaſon in the Houſe of Lords, in the Name of all the Commons of *England*. Upon which *Maxwell*, Uſher of the Black-Rod, was ſent to fetch him in the moſt publick Manner off the Bench, which he perform'd in the Face of the Court, when *Weſtminſter-Hall* was full of People. This open Diſgrace, and ſudden Change from a Judge to a Priſoner, ſtruck a great Terror into the reſt of his Brethren then ſitting in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and all others of his Profeſſion. *Whitelock* informs us that this Judge was a very learned Man in our Laws, and a good Orator and Judge, moderate in his Proceedings, excepting his Deſires of the Court-Favour. He afterwards redeem'd himſelf by ſupplying the Parliament's Occaſions with ten thouſand Pounds, and ended his Days in a private Retirement: And having made conſiderable Gains by his Chamber-Practice, he left a plentiful Fortune to his Family.

Judge Berkley *impeach'd.*

Shortly after this Impeachment, the Commons finiſh'd their firſt Mony Bill of four Subſidies, for the Relief of the King's Army and the Northern Parts; but after an unprecedented Manner, they order'd it ſo as the Mony never ſhou'd come into the Hands of his Majeſty. Yet to make ſure of their Deſigns, they at the ſame time prepar'd and concluded their famous Bill for Triennial Parliaments, which was to paſs with it. Theſe Bills being ready, upon the fifteenth of *February*, the King readily paſs'd both; and upon the Account of the Triennial Bill he made a gracious Speech, in which he told them 'That never Bill paſs'd in the Houſe of more Favour to the Subjects than this; which was the greater Obligation, becauſe done at a Time when he had receiv'd ſo little Encouragement.

The King paſſes the Triennial Act, with a Speech.

‘For hitherto they had gone on in what concern'd themſelves, and not in thoſe things that concern'd the Strength of the Kingdom, the Support of the State, or himſelf. They had taken the Government all in Pieces, and almoſt off the Hinges; yet a ſkilful Watch-Maker to clean the Work will take it aſunder, and ſo make it go the better, provided he leave not a ſingle Pin behind. This he mention'd not by way of Reproach, but to ſhew them the State of Things.’ Therefore he concluded with ſaying ‘That as he had done all this on his Part, they knew what to do on theirs; and he hop'd they wou'd ſee clearly, that he had really perform'd what he had expreſs'd to them at the Beginning of the Parliament, of the great Truſt he had in their Affections: For this was the higheſt Expreſſion of Truſt, that before they had done any thing for him, he had put ſuch Confidence in them.

Great Joy and Promiſes from the Commons.

Great Rejoycings were made at the Paſſing this Bill, with Bells, Bonefires and Illuminations; and the two Houſes were ſo ſenſibly oblig'd, that they waited on his Majeſty, and return'd their Thanks by the Mouth of the Lord-Keeper, ‘For having now *ſufficiently provided* for the Security of the Common-wealth; and that there remain'd nothing to be done, but *ſuch a Return* of Duty and Gratitude, as might teſtify their Devotions to his Majeſty, and that their *only End* was to make him a GLORIOUS KING.’ This Act was ſo great an Incroachment upon the King's own Prerogative, that the next Day the Earl of *Dorſet*, meeting his Majeſty, ſaluted him by the Name of *Fellow-Subject*, as having by that Grant transferr'd all the *Regalia* to the Parliament: And it was obſervable as a prophetick Miſtake of a Lady, who writing to a Country Friend that the King had paſs'd this Bill, inſtead of *Triennial*, wrote he had paſs'd a Bill for a *Tyrannical* Parliament. The King however was ſatisfy'd in his Conſcience, and in his own Pourtraiture thus expreſſes himſelf; ‘That the World might be fully confirm'd in my Purpoſes at firſt, to contribute what I could in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour and Conſcience, to the happy Succeſs of this Parliament, I willingly paſs'd the Bill for *Triennial Parliaments*: Which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might, if well apply'd, prevent any Diſtempers from getting any Head or prevailing; eſpecially if the Remedy prov'd not a Diſeaſe beyond all Remedy. He alſo intimates that he deſign'd the Continuance of the Parliament, with convenient Receſſes, for three Years: But it has been rationally conjectur'd, That had the King at this time diſſolv'd the Parliament, now he had remov'd all Fears of long Intermiſſions, got the Mony apply'd to the ſettling of the North, and conferr'd the great Offices upon the leading Men, as was formerly deſign'd, in one or two Years he might have prepar'd a Way for an amicable Meeting. This may be call'd on of King *Charles*'s fatal Moments; and as the haſty Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament was one great Error, ſo the longer Continuance of this was thought a greater than the other.

Articles againſt the Archbiſhop.

His Complaint.

VI. It was now hop'd by ſome wiſe Men, that the Parliament wou'd have been more moderate and complying, upon this new Security from the Crown; but theſe Conceſſions, inſtead of aſſwaging, ſerv'd both to increaſe the Thirſt, and to open Paſſages to ſuch as were greater. The Commons were unmoveably intent upon the Proſecution of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Strafford*, about whom they ſpent more than a Month, without performing any material Buſineſs not ſubſervient to that End. They ſoon finiſhed their preſent Deſigns againſt the Former, and upon the twenty-ſixth of *February* they exhibited fourteen general but heavy Articles againſt him in the Houſe of Lords. Upon which he declar'd to their Lordſhips, *If the Charge cou'd be made good againſt him, he muſt be unworthy to live; however it was yet but in* Generals, *and* Generals *made agreat Noiſe, but no Proof. For* Human Frailties, *he cou'd not acquit himſelf; but for* Corruption *in the leaſt Degree, he fear'd no Accuſer that wou'd ſpeak Truth. But what touch'd him neareſt was, That he ſhou'd be thought falſe in the* Profeſſion *of his Religion; as if he ſhou'd profeſs with the Church of* England, *and have his Heart at* Rome. Then he petition'd for an Inlargement, and ſo made his Vindication to every Article with great Eloquence and Strength of Argument. But he was deſign'd for a Sacrifice to an Army and the People; and therefore on the firſt Day of *March* he was ſent cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*, meeting with many barbarous Inſults and Revilings as he paſs'd through the City. Under this Confinement he thus repreſents his Caſe, *This is a hard Straight into which I am caſt: The Pope's Agent plots my Death, becauſe I will not be wrought upon to help in the* Roman *Superſtition; and the Parliament Articles to overthrow me, out of a Jealouſy that I go about to bring it in.* The great Mens Prejudices againſt him were alſo inſuperable, as well for his moſt laudable Actions, as his greateſt Infirmities; ſo that when a young Noble-Man, at the Sight of St. *Paul's*, expreſs'd a Concern for the Archbiſhop's Commitment upon the Account of that venerable Fabrick, the Lord *Brook* ſharply reply'd, *He hop'd to ſee the Day, when no one Stone of that Building ſhou'd be left upon another.*

Steps towards the Tryal of the Earl of Strafford.

The Earl of *Strafford*'s Caſe was now the great Subject of Diſcourſe both in the City and Country; and what ſhou'd be his Fate was the daily Conjecture of Thouſands in all Places of the Land. The new Reformers purſu'd him with ſuch a Zeal and Impetuouſneſs, as diſcover'd an inſatiable Thirſt after his Blood; yet they cou'd not bring their great Work to bear, till after four Months inceſſant Projection and Labour. Two exorbitant Steps were taken to expedite the Tryal: The Firſt, for a Committee to be ſettled of both Houſes, for the private taking of *Preparatory Examinations*, as was formerly obſerv'd; which was an Inquiſition altogether ſuſpicious and unprecedented, ſuch as was capable of extorting Evidences in any other crafty Proſecution of innocent Men. The Second was, For examining Privy-Counſellors upon Oath, concerning ſuch Matters as paſs'd at the Council-Table. This indeed cou'd not have been effected without the immediate Conſent of the King and his Council; and they, not conſcious of ill Myſteries, without weighing the Conſequences, unhappily yielded to the ſpecious Oratory of a Committee from both Houſes. The Damage this laſt Act brought upon the King and his Friends was irreparable: For beſides it ſerv'd to prove thoſe Words againſt the Earl which Sir *Henry Vane* ſo punctually remember'd; and beſides its proving a Terror to the Counſellors, to find they might be arraign'd for every raſh Word they had us'd there; it totally ſtifled and baniſh'd all future Freedom from the Board: Which laſt, as it appear'd, was more the Deſign of thoſe great Managers, than any Hopes of receiving further Information.

A Committee from Ireland,

For the more effectual carrying on this Work, in *March* a Committee came from the Parliament in *Ireland*, conſiſting moſt of Papiſts, and afterwards the principal Actors in the Rebellion; who at this Juncture were receiv'd with great Kindneſs, and added to the Committee for the Proſecution of the Earl. So that *Ireland* ſeem'd no leſs ingag'd in the Ruin of that unfortuate Lord, than *England* and *Scotland*; there being ſuch a Coreſpondence manag'd between *London* and *Dublin*, that whatever was acted in the Houſe of Commons in one Place, was ſoon after repreſented in the other. And as Sir *George Ratcliff* was accus'd here, as a Confederate with the Earl in his Treaſons; ſo moſt of thoſe who were in any Truſt under him in *Ireland*, and conſequently able to lay open the Grounds of the Counſels there, were impeach'd by the Commons in that Kingdom, ‘For endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of the Land, and to ſet up an Arbitrary Power;’ which ſerv'd their Turn to ſecure their Perſons there, and exclude them from Councils, as it had done here in *England*.

The Manner of the Tryal debated.

Much Time was ſpent in conſidering the Manner of this important Tryal; as, ‘Whether it ſhou'd be in the Houſe of Peers? Who ſhou'd proſecute, Members appointed by the Commons, or the King's Council? Whether the Biſhops ſhou'd have Votes in the Tryal? Whether thoſe, who had been Peers ſince the Beginning of the Impeachment, ſhou'd be allow'd as Judges? Whether the Commons ſhou'd ſit uncover'd at the Tryal? And laſtly, Whether any Member ſhou'd be examin'd in Behalf of the Earl?’ who had ſent a Liſt of ſome Names, and deſir'd an Order to that Purpoſe. At length, it was agreed, ‘That the Tryal ſhou'd be in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where Seats ſhou'd be built for the Reception of the whole Houſe, where with Difficulty they conſented to ſit uncover'd; and that the Committee which prepar'd the Charge ſhou'd proſecute, in the Name of all the Commons of *England*.’ As to the Biſhops Votes, they readily took the Advantage of an old Canon, which exempted the Clergy in Caſes of Blood; and ſo referr'd that Matter to the Lords, in whoſe Houſe they had good Aſſurance of Succeſs. But they wou'd not leave the other Point of the new Barons Votes to their Lordſhips Inclinations, but peremptorily demanded, ‘That no Peer created ſince the Impeachment, becauſe as Commoners they were concern'd in making that Accuſation, ſhou'd ſit as Judges at the Tryal.’ As for the Examination of ſome of their own Members in the Earl's Behalf, ‘They left it to the Choice of Perſons that were nominated, to be examin'd if they pleas'd;’ which they were allow'd to do, but not without ſome ſharp Animadverſions, *That they ſhou'd take Care what they did.*

The Lord-Keeper being indiſpos'd, the Earl of *Arundel*, notoriouſly diſaffected to the Earl, was choſen by the Lords to preſide in the Court. The new Barons were a little uncertain what to do in this nice Juncture; but ſome of them, particularly the Lord *Littleton*, follow'd the Biſhop's Example, and quitted their Right to judge in this Tryal. As to the Biſhops Themſelves, who were moſt

likely

$16\frac{40}{41}$. Car. 16.

The Biſhops quit their Rights.

Cenſures upon it.

likely to be ſerviceable to the Earl, they were daily terrify'd with the Cenſure that hung over their Heads for the late Canons, till to ingratiate themſelves, they ask'd to be excus'd in that Matter before an Order ſhou'd come for their Abſence. The Lord *Clarendon* charges the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, as principal Adviſer and Promoter upon this Occaſion, and betraying a Fundamental Right of the whole Order, to the Prejudice of the King, and the Ruin of the Earl; but Biſhop *Hacket*, who probably was better inform'd in this Particular, gives us a contrary Account, and a long and learned Speech ſpoken by that Prelate in the Houſe of Lords, to prove the Original and preſent Right of Biſhops to ſit in Judgment in Caſes of Blood. But whoever was moſt blameable, the Defection was irretrievable, and the noble Hiſtorian's Remark juſt: That tho' there might be ſome Colour for their Abſence, during the Time of the legal Tryal; yet when the Bill of Attainder was afterwards brought up to their Houſe, their Votes in that Bill were as neceſſary and eſſential, as any other of the Lords. Therefore he fairly concludes, ‘ It may be, their unſeaſonable, voluntary, unjuſt quitting it Then, made many Men leſs ſollicitous for the Defence of their Right Afterwards.

The famous Tryal begins.

The Solemnity of it.

2. After four Months Preparations, on *Monday* the 22d of *March* the famous Tryal began in *Weſtminſter-Hall:* A Tryal ſo famous, that if all Things be conſider'd, the high Nature of the Charge, the Greatneſs of the Accuſers, the Nobleneſs of the Defence, the Pompouſneſs of the Appearance, and the Conſequence of the whole, no Subject in *England*, and probably in *Europe* ever had the like; and indeed never was ſeen a more Solemn and Majeſtick Tribunal. Nor was it only a ſingle Tryal; for the King's Affections towards his People, the future Succeſs of the Parliament, and the Expectations of three Kingdoms, were all try'd, when *Strafford* was arraing'd. For the Place appointed, on both Sides the great Hall were ſpacious Scaffolds erected, nine ſeveral Degrees in Height; whereof ſeven were appointed for the Members of the Houſe of Commons, who were all there in a Committee; and the two upper Degrees were appointed for the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, and the Lords of *Ireland*, who all join'd in the Accuſation. In the Centre of this Theatre, on a lower Aſcent, ſat the Peers of *England* in their Parliament Robes; the Earl of *Arundel* being created Lord High Steward, and the Earl of *Lindſey* Lord High Conſtable. Beyond the Peers, towards the upper End, was plac'd a Chair and Cloth of State for the King; on either Side of which was a cloſe Gallery for the King, Queen, and Prince to ſit in private. At the lower End of the State, were Places for the Ladies of the chief Quality, who conſtantly repair'd thither; and on the Right Hand, even with the Lords, was a Place with Partitions, for the Committee of Parliament, for them to retire and conſult, as Occaſion requir'd. On the other Side of this, was a Place made for the Earl Himſelf, with a Seat and Room for the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to be next to him; and Places for the Earl's Secretaries, and his Counſel to be near him.

The Manner of the Earl's Appearance.

Things thus prepar'd, about Seven in the Morning the Earl landed from the *Tower*, accompany'd with ſix large Barges, containing an hundred Soldiers for his Guard, and fifty Pair of Oars. Two Hundred of the Train'd Bands met him at the Stairs, and with the reſt attended him into the Hall; while the Entries at *White-Hall*, *King-Street* and *Weſtminſter* were carefully guarded by the Conſtables and Watchmen to keep out the meaner Sort and Multitude. About nine a Clock, the King, Queen and Prince enter'd the Hall, with divers Foreign Lords, and a numerous Train of Ladies; and immediately the Scaffolds were all fill'd with a glorious Show of the moſt illuſtrious Perſons of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and ſeveral diſtant Nations. At the Earl's entrance into the Hall, the Porter, whoſe Office it was, inquir'd of Mr. *Maxwell*, *Whether the Ax ſhou'd be carry'd before him or no:* who anſwer'd, *That the King had expreſly forbid it:* Nor was it the Cuſtom of *England* to uſe that Ceremony, but only when the accus'd Party was to be put upon his Jury. Thus was the noble Lord brought to the Stage where he was to act his Part for his Life; his Habit was all black, wearing his *George* in a Gold Chain, his Countenance manly and majeſtick, his Perſon tall, but a little ſtooping under the Weight of his preſent Infirmities, his Behaviour exceeding graceful, and his Speech ready and ſtrong, pleaſing and captivating; eſpecially to the Ladies, who every Day took down in Writing all that they cou'd preſerve of his Charming Eloquence. The Confluence of the People was neither numerous nor inſolent, all of them ſaluted him both at his Landing and return; which with a generous Humility, he did moſt courteouſly receive and return; which ſhew'd the Falſeneſs of thoſe Rumours rais'd by malevolent Perſons, *That the People were ſo inrag'd at him, that they were ready to tear him in Pieces.* This Spirit was not now up, but was rais'd againſt him afterward.

$16\frac{40}{41}$. Car. 16.

The Managers againſt him.

The Articles.

The Managers againſt the Earl were Men of great Parts and Abilities, as Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Glyn*, Mr. *Maynard*, Mr. *Whitelock*, Lord *Digby*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Palmer*, Sir *Walter Earle*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Hampden*, &c. Yet notwithſtanding he labour'd under all the Diſadvantages of making *extempore* Anſwers to ſtudy'd Accuſations and unknown Evidences, he ſoon ſhew'd that he was able to wreſtle with them all. Mr. *Pym* open'd the grand Charge, which conſiſted of twenty eight Articles, long, black and aggravated, according to the common Artifices in moſt Impeachments. In which were repreſented ‘ All the haſty Words or high Expreſſions, he had utter'd for this laſt thirteen Years; all the Acts of Paſſion or Power he had exercis'd in *Yorkſhire*, ſince he was Preſident of the *North*; all his Proceedings during his Lieutenancy in *Ireland*, as his Projects for Flax and Tobacco, his Billetting of Soldiers, and exerciſing Martial Law, his ſummary Proceedings againſt the Lord *Mountnorris* and Chancellor *Loftus*, his aſſuming a Power of Judicature at the Council-Table for Matters of Inheritance, *&c.* with ſome high Diſcourſes at the Board, and ſome extrajudicial Determinations in Caſe of Plantations; ſome caſual and light Diſcourſes at his own Table, and at publick Meetings; and laſtly, ſome Words ſpoken in the Privy-Council of *England*, after the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, and ſome Actings in Relation to the *Scotch Nation*.’ All which were urg'd and preſs'd againſt him, to make good the general Charge, ‘ That he had endeavour'd to overthrow the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and to introduce an Arbitrary Power.’ It is obſervable that the laſt Article ſerv'd more to make up the Number, than add to the Weight; for whereas ſome of the Articles charg'd him with being a mortal Enemy to the *Scots*, and doing them all poſſible Injuries, this charg'd him with giving them an Opportunity of ſeizing *Newcaſtle* and the Northern Counties; which was ſo improbable, that it was never urg'd againſt him.

Mr. Pym *aggravates the Charge.*

The Earl's Reply.

These Articles being read, and the long Anſwers to them, the next Day Mr. *Pym* proceeded to aggravate the Charge in a violent and Rhetorical Speech, fill'd with Artifices and Hyperboles. The main Points were, ‘ That it was Treaſon far beyond the Reach of Words, that He the Lieutenant, a native Subject and Peer of *England*, the prime Governor of *Ireland*, the Commander of his Majeſty's Forces, and a Proteſtant in Religion, had in ſuch a groſs and impious manner, recompenced his Majeſty's Favours, abus'd his Goodneſs, and drawn all his Dominions into Hazard and Peril of their Religion, Lives, Eſtates and Priviledges.--------*We have that piercing Eloquence, the Cries and Groans, the Tears and Prayers of all the Subjects aſſiſting us: We have three Kingdoms,* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *in Travel and Agitation with us, bowing Themſelves, like the Hinde in* Job, *to caſt out their Sorrows.* After that he compar'd the Earl to the Adulterous Woman in the Proverbs, *He wiped his Mouth, and with a brazen Face ſaid, he had done no Evil.*’ The Earl with no leſs Moderation than Gracefulneſs ſtood up, and modeſtly recounted ‘ his Services done to the King and Crown of *England*, his Endeavours for the Advancement, as well of the Honour as the Profit of both Kingdoms in General, put in Particular that of *Ireland:* how he had aſſembled more Parliaments there, than in fifty Years before; that he had oppos'd divers unjuſt Projects and Monopolies, and improv'd the King's Revenue from fifty Thouſand, to an Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Pounds *per Annum:* That he had reſtor'd the Churches Maintenance, ſuppreſs'd the Outlaws, eſtabliſh'd Obedience to Royal Authority, and reſtrain'd the Tyranny and Uſurpation of Great Ones over the Commons; yet for the effecting of all theſe Actions, he reputed Himſelf the moſt weak and meaneſt Inſtrument.

His Complaint.

Theſe great Services in *Ireland*, being many of them manag'd with Power and a high Hand, and againſt the Bent and Intereſt of particular Perſons, were the chief Occaſion of the Complaints of that Nation, who took all Advantages from his preſent Impeachment: So that now a ſeal'd Paper was produc'd, which being open'd and read, appear'd to be ſent from the Parliament, declaring, ‘ That the Commons there had voted the Earl guilty of High-Treaſon.’ This being ſo ſeaſonably and artfully introduc'd by Way of Influence, the Earl was much tranſported, and cry'd out, *There was a Conſpiracy againſt him to take away his Life!* Upon which Mr. *Pym* gave a Shout, and the Committee requir'd Juſtice from the Lords againſt the Earl, ‘ who ſtanding Impeach'd of High-Treaſon, accus'd the Parliaments of two Kingdoms of a Conſpiracy againſt him.’ Hereupon the Earl, falling upon his Knees, humbly crav'd Pardon *for the Inconſiderateneſs of the Expreſſion*, proteſting ſeriouſly *That he did not hereby intend either Parliament, but only ſome particular Perſons*; and ſo the Matter was ſoon paſt over. But a new Burden was immediately laid upon him by the Committee, who offer'd to the Lords three new Articles, implying farther Miſmanagements in *Ireland*, and deſir'd, 'That the Earl might give a preſent Anſwer to them.' To which he reply'd, 'He expected not, that after the Cloſe of the Proceſs, any new Charge ſhou'd be given in: Yet leſt he ſhou'd ſeem to decline the Maintenance of his own Innocency, and the juſt Defence of his Honour, he was ready to hear them alledg'd, provided that a convenient Time were allow'd him to make his Reply.' But the Lords finding the Articles to be of no great Importance, he was urg'd to give a preſent Anſwer to them; which he accordingly did, with no leſs Dexterity than Reputation. Thus far they proceeded upon general Heads; which alone took up the Buſineſs of two whole Days.

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His Anſwers to his Expreſſions,

3. This Famous Tryal continu'd eighteen Days, with great Variety of Pleas and Arguments, urg'd with great Subtlety on one ſide, and anſwer'd with as much Acuteneſs on the other. The particular Crimes charg'd againſt the Earl, beſides ſome high Expreſſions, were rang'd under three Heads, as, his Actions during his Government in *Ireland*, his Actions with Relation to *Scotland*, and thoſe in *England* ſince the Summons of the laſt Parliament. As to the Expreſſions and Diſcourſes that were laid to his Charge, he diſown'd ſome, and explain'd and put a fair Gloſs upon others, from the Reaſons and Circumſtances of the Debate. One Particular which was plauſibly urg'd againſt him, tho' ſpoken twelve years before, that in *York* he publickly ſaid, *The little Finger of the Prerogative ſhou'd be heavier than the Loins of the Law*, he quite inverted, and made it appear by two or three Perſons of Credit, that he ſaid, *The little Finger of the Law was heavier than the Loins of the Prerogative:* Yet this was one popular Inducement for his firſt Impeachment. Upon the whole, 'He hop'd no indiſcreet, paſſionate, or proud Words wou'd amount to *Treaſon*; but for *Miſdemeanours*, he was ready to ſubmit to their Juſtice.'

And to his Management in Ireland.

The Complaints as to the *Iriſh* Affairs were moſt numerous, and invidiouſly urg'd againſt him, having by his great Activity diſoblig'd many in that Kingdom. In his Anſwers he complain'd much, 'That by an Order from the Committee, appointed to prepare his Charge againſt him, all his Papers in *Ireland*, by which he ſhou'd make his Defence, were ſeiz'd, together with all his Goods, Plate and Tobacco, amounting to eighteen Thouſand Pounds, ſo that he had not wherewithall to ſubſiſt in Priſon. That thoſe Miniſters of State, who cou'd have given the beſt Evidence on his Behalf, were impriſon'd under the Charge of Treaſon; yet he profeſs'd he had not ſwerv'd from his Inſtructions, nor the Rules and Cuſtoms obſerv'd by other Deputies and Lieutenants. That the Monopolies of Flax and Tobacco were for the Good of the Kingdom, and the Benefit of his Majeſty; the former eſtabliſhing a moſt advantageous Trade, and the latter bringing a Revenue of above forty Thouſand Pounds to the Crown, improving Commerce, without Damage to the Subject. The Billetting of Soldiers, and exerciſing Martial Law, had been always practis'd by former Governours;' as he prov'd by the Confeſſion of the Earl of *Cork*, and Lord *Wilmot*, two Oppoſers, who wou'd not ſay more in his Favour than inevitably they muſt. However he ſaid, 'If it was Treaſon, it was ſo only in *Ireland*, and therefore he cou'd not be try'd for it here.' As to the Power of the Council-Table, he alledg'd, 'That in *Ireland* it had a large Juriſdiction by the Fundamental Cuſtoms of that Kingdom; and the Proceedings there had been with the Advice of the Judges, upon the Rights of the Crown, and Reaſons of State: That the Nature of that People requir'd a ſevere Hand and ſtrict Reins, which being looſ'd, the Crown wou'd ſoon feel the Miſchief.

The Lord Mountnorris's *Caſe.*

What preſs'd hardeſt upon him, in the Opinion of the Audience, were thoſe two Acts againſt the Vice-Treaſurer the Lord *Mountnorris*, and the Chancellor *Loftus*, which diſcover'd a Nature exceſſively imperious, and rais'd a greater Diſlike in unprejudic'd Perſons, than all that had been alledg'd againſt him. One *Anneſley*, Kinſman to *Mountnorris*, and Gentleman-Uſher to the Earl, had by Accident or Negligence ſuffer'd a Stool to fall upon the Earl's Foot while he was under a Fit of the Gout; which ſo ſenſibly provok'd his Patience, that it came to be the Diſcourſe at the Lord-Chancellor's Table, where one ſaid to the Lord *Mountnorris*, *It was your Lordſhip's Kinſman that did this.* Upon which he contemptuouſly anſwer'd, *Perhaps it was done in Revenge of that publick Affront offer'd me by my Lord-Deputy formerly*; *but I have a Brother that wou'd not have taken ſuch a ſmall Revenge.* This coming afterwards to the Earl's Ear, he caus'd his Lordſhip, as being an Officer in the Army under his Command, to be try'd by a Council of War, 'For moving Sedition, and ſtirring up the Soldiers againſt the General.' The Words being prov'd, he was depriv'd of his Treaſurer's Office, and his Foot Company, was committed to Priſon, and ſentenc'd to loſe his Head; and tho' by the Earl's Means he obtain'd the King's Pardon as to his Life, yet the reſt of the Sentence was fully put in Execution. This was aggravated as a prodigious Courſe of Proceeding; but the Earl dexterouſly ſhifted the Rigour and Severity of the Sentence from himſelf to the Council of War, 'Where he not only forbore to be preſent Himſelf, but forbad his Brother to appear, tho' he was an Officer of the Army; and conjur'd the Court to proceed without any Regard to Him. And when he had underſtood the Judgment of the Court, which was unanimous, he publickly declar'd, *He ſhou'd not loſe a Hair of his Head*; and immediately procur'd a Pardon from his Majeſty. He concluded that the Lord *Mountnorris* was an inſolent Perſon, and he took this Courſe to humble him; and ſhou'd be content *if the ſame was taken to reform him, if it prov'd no more to his Detriment, than the other had been to Him.*' Beſides this, the Lord *Clarendon* intimates a more private Reaſon: It ſeems the Lord *Mountnorris*, having by his active Induſtry rais'd himſelf from a low Condition to large Honours and Incomes, had uſually by ſervile Methods work'd himſelf into great Truſt with the Deputies at their firſt Admiſſion to the Government, informing them of the Defects and Overſights of their Predeceſſors; and whenever their Office was determin'd, and they return'd into *England*, he inform'd the State, and thoſe Enemies they had contracted, of all their Miſdemeanours, by which they were ſure to meet with Diſgrace or Damage. In this Manner he began with his own Maſter the Lord *Chicheſter*, and continu'd it to the Lords *Grandiſon* and *Falkland*; ſo there was this unhappy Dilemma, 'That either the Deputy of *Ireland*, while he continu'd ſuch, muſt deſtroy the Lord *Mountnorris*, or *Mountnorris* wou'd deſtroy him, as ſoon as his Commiſſion ended.' This Conſideration, together with the Vicioufneſs of the Man, made many look upon this Act with leſs Pity and Concern than the Matter it ſelf deſerv'd.

The Earl's Defence.

Chancellor Loftus's *Caſe.*

The Earl's Reply.

The other Caſe, of the Lord-Chancellor *Loftus*, is unaccountably omitted by *Ruſhworth* and the other Writers of this Tryal; ſo that we find it only in the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory. This ſeem'd an Act of leſs Violence, becauſe it reach'd not Life, and had ſome ſhew of Regularity in the Proceeding; and that which was ill in it, aroſe from a nobler Root than the other. The Endeavour was, to force the Lord-Chancellor to ſettle more of his Land upon his Eldeſt Son than he thought fit, or was oblig'd by Law; all which he urg'd and order'd him to do, upon a Paper Petition preſented to him by the Hands of his Son's Lady, for whom the Earl had ſo great a Value and Eſteem, that it render'd his Juſtice more ſuſpected. The Chancellor refuſing Obedience, was thrown into Priſon, and had the great Seal taken from him, which he had kept with great Reputation of Ability for above twenty Years. In managing this Charge, ſeveral affectionate Letters, ſent from the Earl to that Lady, and found after her Death in her Cloſet, were expos'd in Court, rather to call in queſtion his Gravity and Diſcretion, than to diſcover Materials for the preſent Buſineſs. The Earl ſaid little more to it than 'That he hop'd, what Paſſion or Injuſtice ſoever was found in that Affair, there cou'd be no Treaſon; and ſince, upon an Appeal from the degraded Chancellor, the Cauſe had been review'd by his Majeſty in Council, and ſolemnly confirm'd, he had Reaſon to believe what he had done was very juſt.' But this was thought to have a Mixture of that Policy, before mention'd in the Caſe of *Mountnorris:* For the Chancellor, being a Man of deep Experience and Sagacity, had always been very ſevere to departed Deputies, and no ways ſubmiſſive to their full Power; ſo that carrying himſelf as the ſecond Perſon of the Kingdom, the Earl found a ſort of Neceſſity to humble a Man who had never receiv'd a Check before. Such was the Subſtance of the Proceedings with Relation to the *Iriſh* Affairs, which fill'd up more than half the Articles, and took up above half the Time of this great Tryal.

The Charge with relation to Scotland *and* England.

4. As to what related to the *Scottiſh* and *Engliſh* Affairs, the Parliament Managers charg'd the Earl with ſeveral Particulars, both in Words and Actions, that had a very black Appearance. 'That he had impos'd an unjuſt Oath upon all the *Scots* in *Ireland*, purſu'd it with Fines and Baniſhments, call'd them *Rebels and Traitors*, and threatned to *root them out Stock and Branch:* That he had promoted an Offenſive War againſt the *Scots*, labour'd to make a National Quarrel between them and the *Engliſh*, and ſpoke many high Words againſt Them, and for the King's exerting his Prerogative: That he had advis'd the King to a rigorous Exaction of *Ship-Mony*, and the Debaſing the Coin of the Nation, and that he had laid a Tax upon the County of *York* for the Subſiſtence of the Army, *&c.* All which Words and Actions, together with thoſe in *Ireland*, tho' ſeparately none cou'd be ſtrictly call'd Treaſon, yet conjointly, in their Opinion, they cou'd a-

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The Earl's Anſwer.

‘ mount to no leſs; therefore they call'd the whole by the new Name of *Accumulative-Treaſon.*’ To all theſe Accuſations the Earl gave diſtinct and full Anſwers, with great Skill and Ability; and partly by invalidating Evidences, and partly by mitigating Circumſtances, and ſetting Matters in a proper Light, he made all Things appear not only leſs than *Treaſon*, but no very great *Miſdemeanours*. ‘Tho' he was willing to own the latter, occaſion'd eſpecially by a haſty and paſſionate Humour, made ſo by Nature and his Bodily Infirmities; yet he thought it a deplorable Thing, That his Houſe, his Table, his Bed, his private Diſcourſes, and his moſt intimate and boſom Friends, ſhou'd be ſearch'd and ſifted to the minuteſt Circumſtance, to find him guilty of Treaſon: Therefore he deſir'd the Lords to conſider Themſelves in his Misfortunes: their wiſe Anceſtors were glad to put Bands and Limits to this Lion *Treaſon*; but if they gave him the large Scope of Words to range in, he wou'd at laſt pull Them and Theirs in Pieces. Which ſhew'd the Danger of what was call'd an *Accumulation of Treaſon*, a Word taken from *Cumulus*, a *Heap of Corn*, ſo call'd becauſe ſome of the Individuals at leaſt are ſuch: But he deſir'd to know how that cou'd be call'd a Heap of Corn, *when there was not one ſingle Grain in it.*

The 23d Article moſt preſſing.

But becauſe there ſhou'd be ſome Ground for the Accuſation, the twenty third Article was moſt ſolemnly alledg'd againſt the Earl, as the very Hinge upon which the Treaſon was chiefly to hang: This was a Diſcourſe of the Earl's in the Cabinet Council, upon the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament. Sir *Henry Vane*, Secretary of State, and a great Enemy to the Earl, gave in Evidence, that the King at that Time having ask'd Them, *Since he had fail'd of his Supplies, what Courſe he was next to take?* the Earl anſwer'd, *Sir, you have done your Duty, and your Subjects have fail'd in Theirs; therefore you are abſolv'd from the Rules of Government, and may ſupply your Self by extraordinary Ways: Purſue the War with Vigour; you have an Army in* Ireland, *with which you may reduce this Kingdom.*

His Defence againſt it.

Upon this Teſtimony, which was differently repeated, the Earl deſir'd that the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, the Biſhop of *London*, and the Lord *Cottington*, might be ſeverally examin'd upon Oath; and they all declar'd, ‘ That they heard not the Earl ſpeak one Word of the Army in *Ireland*, or reducing this Kingdom.’ And theſe were the only Perſons preſent at the Debate, beſides the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Secretary *Windebank*, neither of which cou'd be examin'd, or wou'd be believ'd. The Earl poſitively deny'd the Words, ‘ alledg'd great Animoſity to be in Sir *Henry Vane*, whoſe Teſtimony was not only ſingle, which was inſufficient in the Caſe of Treaſon, but likewiſe ſuſpicious and improbable, ſince the Words were heard by no other of the Council: And if he had ſpoken thoſe Words, it cou'd not poſſibly be underſtood of *England*, but of *Scotland*, of which the Diſcourſe was occaſion'd, and for which that Army was known to be rais'd. Then he pathetically conjur'd their Lordſhips to conſider the fatal Miſchiefs that wou'd befall them and their Poſterity, if giving their Opinions in Political Matters ſhou'd be accounted Treaſon: Who wou'd be willing to ſerve the Publick, or what unfortunate Dilemma are they in; if being ſworn Councellors, they ſpeak not their Minds freely, they are guilty of Perjury; if they do, perhaps of Treaſon. Therefore tho' the Sword was two edg'd, and never ſo ſharp, he wou'd fear Him rather that cou'd kill the Soul, than them that cou'd only deſtroy the Body: If it be ſo, they had here this Rag of Mortality before them, worn out with numerous Infirmities, which if they tore into Shreds, there was no great Loſs; only in the ſpilling of his, they wou'd open a Way to the Blood of all the Nobility in the Land.

That Article reinforc'd.

This being a popular Article, and moſt likely to ſink the Earl, after they had gone through the whole Charge, except the laſt Article, they reinforc'd this; and Sir *Walter Earle* undertook to prove by ſeveral Reaſons, That the Priſoner deſign'd to land the *Iriſh* Forces in *England*, and not in *Scotland*; but theſe prov'd ſo weak in Themſelves, and the Anſwers ſo ſatisfactory, that the Lord *Digby*, to bring him off handſomly, told the Lords, ‘ That all their Proofs for that Article were not yet ready, and that this was only a *Superfœtation of the Charge*.’ The Queen, who was preſent at the Tryal, inquir'd *Who that Knight was, whom the Lord* Digby *reliev'd*? and being told *his Name was Sir* Walter Earle, ſhe ſaid, *That Water-Dog cou'd bark, but not bite; but the reſt bit cloſe.* As to the Earl's own Opinion of ſome of them, he freely told a private Friend, *That* Glynne *and* Maynard *us'd him like Advocates, but* Palmer *and* Whitelock *like Gentlemen; and yet left out nothing material to be urg'd againſt him.*

In Order to render this twenty third Article more effectual, upon *Saturday* three Days after the Cloſe of the Charge, the Commons Committee again deſir'd Liberty to produce ſome additional Evidences upon that Head. The Earl on the other Side crav'd the ſame Liberty for Himſelf, concerning ſome Teſtimonies not yet exhibited on his Behalf. This was ſtrongly oppos'd by the Committee, *as not becoming a Priſoner at the Bar to preſcribe.* But the Lords thought it equal and reaſonable, which occaſion'd a warm Debate, and at laſt a great Noiſe among the Commons, crying out, *Withdraw, withdraw!* all in ſuch confus'd and tumultuous Manner, that it caus'd both Fear and Admiration in the Spectators, who now began to feel the Pulſe of a diſtemper'd State. Both Houſes broke up, without ſo much as appointing the next Meeting; each Man's Countenance beſpoke Anger and Diſcontent, and nothing ſounded in Men's Ears all *Sunday* but Terrors and Fears of a preſent Diviſion and Breach between the two Houſes; ‘ That the Houſe of Commons wou'd declare the Earl a Traitor, and all ſuch Lords as were his Adherents; That he ſhou'd be no more heard in Publick, and that a Bill of Attainder ſhou'd be immediately drawn up againſt him, and nothing ſhou'd content them but preſent Execution.’ All *Monday* was ſpent in a Conference between both Houſes, without any Meeting in the Hall; when ſome of the Lords went ſo high as to tell the Commons, *That it was an unnatural Motion for the Head to be govern'd by the Tail; That they hated* Rebellion, *as much as* Treaſon; *That the ſame Blood that enobled their Anceſtor, ran ſtill in their Veins, therefore they wou'd not be ſuppreſs'd by a Popular Faction.* After long Debates, the Commons found it beſt to yield a little in this Matter; ſo the next Day was appointed for a new Meeting, when the Earl was to reſume his Defence.

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The two Houſes diſagree.

A ſubtle Game between Mr. Pym *and the two* Vanes.

5. Having ſettled this Affair, the ſame Day in the Afternoon, the Managers in the Houſe found it neceſſary to play their new and laſt Game as to the Tryal; and accordingly an extraordinary Allegation was made, ‘ That ſeveral concurring Circumſtances did make one Witneſs as effectual as two.’ Therefore to give Sir *Henry Vane*'s ſingle Evidence the Strength of two, which they found neceſſary in the Caſe of Treaſon, Mr. *Pym*, in an artificial Story, inform'd the Houſe, ‘ That ſome Months before the Meeting of this Parliament, he had viſited young Sir *Henry Vane*, and condoling the ſad Condition of the Kingdom, by reaſon of the many illegal Taxes, Sir *Henry* told him, *That among ſome of his Father's Papers he had accidentally met with a Scheme of what Counſels were like to be purſu'd to the Ruin of the Kingdom.* And accordingly he ſhew'd him a Paper of the Secretary his Father's own Writing, which had particulariz'd the Date and Reſult of the Cabinet-Council upon the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, with Hieroglyphicks to expreſs the Names of the Perſons concern'd in the Conſultation. The Matter was of that extraordinary Nature, that he begg'd a Copy of it, which the young Gentleman unwillingly conſented to, upon the Account of the Detriment it might bring upon his Father. That he had carefully preſerv'd the Copy, and with all Privacy, 'till the Beginning of this Parliament, which he conceiv'd a proper Time to make uſe of it; and that then, being convinc'd by many other Inſtances of the Earl's ill Affection to the Kingdom, it had excited him to move all that he had done againſt that great Perſon.’ Then he read the Paper in his Hand, the Title of which was, *No Danger of a War with* Scotland, *if Offenſive, not Defenſive.* In which Paper were the very Words that old Sir *Henry Vane* had ſworn againſt the Earl, concerning his Advice to bring over the *Iriſh* Army to reduce this Kingdom, and alſo ſome others that bore hard upon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Lord *Cottington*. Having read this Paper, which conſiſted of Fragments and Minutes, he added, ‘ That thoſe Circumſtances of his, and young Sir *Henry Vane*'s having ſeen the Original Reſults, and being ready to ſwear that what he had read was a true Copy of the other, might reaſonably amount to the Validity of another Witneſs; which the other Counſellors, mention'd in that Writing, who have given ſuch bad Advice, thought fit not to remember for their own Sakes.

A new Paper produc'd againſt the Earl.

Mr. *Pym* having ended his Part, young Sir *Henry*, with ſome Tokens of Diſorder, confeſs'd, ‘ That his Father being in the North, had ſent up his Keys, and order'd him to open his Boxes where the Evidences of his Lands were, that he might perfect a Deed concerning his Wife; in which Search, he had the Curioſity to examine a red Velvet Cabinet ſtanding with the reſt, where he found among others that Paper mention'd and read by Mr. *Pym*, which made ſuch an Impreſſion upon him, that he cou'd not but communicate the Secret to him, as a Perſon of better Judgment than himſelf. He was ſenſible this Diſcovery wou'd extreamly leſſen his Father's Opinion of him, but having been influenc'd by the Tenderneſs of his Conſcience towards his common Parent, his Country, he hop'd his Treſpaſs againſt his natural Parent wou'd find Compaſſion from that Houſe, tho' he had little Hopes of Pardon elſewhere.’ Upon this Confeſſion, the Father with a ſtern

Look and Show of Confuſion, roſe up and declar'd, 'That now the Ground of his Troubles, and the ſtrange Interrogatories ſo often preſs'd upon him, was fully diſcover'd; but the guilty Perſon ſhou'd certainly bear a Share in his Misfortunes. He own'd, that being in the North, he had ſent his Keys to his unhappy Son, having marry'd a virtuous Lady, to ſearch for what Evidences were neceſſary for her Settlement; by which Means thoſe Papers had been perus'd that had created him much of this Trouble. That, by his Majeſty's Conſent, he had burnt many of them, and among the reſt the Paper in Queſtion, of which that now read was a pretended Copy. That to the Particulars he cou'd add nothing more, than what he had ſworn upon his Examination, which he cou'd not deny to be exactly true, tho' by what he had been highly ſurpris'd withal this Afternoon, he found himſelf in an ill Condition upon that Teſtimony.

This Scene was ſo nicely acted between the Father and the Son, that it caus'd ſeveral Speeches to be made in Praiſe of the Conſcience, Integrity and Merit of the young Man, and a Motion to be made, 'That the Houſe wou'd enjoin the Father to be reconcil'd to his Son;' but for ſome time there was a ſtrange Diſtance obſerv'd between them. How unneceſſary and ridiculous ſoever this Story might appear at that Time to the World, and how ſcandalous and inconvenient to the Father and the Son, ſome believ'd that this Occaſion was taken to publiſh thoſe Reſults, only to give Notice to the Lord *Cottington* in what Danger he was, unleſs he wiſely quitted the Maſterſhip of the Wards to the Lord *Say*, who expected it. Tho' the principal Reaſon was, that they now found it impoſſible to conceal their Receiving their chief Information from the Secretary himſelf; therefore they thought fit to make this Intelligence publick, that it might be rather imputed to the Conſcience and Curioſity of the Son, than the Contrivance and Malice of the Father. However it was, this Paper was produc'd againſt the Earl the next Day, when he was to reſume all his Defences. To which he gave a ready and full Anſwer, 'in which he inſiſted upon the Incompetency of Sir *Henry Vane*'s ſingle Teſtimony, which was ſuſpicious and dubious upon two Examinations; for he cou'd not remember any ſuch Words till the third time, and then he was not poſitive, but *that he ſpoke thoſe Words, or the like*; and Words might be like in Sound, and differ in Senſe. Then they were the more ſuſpicious, becauſe no other Perſon cou'd remember them; but if they had been ſpoken, it was contrary to all Reaſon and Probability to apply them to the *Engliſh* Nation, ſince there was never the leaſt Intention of landing the *Iriſh* Army in *England*, as the Lords of the Council were able to atteſt; and what was ſtill more remarkable, in the *Iriſh* Army there was not ſo much as one Troop rais'd at that Time.

His Anſwer to it.

The Earl having anſwer'd this additional Proof, the Lord Steward told him 'That if he had any thing to ſay further in his Defence, he ſhou'd now proceed.' Whereupon the Earl with great Preſence of Mind deliver'd himſelf in a long and noble Speech, in which he much complain'd of the Witneſſes againſt him, as being moſt of them profeſs'd Enemies and Papiſts; and having made a ſummary Repetition of all his former Defences, he concluded after this Manner. *My Lords, I here ſtand charg'd with* Accumulative *or* Conſtructive-Treaſon, *a Word unknown to the common-Law, Statute-Law, or Practice, and which was never heard of from the Beginning of this Government till this time; ſo that I am queſtion'd for my Life and Honour upon a Law that cannot be ſhewn.* Jeſu! *Where has this Fire lain hid ſo many hundred Years, without Smoak to diſcover it, till it thus burſt forth to conſume me and my Poſterity? It is extream hard that Puniſhment ſhou'd precede Promulgation of a Law; what Man can then be ſafe? eſpecially when there is no* Token *ſet by which he ſhou'd know his Offence, no* Admonition *by which he ſhou'd avoid it. If a Man upon the* Thames *ſplit his Boat upon an* Anchor, *and the ſame has a* Buoy *floating to diſcover it, he is to charge his own Inobſervance; but if it has none, the Owner of the* Anchor *is to pay the Damage.* My Lords, *be pleas'd to ſhew that Regard to the* Peerage of *England, as never to expoſe your ſelves to ſuch* Moot Points, *ſuch* conſtructive *Interpretations of Laws; If there muſt be a* Tryal of Wits, *let the Subject be of ſomething leſs than the Lives and Honours of the Nobility. Therefore, caſt into the Fire theſe bloody and myſterious Volumes of* Conſtructive-Treaſon, *as the Primitive Chriſtians did their Books of* curious Arts, *and betake your ſelves to the plain Letter of our Laws, without being ambitious of being more learned in the* Art of Killing, *than our Fore-Fathers. It is now two hundred and forty Years, ſince any Man was touch'd for this alledg'd Crime; let us not awaken thoſe* ſleeping Lions, *to our Deſtruction, by raiſing up a few muſty Records, that have lain ſo many Ages neglected and forgotten. Do not through me wound the Intereſt of the Common-wealth, nor put ſuch inſuperable Difficulties upon Miniſters of State, that Men of Wiſdom, Honour and Fortune, cannot ſafely be employ'd by the Publick: If you weigh and examine them by* Grains *and* Scruples, *the Affairs of the Kingdom will lye waſte, no Man will concern himſelf who has any thing to loſe.* My Lords, *I would not have troubled you ſo long, were it not for the Intereſt of theſe DEAR PLEDGES, which a Saint in Heaven has left me.* ----- At this his Breath ſtopt, and he melted into Tears for a ſhort Space; then recovering himſelf he thus proceeded. *What I forfeit as to my own ruinous Cottage is nothing; but that my Indiſcretion ſhou'd extend to my* Poſterity, *wounds me to the very Soul. You will pardon my Infirmity; ſomething I ſhou'd have added, but my Voice and Spirits fail me; only I have learn'd,* That the Afflictions of this preſent Life are not to be compar'd to the eternal Weight of Glory, which ſhall be reveal'd hereafter. *And ſo,* my Lords, *even ſo, with all Tranquility of Mind, I freely ſubmit my ſelf to your Judgment; and whether that Judgment be of Life or Death,* TE DEUM LAUDAMUS! Then lifting up his Hands and Eyes, he cry'd, *In Te Domine confido, nè confundar in Æternum.*

The Earl finiſhes his Defence.

Thus concluded this great Man, with a moſt moving and inimitable Graceſulneſs in Speech and Action; ſo that his Enemies confeſs'd, 'He was one of the greateſt Maſters of Perſuaſion, that that Age or any other have produc'd.' Mr. *Whitelock*, one of the Managers againſt him, concludes his Tryal in theſe remarkable Words, 'Certainly never any Man acted ſuch a Part, on ſuch a Theatre, with more Wiſdom, Conſtancy, and Eloquence, with greater Reaſon, Judgment and Temper, and with a better Grace in all his Words and Geſtures, than this great and excellent Man did; and, excepting ſome few, he mov'd the Hearts of all his Auditors to Remorſe and Pity.' Two of the Managers, the Lord *Digby* and Mr. *Selden*, became intire Converts, and quite deſiſted from any further Proſecution. At the Concluſion of the Earl's Defence, Mr. *Glyn* and Mr. *Pym*, in two long premeditated Speeches, endeavour'd to aggravate his Offences, and ſo both Houſes roſe. Thus ended this famous Tryal as to Matters of Fact; which, with ſome ſmall Intermiſſions, had continu'd from the twenty-ſecond Day of *March* to the thirteenth of *April*.

Opinions concerning it.

VI. 1. Upon the Cloſe of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Tryal, all Mens Heads and Mouths were fill'd with Conjectures and Diſcourſes concerning this great Man's Fate; and as all Matters of Fact were finiſh'd, there was a ſtrange Pregnancy of Expectations as to Matter of Law, that was to determine this mighty Cauſe. But the Commons finding a great Defection in their Party, and that the Lords were not like to give Judgment as they expected, they reſolv'd to have no more publick Hearings, but proceeded to a more ſhort and effectual Way, which was to draw up a Bill of Attainder, and preſent the ſame to the Lords: 'Whereby firſt the Matters of Fact ſhou'd be declar'd to have been ſufficiently prov'd, and in the Matter of Law he had incurr'd the Cenſure of Treaſon, for intending to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom:' For they alledg'd 'That though he cou'd not be charg'd by the Letter of the Statute of the twenty-fifth of *Edward* the Third, yet he was within the Compaſs of the *Salvo*, which provides, That the King and Parliament have Power to determine what is treaſonable, and what not; and they were confident the Lords wou'd comply with the Bill, tho' they wou'd not give Judgment of Treaſon without it.' This Motion was magnanimouſly oppos'd by the three great Lawyers of the Houſe, *Selden*, *Holborne*, and *Bridgeman*, who made it manifeſt 'That the *Salvo* in the twenty-fifth of *Edward* the Third was actually repeal'd, and that no Man cou'd now be convict of Treaſon, but by the Letter of that Statute, and likewiſe by the Mouths of two Witneſſes.' But it being put to the Vote, it was carry'd for the Bill, and a Committee appointed to draw it up.

The Commons proceed by Way of Attainder

The Lords fearing theſe Proceedings might open a Paſſage to the Ruin of their own Lives and Eſtates, the next Day in a Conference repreſented to the Commons 'That they wou'd go on the ſame Way they had firſt undertaken, and give a full Hearing to the Lord *Strafford*'s Council in Matter of Law; and that they themſelves, as competent Judges, wou'd by themſelves alone give Judgment in the Cauſe; nor was there any other Courſe more ſuitable to the Practice and State of the Kingdom, the Safety of the Nobility, or to Equity or common Juſtice.' To this the Commons reply'd, 'That they were reſolv'd to go on with their Bill, and if their Lordſhips ſhould refuſe the ſame, they had Reaſon to fear a Diviſion and Rupture wou'd follow, to the infinite Damage of the whole Kingdom, becauſe no Satisfaction cou'd be given to the Subject, unleſs the Perſon, who had ſo much incroach'd upon their Rights, and diſcontented the People, might be puniſh'd as a Traitor.' Notwithſtanding this the Lords inſiſted upon their Rights, and the Reaſonableneſs of the Thing, and appointed '*Saturday* the ſeventeenth of this Month for the Earl of *Strafford* to be heard by his Council in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the Commons, if they pleas'd,

The Lords proceed their own Way.

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‘ might be preſent.’ The Commons cou’d not with Decency refuſe this Appointment, but at the ſame Time they us’d ſeveral Methods to intimidate thoſe Lawyers that ſhou’d be ſo hardy as to plead for a Man under their Diſpleaſure; and likewiſe declar’d, ‘ That they wou’d make no more publick Replies, becauſe of the Bill depending; only, if the Lords ſhou’d make any Scruple in Matter of Law, they wou’d be ready to give them Satisfaction, in a private Conference.

The Law-Part argu’d, by Mr. Lane, *&c.*

Upon the appointed Day, the Earl was brought to the Bar with his Council, which were Mr. *Lane* the Prince’s Attorney, Mr. *Gardner* Recorder of *London*, Mr. *Loe*, and Mr. *Lightfoot*. Theſe being admoniſh’d by the Lord-Steward to keep a reſpectful Diſtance, and not to meddle with Matters of Fact, Mr. *Lane* began, and with great Strength of Reaſon argued, ‘ That that Statute of the twenty fifth of *Edward* the Third, was a *Declarative Law*, and ſo not to be interpreted by Way of *Conſequence*, *Equity* or *Conſtruction*, but by the *Expreſs Letter* only: That it was a *Penal-Law*, and therefore cou’d by no Means admit of *Conſtructions* or *Inferences*; for *Penalties* were to enforce the keeping of what was *known* and *certain*, and not of *conjectural* and *dubious* Laws. As for the *Salvo* it ſelf, he affirm’d, That in the ſixth Year of *Henry* the Fourth a Petition was preferr’d in Parliament by the Nobility to have all Treaſon limited by Statute; That in that Parliament, an Act being made upon that Petition, that *Salvo* was to be repeal’d in all future Times; and that nothing ſhou’d be eſteem’d *Treaſon*, but what was literally contain’d in the Statute of the twenty fifth of *Edward* the Third.’ The reſt of the Council ſpoke to the ſame Effect, and confirm’d all that had been ſaid by Mr. *Lane*. Whereupon the Lords and Commons adjourn’d; and the latter now more finding the Neceſſity of the Bill to effect their Purpoſe, reſolv’d that this ſhou’d be the laſt Day of the Earl’s Defence.

For the next Day after, the Commons enter’d into a Debate concerning the Bill of Attainder, and upon the Evidence of Sir *Henry Vane*’s Notes, voted the Earl guilty of High-Treaſon, order’d the Bill to be engroſs’d, and to be read the third Time upon the twenty firſt Day of *April*, to put an End to the whole Proceſs. Upon which Day, the Doors of the Houſe were carefully lock’d up, and a warm Debate aroſe; in which the Lord *Digby*, one of the Managers againſt the Earl, made a very remarkable Speech, and juſtly diſtinguiſh’d between a Proſecutor and a Judge.

The Lord Digby’s *Speech againſt the Attainder.*

In Proſecution, ſaid he, *we are accountable only for our Induſtry or Remiſſneſs; but in Judgment we are reſponſible to God for its Rectitude or Obliquity: In Caſes of Life, the Judge is God’s Steward of the Party’s Blood, and muſt give a ſtrict Account for every Drop.* He declar’d himſelf abſolutely unſatisfied with the main Ground-Work of their Bill, Sir *Henry Vane*’s Evidence and Notes, which he call’d *disjointed Fragments of the venomous Part of Diſcourſes; without Reſults, or Concluſion of Counſels, which Secretaries only ſhou’d regiſter.* Then for the Depoſitions, he obſerv’d, that upon three Examinations, they had vary’d every Time: *So that he who twice cou’d not remember any thing of ſuch a Buſineſs, might well miſremember ſomewhat the third Time.* Had there been any Probability or Proof of this of the *Iriſh* Army, *he own’d it wou’d have diffus’d a Complexion of Treaſon over all, and been a* Withe *indeed to bind all the leſſer* Branches *into a* Faggot *of Treaſon.* Then he warmly inveigh’d againſt ruining a Man and his Poſterity, upon a Law made *à Poſteriori*, and ſaid, *Let the* Mark *be ſet on the Door, where the Plague is, and then let him that will enter, die.* He concluded with a Motion to lay aſide the Bill of Attainder, and bring in another to ſecure the State from all future Miſchiefs that could ariſe from the Earl of *Strafford*.

This Speech was highly reſented by many in the Houſe, and the Lord was oblig’d to explain himſelf the next Day, which he did ſo much to the Diſadvantage of thoſe who were concern’d, that from that Time they proſecuted him with utmoſt Rage and Malice upon all Occaſions. At this Time a great Part of the Houſe was implacably diſpos’d towards the Earl’s Deſtruction, and no Arguments cou’d move or perſuade them to the contrary. It is remarkable that upon the main Debate, Sir *Bevile Greenvile* and Sir *Alexander Carew*, ſitting together, and ſerving both for the ſame County of *Cornwall*, Sir *Bevile* begg’d his Collegue to have ſome Remorſe, and ſaid, *Pray, Sir, let it not be ſaid that any Member of our County ſhou’d have a Hand in this ominous Buſineſs, and therefore pray give your Vote againſt this Bill.* To whom Sir *Alexander* violently reply’d;

Carew’s *Zeal.*

If I was ſure to be the next Man that ſhou’d ſuffer upon the ſame Scaffold, and with the ſame Ax, I wou’d give my Conſent to the paſſing it. All which preſagious Saying was afterwards exactly, and in every Circumſtance, verify’d and accompliſh’d.

The Bill paſſes the Commons.

After which Debate, the Bill paſs’d in the Houſe with only fifty nine diſſenting Voices, there being above two hundred in the Houſe.

1641. Car. 17.

The ſame Day Mr. *Pym* carry’d it up to the Lords, with a ſpecial Recommendation for Expedition, and an Aſſurance, ‘ That they were ready to juſtify its Legality.’ Thus was the Earl of *Strafford*’s Fate determin’d in the Houſe of Commons.

2. The Commons having finiſh’d this Point, they immediately proceeded to other Buſineſs, and particularly to the ſuppreſſing the Juriſdiction of the Court of *York*, which extended to the four Northern Counties, and which they look’d upon both as illegal and exorbitant.

Mr. Hyde *againſt the Court of* York.

Mr. *Hyde*, being Chair-Man of the Committee for this Matter, was imploy’d to repreſent the Inconveniencies of it to the Lords in a Conference between both Houſes; which he did in ſuch a handſome Speech, as occaſion’d his Parts and Abilities to be much obſerv’d, and ſeveral to move for the publick Thanks of the Houſe upon the Account of this Service. But the chief Leaders diverted them from it, alledging, *That conſidering his Behaviour, he had too much Credit already*; however the Northern Gentlemen ſhew’d themſelves very grateful to him upon ſeveral Emergencies. The Earl of *Strafford*, having been laſt Preſident of the North, and Judge of this Court with the moſt ample Authority, this Speech and Management of Mr. *Hyde*’s ſerv’d more to increaſe the general Indignation againſt him. Yet all Things ſeem’d to be at a ſtand in the upper Houſe; and no great Progreſs cou’d be made, till the Earl’s Buſineſs was diſpatch’d. All Men ſtood thoughtful and gazing; and they who treated for Promotions at Court, were ſollicitous to finiſh That, as what wou’d conclude all the reſt. The King was reſolv’d to move no further in it, till he might be ſecure of the Earl’s Life; which being done, he wou’d comply with any Thing; and the Earl of *Bedford*, who had the greateſt Authority with the violent Men, labour’d heartily to bring it to paſs; tho’, as Archbiſhop *Laud* tells us, before the Sitting of the Parliament, he had been one of the main Contrivers of the Earl’s Ruin.

On the ſame Day that Mr. *Hyde* made his Speech, he met at a publick Bowling-Green with the Earl of *Bedford*, who ſingling him out, familiarly diſcours’d with him upon the Earl of *Strafford*’s Caſe, and prophetically told Him,

The Earl of Bedford’s *Diſcourſe with him.*

‘ That that Buſineſs was a Rock upon which they ſhou’d all ſplit; and the Kingdom wou’d be deſtroy’d through the Heat of the Parliament. That his Majeſty was ſatiſfy’d, he had by his paſſionate Proceedings render’d himſelf uſeleſs for future Service, and was content that they ſhou’d inflict Baniſhment or perpetual Impriſonment upon him. That if by their own Judicatory they wou’d take his Death upon Themſelves, he wou’d not interpoſe by his Pardon; but ſince they were proceeding by an Act of Parliament, in which He himſelf muſt be a Party, he cou’d not with a ſafe Conſcience give his Aſſent to it; as having heard Nothing produc’d at the whole Tryal, which prov’d him a Traytor either in Fact or Intention.’ The Earl added, ‘ That he had done what he cou’d to perſuade his Friends to be ſatisfy’d with the Remedy propos’d by the King; and that he ſhou’d not deſpair of Succeſs, if the Earl of *Eſſex* cou’d be perſuaded to comply, who was hitherto very obſtinate. That he had left his Brother the Marqueſs of *Hertford* walking with him juſt by; and he deſir’d Mr. *Hyde* to go and endeavour to perſuade him to what was reaſonable.’ Mr. *Hyde* readily conſented, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, parting from the Marqueſs, jocoſely began to tell Him,

And that of the Earl of Eſſex.

‘ That he had that Morning perform’d a Service, which he knew he did not intend; that by his Speech againſt the Court of *York* he had reviv’d their Diſpleaſure againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, ſo that he hop’d they wou’d now proceed in the Bill againſt him with Vigour; which was the Effect, he was ſure he had no Mind to be the Cauſe of.’ Mr. *Hyde* confeſs’d, ‘ He had indeed no ſuch Deſign, and hop’d ſomewhat he had ſaid might induce them to proceed in another Method upon his Crimes. That he knew their Backwardneſs in the Bill proceeded from their Diſagreement upon the Point of Treaſons, which the longer they conſider’d, wou’d occaſion the more Difficulties. But if that was once declin’d, they ſhou’d all agree to inflict ſuch a Cenſure upon him, as wou’d abſolutely deprive him of all Power, that might prove dangerous to the Kingdom, or prejudicial to his Oppoſers.’ The Earl ſhook his Head, and reply’d, ‘ *Stone dead has no Fellow!* That if he were fin’d and condemn’d to perpetual Impriſonment, the King wou’d ſoon grant his Pardon and Eſtate, remit his Fines and give him his Liberty whenever he had Occaſion for his Service, which wou’d be as ſoon as the Parliament was ended.’ Mr. *Hyde* not being allow’d to preſs any farther at this Time, ſhortly after expoſtulated with the Earl, ‘ How unjuſtifiable it was for a Man to act contrary to his Conſcience; that he was ſatisfy’d if his Lordſhip was not fully convinc’d of the Earl of *Strafford*’s Guilt, the King cou’d never oblige him to vote for that Bill; and therefore he

‘ admir’d how he cou’d urge the King to do an Act which ‘ he had declar’d to be directly againſt his own Conſcience.’ To which the Earl warmly gave this final Anſwer, *The King in Conſcience was oblig’d to conform himſelf and his Opinion, to the Advice and Conſcience of his Parliament.* This was an unknown Doctrine newly maintain’d by their Divines, and of ſpecial Uſe in the Purſuit of their future Projects.

Complaints againſt Papiſts.

The King’s Anſwer.

Notwithſtanding all this, the Bill did not meet with that warm Reception in the Houſe of Peers, as the Commons expected; and tho’ a new Petition from the *London* Citizens gave it a freſh Puſh, yet the Lords found it a Buſineſs ſo intricate and perplext, that they thought it neceſſary to deſire a Conference with the Commons upon that Subject. Upon which they appointed Mr. *St. John* the King’s Sollicitor, at a ſet Day to juſtify the Bill by Law, in the Preſence of the Earl at the Bar. But in the mean Time they addreſs’d Themſelves to the King by Way of Petition for three Requeſts, namely, ‘ For removing all Papiſts from the Court; ‘ For diſarming of Them generally throughout the King- ‘ dom; and For Diſbanding the *Iriſh* Army.’ To which his Majeſty return’d particular Anſwers in a Speech to both Houſes at *Whitehall*: ‘ Firſt, that they all knew what Le- ‘ gal Truſt the Crown had in that Particular, therefore he ‘ ſhou’d not need to ſay any Thing to aſſure them, *That* ‘ *he ſhou’d uſe it ſo, as there ſhou’d ariſe no juſt Cauſe of* ‘ *Scandal.* For the Second, he was content it ſhou’d be ‘ done according to Law. And for the Third he had ‘ conſulted of that and its Difficulties, and ſo much wiſh’d ‘ the Diſbanding of all Armies, that he conjur’d them ‘ *Speedily and heartily to joyn with him in Diſbanding of* ‘ *thoſe two in* England.

Mr. St. John *argues for the Attainder Bill.*

The Commons, to give ſome Umbrage to their zealous Proceedings againſt the Earl, appear’d at the appointed Day with their great Champion Mr. Sollicitor *St. John*; who in the Preſence of the King, Lords and Commons, and the Priſoner Himſelf, ſtrenuouſly argu’d for the Space of an Hour, in Defence of the Bill of Attainder, and the Legality of it. This implacable Man, to remove all Impreſſions that had been made upon their Lordſhips, for Want of Proof, and Want of Law, boldly advanc’d two notable Propoſitions, and averr’d, *That, in Way of Bill, private Satisfaction to each Man’s Conſcience was ſufficient, tho’ no Evidence had been given in at all.* And as to Matter of Law he ſaid, *We do indeed give Law to Hares and Deer, becauſe they are Beaſts of Chace; but it was never counted Cruelty or Foul Play to knock Wolves and Foxes on the Head, as they cou’d be found, becauſe they are Beaſts of Prey.* It is juſtly obſerv’d, that the Law and Humanity were alike; the one being more fallacious, and the other more barbarous, than ever had been vented in ſuch an Auditory; which ſhew’d both the Spirit of the Perſon, and Temper of the Times. To all this the Earl made no Reply, but all along the Speech, by lifting up his Hands to Heaven to atteſt his Innocence, he ſeem’d to expreſs greater Eloquence by his Silence, than the other had done by his prolix Oration.

The King’s Speech in favour of the Earl.

Theſe popular and infectious Arguments ſoon began to operate, and they had ſuch Power over the Peers, that they began to ſhew a Propenſity towards the Bill, and eſteeming the Earl guilty of High-Treaſon, which more clearly appear’d in their Houſe next Day. The King having Notice of this, thought fit to try a new Experiment, and to ſatisfy his own Judgment and Conſcience, by calling both Houſes together on the firſt of *May*, and telling them in a Speech, ‘ That ſince it came to paſs, that he ‘ muſt have a Share in his Judgment concerning the Earl ‘ of *Strafford*, he thought it but neceſſary to declare his ‘ Conſcience. He was ſure they all knew he had been ‘ preſent from the Beginning to the Ending of that great ‘ Cauſe; and that he muſt tell them, *That in his Conſcience* ‘ *he cou’d not condemn him of Treaſon*: That it was not fit ‘ for Him to argue the Buſineſs; *for a poſitive Doctrine beſt* ‘ *became the Mouth of a Prince*: Yet he muſt needs tell ‘ them three Truths, which he was ſure no Man cou’d ‘ do ſo well as himſelf. Firſt, That he never had any In- ‘ tention to bring in the *Iriſh* Army into *England*, *nor was* ‘ *ever adviſ’d ſo to do.* Secondly, That there never was ‘ any Debate before him, either in publick Council or ‘ private Committee, *of the Diſloyalty of his* Engliſh *Sub-* ‘ *jects.* Thirdly, That he was never counſell’d by any *to* ‘ *alter the leaſt of any of the Laws of* England, much leſs ‘ to alter all the Laws. Nay he thought no Body durſt ‘ be ſo impudent as to move him to it; for if they had, ‘ he wou’d have made them ſuch an Example, as Poſterity ‘ ſhou’d have known his Intentions by it. That he yet deſir’d ‘ to be rightly underſtood, for tho’ he cou’d not condemn ‘ the Earl of *High-Treaſon*, yet he cou’d not acquit him of ‘ *Miſdemeanours*; and ſuch Miſdemeanours, that he thought ‘ him unfit either to ſerve Himſelf or the Common-Wealth ‘ in any Place of Truſt, *no not ſo much as of a CON-* ‘ *STABLE.* Therefore he left it to the Lords to find out ‘ ſome Way, as might ſatisfie Juſtice, and their own Fears, ‘ without oppreſſing his Conſcience.

The unhappy Effects of it.

This prov’d a very unfortunate Step, and quite contrary to the Conſent of the Earl and his Friends, and therefore the more ſtrange and ſurpriſing it was. All ſuppoſe that this Advice was given him by the Earl’s Enemies; and Father *Philips*, the Queen’s Confeſſor, in an intercepted Letter ſays it was done by the Earl of *Briſtol* and the Lord *Savile.* But the Lord *Clarendon* more expreſly charges it upon the Lord *Say*, who then endeavouring for the higheſt Preferments, did promiſe his Majeſty, *He ſhou’d not be preſs’d in the Matter of the Earl of* Strafford’*s Life*, if he wou’d make that Speech, as he did. And tho’ the Earl deſir’d *to depend upon the Honour and Conſcience of the Peers, without his Majeſty’s Interpoſition*, yet the repeated Aſſurances of the Lord *Say* did greatly deceive him, if not baſely betray him into this new Matter. The Event plainly ſhew’d the Miſtake; for the King was no ſooner return’d, than the Houſe of Commons in great Paſſion declar’d this laſt Act of the King’s to be ‘ The moſt un- ‘ parallel’d Breach of Privilege ever heard of; that if his ‘ Majeſty might declare his own Opinion of any Bills de- ‘ pending in either Houſe, it was fore-judging their Coun- ‘ ſels, and the moſt imaginable Obſtruction of Juſtice; ‘ therefore they were bound to ſtand by their Privileges, ‘ which were now too openly invaded and violated.’ They now began to betake Themſelves to new Arts, and to effect that by the Power of Tumults, which they had no Hopes of obtaining in a regular Method: And all that the King gain’d by this free Declaration of Himſelf, was to loſe much of the Affections of the People, whether he ſhou’d paſs the Bill or deny it. For if he paſs’d it, then it was to be imputed to the Neceſſity of his Affairs, not his Inclinations to the Good of his Subjects; and if he deny’d it, then it muſt have been eſteem’d a Refuſal of Juſtice to his People.

Great Complaints.

Marriage between the Prince of Orange *and Princeſs* Mary.

3. The next Day after this Speech, which was *Sunday* the Second of *May*, the Marriage between the Princeſs *Mary*, eldeſt Daughter to the King, and the young Prince of *Orange*, was ſolemniz’d at *Whitehall* with all ſuitable Pomp and Magnificence. This prov’d much leſs pleaſing to the Parliament and People, than when it was firſt propos’d, and great Numbers open’d their Mouths, and paſs’d Cenſures upon the King’s Management in this Affair. And the ſame Day ſome of the *London* Miniſters from their Pulpits began to blow up the Diſcontents of the People, in relation to the King’s Speech, and to ſhew the Neceſſity of Juſtice now to be acted upon ſome great Delinquents. This prov’d the Signal to new Outrages; for the very next Day, about five or ſix Thouſand Citizens, of the meaner Sort, arm’d with Swords or Battoons, came in a tumultuous Manner down to *Weſtminſter*, and having fill’d the *Palace-Yards*, and all the Entrances to the Parliament-Houſe, they ſtopp’d every Coach, crying out *Juſtice, and Execution!* and complaining of their Want of Trade and Bread, becauſe Juſtice was delay’d. Above a Thouſand of them beſet the Lord High-Steward’s Coach, with the ſame Outcry, and told him, *Juſtice they had already, Execution they deſir’d, and wou’d have it.* He reply’d, *They ſhou’d have Juſtice, if they would have Patience*; they ſaid, *No, we have had too much Patience already, and before you part from us, we will have a Promiſe of Execution.* He told them, *He was going to the Houſe for that Purpoſe, and he wou’d endeavour to content them*; upon which ſome of them cry’d, *We will take his Word for once*, and ſo with much Difficulty he got to the Houſe, where the Lords were ſo alarm’d, that moſt of them went back by Water. But the Earl of *Holland*, and Earl of *Briſtol* coming out to take Coach, they redoubled their Cry, and ſome of them told the latter, *We know you are an Apoſtate from Chriſt’s Cauſe, we don’t crave Juſtice from You, but deſign to crave Juſtice upon You, and your falſe Son, the Lord* Digby. Nor did they ſtop here, but ruſh’d into *Weſtminſter-Abby*, broke down the Organs, and robb’d the Veſtments and ſacred Furniture of the Church; and then with furious Clamours ran to the King’s Palace at *Whitehall.* There they proceeded to that Impudence, as to affront the King Himſelf by ſaucy and inſolent Replies, when his Majeſty from a Balcony, as they paſs’d by, deſir’d, *That they wou’d keep at home, and mind their own Buſineſs.* The Ringleader of this Rable was *Cornelius Burgeſs*, a furious Doctor of Divinity of the Puritan Party, who became famous in theſe ſort of Exploits, and was wont to cry out and bragg, *Theſe are my Band-Dogs, I can ſet them on, and can take them off again, as I pleaſe.*

Great Tumults.

In the mean time, ſome of the Juſtices of Peace, for impriſoning ſuch of the Rioters as they cou’d catch, were themſelves ſecur’d by the Houſe of Commons, who alledg’d, *That it was free for all to come and petition the Parliament*; tho’ they had ſhut the Gates of *London* againſt the *Kentiſh* Men that came to petition the contrary, and

Many of the Commons join with the Mob.

terrify'd others who deſign'd to have done the ſame. And when ſome diſcreet and good Men had deſir'd theſe Leaders in the Houſe to *lay thoſe Spirits they had raiſ'd*, they made Anſwer, *That they ought rather to thank them as Friends.* Nay, ſo far was the Parliamentary Dignity debas'd, that frequently Members of the Houſe of Commons repair'd to the Clubs of Apprentices, where they related, debated and examin'd the Affairs that paſs'd in Parliament, what was deſign'd to be done, what Poſts they themſelves were to act, and when. Hence their Tumults by this kind of Diſcipline, in a Manner came to be regular, being diſtributed into proper Claſſes and Fraternities, as of *Watermen*, *Porters*, *Taylors*, *Shoemakers*, &c. who under Pretence of Petitioning, flock'd together into Bodies, at the leaſt Hint from their Maſters; who whenever they found any Knot, which by other Arts they cou'd not unty, immediately betook themſelves to this Sword to cut it aſunder.

The Names of the Straffordians.

And what was the moſt deſtructive Violation of the Freedom of Parliaments, they poſted up a Liſt of the Names of ſuch of the Commons as were againſt the Bill of Attainder, under the Name of STRAFFORDIANS, and ENEMIES TO THEIR COUNTRY; adding withal this Menace, *Theſe and all other Enemies of the Common-wealth ſhou'd periſh with* Strafford. Theſe were put up in ſeveral Parts of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and becauſe their Names will not fill up too great a Part of this Hiſtory, we ſhall inſert them as following; The Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *Robert Hatton*, Sir *Thomas Fanſhaw*, Sir *Edward Alford*, Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, Sir *Thomas Danby*, Sir *George Wentworth*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *William Carnaby*, Sir *Richard Win*, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, Sir *William Widdrington*, Sir *William Pennyman*, Sir *Patrick Curwen*, Sir *Richard Lee*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Gervaſe Hollis*, Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, Mr. *Cooke*, Mr. *Ben. Weſton*, Mr. *William Weſton*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Alford*, Mr. *Lloyd*, Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Digby*, Serjeant *Hyde*, Mr. *Tailor*, Mr *Griffith*, Mr. *Scowen*, Mr. *Bridgeman*, Mr. *Fettiplace*, Dr. *Turner*, Captain *Price*, Mr. *Price*, Dr. *Parry*, Mr. *Arundel*, Mr. *Newport*, Mr. *Holborn*, Mr. *Noel*, Mr. *Kerton*, Mr. *Pollard*, Mr. *Travannion*, Mr. *Jane*, Mr. *Edgecombe*, Mr. *Chichely*, Mr. *Mallery*, Mr. *Porter*, Mr. *White*, Sir *John Strangeways*, and Mr. *Warwick*.

The Diſcovery of a great Plot.

4. During theſe Diſturbances, there hapned an Accident, which by the Management of the Commons was ſoon improv'd to the Ruin of the Earl, and afterwards to the bringing on the grand Civil War. This was a Diſcovery of ſeveral Meetings and Diſcourſes between ſome Perſons nearly related to the King's Service, and ſome of the Officers of the Army, concerning the high Proceedings of the Parliament, and ſome Expedients to reduce them to a better Temper; which was no ſooner hinted to ſome of the Leading Members, but the whole was ſhap'd into a dangerous and bloody Deſign againſt the Government. Accordingly Mr. *Pym* acquainted the Houſe, ‘ That there ‘ were Informations of deſperate Deſigns at home and ‘ abroad, to bring up the Army to awe the Parliament, to ‘ ſurpriſe the *Tower*, that the Earl of *Strafford* might eſ‑ ‘ cape; That *Portſmouth* was to be betray'd, and the *French* ‘ were ſuddenly drawing down an Army to the Sea Side.’ As dangerous as all this was repreſented, yet the whole was not publiſh'd to the Houſes till three Months after; tho' they made extraordinary uſe of it by Parts, from the Moment they receiv'd the Secret. It was uſual with Them, when they found the Heat of the Houſe abated, to inflame them again with ſome Diſcovery, or a Promiſe of a Diſcovery of ſome ſtrange Plot againſt Themſelves, which, tho' upon Examination they always vaniſh'd, yet being apply'd in critical Seaſons of Time, ſerv'd to allarm common Minds with Fears and Apprehenſions, and ſo induce them to comply with thoſe, who were moſt like to find Remedies for thoſe Diſeaſes, which they only cou'd diſcover. But this being a Matter of ſome Foundation, and of great Moment in the Conſequence, we ſhall ſhew the Particulars of this Plot in a more proper Place.

A new Proteſtation by the Parliament.

The firſt Effect of this Diſcovery, tho' at preſent general, imperfect, and much conceal'd, was the following Proteſtation made by the Commons: ‘ I *A. B.* Do in the ‘ Preſence of God, promiſe, vow and proteſt to maintain ‘ and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my Life, Power ‘ and Eſtate, the true *Reform'd Proteſtant Religion*, ex‑ ‘ preſs'd in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, againſt ‘ all *Popery*, and *Popiſh Innovation* within this Realm, con‑ ‘ trary to the ſaid Doctrine; and according to the Duty of ‘ my Allegiance I will maintain, and defend his Majeſty's ‘ Royal Perſon, Honour and Eſtate: Alſo the Power and ‘ Privileges of Parliaments, the lawful Rights and Liber‑ ‘ ties of the Subjects, and every Perſon that ſhall make ‘ this *Proteſtation*, in whatſoever he ſhall do in the lawful ‘ Purſuance of the ſame; and to my Power, as far as law‑ ‘ fully I may, I will oppoſe, and by all good Ways and ‘ Means endeavour to bring condign Puniſhment on all ‘ ſuch as ſhall by *Force*, *Practice*, *Counſels*, *Plots*, *Conſpi‑ ‘ racies*, or otherwiſe do any thing to the contrary in this ‘ preſent *Proteſtation* contain'd.’------This Proteſtation was by many accounted rather worſe than the *Scotch* Covenant; yet it found an eaſy Admiſſion in the Houſe of Commons, and alſo among the Lords, who all took it except the Earl of *Southampton* and the Lord *Roberts*, who alledg'd *There was no Law to enjoyn it, and the Conſequence of ſuch voluntary Engagements might produce Effects that were not at firſt intended.* However the Commons puſh'd it forwards, and order'd it to be taken throughout all *England*; and it was the more promoted, becauſe of two plauſible Effects it might produce. Firſt it was thought an Antidote both to expel and diſcover the Poyſon of the foremention'd Plot: Secondly, one Clauſe was look'd upon as a Preſervative againſt any Alterations in Church Government. But to undeceive all Perſons as to that Clauſe, the Commons made ſuch an Explanation, as ſhew'd that the Church and Biſhops were to expect no real Benefit from it.

Strafford's *intended Eſcape.*

A ridiculous Accident.

This being finiſh'd, ſtrict Enquiries were made by both Houſes into the intended Eſcape of the Earl of *Strafford*; concerning which Sir *William Balfour*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, declar'd, ‘ That he was order'd by the King to ‘ receive a Hundred Men under Captain *Billingſley* into the ‘ *Tower*, and that the Earl offer'd him a great Reward if ‘ he wou'd favour his Eſcape, all which, in Fidelity to ‘ the Parliament, he refus'd.’ Several did much queſtion the Teſtimony of *Balfour*, as being a *Scot*, and an Enemy to the Earl; yet it immediately rais'd a new Out-cry in the City, where other conjectural Stories of this Deſign were added, to the great Encreaſe of the daily Tumults. Upon which Diſturbances the Lord Privy-Seal, in a Conference between both Houſes, acquainted the Commons with a Meſſage from the King and Council, ‘ That it was his ‘ Majeſty's Pleaſure that both Houſes conſider of ſome ‘ ſpeedy Courſe to ſettle Peace, and to prevent the like ‘ Tumults for the future.’ The ſame Lord alſo repreſented to them, ‘ That it was a great Hindrance to the ‘ paſſing their Bill of Attainder, their Lordſhips being in‑ ‘ compaſs'd with ſuch Multitudes, that they cou'd not be ‘ free in their Votes.’ But notwithſtanding, the Commons took no Notice, but ſtill propagated the News of Plots and Conſpiracies, which fill'd every Man's Ears, and had an odd Effect the next Day, tho' upon this trivial Occaſion. Sir *Walter Earle* was making a Report of a diſmal Deſign to blow up the Houſe of Commons, when Mr. *Middleton* and Mr. *Moyle*, two corpulent Men, and ſome others ſtanding up to hear the Report, a Board in the Gallery broke down with ſuch an Exploſion, that ſome believ'd the Houſe was really blown up; and Sir *John Wray* crying out, *He ſmelt Gun-powder*, they haſtily ruſh'd out of the Houſe, and frighted the People in the *Lobby*, who ran into the Hall crying out, *The Parliament-Houſe was falling, and the Members ſlain*, and all was turn'd into Hurry and Confuſion. Some of the Zealots took the Advantage of the Accident, and by Water gave the Allarm; ſo that the Drums beat, and a Regiment of Train-Bands march'd as far as *Covent-Garden*, and all the Rabble of Volunteers down to the Houſe to ſave the Parliament. This inconſiderable Accident, tho' at preſent it occaſion'd nothing but Sport and Laughter, did extreamly animate the Leaders of the Houſe, who now plainly diſcover'd the Influence they had over the Multitude, and that they were perfectly at their Beck and Devotion.

The Earl of Bedford's *Death.*

During theſe Diſtractions, the Earl of *Bedford*, having a Month before loſt his beloved Son, fell ſick at a Time when he might have been highly ſerviceable to the Earl of *Strafford*, and ſoon after dy'd of the Small-Pox. He had been aſſur'd of the Treaſurer's Staff, and had undertaken to preſerve the Earl's Life; but he who had been his mortal Oppoſer, was now ſnatch'd away before he cou'd make any Retribution. He dy'd much afflicted with the Paſſion and Fury he had found in his own Party, and upon his Death-Bed declar'd, *He fear'd the Rage and Madneſs of this Parliament wou'd bring greater Miſchiefs upon the Kingdom, than the long Intermiſſion of thoſe Aſſemblies.* His natural Wiſdom and Authority was now much wanting among the Lords, many of whom, as well as all the Biſhops, declin'd all Appearance in the Houſe. Yet the Attainder Bill went on but ſlowly; but in Concluſion, the Judges to give Countenance to the Matter, being ask'd their Opinion, the Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench deliver'd it as their unanimous Opinion, ‘ That upon all ‘ that their Lordſhips had voted to be prov'd, the Earl of ‘ *Strafford* doth deſerve to undergo the Pains and Forfei‑ ‘ tures of High-Treaſon.’ Upon which the Bill paſs'd the Houſe, but not without conſiderable Oppoſition; for all the Lords, except forty five, were abſent, and of thoſe

The Attainder Bill paſs'd by the Lords.

it was carry'd but by ſeven Votes, twenty five being for, and nineteen againſt the Bill. But if his Friends, or only the Biſhops had been preſent, they might have more than counterpois'd the Votes for this fatal Bill; in which there was a ſpecial Proviſo, ‘ That this Act ſhou'd not be a Precedent, or take Place in any other Man's Caſe for the future.’ Thus was this great Man's Fate determined in the Houſe of Lords, upon *Saturday* the 8th of *May*; upon which Day they likewiſe paſs'd another Bill for perpetuating the Parliament, as fatal to the King, as the former was to the Earl.

New Tumults.

VII. 1. Thus far had both Houſes proceeded towards the Deſtruction of the Earl of *Strafford*; but the great Difficulty was yet to overcome, the procuring the Royal Aſſent, which was neceſſary to compleat this Tragedy. For this Purpoſe, immediately after the Bill had paſs'd in the upper Houſe, the Lords and Commons attended his Majeſty at the *Banqueting-Houſe*, to move him to this great Point; to which they receiv'd Anſwer, that upon *Monday* they ſhou'd know his Majeſty's Reſolution. About the ſame Time a Rabble of many thouſand People beſieg'd the Palace, crying out *Juſtice, Juſtice!* not without inſolent Threats and Expreſſions, what they wou'd do, if it was not ſpeedily granted.

The King conſults his Friends about the Bill.

All *Sunday* was a reſtleſs Day to the King, who had a violent Struggle within himſelf how to act in this ungrateful Affair; and certainly never was any poor Prince ſo miſerably haraſs'd between the Importunities of his Honour and Conſcience on one ſide, and the Fears of ſuch a publick Rupture as ſeem'd to threaten nothing but Deſtruction to himſelf and his Family. He ſummon'd his Privy-Council, his Judges, and five Biſhops, to aſſiſt and relieve him in this melancholy Exigency; but ſcarce any of them wou'd interpoſe their Opinion, to ſupport the Innocence or Magnanimity of their Maſter. The new Doctrine prevail'd with ſome, ‘ That no Man ſhou'd preſume to adviſe any thing in that Place, contrary to the Senſe of both Houſes;’ and others ſadly believ'd, ‘ That the Force and Violence offer'd to the King, wou'd before God and Man be a juſt Excuſe for whatſoever he ſhou'd do.’ All ſeem'd willing to ſhift off the Burthen from themſelves to others; the Counſellors referr'd the King to the Biſhops to inform his Conſcience, and the Biſhops referr'd him to the Judges, to ſatisfy him as to the Legality. The King particularly complain'd of the Judges, that they had not ſatisfy'd him, nor indeed durſt they give their Opinions freely for the Satisfaction of his Conſcience, their own being already over-aw'd and terrify'd, their very Courage and Reaſon having deſerted them in the common Extremity, *and by their dubious Anſwers abuſing him*, as he ſaid, *not eaſing him of his Scruples.*

The Opinion of the Biſhops.

The Biſhops concern'd in this Difficulty, were *Uſher* Primate of *Ireland*, *Morton* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Williams* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Potter* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*; of whom two have been ſeverely cenſur'd for their colluſive Manner of promoting the Bill. Archbiſhop *Uſher* is charg'd with diſtinguiſhing between the King's politick Capacity and his natural, his publick Conſcience and his private; as tho' he might condemn the Earl by the one, tho' the other told him he was innocent. But Sir *Edward Walker* has abſolutely clear'd him from the King's own Mouth; and the Lord *Clarendon* has as directly charg'd it upon *Williams*, whom by Miſtake he calls Archbiſhop of *York*. Biſhop *Hacket* does in Effect clear him of this Imputation, without knowing it was then charg'd upon him; and it ſeems the more probable, both becauſe the King himſelf made him Archbiſhop of *York* a few Months after, and becauſe it does not appear that any ſuch Advice was ever given in Publick. According to the beſt Hands, who have ſtrictly inquir'd into this Matter, the Advice that was given, was the unanimous Agreement of four Biſhops, *Uſher*, *Morton*, *Williams* and *Potter*, and to this Effect: ‘ That in this Caſe the *Matter of Fact* and the *Matter of Law* were to be diſtinguiſh'd: That of the *Matter of Fact*, his Majeſty himſelf might make a Judgment, having been preſent at all the Proceedings; where, if upon hearing the Allegations on either Side, he did not conceive the Earl guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge, he cou'd not in Juſtice condemn him: But for the *Matter of Law*, what was Treaſon, and what was not, he was to reſt in the Opinion of his Judges, whoſe Office it was to declare the Law, and who were ſworn therein to carry themſelves indifferently betwixt him and his Subjects.’ This was the Reſult of their common Opinion, and Biſhop *Hacket* aſſures us, that there was none of theſe four but wou'd have paſs'd through Fire and Water, to have preſerv'd the unfortunate Victim. However it was, Biſhop *Juxon* remain'd inviolable and invincible in his Fidelity and Integrity, and Heroically told the King, *That he ought to do nothing with an unſatisfy'd Conſcience, upon any Conſideration in the World*: By which he gain'd a Reputation that ought to be render'd Immortal in Hiſtory; and throughout all the following Storm, he enjoy'd the greateſt Calm of any Man in the three Kingdoms.

iſhop Jux-
n's *Brave-*
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The Earl's Letter to the King.

The King's former Promiſe of Protection muſt needs be very uneaſy to him in this Emergency; but what gave him moſt Relief was a Letter wrote by the Earl himſelf, who in an uncommon Strain of Gallantry, ‘ *To ſet his Majeſty's Conſcience at Liberty*, humbly beſeech'd him to paſs the Bill, for the preventing ſuch Miſchiefs as might happen by his Refuſal; and that he wou'd remove him out of the Way, towards that bleſſed Agreement, which he hop'd God wou'd for ever eſtabliſh between him and his Subjects. Then he added theſe Words, *Sir, my Conſent herein ſhall more acquit you to God, than all the World can do beſides; to a willing Man there is no Injury done: And as by God's Grace I forgive all the World, with a Calmneſs and Meekneſs of infinite Contentment to my diſlodging Soul; So, Sir, to you I can give the Life of this World, with all the Chearfulneſs imaginable, in the juſt Acknowledgment of your exceeding Favours.*’ This Letter was urg'd with great Plauſibleneſs for paſſing the Bill, by ſome that were about his Majeſty; and on the other Side nothing was ſounded in his Ears but Fears, Terrors, and repeated Threatnings of Tumults and Rebellions from every Quarter of the City, and every Corner of the Kingdom, to the Hazard of his Royal Conſort and Children. At laſt having wreſtled himſelf breathleſs, late at Night he yielded to Importunity and Neceſſity, and ſo ſign'd a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Arundel*, and two other Lords, to paſs the two fatal Bills, one for the Execution of the Earl of *Strafford*, and the other for the perpetuating the Parliament. Thus all Mankind, the King, the Queen, the Lords, the Commons, the Biſhops, the Judges, the City and the Multitude, did ſeverally contribute to the ſacrificing of one ſingle Victim: So that be the Crime great or ſmall, ſure never was any known more diffus'd and National. Nay the Earl himſelf ſeem'd to have given the main Stroak, who by endeavouring to perform an Heroick Action, perhaps did not enough conſider that he adviſ'd his Maſter to one beneath a King. His Majeſty was ſoon ſenſible of it, and always remember'd it with infinite Regret, and as the juſt Cauſe of all his Miſfortunes. It is obſerv'd that this Sin was one of thoſe which carry their own Puniſhment along with them, and naturally produce it, abſtractedly from the Remorſe of Conſcience, and the Chaſtiſement of Heaven. And Time made it plainly appear, That a good Maſter, who once forſakes his Servants, finds few that will adhere to him, when once he is forſaken by Fortune.

The King paſſes that and another fatal Bill.

2. After the ſigning theſe Bills, the King ſent Sir *Dudley Carleton* his Secretary to the Earl, to acquaint him with what was done, and the Motives to it, eſpecially the Earl's own Conſent. He receiv'd the Meſſage of Death with great Courage, yet Sweetneſs, but not without ſome Surpriſe and Aſtoniſhment, as if he did not believe the King's Aſſent. Some Authors ſay he lift up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, and pour'd out this Scripture Ejaculation, *Put not your Truſt in Princes, nor in the Sons of Men, for in them there is no Salvation!* Immediately the Earl prepar'd himſelf for Death, and on *Monday*, after the Commiſſioners had paſs'd the Bill, he ſent an humble Petition to the Houſe of Lords, in which, ‘ He crav'd leave to return their Lordſhips moſt humble Thanks for their noble Compaſſion, he underſtood, they had ſhewn towards his innocent Children, whom now with his laſt Bleſſing he muſt commit to the Protection of the Almighty God, beſeeching their Lordſhips to finiſh this pious Intention towards them, in which he truſted the Honourable Houſe of Commons wou'd afford their Chriſtian Aſſiſtance.

The Earl's Petition to the Lords.

The King's Letter to the Lords.

In the mean time the King's Mind being fill'd with relenting Thoughts and melancholy Reflections, upon *Tueſday* he ſent a pathetick Letter to the Houſe of Lords, in which he told them, ‘ He had the Day before ſatisfy'd the *Juſtice* of the Nation by paſſing the Bill of Attainder; but *Mercy* being as inherent to a King as *Juſtice*, he deſir'd in ſome Meaſure to ſhew that likewiſe, by ſuffering that *Unfortunate Man* to fulfill the natural Courſe of his Life in a cloſe Impriſonment; ſo that if he ever made the leaſt Offer to eſcape, or directly or indirectly offer'd to meddle in any ſort of publick Buſineſs, he ſhou'd die without Proceſs. If this cou'd be done, without the Diſcontentment of the People, it wou'd be an unſpeakable Satiſfaction to him. Therefore, as in the firſt Place he did by this Letter earneſtly deſire their Approbation, and to endear it the more had choſen *Him to carry it*, who of all their Houſe was moſt dear to him, ſo he deſir'd that they wou'd in a Conference endeavour alſo to give Contentment to the Houſe of Commons.--------But if *no leſs than his Life* will ſatisfie the People, he muſt then ſay *FIAT JUSTITIA*; and ſo again recom-

'mended the Conſideration of his Intentions to them, and 'remain'd their unalterable and affectionate Friend. At 'the bottom of the Letter, as a Poſtſcript, he added, *If he 'muſt die, it were Charity to reprieve him till* Saturday.

Their Anſwer, and Diſcourſe with the King.

This Letter, all written with the King's own Hand, was deliver'd by the Hand of the young Prince, as the firſt Favour he had to ask of the Parliament, and was with much Attention read twice in the Houſe. After a ſerious but ſad Conſideration, the Houſe immediately reſolv'd to ſend twelve of the Peers Meſſengers to his Majeſty, humbly to ſignify, 'That neither of the two Intentions expreſs'd in the 'Letter, cou'd with Duty in them, or without Danger to 'his Conſort the Queen, and all the young Princes their 'Children, be poſſibly admitted.' This being ſignified to his Majeſty, he ſuffer'd no more Words to come from them; but out of a full Deſire to give Satisfaction to his Parliament and People, he told them, *That what he intended by his Letter was with an IF, if it might be done without Diſcontentment to his People: If it cannot be, I repeat the ſame I wrote,* Fiat Juſtitia. *My other Intention for a few Days Reſpite, was upon Information, that his Eſtate was ſo diſtracted, that it neceſſarily requir'd ſome few Days for the Settlement of it.* To which the Lords anſwer'd, 'Their Deſign was to be Suitors to his Majeſty 'for Favour to his Innocent Children, and that their Father's Proviſion for them might be confirm'd;' which was highly pleaſing to the King. At their Departure, they offer'd the King's Letter into his own Hands; but he was pleas'd to ſay, *What I have written to you, I ſhall be content to have it Regiſter'd in your Houſe; in which you ſee my Mind, I hope you will uſe it to my Honour.* Thus they parted, and all Hopes of Mercy or Reprieve were now at an End.

The Earl's Ability and Chriſtian Courage.

The Earl had now prepar'd himſelf for Death, which he look'd upon with all the Courage of a Man, and the Spirit of a Chriſtian; and in order to it had deſir'd the particular Aſſiſtance of Archbiſhop *Uſher*, the Primate of *Ireland*, who diſcharg'd his Duty with all Honour and Fidelity. Upon a full Diſcourſe with him, that learned Prelate told the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *That in all his Life he never knew any Lay-Man, that ſo well and fully underſtood Matters of Divinity, as the Earl did; and that his Reſolutions were no leſs firm and good.* And to ſhew how inviolably ſteady he was to that Church in which he had been educated, he bravely rejected a moſt tempting Offer made to him at this time by his Brother-in-law Mr. *Denzil Hollis*. This Perſon being one of the great Leaders in the Houſe of Commons, came privately to him, and aſſur'd him, *That if he wou'd employ his Power and Credit with the King, for the taking of EPISCOPACY out of the Church, he ſhou'd yet have his Life.* To which the Earl very nobly reply'd, *That he wou'd not buy his Life at ſo dear a Rate:* An Anſwer no doubt very ſurpriſing to that Gentleman, and thoſe that ſent him.

His Meſſage to the Archbiſhop.

The Night before his Execution, he ſent for the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and ask'd him, Whether it was poſſible for him to ſpeak with the Archbiſhop of *Caterbury*? and being anſwer'd that he cou'd not permit it without Order from the Parliament, Mr. *Lieutenant*, ſaid he, *you ſhall hear what paſſes between us; it is not Time for me to plot Treaſon, or for him to plot Hereſie.* To which the Lieutenant anſwer'd, he was limited, and deſir'd he wou'd petition the Parliament for that Favour. *No*, reply'd he, *I have gotten my Diſpatch from them, and will trouble them no more; I am now petitioning a higher Court, where neither Partiality can be expected, nor Error fear'd: But, my Lord*, ſaid he, turning to the Primate of *Ireland* then with him, *what I would have ſpoken to his Grace of* Canterbury *is this: You ſhall deſire the Archbiſhop to lend me his Prayers this Night, and to give me his Bleſſing when I go out to Morrow, and to be at his Window, that by my laſt Farewell I may give him Thanks for this and all his former Favours.* The Lord Primate immediately perform'd his Meſſage, and return'd with this Anſwer from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *That in Conſcience he was bound to do the Firſt, and in Duty and Obligation to do the Laſt; but he fear'd his Weakneſs and Paſſion wou'd ſcarce lend him Eyes to behold his laſt Departure.*

He goes forth to his Execution.

3. And now we come to bring this prepared Victim to the laſt Scene of his Tragedy, which was compleated on *Wedneſday* the twelfth of *May*. Having prepar'd his Soul for this laſt Conflict, he chearfully came out of his Chamber, attended by the Lord Primate of *Ireland*, and ſeveral Gentlemen and Perſons of Quality, together with the Lieutenant and Wardens of the *Tower*. When he drew near the Archbiſhop's Lodgings, he ſaid to the Lieutenant, *Sir, tho' I do not ſee the Archbiſhop, pray give me leave to pay my laſt Obſervance towards his Rooms*; but the Archbiſhop being adviſ'd of his Approach, immediately came to the Window, upon which the Earl, making a profound Bow, cry'd, *My Lord, your Prayers and your Bleſſing!* The Archbiſhop lift up his Hands and beſtow'd both; but unable to ſupport this ſudden Effort, caus'd by the tendereſt Emotions of Friendſhip and Pity, he ſunk down to the Ground, as if his Soul wou'd have forc'd a Way to join the Earl's in its Paſſage to Eternity. The Earl bowing a ſecond time, cry'd *Farewell, my Lord; God protect your Innocence!* The Archbiſhop fearing that his Behaviour might be term'd Effeminacy, or an unbecoming Weakneſs, declar'd *That he hop'd by God's Aſſiſtance and his own Innocence, that when his own expected Execution ſhou'd happen, the World ſhould perceive he had been more ſenſible of the Earl's Loſs, than of his own: And with good Reaſon, for that Gentleman was more ſerviceable to the Church, not to mention the State, than either himſelf, or any of all the Church-Men had ever been.* Thus with a Countenance ſerene and auguſt, the Earl marched towards the Scaffold, more like a General to a Triumph, than a Criminal to his Execution. Marching out of the *Tower*, the Lieutenant deſir'd him to take Coach, leaſt the inrag'd People ſhou'd fall upon him and tear him in Pieces: *No*, reply'd he with an Air of Innocence and Courage, *I dare look Death in the Face, and I hope the People too; have you a Care I do not eſcape, and 'tis equal to me how I die, whether by the Stroak of the Executioner, or the Rage and Madneſs of the People: If that may give them better Satisfaction, 'tis all the ſame to me.*

The Archbiſhop's Teſtimony of him

His Diſcourſe with his Brother.

Being mounted upon the *Scaffold* on *Tower-hill*, in the Preſence of above a hundred thouſand Spectators, he made his Obeyſances, and began to take his ſolemn Leave of his Friends, who appear'd more deeply concern'd than himſelf. Obſerving his Brother Sir *George Wentworth* to weep exceſſively, *Brother*, ſaid he with a chearful Countenance, *what do you ſee in me to deſerve theſe Tears? does my ſervile Fear betray my Guilt, or my aſſuming Boldneſs any Atheiſm? Think that this is the third Time you accompany me to my Marriage Bed: Nor did I ever throw off my Cloaths with more Freedom and Content, than in this Preparation to my Grave. That Stock muſt be my Pillow; here ſhall I reſt from all my Labours; no Thoughts of Envy, no Dreams of Treaſon, Jealouſies of Foes, Cares for the King, the State, or my ſelf, ſhall interrupt this eaſie Sleep: Therefore, Brother, pity my Enemies, who, beſides their Intentions, have made me bleſſed; rejoice in my Innocence, rejoice in my Happineſs.* Then kneeling down, he made this glorious Proteſtation to thoſe about him on the Scaffold. *I hope, Gentlemen, you believe that neither the Fear of Loſs, nor Love of Fame will ſuffer me to belye God and my own Conſcience at this Time: I am now in the very Door going out, and my next Step muſt be from Time to Eternity, either of Peace or Pain: To clear my ſelf before you all, I do here ſolemnly call God to witneſs I am not Guilty, ſo far as I can underſtand, of the great Crime laid to my Charge, nor ever had the leaſt Inclination or Intention to damnify or prejudice the* King, *the* State, *the* Laws, *or the* Religion *of this Kingdom, but with my beſt Endeavours to ſerve all, and ſupport all, SO MAY GOD BE MERCIFUL TO MY SOUL!*

His Proteſtation.

His laſt Speech to the Spectators.

Then riſing up, he ſaid He deſir'd to ſpeak Something to the People and all the Spectators, to whom he addreſs'd Himſelf in a ſolemn Speech, of which this is the Subſtance. 'I am come hither by the Will and Pleaſure of God to 'pay the laſt Debt I owe to Sin, which is Death; and to 'ſubmit to that Judgment which has paſs'd upon me, which 'I do with a quiet and contented Mind. I thank God, I 'freely forgive all the World; and I thank God, that I 'can truly ſay, *That in all the Imployments I have had the 'Honour to ſerve his Majeſty, I never had any Thing in 'my Intentions, but what tended to the joint and individual 'Proſperity of King and People*; tho' it has been my ill 'Fortune to be miſunderſtood. There is one Thing in 'which I deſire to clear my ſelf: I did always think the 'Parliaments of *England* the happieſt Conſtitution that 'any Kingdom liv'd under, and next under God the beſt 'Means to make the King and his People happy: *So far 'have I been from being againſt Parliaments.* For my 'Death, I here acquit all the World, and beſeech the God 'of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contriv'd it; '*Tho' in the Intentions of my Heart I am not guilty of what 'I die for.*------I wiſh this Kingdom all the Proſperity and 'Happineſs in the World; I ever did it living, and now 'dying it is my Prayer: Yet I earneſtly deſire every One 'that hears me to conſider ſeriouſly, *Whether the Reformation of a Kingdom ſhou'd be written in LETTERS 'OF BLOOD*; Let me never be ſo unhappy, as that 'the leaſt Drop of my Blood ſhou'd riſe up in Judgment 'againſt any one of You: I acquit you all, *but fear you are 'in a dangerous Road.* My Lord Primate, I here profeſs, 'and with that I ſhall conclude, that I die a true and obedient Son to the Church of *England*, in which I was born 'and educated; *Peace and Proſperity be ever with it!* I deſire heartily the Forgiveneſs of every One, for any raſh 'and unadviſed Act, or for any Thing done amiſs: And 'ſo, my Lords and Gentlemen, farewell: *Farewell all 'Things of this World.*

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His laſt Meſſage to his Wife and Children.

His Execution.

Upon finiſhing his Speech he ſaluted all the Noblemen and conſiderable Perſons on the Scaffold; then giving them his Hand, and deſiring them all to joyn with him in Prayer, he kneel'd down, and continu'd his Devotions for a Quarter of an Hour. Then riſing up and turning to his Brother Sir *George Wentworth*, he ſaid, *Brother, carry my Bleſſing to my eldeſt Son, and charge him from Me, That he fear God, continue an obedient Son of the Church of* England, *and a faithful Subject to the King: That he retain no private Grudge or Revenge towards any upon my Account; and bid him Beware not to meddle with Church Livings, for that will prove a Moth and Canker to him in his Eſtate.* He alſo ſent his Bleſſing to his Lady and his Daughters, and conculded, *One Stroak will make my diſconſolate Wife Husbandleſs, my dear Children Fatherleſs, and my poor Servants Maſterleſs, and ſeparate me from my dear Brother, and all my Friends; but let God be to You and Them All in All.* After this, taking off his Garments, to make himſelf ready, he ſaid, *I thank God, I am now no more afraid of Death, but do as chearfully put off my Cloathes, as ever I did when I went to Bed.* Then having ſeveral Times recommended his prepar'd Soul to the Mercies of God, he ſubmitted his Neck with moſt Chriſtian Magnanimity to the Stroak of the Axe, which at one Blow took off his Head, before he had fill'd up the Number of fifty Years. Many of the Spectators, who had formerly been prejudic'd againſt him, were now infinitely affected with the Courage and Chriſtianity of his Death; but others at Diſtance, and more in the City had contrary Sentiments: For the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy immediately ran through *London* and the neighbouring Parts; and many who came purpoſely to Town to ſee the Execution, rode back in Triumph, waving their Hats in all publick Places, and crying, *His Head is off, his Head is off!* committing great Inſolencies againſt ſuch as were not ready to ſolemnize this Feſtival. His Body was embalm'd, and bury'd in *Yorkſhire* among his Anceſtors; but for the Honour of his Memory, Archbiſhop *Uſher* ſoon after declar'd to the King, *That he had ſeen many dye, but never ſaw ſo White a Soul return to its Maker.* At which Expreſſion, this compaſſionate Prince was ſo tenderly affected, that he turn'd aſide and paid ſome Tears to the Manes of the illuſtrious Sufferer.

His Greatneſs and Fortune.

Thus fell the tall *Cedar* of the Wood, the greateſt Subject in Power, not leſs in Wiſdom, and little leſs in Fortune, at that Time in the three Kingdoms; who cou'd well remember the Time, when he led the ſame People who afterwards purſu'd him to his Ruin. Cardinal *Richlieu* was ſo ſenſible of his Abilities, that he ſaid, *The* Engliſh *were ſo fooliſh, that they wou'd not let their wiſeſt Head ſtand upon its own Shoulders.* His Authority and Station may be compar'd to the Earthy Mounds or Sea-Banks, which being ſwept away by a Storm, leave all the In-Land to be drown'd by Popular Tumult. He was ſo formidable to the *Scotch*, that it is ſaid he fell a Sacrifice more to their Fear, than their Revenge; yet one Man, whom he moſt deſpis'd, was the principal Cauſe of his Death. His main Misfortunes, as Archbiſhop *Laud* obſerves, were owing to the publick Envy of the Nobility; and his ſerving a mild and gracious Prince, *who knew not how to be made Great.* We have already given his full Character, in the Beginning of the ſecond Chapter in the firſt Book; therefore ſhall only obſerve, that as he met with a double Retaliation for his Severity to the Duke of *Buckingham*, ſo he ſhew'd a ſignal Inſtance, that no Power and Abilities can protect a Man, where his Pride and Haughtineſs remain uncorrected. His Riſe was too quick, his Life too proſperous, and his Pride too predominant; which at laſt Heaven ſtrangely puniſh'd, by bringing his Deſtruction upon him by two Things he moſt contemn'd, the People and Sir *Henry Vane*. Here was firſt open'd that Fountain of Blood, which ſoon encreas'd to a Deluge, and overflow'd three Kingdoms; and this ſingle Act gave infinite Diſturbance to the pious King, even to the Day of his Death. The King had certainly avoided this, according to Sir *Philip Warwick*, had not falſe Counſellors ſo prevail'd on the Queen's Fears, that in Reſpect of her own and Children's Safety, he quitted his firſt Reſolutions. This fatally diſcover'd his Weakneſs, and Mr. *Pym* too juſtly boaſted to his Friends, *Since we have got the King to part with* Strafford, *he can deny us Nothing.* This ſeems to have been fully verify'd before the Words were ſpoken; for with the very ſame Drop of Ink he ſign'd the Attainder-Bill, he ſign'd that for the Continuance of the Parliament; as if it were impoſſible for his Royal Prerogative to ſtand, when *Wentworth* the great Support of it was fallen; ſo that a new Government was to take Life from the Death of this great Man.

An Account of the fatal Bill for the Continuance of the Parliament.

4. The Occaſion of this laſt fatal Bill aroſe from very plauſible Pretences: The vaſt Expence of the two Armies was no otherwiſe ſupply'd, than by borrowing great Sums of Mony in the City; the Subſidies being daily deferr'd and retarded upon other ſpecious Reaſons. Hereupon the Leaders of the Commons, taking Advantage of a contriv'd Emergency, acquainted the Houſe, 'That there was now 'no Hopes of borrowing more Mony; That thoſe who had 'already chearfully lent upon the Honour and Juſtice of 'the two Houſes, began to conſider, how deſperate that 'Security muſt be, *in caſe the Parliament were diſſolv'd*; 'the Fears of which were confirm'd and augmented in the 'Diſcovery of the late Plot; which, tho' not publiſh'd as 'to every Particular, gave them Reaſon to think there were 'no good Intentions towards the Parliament.' This was no ſooner offer'd, but the Reaſonableneſs of the Objection was inforc'd, and the Neceſſity urg'd of ſome Expedient to ſatisfy the People of his Majeſty's gracious Intentions and Reſolutions, which upon this and other Occaſions were highly magnify'd and extoll'd. And no Way cou'd be thought ſo ſecure as a new Act to be made, 'That this 'Parliament ſhou'd not be adjourn'd, prorogu'd, or diſ'ſolv'd, without their own Conſent.' We are aſſur'd that the Firſt Motion of this was made by Mr. *Waller* in private to the leading Members; who now were ſenſible that the *Act for Triennial Parliaments* was not ſufficient to anſwer their great Ends and Purpoſes; therefore this was promoted in the moſt critical Juncture, and at the ſame Time back'd with Promiſes of ſeveral, who offer'd to procure large Sums, if the Act might paſs.

This met with an univerſal Reception, and a Committee was immediately appointed to withdraw and prepare a ſhort Bill for that Purpoſe, which in leſs than an Hour was finiſh'd and brought into the Houſe. It was ſuddenly read twice and committed, an Expedition then not known in Parliament, and the next Day carry'd up to the Lords, who deſir'd a Conference with the Commons upon that Subject; where the only Difference was about the Indefiniteneſs of the Time. The Earl of *Mancheſter*, who manag'd it for the Peers, offer'd the Commons to fix it to two, three, five, or ſeven Years. To which the Sollicitor St. *John*, their Manager, very ſubtilly anſwer'd, *God forbid that we ſhou'd be forc'd to ſit one Year; for as ſoon as the Armies are disbanded, the Neceſſity will be at an End; and no Occaſion afterwards to inſiſt on the Act: But if it paſs for an indefinite Time, we ſhall have Credit to disband the Armies, and ſatiſfy all Debts; and when the Act is once paſs'd, we ſhall quickly diſpatch both.* The Commons inſiſted on their Bill, and the Lords in that Hurry of Noiſe and Confuſion, when the Mob was increaſing, likewiſe conſented; and the King, by the Importunity of thoſe about him, in the Agony of the other Diſpatch, ſign'd it with the Act of Attainder; ſo this fatal Act perfectly ſtole into the Nation, when all Mens Minds were intent upon the great Buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford*.

Cenſures upon it.

The Miſchiefs of this Conceſſion were beyond all Remedy and Relief; and the Wiſdom of the King was not only reflected upon abroad, but condemn'd at home by his own Fool *Archy*, who ſaid, *He did not know whether the King was the greater Fool to grant it, or the Parliament the greater Knaves to ask it.* All Mankind were ſurpris'd at this Act, and many believ'd there muſt be ſome Politick End in it, or ſome ſiniſter Deſign of cutting thoſe Knots by the Sword which had been made by the Pen. But his Actions ſoon after, as well as the Proteſtations in his Book, clear him from all ſuch Imputations; and have made it manifeſt that it proceeded from as great a Confidence as ever any Prince had in his Subjects, a Confidence ſo great as did not a little ſully his Diſcretion and Management. Many Reflections have been made upon this unprecedented Grant; and it has been often thought, that if the King, inſtead of paſſing the two Bills, had diſſolv'd the Parliament, or put himſelf at the Head of his Army, he might have prevented the future Miſchiefs. But upon an Examination of all the preſent Circumſtances, ſuch as the Prevalency of the Faction in both Houſes, the Rage of the People, the Uſe made of the late *Proteſtation* and *Plot*, the Conſtitution of the Council-Table, the Treachery of the King's Adviſers, the Threats towards his Royal Conſort, and the Unſtable Fidelity of the Army at this Time, infinite Difficulties will ſoon appear. Therefore whoever ſeriouſly reflects upon all Theſe, will find the Part the King had to act, was not only harder than any Prince, but than any private Gentleman had ever ſuſtain'd; and that, upon the Accidents which have ſince hapned, it was much eaſier to determine what was Not to have been done, than at That Time to have foreſeen what cou'd have been done to extricate himſelf out of this unfortunate Labyrinth.

The Promiſes of the Parliament.

Thus was the Conſtitution of the Nation alter'd from a well regulated Monarchy, to a new and unknown Species of a Common-Wealth. It had been obſerv'd by ſome of our Kings, *That Parliaments were the beſt Phyſick for the Land, but that Nation muſt ſoon be in a languiſhing Condition, that was always taking Phyſick*; and much worſe, where it liv'd upon that inſtead of common Food; as it ſoon appear'd in the preſent Caſe. However the Parliament made great Promiſes towards the contrary Effect, and the ſame Day the two Bills were paſs'd, the Commons by Mr. Treaſurer return'd their humble Thanks to his Majeſty, aſſuring him, *That*

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they wou'd make him as GLORIOUS a Potentate, and as rich a Prince, as any of his Predeceſſors. How far this was made good, will be ſeen in the Sequel of the Hiſtory.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of the Earl of Strafford, *and the making the Parliament Perpetual, to the King's ſetting up his Royal Standard at* Nottingham.

Containing the Space of one Year, and above 3 Months.

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The Temper of the People.

I. FROM this unhappy Period of Time we are to look upon the Form of the *Engliſh* Government as new modell'd, and ſo far alter'd, that it has rais'd a Doubt among ſome ſort of Writers, Whether thoſe who afterwards took up Arms againſt the King, cou'd be *Legally* term'd *Rebels*, till another Period of Time, when by his Majeſty's *Impriſonment*, and their Votes of *Non-Addreſſes*, they had put it beyond all Queſtion. For by paſſing this laſt Act of Continuance, the King had made the two Houſes ſo far *Independent* upon himſelf, that they immediately acquir'd an uncommon Authority, and a Sort of Natural Right to inſpect and cenſure his Actions; and being ſupported with real Power, varniſh'd with the moſt ſpecious Pretences, the preſent Reformers found innumerable Ways to effect their Deſigns. The new-gain'd Power was modeſtly us'd in the Beginning; ſo that when the King came to the Houſe, the Day after the Earl of *Strafford*'s Execution, and paſs'd three Bills, 'For ſhortning of *Michaelmaſs-Term*, For preſſing of Mariners, and For the Remainder of the ſix Subſidies;' it was obſerv'd that the Temper and Spirit of the People, both in and out of Parliament, was wonderfully calm and compos'd, as tho' no further Danger was to be expected.

The Incroachments of the Commons.

A ſtrange Inſtance.

But this inchanting Proſperity was too great to be born with Moderation; for in a ſhort Time the Houſe of Commons much more exceeded in Point of their Privileges, than ever they had before, and more diſregarded the Concurrence of the Lords. And now finding they cou'd not be diſſolv'd without their own Conſent, they proceeded to call any Power they thought fit to aſſume, *A Branch of their Privilege*, and any Oppoſing or Queſtioning that Power, *A Breach of their Privileges*; which all were bound to defend by their late *Proteſtation*, and of which they made Themſelves the only proper Judges. This was ſoon carry'd to unheard-of Exorbitancies; and from hence they call'd whom they pleas'd *Delinquents*, receiv'd all Complaints, and committed to Priſon, after ſuch a Manner, as had never been done or attempted before this Parliament. And, as if all other Privileges of Peers, and the King himſelf had been ſwallow'd up in theirs, upon the Lords rejecting a Bill ſent up to them, 'To compel all Perſons to take the late *Proteſtation*;' and the Earl of *Southampton* and the Lord *Roberts* having refus'd to take the ſame, as was formerly hinted, they by a Vote declar'd with great Fury and Contempt, 'That the *Proteſtation* was fit to be taken by every Perſon that was well affected in Religion, and to the Good of the Common-wealth; and therefore, That what Perſon ſoever ſhou'd refuſe it, was unworthy to bear Office in the Church or Common-wealth:' And further order'd, 'That the Vote ſhou'd be printed, and that the Knights and Burgeſſes ſhou'd ſend down Copies of it to the Places for which they ſerv'd.' Thus far did they arrive within a few Weeks after their new acquir'd Power. This, ſays the noble Hiſtorian, was the moſt inſolent Affront to the Lords, the King, and the Juſtice of the Nation, and the moſt deſtructive to Parliaments, and conſequently the moſt unparallel'd *Breach of Privilege*, that any Age had been guilty of. And yet when ſome of the Peers had bravely reſented it, in order to a Reparation, Means was found out to engage the King himſelf to interpoſe, and cauſe them ſilently to paſs over this open Violation and Indignity.

A Change in the publick Miniſtry.

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But before this great Flight, the Power of the Commons was become ſo formidable, that the greateſt Perſons knew not how to withſtand it, ſo that within a few Days after the Fall of the Earl of *Strafford*, ſeveral of the chief Officers of State voluntarily reſign'd their Places. The Lord *Cottington* gave up his Place of Maſter of the Wards, which was conferr'd upon the Lord *Say*; Biſhop *Juxon* reſign'd his Place of Lord High-Treaſurer into the Hands of five Commiſſioners; the Marqueſs of *Hartford* was ſworn Governour of the Prince, in the Room of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*; and in the Place of the late Earl of *Strafford*, the Earl of *Leiceſter* was made Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*. Theſe Alterations were thought of ſome Advantage to the King's Affairs; and there hapned an Accident about the ſame Time which probably might have encreas'd that Expectation: Some Paſſion aroſe at a Committee of the Lords between the Earl of *Pembroke*, then Lord-Chamberlain of the Houſhold, and the Lord *Mowbray*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Arundel*, and from exaſperating Words proceeded to an Attempt of Blows; for which Miſdemeanour they were both ſent to the *Tower* by the Houſe of Lords: And the King, who had been long diſpleas'd with the indiſcreet inſolent Carriage of the Earl, took that Advantage to ſend for the Staff, and immediately put it into the Hands of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who took it without any Heſitation. It was believ'd that this Favour to the moſt popular Man in the Kingdom, wou'd have had a ſignal Influence upon the whole Party; but inſtead of that they look'd upon it rather as a Mark of Puniſhment upon the Earl of *Pembroke*, for his Affection to them and Enmity to the Earl of *Strafford*, than of Eſteem to the Earl of *Eſſex*; ſo that, unhappily for the King, they were really more incens'd with the Diſgrace of the one, than they were oblig'd with the Preferment of the other.

Deſigns againſt the Church.

2. One of the deepeſt Deſigns, and perhaps longeſt intended, was the Overthrow of the preſent Conſtitution of the Church; but in this great Work they met with ſeveral Impediments, and frequent Diſcouragements. For they who had in their Hearts made the moſt deſtructive Reſolutions againſt the Church, durſt not yet impart their ſecret Wiſhes to thoſe Friends, whoſe Authority gave them the greateſt Credit. And what added to the Difficulty was how to erect a new Edifice, in the Room of the old: For their own Clergy, whoſe Hands they produc'd in great Numbers, complaining of *Grievances* and *Innovations*, were far from being unanimous in the Matter or Manner of what they wou'd have alter'd. There was ſtill leſs Conſent among their Lay Friends, who cou'd not agree upon any new Models, as Mr. *Oliver Cromwell* did in Effect own to Sir *Thomas Chichely* and Mr. *Warwick*, who diſcourſing with him in the Houſe as to Matters of Religion, he reply'd, *I can tell you, Sirs, what I wou'd not have; tho' I cannot tell what I wou'd.* However it was, many were reſolv'd to run all Hazards; ſo they might ruin the preſent Eſtabliſhment.

A Bill againſt the Biſhops Votes, &c.

After they had made the reſtraining Vote, formerly mention'd, 'To take away all Biſhops Votes in Parliament, and Power in the *Star-Chamber*, and all Clergy-mens Commiſſions of the Peace,' they proceeded to turn the ſame into a Bill; which was particularly countenanc'd by all the popular Lords, who obſerv'd, 'They cou'd ſeldom carry any thing directly contrary to the King's Intereſt, by reaſon of the Number of the Biſhops; and they believ'd, That the Church cou'd receive no Damage by the Clergy's having fewer Diverſions from their Spiritual Charges.' This Argument was urg'd in the Houſe of Commons; and to prevail with ſome who earneſtly deſir'd the Biſhops might ſuffer no ſuch Diminution of their Honour and Authority, it was alledg'd, 'That the *Scots* were ſo reſolutely ingag'd in a Combination with the Generality of the People, againſt the Government of the Church, that if the Biſhops were not remov'd, their Army wou'd never march out of the Kingdom; but if this Bill were once paſs'd, ſuch a Number in both Houſes wou'd be ſo well ſatisfy'd, that the more violent Party wou'd be unable to purſue their Deſigns.' This prevail'd over Men of excellent Judgment, and unqueſtionable Affections, who at that Time really believ'd, 'That the paſſing this Act was the only Expedient to preſerve the Church.' The Lord *Falkland* was for ſome time of this Opinion, having been deceiv'd by the Artifices of Mr. *Hampden*, who had aſſur'd him, *That if the Bill might paſs, there wou'd be nothing more attempted to the Prejudice of the Church*; *which*, that Lord thought, *as the World then went, would be no ill Compoſition.*

Rejected by the Lords.

When the Bill was carry'd up to the Lords, many of the greateſt Men of that Houſe, who began to feel the Weight of the Empire the Leaders of the Commons had exercis'd over them and others, and obſerving they had further Deſigns in View than they own'd, fell from them, and took the Opportunity of diſcovering themſelves upon the Debate, in which they ſeverely declaim'd againſt the Houſe of Commons, 'For preſuming to meddle with an Affair that ſo immediately concern'd Themſelves; that if they might ſend up a Bill one Day to take a whole Claſs out of their Houſe at once, they might the next Day by another cut off the Barons, or ſome other Degree of the Nobility.' Theſe and other Arguments were urg'd with a Warmth and Vigour they had not before expreſs'd; ſo that tho' the whole Party, who had never been before oppos'd, made themſelves ſecure of carrying it; yet notwithſtanding all they cou'd alledge, the Biſhops appear'd ſuch a Fundamental Part of the Conſtitution, that the Lords wou'd not ſo much as commit the Bill, but threw it quite out upon a ſecond Reading. This caſt ſuch a Damp upon the Spirits of the governing Party in both Houſes, that they were really at a Stand; for they were not now ſure they ſhou'd be able to carry any Thing; for the Majority, that threw out this Bill, might oppoſe them in any other Matter of Moment; beſides the Influence it wou'd have in the Houſe of Commons, and elſewhere: For they well knew, ‘ That ‘ a great many follow'd them upon no other Ground, but ‘ a Belief that they wou'd carry all before them.

A ſecond Bill againſt Biſhops, &c,

This happen'd a little before the Fall of the Earl of *Strafford*; but ſhortly after his Death, and their new acquir'd Power, upon the 20th of *May*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, and ſome others, prevail'd upon the warm Sir *Edward Deering* to preſent a ſhort Bill, drawn up by Mr. *St. John*, ‘ For ‘ the utter Eradication of all Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, ‘ with all Chancellors, Officials, and Officers belonging to ‘ them.’ That ingenious and indiſcreet Gentleman, with a bare haſty Peruſal of the Bill, deliver'd it from the Gallery with a ſhort *Extempore* Speech, and a cloſe Application of a Sentence in *Ovid*, *Immedicabile Vulnus Enſe recidendum eſt.* As ſoon as the Title of it was read, which was almoſt as long as the Bill it ſelf, it being the Overthrow of many Acts of Parliament, and deliver'd without Leave, it met with ſuch a Reception as might naturally mortify a fine Speech-Maker. Yet being ſupported by Mr. *St. John*, the Compoſer, and ſome others, it was once read; but without any Queſtion put, it was laid aſide for a conſiderable Time; many believing ‘ There was no Deſign ‘ to purſue it, but that it was only preferr'd to expreſs a ‘ Neglect towards the Lords.

However, after a few Weeks, when the Houſe grew hotter, the Bill was call'd for, read a ſecond time, and referr'd to a Committee of the whole Houſe; in which Mr. *Hyde* was put into the Chair, tho' an Enemy to the Bill, purpoſely that he might not give them Trouble by frequent ſpeaking, and too much obſtruct their Deſigns. The firſt Day the Committee ſat full ſeven Hours, and determin'd, ‘ That every Day the Chair-man ſhou'd report the Reſolu‘ tions to the Houſe, which ſhou'd fix them before it roſe.’ This unprecedented Method continu'd for near twenty Days, which caus'd the Attendance to be ſo tedious, that moſt of thoſe who abhorr'd the Bill left the Houſe at Dinner-time, and never ſtay'd for the Determination, while the impatient Proſecutors of it continu'd to the laſt. Which caus'd the Lord *Falkland* to make this ſharp Obſervation, *That they who hated Biſhops, hated them worſe than the Devil, and they who lov'd them, did not love them ſo well as their Dinner.*

But without Succeſs.

However the Chair-Man gave ſome Stop to their Career, by entangling them in their own Queſtions, by inlarging himſelf in his Reports, and ſometimes by reporting two or three Votes directly contrary to each other: So that after all their long Debates, they found themſelves oblig'd by other Buſineſs to lay aſide the Bill for above a Year after: And Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* declar'd in the Houſe, *That hereafter he wou'd never put an Enemy into the Chair.* All that the Commons did this Seſſion further with Relation to the Church, was to fix a Brand of Impeachment upon Biſhop *Wren*, for ſeveral *Innovations* and *Superſtitions*; and to ſecond it with an Impeachment of twelve more Biſhops in the Houſe of Lords, for their Canons and Proceedings in the late Convocation; as may be ſeen more at large in the common Collectors.

The Caſe of Tonnage and Poundage.

3. Before the Commons had proceeded thus far, they had reſolv'd to fix the great Buſineſs of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, the beſt Branch of the King's Revenue, of which we have more than once given ſome Account. The King having enjoy'd this Benefit ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne, it was propos'd, ‘ That a Bill ſhou'd be ſpeedily ‘ prepar'd for the granting It, as had been uſual, for Life, ‘ leſt the Crown by long Poſſeſſion might plead Preſcription, ‘ without the Donation of the People.’ But ſoon after it was politickly alledg'd, ‘ That the Bill cou'd not be ſo ‘ ſpeedily prepar'd, by reaſon of the many juſt Exceptions ‘ made by the Merchants to the Book of Rates, lately made ‘ by the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, when the Earl of *Port*‘ *land* was Lord-Treaſurer.’ Therefore it was further propos'd, as the beſt Expedient both to preſerve his Majeſty's Revenue, and the People's Right of Giving, ‘ That a Tem‘ porary Bill ſhou'd paſs for granting the ſame to the King ‘ for two Months only, when a new Book of Rates might ‘ be made, more advantageous to his Majeſty's Revenue; ‘ and then a compleat Act might paſs.’ To this Purpoſe a Bill was brought in, the Preamble of which ‘ renounc'd ‘ and declar'd, not only againſt any Power in the Crown of ‘ levying *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, without Conſent of Par‘ liament, but alſo any Power of Impoſition upon any Mer‘ chandize whatſoever, and in any Caſe whatſoever;’ which had been conſtantly practis'd in the beſt Times by the Crown, and never yet declar'd againſt in Parliament. Yet this quietly paſs'd both Houſes, as a Matter not worth debating.

The King paſſes the Bill with a Speech.

In Expectation and Confidence, that they wou'd make glorious Additions to the State and Revenue of the Crown, his Majeſty readily join'd with them, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſtripp'd of all that he had left, and of the ſole Stock of Credit he had to borrow any Sums of Mony. Accordingly about ſix Weeks after the Parliament's new Government, on the 22d Day of *June* he paſs'd the Bill; and in a Speech to both Houſes he declar'd, ‘ That he did wil‘ lingly accept their Offer, as a Teſtimony and Beginning ‘ of their dutiful Affections, and that in due Time they ‘ wou'd perform their Promiſes when they had Leiſure: ‘ And he doubted not but they wou'd ſee by his paſſing that ‘ Bill, the Truſt he had in their Affections, hoping the ſame ‘ from Them to Him.’ Adding theſe Words, *Therefore in this particular Bill, I hope you will know, that I do freely and frankly give over the* Right *which my Predeceſſors have ever* challeng'd, *which tho'* diſputed *in their Times, was never* yielded *till now. Therefore you will underſtand this but as a* Mark *of my Confidence, to put my Self wholly upon the Love and Affection of my People for my* Subſiſtance. ---- ---

His Majeſty's Readineſs, as to this and other Compliances, made ſuch an Impreſſion, that the Day before the Bill paſs'd, Sir *Edward Deering* himſelf in a long Speech acknowledg'd, That the King had yet deny'd them nothing, uſing theſe Words, *We are all bound unto the Goodneſs of his ſacred Majeſty, (God preſerve Him and His for it) none of all our Bills, none of our Petitions this Parliament, have miſcarry'd in his Royal Hand, but have been all compleated with the Royal Aſſent.*

The paſſing this Bill was ſoon after ſucceeded with further Conceſſions from his Majeſty, who found further Occaſion to exerciſe his Patience. For now the Commons, having gain'd ſufficient Strength by the Help of their ſure and chargeable Friends the *Scots*, thought it full time to be freed of the great Burthen of the two Armies. In order to which, and to ſhew themſelves bountiful to their Aſſiſtants, beſides the ſix Subſidies formerly mention'd, they now paſs'd a general Poll-Tax, according to all Mens Qualities, which rais'd vaſt Sums of Mony; part of which was afterwards employ'd in the Wars againſt the King. The Bill was preſented to the King with two others, one for aboliſhing the *High-Commiſſion* Court, and the other the *Star Chamber.* The King was deſirous to conſider of the two laſt, for ſome time, and wou'd at firſt have only paſs'd the Pole-Bill, which being intimated to the Houſe of Commons, they voted, ‘ That all Three ſhou'd be paſs'd, or none at all:’ Notwithſtanding which the King paſs'd that for Poll-Mony, and demurr'd on the other Two, till underſtanding the great Heats in the Parliament, two Days after, the 5th of *July*, he came to the Houſe of Lords, where in a Speech to his Parliament, he declar'd, ‘ That he cou'd not but be ‘ ſenſible of thoſe Reports of Diſcontent, which he heard ‘ ſome had taken for his not paſſing thoſe Bills before; ‘ and that he thought it very ſtrange, they ſhou'd expect his ‘ paſſing two Bills of that Importance, without taking Time ‘ to conſider of them; they being an Alteration of thoſe ‘ *Fundamental Laws, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil*, which many ‘ of his Predeceſſors had eſtabliſh'd. That he wonder'd ‘ how they cou'd poſſibly harbour any Diſcontent, if they ‘ did but remember *how much* and *what* he had done for ‘ this Parliament; as his granting the Judges to hold their ‘ Places *Quam diù ſe bene geſſerint*, his Bounding the *Foreſt*‘ *Laws*, declining of *Ship-Mony*, eſtabliſhing the Subjects ‘ Property in *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, ſubmitting to *Trien*‘ *nial Parliaments*, doing Juſtice to Delinquents and Papiſts, ‘ *&c.* concluding to all graciouſly, That he wou'd omit ‘ Nothing which ſhou'd give them juſt Content.’ And then he paſs'd the two Bills for taking away the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commiſſion* Courts.

Bills paſs'd againſt the Star-Chamber *and* High-Commiſſion.

An Account of thoſe two Courts.

We have already ſaid ſomething of both theſe famous Courts, which were now intirely aboliſh'd beyond Hopes of Revival. We ſhall only add, That the firſt had been continually a Defence of the Royal Prerogative, and Bulwark for the Liberty of the Subject againſt the Oppreſſions of Great Men, and ſuch extraordinary Villanies, as the common Courts of Juſtice cou'd not meet with; the Want of which caus'd Judge *Hales* afterwards to ſay at an Aſſize at *Cambridge*, *That ſince the putting down of that Court, he believ'd in a few Years there had been more Frauds and Perjuries unpuniſh'd, than there had been in one hundred Years before:* Yet many were ſo haſty in deſtroying this Court, that after an unprecedented Manner the Bill paſs'd with but once Reading in the Houſe of Commons. The other Court, the *High-Commiſſion*, had been by Statute erected in the Firſt of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Room of a larger Authority before exerciſed by the Pope, and deſign'd for a Preſervative againſt Popery and Schiſm, and was as great a Curb to the Incontinence, Lewdneſs and Profaneneſs of Great Men, as the *Star-Chamber* had been to their moſt unlimited Acts of Subtlety and Infidelity ſupported by Power and Riches. To this Bill was added a Clauſe, which took away the Coercive Power of Biſhops, Chancellors, Archdeacons, *&c.* which in Effect was to take away the Power of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures; ſo that inſtead of *Reformation*, it was an *Inlet* to the moſt ſcandalous Offences, leaving Inceſt and Adultery upon the Level with the ordinary Liberties of

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Society. This being perceiv'd by the King, and that the Body of the Bill exceeded the Title, he made a Pauſe, but in two Days he was brought to a Compliance; in which ſome Biſhops, and other well-meaning Perſons have been blam'd. As to the Ruin of theſe two Courts, which might have been of excellent Uſe both to Church and State, we ſhall only ſay in general, That beſides the preſent over-bearing Torrent, it proceeded from the ſame Cauſes that have been deſtructive or weakning to the beſt of all Inſtitutions, the Imprudences and Exorbitancies of ſeveral, whoſe chief Intereſt and Endeavours were to ſupport Them.

A Cenſure.

His Majeſty having paſs'd the two Bills, after a ſhort Mention of a Journey he deſign'd ſpeedily to take into *Scotland*, he propos'd ſome Matters very acceptable to the Parliament, the Deſires of his Nephew the Prince Elector *Palatine*; which were, ‘ That he ſhou'd ſend an Ambaſſador to the Diet then to be held at *Ratisbone*; and fearing leſt in that Negotiation he ſhou'd not receive ſo good an Anſwer as he might in Juſtice expect, he intended in his own Name to publiſh a *Manifeſto*, which he yet wou'd not reſolve upon, without the Conſent and Advice of his Parliament; and therefore he referr'd the Matter to their Conſideration.' Which *Manifeſto* was ſoon after made by the full Conſent of both Houſes, and Sir *Thomas Roe*, a Member of the Commons, and a Gentleman of great Abilities, was ſent to the Emperor at *Ratisbone*, but without any good Succeſs.

A Motion about the Elector Palatine.

At the ſame Time *Mary de Medices*, the Queen Mother of *France*, according to the Deſire of the Parliament, was to take her leave of *England*; but Mony being wanting for the Proviſion of her Journey, the Commons allotted ten thouſand Pounds to her, out of the Poll-Mony. This illuſtrious Lady had arriv'd in *England* almoſt three Years before, and had ſo long been a continu'd Expence to the King, her Son-in-law, of a Hundred Pounds *per Diem*; which, beſides the Jealouſies of the People, prov'd a new Addition to his Wants and Neceſſities. Her Regency in *France* had not been very fortunate, nor according to the Intereſt of that Kingdom; where her Actions had been ſuch, that the King her Son wou'd not harbour her in his own Dominions. Neither cou'd ſhe be admitted into the Territories of her Son-in-law, the King of *Spain*; nor durſt the States of *Holland* ſuffer her to tarry in theirs, for fear of offending Cardinal *Richlieu*. So that ſhe was oblig'd to retire to *Cologn*, where ſhe liv'd the reſt of her Days in extream Indigence; thus becoming a ſtrange Example of the Inſtability of Human Fortunes, that ſo great a Queen, and Mother of ſo many mighty Princes, ſhou'd want a quiet Harbour for her Age.

The Departure and Death of the Queen Mother of France.

4. But to return to the Parliament, where all Things tended more and more to Alterations and Incroachments, and where many Things were ſtill wanting to perfect the Deſigns of the grand Leaders. Nothing did more effectually promote, and ſet them forwards, than the Belief of the Plot formerly mention'd; which being their great Engine of Operation, we promis'd to relate the Particulars; which ſhall be done, as well from the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Memoirs, as the Lord *Clarendon* and others. It had its firſt Riſe, as was formerly hinted, from ſeveral Meetings and Diſcourſes between ſome Perſons concern'd in the King's Service, and ſome Officers of the *Engliſh* Army, relating to the high Proceedings of the Parliament, and ſome Expedients to reduce them to a better Temper. The Field Officers and Commanders of the Army continu'd chiefly at *London*, ſeveral of them being Members of both Houſes, while the Army it ſelf was left to the Care of Sir *Jacob Aſtley*; and the Differences between the King and Parliament, with the Supply of the *Scotch* Army, and the Neglect of the *Engliſh*, caus'd Diſcontent among the *Engliſh* Officers, and ſeveral private Meetings and Conſultations. They had been too obſequious before in the Parliament, but being diſoblig'd by the Importunities of the *Scots*, and the Forwardneſs of the Commons, they began to exert themſelves upon this Occaſion. Of the three hundred Thouſand Pounds voted to the *Scots*, the Commons had order'd a Third Part to be paid at Midſummer; but in the mean Time by a preſſing Paper they pretended great Neceſſity, and demanded a preſent Supply of twenty five thouſand Pounds, to which the Parliament readily yielded: For tho' they had but fifteen thouſand Pounds in Readineſs, yet they took Occaſion to borrow ten thouſand out of that fifty thouſand Pounds lately allotted for the Supply of the *Engliſh* Army, who were in far greater Neceſſity than the *Scots*. Whereupon the Lord *Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Commiſſary *Wilmot* and Colonel *Aſhburnham*, all Members of the Commons, ſitting, together and diſguſted, *Wilmot* ſtood up and told the Speaker, *That if ſuch Papers of the* Scots *cou'd procure Monies, he doubted not but the Officers of the* Engliſh *cou'd ſoon do the like.*

A particular Account of the pretended Plot.

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This caus'd ſome Diſturbance, but cou'd not prevent the *Scots* receiving the Mony; wherefore to redeem what had been done amiſs, and reſtore Themſelves to his Majeſty's Favour, they conſider'd how to diſpoſe the Army to ſuch a Declaration of their Duty towards the King, as might make others deſpair of being able to uſe it to his Prejudice. For that Purpoſe they had ſeveral Meetings with ſome of more immediate Truſt in both their Majeſties, and form'd themſelves into a private *Juncto*, and put themſelves under an Oath of Secrecy. The chief Actors in this Buſineſs were the Lord *Piercy*, Mr. *Henry Jermin*, both Favourites of the Queen, Sir *John Conyers*, *Wilmot*, *Leg*, *Pollard*, *Oneal*, and *Aſhburnham*; who reſolv'd to draw up a Paper by Way of Petition to the King and Parliament, deſiring, ‘ Firſt, Mony for the Army; Secondly, not to disband before the *Scots*; Thirdly, to preſerve Biſhops Votes and Functions; and Laſtly, to ſettle his Majeſty's Revenue. In this they alſo applauded his Majeſty's great Condeſcenſions to the *Scots* and the preſent Parliament, eſpecially that laſting Pledge of Security the *Bill for Triennial Parliaments*: Notwithſtanding which, there had been ſuch Tumults and Exorbitancies, that they thought themſelves oblig'd to offer their Service, and to wait upon his Majeſty for the Suppreſſing them and all Oppoſers.' This Petition was ſign'd at the bottom C. R. as a Token of his Majeſty's private Allowance, and was carry'd down to the Army, and ſign'd by ſome Officers; but it was ſoon quaſh'd, and no more heard of, till afterwards it was repreſented in the moſt hideous Colours in the Houſe of Commons.

The chief Actors.

The Meetings ſtill continu'd between ſome of the Army Officers, and ſome of the King's Servants, and others were by ſpecial Directions of his Majeſty introduc'd into their ſecret Councils; particularly Colonel *Goring*, a brave and profligate Commander, who unſucceſsfully endeavour'd for the Admiſſion of Sir *John Suckling*. At his firſt Meeting, having heard the whole Deſign, which was only ‘ To obſerve and defend the Laws, that the King might not be compell'd by the Army of the *Scots*, to conſent to the Alteration of the Government of the Church, nor by the Power of any diſcontented Perſons, to ſubmit to a Diminution of his juſt and legal Authority;' he told them, *That thoſe Reſolutions wou'd conduce little to his Majeſty's Service; That their only Way was to march the Army directly up to* London, *and ſo far Awe the Parliament, as to make them do what the King ſhou'd command.* Every Perſon in the Company ſhew'd a perfect Abhorrence to ſo odious a Propoſal; yet chiefly diſcours'd upon ſuch Objections as render'd it fooliſh and impracticable, and ſo broke up the Meeting. But *Goring*, whoſe Ambition was not anſwer'd in the Promiſe of being Lieutenant-General of the Army, and finding others in the Secret whoſe Perſons he hated, and whoſe Fidelity he ſuſpected, thought it wou'd tend moſt to his Security and Advantage to reveal the Conſpiracy: And being vers'd in all the Methods of Falſhood, he diſcover'd all, and more than all, to thoſe who pretended the greateſt Care for the Common Good; intimating how much he was ſurpris'd with the Horror of the Deſign, and how faithful he wou'd be to the Common-wealth; yet at the ſame Time pretended an Abhorrence at Court to the Parliament Proceedings, and offer'd to ſerve his Majeſty by the moſt open Force of Arms.

Colonel Goring *diſcovers them.*

He made the firſt Diſcovery to the weak Earl of *Newport*, and ſo to the Lord *Say*, *Kimbolton* and others; to whom he made a Proteſtation of his Fidelity to the Parliament, and his Readineſs to run all Hazards for the Service of it; deſiring them to make what Uſe of it they thought fit for their own and Common Security, but not to bring him in as an Accuſer, without manifeſt Neceſſity. The Lords ſoon communicated the Deſign to ſome ſelect Members of the Houſe of Commons, by whoſe Advice it was agreed, ‘ That *Goring* ſhou'd repair to his Government at *Portſmouth*, and that upon his Departure, the Perſons who were chief Actors in the Deſign, ſhou'd be apprehended.' But private Notice being given to the Lord *Piercy* and Mr. *Jermyn*, they prevented the Proſecution of the Parliament by their Eſcape out of *England*. The Lord *Piercy* with ſome Hazard and Difficulty took Shipping in a private Port in *Suſſex*; Mr. *Jermyn* ventur'd upon *Goring*'s Faithfulneſs to him, and brought him a Warrant under the King's Hand to ſee him ſafely tranſported in one of his Frigots, which he carefully obey'd, tho' at the ſame Time the Parliament had ſent Orders, which they had obtain'd under the Great Seal, to apprehend him, which he pretended came too late. At the ſame Time he took an Oath, likewiſe adminiſter'd under the Great Seal, ‘ To be true and faithful to the King and Parliament, to keep the Town of *Portſmouth* for their Uſe, and not to deliver it but by both their Conſents.

Piercy *and* Jermyn *fly.*

Upon this the Commons thought it neceſſary that Colonel *Goring* ſhou'd own the Diſcovery of the Deſign; and immediately he was ſent for by the Houſe, of which he was a Member, where he gave a particular Account of the whole, ſufficiently diſadvantageous to the Lord *Piercy*, Mr. *Jermyn*, and the reſt. His Evidence, and the Flight of the two Gentlemen, made a ſtrong Impreſſion upon the Houſe; all which was ſtrangely aggravated by the uſual Artifices of Mr. *Pym*, ſo that the Nation was ſoon allarm'd with the Noiſe of a dangerous Plot, and a bloody Deſign againſt the Government. The Belief of all this Plot was propagated in general Terms, and with cunning Reſerves as to Particulars, which were to ſerve for future as well as preſent Purpoſes. But it immediately produc'd the *Proteſtation*, formerly mention'd, and extreamly puſh'd forwards the Ruin of the Earl of *Strafford*. After which it was partly laid aſleep for five or ſix Weeks; yet ſtill it was politickly reſerv'd to help them out in any Difficulty or Emergency, and to blow up the Heat of the Houſe, whenever they thought it too much abated. And in this Management they often met with unuſual Accidents for the Support of their Credit.

Uſes made of the Plot.

Whenever the Court Party in the Houſe ventur'd to propound any Thing for Majeſty's Service, and the promis'd Settlement of his Revenues, they were preſently ſilenc'd by the Leaders with the Odiouſneſs of the late Plot, which they ſaid was not yet fully diſcover'd; but poſitively declar'd, ‘ That there had been a Deſign and Project, not ‘ only to poyſon the Affections of the Army towards the ‘ Parliament, but to bring that Army up to *London*, purpoſely to awe Them: That the Confederates in this Deſign had taken an Oath to oppoſe the Removing of Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, to maintain and defend ‘ the King's Prerogative to the utmoſt Extent, and to ſettle ‘ his Majeſty's Revenue: That they had Reaſon to fear ‘ the King's own Concurrence, or at leaſt his Approbation ‘ of this Deſign: For they had full Proof, That a Paper ‘ had paſs'd his Majeſty's Peruſal, full of ſevere Invectives ‘ againſt the Parliament, and an Offer of Service to defend ‘ his Majeſty's Perſon, which imply'd *It was in Danger.* ‘ And the better to encourage all the Officers of the Army ‘ to ſign it, his Majeſty himſelf had written a *C.* and an *R.* ‘ in Token of his Approbation.' Moſt Mens Minds were ſtrangely mov'd with Diſcourſes, ſo methodically and confidently averr'd; which ſerv'd not only to defeat whatever was offer'd in his Majeſty's Behalf, but even to diſcountenance the Disbanding the Armies, and the Return of the *Scots* into their own Country. Colonel *Goring*, the main Diſcoverer, was careſs'd by the leading Members, as a true Friend to the Publick; and the Lord *Digby*, for invalidating his Evidence, and aſperſing his Fidelity, was publickly expell'd the Houſe. This was only to ſhew their Reſentment; for on the ſame Day he was call'd by his Majeſty's Writ into the Houſe of Peers, dated the 10th of *June*.

Exclamations againſt it.

Lord Digby *expell'd the Houſe.*

After they had play'd with this Plot, and given the Houſe Heats and Colds for three Months, by applying Parts of it upon caſual Emergencies; and finding, that tho' it had done them great Service in advancing their own Credit, and blaſting the King's Honour, yet they were ſtill without their Court Preferments, they reſolv'd to ſhew their laſt Effort, and produce their whole Evidence. In which, *They had a particular Mark of God's Favour*, as they call'd it, by means of the Lord *Piercy*, who meeting with great Difficulties and Delays in his intended Eſcape, to extricate himſelf, was privately induc'd by Mr. *Pym* to write a certain Letter to his Brother the Earl of *Northumberland*, which in effect ſerv'd to blow up all the Companions, and furniſh'd the Committee with what they call'd *A double Evidence*. For immediately upon the Receipt of that Letter from the Earl, they inform'd the Houſe, ‘ They were ‘ now ready for a compleat Diſcovery;' and thereupon produc'd both Colonel *Goring*'s Evidence, and the Lord *Piercy*'s Letter, which being compar'd, agreed in ſeveral Particulars. Tho' there was a very little Shew of Proof of a real Deſign or Plot, to bring up the Army to awe the Parliament; yet ſeveral Things concurr'd to make the World believe it to be more than imaginary; as Mr. *Pym*'s ſpecious poſitive Narration of the Whole, before the Evidence was read; The denying what was now prov'd and confeſs'd by Mr. *Wilmot*, *Aſhburnham* and *Pollard*, upon their former Examinations, the Flight of the Lord *Piercy*, Mr. *Jermyn*, and ſome others, and the Mention of ſome Clauſes in the Petition, ſigned *C. R.* and ſome envious dark Glances, both in *Goring*'s Examination and *Piercy*'s Letter, at the King and Queen, as if they knew more than was expreſs'd: All which ſo tranſported the Houſe, that taking all that was ſaid for Proof, they quickly voted, ‘ That there was a Deſign of bringing up ‘ the Army to force the Parliament;' reſolv'd to accuſe the Lord *Piercy* and Mr. *Jermyn* of High-Treaſon; committed the three Members to ſeveral Priſons, and expell'd them the Houſe, that their Places might be fill'd, as ſhortly they were, with ſome more fit for their Deſigns; gave Colonel *Goring* publick Thanks, ‘ For preſerving the Kingdom and Liberties of Parliament;' and alarm'd the People with Jealouſies for their Safety, and fill'd them with univerſal Applauſe for their ſingular Wiſdom and Vigilancy.

The Plot voted to be real.

This is the trueſt Account we can find of that Plot, which as much alarm'd the City of *London*, as the famous Conſpiracy of *Catiline* did that of *Rome*. *T. May*, and the Parliament Writers, ſeem very ready to believe the Reality of it; but the Lord *Clarendon* expreſly ſays there was no Plot at all; yet it cannot be ſaid to have been wholly without Foundation. In moſt Plots, whether real or pretended, there is ſomething ſo dark and myſterious, that Poſterity know not how to make an exact Judgment; therefore in this, we ſhall only obſerve, That the Intereſt of ſome, and the Credulity of more, had ſuch a prevailing Effect, as to bring about theſe vaſt Conſequences: It ſerv'd to produce the famous Proteſtation; to inflame the People againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; to procure the Bill for the perpetual Parliament, the Source of all the publick Calamities; to fruſtrate all Overtures made for his Majeſty's Revenues; to leſſen the general Reverence and Duty to both King and Queen; to retain the *Scotch* Army, and conſequently prevent the King's being disbanded; to incenſe both Houſes againſt the Biſhops; to blaſt the Reputation of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, a moſt zealous Friend to his Majeſty, as if he had been to command the Army; and likewiſe to inhance their own Eſtimation with the People, as if they were the only Guardians of Religion, Law and Liberty. In ſhort, it ſunk ſo deep in the Hearts of many, that at laſt it fatally broke out in the Demand of the Militia, which actually brought on the enſuing War. This firſt appear'd in a ſhort time after the Parliament had voted the Certainty of this Plot, by a Bill brought in by Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, but drawn up by Mr. *St. John*, for the ſettling the Militia by Sea and Land; which, tho' proving too difficult for this preſent Juncture, ſufficiently ſhew'd the Leaders Deſigns at this very Time.

The fatal Effects of it.

5. During theſe ſtrict Examinations and Proceedings, the Judges of the Land were brought under the Cenſure of the Houſe of Commons, and ſix of them, *Berkley*, *Bramſton*, *Crawly*, *Davenport*, *Trevor* and *Weſton*, were impeach'd at the Lords Bar, as guilty of many Crimes, but eſpecially the promoting of the *Ship-Mony*. The Charges againſt them were introduc'd by the Rhetorical Speeches of Mr. *Pierepoint*, Mr. *Waller* and Mr. *Hyde*; the latter of whom diſplay'd all the Sails of his Eloquence, and declar'd to their Lordſhips, *That there cou'd not be a greater Inſtance of a ſick and languiſhing Common-wealth, than the Buſineſs of this Day.-------'Tis no Marvel, that an irregular, extravagant, arbitrary Power, like a Torrent, has broken in upon us, when our* Banks *and* Bulwarks, *the* Laws, *were in the Cuſtody of ſuch Perſons.-----That the great Reſolution in* Ship-Mony, *was a Crime of ſo prodigious a Nature, that it cou'd not be eaſily ſwallow'd and digeſted by the Conſciences even of* Theſe Men: *But as they, who are to wraſtle or run a Race, by Degrees prepare themſelves by Diet, and leſſer Eſſays for the main Exerciſe*; *ſo* Theſe Judges *enter Themſelves, and harden their Hearts by more particular Treſpaſſes upon the* Law, *before they cou'd arrive at that univerſal Deſtruction of the Kingdom by* Ship-Mony. All which Impeachments had no other Effect at preſent, than to keep the King's Friends in an intire Awe and Silence.

The Judges impeach'd.

Mr. Hyde's *Exclamations.*

Moſt of the Biſhops were likewiſe impeach'd, as was before hinted; and to oblige the *Preſbyterians*, and bring all Things under a thorough Reformation, the Commons made an Order for removing all ſcandalous Pictures, Croſſes and Figures then within the Churches, as they did not long after for thoſe without. This was chiefly left to the Management of Sir *Robert Harlow*; and this zealous Knight impartially took down the Croſs in *Cheapſide*, *Charing-Croſs*, and other like Monuments, even to the common Signs in the Streets; for every thing that had the leaſt Form of a Croſs, was accounted ſuperſtitious and damnable.

6. All this Time the two Armies were continu'd at a vaſt Expence, without any apparent Reaſon; only it was whiſper'd among many, *That the* Scots *wou'd not return home, till the Bill againſt Epiſcopacy was paſs'd.* Hereupon his Majeſty by a Meſſage to the Parliament, declar'd, ‘ That he deſir'd both Armies might be disbanded with all ‘ poſſible Speed; for the better effecting of which, he had, ‘ upon the Reſignation of the Earl of *Northumberland*, ‘ appointed the Earl of *Holland* General of his Army, and ‘ deſign'd immediately to ſend him thither: That his Majeſty Himſelf, according to a Promiſe made formerly to ‘ his *Scottiſh* Subjects, and for the better perfecting the ‘ Peace, reſolv'd once more to viſit *That his Native Kingdom*, and nam'd fourteen Days after as the Time his

A Meſſage from the King.

‘Progreſs was to begin; and therefore wiſh'd them againſt that Time to prepare ſuch Acts for the Good of the Kingdom, if any yet remain'd to be aſk'd him, as were to receive his Majeſty's Approbation.’ Notwithſtanding which, they ſpent moſt of their Time upon other Matters without finiſhing the Pacification Act, or taking Care for the diſbanding the Army; for ſtill they were unwilling totally to part with their beloved Brethren.

Two Errors ſuppoſ'd to be committed by the King.

It was thought that at this Time the King committed two ſeveral Errors; the firſt, his making the Earl of *Holland* his General, and the ſecond his Progreſs into *Scotland*. As to the firſt, it was wonder'd that he did not make Choice of the Earl of *Eſſex*, whom he had lately made Lord Chamberlain, and probably by this new ſeaſonable Engagement wou'd in Time have become his perfect Creature. For tho' he was proud and ambitious, he was naturally faithful and conſtant, and very capable of being oblig'd; and being almoſt a declar'd Enemy to the *Scots*, he wou'd have been ſtrict in all Things relating to the Honour of his Maſter, or the *Engliſh*: In ſhort, he might have been deceiv'd, but could never have been corrupted, either by Hopes or Fears of what the two Houſes cou'd have done to Him. But in promoting the Earl of *Holland*, the other, who had been partly promis'd the Favour, had Reaſon to be offended; as if the King had diſtruſted him, and made him his Chamberlain, more to bear the Envy of his diſplacing the Earl of *Pembroke*, than for any Regard had to his own Merit and Honour. Then the Earl of *Holland* was obnoxious to the preſent prevailing Party, by his Vigour in that invidious Office of *Juſtice in Eyre*, and other Particulars, ſo far, that they knew he durſt not offend them; but on the contrary wou'd purchaſe their Favour and Protection at any Price, as it ſufficiently appear'd afterwards. The other Error, as it was believ'd, was the King's deſign'd Progreſs into *Scotland*, which queſtionleſs was with a Proſpect of obliging and gaining that Nation. But many of his Friends doubted of that Succeſs; and the politick Biſhop of *Lincoln*, now in Favour with him, begg'd of his Majeſty to defer that Journey, and to conſider ‘That the *Scotch* wou'd reveal all he did or ſaid amongſt them to their Aſſociates at *Weſtminſter*; that having been tumultuous for two Years, it was next to impoſſible to pacify them on a ſudden; and knowing the preſent Condition of his Majeſty, they wou'd look upon no Courteſie as Kindneſs, but Fear. *Therefore*, continued he, *keep near to the Parliament, all the Work is within thoſe Walls: do what you can to win them Man by Man: For ſome of the Commons are preparing a Declaration to make your Government odious; ſtir not till you have mollify'd the grand Contrivers with Preferments.* The King was too fix'd to be mov'd by any Arguments, nor cou'd he at preſent endure to be near *Weſtminſter*; for one of the Bed-Chamber was heard to ſay, *That nothing made him remove ſo far from his Court and Council, as the Tedious ſneſs of Intelligence brought him every Minute, with variety of Gloſſes and Opinions upon it.*

The Commons againſt the King's Journey to Scotland.

However the Commons were very apprehenſive of the new Progreſs, and a very active Member with a deep Sigh cry'd out, *We are all undone!* and when the appointed Time drew near, the Houſe fell into a perplex'd Debate, in which many expreſs'd dark and doubtful Fears of his Majeſty's Safety, not without ſome Inſinuations, ‘That if the King were once with his Army, he might probably liſten to new Counſels before he conſented to diſband it; and at laſt concluded, To deſire the Lords to concur with them in a Petition to the King, to defer his Journey till the Act of Pacification was paſs'd, the Armies diſbanded, and other Acts prepar'd for the Good of the Kingdom;’ without mentioning any prefix'd Time when they ſhou'd be ready. The Majority of both Houſes being againſt the Journey, they accordingly addreſs'd the King, who anſwer'd, ‘That they having had ſuch long Notice of his Deſign for that Journey, he wonder'd they ſhou'd defer preparing what was neceſſary for his Approbation before he went: That he was content to comply with their Requeſts ſo far as to put it off a Fortnight longer, till the tenth of *Auguſt*, in which Time they might prepare whatever was of Importance, and it was not poſſible for him to exceed it.

This Time being gain'd, they mov'd but ſlowly in the Diſbanding, or in the Act of Pacification, but ſtill dwelt upon Fears and Jealouſies, *&c.* So that when the peremptory Day again drew near for the King's Departure, on a *Saturday* in the Afternoon, they again fell into a violent Paſſion againſt the deſign'd Journey; and in hopes of hindering or deferring of it, after an unprecedented Manner they ſat all the next Day, which they excus'd by a ſhort Declaration, ſhewing their Regard to the *Sabbath* Day. But finding they cou'd prevail no farther with his Majeſty, than whereas he intended to begin his Progreſs on *Monday* after Dinner, to ſtay till *Tueſday* Morning, they earneſtly propos'd, ‘That he wou'd leave a Power with ſome Perſons to paſs ſuch Acts as ſhou'd go through both Houſes in his Abſence, and conſtitute a *Cuſtos Regni* to ſupply the Government till his Return.’ But when they found ſuch a Commiſſion, to confirm ſuch Acts as were not paſs'd both Houſes at the Date of that Commiſſion, wou'd be illegal; and that if the King deſir'd to ſatisfy them, both the Power and Perſon of a *Cuſtos Regni* would require great Conſideration; they were at laſt contented with a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Eſſex*, of Lieutenant-General on that ſide *Trent*, and with the King's paſſing ſuch Bills as were prepar'd for the Royal Aſſent. The ſame Day, which was the tenth of *Auguſt*, the King ſet forwards in the Afternoon upon his Journey to *Scotland*, accompany'd with the Prince Elector, the Duke of *Lenox*, now created Duke of *Richmond*, and the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*.

The King begins his Journey.

The Account of the Bills paſs'd.

The Bills paſs'd were moſt of them of great Importance, as ‘An Act of Pacification between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*;’ for the effecting of which, all the *Scots* Demands, formerly mention'd, were granted, whoſe Arrival and Stay coſt *England* eleven hundred thouſand Pounds, beſides Damages, as the Earl of *Briſtol* declar'd in a Conference between both Houſes; and the Effect was to purchaſe an inglorious Peace from an invading Enemy. The other Laws were, ‘An Act for the Certainty of the Meets, Bounds and Limits of all the Foreſts in *England*;’ which prov'd a great Benefit and Eaſe to the People: ‘An Act for the Prevention of vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of *Knighthood*;’ by which his Majeſty releas'd to his People as unqueſtionable a Due, as any Service he can claim: ‘An Act for the free making Salt-Petre and Gun-Powder within the Kingdom;’ which had been part of the Prerogative and Revenue of the Crown: ‘An Act againſt divers Oppreſſions and Incroachments in the *Stannery* Courts;’ which likewiſe extended to all inferior Courts and Proceedings throughout the Kingdom: Laſtly, ‘An Act declaring unlawful and void the late Proceedings touching *Ship-Mony*, and for vacating all Records and Proceſſes concerning the ſame;’ in which ſome Clauſes aſſert the Subjects Liberty and Property, beyond what was done by the famous *Petition of Right*.

With the Redreſs of all Grievances.

By paſſing of theſe Acts, together with ſome others formerly mention'd, as the *Triennial* Act, that for *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, thoſe for taking away the Courts of *High-Commiſſion* and *Star-Chamber*, beſides that unparallel'd one for perpetuating the Parliament, there did not remain a Grievance or Inconvenience, real or imaginary, that was not fully redreſs'd, or more than counterbalanc'd by the King's numberleſs Conceſſions. The Legal Grievances were remov'd by limiting of *Knighthood*, bounding the *Foreſts* and *Stannery-Courts*, and taking away the *High-Commiſſion* and *Star-Chamber*. The Illegal ones were redreſs'd by the *Tonnage* and *Poundage* Bill, and that for deſtroying the *Ship-Mony*; and the *Triennial* Bill had put an End to that call'd a *Fundamental Grievance*, The Diſcontinuance of Parliaments. The reputed Authors of theſe Grievances were all given up to the Juſtice of the Parliament, not one protected from Puniſhment, but at the Houſes Pleaſure ſuffer'd Death, Impriſonment, or Fine, or elſe ſav'd themſelves by Flight. So that in nine Months time greater Alterations were made in the Conſtitution, with Relation to the Liberty of the Subject and the Diminution of the Prerogative, than had been known in ſome hundreds of Years. The Steps made by the Parliament, and the Conceſſions by the King, were ſo exorbitantly large, that Foreigners ſtood amazed at it; and an ingenious *French* Hiſtorian ſays, ‘It is hard to decide, who had the greateſt Cauſe to bluſh, the King for always Granting whatever his Subjects inſolently demanded, or the Subjects for continually Demanding what their King was compell'd to grant.’ However it was, here was not only a Redreſs of all juſt Grievances, but *Real Security* given againſt them for the future. Therefore from this Period of Time impartial Poſterity may beſt judge, which Side was moſt blamable in the ſucceeding Tranſactions; and how far the Ruin of all the Reformers afterwards may be ſaid to be the Natural, as well as the Juſt Conſequence of their Proceedings.

II. 1. The Parliament continu'd Sitting for about a Month after the King's Departure for *Scotland*; and notwithſtanding his Majeſty's great Conceſſions, they proceeded with as much Jealouſy, as if he had granted nothing; and were particularly apprehenſive of the new Obligations that were like to be laid upon the *Scots*. Therefore, having given Orders for diſbanding the Armies, by way of Spies, they appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons to attend his Majeſty in *Scotland*; to be preſent when the Act of Pacification ſhou'd be tranſacted there, and preſerve that good Correſpondence that was begun between the two Nations; and indeed to form the next Year's Deſigns, and contrive new Laws in one Kingdom, by the Copies of what ſhou'd be enacted in the other. Among the Peers nam'd, only the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* went, together with Sir *Philip Stapleton* and Mr. *Hampden*. The firſt was the younger Son of the Houſe of *Suffolk*, who marrying a

Perſons appointed to attend the King.

The Lord Howard,

Neice

And Sir Philip Stapleton.

Neice to the late Duke of *Buckingham*, was by him made a Baron; but that Dependance expiring by the Death of the Duke and his Wife, and having no proper Qualifications to promote him, gradually ſunk from his Attendance upon the Court, and ſhortly after from his good Wiſhes to it, becoming implicitly devoted to the late prevailing Party: In Confidence of which he was deputed to this new Employment, to be intirely govern'd by Sir *Philip Stapleton* and Mr. *Hampden*. Sir *Philip* was a Gentleman by Birth, but being a *Branch* of a younger Family, had but a ſlender Fortune of about five hundred Pounds a Year in *Yorkſhire*, where he had ſpent much of his Time in the cuſtomary Diverſions among Dogs and Horſes. Being return'd in Parliament, he join'd with his Neighbours, *Hotham* and *Cholmondley*, and growing intimate with the whole Party, he ſoon appear'd rather to be without good Breeding, than to be incapable of it; and ſo they aſſociated him with Mr. *Hampden* in this new Imployment, to be ſeaſon'd by the Inſtructions of ſo great a Maſter.

The Earl of Holland's *Defection.*

The Commons Partiality.

The King being arriv'd at *York*, where he found neither Army disbanded, his General the Earl of *Holland* attended and begg'd of his Majeſty that He might make a Baron, which then might have been ten Thouſand Pounds Advantage to him; but whether the King fear'd his chuſing One that might prejudice him in the Peers, or was unwilling to inlarge that Number, he thought fit at that Time to refuſe his Suit. This ſo diſoblig'd the Earl, that tho' he parted with all the Appearance of Loyalty, yet having been inform'd by Sir *Jacob Aſhley* and Sir *John Conyers* of ſome frivolous Paſſages in the late Tampering with the Army, that had not yet been divulg'd, as ſoon as the King had left the Place, he ſent a Letter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to be by him communicated in Parliament, 'That he found there 'had been ſtrange Attempts to debauch and pervert the 'Army, but he did not doubt he ſhou'd be able to prevent 'any Miſchief.' The whole Letter was couch'd in ſo myſterious a Senſe, that Men were eaſily perſuaded it related to ſome unheard-of Diſcoveries; and by the Date it bore, it ſeem'd to reflect on ſomething the King Himſelf ſhou'd have attempted. So that it ſerv'd to revive their old Fears, and infuſe new Apprehenſions into the People, every Man drawing what Senſe he thought fit, from what none of them cou'd rightly underſtand. And when a Queſtion aroſe in the Houſe of Commons, 'Whether *Wilmot*, '*Aſhburnham* and *Pollard* ſhou'd have their Officers Pay, 'then lying under the Charge of the late Plot;' it was paſſionately alledg'd 'That ſuch Men ought not to receive 'their Pay, who had forfeited their Truſt.' Yet ſtill it was urg'd 'That they had the Security of an Act of Par'liament for their Payment;' and at length one told them, *That they were abſolutely pardon'd by the late Act of Oblivion and Pacification between the two Kingdoms.* This prov'd an allarming Sentence, which caus'd many to change their Opinions, and to come to this ſtrange Declaration, *That they cou'd have no Benefit by that Act of Parliament, becauſe then the ſame might be as well apply'd to the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. And thus it was thought ſufficient, to exclude them both from that Benefit and their Mony; leſt they might be admitted to it for a certain Reaſon, which might prove advantageous to another, to whom they had no Inclination to be favourable.

Their further Incroachments.

The Lords oppoſe them.

Soon after the King began his Progreſs, upon a Motion of Adjourning the Houſes till after *Michaelmaſs*, which met with a general Approbation, many Members of both Houſes, willing to refreſh themſelves after ſuch long Abſence from Home, and eſpecially to avoid the Plague which began to rage in the Town, went into the Country; and others, who remain'd in Town, were leſs careful to attend the publick Service, but betook Themſelves to the moſt agreeable Diverſions; ſo that in leſs than three Weeks after the King's Departure, there were not left above twenty Lords and a hundred Commoners in both Houſes. This was the Advantage that the Leaders wanted, and being indefatigable in their Attendance and Proceedings, now readily aſſum'd to themſelves the Conſultation of the higheſt Matters both in Church and State. From their preſuming to adviſe what was to be done out of the Kingdom, in Reference to *France* and *Spain*, they took the ſame Liberty of conſulting and declaring what was unfit within the Walls of the Church; and therefore they enter'd upon a Debate of the *Engliſh* Liturgy, at that Time much reverenc'd throughout the Kingdom, and propos'd, 'That in Regard of tender Con'ſciences, there might be Liberty to lay it aſide:' Which Propoſition, tho' made in a thin Houſe by thoſe of the greateſt Influence, was ſo unacceptable, that by the Major Part it was voted, 'That it ſhou'd ſtill be duly obſerv'd.' Notwithſtanding this Rub, the next Day, when many concern'd in the Debate were abſent, contrary to the Rules of Parliament they ſuſpended that Vote, and Reſolv'd, 'That 'the ſtanding of the Communion-Table ſhou'd be chang'd 'in all Churches, the Rails pull'd down, and the Chancel 'levell'd with the reſt of the Church, and that no Man 'ſhou'd preſume to bow at the Name of *Jeſus*:' Which zealous Reſolutions were carry'd up to the Lords, expecting from the ſmall Number remaining, to find no Oppoſition from thence. But the Lords for the Major Part being ſenſibly offended that the Commons ſhou'd preſume to interpoſe in a Matter out of their Juriſdiction, and diſturb the Peace of the Church by ſuch unprecedented Inſolence, were ſo far from joyning with them, that they directed a former Order of their Houſe, made in *January* laſt, to be printed, requiring, 'The Divine Service to be perform'd 'as appointed in the Acts of Parliament in this Realm; 'and that whoſoever diſturb'd that wholeſome Order, 'ſhou'd be puniſh'd according to Law;' and accordingly inform'd the Commons; who ſtill eagerly purſu'd their own Order, and requiring all the Commons of *England* to ſubmit to their Direction, declar'd, 'The Order of the 'Lords was obtain'd by the Conſent of no more than E'leven of that Houſe, and that Nine others diſſented from 'it; and therefore they ſhou'd pay no Obedience to it.' Whereas in Reality, it was an Order made in full Parliament ſeven Months before, and was by the preſent Majority directed to be printed upon that emergent Occaſion.

A publick Thankſgiving.

The Scots Triumph.

About the ſame Time finding in the Act of Pacification, 'That there ſhou'd be a publick and ſolemn Thankſgiving 'for a Peace between the two Nations,' but no particular Day fix'd, the Lords and Commons aſſum'd to themſelves the Power of appointing it; and to that End iſſu'd out an Ordinance, 'That it ſhou'd be kept on the ſeventh 'of *September* following, throughout *England* and *Wales*;' which was accordingly obſerv'd. Mr. *Marſhall* and Dr. *Burgeſs*, the two Trumpets of the Times, preach'd before the Houſe of Commons; and the ſeditious Miniſters in all Pulpits took Occaſion from the Day to extol the Parliament and the *Scots*, and inſtil as much Malignity into the People againſt the contrary Party, as their Wit and Malice cou'd ſuggeſt. Beſides all this, an Order had been made by both Houſes, to which his Majeſty's own Conſent had been obtain'd, 'That on the ſame Day of Thankſgiving 'the Loyalty and Faithfulneſs of the King's *Scotch* Sub'jects might be made known in all Places, and particular'ly in all Pariſh Churches of his Majeſty's Dominions, by 'the ſeveral and reſpective Miniſters of each Church.' By which they did not only conquer, but Triumph; and this was to be a ſort of *Shibboleth* for the Clergy; for whoever blam'd the *Scots*, or declin'd the Declaration of their Loyalty and Fidelity, were ſure to be eſteem'd *Malignants*, and upon the leaſt Complaint put into Cuſtody as *Delinquents*.

The Parliament adjourns.

A ſtanding Committee.

After that Day's Solemnity, and the Recommendation of ſome of their own unconformable Miniſters, to be Lecturers in the Churches about *London*, whom the Incumbents were oblig'd to receive; when they apprehended, that by Reaſon of ſo many abſent Members, they ſhou'd not have enough to make up a Houſe, they yielded to a Receſs; and on the ninth of *September* they adjourn'd themſelves to the twentienth Day of *October* next, after they had ſat about ten Months: Each Houſe conſtituting an unheard-of Committee to meet twice a Week, or oftner upon Occaſion, to tranſact ſuch Buſineſs, during the Receſs, as they were empower'd to do by their Inſtructions; by which the Power of the Parliament was kept up to the full Height.

The Armies disbanded.

The Death of the Earl of Rothes.

About the ſame Time the Armies were disbanded, that had been ſuch a Burthen to the Kingdom, and the Earl of *Holland* return'd in great State to *Kenſington*, where he was immediately viſited and complimented by all the preſent Leaders, to whom he declar'd himſelf fully of their Party; and he arm'd them with ſeveral Informations of ſome Occurrences in the late Army, that might be wreſted to the King's Diſadvantage; diſcover'd to them the private Diſcourſes of the King to him when he thought him in his Intereſt; and all that Sir *Jacob Aſhley* and Sir *John Conyers* had repos'd with him, when they believ'd him devoted to his Majeſty's Service; together with what he had heard that the Queen ſaid or did, which might increaſe their Hatred againſt her Majeſty; tho' it was by her Means that he had formerly been ſupported againſt all the Power of *Portland*, *Strafford* and *Canterbury*. As one great Man deſerted his Majeſty, ſo at the ſame Time another, who was returning to his Side, dy'd when he was likely to do him greateſt Service. This was the Earl of *Rothes*, one of the moſt zealous Promoters of the *Scotch* Troubles, and a mortal Enemy to the Earl of *Strafford*, having been often heard to ſay *They won'd have his Head.* He is ſaid to have been a Man of great Abilities and much Honour; but ſoon after the King had intirely gain'd him, and rely'd upon his great Power and Intereſt in *Scotland*, where he was making his Progreſs, he made a baſe and diſhonourable End in Rottenneſs and a ſcandalous Diſtemper, as Archbiſhop *Laud* tells us in his Hiſtory; which his Friends conceal'd as much as they cou'd, by conveying him from *London* to *Richmond* ſome Time before his Death.

The King's Speech to the Scotch *Parliament.*

2. But to return to the King, who riding Poſt from *London* travell'd above three hundred Miles in leſs than four Days Time, and arriv'd at *Edinburgh* upon the fourteenth of *Auguſt*, with a ſmall Retinue of his Nobility. Three Days after in a long Speech to a full Parliament he declar'd, ‘That nothing had been ſo diſpleaſing to Him, as thoſe unfortunate Differences happening between him and his People; and Nothing he more deſir'd, than to ſee *that Day*, wherein he hop'd not only to ſettle thoſe unhappy Miſtakings, but rightly *to know*, and to *be known* to his *Native Country*.’ He further declar'd, ‘If Love to his Native Country had not been a *Chief Motive* to his Journey, other Reſpects might eaſily have found a Shift to do that by a *Commiſſion*, which he came to perform *Himſelf*. Which conſider'd, he cou'd not doubt of ſuch real Teſtimonies of their Affections, for the Maintenance of that *Royal Power* he enjoy'd, after an *Hundred and eight Deſcents*; and which they had profeſs'd to maintain, and to which their own *National Oath* did oblige them.’ Laſtly he aſſur'd them, ‘That the End of his Coming was To perfect whatſoever he had promis'd, and withal to quiet all Diſtractions among them, which he deſign'd to perform not *ſuperficially*, but *fully* and *chearfully*; for he cou'd do nothing with more Chearfulneſs, than to give his People a *General Satisfaction*. Wherefore not offering to endear Himſelf by *Words*, he deſir'd in the firſt Place, to ſettle what concerns the *Religion* and *Juſt Liberties* of his *Native Country*, before he proceeded to any other Act.

The Treachery of the King's Dependents.

The Lord *Balmerino*, a Man of ſufficient Parts and Abilities, was elected Preſident of the Parliament, who together with his Father had receiv'd many Favours from the Crown; therefore many judg'd he wou'd be tender of the King's Honour and Intereſt. But the Riſque he formerly run in his Tryal, rais'd ſuch high Reſentments, that no Obligations had that Power of him, as to make him gratify his Majeſty in the leaſt Particular. Other Perſons, who had been loaded with Favours, either openly or ſecretly continu'd to work againſt Him; and Sir *Thomas Hope*, his Advocate, by the Help of his flattering Carriage to his Majeſty, prov'd a ſingular Friend to the *Covenanters:* And what was worſe, Mr. *Murray* of the Bed-Chamber, who had with all Tenderneſs been preferr'd from his Childhood, prov'd treacherous, and diſcover'd the King's Letters and Secrets to his greateſt Enemies. And the King was ſo unfortunate, that he had not one Counſellor about him, beſides the Duke of *Lenox*, and a very few Followers, who had either Affection to his Perſon, or Reſpect to his Honour: Yet being of unqueſtionable Integrity himſelf, he cou'd not endure to entertain any ſuſpicious Thoughts of thoſe he had once plac'd his Truſt in. As to the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* and his Brother *Lanerick*, of whom there had been ſuch Preſumptions of Infidelity; the King having it ſo often under both their Hands, *That might their Souls periſh, if they left any Thing undone in their Power, to get a Compliance from the Parliament*, he ſtill kept to his former intire Confidence in them.

A Plot pretended in Scotland.

The publick Proceedings for a while went on very ſmoothly in the Parliament, the King giving Way to every thing that was propos'd, ſo that the Aims of many were diſappointed for the preſent; therefore ſome Things were preſs'd, that they ſuppos'd his Majeſty wou'd not conſent to, purpoſely to procure a Breach. And at length, about the middle of *October*, upon a private Infirmation made to the Earl of *Argyle*, as he alledg'd, concerning a Plot form'd by the Earl of *Crawford*, Colonel *Cocheran*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Stuart*, to aſſaſſinate the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* and himſelf; theſe two, with ſome Followers, in a great Confuſion withdrew to *Kinneil*, twelve Miles from *Edinburgh*. Several ſuggeſted to the King that the Plot was but pretended, only to cauſe the Parliament to break up; upon which, the Day after their Retreat, his Majeſty came haſtily up to the Parliament, accompany'd with many Noblemen and five hundred Gentlemen, and in a Speech, which reflected much upon the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, he prevail'd with the Parliament to continue Sitting, notwithſtanding the others Abſence. The Royaliſts were very urgent with his Majeſty to have them declar'd Enemies, and attempted ſome Things againſt them, which they thought very practicable; but ſuch was his Compliance, that on the contrary he conſented in Parliament to confine the three ſuppos'd Plotters, and invited *Hamilton* and *Argyle* to return, who were the next Day receiv'd very graciouſly at *Holyrood-Houſe*. The Lord *Clarendon* tells us, that the Earl of *Montroſs* privately aſſur'd his Majeſty, ‘That in the paſt Tranſactions, *Hamilton* had been no leſs faulty and falſe to him than *Argyle*,’ and frankly undertook to have them both diſpatch'd; but the King abhorr'd the Expedient, tho' ſo much for his own Security: How far this might accidentally give Credit to the Notion of a Plot, we know not; only upon a ſtrict Examination, nothing material was found in it, ſo that the three pretended Plotters were enlarg'd, and the whole became a Matter of Ridicule.

The Effects of it in England.

But this Plot had a greater Influence at *London*; for upon the firſt Rumour of it, the *Engliſh* Committee at *Edinburgh* immediately diſpacht a dark perplex'd Account of it to *Weſtminſter*, with many ambiguous Expreſſions concerning the probable Conſequences of it; covertly inſinuating, ‘That the Deſign might look farther than *Scotland*.’ And theſe Diſpatches reaching *London* the Day before the Parliament was to meet after the late Receſs, all the prevailing Party endeavour'd to perſuade others, ‘That the Deſign of Neceſſity muſt aim at higher Matters, than the Aſſaſſination of thoſe Lords at *Edinburgh*.’ And as ſoon as the Houſe ſat, and the Committees Letter from *Scotland* was read, it was mov'd, ‘That a Meſſage might be ſent to the Houſe of Peers, that the Earl of *Eſſex*, whom the King had left General on this ſide *Trent*, might be deſir'd to order ſuch a Guard as he thought ſufficient for the Security of the Parliament;’ which was done accordingly, and continu'd till they thought fit to have others. All which was done purpoſely to amuſe the People, as if the Parliament was in ſome imminent Danger. And this prov'd very ſeaſonable for Mr. *Pym* and his Committee that ſat during the Receſs, who having committed ſeveral Exorbitancies, both as to Church and State, were in ſome Danger of being queſtion'd even by the Parliament; but this Rumour prov'd a fortunate Diverſion and a Skreen, and gave a Credit to their Proceedings.

The King's vaſt Conceſſions in Scotland.

3. In the mean Time the King in *Scotland* proceeded with all imaginable Conceſſions to that Nation, reſolving to oblige and ingage the Inhabitants at any Expence, to the Diminution both of his Honour and Prerogative. Accordingly that which ſhou'd have been an Act of Oblivion, prov'd a Defence and Juſtification of whatſoever they had done, and their firſt Tumults term'd ‘Effects of their Duty to his Majeſty:’ So that whoever, in Purſuance of their Allegiance, had oppos'd or reſiſted them, were declar'd Criminal, and were the only Perſons exempted from the Benefit of that Oblivion. The exorbitant Acts of their Aſſembly, which had expell'd all Biſhops from it, and declar'd themſelves *to have a Power of inflicting Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures upon the King himſelf*, were declar'd lawful; and the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, condemn'd *as contrary to the Word of God*; and therefore were utterly extirpated, and their Lands given to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors. Then in Conſideration that the King muſt of Neceſſity be abſent from his native Kingdom, it was thought fit, ‘That the abſolute Government thereof ſhou'd be entruſted with the Lords of the *Secret Council*, who were likewiſe made *Conſervators* of the Peace of the two Kingdoms, during the Intervals of Parliaments, by whom theſe Lords were to be nam'd, and which once in three Years was to aſſemble without any Summons from the King, if by ſuch a Day he neglected to publiſh ſuch Summons.’ And for the ſame Reaſon, ‘All great Officers, as Chancellor, Treaſurer, Secretary, and the reſt, were to be appointed by Parliament, or in the Interval by the Lords of the *Secret Council*;’ without the leaſt Regard to his Majeſty's Choice or Approbation.

His Rewards and Preferments to his Enemies.

As the King had conſented to the intire aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, ſo he gave away all the Church Lands to thoſe who had diſcovered them not to have been in proper Hands before; a Matter of fatal Conſequence to the Church of *England*. And having obtain'd a Pardon for his Friends, upon Condition they came not in his Preſence, he made Uſe of the little Remainder of his Sovereignty, the conferring of Titles, in obliging and honouring his Enemies. Accordingly the Earl of *Argyle* was made a Marqueſs, the great General *Leſley* made Earl of *Leven* and Keeper of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, Lord *Lindſey* made Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord *Lowdon* Earl of *Lowdon*, Lord *Almond*, the Lieutenant-General, made Earl of *Calender*, the Lairds of *Dudo* and *Arburthnet* made Viſcounts, Mr. *Andrew Murray* made Lord *Balvaird*, and Mr. *Alexander Gibſon* and Mr. *Archibald Johnſton* were Knighted, and the latter had a liberal Penſion beſtow'd on him. Many of the prime Covenanters obtain'd great Penſions; and the King's Bounty extended to many Church-Men, his greateſt Oppoſers: Mr. *Henderſon*, the moſt eminent of the Brethren, had the Rent of the Royal Chappel beſtow'd upon him, a Revenue equal to a Biſhoprick; Mr. *Gilleſpie* had a large Penſion ſettled upon him; and the Profeſſors in the Univerſities had their Proviſions liberally augmented by the Revenues formerly belonging to the Biſhops.

Cenſures upon it.

Theſe extraordinary Conceſſions and Favours caus'd various Diſcourſes and Opinions concerning the Meaning of this State-Policy, and occaſion'd many who had adhered to his Majeſty, to decline all publick Buſineſs; and ſome of them were wont to ſay, *That Men ought to act according to Conſcience and Honour, but if any engag'd for him out of Hope of Reward, they might eaſily be diſappointed.* And the Lord *Carnwarth* took the Liberty to ſay in a publick Audience, *That he wou'd go to* Ireland, *and join with Sir* Phelim Oneal, *the chief of the Rebels there, and then he was ſure the King wou'd prefer him.*

The Scots Returns and Promiſes:

But inſignificant.

Theſe unparallel'd Favours were not without ſome conſiderable Returns of obliging Words and Promiſes of a dutiful and loyal Behaviour for the future; and ſo far they proceeded as to revive and publiſh thro' the Realm an old Statute which ordain'd, 'That it ſhould be deteſtable and 'damnable Treaſon in the higheſt Degree, for any of the '*Scots* Nation conjunctly, or ſingly, to levy Arms, or a'ny Military Forces, upon any Pretence whatſoever, 'without the King's Royal Commiſſion.' And many of them privately aſſur'd the King, *That as ſoon as the late Storm ſhould be perfectly calm'd, they wou'd repeal whatever was now unreaſonably extorted from him.* General *Leſley*, now Earl of *Leven*, was ſo tranſported with his Majeſty's Beneficence, that lifting up his Hands to Heaven, he wiſh'd, *That they might rot off, if ever he acted more againſt ſo gude a King*; and he told the King himſelf, *That he wou'd not only refuſe to ſerve againſt him, but whenever his Majeſty wou'd require his Service, he ſhou'd have it, without ever asking what the Cauſe was.* But the *Scotch* Cauſe was too great to be damp'd or interrupted by Promiſes and Obligations; as it ſoon after began to ſhew it ſelf in the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who after he had receiv'd a Gift from the King of a Lordſhip worth twenty thouſand Marks a Year, appear'd ſo zealous for it, that he declar'd at a publick Meeting, *That he wou'd live to ſee the Cauſe not only go through* England, *but alſo carry'd to the Walls of* Rome.

The Scotch *Parliament breaks up.*

The King's Departure.

In the mean time, the Parliament having finiſh'd all Buſineſs, broke up upon the 17th of *November*; in the Cloſe of which, the Earl of *Lowdon* in the Name of the Nobility, and young Sir *Thomas Hope* in the Name of the Gentry, made congratulatory Speeches to his Majeſty, 'For having given them full Satisfaction in all Things, 'both as to their *Religion* and *Liberties*;' and the great Guns of the Caſtle were diſcharg'd, as a ſolemn Eccho to their ſeveral Orations. And alſo that Night, in the great Hall of *Holyrood*-Houſe, the King magnificently feaſted all his Nobility, and parted with mutual and endearing Farewels: So that it became a publick Saying, *That he departed a contented King from a contented People.* The next Morning the King began his Journey towards *London*, and ſo took his final Leave of his Native Kingdom, after he had continu'd in it a little above three Months. Much happier might it have been for him, if he had never ſeen the Nation; for his Progreſs and Continuance in *Scotland* ſeem'd to have been only that he might make a more perfect Deed of Gift of that Kingdom, than he cou'd have done without going in Perſon. In ſhort, he at once unravell'd that elaborate Web, which had took up more than forty Years in finiſhing, by the great Pains and Treaſure both of his Father and Himſelf. And by the Profuſeneſs of his Conceſſions he created a new Thirſt in his *Engliſh* Parliament, tho' it began to be almoſt inſatiable before; cauſing them to believe, 'That now he wou'd yield to e'very Thing they cou'd propoſe:' And even ſome, who really hated the *Scots*, and abhorr'd their Proceedings, ſcorning to be over-reach'd and cauſeleſly diſtinguiſh'd in the publick Favours, out of Malice to Them, joyn'd and concurr'd in the greateſt Exorbitancies. As to the Enemies of the Church of *England*, they concluded their Work more than half done, when the King Himſelf in Effect had declar'd 'Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops contrary to the 'Word of God;' which, beſides the Ruin of his Affairs, prov'd a very ſenſible Affliction, and Wound to his Conſcience, almoſt all the reſt of his Life.

The Rebellion in Ireland.

III. I. To compleat the Miſeries of three Kingdoms, about three Weeks before the King left *Scotland*, there aroſe a ſudden Storm in *Ireland*, or rather an impetuous Hurricane that bore down all before it. It was a Rebellion ſurpriſing and prodigious, as has been ſcarce known in any Age; ſuch as can hardly be parallel'd for the numberleſs Acts of Perfidiouſneſs and Barbarity; and the firſt Sound of it came like a moſt terrible Thunder-clap to the *Engliſh* Nation, which prov'd of infinite Miſchief to the King's Affairs. This aſtoniſhing Concuſſion broke out in all Parts of the Kingdom upon one Day, the 23d of *October*; which by a cloſe and deep Conſpiracy of the *Iriſh* took Effect after an unheard-of Manner. The Papiſts and old Natives, taking Advantage of the preſent Poſture of Affairs in *England*, reſolv'd to deſtroy all the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, and to ſecure the Kingdom in their own Hands. Their Deſign upon *Dublin* was miraculouſly diſcover'd the Night before it was to be executed, and the Surpriſal of the Caſtle prevented; and the principal Conſpirators, who were to undertake it, as *Mac-Mahon*, *Mac-Guire* and others, apprehended. But in the other Parts of the Kingdom, they exactly obſerved the appointed Day, without hearing of the Diſappointment of their Friends in *Dublin*: So a general Inſurrection of the *Iriſh* ſpread it ſelf like a Deluge over the whole Country; in ſuch an inhuman and mercileſs Manner, that forty or fifty Thouſand of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants were maſſacred, without Diſtinction of Age, Sex or Quality, before they ſuſpected any Danger, or cou'd provide for their Defence, in Towns or elſewhere. In ſum, the Cruelties and Barbarities were innumerable and incredible, ſuch as might melt down the moſt obdurate Hearts in the World, as we find in Sir *John Temple*, and other Writers.

The Heads of it.

The chief Man and Ringleader in this Inſurrection was Sir *Phelim Oneale*, a Gentleman of *Engliſh* Education, once a Proteſtant of *Lincoln's-Inn*, who with his Brother, and ſome others, carry'd on their Deſigns with ſuch Regularity and Secrecy, that no ſufficient Diſcovery cou'd be made. And indeed at this Time there was ſuch outward Appearances of a ſettled Tranquility, that ſcarce any Suſpicion remain'd: For the ancient Prejudices and Animoſities, which had frequently been ſhewn between the *Iriſh* and the *Engliſh*, ſeem'd now to have been bury'd in a Conjunction of their Affections and National Obligations. The two Nations had now liv'd together forty Years in Peace with great Security and Satisfaction, which had in a manner conſolidated them into one Body, faſtned with all thoſe Bonds of Friendſhip, Alliance and Conſanguinity, as might have form'd a perpetual Union between them. Therefore it is the more needful to inquire into the Cauſes of ſo ſudden and ſtrange an Alteration, and the Occaſions and Inducements that theſe miſerable People had to venture upon ſuch daring Attempts, and run ſuch deſperate Hazards.

The Cauſes of it.

Firſt, they obſerv'd, that by the *Engliſh* Governors they were generally look'd upon as a *Conquer'd Nation*, and ſeldom treated like natural or free-born Subjects; and particularly complain'd, that upon the Account of the laſt Rebellion under *Tyronne*, ſix whole Counties were forfeited to the Crown, and very little reſtor'd to the Natives, tho' ſeveral of them were innocent, but a great Part beſtow'd by King *James* on his Countrymen the *Scots*, who had made notorious Incroachments upon them: For which End they had ſent Commiſſioners to the *Engliſh* Parliament with ſuitable Complaints; but were diſmiſs'd with a ſhort and diſobliging Anſwer. Secondly, they believ'd their ancient Religion in imminent Danger; for they found that ſince the Beginning of the long Parliament in *England*, unuſual Severities were us'd againſt the Papiſts in *England*, and both Houſes ſollicited by Petitions from *Ireland* to have thoſe of that Kingdom treated with the like Rigour: Eſpecially when they heard it was alledg'd by ſome of the Leaders in the Houſe of Commons, *That the Converſion of the* Iriſh *Papiſts was to be effected with the Bible in one Hand, and the Sword in the other*; *that they would not leave a Prieſt in* Ireland, *but extirpate their Superſtition and Nation.* Thirdly, the Example of the *Scots* was a particular Incitement and Encouragement, as appear'd from the firſt Diſcoverers, who declar'd, *They did all in Imitation of* Scotland, *who by that Courſe enlarg'd their Privileges:* And the Confeſſion of the Lord *Mac-Guire* does not obſcurely hint, That the Earl of *Argyle*, then at the Head of the *Scotch* Covenanters, was privately working the *Iriſh* into ſome Conſpiracy againſt the King; declaring, *That if the King endeavour'd to ſtir* Ireland *againſt them, he wou'd kindle ſuch a Fire There, as wou'd hardly ever be extinguiſh'd.* Fourthly, the taking off the Earl of *Strafford* did not a little contribute to the enſuing Tragedy, whoſe Vigour and Vigilance kept them regular and obedient; but when his Eye was taken off their Actions, and his Hands from the Reins of the Government, it advanc'd more in a few Months, than it had in many Years before, as appears from the fore-mention'd Confeſſion. Laſtly, the Army of Eight Thouſand Men, rais'd for the Suppreſſing the *Scots*, being by the Inſtance of the *Engliſh* Parliament disbanded, the Country was annoy'd by thoſe Soldiers, who wou'd not return to their former Employments, but were ready for any bloody Enterprize: And tho' the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors deſir'd to take them into the Service of their Maſter, the Parliament Leaders oppos'd it, and defeated the Deſign; for which Piece of Service, Mr. *Pym* is ſaid to have receiv'd five Thouſand Pounds from the *French* Ambaſſador. This ungovern'd Army, together with the encreaſing Diſſenſions between the King and his Parliament, was the greateſt Encouragement of all, and caus'd the *Iriſh* not only to hope for an Inlargement of their Privileges, but a Breaking off their Yoak and Dependency upon the Crown of *England*. From all theſe Particulars, as an ingenious Writer obſerves, we may naturally draw this Concluſion: 'That they who comply'd 'with the *Scots* in their Inſurrection; They who diſmiſs'd

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'the *Iriſh* with ſo ſhort impolitick an Anſwer, and threatned the Extirpation of their Religion; They who took off the Earl of *Strafford*'s Head, and They who hinder'd the disbanded Troops in *Ireland* to go for *Spain*, may juſtly be ſaid to have been the true Cauſe of the horrid Inſurrection of the *Iriſh*.

The Rebels Pretenſions.

Religion was the moſt open and plauſible Pretence of theſe Rebels, therefore, following the *Scotch* Steps, they form'd a Sort of a Popiſh Covenant, 'Declaring in the Sight of God and the World, That they wou'd endeavour the Advancement and Preſervation of his Majeſty's Service and Intereſt, having no other Deſign and Intent, but only the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and the Abolition of ſuch Laws as render the *Catholicks* uncapable of any Office, Place, Commodity or Profit, to the extraordinary Decay of their Eſtates, Education and Learning.' But becauſe all their Inducements and Pretenſions wou'd not totally ſeduce many of the *Iriſh*, who ſtill retain'd ſome Love to the *Engliſh*, and ſome Reverence to their Government, their Leaders, Sir *Phelim Oneale* and others, invented an infernal Stratagem, to perſuade Them, 'That they took up Arms for the Defence of the King, and the Defence of his lawful Prerogative againſt the Puritanical Parliament in *England*, who had invaded it in many Parts, and *That what they did was by his Majeſty's Approbation and Authority*.' And to gain the greater Credit to this Fiction, they produc'd and ſhew'd a Commiſſion, to which they had fix'd an Impreſſion of the Broad Seal, which they had taken off from a Grant of the Lord *Caulfield*'s at *Charlemont* Caſtle; which made it no difficult Matter to perſuade rude and unexperienc'd Perſons to believe it a real Commiſſion from the King. All which in a ſhort Time was clearly detected, as well by ſeveral *Iriſh* Rebels taken Priſoners, as *Engliſh* Proteſtants, who eſcap'd their Fury; particularly Dr. *Maxwell*, a conſiderable Divine, in his Examination and Depoſition upon Oath declar'd, That while he was their Priſoner, he ventur'd to expoſtulate with them *For abuſing the King in ſo groſs a Manner:* To whom they reply'd, *That in all Wars, Rumours and Lyes ſerv'd many Times to as good a Purpoſe as Arms, and that they wou'd not diſclaim any Advantage: But for the Queen, becauſe ſhe was a Catholick and had Enemies enough, they wou'd diſcharge the People from ſpeaking of Her as the Abettor of the preſent Troubles.* This wicked Contrivance made a ſtrange popular Impreſſion; and gave Riſe to that ſcandalous and moſt improbable Story, that the King Himſelf was a private Promoter of this Rebellion: It gave them mighty Advantages in the Beginning, and help'd forwards the gaining of many Places and Conqueſts, the Particulars of which are here omitted, as being ſomewhat too Foreign to an *Engliſh* Hiſtory.

Their forg'd Inſtrument.

England *amaz'd.*

2. The King had not left *Scotland* when the News of this Rebellion arriv'd in *England*, where it flew like Flaſhes of Lightning throughout the Kingdom, with all the hideous Circumſtances of Terror and Amazement. Every Day, and almoſt every Hour produc'd new Meſſengers of Miſery, who brought further Intelligence of the Vaſtneſs of the Conſpiracy, and of the mercileſs Cruelty of the Rebels, who ſhamefully robb'd, and ſtripp'd, and barbarouſly tormented and murder'd ſo many Thouſands of Proteſtants, contrary to all the Rules of common Reaſon and Humanity. So that a ſtrange Sort of Fright and Fury was ſoon diffus'd through the Nation; which produc'd infinite Conjectures, and prodigious Imaginations in the Heads of moſt Men.

The Parliament ſurpris'd.

It was upon a *Sunday* Night when the firſt Intelligence came to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Lord-Lieutenant at *London*, who immediately ſummon'd the Lords of the Council, and inform'd them of the Condition of *Ireland*. The Houſe of Peers having been adjourn'd for three Days, and the Commons being to meet next Morning, the Council reſolv'd to go in a Body to the Houſe, as ſoon as it met, and give an Account of what they had heard of this Conſpiracy; all which they did with the uſual Form and Solemnity, and ſo departed. Moſt Mens Heads having been intoxicated with the Belief of Plots and treaſonable Deſigns, this News caus'd a profound Silence, and a kind of a Conſternation in the Houſe. They were perfectly at a Loſs, ſince the Affair itſelf ſeem'd to be out of their Cognizance; and the Communication of it ſerv'd only to prepare their Minds how to act when they had further Intelligence, and when they ſhou'd hear what the King himſelf thought convenient to be done.

Shortly after they were reliev'd by the King's own Letters from *Scotland*, which acquainted them, 'That it was no raſh Inſurrection, but a contriv'd Rebellion, ſuch as muſt be proſecuted with a ſharp War; the Management of which he wholly committed to their Care and Wiſdom, and depended upon Them for the Carrying it on, *&c.*' This new Conceſſion hapned according to their Deſire; and immediately they form'd a Committee of both Houſes 'For the Conſideration of the Affairs of *Ireland*, and Providing of Men, Mony and Arms, for the Suppreſſing that Rebellion;' the Lieutenant of *Ireland* being one of the Committee, which ſat every Morning with a great Appearance in the *Painted Chamber*. And this Reference gave the Houſes another conſiderable Step to a ſeparate Power; acting in this Matter without the King, and enforcing ſeveral Orders with as much Effect, as if they had been legal Statutes; beſides the borrowing Monies and conferring Offices, and doing other Acts that gave them Poſſeſſion of a large Power and Dependence; the Miſchief of which, tho' in the Beginning little obſerv'd, was afterwards very ſenſibly felt by the King and his Friends. Nay ſome of the artful Managers, being wholly diſappointed of their Preferments, took all Occaſions to inſinuate, 'That this Rebellion was contriv'd and fomented by the King, or at leaſt by the Queen, for the Advancement of Popery; and that the Rebels publiſh'd and declar'd, they had the King's Authority for all they did:' Which Calumny, tho' void of all Truth and Probability, made a deep and laſting Impreſſion upon the Minds of ſober and moderate Men, who till then had much diſlik'd the violent Proceedings of the Parliament.

Great Advantage to the Parliament.

3. The Credit of the Leaders in the Houſe of Commons had of late been much ſupported by the Rumours of ſome new Treaſon and Plot againſt the Kingdom; as one Day 'A Letter from beyond Sea of great Forces to invade *England*; another, A Plague-Plaiſter ſent to murder Mr. *Pym*; and no Occaſion omitted to ſpeak of *the Evil Counſellors about the King*.' Yet notwithſtanding they met with ſuch Oppoſition as might have extreamly endanger'd their Intereſt and Sway in the Houſe; till this Rebellion gave them a new and unexpected Authority. By which means they brought to a full Birth that which might have prov'd abortive, namely their large and famous *REMONSTRANCE* of all the Grievances in the Kingdom from the King's Acceſſion to the Throne to that very Day, fill'd with innumerable Invectives and ſevere Reflections upon the King, Queen and Council. The Houſe ſeem'd generally againſt ſuch a dangerous Expedient, many believing it both Unneceſſary and Unſeaſonable: '*Unneceſſary*, ſince all thoſe Grievances had been fully redreſs'd, and the Liberty and Property of the Subject really and effectually ſecur'd for the future; and *Unſeaſonable*, after the King had graciouſly granted them every Thing they had deſir'd; and after ſo long Abſence, and the happy Compoſing of the Diſorders of another Kingdom, to be welcom'd home with ſuch a *Volume of Reproaches*, for the Crimes of others which he Himſelf had reform'd, was a Thing not to be incourag'd, or endured.' Notwithſtanding all which, the other Party deliver'd themſelves with as high Expreſſions againſt the Government as ever, inſinuating, 'That without a ſeaſonable Care to diſappoint ſome Counſels, ſtill entertain'd, they were in danger of loſing all the good Acts they had obtain'd:' And at length prevail'd to have a Day ſet apart in which the *Remonſtrance* ſhou'd be retaken into the Conſideration of the whole Houſe. And in the mean Time they made uſe of all their Credit and Cunning to perſuade particular Men, 'That the paſſing the *Remonſtrance* was the only Expedient to preſerve thoſe good Laws they had already made;' applying to different Perſons, according to their particular Inclinations and Humour; aſſuring many, 'It was only deſign'd to mortify the Court, and curb the Malignant Party, then encreaſing in the Houſe; which being done, it ſhou'd remain after that in the Clerk's Hands, and never be publiſh'd.

Their Grand Remonſtrance.

A great Debate concerning it.

By theſe and the like Artifices they gain'd ſeveral, and promis'd Themſelves Succeſs; and when the Day came that was to determine all, they ſpent the whole Morning in other Debates, and towards Noon call'd for the Remonſtrance; but when ſome urg'd it was then too late to enter upon it, with great Difficulty they conſented it ſhou'd be deferr'd till the next Morning, and every Clauſe particularly debated. Mr. *Oliver Cromwell*, tho' as yet of no great Intereſt in the Houſe, was a violent Promoter of it, and ask'd the Lord *Falkland Why he was for deferring it, ſince that Day wou'd ſoon have determin'd it!* He anſwer'd, *There wou'd not have been Time enough, for ſure it wou'd take ſome Debate:* The other reply'd, *A very ſorry one*; concluding by the Computation they had made, it wou'd meet with a ſlender Oppoſition. But he ſoon found Himſelf miſtaken; for the next Morning the Debate being enter'd upon about nine a Clock, it continu'd all that Day, and all that Night till three in the Morning, with great Warmth and Paſſion on both Sides. Many of the King's Friends were abſent, and others, unprovided againſt ſo tedious a Debate, through Faintneſs had retir'd; ſo that at laſt they carry'd it by only nine Voices;* at which Time one declar'd, *That it look'd like the Verdict of a ſtarv'd Jury:*

At the Breaking up of the Houſe, the Lord *Falkland* ask'd Mr. *Cromwell, Whether there had been a Debate?* To which he anſwer'd, *He wou'd take his Word another Time,* and aſſur'd him with a Whiſper, *That if the Remonſtrance had not paſs'd, he wou'd have ſold all he had the next Morning, and never have ſeen* England *more; and he knew many other honeſt Men of the ſame Reſolution.* So near was the poor Kingdom at that Time to its Deliverance; as the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, who then under the Name of Mr. *Hyde* made a brave Oppoſition in the Houſe againſt it. Sir *Edward Deering*, who had been ſo ſerviceable to the Party, now made his laſt Speech againſt it; and Mr. *Palmer* and ſome others made their open Proteſtations againſt it, for which Mr. *Palmer* was ſent to the *Tower*. So that in two Days Time, they not only paſs'd this fatal Remonſtrance, but alſo order'd it to be printed. This was determin'd upon the twenty fourth of *November*, the very Day before the King arriv'd at *London* from his long Journey.

The Subſtance of it.

The Remonſtrance it ſelf, in its full Length, wou'd take up many Pages in this Hiſtory, and may be ſeen in the Collections of *Husbands*, *Ruſhworth*, and *Nalſon*. As to the Subſtance, it 'treats the King as a third Perſon, and obliquely charges and reproaches him with all the Grievances in his Reign, as *Billeting Soldiers*, *Loans* and *Benevolences*, Exactions for *Knighthood*, *Coat and Conduct Mony*, *Foreſt* Oppreſſions, *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, *Ship-Mony*, all Sorts of *Monopolies*, *Council-Table*, *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commiſſion*, &c. beſides the *Diſſolution* of all the Parliaments; many of which had been redreſs'd in the fourth Year of his Reign, and the reſt within leſs than three Months ſince. Beſides Grievances, it enumerated all the Misfortunes of the Reign, as the ill Succeſs againſt *Cadiz*, the War with *France* and Loſs of *Rochelle*, and the Loſs of the *Palatinate*, tho' in his Father's Reign; not forgetting the Troubles ariſing from *Scotland*, and even thoſe of *Ireland*. In a Word, it omitted not the leaſt falſe Step in Government, or paſſionate Exerciſe of Power, or ſeeming Misfortune to the Nation, from the Death of King *James* to the preſent Time: And all this repreſented with a moſt artificial Mixture of Truth, Fallacy and Falſhood, with the moſt aggravating Circumſtances, and the moſt pathetical Expreſſions to move the People, that the general Obſervation of the Wiſe, and the particular Animoſity of the Diſaffected, cou'd ſuggeſt to the Prejudice of the King. And yet the Authors of it conclude, *That if their Methods were obſerved, they doubted not but God wou'd crown this Parliament ſo as to be the Foundation of more Honour and Happineſs to his Majeſty, than ever yet was enjoy'd by any of his Royal Predeceſſors.* This was the ſecret Work of many Days, and was the moſt unreaſonable and moſt inexcuſable Tranſaction that had yet paſs'd the Houſe of Commons; and indeed it was a magnificent Libel againſt the King and his whole Reign, an Original for all Libels to copy from, drawn up by a few fine and ſubtle Heads, and cramm'd down the Throats of many more; which ſtill might have been prevented, had not the Majority of the Houſe been too defective both in their Courage and their Vigilance.

A Reflection upon it.

For this Reaſon the noble Hiſtorian wonders how thoſe Men, who had induſtriouſly aſſum'd their Country's Truſt, cou'd anſwer to God and their own Conſciences, for that ſupine Lazineſs, Negligence, and unſeaſonable Abſence, which were the firſt Inlets in thoſe Inundations; by which Means a handful of Men came to preſcribe Laws to a far greater Number, and gradually converted or reduc'd the whole Body to their Opinions. But then he ſeems to turn it upon this notable Obſervation: Whoever reflects upon the ill Arts us'd by theſe Men to prevail upon the People in general; their abſurd Lies, to win the Affections, and corrupt the Underſtandings of the Weak; their bold Scandals, to confirm the Wilful; their boundleſs Promiſes to gain the Ambitious; and their abject Flatteries, to captivate the Vulgar; wou'd hardly give himſelf leave to uſe thoſe Weapons, no not for the Preſervation of three Kingdoms.

The King's Return from Scotland.

VI. 1. Such was the preſent State of Affairs when the King return'd from *Scotland*, after he had been near four Months abſent from *London*, where many things began to appear with a melancholy and boding Aſpect. Yet notwithſtanding the ſeveral Contrivances to leſſen the Reputation of the Court, the City of *London* made noble Preparations to receive his Majeſty, who arriv'd upon *Thurſday* the twenty-fifth Day of *November*. Sir *Richard Gourney*, than Lord-Mayor, was a Man of ſingular Wiſdom and Courage, and expreſs'd great Indignation to ſee the City ſo corrupted by the amuſing Artifices of factious Perſons; and therefore attended upon his Majeſty, at his Entrance into *Moor-Fields*, with all the Luſtre and good Countenance, and all the Loyalty and Duty, that cou'd poſſibly be ſhewn. The King was highly ſatisfy'd, and in Anſwer to the Recorder's Speech, thank'd the good Citizens for their hearty Expreſſions of Love to him, and declar'd, *That he cou'd not expreſs the Contentment he receiv'd, becauſe he now ſaw that all thoſe Tumults and Diſorders had only riſen from the meaner Sort of People, and that the Inclinations of the better and main Part of the City had been ever Loyal and Affectionate to his Perſon and Government.* After this he was conducted through the City with the utmoſt Splendor and Solemnity, and the greateſt Acclamations of Joy, that had been known upon any Occaſion; and at *Guildhall*, he with his Royal Conſort and Children, the Prince *Palatine*, and the whole Court of Lords and Ladies, were all magnificently feaſted and entertain'd, with ſuch a Grandeur and excellent Management as ſcarce ever was known. In concluſion, his Majeſty was attended by the whole City, and ſurrounded by the repeated Bleſſings of the People, to his Palace at *Whitehall*, where he parted from the Lord-Mayor with the moſt obliging and condeſcending Indearments.

The City's great Entertainment.

The next Day the King went to *Hampton-Court*, where he deſign'd to have paſs'd the Winter; and few Days after the Recorder, the two Sheriffs, and ſix Aldermen were ſent with an Addreſs to his Majeſty, 'in which they diſown'd the late Tumults in *Weſtminſter*, and petition'd both their Majeſties to make their Reſidence this Seaſon at the Palace of *Whitehall*.' They were moſt graciouſly receiv'd, nobly entertain'd, and every one of them Knighted, except two who had receiv'd the Honour before. And the King was pleas'd further to declare, 'That tho' he and the Queen had purpos'd to Winter at *Hampton-Court*, yet for the Sake of their Body, and the conſiderable Citizens of *London*, who had no Hand in the late Diſorders, he wou'd with all convenient Speed return to keep his *Chriſtmaſs at Whitehall*.' All which he ſhortly performed, to the general Satisfaction of the Citizens, who for the better Part were very ſincere in their Affections to their Prince; and cou'd they have kept the governing Power in their Hands, they wou'd have given further Teſtimonies of their Loyalty: But in a ſhort Time, by the exquiſite Cunning and Management of the prevailing Party in the Houſe of Commons, they were gradually diſpoſſeſs'd by Force and Tumults, not only of all Power of aſſiſting the King, but of protecting themſelves from the increaſing Inſults of theſe Times.

The King conſents to repair to Whitehall.

2. In the mean Time the King found himſelf under greater Diſadvantages than ever, from the Houſe of Commons, having no Servant there of Intereſt, Ability, or Reputation, or of Faithfulneſs and Affection to his Service. Nor had he, for this laſt Year, any worthy Counſellor about his Perſon, fit to be us'd or truſted in theſe hazardous Times; and then again he had been too backward in the preferring the chief Leaders in the Houſe, who being then fill'd with Expectations as well as back'd by Intereſt, might have been of infinite Service to him. However, to retrieve as much as he cou'd, having diſcharg'd Sir *Henry Vane* from being Secretary and Treaſurer of the Houſhold, he at laſt made Choice of a Triumvirat of extraordinary Men, the Lord *Falkland*, Sir *John Colepeper*, and Mr. *Edward Hyde*, all three Members of the Houſe of Commons, frequent Speakers, without any Relation to the Court, and generally luke-warm as to the King's Intereſt. Theſe for ſome Time lay hid, and were not diſcern'd; and their Advices and Pens were moſt us'd upon emergent and important Diſputes between the King and the two Houſes. But now they came to be more publickly known, and implacably envy'd by the prevailing Party; for the Lord *Falkland* was made Secretary of State, Sir *John Colepeper* made Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and Mr. *Hyde* had ſuch Preferment promis'd to him, as ſhou'd be worthy of his Acceptance.

The King chuſes a new Counſel, conſiſting of

The Lord Falkland.

Every one of theſe Perſons had ſome Excellencies, diſtinct from the other two: The Lord *Falkland*, a noble Gentleman of thirty two Years of Age, was wonderfully belov'd by all that knew him, a Man of prodigious natural Parts, of an immenſe Wit and Judgment, and an admirable Memory, that retain'd all it read or heard; all which he as rhetorically ſet forth upon every Occaſion. He was ſuperior to all thoſe Paſſions and Affections which attend vulgar Minds, and was guilty of no other Ambition than that of Knowledge and Learning, of which he was a compleat Maſter, and to which he was a glorious Benefactor. Yet he was ſomewhat Hypochondriack in his Temper; therefore Men of Buſineſs often found that in him, which they did not practiſe themſelves, nor perhaps would not, if they cou'd have imitated him. But that which made all lovely and engaging was his great Humility and Goodneſs, and what crown'd all his Excellencies was his unqueſtionable Probity and Sincerity. This made him ſometime doubtful, and indeed ſcrupulous, whether he ſhou'd accept of this high Office from the King, being apprehenſive both of the Duty of his Place, and the Expectations of the Court. However this had ſtill ſuch an Effect upon his Conſcience, that he never cou'd comply with two Cuſtoms common to his Office, the uſual Way of employing Spies, and the opening of other Mens Letters; one he thought to be againſt *Juſtice*, and the other againſt *Humanity*.

Sir John Colepeper,

Sir *John Colepeper* was Knight of the Shire for *Kent*, and a Perſon of unblemiſh'd Reputation and known Abilities, whoſe Education and Converſe in the World had been in part military, which hinder'd him from being ſo excellent in polite Acquiſitions. And tho' he was inferior to the laſt in point of Learning, he had as great a Memory; and having an univerſal Underſtanding, and a quick Conception, the Warmth of his Fancy gave him a very ready Elocution, ſo that he had the Name of an excellent Speaker. He commonly ſpoke at the Concluſion of a Debate, and has been often heard to enumerate the ſeveral Opinions of at leaſt ten Perſons, in order as they ſpoke, and diſtinctly and methodically anſwer every one; ſo that no Man more gather'd a general Concurrence to his Opinion than he: Which was the more remarkable, becauſe his Perſon, and Manner of ſpeaking were not very taking; ſo that he prevail'd purely by the Strength of his Reaſon, inforc'd with a ſufficient Confidence. Yet his Apprehenſion was judg'd better than his Reſolution; and he commonly ſhew'd an Eagerneſs and Fervency in his Temper, that render'd him leſs ſociable and gracious than his two Collegues.

Mr. Edward Hyde,

Mr. *Edward Hyde* was of a ſprightly and agreeable Converſation, of an extraordinary Induſtry and Activity, and of a great Confidence; which, as Sir *Philip Warwick* obſerves, made him ſoon at home at a Court. His natural Parts were very forward and ſound, his Learning very good and competent, and he had a Felicity both of Tongue and Pen; all which made him readily hearken'd to, and much approv'd: And having ſpent much of his Studies in the Law, his Diſcourſe and Writings became more ſignificant; and his very Stile and Language were very ſuitable to Buſineſs, but ſtill thought a little too diffus'd and redundant. So it was afterwards known, that tho' there was always a Concurrence of the Judgments of his two Collegues, that it was his Pen that was principally employ'd. Hence it was that the King's *Propoſitions*, *Meſſages*, *Replies* and *Declarations* were ſo well anſwering to the Rules of the Houſe, and the Nature of the Subject, and ſo found much better Acceptance with the World, than thoſe of the Houſe of Commons. This for a Time was very advantageous to his Majeſty's Service; for it drew the Curtain, and publickly expos'd the Deceitfulneſs and unwarrantable Deſigns of the Parliament Projectors, and the Reaſonableneſs of the King's Propoſitions. Yet a wiſe Lord, who had a great Influence on them all, often complain'd, *That their Wit and Elegancy, which was very delightful, would not long laſt uſeful*; ſince Conteſts between a King and his Parliament cou'd not be ſeparated from the ill Conſequences that attended the reſt of the Subjects; and that the ſeeing ſuch Things treated with Elegancy and Irony, wou'd rather beget a Perverſeneſs than a Complacency in the People; therefore he was wont to ſay, *Our fine Pen will hurt us.* He had certainly a great Inſight into Human Nature and Policy; and not long after his Reception at Court, he ſet about that famous *Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in* England, &c. which has ſo nobly diſplay'd the conſummate Abilities of this Perſon.

Theſe eminent Perſons, tho' they were great Maſters of Reaſon, yet cou'd not pretend much to Experience; for they were to underſtand a Court, a Camp, and a Council-Board, all at the ſame Time. So that being to pilot a Ship through a tempeſtuous Sea, they never yet ventur'd on, it is rather to be wonder'd that they did ſo well, than that they made ſome Errors, as Sir *P. Warwick* obſerves. But the Lord *Clarendon* diſcovers the Matter further, and tells us That the King had made a Reſolution to be ſolely advis'd by theſe Three in Parliamentary Affairs, but in a few Days fatally ſwerv'd from it. Without naming the Queen, he intimates that this proceeded from the Lord *Digby*, who had a large Share of the King's Favour, and had been particularly inſtrumental in the Promotion of theſe three Perſons; therefore is here to be Characteriz'd as a fourth Man, who in many Caſes govern'd all Things.

And the Lord Digby.

George, Lord *Digby*, was eldeſt Son to the preſent Earl of *Briſtol*, who having been expell'd the Houſe of Commons, was call'd by the King's Writ into the Upper Houſe. He was a Man of very extraordinary Parts by Nature and Art, and of an Education as accompliſh'd as any Perſon in that Age; a gallant and beautiful Perſon, of great Eloquence and Gracefulneſs in his Diſcourſe, tho' with ſome little Affectation, and of ſo univerſal a Knowledge, that he never wanted Subject for Converſation. He was heroically brave and enterpriſing, and equal for the moſt part to the greateſt Affairs, but at the ſame time the unfitteſt Man to conduct them, being hurry'd on by a ſuperior Ambition and Vanity, and a Confidence in Himſelf, which ſometimes intoxicated, tranſported and expos'd him. He much affected Aſtrology, and his fatal Infirmity was, that he too often thought difficult Things very eaſy, and had ſo much of the Romantick Spirit, and of ſuch ſuperfine Policies, that all his ſhining Excellencies cou'd ſeldom make him proſperous either to Himſelf or his Maſter; and to him was apply'd the Obſervation, *That there are ſome Things, which have more Wonder in them, than Worth.* By this unhappy Compoſition he often involv'd himſelf in unſucceſsful Deſigns; and the King himſelf was moſt unfit to be ſerv'd by ſuch a Counſellor, being too eaſily inclin'd to ſudden Enterpriſes, and as eaſily ſtartled, when once attempted. So that ſometimes unhappy Counſels were propos'd, and Reſolutions taken, without any Communication with either of the Three, who had been ſo lately admitted to an entire Truſt.

Promotions in the Church.

Beſides theſe Promotions in the State, the King made ſome others in the Church about the ſame Time. Dr. *Williams*, the late Popular Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was tranſlated to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, with Leave to hold his Deanery of *Weſtminſter* three Years in *Commendam*, and Dr. *Winniff*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s ſucceeded him in the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*. Dr. *Duppa*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, was tranſlated to *Salisbury*; and Dr. *King*, Dean of *Rocheſter*, preferr'd to *Chicheſter*: Dr. *Hall*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, was tranſlated to *Norwich*; and Dr. *Brownrigg*, Maſter of *Katharine-Hall* in *Cambridge*, promoted to *Exeter*: Dr. *Skinner*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, was remov'd to *Oxford*; and Dr. *Weſtfield* of Great *St. Bartholomew's*, *London*, advanc'd to *Briſtol*: Dr. *Prideaux*, the King's Profeſſor of Divinity in *Oxford*, was preferr'd to the See of *Worceſter*; and that of *Carliſle* was given in *Commendam* to Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* the Primate of *Ireland*, during the Troubles in that Kingdom. Theſe were all Men of great Note and Eminency in the Church, frequent Preachers, and for the moſt part noted for being *Anti-Arminians*; which was a Character then not only popular, but gracious to the Leaders in the Houſe of Commons. But notwithſtanding the Merits of the Perſons, the Promotions were ſo little pleaſing in that Place, that they ſerv'd more to encreaſe their Fury, and to haſten the Overthrow of Epiſcopacy.

3. In the mean Time the Houſe of Commons proceeded with their uſual Fervour, and ſhew'd themſelves diſſatisfy'd with every Thing that was done. The Lord-Mayor's great Entertainment of the Court had given them new Diſquiets; but they were more diſoblig'd, when immediately after, the King commanded the Guards, that had attended the Houſe in his Abſence, to be diſcharg'd. This particularly diſguſted thoſe Members who thought it a piece of State, and pretended it to be a needful Security; ſo that the Commons petition'd the King to continue them, but two Days after his Return. To which, when the King anſwer'd, 'That he wou'd order ſome Train-Bands to 'wait for a few Days, tho' he knew no Cauſe they had of 'Fears, and it was a great Trouble to his Subjects to perform that Service, and gave ſtrange Apprehenſions and 'Jealouſies to the People;' they were by no means ſatisfy'd with a Guard of the King's Diſpoſal. Therefore they appointed a Committee to draw up Reaſons for one of their own, and deſir'd ſuch a Guard might be under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, in whom they cou'd confide; which indeed foreboded the raiſing of an Army, and the chuſing of their own General.

The Parliament Guards diſcharg'd.

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

To qualify the encreaſing Heats, ſeven Days after his Return, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, where the Speaker of the Commons preſenting him with a Bill for a further Continuation of *Tonnage and Poundage*, with a very complimenting Oration, his Majeſty told them in a Speech to both Houſes, 'That tho' his Stay had been longer than he expected, yet he had made all the Haſte that 'the Settlement of the *Scotch* Affairs would admit; in which 'he had ſuch good Succeſs, that he cou'd confidently 'affirm to them, *That he had left that Nation a moſt peaceable and contented People.* That, having before his Journey ſettled the Liberties of his Subjects, and given the 'Laws a free and orderly Courſe, he expected at his Return to have found his People reaping the Fruits of them, 'by living in Quietneſs and Satisfaction; but inſtead of 'that, he found them diſturb'd with Jealouſies, Frights 'and Allarms of *dangerous Deſigns and Plots*, and Guards 'ſet to defend both Houſes: Which he ſaid not, as doubting the leſſening of his Subjects Affections in his Abſence, for with great Comfort he remember'd The joyful Reception he found at his Entry into *London*; but rather, becauſe his Preſence wou'd diſperſe thoſe Fears, 'having a perfect and true Affection to his People, as ever 'any Prince had, or as good Subjects cou'd poſſibly deſire. 'And he was ſo far from *Repenting* of any Act paſs'd this 'Parliament, for the Good of his People, that he proteſted, if it were to do again, he wou'd do it; and wou'd yet grant what further cou'd be juſtly deſir'd in Point of Liberty, or Religion. Then he recommended to them the Buſineſs of *Ireland*, and concluded all with a Declaration of his ſeeking his People's Happineſs; *for their Flouriſhing was his greateſt Glory, and their Affections his greateſt Strength.*

The Remonſtrance preſented, with a Petition.

This healing and qualifying Speech had little or no Effect upon the Houſe of Commons, who but the Night before had preſented him with their grand *Remonſtrance*, formerly mention'd, together with a Petition, in which among numerous Complaints, they eſpecially deſir'd three Things. ‘First, That his Majeſty wou'd deprive the Biſhops of their Votes, and abridge the immoderate Power of the Clergy, *&c.* Secondly, That he wou'd remove all evil Counſellors, and employ only ſuch as his Parliament might have Cauſe to confide in; And laſtly, That he wou'd forbear to alienate any of the forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland*, which might accrew to the Crown by reaſon of this Rebellion. If all which were perform'd, they promis'd to ſupport his Royal Eſtate *with Honour and Plenty at home, and with Power and Reputation abroad.*' This with the *Remonſtrance* was preſented on the firſt Day of *December*; and ſhortly after both Petition and Remonſtrance were by Order printed, and with great Induſtry publiſh'd throughout the Kingdom: Tho' the King courteouſly deſir'd them not to publiſh either, till he ſhou'd ſend his Anſwer, which he did ſoon after; firſt to their Petition, in which he declar'd

The King's Anſwer,

‘Himſelf ſenſible of the Diſreſpect in printing the *Remonſtrance*, but for the main Particulars of their Petition, he deſir'd them to conſider That the Biſhops Rights were grounded upon the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and Conſtitution of Parliaments. As to evil Counſellors, he deſir'd them to name the Perſons, produce Proofs againſt them, and to forbear general Aſperſions: Then as to the *Iriſh* Lands, he ask'd them, Whether it was ſeaſonable to declare Reſolutions of that Nature, before the Events of War be ſeen; concluding with his Thanks for their Care of that Kingdom, and their ſeveral great Promiſes.

And Declaration.

This Anſwer made no Impreſſion upon them, but they proceeded in their accuſtomed Manner, uſing many private Methods of vilifying the Court, and making many dark Glances with Relation to the *Iriſh* Rebellion; all which increas'd the daily ſpreading of the fatal *Remonſtrance*. Therefore as a Preſervative againſt the Virulence and Infection of that Paper, which now began to inflame the Nation, the King publiſh'd a *ſolemn Declaration* to all his loving Subjects, in which, without the leaſt Sharpneſs and Return of the Language he had receiv'd, ‘He anſwer'd to all the Fears and Jealouſies that had made Impreſſion on the Minds of the People, with Reference to their Religion, their Liberties, or their Civil Properties. He declar'd his inviolable Steadineſs as to Religion, in Oppoſition to Popery, and was willing to make Allowances to Diſſenters of tender Conſciences: He mention'd the numerous Conceſſions he had made, and the gracious Acts he had paſs'd, for the Redreſs of all Sorts of Grievances, real or imaginary: He inſiſted how ready he had been to give up all ill Miniſters, that he had protected no one Perſon againſt whom the Parliament had excepted, nor promoted any this Seſſion, but what were in particular Eſtimation with the People: He promis'd to comply with any Thing that cou'd reaſonably be demanded by his Subjects; and particularly lamented the miſerable Condition of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland:* And concluded with conjuring all his good Subjects, by all the Bonds of Love, Duty and Obedience, *to joyn with him in the Recovery of the Peace of that Kingdom, and the Preſervation of the Peace of This.*' All which may be ſeen at large in *Husband*'s and *Nalſon*'s Collections, and in a great Meaſure in the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory; but is no where to be found in *Ruſhworth.*

The Preſſing Bill promoted.

4. In the mean Time Letters came daily from *Ireland*, preſſing for Relief of Men, Mony and Proviſions, which were not haſtned equal to Mens Expectations, tho' it had been more than once recommended by the King to both Houſes. The ſlow raiſing of Men was imputed to the Difficulty of getting Volunteers; and therefore a Bill was prepar'd for Preſſing, which ſoon paſs'd the Houſe, and was ſent up to the Lords. It was hardly to be imagin'd, that Men cou'd be wanting within three Months after the Army was disbanded in the *North*; but their Buſineſs was to get Power, not to raiſe Men; and therefore they made uſe of the Stratagem, to transfer the Power of preſſing Men from the King to Themſelves: For in the Preamble of this Bill they declar'd, ‘That the King cou'd in no Caſe, but upon an Invaſion from a Foreign Power, preſs a Free-born Subject.' This was an unknown Doctrine to the Lords, and ſeem'd much to derogate from that Royal Power, which was neceſſary to preſerve his Subjects, or aſſiſt his Allies; and therefore the Attorney-General now took the Courage to deſire of the Lords, ‘That he might be heard on the King's Behalf, before they conſented to a Clauſe ſo prejudicial to his Prerogative.' This reaſonable Stop put an unreaſonable one upon the Affairs of *Ireland:* The Commons order'd their Committee to meet no more about that Buſineſs, and declar'd, ‘That the Loſs of *Ireland* muſt be imputed to the Lords; who were too ſenſible of the Inconveniences that aroſe by their former Compliance, to be enſnared by the ſame Arguments.

Mr. St. John's Cunning.

Still new Intelligence came from *Ireland*, deploring the miſerable State of the Proteſtants, who having undergone all kinds of Torments and Calamities, came over in vaſt Numbers into *England*, in a wretched ſtarving Condition. In this Strait they knew not how to proceed, for whatever Speeches they made concerning the Lords, it was manifeſt they wou'd bear the whole Reproach: Beſides, the King might from hence take Occaſion to remove the Buſineſs out of their Hands, and manage it himſelf by his Council, which wou'd prejudice their Reputation and Intereſt, and very much embaraſs their Projections. To remedy which, the Subtle Mr. *St. John* went privately to his Majeſty, and declar'd, ‘How much he was troubled at the Interruption given by the Commons, who unreaſonably inſiſted upon a Preamble ſo prejudicial to his Royal Prerogative. That it wou'd be very happy, if an Expedient cou'd be found out to remove that Impediment, ſo fatal to the *Iriſh* Affairs;' and adviſ'd his Majeſty to come to the Houſes, and expreſs his Princely Zeal for the Relief of *Ireland*, and then taking Notice of the Preſſing Bill depending, to offer, ‘That the Bill, to avoid further Diſputes, might paſs with a *Salvo Jure* to the King and People, referring ſuch Diſputes to Times that cou'd better bear them.' This Advice was follow'd by the King, in a ſhort Speech made on the fourteenth of *December*; which effectually gain'd their Point, which theſe Leaders cou'd hardly have compaſs'd any other Way. For now the divided Lords and Commons immediately united in a Petition to the King, in which they complain'd of a Violation of their Privileges, and declar'd, ‘That it was their ancient and undoubted Right, That his Majeſty ought not to take notice of any Matter depending in either Houſe, but by their Information and Agreement, or to declare his Approbation or Diſlike of any Thing, till in due Courſe it be preſented to him: They declar'd againſt his Majeſty's late Speech, and humbly beſought him, he wou'd not for the future break in, or interrupt them, but wou'd *declare the Name of ſuch Perſon, by whoſe Miſinformation he was induc'd to it, that he might be puniſh'd as he deſerv'd*; which they thought the ſureſt Way to procure and confirm a Confidence and Unity between Him and his People.

The Bill paſs'd.

After this they no more conſider'd *Ireland*, till this manifeſt Breach ſhou'd be repair'd, namely by paſſing the Bill; and therefore when the King, by the Earl of *Eſſex*, offer'd to raiſe by Commiſſions ten thouſand Volunteers for the Service of *Ireland*, ‘Provided the Houſe wou'd declare, That they wou'd pay them;' the Propoſal was wholly rejected. For they were both unwilling ſuch a Number of Men ſhou'd be rais'd by the King's Direction, fearing they might prove too much at his Devotion; and that any Method ſhou'd be purſu'd than what they propos'd Themſelves. So that at length, after the Intervention of ſeveral other Matters hereafter to be mention'd, the King conſented to paſs the Bill, with that remarkable one againſt the Biſhops Votes in Parliament.

The Militia Bill brought in.

5. This Preſſing-Bill prov'd a great Step to another of ſtill greater Conſequence, namely that for ſettling the Power of the Militia in the Hands of proper Perſons. All which was chiefly manag'd by the Artifices of Mr. *St. John*, who, notwithſtanding his Oaths as Solicitor-General, declar'd, ‘That the Power of the Militia was not inveſted in the King; and accordingly he brought in a Bill with ſeveral Blanks for Commiſſioners Names. And when it was by ſome alledg'd, ‘That by this all Power wou'd be taken from the Crown,' he in a cunning Speech inſinuated, ‘That the Bill took no Power from any One who had it, but provided to give a Power were it was not; which, as far as he knew, might fall to the King's Share, *and he hop'd it wou'd be ſo.*' With this Anſwer the Bill was receiv'd, notwithſtanding all Oppoſition, and once read; which was all that the Contrivers at preſent deſir'd, leaving the Completion of it to a more favourable Opportunity.

Agreeable to this new Opinion, the Commons took great Offence at the King's Removal of their ſure Friend Sir *William Balfour* from being Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and putting in Colonel *Lundsford* to that important Truſt. Tho' the King by Way of Recompence had given Sir *William* three thouſand Pounds, rais'd by the Sale of ſome of the Queen's own Jewels, yet that wou'd not ſatisfy: For

The Commons deſire the Lieutenancy of the Tower.

the Majority of the Commons were afraid of Sir *Thomas Lundſford*, and drew up Reaſons of his being unfit for that Place, and wou'd recommend Sir *John Coniers* to it. The Lords refus'd to joyn in any ſuch Addreſs, declaring it 'To be an Intrenchment upon his Majeſty's Prerogative.' Upon which the Commons made a ſeparate Declaration of Colonel *Lundſford*'s 'being unfit to be Lieutenant of 'the *Tower*, as being a Perſon whom the Commons of '*England* cou'd not confide in;' and enter'd a Proteſtation againſt the Lords Refuſal to joyn with them. After which they ſent two of their own Members to the Earl of *Newport*, Conſtable of the *Tower*, to deſire him to reſide there, and take Cuſtody of it, and encourag'd and read in their Houſe a Petition of ſome of the Common-Council, and other Citizens, for the Security of the *Tower*, and let the Lord-Mayor acquaint the King, That there wou'd be an Inſurrection of the Apprentices of *London*, if Colonel *Lundſford* was not remov'd. So that, after three Days Continuance, upon *December* the twenty ſixth the King was forc'd to diſplace him; giving the Poſt to Sir *John Byron*, a Perſon not pleaſing, becauſe not recommended. However it gave ſome Satisfaction, to find the King's Counſels ſo ill fix'd, as to be made alterable by their Clamours.

The Apprentices Petition.

New Tumults.

At the ſame Time an unuſual Petition was preſented and read in the Houſe of Commons, in the Name of *the Apprentices, and others, whoſe Times are lately expir'd in and about the City of* London, directed to the King and both Houſes of Parliament; in which they complain'd of 'Great Miſchiefs coming upon them, occaſion'd by the '*Papiſts*, *Prelates*, and their Party; and notwithſtanding 'the unweary'd Endeavours of the Houſe of Commons, 'deſperate Men had been incourag'd to plot againſt the 'Peace and Safety of the Kingdom; witneſs the unheard 'of Cruelties acted by the *Papiſts* in *Ireland*; therefore 'they deſir'd that Care might be taken of all eminent *Papiſts*, the Laws againſt *Jeſuits* put in Execution, and 'that *Prelacy* might be rooted up, *&c.*' This, and other like Papers being printed and diſpers'd, and the Multitude incourag'd by Dr. *Burgeſs* and other furious Teachers, the former Methods of Tumults were ſpirited up; and great Numbers of the meaner ſort of People gather'd about the Houſe of Peers, roaring out, *No Biſhops! no Popiſh Lords!* affronting, and calling ſuch as they did not like, by the Name of *Rotten-hearted Lords*; being now further diſoblig'd at the King's Removal of the Earl of *Newport* from being Conſtable of the *Tower*. Hereupon the Houſe of Peers, at a free Conference with the Commons, complain'd of thoſe Tumults, alledging, 'Such 'Diſorders wou'd make their Freedom queſtionable, and 'caſt a Blemiſh upon thoſe good Laws already made, and 'prevent making any more; therefore deſir'd they wou'd 'joyn with them in a Declaration for ſuppreſſing ſuch 'Riots.' This Conference was no ſooner reported than laid aſide by the Commons, *for handling of Matters of more weighty Concern.*

They are encourag'd by the Commons.

The Inſolences of theſe Tumults increas'd after a dangerous Manner; and when many diſſolute profane People, who had broke into *Weſtminſter* Abby, and wou'd have pull'd down the Organs, and ſome Ornaments of the Church, were repell'd by the Dean and others, they threaten'd, *They wou'd come in greater Numbers, and pull down the Church it ſelf.* Which caus'd the Lords again to ſend to the Commons, and to deſire a Concurrence in the Declaration; but the Conference cou'd not be obtain'd, the Debate being ſtill adjourn'd to ſome other Time, after ſeveral Speeches to juſtify and commend the Peoples Affections: In which ſome declar'd *They wou'd not diſcourage their Friends, for this was a Time they muſt make uſe of all Friends*; and Mr. *Pym* himſelf ſaid, *God forbid they ſhou'd by any Means diſhearten People from obtaining their juſt Deſires in ſuch a Way.* Upon this, the Lords requir'd the Advice of the Judges, What Courſe they might lawfully take to ſuppreſs theſe Tumults; and thereupon directed the Lord-Keeper to iſſue out a Writ upon the Statute of *Northampton* to the Sheriff and Juſtices, to ſet a ſtrong Watch in ſuch Places as they judg'd moſt convenient, to hinder that riotous Conflux of People to *Weſtminſter* to the Diſturbance of their Conſultations. In Obedience to which, the Juſtices of the Peace appointed Conſtables to ſtand at the Waterſide, and other Places, with a ſtrong Watch, to prevent that tumultuous Reſort. But this was no ſooner effected, than the Conſtables were ſent for by the Houſe of Commons, who examining their Warrants, requir'd them to diſcharge their Watches. And tho' it appear'd that what was done was in purſuance of a legal Writ under the great Seal; without conferring with the Lords about it, they voted the ſetting ſuch a Watch *A Breach of Privilege*; and one of the Juſtices, who according to his Oath had executed that Writ, was for that Offence ſent to the *Tower*.

They encreaſe.

Upon this publick Encouragement all the factious turbulent People about the Town aſſembled themſelves by the Sound of a Bell, or ſome other Token, as well by Night as Day, in the Fields or ſome other proper Place, to conſult and be directed by thoſe who had the Diſpoſal of them. And a Meeting of this Nature being held in *Southwark*, in a Place where their Arms and Magazine was kept, the Conſtable, a Man of Sobriety and an Enemy to ſuch ſeditious Acts, went in amongſt them to obſerve their Motions; but he was no ſooner diſcover'd, but he was reproach'd, beaten and dragg'd, in ſuch a barbarous Manner, that he hardly eſcap'd with Life. Of this Complaint was ſolemnly made to the next Juſtice of the Peace; whereupon the Sheriff was directed by Writ to impanel a lawful Jury to enquire into that dangerous Riot. But this was reſented by the Commons as an Act that infring'd their Privileges: For it was by the Leaders alledg'd, 'That the 'Meeting was made by godly and well-affected Perſons, 'with no other Deſign but to prepare a Petition againſt 'Biſhops; and that the Conſtable, who was a Friend to 'Biſhops, came in to hinder a Subſcription to ſo *wholeſome* '*a Petition.*' Upon this the Houſe order'd an Injunction to the Under-Sheriff of *Surrey*, 'Not to ſuffer any 'Proceedings to be made upon any Inquiſition, in 'which any Perſons were concern'd, who met together to ſubſcribe a Petition to be preſented to their 'Houſe.

Their Inſolence.

Thus all the Barriers of the Law were thrown down, and the *Chriſtmas* Holy-Days giving ſtill more Licence to the People, the Conflux grew more numerous about *Weſtminſter*; the Mob ſometimes in their Paſſage making a Stand before *White-hall*, where beſides the uſual Outcry of *No Biſhops! No Popiſh Lords!* wou'd call out, *We will have no more Porter's-Lodge, we will ſpeak with the King when we pleaſe.* Coming near the two Houſes, they pull'd Papers out of their Pockets, and getting ſome convenient Place, read the Names of ſeveral Perſons aloud, calling them *Diſſaffected Members of the Houſe of Commons*, and many of the Peers, *Falſe, evil and rotten-hearted Lords.* They threatned to pull down the Lodgings where the Biſhops lay; attempted to force the Doors of the Abby, where a ſtrong Guard was conſtantly kept, and inſulted the Perſons of ſome Biſhops in their Coaches: And had not the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who had been reckon'd a Favourer of their Party, met with a ſeaſonable Reſcue, it is probable they wou'd have murder'd him. So that all the Biſhops, and ſeveral Members of both Houſes, from this Time withdrew from their Attendance in Parliament, out of a real Apprehenſion of endangering their Lives. Beſides the ſeditious Dr. *Burgeſs*, Captain *Ven*, a Member of Parliament for the City of *London*, who had been a Ringleader in the Mob againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, was a great Promoter and Incourager of theſe Tumults; and when thus much was offer'd to be prov'd in the Houſe, and that he had us'd this Method *for fear the worſer Party ſhou'd get the better of the good Party*, the Parties were appointed to attend many Days, and never admitted to be heard.

From hence began the Terms of Cavalier and Roundhead.

The King, according to the City's Petition, kept his *Chriſtmas* at *White-hall*, where, beſides the uſual Retinue, many Officers of the late Army, who waited for their Arrears and ſome Employment in the *Iriſh* War, upon ſeeing the Inſolence of the Multitude, and the Danger threatning the Court, offer'd their Service as a Guard to his Majeſty's Perſon, and were entertain'd with more Ceremony, than was thought ſeaſonable for all the preſent Diſtempers. Theſe Officers, provok'd at the ſeveral Inſults of the vile Crew, treated them firſt with Words of great Contempt, which being return'd with equal Scorn, Blows were faſtned upon ſome of the moſt Pragmatical, which produc'd ſome ſlight Cuts, and a little Blood. Among the Words that were then thrown about, a Reformade, call'd *David Hide*, cry'd, He wou'd cut the Throats of thoſe *Round-headed Dogs that bawl'd againſt Biſhops*: From whence began the Terms of *Roundheads* and *Cavaliers*, which afterwards ſerv'd to diſtinguiſh the two Parties; the former being a contemptible Foot-Rabble, and the latter the King's Houſe-Officers. This was look'd upon by the Commons like a Levying of War by the King, and they took all care to aggravate the poor People's Sufferings that came with their Petitions; and afterwards it was repreſented as a juſt Judgment upon the King, to have his Scaffold plac'd on the ſame Spot where the firſt Blood was drawn in this Conteſt. Some briſk Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court* did alſo offer their Service to guard his Majeſty, but were only civilly receiv'd and diſmiſs'd. This, with the other, caus'd the Commons to call more loudly for a Guard for themſelves under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*; and in the mean Time they order'd the Bailiff, and other Officers of *Weſtminſter* to ſet a double Watch and Guard upon the twenty ninth of *December* at Night. And to improve and ſecond this Invention, ſome of their cunning

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Agents made hideous Out-cries in the City, *That all People ſhou'd riſe for their Defence, for the King and the Papiſts were coming to fire the City, and cut their Throats.* Which prodigious Report, back'd with the ſuſpicious Orders of the Commons, ſo inflam'd the People for want of Sleep and cool Thoughts, that theſe imaginary Dangers wrought them up to the ſame Height of Frenzy, that the moſt real Miſchiefs cou'd have effected.

The Biſhops Proteſtation.

6. During the Height of theſe Tumults, the Biſhops finding themſelves driven from the Parliament, and in Danger even of their Lives, twelve of them met at the Lodgings of the Archbiſhop of *York*; where conſulting how to preſerve their ancient Rights, the Archbiſhop drew up a *Petition and Proteſtation*, which he declar'd to be agreeable with former Precedents. It was directed to the King and the Lords aſſembled in Parliament, and the Subſtance was to 'Declare and Proteſt againſt all 'Laws, Orders, Votes and Determinations, as in them'ſelves void and of none Effect, which in their Abſence, 'ſince the twenty-ſeventh Inſtant, have already paſs'd; as 'likewiſe againſt all ſuch, as ſhall hereafter paſs, during 'the Time of their forc'd and violent Abſence from the 'ſaid honourable Houſe.' Subſcrib'd *York*, *Durham*, *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, *Norwich*, *St. Aſaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Hereford*, *Oxford*, *Ely*, *Glloceſter*, *Peterborough* and *Llandaff*. This Paper was put into the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*'s Hands, to be us'd with Tenderneſs and Caution, and not to be read, till his Majeſty, by the Invitation of the Biſhops, ſhou'd ſit with the Peers in the Houſe, and then to read it in the Audience of the King and the Lords, and not before. But the Lord-Keeper, willing to take the Advantage of ingratiating himſelf to the prevailing Faction, to which he knew himſelf ſufficiently obnoxious, and finding what Uſe might be made of it by prejudic'd Minds, read the ſame openly in the Houſe of Lords: And when he found ſome of the Party apprehenſive enough of Miſconſtruction, he aggravated the Matter as highly offenſive, and of dangerous Conſequence. Therefore, not without great Heat and Vehemence, and with an ill Preface, it was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons; ſome of the Lords ſaying, *The Hand of God now appear'd in bringing that to paſs, which otherwiſe they never cou'd have effected.*

They are impeach'd of High-Treaſon,

And ſent to the Tower.

The Commons entertain'd it very heinouſly, and were very quick in their Reſolutions; Mr. *Glynne* loudly exclaim'd againſt it, and cry'd, *It was no leſs than High-Treaſon!* and ſome compar'd it, and even preferr'd it to the Powder-Plot. One indeed was willing to clear the Biſhops from *Treaſon* and the *Tower*, but thought *they were ſtark mad, and ought to be ſent to* Bedlam. Another, who had great Influence, after the Debate was over, declar'd, *They might with as much Reaſon be charg'd with Adultery.* But the preſent Fury of the Houſe ran ſo high, that within half an Hour's Conſideration, the ſaid twelve Biſhops were impeach'd by the Commons of *England* of High-Treaſon. The Uſher of the *Black-Rod* was commanded to find them out, and bring them to the Bar of the Houſe of Peers, which by reaſon of their different Lodgings cou'd not be effected till eight at Night, when being brought together, their Crime was ſignify'd to them, and an Order made for their Commitment to the *Tower*; only *Durham* and *Litchfield*, by reaſon of their Age and Infirmities, found the Favour to continue with the *Black-Rod*. This was done upon the 30th of *December*, with great Triumph of Bells and Bonfires; and they remain'd in Cuſtody, till after the Bill to deſtroy their Votes in Parliament was paſs'd, which was not till ſome Months after. Here the two Archbiſhops were reconcil'd, but not ſuffer'd to ſee each other; and here the Biſhops by Turns preach'd every *Sunday* to a large Auditory of Citizens, till the Time of their Enlargement. Their Commitment was ſucceeded by a greater Number of Libels, Ballads, and ſcandalous Papers than ever had been known before, which were thrown about and diſpers'd by all the Methods that ill Manners and ill Nature cou'd invent.

The Commons cenſur'd.

Yet the King receiv'd no great Prejudice from this high exorbitant Way of proceeding; for tho' it made the Guilty dread their Tribunal, yet it very much leſſen'd that Reſpect and Veneration that had formerly been entertain'd for Parliaments; and this laſt Action, relating to the Biſhops, being ſo very extraordinary, gave great Scandal to all ſober unprejudic'd Perſons. For tho' the thing it ſelf might be an Act of Indiſcretion, ſome Expreſſions in it unskilful and unwarrantable, and the Method of preſenting it irregular, for which they or the Lord-Keeper were anſwerable to the Peers; yet every one knew there cou'd be no ſuch thing as *Treaſon* in it; and therefore the End of the Commitment, and the Uſe all perceiv'd they deſign'd to draw from it, render'd it the more odious: And by this Means, the abſent Members of both Houſes, which were three Parts in four, and many of thoſe who had been preſent, abhorr'd their Proceedings, and became more diligent in their Attendance. And indeed many wiſe Men began to be highly ſcandaliz'd to ſee his Majeſty ſo ill us'd by his own Servants, and thoſe very Perſons he had oblig'd with ſo much Bounty and Munificence; and to ſee how much Ambition and private Intereſt was cover'd under publick Pretences. Thoſe who were truly zealous for the Preſervation of the Laws, Religion, and Intereſt of the Nation, were as careful to preſerve the Royal Honour and Dignity: So that That which was call'd the *King's Party* in both Houſes, really conſiſted of ſuch as were Strangers to the Court, and were Men of the beſt Fortunes and Reputation in their ſeveral Counties; having been always very zealous in the Preſervation of their juſt Rights, and, as much as they cou'd, oppos'd all illegal Impoſitions. While the King's own Privy-Counſellors, excepting a very few, and almoſt all his own Servants, that had long been under him, either oppos'd him in Publick, or privately betray'd him.

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The Death of Bp. Davenant,

Bp. Montague,

Bp. Thornborough,

Judge Crook,

Sir Henry Spelman.

Sir Henry Marten,

Mr. Burhill,

Mr. Eaton,

Thus ended the old Year 1641, for a Concluſion of which, we ſhall relax the Reader's Thoughts with an Account of the Deaths of ſome eminent Men, who were ſo happy as to ſee none of the approaching Miſeries; and theſe were three Biſhops, one Judge, two Knights, and two Divines. The Biſhops were, Firſt Dr. *John Davenant*, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, a celebrated *Anti-Arminian*, who had formerly been *Margaret*-Profeſſor of Divinity, and Maſter of *Queen's* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and after that ſelected by King *James* to go over to the Synod of *Dort*; and laſt of all for his ſound Learning, deep Divinity, and unblemiſh'd Life, he was juſtly preferr'd to the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury*; where, after twenty Years Poſſeſſion, he ended his Days in Peace and Honour. The next was Dr. *Richard Montague*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, one of the *Arminian* Party, whom formerly we have more than once mention'd, a Perſon of vaſt and general Learning, who in King *James*'s Reign had defeated the then thought matchleſs *Selden*, in his *Hiſtory of Tythes*, by which and other Writings he gain'd great Reputation, and afterwards ſeveral Preferments, (notwithſtanding the Reſentments of the Parliament,) particularly the Biſhoprick of *Chicheſter*, and laſtly that of *Norwich*; where he ſhew'd himſelf a warm and vigorous Prelate, and a great Oppoſer of the *Puritan* Party. The third was Dr. *John Thornborough*, who had by Queen *Elizabeth* been made Biſhop of *Limerick* in *Ireland*, and afterwards by King *James* tranſlated to *Briſtol*, and laſtly to *Worceſter*, where he continu'd twenty five Years; ſufficiently noted for his Learning, Wiſdom and Courage, and other Accompliſhments, as well of a Gentleman as a Biſhop, who dy'd full of Years, the ninetieth of his Age. The Judge that dy'd was Sir *George Crook*, one of the Juſtices of the *King's-Bench*, an old and eminent Lawyer, whoſe Reports and Arguments have been highly valu'd, and his Integrity further eſteem'd for his open oppoſing the *Ship-Mony*; tho' in that great Caſe, in his Judgment for Mr. *Hampden*, he wholly diſlik'd the Man, and declar'd *he was a dangerous Perſon, and that Men had beſt take heed of him.* Notwithſtanding his Diſſent, the King retain'd a great Reſpect for him, and when he begg'd his *Quietus*, by reaſon of his great Age, he diſmiſs'd him with an Allowance of his full Revenues, and a publick and honourable Acknowledgement of his Fidelity. The two Knights were Sir *Henry Spelman*, and Sir *Henry Marten*: The former was a *Norfolk* Gentleman, who had his Education in *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and *Lincolns-Inn*, where he gain'd a thorough Knowledge of the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Kingdom, and became one of the moſt renowned Antiquaries in the Nation, as his elaborate Works teſtify: In ſum, he was highly eſteem'd, as well for his great Wiſdom and Experience in Publick Affairs, as his ſingular Learning and Piety. The latter, Sir *Henry Marten*, was a famous old Doctor of the Civil Law, who had gone through ſeveral Offices in *Doctors Commons*, till he was made Judge of the *Prerogative*; in all which Places he ſignally diſplay'd his admirable Skill in the Civil Law; for which the Wiſe and the Learned held him in particular Veneration, to the Day of his Death, which this Year hapned in the eighty firſt Year of his Age. The two Divines were Dr. *John Burhill*, and Mr. *John Eaton*, one in in *Norfolk*, and the other in *Suffolk*: The former was Rector of *Northold* in *Norfolk*, a Perſon of extraordinary Reading and profound Judgment, a great Linguiſt, and well vers'd in the Fathers and School-Men; who was highly eſteem'd by the great Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to whom he was a prime Aſſiſtant in his famous *Hiſtory of the World*. The other, Mr. *Eaton*, was Miniſter of *Wickham-Market* in *Suffolk*, and a Divine of a peculiar Mold, very Paradoxical in his Opinions, and accounted a great *Antinomian*, and one of the Founders of that Sect, for which he more than once ſuffer'd Impriſonment; but by Means of his

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Zeal, his exemplary Patience and Piety, he was exceedingly extoll'd in the Neighbourhood, and his Memory ſtrangely valu'd for many Years after his Death.

And Sir Anthony Vandyck.

Beſides theſe of our own Country, we muſt not omit a Foreigner that reſided here, namely that ſupreme Maſter of the Art of Painting, Sir *Anthony Vandyck*, whoſe inimitable Pencil has inrich'd and adorn'd the Nation with the fineſt Heads in *Europe*. He was a *Flemming* by Birth, of the City of *Antwerp*, brought up under the greateſt Maſter of the Age, Sir *Peter Paul Rubens*; and travelling through ſeveral Nations, he was entertain'd and nobly encourag'd by the *Engliſh* Court, where ſhewing the Perfection of his Art, and gaining great Riches, he dy'd in the City of *London*, about a Year after his Maſter *Rubens*, in the fifty firſt Year of his Age.

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Six Members of Parliament impeach'd of Treaſon.

V. I. The Parliament had now arriv'd to an exceeding Height of Power, under the Name of Redreſſing *Grievances* and *Reformation*, but eſpecially by the Help of unknown *Diſcoveries*, ſecret *Plots*, and ſtrange *Conſpiracies*, as well as the late *Iriſh* Rebellion and Cruelties. But their large Step towards Sovereignty, and their extravagant Proceedings, particularly this laſt relating to the Biſhops, began to ſink their Reputation; ſo that they wanted ſomething altogether *New* to ſupport their Credit, that had been rais'd by ſo many Accidents. It is juſtly believ'd that the angry Party, who were no longer appeas'd by Promiſe of Preferments, muſt have given over all further Deſigns for the Alteration of the Government in Church and State, had not the volatile and reſtleſs Spirit of the Lord *Digby* driven the King upon an unſeaſonable Enterprize, which gave them all their deſir'd Advantages. And this was at once to impeach ſix of the Heads of the Party of High-Treaſon, one Lord, and five Commoners, namely the Lord *Kimbolton*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, and Mr. *Strode*. The Charge againſt them conſiſted of ſeven Articles, the Subſtance of which was, ‘ That they had endeavour'd to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws and Govern‘ ment of the Kingdom, to deprive the King of his Regal ‘ Power, to alienate the Affections of his People, to draw ‘ the late Army to Diſobedience, and to ſubvert the very ‘ Rights and Beings of Parliament; and that they had in‘ vited and encourag'd a Foreign Power to invade this ‘ Kingdom, and had rais'd and countenanc'd Tumults, ‘ and conſequently had levy'd War againſt the King and ‘ Parliament.' As to theſe ſix Perſons, we have already given the Character of all but Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* and Mr. *Strode*. The former was a Gentleman who ſerv'd for *Leiceſterſhire*, of a very great Eſtate, of a moroſe and haughty Temper, but of no great Abilities; yet ſo much in Favour with the preſent Leaders, that in the Beginning of this Parliament, Mr. *Holford* for declaring at his Election, *They had choſen a Knight who had more Will than Wit*, was ſent for as a Delinquent; and indeed he was occaſionally us'd by the Party, like the Dove out of the Ark, to try what Footing there was to be found. Mr. *Strode* ſerv'd for a Borough in *Devonſhire*, and was one of the fierceſt Men of the Party, and of the Party only for his Fierceneſs; for which he obtain'd the Name of a *Parliament-Driver*. In ſhort, theſe two were no ways equal to the other four; and tho' their Violence and Fury was as conſpicuous and tranſcendent as any, yet their Reputation and Intereſt to carry a Cauſe, otherwiſe than in a Concurrence, was ſo ſmall, that they gain'd Credit and Authority only by their being joyn'd with the reſt, who had indeed a powerful Influence, within and without the Houſe.

The Commons Votes upon it.

The Matter being concerted, without the Knowledge of the Triumvirate, *Falkland*, *Colepepper* and *Hyde*, who ought to have been conſulted, upon the third Day of *January*, his Majeſty by Warrant commanded Sir *William Killigrew* and Sir *William Flemming* to repair to the Lodgings of the fore-mention'd Perſons, and to ſeal up their Trunks, Studies and Chambers; and likewiſe by his Attorney-General, Sir *Edward Herbert*, demanded the Delivery of the five Members of the Commons, whom, together with the Lord *Kimbolton*, he ſent a Serjeant at Arms to apprehend. The Lords were a little allarm'd, but without ſecuring the Lord *Kimbolton*, took a Day's Time to conſider of the Matter, 'till they found the Senſe of the Lower Houſe, who had now the greateſt Authority. The Commons having ſecret Intelligence, were not ſurpris'd, but had provided againſt the coming of the Serjeant by a Vote and Order, ‘ That if any Perſon what‘ ſoever ſhall come to the Lodgings of any Member of ‘ that Houſe, and offer to ſeal the Trunks, Doors, or ‘ Papers of any of them, or ſeize their Perſons; ſuch ‘ Member ſhall require the Aid of the Conſtable to keep ‘ ſuch Perſons in ſafe Cuſtody, till the Houſe ſhall give ‘ further Orders: That if any Perſon whatever ſhall ‘ offer to arreſt or detain any Member of that Houſe, it ‘ ſhould be lawful for ſuch Member to ſtand upon his ‘ Guard, and make Reſiſtance, and for any Perſon to aſ‘ ſiſt him, *According to the Proteſtation taken to defend the* ‘ *Privileges of Parliament*.' So that when the Serjeant had deliver'd his Warrant, he was no more call'd in; but a Meſſage ſent to the King, ‘ That the Members ſhou'd ‘ be forth coming, as ſoon as a legal Charge ſhou'd be ‘ preferr'd againſt them;' and Copies of the Order being given to the accus'd Perſons, the Houſe adjourn'd till the next Day.

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The King's Deſign upon the Members.

Upon this Interruption, the King was, contrary to his Inclination, put upon a further Enterprize, which caus'd infinite Damage, which was to go Himſelf in Perſon, and ſuddenly to ſurpriſe and demand the five Members in the Houſe the next Day. To this he was driven on by the Romantick Humour of the Lord *Digby*; but it ſeems the Queen her ſelf was more deeply engag'd, as it appears from a private Account given by Sir *William Cook* of *Norfolk*, from Mr. *Architel Grey*, Brother to the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*. By which we underſtand, that the King, being apprehenſive of the Hazard of the Attempt which had been agreed on at Night, went the next Morning to the Queen's Apartment, and finding the Counteſs of *Carliſle* with her Majeſty, he retir'd with her into her Cloſet, and there diſcours'd with her about the Conſequence of the Deſign, urg'd many Reaſons againſt it, and expreſs'd his Reſolution not to put it in Execution. Upon which the Queen cou'd no longer contain, but broke out into theſe angry and paſſionate Words, *Alle, Poltron, Go, pull theſe Rogues out by the Ears, or never ſee my Face more!* which it ſeems unhappily determin'd the whole Matter. All which was over-heard, and preſently diſcover'd to Mr. *Pym* by the forenam'd Counteſs, an intriguing States-Woman, who in her old Age took as much Pleaſure to diſplay her Wit, as in her Youth ſhe did to illuſtrate her Beauty. The Lord *Clarendon* ſeems not to have known the Diſcoverer of this Deſign, but rather thinks it was Mr. *Murry* of the Bed-Chamber; but, beſides this Account of Mr. *Grey*'s, Sir *Philip Warwick*, and ſeveral other Writers are pretty expreſs, That *Carliſle* was the Lady that ſent the ſecret Intelligence, and gave the five Members an Opportunity of eſcaping before the King got to the Houſe.

He goes to demand them in the Houſe of Commons.

It was in the Afternoon when the King arriv'd at the Houſe of Commons, attended only by his own uſual Guard, and ſome few Gentlemen, who join'd themſelves in the Way; and commanding all his Attendants to wait at the Door, and give Offence to no Man; He, with his Nephew the Prince Elector, went into the Houſe, to the great Amazement of all, who ſeem'd ſtartled at his ſudden Preſence. Yet the Speaker aroſe and left the Chair to his Majeſty, who caſting his Eyes about, demanded Whether thoſe five Members were in the Houſe? to which he readily reply'd, *That he had neither Eyes to ſee, nor Tongue to ſpeak any Thing but what he was commanded by the Houſe*. Whereupon the King, ſitting down in the Chair, declar'd to them, *That he was very ſorry for that* Occaſion *of coming to them; that yeſterday he had ſent his* Serjeant *to apprehend ſome who by his Command were accus'd of* High-Treaſon, *to which he expected* Obedience, *and not a* Meſſage. *Tho' no King cou'd be more careful to maintain their* Privileges *than Himſelf, yet in Caſes of* Treaſon *no Perſon had a* Privilege; *therefore he came to know, if any of the Perſons he had accus'd for no leſs Crime than* Treaſon, *were there, for he wou'd have them whereever he found them.* Then caſting his Eyes again about the Houſe, he ſaid, *He perceiv'd the Birds were all flown, but expected they ſhou'd be ſent to him, as ſoon as they return'd thither:* Aſſuring them, *Upon the Word of a King, that he never intended any* Force, *but wou'd proſecute them in a* Legal Way; *but if they were not ſent him, he wou'd take his own Courſe to find them.* And thus he left them; but he was ſcarce gone out, when the whole Houſe was in an Uproar, many crying out *Privilege! Privilege!* ſo loud, that the King heard their Exclamations; and ſo forthwith adjourn'd till the next Day: At which Time they met with a great Heat and Rage, aggravated every Circumſtance of this unparallel'd Action, and peremptorily voted it ‘ A high Breach of the Privileges of Parliament, ‘ and inconſiſtent with the Liberty and Freedom thereof: ‘ And therefore conceiving they cou'd not, with Safety to ‘ their own Perſons, or Indemnity to the Rights of Par‘ liament, ſit there any longer, without a full Vindication ‘ of ſo high a Breach, and a ſufficient Guard they might ‘ confide in, for which both Houſes had in vain been hum‘ ble Suitors to his Majeſty; they order'd the Houſe ſhou'd ‘ be adjourn'd for ſeven Days, till the eleventh of this ‘ Month; and in the mean Time a Committee ſelected ‘ out of the Houſe to ſit in the City at *Guild-Hall*, to con‘ ſider of the important Affairs of the Kingdom; and that ‘ the Committee for the *Iriſh Affairs* ſhou'd ſit in the ſame

His Speech.

Votes upon it.

'Place.' All which was fix'd and appointed, and the Houſe of Lords agreed to the ſame Day of Adjournment.

A Proclamation againſt the Members.

2. The King ſoon began to be ſtartled at this new Enterprize, but to ſhew ſome Steadineſs, the ſame Night a Proclamation was prepar'd to prevent the Perſons accus'd from flying out of the Kingdom, and to forbid all Perſons to receive or entertain them; when it was ſufficiently known they had all remov'd to their ſure Fortreſs the City: Not that they were afraid to venture themſelves in their own Lodgings, where they knew no Man wou'd have preſum'd to touch them, but that the City might ſee that they look'd on That as the Sanctuary of their Privileges, and ſo teach them to feel an early Concernment for them. Nor were they miſtaken in their Deſign; for notwithſtanding the Care and Vigilance of the Lord-Mayor, the City was all the Night in Arms, ſome deſign'd for that Employment running from one Gate to another, and crying out, *The* Cavaliers *were coming to fire the City!* and ſome adding, *The King himſelf was at the Head of them.* To allay theſe unfortunate Diſturbances, the Lord *Digby*, who had behav'd himſelf with as little Integrity as Wiſdom, prevail'd upon the King to go into the City next Morning, and at *Guild-Hall* to inform the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the Grounds of his Proceedings. He further offer'd to go with a ſelect Company of Gentlemen, to the Houſe where the accus'd Perſons were lodg'd, and to bring them away alive, or leave them dead in the Place; but his Majeſty cou'd not approve of ſuch Enterprizes.

The King repairs to the City.

The next Morning the King, who was not ignorant of that Night's Tranſactions, ſent to the Lord-Mayor to call a Common-Council, and about Ten went himſelf to the *Guild-Hall*, attended only with three or four Lords, where he told the Corporation, 'He was very ſorry to hear 'they entertain'd ſuch Apprehenſions of Danger: That 'they might judge how much he rely'd upon their Affections for his Guard, he had brought none with him: 'That he had accus'd ſeveral Perſons of High-Treaſon, 'againſt whom he deſign'd to proceed in a Legal Way; 'and therefore preſum'd they wou'd not harbour them in 'the City:' And uſing other gracious Expreſſions concerning his Religion, and the Eſteem he had for them, and telling one of the Sheriffs, who was thought leſs devoted to him, that he wou'd dine with him, he departed without that chearful Applauſe, that might have been expected from this unuſual Favour. And as he paſs'd through the City the rude People flock'd together, crying out, *Privilege of Parliament! Privilege of Parliament!* and one *Walker* an Iron-monger cry'd out, *To your Tents O* Iſrael! and threw a Paper, with the ſame Words, into the King's own Coach. However the King, tho' much mortify'd, purſu'd his Reſolution, and having dined with the Sheriff, he return'd to *Whitehall*, and the next Day iſſu'd out the forementioned Proclamation for the Apprehenſion of the accus'd Members; and at the ſame Time the Articles of their Charge were printed and diſpers'd.

The City's Petition.

Notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the Lord-Mayor, and the moſt ſubſtantial Aldermen, the Majority of the Common-Council prevail'd to ſend a Petition to the King in the Name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*, which was deliver'd the Day after with great Solemnity at *Whitehall*. In which they complain'd 'Of the great Succeſs of the bloody Rebels in *Ireland*; the diſmiſſing of a Perſon of Honour 'and Truſt from being Lieutenant of the *Tower*; the fortifying *Whitehall* in an unaccuſtom'd Manner, and ſome 'Men there abuſing and wounding divers Citizens in their 'Paſſage; the Diſcovery of ſeveral Fireworks in the 'Hands of Papiſts, and the Miſunderſtanding between his 'Majeſty and his Parliament; but eſpecially his late going 'with an armed Force into the Houſe of Commons: All 'which tended not only to the Decay of all Trade, but to 'the Deſtruction of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Lives 'and Liberties of all his Subjects. Wherefore they pray'd 'his Majeſty to redreſs all theſe Grievances, and to reſtore the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members, according to the Privileges of Parliament.' The King found the Torrent too ſtrong for him to decline the Petition, therefore he attempted to divide and reduce them by a moſt gracious Accommodation to their affected Fears and Apprehenſions, and the ſame Day return'd them an Anſwer to every Particular of their Petition; all which, tho' uncommonly obliging and condeſcending, cou'd not mollify the Promoters, or bring them to a better Temper.

The Proceedings of the Parliament Committee in London.

3. In the mean Time the ſelect Committee, appointed by the Houſe of Commons, were buſily employ'd in the City, and were four Days in examining Witneſſes, and drawing up a Declaration againſt the King's late Attempt upon their Houſe. This Committee, which conſiſted of twenty five conſiderable Men, at their firſt Meeting found a Guard of ſubſtantial Citizens in Arms ready to attend them, and a Committee of the Common-Council to bid them Welcome into the City, and to aſſure them, 'That 'Care ſhould be taken to ſecure all their Members from 'Violence;' and further to acquaint them, 'That the 'Common-Council, in Contemplation of what they 'might ſtand in need of, had likewiſe nominated another 'Committee of Aldermen and Common-Council-Men, 'who ſhou'd meet at a proper Place, at thoſe Hours the 'Committee of the Houſe ſhou'd meet, that they might 'better know their Pleaſure, and take Care to ſee it obey'd.' Thus they had provided for a mutual Communication and Confederacy, before the Committee enter'd upon Buſineſs; in which they began with deſcanting upon the King's Way and Manner of coming to the Houſe, and all he did there. The ſeveral Members mention'd all they wou'd undertake to remember, of what the King ſaid, or did, upon his going to the Houſe, or his returning from it; others reported, what ſome of the Great Men, who waited upon his Majeſty, ſhou'd ſay, and gave every idle Word its Commentary; and none of the King's Servants, who had Orders to attend, had the Courage to refuſe the Summons, or anſwering the Queſtions put to them, tho' often impertinent and diſreſpectful to their Maſter. All ſuch Examinations as diſcover'd any extravagant Diſcourſe of any looſe Fellow, who accidentally threw himſelf into the Company, tho' he had no Relation to the King's Service, were diligently enter'd and publiſh'd; but ſuch as declar'd and prov'd the King's poſitive Command againſt any Force or Diſorder, and his ſtrict Charge to prohibit all from following him into the Houſe, were as cunningly ſuppreſs'd and conceal'd.

Their Declaration.

Having brought Things to the proper Height, and directed the Sheriffs of *London* to appoint a Guard for the Houſes when they ſhou'd ſit at *Weſtminſter*, the accus'd Members, who lodg'd all the Time in the City, were conducted in great State to the Committee, where they ſat, when the famous Declaration was compleated and agreed on by the Commons. In which they ſet forth a moſt formidable Narrative of the late Tranſaction, and among other Particulars, 'That his Majeſty came to the Houſe 'attended by a Multitude of armed Men in a Hoſtile 'Manner, to the great Terror and Diſturbance of all the 'ſitting Members: That upon full Examination it appear'd, ſeveral Soldiers, *Papiſts* and others, about five 'Hundred in Number, came with him to the Houſe, and 'that ſome of them with their Piſtols cock'd near the 'Door, ſaid, *I am a good Marks-man, I can hit right*; 'others ſaid, *Pox take the Houſe of Commons, let 'em be 'hang'd! what ado is here with the Houſe of Commons?* 'and others ſaid, *A Pox of God confound them!* and as the 'King return'd, they ſeem'd highly diſcontented, asking, '*When comes the* WORD? That queſtionleſs, if the *Word* 'had been given, they wou'd have cut all the Throats of 'the Houſe of Commons. After which they declar'd it a 'traiterous Deſign againſt the King and Parliament, and 'call'd his Majeſty's Proclamation againſt the Members, '*a Paper falſe, ſcandalous and unlawful*; and in Concluſion declar'd, they cou'd not have ſufficient Vindication, 'till his Majeſty ſhou'd declare the Names of thoſe who 'adviſ'd him to theſe Acts, that they might receive condign Puniſhment.' This ſtrange Declaration, ſo contrary to the known Rules of Law, and Practice of Parliament, was no ſooner fram'd by the Committee, than it was publiſh'd in Print throughout the City and Kingdom, before it was confirm'd by, or reported to the Houſe; to the Diſhonour of their Proceedings, but more to the Detriment of the King's Affairs at this Juncture.

Strange Tumults and Preparations in the City.

For nothing now was ſeen but Hurry and Tumult in the City, and nothing heard but *Breach of Privilege*, and *Plots* againſt the Parliament; the People running about in Multitudes, as if they had loſt their Senſes, as well as their Duties. Many began to cry out, *That the King was not fit to live*, and others, *That the Prince wou'd govern better*; ſo much had he loſt by the expoſing of his Dignity and Majeſty in the Houſe of Commons, and in the *Guild-Hall*. There was a wonderful Change in the Minds of all Sorts of People; all the former Noiſe of Plots and Conſpiracies, which had been often Matter of Ridicule, was now thought to be built upon good Grounds; and what hitherto had been only whiſper'd of *Ireland*, was now talk'd aloud, and publiſh'd in Print, with other ſeditious Libels and Pamphlets. The Shops of the City were generally ſhut up, and the People in all Places at a Gaze, as if they only waited for Directions, and were prepar'd for any Enterprize. But what gave the greateſt Terror to the Court was, the Preparations made in the City to conduct the accus'd Members in Triumph to the Parliament, and that the whole Militia ſhou'd attend them, while the Seamen and Mariners appear'd in the ſeveral Veſſels upon the

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Thames. To make all ſure, they ſent a little Army, with ſome Field-Pieces along with them, which paſſing by Land and by Water on each Side *Whitehall*, with a Noiſe hourly encreaſing, it was thought convenient to withdraw the Guard of *Middleſex* Train'd-Bands, and ſo the Paſſage became clear.

The King reſolves to retire.

This was interpreted at Court as the Beginning of a War, and the King being highly provok'd, took a Reſolution to retire with all his Family to *Hampton-Court*; for which he has been very much blam'd, and this has been reckon'd as one of the unfortunate Errors of his Life. Sir *Richard Willis*, then a brave Officer under him, has often among his Friends condemn'd this falſe Step, and declar'd it was the Opinion of all about the King, that he ought not to leave *Whitehall* at that Juncture. He further added, that when he was ready to remove, Mr. *William Peirpoint*, a famous Member of Parliament, afterwards very active againſt him, came to him, and fell upon his Knees, begg'd and intreated him not to ſtir at this Time, *That if he went away, a Civil War muſt enſue, and that if he tarry'd, a little Patience wou'd bring all Things to a right State again.* But the King finding the Indignities offer'd to his Family, wou'd not hearken to the Advice; but took a Method that threw him vaſtly backwards as to future Preparations; which if it does not vindicate his Policy, it ſerves to ſhew his Innocence as to any Warlike Deſigns at that Time. So much ſeems acknowledg'd by *Roger Coke*, when he tells us that the Lord-Mayor, with Sir *George Whitmore*, Sir *Henry Garoway*, and other loyal Citizens, waited upon his Majeſty, and engag'd to guard him with ten thouſand Men, if he wou'd ſtay; and told him, *If he went, he wou'd leave the City open for the Members to do as they pleas'd, and that they were ſure to be firſt undone:* The King told them, *He was reſolv'd*; to which Sir *Henry Garoway* ſorrowfully reply'd, *Sir, I ſhall never ſee you again.* The ſame Day, which was the tenth of *January*, the King, with all the Royal Family, retir'd to *Hampton-Court*, and never more ſaw his Palace of *Whitehall*, till he was brought as a Malefactor to ſuffer upon the Scaffold.

He leaves Whitehall.

Before his Departure he ſent to the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Holland* to attend him in his Journey, to which by their Domeſtick Offices they were particularly oblig'd. The Earl of *Eſſex* reſolv'd to go, and was preparing accordingly, when the Earl of *Holland* came privately, and aſſur'd him, *That if they went, they ſhou'd be both murder'd at* Hampton-Court: Upon which they left the King to his ſlender Retinue, in a more abandon'd Condition than ever they had known him, and in the greateſt Need of Comfort and Counſel; and inſtead of attending their Maſter in that Emergency, they went to the Committee then ſitting in the City, who knowing they had been invited to wait upon their Majeſties, receiv'd them with particular Satiſfaction. The Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, who had ſecur'd himſelf with the Parliament, ſtaid behind by the King's own Conſent, who particularly allow'd him *To make uſe of all Means for his own Preſervation.* So that the King in a few Days Time was fallen from a Height and Greatneſs that his Enemies fear'd, to a Lowneſs, that his own Servants durſt hardly avow their common Attendance; being left in a moſt diſconſolate and perplex'd Condition, agreeable enough with what Mr. *Hampden* had declar'd, when he was ask'd *What farther they expected from the King?* namely, *That he ſhou'd commit Himſelf, and all that is His, to our Care.* The manifeſt Weakneſs on the King's ſide, and the prevailing Power on the other, made it almoſt every Man's private Intereſt to forſake his Majeſty, and joyn with the Parliament: He had neither Arms, Mony nor Credit to withſtand a Torrent ſo rapid and ſwelling; therefore Nothing but a Senſe of Honour, Loyalty or Gratitude, or the Hardſhips he ſuſtain'd, cou'd have brought ſo many great Men to have joyn'd with him in the enſuing War: So true was Mr. *Pym*'s bold Speech to the Earl of *Dover*, *That if he look'd for Preferment, he muſt comply with them in their Ways, and not hope to have it by ſerving the King.*

The King's low Condition.

VI. 1. From this Time there was a final Separation between the King and the Parliament, tho' a long Correſpondence was preſerv'd by Meſſages, Replies, &c. and from this Time we may reaſonably date the Levying War in *England*, for whatſoever was afterwards manag'd, was built upon the preſent Foundations. For on the next Day after the King's Departure, according to ſolemn Appointment, the accus'd Members, about two in the Afternoon, remov'd from their Lodgings in the City towards *Weſtminſter*, under the Guard of the Sheriffs Train'd-Bands of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and attended by a tumultuous Conflux of many Thouſands of People, clamouring againſt *Biſhops* and *Popiſh Lords*, and for *Privilege of Parliament!* Some as they paſs'd by *Whitehall* crying with all Contempt, *What is become of the King and his Cavaliers?* The Soldiers carry'd upon the Top of their Pikes, or upon their Hats, the former Proteſtation of the Parliament, and many of them carry'd the printed Votes of the King's laſt Breach of their Privileges. At the ſame Time the *Thames* was guarded, from *London-Bridge* to *Weſtminſter*, with more than a Hundred Lighters and Long-Boats, laden with ſmall Pieces of Ordnance, and adorn'd with Colours and Streamers, as ready for an Engagement. Captain *Skippon*, who belong'd to the Artillery Garden, was by an unheard-of Commiſſion made Major-General of the City Militia; a Perſon who had ſerv'd long in *Holland*, and from a Common Soldier arriv'd to the Place of a Captain, and the Reputation of a good Officer; an illiterate Man, who had been bred long enough abroad to bring home a Diſaffection to the Church and State, tho' otherwiſe a Man of Order and Sobriety, and generally free from the Vices incident to Camps and Armies. Having conducted the accus'd Members to the Houſe of Commons, they there immediately extoll'd the Kindneſs they met with in the City, and their Zeal to the Parliament, and proceeded to declare *It became the Honour of the Parliament to protect and defend them.* Upon which the Sheriffs were call'd in, and told by the Speaker, after he had given them the Thanks of the Houſe, 'That they ſhou'd have an Ordinance of Parliament for their Indemnity, declaring that they had done nothing upon this Occaſion, but what was legal and juſtifiable.' Then the Maſters and Officers of Ships were call'd in, and receiv'd moſt hearty Thanks for their Kindneſs; and Captain *Skippon* was appointed to attend with ſuch a Guard as he thought ſufficient every Day at *Weſtminſter*.

The triumphant Return of the Members.

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The Buckinghamſhire Petition.

The next Day, ſeveral Knights, Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of *Buckingham*, to the Number of four or five thouſand, came to *London*, riding every one with a printed *Proteſtation* upon his Hat, and preſented a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, 'in which they complain'd of the late Breach of Privilege, by the King's going to the Houſe, and came to tender their Service, being firmly reſolv'd to live by them, or die at their Feet.' The Houſe return'd their particular Thanks, and let them know, 'The Parliament was ſufficiently ſecur'd by the great Care of the City, and therefore they might return home till further Occaſion requir'd them, of which they ſhou'd have timely Notice.' One of them ſaid, 'They had another Petition, which they deſign'd to prefer to the King, but deſir'd to be advis'd, whether that Houſe wou'd vouchſafe to recommend it, or whether they ſhou'd deliver it themſelves.' For this they receiv'd freſh Thanks, and were advis'd, 'That ſix or eight of them ſhou'd preſent it to his Majeſty in the Name of the reſt; for the Houſe was ſo ſenſible of their Diſcretion, that they knew they were able to manage ſuch a Buſineſs.' Having met with this Reception, they preſented another Petition to the Lords, much to the ſame Effect, but further pray'd their Lorſhips *to co-operate with the Commons in the great Work of Reformation*, &c. And having met with no leſs Civility than from the Commons, they repair'd with their Petition to the King, in which they declar'd themſelves 'amaz'd, that Mr. *Hampden*, their own Repreſentative, ſhou'd among others be accus'd of High-Treaſon; which through their Sides was a wounding the Judgment and Care of thoſe who had made Choice of theſe Members,

The poor King was peſter'd with this, and the like Petitions from other Places, which were daily diſpers'd, to the further Encreaſe of the preſent Diſturbances; which caus'd the King within two or three Days to remove from *Hampton-Court* to *Windſor-Caſtle*, where he was leſs expos'd to any ſudden popular Attempt. And finding his laſt Action to have made ſo ſtrange an Impreſſion, he by two ſeveral Meſſages to the Parliament declar'd 'That he wou'd wave his Proceedings againſt the Lord *Kimbolton* and the five Members, and be as careful of their Privileges, as of his own Life or Crown; and to put an End to all Diſputes, he afterwards offer'd a general Pardon.' But all his gracious Offers met with no Succeſs: For, the Members being now plac'd upon their Throne, they firſt provided and declar'd, 'No Member of Parliament ſhou'd be arreſted upon any Pretence whatſoever;' and, contrary to their former Declaration in the Caſe of Sir *George Ratliff*, added, 'That even in Caſe of Treaſon, no Member ought or cou'd be proceeded againſt, without firſt informing the Houſe of the Charge and Evidence againſt him, and receiving their Leave and Direction in it.' And that Men might be more cautious for the future how they were concern'd in bringing any Reproach upon them, they appointed a Committee to frame a Charge againſt the Attorney-General *Herbert*, for preſuming to accuſe any under their Protection; which was prepar'd accordingly, and proſecuted with that Vigour, that in a little Time they got a Sentence from the Lords to diſable him from being Member, Aſſiſtant or Pleader in either Houſe,

The King retires to Windſor.

and to commit him to Priſon during the Pleaſure of the two Houſes.

A falſe Alarm.

2. About two or three Days after the King had left *Whitehall*, the Parliament and City were alarm'd with new Dangers from *Kingſtone* near *Hampton-Court*; where it it was reported that many Papiſts, and deſperate Officers were gather'd to ſeize the County Magazine, under the Command of the Lord *Digby*, then found to be a Papiſt, and Colonel *Lundsford*, who was ſaid to be of ſo monſtrous an Appetite, *That he wou'd eat Children*. Theſe were ſaid to appear with Troops of Horſe in a Warlike Manner, to the Terror of the King's Subjects; and it was given out, that they deſign'd for *Portſmouth*. Of all which there was no other Foundation than the Lodgment of ſome disbanded Officers at *Kingſtone*, whither the Lord *Digby*, accompany'd with Colonel *Lundsford*, went in a Coach and ſix Horſes to give them a Viſit. Theſe ſix were all the Horſe that appear'd there; yet this ſerv'd to encreaſe the preſent Fears and Jealouſies, and immediately the Commons order'd 'That the Train'd-Bands of *Suſſex* and *Hampſhire* ſhou'd be ſent to ſuppreſs the ſaid Forces, and to prevent the carrying of Arms or Ammunition to *Portſmouth*. And to make the greater Noiſe, they ſeiz'd upon Colonel *Lundsford*, and ſent him to the *Tower*; and accus'd the Lord *Digby* of High-Treaſon in the Houſe of Peers, for *levying War againſt the King and Parliament*. But being ſenſible of their Rage and Hatred, he fled beyond Sea.

The Commons accuſe the Lord Digby.

Their Power.

They ſecure Portſmouth *and* Hull.

Arm'd with theſe popular Pretences, both Houſes being now in Union, they in one Day executed three Acts of Sovereignty, of as high a Nature as any they attempted before the War: The firſt in commanding the Sheriffs of *London*, ſupported by their new Major-General *Skippon*, to guard or rather beſiege the *Tower* of *London*, and prevent the going in of any Proviſions, and the going out of any Arms or Ammunition. The ſecond, in ordering the Governor of *Portſmouth* to admit no Man into the Town or Fort, or any thing to be diſpos'd of there, without an Order from the King ſignify'd by both Houſes of Parliament. The third, in diſpoſing of the Government of the Town of *Hull*, which they did upon this Occaſion: When the late Army was disbanded in the *North*, the King order'd the Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition belonging to it, ſhou'd be remov'd to *Hull*, where they were ſtill kept; and his Majeſty deſign'd it ſhou'd remain there as a Magazine upon all Exigencies, having ſent the Earl of *Newcaſtle* thither with a private Commiſſion to the Governor, to engage by his own Intereſt ſuch of the Country as were neceſſary to ſecure the Magazine. But whatever the King did, tho' it were never ſo privately tranſacted, was ſoon diſcover'd to thoſe, from whom it ſhou'd moſt have been conceal'd. So finding a Pretence of calling the Earl away to the Houſe of Peers, both Houſes mov'd the King 'to have the Magazine remov'd from *Hull* to the *Tower* of *London*; ſince the Country apprehended ſome Deſign in keeping ſo much Ammunition in the *Northern* Parts.' But not receiving a ſpeedy Anſwer from the King, they now ſent down one of their own Members, Sir *John Hotham*, whoſe Eſtate lay not far from the Place, to be Governor of *Hull*, and to draw in ſuch of the Country as he thought fit for the Turn. But becauſe Sir *John* was not abſolutely devoted to the prevailing Party, they ſent his Son, likewiſe a Member of the Houſe, in whom they more confided, to be an Aſſiſtant to, or rather a Spy upon his Father. The young Gentleman immediately expreſs'd his Zeal for the Service in a ſhort preſaging Speech to the Speaker, crying out, *Fall Back! fall Edge! I will go down, and perform your Commands.*

They appoint a Committee in Grocers-Hall.

Theſe were the firſt Tryals they made of their Sovereignty over the Militia and the Forts of the Nation, while their main Bill was yet in Agitation, and was a clear Indication of what they deſign'd to do, when it ſhou'd be paſs'd; which they haſtned with all Expedition, every Day exerciſing the King's Patience with ſome diſagreeable Meſſage, concerning their Privileges, requiring Vindication and Reparation, and the Names of thoſe Perſons, who had encourag'd the late Proſecution. Yet ſtill ſome Mens Minds began to relent, and to abate of their unnatural Fervour; therefore to preſerve the common Apprehenſion of Danger, and keep warm the Eſteem their Darling the City had for them, they propos'd to adjourn both Houſes into the City of *London*; but finding that to be ſomething dangerous, they thought it ſufficient to adjourn their Houſes for ſome Days, and to appoint Committees, arm'd with greater Power than the Houſes themſelves, to meet in the City; which, for the Conveniency of the Common-Council, took their Places in *Grocers-Hall*. The Advantage they reap'd by this Removal from their more convenient Seats at *Weſtminſter* was exceeding great; for beſides the Fears they had infus'd, and the Obligations they had laid upon their City Friends by being among them, they were generally ſure of having ſuch a Committee as they deſir'd: For as ſome out of Supineneſs or Indignation wou'd forbear their Attendance in ſo inconvenient a Place, ſo a great many, who often embarraſs'd their Counſels, were deter'd from appearing, out of Fear of indecent Affronts, if not of Danger, their Names being publiſh'd to the tumultuous Rabble, as diſaffected Perſons, and by that Means call'd *The Malignant Party*. And further they found that in ſuch a Committee they cou'd diſpatch their Deſigns with greater Secrecy and Expedition, than in either Houſe of Parliament, where ſometimes they met with unforeſeen Obſtructions.

The Fears of the City.

Here they conſulted with their moſt inward Friends, and form'd new Remonſtrances, and many Embryos, which afterwards were brought to their full Birth; and here they found the beſt Means to increaſe the Fears and Terrors of the common People, which were now blown up and heighten'd to a Degree ſcarce to be believ'd by Poſterity. Indeed almoſt every extravagant Story began to be receiv'd as Truth; and all Mens Heads began to be intoxicated, and their Mouths fill'd with the Sounds of Plots, Conſpiracies, and unaccountable Projects. Sometimes, when the People were in their Retirement at Divine Worſhip, they were diſtracted and frighted from it with Alarms, 'That the *Papiſts* were all up in Arms, and were juſt ready to fire their Houſes, and mix their Blood with their Prayers.' Other Times they were told 'That there were Forces kept in Grotts and Caves under Ground, and wou'd in the Night break out into the midſt of the City, and cut all their Throats:' And what was more Prodigious, and tho' extream ridiculous, yet had not a few Believers among the Rabble, 'That there were deep Deſigns by Gun-Powder to blow up the *Thames*, and choak them with the Water in their Beds.' Thus were the People taught to diſreſpect and hate their Prince, and by bloody News from every Quarter inſtructed and inured to that Cruelty they vainly fear'd, and to adore thoſe by whoſe Counſels they were deliver'd from ſuch unexpected Dangers.

The King's Meſſage to both Houſes.

3. In the mean time the King continu'd at *Windſor*, waiting the Iſſue of this Storm; and finding his former Meſſages diſregarded, the Houſes united, and the *Scotch* Commiſſioners drawn in, under the Pretence of a Mediation, to joyn with them, he reſolv'd to ſend ſuch a Meſſage to both Houſes, as might at leaſt divide thoſe who wiſh'd well to the Publick from the Miniſters of Confuſion: And therefore on the 20th of *January*, by a written Meſſage propos'd to them, 'That for the preventing thoſe manifold Diſtractions in the Kingdom, they wou'd ſpeedily take into Conſideration *whatever they held neceſſary*, as well for the Support of the *Regal Authority* and Settlement of the *Revenue*, as the preſent and future Eſtabliſhment of their *Privileges*, *Eſtates*, and *Liberties*, the Safety of the true *Religion* now profeſs'd in the Church of *England*, and the ordinary *Ceremonies*, in ſuch a Manner as might leave room for no juſt Offence: Which, when they had ſo form'd into one entire Body, ſuch as He and They might be better able to judge of them, He wou'd then make it appear, *What ſmall Grounds* ſome Perſons had for the Jealouſies they ſeem'd to apprehend, and how ready he wou'd be, not only to *equal*, but to *exceed* the moſt indulgent Princes in their Acts of *Grace* and *Favour* to their People: So that if theſe preſent Diſtractions did not by the Bleſſing of God end in a happy Accommodation, *He wou'd then be ready to call Heaven and Earth, God and Man to Witneſs, that he had not fail'd on his Part.*

The Houſes divided.

The Lords receiv'd the Meſſage with great Signs of Joy, and deſir'd the Commons to join with them in returning their Thanks to his Majeſty for his Gracious Offers, and to aſſure him; 'They wou'd immediately conſider what he had propos'd.' This occaſion'd a Diviſion between the Houſes; for beſides the Commons inſiſting upon Reparation for their accus'd Members, when they drew up an Addreſs of Thanks, they particularly deſir'd, 'That to warrant their Confidence, and remove their Jealouſies, that they might ſatisfy his Majeſty in the Method he propos'd, he wou'd immediately commit the *Tower* to the Government of ſuch as they ſhou'd recommend to him.' In this the Lords differ'd from them, as well becauſe the Naming a Governor there was the King's peculiar Right, as that it was already in the Hands of Sir *John Byron*, a Perſon of as fair a Reputation in every Reſpect, as any Gentleman in the Kingdom. The Commons were highly concern'd that the Lords had once more the Courage to diſſent from them, therefore reſolv'd to preſs the King upon their own Account; in order to which they once more muſter'd up their Friends in the City, and by their Emiſſaries taught the People a new Language.

The Commons promote new Petitions.

All Petitions now muſt require 'The Kingdom to be put into a Poſture of Defence, as the only Security againſt the many Plots and Conſpiracies on Foot, and Protection

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'againſt their own Fears and Jealouſies.' Theſe began ſoon to ſwarm from all Quarters; the *Eſſex* Men pray in their Petition, 'That the *Tower* of *London* may be committed to ſafe Hands, the Train'd-Bands truſted with approv'd Perſons, and the Privilege of Parliaments aſſerted.' That from *Colcheſter* declar'd 'againſt Biſhops, 'and for Liberty of Conſcience, deſiring Church Diſcipline to be better eſtabliſh'd, and their Town better fortify'd.' More came from *Devonſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Middleſex* and *Hartfordſhire*, 'For putting the Kingdom into 'a Poſture of Defence, and the Forts into ſafe Hands, 'excluding Biſhops, Popiſh Lords, *&c.* And another came in the Name of the Merchants that carry'd Bullion to the *Mint*, alledging. 'They durſt not carry their Bullion to the *Tower*, as uſual, being unſatisfy'd with the 'preſent Lieutenant, therefore deſir'd he might be remov'd.

The London Petition.

But that which prov'd moſt ſerviceable to the Commons, was the Petition of the Corporation of *London*, who having been deſir'd to lend them a Hundred Thouſand Pounds againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels, declar'd, 'They cou'd not oblige 'the Houſe, by reaſon of the many Obſtructions at preſent; The Bill for preſſing Soldiers for that Service, was 'ſtill depending with the Lords; the *Cinque-Ports* were 'not put into ſafe Hands; the Kingdom not put into a Poſture of Defence; the Lieutenant of the *Tower* not remov'd; Privileges of Parliament not vindicated; Delinquents not puniſh'd; and the Biſhops and Popiſh Lords 'not put out of the Houſe of Peers: Therefore in Concluſion they proteſted before God and the High Court of 'Parliament, that if any further Calamity befel their Dear 'Brethren in *Ireland*, it ought not to be charg'd to them, 'but to ſuch as obſtructed the ſpeedy Cure of the foremention'd Evils.' This and ſeveral other Petitions were concluded to be us'd as full Materials for a Conference with the Lords, who were thereby to be reminded of their Duty. This was left to the Management of Mr. *Pym*, who for his Greatneſs began to be call'd *King Pym*, who after he had read the Petitions of their Lordſhips; he made a famous long Speech, declaring. 'That in them they 'might hear the Voice, or rather the Cry of all *England*, 'the Groans and miſerable Complaints of all; for the Agony, Terror and Perplexity in which the Kingdom labour'd, was *Univerſal*, all Parts affected with it.' After a formidable Enumeration of all the Evils of the Nation, and the Obſtructions which the Commons had faithfully endeavour'd to remove, he concluded with a Declaration, 'That the Commons wou'd be glad to ſave the 'Kingdom with their Help and Concurrence; but if their 'Lordſhips ſhou'd fail, it ſhou'd not hinder them from doing their Duty: And whatever became of the Kingdom, 'they ſhou'd be ſorry that Poſterity, in reading the Hiſtory 'of this preſent Parliament, ſhou'd find the Commons 'were enforc'd to ſave the Kingdom ALONE; and that 'the Peers declin'd any Part in the Honour of it, tho' they 'were ſo highly concern'd, in reſpect of their great Eſtates, 'and eminent Degrees of Nobility.' The Conference being ended, the Speaker return'd Mr. *Pym* the Solemn Thanks of the Houſe, for ſo worthily performing his Service, requiring him to print his Speech; which was accordingly done, that the People might know, beſides thoſe Reproaches upon the King, how backwards and negligent the Lords were of their Welfare and Safety.

Mr Pym's Speech.

The Commons Petition for the Militia, &c.

The very next Day, *January* 26, the Commons, without the Lords Concurrence, petition'd the King in their own Name; and after a Return of moſt humble Thanks for his Majeſty's late gracious Meſſage, they ſaid, 'They had deſir'd the Peers to joyn with them in a humble Requeſt to 'his Majeſty, to commit the *Tower*, and other Principal 'Forts of the Kingdom, into the Hands of ſuch as ſhou'd 'be recommended to him by both Houſes, wherein their 'Lordſhips had refus'd to joyn with them. But ſtill they, 'confiding in his Majeſty's Goodneſs to his People, in all 'Humility beſeech'd him, that the *Tower*, and other *Principal Forts*, and *all the Militia of the Kingdom*, might be 'entruſted in the Hands of ſuch as the Commons ſhou'd 'recommend to him; not doubting a ſpeedy and gracious 'Anſwer to that humble Requeſt, without which the diſtracting Fears of the Kingdom muſt, in all Probability, 'overwhelm it in Miſery and Ruin.' The King without any Diſcompoſure ſent them a ſoft Anſwer, in which he aſſur'd them, 'That tho' the Nomination of thoſe, to 'whom the Cuſtody of the Forts and Caſtles were to be 'committed, was an inſeparable Flower of the Crown; 'yet he wou'd leave them to the Juſtice of his Parliament, 'if through Miſinformation, he had conferr'd ſuch a Truſt 'upon any undeſerving Perſon: And that when any particular Courſe for Ordering the Militia ſhou'd be digeſted 'by his Parliament, and propos'd to him, he wou'd return 'ſuch an Anſwer as ſhou'd be agreeable to his Honour, 'and the Safety of his People; conjuring them not to be 'tranſported with cauſeleſs Fears and Jealouſies.

The King's Anſwer.

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Tho' in their Reply the next Day, They acknowledg'd it 'An inſeparable Flower of the Crown to diſpoſe the 'Command of the Forts and Caſtles of the Kingdom, and 'that the Militia by Law was ſubject to no Command but 'the King's Authority;' yet being ſo deeply involv'd, they reſolv'd to ſet up their Reſt upon that Stake, and to go through with it, or periſh in the Attempt. And firſt they inſulted the Lords, who ſtill diſſented from them in two other Bills beſides the Militia, that for preſſing Soldiers for *Ireland*, and that for taking away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament; and taking an Advantage from an inconſiderate Expreſſion of the Duke of *Richmond*'s in the upper Houſe, they aſſum'd an Authority to queſtion him, and all that vindicated him. And now having driven ſo many Lords, beſides the Biſhops, from the Houſe, and in a great Meaſure taught the reſt how to behave themſelves, they once more reſolv'd to make uſe of their old Friends in the City; who now, under a new and more allow'd Stile of Petitioners, flock'd in vaſt Numbers to *Weſtminſter*, and deliver'd two notable Petitions to the Houſe of Commons, one from the *Porters*, fifteen Thouſand as they ſaid in Number, and the other in the Name of *many Thouſands of Poor People*, in and about the City of *London*. The Porters with great Eloquence exclaim'd againſt 'The Prevalence of an adverſe, malignant, blood-ſucking, rebellious 'Party, who inſulted the Privileges of Parliament, and fomented the *Iriſh* Rebellion; which if not puniſh'd, they 'ſhou'd be forc'd to Extremities not fit to be nam'd, and 'make good the Saying, *That Neceſſity has no Law:* They 'had nothing to loſe but their Lives, which they wou'd 'willingly expoſe, in defence of the Houſe of Commons, 'according to the *Proteſtation*.' The Beggars declar'd, 'That their Oppreſſions were ſo great, by means of the 'Biſhops and Popiſh Lords, that they knew not where to 'get Bread; Want and Neceſſity, breaking the Bounds of 'Modeſty, wou'd force them to lay hold on the next Remedy to remove the Diſturbers of the Peace, and the 'Hinderers of the happy Proceedings, who ought to be 'publickly laid open to the World: And they cry'd out '*for the Lord's Sake* to be heard, that their Religion, Lives 'and Welfare might be precious in their Sight, that the 'Loins of the Poor might bleſs Them.

Two ſtrange Petitions to the Parliament.

The Houſe, according to its uſual Condeſcenſion, order'd Thanks to be return'd by the Speaker to theſe ſtrange Petitioners, aſſuring them, 'They had then their very 'Complaints under Conſideration:' To whom ſome of the Rabble reply'd, according as they had been taught, 'That they never doubted the Houſe of Commons, but 'they heard all ſtuck in the Lords Houſe, and they deſir'd 'to know the Names of thoſe Peers, who hinder'd the 'Agreement between the good Lords and Commons;' Which they preſs'd with unheard-of Inſolence, and were prevail'd upon to withdraw with much ſeeming Unwillingneſs, while the Houſe took the Buſineſs into a further Conſideration. And tho' many of the Members, of whom ſome had been inſulted by theſe Petitioners at their coming to the Houſe, inſiſted, 'That it wou'd be a great Blemiſh 'to their Counſels, if they were encourag'd in ſuch licentious Proceedings;' They were again call'd in, and told, 'That the Houſe of Commons wou'd perſiſt, as they had 'begun, in endeavouring to relieve them; and did not 'doubt, when they deliver'd their Petition to the Lords, 'which they were going to do, but the Cauſes of thoſe 'Evils wou'd be diſcover'd, and ſome ſpeedy Means taken 'for Redreſs; therefore adviſ'd them patiently to expect a 'further Anſwer.' Accordingly the Petition, after a ſolemn Reading, was deliver'd to the Lords at a Conference; which being ended, Mr. *Hollis* was ſent to the Lords to deſire them to joyn with the Commons in their Requeſt to the King concerning the Militia, and boldly added, *If that Deſire was not comply'd withal, he wiſh'd thoſe Lords, who were ready to concur, wou'd diſtinguiſh themſelves, that thoſe, by whom they were ſent, might know who were againſt them.* Upon which the Lords reſum'd the Debate, which the Earl of *Northumberland* open'd with a Profeſſion, *That whoſoever refus'd to joyn with the Commons in that Particular, were, in his Opinion, Enemies to the Common-wealth*; tho' the major part of the Houſe had deny'd twice before to joyn with it. Yet when his Lordſhip was queſtion'd for that *Unparliamentary Language*, all the Party adhered to him, crying out, *They were of the ſame Opinion!* The Mob were waiting at the Door to put in Execution whatever they were directed: So that many of the Lords, out of a generous Indignation to ſee their Honours and Liberties proſtituted by Themſelves to the People, and others afraid at this Time to perſiſt in their former Reſolutions, withdrew; and the major Part of the reſt concluded to joyn with the Commons in their Requeſt concerning the Militia.

The Inſolence of the Multitude.

The Lords forc'd into a Compliance with the Commons.

Thus the Houſe of Lords fatally ſubmitted to the Commons; and in Conſequence of it, by means of a new Petition from *Surrey*, within a few Days after they condeſcended to paſs the two Bills, which had lain ſo long deſperate

They joyn in two main Bills.

ſperate while they ſat with Freedom in the Houſe; that for Preſſing Men for *Ireland*, and that for taking away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament. By this laſt Bill they did, according to their Power, deſtroy one of the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, and in Effect became their own Murderers; for by weakening their own Vitals, and narrowing their very Foundation, they gave the Commons an Occaſion afterwards of treating their whole Body in the ſame manner, to the Ruin of them and the Monarchy of *England*. Which Conſequence might have been foreſeen, had they hearkned to the Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, who upon this Occaſion ſolemnly ask'd the Peers in the Houſe, *Which of your Lordſhips can ſay, he ſhall continue a Member of this Houſe, when at one Blow ſix and twenty Members are cut off?* The Parliament having accompliſh'd theſe great Things, both Houſes adjourn'd into the City of *London*, to lay the Scene for new Action; and thus concluded the tumultuous and buſie Month of *January*, in a Year that is ſtill remember'd by Way of Proverb and Diſhonour.

The King's new Deſigns.

VII. 1. The two Houſes being now united by the Conceſſions and Submiſſion of the Peers, the King found himſelf under exceeding great Difficulties how to proceed: He plainly perceiv'd that the Leaders wou'd accept of no reaſonable Compoſition, but were gradually ſtealing ſo much Power into their own Hands, as not to fear what was remaining in his; and that they had got the Art of impoſing upon Mens Underſtandings againſt their own Reaſons, by perſuading them they were in Danger of an Invaſion, when the King was not only in Peace Himſelf, but moſt other Nations ſo engag'd in War, as to deſire his Amity and Aſſiſtance; and That there was a Deadneſs of Trade, and a growing Poverty throughout the Kingdom, when the like Plenty and Trade had never been known. He reſolv'd therefore to reſide at a greater Diſtance from *London*, and poſitively to deny the paſſing any Act, except what related to *Ireland*, till he had a full Proſpect of what they deſign'd to demand, and what Return they wou'd make for all his Conceſſions. The Truth is, when the King perceiv'd his ill Succeſs in the Caſe of the five Members, and that the Petitioners were no better than an Army, govern'd by thoſe he had no Reaſon to truſt; and that all who expreſs'd any Zeal for his Service wou'd be remov'd from him, under the Notion of *Delinquents*, he reſolv'd the Queen ſhou'd remove to *Portſmouth*, and Himſelf to *Hull*; that being ſecured in thoſe Places of Strength, where his Friends might alſo meet with Protection, he would ſit quiet, till the furious Party cou'd be brought to Reaſon. But both Bed-chambers being inhabited by diligent Spies, this important Secret was diſcover'd to thoſe who obtain'd the Orders before-mention'd, concerning *Hull* and *Portſmouth*; for which Reaſon, and a Promiſe from ſeveral Lords, *That they wou'd vigorouſly unite to ſupport the Regal Power*, together with the extream Fear the Queen had of Danger, particularly of being impeach'd of High-Treaſon, as ſhe was inform'd, that Counſel was laid aſide; and it was concluded, 'That the Queen ſhou'd tranſport her 'ſelf into *Holland*, with the Princeſs *Mary*, marry'd to the 'young Prince of *Orange*, there patiently to expect an Amendment of the Affairs in *England*; and the King retire 'to *York*, and liſten to no Particulars, till he found how 'far the Alterations wou'd extend.' But they only publiſh'd the firſt Reſolution relating to the Queen; both their Majeſties being under ſuch preſſing Wants, that the Queen was forc'd to ſell or coin her private Plate for her neceſſary Expences, the Exchequer being empty, or the Miniſters of the Revenue without Power, for the Officers were enjoyn'd by the Commons to pay no Mony without their Conſent.

Both Houſes Petition for the Militia, &c.

The King's Anſwer.

In the midſt of theſe miſerable Difficulties the King at *Windſor* was encounter'd with two Petitions from the united Houſes of Parliament; the Firſt; the ſame in Effect with what the Commons had lately ſent, 'For his delivering up the *Tower*, with all the Forts and Militia of *England* into their Hands;' and the Second, 'in two Days, 'to produce what Proof there was againſt the accus'd 'Members.' He now found that theſe Members were too Powerful for Him, or the Law, and therefore he reſolv'd to think no more of Them, but agreeable to his former Condeſcenſions, now declar'd, 'He wou'd wholly decline any Proſecution of them.' The other, concerning the Militia, gave him greater Trouble; for tho' he was poſitive never to conſent to it, yet till all Things were prepar'd for the Queen's Journey, and his own Removal, he choſe rather to delay than deny it, expecting alſo, that tho' they were united in the Matter, they might be divided as to the Perſons to be truſted; and therefore he told them in his Anſwer, 'When he knew the Extent of the Power deſign'd for thoſe who were to command the Militia, and 'how long He himſelf muſt execute no Power without 'the Advice of the Parliament, then he wou'd put ſuch 'Perſons as both Houſes ſhou'd recommend to him, into 'the Forts, and over the Militia; provided they nam'd 'none againſt whom he had juſt and unanſwerable Exceptions.

The King yields up the Tower.

With this Anſwer, tho' it was no real Conſent, they were highly encourag'd, ſince it ſerv'd to unite the Minds of the Vulgar to them, who ſtruck in with their Proceedings juſt as they ſaw their Undertakings were like to prevail. And that they might preſerve and keep up the King's Inclinations to gratify them, the ſame Day they return'd a Meſſage of Thanks, and deſir'd his Majeſty in the mean time to make Sir *John Coniers* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, whom they repreſented as a Perſon of great Merit: Which being likewiſe deſir'd by Sir *John Byron*, who had been forc'd to ſubmit to ſuch Reproaches as were very uneaſie to a generous Mind, having been brought upon his Knees at the Bar of both Houſes as a Delinquent, his Majeſty thereupon comply'd. This was ſuch an Inſtance of his yielding upon Importunity, that from that Time they look'd upon themſelves as poſſeſs'd of the whole Militia of the Kingdom. The parting with a Place of that Importance has been thought a very falſe Step in the King, or at leaſt a plain Proof that at this Time he had no Thoughts of a War: Which is agreeable with what the old Earl of *Briſtol* declares in his famous Apology, 'That nothing ſo 'much terrify'd his Conſcience from taking Arms againſt 'the King, or more confirm'd him in his Duty of adhering 'to him, than *the certain and infallible Knowledge he had* 'of the King's unfeign'd Deſires and Endeavours to have 'prevented the War:' An Authority that will ſtand good againſt a thouſand Opinions and Conjectures.

The King demands Reparation againſt Mr. Pym.

But in vain.

2. While all Care was taken to forward the Queen's Journey, the King, who had receiv'd ſo many Expoſtulations from the Commons, reſolv'd in his Turn to expoſtulate with them, and try what Reparation they were inclined to give him, who had exacted ſo much from him. All the ſubtle Arts had been us'd to charge the Progreſs of the *Iriſh* Rebellion upon the Court; and indeed his Majeſty was ſo nearly touch'd with theſe odious Imputations, which had pernicious Effects upon the Minds of the People, that he was forc'd to comply with many Things contrary to his Judgment, to obviate greater Inconveniencies, which he ſaw riſing againſt him by thoſe ſcandalous Suggeſtions. Notwithſtanding which, they took all Occaſions to charge him with whatever Omiſſions were found in that great Work; as Mr. *Pym* had more particularly done in his famous Speech formerly mention'd at the Conference with the Lords; where he ſaid, *That ſince the Stop put upon the Ports againſt all* Iriſh *Papiſts, many of the chief Commanders, now at the Head of the Rebels, had been ſuffer'd to paſs by his Majeſty's immediate Warrant.* Of this the King took no Notice, to avoid Breach of Privilege, till he ſaw the whole Speech printed by the Order of the Commons; upon which, in a Letter to the Speaker, he deſir'd Reparation for this unjuſt Aſperſion. To which they were ſo far from ſubmitting, that in their Reply they declar'd 'It contain'd nothing but what was agreeable to the 'Senſe of the Houſe,' and nam'd ſome Perſons that had obtain'd Paſſes before the Order of Reſtraint, and were yet remaining in *England*. Upon which the King ſent another Meſſage, in which he expreſly declar'd, 'That none 'of thoſe, who headed the Rebels, had paſs'd by his Warrant or Conſent, and expected in common Juſtice that 'they ſhou'd name the very Perſons, or acknowledge their 'Miſinformation.' But notwithſtanding this, and whatever cou'd be urg'd, they were ſo averſe to any Acknowledgment, that when they found the King ſtill inſiſted on his Demands, and that many thought it his Due, they confidently ſet forth another Declaration of ſeveral Perſons Names, who they ſaid had paſs'd by the King's own Licence, and were then at the Head of the Rebels; of whoſe Names the King had never heard before, to whom no Paſſes had been granted, neither did he believe there were ſuch Men in Nature; and left the People to believe as they found themſelves influeuc'd by his Majeſty's poſitive Denial, or their own peremptory Affirmation.

Lectures ſet up.

All noble and generous Minds were ſtrangely mov'd with theſe Proceedings of the Parliament, whoſe Leaders were now become implacable, and were reſolv'd to remove all thoſe who oppos'd any Thing they had deſir'd, or fill'd up a Place they deſign'd for ſome other in whom they cou'd confide. Their Ends being fix'd and reſolv'd on, ſcarce any Means or Methods were left untry'd; and to warm the Zeal of the People, they appointed weekly Lectures to be generally ſet up, which were perform'd by the moſt ſeditious and turbulent Preachers that cou'd be found; which ſtill produc'd more Petitions againſt Biſhops, Popiſh Lords, and all that they thought fit to call Malignants. But for thoſe Petitions that were on the other Side, that pray'd for the Preſervation and Security of Epiſcopacy and the Regal Prerogative, they were not only diſcountenanc'd and rejected, but the Promoters oftentimes ſent for as Delinquents;

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linquents; by which Means an infinite Number of Hands was ſilenc'd, and fell to nothing. And this became their uſual Method, receiving and cheriſhing all mutinous and unheard-of Petitions, and ſtifling ſuch as beſought the Continuance and Vindication of the ſo long celebrated Government in Church and State, the prime Leaders not being aſham'd in publick Debates to aver, *That no Man ought to petition for the Government eſtabliſh'd by Law, becauſe he already had his Wiſh; but they that deſir'd an Alteration, cou'd not otherwiſe make known their Deſires; therefore were to be countenanc'd.* And becauſe the Houſe of Lords ſometimes cou'd not comply with their exorbitant Steps and Reſolutions, they began to make new Diſtinctions between the *Major* and the *Melior* Part of the Houſe; and Mr. *Pym* himſelf made a Motion, *That the* Major *Part of the Houſe of Commons, and the* Minor *of the Lords, might be eſteem'd as an Authentick Concurrence of both Houſes*; as Sir *P. Warwick* tells us.

Reaſons for paſſing the Bill againſt Biſhops Votes.

Arm'd with theſe two-edg'd Weapons they puſh'd forwards the Bill againſt the Biſhops Votes, which incapacitated them, and all the Clergy, from holding any Temporal Juriſdiction or Office whatſoever. The King being preſs'd for his immediate Conſent, he return'd Anſwer, ‘It was a weighty Matter, and deſerv'd a little Conſideration.’ But their Zeal wou'd admit of no Delay, therefore the ſame Day they ſent again, and gave him their Reaſons for his preſent Compliance: One of which was, ‘The Grievances the Subjects labour'd under by the Biſhops Temporal Juriſdiction, and their Intereſt in the Houſe of Lords:’ A ſecond, ‘The happy and ſatisfactory Concurrence of both Houſes in their Abſence:’ A third, ‘That in paſſing this Bill, his Majeſty wou'd give them a comfortable Pledge of his gracious Condeſcenſion to the Remedies of thoſe Evils, which wou'd be offer'd to him, when this was paſs'd.’ Reaſons ſufficient to have convinc'd him, if he had been inclinable to concur with them: For in effect it was to perſwade him to agree with them in this, that for the future he might be able to deny them nothing. However thoſe about his Majeſty, who were really devoted to his Service, tho' in this Point miſtaken in their Judgments and the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, perſwaded him, ‘That the paſſing this Bill was the only Way to ſave the Church; by which many Members in both Houſes wou'd be fully ſatisfy'd, and join in no further Alterations; whereas if they were diſappointed in this, they wou'd be for extirpating *Root* and *Branch*, and demoliſhing the whole Fabrick of the Church. They further alledg'd, That his Royal Aſſent was ſtrongly ſolicited for two Things of great Importance, tho' not of equal Concernment to the Sovereign Power; the firſt, this Bill concerning the Biſhops; the other, the Militia; which if he ſhou'd grant, he wou'd thereby ſtrip himſelf of all Regal Power: That he wou'd not be able to refuſe both; but by conſenting to the former, in which he parted with no Matter of Moment, he wou'd perhaps not be preſs'd in the latter.’ Biſhop *Hacket* tells us that Sir *John Colepeper* in particular, by all Proteſtation of Faith declar'd, If this was paſs'd, *The Lords and Commons wou'd preſs his Majeſty to no more Bills of that unpleaſing Nature.*

The King is perſwaded to paſs it.

Theſe Arguments, tho' coming from Men of unqueſtionable Fidelity to the King and Church, prevail'd not ſo much with his Majeſty, as the Perſwaſions of the Queen; who in this is believ'd, not only to have been guided by her own Fears, but by her Prieſts, and private Inſtructions from *France*. However, beſides the foregoing Reaſons, it was alledg'd ‘That her Safety very much depended upon paſſing this Bill; which if refus'd, the Parliament would ſtop her Journey towards *Holland*, and her Perſon be in Danger, either by the Tumults which might eaſily break out from *Weſtminſter* to *Windſor*, or by the Inſurrections of the Countries, in her Paſſage from thence to *Dover*. Whereas, if the Bill was paſs'd, *and by her ſpecial Interceſſion*, ſhe wou'd lay an extraordinary Obligation upon the Nation, and leave a grateful Remembrance of her Favour to the People, which wou'd prove highly advantageous to her in her Abſence; and ſhe ſhou'd be thank'd for acquiring that by her Goodneſs, which otherwiſe wou'd be afterwards extorted from the King.’ Theſe and other Intimations were ſo importunately infus'd into the King, that upon his Arrival with the Queen at *Canterbury*, contrary to his moſt poſitive Reſolution, he conſented, and ſent a Commiſſion for paſſing both that Bill, and the other about preſſing Soldiers. This was compleated upon the 14th Day of *February*, to the great Triumph of the City, which celebrated the Joy with Bells, Bone-fires, and Illuminations. At the ſame time the King ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes, ‘That he was aſſur'd his Paſſing theſe two important Bills ſo ſuddenly, wou'd teſtify to his Parliament, that he deſir'd nothing more than the Satisfaction of his Kingdom. And as he concurr'd for *Ireland* in all their Propoſitions made for that Service, ſo he wou'd leave nothing undone for their Relief, which ſhou'd fall within his Power, nor wou'd refuſe to venture his own Perſon in that War, if they thought it convenient, for the Relief of that miſerable Kingdom.’

Becomes a great Sufferer by it.

Theſe were the two laſt Bills of Moment that the King ever paſs'd, which farther diveſted him of his Regal Authority. That concerning the Biſhops prov'd a great weakning to his whole Party, not only as it loſt him ſo many in the Houſe of Peers, but as it influenc'd others, whoſe Minds were in Suſpence, as when Foundations are ſhaken. Beſides, they who were beſt acquainted with the King's Diſpoſition, had great Reaſon to believe, that no Exigency cou'd have prevail'd with him to conſent to an Act ſo contrary to his Peace and Intereſt; and therefore cou'd never after be ſure he wou'd deny any Thing that was importunately demanded: And ſo either withdrew themſelves from thoſe Conſultations, purpoſely to decline the Envy and Danger of oppoſing them, or patiently ſuffer'd themſelves to be carry'd by the Torrent, and agree to any Thing that was boldly attempted. Beſides the King by his Compliance to this Bill, too much approv'd of the Circumſtances of its paſſing, which had been by direct Violence, almoſt Force of Arms: In which Caſe, as the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, he ought not to have confirm'd the moſt politick, or the moſt pious Conſtitution. The King indeed was a double Sufferer by it, both as it weakned his Friends, and as it wounded his Conſcience: And we find it was one of thoſe three Things that lay heavieſt on him, in the Time of his Solitude and Sufferings, as appears by this Paſſage in one of his Prayers, *Was it through Ignorance that I ſuffer'd innocent Blood to be ſpilt by a falſe pretended Juſtice? Or that I permitted a wrong Way of Worſhip to be ſet up in* Scotland? *Or injur'd the Biſhops in* England?

The Ordinance for the Militia.

3. Having gain'd ſuch Benefits and Advantages, it was naturally expected that the Houſes ſhou'd have made ſome Returns of Duty and Acknowledgment for ſuch Favours; but their Thirſt, as well as their Power being increas'd, they were ſo far from obliging his Majeſty, that upon the ſame fourteenth of *February*, they proceeded to three unprecedented Acts of Contempt upon the Sovereign Power. The firſt was their Perfecting of their famous Ordinance for the ſettling of the Militia, which was the moſt avow'd Foundation of all the Miſeries that follow'd. It began with theſe Words, ‘Whereas there hath been of late a moſt dangerous and deſperate Deſign upon the Houſe of Commons, &c.’ and for that Reaſon they thought fit to put the whole Power of the Sword into the Hands of ſuch as were nam'd in a particular Liſt, ſent to the King with this Ordinance, namely thirty ſix Lords, and three Commoners, beſides ſome of inferior Note in the City of *London*. That the Reader may ſee who were at this Time to be confided in, we ſhall mention their Names as following: The Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Holland*, *Warwick*, *Eſſex*, *Salisbury*, *Bedford*, *Rutland*, *Pembroke*, *Northumberland*, *Bullingbrook*, *Leiceſter*, *Stamford*, *Clare*, *Exeter*, *Suffolk*, *Nottingham*, *Cumberland*, *Lincoln*, and *Carbery*; the Lords *Brook*, *Pagit*, *Say*, *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *North*, *Strange*, *Roberts*, *Gray* of *Wark*, *Shandois*, *Dacres*, *Kimbolton*, *Wharton*, *Spencer*, *Herbert*, *Fielding*, and *Littleton*; and Sir *John Banks*, Sir *Henry Vane* Senior, and Mr. *Denzil Hollis*.

Letters intercepted.

A ſecond Act of the ſame Day was the breaking open a Letter directed to the Queen's Majeſty, which they had intercepted from the Lord *Digby*; who for his own Safety had tranſported himſelf into *Holland*; from whence he wrote to his Friends in *London*, to acquaint them where he was, and to accommodate himſelf with ſuch things as he wanted. Among theſe Letters there was one to Sir *Lewis Dives*, his Brother-in-law, which by the Treachery of the Bearer was brought to the Houſe of Commons, who finding it to come from a Fugitive, made no Scruple of opening it; and ſeeing one inclos'd in it for the Queen, they open'd that alſo; for which they made a frivolous Excuſe, when they ſent a Copy of it to her Majeſty. The Letter to the Queen had theſe Words, *If the King betake himſelf to a ſafe Place, where he may avow and protect his Servants (from* Rage *I mean and* Violence, *for from* Juſtice *I will never implore it) I ſhall then live in Impatience and Miſery, till I wait upon you. But, if after all he hath done of late, he ſhall betake himſelf to the eaſieſt and compliant eſt Ways of Accommodation, I am confident that then I ſhall ſerve him more by my Abſence, than by all my Induſtry.* In that to Sir *Lewis Dives* were theſe Words, *God knows I have not a Thought to make me bluſh towards my Country, much leſs Criminal; but where Traitors have ſo great a Sway, the honeſteſt Thoughts may prove moſt treaſonable.* At which, thoſe who thought themſelves touch'd, were ſo highly offended, that within two Days after they a ſecond Time charg'd him with High-Treaſon; and be-

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cauſe no Words in the Letter cou'd riſe up to that Offence, they accus'd him of raiſing War againſt the King; which cou'd bear Relation to nothing he had done, but what we obſerv'd before, when, to the great Terror of the King's Subjects, he was ſeen in a Coach with ſix Horſes at *Kingſton*. A third Act of that Day, was an Impeachment preferr'd to the Lords againſt the Attorney-General *Herbert*, for obeying the King's Commands ſo far as to contrive the Articles of High-Treaſon againſt the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members; the penal Conſequences of which we have already mention'd.

The Commons Power increaſes.

And now the Commons, who daily receiv'd Petitions from ſeveral Counties in *England*, profeſſing all Allegiance to them, begin to reign without Control, the Lords agreeing, or rather ſubmitting to all their Propoſals; inſomuch, that when the Houſe of Peers had bail'd the twelve Biſhops in the *Tower*, the Day after the Bill for taking away their Votes was paſs'd, the Commons in great Indignation expoſtulated with them, and order'd them immediately to be recommitted. So they intimated to their Agents in the Country, that they ſhou'd make ſmall Entries upon the Militia, which in ſeveral Places they did, liſting and training Themſelves under the Names of Volunteers; which gave them Opportunity of uniting themſelves, and of providing Arms and Ammunition againſt any Exigency. The *Tower* of *London* was at their Command, and *Hull* was their own; the Mayor of which Place they had lately ſent for, and reprimanded for ſaying, *The Billetting of Soldiers upon them was againſt the Petition of Right*, and for refuſing to deliver up his Truſt to Sir *John Hotham*; and after a moſt expenſive Attendance, he was forc'd to ſubmit to their Commands. Then for Raiſing Mony, they had a fair Pretence, the Relief of *Ireland*; for which End they prepar'd an Act 'For the Payment of four hundred Thouſand Pounds, to ſuch Perſons as were appointed by Themſelves, and to be apply'd to ſuch Uſes as the two Houſes ſhou'd direct;' which was accordingly confirm'd by the King, by which means he gave them a Stock of Credit to raiſe Mony upon any Emergency: And this cou'd not well be avoided; for the King had formerly committed the Management of the *Iriſh* War to them; and they being ingag'd for the Arrears due to the Officers of the *Northern* Army, and the three hundred Thouſand Pounds to the *Scots*, his Majeſty was forc'd to paſs that Act with ſuch general Clauſes, as empower'd them to apply the Mony to other Ends than thoſe to which it was given, as it prov'd afterwards.

The Queen and Princeſs Mary *depart for* Holland.

4. During theſe reſtleſs Motions of the Parliament, the King remov'd from *Canterbury* to *Dover* with his Queen, and his Daughter the Princeſs *Mary*, an admirable young Lady not eleven Years of Age; who upon the twenty third Day of *February* embark'd with the Queen for *Holland*, and never ſaw her Father more. The Queen took with her ſeveral of the *Jewels* of the Crown; which prov'd very ſerviceable to her and her Husband afterwards; and being once on Ship-board, the King immediately return'd to *Greenwich*, whither he had order'd the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, lately made Governor of the Prince of *Wales*, in the room of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, to bring his Charge. Which being underſtood by the Parliament, they immediately ſent a Meſſage to his Majeſty, in his Return from *Dover*, deſiring, 'That the Prince might not be remov'd from *Hampton-Court*, for at that Time it wou'd promote Fears and Jealouſies in the Hearts of his loyal Subjects;' and at the ſame Time requir'd the Marqueſs by an expreſs Order not to ſuffer the Prince to go to *Greenwich*. But that Lord choſe rather to obey the King than Them, and ſo conducted his Highneſs to his Father; upon which ſome Members were ſent from both Houſes to *Greenwich*, 'To bring the Prince from thence to *London*;' but contrary to Expectation they found the King arriv'd, and ſo thought it not convenient to perform that Command. The Reaſon of this ſtrange Attempt proceeded from an Information they had receiv'd from a Member of the Commons, one *Griffith*, a young *Welſh-Man* of great Licentiouſneſs, and a bold Follower of the Court for Preferment; who having been diſappointed at *Dover* of being made of the Prince's Bed-Chamber, told his Companions, *That ſince he cou'd not make himſelf conſiderable by ſerving the King, he wou'd in diſſerving him:* And ſo poſting away to *London*, he publickly inform'd the Houſe, 'That if ſpeedy Care was not taken, they ſhou'd loſe the Prince; for, to his Knowledge, there was a Deſign to carry him into *France*.' This ſenſeleſs Information fix'd him in their Favour; and, having Malice ſufficient to ſupply his Want of Parts, he was taken into Truſt, and us'd as their Bravo to juſtify their Proceedings in publick Houſes: And Mr. *Hampden* himſelf was obſerv'd to take him in his Arms, and tell him, *His Soul rejoyc'd to ſee, that God had put it into his Heart to take the right Way.*

Griffith's *Information*

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The King's Anſwer concerning the Militia.

The King being at *Greenwich*, on the twenty-eighth of *February* he ſent to both Houſes a full Anſwer to their Petitions, and their Ordinance concerning the Militia, in which he 'excepted againſt the Preamble of their Ordinance, that declar'd *a late dangerous and deſperate Deſign upon the Houſe of Commons*; and a Vindication of Himſelf with Relation to the accus'd Members; he ſaid he was willing to admit of that Recommendation for the Perſons nam'd to be the Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties; only he thought it inconſiſtent with Juſtice to alter the Government of *London*, and ſuch other Corporations, as by ancient Charters had the Power of the Militia granted them: To the reſt he ſhou'd be ready to grant ſuch Commiſſions, as he had done this Parliament to ſome Lieutenants by their Advice; but he cou'd not diveſt himſelf of that juſt Power, which God and the Laws of the Land had committed to him for the Defence of his People, and place it in the Hands of others for an indefinite Time. Therefore whereas he found that ſome Perſons had already preſum'd to intermeddle with the Militia, he expected his Parliament ſhou'd enquire into the Particulars, that all ſuch might be proceeded againſt according to Law.

Votes upon it.

The Two Houſes before this had entertain'd ſome Hopes of his Majeſty's Compliance, but now being tranſported to Fury, they voted, 'That whoever had adviſ'd the King to give that Anſwer, were publick Enemies to the Kingdom. That if his Majeſty ſhou'd perſiſt in that Denial, it wou'd endanger the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, unleſs the Wiſdom and Authority of the Parliament apply'd ſome ſpeedy Remedies to prevent it: That ſuch Parts of the Kingdom, as had already put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, had done Nothing but what was juſtifiable, and approv'd by both Houſes.' Theſe, and ſuch other Reſolutions being immediately publiſh'd, that their diſtant Friends might know how to act, they diſpatch'd a ſelect Committee of both Houſes to the King, now remov'd to *Theobalds*, and in a formal Petition aſſur'd Him, 'That his unexpected Denial had much encreas'd the Apprehenſions they lay under, of the publick Calamities of the Kingdom; therefore were forc'd in all Humility to proteſt, That if he perſiſted in his Denial, the Diſtempers of the Kingdom were ſuch as wou'd endure no longer Delay, but that they muſt be oblig'd to diſpoſe of the Militia in ſuch a manner, as had been preſented to him, and they reſolv'd to do it accordingly. They deſir'd him to remove thoſe wicked Counſellors that interpos'd between his Goodneſs and his Wiſdom; that he wou'd be pleas'd to reſide near *London* and his Parliament, and likewiſe be pleas'd to continue the Prince in thoſe Parts. And laſtly they declar'd, That by the Laws of the Land, the Power of the Militia cou'd not be granted any Corporation, without the Concurrence of the Parliament, and that they who had put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, concurr'd with the Direction of both Houſes, and were juſtifiable by Law.'

And a Petition.

The King's Anſwer to it, at Theobalds.

As ſoon as the Petition was read, rous'd with Indignation, he told the Committee, *He was ſo amaz'd, he knew not what to anſwer: They ſpoke of Jealouſies and Fears; but let them lay their Hands to their Hearts, and ask Themſelves, Whether he might not be as well diſturb'd by Fears and Jealouſies? and if ſo, their Meſſage had nothing leſſen'd them.* For the Militia, *he had thought ſo much of it before he ſent his Anſwer, and knew it was ſo agreeable to what they cou'd juſtly ask, and he honourably grant, that he ſhou'd not alter it in any Point.* For his Reſidence near them, *he wiſh'd it might be ſo ſafe and honourable, that he had no Cauſe to abſent Himſelf from* Whitehall; *they might ask Themſelves whether he had not?* For his Son, *he wou'd take that Care of Him, which ſhou'd juſtify him to God, as a Father; and to his Dominions, as a King.* To conclude, *Upon his Honour he had no Thought but of Peace and Juſtice to his People; which he wou'd by all fair Means ſeek to preſerve and maintain, relying upon the Goodneſs of God for the Preſervation of Himſelf, and his Rights.* This being ſuddenly, and with unuſual Quickneſs ſpoken by the King, they were much daunted; and preſently retired themſelves to take into Conſideration the Terms of it, that there might be no Difference in the Reporting it to the ſeveral Houſes. As ſoon as the Committee was ſet, the Earl of *Newport* call'd out his Brother the Earl of *Warwick* to ſpeak with him; who ſpeedily return'd with this Account from the Earl of *Newport*, *That the King was then ſo preſs'd to give a more ſatisfactory Anſwer, that he was confident they ſhou'd have ſuch a one, if they wou'd but defer their Departure for a ſmall Time.* To this the whole Company ſeem'd to aſſent with much Chearfulneſs, when ſuddenly young Sir *Henry Vane*, a dark Enemy to all Accommodations, declar'd himſelf to wonder at it, and ſaid, *Is there any Perſon here, who can undertake to know the Parliament's Mind; whether this which we have, or that which is call'd a more* **Satisfactory Anſwer**, *will be more pleaſing to the Houſes?*

Sir Henry Vane's *Cunning.*

Houſes? For my Part I cannot; and if there be any that can, let him ſpeak. To this no Man was ſo bold as to give an Anſwer, and ſo having agreed upon their Report, they departed; which ſhews how eaſily one ſubtle ill-diſpos'd Perſon may overthrow a general good Intention. This Paſſage is taken from an anonymous Writer of noted Curioſity and Reputation.

Reſolutions and Orders.

As ſoon as the Report was made to the two Houſes; upon the ſecond of *March* they came to ſeveral Reſolutions, in Subſtance, 'That the King's Anſwer was a Denial, concerning the Militia; That the Kingdom ſhou'd be forthwith put into a Poſture of Defence, in ſuch a Way as had been formerly agreed on by both Houſes; That a *Declaration* ſhou'd be ſpeedily ſent to the King, containing the Cauſes of their juſt Fears and Jealouſies, and to make it appear there was no Reaſon to entertain any againſt them.' At the ſame Time they order'd, 'That all the Lord-Lieutenants in *England*, whoſe Commiſſions were granted from the King under the great Seal, ſhou'd immediately bring them in, to be cancell'd as Illegal. And they further ſent a Meſſage to the High Admiral of *England*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, ordering him, 'forthwith to give effectual Directions for the Equipping all his Majeſty's Ships, that they might at a ſhort Warning be fit for Sea; and that he wou'd ſignify to all Maſters and Owners of other Ships, as might be of uſe to the publick Defence, that they wou'd do a grateful Service to the King and Parliament, if they wou'd likewiſe prepare the Ships, ſo as to put to Sea upon any emergent Occaſion.' Thus all Things began to appear with the threatning Face of War and Deſolation.

The Parliament's large Declaration.

5. Before the Leaders cou'd bring Things to the Height, they were forc'd to fly to their laſt Weapon, beſides the Sword, which was a large *Declaration*, or *Remonſtrance* of the ſeveral Cauſes of their Fears and Jealouſies, which might ſerve as a Second Part to their former grand Remonſtrance, being drawn with no leſs Art and Subtlety. In it they declare, 'That the Deſign of altering Religion had been carry'd on by thoſe of greateſt Authority about the King for divers Years: That the War againſt *Scotland* was procur'd in Order to that Deſign: That the Rebellion in *Ireland* was contriv'd here in *England*, as appears from many Preſumptions gather'd from ſeveral Examinations. They likewiſe ſpeak of the King's Attempt for bringing his Army againſt the Parliament; of his Warrants granted contrary to Promiſe for Tranſportation of *Jermyn*, and other Delinquents; of that great Breach of Parliament Privilege in coming to the Houſe of Commons in a Warlike manner; of the Lord *Digby*'s appearing in Arms at *Kingſton*; and of the many Advices they have had from Foreign Parts, of dangerous Alterations and Deſigns now in Hand. Theſe, they ſay, *are ſome of the Grounds* of their Fears and Jealouſies; but for the King's Fear to reſide near *London*, that was altogether *without Ground*, proceeding from evil and trayterous Counſels only to perplex the Common-wealth; affirming, That his Majeſty's Abſence wou'd cauſe Men to believe, that it is out of Deſign to diſcourage the Undertakers, and hinder the other Proviſions for relieving *Ireland*; that it wou'd hearten the Rebels there, and all diſaffected Perſons in this Kingdom. More particularly, they ſaid, They had laid their Hands upon their *Hearts*; they had ask'd themſelves in the ſtricteſt Examination of their *Conſciences*; they had ſearch'd their *Affections*, their *Thoughts*, conſider'd their *Actions*; and they found none that cou'd give his Majeſty any juſt Occaſion to abſent himſelf from *Whitehall*.'

The ſevere Proceedings of the Commons.

When this ſtrange Declaration was debated, the prevailing Party behav'd themſelves with that Pride and Impetuoſity, that they wou'd ſuffer no Oppoſition in Diſpute; inſomuch that they ſent Sir *Ralph Hopton* to the *Tower*, for objecting againſt ſome Expreſſions in it, as unworthy the Reverence due to the King; and for ſaying upon the Clauſe, that mention'd the many Advices they had from Foreign Parts, *That they grounded their Opinion of the King's Apoſtacy upon leſs Evidence, than wou'd ſerve to hang a Man for ſtealing a Horſe.* And their Carriage was ſo notoriouſly terrible in this Particular, of accuſing all who were not of the ſame Opinion with themſelves; that Mr. *Trelawny*, a Member of the Commons, and a ſubſtantial Merchant, was expell'd the Houſe, and thrown into Priſon, for having formerly ſaid to a Friend in private, *That the Houſe cou'd not appoint a Guard for themſelves without the King's Conſent, under Pain of High-Treaſon*; which a Fellow, who pretended to overhear it, was brought to prove, when the Perſon himſelf, to whom the Diſcourſe was made, declar'd, That he ſaid, *It might be imputed to them for High-Treaſon:* And afterwards in Purſuance of their Diſlike, when the War began to break out, they again committed this honeſt Gentleman, ſeiz'd upon his great Eſtate, and ſuffer'd him to periſh in Priſon for want of common Relief. Nay, their old Friend Sir *Edward Deering*, cou'd not eſcape their Fury, who for not going their full Lengths, and publiſhing his Book of Speeches, which they thought reflected upon ſome of their Friends, was likewiſe expell'd the Houſe, and ſent to the *Tower*; and the Book was order'd to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman. Then to prevent little People from opening againſt them, one *Sanderford*, a Taylor of *London*, being convicted at the Bar of the Houſe for calling the Earl of *Eſſex* and the Earl of *Warwick* by the Name of *Traytors*, and for wiſhing King *Pym and Sir John Hotham both hang'd*, beſides a Fine, they condemn'd him one Day to be pillory'd in *Cheapſide*, and from thence to be whipp'd to the *Fleet*, and another Day to be pillory'd in *Weſtminſter*, and from thence to be whipp'd to *Bridewell*, where he was to be kept to work during his Life: A Sentence more ſevere, than had ever been pronounc'd in the *Star-Chamber*, againſt the greateſt Breakers of the eſtabliſh'd Law.

The Declaration preſented to the King at New-Market.

The King's Expoſtulations.

Upon the ninth Day of *March*, the new Declaration was preſented to the King at *New-Market*, by a Committee of both Houſes; among whom were the Earls of *Holland* and *Pembroke*, who had both been ſingularly oblig'd to his Majeſty. The reading of it, and by the Earl of *Holland*, ſoon began to raiſe the King's Paſſion and Indignation; ſo that when they came to mention the Tranſportation of Mr. *Jermyn*, contrary to the King's Word, he call'd out, *That is falſe*; and being a ſecond time touch'd upon, he ſaid, *It is a Lye*; and when he was told it related not to the Date but the Execution of his Warrant, he ſaid, *It might have been better expreſs'd; it is a high Thing to tax a King with Breach of Promiſe.* After the Declaration was read, with ſome additional Reaſons for his Majeſty's Return and Continuance near the Parliament, the King told them, *He cou'd not have believ'd the Parliament wou'd have ſent him ſuch a Declaration, had he not ſeen it brought by ſuch Perſons of Honour*; and then fell to expoſtulate with them for the Hardſhips they had thrown upon him, when he had Reaſon to have expected a Vindication againſt Mr. *Pym*'s unjuſt Accuſations; and ſince the many ſeditious Pamphlets and Sermons, and the great Tumults ſtill unpuniſh'd, were ſufficient Grounds for his Fears. Then he concluded with this pathetical Speech, *What wou'd you have? Have I violated your Laws? Have I deny'd to paſs one Bill for the Eaſe, and Security of my Subjects? I do not ask you, what you have done for Me. Are my People tranſported with Fears and Apprehenſions? I have offer'd as free, and general Pardon as your ſelves can deſire. God ſo deal with Me, and Mine! as all my Thoughts and Intentions are upright, for the Maintenance of the true Proteſtant Profeſſion, and for the Obſervation and Preſervation of the Laws of the Land: And I hope God will bleſs and aſſiſt thoſe Laws for my Preſervation.*

He abſolutely refuſes the Militia.

This being ſpoken ſuddenly, and with unuſual Warmth, and demanding a further Time to anſwer the Declaration and Reaſons, the Committee deſir'd, 'Since that was all the Anſwer they were like to carry back, his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to give them what he had ſpoke in Writing;' which he did the next Morning. At which time the Earl of *Holland* again urg'd him to reſide nearer to his Parliament; to which the King briefly anſwer'd, *I wou'd you had given me Cauſe; but I am ſure this Declaration is not the Way to it.* Upon which the Earl of *Pembroke* told him, *That the Parliament had humbly beſought his Majeſty to come near them*; the King reply'd, *He had learnt by their Declaration, that Words were not ſufficient.* His Majeſty being then mov'd by the Earl of *Pembroke* to expreſs what he wou'd have, ſaid, *He wou'd whip a Boy in* Weſtminſter *School, that cou'd not tell that by his Anſwer.* And being ask'd by the ſame Perſon, Whether the Militia might not be granted for a Time? He ſharply reply'd, *By God, not for an Hour! you have ask'd that of me in this, was never ask'd of any King, and with which I will not truſt my Wife and Children. Ye ſpeak of ill Counſels, but I am confident, the Parliament has had worſe Informations, than I have had Counſels.* Then for the Buſineſs of *Ireland*, he ſaid, *It will never be done in the Way you are in; four Hundred will never do that Work; it muſt be put into the Hands of One: If I were truſted with it, I wou'd pawn my Head to finiſh it; and tho' I am a Beggar my ſelf, I can find Mony for That.*

Seditious Preachers moſt encourag'd.

This was the firſt Thing of Moment, and indeed one of the greateſt that the King had deny'd the Parliament; in which he reſolv'd to perſiſt, and which they reſolv'd to extort from him, tho' to their own Ruin and Deſtruction. And as ſoon as the Committee return'd, they order'd their Declaration to be printed, and carefully diſpers'd Abroad, that the World might ſee upon what Terms they ſtood; and all poſſible Care was taken to infect the Hearts and Affections of the People, and to cruſh thoſe who expreſs'd the leaſt Diſlike to their High Proceedings. Above all, they took Care to place ſuch Preachers and Lecturers in the moſt populous Places, as were well known to abhor the preſent Government, both as to Church and State; many of whom were recommended, and directly impos'd upon Pariſhes, by the Houſe of Commons; and others by particular Members, whoſe Reputation was moſt current in the Houſe: And all Canonical Clergymen were induſtriouſly diſcountenanc'd, impriſon'd, or forc'd to a tedious Attendance upon the Houſe, under the unhappy Imputation of *ſcandalous Miniſters*. Which general Charge extended to all, whoſe Inclinations they diſlik'd, or whoſe Opinions they ſuſpected. Then, that they might be ſure to be as ſtrong and abſolute by Sea, as they were by Land, they order'd the Lord High-Admiral to ſend them the Names of thoſe Captains who were to be employ'd that Summer, that they might be ſerv'd by ſuch, in whom they cou'd confide; which his Lordſhip exactly obſerv'd. By which they help'd to free him of thoſe Officers whom he cou'd not fairly have diſcharg'd; and ſtruck out the Names of thoſe, of whoſe Affections or Relations they cou'd not be ſecure. Such were the large Steps they made, within a few Days time.

The King's Meſſage from Huntington.

6. The King, according to his former Reſolution, of which few were acquainted, thought it Time now to remove to *York*, which was a Place very convenient to receive thoſe, who were willing to attend him; and that publick Notice might be given of it, he ſent a Meſſage from *Huntington* to both Houſes, letting them know, ‘That he intended to make his Reſidence for ſome Time at *York*, and deſir'd them to haſten their Succours for *Ireland*; in which Affair he wou'd waſh his Hands from the leaſt Imputation of Remiſſneſs. And that he might leave nothing unattempted to beget a good Underſtanding between him and his Parliament, he thought it requiſite to declare, That as he had been ſo tender of their Privileges, as to retract any Act of his, which had been thought to have encroach'd upon them; ſo he expected them to be equally tender of his known Prerogatives, among which this was a *Fundamental One*, That his Subjects cou'd not be oblig'd to obey any Act or Injunction, which was not authoriz'd by his Conſent. Therefore he requir'd Obedience from all his loving Subjects to the Laws eſtabliſh'd; and that they preſum'd not, upon any Pretence of *Order* and *Ordinance*, to which Himſelf was not a Party, to execute any Thing relating to the Militia, which was not warrantable by thoſe Laws.' He alſo once more reminded them of his Meſſage of the 20th of *January* laſt, *viz.* ‘That they wou'd ſpeedily prepare ſuch Acts, as they ſhould judge fit for the preſent and future Eſtabliſhment of their Liberties, *&c.*'

Several Votes and Reſolutions in Parliament.

This Meſſage, which arriv'd on the 16th of *March*, threw the Houſes into a greater Heat and Fury, than ever had been known before. For the very Day before they had voted and reſolv'd, ‘That the *Ordinance of the Militia* was no ways contrary to the *Oath of Allegiance*; That all Commiſſions under the Great Seal to Lieutenants were void; and that whoever executed any Power over the Militia, by Vertue of any Commiſſion of Lieutenancy, without the Conſent of Parliament, was to be reputed an Enemy to the Peace of the Kingdom.' Then they agreed upon this remarkable Propoſition, ‘That the Kingdom had been, and ſtill was, under ſuch imminent Danger from Enemies abroad, and a Popiſh Party at home, that there was an unavoidable Neceſſity of putting it in a Poſture of Defence, for the Safeguard both of King and People; and that the Lords and Commons, apprehenſive of the Danger, and ſenſible of their Duty, had in ſeveral Petitions addreſs'd for the diſpoſing the Militia in ſuch a Way, as the Wiſdom of both Houſes had determin'd as moſt proper for the preſent Exigence of the Kingdom; to which his Majeſty had ſeveral Times refus'd his Royal Aſſent.' Upon which Propoſition they made this grand Reſolve, ‘That in that Caſe of *extreme Danger*, and of his Majeſty's Refuſal, the People ought, by the *Fundamental Laws* of the Kingdom, to obey the *Ordinance* of both Houſes concerning the Militia; and that ſuch Perſons, as ſhou'd be appointed Deputy Lieutenants, and be approv'd of by both Houſes, ſhou'd receive their Commands, and enter upon the Execution of their Offices.' All which Reſolutions were order'd, the ſame Night, to be printed and publiſh'd: So that when the King's Meſſage, which was read the next Morning, appear'd directly againſt them, they were ſurpris'd, and imagin'd it to have been made in Town, and impos'd upon them; but upon Recollection, and a particular Examination of the Meſſenger, they were ſatisfy'd with the Reality of it, and ſo proceeded to this new Vote, ‘That thoſe who adviſ'd his Majeſty to abſent himſelf from his Parliament, and promoted that Meſſage, were Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and ſtood juſtly ſuſpected of favouring the Rebellion in *Ireland*.' Then for the Matter itſelf, they reſolv'd to inſiſt upon their former Votes; and withal declar'd, ‘That when both Houſes of Parliament, which is the *Supream Court of Judicature* in the Kingdom, ſhall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have that not only diſputed, but contradicted, and a *Command* publiſh'd not to obey it, was a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.' And this likewiſe they caus'd to be ſpeedily publiſh'd; leaſt the King might perſuade his Subjects, That an *Order* of theirs, without his Conſent, was not Obligatory. This laſt Reſolution, by which the Law of the Land, and conſequently the Liberty of the Subject, was reſolv'd into a bare Vote of the two Houſes, gave all ſober Men to underſtand the fatal Period of Both was approaching, and a Foundation laid for all the Confuſion and Calamities that follow'd.

Further Proceedings and Projections.

The King's removing to *York* put them in preſent Pain for their Government of *Hull*, and therefore they immediately reſolv'd, ‘That no Forces whatſoever ſhou'd be admitted into the Town, without the Conſent of both Houſes;' which Order was ſent thither by a particular Expreſs. And the People being now prepared concerning the Militia, and taught in Caſe of *extreme Danger* to obey their Ordinance, they were in the next Place to find out that *Extremity*, which might warrant their Proceedings: To which End they produc'd Letters without any Name, pretended to be written from *Amſterdam*, importing, ‘That there was an Army ready in *Denmark* to be tranſported into *England*, and to be landed at *Hull*; the Confirmation of which, they ſaid, they had receiv'd from a Perſon of Reputation at *Newmarket*; adding, That there were likewiſe Forces in *France* ready to be ſhipp'd off for *Hull*.' And tho' this appear'd ſufficiently groſs and abſurd to wiſe Men, yet it prov'd of double Uſe to them; for it both countenanc'd their Orders to Sir *John Hotham* their Governor, and render'd the King's Reſidence in thoſe Parts ſuſpected. Theſe Alarms of Foreign Forces they aggravated with other Advices, ‘That the Papiſts of *England* deſign'd an Inſurrection;' therefore they proceeded in preparing a Bill to ſecure thoſe of them of the beſt Quality, and greateſt Intereſt, enjoyning the Oath of Supremacy with the utmoſt Rigour. But in their Zeal againſt the Papiſts, they wou'd not admit the King to have any Share; therefore when they heard his Majeſty had iſſu'd out a Proclamation, ‘Commanding the due Execution of all the Laws againſt Popiſh Recuſants, without Favour or Connivance,' they immediately ſent for the Sheriffs of *London*, and publickly examin'd them, ‘Why ſeven Prieſts, who were in *Newgate*, and had been long condemn'd, were not executed? the Reaſon of which they well knew. And when the Sheriffs reply'd, ‘They had receiv'd a Reprieve for them under his Majeſty's Hand,' they took Care by publiſhing it in Print, to weaken the Credit of the new Proclamation; and particularly appointed thoſe they were ſending with a new Declaration to the King, to move, ‘That the ſeven condemn'd Prieſts might be executed according to the Judgments they had receiv'd.'

The Ways for raiſing of Mony.

They began now diligently to collect whatever Sums of Mony had been granted by former Acts, and fram'd a new Bill for raiſing four hundred Thouſand Pounds, to pay the Arrears due to the *Scots*, and to carry on the War in *Ireland*. Among other Projects for raiſing Mony, they had this Way of encouraging Men to be Adventurers in the Reduction of *Ireland*. They concluded, ‘That in ſo general a Rebellion, much Land wou'd be forfeited to the Crown, and that thoſe who wou'd advance Mony towards the Suppreſſion of the Rebels, ſhou'd be ſatisfy'd out of ſuch Forfeitures.' Theſe Propoſitions being agreed upon by both Houſes, and preſented to the King, at a Time when he knew not how to refuſe any Thing relating to *Ireland*; his Majeſty therefore, without conſidering whether that Courſe wou'd make the Rebels deſperate, and ſo retard the Reduction of that Kingdom, conſented; and withal declar'd, ‘He was ready to give his Royal Aſſent to ſuch Bills as ſhou'd be brought to him for the Confirmation of theſe Propoſitions.' This Anſwer, together with their Propoſitions, they caus'd forthwith to be printed: Their Committees in all Places ſolicited Subſcriptions, the moſt active ſubſcribing firſt for the Encouragement of others; and they delay'd preſenting the Bill to the King, till they had rais'd great Sums of Mony, and procur'd Perſons of all Conditions to ſubſcribe. Many came in out of Covetouſneſs to raiſe Fortunes, having in ſome Parts of the Country five Hundred Acres of Land allow'd them for a Hundred Pounds; and ſome out of pure Fear to ingratiate themſelves with the Powerful Party, which made this new Project the Standard of Mens Affections, and a Tryal how far they might be rely'd on. This done, and the Propoſitions digeſted into a Bill with ſuch Clauſes as in Effect put it out of the King's Power to

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make any Peace with the Rebels, tho' upon the moſt advantageous Terms, they ſent it to his Majeſty, who now found himſelf oblig'd to paſs it.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Preparations, the War was carry'd on by ſuch ſlow Steps, that the *Iriſh* Rebels daily increas'd in Strength; and by the Rumour of theſe Propoſitions, enlarg'd their Power: For many Perſons of Honour and Fortune, who till then had ſat ſtill, and were really or ſeemingly averſe to the Rebellion, joyn'd with them as being deſperate, and believing the Parliament had decreed both the Suppreſſion of their Religion, and the Extirpation of their Nation. And queſtionleſs, they were willing to drive them to any Extremity, out of Revenge and Contempt, as a People eaſie to be cruſh'd, and that the War might be continu'd; fearing an Union in that Kingdom might prejudice their Deſigns at home; whereas, by this Means, they had now an Opportunity to raiſe both Men and Mony, which they might be able to employ upon more preſſing Occaſions. Nor did they want Reaſon to expect, That the King's Conſent to this ſevere Decree, wou'd diſcourage his Popiſh Subjects from any extraordinary Acts of Duty and Affection; or at leaſt render him leſs regarded by Foreign Princes of that Perſuaſion. Theſe Matters thus ſettled, for the Eaſe of both Houſes, they appointed the whole Buſineſs of *Ireland* to be manag'd by Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, and nam'd four Lords and eight Commoners for that Province, whom they recommended to the King, and were to receive their Inſtructions from none but themſelves. In this Condition were the Affairs of *England* and *Ireland*, when the King arriv'd and ſettled at *York*, on the nineteenth Day of *March*; which drew on a full Period to the famous and reforming Year of One Thouſand Six Hundred and Forty One.

The King arrives at York.

1642.
Car. 18.

VIII. 1. The King, who had lately been driven about with ſome Hazard to his Perſon, and more to his Attendants, arriving at *York* began to breath in freſh Air; and he ſoon found himſelf more at Eaſe, and in a Condition much more ſafe and eligible than before. Moſt Perſons of Quality of that great County, and of thoſe adjacent, reſorted to him, and many Perſons of Condition from *London*, and the Neighbouring Parts, who had not the Courage to attend upon him at *Whitehall*, or near his Parliament; ſome out of a Senſe of Duty or Gratitude, and others out of Indignation againſt the Parliament's Proceedings; ſo that in a ſhort Time the Court appear'd with ſome Luſtre. And thereupon he reſolv'd to treat with the two Houſes in a different Manner than before, and to let them plainly know, 'That as he wou'd deny them Nothing becoming Them to aſk, ſo he wou'd condeſcend 'to Nothing unreaſonable for Him to grant: That he 'wou'd have Nothing extorted from him, but wou'd ſhelter himſelf wholly under the Law, ſo as to grant any 'thing by which he was oblig'd by Law, and to deny 'them whatever the Law had put in his Power.' Accordingly he ſent them a Declaration, in anſwer to that they had preſented to him at *Newmarket*, which ſufficiently ſhew'd the Unreaſonableneſs of their Demands. And when they ſoon after ſent him a Petition again to deſire the Militia out of his Power, in which they told his Majeſty, 'That about the Time of his paſſing the many good Bills, 'ſome Deſign had been ſet on Foot to deprive them of the 'Fruits of them;' he defy'd 'The Devil and them to 'prove that there was any ſuch Deſign; and therefore demanded full Reparation in that Point, that he might be 'clear'd in the Sight of all the World from ſo notorious 'and falſe an Imputation.'

The King's Reſolutions.

This Sort of Steadineſs and Reſolution might the laſt Year have been of infinite Service to his Majeſty; but now Matters were carry'd to a Height, too much thought incurable, or inextricable, by the wiſeſt Counſellors. Yet the Leaders were much perplex'd with theſe quick Anſwers the King gave them, which convinc'd them he wou'd be no more hector'd into Conceſſions he thought unreaſonable; but his demanding Reparation for the Breach of his Privileges, and ſo fighting them with their own Weapons, gave them ſtill greater Trouble; apprehending that the People might ſhortly believe the King's Pretenſions to be more equitable. And tho' ſome few, who thought themſelves too far advanc'd to retire, were glad theſe Paper Skirmiſhes were ſo ſharp, which they believ'd inlarg'd the Wound, and made it paſt Cure; yet the Major Part, who had been led to join with them out of a Preſumption, *That the King wou'd at laſt yield to the Importunity of their Demands*, wiſh'd themſelves fairly diſengag'd. And ſome of the fierceſt of them did at that time profeſs, *That if any Expedient cou'd be found to reconcile the Buſineſs of the Militia, they wou'd no more venture upon ſuch high Demands*. Even the Earl of *Eſſex* was ſtagger'd, and confeſs'd to his Friends, *That he wiſh'd the Parliament wou'd proceed more moderately, and the King who had given ſo much, might receive ſome Satisfaction.* But thoſe of the Court, whoſe Ingratitude had been moſt flagrant, cou'd not bear that the youngeſt Courtier ſhould be the oldeſt Convert; and therefore by repeating what the King and Queen had formerly ſaid of him, and what Thoughts his Majeſty had of him at preſent, they perſuaded him, *That his Condition was too deſperate to recede.* And the Lord *Clarendon* is of Opinion, that even at this Time, they had rather a Deſign of making themſelves powerful with the King, and great at Court, than of leſſening the Authority of the one, or reforming the Diſcipline of the other; tho' he owns it as unqueſtionable, that there were ſome few in the Number that look'd further.

The Parliament perplex'd.

1642.
Car. 18.

But this Expectation of Greatneſs began more to ſink, when the King at this Time ſuddenly took away the Staff from the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Key from the Earl of *Holland*; the one being Chamberlain of the Houſhold, and the other firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. The Removal of theſe two Favourites of the Parliament, was owing to a Promiſe his Majeſty had made to the Queen before her Departure, but cou'd not ſafely execute it in that low Condition. She had been poſitive in this Reſolution, eſpecially with relation to the Earl of *Holland*, whoſe Ingratitude and Defection ſhe ſo much reſented, that ſhe declar'd, *She wou'd never live in the Court, if he kept his Places.* This caus'd the King to be inexorable, when his Friends, who were inform'd of his Reſolution, urg'd the Unſeaſonableneſs of this Alteration; and when they truly foretold him, *That theſe two, who were not ſo deeply ingag'd as ſome of the Party, being depriv'd of their Offices, wou'd be able to do more Miſchief, and ready to imbark in the moſt deſperate Attempts.* And it is juſtly believ'd, that if the Earl of *Eſſex* had ſtill kept the Staff, by which he was charg'd with the Defence of the King's Perſon, he wou'd never have been perſuaded to have taken upon him the Command of an Army againſt him; and that it would have been vaſtly difficult, if not impoſſible at this Juncture, for the Parliament to have rais'd an Army, if this very Earl had not conſented to be their General. Nor did the King find it very eaſie to effect this Alteration; for the Lord-Keeper *Littleton* wholly declin'd being concern'd in it; and when the Lord *Falkland* ventur'd to undertake and perform the ungrateful Office, both Houſes reſented it with bitter Expreſſions againſt Evil Counſellors, and concurr'd in a Vote, 'That whoſoever preſum'd to accept either of thoſe 'Offices, ſhou'd be reputed an Enemy to his Country:' And ſo proceeded with greater Heat in the Buſineſs of the Militia, and other Matters moſt trenching upon the King's Authority.

The Earls of Eſſex *and* Holland *diſcarded by the King.*

Cenſures upon it.

From the Land Militia they caſt their Eye upon the Royal Navy, and when that Year's Fleet was to be equipp'd, they ſent a formal Meſſage to the Lords, 'That 'the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord-Admiral, might be 'mov'd to appoint the Earl of *Warwick* his Admiral of 'the Fleet for that Year's Service, and that the Earl of '*Warwick* might be deſir'd to take that Office upon him.' The Lords thought the King's Approbation ought firſt to be had; but the Commons judg'd it ſuperfluous, ſince the Lord-Admiral had the abſolute Diſpoſal of all the Offices in the Fleet, therefore only made Uſe of their own Names; and the Earl of *Warwick*, without waiting for the King's Conſent, declar'd, *He was ready to undertake the Employment.* But this being publickly tranſacted, the King thought fit to interpoſe and declare his Pleaſure, ſo that the Lord-Admiral might not plead Ignorance; and therefore he commanded Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* to write to the Earl of *Northumberland*, 'That his Majeſty expected Sir *John Pennington* ſhou'd be continu'd in the 'Command of the Fleet.' This Letter being communicated to both Houſes, the Commons, to ſave the Earl from conteſting ſingly with the King, conſented to join with the Lords in a Meſſage to his Majeſty, which they directed the Keeper to incloſe in a Letter to the Secretary: The Subſtance of which was, 'That ſince the Lord-Admiral's Indiſpoſition had hinder'd him from commanding 'in Perſon, they had recommended the Earl of *Warwick* 'in his Room; therefore they deſir'd his Majeſty, That 'that noble Perſon might not be longer detain'd from the 'Service, out of Reſpect to Sir *John Pennington*, or any 'other Perſon whatſoever.' The King immediately diſpatch'd an Anſwer to the Lord-Keeper; in which he told him, 'He wonder'd both at the Form and Matter 'of the inclos'd Paper, it being neither Petition, Declaration, or Letter; and he believ'd it was the firſt Time 'the Houſe of Commons had aſſum'd the Nomination of 'the chief Sea-Commander: But it added to his Wonder, 'that having already appointed Sir *John Pennington*, another ſhou'd be offer'd to him; therefore he had reſolv'd not 'to alter his Determination.' Tho' this Anſwer ſeem'd to diſcompoſe them, it was no more than they expected; and pretending they had many Things of Moment to alledge

The Parliament's Deſign upon the Royal Navy.

1642.
Car. 81.

They make the Earl of Warwick *chief Commander.*

ledge againſt Sir *John Pennington*, they mov'd the Lords that he might be ſent for, and examin'd upon ſeveral Particulars. In the mean Time, while they cauſ'd him to attend for his Examination, the Earl of *Warwick*, who was urg'd to prepare himſelf for the Service, made no Scruple of undertaking it; and the Earl of *Northumberland* granted his Commiſſion, without the King's Conſent. By which his Majeſty was ſo ſenſibly touch'd, that he was not willing any Officer he eſteem'd ſhou'd accept an Employment under the Earl of *Warwick*; which ſhortly after he found great Reaſon to repent. Thus, in no long Time, the Power of the Fleet fell gradually into the Hands of the Parliament.

The King offers to go in Perſon into Ireland.

2. The King had been now about three Weeks at *York*, where his Court and Attendants daily encreas'd; when finding, that notwithſtanding all the Proteſtations he cou'd make, the Buſineſs of *Ireland* was ſtill invidiouſly objected againſt him, as if he wanted Zeal in ſuppreſſing that Rebellion, he ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes, in which he declar'd, 'He had firmly reſolv'd to go in Perſon, to chaſtiſe and reduce thoſe deteſtable Rebels in *Ireland*; and farther advertis'd them, that towards the Work he deſign'd to raiſe a Guard for his own Perſon, of two thouſand Foot and two hundred Horſe, to be arm'd at *Cheſter* from his Magazine at *Hull*, the Charge of which he deſir'd the Parliament to add to their former Undertakings for that War, and if their Pay ſhou'd be thought too burdenſome, he was willing, by the Advice of his Parliament, to ſell or mortgage any of his Parks, Lands, or Houſes, towards the Supply of that Service.' He further offer'd them a Bill of his own concerning the Militia, 'which he ſhou'd be glad to find thankfully receiv'd; if otherwiſe, he call'd God and the World to judge, on whoſe Part the Default was;' and laſtly declar'd, 'before he parted from *England*, he wou'd take all due Care to entruſt ſuch Perſons with ſuch Authority in his Abſence, as ſhou'd prove to the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, and the happy Progreſs of the Parliament.

This Meſſage ſurpris'd and diſcompos'd them more than any they receiv'd before or after: For by this Means they were like to loſe the Management of the War of *Ireland*, which upon the King's Expedition wou'd be taken out of their Hands; and the King wou'd probably in a ſhort Time recover one entire Kingdom to his Obedience, and be conſequently enabled to maintain the Subjection of the other two. However, by making ſeveral Impreſſions upon ſeveral Affections, they found it a Matter of no great Difficulty to produce an almoſt unanimous Diſſent to that Journey: And therefore they diſpatch'd a Magiſterial Anſwer to the King, intermixt with ſeveral Reaſons againſt this new Deſign, 'which being propounded to them, not as Matter wanting the Advice of his Parliament, but as a Thing already reſolved on, they held it their Duty to declare, That if he perſiſted in his Purpoſe, he wou'd much endanger his Royal Perſon and Kingdoms, and other *Proteſtant* States in *Chriſtendom*. Therefore they had unanimouſly reſolv'd, never to conſent to any Levies to be rais'd by his Majeſty for that his intended Expedition; and if ſuch Levies ſhould be made without their Conſent, they ſhou'd be forc'd to interpret the ſame to be rais'd to the Terror of his People, and Diſturbance of the publick Peace; and held themſelves bound by the Laws of the Kingdom, to apply the Authority of Parliament to ſuppreſs the ſame. They declar'd they cou'd obey no Commiſſioners he ſhou'd leave behind, and deſir'd him to leave the Management of that War to his Parliament, according to his Promiſe: For the Succeſs of which, they again beſought him to return to his Parliament, and that he wou'd reject all Counſels and Apprehenſions, prejudicial to that Faithfulneſs and Allegiance they always bore to his Majeſty, *and ſhou'd ever make good with their Lives and Fortunes.*

The Parliament reject the Propoſal.

The King's Anſwer.

To this the King immediately return'd a long Anſwer, in which he expreſs'd himſelf 'troubled and aſtoniſhed, to find a Miſunderſtanding of his Meſſage, and a Diſappointment of the Approbation and Thanks he thought he had deſerv'd from them. He inſiſted upon his Sincerity, and the Hopefulneſs of the Deſign, and anſwer'd to their ſeveral Reaſons againſt it. As to his coming near his Parliament, he ſaid, he expected they ſhou'd have ſent him Word they had taken ſuch Courſes for the ſuppreſſing Tumults and unlawful Aſſemblies, and puniſhing all ſeditious Pamphlets and Sermons, to remove all his Fears of that kind, before they preſs'd his Return to *London*. In Concluſion, he wiſh'd they wou'd examine their Meſſages to him, with the ſame Strictneſs they did thoſe they receiv'd from him, and then they would find many Expreſſions in them, that were warranted only by their own Authority; to which indeed he forbore to give an Anſwer, *leſt he ſhould be tempted, in a juſt Indignation, to expreſs a greater Paſſion, than he was yet willing to put on.* This meeting with no Succeſs, the King laid aſide any further Thoughts of the Deſign; and from this Time they were freed from the Apprehenſion of his Majeſty's perſonal Expedition into *Ireland*; which Deſign had been ſuddenly undertaken, and not ſufficiently digeſted for the Exigencies of the preſent Time. It had been projected partly by Way of Experiment, and ſo it prov'd; for it gave the Party a new Cauſe of Triumph, that they had been able directly to threaten him out of what he pretended he had firmly reſolv'd.

1642.
Car. 18.

The Project laid aſide.

Advantages gain'd by the Parliament.

This Diſadvantage was improv'd by the other Propoſition attending it concerning the Militia; which being ſent, upon a Suppoſition that the Expedition wou'd be approv'd of, brought that Buſineſs into a new unhappy Debate. His Majeſty had, by the Attorney-General, preſented a Bill to the Houſe of Lords, granting the Militia for one Year to the Perſons nam'd by the Parliament, ſubject to his own Authority, and that of the two Houſes jointly; but the Alterations the two Houſes had made in it, before they return'd it again for the Royal Aſſent, were ſuch, and there was indeed ſo great a Difference between the Bill ſent by the King, and that preſented to him, that it cou'd not reaſonably be imagin'd he wou'd conſent to it. This being the firſt publick Bill he had refus'd, he gave them his Reaſons, and by Way of Expoſtulation ask'd them, *What all Chriſtian Princes wou'd think of him, and how they wou'd value his Sovereignty, after he had paſs'd ſuch a Bill*? This had no Effect upon them, and it had been happier for his Majeſty, if the firſt Motion of the Bill had never begun from him; for upon the rejecting the Bill with the Alterations they had made in it, they cunningly perſuaded the People that he now refus'd to conſent to what had been firſt offer'd and propos'd by himſelf: While his own Party were as much concern'd to find ſo expreſs a Prerogative offer'd to be divided, as was allow'd in the King's own Bill; and that it was poſſible for him to ſhrink from his firmeſt Reſolves, in a Point that naturally wou'd not admit of the leaſt Diviſion or Diminution.

The King's Deſign to ſecure Hull.

3. In the mean Time the King had enter'd upon a new and greater Enterprize, which had been the main Motive of his Journey into the Northern Parts. His great Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, now more conſiderable than that in the *Tower* of *London*, was ſtill continu'd at *Hull*, as was formerly obſerv'd, under the Government of Sir *John Hotham*, a Gentleman of an ancient Family, very rich both in Land and Mony; and tho' plac'd there by the Parliament, not ill affected to the Government, nor ready to ingage in a War. He being there with only ſome of the Train'd-Bands, the King reſolv'd to make a Journey thither himſelf, with his uſual Train, and there ſtay till he had ſecur'd the Place and Magazine. This Reſolution was conceal'd with the niceſt Care; yet as ſoon as he arriv'd at *York*, it was eaſily ſuſpected that he had an Eye upon that important Place; therefore they made an Order in both Houſes, That the Magazine ſhou'd be remov'd from *Hull* to the *Tower*, and order'd Ships for the Tranſportation. Upon which his Majeſty reſolv'd to make no longer Delay; and being perſuaded by ſome, that if he went in Perſon, Sir *John Hotham* wou'd neither be willing nor able to keep him out of the Town, and that the Poſſeſſion of ſuch a Poſt and Magazine wou'd make the Parliament more modeſt and tractable, he took the Opportunity of a Petition from the Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire*, who pray'd, 'That the Magazine might ſtill be continu'd at *Hull* for the Security of the *Northern* Parts;' and fix'd upon St. *George*'s Day, the 23d of *April*, to effect this great Deſign.

He goes to the Town.

The Day before he ſent his young Son the Duke of *York* to the Town, attended by the Prince Elector and ſome other Perſons of Honour, who took it for no other than a Journey deſign'd for the Pleaſure and Curioſity of the Duke; and they were receiv'd by Sir *John Hotham* with all becoming Civility and Duty. The next Morning early the King himſelf, attended by two or three Hundred of his own Servants and Gentlemen of the Country, rode thither from *York*; and coming within a Mile of the Place, Sir *Lewis Dives* was ſent before, to let Sir *John* know his Majeſty wou'd dine with him that Day, which extreamly ſurpris'd him. He was a Man of a timorous Nature and perplex'd Underſtanding, and had accepted of this Employment from the Parliament out of a Preſumption, that the preſerving that Magazine from the King's Poſſeſſion, wou'd prevent any poſſible Rupture. Being in great Confuſion, and conſulting with ſome of the chief Magiſtrates and Officers, they perſuaded him not to ſuffer the King to enter into the Town; ſo that his Majeſty coming an Hour after his Meſſenger, found the Gates ſhut, the Bridges drawn, the Walls mann'd, and all Things in Readineſs as for the Reception of an Enemy. Sir *John* Himſelf, from the Walls, with great Profeſſions of Duty and Expreſſions of Fear, declar'd to his Majeſty, *He durſt not open the Gates,* *Sir* John Hotham *refuſes him Entrance:*

being truſted by the Parliament: The King told him, *He believ'd he had no Order from the Parliament to ſhut the Gates againſt Him, or keep him out of the Town.* He reply'd, *His Train was ſo great, that he ſhou'd not be able to give a good Account of the Town.* Upon which the King offer'd to enter with only twenty Horſe, and to have the reſt ſtay without; which the other refuſing, the King deſir'd him to come to him, *That he might confer with him, upon his Princely Word of a ſecure and ſafe Return.* And when he excus'd himſelf from that ſmall Civility, his Majeſty told him, *This unparallel'd Act of his wou'd produce ſome diſmal Effect; that after ſuch Indignity he muſt immediately proclaim him* Traytor, *and proceed againſt him as ſuch; that his Diſobedience wou'd probably bring many Miſeries and much Blood upon the Kingdom, all which he might prevent by performing the Duty of a Subject; therefore he wiſh'd him to think ſadly of it, and ſtop the Riſe of ſo many Calamities, which muſt lye all upon his Conſcience.* The Gentleman with much Diſtraction in his Looks, talk'd confuſedly of the Truſt he had from the Parliament, and then fell on his Knees, and prophetically wiſh'd, *That God wou'd bring Confuſion upon Him and His, if he were not a loyal and faithful Subject to his Majeſty*; but in Concluſion utterly deny'd his Majeſty Entrance into the Town.

For which he is proclaim'd a Traytor.

Upon which, the King having waited a conſiderable Time, and given Sir *John* an Hour's Space to return an Anſwer, at length proclaim'd Him a Traytor by two Heralds at Arms; which the other receiv'd with ſome Expreſſions of Undutifulneſs and Contempt. Thus the King, after he had receiv'd the Duke of *York* and his Retinue, was forc'd to retire that Night to *Beverly*, ſix Miles from that Place; and the next Day return'd to *York*, full of Trouble and Indignation for this high Affront, which he foreſaw wou'd produce infinite Miſchiefs. The Gentlemen of the County look'd upon it as an open Declaration of War againſt the King, expreſs'd a mighty Senſe and Paſſion on his Majeſty's Behalf, and offer'd to raiſe the Power of the Country, and take the Town by Force. And it is juſtly believ'd, that had the King with the Forces of the Nobility and Gentry, which he cou'd have then commanded, boldly attack'd the Town, and gain'd a Surrendry of it, with a generous Mercy to the Inhabitants and ſmall Garriſon, and an exemplary Juſtice upon Sir *John Hotham* the Governour, it had been the moſt proper Time to begin the War, and might have put a ſpeedy Period to it. But this may be call'd one of King *Charles*'s fatal Hours, which wou'd not allow him to lay hold on the moſt uſeful Expedients: War was too remote from his Thought, and he believ'd any thing more eligible than an abſolute Rupture. Which well agrees with what a *French* Hiſtorian ſays of this unfortunate Prince, 'That it was his peculiar Defect, never to make uſe of Neceſſary Extreams, before he had made Tryal of ſeveral Uſeleſs Precautions.'

The King, being weak in Power as well as Will, again flew to the Paper Combate, and complain'd to his Parliament of Sir *John Hotham*'s Treaſon and Diſloyalty, and from Them demanded Juſtice againſt him according to Law. This produc'd a Sett of new Meſſages and Replies, too long to be here fully inſerted: Only that on one Side his Majeſty inſiſted upon his Sovereign Right to the Town, and his Legal Property in the Magazine, and demanded of them, 'What Title any of his Subjects had to his Houſe and Land, that he had not to his Town of *Hull*; and what Right any Man had to his Mony and Goods, that he had not to his Magazine and Ammunition? And if the Arms, bought with his own Mony, were ever His, when and how that Property left him?' He likewiſe inſiſted, 'That War had now been actually levy'd againſt him, and that Sir *John Hotham* was a Traytor, according to the Statute of the 25th of King *Edward* the Third; unleſs the bare ſitting of a Parliament ſuſpended all Laws, and he was the only Perſon in *England* againſt whom no Treaſon cou'd be committed. And then quoted Mr. *Pym*'s own Words, *If the Prerogative of the King overwhelm the Liberty of the People, it will be turn'd to Tyranny; if Liberty undermine Prerogative, it will grow into Anarchy, and ſo into Confuſion.*' On the other Side, the Parliament voted, 'That Sir *John Hotham* had done Nothing but in Obedience to their Commands, and that the Declaring one of their Members a Traytor, was a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament, and being without Proceſs of Law, was againſt the Liberty of the Subject, and the Law of the Land.' And for a Ground of his Son's Reſidence in *Hull*, they likewiſe voted, 'That if Sir *John Hotham*, by Force or Accident ſhou'd loſe his Life, his Son ſhou'd ſucceed him in the ſaid Government.' In a particular Declaration they vindicated their Proceedings, inſiſted upon publick Rights, and boldly aſſerted, 'That they had done Nothing contrary to his Majeſty's Royal Sovereignty in the Town, or his Legal Propriety in the Magazine.'

New Meſſages, Replies, &c.

This Declaration or Meſſage, in which they made a further Demand for the Militia, was ſent to the King by a ſelect Committee, the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Hugh Cholmly*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and Sir *Henry Cholmly*, who were to reſide at *York*, and be Spies upon his Actions. His Majeſty was ſo ſenſible of their Deſign, by their Temper and Behaviour, that he told them, *He lik'd not ſuch Superiors near him, who ought to be very careful of their Carriage, ſince then the Country was viſibly well affected; and if he found any Declenſion, he knew whom to impute it to; and ſhou'd be forc'd to uſe them in another Manner, than with Reference to their Perſons he ſhou'd be willing to do.* They anſwer'd with a ſullen Confidence, *That they ſhou'd carry themſelves according to their Inſtructions, and the Truſt repos'd in them by the two Houſes of Parliament.* Yet notwithſtanding their Deſigns were ſo evident, the King's Condition was ſo low, that he durſt not commit them to Priſon, or expel them the Town, or ſo much as inhibit them the Freedom of his Court and Preſence; and ſo they continu'd in *York* for above a Month, in perfect Defiance of the King.

A Check to the Parliament Meſſengers.

4. The Parliament having daily gain'd Ground upon the King, they now conſider'd that the Militia was the Argument of the greateſt Weight with the People, wherefore they reſolv'd to drive that Nail to the Head, and on the fifth of *May* publiſh'd a Declaration of both Houſes, 'Signifying their Reſolution to put their Ordinance for the Militia in Execution, being warranted thereunto by the *Fundamental Laws of the Land.*' This being mix'd with ſeveral Reflections upon the King's Conduct, and not communicated to him, as their other Declarations and Meſſages were, He return'd a ſharp Anſwer to it, rather as a ſeditious Pamphlet, than a real Declaration of his Parliament, 'Of which he ſolemnly declar'd he had no Jealouſy, but of ſome turbulent and ambitious Natures, which might have an Influence even upon the Actions of both Houſes. He argu'd, If the Votes of both Houſes cou'd make a new Law, by the ſame Authority they might repeal the old; and then what wou'd become of *Magna Charta*, and the long eſtabliſh'd Rights and Liberties of the King and People? Therefore in Concluſion he diſcharg'd all his loving Subjects from the Obeying an Ordinance ſo contrary to Law and Reaſon.' Notwithſtanding theſe ſevere Declarations, the Leaders had ſtill the Power and Skill to perſuade Men, 'That all wou'd be well, that they were very confident the King wou'd yield to whatſoever they deſir'd; at leaſt that they ſhou'd obtain a good Part, if not all, and that there wou'd be no War;' tho' themſelves knew, the Fire was too much kindled not to break out into a Flame, and therefore prepar'd accordingly, both in the raiſing Men and Mony.

The Parliament declare for the Militia.

And that they might confirm the Puritanical Part of the Nation, who thought them not ſufficiently zealous in their intended Reformation, they a little before declar'd to the Publick, 'That they deſign'd a due and neceſſary Reformation in the Government and Liturgy of the Church, and to aboliſh Nothing in the One and the Other, but what ſhou'd be evil, or at leaſt needleſs and burthenſome; to which pious End they would have a ſpeedy Conſultation with learned and godly Divines, and uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to eſtabliſh learned and *Preaching Miniſters*, with a ſufficient Maintenance throughout the Kingdom.' This Declaration was not more deſign'd for the Encouragement of thoſe, who were grown impatient for a Reformation, than to lull the others aſleep, who began to apprehend a Confuſion from the Liberties they ſaw practis'd againſt the eſtabliſh'd Doctrine and Government of the Church; in which they met with their uſual Succeſs.

They promiſe a Reformation in the Church.

Having gain'd ſufficient Strength, both as to Civil and Spiritual Conteſts, they now thought it high Time to let the King and People ſee that they durſt put their Ordinance in Execution, and reſolv'd 'That on the tenth Day of *May* they wou'd have all the Train'd-Bands of *London* muſter'd in the Fields.' And accordingly on that Day, their own new Officer, Serjeant-Major-General *Skippon*, appear'd in *Finſbury* Fields, at the Head of the City Train'd-Bands, conſiſting of eight or ten Thouſand Men, diſpos'd into ſix Regiments, and under ſuch Colonels and Captains, as they had Cauſe to confide in. At this firſt Triumphant Muſter, the Members of both Houſes appear'd in groſs; a Tent being purpoſely erected for them, and an Entertainment at the Charge of the City to the Value of near a Thouſand Pounds; and till this Day they had no Inſtance of the Concurrence of the City in an Act expreſly Unlawful. After this Exploit they ſent Directions to the adjacent Counties, ſpeedily to execute the ſame Ordinance, and to all other Places to make Preparations of Arms, Ammuni-

They put the Militia Ordinance in Execution.

tion, *&c.* and they likewiſe voted, ‘ That thoſe who had ſhewn ſo much Obedience to the Ordinance of Parliament concerning the Militia, had done it according to the Laws of the Land; and that they ſhou'd have the Aſſiſtance of both Houſes of Parliament againſt any that might moleſt or oppoſe them therein.’ So that beſides the repeated diſmal Accounts from *Ireland*, which rais'd a Horror in all pious tender Minds, the whole Nation began to reſound with the Rumours of War, Arms, and Deſolation.

The King raiſes a Guard for his Perſon.

5. The King well ſaw the impending Storm; and likewiſe found that he was ſo far from having *Hull* reſtor'd, that the Garriſon there encreas'd daily, ſo that Sir *John Hotham* was better able to take *York*, than He to recover *Hull*; and therefore he now thought it very ſeaſonable to follow their Example, and put himſelf into ſome Poſture of Defence. Accordingly upon the twelfth of *May* he ſummon'd the Gentry of *Yorkſhire* to appear before him, and thus addreſs'd himſelf to them: *You ſee my own proper Goods, my Magazine, are going to be taken from me; the* Militia Ordinance, *contrary to Law, is going to be put in Execution; and laſtly, Sir* John Hotham'*s Treaſon is countenanc'd. All this conſider'd, none can blame me, if I apprehend Danger: Therefore I thought fit to tell you, that according to the Example of the Parliament, I am reſolv'd to have a Guard, only to ſecure my Perſon; in which I deſire your Concurrence and Aſſiſtance, that I may be able to protect You, the Laws and Proteſtant Profeſſion, from any Injury that may be offer'd.* Notwithſtanding the Oppoſition that was made by the Parliament Committee and ſome others, they generally and chearfully agreed, ‘ That a ſufficient Guard was requiſite for the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon.’ Hereupon ſuch Gentlemen as were willing, liſted Themſelves by the King's Appointment into a Troop of Horſe, of whom the Prince of *Wales* was made Captain, to which was joyn'd one Regiment of the Train'd-Bands, conſiſting of about ſix Hundred Men, whom he caus'd to be paid every *Saturday* at his own Charge, when he had little more than wou'd defray the weekly Expence of his Table. This Troop and Regiment made up the whole of his Guards; to regulate which his Majeſty firſt declar'd, ‘ No Perſon ſhou'd be allow'd in either, who did not before his Admiſſion take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy;’ thereby to avoid the Scandal of Entertaining *Papiſts* for his Security.

The two Houſes declare againſt it, and publiſh a ſecond Remonſtrance.

But before the compleat knowledge of this Matter cou'd come to thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, having private Notice of what was intended, they publiſh'd a Declaration in the Name of both Houſes of Parliament, ſetting forth, ‘ That it was againſt the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, for any Subjects to be commanded to attend his Majeſty at his Pleaſure, excepting ſuch as were bound by ſpecial Service: And if the Train'd-Bands, or any other Perſons, ſhou'd upon any Pretence be drawn together, in a Poſture of War, the Sheriff of ſuch a County ought to raiſe the Power thereof to ſuppreſs them.’ After which they particularly voted, ‘ That the Magazine of each reſpective Shire in *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, ſhou'd be preſently put into the Power of ſuch Lord-Lieutenants of thoſe Counties, as the Parliament did confide in.’ Upon the ſame Day, the 19th of *May*, they publiſh'd a large Remonſtrance, ‘ In which they highly reflected upon his Majeſty's Meſſages, Anſwers and Declarations, and tax'd him with Breach of his Word and Promiſes, as alſo with continu'd Oppreſſions and Violation of the Laws, and with countenancing the Rebellion in *Ireland*; particularly by deferring his Proclamation againſt the Rebels from *October* to *January*, and then ordering but forty Copies to be printed; whereas his Proceedings againſt the *Scots*, and Proclaiming them Traytors, had been ſharp and ſpeedy.’ And to prove the Truth of the Army's Plot againſt the Parliament, they annex'd to this Remonſtrance the Examinations of Colonel *Goring*, the Lord *Piercy*'s Letter, and other Papers which the People might look upon as ſufficient Evidences of that formidable Conſpiracy.

They vote, That the King intends to make War againſt the Parliament.

The very next Day, hearing the King actually had a Guard, notwithſtanding the healing Speech of the Earl of *Briſtol*, who nobly deplor'd the approaching Calamities, both Houſes agreed upon theſe three notable Votes and Reſolves, ‘ 1. That it appears, That the King, ſeduc'd by wicked Counſel, *intends to make War againſt the Parliament.* 2. Whenſoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a *Breach of the Truſt* repos'd in him by his People, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Diſſolution of this Government. 3. That whoſoever ſhall ſerve, or *aſſiſt him in ſuch Wars*, are *Traytors* by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; and have been ſo adjudg'd by two Acts of Parliament, 2 *Rich.* II. and 1 of *Hen.* IV.’ Theſe Votes they diſpers'd with all Diligence, and then ſent them to the King at *York*, together with a ſhort Petition to diſband all his new Guards. It may ſeem ſtrange, and even prodigious, that theſe People ſhou'd ever hope to obtrude ſuch a Vote upon the Nation, That the King deſign'd a War againſt them, when, as the Lord *Clarendon* tells us, they were ſo far from fearing he ſhou'd be able to raiſe an Army, that they were moſt aſſur'd he had neither Ship, Harbour, Arms, nor Mony, nor was able to get Bread to ſupport himſellf for three Months, without ſubmitting to their Conduct and Control. Yet, as the noble Hiſtorian adds, they well knew what infinite Advantage that Vote wou'd bring to them; and then finely lays open their deep Management, Subtlety and Penetration. At laſt he excellently reflects upon the Methods of the Divine Juſtice, That the ſame Principles, and the ſame Application of thoſe Principles, ſhou'd be us'd to the wreſting all Sovereign Power from the Crown, which the Crown had a little before made uſe of for its extending its Authority and Power beyond the Bounds, to the Prejudice of the juſt Rights of the Subject. A *ſuppos'd Neceſſity* was then thought Ground enough to create a Power, and a bare Averment of that Neceſſity to beget a Practice to impoſe what Tax they thought convenient upon the Subject, by Writs of *Ship-Mony* never before known; and a *ſuppos'd Neceſſity* now, and a bare Averment of that Neceſſity, is as confidently, and more fatally concluded a good Ground to exclude the Crown from the Uſe of any Power, by an *Ordinance* never before heard of; and the ſame Maxim of *Salus Populi ſuprema Lex*, which had been us'd to the Infringing the Liberty of the One, made uſe of for the Deſtroying the Rights of the Other.

They ſend to apprehend Delinquents at York.

Tho' they did not really believe that the King wou'd be able to raiſe any Force againſt them, yet they were inwardly inrag'd to find he liv'd more like himſelf than they deſired; and that from the Deſertion of his own Servants, he was now attended by the chief Gentlemen of all Counties, which imply'd a Diſlike, if not a Contempt of their Carriage towards him. Therefore to prevent this dangerous Obedience to him, they appointed their Serjeant to apprehend ſome Perſons who had reſorted to *York*, and bring them as Delinquents before the Houſes. Among theſe was one *Beckwith*, a *Yorkſhire* Gentleman, who, as Sir *John Hotham* had inform'd them, had been diſcourſing ſome Officers of *Hull* to deliver the Place to the King: This they declar'd to be an enormous Crime, and little leſs than High-Treaſon, and therefore as a Delinquent he was ſent for to attend them. It look'd ridiculous to By-Standers, that Sir *John Hotham* ſhou'd be juſtify'd for keeping the Town againſt the King, and another judg'd a Delinquent for endeavouring to reſtore it to its Allegiance; and that they who juſt before, when his Majeſty had requir'd *Skippon* to attend him at *York*, publiſh'd a Reſolution, ‘ That ſuch a Command was againſt Law, the Liberty of the Subject and Privilege of Parliament, and therefore that their Major-General of the Forces of *London* ſhou'd continue to attend their Service;’ ſhou'd now expect a Submiſſion to their Warrant from thoſe who were attending on the King; whoſe acknowledg'd Authority they had ſo peremptorily oppos'd, that on the ſame Day they had privileged their Officer *Skippon*, being inform'd that the King had ſent a Writ to adjourn *Eaſter* Term from *Weſtminſter* to *York*, they declar'd, ‘ That ſuch an Adjournment while the Parliament ſat was Illegal, and order'd the Lord-Keeper not to iſſue out any Writ, or ſeal any Proclamation to that Purpoſe; which out of Fear he obſerv'd, notwithſtanding the King's Command for the Adjournment. Their Officer, when he came to *York* to apprehend the Delinquents, found the Parliament as much neglected there, as the King was above; and was ſo ill receiv'd by his reputed Priſoners, that if the King had not ſtrenuouſly interpos'd, he wou'd ſcarce have return'd to report the Inſignificancy of his Warrants, and the Danger of his Employment. This new Diſappointment, as it was call'd, was no more than they expected; for their Dilemma was, If their Meſſenger return'd with his Priſoners, all the Reſort and Luſtre about the King wou'd ſoon be determin'd; if he was receiv'd with Neglect or Affront, as was expected he ſhou'd, they had a new Reproach for the King ‘ of protecting Delinquents againſt the Juſtice of Parliament, and a new Encroachment upon their Privileges.’ And of that Nature were the Votes they publiſh'd upon their Officer's Return; ſo that every Attempt, whether own'd ſucceſsful or not, gain'd them new Ground, and new Authority.

IX. 1. After the laſt Votes of the Parliament, all Men began to be fill'd with the Apprehenſions of War and Confuſion; and nothing was to be heard, in all Meetings and Diſcourſes, but ſad Preſages of Miſery to the Kingdom, if Heaven in a miraculous Manner did not prevent it. Many of both Houſes daily deſerted the Leaders, and repair'd to the King at *York*, to the particular Incouragement of his Majeſty's Friends. But that which moſt ſurpris'd them, and gave them no ſmall Trouble, was the Behavi-

The Lord-Keeper goes to the King at York.

our of the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, who of late had comply'd with their Meaſures more than was conſiſtent with his Place and Truſt, even to the joyning in the Votes for the Militia Ordinance. This great Man, whom they thought to be wholly on their Side, finding their Exorbitancies, on the twenty-ſecond Day of *May*, privately deliver'd up the great Seal to one Mr. *Elliot*, a Meſſenger from the King, and the next Morning, being *Sunday*, by the Help of Serjeant *Lee*, he took ſuch Methods as to get ſafe to the King at *York*; all which was perform'd with much Difficulty and ſome Stratagems. This ſudden Deſertion being known on *Monday*, both Houſes were diſcompos'd, and confounded with Shame, having valu'd themſelves, and being valu'd by others, upon the Account of this Man's joining with them. Yet to ſhew their Indignation againſt him, they iſſu'd out ſuch a Warrant for the apprehending him, as if he had been a moſt notorious Felon or Murderer; and immediately caus'd it to be printed and diſperſed over the Kingdom. But their Trouble and Diſtraction at this Time was viſibly very great; inſomuch that the ſame Day the Earl of *Northumberland* himſelf mov'd, 'That a 'Committee might be appointed, to conſider of an Ac'commodation between the King and his People, for the 'Good, Happineſs and Safety of both King and Kingdom;' which Committee was accordingly appointed.

The Parliament's Third Remonſtrance.

But this Temper of Accommodation was ſoon ſtifled by the invincible Spirit of the Houſe of Commons; which, to ſhew how little they valu'd the Power of the King, tho' now ſupported by his Keeper and Great Seal, on the twenty-ſixth of *May* agreed to a new and third Remonſtrance to the People of *England*. As the laſt reflected upon his Perſon and Actions, ſo this as much depreſs'd his Regal Power and Authority, and advanc'd ſome Poſitions and Diſtinctions, as ſufficiently diſcover'd their Intentions of changing the whole Conſtitution. The Subſtance of which were, 'That they had an abſolute Power of declaring 'Law, as being the *Supreme Court of the Kingdom*; and 'whatſoever they declar'd to be ſo, ought not to be que'ſtion'd by the King or any Subiect: That the Parliament 'may diſpoſe of any Thing, wherein the King or Subject 'hath a Right, for the Publick Good; and that they are 'this Parliament without the King, and Judge of this Pub'lick Good, in which his Conſent is not neceſſary: That 'the Sovereign Power reſides in both Houſes, and the 'King ought to have no *Negative Voice*; which they infer'red from a Clauſe in the Coronation Oath in ancient 'Times: That the levying of Forces againſt the King's 'Perſonal Commands, tho' accompany'd with his Pre'ſence, is not levying War againſt the King; but the levy'ing of War againſt his Politick Perſon, *viz.* his Laws, '*&c.* tho' not accompany'd with his Perſon, is levying War 'againſt the King. That Treaſon cannot be committed a'gainſt his Perſon, otherwiſe than he is intruſted with the 'Kingdom, and diſcharging that Truſt; and that they have a 'Power to judge whether he has diſcharg'd that Truſt or no.' Beſides theſe intermix'd Poſitions, they us'd ſeveral heavy Complaints and Expoſtulations, and demanded, 'Were 'there ever ſuch Imputations and Scandals laid upon the 'Proceedings of a Parliament? Were there ever ſo many 'and great Breaches of Privilege of Parliament? Were 'there ever ſo many deſperate Deſigns of Force and Vio'lence againſt the Parliament? If they had done more than 'ever their Anceſtors had done, they ſaid they had ſuffer'd 'more than ever they had ſuffer'd: Yet in Point of Mo'deſty and Duty, they wou'd not yield to the beſt of for'mer Times; and they wou'd put that in Iſſue, *Whether* '*the higheſt, and moſt unwarrantable Precedents of any of* '*the King's Predeceſſors, did not fall ſhort of what had been* '*done to them this Parliament*?

The Effects of it.

This Remonſtrance had a greater Influence upon the Minds of the Nation, than all they had done before. For till now many hop'd and believ'd, that what had paſs'd between the King and the Parliament, were ſuch Matters of Paſſion and Reſentment, as Coolneſs and Temper might bring to an Agreement. But when the Reformers began to remove their Mask, and by this Remonſtrance they ſaw Foundations laid, which might juſtify all that they had already done, and whatever they thought Convenient to do; and that not only the King, but the Regal Power was ſuppreſs'd, or elſe depoſited in other Hands; they were utterly diſpirited, and deſpair'd of an Accommodation, without Bloodſhed. Very many thought it as unſafe to be preſent at thoſe Conſultations, as to conſent to the Concluſions; and ſo now greater Numbers of the Members of both Houſes abſented themſelves; and many, eſpecially of the Houſe of Peers, reſorted to his Majeſty at *York*. So that in the Debates of the higheſt Conſequence, there was not uſually preſent in the Houſe of Commons the fifth Part of their juſt Numbers, and very often not above twelve or thirteen in the Houſe of Peers. All this was done by his Majeſty's Deſire and Approbation, and was thought very much to have ſtrengthen'd his Party and Intereſt; but yet in Time it prov'd of infinite Diſſervice to his Affairs, by giving the preſent Leaders Liberty of proceeding without any conſiderable Impediment. One of the laſt, that continu'd Sitting in the Houſe of Commons, was Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, a young Gentleman of incomparable Parts, who for a Farewell declar'd to Them, in a Prophetick Strain, *That by a War they wou'd expoſe themſelves to unknown Dangers: For when the Cards are once Shuffled, no Man knows who ſhall win the Game.*

The King's Anſwer to the ſecond Remonſtrance.

2. In the mean Time the King had a full Court at *York*, where he receiv'd all with great Clemency and Condeſcenſion; and always call'd the Nobility to Counſel, and adviſ'd with them concerning the Declarations and Meſſages he thought fit to publiſh to the World; and particularly his two large Anſwers to the late mention'd Remonſtrances of the Parliament. In the Firſt, he gave a rational and particular Anſwer to all the Accuſations and Complaints they had made with Relation to his Actions; 'and as to the '*Militia*, he wou'd appeal to all the World, whether they 'might not with as much Juſtice and Law, have ſeiz'd up'on the Eſtate of every Member of both Houſes, who 'diſſented from that *pretended Ordinance*, as they had in'vaded that Power of his over It, becauſe he had, upon 'unanſwer'd Reaſons, refus'd to conſent to that Propoſiti'on. And whereas their Remonſtrance had acknowledg'd '*they cou'd not make new Laws without his Majeſty*; they 'needed no ſuch Power, if That cou'd ſuſpend the Sta'tutes of the Realm from being obey'd or executed: If they 'had Power to declare the Lord *Digby*'s Viſit to ſome 'Officers at *Kingſton*, to be *levying of War*, and *High-* '*Treaſon*; and Sir *John Hotham*'s Defiance, and keeping 'his Fort and Goods againſt him, by Force of Arms, to 'be an *Act of Affection and Loyalty*; how did they need a 'Power of making new Laws?' In concluſion he ſaid, 'If 'he had been compell'd to ſharper Language, than he af'fected, it might be conſider'd how vile, how inſufferable 'his Provocations had been: And except to repel Force 'were to *aſſault*, and to give neceſſary Anſwers to rough 'and inſolent Demands, were to make *Invectives*, he was 'confident the World wou'd accuſe him of too much 'Mildneſs; and all his good Subjects wou'd think he was 'not well treated, and wou'd judge of Him, and their own 'Happineſs and Security in him, by his Actions; which he 'deſir'd might no longer proſper, or have a Bleſſing from 'God upon them, and himſelf, *than they ſhou'd be directed* '*to the Glory of God, in the Maintenance of the true Pro*'*teſtant Profeſſion*; *to the Preſervation of the Property and* '*Liberty of the Subject, in the Obſervation of the Laws*; '*and the Maintenance of the Rights and Freedom of Parlia*'*ments, in the Protection of all their juſt Privileges.*

His Anſwer to the Third Remonſtrance.

In Anſwer to the laſt Remonſtrance, that ſo much depreſs'd the Regal Authority, 'He commended the Plain'Dealing and Ingenuity of the Framers of it, who wou'd 'no longer ſuffer him to be affronted by being told, *They* '*wou'd make him a great and glorious King*, while they 'us'd all poſſible Skill to reduce him to extreme Want and 'Indigency; and that *they wou'd make him to be lov'd at* '*home and fear'd abroad*, while they contriv'd all poſſible 'Ways to render him odious to his Subjects, and con'temptible to Foreign Princes; but like Round-Dealing 'Men, told him in plain *Engliſh*, *That they had done him* '*no Wrong*, becauſe he was not capable of receiving any; 'and *that they had taken Nothing from him*, becauſe he had 'never any Thing of his own to loſe.' He anſwer'd to their bold Poſitions, and obſerv'd, 'That their Interpreta'tion of Treaſon had left the King of *England* abſolutely 'leſs provided for, in Point of Safety, than the meaneſt of 'his Subjects: But as they had aſſum'd a Power of *declar*'*ing Law*, did they think they had a Power of *declaring* '*Senſe* and *Reaſon*, and impoſing *Logick* and *Syllogiſms* in 'the Schools, as well as *Law* upon the People?' As to their numerous Complaints, he told them, 'That the Con'dition of his Subjects, when at worſt under his Govern'ment, was by many Degrees more pleaſant and happy, 'than that to which their furious Pretence of *Reformation* 'had brought them. He doubted not but all his good Sub'jects did now plainly diſcern through the Mask and Vi'zard of their Hypocriſy; and wou'd no more look upon 'the Framers of that Remonſtrance, as upon *both Houſes of* '*Parliament*, but as a Faction of malignant, ſchiſmatical 'and ambitious Perſons; whoſe Deſign was to alter the 'whole Frame of Government, both of Church and State, 'and to ſubject both King and People to their own lawleſs 'arbitrary Power and Government.' He appeal'd to the Body of the Parliament, and declar'd, '*That thoſe that diſ*'*ſented from them*, wou'd be found in Honour, Fortune, 'Wiſdom, Reputation and Weight, if not in Number, 'much ſuperior to them. Therefore, in Concluſion, he 'doubted not, but the major Part of both Houſes of Par'liament, when they might come together with Honour 'and Safety, wou'd ſo far reſent the *Indignity* offer'd to

‘ his Perſon, the *Diſhonour* to Themſelves, and the *Miſchief* to the whole Kingdom, by that Remonſtrance; *that they wou'd ſpeedily make the foul Contrivers of it Inſtances of their exemplary Juſtice, and brand Them and their Doctrine with the Marks of their perpetual Scorn and Indignation.*

The King's Attendance at York.

To this the Parliament made no Reply till many Months after the War began; but contented themſelves with uſing all Methods to leſſen his Majeſty's Reputation, and to hinder the great Reſort to him at *York*; who at this Time liv'd in a much more Princely Manner, than he cou'd have done near *London*, ſo great a Train and Appearance was there of the Gentry and Nobility about him. And yet the good King made no other Uſe of their Preſence at this Time, and their Abſence from the Parliament, *than to have ſo many the more, and the more credible Witneſſes of his Counſels and Proceedings*; and to undeceive the People, by his plain Anſwers to all the Scandals and Reproaches thrown upon him, and by his clear Profeſſions of his Zeal to Religion and Juſtice; and likewiſe to convince them, how far the Number and Quality of thoſe, who thought, or appear'd to think otherwiſe, was from what they might conceive it to be. And it cannot be deny'd, but the People were every Day recovering from their ſuperſtitious Reverence to the two Houſes; and grew more ſenſible of their Duty to the King, and the Incroachments made upon the Regal Dignity.

The Parliament's Nineteen Propoſitions.

3. In the mean Time the Parliament having brought their Affairs to a ſort of a Criſis, to prevent the Effuſion of Blood, on the Second Day of *June* they compleated their Grand *Petition* and *Propoſitions*, which by way of Eminence are call'd THE NINETEEN PROPOSITIONS; which were immediately ſent to the King at *York*, and preſented with great Solemnity by their Committee reſident in that Place. The Subſtance of them ought not to be omitted, which is as following. ‘ I. That all the King's Privy-Council, great Officers and Miniſters of State, may be put out, except ſuch as the Parliament ſhall approve, who are to have an Oath aſſign'd them. II. That all Affairs of State be manag'd by the Parliament, except ſuch Matters as are transferr'd by them to the Privy-Council, and to be concluded by the major Part of them under their Hands; the full Number not to exceed twenty five, nor be under fifteen; and if any Place fall void in the Interval of Parliament, then the major Part of the Council to chuſe one to be confirm'd at the next Seſſion of Parliament. III. That every one of the great Officers of the Kingdom ſhall be choſen with the Approbation of the Parliament, *&c.* as before ſaid. IV. That the Government and Education of the King's Children be directed by Parliament, *&c.* as before ſaid. V. That their Marriages alſo be treated and concluded by Parliament, *&c.* VI. That the Laws againſt Papiſts, Prieſts, and others, be executed without Toleration or Diſpenſation, except by Parliament. VII. No Popiſh Lord to have Vote in Parliament, and their Children to be educated in the Proteſtant Faith. VIII. That ſuch a Reformation be made in Church Government, and the Liturgy, as the Parliament ſhall adviſe. IX. To ſettle the *Militia*, as the Parliament has order'd, and the King to recall all his Declarations againſt their Ordinances. X. All Members of Parliament put out of their Places, during this Seſſion, to be reſtor'd again. XI. All Privy-Counſellors and Judges to take an Oath for maintaining the *Petition of Right*, and other Statutes, which ſhall be made this Parliament. XII. All Officers plac'd by Parliament are to hold their Places *Quam diu bene ſe geſſerint.* XIII. That the Juſtice of the Parliament paſs upon all Delinquents, and they to appear, or abide their Cenſure. XIV. The General Pardon to paſs with ſuch Exceptions as the Parliament ſhall adviſe. XV. All Forts and Caſtles of the Kingdom to be diſpos'd of by Parliament, *&c.* XVI. The King to diſcharge all his Guards and Forces now in being, and not to raiſe any other, but in Caſe of actual Rebellion and Invaſion. XVII. The King to enter into a ſtrict Alliance with all Reformed States, to recover the Rights of his Royal Siſter, and her Princely Iſſue to thoſe Dignities and Dominions, which belong to them. XVIII. To clear the Lord *Kimbolton* and the five Members, ſo that future Parliaments may be ſecur'd from the Conſequence of that ill Precedent. XIX. That no Peer hereafter to be made ſhall ſit in Parliament without their Conſent.’ In their Petition annex'd to theſe Propoſitions, they promis'd, if they were granted, ‘ They wou'd ſettle his Majeſty's Revenue, as ſhou'd be ſufficient to ſupport his Royal Dignity, in Honour and Plenty, *beyond the Proportion of any former Grants of the Subjects of this Kingdom to his Majeſty's Royal Predeceſſors.*

The King's Anſwer to them.

This was receiv'd with great Indignation by the King, and all about him, eſpecially when he underſtood, that on the ſame Day they had promis'd to ſettle his Revenues, they had voted it highly criminal for any One to tranſmit or return any Monies to him, that were rais'd from the Jewels of the Crown. Within a few Days he publiſh'd an Anſwer to theſe unheard-of Propoſitions, in which he complain'd, ‘ That they had ſeiz'd upon thoſe ſmall Sums of Mony, which his Credit had provided to buy him Bread; and ſo in Effect, had block'd him up on every Side. As to the *Propoſitions* themſelves, he look'd upon them as a ſtrange *Potion*, not preſcrib'd to him only for once, for the Cure of a preſent, preſſing, deſperate Diſeaſe; but for a conſtant *Diet* for him and his Poſterity; which in Effect was a Depoſing of Both. He ſaid, many of their Expreſſions had a greater Latitude of Signification, than they ſeem'd to have; therefore it concern'd him the more that they ſhou'd ſpeak out; that both he and his People might know the Bottom of their Demands, or know them to be Bottomleſs. His Majeſty therefore had great Cauſe to believe that the Contrivers of thoſe *Propoſitions* had no Intention of ſettling a firm Accommodation, but to increaſe thoſe Jealouſies, and to widen thoſe Diviſions, now unhappily fallen between Him and his Parliament. In ſum, he wou'd always weigh the Advices both of his Great, and Privy-Council; yet he ſhou'd likewiſe look on their Advices, as Advices, not as Commands or Impoſitions; upon Them, as his *Counſellors*, not as his *Tutors* or *Guardians*; and upon Himſelf, as their King, not as their *Pupil* or *Ward*. Therefore to all thoſe unreaſonable Demands, his Anſwer was, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.*

The Proceedings againſt abſent Members.

Before the Publication of this Anſwer, the Parliament were uſing all poſſible Methods to increaſe their Power, and ſecure the Chief of the City of *London* to their Intereſt, ſo that they might become involv'd, and Sharers in their Proſperity or Ruin; all which they brought about by means of their former Debts, and their new Contracts. Nor did they remit any thing of their uſual Heat, but proceeded with great Severity againſt thoſe Members who were gone to the King, proclaiming ſome by Name ‘ To be Enemies to the Kingdom;’ at one Time adjudging nine Peers, the Earls of *Northampton*, *Devonſhire*, *Monmouth* and *Dover*, the Lords *Rich*, *Andover*, *Grey* of *Ruthen*, *Coventry* and *Capel*, ‘ To be incapable of ſitting again in Parliament, while this ſhou'd continue.’ And the Houſe of Commons impos'd upon every one of their own Members, who were gone to the King, or by their Abſence appear'd well affected to his Service, a Hundred Pound a Man. Yet leſt this Proceeding ſhou'd diſturb and embarraſs their Counſels, they took Care, that tho' they had paid their Fine, ‘ None of them ſhou'd ſit again, till after an Examination by a Committee, they had given the Houſe Satisfaction in the Cauſe of their Abſence.’ For they well knew, if the Members of both Houſes ſhou'd be obliged to a ſtrict and regular Attendance, they ſhou'd never be able to accompliſh their great and extraordinary Deſigns.

Propoſals for bringing in Mony, Plate, &c.

Then for their grand Buſineſs the Militia, they caus'd thoſe who refus'd to obey their Ordinance, or had publiſh'd the King's Proclamation againſt their Proceedings, to be ſent for as Delinquents. And that they might be as well able to pay an Army, as they found they were to raiſe one, on the tenth Day of *June* they publiſh'd their famous Propoſals for the bringing in Horſe, Men and Arms, for the maintaining of the *Publick Peace*; the Reaſons of which they declar'd to be, ‘ A Deſign in the King to War againſt the Parliament; that he had already levy'd Forces both of Horſe and Foot; that with a high and forcible Hand he had protected Delinquents, ſuffering the Parliament Meſſengers that came for them to be abus'd, beaten and impriſon'd, and ſo the Orders of the higheſt Court of Juſtice in the Realm were not obey'd.’ Therefore they declar'd, ‘ Whoever wou'd bring in any Proportion of Mony or Plate, or ſubſcribe to furniſh and maintain any Number of Horſe, Horſemen and Arms, *for the Defence of the King and Parliament*, it ſhou'd be held a good and acceptable Service to the Common-wealth; and ſuch Perſons ſhou'd be repaid their Mony with Intereſt of eight Pounds *per Cent.* for which the *Publick Faith* ſtood engag'd.’ And they particularly appointed *Guild-Hall* for the Place, where this Plate or Mony, *&c.* ſhou'd be brought in: And laſtly, to encourage others, the Members of both Houſes appointed a ſolemn Day to ſubſcribe themſelves; which they perform'd very liberally. Moſt of thoſe, who thought it unlawful to be preſent at ſuch unheard-of Conſultations, withdrew before the Day came, or then abſented themſelves. But many were couragious enough to be preſent, and reſolutely to refuſe what they thought they cou'd not conſent to with Honour. Particularly Sir *Henry Killigrew* being call'd upon to ſubſcribe, bravely told them, *If there were Occaſion, he wou'd provide a good Horſe, and a good Sword, and made no Dobut but* he ſhou'd *find a good Cauſe.* But within a few Days both He, and whoever were known to refuſe, found it ſafeſt for them to leave the Town; ſo high was the Animoſity againſt them, both within and without the Walls.

Upon this Occaſion the Lecturing Preachers, who repair'd to the City from all Parts of the Kingdom, were more than ordinary zealous and vehement in promoting this *glorious Cauſe and Work of God*; which they did publickly in their Pulpits, and privately by their inceſſant Exhortations. And ſome of them proceeded ſo far as to pronounce the Neglecters of this Cauſe, accurſed from God; and ſubtlely apply'd that Text of *Curſe ye Meroz*, to their preſent Purpoſe. The Succeſs was extraordinary, and it is hardly credible, what a vaſt Proportion of Plate was brought in within ten Days; there being hardly Men enough to receive it, or Room to lay it in; and the Throng of the Bringers was ſo great, that many could not be diſcharg'd in two Days Attendance. The Citizens did not only bring in their beſt Plate, but their Wives deliver'd up their Caudle-Cups and Rings, and even their Thimbles and Bodkins, to maintain the *good old Cauſe*, as it was now call'd. In a Book call'd *Martin*'s *Eccho*, we are told, that the Mony, Plate, Rings, *&c.* rais'd in *London*, *Middleſex* and *Eſſex*, amounted to above eleven Millions of Pounds; ſo much they endeavour'd to impoſe upon the People. Tho' the King, at his firſt Notice, wrote to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of *London*, 'If they advanc'd any Mony, upon thoſe ſcandalous Votes that had declar'd his Intention to levy War againſt his Parliament, he wou'd look upon it, as the raiſing Force againſt himſelf;' yet it had no Effect towards the ſtopping theſe extraordinary Contributions. But they ſtill made all Preparations for War, and order'd, 'That all Horſes fit for Service, or great Saddles, that ſhould be carry'd towards the *North*, without the Direction of the two Houſes, ſhould be ſeiz'd and ſecured.

The great Succeſs.

4. It was at this Time a Matter of Wonder, and ſtill remains a Matter of Cenſure, that notwithſtanding all theſe Encroachments and warlike Preparations, the King had never yet put himſelf into a Poſture of Defence. He had by Degrees a glorious Appearance of the Nobility, and not only of thoſe, who by a regular Obſervance of the Laws, had render'd themſelves unblameable to King and People; but of others, who out of Paſſion, Reſentment, or ſomething worſe, had for a long Time concurr'd in all the violent Votes and Actions: yet ſtill they were rather an Ornament to his Court, and a Diſcredit to the ſmall Remainder at *Weſtminſter*, than any great Advantage to his Counſels; every Man thinking it a ſufficient Merit, to have abſented Himſelf from the Company and Place where the Malignity was bred; and that if he kept himſelf negatively innocent, it was all he ow'd his King and Country. A long unactive Peace had taught the Nation to abhor the very Thoughts of a Civil War, and to imagine that a vigorous Preparation againſt it, wou'd prove an Invitation to it; and there were very few of thoſe great Lords that attended his Majeſty, who did not declare, *That whatſoever Shews the Parliament made, in hopes to ſhake his Majeſty's Conſtancy, yet they durſt never venture upon a War*; *and if they ſhou'd, the People wou'd unanimouſly declare for the King, whoſe Safety conſiſted in his not providing for it: Whereas if he levy'd Forces, the Parliament wou'd perſuade the World, That it was to overthrow Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the People.* They who were of another Opinion, and cou'd have given better Reaſons, thought it not ſafe to unfold themſelves, but in the King's own Ear; there being in this noble Aſſembly, with whom the King daily adviſ'd, ſome who were not the ſtricteſt Keepers of Secrets, and others who were fear'd as Spies upon the reſt. But that which moſt deferr'd the Attempt of raiſing Forces was, that the King had no poſſible Convenience of Arms or Ammunition but from *Holland*, from whence he daily expected a Supply; and till that Time, let the Provocations be what they wou'd, he was forc'd to ſubmit and bear all with Patience.

The King's Backwardneſs as to War.

In the mean Time, for a Ground of further Proceedings upon Occaſion, the King deſir'd the Peers in Council to deliver in Writing, what Affronts and Violence had been offer'd them at *London*, which render'd their Preſence in the great Council of the Kingdom both unſafe and diſhonourable; to which they more readily conſented, becauſe the *London* Pamphlets had already ſtigmatiz'd them, as *Deſerters of the Parliament*, and *Betrayers of the Liberty of their Country*. Therefore in an Inſtrument drawn up and agreed among them all, they inſerted the ſeveral Particulars, 'As the Tumults, and Violence offer'd to many Perſons; The furious Threats of the Rabble, at the Doors of the Houſe, when they deſir'd to carry any exorbitant Matter; The Breach of the ſtanding Rules and Orders of the Houſe, while Matters were in Debate, and reſuming them again in a thin Houſe; the reverſing, waving, or contradicting Reſolutions made in a full Houſe; and Laſtly, Mr. *Holles*'s unprecedented demanding at the Bar, the Names of thoſe Lords who refus'd to conſent to the Militia, while the Tumults without threatned all thoſe who diſſented from it.' All theſe they gave as Reaſons for their Abſence from Parliament, and deliver'd them in an Inſtrument, ſign'd under their Hands. And yet, ſo great a Want was there of a neceſſary Spirit and Reſolution, that the very next Day many of them beſought his Majeſty, *That he wou'd by no Means publiſh that Paper, but keep it in his own Hands*; ſome of them declaring, *That if he publiſh'd it, they wou'd diſavow it.* So that an important Evidence, which at that Time might have been of ſovereign Uſe to the King, was render'd ineffectual to his Service; his Majeſty finding it neceſſary to engage his Princely Word, *Never to make it publick without their Conſent:* So that it remain'd a grand Secret, when the Lord *Clarendon* wrote this particular Account.

The Irreſolution of the Lords.

To make ſome Attonement for this Want of Courage, and that the World might ſee good Men were united to aſſiſt his Majeſty in Vindication of the Laws, in Oppoſition to others, who were united againſt both; upon a Declaration of his Majeſty in Council, and in the Preſence of all his Peers, 'That as he wou'd exact no other Obedience from them, than what was warranted by the Laws of the Land, ſo he expected they ſhou'd yield no Obedience to any Commands that were not legal, or impos'd by any other: That he wou'd protect all thoſe who ſhou'd refuſe any ſuch Command, whether they proceeded from Votes and Orders of both Houſes, or any other Way: That he wou'd defend the true Proteſtant Religion, the legal Liberties of the Subject, and juſt Privileges of Parliament, which he wou'd make the Standard of their Obedience to Him: That he wou'd not engage them in any War againſt the Parliament, except it were for his neceſſary Defence and Safety, againſt ſuch as invaded himſelf or his Adherents:' All that were preſent, to the Number of Forty-ſix, enter'd into a ſolemn Engagement in theſe Words, 'We do engage our ſelves not to obey any *Orders* or *Commands* whatſoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land; and to defend your Majeſty's *Perſon*, *Crown* and *Dignity*, together with your Majeſty's juſt and legal *Prerogative*, againſt all Perſons and Power whatever: We will defend the true *Proteſtant Religion* eſtabliſh'd by the Law of the Land, the lawful *Liberties* of the Subjects of *England*, and juſt *Privileges* of your Majeſty, and both your Houſes of Parliament: And laſtly, We engage our ſelves, not to obey any *Rule*, *Order*, or *Ordinance* whatſoever, concerning any *Militia*, that hath not the Royal Aſſent.' This was ſubſcrib'd by the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Lindſey*, *Cumberland*, *Huntington*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Dorſet*, *Saliſbury*, *Northampton*, *Devonſhire*, *Cambridge*, *Briſtol*, *Weſtmorland*, *Barkſhire*, *Monmouth*, *Rivers*, *Newcaſtle*, *Dover*, *Carnarvon*, and *Newport*; the Lords *Mowbrey*, and *Matravers*, *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, *Rich*, *Howard* of *Charleton*, *Newark*, *Paget*, *Chandois*, *Faulconbridge*, *Paulet*, *Lovelace*, *Savile*, *Coventry*, *Mohun*, *Dunſmore*, *Seymour*, *Grey* of *Ruthen*, and *Capell*; the Secretaries *Falkland* and *Nicolas*, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Banks*. This was done on the thirteenth Day of *June*, printed and diſpers'd by the Conſent of all the Subſcribers.

The King's Declaration in Council.

The Lords Engagement.

Two Days after, they conſented and agreed to ſubſcribe another Paper upon this Occaſion: His Majeſty, conceiving the falſe Rumours ſpread abroad might induce many to believe, he intended to raiſe a War againſt his Parliament, profeſs'd to them all, 'Before God and all the World, that he ever had an Abhorrence to ſuch Deſigns, and deſir'd all preſent in Council to declare, *If they had not frequently heard his Reſolutions to the contrary:* Whether they were not fully convinc'd *that he had no ſuch Intentions*; but that all his Endeavours aim'd at a ſure Settlement of the Proteſtant Religion, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, the Liberties of the Subject, the Law, Peace and Proſperity of the Kingdom.' Whereupon they unanimouſly agreed to ſign a Paper in theſe Words: 'We, whoſe Names are underwritten, in Obedience to his Majeſty's Deſire, and out of the Duty we owe to his Majeſty's *Honour*, and to *Truth*, being here upon the Place, and Witneſſes of his Majeſty's frequent and earneſt Declarations, and Profeſſions of his *Abhorring* all Deſigns of making War upon the Parliament, do profeſs before God, and teſtify to all the World, That we are fully perſuaded that his Majeſty *hath no ſuch Intention:* But that all his Endeavours tend to the firm and conſtant Settlement of the true *Proteſtant Religion*, the juſt *Privileges* of Parliament, the *Liberty* of the Subject, the *Law*, *Peace* and Proſperity of this Kingdom.' This was immediately printed with the fore-mention'd Names, and publiſh'd with a particular Declaration annex'd, in which his Majeſty profeſs'd 'his firm and unſhaken Reſolutions for Peace, and again aſſur'd the World, in the

They ſign a ſecond Paper

The King's Declaration.

‘Preſence of Almighty God, his Maker and Redeemer, *That he had no more Thought of making War againſt his Parliament, than againſt his own Children.* But for the ſuppreſſing the Trayterous Attempts of wicked and malignant Perſons, he offer'd to ſuch as wou'd advance any Mony, Plate, or any other Aſſiſtance, the Security of ſuch his Lands, Foreſts, Parks and Houſes, as ſhou'd be ſufficient to anſwer the ſame; which he eſteem'd a more real Security, than that now call'd *The Publick Faith.*' Of the Lords who had ſubſcrib'd, Sir *Philip Warwick* tells us, that the Earl of *Saliſbury* within a few Days ſtole away to *London.*

The King's Commiſſions of Array.

The Houſes declare againſt them.

5. About this Time, the King taking into Conſideration the Military Proceedings of the Parliament, and that they had ſet up Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants in all Counties, declaring his own Commiſſions of Lieutenancy Illegal; upon mature Deliberation and Advice with Lawyers of the greateſt Eminency, he iſſu'd out *Commiſſions of Array*, according to ancient Statutes: And thereupon on the 20th Day of *June*, he ſet forth a Proclamation, ‘Informing all his loving Subject, of the Lawfulneſs and Uſe of thoſe Commiſſions, and forbidding any Obedience to be paid to the Parliament's Ordinance for the Militia, under the Penalty of High-Treaſon.' Which Commiſſions the Earl of *Derby* in *Lancaſhire*, the Earl of *Huntington*, and Mr. *Henry Haſtings* his Son, in *Leiceſterſhire*, did firſt put in Execution. This caus'd new Paper Combates in Declarations, *&c.* either Party inſiſting, ‘That the Law was on their Side,' and the People giving Obedience to either, according to their Conveniencies. The People had never heard of a *Commiſſion of Array*, which made them more liable to Suſpicions; and what had a ſingular Influence upon many, was, that the great Mr. *Selden* had declar'd his Opinion in Parliament, againſt the Legality of ſuch Commiſſions. However the two Houſes immediately publiſh'd a large Declaration, repreſenting thoſe Commiſſions of *Array* ‘to be contrary to the Laws of the Land, deſtructive to the Liberty and Property of the Subject; and ſo full of Danger and Inconveniency, that it wou'd bring a heavier Yoke of Bondage upon them, than any that had been taken away that Parliament.' Their Emiſſaries, employ'd in many Parts of the Kingdom, perſuaded the People, That thoſe Commiſſions were to reduce the Eſtates of all the Yeomanry of *England* to ten Pounds a Year, and to enſlave them beyond Expreſſion. And leſt thoſe, who were thus ſeduc'd by their ſubtle Inſinuations, ſhou'd receive any Satisfaction from his Majeſty's Declarations, they ſent out Orders ſtrictly to prohibit the publiſhing of them; promiſing Protection from the Parliament to thoſe who ſhou'd refuſe ſo to do.

The King's Weakneſs.

The Arrival of one Ship with Arms, &c.

Theſe Paper-Conteſts made neither Side more inclinable to the other, but drew both on nearer to Action. Yet when the World ſaw what Levies of Soldiers were ſo vigorouſly haſtned by the Parliament, under the Earl of *Eſſex*, they wonder'd the King made no other Preparations towards an Army, than a ſingle Troop of Guards, conſiſting of Gentlemen Volunteers, who wou'd be ſure to quit that Troop when an Army was once form'd. But indeed the King had not at this Time any Proviſion neceſſary for an Army, nor was he ſecure of any Port, to which ſuch Proviſion might ſafely be aſſign'd; nor had he Mony ſufficient for the Support of his own Table for one Month. He impatiently expected the Arrival of all thoſe Neceſſaries by the Care and Application of the Queen, who was directed to ſend them to *Newcaſtle*, which the Earl of that Name had juſt then by his Diligence ſecur'd to him. Her Majeſty was compell'd to encounter many Difficulties in *Holland*; for tho' the Prince of *Orange* was heartily diſpos'd to the King's Service, and did all he cou'd to induce the States to intereſt themſelves in the King's Conteſt, yet his Authority was much impaired with the Vigour of his Body and Mind; and the States were ſo far from relieving the King in this Extremity, that they did him all the Damage they cou'd. And the Parliament had ſo many Spies upon her Majeſty, that it was not eaſie for her to provide Arms and Ammunition, without their Notice of it, and of the very Ways that were projected to tranſport them to the King. So that when ſhe had ſecur'd a Frigate of about thirty Guns, call'd The *Providence*, and put in two Hundred Barrels of Powder, two or three thouſand Arms, and ſeven or eight Field-Pieces; the Captain of it found it extreamly difficult to eſcape ſome Veſſels that laid wait for him, by running into a narrow Creek in the *Humber:* By which Means the Arms, Ammunition and Artillery were ſoon brought to *York.*

This was the firſt Supply the King receiv'd towards the War, which began to appear unavoidable; and his Majeſty was well pleas'd to have the World believe, that this ſmall Ship had brought a greater Proportion of Proviſion than in reality it had. And therefore tho' it had brought no Mony, as he expected, he forthwith granted Commiſſions to ſuch Perſons of Quality and Intereſt, as were thought moſt proper, to raiſe Regiments of Horſe and Foot. He promoted the Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord-High Chamberlain of *England*, to be General of his Army; a Perſon of great Honour and Courage, and highly belov'd, having had many Years Experience in *Holland* and *Germany*, and in ſeveral Expeditions at Sea, where he had been more than once Admiral. Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, a brave *Norfolk* Gentleman, was declar'd Major-General of the Foot, a Perſon worthy of that Command, which he had exercis'd before, and perform'd afterwards with great Honour and Reputation. The Generalſhip of the Horſe was preſerv'd for his Majeſty's Nephew Prince *Rupert*, who arriv'd ſhortly after. All theſe Levies were haſtned with as much Expedition as was conſiſtent with ſuch an extraordinary Scarcity and Want of Mony. To remedy which, all the Lords and the Council about the King, with ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, made a voluntary Subſcription for the Payment of ſo many Horſe for three Months; in which Time, according to a Notion now prevailing, they believ'd that the War wou'd certainly be at an End.

The King appoints ſome Officers

The King's Deſign to ſecure the Fleet.

This being done, the King privately reſolv'd to take the Admiralty into his own Hands, revoke the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Commiſſion, and ſend Sir *John Penington*, who was then at *York*, to take Charge of the Fleet, now lying in the *Downs:* And Letters were prepar'd and ſign'd by the King, to all the Captains, requiring them to follow Sir *John Pennington*'s Orders. All which was carry'd with all poſſible Secrecy, that only a very few ſuſpected any ſuch Alteration. But upon the King's Intimation of the Project, Sir *John Pennington*, finding the Matter ſo full of Difficulty, alledg'd, That he ſtood upon ill Terms with the Parliament, that therefore his Motion towards the *Downs* wou'd be immediately obſerv'd; and therefore he propos'd Sir *Robert Manſel*, a famous Sea Commander at *Greenwich*, as a fitter Man in this Juncture. His Majeſty imparting this Counſel to thoſe he had made privy to his Deſigns, enter'd upon new Conſiderations, and concluded, That tho' Sir *Robert Manſel*'s Courage and Fidelity were unqueſtionable, yet his Age, and the Accidents depending upon it, wou'd render the Expedient very hazardous; and therefore the whole Diſpatch was prepar'd in this manner. Firſt a Revocation to be made of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Commiſſion, under the Great Seal; of which there was a Duplicate, one for his Lordſhip, and the other for the Eari of *Warwick.* Then a particular Letter to be ſent to every Captain of the Fleet, ‘Informing them of the Revocation of the Admiral's Patent, and conſequently of the Determination of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Commiſſion; and commanding them no longer to follow the Orders of Either, but repair with the Fleet to *Burlington* Bay, where they ſhou'd receive his Majeſty's further Pleaſure.

Sir John Pennington *undertakes it.*

All Things being thus prepar'd, one of the King's Pages was intruſted with what immediately concern'd the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Mr. *Edward Villiers* with the whole Diſpatch relating to the Fleet; the Former being order'd not to make ſuch Haſte, but that the other might reach the *Downs* at leaſt as ſoon as he ſhou'd be at *London*; and Mr. *Villiers* was directed to viſit the Earl of *Warwick* in the laſt Place, that his Activity might not divert the Seamen from their Obedience to his Majeſty. In all Probability, if this Reſolution had been executed, the King had ſecur'd a great many of his Ships: But as ſoon as the Page was juſt ſet out for *London*, and Mr. *Villiers* not gone, Sir *John Pennington*, upon Re-conſideration, offer'd to go Himſelf and take the Charge of the Fleet; which chang'd the Form of the Letters to the ſeveral Captains, which now requir'd them only ‘to follow ſuch Orders as they ſhou'd receive from Sir *John Pennington*, as their Commander.' Sir *John* did not think it proper to go with Mr. *Villiers*, but by him ſent a Letter to Sir *Henry Palmer*, an Officer of the Navy living by the *Downs*, together with an Order from his Majeſty, ‘Requiring him immediately to go on Board the Admiral;' and informing him, ‘That Himſelf wou'd be with him with all Speed, and wou'd ſet out when Mr. *Villiers* did, but wou'd take a farther and more private Way.' Mr. *Villiers*, leſt the Page ſhou'd arrive too ſoon at *London*, ſlept not till he got to Sir *Henry Palmer*; who being an infirm, tho' loyal Man, and ſurpris'd at the Command, cou'd not make that Expedition on Board, as was neceſſary for this Service. However Mr. *Villiers* deliver'd his ſeveral Letters to the Captains, who gave all Demonſtrations of Joy and Submiſſion; and doubtleſs had Sir *John Pennington* been preſent, the greateſt Part of the Fleet had been preſerv'd to his Majeſty; the Earl of *Warwick* being at that Time taking his Pleaſure with ſome Officers on Shore.

But the Captains at this Juncture, expecting Orders from Sir *John Pennington*, and he at the ſame Time waiting for ſuch an Account from Sir *Henry Palmer*, as might encourage

The Deſign miſcarries.

The Fleet ſecur'd to the Parliament.

rage him to venture on Ship-board; the whole Buſineſs was diſappointed by this unfortunate Delay: For the other Gentleman, the Page, having deliver'd the King's Letter, and Diſcharge to the Earl of *Northumberland*; and that Lord, with all Expreſſions of Duty and Submiſſion, obeying his Majeſty's Commands, tho' earneſtly preſs'd by both Houſes to continue in his Office; they agreed to paſs an Ordinance, ‘To appoint the Earl of *Warwick* to be Admiral of the Fleet, with as full Authority as he had receiv'd from the Earl of *Northumberland*.’ Which Ordinance they diſpatch'd away by a Member of their own, who arriv'd the next Morning, after Mr. *Villiers* had deliver'd the King's Letters; Sir *John Pennington* in the mean Time neither appearing Himſelf, nor ſending any further Advice. The Earl of *Warwick*, who upon his Diſcharge, without any Declaration of diſobeying the King, had only apply'd Himſelf to the confirming of thoſe he thought true to his Party, and to the careful Obſervance of the reſt; but being thus arm'd, as he expected he ſhou'd be, he ſummon'd all the Captains to a Council on Board his Ship; which Summons all obey'd, except Captain *Slingsby* and Captain *Wake*, who were therefore ſeiz'd by their own Men, and carry'd to the Earl, who ſent them Priſoners to the Parliament. Then the Earl communicated the Ordinance and Votes of the Parliament, to the reſt of the Officers; who thereupon ſubmitted, except Sir *John Mennes* and Captain *Burly*, who were diſcharg'd and ſet on Shore. So that the Storm was now over, and the Parliament intirely poſſeſs'd of the whole Royal Navy, and Militia by Sea; and thus his Majeſty was without one Ship at his Devotion, in his three Kingdoms. This may be ſaid to have been one of King *Charles*'s Fatal Moments; which in ſome Particulars ſeem'd more the Hand of Providence, than the Work of Men. And now his Majeſty began to be ſenſible of his former great Conceſſions: and an ingenious Author obſerves, ‘That this was a Leſſon hard for him to improve upon, ſuch as taught him, That there is a Mean even in Virtue, and that it is dangerous for a King to be too Good.

Mr. Whitlock's *Speech againſt a War.*

6. This hapned in the Beginning of *July*, when the Seaſon was almoſt as hot as the Debates in Parliament; where this great Succeſs haſtned all Things to a full Criſis. Having by their Ordinance rais'd many voluntary Companies of Foot, and by their Subſcriptions a large Stock of Mony, and a great Number of Horſe, War and an Army was the warm Subject of their Conſultations. This occaſion'd ſeveral Speeches, particularly from two celebrated Men, Mr. *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, and Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*. The Former, tho' he was not for a tame Reſignation, nor thought it inconſiſtent with their great Wiſdom to prepare for a neceſſary Defence, yet could not but prophetically deplore the fatal Miſeries of a *Civil War*, and the *Wantonneſs* and *Luxury*, the Concomitants of a long Peace, that had brought the Divine Vengeance ſo near them. ‘We muſt, ſaid he, ſurrender up our Laws, Liberties, Properties and Lives, into the Hands of inſolent *Mercenaries*, whoſe Rage and Violence will command Us, and all we have; and Reaſon, and Honour, and Juſtice will leave our Land, the *Ignoble* will rule the Noble, and *Baſeneſs* ſhall be preferr'd before Virtue, *Profaneneſs* before Piety. Of a potent People we ſhall make our ſelves *weak*, and be the Inſtruments of our own Ruin; we ſhall burn our own Houſes, waſte our own Fields, pillage our own Goods, open our own Veins, and eat our own Bowels. You will hear other Sounds beſides thoſe of *Drums* and *Trumpets*, the Clattering of Armour, the Roaring of Guns, the *Groans* of wounded and dying Men, the Shrieks of *deflower'd* Women, the Cries of Widows and Orphans, and all on your Account.------It has been ſaid, *He that draws his Sword againſt his Prince, muſt throw away his Scabbard:* Thoſe Differences are ſcarce to be reconcil'd: Theſe Commotions are like the deep Seas, which being once ſtirr'd, are not ſoon appeas'd. I wiſh the Duke of *Rohan*'s Obſervation may prove a Caution, not a Prophecy, *That* England *is a great Creature, which cannot be deſtroy'd but by its own Hand*.’ Upon all this Account, he mov'd that they might try more and new Expedients to bring about an Accommodation.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard's *Speech.*

Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*'s Speech was ſtill more Home, and againſt the Unreaſonableneſs, as well as the Miſeries of a Civil War; in which he us'd theſe Words: ‘If any Man three Years ſince cou'd have credibly told us, that the Queen ſhall be gone out of *England*, for any Cauſe whatſoever; the King ſhall remove from his Parliament from *London* to *York*, declaring himſelf not ſafe here; that there ſhall be a total Rebellion in *Ireland*, ſuch Diſcords and Diſtempers both in Church and State here, as we now find, certainly we ſhou'd have trembled at the Thought of it; wherefore it is fit we ſhou'd be ſenſible now we are in it. On the other Side; If any Man then cou'd have credibly told us, that within three Years we ſhall have a Parliament, it wou'd have been good News; that *Ship-Mony* ſhall be taken away by Act of Parliament, the Reaſons and Grounds of it ſo rooted out, as that neither It, nor any thing like it, can ever grow up again; that *Monopolies*, the *High-Commiſſion* Court, the *Star-Chamber*, the *Biſhops Votes* ſhall be taken away, the *Council-Table* regulated and reſtrain'd, the *Foreſts* bounded and limited; that we ſhou'd have *Triennial Parliaments*; and more than that, a *Perpetual Parliament*, which none can diſſolve but our ſelves, we ſhou'd have thought this a *Dream of Happineſs:* Yet now we are in real Poſſeſſion of it, we do not enjoy it; tho' his Majeſty has promis'd and publiſh'd he will make all this good to us. We ſtand chiefly upon further Security; let us not think we have *Nothing*, becauſe we have not *all* we deſire; and tho' we had, yet we cannot make a Mathematical Security: All Human Caution is ſuſceptible of Corruption and Failing: God's Providence will not be bound, Succeſs muſt be His.’ Therefore he mov'd, as the only Expedient, to make the Way fair for the King to return to his Parliament. This is the laſt Speech we find made by this Great Man, who dy'd ſoon after the firſt Blood was drawn; and his Words upon his Death-Bed are remarkable, *That Mr.* Pym *and Mr.* Hampden *both told him, That they thought the King ſo ill belov'd by his Subjects, that he cou'd never be able to raiſe an Army to oppoſe them.* A fatal Miſtake of Theirs, and Others of their Party, which coſt the Lives, and deſtroy'd the Fortunes, of many Thouſands in the Kingdom.

The two Houſes vote an Army under the Earl of Eſſex.

No Speeches or Arguments cou'd prevail upon Men who had projected ſo much, and proceeded ſo far. Therefore, without any further Regard to Conſequences, they confirm'd all their former Actions by a final Reſolution, which at length prov'd the Overthrow of Themſelves and all their great Friends: Which was, ‘That an Army ſhou'd be forthwith rais'd for the *Safety of the King's Perſon*, Defence of both Houſes of Parliament, and of thoſe who had obey'd their Orders and Commands, and preſerving of the true Religion, the Laws, Liberty and Peace of the Kingdom: That the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhall be their General; and that *they wou'd live and die with him*.’ And that the People might believe, the voting of an Army and General was only to draw the King to the more reaſonable Conceſſions, the ſame Day they agreed, ‘That a Petition be fram'd to move the King to a good Accord with his Parliament, to prevent a Civil War.’ All which was compleated upon the 12th Day of *July*, one Year and two Months after the Parliament had acquir'd ſuch a Power by the unlimited Act of Continuance.

The King under great Straits.

X. 1. Thus the fatal War was threaten'd and determin'd, when the King was far inferior in Force and Riches, and utterly unable to keep Pace with the Parliament Levies. Yet with his ſmall Power, before the laſt Votes were made, he ventur'd to form a Deſign for the Reduction of *Hull*; which many, who were unwilling to come to Arms, look'd upon as no Act of Hoſtility againſt the Parliament. The Difficulties he had to encounter withal were very many and diſcouraging: He was ſo far from having Mony to levy or pay Soldiers, that he had not ſufficient to ſupport the Tables kept by the Officers of State; ſo that out of mere Want, the Prince and Duke eat with his Majeſty, which was the only Table that was kept up; which preſent Want was aggravated with the Probability of no Supply in a reaſonable Time. But the Want of Arms was more inconvenient than that of Mony: So that the Levies wou'd now be of little Uſe, when they ſhou'd continue unarm'd. But that which perplex'd the King more than all the reſt, was the Temper and Conſtitution of his own Party, which chiefly conſiſted of Men drawn to him by Principles of Loyalty, and Abhorrence of the Parliament Proceedings; otherwiſe unexperienc'd in Action, and Strangers to the Myſteries and neceſſary Policy of Government; ſtrict Obſervers of the Law, and as nice in that Matter, as the other pretended to be. Theſe Men ſtill inſiſted upon the Execution of the Law, which if his Majeſty obſerv'd, ‘He wou'd in the End ſuppreſs whatever Extravagancies the Parliament practis'd:’ And believing the raiſing a War to be ſo deteſtable in it ſelf, ‘That they thought it impoſſible the Parliament ſhou'd ever deſign it,’ even when they knew they were beginning it. However they concluded, ‘He who firſt prepar'd an Army, wou'd firſt be odious to the People, by whoſe Affections he wou'd eaſily be ſuppreſs'd.’ This Notion was generally embrac'd; and tho' others, equally affected to the Publick Peace, plainly ſaw the Fatality of theſe Concluſions, and how irrecoverable the King's Condition muſt be, if he look'd not more vigorouſly to his Defence; yet they durſt not declare themſelves in any publick Debate, but thought it ſufficient to ſpeak what was neceſſary

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to the King in private; by which means he wanted thoſe ſolid Foundations of Counſel and Foreſight his Condition requir'd; nor cou'd he with Safety diſcover the Motives and Bottom of his Deſigns. And ſo he ſtill ſeem'd to aim at no Hoſtility, but what tended to the Reduction of *Hull*; which he hop'd wou'd ſerve to draw the Train'd-Bands together, till he cou'd draw other Forces of greater Moment thither, which might be of Service to that or any other Enterprize.

His Deſign upon Hull, *and the Occaſion of it.*

This Deſign in all Appearance being undertaken with much Weakneſs, carry'd on with a Waſte of Time, and attended with no Succeſs, became the Subject of no little Cenſure; but the true Reaſon of it was extraordinary, and a great Secret in thoſe Times, founded upon the uncommon Succeſs of a Romantick Adventure, diſcover'd by no other Author but the Lord *Clarendon.* The Story is material and entertaining, of which this is the Subſtance: The volatile Lord *Digby*, who had been driven into *Holland*, with ſome Commands of the Queen, came over with great Privacy, and ſtaid ſome Days in a Diſguiſe at *York*, conferring ſo ſecretly with the King at Night, that no Notice was taken of him; and finding by the King's Affairs, it was not yet proper for him to appear, he reſolv'd to return back to the Queen, and haſten the Proviſion of Arms and Ammunition, ſo neceſſary for his Maſter's Defence. Accordingly in the ſame Bark which brought him over, he ſail'd again for *Holland*, with his Friends *Wilmot*, *Aſhburnham*, *Pollard* and *Berkley*, who upon the Parliament's Complaints againſt them, remov'd from Court till the King was ready for their Service. They were not long at Sea before they met the *Providence* Frigate, with the Ammunition formerly mention'd; upon which they agreed, that *Wilmot*, *Pollard* and *Berkley* ſhould return to the King, and *Digby* and *Aſhburnham* purſue their Voyage for *Holland.* But thoſe Parlies continu'd ſo long, that the Parliament's Ships came up to them; and tho' the *Providence* got clear, as we have already obſerv'd, yet the Bark was taken, and carry'd in great Triumph into *Hull*, where Colonel *Aſhburnham* was ſo well known to Sir *John Hotham*, that he could not pretend to conceal himſelf. But the Lord *Digby* had ſo compleatly diſguis'd himſelf, that his neareſt Friends could hardly have known him, pretending to be a *Frenchman*, whoſe Language he ſpoke to Perfection; and having made away with ſuch Papers as were not fit to be perus'd, he ſo well counterfeited Sickneſs when he got aſhore, that he eaſily procur'd himſelf to be diſpos'd in ſome obſcure Corner for his Repoſe: while Colonel *Aſhburnham*, the only Priſoner that ſeem'd worth regarding, was carry'd to the Governour, who receiv'd him with as much Civility as he could expect.

The Lord Digby's *Tranſactions with Sir* John Hotham.

The Lord *Digby* being alone, ſoon reflected on the Deſparateneſs of his Condition, That it was impoſſible to conceal himſelf long; that he was the moſt hated Man in the Kingdom to the Parliament, into whoſe Hands if he ſhould fall, his Life would at leaſt be in apparent Danger: And how to extricate himſelf out of the Labyrinth was extreamly difficult, ſince Sir *John Hotham* reckon'd him in the Number of his moſt inveterate Enemies. However, being endu'd with the nobleſt Preſence of Mind in any Extremity, he reſolv'd not to deſpair; but found means in broken *Engliſh*, which might have fitted the Mouth of any *Frenchman*, to make his Guard underſtand, *That he deſir'd to ſpeak in private with the Governour, to whom he wou'd diſcover ſome Secrets, that wou'd be of ſingular Uſe to the Service of the Parliament.* The Man ſoon inform'd the Governour, who being a Maſter in the *French* Tongue, immediately ſent for the ſuppos'd *Frenchman*; who, in the Preſence of much Company, without any Diſorder, gave ſuch an artful Account of Himſelf, as he perſuaded them to believe, 'He had ſeen much of the *French* Service, and 'had been recommended to the *Engliſh* King for ſome 'Command, it being conceiv'd Abroad, that he wou'd 'have Occaſion for Soldiers.' Then drawing the Governour to a great Window, whoſe Nicety wou'd not let him venture alone with him in another Room; and being at a convenient Diſtance from the Company, he ask'd him in *Engliſh*, *If he knew him*? The other in a Surpriſe anſwer'd, *No. Then*, ſaid he, *I'll try whether I know Sir* John Hotham, *and if he really be that Man of Honour, I always took him to be:* And thereupon diſcover'd himſelf, and ſaid, *He hop'd he was too much a Gentleman to deliver him up to the Rage and Fury of his implacable Enemies.* The Governour, aſtoniſh'd and fearful of the By-ſtanders, deſir'd him *To ſay no more at preſent*; aſſuring him, *He ſhou'd find him the ſame Man he thought him*; *that with the firſt Conveniency he wou'd confer more with him:* And ſo call'd the Guard immediately to carry him away, and look carefully to him; then turning to the Company he ſaid, *This* Frenchman *was a ſhrewd Fellow, and underſtood much of the Queen's Counſels, and what the Parliament wou'd be glad to know*; *tho' as yet he had not ſo clear an Information as he preſum'd he ſhou'd have in two or three Days Time:* And ſo retir'd to his Chamber.

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His extraordinary Succeſs.

It is wonderful to believe, what an Influence this noble Perſon's Stars had upon all this Affair. Sir *John* by Education was a rough unpoliſh'd Man, very covetous, proud and ambitious, an utter Stranger to all good Nature and Generoſity; of Parts not quick, but of a Judgment ſo compos'd, as he was more likely to deceive than be deceiv'd: Yet after all, this inſinuating young Adventurer, known and hated by him for his inimitable Faculty of Diſſimulation, had won ſo much upon him, that he reſolv'd to practiſe that Virtue of Generoſity, with which the other had complimented him, and not ſuffer him to fall into his Enemies Hands. He ſent for him the next Day at a more ſeaſonable Hour, and told him, *Since he had ſo frankly thrown himſelf into his Hands, he wou'd not betray his Truſt*, and wiſh'd him to conſider *what way he ſhou'd beſt ſet him at Liberty:* He ſaid, *He wou'd commit the Secret to no Man living, and leaſt of all to his Son*, of whom he ſpoke with all poſſible Bitterneſs, *as a Man violently addicted to the worſt Deſigns the Parliament had, and ſent thither as a Spy upon him.* Then he diſcours'd of the Miſchiefs that were like to befal the Kingdom, and lamented his own Fate, *That being of very different Principles from thoſe who puſh'd Things to Extremity, and of entire Affection to the King, he ſhou'd now be conſider'd as the chief Cauſe of the War that was breaking out:* Of which he ſpoke at large, and own'd, *That an Information ſent him of the King's Deſign preſently to hang him, was the real Cauſe of his refuſing him Entrance into the Town.* There was not a Sentence in this Diſcourſe but this penetrating Lord knew how to cultivate it; and therefore joyn'd with him in his Senſe of the threatning Miſeries of the Nation; pathetically lamenting, 'That it ſhould be in the Power of a Handful of ill Men, 'to involve him, and others of his good Intentions, in 'their dark Deſigns, which muſt unavoidably determine in 'the Ruin of all the Undertakers: For he was aſſured 'the King wou'd ſpeedily reduce all his Enemies; that all 'the Princes in *Chriſtendom* were intereſted in the Conteſt; and that the Prince of *Orange* was reſolv'd to 'come over at the Head of his Army, and wou'd take *Hull* 'in three Days.' And after he had gradually terrify'd and wrought into his moſt predominant Paſſions, he enlarg'd upon the Honour and Glory that Man wou'd reap, who prevented the diſmal Confuſion that was in View, and told him, *He was the Man, who in delivering up* Hull *to the King, cou'd at once extinguiſh the War, and eſtabliſh a Peace throughout the Kingdom. That he wou'd employ all his Intereſt with the King and the Queen for his Service*; *and he ſhou'd find him more zealous for his Greatneſs, and a full Reward of his Merit, than he was now ſollicitous for his own Safety.*

Sir John Hotham *complies with him.*

All theſe Advices and Reflections were the Reſult of more than one Diſcourſe; for Sir *John* cou'd not bear the Variety and Burthen of them all together: But within two Days all Things were adjuſted, and he told his Lordſhip, *It wou'd ill become him, after ſuch a Refuſal, to deliver the Town into the King's Hands*; *nor cou'd he poſſibly effect it, while ſo many in the Town and Garriſon were not to be truſted*; *but if the King wou'd bring but one Regiment before the Town, plant his Cannon, and make but one Shot, he ſhou'd think he had diſcharg'd his Truſt, and wou'd immediately ſurrender the Place.* And with this Meſſage he was content that the Lord *Digby* ſhould go to the King; and having conducted him beyond Danger, he told ſome Officers, *He had ſent the* Frenchman *to* York, *being well aſſur'd he wou'd return to him again.* Having diſcover'd this important Matter to the King at *York*, it was reſolv'd he ſhould appear publickly without Diſguiſe, that the World might believe he came in the Ship that brought the Ammunition; which got ſafe to *York* about the Time that Mr. *Villiers* and Sir *John Pennington* had been ſent to the Fleet, and before the News came of their ill Succeſs. This was the Cauſe of the ſudden March towards *Hull*, before there was a Soldier levy'd to make an Aſſault, or to manage a Siege; which afterwards was ſo much admir'd and cenſur'd: For as ſoon as the King receiv'd the promiſing Account from the Lord *Digby*, he declar'd He would upon ſuch a Day go to *Beverley*, a Town within ſix Miles of *Hull*; and appointed three or four Regiments of the Militia, under the Command of faithful Gentlemen, to march thither as a Guard to his Perſon; and likewiſe ſent a ſmall Train of Artillery, which might be ready for the Summons of the Place. And at the ſame Time the King was ready for his March, the Lord *Digby* return'd in his old Diſguiſe to *Hull*, to take Care that all Meaſures there might correſpond with former Obligations.

The King at Beverley;

At *Beverley* his Majeſty iſſu'd out a Proclamation, ſetting forth 'Sir *John Hotham*'s Rebellion; the Parliament 'denying him Juſtice; their ſeizing his Fleet; Sir *John*'s 'Hoſtilities upon *Hull*, and the neighbouring Country; for 'which Reaſon he was reſolv'd to reduce the ſame by Force; forbidding all Commerce with the Town, while it perſiſted in Rebellion.' The Proclamation he ſent likewiſe to both Houſes, ſignifying further, 'That before he made uſe of Force, he once more requir'd the Delivery of it up to him, and then he wou'd willingly admit of ſuch Addreſſes, and return ſuch Propoſitions, as might beſt ſettle the Peace of the Kingdom, and heal the preſent Diſtractions: If this his gracious Invitation ſhou'd be rejected, *God and all good Men muſt judge between them.*' This done, the Earl of *Lindſey* firſt took Poſſeſſion of his Office, a little troubled and dejected to find himſelf a General without an Army, and engag'd in an Enterprize without Proſpect of Succeſs. However the King order'd him to ſend out ſome Officers to take a View of the Town, and of ſuch Ground as might be proper to raiſe a Battery; as if he deſign'd ſuddenly to attack the Place; which appear'd no unreaſonable Attempt, if there were a good Number of Friends in the Town. The King's Party having many Horſe, and there being very few in the Town, they found it no hard Matter to take a full View of the Place, by riding to the very Ports, and about the Walls; nor was there at firſt any Shew of Hoſtility from the Town upon their neareſt Approaches to it. But after they had made that Viſit two or three Days together, they found the Walls were better mann'd, and a conſtant Encreaſe of Labourers repairing the Works, and then they began to fire, when any came within diſtance of their Works. So that now every thing appear'd with a leſs promiſing Aſpect.

Where he receives a Petition from the Parliament.

2. His Majeſty had been but a few Days in theſe Parts, when, after a ſhort Turn to *Newark* and *Lincoln*, he receiv'd the double News of the Parliament's Reſolution for War, and their Petition for Peace; both which had been determin'd in one Day, the twelfth of *July*, as before mention'd. The Petition boldly charg'd the King 'with raiſing Forces to over-rule the Judgment of his great Council, and to determine what related to the Government and Liberty of the Kingdom: Therefore they proſtrated themſelves at his Feet, beſeeching him to forbear all Actions of War, and come nearer to his Parliament, &c. And in Concluſion, if his Majeſty wou'd concur, they wou'd quickly make it appear to the World, *That his Perſonal Safety, his Royal Honour and Greatneſs, were much dearer to them than their own Lives and Fortunes; which they wou'd dedicate to its Support and Maintenance.*' Tho' the King's Meſſage came to them before their own was diſpatch'd, yet without regarding that, leaſt the Contents of this Petition ſhou'd be known before the Arrival of their own Meſſengers, the Earl of *Holland*, Sir *John Holland*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, the Perſons appointed to carry it, made a ſpeedy Journey for *Beverley*; reporting to all they met, *That they had brought ſuch an abſolute Submiſſion from the Parliament to the King, that there cou'd be no Doubt of a happy Peace.* The Earl of *Holland*, upon preſenting the Petition, made a ſhort Speech to the King, telling him, 'That the glorious Motto of his bleſſed Father was *Beati Pacifici*, which he hop'd his Majeſty wou'd continue; that they preſented him with the humble Duty of his Parliament, who deſir'd nothing but his Acceptance of Peace, and aim'd at nothing but his Honour and Happineſs:' And read the Petition aloud. The King being provok'd both with the Meſſage and Meſſenger, told them, *That the Reproaches caſt upon him by it, were not anſwerable to the Profeſſions his Lordſhip had made; and that he was ſorry they thought the readieſt Way to preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom, was to expoſe him and his Honour with ſo much Scandal: That they ſhou'd ſoon receive his Anſwer, by which the World ſhould diſcern who deſir'd Peace moſt.*

The King's Anſwer, with ſome Propoſitions.

Accordingly, on the ſecond Day the King deliver'd them a long Anſwer in Publick, in which 'he enumerated the many Hardſhips and Injuries he had receiv'd from the two Houſes, before he had granted any Commiſſion for the levying a ſingle Man; and therefore appeal'd to all the World to judge who began this War, and upon whoſe Account the approaching Miſeries are to be caſt. And therefore he cou'd not but look upon that Charge as the boldeſt and moſt ſcandalous that ever was laid upon him, That the neceſſary Proviſion made for his own Safety, was to over-rule the Judgment of his great Council, and determine what related to the Government and Liberty of the Kingdom.' After other Complaints and Expoſtulations, he proceeded to ſome Propoſitions, namely, 'That the Town and Magazine of *Hull* be deliver'd up to him; that the Navy be reſtor'd according to his Directions; That all Levies made by the Parliament be laid down, and their Militia Ordinance diſavow'd; and that the Parliament be adjourn'd to a ſafe and ſecure Place: All which being done, he moſt ſolemnly aſſur'd them, he wou'd diſcharge all his intended Levies, and repair to them; that there might be a general Face of Peace and Happineſs throughout the Nation. If theſe be rejected, he doubted not the Protection of Almighty God, and the Aſſiſtance of his good Subjects; who can hope for no certain Enjoyment of their own, if their King may be oppreſs'd and ſpoil'd without Remedy. Therefore if the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, the Defence of the Liberties and Laws of the Kingdom, the Dignity and Freedom of Parliament, and the Relief of bleeding and miſerable *Ireland*, be equally precious to the Petitioners, as they are to his Majeſty, *there will be a chearful Conſent to his Propoſitions:* And of this he expected a full and poſitive Anſwer by the twenty ſeventh of this Inſtant *July*; till when he ſhould not make any forceable Attempt upon *Hull*; but expected in the mean Time no Supply of Men be put into it, nor any of his Goods taken from it.'

When the Parliament's Petition was read, the whole Court expreſs'd a mighty Indignation againſt it, and thought the King in his Anſwer had not ſufficiently reſented their high Indignities, or appear'd ſenſible enough of their Inſolence and Uſurpation; yet the Thought of a War, which they ſaw actually levy'd againſt the King, was ſo deeply abhorr'd, and Men were ſo fond of every Expedient that look'd towards Peace, that by the next Morning theſe officious Meſſengers for the Parliament made many believe, 'That the King's Anſwer was too ſharp, and wou'd provoke the Houſes, who were naturally paſſionate, to proceed in their violent Ways; whereas they were confident if he wou'd abate ſomething of that Severity in his Language, *His Majeſty ſhou'd have all the Satisfaction he propos'd:*' And this the Earl of *Holland* privately offer'd to undertake. And this ſo far prevail'd upon ſome, that they heartily urg'd the King 'To return by the Meſſengers only the Matter of his Propoſitions in a ſoft and gentle Language, without the Preamble, or any mention of the Provocations the Parliament had given him, and that he wou'd take from them the Anſwer he had deliver'd them the Night before.' But the King gave many Reaſons why he cou'd not give way, after ſuch a peremptory Juſtification of themſelves, and inſolent threatning of him; and complain'd that he cou'd not reaſonably depend upon the Earl of *Holland*, *who had ſo groſly deceiv'd him in other Matters, which were entirely in his own Power to have perform'd.* Then he declar'd, *He never had conſented to any one Thing, ſince the beginning of the Parliament, which had been prejudicial to him, at the doing of which he had not been ſolemnly promis'd, by thoſe of greater Intereſt than the Earl of* Holland, *that he ſhou'd receive no Damage from it, and yet he always found himſelf miſtaken: Therefore he reſolv'd to rely upon God Almighty*; and poſitively refus'd to make the leaſt Alteration in his Anſwer. And thus the Meſſengers departed, leaving the Court and Country leſs affected than they found it, branding thoſe who wou'd not believe their Profeſſions and Promiſes, *as the Authors of a Civil War.* And the Earl of *Holland*, who envy'd the encreaſing Popularity of the Earl of *Eſſex*, now finding no Hopes of being reſtor'd to former Favours, return'd with a Rancour equal to the moſt furious, and heartily join'd in the ſuppreſſing that Power, from the Adminiſtration of which he was totally excluded.

His firm Reſolution.

The Parliament's Reply to the King.

3. His Majeſty having about ten Days Leiſure from his Deſign upon *Hull*, where the Lord *Digby* remain'd in Diſguiſe, reſolv'd to make a ſhort Progreſs into the Neighbouring Counties, 'till he cou'd have an Anſwer to his Propoſitions, and accordingly went to *Doncaſter* the ſame Day the Meſſengers departed; the next to *Nottingham*, and ſo to *Leiceſter*, where he was receiv'd by the Train'd-Bands, and the full Acclamations of the People. After he had caus'd the Earl of *Stamford* to retire from the Town, and ſeiz'd upon a ſmall Magazine, according to Appointment he return'd towards *Hull*, in Expectation of an Anſwer from the Parliament; which came two Days later than was appointed, with no other Ceremony than inclos'd to one of the Secretaries to be preſented to the King: In which they declar'd, 'They cou'd not yield to his Majeſty's Demands: 'The Reaſon why they took Poſſeſſion of the Town of *Hull*, the Magazine and the Navy, paſs'd the Militia Ordinance, and made Preparations of Arms, was for the *Security of Religion*, the *Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon*, of the *Kingdom*, and *Parliament*; all which they ſaw in imminent Danger. From which, when they ſhou'd be ſecured, they wou'd draw their Forces out of *Hull*, deliver the Magazine and Navy, and make an honourable Settlement of the Militia by Bill. For the Adjourning of the Parliament, they ſaw no Reaſon why his Majeſty ſhou'd require it, ſince the *Loyalty* and *Fidelity* of the City of *London*, and the *Honeſt Care* of the Parliament, was ſo conſiderable,

‘that the uſual Place wou'd be as ſafe for his Royal Perſon, as any. As for the laying down of Arms, when the Cauſes which made them provide for the Defence of his *Majeſty's Perſon*, the *Kingdom* and *Parliament*, ſhou'd be remov'd, they wou'd willingly decline any further Preparations, and lay down their Forces already rais'd.' This their *Replication* they order'd to be printed and read in all the Churches throughout the Kingdom: And thus they denounc'd the War in expreſs Words, which they had done long before in their Actions; and both Parties, laying aſide all Thoughts of Treaty, prepar'd to ſtrengthen their Cauſe by the Addition of all the Forces they cou'd draw together.

Their high and ſevere Proceedings.

In *London* they regarded nothing but the forming their Army, and ſuch other Acts of Power, as were ſubſervient to that End. And finding the Bill of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* to be expired, and having ſent a new one of ſix Months to the King for his Conſent, his Majeſty, finding the Mony employ'd againſt him, refus'd his Royal Aſſent: Upon which, notwithſtanding it had been enacted this Parliament, ‘That whoever paid or receiv'd that Duty, after the Expiration of the Act, till a new one was enacted, ſhould incur a *Præmunire*;' they appointed by an Ordinance of their own, ‘That the ſame Duty ſhou'd be continu'd, and they wou'd ſave all Perſons concern'd from any Puniſhment whatever:' By which Means they now became poſſeſs'd of the Cuſtoms, in their own Right. And whoever oppos'd or diſcountenanc'd what they undertook, were ſure to be treated with the extreameſt Severity. Particularly Sir *Richard Gurney*, the brave Lord-Mayor of *London*, whom the Lords, upon a Complaint of the Commons, had committed to the *Tower*, for cauſing the King's Proclamation againſt the Ordinance, according to the known Duty of his Office, to be publickly proclaim'd: And ſhortly after, that they might put the Government of the City into more confiding Hands, notwithſtanding he prov'd he had done no more than the Laws of the Land, the Cuſtoms of the City, and his own particular Oath had obliged him to, he was adjudg'd by the Peers, in the Preſence of the Commons, ‘To be put out of his Office of Lord-Mayor, to be utterly incapable of any Office in City or Kingdom, and of all Honour or Dignity, and to be impriſon'd during the Pleaſure of the two Houſes.' Upon this Sentence, Alderman *Pennington*, againſt the Rules of Election, was made Mayor by the Noiſe and Clamour of the Multitude, and the real and worthy Mayor ſent to the *Tower*, where he continu'd almoſt to his Death, with exemplary Courage and Conſtancy. Judge *Mallet* was another Object of their Severity, who for refuſing to read the Parliament's Orders and Ordinance at the Aſſizes, was diſgracefully taken off the Bench at *Kingſton*, and ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*; where he continu'd for two Years, without any particular Charge againſt him.

Their Army.

Theſe exalted Acts of Power and Terror taught the World how unſafe that Perſon muſt be, who durſt oppoſe them; and having Men, Arms, a General, and Mony enough at their Diſpoſal, they ſoon form'd an Army, ſecuring ſuch Forces as had been rais'd for the *Iriſh* Service, and a hundred thouſand Pounds of that Mony at one time, towards conſtituting an Army which was to be led againſt the King: And yet they publiſh'd to the People, ‘That the Army was only for the Defence of the King's Perſon, the Parliament, the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom; That the King, ſeduc'd by wicked Counſellors, had rais'd a great Army of *Papiſts* to deſtroy the Parliament, and bring in Popery and Tyranny, of which they cou'd give full and ample Evidence;' and they conjur'd all Men to aſſiſt their General the Earl of *Eſſex*. And for the more ſecret Tranſaction of all ſuch Counſels as were neceſſary, they form'd a Committee to attend the great Buſineſs of the Kingdom, relating to the Army, who were impower'd to do many things, which the two Houſes, in full Parliament, had not the leaſt regular or juſtifiable Authority to do. In forming the Army, beſides the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Bedford* was made General of the Horſe, the Lord *Kimbolton* Lieutenant-General, and Sir *John Merrick*, Major-General: The Lord *Roberts*, the Lord *Saint John*, the Lord *Rochford*, the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*; Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Mr. *Fiennes*, Mr. *Hampden*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Samuel Luke*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, and Mr. *Grantham*, all Members of Parliament, had Commiſſions for Regiments. The Earl of *Holland* ſtood for General of the Horſe againſt the Earl of *Bedford*, but to his great Mortification he was diſappointed; the Parliament not thinking it Policy to truſt two Brothers with Land and Sea Service together. The Name and Quality of moſt of theſe Officers made Amends for their Want of Experience, which was ſupply'd by many good Officers *Scotch* and *Engliſh*; the late Troubles having brought many of that Profeſſion to *London*, and the Reputation of the Earl of *Eſſex* drawn others out of the *Low-Countries*, into this Service. In the Choice of which Men, while they accus'd the King of a Deſign to bring in a Foreign Force, and receiving *Papiſts*, they neither conſider'd Nation nor Religion; but entertain'd all Strangers and Foreigners, of what Religion ſoever, who deſir'd to run the Fortune of War, as the Lord *Clarendon* aſſures us.

Their Officers.

4. All this Time the King lay at *Beverly*, ſtill hoping for the Succeſs of the Lord *Digby*'s ſecret Negociation with Sir *John Hotham*, tho' he met with daily Marks of Diſcouragement. Sir *John*, according to his Promiſe, had been ſounding ſome of the Officers, and found them of a Temper not to be rely'd on, in ſo important a Deſign; and his Son was grown apprehenſive of ſome new Project, which occaſion'd the Parliament to order new Officers to throw themſelves into the Town, to aſſiſt in the Defence of it upon Occaſion. So that the Lord *Digby*, when he return'd thither in his former Diſguiſe, found the Governor in a great Damp, and perplex'd that he had proceeded ſo far. Of which his Lordſhip acquainted the King by the beſt Means he cou'd; yet ſtill the Letters contain'd ſomething of Hope, *That he ſhou'd be able to reſtore him to his former Courage, and confirm his Reſolution.* But at length, after Loſs both of Time and Reputation, the King was compell'd to give over the Deſign, all Hopes being at an End from the Governor, whether from his Want of Courage, or Power to execute his Intentions, remains uncertain. When Sir *John* found Cauſe to deſiſt, he diſmiſs'd both the Lord *Digby* and Colonel *Aſhburnham*, with many Profeſſions of Duty to the King; and as the Concealment of theſe two Perſons, and their Releaſement afterwards, immediately increas'd the Jealouſie of the Parliament againſt him, ſo it was the principal Cauſe afterwards of the Loſs of his Head. Thus ended an Expedition, which if ſucceſsful had been of infinite Service to the King; but the Diſappointment, and Concealment of the Motives of it, prov'd a Matter of Damage and Diſreputation to his Cauſe.

The Deſign upon Hull *at an End.*

The King returns to York.

About the Beginning of *Auguſt* the King diſmiſs'd the Train'd-Bands, and return'd with his Court to *York*, exceedingly troubled at the late Attempt he had made; but ſtill found it highly reaſonable to conceal the Cauſes of it. When all his Friends began to expreſs a great Impatience to be in Action, an Accident fell out that made it abſolutely neceſſary for his Majeſty to declare the War, and to enter upon it, before it was any ways ripe for Execution; which was, that Colonel *Goring*, who had been intruſted by the Parliament in *Portſmouth*, had declar'd for the King, after he had moſt artificially impos'd upon the Credulity of the Houſe of Commons. The King's Affairs receiv'd great Life and Advantage, in that ſo important a Place as *Portſmouth* had declar'd for him, and ſo good an Officer as *Goring* was return'd to his Duty; tho' the Place was immediately beſieg'd by Sir *William Waller*. Whereupon, on the 12th Day of *Auguſt*, his Majeſty publiſh'd a large Declaration, that had long been ready, which he addreſs'd to all his Loving Subjects, and recapitulated all the inſolent and rebellious Actions the two Houſes had committed againſt him till that Time; as may be ſeen at full Length in *Husbands* Collections, but not in *Ruſhworth*: And, at the ſame Time publiſh'd his Proclamation, by which, ‘He requir'd all Men, who cou'd bear Arms, to repair to him at *Nottingham*, by the 22d of this Month of *Auguſt*, on which Day he wou'd ſet up his ROYAL STANDARD, which all good Subjects were oblig'd to attend.' At the ſame Time he ſent the Marqueſs of *Hertford* to raiſe Forces, and do him all other Services in the *Weſt*; and with him went the Lord *Seymour* his Brother, the Lord *Pawlet*, *Hopton*, *Stawel*, *Coventry*, *Berkley*, *Windham*, and ſome other Gentlemen of the greateſt Quality and Intereſt in thoſe Parts. And from this Party, invigorated by the Power and Reputation of the Marqueſs, his Majeſty hop'd that *Portſmouth* wou'd ſhortly be reliev'd, and made the Head Quarter to a good Army. After which he did all that was poſſible to be done without Mony, to haſten his Levies of Horſe and Foot, and to prepare a light Train of Artillery; that he might appear at *Nottingham*, when the Standard was to be erected, with ſuch a Number, as might at leaſt be a competent Guard to his Perſon.

He reſolves to erect his Standard.

Many were of Opinion, that it had been more for his Majeſty's Service if he had ſet up his Standard at *York*, as having moſt of the *Northern* Counties at his Devotion; but the Inclinations he had to be near *London*, and his Hopes of great Effects from *Portſmouth* and the *Weſt*, made him prefer *Nottingham*. But that which determin'd the Point, was the utter Averſion the *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen had to the King's remaining in *York*; ‘which, they ſaid, the People fear'd wou'd unavoidably make that Country the Seat of the War;' unſkilfully imagining, That the

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His Care of Yorkſhire.

War wou'd be no where but with the King's Army. But after ſome Recollection, when the Time of the King's Departure drew near, they conſider'd, 'That the Garriſon 'of *Hull* wou'd be a Thorn in their Sides; that there were 'ſeveral Perſons of Quality and Intereſt in the Country, 'diſſafected to his Majeſty's Service, and ſome Places 'and whole Corporations, who only wanted Leaders to 'carry them to open Arms:' Therefore they deſir'd his Majeſty to conſtitute the Earl of *Cumberland* ſupream Commander of the Country in all Military Affairs; and appoint Sir *Thomas Glemham* to ſtay with them, and command thoſe Forces the Earl ſhou'd think neceſſary to raiſe for their Defence; in both which his Majeſty readily gratify'd them. But one nice Point here put the King to a Stand: It ſeems the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son were almoſt the only Perſons of any conſiderable Quality in that large County who were not well diſpos'd to his Majeſty, and who were influenc'd by two or three of inferior Rank. The King once had reſolv'd to take them all Priſoners, by which he had probably prevented the Miſchiefs which ſhortly after broke out; but was diſſuaded from it by the Gentlemen of the County, who alledg'd, 'That ſuch an 'unpopular Act wou'd prove their Ruin, expoſing them 'to the Fury of the diſaffected Party, who wou'd rather 'increaſe than be weakned by it.' And ſo his Majeſty only took two or three of leſs Note with him, who were moſt active in blowing up the Sedition; and even thoſe in a few Days were upon ſome ſpecious Pretences ſet at Liberty: So tender and careful were Men to perſuade his Majeſty from any thing that carry'd not the full Face of the Law with it, unreaſonably believing the mildeſt Phyſick wou'd be moſt proper for ſuch violent outragious Diſtempers.

The King comes to Nottingham:

5. With theſe melancholy Preſages, and a very mean and unequal Force, his Majeſty departed from *York*; and taking *Lincoln* in his Way, and having drawn ſome Arms of the Train'd-Bands of that Country with him, he arriv'd at *Nottingham* two or three Days before the appointed Time for erecting his Standard. The next Day he took a View of his main Strength his Horſe, of which were ſeveral well furniſh'd Troops, and under good Officers, to the Number of ſeven or eight hundred Men; and being inform'd that by the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Orders there were ſome Regiments of Foot marching towards *Coventry*, he haſtned with this Force, not doubting but he ſhou'd be able to get Poſſeſſion of that City before their Arrival. He got thither the Day before they came; but not only found the Gates ſhut againſt him, as at *Hull*, but ſome of his Servants ſhot and wounded from the Walls: Nor cou'd any Meſſages or Summons prevail with the Mayor and Magiſtrates, tho' then without a Garriſon, to ſuffer the King to enter into the City. The King was much ſurpris'd, but knew not how to revenge the Affront; therefore he retir'd that Night to the Houſe of Sir *Thomas Lee* at *Stonely*, where he was well receiv'd. The next Day his Body of Horſe, having five or ſix Miles clear View of the Enemies Foot, conſiſting of not above twelve Hundred Men with one Troop of Horſe, which march'd towards *Coventry* over an open Plain, they retir'd before them, without giving them a ſingle Charge; which was imputed to the ill Conduct of their Commander *Wilmot*, who had a colder Courage than many under him, who were of Opinion that they might have eaſily defeated that Body of Foot. This wou'd have been a ſeaſonable Victory, which unqueſtionably wou'd have put *Coventry* into the King's Hands, and prov'd very auſpicious towards the ſetting up his Standard. Whereas that diſhonourable Retreat, which look'd like a Defeat, and the unexpected Behaviour of *Coventry*, render'd his Majeſty's Return to *Nottingham* very ominous and melancholy.

Where he ſets up his Royal Standard.

With theſe diſcouraging Circumſtances was the Royal Standard erected, according to the Proclamation, upon the 22d, not 25th Day of *Auguſt*, about ſix a Clock in the Evening of a very violent tempeſtuous Day. The King in Perſon rode with a ſmall Train to the Top of the Caſtle-Hill, the Standard being born by Sir *Edward Varney* the Knight Marſhal, who ſet it up in the appointed Place, with little other Solemnity than the Sound of Drums and Trumpets; while many began to obſerve ill Preſages at that Time. There was not one Regiment of Foot yet brought thither, ſo that the Train'd-Bands, which Sir *John Digby* the active Sheriff had drawn together, were all the Strength the King had for his Perſon, and the Guard of his Royal Standard. There appear'd no numerous Reſort of Men in Obedience to the Proclamation; the Arms and Ammunition were not yet come from *York*, and a general Damp of Sorrow cover'd the whole Town. The Parliament Army, who were now proclaim'd *Rebels*, was as near as *Northampton*, and moving forwards; So that Sir *Jacob Aſhley* told the King, *That he cou'd give no Aſſurance againſt his being taken out of his Bed, if the Rebels ſhou'd make a briſk Attempt upon him.* Likewiſe the Standard it ſelf was blown down the ſame Night it was erected, by a ſtrange unruly Wind, and cou'd not be fix'd again in a Day or two, till the Tempeſt was abated. This was the diſconſolate State of the King's Affairs, when the Standard was erected.

1642. Car. 18.

Thus was the famous Civil War in *England* brought to a compleat Rupture, which was more than Beginning for Half a Year before; and nothing more contributed to this Height, than a Belief *of one Party's not being able to reſiſt the other*, and the receiv'd Opinion of both Parties, *That the War wou'd quickly be at an End.* Who were the greateſt Aggreſſors in this War, will readily appear by the foregoing Hiſtory; but if the Reader be ſtill unſatisfy'd, we muſt refer him to a peculiar Author, no ways prejudic'd in Favour of the King, Mr. *Roger Coke*, who in the Third Edition of his *Detection*, beginning at Page 280, has ſpent ſixteen Pages to prove againſt Mr. *May* and others, that the Parliament really began the War upon the King. At this Period of Time the noble Lord *Clarendon* concludes the Firſt Volume of his celebrated Hiſtory; which for the moſt Part was wrote many Years before he began his Second, before King *Charles*'s Death, and probably before the Concluſion of the firſt War: Which Hint may ſerve as a Guide to his Reader as to ſeveral Paſſages in that Volume, which otherwiſe may not be ſo eaſily accounted for.

CHAP. III.

The CIVIL WARS of *England:*

From the Setting up the King's Royal Standard, to the Arrival of the Scots *in* England *to the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament.*

Containing the Space of one Year, and almoſt 5 Months.

Forerunners of the War.

I. 1. WE are now entering upon a dark Scene of Miſery, a State of Civil War, which ſoon ſpread it ſelf like an univerſal Torrent, and overwhelm'd the whole Nation. This calamitous Seaſon, we are aſſur'd, was uſher'd in by Prodigies and ſtrange portentous Sights ſeen in the Air in many Parts of *England*, as Muſqueteers, Harneſs'd-Men and Horſe-Men, moving in Battel Array, and attacking each other in ſeveral furious Poſtures; viſibly fore-ſhewing that Storm that was ready to be diſcharg'd upon this guilty Nation. But how incredible ſoever were the Fore-runners of this War, the Conſequences were certainly diſmal and tragical to the higheſt Degree: For beſides the enſuing Deluge of Blood, the Deſtruction of the nobleſt Families, the Deſolation of the beſt Eſtates, and the numberleſs Cries of the Oppreſſed; Treachery and Hypocriſy, Licentiouſneſs and Profaneneſs, Enthuſiaſm and Atheiſm, together with a Violation of all the Laws of Nature and Humanity, were but ſome of the Ingredients of the Calamities that overſpread the whole Kingdom.

The Intereſt of the King in the ſeveral Parts of the Nation.

In order to a more regular Account of this Civil War, we ſhall firſt take Notice of the Intereſt and Power of both Parties, as they were moſt predominant at this Time, and for ſome Time after, in all Parts of the Nation, in reſpect of the *North*, *Eaſt*, *Weſt* and *South*. As to the *North*, ſomething has already been ſaid of the King's Intereſt there, and his ſecuring the Town of *Newcaſtle.* The Eaſt being a ſort of an Angle of the Kingdom, and no great Paſſage into other Parts, and all as it were impaled and ſhut up by the City of *London*, the Loyal Affections there were ſtifled; yet like a ſmother'd Fire, ſometimes breaking and blazing out, but ſoon extinguiſh'd. So that *Middleſex*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgeſhire*, were full of good Inclinations for the King, but were carefully kept as freſh Paſtures for the Parliament; for they were properly and ſingly in their Quarters. And tho' the King cou'd no way receive the Benefit of their good Affections, yet he had ſeveral of the chief Gentry along with him; and of this the two Houſes were ſo ſuſpicious, that, tho' they ſhou'd have eas'd them in their Taxes, as moſt properly belonging to themſelves, yet knowing how little they were voluntarily oblig'd by them, they laid that Load upon them, that to this Day they feel the Inequality of it. And being thus kept and ſecur'd, they became a Magazine of Men, Proviſions and Mony throughout the whole War. As to the *Weſt*, the Sea-Coaſts, the great Trading Towns of *Briſtol*, *Lime*, *Falmouth*, *Plimouth* and *Exeter*, ſince the King's Navy was in the Poſſeſſion of the two Houſes, their Intereſt, as well as their Inclinations, made them Parliamentarians: Only the *Corniſh* Men, as ancient *Britains*, were eminently Loyal, tho' they had ſtrong Temptations to the contrary. The Inland Towns and Cities in the *Weſt* were moſt for the King; the chief Noblemen and Gentry through the Country were ſtrictly faithful to their Prince; and the Intereſt of thoſe eminent Members of the Parliament, as *Greenvill*, *Slanning*, *Hopton*, *Stowel*, *Strangeways*, *Rogers*, *Windham*, &c. and others joyning themſelves to the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, found ſuch a Diſpoſition in the Generality of the Commons, that when they appear'd as Heads for them to reſort to, thoſe Counties, excepting the great Towns, ſeem'd much more the King's, than the two Houſes Part. As to the *South*, that border'd ſo much upon *London*, that like the *Eaſt*, they were not much at their own Liberty; but it is highly probable, that if the Awe upon them cou'd have been remov'd, and Freedom given them of three Months ranging themſelves under a Commander for the King, his Majeſty wou'd have ſoon appear'd the Governor of the Land.

The Intereſt of the Parliament.

On the other Side, the Authority of the two Houſes, the Riches of the City of *London*, and the Trading Ports, the vaſt Number of Arms, and Magazines of Powder, Ammunition, and all other Habiliments of War, which they had ſeiz'd on, the mighty Zeal of the Puritan and Parliamentarian Party, ſupported with the King's, Queen's and Prince's Revenue, and generally the Revenue of the Church in their Quarters, and of the confiſcated Eſtates of the Nobility and Gentry gone over to the King, and the heavy Taxes laid upon the Subject, made their Beginnings far ſuperior, and vaſtly to out-ballance the King's Condition. All theſe and many more oppreſſive Ways, lay as ſo many Impediments to hinder Men in theſe Parts from ſerving the King, when their Inclinations were intirely that way: And indeed at this Time the two Houſes had made themſelves abſolute Sovereigns of the Realm, having ſeiz'd on the Militia, and made their *Ordinances*, as they call'd them, ſufficient Authority to charge the Subject with what Mony and Contributions they pleas'd: And therefore having thus aſſum'd the Sword and the Purſe, the Navy and the Exchequer, as well as all the Fortreſſes and Sea-Towns of the Trading Land; it is no Wonder, that at laſt their Arms prevail'd againſt all Oppoſition. It is a greater Wonder, that the King, ſtruggling with ſo many extraordinary Difficulties, ſhou'd ſometimes arrive at thoſe fair Probabilities of defeating and overthrowing them.

The King's low Condition at firſt.

2. The King's Condition at *Nottingham* was at firſt very low and melancholy; with ſo ſmall a Force, that he might have been eaſily driven from thence, and indeed out of his Kingdom. And what added to the Trouble, was the News that *Portſmouth* was ſo ſtraitned, that without Relief, it wou'd be reduc'd in a very few Days; and likewiſe that the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, and all his Forces in the *Weſt*, from whom only the Relief of *Portſmouth* was expected, was driven out of *Somerſetſhire*, where his Power was greateſt, into *Dorſetſhire*, and there beſieg'd in *Sherborne* Caſtle. In this great Anxiety, ſome advis'd his Majeſty to return back to *York*; but that was look'd upon as too much like a Flight; but moſt deſir'd him to ſend a Meſſage to the Parliament, with ſome Overture to bring them to a Treaty. This was ſo offenſive to the King, that he declar'd, *He wou'd never yield to it*, and broke up the Council, that it might be no more urg'd. But the next Day the ſame Advice was renew'd with greater Earneſtneſs; and the Earl of *Southampton*, a Perſon of ſingular Prudence and Reputation, urg'd it as a Thing that might have good, but no bad Effects: And becauſe the King inſiſted upon the Inſolence it wou'd raiſe, and the Diſhonour it wou'd reflect upon Himſelf, they repreſented, 'That their Inſolence wou'd be for his Advantage; and when they ſhou'd reject the Offer of Peace, they wou'd render themſelves the more odious to the People in general.' Other Arguments were us'd, ariſing from the Neceſſity of the King's Affairs, and the Probability of protracting Time; but what chiefly prevail'd at laſt, was the general Expectation, 'That the Pride of the Parliament, and their Contempt of the King's Weakneſs, wou'd cauſe them to refuſe to Treat; which wou'd be a Thing ſo unpopular, and ſo unjuſtifiable to the World, as wou'd at length turn to his Majeſty's Advantage.' This, with the almoſt concurrent Importunity of the Council, caus'd the King to ſend the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, Sir *John Colepepper* and Sir *William Udal*, with a Meſſage to the two Houſes, in which after he had lamented the Diſtractions of the Kingdom, he propos'd, 'That ſome might be by Them enabled to treat with the like Number to be authoriz'd by Himſelf, in ſuch a Manner, and ſuch Freedom of Debate as might tend to the happy Concluſion of the Peace of the Kingdom: And as to the Place, he propos'd That where he was at preſent, or any other they ſhou'd chuſe. If this Propoſition was rejected, he had done his Duty ſo amply, *that God wou'd abſolve him from the Guilt of any of that Blood which muſt be ſpilt*; and aſſur'd them, That nothing but his Chriſtian and pious Care to prevent the Effuſion of Blood, had begot that Motion.

His Meſſage to the Parliament.

How receiv'd.

This Meſſage, according to Expectation, was receiv'd with unheard-of Inſolence and Contempt; and the Meſſengers were receiv'd in no Degree with that Reſpect that their Worth and Quality, and the Nature of their Buſineſs did deſerve: For the Earl of *Southampton* going into the Houſe of Peers, where he had never given any juſt Offence, was ſcarce ſat down in his Place, when he was furiouſly call'd upon to withdraw, tho' he modeſtly inform'd them *He had a Meſſage from the King*. Being compell'd to withdraw, the Gentleman-Uſher of the Houſe was ſent to him to require his Meſſage; but his Lordſhip alledg'd, he was by the King's Command to deliver it himſelf, and refus'd to ſend it, unleſs the Lords made an Order That he ſhould not deliver it himſelf; which they accordingly did. They had no ſooner receiv'd it, but they ſent him word, *That at his Peril he ſhou'd immediately depart the Town; and that they wou'd take care their Anſwer to the Meſſage ſhou'd be ſent him.* Sir *John Colepepper*'s Treatment from the Commons was much after the ſame manner; yet theſe Meſſengers found Opportunity to get private Conferences with ſome of the Leaders, from whom they receiv'd no other Advice, but 'if the King car'd for Himſelf, or his Poſterity, he muſt immediately come to *London*, throw Himſelf upon his Parliament, and comply with whatever they propos'd.' Within two Days they receiv'd an Anſwer to the King's Meſſage, in which the Parliament directly told his Majeſty, 'That in ſetting up his Standard againſt them, he had put the two Houſes of Parliament, *and in Them his whole Kingdom, out of his Protection:* Therefore until he ſhou'd recall thoſe Proclamations, whereby the Earl of *Eſſex*, both Houſes of Parliament, and all their Adherents, are declar'd *Traitors*, or otherwiſe *Delinquents*; and until the Standard be taken down; he had put them into ſuch a Condition, that by the Fundamental Privileges of Parliament, the publick Truſt repos'd in them, or with the general Good and Safety of this Kingdom, they cou'd not give him any other Anſwer to his Meſſage.

The Parliament's Anſwer.

Upon this Anſwer, and a Conſideration of the King's weak and low Condition, ſeveral of his Friends about him privately advis'd him 'To give all other Thoughts over, make all Speed to *London*, and appear in the Parliament Houſe, before they expected him; and they thought it more likely to prevail this Way, than by any Forces he was to raiſe.' This was a *Criſis* indeed, and the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, That it muſt be ſolely imputed to the King's own Reſolution, that he took not that Courſe. However he was deſirous to make ſo much further Uſe of their Inſolence, as to give them Occaſion, by another Meſſage, to publiſh more of it to the People; therefore ſhortly after, he ſent his principal Secretary, the Lord *Falkland*, with a Reply to their Anſwer; in which he aſſerted, 'That he never did, or intended to declare both Houſes of Parliament *Traitors*, or ſet up his Standard againſt Them; *and much leſs to put Them and his Kingdom out of his Protection:* He utterly profeſs'd againſt it before God and the World; and farther to remove all poſſible Scruples, that may hinder a Treaty ſo much deſir'd by him, he promis'd, if a Day was appointed by them for the Revoking of their Declarations againſt all Perſons as *Traitors*, or otherwiſe, for aſſiſting Him; he wou'd chearfully upon the ſame Day recal his Proclamations and Declarations, and take down his Standard. Then he conjur'd them to conſider the bleeding Condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous one of *England*, in as high a Degree, as by theſe Offers he had declar'd himſelf to do.'

The King's Reply.

Their ſecond Anſwer,

To this Meſſage they return'd an Anſwer, the Subſtance of which was, 'That if the King wou'd take down his Standard, recall his Proclamations, *&c.* leave his Forces, and return to his Parliament, and receive their Faithful Advice, he ſhou'd find ſuch Expreſſions of their Fidelities and Duties as might aſſure him, *That his Safety, Honour and Greatneſs, was only to be found in their Affections.*' And leſt the King's Overture of a Treaty might diſhearten their Party in their Preparations and Contributions to the War, the ſame Day they ſent this Anſwer, they publiſh'd a Declaration to the Kingdom, ſetting forth, 'That the Arms they had taken up, ſhou'd not be laid down, till the King had withdrawn his Protection from ſuch as both Houſes had, or hereafter ſhall vote to be *Delinquents*, and ſhall leave them to the Juſtice of the Parliament: That both this and ſucceeding Generations may take Warning, with what Danger they incur ſuch heinous Crimes; and alſo that thoſe great Charges with which the Common-wealth has been burthen'd, ſince the King's Departure, may be born by the ſaid *Delinquents*; and that all thoſe who, by Loans or otherwiſe, have aſſiſted the Common-

And Declaration.

‘ wealth, or ſhall hereafter aſſiſt it, may be repaid all Sums ‘ lent for that Purpoſe, and be ſatisfy'd out of the Eſtates ‘ of the Delinquents, and other malignant and diſaffected ‘ Perſons.’ This Declaration was ſo far from wounding the King, that it very much advanc'd his Affairs; for all Perſons of Honour and Quality plainly diſcern'd, they had now no Safety but in the Support of the Regal Power, ſince their Eſtates were already diſpos'd of by ſuch as cou'd declare whom they wou'd *Delinquents*, which wou'd be the Fate of all thoſe who had not concurr'd with them. The Advantage the King receiv'd by his Overtures, and the Pride and Perverſeneſs of the two Houſes, is ſcarce credible; the new Levies, and all other Preparations, being wonderfully advanc'd from the Time of his firſt Meſſage. *Yorkſhire*, *Lincolnſhire* and *Staffordſhire* ſent very good Recruits of Foot, ſo that within twenty Days from his Arrival at *Nottingham*, his Numbers began to have the Appearance of an Army; and there was another Air in all Mens Faces.

The Practices of the Scots.

A little before Things were brought to this Height, the *Scots* began to diſcover their Inclinations and Intentions. For tho' by a Petition exhibited to the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy-Council of that Realm, upon the laſt Day of *May*, they had intimated, ‘ A Deſire to ſhun any juſt Oc‘caſion, that might give Offence to their gracious Sove‘reign, or a Jealouſy to their Brethren of *England*;’ yet when they heard that their Friends in *England* had put themſelves in Arms, and were every way ſo powerful, and his Majeſty ſo very weak; they then not only ſhew'd themſelves more open, but likewiſe ſent a Form of their *Kirk-Government* to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, as a Pattern for Reformation; which they declar'd to be *Jure Divino* and *Perpetual*. This they ſent with a Deſire of the Aſſembly of that *Kirk*, that the ſame might be eſtabliſh'd in *England*; and a Declaration of their Affection to the Reformation in Kirk and State, wherein they ſignify'd ‘ Their ‘ Expectations, that *England* wou'd now beſtir themſelves, ‘ and extirpate the *Prelatical Hierarchy*, that the Remain‘der of the Work might be more eaſy; offering their Aſ‘ſiſtance for the furthering thereof;’ Of which more hereafter.

The Pride and Severity of the two Houſes.

3. The two Houſes by their laſt Declaration had made a falſe Step, and given unexpected Advantages to the King; which cou'd be attributed to nothing ſo much as their Pride, and Contempt of his Majeſty's inferior Power at that Time. The ſame Pride caus'd them to treat the greateſt Men with the higheſt Indignity; and where-ever their Forces found any Perſon of Quality inſecure to their Intereſt, they ſeiz'd upon his Perſon, and ſent him in great Triumph to the Parliament, who impriſon'd him with all Circumſtances of Cruelty and Inhumanity. Thus they took the old Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*, at his Houſe in *Northamptonſhire*, a venerable Perſon of above Fourſcore Years of Age, and of Reputation unblemiſh'd, for declaring himſelf unſatisfy'd with their high Proceedings; and notwithſtanding he had a Brother and a Nephew in the Houſe of Peers, the Earl of *Mancheſter* and the Lord *Kimbolton*, and a Son in the Houſe of Commons, who cou'd have aſſiſted him, his Lordſhip was detain'd a Priſoner to his Death. In *Oxfordſhire* they took the Earl of *Berkſhire*, and three or four principal Gentlemen of that County, and committed them to the *Tower*, tho' they never once appeared in the King's Service. And thus they took the Earl of *Bath* in *Devonſhire*, who neither did, nor wou'd do the King any Service, and carry'd him, with many other Gentlemen of thoſe Parts, with a ſtrong Guard to *London*; where, after they had been expos'd to the Reproaches of the Vulgar, who call'd them *Traitors* and *Rebels*, and treated them like the moſt infamous Malefactors, they were without Examination committed to ſeveral Priſons. So that not only all the Priſons about *London* were ſoon filled with Perſons of Honour, and the beſt Reputation in their Counties, but other Priſons were made for their Reception: And by a new and barbarous Invention, a great many of good Quality, both of the Clergy and Laity, were impriſon'd on Board the Ships in the *Thames*; where they were kept under Decks, and no Friend ſuffer'd to ſee them; by which means many dy'd after a miſerable Manner.

That the Loſs of Liberty might not be their only Puniſhment, it was the uſual Method, which few eſcap'd, that after a Man was thus committed, his Eſtate and Goods were ſeiz'd, either by Order of the Commons, or ſome Committee, or the Soldiers, who in their March plunder'd all *Papiſts* and *Malignants*; or by the Fury of the common People, who ſoon grew ſo barbarous to the Nobility and Gentry, under the Name of *Cavaliers*, that they cou'd not live ſafe in their Houſes, unleſs they were known Friends to the Parliament. Thus the common People in *Eſſex* ſuddenly beſet the Houſe of Sir *John Lucas*, an eminent Royaliſt, and one of the chief Gentlemen of that County; and upon Pretence he was going to the King, ſeiz'd all his Arms and Horſes, and then his Perſon, and us'd him with the utmoſt Indignities, not without Threats upon his Life. After he was ſecur'd at *Colcheſter*, the Houſe of Commons remov'd him to another Priſon, and ſent all his Horſes into the Service of their own Army. The ſame Rabble likewiſe enter'd the Houſe of the Counteſs of *Rivers*, near *Colcheſter*, as being a profeſſed Papiſt, and in a few Hours disfurniſh'd it of all the Goods, which had been gathering many Years with great Curioſity, to the Value of forty Thouſand Pounds. Dr. *Ryves* tells us that her Loſſes in her ſeveral Houſes and Parks amounted to a hundred Thouſand Pounds at leaſt. She her ſelf hardly eſcap'd, after great Inſolence had been us'd to her Perſon; and ſhe cou'd never receive any Reparation from the Parliament. All which Wild-Fire among the People, was not ſo effectually kindled by the Breath of the Parliament, as by the Mouths of their Clergy, who both adminiſter'd Fuel, and blow'd the Coals in the Houſes. Theſe Men, who before had driven out the moſt Learned from the Pulpits, and infus'd the moſt ſeditious Inclinations, now cou'd contain themſelves in no Bounds; but as freely inveigh'd againſt the Perſon of the King, as before againſt the worſt Malignant; ſhamefully applying whatever had been declar'd by God, or his Prophets, againſt the moſt impious Kings, to excite the People againſt their preſent Sovereign. Which occaſion'd the noble Hiſtorian to exclaim againſt theſe Pulpit Incendiaries, and to intimate, that the Preaching Rebellion out of the Pulpits, was ſo much worſe than Proclaiming it in the Market, as the Poyſoning a Man at the Communion wou'd be worſe than Murthering him at a Tavern.

The Inſolence of their Preachers.

Theſe unpopular Proceedings ſoon ſhew'd, that the Houſes Empire and Sovereignty depended more on the Fear, than the Love of the People. And that no Religious Methods might be wanting to ſtrengthen it, they fram'd a particular Oath, to be taken by all their Members, ‘ To live and die with the Earl of *Eſſex*;’ which they found Occaſion to drop in two Years Time. This was particularly refus'd by that brave Gentleman, Sir *Sidney Mountague*, Maſter of Requeſt, and Brother to the Lord *Mountague* lately mention'd; who declar'd, *He would not ſwear to live with him, becauſe he was an old Man, and might die before him; nor wou'd he ſwear to die with him, ſince he was going with an Army againſt the King, which he cou'd not clear from Treaſon; and ſo did not know what End that great Man might come to.* But for this Reflection, he was immediately expell'd the Houſe of Commons, and another choſen in his Room, to ſerve as Knight for *Huntingtonſhire*. The raiſing of Mony was now their chief End, and whereas before they had invited Perſons to advance it, they now chang'd their Methods, and voted, ‘ That thoſe that wou'd not contribute to the Charge of the ‘ Commonwealth, ſhou'd be ſecur'd and diſarm'd.’ Mr. *Fountain*, an eminent Lawyer, being ask'd to contribute, reply'd, *That by the Petition of Right he was not to anſwer Yea or No*; for which Anſwer, as well as Refuſal, he was treated as a Malignant, and committed to Priſon. They further appointed a particular Committee for the Sequeſtration of the Lands of Biſhops, and of Deans and Chapters, and of all the King's Revenues they cou'd reach, to be employ'd for the Defence of the Commonwealth.

Further Severities.

The Earl of Eſſex leaves London.

4. Such were the Proceedings of the Parliament at, or near the Time when their General, the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſet forwards for his Expedition; which he did on the 9th Day of *September*, in a triumphant Manner, attended by moſt of the Parliament, ſeveral gallant Officers, and many thouſands of the People, who ſurrounded him with joyful Acclamations and Huzzas: Tho' ſome with Murmurs ventur'd to ſay, *So was done and ſaid to his Father, in his Expedition towards* Ireland, *who return'd back a Traitor, and loſt his Head.* The General's Colours was a deep Yellow, ſo that the wearing any other became a Mark of one diſaffected to the Cauſe; ſo ſmall a Thing was obſerv'd in the Jealouſies of War. About *Barnett* the Earl met the venerable Lord *Mountague* before-mention'd, then Priſoner to the Parliament, and ſtopt his Coach with a Deſign to ſalute him; but the old Lord immediately commanded his Coach-man to drive away, ſaying, *This was not a Time for Compliments!* which gave a ſenſible Check to the General's Career. The general Rendezvous was at *Northampton*, where at this Time was an Army of fifteen thouſand effective Men, beſides ſeveral Bodies in other Parts.

While the Earl of *Eſſex* was at *Northampton*, the King, having receiv'd his two valiant Nephews, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, left the Town of *Nottingham* on the thirteenth of *September*. But before his Departure, as a Farewell to his Hopes of a Treaty, to make a deeper Impreſſion on the Hearts of the People, he ſent another Meſſage to the two Houſes, in which he ſhew'd them ‘ What ‘ Endeavours he had us'd by his many Offers, but cou'd ‘ not obtain any Treaty; and therefore now declar'd,

The King's Meſſage to the Houſes.

‘ That

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‘ That being thus left to his neceſſary Defence; relying ‘ only on the Providence of God, the Juſtneſs of his Cauſe, ‘ and the Affections of his good People; he ſhou'd yet pi‑ ‘ ouſly remember the Blood that was to be ſpilt in his Quar‑ ‘ rel, and chearfully embrace a Treaty, whenever they ‘ ſhou'd deſire it.’ To this they return'd a ſcornful and inſulting Anſwer, in which they tax'd him ‘ with com‑ ‘ mitting Oppreſſions, Rapines and Murthers upon his good ‘ Subjects; declaring that they had offer'd him all Securi‑ ‘ ty, Honour, Service, Obedience, Support, *&c.* and ‘ ſought nothing, but that their *Religion*, *Liberty*, Peace ‘ of the Kingdom, and Safety of the Parliament might be ‘ ſecur'd from the open Violence, and cunning Practices ‘ of a wicked Party, who had long plotted their Deſtructi‑ ‘ on: Upbraiding him, That *Iriſh* Traitors and Rebels ‘ were admitted to his Preſence, Grace and Favour; and ‘ telling him, if he wou'd return to his Parliament with‑ ‘ out his Forces, they wou'd ſecure his Royal Perſon, ‘ Crown and Dignity.

Their Anſwer.

The King having left *Nottingham*, he march'd to *Derby*, from whence with a daily Encreaſe of his Forces he bent his Courſe towards *Shrewsbury*, a Place very promiſing, and of great Moment; from whence he hop'd to ſecure both *Worceſter* and *Cheſter*, and a great Part of *Wales*. Having drawn all his Men to a Rendezvous by *Wellington*, a Day's March ſhort of *Shrewsbury*, he the firſt Time cauſed his Military Orders to be read; and putting himſelf in the middle, where he might beſt be heard, in a ſet Speech he told them, ‘ after an Inforcement of theſe Orders, that ‘ he cou'd not ſuſpect their Courage and Reſolution, their ‘ Conſcience and Loyalty had brought them thither, to ‘ fight for their Religion, their King, and the Laws of the ‘ Land. They ſhou'd meet with no Enemies but Trai‑ ‘ tors, moſt of them *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts* and *Atheiſts*; ‘ ſuch who deſire to deſtroy both Church and State, and ‘ who had already condemn'd Them to Ruin, for being ‘ Loyal to Him.’ Then after he had promis'd them to live and die with them, he made a ſolemn Proteſtation to them in theſe Words: *I do promiſe in the Preſence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his Bleſſing and Protection, that I will, to the utmoſt of my Power, defend and maintain the* true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; *and, by the Grace of God, in the ſame live and die. I do deſire to govern by the known* Laws of the Land, *and that the* Liberty *and* Property *of the Subject may be by them preſerv'd with the ſame Care as my own juſt* Rights. *And if it pleaſe God, by his Bleſſing upon this Army, rais'd for my neceſſary Defence, to preſerve me from this Rebellion, I do ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe, in the Sight of God, to maintain the juſt* Privileges *and* Freedom *of* Parliament, *and to govern by the known* Laws of the Land *to my utmoſt Power, and particularly to obſerve inviolably* the Laws conſented to by me *this Parliament. In the mean while, if this Time of War, and the great Neceſſity and Straits I am now driven to, beget any Violation of* Thoſe, *I hope it ſhall be imputed by God and Men to the* Authors *of the War, and not to* Me, *who have ſo earneſtly labour'd for the Preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom. When I willingly fail in* theſe Particulars, *I will expect no Aid or Relief from any Man, or Protection from Heaven: But in this Reſolution I hope for the chearful Aſſiſtance of all good Men, and am confident of God's Bleſſing.*

The King's Speech and Proteſtation to his Army.

This Proteſtation, with the ſolemn Manner of making it, gave great Life and Encouragement to the little Army, and no leſs Comfort and Satisfaction to the Gentry and Inhabitants of thoſe Parts; who by the Parliament had been taught to believe, That if the King prevail'd, he wou'd by his Power aboliſh all thoſe good Laws which had been made this Parliament: So that they eſteem'd this Proteſtation, as a more ample Security for thoſe Acts, than the Royal Aſſent he had before given. And a more zealous and paſſionate Expreſſion of Affections cannot be imagin'd, than he receiv'd from the People of *Derby*, *Stafford* and *Shropſhire*, as he paſs'd along; or a better Reception than he found at *Shrewsbury* it ſelf, where he enter'd on the 20th Day of *September*. The Town was very commodious in all Reſpects, ſtrong in its Situation; and in reſpect to the Neighbourhood of *North-Wales*, and the Uſe of the *Severn*, yielded excellent Proviſions of all Kinds; ſo that both Court and Army were for a while very well accommodated. Here the King found a great Conflux of the Gentry there, and the neighbouring Counties, which were generally well affected, and made great Profeſſions of Duty to their Sovereign; and ſome of them undertook to make Levies of Horſe and Foot, and perform'd it at their own Charge. Before his Majeſty's Arrival, as I have been aſſur'd by a good Hand, no Parts had been more poyſon'd than theſe by the Parliament Emiſſaries, who made the inferior People to believe that the King was no better than a Monſter of a Man; but when he came to ſhew Himſelf in all Places with that obliging Behaviour, Candour and Condeſcenſion, and other amiable Qualities, he ſoon diſpell'd thoſe dark Miſts, and manifeſted Himſelf both a King, and a Father of his Country.

He arrives at Shrewſbury.

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5. It was much admir'd, that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhou'd neither diſturb the King at *Nottingham*, nor in his March to *Shrewsbury*; which if he had done, he might have taken him Priſoner, or intirely diſpers'd his ſmall Army. But this is attributed to the General's Want of Inſtructions, but more to the Pride and Contempt of the two Houſes, who preſum'd it wou'd be impoſſible for his Majeſty long to maintain any Forces, and that when his Followers were grown weary and unable to bear the Burthen of their own Charges, he muſt be forc'd to throw himſelf upon Them for Protection and Subſiſtance; and ſuch a Victory without Blood had crown'd all their Deſigns. But they ſoon found themſelves miſtaken, by means of a ſharp Rencounter that hapned near *Worceſter*, upon this Occaſion. The King hearing that the Earl of *Eſſex* was bending his March towards *Worceſter*, ſent Prince *Rupert* with the greateſt Part of the Horſe, on the other ſide the *Severn*, towards that City; particularly to ſecure the Retreat of thoſe Gentlemen, who were raiſing Forces for him; but eſpecially to joyn with Sir *John Byron*, whom he had ſent to *Oxford* to convey ſome Mony, which had ſecretly been brought thither from *London*. And he, after ſome ſmall Diſaſters in his March, came ſafe with his Charge to *Worceſter*; where he had but juſt arriv'd, when a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons, under the Command of Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, was ſent to ſurpriſe the Town, which cou'd have made no tolerable Reſiſtance of it ſelf. About the ſame Time, Prince *Rupert*, after a long March, with his Brother Prince *Maurice*, the Lord *Digby*, and other Commanders, got near a Place call'd *Powick-Bridge*, within a Mile and a Half from *Worceſter*, where reſting themſelves upon the Ground, they eſpied a fair Body of five Hundred Horſe marching in good Order up a Lane within Muſquet Shot of them. In this Confuſion, they had ſcarce Time to get upon their Horſes, much leſs to conſult; but this intrepid Prince declar'd he wou'd charge, and his Brother and all thoſe Officers whoſe Troops were not ready, bravely put themſelves next the Prince, before they cou'd get on their Armour; the other wearied Troops coming in Order after them. In this Manner the Prince charg'd them, as ſoon as they came out of the Lane; and being ſeconded by this Handful of valiant Men, tho' the other Party being gallantly led by Colonel *Sandys*, and compleatly arm'd both for Offence and Defence, ſtood well, yet in a ſhort Time many of their beſt Men being kill'd, and *Sandys* himſelf falling with his Wounds, the whole Body was totally routed, and for above a Mile purſu'd by the Conquerors, who cou'd not kill above fifty of them, by reaſon of the Goodneſs of their Armour, and the freſhneſs of their Horſes. Colonel *Sandys* and Major *Douglaſs* were ſlain; Captain *Wingate*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and two or three *Scotch* Officers were taken Priſoners, beſides ſix or ſeven Cornets, many good Horſes, and ſome Arms.

The firſt Rencounter at Powick-Bridge.

The Advantage on the King's Side.

This was the firſt Engagement that hapned between the Forces of the King and Parliament, (tho' ſome little Blood had been drawn before,) which is call'd a Rencounter or Skirmiſh, and by ſome, *The Fight at Powick-Bridge*, which fell upon the 23d Day of *September*. This prov'd of ſingular Advantage to the King, for it being the firſt Tryal of his Horſe, againſt a Party of ſelect Men, it gave his Troops great Courage, and render'd the Name of Prince *Rupert* very formidable, and much confounded the Enemy; ſo that for a long Time after they had no Confidence in their Horſe, and their Numbers were much leſſen'd by it. For that whole Party being routed, and the beſt Officers either kill'd or taken, tho' the Number loſt was inconſiderable, there were many more who never return'd to the Service; and to extenuate their own Cowardiſe, made loud Reports *of the incredible and irreſiſtable Courage of Prince* Rupert, *and the King's Horſe*. The two Houſes were not a little diſcourag'd, yet leſt the Truth of this Action ſhou'd diſhearten their Friends in *London*, or other remote Parts, they not only caus'd ſeveral printed Papers to be diſpers'd, extolling it as a great Victory; but that it might gain the more Credit, ordain'd a publick Thankſgiving in *London* for it, on the 27th of the ſame Month, as we are told by Sir *William Dugdale*. At the ſame Time they ſent Inſtructions to their General, the Earl of *Eſſex*, to march and fight the King's Forces, and reſcue his Perſon, with the Prince, and Duke of *York*, from thoſe about him; and to deliver a Petition, importing, ‘ That if his Majeſty pleas'd to with‑ ‘ draw himſelf from his Forces, and reſort to his Parlia‑ ‘ ment, the Earl ſhou'd cauſe thoſe Forces to diſband, and ‘ ſhou'd ſerve and defend the King with ſufficient Strength ‘ in his Return.’ They likewiſe offer'd Pardon to all Perſons that ſhou'd come over to them in ten Days, ‘ Except ‘ Delinquents already voted, or to be voted guilty of High‑ ‘ Treaſon, or who have been eminent or active againſt

‘ the Parliament; and except the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earls of *Briſtol*, *Cumberland*, *Newcaſtle*, *Rivers*, and *Carnarvon*, the Viſcounts *Newark* and *Falkland*, Secretary *Nicolas*, Mr. *Endymion Porter*, and Mr. *Edward Hyde*.’

The Parliament's Dealings with the States of **Holland.**

No Time was loſt, but the Houſes proceeded with the utmoſt Vigour, both in relation to Foreign and Domeſtick Aſſiſtances: To the States of *Holland* they ſent a ſpecial Declaration, ‘ Complaining of the Prince of *Orange*, for countenancing the Lord *Digby*, in his Warlike Preparations there for the King's Uſe; and in Favour of that Lord, and other wicked Counſellors, to have licenc'd experienc'd Officers and Soldiers to reſort into this Kingdom, in aid of the King againſt the Parliament. Declaring, that the King's Councils were corrupted by a *Jeſuitical* Faction, and that *he had drawn his Sword for the Deſtruction of his People:* Deſiring therefore that he might have no manner of Supplies from thence; and inſinuating withal, how near a Relation there was between that Model into which they aim'd to caſt this Government, and the State of thoſe Provinces; and therefore they expected Aſſiſtance from them.’ Nor did they reſt here, as appears from thoſe Inſtructions which they afterwards ſent into *Holland*; by which they repreſented to the States, ‘ That the Parliament of *England* did only ſtrive for *Reformation* of that Religion and State they live in; and therefore deſir'd thoſe States, that they wou'd now Afford them their Brotherly Aſſiſtance, *as they had formerly aſſiſted Them:* As alſo they wou'd enlarge their Union to other Princes, and lend them ſome Mony upon the *Publick Faith* of both Kingdoms; and the rather, becauſe they made the *Reformed Churches* the Pattern of their Endeavours.’

Their Declarations and Orders.

Neither cou'd they be ſilent at home; but the more to excite the People, by a Declaration they inculcated to them, ‘ That the King had rais'd an Army, by the Help of *Papiſts*, the corrupt Part of the *Clergy*, the *Delinquent* Nobility and Gentry, and ſome notable Traytors beyond Sea: That they had Liberty to rob and ſpoil all Sorts of People; as alſo to exact Mony and Plate from Corporations, by threatning Fire and Sword to the Refuſers: That he had hired a *Scotchman* to murther Sir *John Hotham*; that by violent Oppreſſions he had exhauſted the Parts about *Shrewsbury*; and that the *Cavaliers* were hungry for the Wealth of *London*, and the fruitful Parts adjacent: That if he prevail'd, they cou'd expect nothing but to be expos'd to the Malice of his ravenous Soldiers, and to have the Throats cut of all honeſt and religious Men. Therefore the Means of curing and preventing theſe Dangers, muſt be by a Loan and Contribution to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army.’ And tho' they exclaim'd againſt Papiſts, as if the King's Army conſiſted chiefly of them; yet without Scruple they made this Publick Order, ‘ That if any Papiſt wou'd bring in conſiderable Sums to them, upon the Propoſitions, it ſhou'd be accepted of.’ To ſum up all, they iſſu'd forth another Declaration, in which, in the Preſence of Almighty God, they proteſt and declare, *to this Kingdom, and the whole World*, ‘ That no private Paſſion, or evil Intention to his Majeſty's Perſon; no Deſign to the Prejudice of his juſt Honour and Authority, had engag'd them to raiſe Forces, *&c.* That they had profeſs'd their Loyalty by ſeveral *Remonſtrances*; that they had paſs'd by ignominious Slanders, *&c.* that for the avoiding of Blood, they had directed the Earl of *Eſſex* to cauſe a Petition to be preſented to the King, and ſafe Conduct was refus'd for the Delivery of it; that he was engaged to the *Popiſh* Party for Suppreſſion and Extirpation of the true Religion, and expoſing the Wealth of this Kingdom to be plunder'd by *Cavaliers*, *&c.* contrary to his ſolemn Oaths, Proteſtations and Execrations; and therefore they reſolve to enter into a *Solemn Oath and Covenant*, to defend this Cauſe with the Hazard of their Lives againſt the King's Army: And they expected Help here from their Brethren of *Scotland*.’ This was on the 22d Day of *October*; which was the firſt Mention of the *Scotch Covenant* in *England*.

The King's Speeches and Behaviour in ſeveral Places.

6. All this Time the King was daily gathering Strength and Intereſt, and increaſing his Army with uncommon Succeſs. Tho' his Head Quarters were at *Shrewsbury*, yet he repair'd to *Cheſter*, and other adjacent Parts, to countenance his Levies, and to advance his Cauſe. His Cuſtom was in all Counties, through which he paſs'd, to cauſe the High-Sheriff to draw all the Gentlemen and moſt ſubſtantial Inhabitants of thoſe Parts together; when ſeverally applying himſelf to the Principal, with great Familiarity and Obligingneſs, he always ſpoke ſomething publickly; ‘ In which he laid open all the Artifices that had been us'd, and all the Injuries that had been done by the prevailing Faction in the two Houſes, with the neceſſary Tendency in their Deſigns to ruin both the Church and the State. He told them, That it was a Benefit to him from the Inſolencies and Misfortunes which had driven him about, that they had brought him to ſo good a Part of his Kingdom, and to ſo faithful a Part of his People. He declar'd Himſelf ſo robb'd and ſpoil'd of all his own, and ſuch Terror us'd to fright all Men from ſupplying him, that he muſt only live upon the Aid and Relief of his People. Yet he had ſent for a Mint, and wou'd melt down all his own Plate, and expoſe all his Land to Sale or Mortgage, that he might bring the leſs Preſſure upon them. However he invited them to give him all neceſſary Aſſiſtance, and not let ſo good a Cauſe be loſt for want of Supplies. Then he promis'd them, If God bleſs'd him with Succeſs, he wou'd remember the Service of every particular Perſon with Advantage.’ He likewiſe took Notice of any particular Reports, which might have made Impreſſions upon the People, and gave clear Anſwers to them. With theſe and the like Speeches, together with his gracious and Princely Demeanour, it is hardly credible how much it won upon the People; ſome had their Hearts melted into Pity, others their Minds rous'd with Indignation, and all ſhew'd their Reſolutions to help his Majeſty in this Extremity. Some liſted themſelves as Voluntiers, and others brought in Mony and Plate; and when they ſaw the King's own Plate deliver'd to the Mint at *Shrewsbury*, they thought theirs was leſs worth the preſerving.

After nine or ten Days Progreſs, in which the King ſecur'd *Cheſter*, the Key to *Ireland*, and ſome parts of *Wales*, his Majeſty return'd to *Shrewsbury*; where he met with Prince *Rupert*, who after the late Action at *Powick-Bridge*, finding the City of *Worceſter* in no Degree tenable, left it to the Power of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who us'd great Severity to the Royaliſts, and ſent the Principal of them Priſoners to *London*. At *Shrewsbury* the King met with a greater Conflux of the Gentry than before, and all Things appear'd with a more promiſing Aſpect. Yet ſtill he labour'd under two great Difficulties, the want of Mony, and the want of Arms; without a Supply of both, he cou'd make no March, nor undertake any Action of Importance.

His Ways of procuring Mony.

The firſt Supply the King receiv'd, was from the Generoſity of the two Univerſities, who with great Secrecy and Readineſs preſented him with almoſt all their Plate, which was then very conſiderable, and a large Sum of Mony. This prov'd a moſt ſeaſonable Preſent, it being made when the King and his Friends were moſt dejected, and in the loweſt Condition at *Nottingham*; and was ſoon diſpos'd of, part to Officers for Levies, and part into the Mint at *Shrewsbury*. Two new Expedients were propos'd to the King; a Loan from the chief Papiſts in thoſe Parts, and the Sale of ſome Honours: But his Majeſty was very unwilling to hearken to either, having already felt too many Inconveniencies from both. But as to the Papiſts, it was at length agreed, That the chief of them ſhou'd immediately advance two or three Years of ſuch Rent as they were annually oblig'd to pay to him, upon the Compoſition they had made for their Eſtates, as *Recuſants*; which in a few Days produc'd four or five thouſand Pounds to his Coffers. As to the other Expedient, the King graciouſly condeſcended to conſider ſo eminent and worthy a Perſon as Sir *Richard Newport*, who liv'd near *Shrewsbury*, and advanc'd him to a Baron of *England*, by the Title of *Lord* Newport *of* High-Ercall: For which the Loyal Gentleman preſented his Majeſty with the Sum of ſix thouſand Pounds.

The other Want, of Arms, was ſtill greater than that of Mony, in which the King was extreamly diſappointed; a Veſſel or two from *Holland* having been taken by his own Ships, under the Earl of *Warwick*; ſo that, except thoſe few before-mention'd, which came over in the *Providence* Frigate, he had none at his own Diſpoſal. Inſomuch that he was compell'd to begin at *Nottingham*, and ſo in other Places, to borrow the Arms from the Train'd-Bands; which was effected with ſo much Caution, that it appear'd rather with their Conſent, than by any Conſtraint, and always with the Approbation of their Commanders. This Tenderneſs prov'd too nice, and gave Opportunity to have many Arms imploy'd againſt him; as in ſeveral Places where the Gentlemen, with miſtaken Notions, tho' with good Intentions, deſir'd that they might be ſtill left in the Country-Men's Hands. But by Degrees the Nobility and Gentry ſupply'd the King out of their own mean Armories, ſo far, that all the Foot, except three or four hundred who march'd with no Weapon but a Cudgel, were arm'd with Muskets and Pikes; but there was not a Pike-Man who had a Corſlet, and very few Muſqueteers who had Swords. Among the Horſe, the Officers thought themſelves well accouter'd, if they could procure old Backs and Breaſts, with Piſtols or Carbines for their two or three firſt Ranks, and Swords for the reſt; having themſelves, with ſome few others, gotten a ſhort Pole-Ax beſides. The King's Forces were now encreas'd

beyond

The Strength of the King's Army at Shrewſbury.

beyond Expectation, and the Difference between his Majeſty's Condition at *Nottingham* and now at *Shrewsbury* was ſcarce credible; tho' ſtill his Strength was much inferior to the Enemy. His Foot conſiſted of about ſix thouſand, his Horſe of two thouſand, and his Dragoons of near one thouſand; and his Train in very good Order, commanded by Sir *John Heydon.* The Foot was divided into three Brigades; the firſt commanded by Sir *Nicolas Byron*, the ſecond by Colonel *Henry Wentworth*, the third by Colonel *Richard Fielding*, Sir *Jacob Aſhley* being Major-General, and commanding the Foot immediately under the General himſelf. Old General *Ruthen*, a brave *Scotch* Commander, was made Field-Marſhal, but kept wholly with the Horſe to aſſiſt Prince *Rupert*; and Sir *Arthur Aſton*, a Perſon of great Fame, was made Colonel-General of the Dragoons. Moſt of the Perſons of Quality, except thoſe about his Majeſty's Perſon, put themſelves into the King's Troop of Guards, commanded by the Lord *Bernard Stewart*; and compos'd ſo gallant a Body, that upon a modeſt Computation, it was judg'd that the Eſtates belonging to that ſingle Troop, were equal to all theirs, who then paſs'd for the Lords and Commons of *England* in Parliament, who made and maintain'd that War. The Prince of *Wales*, now twelve Years of Age, had the honorary Command of this Troop, and the King was Generaliſſimo of the whole, who declar'd, *They ſhou'd not hazard themſelves more in Defence of their own Laws and Liberties, than himſelf, nor endanger themſelves for his Perſon more than his own dear Child.*

The King marches from Shrewſbury *towards* London.

7. With theſe Preparations the King march'd from *Shrewsbury*, on the twelfth of *October* to *Bridgenorth*, having in his whole Army not one Field-Officer ſuppos'd to be a Papiſt, except Sir *Arthur Aſton*, and very few common Soldiers of that Religion. There was ſome Difference of Opinion which way he ſhou'd take; many thought he ſhou'd march towards *Worceſter*, where the Earl of *Eſſex* ſtill remain'd; and many Reaſons were alledg'd for that Deſign. But at length it was judg'd more adviſable to march directly towards the Center of all Misfortunes, the City of *London*; not queſtioning but that the Earl of *Eſſex* wou'd put himſelf in the Way. The King had great Confidence in his Nephew Prince *Rupert*, and his Horſe under him, which were highly exalted with their Succeſs at *Worceſter*; and if he march'd that way, he wou'd have been hamper'd in the Encloſure, where the Horſe wou'd have been leſs uſeful; whereas there were many open Fields the other Way, much fitter for an Ingagement. At *Bridgenorth*, ten Miles from *Shrewsbury*, there was a Rendezvous of the whole Army; which march'd from thence to *Wolverhampton*, *Bromicham* and *Killingworth*, where the King reſted one Day at a noble Seat of his own; here the Lord Chief Juſtice *Heath* began to ſit upon a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, to attaint the Earl of *Eſſex*, and many other Perſons, of Rebellion and Treaſon.

The City provide for themſelves.

The March and Encreaſe of the King's Forces, began very much to allarm the City of *London*, who were long made to believe *That it was impoſſible for the King to raiſe an Army*; agreeable to what the Lord *Say* but lately declar'd to the Gentry of *Oxfordſhire*, at a publick Aſſembly, *Upon his Honour, the King had neither Mony, Power, nor Credit.* But the Danger being now more apparent, the Parliament order'd the Train'd-Bands to be in Readineſs, and all the Paſſages about the City to be fortify'd with Poſts, Chains, and Courts of Guard; and it was ſurprizing to ſee how the Women and Children, and vaſt Numbers of People came to Work, about digging and carrying of Earth, to make their new Fortifications; till a regular Line and Circumvallation, of twelve Miles in Compaſs, was quite finiſhed. *Windſor* Caſtle was at this time garriſon'd by the Parliament, Colonel *Ven* being ſent down as Governor, with twelve Companies of Foot. Several Citizens ſuſpected for their Loyalty and Affection to the King, were alſo at this time ſecured; and the Aſſociation of ſeveral neighbouring Counties firſt projected and begun. Indeed the King's chief Aim was for *London*, which at the Approach of ſuch an Army, wou'd put his Friends in a Capacity to appear for him, and bring the War to a ſhort Period, which the King paſſionately deſir'd. But conſidering how dangerous it was to be inclos'd between the Parliament Army and the City, he reſolv'd to face about, and fight the Earl of *Eſſex* firſt, who having garriſon'd ſeveral Places, and leſſen'd his numerous Army, was advancing after him.

The Strength of Eſſex's *Army.*

For within two Days after the King march'd from *Shrewſbury*, the Earl of *Eſſex* mov'd from *Worceſter* to attend him, with an Army ſtill much ſuperior in Number; the Horſe and Foot were compleatly arm'd, the Men well exercis'd, and the whole Equipage ſuitable to an Army ſet forth at the Charge of a Kingdom. The Earl of *Bedford* had the Title of General of the Horſe, tho' that Command principally depended upon Sir *William Balfour.* Beſides many Gentlemen of Quality, there were in this Army the Lords *Kimbolton*, *Saint John*, *Wharton* and *Roberts*; as likewiſe the Lords *Rochford* and *Fielding*, whoſe Fathers, the Earls of *Dover* and *Denbigh*, charg'd as Volunteers in the King's Troop of Guards. The General's Train was ſo great, that he cou'd make but very ſlow Marches; ſo that the two Armies, tho' they were but twenty Miles aſunder when they ſet forth from *Worceſter* and *Bridgenorth*, and both aim'd towards the ſame Center, gave no Diſturbance to each other for near ten Days together; and in reality neither Army knew exactly where the other was.

Faction began in the King's Army.

Such was the Forwardneſs of both Parties, before they came to any great Action; in which the King was not only inferior, but had a peculiar Misfortune, as ſoon as he began to march; which was an unhappy Jealouſie and Diviſion among the principal Officers, which ſoon grew into a perfect Faction between the Foot and the Horſe. The worthy Earl of *Lindſey* was General of the whole Army by his Commiſſion; but when Prince *Rupert* was made General of the Horſe, there was a Clauſe inſerted in his Commiſſion, exempting him from receiving Orders from any Perſon but the King himſelf, which in Effect made him independent upon the General. So that when the King, being in his Bed at Midnight, had receiv'd Intelligence of the Enemy's Motion, and commanded the Lord *Falkland* to direct the Prince what he ſhou'd do; his Highneſs took it very ill, and inſiſted upon the Words of his Commiſſion; upon which that punctual Lord told him, *It was his Office to ſignify what the King bid him, which he ſhou'd always do; and that his Highneſs in neglecting it, neglected the King.* But the King too much comply'd with his rough Nature, and was ſo indulgent to him, tho' then but twenty three Years of Age, that he took his Advice in all Things relating to the Army; rejecting the Opinion of the General, who preferr'd the Order of Battel he had learnt under Prince *Maurice* and Prince *Henry* in the *Low-Countries*, with whom he had ſerv'd at the ſame Time, when the Earl of *Eſſex* and he had both of them Regiments. This Prince's natural Reſervedneſs, and the ſmall Acquaintance he had with Courts, made him unapt for any Intimacy with the Lords, who were diſcourag'd from applying themſelves to him; while ſome of the Horſe Officers were pleas'd to find this Diſtance, and fomented it, hoping their Credit wou'd be greater with the Prince, and that no other Perſon ſhou'd have any with the King. So that the War was ſcarce began, when ſuch Faction and Deſigns appeared in the Army, as wiſe Men accounted ominous; the Conſequences of which gave his Majeſty great Trouble in a ſhort time.

BATTEL I. *At* Edge-Hill *or* Keynton.

II. 1. The Storm had been gathering, and hovering about the *Engliſh* Nation for a conſiderable Time; and now at length it diſcharg'd it ſelf in a Shower of Blood, near the Center of the Kingdom, on a *Sunday* the twenty-third of *October*, the ſame Day that the dreadful Commotion in *Ireland* broke out the Year before. The Place was a ſpacious Valley between *Keynton* in *Warwickſhire* and *Edge-Hill*, call'd *The Vale of Red Horſe*, prophetically ſo nam'd, conſidering the Streams of Blood which were ſpilt there that Day. The King was in *Oxfordſhire*, ſummoning *Banbury* to ſurrender, when he receiv'd Advice that the Earl of *Eſſex*, with his Army, was advanc'd to *Keynton* within ten Miles of him; upon which his Majeſty gave immediate Order for his whole Army to march with all Expedition to *Edge-Hill*, two or three Miles from *Keynton*; from the top of which there was both a delightful and a dreadful Proſpect at this time. Here they had a Sight of the Enemy, who were buſie in ordering their Army in the Valley below; where the King viewing of them thro' a Glaſs, and being ask'd what he deſign'd to do; he briskly anſwer'd, *I never ſaw the Rebels before in a Body; I am reſolv'd to fight them; God, and all good Men aſſiſt my Righteous Cauſe.* The Battel was order'd by the Lord *Ruthen*, afterwards Earl of *Forth*; Prince *Rupert* commanded the Right Wing; Commiſſary General *Wilmot* the Left, aſſiſted by Sir *Arthur Aſton* with moſt of the Dragoons; and the Reſerve was committed to Sir *John Byron*, and conſiſted only of his own Regiment. The Earl of *Lindſey*, General of the Field, led the main Battel on Foot, with a Pike in his Hand; having under him his Major-General, the brave Sir *Jacob Aſhley*. The King, and the two young Princes his Sons were in the midſt of Danger; and ſo much the more, becauſe his valiant Troop of Guards had begg'd Leave to abſent themſelves from his Majeſty's Perſon, and charge in the Front among the Horſe; which tho' perform'd with admirable Courage, was reckon'd among the Overſights of this Day. The Earl of *Lindſey* was highly diſſatisfy'd with Prince *Rupert*'s independent Authority, and therefore declar'd to ſome particular Friends, *That he did not look upon himſelf* *as General, but was reſolv'd in the Battel to be at the Head of his Regiment as a private Colonel, where he wou'd die.* His Words prov'd prophetical, as did thoſe others of his, when going to the Fight he caſt his Eyes upon the young Prince of *Wales*, and ſaid, *There is a Child, born to end that War we now begin.* Sir *Jacob Aſhley* going to engage, lift up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, and utter'd this ſhort Soldiers Prayer, *O Lord! thou knoweſt how buſie I muſt be this Day; if I forget Thee, do not thou forget Me:* And then riſing up, couragiouſly cry'd out, *March on, Boys!* On the other ſide, the Earl of *Eſſex* prepar'd and perform'd every thing that cou'd be expected from a wiſe General; he choſe an advantagious Ground, being a fair Field between the Hill and *Keynton*, only near the Town it was narrower, and on the Right Hand had ſome Hedges and Incloſures. There he poſted his Muſqueteers, and not above two Regiments of Horſe, where the Ground was narroweſt; but on the Left he plac'd a Body of a thouſand Horſe under Colonel *Ramſey* a *Scot*, the Reſerve was commanded by the Earl of *Bedford* and Sir *William Balfour*, and the General himſelf commanded the main Battel on Foot.

The Manner of the whole Battel.

Approaching in this Order, the Canons began to play on both Sides, with great Noiſe, but no conſiderable Execution, and about three a Clock they came to a cloſe Battel. As the right Wing of the King's Horſe advanc'd to charge the Enemy's Left, Sir *Faithful Forteſcue*, as was privately determin'd, with his whole Troop ſeparated from the Groſs of the Parliament's Cavalry, and diſcharging all the Piſtols on the Ground within little more than Carabine Shot of his own Body, preſented Himſelf and all his Troop to Prince *Rupert*, and immediately charg'd with him againſt the Side he had but juſt deſerted. This ſudden Accident, with the Terror of Prince *Rupert* and the King's Horſe, had ſuch an Influence, that the whole Wing, having unſkilfully diſcharg'd their Piſtols and Carabines, wheel'd about; ſo that the King's Horſe effectually charg'd them both in the Flank and the Reer; and having thus intirely routed them, furiouſly purſu'd, and had the Execution of them for above two Miles, to the Town of *Keynton*, where they plunder'd the Baggage, and took the Earl of *Eſſex*'s own Coach. The left Wing under Commiſſary *Wilmot* had alſo good Succeſs, and Sir *Arthur Aſton* with his Dragoons bravely beat off the Muſqueteers that lin'd the Hedges on that Side; and then the Enemies right Wing was as eaſily routed and diſpers'd as their Left, and as fiercely purſu'd. But the King's Horſe, eſpecially thoſe under Prince *Rupert*, follow'd the Chaſe too far, as likewiſe their Reſerves under the Earl of *Carnarvan*, and hurry'd with the ſame Violence, ſuffer'd the Victory to ſlip out of their Hands, by their too great Eagerneſs of Conqueſt. The Earl of *Eſſex* ſoon took the Advantage, and *Balfour* with his Reſerve, mov'd up and down the Field in good Order; and marching towards the King's Foot, pretended to be Friends, till obſerving no Horſe in Readineſs to charge them, they broke in upon the Foot, and made a terrible Slaughter. Here the General *Lindſey*, on Foot at the Head of his Regiment, fell with his Wounds, and was encompaſs'd with the Enemy; and his Son, the Lord *Willoughby*, piouſly endeavouring his Reſcue, was taken Priſoner with him. Here Sir *Edmund Verney* was kill'd, and the Royal Standard taken by the Enemy. The King Himſelf was in no ſmall Danger, together with the two young Princes, who were on Horſe-Back on each ſide of him. His Majeſty ſeeing his Troops give way, mov'd to ſuſtain them, and the two Princes with him, when he was adviſ'd to leave the Field, and no longer expoſe his Perſon. He thought the Advice good, as far as it reſpected his Children, but look'd upon it as Unprincely to forſake them who had forſaken all to ſerve him. He propos'd it therefore to the Duke of *Richmond* to conduct them up the Hill, but that Loyal Lord excus'd himſelf, begging leave not to abandon his Majeſty; who next apply'd Himſelf to the Earl of *Dorſet*, for the ſame purpoſe, but was anſwer'd in his accuſtom'd jocoſe manner, *That all the Kings in the World ſhou'd not make him retire, when he was to fight.* At laſt the two Princes retir'd by the Aſſiſtance of one of the Gentlemen Penſioners, not without iminent Danger of being taken in an Ambuſh by the Way. In the mean while the King led on his Party with Sword in Hand, and his Preſence giving his Troops freſh Vigour, the Royal Standard was retaken by the valiant Captain *John Smith*, who for that great Action was made a Knight Banneret in the Field, and honour'd with bearing that Standard he had ſo bravely recover'd.

Both Parties keep the Field.

The Night approaching, both Sides being weary, declin'd fighting as if by Conſent, and rally'd their ſhatter'd Forces in the beſt manner they cou'd. At which Time Prince *Rupert* return'd from his long Chace, and found a great Alteration, and the Hopes of a glorious Day vaniſh'd; nor cou'd his Troops be perſuaded by the King to charge either the Enemies Reſerve of Horſe, which alone kept the Field, or the Body of their Foot, which only kept their Ground; upon either of which they might have made a powerful Impreſſion. The King with his Forces, fatigu'd with Duty and Want of Victuals, ſpent all the long and froſty Night in the open Field, with ſuch Fires as cou'd be made of the little Wood and Buſhes which grew in that Place, unreſolv'd what to do the next Morning, many reporting that the Enemy was gone: But the Day diſcover'd the contrary; for the Earl of *Eſſex* wiſely kept his Station, knowing if he drew off, his Numbers wou'd ſoon leſſen by Deſertion, and therefore he caus'd all manner of Proviſions to be brought to his Men for their Refreſhment, which was intirely wanting in the King's Army: Beſides, that Night he receiv'd a Reinforcement of two thouſand Foot under the Colonels *Hampden* and *Grantham*, with five hundred Horſe. The King on his Part found his Troops very thin the next Day; however, being willing to make a Tryal of the Diſpoſition of the other Army, he ſent Sir *William le Neve*, *Clarencieux* King at Arms, with a Proclamation of Pardon to ſuch as wou'd lay down their Arms: But when he offer'd to read the Proclamation aloud in the Preſence of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and to deliver the Effect of it, ſo as to be heard by thoſe there preſent, the Earl roughly rebuk'd him, and charg'd him, *as he lov'd his Life, not to preſume to ſpeak a Word to the Soldiers.* So that all that he cou'd diſcover was, a Diſorder in the Faces of the General and the chief Officers, and a great Dejection in the common Soldiers; and that the King's General, the Earl of *Lindſey*, was dead of his Wounds.

The Number of the Slain.

Thus was fought the memorable Battle of *Edge-Hill* or *Keynton*; of which two different Relations were ſhortly after publiſh'd, one by the King's Command at *Oxford*, and the other by the Order of the Commons at *London*; both Sides aſſuming the Honour of a Victory, when it cou'd not properly be ſo call'd on either Side: Yet the King was better intituled to the Credit of it, by killing the greater Numbers, and taking the greater Spoil, and ſeeing the Enemy break up and retire, while he immediately took a Garriſon, which he had attempted before the Battel. The Number of the Slain are by moſt Writers computed at about five thouſand; tho' ſome believe them to be much leſs, and the Continuator of *Camden* informs us, that by a Survey taken by Mr. *Fiſher*, Miniſter of *Keynton*, the Liſt amounted to leſs than fourteen hundred Men. It is very remarkable what is ſaid by *Robert de Salmonet*, a Popiſh Prieſt, who wrote a Hiſtory of our Wars in *French*, 'That that which moſt ſurpriz'd every One, was, that 'they found among the Dead in the Parliament Army ſe'veral Popiſh Prieſts.' Another Thing remarkable is, what Sir *William Dugdale* and *Roger Manley* tell us of *Oliver Cromwell*, then a Captain of a Troop of Horſe in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Regiment; namely that he abſented Himſelf from the Battel, and obſerving from the Top of a neighbouring Steeple the Diſorder the Right-Wing ſuſtain'd from Prince *Rupert*, he was ſo terrify'd, that ſlipping down in haſte by a Bell-Rope, he took Horſe, and run away with his Troop; for which Cowardiſe he had been Caſhier'd, had it not been for the powerful Mediation of his Friends. This he mention'd to ſhew how the Temperature of Mens Bodies and Minds, by Uſe and Ambition, may be intirely alter'd. The latter Author, as well as ſome others, tells us, That among the Enemies Baggage were taken the Letters of one *Blake* in the King's Army, who duely gave Intelligence of what paſs'd to the other Party, and particularly in what Part of the Army the King fought, that they might the better direct their Bullets at ſo illuſtrious a Mark; for which Treachery he was hang'd on the next Tree.

The Character and Death of the Earl of Lindſey.

The principal Perſons who dy'd on the King's Side were the General the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Lord *Aubigney*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, Sir *Edmund Verney* the Standard-Bearer, and ſome others of leſs Name, tho' of great Virtue and good Quality. *Robert Bertie*, Earl of *Lindſey*, was Son to the famous *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby* of *Ereſby*, who made ſo illuſtrious a Figure in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and who by his Mother, the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, ſpung from a long Race of Heroes. The Earl was a Perſon of great Honour, and ſpent his Youth and Vigour of his Age in great Hardſhips, Military Actions and Commands abroad, and had many Times ſignaliz'd his Valour both by Sea and Land; and tho' he indulg'd himſelf in great Liberties, and did no ways improve his great Eſtate, yet he ſtill preſerv'd a very good Reputation with all Men, and a very great Intereſt in his Country; ſo that the ſeveral Companies in his own Regiment were commanded by the chief Knights and Gentlemen of *Lincolnſhire*, who principally ingaged themſelves out of their Perſonal Affection to Him. He was of a very generous, hoſpitable and charitable Diſpoſition; punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to his Merit; which made him ſo heavily bear that Reſtriction put upon him by the fore-mention'd Commiſſion granted to Prince *Rupert*, and by the King's preferring that Prince's Opinion before His. He was carry'd out of the Field to the next Village, and it is believ'd the timely coming of Surgeons might have prevented his Wounds from being mortal. About Midnight, the Earl of *Eſſex* ſent Sir *William Balfour*, and ſome other Officers to viſit him, and offer him Civilities and Conveniencies, deſigning to go to him Himſelf. They found him upon a little Straw in a poor Houſe or Barn, where they had laid him in his Blood, which flow'd from him in great Abundance, yet ſtill he had great Vivacity in his Looks. He freely told them, *He was ſorry to ſee ſo many Gentlemen, ſome of whom were his old Friends, engag'd in ſo foul a Rebellion.* And for Sir *William Balfour* in particular, he put him in mind *of the great Obligations he had to the King, who had diſoblig'd the whole* Engliſh *Nation by giving him the Cuſtody of the* Tower; *and that it was the moſt odious Ingratitude in Him to make him that Return.* He wiſh'd them all to tell my Lord *Eſſex*, *That he ought to caſt himſelf at the King's Feet to beg his Pardon; which if he did not ſpeedily do, his Memory wou'd be odious to the Nation:* And continu'd this kind of Diſcourſe with ſo much Zeal, that the Officers gradually withdrew themſelves, and prevented the Viſit deſign'd by the Earl of *Eſſex*, who only ſent him the beſt Surgeons; but in the opening his Wounds he dy'd before the Morning, only with the Loſs of Blood, being then about ſeventy Years of Age. He had very many Friends, and very few Enemies, and dy'd generally lamented; leaving a noble and numerous Iſſue behind him, of eight Sons, and five Daughters.

The King writes to his Son.

The King himſelf was very ſenſibly affected with the Loſs of this great Man, and the Impriſonment of his eldeſt Son, who had ſo piouſly endeavour'd the Reſcue of his Father. So that within a few Days, with all the Tenderneſs of a Parent he wrote the following Letter with his own Hand, directed *For the Earl of Lindſey, Lord High Chamberlain of* England, and ſign'd with his Sign Manual. This Letter, ſo much to the Honour of the Family, was never yet publiſh'd; but was ſent me for that Purpoſe by the Honourable *Charles Bertie* of *Uffington*, lately deceas'd, and is as following.

> LINDSEY,
>
> *YOU cannot be more Senſible (as I believe) of your Father's Loſs, than my Self, his Death confirming the Eſtimation I ever had of him: As for your Self, the double Sufferings you have had for my Sake, both in your Father's Perſon, and your own, puts upon me the ſtricter Obligation, not only to reſtore you to your Liberty (now unjuſtly detain'd from you) but alſo to ſhew the World by my Actions how really I am*
>
> Ayno 27. Oct. 1642.
>
> Your moſt aſſured conſtant Friend,
>
> Charles R.

The Death of ſeveral Perſons.

Among the reſt that were loſt on the King's Side, the Lord *Aubigney* and Sir *Edmund Verney* were the moſt noted. The former, by Name *George Stuart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, was a Gentleman of great Hopes, of an ingaging Diſpoſition, and unqueſtionable Courage: He was kill'd at a Time when there was ſo little Reſiſtance, that it was ſuſpected, that his own Lieutenant, a *Dutchman*, had done it out of a private Reſentment; and his Body was brought off, and bury'd at *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford.* Sir *Edmund Verney*, who has been before-mention'd, was a Perſon of great Honour and Courage, who loſt his Life and the Royal Standard together; but his Body cou'd never be found. The Chief that dy'd on the Parliament Side were, the Lord *Saint John*, and Colonel *Charles Eſſex*; the firſt of which was eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Bullingbrooke*, a Man who, tho' of a licentious Life and ordinary Parts, by the Reputation of his Courteſie and Civility to all Men, got ſo much Credit, by engaging the principal Gentlemen of *Bedford* and *Hertfordſhire* to be bound for him, as to contract a Debt of fifty or threeſcore thouſand Pounds; for the Payment of which the Fortune of the Family was not engaged, ſo that his Sureties were compell'd to make it good, to the utter Ruin of many Families. Yet after this, his Majeſty, upon an Aſſurance of the Payment of his Debts, and of his faithful Service to him, was perſuaded to call him into the Houſe of Peers, during his Father's Life. But notwithſtanding this Favour, no Man was more ready to take up Arms againſt the King; in which he behav'd himſelf ſo ill, that he receiv'd ſome Wounds in running away, and being taken Priſoner, ſoon after dy'd, without any Signs of Remorſe, beſides theſe peculiar Words, *That he did not intend to be againſt the King, but wiſh'd him all Happineſs.* As for Colonel *Eſſex*, he had been formerly Page to the Earl of *Eſſex*, who afterwards preferr'd him to a Command in *Holland*, where he liv'd with very good Reputation, and preſerv'd the Credit of his decay'd Family. He was eſteem'd the beſt and moſt expert Officer in the Parliament's Army; but Gratitude to his old Maſter the General, prevail'd with him more than any thing elſe to liſt himſelf there; yet one thing highly aggravated his Caſe, which was his ſwearing to the Queen of *Bohemia*, when by her Means he got Leave to come into *England*, *That he wou'd never ſerve againſt the King.*

Some ſtrange Eſcapes.

The Priſoners taken in this Battle by the Parliament, beſides the Lord *Willoughby* before-mention'd, were Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, and Sir *Edward Stradling*, both Colonels, and Sir *William Vavaſour*, who commanded the King's Regiment of Guards, and ſome other inferior Officers. There were on the other Side a good Number of Parliament Officers taken Priſoners, but of mean Quality, except Sir *William Eſſex*, the Father of the fore-mention'd Colonel, and the Lord *St. John* Himſelf. Many were wounded, and ſeveral eſcap'd beyond all Expectation; particularly Sir *Jervais Scroop*, a brave old Gentleman of *Lincolnſhire*, who by his own Intereſt had rais'd a Foot Company among his Tenants, in Reſpect to the Earl of *Lindſey*, as well as Duty to the King: He had fallen with ſixteen Wounds in his Body and Head, and had lain ſtripped among the Dead from *Sunday* in the Afternoon till *Tueſday* in the Evening; when he was found by young Mr. *Scroop* his Son, who with great Piety carry'd him to a warm Lodging, where, and at *Oxford* he was wonderfully recover'd by the Skill of the immortal Dr. *Harvey.* The next Morning, being *Wedneſday*, Mr. *Bellingham*, another conſiderable Gentleman, and an only Son, was found among the Dead, and brought off by his Friends with twenty Wounds; who after ten Days dy'd at *Oxford*, by the Neglect of a leſſer Wound, when thoſe thought Mortal were paſt Danger. It was believ'd by the Surgeons that both theſe Gentlemen ow'd their Lives to the Inhumanity of thoſe who left them naked, and the Coldneſs of the Nights, which had beyond all Art ſtopp'd their Blood; and that if they had been brought off ſoon after the Battel, they had undoubtedly periſh'd.

The City of London in a Conſternation.

2. It was now above a hundred and fifty Years ſince there were any Civil Wars in *England*; ſo that the Noiſe of a Battel was no leſs terrible to the Nation, than it was new, all Counties being ſtrangely allarm'd and affrighted with the hideous Relations that were made of it. Eſpecially the City of *London* was thrown into a dreadful Conſternation; all the Shops were ſhut up, and Terror and Amazement were ſeen in every Perſon's Face. For thoſe who fled from Prince *Rupert* in the Beginning of the Battle, partly out of Ignorance, and partly by way of Excuſe, reported, *That all was loſt, and the King's Army ſo formidable, as not to be encounter'd!* Some of them, the better to juſtify their Flight, reported the Progreſs of the Battle, and repreſented all the Tragical Circumſtances by which every Part of the Army was defeated, which their terrify'd Fancies had ſuggeſted to them while they fled; and ſome had ſeen the Earl of *Eſſex* ſlain, and heard his dying Words, *That every One ſhou'd ſhift for himſelf, for all Reſiſtance was in vain.* So that all *Monday* the City was fill'd with the Sound of the Defeat; and tho' there came an Expreſs to the contrary from the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf, the Citizens had not Courage enough to believe it, and every Hour produc'd ſomething to contradict the Reports of the laſt. The two Houſes were no leſs mortify'd and confounded; ſo that Mr. *Lenthall*, the Speaker of the Commons, thus addreſs'd himſelf to ſeveral Members, *Gentlemen, you wou'd do well to ſend to his Majeſty betimes to ask Conditions, leſt by Delays you come too late to effect your Security.* The firſt Relief they had was from the Earl of *Holland*, who in the Afternoon produc'd a Letter in the Houſe of Peers, written by the Earl of *Eſſex*, inſerting the Particulars of the Battle, 'As the Impreſſion which in the 'Beginning had been made upon his Horſe, but that the 'Concluſion was proſperous.' While this was reading, and every Man catching at the good News, the Lord *Haſtings*, a Horſe-Officer, enter'd the Houſe with all the Signs of Horror, and poſitively declar'd, *all was loſt againſt all Belief and Flattery.* And tho' it was known he had fled in the Beginning of the Fight, and only loſt his Way thither, moſt Men look'd upon him as the laſt Meſſenger, and ſhut their Ears againſt all Comfort; ſo that queſtionleſs a great many, under the Terrors of leſs than two Days, underwent a full Penance for the Hopes and Inſolence of many Months before.

Recover'd out of it.

At length, on *Wedneſday* Morning, the Lord *Wharton* and Mr. *Strode* arriv'd from the Army with a full Relation of the Battel, 'Of the 'great Numbers ſlain of the King's Side, without any con'ſiderable Loſs on theirs, of the miſerable and weak Con'dition of the King's Army, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Reſo'lution to purſue them; ſo that now they were not content to be Savers, but they voted, 'That their Army had 'the Victory, and appointed a Day of ſolemn Thankſ-

‘ giving for the ſame:’ And that the Joy might not be confin’d within their Walls, they appointed their two faithful Meſſengers to communicate the whole Relation and Circumſtances to the City, which was purpoſely conven’d together at *Guild-Hall* to receive this grateful News.

The Armies part.

In the mean Time the two Armies, for a whole Day after the Battle, only look’d one upon another; and tho’ the Earl of *Eſſex* had receiv’d a conſiderable Reinforcement, he thought it not convenient to venture a ſecond Engagement, but drew off his Carriages. Which being perceiv’d by the King, he directed all his Army to retire to their old Quarters, conceiving that many of thoſe who were wanting wou’d be found there, which prov’d according to Expectation. And ſo himſelf with the two Princes his Sons went to *Edgecot*, where he lay the Night before the Battle, reſolving to reſt the next Day, both for the Refreſhment of his wearied and tired Men, and to get Information of the Motion and Condition of the Enemy, upon whom he order’d ſome Troops of Horſe to attend. The Earl of *Eſſex* retir’d with his Forces eight Miles to *Warwick* Caſtle, whither he had ſent the new Earl of *Lindſey* and all his Priſoners; ſo that on *Tueſday* Morning the King was inform’d, that the Enemy was gone, and that ſome of his Horſe had come up with the Rear almoſt to *Warwick*, and that they had left many of their Carriages, and very many of their wounded Soldiers at the next Village to the Field of Battle: By all which it appear’d that their Removal was in Haſte, and not without Apprehenſion of Danger.

The King’s Declaration.

The King ſuppoſing himſelf victorious, or at leaſt to have the Advantage, immediately publiſh’d a Declaration to all his Loving Subjects, *after his Victory againſt the Rebels*, as he there ſtiles it; ‘ In which he attributed the Preſervation of Himſelf and his Children to the Mercy and Goodneſs of Almighty God, that ſecur’d them in the late bloody Battle; and particularly complain’d of having two grand Aſperſions caſt upon him by his Enemies; the Firſt, concerning his favouring of *Popery*, and employing *Papiſts* in his Army; the Second, of raiſing his Army to *ſubdue* and *root out* Parliaments: Both which he wiped off, with Recrimination againſt the two Houſes. For the Firſt, after a ſolemn Proteſtation of the Truth of his Religion, and his paſt, preſent and future Care for the better Eſtabliſhment of it in his Dominions, with the Extirpation of Popery; tho’ he was ſenſible that ſome few of eminent Worth in that Religion had mov’d him in this great Neceſſity to employ them in his Service, yet he was confident *That a far greater Number of Papiſts, Commanders and others, were in their Army, than in His.* For the Second, that he rais’d his Army againſt the Parliament; he thought the Scandal ſo ſenſeleſs, that none of his good Subjects wou’d believe it; unleſs they cou’d believe *That a dozen or twenty factious and ſeditious Perſons are the High Court of Parliament, which conſiſts of King, Lords and Commons.* For Privileges of Parliament, he averr’d, That whoſoever will not believe the raiſing of an Army to kill their King, to alter the Laws and Government by extravagant Votes, to force the Members to ſubmit to their Faction, and to take all Freedom of Conſultation from them, to be *Privilege of Parliament*, muſt confeſs, That the Army now rais’d by Himſelf, is no leſs for the Vindication of Parliaments, than for his own neceſſary Defence. He likewiſe charged them with endeavouring to raiſe an implacable Hatred between the Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdom, by rendering all Perſons of Honour odious to the common People, under the Stile of *Cavaliers*, and to perſuade the People, That there was an Intention by the *Commiſſion of Array*, to take away a Part of their Eſtates from them:’ All which he deny’d, and concluded with ſolemn Proteſtations to the contrary.

3. Three Days after the Battle, the King drew his Army to a Rendezvous, where he found his Numbers greater than he expected; for on the firſt Night, a great many of the Soldiers, oppreſs’d with Cold and Hunger, had repaired to their old Quarters. So that it was juſtly concluded upon this View, when all Men had recover’d a mighty Chearfulneſs, that not above three Hundred Men were miſſing. Here the King declar’d General *Ruthen* to be General of his Army in the Place of the late Earl of *Lindſey*; and then march’d to *Ayno*, a little Village two Miles from *Banbury*, of which the King that Day took a View, reſolving to attempt it the next Day following. From this Place his Majeſty ſent a Proclamation ‘ of Pardon to the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, excepting ſome few Perſons; in which he likewiſe clear’d himſelf from ſome Aſperſions, particularly his deſigning to give the Plunder of thoſe Cities to his Army, and his favouring the Papiſts; charging the Tumults and latter Practices againſt him, upon the Prevalency of a Faction, and the Power of the Mob, and not upon the Inclinations of the beſt and ſubſtantial Citizens and Inhabitants.’ This was dated the 27th of *October*, the ſame Day he wrote the obliging Letter to the new Earl of *Lindſey*, as was beforemention’d.

His Proclamation.

Banbury-Caſtle yielded to the King

At that Time there was in *Banbury* Caſtle a Regiment of eight Hundred Foot, and a Troop of Horſe, which with anſwerable Courage might eaſily have kept ſo ſtrong a Place from an Army better prepar’d to attack it, than the King’s at preſent, and at a more proper Seaſon for a Siege. And therefore many were of Opinion, that the King ought to march by it, without any Regard to it, and that an Engagement before it might prove very prejudicial to him. That which prevail’d with him to make a Stand there, beſides the recover’d Bravery of his Forces, was the Uncertainty of any new Undertaking; For till he was inform’d of the Earl of *Eſſex*’s Motions, he knew not how to direct his March; and if the Enemy advanc’d upon him, he cou’d not fight in a more advantagious Place. And therefore having firſt taken the Lord *Say’s* Houſe at *Broughton*, where there was a Troop of Horſe, ſome good Arms, and ſome Shew of Reſiſtance, he ſent a Trumpet to ſummon the Caſtle, and planted the Cannon againſt it; but upon the firſt Shot, the Caſtle ſent to treat, and upon Leave to depart without their Arms, they readily deliver’d up the Place: And half the common Soldiers at leaſt freely took Conditions, and liſted themſelves in the King’s Army; and the reſt of the Arms prov’d a ſeaſonable Supply to many Soldiers of every Regiment, who either never had any before, or had loſt them in the late Battle. This laſt Succeſs ſhew’d where the Victory was at *Edge-Hill*; for tho’ the Routing of their Horſe, the Number of their Slain, and the forty Colours won from them, without the Loſs of above three or four, and the taking of four Pieces of their Cannon next Morning, were ſo many Proofs that the Victory inclin’d to the King; yet on the other Side, the Loſs of the King’s General, and ſo many Men of Note kill’d or taken Priſoners, and their keeping the Field laſt, were ſufficient Teſtimonies that they were not overcome. But now the taking of *Banbury*, which had been projected, and in ſome Meaſure attempted, before the Battle was fought, was ſo undeniable an Argument that the Earl of *Eſſex* was more broken and diſpers’d than at firſt he appear’d to be, that the King’s Army was look’d upon as Victorious.

The King marches to Oxford, which he makes his Head Quarters.

The King put a Garriſon into *Banbury*, and gave the Command of it to the worthy Earl of *Northampton*, and from thence he march’d to his own Houſe at *Woodſtock*; and the next Day with his whole Army to the City of *Oxford*, which he determin’d to make his Head Quarters, being the only City in *England* which he cou’d ſay was entirely at his Devotion. Here he was receiv’d by the Univerſity with the greateſt Acclamations of Joy, to whom is to be imputed the Integrity and Fidelity of that Place. And ſuch were the Effects of the memorable Battle of *Edge-Hill*, which Providence did not think fit to make deciſive. For if in this unripe Juncture, the Victory had been finally determin’d on either Side, it might have prov’d fatal to the future and laſting Eſtabliſhment of the *Engliſh* Government, either the *Engliſh* Monarchy or the *Engliſh* Liberty, the beſt Supporters of each other. But by the long Continuance and Increaſe of the publick Miſeries and Confuſions, which were but the juſt Puniſhments of a wicked Nation, the People at length were driven to have recourſe to the ſole proper Remedy, the bringing all things into the old Channel, which perhaps at this time was too little deſigned by the great Men of either Party.

The Temper of the two Houſes, and the City.

III. 1. The Condition and Power of the two Houſes was now very much alter’d from what it was a few Weeks before, when all Things gave way to it, and ſeem’d to ſubmit to its over-ruling Sway. For tho’ they were well recover’d of the Fright given them by the News of the laſt Battel, and receiv’d a glorious Account from the Earl of *Eſſex*, yet ſtill they fell very much ſhort in their Expectations; having promis’d themſelves ſuch a compleat Victory from their General, as the bringing the Perſon of the King alive or dead to them. But now his Majeſty having been able to diſpute the Victory with them, and after that to take *Banbury* and march to *Oxford*, while the Earl of *Eſſex* lay ſtill at *Warwick*, the Eyes of great Numbers began to be open’d, and neither they, nor their Friends in *London*, were ſo much exalted as was agreeable to the Relations they publiſh’d. And what render’d their alledg’d Victory ſuſpicious, was the Commitment of ſeveral Perſons for reporting that the King had the better in the Field; which diſcerning Men thought wou’d not have been, if the Succeſs had been contrary; and therefore nothing was ſo generally diſcours’d of and deſired as Peace. Indeed the major Part of both Houſes, finding things ſo contrary to their former Hopes, became earneſt to make any Overtures for Accommodation. Only they who had been at the Bottom of theſe Miſchiefs, and had projected a full Change in the Government, knowing that all their Arts wou’d be diſcover’d and their Perſons become odious, violently oppos’d all Motions of this kind. Theſe Managers preſs'd earneſtly to ſend an Expreſs to their Brethren of *Scotland*, to invite and conjure them to their Aſſiſtance. But this being a very unpopular Overture, and likewiſe implying a Diffidence in their own Strength, they ſubtilly ſeem'd to concur with thoſe who deſir'd Peace; and having by that render'd themſelves gracious, they order'd them 'ſo to endeavour Peace, that they might not be diſappointed of it, and to conſider that the King's Party was high upon ſome ſeeming Succeſſes; therefore if they ſo endeavour'd for Peace, as imply'd the giving over the Thoughts of War, they muſt expect to be at the Mercy of thoſe they had provoked. But if they were ſteady and reſolute in making their Strength formidable, they might expect moderate and ſafe Conditions. For that Reaſon the *Propoſition* of ſending into *Scotland* was very ſeaſonable; not that it was deſir'd that they ſhou'd bring an Army into *England*, for which there was not like to be Occaſion; but that that Kingdom might ſhew ſuch a Readineſs to aſſiſt the Parliament, that the King might look upon them with more Conſideration, if he ſhou'd inſiſt upon too high Conditions.

Their Preparations.

By means of this artificial Management, while they who urg'd a Treaty concluded, that a Conſent to that wou'd inevitably produce a Peace, the ſame Day that a Committee was appointed 'to prepare Heads of an Addreſs to his Majeſty, for compoſing the preſent Diſtractions, and ſetling the Peace of the Kingdom,' they made no Scruple to declare, 'That the Preparations of Forces, and all other neceſſary Means for Defence, ſhou'd be proſecuted with all Vigour, and thereupon requir'd all thoſe Officers and Soldiers who had left their General, upon Pain of Death to return to him.' And for his better Recruit they ſolemnly declar'd, 'That in ſuch Times of Common Danger and Neceſſity, the Intereſt of private Perſons ought to give Way to the Publick; therefore they ordained, That ſuch Apprentices, as wou'd be liſted for the Defence of the Kingdom, the Parliament and City, their Sureties and Bondſmen ſhou'd be ſecur'd againſt their Maſters; and that their Maſters ſhou'd receive them again at the End of their Service, without imputing any Loſs of Time to them.' And by this Means many Children were engag'd for the Parliament, not only againſt the Conſent, but againſt the Perſons of their Fathers, and the Earl of *Eſſex* receiv'd a very great Supply by it. Beſides this they publiſh'd a large Declaration, which had lain long by them, in Reply to that ſet forth by the King formerly, in Anſwer to theirs of the twenty-ſixth of *May*, as has been already mention'd, in which there were not many things new, but only they us'd both his Perſon and his Power with more Irreverence than they had ever done before; as may be ſeen in *Husband*'s Collections.

Their Declaration and Invitation to the Scots.

Then in Return for their Conſent that a formal Meſſage might be ſent to his Majeſty, by which it was thought a Treaty wou'd begin, they procur'd at the ſame Time a full Declaration of both Houſes to the Subjects of *Scotland*, which they caus'd immediately to be ſent to that Kingdom. 'It began with a Recital of the great Services they had done to their *Scotch* Brethren, and the Act made about a Year before, and how willingly and affectionately they had embrac'd the late Invitation they had made to them *of a nearer and higher Degree of Union in Matters concerning Religion, and Church-Government*; for all which they cou'd not doubt but that they wou'd anſwer the Obligations, and aſſiſt them in ſettling Peace in this Kingdom, and preſerving it in their own, according to the Tenor of the foreſaid Act. Then it declar'd that the King had given Commiſſion to divers eminent Papiſts to compoſe an Army in the *North* and other Parts, which was to join with divers Foreign Forces, to be tranſported from beyond Sea, for the Deſtruction of the Parliament, Religion and Liberty of the Kingdom; and that the chief of the Clergy and their Adherents had likewiſe invited the King to raiſe another Army, which in Perſon he leads againſt the Parliament and City of *London*, plundering and robbing ſeveral well-affected Towns, even where his Majeſty had given his Royal Word and Protection; an Incentive of which Malice proceeded from a Reſolution to hinder *The Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Government in this Kingdom, ſo much long'd for by all the true Lovers of the Proteſtant Religion.* And hereupon they deſir'd their particular Aſſiſtance againſt Papiſts, Foreigners, *&c.* And tho' they ſought nothing that might diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt Authority and Honour, yet now they found ſo ſmall Succeſs from all their humble Petitions, that they were neceſſitated to ſtand upon their own juſt Defence, and to ſeek this ſpeedy and powerful Aſſiſtance of their Brethren of *Scotland*, according to the foreſaid Act, *the common Duty of Chriſtianity, and the particular Intereſts of their own Kingdom.*

The King's Progreſs allarms the City.

2. In the mean time the two Houſes and the City were allarm'd with the farther Progreſs of the King and his Forces, who advancing towards *Reading* in *Berkſhire*, where *Harry Martin* was Governor for the Parliament, he was ſeiz'd with ſuch Terror, that he and the Garriſon immediately fled to *London*; ſo that the King came and took an eaſie Poſſeſſion of that conſiderable Poſt. The News of this, and the Noiſe of Prince *Rupert*'s Incurſions, produced a new Conſternation in the City: They now disbeliev'd all the glorious Reports concerning their own Army; they found that the other Army, which was ſaid to be beaten and diſpers'd, was now advanc'd within thirty Miles of *London*; and the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was ſaid to have the Victory, and watching to prevent the King's Eſcape, was ſtill at *Warwick*, or at an unreaſonable Diſtance from the City. Under theſe Apprehenſions, the two Houſes, without further Conſultation, diſpatcht a Meſſenger to the King at *Reading*, only to deſire a ſafe Conduct for a Committee of Lords and Commons, to attend him with a humble Petition from his Parliament. The King expreſs'd his Readineſs to receive any Petition from them, declaring 'That their Committee ſhou'd be welcome, provided it conſiſted of Perſons who had not been before declar'd Traitors by Name.' The Cauſe of this Limitation was, as well to keep up a former Rule he had made at *Shrewsbury*, as to prevent the particular Appearance of the Lord *Say*, from whom he cou'd expect no fair upright Treatment. Upon which a ſafe Conduct was deſir'd for the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke* of the Lords; and Mr. *Pierpoint*, the Lord *Weenman*, Sir *John Evelyn*, and Sir *John Hippſley*, of the Commons: Which ſafe Conduct was immediately ſign'd by the King, excepting only for Sir *John Evelyn*, who was by Name excepted in his Proclamation of Pardon for the County of *Wilts*. But Intimation was given to them, 'That if they wou'd ſend any other unexceptionable Perſon in his Place, he ſhou'd be receiv'd as if his Name was in the ſafe Conduct.

The Lord Brook's *Speech at* Guild-Hall.

This Anſwer caus'd a new Trouble and Diſpute in the two Houſes, who thereupon reſolv'd not to accept of this ſafe Conduct, declaring, 'That the Exception in the ſafe Conduct was a Denial and Refuſal of a Treaty.' Of which they order'd a Committee to acquaint the City, and thereby to quicken them to a Reſolution of defending their Liberties and Religion, and accordingly to frame a Declaration to all the World of the King's Refuſal of the Parliament's Petition, and of his receiving Petitions and Addreſſes from the Rebels of *Ireland*. On this Meſſage they ſent the Lord *Brook*, and Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, two ſure Friends, to *Guild-Hall*, where they both made encouraging Speeches to the Mayor and Aldermen. That of the Lord *Brook* having ſomething peculiar in it, we ſhall recite ſome Part of it, as it is to be found in *Sanderſon*'s Hiſtory and other Prints.-----*The Meſſage was this, it was a Meſſage from his* Excellency, *it is to let you know how near the Danger is at Hand, that ſo you may gird up the Loins of your Reſolution, and do like Men of Courage. The Enemy's Foot we underſtand are very near* Stanes, *the Horſe they are about* Kingſton, *we cannot tell you that all are there, but that there are both Horſe and Foot too, and it is certain our Foot are going to it, ſo that the Queſtion is now, what is to be done? Certainly, this is a certain Truth among all Soldiers, that you muſt keep Evil as far off you as you can; you muſt not let it come near your Doors, you muſt not think to fight in the Sighs, and Tears, and Eyes, and Diſtractions of your Wives and Children, but to go out, and meet it valiantly as you have done. God hath ſhew'd himſelf a God of Love and Mercy, and truely we muſt give him all the Honour of that Day; certainly it is the greateſt Victory that ever was gotten: Near two thouſand (I love to ſpeak with the leaſt) on their Side ſlain; and I am confident not a hundred on our Side, unleſs you will take in Women and Children, Car-men and Dogs, (for they ſlew the very Dogs and all) If you take in Women, Children, Car-men and Dogs, then they ſlew about two hundred. But that an hundred ſhould be ſlain on one Side, and two thouſand on the other Side, is a very miraculous Thing; He that dealt ſo wonderfully heretofore, it were to diſtruſt him, if we did not think he wou'd do ſo again: Truely we are a dear People, exceedingly belov'd of God----.*

The Earl of Eſſex's *Return, and Honours from the Parliament.*

But that which gave moſt Incouragement to the City and two Houſes, was the advancing of their General the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was now on his March towards *London*, a great Fame flying before him of the Strength and Courage of his Army; tho' in reality not anſwerable to the Report. *Ludlow* owns that the Army return'd to *London*, not like Men that had obtain'd a Victory, but as if they had been beaten. However the Appearance of ſo many Forces, ſerved to encourage and inflame thoſe whoſe Fear only inclin'd them to Peace, and to awe the reſt; and on the ſeventh of *November* the two Houſes receiv'd their General with all the Marks of Honour, and preſented him with a Gratuity of five Thouſand Pounds, and ſoon after with a glorious Declaration of his 'Care, Valour and Dexterity, as well by the extreameſt Hazards of his Life, in a bloody Battel near *Keynton* in *Warwickſhire*, as by all the Actions of a ‘moſt excellent and expert Commander in the whole Courſe of this Imployment. Therefore they declare and publiſh, to the laſting Honour of the ſaid Earl, the great and acceptable Service he hath done to the Commonwealth, and ſhall be ready upon all Occaſions, to expreſs the due Senſe which they have of his Merit, by aſſiſting and protecting him, and all other imploy'd under his Command, with their Lives and Fortunes, to the uttermoſt of their Power. *THIS TO REMAIN UPON RECORD IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, FOR A MARK OF HONOUR TO HIS PERSON, NAME AND FAMILY, AND FOR A MONUMENT OF SINGULAR VERTUE TO POSTERITY.*

The Parliament's Petition to the King.

The King's Anſwer.

3. The King, finding the two Houſes very backwards in ſending their Committee, reſolv'd to quicken them; and advanc'd with his whole Army to *Colebrook*, within fifteen Miles of *London*. This rais'd a new Inclination to Peace, and the Clamour of the People was ſo importunate, that on the eleventh of *November*, the two Lords and three Commoners, nam'd in the ſafe Conduct, leaving Sir *John Evelyn* behind them, repair'd to his Majeſty at *Colebrook*, with the Parliament's Petition, which ran in a humbler Strain than their former Meſſages, and in Subſtance repreſented, ‘That being affected with a deep and piercing Senſe of the Miſeries of this Kingdom, the Danger of his Majeſty's Perſon, and the great Effuſion of Blood in the late Battel; and weighing the Addition of Loſs and Miſeries, if both Armies ſhou'd again joyn in another Fight, as without God's Bleſſing and his Majeſty's Concurrence cou'd not be avoided; they believ'd his Majeſty had a ſuitable Impreſſion of Compaſſion to accept of this their Petition, and to appoint ſome convenient Place not far from *London*, where his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to reſide, till Committees of Parliament might attend with ſome Propoſitions to his Majeſty, for the Removal of theſe Diſtempers, &c.' His Majeſty approv'd of this Petition, and the ſame Day ſent away the Meſſengers with a gracious Anſwer to it; in which ‘he teſtify'd the deep ſenſe he had of the Nation's Miſeries by this War, declaring that he was not the firſt that took up Arms, and that he wou'd reſide at his own Caſtle at *Windſor*, if the Forces were remov'd, till ſuch Time as Committees might be ſent to him, either thither, or to any other Place, if that ſhou'd not be lik'd of: Concluding with theſe Words, *Do you your Duty, we will not be wanting in ours; and God of his Mercy give a Bleſſing.*

It was expected, and indeed the King had reſolv'd to draw back to *Reading*, and there rely upon a Treaty; but Prince *Rupert*, unhappily elevated with the Terror his Name gave to the Enemy, and too much truſting to the common Reports of unqueſtionable Succeſs if he drew near to *London*, without any Directions from the King, the very next Morning after the Return of the Committee, advanc'd with the Horſe and Dragoons to *Hounſlow*, and there ſent to the King to deſire him that the Army might march after; which now prov'd to be of abſolute Neceſſity: For the Earl of *Eſſex* had part of his Army at *Brentford*, and the reſt at *Acton* and *Kingſton*; ſo that if the King had not advanc'd with his Body, thoſe before might eaſily have been ſurrounded, and their Retreat made very hazardous. So the King march'd with his whole Army to *Brentford*, within ſeven Miles of *London*, which was the neareſt he ever after got to that City, but when he came to his Execution. Here his Forces attack'd the new Works, and firſt fell furiouſly upon the Regiment of Colonel *Hollis*, who made a very brave Reſiſtance, but in all Probability had been cut in Pieces, had not thoſe of *Brook* and *Hampden* come in to their Relief: They continu'd to defend Themſelves till towards Night, when the King's Men made themſelves Maſters of the Town, and plunder'd it: Beſides the Priſoners they took here, amounting to about five Hundred, eleven Colours, fifteen Cannon, and a good Store of Ammunition fell to their Share. But this Victory prov'd not at all fortunate to his Majeſty; for the two Houſes had been ſo well ſatisfy'd with his Anſwer to their Petition, that they ſent Orders to their Forces, not to exerciſe any Acts of Hoſtility, and at the ſame Time diſpatcht a Meſſenger to deſire that there might be the like Forbearance on the King's Part. This Meſſenger found both Parties ingag'd at *Brentford*, and ſo return'd without ſeeing the King, who had no Thoughts of their intended Ceſſation, ſince their Forces arriv'd at *Brentford*, *Acton* and *Kingſton*, after their Committee was ſent to *Colebrook*. However they look'd upon this Attempt as a Surprize contrary to Faith, and the Betraying the Parliament Forces to a Maſſacre, under the ſpecious Pretence of a Treaty for Peace. This unlucky Ingagement, which may be reckon'd more than a Skirmiſh, is commonly call'd *Brentford* Fight, which hapned on the twelfth Day of *November*.

Brentford *Fight.*

The City Train'd-Bands drawn out againſt the King.

The Guns were fully heard at the City of *London*, whither the Allarm came with the ſame Terror, as if the Army were enter'd their Gates; and the King was accus'd ‘of Treachery, Perfidy and Blood, and that he had given the Spoil and Wealth of the City as Pillage to his Army, which advanc'd with no other Purpoſe.' They who disbeliev'd theſe Calumnies, were nevertheleſs unwilling the King ſhou'd enter the City with an Army, which was not like to be govern'd in ſuch rich Quarters; and therefore with the utmoſt Expedition, the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army was not only drawn together, but all the Train'd-Bands of *London* led out in their brighteſt Equipage to *Turnham-Green*, about a Mile from *Brentford*, where they compos'd a full Army of twenty four thouſand Men. The City Bands march'd chearfully under their popular Commander *Skippon*, who encourag'd them with ſuch Speeches as theſe, *Come, my Boys! my brave Boys! I will run the ſame Hazards with you: Remember the Cauſe is for God, and the Defence of your Selves, your Wives and Children: Come, my honeſt brave Boys! let us pray heartily, and fight heartily, and God will bleſs us.* The whole Army being drawn up in Battalia, made a glorious Figure; the Order and Marſhalling of which was chiefly by the Earl of *Holland*, who took great Pains, and ſhew'd good Skill in Military Affairs: With him was the Earl of *Northumberland*, and moſt of the Lords who continu'd with the Parliament, and ſeveral Members of the Commons, all well arm'd. The General *Eſſex* likewiſe took great Pains in the Field, and, attended by his Maſters the Lords and Commons, rod from one Regiment to another, with encouraging Speeches; where the Soldiers, with repeated Shouts and Acclamations cry'd, *Hey for old Robin!* Upon a Conſultation with the Lords and others, a Party of two Regiments of Horſe and four of Foot was order'd to march from the Green by *Acton*, and ſo get beyond the King's Army, and to ingage upon a Signal; but after they had march'd about a Mile, a Meſſage was ſent them, That the General had chang'd his Reſolution of dividing his Forces, and commanded them to retreat to the reſt of the Army at *Turnham-Green*. Here the whole Army ſtood many Hours in Battalia, as the King's Army did, both facing each other, without Bloodſhed. Whenever either of them advanc'd, or that the Soldiers ſhouted, ſome Hundreds of Horſe, who came from *London* as Spectators, uſually gallop'd away with all the Marks of Fear and Fright, to the great Diſcouragement of the Parliament Army; and ſeveral of the Soldiers at the ſame Time ſtole from their Colours, and fled to the City. So that many are of Opinion, that if the King had briskly charg'd that unwieldy Army, it had preſently given ground, and that he had ſo great a Party in every Regiment, that they wou'd have made no Reſiſtance.

The King draws off.

However when Evening drew near, and it appear'd that great Body ſtood only for the Defence of the City, the King appointed his Army to draw off to *Kingſton*, which the Enemy had kindly quitted, and went himſelf to his own Palace at *Hampton-Court*, where he reſted a while to refreſh his weary'd Army, and to expect ſome Propoſitions from the Houſes. For upon his Advance to *Brentford*, he ſent Mr. *White*, a Servant of his, with a Meſſage to them, containing the Reaſons of that Motion, and deſiring that the Propoſitions might be diſpatcht to him with all Speed. But his Meſſenger, being carry'd to the Earl of *Eſſex*, was roughly treated, and by the Houſes committed to the *Gate-Houſe*, it being mov'd by ſome, that he might be executed as a Spy. The Houſes were very much diſpleas'd, and complain'd of Breach of Faith, by the King's March to *Brentford*, and the City was ſtrangely inflam'd with an Opinion, that he deſign'd to have ſurpris'd them, and to have plunder'd the Place. The King being inform'd of all this, and that their Apprehenſions wou'd at leaſt keep off all Propoſitions for Peace, while the Army lay ſo near *London*, he gave Directions for all his Forces to retire to *Reading*; firſt kindly diſcharging all the Common Soldiers who had been taken Priſoners at *Brentford*, upon their Oaths that they wou'd no more bear Arms againſt Him. He likewiſe ſent a Meſſage to the Houſes, in which he ‘took notice of thoſe unjuſt Imputations rais'd on him; again gave them the Reaſons of his Motion towards *Brentford*; of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Advancing towards him, poſſeſſing Places about him, and almoſt hemming him in, after their Commiſſioners were ſent to him with the Petition; that he had never heard of any Ceſſation, but ſaw the contrary from them by that Advance; that he had not the leaſt Thought of maſtering the City by Force, or carrying his Army thither. He wonder'd to hear his Soldiers charg'd with Thirſting after Blood, when they took above five Hundred Priſoners in the Heat of the Fight. However he intended to march to ſuch a Diſtance from his City of *London*, as might remove all Pretence of Apprehenſion from his Army, that might hinder them from preparing their Propoſitions, where he wou'd be ready to receive them: Or if that Expedient pleas'd them not, he was

His Meſſage to the Houſes.

'ready to end the Preſſures and Miſeries that his Subjects ſuffer'd through the War, by a preſent Battel.

The Houſes Ways of raiſing Mony.

4. The Parliament ſeem'd now to have no Thoughts of a Treaty, but us'd all Methods to raiſe Mony, the true Sinews of War; and accordingly fram'd an Ordinance, 'That all ſuch as ſhou'd furniſh Men, Mony, Horſe or Arms for their Service, ſhou'd have the ſame fully repaid again, with Intereſt for the Forbearance thereof, from the Time disburs'd; and for the true Payment thereof, they did thereby engage to every Perſon, *The publick Faith of the Kingdom.*' This, by means of the Activity of the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, brought in many Subſcriptions; and from this unconſider'd Paſſage, inſenſibly grew the Monthly Tax of Six Thouſand Pounds to be ſet upon the City for the Payment of the Army. Then for Peace, as the near Approach of the King's Army was an Argument againſt a preſent Treaty, ſo its Remove to *Reading* was a greater Reaſon with many to decline it ſtill. The Danger which they thought ſo near their Gates, was now to be contemn'd at thirty Miles Diſtance, and this Retreat imputed more to Weakneſs, than any Inclinations to Peace. And therefore they, who while the Majority deſir'd a good Peace, and were preparing Overtures to that End, had the Skill to intermingle Acts more deſtructive, than any Propoſals cou'd be ſubſervient to it, now only inſiſted upon the *Surpriſe of Brentford*; and by the Authority of both Houſes publiſh'd a *Narrative of the barbarous aud cruel Paſſages of the King's Army*, with the moſt odious Circumſtances, fram'd upon the Diſcourſes of the Country People. Therefore they concluded 'That there cou'd not reaſonably be expected any good Conditions of a tolerable Peace from the King, while he was in ſuch Company; but all particular Propoſitions were to be reſolv'd into that One, of inviting the King to come to them;' and obtain a particular Vote, 'That no other Meaſure for Accommodation ſhou'd be thought on.' Upon which they ſent a ſhort Petition to the King at *Reading*, 'To deſire his Majeſty to return to his Parliament, with his *Royal*, not his *Martial* Attendance; that Religion, Laws, and Liberties might be ſettled by their Advice; finding by a ſad and late Accident, he was environ'd by ſuch Counſels, as rather perſuaded a deſperate Diviſion, than joyn'd in a good Agreement with his Parliament and People: And they wou'd give him Aſſurances of ſuch Security, *as might be for his Honour, and the Safety of his Royal Perſon.*

Their Petition to the King.

The King's Anſwer.

His Majeſty ſharply reply'd, 'He hop'd all his good Subjects wou'd look upon that Meſſage with Indignation, being intended by the Contrivers as a Scorn to him, and thereby deſign'd by that *Malignant Party*, of whom he had ſo often complain'd, for a Wall of Separation between him and his People. He ſaid he had often told them the Reaſons why he departed from *London*; how he was chac'd thence, and by whom; and as often complain'd that the greateſt Part of the Peers and the Houſe of Commons cou'd not with Safety and Honour continue and vote freely among them; but by Violence and cunning Practices were debarr'd of thoſe Privileges which their Birth-Rights and Country's Truſt gave them: That the whole Kingdom knew that an Army was rais'd, under Pretence of Orders of both Houſes, which had purſu'd him in his own Kingdom, and given him Battel near *Keynton*; and now thoſe Rebels being recruited, and poſſeſs'd of the City of *London*, he was courteouſly invited to return to his Parliament there, that is to the Power of the Army. So that ſince the traiterous Endeavours of thoſe deſperate Men cou'd not ſnatch the Crown from his Head, he ſhou'd now tamely come up, and give it them; and put Himſelf, his Life, and the Lives, Liberties and Fortunes of all his good Subjects into their merciful Hands. He ſaid he thought fit to give no other Anſwer to that Part of their Petition: But as he imputed not that Affront to both Houſes, nor the Majority of thoſe there preſent, but to that dangerous Party He and his Kingdom muſt ſtill cry out upon; ſo he wou'd not take Advantage of it: But if they wou'd really purſue the Courſe they ſeem'd at *Colebrook* to be inclin'd to, he ſhou'd make good all that he had then promis'd. For the late ſad Accident they mention'd, if they meant that of *Brentford*, he deſir'd them once again to deal ingenuouſly with the People, and let them ſee his laſt Meſſage to them, and his Declaration, both which they had ſuppreſs'd; and then he doubted not, but they wou'd be ſoon undeceiv'd, and find out thoſe Counſels, which rather perſuaded a deſperate Diviſion, than a good Agreement between Himſelf, his Houſes, and People.'

This Anſwer being deliver'd, without any further Conſideration into the Merits of it, they declar'd, 'The King had no Mind to a Peace;' and thereupon laid aſide all further Debates to that Purpoſe; and order'd their General to march to *Windſor* with the Army, to be ſo much nearer the King's Forces: For the better recruiting of which, two of their moſt eminent Chaplains, Dr. *Downing* and Mr. *Marſhal*, publickly avow'd, *That the Soldiers taken Priſoners at* Brentford, *and diſcharg'd by the King upon their Oaths they wou'd never more bear Arms againſt him, were not oblig'd by that Oath*; but boldly abſolv'd them by their own Power, and ſo involv'd theſe Wretches in a double Guilt. His Majeſty perceiving that the Enemies to Peace had the Aſcendency, and had no further Thoughts of preparing their Propoſitions, having drawn a Line about *Reading* to make it a Garriſon, he left Sir *Arthur Aſton* to be Governor of the Place, with a Garriſon of above two Thouſand Foot, and a good Regiment of Horſe. He himſelf with the reſt of his Army march'd to *Oxford*, where he reſolv'd to reſt that Winter; at the ſame Time placing a good Garriſon at *Wallingford*, a Place of great Importance within eight Miles of that Univerſity; another at the *Brill* upon the Edge of *Buckinghamſhire*, having a third before at *Banbury*; *Abington* being the Head Quarters for his Horſe. By this Means he had all *Oxfordſhire* entirely, all *Berkſhire* but that inconſiderable Diviſion about *Windſor*; and from the *Brill* and *Banbury*, a good Influence both upon *Buckinghamſhire* and *Northamptonſhire.*

The King returns to Oxford, *and ſettles there.*

5. After the King was ſettled in his Winter Quarters, in the beginning of *December*, he reſolv'd to apply ſome Remedy to the ſpreading Infection in *Scotland*, by means of the Parliament's Declaration before mention'd; which had been ſhewn him by ſeveral Hands, and particularly preſented to him by the *Scotch* Earl of *Lindſey*, one of the Commiſſioners now at *London*. And beſides, there was every Day ſome Motion in the Houſe of Commons, to urge the *Scots* to invade the Kingdom for their Aſſiſtance, upon the Growth of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Power in the *North*. And therefore upon mature Deliberation, the King wrote to his Privy-Council of *Scotland*, and took Notice of the ſaid Declaration, which had earneſtly invited, and in a manner challeng'd an Aſſiſtance of Men and Arms from that his Native Kingdom, for making a War againſt him, and claim'd that Aſſiſtance by Vertue of the late Act of Pacification. 'He recounted to them the ſeveral Outrages and Hardſhips he had ſuſtain'd; of which he doubted not but his *Scottiſh* Subjects wou'd have ſo juſt a Reſentment, that they wou'd expreſs to the World the Senſe they had of his Sufferings: And he hop'd that they cou'd not believe that theſe Miſeries were brought upon him by his two Houſes of Parliament; for the Members of both Houſes had been ſo driven from thence, that of above five Hundred Members of the Houſe of Commons, there were not then there above Fourſcore; and of above one Hundred of the Houſe of Peers, not above fifteen or ſixteen; all which were ſo awed by a Multitude of *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, and other Perſons deſperate and decay'd in their Fortunes, that their Conſultations had not the Freedom and Privilege which belong to Parliaments. Then he clear'd himſelf of ſeveral Aſperſions, particularly his Intention of bringing in Foreign Forces; of which there cou'd be no clearer Argument to his Subjects of *Scotland*, than that he had hitherto forborn to require the Aſſiſtance of that his Native Kingdom. He aſſur'd them he was forc'd to take up Arms for the Defence and Safety of his Life, the Maintenance of the true Proteſtant Religion, the Preſervation of the Laws, Liberties and Conſtitution of his Kingdom; and that he look'd no longer for a Bleſſing from Heaven, than he endeavour'd the Defence and Advancement of all theſe.'

The King ſends a Meſſage to the Privy-Council of Scotland.

His Letter to the Marqueſs of Hamilton.

About the ſame Time, his Majeſty ſent down the Earl of *Lanerick*, Brother to the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, as a Perſon who underſtood his Thoughts beſt, and moſt able to ſecond his Brother in advancing his Service: By him he ſent a Letter to the Marqueſs, in which, after ſome clear Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Gratitude, he has theſe remarkable Words: *I have ſet up my Reſt upon the Juſtice of my Cauſe, being reſolv'd that no Extremity or Misfortune ſhall make me yield; for I will be either a GLORIOUS KING, or a PATIENT MARTYR; and as yet not being the Firſt, nor at this preſent apprehending the Other, I think it now no unfit Time to expreſs this my Reſolution to you. One Thing more (which but for the Meſſenger, were too much to truſt to Paper) the Failing to one Friend* [the Earl of *Strafford*] *hath indeed gone very near Me; wherefore I am reſolv'd, That no Conſideration whatſoever ſhall ever make me do the like: Upon this Ground I am certain, that God hath either ſo totally forgiven me, that he will ſtill bleſs this good Cauſe in my Hands; or that all my Puniſhment ſhall be in this World, which without performing what I have reſolv'd, I cannot flatter my ſelf will end here.* This memorable Letter both ſhew'd what pious Reſentments his Majeſty carry'd along with him in the greateſt

Perplexities of his Affairs, and that he ſtill thought that the Marqueſs had neither neglected nor abus'd his Truſt; which he had more Reaſon to believe afterwards.

The King's next Care was the procuring Mony for the Payment of his Army; for the Soldiers already grew high, and were ready to diſobey all Orders but of their own making; and Prince *Rupert* only conſider'd the Subſiſtence of the Horſe as his Province, therefore wou'd not ſuffer the great Contributions allow'd by the Counties within his Command, to be apply'd to any other Uſe, or to be receiv'd by any other Officers but his own. So that the Charge of the Garriſons, the whole Body of the Foot, and the King's Houſhold Expence, was to be born out of ſuch Monies as cou'd be borrow'd. The King having no Part of his own Revenue at Command, by Letters, and other gentle Methods, invited thoſe that were able, to conſider how their own Security depended upon his Rights; and offer'd to ſell any of his Lands, or to give any Perſonal Security for Mony to be lent upon Intereſt: For he had prepar'd a Grant of ſeveral Parks and Foreſts, and other Crown Lands, to many Perſons of Honour and Riches, who were ready to be bound for whatſoever Sums ſhou'd be borrow'd. The Affection of the Univerſity of *Oxford* was at this Time very ſignal; for as they had almoſt exhauſted their Stocks and Purſes, by ſending the King above ten thouſand Pounds, ſoon after his Standard was erected; ſo they now again made him a new Preſent. By theſe Means, and the Loan of particular Perſons, eſpecially from *London*, where the Loyalty of many broke thro' all Difficulties, his Majeſty beyond his Hopes was able to pay off his Foot, at the Weekly Expence of above three thouſand Pounds; ſo that during the whole Winter, there was not the leaſt Diſorder for want of Pay. And then he us'd all poſſible Care to promote new Levies of Horſe and Foot, for the recruiting his Army againſt the next Spring.

The King's Ways of raiſing Mony.

The Proceedings of the two Houſes.

6. The other Army being now about *London*, the Officers of it who were Members of Parliament diligently attended the Houſes; and tho' they ſtill ſeem'd very deſirous of Peace, they ſeverely proſecuted all ſuch as really endeavour'd it. It was obſerv'd, that their Partiality and Injuſtice was ſo notorious, that there was no Rule or Meaſure of Right in any Matter depending before them, but according to the Affections and Opinions of the contending Perſons, of which Inſtances are innumerable. Yet ſtill they found the old Arguments of *Popery*, the *Militia*, and *Delinquents*, were daily leſs regarded by the People; and that as the King's own Religion was now above Scandal, ſo the Regal Power ſeem'd ſo aſſerted by Law, and ſuch Statutes as the King had often cited, that as long as they confeſs'd his Sovereign Power, they knew all legal Miniſters had ſuch Dependence on him, that their Authority wou'd gradually fall into Contempt. And they were reminded of this Diſadvantage by the Seaſon of the Year; when now, according to Cuſtom, the King prick'd Sheriffs, and made ſuch a Choice in all Counties, that they found the People wou'd not be ſo implicitely at their Diſpoſal. Therefore, as they had before ſubtlely inſinuated in ſome Particulars, they now boldly avow'd, ‘That the ‘Sovereign Power was wholly and entirely in Them; and ‘that the King, ſevered from them, had no Regal Power ‘in him.’ Their Clergy had hitherto been their Champions, and wreſted the Scriptures to their Purpoſe; now their Lawyers were to vindicate their Title, and proſtiſtuted their Profeſſion with as little Modeſty as the other had done their Religion. Particularly the more than once nam'd Mr. *Prynne*, who now getting to be a Member of Parliament, became one of the moſt indefatigable and implacable Men in the Houſe; and began to compile thoſe tedious Pieces of his, ſtil'd *The Sovereign Power of Parliaments*, &c. which he ſoon after publiſh'd with great Applauſe. Being ſupply'd with the Learning of this and other Gentlemen, the Houſes declar'd, ‘That the Sheriffs ‘then conſtituted by the King were not legal Sheriffs, ‘nor ought to be ſubmitted to in that Office, and order'd ‘all ſuch to be ſent for as Delinquents.’ And whereas the King had order'd ſome of the Priſoners taken at *Edge-Hill*, particularly the invincible *John Lilburn*, to be indicted of High-Treaſon before the Lord-Chief-Juſtice and other Judges; they declar'd, ‘All Indictments and Proceedings ‘thereupon to be unjuſt and illegal,’ and inhibited the Judges to proceed any further therein, declaring, ‘That if ‘any Man were executed, or ſuffer'd Hurt for any Thing ‘done by their Order, the like Puniſhment ſhou'd be in‘flicted, by Death, or otherwiſe, upon ſuch Priſoners as ‘were or ſhou'd be taken by their Forces.

Prynne *writes in their Vindication.*

Their Succeſs in Foreign Countries.

Indeed by this Time there ſeem'd to be two Sovereigns in the Kingdom; for the Lords and Commons, that now compos'd the two Houſes, in all Formality ſent Letters of Credence, Inſtructions and Agents into Foreign Kingdoms and States; and their Agents ſeem'd more induſtrious, or had better Succeſs in their Negotiations, than the King's Miniſters. One *Strickland*, an obſcure Gentleman in *Holland*, found Means by Intelligence, and other Ways, to divert moſt of the Supplies the Prince of *Orange* either ſent, or deſign'd to ſend for the Service of the King. With the ſame Succeſs they ſent another Agent to *Bruſſels*, who prevail'd with the Governour of *Flanders*, always to diſcountenance, and ſometimes to prevent the Preparations there making by the King's Miniſters. And in *France* they had another Agent, *Anlgier* by Name, a Man long before in the conſtant Pay of the Crown, who tho' he was not publickly avow'd by that Crown, did them more Service than either of the other; by how much more that People had an Influence upon the Diſtempers of three Kingdoms. None of theſe three Potentates were for aſſiſting the King, but either out of political Reaſons, or particular Reſentments, prov'd directly againſt his Intereſt, or at leaſt were willing to encourage, or pleas'd to ſee theſe inteſtine Diviſions. The States of *Holland* were inclinable to the Cauſe the Parliament eſpous'd in *England*; the *French* had been the principal Incendiaries as to the Troubles in *Scotland*, and the *Spaniard* had very much blown up the Flame in *Ireland*.

New Ways of raiſing Mony by the Houſes.

In the mean Time all Diſcourſes and Motions for Peace ceaſing, and ſtill the Houſes finding themſelves preſs'd for the Want of Mony, for all their vaſt Sums and voluntary Loans ſeem'd to be at an End; they Magiſterially order'd, ‘That Committees ſhou'd be nam'd in all Counties, to ‘take Care for Proviſions for the Army, and alſo for tak‘ing up Horſes for Service in the Field, and for borrow‘ing Mony and Plate for Supplies; and from Certificates ‘from thoſe Committees, who might ſet their own Va‘lues upon theſe Proviſions, the ſame ſhou'd be enter'd ‘with their Treaſurer, who ſhou'd hereafter pay the ſame.’ But becauſe this was more like to draw Supply from their Friends, than others, they order'd, ‘That in caſe the ‘Owners refus'd to bring in Mony, *&c.* for the Uſe of ‘the Army; for the better preventing the Spoil and Im‘bezlement of ſuch Proviſions, *&c.* by the Diſorder of the ‘Soldiers, or by the Hands of the Enemies, the Commit‘tees, or any two of them, ſhou'd be enabled to ſend for ‘the ſaid Proviſions, take them into their Cuſtody, and ‘ſet indifferent Rates upon them; which Value they ‘ſhou'd certify to the Treaſurers, that the Proportions ‘might be paid in ſuch Time and Manner, as ſhou'd be ‘order'd by the two Houſes.’ They very much aggravated the Contributions made for the King's Army, which muſt neceſſarily ruin all, unleſs they rais'd Mony by extraordinary Means; and complain'd, ‘That divers in *Lon*‘*don* and *Weſtminſter* had not contributed at all towards ‘their Army, or not anſwerable to their Eſtates, and yet ‘had receiv'd the Benefit and Protection of it:’ Upon which Grounds it was ordain'd, ‘That the Lord-Mayor ‘*Pennington*, and ſome other Aldermen and Citizens, or ‘any four of them, ſhou'd have Power to appoint within ‘every Ward, ſix Perſons who ſhould have Power to en‘quire who had not contributed Mony, Plate, *&c.* or not ‘anſwerable to their Eſtates; and thoſe, or any four of ‘them, ſhou'd be empower'd within their ſeveral Wards ‘to aſſeſs all the aforeſaid Perſons, to the Value not ex‘ceeding the twentieth Part of their Eſtates, and nominate ‘fit Perſons for the Receipt therefore. They were to di‘ſtrain upon all Perſons that refus'd Payment, and to ‘command the Train'd-Bands againſt ſuch as made Re‘ſiſtance.’ By a ſecond Ordinance, they appointed ‘That if ‘no Diſtreſs cou'd be made, the Collectors ſhou'd enquire ‘what Sums of Mony were due to thoſe Perſons; and have ‘Power to receive all ſuch Debts, till the full Sums and ‘Charges ſhou'd be ſatisfy'd: And leſt the Diſcovery of thoſe ‘Debts ſhou'd be difficult, the ſame Collectors had Power to ‘make Compoſitions, and give full Diſcharges upon ſuch ‘Compoſitions.’ And laſtly, if the Mony aſſeſs'd cou'd not be got any of theſe Ways, ‘Then the Perſons aſſeſs'd ‘ſhou'd be impriſon'd in ſuch Places, and for ſuch a ‘Time as the Houſe of Commons Committee ſhou'd ap‘point; and the Families of ſuch Perſons ſo impriſon'd ‘ſhou'd no longer remain within the Cities of *London* and ‘*Weſtminſter*, the Suburbs, or the Counties adjacent.’ Such were the Weights that were more eſpecially laid upon *London* and *Weſtminſter*, beſides what they had born from the very Beginning of this Parliament; ſo that theſe Cities, who by their Mobs were the firſt Promoters, or Inſtruments, were the firſt Sufferers in the Burthen of this unnatural War.

The King's Declaration upon that Occaſion.

The Houſes having in this Manner aſſum'd as great an Authority to Themſelves as ever King, Lords and Commons had together, and his Majeſty ſuppoſing the Peoples Eyes wou'd hereupon be open'd in Favour of his Cauſe, was not ſorry to ſee this ſtrange Ordinance: Yet he thought fit to awaken his Subjects to a due Reſentment of it, by publiſhing a new Declaration to expoſe the Exorbitancy and Tyranny of it, in which he charges them with the higheſt Breaches of the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and in the moſt notorious Inſtances; having among other Matters theſe pathetical Exclamations: ‘How many Perſons of Honour, Quality and Reputation, of the ſeveral Counties of *England*, are now impriſon'd, without any Objections againſt them, but Suſpicion of their *Loyalty*? How many of the greateſt and moſt ſubſtantial Citizens of *London*, who had preſerv'd the Government and Diſcipline of that City, are diſgrac'd, robb'd and impriſon'd, without any Proceſs of Law, or Colour of Accuſation, but of Obedience to the *Law*, and *Government* of the Kingdom? While *Anabaptiſts* and *Browniſts*, with the Aſſiſtance of vicious and debauch'd Perſons of deſperate Fortunes, take upon them to break up and rifle Houſes, as publick and avow'd Miniſters of a new invented *Authority*. How many godly, pious and painful Divines, whoſe Lives and Learning have made them of *Reverend Eſtimation*, are now ſlander'd with Inclination to *Popery*, diſcountenanc'd and impriſon'd for diſcharging their Conſciences, inſtructing the People in the Chriſtian Duties of *Religion* and *Obedience*? While ſchiſmatical, illiterate and ſcandalous Preachers, fill the Pulpits and Churches with *Blaſphemy*, *Irreverence* and *Treaſon*, and incite their Auditory to nothing but *Murder* and *Rebellion*?’ But whatſoever the King cou'd ſay or publiſh againſt that Ordinance, it did not hinder the bringing in a great Supply of Mony, and it gave them Credit to borrow more; ſo that the Army was drawn out, tho' but to Winter Quarters, twenty Miles from *London*, and the Earl of *Eſſex* fix'd his Head Quarters at *Windſor*, the better to ſtraiten the King's new Garriſon at *Reading*.

Eſſex's head Quarters at Windſor.

The Earl of New-caſtle*'s Succeſs in the* North.

7. In the mean Time the King's Affairs in the *North* had a promiſing Aſpect under the Command of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*: For that noble Lord, having gather'd a conſiderable Force in *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and thoſe Parts, began his March over the River *Tees*, at a Paſs call'd *Piercebrig*, where his Paſſage was diſputed by Captain *Hotham*, who being ſoon overpower'd retreated; and the very Fear of the Earl's Arrival caus'd Sir *Edward Loftus* with the *Richmondſhire* Forces, and Sir *Henry Anderſon* with thoſe of *Cleveland*, to disband and return home to their Houſes: So that the whole *Yorkſhire* Forces, under Command of the Lord *Ferdinando Fairfax* for the Parliament, amounted to no more than twenty one Companies of Foot, ſeven Troops of Horſe, and one Company of Dragoons; whereas the Earl's Forces for the King, being joyn'd with thoſe of the Earl of *Cumberland*, made up a compleat Army of eight thouſand Men, of which two thouſand were Horſe and Dragoons. The Earl having his Commiſſion enlarg'd, publiſh'd a Declaration, and march'd to the City of *York*, where he was well receiv'd by Sir *Thomas Glemham*, the Governor, and many of the Gentry of that County. From *York* the Earl march'd towards the Enemy's Head Quarters, and forc'd the Lord *Fairfax* and his Lieutenant-General Captain *Hotham* out of *Tadcaſter*, and took *Bradford* by Storm, tho' with greater Loſs to his own Party than to the other. Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Son to the Lord *Fairfax*, who was ſent to *Leeds* with a ſmall Party to poſſeſs himſelf of that Place, was likewiſe forc'd back with a conſiderable Loſs, tho' not long after he bravely got Poſſeſſion of it. The Earl ſtill grew more and more potent, not only by reaſon of the Greatneſs of his Army at firſt, which was ſtill augmented by the Country's coming in as to a prevailing Party, but likewiſe by a Supply of Arms, Mony, Ordnance and Ammunition, together with the Queen's Standard brought over by Colonel *Goring*, who by her Majeſty was order'd to joyn with the Earl's Forces.

Several Counties aſſociated by the Parliament.

The two Houſes being apprehenſive leaſt the Greatneſs of *Newcaſtle*'s Army ſhou'd not only over-power the *North*, but likewiſe ſpread its Influence to the more neighbouring Counties, fell very earneſtly to an Aſſociation of divers Counties, where they had the greateſt Intereſt. They accordingly conſtituted Commanders in chief of new Forces to be levy'd within the Aſſociations, beginning with the Shires of *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Rutland*, *Northampton*, *Leiceſter*, *Derby*, *Nottingham* and *Huntingdon*; appointing the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, Son to the Earl of *Stamford*, Serjeant-Major-General there, and planting Garriſons in every Caſtle and great Town throughout all thoſe Parts. They ordain'd the like Aſſociation for the Counties of *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, Part of the Iſle of *Ely*, and the City of *Norwich*; *William* Lord *Grey* of *Warke* being made Commander in chief throughout all thoſe Counties. And to put the People in hope that this Charge and Trouble wou'd not laſt long, they made Reports, That the King's Forces were utterly broken and diſpers'd, and particularly read Letters in the Houſes from their General, ‘That he wou'd purſue the King with all Vigour and Vehemency.

Some ſmaller Actions.

In this Month of *December* there hapned ſeveral Actions, which tho' of inferior Moment, were ſo many Additions to the Miſeries of the Kingdom. On the firſt Day of the Month Sir *William Waller* with a Party of Horſe took *Farnham* Caſtle in *Surry*, from the Poſſeſſion of Mr. *Denham* High-Sheriff, and other Commiſſioners of Array for the King. On the fifth, the Lords *Digby* and *Grandiſon* with ſome Troops of Horſe took *Marlborough* in *Wiltſhire*, with vaſt Damage to the Place, after it had been fortify'd and defended by the Parliament Forces; in which they took a thouſand Priſoners, and a very great Booty. On the thirteenth, Sir *William Waller* recover'd *Wincheſter* for the Parliament, out of the Hands of the Lord *Grandiſon* and others, who after they had been taken Priſoners, made their Eſcapes. On the eighteenth, Colonel *Ruthen* Commander of the Garriſon of *Plymouth* for the Parliament, ſurpris'd the High-Sheriff of *Devonſhire*, and other Commiſſioners of Array, and ſent them Priſoners to *London*. On the twenty ninth, *Chicheſter* was ſurrender'd, with ſeveral Priſoners, to Sir *William Waller*, which was judg'd ſo advantageous, that the Parliament order'd publick Thanks to be given for it. And in moſt Parts of *England*, Skirmiſhes, Aſſaults and Salleys were ſo frequent and ſo fierce, that all People now dreaded and felt the deplorable Effects of a Civil War.

Thus ſtood Affairs at the End of the old Year 1642, for a Concluſion of which, we ſhall, as in other Years, deſcend a little to Biography, and take Notice of the Memories of ſome Perſons deceaſed. Beſides the Earl of *Lindſey*, and others who periſh'd in Battel, there dy'd ſeveral conſiderable Men, tho' moſt of inferior Quality; as firſt four Divines, namely, Dr. *John Barcham*, Rector and Dean of *Bockyng* in *Eſſex*, a Perſon, who beſides his Skill and Knowledge in Theology, was very expert in Languages, a curious Critick, a noted Antiquary, eſpecially in what related to Coins, and an exact Hiſtorian; and particularly to be remember'd for his *Hiſtory of King* John, and ſome other Paſſages intermixt with that noted Work, Speed's *Chronicle*. Next, Dr. *Iſaac Bargrave*, a *Cantabrigian* by Education, who was made Chaplain to the preſent King, both before and after he came to the Crown, and for his Worth and Learning preferr'd to the Deanery of *Canterbury*, which he held with full Reputation eighteen Years. Dr. *Tobias Criſp* was a Divine of another Stamp, who at *Bringworth* in *Wiltſhire* was extreamly follow'd and admir'd for his edifying Way of Preaching, and his ſignal Hoſpitality; but his Notions being profound and peculiar, and ſavouring both of *Puritaniſm* and *Antinomianiſm*, his Works have been the Occaſion of many notable Diſputes and Controverſies. Dr. *Gilbert Primeroſe* was a *Scotch* Divine and a noted Traveller, and one of the *French* Preachers of the Proteſtant Church of *Bourdeaux* in *France*; a Perſon who for his Learning and Worth was recommended by the King himſelf to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and then preferr'd by him to a Canonry of *Windſor*. There alſo died this Year two celebrated School-Maſters, Dr. *Thomas Godwin*, and Dr. *Alexander Gill*; the former was chief Maſter of *Abingdon* School in *Berkſhire*, where by his great Endeavours many were educated that were afterwards eminent in Church and State; a reverend and graceful Perſon, deeply learned in *Latine*, *Greek* and *Hebrew* Antiquity, and admirably well vers'd in all thoſe Matters requiſite to his Profeſſion. The latter, Dr. *Gill*, was Son to the famous School-Maſter of St. *Paul*'s, mention'd in the Year 1635, who after many various Changes ſucceeded his Father in the Head Maſterſhip of the ſame School, where he became eminent in his Employment, and accounted one of the beſt *Latine* Poets in the Nation. We are likewiſe to take Notice of two other great Men, Sir *Randolph Crew*, and Sir *John Suckling*; the former was a renown'd Lawyer, who by his great Merits was advanc'd to be Lord-Chief-Juſtice in the *King's-Bench*, where he ſerv'd with great Integrity; but diſallowing of the Proceedings in the Loan 1626, he was diſcharg'd from his Office, as has been formerly mention'd; and for ſixteen Years after he led a private Life at his Houſe in *Weſtminſter*, where he gain'd no ſmall Eſteem and Reputation by his honourable and hoſpitable Way of Living. The latter, Sir *John Suckling*, was one of the fineſt Gentlemen in *England*, call'd *The Delight of the Court*, and the *Darling of the Muſes*; a Man of admirable Wit and Parts, and a moſt pregnant Genius in Poetry and polite Learning. He was Comptroller to the King, to whom he was ſo loyal, as to be at the Expence of twelve thouſand Pounds in a Troop of Horſe againſt the *Scots*; and now being ſeiz'd with a Fever, he was ſuddenly ſnatch'd away in the twenty ninth Year of his Age, to the great Grief of many Lords and Ladies. Laſt of all dy'd that old Stateſman *Henry Montague* Earl of *Mancheſter*, near eighty Years of Age, whoſe Character has been given in another Place: He liv'd to ſee the Beginnings of our Civil Wars, and his eldeſt Son *Kimbolton* deeply

The Deaths of Dr. Barcham,

Dr. Bargrave,

Dr. Criſp,

Dr. Primeroſe,

Dr. Godwin,

Dr. Gill,

Sir Randolph Crew,

Sir John Suckling,

The Earl of Mancheſter.

1642.
Car. 18.

involv'd in thoſe Calamities, who upon his Death in *November* became Earl of *Mancheſter*.

And Cardinal Richlieu.

Beſides theſe *Engliſhmen*, we may very juſtly mention a Foreigner, as having ſo mighty an Influence upon the *Engliſh* Affairs, *John du Pleſſis*, Cardinal of *Richlieu*, who dy'd in the Month of *December*, in the fifty-eighth Year of his Age, after he had worn himſelf out in Affairs of the vaſteſt Extent and Difficulty, that ever were compaſs'd by any Subject. He was eſteem'd the Prodigy of the Age, of the moſt wonderful Abilities, the moſt boundleſs Ambition, and the moſt invincible Induſtry; who had the Faculty of ſowing Diſcords, and compoſing them with that admirable Dexterity, that as Art never fail'd him, ſo Fortune ſeldom forſook him. His true Character was, never to be remiſs in Proſperity, and never fearful in Adverſity; and having by his profound Management united the Power of *France*, ſuccour'd *Italy*, confounded the Empire, divided and embroil'd *England*, and weakned the Monarchy of *Spain*, he was the Inſtrument, appointed by the Divine Providence, for the Scourge and Puniſhment of *Europe*. This mighty Miniſter of State is ſaid to have dy'd worth ſix Millions of our Mony; leaving the Succeſſion of his Employments to his Diſciple Cardinal *Mazarine*, who for near twenty Years ſucceſsfully trod in his Maſter's Steps.

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IV. I. We are now entring upon a Year, in which *England*, tho' formerly us'd to ſee the Bloodſhed of its Natives, now beheld the moſt hideous Spectacles that had ever been acted on its Stage. For an Introduction to which, we ſhall take Notice of ſome of the principal Actors, of both Sides, in this diſmal Tragedy, whether belonging to the Camp or Council. The King was now at *Oxford*, and had many great Men about him; of whom, it will be proper to give an Account of Prince *Rupert*, and the chief of the Privy-Counſellors, ſuch as the Duke of *Richmond*, Marqueſs of *Hertford*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, Earl of *Briſtol*, and Earl of *Newcaſtle*, with ſome other Lords and Miniſters of State. Prince *Rupert* was ſecond Brother to *Charles* Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*, Nephew to the King, and now about twenty three Years of Age. Allowing for his Youth, he was a Perſon of no ſmall Skill and Experience, having been educated in Arms from his Childhood: He had a brave and enterpriſing Spirit, and was of that intrepid Courage and Activity, that (contrary to the *Scotch* Wars, when the King had great Armies and no forward Commanders,) he quickly rang'd and diſciplin'd this ſmall Body of Men, that they ſoon ſtruck a Terror into their Oppoſers; and indeed he at firſt infus'd ſuch a Spirit into the King's Army, that all Men ſeem'd reſolv'd to do their Duties. Had he been as cautious, as he was a vigorous Fighter, and a knowing Perſon in all Parts of War, he had moſt probably been a very Fortunate Commander. He ſhew'd a great and exemplary Temperance, which fitted him to undergo the Fatigues of War, ſo that he deſerv'd the real Character of a Soldier; for he was never apt by Indulgences to loſe any of his Advantages. Yet his preſſing Eagerneſs to fight, and that againſt a well-diſciplin'd Army, more than once turn'd to Prejudice: Then a Roughneſs of Temper, and Unſociableneſs in Converſation or Council, and a Readineſs to piſh at and deſpiſe the Advice he did not approve, render'd him leſs grateful than his Friends deſir'd; and this Humour ſower'd him towards the Counſellors of Civil Affairs, who were neceſſary to intermix with him in Military Conſultations. And theſe great Men often diſtruſted ſuch downright Soldiers as the Prince was, tho' of the Royal Blood, leſt he ſhou'd be too ready to prolong the War, and to obtain that by pure Victory, which they deſir'd might be gain'd by a dutiful Submiſſion upon modeſt and peaceable Terms, or by Addreſſes of the two Houſes to his Majeſty. In reality, had the Prince ſtudy'd more to have remov'd this Jealouſy, or the King more vigorouſly interpos'd therein, ſo as to make Himſelf Maſter of both Parties, his Arms had probably been much more proſperous: But neither of them paying full Reſpect to Him, or due Regard to each other, it prov'd a great Diminution to his Power and Dignity. As to the other Commanders, as *Wilmot*, *Goring*, *Hopton*, *Aſhley*, &c. we ſhall take Notice of them in another Place.

Characters and Accounts of great Men.

Prince Rupert,

The Duke of Richmond.

James Stuart, Duke of *Richmond*, is next to be mention'd; who being neareſt ally'd to the King of any Man not deſcended from King *James*, was worthy of all thoſe Favours ſhewn him by his Majeſty; who had taken Care of his firſt Education, and ſent him into *France*, *Italy* and *Spain*, of which laſt Kingdom he was made a Grandee; and at his Return, tho' ſcarce one and twenty Years of Age, he made him a Privy-Counſellor; and ſoon after marry'd him to the ſole and beautiful Daughter of his dead Favourite, the Duke of *Buckingham*, who brought him a conſiderable Portion; with which, and his Majeſty's great Bounties, he became as eaſy in his Fortune, as he was eminent in his Title. He was a Man of very good Parts, and an excellent Underſtanding; yet, like the King his Maſter, ſo diffident of Himſelf, that he was ſometimes led by Men who judg'd much worſe. It was obſerv'd, that his good Nature was ſuch, that he cou'd never diſtruſt another, till it was dangerous to ſuſpect; but ſtill was of a great and high Spirit, and ſo punctual in Point of Honour, as not to deviate one Title. He was ſo unmoveable in his Loyalty, that he abhorr'd the uſual Arts of ſheltering Himſelf from the Power of the Greateſt, who fail'd in their Duty to his Majeſty; and therefore he was purſu'd with implacable Malice, as One who wou'd receive no Quarter upon the mean Terms of being only a By-ſtander, while his Maſter was injur'd. As he had receiv'd great Bounties from the King, ſo he ſacrific'd all he had to his Service, as ſoon as his Occaſions requir'd it, and rais'd what Mony he cou'd for him; and when the War began, he engag'd his three Brothers, *George*, *John* and *Bernard*, all gallant Gentlemen, in his Service; in which they all loſt their Lives. He himſelf liv'd with inviolable Fidelity ſome Years after the Murther of his Maſter, for whom he offer'd his own Life, and was ſuffer'd to put him into his Grave; but had not the Comfort of ſeeing the Reſtoration of his Son.

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The Marqueſs of Hertford.

The next in Courſe was *William Seymour*, Marqueſs of *Hertford*, a Perſon of great Honour and Fortune, and Intereſt in the Affection of the People; and had always met with hard Meaſures from the Court, where he long receiv'd no Countenance, and liv'd without Deſign of receiving Advantage from it. For tho' he was a Man of very good Parts, skilful in *Latin* and *Greek* Authors, and of an experienc'd Courage; yet he was ſo entirely given up to a Country Life, which he led with Splendor and Hoſpitality, that he acquir'd an Averſion, and even an Unaptneſs for Buſineſs. Then, beſides his Intimacy with the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Siſter he had marry'd, his neareſt Acquaintance and Society had been with thoſe, who were thought moſt zealouſly affected to the Liberty of the Kingdom, and moſt oppoſite to the Humour of the Court; many of whom were Leaders, who engag'd themſelves moſt furiouſly and factiouſly againſt the King. But as ſoon as he diſcern'd their violent Purpoſes againſt the eſtabliſh'd Government, before he ſuſpected their darker Deſigns, he deſerted them upon Principle; and from the Beginning of the Parliament, never concurr'd in any diſhonourable Vote to the King or the Earl of *Strafford*. He accepted of the Government of the Prince of *Wales*, to oblige the King in a critical Juncture; tho' for the Performance of that Office, he never thought himſelf fit, nor indeed medled with it. He endeavour'd to ſerve the King more effectually, when he went to raiſe an Army for him in the *Weſt*, as is remember'd; but he found thoſe Parts ſo prepoſſeſs'd, and a contrary Army ſo ſoon poured down upon him, that at preſent nothing was to be done worthy of his Preſence; ſo that he ſent his ſmall Party further Weſt to *Cornwall*, where gradually they became able to raiſe an Army.

The Earl of Southampton.

Thomas Wriotheſly, Earl of *Southampton*, was a Perſon highly valuable in all Reſpects, and reflected great Reputation on the Royal Cauſe; and the more, becauſe he never had any Converſation in the Court, nor Obligation to it, but had receiv'd ſome Hardſhips from it. He was much inclin'd to Study and Retirement, had a noble Spirit, and was happy in the general Opinion of his Integrity and unblemiſh'd Character. He had great Diſlike of the high Courſes, which had been taken in the Government, and a particular Prejudice to the Earl of *Strafford*, for ſome violent Proceedings; therefore in the Beginning of the Parliament, no Man was more courted by the chief Managers than this great Lord; who, perceiving ſuch a Declenſion of Reverence and Duty to the King, and ſuch an unjuſtifiable Proſecution of the Earl, oppos'd them vigorouſly in all their Meaſures. He was a learned Man, of great Acuteneſs of Judgment, Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, and that Readineſs of Expreſſion upon any ſudden Debate, that no Man deliver'd Himſelf with greater Weight and Advantage to his Auditors; and no Man gave them more Trouble by his Oppoſition, or drew over ſo many to him in Opinion. Having all along purſu'd the Publick Intereſt, he was with Difficulty perſuaded to be a Counſellor, and with greater to be of the Bed-Chamber; but the ſooner accepted of theſe Honours, to ſhew how much he contemn'd the high Votes of the Parliament, which ſuffer'd no Man to hold any Preferment in Church or State, who refus'd to take their *Proteſtation*. He attended the King to the End of the War, and took all Opportunities to promote a Peace; and as no Man was more exact in performing his own Duty, ſo none had more melancholy Apprehenſions of the Iſſue of the War.

The Earl of Leiceſter.

Robert Sidney, Earl of *Leiceſter*, was a Man of great Parts, very converſant in Books, and much addicted to the Mathematicks; and tho' he had been a Commander in the Ser-

Service of the States of *Holland*, and afterwards an Ambaſſador in *Denmark* and *France*, yet in reality was more a ſpeculative than a practical Man; and expected a greater Certitude in the Adjuſting of Buſineſs, than can generally be had in the Affairs of this World; which Temper in all Emergencies prov'd very inconvenient to him. His greateſt Misfortunes proceeded from the Staggering and Irreſolution in his Nature, which threw him under many undeſerv'd Reproaches and Jealouſies; for he was a Man of Honour and Fidelity to the King, and ſo much in the Eſteem of both their Majeſties, that upon the Death of the Earl of *Strafford* he was made Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, as is remember'd: But at the King's Arrival at *Oxford*, being ready to embark at *Cheſter*, for the Execution of his Office, he was requir'd to attend his Majeſty for further Inſtructions at *Oxford*, where he remain'd, and tho' he was of the Council, and ſometimes preſent, he deſir'd not to have any Part in the main Buſineſs.

The Earl of Briſtol.

John Digby, Earl of *Briſtol*, was a Man of a venerable Preſence, of great Parts and improv'd Education, and of long Experience in Affairs of the higheſt Importance. He was raiſ'd by King *James*, and employ'd in many Embaſſies, particularly for the Negotiating the Match between the Prince his Son, and the Infanta of *Spain*; and was loaded with many Favours, till he was cruſh'd by the Power of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Prejudice contracted by the Prince while he was in *Spain*; for which he was afterwards impriſon'd, and treated hardly both by the Duke and the Court, as is formerly mention'd. After the Duke's Death, the King retain'd ſuch a Memory of that Favourite's Diſpleaſures, that this Earl cou'd never recover any Admiſſion to Court, but liv'd in the Country, in Eaſe and Plenty, and in ſingular Reputation with all who had little Reverence for the Court; and at the Beginning of the Parliament, appear'd at the Head of all the diſcontented Party. But ſtill his Loyalty was ſuch, that he ſoon left them, when they enter'd upon their unwarrantable Violences, and became ſo much in their Disfavour, that upon ſome Expreſſions in a Debate, they ſent him to the *Tower*; from whence being ſoon releaſ'd, he repair'd to the King at *York*, who reſtor'd him to his former Place in the Council and Bed-Chamber. He faithfully adher'd to the King, and at length was driven into *France*, where he dy'd; the prevailing Party being ſo implacable againſt him, that they wou'd not ſuffer him to ſtay in *England*, or compound for his Eſtate. Tho' he was a wiſe Man, and of great Abilities, yet he had been generally ſingle in Buſineſs, and liv'd little in Conſort; ſo that in Council he was paſſionate and ſupercilious, uneaſy at Contradiction, and redundant in Diſcourſe; ſo that he was not conſider'd there with much Reſpect; to the Leſſening of which no Man contributed more than his own Son, the Lord *Digby*, who did not ſhew that Reverence which his Father's Wiſdom and Experience deſerv'd, tho' he fail'd not in his ordinary Duty to him.

The Earl of Newcaſtle.

William Cavendiſh, Earl of *Newcaſtle*, was a very fine Gentleman, of great Generoſity, Loyalty and Courage, and fully accompliſh'd in thoſe Qualities of Horſemanſhip, Dancing and Fencing, which accompany good Breeding; in which he much delighted. He was highly amorous in Poetry and Muſick, to which he indulg'd the greateſt Part of his Time; for which Reaſon he choſe Sir *William Davenant*, a moſt eminent Poet, and loyal Gentleman, to be Lieutenat-General of his Ordnance. His Courage was invincible, but his Edge had too much of the Razor in it, having the Tincture of a Romantick Spirit, as Sir *Philip Warwick* obſerves: And nothing cou'd have inchanted him out of thoſe Paths of Pleaſure, which he enjoy'd in a full and ample Fortune, but the Height of Honour and Ambition to ſerve the King when he ſaw him in Diſtreſs, and abandon'd by ſuch as had the neareſt Obligations to him. This rouſ'd him into many and great Services for his Majeſty in the *North*, where he now continu'd with the Grandeur of a Monarch; as well as the Power of a General. He lov'd Monarchy as it was the Foundation and Support of his own Greatneſs; the Church, as it maintain'd the Splendor and Security of the Crown; and Religion, as it enforc'd the Order and Obedience due to both; without any Zeal for the growing Opinions and Parties in it, than as he abhorr'd whatever was like to diſturb the publick Peace. He ſtrictly kept up the Pomp, State and Dignity of a General, and upon all Occaſions manifeſted the Bravery and Fearleſsneſs of a Common Soldier; but cou'd not ſubmit to the Application and Fatigue of a Commander, leaving that Province to Officers under him, eſpecially to his Lieutenant-General *King*, an excellent Soldier, but under ſome Diſadvantages in being a *Scotch*-Man. After the Labour of Action, he uſually retir'd to his delightful Company, Muſick, or his ſofter Pleaſures, to all which he was ſo indulgent, that he wou'd not be interrupted upon any Occaſion whatſoever. Inſomuch that he ſometimes deny'd Admittance to his chiefeſt Officers for two Days together; which brought many Inconveniencies to him and his Employment.

The Lord Savil.

Thomas Lord *Savil* was likewiſe receiv'd into the Council, a Man of an ambitious and reſtleſs Diſpoſition, of Wit and Parts ſufficient; but in his Nature and Inclination ſo falſe, that he was never to be believ'd or truſted. He had ſhewn a particular Malice to the Earl of *Strafford*, and was the principal Inſtrument of ingaging the *Scots* to march into *England* with an Army, by means of a notorious Piece of Forgery formerly related. After he had brought about all this Miſchief, and ſtill found his Credit in the Parliament inferior to others, he found means to be introduc'd to the King and Queen, to whom he confeſs'd and diſcover'd all the Villanies and Secrets he knew, with a thouſand Proteſtations *to repair all by future Loyalty and Service*, for which he obtain'd Sir *Henry Vane*'s White Staff, tho' this Diſcovery was of no other uſe, than that the King knew many had been falſe, that he cou'd not puniſh, and ſome that he cou'd not ſuſpect. When the King came to *York*, where this Lord's Fortune and Intereſt lay, his Reputation was ſo low, that the loyal Gentlemen there wou'd not converſe with him; and after the King's Deparparture, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* had ſuch a Suſpicion of his Honeſty, that he thought it neceſſary to impriſon him, and then ſend him to *Oxford*; where he ſo well purg'd himſelf, that he was reſtor'd to his Office, and afterwards made Earl of *Suſſex*. But in the End he carry'd himſelf ſo ill, that the King again turn'd him out of his Place, and ſent him to Priſon, and never after admitted him to his Preſence; nor wou'd any Man of Quality ever after keep any Correſpondence with him.

The Lord Littleton, *and Secretary* Nicholas.

Beſides all theſe, there were ſome Officers of State, as the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, the two Secretaries, *Falkland* and *Nicholas*, Sir *John Colepeper* Maſter of the *Rolls*, and Mr. *Hyde* now Chancellor of the Exchequer, beſides the Lord *Digby* and one or two more; moſt of whom have been already Characteriz'd. The Lord-Keeper was a Perſon of high Reputation in the Profeſſion of the Law, for Learning and other Perfections that belong to the moſt eminent Men. He was a great Friend to Mr. *Selden*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he gain'd the Name of the beſt Antiquary of his Profeſſion, who gave himſelf up to Practice; and by the Strength of his own Abilities he raiſ'd himſelf to be made Recorder of *London*, Solicitor-General, and then Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*; in which laſt Sphere he mov'd moſt gracefully, and with ſignal Honour and Reputation. But when he came to be made a Lord, and Keeper of the great Seal, he ſeem'd quite out of his Element: His Fears and Irreſolution brought him into ſtrange Compliances with the prevailing Party: ſo that he prov'd of little Service to the King while he continu'd in the upper Houſe, nor of any great Uſe to him ſince, by reaſon of the general Diſeſteem he had unhappily drawn upon Himſelf. We have already taken notice of the reſt, except Secretary *Nicholas*, who was a very honeſt and induſtrious Man, and well experienc'd in Buſineſs, having been ſucceſſively Secretary to the Cinque-Ports, and to the Admiralty, before he arriv'd at this laſt Poſt; which he obtain'd without any other Recommendation, than the King's own Obſervation of his Virtue, Integrity and Fidelity.

Obſervation upon the King's Friends.

It is obſervable, that the moſt of theſe Perſons, and indeed the greateſt Part of the King's Friends, tho' both Supporters and Actors in this tempeſtuous Seaſon, were no real Promoters of the War, and leſs deſirous that the King ſhou'd totally ſubdue the Parliament; hoping all Differences might be ſettled by a Treaty in a ſhort Time. This Notion was a mighty Diſadvantage to the King; for tho' it did not leſſen their Endeavours to gain a Battel for him, when it cou'd not well be avoided, yet it weaken'd their Endeavours to make him Conqueror in the Courſe of the War. As nothing more brought on the War than a fond Belief that it would ſoon have an End, ſo nothing more prolong'd it than a continual Endeavouring after Treaties; thoſe being rarely the Concluſion of a Civil War, which generally ends with the total Ruin of one Party, or at leaſt with a bloody Sacrifice of the chief Heads of it.

Characters of the King's Oppoſers.

2. After giving ſome Account of the Chief of the King's Party, we ſhall proceed to thoſe of the other Side, of the Heads of which ſufficient has been ſaid formerly; particularly of the three Leaders in the Houſe of Peers, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Kimbolton*, now Earl of *Mancheſter*, beſides the Earls of *Holland* and *Pembroke*; as alſo of thoſe ſix great Men in the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Saint-John*, Mr. *Fiennes*, and Sir *Henry Vane* Junior. Therefore thoſe to be characteriz'd at preſent are the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and Sir *Henry Vane* Senior; all Privy-Counſellors, as well as the other five Lords, who had deſerted his Majeſty and his Service.

The Earl of Northumberland.

Firſt, *Algernon Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, a Perſon of great Fortune, and of an

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ancient and illuſtrious Family, tho' labouring under frequent Blemiſhes of Diſloyalty to the Crown; and particularly his Father was impriſon'd, under ſome Suſpicion of being privy to the Gun-Powder Plot, and never reſtor'd to his full Liberty, dying about ſeven Years before the Meeting of this Parliament. But this being a Gentleman of the moſt promiſing Expectations, before he was thirty Years of Age, the King took him into his immediate Care, and pour'd out his Favours upon him with an unreſtrain'd Hand: He made him a Privy-Counſellor, and a Knight of the Garter; then ſent him Admiral of a Royal Navy into the narrow Seas; and after a Summer ſpent there, made him Lord High Admiral of *England*, as is remember'd; and after this, as the King himſelf ſaid, *He courted him as his Miſtreſs, and convers'd with him as his Friend, without the leaſt Interruption or Intermiſſion of any poſſible Favour or Kindneſs.* He was a graceful Perſon, and in all his Deportment a very great Man; and that which look'd like Formality, was an Exactneſs in preſerving his Dignity from the Invaſion of daring Men, from which no Man of this Age ſo well ſecur'd himſelf. Tho' his Notions were not profound or extenſive, yet his cautious Temper, and Reſervedneſs in Converſation and Speaking, gain'd him the Reputation of an able and wiſe Man; which more appear'd by his pertinent Expreſſing himſelf in all Debates of Importance. He ſhew'd his Skill in the excellent Government of his Family, where no Man was more abſolutely obey'd; and if he had thought the King as much above him, as he thought himſelf above other conſiderable Men, he wou'd have been a good Subject: But his extream Undervaluing of Thoſe, and his too little Valuing the King, expos'd him to the Impreſſions made upon him by thoſe, who cunningly approach'd with thoſe Reverential Addreſſes, as uſually inſinuate into ſuch Natures. So that after he was firſt perſuaded, not to do that which he was oblig'd to in Honour and Gratitude, he was the more eaſily led to join in that which in Duty and Fidelity he ought not to have done, and which at firſt he never deſign'd to have done. And thus he concurr'd in all the Counſels which produc'd the Miſeries of the Nation, and continu'd to ſupport all the Leaders. So that this may be ſaid both of him and the Earl of *Holland*, that conſidering the Favours they graſp'd at, and the Bounties they receiv'd from the Crown, they were either the moſt renowned Patriots to their Country, or the moſt ungrateful Rebels to their King.

The Earl of Saliſbury.

The next was *William Cecil*, Earl of *Saliſbury*, whoſe Birth and Education had been in Court, and his Deſcent from a Father and Grand-father, who were the celebrated Stateſmen in *Europe*; whoſe Titles only, without their Wiſdom and Virtues, were inherited by their Children. He was made Privy-Counſellor to King *James*, when he became ſo obſequious to the Court, that he always over-acted what was requir'd of him; and no Act of Power was propos'd, which he did not promote with the utmoſt Rigour. And the noble Hiſtorian ſays, no Man was ſo great a Tyrant in his Country, or was leſs ſway'd by any Motives of Juſtice and Honour. He was a Man of no Words, except in Hunting and Hawking; and in Matters of State, he continually joyn'd in what was propos'd for the King; and as ſoon as any Propoſitions were made againſt him, he aton'd for his former Tranſgreſſions, by joying as much on that Side. Yet he attended upon his Majeſty at *York*, and at that Diſtance ſeem'd to have receiv'd ſome Courage, and join'd with the reſt of the Lords in ſigning the ſolemn Ingagement in *June*, formerly mention'd. But of a ſudden, he took Horſe and fled back to *London* with all the Marks of Concern and Fear, and never after refus'd to do what was requir'd of him; and when at length the Houſe of Peers was put down, he procur'd himſelf to be elected a Member of the Houſe of Commons, where he ſat as a Commoner, and was accordingly eſteem'd.

The Earl of Warwick.

Robert Rich, Earl of *Warwick*, and eldeſt Brother to the Earl of *Holland*, had never been ſerviceable to the King; nor did he think himſelf oblig'd by that Honour he knew was conferr'd upon him in the Crowd of thoſe whom he did not value, or deſign to truſt; ſo his Buſineſs was to joyn with thoſe that help'd him to his Preferment. He was a Perſon of a pleaſant and ſociable Wit and Converſation, of an univerſal Jollity, and ſuch Liberty in his Words and Actions, that a Man of leſs Virtue cou'd ſcarcely be found; ſo that it might have been reaſonably believ'd, that a Man ſo qualify'd cou'd not have done much towards the Overthrow of a Kingdom. But with all theſe Faults, he had great Power and Credit with the People, who in the Beginning of the Commotions were the Inſtruments of all the Miſchief; and by making his Houſe the Receptacle of all the Silenc'd Miniſters, at the Time when there was Authority to ſilence them, liberally ſpending a good Part of his Eſtate upon them, being preſent at their Devotions, and taking ſuch jocoſe Liberties with them as they cou'd diſpenſe withall, he gain'd the Stile of a *Godly Man*. He prov'd true to the Parliament, and afterwards to *Cromwell* himſelf; and as his Brother, the Earl of *Holland*, before the Beginning of the Troubles, obtain'd the Name of the *Spiritual and Inviſible Head*, ſo he was call'd the *Viſible and Temporal Head* of the *Puritan* Party.

Sir Henry Vane *Senior.*

The laſt was Sir *Henry Vane* the Elder, a Perſon of very ordinary Parts by Nature, and not cultivated by Art or Learning; but being of a ſtirring and boiſterous Diſpoſition, very induſtrious, and very bold, he ſtill wrought himſelf into ſome Employment. He had been acquainted with the Changes of the Court, and had met with ſome ſevere Mortification from the Diſfavour of the Duke of *Buckingham*; but upon his Death he was again brought into the Court, and made a Privy-Counſellor and Comptroller of the Houſhold, which Place he became well, without any Unfitneſs; and if he had never taken any new Preferment, he might have probably continu'd a good Subject. For he had no Inclination to change, and he lik'd the Government both of Church and State; and only deſired to raiſe his Fortune, which was not great, and which he had many Ways to improve. He us'd to ſay, *He never deſir'd other Preferment, and believ'd that the Marqueſs of* Hamilton, *when he firſt propos'd to him to be Secretary of State, did it to affront him*; well knowing his Want of Ability for the Diſcharge of that Office. What he did as to the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, and againſt the Earl of *Strafford* in this, were Actions inexcuſable, and Miſchiefs irreparable; which ſoon ſerv'd to hurry on his own Fate. For being juſtly chaſtis'd by the King, and turn'd out of his Service, he was left to his own Deſpair; and tho' he joyn'd in all the malicious Deſigns againſt the King and Church, he grew into the Hatred and Contempt of thoſe that employ'd him; and dy'd in univerſal Reproach, not more contemn'd by his Enemies than by his own Son, who had been his chief Conductor towards his Deſtruction.

The Earl of Eſſex.

As to the General himſelf, the Earl of *Eſſex*, we have formerly mention'd his high and ſtout Temper, and ſhall only now take Notice, That his Vanity diſpos'd him to be *His Excellency*, and his Weakneſs, to believe he ſhou'd be General in the Houſes, as well as the Field; and ſhou'd be able to govern their Counſels, as well as fight their Battels; and ſo become the Preſerver, and not the Deſtroyer of the King and Kingdom. With this ill-grounded Aſſurance, he launch'd out into a tempeſtuous Sea, where he met with nothing but Rocks and Shelves, and in which he cou'd never diſcover any ſafe Port for a Harbour.

The City's Inclination for a Peace.

3. Such was the Diſpoſition of the Leaders, and the State of Affairs about the Beginning of this great Year of Miſeries, when moſt Perſons began to act with unnatural Fury and Bitterneſs againſt each other. Yet ſtill there were many conſiderate and well meaning Perſons, who had earneſt Inclinations to bring on all Things to a peaceable Period; more particularly divers of the moſt wealthy and ſubſtantial Citizens of *London*, who, obſerving a general Liberty taken to Petition the Houſes, and the Multitude of the Petitioners to carry great Authority with them, from whence a Brand had been fix'd upon the City, *Of being an Enemy to Peace*, met together and prepar'd a modeſt Petition to the two Houſes, deſiring, 'Such Propoſitions and 'Addreſſes might be made by Them to his Majeſty, as 'might be accepted with his Honour, and might produce 'a happy Peace:' Which being ſign'd by the Hands of many Thouſands, and ready to be preſented, was diſallow'd by the Houſe of Commons, for no other Reaſon publickly given, but *That it was prepar'd by a Multitude*; and Objections were fram'd againſt the principal Promoters of it, upon Pretences of Delinquency, ſo that they were compell'd to forſake the Town. At the ſame Time the Inhabitants of *Weſtminſter*, St. *Martins* and *Covent-Garden*, who were generally thought well affected to the King, prepared the like Petition, and met with the ſame Repulſe from the Houſes of Parliament. This unequal Proceeding added nothing to their Reputation, and finding theſe obſtructed Humours like to break out more violently, they again reſum'd their Pretenſions for a Peace, and appointed a Committee to prepare Propoſitions; and becauſe that wou'd be a Work of Time, and that many Arts were to be us'd to wipe out the Imagination *That the City deſir'd Peace upon any other Terms than they Themſelves did*, and alſo to ſtay the Appetite of thoſe who were moſt eager for it, having by their Management procur'd ſuch a Common-Council choſen by the City, as wou'd comply with their Deſigns, they privately directed their own Mayor to engage that Body in ſuch a Petition to the King, as carrying the Senſe and Reputation of the whole City, might yet prove no Prejudice to the two Houſes. In Subſtance they profeſs'd to his Majeſty, 'That they are deeply pierc'd 'with the deadly Wounds of his Majeſty's Miſapprehenſi-

The Petition of ſome to the King.

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on of their Loyalty, and his Fears of hazarding his Perſon, in returning home to his City: That they abhorr'd all Thoughts of Diſloyalty; that they wou'd make good their late ſolemn *Proteſtation* and ſacred Oath, with the laſt Drop of their deareſt Blood, to defend and maintain the true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, Honour and Eſtate; and that they did thereby engage Themſelves, their Eſtates, and all they had, to defend his Majeſty with as much Love, Loyalty and Duty, as ever Subjects expreſs'd towards their Sovereign: Therefore upon their bending Knees they beſeech his Majeſty to return to his Parliament, *with his Royal, not Martial Attendance*, for the Settlement of Religion, Liberties, *&c.*

The King's Anſwer.

Tho' this Petition was in effect no leſs than to deſire the King to disband his Army, and throw himſelf upon the Parliament, yet the People were ſo infatuated upon this very Petition, that they were perſuaded to ſubmit to another Subſcription for Mony and Plate, for the neceſſary Proviſions of Arms, Ammunition and Pay for their Army, till their Disbanding and Return home to their ſeveral Counties; 'That ſo they might not be occaſion'd, through want of Pay, to plunder, rob or pillage by the Way homewards, after their Diſcharge and Diſmiſſion.' In the mean Time the Petition, about the tenth of *January*, being preſented to the King at *Oxford* by ſome Aldermen, and others of the Common-Council, who were for the moſt part of moderate Inclinations, his Majeſty with great Seriouſneſs conſider'd what Anſwer to return to a Petition, that had been fram'd by the Enemies to Peace, and fill'd with the moſt popular Profeſſions of Zeal to his Service. However he was not ſorry to have the Opportunity of ſaying Something, and communicating himſelf freely to the City; being perſuaded that if he enlarg'd himſelf in his Anſwer, and expos'd thoſe moſt notoriouſly oppoſite to the Government of the Church and State, to the Knowledge of the People, that it wou'd at leaſt leſſen their Power and Ability to do Hurt: Therefore he return'd a more full Anſwer, in which, 'He diſtinguiſh'd the good Subjects in the City from the bad, and believ'd that much the greater Part was full of Love, Duty and Loyalty; and look'd on his good Subjects there as Perſons groaning under the ſame Burthen that oppreſs'd Himſelf, aw'd by the ſame Perſons who begot the firſt Tumults, and the ſame Army which gave Battle to his Perſon. Therefore he deſir'd them to conſider what Confidence he cou'd have there, where the Laws of the Land were notoriouſly deſpis'd, the Government of the City ſubmitted to a few deſperate Perſons of no Reputation, ſuch as *Pennington* their pretended Mayor, the Principal of thoſe Calamities, that threaten Ruin to that famous City, *Ven*, *Foulke* and *Manwaring*, all notoriouſly guilty of Schiſm and High-Treaſon, in oppreſſing, robbing and impriſoning his good Subjects, becauſe they will not rebel againſt him, or aſſiſt thoſe that do. Yet he condemns not all for ſome that are guilty, but offers his gracious Pardon to all, except the four mention'd Perſons, if they will return to their Duty; if not, he ſums up the Miſeries that muſt neceſſarily fall upon all that continu'd to be acting and aſſiſting in this Rebellion; and conjures them to conſider the perpetual Infamy that muſt attend them and their Children, *if infinitely the meaner Part in Quality, and much the leſſer Part in Number, ſhall be able to alter the Government ſo admirably eſtabliſh'd, deſtroy the Trade ſo excellently ſettled, and waſte the Wealth ſo induſtriouſly gotten, of that flouriſhing City.*

The Effect of it in London.

The King ſent this Anſwer by a Servant of his own, ſuppoſing that if he ſent it by thoſe who brought the Petition, it might either be ſuppreſs'd, or defectively communicated; and the Meſſengers themſelves, after it had been read to them, were willing it ſhou'd be deliver'd by other Hands than theirs. However they promis'd his Majeſty to procure a *Common-Hall* as ſoon as they return'd, where his own Meſſenger might deliver it; and having been generouſly treated by the King and Court, they return'd from *Oxford*, together with the Gentleman ſent by his Majeſty. Upon their Return to *London*, the Contents of the Anſwer were ſoon known, tho' not deliver'd; therefore to prevent the Operation it might have, the two Houſes order'd, 'That the Lord-Mayor ſhou'd not call a *Common-Hall*, till he had receiv'd further Directions from Them.' After ſome Preparations, the Houſes appointed a Committee to be preſent at the Meeting, where the two Great Men, the new Earl of *Mancheſter* and Mr. *Pym* were to exert Themſelves upon this Occaſion. The former inſiſted upon 'The high Eſteem the Parliament had of the City, and exclaim'd againſt thoſe *woundiug Aſſertions*, which in that *Anſwer* were caſt upon Perſons of ſuch eminent Affection, in their City, and upon others of great Fidelity and Truſt among Them: That they own'd Themſelves equally intereſted in all Things, and wou'd ſtand by them with their Lives and Fortunes, for the Preſervation of the City in general, and all Thoſe who had deſerv'd well of the Parliament and Kingdom; and wou'd uſe the utmoſt Methods for the Preſervation of that City, and for the procuring of Safety, Happineſs and Peace, to the whole Kingdom.' After great Applauſes, Mr. *Pym*, with his uſual Arts of Aggravation and Retaliation, in a larger Speech made particular Replies to the ſeveral Parts of the King's Anſwer, and at laſt inſiſted upon 'The Neceſſity of farther Contributions, whereby their Army might be maintain'd for all their Safeties.' All Things were ſo prepar'd, and Mr. *Pym* ſo highly admir'd, that at the End of every Period, the Acclamations were ſo loud, that he was often ſilenc'd. In concluſion, applying himſelf to the Multitude, he ſaid, *Worthy Citizens, you ſee what the Parliament will do for your Lord-Mayor and you.*---Upon which they cry'd out, *We will live and dye with them! we will live and dye with them!* The Parliament Narrative concludes with theſe Words, *All which we may ſum up in that Triumph of the Man of God: In the Thing wherein they dealt proudly, God was above them.*

So that now all Thoughts of further Addreſs or Compliance with the King from the City, were ſo intirely laid aſide, that the Liberty of ſeditious and treaſonable Diſcourſes daily encreas'd; inſomuch that Complaint being made to the preſent Lord-Mayor, that a certain deſperate Perſon had ſaid, *That he hop'd ſhortly to waſh his Hands in the King's Blood*, that Miniſter of Juſtice refus'd to ſend any Warrant, or direct any Officer to apprehend him. Of which, and ſome other Matters, the King ſoon after made Complaint in a Letter directed to the Sheriffs of *London*, and order'd to be read in the Halls of the ſeveral Companies; but upon Notice given to the Parliament, the Reading of it was forbidden, and the chief Promoters of it taken into Cuſtody.

The Policy of the Leaders in Parliament.

4. After ſome little Reſpite, the Houſes began to talk Themſelves of ſending Propoſitions of Peace to the King. The Leaders, who knew no Peace cou'd be ſafe for them that was not unſafe for the King, were ſenſible that they cou'd not now carry on the War to the Height, but by the Aſſiſtance of an Army from *Scotland*; which they had no Hopes to procure without a previous Alteration of the Government of the Church. But to gain that Point was very difficult, ſince far the Majority of thoſe very Members that continu'd with them, were either well affected to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, or not inclinable to any other. Therefore to thoſe who were ſo far engag'd as to expect to compel the King to a Compliance, they repreſented 'The Conſequence of procuring the *Scots* to declare for them, which wou'd be a greater Reſtraint to the King, and overawe the *Northern* Parts more than any Forces they ſhou'd be able to raiſe: That it was impoſſible to draw ſuch a Declaration from them, without firſt declaring themſelves That they wou'd alter the Government by Biſhops; which that People pretended to believe the only juſtifiable Ground of taking up Arms.' To Others, which was indeed their avow'd and current Argument in publick Debates, they alledg'd, 'That they cou'd not expect any Peace cou'd be produc'd by the King's Concurrence to any of their Meſſages; but it muſt ariſe from a Treaty between them, upon ſuch Propoſitions as they cou'd make upon their own Intereſt: That it cou'd not be expected that ſuch *Propoſitions* wou'd be made on either Side, as wou'd be unalterably inſiſted on; it being the Method, in ſuch Caſes, to ask more than wou'd probably be comply'd with; and it concern'd them as much to make ſome high Demands, from which they deſign'd to recede, as others upon which they muſt inſiſt: That all Men knew the Affection the King had for the Church, ſo that if he ſaw it in Danger, he wou'd redeem it at any Price, and probably their departing from their *Propoſition* concerning the Church, might be the ſtrongeſt Inducement for the King to gratify them with the Militia.' By theſe Artifices, and eſpecially by pertinaciouſly concluding, 'That no *Propoſitions* ſhou'd be ſent to the King for Peace, till the Bill for Extirpation of Biſhops, *&c.* was paſs'd the Houſe of Lords,' they gain'd their Point, which otherwiſe wou'd never have been ſubmitted to by the Peers, at which Time there were not above five Lords preſent.

They paſs the Bill againſt the Biſhops.

This being obtain'd, about the End of *January* they ſent the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Saliſbury* and *Holland*, and eight of the Commons, the Lords *Weenman* and *Dungarnon*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *William Litton*, Mr. *Pierrepoint*, Mr. *Whitelock*, Mr. *Waller* and Mr. *Winwood*, with their *Petition* and *Propoſitions* to the King at *Oxford*. Their firſt Admittance to his Majeſty was in *Chriſt-Church* Garden, attended with the Prince and ſeveral Lords; where all kiſs'd his Hand, and Mr. *Waller* laſt, to whom the King ſaid, *Tho' you are the laſt, you are not the worſt, nor the leaſt in my Favour.* The Earl of *Northumberland* read the Petition, and the Propoſitions, which were fourteen in Num-

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They ſend Propoſitions to the King for Peace.

Number, and not much unlike the nineteenth Propoſitions formerly mention'd. 'They propos'd to his Majeſty to diſband his Army, and return home to his Parliament: To leave *Delinquents* to Tryal: To cauſe Papiſts to be diſarm'd: To paſs the Bill for the aboliſhing of the Church Governours and Government; and ſuch other Bills as ſhou'd be fram'd for a new Reformation: For Recuſants to abjure Papacy: To remove malignant Counſellors: To ſettle the Militia, as they ſhall appoint: To prefer to the great Offices and Places of Judicature ſuch of the Parliament as they nam'd, and to take in all ſuch as have been turn'd out of their Commiſſions: To paſs a Bill in Vindication of the Lord *Kimbolton*, now Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the five accus'd Members: To enter into Alliance with his Proteſtant Neighbours for Recovery of the *Palatinate*: To grant a general Pardon, with Exception of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, the Lord *Digby*, and others: To reſtore ſuch of the Parliament's Members to their Offices and Places, and to ſatisfy for their Loſſes, &c.' The Petition it ſelf was very high in the Beginning, and charg'd the King with Rapines and Cruelties, by which much innocent Blood had been ſpilt, and with arming great Numbers of Papiſts; but in the End, if the Propoſitions were obſerv'd, it promis'd to ſupport the Royalty and Greatneſs of his Throne, the publick Honour and Happineſs of his Perſon, &c.

They who brought theſe Propoſitions, freely ſpoke to their Friends at *Oxford* of the Perſons that ſent them, and inveigh'd againſt their Tyranny and Unreaſonableneſs, and eſpecially againſt the Propoſitions themſelves; but poſitively declar'd, *If the King wou'd vouchſafe ſo gracious an Anſwer, as might engage the Houſes in a Treaty, it wou'd not be in the Power of the violent Party to deny whatſoever he ſhou'd reaſonably deſire.* They own'd they cou'd not reaſonably expect ſuch an Anſwer, nor cou'd the King rely upon the Promiſes of private Men, who had not Power enough to make them good, having been often led into Miſtakes by hearkning to ſuch kind of Aſſurances. Therefore, having two Days generouſly treated the Commiſſioners, in his Anſwer he ſolemnly told the two Houſes,

The King's Anſwer, with other Propoſitions.

'That if he had not given up all the Faculties of his Soul to an earneſt Endeavour of a Peace, and Reconciliation; or if he wou'd ſuffer Himſelf by any Provocation to be drawn to a Sharpneſs of Language at a Time of Overture and Accommodation, he cou'd not but reſent their heavy Charges upon him in the Preamble, and not ſuffer the Reproaches which they had caſt upon Him. But his Majeſty wou'd forbear Expreſſions of Bitterneſs, or a Senſe of his own Sufferings, that if poſſible the Memory of them might be loſt to the World, and how Unparliamentary it is by Arms to require new Laws. Yet he is pleas'd that a ſpeedy Time might be agreed upon for a Meeting to debate thoſe Propoſitions of theirs, together with ſome Others of his own following: That his own Revenues, Magazines, Towns, Ships and Forts be reſtored: That what has been done contrary to Law, and his Majeſty's Right, may be renounc'd and recall'd: That all Illegal Power claim'd or acted by Orders of Parliament, be diſclaim'd: That as he is willing to conſent to the Execution of all Laws, made or to be made, concerning Popery or Reformation; ſo he deſires a Bill for Preſerving the Book of Common-Prayer, and againſt Sectaries: That all Perſons to be excepted againſt in the Treaty may be try'd *per Pares*: That in the mean Time there be a Ceſſation of Arms, and a free Trade. Upon theſe Grounds he hopes for a bleſſed Peace; which if rejected, or made impoſſible by inſiſting upon unreaſonable Circumſtances, *the Guilt of the Blood that muſt be Shed, and the Deſolation that muſt follow, will lye upon the Heads of the Refuſers.*

The Houſes publiſh an Exhortation to Repentance.

This Anſwer was for a while poſtponed, and the Houſes proceeded to other Matters, and particularly to an Ordinance *exhorting to the Duty of Repentance, as the only Remedy for their preſent Calamities.* This was pen'd in ſuch a Stile, that it will be proper to repeat ſome Part of it, to ſhew the Humour and Spirit of the Governors, or rather thoſe that were to be governed. It began in theſe Words; 'That flouriſhing Kingdoms have been ruin'd by impenitent going on in a Courſe of Sinning, the Sacred Story doth plainly tell us: And how near to ſuch a Ruin our ſinful Nation now is, the preſent lamentable Face of it doth too apparently ſhew. And tho' we ſhou'd feel the heavy Strokes of God yet ſeven times more, it is our Duty to accept the Puniſhment of our Iniquity, and to ſay, *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and juſt are thy Judgments.* Yet becauſe the Lord who is juſt, is alſo merciful, and in his infinite Mercy hath left the excellent and ſucceſsful Remedy of *Repentance*, to Nations brought near to the Gates of Deſtruction and Deſpair; O let not *England* be negligent in the Application of it! Humble Addreſſes of a penitent People to a merciful God have prevail'd with him: They prevail'd for *Nineveh*, when the Sentence ſeem'd to be gone out againſt Her, and may alſo prevail for *England*. It is therefore thought moſt neceſſary by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that all his Majeſty's Subjects in this Kingdom of *England* be excited and ſtirred up ſpeedily to lay hold upon this only and unfailing Remedy of *Repentance*; freely acknowledging, and heartily bewailing, even with deepeſt Humiliation, godly Sorrow, and Deteſtation, &c.' Then they proceeded to a Confeſſion of National Sins; and that their Devotion might be a Libel upon the King and the Church, they choſe *Idolatry* and Bloodſhed for their Themes; 'That of *Idolatry*, as it was the Sin of our Anceſtors, ſo it is the ſpreading Sin of the latter Times, while by a general Connivance, and almoſt Toleration, it hath been ſeveral Ways fomented and encourag'd, the grievous Effects whereof this Kingdom of *England* now begins to feel, &c. And for the other crying and cruel Sin of *Bloodſhed*, that calls aloud for Vengeance, did it not go hand in hand with that abominable Idol of the *Maſs* in the Days of Queen *Mary*, and ſome of her Predeceſſors, when many Hundreds of the dear Martyrs and Saints of God loſt their precious Lives in Flames and Priſons, &c.' This was publiſh'd on the 15th of *February*, and ordered to be read in all the Pariſh Churches in *England* and *Wales*.

164$\frac{2}{3}$. Car. 18.

The Progreſs of Sir Ralph Hopton *in the* Weſt.

V. I. While Overtures and Diſcourſes were made of Peace, the Kingdom in all Parts felt the miſerable Effects of War; neither the King nor Parliament being backwards in purſuing their Cauſe by the Sword; and the great Men in moſt Counties more vigorouſly declaring themſelves than before. In *Cornwall* Sir *Ralph Hopton* by his Induſtry and Activity, and with the Aſſiſtance of other brave Men, as Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, Sir *Nicolas Slanning*, Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, &c. in a few Weeks ſecured that large County for the King, againſt all the Power and Intereſt of Sir *Alexander Carew*, Sir *Richard Buller*, Sir *George Chudleigh*, and others. Their Progreſs and Succeſs rais'd no little Apprehenſion in the Parliament, and therefore they order'd their whole Forces of *Dorſet* and *Somerſet*, to joyn with thoſe of *Devonſhire*, to make an entire Conqueſt of *Cornwall*. At the Head of theſe, *Ruthen* the *Scotch* Governor of *Plymouth* advanc'd into *Cornwall*, by a Bridge over the *Tamar*, ſix Miles above *Salt-aſh*; the Earl of *Stamford* follow'd him two or three Days March behind with a new Supply of Horſe and Foot, tho' thoſe under *Ruthen* were much ſuperior to the King's Party under Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who retir'd to *Bodmin*. They had juſt recruited and refreſh'd themſelves, when *Ruthen* with his whole Force advanc'd to *Leskard*, within eight Miles of them; from whence they mov'd towards the Enemy with all Chearfulneſs, knowing how neceſſary it was to fight before the Earl of *Stamford* cou'd come up; but *Ruthen*, as eager to reap the Honour of the Action without a Rival, drew out his Forces upon the *Eaſt* Side of *Bradock-Down*, near *Leskard*, and ſtood in Battalia to expect the Enemy. Sir *Ralph Hopton* having likewiſe put his Men in Order, caus'd publick Prayers to be ſaid at the Head of every Battalion, which the other obſerving, told their Fellows, *They were at Maſs to raiſe their Courages in the Cauſe of Religion*; and ſo advanc'd within Musket-ſhot of the Enemy, who ſtood without any Motion. Then perceiving that their Cannon was not yet come up, he caus'd two Minion Drakes, all the Artillery he had, to be drawn under the Covert of little Parties of Horſe; and after two Shots, which undiſcern'd did Execution, and ſtruck great Terror, he advanc'd with his Body upon them, and bravely beat them off their Ground, to their Reſerve among the Hedges, where they thought to make good their Retreat to the Town: But the *Corniſh* Men ſo vigorouſly preſs'd them on every Side, being excellent at that kind of Fight, that they ſoon won that Ground too, and put their whole Army into a Rout, and had the full Execution of them as far as they cou'd purſue. In this Fight, without the Loſs of an Officer of Name, and very few common Soldiers, they took twelve Hundred and fifty Priſoners, moſt of their Colours, all their Cannon, conſiſting of four Braſs Guns, and one Iron Saker, all their Ammunition, and moſt of their Arms. Such was the Fight of *Bradock-Down*, or *Leskard*, which was fought upon the 19th Day of *January*.

The Fight at Bradock-Down, *Sir* Ralph Hopton *the Victor,*

Ruthen Himſelf, and thoſe who cou'd keep Pace with him, fled to *Salt-aſh*, which he deſign'd to fortify, and make a Curb to a good Part of *Cornwall*. The Earl of *Stamford* receiving quick Advice of this Defeat, in great Diſorder retir'd to *Taviſtock* to preſerve the further Parts of *Devonſhire* from Incurſions. Upon which, after a ſolemn Thankſgiving, the King's Forces divided themſelves; Sir *John Berkley*, and Colonel *Aſhburnham*, with Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, Sir *Nicolas Slanning*'s and Colonel *Travanion*'s voluntary Regiments, and a conſiderable Party of Horſe and Dragoons, advanc'd to *Taviſtock* to viſit the Earl of *Stamford*; the Lord *Mohun*, and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, with the Lord *Mohun*'s and Colonel *Godolphin*'s voluntary Regiments, and ſome of the Train'd-Bands, march'd towards *Salt-aſh* to diſlodge *Ruthen*; who within three Days had caſt up ſuch Works, and planted ſuch Store of Cannon upon the narrow Avenues, that he thought himſelf able, with the Help of a Veſſel of ſixteen Guns brought up to the Town Side, to defend the Place againſt all their Power. But he ſoon found his Miſtake, for as ſoon as the *Corniſh* Men came up, they fell valiantly upon his Works, and quickly beat him out of them, with a great Execution both by Sword and Water; *Ruthen* himſelf hardly eſcaping in a Boat to *Plymouth*, leaving all his Ordnance behind him, which together with the Ship, a hundred and forty Priſoners, and all the Colours they had ſav'd at *Leskard*, were taken by the Conquerors, who were now again entire Maſters of *Cornwall*.

ho ſoon fter takes alt-aſh.

The Earl of *Stamford* had not the ſame Patience to abide the other Party at *Taviſtock*, but before their Approach quitted the Town; ſome of his Forces haſtning into *Plymouth*, and the reſt retiring to *Exeter*. After which Sir *John Berkley*, with a good flying Party of Horſe and Dragoons, viſited all Places in *Devonſhire* where the People were gather'd together, diſpers'd them, and took many Priſoners of Name, and ſo kept Sir *George Chudleigh* from raiſing a Body there, as he induſtriouſly endeavour'd. In theſe brisk Motions and Expeditions, at a little Town called *Chagford*, the King loſt that admirable young Gentleman, Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, formerly mention'd for his Advice at his leaving the Houſe of Commons; a Perſon of incomparable Parts, and Wiſdom and Abilities beyond his Age; whoſe Death has given a Name to a Town, which otherwiſe deſerv'd not a Place in Hiſtory.

The Death of Mr. Godolphin.

But now the Royaliſts finding they cou'd make no Impreſſion upon the other ſtrong Holds of the Enemy, retir'd with their while Forces to *Taviſtock*, where they took a long Refreſhment, being willing to eaſe their ſure Friends of *Cornwall* as much as poſſible from the Trouble and Charge of their little Army. They alſo labour'd under the Want of Ammunition, which at length they were ſupply'd with from *France*, by the Intereſt and good Management of Captain *Carteret*. But while they continu'd in this Want, ſome *Corniſh* Gentlemen of the Parliament Side, who were forced from their Country, made ſome Overtures, 'That a 'Treaty might be concluded, by which the Peace of the 'two Counties of *Cornwall* and *Devon* might be ſettled, 'and the War remov'd into other Parts.' This Propoſition was ſo ſpecious and popular, that there was no rejecting it; and therefore they agreed to a formal Meeting of the chief Men, and entering into a ſolemn Proteſtation, they agreed upon a Truce and a Ceſſation for thoſe two Counties; which, tho' of no long Continuance, had ſuch Effect as to cauſe the King's Forces to retire all into *Cornwall*.

A Treaty between Devon *and* Cornwall.

Beſides the Encreaſe of the King's Power in theſe Parts, at the ſame Time he met with a conſiderable Advantage nearer to his Head Quarters at *Oxford*, at *Cirenceſter* a ſtrong Parliament Garriſon in *Glouceſterſhire*, within thirty Miles of him; which lying upon the Edge of *Wiltſhire*, *Berkſhire* and *Oxfordſhire*, did very much ſtreighten the Royal Quarters. To reduce this Place, the Marqueſs of *Hertford* brought near two Thouſand Foot, and a Regiment of Horſe out of *Wales*, which were to be joyn'd by Prince *Rupert* with ſome Regiments from *Oxford*: But by the great Fall of Rain, and Badneſs of the Way, and ſome Miſtakes about Orders, the Deſign was diſappointed; and the Allarm gave the Enemy ſo much the more Courage and Time to provide for an Attack. However, in the Beginning of *February*, Prince *Rupert* undertook the ſame Deſign with better Succeſs; and at the ſame Time ſtorming the Town at ſeveral Places, their Works being not yet finiſh'd, tho' bravely defended, enter'd their Line with ſome Loſs of Men, and the Hurt of more, but with a far greater of the Enemy; for there were not ſo few as two Hundred kill'd upon the Spot; and near twelve Hundred taken Priſoners, among which was *Carr* the *Scotch* Governor, and ſome others of Note. The Place yielded much Plunder, from which the undiſtinguiſhing Soldiers could not be kept, but were equally injurious to Friend and Foe; ſo that many Royaliſts, who were impriſon'd by the Parliamentarians, found themſelves at Liberty and undone at the ſame Time. The Priſoners were all brought to *Oxford* in Triumph, being pinion'd two and two after an ignominious Manner, and ſo inſulted, that it was juſtly made uſe of to improve the Scandal of Pride and Cruelty on the King's Side. The Prince left a ſtrong Garriſon there, that brought moſt of that Country under Contributions, and was a great Enlargement of the King's Quarters, which now clearly extended from *Oxford* to *Worceſter*, which with *Hereford* and thoſe Counties, had not long ſince been quitted by the Parliament Forces.

Cirenceſter *taken by Prince* Rupert.

2. The King's Affairs in the *North* had at this Time a good Aſpect; and tho' the Lord *Fairfax* kept Poſſeſſion of *Selby* and *Cawood*, both within a ſmall Diſtance from *York*, yet the Earl of *Newcaſtle* was abſolute Maſter of the Field; ſo that thoſe Parts yielded ſecure Footing to the King's Friends, and the Queen her ſelf thought of returning into *England*. Her Majeſty, from her firſt going into *Holland*, had dexterouſly endeavour'd to advance her Royal Huſband's Intereſt, and ſent very great Quantities of Arms and Ammunition to *Newcaſtle*, tho' much of them had been intercepted, with ſome conſiderable Sums of Mony, and good Store of Officers, who by the Connivance of the Prince of *Orange* came over to ſerve the King. And from this her extraordinary Care, and her known Favour to the Perſon of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, that Army was by the Parliament ſtil'd *The Queen's Army*, and *The Catholick Army*; and the People were told 'That it conſiſted of none 'but profeſs'd *Papiſts*, who deſign'd nothing but the Extirpation of the *Proteſtants*, and Eſtabliſhing their own 'Profeſſion.' On the ſixteenth of *February*, the Queen took Shipping for *England* with a Convoy, but was by Extremity of Weather driven back; and at length, having paſs'd with Danger and Hazard, on the nineteenth arriv'd at *Burlington-Bay* on the Coaſts of *Yorkſhire*; and on the twenty-ſecond landed at the Key, accompanied with ſeveral Commanders of Note, and bringing with her good ſtore of Mony, Arms, and Ammunition. But being on Shore, ſhe endured a worſe Storm there than ſhe had done at Sea: For the Night after her Landing, four of the Parliament Ships unſeen, enter'd the Road, and very ſoon in the Morning began to play their Cannon with all poſſible Fury upon the Village; and one of them flank'd the Houſe where the Queen lay, inſomuch that two Cannon Bullets fell from the Top to the Bottom of the Houſe where ſhe was, which forc'd her to quit it, and retire to the Shelter of a Ditch behind the Town, while in her Way the Bullets flew very thick; ſo that a Serjeant was kill'd within a few Paces of her. Yet the Parliament Ships wou'd not have deſiſted, had not the Ebbing of the Tide, and ſome Threats from the *Dutch* Admiral, who brought over the Queen, oblig'd them.

The Queen lands at Burlington *from* Holland.

The Queen was welcom'd by a complimental Letter from the Lord *Fairfax*, who offer'd his Service to guard and conduct her Majeſty with his Forces. She refus'd the Offer, but accepted the Service of the brave Earl of *Montroſs*, who came poſt from *Scotland* with a hundred and twenty Horſe, and together with ſome of *Newcaſtle*'s Forces, convoy'd her Majeſty ſafe to *York*. At which Time the King's Affairs had ſtill a more promiſing Aſpect, and proſper'd to that Degree, that as the Earl of *Newcaſtle* had before fix'd a Garriſon at *Newark* in *Nottinghamſhire*, which kept the *Lincolnſhire* Forces from an entire Conjunction with the Lord *Fairfax*, and had couragiouſly beaten off a form'd Body that attempted it; ſo he now ſent the Lord *Charles Cavendiſh*, the younger Brother of the Earl of *Devonſhire*, with a flying Party of Horſe and Dragoons, into *Lincolnſhire*, who bravely aſſaulted and took the new Parliament Garriſon at *Grantham*, with above three Hundred Priſoners, all their Officers, Arms and Ammunition. About the ſame Time Sir *Hugh Cholmeley*, who had done great Service for the Parliament againſt the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, very frankly revolted to his Allegiance; and waiting on her Majeſty for her Aſſurance of his Pardon, deliver'd up the important Caſtle of *Scarborough* to the King; the Command and Government of which was again committed by the Earl to him. By this Means and theſe Succeſſes, the Lord *Fairfax* quitted *Selby*, *Cawood* and *Tadcaſter*, and retir'd to *Pomfret* and *Hallifax*; by which the Earl was in Effect poſſeſs'd of that whole large County, and ſo able to aſſiſt his Neighbours.

Arrives at York.

Earl of Newcaſtle'*s Progreſs.*

While her Majeſty continu'd at *York*, or rather before her Arrival from *Burlington*, the Earl of *Montroſs* repreſented to her the Probability and Danger of a new Storm from *Scotland*; and declar'd, *That tho' the King's Enemies in* Scotland *did not yet profeſs ſo much, yet they certainly intended to bring an Army into* England, *and joyn with his Enemies here*: For a Remedy of which he offer'd, *That if the King wou'd grant a Commiſſion, Himſelf, and many more, wou'd take the Field and prevent it*; *which he begg'd her Majeſty wou'd impart to the King at their Meeting.* The Cauſe of the Earl's Journey being ſuſpected in *Scotland*, by the oppoſite Party, who conceiv'd he wou'd give the Queen a ſevere Information againſt them, the Marqueſs of *Argyle* ſo dealt with his ſeeming Antagoniſt, the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, that he immediately rode to the Queen at *York*; and being inform'd by the Queen of *Montroſs*'s Account and Propoſal, he offer'd to refute all; Undertaking, *without raiſing Arms for the King, to make that Party lye quiet, and not liſt an Army for* England; *of which he deſir'd her Majeſty in his Name to give the King a full Aſſurance.* The Queen confiding moſt in the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, diſmiſs'd *Montroſs* unſatisfy'd, and excited the Marqueſs to perform his Promiſe, aſſuring him, *That for an Earneſt of the great Rewards he might afterwards expect,*

The Earl of Montroſs *offers his Service to the Queen.*

But without Effect.

he ſhou'd preſently be preferr'd to the Title of a Duke; and with this Encouragement the Marqueſs return'd back to *Scotland*. *Hamilton*'s Memoirs relate this Matter with more Advantage to the Marqueſs; but our Account comes from Biſhop *Guthry*, who ſeems to have had a fuller Information as to this Affair.

The ſame Author further informs us, That *Hamilton* having acquainted *Argyle* and his Adherents how *Montroſs*'s Motions were cruſh'd, being free from Oppoſition, they began to diſcover their Intention more publickly than before; ſo that it came to be publickly diſcours'd amongſt them, 'That it was neceſſary they ſhou'd raiſe an Army, and lead it into *England*, but not joyn againſt the King, only to mediate between Him and his Parliament.' *Montroſs* and other Royaliſts did often meet and conſult in ſmall Numbers; hoping that when the Noiſe had reach'd his Majeſty's Ears, the Overture to the Queen wou'd then be accepted. Thoſe which this Earl moſt frequently converſed with, were Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, formerly Preſident, the Earl of *Callendar*, the Lords *Ereskin*, *Ogilby*, *Napier*, and ſometimes *Montgomery*, who then profeſs'd to be of their Side. Theſe ſent Advices to the King, 'That there were both Hearts and Hands enough in *Scotland* to act for him, and wanted Nothing but a Commiſſion; which if his Majeſty wou'd grant, his Adverſaries here might be kept under; but if he were wanting to Himſelf, till they had an Army on foot, it wou'd then be paſt Time to oppoſe them.' But ſtill the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*'s Power at Court was ſo ſtrangely prevalent, that the King was made wholly to rely upon his Promiſe at *York*, and ſo utterly rejected the Offer made to him by the *Montroſians*, to the infinite Damage of his Affairs in *Scotland*, as appear'd afterwerds.

His Deſigns hinder'd by the Marqueſs of Hamilton.

3. At this Time various Struggles and Efforts were made in many Counties, for and againſt the King, eſpecially in the midland Parts of the Nation, and particularly in *Staffordſhire*; where ſome Gentlemen of that County, better affected than experienc'd, ſeiz'd on the *Cloſe* in *Lichfield* for the King; a Place naturally ſtrong, and defended with a Mote, and a very high and thick Wall, which in the Infancy of the War was thought a good Fortification. To ſuppreſs this encreaſing Power, the zealous Lord *Brook*, who was the Head of an Aſſociation of this and ſome other Counties, advanc'd with a form'd Body of Horſe, Foot and Cannon, drawn from the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, and the Garriſons of *Coventry* and *Warwick*; and without any Reſiſtance enter'd the City of *Lichfield*, which was open to all Comers. At his coming out of *Coventry* upon this Expedition, he order'd his Chaplain to preach upon this Text in *Eſther*, *If I periſh*, *I periſh*; and within half a Mile of *Lichfield*, drawing up his Army, in a long Prayer of his own compoſing he earneſtly begg'd, *That God wou'd by ſome ſpecial Token manifeſt to them his Approbation of that their Deſign, that if the Cauſe was not right and juſt, he might be preſently cut off.* Upon which he advanc'd, and planted his great Guns againſt the South Eaſt Gate of the *Cloſe*, ſtanding Himſelf in the Window of a little Houſe juſt by, to direct the Gunners in their intended Battery: But it hapned, that upon a ſudden Accident which caus'd the Soldiers to give a Shout, this Lord coming to the Door, tho' compleatly arm'd Cap-a-pe with Plate, was ſhot from the Cathedral into one of his Eyes, by one *Diot*, a Clergy-man's Son who cou'd neither hear nor ſpeak; but the Strength of the Bullet was ſo much abated by its Glance on a Piece of Timber, that it only lodg'd in his Brains, upon which he ſuddenly fell down dead, without ſpeaking a Word.

The Lord Brook'*s Expedition againſt* Lichfield *Cathedral.*

His ſtrange Death.

Upon this memorable Accident, which hapned on the ſecond Day of *March*, many Remarks have been made: particularly Archbiſhop *Laud* in his Hiſtory obſerves three Things: 'Firſt, That this great and known Enemy to Cathedral Churches died thus fearfully in the Aſſault of a Cathedral: Secondly, that this happen'd upon St. *Chad*'s Day, of which Saint the Cathedral bears the Name: Thirdly, this Lord being two Years before upon the *Thames*, upon ſome Diſcourſe about St. *Paul*'s Church, then in their Eye, he told ſome young Lords, *He hop'd to live to ſee that one Stone of that Building ſhou'd not be left upon another*: But that Church ſtands yet, and that Eye is put out that hop'd to ſee the Ruins of it.' As to his Character, he was in his own Nature a very civil well-humour'd Man; and rather ſeduc'd and corrupted in his Underſtanding, than really perverſe and malicious. Whether he was ſway'd by the Heat of his Paſſions, or Zeal of his Conſcience, he was undoubtedly one of thoſe who cou'd have been moſt hardly reconcil'd to the Government of Church or State: And therefore his Death was look'd upon as a good Step towards Peace, and was highly lamented by his Party, who had not a more intire Confidence in any Man than in Him. However it did not bring that Relief to the Beſieg'd in the *Cloſe* as was expected; for the ſame Forces, under Sir *John Gell*, proceeded ſo vigorouſly, and they within ſo faintly and unſkilfully, that the Place was ſoon yielded without any other Conditions than of Quarter; by which Means many Perſons of Note and Quality became Priſoners, particularly the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, and his Son, and others not named.

His Character.

Lichfield *Cloſe taken by Sir* John Gell.

By this Advantage the Spirits of that Party were much exalted, and the Royaliſts in thoſe Parts as much dejected. Yet ſome Gentlemen betook themſelves to the Town of *Stafford*, and having, when they thought *Lichfield* ſecure, too freely declar'd themſelves for the King, to hope to live untouch'd in their Houſes, reſolv'd to defend that Place; againſt which Sir *John Gell* drew his late conquering Forces. But the brave Earl of *Northampton*, who too late was coming to the Relief of *Lichfield*, with a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons from the Garriſon of *Banbury*, arriv'd ſeaſonably for their Succour, and put himſelf into the Town; and the very ſame Night beat up a Quarter of the Enemies, in which he kill'd and took a hundred of their Horſe. Sir *John Gell* retir'd ſo far as to meet with another Commander, Sir *William Brereton*, who from *Nantwich* was upon the March to joyn with him for the reducing of *Stafford*, and for the clearing other Counties. Being joyn'd, to the Number of near three thouſand Foot and Horſe, with a good Train of Artillery, they mov'd back towards *Stafford*, imagining that the Earl of *Northampton* wou'd meet without the Walls of the Town: Which prov'd true; for the Earl no ſooner heard that they were advancing towards the Town, but he drew out his Party to ingage them; conceiving it cou'd be only Sir *John Gell*, whoſe Numbers he underſtood, and whoſe Courage he little regarded.

Stafford *Garriſon'd for the King.*

Hopton-Heath *Fight.*

The Engagement hapned on *Sunday* the nineteenth of *March*, upon a Place call'd *Hopton-Heath*, about two Miles from *Stafford*. Tho' the Number was more than double to the Earl's, yet the Heath ſeeming very fair, the Breadth of it being more than Muſquet-ſhot from Encloſures on each Side, and the Number of his Horſe being at leaſt equal to the other, he reſolv'd to charge them: And accordingly did, with that intrepid Succeſs, that he totally routed that Part of the Horſe: And rallying again his Men, he as bravely charg'd the other Part of their Horſe; which ſtood more in ſhelter of their Foot: and ſo totally defeated and diſpers'd them, that they had ſcarce a Horſe left upon the Field. In this ſecond Charge the valiant Earl being warmly engag'd, very near or among the Foot, had his Horſe kill'd under him; and his own Cavalry, according to their unhappy Practice, having too furiouſly purſu'd the Chace, he was left ſurrounded by his Enemies. His Behaviour, and their Carriage afterwards, is only known from their own Teſtimony; who confeſs'd, that after he was on his Feet, he with his own Hand kill'd the Colonel of the Foot who haſtned to him; and that after his Head-Piece was ſtricken off with the But-end of a Muſquet, they offer'd him Quarter; which he wholly refus'd, crying out, *He ſcorn'd to take Quarter from ſuch baſe Rogues and Rebels as they were.* After which he was ſlain by a Blow with a Halbert on the hinder Part of his Head, at the ſame Time receiving a deep Wound in his Face. All this Time the Parliament's Foot ſtood, 'till Sir *Thomas Byron*, who commanded the Prince of *Wales*'s Regiment, charg'd them with good Execution; but the Night coming on, and the Field which they thought ſo fair, being found full of Coal-Pits, and dangerous Holes for their Horſe, they thought fit to forbear any further Action.

The Earl of Northampton *ſlain.*

In this ſharp and ſhort Fight, on the Parliament Side there were kill'd and taken Priſoners above two Hundred, and more than that Number wounded; eight Pieces of their Cannon, and moſt of their Ammunition was likewiſe taken. Of the Earl's Party were ſlain but twenty five, of which two were Captains, ſome inferior Officers, and the reſt common Soldiers; but there were as many wounded, and particularly the Earl's eldeſt Son, and Sir *Thomas Byron*, two Perſons of great Bravery. They who had all the Enſigns of Victory but their General, thought Themſelves ruin'd; while the other Side, who had eſcap'd in the Night, and with great Difficulty carry'd off his dead Body, hardly believ'd they were Loſes. The Truth is, as the noble Hiſtorian has it, a greater Victory wou'd have been an unequal Recompence for ſuch a Loſs; and the King himſelf ſaid afterwards, *He was the greateſt Loſs but one, he had ſince the Beginning of the Civil Wars.* This Earl, by Name *Spencer Compton*, was a Perſon of great Courage, Honour and Fidelity, but not ſignally known till his Evening; having in the general Eaſe and Luxury of that too happy Time, indulg'd himſelf in that Liberty then thought neceſſary to great Fortunes: But from the Beginning of theſe Troubles, as if he had been awaken'd out of a Lethargy, he rous'd Himſelf, and proceeded with the Vigour and Vigilance of a full ſeaſon'd Commander. He did the King great Services from the Beginning, and was one of the firſt that, upon his own Charge and Reputation, rais'd a Troop of Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot; and at the ſame Time

His Character.

entirely dedicated all his Children to the Cauſe; having four Sons Officers under him, of whom three charg'd that Day in the Field, tho' the Eldeſt was leſs than twenty Years of Age. From the Time he took upon him the Profeſſion of a Soldier, no Man was more punctual upon Command, no Man more diligent in Duty; and bore all Diſtreſſes and Hardſhips like a common Man, as if he had never known Eaſe or Plenty; moſt prodigal of his Perſon in Danger, and often heard to ſay, *That if he outliv'd theſe Wars, he was ſure never to meet with ſo noble a Death.* So that it is not to be admir'd if upon ſuch a Stroke, the Body that felt it, thought it had loſt more than a Limb. He dy'd in the 37th Year of his Age, leaving ſix eminent Sons behind him, all educated to Arms, and noted for Courage; only the youngeſt was remov'd from the Military Liſt into the Church, in which he was for many Years Biſhop of *London.* After the Fight, *Gell* and *Brereton* were ſo unkind or uncivil to the young Earl of *Northampton*, that they wou'd not part with his Father's Body to him, or ſuffer his Surgeons to embalm it, without ſuch unreaſonable Conditions as were contrary to the Law of Arms.

The Lord Herbert *ſits down before* Glouceſter.

In the mean Time, the Lord *Herbert*, Son to the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, having all *South-Wales* committed to his Care, at his own Charge and other Catholick Friends, ſuddenly rais'd a little Army of fifteen hundred Foot, and near five hundred Horſe, all out of *Wales*; which in ſhort Time advanc'd and ſat down before *Glouceſter*, blocking it up on one Side, while Prince *Maurice* was to diſtreſs it on the other. But Sir *William Waller* with a light Party of near two thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, by a ſudden Night March, in which he was very dextrous, poſted to the Rivern *Severn*, ſix Miles from *Glouceſter*, from whence he had appointed many flat Boats to meet him; and finding the Guard of the River either treacherouſly or fooliſhly neglected by the Lord *Herbert*'s Forces, in them tranſported his whole Body, which upon the Advantage of that Paſs might have been reſiſted by a very few Men. Hereupon the Conſternation was ſo great among the new *Welſh* Soldiers, that tho' their Works were too good to be enter'd by Horſe-Men, and the Avenues almoſt inacceſſible, without giving or receiving a Blow, immediately they ſent to treat, and as civilly deliver'd up Themſelves and their Arms upon the ſingle Allowance of Quarter by the Parliamentarians, who put near thirteen hundred Foot, and three Troops of Horſe into *Glouceſter*, the Lord *Herbert* Himſelf being then at *Oxford*, and his Brother the Lord *Somerſet* with three or four Troops at a ſafe Diſtance from the reſt. The Parliament Writers ſay 500 were ſlain: However this was the End of a Muſhroom Army, which grew up and periſh'd ſo ſoon, that the Loſs was ſcarce apprehended, and which coſt the Marqueſs of *Worceſter* and his Friends above threeſcore thouſand Pounds; which Mony, if employ'd to the King's beſt Advantage, might poſſibly have put an End to the War the next Summer.

His Forces routed by Sir William Waller.

The firſt Steps towards a Treaty.

VI. 1. During theſe Military Tranſactions, with ſome others of leſs Moment, the King, finding the two Houſes backwards and uninclinable to the Treaty formerly propos'd, to quicken them and force ſome Reply, he ſent a new Meſſage to them, reminding them of the Propoſition he had made for a Ceſſation of Arms; and deſir'd, 'If they approv'd of a Ceſſation, that the Day when it ſhould commence might be propos'd by them; ſince he ſuppos'd, by the preſent Preparations, till that ſhou'd be determin'd, they thought themſelves not oblig'd to any Ceſſation; nor, till then, did he conceive himſelf oblig'd to it: However he wiſh'd it might be clearly underſtood between them, that no ſuch Imputations as formerly might be laid upon him, upon Occaſion of any Thing that might intervene.' Which Meſſage put a Neceſſity upon them of re-entering upon the Argument, and gave the Lovers of Peace an Opportunity of urging a Debate, which had been ſubtlely laid aſide for the Diſpatch of other Affairs. And even at this Time, the Majority of both Houſes deſir'd the ſame Peace the King did; for beſides thoſe who had been Diſſenters from the Beginning, yet for their Conveniency had ſtay'd with them, very many were now convinc'd that they had been miſ-led, and diſcern'd in what a bottomleſs Gulph the Kingdom wou'd be plung'd without an immediate Compoſure; and ſome of Thoſe, whoſe furious Breath had help'd to kindle the Fire, either out of Conſcience of their Error, or Fear of the King's prevailing Power, or Anger to ſee others more valu'd, were moſt ſollicitous for a Treaty. So that in a ſhort Time both Houſes agreed, 'That there ſhou'd be a Treaty, in which ſo much of the King's Propoſitions as concern'd the Magazines, Forts and Ships, and the Parliament's Propoſition for the disbanding the Armies, ſhou'd be firſt treated on and concluded, before they proceeded to treat upon any of the other Propoſitions; and that the Treaty ſhou'd begin the fourth of *March*, and that from the Beginning, the Time ſhou'd not exceed twenty Days.

Commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament.

The Perſons choſen for this Treaty, were the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Say*, Mr. *William Pierrepoint*, Sir *William Armyn*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Bulſtrode Whitelock*, for whoſe ſafe Conduct they diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to the King. His Majeſty return'd a ſafe Conduct for the Earl of *Northumberland* and the four Commoners, but refus'd to admit the Lord *Say* to his Preſence, for the ſame Reaſon he had refus'd Sir *John Evelyn* at *Colebrook*; but ſignify'd, 'That if they wou'd employ any other Perſon not within the ſame Rule, he ſhould as freely come as if he were in the ſafe Conduct.' Many were of Opinion that in Policy the King ſhou'd have admitted the Lord *Say*; as being a Man of great Depth, and at this Time inclinable to retrieve former Breaches. Others believ'd Him to be ſo little inclin'd to ſerve the King, or advance the Treaty, that he was deſign'd as a Spy upon the reſt. But the King, who knew that Lord as well as any, believ'd that it was not in his Power to do Good, or at leaſt not in his Will; therefore wou'd not break a former Rule, but kept to the forenam'd Reply. Together with this Deſire of a ſafe Conduct, they ſent theſe following Articles of Ceſſation. 1. 'That all manner of Arms, &c. paſſing without ſuch a Conduct as might warrant their Paſſage, may be ſtopp'd and ſeiz'd on. 2. That all manner of Perſons, paſſing without ſuch a Conduct, ſhall be apprehended and detain'd. 3. That the King's Forces in *Oxfordſhire* ſhou'd advance no nearer to *Windſor* than *Wheatly*, in *Buckinghamſhire* no nearer to *Aleſbury* than *Brill*, and in *Berkſhire* neither Side come nearer than at preſent. And that the Parliament Forces in *Oxfordſhire* ſhall advance no nearer than *Henley*, and thoſe in *Buckinghamſhire* no nearer than *Aleſbury*, &c. 4. That no Siege ſhall be begun or continu'd againſt *Glouceſter*, but the Forces in thoſe Parts return to their Quarters. 5. That upon Pretence of a Breach, the complaining Party is to acquaint the Lord-General on the other Side; and five Days Notice be given before any Act of Hoſtility. 6. That all other Forces ſhall remain in the ſame Quarters; and this Ceſſation not to reſtrain any Ships for the Defence of the King's Dominions.

Their Articles of Ceſſation.

They occaſion great Debates.

Theſe Propoſitions were deliver'd to the King on the firſt of *March*, near a Month after the Ceſſation had been propos'd by him, which occaſion'd a Doubt that the Overture was not ſincere; ſince it was hardly poſſible, that the Ceſſation cou'd begin ſo ſoon as the fourth of that Month, as they had deſir'd in the Propoſals. But the Articles Themſelves were ſuch as occaſion'd much Debate, and Difference in Opinion, among thoſe who deſir'd the ſame Thing. They were ſtrictly canvaſs'd by the Privy-Council, and other of the King's Friends, who had different Notions of the Reaſonableneſs and Equality of them. But what ſway'd moſt was the Conſideration, That hitherto the Parliament had rais'd their immenſe Sums of Mony chiefly from the City of *London*, and from their Friends, not daring ſo rigidly to execute their Ordinances in diſtant Parts, but contented themſelves with ſome ſevere Judgments upon particular Men, whom they branded as *Malignants*; except what they glean'd among their own Zealots upon voluntary Collections, and plunder'd by their Forces, which brought nothing to their common Stock: And of what they had laid upon their own Garriſons, they had receiv'd very little; not venturing yet, by any general Tax upon the People, to inflame them, and openly ſhew them their Deſigns upon their Liberty and Property, with the Fears of which they had blown them up to all thoſe ſeditious Humours againſt the King; and apprehending, if they ſhou'd attempt That, any Hopes of Relief from the King's Forces wou'd raiſe the whole Kingdom againſt them. But now, after they had agreed to a Treaty, and fram'd Articles of Ceſſation, they paſs'd an Ordinance for a Weekly Aſſeſment throughout the Kingdom; by which the City of *London* was to pay ten thouſand Pounds, and the whole Kingdom no leſs than thirty three thouſand five hundred and eighteen Pounds a Week; in all amounting to one Million and above ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds a Year: A Tax altogether unprecedented, and unknown to the Nation at this Time. To this they added other Ordinances for exacting the twentieth Part, and for ſequeſtering and ſeizing of the Eſtates of all who adhered to the King. Upon all this it was urg'd, 'That now if a Ceſſation was allow'd by the King, on the Articles propos'd, and thereby his Forces lock'd up within the narrow Bounds there mention'd, theſe Ordinances might be executed throughout all their Quarters, and vaſt Sums be rais'd: Their great Aſſociation of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge*, *Huntington*, *Bedford* and *Eſſex*, who were kept from exorbitant Preſſures by the Apprehenſion of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Advance upon them, wou'd by this Means yield them a great Supply of Men and Mony. In *Somerſet* and *De-*

'*vonſhire*, while Sir *Ralph Hopton* might hereby be kept from Motion, they might raiſe what they pleas'd from the Stocks and Perſonal Eſtates of thoſe whom they thought fit to declare *Malignant*; and ſo this Ceſſation, beſides the Prejudice to the Loyal Party, wou'd probably encreaſe both the Mony and the Forces of the other Side.

They are agreed to with Alterations.

Theſe Conſiderations had a powerful Influence upon thoſe, who believ'd the Treaty wou'd not produce a Peace; the Number of whom was encreas'd by a late Reſolution of making additional Fortifications to the City of *London*, all thrown up with ſingular Expedition; which many believ'd wou'd not have been ſo induſtriouſly undertaken, if the Place was ſoon to have return'd to the King's Obedience. And many eminent Perſons about the King, and highly ſerviceable to his Cauſe, were ſo ſtartled with this Apprehenſion, that they unanimouſly begg'd of his Majeſty, 'That by an unequal Ceſſation, they might not be made Loſers of that which they had ſecur'd during the Licence of Hoſtility; and that their Enemies might not be enabled to deſtroy them by thoſe Means, which they durſt not attempt any other Way.' Upon this the King, after ſolemn Debates in Council, reſolv'd to make ſuch Alterations in the Articles, as might make the Terms more equal, or leſs injurious. He agreed to the firſt Article, and to the ſecond as far as it concern'd all Officers and Soldiers; but he propos'd, 'That his other Subjects might have a free Paſſage during the Ceſſation, and an open uninterrupted Trade carry'd on in all Parts.' To the reſt of the Articles he likewiſe conſented, with two Proviſions, 'Firſt, that the Ships to be ſet forth, ſhou'd be commanded by Perſons approv'd of by his Majeſty: Secondly, during the Ceſſation, none of his Subjects ſhou'd be impriſon'd otherwiſe than according to the known Laws of the Land, and that there ſhou'd be no Plundering, or Violence offer'd to any of them. If after this any Scruples ſhou'd be made, he was willing that the Commiſſioners might immediately repair to him, and ſo all Matters concerning the Ceſſation might be there ſettled.'

The Petition of the General Aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland.

2. Many Days paſs'd without a Return to this Anſwer; for in the mean Time another Addreſs was made to the King, upon which the Leaders at *London* had ſet their Hearts more than upon the Treaty, and for which indeed they deferr'd their Treaty. They had ſtill a mighty Dependence upon their Brethren of *Scotland*, who yet mov'd but ſlowly; and what was more diſcouraging, by reaſon of ſome late Quarrels between the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Officers at *London*, and ſome Blood drawn, many of the latter quitted the Service; ſo that it was hop'd it wou'd have broke any farther National Combination. But the ſtrong Inclination to be intermeddling overpower'd thoſe private Diſobligations; and to preſs the King's Conſent to the grand Point, the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy, which with ſo much Difficulty had got through the two Houſes, about the end of *February* there arriv'd at *Oxford* the Earl of *Lowdon* Lord-Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the famous Mr. *Henderſon*: The former came as Commiſſioner from *the Lords of the Secret Council*, or, as they then call'd themſelves, *The Conſervators of the Peace between the two Kingdoms*; who deſir'd to paſs as Mediators or Umpires between the King and the two Houſes of Parliament. Mr. *Henderſon* had a ſpecial Employment from the Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, to preſent a Petition from that Body to his Majeſty, which was to effect the great Work of Reformation. The Petition with unuſual Zeal repreſents the Calamities and Sufferings of their Brethren from the Increaſe of Popery, and the Number of Papiſts in Power, particularly in the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Army; 'ſo that their Silence at this Time wou'd be Impiety againſt God, Diſloyalty againſt the King, and Cruelty againſt their Brethren; and if their Tongues and Pens ſhou'd ceaſe, the Conſciences within them wou'd cry out, and the Stones in the Streets wou'd anſwer them. Therefore they vehemently preſs'd for Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of Kirk Government, in all the King's Dominions; in which they were the more inſtant, becauſe it concern'd the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* ſo much in his Glory, his Majeſty in his Honour, the Kirk of *England* in her Happineſs, and the Kirk of *Scotland* in her Purity and Peace; well knowing that without the Reformation of the Kirk of *England*, there was no Poſſibility of the Continuance of it among them. They ſaid they were not ignorant, that the Work was great, the Difficulties and Impediments many, and that there were both Mountains and Lions in the Way; the ſtrongeſt Let, was the *Mountain of Prelacy*. Therefore they begg'd for a Meeting of ſome Divines of both Kingdoms, to prepare Matters, *&c.* that his Majeſty wou'd no more tolerate the Maſs, or any Part of *Romiſh* Superſtition or Tyranny, but command that all good Means be us'd for the Converſion of his Princely Conſort the Queen's Majeſty; which was the humble Deſire of the whole Kirk and Kingdom.'

The King's Anſwer to it.

This Petition was not more unuſual, than the Circumſtances attending it; for it was no ſooner preſented, than it was ſent to *London*, printed and communicated with all Induſtry to the People, to let them ſee how zealous the *Scotch* Nation was for the Overthrow of the Church of *England*; and Mr. *Henderſon* himſelf confeſs'd to the King, that he had three or four Letters to the moſt ſeditious Preachers about *London*, from Men of the ſame Spirit in *Scotland*. Upon this Provocation, the King might have reaſonably proceeded againſt Mr. *Henderſon*, who was neither included in his Safe Conduct, as the Lord *Lowdon* and the reſt were, and had very little Pretence of Authority to tranſact ſuch an Inſtrument: But well knowing the Intereſt and Influence of the Clergy in that Kingdom, he reſolv'd to treat his Perſon very graciouſly, and to protect him from the Affronts he might naturally expect in an Univerſity, where he carry'd Himſelf with Inſolence and Superciliouſneſs to the moſt learned Doctors. Therefore before he enter'd upon the other Addreſs made by the Lord *Lowdon*, he return'd a mild and candid Anſwer to the Petition, 'In which he commended the Zeal of the Petitioners for the Advancement of the true Reform'd Religion, againſt Hereſy, Popery, Sects, Innovations, *&c.* For the Unity in Kirk Government, his Majeſty knows, That the eſtabliſh'd Government by the Laws hath ſo near a Relation and Intermixture with the Civil State, (which may be unknown to the Petitioners) that till a compoſed digeſted Form be preſented to him, upon a free Debate in Parliament, whereby the Conſent of the whole Kingdom may be had, and He and all his Subjects may diſcern what is to be left out, or brought in, as well as what taken away, He knows not how to conſent to an Alteration, otherwiſe than to ſuch an Act for the Eaſe of *Tender Conſciences*, in the Matter of Ceremonies, as his Majeſty hath often offer'd. But he is ſtill willing, That the Debates of Religion may be enter'd into by a Synod of Learned and Godly Divines, regularly choſen according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Kingdom; to which end he is alſo willing, That ſome Learned Divines of the Kirk of *Scotland* may be likewiſe ſent to be preſent, to offer their Reaſons and Opinions. As to the Aſperſions of Popery, he clearly wiped them off, and charg'd the Parliament Army with having more Papiſts and Foreigners than his own; therefore he conceiv'd he had not left it poſſible, for any Man to believe him guilty of tolerating any Part of *Romiſh* Tyranny and Superſtition; or to ſuſpect that the Converſion of his deareſt Conſort was not ſo much his Deſire, *That the Acceſſion of as many Crowns as God had already beſtow'd on Him, wou'd not be more welcome to him than that Day*.'

A further Anſwer.

Then further to clear himſelf from the Aſperſions of encouraging Papiſts, in a particular *Declaration* ſent into *Scotland*, about a Month after, he us'd theſe Words, which ought not to be forgotten; 'Great Numbers of that Religion have been with great Alacrity entertain'd in that Rebellious Army againſt Us; and others have been ſeduc'd, to whom We had formerly deny'd Employments, as appears by the Examination of many Priſoners, of whom we have taken Twenty, and Thirty at a time of one Troop or Company, of that Religion.'

The Tranſactions of the Scotch *Commiſſioners with the King.*

The Lord *Lowdon*, and the other Commiſſioners who were guided by him, gave the Precedence to this Petition, as being a Matter of Religion, and urg'd nothing of their own Commiſſion, till the King had publiſh'd his Anſwer to the other, and then that Lord us'd all private Arguments with the King to induce him to conſent to the Alteration of the Church Government; aſſuring him, *It wou'd be a Means, not only of hindering the* Scots *from joyning with the Parliament, but wou'd oblige them to aſſiſt him in the Vindication of all his Rights*. But he ſoon found his Majeſty too firmly fix'd, to be mov'd by a Convenience in a Matter of Conſcience; Therefore he betook himſelf with his Companions, to their own avow'd Errand, which conſiſted of two Parts; the One, 'To offer the Mediation of the *Conſervators of the Peace*, for the Compoſure of the Differences between the King and the two Houſes;' the Other, 'To deſire his Majeſty, that he wou'd ſend out his Precepts, to ſummon a Parliament in *Scotland*.' To the firſt of which they pretended a Right, by Vertue of a Clauſe in the Act of Pacification made at the beginning of this Parliament. But the King ſhew'd them, 'That the Differences between Him and the two Houſes had no Relation to the Act of Pacification, and the Peace between the two Kingdoms; but concern'd the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, of which the *Conſervators* of the Peace of *Scotland* cou'd have no poſſible Cogniſance: Therefore it wou'd give great Umbrage to his Subjects of *England*, and inſtead of continuing the Peace,

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ar. 18.

‘ breed Jealouſies between the Nations, if he ſhou'd admit of any ſuch Mediation as they propos'd.’ As to his Summoning a Parliament, which by a particular Act was appointed to meet in *June* 1644, he anſwer'd, ‘ That he found no Occaſion to trouble his Subjects ſooner than the Time prefix'd for that Meeting; and therefore declin'd the iſſuing out any Writs for this Purpoſe.’ This he did upon good Grounds; for it was expreſly ſaid in the Act of Pacification, ‘ That *England* ſhou'd not make War againſt *Scotland*, without Conſent of the Parliament of *England*; nor *Scotland* make War againſt *England*, without Conſent of the Parliament of *Scotland:* And if any of the Subjects on either Side ſhou'd break this Rule, they ſhou'd be us'd as Traitors.’ So that whoever believ'd that the *Scots* cou'd be ſecur'd by any Obligations, Divine or Human, thought it impoſſible, by theſe clear Words, that any Forces cou'd be rais'd there to invade *England*, and diſturb the King, before *June* 1644.

When the Commiſſioners found they cou'd gain nothing further from the King, they deſir'd his Majeſty's Leave and Paſs to go to *London:* The King was ſenſible of the Inconvenience of this Allowance, therefore plainly told the Lord *Lowdon* what Grounds he had to believe they deſign'd to raiſe an Army for the Parliament's Quarrel, *and that ſome of his Fellow-Commiſſioners wou'd prove Incendiaries rather than Mediators. Lowdon* ſaid much to aſſure the King, there was no Deſign in *Scotland* to own the Quarrel of the two Houſes againſt him, and pretended, *He wou'd rather die, than concur in ſuch Courſes*, as Mr. *Burnet* tells us: And he once reſolv'd to make a Proteſtation, ‘ That the King, by not ſuffering them to go to *London*, had violated the ſafe Conduct.’ In ſhort the King told them, *Since he had deny'd what cou'd be the only Ground of their going to* London, *they ſhou'd firſt return to thoſe that ſent them; if otherwiſe, they muſt run the Hazard of Perſons, whom he would not countenance with his Protection.* They were alſo told by others, That the King's Counſellors and Officers were ſo averſe to their Journey, that they wou'd be ready to deſert his Majeſty, if he ſhou'd conſent to it. But what prevail'd with them moſt, was their being aſſur'd, That if the King ſhou'd conſent to their Journey, ſeveral Perſons were privately reſolv'd to cut them off by the Way; *That as the King knew nothing of it, ſo it wou'd not be in his Power to prevent it.* So after a conſiderable Stay, they all return'd home ſafely to their Friends in *Scotland*.

Their Returns.

The Parliament Commiſſioners come to treat with the King.

3. Before their Departure, the Commiſſioners for the Treaty, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr. *William Pierrepoint*, Sir *William Armyn*, Sir *John Holland* and Mr. *Bulſtrode Whitelock*, arriv'd at *Oxford*; who ſoon took Notice of the Requeſts of their *Scotch* Brethren, and alſo deſir'd, ‘ That they might have his Majeſty's Leave to go to *London:*’ But being quickly anſwer'd, ‘ That that Requeſt wou'd not fall within any of the Propoſitions to be treated of,’ they modeſtly deſiſted. Theſe Commiſſioners made a noble Figure in the City of *Oxford*, and the great Earl carry'd with him his own Plate and Houſhold Goods, and Accommodations even to Wine and Proviſions, which were brought from *London* to them at *Oxford*, where they liv'd in as much Height and Splendor, as was uſual to the Earl of *Northumberland*, which was ſcarce exceeded by any Subject in *England*. The King treated them with ſingular Favour and Civility; and his chief Commander *Ruthen*, with ſeveral of his Lords and Officers, came frequently to their Table, where they held a very amicable Converſation together: And the King himſelf ſometimes did them the Honour to accept of Part of their Wine and Proviſions, which the Earl ſent to him, when they had any Thing extraordinary. His Majeſty alſo gave them leave to viſit ſome Parliament Officers that had been taken Priſoners, now in the Caſtle, as Captain *Wingate*, Captain *Auſten* and others; and order'd *Smith* the *Marſhall* to conduct them to the Priſon. But the Appearing with the Marſhall, as *Whitelock* has it in his Manuſcript Additions, caus'd ſome Diſturbance, and a Report about the Town, That the Treaty with the Parliament was broken off, and the Commiſſioners had ſo offended the King, that he had ſent two of them, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Whitelock*, Priſoners to the Caſtle.

Their Temper and Diſpoſition.

Theſe Commiſſioners were of great Knowledge and Capacities, both able and proper for ſuch a Negotiation; and at this Time they abhorr'd the high Proceedings of the Parliament, or at leaſt the Power and Superiority of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and ſeem'd exceedingly earneſt for ſuch an Accommodation as all good Men deſir'd. And the aſpiring Earl of *Northumberland*, to private Friends, did now make as full Profeſſions of future Service, and as ample Acknowledgments of former Errors, as cou'd well be expected from a wary Nature, before he knew what Reception they were like to have. They were ſenſible that the Parliament expected ſome unreaſonable Conceſſions, to which if the King wou'd yield for a while, they hop'd the Inundations might be in Time reduc'd, and brought into their proper Channels. Their Inſtructions were exceeding ſtrict, and ty'd them up to treat with none but the King Himſelf; whom they often attended at his Lodgings in *Chriſt-Church*, and had a clear Acceſs to him as often as they deſir'd, and were allow'd by his Majeſty a full Freedom of Debate with him. He was commonly attended by his great Lords and chief Officers, who never debated any Matters with Them; but gave their Opinions to the King as they were ask'd, and wou'd ſometimes remind him of ſome particular Things; but otherwiſe they did not ſpeak at all.

164⅔.
Car. 18.

They treat about a Ceſſation, but to no Effect.

At the firſt Meeting, the Commiſſioners declar'd, ‘ That they were firſt to treat of the Ceſſation, and till that was concluded, they were not to enter upon any of the other Propoſitions;’ with which the King was pleas'd, conceiving they had Power to give Conſent to the Articles propos'd by him, which he rather believ'd when they read the Preamble to the Articles, which expreſs'd a vehement Deſire of Peace from the Lords and Commons, ‘ who had conſider'd the Articles of Ceſſation with thoſe Alterations and Additions offer'd by his Majeſty; to which they were ready to agree in ſuch Manner as was expreſs'd in the enſuing Articles.’ After which were inſerted the very Articles which had been firſt ſent to the King, without allowing one ſingle Alteration or Addition made by him, nor had the Commiſſioners Power to conſent to any Alteration, but only to publiſh, That if the King conſented to them, then, and not before, to proceed to treat upon the other Propoſitions. This the King look'd upon as an ill Omen, and other Men as a Trick and Stratagem, limiting their Committee to fruſtrate both, and throw the Odium upon the King. Hereupon the King next Day ſent a Meſſage to the Houſes, which he likewiſe publiſh'd to undeceive the People; ‘ further preſſing the Weight and Conſequence of his former Exceptions, which he maniſeſted in ſeveral Particulars; and at laſt aſſuring them, That tho', next to Peace, he deſir'd a Ceſſation, yet rather than the Diſagreement to one ſhou'd delay or deſtroy the Hopes of the other, he was willing to treat, even without a Ceſſation, upon the Propoſitions Themſelves, in the Order agreed, and deſir'd their Committee might be enabled to that Effect.’ This occaſion'd new Reaſons from the Houſes, why they wou'd not conſent to the King's Alterations, made to the Articles; but however the Meſſage had this Effect, that it produc'd Liberty to the Committee to enter upon the Treaty it ſelf, upon the Propoſitions, tho' they cou'd not agree to the Ceſſation.

1643.
Car. 19.
TREATY I.
At Oxford.

4. Thus the Treaty it ſelf began, upon the Foot of the Propoſitions made on both Sides: laſting twenty Days according to Agreement, from the twenty-ſeventh of *March*, to the fifteenth of *April*. Yet in all this Time, tho' there were many Conferences and Debates, only the firſt Propoſition on both Sides, was fully canvaſs'd and examin'd. They firſt enter'd upon that made by the King, which was, ‘ That his own Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Forts and Ships, which had been taken, or kept from him by Force, ſhou'd be forthwith reſtor'd to him.’ In debating of which, they ſeem'd to reſtore all theſe Things, ‘ but ſo as they ſhou'd fall into the Hand and Government of ſuch Perſons, *as the Houſes ſhou'd confide in*, or at leaſt ſhou'd be approv'd by them, after they were nominated by the King. On the other ſide the King offer'd to put the Forts, Caſtles and Navy into the Hands of ſuch *againſt whom no juſt Exception cou'd be made*; and if any ſhou'd be, he wou'd always leave them to their due Tryal and Examination.’ So that the plain Difference between them was, Whether the King wou'd reſerve the Diſpoſal of the great Offices and Places of Truſt to Himſelf, as all *Engliſh* Kings had enjoy'd, or whether he wou'd be content with ſuch a Nomination, as being to depend upon their Approbation, no Man ſhou'd be admitted to them, who was nam'd by Him. The King ſtill inſiſting upon the real Rights of himſelf and Royal Progenitors, they told him, ‘ There cou'd be no ſecure Peace hop'd for, if a Cure was not found out for their Fears and Jealouſies; and they knew none certain, but that which they had propos'd.’ The King reply'd, ‘ That that Argument might extend to a Deprivation, or at leaſt a Sharing of all his Royal Power; ſince Power, as well as Forces, might be the Object of Fears and Jealouſies; and there wou'd be always a Power left to hurt, while there was any to protect. He thought the Obſervance of that Rule, *Neither of them to fear what the Law fear'd not*, to be on both Sides a better Cure for that dangerous Diſeaſe, than for him to diveſt Himſelf of thoſe Truſts repos'd in him for the better Protection of the Subject and the Law, and to avoid thoſe Diſtractions which the Intereſts of all Sharers in the Sovereignty wou'd infallibly produce. Laſtly he told them, He thought it moſt unreaſonable, to be preſs'd to diminiſh his own juſt ‘ Rights

The Sum of the Lord Clarendon's *Account of it.*

1643. Car. 19.

'Rights Himſelf, becauſe Others had violated and uſurp'd them.

The firſt Propoſition on the Parliament Side, was, 'That his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to diſband his Armies, as they likewiſe wou'd be ready to diſband their Forces they had rais'd; and that he wou'd be pleas'd to return to his Parliament. To this the King declar'd himſelf willing that all Armies ſhou'd be diſbanded, and thought the beſt Way to it a happy and ſpeedy Concluſion of the preſent Treaty; and as he deſir'd nothing more than to be with his two Houſes, ſo he wou'd repair thither as ſoon as he cou'd with his Honour and Safety.' The Commiſſioners ask'd him, 'If by a ſpeedy Concluſion, he meant one upon the two firſt Propoſitions, or a Concluſion in all the Propoſitions of both Parts.' The King knowing that ſome of the Propoſitions wou'd require much Time, anſwer'd, 'That he meant ſuch a Concluſion, as there might be a clear Evidence to all of a future Peace, and no Ground left for the Continuance of thoſe bloody Diſſenſions; which might be obtain'd, if both Houſes conſented to have the Treaty proceed without further Interruption, or Limitation of Days.' They ask'd him, 'What he intended ſhou'd be ſuch a clear Evidence to all.' He told them, 'If the Concluſion of the preſent Treaty, upon his and their firſt Propoſition, ſhou'd be ſo perfectly made, that the Laws might have a free and uninterrupted Courſe, for the Preſervation of all Mens Rights, there wou'd be thence a clear Evidence to all of a future Peace; never meaning that both the Armies ſhou'd remain undiſbanded, till the Propoſitions on both Sides were fully concluded.' To their other Clauſe concerning the King's Return to the Parliament, they ſaid, 'They had no Inſtructions to treat upon it;' at which the King was much ſurpris'd; and finding they had no Authority to debate what was to be done in order to diſbanding, but only to urge him to appoint a Day for the effecting it; and that he wou'd firſt diſband the Forces in the North, where he had a great Army and they none, he endeavour'd to draw them to ſome Propoſitions about his Return to the Parliament, which if they purſu'd heartily, ſuch Expedients wou'd naturally ariſe, as might bring about a general Peace.

Mr. Whitelock's *Account of it.*

This is the Sum of what paſs'd in this Treaty, only Mr. *Whitelock*, one of the Commiſſioners, has given us ſuch a further Account of it, as is moſt proper to be recited in his own Words. He ſays, In this Treaty the King manifeſted his great Parts and Abilities, Strength of Reaſon, and Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, with much Patience in hearing what was objected againſt him; wherein he allow'd all Freedom, and wou'd himſelf ſum up the Arguments, and give a moſt clear Judgment upon them. His Unhappineſs was, That he had a better Opinion of others Judgments than his own, tho' they were weaker than his; and of this the Commiſſioners had Experience to their great Trouble. They were often waiting on the King, and debating ſome Points of the Treaty with him, till Midnight, before they cou'd come to a Concluſion. Upon one of the moſt material Points they preſs'd his Majeſty with their Reaſons and beſt Arguments they cou'd uſe, to grant what they deſir'd: The King ſaid, *He was fully ſatisfy'd*, and promis'd to give them his Anſwer in Writing, according to their Deſire; but, becauſe it was then paſt Midnight, he wou'd have it drawn up the next Morning, and then he wou'd give them his Anſwer in Writing, as it was now agreed upon. They went to their Lodgings full of joyful Hopes to receive this Anſwer the next Morning, and which being given, wou'd have conduc'd to a happy Iſſue and Succeſs of this Treaty, and they had the King's Word for it, and they waited on him the next Morning at the Hour appointed. But inſtead of that Anſwer, which was expected and promis'd, the King gave them a Paper quite contrary to what was concluded the Night before, and very much tending to the Breach of the Treaty. They humbly expoſtulated this with his Majeſty, and preſs'd him *upon his Royal Word*, and the ill Conſequences they fear'd wou'd follow upon this his new Paper. But the King told them, *He had alter'd his Mind, and that this Paper which he now gave them, was the Anſwer, which he was now reſolv'd to make upon their laſt Debate.* And they cou'd obtain no other from him, which occaſion'd much Sadneſs and Trouble to them. Some of his own Friends, who were queſtion'd by the Commiſſioners, inform'd them, 'That after they were gone from the King, and his Council alſo departed, ſome of his Bed-Chamber, (and they went higher) hearing from him, what Anſwer he had promis'd, and doubting it wou'd tend to ſuch an Iſſue of the Treaty as they did not wiſh, being rather for the Continuance of the War; they never left preſſing, and perſuading of the King, till they prevail'd with him to change his former Reſolutions, and to give Order for his Anſwer to be drawn, as it was then deliver'd.' Thus far Mr. *Whitelock*, whoſe Account may probably diſpleaſe both the Friends and Enemies of this unhappy Prince; the Sum of which was, The King was an extraordinary Man, and inclinable to ſuch Conceſſions, as his Friends cou'd not allow of, as being contrary to his Honour, and their own Security.

1643. Car. 19.

The King ſends a Meſſage to the Houſes.

The Treaty on both Sides going ſlowly on, and the Commiſſioners Inſtructions being ſtrict, and ſuch as they cou'd not ſhew to the King when he deſir'd it, he thought fit on the 12th of *April* to ſend a Meſſage to the two Houſes, to this Effect, 'That as ſoon as he was ſatisfy'd, in his firſt Propoſition, and as ſoon as the Members of both Houſes ſhou'd be reſtored, and that his Majeſty and both Houſes may be ſecured from tumultuous Aſſemblies, which he conceiv'd cou'd not otherwiſe be done, but by adjourning the Parliament to ſome Place twenty Miles from *London*, ſuch as the Houſes ſhou'd agree upon: His Majeſty wou'd conſent to the diſbanding of the Armies, and wou'd return ſpeedily to his Parliament.' This being communicated to the Commiſſioners, they diſſwaded the ſending of it, 'as what they fear'd might break off the Treaty, as alſo the Improbability that the Houſes wou'd adjourn and leave the City of *London*, their beſt Friends and Strength, and put them into a general Diſcontent.' But the King finding their Powers ſo limited, that they cou'd neither enlarge the Time of the Treaty, nor debate ſome Particulars, reſolv'd to ſend the Meſſage: Upon which the two Houſes requir'd their Commiſſioners to return to *Weſtminſter*, without the leaſt Delay; which upon the 15th Day of *April* finiſh'd this unſucceſsful Treaty, contrary to the Expectations of great Numbers, who were made to believe that a ſpeedy Peace wou'd enſue. Mr. *Whitelock* gives us a ſhort Account of the five Commiſſioners, and ſays, The Earl of *Northumberland* demean'd himſelf with much Courage and Wiſdom, and was full of Civility to the other Commiſſioners; and the Port they liv'd in at *Oxford*, by the Management of his Officers, was full of State and Nobleneſs. Mr. *Pierrepoint* acted his Part with deep Foreſight and Prudence, and was exceeding courteous to his Fellow-Commiſſioners. Sir *William Armyn* was a Gentleman of good Underſtanding and Converſation, and wou'd give his Opinion upon good Reaſon. Sir *John Holland*, a Gentleman of excellent Parts, as well as Perſon, ſhew'd a very good Judgment and Teſtimony of his Abilities. As for Himſelf, he ſays modeſtly, Mr. *Whitelock* was put upon very much Labour, and had both from the Earl, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, a great Share of Favour and Reſpect.

The Treaty broke up.

Opinions and Cenſures upon it.

Various were the Opinions concerning this Treaty: Many thought the King was too ſevere, and too much inſiſted upon what was his own by Right and Law; and believ'd that if he wou'd have liberally diſtributed Offices and Places to particular Men, he might have been repoſſeſs'd of his Power. Others conceiv'd, that if at this Juncture he had only nominated the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Lord High-Admiral, which Place he ſeem'd to have expected, it wou'd have made ſo wide a Diviſion in the Houſes, that the Treaty wou'd have been continu'd, and the King receiv'd Satisfaction in the other Propoſitions. And I have been further aſſur'd, from private Hands, that very large Promiſes were made both by the Commiſſioners and others, to his Majeſty, if he wou'd but at preſent comply with the unhappy Circumſtances of the Times; and that for ſome time he ſeem'd more than inclinable to oblige Them, till further Conſiderations gave him another View. But after all, if we conſider the Nature of the Propoſitions themſelves, as degrading as any ſent before, their ſequeſtering of the Biſhops Lands, their rifling of *Somerſet-Houſe*, which belong'd to the Queen, and other Acts both of Power and Reſentment, during the very Time of this Treaty; we can hardly think that any tolerable Compliances on the King's Side cou'd have produc'd a Peace. And as to the Promiſes of particular Men, tho' of great Sway in the Houſes, the King never found himſelf more deceiv'd than when he hearkned to ſuch; for as ſoon as they appear'd to deſign him any Service, they preſently ſunk from their former Power and Intereſt, and became unable to perform any Thing material. Even the preſent Commiſſioners, tho' at length they obtain'd the Thanks of the Houſes, yet at their Return, ſome of them were look'd upon with great Jealouſy; which ſo far prevail'd, that Mr. *Harry Martin*, expecting ſome Diſcovery, broke open a Letter from the Earl of *Northumberland* to his own Lady, and met with no publick Check for his Inſolence.

VII. 1. The Proſpect of Peace being now at an End, the War began to appear with a more formidable Aſpect than ever; and on the ſame Day that the Treaty expir'd at *Oxford*, the Earl of *Eſſex* march'd with all his great Forces from *Windſor*, and ſat down before *Reading*. This General had never before been at the Head of ſo gallant an Army, which conſiſted of about ſixteen thouſand

The Earl of Eſſex *beſieges* Reading.

Foot, and above three thouſand Horſe, all well equipp'd, and as well ſupply'd and prepar'd for a Siege, as cou'd be expected from ſuch who had the Command of the *Tower* of *London*, and the chief Stores of the Kingdom. In the Town were lodg'd above three thouſand Foot, and near three hundred Horſe; but the Fortifications were very mean, and unfit to endure a form'd Siege, being rais'd only to ſecure a Winter Quarter, and never deſign'd for a ſtanding Garriſon. Beſides it was reſolv'd at a Council of War at *Oxford*, ' That before the End of *April*, when the Enemy might probably take the Field, Sir *Arthur Aſton* ſhou'd ſlight thoſe Works, and draw off his Garriſon to the King;' and what made it ſtill leſs able to bear a Siege, was their Want of Ammunition, there not being above forty Barrels of Powder to encounter ſo powerful an Army. Notwithſtanding all theſe Difficulties, the Garriſon look'd upon the Enemy with ſufficient Courage and Contempt, and in reality both Officers and Soldiers were as good, as cou'd be expected in the Infancy of a War; and they had no Apprehesion of Want of Victuals, with which they were abundantly ſupply'd. The Soldiers without were, for the greateſt Part, newly levy'd, and few of their Officers acquainted with the Way and Order of attacking Towns; and indeed this was the firſt formal Siege that happen'd in *England*.

Extraordinary Aſſiſtances were afforded to the Beſiegers; and it is hardly credible what vaſt Quantities of excellent Victuals ready dreſs'd, were every Day ſent in Waggons and Carts from *London* to the Army, upon the voluntary Contributions of private Families; the inferior People being perſuaded, not only that the Town wou'd be ſoon taken, but that the gaining of it wou'd deſtroy all the King's Hopes of an Army. Upon the firſt ſitting down before the Place, after they had taken a View of the Ground, their General adviſ'd with a Council of War, how to carry on the Siege, whether by Aſſault or Approach; in which was great Diverſity of Opinions: But after many Arguments and Debates, the major Part, together with the General, agreed to the latter, as leſs hazardous than the former. The chief Care and Overſight of the Approaches was committed to *Philip Skippon*, a Perſon formerly mention'd, who had been an old Officer and of good Experience in the *Netherlands*, and was now made Serjeant-Major-General of the Army, by the abſolute Power of the two Houſes, and without the chearful Concurrence of the Earl of *Eſſex*; tho' Sir *John Merrick*, who had executed that Office by his Lordſhip's Choice from the Beginning, was preferr'd to be General of the Ordnance. The Approaches advanc'd with all reaſonable Expedition, and there were frequent Sallies from the Town with good Succeſs; in which many of the Beſiegers were kill'd, and more wounded, who were nightly ſent in Carts to *London*, and diſpos'd with great Secrecy to the Hoſpitals, that the Citizens might not take Notice of their Numbers. Within a Week's Time, Sir *Arthur Aſton* the Governor receiv'd a Hurt that diſabled him from preſent Service, ſo that the chief Command in Courſe devolv'd to Colonel *Richard Fielding*; which Accident was judg'd very unfortunate to the King, Sir *Arthur* being a Perſon of the higheſt Reputation, and moſt formidable to the Enemy. The next Night, a Party from *Oxford*, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Wilmot*, without any notable Oppoſition, threw into the Town a Regiment of five Hundred Foot, with a Supply of Powder; and receiv'd Advice of the Governour's Hurt, and That they muſt ſurrender the Town, if they were not reliev'd within a Week.

The Governor diſabled.

The King's Forces were too much diſpers'd to be fit for ſuch an Expedition; Prince *Maurice* had been ſent with a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons to attend the active Sir *William Waller*, who in the midſt of various Rangings took the City of *Hereford*, and after that joyn'd the Earl of *Eſſex*. It had been alſo thought neceſſary for the clearing of many Obſtructions in the King's Affairs, not without Deſign of guarding the Queen to *Oxford*, if her Majeſty were ready for the Journey, at leaſt to ſecure a neceſſary Supply of Powder, That Prince *Rupert* ſhou'd march towards the *North* with a Party of twelve Hundred Horſe and Dragoons, and ſix or ſeven Hundred Foot. With which Force he advanc'd towards the City of *Litchfield*; which if once reduc'd and garriſon'd, wou'd prove moſt convenient for that *Northern* Communication. In his March thither, he met with unexpected Oppoſition from the Inhabitants of *Bromicham*, who having a Troop of Horſe belonging to *Litchfield* Garriſon, and Minds as ill affected as any Town whatſoever, were reſolv'd to give all Obſtructions to the Prince, who only deſir'd the Civility of one Day's Quarters. Accordingly from their little Works they fir'd with all Fury upon the King's Forces, but they were ſoon overpower'd by the Prince, who did not take that Vengeance upon them, as might have been expected from their Obſtinacy, or from their Riches. In this Action the loyal and valiant Earl of *Denbigh*, a brave Volunteer in the Prince's own Troop, receiv'd ſeveral Wounds, of which he dy'd within two or three Days, to the great Concern of the King and his Friends. From *Bromicham* the Prince immediately march'd and inveſted the *Cloſe* of *Litchfield*, which was now ſtrongly garriſon'd and fortify'd: At which Place, he receiv'd a ſolemn Letter from the King, who with all the Commiſeration and Tenderneſs of a common Parent, urg'd him ' to have a Care of ſhedding innocent Blood, to ſhew Mercy, and endeavour rather to take his Subjects Affections, than their Towns; that all his hoſtile Actions might appear to be neceſſitated, and not at all deſir'd. He adviſ'd him to imitate Him in carrying his Affections and Intentions to his Subjects, as to Friends that might be reconcil'd; ſince it ſhew'd a Prince more near to Heaven, to preſerve than deſtroy. As to the City of *Litchfield*, he deſir'd that all that wou'd, might have free Quarter, and march out with Bag and Baggage, provided they us'd no Outrages to the ſaid Place; declaring he deſir'd nothing but the Happineſs and peaceable Government of his Kingdom, and not the Effuſion of the Blood of his Subjects; *Mercy being the higheſt Attribute of a King*.'

During the Siege, Prince Rupert *ſent towards the* North.

The Earl of Denbigh *ſlain.*

The King's Letter to Prince Rupert.

The Wall that ſurrounded the *Cloſe*, which was further ſecur'd by a broad and deep Moat, was ſo thick and ſtrong, that the Beſiegers Batteries wou'd make no Impreſſion; Colonel *Rouſwell*, the Governour, was very reſolute, and the Garriſon numerous enough for the Ground they were to maintain, as well as the Proviſions ſufficient for a longer Time than the Prince cou'd loſe before it. So that it was judg'd, when his Highneſs had in vain attempted to gain it by Treaty, he wou'd have deſiſted; for in Effect his Strength conſiſted in Horſe, his Foot and Dragoons being unequal for ſuch an Enterprize. But, being a Place of Importance, he reſolv'd not to remove till he had try'd the utmoſt; and therefore he drew what additional Forces he cou'd out of the Country, to ſtrengthen his Foot, and perſuaded many Officers and Volunteers of the Horſe, to alight and bear their Parts in the Duty: ſo that in leſs than ten Days he had drawn the Mote dry, and prepar'd two Bridges for the Graff. The Garriſon within omitted nothing that cou'd be perform'd by brave and vigilant Men, kill'd and wounded many of the Beſiegers, and ruin'd one Mine they had prepar'd. At length, the Prince having got all Things in Readineſs for an Aſſault, he ſprung another Mine that made a Breach of twenty Foot in the Wall, in a Place leaſt ſuſpected by thoſe within: Yet they defended it with all poſſible Vigour and Reſolution, and beſides many kill'd, they wounded the Lord *Digby*, Colonel *Gerrard*, Colonel *Wagſtaff*, and Major *Leg*, and took the two laſt Priſoners; and when they had enter'd the Breach they continu'd the Diſpute ſo furiouſly within, that after they had kill'd Colonel *Uſher*, and other good Officers, and taken more Priſoners, they compell'd the Prince to conſent to very honourable Conditions. And ſo the Garriſon march'd out with all Reſpect, and the Prince's Acknowledgment of their couragious Defence; his Highneſs being pleas'd with the Conqueſt, tho' the Purchaſe had mightily ſhaken his Troops, and depriv'd him of many valuable Officers and Soldiers. He had ſcarcely finiſh'd his Work, when he receiv'd poſitive Orders from the King, To make all poſſible Haſte, and with all the Strength he cou'd make, to come to the Relief of *Reading*. Upon which, having appointed Colonel *Bagot* to be Governour, and order'd his Forces to follow him with all Speed, his Highneſs with a few Servants came to *Oxford* to attend the King, who was juſt before advanc'd towards *Reading*.

Prince Rupert *takes* Litchfield, *and returns to the King.*

The Importunity of that Garriſon had caus'd his Majeſty to draw what Force he cou'd, not ſo much to remove the Beſiegers, as to preſerve his Men in the Town, which was the utmoſt of his Expectations. When the King drew near the Town, the Day being paſs'd on which Relief was expected, he was engag'd by a Party of the Enemy, and after a ſharp Conflict, his Party, conſiſting of near a Thouſand Muſqueteers, were forc'd to retire to their Body; which they did the ſooner, becauſe thoſe in the Town made no Show of joining with them, on which they principally rely'd. The Reaſon was, the Garriſon had juſt before ſent for a Parly to the Enemy, a Truce agreed on, and Hoſtages exchang'd. Upon a View of the Enemies Strength, all agreed that the King's Forces were neither ſufficient to raiſe the Siege, nor to joyn with thoſe in the Town; in which melancholy Concluſion his Majeſty retir'd for the preſent, reſolving upon any other reaſonable Attempt the next Day. In the mean Time Colonel *Fielding* the Governor, with ſome others, found Means to eſcape out of the Town by Night, and told the King ' That they were in Treaty, and believ'd he might have good Conditions, and Liberty to march away with all their Arms and Baggage;' which was ſo welcome News to the King, that he order'd him in the Preſence of the Prince, ' To accept of ſuch Conditions, if he cou'd pro-

‘ cure them:’ For indeed the Men and the Arms were all his Majeſty deſir'd, the Loſs of either of which might prove fatal to him. So after twelve Days Siege, on the 27th of *April*, the Town was ſurrender'd upon honourable Terms, conſiſting of ſix Articles, in Subſtance, ‘ All the ‘ Forces were to march out in Warlike Manner, with ‘ fifty Carts for Carriage, to have free Paſſage to *Oxford*, ‘ the Town to be ſav'd from Plunder, and whoſoever ‘ wou'd, might have Liberty to leave it within ſix Weeks ‘ after, only ſuch Perſons excepted, as had run away from ‘ the Army under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*.’ But as the Garriſon march'd out through the Enemies Guards, the Soldiers were not only very much abus'd, but many of them diſarm'd, and moſt of the Waggons plunder'd, in the Preſence of the Earl of *Eſſex* and his chief Officers; who ſeem'd offended at it, and unable to curb the Unrulineſs of the common Soldiers. As this Breach of Articles was notorious and inexcuſable, ſo it laid a Foundation and Excuſe for barbarous Injuſtice of the ſame Kind throughout the greateſt Part of the War; ſo that the King's Soldiers afterwards, when it was their Turns to obſerve Agreements, mutinouſly remember'd the Violation at *Reading*; which meeting with Retaliations, ſtill added to the common Miſeries of the War.

Reading *ſurrender'd upon Articles.*

The King was highly pleas'd that he recover'd near four thouſand good Men, who were in great Danger of being loſt; but in a little Time he was diſturb'd by the Whiſpers and Complaints of ſeveral about him, againſt the Behaviour of Colonel *Fielding*, and his Surrender of the Town. And indeed his Majeſty was deeply concern'd at the Clauſe of Exception of ſuch Perſons as had run away from the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, which he ſaid and found to be no leſs *than giving up thoſe poor Men, who out of Conſcience had claim'd his Protection, to be murder'd by the Rebels they had deſerted.* Wherefore he publiſh'd a Proclamation, ‘ In which he diſclaim'd that Exception, as made without ‘ his Conſent or Knowledge, declaring he wou'd run any ‘ Hazard or Danger, rather than withdraw his Protection ‘ to any, who ſhou'd betake themſelves to his Service.’ So that Colonel *Fielding* in a ſhort Time was brought to his Tryal before a Council of War; where after many Allegations and Anſwers, without any Proof of Treachery againſt him, he was condemn'd upon an Article *of not obeying Orders*, and ſentenc'd to loſe his Head; which Judgment, after long Interceſſion, was mercifully remitted by the King, but his Regiment diſpos'd to another, without ever being reſtor'd to that Command. This Accident prov'd very unfortunate to the King; for from this, the troubleſome Factions, in Court, Army and City began to take their Date and Original: Great Animoſities grew between the Officers of the Army; ſome being thought too violent in the Proſecution of the Colonel, and too much to countenance the Clamours of the common Soldiers againſt him; and others were as much condemn'd for a palpable avow'd Protection of him againſt all Powers: And his Cauſe being doubtful and intricate, moſt Perſons were ready to believe according to their Inclinations to his Perſon; ſo that his Tryal, his Condemnation, and his Pardon, were all Matters of Offence to many People. What added to the preſent Troubles was the low Condition of the King, who believ'd his Caſe to be ſo bad, that upon the News of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Advance towards *Oxford*, a few Days after the Loſs of *Reading*, by the Advice of his chief Officers, he once reſolv'd to march towards the *North*, and joyn with the Earl of *Newcaſtle*. And if the Earl of *Eſſex* had at that Time but made any Shew of moving with his whole Body that Way, it is verily believ'd, that *Oxford* itſelf, and all the neighbouring Garriſons had been quitted by them. Mr. *Hampden*, and all who deſir'd to ſtrike at the Root, were for the Siege of *Oxford*, then but meanly fortify'd; but it ſeems the Earl of *Eſſex* had other Proſpects; and a judicious Writer tells us, that after the Battel of *Edge-Hill*, it was not his Deſire that either Side ſhou'd be intire Conquerors; but that the Scales ſhou'd be kept even, that both Parties might be more willing to come to an Accommodation.

Colonel Fielding *condemn'd, but pardon'd.*

The King's low Condition.

It is gradually better'd.

2. Within a few Days Time the King's Affairs prov'd to be in a better State, and the Condition of the Parliament worſe than it was believ'd at the gaining of *Reading*, which was celebrated at *London* with great Feſtivity. For beſides the gradual Encreaſe, and frequent Succeſſes of the King's Party, the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army began ſenſibly to decline, by means of their late hard Service, wet and cold Seaſon, and their growing Diſtempers; and the repeated Importunities of that General for Supplies of all Kinds, together with his daily Complaints to his Maſters, occaſion'd new Diviſions and Animoſities, both in the Houſes and the City. The diſreſpectful and abrupt breaking off the Treaty at *Oxford*, began to be cenſur'd mith more Freedom; the Commiſſioners thought themſelves diſoblig'd, and complain'd of Jealouſies which had been entertain'd of their Integrity; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, being provok'd at *Harry Martin*'s Inſolence formerly mention'd, cudgell'd him in the *Painted-Chamber*, at the End of a Conference between both Houſes; which occaſion'd many Swords to be drawn, to the great Scandal of that high Aſſembly. And after all thoſe Mountains of Promiſes, and Undertakings, the Parliament's Wants became greater, and the City was importun'd for more Mony; and inſtead of diſperſing the King's Army, and bringing him back to his Parliament, a new Direction was given to improve the Lines about *London* and *Weſtminſter*, leſt the King's Forces ſhou'd break in upon them; which made their Condition ſeem worſe than it really was. Yet ſo far were they from any Thoughts of Peace, that the Commons rag'd more furiouſly than ever; and daily engag'd themſelves in Concluſions more exorbitant, than they had yet attempted: And for a full Supply, they propos'd ſetling and impoſing an Exciſe, upon ſuch Commodities as might beſt bear it; which was a Burthen with which the People of *England* had reproach'd other Nations, as a Mark of Slavery, and never felt by themſelves: Then for the Exerciſe of the Sovereign Power, they reſolv'd to make a new Great Seal, to be always reſident with the Houſes; but the Lords at preſent refus'd to comply with that bold Step.

An Exciſe laid by the Parliament.

In the mean Time the King's Party ſhew'd themſelves ſucceſsful in ſeveral Places; particularly the brave young Earl of *Northampton* began to ſacrifice to the Memory of his Father, and valiantly encounter'd a Party of Horſe and Foot from *Northampton*, who thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attempt *Banbury*; and having routed their Horſe, kill'd above two hundred of their Foot, and took as many more Priſoners: This hapned on the ſixth Day of *May*. This was ſhortly after ſucceeded by a more important Action in another Part of the Kingdom, againſt the Earl of *Stamford*, who march'd into *Cornwall* with a Body of fourteen hundred Horſe and Dragoons, and five thouſand four hundred Foot, with a Train equal and Ammunition proportionable. However the King's Party in *Cornwall*, tho' not half ſo ſtrong in Number, reſolv'd to oppoſe them, and march'd againſt them under the Conduct of the valiant Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who had been ſo ſucceſsful at *Bradock-Down* near *Leskard*. And hearing that the greateſt Part of their Horſe were ſent another Way under the Command of Sir *George Chudleigh*, and the reſt ſtrongly encamp'd upon the Top of a high Hill, they reſolv'd to attack them, tho' they had every Way the Diſadvantage, as to Numbers, Ammunition and Situation. Being incourag'd by ſeveral brave Commanders, they attempted their Aſcent up the ſteep Hill four ſeveral Ways, and continu'd the Fight from five in the Morning till three in the Afternoon, with invincible Bravery, having been often driven back, and as often return'd. Major-General *Chudleigh*, who order'd the Battel under the Earl of *Stamford*, valiantly charg'd againſt a Stand of Pikes commanded by Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, to the diſordering his Party, and the overthrowing his Perſon; but Sir *John Berkley* came in ſeaſonably, and reſtor'd the Fortune of the Day, by taking the Major-General Priſoner. Towards the End of the Day, the ſeveral Parties, after infinite Fatigue, met on the Top of the Hill with mighty Shouts of Joy, and Praiſes to the Almighty; having routed the Enemy on all Sides. This Victory, which in Subſtance as well as Circumſtance was very ſignal, was purchas'd with the Loſs of only fourſcore Men, and the Wounding of more; but of the Enemy, they kill'd three hundred upon the Spot, took ſeventeen hundred Priſoners, with their Major-General, and above thirty Officers, all their Baggage, Cannon and Ammunition, being thirteen Pieces of Braſs Ordnance and a Mortar Piece, ſeventy Barrels of Powder, with a great Magazine of Biſket, and other excellent Proviſions. This Battel was fought on the ſixteenth Day of *May*, near *Stratton* in *Cornwall* by the Borders of *Devonſhire*, by which all that Point of the *Weſt* was ſoon reduc'd to the King's entire Obedience, except *Plymouth*; for which important Service, the King not long after honour'd the General, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, with the Title of Baron *Hopton* of *Stratton*, from the Place where he gain'd this noble Victory.

The Fight at Stratton. Sir Ralph Hopton *Victor.*

The Earl of *Stamford* fled to *Exeter*, and charg'd all the Misfortune upon the Treachery of Major-General *Chudleigh*, who certainly had done his utmoſt before he was taken Priſoner. He was a Man of excellent Parts and Courage, and of a generous and noble Diſpoſition; who now reflecting upon the Ingratitude as well as Unreaſonableneſs of that Party for whom he had often ventur'd his Life, and the Humanity and indeed Piety of thoſe Commanders who now had him in Poſſeſſion, he declar'd *he was convinc'd in his Conſcience and Judgment*, and ſo return'd intirely to the King. His Father alſo, Sir *George Chudleigh*, after he had with Difficulty and Loſs of many of his Horſe got into *Plymouth*, laid down his Commiſſion,

Sir George Chudleigh *his Return and Declaration.*

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ſion, and joyn'd with the King's Forces; but to ſatisfy his Friends with the Reaſons of this Change, he publiſh'd a ſhort Declaration to this Effect, and worthy of ſome Notice. 'That *Petitions of Right* are commendable, and '*Remonſtrances* may be lawful, but *Arms*, tho' defenſive, 'are very doubtful. My Lot fell to be caſt on the Parliament's Side, by a ſtrong Opinion of the Goodneſs of their 'Cauſe, which to my Judgment then appear'd to be ſo: '*Religion* and the Subjects *Liberty* ſeem'd to me to be in 'Danger, but the Deſtruction of Kingdoms cannot be the 'Way to ſave it, nor can the Loſs of Chriſtian Subjects, 'nor the Subjects Loſs of their Eſtates by Plunder or Aſ'ſeſsment, concur with *Piety*, nor yet with *Property*. 'As for *Religion*, which is the chief, his Majeſty has given 'us unqueſtionable Security. I have caſt my ſelf at my 'Sovereign's Feet, and implor'd his gracious Pardon, and 'I will contend no more in Word or Deed. And this 'my Reſolution, with the undiſputable Grounds thereof, 'I thought good to declare to my Friends and Country'Men, that they may underſtand my Change to proceed 'from no Compulſion, but the Neceſſity of ceaſing this 'deſtructive War, unleſs we wou'd become the wilful 'Authors of the Calamities we wou'd decline.

The King's Meſſage to the two Houſes of Parliament.

3. When the News of this Victory was freſh, and the King had receiv'd a ſtrong Party of Horſe, and a large Supply of Ammunition, from the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, his Majeſty reſolv'd once more to try the Inclinations of the two Houſes, and on the twentieth of *May* ſent this Meſſage to them by an expreſs Servant of his own. 'Since his Ma'jeſty's Meſſage of the twelfth of *April*, above a Month a'go, had procur'd no Anſwer from both Houſes, his Ma'jeſty might well believe himſelf abſolv'd, before God and 'Man, from the leaſt poſſible Neglect in uſing his utmoſt 'Endeavours for Peace: Yet when he conſiders, that the 'Scene of all this Calamity is within the Bowels of his 'Kingdom; that all the Blood which is ſpilt, is of his own 'Subjects; and that what Victory ſoever God ſhall pleaſe 'to give him, muſt be over thoſe who ought not to lift up 'their Hands againſt him: When he conſiders, that theſe 'deſperate Diſſentions may encourage a Foreign Enemy to 'make a Prey of the whole Nation; that *Ireland* is in pre'ſent Danger to be totally loſt; that the heavy Judgments 'of God, Plague, Peſtilence and Famine, will be the ine'vitable Attendants of this unnatural Contention; and that 'there will ſoon be ſo general a Habit of Uncharitableneſs 'and Cruelty, contracted through the Kingdom, that even 'Peace it ſelf will not reſtore his People to their old Tem'per and Security; his Majeſty cannot but again call for 'an Anſwer to that his gracious Meſſage, which gives ſo 'fair a Riſe to end theſe unnatural Diſtractions.' Then he informs them of the Strength of his Army, and the Plenty of his Ammunition, and lets them know, 'That No'thing but the Tenderneſs and Love to his People, *&c.* 'cou'd move him once more to hazard a Refuſal. And 'he requires them, as they will anſwer to God, Himſelf 'and the World, that they will no longer ſuffer their Fel'low-Subjects to welter in each other's Blood; that they 'wou'd remember by whoſe Authority, and to what End 'they met in that Council, and ſend ſuch an Anſwer to him 'as may open a Door to a firm Peace and Security to the 'whole Kingdom. If his Majeſty be again diſappointed, 'the Blood, Rapine and Deſtruction, which may follow in '*England* and *Ireland*, will be caſt upon the Account of 'thoſe, who are deaf to the Motives of Peace and Accom'modation.

The Fury of the Houſe of Commons.

This Meſſage made a great Impreſſion, and was receiv'd by the Houſe of Lords with all the Marks of Reſpect and Duty, and the Meſſenger very civilly treated by them; but when they communicated it to the Commons, and deſir'd their Concurrence in preparing an Addreſs anſwerable to this gracious Invitation, that Houſe was ſo far from complying, that they gave immediate Order for the Apprehenſion and Commitment of the Gentleman who brought the Meſſage; and declar'd, 'That they wou'd proceed againſt 'him at a Council of War,' upon the Order they had made when the Treaty was at *Oxford*, 'That any Perſon coming 'from *Oxford* without a Paſs from their General, or one 'of the Houſes, ſhou'd be puniſh'd as a Spy:' To which Order, as the Peers had never conſented, ſo the King never had Notice of it, till this Commitment; they Themſelves having, after the making of it, ſent ſeveral Meſſengers to the King, without any ſuch Formality. This was extreamly ſhocking to the Lords, who us'd all Diligence, publickly and privately, to divert this Courſe, but without Effect. The Commons were diſturb'd at the Kindneſs of the Meſſage, and finding that the very Imagination of a Peace vaſtly retarded their carrying on the War, they reſolv'd to proceed with that Vigour and Reſolution, that no reaſonable Man ſhou'd believe it poſſible for the King to gain a Peace, but by a total ſubduing of them. To this Purpoſe, inſtead of returning any Anſwer to the King's Meſſage, within three Days after the receiving it, they made a new bold Step, and impeach'd the Queen of High-Treaſon, 'For aſſiſting the King her Husband with Arms and 'Ammunition, in the Proſecution of the War againſt 'Them;' and Mr. *Pym* himſelf carry'd up the Impeachment to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, where he promis'd to bring particular Articles in due Time. This unprecedented Action was extreamly ſurpriſing to the World, but was reſented with leſs Indignation from the Queen, than might have been expected from her Temper; as appears from a Letter ſhe wrote ſoon after to the Marqueſs, now made Duke of *Hamilton*, in which ſhe has theſe Words, *God forgive them for their Rebellion, as I aſſure you I forgive them from my Heart, for what they do againſt Me.*

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Car. 19.

They Impeach the Queen of High-Treaſon.

At this Time their Clergy ſounded their Trumpets louder to War than ever, if it was poſſible; and they reſolv'd, That the Aſſembly of Divines, to which at the Treaty they had urg'd the King's Conſent, ſhou'd now meet by an Ordinance of their own, with an Addition of ſome Members of either Houſe. And there having been formerly a Deſign of Prince *Rupert* upon the City of *Briſtol*, by Correſpondence with ſome of the chief Inhabitants, but ſo unskilfully or unhappily carried on, that when the Prince was near the Town with a reaſonable Force, it was diſcover'd; and many principal Citizens apprehended by Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, then Governour of that City for the Parliament; at this Time they ſent ſpecial Directions and Orders thither, 'That he ſhou'd with all Severity and Expedition 'proceed againſt thoſe Conſpirators:' And thereupon, by a Sentence and Judgement of a Council of War, Alderman *Yeomans*, who had been High-Sheriff of the City, and of great Reputation in it, and *George Bourchier* another Citizen of principal Account, were both hang'd, notwithſtanding all the Interpoſition of the King and his Friends to the contrary; and all other imaginable Acts were done, to let the World ſee that there was no Way to Peace, but by the Ruins of the Sword.

Yeomans *and* Bourchier *hang'd at* Briſtol.

Mr. Waller's *Plot.*

4. Notwithſtanding all theſe vigorous Proceedings, the Leaders and Promoters of the War met with many Difficulties and Impediments from Men of more Moderation and leſs Intereſt in the Proſecution of it; and the natural Bent of the People, which was daily diverted and ſupported by Art, tended much to their Diſcouragement. But in this Exigency, there hapned a moſt relieving Accident, the Diſcovery of a Plot, which gave them many Advantages, as to Union, Reputation and Authority. This intricate Conſpiracy is beſt known by the Name of Mr. *Waller*'s Plot; a Gentleman of the Houſe of Commons, of near four Thouſand a Year, formerly mention'd, and of admirable Parts and Faculties of Poetry and Eloquence. He always kept his Meaſures with the Court, and ſo behav'd himſelf, that the Royaliſts believ'd him in their Intereſts, and went ſo far as to diſapprove the hot Counſels of thoſe, who for private Ends oppos'd the publick Tranquillity. When the War broke out, tho' for a while he abſented himſelf, he did not forſake the Houſe, but follow'd the Opinion of the Earl of *Dorſet*, and the Neuters; and yet he was ſo generous as to ſend the King a Thouſand Broad-Pieces, when he was in his loweſt Condition at *Nottingham*, as appears from a Manuſcript quoted in his Life. His generous Freedom in ſome of his Speeches, which was greater than others durſt imitate, won him a great Reputation with all who wiſh'd well to the King; and ſuch Lords and Commons as really deſir'd to prevent the Ruin of the Kingdom enter'd into great Familiarity with him, as a Man reſolute to their Deſigns, and beſt able to promote them; and all Men ſpoke their Minds freely to him, and thought themſelves ſecure in his great Fortune, and his natural Warineſs.

His Character.

His Deſign with Mr. Tomkins *and others.*

Mr. *Waller* had a Siſter marry'd to one Mr. *Tomkins*, Clerk of the Queen's Council, a Gentleman of a very good Character, and great Intereſt and Reputation in the City, among thoſe who were for the old Conſtitution, and diſaffected to the Parliament; from whence he learnt the Diſpoſition of the Citizens upon all Accidents, which he freely communicated to his Brother *Waller*, as the latter imparted to him what Obſervations he had made from thoſe of his Acquaintance. Mr. *Waller* inform'd him how many Lords and Commons were for a Peace; Mr. *Tomkins* made the ſame Relation with reſpect to the moſt ſubſtantial Men of *London*; which Mr. *Waller* reported to the well-affected Members of both Houſes, and Mr. *Tomkins* to the Citizens of the ſame Inclinations. From whence they came to a Concluſion, 'That if they heartily united 'in the mutual Aſſiſtance of each other, they ſhou'd be able 'to reſtrain the Power of thoſe Tumults, which gave 'Countenance to the Diſtractions, and the Houſe wou'd 'be induc'd to Terms of Moderation.' At the ſame Time the Lord *Conway* coming from *Ireland*, incens'd againſt the *Scots* abroad, and diſcontented with the Parliament at home, finding Mr. *Waller* eſteem'd by the Earl of *Northumberland*, and intimate with the Earl of *Portland*, enter'd into the ſame Society; and being more of a Soldier, in the Diſcourſes they held, inſinuated, ‘ That it was convenient to enquire into the Numbers of the well-affected in the City, that they might better foreſee whom they might truſt:’ Which being told by Mr. *Waller* to Mr. *Tomkins*, the latter imparted it to his Confidents there, and it was particularly agreed, ‘ That ſome truſty Perſon in every Pariſh and Ward about *London* ſhou'd make a Liſt of all the Inhabitants, and by gueſſing of their ſeveral Affections, compute the Strength of the Party which oppos'd an Accommodation, and of that which was really for it.’ The Lord *Clarendon* declares, he is perſuaded the main Deſign of this Project was, to form a Sort of an Aſſociation, to oppoſe the levying Taxes to carry on the War, and to petition for a Peace; but as to the letting the King's Army into *London*, raiſing an Army there, ſurpriſing the Parliament, or uſing any Violence in or againſt the City, all Subjects of the Parliament's Exclamations, he cou'd ſee no real Cauſe to believe it.

Another Diſcovery joyn'd with it.

But there unfortunately hapned another Accident and Diſcovery, which tho' intirely diſtinct from this, was moſt artfully blended with it, to the great Advantage of the leading Party, who had Skill ſufficient to make it paſs for the ſame Conſpiracy. This was occaſion'd by Sir *Nicolas Criſp*, a rich Citizen of a great Trade, and a very active Man, who had been ſeverely proſecuted by the Commons, and driven from *London*, for appearing too zealous in a City Petition for Peace. This Gentleman having induſtriouſly preſerv'd his Correſpondence in the City, after many Arguments, prevail'd upon the King at *Oxford* to grant a Commiſſion under the Great Seal to Him, and ſome other Perſons, in the Nature of a *Commiſſion of Array*; not doubting but in due Time to ſee the good Effects of it. The King was unwillingly perſuaded to grant this Commiſſion, and with that Secrecy, that it was not known to any Counſellor, or Miniſter of State about him at that Time. After it was Seal'd at Sir *Nicolas*'s Requeſt, it was carefully deliver'd to the Lady *Aubigney*, who had leave from the Parliament to finiſh ſome Buſineſs at *Oxford*, and by her as carefully carry'd to *London*, and there deliver'd to a Perſon who was appointed to call for it, without ſo much as her Ladyſhip's knowing what it was. It does not appear by what means this Commiſſion was diſcover'd; only it was diſcover'd about the ſame time with Mr. *Waller*'s Plot, and the Lady *Aubigney*, and ſome whoſe Names were in it, tho' without their Privity, taken into Cuſtody.

The Diſcovery of Mr. *Waller*'s Plot is variouſly related: The foremention'd Manuſcript ſays, That after he had conferr'd with ſome Loyal Citizens and others, about recovering the City into the King's Intereſt, he was betray'd by his Siſter *Price*, and her Presbyterian Chaplain Mr. *Good*, who ſtole ſome of his Papers; and if he had not ſtrangely dream'd, the Night before he was ſeiz'd, that his Siſter betray'd him, and thereupon burnt the reſt of his Papers by a Fire left in his Chimney, he had certainly loſt his Life for it. But the Lord *Clarendon* tells us, That a Servant of Mr. *Tomkins*, who had curſorily overheard the Diſcourſes of Mr. *Waller* and his Maſter, plac'd himſelf behind the Hangings, and heard them ſay enough to put him upon Informing, in hopes of a Reward; and ſo went to Mr. *Pym*, and acquainted him with all he had heard, or probably imagin'd. However it was diſcover'd, the Circumſtances of the Publiſhing it were ſuch, as fill'd all Mens Minds with Apprehenſions. It was on *Wedneſday* the thirty firſt of *May*, their Solemn Faſt Day, when being all at their Sermon in St. *Margaret*'s Church in *Weſtminſter*, a Letter was brought to Mr. *Pym*, who with ſome of the moſt active Members roſe from their Seats, and after a little whiſpering together went out of the Church, which ſtrangely affected thoſe that ſtay'd behind. Orders were immediately ſent to ſearch all their Priſoners, who were *Malignants*; and as ſoon as the Houſes cou'd meet, they were told, ‘ That Letters were intercepted going to the Court at *Oxford*, expreſſing ſome notable Conſpiracy in hand, to deliver up the Parliament and the City into the Hands of the *Cavaliers*, and the Time for the Execution drew near.’ Upon which a ſelect Committee was appointed to examine all Perſons they thought fit, and to apprehend ſome nominated at that time; accordingly Mr. *Waller* and Mr. *Tomkins* were ſecur'd the ſame Night, and others the next Day. Mr. *Waller*, who had led a Life of Gallantry, was now ſo confounded with Fear, that he confeſs'd whatever he had ſaid, heard, thought, or ſeen; all that he knew of himſelf, and all that he ſuſpected of others, without concealing any Perſon of what Degree or Quality ſoever, or any Diſcourſe he had occaſionally held with them. And particularly he accus'd the Earl of *Portland* and the Lord *Conway* of being concern'd in the Agitations in the City, and the Earl of *Northumberland* of being a Well-Wiſher to their Deſigns.

Mr. Waller's *Deſign diſcover'd.*

The Committee being thus furniſh'd, they took the Examinations of Mr. *Tomkins*, and ſuch others as they thought convenient, and having gotten the foremention'd Commiſſion into their Hands, they ſubtlely joyn'd Sir *Nicolas Criſp*'s and Mr. *Waller*'s Projects together, and curiouſly moulded them into one Plot and Conſpiracy, aggravated with all the Art and Eloquence of the ruling Mr. *Pym*: And acquainting the Houſes with ſo much as they thought yet ſeaſonable to publiſh, without naming any Perſons but thoſe in Cuſtody, and without communicating any of the Examinations, they declar'd, ‘ That the Original of this Conſpiracy was from the late *London* Petition for a Peace;’ and after ſome general Reflections, and likewiſe ſome particular Accuſations of thoſe they had impriſon'd, they declar'd, ‘ That the Particulars of the Deſign appear'd to be, 1. To ſeize into their Cuſtody the King's Children: 2. To ſeize ſeveral Members of both Houſes, the Lord Mayor, and Committee of the Militia, under Pretence of bringing them to a Legal Tryal: 3. To ſeize upon the Outworks, Forts, Tower of *London*, Magazines, Gates and other Places of Importance in the City: 4. To let in the King's Forces to ſurpriſe the City, and to deſtroy all thoſe who ſhou'd oppoſe them by Authority of the Parliament: 5. By Force of Arms to reſiſt all Payments impos'd by Authority of Parliament, rais'd for the Support of the Armies employ'd for their juſt Defence, *&c.* To ſuſpend, if not alter the whole Government of the City, and with the Aſſiſtance of the King's Forces, *to Awe and Maſter the Parliament.* All which was order'd to be read in all the Churches and Chappels in *London* and *Weſtminſter*.

The Parliament's Declaration upon both.

5. Plots are the dark Parts of Hiſtory, Plants of quick Growth, with ſmall Roots and large Branches; almoſt inviſible in their Cauſes, but viſible enough in their Effects: Of which the firſt as to this, was a Solemn Day of Thankſgiving to God for this wonderful Deliverance, and next a new Kind of Ingagement and Security, form'd by the two Houſes, intitled, *A Sacred Vow and Covenant*, &c. The Preamble of which intimates, ‘ That ſince there has been a Popiſh Deſign to ſubvert the Proteſtant Religion, and a Popiſh Army to ſupport that Deſign, and ſince there had been a treacherous and horrid *Plot* lately diſcover'd, it was thought fit, that all Perſons true-hearted and Lovers of their Country, ſhou'd bind themſelves in the following Sacred Vow and Covenant: I *A. B.* in Humility and Reverence of the Divine Majeſty, declare my hearty Sorrow for my own Sins, and the Sins of this Nation, which have deſerv'd the Calamities and Judgments that now lye upon it: And my Intention is, by God's Grace, to endeavour the Amendment of my own Ways; and I do further in the Preſence of Almighty God *Declare*, *Vow*, and *Covenant*, That in order to the Security and Preſervation of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, and Liberty of the Subject, I will not conſent to the laying down of Arms, ſo long as the *Papiſts*, now in open War againſt the Parliament, ſhall by Force of Arms be protected againſt the Juſtice thereof. And that I do abhor and deteſt the wicked and treacherous *Deſign* lately diſcover'd; and that I never gave, nor will give my Aſſent to the Execution thereof, and will according to my Power and Vocation oppoſe and reſiſt the ſame, and all other of the like Nature. And in caſe any other *like Deſign* ſhall hereafter come to my Knowledge, I will make ſuch timely Diſcovery as I ſhall conceive may beſt conduce to the preventing thereof. And whereas I do in my Conſcience believe, That the Forces rais'd by the two Houſes of Parliament, *are rais'd and continu'd for their juſt Defence, and for the Defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, and Liberty of the Subject*; that I will according to my Power and Vocation, aſſiſt the Forces rais'd and continu'd by both Houſes of Parliament, againſt the Forces rais'd by the King, againſt their Conſent: And I will likewiſe aſſiſt all other Perſons that ſhall take this *Oath*, in what they ſhall do in purſuance thereof; and will not directly, or indirectly adhere unto, nor ſhall willingly aſſiſt the Forces rais'd by the King, *without the Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.*------This was finiſh'd upon the ſixth Day of *June*: And tho' many were ſtartled at the Preamble, as void of Truth, and at the promiſing Part as a moſt fatal Denunciation of War, and Proteſtation againſt Peace; yet Fear, and other Motives ſo operated, that there was not a Member of either Houſe, but what took it. And being thus intangled themſelves, they ſent their Committee into the City, to engage them in the ſame Vow and Covenant, which was readily receiv'd; and by the Induſtry of their Preachers taken ſooner than was expected throughout that People. From whence it was tranſmitted to the Army, and after that became a Mark of Diſtinction; ſo that whoſoever refus'd it, was look'd upon and treated as a high *Malignant*.

They make a Sacred Vow and Covenant.

Which is taken throughout the City and Army.

Being thus ſecured againſt future Clamours for Peace, they proceeded to try their Priſoners by a Council of War, particularly Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Chaloner*, a Citizen of good Wealth and Credit, Mr. *Alexander Hampden*, who brought the

Mr. Tomkins *and* Mr. Chaloner *condemn'd and executed.*

the laſt Meſſage from the King; one *Haſſel*, another of the King's Meſſengers who had often paſs'd between *London* and *Oxford* upon publick Occaſions, and ſome Citizens, whoſe Names were in the Commiſſion ſent from *Oxford*. By this Council Mr. *Tomkins* and Mr. *Chaloner* were condemn'd to be hang'd; and both were executed with all Circumſtances of Severity and Cruelty; the Former on a Gibbet by his own Houſe in *Holborn*, where he had long liv'd with ſingular Eſtimation; and the Latter by his Houſe in *Cornhill* near the *Exchange*. In their dying Speeches they clear'd themſelves from ſome Miſtakes and Aſperſions, but repented of being engag'd ſo far in a *fooliſh Buſineſs*, as Mr. *Tomkins* there call'd it. *Haſſel*, the Meſſenger, dy'd in Priſon the Night before his Tryal; and there being no Evidence againſt Mr. *Hampden*, but what came from Mr. *Waller*, they gave no Judgment againſt him, but kept him long in Priſon, till he dy'd; nor did they proceed capitally againſt thoſe Citizens whoſe Names were in the Commiſſion, ſince it did not appear they were us'd with their Conſent and Privity: But the Brand of being *Malignants* was ſufficient to hurry on their Ruin; for all their Eſtates were ſeiz'd, as well as theirs who were executed.

Mr. Waller's Behaviour.

The Earl of *Portland* and the Lord *Conway* were impriſon'd on Mr. *Waller*'s Accuſation, and often confronted with him before the Committee, and they as poſitively denying, as he charging them, and there being no other Witneſs againſt them, the Proſecution was rather dropp'd than relinquiſh'd, till after a long Confinement they procur'd Bail. The Earl of *Northumberland*, tho' charg'd by him to be a Well-Wiſher to the Conſpiracy, and therefore ſecretly hated by the Incendiaries, yet on the Account of his great Reputation and Intereſt, was proceeded againſt very tenderly. Mr. *Waller* himſelf was confeſſedly the moſt guilty, and by his unhappy Demeanour had rais'd many Enemies; therefore with incredible Artifice he acted ſuch a Remorſe of Conſcience, that he procur'd his Tryal to be deferr'd out of Compaſſion, till he might recover his Underſtanding, or rather till the Heat of his Proſecutors was abated: And then by drawing in Viſitants of the moſt powerful Miniſters of all Factions; and having by his Liberality and Penitence, his receiving their vile Sayings with Humility and Reverence, as clearer Convictions than ever he had before, and diſtributing great Sums for their Prayers and Ghoſtly Advice, ſo ſatisfy'd them, that they ſatisfy'd others, he appeal'd from the Council of War, and was allow'd to appear at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons.

He eſcapes with a Fine and Baniſhment.

Here he diſplay'd the utmoſt of his Art and Eloquence, and both his Language and Behaviour being highly captivating, he let looſe ſuch a Stream of Compliments and Flattery, as was exactly calculated to that Aſſembly, with ſuch Submiſſion as gratify'd their Pride, and ſuch Dejection of Spirit, as was like to impoſe upon the Belief of the Majority: He laid before them 'Their own Danger and Concernment, if they ſhou'd ſuffer one of their own Body, how unworthy and monſtrous ſoever, to be try'd by the Soldiers, who might thereby grow to that Power hereafter, That they wou'd try both Thoſe, they wou'd not be willing ſhou'd be try'd, and for Things, which they wou'd account no Crimes; the Inconvenience, and inſupportable Miſchief of which, all wiſe Common-Wealths had foreſeen, by exempting their own Members from all Judgments but their own.' By theſe and the like Arguments he prevail'd not to be try'd by a Council of War, but was taken out of the Cuſtody of their Officers, and ſent to the *Tower*; where he had Time to get his Friends to him, and to oblige ſome leading Members, particularly Mr. *Pym*; inſomuch that when his Cauſe came to be adjudg'd, his Life was ſpared; but he was forc'd to pay ten Thouſand Pounds, and ſubmit to Sequeſtration and Baniſhment. The noble Hiſtorian ſays, he as much ow'd the keeping his Head to that Oration, as *Catiline* did the Loſs of his to thoſe of *Tully*: And there cou'd not be a greater Evidence of the ineſtimable Value of his Parts, than that after this he liv'd in the good Affection and Eſteem of many, the Pity of moſt, and the Reproach of few or none at all. This was the Concluſion of Mr. *Waller*'s Plot, which beſides the new Covenant, produc'd a wonderful Animoſity againſt the King, a Prejudice to all Promoters of an Accommodation, and a Brand upon all Overtures of Peace, as ſo many Stratagems and Contrivances againſt the City.

The Earl of Eſſex *marches to* Thame.

VIII. I. During theſe violent Proceedings in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, the War like an ungovern'd Torrent overſpread the Nation, and rag'd in all Parts with the uſual Circumſtances of Severity, and threatning Marks of Deſolation. The Earl of *Eſſex*, after his taking of *Reading*, by means of great Sickneſs, ill Pay and Deſertion, had been detain'd ſix Weeks from any Action; and having brought his Army into as good a Condition as he cou'd, he march'd from thence to *Thame*, within ten Miles of *Oxford*, on the Borders of *Buckinghamſhire*. Here one Colonel *Hurry*, a valiant *Scotchman*, under ſome Pretence of Diſobligation, deſerted him, and was graciouſly receiv'd by the King at *Oxford*; and as a Proof of his Fidelity to the King, he gave Prince *Rupert* an Account of the Lodgment of the Parliament Horſe, and how looſe they were in their Quarters; and to give a further Teſtimony of it, he deſir'd to march a Voluntier with a good Party, to make an Attempt upon the Enemy. The Prince aſſigning him a ſtrong Party for the Service, he conducted him out of the common Road, till they got to a Town where a whole Regiment of Horſe was quarter'd, which they beat up, and kill'd or took moſt of the Officers and Soldiers, and then fell upon thoſe Quarters by which they had paſs'd, with the like Succeſs; and ſo return'd to *Oxford* with many Priſoners, and notable Damage to the Enemy.

Prince Rupert's *Attempt upon his Quarters, with Succeſs.*

Upon this Succeſs, he made another Propoſition to the Prince for attacking the Quarters near *Thame*; and aſſur'd him, *That if he undertook it, before there ſhou'd be any Alteration in Quarters, the Enterprize wou'd be worthy of it.* The Prince was ſo well ſatisfy'd with his former Performance, that he reſolv'd to forward the Attempt; ſo on the 17th of *June*, *Saturday* in the Evening, they iſſu'd out of the Ports of *Oxford*, and march'd beyond all the Quarters as far as *Wickham*, and fell in there at the farther End of the Town towards *London*, from whence no Enemy was expected, and ſo no Guards kept. A Regiment of Horſe and Foot, being lodg'd there, were all cut off, or taken Priſoners, and all the Horſes and a good Booty brought away. From thence they march'd backwards to another Quarter, within leſs than two Miles of the General's own Quarters, where his Men lodg'd with the ſame Security they had done at *Wickham*, not expecting any Enemy that Way, and ſo met with the ſame Fate, and were all kill'd, or made Priſoners. Thus having perform'd as much as was propos'd, and being laden with Priſoners and Booty, and the Sun being now riſing, the Prince thought it Time to retire to *Oxford*, and gave Orders to march with all convenient Speed, till they ſhou'd come to a Bridge yet two Miles from them, where he had appointed a Guard to favour their Retreat. But the Allarm being brought to the Earl of *Eſſex*, from all Quarters, he ſoon gather'd his neareſt Troops together, and directed them to follow the Prince, and divert him with Skirmiſhes, till Himſelf cou'd come up with his Foot, and ſome other Forces; in which he us'd the utmoſt Expedition. So that when the Prince had almoſt paſs'd a fair Plain, call'd *Chalgrave* Field, from whence he was to enter a Lane which continu'd to the Bridge, the Enemies Horſe were diſcover'd following them with all Speed. Upon which the Prince reſolv'd to make a Stand and expect them in the open Field, tho' his Horſe were all tired, and the Sun grown exceſſive hot; and ordering the Priſoners to be ſent to the Bridge, he plac'd himſelf as advantagiouſly as he cou'd to receive the Enemy, who came with more Haſte and leſs Order, than they ought to have done, as expecting nothing but Victory. But the Prince entertain'd them ſo roughly, that tho' they charg'd very bravely and gallantly, having many of their beſt Officers, of which the cheifeſt falling, the reſt in a ſhort Time fled, and were purſu'd till they came near the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Body; which being at near a Mile diſtance, and making a Stand to receive their flying Troops, and to be inform'd of their Diſaſter, the Prince haſtned his own Retreat, paſs'd the Lane, and came ſafe to the Bridge before any of the Earl's Forces came up to him. Thus about Noon he enter'd *Oxford* with a great Booty, in a Triumphant manner, and preſented Colonel *Hurry* to the King, with a great Teſtimony of his Courage and Conduct; upon which the King honour'd him with Knighthood, and with a Commiſſion to raiſe a Regiment of Horſe.

Mr. Hampden *ſlain.*

A further Account of him.

This Succeſs very much rais'd the Spirits at *Oxford*, and it was viſibly great in the Number of the Priſoners, of whom many were of Condition; and the Names of many Officers were known, who were left dead in the Field, as Colonel *Gunter*, one of the beſt Horſe Officers they had, and a Man of known Spite and Hatred to the Government of the Church. But that which moſt heightned the Advantage of the Victory, was the Fall of the great Mr. *Hampden*, who being ſhot into the Shoulder with a Brace of Bullets, as it is generally reported, which broke the Bone, within ſix Days after dy'd with great Torment; to the great Conſternation of all his Party, as if their whole Army had been deſtroy'd. Many Men obſerv'd that *Chalgrave* Field, where this Gentleman receiv'd his Death's Wound, was the ſame Place, in which he had firſt executed the Ordinance of the Militia, and engag'd that County, where his Reputation was very great, in this miſerable War. And it was acknowledg'd by all, that upon the great Allarm that Morning, he was more than ordinary ſollicitous in purſuing the Enemy; and being a Colonel of Foot, put himſelf as a Voluntier among thoſe Horſe who were firſt ready; and that when the Prince was at a Stand, and all the Officers of Opinion to ſtay till their Body came up, he by his ſole Intereſt and Authority, ſecond to none but the General himſelf, perſuaded and prevail'd with them to advance: So violently was he hurry'd by his Fate, to pay the Forfeiture in the Place where he had moſt ſignally committed the Tranſgreſſion. The King cou'd not but be tenderly affected for a Man of his known Abilities, and ſtill hop'd that he might ſo far oblige him, as to beget a right Underſtanding between him and the two Houſes; and therefore ſent Dr. *Giles*, an opulent Divine of his near Neighbourhood and Acquaintance, to go and ſee him, as from himſelf, and to offer him any Surgeon, or other Aſſiſtance he might then want. The Doctor much regretted this Command, and declar'd, *That he had ſeem'd ominous to him, at ſeveral Times when he had addreſs'd to him on his own Behalf: For when he and the other Prebendaries of* Windſor *were turn'd out of their Houſes, and his Waggons plunder'd contrary to his Paſſport, and applying to him for Relief, his Meſſenger arriv'd at that very Inſtant, when the News of the Death of his eldeſt Son came to him; and ſome Time after, falling into the like Calamity, his Meſſenger then met him with another that brought him News of his beloved Daughter, Mrs.* Knightley'*s Death; ſo that he fear'd to ſeem a Scritch-Owl to him.* However the Doctor ſent, and when he heard of a Meſſage from him, this poor Gentleman, tho' he was in a high Fever, and not very ſenſible, was much dejected and confounded at it. This is all we can learn as to the Death of this wonderful Man, whoſe Character we have in a great Meaſure given in another Place; only we ſhall add, that tho' he was ſo eminent a Patriot, yet wiſe Men are ſenſible he might have been purchas'd in the Beginning of this Parliament; and that he had a particular Ambition to be Governor to the Prince of *Wales*, ſo that he might have moulded him according to his own Principles. But after the King had accus'd him and the other Members of High-Treaſon, he became irreconcileable; and queſtionleſs when he firſt drew his Sword, he threw away the Scabbard: For he paſſionately oppos'd all Overtures of Accommodation, and was principally rely'd on to prevent all Impreſſions the Earl of *Eſſex* might receive towards a Peace, and in the main was more depended upon than the General Himſelf. When he undertook the Command of a Regiment, he ſhew'd himſelf a Man of Induſtry and Vigilance not to be tired out by the moſt Laborious, of Parts not to be impos'd upon by the moſt Subtle, and of Perſonal Courage equal to his brighteſt Parts; ſo prevalent in every Reſpect, that the Lord *Clarendon* compares him to the *Roman Cinna*, 'Who had a Head to contrive, a Tongue to perſuade, and a Hand to execute any Miſchief.' His Death therefore was a mighty Affliction to one Party, and ſeem'd no leſs a Deliverance to the other. As his Death was a great Surpriſe, ſo the Manner of it was very Uncommon, and generally unknown, as I am aſſured by a great Man, who ſays his Death's-Wound proceeded from the breaking of one of his Piſtols, which happen'd to be more than doubly charg'd. This was one of a choice Caſe preſented to him by his Son-in-law Sir *Robert Pye*, to carry on the War; and at the firſt Sight of him in his Illneſs, he cry'd out to him, *Ah* Robin, *your unhappy Preſent has been my Ruin!*

The Lord Fairfax *defeated.*

Shortly after this ill Succeſs to the Parliamentarians, the Earl of *Eſſex* and his Friends were diſcourag'd by the News from *Yorkſhire*, of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s having defeated the Lord *Fairfax*'s Forces at *Adderton Moor*, on the 29th of *June*, of his killing four or five Hundred Men, and his taking ſeveral Pieces of Ordnance, and many Priſoners. So that the General finding his Army weakned both by Sickneſs and Misfortune, and unable to form any great Deſign at preſent, he wrote a Letter to the Houſe of Commons, 'Informing them of his Condition, and *that the Cries of the poor People were infinite*; therefore adviſ'd them to ſend to his Majeſty to have Peace, upon reaſonable Security; or elſe, if the King wou'd pleaſe to abſent himſelf, to ſet a Day to give a Period to all thoſe unhappy Diſtractions by a Battel.' This occaſion'd new Debates in both Houſes; and particularly upon the Account of a late Proclamation publiſh'd by the King, 'Warning all his Subjects no longer to be miſ-led by the Votes, Orders and pretended Ordinances of One or Both Houſes, by reaſon the Members did not enjoy the Freedom of Parliament; with his gracious Offer of Pardon to the Members of both Houſes, and of Protection to ſuch of them as ſhou'd repair to him.' By which Proclamation, they alledg'd, 'That they were caſt out of his Protection as a Parliament, and thereby made incapable of Treating as ſuch; and that by their late *Vow* and *Covenant*, they had bound themſelves never to lay down Arms, ſo long as the Papiſts ſhou'd by Force be protected from the Juſtice of Parliament: And thereupon committed their General's Letter to return a ſatisfactory Anſwer to him; and that they wou'd recruit his Troops according to his Deſire.' However the Earl finding that the Factions and Animoſities at *London* requir'd his Preſence there, and that his Army wou'd be ſooner recruited there, than at ſo great a Diſtance, march'd directly from *Thame* to *London*, where he found ſufficient Jealouſy and Contention; leaving his Army quarter'd about St. *Alban*'s.

The Earl of Eſſex *writes for Peace.*

The Houſes Allegation.

The ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES.

2. Before the Earl's Arrival, the Houſes had effected their Project for the calling of an Aſſembly of Divines, who were to make ſuch a Reformation of Church Government and Liturgy, as they ſhou'd adviſe. The King did all he cou'd to prevent it, and by a Proclamation countermanded this Meeting, and charg'd the far greater Part of the Members with having no Learning or Reputation. And becauſe it was apt to be alledg'd, that there was a general Diſaffection in the Nation againſt Epiſcopacy and the eſtabliſh'd Liturgy, he had anticipated that Pretence, by publiſhing a Collection of Petitions to the Parliament for the Preſervation of both; in only ſeven of which the Number of Subſcribers amounted to 482 Lords and Knights, 1740 Eſquires and Gentlemen of Note, 631 Doctors and Divines, and no leſs than 44559 Free-Holders of good Name and Note. But at this Juncture the *Scotch* were in a ſpecial Manner to be oblig'd, therefore no Arguments or Authority cou'd divert their Deſign, from which Wonders were expected; but by an Ordinance of their own they appointed the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Bedford*, with eight other Peers; Mr. *Selden* and Mr. *Rouſe*, with eighteen more of the Commons, and Mr. *Palmer* and Mr. *Boules*, with about a Hundred and Eighteen other Divines, to conſtitute this famous Aſſembly. For the better ſecuring this Aſſembly, the Knights of the Shires made Choice of two to ſerve as Members of every County; ſo that of the whole Number, there were not above twenty, who were not declar'd Enemies to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*; among whom were Archbiſhop *Uſher*, Biſhop *Brownrigg*, Biſhop *Weſtfield*, Dr. *Featly*, and Dr. *Holdſworth*. The reſt were moſt *Presbyterians*, ſome *Browniſts*, with a few *Independents*, and ſome to repreſent the Kirk of *Scotland*; and the Lord *Clarendon* ſays, perhaps with too much Severity, that ſome were infamous in their Lives and Converſations, and moſt of them of very mean Parts in Learning, if not of ſcandalous Ignorance, and of no other Reputation than of Malice to the Church of *England*; ſo that that Convention never produc'd any Thing that might not then reaſonably have been expected from it. But in ſecular Matters, it ſerv'd as an Inſtrument to unite the different Intereſts of *England* and *Scotland*, and ſo to carry on the War with certain Fatality to the King.

The Perſons compoſing it.

On the firſt of *July* the Aſſembly met in the Chappel of King *Henry* the Seventh, and Dr. *William Twiſs*, a profound *Anti-Arminian*, was appointed Prolocutor by Order of the two Houſes of Parliament; and all were order'd four Shillings a Day for their Expences, and moſt of them rewarded with the beſt Livings, Lectorſhips, *&c.* Hearing of the Succeſs of the King's Forces in ſeveral Places, they deliver'd a peculiar Petition to the Houſes, humbly ſhewing, 'That upon the two late, ſad and unexpected Defeats of their Forces in the *North* and *Weſt*, they preſent unto their religious and prudent Conſiderations, Firſt, that they wou'd command a publick and extraordinary Day of Humiliation. Secondly, that they wou'd vouchſafe inſtantly to take it into their more ſerious Conſideration, how they may moſt ſpeedily ſet up *Chriſt* more gloriouſly in all his Ordinances within this Kingdom, and reform all Things amiſs throughout the Land. For which they humbly lay before them theſe Particulars. 1. The brutiſh Ignorance, and palpable Darkneſs of the People. 2. The grievous and heinous Pollution of the Lord's Supper, by admitting prophane and ignorant People to it. 3. The bold venting of corrupt Doctrines. 4. The Prophanation of any part of the Lord's Day and the Days of ſolemn Faſting. 5. A thorough and ſpeedy Proceeding againſt blind Guides and ſcandalous Miniſters. 6. The Laws to be quicken'd againſt Swearing and Drunkenneſs. 7. Severe Courſe to be taken againſt Fornication, Adultery and Inceſt. 8. All Monuments of Idolatry and Superſtition to be aboliſh'd. 9. Juſtice to be executed againſt all Delinquents. 10. Relief of our diſtreſſed Brethren Priſoners in *Oxford*, *York* and elſewhere, for the Cauſe of God. That ſo God, who is now by the Sword avenging the Quarrel of his *Covenant*, beholding your Integrity and Zeal, may turn from the Fierceneſs of his Wrath, hear our Prayers, go forth with our Armies, perfect the Work of Reformation, forgive our Sins, and ſettle Truth and Peace throughout the Kingdom. And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray, *&c.*

Their Petition to the Parliament.

The Spirit of this Aſſembly wou'd appear more from this Petition, if it was recited at large; and as to their Ignorance, at leaſt of ſome of them, that is expos'd by a Friend of their own, a Parliament Man, who ſat amongſt them, Mr. *Whitelock*, who tells us, That divers Members of both Houſes gave their Votes with the Divines in any

Matter in Conſideration amongſt them: In which Debates, he ſays Mr. *Selden* ſpoke admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own Learning. And ſometimes when they had cited a Text of Scripture to prove their Aſſertion, he wou'd tell them, *Perhaps in your little Pocket-Bibles with gilt Leaves*, which they wou'd often pull out and read, *the Tranſlation may be thus*; *but the* Greek *or the* Hebrew *ſignifies thus and thus*: And ſo wou'd totally ſilence thoſe Pretenders to Divinity. The learned Dr. *Featly* was almoſt the only Epiſcopal Divine who remain'd with them; and he became ſo uneaſy at their zealous Proceedings, that he gave Account of them in Letters to *Oxford*, and promis'd to withdraw from them; but his Letters being intercepted, he was not only expell'd the Aſſembly, but depriv'd of all his Eccleſiaſtical Preferments.

The King's Proteſtation.

And that great Man, Archbiſhop *Uſher*, was ſoon after voted out of the Aſſembly, only becauſe he refus'd to appear in it, and choſe rather to attend his Royal Maſter at *Oxford*; who being to receive the Sacrament from his Hands at *Chriſt-Church*, riſing from his Knees, and beckoning to the Archbiſhop for a ſhort Forbearance, made this ſolemn Proteſtation, *My Lord, I eſpy here many reſolved Proteſtants, who may declare to the World the Reſolution I do now make. I have, to the utmoſt of my Power, prepar'd my Soul to become a worthy Receiver: And may I ſo receive Comfort from the bleſſed Sacrament, as I do intend the Eſtabliſhment of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, as it ſtood in its Beauty in the happy Days of Queen* Elizabeth, *without any Connivance at Popery. I bleſs God, that in the midſt of theſe publick Diſtractions, I have ſtill Liberty to communicate: AND MAY THIS SACRAMENT BE MY DAMNATION, if my Heart do not joyn with my Lips in this Proteſtation.*

The Corniſh *Army joyn'd by Prince* Maurice, *&c.*

Several Places ſubmit to them.

3. To return to the Military Affairs; about the latter End of *June*, Prince *Maurice* and the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, with a conſiderable Body of Foot and more Horſe, were ſent to joyn the *Corniſh* Forces under Sir *Ralph Hopton*; which was ſucceſsfully done at *Chard* in *Somerſetſhire*; ſo that all together, they compos'd an Army of near ſeven Thouſand Men, with an excellent Train of Artillery, a great Quantity of Ammunition, and of ſo good a Reputation, that they might promiſe themſelves a ſpeedy Increaſe of their Numbers. *Taunton* was the firſt Place they reſolv'd to viſit, a Place of great Moment, and well Garriſon'd by the Parliament. But the Army was no ſooner drawn near the Town, but the Inhabitants ſent to treat; and tho' nothing was concluded, this and the Commotion of the Priſoners in the Caſtle, ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Garriſon, that they all fled out of the Town to *Bridgewater*. The ſame panick Fear drove them next Day from thence; ſo that the Marqueſs in three Days Time was poſſeſs'd of *Tauton*, *Bridge-water* and *Dunſtar-Caſtle*, the laſt ſo much ſtronger than both the other, that it cou'd not have been forc'd. The Army ſtay'd about *Taunton* ſeven or eight Days for the ſettling thoſe Garriſons, and obſerving the Motion or Station of the Enemy; in which Time they loſt very much Credit and Reputation. For tho' the *Corniſh* Army had been pious Obſervers of Diſcipline and good Order, yet the Horſe that came with the Marqueſs having liv'd under a looſe Management, and coming now into freſh and plentiful Quarters, were diſorderly enough, and by their Licence hinder'd thoſe regular Levies which ſhou'd have brought in a Supply of Mony for the due Payment of the Army. This Extravagancy produc'd another Miſchief, ſome Jealouſy, or Shadow of it, between the Lord Marqueſs and Prince *Maurice*; the Firſt, as being better vers'd in the Arts of Peace than the Myſteries of War, deſiring to regulate the Soldier, and reſtrain him from uſing any Licence upon the Country; and the Prince, being thought ſo wholly to incline to the Soldier, that he neglected any Conſideration of the Country; and not without ſome Deſign of drawing the ſole Dependance of the Soldier upon Himſelf.

Sir William Waller *ſent againſt them*

Upon the Progreſs of the King's Forces, the two Houſes immediately ſent what Troops they cou'd ſpare, under the Conduct of Sir *William Waller*, whoſe Valour and Activity had been ſo auſpicious, as to gain him the Name of *William the Conqueror*, both in the City and Parliament; and he was the more extoll'd by many, with Deſign to eclipſe the Reputation of the Earl of *Eſſex*, of whom they grew very ſuſpicious. Therefore they prepar'd all Things for his March with the utmoſt Expedition and Secrecy; ſo that the Marqueſs of *Hertford* had not long reſted his Men, when he heard that Sir *William* was within two Days March of him, and was more like to draw Supplies from *Briſtol*, and the adjacent Parts, than he cou'd from the open Country; and therefore it was held moſt adviſable to advance and engage him, before he had gather'd his full Strength. *Waller* took up his Quarters at *Bath* and the neighbouring Parts, where his Party was increas'd by thoſe that eſcap'd from the Fight at *Stratton*, and from the Towns lately taken, as well as good Supply out of the Garriſon of *Briſtol*. He likewiſe receiv'd from *London* a freſh Regiment of five Hundred Horſe, under the Command of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, who were ſo compleatly arm'd, that they were call'd by the other Side, *The Regiment of Lobſters*, becauſe of their bright Iron Shells, with which they were cover'd, being perfect Cuiraſſiers; the firſt ſeen ſo arm'd on either Side, and the firſt who made any Impreſſion upon the King's Horſe, who being unarm'd were not able to bear a Shock with them; and they were alſo ſecure from Hurts of the Sword, which were almoſt the only Weapons the other us'd. Several Skirmiſhes hapned between the contending Parties, particularly a very ſevere one near *Wells*, in which the Earl of *Carnarvon* ſhew'd invincible Bravery, and the Prince was wounded and reduc'd to great Danger, and which at laſt turn'd to the Defeat of Sir *William Waller*'s Party.

The Fight at Lanſdown, Waller *worſted.*

At length, on the fifth of *July*, Sir *William Waller* having drawn out his whole Army at *Lanſdown*, on a Hill between *Bath* and *Marsfield*, the Royaliſts ſuffer'd themſelves to be engag'd upon great Diſadvantage. Sir *William* having poſſeſs'd and fortify'd the Hill, ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe towards *Marsfield*, which ſoon allarm'd the other Army, and was ſhortly driven back to their Body. And tho' the King's Forces were now fond of engaging, yet ſeeing the Enemy ſo advantagiouſly fix'd on the Top of the Hill, they fairly retir'd to their own Quarters: Which Sir *William* perceiving, ſent his whole Body of Horſe and Dragoons down the Hill to charge them both on the Rear and Flank, which they did effectually; the Regiment of Cuiraſſiers ſo amazing their Oppoſers, that they totally routed them; and ſtanding unſhaken Themſelves, gave ſo great a Terror to them, that no Example of their Officers, who acted with invincible Courage, cou'd make them charge with their former unconquer'd Bravery. However, after Sir *Nicolas Slanning* with three Hundred Muſqueteers had valiantly beaten their Reſerve of Dragoons, Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Carnarvon* rallying their Horſe, and winging them with the *Corniſh* Muſqueteers, gallantly charg'd the Enemy's Horſe three times, till they routed them and chac'd them to the Hill, where they ſtood in a Place almoſt inacceſſible. The Brow of the Hill was guarded with Breaſt-Works and Cannon; yet the *Corniſh* Foot were ſo far from being cool'd at the Diſadvantage, that they cry'd out, *That they might have leave to fetch off thoſe Cannon!* Upon which Order was given to attempt the Hill with Horſe and Foot, which occaſion'd a tedious and bloody Conteſt: till at length Sir *Bevil Greenvil* with indefatigable Labour and Courage, leading up his Men in the Face of the Enemy's Cannon and ſmall Shot from their Breaſt-Works, gain'd the Brow of the Hill, but with the Loſs of his Life, and many of his Officers. So that at laſt the Enemy quitted their Ground to the Poſſeſſion of the King's Forces, and retir'd to ſome Diſtance, behind a Stone Wall upon the ſame; and ſtanding in reaſonable good Order. Either Party were ſufficiently fatigu'd and ſhatter'd, and the King's Horſe ſo ſhaken, that of two Thouſand ſeen in the Field in the Morning, there were not above ſix Hundred on the Top of the Hill. The other Party were likewiſe exceedingly diſpers'd; ſo that only exchanging ſome Shot from their Ordnance, they look'd upon each other till the Night interpos'd. Soon after Midnight Sir *William Waller* drew off to the City of *Bath*, leaving great Store of Arms and ſome Powder behind him; ſo that as ſoon as Day appear'd, the King's Forces found themſelves entirely poſſeſs'd of the Field, and the Dead, and all other Enſigns of a dear bought Victory.

The Death and Character of Sir Bevil Greenvil.

Sir Ralph Hopton *in Danger; Major* Sheldon *ſlain.*

Such was the ſharp Fight of *Lanſdown*, in which the King's Officers expos'd themſelves with that Gallantry, that more of them and Gentlemen of Quality were ſlain, than common Soldiers; and more wounded than ſlain. But that which wou'd have clouded any Victory, and made the Loſs of others leſs regarded, was the Death of Sir *Bevil Greenvil*; a very extraordinary Perſon, whoſe ſingular Activity and Reputation, was the Foundation of what had been done in *Cornwall*; and whoſe Temper and Affections were ſo publick, that no unhappy Accident cou'd make any Impreſſion on him; and whoſe Example preſerv'd others from all Complaints. In ſhort, a brighter Courage, and a milder Diſpoſition, were never more happily temper'd, in producing the moſt chearful and innocent Converſation. Many Officers and Perſons of Quality were wounded; as the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, in the Thigh with a Brace of Piſtol Bullets; Sir *Ralph Hopton*, in the Arm with a Muſquet; Sir *George Vaughan*, and many others, at the Head of their Troops with Swords and Poll-Axes. But the Morning added much to the dark part of their Victory; when Sir *Ralph Hopton*, with other Officers and Soldiers about him, being near a Waggon of Ammunition, in which were eight Barrels of Powder, it accidentally took Fire, and kill'd many who ſtood neareſt, and maim'd many more, among whom Sir *Ralph* himſelf, and Major *Sheldon* were miſerably hurt; of which the Major, who was the more hopeful of the two, dy'd the next Day, to the general Grief of the Army, which entirely lov'd him, for his undaunted Courage, and Sweetneſs of Temper. Sir *Ralph Hopton*, whoſe Life was deſpaired of, was put into a Litter, and ſo the Army march'd to their old Quarters at *Marsfield*, exceedingly dejected with their Morning's Miſfortune, where they repos'd themſelves the next Day, principally to take care of Sir *Ralph* himſelf, a Perſon infinitely dear to the Soldiers, who began now to have Hopes of his Recovery, tho' he was unfit to travel. On the Parliament's Side, there fell Major *Strawhan*, a *Scotchman*, who gave a remarkable Charge to the King's Forces in *Cornwall*, one Lieutenant, and two Cornets: But the Number of common Soldiers loſt on either Side, are very differently and uncertainly related; only moſt Accounts do make them near equal.

4. After a Day's Reſt at *Marsfield*, the Royaliſts underſtanding that Sir *William Waller* was ſtill at *Bath*, and that he ſent for freſh Supplies from *Briſtol* and other Places, they concluded rather to march to *Oxford*, and ſo to joyn with the King's Army, than to ſtay and attend the Enemy, who had his Supplies ſo near; and ſo they march'd toward *Chippenham*, whither Sir *William* follow'd them with new Recruits, believing them to have loſt all their Ammunition, and even the Soul of their Army, Sir *Ralph Hopton*. The King's Forces wou'd have fought him there, but he not liking the Ground, declin'd it, ſo that Day they advanc'd towards the *Deviſes*, a Town in *Wiltſhire*; and all this Day there were perpetual Skirmiſhes in the Rear, which was nobly ſupported by Sir *Nicolas Slanning*, while the Enemy preſs'd very hard, but always with Repulſes, till the Army ſafely reach'd the *Deviſes*. But by this Means, the Deſign was alter'd as to their Retreat to *Oxford*, the Enemy being upon them with Improvement of Numbers: Whereupon it was unanimouſly adviſ'd and reſolv'd, that the Marqueſs of *Hertford* and Prince *Maurice* ſhou'd that Night break through with all the Horſe to *Oxford*; and that Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who daily recover'd, with the Earl of *Marlborough*, General of the Artillery, the Lord *Mohun* and other good Officers of Foot, ſhou'd ſtay there with their Foot and Cannon, where it was hop'd they might defend themſelves for a few Days, till the Marqueſs might return with their Relief from *Oxford*, which was not above thirty Miles diſtant. This Reſolution was purſu'd, and the ſame Night all the Horſe got ſafe away into the King's Quarters; by which Time Sir *William Waller* had drawn all his Forces about the *Deviſes*. The Town was open, without the leaſt Fortification or Defence, but ſmall Ditches and Hedges; upon which the Foot was plac'd, and ſome Pieces of Cannon conveniently planted. The Avenues, which were many, were ſoon barricado'd to hinder the Entrance of the Horſe, which was principally apprehended. Sir *William* finding the Horſe remov'd, and beyond his Purſuit, brought his whole Force cloſe to the Town, and entirely inveſted it; and having rais'd a Battery upon a Hill near it, he poured in his Shot upon it without Intermiſſion, and attempted to enter in ſeveral Places with Horſe, Foot and Cannon, but was every where gallantly repuls'd. At the ſame Time having Intelligence of the Earl of *Crawford*'s marching with a Supply of Powder, according to Order, after the Battel of *Landſdown*, he ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe to intercept him, who became ſo unfortunately engag'd, that he hardly eſcap'd with the Loſs of his Ammunition, beſides a Troop or two of his Horſe.

Waller *beſieges the King's Foot in the* Deviſes.

Upon this new Advantage, Sir *William* reckon'd his Victory out of Queſtion, and thereupon ſent a Trumpet into the Town to ſummon the Beſieged, and let them know, 'That he had cut off their Relief, and that their State was now deſperate, and therefore adviſ'd them to ſubmit themſelves to the Parliament, with whom he wou'd mediate in their Behalf.' The Royaliſts were inwardly pleas'd at this Meſſage, and return'd Anſwer, 'That they wou'd ſend an Officer to treat, if a Ceſſation were agreed to during the Time of the Treaty;' which was conſented to, provided it was ſuddenly undertaken. The Beſieged only wanted a little Reſt from their hard Service, therefore on their Parts ſuch Terms were propos'd as wou'd take up moſt Time in the Debate, and might imply Courage and Reſolution to hold out. *Waller* on the other ſide only offer'd Quarter and civil Uſage to the Officers, and Leave to the common Soldiers to return to their Houſes, without their Arms, except they wou'd chuſe to ſerve the Parliament. Theſe being Terms many of the Officers wou'd not have ſubmitted to in the laſt Extremity, the Treaty ended; after thoſe in the Town had gain'd what they only expected, ſeven or eight Hours ſleep, and ſo much ſparing of Ammunition. In reality, Sir *William* was ſo confident that they were all at his Mercy, that he had written to the Parliament, 'That their Work was done, and that by the next Poſt he wou'd ſend the Number and Quality of his Priſoners;' neither did he believe it poſſible that any Relief cou'd have been ſent from *Oxford*, ſince the Earl of *Eſſex*, to whom he had ſignify'd his Succeſs and Circumſtances, then lay with his whole Army at *Thame*, within ten Miles of it. But the Importance was too well underſtood by the King to omit the moſt hazardous Attempt, for the redeeming thoſe Men, who had wrought ſuch Wonders for him. Therefore, tho' he was juſt then in Perſon going to meet and ſecure the Queen in her March, he ſent Lieutenant General *Wilmot*, whom he had lately made a Lord, with moſt of his Horſe, to the Number of fifteen Hundred, to march that very Day in which the Advertiſement came to him, towards the *Deviſes*. Upon Notice of their ſudden Advance, *Waller* and his Party, careful to prevent the joyning this Body of Horſe with the Foot, drew off from all Parts of the Town, and put himſelf in Battalia upon the Top of a fair Hill, call'd *Roundway-Down*, two Miles off the Town, over which the King's Forces were neceſſarily to march.

Waller's *Aſſurance of Succeſs.*

The Fight at Roundway-Down: Waller *intirely routed.*

Here Sir *William*, out of pure Gaiety, departed from an Advantage of Ground he cou'd not again recover; for being in excellent Order of Battel, with two ſtrong Wings of Horſe to his Foot, a good Reſerve plac'd, and his Cannon well planted, and apprehending ſtill the Conjunction between the Horſe and Foot within the Town, he march'd with his whole Body of Horſe, from his Foot, to charge the Enemy, appointing Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* with his dreadful Cuiraſſiers to make the firſt Impreſſion; who was encounter'd by Sir *John Byron*, in whoſe Regiment the intrepid Earl of *Carnarvon* charg'd as Voluntier; and after a ſharp Conflict, in which Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* receiv'd many Wounds, that impenetrable Regiment was routed, and in a furious Career chac'd upon their other Horſe. At the ſame Time the Lord *Wilmot* bravely charging them from Diviſion to Diviſion as they were rang'd, in half an Hour there was ſo great an Alteration, that the whole intire Body of the triumphant Horſe were ſo totally routed and diſpers'd, that there was not one of them to be ſeen upon that large ſpacious Down; every Man ſhifting for himſelf with greater Danger and Loſs by the Precipices of the Hill, than he cou'd have undergone by oppoſing his Purſuer. The Foot ſtill ſtood firm, making ſhew of a gallant Reſiſtance; but the Lord *Wilmot* ſoon ſeiz'd their Cannon, and turn'd them againſt them, at the ſame Time when the *Corniſh*, juſt arriv'd from the Town, were likewiſe ready to charge them; upon which their Hearts fail'd; ſo they were ſharply attack'd on all Sides, and almoſt all kill'd or taken Priſoners; for the *Corniſh*, retaining too freſh a Memory of their late Diſtreſſes, now fully reveng'd themſelves on the Cauſers of them. Sir *William* himſelf with a ſmall Train fled to *Briſtol*, which had ſacrific'd a great Part of their Garriſon to his Defeat; and ſo were ready to expire at his Entry into the Town, himſelf being the firſt Publiſher of his own Diſaſter.

Such was the Defeat at *Roundway-Down*, on the thirteenth Day of *July*, which was ſo entire, that by the Soldiers it came to be call'd *Run-away-Down*; and was indeed a glorious and triumphant Day for the reſtoring and eſtabliſhing the King's Affairs. There were in this Battel ſlain of the Parliament Side above ſix Hundred on the Spot, nine Hundred Priſoners taken, beſides two or three Hundred retaken and redeem'd, whom they had gather'd up in the Skirmiſhes and Purſuit; with all the Cannon, being eight Pieces of Ordnance; all their Arms, Ammunition, Waggons, Baggage and Victuals, twenty eight Foot Enſigns, and nine Cornets; and all this by a Party of fifteen Hundred Horſe, and two ſmall Field-Pieces, (for the Victory was perfect upon the Matter, before the *Corniſh* came up) againſt a Body of full two Thouſand Horſe, five Hundred Dragoons, and near three Thouſand Foot, with an excellent Train of Artillery; and without the Loſs of any Man of Name on the King's Side, beſides Mr. *Dudley Smith*, an honeſt and valiant young Gentleman, always a Voluntier with the Lord *Wilmot*, and among the Firſt in any Action of Danger. *Whitelock* makes the Rout of the Parliament's Horſe to be occaſion'd by a Panick Fear; but *Hollis*, in his Memoirs, charges it upon the Unſkilfulneſs and Cowardiſe of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*. However it was, Sir *William Waller*, whoſe Laurels were very freſh and growing, believ'd himſelf to be abſolutely betray'd, and ſacrific'd by the Earl of *Eſſex*, out of Envy at his great Actions, which ſeem'd to eclipſe his Glories; and complain'd, 'That he lying with his whole Army within ten Miles of *Oxford*, ſhou'd ſuffer the chief Strength of that Place to march thirty Miles to deſtroy him, without ſo much as ſending out a Party to follow them, or do any Thing to cauſe them to be recall'd.' On the other Hand, the haughty Earl diſdaining to be thought his Rival, reproach'd the Other 'With unſoldiery Neglects, and Want of Courage, to be beaten by a Handful of Men, and to have deſerted his Foot and Cannon, without hazarding his own Perſon in one Charge.'

Waller's *Complaints.*

'Charge.' Wherever the Fault was, it was never forgiven; and from this new Enmity the King often reap'd great Advantages: Tho' *Whitelock* ſays that Sir *William*'s Preſence at *London* ſilenc'd Invectives againſt him, and made the better Way for Recruits for him.

The Queen's March.

5. All this Time the Queen was acting with great Vigour for her Royal Spouſe, increaſing her Forces, and making ſlow Marches towards *Oxford*, Mr. *Henry Jermin* being her chief Commander and Colonel of her Guard. From *York* ſhe advanc'd to *Newark*, where ſhe was met by the brave Colonel *Charles Cavendiſh*, the younger Brother to the Earl of *Devonſhire*, whom ſhe ſo much honour'd, that when ſhe was to give the Word to her Commander, it was that of *CAVENDISH.* Her Majeſty made ſome Stay at *Newark*, where ſhe treated the Ladies in thoſe Parts after a very obliging Manner; upon which Occaſion we are told a little Story in Doctor *Kennet*'s Memoirs, which may give a Hint of her Conjugal Diſpoſition. Among the Ladies that were treated, there was a certain *Sempronia*, who had a ſingular Opinion of her Talent in Publick Affairs, becauſe ſhe govern'd her Husband, who in Times of Peace govern'd the Country: This Lady engag'd a few others of a lower Form of Politicians to joyn with her in a Petition of her own Indicting, wherein her Majeſty was humbly pray'd, 'Not to remove from '*Newark*, till her Forces had taken *Nottingham*;' and this Buſineſs was to be kept very ſecret, eſpecially from their Husbands. This Petition was by the Ladies formally deliver'd to her Majeſty, who preſently imagining it was done without the Knowledge of their Husbands, ſhe let them know, 'She was very ſenſible of the loyal Affections 'of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of thoſe Parts to her 'Lord the King, and ſhou'd be glad if it lay in her Power 'to grant their Requeſts: But ſhe inform'd them that Af'fairs of that Nature were above their Sphear; beſides ſhe 'was commanded by the King to make all poſſible Haſte.' However ſhe thus concluded, *Ye will receive this Advantage at leaſt by my Anſwer, Tho' I cannot grant your Petition, ye may learn by my Example to obey your Husbands.*

Her Advice at Newark.

Before her Majeſty's Departure from *Newark*, out of Care for the Safety of *Lincolnſhire* and *Nottinghamſhire*, She left two Thouſand Foot, and Arms for five Hundred more, and twenty Troops of Horſe, under the Command of Colonel *Cavendiſh*; She herſelf marching with above two Thouſand well arm'd Foot, one Thouſand Horſe, ſix Pieces of Canon and two Mortars, and above a hundred Waggons. Colonel *Cavendiſh* waited upon her as far as *Burton* upon *Trent*, and by her Majeſty's Conſent he took the Town by Storm, encouraging the Soldiers to ſwim over the River, to ſcale the Works, and enter through a Thouſand Deaths and Dangers. At *Edge-Hill*, where the firſt great Battel was fought, ſhe was met by the King, with all the Marks of Joy and Tranſport, after they had been abſent from each other a Year and near five Months; and this was upon the very ſame Day that the Victory was obtain'd at *Roundway-Down*. They went and lodg'd that Night at Sir *Thomas Pope*'s Houſe at *Wroxon*; and the next Morning, they came with the Prince, the Duke of *York*, and their whole Army to *Woodſtock*, and from thence to *Oxford*, which they enter'd in a triumphant Manner. Both their Majeſties were congratulated by the Univerſity, not only for their happy Meeting and Arrival, but alſo for the late Defeat of their Enemies. Upon their Arrival the Earl of *Eſſex* retir'd with his Army broken and diſheartned to *Uxbridge*, laying aſide all Thoughts of fighting with the King, till he ſhou'd be recruited with Horſe, Men and Mony; and ſuffering no leſs in the Diſcourſe of the People, for not interpoſing to hinder the Queen's March to *Oxford*, and Conjunction with the King, than for his ſitting ſtill near *Oxford*, while the Lord *Wilmot* went from thence to the Ruin of Sir *William Waller*.

She meets the King at Edge-Hill.

They both fix at Oxford.

6. His Majeſty now, upon full Advice, and Conſideration of his own *State*, with the broken Condition of the Enemy, reſolv'd to make an Attempt upon the important City of *Briſtol*, now under the Government of Colonel *Nathaniel Fiennes*, who was more noted for his Cunning, than his Courage. For this End the Marqueſs of *Hertford* and Prince *Maurice* return'd to *Bath*, lately yielded to the *Corniſh* Forces, and agreed to appear on a fix'd Day with their whole Strength before *Briſtol*, on the *Somerſetſhire* Side, when Prince *Rupert* with the *Oxford* Forces wou'd appear before it, on the *Glouceſterſhire* Side. On the twenty fourth Day of *July*, both Armies ſat down before it; quartering their Horſe in that Manner, that none cou'd go out or into the City, without great Hazard of being taken; and the ſame Day, with the Aſſiſtance of Seamen prepar'd before, they ſeiz'd all the Ships that were in *King-Road*, which were not only laden with Goods of great Value, as Plate, Money, and the beſt ſort of Commodities, ſent on board by thoſe who fear'd the worſt, but with many Perſons of Quality, who being unwilling to venture the Conſequence of a Siege, thought that Way to have ſecur'd themſelves, and to have eſcap'd to *London*; and ſo were all taken Priſoners. The next Morning Prince *Rupert* came to his Brother, and the Marqueſs, and a general Council of all the principal Officers of both Armies being aſſembled, it was debated in what Manner they ſhou'd proceed, by Aſſault or Approach. There were in the Town five and twenty Hundred Foot, and a Regiment of Horſe and Dragoons; the Line about the Town was finiſh'd, yet in ſome Places the Graff was wider and deeper than in others; and the Caſtle within the Town was very well prepar'd and ſupply'd with great Store of Proviſions to endure a Siege. The Opinions were various; but at length Prince *Rupert*'s Importunity, and a glorious Contempt of Danger prevail'd ſo far, that it was conſented on all Parts, to aſſault the Town next Morning by break of Day in three Places on the *Somerſetſhire* Side, and as many on the *Glouceſterſhire* Side.

Briſtol *beſieg'd by Prince* Rupert, *&c.*

A general Aſſault upon the Place.

The next Morning, with little other Proviſions for ſo great a Work than the Bravery of the Aſſailants, both Armies fell on: On the Weſt Side where the *Corniſh* were, they attack'd the Line in three Places; one Diviſion led by Sir *Nicolas Slanning*, aſſiſted with Colonel *Trevanion*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Slingsby*, and three more Field Officers: Another Diviſion on the Right was led by Colonel *Buck*, aſſiſted by Colonel *Wagſtaffe*, Colonel *Aſhley*, who commanded the Marqueſs of *Hertford*'s Regiment, with other Field Officers: And the third Diviſion, on the Left, led by Sir *Thomas Baſſet*, who was Major-General of the *Corniſh*. Theſe three Diviſions fell on together with that intrepid Courage, and Reſolution, as Nothing but Death cou'd controul; and tho' the middle Diviſion got into the Graff, and ſo nearly fill'd it, that ſome mounted the Wall, yet by the prodigious Diſadvantage of the Ground, and the full Defence the Beſieged made within, they were repell'd with great Slaughter. On Prince *Rupert*'s Side it was attack'd with equal Courage, and almoſt equal Loſs, but with better Succeſs; for tho' that Diviſion led on by the Lord *Grandiſon*, Colonel-General of the Foot, was beaten off, with the wounding of that Lord; and the Other, led by Colonel *Bellaſis*, met with no better Fortune; yet Colonel *Waſhington*, with his Party, finding a Place on the Curtain weaker than the reſt, ſucceſsfully enter'd, and ſoon made Room for the Horſe to follow. The Enemy, as ſoon as they ſaw the Line enter'd in one Place, either out of Fear, or by Command of their Officers, quitted their Poſts; ſo that the Prince enter'd with his Foot and Horſe into the Suburbs, being ſoon ſeconded by a Thouſand of the *Corniſh* Foot, and march'd up to *Fromegate* with the Loſs of many Men, and ſome very good Officers, by Shots from the Walls and Windows; inſomuch that all were much dejected to ſee ſo little gain'd with ſo great a Loſs: For they had ſtill a more difficult Entrance into the Town, than they had yet paſs'd, and where the Horſe cou'd be of no uſe to them; but of a ſudden, to the great Joy of the Commanders and Soldiers, the City beat a Parly, which the Prince willingly embrac'd, and Articles were agreed to that Night.

The Town Surrenders upon Articles.

The Articles themſelves were Ten in Number, ſufficiently fair and honourable to the Beſieged: The Subſtance of them was, 'That none of the Citizens ſhou'd be mo'leſted as to their Perſons, Goods, Charters and Privi'leges: That every Officer ſhou'd march forth with his 'Arms, every Trooper ride out with his Horſe and Sword, 'and every Soldier march out with his Sword, Bag and 'Baggage; and that a ſafe Convoy ſhou'd be allow'd them 'for twenty Miles, and they to paſs unmoleſted for three 'Days longer.' The next Morning, being the twenty ſixth of *July*, his Highneſs Prince *Rupert* was poſſeſs'd of the Town; but here the ill Example of *Reading* in the Breach of the Articles was remember'd, and unhappily follow'd with full Retaliation; for all that Garriſon was now before the Place. So that they with ſome Shadow of Juſtice, and the reſt, by their Example, us'd great Licentiouſneſs to the Soldiers, who ſhou'd have been ſafely conducted; which reflected much upon the Prince, tho' he us'd his utmoſt Power to ſuppreſs it, and charg'd Colonel *Fiennes* with being acceſſary to his own Wrong, by marching out of the Town an Hour before his Appointment, before the Convoy was ready, and at another Gate than was agreed on. And as theſe Articles were injuriouſly violated to thoſe who march'd away, ſo they were not enough obſerv'd to thoſe who ſtaid, and to the City it ſelf: For many of Colonel *Fiennes*'s Soldiers taking Conditions, and entring with the King's Army, inſtructed their new Friends who were moſt diſaffected to the King, ſo that one whole Street upon the Bridge, whoſe Inhabitants lay under ſome Brand of Malignity, tho' many others were amongſt them, was almoſt totally plunder'd; which, becauſe there was but little or no Juſtice done upon the Tranſgreſſors, was believ'd to be done by Connivance from the Officers, and gave more Diſcredit to the King's Forces, and his Cauſe, than was then obſerv'd or diſcover'd.

1643.
Car. 19

Perſons ſlain on the King's ſide.

Major Kendall,
Colonel Buck,
Sir Nicolas Slanning,
Colonel Trevanion,

Colonel Lunsford,
Lieutenant-Colonel Moyle,

And the Lord Grandiſon.

The gaining of *Briſtol* was a full Tide of Proſperity to the King, which made him Maſter of the ſecond City of his Kingdom, and gave him quiet Poſſeſſion of *Somerſetſhire*, one of the richeſt Counties of the Nation, and likewiſe open'd an excellent Communication with *Wales*, which for the moſt Part was well affected to him. Yet the Purchaſe was very dear, by reaſon of the Loſs of five Hundred Foot of incomparable Skill and Courage, and a greater Proportion of admirable Officers, whereof many were of prime Command and Quality. On the *Corniſh* ſide, beſides Major *Kendall*, and many other inferior, but excellent Officers, there fell Colonel *Buck*, a modeſt and ſtout Commander, well experienc'd in Arms, who met with his Fate after he had mounted the Top of the Wall; Sir *Nicolas Slanning* and Colonel *Trevanion*, two Members of Parliament, the Life and Soul of the *Corniſh* Regiments, whoſe Memories can never be too highly celebrated, who being only govern'd by their Conſcience, and induc'd by the Exorbitancies of the Leaders in Parliament, engag'd themſelves with the firſt who appear'd for the King in *Cornwall*; rather doing great Things, than affecting any Notice of them, applying themſelves to all Infirmities, and condeſcending to all Capacities, for producing a loyal Unanimity in thoſe Parts. Sir *Nicholas Slanning* was a Man of admirable Parts, a ſharp and diſcerning Wit, a cloſe and ſolid Judgment, a gentle and moſt obliging Behaviour, and a Courage ſo clear and daring, as without the other Ornaments wou'd have render'd him a very conſiderable Man: They were both young, neither of them above eight and twenty, and of entire Friendſhip to each other, and to the excellent Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, whoſe Body was yet unbury'd: They were both ſhot almoſt in the ſame Minute, and in the ſame Place, and both had the Royal Sacrifice of their Sovereign's particular Sorrow, and the Concurrence of all good Mens; and they were as often lamented, as the publick Accidents made the Courage and Fidelity of the *Corniſh* of greateſt Signification. In Prince *Rupert*'s Army, there fell alſo many good Officers, the chief of whom was Colonel *Lunsford*, a Perſon of extraordinary Sobriety, Induſtry and Courage; near whom likewiſe fell his excellent Lieutenant-Colonel *Moyle*. The wounded were the Lord Viſcount *Grandiſon*, Nephew to the great Duke of *Buckingham*, Colonel *Bellaſis*, ſince Lord *Bellaſis*, Colonel *Bernard Aſhley*, Sir *John Owen*, and many other Officers of Name, of whom none of Quality dy'd of their Wounds but the Lord *Grandiſon*, whoſe Loſs was highly lamented. He was a young Man of ſo virtuous a Diſpoſition, that no Temptation cou'd corrupt him; ſo great a Lover of Juſtice, that no Neceſſity cou'd make him deviate from the ſtricteſt Rules of it; and of that uncommon Piety and Devotion, that the Court or Camp cou'd not ſhew a more faultleſs Perſon. His Perſonal Valour and Courage had been exceſſive, even to make him condeſcend ſometimes to the Infirmity of Duelling, ſo that he was accus'd of being too prodigal of his Perſon; and as to his Duty to his King, he was wont to ſay, *That if he had not Underſtanding enough to know the Uprightneſs of the Cauſe, nor Loyalty enough to inform him of the Duty of a Subject, yet the Obligations of Gratitude to the King, were ſuch, as his Life was but a due Sacrifice*; therefore as ſoon as he ſaw the War unavoidable he engag'd himſelf and all his Brothers in the Service; and there were three more of them in the Army, when he was ſo unfortunately cut off. It is believ'd that his Wound was ſuch as might have been recover'd; but, as I am aſſur'd from a very good Hand, his going to Bed too ſoon to his Lady prov'd mortal to him; and at the ſame Time he got his Death, he gave Being to an extraordinary Daughter, who afterwards ſo beautify'd with her Perſon, and vilify'd with her Actions, the Title of the Dutchy of *Cleveland*.

The low Condition of the Parliament.

IX. 1. As the late Succeſſes, and the taking of *Briſtol* added great Luſtre and Beauty to the whole Face of the King's Affairs, ſo it produc'd an equal Paleneſs and a ſickly Aſpect on the Parliament Side; where the Jealouſies and Apprehenſions between themſelves ſtill grew higher, and new Remedies were ſtill propos'd which were generally thought worſe than the Diſeaſe. But rather than come to Terms, upon the News of the Lord *Fairfax*'s being worſted in the *North*, and driven into *Hull*, which came about this Time, they reſolv'd to compleat what they had formerly propos'd, and ſend a Committee of the two Houſes into *Scotland*, 'To deſire their Brethren of that Kingdom, 'immediately to advance with an Army for their Relief.' When the Matter was firſt mov'd in the Houſe of Commons, and it being objected, 'That it wou'd be fruitleſs to 'call them, without propoſing them ſome conſiderable Ad'vantage,' *Harry Martin* ſtood up, and with great Confidence deſir'd, *That an Offer might be made them of the Counties of* Northumberland *and* Cumberland, *and in Caſe that did not content them, to add two ſuch other Counties in the* North, *as ſhou'd be moſt convenient for them:* So little Regard had he to the Honour and Advantage of the *Engliſh* Nation. This indeed was thought very extravagant; yet they reſolv'd that the *Scots* ſhou'd be invited in, and a Committee of both Houſes was accordingly appointed. Still this was judg'd ſo deſperate a Caſe, that upon the Lords nominating the Earl of *Rutland* and the Lord *Grey* of *Wark*, for that Embaſſy, the Earl upon Indiſpoſition of Health procur'd a Releaſe; and the other, who had never declin'd any Employment they cou'd confer on him, ſo poſitively refus'd to meddle in it, that he was committed to the *Tower*; and at laſt they were oblig'd to depute only Commoners to that Service: And ſo Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Mr. *Hatcher*, and Mr. *Darley*, aſſiſted with Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Nye*, two of their principal Clergy, but of different Opinions, were embark'd in that Negotiation: In which, they who ſent them were ſo little ſatisfy'd, that they ſhou'd be driven to bring in Foreign Forces, a Scandal they had long thrown upon the King, that excepting a few deſperate Perſons, there was an univerſal Deſire of Peace. And their General's Inclination that way, his Correſpondence with thoſe Lords of the ſame Mind, and his ſevere Meſſages he ſent in Vindication of his late Inactivity, gave them all ſad Apprehenſions.

1643.
Car. 19.

They ſend Commiſſioners to invite the Scots.

The King's Declaration after his late Succeſſes.

To work upon theſe diſcompos'd Humours, and to reduce them to ſuch a Temper as might produce the Kingdom's Peace, his Majeſty publiſh'd a pathetick *Declaration to all his loving Subjects, after his Victories over the Lord* Fairfax *in the* North, *Sir* William Waller *in the* Weſt, *and the taking of* Briſtol: 'In which he ſet forth the Ad'vantages he had gain'd, which might open the Eyes of thoſe 'who had been ſo miſerably ſeduc'd; and after a more 'ſolemn manner renew'd the noted *Proteſtation* he had 'made at the Head of his ſmall Army in *September* laſt, 'concerning the *Proteſtant Religion*, the *Laws of the Land*, 'the *Liberties of the People*, and the *Privileges of Parlia'ment*. Upon which he leaves the World to judge, whe'ther thoſe Men, who are profeſs'd Enemies to the eſta'bliſh'd Church, who perſecute the learned Orthodox Mi'niſters, and into their Places put ignorant and ſchiſmatical 'Preachers, who vilify the *Common-Prayer*, and profane 'God's Worſhip with their ſeditious Demeanour, are like 'to advance that *Religion:* Whether thoſe Men, who 'without Colour of Law, impoſe inſupportable Taxes, 'and odious Exciſes upon their Fellow-Subjects, and im'priſon and murder them, are like to preſerve the *Liberty* '*of the Subject:* And whether thoſe Men, who ſeiz'd 'upon his own unqueſtionable Revenue, deny'd him his 'Negative Voice, by Force and Violence terrify'd the 'Members of both Houſes, and laſtly, as far as in them 'lies, have diſſolv'd the Parliament, by expelling and impri'ſoning the Members, and reſolving the whole Power into a 'Committee of a few Men, are like to vindicate and uphold 'the *Privileges of Parliament.* Therefore he conjures them 'to return to their Duty, and no longer ſuffer Themſelves 'to be miſ-led, their Prince diſhonour'd, and their Coun'try waſted and ruin'd by the Malice and Cunning of thoſe '*State Impoſtors*, who under Pretence of *Reformation* 'wou'd introduce whatever is monſtrous and unnatural 'both in Religion and Policy; but rather free themſelves 'from this moſt intolerable kind of Slavery, that is, to be 'Slaves to their Fellow-Subjects. And after he has de'clar'd his Clemency and Readineſs to forgive, he deſires 'his good Subjects to put an End to theſe Miſeries, by 'bringing Men, Mony, Plate, Horſe or Arms, which may 'eſtabliſh a firm Peace; without the ſpeedy obtaining of 'which, *this poor Kingdom will be utterly undone, tho' not* '*abſolutely loſt.*

This had a very remarkable Operation in the City of *London*, where the News of the Surrender of *Briſtol* had been receiv'd as a Sentence of Death, and where every Man reproach'd his Neighbour with his Want of Inclination to Peace, when good Conditions might be had, and applauded his own Wiſdom, for having fear'd *It wou'd come to this.* This new Declaration had been read by moſt Men, and was magnify'd 'as a moſt gracious and undeniable In'ſtance of his Majeſty's Clemency and Juſtice, and that 'he was ſo far from being exalted with his great Suc'ceſſes, that he renew'd all thoſe Promiſes for the *Reli'gion*, *Laws* and *Liberties* of the Kingdom, and *Privileges* '*of Parliament*, which had been perverſly diſcredited be'fore, as proceeding from the Lowneſs of his Condition: 'And whereas they had been terrify'd with the Repre'ſentation of their own Guilt, and the *Implacableneſs of* '*the King's Temper*, as if he deſign'd nothing but Conqueſt, 'his Majeſty had now offer'd all that cou'd be reaſonably de'ſir'd, and had expreſs'd himſelf a Prince not delighted with 'Blood and Revenge, but an indulgent Father to the moſt 'diſobedient Children.' In this Juncture of Affairs the Lords in their Houſe debated nothing but Expedients for Peace:

The Effects of it at Weſtminſter.

There

The Lords Propoſitions for Peace.

There was not above five of that Body who had any Inclination to continue the War; and the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was approaching them with a broken and diſmay'd Army, had ſufficiently declar'd he was weary of it, and held the cloſeſt Correſpondence with the moſt paſſionate Promoters of an Accommodation. So that on the fifth of *Auguſt*, they deſir'd a Conference with the Commons, and declar'd they were reſolv'd to ſend Propoſitions to the King, and they hop'd for their Concurrence: The Particulars were, '1. That both Armies be preſently disbanded, and his Majeſty entreated to return to 'his Parliament upon ſatisfactory Security. 2. That Religion be ſettled with the Advice of a Synod of Divines, 'in ſuch a manner as ſhall be agreed by the King and 'the two Houſes. 3. That the Militia be ſettled by a Bill, 'and all the Forts and Ships commanded by ſuch as the 'King ſhou'd appoint with the Approbation of the two 'Houſes; and the King's Revenue reſtor'd to him, with 'ſome Deductions for the Maintenance of his Children. '4. That the Members of both Houſes who had been expell'd only for their Abſence, or meer Compliance with 'the King, be reſtor'd to their Places. 5. That all Delinquents, from before the 10th of *January* 1641, be deliver'd up to the Juſtice of the Parliament, and a general 'Pardon for all others on both Sides. 6. That there be 'an Act of Oblivion for by-gone Deeds, and Acts of Hoſtility.'

The Commons Debates upon them.

They at laſt comply with the Lords.

When the Conference was reported in the Houſe of Commons, it produc'd a vaſt long and warm Debate, which laſted till Ten that Night, and continu'd a Day or two more: The more violent Party furiouſly inveigh'd againſt the Deſign it ſelf, of ſending to the King at all, and therefore wou'd not have the Lords Propoſitions ſo much as conſider'd. They alledg'd, 'They had receiv'd much 'Prejudice by the Treaty of *Oxford*; That the King ſince 'then had in Effect declar'd them to be no Parliament, 'and ſo they cou'd not treat in a ſafe Capacity: That 'they had ſent Members into *Scotland* to deſire Aſſiſtance, 'which that Kingdom was preparing with all Brotherly 'Affection and Forwardneſs; and after that to treat without their Privity, was to betray them, and forfeit all 'Hopes of future Aid. That *London* had expreſs'd all 'Chearfulneſs to recruit Sir *William Waller*, and the 'neighbouring Counties were ready to riſe as one Man, 'and furniſh the Earl of *Eſſex* with a better Army than 'ever he had, except the Diſcourſe of Peace extinguiſh'd 'the Zeal then flaming in the Hearts of the People.' But on the other Side, the more Moderate and leſs Deſperate alledg'd, 'They had been puniſh'd for breaking off the 'Treaty at *Oxford*, when they might have had better Terms 'than at preſent, which if they omitted, they wou'd meet 'with ſtill worſe: That they were not ſure of Aid from '*Scotland*, nor was it ſcarce poſſible it ſhou'd come time 'enough to ſave them from imminent Ruin: And for the 'City of *London*, tho' the common Sort might deſire to 'mend their Fortunes by theſe Diſtractions, yet the moſt 'ſubſtantial Men deſir'd Peace, by their Refuſal of Mony 'for the carrying on the War. However, the ſending 'reaſonable Propoſitions to the King wou'd either procure a Peace, and ſo they ſhou'd need no Army; or by 'being refus'd, raiſe more Men and Mony than all their 'Ordinances without it.' Theſe Reaſons and Arguments prevail'd; ſo that at Ten a Clock at Night, it was reſolv'd upon the Queſtion, and carry'd by twenty nine Voices, 'That they ſhou'd inſiſt upon the Propoſitions, and ſend 'to the King.' And in all probability, if they had then ſent, a firm Peace had enſu'd; eſpecially ſince the Reſtoration of the Members, mention'd in the fourth Article, muſt have over-ballanc'd the Leaders and their Party, and prevented the kindling any more Fire in the Houſes.

The City petition againſt Peace.

The Commons reject the Lords Propoſitions.

But this laſt was too well known to be ſuffer'd to paſs; and therefore the next Day, being *Sunday*, the ſeditious Preachers fill'd all the Pulpits with Alarms of 'Ruin and 'Deſtruction to the City, if a Peace were now offer'd to 'the King;' and printed Papers were diſpers'd in the Streets, and fix'd on Poſts and all publick Places, requiring 'All well-affected Perſons to riſe as one Man, and 'repair to the Houſe of Commons next Morning, for 'twenty Thouſand *Iriſh* Rebels were juſt landed;' which Information was likewiſe given that Day in many Pulpits by their Preachers: And in other Papers ſet up, it was declar'd, 'That the *Malignant* Party had out-voted the '*Godly*, and if not prevented, there wou'd be a Peace.' The Minds of the People being thus rous'd and prepar'd, *Pennington* their own Lord-Mayor, tho' on a *Sunday*, call'd a Common-Council; where a Petition was fram'd to the Houſe of Commons, taking notice 'of Propoſitions, paſs'd by the Houſe of Peers for Peace, which if 'allow'd, wou'd be deſtructive to Religion, Laws, and 'Liberties; and therefore deſired that Houſe to paſs an 'Ordinance, according to the Tenour of an Act of their 'Common-Council thereunto annex'd, for the vigorous 'proſecuting the War, and declining all Thoughts of 'Accommodation.' With this Petition, and a vaſt Attendance, the Lord-Mayor, who was a Member of the Commons, came to the Houſe and deliver'd it, with ſuch further Inſinuations of the Temper of the City, as were fit for the Purpoſe: the Multitude at the Door imperiouſly telling the Members of both Houſes, as they paſs'd, *That if they had not a good Anſwer, they wou'd be there the next Day with double the Number.* The Lords complain'd of the Tumults, and ſent to the Commons to joyn with them in their Suppreſſion; inſtead of which, the Commons, being thinn'd with the withdrawing of ſome, and awed with the Threats of others, gave the City Thanks for their Petition, Advice and Courage, and rejected the Propoſitions for Peace. Mr. *Hollis* ſays, the Rabble conſiſted of ſeveral Thouſands, who nam'd ſome Members of the Commons, whom they declar'd their Enemies; and tho' he himſelf had been too much engag'd in the like Practices, yet he exclaim'd againſt this, as the higheſt Strain of Inſolence in the Leaders, and the greateſt Violation of the Authority and Freedom of a Parliament, that before then was ever known.

A Female Tumult.

This rais'd a new Diviſion in the City, which was not willing to lye under the perpetual Brand of oppoſing Peace, as they did of firſt raiſing the War: Therefore the ſober Part of it wou'd gladly have diſcover'd their great Averſion to the late Act of the Common-Council; but the Execution of *Tomkins* and *Chaloner*, and the great Advantage taken againſt any who was moderately inclin'd, frighted all Men from openly appearing for what they moſt heartily deſir'd. At length the Women ſhew'd greater Courage than the Men; and having a Precedent of the ſucceſsful Appearance of a Rabble of that Sex in the Beginning of the Troubles, a great Multitude of the Wives of ſubſtantial Citizens and others came to the Houſe of Commons with a Petition for Peace. The Commons return'd Anſwer, 'That the Houſe was no Enemy to Peace, and 'doubted not in a ſhort Time to anſwer the Ends of their 'Petition, and deſir'd them to return to their Habitations.' But not being ſatisfy'd, they remain'd about the Place, and were in a little Time encreas'd to the Number of five Thouſand; and ſome Men in Women's Cloaths mix'd with them, and encourag'd them to go to the Commons Door, and cry *Peace, Peace!* which they did with that Hurry and Tumult, that none were ſuffer'd to go in or out of the Houſe for near two Hours. The Train'd-Bands that attended there, to fright them, firſt ſhot Powder; upon which they cry'd out, *Nothing but Powder!* and began to pelt them with Stones and Brickbats: Whereupon they ſhot Bullets, and kill'd two of their Company; which was ſo far from diſheartning them, that they cry'd out the louder, *Give us theſe Traytors that are againſt Peace, that we may tear them in Pieces; give us that Dog* Pym! At laſt a Troop of Horſe fell in amongſt them with their Swords, and by flaſhing and wounding many of them, eaſily diſpers'd the reſt. Serjeant *Francis* and Mr. *Pulford* were committed for promoting this Female Riot; and thoſe Members were eſpecially mark'd who ſeem'd moſt deſirous of Peace, that ſome Advantage might be taken againſt them. Upon diſcerning of which, many both of the Peers, and the Commons, firſt abſented themſelves, and then remov'd into thoſe Quarters under the King's Protection; and ſome of them went directly to *Oxford*.

The King's Army divided.

2. In the mean Time the King went from *Oxford* to *Briſtol* to ſettle the Government of that City, and to compoſe ſome Differences ariſing from thence between Prince *Rupert* and the Marqueſs of *Hertford*; which he did by conferring the Title of Governour of *Briſtol* upon Prince *Rupert*, and beſtowing the Power and Office it ſelf upon Sir *Ralph Hopton*. Here he found it high Time to reſolve upon further Action; and firſt it was debated in Council whether both Armies ſhou'd be united, which after many Arguments was reſolv'd to keep them diſtinct. So Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Carnarvon* were order'd to march with the *Corniſh* Army into the *Weſt*, and particularly againſt *Dorcheſter*, which was ſtrongly garriſon'd by the Parliament. The next Reſolution was concerning the King's own Motion with the other Army. As to which, there was not a Man, who did not think the reducing of *Gloceſter*, a City within little more than twenty Miles from *Briſtol*, of mighty Importance to the King, if it might be done without any great Loſs of Time or Men; and numerous Reaſons were given to ſhew the Advantage of the Conqueſt. Yet all the Reaſons and Motives were not thought worth the engaging his Army in a doubtful Siege; while the Parliament might recover their Fears, compoſe their Differences, and recruit their Army; therefore ſome other Meaſures were propos'd. But that which turn'd the Scale as to *Gloceſter*, was the Effects of a ſecret Correſpondence between Colonel *Leg*, and the Governour of

1643. Car. 19. the City Colonel *Maſſy*, a ſtout and diligent Officer, a Soldier of Fortune, and formerly in the King's Service; which cauſ'd ſome to believe that he was not immoveable, and Colonel *Leg* to ſound his Inclinations to the Bottom. Upon Tryal, he gave a fair Intimation, 'That if Prince '*Rupert* appear'd before the Town, he muſt make all 'poſſible Reſiſtance; but if the King himſelf appear'd, he 'wou'd not hold it out againſt Him; and in that Caſe he 'ſhou'd be able to perſuade thoſe of the Town, which 'otherwiſe he cou'd not do.' Hereupon the King reſolv'd to appear before *Gloceſter*, but not to be engag'd in a Siege, and accordingly ſent his Army that Way; and the next Day follow'd with the Remainder of his Forces, having firſt honour'd Sir *Ralph Hopton* with the Title of Baron *Hopton* of *Stratton*, in Memory of the ſucceſsful Battel fought there, as was formerly hinted.

The King goes before Gloceſter, *and Summons it.*

On *Wedneſday* the tenth of *Auguſt* the King drew his whole Army upon a fair Hill, in full View of the City, and within leſs than two Miles of it; and about two in the Afternoon he ſent two Heralds with this Summons to the Town, 'That out of his tender Compaſſion to his 'City of *Gloceſter*, and to prevent the Prejudice from his 'Army, if he was compell'd to aſſault it, He was Perſonally come before it, to require the ſame; and was graciouſly pleas'd to let the Inhabitants and others know, 'That if they yielded, all ſhou'd have Pardon without 'Exception, without Damage to any Perſon in their Eſtates, and ſuch a Governour and moderate Garriſon 'ſhou'd be appointed, as was moſt for the Eaſe and Security of the City and County: But if they ſhou'd neglect 'this Proffer of Grace, they muſt thank themſelves for all 'the Calamities that ſhou'd befal them. To this Meſſage 'he expected a full Anſwer within two Hours, and granted Liberty for any Perſons ſafely to repair to, and return from him.' Within leſs than the Time preſcrib'd, there return'd two Citizens from the Town, with lean, pale and ugly Viſages, and in Garbs ſo ſtrange and unuſual, that at once gave Mirth to the moſt ſevere Countenances, and Sadneſs to the moſt chearful Hearts, who concluded that ſuch Ambaſſadors cou'd bring no leſs than a Defiance. Theſe, without any Marks of Duty or good Manners, in a pert, ſhrill, fearleſs Tone, ſaid, *They brought an Anſwer from the Godly City of* Gloceſter *to the King*; and were ſo ready in their inſolent Anſwers, as if they deſign'd to provoke the King to break his ſafe Conduct. They brought this Anſwer in Writing: 'We the 'Magiſtrates, &c. in *Gloceſter*, unto your Majeſty's gracious Meſſage return this humble Anſwer; That we do 'keep this City according to our Oaths and Allegiance, 'to and for the Uſe of his Majeſty, and his Royal Poſterity; and do accordingly conceive our ſelves wholly 'bound to obey the Commands of his Majeſty, ſignify'd 'by both Houſes of Parliament; and are reſolv'd by 'God's help to keep the City accordingly:' Subſcrib'd by *Wiſe* the Mayor, *Maſſy* the Governor, with thirteen of the Aldermen and moſt ſubſtantial Citizens, and eleven Officers of the Garriſon. And as ſoon as their Meſſengers return'd, without waiting for the King's Reſolutions, the Suburbs of the City, conſiſting of large, fair and well inhabited Buildings, were ſet on Fire; ſo that queſtionleſs the King was to expect nothing but an obſtinate Defence of the Place.

The Citizens and Garriſon's Anſwer.

This unexpected Indignity prompted Reſolutions of Revenge; and ſome thought the King ſo far engag'd, that in Honour he was oblig'd to ſit down before the Town, and force it: And theſe Inclinations made them more ready to believe what was ſaid of the ſmall Proviſions, and Ammunition, and the Weakneſs of the Place, and the Diſobligation of the Inhabitants occaſion'd by the Burning of the Suburbs; together with the preſent Diſability of the Parliament to relieve it at that Diſtance. Above all, the Confidence of the beſt experienc'd Soldiers, who were of Opinion, That they ſhou'd be able to take it by Approach in leſs than ten Days, ſo far prevail'd, that the Siege was unanimouſly agreed on in a Council of War. So the King immediately ſent to *Oxford*, for General *Ruthen*, now Earl of *Brentford*, to come with what Foot cou'd be ſpared, and all his Battering-Pieces; and diſpatcht Orders to Sir *William Vavaſour*, who now commanded the Forces in South *Wales*, to draw all his Men to the Foreſt Side of the Town; where the Bridges being broken down, a ſmall Strength wou'd cut off all Communication from the Garriſon. Thus was the King engag'd in a long and unſucceſsful Siege; which gave Time to the diſtracted Spirits at *London* to breath and compoſe themſelves, and more methodically to relieve themſelves, when their Caſe ſeem'd almoſt incurable. This gave a great and ſtrange Turn to the King's Affairs, and many Writers have believ'd it to be the Effect of treacherous Counſel, tho' ſome of the Adviſers were of unqueſtion'd Honeſty and Loyalty: For had the King, before the Diviſion of his Army, reſolv'd to march up to *London*, and had had Authority enough to command the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s paſſing through the Aſſociated Counties, and Joyning with him, humanly ſpeaking, it had rais'd ſuch a Confuſion among the two Houſes and the *Londoners*, that he might have had his own Terms, and finiſh'd the War at once. But the neglecting this Opportunity prov'd agreeable to that uſeful Obſervation, 'That ſometimes Providence gives a Man 'but one ſingle Seaſon to lay hold on.'

The King inveſts the Town.

1643. Car. 19.

Cenſure upon it.

Several Writers have been very free in cenſuring this unhappy Step; but there was one Circumſtance, which was a Secret in thoſe Days, and probably unknown to them. Upon the News of the taking of *Briſtol*, the King from *Oxford* had ſent an Expreſs to the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, who was then unfortunately engag'd to appear before *Hull*, That if he found the Siege of *Hull* very difficult, he ſhou'd leave it block'd up, and march with his Army into the aſſociated Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, &c. which was then eaſier to effect, ſince *Lyn* had lately been ſurpris'd for the King's Uſe; and if he wou'd bring his Army through the Counties towards *London*, the King wou'd march with his own towards it on the other Side. And when the King was before *Gloceſter*, and juſt before he began the Siege, he receiv'd the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Anſwer, 'That he cou'd not poſſibly comply with his 'Commands, becauſe the Gentlemen who commanded 'the beſt Regiments, utterly refus'd to march, except *Hull* 'were firſt taken:' Which Advertiſement, with the Advantage of taking of *Gloceſter*, and the Concurrence of the Officers, produc'd that Reſolution of attempting it, notwithſtanding the Queen her ſelf writ ſo earneſtly againſt it, that the King took a Journey to *Oxford*, to convince her Majeſty, and compoſe ſome Differences then ariſing in the Council. As to the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, it appears from Sir *Philip Warwick* and others, that he deſign'd himſelf to be the Man that ſhou'd turn the Scale in the great Affairs of the Nation, and to be Independent and Self-Subſiſting, where-ever he march'd; therefore he ever declin'd coming nearer to the King, fearing he ſhou'd be eclips'd by the Court, and his Authority overſhadow'd by the Superiority of Prince *Rupert*. Therefore we cannot think it unnatural or ſtrain'd to ſay, That the aſpiring Earl was the main Occaſion of the Failure of this great Project, upon which the Nation's Fate ſo much depended.

The Earl of Newcaſtle *blam'd.*

The Siege it ſelf.

The Siege of *Gloceſter* laſted above three Weeks, and with a ſlow Progreſs; for tho' the Army was much increas'd by the Acceſs of Forces from all Quarters, yet the King wanted both Mony and Materials for a Siege, and the Garriſon and the Inhabitants behav'd themſelves with great Courage and Bravery, made many bold Sallies upon the King's Forces, and uſually did more Hurt than they receiv'd; the Governour himſelf performing every Thing that became a vigilant Commander. It was often found that theſe deſperate Sallies were the Effect of Drink, and that the Governor had upon thoſe Occaſions allow'd the Men great Quantities of Wine and Strong Waters. Yet it was very obſervable, that in all the Time of the Siege, when there was ſo great a Proſpect of reducing the Place, but one Officer and three Common Soldiers deſerted to the King; a mighty Proof of the good Diſcipline within. On the other Side there grew a very great Licentiouſneſs in the King's Army, both among the Officers and Soldiers; the Malignity of thoſe Parts being thought Excuſe for the Exerciſe of any Rapine among the Inhabitants. Inſomuch that it is hardly to be believ'd, how many Thouſand Sheep were in a few Days deſtroy'd, beſides what were brought in for a regular Proviſion; and how many Country Men were impriſon'd by Officers, without Warrant, or Knowledge of the King's, till they had paid good Sums for their Delinquency; all which rais'd a great Clamour againſt the Diſcipline of the Army, and the Juſtice of the Officers, and made them alſo leſs prepar'd for the Service they were to expect.

3. During this memorable Siege, the Diſtractions and Apprehenſions were very great at *London*; all which were increas'd by the News of the daily Succeſs of the Army under Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Carnarvon*, which took thoſe conſiderable Places of *Dorcheſter*, *Weymouth* and *Portland*, with little or no Reſiſtance; and that *Exeter* it ſelf and other Towns were like to meet with the ſame Fate. The Leaders therefore, having diverted the late Danger of a Peace, which might have torn up their Cauſe by the Roots, carefully conſider'd their whole Strength, and apply'd themſelves to the Recovery of the Spirits of their General; whoſe late Indiſpoſition threatned them more than any other Diſtreſs they felt. For the Curing of which, they cunningly apply'd Remedies of contrary Natures, which wou'd yet work to the ſame End: Firſt they careſs'd Sir *William Waller* with extraordinary Marks of Kindneſs; and as he was met at his Return, after a moſt ruinous Defeat, with all the Train'd-Bands and Militia in *London*, and receiv'd as a moſt victorious General,

A new Army to be raiſed under the Earl of Mancheſter.

ral, ſo he was immediately choſen Commander in Chief of the Forces and Militia of the City, with a particular and publick Promiſe from the two Houſes, ‘ That they wou'd ‘ forthwith ſupply him with a good Body of Horſe and Foot, ‘ to take the Field again, and relieve their diſtreſſed Friends ‘ in the *Weſt*.’ Then another Ordinance was paſs'd to raiſe another great Army under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, a ſteddy Perſon, who had never harkned to any Overture of Peace, in order to oppoſe the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and to take Charge of all the Aſſociated Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, *Hertford*, *Huntington*, *Cambridge*, and the Iſle of *Ely:* And likewiſe an Ordinance paſs'd for Preſſing great Numbers, to ſerve both under the Earl of *Mancheſter* and Sir *William Waller*.

Cromwell's *Riſe and Character.*

The Earl of *Mancheſter* immediately enter'd upon his Province, which had been well prepar'd for him by the Vigour and Activity of Colonel *Oliver Cromwell*, whoſe Fortunes were now altogether deſperate, and whoſe Greatneſs was founded upon this Employment; of which extraordinary Man it will be proper to take ſome Notice in this Place. He was the younger Branch of an ancient and conſiderable Family in the County of *Huntington*, and born in the Town of *Huntington* in the Year 1599; whoſe Father being a younger Brother, allow'd the keeping of a publick Brew-Houſe to his Wife, who was Daughter to Sir *Richard Steward*, and whoſe Name alone was believ'd to have ſome Influence upon the Son's Actions. His Education was partly in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and partly in *Lincoln's-Inn*; of which he made no great Advantage, but for ſome Years after his Return led a debauch'd, riotous and boiſterous Courſe of Life, to the manifeſt Diſturbance of all the Neighbourhood, and to the Ruin of his Paternal Eſtate; which caus'd his Uncle, and God-Father, Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, utterly to diſcard and reject him. At length being reform'd, and falling into the Hands of ſome *Puritan* Divines, he ran into the contrary Extreams, and ſeem'd overgrown in a ſhort Time with Rigidneſs and Enthuſiaſm, and imitated and practis'd all the Peculiarities, both as to the Prayers and Sermons of the moſt preciſe of that Party. Here was a Perſon of a deep Thought, of a rough and unpoliſh'd Converſation, and of a reſolute and aſpiring Temper, and ready to head any Faction; as he boldly did in the Year 1638, againſt the King and ſome Lords, who became Undertakers for the Draining of the Fens. He joyn'd himſelf to thoſe who pretended to Tranſports and Revelations; and, as his own Phyſician obſerv'd, was himſelf a moſt Splenetick Perſon, often troubled with Dreams and Fancies, and ſtrange Preſages of his future Greatneſs; and yet ſtill the moſt diſtinguiſhing Part of his Character was a radical and original Hypocriſy, which he cultivated with ſuch indefatigable Pains and exquiſite Art, that it always turn'd to his Uſe and Benefit. Having ſpent moſt of a ſecond and better Eſtate, which had been left him by the Death of his Uncle *Steward*, he got to be elected a Member of this long Parliament, for the Town of *Cambridge*, chiefly by the Intereſt of Mr. *Hambden*, whoſe Kinſwoman he had marry'd. At firſt he made but a ſmall Figure in the Houſe, and was much inferior to the Leaders. Sir *Philip Warwick* deſcribes his firſt Appearance there; A Gentleman ſpeaking very ordinarily, apparell'd in a plain Cloth Sute, made by an ill Country Taylor; his Linnen mean, and not very clean; his Band unfaſhionable, with a Speck or two of Blood upon it; his Hat without a Hat-Band, his Sword cloſe to his Side, his Countenance ſwoln and reddiſh, his Voice ſharp and untunable, and his Elocution full of Fervour, and defending ſome Libels againſt the Queen, was much harken'd to. But he ſoon improv'd, and ſhew'd himſelf another Man; and by the Help of good Cloaths, Converſation and Succeſs, appeared of a great and majeſtick Deportment, and of a lofty and comely Preſence. Towards which he had ſingular Advantages from two great Maſters, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Hambden*, who cunningly made uſe of his bold and enterprizing Spirit, at a time when he had nothing to loſe, and very much to expect.

His Behaviour in the Beginning of the War.

At the breaking out of the War, this Gentleman had a Commiſſion given him by the Parliament to be Captain of a Troop of Horſe, which he ſoon rais'd in his own native Country; where he ſhew'd himſelf more openly againſt the King, than any other Officer, and told his Men when they were firſt muſter'd, *That he wou'd not cozen them by the perplex'd Expreſſions in his Commiſſion,* To fight for King and Parliament; *therefore if the King chanc'd to be in the Body of the Enemy, he wou'd as ſoon diſcharge his Piſtol upon him, as any private Perſon; and if their Conſcience wou'd not permit them to do the like, he adviſ'd them not to liſt themſelves under him.* This was thought very bold and dangerous at that Time; yet it ſerv'd his Turn, and diſtinguiſh'd, and united all the furious Men againſt the Government, to look upon him as a Man true to their Intereſt, and one on whom they might depend to go through the Work he had undertaken. In this Year he was made a Colonel, and by his own Management rais'd a Regiment of no leſs than a thouſand Horſe; with which he ſecured the Town of *Cambridge*, rang'd about, and with great Diligence obſtructed many Levys for the King in *Cambridgeſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*; and particularly he ruined the Deſign of a Counter-Aſſociation, made by Sir *John Pettus*, Sir *Edward Barker*, and other Gentlemen, at the Town of *Leſtoft* in *Suffolk*, where he was in ſome Danger of his Perſon. Having ſecur'd thoſe Counties, he marched into *Lincolnſhire*, towards the Town of *Gainsborough*, which had been juſt taken by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, who at the ſame time took the Earl of *Kingſton* Priſoner, and ſending him to *Hull*, the good Earl was unfortunately ſlain in his Paſſage. Near *Gainsborough*, *Cromwell* encounter'd with a Party under the brave Colonel *Cavendiſh*, and after ſome Time routed them: The Colonel himſelf, after a moſt valiant Reſiſtance, was driven into a Quagmire, or rather the Mud of the River *Trent*, where he is ſaid to have been ſlain in cold Blood, after Quarter had been given him by Colonel *Bury*; tho' others ſay he dy'd Magnanimouſly refuſing Quarter, throwing the Blood running from his Wounds in his Enemies Faces. This hapned in the latter End of *July*, to the great Affliction of all that knew this gallant Commander. As to his Perſon, the Writer of his Life ſays, The Sun beheld not a Youth of a more manly Figure, and a more winning Preſence: He was a Gentleman ſo furniſh'd with all the deep and politer Parts of Learning, as well as Perſonal Courage, that he was prepar'd to defend his Prince with his Head and Hand, by the ſtrongeſt Reaſons, and moſt generous Valour. When his Body was brought to *Newark*, the whole Town was ſo infinitely fond of it, that they wou'd not ſuffer it to be interr'd, till for ſome Days they had view'd it with their Eyes, and embalm'd it with their Tears. Nay, thirty Years after, when his Body was mov'd to *Derby*, freſh Lamentations were made by thoſe that knew, and others that heard of his Fame; and all the People of *Newark* expreſs'd the moſt ſorrowful Unwillingneſs to part with the Reliques of ſo dear a Perſon, who had been the Ornament and Defence of that Place.

The Earl of Kingſton *ſlain,*

And Colonel Cavendiſh.

Cromwell's *Way of modelling the Army.*

The Beginning of Independency.

Cromwell's great Deſign was by his new Army to attempt to change the whole Diſcipline of the Parliament's Forces; for having obſerv'd that the King's Horſe, who were his greateſt Strength, conſiſted of Gentlemen, and ſuch as were led on by a Senſe of Honour, and were accordingly ſucceſsful, he believ'd if the Parliament Horſe cou'd be form'd out of the moſt zealous of their Party, ſuch as were perſuaded by their Miniſters Sermons, *That they were fighting God's Cauſe, and thoſe that were kill'd, dy'd in the Favour of God*, they might ſet this Impulſe of Conſcience againſt the others Senſe of Honour, and arrive at a greater Probability of Succeſs than before. And this Method he put in Practice, as far as poſſible, in his new-rais'd Forces, of whom moſt of the Officers were very great Zealots, and the Soldiers gradually became of the ſame Leaven; for they had all either naturally the Phanatick Humour, or ſoon imbib'd it. A Herd of this Sort of People being drawn together by his Intereſt, he himſelf, like a *Mahomet*, having Tranſports of Fancy, and withal a crafty Underſtanding, and knowing the Strength of natural Principles, made uſe of the Zeal and Credulity of thoſe Perſons, and by his own Preaching taught them, as they too readily taught themſelves, That they engag'd for God, when he led them againſt their King. And where this Opinion met with a natural Courage, it made them more bold, and often more cruel; and theſe Men being more us'd to Spiritual Pride, than Carnal Intemperance, where natural Courage was wanting, Zeal ſupply'd its Place; ſo that at firſt they choſe rather to die, than fly, and Cuſtom remov'd the Fear of Danger. And afterwards finding the Sweet of good Pay, of opulent Plunder, and of Preferment ſuitable to their Activity and Merit, the lucrative Part made Gain ſeem to them a natural Concomitant of Godlineſs. Here was the main Root of *Independency*, which in Time ruin'd both the King and his Friends, and likewiſe the very Heads of the Rebellion.

The Earl of Eſſex *fix'd to the Parliament.*

4. To return to the Parliament: The Leaders having ſecur'd to themſelves the Earl of *Mancheſter* and Sir *William Waller*, and made the Earl of *Eſſex* to ſee, that they had another Earl, and more Generals than one at their Devotion, they ſent a formal Committee of both Houſes to him, to uſe all imaginable Skill to recover him to his former Vigour and Zeal. They highly applauded his great Services, and made ample Promiſes of Satisfaction to his Honour, and full Support to his Forces. Whether their Perſuaſions, with the Jealouſie of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, or the cunning Infuſions of the Lord *Say* and Mr. *Pym*, of *the Deſperateneſs of his own Condition*, wrought upon him; or whether he wanted Steadineſs to engage in ſo difficult a Task as an Accommodation, he became inſenſibly alter'd from his moderate Inclinations and Deſire of Peace. The

Confidence in him had given many Lords the Spirit to appear Champions for Peace, who before had been as ſollicitous againſt it; and they deſign'd to have appear'd in the Army, and proteſted againſt the late Tumults in the City, and their over-ruling the Freedom of Parliament. But this ſtaggering in their General fruſtrated that Deſign, and put them upon other Reſolutions: And now having render'd themſelves very ungracious in the Houſes, and poſſibly ſuſpecting the Earl of *Eſſex* might diſcover ſome of their Overtures, many of them left the Town, and either went directly to *Oxford*, or into the King's Quarters. The Earl of *Portland* and the Lord *Lovelace*, who had only ſtaid to be the more ſerviceable to the King, went ſtrait to *Oxford*, and the Lord *Conway* ſhortly after them: The Earl of *Clare* went into *Worceſterſhire*, and from thence, by the King's Conſent, to *Oxford*; there being no other Objection to his Lordſhip, but his ſtaying ſo long at *London*. The Earls of *Bedford* and *Holland*, more obnoxious to the Court, having their Deſigns diſcover'd or ſuſpected, not without ſome Difficulty got into the King's Garriſon at *Wallingford*, from whence the Governor gave Advice of their Arrival. The great Earl of *Northumberland*, with the leave of the Houſe, retir'd for his Health to his Houſe at *Petworth* in *Suſſex*; waiting there for ſome favourable Opportunity, and to hear of the Succeſs of the other Lords. By the Abſence of theſe, the violent Party eaſily carry'd all before them; and for their further Security, they order'd the Divines of the *Aſſembly* to repair to their Cures, eſpecially in the aſſociated Counties under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, to ſtir up the People *to riſe as one Man* againſt their Sovereign; not a little pleas'd, that the King had given them Time to compoſe their Diviſions, by his Stay before *Gloceſter*; which they look'd upon as the greater Happineſs, becauſe at the ſame time there were ſudden Inſurrections in *Kent*, in Defence of the known Laws, eſpecially the Common-Prayer Book; which they wou'd never have been able to ſuppreſs, if the King's Army had been at a convenient Diſtance.

The Earls of Bedford *and* Holland *and other Lords leave the Parliament.*

This Revolt, or the going over of the Lords into the King's Quarters, occaſion'd great Debates in Council, as to the Manner of their Reception. No great Difficulties were rais'd concerning the Earls of *Portland* and *Clare*, and the Lords *Conway* and *Lovelace*; but the main Diſpute was concerning the two Earls of *Bedford* and *Holland*, who had given Notice of their Arrival at *Wallingford*; the Earl of *Bedford* having ſerv'd in Perſon againſt the King, as General of the Parliament's Horſe, and the Earl of *Holland*, in the King's Opinion, having done worſe; which was a Matter of ſo much Niceneſs, that it prov'd one Motive of the King's ſudden Journey from *Gloceſter* to *Oxford*. Here his Majeſty found much Uneaſineſs as to the Siege of *Gloceſter*, and the Adviſers much condemn'd, and likewiſe no ſmall Jealouſie in the Queen, That there was a Deſign to leſſen her Intereſt with the King, and that Prince *Rupert* was Chief in that Conſpiracy. Having ſoon compos'd thoſe Miſtakes, he attended to the warm Debates in his Council, concerning the Reception that ought to be given to the two Earls of *Bedford* and *Holland*. The foul Ingratitude of the latter was very much aggravated, and the Behaviour of both, at this Time, look'd upon as the Effect of the preſent low Condition of the Parliament; ſo that ſome were of Opinion that they ought to be treated with Severity, and made Priſoners; others thought they ſhou'd be barely permitted to come to *Oxford*, without any Reſpect paid to them; and ſome, as Mr. *Hyde* in particular, urg'd that they might be receiv'd with all the Marks of Confidence and Civility, ſo as to incourage other great Men to deſert the Intereſt of the Parliament. This Advice wou'd probably have been beſt for the King's Affairs at this Juncture; but his Majeſty thought fit to take a ſort of a middle Way, to allow the Earls to come to *Oxford*, and every one to treat them as they thought fit, and himſelf wou'd look upon them according to their future Behaviour. Accordingly the two Earls came, and, together with the Earl of *Clare*, enter'd into the King's Service in *Gloceſterſhire*; They were receiv'd without any Diſreſpect; but their Expectations were never anſwer'd.

Great Debates about their Reception.

About the ſame Time the brave Earl of *Montroſs*, together with his intimate Friend the Lord *Ogilby*, came to wait upon his Majeſty from *Scotland*, being well aſſur'd of the approaching Storm from that Kingdom. The *Scots*, finding that they cou'd not obtain the King's Permiſſion for the calling of a Parliament, had, by the Advice of Sir *Thomas Hope*, call'd a Convention of the Eſtates, which might as well effect their Deſigns as the other; but the Reaſons of this Aſſembly being kept ſecret, *Montroſs*, whom the Leaders had reſolv'd to gain, was one of the firſt that was made privy to it. They artfully ſounded him, and he no leſs ſubtlely giving them Hopes that he wou'd not be inflexible, they diſcover'd to him their Deſign of taking up Arms for the Parliament of *England*, offering to make him Lieutenant-General in the Army. He receiv'd their Secret and Offer with the ſame Diſſimulation he had us'd to draw it from them, and gave them cauſe to hope, without engaging in any poſitive Promiſe; but having brought himſelf off, upon pretence of Non-agreement among themſelves, he deſir'd them to bring Things to a Certainty, before he contracted with them, and privately leaving them, he and his Friend *Ogilby* came now and acquainted the King with all their Deſigns. But Biſhop *Guthry* tells us, That they found his Majeſty ſo confident, upon the Aſſurance the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* had ſent him from *York* by the Queen, that nothing they ſuggeſted to the contrary, cou'd prevail with him to attempt any Thing for Prevention. His Majeſty had ſtill the higheſt Confidence in that great Lord, whom he had lately made a Duke; and juſt before this Information, he had receiv'd a Letter from him, in which *he wiſh'd not only Life and Fortune, but his Soul might periſh, if he left any Thing uneſſay'd and undone, that was in his Power for the King's Service*; as appears in the Memoirs of Him and his Brother.

Montroſs *diſcovers the* Scots *Deſign to the King.*

But in vain.

5. In the mean Time, at *London* nothing was left unattempted, that cou'd provide for the Relief of *Gloceſter*; and all the Shops in the City were ſolemnly order'd to be ſhut up, till the Siege of that Place was rais'd. All Overtures of Peace were totally ſuppreſs'd, the Pulpits reſounded nothing but War, and a Book was ſet out by Mr. *Saltmarſh*, a noted Miniſter, in which among others were theſe Points of Advice. '1. That all Means ſhou'd be us'd to 'keep the King and his People from a ſudden *Union*. 2. 'To cheriſh the War under the Notion of *Popery*, as the 'ſureſt Means to engage the People. 3. If the King wou'd 'not grant their Demands, then to root him out, and 'the Royal Line, and to *Collate* the Crown upon ſome 'Body elſe.' Some ſober Perſons excepting againſt this in the Houſe of Commons, the famous *Harry Martin* ſaid, *He ſaw no Reaſon to condemn Mr.* Saltmarſh, *and that it were better one Family ſhou'd be deſtroy'd, than many.* Sir *Nevil Pool* mov'd that Mr. *Martin* might explain *what one Family he meant*: Upon which he boldly anſwer'd, *The King and his Children.* This gave ſo great Offence, that ſome Members exclaim'd againſt the Lewdneſs of his Life, as well as the Height and Danger of the Words; and after ſome ſharp Speeches, he was ſent to the *Tower*, but was ſhortly after releas'd, and a longer Time after readmitted to his Place in Parliament. About the ſame Time Sir *John Conyers* laying down the Lieutenancy of the *Tower*, the Cuſtody of it was given by the Houſes to *Pennington* the Lord-Mayor; that the City might ſee they were allowed to hold their own Reins, and truſted with a Juriſdiction that had always juſtled with their own. Which Compliment ſerv'd to a double Purpoſe; for as by this they made the City believe they had put themſelves under their Protection, they had rather put the City under the Power of One, who wou'd never abandon them out of an Inclination for Peace.

Harry Martin's *Boldneſs.*

Pennington *made Lieutenant of the* Tower.

The Earl of *Eſſex* now declar'd, that he himſelf wou'd undertake the Relief of *Gloceſter*, whereas Sir *William Waller* had been deſign'd for that Employment, and was return'd to his old Vigour againſt the King, and recover'd thoſe Officers and Soldiers again, who had abſented upon his Connivance, or an Opinion he wou'd march no more: Yet his Numbers increas'd not ſo faſt as the Occaſion requir'd; for Colonel *Maſſy* found Means to ſend many Meſſengers out of the Town, to diſcover his Diſtreſs, and the Time he ſhou'd be able to hold out. Their Ordinance of Preſſing, tho' executed with unuſual Rigour, did not anſwer their Expectation; ſo that they were forc'd to apply themſelves to their true Friends, the Citizens, whom they allarm'd with the King's Irreconcilableneſs to them, to ſend what Aſſiſtance they cou'd in this Exigency. At length ſo many Regiments of Horſe and Foot as the Earl deſir'd, were aſſign'd to march with them; and ſo towards the End of *Auguſt* he left *London*, with the Prayers of the People for Succeſs, and at his Rendezvous at *Ayleſbury*, he was met by the Lord *Grey*, and other Forces of the aſſociated Counties; from whence he march'd by eaſy Journies towards *Gloceſter*, with an Army of above eight Thouſand Foot, and four Thouſand Horſe. It wou'd not at firſt be credited in the Camp, that the Earl cou'd be in a Condition to attempt ſuch a Work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the Intelligence, and rather ſuſpected that he wou'd give ſome Allarm to *Oxford*, where the Queen was, and endeavour to divert the Siege, than venture upon ſo tedious a March, in which he muſt paſs a Campaign of near thirty Miles, where half the King's Horſe might diſtreſs, if not deſtroy his Army, and through a Country eaten bare, where he cou'd neither find Proviſion for Man or Horſe: And if he ſhou'd paſs without Impediment into *Gloceſterſhire*, he cou'd neither continue there, nor retire to *London*, without being deſtroy'd in the Rear by the King's Army, and that without the Hazard of a Battle. Upon theſe Concluſions, they proceeded in their Works before *Gloceſter*, having near finiſh'd their Galleries, and

The Earl of Eſſex *appointed to relieve* Gloceſter.

1643. Car. 19.

It bravely held out.

and contriv'd ſeveral Engines for Battery, and other Uſes. But *Maſſy*, by his indefatigable Activity, did continually oppoſe Force to Force, Sallies to Aſſaults, and Countermines to Mines from without. Tho' neither as yet underſtood the Methods of Beſieging and Defending, that part of War being in its Infancy in *England*; yet the Bravery of the Defendants was very remarkable, and carry'd the Cauſe, ſince they held out till the Arrival of their Succours.

The King being inform'd of the Enemies Advance, ſent Prince *Rupert* with all the Horſe to interrupt their March; which he did by continual Excurſions, Velitations, and forcing of Poſts and Quarters. At *Stow in the Would*, the Prince drawing all his Horſe in one continu'd Line, upon the Side of a Hill, made a very great Appearance. On the contrary, the Enemy march'd up the Aſcent in Battalia; where Lieutenant-Colonel *Bayly*, with the City Regiments, were in the Left Wing, and Colonel *Harvey*, with his Regiment of Horſe and two of Foot, being ſomewhat advanc'd on the Right, the Prince ſent a ſtrong Party, with Orders to endeavour to get between them and Home: Which being perceiv'd, three Regiments more were ſent to his Aſſiſtance; which, with the Thunder of their Cannon, oblig'd the Royaliſts, after ſome ſkirmiſhing, to retire to their Body; which being compos'd only of Horſe, gave Way to this great Army, which was juſt before encreas'd at *Brackley-Heath*. The King himſelf was very deſirous of a Treaty, and ſent a Trumpeter with Propoſitions to the Earl of *Eſſex*, who crudely anſwer'd, *That he had Orders to relieve* Gloceſter, *not to treat*. Upon which the King aroſe from before the Place, and paſs'd the River, with a Deſign to fight the Enemy upon their Return; which was thought a great Omiſſion, ſince if he had fought them before they reach'd the Town, he had probably defeated them, or ſtopp'd their Progreſs, either of which wou'd have oblig'd the Town to ſurrender; for the Earl of *Eſſex* found but one Barrel of Powder, and other Proviſions as low, in the Place. Thus on the 5th Day of *September* was the Siege of *Gloceſter* rais'd, after the King's Forces had lain before it three Weeks, and five Days; and it muſt be own'd that the Bravery of the Governor gave a Stop to the Career of the King's good Fortunes, and from his invincible Defence of that Place, the Parliament had Time to recover their broken Forces, and more broken Spirits, and did owe to this Riſe, the Greatneſs to which they afterwards aſpir'd.

The Siege rais'd.

The Affairs of Ireland.

X. 1. Soon after this great Diſappointment at *Gloceſter*, the King, by means of his urgent Neceſſities, and the extream Miſeries of his Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, was forc'd to condeſcend to a Matter that was turn'd as much againſt his Reputation, as the other was againſt his Intereſt. *Ireland* for a long Time had lain languiſhing and weltring in her Blood, and there hapned many ſtrange and memorable Actions, which do not ſo properly come within the Compaſs of an *Engliſh* Hiſtory; tho' ſeveral of them were ſignal Inſtances of the Divine Vengeance againſt perfidious and inhuman Traitors, who had receiv'd all manner of Encouragement and Aſſiſtance from *Spain*, *France*, and *Rome* it ſelf. The famous Marqueſs of *Ormond*, by his own powerful Sway, had made a glorious Stand, and with unparallel'd Courage and Conduct, and almoſt miraculous Succeſs, had hitherto reſtrain'd the Rage and Fury of the Rebels; and indeed he was a Man ſo accompliſh'd, that he had either no Enemies, or ſuch as were aſham'd to be thought ſo. But this Summer the Affairs of that Kingdom ſuffer'd beyond Expreſſion for want of Proviſions, Mony and Ammunition out of *England*, which the two Houſes of Parliament, by Agreement, and the King's Authority, were oblig'd to ſend. Several melancholy Letters and Meſſages were ſent, both to the King and the two Houſes, from the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, to repreſent their diſmal Condition, and the abſolute Neceſſity of Supplies; but all to little or no Effect, for neither Party cou'd do what they deſir'd, and each was ready to caſt the Blame upon the other. His Majeſty alſo receiv'd other Advices from the chief Men of that Kingdom, who were Abhorrers of the Rebellion, 'That now there was no reaſonable Hope of preſerving his Proteſtant Subjects, and his own Intereſt in *Ireland*, but by treating with the Rebels, and making a Peace, or Truce with them.' This was a terrible Hardſhip upon the King, who had been ſo ſcandalouſly charg'd with countenancing that Rebellion, and had bound Himſelf not to make a Peace with the Rebels without the Conſent of his two Houſes of Parliament. But as nothing was more evident, than that his Proteſtant Subjects cou'd not ſubſiſt without extraordinary Aid from *England*, which was as impoſſible for him to ſend, as it was for the Parliament, while the War continu'd doubtful; ſo he was plainly reduc'd to this Choice, 'Whether he wou'd preſerve the Remainder of his Proteſtant Subjects, and the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*, with the Inconvenience of ſome perverſe and unreaſonable Scandal; or ſuffer them to be rooted out, and undergo the perpetual Obloquy of loſing a Kingdom, and abandon the moſt miſerable Objects of Pity, when it was in his Power to have preſerv'd One and the Other.' Then it was further conſider'd, that the two Houſes had not perform'd their Parts in thoſe Acts that had bound the King, but had employ'd the Mony that had been rais'd by thoſe very Acts for the Relief of *Ireland*, in the Maintenance of their firſt rais'd Forces; ſo that the King might reaſonably think himſelf diſengag'd on his Part, eſpecially when his own and his poor Subjects Neceſſities requir'd it.

The Marqueſs of Ormond's Bravery.

The King neceſſitated to treat with the Rebels.

1643. Car. 19.

Upon theſe Conſiderations, his Majeſty, after two Months waiting for the Parliament's Proceedings, about the End of *July* wrote to the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, 'That they ſhou'd iſſue out a Commiſſion, under the great Seal of *Ireland*, to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, to *Treat and Conclude a Ceſſation of Arms* with the Rebels, upon ſuch Articles and Conditions as he ſhou'd judge moſt reaſonable; and during that *Ceſſation*, that ſuch Agents as they cou'd chuſe, ſhou'd have Acceſs to his Royal Perſon, to preſent their own Propoſitions for Peace.' Hereupon the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, being then only General of the Horſe there, enter'd upon a Treaty with Commiſſioners authoris'd by the Council at *Kilkenny*, to whoſe Juriſdiction the Rebels had committed the whole Government of their Affairs: And Articles of *Ceſſation* being prepar'd for a Year, and approv'd by the Lords Juſtices and Council, without whoſe Advice the Marqueſs wou'd not proceed; and all the principal Officers being preſent at the Treaty, having given it under their Hands, 'That it was moſt neceſſary for the Preſervation of that Kingdom, that a *Ceſſation* ſhou'd be made for a Year, upon thoſe Articles and Conditions;' and laſtly, the Rebels undertaking 'To pay to his Majeſty's Uſe thirty thouſand Pound Sterling within a ſhort Time, whereof one Moiety was to be in ready Mony, and the reſt half in Mony and half in good Beefs,' a *Ceſſation of Arms* was concluded by the Marqueſs; and publiſh'd with the Articles and Conditions, by the Lords Juſtices and Council of *Ireland*, to begin on the fifteenth Day of *September*, and to continue for the Space of one whole Year.

He agrees to a Ceſſation of Arms.

This Ceſſation was no ſooner known in *England*, but the two Houſes took the Advantage, and declar'd againſt it with all poſſible Severity, and Reflection upon his Majeſty's Honour, perſuading the People, 'That the Rebels were now brought to their laſt Gaſp, and reduc'd to ſuch a diſmal Famine, that like *Canibals* they eat one another, and muſt have been immediately deſtroy'd and rooted out, if the King had not been perſuaded by the *Popiſh Counſels* at Court to conſent to this Ceſſation.' And when ſome of the King's Officers and Soldiers came over from *Ireland*, new Invectives were made, and Paſquils to this Effect, 'That the Queen's Army of *French* and *Walloon Papiſts*, and the King's Army of *Engliſh Papiſts*, together with the *Iriſh Rebels*, were to ſettle the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of *England*.' It is incredible what a ſtrange Impreſſion this Ceſſation made upon the Minds of many well-meaning People, and what Numbers of Stories were rais'd upon it; which can be attributed to nothing ſo much as the general Diſtemper of the Times, which converted all Actions into Deſigns upon the *Proteſtant* Religion, and whatever was done by *Papiſts*, to the Queen's Zeal for her own Religion. As to the King's Part in this Rebellion, which has been ſo often charg'd upon him, notwithſtanding the poor Story of the Marqueſs of *Antrim*, we find that all Authentick Writers have declar'd him blameleſs, and enough has been formerly ſaid to clear him of it. Therefore wholly to diſmiſs this Subject, we ſhall only take Notice of the Teſtimony of the Lord *Clarendon*, who moſt ſolemnly declares, That the King always look'd upon it, as the moſt groundleſs, bloody and wicked Rebellion, that ever poſſeſs'd the Spirits of that People; and was not more griev'd at any one Circumſtance of the Domeſtick Diſtractions, than as it hinder'd him from chaſtiſing, and taking Vengeance upon the Other, which from his Soul he deſir'd.

The two Houſes declare furiouſly againſt it.

2. But to proceed in the military Tranſactions; the King, notwithſtanding his great Diſappointment at *Gloceſter*, before he parted, heard the pleaſing News of Sir *John Digby*'s routing a conſiderable Party of Parliamentarians near *Torrington*, and his taking of *Barnſtable* and *Bediford* in *Devonſhire*, and likewiſe the Surrender of the rich City of *Exeter* to the Arms of Prince *Maurice*. He himſelf for ſome Time lay at *Sudley* Caſtle, within eight Miles of *Gloceſter*, waiting for the Return of *Eſſex*'s Army; and to open a Way for their Retreat, he remov'd to *Eveſham*, expecting the Earl wou'd go back the ſame Way he came; and thereupon the Earl march'd to *Tewkeſbury*, as if he had no other Deſign. The King's Horſe, tho' vigorous in Action, were commonly impatient under

The King waits upon the Earl of Eſſex's *Army.*

Duty and ill Accommodation, and now were ſo indiſpos'd with Wearineſs, that they became leſs vigilant as to the Motions of the Enemy: So that *Eſſex* was march'd from *Tewkesbury* with his whole Army twenty four Hours before the King heard which way he had taken; and having the Advantage of a dark Night and ſure Guides, reach'd *Cirenceſter* before Day-Break, where he totally ſurpris'd two Regiments of the King's Horſe, to the Number of above three hundred; and what was much more ſerviceable to his Men, was the ſeizing a great Quantity of Proviſions, prepar'd by the King's Commiſſaries for the Army before *Gloceſter*, which prov'd a mighty Relief to them, who were now more apprehenſive of Hunger than the Sword. From hence the Earl, having no further Fear of the King's Horſe, which he had no Deſire to encounter in the open Field, and being at leaſt twenty Miles before him, by eaſie Marches mov'd through that deep and encloſed Country of *North-Wiltſhire*, his direct Way to *London*.

As ſoon as the King had certain Intelligence which Way the Enemy was gone, he endeavour'd by Speed and Induſtry to recover the Advantage, which had been loſt by the ſupine Negligence of thoſe he had truſted; and himſelf with great Diligence leading on the Foot, Prince *Rupert* with near five thouſand Horſe march'd Day and Night over the Hills to get between *London* and the Enemy, before they cou'd free themſelves from thoſe deep enclos'd Countries, and narrow Lanes, and to divert them with Skirmiſhes, till the whole Army ſhou'd come up. This Deſign, purſu'd and perform'd with indefatigable Pains, ſucceeded to his Wiſh; for when the Van of the Enemy's Army had almoſt march'd over *Awborne Chaſe*, deſigning that Night to have reach'd *Newbury*, Prince *Rupert* unexpectedly appear'd with a ſtrong Body of Horſe ſo near them, that before they cou'd put themſelves in order to receive him, he charg'd their Rear, and routed them with conſiderable Execution; and tho' the Enemy perform'd the Parts of brave Men, and more dexterouſly reliev'd each other, than cou'd have been expected, from ſuch a ſurpriſing Action, yet with ſome Difficulty, and the Loſs of many Men, the Night coming on, they were glad to ſhorten their Journey, and took up their Quarters at *Hungerford*. In this Conflict, which was very ſharp for an Hour or two, there fell many of the Enemy; but of the King's Party none of Name, but the Marqueſs of *Vieu Ville*, a gallant Gentleman of the *French* Nation, who had attended the Queen out of *Holland*, and is ſaid to have been kill'd in cold Blood, after he was taken Priſoner. There were many Officers wounded, and among thoſe the Lord *Jermin*, and the Lord *Digby*; which laſt met with an Eſcape agreeable to the Romantick Courſe of his Life, his Face being much hurt by Powder at the Mouth of a Piſtol, when the Bullet was neither felt nor found.

Prince Rupert *overtakes and charges his Rear.*

By means of this Expedition, the Enemy was oblig'd to ſuch Delay, that the King came up with his Foot and Train, tho' his Numbers, by his exceeding long Marches and other Accidents, were leſſen'd above two thouſand, ſince the raiſing the Siege of *Gloceſter*. The King was ſo very expeditious, that when the Earl of *Eſſex* had advanc'd from *Hungerford*, hoping to recover *Newbury*, and came within two Miles of the Town, he found his Majeſty intirely poſſeſs'd of it, a few Hours before; which drove him to a Neceſſity of ſtaying in the Field all Night. It was thought by many that the King had now recover'd whatever had been loſt by former Overſights or Neglects, and that by deſtroying the Army which had reliev'd *Gloceſter*, he ſhou'd be fully recompenc'd for the Diſappointment before that Place. He ſeem'd poſſeſs'd of all the Advantages to be deſir'd, a good Town for the Refreſhment of his Men, his own Quarters ſecure, his Garriſon at *Wallingford* at hand, and *Oxford* near enough for any conſiderable Supply; while the Enemy lodg'd in the Field, equally tir'd with long Marches, and from the Time the Prince had attack'd them the Day before, had ſtood on their Arms in a Country where they wanted Victuals. So that it was concluded to be in the King's Power to fight or not, and conſequently to compel them to great Diſadvantages, who muſt force their Way through, or ſtarve; and this was ſo well known, that it was reſolv'd over Night, not to engage in Battel, but upon the moſt aſſur'd Grounds of Victory. But contrary to this ſound Reſolution, when the Earl of *Eſſex* had with excellent Conduct drawn out his Army in Battalia upon a Hill call *Bigg's-Hill*, within leſs than a Mile from the Town, and every where plac'd his Men to the beſt Advantage, by the precipitate Courage of ſome young Officers, who unhappily undervalu'd that of the Enemy, ſtrong Parties became ſucceſſively ſo far engag'd, that the King was compell'd, contrary to his Deſigns, to put the whole to the Hazard of a Battel.

The King's Army gets before him.

BATTEL II. *at* Newbury.

This was the famous Battel of *Newbury*, fought on the 20th Day of *September*, begun at Six a Clock in the Morning, and diſputed many Hours with infinite Fierceneſs and Courage, on all Parts The Earl of *Eſſex*'s Party preſerv'd excellent good Order, and ſtood rather to maintain the Ground they were upon, than to gain more; by which they did not expoſe Themſelves to thoſe Diſadvantages, which any Motion wou'd have offer'd to the Aſſailants. The King's Horſe, with a kind of Contempt of the Enemy, charg'd with intrepid Fury, upon all Grounds of Inequality; and were ſo far ſuperior to the Enemy's Troops, that they routed them in moſt Places, till they had left the greateſt Part of their Foot without any Guard of Horſe. But then the Parliament Foot behav'd themſelves to Admiration, and gave their ſcatter'd Horſe Time to rally, and were ready to aſſiſt and ſecure them upon any Difficulty. The *London* Train'd-Bands and Auxiliary Regiments, whoſe Experience and Courage had been too much deſpis'd, perform'd Wonders; and were in reality the Preſervation of the Army this Day. For they ſtood as a Bulwark and Rampire to defend the reſt; and when their Wings of Horſe were broken and diſpers'd, ſo ſteadily kept their Ground, that tho' Prince *Rupert* Himſelf led up the choice Horſe to charge them, and endur'd their Storm of ſmall Shot, he cou'd make no Impreſſion upon their Stand of Pikes, but was forc'd to wheel about. The Battel was fought all the Day without any ſuch remarkable Turn, as to make either Party think they had much the Advantage: For tho' the King's Horſe often forc'd the Enemy's to give Ground, yet the Foot was ſo immoveable, that little was gain'd by the other; and then the Beginning of the Battel was ſo ſudden, and with ſo little Order, that all the Day no Uſe was made of the King's Cannon, tho' that of the Enemy was ſo exactly plac'd, that it did very great Execution upon the King's Party, both Horſe and Foot. The King and the Queen, from a Hill, were both Spectators of this ſharp and tragical Sight, which cou'd not be concluded but by the Shades and Darkneſs of the Night. The Enemy had ſucceeded as well as they hop'd for, therefore early in the Morning they prepar'd themſelves for marching, being under a Neceſſity to gain ſome Place where they might eat and ſleep. And the Earl of *Eſſex* finding a Paſſage open, purſu'd his main Deſign of returning to *London*, and took the Way to *Reading*; which Prince *Rupert* obſerving, ſuffer'd him to paſs without Impediment, till his whole Army was enter'd into the narrow Lanes; and then with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, and a thouſand Muſqueteers, ſo effectually preſs'd upon their Rear, that he put them into great Diſorder, and kill'd and took a great many Priſoners. However the Earl with the Groſs of his Army, and Cannon, got ſafe into *Reading*, which he ſoon abandon'd to the King's Forces; and it was immediately poſſeſs'd by Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, who again made it a Garriſon for the King.

Such was the memorable Battel of *Newbury*, which was far more obſtinate than that of *Edge-Hill*, and which, by reaſon of the ſharp Actions before and after, is ſaid to have laſted three Days. Writers do not agree as to the Number of the Slain, and both Sides laid claim to the Victory. As to the Earl of *Eſſex*, the whole Action, from his leaving *London* to his Return, was perform'd with incomparable Conduct and Courage, and the Succeſs very much owing to his own Perſonal Valour; having with great Difficulties reliev'd the Place he undertook, and paſs'd through greater to *London*, with leſs Loſs than cou'd be expected. On the other Side, the King was not without Signs of Victory: He had follow'd, and compell'd the Enemy to Battel, had the Spoil of the Field, purſu'd them next Day with conſiderable Execution, and laſtly recover'd the Garriſon of *Reading*, which much enlarg'd his Quarters.

The Deaths and Characters, of the Earl *of* Sunderland,

But all theſe Advantages were exceedingly darkned by the Loſs of ſeveral great Men and Officers on his Side; while thoſe on the other, in Compariſon, were Perſons of Obſcurity. Here fell *Henry Spencer*, Earl of *Sunderland*, a modeſt and couragious young Lord, not above twenty three Years of Age; who having no Command in the Army, attended upon the King's Perſon, under the Obligation of Honour; and putting himſelf a Voluntier into the King's Troop, was in the Beginning taken off by a Cannon Bullet. There alſo fell *Robert Dormer* Earl of *Carnarvon*, a Perſon with whoſe great Parts and Virtue the World was not ſufficiently acquainted. His Mind was adorn'd with all the Advantages of Education and Travels, but a little corrupted with the Pleaſures and Extravagancies that are too incident to great Fortunes. King *Charles* the Second us'd to ſay, *He was the fineſt Gentleman he ever ſaw*. But when the War began, having the Command of a Regiment of Horſe, he baniſh'd all Licentiouſneſs with Severity, gave glorious Marks of Reformation, and yielded himſelf wholly to the Duty of his Place; no Man more diligently obeying, or more dexterouſly commanding; for he was not only of a very keen Courage in expoſing his Perſon, but an excellent Diſcerner and Purſuer of Advantage upon his Enemy; having a mighty Preſence of Mind in any time of Danger. He was a great

Earl of Carnarvon,

1643. Car. 19.

Lover of Juſtice, and a ſtrict Obſerver of his Word, which he ſignally ſhew'd, when it was moſt in his Power to break it: He was in all Reſpects an excellent Soldier, and an Ornament to that Profeſſion, and by his Death the King felt a ſenſible Weakneſs in his Army.

And the Lord Falkland.

But the greateſt Loſs of all, was the incomparable *Lucius Cary*, Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, whoſe Memory the Lord *Clarendon* celebrates, both with the Majeſty of an Hiſtorian, and the Tenderneſs of a Friend, when he ſays, ‘He was a Perſon of ſuch prodigious Parts of Learning and Knowledge, and of that inimitable Sweetneſs and Delight in Converſation, of ſo flowing and obliging a Humanity and Goodneſs to Mankind, and of that primitive Simplicity and Integrity of Life, that if there were no other Brand upon this odious and accurſed Civil War, than that ſingle Loſs, it muſt be moſt infamous and execrable to all Poſterity.’ Several others agree in a great meaſure as to this extraordinary Character; One calls him ‘The greateſt Ornament to our Nation that the laſt Age produc'd;’ another calls him ‘The Envy of this Age, and will be the Wonder of the next;’ and a Third ſays, ‘That by his Death, Learning had the greateſt Loſs, that ever hapned in that or the Age before.’ We have already given the Subſtance of his Character in another Place; but ſhall further obſerve, that as his Integrity was as bright as ever appear'd in Mortal, and his Reverence to Parliaments and the eſtabliſh'd Laws as profound as ever was ſeen in any Subject, ſo in the Beginning of the Parliament no Man more heartily joyn'd with the Leaders, while he found their Complaints were reaſonable, and while he believ'd their Intentions were honeſt; but having a Judgment too ſagacious to be long impos'd upon, after that, no Man more abhorr'd their Proceedings: And after the War broke out, when any Overtures of an Accommodation were made, after a deep Silence, he wou'd with frequent Sighs and melancholy Accents, ingeminate the Word *Peace, Peace!* and wou'd paſſionately profeſs, *That the very Agony of the War, and the View of the Calamities of the Kingdom, robb'd him of his Sleep, and wou'd ſhortly break his Heart.* Yet no Man was more bold in Battel, for which he wou'd ſay, *That it concern'd him to be more active in hazardous Enterpriſes, than other Men; that all might ſee, that his Impatiency for Peace, proceeded not from any Fear of venturing his own Perſon.* In the Morning before the Battel, *Whitelock* tells us, that he call'd for a clean Shirt, and being ask'd the Reaſon of it, anſwer'd, *That if he was ſlain in the Battel, they ſhou'd not find his Body in foul Linnen.* And being diſſwaded by his Friends from going into the Fight, as having no Call, and being no Military Officer, he declar'd, *He was weary of the Times, and foreſaw vaſt Miſery to his own Country, and did believe he ſhou'd be out of it before Night.* And thus he met with his Death in the thirty fourth Year of his Age, to the infinite Affliction of Thouſands in the Nation; ‘having ſo well diſpatcht the true Buſineſs of Life, that the Eldeſt rarely attain to that immenſe Knowledge, and the Youngeſt enter not into the World with more Innocency.’

The Earl of Eſſex*'s Reception at* London.

3. Tho' the King had ſome conſiderable Marks of Victory, in and after the Battel, yet the Earl of *Eſſex* was receiv'd with all imaginable Demonſtrations of Affection and Reverence; and a publick and ſolemn Thankſgiving was appointed for his Victory, as it was declar'd by the two Houſes, tho' more properly belonging to the whole Action, than the laſt Conflict. The Day after his Arrival, he was viſited at *Eſſex-Houſe* by the Speaker, and the whole Houſe of Commons, who declar'd to him, ‘That they came to congratulate his mighty Succeſs, and to render the Thanks of the Kingdom to him for his incomparable Conduct and Courage; and that they had caus'd their Acknowledgment to be enter'd in their Journals as a Monument and Record of his *Valour* and their *Gratitude*.’ The Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen waited upon him in their Formalities, and highly complimented him, ‘As their *Protector* and *Defender* of their Lives and Fortune, and of their Wives and Children.’ Next, the Commons render'd ſolemn Thanks to thoſe Members of both Houſes who had Command in the Army, with ſome Extraordinary Signification of Reſpect to the Superior Officers throughout the Army. A florid Letter of Kindneſs and Eſteem was ſent to *Maſſy* the Governor of *Gloceſter*, and what made the Letter more valuable, a thouſand Pounds was ſent to him as a Gratuity for his Service, beſides what was due for his Pay, and ſome Largeſs to all the inferior Officers, and a free Gift of a Month's Pay, beſides their Arrears, to the Soldiers of the Garriſon. And becauſe Sir *William Waller* had deſignedly neglected to aſſiſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, in his Return, and in the late Battel, that the King might receive no Advantage from the Jealouſy of thoſe two Commanders, great Care was taken to make, and greater to publiſh, a Reconciliation between them; in which ‘Sir *William* was all Submiſſion and Humility, and his *Excellency* full of Grace and Courteſy.’

Maſſy *and others rewarded.*

1643. Car. 19.

The Heat and Paſſion which Variety of Opinions had produc'd between any Members was totally laid aſide and forgotten, and no Artifice omitted to make the World believe, that they were a People newly incorporated, and as firmly united to the ſame End, as their Brethren the *Scots*, of whoſe timely Aſſiſtance they were now very confident: So that the Spirit of the Parliament was viſibly exalted, and their Impatience for Peace intirely abated.

Diſcontents and Cenſures at Oxford.

On the other Side, upon the King's Return to *Oxford*, ſoon after the laſt Battel, there appear'd nothing but Dejectedneſs, Diſcontent, and ſecret Mutiny in the Army, Anger and Jealouſy among the Officers, every one accuſing another of Want of Courage and Conduct in the Actions in the Field; and they who were not of the Army, blaming them all for their ſeveral Failings and groſs Overſights. The Siege of *Gloceſter* was not believ'd to have been well manag'd, and that it might have been reduc'd in half the Time they were before it, had it been ſkilfully undertaken. The not Engaging the Earl of *Eſſex* in his March over ſo open a Country, was thought inexcuſable, and was imputed to the Want of Courage in the Lord *Wilmot*, who was in no Degree favour'd by Prince *Rupert*: Nor was that Prince himſelf without ſome Reflection and Reproaches for ſuffering the Earl of *Eſſex*, after all the Horſe was joyn'd, to march down a long ſteep Hill into the Vale of *Gloceſter*, without any Moleſtation; and that the whole Army, after the Siege was broken up, had not been brought to fight in that Vale, at ſome Diſtance from the Town, when the King's Men were freſh, and the Enemy tired out with ſo long a March. But then all renew'd their Execrations againſt thoſe who adviſ'd the Siege of *Gloceſter*; even the Officers, who had been preſent, and conſented to all the Counſels, diſclaiming as much as any the whole Deſign; and all conſpir'd to lay the whole Reproach upon Sir *John Colepeper*, the Maſter of the Rolls, a Man of unqueſtionable Fidelity, who ſpoke moſt in thoſe Debates, and was not at all gracious to the Soldiers: And the Clamour againſt that Enterpriſe was ſo popular and univerſal, that no Man undertook to ſpeak in Defence of it; tho' many powerful Reaſons had been formerly given for it.

At the ſame Time, the Temper of the Court was no better than that of the Army; and the King was ſo much diſturb'd with both, that he did not enjoy the Quiet that was neceſſary for his Condition. He was frequently vex'd with the Importunities of Perſons ſuing for Honours and Offices; but no one Particular gave him more Trouble than the Pretence and Expectations of the Earl of *Holland*. He with the two forementioned Earls of *Bedford* and *Clare*, who had attended the King before he roſe from *Gloceſter*, and had behav'd themſelves bravely in the laſt Battel, being return'd to *Oxford* with his Majeſty, now expected to be kindly receiv'd. *Clare* and *Bedford* had no Reaſon to complain, ſince the King upon all Occaſions ſpoke very graciouſly to them; but *Holland* was by no Means pleas'd, who thought none of his former Miſcarriages ought to be remember'd, and that all were cancell'd by the Merit of his Return, and bringing ſuch conſiderable Perſons with him; and expected to have his Key immediately reſtor'd to him, and to be in the ſame Condition in the Bed-Chamber, the Council, and the King's Favour as formerly; of all which he had particular Aſſurance from the Queen, who now really deſir'd to oblige him, according to his own Deſire. But the King, tho' he frequently ſpoke with him, was always upon his Guard towards him, and knew not how to abate any thing of his former Rigour or Prejudice; eſpecially when he had waited, and found that the Earl cou'd not conquer himſelf ſo far as to ask Pardon, or to acknowledge his Crimes. This he delay'd ſo long, that the King thought fit to diſpoſe of the Key to the Marqueſs of *Hertford*; upon which the Earl withdrew himſelf to a neighbouring Village, where he had a private Lodging, and with the Help of a dark Night, and a good Guide, he got himſelf into the Enemies Quarters, and laid himſelf at the Feet of the Parliament; which, after a ſhort Impriſonment, gave him leave to live in his own Houſe, without farther conſidering him, than as a Man able to do little Good or Harm. And yet he endeavour'd to make himſelf grateful to them by an Act unſuitable to his Honour, or his generous Nature: For he publiſh'd a Declaration, in which he intimated, ‘That his Compaſſion and Love to his Country had only prevail'd with him to go to the King, in Hopes to have been able to perſuade him to make a Peace with his Parliament; but that he found the Court ſo indiſpos'd to make Peace with the Parliament, and that the Papiſts had ſo great a Power there, as to procure a Ceſſation for the *Iriſh* Rebels; ſo that he reſolv'd, tho' with the Hazard of his Life, to return to the Parliament, and ſpend the remainder of his Life in their Service.’ This more ſunk his Reputation, and did him no Kindneſs with the Party, who had the Benefit of his Re-

The Earl of Holland *returns to the Parliament.*

turn; for his Eſtate having been ſeiz'd by them, it was a long Time before he cou'd get the Sequeſtration taken off, and with all the Interceſſion of powerful Friends, he never cou'd prevail to be re-admitted to his Place in their Council.

But how inconſtant or irregular ſoever the Carriage of the Earl was, it did not acquit the Court from an Overſight in treating him no better; which was a great Error, that occaſion'd the King, and all thoſe about him, to be look'd upon as Implacable; and ſo diſcourag'd others from returning to his Majeſty by ſuch Application, and likewiſe made thoſe who abhorr'd the War, rather to acquieſce, and wait for a Conjuncture when a general Peace might be made, than expoſe themſelves by unſeaſonable Addreſſes. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who had retir'd to *Petworth* with a Deſign of going to the King, if incourag'd by the Lord *Conway*'s Negotiation, and the Earl of *Holland*'s Reception, return'd to the Parliament, where he was receiv'd with great Reſpect, all Men concluding he had never intended to do what he had not done. The other Members who had entertain'd the ſame Reſolutions, chang'd their Minds with him, and return'd to their former Stations, and the two Earls of *Bedford* and *Clare*, who yet remain'd at *Oxford*, ſhortly after found means to make their Peace at *Weſtminſter*; and return'd again to their own Habitations in *London*, without further Mark of Diſpleaſure, than a temporary Reſtraint from coming to the Houſe of Peers, or being truſted in their Counſels. Of the three Earls it was jocoſely ſaid, *That they had confirm'd others to continue with the Parliament*; *ſince having try'd* both Parties, *they found by Experience where was the beſt Treatment.*

And likewiſe the Earl of Bedford *and* Clare.

The Tranſactions of the Parliament Committee in Scotland.

XI. I. Notwithſtanding the King's great Diſappointment, and Loſs of his beſt Time, by means of the Siege of *Glouceſter*, yet, having made a great Progreſs with his Arms, he had ſtill much the Advantage, as to a general Courſe of Succeſs; and might probably have continu'd that Advantage to the Ruin of the Leaders at *Weſtminſter*, had not they timely procur'd the Aſſiſtance of their Brethren the *Scots*, whoſe ſolemn Promiſes and Fidelity had been too much rely'd on by his Majeſty. It was in the Month of *Auguſt* that their Commiſſioners and Preachers formerly mention'd, arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, to beg all ſpeedy Aſſiſtance for the Relief of their declining Cauſe in *England*. They preſented to the General-Aſſembly a Letter from the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, together with a Declaration from the two Houſes of Parliament, both to the ſame Effect, namely, 'That they deſign'd to extirpate Epiſcopacy Root and Branch, and to introduce that which 'they ſhou'd find moſt agreeable to the *Word of God*.' The great Mr. *Henderſon* was their Moderator, who having receiv'd ſeveral Kindneſſes from the King in 1641, had for a long Time declin'd inſiſting upon a Reformation in *England*; but now being warm'd by others into a greater Zeal, he reſolv'd to go their Way, and readily propos'd the Matter to the Conſideration of the Members, and his Aſſeſſors, which, beſides ſeveral leading Miniſters, conſiſted of many of the Nobility, under the Name of Ruling Elders. In the Debate, Mr. *Henry Guthry*, a Miniſter of great Note, ſtood up and ſaid, *He obſerv'd that the* Aſſembly of Divines, *and the* Engliſh Parliament *were both clear and particular as to the* privative Part, *the Extirpation of* Epiſcopacy *Root and Branch*; *but as to the* poſitive Part, *what they deſign'd to bring in, they cover'd over with many ambiguous general Terms: So that it cou'd not be known whether it wou'd be* Presbytery, *or* Independency, *or any Thing elſe. Therefore at preſent, he ſaw not how this Church, which holdeth* Presbyterian *Government to be* Jure Divino, *cou'd joyn with them*; *but it was firſt neceſſary that the* Parliament *and* Divines *at* Weſtminſter *ſhou'd explain themſelves, and be as expreſs in what they reſolv'd to* introduce, *as they had been in what they deſign'd to* remove. Which reaſonable Speech, tho' approv'd of by many, was ſeconded by none; but the Majority, or rather the whole Body of the Aſſembly, chearfully inclin'd to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners; and ſome ran ſo far back as to remember, 'how Queen *Elizabeth* help'd the *Lords of the Congregation* in the *Scotch* Reformation, in Oppoſition to the 'Queen Regent; and therefore it was but Juſtice that 'they ſhou'd now repay them with the like Aſſiſt'ance.

The Kirk Aſſembly joyn with them.

Notwithſtanding this Forwardneſs, the Nation of *Scotland* in general ſeem'd ſo fully ſatisfy'd with all they cou'd deſire, that they were well diſpos'd to be Spectators of the *Engliſh* Affairs, without engaging themſelves in the Quarrel; nor had they any ſuch Face of Authority to invite them to it, till by the Advice of Sir *Thomas Hope* and others, a Way was found to call a *Convention of the Eſtates*, as was formerly mention'd, which they judg'd as effectual as a Parliament. Yet ſome are of Opinion, that even after this Advantage, when the Convention acted altogether as a Parliament, they did not deſign to engage in the War againſt the King; but juſt as a few Men cozen'd the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, by perſuading them, 'That 'they only deſir'd a ſafe Peace, till by Multiplication of 'Indignities they made it impoſſible to get a Peace that 'wou'd appear Safe;' ſo there were as ſmall a Number in *Scotland* that over-reach'd the Convention there, by perſuading them, 'That they never deſign'd any Thing againſt 'the King, but it wou'd be a Thing too ungrateful, and 'render them very odious to the *Engliſh* Nation, if after 'ſo many Obligations receiv'd from the Parliament there, 'to whom they ow'd their Religion and their All, they 'ſhou'd refuſe ſo much as to treat with them, and by their 'Interpoſition endeavour to procure a good Peace for 'them with the King; which wou'd be a great Honour to 'Them, and as great an Obligation to his Majeſty, as to 'the Parliament.' This is all, as it is believ'd, that was in their Thoughts; and that they wou'd avoid any Engagement in a War, not by rejecting the Propoſition, but by making ſuch Demands as they well knew, or ſtrongly believ'd, wou'd never be accepted by the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. Thereupon they let the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners underſtand, 'That it wou'd be impoſſible to en'gage their Nation in a joynt Concurrence with them a'gainſt the King, but by the Influence and Authority of 'their Kirk; and that it wou'd be as impoſſible to procure 'their Conſent, without making it evident to them, 'That the Government of the Church in *England* ſhou'd 'be reduc'd to the very ſame Model with theirs in *Scotland*, and that Epiſcopacy ſhou'd be totally extirpated, 'and Deans and Chapters utterly aboliſh'd; without which 'they cou'd never think their own Government ſecurely 'eſtabliſh'd. All which muſt be done by an Obligation of 'Conſcience laid upon the People, who only preferr'd 'their Piety to God, before their Inclination to their 'Prince, and the Setting up the *Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt*, 'before the Vindication of a Temporal Juriſdiction.' For ſuch an Expedient therefore, they propos'd, 'That a *Covenant* might be agreed upon between the two Kingdoms, 'for the utter Extirpation of Prelacy, Root and Branch, '*&c.* which wou'd throughly engage the Kirk and the 'Nation to a Man; and the People being cemented toge'ther by ſuch a ſtrong Obligation, wou'd never be ſever'd 'and disjoyn'd by any Temptation whatſoever.

The Scots propoſe a Covenant between the two Kingdoms.

The ſubtle Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, by whom the reſt of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners were blindly and ſtupidly govern'd, was not ſurpris'd with the Propoſition, and tho' he equally hated *Epiſcopacy* and *Presbytery*, yet knowing that one was ſooner aboliſh'd, than the other eſtabliſh'd, he came reſolv'd to pay their own Price for their Friendſhip. Thereupon a *Covenant* was drawn up, in which this Gentleman artfully intermixt ſome dubious Expreſſions, and was agreed upon, for a perfect Combination and Marriage between the *Scots* and the *Engliſh* Parliament, and indeed a Conjunction of all the three Kingdoms. The Title of it was, *A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland. Beſides the Preamble or Preface, which complains of bloody Plots, Conſpiracies, wicked Attempts, Practices, *&c.* it conſiſts of theſe ſix great Branches. 'I. That they wou'd ſincerely and conſtantly 'endeavour, in their ſeveral Places and Callings, the Pre'ſervation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of '*Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Go'vernment, againſt their Common Enemies; the Refor'mation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England* and '*Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Go'ment, according to the *Word of God*, and the Example 'of the beſt Reform'd Churches, and they wou'd endea'vour to bring the Churches of God in the three King'doms, to the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Re'ligion, Confeſſion of Faith, Form of Church-Govern'ment, Directory for Worſhip and Catechiſing. ------ II. 'That they wou'd in like Manner, without Reſpect to 'Perſons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, '(that is Church-Government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, 'their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and 'Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Of'ficers depending on that Hierarchy) Superſtition, Hereſy, 'Schiſm, Prophaneneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found to 'be contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the Power of Godli'neſs. --- III. They wou'd with the ſame Sincerity and Con'ſtancy, in their ſeveral Vocations endeavour, with their 'Eſtates and Lives, mutually to preſerve the Rights and 'Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the King'doms, and to preſerve and defend the King's Majeſty's Per'ſon and Authority, in the Preſervation and Defence of the 'true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms. ----- IV. 'They wou'd alſo, with all Faithfulneſs, endeavour the 'Diſcovery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendi'aries, Malignants, or evil Inſtruments, by hindering the

The Form and Subſtance of it.

‘Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Factions or Parties among the People, contrary to this *League* and *Covenant*; that they may be brought to receive condign Puniſhment,-----V. And whereas the Happineſs of a bleſſed Peace, deny'd in former Times to their Progenitors, was by the good Providence of God granted unto them, and had been lately concluded and ſettled by both Parliaments, they wou'd each of them endeavour that they may remain conjoyn'd in a firm Peace and Union to all Poſterity, and that Juſtice may be done upon the wilful Oppoſers thereof.------VI. They wou'd, in this common Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend all Thoſe that enter into this *League* and *Covenant*, in the Maintaining and Purſuing thereof; and not ſuffer themſelves, directly or indirectly, by whatſoever Combination, Perſuaſion or Terror, to be divided, and withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction, whether to make Defection to the contrary Part, or give themſelves to a deteſtable Indifference or Neutrality in this Cauſe;----but wou'd, all the Days of their Lives, zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein, againſt all Oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to their Power, againſt all Lets and Impediments whatſoever.'----Then it concludes with a particular Reſolution of humbling themſelves before God, amending their Lives, *&c.* for the better Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt; and confirming all with as ſolemn an Oath, as cou'd well be drawn up in Words.

It is receiv'd generally, and with Applauſe.

This famous Covenant was offer'd to the General Aſſembly on the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt*, and after it was publickly read, Mr. *Henderſon*, the Moderator, made a long Speech concerning the Excellency of it. Upon a ſecond Reading, many of the moſt eminent Miniſters, and ruling Elders, were deſir'd to deliver their Opinions about it, who all highly magnify'd it; and the King's Commiſſioner preſs'd a Delay, till at leaſt it might be communicated to his Majeſty, yet the Approving of it was put to the Vote and carry'd unanimouſly; and being ſent to the Convention of Eſtates, it was approv'd of there on the ſame Day. This Covenant was vaſtly extoll'd by all Sorts, and came to be as much Idoliz'd as the Former; and the Lord *Maitland*, afterwards Duke of *Lauderdale*, was ſo extreamly delighted with it, that when his Voice came to be ask'd, he ſtood up and declar'd, *How upon the ſeventeenth of* Auguſt *four Years ago, an Act paſs'd for thruſting Epiſcopacy out of the Church of* Scotland, *and now upon this ſeventeenth of* Auguſt *alſo, an Act was paſſing for the Extirpation of it out of the Church of* England; *and that Providence having order'd ſo, as both to happen on one Day, he thought there was much in it, and that Men might thereupon warrantably expect glorious Conſequences to follow, even further off than* England, *before all was done.* This Obſervation was applauded by the moſt, as very ingenious, tho' others thought it no leſs ridiculous. Being paſs'd, the Aſſembly appointed Mr. *Henderſon*, Mr. *Bailey*, Mr. *Rutherford* and Mr. *Gileſpy*, together with the Earl of *Caſſels*, Lord *Maitland* and Mr. *Archibald Johnſton*, as Ruling Elders, to repair to *London*, for promoting this great Work. And having ſettled Matters for a future Correſpondence, the Aſſembly roſe with Triumph, on the nineteenth Day of *Auguſt*.

Cenſures upon it.

Wiſe Obſervers wonder'd to ſee a Matter of that high Importance, carry'd through with ſo little Deliberation or Debate; and it was thought ſtrange to find all Mens Conſciences of ſuch a Size, and to agree ſo exactly as the ſeveral Wheels of a Clock; which made all apprehend, there was ſome firſt Mover that directed all thoſe inferior Motions: This by one Party was imputed to God's extraordinary Providence; but by Others, to the Power and Policy of the Leaders, and the Simplicity and Fear of the reſt. One Article of it was thought ſtrange, that one ſort of Government of the Church was abjur'd, and none ſworn to in its Place for *England*; in which the *Scots* were outwitted by the additional Words of *Reforming according to the Word of God.* They wou'd have had Epiſcopacy abjur'd as ſimply unlawful, but by the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners the ſecond Article was ſo Manag'd, that it might import only an Abolition of the preſent Model of *England*; the *Scots* either not perceiving the Change, or were willing to have it paſs upon any Account. But many believ'd that the moſt unaccountable Part of it, was their Oath to maintain the Privileges of both Parliaments, ſince they were never defin'd, and were ſcarce capable of a Definition; and the Privileges of the *Engliſh* Parliament were far from the Knowledge of the *Scottiſh* People, who in this Caſe muſt believe juſt as the Members at *Weſtminſter* were pleas'd to inform them.

Sir Henry Vane's *Cunning.*

The main of it indeed was manag'd by the ſuperior Cunning and Artifice of Sir *Henry Vane*, who, as Dr. *Gumble* tells us, was very earneſt with the *Scots* to have the whole call'd a *League*, as well as a *Covenant*, and argu'd it almoſt all Night, and at laſt carry'd it: He held another Debate about Church Government, which was to be *According to the Example of the beſt Reform'd Churches*; he wou'd have it only *According to the Word of God*; but after a great Conteſt, they joyn'd both, and the laſt had the Precedence. One of his Companions afterwards asking him the Reaſon why he ſhou'd put them to ſo much Trouble, with ſuch needleſs Trifles; he told him, *He was miſtaken, and did not ſee enough into that Matter, for a* League *ſhewed, it was between two Nations, and might be broken upon juſt Reaſons, but not a* Covenant. *For the other, that Church Government* according to the Word of God, *by the Difference of Divines and Expoſitors, wou'd be long enough before it be determin'd, for the Learnedeſt held it clearly for Epiſcopacy; ſo that when all are agreed, we may take in the* Scotch *Presbytery.*

This Gentleman was certainly a Perſon of extraordinary Parts, a pleaſant Wit, and a deep Underſtanding, which penetrated the Deſigns of others with wonderful Sagacity, while his own were ſcarce known to any; a Perſon who in myſterious Articles could vie with the great Mr. *Hambden*; and a Perſon who was choſen to deceive a whole Nation, that was thought to excell in Graft and Policy: Which he effected with ſtrange Pregnancy and Dexterity, and prevail'd with a People, that cou'd not be mov'd but by advancing their Idol of *Presbytery*, to ſacrifice every Thing to the Erecting a Power that reſolv'd to proſecute it to an utter Extirpation. For this Reaſon Sir *Henry* artfully comply'd to all their high Demands, which they did not believe wou'd have been granted; and ſo in few Weeks a Treaty was concluded, in which, ‘Upon the *Engliſh* Parliament's advancing of a Hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling, the *Scots* were to be ready with an Army of Twenty Thouſand Horſe and Foot to their Aſſiſtance; that the *Covenant* ſhou'd be taken throughout all the King's Dominions; That a Committee of the *Scots* ſhou'd always ſit with the cloſe Committee at *Weſtminſter*, for the carrying on the War with equal Authority; That there ſhou'd be no Treaty of Peace with the King, without the joynt Conſent of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms:' With many other Particulars, very derogatory to the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation; and ſuch as wou'd not have been allow'd, but by reaſon of the declining Condition of the Parliament at that Time.

A Treaty concluded with the Scots.

2. The Covenant being compleated and ratify'd at *Edinburgh*, it was diſpatcht with all Expedition to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, together with a Signification, ‘That the *Scots* were in ſuch Forwardneſs to advance, that they wou'd be in *England* as ſoon as they cou'd be reaſonably expected.' Still many believ'd that this Engagement was propos'd by the *Scots*, rather to decline being concern'd in the Quarrel, than out of Expectation that the two Houſes wou'd concur with them; ſince they well knew that moſt of the Peers, and Perſons of Quality and Intereſt in the other Houſe, were in their Hearts againſt their Presbyterian Eſtabliſhment; for which, and other Reaſons, they concluded that this Interpoſition was a politick Stratagem to amuſe the *Engliſh*. But however it was, the two Houſes were at that Time in ſo great Want of their Aſſiſtance, that no ſooner the Draught of the Covenant arriv'd at *Weſtminſter*, but they ſhew'd a mighty Inclination to receive it. Yet finding ſome Delays uſeful at that Time, and that they might expreſs all neceſſary Deliberation in a new Caſe that concern'd the Eccleſiaſtical Fabrick of the Kingdom, they tranſmitted it to their *Aſſembly of Divines*, to return their Opinion of the Lawfulneſs of taking it in point of Conſcience. That Aſſembly, having purg'd it ſelf of the few loyal Members, ſoon came to a Concluſion of the Lawfulneſs and Piety of it, with only a ſmall Oppoſition of two, who were likewiſe ſoon convinc'd. Upon which the Lords and Commons, and their Aſſembly of Divines, met together with great Solemnity at the Church at St. *Margaret*'s, to take this holy Covenant, on the twenty fifth Day of *September*; a double Holy-day, by the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Return to *London*, and this Religious Exerciſe.

The Covenant receiv'd at Weſtminſter.

The manner of taking of it, in St. Margaret's *Church.*

Upon this ſolemn Occaſion, two or three of their Divines went up into the Pulpit ſucceſſively to pray, according to their ſeveral Gifts, and others made Orations upon the Work of the Day. Mr. *White* pray'd a whole Hour that God wou'd ſanctify them for that great Work. Mr. *Nye* ſhew'd the Warrant of it from Scripture, the Example of it ſince the Creation, and the Benefit of it to the Church; then read the Covenant. Others of them ſaid, ‘That this Oath was ſuch, and in the Matter and Conſequence of it of ſuch Concernment, as it was truly worthy of them, *Yea* of thoſe Kingdoms, *Yea* of all the Kingdoms of the World: That it cou'd be no other than the Reſult and Anſwer of ſuch Prayers and Tears, of ſuch Sincerity and Sufferings, that three Kingdoms ſhou'd be thus Born, or rather new Born in a Day: That the Work was a Matter of the greateſt Moment, a Duty of the firſt Commandment, and therefore of the higheſt and nobleſt

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‘Order and Rank of Duties: That it was to advance the *Kingdom of Chriſt* here upon Earth, and make *Jeruſalem* once more the Praiſe of the whole Earth;’ with many other ſtrange and high Expreſſions. When the Covenant was read out of the Pulpit, all held up their Hands in Teſtimony of their Aſſent to it; and then all the Members of Parliament, and after them the Members of the Aſſembly, ſubſcrib'd their Names. The whole Solemnity was concluded by Mr. *Henderſon*, who magnify'd what had been done, and aſſur'd them ‘of great Succeſs after it, by the Experience of that Nation, who from their Union in their firſt *Covenant*, found nothing hard they propos'd to Themſelves;’ and told them, *That were the* Covenant *now painted upon the Wall within the Pope's Palace, it wou'd doubtleſs put him into* Belſhazzar's *quaking Condition.*

The Speaker and Commons being return'd to their Houſe, and obſerving that many of their Members were abſent, they order'd, ‘That as ſoon as they came to the Houſe, the Covenant ſhou'd be tender'd to them, and whoſoever refus'd to take it, ſhou'd be proceeded againſt as a diſaffected Perſon.’ And the warm Mr. *Strode* made a Motion, *That all thoſe who wou'd neither contribute, or take the Covenant, ſhou'd have a Price put upon them, and be ſent to Sea; that ſomething might be given for them, who wou'd give nothing of themſelves.* The Commons likewiſe made a ſpecial Order, ‘That all Miniſters of Pariſh Churches within *London* and *Weſtminſter*, &c. ſhou'd read and explain the *Covenant* to their ſeveral Congregations, and ſtir them up, the next Faſt Day, to the chearful taking of it:’ And particular Care was taken, ‘That all the Students of the *Inns of Court* ſhou'd be perſuaded to receive it.’ Thus began the *Covenant* to take place and reign in *England*, which, conſiſting of ſix great Branches, was compar'd by ſome to the ſix knotted Whip, or the Statute of the ſix Articles under King *Henry* the Eighth; which caus'd the ſhedding of Blood, and the Ruin of Families, infinitely beyond thoſe Articles; and which, under the ſpecious Veil of *Reformation*, was that fatal Engine, by which not only the Hierarchy of the Church was ſoon after deſtroy'd, the Patrimony of it, with the Revenues of the Crown ſwallow'd up, but the very Perſon of the King murder'd, and the ancient Monarchy of *England*, ſo far as it was in their Power, ruin'd and ſubverted. This is the Covenant which Mr. *Nye* in a few Words deſcribes, *Such an Oath, as for Matter, Perſons, and other Circumſtances, the like hath not been in any Age, in Sacred or Human Stories:* Which many Abhorrers of the Covenant believ'd to be literally true. It is look'd upon as one of the ſtrange Parts of Hiſtory, that this Covenant did with ſo much Eaſe paſs the two Houſes, when the Leaders were at the ſame Time known to be Enemies to Presbytery; and he who was the principal Contriver of it, Sir *Henry Vane*, was not afterwards more known to abhor the Covenant, and the Presbyterians, than he was at that very Time, and laugh'd at them then, as much as ever he did afterwards. We know not how to account for all this, but by ſaying, It was the Effects of the moſt refin'd Policy, or of the moſt deſperate Condition.

The two Houſes order it to be taken in the City.

3. The two Houſes had a particular Ceremony, and Application to recommend the Covenant to the City, and another and greater Uſe to be made of it. For it was not only to bring, but to keep Men together; and the taking it had only given the *Scots* an Inclination to march to their Aſſiſtance; but they were to have a Hundred Thouſand Pounds advanc'd, and paid to them at *Edinburgh*, before they cou'd move; and how to raiſe this great Sum was not eaſy to reſolve, being at preſent under no common Difficulties as to Mony. To effect this, a Committee of Lords and Commons, with ſome ruling Divines of the Aſſembly, was ſent to *Guild-Hall*, where the Lord-Mayor had prepar'd a Common-Council for their Reception; and there repreſented to them ‘The wonderful Advantage and Strength their Party wou'd gain by being united in this *Covenant*, and their deſperate Condition without it: For if the *Scots* came not to their Aſſiſtance, which they cou'd not without this Obligation, they were in Danger to be overwhelm'd by the Enemy, or to be driven to a diſadvantagious and ruinous Peace: But by this Acceſſion of the Strength of a whole Nation, they wou'd certainly be able to maſter the War, and to make the Cauſers of it defray the Charge; and ſo all the publick Debts being diſcharg'd out of the Eſtates of Delinquents, the Kingdom wou'd be no ways impoveriſh'd, and the Peace wou'd be render'd ſecure by the Strength of this Union; *and therefore it cou'd not be purchas'd at too dear a Rate.*’ Then to make the Matter ſtill more plauſible, they further alledg'd, ‘That it was neither Covetouſneſs, nor want of Zeal for their Relief, that the *Scots* deſir'd an Advance of Mony before they drew their Army into *England*, but pure Neceſſity, and the Poverty of that Kingdom, already exhauſted by their late Expeditions, and reſerving their Soldiers for the good of this. And if they cou'd have procur'd Mony enough in that Country, upon publick Credit, or Mortgage of private Eſtates, *their Love to their Brethren here was ſuch*, that they wou'd have neither ask'd, nor receiv'd Mony for their Aſſiſtance: For Evidence of which Brotherly Inclination, they offer'd the Engagement of their own Eſtates, for the Re-payment of the Mony to be advanc'd.’ In Concluſion, they devoutly extoll'd the Covenant, magnify'd the *Scottiſh* Nation with the higheſt Words of Eſteem and Reverence, ‘A Nation, that had engag'd it ſelf to God in a more extraordinary Way, in a more exalted Manner, than any Nation this Day upon the Face of the Earth; a Nation, that had more reform'd their Lives, for ſo ſmall a Time, than any People they knew of in the World; a Nation, that God had honour'd and bleſs'd with as glorious Succeſs, as ever he had done to any before them:’ And ſo they very earneſtly deſir'd the Loan of a Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

Their way of Application to the City.

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This Rhetorick and Zeal prevail'd; a Hundred Thouſand Pounds was promis'd, and ſhortly after provided, and ſent to *Edinburgh*; where they ſoon reſolv'd to raiſe a great Army and invade *England*; and their old General *Leſley*, now Earl of *Leven*, who had ſo ſolemnly promis'd the King, ‘not only never to bear Arms againſt him, but to ſerve him without asking the Cauſe,’ without any Heſitation undertook the Command of it. All this time, Duke *Hamilton* look'd on, and ſometimes ſat with them; and when a Proclamation was prepar'd, in the King's Name, for a general Rendezvous the ſooner to form their Army, his Brother *Lanrick* put the King's Signet, to whoſe keeping it was truſted, to the ſaid Proclamation: All this being done, both the Brothers left *Scotland*, to give the beſt Account they cou'd of all their Proceedings, to the King at *Oxford*: Many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, who were Well-wiſhers to the King, were gone from thence before, and inform'd his Majeſty at large of that which they thought foul Infidelity. They were now ſo far believ'd, and the King was ſo much allarm'd, that as ſoon as the Brothers arriv'd at *Oxford*, before they cou'd ſee the King's Face, they were both made Priſoners: The Duke of *Hamilton* was ſent to *Pendennis* Caſtle, and the Earl of *Lanrick* confin'd to his Chamber, from whence ſhortly after, by means of Mr. *Cunningham*, actual Servant to the King, he made his Eſcape, and went directly to the *Scotch* Commiſſioners at *London*, where he was well receiv'd. The Duke himſelf was detain'd a Priſoner for above two Years, and had a long Charge drawn up againſt him, but was never brought to a formal Tryal. The Materials conſiſted of peculiar Crimes of a very high Nature, cover'd over with ſuch nice Pretenſions and ſubtle Managements, as wou'd admit of infinite Diſputations, and intermix'd with ſuch refin'd Pieces of Treachery and Ingratitude, as cou'd hardly be brought under the Reach of ordinary Laws; therefore more proper for the Cenſure of an Hiſtorian, than any legal Judge. Notwithſtanding the many Things that have been ſaid in his Vindication, the Stream both of good and bad Writers bear hard upon the Reputation of this unfortunate great Man; and his ſerpentine Ways of proceeding have rais'd ſtrong Suſpicious, both in his Friends and Enemies: And what we have had Occaſion to ſay of him, has been with all the Caution and Tenderneſs that our Evidence wou'd allow, and which we have been generally careful to mention. If his living Friends have any Thing new to ſay in his Defence, it ſhall be moſt thankfully receiv'd, and incerted, as Opportunity ſhall permit, and likewiſe as to any other Family that may be thought to have been hardly characteriz'd in this Work. And ſo we ſhall at once diſmiſs this Subject by ſaying, That if this great Man was really innocent and honeſt, he has had the hardeſt Meaſures that can be receiv'd from Hiſtorians; but if guilty of the Charge, his Memory cannot be too much loaden with Infamy, for which his Blood was but an imperfect Compenſation.

The Scots *reſolve to raiſe an Army.*

Duke Hamilton *made a Priſoner by the King.*

XII. 1. During theſe Proceedings and Deſigns, and long before the Arrival of the *Scots*, there hapned ſome conſiderable Actions, both in the *North* and the *Weſt*. In the *North*, as was formerly hinted, the Lord *Fairfax* had been driven by the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Forces into *Hull*, where he was made Governor by the Parliament in the Room of Sir *John Hotham*, who, together with his Son, was ſeiz'd by their Order, upon Suſpicion of correſponding with the King's Party. The Earl of *Newcaſtle*, lately made a Marqueſs by the King, was infinitely deſirous to reduce the Town of *Hull*, tho' he had been otherwiſe advis'd by his Majeſty; and accordingly on the ſecond of *September*, he ſat down before the Place, with an Army of fifteen thouſand Horſe and Foot, according to *Ruſhworth*. The Governor ſoon open'd all the Sluices, and drown'd the Country for

The Marqueſs of Newcaſtle *ſits down before* Hull.

two Miles about the Town; ſo that the Marqueſs was compell'd to begin his Works and Approaches at a great Diſtance. But upon a Bank, which was the High-way, he got ſo near as to ſhoot many hot Cannon Bullets into the Town; but by the Diligence of the Governour, who caus'd every Inhabitant to watch his own Houſe, the Damage was much prevented. It prov'd a very wet Seaſon, ſo that the Siege was both tedious and deſtructive to the Men, who daily work'd in the midſt of Dirt and Water, and more likely to rot without, than the Beſieged to ſtarve within. Sir *Philip Warwick* tells us, that waiting upon the Marqueſs in the Trenches, and ſhewing ſome Diffidence as to the Succeſs, the other jocoſely turn'd the Diſcourſe by ſaying, *You often hear us call'd, the Popiſh Army; but you ſee, we truſt not in our good Works.* The Siege was maintain'd with much Bravery and Reſolution, and manag'd with great Variety, both by the Aſſailants and Defendants; but at length, after it had continu'd above five Weeks, the Marqueſs found it neceſſary to draw off, and quit the whole Deſign. Thus the Siege of *Hull* prov'd as unſucceſsful, and perhaps as unfortunate, as that of *Gloceſter.*

He quits the Siege.

The Earl of Mancheſter *in* Lincolnſhire.

Before the breaking up of the Siege, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Son to the Governour, croſs'd the *Humber* with twenty Troops of Horſe, into *Lincolnſhire*, to join with the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who having drawn his Forces from about *Lyn*, advanc'd and quarter'd in the Towns about *Bullingbrook* Caſtle. On the 9th of *October*, Major *Knight* ſummon'd that Caſtle in the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Name, but was anſwer'd, *That his Bugg-Words ſhou'd not make them quit the Place*, and on the next Day they kill'd ſome few of his Men: That Afternoon the Earl himſelf came within a Mile of the Caſtle, where he was met by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and Colonel *Cromwell*; and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* lay at *Horn-Caſtle*, about five Miles diſtant. The King's Forces, under Sir *William Widdrington*, Sir *John Henderſon* an old Soldier, and others, being adviſ'd of *Mancheſter*'s coming, had drawn out all their Horſe and Dragoons from their ſeveral Garriſons at *Lincoln*, *Newark* and *Gainsborough*, with a Reſolution to find him out, and fight with him; and accordingly they beat up ſome of his Quarters, and ſeveral Skirmiſhes happen'd between them. The next Morning the Earl order'd his whole Body of Horſe and Foot to be drawn up to *Bullingbrook-Hill*, towards a Place call'd *Winsby*; and the King's Forces alſo drew all their Horſe and Dragoons into the Field, having ſeventy four Colours of Horſe, and twenty one of Dragoons. *Mancheſter* had not half ſo many Colours of Horſe and Dragoons, but as many Men, for his Troops were fuller; but it was late before the Foot cou'd be drawn up. His Horſe and Dragoons advanc'd in ſeveral Bodies, ſinging of Pſalms; Quartermaſter-General *Vermuden*, with five Troops, had the *Forlorn Hope*, and Colonel *Cromwell* led the Van, ſeconded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. The Royaliſt's Word was, *Newcaſtle*; the Parliamentarians, *Truth and Peace*. In an open and fair Field by *Winsby*, the Earl's Dragoons gave the firſt Charge, and then the Horſe fell in: Colonel *Cromwell* charg'd with great Reſolution, immediately after the Royaliſt Dragoons had given them their firſt Volley; yet within half Piſtol-ſhot they bravely ſaluted him with a ſecond Charge. His Horſe was kill'd, and fell upon him; and as he roſe, he was again knock'd down by the Gentleman that charg'd him, ſuppos'd to be Sir *Ingram Hopton*; tho' others ſay Captain *Portington*, who afterwards freely told him, *That he aim'd at his Noſe, when he hit his Horſe on the Head.* He never was in greater Danger in his Life; but with Difficulty he got remounted. The Van of the Royaliſts Horſe, being driven back upon their own Body that was to Support them, put them into Diſorder; and *Mancheſter*'s Troops taking that Advantage, charg'd all in with them, and put them to the Rout; and vigorouſly purſuing them, they did Execution upon them for four or five Miles together, before their Foot cou'd come up.

The Fight at Winsby, *or* Horncaſtle.

Such was the Iſſue of *Winsby* Fight, or, as ſome call it, *Horncaſtle* Fight, which was fought upon the 11th Day of *October*, the Day before the Siege of *Hull* was rais'd; but is not at all mention'd in the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory. It was a ſharp Conflict, but continu'd leſs than an Hour, when the Royaliſts were defeated, with the Loſs of four or five Hundred Men ſlain, a Thouſand Horſe taken, thirty Colours, and eight Hundred Priſoners. Writers diſagree as to the Number of the ſlain, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* mentions but two Hundred on the King's Side; among whom the Chief were Sir *Ingram Hopton*, Sir *George Bowls*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Markham*, all Men of Note and Worth. In purſuance of this Victory, the Earl of *Mancheſter* march'd to *Lincoln*, ſat down before it, and ſummon'd it, and afterwards took the Place; *Gainsborough* was alſo quitted by the Royaliſts, and poſſeſs'd by Sir *John Meldram*; and the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* took in *Bollingbroke* Caſtle.

The Earl of Mancheſter*'s Succeſs.*

2. In the mean Time the Power of the Parliament ſtill declin'd in the *Weſt*, where their Party was extreamly reduc'd, and confin'd within narrow Limits after the taking of *Exeter* by Prince *Maurice*; who found a general Concurrence in the neighbouring Gentry to advance Levies of Men and Money; ſo that within a few Days after the Surrender of that Town, his Foot Army was increas'd to ſeven Thouſand Men, beſides a proportionable Body of Horſe, excellently equipp'd for Action. And at the ſame Time Colonel *Digby* was before *Plymouth* itſelf, with above three Thouſand Foot, and ſix Hundred Horſe, and had taken an Outwork of great Importance, call'd *Mount-Stamford*, within Half a Mile of the Town, and which commanded ſome Part of the River; the Loſs of which prov'd a mighty Diſcouragement to the Town. This was a great Advantage, but was not well cultivated by Prince *Maurice*, who ſtay'd too long at *Exeter*, and did not march directly to *Plymouth*; which was now full of Diſtraction and Jealouſy among themſelves, as well as unprovided for the Reception of an Enemy. It was a rich and populous Corporation, and had in it a Caſtle very ſtrong towards the Sea, and a little more than Muſket-ſhot from the Town was an Iſland with a Fort in it, much ſtronger than the Caſtle, both which were, before the Troubles, under the Command of a Captain, with a ſmall Garriſon, and were only deſign'd for a Defence of the Town againſt a Foreign Invaſion, having a good Command of the Entrance into the Harbour; but towards the Land, there was very little Strength. This Command was in the Hand of Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, and then as unprovided to reſiſt an Enemy, as the other Caſtles and Forts of the Kingdom; leſs for the receiving a Recruit, there being only Ordnance and Ammunition, without other Proviſions for the Support of the Soldiers within the Walls; and the Garriſon being by Time, Marriages and Trade, incorporated into the Town, became rather Citizens than Soldiers: So that Sir *Jacob Aſhley* being ſent for to the King, before the ſetting up his Standard, as ſoon as there was any Expectation of a Party for the King in *Cornwall*, after the Appearance of Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and thoſe other Gentlemen there, the Mayor and Corporation of *Plymouth* ſoon got both the Caſtle and Iſland into their Power.

The Succeſs of Prince Maurice *in the* Weſt.

The Parliament was highly pleas'd to find *Plymouth* thus ſecur'd; and to put an Obligation upon this, and other Corporations, they committed the Government of it to the Mayor, who well knew what Reſpect to pay to their Committee, which was appointed to reſide there for his Aſſiſtance, and to Conduct their Affairs in thoſe Parts. Of that Committee, Sir *Alexander Carew* was chief; a Gentleman of good Fortune, and Knight of the Shire for *Cornwall*, who having concurr'd in the Beginning with their moſt violent Concluſions, had the chief Strength, the Fort and Iſland, committed to him, with a ſufficient Garriſon; while the Mayor commanded the Caſtle and Town, about which a weak and irregular Line of Earth was caſt up. After the King's great Succeſſes in the *Weſt*, this forward Governor began to find, that his Iſland and Fort wou'd hardly ſecure his Eſtate in *Cornwall*, and having been wholly guided by Popularity and Intereſt, reſolv'd to redeem his Errors, and found Means to Correſpond with ſome of his old Friends and Neighbours in *Cornwall*, and by them to make a direct Overture to ſurrender his Government to the King, upon an Aſſurance of his Majeſty's Pardon for all paſt Offences. Sir *John Berkley* was then the chief Officer qualify'd to receive ſuch a Treaty, who inſtantly return'd him ample Aſſurance of his own Conditions, and particularly adviſ'd him, 'Not to inſiſt upon Forms, the Defects of which 'ſhou'd be ſupply'd with all poſſible Expedition, but 'ſpeedily to conſummate the Work, which hereafter 'might not be in his Power to effect; ſuch Deſigns being 'at once to be conſulted and executed.' But he was ſo ſtupidly Cautious of his own Security, that he wou'd not proceed, till he was ſufficiently aſſur'd that his Pardon had paſs'd the Great Seal of *England*; before which cou'd poſſibly be effected, by the Infidelity of a Servant whom he truſted, his whole Deſign was diſcover'd to the Mayor and the reſt of the Committee; and, according to the uſual Diligence of that Party, he was ſuddenly ſurpris'd in his Fort, and carry'd Priſoner into *Plymouth*, and from thence by Sea ſent to *London*, where more will be ſaid of him afterwards.

Sir Alexander Carew*'s Revolt.*

He is ſecur'd by the Parliament.

But how fortunate ſoever they thought this Diſcovery, the Fame of the winning *Exeter*, by which a victorious Army was at leaſure to viſit them, the Loſs of *Mount-Stamford*, their chief Land Fortification, and ſome other Diſcompoſures, produc'd a mighty Conſternation among the People of *Plymouth*; ſo that the Mayor himſelf was not without Inclinations for a Treaty to ſurrender the Town to the King: And it was by many believ'd, that if Prince *Maurice* had immediately march'd from *Exeter* be-

Prince Maurice *takes* Dartmouth,

And inveſts Plymouth.

fore it, that Treaty wou'd have been certainly concluded; but he was perſwaded firſt to bend his Courſe to *Dartmouth*, ‘ as an eaſy Work, and a Harbour, which wou'd ‘ draw a very good Trade; and that ſhort Work being ‘ over, *Plymouth* wou'd have the leſs Courage to make ‘ Reſiſtance: And if it ſhou'd, it was better Work for the ‘ approaching Winter than the other, by reaſon of the ‘ Conveniency of good Accommodation for the Soldiers ‘ near the Place, which cou'd not be had at *Dartmouth*.’ Upon which Inducements he marched directly to *Dartmouth*, which, tho' unfit upon many Accounts to hold out againſt ſuch an Army, he found no ways diſpos'd to yield; ſo that he was oblig'd to inveſt it. And ſhortly after, there ſucceeded ſuch a terrible Seaſon of Rain and foul Weather, that many of his Men dy'd with lying upon the Ground, and more run away. Yet almoſt after a Month's Siege, and the Loſs of many good Men, particularly the brave Colonel *Chudleigh* formerly mention'd, it was ſurrender'd on fair Conditions: And the Prince having plac'd a Garriſon there, under Colonel *Seymour*, with all Expedition march'd to *Plymouth*, which was now in a better condition for a Siege: For the Parliament being ſoon inform'd what a dangerous Impreſſion the Loſs of moſt of the *Weſt* had made upon the Spirits of that People, had before ſent a Recruit of five Hundred Men, and a *Scotch* Officer to be Governor; who eas'd the Mayor of that unequal Charge, and ſoon made it appear that nothing but an obſtinate Defence was reſolv'd on. So the Prince, after he had joyn'd Colonel *Digby*, ſat down before it with an Army much inferior to that which he had carry'd from *Exeter* to *Dartmouth*, yet with much Confidence to reduce the Town before Winter ſhou'd be over; but after a tedious Siege, which occaſion'd ſome inferior Actions on both Sides, he was compell'd to quit the Place.

The Mediation of France.

3. During theſe numerous and unnatural Conteſts, there were great Expectations, both in King and People, from the Mediation of the Court of *France*, which ſeem'd very inclinable to reſtore Peace and a good Underſtanding at this Juncture. The State of that Kingdom was now very much alter'd: Cardinal *Richelieu*, the great Fomenter of theſe Troubles, as formerly mention'd, was dead; King *Lewis* the Thirteenth follow'd him, not long after, leaving his Son about five Years of Age; the old Miniſters of State, who had undergone Impriſonment or Baniſhment, were ſet at Liberty and recall'd; and Queen *Anne* of *Auſtria*, during her Son's Minority, was declared Regent, who was ſenſibly concern'd to ſee the dangerous Condition, to which not only the King, but all the Royal Family of *England* was reduc'd. The firſt Step made was the Revocation of *la Ferte Senneterre*, the then Reſident Ambaſſador in *England*; a Perſon who had not only contracted a mighty Familiarity with the chief Leaders in Parliament, but had perſwaded ſome *Engliſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits to ingage the Papiſts by no Means to aſſiſt the King, with a full Aſſurance, *That the Parliament wou'd allow them Liberty of Conſcience.* In his Room was ſent the famous Count *de Harcourt*, a Prince of high Birth, near ally'd to the Crown, who in *Catalonia* had lately given the *Spaniards* the greateſt Defeat they had receiv'd; He came with private Inſtructions from the prime Miniſter, Cardinal *Mazarine*, who ſoon ſhew'd that he follow'd the Steps of his great Predeceſſor *Richelieu*.

The Count de Harcourt's *Arrival.*

His Reception at *London* was with great Solemnity, to ſhew that the Abſence of the King did not take off from the Grandeur of the State. But the Parliament ſoon put two open Affronts upon him; firſt in ſeizing and impriſoning Mr. *Mountague*, a Gentleman in Diſguiſe, but one of his Retinue; and next in ſearching his Coach and Carriages with vaſt Rudeneſs, after they had granted him a ſafe Conduct to *Oxford*. He much reſented both theſe Indignities, as a Violation of his Honour and Privileges, but not with ſufficient Vigour, either to obtain the Enlargement of his Friend, or any Reparation in the other Caſe. The King expected that at this Time the Crown of *France* ſhou'd have made a briſk Declaration on his Behalf; and the Ambaſſador gave him fair Promiſes of Aſſiſtance, and propos'd a League Offenſive and Defenſive; tho' the Queen Regent and the Cardinal afterwards deny'd they had given him any ſuch Inſtructions. But when the King was ready to cloſe with the Propoſal, and thereupon deſir'd a preſent Supply of Mony and Arms, he artificially declin'd it with an affected Compliment, and a new Promiſe, and ſo apply'd himſelf to the Parliament, by means of the Earl of *Northumberland*, and deſir'd ‘ to interpoſe, and pacify the ‘ Differences, by ſuch Expedients, as ſhou'd be moſt ‘ conformable to the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of the ‘ Realm.’

He returns without any Succeſs.

This was deliver'd to the Houſe of Peers, and ſo to the Commons in a Conference between both Houſes, who return'd Anſwer, ‘ That they did, with all due Reſpects, ‘ accept of the affectionate Deſires of the King and Queen ‘ Regent of *France*, to contribute towards a happy Peace; ‘ and That, when the Count *de Harcourt* ſhou'd make ‘ any ſuch Propoſitions to the Parliament, by Authority ‘ from their Majeſties of *France*, they wou'd then give ‘ ſuch an Anſwer to the ſame, as might ſtand with the ‘ Intereſt of both Kingdoms, and their late *Solemn League* ‘ *and Covenant*.’ The Lords propos'd that there might be a Committee appointed to treat with the Ambaſſador; but the Commons wou'd by no means conſent to it, till he ſhou'd make it manifeſt, that he had full Authority to treat with the Parliament; and withal they earneſtly labour'd to draw from the Ambaſſador ſome publick Acknowledgment, That they were a real Parliament, the Freedom, and conſequently the Being whereof, had been deny'd by his Majeſty in a late Proclamation. So the Ambaſſador, after a Journey or two to *Oxford*, and ſome general Addreſſes to the Houſes, return'd to *France*, without open Succeſs, or any publick Marks of Diſlike to their Proceedings. And his particular Behaviour made many Men believe, that this great Man, notwithſtanding his ſpecious Profeſſions, was ſent rather to blow up, than extinguiſh the preſent Flames of the Nation. However it is certain, that during his Stay, he did not in any Degree advance the King's Service; but left the Parliament more united againſt the King, and the *Scots* more advanc'd, than he found them; there being likewiſe at the ſame Time a *French* Agent in *Scotland*, who produc'd no Change in the Affections of that People towards the King's Advantage.

The Parliament aſſume new Powers.

They make a new Great Seal.

4. The Lords and Commons were now unanimous, and equally joyn'd in ſuppreſſing the King's Power; new and ſtricter Orders were made for taking the Covenant, and an Ordinance, ‘ That none ſhou'd bear Office or Truſt ‘ in their Armies, Kingdom, *&c.* but ſuch as had taken ‘ the Covenant; nor even they themſelves, if they had ‘ been formerly impriſon'd, or ſequeſter'd upon Suſpicion ‘ of Malignancy.’ And now to ſecure their Sovereign Power in Civil Matters, they re-aſſum'd their former Conſideration of the Great Seal of *England*. The Commons had often urg'd the Lords to concur with them in the making a new Great Seal, and had declar'd, ‘ That in Right ‘ it ought always to attend upon the Parliament;’ in which the Peers as often refus'd to joyn with them, being ſtartled at the Statute of the twenty fifth of *Edward* the Third, which expreſly declares the Counterfeiting of the Great Seal of *England* to be High-Treaſon. This Diſſent hinder'd not the Proceedings of the Commons, who freely Voted, That a Seal ſhou'd be provided, and took order to have one engraven, exactly of the ſame Size and Impreſſion, with that which the King us'd at *Oxford*. Being prepar'd, and finding the Lords leſs ſcrupulous than formerly, on the eleventh of *November*, they let them know, ‘ They had a Great Seal ready, which ſhou'd be at the ‘ Diſpoſal of the two Houſes, and if they wou'd name ‘ ſome Peers, a proportionable Number of the other Body ‘ ſhou'd joyn in that Truſt.’ To which their Lordſhips did not only concur, but likewiſe in an Ordinance, which declar'd, ‘ All Letters Patents and Grants paſs'd the Great ‘ Seal by the King, after *May* 22, 1642, to be invalid, and ‘ void in Law; and henceforward, their own Great Seal ‘ ſhou'd be of equal Force and Validity, as any Great Seal ‘ of *England* had formerly been. At the ſame Time the Cuſtody of it was given to the Earls of *Bullingbrook* and *Kent*, and to Mr. *St. John*, Serjeant *Wild*, Mr. *Brown* and Mr. *Prideaux*; who were to keep it in the ſame Manner, as any Lord-Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioner, formerly had done. Theſe were ſolemnly ſworn in the Preſence of both Houſes, to execute this Office, and obſerve their Directions in all Things; and the Seal was lock'd up in a Cheſt, which cou'd not be open'd but in the Preſence of three of them, and with three ſeveral Keys.

The Inſolence of Harry Martin.

Shortly after this new Uſurpation, the famous *Harry Martin* was order'd to ſurvey the *Regalia* in *Weſtminſter* Abby, which he did after a moſt contemptuous and ludicrous Manner. For breaking the Iron Cheſt, where they had been carefully preſerv'd, he took out the Crown, Sceptre, and Veſtments of *Edward the Confeſſor*, which always ſerv'd for the Inauguration of the Kings of *England*, and with a ſcornful Laughter, cry'd, *There will be no more Uſe for theſe Trifles.* With the ſame Degree of Boldneſs and Buffoonery, he caus'd *George Withers*, a ſtrange uncouth Poet of their own then preſent, to be dreſs'd in thoſe Royal Veſtments; and being alſo Crown'd, he firſt walk'd up and down in State, and then put himſelf into a thouſand mimical Poſtures, to expoſe the ſolemn Ornaments to the Contempt and Deriſion of the By-Standers. Theſe became the Subject of a Conference between the Houſes, wherein the Lords were brought to be of Opinion, *That many Superſtitious Things among the Regalia were fit to be remov'd, as no longer of Uſe.* To which one made a Prophetick Reply, *The King himſelf wou'd ere long be ſome ſuperſtitious Monument of decay'd Divinity, and ſo thought fit to be remov'd; the King not making the Crown, but the Crown the King, which being now in their Hands, they might beſtow it on whom they pleaſe.* Afterwards the *Regalia*, as alſo the Robes and Plate belonging to the Abby-Church, were all ſold; nor cou'd they be perſuaded to leave one Silver-Cup to be us'd at the Communion, ſome affirming, after an unheard-of manner, *That a Wooden Diſh wou'd ſerve the turn.* Nor was it any wonder that ſuch Sacrilege ſhou'd be incourag'd, when the ſacred Function of Miniſters was ſo inhumanely treated; of whom a hundred and fifteen in the City and Suburbs, for their Fidelity to the King according to the Laws, and Zeal for Religion according to their Conſcience, were, with their Wives and Children, ejected, plunder'd, and barbarouſly conſum'd in Priſon, in Exile, and with Hunger; of which ſomething has already been ſaid.

The Regalia *ſold.*

And now to ſhew that they wou'd be abſolute, and not joynt Sharers in the Sovereign Power, they gave an Inſtance of Boldneſs and Severity, that render'd them very formidable. The King had publiſh'd ſeveral Proclamations, for the Adjournment of the Term from *London* to *Oxford*, which hitherto had been in vain; and therefore he ſent two ſpecial Meſſengers, who deliver'd Writs of Adjournment to two of the Judges, *Reeve* and *Trevor*, who immediately caus'd them to be apprehended. Upon which the Houſes gave Direction, 'That they ſhou'd be try'd as 'Spies by a Council of War;' which was done at *Eſſex* Houſe. The Meſſengers alledg'd, 'They were ſworn 'Servants to the King, for the Performance of that Buſi-'neſs for which they were accus'd, and for the Refuſal 'of which they had been legally puniſhable; the Term be-'ing to be adjourn'd no other way.' Notwithſtanding which, they were both condemn'd to be hang'd as Spies; and within a few Days were carry'd to the *Royal-Exchange*, where Gallows were purpoſely erected: And there one of them, *Daniel Kniveton* by Name, ſuffer'd, and with a more noble Courage than was expected from one of his Condition and Education. The other, nam'd *Carpenter*, after he had ſtay'd ſome Time at the Gallows, was repriev'd and ſent to *Bridewell*; where he was kept long after, till he made an Eſcape, and return'd to *Oxford*. This rais'd great Terror in all the King's Friends in *London*, and the more, becauſe about the ſame Time an Ordinance was made, 'That whoever went into the King's 'Quarters without leave from one of the Houſes, or a Paſs 'from their General, and who ever held any Correſpondence 'by Letters with any in the King's Quarters, ſhou'd be 'proceeded againſt as diſaffected to the State, his Perſon 'committed, and his Eſtate ſequeſter'd; and ſhou'd be 'liable, according to the Circumſtances, to be try'd as 'Spies.

The Houſes hang up the King's Meſſenger for a Spy.

As this Power made them terrible to their Enemies, ſo they gave another Inſtance of Severity, which render'd their Government no leſs awful to their Friends and Aſſociates. The ſucceſsful Defence of *Gloceſter* made the Loſs of *Briſtol* the more felt by the Parliament, and ſo the yielding it up more freely cenſur'd. This became very uneaſy to the Governor Colonel *Fiennes*, who being a Member of the Commons, and of mighty Intereſt in that Houſe, raſhly deſir'd, 'That he might be put to give an Ac-'count of it at a Court of War, the proper Judicature for 'Crimes of that Nature.' And in the mean Time, was powerful enough to procure ſome of the Chief of his Accuſers to be impriſon'd, and reprehended; which rais'd Heats and a Faction, both in the Houſe of Commons, and the Army. But he met with two reſtleſs and indefatigable Proſecutors, the famous Mr. *Prynn*, and Mr. *Clement Walker*, a Gentleman who had been in *Briſtol*, and was a ſtrict Obſerver of the Colonel's Actions in that Place. Theſe two, under Pretence of Zeal to the Publick, undertook the Proſecution, and boldly charg'd the Colonel with Cowardice and Treachery; and gave ſeveral Inſtances of high Profeſſions and faint Performances, with ſome Mixtures of Pride and Avarice, throughout the Courſe of his Government. This Colonel, beſides the Credit and Influence of his Father the Lord *Say*, had a ſtrong Footing in the Houſe of Commons, upon the Account of his Activity, Parts and Knowledge, and his unalterable Zeal for their Cauſe; all which made him too much deſpiſe thoſe that appear'd his Adverſaries, and others whom he knew to be ſuch, tho' they appear'd not; and being ſure that he was intirely free from wiſhing well to the King, he concluded that his ſignal and unqueſtion'd Affection to the Parliament, wou'd weigh down all Objections. But notwithſtanding the numerous Services, after a long and ſolemn Hearing before the Court of War at St. *Albans*, where the Earl of *Eſſex* then lay, he was condemn'd to loſe his Head, 'For not having defended *Briſtol* ſo well, 'and ſo long, as he ought to have done.' This Sentence was paſs'd upon the twenty eighth of *December*, to the great Surpriſe of his Friends, who tho' they procur'd a Pardon for his Life, yet the Infamy of the Judgment cou'd not be remov'd, by which he became unfit to continue an Officer of the Army. In concluſion, the Shame of it caus'd him to quit the Kingdom; ſo that he retir'd for ſome Time into Foreign Parts, but ſtill retaining the ſame Diſaffection to the Government of the Church and State, and indeed no Provocations cou'd make him leſs zealous for the Parliament Party, or leſs concern'd in their Confederacy.

Colonel Fiennes *try'd by a Court of War,*

And condemn'd.

5. Thus ſtood the Affairs of the Nation at the End of the old Year 1643, when thoſe of the King's were in a Superior State and Condition. And whereas a Year before, his Majeſty had but one ſmall County in all the *Weſt*; in *Yorkſhire*, no more than that City and *Pomfret* Caſtle; and except at *Reading*, *Wallingord*, *Brill* and *Abington*, not a Soldier quarter'd out of *Oxford*; not a Ship, nor a Port, except *Newcaſtle* and *Falmouth*, and an inconſiderable Strength beſides; he had now five Armies in the Field, was poſſeſs'd of all the Weſtern Counties except *Plymouth*, *Poole* and *Lyme*; of all *Yorkſhire*, *Hull* only excepted; and in *Cheſhire* none but *Namptwich* ſtood out againſt him; and he had all the Principality of *Wales*, except a Sea-Town or two in *Pembrokeſhire*. But as theſe Succeſſes increas'd, the King's Soldiers fell inſenſibly into all the Licentiouſneſs, Diſorder and Impiety, with which they had charg'd the Rebels; and they, on the contrary, into great Diſcipline, Diligence and Sobriety. So that, as the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, One Side ſeem'd to fight for Monarchy with the Weapons of Confuſion, and the Other to deſtroy the King and Government, with all the Principles and Regularity of Monarchy.

The King's Condition at that Time.

Tho' the King himſelf was exemplary in all his Actions and Proceedings, yet both the Camp and Court was unhappily mix'd, ill diſpos'd and divided. The Perſons conſulted in Martial Affairs, beſides Prince *Rupert*, were General *Ruthen*, Earl of *Forth*, and afterwards Earl of *Brentford*; the Lord *Wilmot*, General of the Horſe; the Lord *Hopton*, who frequently commanded an Army apart; Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, Major-General of the Army; the Lord *Digby*, Secretary of State; and Sir *John Colepepper*, Maſter of the Rolls, and ſoon after made a Baron. Theſe, with Colonel *Goring*, who the following Year ſucceeded *Wilmot* in his Office, were very often divided among themſelves, both in their Opinions and Projects, and no leſs differ'd in their Morals and Practices; ſo that they many Times brought an Unſteadineſs into the King's Counſels, as well as a Diſgrace upon his Actions. Prince *Rupert* hated *Wilmot*, and *Wilmot* hated *Goring*, and all ſeem'd averſe to the Perſons, or rather Advices, of *Digby* and *Colepepper*; for from the Beginning, the Army had been diſpos'd to a Neglect and Contempt of the Council or Civil Power, to the plain Diminution of his Majeſty's Royal Dignity.

The Diviſions among his Officers.

We have formerly given the Characters of Prince *Rupert*, the Lord *Digby*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, and ſhall now proceed to ſay ſomething of the reſt. The General, tho' a very good Officer, and of great Experience, and ſtill of unqueſtionable Courage and Integrity; yet at preſent was much decay'd in his Parts, and with the long Cuſtom of exceſſive Drinking, doz'd in his Underſtanding, which had never been quick, or cultivated with the leaſt Degree of Learning; tho' his Actions had been ſprightly and vigorous, and one of thoſe who, as his Country-Men ſaid, *was reſolv'd to do or die.* He was now become very Deaf, and ſeem'd unwilling to oppoſe a Stream that bore againſt him, and in a little Time was brought in Prince *Rupert* in his Place. The Lord *Hopton*, and Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, were indeed great Men, and of admirable Merit. The Former was the Glory of the *Weſt*, a Man ſuperior to any Temptation, who abhorr'd the Licence and Levities with which he ſaw too many corrupted. He had a ſound Underſtanding, a clear Courage, an Induſtry not to be tired, and a Generoſity not to be exhauſted; a Virtue that none of the reſt had: But in Warlike Debates, was longer in reſolving, and readier in changing, than was agreeable to the Higheſt Office; which render'd him rather fit for a Second than a ſupream Commander. Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, or rather *Aſtley*, of an ancient Family in the County of *Norfolk*, was an honeſt, valiant, plain Gentleman, and as fit for the Office he held, of Major-General of the Foot, as Chriſtendom cou'd afford: He was a Man of many Years Experience, very diſcerning and ready in giving Orders, as Occaſion requir'd, and moſt chearful and preſent in any Action. In Council he us'd few but pertinent Words, and was not pleas'd with long Speeches; ſo that he rather collected the Ends of the Debates, and what he himſelf was to do, than enlarg'd them by his own Diſcourſes.

A Character of General Ruthen,

The Lord Hopton,

And Sir Jacob Aſtley.

The Lord *Wilmot* was of a haughty and ambitious Nature, of a pleaſant Wit, and a poſitive Temper, who by his exceſſive Good-Fellowſhip had made himſelf very popular

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Wilmot *and* Goring *compar'd.*

pular in the Army; and in that he excell'd in every Part. But the beſt Way to judge of him will be to compare him with his Rival and Succeſſor *Goring*, as the Lord *Clarendon* has done, and made it one of the moſt beautiful Parts of his Hiſtory: Therefore we ſhall take leave to uſe his own Words, ſince better can hardly be found. *Wilmot* lov'd Debauchery, but ſhut it out from his Buſineſs; never neglected That, and rarely miſcarry'd in it. *Goring* had a much better Underſtanding, and a ſharper Wit (except in the very Exerciſe of Debauchery, and then the other was *inſpir'd*) a much keener Courage, and Preſentneſs of Mind in Danger: *Wilmot* diſcern'd it farther off, and becauſe he cou'd not behave himſelf ſo well in it, commonly prevented, or warily declin'd it; and never drank when he was within Diſtance of an Enemy: *Goring* was not able to reſiſt the Temptation, when he was in the middle of them, nor wou'd decline it to obtain a Victory. ----- Neither of them valu'd their Promiſes, Profeſſions, or Friendſhips, according to any Rules of Honour, or Integrity; but *Wilmot* violated them the leſs willingly, and never but for ſome great Benefit, or Convenience to Himſelf; *Goring* without Scruple, out of Humour, or for Wit's ſake, and lov'd no Man ſo well, but that he wou'd cozen him, and then expoſe him to publick Mirth for having been cozen'd: Therefore he had always fewer Friends than the other, but more Company; for no Man had a Wit that pleas'd the Company better. The Ambition of both were unlimited, and ſo equally incapable of being contented; but both unreſtrain'd by any Reſpect to good Nature or Juſtice, from purſuing the Satisfaction thereof: Yet *Wilmot* had more Scruples from Religion to ſtartle him, and wou'd not have attain'd his End by any groſs or foul Act of Wickedneſs; *Goring* wou'd have paſs'd through thoſe pleaſantly; and wou'd, without Heſitation, have broken any Truſt, or done any Act of Treachery to have ſatisfy'd an ordinary Paſſion, or Appetite; and in Truth wanted nothing but Induſtry, to have been as eminent, and ſucceſsful, in the higheſt Attempt of Wickeneſs, as any Man in the Age he liv'd in, or before. Of all his Qualifications, Diſſimulation was his Maſter-Piece; in which he ſo much excell'd, that Men were not ordinarily aſham'd, or out of Countenance, with being deceiv'd but twice by him.

The Death of the Earl of Cumberland,

We have in ſeveral Places taken Notice of many Eminent Men this Year unhappily ſwept away by the Deluge of the Civil War, as the Earls of *Northampton*, *Denbigh*, *Carnarvon*, *Sunderland* and *Kingſton*; the Lords *Falkland*, *Brook*, and *Grandiſon*; the Honourable Colonel *Charles Cavendiſh*, Sir *Bevile Greenvile*, Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, Sir *Ingram Hopton*, Sir *George Bowles*, Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, Colonel *Trevannion*, Colonel *Chudleigh*, and Major *Sheldon:* We ſhall now for a Concluſion of the old Year, and this Period, take Notice of ſome few others who dy'd a natural Death: As firſt, *Henry Clifford*, Earl of *Cumberland*, a Loyal Gentleman, who being of a peaceable and affable Diſpoſition, had few Enemies; and was diſtinguiſh'd by the various Copies of Verſes he wrote, which obtain'd him the Character of *The beſt of Poets among the Nobility*. Next Dr. *Samuel Ward*, Maſter of *Sidney*-College in *Cambridge*, and *Margaret*-Profeſſor of Divinity in that Univerſity for above twenty Years, an Ornament to the Univerſity, who was accounted a *Puritan* before theſe Times; but now a *Malignant*, and a *Papiſt*, yet was always a true and ſtanch *Proteſtant*; who dy'd with theſe Words in his Mouth, *God bleſs the King and my Lord* Hopton. Mr. *George Sandys* was the next, the youngeſt Son of *Edwin*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and Brother to *Edwin*, mention'd in the Year 1629, an accompliſh'd Gentleman, a Linguiſt and Poet, whoſe ready Diſcourſe, and excellent Comportment, render'd him acceptable to all Men; but is moſtly noted at this Time for his Travels into ſeveral Parts of the World, which he publiſh'd with Satisfaction and Applauſe. After him dy'd Mr. *William Cartwright*, a very fine Gentleman of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, an excellent Linguiſt, Orator, Philoſopher and Preacher, as well as an admirable Poet: So that when the Wits read his Poems, Divines his Sermons, and Philoſophers his Metaphyſical Lectures, they can ſcarcely believe that Death ſeiz'd him at a little above thirty Years of Age, which happen'd by a Malignant Fever, not only to the Affliction of all the great Men in the Univerſity, but alſo to the King, Queen, and all the Court then reſiding at that Place.

Dr. Ward,

Mr. Sandys,

Mr. Cartwright,

And Mr. Pym.

Laſt of all dy'd the fam'd Mr. *John Pym*, on the 8th Day of *December*, whoſe Intereſt and Authority had been ſo prevailing, as to gain him the Name of *King Pym*; having had, for ſome Time, as much Power to do Good or Hurt, as any Man living; tho' in private, he was not a little influenc'd by Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr. St. *John*. Tho' in the Beginning, he was not ſo inviolably true to his Party as to be accounted an *abſolute Patriot*, yet in a little Time none became more deeply or irreconcilably ingag'd; and when the Earl of *Eſſex*, this Year, was diſpos'd towards a Treaty, his Power and Dexterity wholly chang'd, and immovably fix'd him. Sufficient have been ſaid of the Character, and indefatigable Labours of this powerful over-bearing Man; which made his Death of infinite Loſs to his Party. The Lord *Clarendon*, and ſome others intimate, that he dy'd in great Torment of that loathſome Diſeaſe call'd *Morbus Pediculoſus*, and that he was a very ſad Spectacle, and none but ſelect Friends were admitted to ſee him; but *Ruſhworth*, and others, deny the Fact, and ſay, That his dead Body, upon that Report, was expos'd to many hundreds of People; which I have heard confirm'd by a good Hand, not long ſince deceas'd. Whatever was his Life and Death, his Name and Memory was in effect idoliz'd by the Multitude, and his Body was bury'd with extraordinary Pomp and Magnificence among the *Engliſh* Kings in *Weſtminſter-Abby*; and his Funeral Sermon was preached and printed by Mr. *Stephen Marſhal*, who compar'd him to *John* the Baptiſt, *For that he was taken away violently, after but two or three Years Work.* He was infinitely deſirous of the *Scots* Arrival; but was not ſo happy as to ſee that Day. It is pity that we know not the laſt Thoughts and Sentiments of this great Man, and Mr. *Hambden*, who queſtionleſs, at firſt, never deſign'd thoſe Train of Miſeries they really occaſion'd.

CHAP. IV.

The CIVIL WARS of *England:*

From the Arrival of the Scots *in* England, *to their Return into their own Country; when the War was concluded, the King's Party reduced, and Himſelf made a Captive.*

Containing the Space of a little above Three Years.

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I. 1. Hitherto we have treated of the Civil Wars of *England*, while that Nation was only concern'd, without any Foreign Aſſiſtance, and while the King's Party had manifeſtly the Advantage; but now we are to conſider them, as they were carry'd on in Conjunction with *Scotland*, which for ſome Time had ſupported and given Life to the declining Party, and at length was one Cauſe of turning the Scale. The *Scots* had twice before invaded *England*, and receiv'd ſuch ample Satisfaction, that they promis'd all future Service to the King; yet now contrary to Faith, as well as Loyalty, and indeed contrary to Expectation, they had prepar'd a powerful Army under their old General *Leſley*, now Earl of *Leven*, who had given the moſt ſolemn Aſſurances, *That he wou'd never bear Arms againſt the King, let the Cauſe be what it wou'd.* Their Forces conſiſted of about eighteen thouſand Foot, three thouſand Horſe, and between five and ſix hundred Dragoons; among whom *John Bayly* was Lieutenant-General of the Foot, *David Leſley* Major-General of the Horſe, and Sir *Alexander Hamilton* General of the Artillery. Several of the Nobility were alſo Commanders in this Army, as the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, the Earls of *Caſſils*, *Lowdon*, *Lindſay*, *Dumfernlin*, *Lothian* and *Eglinton*, the Lords *Maitland*, *Levingſton*, *Sinclare*, *Cowper*, *Kirkubright*, &c. Some of thoſe on the other Side, who proteſted againſt their Proceedings, were the Marqueſs of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Forth*, *Montroſs*, *Crawford*, *Abercorne*, *Gordon* and *Traquair*, the Lords *Aboyn*, *Ogilby*, *Hay*, Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, &c.

The Scots *Army.*

Their Declaration.

Being almoſt ready for their March, they publiſh'd a Manifeſto or Declaration, intentionally to anſwer three Queſtions: ' The *Juſtneſs* of their Cauſe: The *Lawfulneſs* of ' their Calling thereunto; and, The *Faithfulneſs* of their ' Carriage therein. For the firſt, They appeal to the ' great Searcher of all Hearts, who knows, That had not ' the *Love of Chriſt*, requiring to bear one another's Burthen; and the *Law of Nature*, challenging their Endeavour to prevent their own Danger, invelop'd with their ' Neighbours, and their Duty of reſcuing the King from ' his pernicious Council, they cou'd with far more Content enjoy'd their *dry Morſel, than enter'd into Houſes* ' *full of Sacrifices with Strife.* And they profeſs before ' God, and the World, their Hearts were clean and free ' from any other Intentions, than thoſe expreſs'd in their ' *Solemn League and Covenant*, namely, Reformation of ' Religion, Honour of the King, and Peace of the Kingdoms. Secondly, as to the *Lawfulneſs of their Calling*, ' Providence had ſo provided that the Parliament of *England* had a particular Obligation upon this their Nation, ' for refuſing to countenance a War againſt them in 1640, ' and now deſire their Aſſiſtance to them; and ſo with the

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‘the Senſe of Piety, Religion, Honour and Duty, they may not reſiſt their *Call* to this Expedition. Thirdly, As to the *Faithfulneſs of their Carriage*, they wou'd order their Army from Inſolencies, Rapines, Plunderings, and other Calamities incident to War. And they freely give the Publick Faith of the Kingdom of *Scotland* unto the Kingdom of *England*, that neither their Entrance into, nor Continuance in *England*, ſhall be made uſe of to other Ends than is expreſs'd in that *Covenant*, which they will keep inviolable: And they call God to Witneſs, their only Intent of War is to confirm all in Peace, and ſo to return home again.

Another by the Convention of Eſtates of Scotland.

Shortly after, the Convention of Eſtates of *Scotland* publiſh'd another, and longer Declaration, to juſtify the preſent Expedition; in which they ſaid, ‘It was moſt neceſſary, That every one ſhould be perſuaded of the *Lawfulneſs* of the Undertaking, and the *Goodneſs* of the Cauſe; which was no other than the Good of Religion in *England*, and the Deliverance of their Brethren out of the Depths of Affliction; the Preſervation of their own Religion, and Themſelves, from the Extremity of Miſery, and the Safety of their Native King, and his Kingdoms, from Deſtruction and Deſolation. If any One of which, by all Divine Law, and Human, was too juſt a Cauſe of taking of Arms; how much more, when all of them were joyn'd in One? Therefore let him who withdraws, and hides himſelf, conſider, Whether he be not an Hater of his Brethren, againſt Chriſtian and common Charity; an Hater of himſelf and his Poſterity, againſt the Law and Light of Nature; an Hater of the King and his Kingdoms, againſt Loyalty and common Duty; and an Hater of God, againſt all Religion and Peace. They declar'd, The Queſtion was not, Whether they might Propagate their Religion by Arms; but, Whether they ought to aſſiſt their Brethren in *England*, who were calling for their Help, and ſhedding their Blood in Defence of that Power, without which, Religion cou'd neither be defended, nor reformed? So that the Queſtion was ſoon reſolv'd, and they concluded, *That the Lord would ſave them from the Curſe of* Meroz, *who came not to help the Lord againſt the Mighty*. They ſaid, the Queſtion could not be, as their Enemies would make it, Whether they ſhould lift up Arms againſt their own King, who had promis'd, and done what might ſecure them in their own Religion and Liberties; but, Whether againſt the *Popiſh*, *Prelatical*, and *Malignant* Party, their Adherents prevailing in *England* and *Ireland*, they were not bound to provide for their own Preſervation. It was ſufficiently viſible, that they could not long, like *Goſhen*, enjoy their Light, if Darkneſs ſhould cover the Face of other Reformed Kirks: That *Judah* could not long continue in Liberty, if *Iſrael* were led away in Captivity; and that the Condition of the one Kirk and Kingdom, whether in Religion or Peace, muſt be common to both. They further ſaid, The Queſtion was not, Whether they ſhould preſume to be Arbitrators betwixt his Majeſty and the Parliament; but, Whether the Mediation being rejected, it were not their Duty to prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood; or, Whether they ought not to reſcue their Native King, his Crown, and Poſterity, and preſerve his People and Kingdom from Ruin and Deſtruction. If every private Man were bound in Duty to interpoſe Himſelf as a Reconciler between his Neighbours, arm'd to their mutual Deſtruction; if the Son ought to hazard his Life for the Preſervation of his Father and Brother, when at Variance; ſhould a Kingdom ſit ſtill, and ſuffer their own King, and neighbouring Kingdom, to periſh in an unnatural War?

The King's Declaratition concerning the Scots.

With this Divinity, and theſe Arguments, they reſolv'd to invade their Neighbour Nation, and joyn againſt their Native King, in all the bloody Actions, which had been ever practis'd in the moſt calamitous Civil War. But the King, to abate the Malignity of Theirs, publiſh'd a long Declaration of his Own, ‘In which he Hiſtorically recounted the uncommon Conceſſions he had made, with the large Immunities and Privileges, as well as Favours he had granted; ſuch as ſhew'd him a *gracious King towards his People, as well as a loving Father towards his Children*. But ſince common Duty and Gratitude would not take place, he particularly inſiſted upon that ſolemn *Act of Pacification*, which expreſly provided, “That the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould not denounce or make War againſt the Kingdom of *England*, without Conſent of the Parliament of *Scotland*; all which they had manifeſtly violated, and by this new Invaſion made themſelves Traitors, by the very Words of that Act.” After which he handſomely retorted their own Words and Expreſſions upon themſelves; and in Concluſion declar'd, That he doubted not but the Spirits of all true *Engliſhmen* would riſe with a juſt Indignation at this unheard-of Inſolence, where nothing was pretended, but a Reſolution to impoſe new Laws upon Them; that they would be united, as one Man, to oppoſe the Pride and Tyranny of this Invaſion, and that they would conclude, That neither *Conſcience*, nor *Brotherly Affection*, engag'd them from their own Peace and Quiet in the *Ungodly Errand*, but a Deſign of making a Conqueſt by their Civil Diſſentions, and of inhabiting their moſt fruitful and pleaſant Places. In a Word, if the Sins of both Nations had prepar'd a Judgment from Heaven, to have them drown'd and confounded in each others Blood; what Portion ſoever He ſhould have in the Calamity, *God and Man would bear Witneſs, That He had not been wanting in his Duty to prevent all the following Miſery and Deſolation.*

The Scots enter England.

2. But nothing could ſtop the Career of the *Scots*, who after all Impediments, in a diſmal ſnowy Seaſon, croſs'd the River *Tweed* at *Berwick*, on the 15th Day of *January*; being accompany'd with a ſelect Committee of their own, and met with another from *England*, who were to conduct and ſupply them in the moſt friendly and faithful Manner. Theſe two being joyn'd, became the general Committee of both Kingdoms, and in effect an united Camp Parliament. Before the further Advance of the Army, they ſent a Letter by a Trumpeter to Sir *Thomas Glemham*, and the reſt of the Commanders and Gentry of *Northumberland*, at *Alnwick*, ‘In which they inſiſted upon the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and declar'd their well-weigh'd Reſolutions, to prevent that imminent Danger, not only of Corruption, but of Ruin, which they ſaw evidently intended to the true Proteſtant Religion, by the *Popiſh* and *Prelatical* Faction; and to reſcue his Majeſty's Perſon and Honour, from the Counſels of thoſe, whoſe Ends are little better than *Popery* and *Tyranny*. Therefore they expected the Concurrence of them, and all others; and if they met with any Oppoſition, the Law of Nature, and their own Reaſon, would tell them what they are to expect.’ Together with this Letter, they ſent alſo a Copy of the *Scotch* Declaration, to give it the greater Force and Authority among the Vulgar.

They write to Sir Thomas Glemham, *&c.*

The Anſwer to the Letter.

The brave Sir *Thomas Glemham*, after a ſerious Conſultation with the Officers and Gentry, how moſt to incommode the Enemies March, return'd a ſharp Anſwer, in which He and the reſt declare, ‘That without the ſight of that Letter, they could not have believ'd, That the *Scottiſh* Nation, or the preſent prevailing Party in that Nation, would have attempted an Invaſion of *England*; ſo contrary to the Laws of God, of Nations, of both Kingdoms, and eſpecially to the late *Act of Pacification*; ſo oppoſite to their Allegiance and Gratitude to his Majeſty, to that neighbourly Love they pretend, to that diſcreet Care which they ſhould have of their own Safety. They declare, That no Order of Committees whatever, of Men or Angels, could give Power to make War againſt their natural Sovereign, upon the empty Pretence of nameleſs Evil Counſellors: And for the *Engliſh* Agents, they could not believe them any Commiſſioners lawfully authoriz'd by the two Houſes of Parliament, or yet by the *Houſe of Commons*, whence ſo many Members were expell'd by partial Votes, ſo many baniſh'd by Seditious Tumults, ſo many voluntarily abſent out of Conſcience; where Deſperation, Want of Opportunity to depart, or Fear of certain Plunder, were the chief Bonds which held the little Remnant together from Diſſipation; where the venerable Name of PARLIAMENT was made a Stale to countenance the pernicious Counſels and Acts of a CLOSE COMMITTEE. As to the *Scots*, they declare, That no *Covenant* whatever could juſtify ſuch Proceedings, begun without any Neceſſity, or ſo much as Provocation. After anſwering their Pretenſions, they deſire them to conſider, That there muſt be an Account given to God of all the Blood which ſhou'd be ſhed in this Quarrel: And ſince their Inſults were ſuch, that a vanquiſh'd Nation would ſcarce endure from their Conquerors, they could not think they were grown ſo tame, as to deſert their Religion, Laws, Liberties and Eſtates, upon Command of Foreigners, and to ſuffer Themſelves and their Poſterity to be made Beggars and Slaves without Oppoſition.

The Scots *advance with many Difficulties.*

Theſe Paper Skirmiſhes had no other Effect than to gain ſome little Time for Sir *Thomas Glemham* to draw his Forces and Artillery to *Newcaſtle*, for *Alnwick* was not tenible; beſides, he found ſeveral of the Gentlemen of *Northumberland*, eſpecially ſuch as were ally'd to the Lord *Grey* of *Wark*, either out of Fear of the *Scots*, or Affection to their Cauſe, were very backwards in oppoſing the Enemy. The *Scots* advanc'd after him by ſlow and difficult Marches, by reaſon of the Snow and Floods, and on the third of *February* ſummon'd the Town of *Newcaſtle*; but finding they were not able to take the Place, after three Weeks ſtay, and ſome Skirmiſhes, they paſs'd the River

Tyne

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Car. 19.

Tyne on the 28th of *February*, and on the 4th of *March* enter'd *Sunderland*. The Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, General for the King in thoſe Northern Parts, having reinforc'd his Army to about fourteen thouſand Horſe and Foot, attended ſo near upon the *Scots* Army, and ſo intercepted their Supplies, that ſometimes they had neither Meat nor Drink, and were never poſſeſs'd of above twenty four Hours Proviſion: But they colour'd over this Neceſſity by keeping a ſolemn Faſt, and by preſſing on towards *Durham* for better Quarters. To ſtop their Advance, on the 23d of *March*, the Marqueſs drew up his Army at *Hilton*, on the North of the River *Ware*, the *Scots* being drawn up on a Hill Eaſt from them towards the Sea. So the Armies fac'd each other, and skirmiſh'd in Parties; the Field Word given by the Marqueſs being Prophetically enough, *Now or Never*; and by the *Scots*, in their aſſuming Way, *The Lord of Hoſts is with us*. The Marqueſs, not able to force the *Scots* to a Battel, retreated towards his Quarters at *Durham*, and the *Scots* follow'd ſlowly; but could make no conſiderable Advance, till the Lord *Fairfax*, and the reſt of the Parliament Forces, by a new Diverſion, gave them Opportunity to deſcend into *Yorkſhire*, as will be mention'd in a more proper Place.

Nantwich *relieved by Sir* Thomas Fairfax.

3. During theſe Movements of the *Scots*, there hapned two Actions, which had a contrary Influence upon their Affairs; the one at *Nantwich* in *Cheſhire*, and the other at *Newark* in *Nottinghamſhire*. The former had in *January* been beſieg'd for the King, by Sir *John Byron*, lately made Lord *Byron*, at the Head of a brave Body of Men, that had been ſent out of *Ireland* after the Ceſſation, and had carry'd great Terror along with them, by their ſucceſsful Advances. The Town being reduc'd to great Straits, the hardy Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was order'd to haſten out of *Lincolnſhire* to relieve it, at a Time when the Beſiegers had little Expectation of Trouble, and too much Confidence in their own Strength. This young Commander, with indefatigable Induſtry, in ſeveral Places gather'd about three thouſand Men, and march'd directly to the Relief of *Nantwich*, tho' inferior in Number and Goodneſs of Troops to the other Party, who in Aſſurance of their own Power, had kept their Poſts too long: And when they found it neceſſary to draw off, a little River by a ſudden Thaw ſo ſwell'd above its Banks, that the Lord *Byron*, with the greateſt Part of the Horſe and Foot, lying on one ſide of the Town, were parted from the reſt, and oblig'd to march four or five Miles, to joyn with the other; before which Time, the other Part being charg'd by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* on one ſide, and from the Town on the other, were broken; and all the chief Officers compell'd to retire into a neighbouring Church, where they were ſurrounded, and the Horſe by reaſon of the Floods and narrow Lanes, not being able to relieve them, were forc'd to yield themſelves Priſoners to thoſe whom they ſo much deſpis'd a few Hours before. Beſides all the chief and conſiderable Officers of Foot, there were taken about fifteen hundred Soldiers, and all their Cannon and Carriages, together with the Lord *Byron*'s Commiſſion; that Lord, with the reſt of his Forces, retiring to *Cheſter*. This Fight was fought on the twenty-fifth of *January*, and was as ſharp for the Time it laſted, as any that happen'd before in theſe unhappy Wars; and gave a great Reputation to young *Fairfax*, who not long after became the Supreme General under the Parliament. Among the Priſoners, was taken the famous Colonel *George Monk*, who was ſent to *London*, and continu'd in the *Tower* for many Years; and after many ſtrange Revolutions, was the great Inſtrument of the Reſtoration.

This Defeat, together with the Terror of the *Scotch* Army, had ſo let looſe all the King's Enemies in the Northern Parts, which were lately at his Devotion, that his Friends were in great Diſtreſs in many Places before the Seaſon wou'd allow them to take the Field. *Newark*, an uſeful Garriſon, which not only ſubjected the little County of *Nottingham*, but had kept a great Part of the large County of *Lincoln* under Contribution, was now reduc'd to ſo great Straits by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and Sir *John Meldrum*, that they were forc'd to beg Relief from the King at *Oxford*. In theſe Difficulties, the King found it neceſſary to ſend Prince *Rupert*, with a good Body of choſen Horſe and Dragoons, and ſome Foot, with Orders after he had viſited *Shrewsbury* and *Cheſter*, now terrify'd with the Lord *Byron*'s Defeat, and us'd all Endeavours for new Levies, that he wou'd attempt the Relief of *Newark*; which being loſt, wou'd cut off all poſſible Communication between *Oxford* and *York*. In *Newark* the Garriſon conſiſted of moſt of the Gentry of the Country, and the Inhabitants, ſcarce provided with any Thing againſt a Siege, beſides their ſingular Courage and Affections. The Enemy entrench'd themſelves before the Town, and proceeded by Approach; conceiving they had ſufficient Time, and apprehending no Poſſibility of being diſturb'd: And indeed there was no Hopes of Relief to come, but from *Shrewsbury* and *Cheſter*, where Prince *Rupert* had given ſo much Life, and gather'd ſo conſiderable a Body, that the Enemy found little Advantage by their late Victory, in the Enlargement of their Quarters.

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Car. 19.

Newark *reliev'd by Prince* Rupert.

This intrepid Prince then reſolv'd to try his Fate before *Newark*, and undertook the Relief before he was ready for it, and by that Means perform'd it. For the Enemy, who had always great Intelligence, was ſo confident that he had no Strength ſufficient to attempt that Work, that he was within Six Miles before they believ'd he had any Thoughts of them; and charging and routing ſome of their Horſe, purſu'd them with that ſtrange Expedition, that he beſieg'd them in their Works with his Horſe, before his Foot came within four Miles of the Place. In that Conſternation, and Belief that he muſt have a vaſt Power and Strength, to bring them to ſuch Straits, He with a Number inferior to the Enemy, and utterly unprovided for a long Action, brought them to accept of Leave to lay down their Arms, and depart without any Carriage or Baggage. Thus on the twenty ſecond of *March* he reliev'd *Newark*, and took above four thouſand Arms, eleven Pieces of Braſs Cannon, two Mortar-Pieces, and above fifty Barrels of Powder; which was as unexpected a Victory as any happen'd throughout the War, and had that Effect, that the Garriſons of *Gainsborough*, *Lincoln* and *Sleeford*, were quitted ſoon after by the Parliament Forces, and *Sterne* Caſtle in *Staffordſhire* was ſurrender'd to Sir *Gilbert Gerard* for his Majeſty's Uſe. Thus two contrary Victories in a great Meaſure kept the Ballance even; while the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* was endeavouring to ſtem the grand Northern Inundation.

The King's firſt Expedient againſt the Scots.

II. I. To obviate or leſſen the Miſchiefs threatned from the Invaſion of the *Scots*, who had particularly reported, *That divers of the Nobility had lately deſerted the King*, his Majeſty conſider'd of two Expedients in Council. The One was, that all the Peers then in *Oxford*, or in his Service, might ſubſcribe a Letter to the *Council of State* in *Scotland*; by which it wou'd appear, by the very Subſcription, 'That above five Parts in ſix of the whole 'Nobility, and Houſe of Lords, were in the King's Ser'vice, and diſavow'd all thoſe Actions done againſt him 'by the pretended Authority of the two Houſes;' which poſſibly might make ſome Impreſſion upon the People of *Scotland*, who had been ſo much impos'd upon by their Leaders. A Letter was accordingly prepar'd, expreſſing 'The Foulneſs of the Rebellion in *England*, under the 'Reputation of the *Two Houſes of Parliament*, after the 'far Major Part of both Houſes had been forcibly driven 'away, expreſly againſt all the Laws of the Land; re'minding them of their particular Obligations to the King, 'and pathetically concluding, with conjuring them to de'ſiſt from their unjuſt and unwarrantable Purpoſe; ſince 'they cou'd have no Excuſe from the pretended Authori'ty of Parliament.' The Letter was perus'd and debated in the Council, and afterwards in the Preſence of all the Peers; and being generally approv'd, by all but the Earl of *Leiceſter*, it was order'd to be Sign'd by all thoſe Lords and Privy-Counſellors, who were then in *Oxford*, and to be ſent to thoſe who were abſent in the Armies, or in the King's Quarters, and to be ſent to the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*; who after he had ſign'd it, with thoſe Peers who were in the North, was to tranſmit it into *Scotland* by a Trumpet; all which was accordingly perform'd.

His ſecond Expedient.

The other Expedient propos'd was, That ſince the whole Kingdom was miſ-led by the Reverence they had to Parliaments, and believ'd that the Laws and Liberties ſolely depended upon their Authority; and ſince it was of no effect to perſuade Men that what they did was againſt Law, while they believ'd that their very doing it made it Lawful, it wou'd be therefore neceſſary to convince them, 'That they who did thoſe monſtrous Things, *were not 'the Parliament*, but a *Handful of deſperate Perſons*, who 'by the Help of the Tumults rais'd in *London*, had driven 'away the Major Part of the Parliament, and call'd 'Themſelves *THE PARLIAMENT*; while, in 'reality, they were much the leſs, and the leaſt conſidera'ble Part of it:' All which wou'd manifeſtly appear, if his Majeſty wou'd iſſue out a Proclamation, 'To require 'all the Members who had left the Parliament at *Weſt'minſter*, to repair to *Oxford*, by a fix'd Day; where the 'King wou'd be willing to adviſe with them in Matters 'of the greateſt Importance, concerning the Compoſure 'of the Diſtractions of the Nation.' By this Means, in many Things he might ſerve Himſelf by their Aſſiſtance; and it wou'd evidently appear, by the Number of both Houſes, whoſe Names wou'd be quickly publiſh'd, how few remain'd at *Weſtminſter*, who carry'd on this grievous and devouring War. This, after ſome Debates on both Sides, was reſolv'd upon in Council; and accordingly a Proclamation was iſſu'd out, 'containing the true

'Grounds

164$\frac{3}{4}$. Car. 19.

He ſummons the Parliament to Oxford.

'Grounds and Motives, and mentioning the League of *Scotland* to invade the Kingdom, which was univerſally odious; and ſummoning all the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, excepting ſuch as commanded his Majeſty's Forces in the *North*, and the *Weſt*, to attend upon his Majeſty at *Oxford*, upon the twenty ſecond Day of *January*.

The OXFORD PARLIAMENT.

2. The Court at *Oxford* was much encreas'd by the Queen's Preſence, and the Neceſſities were increas'd with the Expence. All Correſpondence was now abſolutely cut off with *London*; the Mony which by particular Perſons had been plentifully ſupply'd in the Beginning of the War, was now near ſpent, and the ſtopping the Intercourſe with *London* had ſhut the Door againſt farther Supply; ſo that Men were weary of the preſent Condition, and expreſs'd it in Murmurs and Complaints. And all the Hopes of the Royaliſts was in the Convention of the Members of Parliament; which being a new Thing, ſuſpended the preſent Indiſpoſition, and rais'd ſome Expectation, what they who came from all Quarters of the Kingdom, wou'd do. According to the King's Proclamation, the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, who had withdrawn from thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, appear'd at *Oxford* at the Day appointed; except many of them, who cou'd not be abſent from their Commands in the Country, where the Armies lay. They appear'd to the Number of forty four Lords and a Hundred and Seventeen Commoners. They were graciouſly and ſolemnly welcom'd by his Majeſty, in the Great Hall at *Chriſt-Church*, and with that Ceremony which is us'd at the opening of a Parliament; at which Time in a formal Speech he declar'd, 'That he call'd them to be Witneſſes of his Actions, and privy to his Intentions; that he deſir'd to receive any Advice from them, which they thought wou'd be ſuitable to the miſerable and diſtracted Condition of the Kingdom; in preſenting of which, they ſhou'd uſe all that Parliamentary Freedom, which wou'd be due to them if they were with him at *Weſtminſter*, and which, with all other Privileges, they ſhou'd enjoy at *Oxford*, tho' they cou'd not in the other Place;' and us'd many Expreſſions of Grace towards them, and Confidence in them.

As ſoon as they had withdrawn to their Places, the Lords to the upper Schools, and the Commons to the Convocation Houſe, both Lords and Commons enter'd upon the Deliberation of all poſſible Expedients in order to Peace; but how to advance to any Formality, that might produce a Diſpoſition to Intercourſe, appear'd very difficult. When they thought of adviſing the King to ſend a gracious Meſſage and Overture to the Houſes, they ſoon remember'd what he had already done that Way, and what Returns they had made to him: That to the two laſt Meſſages he had ſent, they had never return'd Anſwer, and that they ſtill detain'd his laſt Meſſenger in Cuſtody, after they had expos'd him to a Tryal for his Life at a Court of War: That they had prohibited any Kind of Addreſs to be made to them from his Majeſty, except through the Hands of the Earl of *Eſſex* their General. From hence, they enter'd upon the Diſquiſition, how they might engage his Excellency to the ſame Thoughts and Deſires with them; to which they eaſily believ'd Experience, Obſervation, and Intereſt, wou'd oblige him; and therefore they reſolv'd to write a Letter to the Earl in their own Names, which, with the King's Conſent, was by a Trumpet ſent to him, within four Days after their Meeting, and was to this Effect.

The Letter of both Houſes to the Earl of Eſſex.

'My Lord, His Majeſty having by his Proclamation ſummon'd all the Members of both Houſes of Parliament to attend him here at *Oxford*, inviting us by theſe gracious Expreſſions: *That his Subjects ſhou'd ſee how willing He was to receive Advice for the Preſervation of the Religion, Laws and Safety of the Kingdom; and as far as in Him lay to reſtore its former Peace and Security, his chief and only End, from thoſe whom they had truſted, tho' he cou'd not receive it in the Place where he appointed:* All which has been made good to us, and ſeconded with ſuch unqueſtionable Demonſtrations of his Princely Senſe of the Calamities of his poor Subjects in this unnatural War, and his Paſſionate Affection to redeem them from that deplorable Condition by all Ways conſiſtent with his Honour, and Safety of the Kingdom, *&c.* We being intirely ſatisfy'd of this Truth, and ſenſible of the Deſolations of our Country, and further Dangers threatned from *Scotland*; and being deſirous to believe your Lordſhip, however engag'd, ſenſibly touch'd with theſe Conſiderations, do invite you to that Part in this bleſſed Work, which is only capable of repairing all our Miſeries, and buoying up the Kingdom from Ruin. We therefore conjure you by all the Obligations of Honour, Conſcience, or Publick Piety, to co-operate with us to its Preſervation, by truly repreſenting to, and promoting with thoſe by whom you are truſted, this our Deſire: That they joining with us, ſome Perſons be appointed on either Part to treat of ſuch a Peace as may redeem it from the Brink of Deſolation. This Addreſs we make, being aſſur'd by his Proclamation of Pardon, that his Mercy and Clemency can tranſcend all former Provocations; and that he has not only made us *Witneſſes* of his Intentions, but honour'd us alſo with the Name of being *Security* for them.'

164$\frac{3}{4}$. Car. 19.

This Letter was ſubſcrib'd by his Highneſs the Prince, the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert* lately made Duke of *Cumberland*, and two and forty Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Viſcounts and Barons, with a hundred and eighteen Members of the Houſe of Commons; there being ſuch Expedition us'd in the Diſpatch, that it was not thought fit to be deferr'd for a greater Subſcription; tho' it was known that many Lords and Commoners were upon the Way, who arriv'd within a few Days; and there were at that Time near twenty Peers abſent with his Majeſty's Leave, and employ'd in his Affairs and Armies in the Kingdom, and ten at the ſame time beyond the Seas. Some were alſo under Confinement, ſo that there were no leſs than eighty two Peers abſent from the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, which made the Numbers at that Place very thin: For there were not above twenty two Lords, who either ſat in the Parliament, or were ingag'd in their Party; namely, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Lincoln*, *Rutland*, *Saliſbury*, *Suffolk*, *Warwick*, *Mancheſter*, *Mulgrave*, *Denbigh*, *Stamford*, and *Bullingbrook*; the Lords *Say*, *Dacres*, *Wharton*, *Grey* of *Wark*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, *Rochfort*, and *Roberts*, who were preſent, or had Proxies there.

The Earl of Eſſex's *Anſwer to it.*

3. The Trumpeter found the Earl of *Eſſex* at his Houſe at *London*, where he was detain'd three or four Days; and the firſt Effect of the healing Letter, was to have it cry'd throughout the Streets of *London* in Scorn, as *The Petition of the Prince and Duke of* York *for Peace.* The Earl having conſulted the ſecret Committee, which was choſen out of both Houſes and ſome of the *Scotch* Nation, return'd this Anſwer to the Earl of *Forth*, the King's General: 'My Lord, I receiv'd this Day a Letter of the 29th Inſtant, from your Lordſhip, and a Parchment ſubſcrib'd by the Prince, Duke of *York*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen; but it neither having Addreſs to the two Houſes of Parliament, nor therein there being any Acknowledgment of them, I could not communicate it to them. My Lord, the Maintenance of the Parliament of *England*, and of the Privileges thereof, is that for which we are all reſolv'd to ſpend our Blood; as being the Foundation whereupon all our Laws and Liberties are built. I ſend your Lordſhip herewith a *National Covenant*, ſolemnly enter'd into by both the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and a *Declaration paſs'd by them both together*, with another *Declaration of the Kingdom of* Scotland.

A Declaration of both Kingdoms.

We have already given an Account of the *National Covenant*, and *Declaration of* Scotland, and ſhall now take ſome Notice of the *Declaration of both Kingdoms*, paſs'd about the Time that this very Overture of Peace came from *Oxford*. It conſiſted much of the ſame Strain of Inſpiration with the *Scotch Declaration*, and talk'd, 'How clearly the Light of the Goſpel ſhin'd amongſt them; that they plac'd not their Confidence in their own Counſels and Strength, but in God Almighty, the Lord of Hoſts, who wou'd not leave nor forſake his People. It was his own Truth and Cauſe, againſt the Hereſie, Superſtition and Tyranny of *Anti-Chriſt*; the Glory of his Name, the Exaltation of the *Kingdom* of his Son, and the Preſervation of his Church was their Aim and End. It was *His Covenant*, which they had ſolemnly ſworn in both Nations, which he wou'd not have put in their Hearts to do, if he had been minded to deſtroy them. Upon theſe Conſiderations, being confident that this War was of God, they reſolv'd with Courage and Conſtancy to perſevere to the End; and the Lord, who had ſtirr'd up their Spirits, diſplay'd his Banner before them, and given the Allarm, do that which ſeemeth him good. They therefore gave publick Warning to all Men to reſt no longer upon their Neutrality, or Indifferency; but ſpeedily to take the *Covenant*, and join, with all their Power, in this Cauſe againſt the common Enemy; and by their Zeal to make up what had been wanting through their *Lukewarmneſs*; otherwiſe they did declare them Publick Enemies to their Religion and Country, and that they were to be puniſh'd as profeſs'd Adverſaries and *Malignants*. Then they offer'd Pardon to all who ſhou'd deſert the King, adhere to them, and take the *Covenant*; and concluded, That they made not that Declaration, from any Preſumption or Vain-glorying in the Strength of their Armies, but from the Senſe of their Duty, requir'd from the high Places and publick Relations wherein they ſtood, and from the Aſſurance they had of the Aſſiſtance of God, 164¾. Car. 19.

'by whoſe Providence the Truſt and Safety of thoſe Kingdoms was now put into their Hands; having, after long and grave Conſultation, reſolv'd and decreed never to lay down Arms, till Truth and Peace, by the Bleſſing of God, be ſettled in this Iſland; which, they ſaid, wou'd be eſteem'd of them an abundant Reward of all they cou'd do, or ſuffer in that Cauſe.

Reflections upon it, &c.

This, and the other Declaration of *Scotland*, will adminiſter ſufficient Occaſion for Cenſure and Reflection; and will ſhew the Power of Enthuſiaſtical Deluſions; that when Men have wantonly broken looſe from all ſettled Rules of Religion, and Obedience to Authority, how ſoon they are captivated by a profane and preſumptuous Entituling themſelves to God's Favour, and uſing his ſacred Name to the Scandal and Amazement of all ſober Chriſtians. As for the Earl of *Eſſex*, who ſent theſe Declarations and *Covenant*, by way of Anſwer to an excellent Letter, that might have been the happy Foundation of an Accommodation, it has been juſtly obſerv'd, that after that Time, and the many Laurels he had reap'd, he never perform'd any one proſperous Action, but prov'd unfortunate in all he went about, even to the Day of his Death.

4. This Anſwer was receiv'd with great Indignation at *Oxford*, but being ſo much in the popular Road, it was thought fit again to let the World ſee, That they did in direct Terms refuſe to admit of any Peace. So the Earl of *Forth* was adviſ'd to write again to the other General, for a ſafe Conduct for two unexceptionable Gentlemen, to and from *Weſtminſter*, to be ſent by the King concerning a Treaty of Peace. To this the Earl of *Eſſex* return'd Anſwer, 'That whenſoever he ſhou'd receive any Directions to thoſe who had entruſted him, he ſhou'd uſe his beſt Endeavours; and when a ſafe Conduct ſhou'd be deſir'd for thoſe Gentlemen, from his Majeſty to the *Houſes of Parliament*, he wou'd ſhew his Willingneſs to further any Way that might produce that Happineſs, that honeſt Men pray'd for.' This Intimation of his Reſolution of interpoſing, if he had a Letter from the King to the *Houſes of Parliament*, perſwaded many, that the Earl only wanted an Opportunity to poſſeſs the Houſes with the Overture, and if it were once fairly lodg'd within the Walls, there were ſo many well affected to Peace, that the Propoſition wou'd not be rejected. And therefore at the ſame Time, making all poſſible Preparations for the Field, his Majeſty, with little Expectations of Succeſs, was prevail'd with to ſend the enſuing Meſſage on the third of *March*, and encloſ'd to the Earl of *Eſſex*: 'Out of our moſt tender and pious Senſe of the ſad and bleeding Condition of this our Kingdom, and our unwearied Deſires to apply all Remedies, which, by the Bleſſing of God, may recover it from an utter Ruin, by the Advice of the *Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at* Oxford, We do propound and deſire, That a convenient Number of fit Perſons may be appointed and authoriz'd by you, to meet, with all convenient Speed, at ſuch a Place as you ſhall nominate, with an equal Number of fit Perſons whom we ſhall appoint and authorize, to treat of the Ways and Means to ſettle the preſent Diſtractions of this our Kingdom, and to procure a happy Peace: And particularly, how all the Members of both Houſes may ſecurely meet in *a full and free Convention of Parliament*, there to treat, conſult, and agree upon ſuch Things, as may conduce to the Maintenance and Defence of the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, *&c.*

The King's Meſſage to the Houſes at Weſtminſter.

This Meſſage, being ſign'd by the King, was ſuperſcrib'd *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at* Weſtminſter; which occaſion'd ſeveral Debates in both Houſes, in which Mr. *Whitelock* in a Speech has theſe Expreſſions.----

Mr. Whitelock's *Speech upon it.*

'God hath given you great Succeſſes in many Places againſt our Enemies, and ſometimes he is pleas'd to give our Enemies Succeſſes againſt us; in all of them, whether of the one or the other Party, the poor *Engliſh* are ſtill Sufferers. Whoſe Goods are plunder'd? whoſe Houſes are burnt? whoſe Limbs are cut or ſhot off? whoſe Perſons are thrown into loathſome Dungeons? whoſe Blood ſtains the Walls of our Towns, and defiles the Land? Is it not all *Engliſh*? And is it not then Time for us, who are all *Engliſhmen*, to uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to put an End to theſe Diſcords? I know, Sir, you are all here of the ſame Opinion in this Point; and that it was an unhappy Miſtake of thoſe who told us in the Beginning of our Warfare, *That it wou'd be only to ſhew our ſelves in the Field with a few Forces, and then all wou'd be preſently ended.* We have found it otherwiſe; let us now again ſeek to recover theſe Bleſſings of Peace.------ I am perſwaded you can hardly name any Committee, either within or without theſe Walls, but wou'd be ready to take Pains to effect this good Work; unleſs it were thoſe who have ſaid, *That if this War be well manag'd, it may laſt twenty Years.* But theſe were not *Engliſhmen*: And although we have *Iriſh*, *French*, *Dutch* and *Walloons*, as well as other *Papiſts*, ingag'd for the Settlement of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and *Laws of England*; yet I am perſwaded, that his Majeſty and you, mutually indeavouring, none can hinder it. It is true, that theſe Foreigners help to open the Veins wider; but a Peace will rid us of them, and ſtop the Iſſue of Blood; but if it bleed on ſtill, we muſt faint, and perhaps become a Prey to Foreigners.

164¾. Car. 19.

This had no Effect; but after two or three Days Debates, and with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, without whoſe Concurrence nothing was tranſacted, they return'd an Anſwer, in which they declare as following: 'That as we have uſ'd all Means for a juſt and ſafe Peace, ſo will we never be wanting to do our utmoſt for the procuring thereof: But when we conſider the Expreſſions in that Letter of your Majeſty's, we have more ſad and deſpairing Thoughts of attaining the ſame than ever; becauſe thereby, thoſe Perſons now aſſembled at *Oxford*, who contrary to their Duty have deſerted your Parliament, are put into an equal Condition with it. And this preſent Parliament, conven'd according to the known and fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, the Continuance whereof is eſtabliſh'd by a Law conſented to by your Majeſty, is in Effect deny'd to be a *Parliament*; the Scope and Intention of that Letter being to make Proviſion, how all the Members, as is pretended, of both Houſes, may ſecurely meet in a *full and free Convention of Parliament*; whereof no other Concluſion can be made, but that this preſent Parliament is not a *full*, nor *free Convention*; and that to make it ſo, the Preſence of thoſe is neceſſary, who notwithſtanding that they have deſerted that great Truſt, and do levy War againſt the Parliament, are pretended to be Members of the two Houſes of Parliament. And hereupon we think our ſelves bound to let your Majeſty know, that ſeeing the Continuance of this Parliament is ſettled by a Law (which as other Laws of your Kingdom, your Majeſty hath ſworn to maintain, as we are ſworn to our Allegiance to your Majeſty, theſe Obligations being reciprocal) we muſt in Duty, and accordingly are reſolv'd, *with our Lives and Fortunes*, to defend and preſerve the juſt Rights and full Power of *This Parliament*: And do beſeech your Majeſty to be aſſur'd, That your Majeſty's Royal and hearty Concurrence with us herein, will be the moſt effectual and ready Means of procuring a firm and laſting Peace, and begetting a perfect Underſtanding between your Majeſty and your People: Without which, your Majeſty's moſt earneſt Profeſſions, and our moſt real Intentions concerning the ſame, muſt neceſſarily be fruſtrated. And in Caſe your Majeſty's three Kingdoms ſhou'd, by reaſon thereof, remain in this ſad and bleeding Condition, tending by the Continuance of this unnatural War, to their Ruin, your Majeſty cannot be the leaſt, nor the laſt Sufferer.' Then they conclude with propoſing to him, as the laſt Remedy, 'To follow the joint Advice of *Both Kingdoms*, now happily united in this Cauſe by their late *ſolemn League and Covenant*.

The Anſwer of the two Houſes to it.

5. All Hopes of Accommodation being at an End, Mony for carrying on the War was one main Conſideration at *Oxford*, where the Members of the Commons were appointed to bring in the Names of all the Gentlemen of Eſtate, and other Perſons reputed to be rich, within their ſeveral Precincts, and what Sums they might be able to furniſh the King in this Exigency. And then a Form of a Letter was drawn up, which ſhou'd be ſent to every one of them, for ſuch a Sum to be lent; the Letter to be ſubſcrib'd by the two Speakers of the Houſes, that People might know, it was by the Advice of the Members of Parliament aſſembled there. When this Way and Method was approv'd by the Lords, and had his Majeſty's Conſent to it, they, for an Example, began with themſelves, and caus'd Letters to be ſign'd and deliver'd to the ſeveral Members of both Houſes, for ſuch Sums as they were diſpoſ'd to furniſh; which were to that Proportion as gave good Encouragement to others; and ſent the like Letters to all Perſons of Condition who were in the Town. By which a Supply was rais'd in Money and Credit, as ſerv'd many neceſſary Occaſions; there being near a hundred thouſand Pounds, whereof ſome came in every Day, to enable the King to provide for the next Campaign. And becauſe the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* had laid an Impoſition, which they call'd an Exciſe upon Wine, Beer, Ale, and other Commodities, this Pattern was conſider'd by the Members at *Oxford*, and judg'd a good Expedient to be follow'd by the King; and accordingly it was ſettled, govern'd and regulated by Commiſſioners, in the ſame Method it was done at *London*. So that at *Oxford*, *Briſtol*, and other Garriſons, it yielded a reaſonable Supply for the Proviſion of Arms and Ammunition: But both Sides made ample Declarations, with bitter Reproaches upon the Neceſſity that drew on this Impoſition, 'That it ſhou'd be continu'd no longer

Methods uſ'd by the Oxford *Parliament to raiſe Mony*

164¾.
Car. 19.

than to the End of this War, and then laid down, and utterly aboliſh'd;' which few wiſe Men believ'd would ever happen.

Their ſeveral Reſolutions.

The violent Proceedings at *Weſtminſter* made no Impreſſion upon the Allegiance or Courage of thoſe at *Oxford*; who when they found the other ſo incredibly averſe to Peace, and intending utter Ruin to the King, the Church, and the Friends to both, they reſolv'd as freely to declare their Reſolutions, that the People might ſee the Iſſue they were at. Accordingly they declar'd and reſolv'd, with ſcarce one diſſenting Voice, 1. 'That all ſuch Subjects of *Scotland* as had conſented to the *Declaration of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *&c.* had thereby denounc'd War againſt the Kingdom of *England*, and broke the *Act of Pacification*. 2. That all his Majeſty's Subjects of the Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, are both by their Allegiance, and the *Act of Pacification*, bound to reſiſt all thoſe of *Scotland* as had or ſhou'd enter upon any Part of his Majeſty's Realm and Dominions, as Traytors and Enemies to the State; and that whoſoever ſhould aid, abet, or aſſiſt the *Scots* in their Invaſion, ſhould be deem'd as Traytors and Enemies to the State. 3. That the Lords and Commons remaining in *Weſtminſter*, that had conſented to the raiſing of Forces under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, or had been abetting, or aſſiſting thereto, had levy'd and rais'd War againſt the King, and were therein Guilty of High-Treaſon. 4. That thoſe Lords and Commons remaining in *Weſtminſter*, who had conſented to the making and uſing a new Great Seal, had thereby counterfeited the King's Great Seal, and therein committed High-Treaſon. 5. That the Lords and Commons remaining in *Weſtminſter*, who had conſented to the preſent coming in of the *Scots* in a warlike Manner, had therein committed High-Treaſon: And that in theſe in three laſt Crimes, they had broken the Truſt repos'd in them by their Country, and ought to be proceeded againſt as Traytors to their King and Country. 6. That all the Endeavours and Offers of Peace and Treaty, made by his Majeſty, by the Advice of the Lords and Commons aſſembled at *Oxford*, have been refus'd and rejected by the Lords and Commons remaining at *Weſtminſter*.

Their two Declarations

Theſe Reſolutions were compleated on the 12th Day of *March*; about which time they publiſh'd two long Declarations, of the Grounds and Motives which had forc'd them to leave the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; 'In which they Hiſtorically mention'd all the indirect Paſſages, and vile Practices, by which they had been driven thence; the Obligations in Law and Conſcience, to adhere to his Majeſty; and the Miſery which the other Party had already brought upon the Kingdom, and the Deſolation which muſt inevitably follow thoſe Proceedings: And in one of them they conclude, That whoever now conſiders how many have retir'd themſelves from ſeveral Counties, and ſo are abſent from *Weſtminſter*, and yet cannot without Danger be preſent at *Oxford*; how many have withdrawn themſelves unto the Parts beyond the Seas; how many of their own principal Inſtruments are voted out of the Houſe by themſelves, as Sir *John Hotham*, and his Son, Sir *Alexander Carew*, Mr. *Martin*, Mr. *Fiennes*, and many others; how many now are impriſon'd by them; how many Members from the Beginning have been factiouſly kept from the Houſe, upon Queſtions of Election; and how many without any Colour are kept in, by not ſuffering their Elections to be reported; and that there are Thirty Five Members dead, into whoſe Rooms no new Perſons are choſen; how many ſince are become Barons by Deſcent, or Creation, will eaſily conclude how ſmall the Number is which remains, and of thoſe how *Few in Truth have Right to ſit there*.

1644.
Car. 20.

The Fight at Alsford.

6. By this Time both Parties had taken the Field in the *South*, as well as the *North*, tho' not with their full intended Force. The Lord *Hopton*, in this hard Winter, by good Management took the ſtrong Caſtle of *Arundel* in *Suſſex*; but for want of Unanimity in the Garriſon, it was not long after retaken by Sir *William Waller*, to the great Diſappointment of the Lord *Hopton*'s Deſigns. This at length occaſion'd a ſharp Encounter between theſe two valiant Commanders at *Cheryton-Down* near *Alsford*, not far from *Wincheſter*; in which Sir *William* had really the Advantage. The King's Forces conſiſted of about Five Thouſand Foot, and Three Thouſand Horſe; the Parliament Forces were ſomewhat ſuperior; and tho' their Succeſs that Day was rather accompany'd with Marks of Victory, than any real Proofs of it, yet it was of ſo great Advantage to them, that it neceſſitated the King to alter the whole Scheme of his Affairs, and inſtead of an offenſive, to make a defenſive War. The King's Horſe never behav'd themſelves ſo ill, as this Day; yet the Lord *Hopton* ſecur'd all the Cannon and Ammunition, and that Night retir'd ſafely to *Reading*. This is call'd the Battel or Fight of *Alsford*, or *Cheryton-Down*, which was fought on the 29th Day of *March*; in which the King loſt two brave Officers, the Lord *John Stuart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and General of the Horſe; and Sir *John Smith*, Brother to the Lord *Carrington*, and Commiſſary-General of the Horſe. The former was a young Gentleman of extraordinary Hopes, little more than Twenty One Years of Age; who being naturally more warm and rough than the other Branches of that Illuſtrious Family, was not delighted with the Softneſſes of the Court, but had before dedicated himſelf to the Profeſſion of Arms; in which he ſo much ſignaliz'd his Courage, eſpecially this Day, that he dy'd univerſally lamented. The other, Sir *John Smith*, had been train'd up from his Youth in the Wars of *Flanders*, betook himſelf in the Beginning to the Service of his Prince, by whom he was made Knight Banneret at *Edge-Hill*, and perform'd many noble Actions of Bravery.

1644.
Car. 20.

The Death of the Lord John Stuart, *and Sir* John Smith

Preparations on both Sides

On the other Side, Sir *William Waller*'s Forces were ſo ſhatter'd, that tho' they kept the Field and committed ſome Ravages, they could not purſue their Deſign upon the *Weſt*, but Sir *William* was forc'd, for Recruits, to repair himſelf to *London*; where, on the 9th of *April*, the two Houſes ſolemniz'd a Thankſgiving for the Victory; and on the ſame Day took Advantage of that Joy to ſend a Committee of Lords and Commons to *Guild-Hall*, who in ſet Speeches drew in the Citizens to advance Men and Mony for the Cauſe, which, they ſaid, *God had ſo proſper'd*. The King, in ſome Perplexity, left *Oxford* for two or three Days, and muſtering his Forces near *Marleborough*, after all Loſſes, found them to amount to Six Thouſand Foot, and above Four Thouſand Horſe: There it was reſolv'd, That all Opportunities ſhould be taken ſpeedily to fight with *Waller*'s Forces; both to prevent their going into the *Weſt*, and to regain the Reputation the King's Forces had loſt at *Alsford*, as well as to hinder new Recruits from *London*. Being return'd to *Oxford*, the King found it moſt convenient to prepare Himſelf to take the Field; the two Houſes at *London* being very buſy in recruiting the Earl of *Eſſex*'s old Army, and in effect in raiſing a new One for their Favourite *Waller*, out of the Train'd-Bands and Auxiliaries of the City, and neighbouring Counties; *Eſſex*, with his Army, being deſign'd to take *Oxford*, and the other to conquer the *Weſt*; for both theſe they had already ſwallow'd in their Imagination. Theſe Reports, and the ill Aſpect in the *North*, made the Queen ſo very uneaſy, that being great with Child, ſhe left *Oxford*, and retir'd to *Exeter*, to be deliver'd in that City.

The Oxford *Parliament's Petition.*

At the ſame Time the Lords and Commons at *Oxford* deſir'd a Receſs from their Parliamentary Attendance: In order to which, they preſented a Petition to his Majeſty, wherein, *To ſatisfy all the World, or leave them inexcuſable that will not be ſatisfy'd*, they humbly deſire, '1. That his Majeſty will give Directions for the Reprinting his *Proteſtation* made in the Head of his Army, and his other *Declarations* for maintaining the Proteſtant Religion. 2. That when there may be a full and free Convention of Parliament, a National Synod may be lawfully call'd, with a Care for the Eaſe of Tender Conſciences. 3. To ſatisfy his Subjects againſt the falſe and malicious Aſperſions, *That if his Majeſty prevails, he intends not to uſe the frequent Council of Parliaments*. 4. To declare, that the preſent Contributions, Loans and Taxes, ſhall not be drawn into Example. 5. That the Contracts for Contribution may be juſtly obſerv'd, without free Quarter, or other Grievance. And laſtly, That his Majeſty will retain his pious Endeavours to procure the Peace of this languiſhing Kingdom, not to be remov'd or alter'd by Advantages or proſperous Succeſs.' To which his Majeſty gave in Writing a full and compleat Anſwer, and promis'd them exactly to obſerve their ſeveral Petitions, concluding in theſe Words; 'Laſtly, As the Support and Maintenance of the Religion, Laws, and Privileges of Parliament, is (as you well know) the only Argument of our Defenſive Arms; ſo thoſe being ſecur'd, we ſhall with all imaginable Joy lay down thoſe Arms: And as you have been our *Witneſſes* and *Aſſiſtants*, in our Deſire of Peace; ſo we promiſe you, we ſhall not only with the ſame Earneſtneſs always embrace it, if it ſhall be offer'd, but purſue and preſs it, upon the leaſt likelyhood of Opportunity; *and this our Reſolution, by God's Bleſſing, ſhall never be alter'd by any Advantages, or proſperous Succeſs*.'

The King's Anſwer.

He diſmiſſes them with a Speech.

And the next Day, being the 16th of *April*, the King diſmiſs'd the whole Aſſembly with an obliging Speech; wherein he aſſur'd them, That he could not ſo ſoon have parted with them, if they themſelves had not deſir'd it, out of Zeal and Affection to Him, and his Country. He heartily thank'd them for what they had done, and fully approv'd of what they deſir'd. And becauſe moſt of them were engag'd in his Service, either in a *Civil*, or a *Martial* Way, he gave them Directions how to be moſt ſerviceable to him in their reſpective Stations; ending thus: ‘To ‘conclude, my Lords and Gentlemen, I do now again ‘(yet never enough) thank you for your great and unanimous Expreſſions of your Affections to Me, which hath ‘laid an unexpreſſible Obligation upon Me: And be aſſur'd, That there is no Profeſſion, which I have made ‘for the Defence and Maintenance of our Religion, Laws ‘and Liberties, *which I will not inviolably obſerve*. Now ‘God, who hath bleſſed this Meeting with unexpected ‘Unanimity, (which I eſteem as one not of his leaſt Bleſſings) will, I hope, bring us all ſafe together upon the ‘Eighth Day of *October* next. In the mean Time I ſhall ‘be ready to receive any Thing from your Committees ‘that ſhall be deſir'd.’ Thus the *Oxford* Parliament broke up, after it had ſat about Eleven Weeks; which exceeded that other at *Weſtminſter* both in Number and Figure, and yet did the King and the Nation no great Service: One Reaſon ſeem'd to be, That they were afraid of War and Victory, too inclinable to Peace and Treaty, and not complying enough to vote the Houſes at *Weſtminſter* to be no Parliament; for which probably they were afterwards call'd by the King, in one of his private Letters to the Queen, *His Mungrel Parliament*. It is believ'd, that if inſtead of Papers and Propoſals, they had unanimouſly took the Field, and exerted all their Strength for one or two deciſive Blows, they could not have fail'd, humanly ſpeaking, of bringing the other Parliament and Army to much better Terms of Accommodation, than thoſe which by ineffectual Letters and Meſſages they offer'd to them.

Of the Armies in the North.

III. 1. While the *Oxford* Parliament was ſitting, the Forces in all Parts began to be in Motion, in order to contend for Superiority, and to bring about thoſe bloody Scenes that ſo much diſhonour'd the preſent Year. For the clearer Underſtanding of which, we are ſeparately to take notice of the main Armies; thoſe in the *North*, under Prince *Rupert*, the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, the Earl of *Leven*, &c. and thoſe in the *Weſt*, under the King, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *William Waller*. To begin with the Northern Armies; the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* knowing that a Defeat of the *Scots* wou'd be the Ruin of their whole Cauſe, were extreamly ſollicitous for their ſafe Progreſs; and finding the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* to be able to moleſt, and keep them at Bay in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, by their Advice the Committee of both Kingdoms, in *March*, wrote a Letter to the Lord *Fairfax* ‘To joyn with his Son Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and ſo with ‘joynt Forces to keep Intelligence with the *Scottiſh* Army, ‘and give them the beſt Accommodation and Aſſiſtance ‘they cou'd.’ Accordingly the active Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who had been beſieging the Counteſs of *Darby* in *Lathom-Houſe*, left Sir *William Fairfax*, and others, to continue that Siege, and march'd into *Yorkſhire* with near two Thouſand Horſe.

Sir T. Fairfax's *Victory at* Selby.

In the mean Time Colonel *Bellaſis*, Governor of *York* for the King, was not idle, but drew all his Forces to *Selby*, to hinder, if poſſible, the Conjunction of the two *Fairfaxes*; but they joyn'd, notwithſtanding all his Endeavours, and ſoon after fell bravely upon Colonel *Bellaſis* and his Forces lying at *Selby*, and obtain'd a compleat Victory over them, on the eleventh Day of *April*; took the Colonel himſelf Priſoner, many Officers, ſixteen Hundred Soldiers, four Pieces of Cannon, two Thouſand Arms, and above five Hundred Horſe. For which the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* appointed a Solemn Thankſgiving on the twenty third Day of *April*. This Victory gain'd young *Fairfax* a great Reputation, and put them in great Fear and Diſtraction at *York*; ſo that they ſpeedily ſent to the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* to haſten to that City, believing that the Victors wou'd in a ſhort Time make an Attempt upon it.

York *beſieg'd by three Armies.*

The Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* now finding that he ſhou'd be kept between two Armies, was reſolv'd to prevent that Danger by marching back to *York*, to make the better Defence of that important Place; leaving the *Scots*, who with Cold, and frequent Allarms, had been reduc'd to great Extremity. The *Scots* followed after him with a double Pleaſure, of ſeeming to purſue their Enemies, and haſtning to joyn their Friends, and accordingly on the twentieth of *April* they joyn'd with the *Engliſh* Army under the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son, and immediately advanc'd to *York*, and ſhut up the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, who had juſt enter'd that City, and defended it with great Gallantry for about nine Weeks againſt the united Armies; which on the third of *June* were further reinforc'd by a very conſiderable Body under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who having appear'd before the City of *Lincoln*, took that Place on the ſixth of *May*, with Sir *Francis Fane* the Governor, and ſeven hundred Soldiers, and after that march'd on to the Siege of *York* without Oppoſition. So that this City was inveſted by three Armies and Generals at once, the Earl of *Leven*, the Lord *Fairfax*, and the Earl of *Mancheſter*; who, with their Forces, ſoon fell into ſuch Diviſions among themſelves, as might have been of ſingular Advantage, if they had been rightly cultivated by the King's Party.

2. Under this Preſſure, the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* and his Garriſon of *York* depended upon no Hopes of Relief but from Prince *Rupert*; and notwithſtanding the former Averſion he had to ſerve under him, the Marqueſs wrote to the King, ‘That he hop'd his Majeſty did believe, that ‘he wou'd never make the leaſt Scruple to obey the Grand-‘Child of King *James*.’ The King being ſollicitous for the Safety of ſo great a Man, and ſo good an Army, order'd Prince *Rupert* with a numerous Force to march to his Relief. That Prince having with his uſual Intrepidity reliev'd *Newark*, as is formerly mention'd, march'd North-Weſt into *Shropſhire*, and took in the Garriſons of *Longford* near *Newport*, and of *Stopnorth* in *Cheſhire*, and then reliev'd the Heroick Counteſs of *Darby* in *Lathom-Houſe*, after ſhe had been long beſieg'd. *Bolton* daring to defend it ſelf, was ſtorm'd at the ſecond Attack, with the Slaughter of eight Hundred of their Garriſon, moſt of them Townſmen; for relying upon their Numbers and Works, they had not only abus'd the Prince by ſcurrilous Language, but are ſaid to have hang'd one of his Captains they had taken, which occaſion'd this uncommon Severity. This was in the latter End of *May*; and in the Beginning of *June* his Highneſs took *Leverpool* in *Lancaſhire*, a Town of great Importance and Convenience for landing of Forces from *Ireland*; and then directed his March with all Expedition to *York*, where the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* was brought to a Treaty, and to Propoſitions of Surrendering. But on the News of Prince *Rupert*'s Advance, the three Generals, *Leven*, *Fairfax* and *Mancheſter* ingloriouſly rais'd the Siege, and retired, hoping to intercept the Prince in his Way; but he declin'd engaging, and ſafely enter'd *York*, to the great Joy of that long-diſtreſſed Place.

They quit the Siege.

Prince Rupert *reſolves to fight them*

The Beſieged, upon the Enemies drawing off, did ſome conſiderable Execution upon their Rear; but being reliev'd and ſecure, had no Inclination to try the preſent Fortune of the War any farther. They had been weary'd with a tedious Siege of nine Weeks; and reaſonably ſuppoſing their Deliverers were alſo tired with their long March, thought it better to leave the Enemy to waſte themſelves with their own Diſſentions, than to occaſion their Uniting, by ſo hazardous an Adventure. But the Prince, warm by Nature, and elevated by Succeſs, reſolv'd to make an Attempt; and not thinking he had done enough in relieving the City if he did not alſo defeat the *Scots*, the only Obſtacle to the King's Victories, without further Conſultation march'd after the Enemy, and found them drawn up in a Corn Field on the South Side of *Marſton-Moor*, four Miles from *York*. Their three Armies, contracted into one, conſiſting of five or ſix and twenty Thouſand Men, was commanded by the three Generals. The two *Fairfaxes*, Father and Son, had the Right Wing; the Earl of *Mancheſter* the Left, and the Earl of *Leven* the Main Body, conſiſting all of *Scots*; and each Diviſion had his diſtinct Auxiliaries and Reſerves. Prince *Rupert*, at the Head of near four and twenty Thouſand Men, obſerving the Adverſaries Order, drew up alſo his Army in Battalia; and, reſerving to Himſelf the Left Wing, gave the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* the Right, and entruſted the Command of the Main Battle to *Goring*, *Lucas* and *Porter*. The Field Word given by the Prince was *God and the King*, and that by the other Party, *God with Us*; and thus appear'd a threatning Storm of Blood, upon *Tueſday* the ſecond Day of *July*.

BATTLE III. *at* Marſton-Moor.

The great Guns on both Sides began to play about three in the Afternoon, but the Forces did not intirely joyn till ſeven at Night; and as no Field ſince theſe unhappy Wars did produce ſuch numerous Armies, ſo none fought with keener Valour, or more deſperate Courage. Prince *Rupert* charg'd the *Fairfaxes* with ſo much Fury and Reſolution, that he broke them, and the *Scots* their Reſerves; but, to his own Ruin, purſu'd them too far; according to his uſual Fate. The King's Main Battle did alſo repel the *Scots*; but Affairs ſucceeded otherwiſe in the Right: The *Mancheſterians* having routed the Royaliſts, and not following them too far, fell upon the Prince's and *Goring*'s diſorder'd Troops, hinder'd them from rallying, and quite diſpers'd them. It is affirm'd that the three Parliament Generals were beaten out of the Field, and *Leven*, after ten Miles Flight, taken by a Conſtable; ſo that the Honour of the Day fell to *Cromwell*, *Mancheſter*'s Lieutenant-General, who keeping his great Reſerve of Horſe in a firm Body, followed the Cavaliers ſo cloſe, that he prevented their Embodying, and routed them. The Battle laſted three Hours, till Ten at Night, with great Courage and Slaughter on both Sides; tho' the Victory fell to the Parliamentarians, when they leaſt expected it, as alſo the Cannon and Spoil of the Field. There were two of the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*'s Regiments, call'd his *Lambs*, who being old Soldiers, fell not unreveng'd; for the reſt being fled, by caſting Themſelves into a Ring, did alone reſiſt *Cromwell's* *well*'s Aſſaults: And tho' they were abandon'd by their Friends, and ſurrounded by their Enemies, they cou'd not be broke, till being ſhot at like Fowls at diſtance, were overwhelm'd with Showers of Bullets; and then not expiring without Slaughter of their Enemies, ſcarce any of theſe miſerable Bravos eſcaped, tho' worthy of a better Fortune. The Number of the Slain were computed at eight Thouſand, tho' Writers differ as to that, and other Particulars. Almoſt all agree as to the Reputation gain'd by *Cromwell*, but *Hollis* in his Memoirs denies he had any Part in the Buſineſs, and ſays he in a cowardly Manner retir'd out of the Field, under a Pretence of a Wound, and left the Management, and the Honour of the Fight to Major-General *Crawford*, a brave Officer under the Earl of *Mancheſter*.

The ſudden Parting of Prince Rupert *and the Marqueſs of* Newcaſtle.

The unhappy Attempt of this Battle was immediately ſucceeded by a more unhappy Miſmanagement; which was the ſudden and unaccountable Departure of the King's two Generals, Prince *Rupert* and the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, who without any Deliberation left *York*, and in effect the whole *North*, to the Mercy of Thoſe, whom they might have wearied out and waſted, if not entirely worſted. For as ſoon as they were refreſh'd with a little Sleep, they almoſt at the ſame Time ſent a Meſſage to each other; the Prince, That he was reſolv'd that Morning to march away with his Horſe, and as many Foot as he had left; and the Marqueſs, That he wou'd in that Inſtant repair to the Coaſts, and tranſport himſelf beyond the Seas; both which they immediately perform'd, to the great Surpriſe both of Friends and Enemies. The Marqueſs, irrecoverably tired and diſcourag'd, haſtned to *Scarborough*, where in a poor Veſſel he embarqued Himſelf, with his two Sons and Brother, Dr. *Bramhall* Biſhop of *Londonderry*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Lord *Widdrington*, and ſome others, and in four Days Time arriv'd at *Hamburgh*; and the Marqueſs never ſaw *England* till ſixteen Years after, at the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second. Prince *Rupert* with as much Precipitation march'd his Army towards *Cheſter*; and it is obſervable that thoſe Troops never after did any conſiderable Service to the King, but gradually moulder'd away, and the Officers were kill'd upon beating up of Quarters, and little Actions, inferior to their Quality and Merit. Many Priſoners were taken on the King's Side, as Lieutenant-General *Lucas*, Major-General *Porter*, Major-General *Tilyard*, and the Lord *Goring*'s Son; and ſeveral Perſons of Note ſlain, as the Lord *Cary*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Monmouth*, and Sir *Thomas Methum*. On the other Side was kill'd the Lord *Diddup* a *Scotch* Lord, obſervable for this, that when it was told the King, That ſuch a Lord was ſlain on the Parliament's Side, he anſwer'd, *He had forgot there was ſuch a Lord in* Scotland: To which was reply'd, *That his Majeſty might well do ſo, ſince the Lord had forgot he had ſuch a King in* England.

The Latter leaves the Nation.

3. The Diſſentions among the *Northern* Generals were very conſiderable both before and after the Battle; and the *Scots* diſcours'd very much of their returning to their own Country, where the Earl, now Marqueſs of *Montroſs* had already kindled a Flame, which the Parliament of *Edinburgh* cou'd not extinguiſh: Then ſuch Quantities of Proviſions had been lately brought into *York*, that they had little Expectations of renewing the Siege; till the certain Intelligence of the King's two Generals abrupt and final Departure ſo far reconcil'd them, when nothing elſe could, that after two Days they return'd to their Poſts before the Town, which was now left to the ſole Diſcretion of Sir *Thomas Glemham*. In a few Days they ſo ſtreighten'd the Place, that the Governor, when he had no Hopes of Relief, on *Tueſday* the 16th of *July*, was compell'd to deliver it up, upon as good Articles for the Town, the Gentry that were in it, and for Himſelf, and the few Soldiers he had left, as he cou'd reaſonably propoſe: And ſo he march'd with all his Troops to *Carliſle*, which he afterwards defended with glorious Circumſtances of Courage, Induſtry and Patience. The three Generals went together into the City, directly to the great Cathedral Church, where a Pſalm was ſung, and Thanks return'd to God by the Earl of *Leven*'s Chaplain; and *Thurſday* following was appointed to be kept ſolemnly by the whole Army as a Day of Thankſgiving.

York *ſurrender'd to the Parliament.*

The City of *York* being thus ſurrender'd, the three Armies thought fit to ſeparate, and upon Conſultation between the Generals and the Parliament Commiſſioners, it was agreed, '1. That the Lord *Fairfax* ſhou'd remain Governour of *York*, and ſend a thouſand Horſe into *Lancaſhire*, 'to joyn the Forces in thoſe Parts, to attend the Motions 'of Prince *Rupert*, and endeavour the reducing of *Leverpool*, and with the reſt of his Forces to ſecure the County 'of *York*. 2. That the *Scottiſh* Army ſhou'd march Northwards, to joyn with the Earl of *Calendar*, who was advancing with additional Forces, and to reduce *Newcaſtle*. '3. That the Earl of *Mancheſter* ſhou'd march towards '*Lincolnſhire*, and recruit his Army from his own Aſſociation.' Purſuant to this new Diſpoſition, the Earl of *Mancheſter* march'd Southwards, and upon the 26th of *July* took in *Tickhill* Caſtle, not far from *Doncaſter*; on the 10th of *Auguſt* he took the ſtrong Caſtle of *Sheffield*, and two Days after Colonel *Fretchwell*'s Houſe; and *Bolſover* Caſtle, *Auguſt* 14; *Wingfield Manor* in *Derbyſhire*, *Auguſt* 21; and two Days after *Welbeck-Houſe* in *Nottinghamſhire*, the Manſion Habitation of the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, whoſe Daughters, with the Lord *Widdrington*'s Children, and others, were permitted to continue there.

The three Armies divide.

In the mean Time General *Leven* march'd Northwards, and joyning with the Earl of *Calendar*, who had enter'd *England* with ten Thouſand *Scots*, laid Siege to *Newcaſtle* on the 10th of *Auguſt*. The Siege laſted above two Months, and prov'd one of the moſt reſolute in the Kingdom; all ſorts of Policy, of Peace and War; by Treaty, by Mines, by Aſſaults, having been often us'd to little Effect; the Inhabitants reſolving, if poſſible, never to fall into the Hands of *Scots*. But on *Saturday* the 19th of *October*, all the *Scotch* Army furiouſly ſet upon the Town, and having made three Breaches by their Batteries and Mines, after a tedious and bloody Storm, they at laſt maſter'd it. Sir *John Morley*, Sir *Nicolas Cole* and Sir *George Barker*, got into the Caſtle, where being forc'd by Neceſſity, they came to a Capitulation, and ſurrender'd on the 27th of the ſame Month. The Town being taken by Aſſault, was ſufficiently plunder'd, but the Surrendry prov'd of great Importance to the City of *London*, where the poorer ſort of People, for the two laſt Years, had been almoſt ſtarv'd for want of Fewel; Coals having riſen to the Price of four Pounds a Chaldron, a Price never known before that Time. Soon after, the Town of *Leverpool* was alſo ſurrender'd to Sir *John Meldrum*, ſo that all Things in the *North* went moſt unhappily againſt the King; and, humanly ſpeaking, occaſion'd principally by the unſeaſonable Tranſports, and unaccountable Proceedings of his chief Commanders.

The Scots *ſtorm* Newcaſtle.

IV. 1. During theſe Tranſactions in the *North*, the King's Affairs in the *South* and *Weſt* were carry'd on with ſingular Management and Reputation; eſpecially ſince they met with ſuch an unpromiſing Beginning, and ſuch a powerful Oppoſition afterwards. After the Fight at *Alsford*, and the Receſs of the *Oxford* Parliament, the King's Army lay about three Weeks at and about *Newbury*; in which Time their Numbers were no ways encreas'd beyond what the King found them upon their Muſter near *Marlborough*. But when it was known that both the Parliament Armies were march'd out of *London*; that under the Earl of *Eſſex* to *Windſor*, and that of Sir *William Waller* between *Hertford-Bridge* and *Baſing*, without any Deſign of advancing farther *Weſt*, the King's Army march'd to *Reading*, and in three Days they ſlighted and demoliſh'd all the Works of that Garriſon: And then about the middle of *May*, with the Addition of thoſe Soldiers, which made an Augmentation of twenty five Hundred Men, the Army retir'd to the Quarters about *Oxford*, where the King reſolv'd to ſtay, till he cou'd get further Information of the Enemy's Deſigns; which was not ſo eaſy now, as formerly. For ſince the Conjunction with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners in one Council for the carrying on the War, little Buſineſs was brought to the Conſultation of either of the two Houſes, and there was much greater Secrecy than before. He found the Parliament Project was, 'That the two Armies which march'd out 'together, ſhou'd afterwards be diſtinct; and ſhou'd only 'keep together, till it appear'd what Courſe the King 'wou'd take; and if he ſtaid in *Oxford*, it wou'd be fit for 'both to be at the Siege, the Situation of the Place re'quiring as much.' But if the King march'd out, as they might reaſonably preſume he wou'd, then the Deſign was, 'That the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhou'd follow the King, which 'they believ'd wou'd be Northwards; and that *Waller* 'ſhou'd march into the *Weſt*, and ſubdue that Country.' So that having ſo compleatly provided for the *North*, by the *Scots* and the Earl of *Mancheſter*; and having an Army under the Earl of *Eſſex*, much ſuperior in Number to any that cou'd attend the King; and the Third, under *Waller*, at Liberty for the *Weſt*, they promis'd themſelves, and reaſonably enough, that they ſhou'd make an end of the War that Summer. For the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army did not amount to leſs than ten Thouſand Horſe and Foot; and that under *Waller* was little inferior in Numbers to *Eſſex*, and in Reputation above him.

Of the Armies in the Weſt, *&c.*

The Deſigns of the Parliament.

When the King's Army retir'd from *Reading*, the Horſe quarter'd about *Wantage* and *Farrington*, and all the Foot were put into *Abingdon*, with Orders to quit or defend that Town, according to the manner of the Enemy's Approaches; towards which *Eſſex* advanc'd with his Army, which the Royaliſts were no ſooner adviſ'd of, but the General, early the next Morning, march'd with all the

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Foot out of *Abingdon*, the Horſe being come thither in the Night to make good the Retreat: And all this was done before the King had the leaſt Notice or Suſpicion of it. Of which his Majeſty expreſs'd a great Diſlike, and ſent to command the General to ſtay, and not to advance till he came to him; which he made all poſſible Haſte to do. But before the Meſſenger cou'd return, the Army was within Sight of *Oxford*; and ſo the Foot was drawn through the City, and the Horſe quarter'd in the neighbouring Villages. And thus, without ſtriking one Blow, the Parliament Forces got Poſſeſſion of *Reading* and *Abingdon*, and became Maſters of all *Berkſhire*, and forc'd the King to draw his whole Army of Horſe and Foot on the North Side of *Oxford*; where they were to feed on his own Quarters, and to conſider how to keep *Oxford* itſelf from being beſieg'd, and the King from being incloſ'd in it. To this melancholy Condition was the King reduc'd before the End of *May*; inſomuch that it was generally reported at *London*, *That* Oxford *was taken, and the King a Priſoner*; and others more confidently gave it out, *That the King was reſolv'd to come to* London: Of which the Parliament was not without ſome Apprehenſion, tho' not ſo much as of the King's throwing Himſelf into the Hands and Protection of the Earl of *Eſſex*: The Thoughts of which made them ſo exceedingly uneaſy, that the Committee of both Kingdoms wrote this Letter to the Earl. 'We are credibly inform'd that his Majeſty intends to come to *London*. We deſire you, that you will do your Endeavour to inform yourſelf of the ſame; and if you think that his Majeſty intends *at all to come to the Armies*, that you acquaint us with the ſame; and do nothing therein, until the Houſes ſhall give Direction.' So much Jealouſy they had of the Earl; and the more, becauſe they ſaw not how the King cou'd do otherwiſe, who cou'd have no reaſonable Expectation of any additional Forces from the *North*, or from the *Weſt*; Prince *Rupert* being then ingag'd in *Lancaſhire*, and Prince *Maurice* ſtill taken up in the unfortunate Siege of *Lyme* in *Dorſetſhire*. In this Perplexity the King ſent the Lord *Hopton* to *Briſtol*, to provide better for the Security of that important City, where *Waller* had many Friends; and himſelf reſolv'd to ſtay at *Oxford*, till he ſaw how the two Armies wou'd diſpoſe themſelves; that when they were ſo divided as not immediately to join, he might fight with one of them, which was the greateſt Hope he had now left.

Their Armies gain Reading, Abingdon, *&c.*

The Attempts of Eſſex *and* Waller *againſt the King in* Oxford.

In this Poſture ſome of *Waller*'s Forces attempted to paſs the *Iſis* at *Newbridge*; but were repuls'd by the King's Dragoons; but the following Day *Eſſex*, with his whole Army, got over the *Thames* at *Standford-Ferry*, and march'd to *Iſlip*, where he made his Quarters. The next Morning a ſtrong Party of his Army endeavour'd to paſs the *Cherwell*, at *Goſworth-Bridge*, but were with great Loſs repuls'd by the Muſqueteers, and ſo retir'd to their Body. And now the Earl being fix'd with his whole Army on the Eaſt Side of the *Cherwell*, by which he was diſabled from giving any ſpeedy Aſſiſtance to *Waller*, the King reſolv'd to attempt *Abingdon*, and take the Opportunity to fight ſingly with *Waller*, before he cou'd be reliev'd from the other Army. In order to which, the Foot were all drawn off from the Guard of the Paſſes, and march'd through *Oxford* in the Night towards *Abingdon*; and the Earl of *Cleveland*, a Man of ſingular Courage, and excellent at any bold Enterprize, advanc'd with a Party of a Hundred and Fifty Horſe to the Town itſelf, where *Waller* had a Thouſand Foot and Four Hundred Horſe, and enter'd the Place, kill'd many, and took ſome Priſoners: But upon the Alarm, he was ſo over-power'd, that he was forc'd to retire, with the Loſs of his Priſoners; and ſo both the Attempt upon *Abingdon* was laid aſide, and the Deſign of fighting *Waller* given over, and the Army return'd again to their old Poſt. Sir *Jacob Aſtley* undertook the Command himſelf at *Goſworth-Bridge*, where he found the Earl deſign'd to force his Paſſage, and ſoon caſt up Breaſt-works and a Redoubt for the Defence of his Men, and repuls'd the Enemy a ſecond Time with great Bravery; who renew'd their Aſſault two or three Days together, by the Help of Cannon, with new Loſſes and no Succeſs. But on the other Side, *Waller*'s Forces from *Abingdon* did not find *Newbridge* ſo well defended; ſo that overpowering the Guards, by the Help of Boats, they got a Paſſage over the River *Iſis*: By which they might have brought over all their Army, and fallen upon the King's Rear, while he was defending the other Side. In one of theſe Actions, *Whitelock* tells us of the Courage of *Coningham*, one of *Eſſex*'s Colonels, who having one Arm ſhot off by a Cannon Ball, undauntedly held up the other, crying out, *I have another Arm left to fight for the Parliament!* but he dy'd in a ſhort Time after.

It was now high Time for the King to provide for his own Security, and to eſcape the Danger of being ſhut up in *Oxford*. For *Waller* loſt no Time, but the next Day paſs'd over five Thouſand Horſe and Foot by *Newbridge*; and the King's Foot being drawn off from *Goſworth-Bridge*, *Eſſex* immediately brought his Men over the *Cherwell*, and quarter'd that Night at *Blechingdon*, many of his Horſe advancing as far as *Woodſtock*. So that the King ſeem'd to be perfectly ſhut up between them, and in human Probability they had Him, his Children, his Army, and the City of *Oxford*, in their full Power and Poſſeſſion; and his Majeſty's Condition ſeem'd ſo deſperate, that one of his own faithful Counſellors propos'd to him to render Himſelf, upon Conditions, to the Earl of *Eſſex*; which his Majeſty rejected with great Indignation, yet obligingly conceal'd the Name of the Propoſer, and ſaid, *That poſſibly he might be found in the Hands of the Earl of* Eſſex, *but he wou'd be dead firſt*. Word was immediately given for the Horſe to be together at ſuch an Hour, to expect Orders; and a good Body of Foot with Cannon march'd through the Town towards *Abingdon*, which amus'd the Enemy, and caus'd *Waller* to draw back over *Newbridge*; but as ſoon as it was Evening, the King's Forces return'd to their old Poſt on the North Side. In the Interim, his Majeſty, ſolicitous for the Preſervation of this Univerſity and City, where he left his ſecond Son the Duke of *York*, with moſt of his Council, Nobility, Judges, and other Perſons of Quality, appointed the Lords, and others of the Council, to manage the Civil Affairs, and left the Military Part to Sir *Arthur Aſton*, then Governour, to whom he join'd as Aſſiſtants, Sir *Lewis Dyves*, Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, Colonel *Gage*, and others; and gave them all Aſſurance, 'That if they ſhou'd be beſieg'd, he wou'd with all Speed, and with all the Force he cou'd make, return to their Relief.'

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The King incloſ'd, and in great Diſtreſs.

The King ſecretly leaves Oxford.

2. The King, having order'd all Things like a wiſe Counſellor, and an experienc'd Commander, on *Monday* the third of *June*, about Nine at Night, with the Prince and ſome Perſons of Quality, contrary to Expectation, march'd out of the *North-Port*, attended by his own Troop, to the Place where his Horſe, and part of his Foot waited to receive him: And from thence, without any Halt, march'd between the Enemy's two Armies, and by Day-break reach'd *Hanborough*, ſome Miles beyond all their Quarters. But the King reſted not till the Afternoon, when he found Himſelf at *Burford*; where, concluding he cou'd not be overtaken by an Army attended with Baggage and Artillery, he refreſh'd his Men; yet ſtill fearing he might be follow'd by a Body of the Enemy's Horſe, about nine at Night he continu'd his March over the *Cotſwold*, and by Midnight reach'd *Burton* upon the Water, in *Gloceſterſhire*; where he gave Himſelf, and his wearied Troops, more Reſt and Refreſhment. The Morning after the King left *Oxford*, the Remainder of the Army, conſiſting of three Thouſand five Hundred Foot, march'd towards *Abingdon*, again to amuſe the Enemy, and in the Evening return'd to *Oxford*, where *Eſſex* believ'd the King had remain'd. *Waller* had earlier Intelligence of the King's Motion, and ſent after him a good Body of Horſe to retard his March, till he cou'd come up himſelf. The Earl of *Eſſex* alſo follow'd with his Army, and quarter'd at *Chippen-Norton*; and *Waller*'s Horſe were as far as *Broadway*, when the King had reach'd *Eveſham* in *Worceſterſhire*; where he deſign'd to reſt, as in a ſecure Place. But upon Intelligence that both Armies follow'd with quick Marches, his Majeſty immediately march'd to *Worceſter*, where he reſted ſome Days. Thus the King, at the Head of a ſmall Party, was earneſtly purſu'd by two powerful Armies; which caus'd an eminent Writer to obſerve, 'That now the *Myſtery of Iniquity* appear'd in its proper Colours: For whereas it was formerly given out by the two Houſes of Parliament, That they had undertaken the War for no other Reaſon, but to remove the King from his evil Counſellors; Thoſe pretended *Evil Counſellors* were left at *Oxford* unmoleſted, and the King's Perſon only hunted.'

And retires to Worceſter.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, when he found the King to be two Days March before him, and impoſſible to overtake him, ſo as to bring him into their Power, reſolv'd to purſue him no farther, but to conſult what was elſe to be done; and to that End call'd a Council of all the principal Officers of both Armies to attend him at *Burford*. Here it was determin'd, 'That *Waller*, who had the lighter Ordnance and leſs Carriages, with the Addition of ſuch Forces as *Maſſey* cou'd ſpare out of *Gloceſter*, ſhou'd purſue and attend the King; and that the Earl, who had the greater Ordnance and heavier Carriages, ſhou'd proſecute the other Deſign of relieving *Lyme*, and reducing the *Weſt* to the Obedience of the Parliament.' *Waller* violently oppos'd this Reſolution; and urg'd an Order and Determination of the Committee of both Kingdoms, 'That the *Weſt* was aſſign'd to him, as his Province, when the two Armies ſhou'd think fit to ſeperate from each other.' However, *Eſſex* gave him poſitive Orders, as his Lord and General,

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General, to march according to the Advice of the Council of War; which he durſt not diſobey, but ſent heavy Complaints to the Parliament, of the Hardſhips to which he was forc'd to ſubmit. They at *Weſtminſter* were ſo incens'd againſt their General, that they writ an angry and imperious Letter to him, in which they reproach'd him, 'for not ſubmitting to the Directions they had given, requiring him to obſerve them, and to ſuffer Sir *William Waller* to attend the Service of the *Weſt*.' This Letter was brought to him before he had got above two Days March Weſtward; but the Earl, inſtead of Obedience, wrote to them, 'That their Directions had been contrary to the Diſcipline of War, and to Reaſon; and that his Return at this Time wou'd be a great Encouragement to the Enemy in all Places;' and ſubſcrib'd his Letter, *Your innocent, though ſuſpected Servant* Eſſex; and then proſecuted his Reſolution, and continu'd his March for the *Weſt*.

Waller *purſues the King.*

Waller, finding no Remedy, obey'd his Orders with much Diligence and Vigour, and continuing his March towards *Worceſter*, in his Way, he brought the Garriſon of *Sudley* Caſtle, the ſtrong Houſe of the Lord *Chandois*, to deliver up that Place to him; from whence, with great Expedition he march'd to *Eveſham*, where the Inhabitants willingly receiv'd him. The King reſting ſome Days at *Worceſter*, was inform'd that *Waller* was march'd out of *Eveſham* with his whole Army towards that City, which he wou'd probably beſiege; upon which he remov'd Northwards with his little Army to *Bewdley*, that he might keep the River *Severn* between him and the Enemy; the Foot being quarter'd in the Town, and the Horſe by the ſide of the River towards *Bridgenorth*. This Poſture caus'd *Waller* to conclude that his Majeſty intended his Courſe to *Shrewsbury*, and the more Northern Parts; and the King's ſending new Orders that Way, confirm'd him in his former Conjecture, and made him advance with his Army beyond the King, that he might be nearer *Shrewsbury* than he. Finding *Waller* ſo far advanc'd, the King, who was under great Difficulties, took the Advantage, and ſuddenly reſolv'd to return with all Expedition to *Worceſter*, and to haſten to *Eveſham*; where by breaking down the Bridge over the River *Avon*, he might be able by quick Marches to join with that Part of his Army he had left at *Oxford*, and conſequently be in a Condition to fight *Waller*; or proſecute any other Deſign. Upon this ſound Reſolution, Care was taken for all the Boats to come both from *Bridgenorth* and *Worceſter*, that the Foot might with more Speed and Eaſe be carry'd thither, which ſo well ſucceeded, that the next Day the Foot arriv'd ſo ſoon at *Worceſter*, that they might eaſily have march'd that Night to *Eveſham*. But many of the Horſe being not come up in Time, it was neceſſary that both Horſe and Foot ſhou'd remain that Night at *Worceſter*, which they did accordingly.

The King is too quick for him.

The next Morning the King receiv'd Intelligence, that *Waller*, without knowing any thing of his Motion, remain'd ſtill in his own Quarters, upon which he march'd with all Expedition to *Eveſham*; where he wou'd make no Stay; but gave Order for the Horſe and Foot immediately to march through the Place; after he had provided for the breaking down the Bridge, and laid a Penalty of two hundred Pounds, and a thouſand Pair of Shoes upon the Inhabitants, for their Readineſs to receive his Enemy *Waller*. That Night the Army march'd and quarter'd at *Broadway*; and very early the next Morning, they mounted the Hills near *Camden*. Here they had Time to breath, and to look with Pleaſure on the Places through which they had march'd; having far enough left *Waller*, and the troubleſome Ways he was to paſs. Here the King ſent Meſſengers to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, to let them know of his happy Return, 'and that he deſign'd to quarter that Night at *Burford*, and the next at *Whitney*; where he expected all his Foot, with their Colours and Cannon to meet him;' which they did with great Tranſports of Joy. So that on *Thurſday* the twentieth of *June*, which was ſeventeen Days after he had left *Oxford* in that diſconſolate Condition, the King found himſelf at the Head of his Army, from which he had been ſever'd, and driven about with ſuch melancholy Perplexities, that ſome thought he might uſe *David*'s Expreſſion, *He was hunted as a Partridge upon the Mountains*; not knowing whither to reſort, or to what Place to repair for Reſt.

He returns and joins his Army near Oxford.

3. Now the King thought himſelf in a Poſture not only to withſtand *Waller*, if he approach'd him, but to follow and find him out, if he ſhou'd endeavour to decline fighting with his Majeſty. Therefore as ſoon as he had join'd his Army at *Whitney*, which now conſiſted of above five thouſand Foot, and near four thouſand Horſe, and a good Train of Artillery, he reſolv'd to leave his own Quarters, which had been too much waſted by Friends and Enemies, and to viſit the Enemy's Country; and accordingly march'd to the Town of *Buckingham*, where he met with Store of Proviſions, and Goods paſſing from *London* to *Coventry* and *Warwick*. While he ſtaid in this Town, and thought himſelf in a good Condition to meet the Enemy, an unexpected Trouble fell upon him by the ill Humour and Faction in his own Army. *Wilmot* ſtill continu'd ſullen and perverſe, and daily grew more inſolent, and had contracted ſuch a Spleen againſt the two Lords *Digby* and *Colepepper*, that he had perſwaded many Officers, among whom he had a great Influence, to join in a Petition to the King, 'That thoſe two Perſons might be excluded, and be no more preſent at the Councils of War;' which they promis'd to do. *Waller*'s Continuance in *Worceſterſhire* occaſion'd a new Conſultation, what the King was next to do: Some propos'd, 'the ſpeedy marching into the aſſociated Counties; others to loſe no Time in endeavouring to join with Prince *Rupert*;' when *Wilmot*, without any previous acquainting the King, poſitively advis'd, 'That they might immediately march towards *London*, and now both their Armies were far from them, make Tryal of the true Affections of the City; and when the Army was arriv'd at St. *Albans*, the King ſhou'd ſend ſuch a gracious Meſſage, both to the Parliament and City, as was moſt like to prevail upon them;' and concluded as if he knew 'That this way of proceeding would be particularly approv'd by the Army.' This extravagant Motion very much troubled the King; yet he did not think fit abſolutely to reject it, leaſt it might promote that Petition, which he knew was framing among the Officers; but wiſh'd them 'To draw up ſuch a Meſſage, which ſhou'd be communicated, together with what concern'd his March to *London*, to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, that he might receive their Advice in ſo weighty an Affair. To that Purpoſe the two Lords, that were aim'd at, were ſent to *Oxford*; who after two Days return'd without any Approbation of the March, or the Meſſage. But all that Project and Intrigue fell of itſelf, upon the certain Intelligence that *Waller* had left *Worceſterſhire*, and was marching with all Speed to find out his Majeſty.

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He ſeeks out Waller.

When the King had ſo dextrouſly eluded him by his quick March to and from *Worceſter*, *Waller*, who had no Suſpicion of it, thought it not proper to tire his Army with long Marches to overtake him; but firſt ſhew'd it before the Walls of *Worceſter*, to terrify that City which had contemn'd his Power a Year before, when it was not ſo well able to reſiſt it. Then he march'd towards *Gloceſter*, having ſent to Colonel *Maſſey* to ſend him ſome Men out of that City, which the other, being a Creature of *Eſſex*'s, refus'd to do. Upon which he march'd into *Warwickſhire*, and appointed his Rendezvous in *Keinton* Field; where he receiv'd an Addition of ſeven Troops of Horſe, and about ſix hundred Foot, from *Warwick* and *Coventry*, with eleven Pieces of Cannon. With which Recruit, he confidently march'd towards the King; who to meet him advanc'd to *Brackley*: And the Armies coming ſhortly in View of each other, upon an Afternoon, both endeavour'd to poſſeſs a Piece of Ground they well knew to be of Advantage; which being nearer to *Waller*, and the King to paſs through the Town of *Banbury* before he cou'd come to it, he had firſt his Men upon it in good Order of Battle, before the King cou'd reach thither. So that the King lay that Night in the Field, half a Mile Eaſt of *Banbury*, the River *Cherwell* being between the two Armies.

He meets him near Banbury.

To cauſe *Waller* to remove from the advantagious Ground, the King march'd away, as if he wou'd enter further into *Northamptonſhire*; upon which *Waller* drew off from his Ground, and coaſted on the other Side of the River, but at ſuch a Diſtance as look'd like avoiding an Engagement. To prevent him from taking any Advantage, the King ſent a Party of Dragoons to keep a Paſs call'd *Cropredy-Bridge*, till his Army had got beyond it. Advice being brought to the King, 'that a Body of three hundred Horſe, marching to join with *Waller*, might eaſily be cut off, if his Army mended their Pace,' Orders were ſent to the foremoſt Horſe to move faſter, and the Van and Middle to do the ſame, without any Notice given to the Rear. *Waller* diſcerning the Diſtance between the Body and the Rear, immediately advanc'd with fifteen hundred Horſe, a thouſand Foot, and eleven Pieces of Cannon, to *Cropredy-Bridge*, which ſoon over-power'd the Dragoons that kept it: So that the Party advanc'd above half a Mile, with Deſign to cut off the King's Rear; to facilitate which *Waller* had ſent a thouſand Horſe more to paſs a Ford a Mile below *Cropredy-Bridge*, there to fall upon the utmoſt Part of the Rear. Upon diſcerning of which, the valiant Earl of *Cleveland* immediately drew up his Brigade, and without waiting for Orders, charg'd with great Fury the Body that had paſs'd the Ford, which ſuſtain'd it not with equal Courage, loſing an Officer, and

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many Priſoners. This Allarm ſoon reach'd the King, who ſeeing the Enemy ready for a ſecond Charge upon the Earl of *Cleveland*, ſent the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, who commanded his own Guard, to haſten to the Aſſiſtance of the Rear, and in his Way charge two Bodies of Horſe which fac'd his Majeſty. He and above a hundred gallant and ſtout Gentlemen haſtned towards thoſe two Bodies of Horſe, who ſeeing the others routed by the Earl of *Cleveland*, were advancing to charge him in the Flank, as he was following the Execution. But the Preſence of this brave Troop made them change their Minds, and accompany their Fellows in the Flight; which much facilitated the Defeat that ſoon enſued. The Earl of *Cleveland*, after this ſhort Encounter, made a Stand, not conceiving what the Enemy cou'd mean by advancing ſo faſt, and flying ſo ſoon, when he perceiv'd a Body of ſixteen Troops of Horſe, and as many Companies of Foot, all within the Hedges, within Muſquet Shot of them, and advancing upon him; which he likewiſe did upon them with extraordinary Vigour; and having ſtood their Shot, he charg'd them with that Reſolution and Fury, that he routed both Horſe and Foot, and with Slaughter chas'd them beyond their Cannon: All which, being eleven Pieces, were taken, with two Wooden Barricadoes, drawn upon Wheels, and in each ſeven ſmall Braſs and Leather Guns charg'd with Caſe-Shot. Moſt of the Cannoneers were kill'd; and *Weems*, General of the Ordnance, taken Priſoner. This Man was a *Scot*, and ſworn Servant to the King, having been taken into his Favour, and made Maſter-Gunner of *England*, with a Sallery of three hundred Pounds a Year; and now being brought before the King, had ſtill the Confidence to tell him, notwithſtanding he had receiv'd two thouſand Pounds from the contrary Party, *That in geed Faith his Heart was always with his Majeſty*. Beſides *Weems*, there was taken Priſoner *Baker*, Lieutenant-Colonel to *Waller*'s own Regiment, and five or ſix Lieutenant-Colonels, and Captains, with many Lieutenants, Enſigns, Cornets, Quarter-Maſters, and a hundred Common Soldiers; a greater Number being ſlain in the Charge. Colonel *Middleton*, *Waller*'s Lieutenant-General, was diſmounted among the King's Forces, of whom one taking him for a Commander of theirs, remounted him, and bid him *make haſte and kill a Roundhead*, and by that Means eſcap'd. The Earl purſu'd them as far as the Bridge, and clearing that Side of the River, retir'd; having loſt in this memorable Action two Colonels, Sir *William Boteler* and Sir *William Clarke*, both *Kentiſh* Gentlemen, who had rais'd and arm'd their Regiments at their own Charge, with one Captain, and not above fourteen common Soldiers. At the ſame Time, the young Earl of *Northampton* engag'd that Party that found a Paſſage over the River a Mile below, and entirely repell'd them; and many of them continu'd their Flight ſo far, that they never return'd again to the Army. Such was the Fight at *Cropredy-Bridge*, which happen'd on the 29th Day of *June*, when *Waller* quitted the Place, and drew up his whole Army upon the high Grounds between *Cropredy* and *Hanwell*, the *Cherwell* being between both Armies.

He worſts him at Cropredy-Bridge.

After this Advantage, and upon the Occaſion of the Multitudes that ran away from *Waller*'s Army, the King was prevail'd with to ſend a Meſſage of Grace and Pardon to all the Officers and Soldiers that would immediately lay down their Arms. The Delivery of this Meſſage being very difficult, it was agreed, That Sir *Edward Walker*, who was both *Garter* King at Arms, and his Majeſty's Secretary of War, ſhould be ſent ſolemnly to publiſh it. But he wiſely deſir'd, that a Trumpet might be firſt ſent to deſire a ſafe Conduct for a Gentleman, who ſhould deliver a Gracious Meſſage from his Majeſty; all which was done. But after two Hours Conſideration, *Waller* return'd Anſwer, ‘That he had no Power to receive any Meſſage of Grace from his Majeſty, without the Conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, to whom his Majeſty, if he pleas'd, might make his Addreſſes.’ And as ſoon as the Trumpet was gone, as a Mark of his Reſolution, he caus'd above Twenty Shot of his largeſt Cannon to be made at the King's Army, and as near as they cou'd at his Majeſty's Perſon. But after two Days, both Armies drew off to a greater Diſtance, and never ſaw each other after; and it ſoon appear'd by *Waller*'s Motions, that he had no other Deſign than recruiting his Army; and that the Defeat at *Cropredy-Bridge* was much greater than it appear'd to be, even to the breaking the Heart of his Army. And it is very probable, that if the King, after convenient Reſt after this hard Duty, had follow'd *Waller*, he might have deſtroy'd that Army without Fighting; for it appear'd, within Fourteen Days after this Action, that *Waller*'s Army, which before conſiſted of Eight Thouſand, was ſo much waſted, that there remain'd not Half that Number. At which Time he return'd to the City of *London* for Recruits; where by ſome he was receiv'd as one of the good Inſtruments of Providence; and his zealous Lady, in publick, ſaluted him with this Expreſſion, *Thou Man of God, come Kiſs me!*

Waller *returns to* London.

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Before which, the King, being remov'd to *Eveſham*, out of his earneſt Deſire of Peace, ſent a gracious Meſſage to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, in which he ‘again pathetically urg'd a Treaty of Peace, and that Commiſſioners might be appointed on both Sides to meet and treat upon all Things in Queſtion between them.’ This was dated the 4th of *July*, two Days after the Battle of *Marſton-Moor*, but before the King had heard any News from thence; but it arriving at *London* after the Houſes were elevated with that great Succeſs, it was no ways regarded, or ſo much as anſwer'd.

The King's Meſſage to the Houſes.

V. I. The King now found himſelf ſo much at Liberty from two great Armies, which had ſo ſtreightned him, within little more than a Month, that he had, in effect, defeated one of them, and reduc'd it to a State unable to do him any preſent Damage; yet ſtill he was uneaſy at the Progreſs of the other Army under the Earl of *Eſſex*, who marching into *Dorſetſhire*, had *Weymouth* ſoon deliver'd up to him, and immediately caus'd Prince *Maurice* to riſe up from before *Lyme*, after a long and unreputable Siege, and retire to *Exeter*. The Queen was then at that City, where her Majeſty, on the 16th of *June*, was deliver'd of her Eighth and Laſt Child, the Princeſs *Henrietta*, who was afterwards marry'd to the Duke of *Orleans*. Underſtanding that *Eſſex* was advancing towards *Exeter*, her Majeſty ſent a Trumpet to him, to deſire him to forbear from Hoſtility for ſome little Time, till ſhe was recover'd; but ſhe was deny'd. A while after, ſhe ſending again to him for a ſafe Conduct to go to the *Bath* for the Recovery of her Health, or elſe to *Briſtol*; he ſullenly refus'd, with this Anſwer, *That if ſhe would go to* London, *where ſhe might be furniſh'd with all Things neceſſary for her Health, he would ſend her a Convoy*; *but for either of the other Places he would not obey her, without Directions from the Parliament.* Whereupon the Queen, not judging her Perſon ſafe at *Exeter*, as ſoon as ſhe was in any Condition to Travel, remov'd from thence into *Cornwall*, and on the 14th of *July* took ſhipping at *Falmouth*, and ſafely arriv'd at *Breſt* in *France*; from whence ſhe repair'd to the *French* Court, and never after ſaw her Royal Spouſe, nor the Kingdom of *England*, till after the Reſtoration of her eldeſt Son. In her Paſſage ſhe ran a vaſt Hazard, and receiv'd many Diſcharges of Cannon from the Parliament Ships; which occaſion'd an ingenious *French* Author to make an unhappy Reflection, and to call it, ‘An Action no Country but *England* has the Misfortune to be guilty of.

The Queen's Meſſage to the Earl of Eſſex, *and his Anſwer.*

She retires into France.

Before her Majeſty's Eſcape, the King being infinitely fond and fearful of her Perſon, reſolv'd, with all poſſible Expedition, to follow *Eſſex*, in hopes he ſhould be able to fight him before *Waller* cou'd be in a Condition to follow him. Of which Reſolution he gave immediate Notice to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, and ſent an Expreſs into the *Weſt* to inform the Queen of it, who by the Way carry'd Orders to the Lord *Hopton*, to draw what Men he could out of *Wales* into *Briſtol*, that Himſelf might meet his Majeſty with as many as he could draw out of that Garriſon. And thus, without any Delay, the whole Army, with tedious Marches, advanc'd towards the *Weſt*, over the *Cotſwold* to *Cirenceſter*, and ſo to *Bath*; where he arriv'd on the 15th Day of *July*, and ſtaid there one whole Day to refreſh his Army, which at that Time exceedingly wanted it. During this March, in which the King was often receiv'd with the People's Acclamations, it hapned that one of the Carriages broke in a long narrow Lane, which they were to paſs, and gave his Majeſty a full Stop, at the time that he was overtaken with an intollerable Shower of Rain. Upon which ſome of his Courtiers and Attendants offer'd to hew him out a Way through the Hedges with their Swords, that he might get ſhelter in ſome of the neighbouring Villages; but he reſolv'd not to forſake his Cannon upon any Occaſion. At which, when ſome about him were ſurpris'd, and admir'd at the Patience which he ſhew'd in that Extremity; his Majeſty lifting up his Hat, made this Heavenly Anſwer, *That as God had given him Afflictions to exerciſe his Patience, ſo he had given him Patience to bear his Afflictions.* This was juſt at the Time that, after he had been flatter'd with hopeful News from the *North*, he had receiv'd full Aſſurance of the fatal Defeat of his Forces at *Marſton-Moor*.

The King marches into the Weſt.

His Patience.

After his Majeſty heard of the Queen's Departure and Safety, he march'd more ſlowly, that he might encreaſe his Army from *Briſtol*, and other Places; not doubting but he ſhould engage the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army before he ſhould be able to return to *London*. That General's good Fortune began now to decline: He had not proceeded with his uſual Skill and Warineſs, but run Himſelf into inextricable Labyrinths. When he had advanc'd towards *Exeter*, which he had ſome Thoughts of beſieging, without imagining he could find an Enemy to contend with him, he had the

Eſſex's *Miſmanagement.*

News

1644.
Car. 20.

News of the great Diſappointment of Sir *William Waller*, and that the King was coming with his whole Army in purſuit of him, without being follow'd by *Waller*, or any Troops to retard his March; which exceedingly perplex'd him, and made him ſuſpect the Parliament it ſelf had betray'd him, and conſpir'd his Ruin. The Jealouſies were now grown very high between them; the Parliament looking upon his March into the *Weſt*, and leaving the King to *Waller*'s Purſuit, but as a Declaration that he would no more Fight againſt the Perſon of the King; and the Earl on the other Side had well obſerv'd the Difference between the Affection the Parliament had for his Army, and that other under the Earl of *Mancheſter*; which they ſo highly valu'd, that he believ'd they would not much care for the Succeſs of his. In this Exigency he reſolv'd to return back, and meet and fight the King, either before he enter'd *Devonſhire*, or elſe in *Somerſetſhire*; but the Lord *Roberts*, who was a General Officer in his Army, of an unſociable and impetuous Diſpoſition, full of Contradiction in his Nature, and of Parts ſo much ſuperior to the Company, that he could too well juſtify all thoſe Contradictions, poſitively oppos'd the Return of the Army; but with his uſual Confidence urg'd, ‘That the Army ſhould continue their March into *Cornwall*; where he undertook to have ſo great an Intereſt, that he queſtion'd not but the Preſence of the Earl of *Eſſex*, with his Army, would ſo unite that County to the Parliament's Service, that they might ſo defend the Paſſes into the whole County, that the King's Army ſhould never be able to enter into *Cornwall*, nor to retire out of *Devonſhire*, without great Loſs, nor before the Parliament would ſend more Forces upon their Backs.’ That Lord having a ſuperior Credit in the Parliament than the Earl himſelf, and having met with the Concurrence of ſome of the Officers, the Earl was content to depart from his own Underſtanding, and comply with the Advice; and accordingly he march'd with all his Army and Cannon into that narrow County, and purſu'd Prince *Maurice*, and his Forces, which eaſily retir'd Weſtward, till he found Himſelf in Streights, too great to be diſengag'd.

He is perſuaded to March into Cornwall.

The King follows him.

2. In the mean Time, the King having made a ſmall Stay at *Exeter*, and a little refreſh'd and accommodated his Troops, march'd directly to *Cornwall*; where he found *Eſſex* in ſuch a Part of the Country on the Sea-ſide, that he ſoon found Means, by the general Conflux of the People, upon which the Earl had been perſuaded to depend, with very little Fighting, ſo to ſtreighten his Quarters, that there was little Appearance of his marching away with his Army, or compelling the King to a Battle. He was in effect inclos'd in and about *Foy*, while the King lay encamp'd about *Leskard*, and no Day paſs'd without ſome Skirmiſhes; in which the Earl was more diſtreſs'd, and many of his principal Officers taken Priſoners.

Here happen'd an Accident that might well have turn'd the King's Fortune, and depriv'd him of his future Advantage. His Majeſty at this Time truſting more to the Judgment of the Lord *Digby*, and the Maſter of the Rolls, than to the Officers of the Army, Lieutenant-General *Wilmot* began again to ſhew his Reſentments, who by his hard Drinking, and companiable Wit, had gain'd more Intereſt in the Army than any other Man. This Man hated theſe two Privy-Counſellors, knew the King had no inward Kindneſs for him upon the Account of the Earl of *Strafford*, and foreſaw he ſhou'd ſoon be overſhadow'd in the War; therefore deſir'd to get free from it by a ſeaſonable Peace; and ſo in all his Diſcourſes urg'd the Neceſſity of it, and that the King ought to ſend Propoſitions to the Parliament for that End; and in his March had proſecuted his former Deſign by ſeveral Cabals among the Officers, diſpoſing them to Petition the King ‘To ſend Offers of Peace to the Parliament, and to remove the Lord *Digby*, and *Colepeper*, from the Councils of War;’ implying, ‘That if this might not be granted, they would think of ſome other Way.’ Which Petition, tho' never deliver'd, ſo provok'd the King, that he reſolv'd to take the Opportunity to free Himſelf from his impetuous Humour, and the Lord *Digby* prevail'd that *Goring* might be in his ſtead ſent for to attend his Majeſty; who then propos'd to make his *Nephew*, Prince *Rupert*, General of the Army, and *Goring* General of the Horſe. This was the firſt Deſign of the King, which was only to mortify *Wilmot*, and reduce him to more Subjection; but his violent Humour forc'd his Majeſty to a quicker and rougher Remedy: For during the whole March, he every where diſcours'd, ‘That the King muſt ſend and invite the Earl of *Eſſex* to join with him, and oblige the Parliament to conſent to a Peace;’ and pretended to have ſo good Intelligence, as to know the Invitation would prove acceptable to the Earl: And he was ſo forward as to deſire a Gentleman, with whom he had no Intimacy, and had a Paſs to go through the Earl's Quarters, That he would give his Service to the Earl, and aſſure him, *That the Army ſo much deſir'd Peace, that it ſhould not be in the Power of any about the King to hinder it, if his Lordſhip would treat upon any reaſonable Propoſitions.* This ſingular Carriage and Diſcourſes were ſoon repreſented in their full Magnitude to the King; who, in the midſt of his Pride, and at the Head of his Troops, order'd him to be arreſted of High-Treaſon by the Knight-Marſhal, diſmounted and put under a Guard. The ſame Time the King remov'd the Lord *Piercy* from being General of the Ordnance, a Perſon who had almoſt as much oblig'd the Officers by his Eating, as the other had by his Drinking, and put the Lord *Hopton* into his Place; and the very next Day after Colonel *Goring* appear'd, who the Night before waited upon the King, with Letters from Prince *Rupert*. And then the Army being drawn up, his Majeſty rode to every Diviſion of the Horſe, and there declar'd, ‘That at the Requeſt and Reſignation of his Nephew, he had made Mr. *Goring* General of the Horſe; and for the Lord *Wilmot*, tho' he had juſtly reſtrain'd him, he had not taken away his Command in the Army;’ Which Declaration viſibly rais'd the Countenance of the Body of the Horſe; inſomuch, that the very next Day the greateſt Part of the Officers deliver'd a Petition, ‘That his Majeſty would give them ſo much Light into the Lord *Wilmot*'s Crimes, that they might ſee themſelves were not ſuſpected, who had ſo long obey'd and executed his Orders:’ Which ſufficiently ſhew'd the ill Diſpoſition of the Army, even now in view of the Enemy. *Wilmot*, after he had made ſome Defence, when he ſaw his mortal Enemy *Goring* made Commander over him, thought himſelf incapable of a full Reparation or Vindication; and therefore deſir'd and obtain'd leave to retire into *France*; which he did, not without great Murmurings, *That he was ſacrific'd to the Intrigues of a Faction.*

Wilmot's Projects in the Army.

1644.
Car. 20.

The King removes him, and others.

He retires to France.

In the mean Time his Majeſty thought he had a happy Opportunity to make Tryal, whether the Earl of *Eſſex*, from the open Indignities he had receiv'd from the Parliament, or from the preſent ill Condition of Himſelf and his Army, might be induc'd to make a Conjunction with him. For the Lord *Beauchamp*, eldeſt Son to the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, had deſir'd leave to go into *France*, for the Recovery of his Health, and to that End had obtain'd a Paſs from his Uncle, the Earl of *Eſſex*, for Himſelf, Monſieur *Richaute*, his former Governour, and two Servants, to embark at *Plymouth*; and being now with the King, it was neceſſary to paſs through the Earl's Quarters. By him the King vouchſaf'd to write a Letter with his own Hand to the Earl, in which he pathetically mov'd him to a Conjunction, and aſſur'd him, ‘That the Seaſon was now before him, that he had it now in his Power to redeem his Country and the Crown, and to oblige his King in the higheſt Degree; ſuch an Opportunity as perhaps no Subject ever had before, or after ſhou'd have. But becauſe the only Impediment wou'd be the *Want of mutual Confidence*, he ſolemnly promis'd him, upon the Word of a King, That upon his joyning with him in the Bleſſed Work, he wou'd give both to Him, and his Army, ſuch Eminent Marks of his Confidence and Value, as ſhou'd not leave Room for the leaſt Diſtruſt amongſt them, either in Relation to the Publick, or Himſelf.’ The King alſo deſir'd, that a Paſs might be given to Mr. *Harding*, one of the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, who before had been of great Converſation with the Earl, and much lov'd by him; and the procuring this Paſs was recommended to Monſieur *Richaute*, and particular Inſtructions were likewiſe drawn up for Mr. *Harding*.

The King writes to the Earl of Eſſex.

The Earl of *Eſſex* receiv'd his Nephew very kindly, and receiv'd the King's Letter from his Hands; and being told by him, That Monſieur *Richaute*, a Perſon well known to him, had ſomething to ſay to him from his Majeſty, the Earl call'd him into his Chamber, where, in the Preſence only of the Lord *Beauchamp*, that Gentleman told him, *That his principal Buſineſs was to deſire his Permiſſion and Paſs, that Mr.* Harding *might come to him, who had many Things to offer, which he preſum'd wou'd not be unacceptable to him.* The Earl anſwer'd him in ſhort, *That he wou'd not permit Mr.* Harding *to come to him, nor wou'd he have any Treaty with the King, having receiv'd no Warrant for it from the Parliament.* Upon which *Richaute* enlarg'd Himſelf upon ſome Particulars, which Mr. *Harding* had Inſtructions to urge, ‘of his Majeſty's Deſire of Peace, of the Concurrence of all the Lords, as well thoſe at *Oxford*, as in the Army, in the ſame Deſire of Preſerving the Kingdom from the Conqueſt of the *Scots*, and other Diſcourſes to that Purpoſe; and of the King's Readineſs to give him any Security for the Performance of all he had promis'd.’ To all which the Earl ſullenly anſwer'd, *That according to the Commiſſion he had receiv'd, he wou'd defend the King's Perſon and Poſterity; and that the beſt Counſel he cou'd give him was to go to his Parliament.*

The Earl's Anſwer.

Tho' the King was fully convinc'd that there was nothing to be expected from theſe ſort of Addreſſes, yet ma-

The chief Officers write to him.

His Anſwer.

ny of the Officers, eſpecially of the Horſe, were not ſo ſatisfy'd: For ſome of them, who had conferr'd with the Priſoners that were daily taken, and ſome of them Officers of as good Quality as any they had, were perſuaded by them, 'That all the Obſtinacy in the Earl's refuſing to 'treat with the King, proceeded only from his Jealouſy, 'that when the King had got him into his Hands, he wou'd 'take Revenge upon him for all his former Actions againſt 'him; and that if he had any Aſſurance, *That what was* '*promis'd wou'd be perform'd*, he wou'd be ſoon induc'd 'to treat.' Upon this Foundation they preſum'd to prepare a Letter, that ſhou'd be ſubſcrib'd by the General, and all the Superior Officers of the Army; the Beginning of which was, That they had obtain'd Leave of the King to ſend that Letter to him; and in which they propos'd, 'That he with ſix Officers, whom he ſhou'd chuſe, wou'd 'the next Morning meet with their General, and ſix other 'Officers, appointed to attend him; and if he declin'd ap'pearing Himſelf, that then ſix Officers of the King's Ar'my ſhou'd meet with ſix ſuch as he ſhou'd appoint, at any 'Place that ſhou'd be thought fit: And that they, and every 'one of them, who ſubſcrib'd the Letter, wou'd upon the 'Honour and Reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, 'with their Lives maintain, That whatſoever his Majeſty 'ſhou'd promiſe, ſhou'd be perform'd; and that it ſhou'd 'not be in the Power of any private Perſon whatſoever, to 'interrupt or hinder the Execution thereof.' Notwithſtanding the Irregularity and Preſumption of this Undertaking, his Majeſty gave way to it, concluding the Letter wou'd find no better Reception than his own, and believing that the Rejecting of it wou'd purge the unruly Spirit out of his Army, and add ſome Reſentment to the Officers, when they ſhou'd ſee how the Earl receiv'd their Application. So the Letter being ſign'd by all the Great Officers, it was ſent by a Trumpet to the Earl, who the next Day return'd an Anſwer in theſe Words: *My Lords, in the Beginning of your Letter you expreſs by what Authority you ſend it; I having no Authority from the Parliament, ho have employ'd me, to treat, cannot give way to it without Breach of Truſt. My Lords, I am your humble Servant,* Eſſex. *Aug.* 10th, 1644. This ſhort Anſwer produc'd the deſir'd Effect; they who had been active in contriving the Addreſs, were aſham'd of their Miſtake, and the whole Army ſeem'd well inclin'd to obtain that by their Swords, which they cou'd not by their Pen.

The King ſtreightens him in his Quarters.

3. The King, being now joyn'd with Sir *Richard Greenvil*, with eighteen hundred Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe, reſolv'd to puſh his Fortune the other Way, and to fight the Enemy as ſoon as was poſſible. On the other Side, tho' *Eſſex* had but a narrow Compaſs for the Quartering of ſo great an Army of Horſe and Foot, yet he had the good Town of *Foy* and the Sea to befriend him; ſo that if he preſerv'd his Poſt, which was ſo ſituated that he cou'd not be compell'd to fight without giving him great Advantage, he might well conclude that *Waller*, or ſome other Parliament Force, wou'd be ſhortly upon the King's Back, as the Other was upon his; which rational Confidence was a great Motive to him to neglect all Overtures. Therefore the King reſolv'd to make his Quarters yet ſtraiter, and to cut off all, or a good Part of his Proviſions by Sea. To effect which, Sir *Richard Greenvil* poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Lanhetherock*, a ſtrong Houſe of the Lord *Roberts*, two Miles Weſt of the King's Quarters, and over the River that runs to *Liſtithiel*, and thence to *Foy*, and likewiſe to *Reprin*-Bridge; by which the Enemy was not only depriv'd of that uſeful Out-let, but a ſafe Communication open'd between him and the King's Army, which before was interrupted. And, which was of greater Importance, on the other Side, Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, with a good Party of Horſe and Foot, made himſelf Maſter of *View-Hall*, an Houſe of the Lord *Mohun*'s, over againſt the Town of *Foy*, and of *Pernon*-Fort, a Mile below it, at the Mouth of the Haven; ſo that *Foy* was made of no Uſe to *Eſſex*, beſides the Quartering his Men; they hindering all Proviſions from being brought to him by Sea. And thus the King had leiſure to ſit ſtill, and to wait for ſome Stratagem the Earl ſhou'd make uſe of, either to attempt his Army, or to make his own Eſcape.

In this Poſture both Armies lay ſtill, without any memorable Action, for the Space of eight or ten Days; when the King finding no better Fruit from all that was done, reſolv'd to draw his whole Army together, and to make his own Quarters ſtill much nearer, and either to Force *Eſſex* to fight, or to be very uneaſy in his Quarters. With this Reſolution the whole Army advanc'd in ſuch a Manner, that the Enemy was compell'd ſtill to retire before them, and to abandon their Poſts, and among the reſt, a riſing Ground call'd *Beacon-Hill*; which they no ſooner quitted, than the King poſſeſs'd; and immediately caus'd a Square-Work to be there rais'd, and a Battery made, upon which ſome pieces of Cannon were planted, that ſhot into their Quarters, and did them great Damage. And thus the King's Forces got a full Proſpect over all the other's Quarters, and ſaw how all their Foot and Horſe were diſpos'd, and from whence they receiv'd all their Proviſions; which when clearly view'd and obſerv'd, General *Goring* was ſent with the greateſt Part of the Horſe, and fifteen hundred Foot, a little Weſtward to St. *Blaſe*, to force the Enemy yet cloſer together, and to cut off the Proviſions they receiv'd from thence: Which was ſo well executed, that they did not only poſſeſs themſelves of St. *Auſtel*, and the weſterly Part of St. *Blaſe*, but likewiſe became Maſters of the *Parr* near St. *Blaſe*; by which they depriv'd them of the chief Place of landing the Proviſions which came by Sea. So that the Enemies Horſe were reduc'd to that ſmall Extent of Ground that lies between the River of *Foy* and that at St. *Blaſe*, which is not above two Miles in Breadth, and a little more in Length; in which they had for the moſt Part fed ſince they came to *Liſtithiel*, and therefore it cou'd not now long ſupply them.

The Earl is reduc'd to great Difficulties.

His Horſe break through and eſcape.

And now the Earl began to be very ſenſible of his own ill Condition, and that he cou'd not be able to remain long in that Poſture; beſides he had receiv'd Advice that Lieutenant-General *Middleton*, who was ſent for his Relief from *London*, had met with ſuch an Obſtruction in *Somerſetſhire*, as wou'd much retard his March; ſo that it was neceſſary for him to enter into new Reſolutions. Accordingly it was determin'd that Sir *William Balfour* ſhou'd reſolutely break through with his whole Body of Horſe, and ſave themſelves the beſt they could; and then that he himſelf wou'd embark his Foot at *Foy*, and with them eſcape by Sea. And two Foot Soldiers of their Army came over from them, and aſſur'd the King, That they reſolv'd that Night to break through with their Horſe, which were all then drawn on that ſide the River, and Town of *Liſtithiel*; and that the Foot were to march to *Foy*, where they were to be embarked. This Intelligence agreed with what they otherwiſe receiv'd, and thereupon Order was given, 'That the Forces under Prince *Maurice*, as well as thoſe 'under the King's General, ſhou'd ſtand to their Arms all 'that Night; and if the Horſe attempted an Eſcape, to fall 'upon them from both Quarters;' the Paſſage between them, where they muſt go, being but a Muſquet-Shot over, and they could not avoid going near a ſmall Cottage, that was well fortify'd, and lined with fifty Muſqueteers. Advice was ſent to *Goring* and all the Horſe, and the former Orders renew'd for the breaking down the Bridges, and cutting down the Trees near the High-way, to obſtruct their Paſſage. But the Night growing dark and miſty, about three in the Morning, the whole Body of the Horſe paſs'd with great Silence between the Armies, and within Piſtol Shot of the Cottage, without ſo much as one Muſquet diſcharg'd at them. At Break of Day, they were diſcover'd marching over the Heath, beyond the Reach of the Foot; and only the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Brigade, with ſome other Troop which had taken the Allarm, follow'd them in the Rear, and kill'd and took about a hundred of them; which was the greateſt Damage they ſuſtain'd in their whole March: So that *Balfour* continu'd his March even to *London*, with leſs Loſs than cou'd have been imagin'd, to the infinite Reproach of the King's Army, and all his Garriſons in the Way. For the Orders coming to *Goring*, when he was in one of his jovial Exerciſes, he receiv'd them with Mirth and Contempt of thoſe that ſent them, and continu'd his Pleaſures, till the Enemy's Horſe were paſs'd quite through his Quarters; nor was any Man queſtion'd for this ſupine Neglect; it not being thought fit to inquire ſtrictly into the Behaviour of the reſt, when it was ſo well known, how the ſuperior Officer had fail'd in his Duty.

He embarks and leaves his Foot.

The next Morning, after the Eſcape of the Horſe, the Earl drew all his Foot together, quitted *Liſtithiel*, and march'd towards *Foy*; having left Orders for the breaking down that Bridge. But the King himſelf from his new Fort diſcern'd it, and ſent a Company of Muſqueteers, who ſoon beat thoſe that were left, and ſav'd the Bridge; over which his Majeſty immediately march'd to overtake the Rear of the Army, which made ſo much haſte, that they left two Demy-Culverins, and two other good Guns, with ſome Ammunition, to the King's Diſpoſal. That Day was ſpent in ſharp Skirmiſhes, in which many fell; and the Night coming on, the King lay in the Field, his own Quarters being ſo near the Enemy, that many of the Enemies Cannon Shot fell within a few Yards of him, when he was at Supper. *Sunday* being the next Day, and the firſt of *September*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Butler* came from the Earl of *Eſſex* to deſire a Parley. The Earl had no ſooner ſent him away, but he embark'd himſelf, with the Lord *Roberts*, and ſuch Officers he beſt lov'd, in a Veſſel at *Foy*, and ſo eſcap'd to *Plymouth*; leaving all his Army of Foot, Cannon and Ammunition, to the Care of Major-General *Skippon*, who was to make as good Conditions for them as he cou'd: And after a very ſhort Stay in *Plymouth*, he went on board a Ship of the Royal Navy, and was within a few Days deliver'd ſafe at *London*; where he was receiv'd with all

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The Foot parley and lay down their Arms.

imaginable Marks of outward Reſpect, as if he had not only brought back his Army, but the King himſelf with him.

The King conſented to the Parley; upon which a Ceſſation was concluded, and Hoſtages exchang'd: And then the Enemy ſent ſuch Propoſitions, as upon the Delivery of a ſtrong Town, after a long Defence, are uſually granted. *Skippon* himſelf offer'd to break through with his Forces, but they ſoon found they were in no Condition for ſuch an Attempt, and that they were look'd on as Men not to expect any conſiderable Articles. And ſo in Concluſion, they were contented to deliver up all their Ordnance; which, with thoſe taken two or three Days before, amounted to thirty eight Pieces of Cannon; together with a hundred Barrels of Powder, with Match and Bullets proportionable, and about ſix thouſand Arms: Which being done, 'the Officers were to have Liberty to wear their 'Swords, and to paſs with their own Mony, and proper 'Goods; and to ſecure them from Plunder, they were to 'have a Convoy to *Poole*, or *Southampton*; all their Sick 'and Wounded might ſtay in *Foy* till they were recover'd, 'and then have Paſſes to *Plymouth*.' Accordingly, this Agreement was executed, on *Monday* the ſecond of *September*, and tho' it was near the Evening before all was finiſh'd, they wou'd march away that Night; and tho' all Care was taken to preſerve them from Violence, yet at *Liſtithiel*, where they had been long quarter'd, and at other Towns through which they had paſs'd, the Inhabitants, eſpecially the Women, who pretended to ſee their own Goods and Cloaths about them which had been taken from them, treated them very rudely, even to ſtripping ſome of the Soldiers, and more of their Wives, who had very inſolently behav'd themſelves in the March. That Night there came about an hundred of them to the King's Army; and of the ſix thouſand, that march'd out of *Foy*, not a third Part arriv'd at *Southampton*, where the King's Convoy left them; to which *Skippon* himſelf gave an ample Teſtimony under his Hand, 'That they had carry'd themſelves with 'great Civility towards them, and fully comply'd with their 'Obligation.' Thus the Fate of War was chang'd, and the King, who a few Weeks before had two ſuperior Armies to manage, now became victorious; ſo that the Earl of *Eſſex* own'd it in his Letter *To be the greateſt Blow that ever beſel his Party*. And notwithſtanding the ſcandalous Neglect of *Goring*, the King's Part in it was ſo eminently conſpicuous, that *Whitelock* twice acknowledges, 'That it 'was all done with great Wiſdom and Gallantry.

The King ſends to the Houſes.

4. Upon this glorious Succeſs, his Majeſty, according to his uſual Goodneſs after Victories, ſent from *Taveſtock* a gracious Meſſage to *Weſtminſter*, to deſire a Treaty for Peace, dated *September* the eighth, together with a Duplicate of his former Meſſage from *Eveſham:* But being directed *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at* Weſtminſter, the two Houſes voted, 'That theſe Directions, and the Matter in them, did not ſufficiently acknowledge them to be the two Houſes of *Parliament* '*of England*, and therefore wou'd return no Anſwer.' The King deſigning to march Eaſtward, was perſuaded in his Way to look upon *Plymouth*; and having ſent a Summons to the Town, he receiv'd a rude Anſwer to it: For the Earl of *Eſſex* had left the Lord *Roberts* Governor in that Town, a Man of a ſour Temper, and a high Opinion of himſelf, and one who muſt be overcome, before he wou'd believe he cou'd be ſo. The King finding he cou'd not prevail with him, and that the reducing of the Town wou'd require ſome Time, purſu'd his former Reſolution, and march'd away, having committed the Blockade of it to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, a Man who had been bred a Soldier, and of great Expectation, but of greater Promiſes. The King having ſtaid a Week at *Exeter*, and took in the Town of *Barnſtable*, *September* the ſeventeenth march'd Eaſtward to *Chard* in *Somerſetſhire*, where for the Relief of his Army he made a longer Stay. Here, without being diſcourag'd at the Parliament's Neglect of his Meſſage, he publiſh'd a Proclamation, 'declaring his Royal Reſolutions to 'draw towards *London*, in order to obtain a Treaty for 'Peace, and a good Accommodation, inviting all his loyal 'Subjects to join in his Aſſiſtance for that neceſſary End,' dated *September* 30. Upon which the Gentry and Freeholders of that County of *Somerſet*, addreſs'd the King at *Sturmiſter*, *October* the ninth, 'for Liberty to wait in Perſon upon his Majeſty nearer *London*, to become Petitioners to the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter*, to 'embrace his Majeſty's Offers of Peace; and in Caſe of 'Refuſal, to ſpend their Lives in aſſiſting his Majeſty to 'compaſs that by the Sword, which by fair and juſt Ways 'cou'd not be effected.' All which was graciouſly accepted of by his Majeſty.

His Proclamation.

During the King's Stay at *Chard*, the brave Colonel *Gage* undertook from *Oxford* to relieve *Baſing-Houſe*, a ſtrong Place in *Hampſhire*, and valiantly defended by the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* againſt the Parliament for above three Months; all which he perform'd after a moſt Soldierly Manner, tho' it was near forty Miles from *Oxford*, and in the midſt of the Enemy's Country. But ſoon after this great Action, the Houſe was again beſieg'd by a more powerful Force than before. *Dennington* Caſtle near *Newbury* was likewiſe beſieg'd by another Party of the Parliament Forces; but what was moſt in Danger, was the Caſtle of *Banbury*, beſieg'd by Colonel *John Fiennes*, another Son of the Lord *Say*, with a conſiderable Force, and bravely defended by Sir *William Compton*, full three Months; but by this Time reduc'd to the utmoſt Extremity. In order to preſerve all theſe, the King came to *Salisbury* upon the fifteenth of *October*, where he underſtood 'That *Waller* lay at *Andover* 'with his Troops; that the Earl of *Mancheſter* was advanc'd as far as *Reading* with five thouſand Horſe and 'Foot, to be follow'd with four Regiments of the Train'd-'Bands of *London*; and that three thouſand of the Earl of '*Eſſex*'s Army were near *Portſmouth*, expecting Orders 'to join with the reſt.' This might very well have diſpos'd his Majeſty to haſten his March to *Oxford*, and with the Relief of the beſieg'd Places, make a fair Concluſion of the Campaign; but the fearleſs *Goring* being now poſſeſs'd with great Gayety, earneſtly adviſ'd the King to march with all Secrecy, and beat *Waller*, who lay at *Andover*, a good Diſtance from the reſt, with three thouſand Horſe and Dragoons. This was agreed to, but the March was not manag'd with all neceſſary Punctuality by thoſe about the King: Yet they came not within four Miles of *Andover*, before *Waller* had Notice of their Motions; who taking a View of their Strength and good Order, durſt not ſtand a Battle, but drew back into the Town; leaving a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons to make good his Retreat. But the King's Van charg'd, and routed them with conſiderable Execution, purſu'd them through the Town, and ſlew many in the Rear, till the Darkneſs of the Night ſecur'd the Remainder. They were very much ſcatter'd, and the King quarter'd that Night at *Andover*.

The King comes to Salisbury.

He beats up Waller's *Quarters at* Andover.

The diſperſing this great Body, and the little Reſiſtance they made, ſo elevated the King's Army, that they deſir'd nothing more than to have a Battel with all the Enemies Forces; which the King deſign'd not to ſeek out, nor to decline fighting if they put themſelves in the Way. And ſo he reſolv'd to raiſe the Siege of *Dennington-Caſtle*, within a Mile of *Newbury*, which was now beſieg'd by Colonel *Horton*, who rais'd a Battery on the Foot of the Hill next *Newbury*, and ſo ply'd it with his large Cannon, that after twelve Days continual ſhooting, he beat down three Towers, and a Part of the Wall. This he believ'd had ſo humbled the Governour, Colonel *Boys*, and the Garriſon, that they wou'd be no longer ſtubborn as they had been; and therefore he ſent them another Summons; in which he magnify'd his own Clemency, 'That prevail'd 'with him, now they were at his Mercy, to offer them 'Quarter for their Lives, if they gave up the Caſtle before '*Wedneſday* at Ten in the Morning; but if that his Favour was not accepted, he declar'd in the Preſence of 'God, that there ſhou'd not a Man among them have his 'Life ſpar'd.' The Governour made himſelf merry with this menacing Language; and ſent him Word, *He wou'd keep the Place, and neither give nor receive Quarter*. At this Time the Earl of *Mancheſter* and his Forces came before the Place, and receiving no expected Anſwer to his Summons, he reſolv'd to ſtorm it the next Day. But his Soldiers knowing the Reſolution of thoſe within, declin'd that hot Service, and ply'd it with their Artillery till the next Night, and then remov'd their Battery to the other Side, and began their Approaches by Saps; when the Governour made a brave Sally, beat them out of their Trenches, kill'd a Lieutenant-Colonel, with many Soldiers, ſhot the chief Cannoneer thro' the Head, brought away their Cannon Baskets and many Arms, and retired with little Loſs: Yet the next Night they finiſh'd their Battery, and continu'd ſome Days their great Shot, till they heard of the King's Army; whereupon they drew off their Ordnance, and their *London* Train'd-Bands being not arriv'd, the Earl thought fit to march away to a greater Diſtance; there having been above a Thouſand great Shot ſpent upon the Walls, without any other Damage to the Garriſon, than the beating down ſome old Parts of them.

Colonel Boys *bravely defends* Dennington-Caſtle.

The Governour repair'd to the King at *Newbury*, where he was Knighted for his great Bravery; and there was then ſo little Fear of the Enemy, that the King thought of delaying his Journey to *Oxford*, till he had reliev'd both *Baſing* and *Banbury*. And now Importunities being ſent from the laſt, which was upon the Point of ſurrendring for want of Victuals, the King was pleas'd, that the Earl of *Northampton*, the Governour of that Garriſon, who had left his valiant Brother his Lieutenant, ſhou'd attempt the Relief with three Regiments of Horſe; Orders being ſent to *Oxford* for Colonel *Gage* to meet him with ſome Forces from thence. This being done, they found a great Superiority of the Enemy's Horſe drawn up in five Bodies, near

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The Siege of Banbury *rais'd.*

the Sconce, as if they deſign'd to take the Advantage of that Ground, and fight. But two or three Shots from a couple of Drakes made them ſtagger, and retire from their Ground with great Diſorder; and their Foot, being above ſeven Hundred, ran out of *Banbury* upon the firſt Advance of the King's Troops. Colonel *Gage* and the Foot, went to give Liberty to the Caſtle, while the Earl of *Northampton* follow'd the Horſe, furiouſly charg'd and routed them; and notwithſtanding they had lin'd ſome Hedges with Muſqueteers, purſu'd them till they were totally diſpers'd; their General, young *Fiennes*, continuing his Flight, till he reach'd *Coventry*. The Foot, for the moſt part, eſcap'd by the Incloſures, before Colonel *Gage* cou'd come up. Thus with conſiderable Loſs and Diſgrace to the Enemy, the Siege was rais'd before *Banbury*, which had continu'd full thirteen Weeks; ſo couragiouſly defended, that tho' the Famine left them but two Horſes uneaten, they had never ſuffer'd a Summons to be ſent to them: And it was now reliev'd the very Day of the Month, the 26th of *October*, that both Town and Caſtle had been ſurrender'd to the King two Years before.

Mancheſter *and* Waller *joyn againſt the King.*

5. The King now ſeem'd reaſonably ſucceſsful, but he ſoon paid dear for the Relief of *Banbury*, and the very next Day after the Service was perform'd. For Colonel *Hurry*, a *Scotchman*, who had formerly ſerv'd the Parliament, and after that done ſignal Service to the King, had, when the King enter'd *Cornwall*, deſir'd a Paſs from his Majeſty to go beyond the Seas; but inſtead of embarking himſelf, joyn'd with the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Army, and made a Diſcovery of all he knew of the King's Forces, and a Deſcription of the Perſons and Manners of the principal Commanders: So that as they well knew the Conſtitution and Infirmities of the King's Army, they had alſo Advice of the Earl of *Northampton*'s March with three Regiments of Horſe to the Relief of *Banbury*. Whereupon, *Mancheſter* having united all thoſe Forces under *Eſſex* and *Waller*, which, with the *London* Train'd-Bands, compos'd a Body of above eight Thouſand Foot, and about as many Horſe, advanc'd towards the King at *Newbury*, who had not half the Number before the Departure of the Earl of *Northampton*, and did not believe that the Enemy cou'd have been joyn'd before the Return of that Earl. The King ſaw it was now too late to make a ſafe Retreat to *Oxford*, when the whole Body of the Enemy's Army, which had receiv'd poſitive Orders to fight the King, appear'd as near as *Thackam*: So that his Majeſty reſolv'd to ſtand only upon the Defenſive, hoping that, upon the Advantage he had of the Town of *Newbury* and the River, the Enemy wou'd not ſpeedily advance; and that by being now compell'd to lye in the Field in this cold Seaſon, while his Army was under Shelter, they might be forced to retire. The King quarter'd in the Town of *Newbury*, and put ſtrong Guards on the South of the Place; but the greateſt Part of the Army was lodg'd towards the Enemy's Quarters, in a little Village by *Shaw*, defended by the River that runs under *Dennington-Caſtle*. Directly North from thence were two open Fields, where moſt of the Horſe ſtood with the Train of Artillery; and about half a Mile Weſt was the Village of *Speen*, and beyond that a ſmall Heath. In this Village lay all Prince *Maurice*'s Foot, and ſome Horſe; and a Work was caſt up at the Entrance of the Heath, which clear'd that Ground. In this Poſture they had many Skirmiſhes with the Enemy for two Days, without loſing any Ground; in which the Royaliſts had the Advantage.

BATTLE IV. *The Second at* Newbury.

On *Sunday* Morning, the 27th of *October*, by break of Day, a Thouſand of the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Army, with the *London* Train'd-Bands, came down the Hill, and paſs'd the River by *Shaw*; and undiſcover'd forc'd the Guard at a Paſs near the Houſe where Sir *Bernard Aſtley* lay; who immediately with a good Body of Muſqueteers fell upon the Enemy, routed them, and purſu'd them, ſlew and drowned many in the River, and took above two hundred Arms. The Enemy's Army having almoſt ſurrounded the King's, all that Day there were very warm Skirmiſhes in ſeveral Parts, with no Diſadvantage to the King; till about three in the Afternoon, *Waller* with his Party fell upon the Quarter at *Speen*, and paſs'd the River, at a Place ſtrong, but ill guarded, and leaſt ſuſpected at that time of Day. After which they march'd in good Order, with great Bodies of Foot, wing'd with Horſe, towards the Heath; from whence the Remainder of the King's Horſe retir'd, with too little Reſiſtance; being overpower'd, by reaſon the major Part of them were gone to provide Forrage. By which Means the Enemy poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Ordnance there planted, and of the Village of *Speen*; the Foot which were there, retir'd to a Hedge next the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*, which they made good. At the ſame Time the Right Wing of the Enemy's Horſe advanc'd under the Hill of *Speen*, with a hundred Muſqueteers in Front, towards a good Body of the King's Horſe, which at firſt receiv'd them in ſome Diſorder; but Sir *John Cansfield*, Commander of the Queen's Regiment of Horſe, charg'd them with ſo much Gallantry, that he routed that great Body, and purſu'd the Execution of them for near half a Mile, ſo that the whole Wing rally'd not again that Night. This brave Charge, which gave other Troops Opportunity to charge them in the Flank, ſav'd the King, and many of his Lords, from imminent Danger. At the ſame Time the Left Wing of the Enemy's Horſe advanc'd towards the North Side of the great Field; but before they had gone far, General *Goring* with the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Brigade ſo furiouſly charg'd them, that he forc'd them over a Hedge in great Confuſion; and following them, was encounter'd by another freſh Body, which he likewiſe defeated; having not only routed and repell'd them, but endur'd the Shot of three Bodies of their Foot in their Purſuit, with no conſiderable Damage, only the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Horſe falling under him, he was taken Priſoner. In the mean Time, on the other Side, twelve Hundred Horſe and three Thouſand Foot of the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Men, bravely advanc'd upon *Shaw-Houſe*, and the adjacent Field, which Quarter was defended by Sir *Jacob Aſhley* and Colonel *Liſle*, and the Houſe by Lieutenant-Colonel *Page*. They at firſt drove forty Muſqueteers from a Hedge; but were preſently charg'd by Sir *John Brown*, with the Prince's Regiment of Horſe, who purſu'd them with Execution, till meeting with another Body of their Horſe, he retir'd to the Foot in Mr. *Doleman*'s Garden, which flank'd that Field. Here firing upon thoſe Horſe, and cauſing them to wheel about, Sir *John* fell on their Rear, kill'd many, and kept that Ground all the Day; when Colonel *Thelwell*'s Reſerve of Foot gall'd their Foot with ſeveral Vollies, and then fell in with the But-Ends of their Muſquets, till they beat them quite out of the Field; leaving two Drakes, ſome Colours, and many dead Bodies behind them. At this Time a Body of their Foot attempted *Doleman*'s Houſe, but were ſo well and briskly receiv'd by *Page*, that they were ſoon forc'd to retire with ſuch Confuſion, that they left five Hundred dead upon a little Spot of Ground: So they drew off the two Drakes into the Houſe, the Enemy being beaten off, and retir'd from all that Quarter.

The King retires.

It was now Night, for which neither Party was ſorry; and the King, who had been where the Enemy only prevail'd, imagin'd that his Army had ſuffer'd as much in all other Places. He ſaw they were intirely poſſeſs'd of *Speen*, and had taken all the Ordnance in that Place; by which it wou'd be eaſy to have ſurrounded him, before the next Morning. Upon which his Majeſty retired with the Prince and his Lords, into the Fields under *Dennington-Caſtle*; and about ten of the Clock all the Army, Horſe and Foot and Cannon, upon the King's Orders drew out their ſeveral Guards to the Heath about *Dennington-Caſtle*; in which they left moſt of their wounded Men, with all their Ordnance, Ammunition and Carriages: Then Prince *Maurice*, and the other Officers, march'd in good Order away to *Wallingford*; committing the bringing up the Rear to Sir *Humphry Bennet*, who with his Brigade of Horſe march'd behind without any Moleſtation; and by the Morning, the whole Army arriv'd at *Wallingford*; and ſo march'd to *Oxford*, without ſeeing any Party of the Enemy that look'd after them. Such was the Second Battle of *Newbury*, in which the King's Army was far inferior as to Numbers, and ſo neceſſarily divided, that it may as properly be call'd three Battles as one. As to the Advantage of the Day, many queſtion'd which Party really had it; and neither was ſufficiently ſatisfy'd with their Succeſs. There were certainly very many more kill'd of the Enemy, than of the King's Army; of which were ſlain three Lieutenant-Colonels, St. *Leger*, *Topping* and *Leak*, with not above a Hundred common Soldiers in all Places: More Officers were wounded, who all recover'd. The Officers of the Enemy's Side were never remember'd, being generally of no better Families than the common Soldiers; but it was reaſonably computed, that there cou'd not be ſo few as a Thouſand dead upon the Place: Yet becauſe the King's Army quitted the Field, and march'd away in the Night, the other Side thought themſelves Conquerors; and the Parliament celebrated their Victory with their uſual Triumphs; tho' within a few Days after, they diſcern'd they had little Reaſon for it.

Boys's *Bravery.*

The next Day, when they knew the King's Army was retir'd, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Newbury*; and then drew up their whole Army before *Dennington-Caſtle*, and ſummon'd the valiant Governour to deliver it to them, *or elſe they wou'd not leave one Stone upon another.* To which the Governour briskly reply'd, *That he was not bound to repair it, but however, by God's Help, he wou'd keep the Ground afterwards.* Seeing his Obſtinacy, they offer'd him to 'march away with the Arms, and all Things belonging 'to the Garriſon;' and when that mov'd not, 'That he 'ſhou'd carry all the Cannon and Ammunition with him:'

To all which he reply'd, *That he wonder'd they wou'd not be ſatisfy'd with all the Anſwers he had ſent*, and deſir'd them to be aſſur'd, *That his Majeſty had entruſted that Place to him, and tho' they wou'd allow him to take whatever was in the Caſtle, and if poſſible the Caſtle it ſelf, yet he wou'd not forſake his Ground; but till his Majeſty ſhou'd command him thence, he wou'd live and dye in the Place.* Offended at theſe high Anſwers, they reſolv'd to attack the Place, but the Officer who commanded the Party being kill'd, with ſome of the Soldiers, they retir'd, and never after made any Attempt upon it; but remain'd quietly at *Newbury* in great Faction among themſelves; every Man taking upon himſelf to cenſure what had been wrong done, or omitted, in the whole Day's Service.

The King reinforces his Army.

6. In the mean Time the King and Prince with three Hundred Horſe repair'd to *Bath*, where he met with Prince *Rupert*, and his Forces, together with Colonel *Gerrard* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; and us'd all Expedition to joyn thoſe Forces with his own Army, that he might march back to *Newbury*, and diſengage his Cannon and Carriages. In his Paſſage he met with the Earl of *Northampton*, and thoſe Regiments that had reliev'd *Banbury*; and having with indefatigable Diligence caus'd a new Train of Artillery to be form'd, he brought his Army again to a Rendezvous on *Bullington-Green*; where with the Addition of thoſe Forces, and ſome Foot, which he drew out of *Oxford* under the Command of Colonel *Gage*, it made up full ſix Thouſand Foot, and five Thouſand Horſe. With this brave Army he march'd to *Wallingford*; and within eight Days after he had left *Dennington-Caſtle*, found himſelf there again, and in ſo good a Poſture, that he determin'd not to decline fighting with the Enemy; but he reſolv'd firſt to be poſſeſs'd of his Cannon, and put ſome Proviſions into the Caſtle; both which he accompliſh'd without any Oppoſition.

He offers the Enemy Battle.

Still the Enemy's Army lay at *Newbury*, perplex'd with their own Diviſions and Factions, without Notice of the King's Advance, till a Quarter of their Horſe was beaten up. The next Morning the King drew up his Army in Battalia; Prince *Rupert*, now declar'd General, led the Van, and got Poſſeſſion of the Heath, on the Backſide of the Caſtle, from which a ſmall Party might have kept him. On that Heath the King's Army was drawn up about Noon, being all prepar'd for Battle; and none of the Enemy appearing, they march'd over the River by the Caſtle, and drew into a large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury.* In the mean Time the Enemy had drawn a great Body of their Horſe and Foot into the other Field towards *Shaw*, and had made Breaſt-Works and Batteries on the Back-ſide of *Newbury*; which Town they reſolv'd to keep, and ſtand upon the Defenſive, as the King had done before. Some light Skirmiſhes paſs'd between the Horſe, but when the King ſaw upon what Diſadvantages he muſt force them to a Battle, he call'd a Council of War, who unanimouſly concluded, 'That ſince he had reliev'd the Caſtle, and 'that it was in his Power to draw off his Ordnance and 'Ammunition, he had compleated his Buſineſs; and if any 'Honour had been loſt the other Day, it was now fully re'gain'd, by paſſing his Army over the River in the Face of 'theirs, and offering them Battle, when they durſt not accept 'of it.' Upon which the King reſolv'd to attempt them no farther, but gave Orders on the 9th of *November* to retire in their View, with Drums beating, and Trumpets ſounding, the ſame Way he came over the River. This Parting was ſo inglorious to the Parliament Party, that the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was then at *London*, ſent Word to General *Goring*, *That if He had been preſent, the King's Forces ſhou'd not have drawn off ſo quietly.*

From hence the King march'd to *Marlborough*; but ſtill his Heart was ſet upon the Relief of *Baſing*, which after Colonel *Gage*'s Relief of it, was as much diſtreſs'd as before. He once thought to attempt it with his whole Army, and thereby draw the Enemy to a Battle; but upon a full Debate, it was concluded, 'That a Thouſand Horſe ſhou'd 'be drawn out, and every one of them ſhould carry a 'Bag of Corn, or other Proviſions, and march ſo as to be 'at *Baſing-Houſe* the next Morning, after they parted from 'the Army; and that then every Man was to caſt down 'his Bag, and make his Retreat as well as he could:' And Colonel *Gage*, who had been ſo ſucceſsful there, was appointed to command this Party. The better to effect it, *Hungerford* was thought beſt to quarter with the Army, and from thence to diſpatch that Party. So the King march'd back to *Hungerford*, while the Enemy march'd from *Newbury* to *Baſing*, which they concluded would have yielded at the Sight of their Army: But finding the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* inviolably reſolute, they quitted the Siege the very Day before the Arrival of Colonel *Gage*, who eaſily deliver'd his Proviſions, and retir'd ſafe to the King. After which his Majeſty march'd to *Farrington*, and having conſider'd where to quarter his Horſe, he return'd to *Oxford*, the 23d Day of *November*; where he was receiv'd with Univerſal Joy and Applauſes by that Univerſity and City. Thus the King concluded a Six Months Campaign, in which he nobly diſplay'd his Genius, and ſhew'd Himſelf a moſt vigilant and valiant Commander; and notwithſtanding the ſhameful Miſmanagement and Neglect of his great Officers *Wilmot* and *Goring*, he overcame mighty Difficulties, and gain'd unexpected Advantages, from the Time he left *Oxford* in great Diſtreſs, to his preſent ſafe Return.

He returns to Oxford, *and concludes the Campaign.*

The Miſeries in England,

There were, beſides the greater Affairs of the Campaign, in all Parts of the Nation, many ſmaller Motions, Actions, Skirmiſhes and Encounters, beſides innumerable Ravages, Robberies, Murders and Devaſtations, which like a Deluge overſpread the Nation, and broke down the great Fences of Nature and Humanity, and the Tyes of Amity and Affinity; rendring Mankind more fierce and inexorable than the moſt ſavage of Brute Creatures. Both Parties were deeply involv'd in this General Miſchief; and as to the Parliament Side, *Whitelock* Himſelf, more than once, complains of the Barbarities of the Soldiers, this particular Year, of the Murdering of Men, the Raviſhing of Women, with innumerable wicked Actions committed by them, to the unſpeakable Miſery of the poor Country. Theſe, as he obſerves, following the Example of their Commanders, it was found high Time to make a Reformation among them. As to Religious Matters, infinite Diſturbances and Diſtractions were caus'd where the Parliament had the Power, by the new Ways of Reformation, the Demoliſhing of all the pretended Monuments of Idolatry, deſtroying all Organs, Rails, Surplices, Superſtitious Veſtments, *&c.* at the Price of the moſt ſcandalous Sort of Robberies and Sacrilege. Theſe Methods gave Riſe to ſo many Hereſies and Diviſions, that their own Miniſters of the City of *London*, *September* the 18th, in a Petition to the Commons, *Beg leave to Sigh out their Sorrows*, and confeſs, *Through many erroneous Opinions, ruinating Schiſms, and damnable Hereſies, unhappily fomented in City and Country, the Orthodox Miniſtry is neglected; the People ſeduced; Congregations torn aſunder; Families diſtracted; Rights and Duties of Relations, National, Civil, and Spiritual, ſcandalouſly violated, the Power of Godlineſs decayed; Parliamentary Authority undermined; fearful Confuſion introduc'd; imminent Deſtruction threatned.* &c. So if we look upon poor *England*, either in its Civil, or Religious Condition, this Year, we find it the moſt perfect Scene of the moſt deplorable Miſery.

And in Scotland,

Then to compleat the Miſeries of all the *Britiſh* Dominions, there broke out a new Fire in *Scotland*, where all the Troubles had their Beginning; which rag'd in that Kingdom after an extraordinary Manner. This was occaſion'd by the remarkable Oppoſition of the Royaliſts in thoſe Parts, headed by the famous Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, who at Thirty Years of Age, having the King's own Encouragement, and the Promiſe of the Aſſiſtance of the Marqueſs of *Antrim* from *Ireland*, with incomparable Diligence undertook the Cauſe, and with ſuch ſmall Supports perform'd ſuch valiant Actions, as caus'd all Men equally to admire at the Undertaking, and the Succeſs. With a Handful of Men, and without Arms, he bravely undertook the King's Cauſe, and in a few Months Time gain'd three remarkable Battles, one at *Perth*, another at *Aberdeen*, and a Third at *Innerlogh.* In ſhort, he prevail'd in ſo many Attempts, that in effect he made Himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom, and perform'd all thoſe ſtupendous Acts, which are deſervedly the Subject of a diſtinct Hiſtory; but ſomewhat too foreign to be particulariz'd in This.

Diſtractions in the Parliament.

VI. 1. The Affairs of the Parliament were now attended with great Diſtractions and Emulations; and all perſonal Animoſities began to break out in their Councils, and their Armies. That furious Party, that had at firſt ſeduc'd the Reſt into the War, had been long unſatisfy'd with the Earl of *Eſſex*, and he no leſs with Them; and both were now more deſirous to ſuppreſs the other, than to deſtroy the King. They well bore the Loſs and Diſhonour he ſuſtain'd in *Cornwall*, and would have been willing that He and his Army had been both cut off, inſtead of being diſſolv'd; for moſt of his Officers and Soldiers had loſt their Affections towards them, and deſir'd nothing but Peace: For which Reaſon they reſolv'd never more to truſt or employ any of them. But that which more perplex'd them, was, That the Earl of *Mancheſter*, upon whom they depended as a certain Friend, appear'd now as unmanageable to their Deſigns as the other; and there was an irreconcilable Breach fallen out between Him and the riſing Man *Cromwell*, which brought ſome precipitated Counſels upon the Stage. *Cromwell* accus'd the Earl of cowardly betraying the Parliament; 'For that he 'might very eaſily have defeated the King's Army at *New'bury*, when he drew off his Cannon, if he would have 'permitted him with his own Brigade to have charg'd the 'Army in their Retreat: And that the Earl obſtinately op-

Diſputes between Mancheſter *and* Cromwell.

'poſ'd all Advice and Importunity; giving no other Reaſon, than *That if he did overthrow the King's Army, the King would always have another to keep up the War; but if his Army ſhould be overthrown at that nice Juncture, they ſhould be all Rebels and Traytors, and executed and forfeited by the Law.*' This Declaration, what the Law would do againſt them, was heinouſly taken by the Parliament, as if the Earl believ'd the Law to be againſt them, after they had made ſo many Declarations, That the Law was on their Side. The Earl confeſs'd, 'That he had in Effect ſaid, *That they ſhould be treated as Traytors, if their Army was defeated*, when he miſlik'd the Lieutenant-General's Advice, in expoſing the Army to an unſeaſonable Hazard: And then recriminated upon his Adverſary, That at another Time, *Cromwell* freely diſcourſing with him of the State of the Kingdom, and propoſing an Expedient, the Earl anſwer'd, That the Parliament would never approve it; to which *Cromwell* quickly reply'd, *My Lord, if you will ſtick firm to honeſt Men, you will find an Army at your Command, that will give the Law to King and Parliament*: Which Diſcourſe made a great Impreſſion upon him; and finding him a Man of very deep Deſigns, he was the more careful to preſerve an Army which he thought ſtill faithful to the Parliament.' This was very Startling to thoſe who had always an Averſion to *Cromwell*, and knew the Fierceneſs of his Nature; therefore they deſir'd this Matter might be thoroughly examin'd, and brought to Judgment. But the other Side laid all Impediments in the Way, and rather choſe to loſe the Advantage they had againſt the Earl of *Mancheſter*, than to have a Matter examin'd, that would certainly make ſome Diſcoveries that were not yet fit to be produc'd. However, the Animoſities encreas'd, and the Parties openly appear'd againſt each other, to the Dividing of the City, as well as the Parliament; inſomuch, that all ſober Men began to wiſh for Peace, tho' none knew how to get it mov'd or mention'd in the Houſes.

The Scots *diſcontented.*

The *Scotch* Commiſſioners were as jealous and diſſatisfy'd as any other Party; and found, ſince the Battle of *Marſton-Moor*, neither their Army nor Themſelves ſo much conſider'd as formerly, nor Conditions perform'd towards them with any Exactneſs. They long had Jealouſies of *Cromwell*, and Sir *Henry Vane*, and all that Party, which they ſaw daily encreaſing, and growing powerful in the Parliament, in the Council, and in the City. Their great Idol, the *Covenant*, was mention'd with leſs Reverence and Reſpect; and the *Independents*, which comprehended many Sects in Religion, ſpoke publickly againſt it; of which Party *Cromwell* and *Vane* were the Leaders. So that the *Scots* plainly ſaw, that tho' they had done as much as they deſir'd towards the Overthrow of the Church of *England*, they ſhould never be able to eſtabliſh their beloved Presbyterian Government; and likewiſe found, that there was a Deſign in this new Party to change the whole Frame of the Government, from a Monarchy, to a Republick; which was as far from the Intention of that Nation, as the Reſtoration of Epiſcopacy. So that they diſcover'd no Way to prevent the impending Confuſion, but by a Peace; which they began heartily to wiſh, and to conſpire with thoſe of that Party that deſir'd moſt to effect it; but ſtill knew not how to ſet a Treaty on Foot. The Houſe of Peers excepting three or four, earneſtly deſir'd it, but had not Power to compaſs it; and in the Houſe of Commons there were enough who would have been very glad to bring it about, but had not the Courage to propoſe it. They who were the moſt real Enemies to it, wrought upon many of the other to believe, 'That they would accept of a Treaty, if the King deſir'd it; but that it would be diſhonourable, and of pernicious Conſequence, if the Parliament firſt propos'd it.' They who deſir'd a Peace try'd their old Friends of the City, and ſet ſome of them to get Hands to a Petition, by which the Parliament ſhou'd be mov'd to ſend to the King to Treat of Peace. But that Deſign was no ſooner known, but others of an oppoſite Party were appointed to ſet a Counter Petition on Foot, by which they ſhould diſclaim any Conſent to, or Approbation of the other Petition. So that they who wiſh'd for a Peace, found the Way to it ſo difficult, and that it was impoſſible to prevail with the two Houſes to propoſe it to the King, that they reſolv'd 'it could only ariſe from his Majeſty; and to that Purpoſe they ſhould all labour with their ſeveral Friends at *Oxford*, to incline the King to ſend a Meſſage to the Parliament, to offer a Treaty of Peace in any Place where they ſhould appoint; and then they would all run the utmoſt Hazard before it ſhould be rejected.

Several Endeavours for a Peace.

The Parliament ſend their Propoſitions to the King.

But finding that it was much more eaſy to hinder a Peace, than to prevent a Treaty, they at laſt thought fit, by Way of Anſwer to the King's ſeveral Meſſages of Peace, to ſend him their own Terms by Commiſſioners on purpoſe, the Earl of *Denbigh* and Lord *Maynard* for the Peers; Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Whitelock*, and the Lord *Wenman* of the Commons; the Lord *Maitland*, Sir *Charles Ereskin*, and Mr. *Barclay* for *Scotland*. Theſe all arriv'd at *Oxford* in *November*, and were very obligingly receiv'd by his Majeſty, who heard the High Propoſitions read by the Earl of *Denbigh*, with much Patience; and then demanded of the Commiſſioners, *If they had Power to Treat*? they anſwer'd, *No*; *but their Commiſſion was to receive his Majeſty's Anſwer in Writing*. The King reply'd, *Then a Letter-Carrier might have done as much as You*. Upon which return'd the proud Earl of *Denbigh*, *I ſuppoſe your Majeſty looks upon Us as Perſons of another Condition than Letter-Carriers*. The King anſwer'd calmly again, *I know your Condition*; *but I ſay, That your Commiſſion gives you Power to do no more than a Letter-Carrier might have done*. The King had ſhortly after an Opportunity of private Diſcourſe with two of the Commiſſioners, *Hollis* and *Whitelock*, and had ſuch Confidence in them, and in his own Integrity, that he left it to them two to draw up in Writing what they apprehended might be fit to return in Anſwer to the Meſſage. The Subſtance was, beſides Expreſſions of his Majeſty's Deſire for a Peace, at a Conference of both Houſes, to demand a ſafe Conduct for the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, to come with an Anſwer to their Propoſitions; which, after many Strugglings, was obtain'd at *Weſtminſter*, and in no long Time brought about the noted Treaty of *Uxbridge*.

The deep Deſigns of the Independents.

2. In the mean Time the *Independent* Party, who now began to act under that Denomination, had reſolv'd to have no further Concern with either of their Generals; but how to lay them aſide, was a mighty Difficulty, eſpecially the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had been ſo much their Founder and Supporter, that it was hard to know which would prove greater, the Ingratitude, or the Danger. Therefore till they could find ſome Expedient to extricate themſelves out of this Labyrinth, they would advance Nothing towards the Recruiting or Supplying their Armies, or the Providing for any Winter Expedition; only they ſent *Waller* out with ſome Troops that they did not value, and reſolv'd to uſe their Service no more. They knew not how to propoſe to the Parliament the vaſt Alterations they intended; and of all Men they durſt not truſt the *Scotch* Commiſſioners. But at length they reſolv'd to purſue the grand Method, that had ſo often recover'd and ſecur'd them, which was to plant and ripen Things in the Church, till they might be brought to Maturity in the Parliament. To effect which, they agreed in the Houſes, 'That they would have a ſolemn Faſt Day, in which they would SEEK GOD,' according to the new Phraſe brought from *Scotland* with the *Covenant*; and they agreed on the Nomination of the Preachers, who were to perform that Exerciſe, and who were more truſted in the deepeſt Deſigns, than moſt of their Electors: For there was now a Diviſion among their Clergy, as well as the Laity; and the Independents, as the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, were the bolder, and greater Politicians.

A Faſt procured by Them.

Theſe dark Deſigns being form'd, and the Faſt Day arriv'd, which was the 18th of *December*, the Preachers, who kept up their Congregation for Eight or Ten Hours together, moſt fervently pray'd, 'That the Parliament might be inſpired with thoſe Thoughts, as might contribute to their Honour and Reputation; and might preſerve that Opinion the Nation had of their Honeſty and Integrity, and be without any ſelfiſh Ends, or ſeeking their own Profit.' After ſuch Preparation by their Prayers, let their Texts be what they wou'd, theſe State Engines told them plainly, 'That it was no Wonder there were ſuch Diviſions in their Counſels, when there was no Union in their Hearts: That the Parliament lay under many Reproaches, not only among their Enemies, but their beſt Friends; who were the more out of Countenance becauſe they found that the Aſperſions thrown upon them by their Enemies, were ſo well grounded, as not to be wip'd off: That there was as *great Pride*, as *great Ambition*, as *many private Ends*, and as *little Zeal* for the Publick, as they had ever imputed to the Court: That whilſt they pretended, out of the publick Coſt and Purſes of the poor People, to make a *general Reformation*, their chief Care was to make themſelves *Great* and *Rich*, and that all Men took Notice, with great Anxiety of Mind, that all the Offices in the Army, and the profitable Places in the Kingdom, were in the Hands of the Members of Parliament; who while the Nation grew poor, under inſupportable Taxes, grew ſo rich, that they wou'd in a ſhort Time get all the Money in the Kingdom into their Hands; and that it cou'd not be expected, that ſuch Men, who were ſuch unreaſonable Gainers by the Continuance of the War, wou'd heartily endeavour to put an End to that, which muſt put an End to their exorbitant Profit.' When they had as pathetically exaggerated

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theſe Reproaches as they cou'd, and the Senſe the People had of the Corruption, even to a Deſpair of ever ſeeing an End of the preſent Calamities, or having any Proſpect of that *Reformation*, they had ſo often promis'd to make, they return'd again to their Prayers, 'That God wou'd take his own Work into his Hands; and if the Inſtruments he had already employ'd, were not worthy to bring ſo glorious a Deſign to a Concluſion, that he wou'd inſpire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, and bring the Troubles of the Nation to a Godly Period.

Sir Henry Vane's *Speech in the Parliament.*

The next Day after theſe fervent Animadverſions, when the two Houſes met, there appear'd another Spirit in the very Looks of many of them. Here the ſubtle Sir *Henry Vane* told them, 'If ever God had appear'd to them, it was in the Exerciſe of *Yeſterday*; and that it proceeded from God, was plain, becauſe, as he was inform'd from the Auditors of other Congregations, the ſame Lamentations and Diſcourſes had been made in all other Churches, as the godly Preachers had made before them; which cou'd therefore proceed only from the immediate Spirit of God.' Then he repeated ſome things which had been ſaid, upon which he was beſt prepar'd to enlarge, and beſought them 'To remember God and their Country; and that they wou'd free themſelves from thoſe juſt Reproaches; which cou'd not be otherwiſe done, but by diveſting themſelves of all Offices that might bring in the leaſt Advantage to themſelves: By this only they cou'd make it appear, *That they were publick-hearted Men*; and as they paid all Taxes with the reſt of the Nation, ſo they gave up all their Time to their Country's Service, without Reward or Gratuity.' He further told them, 'That the Reflections of *Yeſterday*, of which none had ever enter'd upon his Spirit before, had rais'd a new Reflection, more than had been mention'd; which was, That it had been often complain'd of and objected by the King himſelf, *That the Numbers of the Members of Parliament were too few to give Authority to Acts of ſo great Moment, as were tranſacted in their Councils*; which, tho' it was not their Faults, who kept their proper Stations, but theirs who deſerted their Places and Truſts; yet in reality, there were too many abſent, tho' in the Service, and by the Appointment of the Houſes: But if all the Members were oblig'd perſonally to attend their Service in Parliament, it wou'd bring great Reputation to their Numbers, and the People wou'd pay more Reverence, and fuller Obedience to their Commands.' After he had carry'd the Point ſo far, he told them by Way of Concluſion, 'That he was ready to accuſe himſelf for one of thoſe who gain'd by an Office he had, in the Treaſurer-ſhip of the Navy; and tho' he was poſſeſs'd of it before the beginning of the Troubles, without owing it to the Favour of the Parliament, yet he was ready to give it up to them, and deſir'd the Profits of it might be apply'd towards the Support of the War.

Cromwell's *Speech.*

When Sir *Henry* had ſufficiently open'd the Way, *Cromwell*, who had not yet gain'd the Faculty of ſpeaking with Decency and Temper, ſtruck in and commended the Preachers, for dealing plainly and impartially, and telling them of their Faults, which they had been ſo unwilling to hear of. He declar'd 'That there were many things, upon which he never reflected before, yet upon Re-conſideration, he cou'd not but own that all was very true; and till there was a *Perfect Reformation* in thoſe Particulars recommended to them, nothing they took in Hand wou'd proſper: That the Parliament had done wiſely in the beginning of the War, to engage many of their Members in the moſt dangerous Parts of it, that the Nation might ſee they deſign'd not to embark others in Perils, whilſt themſelves ſat ſecurely out of Gun-ſhot, but wou'd march with them where the Danger moſt threatned; and thoſe honourable Perſons, who had thus expos'd themſelves, had merited ſo much of their Country, that their Memories ſhould be held in perpetual Veneration; and whatever ſhou'd be well done after them, wou'd be imputed to their Example. But now God had ſo bleſs'd their Army, that there had grown up with it many excellent Officers, who were fitter for much greater Charges than they now enjoy'd: Therefore he deſired them not to be terrify'd with an Imagination, that they ſhou'd want able Men to fill the greateſt Vacancy; for beſides that it was not good to put ſo much Truſt in any *Arm of Fleſh*, as to think ſuch a Cauſe as this depended upon any *One Man*, ſo he aſſur'd them, That they had Officers in their Army, who were fit to be Generals in any Enterprize in Chriſtendom.' He further ſaid, 'He thought nothing ſo neceſſary as to vindicate the Parliament from Partiality towards their own Members,' and made any Offer to lay down his own Commiſſion in the Army, and deſir'd, that an Ordinance might be prepar'd, 'To make it unlawful for any Member of either Houſe to hold any Office in the Army, or any Place in the State;' and ſo concluded with an Enlargement upon the Vices and Corruptions gotten into the Army; and plainly ſaid, 'That till the whole Army were new modell'd, and brought under ſtricter Diſcipline, they muſt not expect any remarkable Succeſs in any thing they undertook.' This Debate ended in appointing a Committee, to prepare an Ordinance for the Excluſion of all Members from the aforeſaid Truſts, which took up much Time and Debate, before it cou'd be brought to a Concluſion; and in the End was call'd *The Self-denying Ordinance*; the furious driving on of which much encreas'd the Inclination of the other Party to a Peace, as the only viſible Remedy to ſave themſelves, and the Nation.

He propoſes a Self-denying Ordinance.

1644. Car. 20.

3. During the Time of this grand Struggle, the two Houſes thought fit to proceed to the Tryal and Condemnation of ſeveral State Malefactors, as they accounted them; ſo that what Blood was ſpared by the Sword, ſhou'd in ſome Meaſure be deſtroy'd by the Ax and the Gibbet. They began indeed with two Perſons highly obnoxious, and the chief Contrivers of the horrid Conſpiracy and Rebellion in *Ireland*, the Lord *Macguire*, and *Mac-Mahone* Eſquire. Theſe two had been ſeiz'd at *Dublin*, and in the Year 1642 ſent over into *England*, and committed to the *Tower*, from whence this Year they made their Eſcape; but were ſoon after diſcover'd, ſecur'd, and brought to their Tryals in the Month of *November*. *Mac-Mahone* was firſt found guilty, receiv'd Judgment as in Caſes of Treaſon, and was accordingly executed at *Tyburn*; where he refus'd to make any Confeſſion, and being as'd if he deſir'd any to pray for him, he anſwer'd, *None but Roman Catholicks*. The Lord *Macguire*, being an *Iriſh* Baron, pleaded his Peerage, in which he was over-rul'd; and being, after many Struggles, condemn'd as a Traytor, he petition'd to be beheaded; which being likewiſe refus'd, he ſuffer'd the ſame Fate at *Tyburn* as the other. Both had been tamper'd with to accuſe the King, as an Abetter in this wretched Rebellion, but to no Effect; and particularly *Macguire* generouſly diſown'd the pretended Commiſſion from the Crown at the very Place of his Execution.

The Condemnation of Macguire, *and* Mac-Mahone,

The next that follow'd was Sir *Alexander Carew*, formerly mention'd, one of the Knights of the Shire for *Cornwall*, a wealthy Gentleman, who from the Beginning had concurr'd with the Parliament in their moſt violent and furious Proceedings; and one ſo deeply involv'd in the Blood of the Earl of *Strafford*, that he declar'd, *If he was ſure to ſuffer next himſelf upon the ſame Scaffold, and with the ſame Axe, he wou'd paſs the Bill againſt him*, as is before remember'd. But afterwards finding his Eſtate in *Cornwall* in Danger, or perhaps ſtricken with Remorſe, he ſeem'd willing to redeem his former Errors, and correſponded with the King's Forces for the ſurrendering of the Fort of *Plymouth*, where he was Governor. This being manag'd with too little, or rather too nice Caution, his Deſign was diſcover'd, his Perſon ſecur'd, and now try'd by a Court-Martial at *Guild-Hall*, upon the 19th of *November*; a Day remarkable for ſome ſtrange Prodigies in the Air, and about the Sun, which were the more obſerv'd, becauſe it was the Anniverſary of the King's Birth-Day. Being condemn'd to be Beheaded, he obtain'd a little above a Month's Reprieve, and at laſt he was brought to the *Tower-Hill* upon the twenty-third of *December*, where among his Sins, he eſpecially confeſs'd his *Pride and Stout-heartedneſs*, and then exactly accompliſh'd his former preſaging Words, by being the very next Man that ſuffer'd upon the ſame Scaffold, and by the ſame Axe, with the great Earl of *Strafford*.

Of Sir Alexander Carew,

This Execution was ſoon after ſucceeded by another Inſtance of the Divine Vengeance, as it is call'd by the beſt Writers, namely the Fate of the two *Hothams*, Sir *John* and his Son; who once had it in their Power to prevent the whole War, by opening the Gates of *Hull*; when the Father wiſh'd *That God wou'd bring Confuſion upon him and his, if he were not a faithful Subject*. Theſe two unhappy Gentlemen had been kept long in Cuſtody, and now at laſt call'd to their Tryals by thoſe who reſolv'd to new model the Army. The principal Charge againſt the Father, was his ſuffering the Lord *Digby* to eſcape, as is formerly mention'd; and a Letter was produc'd, by the Treachery of a Servant, againſt the Son, which he had ſent to the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*. They were both condemn'd by a Court of War to loſe their Heads; and the vile Artifices us'd both before and after their Tryals, were ſo inhumane, as have been rarely practis'd among Chriſtians. The Father was firſt order'd to ſuffer upon an appointed Day, and the Son the Day following: But the very Morning that Sir *John* was to die, a Reprieve was ſent from the Houſe of Lords to ſuſpend his Execution three Days. The Commons were highly incens'd at this Preſumption, and immediately made an Order, 'to all Sheriffs and Miniſters of Juſtice, That no Reprieve ſhou'd be allow'd for any Perſon, lying under the Sentence of Death, except the ſame had paſs'd and had the Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; and that if it paſs'd only by the Houſe of Peers, it ſhou'd be look'd upon as invalid and void. By this Accident the Son was firſt brought to his Execution,

And of the two Hothams.

tion, upon the Day on which he was ſentenc'd to ſuffer; who dy'd with Courage, and reproaching the Ingratitude of the Parliament, and their Continuance of the War, concluded, *That as to them he was Innocent, and had never been guilty of Treaſon.* The Father was brought to the Scaffold the next Day, by the ſole Authority of the Houſe of Commons, who order'd the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to execute him two Days before the Lords Reprieve was expired. Whether he had yet ſome Promiſe from his Confeſſor *Peters*, that he ſhou'd only be ſhew'd to the People and return'd to the *Tower*, as it was then generally believ'd; or whether he was broken with Deſpair, when he ſaw his Enemies wou'd not permit him to live thoſe two Days the Lords had granted him, certain it is that the poor Gentleman appear'd ſo diſpirited, that he ſpoke but few Words after he came upon the Scaffold, and ſuffer'd *Hugh Peters* to tell the People, *That he had reveal'd himſelf to him, and confeſs'd his Offences againſt the Parliament*; and ſo he committed his Head to the Block, upon the ſecond Day of *January*, 164$\frac{4}{5}$. Such was the dreadful Fate of thoſe two unfortunate Gentlemen; in which there were ſo many uncommon Circumſtances, that the immediate Hand of Heaven cou'd not but appear to all Men who knew their Natures, Humours and Tranſactions.

4. Thus did the Parliament begin to glut themſelves with the Blood of their Friends and Enemies; but the grand Victim was the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had long felt the Height of their Reſentments, and was now chiefly to fall a Sacrifice to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was reſolv'd to deſtroy both him and Epiſcopacy. After a tedious Impriſonment, in which he met with great Hardſhips, both as to his Perſon and Eſtate, he was brought to his Tryal before the Houſe of Lords, on the twelfth of *March*, 164$\frac{3}{4}$. where he was impeach'd by the Commons of High-Treaſon, and other great Crimes and Miſdemeanors. Their Managers againſt him were Serjeant *Wilde*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Maynard*, and Mr. *Nicolas*; and the providing of the Evidence was truſted to his implacable Enemy Mr. *Prynne*, who was Relator and Prompter, and all; but ſtill aſſiſted by two inferior Perſons, Mr. *Grice*, and Mr. *Beck*. The Articles againſt him were twenty four in Number, but reduc'd under four General Heads.

The Tryal of Archbiſhop Laud,

The Charge againſt him.

‘ 1. His traiterous Endeavours to alter and ſubvert God's true Religion, by Law eſtabliſh'd, and inſtead thereof to ſet up Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry. 2. His traiterous Uſurpation of a Papal and Tyrannical Power in the Church of *England*, in all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, to the Prejudice of his Majeſty's Royal Prerogative. 3. His traiterous Attempts to ſubvert the Fundamental Temporal Laws and Liberties of the Realm and Subjects of *England*, and inſtead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary Government, againſt Law, and the Subject's Liberty. 4. His traiterous Endeavours to ſubvert the Rights of Parliament, and ancient Courſe of Parliamentary Proceedings, and by falſe and malicious Slanders to incenſe his Majeſty againſt them.’ Serjeant *Wilde* open'd the Charge with a long aggravating Speech, and thus concluded, *This Man, my Lords, is like* Naaman *the* Aſſyrian, *a great Man, but a Leper.* Upon which the Archbiſhop, in another Speech, with great Eloquence and Courage, ſhew'd Himſelf a ſtrict Obſerver of the Laws of the Land, and a true Profeſſor of the eſtabliſh'd Church of *England*; wip'd off all Aſperſions of *Popery*, and concluded with the Names of One and Twenty eminent Popiſh Recuſants, whom he by Labour and Perſonal Conference had reduced to the *Proteſtant* Communion.

This famous Tryal was almoſt five Months depending in the Houſe of Lords, before they came to ſum up his Charge, and conſiſted of Twenty long Days hearing; at which there were never above Fourteen Lords preſent at one Time, uſually not above Eleven or Twelve; and of thoſe, one third Part each Day took Occaſion to retire, before the Charge of the Day was half over. Mr. *Prynne* made uſe of his Skill and Induſtry, both in producing and tampering with the Witneſſes, as the Archbiſhop complains in his Hiſtory, who reckon'd it a particular Hardſhip that a Man, doubly ſtigmatiz'd, ſhould be truſted with the Witneſſes, and the Evidence againſt him. A large Heap of Crimes and Failings were brought againſt him by his Accuſers, who ſearch'd and examin'd into all the great and all the little Actions of his Life; every perſonal Infirmity, every indiſcreet Action, and every paſſionate Word that could be remember'd, was ſifted and aggravated, and the beſt and nobleſt of his Performances were perverted with all imaginable Spite and Artifice. To all which he made ſuch a ready and admirable Defence, that an Author not thought partial to his Cauſe, ſays, ‘ That the Innocence of this Prelate, and the Malice of his Enemies are hardly to be match'd in any Account of the Primitive Perſecutions.’ Nay, his greateſt Adverſary Mr. *Prynne*, ſpeaking of his Defence in the Account of his Tryal, ſays, ‘ That he made as full, as gallant, as pithy a Defence, and ſpake as much for Himſelf as was poſſible for the Wit of Man to invent; and that with ſo much Art, Vivacity, Oratory, Audacity and Confidence, that he ſhew'd not the leaſt Acknowledgment of Guilt in any of the Particulars which were charg'd upon him.’ On the 29th of *July*, the laſt Day of his Hearing before the Lords, he made a Recapitulation of all that had been charg'd upon him, and of all that had been anſwer'd in his own Defence, and thus concluded, *Now, my Lords, I do in all Humility lay myſelf low at God's Mercy-Seat, to do with me as he pleaſes; and under God, I ſhall rely upon your Lordſhips Juſtice, Honour, and Clemency, of which I cannot doubt*, &c.

His Defence.

When all the Articles, and utmoſt Proof of them by the moſt prejudic'd Perſons, were not likely to prevail with the Lords to find him guilty of the Impeachment, tho' they were generally Enemies to his Perſon and Character; the Commons, by the Inſtigation of the *Scots*, took the Judicature after the moſt Illegal Manner to Themſelves, and had him ſeveral Days brought to their Bar, where he made a new Defence of Himſelf; and at length on the Sixteenth of *November*, they paſs'd an Ordinance to make him guilty of High-Treaſon. This being tranſmitted to the Lords, they referr'd themſelves to the Judges, who unanimouſly anſwer'd, ‘ That nothing charg'd againſt the Archbiſhop was Treaſon, by any known and eſtabliſh'd Law of the Land.’ Upon which the Lords, in Conference with the Commons, declar'd to them, ‘ That they had diligently weigh'd all Things that were charg'd againſt Him; but could not by any one of them, or All, find him guilty of Treaſon.’ This occaſion'd the Commons to have recourſe to their old Arts, and bring down one *Watkins*, with his general Muſter of Subſcriptions, and to put a Petition into his Hands, to be deliver'd by him to the Houſes, wherein, among other Things, it was requir'd, ‘ That they ſhould vigorouſly proceed to the Puniſhment of all Delinquents; and that for the moſt quick Diſpatch of publick Buſineſs of State, the Lords ſhould pleaſe to vote and ſit together with the Commons. And yet not thinking this Contrivance ſufficient to fright their Lordſhips to a preſent Compliance, the furious Mr. *Stroud* was ſent up with a Meſſage from the Commons, to let them know, ‘ That the *London* Citizens wou'd ſhortly bring a Petition with Twenty Thouſand Hands, to obtain that Ordinance.’ By which ſtale and common Stratagem, they wrought ſo far on ſome weak Spirits, the reſt withdrawing themſelves, as in the Caſe of the Earl of *Strafford*, that in a very thin Houſe, not above ſix or ſeven in Number, it was paſſed at laſt, upon the 4th Day of *January*, 164$\frac{4}{5}$. The Names of Six of the Lords were the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Bullingbrook*, the Lord *North*, and the Lord *Gray* of *Wark*, the Speaker. This is the firſt Time that ever the two Houſes of Parliament had aſſum'd that Juriſdiction; or, that ever an Ordinance had been made for the taking away a Perſon's Life.

The Houſes make an Ordinance to take his Life.

The Arch-Biſhop receiv'd the News of it with ſo even and ſmooth a Temper, as ſhew'd he neither was aſham'd to live, or afraid to die; but ſtill thought it his Duty to the King and Himſelf, to make uſe of his Majeſty's Pardon, that had been privately ſent him from *Oxford*. This being pleaded, and produc'd, it was ſoon over-rul'd, and declar'd by the Houſes, *That the King could not pardon a Judgment of Parliament*; ſo that he had nothing more to do, but to make Preparation for his Death, which was appointed to be on the 10th of *January*. On the Night before the great Combate, he ſlept ſoundly, till the Time that his Servants were appointed to attend his Riſing; and on the fatal Morning, having apply'd Himſelf to his private Prayers, he mounted the Scaffold with a Courage and Countenance ſo brave, as rather expreſs'd a Triumph than a Victim, and that he came not to die, but to be tranſlated. Here he made his own Funeral-Sermon, beginning with a ſolemn Text of Scripture, *Heb.* xii. 2. *Let us run with Patience the Race that is ſet before us*, &c. In which, after ſeveral pious Diſcourſes, he inſiſted upon four Topicks, ‘ 1. He vindicated the King from the Aſperſions of *Popery*, and declar'd, That he would venture his Life as far, and as freely, for the *Proteſtant* Religion as any Man in the Kingdom. 2. He lamented the late Cuſtoms in the City, and the popular Cries for *Juſtice*, which in Courſe would bring the Blood of many innocent Perſons upon their Heads. 3. He lamented the Fate of the poor Church of *England*, which us'd to be a Shelter for Neighbouring Churches, but now like an Oak cleft to Shivers with Wedges made out of her own Body, and at every Cleft Profaneneſs and Irreligion entring in. 4. He clear'd Himſelf from *Popery*, and declar'd, He now dy'd in the Boſom of the Church of *England*; he vindicated Himſelf from all Treaſons, and *in the Preſence of God, and his holy Angels*, took it upon his Death, that he never endeavour'd the Subverſion of *Law* or *Religion*.’ After which he made a ſolemn Prayer, in which he appeal'd to the Omniſcience of God Almighty, in Vindication of his Innocency as to any *Treaſons*.

His Behaviour.

His laſt Speech.

His Speech and Prayer ended, he gave the Prayer, which he read, into the Hands of his Chaplain Mr. *Stern*; and ſeeing one *Hind*, who had been writing his Speech from his Mouth, he deſir'd him *Not to do him wrong in publiſhing a falſe or imperfect Copy.* This done, he next apply'd Himſelf to the fatal Block; but finding the Scaffold crowded with People, he deſir'd *He might have Room to die*, beſeeching them *to let him have an End of his Miſeries, which he had endured very long.* Then calmly approaching the Block, he ſaid, *God's Will be done, I am willing to go out of the World, none can be more willing to ſend me.* And ſeeing ſome Chinks through the Boards, with People under them, he call'd to the Officer for ſome Duſt to ſtop them, or to remove the People, ſaying, *It was no part of his Deſires, that his Blood ſhould fall upon the Heads of the People.* Having proceeded thus far, he was rudely interrupted by that Incendiary Sir *John Clotworthy*, who put ſome impertinent Queſtions to him, which he anſwer'd with all Chriſtian Meekneſs; and then turn'd directly to the Executioner, to whom he gave Mony, and ſaid, *Here, honeſt Friend, God forgive Thee, and I do, and do thy Office upon me with Mercy.* Then giving him a Sign when the Blow ſhould come, he kneel'd down and made another ſhort Prayer; then laying his Head on the Block, and praying ſilently to himſelf, he cry'd aloud, *Lord, receive my Soul!* which being the Signal given, his Head was ſever'd from his Body at one Blow. His lifeleſs Body remain'd a Spectacle ſo unpleaſing to moſt of thoſe who deſir'd his Death, that many who came with greedy Eyes to ſee him ſuffer, departed with weeping Eyes when they ſaw him dead.

His Execution and Burial.

His Body, being accompany'd with great Multitudes, was decently interr'd in the Church of *Alhallows Barking*, by the Office of the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, which on that very Day was aboliſh'd by an Ordinance of Parliament, and another Thing, call'd **The Directory**, eſtabliſh'd in the Room of it. Such was the fatal and triumphant End of Dr. *William Laud*, who dy'd in the 73d Year of his Age, and the 13th of his Archiepiſcopal Tranſlation. Enough hath been ſaid of the Character and Actions of this great Man; therefore I ſhall end all with the Words of the noble Hiſtorian, ‘That his Learning, Piety, and Virtue, have been attain'd by very few, and the greateſt of his Infirmities are common to all, even to the beſt of Men.

The Death and Character of Mr. Chillingworth,

With the Death of this eminent Man we ſhall conclude this Period; and the old Year 1644, with the Deaths and Characters of ſome others that deſerve a Name in Hiſtory; and ſhall begin with his moſt celebrated Convert from the *Romiſh* Church, Mr. *William Chillingworth*, who was Chancellor of *Saliſbury*, and Maſter of *Leiceſter*-Hoſpital, a moſt noted Philoſopher and Orator, who had ſuch an admirable Faculty in reclaiming Schiſmaticks, and confuting Papiſts, that it became a current Saying in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, *That He, and the Lord* Falkland, *had ſuch extraordinary clear Reaſon, that if the Great* Turk, *or Devil, were to be converted, they were able to do it*, as was formerly hinted. Upon *Waller*'s retaking of *Arundel*-Caſtle, in the Beginning of this Year, this worthy Man was taken Priſoner, who out of Reſpect to the Lord *Hopton*, had accompany'd him in that March; and being indiſpos'd by the exceſſive Coldneſs of that Seaſon, choſe to repoſe himſelf in that Garriſon till the Weather ſhould mend. As ſoon as his Perſon was known, which would have drawn Reverence from any noble Enemy, the Clergy that attended that Army proſecuted him with all imaginable Inhumanity; ſo that by their barbarous Uſage, he dy'd within a few Days, to the Grief of all who throughly knew his Perſon or his Character. They proceeded to inſult his Body, and his Works, to the very Grave; for when his Body was carry'd to be interr'd in the Cloyſter of the Church of *Chicheſter*, Mr. *Cheynell*, Miniſter of *Petworth*, ſtood ready to receive it; and throwing his famous Book againſt the Papiſts inſultingly after the Corps, he cry'd out, *Get thee gone, thou curſed Book, which haſt ſeduc'd ſo many precious Souls, thou corrupt rotten Book, Earth to Earth, Duſt to Duſt, get thee gone into the Place of Rottenneſs, that thou may'ſt rot with the Author, and ſee Corruption:* An Uſage that needs no Reflection, or Aggravation.

Bp. Weſtfield.

But to proceed to other Perſons, this Year dy'd Dr. *Thomas Weſtfield*, a *Cantabrigian* by Education, and made Biſhop of *Briſtol*, a meek and pious Perſon, of ſingular Learning and Merit; who found greater Favour from the preſent Parliament, than any other of his Order.

Mr Twyne,

The next was Mr. *Bryan Twyne*, a great and laborious Antiquary of *Oxford*, a reſerv'd and cynical Perſon, who left many remarkable and excellent Collections behind him, of which ſeveral never yet ſaw the Light.

Judge Banks,

After him we are to mention Sir *John Banks*, Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and likewiſe Doctor of the Civil-Law, a worthy Lawyer and Judge; remarkable for his ſingular Modeſty and Integrity, and his deep Knowledge in State-Affairs, as well as in what related to his Profeſſion.

Sir Richard Baker,

Next dy'd Sir *Richard Baker*, an accompliſh'd Gentleman, well skill'd in various Faculties, eſpecially Divinity and Hiſtory, in the former of which he moſt excell'd; yet at preſent is moſt remember'd for his *Chronicle of the Kings of England*; an elaborate Work, but more properly, *A Methodical Common-Place*, than a *Regular Hiſtory:* After many Cares and Troubles in the World, he dy'd in the *Fleet* Priſon in *London*, in the 76th Year of his Age.

Mr. Collet,

Then Mr. *William Collet*, an excellent Antiquary and Keeper of the Records of the *Tower*, having no Equal in his Skill and Dexterity in that particular Office; who has been call'd the *Caterer* to *Cotton*, *Spelman* and *Selden*, in thoſe Feaſts of Rarities, with which they have furniſh'd the Nation.

Dr. Johnſon,

Dr. *Thomas Johnſon* was a Phyſician of great Eminency, firſt bred an Apothecary in *London*, where by his indefatigable Labours, improv'd by good natural Parts, he attain'd to be the beſt Herbaliſt in the Age: He being made a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Garriſon of *Baſing-Houſe*, this Year loſt his Life by a Muſquet Shot; where he gain'd a Name for his Valour and Conduct, as before he had for his Phyſick and Botany.

M. Quarles,

Nor muſt we forget Mr. *Francis Quarles*, a Gentleman educated both in *Cambridge* and *Lincoln's-Inn*; ſometimes Cup-Bearer to the Queen of *Bohemia*, Secretary to Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*, and Chronologer to the famous City of *London:* He was a noted Poet in this Reign, tho' leſs eſteem'd in later Times; who ſucceſsfully mix'd Religion and Fancy together, and with ſo pious a Caution, as never to retrench upon good Manners, or offend againſt the common Duties of a Chriſtian.

Sir Edward Deering,

We ſhall laſtly mention Sir *Edward Deering*, and Mr. *John White* the *Centuriſt*, who both dy'd this Year; the former, a very ingenious Gentleman of *Kent*, who had ſhewn himſelf an Enemy to Deans and Chapters, and gone great Lengths with the Parliament, yet had the Mortification to have his fine Speeches burnt, and Himſelf expell'd the Houſe, and forc'd to fly to the Refuge of a Prieſt's Coat, and likewiſe to become an earneſt Suitor for the Deanery of *Canterbury:* But being diſappointed, turn'd again from the King; and being rejected by the other Patry, he ended his Days in Grief and Obſcurity.

And Mr. White.

The other, Mr. *White*, was a Gentleman of the *Middle-Temple*, and a Member of the Houſe of Commons, chiefly employ'd as Chairman of a Committee, for ejecting of ſcandalous Miniſters; in which he ſhew'd himſelf a barbarous Perſecuter of the Clergy, both as to their Eſtates, and their Reputations; and at laſt dy'd diſtracted, crying out, *How many Clergymen, their Wives and Children, he had undone!*

VII. 1. The Beginning of the following Year was much taken up with various Conſultations of the King with his Great Men, and his Preparations for a new Treaty, to which the Parliament now reſolv'd to join. His Majeſty was now attended with a glorious Retinue of Nobility, Gentry, Scholars and Officers; and the Colleges were fill'd with the moſt illuſtrious Ladies in the Kingdom; who, in the midſt of theſe calamitous Times, found Shelter in this loyal Univerſity. In this Place the King was willing to have the particular Advice of that known States-Man Arch-Biſhop *Williams*; and accordingly wrote to him at *Aberconway* in *Wales* to come to *Oxford*, and to bring with him the beſt Intelligence he cou'd of the Condition of his Affairs in thoſe Parts. The Arch-Biſhop readily waited upon the King, and freely ſpoke his Opinion in ſeveral Matters; but one prophetical Diſcovery he made concerning *Cromwell*, is worthy of Notice. He declar'd him the moſt dangerous Enemy he had; who, tho' at firſt of mean Rank and Uſe, wou'd ſoon climb higher.

Williams's *Opinion of* Cromwell.

I knew him, ſaid he, *at* Buckden, *but never knew his Religion; being a common Spokeſman for* Sectaries, *and maintain'd their Part with Stubbornneſs. He never diſcours'd as if he were pleas'd with your Majeſty, and your great Officers; and indeed he loves none that are more than his* Equals. *Your Majeſty did him but Juſtice in refuſing his Petition againſt Sir* Thomas Steward *of the Iſle of* Ely; *but he takes them all for his Enemies that wou'd not let him undo his beſt Friend; and above all that live, I think he is the moſt mindful of an Injury. He talks openly,* ‘*That it is fit ſome ſhou'd act more vigorouſly againſt your Forces, and bring your Perſon into the Power of the* Parliament.’ *He hates the Earl of* Eſſex, *becauſe he ſays,* ‘*He is but half an Enemy to your Majeſty, and has done you more Favour than Harm.*’ *His Fortunes are broken, that it is impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt, much leſs ſatisfy his Ambition, but by your Majeſty's Bounty, or by the Ruin of us all in a common Confuſion. In ſhort, every Beaſt has ſome evil Properties; but* Cromwell *has the Properties of all evil Beaſts. My humble Motion is, That either you wou'd win him to you by Promiſes of fair Treatment, or catch him by ſome Stratagem, and cut him ſhort.* All which the King receiv'd with a gracious Smile, but made no Reply; yet it ſeems this made ſuch an Impreſſion upon him, that he was heard to ſay, *I would ſome would do me the good Service to bring* Cromwell *to me alive or dead*, as Biſhop *Hacket* aſſures us.

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Preparations to a Treaty.

But now the chief Thoughts of the King and Court were concerning the deſign'd Treaty, which thoſe about his Majeſty were generally forward to advance. Thoſe in the Parliament were more divided, as to their Intentions that Way: They who deſir'd a Treaty, hop'd by that Means to put an End to the deep Deſign of new modelling the Army, and to prevent the Encreaſe of the innumerable Diviſions, and abominable Factions in Religion. They who were againſt a Treaty, becauſe they were againſt any Peace, plainly diſcern'd, That they ſhou'd not be able to perfect their Deſign upon the Army, and effect many other neceſſary Projects, till this much-deſir'd Treaty were at an End; and therefore they all agreed to give ſome Concluſion to it, and reſolv'd that there ſhould be a Treaty; but under ſtrict Limitations, from which their Commiſſioners ſhould not recede or be diverted. Accordingly they nominated twelve for the two Houſes, and ten for the Parliament of *Scotland*, and nam'd *Uxbridge*, a Place within the Parliament Quarters, for the Treaty; which Treaty was to be finiſh'd within twenty Days after the Time it ſhould commence. They appointed the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Denbigh*, of the Houſe of Peers; and of the Commons, the Lord *Wainman*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *St. John*, Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Mr. *Whitelock*, Mr. *Crew*, and Mr. *Prideaux*; and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Lowdon*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, the Lord *Maitland*, now Earl of *Lauderdale*, the Lord *Balmerino*, Sir *Archibald Johnſon*, Sir *Charles Erskin*, Sir *John Smith*, Mr. *Dundas*, Mr. *Kenedy*, and Mr. *Berclay*; together with Mr. *Henderſon*, in Matters only relating to the Church. For all which they deſir'd a ſafe Conduct of the King, with a certain Retinue, amounting to a Hundred and Eight Perſons, incluſive with Themſelves.

The Parliament Commiſſioners.

To none of theſe the King took any Exception, but ſign'd their Paſs, and ſent Word to the Houſes, that he accepted of the Treaty, and the Place, and ſo nominated, as Commiſſioners for himſelf, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Kingſton*, the Earl of *Chicheſter*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Seymour*, the Lord *Hatton* Comptroller of the King's Houſhold, the Lord *Colepeper* Maſter of the Rolls, Sir *Edward Hyde* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Edward Nicolas* principal Secretary of State, Sir *Richard Lane* Lord-Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, Sir *Thomas Gardiner* his Majeſty's Solicitor-General, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* Attorney of his Court of Wards, Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, and Mr. *Jeoffry Palmer*, together with Dr. *Stuart*, in Matters relating to Religion, and likewiſe with a Retinue amounting to a Hundred and Eight, the ſame Number of Perſons with the other. In the Retinue on both Sides, there were ſeveral noted Divines, beſides Dr. *Stuart* and Mr. *Henderſon*, who were nam'd as Commiſſioners; as on the King's Side, Dr. *Sheldon*, afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; Dr. *Lany*, afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*; Dr. *Fern*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*; Dr. *Potter*, Dean of *Worceſter*, and Provoſt of *Queens-College Oxon*, and the celebrated Dr. *Hammond*; all Chaplains to his Majeſty. On the Parliament Side, were Mr. *Marſhall*, a Country Parſon in *Eſſex*, an eminent Preacher, and chief Chaplain to the Army; Mr. *Vines* of *Warwickſhire*, Mr. *Cheynel* of *Suſſex*, and two or three more, that bore no Part in the Diſputes. Between both Sides, there was this eſſential Difference; That whereas the King inveſted his Commiſſioners, or any ten of them, with a full Power, not only to *Treat*, but to *Conclude* a Peace, obliging himſelf in the Commiſſion to ratify whatſoever they ſhould do; The two Houſes inveſted Theirs with a Power only to *Treat*, and under the ſevereſt Limitation, reſerving the *Concluſion* wholly to Themſelves.

The King's Commiſſioners.

TREATY II. *at* Uxbridge.

2. After ſome Difficulties conquer'd in the Houſes, concerning the Titles of the Royaliſts who were to have their ſafe Conduct, on the 30th Day of *January*, all the Commiſſioners met at *Uxbridge*, fifteen Miles from *London*, with the great Expectations of the whole Kingdom. The Commiſſioners had their ſeveral Quarters; thoſe for the King had all their Retinue on the South Side of the Town, and thoſe for the Parliament on the North Side; the beſt Inn on the one Side was the Rendezvous for the King's Commiſſioners, and the beſt on the other Side of the Street, was for thoſe of the Parliament. There was a good Houſe at the End of the Town, belonging to Sir *John Bennet*, which was provided for the Treaty, where was a fair Room in the Middle, handſomly fitted up for the Commiſſioners to ſit in; a large ſquare Table being plac'd, with other Conveniences for the Commiſſioners of both Parties; and on either End of this great Room, there were ſeveral other Chambers for thoſe on either Side to retire, and conſult upon all Occaſions: And there being good Stairs at either End of the Houſe, they never went thro' each other's Quarters, nor met but in the great Room. Here they firſt agreed upon ſome certain Rules; as particularly, 'They firſt enter upon the Matter of *Religion*, and Treat three whole Days upon that Subject, without any other; and if all Differences as to that were not adjuſted in thoſe Days, they ſhould proceed to the next Point, which was the *Militia*, and obſerve the ſame Method in that; and from thence paſs to the Buſineſs of *Ireland*; which three Points being ſettled, they believ'd others would be more eaſily compos'd; and after thoſe nine Days were paſs'd, they were to go round again upon the ſeveral Subjects, as long as the twenty Days ſhou'd continue.

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Rules for the Commiſſioners.

They had ſcarce enter'd upon Buſineſs, when the King's Commiſſioners were diſturb'd and affronted at the ſeditious Behaviour of one Mr. *Chriſtopher Love*, a young zealous Preacher, who got into the Pulpit on *Thurſday* the Market Day, where before a great Auditory, he vented ſuch a furious Diſcourſe againſt the King's Commiſſioners, that the next Day they thought themſelves oblig'd to give in a Paper of Complaints, *viz.* 'That there was yerſterday a Sermon preach'd by one Mr. *Love*, in which were many Paſſages very ſcandalous to his Majeſty's Perſon, and derogatory to his Honour, ſtirring up the People againſt this Treaty, and incenſing them againſt the Commiſſioners Themſelves, ſaying, *That they were not to expect any Good from the Treaty; for that they came from* Oxford *with Hearts full of Blood, and that there was as great a Difference between this Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell; and that they only amus'd the People with Expectations of Peace, till they were able to do them ſome fatal Miſchief.*' The Parliamen-Commiſſioners anſwer'd, That Mr. *Love* was none of their Retinue, nor came thither by any Privity of theirs: And upon the Reply of the King's Commiſſioners, that they muſt inſiſt on their former Deſire concerning the Sermon preach'd by Mr. *Love*, and muſt refer the way of doing Juſtice to their Lordſhips; they made further Anſwer, 'That they wou'd repreſent it to the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter*, who wou'd proceed therein according to Juſtice:' But no Juſtice was ever done in that Matter. This is the ſame *Love*, who afterwards turn'd againſt the Parliament and *Cromwell*, and from them receiv'd the due Reward of an ungovernable Spirit, as will appear in its proper Place.

They are diſturb'd by Love *a Preacher.*

They treat firſt upon Religion.

Upon their Entrance on the firſt Point concerning *Religion*, the King's Commiſſioners firſt preſented a Paper, acquainting the other, That they were willing to come to theſe following Conceſſions: '1. That Freedom ſhou'd be left to all Perſons of what Opinion ſoever in Matters of *Ceremony*, and that all the Penalties of the Laws concerning them ſhould be ſuſpended. 2. That the Biſhops ſhould exerciſe no Act of *Jurisdiction* or *Ordination*, without the Council and Conſent of the *Presbyters*, who ſhould be choſen by the learnedeſt and graveſt of the Miniſters of each proper Dioceſe. 3. That the *Biſhop* ſhould keep his conſtant Reſidence, unleſs his Majeſty's Service, old Age or Infirmities ſhould hinder him, and ſhould preach every *Sunday* in ſome Church within his Dioceſe. 4. That the *Ordination* of Miniſters ſhould be publickly, ſolemnly, and ſtrictly obſerv'd, both with Relation to their Sufficiency, and other Qualifications; and that the *Biſhop* ſhould not receive any into *Holy Orders*, without the Conſent of the major Part of the *Presbyters*. 5. That competent Maintenances ſhould be eſtabliſh'd by Parliament to ſuch *Vicarages* as belong to *Biſhops*, *Deans* and *Chapters*, out of the *Impropriations*, according to the Value of the ſeveral Pariſhes. 6. That no Man ſhould be capable of two *Parſonages*, or *Vicarages*, with Cure of Souls. 7. That towards the ſettling of the publick Peace, a hundred thouſand Pounds ſhould be rais'd by Parliament, out of the Eſtates of *Biſhops*, *Deans*, and *Chapters*, as King and Parliament ſhall think fit; without the Alienation of the ſaid Lands. 8. That the Juriſdiction in Cauſes *Teſtamentary*, *Decimals*, and *Matrimonials*, be ſettled as ſeem'd beſt to King and Parliament: And likewiſe that Acts ſhould be paſs'd for regulating of *Viſitations*, and againſt immoderate *Fees* in *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, Abuſes by frivolous *Excommunications*, and all other Abuſes in Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions, as ſhou'd be agreed on by King and Parliament. And if the Parliament's Commiſſioners would inſiſt upon any Thing they thought neceſſary for *Religion*, that the King's Commiſſioners would very willingly apply Themſelves to the Conſideration thereof.

But it was not the Deſign of the Parliament to reform *Religion* in the Church of *England*, but wholly to reduce it to their new Model; and therefore their Commiſſioners return'd no Anſwer to this Paper, but put in one of their own, agreeable to the Propoſitions they had preſented to the King in *November* laſt. The Subſtance of their Demands was, 'That the Bill for taking away all *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops*, &c. be paſs'd, according to the third Propoſition: That the Ordinances concerning the Calling and Sitting of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, be confirm'd by Act of

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‘of Parliament: That the *Directory* for publick Worſhip, already paſs'd by both Houſes, and the *Propoſitions* concerning Church-Government annex'd, be enacted as Part of Reformation of *Religion* and *Uniformity*, according to the firſt Propoſition: That his Majeſty take the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and that the *Covenant* be enjoyn'd to be taken, according to the firſt Propoſition.’ And to this Paper they adjoyn'd another with theſe Heads: ‘That the ordinary way of dividing Chriſtians into diſtinct *Congregations*, and moſt expedient for Edification, is by the reſpective *Bonnds* of their Dwellings: That the Miniſter, and Church Officers, in each *Congregation*, ſhould joyn in the Government of the Church, as ſhould be eſtabliſh'd by Parliament: That many particular *Congregations* ſhould be under one *Presbyterial* Government: That the Church be govern'd by *Congregational*, *Claſſical*, and *Synodical* Aſſemblies; which laſt ſhould conſiſt both of *Provincial* and *National* Aſſemblies, to be eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament.

Theſe occaſion'd great Diſputes on both Sides, and ſeveral Queſtions were put by the King's Commiſſioners, to know the Meaning of thoſe new Terms, which were in the *Directory*, and ſome ambiguous Expreſſions in the *Covenant*; to which no poſitive Anſwer could be given, becauſe ſome of them had ſeveral Meanings, and were made with a Deſign not to be clearly underſtood. The Point of Epiſcopacy, which the *Scots* ſo eagerly deſir'd to have aboliſh'd, took up much Time in Debate between the Divines on both Sides, and particularly Dr. *Stuart* and Mr. *Henderſon*. Thoſe for the Parliament inſiſted on the Inconveniences that ſort of Government had produc'd in the Nation, and the Neceſſity of removing and deſtroying it at this preſent Juncture of Affairs. The other Side urg'd three Reaſons to the contrary, ‘First, from the Point of *Perjury*, the King having taken a ſolemn Oath to maintain the Rights of the Church: Next, in Point of *Sacrilege*, by the Alienation of Things offer'd to God; and Laſtly, from the Point of *Divine Right*, Epiſcopacy having been accounted an Inſtitution of Chriſt, by the moſt Learned of all Ages.’ And then they put them to prove that it was really unlawful, or *Anti-Chriſtian*, as their Writers had call'd it; and laſtly deſir'd to know of them, ‘When, and where any National Church, ſince the Apoſtles Time, was ever govern'd without it.’ Impartial Men thought the King's Divines to be ſuperior to the other, both in Argument and Genius; but ſtill no Abatement cou'd be made on the other Side: Only it was diſcover'd, that if the King would ſatisfy the *Scots* in that Point, they would not concern themſelves in any of the other Demands. Yet after all, the Lord *Clarendon* ſays, The Parliament took none of the Points in Controverſy leſs to Heart, or were leſs united in any, than in what concern'd the Church.

Secondly, Upon the Militia.

3. The next Subject of the Treaty was the Militia, which began to be debated on the 4th of *February*, and in which the Parliament Commiſſioners were as high as in the other, receding nothing from the Propoſitions before ſent to the King: For Firſt they demanded, ‘That the Subjects of *England* and *Scotland* might be armed, and trained, as the reſpective Parliaments ſhould think fit: That an Act be paſs'd for ſetling the Admiralty and Forces at Sea; and Monies granted for their Maintenance, as the Parliament of each Kingdom ſhould think fit: An Act for ſetling all Forces by Sea and Land, in Commiſſioners to be nam'd by the Parliaments, and ſuch as both Kingdoms might confide in, who were to ſuppreſs all contrary Powers, and act by the Directions of the Parliaments: That the Militia of the City of *London*, and within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, be in the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council-Men: That the *Tower* of *London* may be in the Government of the City, and chief Officers to be nominated and removeable by the Common-Council: Laſtly, That the Citizens, or Forces of *London*, might not be drawn out of the City, without their own Conſent; and that the Example by them made in theſe diſtracted Times, might be no Precedent for the future.

The King's Commiſſioners made a full Reply to theſe Demands; and when Four of them, who were eminent in the Knowledge of the Law, *Lane*, *Gardiner*, *Bridgeman*, and *Palmer*, made them appear to be without any Pretence of Law or Juſtice, and aſſerted the Militia to be veſted in the King by Law; they never alledg'd any other Argument, than the poſitive Determination of the Parliament, which had declar'd the Right of it to be in Them, from which they could not recede: Upon which Subject Sir *Edward Hyde* and Mr. *Whitelock* had ſome Diſputes, but to no Effect. However, the King's Commiſſioners, to ſhew their Readineſs for an Accommodation, propos'd, ‘That for ſeven Years, the Perſons to be intruſted with the Militia, might be nominated between Them, or an equal Number, the one Half by the King, and the other Half by the Parliament; and all Thoſe to take an Oath for the due Diſcharge of that Truſt; ſo their Security being mutual, neither could be ſuppos'd to violate the Agreement, the whole Kingdom being Eye-Witneſſes of their Failing.’ But theſe met with no better Succeſs, than their Conceſſions concerning the Church and Religion.

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Thirdly, Concerning Ireland.

4. The third and laſt Subject of the Treaty was, the Buſineſs of *Ireland*, upon which they enter'd on the 7th of *February*; and with great Aſſurance by the Parliament Commiſſioners, who, like the greateſt Part of the Nation, thought the King highly culpable in that Point. They Rhetorically laid open all the Tranſactions of the *Iriſh* Rebellion, ‘How the King had committed that War to the two Houſes of Parliament, who had levy'd great Sums for that Service; and that he had conſented to an Act for the Encouragement of Adventurers, &c. in which Act he had put it out of his Power to grant any Peace or Ceſſation, or Pardon to thoſe Rebels, without Conſent of Parliament; which caus'd many to bring in conſiderable Sums; and theſe, by the Bleſſing of God, had had ſuch good Effects, that the Rebels were worſted in all Encounters, and probably the Rebellion had been extinguiſh'd before this Time, had not the King, contrary to his Promiſe and Obligation by that Act, made a Ceſſation with thoſe execrable People, when they were not able to continue the War, and had call'd over many of thoſe Forces, which the Houſes had ſent againſt the *Iriſh*, to return and fight againſt Them: By which Means his Proteſtant Subjects of that Kingdom were in Danger to be deſtroy'd, and the whole Nation to be poſſeſs'd by the Papiſts.’ Upon this Head they expatiated with all the invidious Inſinuations they could invent, to make the People believe, that he had really favour'd that Rebellion; and expreſly demanded, ‘That the King would immediately declare that Ceſſation to be void; that he would proſecute the War with the utmoſt Extremity againſt thoſe Rebels; and that the Act of Parliament for their Reduction might be executed without any Impediment.

This Charge conſiſting of ſuch Particulars, as moſt People believ'd, but few underſtood, Sir *Edward Hyde*, who knew the Secrets of that Affair, undertook the King's Vindication, and Hiſtorically diſplay'd the ‘Juſtice and Piety of the King's Proceedings, and the inevitable Neceſſity of the Ceſſation; to which his Majeſty had been driven by the utmoſt Injuries and Hardſhips, put upon him by the Parliament; and yet that Ceſſation alone had actually preſerv'd the Proteſtants in *Ireland* from imminent Ruin.’ He farther inform'd them, ‘That tho' the King had been compell'd to a Ceſſation, he could not be prevail'd with to make a Peace with the *Iriſh* Rebels, from whom he had admitted of Commiſſioners; but when he found their Propoſitions inconſiſtent with the Security of his Proteſtant Subjects there, he totally rejected them, and diſmiſs'd the Commiſſioners with ſevere Animadverſions. And tho' he had prolong'd the Ceſſation, in hopes of being at laſt able to Chaſtiſe that odious Rebellion; yet, if the Parliament would give him ſufficient Caution, that the War ſhould be vigorouſly proſecuted againſt the *Iriſh*, by ſending over ſufficient Supplies, he would put an End to that Ceſſation, without declaring it to be void; which otherwiſe he could not do, either with Juſtice, or with any Effect.’ The Conviction that this Apology carry'd along with it, put the Parliament Commiſſioners viſibly out of Countenance, and into a Paſſion; but they made no other Reply, than, ‘That they were ſorry to find that deteſtable Rebellion had receiv'd ſo much Favour, as to have Commiſſioners from it admitted into the King's Preſence; and wonder'd there ſhould be any Scruple made of declaring a Ceſſation void, that was expreſly againſt an Act of Parliament.’ This being urg'd with many pathetical Expreſſions againſt the Murthers and Cruelties in the Beginning of that Rebellion, the King's Commiſſioners were provok'd to a little more Sharpneſs than uſual, and to tell them, ‘That they wiſh'd it were in the King's Power to puniſh all Rebellion, according as it deſerv'd; but ſince it was otherwiſe, he muſt condeſcend to *Treaties*, and to all other *Expedients*, neceſſary to reduce his Rebellious Subjects to their Duty and Obedience.

All to no Effect.

5. Thus Nine of the Days limited paſs'd over, and again Nine more, without any Advance on the Parliament Side, or any Ground gain'd, tho' much yielded on the other. Many Speeches were made, many Papers were deliver'd, and mighty Pains taken on both Sides, but all to no Effect; ſo that the Proſpect of Peace was very ſmall, and inconſiderable. As to the preſent Condition of the Parliament, there were many ſtill who deſir'd to have Peace, without any Alteration in the Government, ſo that they might be ſure of Indemnity, and Security for

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what was paſt: The *Scots* inſiſted upon the whole Government of the Church, but ſeem'd willing to refer all other Matters to the King: But there was another Party, now encreaſing, that would have no Peace upon any Conditions, but reſolv'd to change the whole Frame of the Government both in State and Church. There was likewiſe very little Truſt and Communication among the Parliament Commiſſioners, a few of them being Sipes upon the reſt; and tho' the Majority of them did heartily deſire a Peace, even upon any Terms, yet none of them had the Courage openly to recede from the moſt extravagant Demand. Beſides, the Lord *Clarendon* gives us Reaſons to believe, That if the King had yielded to all that was then propos'd, they would likewiſe have inſiſted upon all they had formerly demanded; even the Delivering up to their Mercy a great many of the moſt Noble and Loyal Perſons in the Nation; a Difficulty too great to be conquer'd in the Worſt of Times.

The Character and Diſpoſition of the Commiſſioners.

But to ſay a Word or two of theſe Commiſſioners, according to the Method of that noble Hiſtorian, who found that they were far from being alike in their Diſpoſitions or Inclinations. The four Lords began now to be ſenſible of their own Ruin, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, according to his uſual Language, freely call'd the Parliament-Leaders, *a Pack of Knaves and Villains*, and acknowledg'd his notorious Miſmanagement to Sir *Edward Hyde*; and joyn'd with others in a Romantick Propoſal, 'That the King ſhould grant all that was demanded of him, and by thoſe Conceſſions diſappoint his Enemies, recover all, and become a greater Monarch than ever.' But this Earl, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, were ſo totally without Intereſt in the Parliament or Country, that their Diſpoſitions were of no Moment to the Publick; and their Fear of the prevailing Faction was ſo much greater than their Hatred, that tho' they wiſh'd them rather deſtroy'd than the King, they had rather the King, and his Poſterity, ſhould be deſtroy'd, than that *Winton* ſhould be taken from the One, or *Hatfield* from the other. The proud Earl of *Northumberland* could not look upon the Deſtruction of Monarchy, and the approaching Contempt of the Nobility, with any Pleaſure; yet the Repulſe he had once receiv'd from the King, and the Eſcape he had made from the Parliament, had wrought ſo far upon him, that he reſolv'd no more to depend upon the one, or provoke the other; and was willing to ſee the King's Power ſo much reſtrain'd, as not to do him any Harm. The Earl of *Denbigh*, a Perſon of deeper Parts, who ſaw farther into the Deſigns of the prevailing Party, than either of the other Three, and as much as any deteſted thoſe Deſigns; yet the Pride of his Nature, not inferior to the Proudeſt; and the Conſciouſneſs of his Ingratitude to the King, in ſome Reſpects ſuperior to the moſt oblig'd Perſons, kept him from quitting the Company with whom he had convers'd ſo long. Tho' he had receiv'd the moſt ſignal Affronts from them, and knew he ſhould never be more employ'd by them, yet he look'd upon the King's Condition to be utterly deſperate, and that he would be compell'd at laſt to ſubmit to worſe Conditions than any yet offer'd to him.

As to the Commiſſioners of the Houſe of Commons; Sir *Harry Vane*, Mr. *Saint John*, and Mr. *Prideaux*, were all three mortal Enemies to a Peace, and were no better than Spies upon the reſt, who did in their Hearts deſire a Peace, and upon better Conditions than they durſt own: Yet ſtill there were not Two of them who had intire Confidence in each other, or who durſt communicate their Thoughts together. The Debate in the Houſe concerning the *Self-denying Ordinance* had rais'd ſo many Jealouſies, that they ſcarce knew what any Man deſign'd to do. *Hollis*, who was the freeſt among them in owning his Hatred to the *Independent* Party, and no otherwiſe lov'd the Presbyterians, than as they conſtituted a Party ſufficient to oppoſe the other, did foreſee that many of thoſe who appear'd moſt reſolute to joyn with him, would gradually fail him purely for want of Courage, in which he Himſelf abounded. *Whitelock*, who had generally concurr'd with them, without any Inclinations to the Perſons, or their Principles, had the ſame Reaſon ſtill not to ſeparate from them. His Eſtate lay all in their Quarters, and he could not bear the Thoughts of being undone; tho' to his Friends, who were the King's Commiſſioners, he ſhew'd his old Openneſs, and his Deteſtation of all the Proceedings of his Party, yet could not leave them. *Pierpoint* and *Crew*, who were both Men of great Fortunes, and had always been more moderate, and very inclinable to a Peace, appear'd now to have contracted more Sourneſs than formerly; and were more reſerv'd towards the King's Commiſſioners than was expected; and in all Conferences poſitively inſiſted, 'That the King muſt yield to whatſoever was required in the three Demands.' They all valu'd Themſelves for procuring a Treaty againſt ſo much Oppoſition, and ſeem'd to believe, That the King's Commiſſioners would yield upon the very ſame Argument, and Expectation, that had been offer'd by the Earl of *Pembroke*.

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6. After eighteen Days had been ſpent in the three grand Propoſitions, in which Space the King loſt the important Town of *Shrewsbury*, and the Treaty being limited to twenty Days; the King's Commiſſioners deſir'd to ſpend the two remaining Days in giving fuller Satisfaction upon thoſe Heads, and in treating for an Expedient of Peace, by disbanding all Armies, and by his Majeſty's going in Perſon to *Weſtminſter*: And for that End they earneſtly urg'd, 'That the Time of Treaty might be prolong'd.' To which the Parliament Commiſſioners gave in their Anſwer, 'That till they had Satisfaction in their three Demands, concerning *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, they cou'd receive no Propoſition from his Majeſty, nor give any Addition of Time.' By the Papers in this Treaty it manifeſtly appears, that the King's Commiſſioners, tho' they cou'd not go into the literal Demands on the other Side, yet they made as many Conceſſions towards granting ſome Equivalent, or other Expedient, as cou'd be expected from Reaſon or Honour: But the Parliament Commiſſioners were ty'd up to rigid Rules, and ſeem'd to have no Power of receding from the very Letter of the Propoſitions they brought along with them: As if they were only Meſſengers to report the Senſe, and the very Words of them that ſent them, rather than Commiſſioners to argue and determine upon the Arguments of others, and their own Judgments upon them. So that when the King's Commiſſioners complain'd of great Hardſhip, for want of Time allow'd them to finiſh the Work, they declar'd, 'That no good Iſſue cou'd be expected from the Treaty, or Inducement for the Parliament to grant longer Time, when not one of the Parliament's Propoſitions was granted by the King during the whole Time of the Treaty.

The Concluſion of the Treaty.

The whole concluded with the Delivery of a Paper by the King's Commiſſioners, which contain'd the Subſtance of all that had been tranſacted in the Treaty, and cloſely obſerved, 'That after an inteſtine War of ſo many Years, begun, as was pretended, *for the Defence and Vindication of the Laws of the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject*, in a Treaty of twenty Days, they had not made one ſingle Demand, that, by the Laws of the Land, they had the leaſt Title to make; but only inſiſted on ſuch Particulars as were directly againſt Law, and the eſtabliſh'd Government of the Kingdom: And that on the other Side, much more had been offer'd to them for the obtaining of Peace, than they cou'd require either with Juſtice or Reaſon:' With which they were ſo offended, that for ſome time they refus'd to receive the Paper, upon Pretence, *That the Time for the Treaty was expired*, it being then after twelve of the Clock at Night of the laſt Day: But finding it wou'd be no leſs publick, and be a Reflection upon them if rejected, they were content to receive it; and ſo parted a little before the break of Day. Thus ended the famous Treaty of *Uxbridge*, which had been to the infinite Fatigue of the King's Commiſſioners; the Particulars of which were ſhortly after publiſh'd in Print by the King's Command, and never contradicted by the Parliament. This was immediately ſucceeded by another Treatiſe call'd *Conſiderations touching the late Treaty*, and publiſh'd by the King's Printer; in which was prov'd that the Parliament never deſign'd a Peace, from theſe four Particulars: 'Firſt, their Indiſpoſition and Averſion from treating: Secondly, their impotent and imperfect Qualification of their Commiſſioners to treat: Thirdly, their inſolent Expoſtulations and Demands in the Treaty: And Fourthly, their inexorable Deafneſs, againſt all Enlargement, Prorogation, or Reviving of the Treaty.

Cenſures upon it.

There have been various Reflections and Opinions, as to the Breaking up of this unſucceſsful Treaty; and a late ingenious Writer of Memoirs relates it as a Secret in Hiſtory, that the Occaſion of it was a fatal Letter from the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* in *Scotland*, who, as is before hinted, had in the Beginning of this Month intirely defeated the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, and the next Day ſent an Expreſs of it to the King; wherein he declar'd his utter Averſion to all Treaties with his Rebel Parliament in *England*; and among other Things aſſur'd him, *That he ſhould be able within a few Months to march into* England, *to his Majeſty's Aſſiſtance, with a brave Army.* This is ſuppos'd to have changed the King's Intentions of complying with the hard Demands of his Parliament; and the Story has been credited by many Perſons, who ſeem too ready to enquire and ſearch into Secrets. But without examining the Inconſiſtency of it with the Account of this Treaty given by the Lord *Clarendon*, and the beſt Writers; we ſhall return an Anſwer in the Words of the Author of *The Compleat Hiſtory of* England, whoſe Opinion may have the more Weight, becauſe never thought partial to the King's Cauſe. 'Suppoſing ſuch a Letter was written, tho' this Relator pretends to have ſeen nothing but a Copy under another Hand; yet it ſeems to be no Inference that the King himſelf was the Cauſe of the breaking off the

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‘ Treaty, when the Denial of the leaſt Conceſſions, and e‘ven of a few farther Days, was the ſole Act of the Parlia‘ment Commiſſioners. And yet had the Rupture been made ‘ſolely at the King's Command, he wou'd have ſtood juſtify‘ed by all the Laws of Conſcience and Honour. For, to ‘have yielded to all their Propoſitions, as they inſiſted, with‘out the leaſt Mitigation of them, wou'd as effectually have ‘diveſted him of his Crown and Dignity, as they did after‘wards deprive him of his Liberty and Life.’ And he thus concludes, ‘ It had been more glorious in him to reſolve, ‘ *That Monarchy ſhou'd not be murder'd, before the King.*

The State of the King's Affairs.

VIII. 1. The King's Affairs had now a very unpleaſing Aſpect, eſpecially ſince the Loſs of *Shrewsbury*, which was by Treachery deliver'd up to Colonel *Langhorn* and *Mitton*, before the breaking up of this Treaty; by which the King's former Intercourſe with his Loyal Subjects of *North-Wales* was not only hinder'd, but a preſent Stop was put to an *Aſſociation*, then near finiſhing, between the Counties of *Salop*, *Flint*, *Cheſter*, *Worceſter*, &c. to the great Prejudice of his Majeſty's Cauſe in thoſe Parts of the Kingdom. But to make ſome little Recompence for this great Loſs, about the Beginning of *March*, *Pomfret* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire* was reliev'd by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who there defeated the Lord *Fairfax*'s Forces that lay before it; and in his March thither he defeated a great Party of the Parliament Forces commanded by Colonel *Roſſiter*, near *Melton Mowbray* in *Leiceſterſhire*; in both which Actions he ſhew'd himſelf a valiant Commander.

He ſends the Prince of Wales *into the* Weſt.

The King having now conſider'd his own Condition, and the Danger of having himſelf and his Heir embark'd any longer in the ſame Bottom, thought fit to ſend the Prince of *Wales* into the *Weſt*, to perfect the *Aſſociation* which had been begun in the End of the laſt Summer; and in thoſe Counties to advance ſuch further Forces, as might not only ſerve for the Defence of themſelves, but give alſo ſome reaſonable Increaſe to his own Army. So that on the fifth of *March* he ſet forwards towards the City of *Briſtol*, accompany'd by the Lord *Colepeper* and Sir *Edward Hyde*, as his principal Counſellors, and ſome of the chief Gentry of the *Weſt*, who were of greateſt Authority in thoſe Parts. And now the King, having adviſ'd with ſuch of the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, as had aſſembled at *Oxford*, from the laſt Meeting in *November* after their Prorogation, to the tenth of *March*, and being reſolv'd for Action, diſmiſs'd them to their ſeveral Counties.

The Independents *Proceedings in the Houſe of Commons.*

2. The melancholy Concern that poſſeſs'd the Court and King's Party at *Oxford*, was conſiderably reliev'd by the great Diſcontents and Animoſities that reign'd in the Houſes at *Weſtminſter*; which much retarded the Advantages they had receiv'd from united Counſels. As ſoon as the Commiſſioners were return'd from *Uxbridge*, the *Independent* Party moſt vigorouſly preſs'd on the *Self-denying Ordinance*, ſo that they might proceed towards modelling their new Army, by removing all their old Officers; during the Suſpenſion of which, no Care was taken for providing for the Troops they had, or making Recruits, which wou'd be neceſſary for taking the Field. They were now enter'd into the Month of *March*, which was us'd as a ſtrong Argument by both Parties; the one urging, from the Seaſon of the Year, ‘ The Neceſſity of haſtening their Re‘ſolution for the paſſing the Ordinance, that the Army ‘might be ready for marching;’ the other preſſing, ‘ That ‘ſo vaſt an Alteration ought not to be attempted, when ‘there was ſo ſhort a Time to compleat it: That there ‘wou'd be apparent Danger, that the Enemy wou'd find ‘them without any Army fit to take the Field;’ and therefore deſir'd, ‘ That all Things might ſtand as they were ‘till the End of next Campaign; when they might re‘ſume the Expedient, if they ſaw Cauſe.’ The other Party cry'd loud againſt the Delay; and declar'd, ‘ That that ‘was the Way to make the War laſt; for if manag'd as it ‘had been, they ſhou'd be found at the End of the next ‘Campaign in the ſame Condition as at preſent; whereas, ‘if the Ordinance was paſs'd, they doubted not but they ‘ſhou'd proceed ſo vigorouſly, that the next Campaign ‘ſhou'd put an End to the War.’ The Debate continu'd many Days in the Houſe of Commons with great Paſſion and ſharp Reflections upon Things and Perſons, whilſt the Peers poorly look'd on, and attended the Reſolution below. Of the *Presbyterian* Party, which warmly oppos'd the Ordinance, the chief were *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, *Glyn*, *Waller*, *Long*, and others, who believ'd their Party much ſuperior in Number; as the *Independent* Party was led by *Nathaniel Fiennes*, *Vane*, *Cromwell*, *Haſlerig*, *Martin*, and others, who ſpoke more and warmer than they that oppos'd them. Of the Houſe of Peers, there were none thought to be of this laſt Party, but the inveterate Lord *Say*; all the reſt being ſuppos'd to be of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Party; and ſo it was judg'd impoſſible that the Ordinance ſhou'd ever paſs the Houſe of Lords, tho' it ſhou'd be carry'd by the Commons: But they were in this, as in many other Things, miſtaken and diſappointed; for many, who had ſat ſilent, and been thought to have been of one Party, appear'd to be of the other.

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When the Debate grew ripe, and a Report was call'd for, Mr. *Tate* the Chair-man aroſe with a great Bundle of Papers in his Hand, who being a zealous Presbyterian, little ſuſpected the Buſineſs wou'd turn to the Ruin of his Party: Therefore deſiring firſt to ſpeak a few Words, deliver'd a Parable, ‘ concerning a Man over-run with Botches and ‘Boils, in ſeveral Parts of his Body, who conſulting with ‘a Phyſician for Cure, his Doctor told him, *He could give ‘him Plaiſters to cure any one Part of his Body; but what‘ſoever was heal'd in one Member, would break out in ano‘ther, for the whole Habit of the Body was corrupted; and ‘that if he expected Recovery, he muſt procure a better Ha‘bit, by much purging, and new Diet, and then the Ulcers ‘would be heal'd of themſelves.*’ Upon which other Members, who had prepar'd themſelves, declar'd, ‘ That ‘Abroad all their ill Succeſſes were imputed to the Ab‘ſence of Members from Parliament;’ and *Saint John*, *Pierpoint*, *Whitelock* and *Crew*, who had been thought of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Party, appear'd for the Ordinance, declaring, ‘ That they diſcover'd by what they heard A‘broad, and the governing Spirit in the City, that there ‘would be a general Diſſatisfaction in the People, if this ‘Ordinance were not paſs'd.’ Then they flew into a high Admiration of the Earl of *Eſſex*, extoll'd his great Merit, and ſeem'd to fear, ‘ That the War would never be ſo hap‘pily manag'd as under him; or if it were, the Succeſs muſt ‘ſtill be imputed to his forming the Armies, and teaching ‘them to fight.’ By this kind of Rhetorick, and profeſſing to give up their own Wiſhes and Inclinations, purely for Peace and Unity, they ſo far prevail'd, that the Ordinance was paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, and tranſmitted to the Peers for their Conſent; where ſcarce any believ'd it wou'd be obtain'd.

The Self-Denying *Ordinance paſs'd there*

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3. Whatever Expectation there was, that this famous Ordinance, which ſo much affected the Lords, ſhould have been rejected and thrown out by the Peers, it did not take up ſo long a Debate in that Houſe. The Marqueſs of *Argyle* was now arriv'd from *Scotland*, and ſat with the Commiſſioners of that Kingdom, over whom he had a powerful Aſcendent. He was in Matters of Religion, and the Church, purely *Presbyterian*; but in Matters of State, and the preſent War, perfectly *Independent:* He abhorr'd all Thoughts of Peace, and that the King ſhould ever more have the Government, againſt whoſe Perſon, in ſpight of all Obligations, he always retain'd an inveterate Malice. He had founded a cloſe Friendſhip with Sir *Harry Vane*, during his late Stay in *Scotland*; and they both lik'd each others Principles in Government. From the Time of his Arrival at *London*, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners grew leſs zealous in obſtructing the Ordinance, or new modelling the Army: So that after it was brought into the Houſe of Peers, tho' the four ruling Earls, *Eſſex*, *Mancheſter*, *Warwick* and *Denbigh* were to be remov'd by that Ordinance, and no Peer of *England* capable of any Employment, either Military or Civil, yet it found little Oppoſition. So much did the old and ſtale Argument prevail, *That it would be of miſchievous Conſequence to diſſent from what the Houſe of Commons thought neceſſary*, that upon the third Day of *April* it paſs'd the Houſe of Peers: And there remain'd nothing to be done, but the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Surrender of his Commiſſion into the Hands of the Parliament, from whom he had receiv'd it; which was thought neceſſary to be done with the ſame Formality in which he had been inveſted with it. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was now nominated, and declar'd General, tho' the Earl of *Eſſex* made no Haſte to ſurrender his Commiſſion; but at length he did it at a Conference of both Houſes in the *Painted-Chamber*, and withal deliver'd to them a Paper, in which he declar'd, ‘ With what ‘Affection and Fidelity he had ſerv'd them, and as he had ‘often ventur'd his Life for them, ſo he would willingly ‘have loſt it in their Service; and ſince they believ'd that ‘what they had more to do, would be better perform'd by ‘another Man, he ſubmitted to their Judgment, and re‘ſtored their Commiſſion to them, hoping they would find ‘an abler Servant.’ Concluding with ſome Expreſſions which apparently ſhew'd that he did not think he had been well us'd, or that they would be the better for the Change. Thus he left them, and return'd to his own Houſe; whither both Houſes, the next Day, went to attend him, and to return their Thanks for the great Services he had done the Kingdom; which they acknowledg'd with all the Encomiums, and flattering Attributes, that were moſt agreeable to his unfortunate Ambition.

And alſo in the Houſe of Lords.

Thus paſs'd the famous *Self-Denying Ordinance*, by which they did not only caſt off their great Founder, or rather Inſtrument, the Earl of *Eſſex*, but likewiſe the Earl of *Man-*

Many of the Parliaments loſe their Places.

cheſter, the Earl of *Denbigh*, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *William Waller*, Lord *Gray of Grooby*, Major-General *Maſſy*, &c. and in a word, all that whole Body of Men, that firſt began the Rebellion, and Civil Wars in the Kingdom. *Cromwell* himſelf was likewiſe to have loſt his Command; but as ſoon as the Ordinance was paſs'd, and before the Reſignation of the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Ruling Party had caus'd him to be ſent with a Body of Horſe into the *Weſt*, to relieve *Taunton*, that he might be abſent at the Time when the other Officers deliver'd up their Commiſſions. This was quickly obſerv'd; and thereupon Orders were given to require his preſent Attendance in Parliament, and that their new General ſhould ſend ſome Officers to enter upon that Service, which was pretended to be done; and the very Day nam'd by which it was averr'd that he would be in the Houſe. A Rendezvous was then appointed, for the new General to take a View of their Troops, that he might appoint Officers to ſucceed thoſe who had left their Commands by Virtue of this Ordinance; and likewiſe in their Places who gave up their Commands, and refus'd to ſerve in this new Model, who were a great Number of their beſt Commanders. From this Rendezvous the General ſent to the Parliament, 'That they would give 'Leave to Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* to ſtay with him 'for ſome Days, for his better Information, without which 'he ſhould not be able to perform what they expected from 'him.' The Requeſt appearing ſo reaſonable, and being for ſo ſhort a Time, little Oppoſition was made to it: And ſhortly after, by another Letter, he with very much Earneſtneſs deſired, 'That they would allow *Cromwell* to 'ſerve for that Campaign.' Thus they compaſs'd their whole Deſign, by being freed from all thoſe whoſe Affections they knew were not agreeable to theirs, and keeping *Cromwell* in Command; who, in the Name of *Fairfax*, modell'd the Army, and plac'd ſuch Officers as were well known to him, and to no body elſe, and indeed abſolutely govern'd the whole Martial Affairs, as was ſoon known to all Men. And here, as *Whitelock* obſerves, ended the firſt Scene of our Tragick Civil Wars, in the Exit of the brave Earl of *Eſſex*, and many gallant Officers with him; and the King's Party look'd upon the new Army and new Officers with ſuch Contempt, that the *New Model* was by them in Scorn commonly call'd *The New Noddle.*

Cromwell *ſecur'd in his.*

The New Model.

This new modell'd Army was to conſiſt in the whole of twenty one Thouſand Men, namely, of ſix Thouſand Horſe, a Thouſand Dragoons, and fourteen Thouſand Foot: That the Horſe ſhould be divided into ten Regiments, the Dragoons into ten ſingle Troops, and every Regiment of Foot at leaſt to conſiſt of twelve hundred Men; and the whole Charge of the Army to be near forty five Thouſand Pounds a Month, to be rais'd by a proportionable Aſſeſſment throughout the Kingdom. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* being conſtituted General, and being upon his Arrival at *London* conducted to the Houſe of Commons, the Speaker told him, 'That that Houſe, out of the great Experience and 'Confidence they had of his Valour, Conduct and 'Fidelity, had thought fit to confer upon him the great 'Truſt of commanding their Armies in chief;' and giving him Thanks, in the Name of the Houſe, for his many and great Services paſt, encourag'd him 'to go on as he had 'begun, aſſuring him of the Care and Protection of the 'Parliament in the Diſcharge of that weighty Truſt the 'Kingdom had repos'd in him'. In the paſſing his Commiſſion, they made the firſt plain Diſcovery of their Intentions concerning the Perſon of the King: For with great Earneſtneſs and Violence they preſs'd it, and carry'd it, 'That the Care of the Preſervation of his Perſon ſhould be 'left out, and that this Army ſhould go out in the *Name* '*of the Parliament alone*, and not of *King and Parliament*, 'as it was before under the Earl of *Eſſex*:' So that now the Juggle and Maſk being remov'd, they appear'd without their former Arts of Diſſimulation. As to the General himſelf, he was a Man whom both Parties did the more readily agree in, becauſe he was known to be of ſufficient Perſonal Valour, and of no private Deſigns, or deep Foreſight; obſtinate by a natural Melancholy, rather than pertinacious in any Intereſt, and rather free from Baſeneſs, than ambitious of Vain-glory: By all which Qualities, they juſtly believ'd he would be obedient to the Reſolves of his Maſters. The chief Officers under him were Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, Major-General *Skippon*, and Commiſſary-General *Ireton:* The Colonels of the Horſe were *Middleton*, *Sidney*, *Graves*, *Sheffield*, *Vermuden*, *Whaley*, Sir *Mich. Liveſey*, *Fleetwood*, *Roſſiter*, and Sir *Robert Pye:* Thoſe of the Foot were *Crayford*, *Berkley*, *Aldridge*, *Holborn*, *Forteſcue*, *Ingoldsby*, *Montague*, *Pickering*, *Welden*, and *Rainsborow.* Theſe, and other Subalterns, who in new Elections became more degenerate, are complain'd of by *Hollis*, as if all of them were not able to make a Thouſand Pounds a Year in Land; moſt of the Officers of this Army being mean Tradeſmen, Brewers, Taylors, Silver-Smiths, Shoe-makers, and ſuch like Profeſſions. Such were the Men that brought greater Miſeries and Confuſions into the Nation, than ever were felt before.

General Fairfax, *&c.*

Fairfax's *March.*

Crom-well's *Succeſs at* Iſlip-Bridge.

4. The *new Model* being thus effected, General *Fairfax* began his March from *Windſor* on the 30th of *April*, by Orders of the Committees of both Kingdoms, to the Relief of *Taunton*, which had been long beſieg'd by the King's Forces, and reduc'd to great Extremity. But they hearing of the Prince's Advance towards *Oxford*, order'd him to ſtop his March; and by a new Ordinance appointed him to ſend a Party of three Thouſand Foot and fifteen Hundred Horſe to *Taunton*; and that he, and the reſt of his Army, ſhould march back to joyn *Cromwell* and *Brown*, and attend the King's Motions with their united Forces. In the mean Time *Cromwell* had been ſent from *Windſor* with a ſtrong Party, to diſturb the King's Preparations about *Oxford.* He defeated a Brigade of two Thouſand Horſe at *Iſlip-Bridge*, kill'd ſeveral, and took four Hundred Horſes, as alſo two Thouſand Priſoners, with the Queen's Standard. He purſu'd many of them to *Blenchington-Houſe*, four Miles from *Oxford*, where Colonel *Windebank* commanded; who being ſummon'd with all the Threats of a victorious Party, and over-rul'd by his beautiful young Bride, and ſome Ladies that were Viſitants, he deliver'd the Place, with all the Arms and Ammunition, for which, the hopeful young Gentleman, notwithſtanding the Prayers of his Lady, and the Services of his Father, was ſhot to Death againſt *Merton-College-Wall* in *Oxford*; to the great Regret of the King, when he underſtood the Buſineſs, for which he was highly diſpleas'd with Prince *Rupert*.

Goring *comes to the King.*

The King and he divide the Army.

About the ſame Time General *Goring*, now call'd Lord *Goring*, was ſent for by the King out of the *Weſt*, where he had been very riotous, and ungracious to the Inhabitants. He very unwillingly left that Country, but march'd ſo expeditiouſly with his Horſe and Dragoons, that the Night before he got to the King at *Woodſtock*, he ſurpris'd a Horſe Quarter of *Cromwell*'s, and another Party of *Fairfax*'s Horſe, and broke and defeated them with great Slaughter; which gave him great Reputation, and made him exceeding Welcome to the King. The next Day after his Arrival, the King's Army was drawn to a Rendezvous, and conſiſted then of five Thouſand Foot, and above ſix Thouſand Horſe. The King, induc'd by the Perſuaſions of Prince *Rupert* and others, had deſign'd to march Northwards, and fall upon the *Scotch* Army; but after *Goring*'s Conjunction with him, the general Opinion of his Counſellors was for his March into the *Weſt*, as having a much better Proſpect of Succeſs. *Goring* was fond of marching into the *Weſt*, but did not like the Company and Authority of Prince *Rupert*; and that Prince, being ſpurr'd on by the Northern Horſe, was deſirous to march the other Way, and no leſs willing to part from *Goring*; who was to take with him two Thouſand five Hundred Horſe under his Command, which were the beſt in the Army, and with them and the Forces about *Taunton*, hinder the Relief of that Place. This was fatally concluded on the Place, and immediately put in Execution, and the Army divided, contrary to the Senſe of all about the King, except the Prince, and the Northern Officers. Thus an unfortunate Diviſion hapned, when the new Model might probably have been cruſh'd in its Infancy; for if the State of Affairs could have been fully weigh'd, without the leaſt Faction, a Neceſſity lay on the King to have kept all his Forces together, or ſo near, as might have made one Day the Decider of the whole Controverſy: But his Party, wanting Union, and Reſolution, choſe rather to die of a Hectick, than of an Acute Fever.

The King's March.

He goes towards Cheſter.

5. Upon this moſt unfortunate Separation, the King advanc'd firſt to *Eveſham*, and in his Way drew out his Garriſon from *Camden-Houſe*, which had brought no other Benefit to the Publick, than the enriching the licentious Governour, who tyrannically treated the whole Country, and took his Leave of it in wantonly burning that noble Fabrick, which not many Years before had coſt above thirty Thouſand Pounds the building. Within a few Days after the King had left *Eveſham*, it was ſurpris'd by the Enemy, or rather ſtorm'd and taken for want of Men to defend the Works, and the Governour, and all the little Garriſon, made Priſoners. The Loſs of this Place did in Effect cut off all Intercourſe between *Worceſter* and *Oxford:* Nor was it repair'd by the taking of *Hawkesby-Houſe* in *Worceſterſhire*, which the Parliamentarians had ſtrongly fortify'd, and which the King's Army took in two Days, and therein the Governour, and a Hundred and twenty Priſoners, who ſerv'd to redeem thoſe who were loſt at *Eveſham*. And ſo by ſlow and eaſy Marches the Army proſecuted their Way to *Cheſter*. But in *Staffordſhire*, the Lord *Byron*, who was Governour of *Cheſter*, met the King, and inform'd him, That the Enemy, upon the Noiſe

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of his Majeſty's Advance, were drawn off; and ſo there was no more to be done, but to proſecute the Northern Deſign. This was now intended, and the Army upon its March accordingly, when Intelligence was brought the King, That *Fairfax*, having ſent a ſtrong Party to relieve *Taunton*, was himſelf with his Army ſat down before *Oxford*. This News prov'd a little ſhocking, and alter'd his Majeſty's Counſels; but at laſt it was concluded, That the beſt way to draw *Fairfax* from thence, would be to fall upon ſome conſiderable Place poſſeſs'd by the Parliament.

He falls upon Leiceſter,

Leiceſter was a Place of the greateſt Moment in thoſe Parts, in which there was a good Garriſon under the Command of Sir *Robert Pye*; and Prince *Rupert*, who was always pleas'd with any brave Attempt, chearfully joyn'd in the Deſign, and ſent Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* immediately to inveſt it with his Horſe. The next Day, being the laſt of *May*, the whole Army was drawn about the Town, which was of no great Extent, and the Prince having taken a View of it, order'd a Battery to be forthwith rais'd againſt an old high Stone Wall on the South Side of the Place; which, by his own continu'd Preſence, was finiſh'd with ſurpriſing Diligence. Having ſummon'd the Governour in vain, the Battery began to play, and in the Space of four Hours made ſuch a Breach, that it was thought adviſable the ſame Night to make a general Aſſault in ſeveral Places, but principally at this Breach; which was defended with mighty Courage and Reſolution, inſomuch that the King's Forces were repell'd twice with great Loſs and Slaughter, and were reduc'd almoſt to Deſpair: When another Party, on the other Side of the Town, under the Command of Colonel *Page*, ſeconded by a Body of Horſe that came that Day from *Newark*, who putting themſelves on Foot, advanc'd among the reſt with their Swords and Piſtols, enter'd the Town, and made way for their Fellows to follow them: So that, the Aſſault being continu'd all Night, by Break of Day, all the King's Army enter'd the Line. Upon which the Governor, and all the Officers and Soldiers, to the Number of twelve Hundred, threw down their Arms, and became Priſoners of War; while the Conquerors purſu'd their Advantage with the uſual Liberty of Rapine and Plunder, and miſerably ſack'd the whole Town, without any Diſtinction of Perſons or Places; Churches and Hoſpitals, as well as other Houſes, were made a Prey to the enrag'd and greedy Soldier, to the exceeding Regret of the King, who could by no means ſtem this overflowing Torrent. Tho' the Place was well won, becauſe ſo little Time had been ſpent in the gaining it, yet it was not without conſiderable Loſs on the King's Side; there being near two Hundred Soldiers dead upon the Places of Aſſault, particularly Colonel *Saint George*, and others of Note, beſides many more wounded and maimed.

And ſtorms it.

The taking of ſo conſiderable a Place as *Leiceſter*, and in that manner, purely by an Act of great Courage, gave the King's Army a mighty Reputation, and made a terrible Impreſſion upon the Hearts of thoſe at *Weſtminſter*. Great Fears and Diſtruſts aroſe in the Houſes; and ſeveral Members were heard to ſay in their Paſſage, *That there was no Hopes but in the King's Mercy, and that the ſpeedieſt Recourſe to it wou'd be the ſafeſt Expedient.* The Royal Party ſeem'd as good as ſure, *That the Day was their own*; which they made appear, even in *London*, by all publick Signs and Diſcourſes. And the King himſelf, deceiv'd alſo with this Lightning before his Ruin, was much of the ſame Opinion; as appear'd in a Letter written to the Queen a few Days after, in which he us'd this Expreſſion; *I may, without being too ſanguine, affirm, That ſince this Rebellion, my Affairs were never in ſo hopeful a Way.*

The Royaliſts triumph.

6. As the gaining of *Leiceſter* render'd the King and his Army very formidable, ſo the Uſe that was made of it, together with the Conſequence, turn'd all to his Ruin; for inſtead of either retiring towards *Worceſter* to joyn with General *Gerrard*, who had Three Thouſand Horſe and Foot; or ſtaying for the Arrival of the Lord *Goring*, now ſent for by the King, or of marching Northwards with the Terror of a victorious Army; they unfortunately turn'd towards *Oxford*, which was thought by ſome to be in Diſtreſs. Prince *Rupert* was againſt this March, but now yielded to the Importunity of thoſe, who poſſibly cover'd their private Deſigns under the Care of preſerving the Duke of *York*, the Council, Magazine, and all the fair Ladies at *Oxford*; who likewiſe had too violent Apprehenſions of their Dangers, and earneſtly by Letters ſollicited Prince *Rupert* to their Reſcue. Five Days after the Taking of *Leiceſter*, the King appointed the Rendezvous for his Army; which, by Reaſon of this laſt Service, Deſertion, and other Accidents, now conſiſted of no more than Three Thouſand Five Hundred Foot; and then all the Northern Horſe, who had promis'd themſelves, and were promis'd by the King, that they ſhould go into their own Country, were ſo diſoblig'd, that they were with great Difficulty reſtrain'd from Disbanding: And tho' they were at laſt prevail'd with to March, were not ſufficiently recover'd to be depended on in any ſudden Action. Notwithſtanding all this, the March was continu'd, and the next Day, at *Harborough*, Intelligence came, 'That *Fairfax* was drawn off from *Oxford*, without having diſcharg'd one Piece of Cannon againſt it; that he had been beaten off with Loſs at *Borſtall*-Houſe; and that he was march'd with his whole Army to *Buckingham*.' This kindled a greater Appetite to find him out, than there was before: So the King's Army march'd to *Daintry* in *Northamptonſhire*; where, for want of knowing where the Enemy was, or what he deſign'd to do, his Majeſty remain'd in a quiet Poſture for the Space of five Days.

The King marches towards Oxford.

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Fairfax advances towards him.

But upon the 13th of *June*, the King receiv'd Advice, That *Fairfax* was advanc'd to *Northampton*, with an Army ſuperior to all former Reports; which caus'd his Majeſty to retire the next Day to *Harborough*; and deſign'd to have return'd to *Leiceſter*, and continue upon the Defenſive, till the other Forces he expected could come up. But that very Night, upon an Allarm that *Fairfax* was quarter'd within Six Miles of *Harborough*, a Council was call'd, the former Reſolution of Retiring laid aſide, and another of Fighting as quickly aſſum'd. And ſo early in the Morning, *June* the 14th, all the Army was drawn up on an advantageous riſing Ground, about a Mile South from *Harborough*. The main Body of the Foot was led by Sir *Jacob*, now Lord *Aſtley*, being about Two Thouſand Five Hundred Men; the Right Wing of the Horſe, conſiſting of Two Thouſand, was led by Prince *Rupert*; the Left Wing, conſiſting of the Northern Horſe, with thoſe from *Newark*, amounting to Sixteen Hundred, was commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*: In the Reſerve, were the King's Life-Guard, under the Earl of *Lindſey*, with Prince *Rupert*'s Regiment of Foot, both conſiſting of about Eight Hundred; together with the King's Horſe Guards, under the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, now Earl of *Litchfield*, which made about Five Hundred in Number. The Army thus diſpos'd in excellent Order, they receiv'd a falſe Intelligence that the Enemy was retir'd; which occaſion'd Prince *Rupert*, with great Impatience, to draw out a Party of Horſe, and Muſqueteers, both to diſcover and engage them, leaving the Army in that Place and Poſture. But he had not march'd above a Mile, before he had certain Notice of their Advance, and ſaw their Van; upon which he ſent back to order the Army to march up to him; and either ſuppoſing by their Motion, or being flatter'd into an Opinion they were upon a Retreat, he deſir'd they ſhould make haſte. This made them unhappily quit their Ground of Advantage, and to advance as well as they could. After a Mile and a Half's March, they diſcern'd the Enemies Horſe ſtanding upon a high Ground about *Naſeby*; whence ſeeing the Manner of the King's March, in a full Campaign, they had Leiſure and Opportunity to place themſelves with all the Advantages they could deſire. The Prince's natural Heat and Impatience could never bear an Enemy long in View, nor let them believe they were able to endure his Charge; ſo that the Army was drawn into a Battle before the Cannon was turn'd, or the Ground laid out upon which they were to fight.

The King prepares to receive him.

BATTLE V.
At Naſeby.

All Mens Eyes and Attentions were taken up with the Expectation of the Event of this deciſive Day; and Vows had been ſent up to Heaven, at *Oxford*, and at *London*, for the Succeſs of it, the Fate of the Kingdom depending upon it; and the Famous *William Lilly* told Mr. *Whitelock*, *That if the Armies engag'd not before the Eleventh of this Month, the Parliament would have the greateſt Victory that they ever yet had.* The Parliament Army being drawn up with all Advantage under *Fairfax*, *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Skippon*, &c. at Ten in the Morning the Battle began with more than Civil Rage; the Royaliſt's Word being *God and Queen* Mary! and the others, *God with us!* The firſt Charge was given by Prince *Rupert*, and his Party, who with their uſual Vigour and Intrepidity bore down all before them, overthrew *Ireton*'s Troops, endanger'd his Life, took him Priſoner, and took ſix Pieces of the Enemies beſt Cannon. The Lord *Aſtley*, with his Foot, bravely advanc'd upon their Foot, and after one Volley, his Men, according to the uſual Cuſtom, fell in with their Swords, and the Butt-Ends of their Muſkets, with which they put the Enemy into great Diſorder and Confuſion. The Left Wing, with the Northern Horſe, had not the ſame Succeſs; but advancing in five Bodies, was encounter'd by *Cromwell*, with ſeven Bodies, greater and more numerous than either of the other, and with all the Advantage of Ground: Yet they did their Duty as well as the Place, and their Numbers would permit; but being flank'd on both Sides, and preſs'd hard before they could reach the Top of the Hill, they gave back, and fled farther and faſter than was expected. Four of the Enemies Bodies, cloſe and in good Order, follow'd them, that they might not rally again; and the reſt ſucceſsfully charg'd the King's Foot, who till then had ſo much Advantage over theirs. In this Action *Cromwell*, as was obſerv'd, loſt his Head-Piece for a Time; but haſtily catching it up, clapt it on the wrong Way, and ſo bravely fought with it the reſt of the Day. In the mean Time the King's Reſerve of Horſe, being his Guards, and Himſelf at the Head of them, were ready to Charge thoſe Horſe who purſu'd his Left Wing, which might have recover'd the Misfortune, when ſuddenly ſuch a Pannick Fear ſeiz'd on them, that they all ran near a Quarter of a Mile without ſtopping; which hapned upon an uncommon Accident: For the *Scotch* Earl of *Carnewarth*, who rod next the King, on a ſudden laid his Hand on the other's Bridle, crying out with two or three Oaths, *Will you go upon your Death in an Inſtant*? And before the King underſtood what he would have, turn'd his Horſe round: Upon which a Word ran through the Troops, *March to the Right*; which unfortunately led them both from charging the Enemy, and aſſiſting their own Men; and caus'd them all to turn their Horſes, and ride upon the Spur, as if every Man was to ſhift for Himſelf. By this Time Prince *Rupert* was return'd with a good Body from his unfortunate Purſuit; but his Horſe could not be brought to rally, or to charge the Enemy; tho' the King, with the greateſt Hazard and Magnanimity, did all that was poſſible to encourage them, crying out, *One Charge more, and we recover the Day!* The King gained nothing but the Characters of Courage and Conduct from all his Enemies; but not being able to prevail with his Troops, he retreated as well as he could, and left *Fairfax* entire Maſter of the Field.

The King's Courage.

The fatal Effects of the Battel.

Thus ended the fatal Battle of *Naſeby*, in which the King's Loſs was irreparable; for beſides that there fell above a Hundred and Fifty Officers, and Gentlemen of Quality, as Sir *Thomas Daliſon*, Sir *Richard Cave*, Sir *Peter Brown*, Colonel *Thomas*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Davies*, &c. moſt of his Foot were taken Priſoners, with all his Cannon and Baggage, Eight Thouſand Arms, and other rich Booty. The Enemy avoided no Manner of Cruelty that Day; and in the Purſuit kill'd above a Hundred Women, of which ſome were the Wives of the Officers of Quality. Among the Booty was the King's own Cabinet, where were lodg'd his moſt ſecret Papers, and Letters between Him and his Queen; of which they ſoon after made a moſt barbarous Uſe, and publiſh'd them in Print, with the ſevereſt Comments; that is, ſo much of them as they thought would Aſperſe either of their Majeſties, and encreaſe the Prejudice they had rais'd againſt them, and conceal'd other Parts, which would have vindicated them from many Particulars charg'd againſt them. Among the Papers conceal'd, the Loſs of which troubled the King more than all the reſt, were his Majeſty's *Divine Meditations*, which, with ſome Additions, afterwards compos'd that famous and controverted Book, call'd 'ΕΙΚΩ`Ν ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ'. Which tho' not mention'd by the Lord *Clarendon*, is inconteſtably prov'd by a Cloud of Witneſſes, both of Friends and Enemies, in Mr. *Wagſtaffe*'s third Edition of his *Vindication of King* Charles.

The Treachery of a Spy.

IX. 1. From this great Period, the King's whole Party began to fall into Convulſive Fits; and if they made any ſtrong Motions, they were ſtill but the Indications of a Conſumptive and Expiring Body. The Fatality of this Battle was the more remarkable, becauſe it depended ſo much upon the Treachery of a ſingle Perſon, as we have it from *Sprigge*, and other Writers, who inform us, That a ſubtle Agent of *Watſon*'s, the Scout-Maſter-General, upon *Fairfax*'s raiſing the Siege before *Oxford*, ſtole into the Place ſome Time before, and told the Secretary, Sir *Edward Nicolas*, ſome Particulars of the King's Progreſs, as alſo a true Account of the deſign'd Removal of the Camp and Siege; both which gain'd him ſo much Credit, that he was employ'd, tho' with ſome ſeeming Reluctancy, to go into the *Weſt*. At *Bath* he met with the Prince of *Wales*, and bringing joyful News to him of the Siege of *Oxford* being rais'd, he receiv'd him graciouſly, and ſent him further to the Lord *Goring*, then lying before *Taunton*; who alſo ſpeedily return'd him to the King, with a Pacquet of Letters, in which he gave Aſſurance, That within three Weeks Time he ſhould take *Taunton*, and make his Majeſty Maſter of the *Weſt*; and humbly adviſ'd him to keep on the Defenſive, and by no Means to engage till he had joyn'd him with his Army. The Man, with new Appearance of Difficulty, receiv'd the Pacquet, but brought them to General *Fairfax* fairly ſeal'd up. *Cromwell* and *Ireton* prevail'd with the unwilling General to open thoſe Letters, which if the King had receiv'd, it is more than probable, that his Majeſty had declin'd Fighting when he did. But as the Want of this Intelligence was ſo fatal to the King, ſo the Notice of it quicken'd *Fairfax* to march towards the Relief of *Taunton*: Yet being ſo near *Leiceſter*, and at the Head of a victorious Army, he advanc'd to that Place, and became Maſter of it without any conſiderable Oppoſition; and then bent his March towards the *Weſt*.

The King's March.

The King, and Prince *Rupert*, in the mean Time, march'd with the broken Troops to *Aſhby-de-la-Zouch*, and from thence the next Day to *Lichfield*, and in two Days more to *Bewdley* in *Worceſterſhire*, where he reſted one Day. Then, upon Advice, the King reſolv'd for *Hereford*, and ſo for *Wales*, concluding he ſhould, with the Forces of General *Gerrard*, and ſome new deſign'd Levies in thoſe Counties, be able to form a new Army; which Project was thought to have excluded a better, which had been to have made for the *Weſt*, to have joyn'd with Lord *Goring*, and with an Army doubly encreas'd by *Gerrard*, and Him, have try'd the Fortune of a ſecond Day. At *Hereford*, the Manner and Number of the Levies upon thoſe Parts, and South *Wales*, which ſhould have made up Five Thouſand Foot, was reduc'd to ſome Method; but before it was compleated, Prince *Rupert*, deſigning to preſerve *Briſtol*, went thither, leaving this Affair too much confus'd and in Diſorder. From *Hereford*, where *Gerrard* joyn'd the King with Two Thouſand Horſe and Foot, his Majeſty march'd to *Abergavenny*, where he was met by the Commiſſioners of the *Welſh* Counties, who by their Promiſes gave him very great Hopes and Incouragement. From thence he went to *Ragland*-Caſtle, the noble Houſe of the Old Marqueſs of *Worceſter*; a Place well fortify'd and garriſon'd by the Owner, where he reſolv'd to ſtay till he ſaw the Effect of the mighty Promiſes that were made to him.

He is entertain'd by the Marqueſs of Worceſter.

Here his Majeſty was for three Weeks entertain'd with extraordinary Greatneſs and Freedom by the Old Marqueſs, who receiv'd and diverted Him with a facetious Pleaſantry peculiar to Himſelf. The King acknowledg'd to Him, *That no Man would truſt him with ſo much Money as he had done*; and return'd him his particular Thanks. To which the other quickly reply'd, *Sir, I had your Word for my Money, but I never thought I ſhou'd be ſoon repay'd; for now you have given me your Thanks, I have all I expected.* While he continu'd here, ſome Informations were given of certain Country Gentlemen, who had done ill Offices to him by obſtructing his Levies, and other Means: Theſe being ſecured and brought before his Majeſty, one of them with Tears proteſted his Innocence; which ſo affected the good-natur'd King, that he order'd him forthwith to be releas'd, and the reſt to be gently treated, notwithſtanding many Accuſations againſt them. This being told the Marqueſs, he took the Liberty to blame his Majeſty's too great Lenity, and to let him know, *That he ſhould have firſt heard their Accuſations, and then ſhewn what Mercy he pleas'd.* The King told him, *He heard they were accus'd by a contrary Faction, who would be apt to charge them with more than the Nature of their Offences had deſerv'd*; to which the Marqueſs made this ſhrewd Return, *Well, Sir, this Forgiving Temper may chance to gain you the Kingdom of* Heaven; *but if ever you gain the Kingdom of* England *by theſe Means, I'll be your Bondman.*

2. After ſome Reſt, the King was awaken'd with the News of *Fairfax*'s Defeating of the Lord *Goring* at *Langport*, upon the 10th of *July*; which broke the Deſign of a new Army, moſt of General *Gerrard*'s Foot, and ſuch as were levy'd upon this Occaſion, being by Prince *Rupert* drawn to reinforce the Garriſons of *Briſtol* and *Bridgewater*; and upon that, the *Scots* advanc'd as far as *Worceſter*, took a little Garriſon between that and *Hereford*, and put all to the Sword. This forc'd the King to new Counſels, which were, that he ſhould ſpeedily paſs over to *Briſtol*, and that all the Horſe under *Gerrard* and *Langdale*, by a Journey about, ſhould make their Way over the *Severn*, and joyn the reſt as ſoon as they could. This Reſolution was ſo near executed, as that the King was at the Water-ſide near *Chepſtow*, where Prince *Rupert*, from *Briſtol*, met him, being well ſatisfy'd that the King ſhould come over, tho' he had not courted him to it. But whether upon Apprehenſions of ſome about the King, or Miſunderſtandings between them and Prince *Rupert*, the Deſign was ſuddenly chang'd, and the King repair'd to *Cardiffe*. Here he was inform'd of the Taking of *Bridgewater* by General *Fairfax*, on the 23d of *July*; and likewiſe of the Loſs of *Pontfract*-Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*. The former was thought almoſt impregnable, and *Windham* the Governor had often aſſur'd the King, *That it was not to be taken*; therefore the Loſs of it made a ſtrong Impreſſion

The King at Cardiffe.

His Letter to Prince Rupert.

ſion upon the King, and ſo terrify'd the City of *Bath*, that it ſurrender'd without any great Reſiſtance, on the 29th of *July*. Notwithſtanding theſe great Advantages, many of the Royaliſts ſtill entertain'd themſelves with the vain Hopes of a Peace; and Prince *Rupert* himſelf writ his Advice to that Purpoſe, to the Duke of *Richmond*, to be preſented to the King. This occaſion'd his Majeſty to write a long Letter to the Prince, in which he has theſe remarkable Words: *If I had any Quarrel but the Defence of my* Religion, Crown, *and* Friends, *you had full Reaſon for your Advice: For I confeſs, that ſpeaking either as a meer* Soldier, *or* Stateſman, *I muſt ſay, there is no Probability but of Ruin; but as a* Chriſtian, *I muſt tell you, that God will not ſuffer* Rebels *to proſper, or his* Cauſe *to be overthrown: And whatſoever perſonal Puniſhment it ſhall pleaſe him to inflict on Me, muſt not make me repine, much leſs to give over this Quarrel; for I know my Obligations to be both in* Conſcience *and* Honour, *neither to abandon* God's Cauſe, *injure my* Succeſſors, *nor forſake my* Friends. *As for the* Iriſh, *I aſſure you, they ſhall not cheat Me; but it is poſſible they may cozen Themſelves: For be aſſur'd, what I have refus'd to the* Engliſh, *I will not grant to the* Iriſh *Rebels.*

Complaints of the Welſh.

General Gerrard *made a Lord.*

By this Time the *Scots* were ſet down before *Hereford*, which moſt concluded they wou'd certainly carry, therefore it was neceſſary for the King either to endeavour to raiſe the Siege, or to think of his own Security: The firſt was thought practicable, to which End Warrants were directed to the Sheriffs of the *Welſh* Counties to raiſe the *Poſſe Comitatus*, and to be ready at a Day prefix'd to join with the King's Horſe to undertake it. But it was ſoon diſcover'd that this Expedient had rais'd an unruly Spirit, that cou'd not eaſily be laid; for the diſcontented Gentry of thoſe Parts, having legally got the People together, poſſeſs'd them, 'That now the King was there, it was fit 'they ſhou'd deſire Redreſs of their Grievances; as to 'have their Contributions abated, and the Power of the 'Counties put into ſuch Hands as they ſhou'd nominate.' Theſe, and other Requeſts, with numerous Complaints againſt General *Gerrard* and his Officers, kept them many Days in a Body of three or four thouſand Men; and at laſt the King was compell'd to grant them their Petitions, tho' in ſuch a Manner as they believ'd it was extorted; and farther to ſatisfie them, he remov'd General *Gerrard*, and made the Lord *Aſtley* Commander of all thoſe Counties. But the King, knowing *Gerrard* to be a Man of Power, and of a Nature too impetuous to ſubmit to any Thing for Conſcience or Duty, reſolv'd to make him a Baron; which gave a new Diſſatisfaction to the Gentry in thoſe Parts. At the ſame Time that gallant Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Glemham*, came to the King with two hundred Foot, which he had brought with him out of the Garriſon of *Carliſle*; which Place he had gloriouſly defended for eleven Months againſt *David Leſley*, till all the Horſes in the Garriſon were eaten, and then had yielded upon as honourable Conditions as had been given upon any Surrender. And it is obſervable, that within three Days after his Arrival, General *Gerrard* was made Lord *Gerrard* of *Brandon* in *Suffolk*, a Town in which Sir *Thomas Glemham* had both Intereſt, and an Inheritance of the Family of *Brandon*, by which Name the other affected to be call'd. This wou'd have been ill reſented by any Man, who was leſs than Sir *Thomas Glemham*.

The King's farther March.

The Deſign of raiſing the Siege of *Hereford* being now found impracticable, it was full Time for the King to conſider of his own Security, being environ'd with Danger, and but two Ways to chuſe, either to imbark and paſs the *Severne* into *Devonſhire*, where the Prince of *Wales* and *Goring*'s Army then was, or elſe to endeavour to make his Way towards the victorious *Montroſs* in the North. Several Objections being made againſt the firſt, the ſecond was embrac'd; and in the Beginning of *Auguſt*, the King's Forces left *Cardiffe*, and croſſing the Mountains by *Brecknock* and *Radnor*, came in three Days to *Ludlow*; having by that Time paſs'd the *Scotch* Quarters, before they had Notice of their March. Thence by quick Marches through Part of *Worceſter*, *Stafford* and *Darbyſhire*, they arriv'd at *Welbeck* in *Nottinghamſhire*; whither all the *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen that had been in *Pontfract* Caſtle came and attended the King, as did Sir *Richard Willis*, Governor of *Newark*, with the Commiſſioners of *Lincoln* and *Nottingham*. Here the Deſign of haſtning to *Montroſs* receiv'd a Delay; till under the Countenance of ſome Forces drawn out of *Newark* and *Welbeck*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen, they might raiſe a Body of Foot, which they believ'd might eaſily be done. To which End the King march'd to *Doncaſter*, where the Gentlemen put this Deſign in Execution, and brought it to that Perfection, that in three Days there was a viſible Appearance of three thouſand Men, that wou'd have been ready arm'd the next Day. But having receiv'd certain Intelligence that *David Leſley* by a ſhorter Way was got to *Rotheram*, within ten Miles, with all the *Scottiſh* Horſe, they found it not only impracticable to advance, but unſafe to ſtay there; and ſo leaving many a poor Man, who had been ready to ſerve the King, to the Mercy of the Enemy, they retreated, to the great Satiſfaction of *Leſley*, who might thereby ſecurely attempt *Montroſs*, as he afterwards did.

He gets to Oxford.

Lord Littleton's *Death.*

From *Doncaſter*, the King with his Forces came to *Newark* in two Days, and in two more to *Stanford*, with Deſign for *Oxford*, there to refreſh their Men and Horſes. But having Notice of ſome new-rais'd Troops of *Norfolk* being about *Huntingdon*, for the augmenting *Roſſiter*'s Force in *Lincolnſhire*, it was propos'd to ſurpriſe them by a quick March, which was put in ſudden Execution: For the next Day two or three Troops were intercepted by the Way about *Stilton*; and after ſome ſmall Reſiſtance at and about *Huntingdon*, the Town was forc'd; their *Scotch* Commander, and ſome others taken Priſoners, and the reſt fled in Diſorder to *Cambridge* and towards *London*. The Houſes of thoſe that fled were plunder'd without Diſtinction, being judg'd as Favourers of the Enemy. Here the King ſtay'd two Days, and made a Shew of fortifying the Place, calling the Country to a Rendezvous, who out of Love or Fear ſeem'd very forward to his Service. But the King hearing the ill News of the taking of *Sherburn* Caſtle, and apprehending that *Fairfax* wou'd beſiege *Briſtol*, laid aſide the Thoughts of this Place; and ſo paſſing by *Cambridge*, which he look'd upon with a Benign Eye, as being the Seat of Learning and the *Muſes*, he haſtned towards *Oxford*; at which Place he arriv'd on the twenty-ninth of *Auguſt*; having by his great Celerity baffled all the Induſtry of his Followers. On the ſame Day dy'd the Lord *Littleton*, Lord-Keeper of the great Seal, of whom much has been ſaid; who was untimely ſnatcht away in the fifty-ſixth Year of his Age, to the particular Grief of the King himſelf, who immediately conferr'd that Honour upon the worthy Sir *Richard Lane*, Lord-Chief-Baron of the Exchequer.

The King goes to Worceſter *and* Hereford.

3. The King ſtay'd but two Days in *Oxford*, the Lords and Ladies there being well ſatisfy'd with his Departure, fearing his Preſence wou'd cauſe a Siege; ſo on the laſt of *Auguſt* he began his March towards *Worceſter*, his preſent Deſign being to raiſe the Siege of *Hereford*, which appear'd the more eaſie, becauſe the *Scots* had ſent away their Horſe towards the *North*, as was before hinted. Arriving at *Worceſter*, he was certainly inform'd, That *Fairfax* had actually beſieg'd *Briſtol*; which gave more Satisfaction than Trouble, all looking upon it as a Place ſo well fortify'd and provided, and likely to be ſo well defended, as might prove the Ruin of his Army; eſpecially ſince Prince *Rupert* wrote to the King, *That he wou'd undertake to defend it full four Months.* Therefore the King purſu'd his former Deſign of Relieving *Hereford*; and being upon the March thither, he underſtood 'That the *Scotch* Army was 'that Morning riſen in great Confuſion, and reſolv'd to 'make their Retreat ſo as to paſs through *Gloceſter*.' This News was ſo grateful, and the King's Reception ſo joyful at *Hereford*, that he ſlip'd the Opportunity he then had of diſcommoding, if not ruining, the *Scotch* Army; which now paſs'd through a ſtrange Country, and diſſatisfy'd with their whole Nation: Inſomuch that the Governor of *Gloceſter* wou'd not allow them Shelter in that Garriſon, till they ſent him Word, *If they might not enter that Town, they knew they ſhou'd be welcome at the King's Garriſon at* Worceſter; by which he was ſo convinc'd, as to permit them to paſs through the Town, and ſo to proſecute their March to the *North*.

He hears of the Loſs of Briſtol.

But the King's Heart was wholly ſet upon the Relief of *Briſtol*; and thereupon, going a ſecond Time to *Ragland*, he ſent a Scheme to Prince *Rupert*, 'That he wou'd ſend 'ſpeedy Orders to General *Goring* to draw what Force 'he cou'd out of the *Weſt*, and to haſten it on that Side; 'and on the other, he deſign'd to draw at leaſt three 'thouſand Foot out of his Garriſons, to paſs them over 'the *Severne* about *Beachley*, and at the ſame Time to 'ford that River with above three thouſand Horſe, near '*Gloceſter*, join the Foot, and ſo on both ſides fall on '*Fairfax*'s Quarters.' But before this hopeful Project cou'd be brought to any Maturity, the King receiv'd the aſtoniſhing News of the Surrender of *Briſtol*, upon the 11th of *September*. By which his Majeſty loſt all his chief Magazines and Warlike Proviſions, and conſequently in a ſhort Time South *Wales*, and all the Weſt of *England*. This melancholy Account immediately brought the King back to *Hereford*, and caus'd a Revocation of the Lord *Gerrard* with his Horſe from *Shropſhire*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Thomas Glemham* from *Cardiffe*; and from hence the King wrote a ſharp Letter to Prince *Rupert*, in which he ſays, *I muſt remember you of Yours of* *the* 12*th of* Auguſt, *whereby you aſſur'd me,* That if no Mutiny hapned, you wou'd keep *Briſtol* for four Months. *Did you keep it four Days? Was there any thing like a Mutiny? — My Concluſion is, to deſire you to ſeek your Subſiſtance, untill it ſhall pleaſe God to determine of my Condition, ſomewhere beyond Seas; to which end I ſend you herewith a Paſs,* &c. With this Letter he ſent to the Lords at *Oxford*, where the Prince was arriv'd, with Orders to demand his Commiſſion, and withal a Paſs for him to depart the Kingdom; and with farther Directions to commit his Friend Colonel *Legg*, the Governor of that City, and to deprive him of his Command, deſigning Sir *Thomas Glemham* for his Succeſſor.

He diſcharges Prince Rupert.

The King and his Council remain'd about a Week in great Perplexity and Irreſolution, neither knowing how to govern Themſelves or their Affairs; ſometimes they reſolv'd for *Worceſter*, then again for other Places, till at laſt Neceſſity made ſome Reſolutions to be taken. They were aſſur'd, 'That the whole Strength in the *North* was 'gather'd together under Major-General *Pointz*; and that 'he was already come between *Hereford* and *Worceſter*, 'with above three Thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, ſolely 'to attend the King's Motions:' So that it would be very difficult to gain *Worceſter*, whither the King's Deſign of going was, upon a new Reſolution taken to march into *Scotland*, and joyn with the Succeſsful *Montroſs*. This being the only Intention, it was thought beſt, 'not to proſecute that March by *Worceſter*, which might hazard an 'Engagement with *Pointz*; but rather to take a more ſafe 'Paſſage through *North-Wales* to *Cheſter*, and ſo through '*Lancaſhire* and *Cumberland* to find an unobſtructed Way 'into *Scotland*.' Thus within four Days, through diſmal incommodious Ways, the King arriv'd within half a Day's Journey of *Cheſter*, which he found in more Danger than he ſuſpected: For within three Days before, the Enemy, from their Neighbouring Garriſons, had ſurpris'd both the Outworks and Suburbs, and had made ſome Attempt upon the City, to the great Terror and Conſternation of the Inhabitants.

The King goes to Cheſter.

The Beſiegers look'd upon themſelves as loſt; and the better to ſecure them, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was ſent with moſt of the Horſe over *Holt-Bridge*, to lye on the Eaſt Side of the River *Dee*; and the King, with his Guards, and the reſt of the Horſe, march'd directly into *Cheſter*, reſolving early the next Morning to ſally out upon the Enemy, while Sir *Marmaduke* was to fall upon the Back of them, and ſo incloſe them. But Sir *Marmaduke*, being that Night drawn on *Routon-Heath*, two Miles from *Cheſter*, had intercepted a Letter from *Pointz* to the Commander before *Cheſter*, informing him, 'That he was come to their Reſcue, and 'deſiring to have ſome Foot ſent to him, to aſſiſt him againſt the King's Horſe:' And the very next Morning he appear'd, and was ſo charg'd by *Langdale*, as he retir'd with Loſs; but ſtill kept at ſuch Diſtance, that the Foot before *Cheſter* might come to him. The Beſiegers began to withdraw from the Suburbs in ſuch Haſte, that thoſe in the City believ'd they were upon their Flight, and ſo moſt of the Horſe and Foot in the Place iſſu'd out to purſue them. But their Haſte was to joyn with *Pointz*, which they quickly effected; and then they charg'd *Langdale*, who was routed, and purſu'd by the united Parties to the Walls of *Cheſter*. There the Earl of *Litchfield* with the King's Guards, and the Lord *Gerrard* with the reſt of the Horſe, bravely charg'd *Pointz* and the reſt, and forc'd them to retire. But the Diſorder of thoſe Horſe that firſt fled, had ſo fill'd the narrow Ways, which were unfit for them to fight in, that at laſt the Enemy's Muſqueteers compell'd the King's Horſe to turn, and to rout one another, and to bear down their own Officers. The King, from the Walls of *Cheſter*, was a ſad Spectator of this Tragical Confuſion; in which fell many Gentlemen and Officers, with the brave Earl of *Litchfield*; who was the third Brother of that illuſtrious Family of the *Stuarts*, that ſacrific'd their Lives in this Conteſt; a faultleſs young Gentleman, of a moſt courteous and affable Diſpoſition, and an invincible Spirit and Courage; whoſe Loſs was exceedingly lamented by all Men, and by the King born with unexpreſſible Grief. This Defeat hapned on the 26th of *September*, and broke all the Body of Horſe, that attended the King from the Battel of *Naſeby*, and now fled all the Country to ſave themſelves, and were as much diſpers'd, as the greateſt Misfortune cou'd produce.

His Forces defeated at Routon-Heath.

The Earl of Litchfield's *Death.*

4. This Defeat utterly broke the Deſign at that Time for *Scotland*; which was happy for him in one Reſpect, for about that Time *Montroſs* was defeated by *David Leſley*; ſo that if the King had been farther advanc'd, he cou'd never have ſafely retreated. He ſtaid in *Cheſter* only one Night after this Blow, but return'd to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Denbigh* in *North-Wales*, attended only with five hundred Horſe; where he ſtaid three Days to refreſh himſelf, and to rally ſuch of his Troops as cou'd be got together. So that in a ſhort Time he had four and twenty hundred Horſe in View; but whither to go with them was ſtill the difficult Queſtion. Some propos'd the Iſle of *Angleſey* as a Place both of Safety and Conveniency, and from whence he might eaſily be tranſported into *Ireland* or *Scotland*. Others objected againſt this, and propos'd that he might commodiouſly make his Winter Quarters at *Worceſter*, and by lying upon the *Severne*, between *Bridgenorth* and *Worceſter*, ſtand there upon his Guard; and by the Acceſs of ſome other Forces be able to fight with *Pointz*, whoſe near Approaches to him had now made his March more difficult. But there was ſo little Choice, that it was immediately undertaken, and with that dextrous Management, that *Pointz* was left a full Day's Journey behind. Here Prince *Maurice* waited on his Majeſty with eight hundred Horſe, part of which was of Prince *Rupert*'s Regiment that came out of *Briſtol*. And now being thus ſtrengthen'd, they leſs apprehended the Enemy; yet continu'd their March without reſting, till by fording the *Severne*, they arriv'd at *Bridgenorth*, the Place firſt deſign'd.

He retires to Bridgenorth.

Now all expected, that they ſhou'd go immediately to *Worceſter*, and take up their Winter Quarters; but upon the unpleaſing News of the Surrender of *Berkley-Caſtle* in *Glouceſterſhire*, and of the *Deviſes* in *Wiltſhire*, two ſtrong Garriſons of the King's, it was warmly urg'd, That *Worceſter* wou'd not be a good Place for the King's Winter Reſidence, and *Newark* was propos'd as a Place of greater Security. This laſt Advice was owing to the private Intereſt of the volatile Lord *Digby*, who chiefly governing the King's Counſels, had been the main Cauſe of Revoking Prince *Rupert*'s Commiſſion, and now found that the Odium of that Action was like to fall upon himſelf, and that the Prince reſolv'd not to quit the Kingdom, before he had ſeen his Majeſty, and juſtify'd his late Proceedings. Wherefore this Lord, to prevent the breaking of that Cloud that threatned his Ruin; and conſidering it was not only accompanied with the Anger of Prince *Rupert* and his Brother, but with the Hatred of the Lord *Gerrard*, he prevail'd with his Majeſty, againſt the Opinion of all about him, to undertake the Journey for *Newark*; hoping by Time and the Difficulty of Prince *Rupert*'s coming thither, to abate the Fury of the Storm, which was juſt falling upon him; it being much eaſier for Prince *Rupert* to come from *Oxford* to *Worceſter*, where his Brother *Maurice* was alſo Governour, than to any conſiderable Place in the King's Power. And ſo the King, having ſent Sir *Thomas Glemham* to receive the Government of *Oxford*, march'd to *Litchfield*, and ſo to *Newark*, with that Speed, that the Governor had ſcarce Notice of his coming. In this Manner, and in this Perplexity, was the King compell'd to ſubmit to the private Humours and Paſſions of other Men.

And ſo to Newark.

The King being in a manner ſettled at *Newark*, and having regulated the Diſorders in that Garriſon, in the Beginning of *October*, was reviv'd by new Reports, That *Montroſs*, ſince his Defeat, had given a like Blow to *David Leſley*, and was with a powerful Force on the *Borders*. And therefore his Majeſty was perſwaded the third time to endeavour the joining with him; for tho' he had engag'd himſelf the contrary at *Bridgenorth*, yet the Lord *Digby*, finding himſelf now purſu'd by Prince *Rupert* and his Brother, and not being able to ſuſtain the Rencounter, again prevail'd ſo far as to draw the King Northwards, only under the Pretence of gaining a Day or two's March to meet the Confirmation of this good News, or elſe to return to *Newark*. Accordingly he advanc'd to *Tuxford*, and ſo to *Welbeck*; where a Council being call'd, the King was prevail'd with to declare, 'That he wou'd not 'have the Queſtion to be, Whether he ſhou'd advance or 'retire, but concerning the Manner of his advancing; 'which in this Extremity he muſt either do, or be brought 'to a worſe Condition.' This Declaration left very little to be conſulted upon; but before any thing cou'd be fully determin'd, the King unexpectedly receiv'd an Account from a faithful Hand, 'That *Montroſs* was then retreating towards the North, that *David Leſley* was on 'the South Side of *Edinburgh*, and the *Scotch* Army between *Northallerton* and *Newcaſtle*.' This put all the Council into a Maze, and caus'd the Lord *Digby* himſelf to declare, that now he thought it not fit for his Majeſty to advance, but to retire to *Newark*; and ſo immediately, to the general Satisfaction, Order was accordingly given.

The Lord Digby's *Deſigns.*

But it ſeems that Lord had ſtill another Game to play; for on the next Morning, when all the Horſe were drawn out, with Expectation to march back, the King ſuddenly declar'd, 'That tho' it was not fit for him to march Northwards, yet he thought it neceſſary that Sir *Marmaduke* '*Langdale*, and the Northern Horſe, ſhould make an Attempt to join with the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*.' Sir *Marmaduke* immediately embrac'd the Propoſition, and unexpectedly deſir'd, That the Lord *Digby* might go and command in Chief. This was chearfully accepted of by that Lord;

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He is made a General.

and without Delay a ſhort Commiſſion was drawn on the Place to make him Lieutenant-General of all the Forces on the North of *Trent.* So taking with him Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Richard Hutton*, High-Sheriff of *Yorkſhire*, together with the Earls of *Carnewarth* and *Niddiſdale*, and ſeveral other *Scotch* Gentlemen, he march'd away at the Head of fifteen hundred Horſe, to *Doncaſter* ; and ſo in a Moment became a General, as well as a Secretary of State. The next Day in his March, there being about a thouſand Foot to paſs by *Sherborne* to *Cawood*, he march'd towards them, and eaſily defeated them, they all laying down their Arms. Then drawing into *Sherborne* to refreſh his Troops, he had ſudden Notice of the Advance of ſome Horſe towards him, under Colonel *Copley*; upon which he immediately drew out of the Town as many Troops as he cou'd, and bravely charg'd and routed moſt of the Enemy's Bodies, and drove them through the Town: Thoſe of his own Party, who were making ready in the Town, ſeeing the Enemies Flight, unfortunately imagin'd it had been their Fellows, and ſo fled with great Confuſion: By which means he loſt the Opportunity of gaining ſuch a Victory, as in Conjunction might have made him Maſter of *York* and the whole *North.* But inſtead of that,

His Troops routed and diſpers'd.

by means of a Troop of the Enemy, that remain'd unbroken, he was compell'd to make an inglorious Retreat to *Skipton*, with the Loſs of his own Baggage. From whence he march'd through *Weſtmorland* and *Cumberland* as far as *Dumfreeze* in *Scotland*; where Mutiny, and Loſs of Hopes of joyning with *Montroſs*, caus'd his Lordſhip, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, the two Earls, and moſt of the Officers to ſhip themſelves for the *Iſle of Man*, leaving their Troops to ſhift for Themſelves: And ſo thoſe fifteen Hundred Horſe were in a few Days reduc'd to Nothing, and the Lord *Digby*'s Command brought to a ſudden Period.

His Letters, &c. taken.

In this Lord's Baggage, was taken his Cabinet of ſecret Papers and Letters, of which they made the ſame ungenerous Uſe as they did of the King's Letters taken at *Naſeby*; printing ſome that they thought to the Diſadvantage of the King and his Party, and concealing others that were either to his Honour or for his Vindication. Among the Letters conceal'd, Dr. *Nalſon* has recover'd one out of the Paper Office, which had been voted *Needleſs to be printed*, and written by this Lord on the firſt of *Auguſt* laſt, to the Popiſh Lords and Gentlemen in *Ireland.* In which are theſe remarkable Words: *I am commanded by his Majeſty to declare to you, That were the Condition of his Affairs much more deſperate than it is, he wou'd never redeem them, by any Conceſſion of ſo much Wrong both to his* Honour *and* Conſcience: *It is for the Defence of his* Religion *principally, that he hath undergone the Extremities of War here, and he will never redeem his Crown by ſacrificing it There.----If nothing will content you, but what muſt wound his* Honour *and* Conſcience, *you muſt expect, That how low ſoever his Condition is, and how deteſtable ſoever the Rebels of this Kingdom are to him, he will in* That Point *joyn with Them, the* Scots, *or with any of the* Proteſtant *Profeſſion, rather than do the leaſt Act, that may hazard that* Religion, *in which and for which he will live and die.*

5. The King had ſpeedy Notice of this Misfortune at *Newark*, and then concluded it was not ſafe to ſtay there any longer: For by this Time *Pointz* was come with all his Force to *Nottingham*, and *Roſſiter* with his *Lincolnſhire* Troops to *Grantham*, and the King's remaining Power was not ſufficient to oppoſe either of them; ſo that nothing was left but to watch an Opportunity, by the Darkneſs of the Nights to ſteal from thence to *Worceſter*, or *Oxford.* In the mean Time Prince *Rupert* got to *Belvoir*-Caſtle, with much Hazard; breaking through *Roſſiter*'s Quarters, with his Brother *Maurice*, and a Hundred and twenty Officers and Gentlemen in his Company; whither the King wrote him a Letter, commanding him to ſtay there till farther Order, and intimating his Diſpleaſure in not giving Obedience to his former Command. Notwithſtanding this Command, he came the next Day to *Newark*, and was met by the Lord *Gerrard*, and Sir *Richard Willis* Governor of the Town, with a Hundred Horſe, two Miles in

Prince Rupert *comes to the King at* Newark.

his Way. About an Hour after, he came to the Court with his Train; and without Ceremony told his Majeſty, *That he came to render an Account of the Loſs of* Briſtol, *and to clear Himſelf of all that had been caſt upon Him.* The King made him little Anſwer at that Time; but after a few Days Debate about that Affair, his Majeſty, by the Advice of the Lords then preſent, caus'd a ſhort Declaration to be drawn up, by which he clear'd Prince *Rupert* of any *Diſloyalty* or *Treaſon*, in rendering of that Place, but not of *Indiſcretion*, as may be ſeen in the printed Paper: And ſo to the Satisfaction of Prince *Rupert* all Things were ſettled, and he reſtor'd to the Favour of his Prince, who at the ſame Time expected that he ſhou'd have immediately departed the Town.

The Change of the Poſture of the Enemy, caus'd his Majeſty to reſolve to begin his Retreat on *Sunday* Night, the twentieth of *October*; which he imparted to none but two or three of the neareſt Truſt. But before he went, having obſerv'd the Differences between the Governor, Sir *Richard Willis*, and the Commiſſioners there reſident, and that it wou'd be deſtructive to his Service ſtill to continue him Governor, He reſolv'd to remove him, and prefer him to be Captain of his Horſe-Guard in the Place of the late Earl of *Litchfield*, and ſo to leave the Lord *Bellaſis* Governor. This was propos'd by the King on *Sunday*, with all the Courtly Civility that cou'd be imagin'd; but Sir *Richard* appear'd deeply concern'd, and declar'd, *That his Enemies wou'd triumph at his Removal.* To whoſe Objections the King gave obliging Anſwers, and ſo went to Church, leaving it to his Conſideration till his Return; at which Time Sir *Richard*, accompany'd with both the Princes, the Lord *Gerrard*, and about twenty Officers of the Garriſon, addreſs'd himſelf to the King, and told him, *That what he had ſaid to him in private, was now the publick Talk of the Town, and much to his Diſhonour.* Prince *Rupert* ſaid, *That Sir* Richard Willis *was to be remov'd, only becauſe he was his Friend*; and the Lord *Gerrard* added, *That it was the Plot of the Lord* Digby, *who was a Traytor, and he wou'd prove him ſo.* The King being thus ſurpris'd, wou'd have drawn Sir *Richard* into his Bed-Chamber, as a Place of more Privacy; but he refus'd, ſaying aloud, *He had receiv'd a publick Injury, therefore expected a publick Satisfaction.* This ſo rous'd his Majeſty's Courage, that he commanded them to depart, in ſuch a Manner as much confounded them. Immediately they ſounded to Horſe, intending to be gone immediately; by which Time ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen repair'd to the King, with all the Expreſſions of Concern and Duty; where the Queſtion being put, what was to be done, his Majeſty reſolv'd to leave them to Themſelves and their own Reflections, and preſently declar'd the Lord *Bellaſis* Governor of the Town. Towards Night they ſent a Remonſtrance or Petition, ſign'd by about four and twenty of them, deſiring his Majeſty, ‘ That Sir *Richard Willis* might receive a Tryal by a Court of War, and if they judg'd him faulty, then to be diſmiſs'd his Charge; or elſe Paſſes for Themſelves, and as many Horſe as wou'd go with them; and withal hoping his Majeſty wou'd not eſteem this Action of theirs to be *Mutiny.*’ To the laſt, the King ſaid, *He wou'd not Chriſten it, tho' it look'd very like one:* As for a Court of War, *He wou'd not make that a Judge of his Actions*; but as to Paſſes, *They ſhou'd have as many as they deſir'd.* Accordingly the next Day they left the Town, to the Number of two Hundred Horſe, and repair'd to *Belvoir*-Caſtle, and from thence ſent one of their Number to *Weſtminſter*, to deſire Leave and Paſſes to go beyond the Seas.

A great Diſturbance there.

Beſides the ſenſible Affliction the King receiv'd from this Action of his Nephew's, it had near broke the Deſign he had for his preſent Eſcape, which was not to be executed at this Time; and *Pointz* and *Roſſiter* drew nearer every Day, believing they had ſo effectually ſurrounded him, that it was not poſſible for him to get from their Hands. They had ſecur'd *Shetford* Houſe, and kept ſtrong Guards between that and *Belvoir*, and ſtronger towards *Litchfield*, which they moſt ſuſpected; ſo that it look'd as if nothing but a Miracle cou'd conduct him out of that Labyrinth. The King wou'd not deſpair, but ſent a truſty Meſſenger to *Oxford*, to give private Directions for the Horſe there to attend him on a certain Day, between *Banbury* and *Daventree :* And on *Monday* the third of *November*, he privately ſent a Gentleman to *Belvoir*-Caſtle, to underſtand the State of the Enemies Quarters, and inform the Governor of that Garriſon of the King's Deſign to march thither that Night, with Order for his Troops and Guides to be ready; but with expreſs Charge, ‘ not to acquaint the two Princes, and their Company, with the Deſign.’ About eleven a

The King flies from Newark.

Clock, in a dark Night, the King march'd out of *Newark*, with a Body of between four and five Hundred Horſe; and arriv'd at *Belvoir* about three in the Morning, without any Interruption or Allarm. There the Governor, with his Troop and good Guides were ready, and attended the King, till break of Day, without the leaſt Notice to thoſe within: But ſtill he was to paſs between the Enemy's Garriſons; and therefore without Delay march'd all that Day; and paſſing near *Burleigh on the Hill*, one of their Garriſons, from thence ſome Horſe, and from *Rockingham-Caſtle*, follow'd in the Rear, and took and ſlew ſome Straglers, and others whoſe Horſes were tir'd. Towards the Evening the King was ſo exceeding weary, that he was forc'd to reſt and ſleep for four Hours, in a Village within eight Miles of *Northampton.* At ten that Night they began to march again, and were before Day next Morning paſs'd *Daventree*, and before Noon

And arrives at Oxford.

His Saying.

at *Banbury*; where the *Oxford* Horſe met the King, and that Day conducted him ſafe to *Oxford*. Thus he finiſh'd the moſt tedious and grievous March that ever had afflicted him; having been almoſt in perpetual Motion from the Loſs of the Battle of *Naſeby* to this Hour, with ſuch an Accumulation of diſmal Accidents, as muſt have broken the Spirits of any Man not truly magnanimous. And now being entertain'd with ſorrowful Countenances, and a melancholy Account of Affairs, he reply'd with ſingular Courage, *That three Years ago he had been yet in a lower Condition than at preſent: The ſame God, who from ſuch deſpicable Beginnings, had render'd him Great and Formidable, did live and reign ſtill; to whoſe Goodneſs he alſo recommended the Care of his preſent abject Condition.*

His low Condition.

X. 1. The King being now ſafe at *Oxford*, and at Eaſe from grievous Marches, and inſolent Provocations, had Time to breath, and to look about him; and with fuller, and more faithful Councils, to conſider both his preſent Condition, and what Remedies to apply for his future Preſervation. For upon his Return he found *Wincheſter* and *Baſing-Houſe* were lately taken by *Cromwell*, and the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* made Priſoner, who being a Papiſt, glory'd in his Loyalty, *which he kept untainted to extreme old Age, being ready to ſeal it with his Blood.* All *South-Wales*, but *Ragland-Caſtle*, was loſt, *Shelford* and *Weyrton* were taken, the *Scots* were advancing to beſiege *Newark*, *Belvoir-Caſtle* was blockt up, the Enemy ſtill cloſe about *Cheſter*, and *Fairfax* with a victorious Army daily gaining Ground in the *Weſt*. To oppoſe all which, the King had now no Army left, but in the *Weſt*, ſome Troops under the Lord *Aſtley*, and the Forces of ſome few Garriſons about *Oxford* and *Worceſter*.

His Affairs in the Weſt.

Govern'd by Goring *and* Greenvil.

The *Weſt* was the Reſidence of the Prince of *Wales*, where there was once a very conſiderable Army, which if actuated by united Counſels, might have made a brave Stand, if not turn'd the Scale; but the King's Affairs there were not only diſturb'd, but made deſperate, by the Jealouſies and Animoſities of particular Perſons, and indeed by the intolerable Pride of incorrigible Faction. The Sentiments of Loyalty, Honour and Gratitude, daily leſſen'd and ſunk into private Projects and ſeparate Intereſts; and the Power and Authority of the Prince was by no means regarded as it ought to have been, but almoſt all would ſhew their Obedience according to their own way. A falſe Honour was ſet up, inſtead of a true one; and when Officers were not willing to ſubmit to what they were enjoyn'd, they uſually alledg'd, *That it was againſt their Honour, that their Honour would not ſuffer them to do this or that:* But the inviolable Lord *Hopton*, when he was put upon a deſperate Attempt, told the Prince, *That ſince his Highneſs thought it neceſſary to command him, he was ready to obey him with the Loſs of his Honour.* All the Affairs of theſe Parts were too much under the Influence and Sway of two Men, the Lord *Goring*, and Sir *Richard Greenvil*; Perſons moſt exorbitant in their Practices, tho' very different in their Diſpoſitions. The former ſhew'd an extravagant Ambition to be Lieutenant-General of all the *Weſt*, ſpoke deſpicably of the Prince and his Council, and ſometimes of the King Himſelf, led a moſt riotous and ſcandalous Life amidſt the greateſt Dangers, encourag'd the moſt abominable Licentiouſneſs among his Horſe, who in all Places committed ſuch intolerable Inſolences and Diſorders, as alienated the Hearts of thoſe who were beſt affected to the King's Service. The other, Sir *Richard Greenvil*, was the moſt violent Oppreſſor, and Tyrannical Governor, that ever had been felt in thoſe Parts, ſeizing the Eſtates, and impriſoning and hanging up the Perſons of Delinquents, without any Proceſs or Regard to Juſtice; and tho', contrary to *Goring*, he reſtrain'd his Soldiers from plundering, yet he himſelf was the greateſt Plunderer in the War; having gain'd more by his Contributions, and his other Arts and Extortions, than the King had beſtow'd upon all his General Commanders of Armies, and upon all his Officers of State, ſince the Beginning of the Rebellion to that Time.

The Club-Men.

Goring *retires into* France.

The inſufferable Rapines and Violence practis'd by the King's Forces in theſe Parts, gave Occaſion to the Riſing of a third ſort of an Army, which ſuddenly ſtarted up in ſeveral Counties, and gather'd together, to the Number of five or ſix Thouſand of the middle Sort of Men, in a ſhort Time call'd by the Name of *Club-Men*. Theſe likewiſe receiv'd Encouragement from many Gentlemen of the Country, who entertain'd particular Hopes from this Inſurrection: which, as Mr. *Locke* intimates, was wholly form'd by the active and prolifick Head of Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*; a Perſon highly applauded by that Writer for the great Good he deſign'd to the Nation, but much blam'd by the Lord *Clarendon* for his Flexibility and Inſtability; who being remov'd from the Government of *Weymouth*, quitted his Party, and gave himſelf intirely to the Service of the Parliament, with implacable Animoſity againſt the Royal Intereſt. This Third Army of *Club-Men*, for a while became very formidable to both Parties, which endeavoured to court their Compliance and Aſſiſtance; but after ſome Months ſtanding upon their own Defence, and moleſting of both Armies, they were defeated and diſpers'd by the Parliament Forces under *Cromwell*; who together with *Fairfax* daily gain'd Ground in thoſe Counties. Theſe Succeſſes had ſuch an Influence, that on a ſudden, the Lord *Goring* himſelf, in the Month of *November*, unhandſomly left his Army and retir'd into *France*, leaving this general Reflection upon his Memory, 'That comparing his Words, 'and his Actions, his Ill Doing, and his Not Doing, together, if he had been Confederate with the Enemy, and 'corrupted to betray the *Weſt*, he could not have done 'more towards it than he did.' Such was the Exit of that brave and valiant, that witty and ſociable, that deceitful and profligate Commander; who afterwards, as Sir *William Dugdale* was inform'd, took upon him the Habit of a *Dominican* Fryer in *Spain*, and dy'd without Iſſue, before his Father the Earl of *Norwich*.

The Deſigns of the Leaders in Parliament.

The King ſends ſeveral Meſſages to them.

2. The mighty Alterations occaſion'd by the *New Model*, were now viſible to all ſenſible Men: Till that was made, both Sides had made War with Deſign to carry it on, as it were, to a certain Gage or Pitch, each propoſing to reduce, not to deſtroy his Eenmy; which nice Medium had oftentimes cool'd the Heat of War, render'd Actions leſs vigorous, and caus'd the miſſing of ſome Opportunities that might have decided it. But now the Methods were chang'd in the Parliament Forces, as having *new modell'd* their Projects; the preſent Leaders knew nothing of that Moderation, and their End being the Subverſion of Kingly Government, and the levelling the Nobility, their Buſineſs was now to have no more Regard to his Majeſty, but to endeavour the Deſtruction of Him, and all his Adherents. This Deſign becoming more and more apparent, the King was driven to try the old and ever-failing Remedy, becauſe no other could be found out; which was, to ſend new Meſſages to the Parliament for an Accommodation. But before this was determin'd, his Majeſty wrote two Letters to the Prince his Son, ordering him to take the firſt Opportunity of tranſporting himſelf into *Denmark*: In the latter of which he inform'd him of his Intention to propoſe a Perſonal Treaty at *London*, and let him know, 'That his Abſence in another Country would be a real Security to 'Himſelf, and make the Rebels hearken and yield to Reaſon.' This done, the King ſent two ſeveral Meſſages to the Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, one of the firſt, and the other of the fifth of *December*; which, tho' Gracious and Reaſonable, were not thought worthy of an Anſwer.

Their Anſwer.

Upon this the King conſulted with his Council, deſiring them 'to propoſe any Expedient, and prepare any Meſſage 'they would adviſe him to ſend to the Parliament.' When they conſider'd that the Overtures already made were ſo ample, that they knew not how to add to them, they concluded, 'That the next Meſſage ſhould only contain a Reſentment of the other, and a Demand of an Anſwer to 'thoſe formerly ſent.' This Meſſage met with the ſame Reception; but thoſe who wiſh'd well to it in the Houſes, found Means to ſend their Advice to *Oxford*, 'That the 'King ſhould not give over that Importunity;' and many were ſtill of Opinion, 'That the neglecting thoſe gracious 'Invitations, would ſhortly make the Parliament ſo odious, that they would not dare long to continue in that 'Obſtinacy.' The *Scots* were griev'd and enrag'd, to ſee their Idol *Presbytery* ſo undervalu'd and contemn'd, that beſides the *Independents* Power in the City, their very Aſſembly of Divines daily loſt Credit and Authority to ſupport it; and therefore deſir'd nothing more than a Treaty for Peace. And many others, who had moſt contributed to a Diminution of the Regal Power, were now more afraid of their own Army, than ever they had been of the King's Authority; and ſtill believ'd, that if a Treaty were once ſet on Foot, it would not be in the Power of the moſt Violent to make it ineffectual; and whatever they believ'd themſelves, they ſent it to the King, as the concurrent Advice of all Well-wiſhers to a Peace. After the King had long expected an Anſwer, induc'd by theſe and the like Reaſons, he ſent again to the Parliament, 'That they would ſend a 'ſafe Conduct for the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl of '*Southampton*, Mr. *Aſhburnham* and Mr. *Palmer*, by whom 'he would make ſuch particular Propoſitions to them, as 'he hop'd would produce a Peace.' To this they ſubmitted to return an Anſwer, in which they declar'd, 'It 'would be inconvenient, and might be of dangerous Conſequence, to admit thoſe Lords and Gentlemen into 'their Quarters; but that they were preparing ſome Propoſitions, which, when finiſh'd, ſhould be ſent to his 'Majeſty in Bills, to be ſign'd by him, which would be 'the only way to produce a Peace.

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The King well knew what ſuch Bills wou'd contain, and that when he had granted them, he ſhou'd have nothing more to deny; therefore he reſolv'd to try another Way, which having been never propos'd, he believ'd they cou'd not deny; and if granted, what Danger ſoever ſhou'd happen to his Perſon, he ſhou'd diſcover, Whether he had ſo many Friends in the Parliament and City, as many Men had perſuaded him; and whether the *Scots*, after all their Pretences, had ever a real Thought of doing him any Service. He ſent to them, towards the End of *December*, ‘ That ſince all other Overtures had prov'd ineffectual, he deſir'd to enter into a *Perſonal Treaty* with the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, upon all Matters which might conduce to the Peace and Happineſs of the Diſtracted Kingdoms; and to that Purpoſe his Majeſty wou'd come to *London*, or *Weſtminſter*, with ſuch of his Servants as now attended Him, and their Followers, not exceeding the Number of three Hundred Perſons, if he might have the Engagement of the two Houſes of Parliament, the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, of the chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army, and thoſe of the *Scotch* Army, for his free and ſafe coming to, and Abode in *London* or *Weſtminſter*, for the Space of forty Days; and after that Time, for his free and ſafe Repair to *Oxford*, *Worceſter*, or *Newark*, if a Peace ſhou'd not be concluded: And for their better Encouragement to hope well from this Treaty, his Majeſty offer'd to ſettle the Militia in ſuch Perſons as ſhou'd be acceptable to Them.

He propoſes a Perſonal Treaty.

$164\frac{5}{6}$. Car. 21.

3. They were indeed awaken'd by this Meſſage, and began to fear that the Royaliſts hop'd to find a Party in their own Quarters; and they concluded that if they ſhou'd neglect to ſend an Anſwer to this Meſſage, their Silence might be miſinterpreted, and that they ſhou'd ſoon hear of the King's Arrival at *London*; the Thoughts of which they cou'd not bear. They therefore made more than uſual Haſte to let his Majeſty know, ‘ That there had been no Delay on their Parts; but for the *Perſonal Treaty* deſir'd by his Majeſty, after ſo much innocent Blood ſhed in the War, by his Commands, and Commiſſioners, &c. they conceiv'd, That until Satisfaction and Security were given to both Kingdoms, his Majeſty's coming thither cou'd not be convenient, nor by them aſſented to; nor did they apprehend it a Means conducing to Peace, to accept of a Treaty for a few Days, with any Thoughts or Intentions of returning to Hoſtility again.’ They further obſerv'd, ‘ That his Majeſty deſir'd the Engagement, not only of the Parliament, but of the Chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army, and thoſe of the *Scotch* Army; which, they ſaid, was againſt the Privilege and Honour of Parliament, to have thoſe joyn'd with them, who were ſubject and Subordinate to their Authority.’ Then they renew'd what they had ſaid in their laſt Anſwer, ‘ That they wou'd ſhortly ſend ſome Bills to his Majeſty, the ſigning of which wou'd be the beſt Way to procure a good and ſafe Peace.

Which is deny'd to him.

The King's further Offers.

Tho' his Majeſty was not willing to acquieſce with this obſtinate Rejection, but ſtill ſent Meſſage after Meſſage to them, and at laſt offer'd ‘ To diſmantle all his Garriſons, and ſo come to and reſide with his Parliament, if all his Adherents might be free to live in their own Houſes, and to enjoy their own Eſtates, without being oblig'd to any Oaths but what were enjoin'd by Law;’ yet he cou'd never procure any other Anſwer from them. And leſt they ſhould be defective in their Affronts, they publiſh'd a particular Ordinance, ‘ That if the King ſhou'd, contrary to the Advice of the Parliament already given to him, come, or attempt to come within the Lines of Communication, the Committee of the Militia ſhou'd raiſe ſuch Forces as they ſhou'd think fit, to prevent any Tumult that might ariſe by his Coming, and to ſuppreſs any that ſhould happen; and to apprehend any that ſhould come with him, or reſort to him; and to *ſecure his Perſon from Danger:* Which laſt was an Expreſſion they always us'd, when no Danger threaten'd Him, but what aroſe from Themſelves. To this their Ordinance, they added another Injunction, ‘ That all who had ever born Arms for his Majeſty, ſhou'd immediately depart, and go out of *London*, upon Penalty of being proceeded againſt as Spies;’ which was the greater Hardſhip, becauſe very many upon the Surrender of Garriſons, were come thither upon the Liberty granted to them by their Articles of Surrendry. So that all Doors being obſtinately ſhut againſt a Treaty, all Thoughts of That, at leaſt with Reference to the Parliament, were laid aſide; and all Endeavours us'd to get ſuch a Power together, as might make Them ſee that the King's Cauſe was not beyond all Poſſibility of Defence.

Their Obſtinacy.

In this unhappy State of Affairs we ſhall conclude the old Year 1645, with the Deaths of ſome eminent Men that were not taken off by this miſerable War, beſides the Lord-Keeper *Littleton:* As firſt, *Lyonel Cranfield*, Earl of *Middleſex*, of whom Mention is made in the former Volume of this Hiſtory; who being Lord-High-Treaſurer, in King *James*'s Reign, by the Means of the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the Countenance of Prince *Charles*, felt the heavy Weight of the Commons Impeachment, ſo as to be ſeverely Fin'd, and Impriſon'd, and in Effect to loſe the Benefit of his Peerage. Yet he recover'd himſelf ſo far as to lead an honourable and hoſpitable Life for many Years at *Copt-Hall* in *Eſſex*, and to leave behind him the noble Character of a great and wiſe Man. After him dy'd Mr. *William Strode*, a Member of Parliament, and particularly noted for being one of the Five, whom the King had unfortunately impeach'd of High-Treaſon, a warm and furious Man, who had been deeply ingag'd in the Miſeries and Calamities of the Nation, the End of which he cou'd not foreſee; for which he was ſo much reſpected, that the whole Houſe of Commons attended his Funeral, appointed him to be laid in *Weſtminſter* Abby by the Body of Mr. *Pym*, and order'd a handſome Sum of Mony to be paid to his Executors. Beſides theſe two, there dy'd four memorable Divines, two Church-men, and two Puritans: The Church-men were Dr. *Daniel Featly*, and Dr. *Walter Balconquall*. The Former was a profound Divine, who had gain'd great Reputation in *France*, during King *James*'s Reign, ſo as to be call'd *The Honour of the Proteſtant Religion, and the* Engliſh *Nation*; being eſteem'd a great Scourge to the *Romaniſts*, and other Separatiſts, a Compendium of the Learned Tongues, and of all the Liberal Arts and Sciences. Having been Miniſter of *Lambeth* and *Acton*, and Provoſt of *Chelſea*-College, he loſt his Preferments, and became a great Sufferer from the preſent Powers, till this Year he departed this Life with the moſt pious Reſignations, having a great Multitude of Perſons of Honour and Quality attending his Funeral. The Other, Dr. *Balconquall*, was a very learned *Scotch* Divine, Dean of the Church of *Durham*, and Maſter of the *Savoy*, who had the Honour to be ſent by King *James* to the Synod of *Dort*, to repreſent the Church of *Scotland*, and to be employ'd by the preſent King, in drawing up his *Long Declaration* againſt the *Scots*; and now having been ſequeſter'd, plunder'd and purſu'd, he retir'd with great Difficulty, and dy'd obſcurely in *Denbighſhire* in *Wales*. The Puritan Divines were Dr. *William Twiſſe* and Mr. *John Dod:* The Former had been a Chaplain to the Queen of *Bohemia* in *Germany*, where he extreamly improv'd himſelf by the Converſation of the *German* Divines, till he became the profoundeſt Writer in the *Anti-Arminian* Cauſe, and the moſt powerful Champion of the rigid *Calviniſts* and *Supralapſarians:* He was Miniſter of *Newberry* in *Berks*, refus'd all other Preferments, ſided with the *Presbyterians*, and became Prolocutor to *The Aſſembly of Divines*; in which Poſt he dy'd, leaving the Name of the moſt acute and ſubtle Divine of the Age. The other, Mr. *Dod*, was originally a *Cantabrigian* of *Jeſus-College*, and after that Miniſter of *Fauſley* in *Northamptonſhire*, a learned Decalogiſt, an exquiſite Hebrician, and a moſt pious and hoſpitable Divine, highly valu'd by all good Men: He left the World in the eighty ſeventh Year of his Age, with whom the old *Puritan* ſeem'd to expire, and in his Grave to be interr'd. Beſides theſe Divines, we ought to take Notice of the Death of *William Burton*, Eſq; a noted Lawyer of *Staffordſhire*, but chiefly celebrated for his laborious Studies in Heraldry, Genealogies, and Antiquities; for which he has been deſervedly diſtinguiſh'd, and for his *Deſcription of* Leiceſterſhire, and accounted *The great Ornament of his Country*. Laſtly, that we may omit none excelling in any Profeſſion, we ſhall mention Mr. *William Laws*, the moſt extraordinary Muſician and Compoſer in this Time, educated under the great *Italian* Maſter *Giovanni Coperario*, and highly reſpected among the Nobility and Clergy: He loſt his Life this Year at the Siege of *Cheſter*, to the great Concern of the King himſelf, who uſually call'd him *The Father of Muſick.*

$164\frac{5}{6}$. Car. 21.

The Death of the Earl of Middleſex,

Mr. Strode

Dr. Featly,

Dr. Balconquall,

Dr. Twiſſe

Mr. Dod,

Mr. Burton,

And Mr. Laws.

XI. 1. The King's Condition being now almoſt at the loweſt Ebb, and no Hopes left of any Treaty, without yielding to ſuch Propoſitions as no King cou'd be ſuppos'd to grant, he us'd ſeveral Endeavours to gain, or to divide the *Independent* Party, which govern'd the Army, that began to govern the Parliament. But he could not meet with that Succeſs as had been promis'd to him; for that Party, tho' numerous and encreaſing, were ſtill under the Influence and Government of three Men, *Cromwell*, *Vane*, and *Ireton*, whoſe ſubtle Intriegues and dark Deſigns cou'd not then by any Mortal be fathom'd. The King's Fortunes were too low to gratify the Ambition of ſeveral among them; and the Amity and Aſſiſtance of the *Scots* began to be neglected and deſpis'd; ſo that when their Commiſſioners preſs'd for a Treaty, they flatly refus'd their Interceſſion, alledging, ‘ That there was a great Interruption in their Affairs, by the Delays and Difficulties the joint Councils of both Kingdoms produc'd.’ And there-

The Parliament weary of the Scots.

$164\frac{5}{6}$.
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The Votes of Honour and Profits.

therefore they voted, 'That the King's Anſwer ſhall be 'deſir'd to their Propoſitions, without a Treaty.' And being indeed weary of the *Scots*, they alſo voted, 'That 'they do intend to carry on the War of *Ireland* with the 'Forces of *England*, and that the *Scots* Forces ſhould be 'call'd away.' In the Debate about the Propoſitions to be ſent to the King, they diſcover'd ſomething of their Inclinations, and voted, 'That Sir *Thomas Fairfax* be made 'a Baron, with five thouſand Pounds a Year ſettled upon 'him; and that his Father be made an Earl: That Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* be made a Baron, and to have 'two thouſand five hundred Pounds *per Annum:* That 'the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Eſſex*, *Warwick* and *Pembroke*, be made Dukes; and the Earls of *Salisbury* and '*Mancheſter*, be made Marqueſſes: That the Lords *Roberts*, *Say*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Wharton*, and *Howard*, 'be made Earls: That Mr. *Hollis* be made a Viſcount. 'That Sir *William Waller* be made a Baron, and to have 'two thouſand five hundred Pounds *per Annum:* That 'Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* be made a Baron, and to have two 'thouſand Pounds *per Annum:* That Sir *Henry Vane* 'Senior be made a Baron: That Sir *Philip Stapleton* be 'made a Baron, with two thouſand Pounds *per Annum:* 'That Sir *William Brereton* have fifteen hundred Pounds '*per Annum:* And that Major-General *Skippon* have a 'thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.' Even the infamous *Harry Martin*, who had been expell'd the Houſe for his Inſolence to the Royal Family, was by means of *Vane* now reſtor'd, and receiv'd into Favour; which, as *Whitelock* obſerves, gave Occaſion to ſome to believe, that the Houſe began to be more averſe from the King.

The Lord Hopton *routed by* Fairfax.

Fairfax's *Opinion of him.*

Thus they were dividing the Spoil, and ſharing the Honours, while their Armies were ſucceſsfully cutting out their Fortunes with the Sword, and *Fairfax* was daily reaping freſh Laurels from the Blood of his Fellow-Subjects. That General, in the Beginning of the new Year, rais'd the Siege of *Plymouth*, and immediately after took *Dartmouth* by Storm; after which he cloſely block'd up the City of *Exeter*, leaving the Command of that Siege to Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, while he himſelf, with the reſt of his Army, march'd off to attend the Motions of the Lord *Hopton*, who being Commander in Chief under the Prince of *Wales*, had march'd to *Torrington* with near four thouſand Horſe, and three thouſand Foot, there expecting ſome new Recruits from *Barnſtable*. Here, having an Army inferior to the Enemy, and debauch'd by his Predeceſſor *Goring*, he was ingag'd by *Fairfax*, and totally defeated, and almoſt deſerted, upon the 14th Day of *February* *Fairfax*, without loſing Time, purſu'd the only Remains of the Royal Army into *Cornwall*, where the Prince had his own Regiment, and other *Corniſh* Troops, that compos'd a Body of about five thouſand Horſe, and one thouſand Foot: But unable to make a Stand againſt the Multitudes that *Fairfax* was pouring in upon him, the Prince embark'd with the Lords *Capel* and *Colepeper*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, and others, and found Refuge in the Iſle of *Scilly*. The Royal Army was left under the Command of the Lord *Hopton*, but now ſo enervated and ungovernable, that being purſu'd and preſs'd upon by *Fairfax*, that brave Man was forc'd to ſubmit, enter into a Treaty, and accept of Articles for diſbanding all his Forces, upon the fourteenth of *March*. Whatever Failings were juſtly charg'd upon the Army, the General's Reputation remain'd unblemiſh'd; and *Fairfax* himſelf was ſo ſenſible of that, that among his Propoſitions to him, he had theſe Words; *Laſtly, for your ſelf, beſides what is implied to you in common with others, you may be aſſur'd of ſuch Mediation in the Parliament on your Behalf, both from my ſelf and others; as for one, whom for Perſonal Worth, and many Virtues, but eſpecially for your Care of, and Moderation towards the Country, we honour and eſteem above any other of your Party;* -----*whoſe Happineſs, ſo far as is conſiſtent with the Publick Welfare, we ſhould delight in, more than in your leaſt Suffering.*

The Royal Cauſe was equally ſuffering and expiring in all other Parts of *England*; the Spirits of all Men began to fail, their Vigour to decline, and the Senſe of Duty and Loyalty to languiſh, and ſink into nothing. The City of *Hereford*, that had ſuſtain'd and eſcap'd a Siege from the *Scots*, was ſurpris'd by a Stratagem under the Conduct of Colonel *Morgan* and Colonel *Birch*; and the important City of *Cheſter* was deliver'd up by the Lord *Byron* into the Parliament's Hands; and *Newark* it ſelf was cloſely beſieg'd by the *Scots* Army. Still the King hop'd to draw out of his few Garriſons, ſuch a Body of Horſe and Foot, as might enable him to take the Field early in the Spring, tho' without any fix'd Deſign. But this was daſh'd in the very Beginning, by the fatal Defeat of the Lord *Aſtley*; who being upon his March from *Worceſter* towards *Oxford*, with two thouſand Horſe and Foot, and the King having appointed to meet him with another Body of fifteen hundred Horſe and Foot, Letters and Orders were unfortunately intercepted; by which the Enemy came to have Notice of the Reſolutions, and drew a much greater Strength from their Garriſons of *Gloceſter*, *Warwick*, *Coventry* and *Eveſham*. So that the Lord *Aſtley* was no ſooner upon the March, but they follow'd him; and the ſecond Day, after he had march'd all Night, and believ'd he had eſcap'd all their Quarters, they fell upon his wearied Troops; which, after a glorious Reſiſtance were totally defeated, and moſt of the Officers, who were not kill'd, taken Priſoners. The brave old General being one, was ſo ſenſible of the Conſequences of this Defeat, that he knew nothing more was to be expected; and he ſaid to one of *Brereton*'s Officers, *You have now done your Work, and may go to Play, unleſs you will fall out among your ſelves.*

$164\frac{5}{6}$.
Car. 21.

The Lord Aſtley *defeated.*

1646.
Car. 22.

A Breach between the Parliament and the Scots.

2. As the King's Cauſe and Condition declin'd and became lower, ſo the Breaches between the Parliament and the *Scots* increas'd and grew wider; and as the Occaſion they had for that Nation's Aſſiſtance became leſs, ſo the Neglect, and even Contempt of them, and their Religion, appear'd more viſible every Day. They frequently exclaim'd againſt the unheard-of Oppreſſions which the Country ſuſtain'd from their Forces and Armies; which *Hollis* ſays was occaſion'd by their want of Pay, cunningly detain'd from them purely to give Riſe to ſuch Complaints. The Committee of the two Kingdoms, who for a long Time had all the Truſt, Power and Authority, both in Matters of War and Peace, was now in Effect laid aſide; and their General *Fairfax* was diſcharg'd of his Subordination to them, and left to do as he ſaw Cauſe with his Army. When the two Houſes had, after ſeveral Months Conſideration, drawn up Propoſitions to be ſent to the King touching Peace, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners made ſeveral Exceptions and Proteſtations againſt theſe Propoſitions, and did in Effect appeal to the People by printing four large Papers concerning their Diſſent. At which the Houſes were ſo incens'd, that they concurr'd in a joint Vote, 'That the Matter contain'd in the ſaid Papers was 'falſe and ſcandalous againſt the Parliament and Kingdom 'of *England:* That they ſhou'd be burnt by the Common 'Hangman; and that a *Declaration* ſhou'd be drawn up, 'which ſhou'd hold forth to the whole World the Untruths therein contain'd, and the Innocency and Integrity 'of the Parliament, *&c.*' Which ſevere Proceeding was ſuch a Breach of the Union between the two Covenanting Nations, that it was believ'd, That nothing but the Trading for the Perſon of the King cou'd have made them Friends.

The Scots *Papers order'd to be burnt.*

Theſe Animoſities, and the *Scots* Pretenſions of having a Right in their King, were thought very advantagious to his Majeſty's ſinking Cauſe; and there ſeem'd to be ſome Life in it; the more becauſe their Agent at *Paris* had, in the Beginning of this Year, there given Encouragement to the Queen of *England* to hope, that the *Scotch* Nation wou'd return to their Duty. Cardinal *Mazarin*, who govern'd all, and grew apprehenſive of the over-grown Power of the *Engliſh* Parliament, now appear'd willing to do ſome ſubſtantial Service to their King, and conſented that the Queen-Regent of *France* ſhou'd ſend over Monſieur *Montrevil* into *England*, with Credentials to the King, as well as the Parliament; by which the Queen of *England* had Opportunity to ſend her Advice to the King her Husband, and this Envoy had Authority 'To engage the Faith of '*France*, as well that the *Scots* ſhou'd perform whatever 'they promis'd to the King, as that the King ſhou'd make 'good whatever he undertook to them.' This was the Foundation of a ſecret Negotiation, little known at that Time. This Miniſter arriving with ſuch ample Powers, the King was at firſt made, or was willing, to believe his ſpecious Promiſes, 'That *France* was now become really 'kind to him, and wou'd do its utmoſt to ſerve him; and 'that the Cardinal was ſatisfy'd of the Honeſty of the '*Scots* Intentions.' But the firſt Information he receiv'd from him, after he conferr'd with their Commiſſioners, was, 'That they peremptorily inſiſted upon a Promiſe to 'be made by his Majeſty, for the Eſtabliſhment of the '*Presbyterian* Government in *England*, as it was in *Scotland*; without which there was no Hope that they wou'd 'ever join with him;' and therefore he earneſtly preſs'd his Majeſty 'To give them Satisfaction in that Point, as the 'Advice of the Queen-Regent, and the Cardinal, and 'likewiſe of the Queen his Wife.' Beſides which, the *Scots* confidently alledg'd, that the Queen had expreſly promis'd to Sir *Robert Moray*, a ſubtle Agent of theirs, *That his Majeſty ſhou'd conſent to that Propoſition*; and farther they produc'd a Writing ſign'd by the Queen, and deliver'd to the ſaid *Moray*, wherein were ſuch Expreſſions concerning Religion, as exceedingly troubled the King, and made him look upon the whole Negotiation, more like a Conſpiracy between the Papiſts and Presbyterians againſt the Church, than any Expedient for his Reſtoration, or Preſervation.

Monſieur Montrevil's *Negotiation with the King.*

Upon

1646. Car. 22.

The King's Anſwer to him.

Upon theſe Informations, the King let Monſieur *Montrevil* know, ' That the propos'd Alteration in Church-Government was expreſsly againſt his Conſcience, and that he cou'd never conſent to it; and that what had ſeem'd to have been promis'd by his Queen, proceeded from her not being well inform'd of the Conſtitution of the Government of *England*, which cou'd not conſiſt with ſuch a Change.' But then he offer'd ' to give all imaginable Aſſurance, That the Maintenance and Support of the Epiſcopal Government in *England*, ſhou'd not bring the leaſt Prejudice to that Government that was then ſetled in *Scotland*;' and farther offer'd, ' That if the *Scots* ſhou'd deſire to have free Exerciſe of their Religion, according to their own Way, while they ſhou'd be any Time in *England*, he wou'd aſſign them convenient Places in *London*, or any other Part of the Kingdom, as they deſir'd.' This was all that the King wou'd ever grant, notwithſtanding the frequent Importunities and Arguments ſent from *Montrevil*, who inform'd him ' of the Diſſatisfaction both the *Scotch* Commiſſioners and the *London Presbyterians* had in his Majeſty's Reſolution in not gratifying him in a Point, which they ever had inſiſted, and wou'd inſiſt upon; and that the *Scots* were reſolv'd to have no more to do with his Majeſty, but to agree with the *Independents*, from whom they cou'd have better Conditions than from him; and he fear'd ſuch an Agreement was already too far advanc'd.' Many Anſwers and Replies paſs'd between the King and this Envoy, and with all imaginable Secrecy; but ſtill his Majeſty was inviolably ſteady: Which caus'd the other to uſe all Arguments to perſuade the *Scots* to be contented with the King's free Offers, and to convince them, ' That their own Preſervation, and that of their Nation, depended upon the Preſervation of their King, and the Support of his Regal Authority.' And it is very memorable, that in one of the King's Anſwers to *Montrevil*, who among other Arguments to perſuade his Majeſty to a Compliance, had aſſur'd him, ' That the *Engliſh Presbyterians* and the *Scots* were fully agreed, the *Scots* having declar'd, That they wou'd never urge for any other Church-Government than was now practis'd in *London*,' and likewiſe inſiſted upon the many Succeſſes they had at that time obtain'd; the King us'd theſe remarkable Words, *Let them never flatter themſelves ſo with their good Succeſſes: Without pretending to Prophecy, I will foretel their Ruin, except they agree with Me; however it ſhall pleaſe God to diſpoſe of Me:* Which they had afterwards great Reaſon to remember.

3. Monſieur *Montrevil* being deſirous to finiſh his Negotiation with Succeſs, or Reputation, reſolv'd to diſcover whether the ſame rigid Spirit that govern'd the *Scots* Commiſſioners, had poſſeſs'd the chief Officers of their Army before *Newark*, and that Committee of State that remain'd with them. In his Paſſage to *Newark*, he waited upon the King at *Oxford*; where he was confirm'd in his Majeſty's Reſolution of adhering to Epiſcopacy in *England*; but as to any other Conceſſions that might ſatisfy the Ambition or Profit of an aſpiring Party, he had full Commiſſion to comply with the moſt extravagant Demands from Perſons likely to make good their Promiſes; except ſuch as might be diſhonourable as to the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* and his Party.

Montrevil *repairs to the* Scotch *Army.*

With theſe Powers, and Directions to ſome prevailing Perſons, he repair'd to the Army; where after he had endeavour'd to rectifie the common old Error, that had made them believe *That an obſtinate inſiſting upon the Alteration of Church-Government, wou'd at laſt prevail over the King's Spirit, as it had done in* Scotland, he found the Governours in the Army much more moderate than he expected, and the preſiding Committee of State rather inventing Expedients how they might handſomely recede from the Rigour of their former Demands, than poſitively to adhere to them. They declar'd Themſelves highly pleas'd That the King deſir'd to come to them, and remain in the Army with them, if he might be ſecur'd of a good Reception for Himſelf, his Servants and Friends; and the chief Officers of the Army ſpoke of That, as a Thing ſo much deſir'd, that it cou'd not be in the Power of any to hinder it, if they ſhou'd attempt it. Even they who had the greateſt Influence in the moſt ſecret Counſels, endeavour'd to be thought to have much freer Reſolutions in that Particular, than they judg'd ſeaſonable to expreſs in direct Undertakings; and employ'd their known Friends, and ſome whom the King had recommended to *Montrevil*, to aſſure him, ' That he might ſafely adviſe his Majeſty to repair to the Army upon his own Terms; and that they wou'd ſend a good Body of their Horſe, to meet and conduct him from any Place he ſhou'd appoint.

He ſigns a Paper to the King.

Upon this Incouragement, *Montrevil* prepar'd a Paper, which, after it had the Approbation of thoſe of the greateſt Intereſt and Power in the Army, was ſign'd by Himſelf the firſt Day of *April*, and ſent to the King. It contain'd theſe Words: *I do promiſe in the Name of the King and Queen Regent, my Maſter and Miſtreſs,* &c. *That if the King of* Great Britain *will put Himſelf into the* Scots *Army, he ſhall be there receiv'd as their* Natural Sovereign; *and that he ſhall be with them in all Freedom of his* Conſcience *and* Honour, *and that all ſuch of his* Subjects *and* Servants *as ſhall be there with him, ſhall be ſafely and honourably protected in their* Perſons; *and that the ſaid* Scots *will* really *and* effectually *joyn with the ſaid King of* Great Britain.----*That they ſhall protect all his Majeſty's Party to the utmoſt of their Power;---and that they ſhall employ their* Armies *and* Forces, *to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the procuring a happy and well-grounded* Peace, *for the Good of his Majeſty, and the ſaid Kingdoms, and in Recovery of his Majeſty's* juſt Rights. Thus the King's Affairs ſeem'd very promiſing, and the King gave an Account of this hopeful Project to the Marqueſs of *Ormond* in *Ireland*. But within a few Days, *Montrevil* found ſuch an unaccountable Uneaſineſs and Backwardneſs, in ſome of thoſe he had treated with, One denying what he had ſaid to him, and another diſclaiming what he had order'd another to ſay, that he thought Himſelf oblig'd with all Speed to adviſe the King of this foul Change, and to diſſwade him from truſting his Perſon among ſuch variable Men: But the Meſſenger who carry'd that Letter was taken Priſoner; and tho' he made his Eſcape, and preſerv'd his Letter, he cou'd not proceed in his Journey, but was compell'd to return to Him who ſent him.

The Scots *Promiſes.*

In the mean Time this Envoy inform'd the Committee, what he had done to clear Himſelf from being made a Property to betray the King, and highly reſented the Injury done to the King his Maſter, and Himſelf, in receding from what they had ſo ſolemnly promis'd. Upon which they appear'd of another Temper, and again deſir'd the King's Preſence in the Army; and to that purpoſe, they promis'd, as an unanimous Reſolution, ' That they wou'd ſend a good Body of Horſe to meet his Majeſty at *Burton upon Trent*; and ſince they cou'd not advance farther with the whole Party, ſome Horſe ſhou'd be ſent to wait upon him as far as *Boſworth*, whither they hop'd his own Horſe wou'd be able to convey him ſecurely; and they deſir'd the King to appoint the Day, and they wou'd not fail to be there.' They likewiſe deſir'd, ' That when their Troops ſhou'd meet his Majeſty, he wou'd tell them, *He was going to* Scotland; which wou'd put an Obligation upon them to attend him into their Army, without diſcovering any Thing of a *Treaty*; which at preſent ought to be kept ſecret from the Parliament.' Of all which *Montrevil* gave the King a full and plain Narration, together with what he had written before by his Letter to Secretary *Nicholas*, of the fifteenth of *April*; in which he inform'd his Majeſty, ' That they wou'd have none of thoſe that had follow'd the King's Party to joyn with them, nor ſo much as thoſe Horſe that accompany'd his Majeſty, to remain in their Army: That they had with Difficulty allow'd, That the two Princes, lately reconcil'd to his Majeſty, might come with the King, with ſuch others of his Servants as were not excepted from Pardon;' concerning whom they made ſome Proviſions. But as to the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, ' They cou'd conſent to no better Terms, than to have him ſent Ambaſſador into any Foreign Country, except *France*.' Then he mentions their inſiſting upon the King's ſettling the *Presbyterian* Government, and concludes with theſe Words, ' If his Majeſty has any other Refuge, or Means to make better Conditions, I think he ought not to accept of Theſe: but if he ſees all Things deſperate every where elſe, and that He and his Servants cannot be ſecure with his Parliament, I dare yet aſſure him, That tho' He and his Servants may not be here with all that Satisfaction he might deſire, *yet He eſpecially ſhall be as ſecure as poſſible.*' In another Letter, the Day after, to the ſame Secretary, he has theſe Words; ' I have Orders from the Deputies of *Scotland* to aſſure you, That they will not herein fail, as ſoon as they ſhall know the Day; and that the King ſhall be receiv'd into the Army as has been promis'd, and *that his Conſcience ſhall not be forc'd.*' And in the laſt Letter which the King or his Secretary receiv'd from him, dated the twentieth of *April*, after ſome Cautions given to his Majeſty, he has theſe Words, ' The Diſpoſition of the Chiefs of the *Scots* Army is ſuch as the King can deſire; they begin to draw off their Troops towards *Burton*, and the Hindering of his Majeſty from falling into the Hands of the *Engliſh* is of ſo great Importance to Them, that it cannot be believ'd but *That they will do all that lies in their Power to prevent it.*

4. Such was the ſecret Negotiation of Monſieur *Montrevil*, who has been highly condemned by ſome for the fatal

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The King in great Perplexity.

Effects it produc'd; but yet his ſeveral Cautions to the King wou'd have diverted him from ſuch an Enterprize, if his Majeſty had diſcover'd any other Courſe preferrable even to the Hazard he ſaw he muſt undergo with the *Scots.* But he was wholly deſtitute of any other Refuge, every Day brought the melancholy News of the Loſs of ſome Garriſon, and as *Oxford* it ſelf was already block'd up at a Diſtance, by thoſe Horſe which *Fairfax* had ſent out of the *Weſt*, purpoſely to wait upon the King and purſue him, if he ſhou'd remove out of that City; ſo he ſoon reduc'd the important Garriſon of *Exeter*, and ſome others in *Devonſhire.* The Governors, at this Time, when there was ſuch ſlender Hope of being reliev'd, thought that they might deliver up their Garriſons before they were preſs'd with the laſt Extremity, that they might obtain the better Conditions. And yet it was generally obſerv'd, That more honourable Conditions were not given to any, than to thoſe who kept the Places intruſted to them, till they had not one Day's Proviſion left. By this Means *Fairfax* was within three Days of *Oxford* before the King left it, or fully reſolv'd what to do. His Majeſty had before ſent to two eminent Commanders, who had block'd up the Place at a Diſtance, *That if they wou'd paſs their Words, That they wou'd immediately conduct him to the Parliament, he wou'd put himſelf into their Hands:* For he was yet perſuaded to think ſo well of the City of *London*, that he wou'd not have been unwilling to have found himſelf there. But thoſe Officers wou'd comply with no ſuch Engagement; and extraordinary Care was taken to have ſtrict Guards round about *London*, that he might not get to that City. Still there was one Thing moſt formidable to the King, which he was reſolv'd to avoid, which was, to be inclos'd in *Oxford*, and ſo, when the Place ſhou'd be ſurrender'd, to be given up, or taken as a Priſoner to the *Independents* Army; which, as he was adviſ'd from all Hands, wou'd treat him very barbarouſly.

He makes a remarkable Vow.

In the Midſt of uncommon Difficulties, the pious King, as it were, reflecting upon his Conceſſions relating to the Churches of *Scotland* and *England*, and being extremely tender in Caſe of Sacrilegious Incroachments, wrote and ſign'd this extraordinary Vow, which was never yet publiſh'd: 'I do here Promiſe and ſolemnly *Vow*, in the Preſence and for the Service of Almighty God, That, if it ſhall pleaſe the Divine Majeſty, of his infinite Goodneſs, to reſtore me to my juſt Kingly Rights, and to re-eſtabliſh me in my Throne, I will wholly give back to his Church all thoſe *Impropriations*, which are now held by the Crown; and what Lands ſoever, I do now, or ſhou'd enjoy, which have been taken away, either from any *Epiſcopal* See, or any *Cathedral* or *Collegiate* Church, from any *Abby*, or other *Religious* Houſe. I likewiſe promiſe for hereafter to hold them from the Church, under ſuch reaſonable *Fines* and *Rents*, as ſhall be ſet down by ſome Conſcientious Perſons, whom I propoſe to chuſe with all Uprightneſs of Heart, to direct me in this Particular. And I moſt humbly beſeech God to accept of this my *Vow*, and to bleſs me in the *Deſign* I have now in Hand, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, *Amen.*

Oxford, April 13,
1646.
Charles R.

This is a true Copy of the King's Vow, which was preſerv'd Thirteen Years, under Ground, by me,

Aug. 21, 1660.
Gilb. Sheldon.

He leaves Oxford *in Diſguiſe.*

After great Conſideration, and in much Perplexity, the poor King choſe rather to commit Himſelf to the *Scots* Army; which yet he wou'd not truſt ſo far as to give them Notice of his Journey, by ſending for a Party of their Horſe to meet him, as they had proffer'd; but very early in the Morning, upon *Monday* the 27th of *April*, he went out of the City in Diſguiſe, in Company only of Dr. *Hudſon*, a Divine and a ſkilful Guide, and Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, and rod as a Servant to the latter, with a Cloak-Bag behind him: And the more to conceal which Way he deſign'd to take, Orders were ſaid to be given, That three other Perſons ſhou'd about the ſame Hour go out of each of the other Gates of the City. In this Equipage he departed from *Oxford*, leaving thoſe of his Council there, who were Privy to his going out, not inform'd whether he ſhould repair to the *Scots* Army, or get privately into *London*, and lie there conceal'd till he might chuſe that which was beſt; and it was generally believ'd, that he had not at that Time fully reſolv'd what he would do; which was the more credited, becauſe it was nine Days after his leaving *Oxford*, before it was known where the King was. This private Departure fill'd all Peoples Heads with ſtrange and various Imaginations, and occaſion'd a thouſand vain Conjectures: But the general Belief, and the dreadful Apprehenſion of his Arrival at *London*, ſo allarm'd the two Houſes of Parliament, that they immediately cauſ'd an Order to be publiſh'd throughout *London* and *Weſtminſter*, by Beat of Drum and Sound of Trumpet, 'That what Perſon ſoever ſhall harbour and conceal, or know of the harbouring and concealing of the King's Perſon, and ſhall not reveal it immediately to the Speakers of both Houſes, ſhall be proceeded againſt as a Traytor to the Common-wealth, *and dye without Mercy.*

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The Parliament allarm'd.

The King's Journey.

As to the Courſe of his Majeſty's difficult Journey, in which much Time was purpoſely ſpent to get Information of the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, Dr. *Hudſon* upon Examination afterwards gave this Account of it: That the three diſguis'd Perſons went from *Oxford* to *Henley*, *Brentford*, and *Harrow on the Hill*, where the King ſtay'd ſome Time: From whence he went towards St. *Albans*, and was upon the Road overtaken by a drunken Man well Hors'd, and riding furiouſly; which put the King, and the two Gentlemen with him, into ſome Apprehenſions that they were diſcover'd and purſu'd. But that Fear being ſoon over, they turn'd paſt St. *Albans* out of the common Road; and the moſt remarkable Place they ſtay'd at next, was *Harborough* in *Leiceſterſhire*, where they expected Monſieur *Montrevil*, or ſome Horſe to meet and conduct his Majeſty to the *Scots* Army, as had been formerly deſign'd: But failing in this, they went to *Stamford*, where the King lay one Night, and from thence paſs'd the Fens to *Downham* in *Norfolk*, where he lay four Days, from the laſt of *April* to the fourth of *May.* During which Stay, he ſent Dr. *Hudſon* to Monſieur *Montrevil*, to know the Reaſon why he did not meet him at *Harborough*, and to adviſe with him what was now to be done. At *Downham* his Majeſty going to be trimm'd, the Barber found great Fault with the Unevenneſs of his Hair, which had been cut to prevent his being diſcover'd, and told him, *The Barber that laſt trimm'd him, was much to blame for it.* Upon Dr. *Hudſon*'s Return, his Majeſty repair'd directly to Monſieur *Montrevil*, who lay at *Southam*, and from thence ſent to General *Leven*, and was conducted by a Troop of Horſe to the Quarters of Lieutenant-General *Leſley* at *Kellam*, and ſo brought to the General himſelf, upon *Tueſday* the fifth of *May.* Thus after ſeveral Years innumerable Struggles and Difficulties, the King was ſtrangely led into a Labyrinth, out of which he could never extricate Himſelf. And for a Concluſion of this Series and Accumulation of Misfortunes, Sir *Edward Walker* obſerves, That if from the Month of *May* 1645, to the ſame Time this Year, his Majeſty had been but Succeſsful in any one of his Undertakings, or had acted the contrary to what he did, he had either been Maſter of all, or at leaſt had kept himſelf in a ſafe Condition for a much longer Time.

He arrives at the Scotch *Army.*

XII. 1. The King's Cauſe was now languiſhing and expiring, and haſtning to its loweſt Ebb, and his Perſon in a worſe Condition than either He or his Friends did then imagine; being in Effect enter'd upon a State of Captivity, in which he met with variety of Uſage, Priſons and Goalers, till the Day of his Death. At firſt he receiv'd the moſt civil Uſage from the *Scots*, who ſeem'd extreamly ſurpris'd and confounded at his Arrival in their Army, and ſent diſſembling Letters to the Committee of both Kingdoms at *Weſtminſter*, to inform them 'of the ſtrange Providence with which they are now *ſurpriſed*, the King coming into their Army yeſterday in ſo private a Way, that after they had made Search for him, they could not find him out in ſundry Houſes: A Matter of much *Aſtoniſhment* to them, ſeeing they did not expect he would have come in any Place under their Power.' And to give them fuller Satisfaction, 'they did ingenuouſly declare, *That there had been no Treaty, nor Capitulation between his Majeſty and Them, nor any in their Names.*' Notwithſtanding this poſitive Declaration, beſides *Montrevil*'s Aſſurance, Biſhop *Guthry* expreſly informs us, That ſome Days before, the Lord *Balmerino* arriving at *Edinburgh* from *London*, reported to both the Committees of the States and the Church, *That they had handled the Matter ſo skilfully, and with that Succeſs, that he was confident the next Advertiſement would give an Account of his Majeſty's being with the* Scotch *Army.*

The Scot's Diſſimulation.

The two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* were ſo diſorder'd at this extraordinary News, that at firſt they reſolv'd to command their General to raiſe the Siege before *Oxford*, and to march with all Expedition to *Newark*; and they made a ſtrange Vote, 'That the King, by going to the *Scots* Army, did prolong the War againſt the *Parliament*, and foment the Diſcord between the two Nations.' But they were ſoon diverted and eas'd by the *Scotch* Commiſſioners at *London*, who aſſur'd them,

'That

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The Parliament's Meſſage to them.

‘ That all their Orders would meet with an abſolute Obedi‑‘ ence in their Army.’ Upon which they made a ſhort Diſpatch to them, in which it was apparent that they believ'd the King had acted wholly by Invitation, and not out of his own free Choice; and implying, ‘ That they ſhould ſhortly re‑‘ ceive farther Direction from them,’ and in the mean Time, ‘ That they ſhould carefully watch that his Majeſty ‘ did not diſpoſe of Himſelf ſome other way.’ And ſoon after they voted, ‘ That his Majeſty's Perſon ſhould be ‘ diſpos'd of as both Houſes ſhould deſire and direct; and ‘ particularly be ſent to *Warwick-Caſtle*.

Newark *deliver'd up.*

The Scots *march with the King to* Newcaſtle.

But the *Scots*, being apprehenſive of this or the like Order, were deſirous to remove Northwards with all Expedition. In this the King readily comply'd with them; for tho' he lik'd not the Treatment he receiv'd, yet fearing that *Fairfax* might be appointed to quit all other Enterprizes, and march towards the *Scots* Army, he immediately gave Order to the Lord *Bellaſis* to ſurrender *Newark*, that the *Scots* might freely march away; and he giving up that Place upon honourable Conditions, which might have held out ſeveral Months longer, the *Scots* Army, before they could receive any Orders from the Parliament, with uncommon Expedition march'd towards *Newcaſtle*. The King was pleas'd with this, tho' their Behaviour to him was ſtill the ſame; and, with their outward Reſpect, great Strictneſs was us'd that he might not confer with any Man not well known to them, much leſs receive Letters from any. It was now obſerv'd, that the firſt publiſhing of extraordinary News was from the Pulpit; and by the Preacher's Text, and Sermon, the Auditors might commonly foreſee what was next to be done in Parliament or Council of State: So the firſt Sermon preach'd before the King, after they left *Newark*, was upon the three laſt Verſes of the 19th of the ſecond Book of *Samuel*, which repreſents the Conteſt between the Men of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, concerning the Right they had in their King. Upon which Subject the Preacher gave Men Cauſe to believe, that now they had gotten their King, they reſolv'd to keep him, and adhere to him. But his Majeſty came no ſooner to *Newcaſtle*, where he was receiv'd with all outward Pomp, than Monſieur *Montrevil* was reſtrain'd from having any Conference with him, and Mr. *Aſhburnham* was advis'd to ſhift for himſelf, *or elſe he ſhould be deliver'd up to the Parliament*. However *Montrevil* ſhew'd a brave Reſentment, and ſufficiently declar'd what had paſs'd between them, and all the ſolemn Promiſes they had made; and ſo, with Mr. *Aſhburnham*, left the Nation, and repair'd to *Paris*, where the Prince of *Wales* arriv'd ſoon after. This Miniſter, to prevent any great Diſcoveries, was reſtrain'd from coming to the Court, forbid to remain in *Paris*, and laid under a form'd, declar'd Diſlike till his Death; which with Grief of Mind not long after enſu'd: So ſubtle and ſecret was the Cardinal in his Negotiations with *England* or *Scotland*.

Diſputes between the Parliament and the Scots.

The King's Meſſages.

2. The King was now ſettled at *Newcaſtle*, where he continu'd near eight Months, under the Power of the *Scots*; who very artfully behav'd themſelves in this Juncture, and in ſuch a manner, that moſt Men believ'd they would never have parted with him, till a full Peace had been made. The Parliament made many ſharp Inſtances, that the King might be deliver'd into their Hands; and that the *Scots* Army would return into their own Country, having done what they were ſent for, and the War being at an End. To which the Council of *Scotland* anſwer'd with Briskneſs and Courage, and bravely inſiſted on thoſe Arguments of the King's Legal Rights, which in all his Majeſty's Declarations had been unanſwerably urg'd againſt the Proceedings of the Parliament, and as much condemn'd them, as the other. The King, in a ſhort Time, ſent a Meſſage to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, ‘ offering all poſſible Con‑‘ ceſſions, and deſiring to return to his Parliament, *for his ‘ and their mutual Comfort*;’ and the next Day a Letter to the City of *London*, expreſſing his Integrity and full Reſolution ‘ to comply with his Parliament in every Thing for ‘ ſettling Truth and Peace, that his Return to that his an‑‘ cient City may be to the Satisfaction of his Parliament, ‘ the good Liking of his Citizens, and all his good People, ‘ *and to his own greater Joy and Comfort*’ And again, not long after, he ſent another Meſſage to both Houſes, propoſing, ‘ That he might come to *London*, with Safety, ‘ Freedom and Honour, where he reſolves to comply with ‘ his Houſes of Parliament in every Thing, *which may be ‘ moſt for the Good of his Subjects*.’ But this unfortunate Prince was now in ſuch helpleſs State, that the *Scots* would neither deliver him, nor the *Engliſh* Parliament receive him, but as a Victim to their mutual Deſigns of Avarice and Empire.

In the mean Time, tho' the King receiv'd all outward Reſpect, yet he really remain'd in the Condition of a Priſoner, and no confiding Servant was ſuffer'd to come to him; and tho' many Perſons of Quality of his Party, when they ſaw the *Scots* reſolute Anſwers, *That they neither wou'd nor cou'd compel his Majeſty to return to the Parliament, againſt his Will*, repair'd to *Newcaſtle*, yet none of them were ſuffer'd to ſpeak with their Maſter, nor cou'd he receive or ſend any Letters, without the Knowledge of the Leaders. Yet ſtill the *Scots* obſerv'd all Diſtances, and perform'd all Ceremonies, as if they had really treated him as their King; and likewiſe made as great Profeſſion to him of their Duty and good Intentions, ‘ Which they ſaid they ‘ wou'd manifeſt as ſoon as it ſhou'd be *ſeaſonable*; and ‘ then his Servants and Friends ſhou'd repair to him with ‘ all Freedom:’ And as they endeavour'd to perſuade the King to expect all this, ſo they prevail'd with many Officers, and ſome of the Nobility, to believe that they meant well, *but that it was not yet Time to diſcover their Intentions:* But in ſhort, their whole Proceedings ſhew'd, That they were willing to receive all Advantages from the King, but to grant none to him. Thus they prevail'd with him to ſend his poſitive Orders to the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, who had done ſuch Wonders, to lay down his Arms, and leave the Kingdom. That gallant Man anſwer'd, *That as he had propos'd nothing to himſelf, in all he had done, but his Majeſty's Service, ſo he was not now to diſpute his Commands.* But ſtill he propos'd in Writing, *That if the Command had been extorted from his Majeſty, he wou'd keep up his Army, and hop'd to force them, in whoſe Hands he was, to do their Duty.* But the King earneſtly inſiſted upon his disbanding, *leaſt they ſhould make it a Pretext for the undoing him*; and ſo the Marqueſs obey'd, without further Heſitation, and tranſported himſelf into *France*.

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The Scots *cunning.*

Montroſs *disbands.*

Oxford *ſurrenders to* Fairfax.

Having gain'd this Point, they advis'd the King, and prevail'd with him to ſend Orders to Sir *Thomas Glemham*, the Governour of *Oxford*, to make Conditions, and to ſurrender that Place into the Hands of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who with his Army then beſieg'd it; and beſides that to publiſh a General Order, which they caus'd to be printed, ‘ That ‘ all Governours of any Garriſons for his Majeſty, ſhould ‘ immediately deliver them up to the Parliament upon ho‑‘ nourable Conditions, *ſince his Majeſty reſolv'd in all Things ‘ to be advis'd by his Parliament:* And till this was done, they alledg'd, ‘ They could not declare themſelves ſo effe‑‘ ctually for his Majeſty's Service and Intereſt, as they re‑‘ ſolv'd to do; becauſe they were oblig'd by their Treaty ‘ and Confederacy, to ſerve the Parliament as they ſhould ‘ direct, until the War ſhould be ended; which being once ‘ effected, they had no more Obligations to the Parliament: ‘ And whenever his Majeſty had no more Forces in Being, ‘ nor Garriſons which held out for him, it could not be ‘ deny'd but that the War was at an End; *and then they ‘ could ſpeak and expoſtulate with Freedom.*’ *Oxford*, which had been the Royal City all this War, began to capitulate, and enter'd on a Treaty, which continu'd from the latter End of *May* to the 24th Day of *June*, without any Ceſſation of Arms; when it was deliver'd up upon ſolemn and honourable Conditions, too long to be enumerated, and too advantageous to be well obſerv'd by a new growing Faction. The whole Number of the Garriſon amounted to about ſeven thouſand Soldiers and Scholars in Pay, who all march'd out; but many of the Nobility and Gentry had leave to tarry for Paſſes; among whom were the King's Son the Duke of *York*, the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, the Earls of *Dorſet*, *Hertford* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Cottington*, *Lane*, *Dunſmore*, and ſeveral others, beſides many Knights, Gentlemen and Officers. The Duke of *York* was convey'd to *London*, and at St. *James*'s committed, with the reſt of the Royal Children, to the Tuition and Care of the Earl of *Northumberland* and his Lady. The two Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, had Paſſes granted them to go beyond the Seas; but before their Departure, by the Parliament's Leave, had a Viſit forc'd upon them by their Elder Brother, the Prince Elector, all this Time joyning with the Parliament; which they receiv'd with Scorn. Upon the Surrendry of *Oxford*, all the Seals of the State were ſent up by the General to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, namely the Great Seal of *England*, the Privy-Seal Signet, the King's-Bench, Exchequer, Court of Wards, Admiralty, and Navy Seals, together with the Sword. The Seals were immediately voted to be broken in Pieces; which was accordingly perform'd by a Smith in the Houſe of Lords, in the Preſence of the Commons, and the broken Silver given as a Reward to the two Speakers; but the Sword was laid up ſafe in the Wardrobe.

All other Places deliver'd up.

Oxford prov'd a leading Example to the reſt of the King's Garriſons, which in a few Months Time were all deliver'd up to the Parliament; as *Farringdon*, *Litchfield*, *Worceſter*, *Wallingford*, and ſeveral ſtrong Caſtles, of which ſome ſurrender'd with leſs Reſiſtance than they might have made, agreeable to the King's general Order, and the little Hopes they had of Relief. But others defended themſelves with ſignal Bravery to the laſt, to the great Damage of the Enemy, and hindering the Army from uniting together, and carrying on their grand Deſigns; which was one Cauſe of prolonging the Treaty with the *Scots*, and the preſerving ſo

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long the Credit and Authority of the *Presbyterians.* This was the Caſe of *Ragland* and *Pendennis* Caſtles; which endured the longeſt Sieges, and held out almoſt the laſt of any Forts or Caſtles in *England*; being valiantly defended by two Perſons of very great Age, and were at length deliver'd up within a Day or two of each other, in the latter End of *Auguſt*. *Ragland* was maintain'd with wonderful Courage by the old Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, againſt *Fairſax* himſelf, till it was reduc'd to the utmoſt Extremity, and ſurrender'd upon honourable Conditions. *Pendennis*, under the brave *John Arundel* and his Son *Richard*, refus'd all Summons, and admitted of no Treaty, till they were reduc'd to the moſt ſtarving Circumſtances; and then gain'd as good Conditions as any Garriſon in *England* had obtain'd. So that now no Garriſons remain'd unreduc'd to the Parliament, but thoſe in the *North*, which continu'd in the Hands of the *Scots*; and the victorious General *Fairfax* return'd to *London* in the Beginning of *November*, where he was receiv'd both by the Parliament and City in a moſt ſolemn and triumphant manner, and complimented as one that had glorioſly put an End to the Miſeries of the Kingdom.

Fairfax's *Reception at* London.

3. In the Time of theſe Tranſactions, the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* thought their only Buſineſs was now to get Poſſeſſion of the King's Perſon, and to free themſelves from the Army of the *Scots*, with whom they were highly offended for not ſending the King to *Warwick*, according to their firſt Order. Therefore they enter'd into many Conferences with the Commiſſioners for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and at the End of *June* came to an Agreement with them upon what they call'd Propoſitions of Peace. On the ſame Day General *Leven* and his Officers preſented a mock Petition to the King, 'Praying his Majeſty to compaſſionate the diſtreſſed Condition of his Kingdoms, 'groaning under the heavy Preſſures of manifold Calamities, occaſion'd by the Continuance of this unnatural 'War; and to comply with the Counſels of his Parliament.' To which the King return'd Anſwer, 'That he 'came into the *Scottiſh* Army with full Intent of ſettling 'an happy Peace, and to ſatisfy the juſt Deſires of his 'good Subjects, and to comply with his Parliaments in 'all Things which ſhall be for the good of Religion, and 'the Happineſs of his People.' The Commons were more and more apprehenſive of the good Intentions of the *Scots*, therefore boldly voted in the Beginning of *July*, 'That 'this Kingdom hath no farther Need of the *Scotch* Army, 'and is unable to pay them longer; and that therefore a 'Letter ſhould be ſent from both Houſes to the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, to deſire them to withdraw their Army into *Scotland*.

The Parliament prepare Propoſitions for the King.

There was a long Conteſt and Struggle in the Houſes, concerning the Propoſitions that were to be ſent to the King: *Vane*, *Cromwell*, and their Party were for making the Demands as extravagant as poſſible, only without expreſſing the King's Depoſition or Death; while the Party of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who dy'd ſhortly after, and the *Scots*, endeavour'd to mollify the Articles, ſo as to make them paſs with his Majeſty. But the *Independents* had in ſeveral Things the Aſcendant, and at length, after ſeveral Months Formation, they compleated the Propoſitions about the Middle of *July*; and order'd them to be carry'd to the King at *Newcaſtle* by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*, of the Peers; and Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Hipperſley*, *Robert Goodwin*, and *Luke Robinſon*, Eſquires, for the Commons; Mr. *Marſhall* attending them as Chaplain. The Propoſitions were nineteen in Number, and too long to be recited here: In Subſtance they were, 'Firſt to annul 'all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations, againſt the 'Houſes of Parliament, *who had been neceſſitated to undertake the War*; and next for the King to ſwear and ſign the '*Solemn League and Covenant*, and to join in the utter 'aboliſhing of all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, *&c.* and that the Ordinance for the *Aſſembly of* '*Divines*, and *Reformation of Religion* be confirmed, and 'that both Nations be brought to *Uniformity of Religion*, 'according to the *Covenant*.' Beſides theſe Particulars, the Propoſitions did in Effect require his Majeſty 'To diveſt himſelf of all Power to protect his People, by putting the *Militia* into the Hands of the Houſes; and that 'he ſhould betray the greateſt Part of the Nobility and Gentry, which had adher'd to him in the War, to inevitable 'Ruin: Some of which were to be excluded from all 'Hope of Pardon, as to the ſaving of their Lives, others 'to forfeit their Eſtates, and loſe their Liberties; the Clergy to remain under Sequeſtration, and the Lawyers of 'both Sorts to be diſabled from the uſe of their Callings.' Demands of ſuch a horrid and deſtructive Nature, as would, if granted, have render'd the King and his Memory inglorious and deſpicable both at Home and Abroad.

The Subſtance of them.

Hamilton *and* Argyle *wait upon the* King.

The King had firſt Notice of theſe Propoſitions by the Duke of *Hamilton*, who had been ſet at Liberty by the Reduction of *Cornwall*, had been with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners at *London*, and now arriv'd at *Newcaſtle* on the 17th of *July*. It was obſerv'd, that at the very Moment that he kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand, there hapned a dreadful Storm of Thunder and Lightning, without any preceding Appearance in the midſt of a fair Day: Which hapning ſoon after, and exactly in the ſame manner, when the Marqueſs of *Argyle* receiv'd the ſame Favour, many believ'd it proceeded more from an ominous than a natural Cauſe. Theſe two endeavour'd to perſuade his Majeſty to a Compliance with his Parliament; who was now particularly engag'd with the famous Mr. *Henderſon*, who came provided with Books and all other Helps to induce the King to aboliſh Epiſcopacy in *England*, as he had done in *Scotland*. Several Papers paſs'd between the King and Him, which have been often publiſh'd in Print; by which it appears that if his Majeſty's Arms had been as ſtrong as his Arguments, he had been every way invincible: And ſince theſe Anſwers were made without the Aſſiſtance of Books or Men, it was wonderful to ſee a Prince able to outrun ſo great a Theologue, in a Controverſy which had exercis'd his Thoughts and Studies for ſo many Years. The old Man departed with great Sorrow to *Edinburgh*, and ſo far convinc'd and converted, that he had a very deep Senſe of the Miſchief of which he had been the Author or Abettor; and not only lamented to his Friends and Confidents, but upon his Death Bed ſhortly after, publiſh'd a ſolemn Declaration to the Parliament and Synod of *England*: In which he own'd, 'That they had been abus'd with moſt 'falſe Aſperſions againſt his Majeſty; and declares that they 'ought to reſtore him to his juſt Rights, Royal Throne 'and Dignity, leaſt an indelible Character of Ingratitude 'lye upon them, that may turn to their Ruin.' As to the Character of the King himſelf, beſides mentioning his Juſtice, his Magnanimity, his Sobriety, his Chaſtity and other Virtues, he has theſe Words: *I do declare before God and the World, whether in Relation to Kirk or State, I found his Majeſty the moſt intelligent Man that ever I ſpoke with; as far beyond my Expreſſion, as Expectation.-----I profeſs, that I was oftentimes aſtoniſh'd with the Solidity and Quickneſs of his Reaſons and Replies, wonder'd how He, ſpending his Time in Sports and Recreations, cou'd have attained to ſo great Knowledge; and muſt confeſs, that I was convinc'd in Conſcience, and knew not how to give him any reaſonable Satisfaction; yet the Sweetneſs of his Diſpoſition is ſuch, that whatſoever I ſaid, was well taken: I muſt ſay that I never met with any Diſputant of that mild and calm Temper, which convinc'd me that ſuch Wiſdom and Moderation cou'd not be without an extraordinary Meaſure of the Divine Grace.-----I dare ſay, if his Advice had been follow'd, all the Blood that is ſhed, and all the Rapine that is committed, ſhou'd have been prevented.* I have been inform'd that this Character has been adjudg'd ſpurious; but I cannot find Authority ſufficient to ſupport ſuch an Aſſertion.

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The King's Diſpute with Henderſon.

Henderſon's *Character of the* King.

The King had juſt defeated this great Man, when he was attack'd by *Bellievre* the *French* Ambaſſador, who came over with great Promiſes of Aſſiſtance from the Court of *France*; and, after he had much convers'd with the *Scots* and Presbyterian Party at *London*, waited upon his Majeſty at *Newcaſtle*. Here the main Part of his Buſineſs was to inform the King, 'That nothing cou'd be done for him, 'except he wou'd give up the Church, extirpate Epiſcopacy, and give up all the Lands belonging to Cathedral 'Churches according as the Parliament ſhou'd adviſe;' and therefore he earneſtly preſs'd him to that Condeſcenſion. But beſides the Matter propos'd, in which the King was not to be mov'd, he had little Regard to the Promiſes of the Ambaſſador, having too late diſcover'd the ſmall Affection of the *French* Cardinal, by the unfortunate Event of *Montrevil*'s Negotiation. This Ambaſſador ſoon inform'd the Cardinal, 'That the King was too reſerv'd in 'giving the Parliament Satisfaction, and deſir'd that ſome 'more prevailing Perſon might be ſent to perſuade him to 'what was neceſſary to his Service.' Upon which the Queen, who valu'd not Epiſcopacy, nor underſtood her Husband's true Intereſt, ſent over the famous Poet Laureat, Sir *William Davenant*, a Perſon, tho' honeſt and faithful to the King, yet who did not think the Church of that Importance, as to weigh down the Benefit that might attend the Conceſſion. But the King treated him with unuſual Sharpneſs, and ſent him back to *France* much dejected, and out of all Hopes of prevailing in this Point. The *French* Writers magnify the Pains taken by the Ambaſſador *Bellievre*, and own that the King became a Martyr to the Church of *England*, and that it was the only Point that decided his Fate. And indeed it was generally and rationally believ'd, That if the *Scots* and the *Presbyterians* cou'd have gain'd that Point, there wou'd have appear'd a ſufficient Party in the Parliament and elſewhere, who wou'd have join'd with the Royaliſts for their Maſter's Defence. So that the King's Behaviour in this, and in rejecting the Parliament's Propoſitions, is by his Enemies call'd an obſtinate Stiffneſs, and by his Friends an inviolable Steadineſs.

Mon. Bellievre's *Negotiation with the King.*

The Parliament's Propoſitions brought to the King.

4. In the mean Time the fore-mention'd Propoſitions were brought to the King, on the 24th of *July*, by the Parliament Commiſſioners, who all kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand. The King firſt demanded of them, *If they had any Power to treat?* To which they anſwering in the Negative; his Majeſty reply'd, *Then, ſaving the Honour of the Buſineſs, an honeſt Trumpeter might have done as much.* Then Mr. *Goodwin* read the Propoſitions, to which his Majeſty was patiently attentive, and in the Concluſion only ſaid, *Gentlemen, I hope you do not expect a ſpeedy Anſwer, becauſe the Buſineſs is of high Concernment.* The Earl of *Pembroke* anſwer'd, *That they were limited not to ſtay above ten Days after their coming to that Town, and muſt then return.* His Majeſty reply'd, *That he wou'd diſpatch them in a convenient Time*; and ſo for the preſent diſmiſs'd them. After this the King told them, *He knew not what Anſwer to make to them, till he ſhou'd be inform'd what Power or Authority they had left to Him, and his Heirs, when he had given up all that which they deſired.* But after a full Conſideration, and much Oppoſition, he deliver'd his Anſwer in Writing to the Commiſſioners; in which he told the two Houſes, ‘That the Propoſitions tender'd to him did import ſo great Alterations in the Government, both in the Church and Kingdom, that it was difficult to return a particular and poſitive Anſwer before a full Debate: To which End his Majeſty deſired and propos'd to come to *London*, or any of his Houſes thereabouts; where by his Perſonal Preſence he may not only raiſe a mutual Confidence betwixt him and his People, but alſo have thoſe Doubts cleared, and thoſe Difficulties explain'd to him, which he now conceives to be deſtructive to his juſt Regal Power, if he ſhall give a full Conſent to theſe Propoſitions, as they now ſtand.’

The King's Anſwer to them.

In the mean Time the *Scots* us'd all Importunity, and even Threats to his Majeſty, to perſuade him to comply with theſe Propoſitions; tho' they confeſs'd, ‘That they were higher in many Things than they approv'd of, yet they ſaw no other Means for him to cloſe with his Parliament, than by granting their Demands.’ The Duke of *Hamilton* preſs'd him earneſtly to yield to them, and the Chancellor *Lowdon* told him plainly and with great Vehemency, ‘That the Conſequence of his Anſwer to the Propoſitions, was as great, as the Ruin or Preſervation of his Crown or Kingdoms: That the Parliament, after many bloody Battles, had got the ſtrong Holds and Forts of the Kingdom into their Hands: That they had his Revenue, Exciſe, Aſſeſſments, Sequeſtrations, and Power to raiſe all the Men and Money in the Kingdom: That they had conquer'd all, and had a ſtrong Army to maintain what they had got; ſo they might do what they wou'd with Church and State: That they deſir'd neither him, nor any of his Race, longer to reign over them; and had ſent theſe Propoſitions to him, without the granting of which, the Kingdom and his People cou'd not be in Safety: That if he refus'd his Conſent, he wou'd loſe all his Friends in Parliament, loſe the City, and loſe the Country; and that all *England* wou'd join againſt him as one Man, to deprive him, and ſet up another Government; and ſo both Kingdoms, for either's Safety, wou'd agree to ſettle Religion and Peace without him, to the Ruin of his Perſon and Poſterity: And concluded, *That if he left* England, *he wou'd not be admitted to come and Reign in* Scotland.’ Theſe ſort of Arguments did rather provoke than perſuade the King, who reply'd with great Reſolution and Magnanimity, ‘That no Condition they cou'd reduce him to, cou'd be half ſo miſerable and grievous to him, as that to which they wou'd perſuade him to reduce himſelf; and therefore bad them proceed their own Way, *and that tho' they had all forſaken him, God had not.*

Lowdon's Speech to the King.

His great Steadineſs.

This was his Majeſty's full Reſolution, which ſome call an unſeaſonable Stiffneſs: Yet others are of Opinion, that he wou'd ſtill have comply'd, had he not been deluded by the *Independent* Leaders; and particularly we are told by one Colonel *Bamfield* in his Apology, That *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and their Party, impos'd a Belief upon ſome of the greateſt and beſt of the King's Friends, that the Army wou'd reſtore him upon the rejecting the Parliament's Propoſitions. And that they might poſſeſs his Majeſty with the ſame Opinion, they conniv'd at the Eſcape of a Clergy-Man out of the *Tower*, who was a known Friend to the King, and a profeſs'd Enemy to the *Presbyterians* and *Scots*; which Clergy-Man, having Inſtructions from ſome of the beſt of the King's Friends, that were impos'd upon by *Cromwell*, came ſecretly to his Majeſty at *Newcaſtle*, prevail'd with him to reject the Propoſitions, and poſſeſs'd him with Hopes of being reſtor'd by the Army. And the Colonel ſays farther, That he was ſo ſenſible of the Cheat, thus contriv'd by *Cromwell* and his Party, that he diſcover'd it to the Marqueſs of *Hartford*; but that noble Man was himſelf ſo far deluded by *Cromwell*'s falſe Promiſes, that he adviſ'd the Colonel to forbear oppoſing it, and told him he was ſuſpected to favour the *Presbyterians*, more than the King. As to this Story, it is not improbable that *Cromwell* and his Party might incourage the King to reject the Propoſitions, as being ſo likely to promote their ſecret Deſigns; but for his Majeſty's Intention of complying with them, before he receiv'd ſuch Incouragement, as it is rather ſuppos'd than prov'd, ſo it anſwers not fully the reſt of the King's Hiſtory, or his Character: Only, thus much is juſtly believ'd, That he was more ready to hearken to the Promiſes of the *Independents*, than prov'd agreeable to his future Intereſt or Safety.

Bamfield's Account of this Affair.

5. The King's Anſwer being brought to the Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, it was receiv'd both with Joy and Sorrow, according to the Inclinations of the ſeveral Parties: The *Independents* fear'd nothing ſo much as the King's granting the Propoſitions, knowing in that Caſe, there cou'd be no Colour for keeping up the Army; and in the Houſe of Commons, when Thanks were voted to the Commiſſioners that had been with the King, one Member whiſper'd to another, *That they ow'd more Thanks to the King than to any Body*; and in another Corner, an honeſt Member ſaying to another, *What ſhall become of us, ſince the King refuſes the Propoſitions?* the other anſwer'd, *Nay, what had become of us if he had granted them?* Therefore new Counſels were taken how to bring the King into ſafer Cuſtody, and how to ſend the *Scots* ſpeedily into their own Country. Accordingly the Houſe of Commons, upon Conſideration of a Paper deliver'd by the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, voted ‘That the Sum of a hundred thouſand Pounds ſhou'd be provided for the Advance of the *Scots* Army in *Scotland*. And did farther Reſolve, ‘That the Houſe do well and thankfully approve of their good Affections and Zeal to this Kingdom, and their Offer to deliver up our Garriſons and depart the Kingdom: That their Arrears ſhall be audited, and in convenient Time paid.’ So they proceeded to a particular Reckoning with them: The *Scots* demanded two Millions of Money from *January* 1643, to *September* 1646. The Parliament accounted for one million four hundred thouſand Pounds already paid; but the *Scots* excepted to ſeveral Particulars in the Account, and offer'd to accept of a Sum in groſs for a full Diſcharge of their Arrears, to be agreed on by Commiſſioners; who concluded on four hundred thouſand Pounds, of which one Moiety was to be paid before their leaving the Kingdom, and the other within ſtated Terms. But the delivering up of the King was a tacit Condition of this Agreement, as it appear'd afterwards.

The Parliament reckon with the Scots.

In the mean Time, juſt after the Departure of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners from *Newcaſtle*, the Chancellor *Lowdon*, the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, and the Earl of *Dumfermling*, offer'd to his Majeſty to go up and treat with the Parliament for a Mitigation of the Propoſitions; and accordingly repair'd to *London*. What his Majeſty expected from theſe ſubtle Managers, is uncertain; but the Royaliſts, who knew them, took the Liberty to ſay, *That their Treating wou'd end in a Bargain.* They at firſt appear'd very much for the King; and when the Parliament made an expreſs Vote, ‘That his Majeſty ſhall be diſpos'd of as both their own Houſes ſhould think fit;’ they put in their Claim to a joint Right of diſpoſing of his Majeſty's Perſon; and the Chancellor *Lowdon* made ſeveral Speeches to the Houſes, and talk'd high *of the indelible Character of Diſgrace and Infamy, which muſt be for ever imprinted on them, if they yielded to it.* The *Scotch* Commiſſioners deliver'd in ſeveral Papers, in which they particularly inſiſted, ‘That their Army by the Oath of Allegiance, their Committee of Eſtates by their Commiſſion, and their Officers by their Military Oath, ought all to defend the King from Harms and Prejudices: Often affirming, *That the King came to their Army for Shelter*; adding, That it was the Law and Practice of all Nations, not to deliver the meaneſt Subject fled to them, tho' for the higheſt Crimes; and if the meaneſt were not to be deliver'd, how would the World condemn them, for ſo baſe and diſhonourable an Act! *The King having caſt himſelf into their Hands.*’ They likewiſe argu'd, ‘If the *Scotch* Army was invited into the Kingdom by both Houſes of Parliament, in a Treaty for proſecuting the Ends of the *Solemn League and Covenant*; whereof one Article is *to preſerve and defend his Majeſty's Perſon*; there can be no Doubt concerning this Exerciſe of that Right and Intereſt in this Kingdom.’ And therefore wonder'd, ‘That when upon Invitation they were come into *England*, as for other Ends, ſo to *defend his Majeſty's Perſon*, their being in *England* ſhou'd be us'd as an Argument Why they ſhou'd deliver up the King to be diſpos'd of as both their own Houſes ſhou'd think fit.’ The *Engliſh* Parliament reply'd, ‘That the *Scotch* Army came in hither as Auxiliaries, under Pay; and therefore they ought not to capitulate at all in this Matter;’ and at length came to this poſitive Aſſertion, ‘*We do affirm, that the Kingdom of* Scotland *hath no Right*

Lowdon's *and the* Scots *Claim to their King.*

The Parliament's Reply.

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‘ *of joint Exerciſe of Intereſt in diſpoſing of the Perſon of* ‘ *the King, in the Kingdom of* England.’ In ſum, they adhered and truſted to this one Argument, That the *Scots* Army wou'd not carry away the King, to loſe their four hundred thouſand Pounds Contract; and that they ſhou'd receive no Part of it, without delivering up their Security, the King's Perſon. However, by Loan from the City, upon the Credit of a Sale of Church-Lands, the Sum of two hundred thouſand Pounds was ready at *Gold-Smiths-Hall* by the End of *November*; and being ſoon after ſent into the *North*, it was quickly gueſs'd that the Perſon of the King was to be given for a *Scotch* Acquittance to the *Engliſh*.

The Deſigns of the Independents.

During theſe artful Proceedings, the *Independents*, fearing a Settlement might follow, betook Themſelves to ſtrange Methods to obſtruct it; and gave the King Hopes ‘ That they wou'd be willing to diſpenſe with the Impoſing of the *Covenant*, and conſent to a Toleration of *Epiſcopacy* and the *Liturgy*, if they might be ſatisfy'd in other Points.’ While the King ſeem'd inclining to theſe People, the Earl of *Lauderdale* continu'd to write from *London* to him, aſſuring his Majeſty, ‘ That he knew their ‘ Deſigns were the Ruin of Monarchy, and the Deſtruction of his Perſon and Poſterity; and tho' they might cajole his Majeſty with ſmooth Propoſitions, they only ‘ meant to divide him from his Parliaments, and ſo more ‘ effectually ruin him. But if he wou'd now conſent to ‘ the Propoſitions, all wou'd go right, and *in ſpight of the* ‘ *Devil and Independents both, he wou'd be quickly on his* ‘ *Throne:* But Delays were dangerous, for they that wiſh'd ‘ well to the King, became daily more heartleſs, while the ‘ other Party grew more inſolent; and the Death of the ‘ Earl of *Eſſex* at that Time, had given the greateſt Blow ‘ to the King's Affairs they cou'd have met with.’ Theſe different Promiſes and Aſſurances did more and more perplex the King, who ſeem'd moſt to hearken to his old falſe Friend *William Murray* of the Bed-Chamber, who privately propos'd an Eſcape, and offer'd to make his Way, and to have a Ship in Readineſs to tranſport his Majeſty beyond Sea. The Project appear'd plauſible, and the King had diſguis'd himſelf for it, but was diſcover'd in the Attempt: Whether he was faithful to the King in this Point, it is uncertain, ſince Sir *Robert Murray* was concern'd in it; but Biſhop *Guthry* ſays the Matter was divulg'd before the ſet Time, ſo that there was no other Diſcourſe throughout the Army, but of *Murray*'s Plot to carry away the King. Thereupon a Guard of Soldiers was immediately planted at his Chamber Door, both within and without; by which his Majeſty was not only depriv'd of Liberty, but alſo of Quiet and Retirement; and having an Antipathy againſt Tobacco, was much diſturb'd by their bold and continual Smoaking by Him.

The King deſigns an Eſcape.

The Scotch *Parliament.*

6. In the mean Time, on the third of *November*, the *Scotch* Parliament met at *Edinburgh*, where had been great Debates concerning their Armies, and the King's Perſon, both in the Committee of the Eſtates, and of the Kirk; all which were artfully ſuſpended till the Meeting of this Parliament. Here the Intereſt and Grandeur of the Duke of *Hamilton* ſufficiently appear'd; and Biſhop *Guthry* tells us That the Royaliſts ſoon dealt with his Grace, *That he would be pleas'd to bring in the main Buſineſs, concerning the Owning of the King:* And in particular the Lord *Innepeffer*, having ſounded moſt of the Commiſſioners, and found them true to his Majeſty, went and beſought the Duke to ſuffer no Delay, aſſuring him ‘ It wou'd now go ‘ for the King by thirty Voices; but if protracted, the *Argylians* and Kirk Commiſſioners were ſo induſtrious, ‘ that in Time they wou'd draw over ſo many, as to loſe ‘ the Cauſe.’ The Duke thank'd Him for his Affection to the King, but deſir'd, *He wou'd leave the Timeing of the Buſineſs to Him, who knew beſt to take the Opportunity.* Likewiſe a Week after, the ſame Lord, finding a great Change in the Commiſſioners, ſent to the Duke to ſhew ‘ That by Reaſon of Men's Inconſtancy, they now cou'd ‘ carry it only by fifteen Voices,’ and earneſtly preſs'd for Expedition. His Grace return'd the ſame Anſwer; and indeed it was the fifteenth of *December* before he made any publick Mention of the Buſineſs: At which Time there came Letters from the Commiſſioners at *London*, ſhewing, ‘ That they were ſo far advanc'd in Agreeing with the Parliament of *England*, as they ſhou'd receive two Hundred ‘ Thouſand Pounds in Hand; and as much more at ſet ‘ Terms, on Condition, They retir'd their Army, and ſurrender'd the King, without any Conditions for Him.’ Since the Duke, on whom the Royaliſts depended, had deferr'd this Buſineſs till the Arrival of theſe Letters, they concluded he was ingag'd with the reſt, and therefore the moſt Part reſolv'd to comply, leaſt they ſhou'd draw down the Indignation of an increaſing Faction. And that the Parliament Commiſſioners might proceed more unanimouſly, Thoſe of the Kirk publiſh'd a *Warning*, exhorting all to cloſe with the Parliament of *England*, and not to ſuffer the King to come into *Scotland*, without firſt taking the *Covenant*, and ſigning the Parliament's Propoſitions.

Hamilton's *Management.*

1646.
Car. 22.

The King's Meſſage to both Kingdoms.

The Scotch *Commiſſioners leave* London.

In Concluſion they agreed ‘ To ſend once more to his ‘ Majeſty, to deſire him to grant the whole Propoſitions; ‘ and in Caſe of Refuſal, they wou'd withdraw their Army, and leave him to the *Engliſh* Parliament. This being urg'd to the ſame Effect by the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, his Majeſty ſent his laſt Meſſage both to *London* and *Edinburgh*, earneſtly preſſing for a Perſonal Treaty with his Parliament of *England*, and concluding with theſe Words: *It is your* King *who deſires to be heard (the which if refus'd to a Subject by a King, he wou'd be thought a* Tyrant *for it) and for that End which all Men profeſs to deſire. Wherefore his Majeſty conjures you, as you deſire to ſhew your ſelves really what you profeſs, even as you are good* Chriſtians *and* Subjects, *that you will accept this his Offer, which he is confident God will ſo bleſs, that it will be the readieſt Means by which theſe Kingdoms may again become a Comfort to their Friends, and a Terror to their Enemies.* This was receiv'd at *Weſtminſter* without any Regard to it, where the next Debate was about the King's Perſon; and the mildeſt Opinion was, That he ſhou'd be kept Priſoner, ſome being for the utter Excluding him from the Government; and for the Place of his Reſtraint, it was carry'd that he ſhou'd go to *Holmby-Houſe* in *Northamptonſhire*. But when he was order'd to be kept in Safety for his Perſon, *Harry Martin* objected, *That the King had broken the Peace, and why muſt the Parliament bind for his Safety*? but however it was carry'd *to preſerve his Perſon according to the Covenant*, which was now thought a great Point. Thus they took their Leaves of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, who departed from *London* in the End of *December*; when it was mov'd in the Commons to return them the Thanks of the Houſe for their *Civilities and good Offices:* The *Independents* argued againſt that of *Good Offices*, and recounted many bad ones ſince the King went to *Newcaſtle*; and it was carry'd by twenty four Votes to daſh out *Good Offices*, and only thank them for their *Civilities*. And ſo all thoſe glorious Characters they us'd to give the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, upon every Occaſion, now concluded in this, *That they were well-bred Gentlemen.*

164$\frac{6}{7}$.
Car. 22.

The Scotch *Parliament give up the King.*

7. About the Beginning of *January*, the Commiſſioners from the *Scotch* Parliament arriv'd at *Newcaſtle*, who urg'd his Majeſty to a final and ſatisfactory Anſwer to the Propoſitions, declaring, *It wou'd be receiv'd with more Joy, than had been ever ſeen at any Coronation in* England. But the King deſir'd to be reſolv'd in two Things before he cou'd give his Anſwer: The Firſt was, *Whether he was a free Man, or a Priſoner*? Adding, *That if he were a Priſoner, it was the Opinion of many Divines, that Promiſes, in that Caſe, did not oblige; tho' he did not aſſert that to be his own Senſe.* The next was, *Whether he might go to* Scotland, *with Honour, Freedom and Safety, or not*? They did not give a direct Anſwer to the Firſt, but as to the Second, they intimated, ‘ That without his Majeſty's full ‘ Compliance, they muſt follow the Reſolutions of the ‘ Parliament of *England*.’ The King refuſing ſuch a Compliance, on the ſixteenth of *January*, it was debated by the *Scotch* Parliament, what ſhou'd be done with his Majeſty's Perſon; and at length, according to Biſhop *Guthry*, it was voted in theſe Words, ‘ That, according to the Agree‘ment of the Commiſſioners above, the Army ſhou'd re‘tire, and the King be left to the *Engliſh*, without any ‘ Conditions for him, or our Intereſt in Him.’ Of this Vote, both Duke *Hamilton* and his Brother *Lanrick* were warm Oppoſers, and ſtrenuouſly exerted Themſelves; but ſtill they cou'd not preſerve their Reputation, in regard all their Friends and Followers voted the other Way. Thus, after eight Months Treating, or rather Bargaining, the King's Fate was determin'd by thoſe, on whom he thought he had laid an Obligation beyond all former Engagements.

Cenſures upon the Fact.

This Fact had an Appearance ſo infamous and diſhonourable, that it ſoon became the Matter of Diſcourſe and Cenſure of all Chriſtendom; and indeed the Diſgrace of it fell very heavy upon the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*. Many Writers have endeavour'd to mollify and palliate this Action, and indeed to repreſent it only as a fair Treaty; and particularly the Publiſher of *Ruſhworth*'s two laſt Volumes, for which he inſiſts upon *Hollis*'s Memoirs, and ſome Particulars in the Treaty. But the moſt material Apology we find in the Memoirs of Biſhop *Guthry*, who tells us, That the Guilt and Shame due to this Fact, ſhou'd not with Reaſon be imputed to the Generality of the *Scotch* Nation, in regard, Firſt, Of the Nobility, the Liſt of whom if it be compared with the *Sederunt* of Parliament, it will appear that the Third Part of them were not preſent; many having been Secluded for their known Affection, and others upon various Pretexts, and ſome withdrawing, to preſerve their Eſtates from Danger. Secondly, As for the Gentry, Burghs and Commonalty throughout the Land, there were an Hundred to one that abhorr'd the Fact; and wou'd have inſtructed their Commiſſioners that Way, who were likewiſe over-aw'd in their Votes. And Thirdly, as for the Miniſtry, tho' the Majority of thoſe in this pack'd *Aſſembly* were for it, yet throughout the Kingdom, the far greater Part diſallow'd of it; only Fear of Deprivation reſtrain'd them from giving their Teſtimony againſt it. However it was, ſeveral were highly rewarded ſoon after; and of the *Engliſh* Money, the Parliament gave the Marqueſs of *Argyle* thirty Thouſand Pounds Sterling, and fifteen Thouſand more to his Friends. Several of the Kirk Miniſters were inrich'd; Sir *Archibald Johnſton* had three Thouſand Pounds given him as a Reward for his Service; and Duke *Hamilton* himſelf had thirty Thouſand Pounds given him in Conſideration of his late Loſſes, eſpecially when the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* lay at *Bothwell*.

English *Commiſſioners arrive to receive the King.*

While Matters were concerted in *Scotland*, the Commiſſioners of both Houſes at *Weſtminſter* were nam'd to go down to receive the King from the *Scots*, and to bring him to *Holmby*; of the Lords, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and Lord *Montague*; of the Commons, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Walter Earle*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Cook*, Mr. *John Crew*, and Major-General *Brown*; together with ſome private Gentlemen, and two of their Chaplains, Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Caryl*. Theſe arriv'd at *Newcaſtle* on the 23d of *January*; and having kiſs'd the King's Hand, the Earl of *Pembroke* told his Majeſty, *That they were commanded by both Houſes of Parliament to attend him to* Holmby. The King betray'd no ill Reſentment or Surpriſe, but courteouſly told them, *They were welcome, and that none of them were Strangers to him*; and particularly apply'd himſelf to the old Earl of *Pembroke*, *whom he was glad to ſee perform ſuch a Journey among ſuch Youthful Company.* Yet he could not but reſent the unexpected Dealings of the *Scots*, and took Occaſion to tell their chief Leaders, *That he had often deſir'd to go into* Scotland; *that he came into their Army for Protection, but now perceiv'd they were not willing he ſhould go with them:* He deſir'd to know *how they would diſpoſe of him, and to whom they would deliver him*? After they had withdrawn, they came and declar'd to his Majeſty, 'They had conſider'd of his Speech, and ſince his Majeſty had refus'd to 'take the *Covenant*, and ſign the *Propoſitions*, they were 'to deliver him to the Commiſſioners of both Houſes of 'the Parliament of *England*, who were come to attend 'him to *Holmby*.

The King deliver'd to them.

The Scots *cenſured.*

The Civil War ended.

So on *Saturday*, the 30th of *January*, a Day of the King's Impriſonment and Martyrdom, they deliver'd up their Native Prince, and left the Town of *Newcaſtle*; and quitting the other Garriſons, they march'd over the *Tweed* on the 11th of *February*, after they had continu'd a little above three Years in the Kingdom; leaving the Northern Counties miſerably beggar'd by many grievous Taxes impos'd on them by their Army, and moſt deplorable Oppreſſions by Free-Quarter. They enter'd the Kingdom contrary to all Faith and Gratitude, as well as Loyalty and Obedience, and at laſt quitted it with Ignominy and Diſhonour: Never were People more complimented at their Arrival, more oblig'd while they were wanted, or more contemn'd at their Departure. They departed with a Reward, but likewiſe with a Curſe, as many obſerve; for from that Time, they never flouriſh'd, or proſper'd in any one Undertaking. They who in this and the laſt Reign had all the Power, Riches, Offices, Marriages, Wealth and Greatneſs, within their Command in both Kindoms, were afterwards ruin'd at home, both in Kirk and State, by thoſe they had aſſiſted and rais'd; and beſides a new ſucceeding Scene of Blood and Miſery, they became the moſt deſpicable conquer'd People, upon the Face of the whole Earth. Their Departure may be call'd the Concluſion of the firſt Civil War of *England*; which continu'd near four Years and a half, with the Expence of many Millions of Mony, above two Hundred Thouſand Lives with the nobleſt Blood in the Kingdom, the Ruin of Thouſands of the moſt worthy Men and Families, and in ſhort, with all the deplorable Miſeries and Calamities, that had ever puniſh'd and tormented a ſinful Nation.

The Period concluded,

8. At the Concluſion of this Period, we may very properly reconſider and admire the wonderful Fate of this unhappy Monarch, with the Variety of ſtrange Accidents and Diſappointments that ſo frequently attended him; how often his Affairs promis'd him Succeſs, and then defeated his moſt hopeful Projects and Deſigns; all which ſerv'd but to lengthen out the Miſeries, and to puniſh the Sins of the Nation. To add to the former Accounts, we ſhall now ſubjoin ſome curious Particulars which were never yet publiſh'd, out of a Manuſcript *Narrative* written by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*; which Particulars might have been interſpers'd in this Hiſtory, but we have reſerv'd them for one View, at once to deliver them in the Words of the Author. Only firſt the Reader is to remember, That before the Applications, mention'd in the *Narrative*, were made to Foreign Courts, the Parliamentarians had firſt call'd in the *Scots*, us'd what Foreign Aſſiſtance they cou'd gain, and ſeiz'd upon all the *Engliſh* Shipping, whether Friends or otherwiſe; ſo that the King, tho' formerly reſtrain'd by his Declarations, was now left at full Liberty to uſe all equivalent Methods to recover his former State and Condition. The *Narrative* is in theſe Words.

With a curious Narrative of the King's Diſappointments,

Being employ'd in the Service of King *Charles* the Firſt at *Venice*, in the Beginning of the Rebellion, I obſerv'd that the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, who reſided altogether in *London*, gave ſuch weekly Account of the Affairs of *England*, and of the various Succeſſes of the War, as came to him from the partial Relation of the Rebels; and ſo great Credit was given to his Diſpatches, that it was not eaſie for me to gain any Belief in the Contradiction of his apparent Miſtakes: Whereof I gave Account to the King my Maſter. To the End therefore, that I might with more Confidence and Aſſiſtance aver Matters of Fact, his Majeſty gave Command to both his Secretaries of State (altho' it was the Province but of one) to give me weekly a true, impartial Account of all that happen'd in the War, as well to his Damage as Advantage, with Order to me to communicate it to the *Venetians*; becauſe all the *London Narratives* leſſen'd his Majeſty's Victories and magnify'd his Loſſes.

Within a ſhort Time after I had begun this Method, I was advertiz'd of the unfortunate Battel of *Marſton-Moor*, wherein his Majeſty's Army receiv'd a very great Loſs. Hereof I gave an early Account to the *Doge*, *Franciſco Erizzo*, who was ſo much diſcompos'd by my Relation, that the good old Man ſhed ſome Tears, ſaying, *That it was pity ſo virtuous and worthy a Prince ſhould receive ſuch hard Meaſure from his own Subjects; of whoſe Misfortune*, he added, *the Republick was ſo deeply ſenſible, that they would readily aſſiſt his Majeſty in ſo juſt a Cauſe, with Men, Mony, Arms or Ammunition, whenever he pleas'd to make uſe of them.* I return'd Thanks in his Majeſty's Name for that Princely Offer; but knowing it was not in the Power of the *Doge* to make ſo large an Engagement for the Republick, without expreſs Leave from the Senate, I told his Serenity, *That I would not fail to give his Majeſty an Account of his proffer'd Kindneſs; but that it might go to his Majeſty with greater Authority, I humbly deſir'd his Serenity, That he would vouchſafe me his Words in Writing, leſt I might unhappily miſtake his Expreſſions.* To this he reply'd, *That he would Aſſemble an extraordinary* PREGADI *that Night; and I ſhould have the Reſult of it the next Morning; which he doubted not but would be to my Satisfaction.* I was accordingly the next Morning ſent for to the *College*, and a Vote of the Senate deliver'd to me in as large Terms as the *Doge* had, the Day before, expreſs'd himſelf. This I ſent away by an Expreſs the ſame Day into *England*; and leſt the Secretary might not underſtand the Importance of it, being written in a rude *Venetian* Dialect, I ſent it likewiſe tranſlated into *Engliſh*; and it was deliver'd to Secretary *Nicholas* at *Oxford*.

The King was then gone to *Ragland-Caſtle*, and no preſent Anſwer could be return'd to the Paper; nor had I ſo much as a Direction from the Secretary to entertain the *Venetians* with Thanks, till his Majeſty's Pleaſure might be known. But when ſo much Time was elaps'd as might conveniently have brought the Anſwer, leſt the Senate might think their Compliment neglected, I pretended, That I had receiv'd Command from the King my Maſter, to let the Republick know, *That his Majeſty was highly ſenſible of their kind and generous Offer, which deſerv'd the fulleſt Expreſſion of his Thanks: But that he was not without Hope to compoſe the Diſorders, without giving any Trouble to ſo good an Ally: But if he ſhould be put to the laſt Extremity, he was glad to know where he might fix upon ſo ſure a Friend, as their voluntary Generoſity had ſhewn them to be.* But his Majeſty being at laſt reduc'd to very great Streights, and no Notice taken all that while of the *Venetian* Civility, I knew not what Conſtruction to make of it: I began to ſuſpect the Sincerity of the Secretary; for I was altogether a Stranger to him. To clear this Matter, and withal to procure ſome Settlement for my future Subſiſtance in that Employment, which I had till then defray'd upon my own Purſe and Credit, I ask'd Leave to return into *England*; and his Majeſty gave me Leave for ſix Months.

When I came to *Oxford*, the King was in great Want, and the Lord *Cottington*, Secretary *Nicholas*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, and Mr. *Jo. Aſhburnham* were in Conſultation which way to procure a Subſiſtance for the Houſhold, which for ſome Weeks had been ſupported by the *Sundays* Offerings. I had at that Time Occaſion to ſpeak with Sir *E. Hyde*; and ſending my Name to him, he call'd for me in, and ſaid to the reſt in his merry Way, *Poſſibly this Foreign Miniſter may acquaint us with ſome Foreign Project to get Mony when we want*; and deſir'd me to impart my Skill.

I

I told him *He had not ill addreſs'd to me, for I had been a long Practitioner in that Art*; *yet I knew but one Way, which was, when we have not of our Own, we muſt borrow of our Friends.* He reply'd, *My Invention was dull, for they had try'd all their Friends already.* I aſk'd Leave to differ from him in Opinion, *For I was well aſſur'd they had not try'd the* Venetians; he ſaid, *Becauſe we do not take them to be ſo much our Friends, as to lend us Mony. That's your own Fault*, ſaid I; *Sir* Edward Nicholas *can give you a better Character of them. No, believe me*, ſaid he, *not I: Do you keep any Copies of Diſpatches by you*, ſaid I? and I deſir'd him to examine my Letters of ſuch a Month: He went to his Office, and immediately return'd with the Original Order of the Senate. They all cry'd out upon him; and he defended himſelf by the Hurry and Confuſion of Marches, which caus'd his Forgetfulneſs. Mr. *Aſhburnham* ran to the King with this Matter, and I was immediately ſent for: His Majeſty aſk'd me *Why he was not made acquainted with this Affair ſooner*? I anſwer'd, *I preſum'd it had been imparted to him, when I tranſmitted it firſt to his Secretary.* I further added, *That I was put to great Loſs for want of Directions of what Return I ſhould make to the* Venetians; and told his Majeſty what Meſſage I had fram'd and deliver'd in his Name; and begg'd his Majeſty's Pardon *That I had done it without his Commiſſion:* He reply'd, *You have your Pardon, for you ought not to have done leſs.* He then commanded me to put my ſelf in Readineſs, *For he would within three Days ſend me back to* Venice. I took the Boldneſs to ſay, *It would not misbecome the greateſt Subject that his Majeſty had to go upon the Meſſage*; *and I thought the* Venetians *would expect to be courted out of their Mony: Yet this I ſaid not to decline the Journey, for I was ready to obey his Majeſty's Commands.* His Majeſty took me at my Word, and would have none elſe go.

Firſt at Venice,

As ſoon as my Credentials and Inſtructions were finiſh'd, his Majeſty was pleas'd to give me the Honour of Knighthood, caus'd me to be ſworn Gentleman in Ordinary of his Privy-Chamber, and raiſed my Character to *Envoy Extraordinary.* I kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand, and began my Journey with auſpicious Circumſtances; but it did not end with the like Succeſs: I fell into a Party of three Hundred of *Maſſy*'s Horſe, and eſcap'd them miraculouſly; and endured no ſmall Storm upon the Rocky Coaſt of *Lower-Britanny.* When I came to *Paris*, I met with ſeveral Packets from my Secretary, whom I left at *Venice*, mentioning the firſt Rupture between the *Turk* and the *Venetians*, and the daily Increaſe of the Appearance of War; from whence I began ſtrongly to ſuſpect the Diſappointment of all my Hopes; yet reſolv'd to proceed upon my Journey, in Expectation that thoſe Differences might be happily accommodated by the *Venetian* Prudence. But when I arriv'd at *Venice*, I found Matters ſo irreconcilably exaſperated, that I held it very improper to preſs the *Venetians* to the Performance of their Promiſe to his Majeſty: And therefore I turn'd my Diſcourſe, and told the *Doge*, *That his Majeſty had remanded me expreſly to return his more ſolemn Thanks for their generous Offer of Aſſiſtance to him in his Domeſtick Troubles, wherewith (altho' not yet quieted) he was not more perplex'd, than for that they hinder'd him from being in a Condition to ſend them Aid againſt their dreadful Enemies: And ſince he was not able to ſerve them that Way, he would ſend Command to his Ambaſſador at the* Ottoman *Court, to endeavour to do all the good Offices of a Mediator, to procure their Peace with that Emperor.* Having paſs'd this Compliment, I had no more to do at *Venice*, and had his Majeſty's Leave to return for *England*, without any formal Letters of Revocation, whenever I ſhould find it expedient.

But being diſquieted beyond Meaſure with the Diſappointment of my Hopes, it came into my Head to write to Sir *Sackvil Crow*, then Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, both to acquaint him with the Miſcarriage of my Buſineſs, and to adviſe him to try, 'Whether the Grand Signior might not 'be prevail'd with to eſpouſe his Majeſty's Cauſe againſt 'his Rebels, as it was the Intereſt of all Princes to do, 'leſt their own Subjects might take Example from a proſperous Rebellion, to throw off all Obedience; and if 'he diſcover'd any Appearance, that by bribing of the 'Grand Vizier, or otherwiſe, it might be effected, upon 'the Intimation of it to me in Cypher, I would procure 'his Majeſty's Authority for him to proceed in it.' Having ſent away this Propoſal, I return'd back for *England*; and coming into the *Weſt*, was by the Commiſſion of the Prince of *Wales*, made Governor of *Tiverton*; which Command, upon the March of General *Fairfax* into the *Weſt*, was abandon'd by the former Governour, Colonel *Amias Pollard.* The Place being not long after attack'd by Major-General *Maſſy*, who was happily repuls'd, and then beſieg'd by General *Fairfax*, and every Hour in Danger to be loſt, (for my Horſe were mutinous, and I had but two Hundred Foot in Garriſon, and ſome of my chief Officers unfaithful, and the Enemy without twenty two Hundred ſtrong) therefore apprehending the worſt, I burnt all my Papers, and amongſt the reſt my Cypher with Sir *Sackvil Crow.* I was ſoon ſtorm'd, and, a main Poſt being betray'd by Major *Sadler*, taken and ſent away Priſoner to *Lime*, and thence to *Weymouth*; where obtaining my Liberty upon Exchange, I went to the King to *Oxford*; which was the firſt Time I ſaw his Majeſty after my Return from *Italy*.

I there gave him a more particular Account of my unſucceſsful Journey to *Venice*, and acquainted him with what Propoſal I had made to Sir *Sackvil Crow*, whereof his Majeſty was pleas'd to approve. I ſtood in daily Expectation of Sir *Sackvil*'s Anſwer; which at length came to me in Cypher, but I had burnt my Key to it at *Tiverton.* I went immediately to his Majeſty, and told him, *That I had now receiv'd a Letter from* Conſtantinople, *but knew not what it contain'd, in regard that it was written in Cypher, and I had burnt my Key.* This was about twelve of the Clock, and his Majeſty took the Letter, and commanded me to attend him at three in the Afternoon: When I came I found the Letter uncypher'd by Prince *Rupert*, which gave all fair Hopes of the Deſign. By which Letter it appear'd that the Propoſal was, 'That ſince the *Engliſh* Rebels had got Poſſeſſion of all the Revenues of the 'Crown into their Hands, the Grand Seignior would give 'Leave to the King's Ambaſſador to confiſcate and ſeize 'all the *Engliſh* Merchants Effects, throughout his Dominions, for his Majeſty's Service; whereunto the Grand 'Signior had condeſcended.

Next at Conſtantinople.

The great Conſideration now was, which way this might beſt be effected: That the Grand Vizier was to be brib'd, no Man queſtion'd; but I took the Boldneſs to ſpeak my Fear to his Majeſty, *That when the Merchants ſhould perceive their Danger, they would outbribe the Ambaſſador, and reverſe the Order for Confiſcation:* I therefore humbly propos'd, *That his Majeſty ſhould borrow a conſiderable Sum of that Emperor, and impawn his Subjects Effects for Reimburſement*; and his Majeſty approv'd of what I offer'd. But Sir *Edward Hyde*, who could not brook to have his Method diſlik'd, eſpecially by a Perſon unqualify'd to adviſe, us'd many Arguments to prove the Caution unneceſſary; and ſo the Order went to Sir *Sackvil* as he had firſt drawn it up; and that Ambaſſador, when he was impower'd, proceeded to Sequeſtration. Thereupon the Factors meeting in a general Conſultation, concluded, That there was no Way for them to avoid this Ruin, but, as I had before conjectur'd, by Over-bribing. And therein they were ſo Succeſsful, that they not only revers'd the Order for Sequeſtration, repreſenting to the Grand Signior, 'That 'if it proceeded, it would deſtroy the Cloth Trade for 'ever, and diminiſh his Cuſtoms;' but prevail'd with him to deliver up the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, to be ſent home to the Parliament: *Which*, as the *Narrative* concludes, *prov'd the Ruin of his Fortune, and the Loſs of a Deſign, which might otherwiſe, in all Probability, have ſecured the Crown and Life of the beſt of Kings.*

The Death of the Earl of Eſſex,

For a Concluſion of this Period, and the old Year 1646, we ſhall take Notice of the Deaths of ſeveral Men of great Diſtinction, which hapned in the ſaid Year: And Firſt of the Earl of *Eſſex*, once the Idol of the *Presbyterians*, who being diſgracefully laid aſide, as is remember'd, retir'd from Buſineſs, and in a melancholy and diſcontented manner departed this Life, on the 14th of *September*, in the 56th Year of his Age. Yet ſtill he dy'd in a Time when he might have been able to have undone much of that Miſchef he had formerly done; to which he had great Inclinations, and likewiſe Provocations from an ungrateful Parliament, as well as a plain Foreſight of the diſmal Ruin of King and Kingdom. And it is probable, he might ſtill have given ſome Check to the Rage and Fury that then prevail'd; but, as the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, God would not ſuffer a Man, who out of the Pride and Vanity of his Nature, rather than the Wickedneſs of his Heart, had been made an Inſtrument of ſo much Miſery, to have any Share in ſo glorious a Work. He ſeem'd to languiſh away the latter Part of his Life; and by reaſon of the Title, of which he was ambitious, he was in Deriſion call'd his OCCELLENCY; but dying without being ſenſible of Sickneſs, it was loudly diſcours'd by many of his Friends, that he was poyſon'd. However the two Houſes reſolv'd to aſſiſt at the Celebration of his Funeral, towards which they order'd five Thouſand Pounds to be paid to his Executors for defraying the Charges; which was ſolemniz'd with extraordinary Pomp on the 22d of *October*, in *Weſtminſter-Abby*, and his Funeral Sermon preach'd by the noted Mr. *Vines*. In him ended the Name and Honour of that Houſe; and, as if they deſign'd to deface his Memory alſo, when his Funeral Herſe was erected, ſome Perſons at Night moſt ſhamefully treated his Effigies, broke off his Head, tore away his Sword and Spurs, and rent down his Arms and Eſcutcheons. Whoever were thus malicious,

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it is certain that *Cromwell* and his Party were wonderfully exalted at his Death, he being the only Man whoſe Credit and Intereſt they fear'd, without any Eſteem of his Perſon.

Judge Bramſton,

Sir John Pennington,

Sir Henry Killigrew,

Mr. Lydyat,

Dr. Raleigh,

Mr. Gregory,

And Sir Francis Windebank.

As to other great Men that dy'd this Year, we are firſt to mention that eminent Judge, Sir *John Bramſton*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, a Lawyer of deep Learning, ſolid Judgment, Integrity of Life, and Gravity of Behaviour: In King *James*'s Time he was accounted the *beſt Lawyer* and *faireſt Pleader* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and afterwards a moſt righteous and uncorrupt Judge; yet his Memory ſtill ſuffers for his learned Speech he made in Favour of the *Ship-Mony*. Next was Sir *John Pennington*, the famous Sea Commander, who for his Valour and other Qualifications, had been made Admiral of the King's Navy belonging to the Narrow Seas; but being diſabled by means of the preſent Powers, he ſtill led a Life of Grandeur, and refuſing all Overtures from the Parliament, he dy'd in Peace at *Briſtol*. Next we are to mention another great Royaliſt, Sir *Henry Killigrew*, a very gallant Gentleman, of a noble Extraction, and a fair Revenue of Land in *Cornwall*, and of excellent Parts and Courage; who dy'd of an accidental Wound given him by the Splinter of a Carrabine, to the mighty Affliction of the Lord *Hopton*, the Lord *Capel*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, and all the ſignal loyal Men in thoſe Parts, who infinitely lov'd his Spirit and Sincerity. Beſides theſe, there dy'd three other Perſons, eminent for their Worth and Learning, as Mr. *Thomas Lydyat*, Rector of *Okerton* in *Oxfordſhire*, a Perſon poor in Eſtate, and contemptible as to Stature and Figure, yet of a great Soul and incomparable Learning, as well Mathematicks and Antiquities, as Languages and Divinity; being a Match for the mighty *Scaliger* and *Selden*, admir'd by Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and the greateſt Scholars of the Age, and by the Foreign *Vertuoſi* rank'd with the Lord *Bacon* and Mr. *Joſeph Mede*, who reflected upon the *Engliſh* Nation for ſuffering ſuch learned Men to be ſo meanly rewarded. Next was Dr. *Walter Raleigh*, Dean of *Wells*, and Nephew to the famous Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a Divine of a very ſtrong Head, and an excellent Diſputant, whoſe fine Parts and genteel Behaviour gain'd him the Love and Eſteem of the three great Men of the Age, the Lord *Falkland*, Dr. *Hammond*, and Mr. *Chillingworth*: Being plunder'd and impriſon'd, he was this Year ſtabb'd by his Keeper, for refuſing to ſhew a Letter writ to his Wife, of which Wound he dy'd ſix Weeks after. Laſtly, Mr. *John Gregory*, of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, the Miracle of the Age for critical and curious Learning, who by his indefatigable Labours attain'd to a Maſterſhip in an incredible Number of Languages, in all Parts of Philoſophy and Mathematicks, in the *Jewiſh* Rabines, ancient Fathers, modern Criticks, *&c.* and being at laſt ſtripp'd of his Preferments, he dy'd very poor, in the thirty ninth Year of his Age. After all dy'd Sir *Francis Windebank*, of whom mention has been made more than once, who, together with his Father, had ſerv'd the Crown fourſcore Years; and being himſelf made Secretary of State by Biſhop *Laud*'s Intereſt, he became highly obnoxious to the prevailing Powers for his great Indulgence to *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits; ſo that this unfortunate Stateſman became an Exile, and dy'd at *Paris*, ſome ſay in the Boſom of the Church of *Rome*.

CHAP. V.

The CAPTIVITY of the King:

From the Return of the Scots *into their own Country, and the Concluſion of the War, to the Day of his Majeſty's Death.*

Containing the Space of juſt two Years.

A Reflection upon the King's Condition.

I. 1. THE King's Government was now at an End; and we are arriv'd at the Fifth and Laſt Stage of his Life; conſiſting of a State of Captivity for two Years, which were ſpent in Variety of Priſons and Treaties, beſides the unheard-of Tryal which brought him to his Death: In which we may worthily obſerve not only the Fate of Himſelf, but of the firſt Promoters of the Rebellion, whether they were the *innovating* Lords and Gentry, or the *Presbyterian* Miniſters, or the *Aſſembly of Divines*, or the City of *London*, or the *chief* Perſons in *Eſſex*'s Army; or even thoſe *Servants* of his own, who had been Spies upon him, and betray'd him while they were in his Service; and at laſt alſo the inſpired Seraphick *Independent*: And after his Death, how the Divine Judgment ran into *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and fell upon the Betrayers of their Maſter, and upon the Invaders of the Conſtitution of the Government in both thoſe Kingdoms; nay at laſt how it reach'd the *Army* it ſelf. And thus how all their ſeveral Treaſons and Infidelities brought upon them and their Party a viſible Diſappointment and Vengeance from Heaven, as fully appear'd in Proceſs of Time.

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He is carry'd to Holmby.

His Confinement.

The King himſelf was now deliver'd into the ſole Power of the Parliament, and was receiv'd with the ſame Formality of Reſpect as he had been treated by the *Scots*; and with the ſame Strictneſs they reſtrain'd all Reſort of thoſe to him, who were of doubtful Affection to them, or their Cauſe. Commiſſioners formerly mention'd, and Servants were particularly appointed by them alone, to attend upon him, as they thought fit; among whom they preferr'd thoſe who had moſt faithfully adhered to them againſt their Maſter. And in this Diſtribution, the *Presbyterian* Party in the Houſes commanded with ſuch little Oppoſition, that they ſeem'd to govern all; the crafty *Independents* letting them enjoy that Belief of their Power, till they had totally clear'd the Kingdom of their *Northern* Friends. In this Manner, and with this Attendance, his Majeſty was conducted from *Newcaſtle*, being met in all Places by Multitudes of People, who brought their Sick to be touch'd by him, and attended with Acclamations of Joy and Prayers for his Preſervation, till he arriv'd at *Holdenby*, or *Holmby-Houſe* in *Northamptonſhire*; a very ſtately Houſe built by the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, and in King *James*'s Reign purchas'd by the Queen for her ſecond Son, then Duke of *York*, not then foreſeeing that he ſhou'd make it both a Royal Palace and Priſon. Here he was kept rather as their Priſoner, than their Prince, and was not allow'd the Attendance of his own Domeſtick Servants, or Chaplains, or the Liturgy of the Church; under all which he carry'd himſelf with an unconcern'd and Majeſtick Deportment, *as being above Complaints or Bewailings*, as he was pleas'd to expreſs himſelf to a Friend. Only the Want of his Chaplains was a ſenſible Concern to him; which occaſion'd him to write a Letter to the Houſe of Peers, in which he ſent the Names of thirteen, any two of which he deſir'd might have Liberty to attend him for his Devotion. To which, after a tedious Conſideration, they return'd this Anſwer, 'That 'all thoſe Chaplains were diſaffected to the preſent Go'vernment of the Church, and had not taken the *Cove'nant*; but there were others who had, who ſhou'd be 'ſent to him, if he pleas'd.' Upon which Anſwer, he reſolv'd to give them no further Trouble; but in his Divine Meditations he thus complains. *If I had ask'd my Revenues, my Power of the Militia, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had been no Wonder to have been deny'd,------But to deny me the Ghoſtly Comfort of my* Chaplains, *ſeems a greater Rigour and Barbarity than is ever us'd by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners, and greateſt Malefactors.*

His Courſe of Life at Holmby.

The King continu'd near four Months in this Retirement, with great Patience and Calmneſs, and ſingular good Humour towards all that were about him; and tho' he had from the Commiſſioners who attended him, a Reſpect which exceeded not his preſent Condition, yet he handſomly paſs'd it by; however he diſtinguiſh'd the Duty of Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Cook*, and Major-General *Brown* from thoſe, who leſs obſerv'd him. And for their two Divines, Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Caryl*, the King treated them very civilly, and convers'd with them freely, as private Men; but wou'd not allow them ſo much as to ſay Grace to him, ſince they refus'd to officiate to him by the *Liturgy*. Upon *Sundays*, when thoſe Miniſters preach'd in the Chappel, Forenoon and Afternoon by Turns, the King allow'd his Servants to go if they pleas'd; and carefully ſequeſter'd himſelf to his own private Devotion. On Week Days his Majeſty conſtantly ſpent two or three Hours in Prayer, and Reading; and wou'd after Meals play a Game at Cheſs, and often walk in the Gardens: And there being no Bowling-Green at *Holmby*, he wou'd ſometimes, under ſufficient Guard, ride to *Harrowden* and to *Althrop*, where were good Greens well kept. In going once to *Harrowden*, Major *Boſvile*, ſtanding on a Bridge diſguis'd like a labouring Man, gave his Majeſty a Packet from the Queen. The King told the Commiſſioners *it was to obtain his Leave for the Prince to accompany* Monſieur *that Campaign in the* French *Army*; upon which the Commiſſioners ſeem'd content to diſmiſs the Perſon in Diſguiſe; but notwithſtanding that, he was ſent up to the Parliament, and committed to *Newgate*. This Accident being reported to the two Houſes, they ſent down Orders to have a ſtricter Eye upon his Majeſty's Perſon, and to diſcharge thoſe Servants that were ſuſpected. The Commiſſioners ſoon ſhew'd theſe Inſtructions to the King, who with great Expoſtulation for the Severity of them, was forc'd to diſmiſs all his old Attendance, except Mr. *James Maxwell* and Mr. *Patrick Mawl*, Grooms of the Bed-Chamber, to whom the King was willing to join Mr. *Thomas Herbert* and Mr. *Harrington*. It was obſerv'd by the former of theſe two, that in all the Time of his Ma-

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jeſty's Reſtraint and Solitude, he never was ſick, or ask'd for a Phyſician; which was attributed to his quiet Diſpoſition, and unparallel'd Patience, to his moderate Exerciſe, and more moderate Diet; eating but of a ſew Diſhes, and drinking but twice at Dinner or Supper, once of Small Beer, and once of Wine and Water mix'd, or after Fiſh of pure Wine; ſeldom or never eating or drinking before Dinner, or between Meals. Thus he continu'd with as much Sedateneſs, and perhaps with as much Innocence, as is conſiſtent with this State of Life.

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2. On the latter End of *April*, the Commiſſioners at *Holmby* by Letters acquainted the Houſe of Commons with the great Reſort of People to his Majeſty, to be touch'd for the *King's-Evil:* Upon which the Houſe order'd a Declaration to be drawn up, to inform the People of the fond Superſtition of being touch'd by the King for the *Evil*; and renew'd their Orders for the ſtricter Cuſtody of his Perſon. Under this Reſtraint his Majeſty told the Commiſſioners about him, that he had long waited for Propoſitions from *London*, but not receiving them, he had now prepar'd an Anſwer to thoſe Propoſitions deliver'd at *Newcaſtle, which, not being allow'd a Secretary, he muſt ſcribble over himſelf.* His Majeſty ſent his Anſwer to the two Houſes about the middle of *May*; in which he conſented to ſome of the Propoſitions in whole, to others in part; and gave his Reaſons for his Diſſent to others. He declar'd, 'He was willing to have the *Presbyterial Govern-* ' *ment* ſettled for three Years; and conſented to ratify the ' *Aſſembly of Divines*, propoſing ſome other Miniſters to ' be join'd with them; the King and his Houſhold only ' having Liberty to uſe the Common-Prayer Book. As to ' the *Militia*, he wou'd yield it up for ten Years, provided ' it might then be reſtored to him and his Heirs. As to the ' *Covenant*, he cou'd not be ſatiſfy'd; but deſired ſome of ' his own Divines might be ſent to reſolve his Scruples ' therein. The *Great Seal* he wou'd ratify, if put into his ' own Diſpoſal. To the City of *London* he wou'd grant ' the *Tower* and all that is deſired. He wou'd conſent to ' the Bills againſt *Popery*; and wou'd paſs a general *Act of* ' *Oblivion* and *Free Pardon* on all Sides.' For all which Purpoſes his Majeſty deſir'd to come to his Parliament, and confer and agree with them. They gave no Anſwer to theſe; but often exclaim'd, *That his Majeſty was averſe to Peace, and never yet accepted of any Tender, fit for them to make; nor offer any fit for them to receive:* Their Preachers were ſtill taught to pray, *That God wou'd incline the King's Heart, to comply with his Parliament*; and they acted as tho' they had a ſure and laſting Poſſeſſion of his Majeſty's Perſon.

His Conceſſions to the Parliament.

The Behaviour of the Independents, and the Army.

But their Dominion was neither great nor laſting; the main they cou'd effect was, to diſtribute large Donatives among their Members and Friends, which they did to the Sum of about ninety thouſand Pounds, in Conſideration of their ſeveral Services. The greater Number being *Presbyterians*, they began to graſp at the whole Power, and to give Orders for the leſſening their great Charge by disbanding ſome Troops of their Army, and ſending others for *Ireland*, to reduce that Kingdom; and declar'd, 'That they ' wou'd then disband all Armies, that all might be go- ' vern'd by the known Laws of the Land.' But this rais'd a new and ungovernable Spirit in the Army; which neither lik'd the *Presbyterian* Government, nor that the Parliament ſhou'd abſolutely diſpoſe of them, who had help'd them to all their Power and Grandeur; and *Cromwell* had ſuch an Influence, as to cauſe them to petition againſt any thing done contrary to his Opinion. He himſelf, and his Officers, aſſum'd the Office of Preaching and Praying publickly to their Troops; admitted of ſcarce any Chaplains in the Army, but ſuch as exclaim'd againſt *Presbytery*, as more Tyrannical than *Epiſcopacy*; and the Common Soldiers alſo did not only pray and preach among themſelves, but did the ſame in all Churches to the People, who ſoon became inſpired with the ſame Spirit. Women alſo undertook the ſame Office, and ſuch Confuſions there were in Religious Matters, that ſcarce any were ſuffer'd to be call'd in Queſtion for delivering any Opinion, how profane, heretical, or blaſphemous ſoever it was; which they ſaid, *was to reſtrain the Spirit*. Liberty of Conſcience was now the common Argument and Quarrel, while the *Presbyterians* proceeded with equal Virulence againſt the ſeveral Sects, as *Enemies to all Godlineſs*, as they had done againſt the Prelatical Party; and finding themſelves ſuperior in the two Houſes, they cou'd not doubt, but by their Authority and Power to be able to reform the Army, and to new model it as they pleas'd.

But the Army, that they might more effectually enter into Diſpute and Competition with them, and ſhare with them in the *ſettling of the Kingdom*, erected a kind of a Parliament among Themſelves. After they had defeated the King's Party, and left no Enemy to contend with them, in the Field, and after they had purg'd off all thoſe inconvenient Officers who wou'd not intirely ſubmit to their Dictates, they in Effect ſet aſide their *Self-Denying Ordinance*, and procured their principal Officers, and other of their ſure Friends, to be elected Members of the Houſe of Commons, in the Places of thoſe that were dead, or expell'd for adhering to the King. By which Means *Fairfax* himſelf, *Ireton*, *Harriſon*, and many other of the *Independents*, Officers and Gentlemen, who were tranſported with Enthuſiaſtical Fancies, and now call'd by a new Name *Fanaticks*, ſat in the Houſe of Commons; notwithſtanding all which, the *Presbyterians* ſtill carry'd it. But that they might ſtill be upon a nearer Level with the Parliament, the Army made Choice of a ſet Number of Officers, which they call'd *The General's Council of Officers*; and the Common Soldiers made Choice of three or four of each Regiment, moſtly Corporals and Serjeants, who were call'd by the Name of *Agitators*, and were to be as a *Houſe of Commons* to the *Council of Officers*. Theſe two *Repreſentatives* ſeverally met, and conſider'd of all the Parliament's Orders and Acts towards ſettling the Kingdom, or towards managing of the Army; and upon mutual *Meſſages* and *Conferences*, they firſt *Reſolv'd* and *Declar'd*, 'That they wou'd ' neither be divided, nor disbanded, till their full Arrears ' were paid, and full Proviſion made for *Liberty of Con-* ' *ſcience*, the Want of which had caus'd the Loſs of ſo ' many of their Friends Lives, and the Blood of their own ' Bodies; and that hitherto there was ſo little done in that ' Point, that there was a greater Perſecution againſt *Reli-* ' *gious and Godly* Men, than ever had been when the Bi- ' ſhops were Judges. They farther alledg'd, that they did ' not look upon themſelves as a Band of *Janizaries*, hired ' only to fight their Battles, but as *Volunteers* for the Li- ' berty and Defence of the Nation, of which they were a ' Part; and before they laid down their Arms, they wou'd ' ſee thoſe Ends ſo well ſecur'd, that the People might not ' again meet with thoſe Grievances they formerly ſuffer'd. ' They complain'd that ſome *Members* of the Army had ' been ſent for by the Parliament, and committed to Priſon, ' which was againſt their *Privilege*, ſince all Soldiers ought ' to be try'd by a *Council of War*, and not by any other ' *Judicatory*; and therefore they deſir'd that ſuch as were ' in any Cuſtody, might be forthwith ſet at Liberty; with- ' out which they cou'd not think Themſelves juſtly dealt ' with:' And with this Declaration and Addreſs, they ſent three *Agitators* to the Houſe of Commons, who deliver'd it at the Bar with unuſual Confidence; and when ſome Queſtions were put to them by the Speaker, They ſaid, *They were employ'd by the Army, and cou'd not anſwer any Thing, without Leave from thence.* At which the Houſe ſhew'd great Reſentments, and ſome menacing Expreſſions; which occaſion'd *Cromwell* to whiſper *Ludlow* in the Ear, *That theſe Men will never leave, till the Army pull them out by the Ears.* Not long before he ſaid to the ſame Perſon, *That it was a miſerable Thing to ſerve a Parliament, to whom let a Man be never ſo faithful, if one pragmatical Fellow among them riſe up and aſperſe him, he ſhall never wipe it off: But when one ſerves under a General, he may do as much Service, and yet be free from all Blame and Envy.*

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They ſet up Agitators.

They make a Declaration,

And a Vindication.

The Soldiers publiſh'd a *Vindication* of their *Proceedings* and *Reſolutions*, and directed it to their General; in which they complain'd of a Deſign to disband and new model the Army, which they declar'd 'To be a *Plot* contriv'd by ' ſome Men who had lately taſted of Sovereignty, who be- ' ing elevated above *Servants*, endeavour'd to become *Ma-* ' *ſters*, and were degenerated into *Tyrants:*' And farther declar'd, 'That they wou'd neither be employ'd in *Ireland*, ' nor be disbanded, till their *Deſires* were granted, and the ' *Rights* and *Liberties* of the Subjects vindicated and main- ' tain'd.' This Vindication being Sign'd by many inferior Officers, the Parliament declar'd them 'To be Enemies ' of the State;' and caus'd the moſt Turbulent of them to be impriſon'd. This produc'd a new Addreſs to their General; in which they loudly exclaim'd againſt 'the diſdain- ' ful Uſage they receiv'd from the Parliament, *for whom* ' *they had ventur'd their Lives, and loſt their Blood:*' Expoſtulating, 'That the *Privileges* which were due to Them, ' as *Soldiers* and *Subjects*, were taken from them; and ' when they complain'd of *Injuries*, they were abus'd, bea- ' ten, and dragg'd into Goals.' The General likewiſe was prevail'd upon to write a Letter to a Member of Parliament, and to be ſhewn to the Houſe; in which he took Notice of ſeveral Petitions, prepar'd in *London* and ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, againſt the Army; and particularly, 'That it was look'd upon as very ſtrange, that the Officers ' of the Army might not be permitted to petition, *when ſo* ' *many Petitions were receiv'd againſt them*; and that he ' much doubted that the Army might draw to a Rendez- ' vous, and think of ſome *other Way* for their own Vindi- ' cation.

3. The Difference and Emulation which at this Time aroſe between the very Conquerors, who had ended the War, ſhew'd that the Nation was far from Peace: And this manner of Proceeding by the Soldiers, but eſpecially the ſeeming Concurrence of the General, prov'd extreamly uneaſy to the Parliament; who yet reſolv'd not to ſuffer their Counſels to be cenſur'd, or their Actions controll'd, by thoſe who liv'd upon their Pay. And therefore after many high Expreſſions againſt the Preſumption of ſeveral Officers and Soldiers, they declar'd 'That whoſoever ſhou'd refuſe, after Command, to engage himſelf in the Service of *Ireland*, ſhou'd be disbanded.' But the Army reſolv'd not to be repell'd from their firſt declar'd Reſolution, and ſo fell into an open Mutiny, and furiouſly call'd for their Arrears of Pay, which, they ſaid, 'They knew how to levy for Themſelves.' They were not the leaſt appeas'd, till the Parliament's *Declaration* againſt them was raſed out of the Journal Book of both Houſes, and a Month's Pay ſent to them; nor were they ſatisfy'd with this Condeſcenſion, but loudly declar'd, *They knew how to make themſelves as conſiderable as the Parliament, and where to have their Service better rewarded*; which ſo terrify'd the two Houſes, that they appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, of which ſome were very acceptable to the Army, to go and treat with another Committee of the Officers of the Army, upon the beſt Expedients for the Compoſing theſe new Diſtempers. So that now the Army judg'd it ſelf upon a Level with the Parliament, as having a Committee of the One authoriz'd to treat with a Committee of the Other; which likewiſe elevated *Fairfax* Himſelf, who had never thought of diſobeying the Parliament, and diſpos'd him more to incline to the impetuous Humour of the Army, when he ſaw ſo general a Compliance and Submiſſion to it. Here *Hollis* violently exclaims againſt the Inſolence of the Army, and the Cowardice of the Parliament; not remembring that He himſelf had formerly too much encourag'd the like Practices, the awing of the Parliament by a City Rabble, tho' not by a ſtanding Army.

They bring themſelves upon a level with the Parliament.

Cromwell's *Diſſimulation.*

Cromwell hitherto had ſo well exerted his Talent of Diſſimulation, that he ſeem'd highly incens'd againſt this Inſolence of the Soldiers; was ſtill in the Houſe of Commons when thoſe Addreſſes were made, cry'd out againſt their Preſumption, and had been the Cauſe of the Commitment of ſome of them. He propos'd to have the General ſent to the Army, *Who*, he ſaid, *wou'd ſoon conjure down this mutinous Spirit*; and was ſo eaſily believ'd, that he Himſelf was ſent once or twice to compoſe the Army; where after a ſhort Stay, he wou'd again return to the Houſe, and heavily complain of the great Licence got into the Army, *That for his own Part, by the Artifice of his Enemies, and ſuch as thirſted after Blood, he was render'd ſo odious to them, that they had deſign'd to kill him, if he had not happily eſcap'd out of their Hands.* And in theſe and the like Topicks, when he ſpoke of the Nation's being to be involv'd in new Miſeries, he wou'd weep plentifully, and appear the moſt diſconſolate of Men, at the very Proſpect of the enſuing Calamities. But as many of the wiſer ſort had long ſeen into his dark Intentions, ſo his Hypocriſy cou'd not always be conceal'd; for the moſt active Officers and *Agitators* were known to be his Creatures, and to ſtand and move according to his Directions. So that it was privately reſolv'd by the chief of the Houſe of Commons, that when he came the next Day to the Houſe, they wou'd ſend him to the *Tower*; preſuming that if he was once parted from the Army, they ſhou'd eaſily reduce it to its former Temper and Obedience: For they had not the leaſt Jealouſy of *Fairfax* their General, whom they knew to be *Presbyterian* in his Judgment; and that *Cromwell* had gain'd the Aſcendant over him purely by his Diſſimulation, and his Pretence of Conſcience and Sincerity.

He countermines his Oppoſers.

This well-form'd Deſign was not ſo ſecretly manag'd, but *Cromwell* had Notice of it; and the very next Morning after he had lamented his Misfortune of being ſo much in Danger from the Army, when the Houſe impatiently expected his Preſence, they were inform'd that he was met out of Town by break of Day, with only one Servant, on the Way to the Army, where he had appointed a Rendezvous of ſome Regiments of Horſe: From whence he artfully wrote to the Houſe of Commons, 'That having the Night before receiv'd a Letter from ſome Officers of his own Regiment, *That the Jealouſy and Hatred of the Troops againſt him was ſo much abated, that if he was quickly preſent with them, they wou'd in a ſhort Time by his Advice be reclaim'd*, upon which he had made all the Haſte he cou'd; and did now find that the Soldiers had been abus'd by Miſinformation, and he hop'd to diſcover the bottom of the Deſign: And in the mean Time he deſir'd That the General, and the other Officers in the Houſe, with ſuch as were about the Town, might be immediately ſent to their Quarters, in Order to the Suppreſſion of the late Diſtempers, and for the Prevention of future Miſchiefs: That there might be a general Rendezvous of the Army; of which the General wou'd beſt conſider, when he came down.' They now found it to no Effect to diſcover their former Deſign, or that they had any Jealouſy of a Perſon who was out of their Power, but waited for a better Conjuncture: And in a few Days after, the General and the other Officers left the Town, and repair'd to their Quarters.

The Boldneſs of the Independents.

4. At this Time the grand Struggle between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* came to a Criſis; and the Latter, reſolving to make a bold Puſh for Superiority, by *Cromwell*'s ſecret Contrivance, order'd one of their *Agitators*, Cornet *Joyce* a Taylor, to go with a ſelect Squadron of Horſe, and ſeize upon the King's Perſon at *Holmby*, and bring him to the Army. This ſtrange Attempt was manag'd with the utmoſt Privacy; and on the fourth of *June* about Midnight, the Cornet unexpectedly drew up his Horſe before the King's Lodgings, and demanded Entrance. Colonel *Graves* and Major-General *Brown*, who upon this Allarm immediately doubled the Guards, ask'd him his Name and Buſineſs. He told him his Name was *Joyce*, a Cornet in Colonel *Whaley*'s Regiment, *and his Buſineſs was to ſpeak with the King*. Being ask'd *from whom*, he ſaid directly *from my Self, my Errand is to the King, I muſt and will ſpeak with him. Graves* and *Brown* bid the Soldiers within to ſtand to their Arms, and be ready to fire at the Word given; but they finding them to be their Fellow-Soldiers of the ſame Army, open'd the Gates, and receiv'd them as old Friends. *Joyce* ſet his Centinels at the Chamber Doors of the Commiſſioners; and by the back Stairs went himſelf directly to the King's Bed-Chamber, and knock'd at the Door with a Piſtol cock'd in his Hand. The four Grooms were amaz'd at this Rudeneſs, and deſir'd *Joyce* to lay aſide his Arms, and to forbear giving Diſturbance, aſſuring him, That the next Morning he ſhou'd have his Majeſty's Anſwer to his Errand. The Cornet with Sword and Piſtol inſiſted to have the Door open'd, with ſo much Noiſe, that it wak'd the King, who mildly ſent him Word, *He wou'd not riſe to ſpeak with him till the Morning*; upon which the Cornet huff'd, but retired for a few Hours.

The King roſe early in the Morning, and after his Devotions, ſent for *Joyce*, who enter'd with great Confidence, and told his Majeſty *He had Commands to remove him to the Army*. The King deſir'd the Commiſſioners might be ſent for; but *Joyce* told him *The Commiſſioners had nothing to do, but to return back to the Parliament.* The King demanded *by whoſe Appointment*? but receiving no Anſwer, deſir'd that they might have their Liberty, and ask'd for a Sight of his Inſtructions. *Joyce* ſaid *he ſhou'd ſee them preſently*; and ſo drawing up his Troop in the Inner Court, *Theſe, Sir*, ſaid the Cornet, *are my Inſtructions.* The King taking a View of them, and finding them tall Men, well mounted and arm'd, ſmilingly told the Cornet, *His Inſtructions were in fair Characters, legible without Spelling*. The Cornet then preſs'd his Majeſty to go along with him, *no Prejudice being intended, but rather Satisfaction*; but He told him, *he wou'd not ſtir, unleſs the Commiſſioners went along with them*; to which the other reply'd, *for his Part he was indifferent in that Matter*. The Commiſſioners ask'd ſeveral Queſtions of *Joyce*, as *Whether he had any Orders from the Parliament*, and *Whether he was ſent by the General*; to which he anſwer'd in the Negative. So at laſt, at the King's Deſire, the Keepers of his Perſon, being now Themſelves made Priſoners, went along with Him, being very much dejected and afflicted; while his Majeſty, who at firſt was very apprehenſive, appear'd the leaſt concern'd in the Company. He had ſufficiently felt the unrelenting Power and Stiffneſs of the *Presbyterian* Party, and was not without Hopes of Relief from, or rather had too much Confidence in, the oppoſite Intereſt of the *Independents*, and the Army, who now became his Maſters.

They ſeize upon the King's Perſon.

A Reflection upon the great Turn of Affairs.

This Moment gave a ſudden and wonderful Turn, which put an irrecoverable Period to the over-ruling Authority of the *Presbyterians*; a Party, who after the Redreſs of all Grievances, had from both Nations embroyl'd *England* firſt into Tumults, and then to a deſtructive War; in which more noble Houſes were plunder'd and demoliſh'd, more Churches ſacrilegiouſly profan'd and ſpoil'd, and more Blood ſpilt like Water, within the Space of four Years, than had hapned in the long Wars between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*. A Party that had been victorious in all Reſpects againſt the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Power, againſt Monarchy and Epiſcopacy, againſt the King's Armies and his Perſon: And yet after all their Triumphs, their Spoil and publick Ruin, they purchas'd to themſelves nothing but Misfortune and Infamy, and loſt a Power and Intereſt that never cou'd be recover'd to this Day. The

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Scots who had an unreaſonable Share in the Places and Preferments, and likewiſe in the illegal Patents and Monopolies of the Kingdom, now loſt all their Profits and their Hopes, and liv'd to ſee their Idol *Covenant* deſpis'd and trampled upon. The Engliſh *Puritans*, who had driven out the greateſt Part of the Regular Clergy, and in Imagination devour'd the Church Lands by parcelling them into *Augmentations*, were defeated by the Sale of them for the Payment of the publick Debts; nor did they ever ſee their dear *Presbytery* ſetled, or their *Lay-Elders* fix'd in any one Pariſh in the Kingdom. Nor did it ſucceed better with the great Politicians of the Popular Party, who employ'd the *Presbyterians* as their Tools to work out a new and unheard-of Common-Wealth; the Honours and Offices of which, they had diſtributed among Themſelves and their Friends. But having, by other Hands, brought the King to the End they aim'd at, and now dividing the rich Prey among themſelves, obliging each other with large Sums of Mony, growing fat with Crown and Church Revenues, and guarded as they imagin'd with invincible Armies, they were ſuddenly ſcatter'd like Duſt before the Wind, turn'd out of all, and expos'd to publick Contempt and Scorn. And what was wonderful, and like the peculiar Hand of Heaven, all this was done ſo eaſily, and with ſo little Noiſe, that the Loſs of that exorbitant Power did not coſt ſo much as a broken Head, or a bloody Noſe; in purchaſing of which they had waſted ſo many Millions of Treaſure, and pour'd out ſuch Oceans of Blood.

The King remov'd to Hinchingbrook,

II. 1. The King being now in Effect under the Power of the Army, and not without Hopes of a more agreeable Treatment, freely follow'd his Guide the confident Cornet, and arriv'd that Night at *Hinchingbrook* by *Huntingdon*, the Houſe of Colonel *Edward Mountague*; where his Majeſty, as well as the Commiſſioners, was treated with Honour and Satisfaction. At the ſame Time *Fairfax* the General diſpatch'd Colonel *Whaley* with two Regiments of Horſe, who acquainted his Majeſty, ‘ He was ſent by the General ‘ to let him know how much he was concern'd at thoſe ‘ great Inſolencies that had been committed ſo near his ‘ Perſon; and as he had not the leaſt Knowledge of them ‘ before they were done, ſo he had omitted no Time in endeavouring to remove that Force, which he had Orders ‘ from him to ſee done:’ And therefore deſir'd his Majeſty, ‘ That he would be pleas'd to return again to *Holmby*, ‘ where all Things ſhould be ſettled again in as much Order and Quietneſs as they were before.’ He likewiſe deſir'd the Commiſſioners to reaſſume their Charge, as the Parliament had directed them, which he ſaid was alſo the Deſire of the General. But the King refus'd to return, and the Commiſſioners to act; upon which *Whaley* declar'd, ‘ He had an expreſs Command to ſee all Things well ſettled ‘ again about his Majeſty; which could not be done but by ‘ his returning again to *Holmby*.’ The King ſaid poſitively *He would not do it*; ſo the Colonel deſiſted from preſſing him any farther. Cornet *Joyce* being told that the General was diſpleas'd with him for bringing the King from *Holmby*, he anſwer'd, *That Lieutenant-General* Cromwell *had given him Orders at* London *to do all that he had done*.

To Childerly,

From *Hinchingbrook* the King went next Day to *Childerly*, a Houſe of Sir *John Cutts*, about four Miles from *Cambridge*; where during his Majeſty's three Days Stay, many Maſters, Fellows and Scholars of that Univerſity repair'd, to moſt of which the King was graciouſly pleas'd to give his Hand to kiſs; for which Honour they return'd their humbleſt Thanks of Congratulation. To that Place alſo came General *Fairfax*, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, Commiſſary-General *Ireton*, Major-General *Skippon*, Lieutenant-General *Hammond*, Colonel *Lambert*, Colonel *Rich*, and ſeveral other Field and Commiſſion Officers, as alſo ſeveral of their Chaplains, *Peters*, *Dell*, *Sedgewick*, and others; ſeveral of which kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand with great Reſpect. The King put the Queſtion to *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, whether it was by their, or either of their Authority that he was thus brought from *Holmby*; and they both diſowning it, he reply'd, *That unleſs you hang up* Joyce, *I will not believe what you ſay*. Both *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* made large Profeſſions of their Fidelity to Him; but the former urg'd the Commiſſioners to act according to the Power given them by the Parliament, which they alſo refus'd to do. This General conferr'd with his Majeſty in private, and in a particular manner offer'd him his Service; but as he took his Leave of him, the King ſaid, *Sir, I have as good Intereſt in the Army as you*. Which Anſwer, the General ſaid, was more ſhocking, and gave him more Grief and Vexation, than all the Troubles and Fatigues he had met withal in the whole War; as a Kinſman of His has often told Me, having had it from the General's Mouth.

(*where* Fairfax *and* Cromwell *careſs him*)

He ſeem'd now to be ſenſible of his declining Authority; and when he call'd for a Council of War to proceed againſt *Joyce* for this high Offence, he found ſuch a Spirit in the Army, as render'd his Endeavours ineffectual. This proceeded from the increaſing Power and Influence of *Cromwell*, who now promis'd his Majeſty, *That if he and his Party would ſit ſtill, and neither act or declare againſt the Army, they would reſtore him, and make him the moſt glorious Prince in Chriſtendom*. Yet privately among his Friends he bragg'd, *That now he had got the King into his Hands, he had the Parliament in his Pocket*. As to *Fairfax*, he by the firſt Opportunity wrote a plauſible Letter to the two Houſes, by which he inform'd them, ‘ That the ‘ Soldiers at *Holmby* had brought the King from thence; ‘ and that his Majeſty lay the next Night at Colonel *Mountague*'s Houſe, and would be the next Day at *New-Market*: That the Ground of all this, was from an Apprehenſion of ſome Strength gather'd to force the King from ‘ thence; whereupon he had ſent Colonel *Whaley*'s Regiment to meet the King. He proteſted, that his Remove ‘ was without his Conſent, or of the Officers about him, ‘ or of the Body of the Army, and without their Deſire or ‘ Privity: That he would take care for the Security of ‘ his Majeſty's Perſon from Danger; and aſſur'd them, that ‘ the whole Army endeavour'd Peace; and were far from ‘ oppoſing *Presbytery*, or affecting *Independency*, or from ‘ any Purpoſe of maintaining a *Licentious Freedom* in Religion, or the Intereſt of any particular *Party*, but were ‘ reſolv'd to leave the abſolute Determination of all to the ‘ Parliament.

And ſo to New-Market, *where he has great Liberty*.

The King, immediately after, remov'd from *Childerly* to a ſmall Houſe of his own at *New-Market*, where he was ſuffer'd to divert himſelf as he pleas'd upon the Heath, ſometimes in his Coach, but oftner on Horſe-Back. Great Numbers of the Gentry and others repair'd from moſt Parts of *Cambridgeſhire*, *Suffolk* and *Eſſex*, and other Neighbouring Counties, to ſee his Majeſty; ſo that the Preſence-Chamber was conſtantly throng'd with People, eſpecially at Dinner and Supper; who when they ſaw the King withdraw, ever ſent out their Prayers and loud Acclamations. The King was highly ſatisfy'd with the Appearance of ſo many Friends, and well pleas'd with the Civilities and Reſpect ſhewn him by the Officers of the Army, who gave him great Hopes and Promiſes of his Reſtoration. *Cromwell* was more than ordinary Civil, and as an Earneſt of his Intentions, preſently gave Leave that ſeveral of the King's faithful Servants and Chaplains ſhould have Liberty to come to him, and ſerve him in their reſpective Places: All which had been deny'd him, not only by the *Scots*, when he had fled to them from *Oxford*, but alſo by the Parliament when they had confin'd him at *Holmby*: And accordingly four of his Chaplains, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, and Dr. *Hammond*, with divers of his Servants, appear'd, and gave their Attendance, without any Reſtraint. Many old Officers that had ſerv'd the King were civilly receiv'd by the Army, and liv'd quietly in their Quarters; all which rais'd a great Reputation to the Army, and caſt as much Reproach upon the Parliament.

The Parliament in a Conſternation.

2. During theſe Tranſactions, the Parliament receiv'd the News of the King's Removal from *Holmby* with the utmoſt Conſternation; and they who had deſpis'd all Oppoſition, now found all their Meaſures broke by which they had form'd their deep Counſels. And as the Letter from the General gave too much Cauſe of Jealouſy of what was to ſucceed, ſo a poſitive Information about the ſame Time by many Officers, confirm'd by a Letter to the Lord-Mayor, ‘ That the whole Army was upon its March, ‘ and would be in *London* the next Day by Noon,’ ſo confounded and diſtracted them, that they appear'd beſides Themſelves. However they voted, ‘ That the Houſes ‘ ſhould ſit all the next Day, being *Sunday*; and that Mr. ‘ *Marſhall* ſhould pray, *That God would be pleas'd to give* ‘ *them one Heart and Mind, in carrying on the great Work* ‘ *of the Lord*: That the Committee of Safety ſhould ſit ‘ up all Night to conſider what was to be done: That the ‘ Lines of Communication ſhould be ſtrongly guarded, ‘ and all the Train-Bands of *London* drawn together upon ‘ pain of Death.’ All Shops were ſhut up, and ſuch a general Terror and Confuſion appear'd in the Faces of all Men, as if the Army had already enter'd the City. The Parliament writ a Letter to the General, deſiring him, ‘ That no Part of his Army might come within five and ‘ twenty Miles of *London*; and that the King's Perſon ‘ might be deliver'd to the former Commiſſioners, that had ‘ attended at *Holmby*; and that Colonel *Roſſiter*, and his ‘ Regiment, might be appointed for the Guard of his Perſon:’ Together with which they ſent ten thouſand Pounds to the Army. The General return'd Anſwer, ‘ That the Army was come to St. *Albans* before this Deſire of the Parliament came to his Hands; but that, in ‘ Obedience to their Commands, he would advance no farther; and deſir'd that a Month's Pay might be immediately ſent for the Army.’ In which they made all Haſte to gratify them; tho' as to the Delivery of the King to the former Commiſſioners, no other Anſwer was return'd,

than, ‘ That they might reſt aſſur’d, that all Care ſhould ‘ be taken for his Majeſty’s Security.’ In theſe Matters *Cromwell* ſtill carry’d himſelf with that Niceneſs and appearing Fidelity, that ſome of the Commons thought ſo well of his Services, that they declar’d, *He deſerv’d to have a Statue in Gold:* Yet at the ſame Time He and *Ireton* were concern’d in all the Meſſages and Declarations of the Army.

Their Declaration,

And Addreſs to the King.

The Parliament having recover’d its Spirits, by the Army’s not advancing, the Leaders began to proceed with Vigour againſt the principal Officers who contriv’d all theſe Proceedings: And they publiſh’d Declarations to the Kingdom, ‘ That they deſir’d to bring the King in Honour to ‘ his Parliament, *as they deſign’d from the Beginning*; and ‘ that he was detain’d Priſoner againſt his Will in the Ar‘ my, and that they had reaſon to apprehend the Safety of his ‘ Perſon.’ On the other Side, the Army declar’d, ‘ That ‘ his Majeſty was neither Priſoner, nor detain’d againſt his ‘ Will; and appeal’d to the King Himſelf, and all his ‘ Friends, who daily convers’d with him, Whether he had ‘ not *more Liberty*, and *more Reſpect* ſhewn him, ſince he ‘ came to the Army, than ever he had under their Juriſ‘ diction at *Holmby*.’ The Citizens ſeem’d very zealous for the Parliament, and were raiſing new Forces for their Defence; but their Preparations were tumultuous and full of Diſtraction, as is uſual in unexpected Occurrences. And now the Diſſentions between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* growing to a Height, they attack’d each other with the ſame Method and Arts, with which they had formerly tormented the King: Petitions were ſuborn’d on both Sides, and nothing more frequent than tumultuous Reſorts to the Parliament Doors: And it is obſervable that none did ſo much fear, or more condemn theſe ſeditious Concourſes, than thoſe who had formerly blown up and fomented the like againſt the King. The Houſes dreaded nothing ſo much, as that the Army ſhould unite with the King and his Party; and therefore they ſent a Committee to his Majeſty, with an Addreſs of another Style than they had lately us’d, in which they made many Profeſſions of Duty, and declar’d, ‘ That if his Majeſty was not in all ‘ Reſpects treated as he ought to be, and as he deſired, it ‘ was not their Fault, *who deſir’d he might be at full Li‘ berty, and do what he would*;’ hoping that the King would have been induc’d to move for his coming to *London*, and to complain of the Army’s detaining of him. In all this Matter the King behav’d himſelf with great Caution between both Parties; and tho’ he knew himſelf to be a real Priſoner, how kindly ſoever he was treated, yet he would not complain of his Uſage: But deſir’d, ‘ That both Par‘ ties would haſten their Conſultations, that the Kingdom ‘ might enjoy Peace and Happineſs, in which he ſhould ‘ not be without a Share; and he would pray to God to ‘ bring it to paſs as ſoon as poſſible.

The Repreſentation of the Army.

When the Parliament found that the King would not move to be out of the Hands of the Army, they voted for his coming to his Houſe at *Richmond*. But in Anſwer to this Vote the Army deſir’d, ‘ That no Place might be ‘ propos’d for his Majeſty’s Reſidence nearer to *London*, ‘ than where they would allow the Quarters of the Army.’ And ſhortly after, on the 21ſt of *June*, a formidable Paper was ſent to the two Houſes, intituled, *The Repreſentation of the Army*, in which, after a ſpecial Declaration of their real Intentions for the Good and Safety of the Kingdom, *&c.* they laid down ſeveral Propoſitions, grounded upon theſe poſitive Articles: ‘ That the Houſes might be ‘ ſpeedily purged of ſuch as ought not to ſit there: That ‘ ſuch as abuſed the Parliament and Army, and endanger’d ‘ the Kingdom, may be ſpeedily diſabled from doing the ‘ like or worſe; That ſome *determinate Period of Time* ‘ might be ſet to this and future Parliaments, according to ‘ the Intent of the Bill for *Triennial Parliaments*; That the ‘ Parliaments may not be *adjournable* or *diſſolvable* by any ‘ Power, but by their own Conſent during their reſpective ‘ Period, and then to determine Themſelves; That the ‘ Freedom of the People to preſent Grievances by Peti‘ tion to Parliaments, may be vindicated; That the exorbi‘ tant Power of *Country Committees* may be taken away; ‘ That the Kingdom may be ſatisfy’d in the Parliament’s ‘ Accounts for their vaſt Sums receiv’d, and in divers other ‘ Things in which the Common-wealth has been abuſed; ‘ That after *Delinquents* have paid their Compoſitions, an ‘ Act of Indemnity might be paſs’d.’ This unexpected Preſumption put the *Presbyterian* Party upon ſummoning and collecting all their Powers, and to try the Experiment of one ſtrong Blaſt: Whereupon they voted, *That the Army ſhould remove forty Miles from* London.

This couragious Vote made but little Impreſſion; for they had reſolv’d upon greater Deſigns, and to free themſelves from the Servitude of the Parliament. They had no Apprehenſions from the Houſe of Peers, which ſince the Earl of *Eſſex*’s Death ſunk both in Number and Credit. They found that the Houſe of Commons was now govern’d by ten or twelve Members, as Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Maynard*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, and Mr. Recorder *Glyn*, who had been very popular and active from the very Beginning; and by Sir *William Waller*, Major-General *Maſſey*, Colonel *Long*, Colonel *Harley*, and Mr. *Nichols*, of which, four had perform’d great Service in the Army under the Earl of *Eſſex*. Theſe were Men of Parts, Intereſt, and ſignal Courage, who formerly had rais’d ſuch Storms againſt the King and his Party, and were now levelling their Forces againſt *Cromwell* and the Army, whoſe Riſe was firſt owing to the Influence and Power of them, and others that were deceas’d. They declar’d their Animoſities againſt the Perſons of the moſt conſiderable Officers; as *Hollis*, once upon a hot Debate in the Houſe, and ſome rude Expreſſions from *Ireton*, had perſwaded him out of the Houſe, and challeng’d him to croſs the Water and fight him: *Ireton* replying, *His Conſcience would not ſuffer him to fight a Duel*; the other, in a Fury, pull’d him by the Noſe, and told him, *If his Conſcience kept him from giving Men Satisfaction, it ſhould keep him from provoking them.* This Affront to the third Perſon of the Army, and of the moſt violent and revengeful Temper of the whole Party, ſo incens’d them all, that they reſolv’d to be freed from Him, and the reſt of the Leaders that had ſo long commanded the Houſe of Commons.

Their Deſign againſt the chief of the Commons.

They Impeach Eleven Members,

who, upon that, retire.

They had therefore Recourſe to an Expedient, which, they had obſerv’d by the Conduct of theſe very Leaders, had been ſucceſsful in all that they deſir’d; and in a General Council of Officers prepar’d an Impeachment of High Treaſon in general Terms againſt Mr. *Hollis* and the foremention’d Perſons, to the Number of eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons. This Impeachment was preſented to the Houſe by four Colonels, *Scroop*, *Okey*, *Hewſon* and *Pride*, two Lieutenant-Colonels, *Bowen* and *Goffe*, Major *Deſborough*, and five Captains, *Berry*, *Clarke*, *Carter*, *Rolph* and *Sexby:* And within a few Days after, when they ſaw the ſame Members ſtill arraign their Proceedings, the General and Officers wrote to the Houſe, ‘ That they wou’d appoint fit Perſons to make good the ‘ Charge againſt the Members they had accuſed; and that ‘ they deſired that thoſe Impeach’d Members might be ‘ forthwith ſuſpended from ſitting in the Houſe; ſince it ‘ cou’d not be thought fit that the ſame Perſons who ‘ had ſo much injured the Army, ſhou’d ſit Judges of ‘ their own Actions.’ This was extreamly ſhocking to the Commons; and tho’ they were inexpreſſibly terrify’d with this Preſumption, they poſitively anſwer’d, ‘ That by ‘ Law no Judgment cou’d be given to ſuſpend thoſe Mem‘ bers, *till Proof were made* of ſuch Particulars as might ‘ render them guilty.’ To this the Officers of the Army ſharply retorted upon them, ‘ That they cou’d prove them ‘ guilty of ſuch Practices, that it wou’d be juſt in the ‘ Houſe to ſuſpend them: That by the Laws of the Land, ‘ and *the Precedents of Parliament*, in the Caſes of the ‘ Earl of *Strafford*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the ‘ Lord-Keeper *Finch*, they might be ſuſpended the Houſe ‘ upon a *General Accuſation:* Therefore they muſt ſtill ‘ inſiſt upon their Suſpenſion at leaſt; without which they ‘ ſaid the Army wou’d not be ſatisfy’d.’ How reſolute ſoever the Houſe of Commons ſeem’d, the accuſed Members themſelves, who beſt knew the Soldiers Temper, thought it ſafeſt for them to retire, and by forbearing to appear in the Houſe, to allay the Heat and Fury of the preſent Conteſt. This was a mighty Blow to the *Presbyterian* Party; for it loſt them not only theſe leading Men, but a far greater Number that ſtaid; ſome falling from them under Colour of *Clearer Illumination*; and ſome others were ſo diſmay’d, that they loſt all their former Courage: But upon the Retiring of theſe *Eleven Members*, their Charge was no further proſecuted.

The Popularity of the Independents.

3. The *Independents* having gain’d this Point, they daily got more into the Eſteem of the People, who now more freely made Complaints of their Preſſures and Grievances, and began to make Addreſſes to the Army as their only Saviours; Reſtorers of their Laws, Liberties and Properties; Settlers of Religion, and Preſervers of all juſt Intereſts: They having from the Preſs and the Pulpit pretended ‘ to eſtabliſh the King in his juſt *Rights* and *Prero‘ gatives*; to uphold the *Privilege* of Parliament; to re‘ form and bring to Account all *Committees*, Sequeſtrators ‘ and Others, who had defiled their Fingers with the ‘ Publick Monies; and to free the People from *Exciſe*, and ‘ other Taxes and Oppreſſions.’ As to *London* itſelf, tho’ the City ſeem’d to be wholly *Presbyterian*, yet *Cromwell* and *Ireton* well knew that the common Multitude were at their Diſpoſal, and wou’d appear upon any Occaſion; and that many Aldermen and ſubſtantial Citizens reſted

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The Parliament confounded.

without oppoſing the *Presbyterians*, only by their Directions, and wou'd be ready upon their Call. And now when they ſaw theſe Leaders purg'd out of the Houſe, great Numbers of the moſt inferior People tumultuouſly flock'd to the Parliament with Petitions of ſeveral Natures, relating both to Religion and the Civil Government; with the Noiſe and Clamour of which the Parliament was ſo offended, that they made an Ordinance, ‘ That it ſhou'd be Criminal to gather and ſolicite the Subſcription of Hands to Petitions:’ So that the ſame Multitude that were formerly their Support, became now their Grievance and Puniſhment. But this Order ſo provok'd all Parties, that within two Days they were compell'd to revoke it, and to leave all Men again to their natural Liberty.

While this Confuſion continu'd in the City and Parliament, the Commiſſioners ſent to treat with the Army had no better Succeſs, but return'd with the poſitive Reſolution of the Officers, ‘ That a Declaration ſhou'd be publiſh'd by the Parliament againſt the coming in of Foreign Force:’ For they fear'd, or were willing that the People ſhou'd fear, a new Combination by the *Scots*: ‘ That the Pay of the Army ſhou'd be put into a conſtant Courſe, and all Receivers of Money call'd to an Account: That the *Militia* of *London* return into former Hands that were well affected: That all Perſons impriſon'd for pretended Miſdemeanors, by Order of Parliament, or their Committee, be ſet at Liberty; and, if found innocent upon Tryal, have good Reparation:’ And they particularly mention'd *John Lilburn*, *Overton*, and other *Fanaticks* whom the Parliament had committed for their inſolent Actions, and ſeditious Meetings under the Pretence of Exerciſe of their Religion. Upon the Report of theſe Demands, the Parliament grew more inrag'd, and voted, ‘ That the yielding to the Army in theſe Demands, wou'd be againſt their Honour and their Intereſt, deſtructive to their Privileges;’ with many Expreſſions againſt their Boldneſs and Preſumption. Yet when a new Rabble of Petitioners, with loud Cries demanded moſt of the ſame Things, they were willing to compound with them, and conſented, That the *Militia* of *London* ſhou'd be put into ſuch Hands as the Army deſir'd. The City *Militia* had, on the 4th of *May*, by the Deſire of the Common-Council, been ſettled by Ordinance of Parliament in the Hands of ſuch as were generally *Presbyterians*; but now, when upon the Demands of the Army, they ſaw the Ordinance revers'd, and without ſo much as conſulting the Common-Council, the City was extreamly ſtartled, and cry'd out ‘ That if the Command of the Army cou'd cauſe the Parliament to reverſe ſuch an Ordinance as that of the *Militia*, they had Reaſon to fear they might as well repeal the other Ordinances for the Security of Mony, or for the Purchaſe of Biſhops and Church-Lands, or whatever elſe was the proper Security of the Subject.’ And therefore they caus'd a Petition to be prepared in the Name of the City; but before they were ready to deliver it, many thouſands of Apprentices and young Citizens brought Petitions to the Parliament, claiming and declaring, ‘ That the Command of the *Militia* was the Birth-right of the City, belonging to them by ſeveral Charters confirm'd in Parliament; for the Defence of which, they had ventur'd their Lives as far and as frankly as the Army had done; and therefore they deſir'd that the Ordinance of Parliament of the 4th of *May*, which had paſs'd with their Conſent, might ſtand inviolable.’ They firſt preſented their Petition to the Houſe of Peers, who out of Fear revok'd their late Ordinance, and confirm'd their former of *May*, and ſent it down to the Houſe of Commons for their Conſent; who after that durſt not deny their Concurrence; for the Apprentices carry'd themſelves ſo inſolently, that they wou'd ſcarce ſuffer the Door of the Houſe to be ſhut, and ſome were ſo bold as to go into the Houſe, till the Cauſe was obtain'd.

The City diſguſted.

The Parliament's Compliance.

They are threatned by the Army.

Thus the Ordinance made at the Deſire of the Army, was revers'd on *Monday* the 26th of *July*; upon which the Houſes adjourn'd to *Friday*, that they might have two or three Days to conſider of the preſent Difficulties, and to prevent the like Violences hereafter. The Army having quick Notice of theſe uncommon Proceedings, the General writ a ſharp Letter to the Parliament from *Bedford*, in which he let them know, ‘ How civilly the Army had comply'd with their Deſire of Removing to a greater Diſtance, upon Preſumption their own Authority wou'd have been able to have ſecur'd them from any Rudeneſs and Violence of the People; the contrary to which was evident by the unparallel'd Violation of their Privileges, on the *Monday* before, by a Multitude encourag'd by ſeveral Common-Council Men, and other Citizens in Authority; which was an Act ſo prodigious and horrid, *as muſt diſſolve all Government*, if not ſeverely and exemplarily chaſtis'd: That the Army look'd upon themſelves as accountable to the Kingdom, if this unheard-of Outrage, by which the Settlement of the Nation, and the Relief of *Ireland*, had been ſo notoriouſly interrupted, ſhould not be ſtrictly examin'd, and Juſtice ſpeedily done upon the Offenders.’ Upon *Friday* the Members came together, in as full Numbers as they us'd to meet, there being about a hundred and forty of the Houſe of Commons; but after they had ſat ſome Time in Expectation of their Speaker, they were ſurpris'd with the News, *That he was gone out of Town early that Morning*; and they obſerv'd that Sir *Henry Vane*, and ſome other Members of his neareſt Acquaintance, were likewiſe abſent. The Houſe of Peers likewiſe found that the Earl of *Mancheſter* their Speaker had withdrawn himſelf, together with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and eight other Lords; but the Major Part ſtill remain'd there, ſwell'd with Indignation againſt the abſent Peers, who they underſtood were gone to the Army: All which ſudden Turn is attributed to the profound Subtlety of Mr. Solicitor *St. John*. Hereupon both Houſes choſe new Speakers, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* for the Peers, and Mr. *Pelham* of *Lincoln's-Inn* for the Commons; and the latter immediately voted, ‘ That the *Eleven Members* impeached by the Army, who had abſented themſelves, ſhou'd preſently appear and take their Places.’ They further made an Ordinance of Parliament, by which a *Committee of Safety* was appointed to join with the *City Militia*, and had Authority to raiſe Men for the Defence of the Parliament; in which they appear'd ſo vigorous, that no Man in the Houſes, or in the City, ſeem'd to deſign any thing leſs than a brave and valiant Reſiſtance.

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Many of both Houſes fly to the Army.

Their good Reception.

The News of theſe Proceedings rous'd up the Army, and the General ſent a good Body of Horſe to *Windſor*, and march'd himſelf to *Uxbridge*, and appointed a general Rendezvous of the whole upon *Hounſlow-Heath*, within two Days; when and where there appear'd an Army of twenty thouſand Foot and Horſe, with a Train of Artillery, and other ſuitable Proviſions. Here the Speakers of both Houſes, who had privately before met with the chief Officers of the Army, appear'd at the Rendezvous with their Maces, and above fifty of their Members, complaining to the General, ‘ That they had not Freedom at *Weſtminſter*, but were in danger of their Lives by the Tumults; and appeal'd to the Army for their Protection.’ This look'd like an Act of Providence to vindicate the Army; and conſidering the different Perſons concern'd in it, it cou'd hardly be otherwiſe judg'd, than that they deſign'd to have their particular Shares in the Treaty, which they believ'd the Army had near concluded with the King. The chief Officers receiv'd the two Speakers, and the attending Members, as ſo many Angels ſent from Heaven for their Happineſs, paid them all imaginable Reſpect, profeſs'd all Submiſſion to them, as THE PARLIAMENT OF *ENGLAND*, and declar'd, *That they wou'd re-eſtabliſh them in their full Power, or periſh in the Attempt*: took very particular Care for their Accommodations, before the General, and aſſign'd a Guard to attend them for their Security, acquainted them with all their Conſultations, and wou'd not preſume to reſolve any thing without their Approbation. And now the common Soldiers were taught, with great Shouts and Acclamations, to cry out *Lords and Commons!* and *a Free Parliament!*

The Citizens Submiſſion to the General.

This formidable Union, as it was believ'd at *London*, rais'd ſuch diſmal Apprehenſions in the City, of Plunder, and other kinds of Puniſhment, that they ſent ſix Aldermen, and ſix Commoners to the General, who lamented and complain'd, ‘ That the City was ſuſpected, but yet innocent from acting againſt the Army; and therefore ſent theſe their Members, to be added to their Committee attending the Council of the Army, and pray the General to forbear the Miſchief of a new War.’ But the General little conſidering the Meſſage, and leſs the Meſſengers, and continuing his ſlow Marches towards the City, they ſent a more humble Meſſage to him, ‘ That finding his Deſign of marching ſo near was, to ſettle the Members of the Lords and Commons in their Privileges of Parliament, the City wou'd contribute all their Power and Service to it; and praying with all Submiſſion, that he wou'd be pleas'd to ſend ſuch a Guard as might conduct them to the Parliament in Safety, and that the Paſſes and Ports ſhou'd be ſet open for them, *and they wou'd do what elſe his Excellency ſhou'd command*.’ In the mean Time ſome Regiments of the Army under *Rainsborough*, *Hewſon*, *Pride* and *Thiſtlewell*, croſſing over *Kingſton-Bridge*, march'd without Oppoſition into *Southwark*, as far as *London-Bridge* Gate, which they found ſhut, and the Portcullis let down; therefore having planted two Guns on the one Side, and made a Stand, *Hewſon* march'd into St. *George*'s Fields, and ſummon'd the great Fort in *Lambeth* High-Way, which was immediately ſurrender'd to him. The General coming on ſlowly on the other Side of the City, on the 4th of *Auguſt* demanded all the

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Forts on the Weſt Side of the City to be ſurrender'd to him: To which Summons the Common-Council, then ſitting, return'd Anſwer, 'That they humbly ſubmitted to 'his Excellency's Commands, profeſſing their Readineſs 'to comply with the Army; and that now, under Almighty God, they did rely only upon his *Excellency's* '*honourable Word* for their Safety and Protection.

They meet him at Hyde-Park.

At *Hyde-Park* the Lord Mayor and Aldermen met his Excellency, and humbly congratulated his Excellency's Arrival; 'and beſought his Excellency to excuſe what 'they had, out of their good Meaning and Deſire of Peace, 'done amiſs;' and as a Teſtimony of their Affection and Duty, the Mayor, on the Behalf of the City, preſented him with a large Gold Cup; which he ſullenly refus'd, and with as little Ceremony diſmiſs'd them. He himſelf waited upon the two Speakers, and conducted them and their ſeveral Members to their Places in Parliament, which they aſſum'd as tho' there had been no Separation. The firſt Thing they did was the Calling in the General into both Houſes, and making large Acknowledgments in the Name of each Houſe, they ſolemnly thank'd him, 'for 'the *Protection* he had given to their *Perſons*, and his '*Vindication* of the *Privileges* of Parliament.' Then they voted, 'That all that had been done by Themſelves in go'ing to, and reſiding in the Army, and all that had been 'done by the Army, to be *Well* and *Legal*;' as ſome Time after they voted, 'That all that had been done in the 'Houſes ſince their Departure, was againſt *Law*, and *Pri*'*vilege* of Parliament, *invalid* and *void*.' The next Day the whole Army, Horſe, Foot and Cannon, march'd through the City, in a triumphant Manner, with Laurels upon their Hats, as if they had obtain'd ſome ſignal Victory: A Month's Pay was advanc'd and paid to them, and the Parliament beſtow'd a Donative of fifty thouſand Pounds upon their *Deliverers*; who caus'd all the Works, that had been rais'd againſt the King, to be demoliſh'd, to prevent new Rebellions againſt themſelves. As to his Excellency, he was made ſtill more excellent, and from being *General* of the Parliament Army, was voted *Generaliſſimo*, and Commander in Chief of all the Forces and Forts throughout *England* and *Wales*, and Conſtable of the *Tower* of *London*; of which laſt Place he made Colonel *Titchborn* his Lieutenant, contrary to the Requeſt of the Lord Mayor and Citizens. A Day of Thanſgiving was likewiſe appointed, in which Mr. *Marſhal* from the Pulpit made the Deliverance to be greater than that of *Gun-Powder Treaſon*. Nor did they reſt here, but fell to Impeaching ſix or ſeven Lords, as the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Middleſex* and *Lincoln*; the Lords *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Hunſdon*, *Maynard* and *Berkly*; and the Lord Mayor, with many of the principal Citizens were likewiſe committed to the *Tower*. The *Eleven Members* all retir'd, moſt beyond the Seas; and that courageous and governing Man, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, meeting with the Plague on Shipboard, dy'd in a Ditch near *Calais*, to the great Terror of his Collegues. Thus the Army ſubdued, purg'd and reduc'd the City and the Parliament to their own Model and Deſign; and here, ſays *Hollis*, was an End of the Glory of both.

He is thank'd by the Parliament.

The Army enters the City and reduces it.

The King's Removals.

4. During all theſe Tranſactions, the King was oblig'd to make his Progreſs according to the ſeveral Motions of the Army: From *New-market* he was brought to his Houſe at *Royſton*, *June* 24th, and after a Stay of two Days was carry'd to *Hatfield*, a noble Houſe belonging to the Earl of *Saliſbury*, where he ſtay'd till the firſt of *July*: Then he was hurried to *Windſor*, and two Days after to *Caverſham*; where the Elector *Palatine*, many of the Nobility, General *Fairfax*, and ſeveral of the chief Officers waited on him; and what was much more comfortable, his own Children were here allow'd to come and ſee him. From hence, in the middle of *July*, he was remov'd to *Maidenhead*, on the Twentieth to *Woborne*; then next to *Latimers* in *Buckinghamſhire*, hence to *New-Park*, and ſo to *Stoke*; on the Fourteenth of *Auguſt* to *Oatlands*, a fine Palace of the Queen's upon the River *Thames*, and two Days after was laſt of all brought to *Hampton-Court*; after a various Progreſs of almoſt Ten Weeks, from the Time of his being taken from *Holmby*. Here His Majeſty continu'd in State and Luſtre for near Three Months; while the Army, which had troubled both City and Parliament, was one Part quarter'd in *Weſtminſter*, to guard the Parliament, and the reſt between *Hampton-Court* and *London*, to take care of the King; and the Council of Officers and *Agitators* ſat conſtantly at *Fulham* and *Putney*, to ſee that no Settlement ſhould be made for the Government of the Kingdom, without their Approbation.

He is fix'd at Hampton-Court.

The Liberty the King had of ſeeing his Friends, during theſe Removals, occaſion'd the Arrival of Sir *John Berkley* from *France*, and ſhortly after him Mr. *John Aſhburnham*: The former was ſent by the Queen, and both came upon the ſame Buſineſs; being full of Hopes, from their general Acquaintance with the Officers of the Army, and the good Diſpoſition of ſome of them, that they might do ſome ſignal Service to his Majeſty by treating with the Army. The King was acquainted with Mr. *Aſhburnham*, but had but little Knowledge, nor no great Opinion of Sir *John Berkley*: yet he was willing to make uſe of both their Services, and wiſh'd them 'to correſpond with 'each other, and converſe with his ſeveral Friends, who 'did not yet reſort to him, and to receive their Ad'vice; to diſcover the Intentions of both Parties, and im'part what was fit to Him, till upon farther Diſcovery he 'might better judge what to do.' Theſe two were the Chief Agents, upon whoſe Information and Advice his Majeſty principally depended: They were both very ſanguine, truſting to their own, and undervaluing each other's Opinion; and their Acquaintance with the Officers not being generally with the ſame Men, their Informations and Advices were often very different, and often more perplex'd than inform'd the King's Judgment. The Army was now chiefly govern'd by *Cromwell* and his Son-in-law *Ireton*, who, tho' infinitely ſecret in their Deſigns, were open in their Enmity to the *Presbyterian* Party; and accordingly pretended, at leaſt, to be great Friends to the King's Cauſe, of the Advancement of which many of the Officers were really deſirous. *Ireton* expreſs'd in Major *Huntington*'s Preſence an entire Affection to the King, and a hearty Senſe of his patient Sufferings and unparallel'd Condeſcenſions; and declar'd, *That rather than his Majeſty ſhould continue thus enſlav'd by that vile* Presbyterian *Party, if but five Men would join with him, he would venture his Life in order to his Redemption.* Shortly after *Cromwell*, at *Putney*, ſolemnly declar'd, *That upon the ſame Score, if ten Men would but ſtick to him, he would hazard his Life and Fortune for the King.* They ſeem'd very ſuſpicious of the King's hearkening to ſome ſecret Propoſitions of the *Presbyterians*; and *Ireton*, at *Windſor*, plainly told Him, *Sir, you have an Intention to be the Arbitrator between the Parliament and Us, and We deſign to be the ſame between your Majeſty and the Parliament.*

Sir John Berkley's *and Mr.* Aſhburnham's *Negotiations with the Army.*

To theſe two Leaders and ſome others Sir *John Berkley* apply'd Himſelf, having firſt receiv'd this Caution from Sir *Allen Apſley*, *That he was to deal with ſubtle Men, that govern'd themſelves by other Maxims than the reſt of the World.* He met with both civil Treatment, and good Incouragement; and *Cromwell* at firſt told him, *That He and his Friends thought no Men cou'd enjoy their Lives and Eſtates quietly, without the King had his Right, which they had already declar'd in general Terms to the World, and wou'd more particularly very ſpeedily, wherein they wou'd comprize the ſeveral Intereſts of the* Royal, Presbyterian *and* Independent *Parties, as far as they were conſiſting with each other*; all which were deſign'd to be drawn into Propoſitions. Not long after meeting with *Cromwell* at *Reading*, as he was coming from the King at *Caverſham*, He told Sir *John*, *That he had lately ſeen the tendereſt Sight that ever his Eyes beheld, which was the Interview between the King and his Children*; and wept plentifully at the Remembrance of it, ſaying, *That never Man was ſo abus'd as He in his ſiniſter Opinions of the Army, who now he thought was the uprighteſt and moſt conſcientious Man of his three Kingdoms: That they of the* Independent *Party had infinite Obligations to him for not conſenting to the Propoſitions at* Newcaſtle, *which wou'd have totally ruin'd them, and which his Majeſty's Intereſt ſeem'd to invite him to*; and concluded with wiſhing, *That God would be pleas'd to look upon him according to the Sincerity of his Heart towards his Majeſty.*

Cromwell's *Hypocritical Pretenſions.*

Several Days paſs'd in this ſecret Negotiation, till the Army's Propoſitions were compleated; but ſtill his Majeſty had a great Diffidence in all the Army, except Major *Huntington*, a brave Officer in *Cromwell*'s own Regiment, and did believe that their Promiſes proceeded in a great Meaſure from the Uſe they had of him; and without Him he unfortunately thought they cou'd do nothing. *Berkley* conceives that this was firſt inculcated by *Bamfield* and *Loe*, and afterwards by the Lord *Lauderdale*, who had frequent Acceſſes to him from the *Scots*, the *Presbyterians*, and the City of *London*, who knew nothing was ſo fatal to them as a Conjunction between the King and the Army. Mr. *Aſhburnham* alſo abounded much in his Majeſty's Senſe, in ſuſpecting the Fidelity of the Army; ſo that when *Berkley* brought their Propoſals to him, he not only objected againſt them, but ſaid, *That they cou'd not ſubſiſt without him, and he ſhou'd ſee them glad e'er long to accept more equal Terms.* The Propoſals were indeed more moderate to Him and his Party, than thoſe ſent by the Parliament, but ſtill deſtructive both to the Monarchy and the Church. When they were brought to him by the Chief Officers, and his Concurrence deſir'd, he rejected them with Sharpneſs, and ſaid, *You cannot be*

The King rejects the Armies Propoſitions.

without Me; *You will fall to Ruin if I do not ſuſtain You.* *Berkley* us'd all Means to perſuade his Majeſty to a Compliance; and He and others ſeem to intimate that the King loſt his Time, and a fair Opportunity of being reſtor'd; ſince the Officers declar'd, *That if the Parliament wou'd not agree to their Propoſals, they wou'd make them.* This is not eaſy to determine; but Sir *P. Warwick* juſtly obſerves, That when the Two Gentlemen, *Berkley* and *Aſhburnham*, were deſir'd to declare, 'Whether the Army had given the 'King any ſuch Tye, that if they prov'd Unfaithful, they 'might be prov'd Perfidious, ſo that the King and his 'Counſellors might not appear too credulous to the 'World;' no ſuch Thing cou'd be produc'd. For *Cromwell* and *Ireton* ſtill kept themſelves in the Dark, and cou'd raiſe as many Difficulties as they had Occaſion to pretend. His Majeſty had ſome Cautions given him of *Cromwell*'s private Boaſting of *his fine Arts in impoſing upon the King*; and therefore muſt certainly be under very great Difficulties at this Time. It is certain, that ſome of the General Officers were ſincere to the King, and really his Converts; and *Barron* in his Defence tells us, that one of them ſeeing *Cromwell* hold the King's Hand between his own, and while he made his Promiſes, waſhing it with his Tears; when he came out, he asked the Officer *whether he had not acted his Part well*? who anſwer'd, *Were you not in Earneſt*? *Not in the leaſt*, reply'd He; for which he ever after deteſted him, and acquainted the King what a *Devil Incarnate* he had to deal withal.

The King's Freedom at Hampton-Court.

His Advice to his Children.

5. In the mean Time the King continu'd at *Hampton-Court* for two or three Months, in greater Splendor than during the Motions of the Army: The Reſpects of the Chief Officers ſeem'd greater than before; the King's Friends of all Conditions repair'd to him, and convers'd with him without Reſerve; and the Citizens flock'd thither as they us'd to do at the End of a Progreſs, after a long Abſence from *London*: But that which gave the King the moſt ſenſible Pleaſure, was the Company of his own Children, which were permitted frequently to come to him from *Sion*, where they were under the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Care. The King's tender Treatment, their Dutiful Behaviour, and the Harmonious Concurrence of both, often prov'd the moſt affecting Sight in the World, and rais'd all the ſoft Motions of Pity from his very Enemies. He gave particular and ſolemn Advice to each of them, as tho' he had then foreſeen the worſt that cou'd happen to him; and urg'd them 'to preſerve unſhaken their Affection and Duty to the Prince their Brother.' The Duke of *York*, being then about Fourteen Years of Age, was adviſ'd by Him, 'If any Alterations ſhou'd happen as 'to Himſelf, to make his Eſcape, and tranſport Himſelf 'into *Holland*, where he preſum'd his Siſter wou'd receive 'him kindly.' The Princeſs *Elizabeth* was about Twelve Years of Age, a Lady of admirable Parts, and a forward Underſtanding: She was enjoyn'd, 'never to be diſpos'd 'of in Marriage without the Approbation of her Mother, 'and Eldeſt Brother, and to perform all Duty and Obedience to both Thoſe; and to obey the Queen in all 'Things, *except in Matters of Religion*, in which he commanded her, upon his Bleſſing, never to hearken or conſent to Her; but to continue firm to the Religion in which 'ſhe had been Educated, what Misfortunes ſoever might 'befal the poor Church.' The Duke of *Gloceſter* was not above Seven Years of Age; therefore the King took greater Pains to make the moſt laſting Impreſſions upon him, when he commanded him poſitively 'never to be perſuaded or threatned out of the Religion of the Church, for 'the Purity and Integrity of which he bid him remember, '*That he had his Father's Teſtimony and Authority*: And 'ſince ſome deſigning Men might poſſibly endeavour to 'ſet him up for King, he commanded him, upon his Bleſſing, never to ſuffer himſelf to be made King, while either of his elder Brothers were alive.' Theſe were the Subjects which he frequently inculcated and urg'd with all the Tenderneſs of a Parent, and the Authority of a Maſter.

He recovers his Book, &c.

The King, beſides the comfortable Preſence of his Children, had now the Satisfaction of recovering the *Divine Meditations* he had wrote, afterwards call'd ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, that is ſo much as had been written before, and taken at the Battle of *Naſeby*; being procur'd by the Intereſt of Major *Huntington*, from the Hands of General *Fairfax*. They had been ſent up to the Parliament, and by their Order peruſed by Mr. *Prynne*, but were not thought proper to be publiſh'd with the King's Letters taken at the ſame Time. The King upon the Receipt of theſe Papers, appear'd very joyful, and ſaid *He eſteem'd them more than all the Jewels he had loſt in his Cabinet*; and the Major was ſo affected with the Reading of them, that from that Time he became a Proſelyte to the Royal Cauſe. About the ſame Time the King alſo recover'd a Manuſcript Hiſtory out of the Hands of *Cromwell*, written by his Secretary of War, Sir *Edward Walker*, but in many Places corrected by his own Hand. This he ſent into *France*, to Sir *Edward Hyde*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who from thence Collected the moſt important Paſſages in his famous Hiſtory, for the two Years 1644, and 1645.

The Parliament's Propoſitions to the King.

6. The two Houſes, having been reduc'd to ſome Degree of Settlement, began now to be at leiſure to re-aſſume their Pretence of a well-grounded Peace between the King and his Subjects. And having made ſome few Amendments to the Propoſitions they had ſent to *Newcaſtle*, on the ſecond of *September*, it was reſolv'd, 'That a Day be 'appointed for the Delivering of the Propoſitions of both 'Kingdoms to the King's Majeſty for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace; and that the Commiſſioners of both 'Houſes ſhou'd attend his Majeſty to deliver the ſaid Propoſitions; within ſix Days to be limited for receiving his 'Majeſty's Aſwer.' They were accordingly deliver'd, and were only told by his Majeſty, *That he wou'd return Anſwer with all Conveniency.*

The King's Caution.

The Proteſtations of Cromwell *and* Ireton.

His Majeſty in his Anſwer thought it very neceſſary to take care of the Intereſt of the Army; but before he wou'd determine what Anſwer to make, he call'd Major *Huntington* to him, and told him he muſt reſolve him a ſhort Queſtion, which was, *Whether he cou'd aſſure him that* Cromwell *was the ſame in his Heart to him, as he had by his Tongue ſo freely and frequently expreſs'd himſelf.* At which Queſtion the Major being not little ſtagger'd, and fearing the Danger of an uncertain Anſwer, begg'd a Day's Time for Conſideration; which being granted, he went privately by Night to *Cromwell* at *Putney*; and having with an Excuſe rais'd him out of Bed, *Cromwell* in ſhort anſwer'd, *That he did really and uprightly mean and intend to perform the ſame to his utmoſt, which he had ſo often profeſs'd to the King; which was the full reſtoring and eſtabliſhing him in his juſt and lawful Rights*: Imprecating, *That neither Himſelf, nor his Wife or Children might ever proſper, if he did not reſtore him, in Caſe the Army remain'd an Army*; *and if not, they were bound to fall with him; and that he Himſelf wou'd ſtand by him, if there were but ten Men to ſtick to him*; uſing bitter Reflections upon the rigid Party in Parliament, which by their *Preſbyterian* Principles and Practices deſign'd to enſlave Him. *Ireton* expreſs'd the ſame Senſe, and farther added, *That they wou'd purge and purge again, till they had brought the Houſe to ſuch a Temper as ſhou'd do his Majeſty's Buſineſs*: *And rather than fall ſhort of their Promiſes, he wou'd joyn with* French, Spaniard, Cavalier, *or any that wou'd joyn with him to force them to it.* But notwithſtanding all this, the Major was ſo cautious, that he condition'd with *Cromwell*, That if any thing ſhou'd happen, which might hinder the Effect of his fair Intentions, the King might have timely Notice, ſo as to eſcape the Danger. Which being promis'd, the Major return'd with great Hopes and Satisfaction to the King, and inform'd him of the whole Matter.

The King's Anſwer to the Propoſitions.

The Villany of Cromwell *and* Ireton.

Hereupon the King form'd his Anſwer to the Parliament's Propoſals, and ſent them by Major *Huntington* to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to be perus'd, with the Liberty to add and alter what they ſhou'd think fit: Which being done by them, and return'd to his Majeſty, he wrote it again, and ſent it to the Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, where it was read about the middle of *September*. In Subſtance it declar'd, 'That he cou'd not conſent to all their Propoſitions, but 'deſir'd them to take into Conſideration the *Propoſals of* '*the Army*, as more conducing to the Satisfaction of all 'Intereſts, and to have a Perſonal Treaty upon them: 'Therefore he conjur'd his two Houſes of Parliament, by 'their Duty they ow'd to God and Himſelf their King, 'and by the Bowels of Compaſſion they had to their Fellow-Subjects, both for Relief of their preſent Sufferings, 'and to prevent future Miſeries; that they wou'd forthwith accept of his Offer, whereby the joyful News of 'Peace might be reſtor'd to this diſtreſſed Kingdom.' But ſee, ſays *Huntington*, the horrid Perfidiouſneſs of theſe grand Impoſtors, *Cromwell* and *Ireton*; no ſooner was this Candid Anſwer read in the Houſe of Commons, but both of them appear'd with the Higheſt in their Invectives againſt it: In ſhort, the Houſes Voted this Anſwer *a flat Denyal*. The News of which being brought to the King, he immediately diſpatch'd Major *Huntington* to *Cromwell*, to require a Reaſon for theſe Proceedings; whoſe Anſwer was, *That what he had then ſaid in the Houſe of Commons, was to ſound the Depth of thoſe virulent Humours, which had poſſeſs'd the* Preſbyterians, *whom he knew to be no Friends to his Majeſty.* And after this Time *Cromwell* never came to his Majeſty; as we are inform'd by this Major's own Account, which he ſent to Sir *William Dugdale*.

We are told indeed by private Hands of a ſecret Treaty between the King and *Cromwell*, by which He and *Ireton* were to receive the higheſt Poſts of Honour and Profit; but that the King dealt unfairly by them; which they diſ-

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cover'd by ſome intercepted Letters to the Queen, and therefore reſolv'd never to truſt Him any more. This is related by ſome of the King's Enemies, with much Confidence, but with little Authority, and a very ſuſpicious Variety; but after a careful Search, we can find nothing to ſupport, or indeed to countenance ſuch a Story among the moſt authentick Writers; who generally own that the King was ready to give any Reward to theſe two Leaders, but they always dealt baſely and treacherouſly by Him: And Major *Huntington* plainly told the King, *That* Cromwell *was a Villain, and wou'd deſtroy him, if he were not prevented*; and in a ſhort Time after, he threw up his Commiſſion, and left the Army. *Cromwell* indeed complain'd to Mr. *Aſhburnham*, *That the King cou'd not be truſted; that he had no Confidence in the Army, but was jealous of them and all the Officers: That he had Intrigues in the Parliament, and Treaties with the City* Presbyterians, *to raiſe new Troubles; that he had a Treaty with the* Scotch *Commiſſioners to engage the Nation again in Blood; therefore he cou'd not be anſwerable if any Thing fell out contrary to Expectation.* In this latter Point *Cromwell* employ'd Major *Huntington* to ſound the King as to his Knowledge or Privity of any ſuch Deſign; which being carefully perform'd, the King utterly diſclaim'd it, aſſuring him, *If they cou'd prove that any one of the* Engliſh *Officers had, by his Authority, confederated with the* Scots, *they ſhou'd conclude him guilty of all they did ſo ſurmiſe; and that he did only depend on thoſe ſolemn Promiſes which* Cromwell *had made to him.*

Cromwell's *Complaints of the King.*

But all this was of no Advantage to the King; for the Army having now brought the Parliament and City to a right Underſtanding, they became leſs regardful of his Majeſty, than formerly; the chief Officers came rarely to *Hampton*-Court, the Guards about the King grew more rude and troubleſome, and highly affronted the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, who in the Month of *October* firſt came thither. A more mutinous Spirit aroſe in the Army, and a new ſort of People, call'd *Levellers*, appear'd, who pretending to bring all Degrees of Men to an Equality, in a ſhort Time became formidable to *Cromwell* Himſelf, who many believ'd had made a ſecret Bargain with the King. The *Agitators* now began to change their Diſcourſe, and openly complain'd in their Councils both of the King, and the Malignants about his Perſon: They ſaid, 'Since the King had not accepted of their Propoſals, they were not oblig'd any farther to them: They found it apparent, That God had on one Side hardned the King's Heart, and blinded his Eyes in not paſſing the Propoſals; and on the other Side, the Lord had *led Captivity Captive, and put all Things under their Feet*, and therefore they were bound to finiſh the *Work of the Lord*.' Several Officers met at *Putney* in the Beginning of *November*, where Colonel *Harriſon* made a long Narration concerning ſome Things that lay upon his Spirit, in Relation to the King, Lords, &c. declaring, *That the King was a Man of Blood, and therefore the Ingagements to him were taken off, and that they ought to proſecute him.* And on the ſame Day the *Agitators* of nine Regiments, and the General's Life-Guard, had prepared a Letter of the ſame Strain by Way of *Narrative* to all the Soldiers of the Army, to draw them to a General Rendezvous, to declare againſt any Settlement with the King.

The Levellers, *&c.*

The Scots Commiſſioners offer to reſcue the King.

Before theſe laſt Proceedings, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, *Lowdon*, *Lanerick* and *Lauderdale*, who with ſome Difficulty repair'd to the King, began to enter into a Treaty with him, and offer'd to reſcue him out of the Hands of the Army, or periſh in the Attempt: And ſhortly after, the King being to hunt at *Noneſuch*, the two Latter came thither on Pretence of waiting on his Majeſty, accompany'd with fifty Horſe, which ſtruck no ſmall Terror in the ſmall Guard about the King. Theſe Lords told his Majeſty, *That they came to reſcue him from his Captivity, and they were all reſolv'd to dye at his Feet; therefore they begg'd him to make his Eſcape.* But the King told them, *He had ingag'd his Honour not to leave the Army without giving them Notice; and till he had freed himſelf from that, he wou'd rather dye than break his Faith.* But the Leaders, as well as others in the Army, were now weary of the King's being with them, and wiſh'd to have him in ſome ſecure and remote Place; wherefore they caus'd Reports to be often brought to him, that his Life was in great Danger from the *Levellers* and other implacable Men. Whereupon the King ſent to the two Earls, and told them, *He had now freed himſelf from the Engagement of not leaving the Army, and deſir'd their Advice concerning his Eſcape.* He ask'd them firſt of his going to *Scotland*: *Lauderdale* told him, *That except he reſolv'd to comply with their Deſires about Religion, he might expect no better Uſage from the* Kirk *Party, than he had met with at* Newcaſtle. Then ſpeaking of *London*, the Earl gave ſufficient Reaſons for his not going thither; nor cou'd he give him any Hopes of the *Scots* Commiſſioners Acknowledgment of him in the Name of the *Scotch* Nation. Laſt of all the King propos'd *Barwick* as a Place to fly to; upon which the Earl of *Lanerick* begg'd of his Majeſty *That for God's Sake he wou'd follow that Motion*; which being back'd by *Lauderdale*, the King ſeem'd reſolv'd upon that Place, when they left him.

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The King eſcapes from Hampton-Court.

But ſoon after his Majeſty, being terrify'd with new Apprehenſions, was driven upon other Meaſures. He ſeem'd now more ſolicitous how to eſcape, than where to fly: There is Reaſon to believe that he had reſolv'd to tranſport himſelf beyond the Seas, which had not been difficult to effect; but whom he conſulted for the way of doing it, ſtill remains a Secret; they who were inſtrumental in his Removal, pretending to know nothing of the Reſolution or Advice. But one Morning, being the eleventh of *November*, the King having over Night pretended ſome Indiſpoſition, and that he wou'd go to Reſt; they who went into his Chamber, were ſurpris'd in not finding him there, and more when they found he had not been in his Bed that Night. There were two or three Letters found upon the Table, all writ with his own Hand, one to the Parliament, and another to the General; in which he declar'd 'That the Reaſon of his Removal was an Apprehenſion, that ſome deſperate Perſons had deſign'd to aſſaſſinate him; and therefore he had withdrawn himſelf with a Purpoſe of remaining conceal'd, till the Parliament had agreed upon ſuch Propoſitions as ſhou'd be fit for him to conſent to. In Concluſion, if he might be heard with Freedom, Honour and Safety, he wou'd inſtantly break through this Cloud of Retirement, and ſhew himſelf really to be *Pater Patriæ*.' Such was the King's ſudden Departure, after he had been near five Months in the Army; which prov'd a wonderful Surpriſe to all Men, and ſo terrify'd the Parliament, that they immediately ſent Poſt all Ways imaginable to find him out, and voted it 'Confiſcation of Eſtate, and Loſs of Life, without Mercy, to any one who detain'd the King's Perſon, without revealing it to the two Houſes.

III. I. At this Time there was a new and ſudden Change of the King's Affairs, an unexpected Eſcape; probably occaſion'd by the Contrivance, and effected with the Connivance of *Cromwell*, who had reduc'd his Majeſty to the reſtleſs State of a ſick Man, who is very ready to change his Bed, to try if it wou'd alter the Diſtemper. It was on a *Thurſday* Night, between the Hours of eight and nine, that the King in Diſguiſe went from his Lodgings through a private Door into the Park, where there was no Centinel; and taking a Boat there laid for him, he croſs'd the River to *Thame-Ditton*, where Sir *John Berkley*, Mr. *Aſhburnham* and Mr. *Leg*, were ready with Horſes for his Eſcape, the two laſt being of his Bed-Chamber. Mr. *Aſhburnham* alone ſeem'd to know what they were to do, the other two having receiv'd only Orders to attend. They rode South-Weſt, towards that Part of *Hampſhire* which led to the *New Forreſt*; but the Night being exceeding dark and ſtormy, they loſt their Way, and cou'd not reach *Sutton* till Break of Day. Being paſs'd the Danger of Guards and Horſe Quarters, the King ask'd *Aſhburnham*, *Where the Ship lay?* which made the other two conclude, that the King reſolv'd to tranſport himſelf. His Majeſty finding himſelf diſappointed, ſeem'd much concern'd; and now thought it beſt to get as privately as he cou'd to *Tichfield*, a noble Seat of the Earl of *Southampton*, now only inhabited by the old Lady his Mother, with a ſmall Family, which made the Retreat the more convenient. There his Majeſty alighted, and made no Scruple of diſcovering himſelf to that good Lady, whom he knew to be one of unqueſtionable Honour and Fidelity. There he had Time to refreſh himſelf, and to conſult with his three Servants, what he ſhou'd attempt next, ſince there was no Ship ready, nor cou'd they think to remain long there undiſcover'd.

He retires to Tichfield.

He ſends Berkley *and* Aſhburnham *into the Iſle of* Wight.

In this Debate, the Iſle of *Wight* was mention'd, as it is ſaid, by Mr. *Aſhburnham*, as a Place where his Majeſty might reſt ſecure, till he thought fit to inform the Parliament where he was. Colonel *Hammond* was Governor there, nearly related to Dr. *Hammond*, but of neareſt Truſt with *Cromwell*; yet by ſome fatal Miſtake, this Man was thought a Perſon of ſufficient Honour and Generoſity to be entruſted with the King's Perſon: Accordingly both *Berkley* and *Aſhburnham* were ſent to him with Orders, 'Firſt to be ſure that the Man wou'd faithfully promiſe not to deliver up his Majeſty, tho' he ſhou'd be requir'd by the Parliament or the Army; but if he were not able to defend him, to give him his Liberty to eſcape; and except he wou'd make that Promiſe, they ſhou'd not let him know were his Majeſty was, but ſhou'd immediately return to him.' With this Commiſſion the two Gentlemen croſs'd the Water to the Iſle of *Wight*, while his Majeſty ſafely repos'd himſelf at *Tichfield*. The next Day they found Colonel *Hammond* on Horſe-back, who knew them both from the Time they had been treating with the Army. Sir *John Berkley* took him aſide, and deliver'd the Meſſage to him according to Order; upon which the Colonel turn'd pale, and fell into ſuch a trembling, that he was ready to fall from his Horſe, crying out in a diſtracted Manner, *O Gentlemen! you have undone me, by bringing the King into the Iſland, if you have brought him; if not, pray let him not come: For what between Duty and Gratitude to his Majeſty, and Fidelity to the Army, I ſhall be confounded.* Sir *John*, to appeaſe him, told him *There was no Harm done; That his Majeſty intended a Favour to him and his Poſterity, in giving him an Occaſion to lay a great Obligation upon him; which if he did not approve of, his Majeſty wou'd be far from impoſing his Perſon upon him.* After he had well recover'd himſelf, the Colonel ſaid, *Since his Majeſty had made Choice of him as a Perſon of Honour and Honeſty, to lay this great Truſt upon, he therefore wou'd not deceive his Majeſty's Expectations.* When he ſaw they were not ſatisfy'd with this general Expreſſion, he ask'd *where the King was?* To which they made no other Anſwer, but *that they wou'd acquaint his Majeſty with his Anſwer, and if he were ſatisfy'd with it, they wou'd return to him again.*

Upon this the Colonel demanded that Mr. *Aſhburnham* wou'd ſtay with him, and that the other might go to the King, which Mr. *Aſhburnham* refus'd to do. But after ſome Time ſpent in Debate, he at laſt declar'd to both, *That he wou'd ſay that which he was ſure ought to content any reaſonable Man*, which was, *That he did believe his Majeſty rely'd on him, as on a Perſon of Honour and Honeſty, therefore he did engage himſelf to them to perform whatſoever ſhou'd be expected from a Perſon of Honour and Honeſty.* At which Mr. *Aſhburnham* ſaid, *He wou'd ask no more*; and was content that the Colonel ſhou'd go with them to the Place to which the King was retir'd. So, contrary to Sir *John Berkley*'s Opinion, they went together; and at *Cows* Caſtle, *Hammond* taking *Basket* the Governor along with him, in his Paſſage, they all four went to *Tichfield* Houſe. Three of them ſtaying below, Mr. *Aſhburnham* went up to the King's Chamber; and when he acquainted him with all that had paſs'd, the King broke out in a paſſionate Exclamation, *What! have you brought* Hammond *with you? O* Jack, *you have undone me!* with which the other falling into a bitter Paſſion of Weeping, offer'd to go down and kill *Hammond:* To which the King wou'd by no means conſent, and ſaid *it was now too late of thinking any Thing, but going through the Way he had forc'd him upon, and leave the Iſſue to God.* Then ſending for Sir *John Berkley* up, ſaid, *I hope you are not ſo paſſionate as* Jack Aſhburnham: *Do you think you have follow'd my Directions?* The other anſwer'd *No*, but charg'd all upon Mr. *Aſhburnham.* His Majeſty now judg'd it was too late to ſtruggle, and therefore he receiv'd *Hammond* with all Chearfulneſs, who promis'd more to his Majeſty than he had done to the Gentlemen. Hereupon the King went with him into the Iſle of *Wight*, and was lodg'd at *Cariſbrook-Caſtle*, at firſt with all Demonſtrations of Reſpect and Duty. Such was the King's ſtrange and unhappy Journey, in which there were ſo many unaccountable Steps, that many believ'd that there was Treaſon in the Contrivance, or the moſt groſs Impoſition upon the Projectors of it. Moſt Writers condemn both *Berkley* and *Aſhburnham* of great Miſmanagement, eſpecially the latter; but their Fidelity was never call'd in Queſtion by the Court: And the King once told Sir *Philip Warwick*, as to Mr. *Aſhburnham*, *That he did not believe he was unfaithful to him; but he thought he wanted Courage at that Time*, when he durſt not ſtay with *Hammond* in the Caſtle, *whom he never knew wanted it before.* This nice and difficult Matter is largely diſcuſs'd, but ſcarce fully determin'd by the Lord *Clarendon* in this Place.

They bring Hammond *the Governor with them.*

The King goes with them to Cariſbrook Caſtle.

2. The unexpected Withdrawing of the King made a ſtrange Impreſſion upon the Minds of all Men, every Perſon imagining that his Majeſty would act according to his particular Wiſh. The *Presbyterians* believ'd he lay conceal'd in the City, and would wait for a new Rupture between the Parliament and the Army, and the many Factions that daily appear'd and increas'd in the Army, and then to diſcover Himſelf. The *Cavaliers* hop'd that he would tranſport Himſelf beyond the Seas, and quietly attend there for thoſe Alterations at home, which probably might ſoon invite his Return. The Army was not without this Apprehenſion, as believing it the worſt that could happen againſt their Deſigns. But all theſe Imaginations were ſoon at an End; for within two Days *Cromwell* inform'd the Houſe of Commons, ‘ That he had receiv'd Letters from Colonel *Hammond*, of all the manner of the King's coming to the Iſle of *Wight*, and the Company that came with him; that he remain'd ſafe in the Caſtle of *Cariſbrook*, till the Pleaſure of the Parliament ſhould be known.’ He aſſur'd them, *That Colonel* Hammond *was ſo honeſt a Man, and ſo devoted to their Service, that they need not fear his being corrupted by any Man living:* And all this Relation he made with a Gaiety ſo unuſual, that all concluded that the King was got in the Place he either deſign'd, or deſir'd he ſhould be in.

Notice of his Arrival given to the Parliament.

And now the Parliament and the Army being come to a ſort of a Coalition, the former tamely ſubmitted to what the latter propos'd; the *Presbyterians* in both Houſes and the City, being exceeding fearful that ſome of their ſecret Correſpondencies with the King at *Hampton-Court* would be diſcover'd, would give no farther Occaſion of Jealouſy by any Contradictions, leaving it to their Clergy in the Pulpit to keep the Fire burning in the Hearts of the People; which Truſt they religiouſly diſcharg'd. At the ſame Time *Cromwell* was very buſy in extinguiſhing a Fire in his own Quarters: The *Agitators*, who were firſt form'd by him, had hitherto tranſcrib'd all the Copies he had given them, had offer'd ſuch Advices, and made ſuch Demands to the Parliament as were neceſſary, while there was any Deſign to treat with the King, or any Reaſon to flatter his Party; but now the King was at a Diſtance from the Army, and the Parliament render'd ſo ſoft, that the Army Party in it could make any Impreſſion upon them, he deſir'd to reſtrain the *Agitators* from the Liberty of pretending to ſettle the Government of the Kingdom; which he thought ought now to be left to the Parliament, whoſe preſent Authority he reſolv'd to ſupport, and by that means eſtabliſh what elſe was to be done. But the *Agitators*, like their Leaders, would not be ſo diſmiſs'd: They enter'd into new Aſſociations, and made Propoſitions to their Officers and the Parliament, to introduce a Parity among all Men and Conditions, from whence they were call'd *Levellers*, and not only met againſt the Command of their Officers, but drew conſiderable Bodies to a Rendezvous, and perſuaded them to enter into ſuch Engagements, as would in a ſhort Time have diſſolv'd the Government of the Army, and freed them from a Dependance upon their General Commanders. For the Suppreſſion of this Licence, *Cromwell* was oblig'd to exert all his Cunning, Dexterity and Courage; ſo that after he had flatter'd the Parliament into a Belief that their Preſervation was all his Care, tho' his own was immediately concern'd; he ſent ſome falſe Brethren to joyn in the Counſels of the Conſpirators, and by that means learning their Rendezvous at *Hounſlow-Heath*, he was unexpectedly among them with an ordinary Guard; and with a wonderful Vivacity, having ask'd Queſtions, and receiv'd inſolent Anſwers from ſome of the moſt Active, he knock'd down two or three of them with his own Hand, and then charging the reſt with his Troop, he took ſuch a Number of them as he thought fit, of whom he immediately caus'd ſome to be hang'd, and ſent others to *London* for a more formal Tryal. By theſe Means he totally ſubdu'd that Spirit in the Army, which threatned Confuſion to all Parties, and which could not have been quell'd by any Thing leſs than the rough and vigorous Temper of *Cromwell.*

Cromwell *quells the* Agitators *and* Levellers.

About this Time was appointed a Meeting of the General Officers of the Army at *Windſor*; where this Man and *Ireton* were preſent, to conſult what ſhould now be done with the King. For having now leſs Occaſion for the *Agitators*, his chief Confidence was in thoſe Officers, who at this Time were able to govern both the Parliament and Army, and conſequently to effect his extraordinary Deſigns. At this grand Conference, which according to Cuſtom, began with Faſting and Prayers, perform'd by *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, or ſome *inſpir'd* Officer, it was reſolv'd, *That the King ſhould be proſecuted for his Life as a criminal Perſon.* Of this his Majeſty was ſpeedily inform'd by *Watſon*, Quarter-Maſter-General of the Army, who was preſent; one who had pretended from the firſt coming of the King to the Army to have an Inclination to ſerve him, and deſir'd to be thought ſtill to retain it. But the Reſolution was a great Secret, of which the two Houſes had not the leaſt Notice or Suſpicion, but were, as they had often been, to be gradually ſeduced into what they never intended to act. Nor was the King himſelf eaſily perſuaded to give Credit to the Information; for tho' he had probable Expectations that they would ſome time murder him, he could not believe they would attempt his Life with that odious Formality, or let the People know their Intentions.

He and Ireton *conſult about the King's Death.*

3. All Oppoſition being ſuppreſs'd, and *Cromwell* needing no other Aſſiſtance than the preſent Temper of the two Houſes, they ſent a Meſſage to the King, with Offers of Treaty, according as his Majeſty had lately deſir'd, ‘ Upon Condition that his Majeſty, as a Pledge of his future Sincerity, would forthwith grant his Royal Aſſent to four Preliminary Acts of Parliament, then ſent to him.’ By one of them ‘ He was to confeſs the War to have been rais'd by Him againſt the Parliament; and ſo that he was guilty of all the Blood that had been ſpilt.’ By another, ‘ He was totally to diſſolve the Government of the Church

The Parliament ſend four Bills to the King.

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‘ by Biſhops, and to grant all the Lands belonging to the ‘ Church to ſuch Uſes as they propos'd; leaving the ſettling a future Government in the Place thereof to farther ‘ Time and Counſels.’ By a Third, ‘ He was to grant ‘ and ſettle the Militia in the Manner, and in the Perſons ‘ propos'd, without reſerving ſo much Power in Himſelf, ‘ as any Subject was capable of.’ In the laſt Place, ‘ He ‘ was, in Effect, to ſacrifice all thoſe who had ſerv'd, or ‘ adhered to him, to the Mercy of the Parliament.’ The Commiſſioners who were ſent with theſe four Bills, had only Liberty given to expect the King's Anſwer within four Days, and were then requir'd to return to the Parliament. With Them came likewiſe the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, who after the four Bills were read to the King, the next Day deſired an Audience, and with great Confidence and Formality deliver'd a *Declaration* and *Proteſtation* on the Behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland* againſt thoſe Bills and Propoſitions. They declar'd, ‘ They were ſo ‘ prejudicial to the *Religion*, the *Crown*, the *Union*, and ‘ *Intereſt* of the Kingdoms, and ſo far different from the ‘ former Proceedings and Engagements between the two ‘ Kingdoms, that they could not concur therein; and there- ‘ fore, *In the Name of the whole Kingdom of* Scotland, ‘ did declare their Diſſent.

The Scots *proteſt againſt them.*

The King had receiv'd private Advice, that as ſoon as he ſhould refuſe to conſent to the Bills, he ſhould be made a cloſe Priſoner, and all his Servants ſhould be remov'd from him: Upon which, and becauſe the Commiſſioners had no Power to treat with him, but were only to receive his poſitive Anſwer, he reſolv'd that his Anſwer ſhould not be known till it was deliver'd to the Parliament; and that in the mean Time he would endeavour to make his Eſcape, before new Orders could be ſent from *Weſtminſter*: So when the Commiſſioners came to receive his Anſwer, he gave it to them ſeal'd. The Earl of *Denbigh*, who was the chief of them, and a Perſon very ungracious to the King, told him, *That tho' they had no Authority to treat with him, yet they were not to be look'd upon as common Meſſengers, and to carry back an Anſwer that they had not ſeen*: And in ſhort, refus'd to receive it, and ſaid, *They would return without any, except they might ſee what they carry'd.* The King conſidering, that their Return without his Anſwer would be attended with the worſt Conſequences, told them, *He had ſome Reaſon for what he did*; *but if they would give Him their Words, That the communicating of it to Them ſhould bring no Prejudice to Him, he would open it, and cauſe it to be read*; which upon their Promiſes was accordingly done. The Subſtance was, ‘ That he had always thought it a Matter of great ‘ Difficulty to comply in ſuch a manner with all engaged ‘ Intereſts, ſo as to produce a laſting Peace; in which Opinion he was now confirm'd, ſince the Commiſſioners ‘ from *Scotland* do ſolemnly proteſt againſt the ſeveral ‘ Bills and Propoſitions they had ſent him; ſo that it was ‘ not poſſible for him to give ſuch an Anſwer as might be ‘ the Foundation of a hopeful Peace.’ He gave them many good Reaſons why he could not paſs the four Bills as they were offer'd to him; and told them, ‘ That neither ‘ the Deſire of being freed from that tedious and irkſom ‘ Condition of Life, which he had ſo long ſuffer'd, nor ‘ the Apprehenſion of any Thing that might befal him, ‘ ſhould ever prevail with him to conſent to any one Act, ‘ till the Conditions of the whole Peace ſhould be con- ‘ cluded; and then that he would be ready to give all juſt ‘ and reaſonable Satisfaction, in all Particulars; and for ‘ the adjuſting of all this, he earneſtly deſir'd to have a ‘ Perſonal Treaty, to be at *London*, or any other Place ‘ they would chuſe.’ As ſoon as the Anſwer was read, he deliver'd it to the Commiſſioners, who kiſs'd his Hand, and departed for *Weſtminſter*, on the latter End of *December*.

The King's Anſwer to them.

If we may believe Sir *John Bowring*, in his Memoirs, the King had for ſome Time an Intention of paſſing theſe four Dethroning Bills, with four Counter-Bills to ballance them; but that the King chang'd his Mind, which he ſeems to believe was occaſion'd by the Perſuaſions of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners: But this Authority is too uncertain to be rely'd on. However this is certain, that during theſe four Days allow'd by the Parliament to give in his Anſwer, a Time of the greateſt Trouble and Perplexity, his Majeſty was ſo overcome by the Promiſes of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, as to ſign the Propoſals he had before refus'd at *Hampton-Court*, which Propoſals contain'd many unreaſonable Particulars in Favour of the *Scots*, and highly diſhonourable to the *Engliſh* Nation, as may be more largely ſeen in the Lord *Clarendon*, and in no other Writer. This Agreement was extorted from the King, when he had not only no Time to adviſe with his Friends, but could not adviſe with Himſelf upon ſo many monſtrous Demands made to him by both Kingdoms at the ſame Time. The Treaty was manag'd with the utmoſt Secrecy by only three Earls, *Lowdon*, *Lauderdale* and *Lanerick*; nor did they truſt any one *Presbyterian* in *England* with the Knowledge of the Particulars; and to prevent the worſt from Searchers, they made up their Contract in Lead, and bury'd it in a Garden in the Iſle, from whence they eaſily found Means afterwards to receive it. That which alone prevail'd upon the King was, ‘ That they did not expect that he ſhould ‘ punctually obſerve the Articles, but the Treaty was only ‘ to engage the Kingdom of *Scotland* to raiſe an Army, and ‘ to unite it in his Majeſty's Service, and to his Reſtora- ‘ tion.’ And here was laid the Foundation of a new War, which ruin'd the *Scots*, and their *Covenant*, and almoſt all that eſteem'd either one or the other.

He makes a Treaty with the Scots.

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Car. 23.

The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners were no ſooner gone, than Colonel *Hammond* caus'd all the King's Servants, who till then had Liberty to be with him, to be immediately put out of the Caſtle; and appointed a ſtrong Guard to reſtrain any Perſon from going to the King, if he ſhould endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled and ſurpris'd him, being a total Diſappointment of all the Hope he had left. He told *Hammond*, *That this was not according to his Engagement, and that it did not become a Man of Honour and Honeſty to treat him ſo, who had freely put himſelf into his Hands.* He farther ask'd him, *Whether the Commiſſioners were acquainted with this Proceeding*? To which he anſwer'd, *That they were not*; *but that he had an Order from the Parliament to do thus*; *and that he plainly ſaw by his Anſwer to the Propoſitions, that he acted by other Counſels than ſtood with the Good of the Kingdom.* This ſtrange Proceeding put the Iſland into a high Mutiny; and there was at that Time one Captain *Burly*, a Perſon of a good Family in the Iſland, who being by chance at *Newport*, indiſcreetly caus'd a Drum to be beaten, and put himſelf at the Head of the People that flock'd together, and cry'd, *For God, the King and the People!* and ſaid, *he would lead them to the Caſtle, and reſcue the King from his Captivity.* The Attempt was ſoon diſcern'd to be raſh and impracticable; and by the Diligence of the King's Servants, juſt put out of the Caſtle, the People were quieted, and all return'd to their Houſes. But the poor Gentleman paid dear for his unſeaſonable Loyalty; for *Hammond* having made him Priſoner, the Parliament immediately ſent down a Commiſſion of *Oyer and Terminer*; in which preſided *Wild*, an infamous Judge of their own making, who caus'd *Burly* to be formally indicted of High-Treaſon, *for levying War againſt the King, and engaging the Kingdom in a new War*; of which a pack'd Jury found him guilty: Upon which this unfortunate Captain was forthwith hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, with all the Circumſtances of Barbarity and Cruelty; which ſtruck a wonderful Terror into all Men, and made a deeper Impreſſion than all the Severities they had exercis'd in their Courts of War.

He is made a cloſe Priſoner.

A Mutiny in the Iſle.

For which Captain Burly *ſuffers.*

4. In the mean Time there appear'd a new Spirit and Temper in the Houſe of Commons, after they had receiv'd the King's Anſwer: Hitherto none had mention'd the King's Perſon without Duty and Reſpect, and only lamented, ‘ That he was miſ-led by evil Counſellors, who ‘ being remov'd from him, he might ſtill govern well by ‘ the Advice of his Parliament.’ But now, upon the Refuſal to paſs theſe Bills, every Man's Mouth was open'd againſt him with the utmoſt Liberty and Sawcineſs: *Cromwell*, contrary to all his former Methods, declar'd, *That the King was a Man of great Parts, and great Underſtanding, but withal ſo great a Diſſembler, and ſo falſe a Man, that he was not to be truſted.* He alledg'd many Particulars againſt him, and highly complain'd, ‘ That while he ‘ ſolemnly profeſs'd that he referr'd himſelf wholly to the ‘ Parliament, and depended only upon them for compoſing ‘ the Kingdom's Diſtractions, at the ſame Time he had ‘ ſecret Treaties with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, how he ‘ might embroil the Nation in a new War, and deſtroy the ‘ Parliament.’ He concluded, ‘ That they might no fur- ‘ ther trouble themſelves with ſending Meſſages or Pro- ‘ poſitions, but that they might enter into ſuch Counſels as ‘ were neceſſary towards the Settlement of the Kingdom, ‘ without having further Recourſe to the King.’ *Ireton* declar'd, *That his rejecting the Bills was no other than the Denial of his Protection, and that the People upon that Account did owe him no Subjection.* One *Wroth* propos'd ‘ To have him cloſely kept in ſome Inland Garriſon, till ‘ he could be brought to Judgment;’ and ſaid, *It was equal to him what kind of Government they ſettled, provided they admitted neither* Kings *nor* Devils. Thoſe of the ſame Party added new Reproaches upon the Perſon of the King, charging him with ſuch abominable Actions, as had never been heard of, and could only proceed from the Height of Malice; while Men who had any Modeſty, or Senſe of ſuch Proceedings, ſtood amaz'd at the Preſumption, but without Courage to ſtem this overflowing Rage. So that after ſeveral Days ſpent in paſſionate Debates to

Several Speeches in Parliament.

They vote no more Addreſſes to be made to the King.

this Purpoſe, they voted, ‘ That they would make no more Addreſſes to the King, but proceed towards the ſettling the Government, and providing for the Peace of the Kingdom, in ſuch a manner as they ſhould judge beſt for the Benefit and Liberty of the Subject.’ This ſurpriſing Vote was made by the Commons upon the 3d of *January*, and was on the 17th of the ſame Month agreed to by the Houſe of Lords.

The Commons large Declaration.

This was ſhortly after ſucceeded by a large and *ſolemn Declaration* of the Commons, for the Reaſons of this extraordinary Way of Proceeding; in which they loaded the King with every Thing that cou'd be conceiv'd to render him odious to the People, without conſidering the innumerable Anſwers that had been before made to thoſe Calumnies. ‘ They charg'd him with making all their Addreſſes fruitleſs; with Cruelties done at *Brentford*, and a bloody Maſſacre intended upon *London*; with a Guilt in the Death of his Father King *James*; with betraying *Rochelle* and the *Engliſh* Fleet into the Hands of the *French* King; with Deſign of bringing over *German* Horſe to enſlave the Nation; with Grinding the People by Loans, Privy-Seals, Coat and Conduct Mony, Patents, Monopolies, and that one Compendium of Slavery, *Ship-Mony*; with Torturing Mens Bodies by Whipping, Slitting Noſes, Cutting off Ears, Branding Cheeks, Racks, Pillories and cloſe Impriſonments; with Lording it over Souls by Oaths *Ex Officio*, Excommunications, Ceremonies, Articles, new Canons, and Canon Oaths; with a Scandalous *Declaration* for Diſſolving the Parliament in 1640; with a Cabal for bringing up the Northern Army to awe the Parliament; with Sealing a Commiſſion to the *Iriſh* Rebels; with an Unwillingneſs to disband the Popiſh *Iriſh* Army; with Writing Letters to the Pope, and the Duke of *Lorrain*; with charging Members of Parliament with Treaſon, and an unparallel'd Way of Coming to the Houſe; with the Preparation of a Fleet from *Denmark*, and Expecting another from *Holland*; with Signing the moſt Illegal *Commiſſion of Array*, and a Commiſſion for ten Thouſand Rebels to conquer the Parliament and City of *London*:’ And at laſt they tell the World *They cou'd give many Reaſons more why they will make no more Addreſſes.* And in ſum they make it ‘ High-Treaſon for any Perſon whatſoever to deliver any Meſſage from the King, or receive any Letter or Meſſage from him, without leave from both Houſes of Parliament.’ This *Declaration* and their *Grand Remonſtrance* in the Year 1641, are the Original mighty Libels againſt the King and his Government, from which the whole Swarm of little Libellers ſeem to have ſince copied: And this at preſent was ſo virulent, diſingenuous, and falſe, that the Framers of it ſeem'd already to erect the *High Court of Juſtice*, and to draw up the very *Form of Impeachment* againſt the King. Even *Hollis* himſelf, who had been too much concern'd in the former *Remonſtrance*, utterly condemns this; and looks upon three of the Particulars, as to the Betraying of *Rochelle*, the Rebellion in *Ireland*, and the Death of King *James*, as Things altogether incredible and abſurd.

This Declaration found great Oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons, by reaſon of the Reproaches now caſt upon the Perſon of the King, which in their former Declarations had been always charg'd upon *Evil Counſellors, and Perſons about him*; for which ſome had been ſentenc'd and condemn'd for thoſe very Crimes of which they now accus'd his Majeſty. But greater Exception was made to their Concluſion, *That therefore they wou'd addreſs themſelves no more to him*; and Mr. *Maynard* himſelf, who had too much concurr'd with their irregular and unjuſt Proceedings, after he had warmly oppos'd, and unanſwerably contradicted the moſt odious Parts of their Declaration, plainly told them, ‘ That by their laſt *Reſolution*, they did, as far as in them lay, *diſſolve the Parliament*; and That, from the Time of that *Determination*, he knew not with what Security, in Point of Law, they cou'd meet together, or any Man joyn with them: That it was of the *Eſſence* of Parliament, that they ſhou'd upon all Occaſions repair to the King; and that his Majeſty's Refuſal at any Time to receive their Petitions or Addreſſes, had been always held the higheſt Breach of their *Privilege*, becauſe it tended to their *Diſſolution* without diſſolving them; and therefore if they, on their Parts, ſhou'd now determine that they wou'd receive no more Meſſages from him, nor make Addreſſes to him, they did, in Effect, declare *That they were no longer a Parliament*.’ This Argumentation being bravely urg'd by a Man of that Authority in the Law, who had very ſeldom been disbeliev'd, made a mighty Impreſſion upon all who had not proſtituted themſelves to *Cromwell* and his Party. But the other Side, knowing where their Strength lay, call'd for the Queſtion, and carry'd it by a Majority, as they foreſaw they ſhou'd; many who abhorr'd the Determination, wanting Courage to own their Diſſent, and others ſatisfying themſelves with a future Withdrawing from their Counſels, as *Maynard* did, till they cou'd hope to ſee a Reverſal of this Monſtrous Determination. Being paſs'd the Houſe of Peers, where it met with little Oppoſition, it was immediately printed, and new Orders ſent to the Iſle of *Wight*, to prevent the King's Eſcape.

Maynard's *Arguments againſt it.*

These Proceedings were of ſuch infinite Scandal to all indifferent People, who cou'd hearken to their Reaſon, or their Conſcience, that they produc'd great Diſcontents and Murmurings, and innumerable repenting Thoughts for former Heats and violent Tranſactions: Many Pamphlets were now publiſh'd that ſhew'd the Parliament to be the great Grievance of the Nation; ſuch as *The Parliament's Ten Commandments*, &c. another intitled *The New Teſtament of our Lords and Saviours the Houſe of Commons ſitting at* Weſtminſter; and ſeveral others; the Parliament in vain burning the Books, and offering Money for the Diſcovery of the Authors. Several *Apologies* were alſo publiſh'd in full Anſwer to the laſt Declaration; and the King Himſelf, tho' deſtitute of Friends and Aſſiſtants, penn'd an elegant *Declaration* and *Apology*, and found means to get it printed: In which he not only clear'd Himſelf from the Crimes laid to his Charge, but retorted all thoſe Wickedneſſes they were ſo viſibly Guilty of, upon their own Heads. ‘ He repreſents his wretched and diſconſolate Condition, through a long and rigid Impriſonment; and declares with what Earneſtneſs he had endeavour'd the compoſing all Things in a deſirable Peace, and gives unanſwerable Reaſons why he cou'd not yield his Aſſent to the four Dethroning Bills. He therefore appeals to the whole World *Why*, or *How* he had deſerv'd this Uſage? eſpecially by thoſe who were his Subjects, ſince he had Sacrificed all to them for the Peace of his Kingdoms, but, what was more dear to him than his *Life*, his *Honour* and *Conſcience*. He farther mention'd his Compliance with the Army, and their Intereſts; as alſo, of what Importance that was to them, and their often repeated *Profeſſions* and *Engagements*, for his juſt *Rights* and *Reſtitution*. In Concluſion he asks, If it was *Peace* they deſir'd? he ſhew'd them the Way to it, to which he wou'd contribute his utmoſt. Was it *Plenty* and *Happineſs*? they were the inſeparable Effects of Peace. Was it *Security*? he that did wiſh, that all Men wou'd forgive and forget like him, had offer'd the *Militia* for his Time. Was it *Liberty of Conſcience*? he who wanted it, was moſt ready to give it. Was it the *Right Adminiſtration of Juſtice*? Offices of Truſt were committed to the Choice of the two Houſes. Finally, Was it the *Arrears of the Army*? Upon a Settlement they wou'd certainly be paid with much Eaſe, which otherwiſe wou'd ſcarce be poſſible to effect.

The King's Declaration and Apology.

The Death of the Marqueſs of Worceſter;

We ſhall conclude this melancholy Period with the Deaths of ſeveral conſiderable Perſons that hapned in this Year 1647; as Firſt, *Henry Somerſet* Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, that old loyal Nobleman that has been more than once mention'd; a Perſon of a pleaſant and facetious Temper, and of a generous and munificent Diſpoſition; but now was ſtript of all his large Poſſeſſions, and cou'd not ſave Mony for his own Funeral. Next, Dr. *Walter Curle*, a worthy and active Divine, a *Cantabrigian* by Education, who through ſeveral Stations and Preferments was advanc'd to be Biſhop of *Winchester*, and Lord Almoner to the King; in both which Places he gain'd great Reputation with Men of Note, and the true Sons of the Church of *England*. Dr. *Robert Pink*, Warden of *New-College* in *Oxford*, was a Divine in a lower Station, but particularly eſteem'd for his great Worth and Learning, both by King *James* and the preſent King; and now much lamented by his Collegiates, to whom he had been an admirable Governor, by the Poor of *Oxford*, to whom he had been a conſtant Benefactor, by the Orphans, to whom he had been a Father, and by all good Men, to whom he had been an Example of every Virtue. The two next to be mention'd are Mr. *Degorie Whear*, and Mr. *Thomas Farnabie*, Men of a different Stamp and Genius: The Former was Principal of *Gloceſter Hall* in *Oxford*, and made by the great Mr. *Camden* his firſt Reader of the Hiſtory Lecture, which he founded in that Univerſity; and is chiefly to be remember'd for his Maſterly Skill in his particular Profeſſion. The Latter, Mr. *Farnabie*, was the famous School-Maſter of *Sevenock* in *Kent*, who was accounted the chief Grammarian, Rhetorician, Poet, Latiniſt and Grecian of his Time; and his School was ſo much frequented, that more Church-Men and States-Men went from thence, than from any taught by one Man in *England*. Beſides theſe, we are to mention Sir *William Boſwell*, for ſome Years Reſident or Leiger Ambaſſador to the *United Provinces*; a Man of conſpicuous Learning, and a generous Encourager of it, zealous for the Church of *England*, faithful in his Employments, highly eſteem'd, and much lamented at his Death. Next, Sir *John Lamb*, of whom mention has been formerly made, a *Cantabrigian*

Biſhop Curle

Dr. Pink;

Mr. Whear;

Mr. Farnabie,

Sir William Boſwell,

Sir John Lamb,

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Mr. Udall,

And the Lord Fairfax.

Doctor of the Civil Law, and Dean of the Arches; a Man of great Parts and Activity, and a warm Proſecutor of the Puritans; for which he became a very great Sufferer in theſe diſmal Times, and after ſeveral Plunderings, Sequeſtrations and Compoſitions, he dy'd in a very low Condition. Laſtly, Mr. *Ephraim Udall*, a worthy and learned Divine of *London* of the Puritan Stamp; who notwithſtanding his exemplary Piety, Humility, Devotion, *&c.* for not going full Lengths with his Party, was by them ſilenc'd, plunder'd, impriſon'd, and left to great Want and Miſery. After all theſe we muſt mention *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*, Father to Sir *Thomas Fairfax* the preſent General, a Perſon often mention'd, who now dy'd at *York* on the 13th Day of *March*, upon a Sickneſs occaſion'd by a Bruiſe on his Foot where a Corn was growing, which turning to a Gangrene took away his Life: Upon which the Houſe of Commons immediately order'd, ' That his Excellency, now Lord ' *Fairfax*, ſhou'd be Keeper of *Pontfract* Caſtle, *Cuſtos* ' *Rotulorum* for *Yorkſhire*, chief Ranger, *&c.*' the Places before held by his deceaſed Father.

1648. Car. 24.

Great Oppreſſions by the Army, *and Confuſions.*

IV. 1. We are now entering upon the grand fatal Year of *Forty Eight*, a Year of Darkneſs and Infamy exceeding all that had paſs'd before it; a Year labouring under a Complication of all Sorts of Miſeries and Misfortunes; a Year curs'd with all the ill Seaſons of Weather, with new Scenes of Blood and Confuſion, and with the deepeſt Villanies and Treaſons that ever had diſhonour'd the *Engliſh* Nation. In the Beginning of it, the Votes of *Non-Addreſſes*, and the enſuing Declaration, rais'd a general Deteſtation, and open'd the Mouths of the People againſt both Parliament and Army; and the Clamour was improv'd by the Increaſe of Taxes and Impoſitions, rais'd by new Ordinances of Parliament: And tho' they were ſo intirely poſſeſs'd of the whole Power and Force of the Kingdom, that they had no Enemy to apprehend, yet they disbanded no Part of their Army; and notwithſtanding the incredible Sums rais'd by the Sale of Crown and Church-Lands, Delinquents Eſtates, Compoſitions, *&c.* they ſtill augmented the publick Taxes; and beſides all Cuſtoms and Exciſe, they levy'd a Monthly Contribution of above a hundred thouſand Pounds throughout the Kingdom; which being at a Time when they had no Enemy to oppoſe them, it was evident that the Army was ſtill kept up, to confirm their Reſolution of having no more to do with the King, and that made the Reſolution the more odious. All this became the more inſupportable, by reaſon that upon publiſhing this unheard-of Declaration, moſt of thoſe Men of Condition, who throughout the Kingdom had been ſeduc'd into unwarrantable Imployments, withdrew themſelves from the Service of the Parliament. So now a more inferior Sort of the Common People came into Power; and they, who within a few Years, were not above the Condition of ordinary Conſtables, now became *Juſtices of Peace*, *Sequeſtrators*, and *Commiſſioners*, who executed the Commands of their Maſters with the moſt inſolent Rigour and Tyranny. In effect, the whole Government of the Nation remain'd wholly in the Hands of thoſe, who in the Beginning of the Parliament were ſcarce ever heard of, or their Names known but in the Places of their Habitation. The eminent *Presbyterians* were remov'd from Places of the greateſt Profit and Authority, which diſpos'd them to all Reſolutions of Revenge; but the Pulpit Skirmiſhes were higher than ever; in which the *Presbyterians* loſt nothing of their Courage, having a great Intereſt in the City, notwithſtanding the Endeavours of the *Independents*, who, according to the noble Hiſtorian, were more learned and rational. *Liberty of Conſcience* was now become the great Charter; and *Inſpired Perſons* preach'd and pray'd when and where they wou'd; and beſides *Cromwell* himſelf, moſt of the Officers of the Army, and many Common Soldiers, ſhew'd their *Gifts* that way. The Univerſities were both purg'd and reform'd from all malignant Members; *Anabaptiſts* grew very numerous, with whom the *Independents* joyn'd ſo far as to the aboliſhing of all *Tithes*, now the Patrimony of the *Presbyterians*, and therefore proſecuted by one Party, and defended by the other, with equal Heat and Animoſity: So that there never was ſuch a Scene of Diſtraction, as at this Time had ſpread it ſelf over the Face of the whole Kingdom.

Reſolutions to reſcue the King.

In this Time of univerſal Diſcontent and Murmuring, the *Presbyterians* diſcours'd freely of great Hopes from *Scotland*; and moſt Perſons awaked out of their Lethargy, and began to reſolve to vindicate their Sovereign, and their Liberties, by the Way of Arms. But firſt they try'd the Effects of Petitioning, in which the Men of *Eſſex* led the Way; being follow'd by them of *Surry* in greater Numbers, requiring, ' That the Treaty with the King might be ' renew'd, and that the Army be paid off, and disbanded.' But their Reception was very rude, and contrary to Decency; ſeveral being beaten, and plunder'd, and ſome ſlain by their Guards. Inſomuch that the *Kentiſh* Men having likewiſe fram'd a Petition for Peace, upon the like Uſage by a Party of Horſe, and being threatned *to have two hang'd out of each Pariſh that were Promoters of it, and the reſt ſequeſter'd*, they reſolv'd to ſtand bravely to their Cauſe, and carry their Petition in one Hand, and their Sword in the other. So that in a ſhort time a new Flame broke out, and a ſecond Civil War infeſted the whole Nation.

1648. Car. 24.

An Inſurrection in London.

The firſt Appearance of an Inſurrection ſhew'd it ſelf in the City of *London*; being rather accidental, and not ſo much upon the King's Account. The Parliament had zealouſly voted down *Holy-Days*, and abrogated all the *Feſtivals* of the Church; having appointed, in lieu of them, one Day in every Month for publick Recreations. The Apprentices, according to Cuſtom, had met in ſome Numbers in *Moor-Fields* on the 9th Day of *April*, to play and divert themſelves; but this being a *Sunday*, it rais'd the Indignation of ſome Officers of the Train'd-Bands, who with their Guards endeavour'd to force them away; but were themſelves routed by theſe young Perſons with Stones and Clubs, who took their Colours from them, and in a childiſh Bravery, marching into the Streets, frighted *Warner* the preſent Lord-Mayor into his Houſe; and taking away a Drake from his Door, planted it at *Ludgate* neareſt the chief Foe, the Army, then lodging about *White-hall*. Their Numbers encreaſing that Night, *Fairfax* entering with ſome Regiments of Horſe and Foot at *Alderſgate*, eaſily diſpers'd them, tho' very numerous, no Perſon of Quality undertaking their Conduct. The better to keep the City in Awe, two Regiments of Foot and a Troop of Horſe were put into the *Tower*; the Common-Council very humbly ſubmitting, and diſowning the Inſurrection, deſiring the chief Actors might be puniſh'd, and promiſing for themſelves and the City never to do the like. However the better to oblige them to obſerve their Promiſe, as they had before demoliſhed their Fortifications, ſo now the very Poſts and Chains were pull'd down, and the Citizens forc'd to raiſe a thouſand Pounds for a Gratuity to their new Deliverers, the two Regiments that had ſubdu'd the Apprentices.

A ſecond CIVIL WAR.

Part of Wales *revolt*,

2. The Fame of this tumultuous Inſurrection, or uncommon Riot, was ſoon carry'd with Advantage throughout the Kingdom, which, tho' ſtifled in its Infancy, ſeem'd to animate the oppreſs'd Populace to follow the Example; by which they might redeem themſelves, and their Liberties, from their impending Slavery. The *Welſh* were the firſt that took up Arms under the Conduct of Major-General *Laughorn*, Colonel *Poyer* and Colonel *Powell*, all three formerly zealous Aſſerters of the Parliament's Juriſdiction. But now being to be disbanded by Orders of the *Council of War* of the Army, they refus'd to obey; and the better to ſecure themſelves, declar'd for the King, and acted by Commiſſion and Powers from the preſent Prince of *Wales*. *Laughorn* ſuddenly increas'd his Numbers by the Acceſſion of Major-General *Stradling*, and others of the King's Party, to a conſiderable Army, eſteem'd eight thouſand ſtrong; which in a ſhort Time render'd him Maſter of the Town and Caſtles of *Pembroke* and *Tenby*. At the ſame Time Sir *Nicholas Kemiſh* ſurpris'd *Chepſtow-Caſtle*; and Sir *John Owen*, another eminent Cavalier in *North-Wales*, defeated the high Sheriff of *Caernarvan*, and took him Priſoner. So that all *Wales* ſeem'd at once to ſhake off that cruel Yoak, under which they ſo long and hardly labour'd.

And Kent;

And the Fleet,

Nor were the Preparations of the *Kentiſh* Men for a War leſs formidable; for rendezvouſing near *Rocheſter*, they choſe *Goring* Earl of *Norwich*, then upon the Place, to be their General; a Perſon of great Intereſt and Acquaintance from his extraordinary pleaſant Diſpoſition, but not ſo proper for any great Command. Great Numbers of Apprentices, and reform'd Officers and Soldiers daily flock'd from *London* to their Quarters; which ſo terrify'd the Parliament, that they ſuddenly reſtor'd to the City their *Militia*, which they fear'd otherwiſe might be extorted from them, hoping by this Confidence to render them more ſecure to their Intereſt; and *Skippon* being readmitted to the Command of their Forces, the Communication with *Kent* was interrupted, by placing Guards upon the Paſſages of the River. The Increaſe of the *Kentiſh* Forces gave ſuch Encouragement to the Sea-men, that a great Part of the Navy, to the Number of twenty Men of War, deteſting the Tyranny of their old Maſters, deſerted them, and revolted to the Prince of *Wales*; and *Batten* himſelf, one of their prime Leaders, having been diſmiſs'd by them, return'd to his Duty, and freely joyn'd with his Highneſs, who undertook the Command of the Fleet. The Sea-men had expos'd *Rainsborough* their Admiral, and a turbulent *Leveller*, by putting him on Shore; and now embracing the King's Party with univerſal Conſent, ſeem'd reſolv'd to expiate their former Errors, and to merit their Pardon by the Eminency of their Services. About the ſame Time the

Duke of *York* found Means to eſcape from the Palace at St. *James*'s, in Women's Apparel; and, by the Aſſiſtance of Colonel *Bamfield*, arriv'd firſt in *Holland*, and ſoon after in this new revolted Fleet.

And the North,

And other Places.

But the Clouds that threatned the fierceſt Storm, gather'd in the *North*, where Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and other Royaliſts, having ſurpris'd the ſtrong Town of *Berwick*, and Sir *Philip Muſgrave* and Sir *Thomas Glemham* that of *Carliſle*, had rais'd conſiderable Forces to joyn with the *Scots*, now ready with a powerful Army to enter *England*, who ſeem'd no leſs able than willing to effect what they pretended, the Reſtoration of their King: Tho' it be true, that the *Scots* Declaration had ſo many unreaſonable Reſtrictions in it, that nothing but the frank Loyalty of the King's Party could have oblig'd them to joyn with that Nation. Indeed upon the firſt Rumour of their Army, many of the *Engliſh* repair'd into *Scotland*, which caus'd the Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, by their Deputies, to require the Delivery of the chief of them as Incendiaries between *England* and *Scotland*. They particularly nam'd *Wogan*, who carry'd over a Troop thither, with Sir *Thomas Glemham* and others: But the *Scots* refus'd the Demand, as being not ſtipulated in the Treaties between both Nations; declaring, *They judg'd not thoſe to be Incendiaries between the two Kingdoms, but only between the King and the Kingdom of* England. Likewiſe the Earl of *Holland*, now touch'd with the Senſe of his former Errors, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Francis* his Brother, the Earl of *Peterborough*, and ſome others of Quality, appear'd near *Kingſton*, with a Body of five hundred Horſe and ſome Foot, for his Majeſty's Service. *Tinmouth-Caſtle* was ſeiz'd upon by Major *Lilburn*, Brother to Colonel *John*; *Scarborough-Caſtle* declar'd for the King, under the Command of Sir *Matthew Boynton*; and *Pomfret* was artfully ſurpris'd by Major *Morrice*. All Things were carry'd on with little Reſervation; and there was ſcarce a County in *England*, in which there was not ſome Aſſociation begun to appear in Arms in Favour of the King.

The Parliament's Projects.

3. Theſe Revolts and Preparations for a new War became very formidable to the Leaders at *Weſtminſter*: who, notwithſtanding their extenſive Power, found many Difficulties in eſtabliſhing their own Authority with the Peace of the Kingdom. Their firſt Attempt was to get Hands out of ſeveral Counties by way of Approbation and Confirmation of their Votes of *Non-Addreſſes*, and their late *Declaration*. Accordingly *Prideanx* endeavour'd to engage the whole County of *Somerſet*, but could prevail no farther than with a few Sectaries of the Town of *Taunton*, to thank the Houſes for theſe Votes; which was ſeconded through the Induſtry of Serjeant *Wild*, as he rode the Circuit, by the Subſcription of a pack'd Grand-Jury for the County. Colonel *Pureſoy* went upon the ſame Employment in *Warwickſhire*, and Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* about *Newcaſtle*; but all with as ſmall Succeſs as Sir *Henry Mildmay* had in the County of *Eſſex*; tho' great Endeavours, even ſometimes to Compulſion, were us'd to gain this Point. They likewiſe form'd *A Committee of Safety* for the Common-wealth, which daily ſat at *Derby-Houſe*, in the ſame Place where the Committee for both Kingdoms, *England* and *Scotland*, had ſat before. This conſiſted of twenty Perſons, ſeven Lords, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *Warwick* and *Mancheſter*, the Lords *Say*, *Wharton* and *Roberts*; and thirteen of the Commons, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *N. Fiennes*, Sir *Henry Vane* Senior, and Junior, Sir *William Armyn*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *John Evelin*, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, Mr. *Saint John*, Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Crew*, and Mr. *Brown*. To this Committee Power was given to ſuppreſs all Tumults and Inſurrections, and to that Purpoſe to raiſe Forces as they ſaw Occaſion. But before the Houſes made uſe of their Arms, they reviv'd their Votes of 1642, Declaring, *That it appears, That the King, ſeduc'd by wicked Counſel,* tho' then a cloſe Priſoner, *intends to make War againſt the Parliament.*

Their Votes.

Fairfax reduces Kent,

And beſieges Colcheſter.

Theſe Inſurrections for the King happening at different Times, and all of them too ſoon for the Arrival of the *Scots*, who were not unanimous in their Expedition, they were the more eaſily ſuppreſs'd, eſpecially by a regular Army. In order to effect this, the Army was divided: *Cromwell* was ſent into *Wales* and the *North*; and *Fairfax*, who was unwilling to fight againſt the *Scots*, undertook the *Kentiſh* Expedition. Accordingly that General march'd out of *London* with ſix thouſand Foot and two thouſand Horſe into *Kent*; where the Cavaliers being unfortunately ſeparated, and fighting ſingly by Parties, were eaſily vanquiſh'd and diſpers'd. Fifteen hundred of them, brave Men, were ſent to *Maidſtone*, to oppoſe their Enemies Paſſage in that Town; who fought with ſo much Valour and Reſolution, that after they had been beaten from the Avenues and Hedges, they ſtill kept the Place, firing from the Houſes and Leads, for above the Space of ſix Hours, with great Slaughter of the Enemy: So that it was believ'd, that if the Earl of *Norwich* had come up with the reſt of the Army to their Aſſiſtance, *Fairfax* and his Army would have been that Day totally defeated. But he dividing his Forces, ſent half of them to *Dover*, and himſelf march'd with the reſt to *Black-Heath*; and being now deny'd a Paſſage through the City of *London*, which had been promis'd him, he ferry'd and ſwim'd over his ſmall Army from *Greenwich* to the *Iſle of Dogs*. From thence he mov'd to *Mile-End-Green*; but ſeeing none come out of *London* to his Relief, as he fully expected, he himſelf with only five hundred Men joyn'd with the *Eſſex* Men at *Bow*, under the Command of Sir *Charles Lucas*; the reſt of his Soldiers having deſerted upon their Diſappointment of the *London* Aſſiſtance. Here they all ſtay'd for ſome Time, to favour any loyal Attempt that might be made at *London*; till at length they were compell'd to diſlodge by reaſon of the Approach of *Fairfax*, who having diſpatch'd *Rich* and *Barkſtead* with their Regiments to reduce thoſe Caſtles which the *Kentiſh* Men had taken towards the *Downs*, had now paſs'd the *Thames* at *Graveſend*. Then marching further into the Country, they ſeiz'd a Store of Arms and Ammunition in the Earl of *Warwick*'s Houſe at *Lees*; and having ſurpris'd the Parliament Committee at *Chelmsford*, advanc'd to *Colcheſter*, where the brave Lord *Capel* joyn'd them with ſome Horſe; and all of them receiv'd the Van of *Fairfax*'s Army with ſuch Gallantry at the Town's End, that they forc'd them to retire to their main Body with conſiderable Loſs. If they had not been ſo cloſely purſu'd, they deſign'd to have march'd further, with Hopes of powerful Aſſiſtance from the Inhabitants of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. But theſe not only failing, but joyning with the Enemy, contrary to their ſolemn Promiſes, the Royaliſts were beſieg'd in this Town, a Place no way tenable in it ſelf; but by the incomparable Fortitude of the Defendants, it prov'd one of the moſt memorable Sieges in the whole War.

Cromwell *reduces* Wales.

The E. of Holland *defeated and taken.*

In the mean Time *Cromwell*'s Progreſs was no leſs ſucceſsful in *Wales*, where *Laughorn*'s Army was ſoon defeated at St. *Fagons*, *May* the 8th, by Colonel *Horton*, with ſcarce half the Number, and with the Loſs of fifteen hundred ſlain, and near three thouſand taken Priſoners. *Cromwell* purſu'd *Laughorn* and *Powell* and the ſcatter'd Remainders into *Pembroke*, which Place he cloſely inveſted; having firſt taken *Tenby-Caſtle*, and forc'd that of *Chepſtow* by Colonel *Eure*, who ſlew the Governour in cold Blood. The Rumour of the *Scotch* Invaſion daily increaſing, animated *Cromwell* to employ all his Skill and Vigour for the Reduction of this important Poſt of *Pembroke*. The Garriſon within was ſtrong and reſolute, and the Place well fortify'd, which however he reſolv'd to attempt by Storm; and falling on with ſingular Courage, was as bravely receiv'd, and at length repell'd with great Slaughter of his Men. After this not thinking it adviſeable to expoſe his diſcourag'd Soldiers to new Hazards, he reſolv'd to gain that by Famine, which he could not effect by Force. Which being perceiv'd by the Garriſon, they choſe rather to ſurrender upon Terms, than languiſh in the Miſeries of a tedious Siege; tho' they had a fair Proſpect of a general Inſurrection in the Kingdom, and the Certainty of the *Scots* Invaſion. But *Cromwell*, being ſenſible how precious his Time was, offer'd the Soldiery and inferior Officers very good Conditions; by which Means he had this ſtrong Place with the three chief Commanders, *Laughorn*, *Poyer* and *Powell*, deliver'd into his Hands by theſe faithleſs People. Nor was Sir *John Owen* more fortunate in *North-Wales*, being defeated and taken Priſoner by Colonel *Mitton*. So that the whole Country being again reduc'd to the Parliament's Obedience, *Cromwell* was at Liberty to march againſt the *Scots* with all his Power. As to the Inſurrection by the Earl of *Holland*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and other Noble Men, that was ſoon ſuppreſs'd, but not without ſome bloody Skirmiſhes; in one of which the brave and beautiful young Lord *Francis Villars*, Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, refuſing Quarter, was barbarouſly ſlain by an unknown Hand. The Earl of *Holland* was taken in his Flight at St. *Neots* by Colonel *Scroop*; where *Dalbier*, ſometime Favourite to the Earl of *Eſſex*, was kill'd in his Quarters. The Earl of *Holland* was ſent Priſoner to *Warwick-Caſtle*, but the Duke of *Buckingham* with great Difficulty eſcap'd into *Holland*.

The Prince appears with a Fleet.

About the ſame Time Prince *Charles*, with the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, the Lords *Hopton*, *Wilmot*, *Willoughby*, *Colepeper*, and others of Name and Quality, ſailed from *Holland* with the late revolted Fleet, conſiſting of twenty Men of War, and came into *Yarmouth* Road, with Deſign to attempt any Thing that was poſſible for the Relief of *Colcheſter*, then cloſely beſieg'd. But finding the Diſtance from that Town too great, and the Shore and Paſſages poſſeſs'd by the numerous Enemy, his Highneſs ſail'd to the Mouth of the *Thames*, where he took ſeveral Veſſels, and caus'd great Apprehenſion and Terror to the City of *London*. But his Stay there was not long, the Caſtles of *Deal*, *Walmer* and *Sandwich* requiring his ſpecial Aſſiſtance; which he attempted by landing five hundred Men; who tho' they fought with great Courage and Gallantry, were yet forc'd back to their Ships with great Loſs; and the Caſtles, after this Defeat, were immediately ſurrender'd to the Parliament. By this Time the Earl of *Warwick*, lately reſtor'd to his Admiral's Place, had fitted out another Fleet in the River; and having joyn'd that at *Portſmouth*, reſolv'd to fight the Prince; which he ſtill delay'd for ſome Time, not only terrify'd with the Revolt of others, but under ſome Apprehenſion of the Fidelity of his own Men. The Prince perceiving this, courted the Earl with munificent Offers, to the return of his Duty; but he, immoveably obſtinate, perſiſted in his Rebellion; tho' in Recompence for his Services he was diſgracefully outed of all Truſt, and ſaw his only Brother, the Earl of *Holland*, beheaded for his late Return to his Obedience. Some were of Opinion, that the Royaliſts omitted a fair Opportunity of fighting, the Seamen being couragious and loyal, and the Enemy a little wavering; tho' the Event afterwards prov'd the contrary. In the mean Time, the Prince ſeeing his Land Forces every where defeated, and the adverſe Fleet daily encreaſing in Strength, return'd into *Holland*, giving the Command of the Fleet to Prince *Rupert*; but many of the Ships, out of an innate Levity of their Sea-Men, leaving the Prince, return'd to the Earl of *Warwick*, while the reſt continuing in their Duty, firmly adhered to their new Admiral.

He returns to Holland.

Duke Hamilton *enters* England *with an Army.*

4. But the moſt material and important Tranſaction at this Time, was the Expedition of the *Scots*, who had three ſeveral Times taken up Arms againſt the King and his Party, and had twice enter'd *England* with all the Advantages of Conqueſt, Plunder, and unuſual Rewards. Now a fourth Attempt was reſolv'd on, upon a different Cauſe, and for the Delivery of the King; and in a great meaſure undertaken by the Intereſt and Influence of Duke *Hamilton* himſelf, who ſeem'd now to have exerted Himſelf beyond all his former Proceedings, and did ſufficiently ſhew that his Authority was very great in *Scotland*, notwithſtanding all the powerful Oppoſition of *Argyle*, and the Kirk Party. He put himſelf at the Head of a very conſiderable Army, with which he enter'd the Kingdom of *England* upon the eighth Day of *July*, in a more gallant Manner and Equipage, than the *Scots* had formerly appear'd. According to Fame, the Army conſiſted of twenty thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe; but when they came to their Misfortunes, they ſaid, that the Kirk Party had given them ſo many Interruptions, that they march'd with but ten thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe: Tho' Biſhop *Guthry* tells us, That the Army was one of the greateſt and beſt furniſh'd that ever *Scotland* had ſent forth. Whatever they were in Numbers, they gave a very ſlender Account, either of their Bravery of Courage, or Solidity of Conduct. *Hamilton* was the General, and the Earl of *Calender*, an experienc'd Soldier, was Lieutenant-General, and *Bayly* was Major-General of the Foot, and *Middleton* commanded the Horſe. The beſt Body of Men they had, were not made uſe of; for Colonel *Monro*, who came to their Aſſiſtance from *Ireland*, whoſe Men were veteran and experienc'd Soldiers, being unwilling to be commanded by *Calender*, was impolitickly left behind about *Appleby* and thoſe Parts.

The March of the Army.

This Army came out of their Country without, and contrary to the Bleſſing of the *Kirk*, and without holding any reaſonable Correſpondence with their *Engliſh* Friends. There were great Diviſions among themſelves, eſpecially between *Hamilton* and *Calender*; and the former having incommunicable and clandeſtine Deſigns, concerted Nothing with any of the *Engliſh* in their ſeveral Inſurrections; who thereby judging his Deſign to be only *Presbyterian*, and as much againſt the King's Honour and Conſcience, as their former Proceedings had been, and fearing that the Original was form'd for ſome particular Advantage to the *Scotch* Nation, they thus precipitately threw Themſelves into the Miſadventures beforemention'd. The *Scotch* Army march'd very ſlowly, and with great Negligence, and indeed with ſo little Apprehenſion of an Enemy, that one Part of it was oftentimes twenty Miles diſtant from another. Having joyn'd Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, or rather permitted him to march before them, with his *Engliſh* Body of near four thouſand Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe, they paſs'd through *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*; and at *Kendall*, upon a long Debate, they unfortunately took the worſt Counſel, and reſolv'd to make their Way through *Lancaſhire*, and not *Yorkſhire*, tho' that Country was known to be much more loyal and unanimous for the King, and the other as much ſecur'd to the Parliament. Therefore *Lambert*, who firſt gave great Interruptions to this Army's Progreſs, found a much more eaſy Task, eſpecially having *Cromwell* coming up after him. So that he for ſome Time skilfully choſe rather to haraſs this Army than to fight it; and to let them advance, that they might have the longer Way to retreat home; and they made ſo many ſeveral and inconvenient Halts, that the Army was daily diminiſh'd, and often ſeparated to very great Diſadvantage; all which have been attributed either to dark Deſigns in the Army, Diviſions, or weak Management. Indeed they were aſham'd to march backwards; for ſuch a diſhonourable Retreat wou'd have brought them into Contempt in their own Country; and if they did, they were ſure to be follow'd by *Lambert* and *Cromwell*.

They are routed by Cromwell *near* Preſton.

Hamilton *taken Priſoner.*

After they had been about five Weeks in *England*, they came to ſome ſharp Fighting, but were routed and diſpers'd without the Formality of a Battel. This was on the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt* about *Wigan*, or rather near *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, where Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, being at ſome Diſtance before the *Scotch Army*, engag'd the Enemy with uncommon Bravery; and maintain'd the Diſpute for ſix Hours; but being neglected, and no ways ſuccour'd by the *Scots*, he was oppreſs'd by the adverſe Multitudes; tho' he afterwards declar'd, *That if one thouſand Foot had been ſent to him, he verily believ'd he ſhou'd have gain'd the Day*; and *Cromwell* himſelf acknowledg'd, *That he never ſaw Foot fight ſo deſperately as they did.* It is believ'd, That the *Scots* preſum'd upon their own Power, and thinking to conquer by themſelves, and conſequently gain the Advantage of the Victory, and the Honour of Reſtoring the King, abandon'd them that fought ſo well, and by this fooliſh Precaution or Preſumption, contributed to their own Ruin. Being hardly preſs'd upon, Major-General *Bayly*, after ſharp Encounters with thoſe who purſu'd him, having recover'd *Warrington* Bridge, deliver'd up Himſelf and four thouſand Foot to the Mercy of the Conqueror. *Middleton*, who commanded the Cavalry, was intercepted with four hundred Horſe, and *Hamilton* himſelf having advanc'd farther inſtead of returning back, at *Uxeter* in *Staffordſhire*, with three thouſand Horſe, was taken without a Blow, ſo remarkably, that it was not known whether it was by the Country Troops, or by the Lord *Gray* of *Groby*, or by ſome of *Lambert*'s Colonels, ſent to capitulate with him: To which laſt he intitled himſelf a Priſoner, as moſt for the Security of his Life, which with all his Dexterity he cou'd not ſave, tho' he remain'd ſo long a Priſoner, that at *Windſor* his Maſter and he were both together; and whom he ſaw carry'd away to be murther'd, and not long after went himſelf to be executed. Thus the *Scots* were defeated by an Army amounting but to a Third Part of their Number. And *Ludlow* tells us, that when the News of this Loſs came to the Iſle of *Wight*, the King ſaid to the Governor, *That it was the worſt News that ever came to* England; to which he anſwer'd, *His Majeſty had no reaſon to be of that Opinion, ſince if* Hamilton *had beaten the* Engliſh, *he wou'd have certainly poſſeſs'd Himſelf of the Throne of* England *and* Scotland: The King preſently reply'd, *You are miſtaken, I cou'd have commanded him back with the Motion of my Hand.*

Cromwell *marches to* Edinburgh.

His Return.

While this was tranſacting in *England*, the Marqueſs of *Argyle* was endeavouring to defeat the Earl of *Lanerick*, and had beſieg'd *Sterlin*-Caſtle in *Scotland*; but loſt a good Part of his Men by the Arrival of *Monro*, who eaſily eſcap'd out of *England*. At length *Monro* came to Conditions for the Arrears of his own and his Men's Pay, and for the Accommodations that were to be given him for Tranſporting his Men into *Ireland*: But while they were in ſmall Companies marching to the Sea-Side, they receiv'd the unwelcome News, That *Carickfergus*, *Belfaſt*, and *Colrain*, their chief Holds in *Ireland*, were betray'd by their own Officers into the Hands of General *Monk*, who then commanded the *Engliſh* Army in *Ireland*. And thus Providence blaſted all the *Scotch* Subtleties and Intereſt, both in their own Country, and in *England* and *Ireland*; and *Cromwell*, having *Carliſle* and *Berwick* deliver'd up to him, enter'd their Nation and came to *Edinburgh* it ſelf. Here joyning Forces and Counſels with *Argyle*, by whom he had been invited; they not only oblig'd the contrary Faction to lay down Arms, but having Summon'd another Parliament, condemn'd the late Expedition as unjuſt and treaſonable. The Pulpits were fill'd with Invectives againſt the Sinfulneſs of it, and Solemn Faſts enjoyn'd by the *Aſſembly* to implore God's Pardon for that heinous Tranſgreſſion; the Chancellor *Lowdon* giving the good Example, by making his Recantation and Submiſſion with many Tears. Here it is ſaid that *Cromwell* concerted with *Argyle* concerning the Ruin of the King, and Extirpation of Monarchy, and the very Form of the future Regicide: However it was, having ſettled Things in *Scotland*, *Cromwell* departed for *England*, having been moſt magnificently treated and entertain'd by ſome of the Chief of the Kingdom, and complimented by the Kirk as *Their Deliverer*: which he return'd in as good Scriptural Language, laying his Hand on his

Breaſt, and demurely looking on their grave Countenances, and ſmiling to ſee what Ideots he had made of thoſe Politicians at their own ſanctify'd Weapons. In ſhort, he ſo bound the Hands of that Nation, that they had ſcarce any uſe of them but to hold them up to Heaven at the tragical Murther of their Native King, whom by their primitive Rebellions they had brought to this ſinking Condition.

Colcheſter *Siege.*

It Surrenders.

5. All this while, the Town of *Colcheſter* held out with incredible Courage and Conſtancy, upon Hopes of Relief from the *Scots*. The Place was cloſely inveſted by *Fairſax* and *Ireton*, on the thirteenth Day of *June*; and upon the firſt Summons *Goring* Earl of *Norwich* ask'd the Trumpeter that brought it, *How his General did*; and bid him tell his General *That he heard he was ill of the Gout, but that* Goring *wou'd cure him of all Diſeaſes.* This unſeaſonable Jeſting, to which that Lord was too much addicted, did highly provoke the Soldiers; and *Whitelock* in his Manuſcript Additions to his *Memorials* ſays, That this little Jeſt upon the General was thought to coſt the Lives of many of his Party, and to have promoted his own dangerous Tryal afterwards. The Siege continu'd ten Weeks, accompany'd with the moſt exceſſive Rains, Floods, and diſmal Weather; and the Beſiegers were not only content to defend Themſelves, but did extreamly annoy the Enemy with their frequent Sallies and Camiſades. But at length having almoſt conſum'd their Horſes, Dogs and Cats, and what elſe was no leſs abhorrent to Nature, and their Hopes from the *Scots* being loſt by the Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*, they had taken a Reſolution to force their Way through the Enemies Leaguer, or dye nobly; but ſome unworthy Spirits, having infus'd a Belief into the Common Soldiers, that the Commanders and Gentlemen deſign'd to leave them to their Enemies Mercy, the Plot fail'd; So they were compell'd, on the 28th of *Auguſt*, to ſurrender upon ſuch Conditions as the Enemy wou'd grant them, which were, 'That their ſeveral Regiments ſhou'd lay down their Arms at their ſeveral Poſts, and there remain with their Officers, under Captains, till further Orders: That the Lords, with the reſt of the Officers and Gentlemen, ſhou'd by Eight in the Morning be at the *King's-Head*, and their Horſes and Arms put into St. *Mary*'s Church-yard: That all the Ordnance ſhou'd be left on the Platforms, and all the Ammunition left in the Magazine at the *Town-Hall*.

Liſle *and* Lucas *condemn'd, and Shot to Death.*

Theſe Articles conluded, the Lord *Fairfax* enter'd the Town, and having rid in Triumph through the Works, call'd a Council of War, from whence he ſent Colonel *Ewers* to the Lords and Gentlemen at the *King's-Head*, who with a ſlighting Air told Sir *Charles Lucas*, That the General wou'd ſpeak with Him, Sir *George Liſle* and Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne*; and they foreboding their Fate, took their ſolemn Leave of the reſt of the Lords and Gentlemen. Being come before the Council, without being call'd to anſwer for Themſelves, they were convey'd to the Caſtle, where immediately *Ireton* came and told them, *They muſt prepare themſelves to dye:* Whereupon Sir *Charles* ask'd him *by what Law*? To which the other reply'd, *It was by Vote of the Council of War, according to an Order of Parliament, by which all found in Arms were to be proceeded againſt as Traitors.* Sir *Charles* then deſir'd to be reſpited till the Morning, but was deny'd by *Ireton*; upon which he continu'd, *Sir, do not think I make this Requeſt out of a Deſire to live, for I ſcorn to ask Life at your Hands, but that I might have Time to make ſome Addreſſes to God above, and ſettle ſome Things below; but ſince it will not be by your Charity, I muſt ſubmit to the Mercy of God: Do your worſt, I ſhall ſoon be ready for Execution.* Sir *George Liſle* likewiſe deſir'd ſome Reſpit to write to his Father and Mother, but was deny'd; ſo having had ſome private Prayers with the Chaplain, and receiv'd the Sacrament, they were led to the Place of Execution. The Lords and Gentlemen ſent to deſire the General *Either to forbear the Execution, or that they might all, who were equally guilty, undergo the ſame Sentence with thoſe Three*; but all to no Effect. The firſt brought to the Place was Sir *Charles Lucas*, who told them *He had often look'd Death in the Face, and now they ſhou'd ſee he durſt dye*; and ſo after ſome private Prayers, he unbutton'd his Doublet, ſhew'd them his Breaſt, and ſet his Hands to his Sides, calling out, *See, I am ready for you; Rebels, do your worſt!* At which Word they immediately fired, and ſhooting him in four Places he fell. Whereupon Sir *George Liſle* ran to him, imbraced, and kiſs'd him; then turning to the Spectators, he ſaid, *How many of your Lives have I ſav'd in hot Blood, and muſt now my ſelf be barbarouſly murther'd in cold? but what dare they not do, who wou'd willingly deſtroy my dear Sovereign? for whoſe Deliverance, and Peace to this poor Nation, I dedicate my laſt Prayers to Heaven.* Then looking upon the Executioners, and thinking them at too great a Diſtance, he bad them come nearer, at which one of them ſaid *I'll warrant you, Sir, we'll hit you:* He anſwer'd Smiling, *Friends, I have been nearer to you, when you have miſs'd me.* And ſo being fir'd at all at once, he fell to the Ground without ſpeaking. Thus they murder'd two Men of great Name and Eſteem in the War, the one being as good a Commander of Horſe, and the other of Foot, as the Nation had; which barbarous Proceeding was generally imputed to *Ireton*'s bloody Diſpoſition: and ſo much I have ſeveral Times been told by a near Kinſman of the General Himſelf. Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne* was ready for Execution; but being an *Italian*, and a Perſon of ſome Intereſt in his own Country, his Life was ſpared.

The End of the ſecond Civil War.

As ſoon as the bloody Sacrifice was ended, *Fairfax* with his chief Officers went to viſit the noble Priſoners; and the General civilly apply'd himſelf to the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel*; and ſeeming in ſome Degree to excuſe this Proceeding, which he ſaid *The Military Juſtice required*; he told them, *That all the Lives of the reſt were ſafe; and that they ſhou'd be well treated, and diſpos'd of as the Parliament ſhou'd direct.* The Lord *Capel* had not ſo ſoon digeſted this barbarous Act, as to receive theſe Viſiters with that Civility they expected; but ſaid, *They ſhou'd do well to finiſh their Work, and execute the ſame Rigour to the reſt*; upon which there paſs'd two or three bitter Replies between him and *Ireton*, that coſt him his Life a few Months after. When the General had given Notice to the Parliament of his Proceedings, he receiv'd Orders to ſend the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel* to *Windſor* Caſtle, where they had afterwards the Society of Duke *Hamilton*, to lament each other's Misfortunes. The reſt of the Priſoners, as the Lord *Loughborough*, Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Abraham Shipman*, Sir *John Watts*, Sir *Lodowick Dyer*, Sir *Henry Appleton*, Sir *Denart Strutt*, Sir *Hugh Buelly*, Sir *Richard Maleverer*, and many other Officers and Gentlemen, were convey'd to ſeveral Priſons, moſt of them diſtant from each other, and from the Places of their Habitations. *Fairfax* having perform'd this Service, and fined the Town thirteen thouſand Pounds, march'd to *Yarmouth*, and round the Country, to ſettle Peace, till he return'd to his Head-Quarters at St. *Albans*. Thus, except the holding out of *Pontfract* Caſtle, all Inſurrections were quell'd, and the ſecond *Civil War* ended in the Space of about five Months.

The King's Confinement.

His Employment.

VI. During the Time of this tumultuous and tempeſtuous Seaſon, the King, tho' under ſevere Confinement, and a diſconſolate Condition, by Means of his unparallel'd Patience, ſeem'd to enjoy all the Eaſe of a calm and undiſturb'd State of Life, in the Iſle of *Wight*. He was not permitted, as before, to go abroad into the Iſle, but was confin'd within the Lines of *Carisbrook-Caſtle*; in which Limits he had the Conveniency of a Bowling-Green, and a Summer-Houſe, for Recreation and Retirement. All imaginable Care was taken to keep Strangers from ſpeaking with him, or conveying Letters to him, and to hinder any Communication, without the Knowledge of his Keepers; which at ſeveral Times prov'd ineffectual. Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert* were the only Perſons allow'd to wait upon his Majeſty in his Bed-Chamber; the latter of whom has given us a particular Account of his Courſe of Life and Studies, during the Time of about eight Months Impriſonment. The Sacred Scripture was the Book he moſt delighted in, and he often read in Biſhop *Andrews* Sermons, *Hooker*'s Eccleſiaſtical Polity, Dr. *Hammond*'s Works, *Villalpandus* upon *Ezekiel*, &c. *Sandys*'s Paraphraſe upon King *David*'s Pſalms, *Herbert*'s Divine Poems; and alſo the *Italian* Heroick Poems of *Taſſo* and *Arioſto*, *Spencer*'s Fairy-Queen, and the like, for alleviating his Spirits after ſerious Studies. Here he compleated his celebrated Book formerly mention'd, which he firſt call'd by the Title of *Suſpiria Regalia*; and likewiſe tranſlated Dr. *Sanderſon*'s judicious Book *de Juramentis*. He wrote ſeveral ſhort *Engliſh* Poems, and ſome *Latin* Diſtichs in his Books, which teſtify'd his Knowledge and Delight in Learning. For he underſtood Authors in the Originals, whether *Greek*, *Latin*, *French*, *Spaniſh* or *Italian*, which three laſt he ſpoke perfectly; and none was better read in Hiſtory of all Sorts, which render'd him an accompliſh'd Perſon, and alſo wou'd diſcourſe well in Arts and Sciences, and never at a Loſs in any Subject. In many of his Books he delighted himſelf with the Motto *Dum Spiro Spero*; which he wrote frequently as the Emblem of his Hopes as well as Endeavours for a happy Agreement with the Parliament. He was moſt regular and exact in his Devotions, and all the Time ſhew'd himſelf an admirable Example of Magnanimity and Patience. Yet three Things ſeem to have laid heavy upon his Spirits, as appears by the Prayer and Confeſſion he made for the Times of his Affliction, in which are theſe remarkable Words: *Was it through Ignorance, that I ſuffer'd innocent Blood to be ſhed by a falſe pretended Juſtice? Or that I permitted a wrong Way of thy Worſhip to be ſet up in* Scotland? *And injur'd the Biſhops in* England? *O no; but with Shame and Grief I confeſs, that I therein follow'd the Per-*

ſuaſions of Worldly Wiſdom, forſaking the Dictates of a right informed Conſcience. He delighted in one Saying that is worthy of Remembrance, *He cou'd more willingly loſe his Crowns than his Credit, his Kingdoms being leſs valuable to him than his Honour and Reputation.*

Several Attempts to eſcape.

Notwithſtanding the King's great Reſtraint, and the Care taken that few ſhou'd be about him but Men of inhuman Tempers and Natures, his gracious Diſpoſition and generous Affability ſtill wrought upon ſome Soldier, or other ſtrict Obſerver of him, to undertake and perform ſome Offices of Truſt, in conveying Papers and Letters to and from him, with the utmoſt Secrecy. Sometimes Letters were thruſt through the Chink of the Wall into his Bed-Chamber, and ſometimes little Notes put into the Fingers of his Gloves, and other private Methods us'd by ſuch as *Hammond* had appointed to be his Conſervators. Among theſe none was more ſerviceable than Mr. *Thomas Firebrace*, who found out ſeveral Ways of converſing with his Majeſty, and conveying Letters of Moment both to and from him in the Time of his greateſt Difficulty. One *Oſborne* alſo was ſo affected with the Sweetneſs and Dignity of his Behaviour, that he became a ſecret Convert, and us'd all Ways and Methods to oblige and ſerve his Majeſty, together with one *Doucet*, who heartily join'd with him in the ſame loyal Deſign. Theſe all incourag'd the King to make his Eſcape, and provided all the Aſſiſtance they ſafely cou'd; and his Majeſty was ſo far prevail'd upon, that on one dark Night, when all things were prepar'd for him, he endeavour'd to get out of his Window by a Cord; but he unfortunately ſtuck in the Window, and it was with great Difficulty he got back again, as *Firebrace* informs us in his Memoirs. Another Time the King, having ſawn an Iron Bar aſunder in his Window, was ready for an Eſcape; but ſome Diſcovery was made by thoſe concerned in it, ſo that if he had proceeded, he wou'd have been ſhot dead by one *Rolph*, a bloody Captain got ready for that Purpoſe. Mr. *Worſley* of the Iſle, and Mr. *Newland* of *Newport* were both very aſſiſting in all Attempts for his Majeſty's Eſcape; and by ſome of the King's Letters of late publiſh'd by Mr. *Wagſtaff*, we find ſeveral Perſons, both in and out of the Iſle, concern'd in the ſame or the like Deſigns; but their Names being in Figures, we want a ſufficient Key to uncipher them.

Rolph's *Conſpiracy.*

As to Captain *Rolph*, he having form'd a Conſpiracy to deſtroy the King by Poyſon, Aſſaſſination, or any other Way, and fully diſcover'd his Intention to *Oſborne* and *Doucet*, the former gave Notice of it to the Lord *Wharton*, and afterwards to the Speakers of the two Houſes. Among the Commons the Information was ſlighted; but it made a greater Impreſſion upon the Houſe of Peers, who, together with the Clamour of the People, ſo far prevail'd upon the Commons, as they voted, That *Rolph* ſhou'd be try'd at the general Aſſizes at *Wincheſter*, where their true Servant Serjeant *Wild* was ſent to be Judge. And having impannell'd the major Part of the Grand Jury that found Captain *Burley* guilty, tho' *Oſborn* and *Doucet* both ſwore home to the Indictment, yet the Judge gave ſuch wholſome Directions to thoſe Gentlemen, that they found an *Ignoramus* upon the Bill, and ſo put a Period to the whole Buſineſs.

London *Petitions for a Treaty.*

2. After a cloſe Confinement of above eight Months, his Majeſty met with ſome ſort of Liberty and Inlargement, occaſion'd as following: When the Army was remov'd from *London*, upon the Account of the Inſurrections, *Cromwell* towards the *North*, and *Fairfax* into *Kent*, the *Presbyterians* began to lift up their Heads, and to appear more ſtrong and numerous in the Houſe of Commons than before; and the Common-Council of the City ventur'd to deliver a Petition to the Parliament for a *Perſonal Treaty* with the King, as the *only Way* to reſtore the Kingdom to a happy Peace. This appear'd to have ſo much the univerſal Concurrence of the City, that the Parliament durſt not give it a poſitive Denial; and in reality the major Part at this Time deſir'd the ſame Thing; which forc'd Sir *Harry Vane* and his Party to contrive ſome ſpecious Way to defer and delay it by ſeeming to conſent to it. And therefore they appointed a Committee of the Commons, to meet with a Committee of the City, to confer about Means to provide for the King's Security during the Time of the Treaty; and being met, the Parliament Committee perplex'd the other with numerous Queſtions, and with ſuch as they knew the other cou'd give no Anſwer to, without firſt calling another Common-Council to receive further Directions. By this Artifice, and by ſtarting of new Queſtions at every Meeting, they ſpent much Time, and met with the Delays they deſired. So that notwithſtanding the City's Earneſtneſs for the Treaty, it was deferr'd till the Inſurrection in *Kent*, and the Earl of *Holland*'s Deſigns were defeated and expired. However the Prince was ſtill in the *Downs* with his Fleet, the Gentlemen in *Colcheſter* bravely defended themſelves, and the *Scots* Army was enter'd the Kingdom, all which ſupported their Spirits and Courage; inſomuch that, after all the Delays, the Parliament conſented, and declared, 'That they wou'd enter into a Perſonal Treaty with the King for the ſettling of the Peace of the Kingdom; that the Treaty ſhou'd be in the Iſle of *Wight*, where his Majeſty ſhou'd enjoy Honour, Freedom and Safety.

The Parliament conſent.

It is propos'd to the King.

His Anſwer.

So, notwithſtanding all Endeavours, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, the Earl of *Middleſex* was ſent by the Houſe of Lords, and Sir *John Hippeſly* and Mr. *Bulkeley* from the Houſe of Commons, to *Cariſbrook* Caſtle, where they deliver'd this Meſſage, 'That the Houſes did deſire a Treaty with his Majeſty, in what Place of the Iſle of *Wight* he wou'd appoint, upon the Propoſitions tender'd to him at *Hampton-Court*, and ſuch other Propoſitions, as ſhou'd be preſented to him; and that his Majeſty ſhou'd enjoy Honour, Freedom, and Safety to his Perſon.' The Meſſengers were to return within ten Days; they not being very ſtrict in the Limitation of Time to a Day, becauſe the Treaty was ſo much the longer kept off, which they ſtill hop'd wou'd be prevented by ſome intervening Accident. The King receiv'd them graciouſly and chearfully, and told them, 'That he cou'd not believe any Man cou'd deſire a Peace more heartily than himſelf, ſince no Man ſuffer'd ſo much by the Want of it: That, tho' he was without any Man to conſult with, and without a Secretary to write what he ſhould dictate, yet they ſhou'd not ſtay long for an Anſwer.' Accordingly, within two or three Days he gave them one, all written with his own Hand; in which, after he had lamented his preſent calamitous Condition, he ſaid, 'He very chearfully embrac'd their Motion, and accepted a Treaty they promis'd ſhou'd be with *Honour*, *Freedom* and *Safety*, which he hop'd they wou'd make good; for that, in his confin'd Condition, he was ſo totally ignorant and uninform'd of the preſent State of his Dominions, that a blind Man was as fit to judge of Colours, as he to treat of the Peace of the Kingdom, except they firſt revok'd their Votes, by which all Men were prohibited to write, or ſpeak to him. He nam'd *Newport* in the Iſle for the Place of the Treaty; and deſir'd that ſuch Perſons might have Liberty to repair to him, whoſe Advice and Aſſiſtance he ſhou'd want in the Treaty.' He ſent a Liſt of ſome of the Nobility, and ſeveral Biſhops, Lawyers, and Civilians, whoſe Attendance wou'd be moſt uſeful to him; and deſir'd, 'That he might be in the ſame State of Freedom, as he enjoy'd while he was at *Hampton-Court*.

The Parliament Commiſſioners.

The Commiſſioners had no ſooner return'd from the Iſle of *Wight*, and deliver'd the King's Anſwer to the Houſes, but News was brought of the Defeat of the *Scots* Army; and *Cromwell* had written to his Friends, 'That it wou'd be ſuch a perpetual Ignominy to the Parliament, that No-body abroad or at home wou'd ever give Credit to them, if they ſhou'd recede from their former Votes of *Non-Addreſſes* to the King, and conjur'd them to continue firm in that Reſolution.' But they had now made too great a Step to recede; and ſince the firſt Motion for a Treaty, many abſent Members had flock'd to the Houſe, and advanc'd that Overture; ſo that they were much more numerous than thoſe who endeavour'd firſt to obſtruct, and now hop'd to fruſtrate all that had been propos'd towards a Treaty. And the great Victory, and other Succeſſes of the Army, made them more preſſing for a Treaty, as the only Hope left to prevent the Confuſion they ſaw threatning the Kingdom: And ſo with more Vigour they urg'd, 'That Satisfaction might be given to the King in what he had propos'd in his Anſwer,' and, notwithſtanding the moſt furious Oppoſition, it was declared, 'That the Votes for *Non-Addreſſes* ſhou'd ſtand repeal'd; That the Treaty ſhou'd be at *Newport*; That his Majeſty ſhou'd be there with the ſame Freedom he was at *Hampton-Court*; That the reſtraining Inſtructions given to Colonel *Hammond* ſhou'd be recall'd; That all thoſe Perſons nam'd by the King ſhou'd have free Liberty to repair to him, and remain with him without Trouble.' And having thus far proceeded, they appointed for their Commiſſioners five Lords, and ten Commoners, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Saliſbury*, and *Middleſex*, and the Lord *Say*; the Lord *Wenman*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Mr. *William Pierrepoint*, Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Mr. *Samuel Brown*, Mr. *John Crew*, Mr. Recorder *Glyn*, Sir *John Potts*, and Mr. *John Bulkeley*; who were enjoin'd to haſten the Treaty with all poſſible Expedition: But Sir *Harry Vane* us'd all his Arts and Cunning to obſtruct and prolong it, in hopes that *Cromwell* wou'd diſpatch his Affairs in *Scotland* time enough to return, and uſe more powerful Arguments againſt it, than were to be found in the two Houſes. The Commiſſioners had ſeveral Attendants, and Chaplains along with them, particularly Mr.

Marſhal, Mr. *Caryl*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Seaman*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Spurſtow*, and Mr. *Jenkins*.

Thoſe for the King.

The King on the other Side made a ſolemn Preparation for this Treaty, and compos'd an excellent Prayer for the Succeſs of it. Thoſe allow'd to repair to the King, were the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Lindſey*, Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Duppa* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Henchman*, Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Holdſworth*, Dr. *Turner*, and ſome other Divines; Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Sir *Robert Holborn*, and Sir *Geoffry Palmer*, Lawyers; Sir *Thomas Rieves*, and Dr. *Duck*, Civilians; Sir *Edward Walker*, Mr. *Whitaker*, Mr. *Oudart*, and Mr. *Philip Warwick*; beſides the Grooms of the Bed-chamber, Pages of the Back-Stairs, and other Servants that had Offices. Theſe having repair'd thither to the King's great Satisfaction, and hearing that the Parliament Commiſſioners were on their Way, his Majeſty remov'd from *Carisbrook* Caſtle, that Place of Cares, to Sir *William Hopkins*'s Houſe at *Newport*, the Place appointed for the Treaty, attended by the Gentlemen of the Iſle with all the Marks of Loyalty and Satisfaction.

The Commiſſioners Arrival.

The Parliament Commiſſioners arriv'd at *Newport* on the 15th of *September*, and ſtay'd three Days there before the Treaty began, which was limited to the Space of forty Days. The ſecond Day the King kept a ſolemn Faſt, with all the Marks of the moſt profound Devotion and Piety. During the three Days the Commiſſioners waited ſeveral Times upon his Majeſty, with great Shew of outward Duty and Reſpect: And the Truth is there were ſeveral amongſt them, who had been carry'd on with the Violence of the Stream, that now wou'd have rejoic'd at ſuch Conceſſions as the King wou'd willingly have granted, together with a general Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. And of all the reſt, who were moſt paſſionate for the Militia, and againſt the Church, there was no Man, except Sir *Harry Vane*, who did not deſire that the Peace might be eſtabliſh'd by this Treaty. For as all the other Lords deſir'd nothing more than to have their Miſcarriages obliterated; ſo the inveterate Lord *Say* plainly foreſaw the Ruin of his Peerage, if the Treaty prov'd ineffectual; therefore he us'd all Endeavours to prevail with the King to yield to what was propos'd to him, and afterwards with the Parliament to be content with what his Majeſty had yielded. But the Advice that they generally gave was the ſame, 'That his Majeſty ſhou'd immediately, and without delaying it to the Expiration of the forty Days aſſign'd by the Parliament, yield to the full Demands made in the Propoſitions.' Their only Argument was, 'That if he did not, or not quickly, the Army wou'd proceed their own Way, depoſe the King, change the Government, and ſettle a Republick.' This was generally believ'd by both Parties; and I have been told by a conſiderable Hand, that Mr. *Hollis* and Sir *Harbottle Grimſton* had ſo far convinc'd the King of this Truth, that he deſign'd to have acted accordingly, had he not been impos'd upon by Sir *Harry Vane*, who confidently aſſur'd him, that he wou'd procure him better Articles from the *Independent* Party, and ſuch as wou'd be more agreeable to his Honour and Conſcience. How inclinable ſoever the Commiſſioners were, they made it firſt known to the King,

A Preliminary.

'That they cou'd not admit that any Perſon ſhou'd be in the Room where the Treaty ſhou'd be held: That they were Commiſſioners ſent by the Parliament to treat with his Majeſty, and with him alone; therefore they might not permit any private Perſons to oppoſe, or debate any thing with them:' So that all the Lords and great Men, allow'd to be with the King, were like to be of ſmall Uſe to him, if they might not be preſent at the Debate. But at laſt they were contented, that they might ſtand behind a Curtain, and about his Chair, but were not allow'd to ſpeak there, but only with the King in his own Chamber, as Occaſion offer'd. Such was the unequal Preliminary, to which the King was compell'd to ſubmit before the Treaty cou'd commence.

TREATY III. *At* Newport.

3. On *Monday* the 18th of *September* the Treaty began, with all Formality; and after the Commiſſioners had produc'd their Commiſſion, they preſented their firſt Propoſition to his Majeſty, 'That he would revoke all *Declarations* and *Commiſſions* granted heretofore by Him againſt the Parliament.' Upon which the King deſir'd to ſee all their Propoſitions together; *that he might the better conſider what Satisfaction he could give them upon the whole*; to which with great Reluctancy they yielded. And tho' their Commiſſion referr'd to *Inſtructions*, and the King deſir'd to ſee thoſe, they peremptorily refus'd that; and only told him, 'That by their Inſtructions they were firſt to treat upon the Propoſition already preſented to him, and next of the *Church*, then of the *Militia*, and fourthly of *Ireland*, and afterwards of the reſt of the Propoſitions, to the Number of eleven; and particularly, they were not to enter upon new Propoſitions, before they ſhou'd have receiv'd his Majeſty's final Anſwer to what was firſt propos'd.' Hereupon the King demanded of them, *Whether they had Power to recede from any Particular in the Propoſitions, or to conſent to any Alteration, if he ſhou'd give them good Reaſon ſo to do?* To which they magiſterially anſwer'd, *That they were ready to debate, to ſhow how reaſonable their Deſires were, and that there cou'd be no Reaſon why they ſhou'd alter, or recede from them; but if his Majeſty did ſatisfy them, they ſhou'd proceed according to their Inſtructions.* Theſe Limitations in Matters of ſuch vaſt Importance, gave a mighty Diſcouragement to the King; but however he reſolv'd to try if conſenting to the ſubſtantial Part of any Propoſition wou'd give Satisfaction; and ſo without taking Notice of the Preamble of this firſt Propoſition, he declar'd to them in Writing, 'That he was willing to grant the Body of their Propoſition, that was to recall all Declarations, *&c.*' But they immediately return'd another Paper to him, complaining, 'That his Majeſty had omitted the moſt eſſential Part of their Propoſition, the Preamble, which recited, *That the two Houſes of Parliament had been neceſſitated to enter into a War in their juſt and lawful Defence*, &c.' To this they vehemently preſs'd his Majeſty's Approbation and Conſent, *without which they cou'd not believe themſelves to be in any Security*: And the Lord *Say* in the Debate, twice declar'd with unuſual Paſſion, *He trembled to think how ſad the Conſequence wou'd be, if his Majeſty deny'd This.* This Preamble being ſo contrary to the known Truth, his Majeſty cou'd not forbear telling them, *That no Act of Parliament cou'd make that true, which was notoriouſly known to be falſe; that this Treaty muſt be the Foundation of future Peace and Security, and that he was moſt willing, That it ſhou'd be very penal to every Man to reproach another for any thing done during the late Troubles.* Therefore he propos'd, as a Medium, to expreſs it thus; *That Jealouſies had abruptly and unfortunately thrown both Parties into a War*, and to ſecure all by Acts of Indemnity. But where the Guilt was moſt apparent, Satisfaction was moſt difficult; therefore they cou'd not believe themſelves ſecure without a full Conſent to their own Preamble. Upon which Mr. *Warwick* took the Liberty to ſay privately to the Earl of *Northumberland*, *My good Lord, remember how gracious this good Prince has been to you, and do but compaſſionate his Diſtreſſes, and the Strait he is now in:* To whom he civilly, but poſitively reply'd, *Sir, in this it is impoſſible for me to do any Thing: For the King, in this Point, is ſafe as King; but we cannot be ſo.*

The King being retir'd, he ſaid to his Friends, and wrote the ſame to the Prince his Son, *That the long Reſtraint he had endur'd in* Carisbrook *Caſtle, was not a greater Evidence of the Captivity of his Perſon, than this was of the Captivity of his Mind, by his being forc'd to decline thoſe Anſwers and Arguments which were proper to the Support of his Cauſe, and which muſt have brought Bluſhes over the Faces of the Commiſſioners; and to frame others more fit to be offer'd to Men in that Condition, from him who was to receive, and not give Conditions.* They all repreſented to him, from what they had learnt from the Commiſſioners, 'That if there was no more ſatisfactory Expedient found out, the Commiſſioners wou'd ſoon be recall'd, and the Treaty be at an End; and then it wou'd be univerſally declar'd and believ'd, how untrue ſoever the Aſſertion was, *That the King refus'd to ſecure the Parliament, and their Adherents, from a Proſecution by Law.* The Lawyers alſo inform'd him, That his giving Way to a Recital in a new Law, which was not declaratory of what the Law was formerly in being, concerning the Buſineſs in Queſtion, and only in a Preamble to a Law for recalling of Declarations, *&c.* did not make their Actions Lawful, if they were not ſo before; nor did it take from them that had adhered to him, any Defence or Benefit the former Laws had given to them.' Theſe and other Things being urged by all about him, the King firſt deliver'd a written Paper to the Commiſſioners, in which he declared

The King perſuaded to comply with the firſt Propoſition.

'That nothing put in Writing concerning any Propoſition, ſhou'd be binding, prejudicial, or made uſe of, if the Treaty ſhou'd break off without Effect.' Which being agreed to by the Commiſſioners, the King on the twenty fifth of *September*, with great Unwillingneſs conſented to paſs the firſt Propoſition, with the Preamble to it, *Tho' he well foreſaw the Aſperſions it wou'd expoſe him to; yet he hop'd his good Subjects wou'd confeſs that it was but a Part of the Price he had paid for their Benefit, and the Peace of his Dominious.*

The Second Propoſition.

The firſt Propoſition being thus obtain'd, they deliver'd the Second concerning Religion and the Church, which comprehended 'The utter Aboliſhing of *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Deans* and *Chapters*, and Alienating their Lands; the taking away the *Liturgy* and *Common-Prayer-Book*; a new Reformation of Religion, by Eſtabliſhing the *Presbyterian* Government, the *Directory*, the *Articles* of the

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‘Chriſtian Religion; the Suppreſſing *Innovations* in Churches; for the better advancing of *Preaching*, and the Obſervation of the *Lord's-Day*; a Bill againſt *Pluralities* and *Non-Reſidency*; ſeveral Acts againſt *Papiſts*, and the Taking the *Covenant* by the King, and the impoſing of it upon Others.’ This pregnant Propoſition ſufficiently warn'd the King, how impoſſible it wou'd be to give them Satisfaction in all; therefore he thought fit firſt to offer to the Commiſſioners a Propoſition of his own, in very few Words: 1. ‘That he might enjoy his Liberty: 2. That his Revenue might be reſtor'd to him: 3. That an Act of Oblivion might paſs.’ The Commiſſioners abſolutely refus'd to ſend it to the Houſe, tho' they had no Authority to anſwer it; but ſaid, *It rather contain'd an Anſwer to all their Propoſitions; and that the Sole End of making it, was to cajole the People; which*, the King told them, *better became him to do, than any Body elſe:* And ſo ſent an Expreſs of his own to deliver it; which being done, after ſome Days Deliberation, the Houſes return'd no other Anſwer to him, than, ‘That his Propoſition was unſatisfactory.’ In the mean Time the Commiſſioners preſs'd for his Anſwer to Aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, *&c.* on which Subject they let looſe their own Clergy upon his Majeſty, who was much better vers'd in the Argument than they were. They urg'd many of the Common Allegations with great Rudeneſs and Animoſity; and two of them, *Jenkins* and *Spurſtow* the *Smectymnuan*, very plainly and fiercely told the King, *That if he did not conſent to the utter Aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, he wou'd be damn'd.* The King was not mov'd, but anſwer'd their Objections with great Calmneſs and Acuteneſs. It wou'd be tedious and unneceſſary to recite all the Arguments, which may be ſeen in Sir *Edward Walker* and others; but in ſhort, the King at laſt, with great Reluctancy offer'd, ‘To ſuſpend *Epiſcopacy* for three Years, and then upon Conſultation with Divines, of which twenty to be of his own Chuſing, ſuch a Government of the Church as ſhou'd be agreed upon, might be eſtabliſh'd: That he wou'd not force any Man to take the *Covenant*, and wou'd have the Privilege of his own Chapel to have the *Common-Prayer*, and obſerve the ſame Worſhip as formerly; and that all Perſons, who deſir'd it, might have Liberty to take the *Covenant*, and uſe the *Directory:* He conſented that Mony ſhou'd be rais'd upon the Sale of the Church Lands, and only the old Rent ſhou'd be reſerv'd to the juſt Owners, and their Succeſſors. Theſe and ſome other Conceſſions of leſs Importance, which related to ſome other Branches of the ſame Propoſition, he deliver'd to the Commiſſioners as his final Anſwer, on the ninth Day of *October*.

How far the King complies.

A ſecret Letter ſent to the King.

The King now became more apprehenſive of Danger: and a little before this he receiv'd a Letter, in which were theſe Words: *There is a notable Deſign, to which are agreed the Army and Parliament, by concurring Counſels; to which End an Expreſs is ſent to* Cromwell *to diſpoſe of his Majeſty. Many here wiſh (for his Friends in the City are numerous) that the King wou'd throughly concede, to prevent Dangers incumbing; but I fear, if Good be not intended him, no Condeſcenſion of his can avert it. If then he will take him to his Eſcape, let him do it on* Thurſday *or* Friday *next, but by all Means out of ſome Door, and not from the Top of the Houſe, by the Help of Ladders, for I have heard too much of that talk'd of by ſome near Him. Farther, I deſire none may be truſted herewith but your Son and* Levet. *The Prince of* Orange *will not fail I know to ſend a Ship, but I have too great Reaſon to apprehend, if he rely thereon, his Intention will be made fruſtrate, as not coming Time enough. ----- For your own Particular, I have ſuch Grounds of the Governor's Indiſguſt of his Majeſty's Eſcape, as if perform'd, ſhall never bring you into any Examination or Trouble about it.* ---- This Letter was written moſt of it in Cypher, and ſubſcrib'd by a feign'd Name, but ſo well known to the King, that he decypher'd it with his own Hand; as it appears from Mr. *Wagſtaff*'s *Appendix* to his Vindication of this King: By which *Appendix*, which conſiſts of Original Letters never before publiſh'd, it appears that the King was ſufficiently ſenſible of the horrid Deſigns of *Cromwell* and ſome of the Parliament, and therefore often thought to make an Eſcape. But nothing ſeems to have hinder'd him ſo much, as a Promiſe made to the Commiſſioners, Not to depart out of the Iſland during the Treaty, nor in three Weeks after: Tho' to this he was anſwer'd, ‘That his Promiſe to them, cou'd not bind him any longer than they cou'd ſecure him from the bloody Deſigns of other Perſons.

4. The two firſt Propoſitions being paſs'd, as all Perſons thought, the other nine were diſpatcht with more Eaſe and Quickneſs, tho' ſome of them of the higheſt Moment; the King being worn out by the Importunity of Friends and Enemies, and almoſt as weary of Denying as of Granting the Demands of inflexible and inexorable Men. To the *Third* Propoſition concerning the *Militia*, his Majeſty conſented ‘That the Parliament ſhou'd have the ſole and full Power in their Hands for the Space of twenty Years.’ He agreed to the *Fourth*, ‘for nulling the Ceſſation of *Ireland*, and leaving for ſome Time the Government both Civil and Military in the Hands of the two Houſes of Parliament.’ To the *Fifth* and *Sixth* Propoſitions, ‘for Vacating Titles of Honour conferr'd ſince the Great Seal was carry'd from *London* to *Oxford*; and for Payment of Debts Publick he gave his Aſſent, provided that the Debts be aſcertain'd within two Years.’ To the *Seventh* he conſented, ‘That thoſe of his Party, declar'd *Delinquents*, ſhou'd ſubmit to a Fine, and be prohibited Acceſs to the Court, as alſo to the Council, unleſs by the Parliament's Conſent; and likewiſe that for three Years they ſhou'd be diſabled from ſitting in either Houſe of Parliament without their Conſent; and alſo to undergo a legal Tryal, if the two Houſes thought fit, and to ſuffer according to Deſert, if convicted by due courſe of Law.’ But to the charging them with Treaſon, or to the taking away their Lives or Eſtates, for Acting by his Commiſſion during the late War, he abhorr'd the Thoughts of it, and poſitively refus'd to give his Conſent. To the *Eighth* Propoſition the King agreed, ‘That the Parliament ſhou'd have Power to confer all the Offices in his Kingdom, and likewiſe conſtitute Magiſtrates, for twenty Years.’ To the *Ninth*, ‘for the confirming their new Broad Seal, with all Grants and Commiſſions paſt under the ſame, his Majeſty agreed. To the *Tenth*, the King conſented, ‘That all Charters, Grants, Privileges and Immunities, with Power to diſpoſe of the *Tower* of *London*, be ratify'd, the *Militia* there confirm'd, and the Citizens exempted from Military Duty and Service out of their *Liberties*, unleſs order'd by the two Houſes of Parliament.’ And laſtly he gave his Conſent to the *Eleventh* Propoſition, ‘That the *Court of Wards* ſhou'd be aboliſh'd, his Majeſty having fifty thouſand Pounds a Year paid him in Compoſition or Compenſation thereof.’ From theſe extraordinary Conceſſions, there was almoſt an univerſal Hope and Expectation of a happy Concluſion, and a firm Settlement of Peace.

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How far the King Conſents to the reſt of the Propoſitions.

The King's general Behaviour and Abilities.

In all this Treaty, which laſted ſo many Days, the King was obſerv'd in the whole Tranſaction both with the Commiſſioners and Divines, to keep an exact Decorum, with great Prudence, Caution, and good Order; and tho' his Countenance and Aſpect was much alter'd by means of a total Diſregard to his Hair and Habit, yet he ſtill carry'd himſelf with a particular Vivacity and Majeſty. And being oblig'd ſingly to treat and debate with fifteen Perſons, moſt of them of great Parts and Volubility of Expreſſion, and of no leſs Depth and Subtlety, it gave him Occaſion of diſplaying his Abilities beyond Expectation, and of ſhowing that he was highly converſant in Divinity, Law, and good Reaſon. Inſomuch that one Day, when he was riſing up, the Earl of *Salisbury* ſaid ſuddenly to Mr. *Warwick*, *The King is wonderfully improv'd!* to which he as ſuddenly reply'd, *No, my Lord, he was always ſo: but your Lordſhip too late diſcern'd it.* Sir *Harry Vane* Himſelf, diſcourſing with Sir *Edward Walker*, likewiſe confeſs'd, *That they were much deceiv'd in his Majeſty, who was repreſented to them as a weak Man, which they all along believ'd; but now they found him far otherwiſe, and that he was a Perſon of great Parts and Abilities:* And thereupon maliciouſly inferr'd, *That they muſt conſider their own Securities, and that he fear'd the Time was paſt to do any Good by Treaty.* The former Gentleman, in his Memoirs, tells us, that two Replies made by the King to two of the Commiſſioners in the ſame Day was obſervable: The one to Mr. *Hollis*, who preſſing ſomewhat hardly upon him, he return'd *A good Nature wou'd not offer this you ſay; nor is it true Logick:* And then made another Kind of ingenious Reply to Mr. *Bulkeley*, a Perſon who had promis'd him, *That if a Treaty cou'd be procur'd, the Malice of the Devil ſhou'd not be able to break it*; therefore now pray'd his Majeſty *to make a right Uſe of this Treaty.* To which he readily anſwer'd, *Conſider Mr.* Bulkeley, *if you call this a Treaty, whether it be not like the Fray in the Comedy; where a Man comes out and ſays,* There has been a Fray and no Fray; *and being ask'd* how that cou'd be, *he reply'd,* There has been three Blows given, and I had them all. *See therefore, whether this be not a parallel Caſe: Obſerve whether I have not granted abſolutely moſt of your Propoſitions, and very moderately limited ſome few of them: Nay conſider whether you have made me any one Conceſſion, and whether you have not juſt now confeſs'd to me, ‘That tho' upon any Propoſition you were all concurrently ſatisfy'd, yet till you had remitted them to your Superiors, you had not Authority to concurr with me in any one Thing.*

Several Sayings of the King's.

The ſame Author tells us ſome other Particulars that are worthy of Remembrance: About the latter End of the Treaty, finding it was like to be ineffectual, *I wiſh*, ſays he, he, *I had conſulted no Body, but my own Self; for then, where in Honour or Conſcience I cou'd not have comply'd, I cou'd have early been poſitive: For with* Job *I wou'd willinglier have choſen Miſery than Sin.* When he was preſs'd by the Parliament Miniſters to give Way for a ſmall Catechiſm for Children, applying Himſelf to Mr. *Marſhall*, he ſaid, *I will not take upon me to determine all theſe Texts you quote are rightly apply'd, and have their true Senſe given them; and I aſſure you, Gentlemen, I would licenſe a Catechiſm at a venture ſooner for Men, than I wou'd for Children; becauſe they can judge for Themſelves: And I make a great Conſcience to permit, that Children ſhou'd be corrupted in their firſt Principles.* One Evening the ſame Author, Mr. *Warwick*, waiting upon his Majeſty with the Notes that paſs'd that Day, he told him, *That he ſhou'd be like a Captain, that had defended a Place well, and his Superiors not being able to relieve him, he had leave to ſurrender it; but*, continu'd he, *tho' they cannot relieve me in the Time I demand it, let them relieve me, when they can: Elſe I will hold it out, till I make ſome Stone in this Building my Tomb-Stone: And ſo will I do by the Church of* England. Another Time talking of the Unreaſonableneſs of the Parliament Propoſitions, about the Civil Government, *Well*, ſaid he, *they will ask ſo much, and uſe it ſo ill, that the People of* England *will be one Day glad to relodge the Power they had taken from the Crown, where it is due; and I have offended againſt them more in the Things I have granted them, than in any Thing I ever deſign'd againſt them.* With theſe, and ſome other Paſſages the Author concludes with my Lord *Bacon*, that he was a Prince of thoſe eminent Virtues, which uſually gain not Kings Renown: ‘ For there are few, that ‘ can judge of, or diſcern the higheſt Sort of Virtues; and ‘ therefore Princes are commonly famous by the middle ‘ Sort of Virtues; the Higheſt being unintelligible to the ‘ Multitude.

5. The forty Days for the Treaty being expir'd, which was on the 4th of *November*, the King in Concluſion earneſtly deſir'd the Commiſſioners, *That ſince he had departed from ſo much of his own Right to give his two Houſes Satisfaction, they would be a Means that he might be preſs'd no farther; ſince the few Things he had not ſatisfy'd them in, had ſo near a Relation to his Conſcience, that, with the Peace of that, he could not yield further:* And then begg'd of them *to uſe the ſame Eloquence and Abilities, by which they had prevail'd with him, in repreſenting to the two Houſes the deplorable Condition of the Kingdom, if it were not preſerv'd by this Treaty.* And ſo concluded with many gracious Expreſſions for their Perſonal Civilities and other Obligations, ſufficient to make an Impreſſion upon the moſt obdurate Diſpoſitions. But when all Men thought the Treaty had been at an End, the Commiſſioners receiv'd new Orders and Inſtructions to enlarge the Treaty fourteen Days longer, and after that to continue it four Days more, and laſt of all one Day more. All which was directly againſt the King, and againſt the Inclination of thoſe in the Houſes that had any good Wiſhes for him. For it was eaſily diſcern'd, that it was manag'd only by them who deſign'd the Treaty ſhould have no good Effect; and the Army not having finiſh'd their Work in other Places, it quickly appear'd, by the new Inſtances they made, that Delay was their only Buſineſs. This was particularly the grand Deſign of Sir *Harry Vane*, who, as *Bates* aſſures us, had perſuaded the King to grant no more, *ſince he had already yielded ſo many and great Privileges to the Parliament, as he thought it neither lawful for them to expect, or take*; all which he promis'd publickly to aſſert.

The Treaty prolonged.

The nineteen Days of Prolongation were very much ſpent in Repetitions of former Matters, and Repreſentations that ſome Particulars of the King's Conceſſions were ſtill *Unſatisfactory* to the Parliament. They particularly made Complaints about the Affairs of *Ireland*, ‘ where the Marqueſs of *Ormond* had lately declar'd he had Authority to ‘ make Peace with the *Iriſh* Rebels, and was then treating ‘ to that Purpoſe; therefore they deſir'd his Majeſty would ‘ forthwith publiſh a Declaration againſt him.’ The King told them ‘ there was no Occaſion for ſuch Declaration, ſince if the Treaty ſhould end happily, the De‘ ſires of the two Houſes were ſatisfy'd by the Conceſſions ‘ he had already made in that Affair.’ Then they complain'd that his Conceſſions with Reference to Epiſcopacy and the Church Lands were *Unſatisfactory*; and ſaid, *The Parliament did not intend to force, but only to rectifie his Conſcience*, and to that End they added more Reaſons to convince him in the ſeveral Points. This occaſion'd many new Diſputes and Debates, both with the Commiſſioners, and their own Miniſters. His Majeſty adhered to his former Anſwers, and to the Point of Sacriledge, he ſaid, *The concurrent Opinion of all Divines was a much better Information to his Conſcience, What is Sacriledge, than any Precedents or Law of the Land could be*; and concluded with declaring, *That he could with much more Comfort caſt Himſelf upon his Saviour's Goodneſs to ſupport and defend him from all Afflictions that might befal him, than deprive Himſelf of the inward Tranquility of his Mind, for any Politick Conſideration that might be a Means to reſtore him.* All that was done to any ſeeming Effect, was the Parliament's Conſent to the King's own Propoſition formerly mention'd; ‘ provided the Agreements of this Treaty be firſt ratify'd ‘ by Acts of Parliament.’ And now the Time being fully expired, and the Commiſſioners coming to take their Leave of Him, he pathetically acquainted them with the Condition of the Times, and *That he had reaſon to believe that this would be the laſt Time of their Interview: But that, bleſſed be God, he had made his Peace with him; and ſhould without Fear undergo, what he ſhould be pleas'd to ſuffer Men to do unto him. As for* Them, *they could not but know, that in his Fall and Ruin, they ſaw their* Own, *and that alſo near to them; and pray'd God to ſend them better Friends than he had found. He was fully inform'd of the whole* Plot *and* Carriage *againſt* Him *and* His; *but nothing ſo much afflicted Him, as the Senſe and Feeling he had of the Sufferings of his* Subjects, *and the Miſeries that hung over his* Three Kingdoms; *drawn upon them by* Thoſe, *who upon Pretences of Good, violently purſu'd their own Ends and Intereſts.* Thus with all imaginable Tenderneſs he finally parted from them on the 28th of *November*, after they had been ten Weeks in the *Iſle of Wight*.

The King's Speech to the Commiſſioners.

Thus ended the laſt Treaty of *Newport*, of which the King drew up a full Account in a Letter to the Prince his Son, which he began before the firſt forty Days were expired, and continu'd it, as the Treaty was prolong'd to the laſt Hour, and finiſh'd it the 29th of *November*, after the Commiſſioners were departed, and with it ſent a very exact Copy of all the Papers which had paſs'd in the Treaty; the true Copies of which are of late printed in Sir *Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Collections.* The Letter to the Prince was all in the King's own Hand, and contain'd above ſix Sheets of Paper; in which he made a very particular Relation of the Motives and Reaſons which had prevail'd with him, and over him, to make thoſe Conceſſions; and told him, *That more miſguided Perſons were at laſt reduc'd to their Loyalty, than could in any Story be exampled.* And the Lord *Clarendon* ſays, ‘ It is almoſt evident, that the ma‘ jor Part of both Houſes was, at that Time, ſo far from ‘ deſiring the Execution of all thoſe Conceſſions, that if ‘ they had been able to have reſiſted the wild Fury of the ‘ Army, they would have been themſelves Suitors to have ‘ declin'd the greateſt Part of them.’ The Concluſion of the Letter, he ſays, deſerves to be preſerv'd in *Letters of Gold*, and gives the beſt Character of that excellent Prince; and therefore ought to be remember'd here, tho' often publiſh'd before.

The Treaty ends.

‘ By what hath been ſaid, you ſee how long we have la‘ bour'd in the Search of Peace: Do not you be diſheart‘ ned to tread in the ſame Steps. Uſe all worthy Ways ‘ to reſtore your Self to your Right, but prefer the Way ‘ of Peace: Shew the Greatneſs of your Mind, if God ‘ bleſs you, rather to conquer your Enemies by *Pardoning*, ‘ than *Puniſhing*. If you ſaw how Unmanly and Un‘ chriſtian the implacable Diſpoſition is in our Ill-Willers, ‘ you would avoid that Spirit. Cenſure Us not for having ‘ parted with ſo much of our own Right; the Price was ‘ great, but the Commodity was *Security* to Us, *Peace* to ‘ our People: And we were confident, another Parlia‘ ment would remember how uſeful a King's *Power* is to ‘ a People's *Liberty*, of how much thereof we have di‘ veſted our Self, that We and they might meet once again ‘ in a due Parliamentary Way, to agree the Bounds of ‘ Prince and People. And in this give Belief to our Ex‘ perience, never to affect more *Greatneſs* or *Prerogative*, ‘ than that which is really and intrinſically for the Good of ‘ *Subjects*, not the Satisfaction of *Favourites*. If you thus ‘ uſe it, you will never want Means to be a Father to all, ‘ and a bountiful Prince to any you would be extraordi‘ narily gracious to. You may perceive all Men entruſt their ‘ *Treaſure* where it returns them *Intereſt*; and if Princes, ‘ like the *Sea*, receive and repay all the freſh Streams the ‘ *Rivers* entruſt them with, they will not grudge, but pride ‘ themſelves to make them up an *Ocean*. Theſe Conſide‘ rations may make you as Great a Prince, as your Father ‘ is now a Low One, and your State may be ſo much the ‘ more eſtabliſh'd, as Mine hath been ſhaken. For our ‘ Subjects have learn'd, we dare ſay, that *Victories* over ‘ their Princes are but *Triumphs* over Themſelves; and ſo ‘ will be more unwilling to hearken to Changes hereafter. ‘ The *Engliſh* Nation are a *Sober People*, however at pre‘ ſent under ſome *Infatuation*. We know not but this may ‘ be the laſt Time we may ſpeak to You, or the World, ‘ publickly: We are ſenſible into what Hands we are fal‘ len; and yet, we bleſs God, we have thoſe *Inward Re‘ freſhments* the Malice of our Enemies cannot perturb.

The King's Letter to the Prince his Son.

'We have learn'd to buſy our Self by retiring into our Self; and therefore can the better digeſt what befalls us; not doubting but God's Providence will reſtrain our Enemies Power, and turn their Fierceneſs to his Praiſe. To conclude, if God gives you Succeſs, uſe it *humbly*, and far from *Revenge*. If he reſtore you to your Right upon hard Conditions, *whatever you promiſe, keep*. Theſe Men, who have forc'd Laws, which they were bound to preſerve, will find their *Triumphs* full of *Troubles!* Do not think any Thing in the World *worth* the obtaining by foul and unjuſt Means. You are the *Son of our Love*, and as we direct you to weigh what we recommend to you, ſo we aſſure you, we do not more affectionately pray for you, (to whom we are a *Natural Parent*) than we do, That the ancient Glory and Renown of this Nation be not bury'd in *Irreligion* and *Phanatick Humour*; and that all our Subjects, to whom we are a *Politick Parent*, may have ſuch ſober Thoughts, as to ſeek their Peace in the Orthodox Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion, as was eſtabliſh'd ſince the Reformation in this Kingdom, and not in *New Revelations*; and that the ancient *Laws*, with the *Interpretation* according to the known *Practice*, may once again be a *Hedge* about them: That you may in due Time *govern*, and they be *govern'd*, as in the Fear of God, is the Prayer of your very Loving Father, *C. R.*

The Army's Remonſtrance.

VI. 1. During the Time of this Treaty, the Army, fluſh'd with Victory, and elevated with unlimited Power, began openly to manifeſt to the World, that nothing ſhou'd ſatisfy them, but the abſolute Deſtruction of the King, and the utter Extirpation of Monarchy. Towards the accompliſhing of which execrable Deſign, a large *Remonſtrance* was fram'd by *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, and ſome inveterate Officers in the Army then at St. *Albans*: In which they fiercely declaim'd againſt any Peace with the King, or his Reſtoration, demanding, 'That he ſhou'd, by a Tryal, be brought to Juſtice; and likewiſe that thoſe Members of Parliament impeach'd the laſt Year, with all others that ſat, when the Speaker and Members fled to the Army, be excluded the Houſe: Requiring, That the Soldiers Arrears ſhou'd be paid out of the King's and Churches Lands; That a certain Term ſhou'd be prefix'd to that preſent *Long-Parliament*; as alſo a more equal Number of Perſons, *as Repreſentatives of the People*, to be thenceforth elected, in whom the *Supreme Power* ſhou'd hereafter reſide.' They particularly obſerv'd, 'That whereas it might be objected, *That they were oblig'd by the Covenant to preſerve his Majeſty's Perſon and Authority*; it was with this Reſtriction, *in the Preſervation of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom.* So that, conſidering *Religion* and the *Publick Intereſt* were to be underſtood the principal and ſupreme Matters engag'd for; and the King's *Perſon* and *Authority*, as inferior and ſubordinate thereto; therefore ſince the Preſervation of his *Perſon* and *Authority* was not conſiſtent with the Preſervation of *Religion* and the *Publick Intereſt*, they were therefore by the *Covenant* oblig'd againſt it.' This they illuſtrated by the conſtant Practice of the Parliament in the late Wars, 'which not only oppos'd his *Majeſty* and his *Authority*, but really endeavour'd to kill and deſtroy both his *Perſon* and *Authority* by Bullets and otherwiſe, in Order to the Preſervation of *Religion* and *Liberties* of the Kingdom.' And as it was uſual to procure *Petitions* from ſeveral Places, to countenance the carrying on any mighty Deſign they had projected; ſo now having publiſh'd this horrid *Remonſtrance* on the twentieth of *November*, they obtain'd *Congratulations* from thoſe call'd the *Well-affected* in many Parts, the more to intimidate all Perſons from making any Oppoſition.

Debates in the Houſe of Commons.

In the mean Time the Parliament remain'd under great Fears and Apprehenſions, where the Report of the Commiſſioners from the *Iſle of Wight* took up many Days in the Houſe of Commons. The Queſtion upon the whole was, 'Whether the Anſwer the King had made to their Propoſitions was ſatiſfactory?' which was debated with all the Violence and Virulence that could ariſe from the Height of Faction and Party. Sir *Harry Vane*, notwithſtanding his Proteſtations to the King, began the Debate with the higheſt Inſolence and Provocation, telling them, 'That they ſhould that Day know and diſcover, who were their *Friends*, and who were their *Foes*; or, to ſpeak more plainly, who were the *King's* Party in the Houſe, and who were for the *People*;' and then proceeded with his uſual Gravity and Animoſity againſt the Perſon of the King, and made a long Narration of the 'Happineſs the Nation began to taſte from the Republican Government after the Vote for *Non-Addreſſes*, till diſturb'd by contemptible Inſurrections, which were now all quell'd; therefore they had nothing to do but to ſettle the Government, without the King, and ſo to puniſh all Diſturbers of the Peace, as might terrify all Men from the like bold Attempts.' His Preface, and Entrance into the Debate, were taken notice of with equal Sharpneſs; and his preſumptuous Manner of dividing the Houſe, and his cenſuring their Affections, as their Judgment ſhould agree, or diſagree with his own. One ſaid, 'Since he had, after an unprecedented Manner, taken ſo much upon him, he ſhou'd not take it ill, if the Contrary was aſſum'd by other Men; and that it was as lawful for another, who ſaid he was no Gainer by the Troubles, to make another Diviſion of the Houſe, and to ſay, That they ſhou'd find in that Debate, That there were *Some* who were deſirous of Peace, who were all Loſers, or at leaſt not Gainers by the War; and that *Others* were againſt Peace, who had gain'd great Riches by the War: Therefore his Motion was, that the *Gainers* might contribute to the *Loſers*, if they wou'd not conſent that the One might enjoy what was left, and the Other poſſeſs what they had got, by a Peace that might be happy for Both.

The King remov'd to Hurſt-Caſtle.

While this was debating in the Houſe, ſix Officers from the Head Quarters at *Windſor*, whither the Army had lately arriv'd, brought their large Remonſtrance to the Houſe, which threw all into a great Confuſion. But that which moſt terrify'd them, and indeed awaken'd them, to the moſt diſmal Apprehenſions, was the News from the Iſle of *Wight*, that Colonel *Hammond* was diſcharg'd, and Colonel *Ewre* had carry'd away the King to *Hurſt-Caſtle*, a ſort of a Block-Houſe in the Sea, not far from the Iſle of *Wight*, in a diſmal cold and unwholeſome Air. His Majeſty had been lately adviſ'd by Mr. *Warwick* 'To take care of Himſelf, That *Hammond* was likely to leave the Iſle, and that *Rolph* and other ill Spirits of the Army hung about the Place.' To which the King reply'd, *That the Governour was grown ſuch a Rogue, that he cou'd not be in worſe Hands.* The Night before this Seizure, which was the twenty ninth of *November*, when ſuch a Thing was ſtrongly ſuſpected by the King and thoſe about him, he was urg'd by the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl of *Lindſey* to make his Eſcape, which was thought very practicable, by the Aſſiſtance of Colonel *Cooke*, and the Advantage of a dark rainy Night. But the King had ſome Scruples upon him on the account of his Promiſe; and after the Matter was debated he ſaid, *They have promis'd Me, and I have promis'd Them, and I will not break firſt.* And after they had diſtinguiſh'd between the *Parliament* and the *Army*, and that Promiſes made to one did not bind with Reſpect to the other, he declar'd, *He wou'd not do any Thing that ſhou'd look like breaking of his Word.* And ſo, tho' the Danger was apparent, and the Eſcape feaſible, he yielded to his Fate, and was the next Morning not only ſeiz'd, but hurry'd away with great Precipitation, from the Iſle; after he had been a little above a Year in the Place.

The Commons diſpleas'd.

2. This News being brought to the Commons when they were in the Heat of the Debate upon the King's Anſwer, they immediately deſiſted, and Voted, 'That the carrying the King to *Hurſt-Caſtle* was without their Advice and Conſent;' and order'd a Letter to be written to the General 'That the Orders and Inſtructions to Colonel *Ewre* were contrary to thoſe given to Colonel *Hammond*; and therefore it was the Pleaſure of the Houſe, that he ſhou'd recall thoſe Orders, and that Colonel *Hammond* ſhou'd again reſume the Care of the King's Perſon.' But the General, without taking Notice of their Complaint, or Command, demanded the Arrears due to the Army, declaring, 'That unleſs there were preſent Money ſent to that Purpoſe, he ſhou'd be forc'd to remove the Army nearer to *London*.' And at the ſame Time a new *Declaration* was ſent to the Houſe from the Army, in Purſuance of their late *Remonſtrance*: which was ſo far from being allow'd, that ſome reſolute Members mov'd, 'That the Army might be declar'd Traytors, if they preſum'd to march nearer *London* than they were at preſent, and that an Impeachment of High-Treaſon might be drawn up againſt the principal Officers of it.' This haſtned the *Criſis*, and the General march'd directly to *London*, and quarter'd at *White-Hall*, and other Officers with their Troops in *Durham*-Houſe, the *Mues*, *Covent-Garden*, and St. *James's*; and to prevent farther Inconveniencies, they ſent to the City, the Original Fund for the whole War, immediately to iſſue out forty thouſand Pounds to ſatisfy the Army. Notwithſtanding this monſtrous Proceeding, the Houſe of Commons reſolv'd to exert it ſelf, and boldly aſſert the Treaty; and accordingly there hapned a violent Struggle between the two Parties in the Houſe for the Space of a whole Day and Night together. About five a Clock on *Tueſday* Morning, the fifth of *December*, they firſt put the Queſtion, *Whether the Queſtion ſhou'd be put?* and carry'd it by a hundred and forty Voices againſt a hundred and four: So that they paſs'd the grand Queſtion,

The Army enters London.

1648.
Car. 24.

The Parliament Votes.

and Voted without Dividing, namely, ‘ *That his Majeſty's Conceſſions to the Propoſitions upon the Treaty, are ſufficient Grounds for the Houſes to proceed upon for the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom:*’ And to prevent future Stroaks, they appointed a Committee ‘ To confer with the General, for the better procuring a good Intelligence and Correſpondence between the Army and the Parliament, and ſo adjourn'd till the next Morning.

The Houſe of Commons purg'd by the Army.

Upon this the Officers reſolv'd to exert Themſelves, and make one brave and deſperate Puſh; and accordingly the next Morning, they ſent certain Regiments of Horſe and Foot to *Weſtminſter*, who ſetting Guards upon all the Avenues to the Parliament-Houſe, ſeiz'd upon one and forty of the Members as they were entring the Houſe, *viz.* Major-General *Brown*, Mr. *Bulkley*, Colonel *Birch*, Mr. *Boughton*, Mr. *Buller*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Mr. *Copley*, Mr. *Crew*, Sir *Simonds D'ewes*, Mr. *Drake*, Sir *Walter Earle*, Mr. *N. Fiennes*, Mr. *Green*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Mr. *Gerard*, Sir *Robert Harley*, Colonel *E. Harley*, Sir *Anthony Irby*, Mr. *Knightly*, Sir *Martin Lyſter*, Colonel *Leigh*, Mr. *Lane*, Sir *Samuel Luke*, Sir *William Lewes*, Major-General *Maſſy*, Sir *John Merrick*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Mr. *Pelham*, Sir *Robert Pye*, Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Prieſtley*, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, Mr. *Strode*, Sir *Thomas Soame*, Mr. *Stephens*, Mr. *Swinfen*, Mr. *Vaughan*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *William Wheeler*, the Lord *Wenman*, and Mr. *Clement Walker*: Of whoſe Names *Hugh Peters*, their great Preacher, came to take a Liſt; and then convey'd them into their great Victualling-Houſe, near *Weſtminſter-Hall*, call'd *Hell*; where they kept them all Night without any Beds. Whence being driven as Priſoners, through Snow and Rain, to ſeveral Inns in the *Strand*; the Soldiers upbraided them in their Paſſage, *That they were the Men, who had Cozen'd the State of their Mony, and kept back the Army's Pay.* And as they made Priſoners of theſe, ſo they deny'd Entrance into the Houſe to above a Hundred and Sixty more: Whereupon the reſt of the *Presbyterian* Party, being terrify'd with the Uſage of their Fellow Members, declin'd the Houſe, leaving it to the Poſſeſſion of about a Hundred and Fifty, who being moſt of them Officers of the Army, perform'd every Thing according to the Directions of their Leaders. This great Change and Reformation, was call'd by the Name of *Colonel* Pride's *Purge*. And it is obſervable, that moſt of theſe Members, as *Brown*, *Waller*, *Maſſy*, *Copley* and *Clotworthy*, had as maliciouſly advanc'd the Service of the Parliament againſt the King, as any Men in their Rank in the Kingdom, and much more than any Officer of the preſent Army had then Credit to do: But now, in Reward of their Labours, they were not only depos'd, but ſeverally committed to cloſe Impriſonment.

Their Proceedings after that.

Immediately after this grand Purge, the Houſe renew'd their old Votes of *Non-Addreſſes* to the King, and annul'd and made void all thoſe that introduced and ſucceeded the Treaty, and particularly voted, ‘ That the King's Anſwer to their Propoſitions was not Satisfactory.’ And then they made a full Order of the Houſe, That none of them who had not been preſent upon the Day of Excluſion, ſhou'd ſit in the Houſe before they had ſubſcrib'd this laſt Vote; but upon Subſcription they were as well qualify'd Members as before. The ſecluded Members publiſh'd a *Proteſtation* and *Narrative* againſt the unparallel'd Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons and the Army; which made ſo great a Noiſe in the Kingdom, and ſo incens'd the ſitting Members, that on the 15th of *December* they made a ſolemn *Declaration* againſt that *Proteſtation*, pronouncing it ‘ To be falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious, and tending to the *Deſtruction of the Viſible and Fundamental Government of the Kingdom*:’ And to this extraordinary *Declaration* they obtain'd the Concurrence of the ſmall Houſe of Peers, and jointly ordain'd ‘ That that *Proteſtation* ſhou'd be ſuppreſs'd, and that no Man ſhou'd preſume to ſell, or buy, or read the ſame.’ That upper Houſe, which had ſo often weakned and exhauſted it ſelf by unreaſonable Compliances, was now at its loweſt Ebb, and drain'd to its Dregs: Inſomuch that ſeveral of that noble Body went to General *Fairfax* to expreſs their good Affections to him, and Concurrence with him for the *Common Good*; and particularly to let his Excellency know, ‘ That they wou'd wave their *Privileges* and *Titles*, in Caſe they ſhou'd be found burthenſome to the Liberties of the People.’ And now reſolving to gratify the Army, they took into Conſideration a Paper formerly digeſted by them as a Model for a new Form of Government, call'd *The Agreement of the People*, and for Publiſhing of which, one of the *Agitators* had been ſhot to Death by *Cromwell*'s own Directions a Year before. So that all Things contributed to bring about the Reſolves of the preſent Powers; who, after ſeveral contriv'd Petitions, appointed a Committee to prepare a Charge of High-Treaſon againſt the King himſelf, who, they ſaid, ‘ had been the Cauſe of all the Blood that had been ſpilt, and therefore it was fit that ſuch a *Man of Blood* ſhou'd be brought to exemplary Juſtice.

1648.
Car. 24.

The King remov'd to Windſor.

3. In Order to accompliſh this prodigious Deſign, upon the 21ſt of *December* they remov'd the King from *Hurſt-Caſtle*, after he had remain'd about three Weeks in that diſconſolate Place; from whence he was conducted by Colonel *Harriſon*, a Favourite of *Cromwell*'s, to *Wincheſter*, where he was reſpectfully receiv'd by the Mayor and Corporation; from thence to *Farnham Caſtle*, and laſtly to *Windſor*, where he ſtaid for ſome Time. In his Paſſage to this Place his Majeſty found Means to dine at *Bagſhot* Lodge, where liv'd the Lord *Newburgh*, lately married to the Lady *Aubigney*, both Perſons of inviolable Loyalty. Here a hopeful Project had been laid for the King's Eſcape, and one of the fleeteſt Horſes in *England* provided for that Purpoſe, which probably wou'd have taken Effect, notwithſtanding all the Circumſpection of *Harriſon*; but, unfortunately, that Horſe was that very Day ſo lamed by the Stroak of another, that he became altogether uſeleſs. At *Windſor* his Majeſty was deliver'd to Colonel *Whitchcott* the Governor of the Caſtle, where he found ſome Eaſe and Diverſion, differing from his former Solitude. But in a few Days it was order'd by the Parliament that all State, and the Ceremony of Knee ſhou'd thenceforth be diſcontinu'd, and his Attendants leſſen'd. Here the unfortunate Duke of *Hamilton*, a cloſe Priſoner in the Caſtle, obtain'd Leave of his Keeper to have a ſhort Interview with the King: He had but juſt Time to kneel down and kiſs his Hand, and with a melancholy Tranſport ſay, *My dear Maſter!* The King kindly embracing him, ſaid, *I have been ſo indeed to you*; and ſo they parted with the higeſt Marks of Grief and Sorrow.

He meets with Duke Hamilton.

Hugh Peters's Sermon.

That they might effect their Buſineſs with the greater Formality, they held a ſolemn Faſt in St. *Margaret*'s Church at *Weſtminſter*, four of the moſt zealous Lords being preſent there, and many of the Houſe of Commons; where that Pulpit Buffoon, *Hugh Peters*, acted a Sermon before them, taking his Text out of the Pſalms, *To bind their Kings in Chains*, &c. *Such Honour have all his Saints*: He parallel'd the State of the Kingdom with the bringing the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Egyptian* Bondage: And the better to ſhew how they ſhou'd be brought out of this Bondage; having put his Hands before his Eyes, and laid his Head on the Cuſhion; from whence, after a while, raiſing it ſuddenly up, he told them, *That he had a Revelation* how to do it, which was, *by extirpating of Monarchy*, both here, and in all other Places. He compar'd the King to *Barabbas*, whom the fooliſh Citizens wou'd have to be releas'd, and the *Red-Coats* he call'd *our Saviours*, whom they wou'd have to be crucify'd. As to the *Saints* in his Text, he often call'd them *Saint Judges*; and profeſs'd *he had found upon a ſtrict Scrutiny, that there were in the Army five thouſand Saints, no leſs holy than thoſe that now convers'd in Heaven with God Almighty.* Then kneeling, weeping, and lifting up his Hands, he begg'd them ‘ in the Name of the People of *England*, to execute Juſtice upon that great *Barabbas* at *Windſor*, and not let *Benhadad* eſcape in Safety, &c.’ To ſuch wretched Proſtitution was the Pulpit now debas'd; and ſo madly extravagant was the frequent Preaching at theſe Times, that a Member in his Speech ſaid *There was no Way to end the Diviſions in* England, *but by forbidding all Preaching for one whole Year.* And it was remarkably ſaid by Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, Son to the famous Archbiſhop, at his Execution in *Scotland*, *None of the Judgments of God are greater, no not Plague, Famine, or the Sword, than when he ſuffers a Lying Spirit to fill the Mouths of the Prophets.*

Cromwell's Profaneneſs.

The ſame horrid Degree of Profaneneſs, and Enthuſiaſm, ſhew'd it ſelf in *Cromwell*; who, when it was mov'd in the Houſe, immediately after the Faſt, That they ſhou'd proceed capitally againſt the King, he ſtood up and declar'd, *That if any Man mov'd this upon* Deſign, *he ſhou'd think him the greateſt Traitor in the World*; *but ſince* Providence *and* Neceſſity *had caſt them upon it, he ſhou'd pray God to bleſs their Councils, tho' he was not provided, on the ſudden, to give them Counſel.* And being a great Pretender to *Revelations*, he ſoon after told them, *That as he was praying for a Bleſſing from God on his Undertaking to reſtore the King to his priſtine Majeſty, his Tongue cleav'd to the Roof of his Mouth, that he cou'd not ſpeak one Word more*; *which he took as a* Return of Prayer, *and that God had rejected him from being King.* And to compleat his Character, to others he impudently aſſerted, *That it was lawful to circumvent a wicked Man with Deceit and Fraud.* And that nothing might be wanting to finiſh the *Glorious Cauſe that God had OWN'D*, a godly Virgin was brought out of *Herefordſhire*, who appearing

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before the General and Council of War at *White-Hall*, declar'd, *She had a Revelation from God, whereby ſhe was incited to encourage them to go on in their Deſigns:* Of which they made no ſmall Advantage, approving of it as the moſt ſeaſonable *Revelation* of that Time. Thus all Things grew ripe for the Grand Deſign; while the Interpoſition of the Prince and the States of *Holland*, and all the Endeavours of the Queen from *France*, cou'd by no Means hinder or divert it.

The Death of Biſhop Towers,

Dr. Hudſon,

Dr. Fell,

The Lord Herbert,

Sir Robert Holborn,

Mr. White,

And Mr. Forbes.

With this melancholy Poſture of Affairs, we ſhall conclude the old Year and Month of *December*, and a little relax the Reader's Thoughts with an Account of ſome conſiderable Men, who were ſo happy as to die before the moſt diſmal Part of the Tragedy was acted: And firſt Dr. *John Towers*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*, educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and juſtly remov'd through ſeveral Preferments into his Biſhoprick; of which being depriv'd by the prevailing Powers, he dy'd in a low and obſcure Condition. Beſides him, there dy'd two other eminent Divines, Dr. *Michael Hudſon*, and Dr. *Samuel Fell*; The firſt, of whom mention was formerly made, was one of the King's Chaplains, who had ſhewn himſelf no leſs remarkable for his Valour and Martial Enterprizes, than for his Scholarſhip and Divinity: He frequently accompany'd the King in the Wars, who uſually call'd him his *Plain-Dealing Chaplain*, becauſe he freely told him his Mind, when others wou'd not, or durſt not do it; and, after a ſtrange Variety of Fortune, he was barbarouſly murder'd this Year by the Rebels in *Northamptonſhire*. The latter, Dr. *Fell*, was Dean of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and the *Margaret* Profeſſor of Divinity in the ſame Univerſity, a ſtrict Obſerver of Diſcipline, and a noble Pattern of Charity; who being ejected from his Preferments, and ſuffering much for his Loyalty, and his preſerving the Statutes and Liberties of the Univerſity, he dy'd in great Obſcurity. *Edward* Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury* is particularly to be remember'd; a Perſon who by his Parts and Abilities rais'd himſelf to this Dignity: He was well skill'd in Arts and Languages, a good Philoſopher, and an Hiſtorian, who underſtood Men as well as Books; but was more particularly celebrated for his accurate Hiſtory of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth. Nor muſt we forget that excellent Lawyer, Sir *Robert Holborn*, who had formerly ſhew'd his great Parts and Knowledge in his Pleadings againſt the *Ship-mony*, yet afterwards wrote a noble Defence of the King and Royaliſts. Being in a dying Condition a little before the King was ſeiz'd in the Iſle of *Wight*, he ſent his Majeſty a Paper with this Advice, as his laſt Legacy; 'That if ever he came to an Agreement with the Parliament, in Behalf of the Crown, as well as his Subjects in general, he wou'd make it an Article, *That the two Houſes ſhou'd as much be ſworn to ground their Proceedings upon the Laws in Being, till they were repeal'd or alter'd by others, as the Kings were ſworn to them at their Coronation.*' We are to mention another Sort of a famous Man, Mr. *John White*, a famous *Puritan* Divine, uſually called the *Patriarch of Dorcheſter*, where he was for many Years Miniſter, and where he ſhew'd an excellent Faculty in the clear and ſolid Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures: He was a Man of great Gravity, Preſence, and Influence in his Party, for ſeveral Years; and one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, where he prov'd himſelf one of the moſt learned and moderate amongſt them. Laſtly we ſhall mention Mr. *John Forbes*, a moſt learned *Scotch* Divine, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Aberdeen* in *Scotland*, which Profeſſorſhip had been founded by his Father, who was Biſhop of the Place. His Parts were very pregnant, and his Learning of vaſt Extent, and highly admired by Foreigners; notwithſtanding which, he was driven from his Chair by the *Covenanters*, and forc'd into *Holland*, from whence he return'd, and dy'd obſcurely in his own Country.

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The Commons Charge againſt the King.

VII. I. We are now arriv'd at the fatal Month of *January*, dark and hideous beyond any that preceded it in the whole War, and ſuch as cannot be parallel'd in the Annals of any other King's Reign. It began with an unheard-of Charge prepared by a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, which they call'd 'An Impeachment of High-Treaſon againſt *Charles Stuart* King of *England*,' digeſted into ſeveral Articles, which contain'd all thoſe Calumnies they had formerly heap'd up in that Declaration of *Non-Addreſſes*, with ſome additional Reproaches. After it was read and approv'd by the Commons, it was ſent to the Houſe of Peers for their Concurrence; which Houſe was much diminiſh'd both in Number and Eſteem. It was now believ'd that they who had done ſo many extravagant Things, purely in Compliance with the Commons, wou'd likewiſe concurr with them in this, rather than divide from them when they were ſo triumphant. But contrary to this Expectation, this Impeachment was ſo ill receiv'd by the Lords, that there was not one Perſon aſſented to it; but having with ſome Warmth rejected it, they adjourn'd for nine Days; preſuming by this Means to give ſome Interruption to the Career of the lower Houſe, and in that Time to find ſome Expedient to reconcile the Proceedings of both Houſes. But in this they were wholly deceiv'd; for tho' ſome of the Commons mov'd for an Impeachment againſt them *for thus favouring the grand Delinquent*, yet the reſt were generally well pleas'd, and rightly thought they had given them that Eaſe, which they cou'd not ſo well have contriv'd for themſelves. So they proceeded in their own Method, and when the Day came to which the Lords had adjourn'd themſelves, they found all their Doors lock'd, and ſecur'd with Padlocks, ſo that there ſhou'd be no more Entrance for them.

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The Lords reject it, and are excluded

The Commons Votes.

They erect an High Court of Juſtice.

Upon the Lords Refuſal, on the fourth of *January* they voted, 'Firſt, That the People were, under God, the Original of all juſt Power: Secondly, That the Commons of *England*, being choſen by, and repreſenting the People, were the Supream Power of the Nation: Thirdly, That whatſoever is Enacted or Declared for Law by the *Houſe of Commons*, aſſembled in Parliament, hath the Force of Law, tho' the Conſent of the King and Houſe of Peers be not had thereunto.' So much being ſettled and agreed upon, they next conſider'd in what Manner and Form to proceed, that there might be ſome Appearance of Reaſon and Juſtice. Nothing cou'd be found in the *Common* or *Statute-Law*, which cou'd afford them any Directions or Warrant; nor cou'd any Example or Precedent aſſiſt them; and therefore they were to make and erect a Form, new and altogether unheard-of. Accordingly they conſtituted and created a Court that ſhou'd be call'd *The High Court of Juſtice*, to conſiſt of ſo many, who ſhou'd have Authority to try the King, Whether he were guilty of what he was accus'd of, or no; and in Order thereto, to examine ſuch Witneſſes as ſhou'd be produc'd. The Number of the Judges nominated were a hundred and thirty five, of which twenty or more might proceed. They cou'd not find ſuch a Number among themſelves, upon which they might intirely depend in this laſt tragical Act: And therefore they laid this for a Ground, That if they ſhou'd make only their own Members to be Judges in this Caſe, they might appear too much Parties in the Eyes of the World, as having from the Beginning maintain'd a War againſt the King, and therefore not ſo proper to be the only Judges who were in the Fault. On the other Hand, if they ſhou'd name none of themſelves, it might be thought that they look'd upon it as too dangerous a Province to engage themſelves in, and therefore wou'd diſcourage others from undertaking it. Wherefore, to ſhew their Impartiality, they reſolv'd that the Judges ſhould be nominated promiſcuouſly, as well of Members of the Houſe, as of ſuch other of their good and godly Men in the Kingdom. All the chief Officers were nam'd, and ſuch Aldermen and Citizens of *London* as had been moſt violent againſt Peace, with ſome few Country Gentlemen, who had been ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd by their Zeal and Fidelity to this extraordinary Cauſe.

Bradſhaw *made Preſident of it.*

When ſuch a Number of Perſons were nam'd as were thought to be equal to the Work, tho' about fifty of them refus'd to act, they made Choice of a Speaker or Prolocutor, whom they call'd *Lord Preſident* of that High Court, who was to manage Proceedings, examine Witneſſes, and anſwer what the Priſoner ſhould propoſe. To which Office one Mr. *John Bradſhaw* was choſen, a Lawyer of *Gray's-Inn*, whom they had lately made a Serjeant, not much known in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; tho' of good Practice in his Chamber, and not a little employ'd by the Faction. He was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in *Cheſhire* and *Lancaſhire*, but of a Fortune of his own making; not without Parts, but of great Inſolence and Ambition. He ſeem'd much ſurpris'd, and modeſt in declining ſo important a Charge, and with Humility accepted of the Office, which he afterwards adminiſter'd with all imaginable Pride, Impudence and Superciliouſneſs. He was immediately inveſted in great State, and many Officers and a Guard aſſign'd for the Security of his Perſon, and the Dean's Houſe at *Weſtminſter* given to him for ever, for his Habitation; and about five Thouſand Pounds in Mony was to be preſently paid to him, to put himſelf in ſuch an Equipage and way of Living, as the Dignity of that high Office required: So that now the *Lord Preſident* of the *High-Court of Juſtice* ſeem'd to be the greateſt Magiſtrate in the Kingdom. After this, they made Choice of ſome Lawyers, obſcure Men, ſcarce heard of in their Profeſſion, to perform the Offices of *Attorney-General*, and *Solicitor-General* for the State, to proſecute the Priſoner at his Tryal, and to manage the Evidences againſt him. Other Officers, of all Kinds, were appointed to attend this new Court, which was order'd to be erected in *Weſtminſter-Hall.*

They make Proclamation againſt the King.

And that theſe their ſanguinary Proceedings might carry the more Shew of Authority, upon the 9th of *January* they ſent *Dandy* their Serjeant at Arms with his Mace, accompany'd with ſix Trumpets on Horſeback into *Weſtmiſter-Hall*; where, among great Guards of Soldiers, he made ſolemn Proclamation, ‘ That if any Man had ought to alledge againſt *Charles Stuart*, they ſhould repair the following Day, at two a Clock Afternoon, into the *Painted-Chamber*, where they ſhou'd be heard.’ The like Proclamation he made at the *Exchange*, and other publick Places in *London*. The ſame Day alſo they voted, That Writs ſhould no longer run in the King's Name; and for the making of a new *Great-Seal*, with the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, the *Croſs* and *Harp*, on one Side, with this Circumſcription, THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND; and on the other Side the *Figure of the Parliament*, with this Circumſcription, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, 1648.

Almoſt all Parties interpoſe againſt it.

2. Theſe unheard-of Proceedings allarm'd the whole Nation, and confounded the wiſeſt Heads of three Kingdoms; the Mouths of vaſt Numbers were fill'd with Murmurs and Complaints, and their Minds with Indignation and Reſentment. Almoſt all the *Presbyterian* Miniſters of *London*, and very many out of the ſeveral Counties, and a few of the *Independents* themſelves, declar'd againſt the Deſign in their Sermons from the Pulpit, in Conferences, Monitory Letters, Petitions, Proteſtations, and publick Remonſtrances. They earneſtly begg'd, ‘ That contrary to ſo many *Imprecations* and *Oaths*, contrary to publick and private Faith confirm'd by *Declarations* and *Promiſes*, contrary to the Law of *Nations*, thoſe of *Nature*, and the *Commands of Scripture*, nay, and contrary to the *publick Good* of the *Kingdom*, they would not defile their own Hands and the Kingdom with *Royal Blood.*’ But now they had loſt their Miniſterial Authority by being ſo ſubſervient to the Faction, that they needed not their Aſſiſtance, and ſo all their Admonitions were deſpiſed: Beſides, the very ſame Principles they had preach'd to kindle the War, were now ſharply retorted upon them, and with great Acuteneſs made uſe of to juſtify the intended Murder. The People alſo contemn'd them for their Short-ſightedneſs, in being the little Inſtruments of ſuch Men, and in ſuch Practices, as in Time muſt of Neceſſity ruin them and all Miniſters, as well as the King and the Biſhops. The *Scots* alſo by their Commiſſioners declar'd and proteſted againſt this Attempt. The States of *Holland*, by their Ambaſſadors, interceded, as a Deſign deſtructive to the Proteſtant Intereſt. Some of the moſt eminent of the Nobility, as the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Earl of *Lindſey*, neglected no Ways, either by Prayers, or Ranſom, to ſave the ſinking King; and more, they generouſly offer'd Themſelves, as being the prime Miniſters of the King's Commands, as *Hoſtages* for him, and if the Conſpirators muſt needs be fed with Blood, to ſuffer in his ſtead for whatſoever he had done amiſs. The Prince us'd all Ways and Means to deliver his Father, and wrote a moſt pathetical Letter to General *Fairfax*; and beſides the States Ambaſſadors, whom he had procur'd, both He and the Prince of *Orange* daily ſent as Agents the Kindred and Relations of *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the other Conſpirators, with full Power to propoſe any Conditions, make any Promiſes, and uſe any Threatnings, to divert, prevent or retard their intended Cruelty.

Scaffolds erected in Weſtminſter-Hall.

But all theſe Attempts were in vain, and no Conditions of Peace could ſatisfy them who were poſſeſs'd with lawleſs and boundleſs Deſires; yet ſtill they pretended the *Calls* and *Ducts of Providence*, and the *Impulſes of the Bleſſed Spirit*, as their grand Warrant and Security. And now being arm'd with a Force ſufficient to ſubdue all Oppoſers, on the tenth of *January*, the Commiſſioners of the *High Court of Juſtice* ſat formally in the *Painted Chamber*, to receive Informations from ſuch, whom they had then prepar'd to come in for that Purpoſe: From which Time, for the Space of nine Days, theſe Commiſſioners had conſtant Meetings, to frame and ſettle the ſpecial Order and Form for executing of that their wretched Deſign. In the mean Time they erected a bloody Theatre at the upper End of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the Tragedy was to begin with unuſual Pomp and Solemnity. They took extraordinary Care in the Ordering of the Seats and Scaffolds, in the fixing of Soldiers and Guards in every particular Place and Paſſage, even to the Leads and Windows of the Hall, and for the keeping all Spectators at a proper Diſtance; not ſo much for the Security of the King's Perſon, as the Safety of their own; and all their cautious Proceedings ſhew'd that they had Fears within and without, and on every Side. And they had the more Reaſon to be careful, ſince a particular Deſign had been detected againſt their Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*, by one *Burghill*, who being diſcover'd, was ſeiz'd and brought before the Commiſſioners, being in the greateſt Danger of his Life; but by means of the Drunkenneſs of the Guards, he found an Opportunity to eſcape. And more than that, he was ſo conſcious of this unprecedented Action, that beſides other Defence, he wore a thick high-crown'd Beaver-Hat lin'd with plated Steel, to ward off Blows he might juſtly expect: Which Hat has been ſince ſent as a Rarity to the *Muſæum* at *Oxford*, with a *Latin* Inſcription upon it, to preſerve the Hiſtory of ſuch a Relique.

The Names of the King's Judges,&c.

The Commiſſioners that actually ſat or aſſiſted as Judges upon the King's Tryal, were Seventy Nine in Number, namely, Serjeant *Bradſhaw* Preſident, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, Commiſſary-General *Ireton*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Col. *Harriſon*, Col. *Whally*, Col. *Pride*, Col. *Ewer*, Col. *Ingoldsby*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, Lord *Munſon*, Sir *John Danvers*, Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Sir *John Bowcher*, Sir *James Harrington*, Mr. *Henningham*, Alderman *Pennington*, Col. *Harry Marten*, Col. *Purefoy*, Col. *Berkſtead*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Col. *Ludlow*, Col. *Hutchinſon*, Col. *Tichborne*, Col. *Roe*, Col. *Scroop*, Col. *Okey*, Mr. *Holland*, Mr. *Allen*, Mr. *Pelham*, Mr. *T. Challoner*, Mr. *J. Challoner*, Col. *Moore*, Mr. *Alured*, Col. *Laſſels*, Mr. *H. Smith*, Mr. *Edwards*, Mr. *Fray*, Mr. *Clement*, Mr. *Wogan*, Sir *Gregory Norton*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Col. *Harvey*, Mr. *Dove*, Col. *Venn*, Alderman *Scot*, Alderman *Andrews*, Mr. *Cawley*, Col. *Stapely*, Mr. *Liſle*, Mr. *Miles Corbet*, Col. *Fleetwood*, Col. *J. Temple*, Col. *P. Temple*, Col. *Wayte*, Col. *Walton*, Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Say*, Col. *Thomlinſon*, Mr. *Blackiſtone*, Mr. *Millington*, Col. *Downes*, Col. *Horton*, Col. *Hammond*, Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Potter*, Mr. *Garland*, Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Mr. *Dixwell*, Mr. *Mayne*, Mr. *Blagrave*, Col. *R. Lilburne*, Col. *Deane*, Col. *Hewſon*, Lieut. Col *Goffe*, Mr. *Carew*, and Mr. *Jones*. For Counſellors to this Court, and to draw up the Charge againſt the King, were Dr. *Doriſlaus*, Mr. *Steel*, Mr. *Aske*, and Mr. *Coke*, beſides two Clerks, Mr. *Phelps* and Mr. *Broughton*; *Dandy* was their Serjeant at Arms; their Door-Keepers and Meſſengers were Mr. *Walford*, Mr. *Radley*, Mr. *Pain*, Mr. *Powell*, Mr. *Hull*, and Mr. *King* the Crier. There were many Commiſſioners nominated, that refus'd to act or ſit in Judgement, to the Number of fifty two, whoſe Names the Reader may deſire to know, as the Speaker *Lenthal*, General *Fairfax*, Major-General *Skippon*, Alderman *Fowlks*, Alderman *Atkins*, Sir *William Alliſon*, Sir *William Armyn*, Mr. *Aiſlaby*, Sir *John Barrington*, Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *Godfrey Boſvile*, Mr. *Burrel*, Sir *Edward Bainton*, Mr. *Berners*, Mr. *Bond*, Mr. *Boone*, Mr. *J. Corbet*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Col. *Duckenfield*, Mr. *Darley*, Col. *Desborough*, Col. *Fenwick*, Serjeant *Thorp*, Mr. *Fagge*, Mr. *Gratwick*, Mr. *Gourdon*, Sir *Thomas Honywood*, Mr. *Hill*, Lord *Liſle*, Col. *Lambert*, Mr. *Lawry*, Mr. *Mildmay*, Sir *William Maſham*, Col. *Manwaring*, Mr. *Nelthorp*, Serjeant *Nicholas*, Col. *Overton*, Sir *William Roberts*, Mr. *Nut*, Mr. *Reynolds*, Col. *Rigby*, Mr. *R. Salway*, Mr. *H. Salway*, Col. *Sidney*, Mr. *Skinner*, Mr. *Trenchard*, Mr. *Thorp*, Sir *Peter Temple*, Mr. *Weaver*, Col. *Wilſon*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, and Mr. *Weſton*.

Thoſe who did not act.

The King remov'd to St. James's.

3. During theſe Preparations, the King was remov'd from *Windſor* to St. *James*'s, under the Conduct of Colonel *Harriſon*, which Place he had never ſeen ſince the Year 1641, when the Tumults had driven him from his Court and Parliament. In his Journey, *Harriſon* obſerving that the King had always an Apprehenſion that there was a fix'd Deſign to murder him, and that he had once dropp'd ſome Words *of the Odiouſneſs and Wickedneſs of ſuch an Aſſaſſination, which could never be ſafe to the Perſon who undertook it*, he told him plainly, *That he needed not to entertain any ſuch Imagination; that the Parliament had too much Honour and Juſtice to cheriſh ſo foul an Intention*; and aſſur'd him, *That whatever the Parliament reſolv'd to do, would be very publick, and in a way of Juſtice, to which the World ſhould be Witneſs; and would never endure a Thought of ſecret Violence:* Which his Majeſty could not perſuade himſelf to believe; nor did he imagine that they durſt ever produce him in the Sight of the People, under any Form of a publick Tryal.

His Uſage there.

At St. *James*'s, the King was deliver'd into the Hands and Cuſtody of Colonel *Tomlinſon*, a Colonel of the Foot, who tho' he ſeem'd to be a Man of better Breeding, and of a Nature more civil than *Harriſon*, and pretended to pay much Reſpect and Duty to the King in his outward Demeanour, yet his Majeſty, after a ſhort Time, was treated with greater Rudeneſs and Barbarity than he had ever been before. Indeed they were ſo jealous of their own Guards, leſt they ſhould be wrought upon by the Influence of his Piety and Innocency, or by the Remorſe of their own Conſcience upon the Account of ſuch inſufferable Uſage, that they cauſ'd the Guards to be continually chang'd; and the ſame Men were never ſuffer'd twice to perform the ſame unheard-of Duty. Being much abridg'd both of his former Diet and Attendance, he ſhew'd no publick Uneaſineſs at it, but only ſaid calmly, *Is there any thing more contemptible than a deſpis'd Prince*? Still he could hardly believe the worſt of his Fate, as being ſo tranſcendently infamous; but he continu'd his accuſtomed Prudence and Patience, ſo as no outward Perturbation could be diſcern'd, with Chriſtian Fortitude ſubmitting to the good Pleaſure of the Almighty, ſometimes ſighing, but never breaking out into any Paſſion, or uttering a reproachful or revengeful Word againſt any of his profeſs'd Enemies, only ſaying, *God forgive their Impiety*. Thus he continu'd till the 19th Day of *January*, when he was remov'd to *White-Hall*, and to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe near *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in order to his laſt and fatal Tryal.

The preſent State of the Nation.

And here we may make a little Reſt, and juſtly take Notice of the State of the Nation, and the Parties at this Period, as they are repreſented by a conſiderable Writer at this Time. 'The *Presbyterians*, who were the firſt Fomenters of the *Rebellion*, who once made honeſt Men *Malignants* to them, are now made *Malignants* to worſe *Rebels* themſelves: The *Lords*, who were once ſo forward to vote *Biſhops* out of their Houſe, are now thrown out of their Houſe by their *Companions* in Rebellion, having hitherto been us'd as the vileſt Inſtruments of the common People. Thoſe Members that at firſt were ſo active in the Cauſe, and eſteem'd as Pillars of the Common-wealth, and Fathers of their Country, are now driven out of the Verge of the Houſe, and thrown away as *Rotten Members*: *Waller*, *Maſſy*, *Brown*, and other great *Champions of Reformation*, are now look'd upon as *Enemies to the Common-wealth*, impriſon'd, and to be proceeded againſt as *Traytors*: *Eſſex*, their magnanimous Heroe, was at beſt but carry'd to his Grave with a few Compliments, where he lyes forgotten; ſcarce worth an *Epitaph*: *Carew* and the *Hothams* receiv'd the Reward of their Rebellion upon *Tower-Hill*, from the Hands of their Fellow-Traytors: The *Covenant*, the Idol and *Stalking-Horſe* of Rebellion, is caſt into the Fire as an *Almanack* out of Date: The new modell'd *Aſſembly* with their *Calvinian Levites*, thoſe furious *Rabſhekaes*, breathing from their Pulpits Blaſphemy againſt God and his Anointed, and poſſeſſing the People with the Spirit of Sedition and Madneſs, now are look'd upon both with Envy and Contempt, as the *Caterpillars* and *Locuſts*, that devour not only the Subſtance, but the Souls of the People: The *City*, that Parliament *Prop*, the Refuge and Sanctuary of *Sedition*, the grand Artillery and Magazine of *Confiding Men*, the Inn and Hoſpital of all their *maimed Soldiers*, and the common *Purſe* and *Exchequer* together, is now look'd upon as the *only Remora to Reformation*, a diſaffected Place, and fill'd with their Enemies: That *Army* which they rais'd and ſent into the Boſom of the Kingdom for the Deſtruction of *Monarchy*, is now crept into their own Bowels, threatning and reputing their Ruin and Devaſtation, the only Warrant of their Security: That *City* that could not live ſatisfy'd under the proſperous Government of *Kings*, who gave them their *Charter*, muſt live patiently in Bondage to thoſe *Tyrants*, that will take it from them, and level their high *Privileges* to a miſerable *Community*. Thus all, that will not ſhut their Eyes, may ſee innumerable Judgments, and expreſs Marks of the Divine Vengeance falling upon the ſeveral Parties, and Actors in this Rebellion.'

THE TRYAL OF THE KING.

VIII. 1. All Things being prepar'd, and a Theatre erected to begin the grand Tragedy, on *Saturday* the 20th of *January* the principal Actors met firſt in the *Painted-Chamber*; where upon the landing of the King from *White-Hall* to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe, *Cromwell* caſting his Eye upon his Majeſty with ſome Apprehenſion, immediately put this Queſtion to the Commiſſioners: *The firſt Thing the King will demand of us will be*, '*By what Authority we bring him before us*;' *what ſhall we ſay, by whoſe Authority*? After a little Pauſe, *Harry Marten* briſkly reply'd, *In the* NAME *and* AUTHORITY *of the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, and all the Good People of* England: So true an Enemy he was to Kingly Government, as he afterwards declar'd in a particular manner. After this they remov'd into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, under the Name and Title of the *High-Court of Juſtice*: After reading of the Ordinance, the Names of the Commiſſioners, as Judges, were call'd over: Every Man anſwering to his Name as he was call'd, and the Preſident being firſt call'd and making Anſwer, the next who was call'd being the General, Lord *Fairfax*, and no Anſwer being made, the Officer call'd him the ſecond Time, when there was a Voice heard that ſaid, *He had more Wit than to be there*, which put the Court into ſome Diſorder; and ſome asking who it was? there was no other Anſwer but a little Murmuring. But ſoon after, when the Impeachment was read, and that Expreſſion us'd, *In the Name of all the good People of* England, the ſame Voice, in a louder Tone, cry'd out, *No not the hundredth Part of them!* Upon which one of the Officers bid the Soldiers give Fire into that Box from whence thoſe preſumptuous Words were utter'd. But it was quickly diſcern'd that it was the General's Wife, the Lady *Fairfax*, that ſhew'd this uncommon Bravery, notwithſtanding ſhe had too much promoted the Nation's Miſeries; but was ſoon perſwaded, or forc'd to leave the Place, to prevent any new Diſorder.

The Firſt Day.

Sixty ſeven Commiſſioners anſwer'd to their Names; and then the Court commanded the Serjeant at Arms to ſend for their Priſoner, who was brought up in the Face of the Court by Colonel *Tomlinſon*, under a ſtrong Guard, and deliver'd to the Serjeant at Arms, who conducted him to the Bar, where a Crimſon Velvet Chair was ſet before him. After looking upon the Court with a ſtern ſort of Majeſty, and upon the People in the Galleries on each Side of them, he plac'd himſelf in the Chair, without any moving of his Hat; all the impudent Judges ſitting cover'd, and fixing their Eyes upon him without the leaſt Shew of Reſpect. The King preſently roſe up again, and turn'd about, looking downwards on the Guards and Multitudes of Spectators. Being again plac'd in his Chair, and Silence proclaim'd, *Bradſhaw* the Preſident acquainted him, 'That the Commons of *England*, aſſembled in Parliament, being deeply ſenſible of the Evils and Calamities that had been brought upon the Nation, and of the innocent Blood that had been ſpilt in it, which was fix'd upon him as the principal Author, had reſolv'd to make Inquiſition for this Blood; and according to the Debt they did owe to God, to Juſtice, to the Kingdom, and Themſelves, and according to the fundamental Truſt repos'd in them by the People, had reſolv'd to bring him to Tryal and Judgment, and had therefore conſtituted that Court of Juſtice before which he was then brought, where he was to hear his Charge, *upon which the Court would proceed according to Juſtice*.' Upon which Mr. *Cook*, the Solicitor, offer'd to ſpeak; but the King holding up his Cane, and ſoftly laying it upon *Cook*'s Shoulder two or three times, bid him *Hold*: But, at the Command of the Preſident, *Cook* proceeded, and in the Name and Behalf of the People of *England*, exhibited a Charge of High-Treaſon, and other high Crimes, and did therewith accuſe the ſaid *Charles Stuart* King of *England*; praying that the ſaid Charge might be receiv'd and read, and due Proceedings had thereupon. The King interrupted the Reading of it; but the Clerk, at the Command of the Court, read out the Charge, concluding, 'That the ſaid *Charles Stuart* hath been, and is the Occaſion, Author and Continuer of the ſaid unnatural, cruel and bloody Wars; and therein guilty of all the Treaſons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Deſolations, Damages, and Miſchiefs to this Nation, acted and committed in the ſaid Wars, or occaſion'd thereby.' The King ſmil'd at the foul Appellations of *Tyrant*, *Traytor*, &c. which were given him in the Charge; but ſhew'd no other Mark of Reſentment or Indignation.

Bradſhaw, after he had inſolently reprehended the King for not ſhewing more Reſpect to that High Tribunal, told him, 'That the Parliament of *England* had appointed that Court to Try him for the ſeveral Treaſons and Miſdemeanors which he had committed againſt the Kingdom during the Evil Adminiſtration of his Government; and that upon the Examination thereof, Juſtice might be done.' And after much Sawcineſs of Talk, he ask'd the King *What Anſwer he had to make to that Impeachment*? The King, without any Alteration in his Countenance by all that Provocation, told them, 'He wou'd firſt know of them, by what Authority they preſum'd by Force to bring Him before Them, and who gave them Power to judge of his Actions, for which he was accountable to none but God, tho' they had been always ſuch as he need not be aſham'd to own them before all the World.' He told them, 'That He was their King, they his Subjects, who ow'd him Duty and Obedience: That no Parliament had Authority to convene him before Them; but, that they were not the *Parliament*, nor had any *Authority*

The King's General Defence.

‘ *thority* from the Parliament to ſit in that Manner. That ‘ of all the Perſons who ſat there, and took upon them to ‘ judge him (except ſome of the Officers of the Army, ‘ whom he cou’d not but know while he was forc’d to be ‘ among them) there were but three or four Faces which ‘ he had ever ſeen before, or whoſe Names were known ‘ to him.’ And after urging their Duty to him, and his Superiority over them, by ſuch Reaſons and Arguments as were not capable of any Anſwer, he concluded, ‘ That ‘ he wou’d not ſo much betray *Himſelf*, and his *Royal* ‘ *Dignity*, as to anſwer any Thing they objected againſt ‘ him, which were to acknowledge their *Authority*; tho’ ‘ he believ’d that every one of *Themſelves*, as well as the ‘ *Spectators*, did in their own Conſciences abſolve him ‘ from all the *Material Things* which were objected againſt ‘ him.’ *Bradſhaw*, in a very arrogant Manner, advis’d him, ‘ Not to deceive himſelf with an Opinion, that any ‘ Thing he had ſaid wou’d do him any good: That the ‘ *Parliament* knew their own *Authority*, and wou’d not ‘ have it ſuffer’d to be call’d in Queſtion or debated: ‘ Therefore *requir’d* him, To think better of it againſt he ‘ ſhou’d be next brought thither, and that he wou’d anſwer ‘ directly to his Charge; otherwiſe, he cou’d not be ſo ‘ ignorant as not to know, what Judgment the Law pronounc’d againſt thoſe that ſtood Mute, and obſtinately ‘ refus’d to plead.’ So the Guard carry’d his Majeſty back to Sir *Robert Cotton*’s Houſe, where he was to continue during the whole Time of his Tryal.

Accidents the firſt Day. The King’s Deportment was very Majeſtick and Steady; and tho’ his Tongue did uſually a little heſitate, yet it was very free at this Time, and he was never diſcompos’d in Mind, as he declar’d to Biſhop *Juxon*, who attended him afterwards. Yet he confeſs’d to him, That one Incident ſhock’d him very much; for while he was leaning in the Court upon his Cane, which had a Head of Gold, the Head broke off on a ſudden, without any viſible Reaſon: He took it up, but ſeem’d unconcern’d; yet told the Biſhop, *It really made a great Impreſſion upon him; and he never cou’d poſſibly diſcover how it ſhou’d happen.* When *Bradſhaw* commanded the Guard to take him away, he with an auſtere Countenance, reply’d, *Well, Sir!* and going down, he with his Cane pointed to the Sword upon the Table, and ſaid, *I do not fear That!* The Spectators were very numerous to behold this melancholy Sight, many of whom with bleeding Hearts and weeping Eyes lamented the miſerable Fate of this pious Prince. Others ſhew’d ſo barbarous and brutal Behaviour to him, that they call’d him *Tyrant* and *Murtherer*, and one of the Soldiers in his Paſſage ſpit on his Face; which his Majeſty wip’d off with his Handkerchief, and mildly ſaid, *My Saviour ſuffer’d far more than this for Me.* At his Return from the Court, one Soldier, calling out *God bleſs you, Sir*, the King courteouſly thank’d him; upon which an Officer ſtruck the poor Man over the Head; which his Majeſty obſerving ſaid, *The Puniſhment exceeded the Offence.* And indeed all Care was taken that none ſhou’d ſhew him any Reverence or Reſpect; and *Hugh Peters* and *Axtel*, upon every Occaſion, mov’d the Soldiers to cry out *Juſtice, Juſtice! Execution, Execution!* Upon which the King ſaid to Mr. *Herbert*, *He did not wonder at it, being well aſſured that the Soldiers bore no Malice to him: The Cry was, no doubt, given by their Officers, for whom they wou’d do the like, were there Occaſion.*

2. The next Day, being *Sunday*, vaſt Numbers of People came from the City to *Weſtminſter* to ſee the King, but being under ſtrong Guards, they were diſappointed. His Majeſty ſpent the greateſt Part of that Day in the moſt ſolemn Devotions; and on *Monday* was brought to *Weſtminſter-Hall* as before, where *Cook* the Solicitor mov’d *The Second Day.* the Court, ‘ That the Priſoner might give a poſitive Anſwer to his Charge, or otherwiſe that the Court wou’d ‘ take the Matter of it *pro Confeſſo*, and proceed thereupon according to Juſtice:’ Which was preſs’d upon the King by *Bradſhaw* the Preſident, and their Judgment made known to him, ‘ That he was to anſwer to his ‘ Charge, otherwiſe that his Contumacy wou’d be recorded.’ The King ſtill inſiſted upon his former Plea ‘ That the Court had no Power, nor the Commons of ‘ *England*, if they had conſtituted it, to proceed againſt ‘ Him.’ Then he told them, *That he pleaded the Cauſe of the People of* England, *as well as of Himſelf; and therefore deſired to be heard*; declaring *That Power without Law cou’d never make a Law*; and going to give his Reaſons, which he had in Writing, he was interrupted by *Bradſhaw*, who boldly requir’d his intire Submiſſion to the Court, whoſe Authority might not be diſputed. The King inſiſted upon the Laws of the Land, and told them, *That he knew as much Law as any Gentleman in* England, *and pleaded for the Liberties of the People more than they did.* Then being again interrupted by *Bradſhaw*, he bid him *remember that he deny’d to hear his King*, and aſk’d him *What Kind of Court that was, where Reaſon cou’d not be heard:* The other inadvertently, but with great Truth, told him, *That he ſhou’d find it there.* The King ſtill refuſing, and inſiſting *That the Houſe of Commons not being a Court of Judicature, cou’d not erect one*, his Contempt was recorded, Himſelf ſent back, and the Court adjourn’d till the next Day. This ſecond Day of Tryal paſs’d in the Preſence of Seventy Commiſſioners.

The third Day ſeventy one Commiſſioners appear’d; *The Third Day.* when the King being brought, and the ſame Cries made of *Juſtice* and *Execution* as formerly, *Cook* addreſſing Himſelf to the Court, repeated the ‘ former Delays and Contempts of the Priſoner, ſo as that no more needed on his ‘ Part, but to demand Judgment; yet offer’d, notwithſtanding the Notoriety of the Facts charg’d in the Impeachment, to prove the Truth of the ſame by Witneſſes, if thereto required; and therefore pray’d, and yet ‘ not ſo much He, *as the Innocent Blood that had been ſhed*, ‘ *the Cry whereof was very Great*, that a ſpeedy Sentence ‘ might be pronounc’d againſt the Priſoner at the Bar according to Juſtice.’ Hereupon *Bradſhaw* with uncommon Aſſurance put the King in mind of former Proceedings, ‘ And tho’ by the Rules of Juſtice, if Advantage was ‘ taken of his paſt Contempts, nothing cou’d remain but to ‘ pronounce Judgment againſt him, they had nevertheleſs ‘ determin’d to give him leave to anſwer to his *Charge*, ‘ and plainly told him, *That Juſtice knew no Reſpect of* ‘ *Perſons*, therefore he muſt plead *guilty* or *not guilty* to the ‘ Charge.’ The King ſaid, *As to the Charge he valued it not a Ruſh; it was the Liberty of the People of* England *he ſtood for*; and complain’d, ‘ That when he was in Treaty, ‘ upon the publick Faith of the Kingdom, with the two ‘ Houſes of Parliament, he was hurry’d away and brought ‘ hither.’ *Bradſhaw* twice interrupted him, and inſolently told him, *That the Court crav’d it not of him, but once more commanded him to give his poſitive Anſwer*; and order’d the Clerk to do the ſame. The King ſtill deny’d the Juriſdiction of the Court, and ‘ declar’d it againſt the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; and that he had done ‘ nothing againſt the *Truſt* that had been committed to him.’ At laſt *Bradſhaw* told him, ‘ That he had now a third Time ‘ publickly diſown’d and affronted the Court; That how good ‘ a Preſerver he had been of the Fundamental Laws and ‘ Freedoms of the People, his Actions had ſpoken; *that he* ‘ *had written his Meaning in bloody Characters throughout* ‘ *the Kingdom*, and that he ſhou’d find at laſt, tho’ at preſent he wou’d not underſtand it, that he was before a ‘ *Court of Juſtice*. Hereupon he order’d the Clerk to record the Priſoner’s Default, and ſo the Court adjourn’d, and ſate in private in the *Painted Chamber*.

On *Wedneſday*, the 24th of *January*, the Court ſat in the *Painted Chamber* upon a ſort of a mock Examination of Witneſſes againſt the King; where theſe wretched Fellows following gave in their formal Depoſitions, as taken upon Oath, ſome of which were impertinent, and others falſe and inconſiſtent. *The Witneſſes againſt the King.* *William Cuthbert* of *Patrington*, in *Holderneſs*, Gent. *John Bennet* of *Harwood*, in the County of *York*, Glover. *William Brayne* of *Wixall*, in the County of *Salop*, Gent. *Henry Hartford* of *Stratford* upon *Avon*. *Robert Lacy*, of the Town of *Nottingham*, Painter. *Edward Roberts* of *Biſhop’s-Caſtle*, in the County of *Salop*, Ironmonger. *Robert Loads* of *Cottam*, in *Nottinghamſhire*, Tyler. *Samuel Morgan* of *Wellington*, *Com’ Salop*, Feltmaker. *James Williams* of *Roſs*, in *Herefordſhire*, Shoemaker. *John Pyneger* of *Hayner*, in the County of *Darby*, Yeoman. *Samuel Lawſon* of *Nottingham*, Malſter. *Arthur Young*, of the City of *London*, Barber-Chirurgeon. *Thomas Whittington* of *Nottingham*, Shoemaker. *John Thomas* of *Llangellen*, in the County of *Denbeigh*, Husbandman. *Richard Blomfield* of *London*, Weaver. *William Jones* of *Usk*, *Com’ Monmouth*, Husbandman. *Humphry Brown* of *Whitſondine*, in the County of *Rutland*, Husbandman. *David Evans* of *Abergenny*, *Com’ Monmouth*, Smith. *Diogenes Edwards* of *Carſton*, in the County of *Salop*, Butcher. *Gyles Gryce* of *Wellington*, *Com’ Salop*, Gent. *John Vinſon* of *Damorham*, in the County of *Wilts*, Gent. *George Seely* of *London*, Cordwainer. *John Moore* of *Cork*, in *Ireland*, Gent. *Thomas Ives* of *Boyſet*, in the County of *Northampton*, Husbandman. *Thomas Rawlins* of *Hanſlope*, in the County of *Bucks*, Gent. *Thomas Read* of *Maidſtone*, in *Kent*, Gent. *James Crosby* of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, Barber. *Samuel Burden* of *Lyneham*, in the County of *Wilts*, Gent. *Michael Potts* of *Sharpereton*, in the County of *Northumberland*, Vintner. *George Cornwall* of *Aſton*, in the County of *Hereford*, Ferry-man. *Henry Gooche* of *Gray’s-Inn*, Gent. *Robert Williams* of St. *Martins*, in the County of *Cornwall*, Husbandman. *Richard Price* of *London*, Scrivener. In all thirty three in

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in Number, call'd and rak'd out of fifteen ſeveral Counties, beſides two out of *Ireland*; whoſe Names are inſerted only to be recorded upon Infamy, Men of the meaneſt Condition, and the moſt profligate Lives; and ſcarce one who aſſum'd the Name of a Gentleman, had any Title to it, either by Birth or Merit.

Several Deaths propos'd.

3. While theſe Things were acted openly in the View of the People, the mercileſs Judges, in their private Meetings and Cabals, proceeded to allot every one the Part he was to act, what Words and Geſtures they were to uſe; conſulting together about the Time, Place, Kind, and all the Manner and Solemnity of the intended Murder: Where it is ſtrange to mention what diſmal Kinds of Death were propos'd, before the Sentence, according as the Wantonneſs, Cruelty, or Hatred of the ſeveral Tempers did ſuggeſt. Some voted that his Head and Quarters might be ſet up in Publick Places, a Puniſhment inflicted upon Traitors, as a laſting Infamy after their Death: Some wou'd have him hang'd, after the Manner of Murderers, Robbers and common Thieves: Others again were of Opinion that he ſhou'd ſuffer in his Crown and Robes, as an eternal Monument of the Power of the People over their King. At length the Majority agreed, that it was ſufficient he ſhou'd loſe his Head upon a Scaffold to be erected before the *Banqueting-Houſe* of *White-Hall*, 'That 'from the ſame Place where he us'd to mount the Throne, 'and appear in the ſacred Pomp of Majeſty, he might paſs 'on to the Block, and caſt off the Ornaments of Royalty, 'where he was commonly inveſted with them.' This was the Triumph and theſe the Trophies of a victorious Revenge. And becauſe ſome imagin'd, that the King wou'd not ſubmit his Neck to the Ax of his Subjects, they order'd Iron Rings and Staples to be made on the Scaffold, that if he refus'd, he might be drawn down to the Block by his Head and Hands.

The Fourth and Laſt Day.

After two Days private Conſultations, when all Men's Minds were fill'd with Horror or Wonder, they had their fourth and laſt Meeting in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where their Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw* was now array'd in a Scarlet Gown, the Sight of which gave the King a plain View of his enſuing Fate; which was further manifeſted to him by the more vehement Cries of the Soldiers for *Juſtice* and *Execution*. *Bradſhaw* ſtood up, with an Intention of addreſſing to the People, and not to the King, who had ſo often declin'd the Juriſdiction of the Court; which the King obſerving, earneſtly mov'd he might be heard before Judgment was given; *for a haſty Judgment was not ſoon recall'd.* Upon which the other with a ſawcy Air bid him *Hear the Court firſt*; but at laſt did allow that he ſhou'd be heard after he had heard them. Then he fell to enumerating the Priſoner's ſeveral Contempts and Defaults; yet notwithſtanding they did allow he ſhou'd be heard, what he had to ſay in Defence of himſelf concerning the Matter charg'd; provided he did not call in Queſtion the Juriſdiction of the Court. Whereupon the King declar'd, *That if he had had Reſpect to his* Life, *more than to the* Peace *of the Kingdom, and the* Liberty *of the Subject, he certainly ſhou'd have made a particular* Defence; *for by that at leaſt he might have delay'd a hard Sentence, which he believ'd wou'd paſs upon him: But now having ſomething to ſay that concerns* Both, *he deſir'd, before Sentence, to be heard in the* Painted Chamber *before the Lords and Commons.* He inſiſted *that this Delay cou'd not be prejudicial to them*; *and if they refus'd this, he proteſted, That thoſe fair Shews of* Liberty *and* Peace *were pure Shews, and that they wou'd not hear their King.* *Bradſhaw* told him 'That this 'was declining the Juriſdiction of the Court, which was '*Supream*, and tended to ſet up another, or a *Co-ordinate* '*Juriſdiction* in Derogation of the Power whereby the 'Court ſat, and to the manifeſt Delay of their Juſtice.' The King anſwer'd to that Particular, and declar'd, *That if he did ſay any Thing before the Houſes, that was not for the* Peace *of the Kingdom, and* Liberty *of the Subject, then the Shame ſhou'd be his.*

The King's vehement urging of this Point, which ſeveral believe was with Deſign to reſign his Kingdoms to his Son, had ſome Effect upon the Court; and Colonel *Downs* ſaid to *Cawly* and *Walton*, who ſat next to him, *What, have we Hearts of Stone? Are we Men?* They telling him, *He wou'd ruin both himſelf and them*, he ſaid, *If he dy'd for it, he muſt do it.* *Cromwell* ask'd him *What he meant to do?* but ſtill he perſiſted, and declar'd to the Preſident, *That he had ſomething to offer againſt the Sentence*, and deſir'd the Court to adjourn. Upon which *Bradſhaw* ſaid, *If any of Court be unſatisfied, it muſt adjourn*: Accordingly it was adjourn'd for a while into the inner *Court of Wards*; where Colonel *Downs* alledg'd ſeveral Things in the King's Favour, and particularly objected, 'That none 'of the Witneſſes had given in their Evidences *Viva Voce*, 'but only in Writing; and more particularly the King's 'deſiring to ſpeak with the Parliament was but reaſonable.' *Cromwell* fell into a Fury, and ſaid *It was not fit that the Court ſhou'd be hinder'd from their Duty by one peeviſh Man*; *and if the Bottom was known, he wou'd fain ſave his old Maſter*, and deſir'd the Court, without more delay, wou'd go and do their Duty. Others fell upon him with ſufficient Severity; and all that the Colonel gain'd by his Tenderneſs was nothing but Reproaches and Threats to harden him to go through the Remainder of their Villany with them, which at laſt had their Effect. They Voted, 'That what the King had mov'd only tended to Delay;' yet ſeveral of the Commiſſioners were of a contrary Opinion, deſiring to know what the King wou'd ſay to them. But it was voted in the Negative by the Major Part; whereupon ſome of them, ſtung with the Terrors of their own Conſciences, went away in Diſcontent.

The Court adjourns.

164$\frac{8}{9}$. Car. 24.

The reſt being return'd into the Court, the Preſident told the King, 'That he had in Effect receiv'd his Anſwer be'fore the Court withdrew, and that their Judgment was, 'as to his Motion, the ſame as to him before declar'd: 'That the Court acted, and were Judges appointed by the '*Higheſt Authority*, and that *Judges were no more to delay*, '*than to deny Juſtice*, according to a Maxim in the old '*Charter* of *England*: That their Duty call'd upon them 'to avoid farther Delays, and to proceed to Judgment; 'which was their unanimous Reſolution.' To which the King reply'd, and ſtrongly inſiſted upon his former Deſires: 'He confeſs'd a Delay, but it was a Delay very important 'for the Peace of the Kingdom, which he look'd upon as 'much as his own Perſon: Therefore he requir'd them, '*as they wou'd anſwer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment*, '*that they wou'd conſider it once again.*' In anſwer to this *Bradſhaw* poſitively told him, 'That they had fully before 'conſider'd of this Propoſal, and muſt give him the ſame 'Anſwer to his renew'd Deſires, and that they were ready 'to proceed to Sentence, if he had nothing more to ſay.' Whereupon the King ſubjoin'd, *He had nothing more to ſay*; *but deſir'd that what he had ſaid might be enter'd.* Then *Bradſhaw* proceeded in a long inſolent Harangue, endeavouring to juſtify their Proceedings, miſapplying both Law and Hiſtory, taking up and wreſting whatever he thought fit for his Purpoſe, alledging the Examples of former Treaſons, both at home and abroad: He told him, *to acquit the Guilty, was of equal Abomination as to condemn the Innocent*; adviſ'd him to a ſerious Repentance, and concluded him to be a *Traitor*, a *Tyrant*, a *Murtherer*, and a *Publick Enemy* to the *Common-wealth* of *England*. All which the King heard with his uſual Patience; and when he interpos'd to ſpeak *concerning the great Imputations laid to his Charge*, he told him, *His Time was paſt*, and ſo having order'd the Charge to be recited, he proceeded to Sentence, namely, 'This Court doth adjudge, that the ſaid *Charles* '*Stuart*, as a *Tyrant*, *Traitor*, *Murtherer*, and *Publick* '*Enemy*, ſhall be put to Death by the ſevering his Head 'from his Body.' While the Preſident was pronouncing this, the King was obſerv'd with a ſort of a Smile to lift up his Eyes to Heaven, as appealing to the Divine Majeſty, the moſt ſupreme Judge; and when he offer'd to ſpeak, he was interrupted and hurry'd away; and in his Paſſage to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe, he was entertain'd with new Cries of *Juſtice*, Scoffs and Affronts by the Soldiers, who blew the Smoke of Tobacco in his Face, which was very diſtaſteful to him; all which he bore with the moſt Heroick Patience.

Sentence paſs'd upon the King.

Obſervations upon it.

Thus ended the King's Tryal, if it may be ſo call'd, when there was neither *Law* nor *Evidence* on one Side, nor *Pleading* nor *Acknowledgment* on the other; in all which the King ſhew'd a Magnanimity never to be forgotten, and has been highly applauded for being ſo inviolably ſteady to the fundamental Conſtitution of the Kingdom. And Mr. *Clement Walker*, a *Presbyterian* who had vaſtly contributed towards his Misfortunes, obſerves, 'That 'cou'd they have brought the King to have ſubmitted to 'the Juriſdiction of this Court, his Example wou'd have 'been urg'd as an irrefragable Precedent againſt the Lives 'and Liberties of the whole Kingdom, and urg'd to be of 'as great Authority, as if he had eſtabliſh'd that Court by Act 'of Parliament: But in that was their great Defeat; *ſo that*, 'as this Author acknowledges, *the King is to be look'd on* '*as a Civil Martyr, dying for the Liberty of the People.*' The bloody Sentence was paſs'd on *Saturday* the 27th of *January*; but we muſt not forget a Paſſage out of Sir *Roger Manley*, that the very ſame Morning, *Bradſhaw*'s Wife, ruſhing into her Husband's Chamber, fell upon her Knees at his Feet, and juſt diſſolv'd in Tears and Sighs, beſought her Husband, *That he wou'd have nothing to do with his Majeſty, nor Sentence this Earthly King, for fear of the dreadful Sentence of the King of Heaven. You have no Child*, continu'd ſhe, *and why ſhou'd you do ſuch a monſtrous Act to favour*

The Perſons conſenting to it.

others? But *Bradſhaw* bidding her get about her Buſineſs, added, *I confeſs he has done me no harm, nor will I do him any, but what the Law commands.* So wretchedly was this unthinking Man miſ-led in the Buſineſs of his own Profeſſion; but being ſurpris'd with an Imagination of being the chief Magiſtrate in the Land, his Head became ſo intoxicated, that he prov'd one of the moſt inſolent as well as infamous of Mankind. The reſt of the Judges that ſat when Sentence was given, and formally ſtood up to teſtify their Aſſent, were ſixty-ſix in Number, namely, *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Liſle*, *Say*, *Waller*, *Bourchier*, *Heveningham*, *Pennington*, *Marten*, *Purefoy*, *Barkſtead*, *Tomlinſon*, *Blackſtone*, *Millington*, *Conſtable*, *Ludlow*, *Hutchenſon*, *Liveſey*, *Tichborne*, *Roe*, *Lilburn*, *Scroop*, *Deane*, *Okey*, *Hewſon*, *Goffe*, *Holland*, *Carew*, *Jones*, *Corbet*, *Allen*, *Pelham*, *Blagrave*, *Walton*, *Harriſon*, *Whalley*, *Pride*, *Ewers*, *Grey* of *Groby*, *Danvers*, *Maleverer*, *Moore*, *Alured*, *Smith*, *Edwards*, *Clement*, *Wogan*, *Norton*, *Harvey*, *Ven*, *Scot*, *Andrews*, *Cawley*, *Stapeley*, *Downes*, *Horton*, *Hammond*, *Love*, *Potter*, *Garland*, *Dixwell*, *Fleetwood*, *Mayne*, the two *Temples*, and *Wayte*.

The King's Preparation for Death.

His Deſires.

IX. 1. This unheard-of Tryal being ended, which ſtruck the Eyes and Ears of all Men with Amazement, the King employ'd his whole Thoughts in preparing for Death, which he now found was inevitable. Nothing of the Fear of Death, or Indignities offer'd, ſeem'd a Terror, or provok'd him to Impatience; nor did he uſe one reflecting Word upon his Judges, tho' ſome who ſat in Court he knew had been his Domeſtick Servants, as *Mounſon*, *Mildmay*, *Danvers* and *Holland*. At the Riſing of the Court, he was with a Guard of Halberdiers return'd to *White-Hall* in a cloſe Chair, through *King's-ſtreet*, lined on both Sides with a ſtrong Guard of Foot Soldiers, who were ſilent as his Majeſty paſs'd the Street: But the Shops and Windows were fill'd with great Numbers of People, many of them cover'd with Tears, and ſome with audible Voices praying for the King, who through the *Privy-Garden* was carry'd to his Bed-Chamber; from whence, after two Hours Space, he was remov'd to St. *James*'s. Here he deſir'd two Things, That he might have Liberty to ſee his Children, and that Dr. *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, might be admitted to aſſiſt him in his private and laſt Devotions. This being ſignified to the preſent Governors, the former was readily granted, but the latter with ſome Difficulty. Being now reſolv'd to ſequeſter himſelf from all outward Impediments, he order'd Mr. *Herbert* to make an Excuſe to any that might have the Deſire to viſit him: *I know*, ſaid he, *my Nephew, the Prince* Elector, *will endeavour it, and ſome other Lords that love me, which I take very kindly; but my Time is ſhort and precious, and I deſire to improve it the beſt I can in Preparation: I hope they will not take it ill, that none have Acceſs to me but my Children: The beſt Office they can do now, is to pray for me.* And it happen'd accordingly; for his Electoral Highneſs, accompany'd by the four loyal Lords, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, with ſome more, having got leave, came to the Bed-Chamber Door, where Mr. *Herbert* acquainted them with what the King had given him in Charge; at which they acquieſc'd, and preſenting their humble Duty to his Majeſty, they return'd with all the Marks of Grief and Sorrow.

The Concern in the City, &c.

The next Day, being *Sunday*, was ſpent by the King in the moſt profound Devotions; tho' he was ſometimes interrupted by Meſſages, and other Times by the Queſtions, Cavils and Petulancy of the Enthuſiaſtick Soldiers; all which he either repreſs'd by Arguments, or eluded by a generous Neglect. In the mean Time, the Miniſters in the ſeveral Churches of *London*, and in thoſe other Parts where his Danger was known, were very earneſt in their Prayers to God for his Deliverance and Spiritual Aſſiſtance. Some of them in their Sermons declar'd, 'the Horror of 'that publick Sin that was ready to be committed, de'teſted the Impiety of the Parricides, and denounc'd the 'heavy Judgments which ſuch a ſinful Nation, polluted 'with their Prince's Blood, were to expect.' The Congregations were generally melted and diſſolv'd into Tears. Some bewail'd the 'deplorable Condition of the King, as 'the Effect of the Sins of the Nation:' Others curs'd 'their ſottiſh Credulity of the Slanderers of that juſt 'Man; and all the ſpecious Promiſes of *Liberty* by their 'Impoſtors:' And another Sort wept, 'becauſe their 'Fears prognoſticated a Deluge of Miſeries, which the 'Fountain of his Blood wou'd let in upon them:' And 'every one found Matter of Grief, Fear and Indignation, 'in the Loſs of a Prince, whoſe Character appear'd 'brighter every Day.' All Countenances were fill'd and clouded with Sadneſs and Aſtoniſhment; there were no Tumults, nor any Quiet, every one liſtening and hearkning, either as impatient to know the Greatneſs of their Miſery, or greedy to receive ſome Hopes of Comfort in their Sovereign's Safety: Otherwiſe there was a Stillneſs like that produc'd by too ſtrong Paſſions, and ſuch as might rather be thought a Stupidity than a Calmneſs; and among the many thouſands in the City, and elſewhere, that were moſt willing, not one of them was able to give the leaſt Aſſiſtance to their King; and indeed many of the former Incendiaries were ready to teſtify their Repentance, but now were totally diſabled from making the leaſt Reſtitution.

Propoſals to the King,

Rejected.

On the ſame Day ſome of the Grandees and Leaders came to the King, and tender'd to him a Paper Book, with Promiſe of Life, and ſome Shadow of Regality, in Caſe he wou'd ſubſcribe it; which contain'd many Particulars deſtructive to the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, to the Laws of the Land, and to the Liberties and Properties of the People. Of which one was, 'That he ſhou'd paſs an Act 'for keeping on foot their Army during the Pleaſure of 'ſuch as they ſhou'd nominate to be entruſted with the '*Militia*; with Power from Time to Time, to recruit and 'continue them, to the Number of Forty Thouſand 'Horſe and Foot, under their preſent General and Officers; and that the *Council of War* ſhou'd have Power to 'make Choice of new Officers, and Generals, from 'Time to Time, as Occaſion ſhou'd happen, and they 'think fit; as alſo to ſettle a Tax upon the People, by 'Way of *Land-Rate*, for ſupporting the ſame Army, to 'be collected and levy'd by the Soldiers themſelves; and 'for the Eſtabliſhing a Court-Marſhal of extraordinary 'Extent.' But ſo ſoon as his Majeſty had read ſome few of thoſe Tyrannous Propoſals, he threw them aſide with Indignation, ſaying, *That he wou'd rather become a* Sacrifice *for his People, than thus to betray their Laws, Liberties, Lives and Eſtates, with the Church, the Common-Wealth, and Honour of the Crown, to ſo intolerable a Bondage of an armed Faction.*

Cromwell's Kinſman's Diſcourſe with him.

About the ſame Time there arriv'd Colonel *John Cromwell*, nearly related to the great *Oliver*, with credential Letters from the States of *Holland*, to which was added a Blank, with the King's Signet, and another of the Prince's, both confirm'd by the States, for *Oliver* himſelf to write his own Conditions, if he wou'd now ſave the Life of the King. The Colonel found out his Kinſman at his Houſe, but ſo retired and ſhut up in his Chamber, with an Order that none ſhou'd know he was within, that he was with great Difficulty admitted, after he had declar'd his Name. After mutual Salutations, and deſiring a Word in private, the Colonel began freely to tell the other of the Heinouſneſs of the Fact, then ready to be committed, and how deteſtable it reſounded abroad, adding, *That of all Men living he never cou'd have imagin'd that he wou'd have been concern'd in it, having in his Hearing proteſted ſo much for the King.* Whereupon *Cromwell* flew to his old Shifts, telling him, *It was not He, but the Army*; he own'd *he did once ſay ſome ſuch Words, but Times were alter'd, and Providence ſeem'd to diſpoſe Things otherwiſe; that he had pray'd and faſted for the King, but no Return that Way was yet made to him.* Whereupon the Colonel, ſtepping back, ſuddenly ſhut the Door, which frighted the other with the Belief of an Aſſaſſination; and then pulling out his Papers, *Couſin*, ſaid he, *this is no Time to trifle with Words. See here, it is now in your own Power not only to make your Self, but your Family, Relations and Poſterity, happy and honourable for ever; otherwiſe as they have chang'd their Name before from* Williams *to* Cromwell, *ſo now they muſt be forc'd to change it again; for this Fact will bring ſuch an Ignominy upon the whole Generation of them, that no Time will be able to deface.* Here *Cromwell* paus'd, and ſeem'd to reflect with himſelf, and then ſaid, *Couſin, I deſire you will give me till Night to conſider of it, and do you go to your Inn, and not to Bed, till you hear from Me.* This the Colonel obſerv'd, and about one a Clock in the Night, a Meſſenger came and told him, *He might go to Reſt, and expect no other Anſwer to carry to the Prince, for the Council of Officers had been* SEEKING GOD, *as he alſo had done the ſame, and it was reſolv'd by them all that the King muſt dye.*

Biſhop Juxon repairs to the King.

2. The King long expected the Biſhop of *London*, who was not admitted to come to him till *Sunday* in the Evening, tho' allow'd by the Parliament to attend his Majeſty; but ſome of the *London* Miniſters were admitted, as Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caryl*, Mr. *Dell*, and Mr. *Goodwyn*, who offer'd their Spiritual Aſſiſtance; but after a handſome Return of Thanks, he let them know that he had made Choice of Dr. *Juxon* for that Purpoſe, and ſo civilly diſmiſs'd them. As ſoon as that good Biſhop appear'd, the King receiv'd him with great Openneſs and Chearfulneſs; but the other began with ſome condoling Expreſſions, ſuitable to the melancholy Occaſion. His Majeſty quickly anſwer'd, *Leave off this, my Lord, we have*

not Time for it: Let us think of our great Work, and prepare to meet that great God, to whom ere long I am to give an Account of my ſelf; and I hope I ſhall do it with Peace, and that you will aſſiſt me therein. We will not talk of theſe Rogues *in whoſe Hands I am; they thirſt after my Blood, and they will have it, but God's Will be done: I thank God, I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more.* And ſo for two or three Hours the Biſhop and He conferr'd together; and tho' they ſhut the Door, a Soldier wou'd open it once in half a quarter of an Hour, to ſee whether the King was ſafe, and ſo ſhut it again. They were interrupted by the Arrival of Mr. *Seamour*, a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, who by Colonel *Hacker*'s Permiſſion came to the Door, deſiring to ſpeak with his Majeſty from the Prince his Son. Being admitted, he preſented the King with a Letter from his Highneſs, bearing Date from the *Hague*, *January* the twenty-third old Stile. Mr. *Seamour*, at his Entrance, was overwhelm'd with Paſſion, having formerly ſeen his Majeſty in a glorious, and now in a doleful State; and having kiſs'd the King's Hand, he claſp'd about his Legs, and utter'd ſuch mournful Sighs, that *Hacker*, the King's Keeper, was deeply touch'd and affected. But as ſoon as the King had read his Son's melancholy Letter, and heard what his Servant had to ſay, and imparted to him what he thought fit in return, he took his leave; and ſo the Biſhop proceeded in his Devotions, and the Reading ſome ſelect Paſſages in the Sacred Scripture.

Mr. Seamour *comes to him.*

The King ſends to the Lady Wheeler.

That Evening the King took a Ring from his Finger, and gave it to Mr. *Herbert*; it contain'd an Emerald ſet between two Diamonds, and order'd him, as late as it was, to go with it to the Lady *Wheeler*, living then in *Channel-Row* in *Weſtminſter*, without Naming her Name, and to give it her, without ſaying any Thing. The Night was exceeding dark, and ſtrong Guards ſet in ſeveral Places, as St. *James*'s-Houſe, the Garden, Park, Gates near *Whitehall*, *King's-Street*, and other Avenues. But learning the Word from Colonel *Tomlinſon*, the ſuperior Officer, whoſe Civility to the King had ſenſibly increas'd, this Gentleman paſs'd currently through all the Guards; and being arriv'd at the Lady's Houſe, he deliver'd her the Ring. She courteouſly receiving it, in a little Time brought him a Cabinet, ſecur'd with three Seals, of which two were the King's Arms, deſiring him *to deliver it to the very ſame Hand that had ſent her the Ring.* Mr. *Herbert* return'd ſafely, and deliver'd the Cabinet to the King, who after his Devotions the next Morning, open'd it before the Biſhop and him; and ſhewing there ſome Diamonds and Jewels, with ſome broken *Georges* and Garters, he ſaid, *You ſee all the Wealth now in my Power to give to my two Children.*

The King's Children come to him.

Shortly after the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter* her Brother, came to take their ſad Farewel of the King their Father; and to ask his Bleſſing; the former being thirteen, and the latter eight Years of Age. The Princeſs, a Lady of excellent Underſtanding, was moſt ſenſible of her Royal Father's Condition, and cou'd not withhold from a Flood of Tears; and her little Brother ſeeing her weep, he took the like Impreſſion, tho' by reaſon of his tender Age he cou'd not have the like Apprehenſion. The King rais'd them both from off their Knees, kiſs'd them, and gave them his Bleſſing; then ſetting them upon his own Knees, he admoniſh'd them concerning their Duty and Loyal Obſervance to the Queen their Mother, the Prince his Succeſſor, Love to the Duke of *York*, and his other Relations. He wiſh'd the Princeſs *not to grieve or torment her Self for Him, for that wou'd be a glorious Death he ſhou'd dye, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion; and that he doubted not but the Lord wou'd ſettle his Throne upon his Son, and that they ſhou'd be all happier than they cou'd have expected to have been if he had liv'd.* Then he bid her to *read Biſhop* Andrews'*s Sermons*, Hooker'*s Eccleſiaſtical Polity, and Biſhop* Laud'*s Book againſt* Fiſher; *which wou'd ground her againſt Popery.* He told her, *That he had forgiven all his Enemies, and deſir'd them alſo to forgive them, but never to truſt them, for they had been moſt falſe to him, and to thoſe that gave them Power; and he fear'd alſo to their own Souls.* He particularly and ſolemnly bid her *tell Mother, That his Thoughts had never ſtray'd from Her, and that his Love ſhou'd be the ſame to the laſt.* After theſe and other Things he ſaid, *Sweet Heart, you will forget this: No*, ſaid She, *I ſhall never forget it whilſt I live*; and pouring out abundance of Tears, promis'd him to write down the Particulars. Then holding the Duke of *Gloceſter* on his Knee, he ſaid, *Now they will cut off thy Father's Head*, at which Words the Child look'd very ſtedfaſtly upon him; *Mark, Child, what I ſay; They will cut off my Head, and perhaps make Thee a King: But mark what I ſay, You muſt not be a King as long as your Brothers* Charles *and* James *do live: For they will cut off your Brothers Heads, when they can catch them, and cut off thy Head too at laſt; and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by Them.* At which the Child ſighing ſaid, *I will be torn in Pieces firſt:* Which, falling from one ſo young, exceedingly pleas'd the King; who now gave them all his Jewels, except the *George* he wore, which was cut in an Onyx with great Curioſity, and ſet about on each Side with twenty one fair Diamonds. Then with Kiſſes, Embraces, and his laſt Bleſſing, they parted from him in ſuch a ſorrowful Manner, as mov'd the Hearts and Souls of the very Keepers.

His Diſcourſe with them.

The Warrant for the King's Execution.

The Perſons that Sign'd it.

3. All this Day was imploy'd by the pretended Judges, or at leaſt the Leaders and Managers among them, in Conſultation how to perfect and compleat the Tragedy of the next; and fifty nine of them agreed both to Sign and Seal a bloody Warrant, particularly directed to Colonel *Francis Hacker*, Colonel *Huncks*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Phray*, and to every of them, 'Willing and Requiring them to ſee 'the *Sentence* given upon *Saturday* laſt executed in the '*Open Street* before *Whitehall*, upon the *Morrow*, being 'the 30th Day of this Inſtant Month of *January*, between 'the Hours of ten in the Morning, and five in the Afternoon of the ſame Day, *with full Effect:* Requiring alſo 'all Officers, Soldiers and others, the *Good People* of this 'Nation of *England*, to be aſſiſting in this Service.' They that ſeal'd and ſubſcrib'd it were *Bradſhaw*, *Grey* of *Groby*, *Cromwell*, *Whally*, *Liveſey*, *Okey*, *Danvers*, *Bourchier*, *Ireton*, *Maleverer*, *Blakeſtone*, *Hutchinſon*, *Goffe*, *Pride*, *P. Temple*, *Harriſon*, *Hewſon*, *Smith*, *Pelham*, *Mayne*, *Horton*, *Jones*, *Moore*, *Waller*, *Millington*, *Fleetwood*, *Alured*, *Lilburn*, *Say*, *Stapeley*, *Deane*, *Tichburn*, *Edwards*, *Blagrave*, *Roe*, *Purefoy*, *Scroop*, *J. Temple*, *Garland*, *Ludlow*, *Martin*, *Potter*, *Conſtable*, *Ingoldsby*, *Cawley*, *Berkſtead*, *Ewers*, *Dixwell*, *Walton*, *Norton*, *Chaloner*, *Wogan*, *Venn*, *Clement*, *Downs*, *Wayte*, *Scot*, *Carew* and *Corbet*. In this Order they ſtood, only with the *Chriſtian* Names before them, in this execrable Warrant; the Original of which was afterwards diſcover'd, and ſtill remains a Blot and Record of Infamy to this Nation. And indeed an Act of Parliament has ſince branded them and their Aſſiſtants with the Name of a '*Party of Wretched Men*, 'deſperately wicked, and hardned in their Impiety; *Miſ*'*creants*, who were as far from being *True Proteſtants*, as 'they were from being *True Subjects*.

There were others beſides theſe, who were as deeply ingag'd, but acted with more Privacy and behind the Curtain, among which *Saint John* and *Vane* ſtand charg'd; and indeed this whole Day's Work was acted with all the Secrecy and Darkneſs that cou'd be imagin'd: And yet moſt of the Actors ſeem'd ſtill to have had ſome Inclination to ſave the King's Life, if they cou'd have had ſome ſpecial Terms of Security, *&c.* Concerning which I have receiv'd from a good Friend a Manuſcript Teſtimonial of Mrs. *Thornton*, a *Yorkſhire* Gentlewoman, Daughter to Sir *Chriſtopher Wandesford*, who had been Deputy-Governor of *Ireland* under the Earl of *Strafford:* It is a *Relation of a Meeting at Mr.* William Wandesford *her Father's Brother's Houſe in* London, *on the 29th Day of* January, 1648. The Perſon was generally eſteem'd for her Worth and Piety; and has given this following Account, worthy of the Reader's Notice. 'Not long after the Death of the 'King, being in Company with the ſaid Mr. *Wandesford*, 'and ſome others, condoling and condemning the bloody 'Fact, he told Me, There happen'd to be a *Cabal* or *Meeting* 'of ſeveral Perſons at his Houſe the Day before that Tragedy 'was acted, about the Execution of it, as he underſtood afterwards, to his great Grief that ſuch an odious Conſult ſhou'd 'be within his Walls. The Particulars of whoſe Relation 'were as follows. That Mr. *Ruſhworth*, Author of the '*Collections*, &c. came to him ſome Days before the ſaid 'Conſult, and deſir'd the Liberty of a large Room in his 'Houſe for that Day, to give him the Key of the Door, '*That He, and his ſaid Company might meet privately, paſs and repaſs, without Trouble, Entertainment or Attendance.* 'This, he ſaid, he cou'd not deny him in reſpect of their 'mutual Friendſhip, and ſome paſt Civilities; yet the Care 'that was taken for ſuch a Convenience, and the Caution 'us'd to tranſact it ſo ſecretly, made him not a little wonder, and ſo curious as to obſerve them. The Company 'came in the Morning, not together, but One by One, 'and were above a Dozen in Number: Particularly he 'knew the Lord *Baltimore*, and Mr. *William Lilly*, and 'ſaw others, ſuſpected by him to be *Papiſts*; which ſtrange 'Mixture did much amaze him. Towards the Evening he 'took Notice, that Mr. *Ruſhworth* and another went out, 'and ſtaid about two Hours before they return'd, and then 'preſently after the Company broke up.

A private Relation of what paſs'd the Day before the King's Death.

'That a few Days after, Mr. *Ruſhworth* meeting him, 'gave him Thanks for his late Civility; and He caſting

164$\frac{8}{9}$. Car. 24.

‘out ſome Words by Way of Enquiry about the meeting there at that Time, Mr. *Ruſhworth* freely told him, That the Perſons there met, were THE CLOSE COMMITTEE to conſult about the King's Execution; That He and another were order'd to wait on his Majeſty, *and uſe all their Art and Arguments, to perſuade him to recede ſomething from his former reſolute Stiffneſs in inſiſting ſo much upon his own Innocency, and Charging the Guilt of all the Blood ſhed in the late Wars upon the Parliament, and to own Himſelf, at leaſt in ſome Meaſure, to have been the Cauſe thereof, and ſo juſtify their Proceedings; which if he wou'd do,* All of Them, *from whom they came, promis'd to ſerve him to their utmoſt, and to ſet him upon his Throne again*; but that he obſtinately rejected the Offer, *as moſt unreaſonable and unjuſt*, and ſaid, *That he cou'd not do it without manifeſt Wrong to his* Honour, *and his* Cauſe, *and* Conſcience; *and if he could not have his Life but upon ſuch baſe Compliance, he was contented to die.* So, *when they could*, as he ſaid, *do no Good on him, being reſolv'd to perſiſt in his wilful Way*, they bid him provide for Death, *for the next Day the Sentence paſs'd upon him ſhould be executed:* At which he ſaid, *God's Will be done!* and they left him.’ Such is the Account given by a Perſon of unqueſtion'd Reputation, who dy'd in the Year 1705, of which the Reader is left to make his own Judgment.

All this Day the King eat and drank very ſparingly, a great Part of it being ſpent in Prayer and Devotion; and it was ſome Hours after Night before the Biſhop took leave of his Majeſty, who deſir'd him to be early with him next Morning. The fatal Warrant being ſign'd, that Night Colonel *Hacker*, who commanded the Guards about the King, would have plac'd two Muſqueteers in the King's Bed-Chamber, which being told to his Majeſty, he made no Reply, only gave a deep Sigh: However the good Biſhop and Mr. *Herbert* apprehending the Horror of it, and Diſturbance it would give the King in his ſolemn Preparations, and having repreſented the Barbarouſneſs of ſuch an Act, they never would deſiſt, till the Colonel had withdrawn theſe Men. Before the Biſhop's Departure, the King ſaid, *My Lord, I muſt remember one, that has had Relation to you and Me: Tell my Son* Charles, *that he has been an uſeful and honeſt Man to me.* Being retired to his Lodging, the King continu'd reading and praying more than two Hours after; and after that commanded Mr. *Herbert* to lye by his Bed-ſide upon a Pallat, where that Gentleman could take but very little Reſt; but the King ſlept ſoundly for about four Hours, as having nothing to fear, nothing to diſcompoſe him the next Day.

Hacker's *Deſign.*

About two Hours before Day he awak'd, and calling to Mr. *Herbert*, he bad him riſe, *For*, ſaid his Majeſty, *I will get up, having a great Work to do this Day:* Herbert, *this is my Second Marriage Day; I would be as trimm to Day as may be; for before Night I hope to be eſpous'd to my bleſſed* Jeſus. And then appointing what Cloaths he would wear, he ſaid, *Let me have a Shirt on more than ordinary, for the Seaſon is ſo ſharp as probably may make me ſhake, which ſome Obſervers will imagine proceeds from Fear. I would have no ſuch Imputation: I fear not Death! Death is not terrible to me: I bleſs my God I am prepared.* Being got up, and Biſhop *Juxon* being come according to Promiſe, the King deliver'd to Mr. *Herbert* a Bible, in which he had writ many Annotations and Quotations with his own Hands, ‘charging him to give it to the Prince as ſoon as he return'd, and That he would be *dutiful* and *indulgent* to the Queen his Mother, *affectionate* to his Brothers and Siſters, who were alſo to be *obſervient* and *dutiful* to Him their *Sovereign:* And for as much as from his Heart he had forgiven his Enemies, and would leave the World in perfect Charity with all Men, he had adviſ'd his Son to *exceed in Mercy, not in Rigour:* And as to *Epiſcopacy*, it was ſtill his Opinion, That it is of *Apoſtolick Inſtitution*, and in this Kingdom exercis'd from the *Primitive Times*; and therein, as in all other Affairs, pray'd God to vouchſafe him a pious and *diſcerning Spirit*, both in Reference to *Church* and State; and that it was his *laſt* and *earneſt Requeſt*, that he would frequently read the Bible, which in all the Time of his Affliction *had been his beſt Inſtructor and Delight.*’ Then making ſome preſents of Books, a Sun-Dial Ring, and a Gold Watch, to his Children, the Earl of *Lindſey*, and the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, he bad Mr. *Herbert* withdraw, and retir'd in private with the Biſhop. Then *Herbert* being call'd in, the Biſhop proceeded to the Service of the Day, and read the 27th of St. *Matthew*, the Hiſtory of our Saviour's Paſſion. The King ſuppoſing it had been ſelected on purpoſe, thank'd him for his ſeaſonable Choice; but the Biſhop modeſtly told him, *It was the Leſſon appointed by the Calendar for that Day:* which highly pleas'd the King as a Providential Preparation for his Paſſion; and ſo with great Satisfaction he took the bleſſed Sacrament.

The King's Advice to his eldeſt Son.

164$\frac{8}{9}$. Car. 24.

JANUARY. XXX.

4. All Things being now prepar'd, there began the laſt Scene of this Tragedy, on *Tueſday* the 30th of *January*, a Day melancholy and diſmal beyond any that *England* had ever yet beheld. About Ten in the Morning Colonel *Hacker* knocking ſoftly at the King's Chamber-Door, he let him know with a trembling Voice *that it was Time to go to* White-Hall, *where his Majeſty might have ſome further Time to reſt.* The King came out with the Biſhop and Mr. *Herbert*, to the latter of whom he gave his Silver Clock; and paſſing through the Garden, went into the Park, where ſeveral Companies of Foot were drawn up, who made a Guard on either Side as the King paſs'd. The King was alſo guarded by many Halberdiers before and behind, and walk'd between the Biſhop and Colonel *Tomlinſon*, both bare-headed. His Majeſty walking very faſt, bid them go faſter, ſaying, *He now went before them to ſtrive for a Heavenly Crown, with leſs Solicitude than he had often encourag'd his Soldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.* One of the Commanders by the way, thinking to diſturb him, ask'd him, whether he was not conſenting to his Father's Death; *Friend*, ſaid he, *If I had no other Sin (I ſpeak it with Reverence to God's Majeſty) I aſſure Thee, I would not ask him Pardon.* At the End of the Park the King went up the Stairs leading to the *Long Gallery*, and ſo into the *Cabinet-Chamber*; where they permitted Him and the Biſhop to be alone for ſome Space. While he was at his private Devotions, *Nye* and ſome other bold Miniſters knock'd at the Door, and the Biſhop opening it, they told him, They came to offer their Service to pray with the King. When the King declin'd their Service, and they became more importunate, and ſeem'd to require an Anſwer, his Majeſty ſaid, *Then thank them from Me for the Tender of Themſelves: But tell them plainly, that they, that have ſo often and cauſeleſly pray'd againſt me, ſhall never pray with me in this Agony. They may, if they pleaſe, pray for me, and I'll thank them for it.* Then having finiſh'd their Devotions, *Now*, ſays he, *let the* Rogues *come; I have heartily forgiven them, and am prepar'd for all I am to undergo.*

It was a very cold dark Day, and they at *White-Hall* had prepar'd two or three Diſhes of Meat for him to dine upon: But he refus'd to eat any Thing, deſigning to touch nothing after the Sacrament. Upon which the Biſhop urg'd him to conſider how long he had faſted, how ſharp the Weather was, and how ſome Fit of Fainting might take him upon the Scaffold, of which his Murderes would make an injurious Interpretotion; by which he prevail'd with him to eat half a Manchet of Bread, and drink a Glaſs of Wine. Being now prepared for the fatal Moment, upon the laſt Call of Colonel *Hacker*, he went with him and the Biſhop through the *Banquetting-Houſe* to the Scaffold by a Paſſage made through a Window; from whence he came with the ſame Unconcernedneſs and Motion that he uſually had when he enter'd it on a Maſque-Night. On the Scaffold, which was all cover'd with Black, the firſt Objects he ſaw were two Executioners, dreſs'd in Frocks and Vizzards to diſguiſe and conceal them, a Block and an Axe, with the Hooks and Staples to drag him to Execution, ſhould he make any ſort of Reſiſtance; all which did no ways diſmay his Chriſtian or Royal Courage. Then looking round upon the vaſt Throngs of People, who with bleeding Hearts and weeping Eyes preſs'd to behold this diſmal Spectacle, he found that they were kept at ſuch a Diſtance by the numerous Guards of Horſe and Foot, that he could not make that Speech he deſign'd to deliver to the Multitude, the Heads of which he had in a Paper. So that what he ſaid was to Colonel *Tomlinſon* and thoſe on the Scaffold; which Speech being publiſh'd only by his Enemies, it has been juſtly thought by many, that it was very defectively taken; tho' in general it is very material, and worthy the Royal Martyr, of which this is the Subſtance.

The King brought to the Scaffold.

He told them, *He could have held his Peace very well, if he had not thought his Silence would make ſome Men think he ſubmitted to the* Guilt, *as well as the* Puniſhment: *Therefore he thought it his Duty, to* God *firſt, and to his* Country, *to clear Himſelf as an innocent* Man, *a good* King, *and a good* Chriſtian. Firſt for his *Innocence*, he inſiſted upon the great Hinge of the Controverſy; and declar'd, *That all the World knew That he never did begin the War with the two Houſes of Parliament; and call'd God to witneſs, to whom he muſt ſhortly give an Account, That he never did intend to incroach upon their Privileges.* As to the War, he ſhew'd that they began with him about the *Militia*, and appeal'd to what could not be deny'd, the very *Dates* of their *Commiſſions* and His, and likewiſe to the *Declarations, by which they might clearly ſee, That they began theſe unhappy Troubles, not He. Therefore he hop'd that God would clear him of the Guilt of thoſe enormous Crimes laid to his Charge.* Yet he ſaid, *God forbid*

His laſt Speech.

he ſhould lay it on the two Houſes of Parliament; there was no Neceſſity of either; for he believ'd that ill Inſtruments between Them and Him, had been the chief Cauſe of all this Bloodſhed. Yet he could not but own *That God's Judgment was juſt upon him, which is many Times paid by an Unjuſt Sentence*; particularly acknowledging, *That an Unjuſt Sentence he had ſuffer'd to take Effect, was now puniſh'd by an Unjuſt Sentence upon Himſelf,* meaning the Earl of *Strafford*. Having clear'd his Innocence, he proceeded to ſhew, that he was a *Good Chriſtian*, and pointing to the Biſhop, he ſaid, *That good Man could bear him Witneſs, that he had forgiven all the World, and even thoſe that had been the chief Cauſers of his Death. And his Charity muſt go further; he wiſh'd that they may repent, and pray'd God with St.* Stephen, *That this be not laid to their Charge; and not only ſo, but that they may take the right Way to the Peace of the Kingdom: For his Charity commanded him, not only to forgive particular Men, but to endeavour to the laſt Gaſp the Peace of the Kingdom.* This Particular he enforc'd to ſome Gentlement that were writing; and then would ſhew them how they were out of the Way, and how they might be recover'd. Then he let them know *That Conqueſt was Their Way, which was never juſt without a good juſt Cauſe, and conſequently no better than great Robbery.* But to put them in the Way, he aſſur'd them, *That God would never proſper them, till they gave* God *his Due, the* King *and his* Succeſſors *their Due, and the* People *their Due. They muſt give God his Due, by Regulating his* Church *according to* Scripture, *which was now out of Order*; for which he propos'd *a National Synod, freely call'd, freely debating among Themſelves,* as the moſt likely Method to ſettle it. *For the* King, *the Laws of the Land would clearly inſtruct them in That*; therefore he only gave them a Hint of that. *For the* People, *whoſe Liberty and Freedom he deſir'd as much as any Man,* he truly told them, *That they conſiſted in having of Government, thoſe Laws by which their Lives and Goods may be moſt their own: It was not in having a* Share *in Government, ſince a* Subject *and a* Sovereign *were clear different Things, therefore till they put the* People *in that* Liberty, *they would never enjoy Themſelves.* Then he declar'd, *It was for* This *that he now came here: If he had yielded to Arbitrary Sway, to have all Laws chang'd according to the Power of the* Sword, *he needed not to have come here; and therefore he told them, and pray'd it might not be laid to their Charge, That he was The* MARTYR *of the People.* And ſo concluded with an Excuſe of Want of Time for the better digeſting of what he had to ſay, and with a Prayer, *That they took thoſe Courſes that were beſt for the Good of the Kingdom, and their own Salvation.*

Upon finiſhing his Speech, the good Biſhop thought it convenient to remember him, *That tho' it was well known what his Affections were to the* Proteſtant Religion, *yet it might be expected that he ſhould ſay ſomewhat for the World's Satisfaction in that Particular.* The King heartily thank'd him for this Remembrance, and declar'd before them all, *That he dy'd a* Chriſtian *according to the Profeſſion of the* Church of England, *as he found it left him by his Father, of which this honeſt Man was a Witneſs.* Then turning to the Officers, he declar'd *He had a good Cauſe, and a gracious God*; to Colonel *Hacker* he ſaid, *Take Care that they don't put me to Pain,* and gave him Mony; and to the Executioner, *He ſhould ſay a ſhort Prayer, and when he thruſt out his Hands--------* After this he call'd for his Cap, which being put on by the Help of the Biſhop and Executioner, he repeated *the Goodneſs of his Cauſe, and how gracious a God he had on his Side.* The Biſhop alluding to his private Diſcourſe with him concerning the ſeveral Stages of Man's Life, ſaid, *There was but one Stage more; which tho' turbulent and troubleſome, would carry him a very great way, from Earth to Heaven, where he ſhould find the deſired Prize, a Crown of Glory.* To which the King adjoyn'd, *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where there can be no Diſturbance; a happy Exchange,* as the Biſhop reply'd. Then taking off his Cloak and *George*, he deliver'd the latter to the Biſhop with a particular Emphaſis REMEMBER! as being the laſt Word he ſpoke to him. Having ſpoken to the Executioner to faſten the Block, after a few Words of Ejaculation, he meekly laid his Neck upon the Block, and then bid the Executioner *ſtay for the Sign,* which was for the ſtretching forth his Hands; upon which Motion, his Head was at one Blow ſever'd from his Body, which being held up, and ſhewn to the aſtoniſh'd People, was with his Body put into a Coffin cover'd with black Velvet, and carry'd into his Lodging in *White-Hall*.

His Execution.

Thus fell the ROYAL MARTYR King *Charles* the Firſt, in 49th Year and Strength of his Age, both after a happy and comfortleſs Reign of twenty three Years, ten Months and three Days. Nor did they think it ſufficient to exerciſe their Cruelty upon the Living: For his Enemies deſpoil'd his Headleſs Body, waſh'd their Hands in his Blood, dipp'd their Staves in it, and offer'd for Mony the Block cut in Pieces, and the Sand diſtain'd with Gore, and likewiſe expos'd his Hair to Sale: His Body was deliver'd to be embowell'd by ſome Camp Surgeons, who were ſtrictly order'd to enquire and declare whether he had any ſcandalous Diſtemper. But this intended Villany was defeated by the Induſtry of an honeſt Phyſician, who privately thruſt himſelf into the Diſſection of the Body, who declar'd he had all the Signs and Marks of a long Life, and an admirable Conſtitution and Temperature of Body. Then, contrary to the publick Faith, they ſeiz'd on the Biſhop of *London*, rifled him of all his Papers, and ſearch'd his Cloaths and Coffers, leſt any thing deliver'd to him by the King ſhou'd appear abroad, to the Reputation of himſelf or his Cauſe. And becauſe they believ'd that the King's laſt Word, REMEMBER, might have ſome extraordinary Meaning in it, theſe Judges with great Threats adjur'd him to make a full Explanation of it. At which the good Biſhop diſcover'd and declar'd to them, *That the King his Maſter bad him REMEMBER to carry this ſupreme Command of his dying Father, to the Prince his Son and Heir, That if ever he was reſtored to his Crown, HE SHOU'D FORGIVE THE AUTHORS OF HIS DEATH:* An Anſwer manifeſting the Perfection of Chriſtianity, and no doubt very ſurpriſing to his Enemies. None of the Kings of *England* ever left the World with more open Marks of Sorrow and Affliction. The venerable Archbiſhop *Uſher*, from a Window, ſwooned at the Sight of the fatal Blow, as at a Prodigy too great for Heaven to permit, or the Earth to behold: And as the Rumour of his Death ſpread throughout the Kingdom, Women miſcarry'd, many of both Sexes fell into Palpitations, Swoonings and Melancholy, and ſome, with ſudden Conſternation, expired: The Pulpits every where reſounded with Sighs and Lamentations, even of thoſe Perſons who had ſo much contributed towards this miſerable Fate; while their Congregations of Men, Women and Children were diſſolv'd in Tears. Men of all Sorts, and almoſt of all Sects, extoll'd his Virtues, and compar'd him to *Job*, to *David*, and to *Solomon*, for Patience, Piety and Prudence. So true was what the noble Hiſtorian aſſures us, ‘ That, ‘ in that very Hour when he was thus wickedly murder'd ‘ in the Sight of the Sun, he had as great a Share in the ‘ Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general, was ‘ as much belov'd, eſteem'd and long'd for by the People ‘ of the three Kingdoms, as any of his Predeceſſors had ‘ ever been.

The Barbarity of his Enemies.

The Concern of the People.

Therefore it cannot be improper here to hint at ſome other Things, that help'd to contribute towards this Tragedy, which had great Influence, but very little Appearance in the Publick, as we find them in the beſt Writers; who bring in the Popiſh Party for a conſiderable Share both in the War, and the Parricide. Tho' ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Papiſts were truly loyal, and great Sufferers; yet it was otherwiſe with many more, who under Hopes of Liberty of Conſcience, or of deſtroying Epiſcopacy, join'd with the Enemies of Church and State, and eſpecially with Foreign Prieſts and Jeſuits, whoſe very Intereſt led them to be intirely againſt the King and his Religion. Sir *William Boſwell*, in a Letter to Archbiſhop *Laud* from beyond Sea, aſſures him, ‘ That the ‘ *Romiſh* Clergy had gull'd the miſ-led Party of the *Engliſh* Nation, and that under a *Puritanical Dreſs*; for ‘ which the ſeveral Fraternities of that Church, have ‘ lately receiv'd Indulgence from the See of *Rome*. He ‘ tells him that the main Drift of their Intentions was to ‘ pull down the *Engliſh Epiſcopacy*: And that it wrought ‘ ſo much on divers of the Foreign Miniſters of the *Proteſtants*, that they eſteem'd the *Engliſh* Clergy little better than *Papiſts*.' How far theſe People were aſſiſtant in the Parliament Army, the King publickly complains of in more than one of his Declarations; and *Salmonet* himſelf owns that ſeveral of their Prieſts were found dead in that Army after the Battel of *Edge-Hill*. Biſhop *Bramhall* gives us further Particulars, who in a Letter to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, in the Year 1654, informs him from his own Knowledge, ‘ That in the Year 1646, by Order from *Rome*, above a hundred of the *Romiſh* Clergy ‘ were ſent into *England*, conſiſting of *Engliſh*, *Scotch* ‘ and *Iriſh*, who had with their Orders been taught ſeveral Handicraft Trades; moſt of whom went into the ‘ Parliament's Army under the Name of *Puritans*. Many of the *Engliſh Romaniſts* were at firſt ſurpris'd at ‘ this Pretence, but they ſoon came to a true underſtanding; and it was agreed that there was no better Deſign

How far the Papiſts contributed towards this Tragedy.

'to confound the Church of *England*, than by pretending *Liberty of Conſcience.* And when they found that ſuch Changes as they deſir'd cou'd not be brought about without the Death of the King, the Foreign Prieſts wrote to their ſeveral Convents, but eſpecially to the *Sorboniſts*, "Whether it might be ſcrupled to take away the King and his Family." To which the *Sorboniſts* reply'd, *That it was lawful for Catholicks to work Changes in Governments for the Mother Church's Advancement, and chiefly in an Heretical Kingdom*; *and ſo lawful to make away the King.*

In Confirmation of theſe Authorities, the learned *Du Mouling* is ſtill more particular, and obſerves, 'That a Year before the King's Death a ſelect Number of *Engliſh Jeſuits* were ſent from their Party in *England*, firſt to *Paris*, to conſult with the Faculty of the *Sorbon*, who were then wholly Jeſuited, about this Queſtion: "Whether ſeeing the State of *England* was in a likely Poſture to change Government, it was lawful, for the *Catholick Cauſe* in *England*, to make away the King, whom there was no hope to turn from his Hereſie?" This was anſwer'd affirmatively: After which the ſame Perſons went to *Rome*, where the ſame Queſtion being debated and propounded, it was concluded by the Pope, *That it was both lawful and expedient for the Catholicks to promote that Alteration of State*, &c. When the horrid Parricide had taken effect, the Pope commanded all the Papers about that Queſtion to be gather'd and burnt: In Obedience to which Order, a *Roman Catholick* in *Paris* was demanded to give up a Copy which he had of theſe Papers; but the Gentleman, who had Time to conſider and deteſt the Wickedneſs of that Project, refus'd to give it, and ſhew'd it to a *Proteſtant* Friend of his, relating to him the whole Carriage of the Negotiation, with great Abhorrency of the Practices of the *Jeſuits*. And when the *Jeſuits* return'd from *Rome*, they brought many more after them to help on the ſame Work; which they effected to their great Joy.' This ſame Author farther ſays, 'That the *Roman* Prieſt and Confeſſor [*viz.* the Queen's] is known, who when he ſaw the fatal Stroak given to the King, flouriſh'd with his Sword and cry'd out, *Now the greateſt Enemy we had in the World is gone!*' Then he tells us, 'That a *Proteſtant* Lady living in *Paris*, being perſwaded by a *Jeſuit* to turn *Catholick*; when the diſmal News of the Murther came to that City, the Lady was deeply afflicted with it; and when the *Jeſuit* came to ſee her, and found her all in Tears for that Diſaſter, he told her with a ſmiling Countenance, *That ſhe had no Reaſon to lament, but rather rejoice, ſeeing the* Catholicks *were rid of their greateſt Enemy, and that Cauſe much promoted by his Death.* Upon which the Lady in great Paſſion put him down the Stairs, ſaying, *If that be your Religion, I have done with you for ever*; and made her Words good.' He ſays, 'That many intelligent Travellers can tell of the great Joy among the *Engliſh* Convents and Seminaries, about the King's Death, *as having overcome their Enemies, and done their main Work for their Settlement in* England; of which they made themſelves ſo ſure, that the *Benedictines* were in great Fear, that the *Jeſuits* ſhou'd get their Lands; and the *Engliſh Nuns* were contending who ſhou'd be *Abbeſſes* in *England.*' Such are the Evidences of theſe ſecret Works of Darkneſs, which are not, nor cou'd not be very well laid open by our common Writers and Hiſtorians. To all which we ſhall add another Particular very little known; namely, That one of the moſt inveterate of the King's Judges, Sir *John Danvers*, was at that time a profeſs'd Papiſt, and ſo continu'd to the Day of his Death, as his own Daughter has ſufficiently atteſted.

And alſo the French.

How far the *French* were concern'd in our Troubles and this Tragedy, we have more than once taken Notice of; but ſtill it may not be improper in this Place to add a particular Story ſent me by the Reverend Dr. *Torriano*, a Divine of good Worth and Credit, which is here inſerted in his own Words. 'The *French* Story was plainly this: Dr. *Shadwell* and I (whom I ſuppoſe you know to have had the Honour of attending together the Earl of *Mancheſter* in his Embaſſy to *France)* waiting one Evening, about the Beginning of the Year 1701, in the Apartments at *Verſailles*, in Expectation of the King's coming out to Supper; and ſtaying in a Room where about eight or ten Gentlemen of, in Appearance, the beſt Rank of the Court were talking, We heard One of them entertaining the reſt concerning the Dutcheſs of *Chevreux*; and, at their ſeeming not readily to apprehend which of the Ladies of that Family he meant, explaining Himſelf to them, *That it was the old Dutcheſs*; *She*, ſays He, *that went into* England *to make* Charles *the Firſt's Head be cut off*; drawing, at the ſame Time, his Hand from Ear to Ear under his Throat.------- *For you muſt know*, continu'd He, *the Queen, and Cardinal, and She, were One*: Adding, *She went into* England *to diſorder the Cards, but*; with an Aſſeveration, *they rais'd a Flame which they cou'd not afterwards put out*: And then went on with what he was ſaying of Her and her Family. From this Deſcription caſually let fall in our Preſence, whom they either had not obſerv'd to be there, or whom they muſt have miſtaken for their Countrymen; and from that Company's acquieſcing in it, as a proper diſcriminating Character of that Lady, from the reſt of her Family, Dr. *Shadwell* and I cou'd not but look upon it to have been a Tradition in the *French* Court, That that unfortunate Alliance had been improv'd by the Cardinal towards the Deſtruction of our then Sovereign, and the Diſturbance of our Country, that themſelves might be able to purſue, without Interruption, their then early Deſigns of enſlaving *Europe*.

The King's Funeral.

But to return to the martyr'd King, of whoſe Character ſomething may be here expected; but of that ſufficient has been ſaid in ſeveral Parts of this Hiſtory: Therefore we ſhall in a great Meaſure decline it here, and ſo proceed to give an Account of his Funeral. Mr. *Herbert* had much ſolicited the preſent Governours, That his Royal Corps might be bury'd in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel at *Weſtminſter*, near the Grave of King *James* his Father; which they refus'd, alledging the Danger of much Concourſe to that Place out of a ſuperſtitious Reſpect. At length they appointed *Windſor* to be the Place of Interrment, which they allow'd, 'might be in a decent manner, provided the whole Expence did not exceed five Hundred Pounds.' The four faithful and loyal Lords, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Earl of *Lindſey* deſired, *That they might have Leave to perform their laſt Duty to their dead Maſter, and to wait upon him to the Grave*; which, after ſome Pauſes, they were permitted to do, with this Reſtriction, 'That they ſhou'd not attend the Corps out of the Town; ſince they reſolv'd it ſhou'd be carry'd to *Windſor* without Pomp and Noiſe, and then they ſhou'd have timely Notice, that if they pleas'd, they might be at the Interrment.' And accordingly it was committed to four of thoſe Servants, who had been allow'd to wait upon him during his Impriſonment, That they ſhou'd privately convey the Body to *Windſor*; which they perform'd with the greateſt Caution. The Coffin was firſt laid in the Bed-Chamber, and then in the great Hall, till the Arrival of the four Lords; who immediately repaired to Colonel *Whitchcot* the Governor of the Caſtle, and ſhew'd the Order from the Parliament to be preſent at the Burial, which he admitted; but when they deſired that the Biſhop of *London*, then attending, might bury his Majeſty according to the Form of the Common-Prayer Book, he abſolutely refus'd to conſent to it, declaring, *That ſince the Common-Prayer Book was put down, he wou'd not ſuffer it to be us'd in that Garriſon where he commanded.* This Refuſal has been hardly cenſured; but, as I have learnt from his Friends, he deſign'd not to have refus'd this Favour, if it had been ask'd him in a private Manner; ſo that what he did, was more the Effect of Fear, than of Obſtinacy, or Principle. By knocking on the Pavement, they with Difficulty found the large Vault, oppoſite to the Eleventh Stall on the Sovereign's Side; in which were two Coffins, one very large of King *Henry* the Eighth, the other of Queen *Jane* his third Wife, both cover'd with Velvet. There the King's Coffin was laid, together with the Velvet Pall, without any Words, or other Ceremonies than the Tears and Sighs of the few Spectators; among whom it can hardly be ſaid which was moſt tranſcendent, their Love to their Friend, their Obedience to their Maſter, or their Loyalty to their Prince. Such was the Funeral of this unfortunate good Prince, who had no other Epitaph but theſe Words on a Plate of Lead fixt to the Coffin, KING *CHARLES* 1648.

Certificate concerning it.

It has been made a Queſtion and a Wonder by many, why a particular Monument was not erected for him after the Reſtoration of his Son; eſpecially when the Parliament was well inclined to have given a good Sum for that grateful Purpoſe. This has caus'd ſeveral Conjectures and Reflexions; and Intimations have been given as if the Royal Body had never been depoſited there, or elſe had been afterwards removed by the Regicides; and the Lord *Clarendon* Himſelf ſpeaks ſoftly and ſuſpiciouſly of this Matter, as if he believ'd that the Body cou'd not be found. But to remove all Imaginations, we ſhall here inſert a *Memorandum*, or Certificate ſent by Mr. *John Sewell* a Regiſter at *Windſor-Caſtle*: '*Anno* 1696, *September* twenty-firſt, the ſame Vault, in which

'King

164$\frac{8}{9}$. Car. 24.

'King *Charles* the Firſt was bury'd, was open'd, to lay 'in a ſtill-born Child of the then Princeſs of *Denmark*, 'now our gracious Queen. On the King's Coffin the 'Velvet Pall was ſtrong and ſound, and there was about 'the Coffin a Leaden Band, with this Inſcription cut 'through it, KING *CHARLES* 1648. Queen '*Jane*'s Coffin was whole and entire; but that of King '*Henry* the Eighth was ſunk in upon the Breaſt Part, and 'the Lead and Wood conſum'd with the Heat of the 'Gums he was embalm'd with; and when I laid my 'Hand on it, it was run together, and hard, and had no 'noiſom Smell.' As a farther *Memorandum* relating to King *Charles*'s Interrment, He ſays, 'That when the 'Body of King *Charles* the Firſt lay in State in the Dean's 'Hall, the Duke of *Richmond* had the Coffin open'd, 'and was ſatisfy'd *That it was the King's Body.* This 'ſeveral People have declared they knew to be true, who 'were alive, and then preſent, as Mr. *Randolph* of *New* '*Windſor*, and others:' So that he thinks the Lord *Clarendon* was miſ-led in that Matter, and that King *Charles* the Second never ſent to enquire after the Body, 'Since 'it was well known both to the Inhabitants of the Caſtle, 'and Town, that it was in that Vault.

164$\frac{8}{9}$. Car. 24.

We ſhall conclude this Reign and Period with this ſhort general Obſervation upon the Misfortunes of this pious King; That he ſuffer'd as much by the cowardly Treachery of his Friends, as the perverſe Obſtinacy of his Enemies; and loſt more by his Tenderneſs and Conceſſions, than by all the pretended Acts of his Severity and Tyranny: And if he had been of a more Reſolute and Imperious Nature, he wou'd have met with fewer Miſchiefs, either from his Friends, or his Enemies.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

VOLUME *the* SECOND.

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

Conſiſting of the various Government of England, *under ſeveral Powers: From the Death of King* CHARLES *the Firſt, to the Reſtoration of his Son, King* CHARLES *the Second.*

Containing the Space of 11 *Years, and* 4 *Months.*

CHAP. I.

The COMMON-WEALTH *of* England.

From the Death of King CHARLES *the Firſt, to the forcible Diſſolution of the Long Parliament, by* Oliver Cromwell.

Containing the Space of 4 *Years,* 2 *Months, and* 20 *Days.*

164$\frac{8}{9}$. Car. 1.

I. 1. ENGLAND, for ſeven or eight Years had met with the moſt terrible Convulſions that had ever been felt by that Kingdom; and now, upon the Murther of its Sovereign, ſaw the moſt univerſal and amazing Revolution it ever had beheld ſince the Memorials of Time or Government. The *Engliſh* Kings indeed had ſometimes been depos'd, chang'd, and otherwiſe treated; but Monarchy it ſelf had never been condemn'd and eradicated till this Time; when the whole Face of Things was chang'd, and ſcarce any Remainders left of that Government which had continu'd for innumerable Centuries of Years. All which was effected by a Ballance unequal, and a Power unknown to the *Engliſh* Nation, a pretended and imaginary Repreſentative of the People, call'd by its Members The COMMON-WEALTH, but by others more properly The RUMP, or Fag End of a corrupted Houſe of Commons, which ow'd its whole Life and Subſiſtence to a ſtanding Army, which it knew not how to diſſolve, nor long to command, and from which in a few Years it met with its Deſtruction; which was ſucceeded by a ſtrange Series of various Rule and Power, till Providence and Neceſſity reduc'd all Things to the proper Channel. So that the Fundamental Laws and Conſtitution being violated and torn in Pieces, the Government of the Land for above eleven Years ſubſiſted purely by Art, and an unnatural Power. Yet in this we may juſtly obſerve the wonderful Mazes of Heaven, that thoſe ſeveral Uſurpers and Tyrants, all prov'd ſo many Inſtruments of the Divine Vengeance to chaſtiſe the Rage and Impiety of all Parties, but more ſignally the Authors and Promoters of the bloody War and Rebellion, not only in *England*, but in *Scotland*, and in *Ireland*, and even in *Holland*, and the remoter Parts of the World.

The COMMON-WEALTH *of* England.

The firſt Attempt after the Murther of the King, made by theſe uſurping *Commonwealths*-Men, was a formal Proclamation, commanding 'That no Perſon whatſoever 'ſhou'd preſume to declare *Charles Stuart*, Son of the 'late *Charles*, commonly call'd the Prince of *Wales*, or 'any other Perſon, to be King, or chief Magiſtrate of '*England*, or *Ireland*, or of any Dominions belonging 'to them, by Colour of Inheritance, Succeſſion, Election, or any other Claim whatſoever, without the free 'Conſent of the People in Parliament, firſt had and ſignify'd by a particular *Act* or *Ordinance* for that Purpoſe; 'any *Law*, *Statute*, *Uſage* and *Cuſtom* to the contrary notwithſtanding: And whoſoever ſhall contrary to this Act 'proclaim the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, ſhou'd be deem'd and 'judg'd a Traitor, and ſuffer accordingly.' Yet this ſevere Inhibition did not deter many loyal Subjects from performing their Duty, who on the ſecond of *February* printed a contrary Proclamation, and diſpers'd it about the Streets of *London*; in which they ſolemnly declar'd 'The illuſtrious *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, to be by Hereditary Birth-Right, and lawful Succeſſion, rightful, and 'undoubted King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*; 'which they promis'd to maintain with their Eſtates, 'Lives, and laſt Drop of their Bloods, in Oppoſition to 'all Traytors, &c.' Many of theſe Proclamations were burnt by the preſent Rulers, and ſome ſuſpected Perſons ſeiz'd and impriſon'd; and not ſatisfy'd with this, they ſent out their Spies and Emiſſaries into all Parts of the City, to watch the very Looks and Sighs of the People; and they were poſſeſs'd with ſuch pannick Fears, that upon the Meeting of five or ſix Perſons together, the Houſe was preſently allarm'd with the Cries of *bloody Deſigns*, *Plots* and *Treaſon!*

They publiſh a Proclamation againſt the King.

164$\frac{8}{9}$. Car. 1.

Next, to ſecure their Infant Republick, they paſs'd an Act, 'That ſuch as had aſſented to the Vote of *December* 'the fifth, *That the King's Conceſſions were a Ground for* '*the Houſe to proceed to a Settlement*, ſhou'd not be re-'admitted to ſit as Members:' As alſo, 'That ſuch as 'were then in the Houſe, and voted in the Negative, 'ſhou'd firſt enter their Diſſent to the ſaid Vote: and ſuch 'as were abſent ſhou'd declare their Diſapproval before 'they ſat.' Having thus ſettled their own Houſe, the Houſe of Lords fell next under their Conſideration, who having by a Meſſage acquainted them, 'That the Judges 'Commiſſions and Power being determin'd by the King's 'Death, they cou'd not give their uſual Aſſiſtance to the 'Houſe, which had put a Stand to all Proceedings; they 'therefore deſired that eighteen of the Commons might be 'ſent to confer with nine of the Lords, about ſettling of 'the Government;' inſtead of receiving an Anſwer, the Commons fell to a Debate about the very Being of the Houſe of Lords, and upon the ſixth of *February* voted, 'That they wou'd make no farther Addreſſes to the 'Houſe of Lords, nor receive any more from them: 'That the Houſe of Peers in Parliament was *Uſeleſs* and '*Dangerous*; and that an Act ſhou'd be brought in for aboliſhing it: That the Privilege of the Peers being freed 'from Arreſts ſhou'd be made null and void.' But yet they condeſcended, 'That the Peers ſhou'd have the Privilege to be elected Knights, or Burgeſſes in Parlia-

They aboliſh the Houſe of Peers.

‘ment;’ of which gracious Conceſſion three of them took the Benefit ſoon after, namely the old Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*. But the Peers in general highly reſented the Indignity, and in a Proteſtation publiſh'd in the Name of all the Peers and Barons in the Realm, ‘They aſſerted their Privileges, and the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, and diſclaim'd all Acts, Votes, *&c.* of the ſaid Members of the Commons Houſe, for erecting of *New Courts of Juſtice*, to Try, or Execute the King, or any Peer or Subject of this Realm, for altering the *Government*, *Laws*, *Great-Seal*, *&c.* raiſing new *Forces*, and impoſing new *Taxes* or *Oaths*; and likewiſe proteſted againſt the Traiterous Murthering of the late King, and the Diſinheriting of his Son the Prince of *Wales*, and particularly againſt that *Inſolent and Frantick Vote*, concerning the *Aboliſhing the Houſe of Peers as Uſeleſs and Dangerous*: All which Votes, Acts and Orders, they declar'd to be not only illegal, but deteſtable and deſtructive to the Rights and Beings of Parliaments, the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the People.’ But this made no Impreſſion upon the Commons, who ſecur'd their Doors by Guards of Soldiers: So that this moſt ancient and noble Houſe, which had given it ſelf ſuch deſperate Wounds by the Excluſion of one Part, and the Defection of another, was now brought to a diſgraceful Period.

The Lords Proteſtation.

Kingly Government aboliſh'd.

And now to compleat their Security by a Third Tye, the Commons reſolv'd and declar'd, ‘That it had been found by Experience, That the Office of a KING in this Nation, or to have the Power thereof in any *Single Perſon*, was Unneceſſary, Burthenſom, and Dangerous to the Liberty and Safety, and Publick Intereſt of the Nation; and therefore it ſhould be utterly aboliſh'd; and to that Purpoſe an Act ſhould be forthwith prepar'd.’ It is remarkable, that in this Debate, when all did not ſhew themſelves equally fond of a Common-wealth, *Harry Martin* himſelf ingenuouſly declar'd, *If they deſir'd a King, the Laſt was as proper as any Gentleman in* England; therefore freely own'd, *he had always ſtood againſt the Thing, not the Perſon.* The Act being order'd to be proclaim'd in all Parts of the Kingdom, *Reinoldſon*, the preſent Lord-Mayor, a Perſon of great Integrity and Loyalty, refus'd to publiſh it in *London*; for which he was diſcharg'd from his Office, and with three Aldermen of the ſame Judgment committed Priſoner to the *Tower*, and one *Andrews* was choſen in his Place, who with *Pennington*, *Atkins*, *Wollaſton*, *Viner*, *Foulk*, *Edmunds* and *Pack*, then Aldermen, and ſome others, proclaim'd this exorbitant Act in ſeveral Parts of the City. But this great Alteration ſo much amaz'd the Generality of the People, that the Parliament endeavour'd to give them ſome Satisfaction by a plauſible Declaration, in which, ‘They promis'd to deliver them from the Bondage introduc'd by the *Norman* Conqueſt, and to maintain the ancient *Laws*, which they much extoll'd;’ adding, ‘That they might well conſiſt with the preſent Government of a *Republick*, upon ſome eaſy Alterations of *Form* only, leaving the *Subſtance* intire, and reforming the *Abuſes* thereof.’ They farther promis'd ‘the Eſtabliſhment of a firm and ſafe Peace, the Advancement of the true *Proteſtant Religion*, and the liberal Maintenance of a *Godly Miniſtry*; the ſettling of Treaties with Foreign Princes and States, the Encouragement of Manufactures, for the Increaſe of Trade, and the Maintenance of the Poor in all Places of the Land.

The Parliament's Declaration.

Commiſſioners of the Great-Seal.

Their new Great-Seal, formerly mention'd, was now got ready; the Cuſtody of which was committed to three Lawyers, *Whitelock*, *Keeble*, and *Liſle*; of whom the former complains of the two latter in his Manuſcript Additions, *&c.* and ſays that *Keeble* had little Experience in Practice, and *Liſle* had leſs, but was very Opinionative. The Judges being ſent for, ſix of them, *Rolles* and *Jermin* of the King's-Bench, *Saint John* and *Pheſant* of the Common-Pleas, and *Wild* and *Yates* of the Exchequer, receiv'd their Commiſſions from theſe new Keepers of the Great-Seal, and ſubmitted to act according to the Alterations in the Law made by the Parliament, who had enacted, ‘That the Writs ſhould no more run in the King's Name; but the Name, Stile, and Teſt, ſhould be *Cuſtodes Libertatis Angliæ, Authoritate Parliamenti*:’ Which was ſuch a notorious Violation of the Conſtitution, that tho' Ten were their own by Creation, and Two by continual Submiſſion, the remaining Six, *Bacon*, *Brown*, *Beddenfield*, *Creſwell*, *Treavor* and *Atkins*, threw up their Commiſſions, and refus'd to act any longer. But their Places were ſoon ſupply'd, the Circuits appointed, and a new Oath impos'd upon them, whereby they were to ſwear, ‘Well and truly to ſerve the Common-wealth in the Office of a Juſtice in the *Upper-Bench*, or *Common-Pleas*, according to their beſt Skill and Cunning.’ And that all might yield ready Obedience, and to make way for future Oaths, they by an Act repeal'd thoſe Clauſes in the Firſt of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Third of King *James*, which enjoin'd the taking the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance* to the Kings of *England*, and their Succeſſors. Then beſides their Great-Seal, they appointed that all the Mony from that Time to be coyn'd, ſhould, inſtead of the King's Impreſſion, bear the *Croſs* and *Harp*, with this Motto, GOD WITH US.

Thus was this Part of a Parliament actuated and guided by a ſtanding Army, who together thought themſelves inſufficient, till they had erected a Third Power to ſtrengthen their Uſurpation: This they call'd a COUNCIL OF STATE, conſiſting of about forty Perſons, namely the Earls of *Denbigh*, *Mulgrave*, *Pembroke* and *Salisbury*, the Lords *Gray*, *Fairfax*, and *Grey* of *Groby*, *Liſle*, *Rolles*, *Saint John*, *Wild*, *Bradſhaw*, *Cromwell*, *Skippon*, *Pickering*, *Maſſam*, *Haſlerigg*, *Harrington*, *Vane*, *Danvers*, *Armin*, *Mildmay*, *Conſtable*, *Pennington*, *Wilſon*, *Whitelock*, *Marten*, *Ludlow*, *Stapleton*, *Heveningham*, *Wallop*, *Hutchinſon*, *Bond*, *Popham*, *Valentine*, *Walton*, *Scot*, *Purefoy* and *Jones*. To theſe Power was given ‘To command and ſettle the Militia of *England* and *Ireland*, to order the Fleet, and ſet forth ſuch a Naval Power as they ſhould think fit; to appoint Magazines and Stores for *England* and *Ireland*, and to diſpoſe of them for the Service of both Nations, as they thought proper: That they ſhould have Power to ſit and execute theſe Powers for the Space of one whole Year.’ The better to unite theſe, a ſevere Oath of Secrecy and Fidelity was invented, in ſuch Terms as it threw out ſome of the beſt of them, and let in others of more extended Conſciences. Laſtly, that they might have ſome future Obligation of Obedience from their Subjects, who had broken all the former Oaths they had taken, a new Oath was prepar'd, which they call'd an ENGAGEMENT; the Form of which was, that every Man ſhould ſwear, *That he would be true and faithful to the Government eſtabliſh'd, without King or Houſe of Peers*: And whoever refus'd to take that Oath, ſhould be incapable of holding any Place or Office, in Church or State. The Neceſſity of taking of which did not only exclude all of the Royal Party, but freed them from very many who had Offices in Church and State, who being of the *Presbyterian* Party, durſt not ſacrifice their beloved *Covenant* to this new *Engagement*. Thus, in a few Weeks, an extraordinary Power was eſtabliſh'd; and now inſtead of King, Lords and Commons, the Nation was govern'd by about a Fifth Part of the latter, ſupported by a ſtanding Army, and a Third Thing ariſing from both, call'd a *Council* of *State*.

A Council of State.

The Oath of Engagement.

A new High Court of Juſtice.

2. Before all theſe could be compleated, the Rulers had, in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, terrify'd the People with the bloody Executions of many Perſons concern'd in the late Inſurrections. And that all Hopes and Pretences might be remov'd from their Subjects, the Peers of the Realm, of taking Advantage from the Fundamental Laws of it, a new *High Court of Juſtice* was erected to ſit for the Tryal of the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen* a private Gentleman: that they might ſee there ſhould hereafter be no more Diſtinction of Quality, but that the Higheſt and the Loweſt ſhould undergo the ſame Form of Tryal for Life. The former of them, Duke *Hamilton*, could hardly be otherwiſe accounted than a Priſoner of War, and therefore in no Danger of his Life; but being ſenſible of the Fury of the Times, he made his Eſcape out of *Windſor-Caſtle*, and was three Days out of his Enemies Hands: But being impatient to be at a greater Diſtance from them, he was ſeiz'd as he was taking Horſe in *Southwark*, and carry'd Priſoner to the *Tower*, from whence he was brought, with the others, before that High Court of Juſtice.

The Tryal of Duke Hamilton.

The Tryal of this great Man laſted many Days, in which Time He and his Council ſhew'd the utmoſt of their Art, and fenc'd with great Dexterity againſt all that could be alledg'd againſt him. He principally inſiſted upon ‘The Right and Privilege of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, by whoſe Laws he was entirely govern'd: That he had not the leaſt Dependence upon the Kingdom of *England*; but being a Subject of *Scotland*, was bound to obey the Commands of that Kingdom; the Parliament of which having thought it neceſſary to raiſe an Army for the Relief of their King, and conſtituted him General of that Army, it was not lawful for him to refuſe the Command thereof; and whatſoever Misfortune he had ſuſtain'd, he could not be conceiv'd to be liable to any other Puniſhment, than what was due to a Priſoner of War.’ But on the other ſide he was told, ‘That the Rights and Laws of the Kingdom of *Scotland* were not call'd in Queſtion, nor could be violated by their Proceedings againſt him, who was a Subject of *England*; againſt which he was charg'd with Rebellion and Treaſon: That they did not proceed againſt him as Duke of *Hamilton* in *Scotland*, but as Earl of *Cambridge* in *England*, and they would judge him as ſuch.’ To this he made ſeveral Replies, and inſiſted upon on his Nonnaturalization: But this would not clear his Cauſe, and to ſhew that he was not a pure Foreigner, they unluckily prov'd, 'That as a Peer of *England*, he in the Houſe of Peers had took the *National Covenant*, and ſubſcrib'd to it, CAMBRIDGE; and likewiſe as a *Peer* of *England* had took the *Negative Oath* before the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal.' So that after all his various Pleas, and his offering a Hundred Thouſand Pounds for his Life, he was condemn'd to be beheaded.

The Earls of Holland *and* Norwich.

The next was the Earl of *Holland*, that unhappy Affector of Popularity, now in a languiſhing State of Health, who being charg'd with the late Inſurrections, confeſs'd the Fact, but poorly urg'd 'The many Services he had formerly done to the Parliament,' and more reaſonably pleaded. 'The Benefit of Quarter given him at St. *Neots*.' To the firſt he was anſwer'd, 'That he had once before deſerted the Parliament, yet upon his Return had his Sequeſtration taken off, when he proteſted, *That he would for ever ſerve them with his Life and Fortunes*; which Proteſtation and Promiſe he had lately broken, by an Inſurrection, and ſhedding of innocent Blood.' As for the Benefit of Quarter, 'It was deny'd that any had been given him, and declar'd that he had yielded to Mercy.' So Sentence of Death was pronounc'd againſt him; notwithſtanding all the Intereſt of his Brother the Earl of *Warwick*, and the whole *Presbyterian* Party. The jovial Earl of *Norwich* behav'd himſelf with a handſom Submiſſion to the Court, and generouſly inſiſted upon his Gratitude and Obligations to the Crown, 'His being bred up in Court from his Cradle, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; his having been Servant to King *James* all his Reign; his Dependence upon Prince *Henry*, and afterwards upon the late King; for which he had always endeavour'd to do the beſt Service he could; and concluded as a Man that would be oblig'd to them if they would give him Leave to live.

And the Lord Capel, *and Sir* John Owen.

The brave Lord *Capel* utterly refus'd to ſubmit to their Juriſdiction; alledging, 'That being a Soldier, and a Priſoner of War, the Lawyers and Gown Men had nothing to do with him; therefore would not anſwer to any Thing that *Steel* had ſo rudely preſs'd, but inſiſted upon the Law of Nations, which exempted all Priſoners from Death, though ſubmitting to Mercy, after ſuch a Number of Days, which were now expired.' He urg'd the Declaration made by General *Fairfax* to him and the reſt of the Priſoners, after the Death of Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle*, *That no other of their Lives ſhould be in Danger*, which he had Witneſſes ready to prove, if they might be heard;' and concluded with demanding the Privilege of being try'd by his Peers. *Ireton*, who ſat as one of his Judges, deny'd 'That the General had made any ſuch Promiſe, *and if he had, it could not have reſtrained the Parliament's Authority*;' and put him in Mind of his Carriage that Time, and how much he then neglected the General's Civility. The other ſtill inſiſted on the Promiſe, and urg'd, 'That the General might be ſent for, and examin'd; which they knew not how to deny, but becauſe of his preſent Indiſpoſition, they ſaid they would ſend to him, whilſt they proceeded againſt Sir *John Owen*, who anſwer'd them without any Application, 'That he was a plain Gentleman of *Wales*, who had always been taught to obey the King; that he had ſerv'd him honeſtly during the War, and finding afterwards that many honeſt Men endeavour'd to raiſe Forces to releaſe him out of Priſon, he did the like;' and concluded as a Man not much concern'd at what they reſolv'd concerning him. In the mean Time the Lord *Capel*'s Queſtion being put to *Fairfax*, his Anſwer was interpreted in the Court, 'That a Promiſe of free Quarter only exempted him from the Sword, but not from the Judicial Proceedings of a Civil Court;' and *Bradſhaw* told that Lord, with many inſolent Expreſſions, *That he was try'd before ſuch Judges as the Parliament thought fit to aſſign him, and who had judg'd a better Man than Himſelf.* So Sentence was pronounc'd againſt all five of them, 'That they ſhould loſe their Heads:' Upon which Sir *John Owen*, with a reverend Bow, gave them humble Thanks; and being ask'd by one preſent, *What he meant:* He ſaid aloud, *It was a very great Honour to a poor Gentleman of* Wales *to loſe his Head in ſuch noble Company*; and ſwore a great Oath, *That he was afraid they would have hang'd him.*

All are condemn'd.

3. Great Endeavours were us'd to preſerve the Lives of theſe Perſons by the Power and Authority of the Parliament, where there were ſo many Members who had not ſat in Judgment upon them, of ſuch different Intereſts and Affections, that there might be reaſonable Hopes of reſcuing them from the unjuſt Sentence. Their Wives, and Children, and Friends, left no Way untry'd to prevail: They offer'd, and gave Mony to ſome, and receiv'd Promiſes accordingly; but they who had the greateſt Power and Credit, were inexorable; yet dealt ſo much more honeſtly than the reſt, that they declar'd to the Ladies, who begg'd for their Husbands and Fathers, *That they would not endeavour to do them Service.* And *Ireton*, above all Men, continu'd his inſolent and implacable Humour, and told them, *If he had Credit, they ſhou'd all dye.*

Their ſeveral Petitions.

The Petitions of the four Lords were read in Order in the Houſe, being penn'd in ſuch Styles as their Friends were adviſ'd. Duke *Hamilton*'s Petition, and great Offer, being firſt read, many upon the Motives of Juſtice, and as they imagin'd his Death might be the Occaſion of new Troubles between the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland*, wou'd have been willing he ſhou'd live. But he had fewer Friends as to his Perſon than any of the reſt; and *Cromwell* well knew that his being remov'd out of the Way, wou'd be acceptable to them upon whom the Security of *Scotland* depended: So that when his Petition was read, it was rejected by a great Majority of Voices; yet after that, private Offers were made to him of Life and Grandeur, by *Hugh Peters* and others, if he wou'd make ſuitable Diſcoveries; which he as generouſly rejected. The Conſideration of the two Earls, *Holland* and *Norwich*, took up a much longer Debate: For the Former, the Intereſt and Interpoſition of his Brother the Earl of *Warwick*, was apply'd; and all the *Presbyterians* were infinitely ſollicitous to preſerve him. They urg'd 'his Merit towards the Parliament in the Beginning of the Troubles; how much he had ſuffer'd in the Court for his Affection to them; his Age and Infirmities, which wou'd not ſuffer him long to enjoy that Life they ſhou'd give him; and the Conſideration of his Wife and Children, which were numerous.' But theſe Arguments provok'd others to exclaim againſt his *Backſlidings* with the greater Animoſity, and to undervalue his Services he had ever done, to tax his Vanities, and his Breach of Faith; and *Cromwell* having particular Reſentments againſt him, upon the Account of ſome former Contemptuous Words, he was at laſt overpower'd.

The Earl of *Norwich*, having always led a chearful and jovial Life, without contracting many Enemies, had many there who wiſh'd him well, and few who had Animoſity againſt him; ſo that when the Queſtion was put concerning him, the Houſe was equally divided, four and twenty of each Side. Inſomuch that his Life or Death depended upon the ſingle Vote of the Speaker, who told the Houſe, 'That he had receiv'd ſeveral Obligations to that Lord; and particularly he had once skreen'd him from the King's Diſpleaſure, and remov'd a Prejudice againſt him, which might have been very penal to him; therefore he was oblig'd in Gratitude to give his Vote for the ſaving his Life:' And it is juſtly believ'd that he had not come into ſo much Danger, had it not been for his unſeaſonable Jeſting upon General *Fairfax* at the Siege of *Colcheſter*. The Houſe was likewiſe equally divided in the Caſe of the Earl of *Holland*; but here the Speaker turn'd the Scale the other Way, and gave him up to Death, as *Whitelock* aſſures us. Thus the Earl of *Norwich*, who had been no Friend to the zealous Puritan Party, was ſav'd, and the Earl of *Holland*, who had been the moſt obliging Perſon to them, by the ſame ſingle Vote loſt his Life: Which, as the laſt nam'd Author obſerves, may be a Caution to us againſt the Affectation of Popularity, when we ſee the Iſſue of it in this noble Gentleman, who being ſo full of Generoſity and Courtſhip to all ſorts of People, was by their Repreſentatives given up to Execution for Treaſon; and another Lord, who never made any Profeſſion for Liberty, and who exceeded the other as much in his Crime againſt the Parliament, as he came ſhort of him in his Popularity, had his Life ſpared by the People,

Earl of Norwich *acquitted.*

The Lord Capel *flies, and is taken.*

The Lord *Capel*, being impriſon'd in the *Tower*, had by a ſtrange Adventure, by a Cord and other Means, let himſelf down out of his Chamber Window in the Night, over the *Tower* Wall, into the great Ditch; where he found the Water and the Mud ſo deep and toilſom, that in wading it he muſt have periſh'd, had he not been by the Head taller than other Men. The Way was ſo long, and the Fatigue of drawing himſelf out of the Mud ſo painful, that his Spirits were near exhauſted, and he was once ready to call out to his Enemies to deliver him from a Place ſo diſmal. But at length with great Difficulty he got to the Place where his Friends expected him, who carry'd him to a Chamber in the *Temple*, where he remain'd ſecure for two or three Days. At which Time a faithful Friend, conceiving he might be more ſafe than in a Place where ſo many were ſought for, had provided a private Lodging for him in *Lambeth* Marſh; but croſſing the Water in a dark Night, his Lordſhip's Perſon, or Diſguiſe, or ſome Accident, rais'd a Suſpicion in the wicked Waterman, who undiſcern'd follow'd them, till he ſaw into what Houſe they retir'd; and then went to an Officer, and ask'd, *What he wou'd give him to bring him to the Place where the Lord* Capel *lay*? and being promis'd ten Pounds, he immediately led him to the Houſe, where that great Man was ſeiz'd, and carry'd back to the *Tower*. When the Petition, deliver'd by his Lady, was read, many Gentlemen ſpoke in his Favour, and expreſs'd a juſt Veneration for his great Virtues; declaring, 'That he had never deceiv'd or betray'd them, but had always magnanimouſly declar'd for the King:' And *Cromwell*, who well knew him, ſpoke ſo honourably of him, and with ſo many Profeſſions of Reſpect and Kindneſs, that all Men thought he was Safe, till he concluded, 'That his Affection to the Publick ſo out-weigh'd his private Friendſhip, that he cou'd not but tell them, That the Queſtion was now, *Whether they wou'd preſerve the moſt invincible Enemy they had*? That he knew well that the Lord *Capel* wou'd be the laſt Man in *England* that wou'd abandon the Royal Intereſt; that he had great Courage, Induſtry and Generoſity, and ſo many Friends to adhere to him, that as long as he liv'd, in any Condition whatſoever, he wou'd be a *Thorn in their Sides*; and therefore, for the Good of the Common-Wealth, he wou'd give his Vote againſt the Petition.' *Ireton*'s Hatred was Immortal, who ſpoke againſt him as a Man of whom he was heartily afraid. Many were ſway'd by the ſuperſtitious Argument that had been urg'd againſt Duke *Hamilton, That God was not pleas'd that he ſhou'd eſcape, becauſe he had put Him into their Hands again, when he was at Liberty*. After a long Debate, tho' there was not a Man that had not a Value for him, and very few who had a particular Malice or Prejudice againſt him, the Queſtion being put, the Negative was greater by three or four Voices: So that, of the four Lords, three were without the Mercy of theſe implacable People.

Owen acquitted.

There being no other Petition preſented, *Ireton* told them, 'There had been great Endeavours and Sollicitations us'd to ſave theſe Lords; but that there was a Commoner, another condemn'd Perſon, for whom no Man had ſpoke a Word, nor had he Himſelf ſo much as petition'd them; and therefore he deſir'd That Sir *John Owen* might be preſerv'd *by the meer Motive and Goodneſs of the Houſe it ſelf*:' Which Motion found little Oppoſition; whether they were now ſatiated with Blood, or that they were willing, by this very Inſtance, that the Nobility ſhou'd ſee that a Commoner ſhou'd be preferr'd before them. However, ſo much lawleſs Severity was now ſhewn, that the *High-Court of Juſtice* began at this Time, both in Print and in Private, to be call'd CROMWELL's NEW SLAUGHTER-HOUSE.

The Execution of Duke Hamilton,

4. To compleat the Tragedy, a Scaffold was erected before *Weſtminſter-Hall*, directly againſt the *High-Court of Juſtice*; and on the ninth Day of *March* all the Priſoners condemn'd were brought to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe; where they were ſuffer'd to repoſe themſelves about the Space of an Hour, and were ſucceſſively led through the Hall to the Scaffold. The Firſt was the Duke of *Hamilton*, who, apprehending he might be interrupted by Noiſe or otherways upon the Scaffold, had prepar'd a Speech in Writing, which he deliver'd to his Friends, in which he declar'd Himſelf 'to have been a loyal and faithful Subject and Servant to the late King, *in whom he had obſerv'd as eminent Virtues, and as little Vice, as in any Man he ever knew*. And among other Things he clear'd himſelf, both from adviſing the King to paſs the Bill for the Continuance of the Parliament, and that other for the Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*; and likewiſe clear'd both the King, and Himſelf, from being any ways the Cauſers or Countenancers of the *Iriſh* Rebellion.' Being ready to go to the Scaffold, ſome Officers from *Cromwell* came to him, and proffer'd, 'That if he wou'd diſcover what had been often ask'd of him, he ſhou'd not only be preſerv'd, but be made a great Man.' But he utterly rejected their Propoſals, and ſaid, *If he had as many Lives as Hairs on his Head, he wou'd ſooner lay them all down, than redeem them by ſuch baſe Means*; as Mr. *Burnet* had it from an Ear-Witneſs. Having aſcended the Scaffold with Dr. *Sibbald*, he ſeem'd yet to have ſome hope of a Reprieve from the Waiting of the Earl of *Denbigh* to ſpeak with him; but after a ſhort Whiſper, he prepar'd for Death. He repeated ſome Parts of his written Speech, and complain'd much 'of the Injuſtice that was done him; and that he was put to Death for obeying the Laws of his Country; which if he had refus'd, he muſt have ſuffer'd there;' and ſo with great Patience and Devotion he ſubmitted to the fatal Stroak. Thus dy'd this illuſtrious Perſon in the forty third Year of his Age; whoſe natural Darkneſs and Reſervedneſs, made him to be thought a Wiſe Man; and his having commanded under the King of *Sweden*, made him be thought a great Soldier: Both which Miſtakes, as the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, caus'd him to be accounted a worſe and more dangerous Man, than in truth he deſerv'd to be. Moſt Writers have born hard upon the Memory of this unfortunate Man, and none more effectually than Biſhop *Guthry*, who ſeems to have known him beſt: Therefore Sir *James Turner* in a Manuſcript formerly mention'd, has endeavour'd to vindicate him againſt the Biſhop; which he has done with greater Heat than Proof; and has ſaid nothing to his remarkable Proceedings in the *Scotch* Parliament, in the latter End of the Year 1646, relating to the giving up the King to the *Engliſh* Parliament.

And the Earl of Holland.

The next Sufferer was the Earl of *Holland*, a Perſon almoſt ſpent with Troubles and Sickneſs, who had for his Confeſſors two eminent Presbyterian Miniſters, Mr. *Bolton*, and Mr. *Hodges*. For ſeveral Days after his Sentence he was in great Perplexity and Agony of Thought, concerning the Pardon of his Sins, and continu'd in a deſponding Condition, till the Day before his Execution he found Relief from the Advice and Prayers of the latter of the two Divines. Being upon the Scaffold, 'he excus'd and extenuated the Variety of his Proceedings, as to King and Parliament, and ſpoke much of his Religion, as a Matter unqueſtionable, by the Education he had in the *Religious Family* of which he was a Branch:' Which was thought a ſtrange Topick for a dying Man, who knew enough of the Iniquity of his Father's Houſe, which ſhou'd rather have been bury'd in Silence, than reviv'd by ſuch an unſeaſonable Teſtimony. He took more care to be thought a good Friend to Parliaments, than a true Servant to his Maſter, and was thought to have ſaid too little of his Want of Duty and Gratitude to him, which moſt good Men believe to be the Source of his preſent Calamity. He was ſo weak, that he cou'd not have liv'd long, and the fatal Stroak was follow'd by very little Blood. Sufficient has been ſaid of the Character of this unfortunate fine Gentleman, whoſe chief Unhappineſs was his Deſire to enjoy Eaſe and Plenty, when his Maſter cou'd have neither, and his Belief that Poverty was the moſt inſupportable Evil in this World.

A more particular Account of the Lord Capel.

The laſt Sufferer, the Lord *Capel*, was of a contrary Diſpoſition; a Perſon who had been poſſeſs'd of all the Bleſſings of this Life, a noble Eſtate, an admirable Lady both for Virtue and Beauty, a numerous and hopeful Iſſue of both Sexes, and an excellent Neighbourhood of worthy Friends; all which he enjoy'd with a full Reliſh and Comfort. He had no private Obligations to the Crown, and no Dependance upon the Court, but join'd in that general Torrent that bore down the Earl of *Strafford*. Yet no ſooner was the King's Honour and juſt Power invaded, than he threw all his great Bleſſings behind him, frankly engag'd both his Perſon and his Fortune, in all Actions of the greateſt Hazard and Danger, and ſo continu'd through all Difficulties inviolably ſteady to the Royal Cauſe; inſomuch that when his Life was offer'd him, if he wou'd marry his eldeſt Son to the Daughter of one in great Power at this Time, he ſaid, *He wou'd not purchaſe his Life ſo baſely, as by giving his Son to ſuch a Traytor's Daughter*. There are ſome Things concerning this great Man's End, worthy of Remembrance, but unknown to the World, which we have recover'd from the Mouth of Dr. *Morley*, afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whom he had made Choice of for his ſpecial Aſſiſtant in this laſt Extremity. This worthy Divine coming to him at his Lodgings in the *Tower*, his Lordſhip told him, *That he had choſen him to be his Confeſſor; that he had ſtrictly recollected the whole Courſe of his Life, to the beſt of his Remembrance, and was reſolv'd to confeſs all the Miſdoings of it, in Order to receive Abſolution according to the Church of* England, *if he thought him worthy of it*. Upon hearing his Confeſſion, the Doctor freely told him, *He cou'd not give him Abſolution, becauſe he had omitted one Sin, greater than all he had confeſs'd*. Upon which the Lord, clapping his Hand upon his Breaſt in a Surpriſe, ask'd *What Sin was that*? The other reply'd, *The Blood of the Earl of* Strafford *lyes upon your Head; of which you were highly guilty with his other Enemies*. *Doctor*, ſaid his Lordſhip, *I beg God's and your Pardon for omitting this great Sin, for which I have often ask'd Forgiveneſs of God, as a Man guilty of innocent Blood; but my Mind was ſo intent upon my private Sins, that I forgot the mentioning of this; and I will do any Thing you'll have me, to receive Abſolution from it.* The Doctor made Anſwer, *My Lord, your private Confeſſion of this heinous Sin is not ſufficient for Abſolution; nor ought I to give it, unleſs your Lordſhip will promiſe me to make your Confeſſion as publick as your Crime. I will do it*, ſaid his Lordſhip, *with all my Heart, if you will tell me how*. At which the other told him, *There is but one Way, and that is to confeſs it in your laſt Speech at the Place of Execution, and then your Repentance will be as publick as your Sin*. Upon which his Lordſhip, embracing the Doctor, ſaid, *I heartily thank you, Doctor, and I do promiſe I will do it; and I wou'd not for all the World have dy'd without a publick Confeſſion of this Sin, and making the beſt Satisfaction I can to the Memory of my Lord* Strafford, *before God and Men, for having my Hands dipt in his Blod.*

His Converſation with Dr. Morley.

The

His Diſcourſe with his Son.

The Officers being come to remove him from the *Tower*, he firſt went into his Lady's Apartment juſt by, to take his Leave of her, and his eldeſt Son, then about thirteen Years old, and afterwards Earl of *Eſſex*. The Lady, unable to bear the fatal Departure of her dear Lord, immediately fell into ſwooning Fits, out of which, as faſt as ſhe recover'd, upon his beginning to ſpeak, ſhe relaps'd. After a long Attendance in vain he turn'd to his Son, who ſtood by, and ſpake in this Manner to him: *My dear Child, I ſee your Mother is not in a Condition to hear my laſt Words to her; and being unwilling to detain the Officers any longer, what I wou'd have ſaid to her, I ſay in ſhort to you: Tell her, 'That as I always lov'd her as my own Soul, ſo the 'moſt ſenſible Part of my Sufferings is the being ſnatcht 'from her; and when this bittereſt Part of my Execution 'is over, I value not the reſt:' And ſince it has pleaſed God to call me to the Honour of ſuffering for ſuch a Cauſe, I cannot but bleſs his Name for appointing it at this Time, when you are at Age to underſtand the Righteouſneſs of the Cauſe for which I ſuffer: And I charge you here upon my Bleſſing, and as you expect to ſtand with me before God at the Day of Judgment,* THAT YOU CONSTANTLY ADHERE TO THE SAME CAUSE, *and ſerve the King with the* SAME FIDELITY *as I have ſerv'd both him and the King his Father; tho' your Services to him ſhou'd bring you to the ſame* HONOURABLE END, *which with Joy and Satisfaction I am going to make.* All which, with a Flood of Tears, the young Gentleman promis'd, in that very ſame Room, in the narrow Cloſet of which he afterwards put an End to his own Life: Upon which Dr. *Morley*, when Biſhop, made ſeaſonable Remarks, as if the Sight of that Room had rais'd ſuch a Conſciouſneſs of Guilt, as threw him into an unconquerable Fit of Deſpair.

His Speech and Execution.

Having been brought, with the other two noble Sufferers, to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe, this Lord in the laſt Place paſs'd through *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with a ſerene Countenance ſaluting all his Friends and Acquaintance. The Soldiers ſtopping Dr. *Morley* at the Foot of the Scaffold, he with kind Embraces took his leave of his Friend, and ſaid *he ſhou'd go no further*, apprehending that he might receive ſome Affront by that rude People after his Death. Then aſcending the Scaffold, he look'd about him with a Majeſtick Air, and ask'd *Whether the other Lords had ſpoken to the People with their Hats on*? And being told they were bare, he gave his Hat to his Servant, and then with a clear and ſtrong Voice declar'd 'That he was condemn'd to dye not by any Law of *England*, but contrary to all the Laws of *England*, and for maintaining 'the Fifth Commandment: That he had been born and 'bred under the Government of a King, whom he was 'bound in Conſcience to obey; under Laws, to which he 'had been always obſervant; and in the Boſom of a 'Church, which he thought the beſt in the World; to 'either of which he had never violated his Faith.' But according to his Promiſe, and in Imitation of the King, his Maſter, 'who *for ſuffering an unjuſt Judgment upon 'another, was brought to ſuffer by an unjuſt Judgment*, he 'own'd his Guilt in that he had given his Vote to the Bill 'againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; which he ſaid proceeded 'not from any *Degree of Malice*, but from an *unworthy 'Cowardize*, in not reſiſting ſo great a Torrent.' Then he enlarg'd himſelf in commending 'the great Virtue, 'and Piety, and Mercy of the King whom they had put 'to Death; and recommended to them the preſent King, '*their true and lawful Sovereign*, who was likewiſe worthy to be ſo, by reaſon of his Underſtanding, Courage, 'Piety, and all other Princely Virtues which cou'd make 'a Nation happy: And therefore adviſ'd them to ſubmit 'to his Government, as the only Means to preſerve 'Themſelves, their Poſterity, and the Proteſtant Religion.' And having with great Zeal recommended this to them, after ſome Prayers devoutly pronounc'd upon his Knees, with an unparallel'd Chriſtian Courage he ſubmitted to the fatal Stroak, which depriv'd the Nation of the nobleſt Champion it had; a Perſon whoſe Memory all Men lov'd and reverenc'd, but whoſe Example was follow'd by few. The noble Hiſtorian ſums up his Character, when he ſays, 'He was a Man, that whoſoever 'ſhall, after him, deſerve beſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, he 'can never think himſelf undervalu'd, when he ſhall hear, 'that his Courage, Virtue and Fidelity, is laid in the 'Balance with, and compar'd to that of the Lord *Capel*.'

5. While the Common-wealth of *England* was laying its Foundation in Blood, the Leaders were allarm'd both from *Ireland* and *Scotland*; from the former by the great Advantages obtain'd by the Marqueſs of *Ormond* join'd with the Lord *Inchiquin*, who had driven out the Pope's Nuncio, and poſſeſs'd the whole Province of *Munſter*. In *Scotland*, they did not only proteſt againſt all the Proceedings of the *Engliſh* Parliament, but likewiſe proclaim'd the young King on the 3d Day of *February*, with all Solemnity, as their lawful Sovereign. Nor was *England* it ſelf wholly ſubdu'd to their Power; for ſtill the Gentlemen in *Pontfret* Caſtle held out with uncommon Bravery, under the Governor Colonel *Morrice*, who had formerly by a Stratagem ſurpris'd the Place. After the Defeat of the *Scotch* Army under Duke *Hamilton*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was brought Priſoner to *Nottingham* Caſtle, who expected to meet with no Mercy; this Garriſon reſolv'd to make a bold Attempt for his Service; and this was by taking Colonel *Rainsborough* Priſoner, who lay within ten Miles of them at *Doncaſter*, with a conſiderable Force ready to beſiege the Place. This with a ſelect Party they ſtrangely effected in the midſt of his Quarters, and had him in full Poſſeſſion, till finding himſelf ſurpris'd more than forc'd, he began to ſtruggle and cry out; upon which they ſtabb'd him and left him dead upon the Spot, and retir'd without the Loſs of one Man. This Man was *Cromwell*'s particular Favourite, bold and barbarous to his Deſire, and deſign'd as Chief Commander of the Fleet; therefore this extraordinary Action was highly reſented by him, who ſent Colonel *Lambert* to beſiege the Place, and take full Vengeance upon the Garriſon.

Pontfret *Caſtle holds out.*

The Garriſon capitulates.

Six excepted.

The manner of their Eſcape.

When *Lambert* came to this Charge, and got what Body of Men he thought fit for that Purpoſe, he in a ſhort Time reduc'd them within their own Circuit, making good Works round the Caſtle, that Famine might finiſh what Force cou'd not effect. Nor did they quietly ſuffer themſelves to be thus hemm'd in without bold and frequent Sallies, in which many on both Sides loſt their Lives. But at laſt, having no human Hope of Relief, they offer'd to treat for the Delivery of the Caſtle, if they might have honourable Conditions; if not, they declar'd 'They had ſtill Proviſions for a long Time; that they 'durſt die, and would ſell their Lives at as dear a Price 'as they cou'd.' *Lambert* anſwer'd, 'He was ſenſible of 'their Courage, and he deſir'd to preſerve as many of 'them as was in his Power to do, but he muſt require ſix 'of them to be given up to him, whoſe Lives he cou'd 'not ſpare, for his Hands were bound; which he was 'ſorry for, ſince he knew them to be gallant Men.' The ſix excepted were Colonel *Morrice*, and five more who were in the Party that had deſtroy'd *Rainsborough*: Theſe he was oblig'd by *Cromwell* to ſacrifice; but all the reſt he 'was content to releaſe, that they might return to 'their Houſes, and make their Compoſition with the Parliament, towards which he wou'd do them all good Offices.' They from within acknowledg'd 'his Civility in 'that Particular, and wou'd be glad to embrace it; but 'they cou'd never be guilty of ſo much Baſeneſs as to deliver up any of their Companions;' and therefore they only deſir'd, 'That they might have ſix Days allow'd 'them, that thoſe ſix might do the beſt they could to deliver themſelves; in which it ſhould be lawful for the reſt 'to aſſiſt them:' To which *Lambert* generouſly conſented, 'provided the reſt would ſurrender at the End of that 'Time;' which was agreed to. Upon the firſt Day the Garriſon appear'd twice or thrice, as if they reſolv'd to make a Sally, but retired every time without charging; but the ſecond Day, in another Place, they made a brisk and noble Sally, and beat the Enemy from their Poſt with conſiderable Loſs; and tho' they were at laſt repell'd, yet *Morrice*, and another of the ſix made their Eſcape, the other four being forc'd to retire with the reſt. And all was quiet for two whole Days; but in the beginning of the Night of the fourth Day, they made another brave Attempt with that Succeſs, that two of the other four likewiſe eſcap'd: And the next Day they made great Shews of Joy, and ſent Word to *Lambert*, 'That their ſix Friends 'were gone, and therefore they would be ready the next 'Day to ſurrender.'

The two remaining now thought it in vain to make another Attempt, therefore invented another Way to ſecure themſelves, with leſs Danger to their Friends, who for their Sakes had ſuffer'd very much in the two laſt Sallies. The Building of the Caſtle being very large and irregular, and having great Store of waſte Stones fallen from ſome of the Walls; they found a convenient Place, which was like to to be leaſt viſited, where they walled up their two Friends in ſuch a manner that they had Air to ſuſtain them, and Proviſion enough to ſupport them a Month, in which Time they hop'd they might be able to eſcape. This being done, at the appointed Hour they open'd their Ports; and after *Lambert* had caus'd ſtrict Search to be made for thoſe ſix, none of which he believ'd had really eſcap'd, and was ſatisfy'd that they were not amongſt thoſe that were come out, he receiv'd the reſt very civilly, and punctually obſerv'd his Promiſe he had made to them, and ſeem'd ſatiſ-

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Car. I.

The Caſtle ſurrenders.

fy'd, *That the ſix gallant Men were eſcap'd.* And about the ſame Time Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* made his Eſcape out of *Nottingham-Caſtle*, and tranſported himſelf beyond the Seas. The Caſtle was ſurrender'd on the 24th Day of *March*, and *Lambert* preſently took Care to diſmantle the Place, that there ſhould be no more uſe of it for a Garriſon, leaving the vaſt Ruins ſtill ſtanding, and then drew off all his Troops to new Quarters: So that within ten Days after the Surrender, the two that were left walled up threw down their Incloſure, and ſafely provided for themſelves. Sir *John Digby*, who had been joyn'd in the Governorſhip of the Caſtle, liv'd many Years after the Reſtoration; but poor *Morrice* was ſoon after taken in *Lancaſhire*, and hapned to be put to Death in the ſame Place, where he had once perform'd a great piece of Service to the Parliament.

The Behaviour of Foreign Princes at the Death of the King.

Thus was the fatal Year 1648 compleated; at which Period of Time it may be proper to reſt, and take a ſhort View of the Actions and Behaviour of the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, upon this calamitous Turn of Affairs. Inſtead of Threatning, and combining to take Vengeance againſt the Deſtroyers of a Sovereign Brother, they haſtned to become Sharers in the Spoils of a murder'd Monarch. Cardinal *Mazarine*, now Governour of *France*, and Admirer of *Cromwell*, ſent to be admitted as a Merchant to traffick in the Purchaſe of the beſt Goods and Jewels of the rifled Crown; of which he bought the rich Beds, Hangings, and Carpets, which furniſh'd his Palace at *Paris*. The King of *Spain*'s Ambaſſador, as ſoon as the diſmal Murder was over, purchas'd as many Pictures, and other precious Goods belonging to the Crown, as were carry'd upon eighteen Mules from the *Groyne* to *Madrid*. *Chriſtina*, Queen of *Sweden*, bought the Choice of all the Medals, and Jewels, and ſome Pictures of great Price, and receiv'd the Parliament's Agent with Joy and Pomp, and made an Alliance with them. The Arch-Duke *Leopold*, Governour of *Flanders*, disburs'd great Sums for many of the beſt Paintings, which adorn'd the ſeveral Palaces of the King; which were all brought to him to *Bruſſels*, and from thence carry'd by him into *Germany*. Thus did the Neighbouring Princes joyn to aſſiſt *Cromwell* with Treaſure, which enabled him to proſecute and finiſh his impious Deſigns; while they inrich'd and adorn'd themſelves with the Ruins of the ſurviving Heir, without applying any Part to his Relief, in the greateſt Neceſſities that ever King ſuſtain'd. And what was ſtill more wonder'd at, not one of all theſe Princes ever reſtor'd any of their unlawful Purchaſes, after the Reſtoration, when the King was in Ability to demand them.

Several Executions.

II. 1. The Common-Wealth of *England* being now in its Infancy, various Methods were us'd, and divers Projects undertaken to ſecure its Being and Authority. Firſt by the free ſhedding of the Blood of its Oppoſers; for beſides the Noblemen before-mention'd, ſeveral others ſuffer'd in different Parts of the Kingdom. And beſides Colonel *Morrice*, Colonel *Blackburn* was hang'd and quarter'd at *York*: Mr. *Beaumont*, a Miniſter, was hang'd at *Pontfret*, having been Chaplain to that Garriſon: Major *Monday* was ſhot to Death at *Lancaſter*; and Colonel *Langhorn*, *Poyer* and *Powell*, three valiant *Welſhmen*, were ſentenc'd to caſt Lots for their Lives, and the fatal Chance falling upon *Poyer*, he was ſhot to Death in *Covent-Garden*. There were ſome others ſlaughter'd upon the ſame Account; becoming unhappy Monuments of unfortunate Loyalty, and the Regicides Cruelty. Tho' ſeveral conſiderable Perſons, eluding the Cunning of their Keepers, eſcap'd; as Colonel *Maſſy*, Sir *Lewis Dives*, Mr. *Holden*, the Lord *Loughborow*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and others. Nor was it only againſt the Perſons of Men that theſe Uſurpers rag'd; they alſo ſeiz'd the King and the Churches Patrimony, Revenues, Palaces, &c. and forc'd ſuch of the Cavaliers as they did not confiſcate, to a ruinous Ranſom of their Eſtates. Thus they clear'd their Way, and with the greateſt Tyranny, pretended to eſtabliſh an abſolute Freedom. Still Liberty was their Allegation; accordingly they took down the King's Statue from the Weſt-End of St. *Paul*'s, and that other in the *Royal-Exchange*, putting up this ſtrange Inſcription in Letters of Gold; EXIT TYRANNUS, REGUM ULTIMUS, MDCXLVIII.

1649.
Car. I.

Cromwell his Preaching.

As their grand Support was a Military Power, ſo for ſuſtaining of That, they impos'd a ſettled Tax of ninety thouſand Pounds a Month, beſides ſeveral Taxes of other Kinds. Then wiſely conſidering, That as the Preachers had been their chief Inſtruments, by infuſing ſuch Principles into the Vulgar, as had by Length of Time accompliſh'd their great Deſign of aboliſhing Monarchy; leſt therefore, by the ſame Engine, the like Ruin might by Degrees be brought upon Themſelves, they order'd, ‘ That no Miniſter in the Pulpit, ſhould meddle with any State-Matters.' Yet *Inſpirations* and *Revelations* were never more frequent than at this Time, and every one pretended to be a Preacher, eſpecially among the Soldiers; ſix of whom in one Day exercis'd their particular Gifts at *Whitehall*: Inſomucch that *Cromwell* himſelf, ſubtilly obſerving the Bent of this Tide, aſcended the Pulpit, pretending *He was call'd up by the Spirit of God*; and ſtanding for ſome Time with his Eyes lifted up, and his Head inclining, as it were in a Trance, he fetch'd many deep Groans, and ſpent one Hour in his Prayer, and near two in his Sermon. In which Prayer, his Humility was ſuch, That, in Imitation of *Moſes*, *he deſir'd God to take off from his Shoulders the Government of this mighty People of* England, *as being too heavy for him to bear.* And ſo much did he then pretend to *Revelations*, and *Inſpirations*, that when any weighty Matter was propounded to him, he uſually retired for a quarter of an Hour, or more, and declar'd *what was reveal'd to him.* And tho' the preſent Rulers were generally *Independents*, yet they now ſeem'd deſirous to obtain the united Intereſt of the *Presbyterians*; and therefore they employ'd their chief Preachers, as *Marſhal*, *Nye*, *Caryl*, *Goodwin* and *Peters*, to uſe divers Arguments and Propoſals with the Heads of them; aſſuring them, ‘ That the *Presbyterions* differ'd ‘ with the King in Point of Civil Intereſt, which was much ‘ more irreconcilable than that of Church-Government, ‘ whatever Shew was made to the contrary: Likewiſe, ‘ That it was the *Presbyterians* who firſt made War againſt the late King, brought him low, and prepar'd him ‘ to receive his deadly Blow from the *Independents*; and ‘ therefore the King would certainly look upon them, as ‘ equally guilty with the *Independents*, and endeavour equally to deſtroy them both.' And to carry on their Work with the more Shew of Sanctity, they appointed a ſtrict Faſt, ‘ To implore God's Forgiveneſs for the Ingratitude of the People, who did not ſufficiently acknowledge his great Mercies upon this Land, in freeing them ‘ from *Monarchy*, and beſtowing *Liberty* upon them, by ‘ changing *Kingly Government* into a *Free State.*

Cajoles the Presbyterians.

Severer Methods againſt them.

When Perſuaſions had not their full Effect, ſeverer Methods were us'd againſt the *Presbyterians*, who were now much at their Mercy; and their Champion *Milton*, having baſely vilify'd the late King's Writings and Actions, boldly drew his Pen againſt them, and charg'd them with ‘ Jugling and paltering with the World, bandying and ‘ bearing Arms againſt their King, diveſting him, diſanointing him, nay curſing him all over in their Pulpits, Pamphlets, &c. and then not only turning Revolters from ‘ thoſe Principles, which only cou'd at firſt move them, ‘ but laying a Stain of Diſloyalty on thoſe Proceedings, ‘ which were the neceſſary Conſequences of their own ‘ former Actions.' He rallies them for ‘ citing the King ‘ ſo often under the Name of *Tyrant* in the hearing of God, ‘ of Angels, and the Holy Church aſſembled, and their ‘ charging him with ſpilling of more innocent Blood by ‘ far, than ever *Nero* did:' And demands of them, ‘ Whether their now recanting Miniſters had not preach'd againſt him as a *Reprobate* incurable, an Enemy to God ‘ and his Church, mark'd for Deſtruction, and therefore ‘ not to be treated with:' He ridicules their fine Clauſe in the *Covenant* to preſerve his Perſon, Crown and Dignity, as ‘ ſet there by ſome dodging Caſuiſt with more ‘ Craft than Sincerity, to mitigate the Matter in Caſe of ‘ ill Succeſs.' He calls their Preachers ‘ Miniſters of Sedition, not of the Goſpel, who while they ſaw it manifeſtly tend to Civil War and Bloodſhed, never ceas'd ‘ exaſperating the People againſt him; and now they ſee it ‘ likely to breed new Commotions, ceaſe not to incite others againſt the People that have ſav'd them from Him, ‘ as if *Sedition* were their only Aim, whether againſt Him ‘ or for Him.' In Sum, they were often treated with that Contempt and Indignity from the Ruling Party, that they had as much Reaſon perhaps to complain of *Perſecution* before, as they had after the Reſtoration.

Ordinances concerning Treaſons, &c.

And now to fortify themſelves, and their uſurp'd Dominion, they fram'd an Act, declaring certain Particulars to be High-Treaſon, as, ‘ 1. If any Man ſhould maliciouſly ‘ affirm the preſent Government to be *Tyrannical*, *Uſurped*, ‘ or *Unlawful*; or that the Commons in Parliament were ‘ not the *Supream Authority of the Nation*; or that ſhould ‘ endeavour to alter that their Government. 2. If any ſhould ‘ affirm their *Council of State* or *Parliament* to be *Tyrannical* or *Unlawful*, or endeavour to ſubvert them, or ſtir ‘ up Sedition againſt them. 3. For any Soldiers of the ‘ Army to contrive the Death of their *General*, or LIEUTENANT-GENERAL; or endeavour to raiſe ‘ Mutinies in the Army, to levy War againſt the Parliament, or to joyn with any to invade *England* or *Ireland*, ‘ or counterfeit their Great-Seal, or kill any Member of ‘ their Parliament, or any Judge or Miniſter of Juſtice in ‘ their Duty.' To ſweeten likewiſe the Affections of the Vulgar towards them, they made moſt ſpecious Pretences of paying all the publick Debts, and raiſing three hundred thouſand Pounds for the Neceſſities of the Common-Wealth, without any Burthen to the People; and to that End paſs'd an Act ‘ for aboliſhing all Deans and Chapters, and for Sale of their Lands.’ They likewiſe paſs'd another Act ‘ for the Sale of the Goods and Perſonal Eſtate of the King, Queen and Prince;’ and another ‘ for the Sale of the Crown-Lands, with particular Inſtructions to ſell them at thirteen Years Purchaſe.’ And for an Exerciſe of their full Power, they paſs'd an Act ‘ for coyning of new Mony, with Directions for the Form of the Stamp to be made thereon.

The Power of the Levellers.

2. While they were thus eſtabliſhing their Authority, they met with no Oppoſition from any, but an intire Submiſſion from all, except only from that Part of their own Army which had contributed moſt to their Grandeur and Empire, the *Levellers*. That People had been countenanc'd by *Cromwell* to enter into Confederacies to corrupt and diſſolve the Diſcipline of the Army, and by his Artifices had been us'd to bring about all his crooked Deſigns. By them he broke the ſtrict Union between the Parliament and the *Scots*, and then took the King out of the Hands of the Parliament, and kept him in the Army, with ſo many fair Profeſſions of treating Him, and his Party, better than the other had done: By them the *Presbyterians* had been affronted and trodden under Foot, and the City of *London* expos'd to Diſgrace and Infamy: By them he had broken the Treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*, forcibly driven out of the Parliament all thoſe who deſir'd Peace, and at laſt executed his barbarous Malice upon the Perſon of the King: And when he had apply'd them to all thoſe Uſes, he expected and endeavour'd to have reduc'd them again, by a ſtrict Hand, into that Order and Obedience from whence he had ſeduc'd them. But they had taſted too much of Power and Sovereignty, to be willing to be ſtripp'd and depriv'd of it; but at the ſame Time made an unskilful Computation of their own Power by the great Things they had effected in thoſe Changes and Revolutions; not conſidering that their ſuperior Officers were now united with the Parliament, and entirely concurr'd in the ſame Deſigns. However, being diſappointed in ſome Promiſes that had been made to them, they reſolv'd to exert themſelves, and appear'd both tumultuous and mutinous in many Parts of the Army.

Theſe ſort of Men, and new a Spawn of *Agitators*, for ſome Time created ſufficient Work for *Cromwell*, who in order to ſuppreſs them, ſtrictly forbad their private Meetings; but not ſucceeding in this, ſeveral of the Soldiers were ſeiz'd on, try'd and condemn'd by a Court-Martial, and *Lockyer*, one of their Ringleaders, was ſhot to Death; tho' magnificently bury'd by the Rabble of his Party. This Execution rather inflam'd than mollify'd the Tumour; and this being too feeble a Remedy for ſuch an increaſing Diſtemper, it was thought neceſſary to ſeparate them; which was attempted, by voting That eleven Regiments, by Lot, ſhould paſs over into *Ireland*. But this enrag'd them to that Height, that, perceiving that inſtead of enjoying the Advantages that had been promis'd them, they were expos'd to new Hazards, and the Dangers of a ſtarving War, they abſolutely declar'd againſt it, ‘ *As a Contrivance to divide them*, and that they would not go for *Ireland*, till the Liberties of the People, for which they were firſt engag'd in a War, were ſecured.’ They alſo requir'd, ‘ That the often-promis'd *Repreſentative* of the Nation might be choſen. They exclaim'd againſt the *High-Court of Juſtice*, and the *Council of State*, as Tyrannical, not without blaming the Injuſtice and Illegality of the *Regicide* it ſelf;’ and added, ‘ That the People had only chang'd, not ſhaken off their Yoak; and that the *Rump*'s little Finger was heavier than the King's Loyns, *&c.*’ And finding that Diſcourſes and Repreſentations were ineffectual, they betook themſelves to Arms. Colonel *Scroop*'s Regiment, having turn'd off their Officers, march'd with twelve Troops from their Quarters at *Saliſbury* towards *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*, expecting to join with thoſe of *Harriſon*, *Ireton* and *Skippon*, and a Party under one *Thompſon* then lying near *Banbury*; which they had effected, if they had not been prevented by the extraordinary Diligence of *Cromwell* and *Fairfax*, who poſting forty Miles in one Day, overtook them at *Abingdon*. But being ſtill doubtful of the Event, they offer'd a Treaty, ‘ wherein Satisfaction might be mutually given; and till that were compleated, that neither Party might come within ten Miles of each other.’ Upon this Agreement, the *Levellers*, whoſe Numbers were encreas'd to about five Thouſand, march'd to *Burford*; but in the midſt of their Security, Colonel *Reynolds*, who is ſaid to have betray'd their Counſels, fell upon them at Midnight, routed them, and took four Hundred of them Priſoners, and nine Hundred of their Horſes. *Thompſon* took Shelter in a Wood near *Milton*, where he fought couragiouſly till he was kill'd; and thus, with the Execution of ſome of the Heads, the Inſurrection was ſuppreſs'd upon the fifteenth Day of *May*.

Their mutinous Demands.

They are ſuppreſs'd by Force.

After this Succeſs, the Lord-General *Fairfax*, and Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* went to *Oxford*, where they were highly treated, and Created Doctors of the Civil Law; and at the ſame Time Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, with eight Colonels, *Harriſon*, *Ingoldsby*, *Hewſon*, *Okey*, *Groſvenour*, *Goff*, *Joyce* and *Cobbet*, and Mr. *Ruſhworth*, were created Maſters of Arts. Then having viſited *Portſmouth*, they return'd to *London* in Triumph, where they receiv'd new Marks of Honour from the Members of Parliament, or new Common-Wealth, who, after a publick Thankſgiving for the late Succeſſes, were all in a Body invited by the Lord-Mayor and Corporation to a magnificent Feaſt in the City. The Lord-Mayor, as it was uſual towards Kings, met *Lenthall* the Speaker, with the reſt of the Members, at *Temple-Bar*; and there reſigning the Sword to Him, receiv'd it again, and carry'd it before him to *Chriſt-Church*, whence, after a remarkable Sermon, he conducted them to *Grocers-Hall*, where they were entertain'd in the Quality of a *Free-State*. Yet ſuch was the Effect of Guilt or Fear, that the Cooks were every one forc'd to take an Oath *To prepare Nothing but wholſome Food*. Here was preſented to the Lord-General a large and weighty Baſon and Ewer of beaten Gold, as a Teſtimony of the Affections of the City to his Excellency; and to the Lieutenant-General, three Hundred Pounds in Plate, and two Hundred Pieces in Gold. The Common-Wealth, not to appear ungrateful, or rather to engage them in their Intereſt, generouſly beſtow'd *New-Park*, with all the Deer in it, upon the Citizens.

The Parliament treated by the City.

The Condition of the young King at the Hague.

3. When the great Tragedy was acted in *England*, and Ordinances were prepared againſt the Royal Family, Prince *Charles*, aged eighteen Years and nine Months, juſtly took upon him all his Father's Titles; being in a moſt diſconſolate and almoſt abandon'd Condition at the *Hague*, where all the ſmall Support he had was from the Prince of *Orange*, and the Princeſs his Siſter, who were not in a Condition to maintain any of his Followers. However he kept up a ſort of a Court at this Place, weak and inconſiderable, and languiſhing under the Miſeries of Want, and divided Opinions. The *Swediſh* Ambaſſador indeed addreſs'd to him as a Crowned Head, and He and the *Daniſh* Miniſter generouſly invited the States-General to join with them in aſſiſting his *Britannick* Majeſty to regain his Birth-right; but the States were for no Rupture with their young Siſter, the Common-Wealth of *England*, and they ſoon became uneaſy at his Continuance in their Dominions. The diſtreſſed King had ſome Proſpect both from *Scotland* and *Ireland*; from the former of which he receiv'd Commiſſioners from the *Privy-Council* and the *Kirk*, to invite his Majeſty into *Scotland*, or rather to let him know upon what Terms he might come thither. They brought their Proclamation they had publiſh'd along with them, in which was this particular Clauſe, ‘ Becauſe his Majeſty is bound by the Law of God, and the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, to rule in *Righteouſneſs* and *Equity*, to the Honour of God, and the Good of Religion, and the Wealth of the People; it is hereby declared, That before he be admitted to the Exerciſe of his Royal Power, he ſhall give Satisfaction to this Kingdom in thoſe Things which concern the Security of *Religion*, the *Unity* betwixt the Kingdoms, and the Good and Peace of this Kingdom, according to the *National Covenant*, and the *Solemn League and Covenant*.’ And the Kirk at the ſame Time declar'd, ‘ That before the King ſhou'd be receiv'd, albeit they had declared his Right by *Succeſſion*, he ſhou'd firſt ſign the *Covenant*, ſubmit to the Kirk's *Cenſure*, renounce the *Sins of his Father's Houſe, and the Iniquity of his Mother*, with other Things of the like Nature.’ And the Commiſſioners, both Laity and Clergy, ſpoke no other Language; and, excepting the outward Bows and ſhews of Reverence, they appear'd more like Ambaſſadors from a free State to an equal Ally, than like Subjects ſent to their own Sovereign.

The Scots Invitation.

Beſides theſe Commiſſioners, who were of the Kirk Party, in which *Argyle* govern'd, there were in the *Hague* at this Time the new Duke of *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and others of the Nobility of the late *Engagement*, who were now as odious to the governing Party in *Scotland*, and as much perſecuted, as any who had ſerv'd the King from the Beginning. There was alſo the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, with more of the Nobility, as the Earls of *Seaforth* and *Kinoul*, and others who adher'd to that great Man, who believ'd his clear Spirit to be moſt like to advance the King's Service. Of theſe three Parties, it was reaſonably hop'd that the two laſt, being equally perſecuted by the preſent Powers, wou'd have been eaſily united to have ſuppreſs'd the other. But this was too hard a

Diviſions among the Scotch *Nobility.*

Point for the King to effect, who could as eaſily have perſuaded the Parliament to reject *Cromwell*, as the Lords of the *Engagement* to be reconcil'd to *Montroſs:* So that when his Majeſty hop'd to have met all the *Scotch* Nobility, to have conſulted what Anſwer he ſhould give to the Meſſengers from the Council and Kirk, thoſe Lords of the *Engagement* did not only refuſe to meet with the Lord *Montroſs*, but as ſoon as he appear'd before the King and Them, they immediately left the Room; and had the Confidence to deſire the King in Writing, 'That *James Graham*, as they call'd the Marqueſs, might be forbidden to come into his Majeſty's Preſence, or Court, becauſe he ſtood Excommunicated by the Kirk of *Scotland*, and degraded and forfeited by the Judicatory of that Kingdom.' The moſt inveterate Man againſt the Marqueſs was the Earl of *Lautherdale*, whoſe fiery Spirit was incapable of Moderation; inſomuch that in publick Company he ſwore in a Paſſion, *That tho' he wiſh'd nothing more in this World than to ſee the King reſtor'd, he had much rather he ſhould never be reſtor'd, than that* James Graham *ſhou'd be permitted to come into the Court.* The Duke of *Hamilton* was more moderate, and more averſe to the *Covenant*; yet declar'd to an *Engliſh* Privy-Counſellor, *That he durſt not ſpeak his Mind upon thoſe Heads*; *becauſe he ſhould loſe all Power or Credit to ſerve the King*; thus concluding his Diſcourſe, *Here is my Friend and Kinſman the Earl of* Lautherdale, *who loves me heartily*; *and yet I dare ſay Nothing to him, either againſt the* Covenant, *or for the Marqueſs of* Montroſs: *And if I ſhould, I believe he wou'd rather chuſe to kill me, than to joyn with me*; *ſo much he is tranſported with Prejudice in both theſe Particulars, and ſo incapable to hear Reaſon upon either of thoſe Arguments.*

Beſides the Miſchiefs of theſe Prejudices, the Lords of the *Engagement* abſolutely refus'd to give his Majeſty any Advice in the Preſence of his Council, which might have been of particular Advantage to him in the Debate. The King had more Hopes from *Ireland*, than *Scotland*, and was more deſirous of going thither, where he underſtood that the Marqueſs of *Ormond* daily gain'd Ground, and that his Preſence was much wanted in that Kingdom; ſo that he was willing to let the *Scots* know, *That it was not yet ſeaſonable for him to go for* Scotland. In this unſteady and irreſolute Condition of the King's Counſellors, it was very manifeſt, that to what Place ſoever he was to remove, he ſhould not be able to ſtay long where he was. The *States*, eſpecially thoſe of *Holland*, gave daily Intimations, *That the King's reſiding at the* Hague *wou'd be very inconvenient for them*; and it was the great Intereſt and Dexterity of the Prince of *Orange*, that kept the *States* from ſending a Meſſage directly to deſire him to depart. And there happen'd an Accident at this Time, which haſtned his Reſolution of Removing; which was the Aſſaſſination of Dr. *Doriſlaus*, who had been ſo much concern'd in the Tryal and Murther of the late King. This Man, being ſent as an Envoy from *England* to finiſh a reciprocal Alliance between the two Republicks, while he was at Supper in his Lodgings, in Company with many others at the Table, half a dozen Gentlemen enter'd the Room with their Swords drawn; and requir'd thoſe at the Table not to ſtir, *for no Harm was intended to any but the Agent, who came from the Rebels in* England, *who had newly murther'd their King.* Accordingly one *Whitford* pull'd *Doriſlaus* from the Table, and kill'd him at his Feet, ſaying *Thus dyes one of the Regicides!* and ſo, putting up their Swords, they walk'd quietly out of the Houſe, leaving thoſe in the Room in the greateſt Conſternation.

Dr. Doriſlaus *murther'd at the* Hague.

This Accident made a great Noiſe, not only in *Holland* but in *England*, where the Cavaliers were threatned with ſevere Retaliations; yet the Aſſaſſines were never brought to any Puniſhment, tho' they were moſt of them known to be Servants, or Dependents upon the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*. The King was exceedingly troubled and perplex'd, and ſo reſolv'd to leave the Place, and rely chiefly upon the Proſpect he had in *Ireland*; in order to which it was determin'd that he ſhould take his Journey through *France*, and there wait upon the Queen his Mother, who had been very urgent to have him come that Way. Not long before his Departure, on the ninth of *April*, his eldeſt and beloved Son was born at *Rotterdam*, who for ſeveral Years went by the Name of *James Crofts*, and was afterwards made Duke of *Monmouth*. His Mother was Mrs. *Lucy Barlow*, alias *Walters*, of *Pembrokeſhire* in *Wales*, a Perſon who is ſaid to have had no other Crime but her yielding to the Charms of the young Prince, who had ſo ſtrong a Paſſion for Her, that it gave Occaſion for many to believe ſhe was really marry'd to him; tho' the wiſer Part of the World were afterwards convinc'd to the contrary. However at preſent, all Things relating to the Matter were manag'd with the utmoſt Privacy, and the Infant was lodg'd at a Merchant's Houſe not far from *Rotterdam*, with an *Engliſh* Nurſe, and Servants to attend him.

The Birth of the Duke of Monmouth.

4. The King having given the beſt Orders he cou'd to the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, and diſpatcht the Lord *Cottington* and Sir *Edward Hyde* as Ambaſſadors into *Spain*, in the Month of *May* left the *Hague*, being attended by the Princeſs Royal, his Siſter, and the Prince of *Orange*, his Brother-in-Law, through *Rotterdam*, *Dort* and *Breda*, in all which Places he was receiv'd with the Sound of their Cannon and Bells, and all other Marks of Honour. From thence he went to *Antwerp*, then the principal City of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, where he was magnificently entertain'd, and preſented with a rich Coach and ſix fine Horſes, ſent to him by Arch-Duke *Leopold*, Governor of the *Low-Countries*. His Majeſty was alſo royally treated by him at *Bruſſels*; from whence, after ſome Stay, being convey'd on his Way to *France* by the Duke of *Lorrain*, and every where feaſted and honour'd with the ſame Grandeur, as if the King of *Spain* had been there, he came to *Compeigne*, where the *French* King, accompany'd with a great Train of his Nobility, receiv'd him with all outward Teſtimonies of Affection and Honour, and brought him thence in State to his Mother, the Queen of *Great Britain*, then at St. *Germans*. Here he continu'd two or three Months; for in a little Time he receiv'd ſuch ungrateful Accounts of the Declenſion of his Cauſe in *Ireland*, as broke all his Deſigns of going in Perſon into that Kingdom. But at the ſame Time the Court of *France* ſoon grew uneaſy at his Continuance there, and his Abſence was impatiently deſir'd; and the Queen her ſelf, being diſappointed of that Dominion over him ſhe had expected, reſolv'd to oblige the great Cardinal, by freeing him from a Gueſt ſo unwelcome at that Time. So it was determin'd that he ſhou'd take his Journey through *Normandy*, and embark himſelf for his Iſland of *Jerſey*, which ſtill continu'd under his Obedience, and under the Government of the loyal Sir *George Carteret*. In the middle of *September* he arriv'd at *Jerſey*, with a Retinue of not above three Hundred; and when he left the Court of *France*, had brought away no more than three Hundred Piſtoles to defray the Expences of his Journey and Voyage. The Truth is, the Cardinal ſeems always to have thought that the Extirpation of Monarchy in *England*, would raiſe the Grandeur of it in *France*, and therefore he always obſtructed and retarded the King's Reſtoration; and when his Royal Brother the Duke of *York* was at this Time ſolliciting and beſeeching the King, Queen and Cardinal, to have Compaſſion upon the King his Brother, and to give him all Aſſiſtance for the Regaining of his Kingdoms, the Cardinal coldly anſwer'd, *That they might be hereafter in a Capacity to ſerve him, but it cou'd not be now.*

The King leaves the Hague.

He retires into France.

And ſo to Jerſey.

As ſoon as it was known in *Scotland* that the King was arrived in *Jerſey*, the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, who govern'd in that Kingdom, could no longer withſtand the impatient Deſire of the People, to have their King come to them. Therefore Mr. *Windram Layds* of *Libberton* was diſpatcht away with a Meſſage to his Majeſty, who in the beginning of *October* preſented the following Deſires, and Offers of the States of *Scotland*, of the ſame Nature with the former, namely '1. That he wou'd Sign the *Covenant*, and paſs an Act for all Perſons to take the ſame. 2. That he wou'd paſs the Acts of Parliament in *Scotland*, which were ratify'd by their two laſt Seſſions. 3. That he wou'd withdraw his Commiſſion lately granted to *Montroſs*. 4. That he wou'd put away all Papiſts from about him. 5. That he wou'd appoint ſome Place in *Holland* to treat with Commiſſioners from the Eſtates of *Scotland*. 6. That he wou'd give a ſpeedy Anſwer;' not without a rude Inſinuation, '*That this ſhou'd be the laſt Invitation they wou'd make.*' Some of the King's Council were for rejecting theſe Propoſitions as hard and diſhonourable; and others were for accepting of them as in a Caſe of great Neceſſity: Of this latter Opinion was the Queen-Mother, who ſent over *Jermyn* and *Piercy* to him, to let him know, *It was the Advice of the Council of* France, *and her ſelf, That he agree with the* Scots *upon any Terms. Hamilton*, *Lauderdale* and the Lords of the *Engagement*, who were ſtill forc'd to remain in *Holland*, were of the like Opinion, and urg'd his Majeſty to a Compliance; and even *Montroſs* adviſ'd the King to yield to their Deſires, *and to make his perpetual Baniſhment one Condition of Agreement.* But the King at preſent had too great a Senſe of Honour, tho' his Neceſſities afterwards extorted a more unreaſonable Submiſſion. In the mean time the King ſent Meſſages to the Emperor, the Czar of *Muſcovy*, the States of *Venice*, the King of *Spain*, and other Potentates, who all return'd Anſwers much to the ſame Effect, 'That they were ſorry for his Father's ill Succeſſes, and condol'd his Death; but as to the Differences between him and the People of *England*, they were Matters out of their Cogniſance, and they

A Meſſage to him from Scotland.

‘ ſhou'd not meddle in them’ He was not without Hopes in *England*; for at *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire* he was proclaimed King of *England*, at the Market-Croſs, without the Offer of any Oppoſition; and even the *Levellers*, that made formidable Bodies in ſeveral Counties, had in one of their Articles demanded, ‘ That Prince *Charles* ſhou'd ‘ be brought in;’ ſo that the Hearts of the People ſeem'd to be kept from him by nothing but the Sword. But now the prevailing Powers having prepar'd a Fleet againſt the Iſle of *Jerſey*, it was judg'd neceſſary for the King to leave that Place; which he did on the latter End of the Year, with great Hazard of his Life from a Storm. Then paſſing through *France*, he retir'd to *Breda*, where he enter'd upon new Treaties with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, as will be remember'd in the Beginning of the next Year.

He repairs to Breda.

An Account of the Iriſh *Affairs.*

III. I. The new Common-Wealth of *England* had no ſooner been eſtabliſh'd, but it became not only a Scourge to that Kingdom which by ſtrange Gradations had erected it, but began to be an Inſtrument of the Divine Vengeance againſt the two other Kingdoms of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, that had ſo variouſly and perfidiouſly contributed towards that unknown Fabrick. The *Iriſh* had carry'd on their Cauſe with the utmoſt Bloodſhed and Treachery; and tho' they had been puniſh'd with innumerable Miſeries, yet they ſeem'd to have been reſerv'd for a more ſevere and ſignal Chaſtiſement at this Time. To give a ſhort Account of their Affairs from the Beginning of this Year; it is to be remember'd, that upon an Apprehenſion of the Power of the *New Common-Wealth*, the Chief of the Nation had enter'd into a Confederacy, and had ſolemnly invited over the Marqueſs of *Ormond* to be their Lord Lieutenant under the preſent King, with an Aſſurance of an intire Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands. The Pope's Nuncio being expell'd, and this great Man arriv'd, the Confederates ſoon became formidable by the Acceſſion of the Lord *Inchequin*, Preſident of *Munſter*, and the *Scots* in the Province of *Ulſter*. Both theſe had ſerv'd the Parliament with great Vigour, till the King and Monarchy had been deſtroy'd in *England*; but abhorring the boundleſs Tyranny of the Regicides, they deſerted that Party they had ſo ſucceſsfully follow'd, and return'd to their Duty and Allegiance to their Sovereign. And this was at a Seaſon, that if the unfortunate *Iriſh* wou'd have been unanimous, and laid hold on the preſent Advantages, that Kingdom might have been entirely reduc'd to the King's Obedience. But *Owen-Roe-Oneal*, the beſt Commander among the *Iriſh*, refus'd to be included in the Confederacy, upon pretence that ſufficient Proviſion had not been made for the Security of the Catholick Religion; but in reality, becauſe the Confederate Delegates had imprudently deny'd the Conditions he had demanded, and which his Quality and Intereſt ſeem'd to require. The Difference was about the Command of four Thouſand Men, which they were willing to grant, and ſix Thouſand which he inſiſted upon; to which afterwards they gave a ready Compliance, when the Seaſon was too late, and he had too ſucceſsfully joyn'd with *Monk* and *Coot*, and rais'd the Siege of *London-derry*.

During theſe Traverſes, the famous Marqueſs of *Ormond* enter'd upon his Government, but with too precarious an Authority. For he was compell'd to grant almoſt every Thing the *Iriſh* demanded; and likewiſe to conſent that the Lord *Inchequin* ſhou'd have *Munſter* entire to himſelf, for the Subſiſtance of his Army; which was indeed the Ruin of the old *Iriſh* Regiments of that Province. The Treaty being thus concluded, and theſe ſeveral Intereſts, however ill cemented, ſeeming to acquieſce in the grand Point, their Obedience to the King, an Army was rais'd by the extraordinary Labour and Prudence of the Lord-Lieutenant; and being reinforc'd by the conſiderable Troops of the Lords *Inchequin*, *Clanrickard* and *Caſtlehaven*, they march'd towards the capital City of *Dublin*. *Inchequin* was by the Impatience of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Forces declared Lieutenant-General of the Army; with which Preference *Clanrickard* and *Caſtlehaven* ſeem'd diſguſted; yet both acquieſc'd, preferring their Loyalty before the Satisfaction their Merits might have deſervedly challeng'd. As the united Forces approach'd *Dublin*, Colonel *Michael Jones*, who had been a Lawyer, and now Governor of the Place, advanc'd with his Troops as far as the *Naas* to obſtruct the March of the Army; but being unequal in Number, retreated again into the City. The Marqueſs of *Ormond* had omitted no Civilities and Promiſes to draw this brave Man to his Party and Duty again; but in vain; he obſtinately perſiſted in an Infidelity in which he had engag'd out of Spite, as Sir *Roger Manly* ſays, becauſe a Lieutenant-Colonel had been preferr'd over his Head: Which may ſerve for an Example not to prejudice deſerving Men in their juſt Pretences; tho' no Excuſe can cover the Sins of Perfidy and Rebellion.

A conſiderable Army under the Marqueſs of Ormond.

The Marqueſs of *Ormond* encamp'd his Army at *Finglas*, being at preſent content to ſhut the Garriſon within their Walls, and keep them from Foraging, till the ſeveral Parts of his Forces were come up to him. In the mean Time, *Inchequin*, now Lieutenant-General, was ſent with a ſtrong Party to reduce the Neighbouring Fortreſſes poſſeſſed by the Enemies Garriſons; which he effectually perform'd, defeating alſo a Battalion of *Oneal*'s Men commanded by *Farell*, who were marching to the Relief of their Friends. He likewiſe routed the younger *Coot* with the *Dublin* Horſe, and had *Dundalk* deliver'd to him by the Garriſon, who alſo enter'd into the King's Pay, notwithſtanding the Endeavours of Colonel *Monk* their Governor to the contrary, and their former Promiſes of a firm Adherence to him. *Trim*, the *Newry*, and *Droghedah* it ſelf underwent the ſame Fate, ſo that all being clear'd on that ſide, *Inchequin* return'd Triumphant, with an Encreaſe of Numbers, to the Camp again; where it was forthwith reſolv'd, by Advice of the Peers and the Council of War, to inveſt and preſs the City of *Dublin* with all their Power. This capital City was firſt fortify'd with Works and a Garriſon by the late King, and after that by the Parliament, being now very defenſible by its Numbers and Fortifications. But the Lord-Lieutenant *Ormond* relying upon his formidable Army, now conſiſting of twenty thouſand Men, and the daily Deſertion of the Soldiers in *Dublin*, of whom many had formerly ſerv'd under him, reſolv'd upon a vigorous and cloſe Siege of the Place; eſpecially ſince that and *Londonderry* were almoſt the only Places not reduc'd by the King, and Confederate Forces. In order to which, leaving the Lord *Dillon* with a ſtrong Party at *Caſtleknock*, he decamp'd to the South ſide of the City; and that he might cloſely inveſt the City, and particularly prevent their Horſes and Cattle from grazing, he order'd a Fort to be erected at *Baggot-rath*, giving the charge of this conſiderable Poſt to *Patrick Purcel*, Major-General of the Army. Some Regiments from *England* were in the mean time landed at *Dublin*, under the Conduct of *Reynolds* and *Venables*, to the Number of three Thouſand Horſe and Foot; whereupon a great Rumour was ſpread, that *Cromwell* himſelf deſign'd for *Munſter*, as a People not yet confirm'd in their Defection from their late Maſters. This Report oblig'd *Inchequin* to deſire the Lord-Lieutenant's Permiſſion to go thither, affirming That all his Troops wou'd revolt, unleſs prevented by his ſpeedy Appearance amongſt them; which *Ormond*, not being in a Condition to refuſe, was unhappily compell'd to aſſent to. Thus unſeaſonably dividing the Army, he departed with eleven Hundred Horſe, when the whole was ſcarce ſufficient for the deſign'd Enterprize.

He marches againſt Dublin.

In the mean Time Colonel *Jones* the Governor, perceiving the Progreſs of the Work at *Baggot-rath*, and conſidering that if it were finiſh'd, it wou'd cut off all Commerce by Sea, as well as Communication by Land, reſolv'd to obſtruct it by a brave and vigorous Sally; which he did with uncommon Succeſs: For the Garriſon ruſhing out upon the Pioneers, eaſily diſpers'd them, and with the ſame Facility overthrew the Watch that guarded them, and poſſeſſing the Place, totally routed the amaz'd *Iriſh*: And their Courage encreaſing with their Succeſs, they purſu'd them to the Avenues of their Camp, where furiouſly falling upon the Guards, who ſeem'd rather as Spectators than Defenders, they put them likewiſe to Flight. The remaining Garriſon in the Town, ſeeing the extraordinary Progreſs of their Friends, together with the Inhabitants, flew all to their Aſſiſtance, and with very little Labour and Struggle, obtain'd a very great Victory. For the Army being ſuddenly ſurpris'd, with a more than Pannick Fear, the Soldiers forgetful of their Defence and Duty, threw down their Arms and ſhamefully ran away. In this Confuſion there were about three thouſand ſlain, amongſt whom Sir *Thomas Vaughan* was one, who had alſo fought well. The Priſoners were not leſs numerous; among whom were Colonel *Butler*, the Lord-Lieutenant's Brother, and a hundred Officers. The Cannon, the Camp, and the immenſe Spoils of it, fell to the preſent ſharing of the Conquerors, and ſoon after the whole Kingdom, the Forces of it being irrecoverably loſt by this Blow. The great *Ormond*, who had ſpent the Night on Horſeback in rounding and viewing the ſeveral Poſts of the Army, being but newly laid to Reſt, was rous'd by the coming in of the Lord *Taffe*, General of the Ordnance; but too late; the Camp being generally diſtracted with Fear and Confuſion. He therefore in this univerſal Conſternation, having in vain oppos'd himſelf to this overbearing Torrent, till abandon'd by his Followers, haſtned to the Lord *Dillon*'s Camp; but thoſe *Iriſh* there had fled upon the Noiſe, having ſcarce ſeen the Enemy. This great Overthrow happen'd upon the 2d Day of *Auguſt*; and about the ſame Time *London-derry* was likewiſe reliev'd by *Owen Oneal*, who

His Forces are all overthrown.

joining with *Coot* and *Monk*, as was before hinted, forc'd the *Scots* from that Siege.

2. Before theſe Tranſactions hapned, the Common-Wealth of *England* was ſo allarm'd with the Progreſs in *Ireland*, that they deſign'd to make their chiefeſt Efforts that Way; and *Cromwell* himſelf thought it high Time, in his own Perſon, to appear upon a Stage of ſo great Action. Some of his Friends, who were always ready upon ſuch Occaſions, on a ſudden propos'd him to be Lieutenant-General, to conduct the Expedition in *Ireland*. The *Presbyterian* Party were in hopes of obtaining *Waller* to be the Man, and the *Independents* were for having *Lambert*; but when *Cromwell* was propos'd, which was in his Abſence from the Houſe, the *Presbyterians* ſeem'd to acquieſce, concluding that it was only an Artifice to defer the Service, and that he never intended to go thither in Perſon; or that if he did, his Abſence from *England* wou'd give them all the Advantages they cou'd deſire, and that they ſhou'd entirely recover their General *Fairfax* to their Party, who was now extreamly uneaſie for his former Compliances, and had expreſs'd ſome Bitterneſs againſt the Perſons who had miſ-led him. And ſo immediately both Parties were agreed, and *Oliver Cromwell* declar'd to be Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, with a Commiſſion as full and ample as cou'd be prepared. This Man, how little ſoever ſurpris'd with his Charge, appear'd the next Day in the Houſe full of Confuſion and Irreſolution; which his natural Temper and Compoſure cou'd hardly avoid, when he leaſt deſir'd it; and therefore, when it was now to his Advantage, he cou'd act it to the Life. And after much Heſitation, and many Expreſſions ‘ of his own *Unworthineſs*, and *Diſability* to ſupport ſo great a Charge, and of the entire Reſignation of himſelf to their Commands, and abſolute Dependance upon God's Providence, he ſubmitted to their Good Will and Pleaſure;’ and deſired them to haſten all Preparations: ‘ For he confeſs'd that Kingdom to be reduc'd to ſo great Streights, that he was willing to engage his own Perſon, purely for the Difficulties which appear'd in the Expedition; and more out of Hope to give ſome Obſtruction to the preſent Succeſſes of the Rebels, and to preſerve to the *Common-wealth* ſome Footing in that Kingdom, than from any Expectation that he ſhou'd be able, with his Strength, in any ſignal Degree to prevail over them.

Cromwell *made Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland.

It was an incredible Expedition that he uſed from this Minute after his aſſuming that Charge, in the raiſing of Mony, providing of Shipping, and drawing of Forces together, for this Enterprize. With an Army of fourteen or fifteen thouſand Men he rendezvous'd at *Milford* Haven, where the Ships lying ready for their Tranſportation, he receiv'd Advice of Colonel *Jones*'s defeating the Lord Lieutenant *Ormond*'s Army before *Dublin*, which extreamly incourag'd his Soldiers, who rather expected to hear the News of the taking of that City, and were indeed ſtrangely diſheartned from attempting ſo hazardous an Enterprize as the landing an Army in *Ireland*, under ſuch appearing Diſadvantages. But now Fortune having declar'd ſo much on their Side, they were reſolute to proceed; and *Cromwell*, on the 13th of *Auguſt*, ſet ſail with the Van of the Army in thirty two Ships: *Ireton* ſoon following him with the main Body in forty two other Veſſels, and *Hugh Peters* with twenty Sail bringing up the Rear. By favourable Winds they were ſoon brought to *Dublin*, where *Cromwell* was receiv'd with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy, and daily feaſted by the Inhabitants. But waving their Civilities, in regard of the approaching Winter, he immediately prepar'd for Action, and drawing out ten or twelve thouſand compleat Horſe and Foot, with a well-furniſh'd Train of Artillery he advanc'd towards *Droghedah*, a Town well fortify'd, and a Garriſon in it of two thouſand five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe, the Flower of the Royal Army, under the Command of Sir *Arthur Aſton*, a brave experienc'd Soldier. The Marqueſs of *Ormond* had foreſeen, that this Place, by Reaſon of its Neighbourhood and Situation, wou'd be firſt attempted; it not being adviſable in the Enemy, to leave ſo conſiderable a Fortreſs behind them. And he hop'd he might have Time to recruit his ſhatter'd Army, and repair the Loſs of the late Overthrow, which he endeavour'd with the utmoſt Diligence, while *Cromwell* ſhou'd be waſting his Forces againſt a Town they concluded cou'd hold out a Month, and before that Time be reliev'd.

He arrives at Dublin.

Cromwell was ſenſible of the Miſchiefs of a long Siege, and therefore like an impatient Conqueror, omitting the common Forms of Approaches and Turnings, fell furiouſly to battering the Walls, in which he ſoon made two acceſſible Breaches, which were twice bravely aſſaulted, and twice no leſs valiantly defended, the Enemy being as often repell'd; till reinforc'd by *Cromwell*'s ſpecial Preſence and Conduct, renewing the Storm, having ſlain Colonel *Wall* in the Breach, they at length enter'd the Place. A tumultuous Offer of Quarter being made, and accepted ſooner than it ought to have been, was the Ruin of the Defendents, and indeed of the whole Garriſon: For the Town being thus taken, they were all put to the Sword; tho' they did not fall unreveng'd, for they bravely fought in every Street, and from the Houſes and Towers whither they had retreated. Having got Poſſeſſion of the Town, the Slaughter was terrible and univerſal, *Cromwell* having given expreſs Order, That no Life either of Man, Woman or Child ſhou'd be ſpared; and when an Officer of his own pleaded for Mercy, he declar'd *He wou'd ſacrifice their Souls to the Ghoſts of the* Engliſh *they had murther'd*; tho' he knew that moſt of theſe were not the Murtherers of the *Engliſh*, but *Engliſh* themſelves, and the greateſt Part ſuch as had been Officers under the late King, as beſides the Governor, Sir *Edward Varney*, Colonels *Warren*, *Flemming* and *Brinn*, with many other brave Gentlemen and Officers, who ſuffer'd without Mercy. And ſo general was the Slaughter, that according to *Cromwell*'s own Letter there were ſcarce thirty Lives ſav'd in the whole Town, and thoſe were by him reſerv'd to be ſent to *Barbadoes*; one Lieutenant only eſcaping, who reported to the Royal Party, that he was the only Perſon left alive of the whole Garriſon. The Inhabitants being deſtroy'd, the Town was ſpoil'd and pillag'd; and it was obſerv'd, that tho' it had repell'd the Fury of the *Iriſh* Popiſh Rebels for three whole Years, it cou'd not reſiſt the Force of the *Engliſh* Fanatick Rebels the Space of one Week. This caus'd ſuch a Terror, that *O-Neal* at the hearing of the News, burſt out in a Paſſion, ſwearing, *That if* Cromwell *had taken* Droghedah *by Storm, if he ſhou'd ſtorm Hell, he wou'd take it.*

He ſtorms Droghedah, *and puts all to the Sword.*

This miſerable Deſtruction of *Droghedah* render'd *Cromwell*'s Name formidable to all the neighbouring Places. Few of them had ſo much Reſolution as to expect a Summons to ſurrender; the Garriſons of *Trim* and *Dundalk*, apprehending the ſame Fate, quitted them to the Conqueror. Upon which *Cromwell* thought fit to return to *Dublin*, and march'd with his Army to *Wexford*; and, having by the Way routed a Party of the Lord *Inchequin*'s, had the Caſtle betray'd to him by *Stafford* that commanded it. The Town was otherwiſe ſtrong by Situation, and had a good Garriſon; but being thus ſurpris'd, was furiouſly aſſaulted, and enter'd, all Perſons being put to the Sword with the ſame Severity and Cruelty as at *Droghedah*. The Terror of which ſpreading into all the Towns and Forts along the Coaſt, as far as *Dublin*, ſpared this General the Trouble of ſummoning them. The Winter beginning to grow ſharp, and the Seaſon rainy, his Troops ſuffer'd very much from the Weather, and the Flux that rag'd amongſt them. Many believ'd that theſe Reaſons ſhou'd have oblig'd that General to put a Stop to his Conqueſts; but he was better ſenſible of the Advantages he was to make. The Difficulties encounter'd by the Marqueſs of *Ormond* in raiſing a new Army, after his Defeat at *Dublin*; the breaking out of the ancient Diſagreement between the Popiſh Confederates and him, on Account of that Misfortune; the ſecret Intelligence held by *Cromwell* in the Province of *Munſter*, and the mighty Affairs that wanted his Preſence in *England*, ſeem'd more powerful Motives for his continuing the War, than the Winter was to interrupt his Progreſs. Being thus reſolv'd, he attack'd *Roſs*, and took it, through the Default of the Lord *Taffe*, who held out but eight Days with a Garriſon of near two thouſand Men. Then laying a Bridge over the *Barrow*, he paſs'd over his Army to draw near to *Munſter*, ſubduing the Country as he went. It was happy for him that the Intelligence he held in that Province, prov'd more true to him, than it had done to the King; for he had ſuffer'd himſelf to be led away by the Courſe of his Succeſſes, and had abus'd his good Fortune. Thoſe Checks he met with at the Sieges of *Duncannon* and *Waterford* brought him to himſelf, and to think of taking Winter Quarters. It was then too late, had not Treachery reliev'd him; for *December* was approaching, and he had ſcarce four thouſand Men fit for Service, whereas the Marqueſs of *Ormond* lay with a Body of eight thouſand in his Way to *Dublin*. *Cromwell* had no other Place to Winter in; all the Towns he had taken being too much expos'd to the Excurſions of the other's Garriſons, to be well ſupply'd with Proviſions, and have leiſure enough to recover after ſo many Toils and Fatigues. But at this Time of Neceſſity, Diviſions on one Side, and Promiſes on the other took Place, and almoſt all *Munſter* declar'd for the Conqueror: *Toughall*, *Kingſale*, *Cork*, and other Poſts were deliver'd up to him at once, and furniſh'd him with Means to refreſh his Soldiers, during the three hardeſt Months of the Winter, which they ſpent there in great Security.

Wexford *ſuffers the like Fate.*

His great Progreſs and Succeſs.

Nor was the Loſs of theſe Places alone the only Miſfortune that attended the King's Affairs; for Prince *Rupert*

The ill Succeſs of Pr. Rupert's *Fleet.*

1649. Car. I. *pert* being with his Fleet hovering about the Coaſts of *Ireland*, in aſſiſting his Majeſty's good Subjects in that Kingdom, was met at Sea by a more potent Fleet belonging to the States of *England*, ſo that he was forc'd to take the Harbour of *Kingſale* for his Shelter, where he was block'd up for ſeveral Weeks. At length *Cromwell* approaching the City with his victorious Army, in Order to get Poſſeſſion of it by Land, the Prince was compell'd to adventure into Sea, and ſo with Difficulty broke through the Enemy's Fleet with the Loſs of three of his Ships; and then directing his Courſe to *Lisbone*, he enter'd the River *Tagus* with full Sail, where he found not only a Friendly Reception, but Protection alſo from that Prince. This ſo much diſpleas'd the Infant Common-Wealth of *England*, that they commenc'd a War with the Author of this Civility; and ſending the famous *Blake* with a Fleet, block'd up the Mouth of the River, and extreamly interrupted the Trade of *Portugal*, by ſeizing their Ships in their Return home from Foreign Parts. He lay there a conſiderable Time; but not being able to oblige that King by Intreaties or Force to abandon Prince *Rupert*, he was at length conſtrain'd to remove for a new Supply of Proviſions, he then wanted. The Prince taking the Opportunity of his Removal, put to Sea, and ſail'd towards the Coaſt of *Malaga*, where he took and burnt ſeveral *Engliſh Veſſels*; but *Blake* cloſely purſuing him, maſter'd and took the *Roe-Buck*, a very good Man of War, and forc'd five more upon the Rocks and Shores. The Prince himſelf eſcap'd this Misfortune, tho' reſerv'd for a greater Loſs; for being forc'd into the Weſtern Iſlands, after various Hazards and Adventures, his belov'd Brother Prince *Maurice*, being ſeparated from him in that tempeſtuous Ocean, periſh'd in a Hurricane, tho' the Manner of it is not ſufficiently known. The immature Fate of this Royal Youth was juſtly lamented by the Good and the Brave; as being no leſs eminent for Fortitude, Gentleneſs, Greatneſs of Mind, and other ſhining Virtues, than illuſtrious for his Birth and renowned Actions. He was ſnatch'd away in the thirtieth Year of his Age, leaving his great Fame to his Poſterity, and the Love of his Perſon to all his Contemporaries.

The Death of Prince Maurice.

16 49/50. Car. 2.

3. In the mean Time the King's Affairs ſtill declin'd in *Ireland*, where the Lord-Lieutenant *Ormond*, preſs'd with want of Neceſſaries to ſubſiſt, and having in vain attempted *Paſſage* and *Waterford*, the one by *Inchequin*, and the other by *Tarell*, was alſo obliged to ſend his Army into Winter Quarters, but too much divided and far diſtant from each other. The *Ulſter* Men, except fifteen Hundred that were ſent to *Clonmell*, return'd home to chuſe another General in the Room of *Owen Oneal* lately deceas'd, according to Agreement. Others were diſtributed into other Places; *Taffe* to *Connaught*, *Inchequin* to the County of *Clare*, and *Dillon* into *Meath*. It is ſcarce credible with what Induſtry and Prudence the Marqueſs of *Ormond* endeavour'd to allay the wild Animoſities and Diſſenſions of the *Iriſh* Confederates, tho' to little Effect, which occaſion'd the daily Revolt and Deſertion of the Soldiers. And now the *Iriſh*, as well as the *Britiſh* Soldiers, allur'd by the Succeſſes and Invitations of the Common-Wealth, and alſo deterr'd with the Plague that rag'd amongſt them, together with the Want of Pay and Neceſſaries, ran by Troops to *Cromwell*'s Camp. *Cromwell* made notable Uſe of the *Iriſh* Animoſities, and of the Jealouſies between them and the Marqueſs of *Ormond*. He us'd to ask ſome Priſoners, who were Friends to the Marqueſs, *What the Marqueſs of* Ormond *had to do with* Charles Stuart, *and what Obligations he had receiv'd from him*? and then would mention the hard Meaſure his Grandfather had receiv'd from King *James*, and the many Years Impriſonment he had ſuſtain'd by him, for not ſubmitting to an extrajudicial Determination. He ſaid, *He was confident, if the Marqueſs and he could meet together, upon Conference, they ſhould part very good Friends*. And many of thoſe who heard theſe Diſcourſes, by his Permiſſion, inform'd of all he ſaid to the Marqueſs; who endeavour'd nothing but to put himſelf into ſuch a Poſture, as to be able to meet him in the Field.

Ormond's *Induſtry in* Ireland.

Cromwell being furniſh'd with Recruits and Proviſions out of *England*, the Winter drawing to an End, took the Field, being reſolv'd to make a ſhort and bloody Concluſion. He firſt divided his Army to diſtreſs the Marqueſs of *Ormond*; he left *Broghill* with a flying Camp in *Munſter*, *Ingoldsby* about *Limerick*, and while *Coot* and *Venables* acted in the *North*, came himſelf with part of his Forces before *Calan*, where he was joyn'd by the reſt under *Ireton* and *Reynolds*: That Place held out but one Day, and paid dear for that ſhort Reſiſtance, all Perſons there being put to the Sword, except *Butler*'s Troops, which ſurrender'd before the Cannon was fired. Shortly after he forc'd *Gowram*, betray'd by the Sedition of the Soldiers, and caus'd *Hammond* the Governour, with ſome of his chief Officers, to be ſhot to Death in cold Blood. This done, he march'd with his victorious Troops to *Kilkenny*. This City, the Nurſery of the late Rebellion, and the Reſidence of the Supream Council, was by the Diligence of the Lord *Caſtlehaven* well provided with Defendents and neceſſary Proviſions. Nor were they wanting in a brave Defence, having repell'd the Enemy's Aſſaults with a conſiderable Slaughter of them. But loſing all Hopes of Relief, Colonel *Butler*, the Governour, at length ſurrender'd it upon reaſonable Conditions. *Clonmell* ſoon after met with the ſame Fate; tho' *Hugh Oneal*, who commanded there, having beaten off the reiterated Attacks of the Enemy, and ſlain above two Thouſand of their Men, was neceſſitated to quit the Place for Want of Powder; which he did with ſo much Secrecy, that the Enemy, without knowing of his Retreat, gave very good Conditions to the Townſmen the next Morning. The Biſhop of *Roſs*, with four Thouſand Foot and three Hundred Horſe, made an Attempt to relieve the Place; but moſt unfortunately, being routed and taken by the Lord *Broghill*, who, without Reſpect to his Character, caus'd him to be hang'd up.

*Crom*well's *further Progreſs there.*

16 49/50. Car. 2.

While *Cromwell* made theſe Conqueſts in one Part of *Ireland*, *Coot* and *Venables* did the like in another, and reduc'd all the North under his Obedience. *Mac-Mahon*, the Biſhop of *Clogher*, who had govern'd *Owen Oneal* in his Life, and ſucceeded him after his Death, was here totally defeated, and, like the Biſhop of *Roſs*, hang'd up by *Coot*'s particular Command. This was a happy Victory for the Governors of *England*, in which three Thouſand of the old Rebels were there ſlain, all meer *Iriſh*, out of an Opinion they cou'd not proſper, as long as they had any *Engliſh* with them, and therefore had throughly purg'd their Army; which, as *Borlaſe* obſerves, had a full Return of God's Vengeance, they being the firſt Incendiaries and Actors in thoſe barbarous Cruelties, which follow'd their Inſurrection. *Armagh*, *Carickfergus* and *Charlemont* ſubmitted to the Conquerors, who with great Facility routed both *Iriſh* and *Scots* that oppos'd them, and made themſelves Maſters of their Garriſons on all Sides. And indeed ſuch was the Republicans Succeſs in all Parts of the Kingdom, that in leſs than a Year's Time, all but *Limerick*, *Galloway*, and ſome few Garriſons, and Forces on the Faſtneſſes, were at their Devotion. As to *Cromwell*, he gave a conſtant Account of his Proceedings to the Parliament and Council of State, with the Art of aſſuming greater Glory to Himſelf, by exhorting them in all his Letters *to give the Glory unto God*. And he carry'd all Things now with that abſolute Command, that there was printed and diſpers'd a Book entitled *The Character of* KING CROMWELL; which tho' ſuppreſs'd as a Libel, was even receiv'd as a Kind of a Prophecy. Before he left the Iſland, which was in the Beginning of the following Year, the better to weaken the *Iriſh*, he contriv'd means to get no leſs than forty Thouſand of them to be tranſported out of the Nation into the Service of ſeveral Foreign Princes, few of which ever return'd again; and which, if they had been unanimous and loyal, might have preſerv'd Themſelves and Country to their lawful Prince: So great a Scourge was *Cromwell*, and his Aſſociates, to that perfidious and rebellious People.

Moſt of Ireland *reduc'd, and the Inhabitants puniſh'd.*

4. Such was the firſt Year's Succeſs and Effects of the Common-Wealth of *England*, an unheard-of Uſurpation, and a heterogeneous Conjunction of Civil and Military Power, which had taken Poſſeſſion of the Lands of the King, Church and Cavaliers, and in Effect of the Purſes of the whole Nation; which by Degrees made it ſhine with the dazling Splendor, tho' not with the regular Beauty of an abſolute Monarchy. Like the Latter, it took away the preſent Liberties, as well as the ancient Rights of the Subjects, eſpecially the greateſt Part of them. The Spirits of all the Loyal Party were ſo broken and ſubdued, that they cou'd ſcarce breath under their vaſt Burthens by Impriſonments, Compoſitions and Sequeſtrations. Whatever Articles they had made in the War, and whatever Promiſes had been made to them of Quiet and Indemnity, they were now call'd upon to finiſh the Compoſitions for *Delinquency*, and dearly paid for the Credit they had given to the Profeſſions of the Army, who at firſt ſeem'd to pity the Severities they met with from the *Preſbyterian* Party: But now the Mask being off, they ſequeſter'd all their Eſtates, and left them nothing to live upon till they ſhou'd compound; which they were forc'd to do at ſuch unreaſonable Rates, that many were forc'd to ſell Half, to preſerve the other to their Families; which Remainder was ſtill liable to whatever Impoſitions they after-

The Troubles of England.

afterwards thought fit to inflict upon them, as their Perſons were to Impriſonment, when any groundleſs Report was rais'd of ſome Plot and Conſpiracy againſt the State. Innumerable Others ſuffer'd from the Confuſion of the Times, from Robbers and Pillagers, who in twenty or thirty in a Body, and under the Name of Soldiers, broke into Houſes, and committed many other Ravages. And as to Spiritual Matters, never was greater Licence and Extravagance, Hereſies and Blaſphemies ſwelling againſt Heaven to a prodigious Height. Particularly one *Salmon*, a Preacher in *Coventry*, taught the People to ſwear and curſe, and to commit Whoredom upon this profeſs'd Principle, *That it was God that did Swear in them*; *and that it was their Liberty to keep Company with Women to ſatisfy their natural Appetites.* And one *Wyke* ſet up for *breathing the Spirit of God into Men*, by kiſſing them three Times. And beſides theſe, the unaccountable Exorbitancies and Illuminations of *George Fox*, and the People call'd *Quakers*, had their firſt Appearances in this Year.

A farther Account of them from a Manuſcript of Whitelock*'s.*

Yet this by many has been reckon'd the firſt Year of Happineſs and Glory to the *Engliſh* Nation; but for the Truth of this we may appeal to *Whitelock* himſelf, a wiſe and knowing Man, deeply concern'd in theſe Times, who in his Manuſcript Additions to his *Memorials*, never yet printed, has this remarkable Account of them, which for the Reader's Satisfaction ſhall be inſerted in his own Words, without Deviation or Diminution. ‘This was a Year of great Perplexity and Danger, as to the Publick Affairs in the Cauſe of the Parliament. The Publick Buſineſs ſtood on this Foot: If the Parliament had loſt but one Battle, all who were Ingag'd with them had been in Danger of Ruin, as to their Lives and Fortunes; and tho' they gain'd many Battles, yet their Enemies ſtill continu'd of Power to raiſe freſh Parties, and new Troubles againſt them. When they were all ſubdued, ſo that not one Man appear'd in Arms for the King, yet many appear'd againſt the Parliament: Their own Friends turn'd to be their Enemies: Thoſe, who againſt the King's Party joyn'd with the Parliament, and they fought together againſt the Cavaliers: When they were ſubdu'd, then the ſame Soldiers fought againſt their own Maſters, and Fellow-Soldiers, witneſs the *Agitators*, *Levellers* and *Mutineers*. Thoſe of the Army turn'd head againſt them from whom they had receiv'd their Commiſſions to be an Army, and bent their Arms againſt thoſe who had Impower'd them to bear Arms. Yet God was ſtill pleas'd to ſupport the Parliament, at leaſt a conſiderable Part of them, and to carry them through all the Difficulties they met with in relation to the Common Enemy, tho' Great, Numerous and Powerful; and in Relation to particular Diſtempers and Inſurrections, from thoſe of their own Party. We may from hence take Notice of the vaſt Hazard Men undergo by ingaging in ſuch Affairs as theſe were; in which the Conquered were ruin'd, and the Conquerors did thereby but create to Themſelves new War and Troubles. Succeſs rais'd in many of them a Haughtineſs of Mind, and a Roaming of Imagination: Every one of them endeavour'd, or expected, to have his private Fancy, to be put in Action, and to be little leſs than Princes. To effect ſomething Dream'd on to this Purpoſe, many Wits were working; ſome were for one Thing, ſome for another; all were violent in their Way, and brought into ſeveral Parties and Factions. The Army was divided into *Levellers* and *Diſciplin'd* Soldiers; The Parliament was divided into *Royaliſts* and *Republicans*; the whole Nation was Divided into *Cavaliers* and *Parliamentarians*. The Parliamentarians were again divided into *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Fifth-Monarchy* Men, and many other Perſwaſions; and none but the moſt miſerable of all Cures for the Sick State; no Unity of Diviſions, but by a greater Calamity, by the Sword. When the King's Party grew up to any Strength, then thoſe of the Parliament Party united together to oppoſe the King's; and when that Work was done, then they fell at Variance among Themſelves. Thus we find it was by the precedent Story; and thus we ſhall find it to continue, if God give me Life and Opportunity to continue this Story. And this may be a ſufficient Argument, *That there is neither Safety, nor Diſcretion, for any, who can avoid it, to ingage in Matters of this Nature.* We who were ingag'd in thoſe before-mention'd, were unexperienc'd in theſe Things, and in the Conſequences of them, ſlipt into them by Degrees, and before many of us were aware of them; and being once in, were by little and little plung'd further in, and knew not how to get out again. But thoſe that have the Examples, and the Warnings, of the Age preceding, have in part known and heard their Fathers relate the *Deep Miſeries and Calamities of the Civil War* in their Days, and then both Parties will be *Inexcuſable*, if ever they ingage in ſuch Affairs. And may they never ſee again thoſe *Sad Days* which have been in thoſe Times, whereof we read before.’

Theſe Additions were deſign'd for the Month of *July* or *Auguſt*: In the following Month of *March*, ſpeaking of the Affairs of *Ireland*, Page 430, he adds theſe Manuſcript Obſervations, and Additions. ‘From theſe Paſſages we may obſerve the *Contentiouſneſs of Men's Natures*, and the little Quiet to be expected in this World: The *Engliſh* were at Variance with the *Scots* and *Iriſh*; the *Scots* at Variance with the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, the *Iriſh* hating both the *Engliſh* and *Scots*. The Native *Iriſh* differ'd among Themſelves, Rebels from Rebels, Rebels from the *Engliſh* Cavaliers, Rebels and *Engliſh* Cavaliers there in War againſt the Parliament. In *Scotland* was Contention between the Kirk Party and the State; both were jealous of the King's Party, all of them together deſigning againſt *England*. In *England* the Civil War not fully appeaſed, between the King and the Parliament; Contention among the Parliament Party between the *Royaliſts* and *Republicans*, and again between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*.’

And thus we ſhall conclude the whole Year 1649, with the Deaths of ſeveral conſiderable and eminent Men, beſides thoſe that were carry'd off by the mercileſs Hands of Violence; and firſt with four worthy Divines, of which we are to begin with Dr. *Richard Holdſworth*, a Perſon who ſucceſſively became Profeſſor of *Greſham-College* in *London*, Maſter of *Emanuel-College* in *Cambridge*, and Dean of *Worceſter*, and had likewiſe the Offer of a Biſhoprick: He was an excellent Scholar, an admirable Divine, and a heavenly Preacher, who on his Death-Bed ſeem'd to have made more than ordinary Prophetical Diſcoveries, and to have ſtrangely foretold the unexpected Reſtoration. The ſecond was Dr. *George Hakewill*, Rector of *Exeter-College* in *Oxford*, and Arch-Deacon of *Surrey*; who having been Chaplain to Prince *Charles*, in the Reign of King *James*, took Occaſion to write againſt the *Spaniſh* Match: for which unſeaſonable Officiouſneſs he was diſmiſs'd the Court, and never further encourag'd, notwithſtanding the polite Learning, the ſubtle Philoſophy, and the profound Divinity that afterwards ſo illuſtriouſly appear'd in him. The third was Dr. *William Wats*, educated in *Caius-College* in *Cambridge*, and one of the *London* Divines; an admirable Man, both for Criticiſm and Theology, and highly eſteem'd by the great *Voſſius*, and other learned Foreigners: Having been ſequeſter'd, plunder'd, &c. by the late ruling Powers, he join'd himſelf to Prince *Rupert*, and ſerv'd in all the Battels he fought, and laſtly dy'd at *Kingſale* in *Ireland*. The laſt was Mr. *Edward Symmonds*, educated in *Peter-Houſe-College* in *Cambridge*, and no higher preferr'd than to be Rector of *Little-Rayne* in *Eſſex*, yet eminently remarkable for his Courage and Piety, as well as Learning and Wiſdom; and it is hard to ſay which were more conſpicuous, his worthy Actions, or his Sufferings for the Royal Cauſe: He render'd himſelf very eſtimable by his own *Vindication* of the late King, but more by helping into the World the beſt of all *Vindications*, the King's own Book, which ſhone and ſpread ſo univerſally, that above fifty Editions of it appear'd in a Year's Time, notwithſtanding all the bold Efforts of *Milton* and the Regicides to ſuppreſs its Worth and Being. Beſides theſe Divines, we are to mention Dr. *Arthur Duck*, a Doctor of the Civil Law, Chancellor of *London*, and Maſter of the Requeſts, and particularly employ'd by the late King in the Treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*; one who had highly improv'd himſelf by Travelling, and became an excellent Civilian, and no leſs notable Hiſtorian, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil. Here we muſt not forget that renowned Commander, Sir *Thomas Glemham*, a worthy Gentleman of *Suffolk*, who, by his noble Valour, Bravery and Conduct in *York*, *Carliſle*, *Oxford*, and other Places, gain'd immortal Honour, and no leſs Applauſes for his invincible Loyalty, and his inviolable Fidelity to his King and Country. Nor ſhould we omit *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, uſually ſtil'd the *mad Earl*, whoſe Character we have already given, who dy'd upon the 23d Day of *January*; leaving a Name diſhonourable as to his Actions, and degrading as to his Quality. His Son *Philip*, who was before a Member of the Houſe of Commons, continu'd his Place, tho' he now became an Earl. Laſt of all dy'd Alderman *Rowland Wilſon*, a wealthy Merchant, a Member of Parliament, and one of the Council of State, whom *Whitelock* commends as a Gentleman of excellent Parts, and great Piety, highly belov'd in the Parliament, the City, and the Army, and by all that knew him, and his Death as much lamented: He dy'd in the Beginning of *March*, and his Funeral was ſolemniz'd with a Pomp and Magnificence ſcarce to be parallel'd in any private Perſon.

The Death of Dr. Holdſworth.

Dr. Hakewill,

Dr. Wats,

Mr. Symmonds,

Dr. Duck,

Sir Thomas Glemham,

The Earl of Pembroke,

And Alderman Wilſon.

Scotch Commiſſioners attend the King at Breda.

Their Propoſitions.

IV. 1. After *England* and *Ireland* had been ſeverely, tho' not fully, chaſtis'd, *Scotland* began to feel the ſame Fate and Vengeance, due to ſuch open Breakers of all Laws and Promiſes. The *Scots*, who had begun the Troubles, and had afterwards been deeply involv'd in them, began more and more to relent, and acknowledge their King, whoſe Father they had given up into his Enemies Hands; but ſtill they would not conſent to his Return and Government, but with particular and extraordinary Limitations. Accordingly they choſe proper Commiſſioners, the Earl of *Caſſils*, the Lord *Lothian*, the Laird *Burley* and the Laird *Libberton*, Sir *John Smith*, and Mr. *Jeoffreys*, for the Eſtates; and Mr. *Broady*, *Leveſton* and *Wood*, in Behalf of the Kirk. Theſe waited upon the King at *Breda*, on the latter end of *March*; and being formally receiv'd in a Place appointed, the Lord *Caſſils*, in Behalf of the Eſtates, and Mr. *Leveſton* in Behalf of the Kirk, having made their Speeches, declared the Occaſion of their coming, and urg'd his Majeſty's Compliance with the following Propoſitions from the Kirk and States of *Scotland*. '1. That all excommunicated Perſons ſhould be forbid Acceſs to the Court. 2. That the King would by ſolemn Oath, and under his Hand and Seal, declare his Allowance of the *National Covenant* of *Scotland*, and of the *Solemn League and Covenant* of the three Nations. 3. That he ſhould confirm all Acts of Parliament, enjoyning the *Solemn League and Covenant*, eſtabliſhing *Presbytery*, the *Directory*, the *Confeſſion of Faith* and *Catechiſm* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as they are already approv'd by the General Aſſembly of the Kirk and the Parliament; and that he would obſerve the ſame in his own Family, and ſwear never to oppoſe, or endeavour the Alteration of the ſame. 4. That he would conſent that all *Civil* Matters might be determin'd by the preſent and ſubſequent Parliaments in *Scotland*, and all Matters *Eccleſiaſtical* by the enſuing General *Kirk Aſſembly*.

The King conſults about them.

After the reading of theſe ſhocking Propoſitions, and the Letters, his Majeſty being told that theſe were all their Inſtructions, anſwer'd, *That he would take theſe Things into Conſideration, and doubted not but to return them ſo full an Anſwer, as might give his Kingdom of* Scotland *Satisfaction:* And ſo diſmiſs'd them for the preſent. The better to determine this important Matter, he repair'd to the *Hague*, to conſult with his Aunt the Queen of *Bohemia*, and the Prince of *Orange*, who was viſited by the Commiſſioners, and deſired to be a Mediator between Them and his Majeſty. Soon after arriv'd the Earl of *Carnwath* and Mr. *Murrey* from the Committee of Eſtates, with farther Inſtructions and Propoſitions; as, 'That his Majeſty would ratify all that had been done in the Parliaments of *Scotland* in ſome late Seſſions; and conſent that *Montroſs* and his Adherents be prohibited Acceſs into that Kingdom.' Theſe added to the Difficulty; but ſtill there was no great Argument for Conſultation: Every Man was ſenſible of the Violence that was offer'd to his Majeſty's Honour and Conſcience; yet whoever objected againſt the Propoſitions upon any of thoſe Conſiderations, was look'd upon as a Party, becauſe he himſelf could not be ſuffer'd to attend the King. It was thought highly material, that they who diſſuaded the King from going to *Scotland* upon thoſe exorbitant Terms, could propoſe no other Way, nor no other Place where he might repoſe himſelf, with any Hopes of Subſiſtence; a ſad Fate attending a Prince of his Birth and Fortunes. The *Scotch* Lords of the *Hamiltonian Engagement* were thought the moſt impartial Counſellors, ſince they by going were to be expos'd to great Rigour, and to undergo very ſevere Cenſures: They could not ſit in the Parliament, nor in the Council, and well knew they ſhould not be ſuffer'd to be about the King's Perſon: Yet all theſe reſolv'd to wait upon his Majeſty, and perſuaded him to believe, 'That his Preſence would diſſipate thoſe Clouds; and that a little Time would produce many Alterations, which could not immediately be effected.' Then as to his Majeſty's ſigning the *Covenant*, he ſhould tell the Commiſſioners, '*That he would defer it till he came thither; and that then, if the Kirk would preſs it upon him, he would give them Satisfaction.*' And they were confident, 'That after his Arrival, he ſhould be no more urg'd to it, but that even thoſe of the Kirk would contend to make themſelves gracious to him.' This ſort of Argumentation wrought much with the Prince of *Orange*, but more with the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Wilmot* and *Wentworth*, and others about the King, to engage him to ſubmit to any Conditions that would be required of them; yet the Hopes they would not be required of them, and the Promiſes made to them by the *Scotch* Lords, whoſe Authority was like to encreaſe in their own Native Air and Soil, prevail'd with them to uſe all the Credit with the King to embark himſelf, and try how propitious Fortune would be to him in his Kingdom of *Scotland*.

After many Difficulties,

He at laſt complies.

Yet ſtill there were two very powerful Arguments, which made ſo deep an Impreſſion upon ſome Lords and others, that they wou'd have totally diſſuaded the King, and actually proteſted againſt his going into *Scotland*. The firſt was, 'That the Expedition of Duke *Hamilton* the Year before, with an Army as numerous, and better furniſh'd and provided than *Scotland* cou'd in many Years be enabled to ſend out again, made it manifeſt, how little that Nation, tho' never ſo well united, cou'd prevail againſt the Power of *England*.' The other was ſtill more material, namely, 'That the ſole Power of *Scotland* being, at this Time, confeſſedly veſted in the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, it might juſtly be fear'd, That at the King's Arrival, and the firſt Diſcovery of thoſe Alterations in the Minds of the People, upon which the *Hamiltonian* Party fully depended, *Argyle* wou'd immediately deliver up the Perſon of the King into the Hands of *Cromwell*; and with the Aſſiſtance he wou'd willingly give, make that Kingdom tributary or ſubſervient to him, whilſt the King remain'd his Priſoner, and *Argyle* continu'd his Vicegerent in *Scotland*.' No doubt theſe Objections had ſufficient Weight with many Men, who were not blinded with Paſſion, or confounded with Deſpair: And tho' they knew not how to adviſe what Courſe the King might ſteer with reaſonable Hope and Security, they might ſtill juſtly diſſuade his expoſing himſelf to ſo many viſible Dangers both at Sea and Land; and might prudently believe, 'That the enjoying the obſcure Title of a King in any Part of the World, was preferrable to the empty Name of a King in any of his Dominions; the beſt that cou'd be expected from the Conditions now impos'd upon him.' But in the End, a faint Hope of the Affections of the People, and a ſtrong Deſpair of any other Expedient, prevailed ſo far with the King, that he reſolv'd upon any Terms to embark himſelf in *Holland*, in a Fleet provided for him by the Prince of *Orange*; and ſo with all the *Scottiſh*, and very few *Engliſh* Servants, ſet Sail for his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*.

The Caſe of the Marqueſs of Montroſs.

His great Hopes.

2. During theſe Debates and Conſultations, there happned an Accident of that prodigious Nature, that, had not Providence for the Reproach of *Scotland* determin'd that the King ſhou'd once more try the Courage and Fidelity of that Nation, muſt have diverted his Majeſty from that Northern Expedition; which ſeem'd to have been predeſtinated for the greater Mortification and Puniſhment of that People. And this was the Caſe of the famous Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, who, as was formerly hinted, had obtain'd Commiſſions from his Majeſty to levy what Forces he cou'd on that Side of the Sea. This he endeavour'd to effect with the utmoſt of his Power in Foreign Parts, but chiefly among the Princes of the *German* Empire, where he found large and fair Promiſes, but very little real Aſſiſtance; only the Duke of *Holſtein* ſupply'd him with four Ships well arm'd and mann'd, tho' theſe were likewiſe by a ſtrange Neglect delay'd a long Time at *Amſterdam*, which extreamly retarded the Service: Colonel *Cockran* likewiſe, who had been ſent Agent into *Poland* to the *Scotch* Merchants there, for Aſſiſtance of Men and Mony, having receiv'd conſiderable Sums, and good Supplies of Corn, converted the firſt to his own Uſe, ſold the other, and revolted himſelf from the Service: General *King*, who was expected out of *Sweden* with a Party of Horſe, came not at all; all which Diſappointments were ſo many Omens of his future ill Succeſs. But the Marqueſs was carry'd on by a ſtronger Aſſurance he had receiv'd from ſome kind of Prophecies, to which he was naturally given, 'That he ſhou'd by his Valour recover *Scotland* for the King, and from thence conduct an Army that ſhou'd ſettle him in all his other Dominions.' Therefore, with only ſix or ſeven hundred Men, in four Ships, he reſolv'd to venture his Fortune, hoping to join with the Northern People in *Scotland*, who had formerly experienc'd his great Bravery and Conduct. He ſent two of his Ships, with above a third of his ſmall Numbers, before to the Iſlands of *Orkney*; himſelf following after with the other two, and a ſmall Frigate of fifteen Guns, with fifteen hundred Arms for thoſe Gentlemen who ſhou'd come in to him, given him by the Queen of *Sweden*. But arriving at the Iſlands, he found that his two Ships ſent before were by Storms caſt among the Rocks, and all the Men and Arms loſt. Notwithſtanding theſe Misfortunes, enough to diſcourage the moſt Magnanimous, the Marqueſs reſolutely proceeded, tho' contrary to the Advice of many, who look'd upon it as a deſperate Action, with ſuch ſmall Numbers to attempt a Kingdom, now well ſettled, and with a ſtanding Army to reſiſt all Foreign Invaſions, and inteſtine Inſurrections. But the Fear he had, that if the King ſhou'd conclude with the *Scots* before he had attempted any Thing, his Commiſſions wou'd be recall'd; and the Hopes he had that any Degree of Succeſs wou'd bring the *Scots* to more reaſonable Conditions with the King, hurry'd him on to his own Ruin.

He lands with a ſmall Force in Scotland.

His Declaration.

In the Beginning of *April* he landed in the Iſlands, with ſeveral *Scotch* Gentlemen, who reſolv'd to partake of his Fortune; the Chief of whom were Colonel *Hurry*, the Lord *Frenderick*, Colonel *Johnſon*, Colonel *Grey*, *Henry Graham* Kinſman to the Marqueſs, Colonel *James Hay* of *Noughton*, Sir *Francis Hay* of *Dalgetie*, and Mr. *Drummond*. Here he gather'd together a pretty conſiderable Number which had almoſt the Face of an Army, but was for the moſt part compos'd of raw and unskilful Perſons; with which he ſoon embark'd and landed in *Cathanes*, the moſt Northern Part of *Scotland*, expecting the coming of two thouſand Men rais'd in the Territories of the Earl of *Seaforth*. But the People here, whom he expected to have joyn'd with him, were ſo ſenſible of the Miſeries of the former War, and being now more terrify'd at the Name of Foreigners, deſerted their Habitations, and fled away, many of them as far as *Edinburgh*, where the Parliament was then ſitting. Being thus allarm'd, the Parliament order'd Lieutenat-General *David Leſley* with a Body of the Army to march directly towards the Marqueſs, leſt he ſhou'd ſoon grow too numerous; and Colonel *Straughan*, whoſe Valour the States highly approv'd, was order'd with a Body of ſelect Horſe to advance before, to hinder the Marqueſs's Levies, and to fight him, if he ſaw Opportunity. In the mean Time *Montroſs* mov'd on but ſlowly; and becauſe the World ſhou'd not be ſtartled at this Invaſion, while the King was upon a Treaty, he publiſh'd a pathetical Declaration, to make known ‘ That he came with the King's Commiſſion, and that his Intention was only againſt ſome particular Perſons, who had againſt the Laws of the Kingdom rais'd and maintain'd a War againſt the King's Royal Father, and did now by their ſubtle Practices endeavour to circumvent and deſtroy the Son: That he intended nothing againſt the Generality of the Kingdom; therefore he exhorted all Subjects of that Nation to endeavour to free Themſelves from the Tyranny of thoſe who for the preſent ruled the State, and from the Oppreſſion of the Miniſtry.’ But the Country, partly through Fear of the Danger, and partly over-aw'd by the Earl of *Southerland*, did not come in as he expected; and the Gentlemen his Friends were intirely diſcourag'd, becauſe his Men were ſo unlike thoſe former Soldiers, with which he had gain'd ſo many wonderful Victories.

He is defeated by Straughan.

In the mean Time *Straughan* advanc'd with all poſſible Speed towards the Royal Party, while *Montroſs* cou'd not effect any Thing material, beſides the Fortifying of *Dunbar*-Caſtle. But the Marqueſs hearing of the Enemies Approach, march'd his Men with more than ordinary Speed, to recover a Paſs; but before they cou'd reach it, the Front of the Army diſcover'd *Straughan*'s Forlorn Hope, who haſtily advancing upon the Marqueſs's Army, found them not only fatigu'd, but out of Breath and Order. However a Body of a Hundred Men were drawn up to meet them, who giving Fire upon them, forc'd them to a diſorderly Retreat; but being ſupported by *Straughan*'s whole Body of Horſe, they made good the Charge ſo furiouſly upon the *Highlanders*, that moſt of them threw down their Arms, and call'd for Quarter; but the *Dutch* and *Holſteiners*, after they had beſtow'd a Volly or two among the Horſe, retreated among ſome Shrubs, where for a while they gallantly defended themſelves, but being overpower'd were forc'd to yield themſelves Priſoners. This was a total Defeat, in which about two hundred were ſlain, and twelve hundred taken Priſoners; for by reaſon of the coming in of the *Southerland* Men to the Execution, few eſcap'd. The Royal Standard was alſo taken, in which was pourtray'd the Effigies of the late King *Charles* beheaded, with this Emphatical Motto, JUDGE AND REVENGE MY CAUSE, O LORD! The Marqueſs himſelf, when he ſaw the Day loſt, threw away his Cloak that had the Star on it, deſerted his Horſe, chang'd his Habit with a *Highlander*, and fled for two or three Days in great Diſtreſs. A Price was ſet upon his Head by the States; but eſpecially the Presbyterian Miniſters exhorted the People to do their utmoſt to take him, *as a Thing neceſſary to their Salvation.* At length, the Country being in great Search, the Marqueſs threw himſelf upon the Lord *Aſton*, formerly a Friend and Follower of his; but that Lord, either out of Fear or Covetouſneſs, wou'd not protect him, but ſent him with a ſtrong Guard to *David Leſley*, who alſo took Poſſeſſion of the reſt of the Priſoners.

He is brought Priſoner to Edinburgh.

He vindicates Himſelf.

The Sentence againſt him.

The unfortunate Marqueſs being now in the Hands of mortal Enemies, wanted not Abuſes and Reproaches; yet being come to the Earl of *South-aſhes*, his Father-in-Law, he had Liberty to ſee two of his Children. At *Dundee*, a Place which had moſt ſuffer'd by his Arms, he was leaſt of all inſulted, but rather pity'd: Here he again provided himſelf Cloaths ſuitable to his Quality; from whence being brought to *Leith*, he was there met by the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, and from thence conducted with the reſt of the Priſoners of Note, being about forty in Number. At the *Cannon*-Gate of *Edinburgh* he was put into a new Cart purpoſely made, and plac'd on a high Seat, that the People might have a full View of him, being bound with a Cord drawn over his Breaſt and Shoulders, and ſecur'd through Holes made in the Cart. Being thus ſeated, the Hangman took off his Hat, and rod himſelf before the Cart in his Livery and Bonnet, the reſt of the Priſoners, ty'd two and two, walking bare-headed before the Cart; while the Streets and Windows were crowded with People to behold the Triumph over a Perſon, whoſe Name had made them tremble ſome Years before, and into whoſe Hands the Magiſtrates had upon their Knees deliver'd the Keys of that City. In this manner he was carry'd to the common Goal, where he was treated as the meaneſt Malefactor. Within two Days after he was brought before the Parliament, where *Lowdon* the Chancellor, having made a bitter and virulent Declamation againſt his horrible Murthers, Treaſons, Impieties, *&c.* he, without the leaſt Marks of Trouble or Diſorder, told them, *That ſince the King had ſo far own'd them as to treat with them, he had appear'd before them with Reverence and bare-headed, which otherwiſe he wou'd not have willingly done; that he had done nothing of which he was aſham'd, or had Cauſe to repent*; and ſo proceeded to vindicate his Actions, his Loyalty to his King, his Fidelity to his Country, and his Mercy to the Conquer'd, *of which ſeveral were preſent who ow'd their Lives to Him*; and laſtly inſiſted upon the King's own Commands for what he had lately done, and ſo appeal'd from them to the righteous Judge of all the World. Being order'd to withdraw, after a ſhort Space he was brought to the Bar, where the Chancellor pronounc'd this Sentence againſt him, ‘ That on the Morrow, being the twenty firſt Day of *May*, he ſhou'd be carry'd to the High-Croſs in *Edinburgh*, and there be hang'd on a Gallows thirty Foot high, for the Space of three Hours, and then to be taken down, and his Head to be cut off upon a Scaffold, and ſet upon *Edinburgh* Toll-booth; his Legs and Arms over the Gates of the Cities of *Sterling*, *Dundee*, *Glaſcow* and *Aberdeen*, and his Body to be bury'd at the Place of Execution, except the Kirk ſhou'd take off his Excommunication, and then it might be bury'd at the common Place of Burial.

His Courage.

Being return'd to Priſon, that he might not enjoy any Quiet during the ſhort Remainder of his Life, the Presbyterian Miniſters came immediately to inſult over him, aſſaulted him afreſh with the Aggravation of the Terror of his Sentence, which was to be ſucceeded with Eternal Damnation, and at laſt offer'd to intercede for him to the Kirk upon his Repentance. But he utterly declin'd their barbarous Officiouſneſs, and told them, *That they were a miſerable, deluded, and deluding People*; and prophetically declar'd, *That they won'd ſhortly bring that poor Nation under the moſt inſupportable Servitude, ever People had ſuſtain'd.* He couragiouſly told them, *He was prouder to have his Head ſet upon the Priſon-Gate, than to have his Picture hung in the King's Bed-Chamber: That he was ſo far from being troubled that his four Limbs were to be hang'd in four Cities of the Kingdom, that he heartily wiſh'd he had Fleſh enough to be ſent to every City in* Chriſtendom, *as a Monument of his Loyalty to his King and Country.* The next Day they executed every Part and Circumſtance of the Sentence againſt him, with all imaginable Inhumanity; all which he bore with the moſt Heroick Courage, and magnanimous Piety, that a good Chriſtian cou'd manifeſt. In his laſt Speech, he magnify'd the Virtue, Goodneſs and Religion of the laſt King, and ſaid, *If ever he cou'd wiſh his Soul in another Man's ſtead, it ſhou'd be in his*; he highly commended the Juſtice, Candour and Underſtanding of the preſent King, and pray'd, *That they might not betray him, as they had done his Father.* When he had finiſh'd all he deſign'd to ſay, and was expecting to die, they had yet one Scene more of their Tyranny to act. The Hangman brought the printed Book of his wonderful Actions, while he commanded in that Kingdom; which was order'd to be hang'd about his Neck in a ſmall Cord. The Marqueſs ſmil'd at this new Inſtance of their Malice, and thanking them, ſaid, *He was pleas'd that it ſhou'd be there; and was prouder of wearing it, than ever he had been of the Garter.* Then, having his Arms tied, he ask'd the Officers, *If they had any more Diſhonour, as they conceiv'd it, to be put upon him, he was ready to accept it*; and ſo, after ſome devout Ejaculations, he patiently ſubmitted to the laſt Act of the Executioner.

His Execution, And Character.

Thus dy'd the mighty Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, who after he had too much contributed to the Miſeries of his Nation by the firſt *Covenant*, gave as ſignal Teſtimonies of Loyalty and Bravery, as any Subject cou'd do; both which brought down his Ruin from the Party he firſt eſpous'd,

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and afterwards ſtrengthen'd by his great Activity: A ſufficient Caution for leading Men to beware of the Beginnings of any unjuſtifiable, or dangerous Enterprize. He was a Gentleman of very ancient Extract, many of whoſe Progenitors had held the higheſt Places under the King in that Kingdom, and had been ally'd to the Crown it ſelf. He was a Man of very good Parts, which were improv'd by no leſs Education; but he always ſhew'd a great Emulation, or rather a great Contempt of the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, who, as the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, *wanted nothing but Honeſty and Courage to be a very extraordinary Man. Montroſs* was of an intrepid Courage, in his Nature fearleſs of all Danger, and never declin'd any Enterpriſe for the Difficulty of ſurmounting it, and affected thoſe Attempts which to other Men ſeem'd deſperate, and by reaſon of his Succeſſes did too readily believe ſomething in himſelf above other Men; which made him ſhew a more generous Civility towards thoſe who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him, than towards his Superiors or Equals. He was naturally jealous, and ſuſpicious of the good Intentions of thoſe who did not concur with him in his Way; nor was he without Vanity; but his Virtues were much ſuperior, and he well deſerv'd to have his Memory preſerv'd, and celebrated amongſt the moſt illuſtrious Perſons of the Age. His Fall was not the only Tragedy at this Time; for ſoon after, the Officers who had been taken with him, Sir *William Hurry*, Sir *Francis Hay*, and many others of as good Families as any in the Kingdom, were executed, to the Number of Thirty or Forty, in ſeveral Parts of the Country.

The King reſents his Death.

3. When the News of theſe Executions was brought to the King at *Breda*, he was extreamly ſtartled, and expreſs'd his Reſentments of their Proceedings by a Meſſage ſent to the States by Mr. *Murrey*, 'That it could not but 'grieve and perplex him to hear, that notwithſtanding 'thoſe hopeful Overtures of Peace lately made between 'Him and Them, they had ſhed the Blood of ſome of 'his beſt Subjects in *Scotland*; and that in ſuch a manner, 'that if true as reported, they could not imagine but it 'muſt extreamly incenſe him; he therefore deſir'd an Ac'count of that Buſineſs from themſelves.' In Anſwer to this they profeſs'd, 'That their Affections were ſtill real 'to him, and that it rejoyc'd their very Souls, to hear that 'he would be willing to concur with them in Peace and 'Agreement: That as for the Death of *Montroſs*, they de'ſir'd it might be no Obſtacle in the Way, for that they 'did nothing in it but with a *real Intention to promote his 'Intereſt*.' They who were moſt diſpleas'd with *Argyle* and his Faction, were not ſorry for this monſtrous Proſecution; which at the ſame Time would render him more odious, and had freed them from a more formidable Enemy; and they perſuaded the King, who was ſufficiently afflicted with the News, 'That he might ſooner take Re'venge upon that People by a temporary Compliance with 'them, and going over to them, than by abſenting him'ſelf, which would inveſt them in an abſolute Dominion 'in that Kingdom, and give them Power to corrupt or de'ſtroy all thoſe who yet remain'd faithful to him, and 'were ready to ſpend their Lives in his Service.' And ſo the King, under theſe preſſing Neceſſities, purſued his former Reſolution of embarking for *Scotland*.

Yet is perſuaded to go Scotand.

His Intentions being notify'd to the Parliament at *Edinburgh*, there were ſeveral who held a Correſpondence with the Sectaries of *England*, that propos'd a ſtrange Queſtion, 'Whether they ſhould make any farther Addreſſes to the King,' and Eighteen out of Forty gave their Votes for the Negative. But the Plurality of Voices carrying it in the Affirmative, another Meſſage was agreed to be ſent to him, in which they invited him 'To make all 'poſſible Speed to come to his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and 'proteſted they would aſſiſt him with their Lives and 'Fortunes, to eſtabliſh him in all his Dominions.' Yet withal they forbore not to let him know, 'That they had 'Teſtimonies to produce of his Actings by Letters to '*Montroſs*, contrary to his Promiſes to them at the Treaty 'of *Breda*; yet however they were willing to diſpenſe 'with what was paſt, ſo that he would without Delay, 'according to the Articles of Agreement, come over into '*Scotland*, and comply with the Parliament, and the Kirk.' And having diſpatch'd away this Meſſage, they proceeded to the Preparation of all Things convenient for his Reception, furniſhing two Houſes in *Edinburgh* for the Reſidence of Him and his Followers, and took into Conſideration the Nomination of Officers for his Houſhold, which they did with ſufficient Arrogance: For they were reſolv'd that he ſhould have none to wait upon him, but ſuch as they ſhou'd appoint; and beſides the Baniſhment of ſeveral of the Cavalier *Engliſh* Lords from his Preſence, they likewiſe prohibited ſeveral *Scots* of the higheſt Quality, as the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Lautherdale* and *Seaforth*, and others, to have any Reſidence in his Court.

A new Meſſage from the Scots.

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Still the Marqueſs of *Argyle* hop'd, or believ'd, that the King would never venture into *Scotland* upon the Conditions he had ſent; therefore he was much ſurpris'd when he receiv'd an Account from the Commiſſioners at *Breda*, 'That his Majeſty reſolv'd to embark the next Day; that 'he would leave all his Chaplains, and his other Servants 'behind him, and had only deferr'd the taking the *Cove'nant* Himſelf till he came thither, with a Reſolution to 'ſatisfy the Kirk, if they preſs'd it.' Upon this News he immediately diſpatch'd away another Veſſel with new Propoſitions, which the Commiſſioners were to inſiſt on, and not to allow of the King's coming into *Scotland*, without he likewiſe conſented to thoſe. But that Veſſel met not with the King's ſmall Fleet, which had ſet Sail on the 12th Day of *June*; and that it might avoid that of the *Engliſh* Parliament, which deſign'd to intercept the King's Paſſage, had held his Courſe more Northward; where it was many Days at Sea, toſs'd and perplex'd with ſtormy and contrary Winds, and often in Danger from the Enemy.

The King ſets ſail,

Arrives in Scotland, *and takes the* Covenant.

4. It was the 23d of *June* before the King arriv'd on the Northern Coaſts of *Scotland*, and caſt Anchor at the Mouth of the River *Spey*; where the firſt Welcome he receiv'd was a new Demand, 'That he would ſign both 'the *Covenants* Himſelf, before he ſet his Foot on Shore;' to which his Majeſty was perſuaded to conſent, and had notable Sermons and Exhortations made to him by the Miniſters to perſevere therein. The Lords of the other Party, who had prevail'd with him to all theſe Submiſſions, ſoon found that they had deceiv'd both Him and Themſelves, and that no Perſons had any Authority but thoſe who were their mortal Enemies. So that they would not expoſe themſelves to Impriſonment, or any other Diſgrace; but having given his Majeſty the beſt Advice they could, what he ſhould do for Himſelf, and what he ſhould do for Them, they put themſelves on Shore before he diſembark'd; and found Means to retire to thoſe Places, where they might be for ſome Time conceal'd. And ſhortly after Duke *Hamilton* retired to the Iſland of *Arran*, which belonged to himſelf; the Earl of *Lautherdale* conceal'd himſelf among his Friends; and the Earl of *Dunfermling* was admitted to ſtay at his own Houſe; and from all theſe, and ſeveral others, Satisfaction was expected for being in the late wicked and unlawful *Engagement*. Among whom the Earl of *Braintford*, deſiring to be reconcil'd to the Kirk, waited five Days at *Edinburgh* before he could deliver his Petition; which at length being read, after much ſcoffing at his Titles, Anſwer was return'd him, *That as he behav'd himſelf, they would in Time take his Deſires into Conſideraton*. All the King's *Engliſh* Servants of any Quality were remov'd from his Perſon, excepting the Duke of *Buckingham*; ſome of whom were privately receiv'd into the Houſes of Perſons of Honour, and others of them ſent out of the Kingdom.

His Reception at Aberdeen, *and other Places.*

After the King had landed, he was attended by a Committee appointed by the States, who waited upon him to the Univerſity of *Aberdeen*, where, and in all other Places as he paſs'd, he was receiv'd by all People with real Expreſſions of Joy, tho' very few Perſons of Quality were admitted to him, being moſt either *Malignants* or *Engagers*. Here he was lodg'd in a Merchant's Houſe oppoſite to the Toll-Booth, on which was fix'd one of the Arms of the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*; but ſtill the Town ſhew'd their Affection by preſenting him with the Sum of fifteen hundred Pounds. Upon which the States ſent to ſeveral Places, who had the ſame Intentions, enjoining them, 'whatever 'Plate or Mony they had to beſtow, to bring the ſame in'to ſuch a Treaſury as they ſhould appoint;' as if it were of dangerous Conſequence for his Majeſty to be Maſter of his own Purſe. From *Aberdeen* he paſs'd on to the Univerſity of St. *Andrews*, where at his Entry Mr. *Rutherford*, one of the Heads, made him an Oration, in which among other Expreſſions he told him, 'That if he perſiſted not 'in the Covenant, *Actum eſt de Rege, & Re Regiâ*.' Removing from thence to his own Houſe at *Falkland*, the Committee there was increas'd by the Arrival of the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, the Earls of *Buclough*, *Weymes*, Sir *Archibald Johnſton*, Sir *John Cheeſely*, with the Miniſters *Dick*, *Guthry*, and others of the ſame Stamp, who ſhew'd all outward Marks of Reſpect to his Majeſty. Hither came alſo many of the Nobility, *Engagers* and others, but with Difficulty were admitted to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand, and not ſuffer'd to ſtay any Time. Among others appear'd the Earl of *Carnwarth*, who coming into the Privy-Chamber, *Argyle* told him, *It was a great Preſumption for one in his Condition to come thither*; upon which he went to his Majeſty, and as a Farewel wiſh'd *He had none about him leſs faithful than himſelf*. Then applying himſelf to the Earl of *Caſſels*, ſtanding on one Side the Cloth of State, and *Johnſton* and *Cheeſely* on the other, *Wood* the Miniſter, one of the Commiſſioners in *Holland*, beckon'd to him to come away, which he preſently obey'd; and coming to him ſaid, *Sir, God I hope will forgive me, will not you?* But *Wood* diſdainfully turn'd from him without giving him a Word; and *Johnſton* and *Cheeſely* order'd the King at Arms *to take the Earl and hang him preſently, except he went from Court:* Which plainly ſhew'd the Charity of the Clergy, and the Mercy of the Committee, to any of the Royal Party.

Argyle's Management, and the King's Treatment.

The Marqueſs of *Argyle* was the chief Manager, who us'd all poſſible Addreſs to render himſelf gracious to the King, entertain'd him with very pleaſant Diſcourſes, and with ſuch Inſinuations, that his Majeſty did not only like his Converſation, but often believ'd he deſign'd to oblige and ſerve him: But whenever the King attempted to get ſome of his Servants about him, or to reconcile the two Factions, that the Kingdom might be united, he gather'd up his Countenance, and retired from him, without yielding to any Propoſition made to him. As to the King's Table, it was well ſerv'd, where he ſat in Majeſty, waited upon with Decency: He had good Horſes to ride abroad to take the Air, and was then well attended; and in all publick Appearances, ſeem'd to want Nothing that was due to a real King. But in all other Reſpects, relating to Power to oblige or gratify any Man, to diſpoſe or order any Thing, or Himſelf to remove to any other Place than was aſſign'd him, he had nothing of a Prince, but might well be look'd upon as a Priſoner. He was not preſent at their Councils, nor were the Reſults of them communicated to Him; nor was he in the leaſt Degree conſulted with, in any part of the Government; and yet they made all the Shew of outward Reverence to him. They principally rely'd upon their Clergy, who moſt of all beſieg'd him, and were in ſuch a continual Attendance about him, that he never was free from their Importunities, and their unmannerly Reprehenſions, all under Pretence of inſtructing him in Religion. They likewiſe oblig'd him to their conſtant Hours of their long Prayers, and made him obſerve the *Sundays* with more Rigour than the Jews uſually did their *Sabbath*; and very ſharply reprehended him, if he did but ſmile on thoſe Days, and if his Looks and Geſtures did not pleaſe them; while all their Prayers and Sermons, at which he was forc'd to be preſent, were generally Libels and bitter Invectives againſt all the *Actions* of his Father, the *Idolatry* of his Mother, and the *Malignity* of Himſelf. Yet in the midſt of all their Rudeneſs and caſual Reproaches, they ſtill approach'd his Preſence with bended Knees, and in the humbleſt Poſtures.

The King proclaim'd, and an Army rais'd.

In the mean Time, on the 15th Day of *July*, his Majeſty was ſolemnly proclaim'd King at *Edinburgh-Croſs*; but the Coronation, tho' much promis'd, was deferr'd to a more proper Seaſon. The Parliament and Committee of Eſtates endeavour'd to form an Army for the King's Service, as they alledg'd, and to that End had publiſh'd an Act for training of every fourth Man, who was capable of bearing Arms, throughout the Kingdom: Of this, old *Leſley*, Earl of *Leven*, was made General of the Foot, *Holborn* Major-General, *David Leſley* Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, and *Montgomery* Major-General; the Command of Generaliſſimo being reſerv'd, at leaſt in Name, for his Majeſty Himſelf. With this Army it was ſuppos'd they deſign'd to invade *England*, and ſecure the Eſtabliſhment of the King in his Throne; and notwithſtanding their earneſt Endeavours to compleat their Levies, and the high Perſuaſions of their Miniſters to engage the People in this Cauſe, yet there were ſeveral Obſtructions by reaſon of their Diviſions among themſelves. For there were at leaſt three Factions amongſt them: Some were diſguſted at the Kingly Authority, the chief of whom were *Ker*, *Straughan*, *Johnſton* and *Cheeſely*; who tho' they declar'd againſt King and Lords, yet abſolutely expreſs'd their Intentions to oppoſe the *Engliſh* Sectaries. Another Party was under the young Marqueſs of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Seaforth*, the Lords *Ogilby* and *Newburgh*, with the *Gordons*, who were ready to appear abſolutely for the King, without any Reſpect had to the other Parties. But theſe could by no Means be endured by the Third, now the moſt ruling Party, who compos'd the preſent Parliament and the Kirk, who notwithſtanding all Oppoſitions, had compleated their Levies to about ſixteen thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe. But in this they took ſpecial Care not to admit *Malignants* or *Engagers*; for the moſt part putting in Command Miniſters Sons, Clerks, and other ſuch ſanctify'd Perſons, who hardly ever ſaw or heard of any Sword but that of the Spirit; and with this ſelect Body they made themſelves ſure of Victory. By theſe Preparations the King's Condition ſeem'd wonderfully advanc'd, eſpecially in Foreign Parts; and his being poſſeſs'd of one Kingdom without an appearing Rival, was look'd upon by great Numbers, as an Earneſt, and a happy Preſage of the Recovery of the other two; and all Perſons who had advanc'd the Deſign of the King's going into *Scotland*, began now to value themſelves upon their Underſtanding, or their Activity in that Service.

Cromwell his Return and Reception from Ireland.

V. I. During theſe Tranſactions and Preparations in *Scotland*, the Common-wealth of *England*, as it was call'd, was not negligent of its own Support and Security; and before the King landed in *Scotland*, it was thought neceſſary to ſend for *Cromwell* out of *Ireland*, where he left his Son-in-law *Ireton*, his Deputy, to finiſh his Conqueſts in that Kingdom. He made no Delay, but returning home crown'd with Victories and Succeſs, in a triumphant Manner enter'd the City of *London* amidſt a Crowd of Attendants, Friends, Citizens, and Members of Parliament, guarded by a Troop of Horſe and a Regiment of Foot, and amongſt them *Fairfax* himſelf, who all went out two Miles to meet him, and congratulate his glorious Return. Being come to *Tyburn*, the publick Place of Execution, where a great Multitude of Spectators were gather'd together, a certain Flatterer pointing to the Crowd, cry'd out, *Good God! What a Number of People come to attend your Triumph?* Upon which he, with a ſenſible Smile, made Anſwer, *How many more, do you think, would attend here to ſee me hang'd?* Tho' there was nothing more unlikely at that Time, yet there ſeem'd a Preſage in theſe Words, which he often repeated and us'd in common Diſcourſe.

He is made General againſt the Scots.

A Juncto of the Council of State were immediately adviſ'd by *Cromwell*, not to wait for the coming of the *Scots*, nor to truſt any After-Game, but rather to prevent their Invaſion of *England* by carrying the War directly into *Scotland*. But ſome Men of Scruple objected, 'That to begin a War with *Scotland* wou'd be contrary to the *Covenant*;' but it was anſwer'd 'That the *Scots* had already broken the *Covenant*, and that therefore it was not now binding on the one Side, after it had been diſſolv'd on the other.' So it was at length reſolv'd, 'that having a form'd Army, well provided and experienc'd, they wou'd march it forthwith into *Scotland*, to prevent the *Scots* marching into *England*, and the Miſeries that might thence enſue.' The Lord-General *Fairfax* was taught by the *Preſbyterian* Miniſters, and his own Lady, a great Patroneſs of them, to object *That he was unſatisfy'd, whether there was a juſt Ground for the Parliament of* England *to ſend their Army to invade* Scotland; *But in Caſe the* Scots *ſhould firſt enter* England, *he was then ready to oppoſe and engage them in Defence of his own Country.* The Council of State were ſo far troubled with theſe Scruples in the General, that they appointed a Committee to give him Satisfaction, *Cromwell*, *Whitelock*, *Lambert*, *Harriſon* and *Saint John*; the Debates of which Conference were publiſh'd by one of the Committee, the General concluding thus; *As far as my Conſcience will give way, I am willing to join with you ſtill in the Service of the Parliament; but where the Conſcience is not ſatisfy'd, none of you, I am ſure, will engage in any Service; and that is my Condition in this, and therefore I muſt deſire to be excus'd.* So the General laid down his Commiſſion; and by a politick Contrivance an Act was immediately paſs'd, 'for conſtituting and appointing *Oliver Cromwell* Eſquire to be Captain-General in Chief of all the Forces rais'd, and to be rais'd, by Authority of Parliament within the Common-Wealth of *England*.' *Cromwell* made no Alteration in the Army; which he had modell'd to his own Mind before, and commanded as abſolutely. But in all other Places he grew more abſolute, and more imperious; and diſcountenanc'd and ſuppreſs'd the *Preſbyterians* in all Places, who had been very much ſupported by *Fairfax*. The *Independents* had all Credit about him; and the Churches and Pulpits were open to all kind of People who wou'd ſhew their Gifts there; and a general Diſtraction and Confuſion in Religion cover'd the whole Kingdom; which rais'd as general a Diſcontent in the Minds of the People, who finding no Eaſe from their former Burthens, but a daily Encreaſe of the Taxes and Impoſitions, grew weary of their new Government; and heartily pray'd that their General might never return from *Scotland*, but being deſtroy'd there, the King might return victorious into *London*.

He advances towards Scotland.

Cromwell having receiv'd his Commiſſion, with great Vigour advanc'd towards the Borders of *Scotland*, at the Head of eleven thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe; which extreamly ſtartled them there, notwithſtanding their great Levies and Preparations. The *Scotch* Miniſters, and others, made Reports, 'That *Cromwell* had a Commiſſion to come for *Scotland* with Fire and Sword, and was to give no Quarter to any *Scot*, but was to have all he cou'd conquer for himſelf and his Soldiers.' And further it was reported, 'That the *Engliſh* Army intended to put all Men to the Sword, and to thruſt hot Irons through the Womens Breaſts.' All Methods were us'd to make

The Scots *complain.*

the *Engliſh* Army odious; and *Whitelock* tells us, That the *Scots* Miniſters in their Prayers ſaid, *That if God will not deliver them from the SECTARIES, he ſhall not be their God.* However the *Scotch* Committee of Eſtates ſeem'd much ſurpris'd at this Invaſion without Warning given, and therefore ſent to expoſtulate the Caſe in a Paper to Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, then Governor of *Newcaſtle*, in another to *Cromwell*, and a third to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; ‘ in which they complain'd of the Breach of the *Act of Pacification*, and urg'd the Validity of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and the former *Union* between the two Nations.’ But were anſwer'd by a Declaration, ‘ 1. That the *Scots*, contrary to their Agreement, had once already invaded *England* under Duke *Hamilton*, and were now ready for a ſecond Invaſion; ſo that the *Engliſh* were advanc'd againſt them only by way of Prevention. 2. That they had made Peace with the common Enemy, and promis'd him Aſſiſtance to regain the other Kingdoms he pretended to. 3. They had reſolv'd to impoſe their Form of Religion upon the *Engliſh* Nation.’ *Cromwell* alſo added a Declaration of his own, in which he gave very obliging Words to the *Scots* in general, and told them, ‘ That he took to Heart all the Concerns of good Men, and that now he drew his Sword only againſt the Authors of Wrongs, who had polluted both *England* and *Scotland* with Blood and Slaughter, and who would involve them in new Miſeries, by admitting into their Boſom, *an open Favourer of Wickedneſs.*

Cromwell *enters* Scotland.

Thus on the 22d Day of *July Cromwell* croſs'd the *Tweede* and enter'd *Scotland*, and march'd almoſt as far as *Edinburgh* without the leaſt Oppoſition. In all this March the *Engliſh* ſaw not one *Scotchman* under ſixty Years of Age, nor any Youths above ſix Years old, and not many Women and Children, who in all Places begg'd for Mercy, and not to be put to any Torments, as their Miniſters had made them believe. All their Goods, Proviſions and Houſhold-ſtuff were remov'd, except a few Oats and Meal, and a little Beer hid under Coals, which the Soldiers made uſe of. *Cromwell* found the *Scots* Army encamp'd not far from *Edinburgh*, upon a very advantagious Ground; and he made his Quarters as near as he cou'd conveniently about *Muſſelborough*, but ſtill with great Diſadvantages. For the Country was ſo deſtroy'd behind him, and the Paſſes ſo well guarded before, that he was compell'd to ſend for all his Proviſions for Horſe and Foot from *England* by Sea; inſomuch that the Army was often reduc'd to great Streights; and the *Scots* really believ'd that that they had them all in their Power, except ſuch as would embark on Board their Ships. And indeed, if they had in Time rais'd what Forces they could, joyn'd with the King's Friends, and acted as real Politicians, and not like Religious Viſionaries, they had probably ruin'd the *Engliſh* Army.

He meets with a Check near Muſſelborough.

2. In the mean Time the King, tho' upon a double Account Generaliſſimo of the *Scotch* Army, was not allow'd to come there, but was kept at *Falkland*, and other Places, leaſt he ſhould have too great an Influence upon the Military Power; 'till on the 27th of *July*, by the good Will of the General Officers, and the Officiouſneſs of the Earl of *Eglanton*, he was invited to the Army; but Care was taken that none of the baniſh'd Perſons ſhould attend him thither. He was no ſooner arriv'd, where he was receiv'd with all Expreſſions of Joy, but *Cromwell* drew a great Body of Horſe down even to the Trenches, and forc'd a Party of the *Scots*, commanded by Sir *James Hacket*, to retreat in very great Diſorder. But the next Day a ſtrong Party of Horſe, commanded by Colonel *Montgomery*, Son to the Earl of *Eglanton*, fetching a Compaſs fell into *Cromwell*'s Quarters about *Muſſelborough*, routed ſeven or eight Parties of Horſe, and forc'd, as it was ſaid, *Cromwell* himſelf in his Drawers to take his Horſe, and paſs over the River. *Lambert* was hurt in this Action, and ſeveral were ſlain; and it is reaſonably believ'd, that if *Montgomery* had been well ſupported, he might as well have deſtroy'd *Cromwell*'s Army, as he afterwards did the other.

By this Succeſs, and the King's Preſence, the Army was much encreas'd, many call'd *Malignants* and *Engagers* having gotten into Command, his Majeſty was high in the Favour and Affection of the Army, which was then more evident by the Soldiers having in the late Action made an *R.* with Chalk under the Crown upon their Arms, and generally expreſſing *the Goodneſs of their Cauſe, now they had the King with them.* This ſtartled the Committees both of Kirk and State, who cry'd out, *That the Quarrel was chang'd, and the Cauſe of God neglected!* and ſo divers Arguments were us'd to remove his Majeſty from his Army, as ‘ The Danger of his Perſon, the Multitude of People out of Order by reaſon of his Preſence, Want of Proviſions, *&c.*’ and it is reported the Committee declared, *That if he would not retire, they would act no more:* And ſo, much againſt his Will, the King was perſuaded, after five or ſix Days Stay, to paſs over the *Forth* to *Dumfermling*. Immediately after the Committee commanded away all *Malignants* and *Engagers*, and ſo leſſen'd the Army of three or four thouſand of the beſt Men, and diſplac'd all ſuſpected Officers, concluding then, *They had an Army of Saints, and that they could not be beaten*; for ſo their illuminated Miniſters daily told the People out of the Pulpit. Beſides, the Gentry out of *Merche* and *Teviotdale*, who offer'd to diſtreſs *Cromwell*'s Rear, were on Pain of Forfeiture forbidden to embody themſelves, or to attempt any Thing on them, but to come away and leave all to his Power. And Sir *Edward Walker* tells us, That Offers were made by conſiderable Perſons of the *Malignant* and *Engaging* Party, that they would raiſe another Army, to take up the Quarrel in caſe this was beaten; and in the Interim to give their Wives and Children in Hoſtages, that if this was victorious, preſently to lay down Arms; or at leaſt that they might come into the Army, and lead the Van againſt *Cromwell:* But neither would be accepted; for the prevailing Party, to colour their Malice and Fear of them, by their Inſtruments the Miniſters, declar'd againſt them, ‘ comparing the Sin of *Malignancy* to the *Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*; that it was better to fight the Enemies with a Handful of *Elect* and *Godly* People, than with mighty *Arms* loaden with that *Sin*, which like *Achan*'s Wedge, wou'd ſurely be the Cauſe of their Deſtruction.’ So far were theſe unhappy People infatuated, and ripened for Vengeance and Ruin.

The King's Army weakned.

The Inſolence of the Kirk Party.

Soon after the Committees of Kirk and State ſent their Deputies to the King with a large Declaration of a ſtrange Nature: But his Majeſty at this Time poſitively refus'd to ſign it, and they moſt peremptorily preſs'd to have it paſs *in Terminis* without any Variation, how barbarous and unchriſtian ſoever the Expreſſions in it were in Relation to his own Father. After one Night's Stay, they return'd to *Edinburgh* and *Sterling*; where the next Day being *Sunday*, they thunder'd out againſt the King, ‘ That he was the *Root of Malignancy*, and an utter Enemy to the *Kingdom of Chriſt*, and the *Covenant*, which he had taken only to gain his Ends; and that they muſt take heed of him, and the *Heathen People* about him.’ And on *Monday* the Kirk publiſh'd a Declaration, approv'd by the Committee of Eſtates, in which they declare, ‘ That the Kirk and Kingdom do not own or eſpouſe any *Malignant* Party, or Quarrel, or Intereſt; but that they fight meerly upon their *former Grounds* and *Principles*, and in Defence of the Cauſe of God and the Kingdom, *as they have done this twelve Years*; and therefore, as they did diſclaim all the Sin and Guilt of the King and of his Houſe, ſo they will not own Him or his Intereſt otherwiſe than with a *Subordination to God*, &c.’ Two Days after, ſome of the moſt zealous in the Army, in the Name of the reſt, exhibited a Remonſtrance and Supplication, in which they declar'd to the ſame Effect with the Committees of the Kirk and State, and pray'd their Honours ‘ to take ſome ſpeedy and effectual Courſe to put the Laws of the Kingdom in full Execution againſt all *Scandalous* and *Malignant* Perſons, without Reſpect to Quality.’ The Committees by *Swinton* and Colonel *Ker* ſent their Declaration to *Cromwell*, who civilly receiv'd them, and return'd an Anſwer in Writing, in which he intimated, as if he thought their Profeſſions not conſiſtent with their Actions, upon which the Life and Hopes of the *Malignants* depended. But it is reported that his Anſwer to theſe Two, was, *That he wou'd not juggle with Them; he came for their King, if they wou'd deliver Him, he wou'd treat, otherwiſe not*; but many believe they were too much of an Opinion, to have any Difference during their Negotiations.

The King ſigns a hard Declaration.

In the mean Time, by the Inducement of *Argyle* and others, the King from *Dumfermling* ſent a Letter to the Kirk Aſſembly, to deſire ſome of their Numbers to come to him, and ſatisfy him in Point of Conſcience concerning ſome Parts of their Declaration. About four Days after, when they had publiſh'd their Papers, been with *Cromwell*, and the Chancellor and others had harangu'd to the Army the Senſe of the Kirk and Committee, the Aſſembly ſent two of their Number to ſatisfy his Majeſty, who after many Diſputes were at length induc'd to give way, that ſome Expreſſions relating to the late King ſhou'd be varied. So, by the Importunity of Friends and Enemies, on the ſixteenth of *July* the King was perſuaded to ſign the hard Declaration, of which this is the Subſtance: ‘ 1. He acknowledges the Providence of God in recovering him from the Snare of Evil Counſellors, and perſuading him of the Juſtice of the *Covenant*, which he has taken and ſubſcrib'd, and reſolv'd to maintain to the

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‘ utmoſt. He deſires to be deeply humbled for his Father's bloody Actions, and his Mother's Idolatry, acknowleges all his own Sins, and the Sins of his Father's Houſe, and ſays he will account them Enemies that oppoſe the *Covenants*, both which he took without any Siniſter Intention of attaining his own Ends; and therefore he deteſts and abhors all *Popery*, *Superſtition* and *Idolatry*, together with *Prelacy*, &c. and reſolves not to tolerate them in any Part of his Dominions. 2. He declares his Sorrow for his great Sinfulneſs in making Peace with the *Iriſh* Rebels, and allowing them the Liberty of the *Popiſh* Religion, and for his ſeeking to ſuch unlawful Helps, which here he makes void, reſolving for the future *rather to chuſe Affliction than Sin.* 3. He declares the Commiſſions he had granted to the *French* and others, by Sea and Land, were not given to injure any of his harmleſs Subjects, who follow'd the Trade of Merchandiſe; and that he conſtrues well of the Intentions of thoſe who have acted againſt the *Covenant*, yet he will not now employ them, till they have taken it, and given ſufficient Evidence of their good Affection for the *Work of Reformation*.' As a Concluſion, again taking notice of his former Guiltineſs and ill Succeſſes, he tells the World, ‘ That the State of the Queſtion is now alter'd, and that he hath obtain'd Mercy to be on God's Side, and therefore hopes that the Lord will be gracious, and countenance his own Cauſe; and that for the future he will do Nothing, but by Advice of the Kirk and State.' Sir *Edward Walker*, then in *Scotland*, apologizes for the King's ſigning this ſhocking Declaration, and in the Concluſion ſays, *Conſidering the Time when it was done, the Importunity that was upon him, and the ill Conſequences repreſented in Caſe of his Refuſal, with the pretended Advantages on the contrary, it will be found that few Princes in the like Exigent, tho' of much more Years and Experience, wou'd have ſo long reſiſted ſo hard and deſperate Aſſaults.* Yet notwithſtanding this, theſe hard and unreaſonable Men were not ſatisfy'd, but prepar'd another Tryal, by framing and ſending him particular Heads for his publick Humiliation, which he was to have made, had not new Accidents and Turns of Affairs prevented it.

3. From this Time, and till the End of *Auguſt*, the *Scotch* Army encreaſed and waited on *Cromwell*'s Motions; who variouſly marching to the South of *Edinburgh*, with conſiderable Oppoſition took the Houſe of *Redhaugh*, belonging to Sir *James Hamilton*. In the Interim, contrary to the Practice of oppoſite Armies, ſome of the Committee Officers of the Army, and Miniſters, had Conference with *Cromwell*'s Officers, in order to aſſert the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe, as it was reported; but the Event made many ſuſpect the contrary. Towards the End of the Month both Armies drew very near each other, the Cannon play'd hotly from each other's Quarters, and ſome Parties of Horſe skirmiſh'd, in which *Cromwell* had the worſt; for as the *Scotch* Army increas'd, ſo his decreas'd, and grew exceedingly in want of Proviſions, his Stores brought by Sea being now exhauſted. But ſtill the *Scots* wou'd not fight, as tho' they fear'd a Ruin by gaining a Victory, the Conſequences of which might either have oblig'd them to purſue it into *England*, and ſo leave all the *Malignants* and *Engagers* in a Capacity to have riſen behind them, or elſe to diſband the greateſt Part of their Army, and not to purſue their Victory, but preſerve their own Power at home. So that inſtead of Deſtroying their Enemy, or Strengthning themſelves, a Proclamation was made in the Army, ‘ commanding all *Malignants* and *Engagers* thence, under Penalty of Caſhiering the Officers that entertain'd them, and that no Perſon ſhou'd drink or converſe with them.

Cromwell *under great Diſadvantages.*

On *Saturday* the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, *Cromwell* drew out of his Quarters at *Muſſelborough* in good Order, his Ships weighing Anchor at the ſame Time; and the *Scotch* Army followed at a convenient Diſtance. On *Sunday* they overtook and beat ſome ſmall Parties in his Rear, and had fair Opportunities to have fought him; but the Miniſters wou'd not give way to it, *becauſe it was the Lord's Day.* The next Day they follow'd him to *Dunbar*, a Place on the Sea Coaſts, where they had greater Advantages from the Ground, the Courage of their Men, and the fainting of the Enemies, who wou'd not abide a Charge, but fled into the Town; and *Cromwell*, wanting Proviſions, was ſhipping off his Foot and Cannon, deſigning only the next Day to break through with his Horſe, for he was then hemm'd in on every Side by a greater Number, which hover'd like a Cloud about him upon the Hills; and they had alſo by a ſtrong Party ſecur'd *Coberſpath*, the only Paſs between him and *Berwick.* In this great Advantage, which much leſſen'd the Conduct and Fame of *Cromwell*, the Committee and Miniſters wou'd not conſent to an Attack, ſaying, *It was pity to deſtroy ſo many of their Brethren; but ſince they were like to fall into their Hands the next Day, it was better to get a dry Victory, and ſend them back with Shame for the Breach of Covenant.* *Cromwell* had none of thoſe tender and affectionate Conſiderations; but took more than ordinary Care of Himſelf and his Army that Night, which prov'd dreadfully rainy and tempeſtuous. Having refreſh'd his Men in the Town, and above all Things ſecured his Match-Locks againſt the Weather, while his Enemies were careleſs of theirs, early in the Morning, being *Tueſday* the Third of *September*, he drew out a ſtrong Party of Horſe, and falling on the Horſe-Guards made them retire; and if his Deſign was formerly but to have made his Way, he now alter'd it, by this Opportunity of the ſupine Security of his Enemies. So immediately his Bodies both of Horſe and Foot advanc'd, and without any conſiderable Reſiſtance took the *Scots* Cannon, and enter'd their Camp, where preſently there was nothing but Noiſe, Tumult and Confuſion, Men running all Ways they knew not whither, the Cries and Groans of dying Men, Shouts and loud Acclamations of the Conquerors, Flying, Blood and Slaughter. All the general Officers fled in Time, and moſt of the Foot Officers left their poor Soldiers to the Mercy of *Cromwell*; and moſt of the Horſe, with the Committee and Miniſters, ſav'd themſelves, tho' ſeveral of the latter ſuffer'd. Three thouſand were kill'd, and nine thouſand taken Priſoners; fifteen thouſand Arms, all the Artillery and Ammunition, with above two hundred Colours, fell into the Hands of the Conquerors, and all with the Loſs of ſcarce three hundred *Engliſh*. Thus in a Moment this Powerful Army, doubly numerous to the other, was totally routed; moſt of the common Soldiers being diſpers'd, crying out, *They would never fight again under thoſe Commanders who ſo baſely deſerted them.*

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The Battel of DUNBAR.

The Scotch *defeated.*

This Victory brought *Cromwell* directly to *Edinburgh*, where he met with good Accommodations, and Refreſhment, which his Army very much wanted. The Priſoners, after the Wounded, Weak, and thoſe of no Value, were ſet at Liberty, were driven like Turkeys to *Newcaſtle* in *England*, where about ſixteen hundred of them were ſtarv'd, having nothing to eat but green Cabbage Leaves, and Oats in a ſmall Proportion: The ſtronger Perſons, that out-liv'd this Diet, were condemn'd to the Sugar-Mills, and by the *Engliſh* Planters tranſported to the *Weſt-Indies.* So much Kindneſs had *Cromwell* for his Brethren in *Scotland.*

All was immediately in a Confuſion and Conſternation at the News of this Overthrow, tho' vaſt Numbers had very little Reaſon to grieve or be concern'd. All the chief Magiſtrates, together with the Committees of the Kirk and State, fled from *Edinburgh* to *Sterling*, where they took the beſt Care they cou'd for their Security. Here they and the general Officers accus'd each other, ſome of Neglect, ſome of Cowardiſe, and others of Treaſon. Old *Leſley*, Earl of *Leven*, who never was valu'd of late Years, was laid aſide with Diſhonour, and *David Leſley* for a while laid down his Commiſſion; the Rulers reſolving to model the Army after a more *Sanctiſy'd Way.* In the Interim great Lamentations were made by the Miniſters, who in the Pulpits told God Almighty, *That it was little to* Them *to loſe their Lives and Eſtates, but to* Him *it was great Loſs to ſuffer his* Elect and Choſen *to be deſtroy'd*, and many other extraordinary Diſcoveries; and ſtill crying out, *Not to take in any of the* Engagers, *or to aſſert the* Kingdom of Chriſt *by carnal and ſelfiſh Means.* Then preſently they caus'd a Faſt to be kept by his Majeſty, and both in their Prayers and Preachings judiciouſly aſcrib'd all the Defeat to the Sin of the King's Houſe and Family, and to his Hypocriſy in complying with them, not for Conſcience, but for the Love of a Crown. And the *Sunday* following at *Sterling*, Mr. *Guthrey* ſaid, *That if his Majeſty's Heart were as upright as* David'*s, God wou'd no more pardon the Sins of his Father's Houſe for his* Sake, *than he did the Sins of the Houſe of* Judah *for the Goodneſs of Holy* Joſiah. Such were the Notions of the Miniſters, who tho' they oftentimes glory'd *That he was the only Covenanted King*, yet 'till he ſubmitted his Scepter to that of *Chriſt*'s, or rather was wholly at their Diſpoſal, they wou'd neither truſt, honour, nor obey him.

The Kirk in a great Conſternation.

4. While the Kirk Party more eſpecially were terrify'd with the laſt Victory, the King, who was then at *Perth* or St. *Johnſton*, was well pleas'd with it, as a particular Happineſs in the Loſs of ſo ſtrong a Body of his Enemies; who, if they had prevail'd, his Majeſty expected to have been ſhut up in a Priſon the next Day; which had been only a ſtricter Confinement than he now ſuffer'd: For the Lord *Lorne*, eldeſt Son to the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, being Captain of his Guard, was ſo watchful over him both Night and Day, that he cou'd not go to any Place without his Permiſſion. But after this Defeat, they all look'd upon the King as a neceſſary Perſon whom they might want: They allow'd his Servants, who had been ſe-

The King in a better Condition.

queſter'd from him at his firſt Arrival, to attend and wait upon him, and began to declare for the calling a Parliament, and appointing a Time for the King's Coronation; which hitherto had been little ſpoken of. Some Miniſters began now to preach Obedience to the King; and the Officers, who had been caſhier'd for their *Malignity*, loudly exclaim'd againſt *the Miſcarriages in the Government, and that the Kingdom was betray'd to the Enemy for want of Confidence in the King, who alone cou'd preſerve the Nation.* They of the Council ſeem'd not to have ſo abſolute a Dependance upon the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, but ſpoke more freely than formerly; and the Marqueſs apply'd himſelf more to the King, and to thoſe about him. So that the King did, in a good Degree, enjoy the Fruit of this Victory as well as *Cromwell*, tho' the Benefit was not ſo publickly diſcern'd.

A Deſign to free the King.

A new Army was appointed to be rais'd; the King interpos'd more than he had done; the Noblemen and Officers came to him with more Confidence; and his Majeſty undertook to expoſtulate, and to complain of what was diſpleaſing to him: Yet ſtill the Power was in *Argyle*'s Hands, who under all the Profeſſions of Humility, ſtill exercis'd the ſame Tyranny; inſomuch that the King grew weary of his own Patience, and reſolv'd to make ſome Attempt to free himſelf, upon this Occaſion. Dr. *Frazier*, the King's Phyſician and Attendant, and a great Promoter of his Voyage into *Scotland*, was ſhortly after his Arrival diſlik'd by *Argyle*, who knew him to be a Creature of the *Hamiltonians*, and found him to be of an unquiet and over-active Spirit; and thereupon ſequeſter'd him from his Attendance. There were many Officers who had ſerv'd in Duke *Hamilton*'s Engagement, as *Middleton* and others, who had entire Affections for the King; and who, finding themſelves excluded from any Employment by the Power of *Argyle*, had retir'd into the *Highlands*, and there remain'd conceal'd in Expectation of ſome happy Seaſon, in which they might openly appear. With ſeveral of theſe Dr. *Frazier* had held Correſpondence while he was in the Court, and had often inform'd the King of their Affection and Readineſs to ſerve him, and of their Power to do it, and had return'd his Majeſty's gracious Acceptation of their Service, and his Reſolution to employ them. And now not being himſelf permitted to come to Court, he found Means to meet and confer with many of them, and held Intelligence with the Lord *Lauderdale*, who had always great Confidence in him; and the Officers undertaking to do more than they cou'd, or the Doctor underſtanding them to undertake more than they did, he gave the King ſuch an Account of their Numbers, as well as Reſolutions, that his Majeſty appointed a Day for their Rendezvous, and promis'd to be preſent with them, and then to publiſh a Declaration, ready drawn up, of the ill Treatment he had ſuſtain'd, and particularly againſt the Perſon of the Marqueſs of *Argyle*.

The King retires.

And returns,

And gains Advantages.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had given himſelf up to *Argyle*, not being truſted with this Secret, made a Diſcovery of the Correſpondence, by finding ſome of the Letters that had paſs'd, in the King's Cabinet accidentally left open. But *Argyle* did not think the Time ſo near; however the King proſecuted his Purpoſe ſo far, that he rode one Day with above a dozen Horſe into the *Highlands*, and lodg'd one Night at my Lord *Dedup*'s Houſe; neither the Marqueſs, nor any one in Court knowing whither he was gone; which threw them all into great Confuſion and Diſtraction. It was indeed an empty and unprepar'd Deſign, contriv'd and conducted by Dr. *Frazier*, with little Foundation, and might have turn'd to the King's Ruin. It was afterwards call'd *The Start*; yet, contrary to Expectation of wiſe Men, it prov'd much to his Majeſty's Advantage. For tho' he was induc'd, or rather compell'd to return the next Day by a Troop of Horſe under *Montgomery*, yet notwithſtanding, this publick Declaration of his Majeſty's Reſentment, together with the Obſervation of what the People ſaid of it, *That the King was not treated as he ought to be*, caus'd *Argyle* to change his Counſels, and to be more ſolicitous to ſatisfy the King. Thereupon a Summons was ſent out, in the King's Name, to call a Parliament, and great Preparations were really made for the Coronation; and the Seaſon of the Year, and the well-guarded Paſſes, hinder'd the Enemies Advance: So that the King reſided ſometimes at *Sterling*, and ſometimes at *St. Johnſton*, with ſufficient Security. The Parliament met at the former, which ſhortly brought all the Lords of the other Party thither; who appear'd to have Credit enough to wipe off the Stains of the *Engagement*, yet with Submiſſion to ſtand publickly upon the *Stool of Repentance*, and to acknowledge their former Tranſgreſſions; as they all did. Duke *Hamilton* and *Lauderdale* were highly welcome to his Majeſty; but not ſo to *Buckingham* and *Argyle*. The King himſelf grew very popular, and by his frequent Conferences with the Knights and Burgeſſes, got many Things paſſed in the Parliament which he deſir'd; caus'd ſeveral infamous Acts to be repeal'd, and provided for the raiſing of an Army, of which he himſelf was General; and no Exceptions were taken to thoſe Officers who had formerly ſerv'd the King his Father.

Edinburgh *Caſtle ſurrender'd to* Cromwell.

While the Diviſions were in ſome Degree cementing, *Cromwell* was active with his victorious Forces, and had reduc'd moſt of the Fortreſſes in the Southern Parts of *Scotland*, as the Caſtle of *Roſlan*, *Tantallon*, *Hume*, *&c.* which he perform'd with great Labour and Induſtry. But his greateſt Difficulty was againſt the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, built on a high abrupt Rock, and thought impregnable by Situation and Art. He left no Means untry'd to gain it; and firſt he reſolv'd to force it by Mines; and having employ'd both *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Colliers, who were us'd to dig in the Coal-Pits, he by the Force of Fire endeavour'd to ſoften the Stone; but all in vain, becauſe of the Hardneſs of the Rock, which was impenetrable againſt all his Arts. Therefore when he cou'd not blow it up into the Air, he endeavour'd to level it with the Ground; and with mighty Labour and Pains rais'd a Battery, fortify'd with Gabions, and other Contrivances, from whence he inceſſantly play'd with Cannons and Mortars. Till at length *Dundaſs* the Governor, having his own Wife hurt by a Shell, agreed to ſurrender the Place upon honourable Articles, on the 24th Day of *December*. In the Caſtle were taken fifty three Pieces of Cannon, ſome of them remarkable both for Size and Beauty, eight thouſand Arms, eighty Barrels of Powder, and all the King's Hangings, Tapeſtry and Jewels. Thus fell that ſtrong and famous Caſtle, that gloried in its Virginity, as having never before ſubmitted to any Conqueror; which was a Thing ſo unexpected by ſeveral, that the *Scots* cry'd out, *It was taken only by Silver Bullets.*

Several Acts made at Weſtminſter.

5. During all theſe Tranſactions in *Scotland*, the Republican Rulers in *England* were daily exercis'd, not only in ſecuring and perpetuating their Authority, but alſo in making ſeveral new Eſtabliſhments and Laws, under the Name of the Parliament of *England*. To gain the Reputation of Godlineſs and preciſe Juſtice, on the 10th of *May* they paſs'd an Act againſt *Inceſt*, *Adultery* and *Fornication*, making the two firſt to be Felony without Benefit of the Clergy, and the latter to be puniſh'd with Impriſonment for the firſt Offence, and Death for the ſecond. This Bill was warmly oppos'd by a notorious Offender, *Harry Martin*, who argued, *That the Severity of the Puniſhment wou'd cauſe the Sins to be more frequently committed; ſince Perſons wou'd learn to be more ſly and cautious in the Commiſſion, and the Parties ſo neceſſitated to mutual Secrecy, that a Conviction wou'd be impracticable.* After that they paſs'd another Act againſt *Swearing* and *Curſing*, with a Penalty of thirty Shillings on a Lord, twenty on a Baronet or Knight, ten on an Eſquire, ſix and eight Pence on a Gentleman, and three and four Pence on every other Perſon for the firſt Offence; and for the ſecond, the Penalty doubled. Another Holy Act was made for the due Obſervation and Sanctification of the *Lord's-Day*, and the Days of publick *Humiliation* and *Thankſgiving*; wherein the Penalties for profaning the Parliamentary Faſts and Thankſgivings were equal with thoſe for the Profanation of the Lord's-Day; and made ſo by thoſe Men who had abrogated the Church Feſtivals and Faſts, on a Pretence *That thoſe Days aſſum'd a Sanctity due only to the Sabbath.* But the Matter that occaſion'd the greateſt Debates in the Houſe, was the Project of altering the Forms of Law, and making all Writs and Proceedings to run only in the *Engliſh* Tongue. This was the ſubject of ſeveral Petitions from the Soldiers and the Country Farmers, who indeed had Reaſon to think themſelves impos'd upon by Languages they did not underſtand. Hence it was at laſt enacted, *November* 22, ' That all Report Books of the Reſolution ' of Judges, and other Books of the Law of *England*, ſhall ' be tranſlated into the *Engliſh* Tongue, and all *Writs*, ' *Proceſs* and *Returns* thereof, *Pleadings*, *Rules*, *Orders*, ' *Indictments*, *Inquiſitions*, *Certificates*, *Patents*, and all ' *Acts*, *Deeds* and *Proceedings* whatſoever, ſhall be only in ' the *Engliſh* Tongue, in the ordinary uſual Hand, and ' not in *Court-Hand*.

Mr. Aſcham *murder'd at* Madrid.

They acted every thing with the Authority of a free and independent State, and as ſuch they this Year ſent Mr. *Aſcham*, a Perſon concern'd in the King's Tryal, as their Agent or Envoy to the Court of *Spain*, tho' the King had before ſent the Lord *Cottington* and Sir *Edward Hyde* thither, as his own proper Ambaſſadors. This new Agent was no ſooner arriv'd at *Madrid*, but the next Morning ſome *Engliſh* Officers and Soldiers who had ſerv'd in the *Spaniſh* Armies, went to his Lodgings, and without asking any Queſtions, walk'd up directly into his Chamber, drew their Swords, and, beſides their Intentions, in Diſorder, kill'd a Friar the Interpreter as well as the Agent; and ſo

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return'd to their Companions with naked and bloody Swords, and ſome Expreſſions of Triumph, as if they had perform'd a gallant and juſtifiable Piece of Service. The King's two Ambaſſadors abhorr'd this Action, but had the Misfortune to have one of their own Servants, *Henry Progers*, concern'd in it; therefore, in great Concern, they immediately wrote to the prime Miniſter *Don Lewis de Haro*, to teſtify their Ignorance and Deteſtation of it. *Don Lewis* at firſt return'd them a dry and ſevere Anſwer; but meeting with them ſome Weeks after, contrary to their Expectation, he us'd this Expreſſion, *I envy thoſe Gentlemen for having done ſo noble an Action, how penal ſoever it may prove to them, to revenge the Blood of their King.* And he further ſaid, *The King his Maſter wanted ſuch reſolute Subjects; otherwiſe he wou'd not have loſt the Kingdom of* Portugal, *for want of one brave Man, who by removing the Uſurper, might at any Time, during the firſt two Years, have put an End to that Rebellion.* The Perſons concern'd in this Aſſaſſination might eaſily have ſecur'd themſelves, but in Confuſion they went into a little Chappel for Sanctuary, from whence in a Day or two they were taken by a Principal Officer, ſent to Priſon, and condemn'd to die; but then were deliver'd back into the ſame Chappel, and were kept there till they had Opportunity to make their Eſcape; only one was afterwards apprehended and ſuffer'd Death.

Several ſuffer in England, *as* Levens, Andrews, Benſon, *&c.*

The News of this bloody Fact made a great Noiſe in *England*; and, like that of the Murther of Dr. *Doriſlaus*, occaſion'd new Hardſhips and Severities againſt the Cavaliers, and others not Lovers of the preſent Eſtabliſhment. But they were more than ordinary active in ſuppreſſing all Perſons from appearing for the *Scots* Deſigns and Intereſt: Upon which Account, Dr. *Levens*, a very learned Gentleman of the Civil Law, being taken with ſome blank Commiſſions from the King, was try'd by their Court Martial, and condemn'd to be hang'd over-againſt the *Royal Exchange* in *London*, which was executed on the 13th Day of *July*. A little above a Month after, Colonel *Euſebius Andrews*, a Counſellor of *Grays-Inn*, having been projecting ſome Inſurrection in Behalf of the King, was betray'd by ſome of his Confederates, taken up, and after ſeveral Examinations, brought to his Tryal before the High Court of Juſtice. Here he admirably pleaded his Cauſe; but the Attorney-General *Prideaux* over-rul'd all, and told him, *The Court was not to take Notice of his Law Caſes, but of his Confeſſion; and tho' he had acted no Treaſon, yet he had an Affection for Treaſon, and therefore deſerved Death.* Upon this learned Diſtinction the Court proceeded to Sentence againſt him, that he ſhou'd be beheaded; which Sentence this Heroick Gentleman ſuffer'd on *Tower-Hill*, with no leſs Magnanimity than Chriſtianity, on the 22d of *Auguſt*. In the following Month, one Mr. *Benſon*, involv'd in the ſame Deſign with Colonel *Andrews*, was try'd and condemn'd by the foreſaid Court, and on the 8th of *October* was hang'd for his Loyalty. About the ſame Time there was a ſmall Riſing of ſome Gentlemen in *Norfolk*; but upon the Appearance of the Country Forces, and two Troops from *Lynne*, they diſpers'd, ſome of the Chief being taken and executed. In order to make Diſcoveries, whole Swarms of Informers began to wander about in all Places, both publick and private, ſacred and profane: They liſtned in Churches, attended in Taverns and Ale-houſes, and repair'd to all publick Places of Exerciſe: Noblemen and Gentlemens Servants were corrupted, that they might diſcover their Maſters Diſcourſe at Table; and the chief Vintners, or their Drawers, were brib'd to hearken privately to the free Diſcourſes of their Cuſtomers over their Wine. And ſuch was the Condition of *England* in the Second Year of the *Common-Wealth*.

The ſad Condition of Ireland.

6. *Ireland*, from the Departure of *Cromwell*, was this Year left to the Government of his Son-in-Law *Ireton*; a Man who knew the Bottom of all his Deſigns, and was of the ſame, or a greater Pride and Fierceneſs in his Nature. He purſu'd the ſame Methods, rang'd and rag'd about the Country, us'd all the Severities of the Sword and Gallows, and became a new Scourge to that wretched People. At the ſame Time the Plague rag'd all over that Kingdom, as if Human Vengeance were not ſufficient to chaſtiſe the Madneſs of that Nation, without the Concurrence of the Divine. This was the moſt grievous Sickneſs that for fifty Years had afflicted that Kingdom; ſo that there was ſcarce a Houſe free in *Dublin*, where there dy'd about eight Hundred Perſons in one Week. Beſides this, they were viſited with another uſual Concomitant of War, a dreadful Famine, which was ſo exceſſive in many Parts of the Iſland, that we are aſſur'd ſeveral could not with-hold from Human Fleſh. So that this Nation met with three devouring Plagues at once, a Peſtilence, a Famine, and the mercileſs Sword of *Ireton*; who, tho' he met with much Oppoſition from the Faſtneſſes and ſtrong Holds, without any ſet Battel, almoſt compleated the Conqueſts began by *Cromwell*, before he dy'd himſelf in the following Year. In the mean Time, in the latter End of this Year the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, with the Lord *Inchequin*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Rank and Honour, were forc'd to quit *Ireland* to *Ireton*'s Forces, and to retire into *France*, and other Countries.

The Death of the Princeſs Elizabeth.

On the 8th Day of *September* this Year dy'd the Princeſs *Elizabeth Stuart*, ſecond Siſter to the preſent King, in the fifteenth Year of her Age; a Lady of incomparable Abilities, and admirable Virtues, but of a cruel and untimely Fate: For being by Order of the Regicides ſent Priſoner to *Cariſbrook-Caſtle*, the tedious Priſon of her Royal Father, being more ſenſible of his Murther than the Loſs of her own Liberty, ſhe waſted away, and expired with the Extremity of Melancholy and Grief. This was a moſt ſenſible Affliction to the King in *Scotland*, which was not long after ſucceeded by a Loſs much more ſubſtantial, tho' perhaps not more affecting, which was the Death of the Prince of *Orange*; a Loſs of mighty Importance to his Majeſty, towards whom that brave and hopeful Prince gave all the Teſtimony of the moſt unſhaken Affection, and inviolable Friendſhip, that ever had been ſhewn towards any Perſon under ſignal Misfortunes. He was ſnatch'd away by the Small-Pox, on the 27th of *October*, not without Suſpicion of Poyſon; leaving his diſconſolate Princeſs near the Time of her Delivery, who on the 4th of *November* brought forth a Son, who has ſince made a much greater Figure in Hiſtory than his Father. The Death of this Prince did not only extinguiſh all Expectations in *France* of the Reſtoration of the King of *England*, but very much leſſen'd the Reſpect and Civility, which that Court had always ſhew'd to the Queen her ſelf, as a Daughter of *France*; towards whom they expreſs'd not that Regard they had formerly done.

And of the Prince of Orange.

The Death of Archbiſhop Williams.

Beſides the Deaths of theſe two illuſtrious Perſons, we are to take notice of ſome others, that deſerve a Name in Hiſtory; as firſt that great Prelate and Stateſman Dr. *John Williams*, Archbiſhop of *York*, in the 68th Year of his Age, whoſe Character we have already given; but muſt further obſerve, that, notwithſtanding the World's Opinion of his Principles, he continu'd ſo exact and ſtrict to the Rules of the Church of *England*, that in his laſt Sickneſs, wanting a regular Presbyter to give him the Sacrament, Abſolution, *&c.* he purpoſely ordain'd an honeſt and pious Servant of his own to adminiſter to him in thoſe holy Offices. Not long after dy'd another eminent Biſhop, Dr. *John Prideaux* of *Worceſter*, a Perſon ſcarcely to be parallel'd for all ſorts of Learning, an admirable Linguiſt, and a moſt profound Divine of the *Anti-Arminian* Party; who had been twenty ſix Years the *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Oxford*; when in the Year 1641 he was remov'd to a Biſhoprick, to the great Detriment of his Fortune and Eſtate; for he was ſoon driven out of all, and compell'd to ſell his excellent Library for Bread, and ſo dy'd very poor, to the ſenſible Concern of many learned Foreigners, who held him in the higheſt Eſteem and Veneration. Next, we ſhall mention Sir *Simonds D'ewes*, a Gentleman educated at the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, celebrated for a moſt curious Antiquary, highly eſteem'd by the great *Selden*, and particularly remarkable for his *Journals of all the Parliaments in Queen* Elizabeth*'s Reign*, and for his admirable Manuſcript Library he left behind him, now in the Hands of one of the greateſt Genius in the Age. We ought alſo to mention Dr. *Alexander Rhead*, a very learned *Scotchman*, and a worthy Member of the College of Phyſicians; a Perſon, who beſides the Publication of ſeveral Writings, honourably practis'd in his Faculty for no leſs than fifty Years. We ſhall laſtly mention two noted Parliamentarians, *Thomas May*, and *John Fry*: The former was a Gentleman by Birth, educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and a Follower of the Court, where he became famous for his Poetical Performances, and was graciouſly countenanced by the late King and his Royal Conſort; but being diſappointed of Preferment, and particularly of the Bays, which were taken from him by Sir *William Davenant*, he ſided with the *Presbyterians*, and vented his Spite in his noted Book call'd *The Hiſtory of the Parliament of* England, one of the genteeleſt and handſomeſt Libels in thoſe Times. The other, Mr. *Fry*, was a Parliament Man, of more than ordinary Parts; firſt a *Presbyterian*, then an *Independent*, and afterwards an *Arian*, and what not: His Books rais'd a great Noiſe and Diſturbance in the Parliament Houſe, and were all order'd to be burnt; and when himſelf was in Danger of ſome ſignal Puniſhment, having run through all Religions, his Death put an End to all Proſecution.

Biſhop Prideaux.

Sir Simonds D'ewes.

Dr. Rhead.

Mr. May,

And Mr. Fry.

1651.
Car. 2.

VI. 1. The great Hopes of the King were now in *Scotland*, where it was determin'd, that his Majeſty ſhould be crown'd on the firſt of *January* at *Scone*, near St. *Johnſton*, the uſual Place for that Purpoſe, he being accounted the Forty Eighth Monarch that had been crown'd there.

16$\frac{50}{51}$.
Car. 2.

The Manner of the King's CORONATION *at* Scone.

The Manner of the Coronation, being the laſt in that Kingdom, and but little known in *England*, may not be ungrateful to the Reader; the Solemnity of which was thus: Firſt his Majeſty, in a Prince's Robe, was conducted from his Bed-chamber by the Lords *Great Conſtable* and *Marſhal* to the Chamber of Preſence, where he was by the Lord *Angus*, Chamberlain, plac'd in a Chair under a Cloth of State. Then the Nobles and Commiſſioners of Barons and Boroughs enter'd the Room, and having ſhewn themſelves to his Majeſty, Chancellor *Lowdon* ſpoke to this Effect, 'Sir, your good Subjects deſire you may be crown'ed, as righteous and lawful Heir of the Crown of this 'Kingdom: That you would maintain the preſent pro'feſſed Religion, the *National Covenant*, and *Solemn* '*League and Covenant*: That you would graciouſly be plea'ſed to receive Them under your Protection, to govern 'Them according to Law, to defend Them in their 'Rights and Privileges by your Royal Power; they of'fering Themſelves in humble Manner to your Majeſty 'with their Vows to beſtow Land, Life, and what elſe 'is in their Power, for the Maintenance of Religion, for 'the Safety of your Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, and Main'tenance of your Crown, which they intreat your Majeſty 'to accept, and pray Almighty God, that for many Years 'you may enjoy the ſame.' To which the King made this Anſwer; *I do eſteem the Affections of my good People more than the Crowns of many Kingdoms, and ſhall be ready by God's Aſſiſtance to beſtow my Life in their Defence; wiſhing to live no longer than I may ſee Religion and the Kingdom flouriſh in all Happineſs.*

This Ceremony perform'd, the Nobles and Commiſſioners of Barons and Boroughs accompany'd his Majeſty to the Church of *Scone*; the Spurs being carry'd before him by the Earl of *Eglington*, the Sword by the Earl of *Rothes*, the Scepter by the Earl of *Crawford* and *Lindſay*: The Crown was carry'd by the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, immediately before the Perſon of the King; who follow'd, ſupported by the *Conſtable* and *Marſhal*; his Train born up by the Lords *Montgomery*, *Ereskine*, *Newbottle* and *Machelene*, under a Canopy of crimſon Velvet, ſupported by the Lords *Drummond*, *Carnegie*, *Ramſey*, *Johnſton*, *Brechin* and *Yſter*; which ſix were alſo ſupported by ſix Noblemens Sons. Thus they repaired to the Church, which being prepared for the Purpoſe, the Honours were laid on a Table provided for them; and his Majeſty aſcended on a Stage twenty four Foot Square, and ſeated Himſelf on a Chair to hear the Sermon; upon which Stage there was another ſmaller Stage erected, whereon the Royal Throne ſtood. His Majeſty being ſeated on his Chair, a remarkable Sermon was preach'd by Mr. *Robert Douglas*, Moderator of the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, in which he often ſpoke directly to the King, and particularly gave him to underſtand, 'That the chief Cauſe of the 'Judgment upon his Houſe, had been his Grandfather's 'Breach of *Covenant* with God, and his Father's follow'ing his Steps, in oppoſing the Work of God, and his 'Kirk, within theſe Kingdoms.' Therefore he admoniſh'd him to adhere to the *Covenant*, and let him know, 'That 'he was oblig'd, not only to maintain Religion as it is 'eſtabliſh'd in *Scotland*, but, if it ſhould pleaſe God to 'reſtore him, likewiſe to endeavour the ſame Reforma'tion in his other Kingdoms; and not to tolerate any '*Falſe Religion* within his Dominions.

The King's Oath.

Sermon being ended, the *National Covenant* of *Scotland*, and the *Solemn League and Covenant* were diſtinctly read, and an Oath adminiſter'd to his Majeſty in theſe Words, *I* CHARLES, *King of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland, *do aſſure and declare by my ſolemn Oath, in the Preſence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, my Allowance and Approbation of the* National Covenant, *and of the* Solemn League and Covenant; *and faithfully oblige my ſelf to proſecute the Ends thereof in my Station and Calling; and that I my ſelf, and Succeſſors, ſhall conſent and agree to all Acts of Parliament enjoyning the* National Covenant, *and the* Solemn League and Covenant, *and fully eſtabliſh* Presbyterian *Government, the* Directory of Worſhip, Confeſſion of Faith, *and* Catechiſms *in the Kingdom of* Scotland, *as they are approv'd by the General Aſſemblies of this Kirk, and Parliament of this Kingdom; and that I will give my Royal Aſſent to Acts and Ordinances of this Parliament paſs'd, or to be paſs'd, enjoyning the ſame in my OTHER Dominions: And that I ſhall obſerve theſe in mine own Practice and Family, and ſhall never make Oppoſition to any of thoſe, or endeavour any Change thereof.* This done, the *National Covenant*, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and the King's Oath ſubjoyn'd to both, being drawn up in a fair Parchment, the King, in the Preſence of all, ſubſcrib'd the ſame. Then the King aſcended the other Stage, and ſat down in the Royal Throne; when the Lords great Conſtable and Marſhal went to the four Corners of the Stage, *Loyon* King at Arms going before them, who ſpoke theſe Words to the People, *Sirs, I do preſent unto you the King,* CHARLES, *the rightful and undoubted Heir of the Crown and Dignity of this Realm: This Day is, by the Parliament of this Kingdom, appointed for his Coronation; and are you not willing to have him for your King, and become ſubject to his Commandments?* At this Action the King ſtood up, and ſhew'd himſelf to the People on all Sides, who expreſs'd their Conſent by their loud and joyful Acclamations, *God ſave King* Charles *the Second!* Then deſcending to the firſt Chair, the Miniſters tender'd him the Coronation Oath, as it was appointed in the firſt Parliament of King *James* the Sixth, which being read, the King upon his Knees, holding up his Right Hand, ſwore theſe Words: *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I ſhall obſerve and keep all that is contained in this Oath.*

16$\frac{50}{51}$.
Car. 2.

He is crown'd by the Marqueſs of Argyle.

Then was the King diſrobed by the Lord Chamberlain of his Princely Robe, with which he enter'd the Church, and inveſted with his Royal Robes; and ſo ſupported as before, he remov'd to the Chair plac'd on the North Side of the Church, whither the Sword was firſt brought by Sir *William Cockburn*, Gentleman-Uſher, who deliver'd it to the great Chamberlain, and he making a ſhort Speech, deliver'd it to his Majeſty, by whom it was given into the great Conſtable's Hands, and by him girt to the King's Side. Then his Majeſty ſitting down in the Chair, the Spurs were put on him by the Earl Marſhal, and the Marqueſs of *Argyle* taking the Crown into his Hands, the Miniſter pray'd *That the Lord wou'd purge the Crown from the Sins and Tranſgreſſions of them that reign'd before him, &c.* and then the Marqueſs put it on his Majeſty's Royal Head. Which done, *Loyon* King at Arms, the great Conſtable ſtanding by him, call'd the Nobility one by one, who kneeling down, and touching the Crown upon the King's Head with their Right Hand, ſwore theſe Words: *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I ſhall ſupport Thee to my Utmoſt.* This obligatory Oath was likewiſe read to the People, who holding up their Hands, teſtify'd their Aſſent. Laſtly, after the Earl of *Crawford* and *Lindſay* had deliver'd the Scepter to his Majeſty, he return'd again to the Stage, where he was inſtall'd in the Royal Throne by the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, and a new Exhortation given him by the Preacher. The Ceremonies being thus ended, his Majeſty and the Nobility were entertain'd at a ſtately and magnificent Dinner at *Scone*; which done they all return'd to St. *Johnſton*, the whole *Scotch* Army ſtanding all the Way as a Guard between thoſe two Places.

1651.
Car. 3.

The King's Army and Officers.

2. *Scotland* was now buſily employ'd in Preparations for War, levying of Soldiers, raiſing of Mony, and diſciplining the Forces; while the King himſelf view'd the Frontier Garriſons, and prepar'd for Defence. From whence he viſited the *Highlanders*, in order to compoſe the Feuds and Diſſenſions that were amongſt thoſe hot People; which cou'd not be effected in any reaſonable Degree, till by Order of Parliament the Names of the Factions were in a great meaſure abrogated, and Perſons promiſcuouſly admitted into the Army. This was violently oppos'd by *Argyle*, who ſtill ſo well preſerv'd his Greatneſs and Intereſt, that it was judg'd expedient to mollify him with an Imagination, that the King deſign'd to marry one of his Daughters. This had ſome Effect; and Commiſſioners were likewiſe appointed to remove the common Impediments in the Levies, who had alſo Power given them, of Examining and Puniſhing the Friends and Favourers of the *Engliſh* Parricides; and while ſome receiv'd the condign Puniſhments of theſe Crimes, two Leaders, *Johnſton* and *Cheeſely*, made a timely Eſcape to *Cromwell*'s Camp. The King ſet up his Royal Standard at *Aberdeen*; to which from all Places, Volunteers and Honorary Soldiers flock'd in great Numbers. From thence the King march'd to *Sterling*; and having muſter'd the Army, he made Duke *Hamilton* his Lieutenant-General, *David Leſley* Major-General, *Middleton* Major-General of the Horſe, and *Maſſey* General of the *Engliſh* Troops. The Artillery was in good Order under the Command of *Wemmes*, a Perſon not thought worſe for his Ingratitude to the King's Father: He was confeſſedly a good Officer; and there were very few celebrated Officers, but ſuch as had drawn their Swords againſt his late Majeſty. Many of the Nobility had rais'd Regiments or Troops; and all the young Gentlemen of the Kingdom appear'd now very hearty in Commands, or Voluntiers: And in all Appearance they ſeem'd a Body Equal or Superior to the Enemy, which advanc'd in ſuch a Manner as ſhew'd they deſir'd nothing more than a Battle. But this was not thought adviſeable for the King's Army to engage in, without very great Advantages, which they had daily Reaſon to expect; for they had a broad and deep River between them; and if they preſerv'd the Paſſes, which were thought eaſy to keep, *Cromwell* muſt in a ſhort Time want Proviſions, and ſo be compell'd to retire, while the King had all the Advantages of Proviſions, and Opportunity of diſtreſſing his Rear. Amidſt all theſe Cares and Dangers, the King's Birth-day, the twenty ninth of *May*, was celebrated with all due Solemnity, being then twenty one Years of Age; to the Honour of which the Town of *Dundee* made ſplendid Preſents; a moſt excellent Pavilion, ſix Field Pieces, with Carriages and Ammunition, and, which procured them greateſt Thanks, a compleat well armed Regiment of Horſe.

Cromwell's *Motions.*

In the mean Time *Cromwell* was not idle; but having furniſh'd his Soldiers with new Cloaths, Mony, and other Neceſſaries ſent by Sea, he march'd through *Newbridge* and *Hamilton* to *Torwood* near *Sterling*; where furiouſly moving ſeveral Ways, he view'd in all Places, if an Attempt might any where be made upon the King's Camp. But when he found it ſo well fortify'd, that it cou'd not be attempted without the greateſt Hazard, he retir'd and took *Calendar* Houſe. Immediately after, Colonel *Overton*, having provided Ships, flat-bottom'd Boats, and other Veſſels for tranſporting of Horſe and Foot, with ſixteen Hundred Foot and four Troops of Horſe put out into the *Forth*, with Orders to land at the *North-Ferry* in *Fife*, which he did in ſpight of all Oppoſition. At the ſame Time *Cromwell* kept with the main of his Army cloſe up to the *Scots*, deſigning to fall upon their Rear in caſe they mov'd to diſturb this Enterprize. However Colonel *Brown* and Major-General *Holborn* were diſpatch'd with four Thouſand Men to drive the *Engliſh* out of *Fife* again; but before they cou'd come up to them, *Lambert* and *Okey* were got over the *Forth*, and joyn'd with *Overton* with two Regiments of Horſe, and two of Foot. And with this unexpected Reinforcement, the *Engliſh* fell upon *Brown* and *Holborn*, defeated their whole Body, kill'd two Thouſand upon the Spot, and took twelve Hundred Priſoners, and among thoſe *Brown* Himſelf, who liv'd not long after the Battle. Thus the *Engliſh* got ſure Footing on the other Side of the *Forth*; and this Defeat, which hapned on the latter End of *July*, prov'd the Bane of the *Scotch* Affairs. For ſoon after the *Engliſh* took in Garriſons almoſt as faſt as they approach'd them; and *Brunt* Iſland, and a ſtrong Fort call'd *Inneſgary*, ſituated in an Iſle lying in the *Frith*, were ſoon reduc'd by *Lambert*. And *Cromwell*, without longer waiting upon the King's Army, paſs'd over to *Brunt* Iſland; from whence ſending *Whaley* to take in the ſmaller Garriſons upon the Coaſt of *Fife*, he himſelf march'd towards St. *Johnſton*, where the King had left the Lord *Duffus* with twelve Hundred Men for its Defence. But *Cromwell* having drain'd the Water out of the Ditches, and battering the Walls with his Cannon, forc'd him to ſurrender in a Day's Time.

The Battle of Fife.

The King in great Straits.

This prodigious Succeſs caus'd the King to alter his Counſels, and to project an Irruption into *England*. He now found himſelf much nearer to *England* than *Cromwell*; and that it was not poſſible for the Other to overtake him, till after he had been ſome Days March before him. His Caſe was govern'd by Neceſſity, and his Fate depended upon the Succeſs of one Battle. All the Northern Parts of *England* had given him Cauſe to believe that they were well affected to his Service; and if he cou'd reach thoſe Countries, he might preſume to encreaſe his Army, which was numerous enough, with an Addition of ſuch Men as wou'd make it much more conſiderable. Hereupon it was reſolv'd that the Army ſhou'd immediately march, with all poſſible Expedition into *England* by the neareſt Ways that led into *Lancaſhire*, whither the King ſent Expreſſes to give thoſe Notice of his Purpoſe, who had made greateſt Promiſes, that they might get their Soldiers together to receive him. His Majeſty likewiſe ſent an Expreſs to the Iſle of *Man*, where the Earl of *Derby* had ſecurely lodg'd himſelf from the End of the former War, 'that he ſhou'd 'meet him in *Lancaſhire*.' The Marqueſs of *Argyle* was the only Man who diſſwaded the King's March into *England*, with Reaſons which were not frivolous; but the contrary Opinion prevail'd, and he retir'd to his Houſe in the *Highlands*. Accordingly, on the 31ſt Day of *July*, the King with his *Scotch* Army left the Camp at *Sterling*, and on the 6th of *Auguſt* enter'd his Native Country of *England*, by the Way of *Carliſle*, with an Army of about ſixteen Thouſand Men.

He enters into England.

Here the King began to breath another Air, and to meet with ſome Relaxation from the Severity of the *Preſbyterian* Diſcipline. But General *Maſſey* being a ſingular Favourite of that Party in *England*, his Majeſty ſent him with ſome Troops before, who was always to march at leaſt a Day before the Army, that he might give Notice of the King's coming, and draw the Gentry of the Counties through which he paſs'd, to be ready to attend upon his Majeſty; eſpecially the Presbyterians of *Lancaſhire*, with whom he had a particular Acquaintance. But it was fatal at that Time to all *Scotch* Armies, always to have a Committee of Miniſters in them, who ruin'd all: For tho' there had been all poſſible Care taken to chuſe ſuch Men for that Service, as had the Reputation of being the moſt ſober and moderate of that Body; yet theſe very People no ſooner heard that *Maſſey* was ſent before to call upon their Friends, and found that thoſe about the King now in *England* ſeem'd to have leſs Regard for the *Covenant* than formerly, but they ſent an Expreſs to him, without the leaſt Communication with the King, with Letters, and a Declaration; in which Letters they requir'd him 'to publiſh that *Declaration*, which teſtify'd the Zeal of the 'King, and the whole Army for the *Covenant*, and their 'Reſolution to proſecute the true Intent of it; and forbid 'him to receive or entertain any Soldiers in his Troops, 'but thoſe who would ſubſcribe that Obligation.' The King had ſoon Notice of this Preſumption, and ſpeedily ſent *Maſſey* a Command 'Not to publiſh any ſuch Declaration, and to behave himſelf with equal Civility towards all Men who were ready to engage in his Service.' But before the Inhibition was receiv'd, the Matter had taken Air in all Places; and being ſpread over the Kingdom, almoſt all Men fled from their Houſes, or conceal'd Themſelves, who wiſh'd well to his Majeſty's Affairs.

The Strictneſs of the Scotch *Miniſters.*

A Presbyterian Plot by Love, *&c.*

3. During the various Tranſactions in *Scotland*, before the King's Arrival in *England*, the Republican Rulers at *Weſtminſter* were buſily employ'd, both in ſecuring their own Authority, and proſecuting a Plot which occaſion'd ſome new Struggles between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* in *England*. The former meeting with no ſmall Grievances and Oppreſſions from the Latter, began this Spring to have ſome conſiderable Hopes from their *Scottiſh* Brethren; and for their Sakes, and their own Recovery, were inclin'd to help forwards the Reſtoration of their Soveraign, as a King under ſufficient Limitations, and now in *Covenant* with them. This Zeal for their own Cauſe carry'd many of the *Presbyterian* Miniſters in *London*, and others, into a Correſpondence with the Kirk, and ſo into a Plot for the King, diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *The Presbyterian Plot*. This was ſoon diſcover'd by the Vigilance of the Government, by the Intercepting of Letters, and by the Forwardneſs of the Perſons concern'd: So Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Drake*, very eminent Presbyterian Divines, beſides ſome others of the Laity, were ſeiz'd by Order of the Council of State, and on *May* the ſeventh brought before the High-Court of Juſtice. *Love* had been a great Incendiary againſt the late King at the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, as was formerly mention'd, and was now look'd upon as the chief Ringleader in this Affair; therefore he was firſt charg'd with 'High-'Treaſon againſt the State and Common-Wealth of *England*, for holding Correſpondence with the King and 'his Party, and ſupplying them with Arms and Mony, 'contrary to an Act of Parliament in that Caſe provided.' He at firſt diſputed the Authority of the Court, and terrify'd Mr. *Jackſon* a Miniſter from giving in Evidence againſt him; for which obſtinate Refuſal he was fined five Hundred Pounds by the Court, and committed to the Fleet. At another Appearance, about ſix Weeks after, he did at laſt confeſs, 'That the Conſpirators met at his 'Houſe for promoting the *Scots* Deſigns; and that Letters were receiv'd, and Anſwers were ſent from thence;' but Equivocated in Excuſes, 'That he did not do it *Himſelf*, and that he did not *Perſonally* act any Thing, *&c.*' In Concluſion, tho' he had the famous Mr. *Matthew Hale* for an Advocate, and the whole Party for Sollicitors, on *July* the Fifth he receiv'd Sentence to be beheaded, and the Execution was appointed to be ten Days after. Several others were likewiſe condemn'd to Death, but the whole Storm was like to fall upon *Love*, and one *Gibbons*.

The Presbyterians Endeavours to ſave Love.

This threatning a new Blow to the *Presbyterian* Party, many fervent Petitions were preſented to the Parliament, for Pardon of Mr. *Love*: 'All his faithful Zeal and memorable Services in former Times were recounted, and 'the Danger of loſing the *Presbyterian* Intereſt and Kindneſs; and how hazardous it might be to the Common-'Wealth, not yet well ſettled, if by ſuch Severities the '*Presbyterians* ſhou'd be provok'd to join with the *Malignant* Party,' were among other Solicitations repreſented and inſinuated to the Leaders of the *Independent* Party: But after a long Debate in the Houſe about his Pardon, it paſs'd in the Negative. Hereupon, on the very Day appointed for Execution, ſeveral Miniſters, in and about *London*, came with a moſt importunate Petition to the Houſe, 'praying earneſtly, and in the Bowels of *Jeſus* '*Chriſt*, who when we were Sinners dy'd for us, if not 'totally to ſpare the Life of our Brother; that yet you 'wou'd ſay of him, as *Solomon* of *Abiathar*, *that at this* '*Time he ſhall not be put to Death.*' Upon which the Parliament granted him a Reprieve for one Month; and

He is repriev'd.

ſo reſted the Matter, till ſuch Time as *Cromwell* cou'd be conſulted in *Scotland*, and his Opinion and Inclination known in this Affair. *Cromwell* taking the Matter into Conſideration, return'd his Anſwer in a private Letter to one of his Confidents, wherein, according to his Politicks, ' Leſt the *Engliſh Presbyterians* ſhou'd, in this difficult Juncture, riſe at his Back, and join with the *Scotch Kirk* Party, with whom he was now engag'd, he was content that *Love* ſhou'd be repriev'd for a conſiderable Time, and, upon good Security of future Behaviour from him and his Party, at laſt pardon'd.' Here *Nalſon* takes Notice of a Providential Vengeance upon him: For it hapned that two or three Gentlemen, formerly of the late King's Army, travelling upon the Northern Road, met with the Poſt that carry'd this very Letter; and enquiring of him *Whether he had any* Scotch *Letters*? he innocently reply'd, *He had.* At which, excited by an unuſual Curioſity, they took the Poſt to a convenient Place out of the Road, and opening the *Scotch* Male, they found this Letter of Reprieve and Pardon for *Love*; upon the reading of which one of them immediately cry'd out, *Oh! that is the Rogue that ruin'd us, by breaking the Treaty at* Uxbridge: And thereupon putting that Letter in his Pocket, they reſtor'd the reſt to the Poſt, telling him, *There were his Letters again*, and immediately mounting, they with all Speed purſu'd their intended Journey.

Yet at laſt is beheaded.

The Male arriving at *London*, and Letters from *Cromwell* to ſeveral Perſons, without one Word concerning *Love*, the Party took it for granted, that this Silence was deſign'd as an abſolute Denial: And therefore not daring to draw the Diſpleaſure of *Cromwell* upon themſelves, either by a ſecond Importunity to ſave him, or by a Delay of Execution, eſpecially at a Time when the King's Arrival in *England* had made his Favour moſt valuable, they order'd him to ſuffer upon *Tower-Hill* upon the 22d Day of *Auguſt*. The Account of the Man and his Death ſeems beſt given by the noble Hiſtorian, who obſerves, That this poor Man, who had been guilty of as much Treaſon againſt the King, from the beginning of the Rebellion, as the Pulpit cou'd contain, was ſo much without Remorſe for any Wickedneſs committed of that Kind, that he was jealous of nothing ſo much, as of being ſuſpected to repent, or that he ſuffer'd for his Affection to the King. And therefore, when he was upon the Scaffold, he ſeem'd ſo much delighted with the Memory of all he had done againſt the late King, and againſt the Biſhops, that he cou'd not then forbear to ſpeak with Animoſity and Bitterneſs againſt both, and expreſs'd great Satisfaction for what he had acted againſt them, and was as much tranſported with the *inward Joy of Mind* he felt in being brought thither to die as a *Martyr*, and to give Teſtimony for the Covenant; *Whatſoever he had done being in the Purſuit of the Ends of that ſanctify'd Obligation, to which he was in and by his Conſcience engag'd.* And in this raving Fit, without ſo much as praying for the King, otherwiſe than that he might propagate the *Covenant*, he laid his Head upon the Block with as much Courage as the braveſt and honeſteſt Man cou'd do on the moſt pious Occaſion.

The Parliament in a Fright.

4. Not long before the Execution of this formidable Conſpirator, the Rulers were dreadfully allarm'd with the ſurpriſing News of the King's Arrival in *England*, and ſtill more terrify'd with the Reports of the Greatneſs of his Army, and his Reſolution of mounting his Foot Soldiers, and riding directly to *London*. This for a while threw them into ſuch a Conſternation, that they began to look about for Means to eſcape out of the Land, and ſeverely condemn'd *Cromwell* of Raſhneſs and Precipitation. But *Cromwell* took Care to give them Eaſe as ſoon as might be, aſſuring them ' That he wou'd overtake the Enemy, and give a good Account of them, before they ſhou'd give them any Trouble.' They were ſoon reliev'd by theſe Promiſes, and other Accidents; yet the Parliament, notwithſtanding his canting Letters, began to grow jealous of him, and us'd ſome ſharp Expreſſions againſt him; which coming to his Ears, he afterwards remember'd to their ſufficient Coſt. He loſt no Time, but gave Orders to *Lambert* ' to follow the King immediately with ſeven or eight hundred Horſe, and to draw as many as he cou'd from the Country Militia; to incommode the King's March as much as poſſible, not to engage his own Party without extraordinary Advantage, but to keep himſelf intire till he ſhould come up to him.' He next reſolv'd to leave Major-General *Monk* with a ſtrong Party of Foot, and ſuch Troops of Horſe, as were ſufficient to ſuppreſs any Forces which ſhou'd riſe after his Departure; and gave him Orders, ' to keep *Edinburgh* and the Harbour of *Leith*; to ſurpriſe and apprehend as many of the Nobility and Gentry, as he ſuſpected, to keep them under Cuſtody, and to uſe the higheſt Severity againſt all who oppos'd him; and above all, not to ſuffer the Licence of the Preachers in their Pulpits; and to make himſelf as formidable as it was poſſible: In the laſt Place, that as ſoon as conveniently he cou'd, he ſhou'd beſiege *Stirling*, as the moſt conſiderable Place in the Kingdom;' and charg'd him, ' If in that or any other Place, he found a ſtubborn Reſiſtance, and were forc'd to ſpend much Time, or to take it by Storm, that he ſhou'd give no Quarter, nor exempt it from a general Plunder.' Having given theſe Rules to *Monk*, who obſerv'd them with the utmoſt Rigour, he with the Remainder of his Army march'd to overtake the King.

The King in Lancaſhire.

His Majeſty was then in *Lancaſhire*, where at the Head of his Army he was in every Market Town he paſs'd proclaim'd King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*. In order to obſtruct his March the Militia of moſt Counties were drawn into the Field againſt him; two thouſand out of *Staffordſhire*, and four thouſand out of *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*, under Colonel *Birch*, join'd with *Lambert* and *Harriſon*. The Lord *Fairfax* appear'd in the Field with a formidable Body to flank the Royal Army; the numerous Militia of the City of *London* was commanded out againſt the King, and all the adjacent Counties were by ſtrict Order of Parliament enjoin'd to ſet out Horſe and Men at their own Charges: So that the whole Force of *England* was rais'd againſt him, while his own Army daily diminiſh'd by the Deſertion of the *Scots*. Nor did the Country come in to his Majeſty as was expected, being continually hinder'd by the Republick's Forces that ſpread over all Parts; ſo that all that Way there came in none of Note to the King, but the Son of the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, with about a hundred Horſe, for which the King gave him the Honour of Knighthood. Nevertheleſs there wanted not Courage in the Breaſts of the Nobility and Gentry with his Majeſty, whoſe ſingular Reſolution very much ſupported their Spirits. The *Scots* ſeem'd moſt apprehenſive of the enſuing Fate; and Duke *Hamilton*, in a Letter to his Friend, us'd theſe Words: ' We are now laughing at the Ridiculouſneſs of our preſent State; we have quit *Scotland*, being ſcarce able to maintain it, and now we graſp at all, and nothing but all wou'd ſatisfy us, or to loſe all: I confeſs, I cannot tell whether our Hopes or Fears are greateſt; but we have one ſtrong Argument, Deſpair; for we muſt now either ſtoutly fight, or die.' But *David Leſley*, the moſt experienc'd Commander, one Day ſhew'd a greater Mark of his Fear and Concern. The King, having obſerv'd him throughout the whole March to be ſad and melancholy, took an Opportunity to aſk him, *how he cou'd be ſad, when he was at the Head of ſo brave an Army, that look'd ſo well that Day*? The other anſwer'd him with a Sigh and Whiſper, *That he was melancholy indeed, for he well knew that Army, how well ſoever it look'd, wou'd not fight.*

His bad Condition.

The firſt Attempt made upon the Royal Army was at *Warrington* in *Cheſhire*, the Paſſage of which Bridge was ſharply diſputed by *Lambert* and his Party; but at length was gain'd by the King, with ſuch a haſty Retreat of *Lambert*'s Men, that the Report went that he was defeated. It was not thought fit to purſue *Lambert*, whoſe chief Deſign was to diſturb and retard the Army's March, which they reſolv'd to continue with the ſame Expedition they had hitherto us'd, which was incredible; till they ſhould arrive at ſuch a Poſt as they might ſecurely reſt themſelves. There was a Belief that they might have continu'd it even to *London*, which wou'd have produc'd wonderful Effects; but they quickly found it to be impracticable, the Soldiers being ſo fatigu'd with the Length of their March, and the Heat of the Weather: And hoping the Intereſt that Major-General *Maſſy* had in *Gloceſterſhire*, wou'd procure a Confluence of Men from thoſe Parts, it was reſolv'd to bend their March that Way. But firſt the King thought upon *Shrewsbury* for a Reſting Place, where was a ſmall Garriſon under Colonel *Mackworth*, a Gentleman who it was thought might be prevail'd with to give it up to the King. But his Majeſty ſending a civil Meſſage to him, he return'd a poſitive Denyal; ſo that the King caſt his Eye upon *Worceſter*, that was ſo little out of his Way to *London*, that the going thither wou'd not much hinder the March, if they found the Army able to continue it. So with very little Oppoſition, the King enter'd the City of *Worceſter* upon the 22d Day of *Auguſt*, the ſame Day that *Love* was beheaded at *London*, after a fatiguing March of above three hundred Miles; where he found ſuch Refreſhment and Conveniencies for his Men, and the Place ſo proper for the Protection of his Friends, that it was reſolv'd to continue there, and expect the coming of the Enemy.

He ſettles at Worceſter.

5. The King being ſettled at *Worceſter*, and ſolemnly proclaim'd there by *Liſſens* the Mayor, and *Bridges* the Sheriff of the City, he iſſu'd out a Declaration, ' for ſummoning all the neighbouring Nobility, Gentry, and

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Many repair to him.

‘others from ſixteen Years of Age to ſixty, upon their Allegiance, to appear in their Perſons with Horſe and Arms at *Pitchcroft*, near the City of *Worceſter*, on *Tueſday* the 26th of *Auguſt*, where his Majeſty wou'd be preſent himſelf.’ Upon which Summons there appear'd theſe following Loyal Perſons, *Francis* Lord *Talbot*, with about ſixty Horſe, Mr. *Mervin Touchet* his Lieutenant-Colonel, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Walter Blount*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Sir *Rowland Berkley*, Sir *John Winford*, Mr. *Sheldon* of *Beoly*, Mr. *Waſhburn* of *Witchinford*, with forty Horſe, Mr. *Hornyold* of *Blackmore-Park*, with forty Horſe, three Mr. *Blounts*, two Mr. *Walſhes*, with divers others, who were honour'd and encourag'd by his Majeſty's Preſence. Notwithſtanding which Acceſs, the Number of his Army, both *Engliſh* and *Scots*, was conceiv'd not much to exceed twelve thouſand Men, about ten thouſand *Scots*, and about two thouſand *Engliſh*; and thoſe too not excellently arm'd, nor plentifully ſtor'd with Ammunition. But the King was not without Hopes of Aſſiſtance from other Places, particularly from *Wales*; but more eſpecially from the Zeal and Activity of the Earl of *Derby*, who had brought above three hundred Foot and Horſe out of the Iſle of *Man* into *Lancaſhire*; and by his Intereſt with ſeveral brave Gentlemen, ſoon increas'd his Number to fifteen hundred Men, with which he was haſtning to *Mancheſter* to join with five hundred more, ſo that he was in a hopeful Way of raiſing a conſiderable Army.

The Defeat of the Earl of Derby.

But the firſt News the King heard, was of the Defeat of the Earl of *Derby*, with the total Deſtruction of ſeveral gallant Gentlemen that accompany'd him; who meeting with Colonel *Lilburn* with three Regiments of Foot and ſome Horſe out of *Cheſhire*, had a ſharp Engagement near *Wiggan* for about an Hour, on the 25th of *Auguſt*. At length the Earl's new-rais'd Forces were put to Flight, and himſelf being wounded, narrowly eſcap'd; and ſeveral Perſons of Quality of his Party were ſlain, as the Lord *Withrington*, Sir *Thomas Tildeſly*, Colonel *Trollop*, Colonel *Galliard*, with ſome others of good Note: Among the Priſoners were Sir *William Throgmorton*, Sir *Timothy Fetherſtonhaugh*, Colonel *Bointon*, Colonel *Legg*, Colonel *Robinſon*, Colonel *Gerard*, Major *Cheſter*: Beſides other Officers, four hundred private Soldiers were taken, with all the Arms and Ammunition, with the Earl's *George* and *Garter*, with three Cloaks with Stars. The Earl, and Colonel *Roſcarrock*, after this Overthrow, by the Aſſiſtance of two Gentlemen, with great Difficulty got to his Majeſty at *Worceſter*. Among thoſe that loſt their Lives in this Action, the Lord *Withrington* is diſtinguiſh'd as a Man of ſingular Courage and Bravery, and as great and graceful in his Perſon, as any in the Nation, much exalted by Nature above the talleſt Men of the Age: He was a Gentleman of the beſt and moſt ancient Extract of the County of *Northumberland*, and of a very fair Fortune, of which he expended thirty five thouſand Pounds in the Service of the late King; and for his Gallantry and Loyalty made a Peer of the Realm in the middle of the War. Coming with the King out of *Scotland*, he took the firſt Opportunity of joining with the Earl of *Derby*, hoping with him to draw together ſuch a Body of the Royal Party, as might give ſome Check to the unbounded Imaginations of that Nation. But in this unfortunate Action, knowing his Caſe to be deſperate, and his Enemies implacable, he is ſaid to have refus'd Quarter at their Hands; and, as they report it, they were compell'd to kill him in their own Defence.

The Character of the Lord Withrington.

Great Diviſions in the King's Army.

The News of this Defeat exceedingly afflicted the King at *Worceſter*, and very much abated the Hopes he had of a general Riſing of the Gentry in his Behalf. Beſides, there were ſome other Accidents and Obſervations which adminiſter'd Matter of Mortification to his Majeſty; as the Diviſions in the Army, and particularly the reſtleſs Ambition of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who, like his Father, knew not how to own any Superior, or ſubmit to any Man but his King. His Behaviour in *Scotland*, particularly with the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, had been very unacceptable to the King; and now in *England*, he thought none ſo proper to command his Forces as himſelf, and gave his Majeſty no little Trouble by his frequent arguing againſt the *Scots*, and urging and forcing his own Promotion; which being juſtly deny'd him, he abſented himſelf from Court in great Diſcontent. The *Scots* were jealous and diſcontented at the *Engliſh*, and particularly complain'd of Mr. *Crosby*, an eminent Divine, who preaching before the King in the Cathedral, ſtil'd his Majeſty, *in all Cauſes, and over all Perſons, next under God, Supreme Head and Governor.* Nor was there any good Underſtanding between the *Scotch* Officers: *David Leſley*, whom the Duke of *Buckingham* endeavour'd to undermine, appear'd diſpirited and confounded; gave and revok'd his Orders, and ſometimes contradicted them. He did not love *Middleton*, and was very jealous that all the Officers lov'd him too well; who was really an excellent Officer, and kept up the Spirits of the reſt, who had but little Eſteem for *Leſley*. In this unhappy Diſtemper was the Court and the Army, in a Seaſon when they were ready to be ſwallow'd up by the Power and Multitude of the Enemy, and when nothing was like to preſerve them, but the moſt ſincere Unity in their Prayers, and a joint Concurrence in their Counſels; in both which they were miſerably divided. The King endeavour'd to inſpire them with all poſſible Reſolution; and their Neceſſities oblig'd them to uſe Diligence in carrying on the Fortifications at *Worceſter*, at and near which Place they agreed ſo far as to make the beſt Defence they cou'd.

Cromwell approaches Worceſter.

6. On the other Side the Republick by their new Levies had encreas'd their Forces to a prodigious Number, which according to their own Accounts amounted to above ſixty thouſand Men. *Cromwell* himſelf, about three Days after the former Victory, march'd up before *Worceſter* with ſeventeen thouſand Horſe and Foot, beſides the Parties under the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, *Lambert* and *Harriſon*, which in all made up above thirty thouſand Men. The firſt Encounter was at *Upton-Bridge*, ſeven Miles from *Worceſter*, which the Royaliſts had broken upon News of their coming, only one Plank, through Negligence or Treachery, was left of it; over which *Lambert* paſs'd ſome Men, who perceiving the *Scots* took the Allarm, fled into a Church. Whereupon Major-General *Maſſey* gave a Camiſade to the Church; but in the mean Time *Lambert* having paſs'd over a Supply of Horſe, fell upon the Back of the Royaliſts, and overpowering them, put them to a Retreat, which was ſupported by *Maſſey* with great Gallantry, ſometimes marching off, and ſometimes fighting till he arriv'd at *Worceſter*; in which Service he had his Horſe ſlain under him, and receiv'd a Shot in his Arm, which confin'd him for a Time when his Activity and Induſtry was moſt wanted. After this the Enemies diſpos'd themſelves in a Manner moſt convenient to ſtreighten the Town. To which End, *Fleetwood* having left a ſufficient Force to ſecure the Paſs at *Upton*, approach'd nearer to the City; and *Cromwell* gave Orders for two Bridges to be made, the one of Boats over the *Severn* under *Bun-Hill*, a Mile below the City, and the other over the *Teame*, a leſſer River that falls into the *Severn*; and this for the better Conjunction of the Army.

The Battel of WORCESTER.

In this Condition was his Majeſty at *Worceſter*, having about ten Thouſand *Scots*, and two Thouſand *Engliſh* with him, and ſurrounded with an Army three Times more numerous, in an ill fortify'd City. Yet on the 30th of *Auguſt* his Forces made a moſt gallant Sally, and a great Impreſſion upon the Enemy; which might have had extraordinary Effects, had not the Deſign been diſcover'd by the Treachery of one Man. And now appear'd the Fatal Day, the Third of *September*, on which, the Year before, the *Scots* receiv'd ſuch a Defeat from *Cromwell* at *Dunbar*, as loſt them their Kingdom. In the Morning the King held a Council of War upon the Top of the College-Church Steeple, the better to view the Situation of the Enemy. From whence perceiving a kind of Skirmiſh at *Powick-Bridge*, he forthwith commanded all to their Arms, and march'd thither in Perſon, where he gave Order for the ſecuring of that Paſs, and oppoſing that of the Enemy over the *Severn*. Soon after his Return to the City, the Enemy furiouſly attack'd the Bridge, which was valiantly defended by a Brigade of Horſe and Foot under *Montgomery* and *Keyth*; till the former, being dangerouſly wounded, and his Ammunition ſpent, was forc'd to retire diſorderly into *Worceſter*, and the latter was taken Priſoner by the Enemy. This Place won, it was immediately reſolv'd to engage *Cromwell* Himſelf, who lay at *Perry-Wood* within a Mile of the City. The firſt Charge was given by the Royaliſts with ſo much Fury, that *Cromwell*'s invincible Life-Guard was unable to ſuſtain the Shock, but was compell'd to give Ground in ſome Diſorder; and their Cannon alſo were for ſome Time in the Power of the Royaliſts. His Majeſty Himſelf led up the *Scots* Foot in this Battel, and with ſo much Courage and Gallantry, that *Cromwell* could not but applaud his intrepid Valour. The Fight continu'd for the Space of three or four Hours with great Fierceneſs, during which the King had his Horſe twice ſhot under him, and rally'd the Infantry Himſelf; till by the ſucceſſive Supplies of freſh Forces, they were overpower'd, and in a manner all loſt. The *Cromwellians* had a mighty Advantage, not only in being more numerous, but in fighting both with Horſe and Foot againſt the King's Foot only; for the *Scotch* Horſe under *Leſley* did no ways perform their Duty, being little better than Spectators in the Battel. The Remainder of the abandon'd Royal Army being at length put to Flight, were purſu'd into the City by the Victors; the King was one of the laſt in the Field, and could hardly be perſuaded to out-live that Day.

The King flies.

The City plunder'd.

Duke Hamilton's *Death and Character.*

Priſoners taken.

The King was forc'd to enter on Foot into the City, and in the *Friars-Street* he took a freſh Horſe; and perceiving many of the Foot throw down their Arms and decline Fighting, he rode up and down among them, ſometimes with his Hat in his Hand, intreating them to ſtand to their Arms, and ſell their Lives as dear as they could. But ſeeing his Encouragements ineffectual, he cry'd out, *I had rather you ſhould ſhoot me, than keep me alive to ſee the ſad Effects of this fatal Day.* Nevertheleſs the Earl of *Cleveland*, Sir *James Hamilton*, Colonel *Carlis*, and ſome Officers, rally'd what Force they could, and gave a Check to the Enemy as they were entering in at *Sudbury-Gate*, and valiantly diſputed that Street with them. Which Action prov'd of mighty Importance for ſecuring the King's Flight out at St. *Martin*'s-*Gate*, who had otherwiſe been in Danger of being taken in the Town. As ſoon as *Cromwell* had made his Way through *Sudbury-Gate*, while ſome of his Forces were furiouſly killing and ſlaying all that were in the Streets, he haſtned with ſome Regiments to the *Fort-Royal*, commanded by Colonel *Drummond*, where he met with ſharp Oppoſition, and the Loſs of three Hundred Men; but at length reducing it by a ſuperior Force, he without Mercy put all the Defendents to the Sword, to the Number of fifteen Hundred Men. At the ſame Time there was ſeen the moſt diſmal Spectacle that could be beheld or conceiv'd; the Streets all ſtrew'd with Carcaſſes, and cover'd with Blood, the Houſes broken open and pillag'd, and the whole City fill'd with the Noiſe of the inſolent Victors, and piteous Cries of the wretched Inhabitants, of both Sexes, and all Ages; till having ſatiated their Cruelties and rapacious Deſires, or rather tired themſelves with barbarous Executions and unheard-of Inhumanities, they began to think of ſecuring their Priſoners. The Slain were reckon'd about four Thouſand, among whom was Duke *Hamilton* Himſelf, who being taken Priſoner, dy'd ſoon after of his Wounds, in the thirty fifth Year of his Age. This unfortunate great Man was one of unqueſtinable Courage, of an excellent Judgment, and a very accompliſh'd Perſon; and, as the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, was in all Reſpects preferable to his Brother, who had made ſo mighty a Figure, being a much wiſer, tho' perhaps a leſs cunning Man; for he did not affect Diſſimulation, which was the *other's Maſter-Piece*. He had indeed been driven into ſome unwarrantable Actions, but he made it evident he had not been led by his own Inclinations, and therefore particularly flew to all Opportunities of redeeming it: And at the Point of Death he expreſs'd a great Satisfaction, *That he had the Honour to ſacrifice his Life in the King's Service, and ſo wipe out the Memory of his former Tranſgreſſions.* The Priſoners taken in the Battel, and in the City, were about ſeven Thouſand; in which Number were the Earls of *Carnwarth*, *Rothes* and *Kelly*, the Lord *Sinclare*, Sir *John Packington*, Major-General *Montgomery*, Major-General *Piſcotty*, Mr. *Richard Fanſhaw* the King's Secretary, the General of the Ordnance, the Adjutant-General of the Foot, beſides ſeveral Colonels, and other inferior Officers, a hundred and fifty eight Colours, the King's Standard, Coach and Horſes, with other Things of great Value. In ſum, never was a greater Rout and Diſperſion, never was a more effectual Suppreſſion of the King's Friends, and never ſuch an Extinction of his Cauſe. Therefore *Cromwell* in his Letter to the Parliament, tells them *That the Dimenſions of this Mercy were above his Thoughts*; and immediately after intimates that it was a *Crowning Mercy*.

Captain Lindſey's *Narrative concerning* Cromwell.

But others accounted it an *infernal Judgment*; concerning which we have a ſtrange Story in the laſt Part of the *Hiſtory of Independency*, which the Author ſays he received from a Perſon of Quality, *viz.* 'It was believ'd, and that not without ſome good Cauſe, that *Cromwell* the ſame Morning that he defeated the King's Army at *Worceſter*, had Conference perſonally with the Devil, with whom he made a Contract, that to have his Will then, and in all Things elſe for ſeven Years from that Day, he ſhould, at the Expiration of the ſaid Years, have him at his Command, to do at his Pleaſure, both with his Soul and Body.' This is alſo related in other printed Books; but we have receiv'd a more full Account never yet publiſh'd, which is here inſerted as a Thing more wonderful than probable, and therefore more for the Diverſion than Satiſfaction of the Reader. It is a Relation or Narrative of a valiant Officer call'd *Lindſey*, an intimate Friend of *Cromwell*'s, the firſt Captain of his Regiment, and therefore commonly called Colonel *Lindſey*; which is to this Effect. 'On the 3d of *September* in the Morning, *Cromwell* took this Officer to a Wood Side not far from the Army, and bid him *alight, and follow him into that Wood, and to take particular Notice of what he ſaw and heard.* After they had both alighted, and ſecur'd their Horſes, and walk'd ſome ſmall Way into the Wood, *Lindſey* began to turn pale, and to be ſeiz'd with Horror from ſome unknown Cauſe: Upon which *Cromwell* ask'd him, *How he did, or how he felt himſelf.* He anſwer'd, *That he was in ſuch a Trembling and Conſternation, that he never felt the like in all the Conflicts and Battels he had been engag'd in*; but whether it proceeded from the Gloomineſs of the Place, or the Temperament of his Body, he knew not. *How now*, ſaid *Cromwell*, *what, troubled with Vapours? come forwards, Man!* They had not gone above twenty Yards, before *Lindſey* on a ſudden ſtood ſtill, and cry'd out, *By all that's good, he was ſeiz'd with ſuch unaccountable Terror and Aſtoniſhment, that it was impoſſible for him to ſtir one Step further.* Upon which *Cromwell* call'd him *Faint-hearted Fool*, and bid him *ſtand there and obſerve*, or *be Witneſs*; and then advancing to ſome Diſtance from him, he met with a grave elderly Man with a Roll of Parchment in his Hand, who deliver'd it to *Cromwell*, who eagerly perus'd it. *Lindſey*, a little recover'd from his Fear, heard ſeveral loud Words between them; particularly *Cromwell* ſaid, *This is but for ſeven Years; I was to have had it for one and Twenty, and it muſt and ſhall be ſo.* The other told him poſitively, *it could not be for above ſeven*; upon which *Cromwell* cry'd with great Fierceneſs *It ſhould however be for fourteen Years.* But the other peremptorily declar'd *It could not poſſibly be for any longer Time*; *and if he would not take it ſo, there were Others who would accept of it.* Upon which *Cromwell* at laſt took the Parchment, and returning to *Lindſey* with great Joy in his Countenance, he cry'd, *Now,* Lindſey, *the Battel is our own! I long to be engag'd.* Returning out of the Wood, they rode to the Army, *Cromwell* with a Reſolution to engage as ſoon as poſſible, and the other with a Deſign of leaving the Army as ſoon. After the firſt Charge *Lindſey* deſerted his Poſt, and rode away with all poſſible Speed, Day and Night, till he came into the County of *Norfolk*, to the Houſe of an intimate Friend, one Mr. *Thorowgood*, Miniſter of the Pariſh of *Grimſtone*. *Cromwell*, as ſoon as he miſs'd him, ſent all Ways after him, with a Promiſe of a great Reward to any that ſhould bring him alive or dead.' Thus far the Narrative of *Lindſey* Himſelf; but ſomething further is to be remember'd, to compleat and confirm the Story.

When Mr. *Thorowgood* ſaw his Friend *Lindſey* come into his Yard, his Horſe and Himſelf juſt tired, in a ſort of a Maze, ſaid, *How now, Colonel! we hear there is like to be a Battel ſhortly; what, fled from your Colours? A Battel!* ſaid the other, *yes there has been a Battel, and I am ſure the King is beaten; but if ever I ſtrike a Stroak for* Cromwell *again, may I periſh eternally: For I am ſure he has made a League with the Devil, and the Devil will have him in due Time.* Then deſiring his Protection from *Cromwell*'s Inquiſitors, he went in and related to him the whole Story, and all the Circumſtances, concluding with theſe remarkable Words, *That* Cromwell *would certainly dye that Day ſeven Years that the Battel was fought.* The Strangeneſs of the Relation caus'd Mr. *Thorowgood* to order his Son *John*, then about twelve Years of Age, to write it in full Length in his *Common-Place* Book, and to take it from *Lindſey*'s own Mouth. This *Common-Place* Book, and likewiſe the ſame Story written in other Books, I am aſſured is ſtill preſerv'd in the Family of the *Thorowgoods*. But how far *Lindſey* is to be believ'd, and how far the Story is to be accounted incredible, is left to the Reader's Faith and Judgment, and not to any Determination of our own.

Great Care to ſeize the King.

VII. 1. This laſt Overthrow was juſtly look'd upon as the Deciſion of the grand Cauſe between the King and the Common-Wealth: But it was the Divine Pleaſure that in this mighty Loſs, the Light and Fortune of *England* ſhould be preſerv'd, whoſe Blood was the only Thing wanting to cement the Foundations of the new Republick. Therefore they us'd all poſſible Methods and Induſtry to ſeize the Perſon of the King; they offer'd a thouſand Pounds to any that would diſcover him, and made it Treaſon and Death without Mercy for any Perſon to conceal Him. The King's Friends were in infinite Perplexity, and were confounded with the various Reports firſt rais'd concerning Him, of his being found among the Dead, of his being taken Priſoner; and all thoſe Imaginations that naturally attend ſuch unfortunate Events. Many who had made their Eſcapes, daily arriv'd in *France*, *Flanders* and *Holland*, but knew no more what was become of the King, than thoſe who had not been in *England*. The only Comfort that any of them brought, was, That he was among thoſe that fled, and ſome of them had ſeen him that Evening after the Battel ſeveral Miles out of *Worceſter*. Theſe unſteady Degrees of Hope and Fear tormented them very long; ſometimes they heard he was at the *Hague* with his Siſter, which was occaſion'd by the Arrival of the Duke of *Buckingham* in *Holland*; and it was thought good Policy to publiſh that the King himſelf was landed, that the Search after him in *England* might be diſcontinued. But it was quickly known that he was not there, nor in any Place on that Side the Sea. And this Anxiety of Mind diſquieted the Hearts of great Numbers of good People for near two Months; when at laſt it was fully known that his Majeſty was ſafely arriv'd in *France*.

The Hiſtory of the KING's ESCAPE.

The Manner and Particulars of the King's Eſcape are ſo wonderful, and attended with ſuch viſible Marks of the immediate Hand of Heaven, that no Circumſtances, or Names, how mean ſoever, ought to be omitted; tho' in the Relation we ſhall be oblig'd ſometimes to deſcend from the Rules of Hiſtory to the Liberties of Biography. The King having march'd out at St. *Martin's-Gate Worceſter*, about ſix a Clock in the Evening, with ſeveral of the Nobility, and about fifty Horſe, and finding all loſt, the chief Care among them was to preſerve his Majeſty's Perſon from the Hands of his implacable Enemies. To which purpoſe it was reſolv'd to march for *Scotland*; and one *Walker*, formerly Scout-Maſter to Colonel *Sands*, undertook to be his Guide; but being come almoſt as far as *Kidderminſter*, and Day-light quite gone, the Guide was at a Loſs which Way to go. Upon which the King making a Stand, and being almoſt ſpent with his extraordinary Action in the Field, and the Toilſomneſs of his Flight, adviſ'd with ſome Lords whither he might march, only to take ſome few Hours Reſt. The Earl of *Derby* told his Majeſty, that in his late Flight to *Worceſter* after his Defeat, he had met with a very faithful Perſon, one *Penderel*, and a great Convenience of Concealment at a Place call'd *Boſcobel-Houſe*. This is ſeated in *Shropſhire*, but upon the Confines of *Staffordſhire*, between *Tongue-Caſtle* and *Brewood:* It is a very obſcure Habitation, tho' a fair Building, ſtanding in a beautiful Grove, which accidentally obtain'd the *Italian* Name of *Boſco bello*, or *Fair Wood*. It had now no Inhabitant but *William Penderel* the Houſe-keeper and his Wife; and to this Place his Majeſty reſolved to go, being accompany'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Derby* and *Lauderdale*, the Lords *Talbot* and *Wilmot*, and ſeveral Officers, with Mr. *Giffard*, who undertook to conduct them by the Aſſiſtance of *Francis Yates* his Servant, and one very expert in the ways of that Country. Lieutenant-General *Leſley* with his *Scotch* Horſe, in the Cloſe of the Evening, took the direct Way Northwards by *Newport*.

He arrives at White-Ladys.

Tho' *Boſcobel* was the Place deſign'd for the King's Retreat, yet that the Company might not know ſo much, his Majeſty was conducted by Mr. *Giffard* to a Houſe within half a Mile of it, call'd *White-Ladys*, which Name it retain'd ever ſince it was a Monaſtery of *Ciſtertian* Nuns, whoſe Habit was of that Colour. Here they arriv'd about three a Clock in the Morning, having rid twenty ſix Miles from *Worceſter*; and having knockt up *George Penderel* the Servant, Brother to him of *Boſcobel*, they enter'd the Houſe, where a Conſultation was immediately held, how to eſcape the Fury of the preſent Conquerors: The Reſult of which was, 'That all poſſible Care ſhou'd be taken for 'his Majeſty's Concealment in that Place, till he cou'd 'have a ſafe Opportunity to paſs over into *France*; that his 'Retinue, both of Lords and Gentlemen, ſhou'd ſhift for 'themſelves ſome other Way.' In the mean Time *William Penderel* of *Boſcobel* Houſe was ſent for, and a Brother of his nam'd *Richard Penderel*, who liv'd very near at *Hobbal-Grange*, and likewiſe *Humphrey Penderel*, another Brother, who was the Miller to *White-Ladys*. *Richard* came firſt, who was immediately ſent back to bring a Suit of his Cloaths for the King, and being return'd, he and *William* were both carry'd into the inner Parlour, where the Earl of *Derby* acquainting them with the Diſaſter, and ſhewing them the King, *he deſir'd them for God's Sake, their Loyalty, and all that was Good, to find out ſome Place for his Majeſty's Security*. At the ſame Time, to diſguiſe his Majeſty's Perſon, he ſtrip'd Himſelf of all his Ornaments, his Buffe-Coat, fine Breeches, his *George* and *Garter*; and blacking his Hands and Face with the Soot of the Chimney, he put on a noggen coarſe Shirt, *Richard Penderel's* Leathern Doublet, and old green Breeches. And now it was neceſſary for his loyal Followers to leave him, which they did with all the Marks of Sorrow, being more ſenſible of his Majeſty's hard Fate, than ſolicitous for their own Deſtiny; only the Lord *Wilmot* ſtay'd, and was convey'd by *John Penderel*, a fifth Brother, to Mr. *Whitegrave's* Houſe at *Moſely*. It was high Time for their Departure, for within half an Hour after, ſome of Colonel *Aſhenhurſt's* Troop, who quarter'd at *Cotſal*, three Miles diſtant, came to the Houſe. But a little before that, *Richard Penderel* had convey'd the King out of a private Door into a Wood belonging to *Boſcobel-Houſe*, call'd *Spring Coppice*, in the Borders of which, his three Brothers, *William*, *Humphrey* and *George*, carefully ſcouted about to bring Intelligence.

The Death and Character of the Earl of Derby.

The Lords and their Company, being now about forty Horſe, of which Company the King's Pad-Nag was one, took the North Road to *Newport*, in Hopes to have overtaken or met General *Leſley*, who was gone that Way with the main Body of the *Scotch* Horſe. But they had not travell'd far, before a Party of the Parliamentarians, who were in Purſuit of the Lord *Levingſton*, Captain of the King's Life-Guard, overtook them. The Lords bravely fac'd about and ſtopt their Career, ſome of the Purſuers being ſlain, and the reſt put to Flight. But they had not long Satisfaction in this good Succeſs; for a little beyond *Newport*, ſome of Colonel *Lilburn's* Men met them on the Front, and another Party of Parliamentarians from *Worceſter* fell in upon their Rear; ſo that themſelves and Horſes being extreamly tired with the former Day's Service, and the tedious Night-march with ſcarce any Refreſhment, the noble Earl of *Derby*, and the Earl of *Lauderdale*, with Mr. *Giffard* their Guide, and ſome others, were taken Priſoners. The Earl of *Derby* was carry'd to *Cheſter*, and there try'd by a Junto of Officers, and ſentenc'd to be beheaded at his own Town of *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*, with all the Circumſtances of Rudeneſs and Barbarity. He was a Perſon of unqueſtionable Loyalty, great Honour, and clear Courage; and all his Defects and Misfortunes proceeded from his having liv'd ſo little with his Equals, that he knew not how to treat his Inferiors; which was the Source of all the Ill that befell him, having by that drawn ſuch Prejudice againſt him from Perſons of inferior Quality, that they implacably purſu'd him to Death. The Earl of *Lauderdale* was carry'd to *Windſor* Caſtle, and there kept Priſoner for many Years. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lords *Levingſton* and *Talbot*, with ſome others, made their Eſcapes, and after many Difficulties, got beyond the Sea. And *Leſley* himſelf was not got far beyond *Newport*, when he was beſet by his Enemies, and all his Men either diſpers'd, or taken Priſoners; and particularly the Earl of *Cleveland*, who had overtaken him after the Battle, *Kenmore*, the Lord *Wentworth*, and the two great Soldiers *Middleton* and *Maſſey*. Moſt of the diſpers'd Straglers were, with great Cruelty, by the Country People knocked on the Head, wherever they were found, being every where known and diſcover'd by the Tone of their Language.

The King in Spring-Coppice.

And Hobbal Grange.

2. To return to the King, who having been convey'd out of *White-Ladys*, continu'd all the fourth of *September* in the Wood call'd *Spring-Coppice*, having a Wood-Bill in his Hand, and accompany'd only by *Richard Penderel*, the three other Brothers moving about at proper Diſtances. Immediately after his Departure, the Monaſtery was ſtrictly ſearch'd by *Aſhenhurſt's* Soldiers, who continu'd ſome Time there; but made no Enquiry abroad out of the Houſe, by Reaſon of the ſevere Rains that Day; inſomuch that the Trees afforded not ſufficient Shelter to keep his Majeſty from the Inconvenience of the Wet; nor was there any Thing to reſt Himſelf on, till *Richard* ſtept to a Neighbour's Houſe for a Blanket, which ſerv'd for both Uſes. He alſo caus'd the Wife of *Francis Yates*, before-mentioned, who was Siſter to his own Wife, to provide ſomething for his Majeſty to eat, and bring it into the Wood. The Fare was ſuch as the Time and Place afforded; a meſs of Milk, with ſome Eggs and Butter. His Majeſty being ſomewhat ſurpris'd at the Preſence of the Woman that brought his Dinner, ſaid to her, *Good Woman, can you be faithful to a diſtreſſed Cavalier*? To which ſhe anſwer'd very heartily, *Yes, Sir, I will rather dye than diſcover you*; which Words gave his Majeſty great Satisfaction. When Night was come, the King went with theſe four faithful Friends to *Richard's* Houſe at *Hobbal-Grange*, where their old Mother was tranſported to ſee his Majeſty in Safety, and that her Sons had been happy Inſtruments of it. She heartily treated him with a cleanly Fricaſee of Bacon and Eggs; and farther Care was forthwith taken to conceal him, and he took upon him the Name of *William Jones*, and pretended to be a Wood-Cutter, newly come thither to Work; and this likewiſe to prevent being ſuſpected by the reſt of that little Family.

Here he prepared for a new Journey; for the King among other Things had ask'd, if he knew any faithful Friend living upon the *Severne*, who might provide Him a ſecret Place for a ſhort Time, till he cou'd find an Opportunity of paſſing over into *Wales*; for in that Country he wanted no Friends, by whoſe Means he might tranſport himſelf, or lye more ſecurely among the Rocks and Mountains. Being therefore inform'd of one Mr. *Woolf*, a Papiſt of *Richard's* Acquaintance, living at *Madeley*, five Miles from *White-Ladys*, and one from the *Severne*, at nine a Clock at Night He and *Richard* ſet out on Foot together. But they had not gone two Miles, when they had

He goes to Madeley.

a Water-Mill to paſs by, where they muſt croſs the River on a wooden Bridge: The Gate which they open'd making a Noiſe, the Miller came out, and in a threatning Tone, ask'd *who they were!* and bid them *Stand! Penderel* thinking the Miller had purſu'd him, haſtily quitted the Bridge, and led his Majeſty through the Water at another Place, which much contributed to the chafing and galling his Feet, who, as he afterwards pleaſantly obſerv'd, *was here in ſome Danger of loſing his Guide, but the Ruſtling of* Richard's *Calve's Skin Breeches was the beſt Direction he had to follow him in that dark Night.* At Midnight they got to Mr. *Woolf*'s Houſe, and were by him heartily entertain'd, and kept in the Houſe for a good Part of the Night; but Mr. *Woolf* found it neceſſary to lodge them in a Barn all the next Day, by reaſon of the frequent repairing of Soldiers to his Houſe. In the mean Time they ſent to be inform'd of an Opportunity of paſſing the *Severne*, and receiv'd an Account, 'That not only Bridges were guarded by Sol-'diers, but alſo the Ferry-Boats were watcht, ſo that it 'wou'd be very difficult and unſafe to paſs the River.' When it was Night, he was receiv'd again into the Houſe, where the good Gentlewoman more effectually ſtain'd his Hands and Face with a Decoction of Walnut-Tree Leaves; and having taken his Leave he return'd back the ſame Way on Foot to *Boſcobel*, there to ſtay for a more Commodious Opportunity of Travelling.

He returns to Boſcobel, *and aſcends the* ROYAL OAK.

Being come back long before Day, the King tarry'd in the Wood, till *Richard* went to ſee if any Soldiers were in *Boſcobel*-Houſe; where he found the brave Colonel *Carlis*, who after he had been ſo ſerviceable in the King's Retreat from *Worceſter*, had with great Difficulty eſcap'd Himſelf into his own Neighbourhood, and for ſome Time abſconding in *Boſcobel*-Wood, was come that Morning to the Houſe, to get ſome Relief of *William Penderel* his old Acquaintance. By this means his Majeſty and the Colonel met together in the Wood; where after the moſt joyful Congratulation paſs'd, they return'd to the Houſe, and were entain'd with Ruſtick Fare, as Bread and Cheeſe and a Poſſet, and particular Care was taken to clean and eaſe his Majeſty's Feet, which were miſerably heated and gall'd with Travel. Being thus refreſh'd, it was adviſ'd That his Majeſty ſhou'd go back into the Wood, as ſafer than the Houſe, where the Colonel made choice of a large and thick leafed Oak, into which *William* and *Richard* help'd them both up, and brought them ſuch Proviſion as they cou'd get, with a Cuſhion for his Majeſty to reſt on. The King having taken little or no Reſt the preceding Nights, the Colonel humbly deſir'd his Majeſty to ſeat himſelf as eaſily as he cou'd in the Tree, and reſt his Head on his Lap, who was careful that he did not fall; In this Oak they continu'd all that Day, being *Saturday*, and in that Poſture ſlumber'd away ſome Part of the Time, and bore all theſe Hardſhips and Afflictions with incomparable Patience. This in Time came to be call'd The ROYAL OAK; out of which they ſecurely ſaw many who came purpoſely to ſearch for his Majeſty, and heard all their Diſcourſe, how they wou'd uſe the King Himſelf, if they cou'd take him. At Night they return'd to the Houſe, where *William Penderel* ſhewed the King a ſecret Place, call'd *Prieſt's-Hole*, which his Majeſty lik'd ſo well, that he reſolv'd to go no more to the *Royal-Oak*, which afforded leſs Conveniency. Here he was entertain'd with an Account from *Humphrey Penderel*, who having been that Day at *Shefnal*, to pay Taxes, was ſeverely examin'd by a Parliamentarian Colonel, who had heard of the King's being at *White-Ladys*, and threatned him with the Penalty of concealing the King's Perſon, which was Death without Mercy, and inform'd him of the Thouſand Pounds Reward for the Diſcovery of him. But neither Fear of Puniſhment, nor hope of Reward, was able to tempt this honeſt Miller into Diſloyalty; but pleading Ignorance, he was quietly diſmiſs'd. The next Day being *Sunday*, the King reſted quietly, and ſpent ſome Part of the Day in Reading, in a handſom retir'd Arbor in the Garden, the loyal Brethren in the mean Time ſcouting abroad for Intelligence. And whether it was through a particular Providence, or becauſe it was known that only ſome Servants kept *Boſcobel*-Houſe, the ſame was never ſearched all the Time of his Majeſty's Abode there; but *White-Ladys*, upon the Report of the King's having been there, was often ſearched with the utmoſt Strictneſs.

He removes to Moſely.

3. In the mean Time *John Penderel* had happily convey'd the Lord *Wilmot* to the Care of Mr. *Whitegrave* and Mr. *Huddleſton*, both *Roman* Catholicks, the latter being a Prieſt and Tutor to Mr. *Whitegrave*'s three Sons. Theſe having in the Night-time ſent his Horſe to Colonel *Lane*'s, their intimate Acquaintance, who had formerly ſerv'd the King, hoſpitably entertain'd that Lord at *Moſely*; who in a ſhort time chang'd his Lodgings, and remov'd to *Bently*, the Houſe of Colonel *Lane*. The King hearing of *Wilmot*'s Safety, was deſirous to be with him, and ſent to inform him where he was; who thereupon appointed to meet his Majeſty that Night in a Field near Mr. *Whitegrave*'s Houſe, which lay in the mid-way, five Miles from *Boſcobel*, and five from *Bently*. The King being diſabled by his former Travel on Foot, was forc'd to make Uſe of *Humphrey Penderel*'s Mill-Horſe for this Journey, leaving behind him his dear Friend Colonel *Carlis*, who heartily pray'd for his Majeſty's Preſervation. Upon the Way the King was attended by all the five loyal Brothers, *William*, *Richard*, *Humphrey*, *George* and *John*, and *Francis Yates*, each of them being arm'd with a good Bill or Pike-ſtaff, and ſome with Piſtols, intending to have us'd the ſame, in Caſe they had met with a Number not too great to engage. Two of them march'd before, and one on each Side of the King's Horſe; the other two at a Diſtance behind; and they took all the By-Ways they cou'd. His Majeſty being arrived at the appointed Place, met with Mr. *Huddleſton* there, ready to conduct him into Mr. *Whitegrave*'s Houſe. But before he enter'd, he gave the honeſt Brothers his Hand to kiſs, and thanking them for their Fidelity, promis'd to reward it, *if it pleas'd God*, and ſo diſmiſs'd them with the Horſe.

The Lord *Wilmot* teſtify'd the moſt extream Joy at the Sight of his Majeſty, who alſo heartily embrac'd him; and after ſome Refreſhment given to the King, and civil Expreſſions which he was pleas'd to uſe to Mr. *Whitegrave* and Mr. *Huddleſton*, he was conducted to the ſecret Place deſign'd for his Lodgings, which was more ſecure than commodious for Reſt. At his going, the King chearfully ſaid, *I am now ready for another March; and if I were once more plac'd at the Head of eight or ten thouſand Men, good and unanimous, I ſhou'd not doubt to drive theſe Rogues out of my Kingdom.* The Lord *Wilmot* had a private Conſultation with the two Gentlemen, concerning the watching of all Avenues; and moſt generouſly ſaid to them, *If it ſhou'd ſo fall out, that the Rebels ſhould ſuſpect your harbouring of any of the King's Party, and ſhou'd therefore put you to any Torture for Confeſſion, be ſure you diſcover me firſt; which may perhaps ſtop their further Search, and preſerve the King.* The very next Day Notice was given to Mr. *Whitegrave*, that ſome Soldiers were in the Neighbourhood, with Intention to apprehend him for having been with the King at *Worceſter*. This was a ſurpriſing Allarm: But the Gentleman immediately ſecur'd the Royal Gueſt, and the Lord *Wilmot* in the *Secret Place*; and then ſetting open all the Chamber Doors, went boldly down to the Soldiers, convincing them by the Teſtimony of his Neighbours, that he had not been from his own Houſe in the laſt Fortnight. With which the Soldiers being ſatisfy'd, they never went up the Stairs; and ſo this imminent Danger was avoided. At Night the Lord *Wilmot* repair'd to Colonel *Lane*'s at *Bentley*, in order to remove his Majeſty thither; and during his Abſence the King ſpent the next Day in Converſation with the two Gentlemen of the Houſe, concerning the News and the Diſtractions of the Kingdom; in diſcourſing of which the King intimated, *That his Counſels had been by ſome treacherous Inſtruments often diſcover'd to the Rebels, before they were put in Execution by his Loyal Subjects.* At Midnight Colonel *Lane* came from *Bentley* to attend his Majeſty thither; whereupon ſaluting Mrs. *Whitegrave*, he took Leave of her, and gave her Thanks for her Entertainment: He expreſs'd himſelf alſo with much Gratitude to her Husband and Mr. *Huddleſton*, adviſing them to be very careful of avoiding the Dangers of a Diſcovery; and therefore directed them to a Merchant in *London*, to receive Monies for their Tranſportation beyond Sea, if they thought fit: And laſtly promis'd them *to remember both their Civility and Fidelity, whenever it ſhou'd pleaſe God to reſtore him to his Dominions.*

From thence to Bentley.

He rides before Mrs. Lane.

The King arriv'd ſafely at *Bentley* on *Tueſday* Night the 9th of *September*, where Colonel *Lane*, and the good old Gentleman his Father, form'd a Scheme to convey his Majeſty as far as *Briſtol*, near a hundred Miles diſtant, where he had many Friends, and the greateſt Hopes of a Paſſage. It hapned that a few Days before, Mrs. *Jane Lane*, Siſter to the Colonel, had procured from ſome Parliament Commander a Paſs for her ſelf, a Gentleman and his Wife, with one Servant, mounted upon two Horſes, that they might without Moleſtation travel to the Houſe of one Mr. *Norton* near *Briſtol*, whoſe Wife was a near Relation to this Lady, and ready to lye in. It was therefore agreed, that the King ſhou'd perſonate the Servant, and ride before the Colonel's Siſter; in order to which he chang'd his Leather Doublet and green Breeches, for a new grey Cloth Suit, as near as cou'd be contriv'd like the Holy-Day Suit of a Farmer's Son; and likewiſe forſook his former Name of *Will. Jones*, for that of *Will. Jackſon*. Accordingly he was mounted before the Lady upon a good double Gelding, and ſet out on *Wedneſday* Morning, accompany'd by her Couſin Mr. *Laſſels* and his Wife, who follow'd upon another Horſe at a little Diſtance: But the

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Lord *Wilmot* rod before with a Hawk upon his Fiſt, and Spaniels, as a Stranger who had accidentally met them on the Road; reſolving as ſoon as he came near *Briſtol*, to ſtrike off to the Houſe of his Friend Sir *John Winter*, there to expect the Iſſue of Things.

The firſt Accident of Note that happen'd was at *Bromſgrove*, where the King's Horſe loſing a Shoe, his Majeſty was to carry him to a Smith to be ſhod. The King asking him *What News he heard*? *Nothing*, anſwer'd he, *but that* Cromwell *had routed the* Scots, *and that tho' all the reſt were kill'd or taken, yet the King had made his Eſcape. Perhaps*, reply'd the King, *he is got by private Ways into* Scotland. *No*, ſaid the Smith, *that is not probable*; *he rather lies ſomewhere hid in* England, *and I wiſh I knew where he was, for I might get a thouſand Pounds by taking him.* After the Horſe was ſhod, the King departed, and upon the Road told his Miſtreſs, what Diſcourſe he had held with the Smith. Coming near *Stratford*, they deſign'd to ford the River *Avon* about a Mile below the Town. But drawing nearer, they perceiv'd Soldiers Horſes feeding in the Meadows on the other ſide, and the Troopers lying upon the Ground. The King was for paſſing forwards with Confidence; but *Laſſels* thought it ſafer to turn aſide to the next Town; but while they rode along the Streets, they met with the ſame Soldiers they had avoided; yet without any Moleſtation, they open'd to the Right and Left, and ſo let them paſs. The firſt Night Mrs. *Lane* and her Company took up their Quarters at Mr. *Tomb*'s of *Longmarſton*, with whom ſhe was well acquainted: Here the King being in the Kitchin, in purſuance of his Diſguiſe, and the Cook Maid being buſie in providing for her Maſter's Friends, ſhe deſir'd *William* to wind up the Jack; which he obediently attempted, but awkwardly miſs'd of the Way: This caus'd the Maid in a Paſſion to ask, *What Country-Man are you, that you know not how to wind up a Jack*? The other anſwer'd, *I am a poor Tenant's Son of Colonel* Lane *in* Staffordſhire; *we ſeldom have Roaſt-Meat, but when we have, we don't uſe a Jack.* The next Night they ſafely arriv'd at the *Crown* in *Cirenceſter*, where the King pretending to have an Ague, was preſently brought to his Chamber, where a good Bed, and good Meat was provided for him. The third Night, they rode through *Briſtol*, and ſo got to Mr. *Norton*'s Houſe at *Leigh*, three Miles from that City, on the 12th of *September*; which was the deſired End of this perillous Journey; in all which Mrs. *Lane* carry'd her ſelf not only with the utmoſt Fidelity and Tenderneſs, but alſo with admirable Prudence and Diſcretion.

And arrives at Leigh, *by* Briſtol.

4. At this Place the King ſtaid four Days, where particular Care was taken of him by Mrs. *Lane*, who caus'd a Bed to be made in a private Chamber for his Majeſty, who ſhe ſaid was the Son of one of her Father's Tenants, and was ſick of an Ague, getting Dr. *Gorges*, a Divine and a Phyſician, to give him ſomething for his Diſtemper. As the Doctor came out of his Chamber in the Morning, he ask'd him *What he heard of the King and the Battel*? But ſeeing he a little heſitated, *I am afraid*, ſaid he, *you are a Round-Head*; *but I will try what Metal you are made of*; and taking him into the Buttery, he drank the King's Health to him in a Glaſs of Wine, which the King pledging, aſſur'd him, *He was never a Man of that Stamp.* The next Morning, the King eating ſomething in the Buttery, he there fell into Diſcourſe with a bragging Fellow, who boaſted of his Actions at *Worceſter* Fight: Upon which his Majeſty ſaid to him, *Have you ever ſeen the King*? *Twenty Times*, anſwer'd he; *What kind of Man is he then*? Then looking more ſteady on the King, *He is*, ſaid he, *four Fingers Breadth taller than you.* Afterwards, moving his Hat to the Miſtreſs of the Houſe as ſhe paſs'd through the Parlour, the Butler viewing him more attentively, and obſerving his Countenance, knew him to be the King; and finding a private Occaſion, fell upon his Knees, and with Tears of Joy acknowledg'd his Majeſty. The King in a great Surpriſe enjoin'd him Silence, which he exactly obſerv'd. This Man's Name was *John Pope*, who five Years before had been a Soldier under the King in the Weſt, when he was Prince of *Wales*; and from this Time he perform'd a great many good Offices to his Majeſty with extraordinary Fidelity. And firſt he was ſent to *Briſtol* to find out a Ship; but cou'd not find any there, that within a Month was to ſail either to *France* or *Spain*. While he diſcours'd with the King of ſeveral that had ſerv'd his Majeſty, he fix'd upon Colonel *Francis Windham*, of *Trent*, whom he thought fit to try in this preſent Emergency.

The Lord *Wilmot* coming, according to Agreement, to Mr. *Norton*'s Houſe, was by *Pope* introduc'd to the King at Night; and after they had conſulted together, the Lord was ſent to *Trent*, a Place near the Borders of *Dorſetſhire*, to enquire if Colonel *Windham* cou'd receive and conceal the King in his Houſe, till he cou'd find an Opportunity of paſſing over the Sea. The loyal Colonel return'd Anſwer, *That he thought himſelf extreamly happy to be reckon'd worthy of that Honour*; *and was ready not only to venture his Life, Family and Eſtate, but even to ſacrifice all to his Majeſty's Service*: But withal begg'd Leave to impart the Secret, not only to his Mother and Wife, but alſo to four of his Servants, *of whoſe Fidelity both to his Majeſty and himſelf, he was fully aſſur'd.* The Lord *Wilmot* conſented, and aſſuring him that the King would be there three Days after, he return'd to *Leigh*. But the Night before, Mr. *Norton*'s Wife was brought to Bed, after a hard and dangerous Labour, and was not decently to be left by her neareſt Relation Mrs. *Lane*, in that Condition. Therefore that ſhe might have a civil Pretext of departing, a Letter was pretended to have been juſt then brought from her aged Father, acquainting her, 'That ſince her Departure he had 'been dangerouſly ill, and that he ſtood in need of her pre'ſent Aſſiſtance; and therefore bid her, if ſhe tender'd her 'Father's Life, to haſten home.' The Letter being produc'd, and the Rumour ſpread over the Family, Mrs. *Lane* and Mr. *Laſſels* took their Leaves, leaving Mrs. *Laſſels* with the ſick Lady; and ſo, with the Royal Servant, departed for *Trent*. *Rogers*, who had privately conducted the Lord *Wilmot* from Sir *John Winter*'s Houſe to *Leigh*, was their Guide; and they lodg'd the firſt Night at *Caſtle-Cary*, ſix Miles from *Trent*. The appointed Hour of their coming approaching, Colonel *Windham* and his Lady, under the Pretence of a Walk, went out to meet them. At the firſt Sight of the Colonel the King familiarly call'd, Frank, *honeſt* Frank, *how doſt thou do*? The Colonel, without Ceremony, ſent the King privately into the Houſe, by one whom he had choſen for that Purpoſe. Mrs. *Lane* and Mr. *Laſſels* in the mean Time were publickly receiv'd as Relations, who coming from a Place far diſtant, were to depart the next Day, which was the 18th of *September*, when they humbly took their Leaves of his Majeſty, who ſaluted and embrac'd them with all the Marks of Gratitude and Friendly Affection.

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From thence he removes to Trent.

5. At *Trent* the King had, with ſome Intermiſſion, a ſecure and long Stay of nineteen Days, being moſtly lodg'd in the Chamber of the good old Lady *Windham*, who declar'd to his Majeſty, *She accounted it her higheſt Honour, That ſhe had three Sons and one Grand-Child ſlain in the Defence of his Father, and that ſhe in her old Age ſhou'd be inſtrumental in the Preſervation of himſelf.* Here conſulting with the Lord *Wilmot*, and Colonel *Windham*, the latter entertain'd and encourag'd his Majeſty with a remarkable Paſſage of Sir *Thomas Windham* his Father, 'Who in the 'Year 1636, a little before his Death, call'd to him his 'five Sons, and diſcourſing to them the Miſeries and Ca'lamities of former Reigns, and the Peace and Proſperity 'of this Kingdom under its three laſt glorious Monarchs; 'he ſaid, *he fear'd the beautiful Garment of Peace wou'd* '*ſhortly be torn in Pieces, through the Neglect of the Magi*'*ſtrates, the general Corruption of Manners, and the Pre*'*valence of a* Puritanical Faction, *which, if not prevented,* '*wou'd undermine the Pillars of Government. My Sons,* 'continu'd he, *we have hitherto ſeen ſerene and quiet Times*; '*but now prepare your ſelves for Clouds and Storms. I com*'*mand you to honour and obey our Gracious Sovereign, and* '*in all Times to adhere to the Crown*; *I charge you never to* '*forſake the Crown, THOUGH IT SHOU'D HANG* '*UPON A BUSH.*' The Colonel told the King, *That theſe laſt Words had made ſo deep an Impreſſion in all their Breaſts, that the numerous Afflictions of theſe ſad Times cou'd never efface their indelible Characters.* After which he propos'd to conſult with Sir *John Strangeways*, a loyal Gentleman four Miles diſtant, where meeting privately with the Colonel his Son, he brought a Preſent back to his Majeſty of a hundred Pounds in Gold, which was thankfully receiv'd. Shortly after it happened, that the Country People fell to making of Bonfires, and ringing of Bells, with more than uſual Solemnity; and the King enquiring into the Cauſe of this great Rejoicing, was told, *That it was for the joyful News of the King's Death*, which was then confidently reported; at which the King only ſaid, *Alas poor People!*

Where he continues ſeveral Days.

While they conſulted, and projected for a Paſſage over the Sea, Colonel *Windham* bethought himſelf of one *Elleſden* a Merchant, formerly a Captain under the late King, who ſince that drove a conſiderable Trade at *Lyme*, that poſſibly might procure a Veſſel, ſince he had before carry'd over Sir *John Berkley* in the like Diſtreſs. Therefore the Colonel was diſpatch'd to him to learn, 'Whether he cou'd pro'cure a ſafe Paſſage for the Lord *Wilmot*, and another Ca'valier, who had made their Eſcape from *Worceſter* Fight.' He readily harken'd to it, and immediately went to *Charmouth*, a little Place near *Lyme*; where having ſent for one *Limbry* a Maſter of a Veſſel, he ask'd him under Promiſe of Secrecy, 'If he durſt venture to carry the Lord '*Wilmot* and his Servant ſafely over to *France*.' *Limbry* undertook it, and bargain'd with the Colonel, under the Name of Captain *Norris*, for threeſcore Pounds, which

Elleſden

He tries to get a Paſſage from Charmouth,

Elleſden oblig'd himſelf under Hand and Seal to pay, after he had carry'd the Paſſengers over to *France.* The 22d of *September*, at Night, was the preciſe Time appointed for putting them on Board. That there might be no Miſcarriage in the Proſecution, and that they might not want a Pretext of ſtaying in Lodgings, till all Things were ready for their Paſſage, *Henry Peters*, Servant to the Colonel, was before employ'd to pave the Way. He apply'd himſelf to an Hoſteſs at *Charmouth*; and, among other Diſcourſes, told her, 'That he was a Servant to a worthy 'Nobleman, who was deeply in Love with a young Lady, without Father or Mother, who was as much in 'Love with Him; but her Guardian unjuſtly oppoſing the 'Marriage, he reſolv'd to ſteal her away by Night.' He therefore ask'd her, 'If ſhe would for ſome Hours entertain them in her Houſe;' and at the ſame Time gave her a ſmall Gratuity as a Pledge of a greater deſign'd, and drank a Glaſs of Wine with her. The Woman mollify'd by the Preſent, and mov'd with Compaſſion for the Lady, promis'd to ſerve them to the beſt of her Power.

This being fix'd, it was thought proper for the King to ride before ſome Woman, and accordingly Mrs. *Julian Coningsby*, Neice to the Lady *Windham*, had the Honour to ride behind his Majeſty, who with the Lord *Wilmot*, Colonel *Windham*, and *Peters* the Servant, at convenient Diſtances, were met by Captain *Elleſden*, who carry'd them into a private Houſe, whither he went under Pretence of viewing a little Farm. Here the King diſcover'd himſelf to him, giving him a ſmall Preſent, as an Earneſt of future Gratitude; and while he repair'd to *Lyme* to give Notice to the Maſter of the Veſſel, to be ready to put to Sea at the appointed Time, the King with the reſt went to their Lodgings at *Charmouth*. *Peters* was appointed to ſtay for the coming of the Long-Boat; but having waited till almoſt Day, he return'd without any News or Knowledge of a Boat. This put them all into Confuſion, and made them think of taking other Meaſures; but there was no ſafe Place here to continue, and the King was reſolv'd not to loſe any more Time. Therefore after a ſhort Conſultation, it was determin'd that the King with Mrs. *Coningsby*, accompany'd by the Colonel, ſhould advance towards *Bridport*, there to expect the Lord *Wilmot* and *Peters* at an appointed Inn; *Peters* being to go to *Lyme* to learn from Captain *Elleſden* the Reaſon of the Diſappointment; and *Wilmot* ſtaying behind in the Inn, upon Pretence of new ſhoeing his Horſe. *Elleſden*, who thought that by this Time they had made half their Voyage, could not imagine the Reaſon of this Breach of Promiſe, nor could he attribute it to any Thing, but that the Man, taking Leave of his Friends upon a Fair-Day, had by Drinking forgot his Time. But it was afterwards known, that the Maſter of the Veſſel being come home to take clean Cloaths, and other Neceſſaries for his Voyage, was lock'd up by his Wife, and ſecured in his Chamber. For that very Day the former Proclamation was publiſh'd in *Lyme*, which promis'd a thouſand Pounds to the Diſcoverers, and denounc'd Death to the Concealers of the King; which threw the Woman into a terrible Fright, leſt her Husband in performing this Office, of which ſhe had ſome Notice, might ſuffer Shipwreck on Shoar: She therefore us'd Entreaties, Tears, Out-cries, and at length ſo much Violence, as totally defeated the Attempt.

But is diſappointed.

Upon the Way to *Bridport*, Colonel *Windham* went a little before the King, to view the Road; and coming near the Town, he found it to be full of Soldiers. The Colonel was therefore for the King's going to another Place; but he laying aſide all Fear, wou'd needs enter the Town, partly that he might not deceive the Lord *Wilmot*, and partly to refreſh himſelf after the Fatigue of Night-watching and Travelling. Thereupon *Windham* took care to provide a Chamber and Victuals; which was not eaſy to be effected among ſo many Gueſts. The King, in the mean Time, was employ'd in carrying the Horſes into the Stable, and looking after them; nor could he avoid diſcourſing with the Soldiers in the Yard about his Journey. But the Hoſtler looking him in the Face, as he receiv'd the Horſes, ſaid, *You are welcome, I know you very well. Where did you know me*? anſwer'd the King; *at* Exeter, ſaid he; *for I liv'd two Years in an Inn there.* The King well knowing that City, freely reply'd, *And ſo did I, in the Service of Mr.* Porter: *I am glad I have met with a Countryman, but I find you are ſo buſy, you have no Time to drink with me; when I come back from* London, *we'll talk of old Stories.* After this Eſcape, and a little Refreſhment, the Lord *Wilmot* paſſing through the Town, they took Horſe, and following the ſtrait Road to *London*, they met with ſeveral Travellers in the Way, and among thoſe a particular Servant of the late King: Therefore thinking it more convenient to turn out of the Road, they follow'd the next Way upon the left Hand; and having rid a long Time, towards Night they came to a Village call'd *Broad-Windſor*. The Colonel going to enquire the Name of the Place, and whither the Way led, by good Fortune met with an Inn-Keeper an old Servant of his own; and becauſe it grew dark, he eaſily obtain'd Lodging that Night for him and his Company. They were ſcarcely ſettled, before the Conſtable came, attended with forty Soldiers, who marching to the Sea-Coaſt for the reducing *Jerſey*, muſt be quarter'd there. The Houſe being fill'd and throng'd with them, his Majeſty had but a very narrow Lodging, yet that was not all the Inconvenience: For about Midnight a Woman belonging to the Soldiers fell in Labour; which being nois'd about, the Inhabitants flock'd to the Place, to prevent the Charge of the young Child, with ſo much Noiſe and Diſturbance, that the King got very little Reſt that Night, no more than he did before at *Charmouth*.

He returns to Trent.

He had now Time to reflect upon his Eſcape that Day at *Bridport*, but by the Time he arriv'd again at *Trent*, he found that the Danger had been much greater at *Charmouth*, and that it was happy that his Jealouſy haſtned him from the Inn in that Place. For he had not been long gone, when an unfortunate Diſcourſe was ſtarted between the Hoſtler, and one *Hamnet* a Smith, while he was ſhoeing the Lord *Wilmot*'s Horſe. The Smith asking, *From whence came theſe Gentlement*? the Hoſtler anſwer'd, *From* Exeter, *as they ſay:* To whom the Smith reply'd, *But I dare ſwear that theſe laſt Shoes were ſet on in the* North. All other Circumſtances being conſider'd, namely, 'That the Saddles were not taken off in the Night-'time, that, tho' Travellers, they had ſat up all Night, 'and that the Servant went out of the Inn early in the 'Morning, they preſently concluded that they were Per-'ſons of Quality, who flying after the late Battel of '*Worceſter*, had wander'd thither, and that probably the 'King was amongſt them.' So that the Hoſtler, hoping to make his Fortune, went to conſult the Miniſter of Peace, a Weaver, and formerly a Soldier, who was now preaching to his Congregation upon a ſolemn Occaſion. But not daring to diſturb him in his tedious Morning Exerciſe, and unwilling to loſe his Reward at the Gentleman's taking Horſe, he return'd without effecting his Deſign. As ſoon as the Lord *Wilmot* was mounted and gone, the Preacher, by the Smith's Information, came immediately to the Inn; and, almoſt out of Breath, ask'd *What Gueſts ſhe had entertain'd that Night*? ſhe ſaying *they were all Strangers to her, ſhe knew them not*; he cry'd out, *I tell you then, one of them was the King.* Then haſtily he ran to *Butler*, the next Colonel, for obtaining a Warrant to raiſe the Country and Soldiers for apprehending the King. The Colonel refuſing, Captain *Maſſey*, who quarter'd hard by, having gather'd together as many Horſe as he could on a ſudden, purſu'd on the *London* Road as far as *Dorcheſter*; but the King, by Divine Providence, having quitted the Road, he return'd diſappointed of his fair Hopes. This Report put all the Soldiers upon ſearching of ſuſpected Houſes; and twice they rifled that of Sir *Hugh Windham*, Uncle to the Colonel, where they left not a Cheſt or Corner unſearch'd; and having made the whole Family Priſoners, they ſeiz'd upon a lovely young Lady, ſaying, *She was the King diſguis'd in Woman's Apparel*; nor would they let her go, till by ſome rude Experiment they diſcover'd their Miſtake.

6. The King being once again ſettled in *Trent*, where he was under great Reſtraint, began to conſult about new Expedients; and after ſeveral Propoſals, it was reſolv'd that the Lord *Wilmot*, attended by *Peters*, ſhould go to *Salisbury* to Mr. *John Coventry*, Son to the late Lord-Keeper, who was known to be a prudent and loyal Gentleman, and adviſe with him about the King's Tranſportation into *France.* Mr. *Coventry* having conſulted with Dr. *Humphry Henchman*, a worthy Divine of *Salisbury*, and afterwards Biſhop of that See; the Reſult was, That his Majeſty ſhould be deſired to remove to *Hele*, three Miles from *Salisbury*, a very private Houſe belonging to Mrs. *Mary Hyde*, the Relict of the elder Brother of Serjeant *Hyde*, afterwards Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, a Lady whom they knew to be as diſcreet and as loyal as any of her Sex. With this Reſolution and Advice Mr. *Coventry* diſpatch'd his Chaplain, Mr. *Selleck*, to *Trent* with a Letter, roll'd up into the Bigneſs of a Muſquet Bullet, which the faithful Meſſenger was order'd to ſwallow, in Caſe of any Danger. In the mean Time Mr. *Coventry* had found a truſty Seaman at *Southampton*, who undertook to tranſport whom he pleas'd; but upon Re-conſideration with the Lord *Wilmot*, it was not thought ſafe for the King to take Shipping there, in regard of the many Caſtles the Veſſel muſt paſs, and their frequent Examination of Paſſengers; ſo that ſome of the ſmall Ports of *Suſſex* were concluded to be the ſafer Places, for effecting this great

and difficult Work. In the Interim Mr. *Selleck* return'd with the King's Reſolution to come to *Hele*, ſignify'd by the like Paper Bullet: And by this Time his Majeſty thought fit to make uſe of the Service and Aſſiſtance of Colonel *Robert Philips*, who had ſerv'd under the late King, who liv'd in thoſe Parts, and was well acquainted with the Ways of the Country, and known to be inviolably faithful. This Colonel undertook to be his Majeſty's Conductor to *Hele*, which was about thirty Miles diſtant from *Trent*.

He removes from Trent *to* Hele *near* Salisbury.

On the ſixth of *October* the King took his Leave of Colonel *Windham*, and thoſe of the Family who knew him, with particular Thanks for their great Care and Fidelity; but to the good old Lady *Windham* he ſhew'd more than ordinary Reſpect. Thus he left *Trent*, and began his Journey towards *Hele*, with Colonel *Philips*, perſonating a Tenant's Son of his, attended by honeſt *Peters*, and riding as formerly, before Mrs. *Julian Coningsby*. The Travellers about Noon arriv'd at *Mere*, a little Market-Town in *Wiltſhire*, and dined at the *George-Inn*, the Keeper of which was known by the Colonel to be faithful. He ſat at the Table with the King, and diſcourſing with the Colonel, told him for News, 'That he heard 'the Men of *Weſtminſter*, notwithſtanding their Victory 'at *Worceſter*, were in a great Maze, not knowing what 'was become of the King; but the moſt receiv'd Opinion 'was, That he was come in Diſguiſe to *London*, and 'many Houſes had been ſearch'd for him there:' At which his Majeſty was obſerv'd to ſmile. After Dinner he familiarly ask'd the King, *If he were a Friend to* Cæſar? to which his Majeſty anſwering *Yes*; *then*, ſaid he, *here is a Health to King* Charles *in a Glaſs of Wine*; which his Majeſty and the Colonel both pledg'd; and ſo taking Horſe, at Night they arriv'd at *Hele*. Here the King ſupp'd with Dr. *Henchman*, and other Gentlemen accidentally in the Houſe. After Supper he privately diſclos'd himſelf to the Miſtreſs of the Houſe, the Widow *Hyde*, and begg'd for Shelter. The diſcreet Lady, tho' juſt tranſported with the Diſcovery, advis'd him 'early in the Morning to depart to'wards *London*, but turning out of the Way to come back 'about One in the Afternoon; for that being a Market-Day 'at *Salisbury*, and all her Servants and other Witneſſes be'ing gone thither by her Order, ſhe her ſelf would be 'ready to let him in at a Back-Door.' This was accordingly done; and the King and Colonel *Philips* taking formal Leave of the Lady, mounted on Horſeback; but at the appointed Time return'd back again. Here the Colonel, carrying away the Horſes, the King was convey'd to a ſecret Place, made in the Time of War for ſecuring Goods of the greateſt Value; where his Majeſty lay conceal'd for about ſix Days, and was carefully attended by the good Widow.

In the mean Time the Lord *Wilmot*, who went by the Name of Mr. *Barlow*, rode to ſuch faithful Gentlemen as were of his Acquaintance in *Hampſhire*; and firſt to Mr. *Laurence Hyde*, and then to Mr. *Thomas Henſlow*, to whom he communicated his great Buſineſs, and deſir'd their Aſſiſtance in procuring a Bark for the King's Tranſportation. Mr. *Henſlow*, in Zeal to this Service, immediately acquainted the excellent Earl of *Southampton*, then at his Houſe at *Tichfield*, who immediately apply'd himſelf to the important Work; being the only Perſon of that Condition, who had the Courage to ſolicite ſuch a Danger. Mr. *Hyde* recommended the Lord *Wilmot* to Colonel *George Gunter*, at *Rackton* near *Chicheſter* in *Suſſex*; and among the many Solicitors for the long expected Veſſel, this Colonel hapned to be the fortunate Man, who procured it at *Bright-helmſton*, a ſmall Fiſher-Town in *Suſſex*, by the Aſſiſtance of Mr. *Francis Manſel*, a Merchant of *Chicheſter*, and the concurrent Endeavours of Mr. *Thomas Gunter*, Kinſman to the Colonel.

Upon this happy News, early on *Monday* the 13th of *October*, the King, after a grateful Acknowledgment to Mrs. *Hyde*, attended by Dr. *Henchman*, departed from *Hele* on Foot for two Miles to *Clarendon-Park* Corner, and then took Horſe with Colonel *Philips*; and at an appointed Place the Lord *Wilmot*, Colonel *Gunter* and his Kinſman, met his Majeſty with a Brace of Grey-hounds, the better to carry on the Diſguiſe. That Night they were entertain'd and lodg'd at *Hambledon* in *Hampſhire*, at the Houſe of Mr. *Thomas Symons*, who marry'd the Colonel's Siſter; where a good Supper was provided, tho' the Royal Gueſt was unknown to any of the Houſe. The next Night, after thirty five Miles Travel, and ſome Hazards in paſſing by many Soldiers, they arriv'd at the *George* Inn, in the deſired Port of *Bright-helmſton*. Here at Supper ſat at the Table the King, the Lord *Wilmot*, Colonel *Gunter*, *Manſel* the Merchant, and *Teterſhal* Maſter of the Veſſel, oppoſite to his Majeſty. The Maſter of the Veſſel, riſing ſuddenly from Supper, call'd the Merchant aſide, and expoſtulated with him 'for deceiving him, in 'recommending the King to him, inſtead of another Per'ſon pretended.' The Merchant confidently deny'd it, and urg'd him to be true to his Promiſe. But he affirm'd, 'That he certainly knew him to be the King, tho' in a 'mean and ordinary Habit he paſs'd for a Servant, and 'that he very well remember'd him ſince the Time that at 'his own and others Interceſſion, he had clear'd a Fleet of 'Colliers bound thither from *Newcaſtle*, which were 'ſtopp'd in the *Downs*.' *Manſel* perceiving the Man underſtood the Deſign, immediately addreſs'd himſelf to the King; who being inform'd of the Humour and Honeſty of the Maſter, his Majeſty and *Wilmot* ply'd him with Promiſes, and immediately made him a conſiderable Preſent. Upon which the Man promis'd all Fidelity, and haſtned to make all Things ready for their Paſſage. The Man was no ſooner gone, than the King receiv'd a private Meſſage from the noble Earl of *Southampton*, that he had procur'd a Ship, and if his Majeſty came to him, he ſhou'd be ſafe; but he reſolv'd to loſe no Time, but to make uſe of the preſent Opportunity.

And laſt of all to Bright-helmſton,

The Veſſel lay at *Shoreham*, four Miles from thence, as yet half laden with Coals, which the Maſter had not ſold, moſt of the Sea-Men being at *Bright-helmſton*: Thoſe he knock'd up in the Night-time, bidding them *make all Haſte to the Veſſel, which having ſlipt its Anchors was at Drift, and might be ſtranded or daſh'd upon the Rocks*; *that he Himſelf wou'd preſently follow after*. In the mean Time he order'd his Wife to go and buy a Bottle of Brandy, and another of Sack, and to give him clean Cloaths to take along with him. *But why ſo late in the Night*? ſaid ſhe, *wou'd it not do as well in the Morning*? He ſtill urging her, and cutting off all Delays, *It is the King*, ſaid the Woman, *that I ſuſpect you are to carry over: I pray God you may carry him ſafe, tho' I and my ſmall Children ſhou'd for ever after go a Begging*, The Inn-Keeper alſo being by that Time got Drunk, and addreſſing himſelf to the King, took his Hand and kiſs'd it, ſaying, *Who you are, whence you come, or whither you are going, I know not*; *yet I pray God he may bleſs and preſerve you: If I gueſs right, I ſhall be an Earl, and my Wife a Counteſs*. And the Truth is, ſome diſcover'd it was the King; ſo that preſently after his Eſcape, the News of it was whiſper'd all about the Country. The Hour of Departure approaching, they took Horſe and went to the Shoar, the Maſter pretending that they were Merchants of the Iſle of *Wight*, that had bought the reſt of his Coals, and that they were to carry them thither. About five in the Morning, on the fifteenth of *October*, they went on Board, and ſpent a great Part of the Day coaſting along the Shoar. Towards Sun ſetting the Maſter ſteer'd and ſtood off, as directing his Courſe towards the Iſle of *Wight*: But *Wilmot*, who appear'd to be the chief Paſſenger, as if his Mind had chang'd with the Wind, after a pretended Squabble with the Maſter in the Preſence of the Sea-men, as before agreed, alter'd his Bargain, and inſtead of the Iſle of *Wight*, order'd him to run over to *France*; ſo that in the Dusk of the Evening, they arriv'd at *Feſcan*, an inconſiderable Port in *Normandy* near *Havre de Grace*, and at length gain'd the much long'd-for Shore. From thence going to *Roan*, he gave Notice to the Queen of his ſafe Arrival, which ſoon freed his Loyal Subjects in all Places from their diſmal Apprehenſions.

Where he took Shipping, and arriv'd in France.

A general Obſervation

Such were the Particulars of the King's wonderful Eſcape and Deliverance, from ſuch Variety of Dangers and Difficulties as cannot be parallel'd in Hiſtory; ſo that he ſeem'd to have been all the Way guided and guarded by Angels from Heaven. It muſt be amazing to all Poſterity, That among ſo many Perſons of mean Condition, of ſo contrary Religions, among ſo many Women, naturally more talkative, and ſo many timorous People, who were frightned at the very Name of Death, and in a Word, that among ſo many broken and indigent Perſons, to whom a great Reward was ſo tempting, not a ſingle Perſon offer'd to betray him. From the third of *September* at *Worceſter*, to the fifteenth of *October* at *Bright-helmſton*, the Space of one and forty Days, he is ſaid to have paſs'd through much more Dangers than he travell'd Miles, which were not much leſs than three Hundred, in which he met with innumerable Cauſes of Uneaſineſs. Nor was it the leaſt of his Afflictions daily to hear of the Earl of *Derby*, and other his moſt loyal Subjects, ſome murder'd, ſome impriſon'd, and others ſequeſter'd in Multitudes, only for performing their Duty to their lawful Sovereign. In ſum, there was no Kind of Miſery, excepting Death it ſelf, of which his Majeſty, in this dreadful Perſecution, did not in ſome Meaſure, both in Body, Mind and Eſtate, bear a very great Share; and all with ſuch Heroick Patience and uncommon Prudence, that it may juſtly be ſaid to have been the moſt Glorious, as well as wonderful Part of his Life.

VIII. 1. After the Battel of *Worceſter*, which prov'd a *Crowning Victory* to *Cromwell*, that ambitious General, as if actuated by another Spirit, ſeem'd to arro-

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gate the Supreme Power to Himſelf; which firſt appear'd by his offering to Knight *Lambert* and *Fleetwood* in the Field of Battle; which he had alſo perform'd, if he had not been diſſwaded by ſome of his Confidents. After an inſulting Manner, he order'd the Walls of *Worceſter* to be levell'd with the Ground, and the Dike to be fill'd up; and then march'd up triumphantly to *London*, driving four or five Thouſand Priſoners like Sheep before him; making Preſents of them, as Occaſion offer'd, as of ſo many Slaves; and ſelling the reſt for that Purpoſe into the *Engliſh* Plantations abroad. He was met beyond *Aylesbury* by four ſelect Members of Parliament, ſent from the Houſe to pay him all marks of Favour and Honour. When he came to *Acton*, he was ſolemnly receiv'd by the Speaker and the reſt of the Members, and the Council of State; and after that by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, the Militia, and Thouſands of People, with Vollies of great and ſmall Shot, and loud Shouts and Acclamations. On the ſixteenth of *September* he took his Place in Parliament, where he had exceſſive Compliments from the Speaker in the Name of the Houſe; and was the ſame Day feaſted in the City of *London* with all poſſible State and Magnificence. After that two Acts were drawn up in Honour of him; ‘One for a Solemn Thankſgiving ‘Day, and another for an annual Obſervation of the third ‘Day of *September* in the three Kingdoms, with a Narrative of the Grounds thereof.’ Then for Rewards to the Officers, they ſettled a Thouſand Pounds a Year upon *Lambert*, five Hundred on *Reynolds*, three Hundred upon *Pride*, as much upon *Whalley*, and the ſame upon *Overton*. They alſo ſettled four Thouſand Pounds a Year upon the Lord General himſelf, out of the Eſtates of the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, beſides the two Thouſand five Hundred formerly granted to him: A large Reward for a Perſon, who, in the Beginning of the Parliament, was almoſt or altogether without any Eſtate. And two Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* was deſign'd for *Ireton*, then in *Ireland*. That Puniſhments might not be wanting, as well as Rewards, beſides the Earl of *Derby*, they beheaded Sir *Timothy Fetherſton-haugh* at *Cheſter*, and Captain *Brown Buſhell* at *London*, with ſeveral others. They had many Priſoners, both *Scots* and *Engliſh*, at their Mercy; but the two chief deſign'd for Sacrifice by *Cromwell* himſelf, *Middleton* and *Maſſey*, had the extraordinary good Fortune to eſcape out of the *Tower*. At length being a little ſatiated with Blood, an Amneſty, or Act of Oblivion was publiſh'd, but with many intricate Exceptions; which gave Hopes to ſuch who liv'd quietly and peaceably, of being in Time admitted to the Publick Employments in the Common-wealth.

Cromwell's *triumphant Return to* London.

His Meeting and Diſcourſe with ſeveral Officers *and others.*

It was not impolitick in theſe Republicans, to pretend to a Continuance of their Uſurpation, by endeavouring at laſt to allay the Heats and Hatred of all Parties. But their Precaution prov'd ineffectual; for an unexpected Adverſary of their Creation, ſtarting up amongſt themſelves, did as ſuddenly ſuppreſs them. This was *Cromwell* their General, whoſe particular Care was to improve all his Victories to his own Intereſt; and for this Purpoſe he deſired a Meeting with ſeveral Members of Parliament, and ſome chief Officers of the Army, at the Speaker's Houſe. Where, as *Whitelock*, one of the Number, informs us, he propos'd to them, ‘That now the old King being dead, ‘and his Son defeated, he held it neceſſary to come to a ‘Settlement of the Nation: In order to which he had requeſted this Meeting; that they together might conſider ‘and adviſe what was fit to be done, and to be preſented ‘to the Parliament.’ When the Speaker and Colonel *Harriſon* had deliver'd themſelves in general Expreſſions, *Whitelock*, who was thought to know *Cromwell*'s Mind, offer'd a Queſtion, ‘Whether the Settlement deſired ſhou'd ‘be by Way of an abſolute *Republick*, or with any mixture of *Monarchy*? Upon which *Cromwell* took the Hint, and anſwer'd, *My Lord Commiſſioner* Whitelock *hath put us upon the right Point; and indeed it is my Meaning, That we ſhou'd conſider whether a* Republick, *or a mixt* Monarchical Government *will be beſt to be ſettled; and if in any thing* Monarchical, *then in WHOM that Power ſhall be placed.* When he had heard Colonel *Deſborough* and *Whaley* on one Side declaring for a ſtrict Republick, and Sir *Thomas Widdrington* pleading for a mixt Monarchical Government, to be plac'd upon Terms in one of the King's Sons; *Cromwell* reply'd, *That will be a Buſineſs of more than ordinary Difficulty: But really I think, if it may be done with the Safety and Preſervation of our Rights, both as* Engliſhmen, *and as* Chriſtians, *that a Settlement with ſomewhat of MONARCHICAL Power in it, wou'd be very effectual.* In Concluſion, the Company parted without coming to any poſitive Determination; only *Cromwell* by this Meeting diſcover'd the Inclinations of the Perſons that ſpoke, which was a great Part of his Buſineſs, and of which he afterwards made a proper, and extraordinary Uſe.

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He cauſes the Parliament to limit Themſelves.

This aſpiring Man alſo made another Step towards his Deſigns, by artfully bringing the Houſe into a popular Vote, on the eighteenth of *November*, ‘That the Time ‘for Continuance of this preſent Parliament, beyond ‘which they reſolve not to ſit, ſhall be the third Day of ‘*November*, 1654.’ This politick Management help'd much to draw off the Eyes and Hearts of the People from a Parliament that was to have a certain Period, and fix'd them upon the General and his Army, the Diſſolution of whoſe Power was altogether uncertain. So that from this Time all Petitions, and other Applications, were made to the General and his Officers, and not to the Speaker and the Commons; who did little in the Remainder of this Year, beſides appointing a Committee ‘To conſider of ‘the Inconveniencies and Delays in the Proceedings of ‘Law:’ In which, one of the Council to this Committee tells us, That none of them was more active in the Buſineſs than *Hugh Peters* the Miniſter, who underſtood little of the Law, but was very opiniohative, and wou'd frequently mention ſome Proceedings of Law in *Holland*, wherein he was altogether miſtaken. This Committee for regulating the Law, preſented to a Committee of Parliament, to be reported to the Houſe, the Draughts of ſeveral Acts; as ‘1. For taking away *Fines* upon *Bills*, ‘*Declarations* and Original *Writs*. 2. Againſt cuſtomary Oaths of *Fealty* and *Homage* to Lords of Manors. 3. For taking away common *Recoveries*, and the ‘unneceſſary Charge of *Fines*, and to paſs and charge ‘Lands *Entailed*, as Lands in *Fee-Simple*. 4. For aſcertaining Arbitrary *Fines* upon *Deſcent*, and *Alienation* of ‘*Copyholds* of Inheritance. 5. For the more ſpeedy Recovery of Rents. 6. Touching *Pleaders*, and their ‘Fees. 7. For the more ſpeedy Regulating and eaſy Diſcovery of Debts and Damages, not exceeding four ‘Pounds, and under. 8. For *Marriages* to be made before Juſtices of the Peace.’

Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly *and* Man, *reduc'd.*

In the mean Time the Complaints of the *Engliſh* Merchants caus'd the Parliament to think of reducing to their Obedience the Iſlands of *Jerſey*, *Guernſey*, *Scilly*, and *Man*, which Places ſtill remain'd under the King's Command, and from whence his Frigats infeſted the *Engliſh* Coaſts. They had long ſince been Maſters of *Guernſey*, only the chief Fort call'd *Cornet*-Caſtle, ſituated in the Sea, and being reliev'd by Shipping from *France*, and the Neighbouring Iſles, was very long defended by *Roger Burges* the Governour; but finding all loſt, he ſurrender'd it on the latter End of *October* upon very good Articles. To *Jerſey* Colonel *Haynes* ſet Sail in the middle of *October*, with two Regiments of Foot, and four Troops of Horſe; and landing with ſome Oppoſition, ſoon got Poſſeſſion of the Iſland. There were two Caſtles in it almoſt impregnable; but nothing is ſo where Fear is predominant. *Mount Orgueil* made no Reſiſtance; and *Caſtle Elizabeth*, ſurrounded with Rocks and the Ocean, tho' it held out for a conſiderable Time, follow'd the Fate of the Iſland; Sir *George Cartaret* the Governour, having obtain'd Conditions for Himſelf to paſs into *France*, and Impunity for the Iſlanders that return'd to their Houſes. The *Scillys*, which were the chief Harbour for the King's Men of War, had ſome Time before been taken by a Part of the Parliament's Fleet, the ſtrong Caſtle upon the Iſle of St. *Mary*'s being likewiſe ſurrender'd upon Articles. Finally the Iſle of *Man*, hitherto kept by the Heroick Counteſs of *Derby*, who had ſo bravely defended *Lathom*-Houſe, clos'd this fatal Roll; by ſo much the more illuſtrious, as being the laſt, who fell in Defence of her King and her Country.

Monk's *Proceedings in* Scotland.

2. Such were the Succeſſes of the Common-wealth in *England*; which were no leſs in *Scotland*, where Major-General *Monk* obſerv'd the ſevere Rules that *Cromwell* had preſcrib'd to him, for the curbing of the unruly People of that Kingdom. At the Head of ſix Thouſand Men, he immediately march'd to that important Paſs of *Sterling*, the Caſtle of which was one of the ſtrongeſt, and moſt magnificent of any in *Scotland*. The Governor was Colonel *Cunningham*, who was ſo ſurpris'd at the ſudden Approach of the *Engliſh* Army, whoſe Strength he believ'd to be greater than it really was, that after a ſhort Siege, on the fourteenth of *Auguſt*, he ſurrender'd the Town and Caſtle, where the King's Royal Robes, the Sword, the Chair and Cloth of State, and all the Records of *Scotland*, were found and ſeiz'd, together with five Thouſand Arms, forty Pieces of Ordnance, and a great Store of Ammunition. Thus that Caſtle, on which King *James* had fix'd this lofty Inſcription, *HÆC NOBIS INVICTA TULERUNT CENTUM SEX PROAVI*, 1617, declaring it had in his Time remain'd unconquer'd during the Reign of a hundred and ſix

Kings, was yielded to the *Engliſh* in the Reign of his Grandſon.

His great Succeſſes.

Having gain'd this Advantage, *Monk* advanc'd directly to *Dundee*, to which Place the chief of the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, and many other Towns, had convey'd the beſt Part of their Moveables, as a ſecure Repoſitory, ſo that there were vaſt Riches and Spoils in the Town. Major *Lumſdain* was the Governor, who had a Garriſon of eight hundred effective Men, beſides ſome Companies of armed Inhabitants, by which he thought himſelf in ſo good a Condition, that when *Monk* ſent him a Summons, he return'd a very ſlighting Anſwer. Upon which that General regularly inveſted the Town: But at his firſt Appearance there, hearing that old General *Leſley*, and ſeveral of the Lords of *Scotland* were met at *Ellet*, fourteen Miles diſtant, to raiſe Soldiers for the Relief of the Place, he ſent *Alured* and *Morgan*, with a thouſand Horſe and Dragoons to diſturb the Levies, privately leaving the chief Management of the Deſign to the latter, who was his Confident, and moſt proper for the Service. Theſe march'd carefully in the Night, and took *Scotch* Guides to conduct them to the Town, and by the Help of ſome few of their Soldiers who had revolted to the *Engliſh*, they made ſuch Feints in their March, that the Country took them for Part of their own Forces moving towards *Ellet*; ſo that about three in the Morning they were got undiſcover'd beyond the Town, into which they march'd with little or no Reſiſtance, and took three hundred Noblemen, Gentlemen and Miniſters, with about ſeventy of their Servants; the chief of which were General *Leſley*, the Earl *Marſhal*, the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lords *Leith*, *Ogilby*, *Burgenny*, *Hume* and *Lee*, with many other Knights, and Gentlemen of Note. Theſe were all ſhipp'd off for *London*; only old *Leſley*, putting in at *Newcaſtle*, was by the Favour of Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* the Governor, permitted to ſtay in *Northumberland* with one *De-la-val* his Son-in-law, upon Promiſe to be a true Priſoner. By this Means *Monk* had prevented all Poſſibility of Diſturbance in his Siege; and ſeeing he cou'd not by fair Words prevail with the Governor to yield up the Town, tho' he knew the Surpriſe of *Ellet* had cut off all Hope of Relief, on the firſt of *September* he took it by Storm, and put the whole Garriſon to the Sword. The Governor with ſome few for a while ſav'd themſelves in a Steeple, but were ſmother'd out by the burning of wet Straw, and then they yielded on Mercy to one Captain *Kelly*, who was carrying him to the General to intercede for his Life upon the Account of his gallant Defence, but as he was going with him, one Major *Butler* barbarouſly ſhot him dead. They took ſixty Sail of Ships in the Harbour, and a very rich Booty, ſo that ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Common Soldiers got five hundred Pounds a Man.

Scotland *reduc'd, and the People, in a manner, enſlav'd.*

This Example ſtruck ſuch a Terror, that St. *Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, *Dunbarton* and *Dunnoter* Caſtles, with other Towns, Caſtles and ſtrong Places, either voluntarily ſubmitted, or ſurrender'd upon Summons. Yet the *Scots* made one Attempt more under *Middleton*, *Huntley*, *Glencarne*, and other *Highlanders*; but they were not long after ſuppreſs'd by the Valour and Vigilance of Colonel *Morgan*; ſo that the *Engliſh* carry'd on their Conqueſts in all Parts of the Kingdom, even to the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Shetland*. For the better ſecuring of which, four ſtrong Citadels were erected in four Principal Parts of the Country, at *Leith*, *Ayre*, *Inverneſs* and *St. Johnſton*. And beſides thoſe of *Edinburgh* and *Sterling*, in every County they kept a Garriſon in ſome Caſtle or other, that if any new Rebellion ſhou'd ariſe, they might have immediate Opportunity to ſuppreſs it. New Judicatures and Courts of Juſtice were now open'd in *Scotland*; a *Council of State* was alſo made up of *Engliſh*, not of the beſt Quality, who were match'd by ſome *Scots* mingled with them; and in every Shire a Meeting was call'd, in which, with a Renunciation of the King, they were oblig'd to ſubſcribe to the *Engliſh* Government, and to be Subjects to one Common-wealth. And at length they were allow'd to ſend thirty Commiſſioners to the Parliament of *England*; and this was ſo manag'd, that they were almoſt all *Engliſh*, ſcarce any of that Nation being permitted to ſit there, beſides the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, and the Laird of *Swinton*. The Uſe of Arms was likewiſe deny'd to that Nation, and alſo of Horſes, except only for ſome neceſſary Ends and Uſes. Beſides, their Commerce and Negotiations with Foreigners were narrowly watch'd and inſpected, leſt under that Pretext they might form ſome Miſchief againſt the Common-wealth of *England*. Their *Kirk* was deſpis'd, and their Idol *Covenant* trampled upon; and as to their great and honourable Records of the Kingdom, they were attended by a particular Fatality; for being after the Reſtoration order'd to be ſent back to *Scotland*, the Ship that carry'd them was caſt away, and ſo they were irrecoverably loſt in the bottom of the Sea. So much did they gain by their ſeditious and ungovernable Spirits, and their infamous Bargains and Rewards made with, and receiv'd from, their Brethren in *England*; ſo that they now found their own Proverb providentially verify'd, *One was the Day of the Account, but Another of the Pay.*

The Death and Character of Lieutenant-General Ireton.

3. The Succeſs of the *Engliſh* Common-wealth was no leſs in *Ireland*, where Perfidiouſneſs and Barbarity had reach'd to the moſt flagrant Degree. *Ireton* was the Chief Commander there, who carry'd on and purſu'd his bloody Chaſtiſement through innumerable Oppoſitions. After he had taken ſeveral Places, given Articles to ſome, and made Examples of others, he undertook the ſtrong City of *Limerick*, which, tho' well garriſon'd and provided, being weaken'd with Diſſenſions, the preſent Bane of that Kingdom, it ſurrender'd upon Articles; the Garriſon being allow'd to march out without their Arms, leaving four and twenty of the Principal in it to Mercy. Of theſe, the Biſhop of *Fearn*, and ſeveral others active in the firſt Part of the Rebellion, were hang'd as a Terror to all Traytors. This Victory was no leſs fatal to this terrible Conqueror, who here got the Plague, and dy'd raving on the 26th of *November*; the chief Command of whoſe Army at preſent devolv'd upon Colonel *Ludlow*, a Man every way bold and daring, to whom three more Collegues were afterwards aſſociated. *Ireton* was a Man bred up to the Law, of a Nature active and vigilant, proud, fierce and immoveable; of a melancholick, reſerv'd and dark Temper, who communicated his Thoughts to very few; ſo that he moſtly reſolv'd by himſelf, but was never diverted from his Reſolution; and was often thought by his Obſtinacy to prevail over his Father-in-law *Cromwell*, and to extort his Concurrence contrary to his Inclinations. But that, ſays the noble Hiſtorian, proceeded only from his *diſſembling leſs*; for he was never reſerv'd in the owning and communicating his worſt and moſt barbarous Purpoſes, which the other always *conceal'd* and *diſavow'd*. It was generally conceiv'd that he was a Man ſo radically averſe to Monarchy, and ſo true to a Common-wealth, that if he had liv'd, he wou'd by ſome Means have prevented thoſe Exceſſes in *Cromwell*, or publickly declared againſt them, and carry'd the greateſt Part of the Army with him; and that *Cromwell*, who beſt knew his Thoughts and Temper, had therefore remov'd him into *Ireland*, that he might be freed from his Counſels or Importunities, when he ſhou'd find it neceſſary to put off his Mask. His Juſtice and Integrity have been highly extoll'd by *Ludlow*, and ſome others, but none can vindicate his ſanguinary Proceedings; for no one had been more deeply involv'd in the Blood of the Nation, and alſo in that of his Sovereign, than himſelf. His Death was like his Life, and he expired with the Word in his Mouth, in his raving Fits crying out, *I will have more Blood, Blood, Blood!* as Sir *Philip Warwick* tells us from one that was preſent. His Death was a great Loſs to the *Engliſh* Republick, who to ſhew their Gratitude for his many Services, caus'd his Body to be brought into *England*, and, being firſt laid in State in *Somerſet*-Houſe, to be interr'd at *Weſtminſter*, among the Kings of *England*, with a Pomp and Magnificence ſuitable to the moſt exalted State in the Nation.

The Death of Dr. Steuart.

Dr. Collins.

Mr G. Walker.

Mr. C. Walker.

Beſides this great Republican, there dy'd this Year ſeveral conſiderable Men that ought to be remember'd; of whom we ſhall mention two Church of *England* Divines, two Presbyterians, one Judge, one Civilian, one Phyſician, and an Architect. The firſt was Dr. *Richard Steuart*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, and Provoſt of *Eaton* College, a Man celebrated both for his Loyalty and his Learning; who ſuffer'd much in the Beginning of the Rebellion, and at length loſing all, he retir'd into *France*, where at *Paris* he became a notable Champion for the *Proteſtant* Cauſe, and the *Engliſh* Reformation, and dy'd ſoon after the King's Eſcape into *France*, much lamented both by his Majeſty himſelf, and many others, who were ſenſible of his Virtues and Piety. The next was Dr. *Samuel Collins*, Provoſt of King's College in *Cambridge*, and *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity in that Univerſity, who for above forty Years fill'd the venerable Chair with the higheſt Reputation and Glory; ſhewing an admirable Command both of Senſe and Language, not only to the Confutation of all Opponents, but alſo to the Converſion of many Papiſts and other Diſſenters: Being a firm Loyaliſt, he loſt his Provoſtſhip; but none being thought proper to ſucceed him in the Chair, he continu'd that Preferment to the Day of his Death. The two Presbyterians were Mr. *George Walker*, and Mr. *Clement Walker*: The former was educated Batchellor of Divinity in St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*, where he attain'd to be well ſkill'd in the Oriental Tongues, and to become an excellent Logician, and Theologiſt: He became very much noted for his Diſputations with the Jeſuit *Fiſher*, and others of the *Romiſh* Church, and afterwards for his ſtrict *Sabbatarian* Principles, his munificent Diſpoſition, and his publick Behaviour in that call'd *The Aſſembly of Divines*. The other, Mr. *Clement Walker*,

was

1651.
Car. 3.

Lord-Keeper Lane,

Sir Thomas Ryves,

Dr. Turner,

And Mr. Jones.

was a celebrated Gentleman of *Dorſetſhire*, and a Member of the Long-Parliament, well skill'd in Law and Politicks; an inſeparable Friend of the violent Mr. *Prynne*, often mention'd, and a ſtrenuous Champion for the *Preſbyterian* Faction againſt that of the *Independents*, whoſe Hiſtory he wrote with unuſual Sharpneſs and Severity: For which, and other Writings, he was by *Cromwell*'s Power committed to Priſon, where he dy'd, after he had ſeen all his fine Projects defeated, and himſelf a ſeven thouſand Pounds Loſer in his Eſtate. The Judge was Sir *Richard Lane*, a very worthy Perſon of the Law, who gain'd much Reputation in his Pleadings in a dangerous Time for the Earl of *Strafford*, and who afterwards was made one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and laſtly had the Great-Seal given him: But he had but ſmall Enjoyment of it; being, after many Services for the unfortunate King his Maſter, forc'd to retire to the Iſle of *Jerſey*, where he finiſh'd his troubleſome Life. The Civilian was Sir *Thomas Ryves*, and Doctor of the Faculty, Advocate to the late King, a Maſter of all polite Learning, and eminent for his Skill both in the Common, as well as the Civil Law: Upon the late Troubles he became ingag'd in the Cauſe of the King, both in his Treaties and Battels; in the latter of which, notwithſtanding his Age, he ſignaliz'd his Valour, and receiv'd ſeveral Wounds; and after many Sufferings, both in his Eſtate and Perſon, he left the World in Peace and Honour. The Phyſician was Dr. *Peter Turner*, a Perſon not only eminent in his own Faculty, but admirably acquainted with all Kinds of Learning, being an exact Linguiſt, a compleat Mathematician, perfectly read in the Fathers and Councils, a moſt curious Critick, a Politician, a Stateſman, *&c.* He was both Profeſſor of *Greſham* College in *London*, and Geometry Profeſſor in *Oxford* Univerſity, and in the flouriſhing Part of the late Reign, was offer'd great Places in the State, which he modeſtly declin'd; and laſtly, after many Troubles and Sufferings for the Royal Cauſe, he dy'd in great Obſcurity, in a poor Place in *Southwark*. The laſt Perſon Perſon, was Mr. *Inigo Jones*, the moſt excellent Architect that the Nation had ever ſeen; who was educated by *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, at whoſe generous Charge he travell'd much abroad, eſpecially into *Italy*, and ſtudy'd at home, till he became highly in Favour with the late King, Queen, and all the Nobility, for his incomparable Skill, which he ſignally diſplay'd in the *Banqueting-Houſe*, *Covent-Garden*, and other laſting Monuments of his rare Abilities and Perfections.

1652.
Car. 4.

An Embaſſy ſent into Holland.

A Rupture between the two Common-Wealths.

IX. 1. And now for the new Common-Wealth of *England*, as the Rulers were great at home, ſo they became formidable abroad; being acknowledg'd by all, courted by ſome, and eſteemed as very conſiderable by ſuch as had leaſt Affection for them. Before they had intirely reduc'd either *Scotland* or *Ireland*, which were both compleated this Year, they exerted themſelves in Foreign Affairs, and particularly againſt the elder Common-Wealth, the States of *Holland*, and became a Scourge to thoſe whoſe Aſſiſtance they had formerly begg'd, and whoſe Alliance had too much contributed to their Greatneſs. The Beginning of which Conteſt aroſe the laſt Year, when the Parliament had ſent over their Chief-Juſtice *Saint-John* and Mr. *Strickland*, as their Ambaſſadors with great Pomp, 'to invite the States into a ſtricter Alliance with them, 'and to a Coalition or Incorporation of the two Nations 'into one.' They were receiv'd in *Holland* with all imaginable Reſpect, and as high Expreſſions made 'of an equal Deſire that a firm Union might be eſtabliſh'd between the two Common-Wealths:' For the forming of which, Perſons were appointed to treat with the Ambaſſadors; which was look'd upon as a Matter that would eaſily ſucceed, ſince the Prince of *Orange* was dead, who wou'd have given powerful Obſtructions in ſuch Caſes. In this Treaty, *Saint-John*, the known Confident of *Cromwell*, and commonly call'd his *Dark Lanthorn*, preſs'd ſuch a kind of Union as would have diſunited them from all their other Allies; ſo that for the Friendſhip of *England*, they muſt loſe that of other Princes, and alſo many other Advantages in Trade, which they ſaw the younger and more powerful Common-Wealth wou'd in a ſhort Time wreſt out of their Hands. This cou'd not be digeſted by the States, who us'd all Methods to divert them from inſiſting upon ſuch unreaſonable Conditions, and made many large Overtures and Conceſſions, which they had never granted to the greateſt Kings, were willing to quit ſome Advantages they had enjoy'd by all the Treaties with the Crown of *England*, and to yield other conſiderable Benefits, which before they had ever refus'd to grant. But this wou'd not ſatisfy *Saint-John*'s haughty Spirit, nor wou'd the Ambaſſadors recede from any Particular they had propos'd: So that after ſome Months Stay, during which Time they receiv'd many Affronts from ſome *Engliſh* and others, they return'd with great Preſents from the States, but without any Effect from the Treaty, or entering into any Terms of Alliance, and with the extream Indignation of *Saint-John*, which he manifeſted as ſoon as he return'd to the Parliament.

The Parliament likewiſe thinking themſelves not ſufficiently valu'd, immediately enter'd upon Counſels how they might abridge the Trade of *Holland*, and encreaſe their own. Hereupon they made a new Law, commonly call'd *The Act of Navigation*, 'which inhibits all Foreign 'Ships from bringing in any Merchandiſe or Commodities 'into *England*, but ſuch as were the Proceed or Growth 'of their own Country, upon the Penalty of Forfeiture 'of all ſuch Ships.' This indeed concern'd all other Countries; but in Effect it totally ſuppreſs'd all Trade with *Holland*, which had very little Merchandiſe of the Growth of their own Country, but had made it their Buſineſs to bring hither in their Ships, the Growth of all other Kingdoms in the World; from which Benefit they were now excluded. Beſides, the *Engliſh* by Virtue of this Law, often took Occaſion to ſearch the *Dutch* Veſſels, and frequently to make Prize of them. Upon which the States of *Holland* ſent over four Ambaſſadors to pacify the Parliament, who expoſtulated this Matter very warmly, 'as a Breach of Commerce and Amity, which could not 'conſiſt with the Peace between the two Nations; and 'that their Maſters could not look upon it otherwiſe than 'a Declaration of War.' The Parliament ſuperciliouſly anſwer'd them, 'That their Maſters might take it in what 'Manner they pleas'd; but that they knew what was beſt 'for their own State, and wou'd not repeal Laws to gratify their Neighbours.' Moreover they demanded of them, 'the Arrears for the *Dutch* Fiſhing upon the Coaſts of '*England* and *Scotland*; that the Survivers of thoſe who 'were aſſiſting in the Maſſacre of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna* 'ſhould be deliver'd up to Juſtice; and that the *Engliſh* 'might have a free Trade in the *Schelde*, from *Middleburgh* 'to *Antwerp*.

Orders given to the Dutch *Ships.*

The States now fully perceiv'd, that they had help'd to raiſe an Enemy that was able to overpower them, and that would not treat them, or be treated, like the Crown of *England*. Yet ſtill they could not believe it poſſible, that in the Infancy of their Republick, and when their Government was ſo odious to all the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, and their Taxes ſo heavy upon the whole Body of the Nation, the Parliament would venture to increaſe the preſent Impoſitions for the Support of their Land Armies, to maintain a new War at Sea, of ſuch vaſt Hazard and Conſequence; and therefore they conceiv'd that they only made a Shew of this Courage, to amuſe and terrify their Neighbours. However, in the Spring they ſet out a Fleet ſtronger than of Courſe they us'd to do; but this gave no Allarm to *England*, whoſe Naval Power had been ſo well encreas'd in the late King's Reign, as to fear no Foreign Invaſion. The Rulers never ſuſpected that the *Dutch* durſt enter into a War with them, or that they were willing to undertake it; eſpecially ſince ſeveral of their States were really devoted to them. And therefore they encreas'd not their Expence, but at the Seaſon they ſent out their uſual Fleet for the Guard of the Coaſts, and without any new and particular Inſtructions. But the Council of the Admiralty of *Holland*, who govern'd the Maritime Affairs, without Communication with the States General, gave their Inſtructions to their famous Admiral *Van Tromp*, 'That when he met with any of the *Engliſh* 'Men of War, he ſhou'd not ſtrike to them, nor ſhew 'them any other Reſpect than what they receiv'd; and if 'any of the *Engliſh* ſhou'd complain, they ſhou'd freely 'anſwer, *That the Reſpect they had formerly ſhewn upon* '*thoſe Occaſions, was becauſe the Ships belong'd to the King,* '*and for the good Intelligence they had with the Crown;* '*but they had no Reaſon to continue the ſame in this Change* '*of Government, without ſome Stipulation for that Purpoſe;* 'And if this Anſwer did not ſatisfy, but that Force was 'us'd towards them, they ſhou'd defend themſelves with 'their utmoſt Vigour.' Theſe Inſtructions were very ſecret, and never imagin'd by the *Engliſh* Commanders; who had their old Inſtructions to oblige all Foreign Veſſels to ſtrike Sail to them, which no Nation had ever refus'd; this being call'd *The Honour of the FLAGG.*

2. In the Month of *May* began the firſt Acts of Hoſtility; a little before which, our Chroniclers tell us of ſeveral Diſaſters and Prodigies, and particularly Sea-Fights ſeen in the Air at Noon Day, with *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Colours, at the Mouth of the *Maes*, as ſo many diſmal Prognoſticks of a new and bloody War. In the Beginning of the Month, the *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of forty two Sail, under the Command of *Van Tromp*, rode at Anchor in *Dover* Road, being driven, as they alledg'd, by a ſtrong Wind from the Coaſt of *Flanders*; when the *Engliſh* Fleet, *The firſt Sea Fight between the* Engliſh *and the* Dutch.

much leſs in Number, appear'd in View, *May* the 19th, under the Command of Admiral *Blake*. Whereupon the *Dutch* weigh'd Anchor, and put out to Sea, without ſtriking the Flag; which *Blake* obſerving, gave him three Guns without any Ball. It was obſerv'd, that at the very ſame Time an Expreſs Ketch from *Holland* came on Board their Admiral; and it was believ'd that he had then receiv'd more poſitive Orders to fight. For in the ſame Inſtant, he tack'd about, and bore directly upon the *Engliſh* Fleet, and *Blake*'s three Guns were no ſooner fired, but in Contempt of the Notice, he diſcharg'd a ſingle Gun, and hung out a red Flag; and coming up to that Admiral, he pour'd in a Broad Side upon him, kill'd many of his Men, and damnify'd his Ship. Upon which *Blake*, tho' altogether ſurpris'd, immediately gave him the like rude Salutation; and ſo both Fleets were forthwith engag'd in a very fierce Encounter; which continu'd for the Space of four Hours, till parted by the Night, after the Loſs of much Blood on both Sides. The *Dutch* loſt two Ships, of which one was ſunk, and the other taken, with both the Captains, and near two Hundred Priſoners. On the *Engliſh* Side, there were many ſlain, and more wounded, but no Ship loſt, nor Officer of Note. And thus the War inſenſibly began, before it was ſuſpected in *England*.

The Dutch *Meſſage.*

The Engliſh *Anſwer.*

With what Views ſoever the *Dutch* had undertaken this ſudden Enterpriſe, it ſoon appear'd they had taken ill Meaſures of the Affections of the People. For the News of this Conflict was no ſooner arriv'd in *Holland*, but there was a general Conſternation among all Sorts of Men; and the States themſelves were ſo much concern'd at it, that with all Expedition they diſpatch'd two extraordinary Ambaſſadors into *England*; by whom they proteſted, 'That the late unhappy Engagement between the two Fleets of the two Common-wealths had hapned without their Knowledge, and contrary to the Intention of the Lords the States-General: That they receiv'd the fatal Tidings of ſo raſh an Attempt and Action, with Amazement and Aſtoniſhment; and that they had immediately enter'd into Conſultation, how they might beſt cloſe this freſh bleeding Wound, and to avoid the farther Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, ſo much deſir'd by the Enemies of both States: And therefore they moſt earneſtly deſir'd them, by their mutual Concurrence in Religion, and by their mutual Love of Liberty, that nothing might be done with Heat and Paſſion, which would widen the Breach; but that they might ſpeedily receive ſuch an Anſwer, as there might be no farther Obſtruction to the Commerce of both Common-wealths.' To which this Anſwer was preſently return'd to them, 'That the Civility which they had always ſhew'd towards the States of the United Provinces was ſo notorious, that nothing was more ſtrange than the ill Return they had made to them: That the extraordinary Preparations they had made of a hundred and fifty Ships, without any apparent Neceſſity, and the Inſtructions they had given to their Sea-Officers, had given too much Cauſe to believe, that the Lords the States-General had a Purpoſe to uſurp the known Right which the *Engliſh* have to the Seas, and to deſtroy their Fleets, which, under the Protection of the Almighty, are their Walls and Bulwarks; ſo that they might be expos'd to the Invaſion of any Powerful Enemy: Therefore they thought Themſelves oblig'd to endeavour, by God's Aſſiſtance, to ſeek Reparation for the Injuries and Damage they had already receiv'd, and to prevent the like for the future: However they wou'd never be without an Intention and Deſire, that ſome effectual Means might be found to eſtabliſh a good Peace and Union, and right Underſtanding between the two Nations.

The Second Sea-Fight.

With this imperious Anſwer they vigorouſly proſecuted their Revenge, and order'd *Blake* immediately to ſail to the Northward, it being then the Seaſon of the Year for the great Fiſheries of the *Dutch* upon the Coaſts of *Scotland*, and the Iſles of *Orkney*; where he now found their Multitude of Fiſhing-Boats, guarded by twelve Men of War; moſt of which, with all the Fiſh they had taken, he brought away with him as good Prize. About the ſame Time Sir *George Ayſcough*, being juſt return'd from the *Weſt-Indies*, where he had reduc'd *Barbadoes* and other Places, was ſent with another Part of the Fleet to the *South*; who preſently met with thirty Sail of their Merchants between *Dover* and *Calais*; a conſiderable Part of which he took, or ſunk, and forc'd the reſt to run on Shoar upon the Coaſt of *France*. From thence he ſtood Weſtward; and on the 16th of *Auguſt*, near *Plymouth*, with thirty Sail of Men of War, he engag'd the whole *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of ſixty Ships of War, and thirty Merchant Men, under the Command of *De Ruyter*. It was near four in the Afternoon when both Fleets began to engage, ſo that the Night quickly parted them; yet not before two of the *Holland* Men of War were ſunk, and moſt of the Men loſt. The *Dutch* in that Action applying themſelves chiefly to ruin the Tackling and Sails of the *Engliſh*, they found ſuch good Succeſs, that the next Morning they were not able to give them further Chace, till their Sails and Rigging cou'd be repaired. But ſcarce a Day paſs'd without the taking and bringing in many valuable *Dutch* Ships into the Ports of *England*; which, having begun their Voyages before any Notice given to them of the War, were haſtning home without any Fear of their Security: So that now, there being no Hope of Peace by the Mediation of their Ambaſſadors, who could not prevail in any Thing they propos'd, they return'd; and the War was proclaim'd, as well as proſecuted, on both Sides.

The King's Offer to the Dutch.

The French *ſue to the* Engliſh.

3. The King, then at *Paris*, finding Things in this Manner come to an open Rupture between the two Nations, thought this a proper Seaſon to interpoſe, and that if he himſelf was on Board the *Dutch* Fleet, he might occaſion the Revolt of many of the *Engliſh*, who he believ'd had engag'd Themſelves chiefly to gain an Opportunity of ſerving Him. Upon which he made a particular Offer to the *Dutch* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, to join Intereſts with his Maſters, and venture his Perſon in the *Dutch* Fleet; which Propoſal was indeed magnify'd in *Holland*, as a moſt generous Offer, but, chiefly by the Intereſt of the Penſioner *De Wit*, it was laid aſide by a Majority of Voices; they deſiring nothing more than to make Peace upon any Conditions. Nor can it appear very ſtrange that the *Dutch* made Shew of ſo much Flegm in this Affair, when the very Choler and Pride of the *French*, about the ſame Time, was ſo humbled by the over-ruling Spirit of the *Engliſh*, that tho' they took their Ships every Day, and made them Prize, and had lately ſeiz'd upon their whole Fleet that was going to the Relief of *Dunkirk*, by which means that Place fell into the Hands of the *Spaniard*; yet the *Frenth* cou'd not be provok'd to be angry with them, or to expreſs any Inclination to the King; but ſent an Ambaſſador, which they had not done till this Time, to expoſtulate civilly with the Parliament for having been ſo *Unneighbourly*, but in reality to deſire their Friendſhip upon what Terms they pleas'd; the Cardinal fearing nothing ſo much, as that the *Spaniard* wou'd make ſuch a Conjunction with the new Common-wealth, as ſhou'd diſappoint and break all his great Deſigns.

The Third Sea-Fight.

In the mean Time the War was carry'd on with great Fury and Vigour by the two Common-wealths; every Engagement becoming more fierce and bloody than the former. On the *Dutch* Side, *Van Tromp*, upon ſome Diſcontent, deſir'd to leave his Charge and retire; upon which *De Wit* was appointed in his Place, to whom *De Ruyter* was join'd in Commiſſion. Theſe two Commanders us'd all Expedition in getting their Fleet to Sea, and in *October* they appear'd not far from the *Kentiſh* Coaſt. *Blake* upon Notice of it haſtned with his Fleet towards them, having been on the Weſtern Coaſt to convoy ſome Merchant Ships homewards, and taken in his Way five *Dutch Eaſt-India* Ships of great Value, and ſix *Streights* Men worth two hundred thouſand Pounds. He divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, one commanded by Himſelf, the other by *Pen* the Vice-Admiral, and the third by Rear-Admiral *Bourn*; and on the 28th Day of *October* the Third Fight began between the two Rival States, and was continu'd for ſome Time with vaſt Thunderings and Bravery on both Sides. The Rear-Admiral of the *Dutch* was boarded and taken, and two more of their Ships were ſunk, and one blown up, ſo that *De Wit* thought it beſt to give over the Conflict, and by plying his Sails to get off; being purſu'd by the *Engliſh* Fleet within twelve Leagues of the *Maes*, and he, with the Remainder of his torn and ſhatter'd Ships, came into *Goree*. The *Engliſh* preſerv'd all their Ships, tho' many of them were much batter'd, and *Blake* came in much Triumph into the *Downs*. The *Dutch* were much afflicted with the Loſs of this Battel, which was by *De Wit* imputed to the Cowardiſe of ſome of his Commanders, and the Advantage of the *Engliſh* Ships over them, both in Number and Strength. But the *Engliſh* had had not ſuch good Succeſs in the *Levant*, where Captain *Bodily* with four or five *Engliſh* Frigots was ſet upon by *Van Galen*, who there commanded a Fleet of ſixteen *Dutch* Men of War; in which Encounter the *Phœnix* was taken by the *Dutch*, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* were forc'd to retire under the Protection of the Port of *Leghorn*: But *Van Galen* bought this Victory with the Loſs of his Life, and the *Phœnix* was ſhortly after regain'd by the Valour and Policy of Captain *Cox*, a former Lieutenant to the ſame Ship.

Both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, in the Beginning of the War, had ſent to the *Swedes* and *Danes* to invite them to their Party, becauſe the Materials for Shipping came from thoſe Princes Dominions: The *Swedes* were compliant with the *Engliſh*, and their Queen ſent an *Ambaſſador* for that Purpoſe; but the *Danes* declar'd againſt them, and for the States of *Holland*; and their King likewiſe ſent a Meſſage to them, ‘That he was ready to aſſiſt them with twenty good Ships of War, provided they would re-eſtabliſh *Van Tromp* in his late Employment as Admiral.’ This Offer was willingly embrac'd, and that great Commander prevail'd with to reaſſume his former Charge. He was very ambitious to give new Proofs of his Courage by ſome valiant Enterpriſe; and to that Purpoſe having got together eighty Men of War, and ten Fire-Ships, he made directly to the Back-ſide of the *Goodwin*, near the Place where the laſt Battel was fought. *Blake* was in the *Downs* with few more than forty Sail; but however was reſolv'd not to decline an Engagement, and therefore mov'd forwards to meet the *Dutch* Fleet. On the 29th Day of *November*, the Fourth Battel began, which laſted with great Fury, Terror and Confuſion, from two in the Afternoon, till ſix in the Evening. Here the two brave Admirals exerted all their Courage and Abilities: The *Triumph*, in which *Blake* himſelf commanded, with the *Victory* and *Vauntguard*, bore moſt of the Diſtreſs, being engag'd at one Time with twenty of the *Dutch* Ships; and tho' it was long doubted on which Side Fortune would decline, yet at laſt the Numbers of the *Dutch* drew it on their Side, with the Loſs of the *Garland* and *Bonaventure* which were taken, and one that was burnt, and three ſunk; and indeed if the Night had not been favourable to the *Engliſh* Retreat, the whole Fleet might have been in much Danger. The *Dutch* bought this Victory very dear, for they loſt many Men, and one of their Flag-Ships was blown up, and all the Seamen and Soldiers loſt; and the Ships of *Van Tromp* and *De Ruyter* were exceedingly damag'd. *Blake*, after this Defeat, drew his ſhatter'd Fleet into the *Thames* to be repaired; and it is ſaid, that *Van Tromp* triumphantly ſail'd through the *Channel* with a Broom on his Main-Top-Maſt, pretending to ſweep the *Channel* of all *Engliſh* Veſſels.

The Fourth Sea-Fight.

Cromwell *his Deſigns.*

4. During the Tranſactions of this bloody War abroad, *Cromwell* was exerciſing his Skill, and projecting how to compleat his ambitious Deſigns at home. He was no great Promoter of this War, which was likely to divert his Deſigns, and aggrandize the Common-wealth, if it met with any Succeſs; and he ſeem'd to have been led into it, principally to gratify his great Friend *Saint-John*, who muſt of Neceſſity be oblig'd. He daily found and perceiv'd the vaſt Expence of the War; and well knew, that all Parties, Friends and Foes, *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, *Levellers*, were all united in promoting it; which, he judg'd, could proceed from nothing ſo much, as that the Exceſs of the Expence might make it neceſſary to diſband a great Part of the Land-Army, to ſupport the Naval Power, which they could not now be without. He had full Authority in the One, but he had little or no Intereſt to place his own Creatures in the Fleet; all the Officers there being ſtill nominated and appointed ſolely by the Parliament. Therefore he had nothing more to do, but to make one bold Puſh, and maſter the Parliament it ſelf, and ſo diſſolve the Common-wealth.

A private Conference between him and White-lock.

Upon this nice Juncture he firſt took an Opportunity to adviſe and diſcourſe with Commiſſioner *Whitelock*, how to maintain all Things in Order and Obedience; between whom there paſs'd a remarkable Conference: After ſome general and inſinuating Talk, *Cromwell* put this ſhort Queſtion, *What if a Man ſhould take upon him to be King?* The other anſwer'd, *I think that Remedy wou'd be worſe than the Diſeaſe.* Upon asking him *Why he thought ſo?* the Commiſſioner proceeded, *As to your own Perſon, the Title of KING wou'd be of no Advantage, becauſe you have the full* Kingly Power *in you already; concerning the Militia, as you are General. As to the Nomination of* Civil Officers, *thoſe whom you think fitteſt are ſeldom refus'd; and tho' you have no Negative Vote in the Paſſing of* Laws, *yet what you diſlike will not eaſily be carry'd; and the* Taxes *are already ſettled, and in your Power to diſpoſe the Mony rais'd. As to* Foreign Affairs, *tho' the Ceremonial Application be made to the Parliament, yet the Expectation of good or bad Succeſs in it, is from your* Excellency; *and particular Sollicitations of Foreign Miniſters are made to you only. So that I apprehend indeed leſs Envy and Danger and Pomp, but not leſs Power and real Opportunity of doing Good, in your being* General, *than it wou'd be if you had aſſum'd the Title of* King. *Cromwell* proceeded to argue, *That whoever was actually King by* Election, *the Acts done by him were as lawful and juſtifiable, as if done by a King who had the Crown by* Inheritance; *and that by an Act of Parliament in* Henry *the Seventh's Reign, it was ſafer for the People to act under a King, let his Title be what it will, than under any other Power.* The Commiſſioner agreed to the *Legality*, but much queſtion'd the *Expediency* of it; and being particularly ask'd concerning the *Danger* of it, he anſwer'd thus, *The Danger I think would be this: One of the main Points of Controverſy between us and our Adverſaries, is, ‘Whether the Government of this Nation ſhall be eſtabliſh'd in* Monarchy, *or in a* Common-wealth?’ *and moſt of our Friends have engag'd with us upon the Hopes of having the Government ſettled in the* Latter; *and to effect that, have undergone all their Hazards and Difficulties. They being perſuaded,* tho' I think much miſtaken, *that under the Government of a* Common-wealth, *they ſhall enjoy more Liberty and Right, both as to the* Spiritual *and* Civil *Concerns, than they ſhall under* Monarchy, *the Preſſures and Diſlikes whereof are ſo freſh in their Memories and Sufferings. Now if your Excellency will take upon you the Title of* King, *this State of your Caſe will be wholly determin'd, and* Monarchy *eſtabliſh'd in your Perſon; and the Queſtion will be no more, ‘Whether our Government ſhall be by a* Monarch, *or by a* Free-State;’ *but* ‘*Whether* CROMWELL *or* STUART *ſhall be our King and Monarch?’ And that Queſtion, wherein before ſo great Parties of the Nation were engag'd, and which was* Univerſal, *will by this Means become a* private *Controverſy only. Before it was* National, ‘*What* Kind *of Government we ſhall have?’ Now it will become particular, ‘Who ſhall be our Governor, whether the* STUARTS, *or the Family of the* CROMWELLS?’ *Thus the State of our Controverſy being totally chang'd, all thoſe many who were for a* Common-Wealth, *having their Hopes therein fruſtrate, will deſert you; your Hands will be weakened, your Intereſt ſtraitned, and your Cauſe in apparent Danger to be ruin'd.* Here *Cromwell* confeſs'd he ſpoke Reaſon, and deſir'd to know if he cou'd find any other Expedient. *Whitelock*, after ſuggeſting the Dangers he was in from his own Officers, and from the Parliament, who were plotting to bring him down, or to leſſen his Authority, proceeded thus; *Permit me, Sir, in the next Place, a little to conſider the Condition of the King of* Scots. *This Prince, being now by your Valour, and the Succeſs which God has given to the Parliament, reduc'd to a very low Condition, both he, and all about him, cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any* Terms, *whereby their loſt Hopes may be reviv'd of his being reſtor'd to the Crown, and they to their Fortunes and native Country. By a private Treaty with him, you may ſecure your ſelf, and your Friends, and their Fortunes: You may make your ſelf and Poſterity as great and permanent, to all Human Probability, as ever any Subject was, and provide for your Friends: You may put ſuch Limits to* Monarchical *Power, as will ſecure our* Spiritual *and* Civil *Liberties; and you may ſecure the* Cauſe *in which we are all ingag'd: And this may be effectually done, by having the Power of the* Militia *continu'd in your ſelf, and whom you ſhall agree upon after you. I propound therefore for your Excellency to ſend to the King of* Scots, *and to have a private Treaty with him for this Purpoſe.*

Cromwell adjourn'd the Diſcourſe to a more ſeaſonable Time, and went off with a Countenance and Carriage of Diſpleaſure; his Behaviour to *Whitelock* from that Time was much alter'd, and his adviſing with him not ſo frequent and intimate as before; and not long after, he found an Occaſion, by an honourable Employment, to remove him out of the Way, that he might be no Impediment to his ambitious Deſigns. For it is more than probable, that in his Thoughts and Intentions, he was for bringing the Crown upon his own Head; and it was a remarkable Providence that his Friends wou'd not permit him to follow his own Way. We are told from the noted *Harry Nevill*, that *Cromwell* upon this great Occaſion ſent for ſome of the chief City Divines, as if he made it a Matter of *Conſcience*, to be determin'd by their Advice; among whom was the leading Mr. *Calamy*, who very bravely oppos'd his Project of ſingle Government, and offer'd to prove it both *Unlawful* and *Impracticable*. *Cromwell* readily anſwer'd upon the firſt Head of *Unlawful*, and appeal'd to the Safety of the Nation, as being the Supreme Law: *But*, ſaid he, *pray*, *Mr.* Calamy, *why Impracticable?* The other as readily reply'd, *Oh, 'tis againſt the Voice of the Nation; there will be Nine in Ten againſt you! Very right*, ſays the intended Uſurper, *but what if I ſhou'd diſarm the nine, and put the Sword into the tenth Man's Hand, wou'd not that do the Buſineſs?* By which Anſwer he ſeem'd both to thank, as well as to ridicule his Adviſer.

However, to carry the Point as far as it wou'd bear, he and his Officers were daily complaining of the Grievances of the *Long Parliament*, and were loud and zealous ‘in recommending to the People the common Pretences of *Right* and *Juſtice*, and *Publick Liberty*, to put a Period to their Seſſion; and if they wou'd not ſhortly do it themſelves, the Army and the People muſt do it for them.’ There was ſtill one Obſtacle to be remov'd, and that was the young Duke of *Gloceſter*, now twelve Years of Age, a Priſoner in *Cariſbrook* Caſtle, who

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The Duke of Glocester *ſet at Liberty.*

had been often thought of as a Perſon fit to receive the Crown, with particular and proper Limitations. Therefore, under the Pretext of ſaving a publick Expence, Means were found to ſet him at Liberty, the latter End of this Year; he being ſent with two Servants to *Dunkirk*, and promis'd a ſmall Exhibition, provided he wou'd not come near his Brother, or any of his Relations. But being got on that ſide the Water, he was receiv'd according to his Birth, and from *Bruſſels* attended to his Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange* at *Breda*, who receiv'd him with infinite Joy, having been in continual Fear, that his Life wou'd be ſacrific'd by thoſe who ſpar'd not that of his Royal Father. Nor was he receiv'd with leſs Joy at *Paris*, by the King his Brother, and the Queen his Mother, to whom he was welcom'd and treated as one riſen from the Dead.

The Death of Mr Greaves,

Sir Nathaniel Brent,

Mr. Jacob,

Mr. Wilſon,

Patrick Young,

The Lords Hopton *and* Aſhley,

The Earl of Briſtol,

And the Lady Davies.

In this Year there dy'd ſeveral Perſons of Note and Worth, but generally of different Talents and Qualifications, and particularly three of the ſame College: As firſt, Mr. *John Greaves*, a Man of a ſingular Genius, who tho' he had no greater Preferment than a Fellowſhip of *Merton* College in *Oxford*, and the Aſtronomy Profeſſorſhip in that Univerſity, was an admirable Proficient in Philoſophy, Languages, and all Sorts of Critical Learning, which he vaſtly improv'd by his Travels into *Ægypt*, and many other Foreign Countries: Afterwards, being ejected by the Viſitors of thoſe Times, he retir'd to *London*, and dy'd in the fiftieth Year of his Age, to the ſenſible Affliction of Mr. *Selden*, and other great Men, and no leſs to the Loſs of the Learned World. Next, Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, Doctor of the Civil Law, Vicar-General, and Judge of the Prerogative Court, was Warden of the ſame College with Mr. *Greaves*, who in King *James*'s Reign underwent great Dangers in *Italy* to procure the *Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent, which he tranſlated into *Engliſh*, for which he is honourably mention'd by Poſterity: He was much in Favour with Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and likewiſe with the late King; but upon the Turn of the Times, he ſided with the *Presbyterians*, became a Witneſs againſt Archbiſhop *Laud*, and an Arch-Viſitor of his own Univerſity, which he left, and dy'd in *London*, where he was bury'd with extraordinary Solemnity. Mr. *Henry Jacob*, Fellow of the ſame College, was a Perſon altogether of another Stamp and Genius, and the Prodigy of his Age for Philological and Oriental Learning, who was preſented to the Univerſity, at twenty two Years of Age, by *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, as a great Rarity: Being afterwards ejected by the Parliament Viſitors, be retired to *London*, being a Perſon in his Nature altogether helpleſs and ſhiftleſs, where he was reliev'd by the great *Selden*, in Gratitude for his former Aſſiſtances, and dy'd in the forty ſixth Year of his Age, being often call'd by the Name of *Selden Junior*. We are likewiſe to mention Mr. *Arthur Wilſon*, a Gentleman of *Norfolk*, who had travell'd into ſeveral Countries as a Retainer to the late Earl of *Eſſex*, who had a particular Reſpect for him; a Perſon of ſufficient Command of Senſe and Expreſſion, and well skill'd in the Mathematicks and Poetry; but is chiefly mention'd here for his *Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of King* James, which, tho' written not without ſome Prejudices and Rancour in reſpect to ſome Perſons, and too much with the Air of a Romance, is thought to be the beſt of that Kind extant. We muſt not forget Mr. *Patrick Young*, or *Patricius Junius*, a Perſon worthy of Note, Library-Keeper to the late King, a moſt learned *Scotch-man*, and the moſt eminent *Grecian* of his Time, whoſe Name is remember'd by the Learned of all Nations, for his explaining and bringing to Light the two Epiſtles of St. *Clement* to the *Romans*, and the *Alexandrian* Copy of the *Septuagint*, &c. which in the Year 1628 had been preſented to King *Charles* the Firſt by *Cyril* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. Beſides theſe Men of Letters, there dy'd the two incomparable Lords for Valour, Honour and Loyalty, *Ralph* Lord *Hopton*, and *Jacob* Lord *Aſhley*, of whom Mention has been often made. Laſtly dy'd that eminent Stateſman and Peer *John Digby* Earl of *Briſtol*, at the City of *Paris*; of whoſe Actions and Character ſufficient has been ſaid already; only we are to obſerve, that notwithſtanding the Diſobligations, or rather Hardſhips he met from the Court of the late King, he publiſh'd one of the beſt Apologies for that Prince, that is extant. Beſides theſe eminent Men, we are not to forget a celebrated Female, the Lady *Eleanor Davies*, Daughter to the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, and the Relict of Sir *John Davies*, the late King's firſt Serjeant at Law, formerly mention'd; a Lady that is ſaid to have been learned above her Sex, humble below her Fortune, whoſe Mind was ſo truely great, that no Proſperity cou'd corrupt it, nor Adverſity deject it; but ſhe was moſt of all diſtinguiſh'd by her uncommon Predictions, for which by many ſhe was accounted a Propheteſs, and by others an Enthuſiaſt, or Mad-Woman: However, no Pretenders of that Kind ever met with ſuch fortunate Hits; and, beſides the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the moſt flouriſhing State of the Nation, ſhe foretold the happy Reſtoration, and all with ſurpriſing Marks of Diſtinction.

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5. All this Time the War was carry'd on with great Violence and Fury between the two Common-wealths; and the *Engliſh* were more than ordinary vigorous and active, in fitting out their Fleet, and repairing the Diſhonour of their laſt Defeat. Particular Encouragement was given, and new Rewards promis'd to the Sea-Men and Soldiers, and all Induſtry us'd to haſten out to Sea, under the Command of the Admirals, *Blake*, *Dean* and *Monk*, which laſt lately came from *Scotland*. The States of *Holland*, hearing of theſe Preparations, ſent an Expreſs to *Van Tromp*, then at *Rhee*, to haſten away with what Merchant Men were ready, and to block up the River *Thames* to prevent the *Engliſh* from coming out. But contrary to their Expectation, and even to their Amazement, the *Engliſh* Admirals ſet Sail on the eighth of *February* from *Queensborough* with ſixty Sail of Men of War, to which they were joyn'd on the eleventh of the ſame Month, with twenty Sail more from *Portſmouth*. With his brave Fleet they ſail'd over againſt *Portland*, where they lay extended croſs the *Channel*, Half-Seas over, to diſcover the *Dutch* Fleet; and on *Friday* the eighteenth of *February* by Break of Day, the Southern Ships of the *Engliſh* deſcried the Enemies Fleet, conſiſting of about ſeventy ſix Men of War, who had the Charge of near three Hundred Merchant Ships to convoy homewards. On the one Side *Blake* was fir'd with a Reſolution to regain his former Reputation, and *Van Tromp* on the other Side was inflam'd with no leſs Paſſion to preſerve the Glory he had won, and the vaſt Riches he had now under his Charge.

The fifth Sea-Fight between the Engliſh *and the* Dutch.

Accordingly the two Admirals, having ſingled out each other, about Ten in the Morning encounter'd with the utmoſt Courage and Bravery; which being ſoon after ſucceeded by the Conjunction and Intermingling of both Fleets, the Battle grew ſo fierce and furious, that there was ſcarce any Thing to be ſeen but Maſts overturn'd into the Sea, Splinters flying on all Sides, Sails rent and torn in Pieces, Cables and Cordage cut in Sunder; in one Place a Veſſel boarded, and in a Moment the Men chac'd off, or blown up, with the Decks, into the Air; and in another was ſeen a Ship ſwallow'd up by the Waves with ſeveral Hundreds of Men, and the Sea turn'd red with Human Blood, and cover'd with dead Bodies, and floating Parts of ſhatter'd Ships: All which, inſtead of diſmaying the Combatants, ſerv'd only to excite their Rage, and inflame them to a more cruel and implacable Slaughter; and the continual Outcries of miſerable wounded Wretches render'd them but the more bloody-minded, and rous'd them to a more cruel and remorſeleſs Revenge. The riſing Coaſts on both Sides the *Channel* were violently ſhaken with the reſounding Thunders of the roaring Guns; and thoſe ingag'd, ſeem'd to have been involv'd in the Wreck of Nature. *Blake*'s Ship, the *Triumph*, receiv'd above ſeven Hundred Shot in her Hull, from the Vigour of the *Dutch* Admiral. This dreadful Fight laſted three Days, with wonderful Bravery; in the two laſt of which, *Van Tromp*, endeavouring to ſave his Merchant Ships, fought retreating, and putting them before him; till at length, the Winds being croſs to the *Engliſh*, he got to *Calais* Sands, and ſo Tyded it home. The *Dutch* loſt eleven Men of War, and thirty Merchant's Ships, and above two Thouſand Men, beſides fifteen Hundred Priſoners: But the *Engliſh*, tho' many Ships were ſhatter'd, had but one Sunk, nam'd the *Southampton*; their Slain were not many leſs than the Enemy.

The Dutch *ſue for Peace.*

The States of *Holland* and *Weſt-Friezland* were ſo ſenſibly affected with this great Loſs, that they ſent Letters to the Parliament in *England*, to endeavour after ſome Means to terminate theſe bloody Conteſts: But the Letter being ſubſcrib'd only by the two afore-mention'd States, the Parliament return'd Anſwer, 'That they ſhou'd be willing to 'embrace any Way propos'd to them by all the Lords of 'the United Provinces, to conclude theſe Differences in 'an amicable Way.' But the Negotiation produc'd no Effect, by reaſon of unforeſeen Accidents and Changes; and yet it was particularly encourag'd and promoted by *Cromwell* himſelf, who for his own private Advantage very much deſir'd a Peace. So that when this Addreſs was made by the *Dutch*, he ſet up his whole Reſt and Intereſt, that it might be well accepted, and a Treaty thereupon begin; which when he cou'd not bring to paſs, he deferr'd not long to take Vengeance upon the Parliament, by a Way they leaſt of all expected. The *Dutch* had offer'd to acknowledge to the *Engliſh* the Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas, and to pay three Hundred Thouſand Pounds to the *Engliſh* Common-wealth; but when they found it did not ſucceed, they more immediately apply'd themſelves to *Cromwell*, with the Promiſe of vaſt Sums to him, in caſe he wou'd venture to depoſe and diſſolve the Parliament, as we find it in *Stubbe*. Therefore it is juſtly believ'd, That

that daring Action, ſoon after, was in a great meaſure owing to the private Promiſes and Solicitations of the States of *Holland*.

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Cromwell's *Policy.*

6. And now all Things drew near to a Criſis, and the great Common-wealth to a Period, by Means altogether unforeſeen, or ſuch as were not to be prevented, by the Republican Governors. There having been no Union between the Army and the Parliament, but what *Cromwell* had cunningly made and ſupported, it was eaſy for him to break it; and by ſetting thoſe two great Bodies at Variance, to employ the One for the Deſtruction of the Other. The Common-wealth owed not only its Authority, but its Subſiſtance to the Power of the Army; therefore to this Purpoſe he only needed to give Way to a private Jealouſy, that the latter had conceiv'd againſt the Former. For the Officers of the Army began more and more to complain, ‘ That the Parliament diſpos'd of all Things at Will, and diſtributed among themſelves all valuable Employments; That they were ſo many Kings, and inſtead of one Sovereign, *England* had many, who leſs valu'd the Laws, than him they had deſtroy'd; That they embru'd the Kingdom in Blood, upon Pretence of Puniſhing the Oppoſers of the Government, but in reality to gratify their own private Revenge; That they had endeavour'd to perpetuate Themſelves in an Employment which ought to be Temporary, ſo that all the good Subjects of the State might Share in it; That the Parliament ought to be diſſolv'd, and a new Repreſentative Choſen by the *Univerſal Conſent of the People*, according to the Scheme laid when Monarchy was aboliſh'd to ſet up a Common-wealth.' Theſe Complaints, which *Cromwell* had ſuppreſs'd, as long it was convenient to preſerve a good Underſtanding between the Parliament and the Army, broke out as ſoon as it was his Intereſt to have them divided.

His Dealings with the Army Officers.

To this End that artful Uſurper held ſeveral Conſults with the Officers of the Army, attended with much Faſting and Praying, there being ſome extraordinary Work to be done. The Officers being of two Parties and different Intereſts, it was ſcarce believ'd they cou'd agree in the Deſign; but *Cromwell* knew how to inſinuate himſelf ſo as to pleaſe them all, that he might by them accompliſh his Ends. *Harriſon*, who was one of the Heads of that Sect now known by the Name of *Fifth-Monarchy Men*, had gain'd many from the Congregations of *Feak*, *Rogers*, *Sympſon*, and the reſt of that Tribe, with a conſiderable Part of the inferior Officers; and theſe were ſo intoxicated with that Notion, that they cou'd approve of no Government, but *Where Chriſt was to rule, which,* they ſaid, *was a Dominion to be exercis'd only by Saints under him*; and of this Sort they reſolv'd to chuſe by Nomination a new Repreſentative. *Cromwell* very artfully mingled with theſe Zealots in their Projection; he had ſecured *Monk*, and deceiv'd *Lambert* into the Hopes of ſucceeding him in all his Greatneſs: So that to help forwards the grand Deſign, there came out daily from the Army Petitions, Addreſſes, Remonſtrances, and ſuch like Papers, ‘ for the Payment of their Arrears, the putting an End to this Parliament, and the Summoning a more equal Repreſentative; *which wou'd be the moſt popular Action they cou'd perform.* On the other Side, many of the Officers perceiving the deep Deſign of *Cromwell*, of getting the Monarchy into his own Hands, were exceedingly concern'd, and ſome of them openly proteſted againſt it. The chief of this Party were Colonel *Venables*, *Downing*, and Major *Streater*; the latter of whom ventur'd to declare, *That the General deſign'd to ſet up Himſelf, and that it was a Betraying of their moſt glorious Cauſe, for which ſo much Blood had been Spilt*: But *Harriſon* interrupted him, and told him, *He was aſſured, the General did not ſeek Himſelf in it, but did it to make Way for the Rule of* Jeſus, *that he might have the Sceptre.* To whom *Streater* made this Reply, *That unleſs* Jeſus *came very ſuddenly, he wou'd come too late*; for which Oppoſition, *Cromwell* took an Opportunity to ſend him to Priſon.

Debates in Parliament.

The Parliament was very ſenſible of theſe Actings, but knew not well how to prevent or divert them; yet they us'd Methods to make the Officers underſtand, ‘ The great Inconveniences that wou'd happen from a ſudden Diſſolution; and that the only Way to preſerve the Nation, wou'd be to fill up the preſent Houſe with new Elected Members, properly qualify'd; which wou'd pleaſe the People, and their Acts wou'd be receiv'd with greater Reſpect and Authority.' The Officers on the other ſide anſwer'd them, ‘ That they were grown ſo Carnal and Corrupt, that the *People of God* cou'd expect no Good from them; therefore They themſelves ought to take Care, that the ſupreme Government of the Land ſhou'd be plac'd in the Hands of ſuch as *truely fear'd God*, and were of *approv'd Integrity.*' Upon this Subject there aroſe a great Debate in the Houſe of Parliament, where ſeveral of the Members, out of Juſtice, Reaſon, or a foreſeen Neceſſity, were for a Diſſolution, and a new Election: But *Harry Martin* told them, ‘ That in this Particular, he thought they might find the beſt Advice from the Scripture: That when *Moſes* was found upon the River, and brought to *Pharoah*'s Daughter, ſhe took Care that the Mother might be found out, by whom the young Child might be nurſed; which ſucceeded very happily. He ſaid, their *Common-wealth* was yet an Infant, of a weak Growth, and a tender Conſtitution; therefore no Body cou'd be ſo fit to nurſe it, as the Mother that brought it forth; and that they ſhou'd not think of putting it under any other Hands, till it had obtain'd more Years and Vigour.' The Nation look'd upon it as a ſpurious Iſſue, not fit to be nouriſh'd, or brought up; but the Parliament thought it moſt neceſſary to be preſerv'd, and in Order to that, they ſhou'd not think of diſſolving, though their Continuance had before been determin'd to the 3d Day of *November* 1654. Therefore they declar'd it a Matter too high for any private Perſons to meddle with; and to put a ſeaſonable Stop to any farther Preſumption of that Kind, they appointed a Committee, with all Expedition to prepare an Act of Parliament, ‘ For filling up of their Houſe, and for ſettling their Qualifications; and by which it ſhou'd be declar'd to be High-Treaſon, for any Man to propoſe, or contrive the Changing of the preſent Government ſettled and eſtabliſh'd.'

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Cromwell now clearly diſcern'd that they wou'd never be perſuaded to part with that Authority and Power, which was ſo profitable and pleaſant to them; therefore he reſolved upon the moſt bold and expeditious Way with them. In Order to this, on the ninth of *April*, he held a Conſultation with the choiceſt of his Friends at *Whitehall*, ‘ To find out ſome Expedient for the better carrying on the Government of the Common-wealth, and to put a Period to the preſent Parliament.' Some few, particularly *Whitelock* and *Widdrington*, repreſented the Danger of diſſolving the Parliament, and the Difficulties of erecting any other Form of Government: But *Saint-John*, and ſeveral Members, and Officers, let into the Secret, declar'd their Opinion, ‘ That it was neceſſary to take ſome new Meaſures; and that it was not fit the preſent Aſſembly of Parliament ſhou'd be permitted to prolong their own Power.'

Cromwell *enters the Houſe in a military Way.*

No Concluſion being made, the Junto was adjourn'd to the next Morning; when, in the midſt of the Debate, *Cromwell*, hearing that the Houſe, inſtead of diſſolving themſelves, as many expected, were going upon their new Act of Eſtabliſhment, in a great Heat commanded ſome of the Officers to ſend for a Party of Soldiers, with which he march'd directly to *Weſtminſter*; and placing his Men, ſome at the Door and ſome in the Lobby, and others on the Stairs, he led one File of Muſqueteers into the Houſe with him: And then, without moving his Hat, according to *Dugdale*, he firſt addreſs'd himſelf to his Friend *Saint-John*, telling him, *That he then came to do that which grieved him to the very Soul, and what he had earneſtly, with Tears, pray'd to God againſt: Nay that he had rather be torn in Pieces than do it: But that there was a* Neceſſity *laid upon him therein, in Order to the Glory of God, and Good of the Nation.* To which the other anſwer'd, *That he knew not what he meant; but did pray, that whatever muſt be done, might have a happy Iſſue for the General Good.* Then calling *Harriſon* to him, he told him, *The Parliament is ripe for a Diſſolution; this is the Time, I muſt do it.* So looking furiouſly upon the Speaker, he bid him leave the Chair, and told the Houſe, *They had ſat long enough, unleſs they had done more good*; crying out, *You are no longer a Parliament, I ſay you are no Parliament!* When ſome of the Members began to ſpeak, he ſtopp'd them, and call'd Sir *Harry Vane* a *Juggler*, *Harry Martin* and Sir *Peter Wentworth*, *Whore-Maſters*, *Tom Challoner* a *Drunkard*, *Allen* the Gold-Smith, a *Cheater of the Publick:* And having in effect call'd them all *Rogues* and *Raſcals*, he ſtamp'd with his Foot, and bad them *For Shame be gone, and give Place to honeſter Men!* Upon this Signal the Soldiers came in; and he bad one of them *To take away that Fool's Bauble the Mace*; and *Harriſon* taking the Speaker by the Arm, remov'd him out of the Chair, and put an End to the Parliament. After which, according to *Ludlow*, he cunningly Addreſs'd himſelf to the Members, and told them, *It is you that have forc'd me to this, for I have ſought the Lord Night and Day, that he wou'd rather ſlay me, than put me upon this Work.* So ſeiſing upon all their Papers, he turned them out of the Houſe, and lock'd up the Doors; and returning to his Council of Officers, he told them of his Exploit, and ſaid, *When he went to the Houſe, he did not think to do it; but perceiving the Spirit of God ſo ſtrongly upon him, he wou'd no longer conſult Fleſh and Blood; ſince the Parliament intended to have perpetuated Themſelves.* Then going to the Council of State, which ſat in the Afternoon,

He diſſolves the long Parliament and the Common-Wealth.

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he let them know, *That the Parliament was diſſolv'd, and that was no Place for them, and ſo civilly diſmiſs'd them.*

A general Reflection.

Thus the unwieldy and formidable Common-wealth of *England*, an unknown Fabrick, founded upon the Ruins of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, erected by an infinite Expence of Blood and Treaſure, and ſupported by an unnatural and ungovernable Power, was in a Moment blown down and deſtroy'd, by the Breath of one of its chief Architects; and all this without any Noiſe or Tumult, a Queſtion ask'd, or a Vote put, or a bloody Noſe, or a broken Head. And what is further amazing, is, That after the Members were with the laſt Infamy and Contempt expell'd, they never in *Cromwell*'s Time offer'd to meet in a Body, even that of a Club, to endeavour at their Re-union; but ſneak'd and crumbled away to their Reſpective Habitations, with a Silence that confeſs'd both their Guilt, and their Puniſhment: Nay, and the common People, in which they confided, never once interpos'd by the leaſt Inſurrection, or ſo much as Petition, but let them drop without a Word or a Wiſh to ſave them. So as they, who had commanded the Mob, in Riots and Libels, againſt their King, Biſhops, and Nobility, were now deſerted by them in their extream Agonies, and ſuffer'd to expire without one Sigh or Groan. Such was the Judgment of Heaven againſt thoſe, whoſe Pride had rais'd them above all Kings, and whoſe Actions began to make all *Europe* tremble.

CHAP. II.

The PROTECTORATE of OLIVER CROMWELL.

From his forcible Diſſolution of the Long-Parliament, and Common-wealth of England, *to the Death of that fortunate Uſurper.*

Containing the Space of 5 Years, 4 Months, and 14 Days.

I. 1. WE have paſs'd over the Rule and Government of many Uſurpers, and are now entering upon the *Dictatorſhip* or *Protectorate* of one Man, *Oliver Cromwell*; who, tho' he did not aſſume the Title of *Protector*, till ſeveral Months after, yet his Power was in Effect the ſame, from the Moment that he had diſſolv'd and diſpers'd that formidable Body of Men at *Weſtminſter*. That ſingle Action made him Maſter of three Kingdoms, the Undertaking of which was the more amazing, ſince there was no Example or Precedent in the Chriſtian World, that could raiſe his Ambition to ſuch a preſumptuous Enterprize; which he boldly attempted without any rational Dependence upon the Friendſhip of one Man, who had any other Intereſt to advance his Deſigns, but what he had given him by preferring him in the War. The Steps he had made towards this vaſt Height, were uncommon, bold and fortunate: Many have acquir'd the like Dominion by Fortitude and Virtue, and ſome by daring and flagrant Crimes, and ſome few by Cheating and Couſenage; but ſcarce any beſides Himſelf ever mounted to the Supream Power, by Tears, and Sighs, and Lyes, and Pretences to Religion. He ſeems to have had very peculiar Encouragement from Abroad, and particularly the States of *Holland*, to attempt this bold Work, beſides the Incitement of his own natural Ambition: Nor could he be inſenſible how the Actions of the Parliament Men had render'd them odious to the laſt Degree to the People; and that he could not do a more popular Act, or give a more hopeful Proſpect to the Nation, than to put an immediate Period to their exorbitant Authority. This he ſoon found by the general Joy among all Sorts of People, who now treated them with as much Contempt and Scandal, as they had formerly with Reſpect and Veneration. They ridicul'd them ſeveral Ways, and fix'd a Bill upon the Parliament Doors, with THIS HOUSE IS TO BE LETT; and lampoon'd them by the common Ballad-Singers, who cry'd about the City, *Twelve Parliament Men for a Penny!* with innumerable other Indignities offer'd both to their Perſons and Qualities.

Cromwell*'s great Attempt.*

Not long before this great Change, *Ludlow* tells us, That *Cromwell* had made the moſt ſolemn Profeſſions of Fidelity to the Parliament, aſſuring them, *That if they wou'd command the Army to break their Swords over their Heads, he wou'd undertake they ſhou'd do it:* And immediately after he had effected it, he carry'd on the ſame Degree of Diſſimulation, and ſent for Major *Salloway* and Mr. *Carew*, to whom he complain'd of *the great Weight of Affairs that, by this Undertaking, was fallen upon him*; affirming, *That the Thoughts of the Conſequences thereof made him to tremble, and therefore deſired them to free him from the Temptations that might be laid before him; and for that Purpoſe to go immediately to the chief Juſtice* Saint-John, *Mr.* Selden, *and ſome others, and endeavour to perſuade them to draw up ſome Inſtrument of Government, that might put the Power out of his Hands.* To which Major *Salloway* anſwer'd, *The Way, Sir, to free you from Temptation, is for you not to look upon your ſelf to be under it; but to reſt perſuaded, That the Power of the Nation is in the Good People of* England, *as formerly it was. Cromwell* perceiving by this that he was better underſtood than he deſir'd, fell upon another Expedient, before he wou'd fully diſcover Himſelf, appointing a Meeting of the chief Field Officers to be at *Whitehall*, in order to conſider what was to be done in this Exigency. He and his Council of Officers did not ſo much want a *Vindication* of what they had done, as a quieting *Declaration* of what they did intend to do. Hence they publiſh'd a long Account of their Proceedings and Intentions, 'Beginning with ſufficient 'Intimation, That the whole Government was devolv'd 'upon the General and his Army, by a Conqueſt of an 'extraordinary kind: Then caſting very abundant Reflections upon the Members who had preſumptuouſly deſign'd to perpetuate Themſelves; and ſo juſtifying the Neceſſity of putting an End to ſuch a *Self-Seeking* Parliament, promiſing to put the Government into the Hands 'of *Perſons of approv'd Fidelity and Honeſty*.' Then after they laid all their Actings upon *Neceſſity* and *Providence*, they at laſt declare, 'That all Magiſtrates and Officers 'whatſoever ſhall proceed in their reſpective Places and 'Offices, and Obedience ſhall be paid to them as fully, as 'when the Parliament was ſitting.' Signed by the Lord-General, and his Council of Officers, *Whitehall, April* 22, 1653. This *Council of Officers*, with ſome others, which was form'd in Imitation of the late *Council of State*, conſiſted of thirty Perſons, *Cromwell*, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Liſle*, *Harriſon*, *Desborough*, *Pickering*, *Wolleſley*, *Aſhley-Cooper*, *Hope*, *Hewſon*, *Norton*, *Montague*, *Benet*, *Stapeley*, *Sydenham*, *Tomlinſon*, *Jones*, *Tichburn*, *Strickland*, *Carey*, *Howard*, *Broughton*, *Lawrence*, *Holiſter*, *Comptney*, *Major*, *St. Nicolas*, *Moyer*, and *Williams*.

His Diſſimulation.

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His and his Officers Declaration.

This Declaration was immediately ſupported by the ready Conſent of all the Admirals at Sea, and all the Captains of Ships, and by the Commanders of all the Land Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and was look'd upon as very reaſonable. And within a few Days after, a ſecond Declaration, 'by which the People were required to live 'peaceably, and quietly ſubmit themſelves to the new '*Council of State*, to be nominated by the General, until 'ſuch Time as a Parliament, conſiſting of *Perſons of approv'd Fidelity and Honeſty*, could meet, and take upon 'them the Government of theſe Nations,' found an equal Submiſſion and Obedience. All this while *Cromwell* pretended an extraordinary Affection for a Republick; and having made himſelf Acceptable, he reſolv'd to ſhew that he was Neceſſary, and to put Things into ſuch a Condition, that it ſhou'd be a Favour in him to accept of what they ſhou'd be neceſſitated to confer, inſtead of being Himſelf oblig'd, by demanding what was none of his Due. The Method he obſerv'd for forming a Government, by firſt throwing it into an unaccountable Confuſion, and by diveſting himſelf of all Pretences to Authority, and putting what he had no Title to keep, into the Hands of ſuch Men, as wou'd certainly delegate the Power to him in a Form of Law, was really admirable. He was ſenſible that a Parliament was ſtill a Name of greater Veneration than any other Aſſembly; and the Contempt to which the laſt was reduc'd, wou'd probably teach the next to behave it ſelf with more Caution; however the Way was paved for diſſolving them, whenever they ſhould act otherwiſe. He reſolv'd to ſummon a Body of Men, and call them a *Parliament*, that whenever they ſerv'd Him, their Acts might carry ſome Authority; but he reſolv'd alſo to chuſe them Himſelf, that when they did not, he might diſſolve them with the more Juſtice.

A Second Declaration.

Accordingly he reſolv'd to make Choice of a Number of Men, conſiſting of about a hundred and forty Perſons, who ſhou'd meet as a Parliament to ſettle the Nation; ſuch Men who, in general, were like to bring the Name and Reputation of Parliaments lower than it was at preſent. It can hardly be believ'd that any Man cou'd produce ſo wild a Notion, that ſuch Perſons ſhou'd contribute towards any Settlement, or that their Actions cou'd any Ways advance his particular Deſign: Yet upon the View and Conſideration of the Men elected, many did conclude, That he had made his own Scheme entirely to Himſelf; and tho' he communicated it to no Man that was known, he believ'd it the moſt natural Way to ripen, and produce the Effects that afterwards appear'd. For the bringing together of the new Men, a new Way was thought on;

which

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Cromwell's Way of ſummoning a Parliament.

which was by a Warrant under *Cromwell*'s own Hand, directed to every one of them in particular, telling them ‘ Of the *Neceſſity* of diſſolving the late Parliament, and of an equal *Neceſſity*, that the Peace, Safety, and good Government of the Common-wealth ſhou'd be provided for, and therefore that he had, by the Advice of his Council of Officers, nominated divers Perſons *fearing God, and of approv'd Fidelity and Honeſty*, to whom the great Charge and Truſt of ſo weighty Affairs was to be committed, and that having good Aſſurance of their Love to, and Courage for God, and the Intereſt of his Cauſe, and the good People of this Common-wealth;' he concluded in theſe Words, ‘ I *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General and Commander in Chief of all the Forces rais'd, or to be rais'd within this Common-wealth, do hereby ſummon and require you perſonally to be, and appear at the *Council-Chamber* at *Whitehall*, upon the fourth Day of *July* next, then and there to take upon you the ſaid Truſt: And you are hereby call'd, and appointed to ſerve as a Memher of the County of, *&c.* Dated the 8th Day of *June*, 1653.

His FIRST PARLIAMENT.

2. Upon this unheard-of Summons, on the fourth of *July*, ten Weeks after the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, the Perſons nominated appear'd at the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*, (where *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers were ready to receive them,) to the Number of above a hundred and twenty; being for the moſt Part a Body of illiterate, weak and obſcure Fellows, of a great deal of Heat and Enthuſiaſm, and very little Light and Knowledge. According to which Diſpoſition *Cromwell* made them a long Diſcourſe ‘ of the Fear of God, and the Honour due to his Name, fill'd with Texts of Scripture; and remember'd the wonderful Mercies of God to this Nation, and the continu'd Series of Providence, by which he had appear'd in carrying on his *Cauſe*, and bringing Affairs into that preſent glorious Condition, they now were in. He put them in Mind of the noble Actions of the Army in the famous Victory of *Worceſter*, and of the Applications he had made to the Parliament, for a good Settlement of all the Affairs of the Common-wealth, the Neglect of which made it abſolutely neceſſary to diſſolve it.' He aſſured them by many Arguments, ſome of which were brought from the Scripture it ſelf, ‘ That they had a very *Lawful Call* to take upon them the *Supream Authority* of the Nation; that he never look'd to ſee ſuch a Day, when *Jeſus Chriſt ſhou'd be ſo owned*, as this Day was; and he had not allow'd Himſelf in the Choice of one Perſon, in whom he had not this good Hope, *That there was Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and Love unto all his Saints and People*:' And concluded with an earneſt Deſire, ‘ That great Tenderneſs might be us'd to all conſcientious Perſons, of what Judgment ſoever they appear'd to be.' His Diſcourſe finiſh'd, he deliver'd to them an Inſtrument in Parliament under his Hand and Seal, whereby, with the Advice of his Council of Officers, he did devolve, and intruſt the Supreme Authority of this Common-wealth into the Hands of thoſe Perſons therein-mention'd, and declar'd,

His Speech to the Members.

And Powers given to them.

‘ That They, or any Forty of Them, were to be held and acknowledg'd the *Supream Authority of the Nation*, to which all Perſons within the ſame, and the Territories thereunto belonging, were to yield Obedience and Subjection, to the third Day of *November*, which ſhou'd be in the Year 1654; and three Months before the Time preſcribed ſhou'd expire, they were to make Choice of other Perſons to ſucceed them, whoſe Power and Authority ſhou'd not exceed one Year; and then they were likewiſe to provide, and take Care for a like Succeſſion in the Government.

Being thus veſted with this Authority, they repair'd to the Parliament Houſe in *Weſtminſter*, where they began with *Seeking God* by Prayer, which was perform'd by eight or ten gifted Men in the Aſſembly; and with that Succeſs, that a Member of it tells us, That much of the Preſence of *Chriſt* appear'd that Day, to the great gladding of the Hearts of many, ſome affirming, *They never enjoy'd ſo much of the Spirit and Preſence of Chriſt in any of the Meetings and Exerciſes of Religion in all their Lives, as they did that Day*. This done, they at once voted Themſelves ‘ To be THE PARLIAMENT OF *ENGLAND*, and that all Addreſſes ſhou'd be made to them under that Title;' and accordingly they made Choice of one *Rouſe* to be their Speaker, an old Gentleman of *Devonſhire*, who had been Member of the former Parliament, and in that Time been preferr'd and made Provoſt of *Eaton-College*, which Office he then enjoy'd, with an Opinion of having ſome Knowledge in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, but of a very mean Underſtanding, but throughly engag'd in the Guilt of the Times. Next they reſolv'd, ‘ That no Perſon ſhou'd be employ'd or admitted into the Service of the Parliament, but ſuch as the Houſe ſhou'd be firſt ſatisfy'd of his *Real Godlineſs*.' By which Means this Aſſembly, which was by ſome call'd the *Little Parliament*, came to call'd *The Godly Parliament*; but was more often known by the Name of *Barebone's Parliament*, from one *Praiſe-God Barebones*, a Leather-Seller in *Fleetſtreet*, who had diſtinguiſh'd Himſelf by being an eminent Stickler and Speaker in the Houſe.

They chuſe a Speaker.

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Their uncommon Proceedings.

Having ſettled the Ceremonial and Circumſtantial Parts of the Aſſembly, they proceeded vigorouſly towards a *Thorough Reformation*; imagining, or diſcourſing of nothing leſs, ‘ Than that *Jeſus Chriſt* muſt ſhortly reign with them here on Earth.' To prepare the Way therefore to his Perſonal Appearance, they conſider'd of aboliſhing the *Miniſterial Function*, as favouring totally of *Popery*. They were not content with the Removal of *Arch-Biſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Arch-deacons*, *Deans*, *Chapters* and *Prebendaries*; but they ſaid that *Parſons*, *Vicars*, *Curates*, *Rectors*, *Donatives*, and *Incumbents*, ought to be taken away, as *Strangers to the Goſpel*. Then they were for taking away of all *Tythes*, as the Reliques of *Judaiſm*: Next, for the Abrogation of the old *Engliſh Laws*, as Badges of the Conqueſt, and *Norman Slavery*; and laſtly for the Suppreſſion of the *Univerſities*, and all *Schools* for Learning, as *Heatheniſh* and *Unneceſſary*, together with all Titles of *Honour* and *Diſtinctions*, as not agreeable to the *Chriſtian Purity*. All which they had probably effected; but that ſome few of them, of better Judgments, gave a ſtop to this uncommon Career. But for the Court of *Chancery*, they really voted it down; and then paſs'd an Act for the ſolemnizing of all Marriages by Juſtices of Peace, after Publication made for that Purpoſe in the Church, or open Market; and another that the *Birth* and not the *Baptiſm* of Children ſhou'd be thenceforth regiſter'd, which ſhew'd of what Judgment they were in that Point. The Act likewiſe for ſubſcribing that Inſtrument, call'd *The Engagement*, which had paſs'd not long after the late King's Death, they voted unfit to continue, and totally repeal'd it: And for the Tryal of what they call'd *Treaſon*, or *High-Crimes*, they erected a new *High Court of Juſtice*. And thus they continu'd for above five Months, tyring and perplexing themſelves in innumerable Debates, to the Amazement, and even Mirth of the People.

During theſe Tranſactions, the furious *John Lilburn*, formerly mention'd, who had been an Incendiary under every Government, and had been particulary baniſh'd in the latter End of the Long Parliament for writing ſeveral ſeditious Pamphlets, againſt them, now finding their Power at at End, came over into *England*, and caſt himſelf upon the Protection of General *Cromwell*, who had more than once ſkreen'd him from the Power of the Parliament: But knowing him to be a Perſon of a turbulent ungovernable Spirit, and in a little Time finding him to begin to blazon his Actions with all the Truth and Virulence that they deſerv'd, he committed him to *Newgate*, and referr'd him to the Law. He was brought ſeveral Days to the *Old-Baily*, and being accus'd of High-Treaſon, he ſhew'd his Parts and Subtlety by the Variety of his Pleas, and his invincible Temper by the Boldneſs of his Replies: So at length being brought to a Tryal before a Jury, he pleaded ſo ſtrenuouſly and movingly for the Liberties of the Nation, as caus'd the Jury to bring him in *Not Guilty*, contrary to the Opinions and Inſtructions of the Judges, and the earneſt Deſire of *Cromwell* himſelf; who, with no little Mortification to himſelf, kept him in Priſon for ſeveral Years after.

John Lilburn *try'd and acquitted.*

3. The great Changes and Alterations in *England*, gave ſome Hopes to the *Dutch* of meeting with better Succeſs at Sea than before; and accordingly they mann'd out a gallant Fleet, with which they began to inſult the *Engliſh* Coaſts, and more particularly the Town of *Dover*. But the new Government omitted nothing that might advance the Maritime Preparations, but in *May* ſent out another brave Fleet, which on the ſecond of *June* ſtood before the *Dutch*, under *Van Tromp*, aſſiſted with *De Ruyter*, *De Wit*, and the two *Evertſons*, conſiſting of a hundred and four Men of War, twelve Galliots, and nine Fireſhips. The *Engliſh* Fleet was under the Command of *Monk* and *Dean*, who were both in one Ship, aſſiſted by Vice-Admiral *Pen*, and Rear-Admiral *Lawſon*, conſiſting of a hundred Ships of all Sorts. It was near Noon, and not far from the Coaſts of *Flanders*, when theſe two formidable Armadoes engag'd without Fear or Mercy; and ſo fatal was the Beginning of the Fight, that at the firſt Broad-ſide of the Enemy, Admiral *Dean* was ſhot off almoſt in the Middle by a Cannon Ball, as he ſtood by *Monk*; but he without any Diſturbance cover'd his Body with his Cloak, and proſecuted the Battel with all poſſible Reſolution. The Noiſe and Thunder of the Cannon was great and terrible, and nothing was to be ſeen but Smoak,

The Sixth Sea-Fight between the Engliſh *and the* Dutch.

1653. Car. 5.

Fire, and the moſt diſmal Spectacles, that ever Eyes beheld. *Lawſon* bore ſo hard upon *De Ruyter* with his Squadron, that he had carry'd him, had not *Tromp* himſelf come in to his Relief; but he cou'd not prevent *Lawſon*'s ſinking a Ship of *Holme* of two and forty Guns, with all the Men in her. *Monk* with his Squadron was in the thickeſt of the Fleet; and greater Execution had been done, but the Wind blew croſs to the *Engliſh*, and ſo favour'd their Enemies, that they bore away before it. The next Morning early *Monk* found himſelf near the Enemy, but the Wind was ſo ſlack, that he cou'd not come to engage their Fleet till Noon; and then the Battel began with greater Rage and Fury than at any Time before, and continu'd till ten at Night. *Tromp* himſelf was in great Danger of being boarded, which he eſcap'd by blowing up the Decks, after a moſt ſurpriſing Manner. Moſt of his Fleet, in the Heat of the Engagement, were in ſuch Confuſion, and ſo unwilling to ſtand the Fight, that he fired upon them, and ſent his Boat to command them to come up to him; but he cou'd not prevail with above twenty of them to return: The reſt ſteering away, the *Engliſh* preſs'd ſo hard upon them, that they ſunk ſix of their beſt Ships, and two were blown up, and eleven were taken, with thirteen hundred and fifty Priſoners, without any conſiderable Loſs on their Side. At the End of this bloody Day, Admiral *Blake* came in with eighteen freſh Ships; and if the *Dutch* had not ſav'd themſelves upon the Flats of *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, where the *Engliſh* cou'd not come up to them, moſt of their Fleet had been deſtroy'd or taken.

The Dutch *Preparations.*

Van Tromp imputed this Overthrow to the Ignorance and Unskilfulneſs of his Captains; but his Maſters were ſo humbled by it, that a Reſolution for Peace was immediately taken up, and a Veſſel with a white Flagg, and a Meſſenger to prepare a Way for two Ambaſſadors, was ſent into *England*. *Cromwell* ſhew'd no Averſion to a Treaty, but wou'd admit of no Ceſſation, till all was concluded; which being known in *Holland*, they wou'd not ſtay ſo long under the Reproach and Diſadvantage of being beſieg'd, and ſhut up in their Ports; but made all poſſible Haſte to prepare another Fleet, ſtrong enough to remove the *Engliſh* from their Coaſts, which they believ'd to be the beſt Expedient to advance their Treaty. And there cannot be a greater Inſtance of the Opulency and Induſtry of that People, than that they ſhou'd be able, after ſo many Loſſes and ſo great a Defeat, in ſo ſhort a Time to ſet out a Fleet, able to cope with the moſt powerful Enemy they had at Sea. Their Admiral *Tromp* had with wonderful Dexterity caus'd his damag'd Ships to be repair'd; and more ſevere Puniſhments to be inflicted on thoſe who had behav'd themſelves cowardly, than had ever been us'd by that State. And the States publiſh'd ſo great and ample Rewards to all Officers and Sea-Men, who wou'd immediately repair to their Service, that by the End of *July*, within leſs than two Months after their Defeat, they prepar'd a Fleet to the Number of a hundred and twenty five Sail; with ſo much Confidence of Succeſs, that they ſent *Van Tromp* out of the *Wierings* with ninety five Ships before the reſt were ready, which were ſoon after brought up to him by *De Wit* from the *Texel*. In a little Time the *Engliſh* Fleet appear'd; but ſtood off, by reaſon of the high Winds, and the Danger of falling upon the Flats, which many of the *Dutch* believ'd to be no better than a Flight; and one of the Captains ſaid to *Van Tromp*, *Sir, theſe Dogs durſt not abide one Broadſide from your Excellency*, and deſir'd him to make Uſe of the Opportunity. But that Admiral knowing the *Engliſh*, and the Reaſon of their ſtanding off, generouſly reply'd, *Do you look to your Charge; for if the* Engliſh *were but twenty Sail, I am ſure they wou'd fight us.*

The Seventh and laſt Sea-Fight.

On the 29th of *July* the two mighty Fleets fac'd, and came up to each other, the *Engliſh* being commanded by *Monk* as Chief, who order'd his Captains, neither to give nor take Quarter, but to make the utmoſt Deſtruction they cou'd. The Ocean was never adorn'd with a more gallant Sight in the Beginning of the Day, nor cover'd with a more diſmal one in the latter End; and never was any Fight carry'd on with a more cruel Obſtinacy and Fury than this for ſeveral Hours together. It is thus deſcrib'd by a Foreign Pen: 'One might have ſaid at firſt View, that 'the Sun being cover'd with a thick Smoak, endeavour'd 'to hide his Face, that he might not behold ſo dreadful a 'Slaughter: The Noiſe of the Cannon, much louder 'than that of Thunder, made all the neighbouring Shores 'to tremble, which being redoubled by the various Echos, 'became ſtill more hideous: And the Sea being all di'ſtain'd with the Blood of ſo many Butcheries, with equal 'Greedineſs ſwallow'd up both Men and Ships.' In the midſt of this dreadful Battel, *Van Tromp* himſelf, the Glory of the *Dutch* Nation, ſtanding upon his Quarter Deck, with his drawn Sword bravely encouraging his Men, was ſhot with a Muſquet Ball into the Heart, of which he fell dead without ſpeaking a Word. This great Blow broke the Courage of the reſt; who ſeeing many of their Companions burnt and ſunk, after they had been diſmally ſhatter'd, before the Evening, fled, and made all the Sail they cou'd towards the *Texel*. The *Engliſh* were not in a Condition to purſue them; but found themſelves obliged to retire to their own Coaſts, to repair their damag'd Ships, and refreſh their wounded Men. On the *Hollanders* Part, between twenty and thirty of their Ships of War were fired, or ſunk, and a great many Priſoners taken. The Victory coſt the *Engliſh* dear; but they only loſt one Ship, which was burnt; and two or three more, tho' carry'd home, were diſabled for farther Service. This was the ſeventh and the laſt Sea-Fight between the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, all which happen'd in a little above a Year's Time: And it is very obſervable, that in all the Advantages gain'd, the main Body of the *Engliſh* Firſt and Second Rate Ships, which in all the Fights ever turn'd the Scale, were thoſe built by the late King, out of that noted Tax call'd *Ship-Mony*.

The Dutch *ſue for Peace.*

The Parliament's Anſwer.

4. The *Dutch* were totally diſpirited by this laſt Defeat, and the Loſs of their glorious Admiral, to whoſe Memory they ſhew'd great Honours: All was in Confuſion and Diſtraction in *Holland*; the Common-People no longer obey'd the Government: The Placarts of the States-General were deſpiſed, and they in Danger to be ruin'd and plunder'd by the ignorant and impetuous Rabble. They therefore apply'd themſelves by their Plenipotentiaries, with all Submiſſion and Diligence, to the *Engliſh* Council of State: But there they cou'd be allow'd no other Terms of Peace than 'by a Coalition, Satisfaction 'for Damages receiv'd by the *Engliſh*, and Security againſt 'the like for the future, and by the *Dutch*'s taking a Leaſe 'for twenty one Years for Fiſhing, and paying an annual 'Rent.' Upon theſe Reſolutions of the Council, the Plenipotentiaries reſolv'd to try what Terms of Peace might be had from the ſanctify'd Members at *Weſtminſter*, call'd *Barebone*'s *Parliament*, from whom they expected a more eaſie Compliance. But here they met with very ſtrange Diſappointments; for theſe Heavenly Men took the *Dutch* to be the Outworks of *Babylon*, which muſt be taken down before there cou'd be any coming at the main Fort: They ſaid, 'The *Dutch* were carnal and worldly 'Politicians, Enemies to the *Kingdom of Chriſt*, and ſuch 'as wou'd upon all Occaſions retard the Progreſs of the '*Saints* and *People of God*, in overturning the Powers of 'this World: That *Antichriſt*, the *Man of Sin*, cou'd never be deſtroy'd in *Italy*, while the *Dutch* retain'd any 'conſiderable Strength in the United *Netherlands*. They 'did not inſiſt upon the *Flagg*, nor Dominion of the Seas; 'but held it neceſſary, in order to the Coming of *Chriſt*, 'and his Perſonal Reign, that the Seas ſhou'd be ſcoured 'and preſerv'd as peaceably as the Land, that both ought 'jointly to ſubmit to the Power of King *Jeſus*, whoſe 'Way *They*, and not the *Hollanders*, were to prepare. 'They allow'd the Procedure of the *Dutch* by Petition, 'ſince the Power of the *Council of State* was all one 'with the *Saints*, and theirs deriv'd from Him to whom 'all Power is given; and upon that Account the *Dutch* 'ought to continue their Addreſſes of *Meſeignours*, and '*Tres Illuſtres Seignours*, to the *Council of State*, not in the 'Senſe they are forbidden in the Goſpel, but that whereby our Lord *Chriſt* aſſumes ſuch Titles, and confers 'them on the *Saints*: That the *Saints* therefore might tolerate them, and the *Dutch* ought not to refuſe them, 'leſt it ſhou'd be a Rejection of the *Kingdom of Chriſt*, 'which was now approaching: That the *Dutch* ought *to* '*kiſs the Son, leſt he be angry*, and ſhou'd have a Care how 'they contemn his *Holy Ones*, leſt they be chaſtiz'd with the '*Rod of Iron*.'

The *Dutch* were now more confounded and perplex'd than ever; it was difficult to treat with, and impoſſible to prevail upon, theſe Men: They run high indeed in their Declarations 'of their Zeal for the true Reformed Religion; and call'd God, the Searcher of all Hearts, to 'witneſs the ſincere Affections of the *States* towards the 'Common-wealth of *England*; and likewiſe pray'd, That 'the Great, moſt Good, and moſt Merciful God wou'd 'preſide in their Councils with his Spirit of Peace;' but cou'd not come up to the Flights of theſe new Saints. They now fouud themſelves in Danger to be ruin'd as Enemies to *Chriſt*, rather than *England*; and a Coalition with *England* wou'd not ſatisfy, except they likewiſe annex'd their Provinces into the *Fifth-Monarchy*. Upon a Conſultation among the *States*, the Opinion of *Holland* was, never to enter into a Coalition with *England*, but that a ſtrict League defenſive ſhou'd be proffer'd; that they ought to contract Foreign Amities, eſpecially with *France*, to equip out a Fleet with all poſſible Expedition. The other Provinces were for entering into a League with the Elector of

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Brandenburgh, and other *German* Princes, and giving Aſſiſtance to the *Scots*; for at this Time Major-General *Middleton* was raiſing ſome Tumults there. But their Neceſſities were preſent, and their Treaties remote and dangerous; therefore they gave Orders to their Plenipotentiaries ‘ To protract Time according as they ſaw Diſorders to encreaſe between *Cromwell* and his Supreme Authority; to be ample in the Generals concerning the Defence of the *Reformed Religion*, and of the *Houſhold of Faith*, to reject the Coalition, to offer to enter into a ſtrict and intimate League, but deal as tenderly as was poſſible in Point of Reparation, Satisfaction, or Security.’ All theſe Things being known to *Cromwell*'s Council of State, they reſolv'd to treat them accordingly; and when theſe were communicated to the Members at *Weſtminſter*, they ſaid, ‘ That it was no more than was propheſy'd in Scripture, and in courſe to be expected, *That the* Gentiles *ſhould rage, and the Kings of the Earth ſet themſelves againſt the Kingdom of Chriſt; but they ſhould fall before him, and be broken in Pieces:* That they were fierce to encounter *Gog* and *Magog*, and by a Series of Victories, inflam'd to encounter this *Antichriſtian Hoſt*.

The Dutch *Inſtructions.*

The Council of State, ſince the *Dutch* entirely refus'd a Coalition, reſolv'd to humble them without it, and impos'd very hard and mortifying Articles upon them; ſo that they found themſelves in no better Condition, than they were before the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament. But two Things, out of their Power, contributed to their Deliverance from the dangerous State to which they were reduc'd; one was the Ambition and private Intereſt of *Cromwell*, and the other, the Frenzy of the preſent pretended Parliament. The Former, without any Regard to the Honour or Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, took the Advantage, and now made it his Buſineſs to join in a Defenſive League with the *Dutch*, againſt the King and the Royal Family, to ſet up Himſelf, and his Poſterity. He found that his Parliament, tho' all of his own chuſing, were unweildly and unmanageable; and their Actings were ſo uncommon and unaccountable in many Particulars, that no Man could judge of their Deſigns, or where they would end; and therefore he reſolv'd by ſome Means to put an End to their Power and Being. The *Dutch* dreaded them, as Perſons immoveable by Arguments, and not to be treated with; and therefore their Plenipotentiaries aſſured *Cromwell*, ‘ That in Caſe he wou'd depoſe them, and aſſume the Government to Himſelf, they wou'd be ready to accord with him upon more moderate Terms, and enter into ſuch a Defenſive Alliance, as wou'd ſecure him againſt all his Foreign and Domeſtick Enemies.’ This Matter was ſoon reſolv'd upon, upon both Accounts, and the Way concerted with *Rouſe* the Speaker, and ſome ſelect Friends of his in the Houſe, who were to bring it to bear with as little Diſturbance as might be.

They treat privately with Cromwell.

On the twelfth Day of *December*, in the Morning, a little ſooner than uſual, thoſe Members that were intruſted came to the Houſe; where then finding but few of the *Anabaptiſts*, an eminent Member ſtood up, and told the Speaker, *That he muſt disburthen Himſelf of ſome Things that had a long Time lain upon his Heart: That he was now to ſpeak to the* Eſſe, *or Being, rather than the* Bene Eſſe, *or Well-Being of the Common-wealth, which was ready to ſink under them; and, that for his own Part, he muſt reſign the Power from whence he had it; foreſeeing clearly That their Waitings and Expectations of ever coming into Things of Publick Good, were more and more diſappointed:* And ſo proceeded to enumerate their Failings; as ‘ 1. They had dealt diſingenuouſly with the Army, in moving, That the Officers ſhou'd ſerve a Year without Pay; and when they could not effect that, the Bill of Aſſeſsments was endeavour'd to be caſt out. 2. That they had not the Spirit of Juſtice, which appear'd in their Act for confirming the Sale of Sir *John Stowell*'s Eſtate, tho' he was reliev'd by the Court of Articles. 3. That they had a Principle among them of deſtroying and pulling down, tho' nothing was ſet up in the Stead; which appear'd from their Vote for the removing the *Chancery*, and total Alteration of the Laws of the Land. 4. That tho' they call'd Themſelves a *Parliament*, they acted contrary to it in their Endeavours to deſtroy Propriety, in attempting to take off the Power of Patrons to preſent to Church-Livings. 5. That they would deſtroy the Miniſtry it ſelf, as appear'd by their *Saturday*'s Votes.’ *For all which Conſiderations they ought to ſit no longer, and be guilty of bringing Confuſion and Deſolation upon the Nation. But if any wou'd yet be ſo hardy as to continue there, he would ſay unto them in the Words of the Prophet,* Ephraim *hath join'd himſelf to* Idols, *let him alone.* This being ſeconded, and urg'd by *Sydenham*, *Wolſey*, and others, the *Anabaptiſts* were much ſtartled, and ſpoke fiercely againſt it. Inſomuch that thoſe who appear'd for the Diſſolution, fearing, that by delaying Time, more might come in, and out-vote them, mov'd, ‘ That all who were for a Diſſolution, ſhou'd riſe and walk out:’ Accordingly the Speaker, and divers others, forthwith left the Houſe. But *Squib*, *Moyer*, St. *Nicholas*, and others to the Number of above Twenty, ſat ſtill; and having plac'd Mr. *Moyer* in the Chair, fell to proteſting againſt what the reſt had done, profeſſing, *in the Preſence of the Lord, the Call of God to that Place, was the principal Motive that drew them thither; and that they apprehended their ſaid Call was chiefly for promoting the Intereſt of Jeſus Chriſt.* Whereupon they continu'd there till Colonel *White*, with ſome Muſqueteers came, and ask'd them *What they ſat there for?* They anſwer'd *To ſeek the Lord. Phoh!* ſaid he, *is that all? that's to no Purpoſe; for the Lord has not been within theſe Walls theſe twelve Years:* And ſo they were contented to go out, and moſt of them to ſign an Inſtrument at *Whitehall*, to which ſome others had ſet their Hands before, to ſurrender their Power into the Hands of Him that gave it. And thus expired that Enthuſiaſtick Levelling Aſſembly, after it had ſat five Months and eight Days; which was ſeven Months and three Weeks after the Diſſolution of that Part of the Long Parliament call'd the *Rump*, or *Common-wealth*.

A Speech in the Houſe.

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The pretended Parliament diſſolv'd.

5. By this laſt Donation, which was accepted with great Appearance of Modeſty and Unwillingneſs, *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers were once more poſſeſs'd of the Supreme Sovereign Power of the Kingdom. And very ſhortly after, chiefly by the Management of *Lambert*, his Council were willing to give up their Part of the Royal Authority, and declar'd, ‘ That the Government of the Common-wealth ſhou'd reſide in a ſingle Perſon: That that Perſon ſhould be *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of all the Forces of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and that his Title ſhou'd be LORD PROTECTOR of the Common-wealth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and of the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: And that he ſhou'd have a Council of one and twenty Perſons to be Aſſiſtant to him in the Government.’ And now moſt Men concluded, that the Weakneſs and Folly of this laſt Aſſembly was ſo much foreſeen, that from their firſt Meeting it was determin'd what ſhou'd follow their Diſſolution: For the Method that ſucceeded cou'd hardly have been compos'd in ſo ſhort a Space, by Perſons who had not a conſiderable Time conſulted upon the Contingency.

The Declaration of the Council.

All Things being ready for ſomething Extraordinary, upon the ſixteenth of *December* at One in the Afternoon, five Regiments of Foot and three of Horſe were drawn out as a Guard from *Whitehall* to *Weſtminſter-Hall*; of which that of Colonel *Goff* was plac'd within the Precincts of the Hall. This done, *Cromwell* with the Captain of his Guard, and ſome others, paſs'd through theſe Bands of Soldiers to the Door of *Weſtminſter-Hall*. Where alighting from his Coach, there march'd in State, Firſt the City-Marſhalls; then the Aldermen of *London* in Scarlet; after them the Judges; next *Keble* and *Liſle*, the two Keepers of the Great-Seal; then four Serjeants at Arms, each with a Mace, one belonging to the Parliament, another to the City, a third to the Council of State, and a fourth to the Lord-Keeper: After theſe the Lord-Mayor's Sword-Bearer, with the Cap of Maintenance, and Sword depreſs'd; then the Lord-Mayor; and next to Him *Cromwell* Himſelf in a Black Sute and Cloak lined with Velvet, Boots, and a Gold Hatband; and after Him the principal Officers of the Army, and Council of State, every Perſon bare-headed. In this Proceſſion they aſcended the *Chancery* Court, where was plac'd a rich Chair of State, with a large Cuſhion, and Carpets on the Floor. Being enter'd the Court, *Cromwell* ſtanding before the Chair, with the two Keepers and Judges on each Side of him, *Lambert*, then the ſecond Perſon in the Army, ‘ declaring to him the Diſſolution of the Parliament, and the Exigency of the Times, did, in the Name of the Army, and of the three Nations, earneſtly deſire him to accept of the Protectorſhip of them.’ To which he aſſenting, a large Inſtrument in Parchment was read to him, conſiſting of forty two Articles, and call'd THE INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT. The Subſtance of which was, ‘ That the *Protector* ſhou'd call a Parliament once in every three Years, which was to conſiſt of about four hundred Men, beſides thoſe out of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; the firſt of which was to meet on the third Day of *September* 1654; and that he ſhould not diſſolve any Parliament once met, till they had ſat five Months; that ſuch Bills as ſhou'd be preſented to him by the Parliament, if they ſhou'd not be confirm'd by him within twenty Days, ſhou'd paſs without him into Laws: That he ſhou'd have a ſelect *Council* to aſſiſt him, which ſhou'd not exceed twenty one, nor be leſs than thirteen: That immediately after his Death, the *Council* ſhall chuſe another

Cromwell *inveſted with the Office of* PROTECTOR.

The Inſtrument of Government.

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‘ *Protector*, before they roſe: That no *Protector* after him ‘ ſhou'd be General of the Army: That the *Protector* ‘ ſhou'd have Power to make Peace and War; and farther, ‘ with the Conſent of his Council, he ſhou'd make Laws ‘ which ſhou'd be binding, during the Intervals of Par‘ liament.’ While this was reading, *Cromwell* had his Hand upon the Bible, and when read, he took his Oath, ‘ That he wou'd not violate any Thing contain'd in that ‘ *Inſtrument of Government*; but wou'd obſerve, and cauſe ‘ the ſame to be obſerv'd; and in all Things govern the ‘ Nation according to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms, ‘ ſeeking Peace, and cauſing Juſtice and Law to be equally ‘ adminiſter'd.

A new Proclamation.

This new-invented Ceremony being over, the Lord-Mayor preſented the Sword to him, and the Keepers the Great-Seal; both which he very reſpectfully deliver'd back. This done, the Soldiers with a Shout cry'd out *God bleſs the Lord-Protector of the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland! and ſo he went back to *White-hall*, the Lord-Mayor carrying the Sword upright before him, and all were bare-headed beſides Himſelf. Immediately after, a Proclamation was made by a Herald in the *Palace-Yard*, ‘ That the late Parliament having diſſolv'd ‘ Themſelves, and reſign'd their whole Power and Au‘ thority, the Government of the Common-wealth of ‘ *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by a *Lord-Protector* and ‘ ſucceſſive *Triennial Parliaments*, was now eſtabliſh'd: ‘ And whereas *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of all ‘ the Forces of the Common-wealth, is declar'd *Lord-* ‘ *Protector* of the ſaid Nations, Publication was now made ‘ of the ſame; and all Perſons, from the Higheſt to the ‘ Loweſt, in any of the ſaid three Nations, were ſtrictly ‘ charged and commanded to take Notice thereof, and to ‘ conform and ſubmit themſelves to the Government ſo ‘ eſtabliſh'd; and Sheriffs, Mayors, *&c.* were requir'd to ‘ publiſh this Proclamation, to the End that none might ‘ have Cauſe to pretend Ignorance therein.’ Which Proclamation was at the ſame Time publiſh'd in *Cheapſide* by the Lord-Mayor; and, with all poſſible Expedition, by the Sheriffs, and other Officers, throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. Thus, with ſo much Eaſe, did this extraordinary Man, without any other Reaſon than his own Will, and without the Aſſiſtance, and without the Inclination of the Nobility and Gentry of the Land, mount Himſelf into the Throne of three Kingdoms without the Name of KING; but with greater Power and Authority than had been exercis'd or claim'd by any preceding King; and receiv'd greater Evidence of Reſpect, and Marks of Eſteem, from all the Kings and Princes in *Chriſtendom*, than had ever been ſhew'd to any Monarch of the ſame Nations: Which was the more remarkable, in that they all abhorr'd his Perſon, when they trembled at his Power, and courted his Amity.

The Death of Doctor Gouge,

Mr. Holyoke,

*M.*Dugard,

Mr. Chilmead,

Dr. Pottinger,

And Sir Hen. Vane *Senior.*

At this Period we ſhall conclude the Year with the Deaths of four or five conſiderable Perſons, tho' of inferior Degree: As Doctor *William Gouge*, a Perſon educated in King's-College in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow, and thence remov'd to the Church of *Black-Fryers* in *London*; a learned and pious Preacher, one of the Aſſembly of Divines, accounted the Father of the *London* Miniſters of theſe Times, and highly eſteem'd by ſeveral Foreign Divines. Next was Mr. *Francis Holyoke*, in *Latin de ſacrâ Quercu*, a very ancient Divine and Linguiſt of *South-Ham* in *Warwickſhire*; a Perſon chiefly to be remember'd for his elaborate *Dictionary*, which has been very advantagious to others, who have happily built upon his Foundation. Next, Mr. *R. Dugard*, Batchelor of Divinity, and Fellow of *Sidney-College* in *Cambridge*, an excellent *Grecian*, and a general Scholar, and the greateſt Tutor of his Time in the Univerſity; happily educating young Gentlemen in a Medium between Superſtition and Faction: He behav'd himſelf ſo wiſely, notwithſtanding his Zeal for the King's *Cauſe*, that he found Means to be a Benefactor to his College, and a particular Help to diſtreſſed Cavaliers. After him was Mr. *Edmund Chilmead*, an *Oxonian* of *Chriſt-Church*, a choice Mathematician, a noted Critick and Linguiſt, and one of extraordinary Ingenuity and Curioſity; who being ejected by the Viſitors, was forc'd to live upon a Muſick-Meeting in *London*, where he was ſnatch'd away in the Prime of his Years. Laſtly dy'd Dr. *John Pottinger*, Fellow of *New-College* in *Oxford*, and then the famous Maſter of *Wincheſter* School, a Perſon juſtly admired for his Diſcipline and Method of Teaching, and his bringing up ſuch Numbers of learned and excellent Men, who were able by their Parts to maſter that Faction that maſter'd Him, and drove him out of his Benefice. After all theſe we may mention the Death of Sir *Henry Vane* the Elder, whoſe Character is already given; who after he had ſhewn the higheſt Ingratitude to the late King, and done what Miſchief he was able, he was laid aſide, fell into the Hatred and Contempt of thoſe who had made moſt uſe of him, and dy'd in univerſal Reproach, not more deſpis'd by any of his Enemies, than by his own Son, who had been his chief Conductor in all his Ways: But for the better Security of his Eſtate, he entail'd it upon his Grandſon.

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Cromwell's new Council

II. I. *Cromwell* having now, beſides the Power of a Monarch, the Solemnity of an Inauguration, proceeded in the Exerciſe of his Government with all Vigour and Induſtry. He had by his tranſcendent Subtilty cheriſh'd many Sects of deſperate Schiſmaticks in his Army, and elſewhere, by whoſe Help he firſt pull'd down the *Preſbyterians*, and then deſtroy'd the King; therefore it was not his leaſt Skill now ſo to manage theſe unruly Spirits, that none of them by claſhing might endanger the Publick; nor that any of them, upon Occaſion, ſhou'd be unſerviceable to his Deſigns. To which End, as well to ballance them rightly, as to rule them when he pleas'd, he made Choice of the moſt active and leading Men into his Council, by whoſe Influence he had the guiding of all the reſt of each Faction; which Method he alſo obſerv'd in the Choice of his Head Officers in the Army. His firſt Council, choſen in purſuance of the *Inſtrument of Government*, were fourteen in Number, Major-General *Lambert*, Colonel *Montague*, Lord *Liſle*, Colonel *Deſborough*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *Charles Woolſley*, Major-General *Skippon*, Mr. *Strickland*, Colonel *Sydenham*, Colonel *Jones*, Mr. *Rouſe*, Mr. *Lawrence*, and Mr. *Major*. Being thus ſettled in his new Dominion, he ſet forth an Ordinance, declaring what Offences ſhou'd be adjudg'd Treaſon; and likewiſe another for repealing thoſe Acts and Reſolves of Parliament, which had formerly been made for ſubſcribing to the *Engagement*. Then well conſidering, that all the former Bloodſhed and Confuſion, as it had been chiefly brought about by the Pulpits, ſo by the like Means his new-eſtabliſh'd Rules might eaſily be ſhaken, he fram'd another Ordinance, whereby certain ſelect Commiſſioners, call'd by the Name of *Tryers*, were appointed for the Approbation of all publick Preachers, that ſhou'd for the future enter upon any Benefice.

The Manner of the Protector's Entertainment in the City.

And now to make the greater Show, He was invited by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, to dine at *Grocer's-Hall*, upon *Aſhwedneſday*, the 18th of *February*; and that he might have the more Veneration from the People, it was contriv'd, that he ſhou'd ride through the City in State to that Feaſt, which was accordingly perform'd in this Manner. Firſt the ſeveral Companies of *London*, in their Liveries, plac'd themſelves, according to their Superiority, in the Streets from the lower End of *Cheapſide*, to *Temple-Bar*, within Rails, hung with Blue Cloth, with the City Banner and Streamers, belonging to their reſpectiue Companies, ſet before them. Then the Lord-Mayor *Vyner*, with all his *Regalia*, attended by the Aldermen in Scarlet and Gold Chains rode to *Temple-Bar*. Where meeting the Lord Protector, with his Military Train, he deliver'd up the Sword to him; and then making a ſhort congratulatory Speech to his Highneſs, they thus proceeded towards *Grocers-Hall*. Firſt the City-Marſhal, with ſome other Officers: Then ſix Trumpets; and after them his Highneſs's Life-Guard: Then eight Trumpets more, follow'd by the City-Streamers red and white: Then the Aldermen, and after them the two Sheriffs: Next his Highneſs's Heralds, with rich Coats, adorn'd with the Arms of the Common-wealth: Then the Mace and Cap of Maintenance carry'd before the Lord-Mayor, carrying the Sword bare-headed, with two Gentlemen-Uſhers: Then his Highneſs the Protector, with twelve Footmen in grey Liveries laced with Silver, and other Ornaments. After him rode Major-General *Skippon*, with the reſt of the Council, and the great Officers of the Army. At *Grocers-Hall* the Recorder made a Speech to let his Highneſs underſtand, ‘ How happy that City did account ‘ themſelves under his conſpicuous Government, and like‘ wiſe in the Enjoyment of his Preſence with them that ‘ Day.’ Which done, he knighted the Lord-Mayor; and then dined with as much Splendor and Magnificence as any Monarch of *England* had done before him. But he met with none of the Applauſes in the Streets that were expected; and in his Return he was ſaluted with a Brick-bat upon his Coach, from the Top of a Houſe in the *Strand*; and Search was made after the Author of that daring Affront, but to no Effect.

He makes a Peace with the Dutch.

And now the Protector had the Opportunity to conclude a Peace with the *Dutch*: He began to be weary of the Charge of that War, and knew he had much to do to ſettle the Government at home, and that he might upon Occaſion chuſe more convenient Enemies abroad, who were not able to give him thoſe Obſtructions that the *Hollanders* could do. Therefore he brought the *Dutch* to accept of ſuch Conditions as were moſt tending to his own Advantage; among which one was, ‘ That they ſhou'd not ſuffer ‘ any of the King's Party, or any Enemy to the Com-

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‘ mon-wealth of *England*, to reſide within their Dominions;’ and another, which was contain'd in a ſecret Article, confirm'd by the States Great-Seal, by which they oblig'd Themſelves, ‘ Never to admit the Prince of *Orange* to be their *State-Holder*, General, or Admiral; and likewiſe to deliver up the Iſland of *Polerone* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which they had taken from the *Engliſh* in the Reign of King *James*, into the Hands of the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company; and to pay a good Sum of Mony (ſome ſay three Hundred Thouſand Pounds) for the old barbarous Uſage at *Amboyna*;’ for which the two laſt Kings cou'd never obtain any Satisfaction. Thus the whole Peace was concluded with the States-General, in the Beginning of *April*, with all the Advantages to Himſelf he cou'd deſire, having indeed all the Perſons of Power and Intereſt there faſt bound to him upon their mutual Intereſt.

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The French *Ambaſſador's Speech to the Protector.*

2. The Peace with the *Dutch*, and the ſlaviſh Condition to which *Cromwell* had brought the People of theſe Nations, caus'd him not only to be idoliz'd by his Party at home, but to be highly reverenc'd abroad. Moſt of the Princes of *Europe* made Application to him; among whom the *French* King was the firſt, whoſe Ambaſſador thus addreſs'd himſelf to him in the *Banquetting-Houſe* at *Whitehall: Your moſt ſerene* Highneſs *has already receiv'd ſome principal Aſſurances of the King my Maſter, and of his Deſire to eſtabliſh a perfect Correſpondency between his Dominions and* England. *His Majeſty, this Day, gives to your* Highneſs *ſome publick Demonſtration of the ſame; and his ſending his Ambaſſador to* your Highneſs, *does plainly ſhew,* ‘ *That the Eſteem which his Majeſty makes of your* Highneſs, *and Intereſt of his People, have more Power in his Councils, than many Conſiderations, that wou'd be of great Concernment to a Prince leſs affected with the one and the other.*’ *This Proceeding, grounded upon ſuch ſound Principles, and ſo different from what is only guided by* Ambition, *renders the Amity of the King my Maſter, as conſiderable for its* Firmneſs, *as its* Utility; *for which Reaſon it is ſo eminently eſteem'd and courted by all the greateſt Princes and Potentates of the Earth. But his Majeſty communicates none to any with ſo much Joy and Chearfulneſs, as to Thoſe, whoſe* virtuous Acts *and* extraordinary Merits, *render them more conſpicuouſly famous, than the Largeneſs of their Dominions. His Majeſty is ſenſible,* ‘ *That all theſe Advantages do* wholly *reſide in your* Highneſs; *and that the Divine Providence, after ſo many Calamities, cou'd not deal more favourably with theſe three Nations, nor cauſe them to forget their paſt Miſeries, with greater Satisfaction, than by ſubmitting them to ſo* juſt a Government.’ *And ſince it is not ſufficient for the compleating of their Happineſs, to make them enjoy Peace at home, becauſe it depends no leſs in good Correſpondency with Nations abroad; the King my Maſter does not doubt but to find alſo the ſame Diſpoſition in your* Highneſs, *which his Majeſty here expreſſes in his Letters. After ſo many Diſpoſitions expreſs'd both by his Majeſty and your* Highneſs, *towards the Accommodation of the two Nations, there is Reaſon to believe,* ‘ *That their Wiſhes will be ſoon accompliſh'd.*’ *As for me, I have none greater, than to be able to ſerve the King my Maſter, with the good Pleaſure and Satisfaction of your* Highneſs; *and that the Happineſs I have to tender to your* Highneſs *the* firſt Aſſurances *of his Majeſty's Eſteem, may give me Occaſion by my Services to merit the* Honour of your gracious Affection.

Cromwell *makes an Union of the three Kingdoms.*

The Protector being thus ſtrengthen'd, he forc'd *Portugal* to ſend an Ambaſſador to beg Peace, and ſubmit to expiate the Offence they had committed in receiving Prince *Rupert*, by the Payment of a great Sum of Mony; and let *Denmark* be taken into the *Dutch* Treaty, upon the good Terms of making the States-General reſponſible for a Hundred and Forty Thouſand Pounds, to repair the Damage done by the *Danes* to the *Engliſh*. At the ſame Time, by his Ambaſſador *Whitelock*, he made a firm Alliance with the Kingdom of *Sweden*. And the better to confirm himſelf in his new Government, he reſolv'd to unite the three Kingdoms into one Common-wealth, to be the more eaſily manag'd by Him the ſole Head. So, with Conſent of his Council, on *April* 12, he made an Ordinance, ſetting forth, ‘ How he had took into Conſideration, that the People of *Scotland* ought to be united with the People of *England* into one Common-wealth, and under one Government; and had found that in *December* 1651, the Parliament then ſitting had ſent Commiſſioners into *Scotland*, to invite the People of that Nation into ſuch an happy Union, who proceeded ſo far therein, that the Shires and Boroughs did accept of the ſaid Union, and aſſent thereunto; for the compleating and perfecting of which Union, he now Ordain'd, *That all the People of* Scotland, *and of all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, ſhou'd be incorporated into one Common-wealth with* England: *And in every Parliament to be held ſucceſſively for the ſame Common-wealth, thirty Perſons ſhou'd be call'd from, and ſerve for* Scotland, &c.’ And a like Ordinance was ſoon after made for a like Diſtribution of thirty Members from *Ireland*, to ſerve in the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. So much greater was the Power of an Uſurper, than that of a lawful Prince; and to ſhew he wou'd be no ways inferior, he now remov'd his Lodgings, which before were in the *Cock-Pit*, into thoſe of the late King, in his Royal Palace at *Whitehall*.

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He finds England *unmanageable.*

3. Tho' the Protector had now nothing to do but at home, all Nations contending, by their Ambaſſadors, which ſhou'd render themſelves moſt acceptable to him; *Scotland* lying under a heavy Yoke under the ſtrict Government of *Monk*, lately ſent to rule that Province, which was ſubjugated to the *Engliſh* Laws, and their Kirk to the Obedience of the State with Reference to Aſſemblies or Synods; *Ireland* being confeſſedly ſubdued, and no Oppoſition made to the Protector's Commands, iſſu'd out by his Son *Henry Cromwell*, whom he ſent thither as his Lieutenant of that Kingdom; yet notwithſtanding all this, *England* prov'd not ſo towardly and manageable as was expected. *Vane*, and the moſt conſiderable of the *Independent* Party, from the Time he had turn'd them out of the Long Parliament, retired quietly into the Country, where they poiſon'd the Affections of their Neighbours towards the preſent Government; yet carry'd themſelves ſo warily, that they took Care not to diſturb the Peace of the Nation, or to give *Cromwell* any great Advantage againſt them. There was another Party leſs wary, and more deſperate, the *Levellers*; many of whom had been the moſt active *Agitators* in the Army, who had carry'd on his Deſigns in incenſing the Army againſt the Parliament, and had been at that time his ſole Confidents, and Bed-Fellows; who, from the Time he aſſum'd the Title of *Protector*, which to them was as odious as that of King, profeſs'd a mortal Hatred to his Perſon; and he well knew both theſe People had too much Credit in his Army, and with ſome principal Officers of it. Theſe Men he more really dreaded than all the King's Party, of which he had in Truth no great Apprehenſion, tho' he cunningly colour'd many of the Preparations he made againſt the other, as if provided againſt the Dangers threatned from them. Againſt the King's Party he teſtify'd his moſt open Malice and Hatred; and often mortify'd the unruly Spirits of the *Preſbyterians* at their Expence. He laid new Impoſitions upon them; they were watch'd by his Spies, and upon every light Rumour of a Conſpiracy, as many as he thought fit to ſuſpect, were thrown into Priſon: He enjoin'd others not to ſtir from their own Houſes, and baniſh'd all who had ever been in Arms for the King, from the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and laid other Penalties upon them, contrary to the Articles granted to them when they gave up their Arms, and to the Indemnity upon making their Compoſitions.

The Tryal of Gerard *and* Vowell.

Within a Month after the Peace was made with *Holland*, for the better Eſtabliſhment of *Cromwell*'s Empire, a High Court of Juſtice was erected, according to the Model in the late Common-wealth, for the Tryal of Perſons accuſed of holding Correſpondence with the King, and for High-Treaſon againſt the Life of the Protector. The chief Perſons accus'd of this were, Mr. *Gerard*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, about twenty two Years of Age, who had been an Enſign in the King's Army; and one Mr. *Vowell*, who kept a conſiderable School for Lads about *Iſlington*. Mr. *Gerard* was charg'd with having been at *Paris*, and there ſpeaking with the King; which he did not deny, at the ſame time declaring, ‘ That he went to *Paris*, upon a private Buſineſs of his own, which when he had diſpatch'd, and ready to return to *England*, he deſir'd the Lord *Gerard*, his Kinſman, to preſent him to the King, that he might kiſs his Hand; which he did in a large Room, where many were preſent; and that when he ask'd his Majeſty, *Whether he wou'd command him any Service into* England? His Majeſty bid him *to commend him to his Friends there, and to charge them that they ſhou'd be quiet, and not engage themſelves in any* Plots, *which muſt prove ruinous to them, and cou'd do him no good.*’ All which was true; for the King had obſerv'd ſo much of the Temper of the People at his being at *Worceſter*, and in his after Concealment, the Fears they lay under, and the Difficulties of an Inſurrection, that he endeavour'd nothing more than to divert and remove all Inclinations that Way. However, this High Court of Juſtice receiv'd Proof, ‘ That Mr. *Gerard* and Mr. *Vowell* had been preſent with ſome other Gentlemen in a Tavern, where a Diſcourſe had been rais'd, *how eaſie it was to kill the Protector, and at the ſame time to ſeize the* Tower *of* London; *and that if at the ſame Time the King were proclaim'd, the City of* London *wou'd preſently declare for his Majeſty, and no Body wou'd oppoſe him.*’ Upon this Evidence,

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dence, theſe two Gentlemen were condemn'd to be hang'd.

On the tenth of *July*, about two Months after they had been in Priſon, a Gallows was erected at *Charing-Croſs*, whither Mr. *Vowell* was brought; who was a Perſon utterly unknown to the King, or any intruſted by him, but worthy to have his Name and Memory preſerv'd in the Liſt of thoſe who moſt couragiouſly ſacrificed their Lives to the Crown. He ſhew'd himſelf above all the Fears of Death, *which*, he ſaid, *he ſuffer'd without having committed any Fault*. He profeſs'd his Duty to the King, and his Reverence for the Church; and earneſtly and pathetically adviſ'd the People to return to their Fidelity to both; *which*, he told them, *they wou'd at laſt be compell'd to do, after all their Sufferings*. He addreſs'd himſelf chiefly to the Soldiers, and told them, *how unworthily they proſtituted themſelves to ſerve the Ambition of a bloody Tyrant*; and conjur'd them, *to forſake him, and to ſerve the King*; *which, he was ſure, they wou'd at laſt do*. And ſo having devoutly recommended the King, the Kingdom, and himſelf, to God in very pious Prayers, he ended his Life with as much Chriſtian Reſolution as can be expected from the cleareſt Conſcience. A little more Reſpect was ſhewn to Mr. *Gerard*, who that Afternoon was brought to a *Scaffold* on *Tower-Hill* to be beheaded. But they were ſo little pleas'd with the Behaviour of the Sufferer in the Morning, that they wou'd not permit this to ſpeak to the People, but urg'd him to diſcover all the Secrets of the Plot and Conſpiracy. He told them, *That if he had a hundred Lives, he wou'd loſe them all to do the King any Service, and was now willing to die upon that Suſpicion*; *but that he was very innocent of what was charg'd againſt him*; *that he had not contriv'd, or conſented to any Plot or Conſpiracy, nor countenanc'd any Diſcourſe to that Purpoſe*; and offer'd again to ſpeak to the People, and to magnify the King: Upon which they wou'd not ſuffer him to proceed; and ſo with undaunted Courage he ſubmitted to the Stroke of the Executioner.

They both ſuffer Death.

The ſame Day ended with an Execution ariſing from a Cauſe and a Perſon very different from the other two. The *Portugal* Ambaſſador had in his ſplendid Retinue a Brother, call'd *Don Panteleon Sa*, a Knight of *Malta*, and a Man eminent in many great Actions, who out of Curioſity to ſee *England*, attended in this Embaſſy. Being of a high and imperious Temper, upon a ſudden Accident and Miſtake, he had a Quarrel in the *New-Exchange* with the laſt nam'd Mr. *Gerard*, who had ſhewn ſuch a Neglect or Contempt of the *Portugueſe* Rodomontades, as had made him look upon it as an Affront. Upon which, to revenge the Quarrel, the *Don* repair'd thither the next Day, with Servants arm'd with Swords, Piſtols, and other Weapons; where, without meeting with Mr. *Gerard*, they kill'd another Gentleman, whom they took for him, and wounded ſeveral others, that ſtood in their own Defence. This caus'd a mighty Tumult and Diſturbance; and *Don Pantaleon* flying to his Brother's Houſe, the People flock'd together from all Parts to apprehend the Murderers; and the Ambaſſador knowing nothing of the Affair, thought himſelf attack'd by the rude Multitude, and ſtood upon his Defence. *Cromwell* being adviſ'd of what had happen'd, ſent an Officer with Soldiers to demand and ſeize the Perſons ingag'd in the Action; and more particularly demanded of the Ambaſſador the Perſon of his Brother, to be deliver'd to him, without which he wou'd break open the Houſe, and ſeize him. The Ambaſſador inſiſted upon the Privilege due to his Houſe by the Law of Nations, which he wou'd defend againſt all Violence; but finding the Officer reſolute, and himſelf too weak, he deſir'd and obtain'd Time to ſend to the Protector; to whom he complain'd of the Injury done him, and deſir'd an Audience. *Cromwell* ſent him Word, *That a Gentleman had been murther'd, and others hurt, and that Juſtice muſt be ſatisfy'd*; and therefore requir'd, *That all Perſons concern'd might be deliver'd into the Hands of his Officer*; *without which, if he ſhou'd withdraw his Soldiers, the People wou'd execute Juſtice, by a Way for which he wou'd not be anſwerable*. This being done, *He ſhou'd have an Audience, and all the Satisfaction it was in his Power to give*. The Ambaſſador deſir'd, *That his Brother, and the reſt, might remain in his Houſe, and he wou'd be reſponſible, and produce them at the Time ſhou'd be aſſign'd*. But nothing wou'd ſatisfy but the Delivery of the Perſons, and the People encreas'd their Cry *That they wou'd pull down the Houſe!* Upon which the Ambaſſador, to his great Affliction, was compell'd to deliver up his Brother, and the reſt; who were all ſent Priſoners to *Newgate*. The Ambaſſador us'd his utmoſt Sollicitations for his Brother, being willing to leave the reſt to the Mercy of the Laws; but cou'd receive no other Anſwer than, *That Juſtice muſt be done:* And Juſtice was done to the full; for they were all brought to their Tryal, before a Jury of half *Engliſh* and half Strangers, and as many as were found guilty, condemn'd to Death. All were executed at *Tyburn*, except *Don Pantaleon*, who was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, immediately after the Execution of Mr. *Gerard*; where he loſt his Head, with as much Dejection of Spirit, as the other had done with Courage and Magnanimity. This laſt Proceeding inhanced the Opinion of the Protector's Juſtice, as well as his Power.

The Caſe of the Portugal *Ambaſſador's Brother.*

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His Execution.

The King's Condition in France.

4. During all theſe Tranſactions at home, the King paſs'd away his Time in a low, and ſtill more declining Condition abroad. He had been in *France* above two Years after his wonderful Eſcape, where he attended on the grand Solemnity of the Coronation of the *French* King at *Rheims*; and us'd all his Endeavours to reconcile the jarring Intereſts of that Court, but at the ſame Time found many Inconveniencies from the Diviſions of that little one of his own. He was often beſet and attack'd as to his Religion, and ſometimes as to his Perſon, in Matches propos'd to him, particularly in one with the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Daughter, with whom he was to receive a very great Fortune, and her Father's Aſſiſtance for his Reſtoration. But as the *Engliſh* Common-wealth and *Cromwell* encreaſed in their Power, ſo the *French* Court grew more and more uneaſie at his Reſidence, and he at his Treatment. Upon which Account, in the laſt Year, his Brother the Duke of *York* left *Paris*, and repair'd to the *French* Army under the Command of the famous Marſhal *Turenne*; where in a ſhort Time he gain'd the Reputation of a Prince of a very ſignal Courage, and by his affable Behaviour the univerſal Love of the Army. This Year Prince *Rupert* repair'd to him, having brought into *France* the poor Remains of his ſhatter'd Fleet; which prov'd of ſome little Advantage to him under his preſſing Neceſſities. He ſent the Lord *Wilmot*, whom he made Earl of *Rocheſter*, to the Diet at *Ratiſbone*, to ſollicite the *German* Princes for Contributions in this low Condition; and as *Mazarine*, to humble the *Spaniard*, began to fall in with *Cromwell*'s Meaſures, he daily found that his Continuance in the *French* Court wou'd be neither comfortable for his Life, nor ſafe for his Perſon. *Holland* was bound not to admit him into their Dominions, and by their Example had ſhew'd other Princes, and Potentates, to what Conditions they muſt ſubmit who wou'd be Allys to *Cromwell*. The King of *Spain* was at the ſame Time contending with *France* for that Uſurper's Friendſhip, and judg'd he had ſome Advantage with him by the Reſidence the King had in *France*; ſo there cou'd be no Thought of his repairing into that King's Dominions in *Flanders*. The Proteſtants, in moſt Places, who had been miſ-led as to his Father's Cauſe, expreſſed more Inclination to his rebellious Subjects than to him. The *Roman* Catholicks look'd upon him as one that wou'd be neceſſitated to throw himſelf into their Arms by changing his Religion, without which they generally declar'd, *They wou'd never give him the leaſt Aſſiſtance:* Yet the Cardinal *de Retz* generouſly told him, *That tho' it became him as a Cardinal to wiſh his Majeſty a Catholick for the ſaving his Soul*; *yet he muſt declare, That if he did change his Religion, he wou'd never be reſtor'd to his Kingdoms*. He had ſome Encouragement to adventure once more into *Scotland*, by the Encreaſe of his Forces under *Glencarne* and *Middleton*, and the common Senſe of Slavery, under which that People now lay; but he had ſo little Love for the Country, and ſo much Experience of the Kirk, that he ſuffer'd the Armies there to complain of his not coming to the Head of them, till they were entirely defeated and ſuppreſs'd by General *Monk*.

He retires to the Spaw.

In this Diſtreſs, and after repeated Importunities from his Friends in *England* to remove out of *France*, in the Beginning of *June*, he took leave of the *French* Court, having firſt receiv'd the Arrears of his ſmall Allowance from the Ruling Cardinal, with a Promiſe of the Continuance of it. So, without any form'd Deſign of Reſidence, but rather as a Journey, or a Viſit, he paſs'd through part of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, as *Cambray*, *Mons* and *Namure*, without any Marks of Reſpect from the Arch-Duke the Governor, and ſo through *Liege* to the famous *Spaw*; whether he met with his beloved Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange*, who came thither, as well for the Benefit of the Waters, as the Happineſs of his Company; with whom he continu'd two or three Months with ſingular Eaſe and Satisfaction. When the Seaſon was over, he remov'd with his Siſter to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he was honourably received by the Magiſtrates of that Free-City, and encourag'd to ſtay there. But not long after, in the middle of *September*, waiting upon the Princeſs Royal to *Cologne*, he met with a more than ordinary Invitation to fix his Reſidence there; being receiv'd with all the Reſpect, Pomp, and Magnificence,

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And at laſt fixes at Cologne.

that cou'd be expected, or the City cou'd perform. So that, after he had attended his Siſter to the Duke of *Newburg*'s Palace at *Duſſeldorp*, and taken his Leave of her at *Santen*, with no ſmall Paſſion and Concern, he ſettled Himſelf, with his ſmall Court or Family, in this City, for about two Years and ſix Months. His general Subſiſtence exceeded not above ſix hundred Piſtoles a Month, which was to ſerve for the Occaſions of Him and all his Attendants; yet by the excellent Managemement of Mr. *Stephen Fox*, a wiſe, modeſt and induſtrious young Gentleman, the Family was ſo well regulated, that the King and the reſt enjoy'd much greater Eaſe and Contentment, than ever they had done in *France*. I have been aſſur'd by the ſame Perſon, ſince Sir *Stephen Fox*, who ſhew'd me a particular Paper all under the King's own Hand, that this happy Regulation and Management was wholly owing to the King Himſelf, tho' the Lord *Clarendon* had too favourably attributed it to him: And he further declar'd theſe Words, *That his Majeſty was the beſt Oeconomiſt he ever met with in his whole Life.* His Majeſty cou'd not have choſen a more convenient Retreat, or a Place where he wou'd be more civilly treated; who now betook himſelf with great Chearfulneſs to compoſe his Mind to his Fortune; and with ſingular Satisfaction, preſcrib'd ſo many Hours in the Day to his Retirement in his Cloſet, which he employ'd in reading and ſtudying both the *French* and *Italian* Authors; and at other Times walk'd much upon the Walls of the Town, and ſometimes rid into the Fields; and, in the whole, he ſpent his Time both to his real Benefit, and his publick Reputation.

His Majeſty had left his youngeſt Brother, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, at *Paris* with his Mother, who with great Importunity had gain'd that Point of him, having firſt promis'd 'That ſhe wou'd not permit any Attempt to be made towards the Changing his Religion.' But upon the King's Abſence her Zeal for the *Romiſh* Faith put her upon uſing all Methods for that End: She put away Mr. *Lovel* his Tutor, and committed him to the Care of the Abbot *Mountague* her Almoner; who, together with herſelf and others, us'd all the inſinuating Arguments to induce him to embrace the *Roman-Catholick* Religion, with all the Promiſes and Threats moſt likely to prevail upon a Perſon of his Age, then but Fourteen. But the dying Commands and Inſtructions of his Father had made ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion upon this excellent young Prince, that he nobly reſiſted all their ſeveral Attacks, which caus'd them at laſt to treat him with unuſual Rigour and Severity. The King, not long after his Settlement in *Cologne*, receiv'd the Account of this Affair with great Concern and Affliction; and to let the World ſee he wou'd do what he cou'd to prevent this Diſhonour, he ſent over to *Paris* the brave Marqueſs of *Ormond*, who, as he was ſure, wou'd ſteadily execute his Command, which was, through all Difficulties, to bring the Duke his Brother along with him. The Marqueſs, with great Labour and Hazard, and with no leſs Courage and Reſolution, got the young Prince out of their Hands, to the infinite Regret of the Queen his Mother; and having brought him to *Cologne*, his Majeſty was extreamly pleas'd with the Negotiation and Succeſs, and kept his Brother with him till the Time he return'd into *England*: So careful was the King, AT THAT TIME, of preſerving the Purity and Honour of his Father's Religion.

He ſends for the Duke of Glocester *from* France

*Crom*well's *Preparations for his*

III. I. During theſe Tranſactions abroad, the Protector *Cromwell* found it his greateſt Care at home to manage the approaching Parliament, which was to be elected according to the late *Inſtrument of Government*, a greater Number out of the Counties, and a leſſer out of the Boroughs, the whole amounting to about four hundred in *England*. To this purpoſe he expreſly fixt upon the Set of Members to be ſent out of the conquer'd Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, where the Shew of Election was made to concur with his declared Nomination: And even in *England*, where Liberty was to be more ſpeciouſly pretended, he had ſuch an Influence upon the People, and ſuch an Awe upon the Sheriffs and Magiſtrates, that very few were return'd diſagreeable to his own Deſires. And then to purge out thoſe Few, he brought the Tryal of Elections into a Committee of his own Council, before the opening of the Parliament. So that by the Time of Sitting, they were, in appearance, all right and true to his Purpoſe, except the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, Mr. *John Wildman*, Mr. *Highland*, and one or two other inflexible Republicans, who for that Reaſon were by his own Will and Pleaſure excluded the Houſe.

SECOND PARLIAMENT.

The third of *September*, tho' it fell upon a *Sunday*, being reckon'd an auſpicious Day by the Protector, he wou'd have that to be the Opening of the Parliament; and caus'd the Members, after hearing a Sermon at *Weſtminſter-Abby*, to wait upon him in the *Painted-Chamber*, where he made a Speech to them of the Cauſe of their Summons, and ſo ſent them to their Houſe to adjourn to the next Day. On which Day he had a ſecond Opening in the moſt Solemn Monarchical Manner: He was drawn from *Whitehall* in a Coach of State, in which his Son *Henry* and *Lambert* ſat with him bare; many Hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers walking uncover'd; and next before the Coach his Pages and Lacqueys in ſplendid Liveries; on each Side of the Coach, *Strickland* and *Howard* Captains of his Guards; after the Coach, *Claypole* Maſter of the Horſe, on Horſeback, leading the Horſe of State, adorn'd with the moſt rich Trappings; then the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal and the Treaſury, and all the principal Men of his Council and Army. He alighted at the Abby-Door, and had the Purſe carry'd before him by *Whitelock*, and the Sword by *Lambert*; and was plac'd in a Seat rais'd before the Pulpit, the Members of Parliament being diſpos'd on each Side of him. After a Sermon preach'd by Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, his Highneſs went in the ſame Equipage to the *Painted-Chamber*, where being Seated in a Chair of State, with the Members ſitting round upon Benches all bare, he put off his Hat, and made a long and ſubtle Speech to them, telling them 'Firſt of the Danger of the *Levelling Principles*, and of the *Fifth Monarchy* Opinions, and of the *Form of Godlineſs*, and the two Pretenſions, *Liberty of the Subject*, and *Liberty of Conſcience*, brought in to patronize thoſe Evils: Which Abominations had ſwell'd to that Height, that the Axe had been laid to the Root of the Miniſtry as *Antichriſtian* and *Babyloniſh*, and Swarms of *Jeſuits* were continually wafted over hither, to conſume and deſtroy the Welfare of *England*; which, together with the Foreign Wars, had made the whole Nation a Heap of Confuſion. Then he let them know to whom the Remedy and Deliverance was owing; That the new erected Government was calculated for the People's Intereſt, let malignant Spirits ſay what they wou'd; and that with Humbleneſs towards God, and Modeſty towards them, he wou'd recount ſomewhat in Behalf of it: It had reform'd the Laws, and put good Men into the Seats of Juſtice; had regulated the *Chancery*, ſettled a Way for Approbation of able Miniſters, and had been inſtrumental in calling a *Free Parliament*; had made Peace with *Sweden* and the *Danes*, with the *Dutch*, and with *Portugal*, and was now in a Treaty with *France*: That theſe Things were but Entrances and *Doors of Hope*; but now he made no Queſtion to enable them to lay the *Top Stone* of the Work; recommending to them that Maxim, *That Peace, tho' it were made, was not to be truſted farther than it conſiſted with Intereſt*: That they wou'd avoid Confuſions, leſt Foreign States ſhou'd take Advantage of them; therefore the great Work now upon the Parliament was, That the Government of *England* might be ſettled in Terms of Honour. Laſtly, for himſelf, he did not ſpeak like one *that wou'd be a Lord over them*, but as one that *wou'd be a Fellow-Servant with them in this great Affair*:' And ſo order'd them to repair to their Houſe, and there make Choice of a Speaker.

1654. Car. 6.

His Speech.

Lenthal *the Speaker.*

They almoſt unanimouſly made Choice of *William Lenthal*, the Speaker of the Long Parliament; which Agreement in chuſing him proceeded from very diſagreeing Principles, as the noble Hiſtorian obſerves. *Cromwell* had deſign'd him as auſpicious to his Ends; concluding he wou'd be made a Property in This, as well as he had been in the Long Parliament, where he always comply'd with the moſt prevailing Party. And the other Perſons, whoſe Deſigns were oppoſite to his, were well pleas'd, in hopes that the ſame Man's being in the Chair might facilitate the renewing and reviving of the former Houſe, which they eſteem'd as the true legitimate Parliament, which, tho' Strangled by the Tyranny of *Cromwell*, had yet Life enough remaining. To which End they immediately fell to making Speeches in Derogation of the Lord-Protector's Authority, earneſtly preſſing, 'That thoſe Members of the *good old Parliament*, which were then, by God's Providence, ſo met together, ſhou'd forthwith declare for, and re-aſſume their juſt and rightful Power.' Many argued againſt the Authority of their Meeting, and the Current of the Houſe inſiſted upon the firſt clearing that Point, as fundamental in it ſelf: And one Republican Member took the Liberty to ſay, 'That they cou'd not but diſcern the Snares laid to entrap the Privileges of the People; and for his own Part, as God hath made him inſtrumental in cutting down Tyranny in *One Perſon*, ſo he cou'd not endure to ſee the Nation's Liberties ſhackled by *Another*; whoſe Right to the Government cou'd be meaſur'd no other ways than by the Length of his Sword, which was only that which embolden'd him *to command his Commanders*.' This Spirit prevail'd ſo far, that for ſeven or eight Days together, the Protectorians cou'd not divert the Queſtion from being put, 'Whether the Government ſhou'd

Diviſions in the Houſe.

1654. Car. 6.

'ſhou'd be by a *Protector* and a *Parliament*.' In which Debates *Bradſhaw*, *Scot* and *Haſlerigg*, ſignaliz'd their Zeal for a Common-wealth; but the other Party found means to protract Time, and to adjourn the Houſe when the Queſtion was ready to be put.

2. The Protector being inform'd of theſe Tranſactions, reſolv'd once more to try what his Sovereign Preſence wou'd produce towards a better Compoſure: So on the twelfth of *September*, early in the Morning, he caus'd a Guard to be ſet upon the Door of the Houſe, and ſent to the Lord-Mayor to acquaint him with the Reaſons of what he was going to do, that he might prevent any Diſorders in the City. The Members coming at the uſual Hour were refus'd Entrance, and required to attend his Highneſs in the *Painted-Chamber*; where he recounted to them ſome of his meritorious Actions, particularly his Diſſolving the Long Parliament; declaring, 'That he had preſſed that Parliament as a Member, a great many Times, to put a Period to Themſelves, and told them, *That the Nation loathed their Sitting*; and that when they were diſſolv'd there was no viſible repining at it, *no not ſo much as the Barking of a Dog*.' Then teſtifying his great Concern for the Heats and Diviſions in the Houſe, he plainly told them, 'That he wou'd have them to take Notice of this, *That the ſame Government which made Him a PROTECTOR, made them a PARLIAMENT*; and there were ſome Things in the Government *Fundamental*, which cou'd not be alter'd by them: As, 1. The Government in *One Perſon* and a *Parliament*. 2. Parliaments not to be perpetual. 3. The Militia to be in the *Protector*, as well as the *Parliament*. 4. A Liberty of Conſcience in Matters of Religion.' That therefore they muſt not meddle with any of theſe Fundamental Things: And to prevent the Inconveniencies of ſo doing, he was neceſſitated to appoint them a *Teſt* or *Recognition* of the Government, in a *Protector* and a *Common-wealth*, which they ſhou'd all ſign before they went any more into the Houſe. The Form of the Recognition was this: *I* A. B. *do hereby promiſe and engage my ſelf, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland; *and ſhall not (according to the Tenor of the Indenture whereby I am return'd to ſerve in this preſent Parliament) propoſe, or give any Conſent to alter the Government, as it is ſettled in one ſingle Perſon and a Parliament.*

Cromwell *reproves the Members.*

And appoints them a Teſt.

This being ingroſs'd in Parchment, was laid on a Table for the Members to ſign, before they ſhou'd be qualify'd to ſit: And for thoſe who refus'd, they were not only excluded the Houſe, but ſome of them were taken into Cuſtody; among whom was the Protector's late great Favourite, Major-General *Harriſon*, now in Cuſtody of a Party of Horſe. This *Recognition* or *Engagement* was ſign'd by about a hundred and thirty Members within a Day or two; and ſome Days after many others ſubſcrib'd it, and took their Places in the Houſe; where a Debate ariſing touching the ſaid Recognition, they paſs'd a Declaration, 'That it ſhou'd not be intended to comprehend the whole contain'd in the forty two Articles of *The Inſtrument of Government*, but only that which required the Government of the Common-wealth to be by a ſingle Perſon, and ſucceſſive Parliaments.' And to this the major Part conſented, hoping that by their Compliance with him, in providing for his Safety, and his Government during Life, he wou'd have been ſatisfy'd with that, and left the People after his Death to an Election of their own. This great Point concerning the *Single Perſon* being gain'd, they apply'd themſelves to the Conſideration of the remaining Clauſes of the *Inſtrument of Government*. They declared, 'That *Oliver Cromwell* ſhou'd be Protector during Life, and limited the Number of Forces to be kept up in the three Kingdoms, to be twenty thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe, with a Proviſion of ſixty thouſand Pounds a Month. They agreed upon the Number of Ships that they thought neceſſary for the Guard of the Seas; and order'd two hundred thouſand Pounds a Year for the Protector's own Expences, the Salaries of his Council, the Judges, Foreign Intelligence, and the Reception of Ambaſſadors. They alſo voted a Clauſe to be inſerted, to declare the Rights of the People of *England*, particularly That no Mony ſhou'd be rais'd upon the Nation but by Authority of Parliament.' And whereas by the *Inſtrument of Government* it was provided, *That if the Parliament were not ſitting at the Death of the preſent Protector, the Council of Officers ſhou'd chuſe a Succeſſor*; they reſolv'd, 'That nothing ſhou'd be determin'd by the Council after his Death, but the calling of a Parliament, who were then to conſider what they wou'd have done. Thus they employ'd themſelves for ſome Months, beſides taking a tranſient View of the Protector's own Ordinances, which were, 'One for paying the Mony into the Treaſury rais'd for the Propagation of the Goſpel in *Wales*: Another to make Soldiers free in Corporations; a third to remove all ſcandalous Preachers and Miniſters; and a fourth for the ſurveying of King's and Churches Lands:' All which Ordinances he publiſh'd as ſo many Laws, juſt before the Sitting of the Parliament, to ſhew his own Power, and the Validity of his *Inſtrument of Government*.

Their Declaration and Ordinances.

1654. Car. 6.

During theſe Tranſactions of the Houſe, the Protector having aſſum'd the whole Power of the Nation to himſelf, and ſent Ambaſſadors and Agents to all Foreign States, was again courted by them, and preſented with the Rarities and Curioſities of ſeveral Countries: Among the reſt the Duke of *Holſtein* made him a Preſent of a noble Set of grey *Frizeland* Coach-Horſes; with which, taking the Air in the Park, attended only with his Secretary *Thurloe*, and his Guard of Janizaries, he thought fit to mount the Box, and take the Place of his Coach-man, as if he believ'd the three Pair of Horſes wou'd prove as tame as the three Nations now ridden by him. And therefore, not contented with their ordinary Pace, he laſh'd and drove them on with his uſual Fury. But they, unacquainted with ſuch a rough Manager, ran away with full Speed, and never ſtopp'd till they had violently thrown him out of the Box, with which Fall his Piſtol fired in his Pocket, tho' without any Hurt to himſelf. This became the Subject of Mirth and Ridicule among ſeveral, and of ſevere Lampoons among others; and occaſion'd ſome boldly to ſay, *That this ought to have inſtructed him how dangerous it was to intermeddle with thoſe Things, in which he had no Experience.*

A private Accident to Cromwell.

1655. Car. 6.

3. The pretended Parliament, being not fully inclin'd to ſerve *Cromwell*'s Deſigns, he grew impatient till the five Months allow'd for their Sitting ſhou'd be expired; during which Time he was reſtrain'd by his own *Inſtrument of Government*, from giving them an Interruption. And tho' they differ'd not in any material Point from that Form of Government which he himſelf had erected, unleſs it were in reſerving the Nomination of his Succeſſor to the Parliament; yet the Omiſſion of a Thing ſo near to him, ſo provok'd him, that he reſolv'd upon their Diſſolution. Therefore as ſoon as the five Months of their ſitting, according to the Soldiers Account of twenty eight Days to the Month, was expired, the Members were order'd to attend him on the 22d of *January* in the *Painted-Chamber*, where he made them a moſt tedious and intricate Speech, of which it may not be improper to inſert ſome Parcels: It begins thus: *Gentlemen, I perceive, you are here as the Houſe of* Parliament, *by your* Speaker, *whom I ſee here, and by your* Faces, *which are, in a great Meaſure, known to me.----As I may not take Notice what you have been doing, ſo I think I have a very great Liberty to tell you, That I do not know what you have been* doing: *I do not know whether you have been alive or dead, I have not once* heard *from you all this Time; I have not, and that you all know: If that be a Fault that I have not, ſurely it hath not been mine.----There be ſome* Trees *that will not grow under the* Shadow *of other* Trees; *There be ſome that chuſe (a Man may ſay ſo by way of Alluſion) to thrive under the* Shadow *of other* Trees: *I will tell you what hath* thriven; *I will not ſay what you have* cheriſh'd *under your* Shadow, *that were too hard. Inſtead of* Peace *and* Settlement, *inſtead of* Mercy *and* Truth *being brought together,* Righteouſneſs and Peace kiſſing each other, *by reconciling the honeſt People of theſe Nations, and ſettling the woful Diſtempers that are among us,* Weeds *and* Nettles, Briars *and* Thorns, *have* thriven *under your* Shadow; *Diſſettlement and Diviſion, Diſcontentment and Diſſatisfaction, together with real Dangers to the whole, have been multiply'd within theſe* Five Months *of your ſitting, more than in ſome* Years *before. Foundations have been alſo laid for the future renewing the* Troubles *of theſe Nations, by all the* Enemies *of it abroad and at* home: *Let not theſe Words ſeem too ſharp, for they are true, as any* Mathematical Demonſtrations *are, or can be.*----After he had declar'd againſt Hereditary Government as unlawful, he proceeded to vindicate himſelf in raiſing Mony without a Parliamentary Authority, by this Argument: *Either it is of God, or of Man; if it be of* Man, *I wou'd not have touch'd it with a Finger: If I had not had a Hope fix'd in me that this* Cauſe, *and this* Buſineſs *is of* God, *I wou'd many Years ago have run from it. If it be of* God, *it will bear up; if it be of* Man, *it will tumble, as every Thing that hath been of Man, ſince the World began, hath done.*----After many unintelligible Paſſages, he concludes thus: *I have troubled you with a long* Speech, *and I believe it may not have the ſame Reſentment with all, that it hath with me; I ſhall leave it to God, and conclude with that, that I think my ſelf bound in my Duty to God, and the People of theſe Nations, to their* Safety *and* Good *in every Reſpect; I think it my Duty to tell you, That it is not for the* Profit

His Diſſolving Speech to his Parliament.

165$\frac{4}{5}$. Car. 6.

Profit *of theſe Nations, nor for the* Common *and* Publick Good, *for you to continue here any longer, and therefore I declare unto you, THAT I DO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT.*

Wildman's bold Declaration.

This upbraiding and inſulting Way of Diſſolution was ſo very unpopular, that the Protector cou'd never have betray'd himſelf into it, if his Pride and Paſſion had not perverted his Judgment, and Experience of the People of *England*. It gave Encouragement to the Royaliſts, and Indignation to the Republicans; ſo that both Parties, for King and Common-wealth, were in Rage, and Plots, and Arms againſt him. Particularly Major *John Wildman*, whom he had expell'd the Houſe at the firſt opening of the Seſſion, as much an Enemy to the King as to the Uſurper, was ſeiz'd with a Paper dictated by him, entitled, *The Declaration of the free and well-affected People of* England *now in Arms againſt the Tyrant* Oliver Cromwell *Eſquire:* 'Being now ſatisfy'd in our Judgment and Conſciences of the preſent Neceſſity to take up Arms for the Defence of our native Rights and Freedoms, which are wholly invaded and ſwallow'd up in the Pride and Ambition of *Oliver Cromwell*, who calls himſelf *Lord Protector of* England, and hath render'd all *Engliſh* Men no better than Vaſſals, &c. This Man had been a cunning Incendiary in the Army, a prime *Agitator* and *Leveller*, a great Divider of the Long Parliament and Army, and a ſingular Inſtrument in promoting *Cromwell's* Deſigns, both before and after the late King's Murder. Therefore theſe Words in his Paper are the more remarkable: 'His pretended *Zeal* for God and his People, his high Profeſſions of *Godlineſs, Simplicity*, and *Integrity*; his hypocritical *Prayers*, and Days of *Faſting* to ſeek the Lord; his diſſembled *Humility* and *Meekneſs*, and his frequent compaſſionate *Tears* upon every Occaſion; his *Engagements* publick, and private; his moſt ſolemn *Proteſtations*, with *Imprecations* of Vengeance upon himſelf and Family, if he diſſembled, and his moſt frequent *Appeals* to God for the Truth of his *Profeſſions* and *Declarations*; "That he deſign'd nothing but ſecuring the *Liberties* of God's People, and Adminiſtration of *Impartial Juſtice*, and ſought no Power, Honour, Riches, nor Greatneſs to *Himſelf*, or any particular *Party* or *Intereſt*:" We ſay, theſe Things rocked us ſo aſleep with the pleaſant Dreams of LIBERTY and JUSTICE, untill he hath made a Sacrifice of all our *Laws, Liberties* and *Properties* unto his own *Ambition*.---' Yet this Man, when inevitable Death was expected by his Friends and others, after a ſhort Impriſonment, was unaccountably ſet at full Liberty: Which Example, with that other of *Lilburn* formerly mention'd, will ſhew the Temper of the Nation, how far the Spirits of that Time were from paying a Submiſſion to *Cromwell's* Power, when no Perſon had the Courage to lift up their Hands againſt him. Yet innumerable Deſigns were form'd againſt his Perſon; ſo that his Mother, who dy'd this Year, was continually affraid of her Son's Life, and when ſhe heard the Noiſe of any Gun, wou'd cry out *That her Son was ſhot!* and cou'd not be ſatisfy'd without ſeeing him ſafe once or twice a Day: And tho' a thouſand of his Enemies did in Conſcience believe, That *killing* him wou'd be no *Murder*, yet he remarkably eſcap'd all Dangers.

The Death of Sir Oliver Cromwell,

Mr. Selden,

165$\frac{4}{5}$. Car. 7.

Mr. Dodſworth,

Mr Whelock,

Mr. Iſaacſon,

Mr. Elſinge,

Mr. Gataker,

And Dr. Roſs.

To proceed to the Deaths of conſiderable and eminent Perſons this Year, beſides the Protector's Mother, who was bury'd with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity, there dy'd the Protector's own Uncle and God-Father, Sir *Oliver Cromwell* Knight, the oldeſt Gentleman in *England*; who, at his Houſe at *Hinchinbrook* in *Huntingtonſhire*, had made the greateſt Entertainment to King *James*, at his Acceſſion to the Crown, that had ever been offer'd by a private Subject; after which he continu'd ſufficiently remarkable for his old *Engliſh* Hoſpitality, and, abhorring his Nephew's Practices, for his unſhaken Loyalty to the Crown, and his unblemiſh'd Integrity to his Friends and Neighbours. After him, we are to mention ſeveral others; and firſt two famous Antiquaries, Mr. *John Selden*, and Mr. *Roger Dodſworth*: The firſt, who has been more than once mentioned, was a Bencher of the *Inner-Temple*, who not only ran through the whole Body of the Law, but became a Prodigy in moſt Parts of Learning, eſpecially in thoſe that were uncommon and profound, being a vaſt Philologiſt, Antiquary, Herald, Linguiſt, Stateſman, &c. So that his Fame was wonderfully advanc'd both at Home, and in Foreign Countries, where he was uſually ſtil'd, *The Glory, and great Dictator of Learning of the* Engliſh *Nation*; upon the Account of which the great *Uſher* declar'd, *He was not worthy to carry his Books after him.* He moſtly join'd with the Long Parliament, and was one of the Lay-Men that compos'd *The Aſſembly of Divines*, whoſe principal Theologiſts he often puzled and ſilenc'd; and after innumerable Labours, he expired in the 70th Year of his Age, and was bury'd with extraordinary Solemnity in the *Temple*. The other, Mr. *Dodſworth*, was a *Yorkſhire* Gentleman, and tho' inferior in many Reſpects to the former, he was infinitely laborious, and highly ſerviceable to the World in Matters of Antiquity; being a moſt indefatigable Searcher of Records, old Papers and Hiſtories, by whoſe laudable Induſtry, great Numbers were preſerv'd from Ruin and Oblivion: He was much incourag'd by the Lord *Fairfax*, and other Lovers of Antiquities, and had far the greateſt Hand in thoſe vaſt and elaborate Volumes, publiſh'd by Sir *William Dugdale*, under the Title of *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, &c. Beſides theſe, we ought to take Notice of ſome others, as Mr. *Abraham Whelock*, a Fellow of *Clare-Hall*, the Publick Library-Keeper, and *Arabick* Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; a Perſon admirable in his Induſtry, and no leſs in his Knowledge of the *Oriental* Languages, and is particularly to be remember'd and recorded for his laudable Deſign and Work in tranſlating the New-Teſtament into the *Perſian* Tongue. Next was Mr. *Henry Iſaacſon*, a Perſon whoſe Skill lay another Way, a Citizen of *London*; who without any Academical Education, that is known to us, arriv'd to a mighty Perfection in Chronology, as ſufficiently appears from his large, painful and elaborate Work upon that Subject. After him is Mr. *Henry Elſinge*, a Clerk of the Long-Parliament, till a little before the late King's Tryal, in which Place he manifeſted his rare Accompliſhments and Abilities, particularly in taking and expreſſing the Senſe of the Houſe, ſo that it was believ'd, that not one of the Members ever exceeded him; for which Reaſon more Reverence was paid to his *Stool*, than to the Speaker's *Chair*, where by Means of his prudent and temperate Carriage, he was belov'd and eſteem'd by all Parties, eſpecially by Mr. *Selden*. Quitting his beneficial Employment, he retir'd himſelf, and falling into a deep Melancholy for the Diſtreſſes of his Family, and the Loſs of his Sovereign, he dy'd in the 56th Year of his Age. Laſtly we ſhall mention two Divines, of different Talents and Nations, Mr. *Thomas Gataker*, and Dr. *Alexander Roſs*: The former, of an ancient Family in *Shropſhire*, was educated in St. *John's* College in *Cambridge*, and elected Fellow of *Sidney* College while it was in building, where he became remarkable for his Skill in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Tongues; He was afterwards Rector of *Redriſh* in *Surrey*, and the moſt celebrated among the *Aſſembly of Divines*, being highly eſteemed by *Salmaſius* and other Foreigners; and it is hard to ſay which is moſt remarkable, his exemplary Piety and Charity, his polite Literature, or his Humility and Modeſty in refuſing Preferments. The other, Dr. *Roſs*, was a *Scotch* Divine, and a Chaplain to the late King, a buiſy, various and voluminous Writer, who by his Pen, and other Ways made a conſiderable Noiſe and Figure in theſe Times, and who ſo manag'd his Affairs, that in the midſt of theſe Storms, he dy'd very rich, as appears from the ſeveral Benefactions he made.

The King's Condition at Cologne.

A View of the there Kingdoms.

IV. 1. While *Cromwell* was proceeding in his various Arts of Government, and exerciſing ſeveral Kinds of Tyranny in all Parts, the King remain'd chiefly at *Cologne* for above two Years, all the Time bearing the Rigour of Fortune with ſingular Temper and Magnanimity; and if his Nature cou'd have been delighted in beholding the Oppreſſions his rebellious Subjects ſuſtain'd in all the three Nations, he might have receiv'd abundance of that kind of Comfort and Pleaſure from each of them: Firſt, in ſeeing *Scotland*, a Kingdom that had wantonly deſtroy'd its own Peace and Plenty, and ſpread its Contagion through the other Two, now reduc'd and govern'd by a Rod of Iron; now ſubdu'd by thoſe whom they had taught the Science of Rebellion, and with whom they had joyn'd by innumerable Ways to overthrow their own natural Prince, and that Regal Government which was as ancient as their Nation: In ſeeing the Inſolence of that People, which us'd to practiſe ſuch ill Manners towards their King, contemn'd, and brought to Slavery under the Tyranny of Perſons of inferior Rank; while their adored Idol, *Presbytery*, which had pull'd off the Crown of their Sovereign, was trampled on, and derided, and their bold Preachers, who had threatned their Princes with Excommunication, ſcoff'd at, and controul'd by Artificers and common Soldiers; and all this mortifying Subjection ſupported at their own Charge. Next, in ſeeing *Ireland*, that began its Rebellion with the moſt inhuman Maſſacres, and continu'd it under all the Circumſtances of Treachery and Perjury, now groveling at the Feet of its proud Conquerors, reduc'd to the loweſt Condition, and even to the Point of Extirpation; and the Blood that had been ſavagely ſpilt in the Beginning, now plentifully reveng'd in new Streams from one End of the Kingdom to the other; while the firſt Contrivers of the Rebellion, who cou'd never be reach'd by the King, and they who caus'd every Peace to be broken which had been made with his Majeſty, and after they had endeavour'd moſt baſely to reconcile Themſelves to their new Maſters, were every Day taken, and infamouſly put to Death by their Authority; who ſold ſo many Thouſands of them to the Services of Foreign Princes, that there is not an Account in Hiſtory of any Nation, excepting the *Jews*, that was ever reduc'd to a more compleat Miſery; and all this without any Pity from the reſt of the World, who look'd upon them as deſerving no better Fate. Laſtly, in ſeeing *England*, which was firſt encourag'd by the Crimes of thoſe two Kingdoms, and afterwards ſeem'd to glory in the Conqueſt of Both, now overwhelm'd, and its Conſtitution inverted; in ſeeing the firſt Authors of the publick Calamities, now ſo much Sharers, that they were no more Maſters of their Eſtates, than they whom they had firſt ſpoiled; that themſelves were brought upon thoſe Scaffolds, which they had caus'd to be erected for others; that little or no Part of the new Government was in the Hands of Thoſe which had pull'd down the Old; that after Monarchy had been made ſo odious to the People, the whole Wealth of the Nation was become at the Diſpoſal of a ſingle Perſon; and thoſe proud Lords, without whoſe unnatural Aſſiſtance the Sceptre cou'd never have been wreſted out of its Place, were now number'd and rank'd with the Dregs of the People: In a Word, *Cromwell* was jealous of none ſo much as thoſe who had rais'd him, and propos'd nothing more to Himſelf, than to ſuppreſs or drive Them out of the Kingdom, who had been the principal Means to ſuppreſs the Regal Authority, and to drive the Royal Family, and all its Adherents, into Baniſhment.

Such was the Proſpect his Majeſty had of the Three Kingdoms, during his long Reſidence at *Cologne*; where, in all other Reſpects, he had a hopeful View of enjoying Eaſe and Quiet; having brought his Mind to his Fortune, and his Fortune to afford a tolerable Subſiſtance for Himſelf and a few Friends, that made up his little Court. But his Reſt was too ſoon diſturb'd by the Impatience and Activity of his Friends in *England*; who notwithſtanding all his Commands not to enter upon any ſudden and raſh Inſurrections, were ſo ſtimulated by the Inſolence of their Enemies, and the Uneaſineſs of their own Condition, that they cou'd not continue quiet. They ſent Expreſſes every Day to *Cologne* for more Commiſſions and Inſtructions, and made an erroneous Judgment of their own Strength and Power, by concluding that all who hated the preſent Government, wou'd joyn with them to deſtroy it, or at leaſt not to ſupport it. They aſſured his Majeſty, 'That 'they had made ſufficient Proviſion of Arms and Ammu-'nition; that their Numbers were great enough to ſeize 'on many Places; that a conſiderable Part of the Army 'wou'd declare againſt *Cromwell*, and that if a certain 'Day was appointed, the Inſurrection wou'd be ſo gene-'ral, as cou'd not fail of Succeſs.' Theſe and other plauſible Repreſentations being often made to the King, he was at laſt prevail'd upon to allow of an appointed fix'd Day for the Inſurrection. *Wilmot*, now Earl of *Rocheſter*, offer'd his Service to be Head of this grand Deſign; and accordingly he was ſent over to *London*, with Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff*, in order to bring it to Maturity: And the King Himſelf repaired privately in Diſguiſe to *Fluſhing* in *Zeeland*, to wait the Iſſue of it, and to be ready, if Occaſion offer'd, to tranſport Himſelf into *England*.

The King allows of an Inſurrection in England.

But this great Deſign daily ſunk and diminiſh'd in the Proſpect: Yet the Earl of *Rocheſter* met with conſiderable Hopes from the King's Friends at *London*, with whom he very freely convers'd. He was fully perſuaded that in the *North* very much was to be expected, and that there was a Party powerful enough to poſſeſs themſelves of *York*. In the *Weſt* likewiſe there appear'd to be a ſtrong Combination, in which many Gentlemen were engag'd, whoſe Agents were then in *London*, and were very urgent to have a Day aſſign'd, and deſir'd no more, than that Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff* might be authoriz'd to be in the Head of them. The Earl of *Rocheſter* choſe the *North* for his Part; and ſent Mr. *Marmaduke Darcy*, a gallant Gentleman, to prepare the Party there, appointed a Day, and Place for the Rendezvous, and promis'd to be there Himſelf; and was contented that Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff* ſhou'd go into the *Weſt*, where he was well known, and by reaſon of his Bravery and great Companionableneſs in his Nature, very well belov'd. The 11th of *March* was the Day appointed for the *Weſt*, and the Place of Rendezvous two Miles from *Saliſbury*; and it was an Argument that they had no ſmall Opinion of their Strength, that they appointed that very Day when the Judges were to keep their Aſſizes in that City, and where the Sheriff and principal Gentlemen of the Country were oblig'd to give their Attendance. Thoſe of *Hampſhire* were not ſo punctual at their own Rendezvous, as to be preſent at the other near *Salisbury* at the appointed Hour; however *Wagſtaff*, and they of *Wiltſhire*, appeared according to Expectation. *Penruddock*, a Gentleman of a fair Eſtate, and great Zeal for the Cauſe, *Hugh Grove*, *Jones*, and other Perſons of Condition, were there with a Body of two Hundred Horſe well armed, which they believ'd wou'd daily be augmented by the Acceſs of thoſe engag'd in the Weſtern Aſſociation, eſpecially after the Fame of their being up, and their Performance of ſome Action, had been ſpread abroad.

It begins in Wiltſhire.

They judg'd that they were already ſtrong enough to viſit *Salisbury* in all its preſent Grandeur, knowing that they had many Friends there, and expecting that they ſhou'd there encreaſe their Numbers both in Foot and Horſe, with which the Town then abounded; and accordingly they enter'd the Place about five a Clock in the Morning. They appointed ſeveral of their Party to cauſe all the Stables to be lock'd up, that all the Horſes might be at their Devotion; others to break open the Goals, that all there might attend their Benefactors. They kept a good Body of Horſe upon the Market-Place, to hinder all Oppoſition; and gave Order to apprehend the two Judges, *Rolls* and *Nicolas*, and the Sheriff, then in their Beds, and to bring them into the Market-Place with their Commiſſions. All this was done with ſo little Noiſe and Diſorder, as if they in the Town had been unanimous. Thoſe within Doors, except they were commanded to come out, continu'd there, being more deſirous to hear than to ſee what was done; many being highly pleas'd, and not willing that others ſhou'd diſcern it in their Countenances. When the Judges, half dead with Fear, were brought out in their Robes, and produc'd their Commiſſions, together with the Sheriff, *Wagſtaff* reſolv'd to cauſe them all three to be hang'd, having well conſider'd how he Himſelf ſhou'd be us'd if he were under their Hands. But not having timely diſcovered this to his Friends, by which their Scruples might have been remov'd, many of the Country Gentlemen were ſo ſtartled, that they proteſted againſt the Propoſition; and the unhappy *Penruddock* was ſo paſſionate to preſerve their Lives, as if Works of this Nature cou'd be done by Halves, that this Commander durſt not perſiſt in it; but was prevail'd with to diſmiſs the Judges, and to oblige them upon another Occaſion to remember to whom they ow'd their Lives; reſolving ſtill to hang the Sheriff, who poſitively, but with many Tears, refus'd to proclaim the King: Which being otherways done, the Gentlemen likewiſe prevail'd with him rather to keep the Sheriff alive, and to carry him with them to redeem an honeſter Man, if Occaſion ſhou'd ſerve.

The Judges and others ſeiz'd at Salisbury.

The Rumour of this Action ſoon reſounded through the Nation; and queſtionleſs it was a bold Enterpriſe, and might have produc'd wonderful Effects, had it been proſecuted with the ſame Reſolution, or the ſame Raſhneſs, it was begun. There were various Opinions concerning the Foundation of it, and *Cromwell* Himſelf was much allarmed: He well knew the Diſtemper of the Kingdom, and the Diſcontents in his Army; and now when ſaw ſuch a Body gather'd together without any Noiſe, that durſt enter into one of the chief Cities of the Kingdom, take his Judges and Sheriff Priſoners, and proclaim the King in a Time of full Peace and Poſſeſſion, he cou'd not conceive that ſuch an Enterprize cou'd be undertaken without an univerſal Conſpiracy, in which his own Army cou'd not be innocent; and therefore knew not how to truſt them together in any conſiderable Body. But all this Apprehenſion vaniſh'd, when it was known, that within four or five Hours after this Exploit, they left the Town with very ſmall Addition to their Numbers. And indeed they perform'd nothing with Reſolution after the firſt Action; but were in ſuch Diſorder and Diſcontent among themſelves, that without ſtaying for their Friends out of *Hampſhire*, who were upon the Way with two or three Hundred Horſe, upon Pretence that they were expected in *Dorſetſhire*, they left the Town about two in the Afternoon; when they were ſo fatigu'd with their Day's Labour, and their Night's Watching, that they grew cold in the Deſign, and differ'd again among themſelves about the Sheriff, whom many deſir'd to be preſently releas'd; and that Party carry'd it, in Hopes of receiving good Offices afterwards from him. They from *Hampſhire*, and other Places, who were behind them, being diſguſted at their leaving *Salisbury*, wou'd not follow, but diſpers'd themſelves; and they who were before them, and heard in what Diſorder they left *Wiltſhire*, did the ſame: So that after they had continu'd their March into *Devonſhire*, without meeting with any to joyn with them, Horſe and Men were ſo tired for want of Meat and Sleep, that one ſingle Troop of Horſe, under Captain *Unton Crook*, being by Chance in thoſe Parts, follow'd them at a Diſtance, till they were ſo ſpent, that he rather entreated than compell'd them to deliver themſelves. *Wagſtaff*, *Maſon*, and *Mompeſſon* eſcap'd, and afterwards got beyond the Sea; but *Penruddock*, *Grave*, and moſt of the reſt, were taken Priſoners, upon Promiſe given them by the Officer that their Lives ſhou'd be ſaved; which they ſoon found he had no Power or Will to make good.

The Inſurrection ſuppreſs'd.

1655.
Car. 7.

2. The Protector hearing of this cheap Victory, in a very ſhort Time ſent Judges away with a new Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and Orders to proceed with the utmoſt Severity againſt the Offenders. But *Rolls*, the chief Juſtice, who had ſo fortunately eſcap'd at *Saliſbury*, had not recover'd the Fright, and wou'd not judge thoſe Men from the Bench, who had ſo much oblig'd him in the Streets, but expreſly refus'd to be employ'd in the Service, raiſing ſome Scruples in Point of Law, 'Whether the Men cou'd be legally condemn'd;' upon which *Cromwell* ſhortly after turn'd him out of his Office, having found others who wou'd execute his Commands. *Penruddock* and *Grove* loſt their Heads at *Exeter*; and others were hang'd in that City, who dy'd with great Courage and Reſolution, profeſſing to the laſt their Duty and Loyalty to their Sovereign: Many were ſent to *Saliſbury*, and try'd and executed there, in the Place where they had ſo lately triumph'd; and ſome who were condemn'd, where there were Fathers and Sons and Brothers, that the Butchery might ſeem to receive ſome Mitigation, were ſold, and ſent away Slaves to the *Weſt-Indies*; where they met with ſuch Treatment, that few of them ever return'd into their own Country. Thus this little Fire, which probably might have inflam'd all the Kingdom, was for the preſent extinguiſh'd in the *Weſt*, and *Cromwell* ſecured without the Help of his Army. At the ſame Time the Deſign of the *North*, which was thought to be much better prepared, made leſs Noiſe, and expired more peaceably; and the Earl of *Rocheſter* return'd from thence to the King in Diſcontent. His Majeſty finding the ill Succeſſes in *England*, left *Zeeland*, and return'd with all Speed to *Cologne*; where his little Court was ſoon gather'd together again, and better diſpos'd to ſit ſtill, and expect the Events of Providence.

Penruddock, Grove, *and others ſuffer.*

The King was extreamly afflicted with the Loſs of ſo many honeſt Gentlemen in *England*, who had ſo deſperately engag'd themſelves expreſly againſt his Judgment: And he was the more troubled, becauſe he by ſeveral of his Friends from thence was adviſ'd, 'That all his Counſels were diſcover'd, and that *Cromwell* had perfect Intelligence of whatſoever his Majeſty reſolv'd to do, and of all he ſaid Himſelf; ſo that it wou'd not be ſafe for any one to correſpond with him, or to be concern'd with his Affairs: That his private Continuance in *Zeeland* was known to *Cromwell*, with all the Particulars of his Journey; that many Perſons of Condition were ſeiz'd and impriſon'd for deſigning to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome Places of Strength; which Intelligence cou'd not be given but from *Cologne*; implying, That the Miſcarriage in the laſt Deſign proceeded wholly from the Treaſon of ſome Perſons near his Majeſty.' Theſe Advertiſements moſt ſenſibly diſturb'd the King; but he was much eas'd when it was ſoon after diſcover'd, that theſe miſtaken Reports aroſe chiefly from the Villainy of one *Manning*; a Perſon whoſe Father, a Colonel, had loſt his Life, and who had himſelf receiv'd a Wound in the late King's Service. This Man being employ'd as a Spy by *Cromwell*'s Secretary *Thurloe*, diſſembled his *Romiſh* Religion, and by his plauſible Stories inſinuated Himſelf into the Converſation of the Earl of *Rocheſter*; by whoſe Encouragement he ſoon came to be a Perſon of no ſmall Conſideration in the Court at *Cologne*. Thus he paſs'd for a Man of ſingular Correſpondence with the King's Friends in *England*; but Sir *Edward Hyde* firſt ſuſpecting, and afterwards diſcovering the Falſeneſs of ſome of his Narratives, which ſeem'd to flow too much from a fruitful Brain, Means were found to intercept ſeveral Letters from him, and to him, and to ſeize upon all his Papers. By all which it appear'd that he had held a conſtant Correſpondence with Secretary *Thurloe*, receiv'd conſiderable Sums of Mony from him, and ſent variety of Intelligence to him, 'of what was done, ſaid, projected and debated by the King's Council at *Cologne*, with what Inſurrections were deſign'd in *England*, what Towns to be ſeiz'd, who were to be concern'd, and innumerable other Matters;' in all which there was not one Word of Truth, excepting the King's being at *Zeeland*, but were wholly the Effects of his own Invention: And moreover they found ſeveral Letters prepared, and made up with the Dates proper for many Poſts to come, and Information and Intelligence of the ſame Nature as the former. The King immediately took Care to publiſh the Tranſactions of this Man, by which his Friends diſcern'd with what Shadows they had been affrighted, and his Enemies ſaw what current Ware they had receiv'd for their Mony. This is the ſhort Account of *Manning*'s Plot, which had amus'd ſo many at that Time, and ſeem'd to have been miſtaken by all our Writers, except the Lord *Clarendon* himſelf. As to this poor Wretch, his chief Excuſe was, *That he thought he might get Mony by ſending Lyes to the Rebels, without Prejudice to the King*; but notwithſtanding this, he was, at the Inſtance of the Court at *Cologne*, order'd to be ſhot to Death in one of the Caſtles of the Duke of *Newburgh*.

Manning's *Conſpiracy and Execution.*

1655.
Car. 7.

3. As the King's Hopes were much diminiſh'd by the late unſeaſonable and unfortunate Attempt, ſo *Cromwell* advanc'd his own Credit, and was very much enrich'd by it, and more confirm'd with thoſe whoſe Obedience and Submiſſion had been more dubious. He lay before under the Reproach of inventing Plots Himſelf, to make the Common-wealth be thought in Danger, that he might have an Excuſe and a Pretence to continue ſuch numerous Forces in Pay; but now it was more apparent how active and confident the King's Party was, and that they wou'd not have preſum'd to make ſo bold an Attempt, had they not good Aſſurance of being ſupported; and therefore they were to look upon the Fire as only cover'd, not extinguiſh'd. The little Succeſs they met withal, was thought Proof enough that there was not yet ſufficient Force for the Safety of the Kingdom; and therefore that it was neceſſary to make better Proviſion for the Quiet of every County, that it might not be endanger'd by every bold Attempt; and the Charge of this Defence ſhou'd in Juſtice be born by thoſe who were the Occaſion of the Expence. Thereupon He, by the Advice of his Council, made a wicked and unheard-of Order, 'That all thoſe who had born Arms for the King, or had declar'd themſelves to be of the Royal Party, ſhou'd be DECIMATED, that is, Pay a Tenth Part of all that Eſtate which they had left, to ſupport the Charge given to the Common-wealth by the Unquietneſs of their Temper, and the juſt Cauſe of Jealouſy which they Adminiſter'd.' And that the Publick might loſe Nothing of what he had ſo frankly given to it, Commiſſioners were appointed in every County, to value the real Worth of that Tenth Part of every ſuch Eſtate; and that no Man might have too good a Bargain of his own, every One was to pay as much as the Commiſſioners judg'd fit; and till he paid it, beſides the frequent Puniſhment of Impriſonment, his whole Eſtate was Sequeſter'd. And in this ſcandalous Decimation no Conſideration was taken of former Compoſitions, of any Articles of War, or of any Acts of Pardon and Indemnity, which had been granted under the Great-Seal of the Common-wealth.

Cromwell *appoints a* DECIMATION.

Then to procure Submiſſion to this Order, he publiſh'd a Declaration to make the Juſtice, as well as the Neceſſity of that Proceeding appear; in which he did not only inſert the Grounds of his Proceedings againſt the Royal Party, but the Rules he deſign'd to obſerve againſt any other Party that ſhou'd give him any Diſturbance. The Declaration was worded and digeſted with much greater Aſperity againſt all who had ſerv'd the King, than any before publiſh'd: In it 'they were look'd upon as a common Enemy, and who were not to be proſecuted like other Men, by the ordinary Forms of Juſtice, and to have their Crimes proved by Witneſſes, before they ſhou'd be concluded guilty; but if any Attempts were made againſt the Publick Peace, it ſhou'd be concluded that they all wiſh'd well to it; and that they might juſtly be ſuſpected and proſecuted as privy to them, by their common Diſcourſes, by the Company they uſually kept, and by their very Looks;' with many other Expreſſions, of ſuch an unuſual Nature in the Proceedings of Juſtice and Law, that the King's Party might reaſonably conclude, they had nothing left that they cou'd call their own, but muſt expect a total Extirpation, either by Maſſacre, or Tranſplantation. But the Declaration likewiſe took notice of other Kinds of Enemies of the *Levelling* and *Republican* Spirit, and gave clear Information, 'That the Connivance they had formerly receiv'd, and even the Pardons that had been granted for their former Mutinies and Tranſgreſſions, were of no more Validity than thoſe which had been granted to the Royal Party; which were all to be void and null, upon any ſucceeding Delinquency.' So that all Diſcontented People who lik'd not the preſent Government, how Officious ſoever in pulling down the Old, whether *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, or *Leveller*, were left to conſider of the Conſequence of this Declaration; and might naturally conclude that they were in no better Condition of Security for what they enjoy'd, and dearly purchas'd, than thoſe who by their Means were brought to the loweſt Miſery. Tho' indeed, for the preſent, none but the King's Party underwent that horrid Burthen of *Decimation*; which brought incredible Sums of Mony into *Cromwell*'s Coffers, the greater Part of which was rais'd upon thoſe who never did, or ever wou'd have given the King the leaſt Aſſiſtance, and were only reputed to be of his Party, becauſe they had not aſſiſted the other with a viſible Chearfulneſs, or a conſiderable Proportion; but had propos'd to themſelves to ſit ſtill as Neuters, and not to be at any Charge with reference to either Party.

His Declaration upon it.

1655. Car. 7.

The Protector likewiſe ſent many of thoſe he ſuſpected to Priſon, as the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lords *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Newport*, and *Compton*, *Littleton*, *Peyton*, *Packington*, *Aſhburnham*, *Ruſſel*, *Legg*, *Philips*, *Halſey*, and ſeveral others. He was no leſs watchful of the Republicans and Millenarians; and diſcarded Major-General *Harriſon*, and Colonel *Rich*, and then ſent them with Colonel *Carew* and *Courtney*, Priſoners to remote Caſtles; and General *Monk* had Orders to ſeize Major-General *Overton*, and Major *Bramſton*, *Holms*, and other Officers, and caſhier them. *Overton* was ſent up Priſoner to the *Tower*, and his Regiment given to Colonel *Morgan*; Colonel *Okey*'s Regiment was given to the Lord *Howard*; Cornet, now Colonel *Joyce*, was likewiſe diſmiſs'd, having reproach'd *Cromwell* to the Face with his great Services. Nothing gave this Tyrant more Trouble than the Diſtemper in the Army, where he knew there were many Troops more at the Diſpoſal of that Party that wou'd deſtroy him, than at his own. It was once his Deſign to have drawn over a Regiment of *Swiſs*, upon Pretence of ſending them into *Ireland*, but in reality to keep them as a Guard to his own Perſon; and to that Purpoſe he had ſent a Perſon to treat with Colonel *Balthazer*, a Man well known in the Proteſtant Cantons: But this came to be diſcover'd, ſo that he had not the Confidence to proceed in it. He reſolv'd therefore upon an extraordinary Expedient, which ſhou'd provide for all Inconveniencies, as well amongſt the People, as in the Army. He made Choice of about a Dozen ſure Friends; for whom he conſtituted a new Office, and call'd them by the Name of MAJOR-GENERALS, they being in the Nature of *Prefects*, or Governors of Provinces. All *England* was put under the abſolute Power of theſe Men, none of them having any Power in the Juriſdiction of another, but every Man in thoſe Counties committed to his Charge, had all that Authority which was before divided among Committee-Men, Juſtices of Peace, and ſeveral other Officers. Their Names were, Major *Haynes*, who was *Major-General* for *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; Colonel *Kelſey*, for *Kent* and *Surrey*; Colonel *Goffe*, for *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, and *Barkſhire*; Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, for *Oxfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, and *Cambridgeſhire*; Major-General *Skippon*, for the City of *London*; Commiſſary-General *Whaley*, for *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, and *Leiceſterſhire*; Major *Butler*, for *Northamptonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Rutland* and *Huntingtonſhire*; Colonel *Berry*, for *Worceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Salop* and *North-Wales*; Colonel *Wortley*, for *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire* and *Staffordſhire*; Major-General *Lambert*, for *Yorkſhire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland* and *Northumberland*; and Colonel *Barkſtead*, for the City of *Weſtminſter*, and the County of *Middleſex*.

He conſtitutes MAJOR-GENERALS.

Their Power and Employment.

Theſe *Major-Generals* committed to Priſon what Perſons they thought fit to ſuſpect; took care to levy all Monies which were appointed by the Protector and his Council to be collected for the Publick; ſequeſter'd all who did not pay their *Decimation*, or ſuch other Payments to which they were made liable; and there was no Appeal from any of their Acts, but to the Protector Himſelf. And that they might not ſeem thus to domineer only for Mony, they were impowered to make Enquiry into many Things; into private Aſſemblies, and ſuch as had bought up Arms; into Vagabonds and idle Perſons, and thoſe who lived at too high a Rate, when it was not known how they were able to afford it; into Frequenters of Gaming-Houſes, Taverns and Publick Places; and into unlearned and ſcandalous Miniſters and School-Maſters: All which the *Major-Generals* had Power to examine, call before them, and puniſh. To theſe were joyn'd *Aſſeſſors* in the ſeveral Counties, Towns, and Provinces, for the moſt part choſen out of the Dregs of the People, tho' others of better Note were ſometimes mingled with them; and theſe had Power upon common Fame, proper Knowledge, or private Conjecture, to inform againſt others, make them appear, and accuſe them before the *Major-General*, with whom they ſat as Aſſociates in giving Judgment. Theſe Governors had likewiſe a Military Power, which was to liſt a Body of Horſe and Foot, who were to have ſuch a conſtant Salary, and not to be call'd upon Service but upon an Emergency, and then to attend ſo many Days at their own Charge; and if they ſtay'd longer, they were to be under the ſame Pay with the Army, but independent upon its Officers, and only to obey their *Major-General*. A Horſeman had eight Pounds a Year, for which he was to be ready with his Horſe, if call'd upon; if not, he might attend his own Affairs; which little ſort of Informers were call'd *Eight-Pound Men*. By this Means *Cromwell* had a ſecond Army in View, powerful enough to controle the Firſt, when there was any juſt Occaſion for Suſpicion. Theſe new Magiſtrates carry'd themſelves like ſo many *Turkiſh Baſſas* with their Bands of *Janizaries*, towards the People, and became extremely odious to all Parties, being call'd by the Name of *State-Maſtives*. They Lorded it over all the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation; and were as imperious towards the high Earl of *Northumberland* and his Followers, as to any of the Tribe of Cavaliers. Thoſe who had formerly made Way for this exorbitant Power, now felt the full Weight of it; and the haughty Lord *Say*, finding all his great Projects defeated, withdrew Himſelf to the Iſle of *Lundy* by *Devonſhire*, to which there is but one Acceſs, ſo ſteep and narrow, that ten Men may keep out a thouſand; where with a Guard of his own Servants, he kept himſelf as it were a voluntary Priſoner, till the Protector's Death, as I am aſſur'd from a very good Hand.

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The Lord Say's Retreat.

4. The Commiſſioners for the great Seal were Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Whitelock*, *Lenthal* and *Liſle*; of which the three former made their Exceptions againſt executing an Ordinance of his Highneſs, and his Council, ‘ For the better regulating and limiting the Juriſdiction of ‘ the High-Court of *Chancery*.’ Upon which, the Protector, not ſuffering his Authority or his Acts to be diſputed, ſent for them to the Council-Chamber in *June*, and there commanded them to lay down the Seal and withdraw: the Protector kept it for ſome Days in his own Poſſeſſion, and at length deliver'd it to Major *Liſle*, one of his old obſequious Commiſſioners, and Colonel *Fiennes*; and it now ſeem'd moſt proper for Military Men to be Lord-Chancellors, while Law and Equity depended both upon the Length of the Sword. However to oblige the ejected Commiſſioners, the Protector made *Widdrington* and *Whitelock* Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and continu'd *Lenthal* in his Favour upon the Account of old Services. About the ſame Time State Libels or Reflections on the Tyranny of the Protector, and his Miniſters, were ſo bold and common, that it was now found expedient to reſtain that Liberty of the Preſs, which began to turn upon the greateſt Advocates for it: So an Ordinance was made at *Whitehall* in *October*, ‘ That no Perſon preſume ‘ to publiſh in Print any Matter of Publick News or In‘telligence, without Leave and Approbation of the Secre‘tary of State;’ and another Order to enforce the ‘ Re‘ſtraint of printing unlicenc'd and ſcandalous Books ‘ and Pamphlets, and for Regulating of Printing.’ Then to lay a Reſtraint, both upon the Sword and Pen at the ſame Time, ſhortly after, an Order was made, ‘ That no ‘ Cavalier ſhou'd be allow'd to keep any Piece of De‘fenſive Arms.

A Change in the Miniſtry.

At this Time the Protector had Occaſion offer'd him both to exerciſe his Charity, and to diſplay his Power: The Proteſtants in the Valley of *Lucern* in *Piedmont* having unwarily riſen in Arms againſt *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*; the Pope, and the Neighbour Princes of *Italy*, took Advantage and Occaſion to call for their Extirpation in his Dominions. This the Duke undertook; and having cruelly murder'd and maſſacred many of them, and driven the reſt from their Dwellings into the Mountains, where many of them dy'd with Cold and Hunger, they ſent their Agents to beg Relief of all Proteſtant Princes, who touch'd with the Senſe of their Brethrens Miſeries, were willing to contribute to their Aſſiſtance. Nor wou'd the Protector be backward in ſuch a Work, which might give the World a particular Opinion of his Piety, and Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion; but he proclaim'd a Solemn Faſt, and caus'd large Contributions to be gather'd for them throughout the Kingdom of *England* and *Wales*. Nor did he reſt here, but ſent his Agents to the Duke of *Savoy*, a Prince with whom he had no Correſpondence, or Commerce, and the next Year ſo engag'd the Cardinal of *France*, and even terrify'd the Pope Himſelf, without ſo much as doing any Favour to the *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks, that that Duke thought it neceſſary to reſtore all that he had taken from them, and renew'd all thoſe Privileges they had formerly enjoy'd. So great was the Terror of his Name; nothing being more uſual than his Saying, *That his Ships in the* Mediterranean *ſhou'd viſit* Civita Vecchia, *and the Sound of his Cannon ſhou'd be heard in* Rome.

Cromwell *aſſiſts the Proteſtants in* Savoy.

But tho' he appear'd ſo very zealous for the Proteſtant, yet he was thought not to have ſhewn the like Honour to the Chriſtian Religion: For about this Time the *Jews*, who cou'd never be permitted to live long in a well-ſettled Monarchy, but always made their Advantage in Common-wealths, finding *England* now to bear that Denomination, and knowing how beneficial an engroſſed Trade might prove, they ſent over ſome of their Emiſſaries, with *Manaſſes Ben Iſrael*, a great *Rabbi*, at the Head of them, and tempted the Protector with two hundred thouſand Pounds for their Re-admiſſion and Eſtabliſhment, provided they might have St *Paul*'s Cathedral for a Synagogue, which they likewiſe promis'd to repair. The Offer of ſo much Mony wrought very ſtrongly with his Highneſs, and made him look upon it as the Cauſe of God,

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He encourages the Jews.

and a Way happily laid open for their promis'd Converſion; and therefore he deſir'd a Conference with ſeveral Miniſters and others about it, to whom he declar'd his Mind with great Fervour, alledging, ‘ That ſince there was a Promiſe that they ſhould be converted, Means ought to be us'd to that Purpoſe; that the moſt probable Way was, the Preaching the Goſpel in Truth and Sincerity, as it was then in *England*, devoid of all *Popiſh* Idolatry, which had render'd the Chriſtian Religion odious to them.’ But both the Clergy and the Laity ſo declaim'd againſt them, that this Religious Juggle wou'd not take place: The Merchants foreſaw, that if they ſhou'd obtain their Requeſt, they wou'd ſoon engroſs the Trade of the Nation into their own Hands, to the Empoveriſhing of the Natives; and it was eaſily diſcernible that in theſe Times, when every Man's Fancy was his Religion, it was more probable that ſome of them ſhou'd turn *Jews*, than that any of the *Jews* ſhou'd be converted to Chriſtianity. A *French* Author tell us, that the Fame of *Cromwell* was become ſo eminent, that tho' the *Jews* pretended the Buſineſs of Traffick, yet their ſecret Deſign was to diſcover whether he was not the *Meſſias* they waited for: And going to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, under the Pretext of viewing and purchaſing ſome *Hebrew* Manuſcripts, they repair'd to the County of *Huntingdon*, where his Parents were born; and there ſtrictly enquiring into his Genealogy, they return'd without any further Overtures made to the Protector.

He ſets out two great Fleets.

5. Such were this Year's Proceedings of *Cromwell* at home, whoſe aſpiring Mind was not confin'd there, but dilated it ſelf abroad; and being hurry'd on by the Ambition of ſpreading his Name, and the Avarice of gaining great Treaſure, he reſolv'd upon great Exploits in Foreign Parts, without declaring War, or giving the leaſt Intimation of his Deſigns. Long had the World wonder'd for what Enterprize he was preparing thoſe two mighty Fleets which were ſet out in the Beginning of the Year, all the neighbouring Nations being jealous leaſt the Storm ſhou'd fall upon them. None cou'd imagine where it wou'd break forth; only the *Spaniards*, having moſt Reaſon to be apprehenſive, ſent over the Marqueſs of *Lerida*, Governor of *Dunkirk*, into *England*, to penetrate into the Depth of this grand Deſign: But, conjecturing by the Ambiguity of the Anſwers he receiv'd, and the Reſervedneſs of the Protector, that it might concern his Country-men, he ſoon after return'd to his Government. Nor was it publickly known in *England*, till a conſiderable Time after the two Fleets were ſet out; the firſt under Admiral *Blake*, which was ſent into the *Mediterranean* to ſpread the Terror of his Arms; and the ſecond under *Pen* and *Venables*, ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, to enrich himſelf, and his Friends. The latter conſiſting of about thirty Men of War, with three or four thouſand Land-Soldiers, to be commanded by *Venables*, ſet Sail directly for *Barbadoes*, where the two Commanders had Orders to break open their Commiſſions. Here ſafely arriving, they landed their Men for their better Refreſhment, and us'd all Diligence to make all Things ready for ſome mighty Enterprize. Out of this, as alſo out of the neighbouring Iſles, the Forces they brought out of *England* were encreas'd to ten thouſand Men; Servants and others being invited to take up Arms, upon the Aſſurance of Liberty, and Hopes of great Plunder. But tho' the Army was numerous, the Proviſions made for it were not proportionable, as tho' they had nothing to do but to appear and conquer.

The one arrives at Hiſpaniola;

With theſe Forces, and with mighty Expectations, they ſail'd directly to the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, and on the 13th of *April* appear'd before *San Domingo*, the chief City and Port of that Country, a rich Place, fortify'd and inhabited by the *Spaniards*. The Inhabitants, ſurpris'd and terrify'd with the Danger, abandon'd their City, and fled into the Woods, leaving all to the Diſcretion of the Aſſailants. But the *Engliſh*, by the vain Precaution of their Leaders, fearing ſome imaginary Ambuſcades, omitted and loſt this great Opportunity; for inſtead of an immediate Entrance into the Port, *Venables* with ſeven thouſand Men landed about ten Leagues from the Town. The Soldiers were lively and couragious, promiſing themſelves vaſt Quantities of Gold and Riches. But their Joy and Hopes did not continue long; for it was proclaim'd under Pain of Death, that no Man ſhou'd plunder Gold, Silver, Jewels, or any other rich Moveables, or kill any tame Cattle. The Soldiers, damp'd and diſappointed with this unſeaſonable Order, mov'd very heavily; and marching through thick Woods, ſcorching Sands, exceſſive Heat of the Sun, and its Concomitant, unſufferable Thirſt, they at length came to the aſſign'd Rendezvous. Colonel *Buller* met them there with three Regiments from the Fleet, where they were ſomewhat refreſh'd by Means of a River of freſh Water, which diſcharged it ſelf into the Sea. The Forces being joined, *Venables* march'd with his Army towards the City, having ſent Captain *Cox*, who was alſo their Guide, with five hundred Men before as a Forlorn. And ſo they prov'd; for in the mean Time, the *Spaniards* taking Courage from their Enemies Delays, and perceiving the Difficulties that attended them, betook themſelves to their Defence; and falling bravely upon them in the Intricacies of their Paſſage with a handful of Men, they kill'd *Cox* himſelf, and routed his Party, who ruſhing upon the next Regiment put it to Flight. Upon the Advance of the Army, the *Spaniards* retired into a certain Fort they had in the Wood.

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Where it is unſucceſsful

Venables, after this unfortunate Attack, return'd back to the River, with a Reſolution to reaſſume his Deſign; and having mounted two Guns, provided ſcaling Ladders, Mortars, Granadoes and Fire-Balls, he march'd a ſecond Time towards the City. But being miſ-led by the Errors of his Guides, who undertook to lead them a more commodious Way for the avoiding of the Fort, he was brought into the ſame Place where they had already fought ſo unfortunately. The *Spaniards*, but ſeventy in Number, ſallying ſuddenly out of their Ambuſhes, fell with ſuch Violence and Fury upon the Van-Guard, that the Forlorn being beaten into the next following Battalion, that alſo turn'd upon their own Army, and filling all with Terror, they all ſhamefully fled. The Enemy purſu'd with great Slaughter; nor did they retire, till they were wearied with killing, and carry'd away ſeven Colours in Token of Victory. Colonel *Haynes* having with great Courage endeavour'd to make Head againſt them, being abandon'd, was ſlain by them, and with him ſix hundred more, beſides many wounded. Theſe ſad Misfortunes were ſucceeded, by the Negligence of the Commanders, with Want of Proviſions; ſo that ſeveral of the Soldiers ſtraying in the Woods in Queſt of Victuals were knockt on the Head by the *Negroes* and *Molattoes*. Their Wants daily increaſing, they eat all their Horſes, which they had brought in a fine Troop with them from *Barbadoes*; and theſe not ſufficing, they at length reſolv'd to leave that Place that had prov'd ſo diſgraceful and fatal to them. So on the third of *May* they ſail'd with their baffled Army to the Iſland of *Jamaica*; where the News of their Defeat not being yet arriv'd, they eaſily landed, the *Spaniards* there Articling for Liberty to depart, to which they readily conſented. But here they met with an Enemy more ſevere than the *Spaniards*, which was the Plague; which in a little Time reduc'd their Army to fewer than two thouſand Men. Thoſe who ſurviv'd, being recruited with Men and Proviſions from *England*, the Iſland being alſo clear'd of *Spaniards*, afterwards became a famous Colony of the *Engliſh*.

Jamaica *taken from the* Spaniards.

Blake's Acts in the Mediterranean.

But tho' they were ſo unfortunate in this Attempt, yet the brave Exploit of Admiral *Blake* in the other Fleet that went to the *Mediterranean*, made ſome Reparation to the Honour of *England*. His Deſign was honourable, to ſcour thoſe Seas of the *Turkiſh* Pirates, who had often made Prize of the *Engliſh* Merchant Ships, and Slaves of their Perſons. *Blake* not meeting with any of theſe at Sea, bravely reſolv'd to ſeek them out in their Ports, and there either perſuade, or compel them to a Reſtitution, or a Peace. And firſt he appear'd before *Algiers*, the neareſt Harbour of thoſe Sea-Robbers, and Anchoring within the very Mole, he ſent to the *Dye* or King, requiring Reſtitution of all *Engliſh* Ships taken, and Releaſe of all *Engliſh* Men made Slaves. The *Dye* knowing his Inability to reſiſt ſo powerful a Fleet, immediately ſent a rich Preſent with ſome Store of freſh Proviſions, acquainting the *Engliſh* Admiral, ‘ That the Ships and Captives already taken belong'd to private Men, therefore not ſo much in his own Power; but yet they ſhou'd be reſtor'd at a moderate Ranſom; and if the Admiral thought good, they wou'd conclude a Peace, and for the future offer no Acts of Violence to any of the *Engliſh* Ships and Natives.’ This being concluded according to *Blake*'s Satisfaction, he ſail'd directly for *Tunis*, another Receptacle for thoſe Pirates, where their Port being better fortify'd, he found more reſolute Anſwers: For having here alſo ſent to demand Reſtitution of the Ships, and Releaſe of the *Engliſh* Captives, he was abſolutely deny'd, with this bold Anſwer, ‘ That there were their Caſtles of *Goletta*, and their Ships and Caſtles of *Porto Ferino*, he might do his worſt, for he ſhou'd not think to fright them with the Sight of his Fleet.’ Fired with this Anſwer, *Blake* in a Council of War reſolv'd at once to deſtroy their Ships in *Porto Ferino*; to which Purpoſe they mann'd their Long-Boats with reſolute Sea-Men, and ſent them into the Harbour to fire the Ships, while *Blake* himſelf with his whole Fleet moſt furiouſly thunder'd with his Cannon upon their Caſtles and Batteries, for the moſt part diſmounting

their

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their Guns, and forcing the Defendants to abandon their Works. In the mean Time the Sea-Men ſo gallantly play'd their Parts, that they ſoon reduc'd all their nine Ships of War to Aſhes, and return'd back with the Loſs of only twenty five Men, and forty eight wounded. The Infidels thus chaſtis'd and aſtoniſh'd, ſubmitted to Articles; and this Action ſpread the Fame and Gallantry of the *Engliſh* Nation all over thoſe Parts, and was eſteem'd by the People of thoſe Countries, who had never ſeen or heard of Ships fighting with Caſtles, as little leſs than a Miracle.

Cromwell *diſſatisfy'd.*

The Succeſs of both Fleets came to the Protector's Knowledge about the ſame Time, but did not equally affect him. Tho' he had uſually a great Command over his Paſſions, yet he ſhew'd himſelf highly diſcompos'd, upon the Miſcarriage of *Hiſpaniola.* And as ſoon as they came on Shore, he ſent both *Pen* and *Venables* Priſoners to the *Tower*, and cou'd never be perſuaded to truſt either of them again; nor cou'd he for a long Time ſpeak temperately of that Affair. However he loſt no Time in cheriſhing his Infant Plantation in *Jamaica*; which many believ'd to be at too great a Diſtance, and deſired the Men there might be recalled: But he wou'd not hearken to that Advice, but immediately ſent a good Squadron of Ships, and a Recruit of fifteen hundred Men to carry on that Work; and reſolv'd nothing more, than to make a continual War from that Place upon the *Spaniard.* At the ſame time he reſolv'd upon another Piece of Policy, advantagious to himſelf, but ruinous to his Country, which was to join, ſupport, and raiſe the Power of *France* as much as he cou'd, or was ſubſervient to his own private Intereſt.

The Death of the Duke of Richmond.

Archbiſhop Uſher,

Dr. Robinſon,

Sir Tobie Mathew,

Sir Theodore Mayerne,

Biſhop Goodman,

And Mr. Marſhal.

And here we ſhall finiſh the old Year with an Account of the Deaths of ſome eminent and noted Men; and firſt with *James* Duke of *Richmond*, that great and excellent Man, who had never once deviated from his Honour and Loyalty, and had ſeen all his three Brothers, *George*, *John* and *Bernard*, die in the Royal Cauſe, and whoſe Character we have given in another Place: He dy'd of a Quartan Ague, in the Beginining of the Year, having never had his Health, nor yet his Spirits, ſince the deplorable Murder of his beloved Maſter, for the ſaving of whoſe Life he had the Honour to offer his own. The next to be mention'd is the famous Dr. *James Uſher*, the venerable Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and Lord Primate of *Ireland*, the Glory of that Nation both for Learning and Piety: He left his Native Country ever ſince the Year 1640, and continuing with a moderate Subſiſtance in *England*, he diſplay'd his wonderful Abilities in many noble Treatiſes; being invited and courted by Cardinal *Richlieu* and ſeveral Foreigners to repair into their Countries: And *Cromwell*, knowing how univerſally he was eſteem'd, ſhew'd ſome particular Marks of Reſpect to him a little before his Death, and after that was at the Charge of a publick Funeral for him. Beſides theſe two great Men, three others are worthy of Remembrance, all of different Characters and Capacities; as firſt Dr. *Hugh Robinſon*, Maſter of the great School at *Wincheſter*, Arch-Deacon of *Gloceſter*, and Canon of *Wells*; an excellent Linguiſt, and able Divine, and well vers'd in all ancient Hiſtories, as his learned Writings ſufficiently teſtify. Next, Sir *Tobie Matthew*, Son to the Archbiſhop of *York*, mention'd in the Year 1628, a learned Romaniſt and Jeſuit, who had made a great Noiſe and Figure in the Nation, by his Ingenuity and unwearied Induſtry, and the Intereſt and Acquaintance he had acquired among the great Courtiers, both in King *James*'s and the laſt Reign. Next, Sir *Theodore Mayerne*, or *Turquettus de Mayerne*, Baron of *Aubon* in *France*, Phyſician in ordinary both to King *James* and the late King; a Perſon of eminent Note and Fame in his Profeſſion, of whom ſeveral learned Men of *France* and *Germany* have made honourable mention, even ſixty Years before his Death. There are two others which ought not to be forgotten, tho' moſt memorable for their infamous Practices: The Firſt was Dr. *Godfrey Goodman*, Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, who with great Scandal declar'd himſelf, in his laſt Will, to *die in the Faith and Communion of the Mother Church of* Rome; having before given great Grounds of Suſpicion, particularly by refuſing to ſubſcribe the Canons in the Year 1640. It is obſervable that this Man was the only Biſhop who made his Addreſſes to *Cromwell*, and dedicated a Book to his *Excellency* with Flattery, and a ſervile Petition *for hearing his Cauſe, and for doing Juſtice to him*; and it is further remarkable, that as this was the only Apoſtate *Engliſh* Biſhop ſince the Reformation, ſo he was the only one who left Children to beg their Bread. The laſt was Mr. *Stephen Marſhal*, Batchellor of Divinity, the celebrated *Independent*, tho' formerly *Presbyterian* Preacher, of whom mention has been made before, and one of the Authors of that noted Book call'd *Smectymnuus*; a famous Incendiary and Aſſiſtant to the Parliamentarians. He was their Trumpet in their Faſts, their Confeſſor in their Sickneſs, their Counſellor in their Aſſemblies, their Chaplain in their Treaties, and their Champion in their Diſputations: This great *Shimei*, falling into a deſperate Sickneſs, departed the World mad and raving.

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Cromwell's Treaty with France.

V. I. The King of *Spain* being provok'd with the Hardſhip he had ſuſtain'd from *Cromwell*, and ſenſible of his perfidious Dealings, ſolemnly proclaim'd War againſt *England* in the Beginning of the new Year. So that the Rupture, which begun on one Side privately, was now carry'd on publickly on Both; and *Cromwell*, who had the Advantage of being the Aggreſſor, ſent Orders to Admiral *Blake*, 'That he ſhou'd watch the Return of the *Spaniſh* 'Plate-Fleet, and make what Deſtruction he cou'd upon the 'Coaſts of *Spain*;' and gave Directions to his Ship Commanders in the *Downs* to infeſt thoſe of *Flanders*, which they had never done before. What had been hitherto privately treated between him and Cardinal *Mazarine*, was now expos'd more to the Light. He now ſent *Lockhart* his Ambaſſador into *France*, who was receiv'd with great Solemnity; being a Man of great Addreſs in Matters of Treaty, and one who had a wonderful Credit and Power with the Cardinal. He there finiſh'd that unhappy Alliance with *France*. On the Side of *England*, *Cromwell* undertook 'To ſend over an Army of ſix Thouſand Foot, to 'be commanded by their own ſuperior Officer, who was 'to receive Orders only from Marſhal *Turenne*; and when 'the Forts of *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke* ſhou'd be taken, they 'were to be put into *Cromwell*'s Hands.' There were other more ſecret Articles, which were not long after diſcover'd and known, and particularly, 'That the King 'Himſelf, with his two Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and '*Gloceſter*, and all his Relations and Adherents, excepting 'the Queen Mother, ſhou'd be excluded out of the *French* 'Dominions:' Articles that were conceal'd by the *French*, till the Cardinal found a kind of a Neceſſity to diſcover them to the World.

An Inſtance of his Tyranny.

Strengthen'd with this Alliance abroad, the Protector had greater Encouragement to exerciſe his Tyranny at home; of which there happen'd a particular Inſtance about this Time, which ought not to paſs unremember'd. Having laid ſome Taxes upon the City by his own Authority, one *Cony*, a great Fanatick and old Aſſiſtant of his, poſitively refus'd to pay his Share, and loudly diſſwaded others from ſubmitting to it, *as an Impoſition directly againſt Law, and the Property of the Subject.* The Protector ſent for him, and ſooth'd him with the Memory of former Kindneſs and Friendſhip, and told him, *That of all Men he did not expect this Oppoſition from him, in a Matter ſo neceſſary for the Good of the Common-wealth.* This Man remember'd him, how great an Enemy he had formerly expreſs'd himſelf to ſuch Grievances, and particularly had declar'd, *That all who ſubmitted to pay illegal Taxes, were greater Enemies to their Country than the Impoſers; and the Tyranny of Princes could never be grievous, but by the Tameneſs and Stupidity of the People.* When *Cromwell* ſaw he cou'd not convert him, he told him, *That He had a Will as ſtubborn as His, and he would try which of them two ſhould be Maſter*; and thereupon, with Paſſion and Contempt, committed the Man to Priſon. This did not abate the other's Reſolution; but as ſoon as the Term came, he brought his *Habeas Corpus* in the King's Bench, then call'd the *Upper Bench. Maynard*, *Twyſden* and *Windham* were his Council, who with great Confidence demanded his Liberty, both upon the Illegality of the Commitment, and the Illegality of the Impoſition. The Judges cou'd not maintain or defend either, and ſufficiently intimated what their Sentence wou'd be; and therefore the Protector's Attorney required a further Day, to anſwer what had been urg'd. Before that Day, *Maynard* and the other two were committed to the *Tower*, for preſuming to queſtion the preſent Authority; and the Judges were ſent for, and ſeverely reprehended for ſuffering that Liberty; and when they humbly alledg'd *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right*, he ridicul'd thoſe Laws in Words too coarſe and ſcandalous for a Hiſtory, and ask'd them, *Who made them Judges? and whether they had any Authority to ſit there, but what he gave them?* and therefore he adviſ'd them *to be more tender of that Authority which only cou'd preſerve them*; and ſo diſmiſs'd them with a Caution, *That they ſhou'd not ſuffer the Lawyers to prate what it wou'd not become Them to hear.* Thus he ſubdu'd a Spirit which had been troubleſome to the moſt Sovereign Authority, and made *Weſtminſter-Hall* as obedient, and ſubſervient to his Commands, as any of the reſt of his Quarters.

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2. It now concern'd the Prqtector to ſet all Engines on Work, for the procuring of Mony to carry on the War, which he himſelf had rais'd againſt ſo potent an Enemy as the *Spaniard*; for being fully convinc'd of the Injury done

him

The Succeſs of the Engliſh *Fleet againſt the* Spaniards.

him at *Hiſpaniola* and *Jamaica*, he ſoon made Seizure of all the *Engliſh* Merchant Ships and Goods in his Ports, before they were ſuſpected by the Owners. To manage this War offenſively, Admiral *Blake*, and *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, were with a powerful Navy commanded by *Cromwell* to block up the *Spaniſh* chief Port of *Cadiz*, whither the Plate-Fleet us'd Yearly to come and unlade, hoping to intercept them at their Return. Here the two Commanders lay before the Harbour for ſeveral Weeks; but cou'd not provoke the *Spaniards* to come out and fight, who had then a Squadron of Men of War ſecur'd by the Forts and Caſtles in the Iſland. They were in Hopes to tire out the *Engliſh*, and that Want of Water and Proviſions wou'd oblige them leave their Coaſts; but they were plentifully ſupply'd with both at *Wyers-Bay* in *Portugal*. The Admirals were gone to this Place, when Captain *Stayner*, who was left with ſeven Ships at the Mouth of the Harbour, eſpy'd the *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet making directly for *Cadiz*. *Stayner* was ſomewhat to the Leeward, but he bore up in the Head of them with all the Sail he could make; and in a few Hours Time, Himſelf in the *Speaker*, the *Bridgwater* and *Plymouth* Frigates got up with the *Spaniards*: With theſe Ships, while the reſt were behind, *Stayner* bravely fought eight *Spaniſh* Men of War and Galleons within four Leagues of *Cadiz*. The Admiral, *Don Marco del Porto*, with ſix hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight, ran his Ship on Shore. The Vice-Admiral, in which were twelve hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight, and another Galleon, were fired, one deſignedly by the *Spaniards*, and the other by Accident. In the former, the Marqueſs of *Bajadox*, Vice-Roy of *Mexico*, with his Wife and eldeſt Daughter, who was to be marry'd to the Duke of *Medina Celi*, periſh'd in the Flames; but his other Daughter, and his two Sons, and near a Hundred more, were ſav'd by the *Engliſh*. The Rear-Admiral, with two Millions of Plate on Board, was taken and ſecured, and another Ship richly loaden with Hydes and Cocheneal. A Man of War and an Advice-Boat got into *Gibralter*, and the other two Ships run aſhore and bulg'd: and ſix of theſe eight were deſtroy'd, or made Prize.

Great Riches brought home.

Admiral *Montague*, with the young Marqueſs of *Bajadox*, the Priſoner and the Plate, to the Value of above two Millions, return'd ſafe to *England*. The Ships arriv'd at *Portſmouth*; and tho' they might with leſs Charge have continu'd their Voyage by Sea to *London*, *Cromwell* judg'd it wou'd occaſion more Noiſe and Wonder, if all the Bullion, which was of ſuch great Value, was landed at *Portſmouth*; from whence it was brought by Land in many Carts to *London*, and carry'd through the City to the *Tower* to be there coin'd, as it was, in as ſhort a Time as cou'd be diſpatch'd; and tho' it was in it ſelf ſo conſiderable, they gave out and reported it to be of greater Value than it was. But the Loſs to the *Spaniard* was prodigious; tho' moſt of what was in the Admiral was ſav'd, and that only. And they ſaw the *Engliſh* Fleet ſtill remaining before them, which was not likely to miſs the other Fleet they ſhortly after expected, notwithſtanding all Advertiſements they cou'd be able to ſend to it. And thus the *Spaniard*, who firſt had by his Ambaſſador *Cardinas*, and others, too much encourag'd the Rebellion and Power of the Parliament againſt the late King, began in his Turn to receive his Retribution from the Effects of Both.

A general View of Cromwell's *Government and Behaviour,*

3. And now the Protector *Cromwell*, tho' many of his Actions were yet unperform'd, ſeem'd to have been in the Height of his Glory; more in Power and Dread, both abroad and at home, than perhaps ever was any *Engliſh* Monarch before him. And here it will not be improper to take ſome more general View of his Government, his Methods, and Perſonal Behaviour, that we may give a more perfect Idea of the State of the Times and Nation. Notwithſtanding all the tyrannical Proceedings of this Uſurper, he perform'd ſeveral great and laudable, as well as little and uncommon Things: He reſtor'd Juſtice, as well Diſtributive as Commutative, almoſt to its ancient Dignity and Splendor; The Judges diſcharging their Duties without Covetouſneſs, according to Law and Equity; and the Laws, except ſome few that concern'd Himſelf, having full and free Courſe in all Courts, without Impediment or Delay. Mens Manners alſo, at leaſt outwardly, ſeem'd to be really reform'd, either by withdrawing the Fewel of Luxury, or through Fear of the ancient Laws, now reviv'd and put in Execution. His own Court alſo was regulated according to a moſt ſtrict Diſcipline; where Drunkenneſs, Whoredom, and Bribery were either baniſh'd or ſeverely puniſh'd. Trade began again to flouriſh and proſper, and ſeveral of the Arts of Peace to be cultivated throughout the Nation.

In Spiritual Matters,

As he proceeded with great Indignation and Haughtineſs, againſt thoſe who were refractory, and durſt contend with his Greatneſs, ſo towards all who comply'd with his good Pleaſure, and courted his Protection, he manifeſted great Civility, Generoſity and Bounty. He particularly ſtudy'd to gain an Opinion of extraordinary Sanctity among the Preachers; for no Man affected to ſeem more tender of the Clergy than Himſelf, tho' he wou'd not liſt himſelf in any particular Sect. He was indeed more inclin'd to the *Independents*, as his Affairs required; but he gave it out, 'That it was his only Wiſh and Deſire to ſee the 'Church in Peace, and that all wou'd gather into one 'Sheep-Fold, under one Shepherd, *Jeſus Chriſt*, and mu'tually love another;' while he privately divided them, and promoted all their Diſſenſions. He projected ſome ſpecious Propoſals of Reconciliation between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*; but when they ſeem'd upon the Point of Agreement, he ſet them again at greater Variance. Under Pretext alſo of moderating and pacifying the Diviſions of the *Scotch Remonſtrators*, and *Aſſembly-Men*, he blew up the Coals, and kindled greater Flames amongſt them. By Turns he countenanc'd all Sorts of *Fanaticks*, that the Enthuſiaſtical People might more obſtinately adhere to their Scruples and Whimſies: If he perceiv'd that the *Presbyterians* began to raiſe their Creſts, become uneaſy under the Government, or meddle in Civil Affairs, he let looſe againſt them the *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, and the reſt of the *Fanaticks*, who took Pleaſure in diſputing with their Preachers, and interrupting them in their religious Worſhip; and he was by many heard to glory, *That he had curb'd that inſolent Sect, that wou'd ſuffer none but it ſelf*; ſo that they humbly begg'd his Leave, and thank'd him for permitting them to preach and pray after their Manner, in their own Congregations. Tho' the publick Uſe of the *Common-Prayer-Book* was deny'd to the *Epiſcopal Party*, yet he allow'd the Uſe of their Rites in private Houſes; and tho' the State of the Church of *England* now ſeem'd ſad and deplorable, yet it cannot be deny'd, but that milder Courſes were us'd, than under the rigid Tyranny of others that went before. As to the Papiſts, tho' he appear'd a publick and implacable Enemy to them, yet he was very familiar with, and very obliging towards ſome of them: Nay, he once enter'd upon a Treaty with them concerning a general *Toleration* of Religion, converting the third Part of their Rents, which had been forfeited by Law, into a certain Sum of Mony. But becauſe they could not agree upon the very Sum, and finding it would be ungrateful to the People, and give Occaſion for Commotions, he thought it more expedient for that Time to deſiſt. But what Succeſs ſoever that Affair had, he privately gave Liberty of *Maſs* to all; and *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, who by Law were guilty of Death, never had greater Freedom, nor ever more boldly carry'd on their Deſigns, in the Camp, Court, and Pulpit, ſome of them even arriving at Promotion; ſo that among the ill-grounded People, they reap'd no ſmall Harveſt of Proſelytes.

In Civil Matters,

As to Civil Affairs, where the Life of his Juriſdiction was not concern'd, he pretended a great Reverence for the Law, and the Conſtitution; and becauſe his Enemies and Oppoſers were numerous both at home and abroad, he never ſpared in the Caſe of Spies and Intelligence, in which he is believ'd to have been at the Expence of no leſs than Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year. He had given Power to the publick Poſt-Maſters, who were all at his Devotion, to ſtop ſuſpected Perſons, and ſecretly open their Letters; and if they inſinuated any Thing tending to an Inſurrection, or any Thing was ambiguouſly expreſs'd, they were to write it down, till he might have an Opportunity either of ſeizing, or branding the Parties with pregnant Suſpicion. All Carriers and Meſſengers were narrowly obſerv'd, and ſometimes caus'd to be ſtopp'd, and carefully ſearch'd from Head to Foot, and other times terrify'd with Threats and Impriſonments, or ply'd with Wine and Engines of Diſcovery, till the moſt hidden Secrets were detected. His Spies were diſpers'd in all Parts, not only in *England*, but in Foreign Courts and Countries, and were often intermixt and woven among the Cavaliers themſelves. No Prince ſeem'd to have been Maſter of ſo much, and of ſuch particular Intelligence as Himſelf; concerning which we have ſome uncommon Stories, and one not improper to be here mention'd: A Gentleman, who was a known Friend to the late King, applying Himſelf to the Protector, obtain'd leave from him to Travel, upon a particular Promiſe *That he wou'd not ſee* Charles Stuart. Being arriv'd near the Court, he ſent a Meſſage to the King, that he might be permitted to wait upon his Majeſty by Night, which was granted; and having fully diſcours'd with him concerning his Affairs, he took leave, and receiv'd a Letter which he ſew'd within the Crown of his Hat. Upon his Return to *England*, he came with Confidence to *Cromwell*, and being demanded by him, *If he* *had punctually perform'd his Promiſe?* he anſwer'd *he had. But*, ſaid *Cromwell, Who was it that put out the Candles when you ſpoke to* Charles Stuart? This unexpected Queſtion ſomewhat ſtartled him; but *Cromwell* proceeding, asked him, *What he ſaid to him?* To which the Gentleman anſwer'd, *He had ſaid nothing at all to him. Then*, reply'd *Cromwell, did he not ſend a Letter by you?* The Gentleman denying that alſo, *Cromwell* took his Hat, and having found the Letter, immediately ſent him to the *Tower*.

And in all.

As to his general Behaviour, he endeavour'd to endear and oblige moſt Perſons by ſpecious Offices, ſuch as were accommodated to the different Humours and Characters of the Men. The few Nobility, with whom he had an Intimacy, he delighted with Raillery and Jeſting, contended with them in mimical Geſtures, and entertain'd them with pleaſant Collations, Muſick, Hunting and Hawking. But the Godly, and thoſe that profeſs'd great Piety, he humour'd with holy Conferences and Prayers, and Expounding of the Scriptures; all which he wou'd perform with numberleſs Sighs and Tears. When he was at *Hampton-Court*, he us'd ſometimes to give his Neighbours a Buck, to be run down in his Park, to honour them with his Preſence, and then give them Mony for Wine. He often made Feaſts for the inferior Officers, and before they had half dined, he wou'd order the Drums to beat, and call in his Foot Guards, like a Kennel of Hounds, to ſnatch off the Meat from the Table, and ſee them tear it in Pieces; after which he wou'd proceed to a hundred Antick Tricks, as throwing of Cuſhions, and putting burning Coals into their Boots and Pockets. When the Officers had ſufficiently laugh'd and tired themſelves with thoſe Preludes, he wou'd wheadle them to open their Hearts, and by that Means draw from them ſome Secrets of the greateſt Importance; while Himſelf, ſounding the Opinions of others, artfully conceal'd his own; and whatſoever he cou'd thus catch, he reſerv'd for the moſt proper Seaſon. He had a wonderful Knowledge of Men, and had a ſtrange Faculty of examining and winding about the Minds of all, even of his Enemies, which he cou'd beſet with innumerable Snares and Artifices. If he perceiv'd any one of the latter caught, that was not inflexible, his Method was to put them upon odious Employments, as raiſing and collecting Aſſeſſments, informing againſt, and accuſing of others; and ſo render them hateful and unpopular, while they at the ſame Time perform'd his Buſineſs. No Man more cunningly div'd into the Manners of Men, and into the Tempers of thoſe with whom he had Buſineſs, nor ſooner diſcover'd their Talent; and if there were any Man in all *England* that was ſingular in any Art or Faculty, he cou'd not be conceal'd from him. He had an abſolute Command over all the Paſſions and Affections of his own Mind; and in ſum, cou'd weep without Grief, laugh without Mirth, fawn without Love, and not only deceive others, but almoſt diſſemble Himſelf into a Belief that he was in earneſt.

4. *Cromwell* being now in the Height of his Power and Authority, and more formidable than any of the *Engliſh* Monarchs, wanted nothing but the Name of KING; which he was ſenſible he cou'd not obtain without a Parliament. He wanted no Forces to be rais'd, for he had augmented them at his own Pleaſure. Nor did he want Mony to ſupply his great Occaſions; for he had Ways and Means alway in his own Hands. Nor did he love to ſee a Parliament ſitting; for he had parted with two former Aſſemblies in the moſt rough and odious Manner. So that in all Appearance he cou'd have no Inclination, nor Occaſion for a new Seſſion, but only to make a Party for a Crown. To this purpoſe therefore, he us'd all Methods to awe and influence Elections: So beſides his ſtanding Force of *Major-Generals* in every County, he erected a new Office of Purgation, call'd *A Committee for Inſpection of Charters*, of which Mr. *Gabriel Beck*, Solicitor to his Highneſs, was Chair-Man; and their Conſults were all to be reported to the Protector and his Council: By which Means the Boroughs and Corporations were influenc'd or modell'd as his Highneſs and his Court pleas'd. But the Members for the Counties, which were made more numerous by *the Inſtrument of Government*, were not ſo eaſily elected or manag'd. Therefore, knowing the Inclination of the Country, the Protector us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to diſable and incapacitate ſuch Men from being Choſen, whom he thought moſt likely to obſtruct his Deſigns. In order to this he ſummon'd Preſident *Bradſhaw*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Colonel *Rich*, and Colonel *Ludlow*, to appear before him in Council. After Conſultation, *Rich* was ſent Priſoner to *Windſor* Caſtle; *Ludlow* was order'd to be taken into Cuſtody; Sir *Henry Vane* was ſent Priſoner to *Cariſbrook* Caſtle; and *Bradſhaw*, tho' ſuffer'd to go his Circuit as Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*, had Letters ſent after him to deter People from giving their Votes for him.

Cromwell's THIRD PARLIAMENT.

All Things thus prepared, on the 17th Day of *September* this Party of a Parliament met the Lord Protector in the Abbby-Church at *Weſtminſter*, where they heard a Sermon preach'd by a prime Creature and even Confeſſor of *Cromwell*, Dr. *Owen*, Dean of *Chriſt-Church* and Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, on theſe Words in *Iſaiah, What ſhall one then anſwer the Meſſengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded* Zion, *and the Poor of his People ſhall truſt in it:* A Sermon exactly calculated for the new projected Monarchy. After this, his Highneſs and the Members repaired to the *Painted-Chamber*, where he made a dark Speech to them, and ſent them away to their Houſe for Admiſſion, or Excluſion, according to Will of Himſelf and Council, and as they ſhou'd ſubſcribe a Paper of Recognition, *That they wou'd act nothing prejudicial to the Government, as it was eſtabliſh'd under a PROTECTOR.* For at the Doors of the Houſe they found a Guard, and an Officer ſtanding with a Liſt in his Hand, and demanding the Name of every Perſon: Such as were mark'd for Non-admittance, or refus'd the Recognition, were turned back, and ſuch as were approv'd, took a Ticket to introduce them, in theſe Words: *Theſe are to certify, that A. B. is return'd by Indenture one of the Members to ſerve in this preſent Parliament for -------- and is approv'd by his Highneſs's Council. Ludlow* ſeems to repreſent this Matter right, when he tells us, That the Court, finding by the Liſts they had receiv'd, that notwithſtanding all their Menaces, Promiſes, and other Artifices, divers Perſons were choſen whom they knew to be no Favourers of the Uſurpation, reſolv'd to clear their Hands at once. And to that End, under the Colour of a Clauſe in *the Inſtrument of Government*, ‘ That none ſhou'd be admitted to Places ‘ of Power and Truſt, but ſuch as were Men of *Sincerity* and *Integrity*,’ they gave an Excluſion to Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, and Mr. *Scot*, with as many more as they thought fit. By this Means, and the Refuſal of Others to take out their Permiſſions to ſit from *Cromwell* and his Council, as was required, leſt they ſhou'd ſeem to countenance ſuch a deteſtable Impoſition, and open Breach of Privilege; it came to paſs, that about a Hundred of thoſe who were elected by the Country, were excluded from the Diſcharge of their Truſt; while thoſe from *Ireland* and *Scotland*, who were choſen by and for the Sword, were admitted without any Scruple.

A Remonſtrance of the excluded Members.

The Excluded Members, to the Number of Ninety Eight, finding no Redreſs, appeal'd to the People in a ſevere Remonſtrance or Proteſtation, ſetting forth, ‘ That ‘ the Lord Protector had by Force of Arms invaded their ‘ Fundamental Right and Liberty, and violently prevent‘ ed the Meeting of the Peoples choſen Deputies in Par‘ liament; and concluding with an Appeal to God and ‘ all the good People of *England* for Aſſiſtance and Pro‘ tection in their Service; *and pouring out their ſad Com‘ plaints before the Lord againſt our powerful Oppreſſors, ‘ humbly hoping that he will come forth Speedily to redeem ‘ his People out of the Hands of wicked and deceitful Men.*’ But all this was to no Effect; eſpecially ſince moſt of the Subſcribers, as *Haſlerigg, Scot, Jones, Goodwyn*, &c. had been unſufferable Oppoſers of the juſt Prerogatives and Authority of their lawful Soveraign, and were the more fit and worthy to fall a Sacrifice to an Arbitrary Power in a wicked Accomplice, and a late Equal of their own. And it is obſervable how their Complaints were juſtly retorted upon Themſelves, particularly theſe Words in their Remonſtrance; *We belive every Man can diſcern, how much it is more miſchievous for a King, OR ANY OTHER, to Command a Hundred, two Hundred, or three Hundred of the Members to depart, and call the reſt a PARLIAMENT.* Which was the very ſame Complaint that the late King, and the Majority of the Nation, had for ſeveral Years made againſt the Uſurpations of the Long Parliament, in which they had been principal Actors.

The Proceedings of the Parliament.

The ſitting Members, chuſing Sir *Thomas Widdrington* for their Speaker, began to act agreeably to his Highneſs's Wiſhes and Deſires: For firſt, to ſecure him from all Attempts that might be made upon his Perſon, they paſſed an Act, ‘ making it High-Treaſon to ‘ attempt, compaſs or imagine the Death of the Pro‘ tector.’ And for the better ſecuring of him in his Government, they paſs'd another, ‘ Renouncing and ‘ Diſannulling the Title of *Charles Stuart*, unto the Do‘ minions of *England, Scotland* and *Ireland.* They likewiſe paſs'd ſeveral Acts for raiſing of Mony, for the more effectual Supply of the Protector's Neceſſities, and carrying on the War againſt *Spain*; as firſt, ‘ An Act for an Aſſeſſment of Sixty Thouſand Pounds ‘ a Month upon *England*, to continue three Months; ‘ another on *Scotland*, for the ſame Time, at five Thou‘ ſand Pounds a Month, and the ſame on *Ireland*.’

1656.
Car. 8.

But for a more continu'd Supply for his Highneſs, there was another Act paſs'd, ‘ for thirty thouſand Pounds a Month for *England*, ſix thouſands Pounds a Month for *Scotland*, and nine thouſand Pounds a Month for *Ireland*, to be paid for three whole Years next enſuing.’ Nor were theſe wanting to grant that to the Protector, which the Long Parliament had in a Manner abſolutely deny'd to the late King, namely ‘ The Receipts of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, for his Life.’ Nor was all this ſufficient, but other Projects were carry'd on for raiſing of Monies, as the Revival of that Act ‘ prohibiting the Multiplicity of Buildings in and about the City of *London*, or within ten Miles of it, and obliging a whole Year's Revenue to be immediately paid for all Houſes, which had been built upon new Foundations ſince the Year 1620.’ By all which, and Exciſes upon many inferior trifling Things, vaſt Sums of Mony were afterwards rais'd. Theſe, with ſome others, as One for the Exportation of ſeveral Commodities, of the Breed, Growth and Manufacture of *England*; another for the taking away of the Court of *Wards* and *Liveries*, &c. were on the 27th of *November* preſented ſolemnly to his Highneſs, to be confirm'd by his Royal Authority; and he as graciouſly confirm'd them all, and told them, *That as it had been the Cuſtom of the chief Governors to acknowledge the Care and Kindneſs of the Commons upon ſuch Occaſions, ſo he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their Kindneſs therein.* So much was done for his Benefit and Advantage, within a little above the Space of two Months.

The Major-Generals *Suppreſs'd.*

Within the ſame Compaſs of Time they began to debate concerning the exorbitant Power of the *Major-Generals*, whoſe Inſults ſo far increas'd, that they intimated, *That they needed no Act of Indemnity, ſince their Swords cou'd protect them.* But when their Authority came to be ſtrictly debated, Mr. *Cleypole*, Son-in-Law to the Protector, ſtood up, which was unuſual for him to do, and told the Houſe, ‘ *That he cou'd but Start the Game*, and leave thoſe who had more Experience to follow the Chace; and therefore cou'd only ſay, That he had formerly thought it neceſſary, in Reſpect to the Condition in which the Nation had been, that the *Major-Generals* ſhou'd be entruſted with the Authority which they had exercis'd; but in the preſent State of Affairs, he conceiv'd it inconſiſtent with the Laws of *England*, and the Liberties of the People, to continue their Power any longer.’ This Motion was a clear Direction to the Sycophants of the Court, who being fully perſuaded that *Cleypole* had deliver'd the Senſe, if not the very Words of *Cromwell* in this Matter, joyn'd unanimouſly in oppoſing and abrogating the Authority of theſe *Major-Generals.* Yet *Cromwell* took Care to continue their Names, that they might be formidable to the Counties, but abridg'd them of all that Power which began to be inconvenient to his own Security.

The Blaſphemy and Puniſhment of James Naylor.

At the ſame Time the Parliament was employ'd and diſturb'd by Matters of another Nature, the frequent Effuſions of Religious Phrenſy: The *Quakers* grew extravagantly mad, if they may be judg'd by the reſt of the World: One diſturb'd the Preacher in *White-Chappel* Church with ſuch a ſeditious Impulſe, that a Complaint was made to the Protector, who order'd him to a Juſtice of Peace, and to be proſecuted according to Law. Another pretending to an immediate Meſſage from God, went about the Streets denouncing his Judgments againſt the Protector and his Council. A Third in *Colcheſter* was ſo infatuated, as to ſtarve Himſelf to Death, upon the Claim of a Commiſſion from the Spirit, *That he muſt faſt forty Days.* But the moſt impudent of all Mortals was *James Naylor*, a late Soldier under General *Lambert*, who blaſphemouſly ſet up to be *Jeſus* Himſelf in Perſon; and ſo with Garb, Hair, and Looks, reſembling the Pictures of our Bleſſed Saviour, he went about with Diſciples, and Women miniſtring unto him: And ſo enter'd the City of *Briſtol*, riding upon an Aſs, with Women and a Mob crying *Hoſanna!* &c. and giving no other Anſwer to any Queſtion but *Thou haſt ſaid it.* The Magiſtrates of that City ſent him to *Weſtminſter*, where the Parliament, *December* the 8th, Reſolv'd, ‘ That *James Naylor* was guilty of horrid Blaſphemy, and a great Seducer of the People;’ and order'd the Speaker to pronounce this remarkable Sentence againſt him, ‘ To ſtand in the Pillory two Hours at *Weſtminſter*; to be whip'd by the Hang-Man through the Streets from *Weſtminſter* to the *Old Exchange*, and there to ſtand in the Pillory two Hours more; his Tongue bored through with a hot Iron, and his Forehead ſtigmatiz'd with the Letter B; to be afterwards ſent to *Briſtol*, and convey'd through the City on a Horſe bare back'd, and his Face backward, and his Body whip'd in the Market-Place: Thence to be brought back to *London*, and committed to Priſon in *Bridewell*, and there to be reſtrain'd from all Company, and to have no Relief but what he earns from hard Labour; and being debarr'd from the Uſe of Pen, Ink and Paper, ſhall be kept to continual Work, till he ſhall be releas'd by the Parliament.’ It was ſome Reproach to Human Nature, as one juſtly obſerves, that this wretched Fellow, under all his Sufferings, had ſome of his Followers to admire, and adore him, to lick his Wounds, to kiſs his Feet, to lean in his Boſom, and to do all that was prodigiouſly Impious and Silly. When he came firſt to *Bridewell*, to act on the Impoſture, he faſted Three Days; but the Fleſh overpowering the Spirit, he begg'd for Victuals, and fell to Work. He was for ſome Time diſown'd by the Quakers, but afterwards, upon ſome Acknowledgement, receiv'd again into their Favour.

1656.
Car. 8.

165$\frac{5}{7}$.
Car. 9.

Synder-comb's *Plot and Death.*

5. The Acts made for the Security of the Protector's Perſon were now judg'd to be highly ſeaſonable; ſince a new Diſcovery was made of a deſperate Plot againſt his Life: *Miles Syndercomb*, a Leveller and a ſtout Man, being caſhier'd in *Scotland*, combin'd with one *Cecil* and one *Troop*, of *Cromwell*'s Life-Guard, to kill the Protector by ſome one of ſeveral Ways propos'd; and were always diſappointed by wonderful and unexpected Accidents. *Syndercomb* being detected and betray'd by one or both the other Conſpirators, reſolutely deny'd the Plot, but was condemn'd upon the Statute of the 25th of *Edward* the Third; which the Chief-Juſtice *Glynne* declar'd to be Treaſon in Caſe of a Protector as much as a King, *ſince by the Word King any chief Magiſtrate was underſtood.* The Priſoner was found dead in the very Morning appointed for his Execution; upon which his Body was dragg'd naked by a Horſe's Tail to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, and under that bury'd with a Stake driven through it, cover'd with Iron at the Top, to ſtand the more durable Mark of Infamy. Immediately after, *February* the 20th was appointed for a Day of publick Thankſgiving for this great Mercy and Deliverance; when after a Sermon at St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter*, the Protector treated the Speaker and the Members in the Banquetting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, with more than ordinary Endearment. Yet he was very much diſturb'd at this Accident; for inſtead of getting an uſeful Confeſſion out of this bold Man, as he fully expected, he found himſelf under the Reproach of cauſing him to be poyſon'd, as not daring to bring him to publick Juſtice; and tho' he cou'd not make the particular Diſcovery he expected, he found this general one, that he himſelf was more odious to his Army than he believ'd he had been.

The Death of the Earl of Cheſterfield,

Biſhop Hall,

Mr. Hales,

Mr. Wingate.

After this Man's Death we ſhall conclude the Year with ſome others of greater Worth and Conſideration; and firſt of a noble Lord, *Philip Stanhope*, Earl of *Cheſterfield*, a Perſon highly remarkable for his inviolable Steadineſs and Loyalty to the late and preſent King; in whoſe Service he expended about fifteen thouſand Pounds, and likewiſe loſt two brave and valiant Sons, *Philip* as he glorioſly defended *Shelford* Houſe, and *Ferdinando* in a ſharp Fight at *Bridgeford* in *Nottinghamſhire.* The next was a Lord Spiritual, Dr. *Joſeph Hall*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, by Education a *Cantabrigian* of *Emanuel* College; who, before he was Biſhop, was for his Worth and Learning ſelected and ſent over by King *James* to the Synod of *Dort:* He was a Man of great Parts and Judgment, the Purity and Strength of whoſe Stile caus'd Sir *Henry Wotton* to call him the *Engliſh Seneca*; and notwithſtanding he was celebrated for his Piety, Candour and Moderation, he met with as ſevere Meaſures from the prevailing Sectaries as the moſt violent of the Church Party; all which he bore with exemplary Patience, and noble Fortitude, till Death put an End to all his Miſeries. Beſides theſe two, there dy'd Mr. *John Hales*, Fellow of *Eaton* College, and Canon of *Windſor*, of whom mention has been made in the Year 1638; a Man of prodigious Capacity, and ſurpriſing Ingenuity, of a profound Sagacity, and excellent Temper, with an unuſual Modeſty: His Learning was vaſt and unlimited, rais'd out of uncommon Notions, ſtrange Obſervations, and comprehenſive Thoughts within himſelf, which caus'd him at firſt to broach ſome Heterodox Opinions; of which he cured himſelf, tho' the Venom ſtill remains in the World. His Integrity was as ſhining, and his Charity as extenſive as his Knowledge, and his Opinion was deſired by the Learned in all Nations; yet neither his Abilities, nor his innocent Life cou'd protect him from the Iniquity of the Times, being driven from his Preferments, forc'd to ſell his admirable Library, and laſtly to die in a mean and obſcure Condition, to the great Reproach of the Age that cou'd be guilty of ſo much Injuſtice and Ingratitude. There dy'd alſo two other Perſons that deſerve to be mention'd, as *Edmund Wingate* Eſquire, a Bencher of *Gray's-Inn*, who in *France* had the Honour to teach the late King's Queen, and her Ladies, the *Engliſh* Tongue; and afterwards became noted, not only for his Skill in the Law, but in divers Parts of the Mathematicks, eſpecially Arithmetick, of which he wrote ſeveral uſeful Treatiſes: Joyning with the Times, in all the Alterations, he became well known to the Protector, And Mr. Capel.

and dy'd much in his Favour. The other Perſon was Mr. *Richard Capel*, a Puritan Divine of great Note; who, when he was a Fellow in *Oxford*, had educated many eminent Pupils; and was afterwards highly eſteem'd for his excellent Preaching, his exemplary Life and Converſation, and in doing many good Offices for thoſe of his own Function.

1657. Car. 9.

Attempts to make Cromwell KING.

VI. 1. The preſent Parliament, as it was call'd, had ſat about ſix Months, before they began to anſwer the main End for which they ſeem'd to have been ſummon'd; which was to confirm *Cromwell*'s Perſonal Authority, and ſecure it to his Poſterity. He himſelf ſeem'd to have deſir'd nothing more, than a Parliamentary Eſtabliſhment in that Power, which he had exercis'd from the Time he was Protector; which was really greater than any *Engliſh* King had ever enjoy'd. Yet ſtill, to effect that Deſign, and for other Reaſons, it was by many thought beſt 'That he ſhou'd be 'inveſted with the Title, Rights, and Dignity of a KING. This Propoſal was firſt mov'd in the Houſe by Colonel *Jephſon*, one of the Members that ſerv'd for *Ireland*; but Matters not being thoroughly concerted it had no other Effect than to ſound the Inclinations of the Aſſembly. *Cromwell* having Notice of this Motion, as he had of all others, gently reprov'd the Colonel at Table, and wonder'd *what he cou'd mean by ſuch a Propoſition*. To which the other anſwer'd, *That while he was permitted the Honour of ſitting in that Houſe, he muſt deſire the Liberty to diſcharge his Conſcience, tho' his Opinion ſhou'd happen to diſpleaſe.* Upon which the Protector, giving him a familiar Clap on the Shoulder cry'd, *Get thee gone for a mad Fellow as thou art!* and ſoon after gave Preferment both to him and his Son. Shortly after, the Propoſal, being prepar'd by his Creatures, was brought into the Houſe by Mr. *Pack*, a very rich Alderman of *London*, where it was without much Difficulty read; having then a Blank left for the Title of the ſingle Perſon, who, together with two Houſes, was to have the ſupreme Legiſlative Power. This was warmly oppos'd by the Major-Generals, and Soldiers Party, who finding that *Cromwell* was abandoning them to eſpouſe another Intereſt, ſtruck in with the Republicans, and fell ſo furiouſly upon *Pack* for his great Preſumption, and Unparliamentary Proceeding, that they bore him down from the Speaker's Chair to the Bar of the Houſe. But this Heat being ſoon over, the Lord *Broghil*, Judge *Glynne*, and others who were privy to the grand Deſign, endeavour'd to perſuade the Houſe to debate the new Form, alledging, 'That being Maſters of their own Reſolutions, they might 'retain as much of it as was good, and reject what was 'otherwiſe.

It is debated in Parliament.

Upon the Debates of the Propoſition, which laſted two Days with great Vehemence, it found a very remarkable Concurrence; and many who us'd not to agree to any thing elſe, ſeem'd unanimous in this, and were ready to vote the Protector King. And it was obſerv'd that none were forwarder in that Acclamation, than ſome who were known to be faithful to the King, and to wiſh his Reſtoration: And indeed many of the King's Party were ſo deceiv'd in their Judgments, as really to believe, that the preſent making of *Cromwell* King, was the beſt Expedient for the Reſtoration of his Majeſty; and that both the Army and the Nation wou'd rather have join'd to reſtore the true, than admit of a falſe Soveraign, whoſe Hypocriſy, as well as Tyranny, became more and more conſpicuous to the Nation. But the wiſer and more judicious Perſons of the ſame Party, who made leſs Noiſe, trembled at this Overture; and believ'd that that was the only way to deſtroy the King, and utterly to eradicate all future Hopes of the Royal Family; eſpecially ſince by this the Nobility were likely to be reſtored to their loſt Privileges, and that all, or moſt Things, wou'd run in the old Channel. And indeed when the News of this came to the King abroad, he was very much ſtartled at it, as well as thoſe about him: Inſomuch that ſeveral Perſons were ſent over into *England* with Orders to uſe all poſſible Endeavours to prevent this Deſign: Being agreed 'That, in ſuch a Caſe, the Laws 'wou'd have been on *Cromwell*'s Side, as *King in Poſſeſſion*; 'tho' the *Right* had ſtill remain'd in King *Charles* as the '*Legal Succeſſor* to his Father.' This being particularly told to the King, he was greatly ſurpris'd and concern'd at it; and occaſion'd him to ſend over ſo many to oppoſe it; among whom the Perſon who gave this Narrative was one.

But notwithſtanding the Succeſs the Propoſition met with in the Houſe, *Cromwell* found himſelf under great Difficulties; ſo that tho' he paſſionately deſir'd the Thing, yet he artfully declin'd it. For *Lambert*, who was the ſecond Man of Power in the Army, and many other Officers of Account and Intereſt, beſides the Country Members, oppos'd this Overture with great Bitterneſs and Indignation, and no leſs Boldneſs of Expreſſion. And what was more ſurpriſing, ſome of his own Family, who had thriven under him, and had their whole Dependance upon him, as *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, *Whaley*, and others, no leſs paſſionately contradicted the Motion, and confidently undertook to know, 'That himſelf wou'd never conſent to it; and 'inveigh'd againſt it as a monſtrous Thing; and that which 'wou'd infallibly ruin him.

1657. Car. 9.

They offer him the Title.

However the Majority of the Members were in a little Time drawn into the Deſign; and on the fourth of *April*, preſented him a Writing, which they ſtiled, *The humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland *to his Highneſs*; with a Speech from Sir *Thomas Widdrington* their Speaker, recommending the *Title and Office of a King as ſettled here with Chriſtianity it ſelf, approv'd and retain'd by our Anceſtors, and every Way fitted to the Laws and Temper of the People of* England. Had *Cromwell* immediately comply'd with their Zeal, and his own real Inclination, he might have ſeiz'd the Crown and the Scepter without any other Oppoſition. But whether it was to diſſemble greater Modeſty, and be at laſt made a King by the very Importunity of others; or whether it was to obviate all Dangers by a farther Deliberation on the Matter, inſtead of a ready Aſſent, he devoutly demurr'd, and told them, 'That it was a weighty Matter, 'and therefore deſir'd Space *to ſeek God*; for the Charge 'laid upon him was too great to bear without the Divine 'Aſſiſtance: That the *Engliſh* were the beſt People in the 'World, and therefore required all Tenderneſs, and Conſideration of their Liberties; he muſt therefore deſire that 'a Committee might be appointed to confer with him, and 'to offer him *better Knowledge and Satisfaction in this great* '*Cauſe*.

He demurrs.

The Committee's Arguments for it.

2. A particular Committee was appointed, which on the 11th of *April* met his Highneſs in the *Painted-Chamber*, where *Whitelock* the Chair-Man, and all the chief Members, were to argue for Monarchy in *Cromwell*, and he who really reach'd at it, was to be the only Man that ſhou'd ſpeak againſt it. The chief Speakers, beſides the Chair-Man, were the Lord *Broghill*, Chief-Juſtice *Glynne*, the Lord-Commiſſioners *Fiennes* and *Liſle*, *Lenthall* Maſter of the Rolls, Sir *Charles Wolſley*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, and Colonel *Jones*. Theſe, for two diſtinct Days, ſucceſſively entertain'd the Protector with long Harangues. They let him know, 'That the Name of a *Protector*, as 'he held it, was unknown to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, but 'the Title of *King* had the only Foundation in the ancient 'and known Laws of the Nation.' They alſo alledg'd, 'That it was not Circumſtantial, but Eſſential; that it 'was the Head from whence all the Nerves and Sinews 'of the Government proceeded; and if a new Head was 'put on, it was a Queſtion whether thoſe Nerves and Sinews wou'd grow and receive Nouriſhment: Then for 'Him to take up the *Office* of King, without the Title, 'was to take it up with all the Objections of Scandal.' They likewiſe proceeded to ſhew the Advantages of Monarchy, 'and that the *King*, the *Laws* of the Nation, the '*Liberties* of the People, and alſo *Parliaments* themſelves, 'had but one Foundation; and that the End of the late 'War was not to deſtroy *Kingſhip*, as appear'd by ſix or 'ſeven of the Parliament Declarations, one of which was 'order'd to be read in all Churches.' Then they inſiſted upon the Safety and Security of Him and Themſelves, 'That this had been the great Encouragement of thoſe Attempts againſt his Perſon, that the Law did not take Notice of him as chief Magiſtrate, and that Juries were generally backward in finding any guilty of Treaſon upon 'that Account: But by the Laws in *Edward* the Fourth, 'and *Henry* the Seventh, whatever was done by a *King* '*in Poſſeſſion* was good and valid, and all that ſerv'd under 'Him were ſafe, and exempt from Puniſhment: By thoſe 'Laws his Enemies had hitherto pleaded Indemnity; but 'by his aſſuming what was deſired, thoſe Laws they pretended for their Diſobedience, wou'd tye them, even by 'their own Principles, to Obedience.' In the laſt Place they alledg'd, 'That tho' Part of the Long Parliament had 'taken away *Kingſhip*, yet now it was ſet up again by a 'fuller Repreſentative of three Nations; and ſince the Parliament of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, had adviſ'd and 'deſir'd him to take upon him the Title of *King*, he ought 'not in Reaſon and Equity to refuſe it.

Whitelock's *Speech for it.*

To theſe, and other Arguments, *Cromwell* gave dark and ſubtle Anſwers, to which he alſo receiv'd particular Replies; and at length *Whitelock* the Chair-Man ſumm'd up all their Arguments in a remarkable Speech, in which are theſe Words: *Never any Perſons met their* Supream Magiſtrate *with more Love, Duty, and Honour, than the Parliament have met your Highneſs with, in their preſent Addreſſes; which Argument of* Love *deſerves the Eſteem and Force, which I doubt not but your Highneſs will put upon it.* ------ *I think it requires a very great Regard from us, and I doubt not but theſe good People will be fully ſatisfy'd, if they conſider the* Covenants, Promiſes, *and* Precepts, *which in the*

Scriptures are annex'd to the Name of King: *And altho' ſome have alledg'd, that they belong to any* Chief Magiſtrate, *as well as to* King; *yet no Man did ever read the Original Word tranſlated otherwiſe than* King.---- *If any Inconvenience ſhou'd enſue upon your Acceptance of this* Title, *which the Parliament adviſeth, your Highneſs's Satisfaction will be,* That they did adviſe it: *On the contrary, if Inconvenience ſhou'd ariſe upon your Highneſs's Refuſal of this* Title, *which the Parliament hath adviſed, your Burthen will be the greater: And therefore whatſoever may fall out, will be better anſwer'd by your Highneſs's complying with your Parliament, than by any other Way.* It has been obſerv'd, That, it gave ſome Reputation to the Form of *Engliſh* Monarchy, to ſee that thoſe very Men, who had perſecuted and murder'd one King, baniſh'd and renounc'd another, aboliſh'd all Kingly Government, and ſworn themſelves into a Common-wealth, ſhou'd at laſt turn back to the ancient Conſtitution, and find no Reſt or Peace, but under a new Monarch. If they acted thus from their Opinion of the Excellence and Neceſſity of a Sovereign Power in one ſingle Perſon; it was a ſingular Teſtimony for that Government they had impiouſly deſtroy'd, and wou'd now induſtriouſly reſtore: But if all this were againſt their own Conſcience, and they were terrify'd into the Deſire of a King, when they ſtill hated the very Name and Office, it was ſuch a Token of an abject Spirit, as cou'd have nothing leſs than the Divine Vengeance in it; that they who rebell'd for Liberty under a lawful and merciful Prince, ſhou'd now be ſo ſtupid as to proſtitute their Judgement, and deliver their Necks to a Yoke far heavier than what they had before ſhaken off, only on a Pretence they were not able to bear it. And if this were the Caſe of giving themſelves up to Captivity, in Oppoſition to their own Conſcience, it was the finer Myſtery, That thoſe who abhorr'd a Monarchy were compell'd to plead and Petition for it, while he, who ambitiouſly ſought for it, was likewiſe forc'd to decline and deny it. This laſt was the Caſe of *Cromwell*, who gratefully acknowledg'd the Kindneſs and Civility of the Offer, but wou'd not take upon him to give a preſent Anſwer, acquainting the Members, 'That 'he wou'd conſider of all they had ſaid to him, and ſeek 'to God for Counſel; and then he wou'd ſend for them, 'and declare his Reſolution.' And thus, having firſt complain'd of the Shortneſs of his preſent Revenues, they parted; all Men ſtanding in Amaze, and in terrible Suſpence, according to their ſeveral Hopes and Fears, till they knew what he wou'd determine.

Cromwell *under great Difficulties.*

3. It was many Days before *Cromwell* cou'd come to a Determination in this grand Affair; for he was under great Difficulties and Diſtraction of Mind. He was not frighted with the Oppoſition given him by *Lambert*; whom, for his Security, he reſolv'd to deſtroy; nor with thoſe Officers who concurr'd with him, whom he had many Ways to reduce: But he trembled at the inflexible Reſolution of thoſe, who he knew lov'd him; his Son-in-Law *Fleetwood*, and his Brother *Desborough*, and the reſt, who wholly depended upon Him and his Greatneſs, and who did not wiſh any Diminution of his Power and Authority: That theſe Men ſhou'd withſtand his Promotion with that Obſtinacy, moſt ſenſibly affected him. All his Conſultations were now in private, and we are ſomewhat in the Dark as to this nice Affair. *Ludlow*, who then well knew the Intrigues of the Court and Camp, ſeems to have given the moſt perfect Account of it. He tells us, That *Cromwell* endeavour'd by all poſſible Means to prevail with the Officers of the Army to approve his Deſign; and knowing that *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* were particularly averſe to it, he invited himſelf to dine perſonally with the latter, and carry'd the former with him; where he began to droll with them about Monarchy, and ſpeaking ſlightingly of it, ſaid, *It was but a Feather in a Man's Cap*, and therefore wonder'd, *That Men wou'd not pleaſe their Children, and permit them to enjoy their Rattle.* But he receiv'd an Anſwer contrary to his Expectations and Deſires; when they aſſur'd him, *That thoſe who put him upon it, were no Enemies to* Charles Stuart; *and that if he accepted of it, he wou'd infallibly draw Ruin on Himſelf and Friends.* Having thus ſounded their Inclinations, that he might conclude the Matter he had begun, he told them, *they were a Couple of ſcrupulous Fellows*, and ſo departed. The next Day he ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe, to require their Attendance the Morning after in the *Painted-Chamber*, deſigning, as all Men believ'd, there to declare his Acceptation of the Crown. But in the mean Time, meeting with Colonel *Desborough* in the Park, and acquainting him with his Reſolution, the Colonel made Anſwer, *That he then gave the Cauſe, and his Family alſo, for loſt*; adding, *That tho' he was reſolv'd never to act againſt him, yet he would not act for him after that Time.* After ſome other Diſcourſe upon the ſame Subject, *Desborough* went home, and there found Colonel *Pride*, a former Friend, and knighted by *Cromwell*; and having imparted to him the Protector's Deſign of accepting the Crown, *Pride* anſwer'd, *He ſhall not: Why*, ſaid the Colonel, *how wilt thou hinder it?* The other reply'd, *Get me a Petition drawn, and I will prevent it*; and ſo they both went to Dr. *Owen*, and having acquainted him with what had happen'd, they perſuaded him to draw up a Petition according to their Deſires. In the mean Time, *Cromwell* having reflected upon his Diſcourſe with *Desborough*, and being inform'd that many Officers were diſſatisfy'd with his Deſign, ſent a Meſſage to put off the Meeting in the *Painted-Chamber*, and to deſire that the Houſe would ſend a Committee to confer with him about the great Buſineſs then depending; intending by that Means to gain Time to prepare the Officers for his Deſign: But the Houſe being riſen before his Meſſage arriv'd, it came to no Effect.

The Army's Petition againſt the Deſign.

The next Morning, the Houſe being in great Expectation of a Meſſage to appoint the Time and Place for the Acceptance of what they had prepared, ſome Officers of the Army coming to the Parliament Doors, ſent in a Meſſage to Colonel *Desborough*, to acquaint him, 'That they 'had a Petition which they deſir'd him to preſent to the 'Houſe.' But he knowing the Contents of it, and conceiving it improper for him to take Notice of it before it was preſented, inform'd the Houſe, 'That certain Officers 'of the Army had a Petition to preſent to them.' Which done, and every one ſuppoſing the Deſires of the Officers were conformable to their own, it was generally agreed that they ſhou'd be call'd in, and have leave to preſent it with their own Hands. Lieutenant-Colonel *Maſon* was choſen by the reſt of the Officers to deliver the Petition, which when he had done, and the Officers withdrawn, it was read, and found to this Effect: 'That the Petitioners 'had hazarded their Lives againſt *Monarchy*, and were ſtill 'ready ſo to do, in Defence of the Liberties of the Nation: That having obſerv'd in ſome Men great Endeavours to bring the Nation again under their old Servitude, 'by preſſing their General to take upon him the Title and Government of a *King*, in order to deſtroy Him, and weaken the Hands of thoſe who were faithful to the Publick; 'they therefore humbly deſired that they would diſcountenance all ſuch Perſons and Endeavours, and continue ſtedfaſt to the *Good Old Cauſe*; for the Preſervation of which 'they for their Parts were moſt ready to lay down their 'Lives.' This Petition was ſubſcrib'd by two Colonels, ſeven Lieutenant-Colonels, eight Majors, and ſixteen Captains; who, with ſuch Officers in the Houſe as were of the ſame Opinion, made up the Majority of thoſe of that Part of the Army which was then quarter'd about the Town.

It is difficult to determine whether the Houſe or *Cromwell* was moſt ſurpris'd at this unexpected Addreſs; but certainly both were infinitely diſturb'd and confounded at it. *Cromwell* had a little before been poſitively aſſured, *That there were a Number of Men, who had bound themſelves by Oath to kill him, within ſo many Hours after he ſhou'd accept the Title of King*, which gave him great Uneaſineſs. They who were very near him ſaid, 'That in 'this Perplexity he revolv'd his former Dream, or Apparition, that had firſt promis'd him the high Fortune to which 'he was arriv'd, and which was generally ſpoken of from 'the Beginning of the Wars, when he had the leaſt Proſpect of ſuch Exaltation; and that he then obſerv'd, it had 'only declar'd, *That he ſhou'd be the greateſt Man in* England, *and ſhou'd be near to be King*; which ſeem'd to 'imply that he ſhou'd be only *near*, and never *actually* attain the Crown.' In the midſt of theſe Fears and Uncertainties, this laſt Petition ſeem'd to have brought all to a Criſis; and as ſoon as he had Notice of it, he immediately ſent for his Son-in-Law, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, and told him, *That he wonder'd he wou'd ſuffer ſuch a Petition to proceed ſo far, ſince he knew it was his Reſolution not to accept of the Crown, without the Conſent of the Army*; and therefore deſir'd him *to haſten to the Houſe, and put them off from doing any Thing further in that Matter.* The Lieutenant-General went in all Haſte, and told them, 'That the Petition ought not to be debated, 'much leſs to be anſwer'd at this Time, the Contents of it being *to deſire them not to preſs the Protector to be King*; whereas the preſent Buſineſs was to 'receive his Anſwer to what had been formerly offer'd to 'him; and therefore deſir'd, That the Debate of it might 'be put off till they had receiv'd his Anſwer.' To this the Houſe having conſented, they receiv'd a Meſſage from the Protector, that inſtead of meeting him in the *Painted-Chamber*, where he uſually paſs'd their Bills, they wou'd meet him in the *Banqueting-Houſe*. Here on the 8th Day of *May*, with great Diſturbance of Mind, which was viſible in his Countenance notwithſtanding his Art of Diſſimulation, he found his Courage to ſink; and as his Looks were extremely diſcompos'd, and diſcover'd an irreſolute

Cromwell *refuſes the Title of* KING;

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Mind, ſo his Words were broken and disjoynted, without Method, and full of Pauſes; and with frequent Mention of *God and his gracious Diſpenſation*, he concluded with letting them know, *That he cou'd not, with a good Conſcience, accept the Government under the Title of a King.* Many were then of Opinion, that his Genius at that Time forſook him, and yielded to the Spirit of the King, and that his Reign was near its Expiration: Others were as confident, that he did very wiſely to decline the Offer, and that if he had accepted it, he cou'd not have liv'd many Days after: But others, of no leſs Sagacity, cou'd but look upon that Refuſal of his as an immediate Act of Heaven towards the King's Reſtoration; and therefore were infinitely reviv'd at this unexpected Infatuation.

But reaſſumes that of PROTECTOR

By a new Inſtrument.

4. *Cromwell* having ſlipp'd over this great Point, ſoon made it appear, that he wou'd renounce nothing but the Name and Stile of King; and likewiſe ſhew'd that his Modeſty, or his Wiſdom, or his Fear in the refuſing that Supream Title, were not attended with any open Diſadvantage to Himſelf, or his Sovereign Power. They who had moſt warmly oppos'd it, were ſo ſatisfy'd with this late Eſcape, that they did not care to obſtruct any other Thing that was propos'd towards his Greatneſs. And accordingly they voted, 'That he ſhou'd enjoy the Title 'and Authority he had already;' which they in many Particulars enlarg'd, beyond what it was by the *Inſtrument of Government*; and this was by a new Inſtrument, which they call'd *The humble Petition and Advice*; in which they granted him not only that Authority for his Life, but Power by his laſt Will and Teſtament, and in the Preſence of ſuch a Number of Witneſſes, to chuſe and declare his own Succeſſor; which Power ſhou'd never be granted to any other Protector than Himſelf. And when they had digeſted and agreed upon this Inſtrument, at the paſſing of which *Lambert* choſe rather to be abſent than to oppoſe it, the Parliament ſent to him for an Audience, which he aſſign'd them on the 25th Day of *May*, in the *Banqueting-Houſe*; where their Speaker *Widdrington* preſented and read *the Petition and Advice of his Parliament*, and deſir'd his Aſſent to it. It was a long Inſtrument conſiſting of eighteen Articles, the Subſtance of which was, 'That his Highneſs *Oliver Cromwell* ſhou'd, under the 'Title of *Protector*, be pleas'd to execute the Office of 'chief Magiſtrate over *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c. 'and to govern according to all Things in that *humble* '*Petition and Advice*; and alſo, That he wou'd in his 'Life Time appoint the Perſon that ſhou'd ſucceed him 'in the Government: That he wou'd call a Parliament, 'conſiſting of *Two Houſes*, at leaſt once a Year: That 'thoſe Perſons who are legally choſen by the People to 'ſerve in Paliament, may not be excluded from doing their 'Duties, but by Conſent of that Houſe whereof they are 'Members: That none but thoſe under the Qualifications 'therein mention'd, ſhou'd be capable to ſerve as Members in Parliament: That the Power of the *Other Houſe* 'be limited as herein preſcrib'd: That the Laws and Statutes of the Land be obſerv'd and kept, no Laws alter'd, 'ſuſpended, abrogated or repeal'd, but by new Laws made 'by Act of Parliament: That the Yearly Sum of a Million of Pounds Sterling be for the Maintenance of the '*Navy* and *Army*, and three Hundred Thouſand Pounds 'for the *Support of the Government*, beſides other Temporary Supplies, as the Commons in Parliament ſhou'd 'ſee neceſſary: That the Number of the *Protector*'s 'Council ſhall not exceed twenty one, whereof ſeven 'ſhall be a *Quorum*: The chief Officers of State, as Chancellors, Keepers of the great Seal, *&c.* to be approv'd 'by Parliament: That his Highneſs wou'd encourage a '*Godly Miniſtry* in theſe Nations; and that ſuch as revile 'and diſturb them in the Worſhip of God, may be puniſh'd according to the Law; and where Laws are defective, new ones to be made: That the *Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion*, as it is contain'd in the Old and New 'Teſtament, be aſſerted and held forth for the *Publick* '*Profeſſion* of theſe Nations, and no other, and that a '*Confeſſion of Faith* be agreed upon, and recommended 'to the People of theſe Nations; and none be permitted 'by Words or Writings, to revile, or reproach the ſaid '*Confeſſion of Faith*.

His Speech upon receiving it.

This Inſtrument being diſtinctly read to his Highneſs, after a long Pauſe, with Eyes lift up, and other Geſtures of Concern and Perplexity, he ſign'd it; and then told them, 'That he came not thither that Day as to a Day of '*Triumph*, but with the moſt ſerious Thoughts that ever 'he had in all his Life, being to undertake one of the greateſt Burthens that ever was laid upon the Back of any 'Human Creature; ſo that, without the Support of the 'Almighty, he muſt neceſſarily ſink under the Weight of 'it, to the Damage and Prejudice of the Nation committed to his Charge: Therefore he deſired the Help of 'the Parliament, and the Help of all thoſe who feared 'God, that by their Help he might receive Help and Aſſiſtance from the Hand of God, ſince nothing but his 'Preſence cou'd enable him to diſcharge ſo great a Truſt.' He told them, 'That this was but an Introduction to the 'carrying on of the Government of the three Nations; 'therefore he recommended the Supply of the reſt that was 'yet wanting, to the Wiſdom of the Parliament;' and ſaid, 'he cou'd not doubt but the ſame Spirit that had 'led the Parliament to this, wou'd eaſily ſuggeſt the reſt 'to them; and that nothing cou'd have induced him to 'have undertaken this intolerable Burthen to Fleſh and 'Blood, but that he ſaw, it was the Parliament's Care to 'anſwer thoſe Ends, for which they were engag'd;' calling God to witneſs, 'That he cou'd not have undergone 'it, but that the Parliament had determin'd that it made 'clearly for the Liberty and Intereſt of the Nation, and 'Preſervation of ſuch as fear God; and if the Nation 'were not thankful to them for their Care, it wou'd fall 'as a Sin upon their Heads.' He concluded with recommending ſome Things to them, 'which he ſaid wou'd 'tend to *Reformation*, by diſcountenancing Vice, and encouraging Virtue; and wiſhing the Lord to proſper their 'Endeavours, he diſmiſs'd them to return to their Houſe.

The Solemnity of his INAUGURATION.

Since they had perform'd all he cou'd expect from them, he reſolv'd to do ſomewhat for himſelf; and that all the Diſcourſes made of Kingſhip, ſhou'd not paſs away in the Silence of this Addreſs, and that this Exaltation ſhou'd be grac'd with ſuch a Pomp and Solemnity, as ſhou'd make it little inferior to the other. Therefore, within a few Days after, he ſent an unexpected Meſſage to the Parliament, 'That they wou'd adjourn until ſuch a Time as 'the Solemnity of his INAUGURATION ſhou'd 'be perform'd;' for which he appointed the 26th Day of *June*; and in the mean Time he aſſign'd the Care of it to ſeveral Perſons, that all Things ſhou'd be in Readineſs for the Magnificence of ſuch a Work. *Weſtminſter-Hall* was prepared, and adorn'd and beautify'd as ſumptuouſly as it cou'd be for a CORONATION; and Seats were built up for the Members of Parliament, the Judges and Officers, and for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*. A Throne was erected with a noble Pavilion, and a Chair of State under it; to which *Cromwell* was conducted in an Entry and Attendance of his Officers, Military and Civil, and the Sword carry'd before him, all with as much State and Grandeur as cou'd be imagin'd. Being ſeated in his Chair of State, that this Promotion might not ſeem to be without the Nobility's having a Share in it, the Speaker, with the Earl of *Warwick* and *Whitelock*, veſted him with a glorious purple Velvet Robe lin'd with Ermines; the Speaker telling him, *It was an Emblem of Magiſtracy, and imported Righteouſneſs and Juſtice.* Then delivering him a Bible richly gilt and boſs'd with Gold, he told him, *It was a Book that contain'd the Holy Scriptures, in which he had the Happineſs to be well vers'd.* Next he put in his Hand a Scepter of maſſy Gold, ſaying, *Here is a Scepter not unlike a Staff; for you are to be a Staff to the Poor.* Laſtly he girt him with a very rich Sword, with this Comment, *This is not a Military, but a Civil Sword; it is a Sword rather of Defence than Offence, not only to defend your ſelf, but alſo your People.* Upon the Cloſe of which, there being little wanting to a perfect Coronation but a Crown and an Archbiſhop, he took an Oath, to govern the People of theſe three Nations according to Law, *&c.* and after all the Ceremonies and Enſigns of Honour, Mr. *Manton* pray'd, the People ſhouted, and the Trumpets ſounded, and the Protector return'd to *White-Hall*, accompany'd not only by the foremention'd Attendance, but alſo by ſeveral Foreign Ambaſſadors. And now that he might entirely enjoy the Soveraignty they had conferr'd upon him, without any Obſtruction, that he might have Leiſure to diſpatch his Domeſtick Affairs, which he had modell'd, and might have Time to conſider how to fill his *Other Houſe* with proper Members; after paſſing ſome Acts, he adjourn'd his Parliament to the 20th Day of *January*, after it had ſat ſomewhat above nine Months.

His Care of his Family.

Thus had *Cromwell* now perfected a chief Part of his Deſign, of having his Power confirm'd by Parliament; and in this Vacancy, his Power ſeem'd ſo well eſtabliſh'd both at home and abroad, as if it cou'd never be ſhaken. He had before ſtrengthen'd himſelf by Leagues with Foreign Princes, his next Care was the advancing of his Children: He ſent for his eldeſt Son *Richard*, who till then had liv'd privately in *Hampſhire* upon his Wife's Fortune, and brought him to the Court, and made him a Privy-Counſellor; and ſoon after caus'd the Univerſity of *Oxford* to elect him their Chancellor, with which Honour he was very ſolemnly inſtalled at *White-Hall*. His ſecond Son *Henry* was inveſted with the Power of Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in the Room of his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, whom he had ſent for to Court, out of a Pretence of the Want of his Preſence and Counſel. Nor was he leſs careful of his Daughters, of which two were yet unmarry'd: The eldeſt of thoſe, named *Frances*, he gave to Mr. *Robert Rich*, the Grandſon and Heir of the Earl of *Warwick*, a Man of great Eſtate, and throughly engag'd in the Cauſe from the beginning. His youngeſt Daughter *Mary* was marry'd to the young Lord *Falconbridge*, the Owner likewiſe of a very fair Eſtate in *Yorkſhire*, and deſcended of a Family entirely loyal. Theſe Marriages were ſolemniz'd at *White-Hall* with the utmoſt Pomp and Splendor; and it was obſerv'd, that tho' they were perform'd in publick according to the Rites and Ceremonies then in Uſe, they were ſoon after in private marry'd by Epiſcopal Miniſters, and according to the Common-Prayer; and all this with the Privity of *Cromwell*, who pretended to yield to it in Compliance with the Importunity and Infirmity of his Daughters.

The Succeſs of his Forces by Land,

5. Theſe Domeſtick Triumphs were confirm'd and improv'd by the Succeſs of the Protector's Arms abroad, both by Sea and Land. In the *Netherlands*, the *French* at firſt had no Deſire to apply thoſe Forces upon *Dunkirk*; which they were oblig'd, when taken, to put into the Hands of *Cromwell*; therefore they march'd to other Places, which they were to conquer to their own Uſe; in which the ſix thouſand *Engliſh* under the Command of Sir *John Reynolds*, and Major-General *Morgan*, attended them, and behav'd themſelves eminently well; and particularly in *Artois* at the Siege of St. *Venant*, which they carry'd with a Suddenneſs and Bravery beyond Expectation. But *Cromwell*'s Ambaſſador *Lockhart* made ſuch lively Inſtances with the Cardinal, with Complaints of their Breach of Faith, and ſome Menaces, *That his Maſter knew where to find a more punctual Friend*, that as ſoon as they had taken *Montmedy* and St. *Venant*, the Army march'd into *Flanders*; and tho' the Seaſon of the Year was too far ſpent to engage in a Siege before *Dunkirk*, they inveſted *Mardike*, accounted the moſt difficult Part of the Work; which being reduc'd wou'd much facilitate the Deſign upon the other. This Fort was ply'd with that Vigour, that it was ſurrender'd in about four Days, and, according to Articles, deliver'd into the Hands of the *Engliſh*; who, under the Government of *Morgan*, ſo well fortify'd it, that it was render'd almoſt impregnable. But before that, the *Spaniards*, knowing of how much Importance this Place was to the keeping of *Dunkirk*, ſent a Body of Horſe and Foot to regain it, among which were two thouſand *Engliſh* Reformadoes under the brave Duke of *York*, who made two very deſperate Storms upon it, the laſt continuing ſix Hours, but were both Times repuls'd, and forc'd to retire with Loſs; ſo that in *England* there ſeem'd no Doubt of the taking of *Dunkirk* in another Campaign.

And by Sea.

But the Protector's Succeſs at Sea was far more remarkable, and reſounded through all Parts of *Europe*; ſo that the Name of *Blake* cannot be forgotten, eſpecially in *Spain* and the *Canaries*. That Admiral with his Fleet had rode out all the Winter Storms before *Cadiz*, and the Coaſt of *Portugal*; when he receiv'd certain Information that another *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet, much richer than the laſt he had taken and deſtroy'd, was coming home; but, by reaſon of the *Engliſh* Fleet, wou'd moſt probably ſtop at the *Canaries*, where the Ships might lye in Safety. Upon which Intelligence, he weigh'd Anchor with twenty five Men of War, and on the 20th of *April* ſtood with his Fleet off the *Offing* at the Bay of *Sancta Cruz*, in the Iſland of *Tenariffe*; where he found the Galeons already arriv'd, to the Number of ſixteen Men of War; protected, beſides their own Strength, by all the Methods of Art: For the Bay was ſecured by a ſtrong Caſtle well fortify'd with Cannon, beſides ſeven Forts more in ſeveral Parts of it, mounted with each four, five and ſix good Pieces of Ordnance; all united by a Line of Communication from Fort to Fort, mann'd with Muſqueteers. *Don Diego Diagues*, the *Spaniſh* Admiral, order'd all his ſmaller Ships to moar cloſe to the Shoar, cover'd by the Caſtles and Forts, and poſted the ſix large Galeons farther off at Anchor, with their formidable Broad-ſides to the Sea; and ſent Word by a *Dutch* Merchant there, *Let* Blake *come if he dares*.

Blake's *Succeſs at* Sancta Cruz.

All this cou'd not daunt the Courage of the *Engliſh* Admiral, who having call'd a Council of War, and finding it impracticable to carry off the Galeons, he reſolutely determin'd to burn them in the midſt of all theſe Dangers. And firſt he commanded the valiant Captain *Stayner*, in the *Speaker* Frigate, with a Squadron to ſtand into the very Bay; who by eight the next Morning fell couragiouſly on the *Spaniards*, and fought them near an Hour. The Admiral, to ſhare the Toil and Danger, as well as the Glory of the Action, ſeconded *Stayner*, and poſted ſome of the greater Ships to Cannonade the Forts and Caſtles, that inceſſantly play'd upon them with their great and ſmall Shot; and theſe beat the *Spaniards* from their Forts and their Lines. *Blake* fought four Hours with the Galeons, which made a brave Reſiſtance; but nothing cou'd withſtand the intrepid Courage of this Commander, who ſo thunder'd with his Broad-ſides upon the Enemy, that at laſt they abandon'd thoſe great Ships, of which the leaſt was larger than the biggeſt of *Blake*'s, and ran aſhore. The Sea-Men left the ſmaller Veſſels which lay under the Forts, and *Stayner* burnt every one of them; while *Blake* did the ſame with the large Galeons; ſo that never was ſeen a greater Scene of Combuſtion, Confuſion and Deſolation. Thus was the whole Plate-Fleet, of ineſtimable value, deſtroy'd; and no ſooner was the Action over, but the Wind, which before blew ſtrong into the Bay, ſuddenly veer'd about, and brought the *Engliſh* Fleet out to Sea, without the Loſs of one Ship, and with no more than forty eight Men kill'd, and a hundred and twenty wounded. The whole Action was unparallel'd and ſtupendous, ſo that all Men who knew the Place, admir'd that any ſober Men, how couragious ſoever, wou'd have undertaken it; and they cou'd hardly perſwade themſelves of the Reality of the Enterprize; while the melancholy *Spaniards* cou'd only comfort themſelves with the Belief, that they were Devils and not Men that had made this amazing Ravage and Deſtruction.

His Death and Character.

The News of this arriving in *England* before the Parliament broke up, they order'd a Day of Thankſgiving, and a Diamond Ring to be given to *Blake* of five hundred Pounds Value; and the Protector Knighted Captain *Richard Stayner*, at his Return to *England*, for this and other Services. The Admiral himſelf, having been on board three Years, in his Return home to his Native Country, dy'd on the 17th of *Auguſt*, as he enter'd into *Plymouth* Sound, he being then in the ſixty-ſeventh Year of his Age. His Body was carry'd by Sea to *Greenwich* Houſe, where for ſome Time it lay in State; from whence it was convey'd by Water in a Barge of State, cover'd with Velvet, adorn'd with Eſcutcheons and Pendants, accompany'd by *Cromwell*'s Privy-Council, the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty and Navy, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Field-Officers of the Army, and many other Perſons of Honour and Quality, in a great Number of Mourning Barges, marſhall'd and order'd by the Heralds, who directed and attended the Solemnity. Thus they landed at *Weſtminſter*, and made a Proceſſion through a Guard of ſeveral Regiments of Foot to the Abby, where the Body was interr'd in *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel. He was a Man of a private Extraction in *Somerſetſhire*; firſt educated, and then doubly graduated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*. He was of a melancholick and ſullen Nature, and ſpent his Time moſt with good Fellows, who lik'd his Moroſeneſs, and a Freedom he us'd in inveighing againſt the Licenſe of the Time, and the Power of the Court. He always ſhew'd a Republican Spirit; and yet he did not ſeem ſo much to eſpouſe the Intereſt of the Long Parliament, or the new Service of *Cromwell*, as he did the Honour of his Country, and the *Engliſh* Dominion of the Seas. It was his Argument for Unity among his Sea-Men, *That they ſhou'd not liſten to any News from Land, nor mind the Changes in the Government; but remember that the Fleet was* Engliſh, *and that their Enemies were Foreigners*: And the better to maintain this Principle, with him Valour ſeldom miſs'd its Reward, nor Cowardize its Puniſhment; ſo that his Death was univerſally lamented among the Sea-Men. He was the firſt Man that declin'd the old Track, and brought his Ships to contemn Caſtles on Shoar, and taught his Men to fight in Fire, as well as upon Water. And after all his mighty Actions, to ſhew that he was animated by that brave publick Spirit, which has been ſince thought rather Romantick than Heroick, he was ſo diſintereſted, that tho' no Man had more Opportunity to enrich himſelf than he who had taken ſo many Millions abroad, yet he threw it all into the Publick Treaſury, and did not die five hundred Pounds richer than his Father left him; which the Author of his Life avers from his own Perſonal Knowledge of the Family and their Circumſtances; who farther adds, That dying a Batchelor, his younger Brother, being a Diſſenter, ſuffer'd ſo many Hardſhips in the latter End of the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, that he was forc'd to ſell the little Eſtate left him by the Admiral, ſcarce two hundred Pounds a Year, and tranſport himſelf and his Children to *Carolina*.

The King's Condition abroad.

VII. 1. As *Cromwell*'s Settlement began to be more fix'd, and his Power ſeem'd to encreaſe, the King's Condition appear'd more hopeleſs, and in a manner deſperate. He ſeem'd to enjoy all the Eaſe and Satisfaction of a private Life at *Cologne*; where he ſpent his Time, ſo much like an Heir of a Crown, and with ſo much Honour and Reputation, as if he had ſought more to deſerve, than to regain his Kingdoms. Greatneſs of Mind, Knowledge of Men, Vigilance and Temperance, were conſpicuous in him in thoſe Parts, and the Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs of Men of Power were in a manner Strangers to him at that Time; with ſome Exceptions in one Caſe, which the World is too apt to think not very criminal in a young, and unmarry'd Prince. He was obligingly and honourably entertain'd by the Elector of *Mentz*, and other Perſons of the higheſt Quality in the neighbouring Provinces; and he had a particular Enterview with the famous *Chriſtiana*, Queen of *Sweden*, who had lately reſign'd her Crown, and was paſſing through *Frankfort* into *Italy*. Before he left *Cologne*, Dr. *Bates* tells, that the Biſhop of *Avignon* ſent him out of *France* a Scheme calculated by a famous Mathematician, wherein he predicted, *That in the Year one Thouſand Six Hundred and Sixty, his Majeſty ſhou'd certainly enter* England *in a Triumphant Manner:* But whether this was by the Principles of his Art, or a fortuitous Hit, he wou'd not determine. However, it came to be believ'd by many, both abroad, and in *England*, 'That that was to be the Year of his Reſtoration.' What Credit the King gave to ſuch Kind of Predictions, we know not; only that he induſtriouſly us'd all preſent Methods, and watch'd all Opportunities for the Advancement of his Affairs in *England*.

He privately makes Offers to Cromwell.

Among the various Methods he us'd, beſides ſecret Correſpondence with ſome who ſeem'd Friends to the preſent Government, one was a private Application to *Cromwell* Himſelf; which was undertaken and carry'd on by a Lady of very conſiderable Spirit and Policy, who afterwards became Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale*. This Lady, who was a particular Friend and Acquaintance of the Protector's, was employ'd to make a private Offer and Propoſal to his Highneſs; which in Subſtance was, 'That if he wou'd reſtore, or permit the King to return to his Throne, he wou'd ſend him a Blank Paper, in which he might write his own Terms and Limitations, and ſettle what Power and Riches he pleas'd upon Himſelf, Family, and Friends.' This Propoſal was firſt made to the Protector's Lady, who was well pleas'd with it, and ſeem'd to be ſenſible, that, beſides other Advantages, it wou'd bring abſolute Indemnity and Security to her Husband, and the whole Family. Accordingly ſhe took an Opportunity, when ſhe was in Bed with him, not only to mention the Propoſal, but to urge it as a Matter of the higheſt Moment to the Happineſs of Himſelf and Relations. Without harkening to her Arguments and Perſwaſions, he preſently told her *She was a Fool*; and added this ſhrewd Sentence, *If* Charles Stuart *can forgive Me all that I have done againſt Him, and his Family, he does not deſerve to wear the Crown of* England. This came from the Mouth of the Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale*, who told the ſame to a Perſon, of whoſe Credit and Reputation I can make no Queſtion.

Cromwell's *Anſwer.*

The King correſponds with the Spaniards.

2. As ſoon as the King had heard of the open Rupture between the King of *Spain*, and the Protector of *England*, he concluded that the *Spaniard* wou'd not be unwilling to enter into ſome Correſpondence with him. He therefore ſent privately to the Arch-Duke, the Governor at *Bruſſels*, and his Aſſiſtant *Fuenſaldagna*, to offer them his Conjunction. *De Cardinas*, who had many Years been Amballador in *England*, was likewiſe there; who, whether out of Conſciouſneſs of his former Behaviour againſt the Royal Family, or out of a Belief that the King cou'd bring little Advantage to them, had no Inclination to make a Conjunction with him, yet they all ſaw one Benefit they might receive, if his Majeſty wou'd draw off the *Iriſh* Soldiers from the Service of *France*; which they believ'd wou'd be in his Power, becauſe, when he was in *France*, he had drawn off ſome Regiments from *Spain*. This made them willing to confer with the King; which they did with the utmoſt Caution and Privacy in a little vile Dorp about a League from *Bruſſels*; where *De Cardinas* pretended to more than ordinary Merit with the King, and that he had held a hopeful Correſpondence with the *Levellers* in the *Engliſh* Army, who hated the Government of *Cromwell*. The King preſs'd them, 'That he might remove his Family to *Bruſſels*, or to ſome Place in *Flanders*, that it might be apparent that he was in Alliance with his Catholick Majeſty; and then they wou'd ſoon ſee he had another Kind of Intereſt in *England*, than what thoſe Men pretended to, and that he had a full Influence upon the *Iriſh* who were in *France*.' They wou'd by no Means conſent that He ſhou'd remain in *Bruſſels*, or *Antwerp*, or in any Place as acknowledg'd by the State; alledgin 'That the King of *Spain*'s Honour wou'd not permit ſuch a Reſidence, without ſhewing thoſe Reſpects to him that were due to a great King, the Charge of which was greater than they cou'd defray at this troubleſome Time.' But they intimated, 'That if his Majeſty wou'd remove his Family to *Bruges*, and there remain ſo far *Incognito*, as not to expect any publick expenſive Reception, they were ſure he wou'd find all Reſpect from the Inhabitants of that City.

A Treaty with him.

The King was ſenſible that they were not able to do very much for him; however he was deſirous to have the Reputation of a Treaty between Him and the King of *Spain*; under which he might draw his Family from *Cologne*, and remain in *Flanders*, which was at a proper Diſtance from *England*, to wait for new Alterations. He therefore propos'd that ſome Treaty might be Sign'd between them; which was committed to the Management of *De Cardinas*, who prepar'd it in as ſlight a Manner as was poſſible: By this the King was permitted to reſide in *Bruges*, and nothing on the King of *Spain*'s Part undertaken but 'That whenſoever the King cou'd cauſe a good Port Town in *England* to declare for him, his Catholick Majeſty wou'd aſſiſt him with a Body of Six Thouſand Foot, with ſuch a Proportion of Ammunition, and ſo many Ships to tranſport that Body thither;' which was the Number that the *Levellers* had propos'd to the Correſpondent of *De Cardinas*; who by making it the Contract with the King, thought thus to beget an Intelligence between them and the Royal Party, of whoſe Power he had no Eſteem. The King readily accepted the Treaty as *De Cardinas* had prepared it, and declared he wou'd reſide at *Bruges* in the Manner they propos'd; and thereupon the Treaty was engroſs'd and ſign'd by the King, the Arch-Duke, and *De Cardinas*, in the Beginning of the *April* of this Year, and after that ſent by an Expreſs to *Madrid* for the Confirmation of the King of *Spain*. Soon after, the King, after he had continu'd two Years and about ſix Months at *Cologne*, repair'd to the City of *Bruges*, where he found a handſome Accommodation for Himſelf and his ſmall Court. About the ſame Time, the Arch-Duke deſiring his Diſmiſſion from his Government, retired into *Germany*, and *Fuenſaldagna* was remov'd to *Milain*; being ſucceeded by *Don Juan* of *Auſtria*, the natural Son of the King of *Spain*, and the Marqueſs of *Carracena*.

He removes from Cologne *to* Bruges:

About two Months after the King's Settlement at *Bruges*, the little Treaty was ſent ratify'd from *Madrid* by the King of *Spain*, with many great Compliments; which his *Britannick* Majeſty was willing ſhou'd be believ'd of extraordinary Importance. After numerous Excuſes for the Lowneſs of their Affairs in all Places, *which diſabled them from performing the Services due from, and to a great King*, they gave him to underſtand, 'That the Catholick King had aſſign'd ſix Thouſand Guilders, amounting to about five Hundred Pounds Sterling, to be paid every Month towards a Royal Aid; and Half as much more, for the Support of the Duke of *Glouceſter*: And tho' the Sum was ſmall, it was as much as their Neceſſities cou'd bear, which Smallneſs ſhou'd be recompenc'd by the Punctuality of the Payment.' Upon this, and the Confirmation of the Treaty, his Majeſty freely gave Notice to the King of *France*, that he wou'd no longer receive that Penſion, which had been reaſonably well paid him, during the Time he remain'd in *Cologne*, but never ſince he came into *Flanders*. The *Spaniards* were deſirous that the King ſhou'd raiſe four Regiments of Foot; but no Allowance was made for thoſe Levies, nor any Encouragement given, more than little Quarters to bring their Men to, and after that the common Allowance of Bread. However the King was pleas'd with the Opportunity to employ and diſpoſe of many Officers and Soldiers, who daily flock'd to him in this Country. The firſt Regiment was given to the Lord *Wentworth*, who were call'd by the Name of Guards; the Second, to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, who was to bring over the *Iriſh*; the Third, to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, who pretended to great Intereſt with the Soldiery; and the Laſt, upon the Account of the *Scots*, to the Lord *Newburgh*. Theſe Regiments were rais'd with more Expedition than cou'd be expected upon ſo little Encouragement: They were to ſerve a double Deſign, to aſſiſt the King of *Spain* againſt his Enemies the *French*, who were ſupported by *Cromwell*, and to be in Readineſs to tranſport themſelves into *England*, if any favourable Juncture ſhou'd invite them over.

Where he raiſes ſome Regiments.

3. After ſo long and ſo dark a Retirement in *Cologne*, the King's very coming into *Flanders*, and to a Place ſo near the Sea, rais'd the Spirits of his Friends in *England*, and encreas'd the Jealouſy of the Uſurper. His Friends, upon hearing of the Treaty with *Spain*, made no doubt of an Army ſufficient to begin the great Work, which wou'd be finiſh'd by the general Affections of the Kingdom; and He, who had hitherto reſtrain'd them from expoſing themſelves to unneceſſary Dangers, now thought fit to encourage them to put themſelves into ſuch a Poſture, as to be ready to joyn with Him when he appear'd; which he hop'd the *Spaniard* wou'd enable him to do in the Depth of Winter. The Royaliſts had form'd themſelves into certain Bodies and Aſſociations, in the Nature of Committees, diſpers'd in ſeveral Parts of the Nation; but were chiefly under the Guidance and Direction of a ſelect Number at *London*, whoſe Head and principal Manager was Sir *Richard Willis*,

The Management of the King's Friends in England.

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Willis, who had all the outward Appearance of Zeal for his Majeſty's Service. Theſe Commiſſioners, by Meſſengers in all Parts, gave to each other, and to the King, Intelligence of the Beginnings and Progreſs of Affairs, and of the ſeveral Opportunities of Acting; and they were empower'd to draw in as many others as they cou'd into the ſame Aſſociation; in which they uſually proceeded in this Manner: Every one, according as they cou'd, acquainted their faithful Companions with their Purpoſe of Riſing, with the Time and Place; but very privately, and only to One at a Time, leſt if the Matter ſhou'd afterwards be detected, there might be no more than one Witneſs againſt the Party accuſed. So the Affair was ſpread amongſt a vaſt Number of Men, and ſo much the more to be fear'd, as it was communicated to ſo many. Moſt of the Nobility and Gentry were acquainted with the Deſign; and tho' ſeveral declin'd the Danger, yet they were ſtill ſilent and faithful. Several Governors of Towns alſo gave hopes of joyning in the Confederacy; and not a few Presbyterians and Republicans ſeem'd to have the ſame Inclination. However it was, the Uſurper's Enemies were in Appearance more numerous than the King's Friends.

An Account of Sir Richard Willis,

Sir *Richard Willis* being, or ſeeming to be, at the Head of theſe great Deſigns, ſomething ought to be ſaid of him, more than what was formerly; which the Author has receiv'd from very good Hands. This Gentleman was a younger Brother of a good Family of *Fen-Ditton* in *Cambridgeſhire*, and educated in *Chriſt*-College in the Univerſity of *Cambridge.* After ſome Continuance there, in the Year 1630, he went over into *Holland*, and there became an Enſign in the ſame Company of Foot, of which *Monk* was then Lieutenant, and under *Goring*, who was then Colonel of the Regiment in the Service of the States-General. Upon the *Scotch* Troubles, he was call'd over to ſerve the late King againſt that Nation; and was after that one of his Guard at *White-Hall* againſt the Inſurrections of the City Mob, and one that help'd to conduct him to *Hampton-Court*, as he fled thither from *London*. When the War commenc'd, he was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Horſe under the Lord *Grandiſon*, and afterwards Governor of *Newark*, and then one of the King's Commiſſioners for the Rendering of *Oxford*; in all which War, excepting a ſeditious Attempt at *Newark* formerly mention'd, he gave ſuch Teſtimonies of his Duty and Bravery, that he was univerſally thought ſuperior to all Temptations of Infidelity. Upon the Concluſion of the firſt War, he went beyond the Seas, and there continu'd ſix Years, for the moſt Part in *Italy*; and in the Year 1652, he came over into *England* with a Commiſſion from the *Venetians*, to raiſe a Regiment for their Service in the War of *Candia.* But ſoon after his Arrival he was ſeiz'd by *Cromwell*'s Order as a dangerous Malignant, and committed to cloſe Priſon in *Wisbich* Caſtle. He was a well-bred Gentleman, of excellent Parts, and of eminent Courage, but of a moſt reſtleſs Ambition; which latter Quality ſeems to have been ſo well diſcover'd by *Cromwell*, that he found Means by Mony and Promiſes, not only to gain him from his former Cauſe, but to make him ſubſervient to his darkeſt Deſigns. This was manag'd with the utmoſt Caution and Circumſpection, ſo that he was ſcarce ever ſeen in *Cromwell*'s Preſence: And tho' he continually inform'd his new Maſter of the ſecret Conſultations and Proceedings of the Royal Committees, ſuch as ſhou'd prevent any Danger againſt the preſent Government; yet he never was oblig'd to appear as an Evidence againſt any Perſon whatſoever. By means of this Secret Intelligence, *Cromwell* had continual Opportunities of defeating the Deſigns of the King's Friends, by ſecuring their Perſons, or their Arms, and by divers other Methods; which he effected in ſuch a Way, and under ſuch Pretences, that this Gentleman remain'd unſuſpected both to Them, and to the King, in whoſe Cauſe he was not only thought to be faithful, but very zealous.

And of Sir Robert Walſh,

Soon after the King was ſettled at *Bruges*; which being, but a very few Miles from the Sea, *Cromwell* and his Agents form'd a deep Deſign againſt his Perſon; which occaſionally ſeem'd to have given the firſt Light into the Perfidiouſneſs of Sir *Richard Willis*. The chief Inſtrument to effect this Project was Sir *Robert Walſh*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman of a diſadvantagious Character, who for rudely Striking the Lord *Colepeper*, had been baniſh'd the King's Court at the *Hague*, a little before his Father's Murther. Retiring into *France*, he was for ſome Miſdemeanors or Suſpicion made two or three Years Priſoner in the *Baſtille*; from whence being ſet at Liberty he came over into *England* to try his Fortunes in the preſent Government. Here he met with new Impriſonments, both in the *Tower* and the *Fleet*, the former for Policy, and the latter for Debt; but entering into dark Debates with Secretary *Thurloe*, one Mr. *Brohill*, and others, he was employ'd and entruſted with this villainous Deſign. It was ſecretly contriv'd by theſe Agents, with the Privity of *Cromwell*, that Sir *Robert* ſhou'd make his Eſcape from the *Fleet*, where he was Priſoner at large; ſhould ſeize upon a Ship that lay ready for that Purpoſe, and being at Sea, plunder ſome *Engliſh* Veſſels, on Pretence that they belong'd to Rebels: And when he was become ſo obnoxious to the Government at home, that it might juſtly be thought he never durſt appear in *England* again, he was to betake himſelf to ſome Port on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and there renew his Acquaintance with the King's Followers, inviting them upon Occaſions to be merry with them on Board his Ship; till at laſt he ſhould prevail upon the King Himſelf to make one of the Company, his Majeſty being well known not to be over ſhy in accepting all civil Invitations. At length when he had gain'd this Point, and got him into his Ship, he was to carry him off into *England*, to be at *Cromwell*'s Diſpoſal.

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The Latter's Deſign upon the King.

Prevented by Sir Jeremy Witchcot,

This dark Contrivance was not ſo ſecretly manag'd, but by ſome Accident it came to the Ears and Knowledge of Sir *Jeremy Witchcot*, Brother to the Governor of *Windſor-Caſtle*, formerly mention'd, but oppoſite to him both in Intereſt and Practice. This worthy Gentleman had been brought up to the Law, and deſign'd to have made his Fortunes that Way; but not long before, he had receiv'd ſeveral Letters from Sir *Edward Hyde*, perſuading him to buy the Place of Warden of the *Fleet*, as a particular Means to ſerve the King; which he was to effect by ſheltering ſuch of the Cavaliers as ſhou'd enter themſelves Priſoners for Debt in the *Fleet*; as ſeveral of thoſe that were employ'd in the King's Buſineſs did, as Mr. *Mordaunt*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, and others. Hearing by ſome Accident of this new Deſign, in order to prevent it, Sir *Jeremy* prevail'd with *Walſh*'s Creditors ſo to proceed againſt him as He, as Warden, might be oblig'd to put him under cloſe Confinement. But before this cou'd be compleated, *Walſh* made his Eſcape, and was got as far as *Canterbury*, when the Warden, by ſending out his Officers, retook him, and brought him Priſoner to the *Fleet*. Sir *Jeremy*, not ſatisfy'd with this, about the ſame Time writ a Letter to Sir *Richard Willis*, ſubſcrib'd with his own Name, informing him of the whole Deſign, and adviſing him, as having ſo near a Correſpondence with the King, to precaution his Majeſty againſt the Danger of it. He had no imaginable Suſpicion of this Gentleman's Fidelity; but upon a Reconſideration, and a Fear that his Letter might fall into other Hands, he writ the whole Account in a feign'd Hand, without putting any Name to it; and to prevent Suſpicion, went up into *Holbourn*, and from thence ſent it by a Porter to Sir *Richard*'s Lodgings. Soon after he receiv'd an Order from the Protector to appear before him in Council, together with his Priſoner Sir *Robert Walſh*. Accordingly he appear'd, but without his Priſoner; with the Confidence of one that cou'd be betray'd by none but Himſelf, and reſolv'd to be upon his Guard. *Cromwell* demanded of him, *What he had to do to ſeize upon a Perſon employ'd by them*? He anſwer'd, *He did not know that they had employ'd Sir* Robert Walſh; *but knew very well that he was his Priſoner*. Then he was ask'd, *Why he had not brought him thither according to Order*? His Reply was, *That he underſtood there were certain Perſons ready in the Streets to make a Reſcue.-------That if his Conduct diſpleas'd, he was willing to ſurrender his Keys*; and ſeem'd ready to deliver them up. While he was under this Examination, to his great Surpriſe, he ſaw the very Letter he had ſent to Sir *Richard Willis* lying on the Board, before his Face. This Piece of Service was after the Reſtoration gratefully remember'd by the King, and the Chancellor, when Sir *Jeremy* had a private Occaſion to apply himſelf to the Court, as I have been aſſured by his Son Sir *Paul Witchcot.*

Who likewiſe diſcovers Willis's *Treachery.*

The Deſign being diſcover'd, tho' by a Way unknown to the Protector and his Agents, *Walſh* found Means to get over into *Flanders*, where he apply'd himſelf to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, and entertain'd him with many ſpecious Stories of what nice Diſcoveries he had made in *England*, and what great Services he had done, and could ſtill do for the King; and made ſome Offers of diſcovering Traytors about his Majeſty's Perſon, by Ways and Means very ſtrange and uncommon: ‘ Particularly he offer'd to ‘ forge a Letter from Cardinal *Mazarine* to the King, “ which ſhou'd contain all imaginable Kindneſſes, toge-“ gether with Aſſurance to his Majeſty, *That all the Tranſ-“ actions he had hitherto made with* Cromwell, *were for “ no other End than his Ruin*; and likewiſe a further Aſ-“ ſurance of his good Intentions for his Majeſty's In-“ tereſt and Service: And that if the King pleas'd to im-‘ part this Letter to a particular Perſon in his Coun-‘ cil, and leave it an Hour or two in his Hands, he ‘ wou'd not fail to copy it Himſelf, and ſend it to ‘ Secretary *Thurloe* by the next Poſt; and that he

‘ wou'd undertake to intercept the Letter, at a certain Place he well knew. The Conſequences of which, he ſaid, wou'd be of vaſt Importance: Firſt the Traytor wou'd be diſcover'd, and convicted by his own Hand; and as ſoon as *Cromwell* ſhou'd ſee it, he wou'd certainly believe the Contents to be true, which wou'd cauſe a Rupture between Him and *France*, to the extraordinary Advantages of the King's Affairs.' But his fine Stories and Pretenſions had ſo little Effect, and his Perſon and Character was ſo well known, that inſtead of meeting with Encouragement, he was firſt commanded to depart the Country, and after that committed to cloſe Impriſonment at *Bruſſels*; where in a Manifeſto he makes a long Narrative and Apology for his Proceedings, omits many Particulars, and directly accuſes the Earl of *Briſtol* and Sir *Edward Hyde*, as Traytors to the King, and ſecret Correſpondents with *Cromwell*; all which, he ſays, he laid before his Majeſty, but with no other Effect, than bringing worſe Uſage, and more Enemies upon Himſelf. This I have more largely in his Manuſcript Manifeſto, found in the Study of Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, afterwards Secretary to this King.

Walſh *is impriſon'd by the King.*

4. The King being well fix'd with his little Court at *Bruges*, by means of his Treaty with *Spain*, and his four Regiments of Soldiers, began to make a more notable Figure than formerly, and his Intereſt to occaſion ſome Conſideration. The *Spaniards* ſoon found real Advantage from the Preſence of his Majeſty, and his Attendants; and particularly from the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, who, ſoon after the taking of *Conde* from the *French*, by his Management brought over his Nephew *Muskery*, with a famous Regiment of *Iriſh*, intirely to their Service. Not long after, the Earl of *Briſtol*, who came this Year from *France*, prov'd very inſtrumental in bringing over more of the *Iriſh*, and reducing the Town and Garriſon of St. *Ghiſlan* to the Power of *Spain*; by which and other Means of Inſinuation, he overcame Prejudices that were thought inſuperable, and got into the good Graces of *Don Juan*, and the Court of *Bruſſels*. This Earl had been compell'd to leave the Kingdom of *France*, by Vertue of *Cromwell*'s Treaty with the Cardinal, the ſecret Part of which was now diſcover'd; and the Cardinal bewail'd the preſent Condition of *France*, ‘ which oblig'd them to receive Commands from *Cromwell*, which were very uneaſy to them;' and let him know, ‘ That neither He, nor the Duke of *York* Himſelf, cou'd be permitted to ſtay any longer in that Kingdom.' Accordingly, ſome Time after the Departure of the Earl, the Duke of *York* took his Leave of his Mother and the Cardinal, who parted with much ſeeming Regret, and on the latter End of the Year repair'd to the King at *Bruges*. So at this City there were then all the viſible Hopes of the Crown of *England* together, and all the Royal Iſſue of the late King, except the Princeſs *Henrietta*; for beſides the King, and the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter*, the Princeſs Royal of *Orange* made that her Way from *Paris* to *Holland*, and ſtay'd there ſome Days with her three Brothers, making up a glorious and happy Part of the Illuſtrious Company.

Almoſt all the Royal Family at Bruges.

About the ſame Time the King made the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Edward Hyde*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, in the Room of Sir *Edward Herbert*, lately deceas'd at *Paris*. The King had long kept the Seal in his own Hands; and *Hyde* was very unwilling to take it, till he was induc'd by the Perſwaſions of the King, and ſeveral others about him. And his Majeſty having thus fix'd his Court, all Things this Winter ſeem'd to have a better Aſpect, and his Cauſe appear'd more hopeful than it had for ſome Years paſt. There were great Expectations in *England* of the King's Landing, with a conſiderable Aſſiſtance from the *Spaniard*; and many were of Opinion, that he was ready with ſuch an Army as would be alone able to effect his Purpoſe. Great Preparations were made for Inſurrections in ſeveral Parts of *England*; and ſeveral Meſſengers were ſent from thence to aſſure his Majeſty, ‘ That there was ſuch an univerſal Readineſs there, that they cou'd hardly be perſwaded to ſtay for the King's Arrival, but they wou'd begin the Work themſelves:' Yet they complain'd much of ſome who were moſt truſted by the King; and they again as much inveigh'd againſt the precipitated Management of the other, who were like to ruin Themſelves and their Friends. For the compoſing of theſe Diſtempers, and the managing and conducting of this great Work, the brave Marqueſs of *Ormond* offer'd to the King, ‘ to go privately into *England*, and confer with thoſe who were moſt forward; if he found their Counſels were diſcreetly laid, he wou'd encourage them, and unite all the reſt to them; and if Matters were not ripe, he wou'd diſpoſe them to be quiet;' and there was not a true Friend to the King in *England*, who wou'd not be readily adviſ'd by this great Man. Accordingly he ventur'd over into *England*, in Diſguiſe, and at *London* privately diſcours'd with many of the Royal Party, and more particularly with Sir *Richard Willis* Himſelf. After many various Opinions and Propoſals, and after he had ſtaid about three Weeks, he thought it neceſſary to retire; having found that *Cromwell* really knew of his being at *London*, and had made many Searches for him; but cou'd not at that Time imagine which Way, or by whom it was diſcover'd.

Sir Edward Hyde *made Lord Chancellor.*

The Marqueſs of Ormond *ſent over into* England.

5. In the mean Time *Cromwell* was not unacquainted with the Deſigns and Motions of the King and his Friends, and found Means to counterplot them in all their Projects; and from the Time that the three Royal Brothers had ſettled themſelves at *Bruges*, he enter'd upon darker Deſigns than ever. Particularly, with the joint Conſpiracy of his old Friend Secretary *Thurloe*, and his new one Sir *Richard Willis*, was form'd an execrable Contrivance, that at one Blow ſhou'd ruin, and in a Manner extirpate the Royal Family. This was, to ſend over proper Meſſengers to *Flanders*, with plauſible Letters, ‘ To invite his Majeſty to come over in a ſingle Ship, with only the two Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter*, his Brothers, and a very few more, to a certain Port in *Suſſex*, upon an appointed fix'd Day; where they were promis'd to be receiv'd and ſupported by five Hundred Foot at their firſt Landing, and two Thouſand Horſe within one Day after.' It was likewiſe determin'd by this Cabinet-Council, that Sir *Richard* Himſelf ſhou'd contrive and manage theſe Letters of Invitation, in which the Matter was to be urg'd to his Majeſty as the moſt hopeful, if not certain Project for his Reſtoration; tho' at the ſame Time the real Deſign and Reſolution was, to ſhoot all the three Brothers dead at their firſt Landing.

A deep Deſign formed by Cromwell, Thurloe, *and* Willis.

The whole Matter, being thus form'd by this *Triumvirate* in *Thurloe*'s own Office, was unexpectedly overheard by Mr. *Samuel Morland*, the preſent Under-Secretary to *Thurloe*, who all the while counterfeited himſelf to be faſt aſleep upon a Desk, not far off, in that Office. This ingenious Gentleman, who for his Parts had been choſen into this Service, had formerly marry'd a *French* Woman; who having been her ſelf induced by the particular Intereſt and Acquaintance of the Earl of *Arundel*, by Degrees had inclin'd her Husband to come ſecretly in with the King's Party. And now being fully confirm'd and riveted by the Horrour of this Contrivance, he reſolv'd at any Hazard to defeat it. In order to which, he immediately repair'd to the *Tower* to one Major *Henſhaw*, a loyal Perſon who had been impriſon'd there by *Cromwell*, more for his being a known Friend to the King, than for any particular Practices againſt the preſent Government. Mr. *Morland* being in a publick Station, and altogether unſuſpected to the Keepers of the *Tower*, and likewiſe pretending to perform ſome ſecret Service for his Maſter *Cromwell*, found an eaſy Opportunity to procure Mr. *Henſhaw*, in Company with the *Warder* himſelf, to go over and give the King ſuch an Account of the Matter, as might ſecure him from future Danger: And to defray their Expences, he gave to each of them a Hundred broad Pieces of Gold. All this was manag'd with the utmoſt Privacy by *Henſhaw*, without the leaſt Suſpicion of the *Warder*; and at ſuch a nice Juncture of Time, that the King and his Brothers had a very narrow Eſcape. The King being ſufficiently inform'd and caution'd, order'd a particular Anſwer to be ſent to the Letters of Invitation, intimating, ‘ That he cou'd not be ready ſo ſoon as the appointed Day;' which gave the three Projectors ſome Apprehenſion and Suſpicion of the Diſcovery. But not being ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, *Willis* was appointed to contrive other Letters to the King, urging his Majeſty to uſe Expedition, ‘ and not to loſe ſo fair an Opportunity for his happy Reſtoration:' But now the King's Anſwer was, ‘ That he was not very well,' or ſomething that appear'd ſo frivolous, that they all juſtly concluded all their Project was diſcover'd and loſt.

Diſcover'd by Mr. Morland.

The King inform'd of it.

This unexpected Defeat gave them infinite Uneaſineſs; not only for the Greatneſs of the preſent Diſappointment, but for the Infidelity of ſome one of their Cabinet-Council, which, they had all reaſon to believe, conſiſted but of three Perſons. *Willis* having been formerly ſo eminent a Cavalier, was moſt ſtrongly ſuſpected by the other two, which made it the more difficult for him to clear Himſelf. And being now very reſtleſs, and juſtly conſidering and believing that Mr. *Morland* might, or rather muſt be the Diſcoverer, he preſently took private Lodgings, and ſent a ſecret Meſſage to Mr. *Morland* to come and meet him concerning a Matter of great Importance. Mr. *Morland* thought it by no Means proper, or perhaps ſafe, to decline the Meeting; but imagining ſomething extraordinary in the Affair, he carefully took Pocket-Piſtols along with him, and went to the appointed Place. There he was met by another Perſon inſtead of Sir *Richard*, who privately carry'd him to another Houſe; from whence he

Morland'*s private Meeting with* Willis.

was

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was conducted by a ſecond unknown Meſſenger, with the like Privacy, to a third Houſe. Here, with the utmoſt Caution, he was carry'd up three or four Pair of Stairs, and then down as many into another Houſe, and at laſt into a dark deep Cellar; where by the Light of a Candle he ſaw Sir *Richard* by Himſelf, with a Bible upon a Table by him. Sir *Richard* told him plainly, 'That he had ſent 'for him upon the Account of the Diſcovery of a Secret 'of the higheſt Importance, which cou'd not poſſibly be 'known to more than three Perſons beſides himſelf.' Then naming the Particulars, he laid his Hand upon the Bible, and with a formal Oath and Execration purg'd himſelf from being the Diſcoverer of that Secret; and told him, 'That he expected that he ſhould make the ſame 'ſolemn Purgation.' Mr. *Morland*, laying his Hands upon one of his Piſtols, with a ſingular Preſence of Mind, and an Air of Innocence, told him, 'He was ready to do 'the ſame, upon this one ſingle Condition, That he wou'd 'give him the leaſt Inſtance, or ſhew of Reaſon, Why he 'cou'd ſuſpect him guilty of ſo vile a Treachery.' All this he did with ſuch an unaffected and undaunted Courage, as really damp'd and defeated the deep Management and Subtlety of the other: and ſo eſcap'd an imminent Danger. Mr. *Morland* afterwards declar'd, 'That if Matters had 'then come to Extremity, he wou'd certainly have ſhot Sir '*Richard* dead upon the Spot, rather than have hazarded 'the probable Conſequences of that Meeting.' For this, and other Services, this Gentleman was afterwards rewarded with Knighthood, a Penſion, &c. and complimented with farther Promiſes from the King and Court. This Account, which never yet appear'd in Print, came from his own Mouth, and from Sir *John Talbot*, confirm'd by a third Perſon of undoubted Worth and Honour.

This remarkable Story, which was told me with great Formality and Exactneſs, by Sir *John Talbot* and others, is wholly inconſiſtent with a Letter I think myſelf oblig'd to ſubjoin, unleſs we can ſuppoſe that the Name *Morland* or *Willis* ſignify'd ſome other Perſon. The Letter is from Mr. *Morland* to Sir *Richard*, and in theſe Words; 'Sir, 'Whereas I have heard how much you have ſuffer'd by 'a Libel bearing date the 3d of *June*, 1659, charging you 'with a private Correſpondence with Mr. Secretary *Thurloe* and his Creatures; and that I particularly was ſince in '*Flanders*, in Perſon, to inform the King of the Particulars by ſhewing him Letters of yours, and Receipts for 'Money; I think myſelf oblig'd (tho' a Stranger to you) 'to be ſo far aſſiſting to your Vindication, as to declare 'and profeſs, That I was never in any Part of *Flanders* in 'all my Life, nor with the King beyond Sea upon that, 'or any other Account; nor did ever ſhew him (as is 'aforeſaid) any ſuch Letters or Bills of Receipt, for any 'Monies whatſoever. And ſo far was I from being in any 'Capacity of Informing againſt you as aforeſaid, that I do 'profeſs, I knew not ſo much as your Name; neither 'was I ever preſent at any private Conference between 'you and Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*; which upon all Occaſions ſhall be conſtantly teſtify'd by, Sir,

Thurſday *the* 1*ſt of* March, 16$\frac{59}{60}$. *Your moſt humble Servant*,

S. Morland.

If this Letter acquits Sir *Richard* in this Caſe, it will not clear him from what is ſaid in *P.* 727, of this Hiſtory. How far it conſiſts with what the Lord *Clarendon* ſays in his laſt *Folio* Volume, *P.* 522, 523, 524, and 525, I leave to the judicious and impartial Reader.

And here, for the Concluſion of the old Year, we ſhall take Notice of the Deaths of ſeveral Perſons worthy of Remembrance for their different Excellencies and Qualifications; as firſt Dr. *Thomas Laurence*, Maſter of *Baliol* College, and *Margaret*-Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Oxford*; a Perſon once highly celebrated for his Scholaſtical Divinity, and his extraordinary Proficiency in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues; who upon the fatal Turn of the Times, loſing all, he became melancholy and careleſs, and unaccountably degenerate in his Life and Converſation, till at length he dy'd in great Obſcurity. The next was Mr. *John Langley*, the noted Maſter of St. *Paul*'s School, where he was the happy Educator of many, who were afterwards ſerviceable both in Church and State; an excellent Theologiſt of the *Puritan* Stamp, a great Linguiſt and Hiſtorian, and a nice and exact Antiquary; for which he was particularly eſteem'd by the famous *Selden*, and other learned Men in thoſe Times. Mr. *William Burton* was another eminent Antiquary, and an excellent Critick and Philologiſt, belov'd and admir'd by many Perſons of Curioſity, eſpecially the great Archbiſhop of *Armagh*: He was, by Profeſſion, Maſter of the Free-School at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, and left a conſiderable Name behind him for his *Commentary on Antoninus his Itinerary*, and other uſeful and beneficial Pieces. Dr. *Gerard Langbain*, Provoſt of *Queen*'s Colledge, and Keeper of the Archives of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, was another great Antiquary, and no leſs conſiderable for Languages, Philoſophy, and Divinity; whoſe indefatigable Labours, and immenſe Undertakings, caus'd him likewiſe to be particularly eſteem'd by *Selden*, *Uſher*, and the other great Diſcoverers of the Age. Beſides theſe we are to mention two eminent Phyſicians, Dr. *William Harvey*, and Sir *Matthew Liſter*: The former was educated in that noted College for Phyſicians, *Caius* in *Cambridge*, and then in *Padua* in *Italy*, and afterwards became Phyſician to the late King, and Warden of the other Phyſick College, *Merton* in *Oxford*: He was the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, for his admirable Skill in his Profeſſion, and has immortaliz'd his Name by his Noble Diſcovery of the *Circulation of the Blood*; and having form'd a Practice of Phyſick conformable to this *Theſis*, he was plunder'd of his Papers to the extraordinary Loſs of the World; tho' he ſtill left ſome excellent Pieces behind him. The other, Sir *Matthew Liſter*, a Doctor of Phyſick in the Univerſity of *Baſil* in *Switzerland*, was likewiſe one of the prime Phyſicians of the Nation, and a Gentleman of a *Yorkſhire* Family celebrated for that Profeſſion: He was ſucceſſively Phyſician to King *James*'s Queen *Anne*, and to the late King; and having liv'd to the 92d Year of his Age, he dy'd at his Houſe at *Burnell* in *Lincolnſhire*, the Eſtate he had purchas'd from the famous Sir *Thomas Glemham*. Beſides all theſe, we are to mention two other Perſons ſufficiently remarkable, *Obadiah Sedgewick*, and *John Lilburn*, both notorious Incendiaries: The former was a *Puritan* Divine, and a mighty Fomenter of the Flames and Troubles of the Nation; who, after he had been ſeveral Years a voluble Preacher, and a violent Promoter of the Old Clauſe, retir'd from the City of *London*, and dy'd very wealthy at his native Town of *Marlborough*. The latter, *John Lilburn*, or *Free-born John*, the furious Oppoſer of all Governments, was one whoſe Character we have formerly given; who after he had concern'd and ingag'd himſelf with all Parties, both in Oppoſition and Conjunction, and undergone the moſt ſtrange Varieties of Fortune, at laſt dy'd a *Quaker*.

The Death of Dr. Laurence,

Mr. Langley,

Mr. Burton,

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Dr. Langbain,

Dr. Harvey,

Sir Matthew Liſter,

Obadiah Sedgewick,

And John Lilburn,

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Car. 10.

The Parliament encreas'd by Cromwell's *Lords.*

VIII. 1. After a ſeven Months Prorogation and Receſs, *Cromwell*'s Parliament met a ſecond Time on the 20th Day of *January*; and, according to the laſt Inſtrument ſtill'd *The humble Petition and Advice*, was increas'd and improv'd by the Addition of that call'd *The Other Houſe*. *Cromwell* had formerly declar'd *That it wou'd never be well, and we ſhou'd never ſee good Days, while there was one Lord left in* England, *and till the Earl of* Mancheſter *was call'd Mr.* Mountague; yet now he thought fit to give that Title to a Sett of Men, to make up his *Other Houſe* of Parliament. Theſe conſiſted of ſixty Perſons, of whom ſeven or eight were real Lords, as the Earls of *Warwick*, *Mulgrave* and *Mancheſter*, the Lords *Say*, and *Wharton*, &c. and about twenty were of the Gentry, as Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Fiennes*, Lord *Liſle*, Sir *William Strickland*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Sir *John Hobart*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Sir *Thomas Honywood*, Mr. *Saint-John*, Mr. *Popham*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Mr. *Howard*, &c. beſides the two Sons of the Protector, and ſome Relations. The reſt were Officers of the Army, and very inferior Perſons, as *Pride* the Drayman, *Hewſon* the Shoe-Maker, *Barkſtead* the Silver-Smith, *Whaley* a broken Clothier, *Goff* the Salter, *Berry* the Wood-Monger, *Pack* the Woollen-Draper, *Cooper* the Haberdaſher of Small Wares, &c. Theſe were ſummon'd in the Form of the ancient Writ directed by the Kings of *England* to ſuch as they call'd to the Houſe of Lords.' Moſt of the Lords diſdain'd to appear upon this Occaſion, and ſome few of the Commons declin'd the Honour, and choſe rather to ſit in the lower Houſe, as Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* in particular. *Lenthall*, the old Speaker of the Long Parliament, according to *Ludlow*, was much diſturb'd that a Writ had not been ſent to him, and complain'd, *That he who had been for ſome Years the firſt Man of the Nation, was now deny'd to be a Member of either Houſe of Parliament.* Whereupon *Cromwell* in Pity ſent him a Writ, which ſo elevated the poor Man, that meeting with Mr. *Osbaldſton*, the former School-Maſter of *Weſtminſter*, whom he knew to be a great Lover of Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, he ask'd him *what Sir* Arthur *deſign'd to do in Anſwer to this Writ*? The other replying *that he knew not Sir* Arthur's *Intentions in that Matter*; he return'd, *I pray write to him, and deſire him by no Means to omit taking his Place; and aſſure him from me, That all that do ſo, ſhall themſelves and their Heirs be for ever Peers of* England. Such was the Temper and Humour of that Man, who had done ſuch infinite Miſchief to the Nation.

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Crom-well's *Speech to them.*

Both Houſes being met upon the appointed Day, the Protector, without coming to the *Painted-Chamber*, as uſually he did, went as Soveraign to the Houſe of Lords, where he ſent for the Speaker and the Houſe of Commons by the Uſher of the Black-Rod, to come to the Bar of the Houſe. Being plac'd in his Chair under a Cloth of State, he began his Speech in the old Royal Stile, '*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons!* and then diſcours'd ſome Particulars which he recommended to them; thank'd them for their fair Correſpondence laſt Seſſion, and aſſur'd them, If they wou'd continue to proſecute his Deſigns, they ſhou'd be call'd *the Bleſſed of the Lord, and Generations to come ſhou'd bleſs them.*' He left his Lord-Keeper *Fiennes* to make a long Speech to them, with all the Formality of the ancient Monarchs of *England:* In which he largely vindicated the preſent Conſtitution, and the new Houſe of Lords; and among other things told them, 'the late Wars and Confuſions had ſo trampled down the *Quick Wood*, whereby the *Hedge* was made to fence in our Laws and Liberties, that there was a Neceſſity of ſetting it over again: Some were for having the very ſame *Old Plants* ſet in the very ſelf-ſame *Old Bank:* Others ran into the contrary Extream, and wou'd have none of the *Old Sets*, nor none of the *Old Bank*, but wou'd have their *Fence* ſet upon a *Level:* A third Sort liked a middle Way, as on the one Side not to meddle with the *Old* dry and dead *Bank*, ſo on the other Side not to place their *Sets* upon the *Plain Ground*, leſt the Beaſts ſhou'd tread them down, according as their Food and Fancy leads them; but to place the *Sets* in two *Tables* upon a *Bank* rais'd up as before, but of a freſh and live *Mould*, and to make uſe of all *Plants*, both Old and New, that will take to the freſh *Ground*, and thrive in it.' Afterwards, ſpeaking of the King and his Friends, he demanded of them, 'If the Intereſt of that Party ſhou'd be again enthroned amongſt them, and brought in upon the Wings of that double-headed black Eagle, or rather Vulture, *What wou'd become of the poor Lambs of Chriſt?*' Therefore by way of Concluſion he let them underſtand, 'That they all knew, and the three Nations knew, and all the Nations round about them knew, *That the Quiet, Peace and Welfare of theſe Nations, did at preſent, under God, depend upon Highneſs's Life.*

And Fiennes.

As ſoon as the Commons came to their Houſe, unfortunately for the Protector, they caus'd the third Article of the *Humble Petition and Advice* to be read; by which it was provided, 'That no Members legally choſen ſhou'd be excluded from the Performance of their Duty, but by Conſent of that Houſe of which they were Members.' Upon which they proceeded to the Calling over their Houſe, and preſently re-admitted all thoſe who had been excluded for refuſing to ſign that Recognition of the Protector; and by this Means about a hundred of the moſt inveterate Enemies to *Cromwell* came and ſat in the Houſe; among whom were *Haſlerigg*, *Scot*, *Goodwin*, and many other Subſcribers of the former Proteſtation, who now had the more Credit and Intereſt in the Houſe, for having been excluded for their Fidelity to the Common-Wealth; many of thoſe who had ſubſcrib'd it, valuing themſelves for having thereby become Inſtruments to introduce them again, who cou'd not otherwiſe have gain'd a Re-admiſſion. When theſe Men came into the Houſe, they ſoon began to queſtion the Authority and Juriſdiction of the *Other Houſe:* They acknowledg'd, 'That the *Petition and Advice* had allow'd that there ſhou'd be *ſuch a Houſe*; but that it ſhou'd be a *Houſe of Peers*, and that they ſhou'd be call'd *My Lords*, there was no Proviſion; nor did it appear what Juriſdiction they ſhou'd have: That it wou'd be a very ridiculous Thing, if they ſhou'd ſuffer thoſe who were created by themſeves, and ſat only by their Vote, to be better Men than they, and to have a Negative Voice to control their Maſters:' When they had ſufficiently vilify'd their Character, they queſtion'd the Protector's Authority to ſend Writs to call them thither; and ask'd 'Who gave him that Authority to make Peers? That it had been the proper Buſineſs of that Houſe to have provided for all this; which probably they wou'd have effected at this Meeting, if he had not preſumptuouſly taken that Soveraign Power upon him.' At the ſame Time the *Other Houſe* well knew it was their Commiſſion to be a Houſe of Peers in every thing but Name; and therefore ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon all the ancient Rights and Privileges, belonging to the Place where they ſat.

A great Diviſion between the two Houſes.

This new Spirit exceedingly ſurpris'd and perplex'd the Protector, who found he had been ſhort-ſighted in not providing for the filling his Houſe of Commons, when he erected his other of Peers: For he had remov'd the boldeſt Speakers, and beſt able to oppoſe this Torrent, out of the Lower Houſe, to inſtitute his *Other Houſe*, without Supplying their Places by others ſo well able to undergo the Work. He was not a little apprehenſive alſo, that Part of the Army, eſpecially thoſe quarter'd about St. *James's*, were engag'd in theſe Diſtempers; therefore to prevent the worſt, he took the Inſpection of the Watch at *White-Hall* for ſeveral Nights ſucceſſively in his own Perſon. And the Allarm from abroad increaſing daily and hourly, he reſolv'd to put an End to all by a Diſſolution. While he was conſidering about the beſt Means of effecting his Deſigns, on the fourth of *February* freſh Informations were brought him concerning the Diligence of his Oppoſers and Enemies; which ſo rous'd and quicken'd him, that he wou'd not ſtay for one of his own Coaches; but taking the firſt that was ready, with ſuch Guards as he cou'd immediately get together, he hurry'd to the *Other Houſe.* Here he firſt imparted his Reſolution to Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*; who earneſtly endeavouring to diſſwade him from an Act ſo unpopular, he clapp'd his Hand upon his Breaſt, and Swore *by the Living God he wou'd do it!* Then he ſent for the Judges, and the Members of the Lower Houſe, and treated them with great Indignation 'for obſtructing that Work, which he ſaid was ſo well begun, in Order to the Settlement of the Nation.' On the other Hand he aſſur'd thoſe whom he had called to his *Other Houſe, That notwithſtanding all the Practices againſt them, they were Lords, and ſhou'd continue to be Lords*; and ſo proceeded to a Diſſolution, concluding, as ſome ſay, with theſe Words, *By the Living God I do and muſt Diſſolve you.* Thus ended *Cromwell*'s Third and laſt Parliament; which, after the new Improvement of the *Other Houſe*, laſted but fifteen Days. Of his three Parliaments there went this vulgar Saying, *That the Firſt was called, but not choſen; the Second did juſt Nothing, and the Third did nothing Juſt.*

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Cromwell *diſſolves them.*

2. The reſt of the Life and Reign of *Cromwell*, which conſiſted of the Space of ſeven Months, became daily more uneaſy and unhappy to that aſpiring Man; who ſeem'd now to be purſued and environ'd by all the direful Attendants of an Uſurper and Tyrant. For tho' all Things ſeem'd to ſucceed both at home and abroad, and his Power and Greatneſs to be better eſtabliſh'd than ever, yet it is obſerv'd, that after he had refus'd the Crown, he never had his former and uſual Serenity of Mind; and whether he was laſh'd by the Furies of a guilty Conſcience, or terrify'd with unexpected or increaſing Dangers, he never was at reſt; ſo that he was much leſs the Happy Man, than the World took him to be. He grew more apprehenſive of the Danger of his Perſon than formerly; ſo that he was harder of Acceſs, and more rarely ſeen abroad; and his Eyes were intent upon the Carriage, Manners and Looks of all Strangers that came in his Preſence. He wore Armour underneath his Cloaths, beſides Offenſive Weapons, as a Sword, Faulchion, and ſeveral Piſtols; and he never went abroad but with ſtrong Guards, and with his Coach full throng'd with well-armed Servants. When he deſign'd to go to *Hampton-Court*, which was his principal Delight and Diverſion, it was never known which Way he wou'd go, till he was in the Coach; and he ſeldom return'd the ſame Way he went, and always in great Speed and Expedition. He kept ſeveral Keys for the Doors of his Chambers, and rarely ſlept above two Nights together in the ſame Room; nor in any, that had not two or three Back-doors, well guarded by his Servants. All which made his Fears more publick and obſerv'd, becauſe he never had been accuſtom'd to theſe Precautions. He was likewiſe awaken'd by the Diſperſing of a very ſmart and ſurpriſing Paper entitled *Killing no Murder*; wherein it was prov'd to be not only lawful, but honourable, to kill the Tyrant as a common Enemy of his Country. This made him more than ordinary vigilant to apprehend the Author, who was then happily conceal'd, not only in his Perſon, but in the very ſuſpicion of his Name; tho' ſince commonly taken to be Colonel *Titus*, a Perſon of great Figure in many of the Parliaments after the King's Reſtoration.

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Crom-well's *Fears and Jealouſies.*

It is certain, he knew of many Combinations either to aſſaſſinate, or to ruin him, by thoſe, who, he believ'd, were no Friends to the King: For beſides the Deſign of *Syndercombe* formerly mention'd, ſome *Fifth-Monarchy*-Men, to the Number of about Three Hundred, expecting extraordinary Aſſiſtance from Heaven, had form'd a Deſign to dethrone the Protector, and to ſet up *King Jeſus*. Their chief Cabal was held in a Houſe in *Shore-Ditch*, where Secretary *Thurloe*, who never wanted Intelligence, had a Spy amongſt them, who diſcover'd their Intrigues time enough to prevent the Execution of them: He ſeiz'd their Arms and Ammunition, with their Standard containing a *Lion Couchant*, as of the Tribe of *Judah*, with this Motto, WHO WILL ROUSE HIM UP? and ſeveral Copies of a printed Declaration, with this Title, *The Principle of the Remnant*, &c. The Conſpirators taken were *Venner*, *Gray*, *Gowler*, *Hopkins*, *Aſhton*, and others, who were made Priſoners in the *Gate-Houſe*, where they lay long in a miſerable Condition; being, as it were, reſerv'd for a more ſignal Puniſhment after the Reſtoration. Soon

Several Plots againſt Him.

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after, ſome Perſons that us'd to meet in *Coleman-ſtreet*, to deplore the Apoſtacy of the Times, and particularly that of *White-Hall*, purſuant to the Protector's Orders, were ſeiz'd by the Lord-Mayor's Officers, as they were coming out from their Place of Meeting. Among theſe was one Cornet *Day*, who being charg'd with Saying *That the Protector was a Rogue and a Traytor*, confeſs'd the Words; and to juſtify Himſelf declar'd, That *Cromwell* had affirm'd in the Preſence of Himſelf, and divers other Officers, *That if he did oppreſs the Conſcientious, betray the Liberties of People, or not take away Tithes by a certain Time*, now paſt, *they ſhou'd then have Liberty to ſay he was a ROGUE and a TRAYTOR*. He boldly moved therefore that he might be permitted to produce his Witneſſes, who were then preſent, to prove the fore-mention'd Particulars. But the Matter was ſo order'd, that He and ſome others were, without allowing ſuch Vindications, fined and impriſon'd for their Miſdemeanors.

His old Friends are againſt him.

Several Others, who had been formerly great Friends to *Cromwell*, as Major-General *Harriſon*, Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, Colonel *Rich*, and Colonel *Danvers*, were now ſecur'd as publick Malecontents. And the chief Man of the Army, *Lambert*, was ſent for by the Protector, who after ſevere Expoſtulations with him for his Non-Compliance, he call'd for his Commiſſion; which He ſuddenly gave up, when there was a general Imagination that he wou'd have refus'd the Delivery of it. So at once his Pay as Colonel of a Regiment of Horſe, as Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and as Major-General of the Army, was ſtruck off, together with ten Pounds a Day, which was the General's own Pay, and which *Cromwell* allow'd him, to keep him firm to his Intereſt. Thus *Lambert* retir'd to his Privacy unviſited, and unregarded, as if he had never been in Authority; but *Ludlow* tells us that *Cromwell* thought it expedient to allow him a Penſion of two thouſand Pounds a Year, to keep him from any deſperate Undertaking. Sir *Henry Vane*, his former grand Brother in deep Contrivances, being lately remov'd from *Cariſbrook* Caſtle, now underwent another Sort of Perſecution: for *Cromwell* finding his former Method unſucceſsful, privately encourag'd ſome of the Army to ſeize upon certain Foreſt Walks belonging to him near the Caſtle of *Raby*; and likewiſe gave Order to the Attorney General, on Pretence of a Flaw in his Title to a great Part of his Eſtate, to prefer a Bill againſt him in the Exchequer. This was to oblige him to expoſe his Title, which if they cou'd effect, it was not doubted but, by the Cunning of the Lawyers, to find ſome Defect in it, and ſo force him to a Submiſſion: Yet at the ſame Time, he was privately inform'd, 'That he ſhou'd be freed from this, or any other Impoſition, and that he ſhou'd have what he cou'd deſire, in Caſe he wou'd comply with the preſent Authority.

The Cavaliers Plot.

3. But that which made moſt Noiſe with the Protector and the Nation was a new and formidable Plot of the Cavaliers, which was pretended to be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence. *Cromwell* well knew how to turn ſuch Diſcoveries into Acts of Popularity and Gain: And therefore, being without a Parliament, he ſent for the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*, and in a very aggravating Speech inform'd them 'of the imminent Danger of the Common-Wealth from the Enemies to his Government both at home and abroad; That there was a Deſign to ſeize upon the *Tower*; That the Marqueſs of *Ormond* had lain privately three Weeks in *London*, to promote the King's Affairs: That the King lay ready with an Army of eight thouſand Men, with twenty two Ships to tranſport them upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*; and that there were ſeveral ill-affected Perſons about the City, who endeavour'd to put themſelves in Arms, and embroil the Nation in a War, *&c.* And then profeſſing a greater Paſſion for their Safety, than for his own, he deſir'd their Care to put the City into a Poſture of Defence.' And then to make his Fears ſeem the greater, he plac'd double Guards in the *Tower*; and caus'd many ſuſpected Perſons to be ſeiz'd in their very Beds, and to be ſent to ſeveral Priſons. The Lord-Mayor and his Brethren took the Bait, and went home with great Indignation againſt the Royaliſts, for attempting to plunder their Houſes, and cut their Throats, as they believ'd; and took extraordinary Care of the Gates and Guards; and withal drew up an humble Repreſentation and Addreſs to his Highneſs, 'promiſing the Faith of the City, and the Purſe of it, in firmly adhering to him againſt all his Enemies.' A like Hint was alſo given to the Army, and Addreſſes of the ſame Strain were ſent up from ſeveral Regiments, and likewiſe brought over from the *Engliſh* Forces in *Flanders*; the Protector begging the Compliment, by imparting to them, 'That the Deſigns and Preparations of the Enemy were very formidable, and many Commiſſioners ſent over by the King of *Scots*, and therefore it behoved all honeſt Men to provide for a Defence, and joyn heartily together.

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Cromwell's *Proceedings againſt them.*

When he had thus doubly fortify'd his Intereſt, he reſolv'd to proceed againſt the Conſpirators, whom he had ſafely lodg'd in Priſon; but in what Method to proceed, he cou'd not ſo eaſily determine. His Council adviſ'd him to the ancient Way of Indicting them in the *Upper Bench* for High-Treaſon, and ſo to proceed in the ordinary Courſe of Tryals at Common-Law; but he had no Inclination to truſt to the ordinary Practice of Judges and Juries, tho' they might have been all his own Creatures. His Head and Heart lay rather for a *High Court of Juſtice*: He had found uſeful Experience of it, as the ſhorteſt Way with Offenders; and therefore he had ſuch a new Court erected, and under the higheſt Authority nominated the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal and of the Treaſury, the Judges, and ſome other Confidents, to be in this Commiſſion; tho' ſome of them wou'd gladly have waſh'd their Hands of ſuch Sanguinary Proceedings: And *Whitelock* in particular confeſſes, 'That tho' he was one of them, yet he never ſate with them, it being againſt his Judgment.' This High Court of Juſtice was founded on a Law made by the late Parliament, *For the Security of his Highneſs's Perſon*; and had Power to try all ſuch, and ſuch only, as ſhou'd be nam'd to the Commiſſioners by Him, or his Council.

The Tryal of Mr. Mordaunt.

Before this High Court, of which *John Liſle* was Preſident, there was firſt brought to be try'd Mr. *John Mordaunt*, the younger Son and Brother of the Earls of *Peterborough*; Sir *Henry Slingsby*, a Gentleman of an ancient Family, and ample Fortune in *Yorkſhire*; and Dr. *John Hewet*, an eminent and orthodox Preacher in *London*, to whoſe Church of St. *Gregory*'s thoſe of the King's Party moſt frequently reſorted. Theſe Three were totally unacquainted with each other; and yet the Firſt and the Laſt had found Means to correſpond ſo much together, as to reſolve that neither of them wou'd plead to the Impeachment, but demur to the Juriſdiction of the Court, and deſire to have Council to argue againſt it in Point of Law. Mr. *Mordaunt* was firſt arraign'd, and charg'd with receiving Commiſſions from the King for raiſing of a Regiment, one of which he had deliver'd to one Mr. *Stapeley*, who being over-aw'd by *Cromwell* had confeſs'd 'That he had receiv'd this Commiſſion from Mr. *Mordaunt*'s own Hand.' This Gentleman refus'd to plead, and according to the former Reſolution, deſir'd Council to argue againſt the Juriſdiction of the Court. But being ſent back with a poſitive Threat of being condemn'd as a Mute, by the Advice and Management of his Lady and others, he the next Day pleaded *Not Guilty*. After a long Hearing, and by the happy Contrivance of removing one *Mallory* a Witneſs againſt him, beſides an Accident of one of the Judges withdrawing upon a Fit of the Stone, the Court was equally divided for and againſt him; ſo that the Determination depended upon the ſingle Vote of the Preſident; who after ſome Excuſes, and Acknowledgement of many Obligations to the Mother of the Priſoner, pronounc'd him Innocent for ought appear'd to the Court. There was not the like Inſtance in all theſe Times; and ſcarce any other Man ever eſcap'd, that was try'd before any High Court of Juſtice. And *Cromwell* was ſo offended at it, that contrary to his own Forms, he kept him a long Time Priſoner; and, upon the unexpected Return of *Mallory*, wou'd have had him try'd a ſecond Time, but was diſſuaded from venturing the Reproach and Scandal of it.

He eſcapes.

Sir Henry Slingsby *and Dr.* Hewet *condemn'd.*

But poor *Slingsby* and *Hewet* met with harder Fortune; and their Blood was the more thirſted after for the other's Impunity; and the Court was too ſeverely reprehended to commit the ſame Error again. The former had lain two Years in Priſon in *Hull*, and was now brought up to the *Tower*, leſt they might not diſcover enough of any new Plot, to make ſo many formidable Examples, as the preſent Conjuncture required. Beſides his odious Fidelity to the Crown from the firſt attacking it, they had ſufficient Evidence againſt him, 'That he had contriv'd and contracted with ſome Officers of *Hull*, about the Time the Earl of *Rocheſter* had been in *Yorkſhire* two Years before, for the Delivery of one of the Block-Houſes to him for the King's Service.' Nor did he regard much to defend Himſelf againſt the Accuſation; but rather acknowledg'd and juſtify'd his Affection, and own'd his Loyalty to the King, with very little Compliment or Ceremony to the preſent Powers. The next was Dr. *Hewet*, whoſe greateſt Crime was collecting and ſending Money to the King, beſides having given Mony to ſome Officers; tho' he was charg'd with many other Particulars, which he altogether deny'd upon the Scaffold. Having no Opportunity of receiving Information of Mr. *Mordaunt*'s declining the Way formerly reſolv'd upon, and being brought to the Bar as ſoon as the other was remov'd from it, he perſiſted in the ſame Reſolution, and ſpoke bravely and learnedly, tho' not politickly, againſt the Juriſdiction of the Court. But upon better Information, and before the Judgment was pronounc'd againſt him, he deſir'd to be admitted to plead, and to put himſelf upon his Tryal. But they then utterly refus'd him; and ſo Sentence of Death, as is uſual in High-Treaſon, was pronounc'd againſt them both: only they met with the Favour of being beheaded, which was executed on *Tower-Hill* on the 8th Day of *June*.

Their Characters.

To give ſome ſhort Account of theſe two loyal Sufferers; Sir *Henry Slingsby* was in the Year 1640 return'd a Member of the Long Parliament for *Knaſeborough* in the County of *York*, where he ſate till the Troubles begun; and without any Obligation to the Court, was guided by his own Conſcience to deteſt the violent Proceedings of that Parliament. He was a Gentleman of a good Underſtanding, but of a melancholy Diſpoſition, and reſerv'd in his Speech; who being weary of the Proceedings at *Weſtminſter*, he left the Place, and joyn'd with the firſt who took up Arms for the King. Thus he continu'd with inviolable Steadineſs; and having a good Fortune and a general Reputation, he had a greater Influence upon the People, than they who talk'd more and louder. He was known to be irreconcileable to the new Government; therefore he muſt be deſtroy'd, as well as Dr. *Hewet*; who was born a Gentleman, educated a Scholar in *Cambridge*, and finiſh'd a Divine before the Beginning of the Troubles. He liv'd at *Oxford* and in the Army, till the End of the War, and continu'd afterwards to preach with great Applauſe in his Church at *London*; where he was admitted purely by the Affection of the Pariſh, ſince he was ſufficiently known to lye under the Brand of Malignity. It is believ'd, that if he had pleaded, he might have been quitted, ſince few of the Things charg'd upon him cou'd have been prov'd; but being once condemn'd, no Interceſſions cou'd prevail to ſave Him or Sir *Henry Slingsby*, tho' the latter was Uncle to the Lord *Falconbridge*, who had marry'd *Cromwell*'s Daughter, and the former had the Favour of privately marrying that Couple according to the Rules of the Church of *England*. But their united Intereſt and Prayers cou'd make no Impreſſion upon the Heart of a jealous Tyrant; and tho' his beloved Daughter, the Lady *Cleypole*, earneſtly begg'd for the Life of Dr. *Hewet*, he remain'd inexorable; which is believ'd to have been the principal Cauſe of her laſt Sickneſs and Death, which happen'd not long after.

Others ſuffer.

Beſides theſe two, who ſuffer'd with a moſt Chriſtian Courage, there were three others, Colonel *Aſhton*, Mr. *Stacy*, and Mr. *Beſtely*, condemn'd by the ſame Court, and treated with more Severity: For they were all order'd to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, in ſeveral great Streets in the City; *Aſhton* at *Mark-Lane* End, *Stacy* in *Cornhill*, and *Beſtely* in *Cheapſide*; all which was perform'd with the utmoſt Rigour, to make the deeper Impreſſion upon the Inhabitants, the two laſt being Citizens. But now all Men appear'd ſo nauſeated with Blood, and ſo tired with theſe abominable Spectacles, that *Cromwell* thought it convenient to pardon the reſt who were condemn'd, or rather to reprieve and reſerve them for a more proper Seaſon. Such were *Cromwell*'s Proceedings, and thus did he exerciſe his Tyranny in the latter Part of his Reign and Government.

The King removes to Bruſſels.

IX. I. In the mean Time the King, after he had continu'd nine or ten Months at *Bruges*, by the Allowance of *Don Juan* the Governour of the Country, removed and ſettled at *Bruſſels*; where he met with better Accommodation and Satisfaction, and found Himſelf farther diſtant from the deep and dangerous Deſigns of *Cromwell*. Tho' theſe bloody Proceedings were extremely afflicting to his Majeſty, and all his Friends, yet the Uſurper did not ſeem to be more ſecured in his Tyranny. The King's Party were indeed more diſpirited; but *Cromwell* found another kind of Enemy ſtill more dangerous than they, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own Way. They who were rais'd by him, and had likewiſe rais'd him, even almoſt the whole Body of Sectaries, Independents, Anabaptiſts, Quakers, &c. declar'd an implacable Hatred againſt him; and while they endeavour'd to raiſe a Power to contend with him, they likewiſe enter'd into ſeveral Conſpiracies to aſſaſſinate him; which he very much apprehended. They ſent over a remarkable Addreſs to the King, which is no where to be found but in the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory; which ſhewing the Spirit and Humour, both of the Men and the Times, we ſhall inſert ſome Part of it.

A remarkable Addreſs to him.

After they had given a deplorable Account of the Shipwreck'd Common-Wealth of *England*, 'which like a poor Weather-beaten Pinnace, had for a long Time been toſs'd upon the Billows of Faction, ſplit upon the Rocks of Violence, and now almoſt devour'd in the Quick-Sands of Ambition;' they freely diſplay'd Theirs and the Nation's Crimes in theſe memorable Words: 'What have we done, nay, what have we not done, which either Helliſh Policy was able to contrive, or Brutiſh Power to execute? We have trampled under Foot all Authorities; we have laid violent Hands upon our own Sovereign; we have raviſh'd our Parliaments; we have deflour'd the Virgin Liberty of our Nation; we have put a Yoke, an heavy Yoke of Iron, upon the Necks of our Countrymen; we have thrown down the Walls and Bulwarks of the People's Safety; we have broken often repeated Oaths, Vows, Engagements, Covenants, Proteſtations; we have betray'd our Truſts; we have violated our Faiths; we have lifted up our Hands to Heaven deceitfully; and that theſe our Sins might want no Aggravation to make them exceeding ſinful, we have added Hypocriſy to them all; and have not only, like the audacious Strumpet, wiped our Mouths, and boaſted *That we have done no Evil*; but in the midſt of all our Abominations, (ſuch as are too bad to be nam'd among the worſt of Heathens) we have not wanted Impudence enough to ſay, *Let the Lord be glorify'd! Let Jeſus Chriſt be exalted! Let his Kingdom be advanc'd! Let the Goſpel be propagated! Let the Saints be dignify'd! Let Righteouſneſs be eſtabliſh'd! Pudet hæc Opprobria*, &c.' Then after a free Declaration of their great Dexterity in Deſtroying, and their great Infirmity in Reſtoring of a Government, they thus proceed: 'Whither ſhall we go for Help? or to whom ſhall we addreſs our ſelves for Relief? If we ſay, *We will have recourſe to Parliaments, and they ſhall ſave us*; behold, they are broken Reeds, Reeds ſhaken with the Wind, They cannot ſave Themſelves. If we turn to the Army, and ſay, *They are Bone of our Bone, and Fleſh of our Fleſh, it may be they will at laſt have pity upon us, and deliver us*; behold they are become as a *Rod of Iron* to bruiſe us, rather than a *Staff of Strength* to ſupport us. If we go to Him who had treacherouſly uſurped, and does tyrannically exerciſe an unjuſt Power over us, and ſay to him, *Free us from this Yoke, for it oppreſſeth us, and from theſe Burthens, for they are heavier than we, or our Fathers, were ever able to bear*; behold, in the Pride and Haughtineſs of his Spirit, he anſwers us, *You are Factious, you are Factious; if your Burthens are heavy, I will make them yet heavier*, &c.' At laſt they apply themſelves to his Majeſty, and make the higheſt Promiſes to reſtore him to the Throne of his Father, if he wou'd condeſcend to ſome extraordinary Propoſitions, that may be ſeen in the noble Hiſtorian. The King gave ſuch an Anſwer to this Addreſs, as might diſpoſe theſe People to hope for his Favour, if he receiv'd Service from them; and ſo the Matter reſted at preſent.

He offers to go into the Field.

The King daily found that the *Spaniards* were leſs and leſs able to give him that Aſſiſtance towards his Reſtoration, that they deſign'd, and he expected; therefore in a Country, now ſo great a Scene of War, he reſolv'd not to live altogether unactive; and accordingly ſent to *Don Juan*, 'That he wou'd accompany him in the Field the next Campaign, without occaſioning him any Trouble or Ceremony whatſoever.' But the *Spaniards* ſent him a formal Meſſage to excuſe themſelves from conſenting to this Propoſition, declaring, 'That they cou'd not anſwer it to the King their Maſter, if they ſhou'd permit his Majeſty to hazard his Royal Perſon, at a Time when his two Brothers, who were known to affect ſo much Danger, were already in the Army.' And finding that they cou'd not reſtrain him from ſuch Adventures, while he remain'd at *Bruges*, and hearing that he had privately ventur'd Himſelf in the former Action at *Mardyke*, they readily conſented to his forementioned Removal to *Bruſſels*, the Place at which he firſt of all deſir'd to reſide.

A Deſign of Mazarine *and* Cromwell *upon* Oſtend.

Nothing was more apparent to the Eyes of diſcerning Men, than that the *French* wou'd begin the Campaign with the Siege of *Dunkirk*; but in order to this, and to obtain more ſignal Advantages, Cardinal *Mazarine* and *Cromwell* had form'd a ſecret and politick Deſign of ſurprizing and ſeizing of *Oſtend* upon a certain fix'd Day; in which they thought they had ſufficient Encouragement. For in the Beginning of the Year, a Party of that Garriſon, with the Privity of the Governour, held Intelligence with the Cardinal, and then with *Cromwell*, to betray the Town to the *French*, wherein *Cromwell* was to have his Share. The Cardinal was to ſend a Land Army, commanded by Marſhal *D'Aumont*, and *Cromwell* was to provide a Fleet to tranſport the Men; and particular Articles were agreed on between the ſuppos'd Conſpirators and the Cardinal, in the Month of *April*: But here *Cromwell* was at a greater Charge for his Fleet, than the Cardinal for his Army; and the former had privately outbid the latter for the Bargain, but little Mony was to be paid before the Town was ſurrender'd. The Agreement thus made, upon the fix'd appointed Day, the 14th of *May*, the *Engliſh* Fleet appear'd before *Oſtend*, and the Garriſon in the Fort permitted the *French* to paſs and land, who thought of nothing leſs than taking immediate Poſſeſſion of the Place. But the Governour, after he had ſuffer'd the Fleet to come to a proper Diſtance, immediately pull'd down the White Flag, that had invited them in, and ſet up a Bloody Flag; and before the Ships cou'd tack about, or get out of his Reach, he ſeverely gall'd them with the Artillery from the Forts; and the *French* that landed were every Man kill'd or taken Priſoners, to the Number of fifteen hundred; the Marſhal Himſelf being one who was taken. This Stratagem was nicely manag'd by the *Spaniards*, and the whole Action ſeem'd a Mixture of Tragedy, Comedy and Farce; as will more largely appear by the *Spaniſh* Account given by one of the principal Actors.

Dunkirk *inveſted by the* French *and* Engliſh.

2. The Expectation of being Maſters of *Oſtend* loſt the *French* ſeveral Advantages in the Beginning of the Year, for which no Reaſon did then appear; but this being over, in the ſame Month they inveſted *Dunkirk*, aſſiſted by ſix thouſand brave *Engliſhmen*, under the Inſpection of *Cromwell's* Ambaſſador *Lockhart*, but more immediately under the Command of Major-General *Morgan*, who ſeems to have left us the beſt and fulleſt Account of this Siege, *&c.* It ſeems that *Don Juan* was ſo far deluded with falſe Intelligence that the *French* deſign'd to inveſt *Cambray*, that *Dunkirk* was very ill provided either of Men, Ammunition, or of Victuals; of which the Marqueſs *de Leda*, the brave Governor, was ſo ſenſible, that he intimated, *That he had nothing to do but to loſe his Life honourably*. The *French*, under Marſhal *Turenne*, carry'd on the Approaches on the Side of *Newport*, and Major-General *Morgan*, with his *Engliſh* and a Brigade of *French* Horſe, on that next *Mardyke*; and theſe latter had two Miles to march every Day upon relieving their Approaches. In this manner they proceeded for the Space of twelve Nights, when they receiv'd Intelligence that *Don Juan* with the Prince of *Conde*, the Prince *de Ligny*, and the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter*, were at the Head of thirty thouſand effective Men to relieve the Place.

Several Conſultations.

Upon this Intelligence, Marſhal *Turenne*, with ſeveral Perſons of Quality, repair'd to the *French* King and Cardinal, then at *Mardyke*, and deſir'd his Majeſty and his Eminence to withdraw their Perſons, and leave their Orders. The King anſwer'd, *That he knew no better Place of Safety than at the Head of his Army*; but at laſt was perſuaded to retire to *Calais* with the Cardinal, leaving all Proceedings to be determin'd by a Council of War. The firſt Council was held without either Ambaſſador *Lockhart*, or Major-General *Morgan*; and the Senſe of it was, ‘ That it was great Danger to the Crown of *France*, to hazard a Battel in that ſtreight Country, full of Canals and Ditches of Water, and that they ought to raiſe the Siege, if the Enemy came on.’ In the next Council, when the two *Engliſh* Commanders were call'd, *Morgan* vehemently oppos'd the former Reſolution, and anſwer'd their ſeveral Reaſons for it; and particularly alledg'd, ‘ What a Diſhonour it wou'd be to the Crown of *France*, to have ſummon'd a Place, and broke Ground before it, and then raiſe the Siege and run away; deſiring the Council of War to conſider, *That if they rais'd the Siege, the Alliance with* England *wou'd be broken the ſame Hour*.’ After a little further Diſcourſe, and ſome Inclinations ſhewn in the Marſhal Himſelf, *Morgan* aroſe from the Board, and moſt earneſtly begg'd a Battel, declaring, *That he wou'd venture the ſix thouſand* Engliſh, *every Soul*. Upon which he was deſir'd to retire for a ſhort Space, and being again call'd in, the Marſhal declar'd, ‘ That He and the Council of War had reſolv'd to give Battel to the Enemy if they came on; and to maintain the Siege on *Newport* Side, and that Major-General *Morgan* was to joyn with the *French* Army.’ Whereupon the Major-General with Satisfaction ſaid, *That with God's Aſſiſtance, we ſhou'd be able to deal with them.*

The Spaniards *endeavour to relieve* Dunkirk.

The next Day in the Afternoon the *Spaniards*, by a Bridge of Boats, croſs'd their Army to the Sands of *Dunkirk*, and drew up in Battalia, within two Miles of the *French* Lines, before they knew any Thing of them. Upon which Marſhal *Turenne* ſent immediate Orders to Major-General *Morgan* to march into his Camp, with the ſix thouſand *Engliſh*, and the *French* Brigade of Horſe; which was done accordingly. The next Morning, having clear'd the Avenues, both the *French* and *Engliſh* Army march'd out of the Lines towards the Enemy. *Morgan* ſeeing the Enemy plain in Battalia, ſaid at the Head of his Forces, *See yonder are the Gentlemen you have to trade withal!* at which Word the whole Body of the *Engliſh* gave a triumphant Shout, that made a reſounding Echo between the Sea and the grand Canal. Upon which *Turenne* came up with above a hundred of the Nobility, to know the Meaning and Reaſon of a Thing ſo uncommon. *Morgan* told him, *'Twas an uſual Cuſtom of the* Red-Coats, *when they ſaw the Enemy, to Rejoice*; upon which *Turrenne* anſwer'd, *They were Men of brave Reſolution and Courage*. At the ſecond Halt, the whole *Engliſh* Brigade gave another Shout, and throwing their Caps into the Air, cry'd, *They wou'd have better Hats before Night!* Being got very near the Enemy, *Morgan*, who march'd a little before them in the Front, told them *They were to face an Enemy who had violated, and endeavour'd to take away their Reputation, and that they had no other Way, but to fight it out to the laſt Man, or be kill'd, taken Priſoners, or drown'd; and the Honour of* England *depended upon their Gallantry and Reſolution that Day*. Upon this they fell on with great Fury upon the Enemies Right-Wing, and ſoon came to that they call'd *Club-Law*, knocking them down with the But-Ends of their Muſquets, which they perform'd with that Succeſs, that the Six thouſand *Engliſh* carry'd ten or twelve thouſand Horſe and Foot before them. The reſt of the *Spaniſh* Army, ſeeing the Right Wing carry'd away, and the *Engliſh* Colours flying over their Heads, wheel'd about in ſuch a Manner, that the *Engliſh* had the whole *Spaniſh* Army before them. Then advancing to the Right, and falling on, the *Engliſh* carry'd all the *Spaniſh* Army, as far as from *Weſtminſter-Abby* to *Paul's* Church-yard, to uſe *Morgan's* own Words, before ever the *French* came in; and then they had no other Employment than to carry Priſoners back to the Camp. At the End of the Purſuit and Victory, *Turenne* Himſelf, with above a hundred Officers, came up to the *Engliſh*, quitted their Horſes, and embracing the Officers ſaid, *They never ſaw a more glorious Action in their Lives, and that they were ſo tranſported with the Sight of it, that they had not Power to move, or do any Thing.*

They are routed by the Engliſh.

The Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter*, in the *Spaniſh* Army, charg'd ſeveral Times on Horſe-back, and with great Difficulty, and ſome Blows of Muſquets, got ſafe off; not without ſome Satisfaction to ſee the Bravery of their own Country-Men. The Day being loſt with a greater Rout and Confuſion than Loſs of Men, *Don Juan* retired with the beſt Part of his Army to *Ipres* and *Furnes*, and the Duke of *York* to *Newport*, that he might defend the reſt when *Dunkirk* ſhou'd be taken. This laſt was the preſent Buſineſs of Marſhal *Turenne*, who found *de Leda* the brave Governour reſolv'd to defend it, notwithſtanding the defeat of the Army; and therefore he betook himſelf again to that Work, as ſoon as the *Spaniſh* Army was retired. The Governour, when he ſaw there was no Relief to be had from *Don Juan*, now reſolv'd to try what he cou'd do for Himſelf; and ſo with as ſtrong a Party as he cou'd make, he made a deſperate Sally upon the Beſiegers; who, tho' he diſorder'd them, were ſo well ſeconded, that they drove him back into the Town with great Loſs, after Himſelf had receiv'd a Wound, of which he dy'd within three Days. And then the Officers ſent to treat with the *French*, to which he wou'd never conſent while he liv'd; and ſo that important Place was ſurrender'd upon good Articles, on the 25th Day of *June*.

Dunkirk *ſurrender'd to the* Engliſh.

And here we muſt not forget a Relation made by an Ingenious modern Writer, which ſhews both the Perfidiouſneſs of the *French* Court, and the Policy and Power of *Cromwell*. When the *French* and *Engliſh* Army were ſat down before *Dunkirk*, *Cromwell* ſent one Morning for the *French* Ambaſſador to *White-Hall*, and publickly upbraided him ‘ for his Maſter's deſign'd Breach of Promiſe, in giving *Secret Orders* to the *French* General to keep Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, in Caſe it was taken, contrary to the expreſs Treaty between them.’ The Ambaſſador very truly proteſted he knew nothing of the Matter, and begg'd leave to aſſure him, *That there was no ſuch Thing thought of*. Upon which *Cromwell*, pulling a Paper out of his Pocket, ſaid, *Here is a Copy of the Cardinal's Order: And I deſire you immediately to diſpatch an Expreſs, to let him know, That I am not to be impos'd upon; and that if he deliver not up the Keys of the Town of* Dunkirk *to* Lockart *within an Hour after it is taken, I'll come in Perſon and demand them at the Gates of* Paris. There were but four Perſons ſaid to be privy to this *Order*, the Queen Mother, the Cardinal, Marſhal *Turenne*, and the Secretary. The Cardinal for a long Time blam'd the Queen, as if ſhe had indiſcreetly diſcover'd it to ſome of her Women; whereas it was found after the Secretary's Death, That he had for ſeveral Years kept a ſecret Correſpondence with *Cromwell*; and therefore it was not to be doubted but he had ſent him the foremention'd Copy. The Meſſage had its Effect; and *Dunkirk* was accordingly put into the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Forces. And to palliate the Matter, the Duke of *Crequy* was diſpatch'd from *Calais* into *England* Ambaſſador Extraordinary, to compliment the Protector, attended with a ſplendid Train of Perſons of Quality; among whom was a Prince of the Blood, and *Mancini*, Nephew to the Cardinal, who brought a Letter from his Uncle, full of the higheſt Expreſſions of Reſpect; and aſſuring his Highneſs, *That being in the View of the* Engliſh *Shore, nothing but the King's Illneſs in the Small-Pox cou'd have hinder'd him to come over to* England, *that he might enjoy the Honour of waiting upon one of the* Greateſt Men that ever was; *and whom, next to his Maſter, his greateſt Ambition was to ſerve. But being depriv'd of ſo great a Happineſs, he had ſent the Perſon who was neareſt to him in Blood, to aſſure him of the profound Veneration he had for his Perſon, and how much he was re-*

Cromwell's *Polity and Greatneſs.*

ſolv'd

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ſolv'd, to the utmoſt of his Power, to cultivate a perpetual Amity and Friendſhip between his Maſter and Him. Soon after the taking of *Dunkirk*, the *French*, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, took *Winoxberg*, and ſoon after *Furnes*, next *Menin*, after that *Oudenard*, and then *Ipres*, and in ſhort eight ſtrong Towns beſides *Dunkirk*; which much contributed to the Glory of the *Engliſh* Soldiery, and the Grandeur of *Cromwell*.

He declines in Body and Mind.

3. But *Cromwell*'s Greatneſs now drew near to a Period, and his Happineſs and Pleaſure daily and ſenſibly declin'd; and his Body began to be ſeiz'd with Infirmities, and his Mind much more with melancholy Apprehenſions. Beſides the general Fears and Anxieties that uſually perplex the Thoughts of Tyrants, he was particularly afflicted with the Death of his old Friend and Ally the Earl of *Warwick*, with whom he had held a ſure Amity; tho' there was little Reſemblance either in their Humours or Natures. And the Heir of that Houſe, who had marry'd his youngeſt Daughter, dy'd about the ſame Time; ſo that all his Relation, or Confidence he had in that Family was now at an End, ſince the other Branches of it abhorr'd his Alliance. His Domeſtick Comforts and Delights were leſſen'd every Day; and he plainly diſcover'd that his Son *Faulconbridge*'s Heart was ſet upon an Intereſt deſtructive to his, and began to hate him perfectly. But what chiefly broke the Peace of his Mind, was the Death of his Daughter *Cleypole*, who had always been his greateſt Joy and Delight, and who in her Sickneſs, which was an inward tormenting Impoſthume in her Loins, had ſeveral Diſcourſes with him, which exceedingly perplex'd him. Tho' none was near enough to hear the Particulars, yet by her frequent mentioning, in her Agonies, the Blood her Father had ſpilt, particularly that of Dr. *Hewet*, People concluded, that ſhe had preſented his worſt Actions to his Conſideration: And tho' he never ſhew'd the leaſt Remorſe for any of thoſe Actions, it is certain, that either her Diſcourſes, or her Death, did wonderfully affect him both in Body and Mind.

He falls ſick at Hampton-Court.

Whatever it was, about the Middle of *Auguſt*, he was taken with a ſlow Fever, which at length degenerated into a kind of a Tertian Ague; and for about a Week the Diſeaſe continu'd under ſeveral Appearances, with Symptoms ſo favourable, that every alternate Day he walk'd abroad in the Gardens at *Hampton-Court*. But one Day after Dinner, his five Phyſicians coming to wait upon him, one of them feeling his Pulſe, ſaid *That it intermitted*; at which being ſuddenly ſtartled, he look'd pale and fell into a cold Sweat, and being ready to faint order'd Himſelf to be carry'd to Bed; where being refreſh'd with Cordials, he made his Will, relating only to his private and Domeſtick Affairs. The next Morning, when one of his Phyſicians came to viſit him, he ask'd the Phyſician, *Why he look'd ſo ſad?* and when he anſwer'd, *That it became any One, who had the weighty Care of his Life and Health upon Him*; *Ye Phyſicians*, ſaid he, *think I ſhall die*; *but I tell you I ſhall not die this Bout*; *I am ſure on't!* And obſerving him to look more attentively upon him at theſe Words, he added, *Don't think I am mad*; *I ſpeak the Words of Truth, upon ſurer Grounds than your* Galen *and* Hippocrates: *God Almighty Himſelf hath given that Anſwer, not only to my Prayers, but alſo to the Prayers of thoſe who hold a ſtricter Commerce, and greater Intimacy with Him.* But being order'd to take his Reſt, becauſe he had not ſlept the greateſt Part of the Night, as the Phyſician was going out of the Chamber, he accidentally met with another of his particular Acquaintance, to whom he ſaid, *I am afraid our Patient will be light-headed.* The Other reply'd, *You are certainly a Stranger in this Houſe: Don't you know what was done laſt Night? The Chaplains and all who are* Dear to God, *diſpers'd in ſeveral Parts of the Palace, have pray'd to God for his Health, and all have brought this Anſwer, HE SHALL RECOVER.* Nay, to that Degree of Enthuſiaſm they arriv'd, that a publick Faſt being for his Sake kept at *Hampton-Court*, they did not ſo much pray to God for his Health, as they thank'd Him *for the undoubted Pledges of his Recovery.* But ſtill he kept up his Spirits, ſometimes with Broths and Jellies, and other Times with large Draughts of Wine; and he ſeldom awak'd in the Night, but with one or other of theſe he muſt be repleniſh'd; which ſeem'd more comfortable to him than the Reflecting upon all his Succeſſes.

He removes to White-Hall.

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His Death.

His Fits growing ſtronger, and his Spirits weaker, he remov'd from *Hampton-Court* to *White-Hall*; where appearing to be delirious, the Phyſicians began to think him in real Danger. Yet ſtill his flattering Chaplains and Friends gave themſelves and Him Aſſurance of his Recovery; and ſo far that Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, in his ſawcy Expoſtulations with God in Prayer, ſaid, *That they ask'd not for his Life; for they were aſſured, He had too great Things for this Man to do, to remove him yet; but they pray'd for his Speedy Recovery, becauſe his Life and Preſence were ſo neceſſary to divers Things then of great Moment to be diſpatcht.* All the Time he manifeſted ſo little Remorſe of Conſcience for all his Actions, that ſome of his laſt Words were rather becoming a Mediator, than a Sinner; recommending to God the Condition of the Nation he had ſo infamouſly deluded, and expreſſing a great Care of the People he had ſo manifeſtly contemn'd. But ſtill he was not altogether without Reflection, and ſeem'd above all concern'd *for the Reproaches*, he ſaid, *Men wou'd caſt upon his Name, in trampling on his Aſhes when Dead.* Nor did he ſeem to be totally without Religious Apprehenſions, and one great Enquiry he had to make was, as we are told from Dr. *Goodwin*, *Whether a Man cou'd fall from Grace?* a Queſtion very common in thoſe Times. And when the Doctor anſwer'd in the Negative, according to the prevailing Notion, he reply'd, *Then I am ſafe; for I am ſure I was* ONCE *in a State of Grace.* He grew more and more drowſy and diſturb'd in his Head, and ſeem'd to have been often thinking of the Independent Miniſters, that were aſſembled at the *Savoy* to ſet forth their Articles of Faith; for he ſometimes cry'd out, *They muſt be ſatisfy'd, they muſt be ſatisfy'd, or elſe we ſhall all run into Blood again!* Sir *Philip Warwick* was aſſur'd by one of his Phyſicians, that during this Sickneſs, he was never Maſter of ſo much Reaſon, as to determine any Thing of his Succeſſor, or Matters of State; and tho' it was pretended by *Thurloe* the Secretary, and *Goodwin* the Miniſter, that he gave particular Directions to them, that his Son *Richard* ſhou'd be his Succeſſor, and they brought in others afterward to teſtify the ſame; yet this Phyſician declar'd, He never was in ſuch a Condition, as diſtinctly to know what he did; nor cou'd they, with all their Care, find the Will that he had made. In this Condition he expired at Three in the Afternoon, on *Friday* the third Day of *September*, according to the Prediction of Colonel *Lindſey*; a Day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumph'd for two of his greateſt Victories, at *Dunbar* and *Worceſter*. The News of his Death being brought to thoſe who were met together to pray for him, Mr. *Peter Sterry* ſtood up and deſired them not to be troubled: *For*, ſaid he, *this is good News; becauſe if he was of great Uſe to the People of God when he was among us, now he will be much more ſo, being aſcended to Heaven at the Right-Hand of* Jeſus Chriſt, *there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all Occaſions.*

His Body.

Thus dy'd the mighty *Oliver Cromwell*, aged fifty nine Years, and a little above four Months; a Perſon, who, after he had run through ſo many Difficulties and Dangers, eſcap'd ſo many Plots and Conſpiracies, and committed ſo many infernal and flagrant Crimes, yielded up his laſt Breath in his Bed. But as if all the Elements, as well as Mankind, had waited for this important *Day*, *it* was uſher'd in with the moſt prodigious Storm of Wind that ever had been known, which overthrew great Numbers of Trees and Houſes, made dreadful Wrecks at Sea; and the Tempeſt was ſo Univerſal, that the Effects of it were very terrible in *France*, the *Netherlands*, and Foreign Countries, where all People trembled at it; for beſides the the Wrecks all along the Sea Coſts, many Boats were caſt away in the very Rivers. Beſides, there ſeem'd ſomething preternatural as to the very Body of this brave wicked Man; for notwithſtanding it was artificially Embowell'd and Embalm'd with Aromatick Odours, wrapt alſo in a Six-Fold Cerecloath, and put in a Sheet of Lead, with a ſtrong Wooden Coffin over it; yet in a ſhort Time it fermented after ſuch an unheard-of Manner, that it burſt all in Pieces, and became ſo inſufferably noyſom, that they were immediately neceſſitated to commit it to the Earth, and afterwards to celebrate his famous Funeral with an empty Coffin. His Government, from the Diſſolution of the Long Parliament, continu'd five Years, four Months, and fourteen Days; but the Time he enjoy'd the particular Title of *Protector* was no more than four Years, eight Months, and eighteen Days.

As to his perſonal Character and Behaviour, and the Variety of his good and bad Deeds, we have already taken notice of them in ſeveral Places of this Hiſtory; yet ſomething more general may be added by Way of Recapitulation and Concluſion. His publick Character is all over wonderful and amazing; where ſome Things were ſo ſhining and glaring, and others ſo black and diſmal, that ſo vaſt a Mixture can hardly be found in any one Perſon in the World. To reduce Three Kingdoms to an abſolute Obedience, which perfectly hated him; to awe and govern thoſe Nations by an Army that was indevoted to him, and wiſh'd his Ruin, was an Inſtance of a mighty Genius, and a prodigious Addreſs; and had his Life been ſully'd only by thoſe Crimes which are uſual, and almoſt neceſſary in Uſurpers, it cou'd not but have dazled thoſe, who are not ſo nice in trying Matters by the Weights of the Sanctuary. He attempted thoſe Things on which none but the wickedeſt Men wou'd have ventur'd, and atchiev'd

Thoſe

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His Memory.

Thoſe in which none but the greateſt Men cou'd have ſucceeded. To take Notice then of his Memory, both in the bright and dark Side of it, according to the Method of one who has made an excellent Diſcourſe concerning his Government; Nothing can be more wonderful, than that a Perſon of mean Birth, no Fortune, nor no Qualities then conſpicuouſly eminent, ſhou'd have the Courage to attempt, and the Fortune to ſucceed in a Deſign ſo improbable, as the Deſtruction of one of the moſt ancient and beſt founded Monarchies upon Earth: That he ſhou'd have the Power or Courage, to cut off the King his Maſter, againſt the Senſe of three Kingdoms; and to baniſh that numerous and cloſe ally'd Family: To do all this under the Name and Ways of a Parliament; to trample upon Them too as he pleas'd, and to ſend them ſhamefully home when he grew weary of them: To raiſe up a New and unheard-of Fantom out of their Aſhes; to ſtifle that in the very Infancy, and ſet up Himſelf above all Things that ever were call'd Sovereign in *England:* To ſubdue all his Enemies by Arms, and then all his Friends by Artifice; and to ſerve all Parties patiently for a while, and to command them victoriouſly at laſt: To over-run each Corner of the three Nations, and with equal Facility overcome both the Riches of the *South*, and the Poverty of the *North:* To be fear'd and courted by all Foreign Princes, and adopted a Brother to the Gods of the Earth: To call Parliaments together with a Word of his Pen, and diſperſe them again with the Breath of his Mouth: To be humbly petition'd that he would be pleas'd to be hired at the Rate of two Millions a Year, to be Maſter of thoſe who before had hired him to be their Servant: To have the Eſtates and Lives of three Kingdoms as much at his Diſpoſal, as was the little Inheritance of his Father, and to be as noble and liberal in the ſpending of them; and laſtly to bequeath all this with one Word to his Poſterity: To die with Peace at home, and Triumph abroad; to be buried among Kings with more than Regal Solemnity; and to leave a Name behind him, not to be extinguiſh'd but with the whole World, which was thought too little for his Praiſes, as well as his Conqueſts, if the ſhort Line of his Life cou'd have been ſtretch'd to the Extent of his Immortal Deſigns.

On the other Side, Nothing can be more villainous and ſhocking, than for a Perſon, thus qualify'd, to reſolve not only to exalt himſelf above, but to trample upon all his Equals and Betters: That he ſhou'd have the Aſſurance to pretend Liberty for all Men, and by the Help of that Pretence to make all Men his Slaves: To take up Arms againſt Taxes of two Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year, and to raiſe them Himſelf to above Two Millions: To quarrel for the Loſs of three or four Ears, and ſtrike off three or four Hundred Heads: To fight againſt an imaginary Suſpicion of two Thouſand Guards, to be rais'd for the King, and to keep up no leſs than forty Thouſand for Himſelf: To undertake the Reformation of Religion, to rob it to the very Skin, and then expoſe it naked to the Rage of all Sects and Hereſies: To fight againſt the King under a Commiſſion for him; to take him forcibly out of the Hands of thoſe for whom he had conquer'd him; to draw him into his Net with Proteſtations and Vows of Fidelity, and then to butcher him, with as little Shame, as Conſcience or Humanity, in the open Face of the World: To pretend the Defence of Parliaments, and violently to diſſolve all, even thoſe of his own calling, and almoſt chuſing: To fight againſt Monarchy, when he declar'd for it; and to declare againſt it, when he contriv'd for it in his own Perſon: Perfidiouſly to debaſe, and ingratefully to ſupplant his own General firſt, and afterwards moſt of thoſe Officers, who with the Loſs of their Honour, and Hazard of their Souls, had mounted him to the Top of his unreaſonable Ambitions: Equally to break his Faith with all Enemies, and all Friends; and to weep, cant and diſſemble, and no more regard the moſt ſolemn Perjuries, than the looſer Sort did cuſtomary Oaths: To uſurp three Kingdoms without any Shadow of the leaſt Pretenſions, and to govern them by Councils of Rapine, Courts of Murder, *&c.* To ſeek to entail this Uſurpation on his Poſterity, and with it an endleſs War upon the Nation: And laſtly, by the ſevereſt Vengeance of Heaven, to die impenitent, hardned, and raving mad, with the Curſes of the preſent, and the Deteſtation of future Ages. To all which may be added, that he broke the Ballance of *Europe* by aſſiſting the *French*, and weakning the *Spaniard*; and whereas he found the *Common-Wealth*, as it was then call'd, in a ready Stock of eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds, he left the *Common-Wealth*, as he ſtill was pleas'd to call it, about two Millions and a Half in Debt, and the Navy of *England* in a ſinking deplorable Condition.

We ſhall conclude this Period with the Deaths of ſeveral Perſons who, by ſome Means or other, render'd themſelves conſiderable in the World; and ſhall begin with a particular Friend to *Cromwell*, Mr. *Francis Rouſe*, a reverend old Gentleman of ſome Parts, but of no great Underſtanding, of whom Mention has been made, as Speaker of the Little Parliament: He was Provoſt of *Eaton*, and one of *Cromwell*'s Lords; and having been a thorough-pac'd Puritan, a profeſs'd Enemy to the Church of *England*, a Member in all Parliaments, and one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, he had a deep Hand in all the Turns, and all the Calamities of the Nation. Next we ſhall mention Dr. *John Harris*, the *Greek* Profeſſor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and afterwards Warden of *Wincheſter-College*; one who had been ſo admirable a *Grecian*, and ſo celebrated a Preacher, when in the Univerſity, that the famous Sir *Henry Savile* us'd frequently to ſay, *That he was Second to St.* Chryſoſtome: He was one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*; and by complying with the Times, he held his Wardenſhip to his dying Day. Mr. *Robert Waring*, of *Chriſt Church* in *Oxford*, for a while Hiſtory-Profeſſor in that Univerſity, was a great Wit, an excellent *Latin* and *Greek* Poet, and ſtill more celebrated for his Oratory; who being driven from his Places, by the Iniquity of the Times, was forc'd to bury his excellent Parts in the Solitudes of a Country Life. Next we muſt take Notice of that great Wit and Poet, Mr. *John Cleaveland*, a Perſon educated in *Chriſt-College*, and then of St. *John's-College* in *Cambridge*, where he was nine Years the Delight and Ornament of that Houſe, being highly admired for his exquiſite Oratory, and facetious Poetry. He was much reſpected by the late King, for whom he was the firſt Poetick Champion, whoſe Turning Wit and Satyrick Verſes preſs'd ſo hard upon the Presbyterian Party, that he became a great Sufferer for his Loyalty; yet he gain'd ſo far upon *Cromwell*, that he met with both Liberty and Encouragement, and dy'd in Peace in *Gray's-Inn*. Laſtly we ſhall mention Colonel *Richard Lovelace*, a noted Soldier and Scholar, a Poet and Muſician, whoſe Perſon was charmingly beautiful, his Speech incomparably graceful, and his Dreſs and Carriage genteel to a Miracle, ſo that he attracted the Love and Admiration of the greateſt Perſons of both Sexes: Joining with the late King, he met with innumerable Misfortunes, beſides the Loſs of a fine Eſtate, and being reduc'd to Poverty, ragged Cloaths, and wretched Lodgings, he dy'd in a melancholy Condition, in the 40th Year of his Age.

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The Death of Mr. Rouſe,

Dr. Harris,

Mr Waring

Mr. Cleaveland;

And Colonel Lovelace.

CHAP. III.

The VARIOUS GOVERNMENT of *England:*

From the Death, and Concluſion of the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, *to the Happy Reſtoration of King* Charles *the Second.*

Containing the Space of one Year, and almoſt nine Months.

I. 1. BY the Extinction of the laſt glaring Meteor, and the Events that ſo ſoon ſucceeded it, we may learn that the Felicity, which is not grounded upon Reaſon and Virtue, is moſt commonly of ſhort Duration; and ſoon after its Diſappearance, as if Heaven had poured out Shame upon the *Engliſh* Nation, there aroſe ſuch a Spirit of Giddineſs and Irreſolution, with ſuch various Models of Government, as can hardly be parallell'd, in ſo ſhort a Time, by any other Country in the World. Tho' the Tyrant's Memory was dear to ſeveral particular Perſons, and exercis'd the Wits of ſome of the moſt ingenious Men in the Nation; yet his Death was generally acceptable both at Home and Abroad, being every where fear'd and hated. The Royal Party had moſt Reaſon to be forward in their Joys; for amidſt the diſtracted Intereſts ariſing from the Succeſs of the great Rebellion, nothing cou'd have more hinder'd the Return of a lawful Prince, than ſuch a ſingle Uſurper ſetting up himſelf, and re-eſtabliſhing Monarcy without the King: And they had Reaſon to hope, that this great Obſtructor being now remov'd, he cou'd not leave a Succeſſor of equal Genius with Himſelf, but the Feuds and Diviſions muſt only be compos'd by the Reſtoration of the Legal Government. The real Republicans were, if poſſible, ſtill more joyful; for they look'd upon him as a Traytor to the People of *England*; and if their Power had ſerv'd, wou'd have brought him to the ſame Puniſhment to which he had ſo villainouſly brought his Maſter: Even *Desborough* his Brother-in-Law, and *Fleetwood* his Son-in-Law were in Confederacy with *Pickering* and *Sydenham*, and others of his Privy-Council, to bring back a beloved Common-Wealth.

Oliver's *Death generally acceptable.*

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And even all the Parties in Religion thought his Death wou'd bring Advantage to their ſeveral Cauſes; ſince he properly eſpous'd none, and kept all under Subjection. The Foreign States and Kingdoms all likewiſe rejoyc'd as in a common Deliverance. The *Dutch* had loſt much Glory to him at Sea, and had found him more imperious in his Terms and Treaties than any *Engliſh* Monarch. The *Portugueſe* had been fill'd with Indignation againſt him, for having ſolemnly caus'd their Ambaſſador's Brother to be executed at *London*, notwithſtanding his Plea of being a Publick Miniſter. The *Spaniards* above all Nations were diſpos'd to curſe his Memory, becauſe of their hard and dreadful Suffering by his Arms at Sea and Land: And even the *French* Court, who by his Aſſiſtance laid the Foundation of their ſucceeding Greatneſs, envy'd him as a Friend, and ſuſpected he wou'd prove their Enemy: And it was ſaid that *Mazarine* wou'd change Countenance whenever he heard him nam'd; ſo that it paſs'd into a Proverb in *France*, *That the Cardinal was not ſo much affraid of the Devil, as he was of* Oliver Cromwell: And upon the News of his Death, he congratulated the Queen-Mother, telling her Majeſty, *That the grand Enemy of Her, and her Family, was happily remov'd, and that the Reſtoration of the King her Son was now at hand.*

The Army Officers repair to Richard.

Various were the Expectations of the World concerning his Succeſſor, and his eldeſt Son *Richard* durſt not be proclaim'd Protector, till his Uncle *Desborough* and his Brother *Fleetwood* were conſulted, to know whether they wou'd acquieſce; becauſe a former Paper under the late Protector's Hand was known to have been ſign'd, which appointed *Fleetwood* to ſucceed him. Several Perſons declaring that he had actually nominated his Son, and theſe two joyning in the Matter, the Council and Officers of the Army immediately repaired to *Richard*, to a Chamber, where he attended their coming; to whom Preſident *Laurence* made a Speech, acquainting him, ‘How deeply the Council was affected with Grief for the Death of his Father; and that they cou'd not but very much condole with him for ſo great a Loſs; but withal they came to acquaint him, That his late Highneſs having in his Life Time, according to the firſt Article of *The humble Petition and Advice*, declared and appointed him to ſucceed in the Government of theſe Nations: The Council had thereupon taken the Matter into Conſideration, and caus'd an Inſtrument to be drawn up, whereby he was to be proclaim'd Protector of the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and that the ſaid Proclamation was to be made publick the next Morning at nine of the Clock, *&c.*’ To this *Richard*, the intended Monarch, return'd Anſwer, ‘That he had a very deep Senſe, as well of his own Sorrow for the Loſs of his Father, as of the Faithfulneſs of the Council, and of the City of *London* and Officers of the Army, towards his deceaſed Father and Himſelf, upon the preſent Occaſion: That he was likewiſe ſenſible of the Weight of the Government, now by God's Providence thruſt upon his Shoulders; which he cou'd by no better Means hope to ſuſtain, than by Theirs and the good People of the Nation's Prayers, whoſe Peace and Proſperity he wou'd endeavour to maintain to the utmoſt of his Power.

They proclaim him Protector, &c.

The Council being thus diſmiſs'd, according to the Reſolutions with which they had acquainted him, they caus'd him the next Morning to be proclaim'd Protector, in theſe notable Words: ‘Whereas it hath pleaſed the moſt wiſe God, in his Providence, to take out of this World the moſt Serene and Renowned *Oliver*, late Lord *Protector* of this Common-Wealth: And his Highneſs having in his Life Time, according to the *Humble Petition and Advice*, declar'd and appointed the moſt Noble and Illuſtrious the Lord *Richard*, eldeſt Son of his ſaid late Highneſs, to ſucceed him in the Government of theſe Nations; We therefore of the Privy-Council, together with the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of *London*, the Officers of the Army, and Numbers of other principal Gentlemen, do now hereby with one full Voice and Conſent of Tongue and Heart, publiſh and declare the ſaid Noble and Illuſtrious Lord *Richard* to be rightful *Protector* of the Common-Wealth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: To whom we do acknowledge all Fidelity, and conſtant Obedience, according to Law, and the ſaid *Humble Petition and Advice*, with all hearty and humble Affections, beſeeching the Lord, *by whom Princes rule*, to bleſs him with long Life, and theſe Nations with Peace and Happineſs under his Government.’ This Proclamation was ſign'd by the Lord-Mayor of *London*, the Preſident of the Council, *Fiennes*, *Liſle*, *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, *Montague*, *Pickering*, *Wolſeley*, *Skippon*, *Sydenham*, *Jones*, *Fauconbridge*, *Whaley*, *Goff*, *Pride*, *Thurloe*, and ſeveral others; which being publiſh'd in ſeveral Parts of the City, in the Afternoon the Lord-Mayor preſented the new Protector with the Sword, which he preſently return'd; and after ſome further Ceremonies, *Fiennes*, one of the Commiſſioners of the Great-Seal, adminiſter'd an Oath to him in theſe Words: *I do, in the Preſence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promiſe and ſwear, That to the utmoſt of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the Reformed Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion in the Purity thereof, as it is contain'd in the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Teſtament, and encourage the Profeſſion and Profeſſors of the ſame. And that I will endeavour, as chief Magiſtrate of theſe Nations, the Maintenance and Preſervation of the Peace and Safety of the juſt Rights and Privileges of the People thereof. And that in all Things I will govern the People of theſe Nations according to Law.* So that *Richard* ſtepp'd into his Father's Seat without the leaſt Noiſe or Confuſion; and the Storm that was ſo much expected, was ſuddenly huſh'd into a general Calm.

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His Oath.

In order to this Settlement, the Maſter of the Ceremonies acquainted all Foreign Miniſters with the Death of the late Protector, and the Succeſſion of his Son *Richard*; which ſoon brought over many new Ambaſſadors and Envoys from the Neighbouring Princes and States, all admitted with full Ceremony to a ſolemn Audience given by his Protectorial Highneſs, to condole the Death of his Father, and to congratulate his Succeſſion to the Government. At the ſame Time infinite Addreſſes came up from all Parts; Firſt from the Soldiery in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; next from all the Independent Congregational Aſſemblies; Thirdly, from the moſt eminent of the *London* Miniſters, as alſo from the *French*, *Dutch* and *Italian* Churches; and Laſtly from moſt of the Counties, Cities and Corporations in *England*; ‘Teſtifying their Joy and Satisfaction, with ſolemn Promiſes and Reſolutions of adhering to his Highneſs, with their Lives and Fortunes, againſt all his Enemies and Oppoſers. In theſe he was celebrated for the *Excellence of his Wiſdom*, the *Nobleneſs of his Mind*, and in ſome for the *Lovely Compoſition of his Body:* His Wife, Father-in-Law, and Relations did not want their Compliments; and the more to oblige Him, his Father *Oliver* was ſtil'd and compared to *Moſes*, *Zerubbabel*, *Joſhua*, *Gideon*, *Elijah*; to the *Chariots and Horſemen of* Iſrael; to *David*, *Solomon*, and *Hezekiah*, and to *Conſtantine* the Great; and to whomſoever elſe that either the Sacred Scripture, or any other Hiſtory, had celebrated for their Piety and Goodneſs. He was lamented as the *Father of his Country*, the *Reſtorer of pleaſant Paths to dwell in*, of whom *we were not worthy*,’ and what not? Every one ſtriving to exceed each other in this extravagant Vanity; in which the *Independent* Churches were thought moſt guilty, and particularly their Metropolitans, or chief Miniſters, *Goodwin* and *Nye*.

Addreſſes made to him.

His Character.

That this general Exultation of the People and Armies was ſo great upon this new Succeſſion, muſt be imputed more to the common Senſe of Deliverance from one Tyrant, than to their Hopes or Expectations from this other Protector, who was rais'd to this Government without any Reſpect or good Opinion in the Minds of the People, or the Soldiers. For he had been neither a Military Man, nor a States-Man; rather a plain Country Gentleman, bred to Privacy and Rural Sports, and willing to ſerve his Neighbours, and even the Cavaliers, by that little Intereſt he had in his Father's Court; and being a ſort of a boon Companion, he is ſaid to have often drunk the King's Health, under the Name of his *Father's Landlord.* His own Father ſeem'd to have leaſt Affection, and the loweſt Opinion of this Son, among all his other Children: He never truſted him in any Command, nor employ'd him in any true or conſiderable Buſineſs: He made him indeed Chancellor of *Oxford*, and put him at the Top of the *Other Houſe* in Parliament; but this was rather thought for the Honour of his Family, than for the Love of his Son. He never let him into Secrets of Policy, nor Arts of War; and therefore it ſeems plain, he never deſign'd him for his Succeſſor, becauſe he ſcarce made any Step towards training him up to it. As to Religion, he was no great Bigot nor Hypocrite, and is thought to have had very little Concern about it, eſpecially if we may believe *Ludlow*; who gives us an Account of a certain inferior Officer, who having publickly murmur'd at the Advancement of ſome, who had been Cavaliers, to Commands in the Army, was for that carry'd to *White-Hall* to anſwer for Himſelf. Here *Richard*, beſides other reproachful Language, ask'd him in a deriding Manner, *Whether he wou'd have him prefer none but thoſe that were Godly*? Then, turning to an Officer, ſaid, *Here is* Dick Ingoldsby, *who can neither Pray nor Preach, and yet I will truſt him before ye all.* Thoſe imprudent, as well as irreligious Words, ſays the Author, ſo clearly diſcovering the Frame and Temper of his Mind, were ſoon publiſh'd in the Army, and City of *London*, to his great Prejudice, and ſhortned the Time of his Government.

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The manner of Oliver's *lying in State.*

2. One of the greateſt Acts of the new Government, was to order the Funeral of the late Protector; and the Council having reſolv'd that it ſhou'd be very magnificent, the Care of it was referred to a particular Committee, who ſending for Mr. *Kinnerſly*, Maſter of the Wardrobe, deſir'd him to find out ſome Precedent by which they might govern themſelves in this important Affair. After Examination of his Books and Papers, Mr. *Kinnerſly*, who was ſuſpected to be inclin'd to Popery, recommended to them the Solemnities us'd upon the like Occaſion for *Philip* the Second King of *Spain*, who for about two Months had been repreſented to be in Purgatory. The vaſt Expence and Pomp of it, with the Concourſe of People that it occaſion'd, made the moſt conſpicuous Part of this ſhort liv'd Government; and being ſo diſtinguiſhable, ought to be a little particulariz'd. The Corps being ſuddenly bury'd by reaſon of the uncommon Stench, on the 26th of *September* a Coffin was in the Night carry'd in a Mourning Herſe from *Whitehall* to *Somerſet-Houſe*; where in a ſhort Time his Effigies was with mighty State and Magnificence expos'd to the View of infinite Multitudes that daily thronged to that Place. Four large Apartments were hung with Black, illuminated with Wax Tapers, and adorn'd with rich Scutcheons, *&c.* of which the fourth was compleatly cover'd with Velvet, where the lively Effigies lay under a noble Canopy upon a Bed of State, apparell'd in the moſt magnificent Robes, lac'd with Gold, and furr'd with Ermins, with a Sceptre in one Hand, and a Globe in the other, and a rich Cap on the Head ſuitable to the Robes: Behind was plac'd a Chair and Cuſhion of Tiſſu'd Gold, in which lay an imperial Crown, beſet with Diamonds and other precious Stones: The Bed of State was inclos'd with Rails and Ballaſters, and, beſides ſolemn Mourners, ſurrounded with Banners, Banrols, and all kinds of Trophies of Military Honours. The Effigies having for ſome Weeks been ſeen in this Poſture, on the firſt of *November* was remov'd into the great Hall, where with new Ornaments and Ceremony it was plac'd, ſtanding with the Imperal Crown upon the Head. Here four or five Hundred Luminaries were ſo plac'd upon ſhining Candleſticks round near the Roof of the Hall, that the Light they gave ſeem'd like the Rays of the Sun; by all which the Protector was repreſented to be now in a State of Glory.

The Solemnity of his Funeral.

Having continu'd thus to the 23d of *November*, the Waxen Effigies, with the Crown on his Head, Globe and Sceptre in his Hands, was plac'd in a ſtately open Chariot, cover'd with black Velvet, and drawn with ſix Horſes cover'd in the like manner, and adorn'd with Plumes and other Ornaments. The Streets from *Somerſet-Houſe* to *Weſtminſter-Abby* were guarded by Soldiers in new Mourning Habits, with their Enſigns wrapt in Cypreſs; through which the Chariot was attended by all the Servants and Officers of the Houſhold, the chief Officers both of the Army and the Navy, the Maſters of Chancery, the Counſellors and Judges at Law, the Commiſſioners of the Great-Seal, the Members of the Privy-Council, the Members of the late Upper-Houſe, and the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, beſides ſeveral Foreign Miniſters and Ambaſſadors, as thoſe of *France*, *Portugal* and *Holland*, all in deep Mourning. Theſe all mov'd in a ſolemn and pompous Proceſſion, each Diviſion or Company being diſtinguiſh'd by Drums, Trumpets, Banners and led Horſes; particularly the Horſe of State, cover'd with black Velvet, and laſtly the Horſe of Honour trapp'd with Embroidery upon Crimſon Velvet, adorn'd with white, red and yellow Plumes, and led by the Maſter of the Horſe; with other Ceremonies us'd at the Obſequies of the greateſt Perſons of the World. At the Weſt End of the Abby Church, the Effigies being taken out of the Chariot, was carry'd through the Church under a Canopy of State up to the Eaſt End, where it was plac'd in a ſumptuous *Catapalco* or *Mauſoleum* fram'd for that Purpoſe, with Pilaſters and other Ornaments of Architecture, carv'd, painted and gilt, to remain for a certain Time exhibited to publick View. The whole Funeral amounted to a vaſt Expence, ſome ſay to Thirty, and others to Sixty Thouſand Pounds, which Mony was never half paid; and the Spectators were innumerable, who came from the fartheſt Parts of *Scotland*, *Cornwall* and *Wales*, to behold this wonderful Piece of Pageantry, which was obſerv'd to repreſent the Life of Him for whom it was made, namely, much Noiſe, much Tumult, much Expence, much Magnificence, and much Vain-Glory. The Remainders of all which vaniſh'd and diſappear'd within leſs than two Years, when the Monumental Pile was broken down, and the Body carry'd to a Place more proper for its Interrment.

1658.
Car. 10.

Conteſts between the Swede *and* Dane.

England *joins with the former.*

3. The Funeral Rites thus ſolemniz'd, the Preparations for which had much retarded both Domeſtick and Foreign Proceedings, immediately other Matters of publick Concernment began to be taken into Conſideration by the new Protector and his Council. The firſt Thing was the ſending a Naval Supply to the King of *Sweden*, between whom and the old Protector had been contracted a firm and inviolable Amity; and Forces had been ſent out of *England* to that King's Aſſiſtance, both for Land and Sea-Service; for the latter of which he had now more than ordinary Occaſion: For after he had by his great Succeſs againſt the King of *Denmark* forc'd him to yield a conſiderable Part of his Territories, and at length withdraw his Army; the King of *Denmark* judging the Conditions too hard on his Side, and alledging an imperfect Obſervation of them by the *Swede*, began preſently to fly to Arms; being particularly incourag'd by Promiſes from the *Hollanders*, and ſome of the *German* Princes. This being known to the King of *Sweden*, he immediately drew together his Forces, and by a ſtrange and adventurous March with his whole Army over that Part of the *Baltick* Sea, call'd the *Sound*, laid Siege to *Copenhagen* it ſelf, before the King of *Denmark* had any certain Advice of his Motion; yet the City was ſo well fortify'd and provided, that it was able to endure a long Siege. And now the Sovereignty of the *Baltick* being thus diſputed between theſe two Kings, the *Dutch* thought it no ſmall Advantage to them, that the *Sound* ſhou'd continue in the Power of the *Dane* their conſtant Ally; and therefore made all poſſible Haſte to ſet out a Fleet for the Relief and Supply of *Copenhagen*. On the other Side, the *Engliſh*, or the Government then ruling in *England*, thought it of no leſs Importance to help the *Swede*, tho' it were againſt the *Dane* and the *Dutch*; and therefore Sir *George Aiſcough* was firſt ſent with a Squadron of Men of War; but by reaſon of the Coldneſs of the Seaſon, both his Ships were endamaged by the Ice, and many of his Men dy'd through the Extremity of the Weather, ſo that he was forc'd to return without Action. But in the Spring a more powerful Fleet was mann'd out under Admiral *Montague*; but they continu'd in thoſe Parts without much Performance, till ſuch Time as the Power that ſent them out was diſſolv'd; the *Swede*, in the mean Time, being with great Loſs compell'd to raiſe the Siege and depart home.

A Synod of Independents.

But to return to *England*, and conclude the old Year; there had been a Convention or Synod of the *Independent* Miniſters reſolv'd upon, and call'd by the late Protector in his Life-Time, to make out a Declaration and Confeſſion of their Faith, and to make a Kind of a Canon or Syſtem of their Tenets and Doctrine; he of all Religions outwardly moſt favouring Theirs. This Aſſembly were ſitting and debating at the *Savoy* at the Time of *Oliver*'s Death, and gave him ſome Diſtraction to hear of their Diſputes and Quarrels; but *Richard* alone had the Honour to have his Reign ſignaliz'd with a Diſcovery of what *Independency* was, and its real Conſiſtency, which the World never heard of fully before this Time. For in the latter End of this Year they publiſh'd *A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practiſed in the* CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES *in* England, *agreed upon and conſented unto by their Elders and Meſſengers in their Meeting at the* Savoy, *&c.* But it was now too late to paſs their Scheme into a National Religion: For the new Protector, not being Heir to his Father's Politicks nor Conſcience, was more inclinable to the *Presbyterians*, by whom he began to be ſervilely courted, and particularly by the eminent Mr. *Baxter*.

165$\frac{8}{9}$.
Car. 10.

The Republicans plot againſt Richard.

4. In the mean Time the Republicans began to plot and undermine, and by Degrees to attempt the Ruin of the preſent Protector: And in order to it they repair'd to *Fleetwood*'s Houſe, upon Pretext of Duty, and of joining together in Prayers after their accuſtom'd Manner; where at firſt they glanc'd at Things at a Diſtance, and undertook to reconcile *Lambert*, and other diſbanded Officers, to *Desborough*, and thoſe that ſtill were in Office in the Army. Next they diſcours'd of the Charge of Protector, 'as if by Right it belong'd to *Fleetwood*, and by *Oliver*'s 'laſt Will, while he was *Compos Mentis*, deſign'd for him; 'but that *Richard* was in a ſurreptitious Manner, and by 'the Craft of ſome of the Council, ſubſtituted, when his 'Father had loſt his Senſes; that it concern'd them to be 'govern'd by a pious and expert Leader, ſuch as had been 'try'd in many Difficulties.' So the Fire-brand of Contention being once thrown in amongſt them, they us'd all Methods to blow it up, and by the Help of freſh Fewel to throw it into a Flame. The Relations being by this Means put at Variance, and mutually incens'd againſt each other, the private Soldiers were wrought upon to join with them; and that they might not loſe their Labour for their Sakes, they deſir'd that the Soldiers might have their full Pay, which in latter Times had been ſomewhat abridg'd. The next Thing debated was the Government of the Army: *Oliver* having ruled by an Arbitrary Power, turn'd out Officers and Soldiers at his Pleaſure, and put others in their Places; ' no Man ought now to take ſo much upon Himſelf, nor enjoy ſo unlimited a Prerogative.' Therefore the Soldiers form'd a Petition, wherein they deſired, ' That for the future no Soldier ſhou'd be turn'd out of his Place without a Council of War, nor that any Action be brought againſt a Soldier but according to Martial Law; that no Soldier be brought to Tryal for Murder, Theft, Sacrilege or Robbery, but in a Court-Martial, and that the Soldiers have the Power of chuſing their own General.' Theſe Things were argu'd verbally before the Protector, and afterwards appear'd in publick Writings and Declarations.

***Preparations for a* PARLIAMENT.**

When *Richard* perceiv'd that the Council of State and Government were toſs'd with theſe Storms, he thought it ſafeſt to betake himſelf to a Parliament, and try what Aids he cou'd find in theſe Difficulties. In order to this Meeting theſe three Queſtions were debated. ' Firſt, Whether the Elections ſhou'd be made by the Counties, Cities and chief Towns, according to the Diſtribution agreed on by the Long Parliament, and practis'd by the late Protector: Or Whether they ſhou'd be made by the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, according to the ancient Law of the Land? It was determin'd for the latter Way; which broke the Meaſures of the Court, and ſet the People upon Hopes of a Free Parliament, and gave many of the Common-wealth's Men an Opportunity to be elected in private Boroughs, who durſt not yet appear in open Counties and Cities. ' Secondly, how the *Other Houſe* ſhou'd be Summon'd, Whether by a new General Form, or by particular Writs or Summons, as anciently us'd to the Peers?' It was carried for the Latter, under the ſame Pretence of bringing all Things back to the ancient Courſe of Law. But this alſo was a Diſadvantage to the new Government; for upon the Meeting of the Houſes, they cou'd not agree upon the Forms of Meeting, and the Commons wou'd not treat with thoſe new Nobles, without ſaving the Rights of ancient Peerage. ' The Third Queſtion was concerning the Thirty Members to ſerve for *Scotland*, and the Thirty for *Ireland*, Whether, or how they ſhou'd be choſen? There having been as yet no Diſtribution of Powers to elect, as it was order'd there ſhou'd be in the *Humble Petition and Advice*.' It was at laſt concluded, That Members ſhou'd be choſen for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as had been practis'd in the Time of the late Protector, with this Proviſo, ' That they ſhou'd not be admitted to ſit, till the Conſent of thoſe Choſen for *England* was firſt obtain'd.' And this laid a new Foundation for a fierce Contention in the Houſe about admitting or rejecting the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Members. So that notwithſtanding the Care of the Government to chuſe proper Members, the Way of projecting and modelling this Parliament made the Conſtitution of it to be Strife and Diviſion.

Richard's *Speech to the Houſes.*

On the 27th Day of *January*, *Richard* met his Parliament with the ſame State that the Kings of *England* and his Father had done before Him. The Commons being ſent for by the Uſher of the Black-Rod to attend him in the *Other Houſe*, the new Protector made a formal Speech to the whole Aſſembly; in the former Part of which ' he repreſented the Happineſs of his Father's Government, and how he had left theſe Nations in great Honour abroad, and in full Peace at Home, all *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* dwelling ſafely, every Man under his Vine, and under his Fig-Tree, from *Dan* unto *Beerſheba.* After which he let them know, that he believ'd a Parliament was never ſummon'd upon ſo important Occaſion as this; and ſo recommended to them the Care of the Fleets and Armies, the Proſecution of the War with *Spain*, and the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Sweden*, the Reformation of Manners, the Proteſtant Religion, *&c.*' This Speech was ſeconded by the Lord-Commiſſioner *Fiennes*, who began with this Expreſſion, moſt ſervilely apply'd, ' *What can a Man ſay after the King*? and after having enumerated the deceaſed Protector's great Endeavours for the Peace and Good of the Nation, and his Highneſs's happy following of his Steps, he recommended to them more effectually the Wars abroad, and the Probabilities of Domeſtick Diſturbances, deſiring their Proviſion to maintain the one, and Care to prevent the other.' Mr. *Challoner Chute* was choſen Speaker of the Commons, who was ſo much indiſpos'd with the Heats and Tumults of the Houſe, that in a little Time Sir *Lillibone Long* was choſen to ſupply his Place, in which he ſoon after dy'd, and Mr. *Bamfield* was appointed Speaker *pro tempore*; when Mr. *Chute* dy'd, and *Bamfield* was voted to keep his Poſſeſſion: A fatal Parliament, that kill'd two Speakers before it diſpatch'd any Buſineſs.

A particular Oath was required of any ſitting Member, ' not to act or contrive any Thing againſt the Lord Protector;' but ſome of the old Republicans, as *Ludlow* in particular, found Intereſt enough to ſit and vote without it. The only two Parties were, thoſe for the preſent Government, or a Protector, and thoſe for the Common-wealth; for all that were ſuſpected to be Royaliſts, on which Side ſoever they voted, were expell'd the Houſe by the Complaint and Clamours of the contrary Side.

Diviſions among the Commons.

As ſoon as they enter'd upon Buſineſs, the Republican Spirit began to appear and operate, tho' with more Warineſs than formerly. They firſt fell upon calling to an Account thoſe who had been entruſted with the Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Taxes, and other Revenues, and to conſider of the preſent State of the Revenue, and ſome Way to pay the Arrears of the Army and Navy. But when they were call'd upon to ſettle the principal Matter, the Act of Recognition, to confirm *Richard*, and his Authority in the State, they reſolv'd firſt to debate ſome previous Queſtions ' concerning their own Authority, and how far the Government was already ſetled, and what Part of it was fit to be aſſign'd to the *Other Houſe*; which they wou'd by no means allow to be Part of the Government already Eſtabliſh'd, which they had promis'd *not to alter*.' Upon this Argument they exercis'd themſelves with great Freedom, as well upon the Creator of thoſe Peers, and the Power of the late Protector, as upon his Creatures the Peers; of whoſe Dignity they were no Ways tender, but treated them according to their former real, not preſent appearing Quality. They particularly inſiſted, ' how grievous it had been to the Kingdom, that the Biſhops had ſate in the Houſe of Peers, becauſe they were look'd upon as ſo many Votes for the King; which was a Reaſon much ſtronger againſt theſe Perſons, who were all the Work of the Protector's own Hand, and conſequently cou'd not but be entirely devoted to his Intereſt. Therefore they cou'd not, without the Guilt of Perjury, ever conſent that the *Other Houſe* ſhou'd have any Part in the Government, ſince they had all taken the *Engagement*, that there ſhou'd be no more any Houſe of Peers, and ſince the Office of *Protector* had been, and might ſtill continue without it.' When the Republicans found they cou'd not carry the Point, they propos'd ſome nice Mediums; but they were told, *That a Feather might hinder the Motion of a Clock, as well as a Piece of Iron*, and ſo it was Voted by the Court Party, ' That they wou'd meet and confer with the *Other Houſe*, as Part of the Parliament; and likewiſe ſuch other Perſons, as had a Right to come to that Houſe, if they had been faithful to the Parliament, ſhould not be reſtrained.

As to the Act of Recognition, when that was under Debate, Sir *Henry Vane* and his Common-wealth Party oppos'd the Thing, or Manner of it with great Vehemence, urging, ' That the Protector's Right ought to be more directly founded on the Conſent of the People; and therefore the Word *Recognizing* ought at leaſt to be alter'd into that of *Agnizing*, to make his Authority ſtand upon the true Foundation.' And yet the Protector's Party did at laſt carry their Queſtion; but by ſo ſmall a Majority, that the other Party ſoon grew upon them, till the Officers and Army form'd themſelves into a Third Party, and ſwallow'd up both the other. They likewiſe carry'd it, ' That the Members choſen for *Scotland* and *Ireland* ſhou'd be continu'd to ſit amongſt them,' who were ſo many Aſſertors of the Protector's Intereſt. Yet in Favour of the Common-wealths-Men ſome Conceſſions were made, as the releaſing of Major-General *Overton* out of Priſon in the Iſle of *Jerſey:* Nor were they wanting in ſome Favours to the Royal Party; for the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had long been impriſon'd in *Windſor* Caſtle, was, by the Interceſſion and Security given by his Father-in-law the Lord *Fairfax*, ſet at Liberty. And Major-General *Brown*, who had been diſabled by the Long Parliament in 1649, from bearing Offices in the City, or ſitting in the Houſe, was by them reſtored to the Privileges and Advantages of both.

Diſcoveries about the Revenues.

As to the Publick Accounts, the Committee of Inſpection of the Martial and Civil Liſts reported ' the yearly Incomes of the three Nations for that Purpoſe, to be a little above eighteen hundred and ſixty eight thouſand Pounds; and the Iſſues to be no leſs than two Millions and two hundred thouſand Pounds. By which they ſaw, that above three hundred and thirty two thouſand Pounds incurr'd yearly upon them, by the ill Management of a vaſt Revenue, which was treble to what any King of *England* had ever then enjoy'd;' and farther diſcover'd, ' That to maintain the Conqueſt of *Scotland*, they were at the yearly Charge of above a hundred and ſixty three thouſand Pounds more than the Revenue of that Kingdom did then yield to the Publick.' Many other Particulars were under their Conſideration, which came to no Effect; but in general they did ſome Good, and very little Hurt to the Nation; and they are particularly obſerv'd, not to have given any Offices or Gratuities to themſelves out of the Publick Treaſure, nor to have granted any Mony from the People. But at the ſame Time they were miſerably divided in the Houſe between the preſent Governing Party, and the old Common-wealth's Men.

1659. Car. 11.

Diviſions in the Army.

5. Theſe Diviſions were not confin'd within the Walls of the Houſe, but broke out in the Army it ſelf; the Officers in all Places diſcovering their Jealouſies of each other. They were divided into three Parties, and neither of them much ſuperior to the other in Number. One Party was known to be really affected to a Common-wealth, and conſiſted chiefly of theſe following Officers, Colonel *Aſhfield*, Colonel *Lilburn*, Colonel *Ludlow*, Colonel *Fitz*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Maſon*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Moſs*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Farly*, Major *Creed*, with divers Captains and other inferior Officers. A ſecond Party was known by the Title of the *Wallingford*-Houſe, or Army-Party, who had advanc'd *Richard Cromwell* in Expectation of governing all as they pleas'd, and now kept their ſeparate Meetings at *Wallingford* Houſe, the Dwelling of *Fleetwood*: Of theſe were Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* himſelf, Colonel *Desborough*, Colonel *Sydenham*, Colonel *Clerk*, Colonel *Kelſey*, Colonel *Berry*, Major *Haines*, Treaſurer *Blackwell*, and ſome others. The third Party was that of the preſent Protector, who having caſt off thoſe who had taken the Pains to advance him, join'd himſelf to others that were more ſuitable to his Occaſions and Inclinations; ſuch were Colonel *Ingoldsby*, Colonel *Gough*, Colonel *Whalley*, Colonel *Howard*, Colonel *Goodrick*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Keins*, with many others, and more particularly thoſe that were Officers in the *Scots* and *Iriſh* Forces. But his Cabinet-Council, according to *Ludlow*, was the Lord *Broghil*, Colonel *Philip Jones*, and Dr. *Wilkins*, who had marry'd his Aunt, and was this Year made Maſter of *Trinity* College in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

The *Wallingford*-Houſe Party being very induſtrious, and having drawn over ſeveral of the Republican Commoners, *Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Haſlerigg* and others; they at firſt kept fair with the Protector, and upon the Tumults in the two Houſes, they ſeduc'd him into an Opinion of the Neceſſity of calling a *General Council* of Officers, in order to preſent ſomething to the Parliament for the Regulation and Maintenance of the Army. He not ſuſpecting a Deſign that was plauſibly colour'd over, conſented to the Propoſition; and having iſſu'd out an Order for that Purpoſe, this Military *General-Council* met, and quickly aſſum'd ſo much Power to themſelves, that on the ſixth Day of *April* they preſented a Remonſtrance or Repreſentation to the Protector; in which they complain'd, ‘ That the ‘ Army by Reaſon of their great Arrears was reduc'd to ‘ very great Streights: That they who had born the brunt ‘ of the War were now undervalu'd, derided, and like to ‘ be laid aſide: That the *Good Old Cauſe* was ill ſpoken ‘ of, and traduc'd by Malignants and diſaffected Perſons; ‘ who daily grew more inſolent, and their Numbers en‘creas'd by the Reſort out of *Flanders*, and other Places: ‘ That Liſts of the Names of the late King's Judges were ‘ lately printed in Red Letters, and ſcatter'd about, as if ‘ they were mark'd out for Deſtruction: That Suits were ‘ commenc'd at Common-Law againſt honeſt Men, for ‘ what they had tranſacted in the War as Soldiers: That ‘ thoſe famous Acts perform'd by the Long Parliament, ‘ and by the late Protector, were cenſur'd, and vilify'd.’ By all which they ſaid, ‘ It was manifeſt, that the *Good Old* ‘ *Cauſe* was declin'd, which they were reſolv'd to aſſert; ‘ and therefore beſought his Highneſs to repreſent thoſe ‘ their Complaints to the Parliament, and to require pro‘per and ſpeedy Remedies.’ *Lambert*, tho' now no Member of the Army, was deeply concern'd in this Repreſentation; which was no ſooner known, than *Titchburn* and *Ireton*, two Aldermen of *London*, and principal Commanders of that Militia, drew up likewiſe a Remonſtrance, and ſent it to the *General-Council* of Officers; in which they declar'd, ‘their Reſolutions with the Army to ‘ adhere to the *Good Old Cauſe*, and that they were reſolv'd ‘ to accompany them in whatſoever they ſhou'd do for the ‘ Nation's Good.

Their Remonſtrance,

And that of the City.

The Parliament oppoſe both.

The Parliament had before this ſome Suſpicion of the private Cabals of the Army; but upon theſe Repreſentations, both *Richard* and they were much allarm'd; and the better to ſuppreſs theſe formidable Deſigns, they voted, ‘ That there ſhou'd be no Meeting, or *General Council* of ‘ Officers, without the Protector's Conſent, and by his ‘ Order: And that no Perſon ſhou'd have any Command ‘ by Sea or Land in any of the three Nations, who ſhou'd ‘ refuſe to ſubſcribe that he wou'd not diſturb the Free ‘ Meetings of Parliament, or of any Members of either ‘ Houſe of Parliament, or ſhou'd obſtruct their Freedom ‘ in Debates and Counſels.’ Theſe Votes were ſent to the Protector, and by him immediately ſent to *Wallingford-Houſe*, where the Council of Officers then ſate. Then to ſweeten the Common Soldiers, leſt they ſhou'd join with their Officers in turning them out of Doors, as they had formerly done, they added a promiſory Vote, ‘ That they ‘ wou'd preſently take into Conſideration, how to ſatisfy ‘ the Arrears of the Army with preſent Pay; and likewiſe ‘ to prepare an Act of Indemnity for them.

1659. Car. 11.

The Officers were now ſenſible that they were gone much too far, if they went no farther; and therefore they no ſooner receiv'd theſe Votes, but they ſent *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* to the Protector, to adviſe him forthwith to diſſolve the Parliament. Upon the Account of their great Obligations to his Father, and their near Alliance to himſelf, he had as much Reaſon to rely upon the Affection of theſe two, as any Men in the Nation. *Fleetwood* inſiſted upon Conſcience, alledging, *That if the Parliament were not immediately diſſolv'd, the Nation wou'd certainly be involv'd in Blood. Desborough*, a Perſon of a rough and rude Temper, treated him only with threatning Arguments, and told him, *It was impoſſible for him to keep both the Parliament, and the Army, his Friends*; wiſhing him *to chuſe which he wou'd prefer: If he diſſolv'd the Parliament out of Hand, he had the Army at his Devotion*; *if he refus'd that, he believ'd the Army wou'd quickly pull him out of* Whitehall. The poor Man had not Spirit enough to diſcern what was beſt for him; and yet he was not without Friends to adviſe him, if he had been capable of receiving Advice. Beſides many Members of Parliament, of Courage and Intereſt, had aſſur'd him, *That the Parliament wou'd continue firm to him, and deſtroy the Ringleaders of this ſeditious Crew, if he wou'd adhere to them*; *but if he diſſolv'd it, he wou'd be left without a Friend, and be contemn'd by thoſe who had prevail'd with him to do it*; ſome Officers of the Army likewiſe, of no ſmall Courage and Power, perſuaded him to reject the Deſire of thoſe who call'd themſelves *The General Council of the Army*, and to puniſh their Preſumption. *Ingoldsby*, *Whalley*, *Gough* and *Howard*, offer'd to ſtand by him; and the latter urg'd him to exert himſelf by ſome vigorous Action, like thoſe which ſupported his Father's Authority to the laſt. *You are* Cromwell's *Son*, ſaid he, *ſhew your ſelf worthy of that Name: This Buſineſs requires a bold Stroke, ſupported by a good Head*; *do not ſuffer your ſelf to be daunted, and my Head ſhall anſwer for the Conſequence.* Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough *and* Vane, *are the Contrivers of this*; *I will rid you of them, do but ſtand by me, and ſecond my Zeal with your Name. Richard* anſwer'd with Coolneſs and Conſternation, *That he did not love Blood.*

Richard *under great Diffiulties.*

Thus fluctuating for a Time, and vainly expecting the Aſſiſtance of the City, he at length comply'd with *Desborough* and his Companions to ſign a Commiſſion, which they had got prepar'd, to *Fiennes* the Keeper of the Great-Seal, to diſſolve the Parliament the next Morning. The Commons having Notice of this, ſhut the Door of their Houſe againſt the Uſher of the Black Rod, who was ſent twice by *Fiennes* to command them up; and ſome were ſo couragious, particularly Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, as to move, ‘ That the Houſe ſhou'd declare it High-Treaſon for any ‘ Perſon whatſoever, to put Force upon any Members of ‘ the Houſe; and that all Votes, Acts, and Reſolutions, ‘ paſs'd by any Members of Parliament, when the reſt were ‘ detain'd from, or taken out of the Houſe by Force, ‘ ſhou'd be null and void.’ And finding Themſelves ſo unanimous in their Reſolves, they adjourn'd Themſelves for three Days, till the twenty fifth of *April*, imagining that they ſhou'd by that Time convert the Protector from deſtroying Himſelf. But the poor Creature found Himſelf under innumerable Difficulties, and terrify'd on every Side, with the Dangers that attended his Perſon. It was particularly repreſented to him, ‘ That he had ſtill a ſafe Re‘fuge under the Mercy of the King, if he wou'd endeavour ‘ to expiate his Father's Crimes; that it was the Part of a ‘ King to keep his Word; that the Lord *Petcombe*, the ‘ *Daniſh* Reſident, had promis'd to ſend over to the *Sound*, ‘ that a Meſſenger might be more ſecurely ſent to Admiral ‘ *Montague* to acquaint him with theſe Affairs; and that ‘ he wou'd likewiſe give Security on the King's Part for ‘ Performance of Articles: That this was very practica‘ble, ſince the Fleet was yet free from Contagion, and ‘ the Admiral ready to ſerve the King: That beſides *Portſ*‘*mouth* and other ſtrong Places, moſt Part of the People ‘ would be ready to joyn in the Confederacy; and laſtly ‘ all *Ireland* was yet ſubject to his Government.’ Being ſolicited by theſe and the like Arguments, he was toſs'd between Hope and Fear, having miſs'd or abus'd the Occaſion of effecting his Buſineſs, ſometimes preferring the Advice of ſome, and then again of others, and ſometimes ready to fly for Safety; till at length being advis'd, *That it was ſafer to enjoy certain Privileges, than dangerouſly to make Tryal of new Experiments*, he ſubmitted to ſecond his former Action by a Proclamation, declaring, ‘ The Par‘liament to be diſſolv'd.

He is perſuaded to diſſolve the Parliament.

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Which puts an End to his Government.

From this Moment no Body reſorted to *Richard*, nor was the Name of the Protector afterwards heard of but in Deriſion; the Council of Officers appointing Guards to attend at *Weſtminſter*, which kept out thoſe Members, who according to their Adjournment wou'd have enter'd the Houſe upon the appointed Day. Thus, after a Reign of ſeven Months, and about twenty Days, the Son by his extream Weakneſs ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſtripp'd in a Moment of all the Power and Greatneſs, which the Father had acquir'd in ſo many Years, with the moſt villainous Courage, and perfidious Bravery; and this without a ſingle Blow given, or a drop of Blood ſpilt. And it was more viſibly the Hand of Heaven, ſince this mighty Fall was effected chiefly by thoſe very Perſons, and Relations, that *Oliver* had advanc'd to the higheſt Places of Truſt, and by whom he had rais'd Himſelf to that high Pitch of Grandeur. Here, by the Submiſſion of *Richard*, and *Henry* ſoon after, ended the Majeſty and Glory of the *Cromwell* Family, which had made its own, and all neighbouring Nations, to tremble.

A particular Story of him.

And here by way of Concluſion, it may not be improper to relate a pleaſant Story out of the Lord *Clarendon*, concerning this miſerable *Richard*, that happen'd afterwards. Shortly after the King's happy Reſtoration, this deſpiſed Man found it neceſſary to tranſport Himſelf into *France*, more for Fear of his Debts than of the King, who thought it unneceſſary to enqnire after a Perſon ſo long forgotten. After he had remain'd ſome Years in *Paris* unobſerv'd, and indeed unknown, living in Obſcurity and Diſguiſe, without owning his Name, and with but one Servant to attend him, upon the firſt Rumour of a War like to break out between *England* and *France*, he thought it proper to quit that Kingdom, and to remove to ſome Place of Neutrality, and particularly *Geneva*. Making his Way thither by *Bourdeaux*, and through the Province of *Languedoc*, he paſs'd through *Pezenas*, a Town belonging to the Prince of *Conti*, then Governor of *Languedoc*, who reſided there in a fair Palace of his own. Here making ſome Stay, he accidentally met with an old Acquaintance of his Father's, and his Party; and both were ſufficiently pleas'd thus to find themſelves together. His Friend told him, *That all Strangers who came to that Town, us'd to wait upon the Prince of* Conti, *the Governor of the Province; who expected it, and always treated Strangers, and particularly the* Engliſh, *with great Civility: That he need not be known, but that He Himſelf wou'd go to the Prince and inform Him, That another* Engliſh *Gentleman was paſſing through that Town towards* Italy, *who wou'd be glad to have the Honour to kiſs his Hands.* The Prince receiv'd him with great Civility, according to his natural Cuſtom; and, after a few Words, began to diſcourſe of the Affairs of *England*, and ask'd many Queſtions concerning the King, and whether all Men were quiet, and obediently ſubmitted to him; which the other anſwer'd briefly, and according to the Truth. *Well*, ſaid the Prince, *that* OLIVER, *tho' he was a Traytor and a Villain, was a brave Man, had great Parts, great Courage, and was worthy to Command; but that* RICHARD, *that Coxcomb and Poltron, was ſurely the baſeſt Fellow alive: What is become of that Fool? How was it poſſible he cou'd be ſuch a Sot?* He anſwer'd, *That he was betray'd by thoſe he moſt truſted, and who had been moſt oblig'd by his Father*; ſo being weary of his Viſit, ſoon took his Leave, and the next Morning left the Town, for fear the Prince might know that he was the very Fool and Coxcomb he had ſo freely mention'd. And within two Days the Prince came to know who it was that he had treated ſo juſtly, and whom before, by his Behaviour, he had ſuſpected not well affected to the King's Reſtoration.

An Inter-Regnum of twelve Days.

II. 1. Upon the Diſſolution of the late Parliament, and conſequently *Richard*'s Government, there was a kind of an *Inter-Regnum*, or Anarchy, for about twelve Days. It was thought a wonderful Tranſition in Government, that in a Moment a Monarchy ſhou'd be chang'd into Nothing, and all Men were now amaz'd, and ſtood gazing and expecting ſtrange Things to happen upon ſo great and ſudden an Alteration. The moſt viſible Power lay in thoſe that had deſtroy'd the laſt, the Council of Officers at *Wallingford-Houſe*, whoſe Numbers daily encreas'd from *Whitehall*; yet it was generally concluded, that they cou'd not wholly keep the Power in their own Hands, but muſt neceſſarily ſet up ſome Face of a Civil Government. They began firſt with modelling their own Family, which they did by caſhiering of *Whalley*, *Gough*, and *Ingoldsby*, with ſome others of the Protectorian Faction; and likewiſe by taking in *Lambert*, *Haſlerigg*, *Okey*, and ſome few others who had been laid aſide by *Oliver*. Then conſidering with themſelves that tho' they muſt chiefly govern by a Military Power, yet the Name and Shadow of a Parliament would moſt effectually captivate the People; foraſmuch therefore as the Members of that Parliament, then ſo excluded, cou'd not properly be readmitted, but with great Hazard to the Soldiers Intereſt, they procur'd private Conferences with ſome Members of the Old Long Parliament, formerly turn'd out by *Oliver* in 1653, as Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Colonel *Ludlow*, Major *Saloway*, &c. To theſe they made ſome Propoſals, and particularly, 'That the Government of the Nation might be by a Repreſentative of the People, and by a Select Senate; beſides Acts of Indemnity, with Proviſion made for *Richard Cromwell*, and the like.

After ſome Conſultations, they agreed to reſtore the Long Parliament; and accordingly many of them, both Members and Officers, repair'd to the Houſe of *William Lenthall*, the old Speaker of that Parliament. Upon acquainting him with their Deſign, the poor Man, fearing to loſe his late acquired Peerage, made many Excuſes, alledging his Age and Infirmities, and his Spiritual Concerns; but more eſpecially he choaked them with a Point of Law, namely, *That notwithſtanding the Act of Continuance, the Death of the late King had legally put an End to the Parliament.* When they found they cou'd not prevail with him at this Time, the Council of Officers, on the 6th of *May*, iſſu'd out a Declaration in theſe Words:

A Declaration of the Council of Officers.

'The Publick Concernment of this *Common-wealth*, being, through a Viciſſitude of Dangers, Deliverances, and Back-ſlidings of many, brought into that State and Poſture, whereon they now ſtand; and our ſelves alſo contributing thereto, by wandring divers Ways from Righteous and Equal Paths. And altho' there have been many Eſſays to obviate the Dangers, and to ſettle theſe Nations in Peace and Proſperity, yet all have prov'd ineffectual; the only wiſe God in the Courſe of his Providence diſappointing all Endeavours therein. And alſo, obſerving to our great Grief, that the *Good Spirit*, which formerly appear'd amongſt Us, in the carrying on of this *Great Work*, did daily decline, ſo as the GOOD OLD CAUSE it ſelf became a Reproach; we have been led to look back, and examine the *Cauſe* of the Lord's withdrawing his *Wonted Preſence* from Us, and where we turn'd out of the *Way*, that through Mercy we might return, and give Him the Glory. And, amongſt other Things calling to Mind, That the *Long Parliament*, conſiſting of the Members who continu'd their ſitting until the 20th of *April* 1653, were eminent Aſſerters of the CAUSE, and had a *Special Preſence* of God with them, and were ſignally bleſſed in that *Work*, we judge it our Duty to invite the aforeſaid Members to return to the Exerciſe and Diſcharge of their Truſt, as before the ſaid 20th of *April* 1653. And therefore we do hereby moſt earneſtly deſire the *Parliament*, conſiſting of thoſe Members, who continued to ſit from the Year 1648, until the 20th of *April* 1653, to return to the Exerciſe and Diſcharge of their Truſt: And we ſhall be ready in our Places, to yield them, as becomes us, our utmoſt Aſſurance to ſit in Safety, for the improving preſent Opportunities, for ſettling and ſecuring the Peace and Freedom of this *Common-wealth*; praying for the Preſence and Bleſſing of God upon their Endeavours.' This Declaration was ſign'd by General *Fleetwood*, and by the Council of Officers of the Army.

The LONG PARLIAMENT *reſtor'd.*

Lenthall finding that the Members, that cou'd be got together, wou'd meet as a Houſe without him, thought fit to repair to them in the *Painted-Chamber*, where they were aſſembled the next Day, being *Saturday* the 7th of *May*. Here finding that of their deſign'd Number of forty two, they wanted a Couple, they ſent to the Jayls for a preſent Supply; where finding the Lord *Munſon* and *Harry Martin*, who lay there upon Executions for Debt; and taking *Liſle* and *Whitelock* from the Chancery Bench, they advanced into the Houſe with their Speaker and Mace, and with the State and Formality of the PARLIAMENT OF *ENGLAND*. The Names of theſe Members were *Lenthall*, *Munſon*, *Martin*, *Whitelock*, *Liſle*, *Fleetwood*, *Ingoldsby*, *Chaloner*, *Atkins*, *Pennington*, *Scot*, *Holland*, *Vane*, *Prideaux*, *Harrington*, *Ludlow*, *Oldſworth*, *Haſlerigg*, *Jones*, *Purefoy*, *White*, *Nevil*, *Say*, *Blagrave*, *Bennet*, *Brewſter*, *Wilde*, *Goodwin*, *Lechmore*, *Skynner*, *Downs*, *Saloway*, *Dove*, *Corbet*, *Walton*, *Millington*, *Gold*, *Sydenham*, *Bingham*, *Ayre* and *Smith*. Theſe made up that Aſſembly or Juncto, which now more eſpecially obtain'd the Name of the RUMP, or RUMP-PARLIAMENT, with all but Themſelves, and their Friends, which at preſent were not very numerous.

The ſecluded Members ſtrive to enter, but in vain.

When the Members, who had been formerly ſecluded in the Year 1648 heard of this Aſſembly, a ſuperior Number of them met at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and conſtituted Mr. *Anneſly*, Sir *George Booth*, Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Montague*, Sir *John Evelin*, Mr. *Evelin*, Mr. *Knightly*, Mr. *Gewin*, Mr. *John Herbert*, Mr. *Peck*, Mr. *Hungerford*, Mr. *Harley* and Mr. *Clive*, fourteen in all, as a Committee, to go up and try whether they cou'd find Admittance to their Places; but coming up, they found ſuch a Reſtraint upon them, that they cou'd ſcarce get into the *Lobby*; where being arriv'd, they were entirely ſtopp'd by

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Lieutenant-Colonel *Allen*, tho' they vehemently diſputed their Right of ſitting in the Houſe, as well as the others. But notwithſtanding this preſent Repulſe, on *Monday* the 9th of *May*, Mr. *Anneſly*, Mr. *Hungerford*, and Mr. *Prynne*, underſtanding that the Houſe was then unguarded, came to *Weſtminſter*, and without Oppoſition enter'd the Houſe; till afterwards Mr. *Anneſly* and Mr. *Hungerford* went out to acquaint the other ſecluded Members of their Admittance, who attended their Succeſs in the Hall; when endeavouring with others to enter again, they were forcibly kept back. But the warm Mr. *Prynne*, who continu'd in the Houſe, began boldly to diſpute the Right of the Privileges of ſitting there, as well as the others; which ſo much diſpleas'd the Aſſembly, that not being able to confute his Reaſons, they were compell'd to adjourn till ſuch Time as they cou'd keep him out by Force, when yet he reſolutely attempted to enter, but in vain. And the Parliament, for ſo we muſt call it, for fear of being put again to anſwer the Juſtneſs of their ſitting by Law or Reaſon, voted, ' That all Perſons heretofore Members of ' that Parliament, which had not ſate in the Houſe ſince ' the Year 1648, nor had ſubſcrib'd to the *Engagement*, in ' the Roll of that Houſe, ſhou'd not ſit there, till farther ' Order from the Parliament.' Thus after ſix Years Obſcurity, that Cabal only was ſuffer'd to enter, which had firſt form'd, and afterwards foſter'd the Common-wealth for above four Years; ſo that the Return of the Government into theſe Mens Hands, ſeem'd to be the moſt diſmal Change that cou'd happen to the King and his Friends.

The Parliament's Declaration.

2. The firſt Thing this Remnant Parliament did, after their Eſtabliſhment, was the paſſing a ſhort Declaration, which was order'd to be publiſh'd in Print; in the Cloſe of which they declare, ' That they are reſolv'd, through the gracious Aſſiſtance of Almighty God, to apply themſelves ' to the faithful Diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in them; ' and to endeavour the Settlement of the *Common-wealth* ' upon ſuch a Foundation as may aſſert, eſtabliſh, and ſecure the Properties and Liberties of the People in Reference unto all, both as *Men* and *Chriſtians*; and that ' without a *ſingle Perſon, Kingſhip, or Houſe of Peers:* ' And they will vigorouſly endeavour the carrying on of ' the REFORMATION ſo much deſired, and ſo often declared for; to the End that there may be a Godly ' and Faithful *Magiſtracy* and *Miniſtry* upheld and maintain'd in the Nations, to the Glory and Praiſe of the ' *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, and to the reviving and making glad ' the Hearts of the *Upright* in the Land.' To this they ſoon after added a general Vote, which declared, ' That ' all ſuch as were to be employ'd in any Place of Truſt or ' Power in the Common-wealth, ſhou'd be *able for the* ' *Diſcharge of ſuch Truſt*; and that they ſhou'd be Perſons ' *Fearing God*, and who had given Teſtimony to all the ' People of God, *of their Faithfulneſs to that Commonwealth*, according to the late Declaration.' They likewiſe order'd, ' That all Writs and Proceedings at Law ' ſhou'd run as they did under the *Common-wealth*, in the ' Name of the *Keepers of the Liberties of* England.' And leſt the Judges, who were Members of the Houſe, might by their Influence in that Place prevent the intended Reformation of the Law, it was reſolv'd, ' That no Member of ' Parliament ſhou'd be a Judge in any Court.

The Petition of the Army to the Parliament.

But in all their Proceedings, theſe Gentlemen ſeem'd not to have well known, either formerly, or at preſent, that they ow'd their very Being to a Standing Army, which, after all their refined Projects, they knew not how to diſband, or command. And they had not ſate a Week before they were preſented with a particular Paper call'd *The Humble Petition and Addreſs of the Officers of the Army, to the Parliament of the Common-wealth of* England; in which they deſire, or rather preſcribe, ' 1. The Government of a Free-State or Common-wealth, without ' a Single Perſon, Kingſhip, or Houſe of Peers. 2. A ' juſt and due Regulation of Law, and Courts of Juſtice ' and Equity. 3. An Act of Oblivion for all that had ' been acted ſince the 19th of *April* 1653. 4. A Confirmation of all Laws and Ordinances made ſince the ' foreſaid 19th of *April*. 5. A Diſcharge of all Publick ' Debts contracted ſince the foreſaid Time. 6. A Liberty ' of Conſcience, but not extending to *Popery* or *Prelacy*. ' 7. A godly, painful and *Goſpel-Preaching* Miniſtry to ' be countenanc'd and maintain'd. 8. The Univerſities ' to be reform'd. 9. All Perſons adhering to the late King, ' or to *Charles Stuart* his Son, to be remov'd from all ' Places of Truſt. 10. That thoſe intruſted be eminent ' for Godlineſs, &c. 11. To prevent the long ſitting of ' Parliaments, and to provide for a due Succeſſion of ' them. 12. To own and acknowledge the Lord *Charles* ' *Fleetwood* to be General of the Land-Forces of this ' Common-wealth. 13. That the Government of the ' Nation may be in a *Repreſentative* of the People, and ' in a *Select Senate* Co-ordinate in Power. 14. That ' the executive Power be in a *Council of State:* And laſtly, to diſcharge all Debts contracted by his late Highneſs, or his Father, ſince the 15th of *December* 1653. ' To ſettle ten thouſand Pounds *per Annum* upon *Richard Cromwell* and his Heirs, and ten thouſand Pounds ' more upon him during Life, and eight thouſand Pounds ' a Year upon his Mother during her Life.

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The Submiſſion of Richard *and* Henry Cromwell.

This Inſtrument was deliver'd to the Houſe by *Lambert* himſelf, at the Head of ſeveral Officers, with a particular Speech; for which the Houſe by their Speaker, obſequiouſly and doubly gave them *very hearty Thanks*; and upon the firſt Debate of the Articles, they ſeem'd to diſagree in none, but in that relating to *Richard* and his Family; having, as it is believ'd, ſecret Inſtructions from the Army to put ſome Slight and Indignity upon that Cypher of Government. And therefore they appointed a Committee to receive his Submiſſion to their Authority, and to take a State of his Debts, before they wou'd do the leaſt thing for his Advantage. He ſhew'd himſelf full of Compliance and Acquieſcence, and gave in his Submiſſion in Form, with a Schedule of his Debts annex'd, amounting to near thirty thouſand Pounds. What was contracted for his Father's Funeral, in Deſpite to his Memory, they abſolutely rejected, and alſo declin'd the Settlement of any Revenue upon him or his Mother; only they gave him a ſmall Sum to diſcharge part of his private Debts, and required him, and all his Dependents, to remove from *Whitehall* in ſix Days time. The next Thing they did, was to call home *Henry Cromwell* from his Government in *Ireland*, where his Deportment had render'd him very popular, and where he had an Army under good Diſcipline: But finding the Tide to turn ſtrongly, he wou'd not offer to oppoſe it; but with the ſame Meekneſs of Spirit, as his Brother, tamely laid down his Charge. So much did theſe Muſhroom-Princes, in their Ambitions, differ from their Father; and now that Bonefire of Straw, or ſudden Blaze of *Oliver's* Family was extinguiſh'd, and buried in its own Aſhes: Which if he cou'd have foreſeen, certainly he wou'd not for their Sakes have waded through ſuch Seas of Blood; nor cou'd he have thought Providence ſo much his Friend, as he entitled himſelf to, during the whole Courſe of his Actions.

The Council of State.

3. In the mean time this Parliament took into Conſideration what Powers and Inſtructions were requiſite for their *Council of State*, and voted their Number to conſiſt of thirty one, whereof twenty one to be of the Parliament, and ten to be of ſuch Perſons as were not Members of the Houſe. Thoſe of the Houſe were *Haſlerigg*, *Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Jones*, *Sydenham*, *Scot*, *Saloway*, *Fleetwood*, *Harrington*, *Walton*, *Nevil*, *Chaloner*, *Downs*, *Whitelock*, *Morley*, *Sidney*, *Thompſon*, *Dixwell*, *Reynolds*, *Saint-John*, and *Wallop*. The other ten were Preſident *Bradſhaw*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *Horatio Townſend*, Sir *Robert Honywood*, Sir *Archibald Johnſton*, Mr. *Berners*, with the three Officers, *Lambert*, *Desborough* and *Berry*. Next they made Preſident *Bradſhaw*, Serjeant *Tyrell*, and Serjeant *Fountain*, Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, which was the ſame that had been us'd by them in 1653. Being thus ſettled, they were ſoon ſtrengthened by the Submiſſion of General *Monk* in *Scotland*, who congratulated them in a Letter, but ſtill continu'd in his great Authority and Command. The Navy alſo fairly correſponded with them; nor were there Addreſſes wanting from ſeveral Counties in *England*, expreſſing their joyful Senſe of the Parliament's Return to the Exerciſe of their Authority. And notwithſtanding the preſent Infancy and Uncertainty of their Power, they were firſt courted by the *Holland* Ambaſſador, and after that by an extraordinary Ambaſſador from the King of *Sweden*; upon Audience given to whom, three Perſons were appointed to go as Plenipotentiaries to *Copenhagen*, to treat of ſuch a Reconciliation between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, as might beſt ſtand with the Intereſt of *England*.

All Perſons ſubmit to the Parliament.

But notwithſtanding this appearing Calm, they were continually under Apprehenſions from the Army, which by their late Addreſs, and other Ways, had given ſufficient Intimations of their Intereſt and Power. Their Deſign was really plauſible, but never long practicable, which was to bring the Military Power under Subjection to the Civil; that is to bring their Makers and Supporters, to be their Subjects and Servants. However the better to unite their Friends in the Army to them, they paſs'd an Act of Indemnity ' to pardon all their former Tranſgreſſions, ' which had been the Cauſe of the Parliament's former ' Diſſolution, and, as they ſaid, of all the Miſchief which ' had follow'd'. This was not thought full enough by ſome of the Officers of the Army, and *Lambert* particularly complain'd *that it left them ſtill at Mercy*; and being

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They new-model the Army.

by *Haſlerigg* anſwer'd, *That they were only at the Mercy of the Parliament, who were their good Friends*, he briskly reply'd, *I know not why they ſhou'd not be at our Mercy, as well as we at theirs*; which ſufficiently allarm'd ſome of their Leaders. Therefore that they might be ſure to be liable to no more Affronts, they reſolv'd no more to make a General, which might again introduce a ſingle Perſon; the Thought of which they heartily abhorr'd: And to make that impoſſible, as they believ'd, they appointed their Speaker 'to execute the Office of General and Admiral, in ſuch 'a Manner as they ſhou'd direct; and that all Commiſ'ſions ſhou'd be granted by him, and ſeal'd with their own 'Great Seal.' And accordingly all the ſeveral Officers both of the Army and the Navy, with ſome Difficulty, deliver'd up their Commiſſions, and took out new ones from the Hands of the chief Commander *Lenthall*, in the Form that was preſcrib'd. So that now they ſaw not how their Empire cou'd be well ſhaken for the future. And they did one popular Thing, which was moſt likely to preſerve it for a Time, which was a Vote, 'That this 'preſent Parliament ſhou'd not continue longer than the '7th of *May*, in 1660;' but whether they ever deſign'd to obſerve and make it good, it does not appear.

Their Proceedings againſt the King's Party.

Being now well aſſured of their Authority, they proceeded to order, 'That all ſuch Houſes and Lands of 'the late King, the Queen, the Prince, with the Biſhops, 'Deans and Chapters, that were then unſold, ſhou'd be 'forthwith expos'd to Sale; among which *Somerſet-Houſe*, without the Chapel, was actually ſold for ten thouſand Pounds. They alſo order'd, 'That ſuch Perſons on 'whom any Title of Honour had been conferr'd by the 'late King, ſhou'd pay thoſe Forfeitures for the ſame, as 'had been by their Acts and Ordinances in that Caſe pro'vided, and ſhou'd bring in the Patents.' They began now to remember how they had been us'd after they had been depos'd, the Reproaches and Contempt they underwent from all Sorts of People; but eſpecially the Scoffs and Deriſion they ſuffer'd from the King's Party, when they ſaw them reduc'd to the ſame Level in Power with themſelves. And tho' the Abuſes from others vex'd and provok'd them as much, yet they were willing to ſuſpend their Revenge againſt them, that they might the more freely exerciſe their Tyranny over the poor broken Cavaliers. Accordingly they made a preſent Order to baniſh all who had ever ſhewn any Affection to the King, or his Father, twenty Miles from *London*; and reviv'd all thoſe Orders they had formerly made, and which *Cromwell* had aboliſh'd or forborn to execute; by which many Perſons were committed to Priſon for Offences they thought had been quite forgotten. Theſe ſevere Proceedings were the Foundation of their Overthrow afterwards; and the Conſequence of them awakned thoſe of another Party, to Apprehenſions of what they might be made liable to. The Soldiers were very merry at old *Lenthall* their new General, and thought it neceſſary he ſhou'd march with them upon the next Enterprize; and the Officers thought they had deſerv'd more than a bare Act of Indemnity, for reſtoring ſuch People to ſuch a Sovereignty. In a Word, as theſe Rulers remember'd how they had been us'd, ſo all other People remember'd how they had us'd them; they cou'd not bring themſelves to ſhew Reverence to thoſe, whom they had derided and contemn'd for above ſix Years together.

Various Projects about Government.

4. Thus theſe Men reign'd with all outward Appearance of Succeſs for near three Months; yet the Inſtability of their Sovereignty daily appear'd in the various Opinions and Diviſions concerning a Form of Government to be ſettled in the Nation. The great Officers of the Army, as was formerly hinted, were for a ſelect *Standing Senate* to be join'd to the *Repreſentative* of the People; and this was thought to have been the Project of Sir *Henry Vane*. Others labour'd to have the Supream Authority to conſiſt of an *Aſſembly* choſen by the People, and a *Council of State* choſen by that Aſſembly to be veſted with the *Executive Power*, and accountable to that which ſhou'd next ſucceed, at which Time the Power of the ſaid *Council* ſhou'd determine. Some were deſirous to have a *Repreſentative* of the People conſtantly ſitting, but chang'd by a perpetual *Rotation*. Others propos'd that there might be join'd to the *Popular Aſſembly*, a ſelect Number of Men in the Nature of the *Lacedemonian Ephori*, who ſhou'd have a *Negative* in Things, in which the *Eſſentials* of the Government ſhou'd be concern'd, as the Excluſion of a ſingle Perſon, Liberty of Conſcience, Alteration of the Conſtitution, and other Things of the laſt Importance. Some were of Opinion, that it wou'd moſt conduce to the Publick Happineſs, to have two *Councils* choſen by the People, the One to conſiſt of about three hundred, and to have the Power only of debating and propoſing Laws; the Other to be in Number about a thouſand, and to have the Power finally to reſolve and determine; every Year a third

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Part of each *Council* to go out, and others to be choſen in their Places. In Order to bring about Something, ſome Members of the *Council of State* propos'd at the Board, 'That the Parliament ſhou'd be mov'd to appoint twenty 'of their own Number, and ten of the Principal Officers 'of the Army, to conſider of a Form of Government to 'be reported to the Parliament; and if they ſhou'd ap'prove it, that then the whole Army ſhou'd be drawn out, 'and declare their Conſent to it.' Which Propoſition, tho' it ſeem'd then to find a general Approbation, did, with all other fine Schemes and Projects, prove abortive.

A general Inſurrection deſigned.

For a new Spirit began to appear in the Nation againſt the preſent Parliament, rais'd not only by the Royaliſts, but by other Male-Contents among the *Presbyterians*, the *Secluded Members* of this Parliament, and the diſcarded *Protectorians*; all joyning, tho' not with equal Intentions or Inclinations, towards the King's Re-eſtabliſhment; to which they were the more encourag'd by the common Diſcourſe of the Soldiers, who declar'd, *That if there were any Commotion in the Kingdom, they wou'd go no farther to ſuppreſs it, than* Lenthall *ſhou'd lead them.* It ſoon appeared, that there were very few Counties in *England*, where there was not a form'd Undertaking by the moſt powerful Men there, to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome conſiderable Place; and all with the King's Privity and Commiſſion: So that this may be ſaid to be the true Dawning of the Reſtoration; which, tho' brought about after a more wonderful and different Manner, may be fairly traced from this Period of Time. The Surpriſal and Poſſeſſing of *Lynn*, a Town of great Importance in *Norfolk*, was undertaken by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, with the promiſing Intereſt and Aſſiſtance of Sir *Horatio Townſend*. The former had been too ſubſervient to the Parliament, and in great Credit with the *Presbyterians*, and ſo leſs liable to Suſpicion; the latter, a Perſon of worthy Principles and a noble Fortune, had been under Age long after the End of the War, and ſo liable to no Reproach or Jealouſy. The Surpriſal of *Gloceſter* was undertaken by the famous Governor of it in the late War, Major-General *Maſſey*; which wou'd have a particular Influence upon *Briſtol* and *Worceſter*. The Lord *Newport*, *Littleton*, and other Gentlemen of *Shropſhire*, were ready at the ſame Time to ſecure *Shrewsbury*; and for the perfecting that Communication, Sir *George Booth*, lately refus'd Entrance into the Parliament Houſe, one of the beſt Fortunes and Intereſt in *Cheſhire*, and of abſolute Power with the Presbyterians, promis'd to poſſeſs himſelf of the City and Caſtles of *Cheſter*. And Sir *Thomas Middleton*, who had likewiſe ſerv'd the Parliament, and was one of the greateſt Fortune and Intereſt in *North-Wales*, was ready to joyn with Sir *George Booth*; and both of them entirely to unite with the King's Party in theſe Counties. In the Weſt, *Arundel*, *Pollard*, *Trelawny*, *Greenvil*, and the reſt of the King's Friends in *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, hop'd to poſſeſs *Plymouth*, but were ſure of *Exeter*. There were alſo other Undertakings in the North, by Perſons ready to venture the greateſt Hazards; ſo that the Deſign againſt the preſent Government was almoſt Univerſal.

Maſſey's Eſcape.

But all theſe Deſigns were ſeverally defeated by the Activity of thoſe at *Weſtminſter* on one Side, and ſome notable Acidents on the other; and many Perſons of Honour and Quality were committed to ſeveral Priſons, throughout the Kingdom, before the appointed Day, which was the Firſt of *Auguſt*. The Day it ſelf was attended with extraordinary unuſual Weather at that Seaſon of the Year: For the Night before there had been exceſſive Rain, which continued all the next Day with ſuch a terrible cold high Wind, that the Winter had ſeldom felt ſo great a Storm: So that the ſeveral diſtant Perſons, who were drawing to their appointed Rendezvous, were much confounded and diſcourag'd, and met with many croſs Accidents: Some miſtook the Place, and went to ſome other Poſt; and others went where they ſhou'd be, but ſoon grew weary of expecting thoſe who ſhou'd have met them there. About the Beginning of the Night, when *Maſſey* was going for *Gloceſter*, a Troop of the Army beſet the Houſe where he was, and took him Priſoner; and putting him before one of the Troopers well guarded, they haſtned with him to a Place where he might be ſecure. But that tempeſtuous Night prov'd ſo fortunate to him, that when in the darkeſt Part of it the Troop march'd down a very ſteep Hill with Woods on both Sides, either by his Activity, or the Connivance of the Soldier who ſat behind him, he found Means, that in the ſteepeſt of the Deſcent, they both fell from the Horſe; and ſo diſintangling himſelf by his Strength and Agility, he got into the Woods, and made his Eſcape; which was the Fourth he had made during theſe Troubles. However his Deſign, as many others were, was broken before it cou'd come to any Maturity. And particularly the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and Sir *Horatio Townſhend*, and moſt of their Friends, were apprehended before the Day,

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Booth and Middleton *appear in Arms.*

and made Priſoners upon a general Suſpicion of ſome extraordinary Deſigns.

Of all the Enterprizes for ſeizing upon ſtrong Places, only one ſucceeded; which was that undertaken by Sir *George Booth*; who being a Perſon of the beſt Quality and Fortune of thoſe in that County, who had never been of the King's Party, came into *Cheſter*, with ſome ſelect Perſons the Night before: So that tho' the Tempeſtuouſneſs of the Night and the next Morning had the ſame Effect, as in other Places, to break or diſorder the Rendezvous appointed within four or five Miles of that City, yet Sir *George* being Himſelf there with a good Troop of Horſe he brought with him, and finding others, tho' leſs numerous than he expected, he retir'd with thoſe he had into *Cheſter*, where his Party was ſtrong enough: And Sir *Thomas Middleton*, having kept his Rendezvous, repaired to him, and brought ſufficient Strength with him to keep thoſe Parts at their Devotion, and ſuppreſs all preſent Oppoſers. This done, they immediately publiſh'd a Declaration againſt thoſe who call'd Themſelves *The Parliament*, and uſurp'd the Government by the Power of the Army, without any direct Owning of the King's Intereſt.

Their Declaration.

They profeſs'd, 'That ſince God had ſuffer'd the Spirit of 'Diviſion to continue in this Nation, which was left 'without any ſettled Foundation of *Religion*, *Liberty* and '*Property*, the *Legiſlative Power* uſurp'd at Pleaſure, the '*Army* rais'd for its Defence miſ-led by their ſuperior 'Officers, and no Face of *Government* remaining, that 'was lawfully conſtituted; Therefore, they being ſenſible 'of their Duty, and utter Ruin, if theſe Diſtractions 'ſhou'd continue, had taken Arms in Vindication of the '*Freedom of Parliaments*, of the known *Laws*, *Liberty* 'and *Property*, and of the good People of this Nation 'groaning under inſupportable Taxes: That they cannot 'deſpair of the Bleſſing of God, nor of the chearful Concurrence of all good People, and of the undeceiv'd 'Part of the Army; whoſe Arrears and future Advancement they wou'd procure, ſuffering no Impoſition or 'Force on any Man's Conſcience.' But tho' they mention'd nothing of the King in expreſs Terms, they gave all Countenance and Reception, and all imaginable Aſſurance to the Royal Party; who had Directions from his Majeſty to concur, and unite Themſelves to them. Whatever the Diſappointments were in other Places, the Fame of this Inſurrection rais'd the Spirits of all Men: They who were at Liberty renew'd their former Deſigns; and they who wanted Places of Refuge, prepar'd Themſelves to march to *Cheſter*, if Sir *George Booth* did not draw nearer with his Army; which he deſign'd to have done, had the ſeveral Appointments been obſerv'd. But when he heard of a general Failing, and of the great Numbers impriſon'd, upon whoſe Aſſiſtance he moſt depended, he was in great Apprehenſion that he had begun the Work too ſoon; and tho' his own Numbers daily encreas'd, he thought it beſt to keep to his preſent Poſt, till he knew what was like to be tranſacted in other Places.

The Parliament alarm'd.

5. The Rulers at *Weſtminſter* were exceedingly alarm'd, eſpecially ſince the Fire was kindled in a Place they leaſt ſuſpected, which they knew wou'd ſpread far, if not quickly extinguiſh'd. They found they had now too ſoon Occaſion for their Army, in which they had not full Confidence; and tho' *Lambert* was believ'd the moſt proper Perſon for this Province, yet there were many Officers they had rather truſt than He. While that Matter was under their Conſideration, ſome Perſons of the King's Party addreſs'd themſelves to the Wife of that Commander, endeavouring to induce her to perſuade her Husband to be the Inſtrument of the King's Return, with large Offers of whatſoever Terms he wou'd demand. She acquainted her Husband with their Propoſitions; but he having reſolv'd to play another Part, diſcover'd the whole Project to Sir *Henry Vane*; who having communicated it to Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, and knowing there had been ſome late Difference between *Lambert* and Him, he perſuaded them to renew their former Friendſhip, with Promiſes on each Side, to unite their Endeavours in the Service of the Parliament. By this Means principally it was, that *Lambert* was ſoon after appointed Commander in Chief againſt Sir *George Booth*, and the Gentlemen in *Cheſhire*; in which Affair he ſhew'd himſelf ſo Zealous, that he declar'd *He wou'd not leave a Cavalier to piſs againſt the Wall*, or Words to that Purpoſe.

They ſend Lambert *againſt* Booth.

They had formerly ſent for two Regiments out of *Ireland*, which they knew were devoted to the Republican Intereſt, being commanded by *Zankey* and *Axtell*; and thoſe they appointed *Lambert* to join with. Having got three Regiments of Horſe, one of Dragoons, and three of Foot, *Lambert* advanc'd without Delay; for he deſir'd to take nothing with him that might retard his March, which he reſolv'd ſhou'd be very ſwift, to prevent the Encreaſe of the Enemies Numbers.

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In the mean Time Sir *George Booth*, beſides *Cheſter*, all but the Caſtle, had ſecured *Warrington* and *Mancheſter*; and his Field-Army conſiſted of more than three thouſand Horſe and Foot, the Cavalry moſt Gentlemen and well provided, but the Infantry raw and unſkilful Peſons, newly come from the Plough, or other ordinary Labours. But, according to the natural Eagerneſs of the Nation for Battel, inſtead of retiring into *Cheſter*, where they might have made ſufficient Defence againſt *Lambert*, they march'd to meet him, and drew up in a Meadow near *Nortwich* Bridge, on which Sir *George* had plac'd a Guard to maintain it. When the two Armies were drawn up, with only a River to part them, Sir *George* ſent a Trumpet to *Lambert*, 'to acquaint him with the Reaſonableneſs and 'Juſtice of his Cauſe, and to deſire for the avoiding of 'Blood-ſhed, that ſome Perſons might be appointed in order to a Treaty.' To which *Lambert* return'd Anſwer, 'That the readieſt Way to avoid Blood-ſhed was, for them 'to lay down their Arms, and ſurrender *Cheſter*, and other Strengths; which if they refuſ'd to do, he was ſent 'to reduce them to their due Obedience, *which by the* '*Help of God he did not doubt to effect*.' According to this Reſolution, the next Morning he commanded a ſtrong Party of Foot to attack thoſe who kept the Bridge, which they did with great Courage: Nor was it for ſome Time leſs valiantly defended; but at length *Lambert*'s Soldiers beating the other from the Bridge, made Way for his whole Army to paſs over and charge *Booth's* Infantry, who were immediately forc'd to retreat, but with little Execution, by reaſon of the Incloſures, which gave them Liberty to make good their Retreat from one Hedge to another.

Lambert *gains the Day.*

The Horſe likewiſe being charg'd by *Lambert*'s Troops, at firſt made a gallant Reſiſtance, but being over-power'd were forc'd to truſt to their Fleetneſs; yet many of them, purſu'd by the Victors, were taken in their Way to *Warrington*, *Mancheſter* and *Cheſter*, the expected Places of Security. Thus the grand Body being diſpers'd, *Cheſter* and the other Places were ſoon ſurrender'd, and Sir *Thomas Middleton*'s noble Caſtle in North *Wales* demoliſh'd.

Booth *taken.*

Sir *George Booth* Himſelf eſcap'd out of the Field; but making his Flight towards *London*, in order to tranſport himſelf, he was taken in Woman's Apparel at *Newport-Pagnel*, and ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*.

Reflections upon the Defeat.

Various Reflections were made upon the ill Conduct and Succeſs of this generous Undertaking: Particularly 'That the concern'd Parties had omitted many Opportunities of ruining their Enemies: That Colonel *Zanchy*, 'landing in *Angleſey* from *Ireland*, might have been met 'and engag'd with all Probability of Succeſs, before he 'could have join'd with *Lambert*, they being lodg'd between Him and Them; that Colonel *Lilburn*, who 'was raiſing Men in *Yorkſhire*, might eaſily have been 'broken by any ſmall Force from *Lancaſhire*, and hinder'd 'in his Levies; that many other little Parties, which in 'ſmall Numbers came from ſeveral Counties, might have 'been met and diſpers'd, before they united; and that one 'Blow given to any one of them, wou'd have added ſo 'much to their Reputation, as might have brought effectual Acceſſions to their Party.' But whatever were the Failings, this Defeat ſeem'd fatal to the Royaliſts, and many Others, and at once to have deſtroy'd all their Hopes. Yet this ſeeming Ruin of their Cauſe prov'd a mighty Step towards the Reſtoration of it, after a more unexpected and Bloodleſs Manner: So widely different are the wiſeſt Projects of Men, and the ordinary Productions of Providence.

Severities againſt the Vanquiſh'd.

The Victors in the mean Time proceeded like abſolute Conquerors, and fill'd all the Priſons in *England*; while the Parliament conſulted what Perſons they wou'd execute, and how they ſhould confiſcate the reſt; by which Means they doubted not but to deſtroy all Seeds of future Inſurrections in Favour of the King, many of the Nobility being at preſent in Cuſtody: And they reſolv'd, if other Evidence was wanting, Suſpicion ſhou'd be a ſufficient Cauſe to continue them Priſoners. They thought of tranſporting of many Loyal Families into the *Barbadoes* and *Jamaica*; and tho' many others were concern'd, they laid the late Inſurrection wholly to the Charge of the Royal Party. Their Miniſters and Preachers were taught to cry out in the Pulpits after this Manner, at the firſt Appearance of Danger: 'The Lord ſtir up the Hearts of his People, 'and fill them with Unanimity and Courage at this Evil 'Time, againſt the Common Enemy *Charles Stuart*, and 'that deſperate Crew of ravenous and unreaſonable Men; 'who, ſhou'd they get in, to ſatisfy the Rabble of his 'Followers wou'd enſlave You, and with your Goods 'maintain Foreigners, and the Pomp and Pride of a luxurious Court, and an abſolute Tyranny.' And after the Defeat of Sir *George Booth*, a good Number of theſe Clergy came perſonally out of *Leiceſterſhire*, and preſented to the Parliament a Paper intitled, *The humble Repreſentation of* *of divers well-affected Miniſters of the Goſpel*, &c. In which after many other Things, they declar'd, 'That their Souls had not enter'd into the Secret of the late Inſurrectors; but that they profeſs'd an utter Deteſtation thereof; and that, the Lord helping them, they wou'd not ceaſe crying mightily to him, that he wou'd ſtill pour out upon the *Parliament* a Spirit of Wiſdom, and of the Fear of the Lord, to carry them on in their Work, againſt all Diſcouragements and Oppoſitions whatſoever.' Being brought into the Houſe, and one of them in a Speech to the Speaker declaring, 'That being all Miniſters of the Goſpel, and faithful Servants to the *Parliament*, ſome of them had march'd along with their Forces to ſuppreſs the late Rebellion,' they were graciouſly diſmiſs'd with the particular Thanks of the Houſe. This Repreſentation was ſubſcribed by thirty eight Miniſters of the County of *Leiceſter*, of which twenty four loſt their Benefices in the Year 1662.

An Oath of Abjuration.

Being well ſecured in their Places, the Members appointed a Committee to prepare Something in Order to the Settling of a Government: for the better Support of which they eſtabliſh'd the laying a Tax of one hundred Thouſand Pounds a Month, beſides Exciſe and Cuſtoms, and the ſequeſter'd Eſtates of new Delinquents; which laſt wou'd have amounted to immenſe Sums of Mony. But for a full and final Blow and Security, they appointed a formal Oath for Abjuring the King's Title, in theſe particular Words: '*I. A. B. do hereby declare, that I renounce the pretended Title of* CHARLES STUART, *and the whole Line of the late King* JAMES; *and of every other Perſon, as a ſingle Perſon, pretending to the Government of theſe Nations of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging. And that I will, by the Grace and Aſſiſtance of Almighty God, be true, faithful and conſtant to the* COMMON-WEALTH, *againſt any* King, ſingle Perſon, *and* Houſe of Peers, *and every of Them: And hereunto I ſubſcribe my Name.*' This Oath, tho' taken by many, was avoided by Mr. *Lenthall* the Speaker, who abſented Himſelf from the Houſe about Ten Days, under the Pretence of the Gout; having been diſcourag'd by the Warnings of the noted Propheteſs, or Fortune-teller of this Time, Mrs. *Katharine Johnſon*; who, as Dr. *Price* tells us, aſſur'd him, *That he ſhou'd certainly be forgiven for whatever elſe he had done againſt the King.*

Lambert's Ambitious Deſigns.

6. The Parliament had been Victors but for a ſhort Time, before they were perplex'd by the ambitious Motions of their chief Commander *Lambert*. For his late Service they had ſent him a Thouſand Pounds to buy him a Jewel; which he more advantageouſly employ'd by beſtowing it among the Officers, who might well deſerve it of him. This particular Bounty was ſoon known to the firſt Donors; who as ſoon concluded, that he deſign'd to make a Party in the Army, that ſhou'd more depend upon his than their Commands. And this reminded them of his former Behaviour; and how that by his Advice they had firſt been diſſolv'd, and that he had help'd *Cromwell* to the Protectorſhip, upon a Promiſe of being made his Succeſſor; and that he had deſerted him only becauſe he was diſappointed of that Expectation. They therefore courteouſly invited him to *London*; but reſolv'd to ſecure him from doing further Harm, as ſoon as he ſhou'd come to the Town. *Lambert* inſtead of haſtning to his Maſters, found ſeveral Delays in his March, under Pretence of ſeiſing upon the Perſons of Delinquents. He was well inform'd of their Inclinations towards him, and that they intended to make a Peace with all Foreigners, and then to leſſen their Army, and model it to their own Devotion. He foreſaw his own Fate in this Model, and that his good Services wou'd be forgotten, while the contrary wou'd be remember'd; therefore he contriv'd a formal Petition to be drawn up, which at *Derby* was ſign'd by the inferior Officers of his Army; being intitled, *The humble Petition and Propoſals of the Army, under the Command of the Lord* Lambert, *in the late Northern Expedition.* It was directed *To the Supream Authority of theſe Nations, the Parliament of the Common-wealth of* England; in which they made a large Recapitulation of 'the many Services they had done, which they thought were forgotten; and that now lately they had preſerv'd them from an Enemy, which, if permitted to encreaſe, wou'd ſhortly have over-run the Kingdom, and engag'd the Nation in a new bloody War; to which too many Men were ſtill inclin'd: Therefore they deſired, that they might be govern'd, as all other Armies us'd to be, by a General, who might be amongſt them, and other Officers ſubordinate to him; and particularly that they wou'd commit the Army to *Fleetwood* as General, and appoint *Lambert* to be Major-General.' *Fleetwood* was a weak Man, but very popular with all the Praying Part of the Army, and one whom the Parliament wou'd have truſted, if they had not reſolv'd to have no General; and *Lambert* well knew he cou'd govern him, as *Cromwell* had done *Fairfax*, and then in the ſame Manner, lay him aſide.

The Petition of the Army.

The Parliament's Vote upon it.

This Paper was ſent up to *London* to Colonel *Aſhfield*, Colonel *Cobbet*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Duckenfield*, to be by them preſented to *Fleetwood*, and by him to the Parliament. In order to this, *Fleetwood* firſt communicated it to Sir *Henry Vane* and Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*; and *Vane* ſeem'd to approve of it, but *Haſlerigg* immediately acquainted the Members 'of a dangerous Deſign in the Army againſt them, and that that Paper tended to the Subverſion of their Power.' Whereupon they immediately ſent to *Fleetwood* for the Paper, who return'd Anſwer, That he had only a Copy, the Original being in *Cobbet*'s Hands: Nor cou'd *Cobbet*, who was ſent for, be found at that Time; but the Houſe, to foreſtal and exclude any Addreſs in that Kind, immediately voted, 'That to have any more General Officers in the Army, than were already ſettled by Parliament, was *Needleſs*, *Chargeable*, and *Dangerous* to the Common-wealth.' This threw the whole Army into that Diſtemper that *Lambert* deſired; and here began the firſt Strugglings between the Military and pretended Civil Power, which afterwards ſo happily ſhatter'd both in Pieces. But the Army Officers, having not fully ripen'd their main Deſign, thought fit to diſſemble a while, and ſo repreſented to the Parliament, 'That they wou'd adhere to their Authority, in Oppoſition to the common Enemy; and that they wou'd not fail to ſtand by Them, in the Settlement of the Common-wealth, againſt all Diſturbances whatſoever.' Which fair Expreſſions did lull them into ſuch a ſeeming Security, while the City feaſted both Them and the Officers at a Thankſgiving Dinner, that being void of Fear, they fell again upon ſequeſtering ſuch new Delinquents as had appear'd in Sir *George Booth*'s Riſing; and neglected no Means for the gaining the Wealth of the Nation into their own Hands.

But the Deſign of the Army being ſhortly after ripen'd, the Officers, who for a while had plauſibly cover'd their Intentions, began again to appear in their proper Colours; and in a Repreſentation to the Houſe deſired, 'That whatſoever Perſons ſhou'd for the future groundleſsly inform the Parliament againſt them, creating Jealouſies, and caſting ſcandalous Imputations upon them, may be brought to Examination, Juſtice, and condign Puniſhment.' The Members gravely let them know, 'That it was the Duty of Petitioners to ſubmit their Deſires to the Parliament, and acquieſce in the Judgment thereof:' But finding little Hopes of compounding this Diſpute amicably, and that one Side muſt be cruſh'd; firſt, that they might the more inſenſibly diminiſh their Power, they paſs'd an Act, 'That all Orders, Ordinances, Acts made by any *ſingle Perſon*, &c. or by any *Aſſembly* or *Conventions*, pretending to have the Authority of *Parliament*, from and after the 19th Day of *April* 1653, and before the 7th of *May* 1659, and which had not been, or ſhou'd not be, allow'd and confirm'd by this preſent PARLIAMENT; ſhou'd be deemed and taken to be of no Force and Effect, from and after the ſaid 7th Day of *May*.' Next, to take away all Hope of Subſiſtance from them, if they ſhou'd fail in their Duty, they enacted, 'That no Perſon ſhou'd after the 11th of *October* 1659, Aſſeſs, Levy, Collect, or Receive any Cuſtom, Import, Exciſe, Tax, *&c.* whatſoever, upon the People of this Common-wealth, without their Conſent in Parliament: And that every Perſon offending contrary to that Act, ſhou'd ſuffer the Forfeitures and Puniſhment of High-Treaſon.' Having thus cut off the Maintenance of the Army, they ventur'd to take away the Commiſſions of Nine of the Leading Officers, namely, *Lambert* Himſelf, *Deſborough*, *Berry*, *Kelſey*, *Aſhfield*, *Cobbet*, *Creed*, *Parker* and *Barrow*, and conferr'd their Regiments and Commands upon other Perſons, in whom they cou'd confide. Then they order'd, 'That the Army ſhou'd be govern'd by ſeven Commiſſioners, *viz.* Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, General *Monk*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Colonel *Walton*, Colonel *Morley*, and Colonel *Overton*, or any three or more of them;' who were to give Notice to *Lambert* and the reſt, that they were each of them diſcharg'd of their reſpective Military Employments.

They turn out Lambert and other Officers.

This, tho' manag'd with the utmoſt Caution, brought all to a Criſis; and the unſkilful Part of it was much charged upon the ſour and moroſe Temper of *Haſlerigg*, who, together with *Vane*, govern'd this little Part of a Parliament. The Army was too far ingag'd to retire; and judg'd themſelves to be the true Supporters of the others ſeeming Authority. The Nine caſhier'd Officers were reſolv'd not to part with their Commands, nor would the Soldiers ſubmit to their new Officers; and both having given out, *That they found it neceſſary to diſſolve the Parliament, for the Good of the Nation*, they agreed to meet at *Weſtminſter* the next Morning, being the 13th of *October*, to determine Theirs or their Oppoſers Fate. All which being known

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Lambert, &c. diſlodge Them.

to the Parliament, they ſent their Orders to thoſe Regiments they rely'd on, to be at the ſame Time at *Weſtminſter* to defend them from Force; and likewiſe ſent into the City to draw down their Militia. *Moſs*'s and *Morley*'s Regiment, with about four Troops of Horſe belonging to *Okey*, obey'd their Commands, and appear'd in Arms in the *Palace-yard*; but *Lambert*, having gather'd together the reſt of the Army, ſtopp'd up all Paſſages, ſo that no more Relief cou'd come to them, which they expected from the City. Both Parties coming near each other, all Men were in a terrible Expectation of the Event; but they rather choſe to make uſe of Words than Blows. *Lambert* advancing near the Party commanded by Colonel *Moſs*, demanded of them *If they wou'd ſuffer Nine of their old Officers, who had ſo often ſpent their Blood for them, and with them, to be diſgrac'd and ruin'd with their Families*? This ſort of Oratory ſoon began to prevail; and when the Speaker with his Life Guard was coming by *Whitehall*, *Lambert* rode up to the Coach, and told Him, *There was nothing to be done at* Weſtminſter, and adviſ'd him *to return back again to his Houſe*. The Speaker told the Soldiers, *He was their General, and expected their Obedience*, and ſo preſs'd forwards with his Guard: Upon which *Lambert* rode to the Captain Himſelf, and pull'd him off his Horſe, and ordered Major *Creed*, who had formerly commanded that Troop, to mount into the Saddle. Which being done, he bid *Creed* conduct Mr. *Lenthall* to his Houſe, which was preſently done with the Obedience of all the Troop. Immediately after *Lambert* ſent to thoſe Parliamentarians in the *Palace-Yard*, *to retire to their Quarters*: At whoſe Refuſal he only ſmil'd, and bid them *ſtay there*; which they did till towards the Evening: But then finding themſelves laugh'd at, as having no Parliament to guard, they were content to repair to their Quarters. But their Officers were caſhier'd, and ſuch ſent to command as *Lambert* thought fit, who found all Submiſſion and Obedience from the Soldiers, tho' no Man yet knew who had Power to command them. Thus a ſecond Time was turn'd out that Part of the Long Parliament, which had been now more generally and juſtly than formerly call'd the RUMP; after a new Reign of only five Months, and ſix Days.

An Inter-Regnum *of thirteen Days.*

III. 1. Upon the Excluſion of that call'd the Parliament, which was the Overthrow of the viſible Government, there was again a kind of an *Inter-Regnum*, or Anarchy, for about thirteen Days; when all Mens Minds were fill'd with Amazement, and eager Expectation of what wou'd ſucceed. In the Army, that had effected this great Change, there was not any Officer who by his Commiſſion was above the Degree of a Colonel, nor had any of them Power to command more than his own Regiment. Wherefore, to avoid Confuſion, the Officers immediately met together, and declar'd, 'That the Army finding it ſelf 'without a General, or other General Officers, had Them'ſelves made Choice of *Fleetwood* to be their General, of '*Lambert* to be their Major-General, and of *Desborough* 'to be Commiſſary-General of the Horſe; and that they 'bound themſelves to obey Them in their ſeveral Capaci'ties, and to adhere to, and defend Them.' Upon the publiſhing this Declaration, they aſſum'd their ſeveral Stations and Provinces: The whole Army took Commiſſions from their new General, and were as much united, as if they were under *Oliver Cromwell*; and look'd upon it as a ſignal Deliverance, that they ſhou'd be no longer ſubject to the Parliament, which they heartily deteſted.

But theſe new Governors were not at Eaſe; and they well knew upon what ſlippery Ground they ſtood: The Parliament had ſtopp'd all the Channels of the Publick Revenue, and put an End to all the Payments of Cuſtom and Exciſe; and to revive theſe Impoſitions, by which the Army might receive their Subſiſtance, required more a Civil than a Military Authority. The Diviſions in Parliament, and particularly between *Vane* and *Haſlerigg*, had made the laſt Outrage leſs reproachful and more popular. *Vane*, who was much the wiſeſt Man, found he cou'd never make that Aſſembly ſettle ſuch a Government as he deſired, either in Church or State; and *Haſlerigg*, who was of a moroſe Nature, and of a weak Underſtanding, only concurr'd with him in thoſe fierce Counſels, which might more irrecoverably diſinherit the King, and eradicate his Party: In all other Particulars, whether Temporal or Eccleſiaſtical, they were not only of different Judgments, but of great Animoſity againſt each other. The Latter's Credit in the Houſe was, at this Time, ſuperior to the Other's; which made *Vane* leſs concern'd at the Violence that was us'd, and to appear willing enough to confer and joyn with thoſe who wou'd find any other Hinge upon which the Government might move: So he ſoon enter'd into Converſation with thoſe of the Army, who were moſt like to have Authority. A Model of ſuch a Government as might produce the full Submiſſion of the People, wou'd require very much Agitation, and very long Time, which the preſent Conjuncture wou'd not permit; nor was there ſufficient Unanimity to give ſuch Authority to their Counſels. In this they agreed, as an Expedient towards more ripe Reſolutions, to form out a kind of ſpurious Oligarchy, conſiſting of a ſelect Number of Men, who under the Denomination of a A COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, ſhou'd aſſume the preſent entire Government of the Nation: The Number amounted to Twenty Three; which, tho' fill'd up with Men of almoſt all Parties, except Royaliſts, yet was ſo craftily compos'd, that the Ballance was ſufficiently ſecured to thoſe of the Army Faction. The Names of them were General *Fleetwood*, Major-General *Lambert*, Commiſſary-General *Desborough*, Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, Commiſſioner *Whitelock*, Serjeant *Steel*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Colonel *Sydenham*, Major *Saloway*, Mr. *Strickland*, Colonel *Berry*, Mr. *Laurence*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Archibald Johnſton*, Lord-Mayor *Ireton*, Alderman *Tichburne*, Colonel *Hewſon*, Colonel *Clarke*, Colonel *Bennet*, Colonel *Lilburn*, Mr. *Holland*, Mr. *Brandreth*, and Mr. *Thompſon*.

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The Army erect A COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

Thus having choſen each other, they gave themſelves Authority 'to call Delinquents to an Account, to ſuppreſs 'all Inſurrections, to treat with Foreign States and Prin'ces, to raiſe the Militia in the ſeveral Counties, to diſ'poſe of all Places of Truſt, to do any Thing elſe which 'ſhou'd be judg'd for the Peace and Safety of the King'dom; and likewiſe to conſider and determine what Form 'of Government was fit to be erected, to which the Nati'on was to ſubmit.' They believ'd that the People would be perſuaded, with the Aſſiſtance of the Army, to pay a temporary Obedience to this ſtrange and new invented Government, in hope of another Settlement ſpeedily to enſue. To make Way for which Obedience, theſe extraordinary Governors publiſh'd a Declaration to acquaint the World, 'That it was upon their Hearts to ſettle a due Liberty up'on the Free-born People of theſe Nations, to make a 'thorough Reformation of the *Law*, and to eſtabliſh a 'Painful, Godly, Faithful, Goſpel-Preaching *Miniſtry*, 'and to provide them a Maintenance leſs troubleſome to 'them, and leſs vexatious to the People, than that of '*Tythes*; and to prepare ſuch a Form of *Government*, as 'ſhou'd beſt ſuit with a Free State and Common-wealth, 'without a *Single Perſon*, *Kingſhip*, or *Houſe of Lords*. 'They doubted not, but ſuch as ſaw the many Temptati'ons beſetting them on every Side, and the great Difficul'ties they labour'd under, and knew not what farther 'Streights a Day might bring forth, wou'd ſay on their 'Behalfs, *Who is ſufficient for theſe Things*? And out of 'former Experiences being taught, that *the Lord who is a* '*preſent Help in Time of Trouble*, will cry aloud for them 'before the Throne of Grace, that the Lord Himſelf may 'appear, and carry on his *own Work* in their Hands: And 'if it ſhall pleaſe Him, by his Spirit, to ſtir up thoſe that 'fear his Name, to be inſtant in their Behalf, *they ſhall not* '*fear what Evil Man can do unto them*.

Their Declaration.

The great Imperfections of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and the daily Expectations of a better, began more and more to exerciſe the Wits and Inventions of the chief Government-Makers and Menders about the Town. Great Variety of Schemes were fram'd and vented, which, after a ſhort Appearance, expir'd; and ſometimes they were for a *Senate*, and other times for *Conſervators of Liberty*. But that which ſeem'd to take moſt at this Time was the *Oceana* of Mr. *Harrington*, which by ſome was extoll'd, as if it were the *Pattern in the Mount*. That Gentleman, with Mr. *Henry Nevill*, and ſome other Perſons of ingenious and mercurial Heads, had form'd a Society to invent and ſettle a Common-wealth in the greateſt Perfection, in which they had many fine and curious Diſcourſes about Government; ſo that the Arguments in the Parliament-Houſe were thought flat and inſipid in compariſon of theirs. The Ballotting-box from *Venice* was introduc'd amongſt them, and the Project call'd The *Rota* was moſt of all approv'd on and recommended among the Parliament Men. The Model of it was, 'That the third Part of the Senate or Houſe 'ſhou'd Rote out by Ballot every Year, ſo that every ninth 'Year the ſaid Senate wou'd be wholly alter'd: No Magi'ſtrate was to continue above three Years, and all to be 'choſen by Ballot;' than which Choice nothing ſeem'd more fair and impartial, tho' at the ſame time it was much oppos'd by many of the Parliament Members, who found it too much againſt their preſent Power to afford it an Admittance. This and many other Projects were examined and debated by the refined Politicians of the Time, who were never able to reduce any thing to Practice; and they ſeem'd to have thought of every thing but the right, the Reſtoration of the Royal Family, which Heaven had reſerv'd as the peculiar Work of its own Hands; of which ſome Dawnings began now to appear.

New Schemes of Government.

General Monk declares for the Parliament.

2. The new Governors at *Wallingford*-Houſe, under the Name of *A Committee of Safety*, had but imperfectly fix'd themſelves in their Seats, when they receiv'd a providential Check and Rebuke from General *Monk* in *Scotland*, in Letters to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, which came to their Hands on the 29th of *October:* In which he upbraided them 'with the Violation of their Faith to the 'Parliament, from whom they had all their Power and 'Authority; and declar'd his Reſolution to reſtore the 'Parliament to a Freedom of Sitting and Acting, againſt 'all Oppoſition.' And this naturally brings us to a particular Account of the Progreſs and Character of this great Man, who was ſo ſignally inſtrumental in the ſucceeding Reſtoration. The World is divided in their Opinion concerning the Counſels and Steps of this famous Reſtorer of the *Engliſh* Monarchy; and it is hard to know preciſely how and when he was brought over to the King's Intereſt. Some will have it, that he never thought of reſtoring the King, till he deſpair'd of being made Protector; and others with as much Reaſon affirm that his loyal Reſolutions were of a much longer Date: But ſtill there are a ſort of Men in the World, who, when there are two equal Reaſons to judge well or ill of a Perſon, never heſitate, but immediately conclude the latter. But after all, we have the greateſt Reaſons to believe, that his Intentions to ſettle the general Quiet of the Land were very early, and that he all along fram'd his Deſigns ſuitable to the Opportunities that were given him. But to proceed to a more particular Account of him.

An Account of his Family and Actions.

George Monk was ſecond Son to Sir *Thomas Monk* of *Potheridge* in the County of *Devon*, and of a Family very loyally affected, and anciently deſcended: For his Anceſtors were deriv'd from *Arthur Plantagenet*, natural Son to King *Edward* the Fourth, who marry'd the Heireſs of *John* Viſcount *Liſle*. Being a younger Brother, and of a natural and intrepid Courage, he made the Sword his Profeſſion, as ſoon as he was ever able to weild it. At Seventeen he was in the Expedition againſt *Cadiz*, and ſoon after in the Deſcent on the Iſle of *Rhee*, being an Enſign under the brave Sir *John Burroughs*. *England* being at Peace, he enter'd upon that Stage where ſome of all *Europe* then acted, between the *Spaniard* and the *Dutch*; and gain'd the Reputation of an excellent Foot Officer in the Lord *Vere*'s Regiment in *Holland*, at the Time when he aſſign'd it to the Command of Colonel *Goring*. Returning home, he ſerv'd in both the Expeditions againſt the *Scots*, after that againſt the *Iriſh*, and then againſt the *Engliſh* Parliamentarians, by whom he was taken, and kept Priſoner for three Years. Being ſet at Liberty, he fell in with the Friendſhip and Intereſt of *Cromwell*, and was very inſtrumental in the reducing both of *Ireland* and *Scotland*. After which he highly ſignaliz'd his Courage in three bloody Sea-Fights againſt the *Dutch*, as is formerly remember'd; and ſo return'd to his old main Poſt in *Scotland*, which Country he had ſufficiently humbled, and reduc'd to a Degree of Subjection before unknown to that People. Here he continu'd unmoleſted, and in full Command under the Protector *Oliver*; tho' he was generally look'd upon as a Man more inclined to the King, than any other in great Authority. And *Cromwell*, in a Letter to him written with his own Hand, not long before his Death, us'd this drolling Expreſſion; *'Tis ſaid there is a cunning Fellow in* Scotland *call'd* George Monk, *who lies in wait to ſerve* Charles Stuart; *pray uſe your Diligence to take him, and ſend him up to me.* After his Death he own'd his Son *Richard*'s Authority, and likewiſe comply'd with the Government of the Remainder of the Long Parliament; yet ſtill liv'd and acted more like a Governor himſelf, and after a more independent Manner than he did formerly. His Rule and Authority was carry'd on with ſuch a quiet and ſteddy Hand, that he met with more Submiſſion and Affection from the *Scots*, than cou'd be expected by one who was little leſs than a Conqueror. He us'd to expreſs a great Concern for the Unhappineſs of the late King, and wou'd ſay, *That he had Armies of brave Men, but they were too great to be commanded; and fewer Men, under better Diſcipline, wou'd have done his Buſineſs: But,* he ſaid, *he cou'd never forget or forgive his not fighting the* Scots *when they firſt invaded* England *in* 1638; *and he imputed all the ſucceeding Bloodſhed to the fooliſh ſparing of it then; and that the* Scots *deſervedly ſuffer'd what they did.*

His Character.

But to come nearer to the Character of this Commander. He was a Man of a reſerved Nature, of deep Thoughts, and of few Words; and what he wanted in fine Elocution, he had in ſound Judgment; and he had a natural Secrecy in him, prevalent upon all his Qualifications of a Soldier, which made him ſo fit an Inſtrument in the Hand of Divine Providence to bring about the great Work of the Reſtoration. He was now a little above fifty Years of Age; having the Happineſs of a ſtrong Body, a Mind not eaſily diſorder'd, an invincible Courage, and a ſedate and uniform Contempt of Death. To reſerve him for this laſt Work, Heaven had given him a thouſand great and eminent Deliverances; there was ſcarce any Man living, who had been more often, or more dangerouſly ingaged, yet he never met in all his Life with any conſiderable Hurt or Wound, as he has often ſaid to a reverend Prelate. Tho' he had no Fumes of Fanaticiſm or Superſtition to turn his Head, yet he ſeem'd to hearken to, and receive Incouragement from the Predictions of Dr. *Laybourn*, Mrs. *Johnſon*, and others; but more particularly the Earl of *Nitzdale*, who in the Month of *October* came to him, and told him expreſly, *That the King wou'd be reſtored, and that within ſome few Months; that he ſhou'd be a principal Inſtrument towards the effecting of it; and that not ſo much as the Blood of a cut Finger ſhou'd be ſpilt in the Action.* Whatever were his firſt Intentions, it was the King's greateſt Happineſs, that he never own'd his Purpoſe to ſerve him, 'till it fell to be in his Power; and if he had declar'd ſooner, he muſt have been deſtroy'd himſelf; the whole Machine being ſo much above the Strength of any Mortal. Therefore, as the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, it is Glory enough to his Memory, that he was God's Inſtrument in bringing thoſe mighty things to paſs, which no Man living of himſelf had either Wiſdom enough to foreſee, or Underſtanding to contrive, or Courage to attempt and execute.

Application made to him by his Brother.

The firſt Application made to him by the King's Party, was not long after the End of the Reign of *Richard Cromwell*. He had a younger Brother, Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, a reverend Divine of continual Loyalty, who was Miniſter of the rich Parſonage of *Kelkhampton* in *Cornwall*, which had been given him by his Kinſman, that brave Gentleman, Sir *John Greenvile*, Son to the no leſs famous Sir *Bevil Greenvile*, who loſt his Life in the Battel of *Lanſdown*. Sir *John* and Sir *Hugh Pollard*, who had both particular Friendſhip for the General, thought fit to adviſe with this Brother, 'That now the Power of *Cromwell*'s 'Family was at an End, and that ſome great Revolution 'might follow, by which the King's Intereſt wou'd be a'gain diſputed; Whether he did not believe, That the Ge'neral might be wrought upon, in a fit Conjuncture, to 'ſerve the King, in which they thought he wou'd be ſure 'to meet with an univerſal Concurrence from the whole '*Scottiſh* Nation.' The loyal Clergyman thought the Overture ſo reaſonable, tho' attended with the greateſt Difficulties, that he offer'd himſelf to make a Journey to his Brother in *Scotland*, under Pretence of bringing back a Daughter of his from thence in order to a good Marriage. *Greenvile* and *Pollard* inform'd the King of this Deſign, having good Hopes of Succeſs, and deſir'd his Majeſty's Approbation and Inſtructions. The King readily embrac'd it, and ſent ſuch Directions as he thought moſt proper for ſuch a Negotiation. Whereupon Mr. *Monk* firſt repaired to *London* to conſult with Dr. *Thomas Clarges* a Phyſician, whoſe Siſter was own'd by the General as his Wife, tho' her Husband was then alive, but unknown to the World. Here he took his Inſtructions from the Doctor, how to manage his Negotiation with the greateſt Secrecy and Caution, and to communicate his Deſigns to none except to Dr. *Thomas Barrow*, Phyſician, and Mr. *John Price*, Chaplain to the General himſelf. Being arriv'd at *Dalkeith*, the Reſidence of the General, by the Aſſiſtance of theſe two, he made a due Advantage of the Report of Sir *George Booth*'s Riſing; and by Degrees brought his Brother to a Reſolution of marching into *England*, in purſuance of that Gentleman's Declaration for a free Parliament. But when all things were juſt ready, he receiv'd Intelligence of Sir *George*'s Defeat from his Agent Dr. *Clarges*; at which he was ſo much affected and concern'd, that he ſent a Letter to *Lenthall* the Speaker, to be communicated to the Parliament, deſiring to be diſmiſs'd from his Command, pretending 'he was infirm in Health, and had long 'continu'd in that remote Country; but now, ſince all 'Inſurrections were appeas'd that threatned Diſturbance 'to the Peace of the Nation, he hop'd he might be per'mitted to return into his own Country, and to end his 'Days in Quiet.' This Letter, whether a Reality or an Artifice, is ſaid to have been deliver'd by *Clarges* to the Speaker, under an Obligation to ſuppreſs the reading of it for ten Days; before which time expired, the Parliament was turn'd out of Doors, and their Power at an End.

His Preparations againſt the Committee of Safety.

This Excluſion gave him a fair Occaſion to exert himſelf, and to declare himſelf openly; but ſtill moſt agreeable to the preſent Juncture of Affairs: For he plauſibly ſtood up 'for the Privileges of Parliaments, and for that 'regular and neceſſary way of bringing the Military Power 'in Subjection to the Civil Authority.' Accordingly he wrote the forementioned Letter to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*; and ſo proceeded to take the beſt Care of all his Forces in that Kingdom, and with all Diligence to get

Poſſeſſion of *Berwick*, which he immediately effected. And now he diſplay'd both his Activity and Judgment; he gradually drew together the diſtant Parts of his Army, and with the utmoſt Vigour proceeded to a thorough Reformation of his Troops, from whence he diſmiſs'd all Fanatick Officers, and ſuch who wou'd not be ſatisfy'd with his Engagement againſt the Army in *England*: Some he impriſon'd, and others he ſent into *England*, under the Penalty of Death, if they were ever after found in *Scotland*; in all which Proceeding he met with innumerable Difficulties, occaſion'd by the Oppoſition of ſome, and the Deſertion of others. But having gain'd the greateſt Points, he drew out his Forces at *Edinburgh*, and gave them an Account 'of his Reſolutions to adhere to the Civil 'Power, and making the Military ſubordinate to it; and 'that he wou'd oppoſe the *Engliſh* Army in their mad 'Counſels and their Fanatick Courſes;' all which was entertain'd with great Joy by the Soldiers, who ſaid *They wou'd live and dye with him!* and with no leſs Satisfaction by the *Scotch* Nation, who were in Hopes that this might be a Means to break their Yoke, and leave them at Liberty. At the ſame Time the General writ to all Parts to gain Followers, to *London*, to *Ireland*, and the Fleet; and did every thing proper for ſo great an Enterprize. Thus as the firſt Storms againſt *England* aroſe from *Scotland*, ſo the firſt Sunſhine began to appear in that Country.

Their Proviſions againſt him.

3. Theſe firſt Steps in *Scotland* caus'd a general Conſternation among thoſe Governors who call'd themſelves The *Committee of Safety*, and gave ſome Hopes of Reſtoration to the Remainders of the Long Parliament. However the former at preſent thought themſelves much ſuperior in Power; and therefore reſolv'd to ſend *Lambert*, their chief Hero, with almoſt all their Forces into the North to fight General *Monk*, or at leaſt to ſtop his March if he ſhou'd attempt to enter into *England*. But while Preparations were making, more cunning and gentle Methods were thought on: Colonel *Cobbet* was firſt ſent to induce the General to a Compliance, or rather with a Deſign to corrupt his Officers, and more than that, to ſeize his Perſon, and to ſend him to *London* by a Ship then lying in *Leith* Road: But this, or Part of it, being diſcover'd by the Vigilance of *Monk*, *Cobbet* was ſeiz'd himſelf, and ſent Priſoner to *Edinburgh* Caſtle. Next they ſent two ſuch Perſons to the General as they thought might be grateful to him, who were Dr. *Clarges* and Colonel *Talbot*; and after them Commiſſary-General *Whaley* and Colonel *Gough*, together with Mr. *Caryll* and Mr. *Barker*, two independent Preachers, who all perſuaded him to an Accommodation. They were received with all imaginable Civility and Courteſy from the General, who made great Profeſſions, 'That 'he deſired nothing more, than to unite himſelf and his 'Army with that of *England*, provided there might be a 'lawful Power, to which they might all be ſubject: But 'that the Force that had been us'd upon the Parliament, 'was an Action of ſuch a Nature, that was deſtructive to 'all Government, and that it wou'd be abſolutely neceſ'ſary to reſtore that to its Freedom, Rights, and Privi'leges; which being done, he wou'd uſe all the Intereſt 'he had to procure an Act of Pardon and Oblivion for 'all that had been done amiſs; all which wou'd unite 'both Parliament and Army for the Publick Safety, which 'was apparently threatned and ſhaken by this Diſunion.' After which, to ſhew how much he deſired Peace and Union, he declar'd that he wou'd appoint three Officers of his Army, Colonel *Wilks*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Cloberry*, and Major *Knight*, to go to *London*, and treat with the *Committee of Safety*, of all Particulars neceſſary to that Purpoſe. All this he did to gain as much Time as he could, to prepare himſelf againſt a Power, which was manifeſtly ſuperior to his own.

They ſend Lambert *againſt him.*

When the Perſons ſent from *London* gave an Account of their Reception, and of the great Profeſſions made by the General, together with his Reſolutions to ſend Commiſſioners to treat upon the Accommodation, the *Committee of Safety* ſeem'd very well pleas'd, and concluded, That the Fame of their Army's March had frighted him to this Compliance. But at the ſame Time that they willingly embrac'd the Overture of a Treaty, they appointed *Lambert* to haſten his March, and to make no Stay, till he ſhou'd come to *Newcaſtle*. All which he obſerv'd with Punctuality and Expedition, and arriv'd at the Place in *November*, when General *Monk* had very near got Poſſeſſion of it. Here his Army ſoon encreas'd to twelve thouſand, of which ſeven thouſand were of the chiefeſt Cavalry of the Army; and had he made no Stay there, but with his Horſe only advanc'd directly into *Scotland*, he cou'd then have met with little or no Reſiſtance. But his Counſels were not equal to his Ambition; and he thought it moſt proper to wait the Iſſue of the Treaty then ſet on Foot. In the mean Time Captain *Deane*, Treaſurer of the Army, and Major-General *Morgan* were ſent to work upon General *Monk*; The former chiefly apply'd himſelf to his Soldiers, and told them *That his Lord* Lambert *was coming upon them, and all* Monk's *Army wou'd not be a Breakfaſt to him:* To which he met with an unpleaſing Anſwer; *That* Lambert *had a very good Stomach, this cold Weather, if he cou'd eat Pikes, and ſwallow Bullets.* But *Morgan* prov'd a contrary Perſon, and, as *Clarges* did, generouſly join'd with the Sentiments of the General, as believing him *to be a true Lover of his Country*. The General much wanted him; and ſoon employ'd him in the moſt difficult Service that yet remain'd unattempted, the Reforming of the Horſe, which were then very weak, and much out of Order, and wanted the Influence and Direction of ſo brave a Commander.

Here we may juſtly obſerve the Hand of Heaven, how it ſuperſedes the wiſeſt Actions of Men; particularly in that Ordinance againſt levying of Mony, made by the Parliament, who dreaded the Return of the King, which now prov'd a great Step towards the Reſtoration. It was indeed made only to deſtroy the Subſiſtence of the Army; and *Lambert* daily felt the Effects of it in the Murmurings and Diviſions among his Forces; who having but little Mony, had no Means left of raiſing more, but by their Swords. This was a ſingular Advantage to General *Monk*, who was fully inform'd by Dr. *Clarges* of the Inſtability and Poverty of the Army in *England*. He was ſenſible that to gain Time was his beſt Expedient; therefore he gave private Inſtructions to the Deputies he ſent to *London*, to protract the Treaty, and to ſtart ſuch Difficulties as might prevent coming to a Concluſion. Then to avoid the Difficulties reigning in his Enemies Army, he call'd together a general Aſſembly, ſomewhat reſembling a *Convention of the States of* Scotland; which he had ſubdu'd to all imaginable Tameneſs, tho' he had exercis'd no other Power than was abſolutely neceſſary to reduce that People to a full Submiſſion to his Government. In all his other Carriage towards them, but what was in order to that End, he ſhew'd himſelf very friendly and ſociable; and as he was fear'd by the Nobility, and hated by the Clergy, ſo he was not unbelov'd by the Common People, who receiv'd more Juſtice and leſs Oppreſſion from him, than they uſually did from their own Lords. Upon the Meeting of the Convention, he let them know, 'That he had 'receiv'd a Call from Heaven and Earth, to march with 'his Army into *England*, for the better Settlement of the 'Government there; and tho' he did not intend to be long 'abſent, yet he foreſaw that there might be ſome Diſturbance of the Peace which they enjoy'd; and therefore 'he expected and deſired, That in any ſuch Occaſion they 'wou'd be ready to join with the Forces he left behind, 'in their own Defence.' In the ſecond Place, which was the main Thing he wanted of them, he very earneſtly preſs'd them, 'That they wou'd pay in a preſent Sum of 'Mony out of the Arrears of their Taxes, for the ſupply'ing the Neceſſities of the Army; without which it cou'd 'not well march into *England*.' From the Time he had ſettled his Government there, he had ſhew'd more Familiarity and Kindneſs to ſuch Perſons as were moſt noted for their Affection to the King, as finding them more ſteady and punctual than the reſt: And when theſe Men reſorted to him upon this Convention, tho' they cou'd draw nothing from him of Promiſe, or Intimation to any ſuch Purpoſe, yet he was well content that they ſhou'd believe that he carry'd with him good Inclinations to the King. By which Imagination of theirs, he receiv'd great Advantage; for they paid him the Arrears of a Twelve-Month's Tax over the Kingdom; which anſwer'd his Expectation, and enabled him to proceed in his Expedition.

Monk *convenes the States of* Scotland.

They comply with him.

4. Being thus ſupported, the General began his March towards *Berwick* on the 18th of *November*: He advanc'd with ſo much Satisfaction, that it appear'd in his Looks and his Actions, not queſtioning, during the Time of an endleſs Treaty, but that having to deal with a haſty conceited brave Man, inſpired with the Deſigns of a mighty Ambition, he might have Time to gain that by the Sword, which was not to be expected from a Treaty. He was marching full of ſuch Hopes, when being come to *Haddington*, on the Road from *Edinburgh* to *Berwick*, he was ſurpris'd with the bad News of an Accommodation concluded between his Deputies and the *Committee of Safety*. The Articles were, '1. That the pretended Title of *Charles* '*Stuart*, or any other claiming from that Family, ſhou'd 'be utterly renounced. 2. That the Government of theſe 'Nations ſhou'd be by a Free-State, or Common-wealth, 'and not by a ſingle Perſon, King, or Houſe of Lords. '3. That a Godly and Learned Miniſtry ſhou'd be main'tain'd and encourag'd. 4. That the Univerſities ſhou'd 'be reformed, ſo that they might become Nurſeries of

A Treaty between him and the Committee of Safety.

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'Piety and Learning. 5. That all Perſons on either Side ſhou'd be indemnify'd for what is paſt, touching the late Difference, and all Unkindneſs betwixt them bury'd in perpetual Oblivion. 6. That the Officers who were made Priſoners in *Scotland* ſhou'd be forthwith ſet at Liberty. 7. That the Armies ſhou'd be preſently diſpoſed of into Quarters; as alſo a *Committee of Nineteen* conſtituted, whereof nine to make a *Quorum*, which ſhou'd conſider of *Qualifications* for ſucceeding Parliaments.' Theſe Articles, when read by the Army, appear'd ſo liable to Exceptions, and ſo fitly contriv'd to give the *Engliſh* Officers an Opportunity of continuing their Tyranny, and oppreſſing *Monk*'s Forces, that they unanimouſly cry'd out, *Their Deputies had been frighted or cheated; and that they ought to march on, without any Regard to a Treaty, which had been extorted by Force on one Side, and Fear on the other.*

The General, tho' otherwiſe very uneaſie, was pleas'd to obſerve the good Effect that vile Treaty had on his Forces, and conceiv'd great Hopes of the Succeſs of his Deſigns. However he ſuppreſs'd his inward Satisfaction, that his outward Confuſion might ſtill heighten the Indignation of his Officers; and ſo affecting a diſmal Silence, he return'd to *Edinburgh*, as if he had deſign'd to ſubmit to the Treaty. This Artifice, if ſuch, was altogether ſucceſsful: He was belov'd; and that Melancholy which was believ'd to have ſeiz'd him, very much troubled his Friends, as well as the Reſolution they thought he had taken to admit of the Treaty; ſo that they all urg'd him to except againſt it, to require it ſhou'd be explain'd, and at the ſame Time to march forwards. He heard them without diſcloſing his own Mind, till coming to *Edinburgh*, and walking in a Room amidſt his Officers, whom he permitted to talk, without anſwering but with thoughtful Looks; one of his Friends, coming in haſtily and abruptly, he ſaid, *Well, what ſay you to this Treaty? Truly, Sir,* the other reply'd, *I have not ſeen it; but I have heard ſo much of it, that I am come to make a Requeſt to you.* The General ſeem'd amaz'd, and ask'd him *What that cou'd be:* He told him *a Paſs to go aboard a Veſſel, that was ready to ſail into* Holland. The General ſtill more concern'd, urg'd, *What, will you leave me in this Condition? For that very Reaſon I wou'd leave you,* ſaid the Officer; *for after ſuch a Treaty concluded, I cannot ſee how you can eſcape Ruin: For my own Part, I will not reſign my ſelf in cold Blood to the Mercy of my Enemies.* Looking upon this as a favourable Opportunity to diſcloſe himſelf without too much Hazard, the General anſwer'd in a louder Voice than before, *Will you lay the Blame upon me? I muſt tell you, That if the Army will ſtand by me, I will ſtand by them.* Theſe Words wrought ſuch an Effect upon the Company, that every Man cry'd, *He wou'd live and die by the General!* and they ſhew'd all the moſt joyful Signs of their Obedience and Reſolution to ſhare in their Leader's Fortune. Then calling a Council of War, it was reſolv'd, 'That the Treaty ſhou'd not be abſolutely rejected, that the Enemy might not ſay, they were againſt Peace; but that the Ratification ſhou'd be deferr'd, under Colour of requiring ſome Articles to be explain'd, which ſeem'd ambiguous:' And the better to carry on this Pretence, Colonel *Wilks* was impriſon'd, for having exceeded his Commiſſion, and made ſome unreaſonable Conceſſions. Nevertheleſs it was agreed, 'That the Army ſhou'd continue their March into *England*, and advance towards *London*, unleſs *Lambert* oblig'd them to fight; which, with very little Management, wou'd give an Opportunity to protract the Explications, the Preliminaries and Conteſts in the Treaty; and they wou'd take Care not to expoſe the Managers, as they had done the firſt Time, to treat in ſuch Places where their Adverſaries were Maſters.

He excepts againſt the Treaty.

The General was the more willing to follow this Advice, becauſe he had Intelligence out of all Parts, by Letters he receiv'd from *Ireland*, from *London*, from the Fleet, and from ſome Perſons of Quality in *Yorkſhire*, who all appear'd ready to eſpouſe his Cauſe; that his Party every where encreas'd, and that of *Lambert* and the Army in *England* was look'd upon as Tyrannical, and, unleſs vigorouſly oppos'd, deſigning to ſet up *Cromwell*'s Uſurpation again, and to reſtore the Protectorſhip. Therefore he firſt writ to the *Committee of Safety*, and particularly to *Fleetwood*, to acquaint them, 'he had receiv'd the Treaty, and deſired nothing but a good and well-grounded Peace; but that in the ſaid Treaty, there were ſome Articles which cou'd not eſtabliſh ſuch a Peace, unleſs they were better explain'd: That he demanded that Explanation, in the Name of all his Army, and to that Purpoſe they ſhou'd appoint a Place, where they might debate the Matter with Freedom; That in the mean while, to prevent loſs of Time, he wou'd advance forward with his Army, that he might be near enough to ſupport the Laws, and the publick Peace and Liberty.' With theſe Letters to the *Committee of Safety*, the General ſent others to the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council of *Loudon*, to acquaint them, 'That as ſoon as he receiv'd the News of the Violence offer'd by the Army to the Parliament, he had writ to them to inform them of the Reſolutions he had thereupon taken for delivering of *England* from the Yoak of Tyranny: That his Letter had been intercepted, but this wou'd make amends, by letting them know he continu'd firm to that uſeful Deſign, and that he was reſolv'd to draw near to them, that he might put it in Execution: That he deſir'd their Aſſiſtance, and pray'd them to haſten the Succours he promis'd himſelf from their Zeal, and to aſſure themſelves of his for the Preſervation of their Quiet, Liberty and Religion.' Theſe Letters were ſeconded by Declarations, and ſeveral other Papers, artfully drawn up to inform and perſuade the Publick 'of the General's Sincerity he expreſs'd for the ſupporting of the Freedom of the Parliament and Common-wealth, and the Liberties of *England*, againſt the Tyranny of the Army, and a Military Power.' At the ſame time he march'd forward, and having taken a Review of his Army at *Haddington*, and viſited *Dunbar*, and other Places of Moment on that Coaſt, he advanc'd to *Berwick*, and thence to a Place not far off call'd *Coldſtream*, ſituated on the *Scotch* Side of the River *Tweed*. In this poor Place, but advantagious Poſt, he kept his Head Quarters for above a Month, waiting on the Motions of his formidable Rival *Lambert*, who then lay with a much ſuperior Force at *Newcaſtle*.

1659.
Car. II.

He removes to Coldſtream.

5. While Affairs continu'd in this State in the Camps at a Diſtance, the City of *London* grew more and more divided and diſtracted by the various Factions then reigning in the Place. On one Side the Republican Sectarians, who were projecting unknown Schemes, ſtood up for the Remainder of the Long Parliamant; on the other, the Solders in the City were for *Fleetwood*, and the *Committee of Safety:* But the Chief of the Citizens, being ſenſible of the horrid Oppreſſions from both, began freely to vent their Complaints, and to look out for more proper Remedies. They complain'd, 'That the *Rump-Parliament*, made up of the moſt profligate Perſons, was in vain turn'd out, if the Government muſt remain in the Hands of the *Committee of Safety*, a new Name for old Villains; and the three *Cromwells* had fallen in vain, if *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* muſt be rais'd to Supreme Authority: That the Common-wealth was almoſt ruin'd, whilſt ſacrilegious Robbers contended about Government; That *England* was never in ſo great Diſtreſs, nor reduc'd to ſuch Extremity; and that having ſuffer'd the greateſt Evils, nothing worſe cou'd befal them.' The Apprentices, whoſe tumultuary Aſſemblies, and confus'd Petitions, had been inſtrumental to the firſt Diſturbances, near twenty Years before, began now to recollect their Spirits; and being abetted by ſome conſiderable Perſons, they flock'd together in great Multitudes with their bold Petitions for a *New and Free Parliament.* This gave ſuch Offence to the *Committee of Safety*, that they iſſu'd out a Proclamation againſt them, calling them dangerous Papers, and prohibiting their Subſcriptions; and not content with this, they ſent ſome Forces into the City under Colonel *Hewſon*, a bold Fellow, who had been an ill Shoemaker, and afterwards Clerk to a Brewer of Small Beer. This Man being ſcorn'd and affronted, killed ſome of the Apprentices in the Streets; which more inflam'd the City againſt the Army, *which*, they ſaid, *was only kept on foot to murther the Citizens.*

Complaints and Diſturbances in London.

But that which toucht the Army more nearly in Point of Danger, was the Revolt of *Portſmouth*, of which *Haſlerigg*, *Walton* and *Morley*, with the Conſent of *Whetham* the Governor, had taken Poſſeſſion: Which News coming to the *Committee of Safety*, on the fifth of *December*, they ſpeedily ſent both Horſe and Foot to reduce the Place. Major *Cadwell* was firſt ſent, but before he got half Way, above half his Soldiers deſerted him, and joyn'd with the Garriſon; and Major *Bremen*, who was ſent after him, likewiſe went in to their Aſſiſtance; ſo that they were now ready to march whither their Commanders wou'd conduct them. This, with the Humour of the City, and the Diſcovery of a Cavalier Deſign of ſeizing the *Tower*, brought *Fleetwood* and his Committee to a more ſubmiſſive Temper: And finding that nothing wou'd ſaſatisfy the People but Something that had the Name of a Parliament, they came to a ſort of Agreement, and declared, 'That a Parliament ſhou'd be call'd, and appointed to ſit before *February* next enſuing: Which Parliament ſhou'd be according to ſuch Qualifications as are, or ſhou'd be agreed upon, and may beſt ſecure the juſt Rights, Liberties and Privileges, both Civil and Religious, of the People of this Common-wealth.' At the ſame Time they took Care that no Alteration ſhou'd be made in theſe ſeven *Fundamentals*, as they were called, '1. That there ſhou'd be no *Kingſhip* in theſe Nations. '2. No

Portſmouth *declares for the Parliament:*

'2. No *Single* Perſon ſhou'd be Chief Magiſtrate. 3. That 'an Army be continu'd, maintain'd, and conducted, to 'ſecure the Peace of the Nation, according to the Con'ſent of ſuch *Conſervators* as ſhou'd be appointed. 4. That 'no Impoſition be upon the Conſciences of ſuch as *feared* '*God*. 5. That there be no Houſe of Peers. 6. That 'the *Legiſlative* and *Executive* Power be diſtinct, and in 'ſeveral Hands. 7. That the Aſſemblies of *Parliament* 'be elected by the *People of the Common-wealth* duly Qua'lify'd.' But the City was ſenſible that the Parliament, which they pretended to call, wou'd prove ſuch another Mock-Parliament, compos'd of Sectaries and other intereſted Perſons, as *Oliver* had formerly call'd; and therefore, notwithſtanding the Writs were fram'd to that Purpoſe, the Diſcontents ſtill continu'd.

And alſo the Fleet.

But before any thing cou'd be brought to Maturiy, the Spirit of the *Committee of Safety* was broken by the Revolt of their Favourite Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, a Man at that Time appearing as much Republican, as much an *Independent*, and as much an Enemy to the *Presbyterians* and the *Covenant*, as Sir *Henry Vane* Himſelf, whoſe Creature he was; and one to whom they had given that Command in the Fleet, that they might be ſure to keep the Seamen at their Devotion. This Man came ſuddenly into the River *Thames*, with his whole Squadron, and declared for the Parliament; which ſo ſurpris'd them that they cou'd not believe it; but ſent Sir *Henry Vane* and two others of great Intimacy with *Lawſon*, to confer with him; who at their Arrival found Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, and two others, Members of the Parliament, who had ſo fully prepoſſeſs'd Him, that he was deaf to all their Perſuaſions, and told them, *That he wou'd ſubmit to no Authority but that of the Parliament*. This was immediately ſucceeded by the March of *Haſlerigg* and *Morley* from *Portſmouth* towards *London*; the News of which rais'd new Thoughts in thoſe Soldiers who had been left by *Lambert*, to execute ſuch Orders as they ſhou'd receive from the *Committee of Safety*. The Officers of theſe Regiments had been caſhier'd by the preſent Powers, for adhering to the Parliament; and their Commands having been given to other Men, who had been diſcountenanc'd by the Parliament, the Regiments for a Time were as much confirm'd in the Intereſt of the Army, as cou'd be deſired. But theſe caſhier'd Officers upon theſe Changes in the City and the Navy, and the News of the Advance of *Haſlerigg* and *Morley*, reſolv'd to confer with their old Soldiers, and try whether they had as much Credit with them as their new Officers. They ſoon found ſo much Encouragement, that at a fix'd Time they put themſelves into the Heads of their Regiments, and march'd with them into the Field; whence, after a ſhort Conſultation, and Renewal of Vows *never more to deſert the Parliament*, they all march'd into *Chancery*-Lane to the Houſe of the Speaker, where they profeſs'd their Reſolution *to live and dye with the Parliament, and never more ſwerve from their Fidelity to it.* At the ſame Time *Desborough*'s Regiment, which was ſent by *Lambert* to curb the froward Spirit of the City, having march'd as far as St. *Albans*, and heard what was done by their Fellows at *Weſtminſter*, with whom they were to joyn, reſolv'd not to be laſt in their Submiſſions; but declar'd that they were likewiſe for the Parliament, and gave the Speaker Notice of their Obedience.

The Committee of Safety *ſubmit to the Parliament.*

In all theſe ſtrange Changes in the Soldiers, General *Fleetwood* remain'd ſtill in Conſultations with the *Committee of Safety*; and when Intelligence was brought of any Murmur among the Soldiers, which might produce ſome Revolt, and he was deſired to go amongſt them to confirm them, he wou'd fall upon his Knees to his Prayers, and cou'd hardly be prevail'd on to go to them. When he was among them, and in the Middle of any Diſcourſe, he wou'd invite them all to Prayers, and put himſelf upon his Knees before them: And when ſome of his Friends urg'd him to appear more in his Charge, or elſe they muſt all be deſtroy'd, they cou'd get no other Anſwer from him, than, *That God had ſpit in his Face, and wou'd not hear him.* In ſhort, he was ignorant of his own Strength, and was neither conſtant to Himſelf, nor bravely perfidious; So that Men ceas'd to Wonder why *Lambert* had made him General, and been content with the ſecond Command for Himſelf. Upon the new Declaration of the Soldiers, *Lenthall* the Speaker recover'd his Spirit, and went into the City, conferr'd with the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and declared to them, *That the Parliament wou'd meet within a very few Days.* Then he went to the *Tower*, and by his own Authority remov'd the Lieutenant who had been confirm'd there by the *Committee of Safety*, and put Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, and other Members of the Parliament into the Government and Command of that Place. And thus ended that unheard-of Government call'd the *Committee of Safety*, after a ſhort Reign of two Months; and this happen'd in the latter End of *December*.

What chiefly forwarded this Diſſolution is by Mr. *Locke* attributed to the Management and Dexterity of Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, who immediately procur'd from the Rump-Parliament a Commiſſion to Himſelf, and two or three more of the moſt weighty and popular Members of the Houſe, to have the Power of General of all the Forces in *England*, which they were to execute joyntly. This was no ſooner done, but he got them together, where he had provided abundance of Clerks, who were inſtantly order'd to tranſcribe a great many Copies of the *Form* of a Letter, wherein they recited, 'That it had pleas'd God to reſtore 'the *Parliament* to the Exerciſe of their Power, and that 'the Parliament had given to them a Commiſſion to com'mand the Army; they therefore commanded them (*viz.* the Officer to whom the Letter was directed) 'immediately with his Troop, Company or Regiment, 'as it happen'd, to march to.-----' Theſe Letters were directed *To the chief Officers* of any Part of the Army who had their Quarters together in any Part of *England*. They were likewiſe diſpatch'd away by particular Meſſengers that very Night; and coming to the ſeveral Officers ſo peremptorily to march immediately, they had not time to aſſemble and debate among themſelves what to do: And having no other Intelligence but 'That the *Parliament* 'was reſtored, and that *London* and *Portſmouth*, and o'ther Parts of *England* had declared for them;' the Officers durſt not diſobey, but all of them march'd, according to their ſeveral Orders, ſome one Way, and ſome another. So that this Army, which was the great Strength of the Gentlemen of *Wallingford* Houſe, were by this Means quite diſpers'd, and render'd perfectly uſeleſs to the *Committee of Safety*, who were hereby totally reduc'd under the Power of the Parliament as ſo many diſarm'd Men to be diſpos'd of as they thought fit. A remarkable Stratagem, and anſwerable to Sir *Anthony*'s penetrating Head.

The Proceedings of the King Abroad.

VI. I. Before we conclude the Hiſtory of this Year's Tranſactions at home, it will be very proper to take ſome Notice of the Proceedings and Motions of the exil'd King abroad. His Majeſty had generally led a quiet and eaſy Life at *Bruſſels* in all the former Part of the Year, but fluctuating between Hope and Fear, till the Month of *May* gave him mortifying News of the Reſtoration of the Long Parliament, which had caus'd ſo much Miſchief at home, and ſo much Terror abroad. But in a little Time he receiv'd new Hopes from the Diviſions in *England*, and the intended Inſurrections in many Parts of the Nation; in all which he was particularly encourag'd by the brave Mr *Mordaunt*, who, tho' he had his Head ſo lately upon the Block, was more active than any Man, and for which his Majeſty about this Time honour'd him with a Barony. He attended the King in Diſguiſe, receiv'd Inſtructions from him concerning the ſeveral Inſurrections deſign'd, and had particular Cautions given him of the vile Treachery of Sir *Richard Willis*, of which the King before this Time had receiv'd private and full Satisfaction from Mr. *Morland*. To favour theſe Riſings, and to make the beſt uſe of them, the King with the Marqueſs of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Briſtol*, and two or three Attendants, went with all poſſible Secrecy to *Calais*; and the Duke of *York*, with a few others, to *Bologn*, where he remain'd with equal Privacy, and exact Correſpondence. At *Calais* the King was revived with the Fame of Sir *George Booth*'s being poſſeſs'd of *Cheſter*, and of the Conjunction between Him and *Middleton*, and with the Expectation of a greater Appearance in other Parts. Whereupon he reſolv'd to go Himſelf to ſome other Part of *France*, from whence he might ſecurely tranſport Himſelf into thoſe Parts of *England*, where his Friends were in Arms, and ſo went to St. *Maloes*, and the Coaſt of *Bretaigne:* while the Duke of *York* had receiv'd ſecret Promiſes of Aſſiſtance from his brave old Friend Marſhal *Turenne*. But in a little Time the King receiv'd the fatal News of the Defeat of Sir *George Booth*, and the total Suppreſſion of all Kind of Oppoſition to the Power of the Parliament; which now ſeem'd to be rivetted in its full Poſſeſſion of the three Kingdoms.

He removes to the Coaſts of France.

Struck with this unhappy Relation, the King and his Brother ſeem'd to have nothing to do, but to haſten out of *France*; where it was thought they cou'd not remain long in Safety. The Duke of *York* return'd ſpeedily to *Bruſſels*; but the King, leſs dejected than might have been expected from the Lowneſs of his Condition, reſum'd a Reſolution he had formerly taken, to make a Journey in Perſon to the Borders of *Spain*, where the two chief Miniſters of *France* and *Spain*, Cardinal *Mazarine*, and *Don Lewis de Haro*, had met in great Pomp and Splendor, in order to the Finiſhing an unreaſonable and bloody War, which had laſted between the two Crowns for near Thirty Years, to the Scandal and Reproach of all Chriſtendom. *Fontarabia*, a Place in the *Spaniſh* Dominions, on the Bor-

He reſolves to be at the Pyrenean *Treaty.*

ders of *France*, was agreed upon for their Interview; a little River near that Place, parting both the Kingdoms, and a little Building erected over it, brought the two Favourites to meet, without either of their going out of his Maſter's Dominions. The Cardinal had no leſs than twenty Archbiſhops and Biſhops in his Train, beſides a glorious Equipage; as well knowing how ſuch Appearances wou'd affect the Sanctimonious *Spaniard*, and help to perſuade him, That his Intentions were pious and upright. This was that famous Treaty which obtain'd the Name of The PYRENEAN, and which concluded with the Marriage of the *French* King with the Infanta of *Spain*. The Fame of this Treaty gave ſome Hopes to the King of *England*; for both Crowns had made the War between them the only Pretence why they did not give him that Aſſiſtance he might reaſonably expect; and both had promis'd, that when that War ſhou'd be at an end, *they wou'd ſhow the World, that they took the King's Caſe to be their own:* So that his Majeſty might juſtly promiſe Himſelf ſome Advantage and Benefit from this Peace; eſpecially after he had receiv'd Encouragement from his Agent Sir *Henry Bennet* at *Fontarabia*, who let him know from *Don Lewis*, ‘ That if his Majeſty wou'd come *incognito* thither, after the great Difficulties of the Treaty were over, he wou'd do all he cou'd to induce the Cardinal to concur in what might be moſt for his Convenience.’

Cardinal Mazarine *againſt it.*

In order to this Journey, the King had privately ſent to the Cardinal to deſire a Paſſport; which his Eminence refus'd to grant, but with ſome ſlight Promiſes of his Care and Aſſiſtance in due Time: And at the ſame time he receiv'd *Lockhart*, who was Ambaſſador from the *Engliſh* Parliament, with all the open Marks of Eſteem and Reſpect, and with all Aſſurances, ‘ That he wou'd never make a Peace without the Conſent and Incluſion of *England*.’ However the King reſolv'd to take a Journey through *France*, and appear with all Privacy at the Treaty, which now drew near to an End: And accordingly, being accompany'd with the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, *Daniel O Neale*, and two or three other Servants, he wheel'd about by *Lyons* and *Languedoc*, entertaining Himſelf with the Varieties of the Country, till by a miſtaken Report of the Treaty being ended, he was carried as far as *Saragoſa* in *Spain*, where he ſtaid for further Intelligence. What Opinion the Cardinal had of this Journey and Deſign, will beſt appear from his own Letters, which have been ſince publiſh'd to the World. In one of which to Monſieur *Le Tellier* then Secretary of State, he has theſe Words: ‘ *Don Lewis* told me of a Letter he had from the King of *England*, dated from *Saragoſa*, deſiring to viſit and entertain him upon the Subject of his Affairs. That he had return'd Anſwer, *That his Majeſty ſhou'd be receiv'd with due Honour*; and accordingly he will be to Morrow at *Fontarabia*, and lodg'd even in *Don Lewis*'s Houſe, where all Things are prepared for him. I told *Don Lewis* in Raillery, *That ſince the Duke of* Lorrain *was alſo come, together with an Ambaſſador from* Portugal, *and Agents from* Mentz, Cologne, Newburg, *and from the Prince of* Conde, *there need be no doubt but the Comedy drew juſt to an End, ſince all the Actors thus appear'd on the Stage; but he need not be jealous that I ſhou'd debauch any of his Gueſts from him.*-----As to the King of *England*, he has been ill advis'd to take a Journey to no Purpoſe; for *Don Lewis* and I know, as well as Himſelf, that he is diſpoſſeſs'd of his Right, and of all he can urge to move our Maſters to reſtore him, not only in reſpect of the wicked Murder of his Father, but of the Danger of a growing Republick, which in Time might make Work for the whole Neighbourhood: But ſtill he ought to reflect, that neither We nor *Spain* are to hazard our own Affairs for His. This King had made it 120 Leagues more than he needed to reach this Place: He went by *Tholouſe* and the Valley *d'Aran* to *Saragoſa*, ſuſpecting that I ſhou'd have ſtopp'd him, becauſe he had been deny'd a Paſſport to come into *France*. But cou'd he think we were ignorant of his going into *Normandy*, or any Step he made in his Progreſs through *France*, or even of his Intentions to do it? But it is the Fate of this Prince, he neither knows how to chuſe for Himſelf, nor has any one near him that is able to adviſe better.’ The whole Current of the Cardinal's Letters and Reports to the *French* Court, is to paint out *Don Lewis* alſo ‘ for a heavy, ſlow, irreſolute Man, ill inform'd in his own Affairs, and wanting a Heart for greater Things: That he had run him down in every Argument: That at ſeveral Times he had outwitted him by mere Pretence of Paſſion, ſometimes loud, ſometimes ſullen, to the mighty Advantage of *France*: He ſays he repreſents every minute Paſſage, in order *to inſtruct his Maſter in the Arts of Negotiations, and the Notions he ought to imbibe of Men and Things*.’ In ſhort, there is every where diſpers'd a magnificent Character of Himſelf; and he ſeem'd to delight in nothing more than to excel in all the Myſteries of Circumvention; of which this was the chief, *That his Enemy ſhou'd leave him in Peace, and He his Enemy in War.*

His Opinion of the Journey.

The King's Reception at Fontarabia.

2. His *Britiſh* Majeſty arriv'd at *Fontarabia* on the 25th of *October*, New Stile, where he was receiv'd by *Don Lewis* according to the *Spaniſh* Mode and Generoſity, upon his Knees, and with the ſame Reverence that cou'd be ſhew'd to his own King, had he been in that Place. He let him know, ‘ how much his Maſter was troubled that the Condition of his Affairs, and the ſudden Neceſſity that was upon him to make a long Journey, wou'd not permit him to invite his Majeſty to *Madrid*, and to treat him ſuitable to his Grandeur: That now having happily concluded the Peace, he had nothing ſo much in his Thoughts, as how he might be able to afford ſuch Aſſiſtance as his Majeſty needed.’ *Don Lewis* for himſelf made all thoſe Profeſſions, that cou'd be expected from him; and he confeſs'd, *That there was no Proviſion made in the Treaty, That the two Crowns ſhou'd jointly aſſiſt his Majeſty; but that he believ'd the Cardinal wou'd be ready to perform all good Offices towards him; and for his Particular, his Majeſty ſhou'd receive good Teſtimony of the profound Veneration he had for him.* He likewiſe intimated a Wiſh, that he cou'd yet have ſome Conference with the Cardinal, who was at a little Diſtance, at his old Quarters St. *Jean de Luz*. Upon which the King ſent the Marqueſs of *Ormond* to viſit his Eminence, and to let him know, That his Majeſty had a Deſire to come and confer with him, and to receive his Counſel and Advice. But the Cardinal wou'd by no Means admit it, and ſaid *it wou'd adminiſter unſeaſonable Jealouſy to the Parliament of* England, *without any manner of Benefit to the King*. According to his way, he made large Profeſſions of his Affections to the King, but deſir'd, *he wou'd have Patience till the Marriage ſhou'd be over*, which wou'd be in the next Spring, *till when their Majeſties muſt remain in thoſe Parts: But as ſoon as that was diſpatch'd, the whole Court wou'd return to* Paris; *and that it wou'd not be long there, before he gave the King ſome Evidence of his Kindneſs and Reſpect.* The Marqueſs cou'd obtain no better Anſwer than this; but *Don Lewis*, with a Thouſand Excuſes, That their Expences had been ſo great, as had waſted all their Mony, preſented his Majeſty with ſeven Thouſand Gold Piſtoles, *to defray*, as he ſaid, *the Expences of his Journey*, with Aſſurance, *That, when he came into* Flanders, *he ſhould find all neceſſary Orders for the better accommodating his Affairs.*

Don Lewis was not only thus generous in his Purſe, but was earneſt in his Solicitations to the Cardinal, as appears from his Eminence's Letter to Monſieur *le Tellier*, on the 6th of *November*, in which he ſays, ‘ That *Don Lewis* had very particularly ask'd him the Queſtion, if he might give the King of *England* any Hopes of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's good Will for his Reſtoration? and that *Don Lewis* had mention'd it with great Tenderneſs, ſpeaking much to that King's Advantage; adding, *That he was not a violent or troubleſome Solicitor, like the Duke of* Lorrain, *but mov'd with great Gentleneſs for what might change his unhappy Condition for a better. To this,* ſays He, I reply'd, *That my Maſter wanted not Compaſſion, but it was not a Seaſon to be drawn into new Troubles.* I pray'd him *not to be miſ-led by that King, or his Miniſters, who wou'd pretend that a ſmall Succour wou'd do their Work:* For I knew as well as if I had been preſent, all that they did, or cou'd ſay to Him, and all they hop'd for from the troubleſome Conjuncture, and the Help of Friends in *England*, and the ſeveral Ports devoted to Him for his Landing, and what great Matters might be done by the Aid of four or five Thouſand Men: For if we but engage in a Little, he thinks we are faſt for the Whole. I told him, *That his ſaid Majeſty was too credulous, and that there were other Difficulties than he imagin'd.* And becauſe I found *Don Lewis* but too yielding to their Deſires, who had indeed ask'd but four or five Thouſand Men; I plainly told him, *That ſince by the preſent Peace his Catholick Majeſty had Men to ſpare, it was not likely he wou'd conſent to let another partake in the Glory of eſtabliſhing a King, when it cou'd be done at ſo cheap a Rate.*’ In ſhort, the whole Strain of the Cardinal's Conduct towards the Exile King and his Miniſters, ſeems to ſavour of that his native Principle, *That whoſoever is affronted once, muſt be perſecuted for ever.*

Where the King is ſuppos'd to embrace the Romiſh *Religion.*

The whole Time of the King's Stay at *Fontarabia* was about twenty Days; during which Time it is juſtly believ'd that his Majeſty, as well as two of his Attendants, the Earl of *Briſtol* and Sir *Henry Bennet*, was prevail'd on by the Importunity of the *Spaniard* and the Privacy of the Place, to embrace the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, at leaſt in outward Appearance. This is a Secret not well

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diſcover'd by any publick Writer; yet the Particulars were well known to the Lord *Clarendon*, who, tho' for good Reaſons he might be very tender in this Point, ſeems plainly to glance at it when he ſays, That the Cardinal told *Don Lewis*, 'That it was rather Time for all Catholicks to unite to the breaking the Power and Intereſt of the Heretical Party, wherever it was, than to ſtrengthen it by reſtoring the King of *England*, *except he wou'd become Catholick*.' And then he immediately adds, 'And it is believ'd by wiſe Men, that in that Treaty, ſomewhat was agreed to the Prejudice of the Proteſtant Intereſt; and that in a ſhort Time, there wou'd have been much done againſt it both in *France* and *Germany*, if the Meaſures they had there taken had not been ſhortly broken, chiefly by the ſurpriſing Revolution in *England*, &c.' And tho' he afterwards ſays that the King gave great Indications of his own Steadineſs when he return'd to *Bruſſels*, yet he immediately adds, 'That many made little Doubt, but that it wou'd ſhortly be very manifeſt to the King, that his Reſtoration depended wholly upon a Conjunction of Catholick Princes, who cou'd never be united, but on the Behalf of the Catholick Religion,' But this Secret has been more fully acknowledg'd of late Years, by the eldeſt Son of this noble Author, and more particularly by the Marqueſs, afterwards Duke of *Ormond*, who beſt knew the whole Matter, and who has declared to ſeveral Perſons of Worth and Honour, 'That He himſelf, to his great Surpriſe and Concern, accidentally in a Morning early, ſaw the King in the great Church on his Knees before the High Altar, with ſeveral Prieſts and Eccleſiaſticks about him: That he was ſoon after confirm'd in his Sentiments by Sir *Henry Bennet* and the Earl of *Briſtol*, who both own'd the King to be a Catholick, as well as Themſelves: The Former was of an Opinion, that the King ought in Policy to declare his Religion, as the moſt hopeful Method to recover his Dominions; but the Latter look'd upon it as the moſt dangerous Advice that cou'd be given, ſuch as wou'd be the Ruin of the King's Cauſe; and it was finally agreed by the Majority of the little Court there, that this Change ſhou'd be kept as the greateſt Secret imaginable.' After the Reſtoration the Marqueſs of *Ormond* thought it convenient, or neceſſary, to diſcover the whole Matter to the Earl of *Clarendon* the Chancellor, and the Earl of *Southampton* the Treaſurer; who readily joyn'd in promoting that Act of Parliament in 1661, which makes it ſo penal for any Perſon to ſay that the King was a Papiſt; which lock'd up the Mouths of all, as well thoſe few who juſtly believ'd, as thoſe many who groundleſsly ſuſpected the King's Religion.

On the 12th of *November* the King prepar'd for his Return from *Fontarabia*; and on that Day the Cardinal writ his laſt Letter to *Le Tellier*, in which he has theſe Words, 'I have given Leave that the King of *England* may, in his Way to *Bruſſels*, ſecurely paſs through *France*.' However, his Majeſty, having receiv'd the forementioned Preſent from *Don Lewis*, and ſome new Promiſes of engaging the Cardinal in his Favour, departed with no little Satisfaction, as appears from one of Chancellor *Hyde*'s Letters to Dr. *Barwick*, in which he ſays, 'I may tell you, his Majeſty is very much deceiv'd Himſelf, if both Crowns are not reſolv'd to aſſiſt him.' The King took *Paris* in his Way to viſit the Queen his Mother, with whom a good Underſtanding was made upon removing all former Miſtakes; and towards the End of *December* he return'd ſafely to *Bruſſels*, where he found his two Royal Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter*, impatiently expecting him. The Pleaſure and Variety of his Journey, and the civil Treatment he had receiv'd from *Don Lewis*, with the good Diſpoſition he had found in his Mother, had much reviv'd the King's Spirits, and the Joy for his Return diſpers'd the preſent Clouds; but he had not been long at *Bruſſels*, before he diſcern'd the ſame Melancholy in the Looks of his Friends, which he had left there. All which was confirm'd and encreas'd by the News they receiv'd from *England*, That the Power of the *Committee of Safety* was at an End, and that the Remnant of the Long Parliament had again aſſum'd the Government of the Three Kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before ejected with ſo much Reproach and Infamy. This ſurpriſing Reſurrection of the Parliament that had been ſo often deſpiſed, ſo often buried, and was the only Image of Power that was moſt formidable to the King and his Party, ſeem'd now to eradicate all their Hopes; and was interpreted by that Party, as an Act of Providence to eſtabliſh all their Murders and Uſurpations. A little before this Change, the Cardinal himſelf, as well as the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, began to ſhow a Readineſs to advance any Deſign of the King's; but when they ſaw thoſe inveterate Men in Poſſeſſion of the Government, who reſolv'd to level all Powers that oppos'd them, they look'd upon the Parliament as more ſecurely ſettled againſt all Domeſtick Diſturbances, and more formidable with Reſpect to their Neighbours, than it had been under *Cromwell* Himſelf: and thought of nothing more, than how to make advantagious and firm Alliances with it.

The King returns to Bruſſels.

The LONG PARLIAMENT *a third Time reſtored.*

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Chancellor Hyde's *Correſpondence with Dr.* Barwick.

3. Notwithſtanding all the diſcouraging Proſpects of this Year 1659, Chancellor *Hyde* continually exerted himſelf in the Royal Cauſe by his Letters, Meſſages, and other Correſpondencies in *England*, but more eſpecially during the King's Abſence from *Bruſſels*, which was the greateſt Part of ſix Months. He had a conſtant Communication with many of the King's Party, but with none more cordially and effectually than Dr. *John Barwick*, afterwards Dean of St. *Paul*'s, a moſt worthy Divine, who had been ejected out of his Fellowſhip in St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*, and after that, for his bravely attempting the Relief of the King and Church, had met with new Sufferings from the perſecuting Spirit of the Times. Between *Hyde* and this loyal Man there paſs'd many Letters, which I have had the Favour to ſee and tranſcribe from the Originals; and by which it appears, that the Chancellor beſtow'd more Pains this Year for the Good and Recovery of the *Engliſh* Nation, than he has thought fit to take Notice of in his famous Hiſtory. His tender Care for the Church of *England*, and his Proviſion for the Succeſſion of Biſhops, do every where appear in theſe Letters; ſo that his Memory muſt be eſteem'd by all that are true Lovers of that Conſtitution. In one of his Letters he ſays, 'The King hath done all that is in his Power, and if my Lords the Biſhops will not do the reſt, what can become of the Church? The Conſpiracies to deſtroy it are very evident, and if there be no Combination to preſerve it, it muſt expire. I do aſſure you, the Names of all the Biſhops who are alive, and their ſeveral Ages, are as well known in *Rome* as in *England*; and both the *Papiſts* and the *Presbyterians* value themſelves very much upon computing, in how few Years the Church of *England* muſt expire.' In another Letter he has theſe Words, 'Aſſure your ſelf, thoſe Princes, who think Epiſcopacy of the Eſſential of the Chriſtian Religion, wou'd yet be very glad to ſee it determin'd and expir'd in *England*.' As to the Preſervation of the Church, and preferring the moſt worthy Perſons in it, he always paid a particular Deference to the Opinion of Dr. *Wren*, Biſhop of *Ely*, then a Priſoner in the *Tower*; and ſtill looking upon the King as a true Proteſtant, he writes thus in another Letter; 'His Majeſty is not more fix'd in any Principle, than in the Belief that the Church can never be reſtored and repaired by any Expedient, but the Learning, Virtue, and Reputation of the Churchmen; and he will be ſo careful in making that Proviſion, that I have heard him often ſay, *That he wou'd abhor that Churchman, who wou'd give the leaſt Sum of Mony for the greateſt Preferment, and turn away that Servant who wou'd endeavour to get Mony that Way*; and I think him as unlike to ſwerve from that Reſolution, as ever Prince was.' Then as to himſelf, he declares in another Letter, 'If I can help it, if the King was at *Whitehall* to Morrow, he ſhou'd never prefer any Man in the Church, who ſought it; and I think I have Reaſon to believe his Majeſty is of that Mind.------ There is indeed too much Reaſon to doubt, that if the Crown was reſtored to Morrow, the Church wou'd not be repaired in many Years: Yet I am of Opinion, that it will be either totally ruin'd, towards which there is too great a Conſpiracy between Perſons who agree in nothing elſe, or elſe that it will be reſtored to a great Luſtre: For all Diſcourſes of the Treaty at the Iſle of *Wight* trouble me little; ſince as I am confident the King will never endure it, ſo if he ſhou'd conſent to it, it can never be reduc'd to Practice, or a Peace be eſtabliſh'd in the Kingdom by it.----I hope God Almighty will work one Miracle more for preſerving the Church, as he did many for the eſtabliſhing it.'

Theſe, and ſuch like Negotiations, the noble Writer has thought proper to omit in his Hiſtory, and likewiſe a remarkable Incident at this Time, in which no other Writer, that we know of, has been exact and particular. This was the Contract of Marriage of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, who was ſo captivated with the Perſon of the young Lady *Anne*, eldeſt Daughter of the Chancellor, that he promis'd and reſolv'd to make her his Wife; which he afterwards with all Privacy confirm'd, when he had the ſtrongeſt Temptations to the contrary. This has been charg'd upon the Chancellor as a high Preſumption, in daring, without his Majeſty's Knowledge, to mingle his own with the Royal Blood; but we have all Reaſon to believe, that this was for a Time kept as much a Secret from the Chancellor, as it was from the King. However it was projected, this Marriage prov'd of ineſtimable Conſequence; for beſides the ſecuring of the Proteſtant

His Daughter marry'd to the Duke of York.

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teſtant Religion, and innumerable other Benefits, it produc'd two Daughters, who prov'd the greateſt Ornament, as well as Bleſſing of the three Kingdoms.

The Death of Biſhop Morton,

Bp. Brownrig,

Mr. Salkeld,

Dr. Fuller,

Mr. Moor,

Mr. Oſbaldeſtone,

And here we ſhall conclude the old Year 1659 with the ſhort Characters of the moſt conſiderable Men who dy'd in that Space of Time; and firſt of two worthy Prelates, as firſt, Dr. *Thomas Morton*, Biſhop of *Durham*, educated in St. *John*'s College in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, a learned, pious, and venerable Perſon, who happily employ'd his Pen both againſt Superſtition and Faction, and held great Correſpondence with eminent Foreigners of different Perſuaſions; After he had gone through many Preferments, and undergone many Changes and Alterations, he dy'd very old, wanting but five of a hundred Years. The other was Dr. *Ralph Brownrig*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, a great Man for the *Anti-Arminian* Cauſe, yet a mighty Champion for the Liturgy of the Church, and Ordination by Biſhops alone: He was formerly Maſter of *Catharine-Hall* in *Cambridge*, in which Univerſity he eminently ſhewed his Parts and Abilities; but he enjoy'd his Biſhoprick but a very ſhort time, ſo that he was forc'd to retire to a private Gentleman's Family, till, a Year before he dy'd, he was invited to be Preacher of the *Temple*; which Place he ſupply'd with admirable Succeſs and Applauſe, ſo that his Death was highly lamented by Men of all Parties. After theſe Prelates we are to mention two or three other eminent Divines, and particularly Mr. *John Salkeld*, a Perſon who was for ſome Years a Jeſuit of the Church of *Rome*, and profoundly read in Theological and other Authors; but being for the Fame of his Learning brought before King *James*, he was ſo far convinc'd by his Majeſty's Arguments as to come over to the Church of *England*, for which he was wont to ſtile himſelf *The Royal Convert*; and that King honour'd him ſo far as to call him *The Learned Salkeld* in his Works and Writings. The next we are to mention is Dr. *William Fuller*, Dean of *Durham*, and an eminent *London* Divine, who was educated in all kinds of Learning in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and afterwards became famous for it, his Wiſdom, Piety, and excellent Preaching; but in the Times of Trouble he loſt all his Preferments, and dy'd very obſcurely not long before the Time of Triumph. After him is Mr. *William Moor*, Fellow of *Caius*-College in *Cambridge*, and Library-Keeper to that Univerſity, a great Divine, a general Scholar, and a celebrated Antiquary, who became famous for the Number and Eminency of his Pupils; and is ſtill remember'd with Honour for his Beneficence to his College, his Labours in his Station, and particularly his painful collecting the Univerſity Statutes into one Body. The laſt Divine we ſhall mention is Mr. *Lambert Oſbaldeſtone*, a learned Man, once chief School-maſter of *Weſtminſter*, and Prebendary of that Church, of whom ſome Account is given in the Year 1637; who loſt his School that Year by Means of a ſevere Sentence in the *Star-Chamber*, at a Time when there were above fourſcore Doctors of the three great Faculties in the two Univerſities, who gratefully acknowledg'd their Education under him: Afterwards favouring the Royal Cauſe, he was forc'd to live retiredly for the moſt Part, and in this Year dy'd in great Obſcurity.

Bradſhaw,

And Prideaux.

Beſides all theſe there dy'd the infamous *Bradſhaw*, in Denomination the chief of the Regicides, on the 31ſt Day of *October*, who for ſeveral Years, tho' with large Intermiſſions of his Power, ſeem'd to have been intoxicated with the Title of *Lord Preſident*, and with the Guard and Appearance of the chief Magiſtrate of the Common-wealth of *England*. We need not here ſay any thing of his Family and Character, which has been already remember'd; but only to take Notice, that as ſoon as *Lambert* had in Appearance deſtroy'd the Parliament, he ſunk, and was extreamly dejected. At his laſt Appearance in the Council of State, when Colonel *Sydenham* in a Speech endeavoured to juſtify the Proceedings of the Army, and to prove, as every Party then pretended, *That they were neceſſitated to uſe this laſt Remedy by a particular Call of the Divine Providence*; he declared his Abhorrence, and told the Council, *That being now going to his God, he had not Patience to hear his great Name ſo openly blaſphemed*; and ſo departed, and withdrew from publick Employment. Within a few Days after, being on his Death-bed, and adviſ'd by a Gentleman to examine himſelf about the Matter of the King's Death, he anſwer'd, *That if it were to do again, he wou'd be the firſt Man that ſhou'd do it*, and ſo dy'd without the leaſt Signs of Remorſe or Repentance. His Body was carry'd out with great State and Attendance, and interr'd in *Weſtminſter*-Abby, and, as *Heath* expreſſes it, his Crime publiſh'd for his Commendation; his Funeral Sermon being preach'd by Mr. *Rowe*, beginning with this Text out of *Iſaiah*, *The righteous periſheth, and no Man layeth it to heart; and merciful Men are taken away*, &c. Not long before, in the Month of *Auguſt*, there dy'd a Friend of his, Mr. *Edmund Prideaux*, a good Chancery Lawyer, and true Parliamentarian, who was made Attorney-General and Poſt-Maſter during the whole Uſurpation, by which he got a vaſt Eſtate, leaving, as it is credibly reported, ſixty thouſand Pounds in Gold in his Coffers, beſides Lands of a very great Value.

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Monk *and* Lambert *againſt each other.*

VI. We are now arriv'd at our laſt great Stage, and juſt entering into that glorious Year 1660, ſo famous for the wonderful Changes it produc'd in the three Kingdoms. Darkneſs and Confuſion had overſpread the Nation; Mens Minds were perplexed and diſtracted with innumerable Imaginations and Conjectures; and at this Time there was a general Expectation of a Storm in the North from the two Armies of *Monk* and *Lambert*, who for above a Month together kept their Stations, the former at *Coldſtream*, and the latter at *Newcaſtle* and the neighbouring Parts. They both ſeem'd reſolv'd to end the Quarrel by the Sword; tho' *Monk* at the ſame Time made a great Advantage under the Notion of Treaty, which he cunningly protracted by a new Pretence, upon the Revolt of *Portſmouth*, and the Defection of the Fleet. *Lambert*'s Army was more formidable in Appearance, and much more numerous, eſpecially in Horſe, but was ill paid, and not ſo well modell'd and ſecured as Policy required. *Monk*'s Forces were under better Diſcipline, more enured to Labours and Hardſhips, and better able to encounter with thoſe prodigious Quantities of Ice and Snow, that had then cover'd the Land after an extraordinary Manner. But *Lambert*, by reaſon of his victorious Army, ſeem'd ſtill to have much the Advantage and Superiority.

Fairfax *prepares to aſſiſt the former.*

While both Armies lay in this Poſture, in the Month of *December*, the famous old General, the Lord *Fairfax*, who had more than any Man turn'd the Scale againſt the Royal Cauſe, began to exert himſelf, and to ſhew the trueſt and moſt effectual Marks of his Repentance. He then dwelt at *Nun-Appleton* near *York*; where beſides a Letter he receiv'd from the King by the Hands of Sir *Horatio Townſend*, he receiv'd One from General *Monk*, urging him to joyn with him againſt *Lambert*, 'who was an Enemy to Parliaments, and oppreſs'd the Northern Counties with Taxes and Free Quarters.' Upon which he reſolv'd to attempt it, notwithſtanding the Difficulty of the Adventure, the Shortneſs of the Warning, and his own great Infirmities at that Time; and accordingly he ſent to ſeveral of his old Friends, Sir *Hugh Bethel*, Colonel *Smithſon*, and others, to acquaint them with his Intention of having a Meeting and Rendezvous the firſt Day of *January*, on *Marſton-Moor*. It was very neceſſary that General *Monk* ſhou'd be fully acquainted with this; but the firſt Meſſenger was unhappily ſtop'd in his Paſſage through *Lambert*'s Army. Upon which his Lordſhip reſolv'd to ſend his Kinſman upon this Difficult Errand, young Mr. *Brian Fairfax*, from whom I had this Account; who late at Night receiving Inſtructions from Mr. *Bowles*, a worthy Miniſter in *York*, ſet forwards the next Morning in the Habit of a Peaſant, accompany'd with an ordinary Guide. Being ſtrong and well mounted, he travell'd Day and Night over the ſlippery and ſnowy Mountains of *Yorkſhire*, *Weſtmorland* and *Cumberland*; and having ſurmounted the Inconvenience of his Guide's lam'd Horſe, and the imminent Danger of Death from the *Moſs-Troopers*, he arriv'd ſafely firſt at *Kelſey* and then at *Coldſtream*. At Midnight he found General *Monk* at his Head Quarters in a poor thatcht Houſe with ſeveral Officers about him. Then ſecretly delivering him his Meſſage, with the Account of *Fairfax*'s Day of Rendezvous, and repeating 'the Neceſſity of watching *Lambert*'s Army, that they fell not upon them in *Yorkſhire*,' the General in the vulgar Phraſe anſwer'd, *I will watch him, as a Cat watches a Mouſe; not a Troop ſhall ſtir, but I will follow them.* After Half an Hour's Converſation, and a little Refreſhment, Mr. *Fairfax* returned with all Expedition, and got back to *Appleton* on the laſt Day of *December*; having perform'd this diſmal Journey of near three hundred Miles, without any other Sleep but taking ſome inconſiderable Reſt in a Chair.

Which occaſions a general Defection of Lambert's *Army.*

This ſecret Negotiation, not mention'd by any former Writer, prov'd of great Importance; and the very next Morning, being the appointed Day, the Lord *Fairfax*, now afflicted both in Body and Mind, repaired to the Place of Rendezvous, where with his Son-in-Law the Duke of *Buckingham*, he met with Sir *Thomas Slingsby*, and many other brave Gentlemen, attended with a good Appearance of Horſe. The Fame of this Riſing, under ſo great and beloved a Commander, had an immediate Influence upon *Lambert*'s Men; inſomuch that the noted *Iriſh* Brigade of no leſs than twelve Hundred Horſe, in the Rear of his Army, preſently forſook him, and came over to *Fairfax*; being commanded by Colonel *Redman*, *Goodman*, *Stroud*, &c. This, together with a Vote from the new reſtored Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, 'That all their Armies ſhou'd 'return to the ſeveral Quarters they were in before the

'Month

16$\frac{59}{60}$. Car. II.

'Month of *October*,' caus'd ſuch a general Defection in *Lambert*'s Army, that he was forc'd to fly with leſs than a hundred Horſe; being ſome time after taken and committed to the *Tower*. *Fairfax* in the mean Time march'd directly to *York*, where *Lambert*'s Friend Colonel *Lilburn* was Governor, with his own Regiment, who refus'd him Entrance. But ſeveral worthy Gentlemen, Sir *Philip Monkton* and others, declared for his Lordſhip, and ſome of them, with more Zeal than Diſcretion, for the King; ſo that in a few Days the Gates were ſet open. Thus far the Lord *Fairfax* help'd forwards the great Machine; and he was the firſt Man in *England* that openly declar'd not only againſt *Lambert*, but for a Free Parliament, the neareſt Step to the King's Reſtoration. And his Son-in-Law, the Duke of *Buckingham*, in a Manuſcript Letter to the King afterwards, has theſe Words, 'As to your Majeſty's Reſtoration, I may claim my Share of Honour, being then with my Lord *Fairfax*; and if he had not declared againſt *Lambert*, *Monk* had never march'd into *England*.' And ſo far was the Way plain'd, and the Paſſage open'd to let in the great Deliverer.

Monk's *March towards* **London.**

2. And now the Clouds began to diſſipate, and to produce ſome Appearance of the Sun, tho' it gave but a mean Glimmering, and uncertain ſort of Light: And General *Monk*, being further encourag'd by the News of the Seizure of *Dublin-Caſtle*, and the Declaration of Sir *Charles Coot* in *Ireland* for the Parliament, immediately diſpos'd his Army to march up towards *London*; and having firſt ſent Major-General *Morgan* back with ſome Forces to ſecure the Peace of *Scotland*, Himſelf with about four thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, paſs'd the River *Tweed* on *Sunday* the firſt of *January*, in order to advance directly forwards the next Day. His Men were all ſuch in whoſe Affections he had full Confidence, who readily march'd up to the Knees in Snow and Ice, in hopes of warmer Quarters in the *South*, and of doing ſome ſignal Service for their Leader. He march'd without making any Halt through *Wooler*, *Morpeth*, *Newcaſtle* and *Durham*, till he arriv'd at the City of *York*, where he ſtay'd five Days. At the firſt of theſe Places he receiv'd a Meſſage from the Parliament, of the Re-eſtabliſhment of their Authority, with Thanks for his Care and Fidelity. At the next Place he receiv'd an Expreſs from the Common-Council of the City of *London*, declaring their Deſires for a full Parliament, wherein they might have ſome Share; alledging, 'That they had never a Member in this pretended Parliament, to repreſent their Renowned City.' In all Places he was met by the Gentry of the Counties through which he paſs'd, and ſaluted by all the People with loud Acclamations of Joy; every one expecting ſomething Great and Wonderful to happen by his Means and Abilities. But in all this Journey, the General wiſely cover'd Himſelf with Silence and Darkneſs; and tho' he was apply'd to by many great and worthy Perſons, yet he kept himſelf upon a cloſe Guard, and anſwer'd in general Terms, *That his Endeavours ſhou'd never be wanting for the Good and Welfare of his Country*.

He meets **Fairfax** *at* **York.**

At *York* the General was receiv'd by the Lord *Fairfax* with open Arms, who, tho' extreamly afflicted with the Gout and Stone, invited his Excellency to dine at his Country Houſe in *Appleton*. Much was expected from the Interview of two ſuch Great Men and Soldiers, noted for their Taciturnity; but the Lord was much freer in declaring his Mind, as to a Free Parliament, &c. than the General thought fit to diſcover. The Latter was continually attentive, and handſomly receiv'd the Requeſts of his Lordſhip and Gentry of that large County, firſt in Perſon, and then in Writing, 'That he wou'd be Inſtrumental in reſtoring his Native Country to her Liberties, and to the making up thoſe Fences which had been thrown down by ſo many Years Diſtractions; either by reſtoring thoſe which were violently and forcibly ſecluded in 1648, to their Truſt; or elſe by cauſing a free and full Parliament to be call'd and elected by the free Votes of the Country, according to the undoubted Birthright of every *Engliſhman*.' This, and other Addreſſes to the ſame Purpoſe, he receiv'd with much Civility, and few Words: He took all Occaſions publickly to declare, *That nothing ſhou'd ſhake his Fidelity to the preſent Parliament*; yet privately aſſur'd thoſe, who he believ'd ought to hope well, *That he wou'd procure a free Parliament*; ſo that every one promis'd himſelf what he moſt deſir'd. But Mr. *Bowls* the Miniſter, being alone with him at Midnight, went further than a Free Parliament, and urg'd him to ſtay at *York*, and declare for the King; aſſuring him of great Aſſiſtance. Which being immediately told to Mr. *Price* his Chaplain, he put him in Mind of the Saying of *Guſtavus* when he enter'd the *German* Empire, *That if his Shirt knew what he intended to do, he wou'd tear it from his Back and burn it*. So the General wiſely reſolv'd to ſleep till he got within the Walls of *London*, and then to open his Eyes, and conſider what he had to do.

16$\frac{59}{60}$. Car. II.

But in the mean Time, before he left *York*, he thought fit again to conſider the Temper of his Army, which was now encreas'd by ſeveral revolted Parties; and accordingly he modell'd *Lambert*'s and *Lilburn*'s Regiments of Horſe, giving the firſt to *Bethel*, and the Latter to *Smythſon*, and chang'd moſt of the other Officers. Which done, he waited for new Orders from the Rulers at *Weſtminſter*.

The Proceedings of the Parliament.

3. The March and Motions of General *Monk* ſoon became the Diſcourſe and Wonder of the whole Nation, and gradually rais'd the Fears and Apprehenſions of the Parliament, tho' at firſt they had look'd upon him as their Deliverer and Reſtorer to their Places. They were no ſooner ſeated, but they took all poſſible Care to eſtabliſh their full Power and Authority: They caſhier'd and impriſon'd ſeveral Officers of the Army, who had acted againſt them; and Sir *Henry Vane*, Major *Saloway*, and divers other Members of the Houſe who had concurr'd with the *Committee of Safety*, were likewiſe confin'd to their Houſes: They reſolv'd upon a new *Council of State*, conſiſting of about Thirty, as *Monk*, *Fairfax*, *Haſlerigg*, *Morley*, *Wallop*, *Scot*, *Love*, *Weaver*, *White*, *Reynolds*, *Robinſon*, *Rolls*, *Harrington*, *Thompſon*, *Widdrington*, *Dixwell*, *Saint John*, *Nevil*, *Fagg*, *Corbet*, *Challoner*, *Say*, *Aſhley-Cooper*, *Lawſon*, *Berners*, *Foot*, *Love*, *Terril* and *Bethel*. To ſtrengthen their Power, as they thought, they appointed that every one of theſe ſhou'd, before they act, take a ſolemn Oath of Abjuration of the King and all his Family, together with all Government by a ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Lords. Which Oath being in ſtricter Terms than any before, caus'd many to diſlike it; but the Leaders that promoted it alledg'd, 'That without that, they cou'd have no certain Aſſurance of Power; and that the *Hollanders* and thoſe of the United Provinces cou'd never be fix'd in their Government, till they had made a Renunciation of the King of *Spain*.' And the Matter was carry'd to that Height, that not thinking it enough for the *Council of State*, they urg'd that every Member of the Houſe ſhou'd alſo take the ſaid Oath. This was much oppos'd by *Fielder*, *Weaver*, *Dove*, *Hutchinſon*, *Ingoldsby*, both the *Puries*, and many more of the ſoberer Sort, who alledg'd, 'That it wou'd be a confining of Providence to make ſuch an Oath, a Snare to many good Men, and a Terror to ſuch as were truly conſcientious; who might ſuſpect this to be the Forerunner of many Oaths to fetter their Liberties.' Moſt of theſe were Perſons of whom they had no Jealouſy, ſo that it caus'd a great Diviſion in the Houſe; and when the Act for the *Council of State* came to be executed by the Adminiſtration of the Oath, *Weaver*, *Morley*, *Fagg*, *Saint John*, and ſeveral more, to a third Part at leaſt, refuſ'd it, and were therefore not admitted to ſit and act.

They grow ſuſpicious of **Monk,**

When theſe new Governours found themſelves ſo much at Eaſe, as to be out of Danger from *Lambert*, they heartily wiſh'd that General *Monk* was again in his old Poſt in *Scotland*. But as he continu'd his March to *York*, without expecting their Orders, ſo they decently knew not how to command a Perſon to return, whom they had ſent for to aſſiſt them, without ſeeing him, and giving him Thanks and a Reward for his Service: Yet they were deſirous to leſſen his Forces as much as they cou'd, and caus'd him to ſend back Part of them into *Scotland*; and then to ballance his Greatneſs and Popularity, they began ſecretly to favour and employ *Fleetwood*'s and *Lambert*'s Officers. They were daily allarm'd with ſome Particular or other in his March and Stay at *York*; and his receiving ſo many Addreſſes from the People, and his treating ſome Parties ſo civilly, much ſtartled them: And tho' his Profeſſions of Fidelity to the Parliament, and referring all Things to their Wiſdom, had a good Aſpect towards them, yet they fear'd he might obſerve too much how generally odious they were grown to the People, which might leſſen his Reverence towards them. His general Deportment was ſo ſuſpected to ſome, that *Harry Martin* in the Houſe, according to his comical Way, 'reſembled him to One, that being ſent for to make a Suit of Cloaths, brought with him a Budget full of Carpenters Tools; and being told, *that ſuch Things were not at all fit for the Work he was deſir'd to do*, anſwer'd, *It matters not, I will do your Work well enough I warrant you*.' They were likewiſe jealous of *Fairfax*'s Riſing for them; and therefore cou'd not think *Yorkſhire* a proper Place to quarter his Army in; which made them the more inclinable to ſend for him to *London*.

And ſend two Agents to him.

But the better to ſecure him, and to give ſome Check to that Freedom of Addreſſes, and Reſort of Malignants, they ſent two of their faithful and abjuring Members, *Scot* and *Robinſon*, under the Pretence of returning the Thanks of the Houſe for his great Services, to continue and be preſent with him, and reprehend any Boldneſs that ſhou'd appear in Delinquents. As ſoon as the City knew of this, they likewiſe ſent three of their chief Citizens, *Foulke*, *Vincent* and *Bromfield*, to perform the ſame Compliments, and to confirm him in his Inclinations to a free Parliament, as the Remedy all Men deſired.

Monk continues his March to London.

In the mean Time the General, having ſent Colonel *Clark*'s Regiment of Foot, and Major-General *Morgan*'s Regiment of Horſe back into *Scotland*, remov'd from *York* to *Nottingham*, where he continu'd for a few Days; his Forces now conſiſting of four Regiments of Foot, and three of Horſe, to the Number of about five thouſand eight hundred Men: A ſmall Army, but very well modell'd. In all his Paſſage to this Place, and to *London* it ſelf, he was entertain'd with ringing of Bells, and a mighty Concourſe of Gentry, and of all Sorts of People, who flock'd to him with their Addreſſes from ſeveral Counties; the Purport of which was, to deſire either a full and free Parliament, or the Reſtoration of the ſecluded Members of this. And it is very obſervable, That in all the Counties, ſo much Caution was obſerv'd, that no Gentleman ſign'd any of theſe Addreſſes, that had been ingag'd in the Cauſe of the preſent King, or his Royal Father; which made it clearly appear what the Senſe of the Country was at that Time. At *Nottingham* the General was met by Dr. *Clarges*, and Mr. *Gumble* his Chaplain, who, having been privately ſent to *London*, now gave him a full Account of the Affections and Deſigns both of the City and Parliament. At *Leiceſter* he was met, and graciouſly receiv'd by the two honourable Spies from the Parliament, *Scot* and *Robinſon*; and at *Harborough* by the Deputies of the City of *London*. Theſe latter in their Speech deſir'd *That the Parliament might be Full and Free*; at which *Scot* was ſo impatient, that without ſuffering the General to anſwer, he told them, *That ſince the Parliament had ſubjected the Military Power to the Civil, they were Free*; *and having already given their Judgment as to the ſecluded Members, it did not become them to inſiſt upon their Readmiſſion.* The General complying with this, the Citizens retired in Diſcontent, till he inform'd them by a private Meſſenger, *That he was compell'd to temporize till he had an Opportunity to diſcover his Intentions.* *Scot* behav'd himſelf after the ſame Manner at *Northampton*, where more Addreſſes appear'd; and again at St. *Albans*, when Sir *Richard Temple* deliver'd his Addreſs, he told him *he wou'd firſt take up the Sword, as old as he was, before the things they petition'd ſhou'd be granted.*

He writes to the Parliament to remove their Forces.

At St. *Albans* the General ſtay'd about four Days, to remove a particular Impediment that highly affected his Cauſe: There were ſtill at *London* four Regiments of Horſe, under *Okey*, *Rich*, *Haſlerigg*, and *Desborough*, and eight of Foot, under *Ayres*, *Markham*, *Streater*, *Fitch*, *Moſſe*, *Fleetwood*, *Morley* and *Fagg*; amounting to nine or ten thouſand Men; a Number ſufficient to daſh the General's Deſigns in Pieces, unleſs he cou'd gain them to his Intereſt, or divide them. As the ſhorteſt Method he wrote to the Parliament, intimating, 'That he had ſome Apprehenſions that thoſe Regiments and Troops of the Army who had formerly deſerted them, tho' for the preſent they were return'd to their Obedience, wou'd not live peaceably with his Men; and therefore deſir'd that all thoſe Forces in *London*, except the Regiments of Colonel *Fagg*, and Colonel *Morley*, might be preſently remov'd, and ſent to more diſtant Quarters, that there might be Room for his Army.' This was a ſurpriſing Meſſage, and exceedingly perplex'd them; and made them ſee their Fate wou'd ſtill be under the Force and Awe of an Army. Their Diviſions had encreas'd ſince the Removal of *Vane*, *Saloway*, *&c.* and *Haſlerigg* daily loſt Ground; ſo that as their Authority delin'd, they found it more neceſſary to comply. Accordingly they ſent their Orders for ten of the twelve Regiments to depart; which, with the Reaſon and Ground of their Reſolution, was ſo diſdainfully receiv'd, that a Mutiny aroſe among the Soldiers, and the Regiment then quarter'd in *Somerſet-Houſe* expreſsly refus'd to obey thoſe Orders; ſo that there was a great Appearance of new Uproars. But the Officers, who wou'd have gladly inflam'd them upon ſuch an Occaſion, were either abſent, or under Reſtraint: So that at laſt all was well compos'd, and both Officers and Soldiers remov'd to the Quarters aſſign'd them, with ſufficient Animoſity againſt thoſe who were to ſucceed them in their Places.

They obey.

Monk *enters* London.

4. All Obſtructions thus remov'd, and the General's Attendance of Great Perſons much increas'd at *Barnet*, on the third Day of *February*, he march'd his whole Army to *London*. He enter'd by *Gray's-Inn* Lane, and from thence down *Chancery* Lane, and ſo through *Temple-Bar*, along the *Strand* to *Whitehall*. The three Regiments of Horſe march'd firſt, himſelf at the Head of them gallantly mounted, his Trumpets roderichly clad before him, ſeveral led Horſes behind, and Perſons of Quality after him; the Foot cloſing up the Rear. He was met by the Speaker in the *Strand*, who came out of his Coach while the General alighted: They embrac'd with great Shew of Kindneſs and Friendſhip, and then the General rode forwards to *Whitehall*, where a particular Apartment was prepared for him. Here ſoon after his Arrival, a great Secret was reveal'd to him, as coming from Secretary *Scot*, namely, 'That not only his Power for commanding the Army ſhou'd be taken from him in a few Days, but that he ſhou'd be ſent to the *Tower*, and queſtion'd for his Life; not doubting but ſuch Things wou'd be prov'd againſt him, as wou'd take off his Head.' He rewarded the Diſcoverer, and ſo well provided againſt the Danger, that he heard no more of it.

When all Men's Mouths were fill'd with Stories, and their Minds with Suſpence, on the third Day after his Arrival, the General was ſolemnly conducted to the Parliament. There a Velvet Chair was appointed for him; and the Speaker made a Speech to him to this Effect, 'That tho' it was God, and not Man, who had done this great Work, and ought to have the Glory of it; yet the Influence of that Glory extended to him the Inſtrument, as a Reward of his prudent and wiſe Conduct: That when their Friends had deſerted them, and there was a great Defection in Duty and Truſt, ſo that the whole Nation ſeem'd to have been expos'd to the utmoſt Ruin, they diſcern'd, as the Prophet did, a little Cloud afar off, which in an Inſtant became the Refreſhment of the whole Nation, and a glorious Mercy to them all: That the Houſe had a true Senſe of his Services, and return'd their hearty Thanks to him, and all his Officers and Soldiers.' The General, without any great Eloquence of Speech, after he had thank'd them for the Honour they had done him, told them in plain Words, 'That in his March from *Scotland*, ſeveral Applications, with numerous Subſcriptions, had been made to him, for a *Full and Free Parliament*, *for Admittance of the ſecluded Membere without any previous Oath or Engagement*; *and that this Parliament wou'd determine their Sitting*: To all which he had anſwer'd, *That they were now a Free Parliament*; *and that they had voted to fill up their Houſe, and then they wou'd be a Full Parliament*; *and that they had already determin'd their Sitting*: *But as for the ſecluded Members, this Parliament had already given Judgment in it, in which all People ought to acquieſce*; *and that to admit any Members to ſit in Parliament, without a previous Oath to preſerve the Government in Being, was never done in* England. But now he crav'd Pardon to ſay it to themſelves, That the leſs Oaths or Engagements were impos'd, their Settlement wou'd be the ſooner attain'd to: That he knew all the ſober Gentry wou'd cloſe with them, if they might be tenderly and gently us'd: That it was their common Concernment to amplify, not to leſſen their Intereſt, and to be careful that neither the *Cavalier* nor the *Fanatick* Party ſhou'd get a Share in the Civil, or Military Power.' Then he ſpake of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, who, he ſaid, fear'd nothing more than to be over-run with *Fanatick* Notions.

The Speaker's Speech to him.

His Anſwer.

All this being ſpoken with more than his uſual Warmth, there were ſome Expreſſions in it which they diſlik'd; but others gave them ſome Eaſe and Hopes that he wou'd be faithful, tho' inwardly they heartily wiſh'd him again in *Scotland*, and that they had been left to contend with the Malignity of their old Army. To try him further, they invited him to take his Place in the *Council of State*, of which he had been before elected a Member. In Order to this he muſt of Neceſſity take the new Oath of Abjuration; which had been before propounded to him by thoſe who had thus argu'd for the Neceſſity of it: 'That it was high Time to diſcriminate their own Party, that they might come to know whom they cou'd truſt; it being found that there had been a great Defection, even among themſelves.' The General was not unprovided of an Anſwer, and ſo crav'd leave to demurr; adding, 'That he had not ſeen any Advantage from their *Promiſſory Oaths*, ſince thoſe who took them made no Scruple to break them, particularly in the Caſe of the *Covenant* and *Engagement*; and ſuggeſted, that ſeveral beſides himſelf, nominated to be of the *Council of State*, had not yet abjured; nor did he know how it wou'd reliſh with his Army, who were very tender in that Point. But that they might ſee they had no Reaſon to ſuſpect him or his Army, he deſir'd they wou'd make tryal of their Fidelity and Obedience to them, and if they found he either diſobey'd or diſputed their Orders, he was then in their Power: For he brought not an Army to make them jealous of him; but had ſent back a great Part of it, after he underſtood that they were eſtabliſh'd in their Power.

He declines the Abjuration Oath.

Within a Day or two they had this extraordinary Occaſion to make Experiment of his Courage and Fidelity Notwithſtanding they had renew'd their Ordinances for all Collections and Payments, they found it neceſſary, for their preſent Supply, to require the City immediately to collect and bring in their Arrears of their Taxes, and at the ſame Time to borrow a conſiderable Sum of Mony of them; which cou'd not be eaſily and regularly done but by the Advice, and with the Conſent of the Common-Council.

This was now conſtituted of ſuch Perſons as were weary of the Parliament, and wou'd by no Means comply with their Commands; therefore they did not only refuſe their Conſent to what was demanded, but in the Debate of it, excepted againſt their Authority, and in Effect declar'd, ‘ That they wou'd never ſubmit to any Impoſition that was not granted by *a full and free Parliament*.’ And it was generally believ'd, that they had aſſum'd this Courage upon ſome Confidence they had in the General, and the Apprehenſion of this, made the Parliament to be in the greater Perplexity and Diſtraction. This Refuſal being likely to put an End to their Empire, they reſolv'd upon this Occaſion to make a full Tryal of their own Power, and of their General's Obedience. Accordingly the Matter was referr'd to the Conſideration of the *Council of State*, what was proper to be done towards reducing the rebellious City to that Submiſſion they ought to pay to the Parliament. The Council, after Debate, came to this Agreement and Reſolution, ‘ That early the next Morning, the General with his Forces ſhou'd march into the City, and there ſeize the Perſons of the moſt active Common-Council Men, and commit them to the *Tower*; after that to pull down the Poſts and Chains they had lately ſet up, and take down the Gates and Portcullices, and there quarter his Men, till he had reduc'd them to Obedience.’ They kept the General that Night with them till two in the Morning, for the greater Security, and to prevent any new Impreſſions that might hinder or retard this Reſolution. There were Endeavours us'd by ſome of the Non-Abjurors to diſſuade him, who waited his Return from Council; but it was ſo unſeaſonable an Hour, that the General was got to Bed, and cou'd hear no more than the bare Propoſition.

He is order'd to pull down the Gates, &c. of the City,

The next Morning, being the ninth of *February*, he enter'd upon this odious Work: He went into the City, and after he had plac'd his main Guards for his own Security, he diſtributed the Remainder of his Army to their ſeveral Poſts, charging them to pull down the City Gates, break their Portcullices, and pluck up their Poſts and Chains; while he Himſelf, in the mean Time, ſent for and impriſon'd the moſt daring and diſaffected Members of the Common-Council, purſuant to his Orders. Theſe Proceedings were very aſtoniſhing to the City, and no leſs ſurpriſing to the Soldiers, who with the utmoſt Regret and Murmurings obey'd their General. Several of the Officers refus'd to act, but offer'd to lay down their Commiſſions; which the General wou'd not ſuffer them to do, but thus reprehended them, *What! will you not obey the Parliament's Orders*? Inſinuating that this Odious Action had been unavoidably forc'd upon him; and indeed by the Frowns and Clouds in his Face they ſoon perceiv'd his Meaning, and readily took the Hint to cabal againſt theſe new Task-Maſters. Various were the Outcries in the Streets againſt the General; but Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, who was a Spectator, was ſo highly pleas'd, that he cry'd out, *Now* George, *we have Thee for ever*, *Body and Soul!* and thus elevated he ran to the Parliament, and in the ſame Manner broke out in the Preſence of many Members, *All is our own*, *He will be honeſt!* This was the *Criſis* that ſo ſoon chang'd the Face of Things; and no Accident of War cou'd have more fully aſſur'd his Army to him, or have made the Parliament more hateful to their Reſtorers. That this was *Monk*'s own Contrivance, is believ'd by Dr. *Price*, and more than intimated by *Ludlow*; and ſoon after he ſaid to the Former, *This was a Trick you knew not of: I aſſure you*, *that I cou'd not have done my Buſineſs ſo ſoon without it*, *and poſſibly not at all.* Yet many at that Time fear'd, that if the Parliament had cultivated his tame Reſignation with any Temper and Diſcretion, by preparing his Approbation to their Proceedings, they might have found a full Compliance, at leaſt no Oppoſition, to all their Counſels. But they were ſo infatuated with Pride and Inſolence, that they cou'd not diſcern the Ways to their own Preſervation.

Which he performs.

While they were thus executing their Tyranny upon the City, they were contriving how to leſſen the General's Power and Authority, and reſolv'd to join others with him in the Command of the Army; and upon that very Day they receiv'd a Petition, which they had fomented, preſented to them by a notorious Man, formerly mention'd, *Praiſe-God Barebone*, in the Head of a Croud of Sectaries. Which Petition begun with all imaginable Bitterneſs and Reproaches againſt the Memory of the late King, the Perſon of the preſent King, and all the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry of the Kingdom who adhered to him; urging for an utter Extirpation of all of them. It took Notice of many Diſcourſes of calling a new Parliament, or of admitting thoſe Members to ſit, who had been excluded in the Year 1648; ‘ either of which, as the Petitioners alledg'd, wou'd prove the inevitable Deſtruction o all the *Godly in the Land*:’ And therefore they earneſtly beſought them, ‘ That no Perſon whatſoever might be admitted to the Exerciſe of any Office or Function in the State, or in the Church, no not ſo much as to teach a School, who did not firſt take the Oath of Abjuration of the King and all his Family, and that he wou'd never ſubmit to the Government of any one ſingle Perſon whatſoever; and that whoſoever ſhou'd preſume to propoſe, or mention the Reſtoration of the King, in Parliament, or any other Place, ſhou'd be adjudg'd guilty of High-Treaſon.’ This Petition was receiv'd with great Approbation by the Houſe, their Affection much applauded, and the Thanks of the Parliament very ſolemnly return'd by the Speaker: tho' theſe Men were known by them to be but a few Weeks before the Confidents of *Lambert* and the Parliament's Enemies. So ſordidly obſequious were theſe poor little Remains and Dregs of a Parliament.

Barebone's *Petition.*

5. Hitherto in Appearance the General had been all Obedience; but now there began a viſible Turn of the Tide. For as ſoon as he had return'd out of the City to *White-Hall*, he was preſently attended by ſome of his chief Officers, who freely inveigh'd againſt the Proceedings of the Parliament, inſiſted upon ‘ their Ingratitude towards him, and the Indignity offer'd him, both in their odious Imployment, and their giving ſuch Countenance to a Rabble of infamous Varlets, who deſir'd to inflame the whole Kingdom in Compliance with their Fanatick and mad Enthuſiaſms; therefore ſome ſpeedy Remedy was of Neceſſity to be thought on and apply'd.’ The General was too wiſe to loſe this Advantage; but however ſeem'd to require Time to deliberate upon it. But they earneſtly reply'd, ‘ That if ſome Thing was not immediately done, to bear their Teſtimony againſt ſuch Proceedings, He wou'd ſoon be loſt, and They with him; but He in the firſt Place, becauſe he had now more Enemies in the Council of State, and alſo in the Parliament, than he imagin'd.’ The General ſoon yielded to their Fears and Counſels, and the more readily, becauſe that Day he had been privately aſſur'd of the *Tower* of *London* by Colonel *Morley* the Lieutenant, who likewiſe promis'd him the Conjunction of Colonel *Fagg*. In all Secrecy therefore it was debated and concluded, That a Letter ſhou'd be ſent to the Parliament the Day following; and late at Night Orders were iſſu'd out, that the principal Officers ſhou'd meet very early at the General's Lodgings the next Morning. Being come, the Occaſion of their convening was expounded by the Secretaries of the Night who had ſat up to pen and tranſcribe the Letter to the Parliament, and their Aſſent to it deſir'd. The General ſubſcrib'd it firſt, and they in Order: The Subſtance of the Letter was, after a Complaint of ſeveral Grievances, a peremptory Requeſt, or rather Command, ‘ That by *Friday* next, being within ſeven Days, they ſhou'd ſend forth Writs to fill up all the vacant Places in the Houſe; and when that was done, fix a determinate Time for their own Sitting, and ſo give Place to a full and free Parliament.

Monk's *Letter to the Parliament.*

This Letter was preſently printed and diſpers'd through the City; and before it cou'd be read in the Houſe, the General had diſpatch'd Meſſengers to Sir *Thomas Allen* the Lord-Mayor; deſiring Proviſion of Quarters for his Forces; and immediately march'd his whole Army into *Finſbury-Fields*. The Lord-Mayor was at firſt aſtoniſh'd, but being better inform'd, he ſoon provided a Dinner for the General and his chief Officers. After he had dined, he deſired the Lord-Mayor and the Aldermen, with the Common-Council, which the Parliament had diſſolv'd, to meet him at the *Guild-Hall*. At this Meeting he was attended by vaſt Throngs of People, who were eager to know the Meaning of it. He excus'd Himſelf to the Aſſembly ‘ for what he had been conſtrain'd to do in the City by Order of Parliament, aſſuring them he was much troubled for that rigorous Work. He declared Himſelf ready to expoſe his Perſon to all Dangers for their Service, and that he had not forgot the kind Letter they had ſent him at *Morpeth*: That he was then of the ſame Opinion with them, but was oblig'd at that Time to conceal it, till he might have an Opportunity of diſcovering his Sentiments with better Advantage.’ He alſo acquainted them, ‘ That he had ſent a Letter to the Parliament, that they wou'd fill the Houſe, and put an End to their Sitting by the Sixth of *May*.’ It cannot be expreſs'd with what Shoutings and Acclamations this News was receiv'd among the People, who with the loudeſt Tranſports of Joy, cry'd out *A free Parliament! a free Parliament!* And beſides Bells, Guns, Wine, and other Marks of the moſt dilated Gladneſs, there was a continu'd Blaze throughout the City and Suburbs of no leſs than ſix thouſand Bonefires. At each of theſe they waſted and burnt all ſorts of Rumps, which they ſaid *was to celebrate the Funeral of the Parliament*: And there can be no Invention of Fancy, Wit, Mirth, or Ribaldry, that was not that Night exercis'd to defame the Parliament, and to magnify the General.

His Declaration to the City.

The Effects of it.

The Parliament frighted.

All this was very amazing and diſtracting to the Parliament; and *Ludlow* mov'd that they wou'd immediately adjourn to the *Tower*, and there call their diſperſed Forces together. However they continu'd ſtill to ſit, and proceeded in all Things with their uſual Confidence. They were not willing to deſpair of recovering their General again to them; but yet to leſſen his Authority, they made an Act to put the Government of the Army into the Hands of new Commiſſioners, *Monk*, *Haſlerigg*, *Walton*, *Morley* and *Alured*, making three a *Quorum*, but denying a Motion that *Monk* ſhou'd be of that *Quorum*. They ſent *Scot* and *Robinſon* to him with diſſembling Meſſages, to aſſure him of their high Opinion of his Services, and to recall him to his Lodgings at *White-Hall*. But he was now reſolv'd to throw himſelf upon the City, and not yet to truſt his Perſon near *Weſtminſter*. Within a few Days they ſent a Committee to treat with him, and to make ſuch Proffers to him as they conceiv'd wou'd beſt agree with his Ambition. The Entertainment he gave this Committee, was the engaging them in a Conference with another Committee of the Secluded Members, that he might know how one had the Right to ſit in Parliament, while the other were excluded. In this Conference the Sitting Members alledg'd ‘the Declaration of the General when he firſt appear'd for ‘them againſt the Army, that it was for the Parliament *as* ‘*it ſate the* 11*th of* October.’ The Secluded Members reply'd, ‘That their Re-admiſſion was no Infringement of ‘it; for the ſame Parliament wou'd ſit ſtill;’ adding further, ‘That the Purport of that Declaration was, to reduce ‘the Military Power in Obedience to the Civil; and that ‘they had been excluded the Houſe only by Force of the ‘Sword, without any legal Forfeiture of their Rights.’ But the Sitting Members vehemently urg'd the Safety of Themſelves, the Army, the Conſciences of the Godly, and the Sale of publick Lands; ‘all which they fear'd wou'd ‘be diſturb'd by the Introduction of the Secluded Mem‘bers.’ The other gave full Anſwers to all theſe Objections, and engag'd upon their Honours, ‘That they wou'd ‘not look upon what had been done ſince their Seclufion, ‘nor diſturb the Propriety or Pretences of any; but wou'd ‘amicably ſit and act for the Good of their Country, till ‘by their Diſſolution they made Way for another Parlia‘ment.’ When the General had heard them all, to the great Mortification of one Party, he made no Scruple to declare ‘That in Juſtice the Secluded Members ought to ‘be admitted before the Calling of another Parliament, and ‘the Diſſolution of this.

Monk declares for the Secluded Members.

After a Week's Stay in the City, the General new Quarter'd his Army, and return'd to his former Lodgings at *White-Hall*; where he appointed ſuch of the Secluded Members as were in Town, to the Number of fourſcore, to meet and confer with him. He told them, ‘That he ‘hop'd they were not ignorant what Care and Endeavours ‘had been us'd for the Healing the Breaches and Diviſions ‘of the Nation; and that in Order thereunto divers Con‘ferences had been procured between them: Yet having ‘a fuller Satisfaction from thoſe Gentlemen who had been ‘Secluded, he had put them all to the Trouble of that ‘Meeting, that he might open himſelf to them with more ‘Freedom than formerly. But leſt he ſhou'd be miſtaken ‘in his Delivery, or miſapprehended in his Expreſſions, as ‘he had lately been, he had put what he deſign'd to ſay in ‘Writing;’ which he commanded his Secretary to read to them, of which this was the Subſtance; ‘That by what ‘he had heard, the Settlement of the Nation lay in their ‘Hands, and that he was aſſured they wou'd become Ma‘kers up of its woful Breaches, in Purſuit whereof he ‘ſhou'd think nothing too dear: That he wou'd impoſe ‘nothing on them, but took leave to mind them, that the ‘old Foundations were ſo broken, that, in the Eye of Rea‘ſon, they cou'd not be reſtored but upon the Ruin of the ‘Nation: That the Intereſt of *London* lay in a *Common*‘*wealth*, the only Government capable of making her the ‘Bank for the Trade of *Chriſtendom*: That he thought a ‘moderate, not a rigid *Presbyterian* Government moſt ac‘ceptable to the Churches Settlement: That their Care ‘wou'd be neceſſary to ſettle the Conduct of the Army, ‘and Maintenance for the Forces by Sea and Land; deſi‘ring them further, that they wou'd ſummon a new Parlia‘ment, and make a legal Diſſolution.

His Diſcourſe to them.

The General had not to this Hour ſeem'd to them to have any Deſign, or Thought to ſerve the King, but appear'd to be really of the Opinion he intimated in his Paper, *That it was a Work impoſſible*: So that they thought he deſired Nothing, but that he might ſee a Common-wealth eſtabliſh'd in ſuch a Model as *Holland* was, where he had been bred; and that Himſelf might enjoy the Authority and Place which the Prince of *Orange* poſſeſs'd in that Government. The Paper being read, the Secluded Members took their Leaves, and being well ſupported by the Guards, they took their Places in the Parliament Houſe without any Interruption, to the great Grief and Amazement of the former Houſe-Keepers, who were ſo incens'd at this Intruſion, as they call'd it, that ſeveral of them diſown'd their Authority, and forſook the Houſe; tho' many of the more moderate Sort ſtaid behind, and ſat with the reſt. About ſeventeen of them, who moſt dreaded the King's Return, repaired to the General to underſtand the Reaſons of theſe Proceedings from his own Mouth. He receiv'd them with the ſame Civility and Proteſtations as formerly; and *Ludlow* tells us, that when they demanded of him, whether he wou'd joyn with them againſt *Charles Stuart* and his Party, he apply'd himſelf to Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, and ſaid, *Sir* Arthur, *I have often declared to you my Reſolution ſo to do.* Then formally laying hold of his Hand, he added, *I do here proteſt to you in the Preſence of all theſe Gentlemen, that I will oppoſe to the utmoſt the ſetting up of* Charles Stuart, *a ſingle Perſon, or a Houſe of Peers.* After which he began to expoſtulate with them touching their Suſpicions, in theſe remarkable Words: *What is it that I have done in bringing theſe Members into the Houſe? Are they not the ſame that brought the King to the Block? tho' others cut off his Head, and that juſtly.* The Secluded Members were reſtored on *Tueſday* the 21ſt of *February*, which being a great Step towards the happy Settlement of the Nation, there were that Day new Rejoycings and Bonefires through all the City of *London*.

He reſtores them to their Places.

The Long PARLIAMENT *improv'd.*

6. The Long Parliament was now very much increas'd and improv'd; and tho' in continu'd not much above three Weeks before its Diſſolution, yet many Things of Moment were tranſacted in that Time, which were the apparent Dawnings of a glorious Change. The Secluded Members, who daily increas'd, being far more numerous than the other, they repeal'd many Acts of the Rump, which had been made for their own Ends: They took off thoſe Sequeſtrations which they had laid on Sir *George Booth*, and his Party, which muſt have prov'd almoſt a general Calamity to the Nation; and releas'd Sir *George* and many others from their ſeveral Priſons. Thoſe of the King's Party who had ſhelter'd themſelves in Obſcurity, began to appear abroad; and the new Lord *Mordaunt*, who was known to be entirely truſted by the King, convers'd without Controle. And they were the more incourag'd, becauſe the Parliament had ratify'd that Vote made in *December* 1648, *viz.* ‘That the Conceſſions of ‘the late King were a ſufficient Ground to proceed on, ‘for ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom.’ And more than than, they expung'd and raſed out the ENGAGEMENT made in 1649, out of the Journals, and voted it to be null and void. They moreover ſet at Liberty Dr. *Wren* Biſhop of *Ely*, who had been eighteen Years Priſoner in the *Tower*; and order'd a Stop to be put to the Sale of the Eſtates of the Lord *Craven*, and Lord *Saint John*, the firſt of whom had his Eſtate taken from him by unparallel'd Injuſtice. Then to ſhew their Gratitude to their Reſtorer, they enlarg'd the General's Commiſſion, making him Commander in Chief of all the Forces of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, vacating the Power the Rump had lately granted to particular Commiſſioners. Before they aroſe they likewiſe releas'd the *Scotch* Lords *Lauderdale*, *Lindſey*, and *Sinclare*, from the tedious Impriſonments, to which upon various Pretences they had been committed.

They model the Militia.

In order to the ſecuring the Peace of the Nation, they took Notice, that the Rump had put the Militia of the Kingdom into the Hands of Sectaries, Perſons generally of no Degree or Quality, and notorious only for ſome new Tenent in Religion, and for ſome Barbarity ſhewn to the King's Party. All theſe Commiſſions were therefore revoked, and the Militia put under the Government of the Nobility, and principal Gentry throughout the Kingdom; yet ſtill with this particular Exception, That no Perſon ſhou'd be truſted in that Province, who firſt did not declare under his Hand, ‘That he did confeſs and acknowledge, ‘That the War rais'd by the two Houſes of Parliament ‘againſt the late King, was *Juſt* and *Lawful*, until ſuch ‘Time as Force and Violence was us'd upon the Parlia‘ment in the Year 1648.’ And particular Orders were ſent to *Hull* by Colonel *Alured* and Major *Smith*, that the Governor *Overton* ſhou'd immediately deliver up that Garriſon into the Hands of Colonel *Fairfax*, and repair immediately to *London*; and He, notwithſtanding his former Declaration, *That he was reſolv'd to keep it till the Coming of King JESUS*, preſently obey'd the Order, which prov'd much to the Advantage of the preſent Peace of the Nation. In the laſt Place, they rais'd an Aſſeſsment of one Hundred Thouſand Pounds by the Month, for the Payment of the Army, and defraying the publick Expences for Six Months, to which the whole Kingdom willingly ſubmitted; and the City of *London*, upon the Credit and Security of that Act, advanc'd as much ready Mony as they were deſired.

And lay a Tax.

After this new improv'd Parliament had ſate about three Weeks, they began to diſcourſe of their Diſſolution; but

ſeveral

16$\frac{59}{60}$. Car. 12.

ſeveral of the Members, unwilling to part with their Sovereignty, were offering to break the Articles of their Admiſſion, and appear'd againſt the immediate Calling of another Parliament. Mr. *Prynne* with too much Precipitance ſaid, *That if the King muſt come in, it was ſafeſt for them that he ſhou'd come in by their Votes who had made the War againſt his Father.* Upon which he was ſent for by the General, and admoniſh'd to be quiet; and it was the particular Buſineſs of *Monk* and his Friends to keep this expiring Parliament ſteddy, and clear from the intermeddling with the Change of Government. So at length the Act for the Diſſolution of the preſent, and the Summoning a New Parliament, was read. It was in the Name of the *Keepers of the Liberties of the Common-Wealth of* England, with this principal Qualification, 'That all and every Perſon and Perſons, who have adviſed, aided, abetted or aſſiſted in any War againſt the Parliament, 'ſince the firſt of *January* 1641; He, They, or their Sons 'ſhall be incapable to be Elected to ſerve as Members of 'the next Parliament, unleſs He or They have ſince manifeſted their good Affections to the Parliament.' The Houſe being ready to paſs this Act, Mr. *Crew*, a Perſon deeply engag'd in the late War, mov'd, *That before they diſſolv'd themſelves, they wou'd bear their Witneſs againſt the horrid Murder of the King.* Which Motion occaſion'd many to declare their Abhorrence of that Fact; and one of them concluding his Diſcourſe with proteſting, *That he had neither Hand nor Heart in it*, Mr. *Scot* with his uſual Inveteracy ſaid, *That he ſhou'd deſire no greater Honour in the World, than to have the following Inſcription engraven on his Tomb*; '*Here lieth one who had a Hand and Heart 'in the Execution of* Charles Stuart *late King of* England.' Having ſaid this, he and ſeveral others left the Houſe; and ſo the reſt iſſu'd out Writs to call a new Parliament to meet on the 25th Day of *April*; and then, on the 16th Day of *March*, after they had appointed a *Council of State*, they diſſolv'd themſelves, againſt all the Importunities of the violent Sectaries, to the unſpeakable Joy of all the reſt of the Kingdom, who, notwithſtanding their different Affections, Expectations, and Deſigns, were unanimous in their Wearineſs and Deteſtation of this formidable Aſſembly. And here ended the LONG PARLIAMENT, which, with innumerable Alterations, and ſeveral Intermiſſions, had continu'd the Scourge of the Nation, and the Terror of the Neighbourhood, for about nineteen Years.

The LONG PARLIAMENT *diſſolv'd.*

1660. Car. 12.

VI. I. And now the dark Cloud, that had cover'd and overſhadow'd the three Kingdoms for ſo many Years, was happily diſpell'd, and a Brightneſs appear'd throughout the Nation; and it is ſcarce credible, with what Torrents of Joy the People, wearied with the Continuance of that black Parliament, and freed from the Fears of a Reſurrection, entertain'd the News of its Diſſolution. Vaſt and various were the Expectations of the World concerning the new Parliament that was to meet within a little above five Weeks: But in the mean Time the chief Government of the Kingdom was lodg'd in a *Council of State*, which conſiſted of thirty one in Number, namely, *Arthur Anneſly* Lord Preſident, General *Monk*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Mr. *William Pierpoint*, Mr. *John Crew*, Mr. *Richard Knightly*, Colonel *Popham*, Colonel *Morley*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Chief Juſtice *Saint John*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Sir *John Evelin*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *William Lewis*, Colonel *Montague*, Colonel *Harley*, Colonel *Norton*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *John Temple*, Colonel *Thompſon*, Mr. *John Trevor*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Potts*, Colonel *Birch*, Colonel *Roſſiter*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, Mr. *John Swinfin*, and Mr. *John Weaver*. Theſe were moſt of them ſober honeſt Gentlemen, who did not wiſh ill to the King; yet ſeveral were for clogging his Return with Limitations and Conditions; and nothing was more generally talk'd of than the late King's Conceſſions in the *Iſle of Wight*, to which he had yielded with much leſs Chearfulneſs than he walk'd to the *Scaffold*. Of this Sort *Saint John* and *Hollis* appear'd zealous; tho' few wiſe Men cou'd expect thoſe Articles to be reduc'd to Practice, or the Peace of the Nation eſtabliſh'd by them. *Anneſly* the Preſident was well contented that the King ſhou'd receive particular Information of his Devotion, and of his Reſolution to do him Service; which he manifeſted in many Particulars of Importance. And had the Courage to receive a Letter from his Majeſty, and return'd a dutiful Anſwer to it; all which had a very fair and promiſing Aſpect.

The COUNCIL OF STATE.

But ſtill the King and his Friends knew not what to think of the General, and the Paper he had deliver'd at the Conference with the Members; for which he ſeem'd to have no Temptation, but his violent Affection to a Common-Wealth. Few or none of the Royal Party cou'd find any Means of Addreſs to him; yet they did believe, and they were much the better for that Belief, that the King had ſome ſecret Correſpondence with him. He was daily hurry'd and perplex'd with his unweildy Burden, yet knew not how to make it lighter by Communication; and he ſpent much Time in Conſultation with Perſons of every Intereſt, the King's Party only excepted. Yet he found in every Day's Diſcourſes in the City, with thoſe accounted Presbyterians, and with other Perſons of Quality and Conſideration, that the People generally wiſh'd for the King, and really believ'd, there cou'd be no firm and ſettled Peace in the Nation, that did not comprehend his Intereſt, and compoſe the Prejudice againſt his Party. But then they ſaid, He muſt be bound by ſtrict Articles; and every one diſcours'd of the Conditions they thought were beſt for the Nation, or rather for Themſelves. Upon this Account the General was preſent at *Northumberland-Houſe* in a Conference with that Earl, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and other Lords, together with *Hollis*, *Waller*, *Lewis*, and other conſiderable Perſons, who were eſteem'd the Heads of the moderate *Presbyterian* Party; who for the moſt Part wou'd have been contented, upon Proviſion for their own Security, to have the King reſtored to his Rights, and the Church to its Poſſeſſions. In this Conference, when the King's Return was directly propos'd, as abſolutely neceſſary to the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Queſtion only made, upon what Terms they ſhou'd admit him; the General inſiſted upon the moſt rigid Propoſitions, and urg'd it in ſuch a Manner, that the Lords grew jealous that he had ſuch an Averſion to the King's Reſtoration, that it wou'd not be ſafe for them then to inſiſt on the Propoſition; and that it were beſt to acquieſce till the Parliament met, and that they cou'd make ſome Judgment of the Temper of it.

1660. Car. 12.

The General under great Difficulties.

Mr. Morrice *very ſerviceable to him.*

It is certain, the General was then under great Difficulties, and his Mind much diſtracted with the various Sentiments and Opinions, that were every Day offer'd to him: But he ſeems to have been beſt fix'd by the Advice and Aſſiſtance of Mr. *William Morrice*, a worthy Gentleman of *Devonſhire*, of a fair Eſtate and Reputation, a Perſon learned and of good Parts, and of a ſtudious and retired Life. This Gentleman was ally'd to the General, and entirely truſted by him in the Management of his Eſtate in that Country, which was now very conſiderable. He was look'd upon as a Man far from any Malice towards the King, if he had not good Affections for him; and now being choſen in the enſuing Parliament, he made haſte to *London*, the better to obſerve the Face of Affairs. With him the General conſulted freely touching all his Perplexities and Obſervations; how he found moſt Men of Quality and Intereſt inclin'd to call in the King, but upon ſuch Conditions as muſt be very ungrateful, if poſſible to be receiv'd; and the *London* Miniſters talk'd already ſo loudly of them, that the *Covenant* being new printed, and by Order fix'd up in all Churches, they in their Sermons ſo diſcours'd of the ſeveral Obligations in it, that every Body underſtood, they thought it neceſſary the People ſhou'd return to their Allegiance. Mr. *Morrice*'s Advice to the General was very prudent, and much to the Advantage of the King's Affairs: But at the ſame Time, beſides the Promiſes made by Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* and other deſpairing Republicans, he was daily beſieg'd, and violently attack'd by the Perſwaſions and Arguments of Sir *Richard Willis* and Colonel *Dolman*, who often ſtagger'd his Reſolutions. Sir *Richard* finding himſelf loſt with the King, vehemently joyn'd with the Colonel in adviſing the General 'Either 'to ſet up the Rump Parliament again, which was ſtill in 'his Power, alledging, *That* England *never made a better 'Figure beyond Sea, than while under their Government, 'from the late King's Death to their firſt Diſſolution:* Or 'elſe, if he did not like that, to ſet up Himſelf, for which 'he might make a Title, as being deſcended from *Arthur* 'Lord *Liſle*, the laſt of the *Plantagenets*:' But for calling home the King, as Men in Deſpair, they told him plainly, *That if he did ſo, he wou'd put the Government of the Kingdom under Pimps and Whores, and that all wou'd decline into Infamy and Decay.* A worthy Friend of the Author's has been often told by Sir *William Morrice*, who was admitted into all their Conferences, and was the only Perſon made privy to them, That the General long hung very dubious what to do, upon their warm Suggeſtions; and that the greateſt Difficulty he had to fix him ſteady for the King's Reſtoration, was from the Arguments and Objections of theſe Men, *who*, as he ſaid with ſome Reſentment, *were the trueſt Prophets he ever met with in his Life.*

The Advice of Sir R. Willis, *and Col.* Dolman.

The French *Ambaſſador tempts the General.*

But that which ſeem'd to have been his greateſt Temptation was, the Overtures of Monſieur *Bourdeaux* the *French* Ambaſſador, who promis'd him from his Maſter *Mazarine* the powerful Aſſiſtance of *France* to ſupport him, if he wou'd take the Government upon himſelf; ſo ſteadily averſe was the Cardinal to the Reſtoration of a Perſon he had ſo much injured and ſlighted. Some ſay he bravely reſiſted the Propoſal, but Mr. *Locke* expreſly tells us, that he at laſt did agree with the *French* Ambaſſador to aſſume the Government to Himſelf. Since that Gentleman probably had his Account from the Fountain-Head, the Reader may be pleas'd to take it in his own Words: This Bargain was ſtruck up between them late at Night, but not ſo ſecretly, but that his Wife, who had poſted her ſelf conveniently behind the Hangings, where ſhe cou'd hear all that paſs'd, finding what was reſolv'd, ſent her Brother *Clarges* away immediately with Notice of it to Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*. She was zealous for the Reſtoration of the King, and had therefore promis'd Sir *Anthony* to watch her Husband, and to inform him from Time to Time how Matters went. Upon this Notice Sir *Anthony* caus'd the *Council of State*, whereof he has One, to be ſummon'd; and when they were met, he deſired *the Clerks might withdraw, he having a Matter of great Importance to communicate to them.* The Doors of the Council-Chamber being lock'd, and the Keys laid upon the Table, he began to charge *Monk*, not in direct and open Accuſation, but in obſcure Intimations, and doubtful Expreſſions, giving Ground of Suſpicion, *That he was playing falſe with them, and not doing as he promis'd.* This he did ſo ſkilfully and intelligibly to *Monk*, that he perceiv'd he was diſcover'd, and therefore in his Anſwer to him fumbled, and ſeem'd out of Order; ſo that the reſt of the Council perceiv'd there was ſomething in it, tho' they knew not what the Matter was: And the General at laſt averring, *That what had been ſuggeſted was upon groundleſs Suſpicions, and that he was true to his Principles, and ſtood firm to what he had profeſs'd to them, and had no ſecret Deſigns that ought to diſturb them, and that he was ready to give them all manner of Satisfaction*; Sir *Anthony* cloſed with him, and made a further Uſe of what he ſaid than he intended. For he meant no more than ſo far as to get away from Them, upon this Aſſurance which he gave them: But Sir *Anthony* told him, *That if he was ſincere in what he ſaid, he might preſently remove all Scruples; He ſhou'd preſently take away their Commiſſions from ſuch and ſuch Officers in the Army, and give them to thoſe whom he named, and that preſently before he went out of the Room.* *Monk* was in Himſelf no quick Man, he was guilty, alone, among a Company of Men who he knew not what they wou'd do with him; for they all ſtruck in with Sir *Anthony*, and plainly perceiv'd that *Monk* had deſign'd ſome foul Play. In theſe Straits, being thus cloſe preſs'd, and knowing not how elſe to extricate himſelf, he conſented to what was propos'd; and ſo immediately, before he ſtirr'd, a great Part of the Commiſſions of his Officers were chang'd; and Sir *Edward Harley*, among the reſt, who was a Member of the Council, and there preſent, was made Governor of *Dunkirk* in the Room of Sir *William Lockhart*, and was ſent away immediately to take Poſſeſſion of it. By which Means, ſays the ſame Author, the Army ceas'd to be at *Monk*'s Devotion, and was put into Hands that wou'd not ſerve him in the Deſign he had undertaken. The *French* Ambaſſador, who had the Night before ſent away an Expreſs to *Mazarine*, poſitively to aſſure him 'That things went 'as he had deſired, and that *Monk* was fix'd by him in 'his Reſolution to take on himſelf the Government,' was not a little aſtoniſh'd the next Day to find Things taking another Turn; and indeed this ſo much diſgrac'd him in the *French* Court, that he was preſently call'd home, and ſoon after broke his Heart. This was that which gave the great Turn to the Reſtoration of King *Charles*; whereof Sir *Anthony* had laid the Plan in his Head a long Time before. Thus far Mr. *Locke*, whoſe ſingular Account is left wholly to the Judgment of the Reader.

Diſappointed by Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper.

The Portugal *Ambaſſador applies to the General.*

In the mean Time the General had Application of another kind made to him from the *Portugal* Ambaſſador, *Don Franciſco de Melo*, who came over into *England* upon this following Occaſion. Upon the Concluſion of the late *Pyrenean* Treaty, the *French* the more to blind the Eyes of the *Spaniard*, and to excite the *Portugueſe* to ſeek out new Helps, had pretended to deſert the Intereſt of the latter, and to leave them to the Mercy of the former; which occaſion'd this Miniſter diligently to apply to the Powers then uppermoſt in *England*, for a certain Number of Troops to be ſent to the Aſſiſtance of his Maſter; which at length concluded in a Treaty with the *Council of State*, now lying in the Paper Office. But when *Monk*'s Power became ſo conſpicuous, he made his chief Overtures to him; and being accompany'd with Father *Ruſſel*, a Prieſt of the *Engliſh* College at *Liſbon*, who ſerv'd him as an Interpreter, he at the firſt Time ſpoke only thus much to him: 'That he wou'd not preſume to enquire if his Excellency 'had any good Inclinations for the King's Return; but 'this he wou'd advertiſe him as an Intelligence of great 'Moment to *England*, *That the* Spaniards *had reſolv'd, 'if his Majeſty ſhou'd be call'd home, to detain him at* 'Bruſſels, *till he had engag'd for the Reſtoration of* Dunkirk, *if not* Jamaica.' The General made no Anſwer; but when the Ambaſſador found that he was heard, and that there were ſome good Effects of his Intelligence, he ſoon proceeded to other Matters with the General, and to make Offer of the *Infanta* of *Portugal* to the King, as a Match the moſt advantagious of any in the World to *England*; 'ſince beſides the greateſt Portion in Mony that 'ever Queen had, that Princeſs was to bring with her '*Tangier*, which, as the Ambaſſador ſaid, wou'd make the '*Engliſh* Maſters of the Trade in the *Mediterranean*, and '*Bombaim*, which wou'd give them the like Advantage in 'the *Eaſt-Indies*; and wou'd likewiſe ſerve to humble the 'Power of *Spain*,' which the General, according to the Notions he had imbib'd in his younger Days, thought to be the greateſt Advantage of all. Therefore taking all theſe Things in their full Extent; but eſpecially conſidering that nothing was at preſent deſired but Forces, and that thereby the moſt mutinous of thoſe Regiments bred up by *Cromwell* might be ſent away, and the Peace of the Kingdom ſecured, the General clos'd intirely with what was offer'd; and Mr. *Morrice* was eminently concern'd in the Treaty, which was immediately and effectually offer'd by the General to the King at his Return into *England*. So ſoon was this Match provided, and ſo contrary to the common Accounts of it; and what is ſtill remarkable; by a particular Article of the Treaty, it was ſtipulated for the Benefit of *Portugal*, 'That *Dunkirk* ſhou'd never be parted withal 'to the *Spaniard*;' which laid the Foundation for the Sale of it afterwards to the *French*. Of all which we have unqueſtionable Proof from good Manuſcripts, and other ſufficient Evidences.

He propoſes a Wife for the King.

Sir John Greenvil's *Application to the General.*

2. But to return to the preſent Affairs of the King, who was for ſome Time under great Doubts and Suſpence. None of his profeſs'd and known Friends were yet admitted to the Privacies of the General. His Kinſman Sir *John Greenvil*, formerly mention'd, had ſeveral Times attempted to gain a ſecret Conference with him in vain, and at laſt earneſtly apply'd himſelf to Mr. *Morrice* to obtain that Favour. That Gentleman was employ'd by the General to learn of what Quality his Buſineſs was, aſſuring him *That he was authoris'd to receive his Meſſage, and that he wou'd return the General's Anſwer to it.* But *Greenvil* refus'd the Propoſal, and told him, *That it concern'd none but the General himſelf; and him ſo very much, that without further Delay he muſt impart it to him; and in Caſe he poſitively refus'd him a private Hearing, he was reſolv'd to ſpeak to him where-ever he ſhou'd next meet him.* The General had now been pretty well fix'd by the Arguments of Mr. *Morrice*, or perhaps the Management of Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*; and now finding by the many loyal Elections for the enſuing Parliament, that if he did not ſtrike in with Expedition, the great Work wou'd probably be taken out of his Hands, he reſolv'd to cloſe with Sir *John Greenvil*'s Propoſal, and appointed the next Night for a private Meeting with him.

He privately delivers him a Letter from the King.

This being agreed, Sir *John* with all Secrecy went to *Morrice*'s Chamber at St. *James*'s, where the General ſoon after was ready to receive him. Theſe two being alone, and *Morrice* Door-keeper to the Confereence, Sir *John* addreſs'd himſelf to the General, with an Acknowledgement, *That he was infinitely oblig'd to his Excellency, for giving him this Opportunity of diſcharging a Truſt of ſo great Importance both to himſelf, and the whole Kingdom; and that whatſoever became of him, he thought himſelf very happy in having this good Occaſion of performing his Duty to the King his Maſter.* At the ſame Inſtant he preſented the General with a Letter from the King, and produc'd another directed to himſelf, as alſo the Commiſſion which he had from his Majeſty to treat with him. The General taking the Paper, ſtep'd back; and with a frowning Countenance demanded of him *How he durſt ſpeak to him in ſuch a Matter, without conſidering the Danger he had hazarded*? But Sir *John*'s Anſwer was, *That he had long ſince duly conſider'd this Matter, with all the Danger that might attend it; which was not yet ſufficient to deter him from the Performance of his Duty in this Particular; and he was the more encourag'd in it, in regard his Excellency cou'd not but remember the Meſſage he receiv'd in* Scotland, *by his Brother.* Whereupon the General, approaching him with a pleaſing Aſpect, and embracing him in his Arms, ſaid, *Dear Couſin, I thank you with all my Heart for the Prudence, Fidelity and Conſtancy you have ſhew'd in this great Affair; and I am much pleas'd alſo at your reſolute Secrecy in it: For cou'd I have known that you had reveal'd it to any Man living, ſince you firſt truſted my Brother with it, I wou'd never have treated with you; which now I ſhall moſt willingly; and the rather, becauſe you are one of my neareſt Kinſmen, and of a Family to which I owe many Obligations.* So the General, having read the King's Letters, and the Commiſſion, he ſaid, *I hope the King*

will

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will forgive what is paſt, according to the Contents of his gracious Leter; for my Heart was ever faithful to him, but I was never in a Condition to do him Service till this preſent Time; and you ſhall aſſure his Majeſty, that I am now not only ready to obey his Commands, but to ſacrifice my All to his Service: To witneſs this I call this honeſt Man from the Door. So he call'd Mr. *Morrice* to him, who by this Time cou'd not but underſtand the Deſign of the Meeting.

Being all together, Sir *John* begg'd of the General to ſend ſome Confident of his own to the King; to which the General willingly yielded; but told him *the Confident muſt be himſelf; for he was reſolv'd not to write to the King as yet; and without that, the King had no Reaſon to give Credit to a Meſſenger of his, tho' he might well believe one of his own ſending.* And ſo he left him to confer with Mr. *Morrice*, and to take ſuch Inſtructions from him, as had been before diſcours'd between him and the General. That which Mr. *Morrice* communicated to him was, after an Enlargement 'on the Perplexity of the General, from the ſeveral prevailing Humours and Factions, and that he durſt not truſt any Officer of his own Army, or any Friend but himſelf, with his ſecret Purpoſes;' he adviſ'd in particular, 'That the King wou'd write a Letter to the General, in which, after ſome gracious Expreſſions, he ſhou'd deſire him to deliver the incloſ'd Letter, and Declaration to the Parliament;' the particular Heads, and Materials for which Letter, *Morrice* diſcours'd to him; of which the End was to ſatiſfy all Intereſts, and to comply with every Man's Humour, and indeed to ſuffer every Man to enjoy what he pleaſ'd. After Sir *John* had ſufficiently diſcours'd all Particulars with him, and taken ſuch Memorials in Writing as he thought neceſſary, within a Day or two he was brought with equal Warineſs to the General in another Place; to whom he read the ſhort Notes he had taken; to which little was added: And the General ſaid, *That if the King writ to that Purpoſe, when he brought his Letter to him, he wou'd keep it in his Hands, till he found a proper Time to deliver it, or ſhou'd think of another Way to ſerve his Majeſty.* But above all Things he intreated him, *To deſire his Majeſty from him to go preſently out of the King of* Spain'*s Dominions; for he had certain Intelligence he wou'd be detain'd by the King of* Spain'*s Miniſters, if he ſtaid in his Country.* He propoſ'd *Breda* as the moſt proper Place; *and that for the publick Satisfaction, whatſoever he ſhou'd ſend in Writing, ſhou'd bear Date as from that Town*; and he enjoyn'd Sir *John not to return, till he himſelf had ſeen the King out of the* Spaniſh *Dominions.* Thus inſtructed he left him, who taking with him the loyal Lord *Mordaunt* for a Companion of his Journey, ſet out for *Flanders* about the Beginning of *April*.

He receives Inſtructions, and goes over to the King.

3. Sir *John Greenvil*'s Negotiation was manag'd with ſuch Secrecy, and his Journey to *Bruſſels* was ſo ſpeedy and fortunate, that few knew of it before his Arrival there; and thoſe who did, and went in his Company, did not ſo much as ſuſpect the Buſineſs in which he was ingag'd. The King, upon Intimation of his being come, went privately to his Lodgings, and was alone with him; and he diſcover'd his Inſtructions from the General to his Majeſty, by whom he was believ'd, tho' he brought no Letter. Immediately the King conſulted with his Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, the Marquis of *Ormond*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, in the Preſence of this Gentleman. And in this Privy-Council *Monk* had a Commiſſion ſign'd to be Captain-General of all his Majeſty's Forces in the three Kingdoms.

The King meets him privately.

The King, who was oblig'd to Quickneſs in Diſpatch, ſtill found himſelf under ſeveral Difficulties with relation to the Particulars which were recommended to be done; ſome of which he believ'd altogether impracticable, as the leaving all Men in the State they were in, and confirming their Poſſeſſion of all the Lands they held by Purchaſe, or Donation, or Confiſcation, whether they belong'd to the Crown or the Church. Then the complying with all Humours in Religion, and the granting a general Toleration, was a Breach of all the Laws in Force, and cou'd not be ſuppoſ'd to conſiſt with the Peace of the Kingdom. As to a general Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, no Man was more diſpoſ'd to it than his Majeſty; but then he thought it neither conſiſted with his Honour, or his Conſcience, that his Father's Judges ſhou'd be comprehended in that Act of Pardon: Yet it was adviſ'd, 'That there might be little or no Exception; becauſe, it was alledg'd, that ſome of them had facilitated the General's March by falling from *Lambert*, and others had openly advanc'd the King's Service.' So, after great Deliberation, and weighing the Importance of complying with the General's Advice as far as Honour and Conſcience wou'd permit, his Majeſty directed ſuch Letters and Declarations to be prepared, as ſhou'd in a good Degree anſwer the Counſels of the General, and yet make the Tranſactions of thoſe things he did not like, the Effect of the Power of the Parliament, rather than of his own Approbation. And the Confidence he had upon the general Election of honeſt and prudent Men, and in ſome Particulars Perſons who were already choſen, diſpoſ'd him to make a general Reference of what he cou'd not reſerve to himſelf, to the Wiſdom of the Parliament; for he well knew, that whatſoever Title they aſſum'd, or he gave them, they muſt have another kind of Parliament to confirm all that was done by them; without which they cou'd not be ſafe and ſatisfy'd, nor his Majeſty ſtand oblig'd. Agreeable to theſe Conſiderations, ſeveral Letters were drawn up, and ſign'd by the King, one to the General and the Army, another to the Houſe of Commons, a third to the Houſe of Lords, another to the Fleet, and one more to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*; in each of which was incloſ'd a Declaration beſides, of which Account will be given afterwards.

He prepares Letters and Declarations to be ſent into England.

As to that Advice of removing ſuddenly out of *Flanders*, the King readily comply'd with that, being further urg'd to it by the Lord *Mordaunt*, who, juſt as he left *England*, had receiv'd Information from a Diſcovery made by his loyal Friend Dr. *Chriſtopher Merrett*, 'That the *Spaniards* had a full Purpoſe of ſeizing his Majeſty at *Bruſſels*, and that it wou'd not be ſafe for him to ſtay any longer.' To make way for this Removal, the King viſited the Marquiſs of *Carracena*, and civilly told him, *That he deſign'd the next Day to go to* Antwerp, *and from thence to* Breda, *to ſpend two or three Days with his Siſter the Princeſs of* Orange; to whom the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter* were already gone, to acquaint her with the King's Purpoſe; and he likewiſe inform'd him, *That there were ſome Perſons come from* England, *who wou'd not venture to come to* Bruſſels, *from whom he expected Propoſitions which might prove very beneficial to him, which oblig'd him to make that Journey.* The Marquiſs ſeem'd to think the Journey of little Moment, and wou'd have diverted him from it; but the King, to carry on the Diſguiſe, deſir'd him, *That the Forces he had promiſ'd him might be ready againſt his Return, to be embark'd upon the firſt hopeful Occaſion*, and ſo parted, with a Deſign to go the next Morning. Within a few Hours the King found that he cou'd not be too much in Haſte for his Journey: For in that Night there came one Mr. *William Galloway*, an *Iriſh* Page to *de Cardinas*, to Chancellor *Hyde*'s Lodgings, and finding his Secretary, told him, *He muſt needs ſpeak with his Lord immediately, for he had ſomething to impart that concern'd the King's Life.* The Chancellor, tho' at that time in Bed, order'd him to be admitted; and the poor Man trembling told him, *That his Lord* de Cardinas *and the Marquiſs of* Carracena *had been long together that Evening; and that he had over-heard them ſay ſomething of ſending a Guard to attend the King: That, about an Hour after, they parted; and the Marquiſs ſent a Paper to* de Cardinas, *who left it on his Table when he went to Bed: That himſelf, who lay in his Maſter's Anti-Chamber, look'd into the Paper when his Maſter was in Bed, and ſeeing what it was, had brought it to the Chancellor.* It imported an Order to an Officer 'to attend the King with a Party of Horſe, for a Guard where-ever he went, and not to ſuffer him, on any Terms, to go out of *Bruſſels*.' As ſoon as the Chancellor had read the Order, he ſent it to the King, who was likewiſe in Bed; and his Majeſty having read it, it was return'd to *Galloway*, who went home, and laid it again upon his Maſter's Table. The King immediately order'd Sir *William Armorer* his Querry to be call'd up, and charg'd him with all Secrecy, *That he wou'd be gone at Three a Clock that Morning*: And accordingly he ſafely departed with the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, Sir *William*, and two or three Servants more. Between eight and nine that Morning, an Officer did come and inquire for the King; but it happen'd, by this ſeaſonable Diſcovery, that his Majeſty had happily made his Eſcape ſome Hours before, to the great Diſappointment of the *Spaniſh* Governor.

A Diſcovery made to the King.

He ſecretly leaves Bruſſels.

As ſoon as the King got into the States Dominions, between *Antwerp* and *Breda*, he deliver'd to Sir *John Greenvil* all thoſe Diſpatches, which were prepared and dated, as from *Breda*, upon the ſame Day in which he receiv'd them, and where his Majeſty was to be that Night. The Copies of all were likewiſe deliver'd to him, that the General, upon Peruſal of them, might chuſe, without opening the Originals, Whether he wou'd deliver them, if he found any thing he diſlik'd; and the King referr'd it to him to proceed any other way, if upon any Alterations he thought fit to vary from his former Advice. Sir *John*, before his Departure, humbly deſir'd his Majeſty's Pardon, *if in his Negotiation he had exceeded his Inſtructions of Reward.* To which the King graciouſly anſwer'd, *That whatever he had promiſ'd in his Name, ſhou'd be punctual-*

ly perform'd upon his Reſtoration. Upon which he inform'd his Majeſty, *That he had propounded to the General a Hundred Thouſand Pounds* per Annum, *as a Donative to him and his Officers, together with the Office of Lord High* Conſtable *and* Chancellor *of* England; *but he had generouſly refus'd all theſe Offers, and beſides had given him this in Charge, 'That he ſhou'd not propound any thing to his Majeſty as a Gratification for Service, either for himſelf, or for any Friend or Officer under him.'* The King then preſs'd Sir *John* to know what he ſhou'd do for him; but he, after the Example of the General, nobly refus'd all Propoſals of Reward for the Service in which he had been ſo eminently ſucceſsful, till he ſhou'd happily ſee his Majeſty at *Whitehall*. However the King had then put up into this brave Gentleman's Packet, tho' unknown to him, a Warrant under his Hand and Seal for an *Engliſh* Earldom, and the Aſſurance of three Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* for ever, to ſupport his Honour; together with a Promiſe to pay his and his Father's Debts, which had been contracted in the War, and in the Service of his Majeſty and his Royal Father. With theſe Diſpatches Sir *John Greenvil*, and his Companion the Lord *Mordaunt*, who privately expected his Return at *Antwerp*, made what Haſte they cou'd towards *England*; and the King that Night got ſafely to *Breda*, where he continu'd with his Royal Relations for above a Month.

And goes to Breda.

Sir John Greenvil *returns to the General.*

Sir *John Greenvil*, at his Return to *London*, beſides the above-mention'd Commiſſion to the General, produc'd his Majeſty's Seals and Signet, by which his Excellency was empower'd to make a Secretary of State; which, by the Advice of Sir *John*, he conferr'd upon Mr. *Morrice*, who in a ſhort time after had the Honour of *Knighthood*. And over and above his publick Letters, which were reſerv'd to be communicated at a proper Seaſon, he brought a private one to the General from the King, written with his Majeſty's own Hand. To this the General return'd an Anſwer by Mr. *Bernard Greenvil*, Brother to Sir *John*, who at this time cou'd not be ſpared to go over to *Breda*, becauſe the Parliament was approaching, where he was to preſent his Majeſty's Letters and Declarations. This was the firſt time that the General durſt, or wou'd venture to write to the King; which was immediately after he had read over and approv'd the Copies of the ſeveral Diſpatches. And it ought to be remember'd for his Honour, that from this time he behav'd himſelf with true Affection to the King; and tho' he labour'd under the ſtrongeſt Temptations to the contrary, he us'd all his Endeavours to promote the Intereſt of his Majeſty: Yet at the ſame time he as carefully retain'd the Secret, and did not communicate to any Perſon living, excepting Mr. *Morrice*, that he had receiv'd any Letter from the King, till the very Minute he took the Opportunity to preſent it to the Houſe of Commons.

4. In the mean time the whole Nation was buſily employ'd in the Election of Members for the enſuing Parliament; in which it was wonderful to ſee the general Joy and Chearfulneſs that poſſeſs'd the Minds and Looks of all Men, and the no leſs ſtupid Conſternation of the Fanatick Party; ſo that it appear'd that Heaven had diſarm'd their Spirits of their uſual Violence, even to their perſonating a concurrent Contentment in this ſtrange Change of Affairs. But while all things carry'd ſo pleaſing and promiſing an Aſpect, there happen'd a Buſineſs that very much troubled the King and his Friends, and might probably have deſtroy'd all the Hopes that began to flatter them. Upon the Diſſolution of the Rump Parliament, the higheſt Deſpair ſeiz'd upon all who had been the late King's Judges; and all who had afterwards concurr'd with them, and exercis'd the ſame Power, believ'd their Ruin to be near and inevitable. And therefore they contriv'd all Methods to preſerve themſelves, and to prevent the aſſembling a new Parliament; which if they cou'd interrupt, they made no Doubt but the Rump Members wou'd again reſume the Government. To this Purpoſe they employ'd their Agents among the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, who had been diſgracefully remov'd to make Room for General *Monk*'s Forces: And they inflam'd theſe Men with the Senſe of their own deſperate Condition, 'who, beſides the Loſs of their Arrears, ſhou'd be now offer'd as a Sacrifice to the Cavaliers, their conquer'd Enemies, who were implacably incens'd againſt them.' Not did they omit to make the ſame Infuſions into the Soldiers of the General's Army, who were ſuſceptible of the ſame Fears and Apprehenſions. And when their Minds were thus prepared, *Lambert*, who had been made cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*, unexpectedly made his Eſcape; his Party having in all Places ſo many of their Combination, that they imagin'd they cou'd compaſs any Deſign, eſpecially with ſuch an able Commander at the Head of them.

Lambert *breaks out of the* Tower.

This Eſcape, in ſuch a nice Conjuncture, threw the General and the *Council of State* into a great Agony: They foreſaw many threatning Inconveniencies; but without Delay they proclaim'd *Lambert* and his Accomplices Traytors, and required all Perſons to endeavour to ſuppreſs them; and to the ſame Purpoſe Colonel *Roſciter* and Colonel *Ingoldsby* were ſent out with a ſufficient Strength of Horſe; of whom it was the Fortune of the latter to have Advice of his being near *Daventry* in *Northamptonſhire* with a Party of four Troops, beſides ſome Sectaries who were likewiſe joyn'd with him. Upon his Departure, the General ſent privately for Sir *John Greenvil*, and told him plainly, *That if Colonel* Ingoldsby *were beaten, and* Lambert'*s Army ſo increas'd as not to be ſuppreſs'd without a War; he then wou'd put off his Diſguiſe, declare the King's Commiſſion, own it for the Authority by which he acted, and commiſſion the Royal Party into Arms in all Places through* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland: Wherefore he requir'd Sir *John* to attend him, and receive Orders from him for his Majeſty's Service. But indulgent Providence had appointed the glorious Reſtoration to be without Blood: For Colonel *Ingoldsby* poſting towards *Lambert*, his forlorn Hope chanc'd to meet with *Haſlerigg*, one of his four Captains, whom they apprehended; but he was ſet at Liberty upon his Parole given to bring over his Troops to them, which he perform'd the next Day. At length *Ingoldsby* facing *Lambert*'s Party, the Enemy finding himſelf too weak to fight, deſired to treat; which being granted, *Lambert* propos'd the ſetting up *Richard Cromwell*, and reſtoring him to be Protector; which being look'd upon as a fooliſh Propoſal, they prepared to fight. But another Troop deſerting *Lambert*, he made ready for Flight, hoping by the Fleetneſs of his Horſe to have eſcap'd; but notwithſtanding he was overtaken by *Ingoldsby* himſelf, and being demanded to yield himſelf his Priſoner, offer'd not ſo much as to draw his Sword, but ſervilely cry'd out, *Pray, my Lord, let me eſcape! what Good will my Life or Impriſonment do you?* Beſides him there were taken Colonel *Cobbit*, Major *Creed*, Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Axtel*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Young*, with ſeveral others, who were all ſent to the *Tower*, and other Priſons, a little before the Meeting of the Parliament.

He is taken by Colonel Ingoldsby.

In the mean time many ſeditious Pamphlets were publiſh'd, to debauch the Minds of the People, and Tickets were thrown into the Courts of Guards in the Night, to excite and corrupt the Soldiers: But none appear'd to have been penn'd with more Virulency and Malice, than that ſuppoſititious Paper entitled, *A Letter from* Bruſſels, &c. which pretended to lay open the implacable Diſpoſition of the King's own Temper, in the moſt affecting Terms that cou'd be invented. Theſe and others were anſwer'd by diſplaying his Majeſty's natural Clemency and forgiving Temper, which at this Time was highly neceſſary to be believ'd. For the greateſt Obſtruction to his Return at this Time, was the Conſcience of the perſonal Injuries, and barbarous Uſage, which all the Royal Party had ſuſtain'd, and the Apprehenſion that their Animoſities were ſo great, that, notwithſtanding the beſt Acts of Oblivion, all Opportunities wou'd be taken for ſecret Revenge; and that They who had been deeply oppreſs'd for near twenty Years, wou'd for the future uſe their new reſtored Power with great Inſolence. To obviate therefore this too reaſonable Imagination, and to ſtop the Mouths of Libellers, ſome wiſe Perſons of the King's Party publiſh'd an excellent Declaration, in which, after Thanks given to the General, they ſincerely profeſs'd, 'That they reflected upon the paſt Suffering as from the Hand of God; and therefore did not cheriſh any violent Thoughts or Inclinations againſt any Perſons whatſoever, who had been any way inſtrumental in them; and that, if the Indiſcretion of any Particular Perſons ſhou'd tranſport them to Expreſſions contrary to this their general Senſe, they utterly diſclaim'd them.' They farther promis'd, 'by their quiet and peaceable Behaviour to teſtify their Submiſſion to the *Council of State*, in Expectation of the future Parliament; on whoſe Wiſdom, they truſted, God wou'd give ſuch a Bleſſing, as might produce a perfect Settlement both in Church and State.' And laſtly they declared, 'That as the General had not choſen the Sandy Foundation of *Self-Government*, but the firm Rock of *National Intereſt*, whereon to frame a Settlement, ſo it was their Hope and Prayer, that when the Building ſhou'd come to be rais'd, it might not, like *Rome*, have the Beginning in the Blood of Brethren; nor, like *Babel*, be interrupted by Confuſion of Tongues; but that all might ſpeak one Language, and be of one Name; that all Mention of Parties and Factions, and all Rancour and Animoſities may be thrown in and bury'd like Rubbiſh under the Foundation.' This was ſign'd by nineteen Lords, one Biſhop, twenty nine Knights,

A Declaration of the King's Party

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four Doctors of Divinity, and ſeventeen Lawyers and Gentlemen of Note, and all their Names publiſh'd in Print. This and the like healing Methods were happily obſerv'd in many other Parts of the Nation; which very much contributed towards the allaying the preſent Diſtemper, and prov'd an excellent Preparation for the Approach of the bleſſed Parliament.

The FREE PARLIAMENT.

VII. 1. At length came on the vaſt expected Day, the 25th of *April*, when that happy Convention, call'd the *Free Parliament*, met and ſate in two Houſes; introduced by a Sermon preach'd by Dr. *Reynolds*. The Lords choſe the Earl of *Mancheſter* for their Speaker, and the Houſe of Commons made Choice of Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, who had been a Member of the Long Parliament, and continu'd, rather than concurr'd with them, till he was excluded in 1648. The Lord General was choſen Knight for his own County of *Devon*, and likewiſe for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; and not above four or five of thoſe call'd *Rumpers* were return'd. The firſt Thing they did, was to order 'That the Lord General ſhou'd have the Acknowledgment and hearty Thanks of the Parliament, for the eminent and unparallel'd Services done theſe Nations, in freeing them from Slavery, without the leaſt Bloodſhed;' which was accordingly perform'd. Thanks alſo were after that given to Colonel *Ingoldsby*, for his Service againſt *Lambert*. And now the Reſtoration of Monarchy was ſo apparent, that ſeveral of the Republicans thought complying wou'd be the ſureſt Means of Safety; and Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* himſelf came to the General, and delivered up his two Regiments, and the Governments of *Berwick*, *Newcaſtle* and *Tinmouth*, which were given him by the late Powers, on Condition to have his Life and Eſtate preſerv'd; both which were generouſly aſſured to him. After their Thanks return'd, the Members proceeded to bitter Invectives againſt the Memory and Actions of *Cromwell*, with Execration upon the horrid Murther of the late King. And in theſe general Heads they ſpent the two firſt Days of their Sitting; no Man, how loyal ſoever, having the Courage to mention the King, till they cou'd exactly diſcover the Intentions of the General, who cou'd only protect ſuch a Propoſition from being penal to him that made it, by the former Ordinances of the Rump-Parliament.

The Houſes having adjourn'd two or three Days, upon the Account of a Faſt, on the firſt of *May*, when all Men were ſtill in a Suſpence, the General, having ſurvey'd the Temper of the Houſe, reſolv'd at once to open the grand Affair. He ſtood up and told them, *That one Sir* John Greenvil, *who was a Servant of the King's, had brought him a Letter from his Majeſty; which he had in his Hand, but wou'd not preſume to open it without their Direction; and that the ſame Gentleman was at the Door, and had a Letter to the Houſe:* Which was no ſooner ſaid, than with a general Acclamation he was call'd for, and being brought to the Bar, he ſaid, *That he was commanded by the King his Maſter, having been lately with him at* Breda, *to deliver that Letter to the Houſe; which he was ready to do:* And ſo, giving it by the Serjeant to be deliver'd to the Speaker, he immediately withdrew.

Sir John Greenvil *delivers*

The King's Letter to the General,

And that to the Commons,

The Houſe with all Earneſtneſs call'd out to have both Letters read, that to the General, and that to the Speaker. The Former was directed *To General* Monk, *to be by him communicated to the Preſident, and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Army under his Command.* It conſiſted chiefly of an earneſt Invitation to them all 'to concur with Him in the Remedy he had apply'd, which in Human Underſtanding, was only proper for the Ills they all Groan'd under; and to make themſelves the bleſſed Inſtruments of Peace and Reconciliation between King and People: Declaring beſides, That he had more endeavour'd to prepare and improve the Affections of his Subjects at home for his Reſtoration, than to procure any Aſſiſtance from abroad; which Aſſiſtance, in this Conjuncture, he need not want.' The Letter to the Speaker was more eagerly call'd for, which conſiſting of Things more material and particular, many of the Words and Expreſſions ought here to be inſerted in full Length. As, 'We do aſſure you upon our Royal Word, that none of our Predeceſſors have had a greater Eſteem of Parliaments, than we have in our Judgment, as well as from our Obligation: We do believe them to be ſo vital a Part of the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and ſo neceſſary for the Government of it, that We well know neither Prince nor People can be in any tolerable Degree happy without them; and therefore you may be confident, That we ſhall always look upon their Counſels, as the beſt we can receive; and ſhall be as tender of their Privileges, and as careful to preſerve and protect them, as of that which is moſt near to Ourſelf, and moſt neceſſary for our own Preſervation. And as this is our Opinion of Parliaments; ſo We are moſt confident, That you believe and find, that the Preſervation of the King's Authority is as neceſſary for the Preſervation of Parliaments; and that it is not the *Name*, but the *right Conſtitution* of them, which can prepare and apply proper Remedies for thoſe Evils which are grievous to the People, and can thereby eſtabliſh their Peace and Security. And therefore we have not the leaſt Doubt, but that you will be tender in, and as jealous of, any Thing that may infringe our Honour, or impair our Authority, as of your own Liberty and Property; which is beſt preſerv'd by preſerving the Other.----------We look upon you as wiſe diſpaſſionate Men, and good Patriots, who will raiſe up thoſe Banks and Fences which have been caſt down, and who will moſt reaſonably hope, That the ſame Proſperity will again ſpring from thoſe Roots, from which it hath heretofore and always grown; nor can we apprehend that you will propoſe any Thing to Us, or expect any Thing from Us, but what We are as ready to give, as You to receive.--------If you deſire Security for Thoſe who, in theſe calamitous Times, either wilfully or weakly have tranſgreſs'd thoſe Bounds which were preſcribed, and have invaded each others Rights, We have left to you to provide for their Security and Indemnity, and in ſuch a Way, as you ſhall think juſt and reaſonable; and by a juſt Computation of what Men have done and ſuffer'd, as near as is poſſible, to take care that all Men be ſatisfy'd. If there be any crying Sin, for which the Nation may be involv'd in the Infamy that attends it, We cannot doubt but that you will be as Solicitous to redeem it, and vindicate the Nation from the Guilt and Infamy, as We can. If you deſire that Reverence and Obedience may be paid to the Fundamental Laws of the Land, and that Juſtice may be equally and impartially adminiſter'd to all Men, it is that which We deſire to be ſworn to our Self, and that all Perſons in Power and Authority ſhou'd be ſo too. In a Word, there is Nothing that you can propoſe that may make the Kingdom happy, which We will not contend with you to compaſs; and upon this Confidence and Aſſurance, We have thought fit to ſend you this Declaration, *&c.*

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Together with his DECLARATION.

At laſt was read his Majeſty's *Declaration* to all his Loving Subjects, which being of the greateſt Moment, ought to be inſerted without any Abridgment or Diminution. 'If the general Diſtraction and Confuſion, which is ſpread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all Men to a Deſire, and Longing, that thoſe Wounds which have ſo many Years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all We can ſay will be to no Purpoſe. However, after this long Silence, We have thought it our Duty to declare, how much We deſire to contribute thereunto: And That, as We can never give over the Hope, in good Time, to obtain the Poſſeſſion of that Right, which God and Nature hath made our Due; ſo We make it our daily Suit to the Divine Providence, that He will, in Compaſſion to Us and our Subjects, after ſo long Miſery and Sufferings, remit, and put Us into a quiet and peaceable Poſſeſſion of that our Right, with as little Blood and Damage to our People as is poſſible; nor do We deſire more to enjoy what is Ours, than that all our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is Theirs, by a full and entire Adminiſtration of Juſtice throughout the Land, and by extending our Mercy where it is wanted and deſerv'd. And to the End that Fear of Puniſhment may not engage any, conſcious to Themſelves of what is paſt, to a Perſeverance in Guilt for the future, by oppoſing the Quiet and Happineſs of their Country, in the Reſtoration both of King, and Peers, and People to their juſt, ancient and fundamental Rights; We do by theſe Preſents declare, *That We do grant a free and general Pardon, which We are ready, upon Demand, to paſs under our Great Seal of* England, *to all our Subjects of what Degree or Quality ſoever, who within Forty Days after the Publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay hold upon this our Grace and Favour, and ſhall by any publick Act declare their doing ſo, and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects*; *EXCEPTING ONLY SUCH PERSONS AS SHALL HEREAFTER BE EXCEPTED BY PARLIAMENT.* Thoſe only excepted, let all our Subjects, how faulty ſoever, rely upon the Word of a King, ſolemnly given by this preſent Declaration, *That no Crime whatſoever committed againſt Us, or our Royal Father, before the Publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in Judgment, or be brought in Queſtion, againſt any of them, to the leaſt Indamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Eſtates, OR* (as far forth as lies in our Power) *SO MUCH AS TO THE PREJUDICE OF THEIR REPUTATIONS, by any REPROACH, or TERMS OF DISTINCTION from the reſt of our beſt Subjects; We deſiring and ordain-*

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ordaining, That henceforward all Notes of Diſcord, Separation, and Difference of Parties, be utterly aboliſh'd among all our Subjects; whom We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among Themſelves, under our Protection, for the Reſettlement of Our Juſt Rights, and Theirs, in a Free Parliament; by which, upon the Word of a King, We will be adviſed. And becauſe the Paſſion and Uncharitableneſs of the Times have produced ſeveral Opinions in RELIGION, by which Men are engag'd in Parties and Animoſities againſt each other; which, when they ſhall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Converſation, will be compoſed, or better underſtood; We do declare *a Liberty to tender Conſciences; and that no Man ſhall be diſquieted, or called in Queſtion for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion WHICH DO NOT DISTURB THE PEACE OF THE KINGDOM; and that We ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an Act of Parliament, as, upon mature Deliberation, ſhall be offer'd to Us, for the full granting that Indulgence.* And becauſe in the continu'd Diſtractions of ſo many Years, and ſo many and great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchaſes of Eſtates have been made to and by many Officers, Soldiers and Others, who are now poſſeſs'd of the ſame, and who may be liable to Actions at Law, upon ſeveral Titles; We are likewiſe willing *That all ſuch Differences, and all Things relating to ſuch Grants, Sales, and Purchaſes, ſhall be determin'd in Parliament; which can beſt provide for the juſt Satisfaction of all Men who are concern'd.* And we do further declare, *That We will be ready to conſent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the Purpoſes aforeſaid, and for the full Satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army under the Command of General* Monk; *and that they ſhall be receiv'd into Our Service upon as good Pay, and Conditions, as they now enjoy.*

The Joy and Gratitude of the Commons.

From this Moment *Charles Stuart* was no more mention'd, or heard of: Such a general Torrent of Joy was never ſeen within thoſe Walls; and tho' there were ſome Members, who in all Probability were inwardly vex'd to the Soul, yet they had not the Hardineſs to appear leſs tranſported than the reſt; and even *Robinſon* Himſelf, formerly a moſt fierce Man againſt the King, was now one of the Firſt who magnify'd his Majeſty's Grace and Goodneſs. And ſo, without deferring it a Minute, and without one contradicting Voice, they appointed a Committee to prepare an Anſwer to his Majeſty's Letter, ‘Expreſſing the great and joyful Senſe the Houſe had of his gracious Offers, and the humble and hearty Thanks for the ſame, and with Profeſſions of their Loyalty and Duty to his Majeſty; and that the Houſe will give a ſpeedy Anſwer to his Majeſty's gracious Propoſals.’ They likewiſe order'd, at the ſame Time, ‘That both his Majeſty's Letters, that to the Houſe, and that to the General, with his Majeſty's *Declaration* therein incloſed, and the Reſolution of the Houſe thereupon, ſhou'd be forthwith printed and publiſh'd, as well as enter'd at large in the Journal of the Houſe.’ Then the Houſe took into Conſideration, That the King being long depriv'd of his Revenue, might be in Want of Mony, and therefore Order'd, ‘That Fifty Thouſand Pounds ſhou'd be ſpeedily rais'd and preſented to his Majeſty, with ten Thouſand to the Duke of *York*, and five Thouſand to the Duke of *Gloceſter*.’

The King's Letter to the Lords.

In the mean Time Sir *John Greenvil* attended on the Houſe of Lords, where beſides the King's Declaration, he deliver'd a Letter from his Majeſty, in which were theſe Words: ‘We have thought it very fit and ſafe for Us to call for your Help, in the compoſing the confounding Diſtempers and Diſtractions of the Kingdom; in which your Sufferings are next to thoſe We have undergone our Self; and therefore you cannot but be the moſt proper Counſellors for removing thoſe Miſchiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. -------- We are moſt confident you will diſcharge your Truſt with that Juſtice, and Wiſdom, that becomes you, and muſt always be expected from you; and that, upon your Experience how one Violation ſucceeds another, when the known Relations and Rules of Juſtice are once tranſgreſs'd, you will be as jealous for the Rights of the Crown, and for the Honour of your King, as for your Selves.’ The reading of the Declaration and Letter was ſucceeded with ſuch Acclamations as had never been known in that Place; and the Joy cou'd not be confin'd within the Walls of the Houſe; but a Conference was immediately deſired with the Commons; who preſently joyn'd with them in this Vote,

Vote of both Houſes.

‘That according to the ancient and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons:’ And they appointed a Committee to ſearch the Journals, for what Acts or Orders there had been made inconſiſtent with that Government. On the ſame Day the King's Letter and Declaration was deliver'd to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, who were likewiſe tranſported with his Majeſty's Goodneſs towards them, and the Promiſes he made to that his *Native City*. And to manifeſt their Duty and Gratitude, they immediately order'd a Preſent of ten Thouſand Pounds for the King, a Thouſand Pounds for the Duke of *York*, and as much for the Duke of *Gloceſter*. Preſently the whole City was fill'd with Shouts and Acclamations, and nothing but Raptures appear'd in every Man's Countenance; Guns, Bells, and Bonfires proclaim'd the general Exultation; and that Night was crown'd with ſuch Torrents and Overflowings of Joy, as can neither be deſcrib'd nor expreſs'd.

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2. The next Day the Committee who were appointed by the Houſe of Commons, proceeded to prepare an Anſwer to the King's Letter and Declaration: They found it difficult to ſatisfy all Men, who were well contented that the King ſhou'd be invited to return; but ſome thought, that the Guilt of the Nation required leſs Precipitation than was like to be us'd; and that a Treaty ought firſt to be made with the King, and Conditions of Security agreed on, before his Majeſty ſhou'd be receiv'd. Many of thoſe who had conferr'd together before the meeting of the Parliament, had deſign'd ſome Articles to be prepared, according to the Model of thoſe at *Killingworth*, in the Time of King *Henry* the Third, to which the King ſhou'd be ſworn before he came home. Then the *Presbyterian* Party, of which there were many Members in the Houſe, tho' they were rather troubleſome than powerful, ſeem'd very ſolicitous that ſomewhat ſhou'd be concluded in Veneration of the *Covenant*; and, at leaſt, that ſomewhat ſhou'd be inſerted in their Anſwer to the Diſcountenance of the Biſhops. But the more general Warmth and Zeal of the Houſe threw away all thoſe Formalities and Affectations: They cry'd out, *They had proceeded too far already in their Vote upon the Receipt of the Letter, to fall back again, and offend the King with colder Expreſſions of their Duty.* In Concluſion, after two Days Debate, finding an Impatience without the Walls equal to that within the Houſe, they were contented to gratify the *Presbyterians* in the Length of the Anſwer, and in uſing ſome Expreſſions which wou'd pleaſe Them, and cou'd do the King no Prejudice. Much of it is a kind of a Repetition of the King's own Expreſſions, and therefore not needful to be inſerted; but one Paragraph ought not to be omitted, which is as follows:

The Commons Letter to the King.

‘And we beſeech your Majeſty, we may add this farther for the Vindication of Parliaments, and even of the laſt Parliament, conven'd under your Royal Father of happy Memory, when through Miſtakes and Miſunderſtandings, many Inconveniences were produced, which were not intended, That thoſe very Inconveniences cou'd not have been brought upon us by thoſe Perſons who had deſign'd them, without violating the Parliament itſelf. For they well knew it was not poſſible to do a Violence to that ſacred Perſon, whilſt the Parliament, which had Vowed and Covenanted for the Defence and Safety of that Perſon, remain'd entire. Surely, Sir, as the Perſons of our Kings have ever been dear unto Parliaments, ſo we cannot think of that horrid Act committed againſt the precious Life of our late Sovereign, but with ſuch Deteſtation and Abhorrency, as we want Words to expreſs it; and, next to wiſhing it had never been, we wiſh it may never be remember'd by your Majeſty, to be unto you an Occaſion of Sorrow, as it will never be remember'd by Us, but with that Grief and Trouble of Mind which it deſerves; *being the greateſt Reproach that ever was incurr'd by any of the* Engliſh *Nation, an Offence to all the Proteſtant Churches abroad, and a Scandal to the Profeſſion of the Truth of Religion here at home*; though both Profeſſion and true Profeſſors, and the Nation itſelf, as well as the Parliament, were moſt innocent of it; it having been only the Contrivance and Act of ſome few ambitious and bloody Perſons, and ſuch others, as by their Influence were miſ-led.

Thanks given to Sir John Greenvil.

The Letter being engroſs'd and ſign'd, Sir *John Greenvil* was appointed to attend the Houſe; and being conducted to the Bar, the Speaker ſtood up, and thus addreſs'd Himſelf to him: *I need not tell you with what grateful Hearts the Commons have receiv'd his Majeſty's gracious Letter; you yourſelf being an Ear and Eye-Witneſs of it: Our Bells and our Bonfires have already began the Proclamation of his Majeſty's Goodneſs, and of our Joys: We have told the People,* That our King, the Glory of *England*, is coming home again, *and they have reſounded it back in our Ears,* That they are ready, and that their Hearts are ready to receive Him: *Both Parliament and People have cry'd aloud to the King of Kings in their Prayers, LONG LIVE KING* CHARLES *THE SECOND! I am likewiſe to tell you, That the Houſe do not think fit that you return back to our Royal Sovereign, without ſome Teſtimony of our Reſpects to yourſelf; and therefore have order'd* *der'd that five Hundred Pounds ſhou'd be deliver'd to you, to buy you a Jewel, as a Badge of that Honour which is due to a Perſon whom the King has honour'd with ſo gracious a Meſſage: And I am commanded in the Name of the Houſe to return you their very hearty Thanks.* So mighty a Change was this, that a Servant of the King's, who, for many Years together, had been in Priſons and Confinements, only for being his Servant, and but a few Months before wou'd have been brought to a ſhameful Death, if he had been known to have ſeen the King, ſhou'd now be thus rewarded for bringing a Meſſage from him. From this Time there was ſuch a zealous Emulation and Impatience in Lords and Commons, and City, and generally over the Kingdom, that, as the noble Writer obſerves, a Man cou'd not but wonder where thoſe People dwelt who had done all the Miſchief, and kept the King ſo many Years from enjoying the Comfort and Support of ſuch excellent Subjects.

Both Houſes make a Proclamation of the King.

3. The next great Thing that was conſider'd, both by Lords and Commons, who had a Conference for that End, was, how they might with the greateſt Show and Luſtre perform the Reſpects preparatory to his Majeſty's Return. They well remember'd, That upon the Murder of the late King, there was a Declaration, That no Man, upon Peril of his Life, and Forfeiture of his Eſtate, ſhou'd preſume to declare his Succeſſor; which had ſo terrify'd the People, that they hardly durſt ſo much as pray for him. Wherefore, tho' this Parliament had us'd all Methods to publiſh their Return to their Obedience, yet they thought it neceſſary for the better Information and Conviction of the People, to make ſome ſolemn Proclamation of the King's undoubted Right to the Crown, and to oblige all Men to pay that Reverence and Duty to him, which they ought to do by the Laws of God and the Land. Accordingly, with the Conſent of both Houſes, a Proclamation was drawn up in theſe remarkable Words: 'Altho' it can no Way be doubted, but that his Majeſty's Right and Title to his Crown and Kingdoms, is, and was every Way compleated by the Death of his moſt Royal Father of glorious Memory, without the Ceremony or Solemnity of a Proclamation; yet, ſince Proclamations in ſuch Caſes have been always uſed, to the End that all good Subjects might upon this Occaſion, teſtify their Duty and Reſpect; and ſince the armed Violence, and other the Calamities of many Years laſt paſt, have hitherto deprived us of any ſuch Opportunity, whereby we might expreſs our Loyalty and Allegiance to his Majeſty: We therefore the Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, together with the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, and other Free Men of this Kingdom now preſent, do, according to our Duty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimouſly acknowledge and proclaim, *That immediately upon the Deceaſe of our late Sovereign Lord King* Charles, *the Imperial Crown of the Realm of* England, *and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights belonging the ſame, did, by Inherent Birth-Right and Lawful Undoubted Succeſſion, deſcend and come to his moſt Excellent Majeſty* Charles *the Second, as being Lineally, Juſtly, and Lawfully next Heir of the Blood Royal of this Realm, and that by the Goodneſs and Providence of Almighty God, He is, of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *the moſt Potent, Mighty, and Undoubted King; and thereunto We moſt humbly and faithfully do ſubmit, and oblige our Selves, Our Heirs, and Poſterity for ever.* GOD SAVE THE KING!'

The Solemnity of its Publication.

This Proclamation being prepared, the Lords and Commons order'd the Arms of the Common-Wealth in all Places to be taken down, and the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to publiſh the higheſt Expreſſions of Joy by the great Guns, at the appointed Time; while the General concerted all Things with the City, to compleat the grand Solemnity. So on *Monday*, the 8th of *May*, a new Day of Triumph, the Lords being met in the *Painted Chamber*, walk'd in Order through *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with the Earl of *Mancheſter* their Speaker at the Head of them. At the Hall Gate they were accompany'd and attended by the Speaker, and the whole Body of the Houſe of Commons; where being regularly plac'd, both Lords and Commons ſtood bare, while Mr. *Byſhe*, *Garter* King at Arms, dictated, and Mr. *Ryly*, *Norroy* King at Arms, with a loud Voice firſt pronounc'd the fore-written Proclamation. This done, the Lords and Commons took their Coaches, and proceeded in the following Manner: Firſt went the Bailiff of *Weſtminſter*, with his Servants riding with white Staves to prepare the Way; then follow'd a gallant Troop of Officers, and other Gentlemen, with Trumpets before them; next the General's Life-Guard, with a new Claſs of Trumpets; then a Herald between the Serjeant of the Commons, and the Mace of the Council; next Mr. *Ryly* between two Serjeants, after whom came Mr. *Byſhe* and the Uſher of the Black Rod: Then follow'd the Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and the Lord General *Monk*, each in their Coach and Six Horſes, being follow'd by the Lords and Commons in their Coaches, and a Troop of Horſe bringing up the Rear. Thus they proclaim'd his Majeſty a ſecond Time before *White-Hall*; and then advancing to *Temple-Bar*, the noble Show was encreas'd by a glorious Cavalcade of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, *&c.* with all the Officers of the City Militia, moſt ſplendidly accouter'd. The Streets were lined on both Sides by the Train'd-Bands of *London*, from *Temple-Bar* to the *Royal Exchange*, the City Horſe falling in with the Life Guard; and ſo with this Addition of Solemnity, his Majeſty was again proclaim'd at the End of *Chancery-Lane*, at *Cheapſide*, and at the *Exchange*, with ſuch overflowing Raptures and Tranſports, as exceed all Imagination. At Night the whole City ſhin'd with Bonfires and Fire-Works, and the Air reſounded with the Noiſe of Bells, Guns, Warlike Inſtruments, and the repeated Acclamations of the People; while Feaſtings in the Houſes, and Rivers of Wine in the Streets join'd in the publiſhing the Univerſal Joy; which ſoon diffus'd itſelf throughout the Kingdom with ſuch an overbearing Inundation, as was never known in any Age before.

Applications made to the King at Breda,

From England,

VIII. 1. During the various and hopeful Tranſactions in *England*, the King, who had happily eſcaped from *Bruſſels*, continu'd at *Breda* for above a Month, where on every Day was open'd to him ſome new Scene and Proſpect of Felicity. Expreſſes came frequently from *London*, upon the Obſervations of his Friends, and the Applications made to them by many who had been very active againſt him, and were now as ſollicitous his Majeſty ſhou'd know, that they wholly dedicated themſelves to his Service. Many Perſons now came to *Breda*, not as formerly to *Cologn*, *Bruges* and *Bruſſels*, under Diſguiſes, and in Fear to be diſcover'd, but in the moſt publick Manner, and with the Vanity to be taken Notice of, to preſent their Duty to the King. Every one ſeem'd ready to boaſt of their Services, and to magnify their Sufferings under the late Tyrannical Government; when ſeveral of them had been purely paſſive under it, and others real Promoters of it. For ſome of theſe, when they were extolling their Loyalty and former Behaviour, it is ſaid, the King call'd for Wine, and applying himſelf to the Duke of *York*, drank to the Health of theſe Gentlemen, with this Remark, *That he was out of their Debt, having, as he thought, done as much for them, as they had done for him*. Every Day the Numbers of the *Engliſh* encreas'd at *Breda*, where the Magiſtrates took particular Care for their Accommodation: Some were imploy'd to procure Pardons for thoſe who thought themſelves in Danger; and others brought good Preſents in *Engliſh* Gold to the King, that the Names of them and their Friends who ſent them, might be remember'd among the firſt who ſhew'd their Affections by ſupplying his Neceſſities. Among theſe, Mr. *Lenthall*, late unhappy Speaker of the Long Parliament, commiſſion'd a Friend to give the King three thouſand Pounds from him, and to deſire that he might continue Maſter of the Rolls; but the Perſon he had employ'd was told, *That the Place was already promis'd to another.*

From Flanders,

The King had not been long at *Breda*, before the *Spaniſh* Miniſters at *Bruſſels* began to think, that his Majeſty's Affairs were not altogether ſo hopeleſs as they had weakly imagin'd them to be, and that there was more in his Remove to *Breda* than at firſt appear'd. They had daily expected to hear, that the States of *Holland* had forbidden him to remain in their Dominions, as they had done when his Preſence had been leſs Publick. But when they cou'd hear of no ſuch Thing, but that the Reſort to the King daily encreas'd; and that he had ſtay'd longer there than he had intimated to them, the Marquiſs of *Carracena* ſent a Perſon of prime Quality to *Breda*, 'to invite his Majeſty to return to *Bruſſels*; the rather, becauſe he had receiv'd ſome hopeful Propoſitions from *England*, to which he was not willing to return an Anſwer, without receiving his Majeſty's Command and Approbation.' The King civilly ſent him Word, 'That upon the Account of his Buſineſs in *England*, he was oblig'd to ſtay where he was; and that he was not without Hope that his Affairs might ſucceed ſo well, that he ſhou'd not be neceſſitated to return to *Bruſſels* at all.' As ſoon as the Marquiſs receiv'd this Anſwer, he return'd the ſame Meſſenger with a kind of Expoſtulation, 'for the Indignity that wou'd be offer'd to his Catholick Majeſty, if he ſhou'd leave his Dominions in ſuch a Manner; and therefore beſought him, either to return himſelf thither, or that the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*, or at leaſt one of them,

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‘ might come to *Bruſſels*, that the World might not believe that his Majeſty was offended with the Catholick King, *who had treated him ſo well.*’ The King and the two Dukes made their Excuſes with all poſſible Acknowledgment ‘ of the Favours and Civilities they had receiv'd from his Catholick Majeſty, and from the Marquiſs himſelf;’ but were too wiſe to comply with either of the Particulars: So that when he found he was to receive no Satiſfaction, he reveng'd himſelf upon *De Cardinas* with a thouſand Reproaches, *for his Stupidity and Ignorance in the Affairs of* England, *and what related to them, after he had reſided ſixteen Years Ambaſſador in that Kingdom.*

From France,

Cardinal *Mazarine* had better Intelligence from *London*, from whence he had Accounts of every Day's Alteration, and of the general Belief that *Monk* had other Intentions than he yet diſcover'd. And when he heard that the King was remov'd from *Bruſſels* to *Breda*, he immediately perſuaded the Queen Mother of *England* to ſend the Lord *Jermyn*, who at her Deſire had lately been made Earl of St. *Albans*, to invite the King ‘ to come into *France*, and to make that Treaty, which probably wou'd be between the enſuing Parliament and his Majeſty, in that Kingdom; which wou'd greatly conduce to her Majeſty's Intereſt and Honour; in which the Power of the Cardinal might be of great Importance in diverting, or allaying any inſolent Demands which might be made.’ And the Cardinal himſelf made the ſame Invitation by that Lord, with Profeſſions of extraordinary Kindneſs; and ‘ That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was infinitely deſirous to perform all thoſe Offices and Reſpects to him, which he had always intended, but was never able to accompliſh till now:’ Adding thus much farther, ‘ That if his Majeſty found that the Expedition of his Affairs wou'd not permit him to come to *Paris*, all Preparations ſhou'd be made for his Reception at *Calais*, or any other Place he ſhou'd appoint, for entertaining himſelf with the Queen his Mother;’ with all other Expreſſions of the higheſt Eſteem, with which the Artifice of that great Miniſter was plentifully ſupply'd. The Earl of St. *Albans* found the King too well fortify'd to yield to any Importunities he cou'd advance; and ſo was content to return with his Majeſty's Acknowledgments and Excuſe, ‘ That he cou'd not decently paſs through *Flanders*, after he had refus'd to return to *Bruſſels*; and without going through thoſe Provinces, he cou'd not well make a Journey into *France*.’ However it was no ſmall Satisfaction to the King, to find himſelf ſo ſolemnly invited by the Miniſters of thoſe two great Kings, to enter their Dominions, out of one of which he had been rejected with the greateſt Indignities, and through the other had been ſuffer'd to paſs with the greateſt Difficulties.

And from Holland.

The King met with a third Invitation, that prov'd more acceptable: He had not been many Days at *Breda*, before the States-General ſent Deputies of their own Body to congratulate his Majeſty's Arrival in their Dominions, and to acknowledge the great Honour he had vouchſaf'd to do them. And ſhortly after, other Deputies came from the States of *Holland*, beſeeching his Majeſty, ‘ That he wou'd grace that Province with his Royal Preſence at the *Hague*, where Preparations ſhou'd be made for his Reception, in ſuch a Manner as wou'd teſtify the great Joy of their Hearts for the Bleſſings which Divine Providence was pouring upon his Head.’ The King kindly accepting their Invitation, they return'd with a Reſolution to make his Majeſty's Journey thither, and his Entertainment there, equal to their Profeſſions.

The King's Reception at the Hague.

2. All things being prepared, and the States having ſent the Yatches and other Veſſels, for the Accommodation of his Majeſty and his Train, as near *Breda* as the River wou'd permit, the King, with his Royal Siſter and two Brothers, left that Place in the Beginning of *May*; and ſoon after went on Board the Yatches, which carry'd them to *Rotterdam*; while *Dort*, and the other Places near which they paſs'd, ſhew'd all the Expreſſions of Joy, by the Conflux of the People on the Banks of the River, and all other Ways, which the Situation of thoſe Places wou'd permit. At *Rotterdam* they enter'd into their Coaches; from whence to the *Hague* they ſeem'd to paſs through one continu'd Street, by the wonderful and orderly Appearance of the People on both Sides, with ſuch repeated Acclamations, as if they were the Perſons reſtored to Peace and Security. The publick Entrance into the *Hague*, the Reception there, and the conducting his Majeſty to the Houſe provided for his Entertainment, was very magnificent, and in all Reſpects anſwerable to the Wealth and Grandeur of that State. The Treatment of the King, and all who belong'd to his Service, at the Charge of the States, during the Time of his Abode there, was incredibly noble and ſplendid; the Expence of which, and the Preſents, amounted to an hundred thouſand Pounds; and the general Joy was ſo manifeſt, that it cou'd only be exceeded by that of his own Subjects. The States-General in a Body, and the States of *Holland* in a Body apart, perform'd their Compliments with all Solemnity; and then ſeveral Perſons, according to their Faculties, made their Profeſſions; and a fix'd Number of them was always appointed to wait in the Court, to receive his Majeſty's Commands. All the Ambaſſadors and publick Miniſters of Kings, Princes, and States, repaired to his Majeſty, and declared the Joy of their Maſters on his Behalf: So that it might well be thought, that this Reſtoration was brought about by the general Combination and Activity of *Chriſtendom*, that appear'd now to be ſo much affected with it.

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A Committee from the Engliſh *Parliament*,

Within a few Days Admiral *Mountague* appear'd with moſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet before *Scheveling*, before he had receiv'd full Orders from the Parliament; from whom an Officer was ſent to the King, to preſent his Duty to him, and the Duke of *York*, now their High Admiral, to receive Orders. Upon which the Duke of *York* went on Board to take Poſſeſſion of the Command of the Fleet; where he was receiv'd by all the Officers and Sea-men with all poſſible Duty and Submiſſion, and with thoſe Huſſa's which are peculiar to that People. After he had ſtay'd a Day there, in receiving Information of the State of the Fleet, and a Catalogue of the Names of the ſeveral Ships, his Highneſs return'd with it that Night to the King, that his Majeſty might make Alterations, and new name thoſe Ships which too much preſerv'd the Memory of the late Governors, and of the Republick. The Remainder of the Fleet brought over the Committee of the Lords and Commons, that the Parliament had ſent to invite his Majeſty to return. The States having taken Care for their decent Accommodation, they deſired Admiſſion to his Majeſty, who immediately receiv'd them very graciouſly. From the Houſe of Peers were deputed ſix of their Body, and, according to Cuſtom, double the Number from the Commons. The Lords were the Earls of *Oxford*, *Warwick*, and *Middleton*, the Lord Viſcount *Hereford*, the Lord *Berkley* of *Berkley*-Caſtle, and the Lord *Brook*. From the Commons were ſent the Lord *Fairfax*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Caſtleton*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Mandevil*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Horatio Townſend*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *John Holland*, and Sir *Henry Cholmely*. Theſe Perſons preſented the humble Invitation and Supplication of the Parliament, ‘ That his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to return, and take the Government of the Kingdom into his Hands; where he ſhou'd find all poſſible Affection, Duty, and Obedience from all his Subjects:’ And ſo they preſented to him and his Brothers the Sums formerly mention'd, that had been given by the Commons. The King treated all the Committee very graciouſly together, and every one of them ſeparately after ſuch an obliging Manner, that ſome of them who were conſcious to themſelves of their former Demerit, were highly pleas'd to find him a Perſon of ſo princely and ſo generous a Nature. The Lord *Fairfax* was particularly diſtinguiſh'd, who deſir'd to ſee the King in private, and to ask him Pardon, which he obtain'd with all Readineſs; and he drew upon him the Curioſity and Eyes of all Men, being known to have been the mighty General of all the Parliament Forces.

And from the City of London.

The City of *London*, which had been too inſtrumental in driving the King's Father from that Place, that it might not appear leſs zealous in retrieving all former Errors, at the ſame time ſent twenty of the moſt ſubſtantial Citizens, ‘ to aſſure his Majeſty of their Fidelity, and moſt chearful Submiſſion; and that they plac'd all their Felicity and Hope of future Proſperity in the Aſſurance of his Majeſty's Grace and Protection; for the meriting of which, their Lives and Fortunes ſhou'd be always at his Majeſty's Diſpoſal;’ with which they preſented him with the aforemention'd Sum of ten thouſand Pounds. The King told them, *He had always a particular Affection for the City of* London, *the Place of his Birth; and was very glad, that they had now ſo good a Part in his Reſtoration:* And, as being oblig'd to them in particular, he heartily thank'd them, and knighted them all; an Honour no Man in the City had really receiv'd in near twenty Years, and with which they were extreamly pleas'd. And indeed his Majeſty's obliging Behaviour to theſe, and to the Commiſſioners from the Parliament, was ſo remarkable, that every Day in *London* Letters were receiv'd, extolling the King's unbounded Goodneſs as well as his uncommon Abilities.

With ſome Presbyterian *Divines.*

With theſe Commiſſioners from the Parliament and the City, there came about ten of the *Presbyterian* Divines, particularly *Reynolds*, *Calamy*, *Caſe*, and *Manton*, who wou'd not be look'd upon as Chaplains to the reſt; but being the popular Preachers of *London*, deſired to be eſteem'd the Repreſentatives of that Party. They begg'd to be allow'd the Favour of a formal Audience from his Majeſty; in which they preſented their Duties, and magnify'd the

Affections of themſelves and their Friends; ‘ who, they ‘ ſaid, according to the Obligation of the *Covenant*, had ‘ always wiſh'd well to his Majeſty; and, upon the Opportunity that God had put into their Hands, had lately ‘ inform'd the People of their Duty, which, they preſum'd, ‘ his Majeſty had been well appris'd of.’ Then they thank'd God, ‘ for his Conſtancy to the *Proteſtant* Religion;’ and profeſs'd, ‘ That they were no Enemies to ‘ *Moderate Epiſcopacy*; only deſiring That ſuch Things ‘ might not be preſs'd upon them in God's Worſhip, ‘ which, in the Judgments of thoſe who us'd them, were ‘ acknowledg'd to be Matters *Indifferent*, and by others ‘ held *Unlawful*.’ The King, who knew they were real, tho' late, Inſtruments in his Reſtoration, ſpoke very kindly to them, and ſaid, *He had heard of their good Behaviour towards him; and that he had no Deſign to impoſe hard Conditions upon them, as to their Conſciences: That they well knew, he had referr'd the ſettling all Differences of that Nature to the Wiſdom of the Parliament; which beſt knew what Sort of Indulgence was neceſſary for the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom.* But theſe Divines were not ſo ſatisfy'd, but deſired ſeveral private Audiences of his Majeſty; in which they took the Freedom to ſuggeſt, ‘ That ‘ ſince the Book of *Common-Prayer* had been long diſcontinu'd in *England*, and the People ſo diſus'd to it, ‘ that many of them had never heard it in their Lives, it ‘ wou'd be much wonder'd at, if his Majeſty, at his firſt ‘ Landing in the Kingdom, ſhou'd revive the Uſe of it in ‘ his own Chapel, whither all Perſons wou'd reſort;’ and therefore they beſought him, ‘ That he wou'd not uſe it ‘ *Entirely* and *Formally*, but have only ſome Parts of it ‘ read, with Mixture of other good Prayers, to be us'd ‘ by his Chaplains.’ To this his Majeſty anſwer'd with ſome Warmth, *That while he gave them Liberty, he wou'd not have his own taken from him: That he had always us'd that Form of Service, which he thought the beſt in the World; and had never diſcontinu'd it in Places where it was more diſlik'd than he hop'd it was by them: That when he came into* England, *he wou'd not ſeverely enquire how it was us'd in other Churches, tho' he doubted not to find it us'd in many; but he was reſolv'd to have no other us'd in his own Chapel.* Then they more importunately beſought him, ‘ That the Uſe of the *Surplice* might be diſcontinu'd ‘ by his Chaplains, becauſe the Sight of it wou'd give ‘ great Offence and Scandal to the People.’ They found the King as immoveable in that Point as in the other, who told them plainly, *That he wou'd not be reſtrain'd himſelf, when he gave ſo much Liberty to others: That it had been always held a decent Habit in the Church, conſtantly practis'd in* England *till theſe late ill Times: That it had been ſtill retain'd by him; and tho' he was oblig'd for the preſent to tolerate much Diſorder and Indecency in the Exerciſe of God's Worſhip, he wou'd not by his own Practice in any Degree diſcountenance the good Order of the Church in which he had been educated.* Tho' they were much diſappointed in finding him ſo little compliant with their Schemes, yet they declin'd giving him any more Trouble upon this Head, hoping to find their Importunity in *England* more effectual.

The States Speech to the King.

3. After a Stay of about ten Days at the *Hague* in Triumphs and Feſtivals, in Splendor equal to the greateſt of Monarchies, and which were concluded with ſeveral rich Preſents made to his Majeſty, the King took his Leave of the States with all the Profeſſions of Amity that were due to their generous Civilities. On the other Side the States, at his Departure, made a remarkable Speech, which, for the Curioſity of it, is here moſtly inſerted. ‘ If one ‘ may judge of the Content we have to ſee your Majeſty ‘ depart from our Province, by the Satisfaction we had to ‘ enjoy your Preſence, we ſhall have no great Trouble ‘ to make it known to you. Your Majeſty might obſerve in the Looks of all our People, the Joy they had ‘ in their Hearts, to ſee a Prince cheriſh'd of God, a Prince ‘ wholly miraculous, and a Prince who probably will ‘ make a Part of their Quietneſs and Felicity. Your Majeſty ſhall preſently ſee all the Streets filled, all the Ways ‘ cover'd, and all the Hills loaden with People, who will ‘ follow you to the Place of your Embarkment, and ‘ wou'd not leave you, if they had wherewithal to carry ‘ them to your Kingdom. Our Joy is common to Us ‘ with that of our Subjects; but as we know, better than ‘ they, the ineſtimable Value of the Treaſure we poſſeſs; ‘ ſo are we more ſenſible of this ſad Separation. It wou'd, ‘ Sir, be inſupportable to us, if we did not re-enter into ‘ our ſelves, and conſider, *That it is the Thing in the* ‘ *World we moſt deſired, and the greateſt Advantage alſo* ‘ *that we cou'd wiſh to your Majeſty.* We therefore acquieſce, becauſe we know *That this Removal is no leſs* ‘ *neceſſary for us, than glorious for your Majeſty; and that* ‘ *it is in your Kingdom that we muſt find the Accompliſhment of the Prayers we have made, and ſtill make for you* ‘ *and us.*---The Appointment in which we ſee your Majeſty ready for your Journey, forbids us to enlarge our ‘ ſelves upon a Subject which wou'd never weary us, if ‘ we had Words anſwerable to our reſpectful Sentiments. ‘ But we have no Deſire to encreaſe the juſt Impatience ‘ you Majeſty may have to ſee your ſelf in your own Kingdom: We pray God, Sir, that your Return may be ‘ quiet and happy; and that as He has diſpos'd the Hearts ‘ and Affections of your Subjects to acknowledge their ‘ Lawful and Sovereign Prince, it will pleaſe Him alſo to ‘ command the Winds and Seas to expedite your Voyage; and that after you have receiv'd on your own ‘ Coaſts the ſame Prayers, which we ſhall reiterate, you ‘ may enjoy in your Royal Perſon, and in your never-‘ ceaſing Poſterity, all the Felicity and Proſperity, which ‘ your humble Servants wiſh to your Majeſty.

He takes Leave of them and his Friends.

It was on the 24th of *May*, that the King, having taken leave of the States, left the *Hague*, accompany'd with Prince *William* of *Naſſaw*, the Admiral of *Holland*, and the young Prince of *Orange*, riding on Horſeback between his two Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*; while the Ladies attended on him in their Coaches along the Way, and together with him went on board the *Royal Charles*, formerly the *Naſeby*, where he was receiv'd by Admiral *Mountague* with the moſt ſubmiſſive Veneration. The Ways, the Downs, the Sand-Hills and Shores, were throng'd with an innumerable Multitude of all Sorts of People ecchoing his Departure with the loudeſt Vows for his good Succeſs. The Seaſon being clear, and the Sea calm, his Majeſty mounting upon the Stern, caſt his Eyes on the Shore he ſo lately left; and ſeeing the infinite Crowds of Spectators there, he was pleas'd to ſay, *That he thought his own Subjects cou'd ſcarce have more Tenderneſs for him than thoſe People, in whoſe Affections he ſaw he reign'd no leſs, than he was going to reign in the Wills of the* Engliſh. Shortly after, having kiſs'd his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, and his Aunt the Queen of *Bohemia*, and bid them farewell, he with great Difficulty was ſeparated from his beloved Siſter, the Princeſs Royal. That matchleſs Lady, who had born and ſlighted ſo many Viciſſitudes of ill Fortune; and who had ſo frequently alleviated the Calamities of her Brothers by her charming Diſcourſes, cou'd ſcarce now, without ſhaking her Conſtancy, endure the Abſence of a few Days, which were to prove ſo glorious to both of them. The Anchors being at length weighed, the King left this friendly Shore, and in one continual Thunder of Cannon, within leſs than two Days arriv'd triumphantly in his own Country, from which he had, near nine Years before, been driven away with all the Marks of Diſgrace, and all the Hazards of Life.

The mild Proceedings of the Parliament.

4. While the King was preparing for his Return, the Parliament and City were as buſily employ'd in making his Reception eaſie and honourable. The former were daily endeavouring to pave the Way by binding up the Wounds, and mending up the Breaches of the Nation, by the moſt gentle and moſt probable Methods they cou'd find. They proceeded much upon the merciful Part of the King's Declaration, in preparing a general Act of Pardon and Oblivion; but at the ſame Time they were ſo ſenſible of the Difference between common Offenders, and the Regicides themſelves, that they reſolv'd at leaſt, a certain Number of the latter ſhou'd ſuffer the Law without Mercy. Accordingly they order'd all to be ſeiz'd on that were concern'd in the horrid Murder of the late King; ſtill determining to make a further Difference between the moſt harden'd Criminals, and thoſe that acted with leſs Malice and Conſideration. And firſt they attainted the Blood and Memory of four deceaſed Perſons, moſt flagrant and inveterate, *Bradſhaw*, *Cromwell*, *Ireton* and *Pride*. In preparing the General Act of Pardon, the Commons proceeded with all Tenderneſs and Caution, eſpecially with Relation to the late Civil War; in which they were very unwilling totally to condemn the Parliament's Part in it. This particularly appear'd in the Treatment they gave to Mr. *Lenthall*, a Member of the Houſe, who, in the Debate of the Bill, took the Freedom to ſay, *He that firſt drew his Sword againſt the late King, committed as great an Offence, as he that cut off his Head.* Upon which, being ſeiz'd by the Serjeant, he was brought to the Bar, where the Speaker, by Order of the Houſe, gave him this following Reprimand: *Sir, the Houſe has taken very great Offence at ſome Words you have let fall upon the Debate of this Bill of Indemnity; which, in the Judgment of the Houſe, contain as high a Reflection on the Juſtice and Proceedings of the Lords and Commons of the laſt Parliament, in their Actings before* 1648, *as cou'd be expreſs'd. They apprehend there is much of Poyſon in the ſaid Words; and that they were ſpoken out of Deſign to inflame, and to render them, who drew the Sword to bring Delinquents to Puniſhment, and to vindicate their*

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their juſt Liberties, into Ballance with them who cut off the King's Head: Of which Act they expreſs their Abhorrence and Deteſtation; appealing to God, and their Conſciences bearing them witneſs, That they had no Thoughts againſt his Perſon, much leſs againſt his Life. Therefore I am commanded to let you know, that had theſe Words fallen out at any other Time in this Parliament, but when they had Conſiderations of Mercy, Pardon and Indemnity, you might have expected a ſharper and ſeverer Sentence than I am now to pronounce. But the Diſpoſition of his Majeſty is to Mercy; he hath invited his People to accept of it; and it is the Diſpoſition of the Body of this Houſe to be Healers of Breaches, and to hold forth Mercy to Men of all Conditions, ſo far as may ſtand with Juſtice and Juſtification of themſelves before God and Man. I am therefore commanded to let you know, That that being their Diſpoſition, and the preſent Subject of this Day's Debate being Mercy, you ſhall therefore taſte of Merey. Yet I am, according to Command, to give you a ſharp Reprehenſion, and I do as ſharply and ſeverely as I can, reprehend you for it.

Preparations for the King's Reception.

But what at this Time chiefly took up the Thoughts of the Parliament, and the City too, was the Manner of the King's Reception at his Return, which was reſolv'd to be as magnificent as was poſſible; and in which all Heads and Hands join'd with the utmoſt Vigour and Alacrity. All that was rich and pompous, all that was gay and beautiful, which the fineſt Inventions cou'd contrive, and the niceſt Fingers compleat, was at this Time prepared and provided, towards the diſplaying and perfecting the moſt glorious Sight that *England* ever ſaw. The Joy of the poor depreſs'd Cavaliers broke out every where with an incredible Elaſticity; and they were ſo ſeiz'd with Tranſports and Ecſtaſies, that they cou'd not be recover'd for many Days. An impetuous Eagerneſs and Impatience for the King's Return appear'd in all Mens Looks and Motions; and vaſt Numbers for ſeveral Days took Horſe from the City, and other Places, towards the Coaſts of *Kent*, to get the firſt View of that Fleet, which, as was juſtly believ'd, wou'd bring over the great Bleſſing and Reſtorer of three Kingdoms.

He lands at Dover,

On the 25th of *May* the wiſh'd-for Fleet appear'd; and on the next Day his Majeſty landed at *Dover*, being conducted to the Shore by Mr. *John Talbot*, who was the firſt Man he Knighted in *England*. General *Monk* ſtood ready to receive Him, which he did with all Duty upon his Knees; while his Majeſty took him into his Arms, embrac'd, and kiſs'd him. The King after that walk'd up with the General under a Canopy, a Chair of State being carry'd by his Side; and in the Way the Mayor and Aldermen of *Dover*, with the Miniſter, met his Majeſty, and after a ſhort Speech preſented him with a large Bible with Gold Claſps. The General ſuggeſting that *Dover* was not commodious for ſo great a Reſort, the King, with his two Royal Brothers, together with the General and the Duke of *Buckingham*, took Coach, and haſtned away to *Canterbury*. Never were ſeen ſuch vaſt Numbers of People of all Degrees and Conditions thronging all the Road from *Dover* to *London*, which by the young Virgins was ſtrew'd with the fineſt Herbs and Flowers: The Hillocks were cover'd, and the Trees were loaden with Spectators, all lifting up their Hands, and bleſſing God that they had liv'd to ſee the happy Day of his Majeſty's Reſtoration.

Goes to Canterbury,

At his Entrance into *Canterbury* his Majeſty was met and complimented by the Mayor, Aldermen and Recorder of that ancient City, and preſented with a Tankard of Maſſie Gold, and ſo conducted to the Palace. Here he ſtay'd the next Day, being *Sunday*, and reſtored the uſual Devotions of the Cathedral. The Company being here increas'd by a new Concourſe of Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality, his Majeſty aſſembled his Council, and ſwore the General and Mr. *Morrice* Privy-Councellors, the latter of whom he Knighted, and made Secretary of State. That Day the King alſo honour'd the General with the Garter, as he likewiſe did the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, who had been elected many Years before, and ſent one alſo to Admiral *Mountague*, who remain'd in the *Downs*.

And Rocheſter,

On *Monday* He went to *Rocheſter*, the Numbers of his Attendants ſtill increaſing; and the next Day, being the 29th of *May* and his Birth-Day, he determin'd to make his Solemn Entrance into the Metropolitan of his Three Kingdoms. At *Black-Heath* the Army was drawn up in the Sight of his Majeſty, who us'd many gracious Expreſſions towards them; which were anſwer'd with the loudeſt Acclamations. The Regiments being plac'd in Order, the King advanc'd towards *London*, and about one a Clock arriv'd at St. *George's Fields*, where the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen had erected a glorious Tent, and provided a ſumptuous Collation.

Arrives at London.

The City Sword being there deliver'd to him, he return'd it, and Knighted the Lord-Mayor, Sir *Thomas Allen*. After a ſhort Repaſt, the King proceeded through *Southwark* into *London* to begin the moſt noble and glorious Cavalcade that *England* had ever ſeen. To prepare for the Magnificence of it, all the Streets from *London-Bridge* to *White-Hall* were ſurpriſingly beautify'd with Tapeſtry and all Sorts of rich Ornaments, and lined with the ſeveral Liveries and the Train'd-Bands of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, all in the fineſt Habits they cou'd procure; while the Conduits flow'd with the moſt delicious Wines, and the Windows, Balconies, and Scaffolds purpoſely erected, were crouded with ſuch infinite Numbers of Spectators, that it look'd as if the whole Kingdom had been gather'd to that Place.

His triumphant Entry.

The Manner of the grand Proceſſion, was thus: Firſt march'd a gallant Troop of Gentlemen in Cloth of Silver, brandiſhing their Swords, and led by Major-General *Brown*: Then follow'd another Troop of two Hundred in Velvet Coats, with Footmen and Liveries attending them in Purple: Then another Troop led by Alderman *Robinſon*, in Buff-Coats, with Cloth-of-Silver Sleeves, and very rich Green Scarfs; and after theſe a Troop of about Two Hundred, with blue Liveries laid with Silver, with ſix Trumpeters, and ſeveral Footmen, in Sea-Green and Silver: Then a Troop of two Hundred and Twenty, with Thirty Footmen in Gray and Silver Liveries, and four Trumpeters richly habited: Then another Troop of an Hundred and Five with Gray Liveries, and ſix Trumpets; and another of Seventy, with five Trumpets: And then three Troops more, two of three Hundred, and one of one Hundred, all glorioufly habited, and gallantly mounted. After theſe came two Trumpets with his Majeſty's Arms; the Sheriffs Men in red Cloaks richly lac'd with Silver, to the Number of fourſcore, with Half-Pikes in their Hands: Then follow'd ſix Hundred of the ſeveral Companies of *London* on Horſeback, in black Velvet Coats, with Gold Chains, each Company having Footmen in different Liveries, with Streamers, *&c.* After theſe came Kettle-Drums, and Trumpets, with Streamers; and after them twelve Miniſters at the Head of his Majeſty's Life-Guard of Horſe, commanded by the Lord *Gerard*: Next, the City Marſhal with eight Footmen in divers Colours, with the City Waits and Officers in Order: Then the two Sheriffs, and all the Aldermen of *London* in their Scarlet Gowns and rich Trappings, with Footmen in Liveries, red Coats lac'd with Silver and Cloth of Gold: The Heralds and Maces in rich Coats: Then the Lord-Mayor carrying the Sword bare, with his Excellency and the Duke of *Buckingham* bare alſo; and then, as the Luſtre to all this Splendid Triumph, rode the KING himſelf between his two Royal Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter*. Then follow'd a Troop of Horſe with white Colours; and after them the General's Life-Guard, led by Sir *Philip Howard*, and another Troop of Gentry; and laſt of all five Regiments of the Army-Horſe, with Back, Breaſt and Head-Piece, which diverſify'd the Show with Delight and Terror.

Thus triumphantly was his Majeſty conducted to his Royal Palace at *White-Hall*, amidſt continual Shouts and Acclamations, reſounding and ecchoing from ſeveral hundred thouſand Mouths, tranſported even to Ecſtaſie and Madneſs. At *White-Hall* he was moſt ſolemnly attended by the two Houſes of Parliament, who caſt themſelves at his Feet, and in two ſhining Speeches, teſtify'd their Vows of Affection and Fidelity to the utmoſt Degree of Loyalty. The Night was turn'd into Day, and the whole City into one great Luminary, by the continual blazing of Bonefires, and the Irradiations of Sky-Rockets, Stars, and all Sorts of Fire-Works; and all accompany'd with the moſt profuſe Entertainments of the richeſt Wines, and greateſt Rarities, and indeed with all poſſible Marks of the moſt dilated Joy and Gladneſs that ever had been ſeen in any Nation in the World: And this ſo unexpreſſible and univerſal, that his Majeſty ſmilingly ſaid to ſome about him, *He doubted it had been his own Fault he had been abſent ſo long; for he ſaw no one who did not proteſt, he had ever wiſh'd for his Return.*

The Concluſion.

As *England* had never ſeen ſuch a glorious Sight, ſo it is juſtly believ'd that no other Nation have; no not *Rome* it ſelf: For all the magnificent Triumphs that ever that proud City ſaw ought not to be compared with this Solemnity; where there were no miſerable Princes to be expoſed, no innocent Captives to be murther'd; where there were none of the Spoils of Kingdoms and Provinces, and the Price of the Blood and Tears of innumerable Wretches, but the moſt free and exalted Expreſſion of a deliver'd and overjoy'd Nation, triumphantly reſtored, without one Drop of Blood, by the All-merciful and Powerful Hand of Heaven.

The End of the Second Volume.

THE

PREFACE.

(As Printed to the Firſt Edition of the Third Volume.)

H*AVING been ſo particular in the Preface to the Second Volume, I have the leſs Reaſon to trouble the Reader with enlarging upon the Third; which conſiſts of the Hiſtory of a leſs Number of Years, and with leſs Variety of Incidents and Changes; but ſtill in their own Nature ſo curious and deſirable, as may be of ſingular Uſe and Satisfaction to the Generality of the Nation. It contains the actual Reigns of two Kings and Brothers, who were excellently well fitted and qualified by Nature and Education for their exalted Stations, and ſo well prepared and ſeaſon'd by Adverſity and Oppoſition, as to make themſelves and their People great and happy in this World: Whoſe Lives and Actions, both laudable and culpable, I have endeavour'd to repreſent with all Simplicity and Fidelity, as well as all Freedom and Decency.*

The firſt of theſe Reigns, notwithſtanding all the Advantages of the clear Underſtanding and good Nature of the Prince, was attended with great Mixture of Counſels, and ſtrange Viciſſitudes of good and bad Events, throughout the greateſt Part of the Time. So that the whole Space has been ingeniouſly compared to the four Seaſons of the Year; in which three Quarters are generally fair, hopeful, flouriſhing, and gay; but as conſtantly follow'd by ſevere Winters that freeze, wither, deſtroy and cut off many hopeful Plants, and Expectations of Things to come. The next Reign, which was much ſhorter, may perhaps be compared to a Day, clear and calm in the Morning, tho' not without a Mixture of ſomething dubious and lowring; but in a little Time ſpread and cover'd over with dark and diſmal Clouds, threatning a general Ruin and Deſolation, 'till of a ſudden they were diſſipated and diſpell'd after an unknown and miraculous Manner. So that the Reader, from theſe two Reigns, may expect Profit and Entertainment ſufficient to recompence all his Labour.

It were to be wiſh'd indeed that the Materials in this Volume were altogether as plentiful and valuable as thoſe from whence the laſt was taken; but conſidering the Nature of the Subject, they were not to be ſo much expected, eſpecially at preſent; but were rather to be hop'd for afterwards, when Time has abated and remov'd the Fear and Caution, that is ſo natural to good Writers. However, I have endeavour'd to make the beſt Uſe of thoſe Materials I cou'd procure; the Principal of which may be ſeen in the Beginning of every great Section; and tho' not ſo particular as ſome ſtrict Men may expect, yet, I preſume, ſufficient to ſatisfy any fair and candid Reader, who will have ſo good an Opinion of the Judgment and Honeſty of the Author, as not to expect every Sentence to be ſupported by a particular Authority. Thoſe that expect ſo much, are too often unwilling to be ſatisfy'd with the greateſt Evidence, when it comes in competition with either Intereſt, or Party.

Beſides the Uſe of all printed Tracts, ſuch as Annals, Collections, Memoirs, Letters, Tryals, Pamphlets, Speeches, Gazettes, *&c. I had, as in the laſt Volume, the Advantage of ſeveral* Manuſcripts *and private* Accounts *from Perſons of unqueſtion'd Knowledge and Credit, which have ſerved much to inrich and inlighten the Work, to clear up many Difficulties, and to invalidate ſeveral vulgar Stories that have crept into the common Books, and been ſwallow'd as Truths by moſt People. And particularly I had the Benefit of the* Journals *of the Lords and Commons in the two Reigns, which were of ſingular Advantage in perfecting the Parliamentary Accounts; and in which there are many Particulars valuable, new, and never before publiſh'd: And eſpecially in the famous Long Parliament, ſo much applauded and cenſur'd; a Parliament that continu'd above ſeventeen Years, 'till remov'd and deſtroy'd by the Heats ariſing from the* Popiſh *Plot.*

As to the Plot in particular, I have been more than ordinary careful in tracing out the Steps, and examining into the Bottom of that Myſtery of Villany. And if I have not done it ſo perfectly as it deſerves, I have done it more completely and regularly than it is to be found in any one ſingle Writer before me; not only in its Beginning and Riſe, but alſo in its Effects and Conſequences, which produc'd many ſtrange and bloody Events, that ſo far unhing'd the Prerogative of the Crown, that it was hard to ſet it right without endangering the Privileges of the People. To be Maſter of which Account, I made uſe of ſeveral living Aſſiſtances of Worth and Knowledge, beſides what Books and Pamphlets I cou'd procure; from all which I believe I have ſet the whole in a better Light than it has been generally ſeen in before; and if that Plot appears to be another thing than what it has been commonly taken for, it is owing to Evidence and Conviction, more than to Humour and Opinion.

The

PREFACE.

The Tranſactions of the laſt Reign were leſs myſterious, and more open and apparent, and conſequently not ſo hard to be diſcover'd or diſplay'd. Yet that Reign was not without its Depths, as well as Shallows; and tho' the grand Steps were viſible and obvious to the World, yet there was intermixt ſo much Artifice and Subtlety, as was ſufficient to try the Underſtandings, as well as the Honeſty, of a great Part of the Nation. Matters were indeed carry'd on with ſtrange Zeal and Precipitation, but yet were ſo deeply laid, that a very little leſs of either, humanly ſpeaking, muſt have carry'd the Point. And thoſe very Proceedings that caus'd the Ruin of the King and the Popiſh *Cauſe, was ſo very near overthrowing that of the* Proteſtant *and* Engliſh *Eſtabliſhment, that our Eſcape can be call'd no leſs than a mighty Deliverance; a* Deliverance *in which the Hand of Heaven appear'd eminently viſible and conſpicuous, not only here, but in other Parts of* Chriſtendom.

This laſt has ever been my firm and poſitive Belief, and the Effect of the moſt deliberate Conſideration and Reflection; therefore I freely aver, and gratefully acknowledge the Greatneſs of the Deliverance, in ſpite of the innumerable Inconveniencies ſome have ſaid to attend it, and without any Fear of the Charge and Scandal of Partiality. *And this has been acknowledg'd not only by the greateſt and wiſeſt Men, but by ſeveral of thoſe whoſe Conſciences unhappily held them from receiving the full Benefit of it. I ſpeak not this to enter into a Controverſy, but rather to admire and adore the Wiſdom of Heaven, which has maturely and in due Seaſon brought about that Eſtabliſhment, which ſome factious or miſ-led Perſons by a crude Anticipation were weakly attempting in the latter End of King* Charles *the Second's Reign; which in that Juncture muſt, in all Probability, have involv'd three Kingdoms in Blood.*

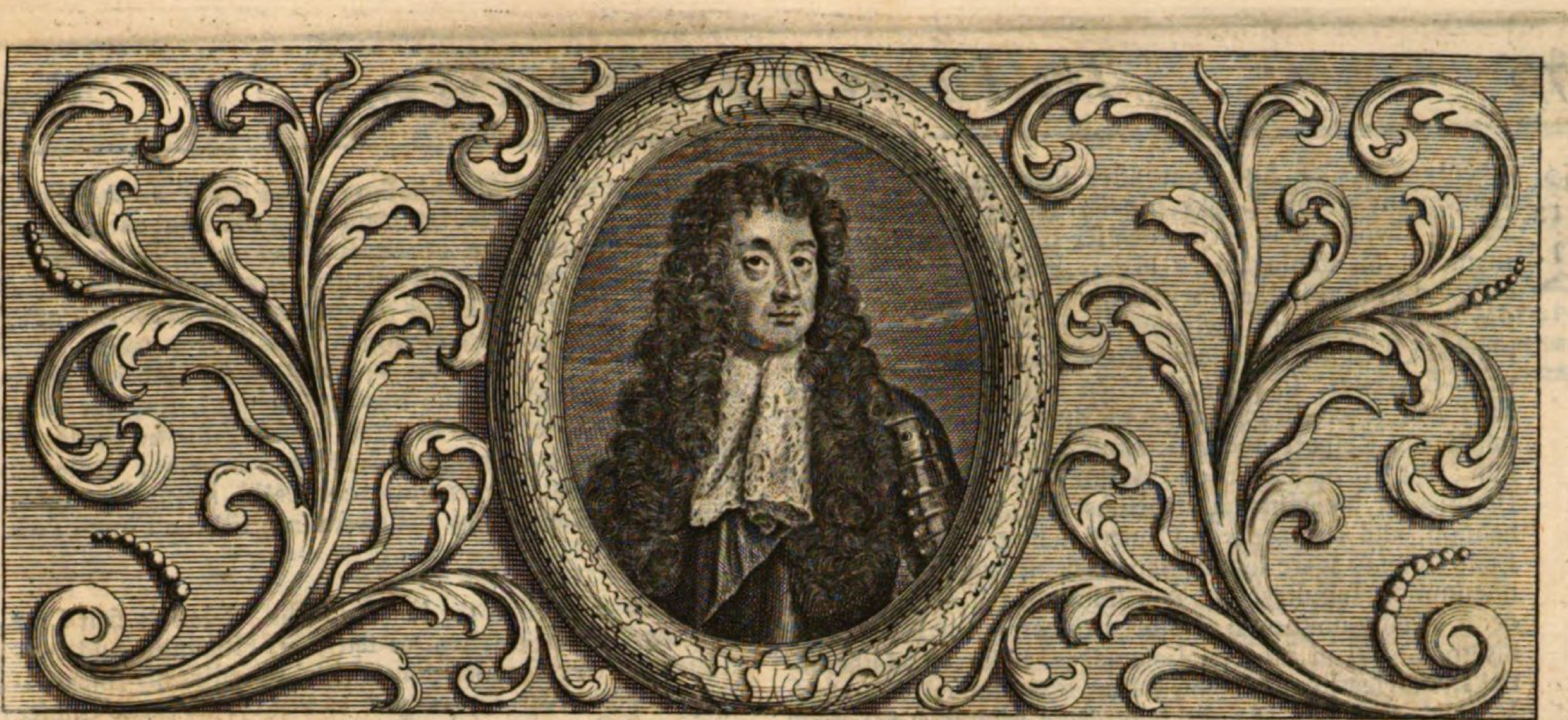
It were to be deſir'd, that the Hiſtory of the Revolution *it ſelf, with all its concurrent Circumſtances, was undertaken by ſome eminent Hand, whoſe Knowledge and Genius is equal to ſo noble a Subject: In the mean Time I hope the World will reſt ſatisfy'd with what I have done; in which they may find all the ſeveral known Steps and Proceedings laid open with Perſpicuity and Regularity. In performing whereof, and the greateſt Part of this laſt Reign, I have been much eas'd, not only by Mr.* Bohun*'s labour'd Work, but alſo by the Author of* The Life of King William, *who, I am told, had very good Aſſiſtance in that Piece.*

In Writing of this Volume, I particularly aim'd at obſerving a juſt Decorum with relation to the two Royal Brothers, and their chief Miniſters; and beſides the Caution againſt the ſtrong Prejudices that have ſo much prevail'd of late, I have conſider'd them chiefly according to the Dignity of their Offices. I have indeed been very free with their publick Errors and Miſmanagements; but at the ſame Time very fearful of examining and expoſing, much leſs dilating upon their private Vices and Extravagancies. The Crimes of great Men are not to receive the vulgar Puniſhments of Stocks, Whips, and Pillories; but they are naturally attended with Fines and Forfeitures, and even Death and Extirpation. To ſearch far into their dark and ſecret Receſſes, is preſumptuous in the Writer, and dangerous to the Reader: Impartiality indeed will not ſuffer thoſe remote Exorbitancies to appear very inconſiderable, but Decency requires that they ſhould very little appear; the one will not allow them to be varniſh'd over, and the other commands them to be thrown into Shades.

I find it the more neceſſary to condemn and avoid thoſe Ways, becauſe in theſe latter Times we meet with ſo many Abuſes of that Kind both in Books and Converſation. Too many in a free Country take a Pleaſure in cenſuring and vilifying their Superiors; and by making bold with crown'd Heads, they bring all upon the Level, and turn Liberty into Licentiouſneſs. And, what is commonly the Conſequence, thoſe Perſons who are ſo ready to pry into the Vices of Princes, too rarely take notice of their Virtues. Of this Sort we find a numerous Spawn ſince the Revolution, as Libellers and Dealers in Scandal, and ſome of the Writers of Secret Hiſtories, *who have taken ſuch Liberties with their Betters, as are hardly to be found in any other Part of the World. And thus while the true and valuable Hiſtorians are diving into the rich Mines of Nature, theſe diminutive Writers are raking into Kennels and Common-Shores.*

A faithful Hiſtorian indeed ought to lay open and repreſent the publick Errors and Miſcarriages of Princes and great Men, but always with Deference to their Stations and Characters. In ſuch Caſes I have taken all becoming Freedom, but with no little Caution, for fear of ſwimming beyond my Strength. I have us'd the greateſt Freedom with what I account the principal Blemiſh in the Reign of King James *the Second, the frequent Breach of his Royal Word. Such open Breaches ought not to be ſilently paſs'd over by an Hiſtorian, whoſe Buſineſs in ſuch a Caſe is to judge and condemn without Reſerve. A Failure in this Kind is acting againſt Natural Principles, and therefore beyond the Power of Excuſe. Had that unfortunate Prince never made thoſe ſolemn and voluntary Promiſes, his Endeavours to eſtabliſh* Popery *and Arbitrary Power would (in Hiſtory) have admitted of various Mitigations; he had then ſuffer'd leſs in his Memory, and his Caſe would have been more pity'd. But it has been by ſome alledg'd,* That without theſe Promiſes, he could not hope to carry his grand Point; *which only ſhews to what a miſerable* Dilemma *he was reduc'd, that either he muſt violate his Honour, or ſacrifice his Religion. And if the Former muſt thus give place to the Latter, what a wretched Idea muſt the World have of that Religion that cannot be ſupported but by what has been abhorr'd, or at leaſt diſclaim'd and diſavow'd, by* Jews, Turks, Pagans, *and* Infidels!

But this ungrateful Subject may eaſily carry an Author beyond the Compaſs of a Preface, therefore it is Time to deſiſt.----I ſhall only repeat the Promiſe I made in the laſt Preface, of Correcting and Amending whatever is found to be amiſs; and further add, That tho' I have been too bold in attempting this Third Volume, as coming too near my own Time, yet I am not afraid to venture a few Years further, upon a Fourth, namely, the compleat Reign of King William; *which poſſibly I may undertake, if I meet with reaſonable Aſſiſtance and Information from thoſe that are able to give it.*


M. Vdr Gucht Sculp.

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

Including all the Warlike Part of the Reign of King CHARLES *the Second: From his happy Reſtoration to the End of the Second* Dutch *War.*

Containing the Space of 13 *Years, and* 9 *Months.*

CHAP. I.

From the Happy Reſtoration of the King, to the publick Proclamation of the Firſt War againſt the Dutch.

Containing the Space of Four Years, and about Nine Months.

1660. Car. 12. Ref. 1.

The Introduction.

I. 1. HAving fully got through a ſtormy and tempeſtuous Seaſon of many Years Continuance, a tedious Time of various Miſery and Confuſion, We arrive at the moſt unexpected Order and Settlement, at ſuch a glorious Calm and Sunſhine, as the ſudden Brightneſs and Splendor of it was to many of the Nation harder to be born than all the preceding Clouds and Darkneſs. The Greatneſs and Quickneſs of the Change, render'd the Pleaſure not only inexpreſſible, but inſupportable, even to ſeveral of Thoſe who had endured the greateſt Hardſhips and Perſecutions with uncommon Patience; every Man's Head being ſeiz'd with ſome Degree of Raptures and Madneſs. It might naturally have been expected, that thoſe Torrents of Joy, that overflow'd the Nation, and bore down all before them, ſhou'd have had more tragical Effects upon the late Uſurpers and Oppreſſors, whoſe Power was now diſſolv'd and bury'd beyond all Hopes of a Reſurrection. Therefore it is highly to be admired and applauded, that the Tranſports and Reſentments of an injured Body of Men, who had ſo ſuddenly got their Enemies at their Mercy, ſhou'd be ſo much ſpent in Smoak and Air, and not reverberate with a more ſignal Rage and Vengeance. We cannot ſufficiently revere that Power of Heaven, that put ſo quick and full a Period to a Rebellion and War that had rag'd near twenty Years, and had been proſecuted with all the diſmal Circumſtances of Murder, Devaſtations and Parricide, that Fire and Sword, in the Hands of the moſt impious Men, cou'd produce; but that Mercy is ſtill more bright and adorable, that in ſo ſhort a Space did not only bind up and heal all thoſe Wounds, but even made the Scars as undiſcernable, as, in reſpect to the Deepneſs, was poſſible; which was certainly, as the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, a glorious Addition to the Deliverance. How, and by whom any of theſe Scars came to be rubb'd, or any of theſe Wounds to be open'd, will be particularly ſeen afterwards: But in the mean Time we may juſtly take notice, That this unexpected Felicity, humanly ſpeaking, was in a great Meaſure owing to the Moderation and Goodneſs of the King Himſelf, and his chief Miniſters, who being return'd to a People inebriated with Joy, and without any Reſtriction, but that of Honour and Conſcience, had Opportunity and Temptation of carrying their Revenge and Power to any Exorbitancy whatſoever. The King's own Clemency was apparent and remarkable; and it was his Opinion, both before and after his Arrival, 'That the beſt Means to reſtore the decay'd Body of the Kingdom to its former Health and Vigour, was not to cure one Part, by afflicting of the Other; but to heal thoſe Wounds which were already feſter'd, by their proper Lenitives, and to remove all the Cauſes of future Animoſities.

1660 Car. 12. Ref. 1.

The Character of King Charles *the Second.*

And here it will not be improper to give ſome Character of the King Himſelf, as we find it by the beſt Hands at this Time, reſerving Another for him at the Time of his Death, which will differ almoſt as much as two Pictures drawn for the ſame Perſon at the moſt diſtant Time of his Age. His Majeſty was now juſt thirty Years of Age, ſomewhat taller than the middle Stature of *Engliſhmen*; ſo exactly form'd, that the moſt curious Eye cou'd find no Error in his Shape. His Countenance was rather grave than ſevere, but much ſoftned whenever he ſpoke; his Complexion ſomewhat dark; but highly enlightned by his quick and ſparkling Eyes. The Figure of his Face was very lovely till near twenty

1660. Car. 12. Reſ. 1.

twenty Years of Age; but after that, growing learner, the Majeſty of his Looks happily ſupply'd the Lines of Beauty; which was very much ſet off by plentiful Ornaments of his ſhining black Hair. His Motions were ſo eaſy and graceful, that they highly recommended his Perſon to all Strangers, whether he walk'd, or danc'd, or play'd at Tennis, or rode the great Horſe, which were his uſual Exerciſes: In ſum, his Mien fully denoted his Quality; and whereſoever he appear'd, he immediately obtain'd the Reſpect and Affections of all that approach'd him; for all his Looks and Actions help'd to diſplay the Beauties of his Mind, a vivacious Wit, a delicate Apprehenſion, and an excellent Underſtanding. Theſe natural Endowments were highly improv'd, not only by his own uncommon Induſtry, but by a numerous Train of Accidents uſually unknown to other Princes. So that, beſides his great Skill in modern Languages, Hiſtory, Mathematicks, Navigation, *&c.* his Mind was adorn'd with ſuch Virtues, as might, if continu'd, have prov'd a perpetual Source of Happineſs to Himſelf and Kingdom, as Juſtice, Fortitude, Clemency, Temperance and Sobriety. The two latter were conſpicuous at this Time; Oaths and Drunkenneſs were Strangers to him; and tho' he cannot be clear'd of another Vice, of which the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother was not the only Inſtance, yet the former Part of his Life ought by no Means to be compared to the latter; and it is obſerv'd by a good Hand, that for many Years before his Return, he had been ſo chaſte or cautious, that thoſe about him cou'd hear no Whiſper of any indecent Gallantry. In general, he had learn'd ſo much Experience from the Variety of his Father's Fortunes, from the Oppoſition of his Enemies, the Treachery of his ſeeming Friends, and the frequent Neceſſity of treating with all Parties in Perſon, that it might juſtly be ſaid of Him, as it was of his Grandfather of *France*, *He that wou'd corrupt his Council, muſt firſt begin with the King.* Such was the preſent King, when he return'd to his overjoy'd People, bringing with him all the Preſages of a happy Government; and cou'd he have withſtood the Charms of Proſperity with the ſame Virtue and Vigour he did the Storms of Adverſity, he might well have prov'd not only a real, but a laſting Bleſſing to his three Kingdoms.

And of the Duke of York.

His Brother, the Duke of *York*, was at this Time a Prince of thoſe Qualifications that were every Way hopeful and promiſing to the Nation; and was particularly remark'd for being a loyal and obedient Subject, as well as a faithful and affectionate Brother. His Education had been always laudable, and under the beſt Inſtructors; but he had employ'd a great Part of his Time in the continual Exerciſe of Arms. His Genius led him that Way, and he generally apply'd himſelf to it, from the Age of nine Years, when he was with his Father at *Edgehill*, till the Age of twenty ſeven, when he return'd into *England* with his Brother. He made ſeveral Campaigns under the great Marſhal *de Turenne*, from whom he gain'd mighty Commendations both for his Valour and Affability. And as to the former, the famous Prince of *Conde* was often heard to ſay, *That if ever there was a Man in the World without Fear, it was the Duke of* York; and during this Reign, he preſerv'd this Character of Intrepidity at all Times, and upon all Occaſions. This Diſpoſition was particularly obſerv'd by a great Man of *France*, who having travell'd into *England*, and remark'd upon the Court, he took particular Notice, *That tho' the Intereſt of this Prince ought to keep him to the Court, he rather choſe to be in the Army, and that he valu'd an Opportunity of ſignalizing his Courage, above the greateſt Political Advantages.* As to the Religion of this Prince, which in Time had ſuch remarkable Effects upon the Nation, he was a *Proteſtant* of the Church of *England* by Profeſſion, but of that of *Rome* in his Heart, as his beſt Friends teſtify. He had valiantly withſtood many a Shock from his Mother, and other Popiſh Zealots, but at length yielded, as they tell us, to a peculiar Accident, his reading of Dr. *Heylin*'s Hiſtory of the Reformation; where, as they ſay, the Luſt of King *Henry* the Eighth, the Ambition of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Policy of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Avarice of Thoſe who had ſeiz'd the Church Lands, gave him a mortal Averſion to the Reformation it ſelf, and brought him over to the contrary Party. The King his Brother had many Times endeavour'd to prevent this Change, and more particularly in the Year 1654, when the Duke of *Glouceſter* was in the greateſt Danger in *France*; at which Time alſo hearing of the Attempts made upon the elder Brother, he wrote a memorable Letter to him, in which he let him know, 'That if ever he hearken'd to his Mother, or any Body elſe 'in that Matter, he muſt never think to ſee *England* or Him 'again:' And if the general Miſchief that muſt happen to Him and the Family did not move him, 'he deſired him 'to conſider and remember the laſt Words of his dead 'Father, which were *to be conſtant in his Religion, and* '*never ſhaken in it*; which if he did not obſerve, this 'ſhou'd be the laſt Time he ſhou'd hear from his *affectionate* '*Brother.*' Yet after all this, the King Himſelf, as we have full Reaſon to believe, in the Year before his Reſtoration, yielded privately to the Temptations of the *Spaniard* at *Fontarabia*, and conſented to embrace the *Romiſh* Faith. This, as well as the Religion of the Duke, was a very great Secret for many Years; only the Duke being more zealous and hearty for the Popiſh Principles, thought fit to appear more openly in 1671, at which Time he made his Abjuration to Father *Simons*, an *Engliſh* Jeſuit; while the King, in the main, generally conceal'd his Inclinations, which were leſs ſtrong and operating, till the Time of his Death.

The King eſtabliſhes his Privy-Council,

2. To proceed in the Hiſtory: His Majeſty's firſt Care after his Reſtoration, was to ſettle his Houſhold, and conſtitute his Privy-Council; in which, to teſtify his Impartiality and good Nature, as well as Policy, he made Choice of ſeveral Counſellors, who had been profeſs'd Enemies to his Father and Himſelf. They conſiſted of Thirty in Number, namely, the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, General *Monk*, Admiral *Montague*, the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Earl of *Berkſhire*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord Viſcount *Say*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Seymour*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, Colonel *Charles Howard*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of St. *Alban*'s, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Lord *Colepeper*, the Lord *Roberts*, Mr. *Arthur Anneſley*, Sir *John Barkley*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, and Sir *William Morrice*. Of theſe, the Duke of *York* was inveſted with the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*, and Lord-Warden of the Cinque-Ports: *Monk* was continu'd Captain-General of all the Forces of the three Kingdoms, and made Maſter of the Horſe to his Majeſty: Sir *Edward Hyde* was continu'd in the Office of Lord-Chancellor of *England:* The Earl of *Southampton* was made Lord-Treaſurer; the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Lord-Steward of the Houſhold; the Lord *Say*, Privy-Seal; the Lord *Seymour*, Chancellor of the Dutchy; the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Lord-Chamberlain of the Houſhold; Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold; Sir *John Barkley*, Comptroller; Sir *George Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain; and Sir *Edward Nicholas* and Sir *William Morrice*, were made chief Secretaries of State. On theſe laſt, and others of the Council, his Majeſty in a ſhort Time conferr'd ſuch Honours as were thought ſuitable to their Services or Expectations: Particularly General *Monk* was made Duke of *Albemarle*, which Dutchy had been anciently appropriated to the Royal Blood; Sir *Edward Hyde* was made Earl of *Clarendon*; Admiral *Montague*, Earl of *Sandwich*; the Marqueſs of *Ormond* was made an *Engliſh* Earl, and afterwards a Duke; the Marqueſs of *Hertford* was made Duke of *Somerſet*; Mr. *Anneſley*, Earl of *Angleſey*; and *Hollis*, *Barkley*, *Cornwallis*, and *Aſhley-Cooper* were made Barons and Peers of *England*.

And his Judges.

The King alſo by ſeveral Steps made a careful and judicious Proviſion for the Benches and Courts of Judicature: For the Chancery, Sir *Edward Hyde*, as before-mention'd; for the *Rolls*, the Lord *Colepeper*, who ſhortly dying was ſucceeded by Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*; for the *King's-Bench*, Sir *Robert Foſter*, Sir *Thomas Mallet*, Sir *Thomas Twiſden* and Sir *Wadham Windham*; for the *Common-Pleas*, Sir *Robert Hyde*, Sir *Thomas Tyrrel*, and Sir *Samuel Brown*; and for the *Exchequer*, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Sir *Matthew Hale*, Sir *Edward Atkins*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Turner*; Sir *Jeoffrey Palmer* was made Attorney-General, and Sir *Heneage Finch* Sollicitor-General. At the ſame Time his Majeſty took ſpecial Care for the commiting all Military Offices of the higheſt Truſt, as well as the Civil already mention'd, into the Hands of ſuch Perſons as were judg'd moſt proper for his Service: So that the Governments of all the moſt important Fortreſſes, Caſtles and Iſlands, and the Commands of the ſeveral Regiments, were by General *Monk* conferr'd upon ſuch Lords, and other Perſons of Honour, as the King was pleas'd to recommend to him for that End, till ſuch Time as the Army cou'd conveniently be diſbanded. Likewiſe for the farther ſettling of the Militia of the Nation, Lord-Lieutenants were conſtituted of the chief Nobility of the Land, each having under them, as Deputy-Lieutenants, ſuch Gentlemen of the ſame Counties as had moſt eminently ſhew'd their Affections to his Majeſty.

The chief Miniſters.

Among the Miniſtry at this Time, there were five or ſix who had a ſpecial Influence and Authority; as Chancellor *Hyde*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Duke of *Ormond*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, the Earl of *Sandwich*, and Secretary *Nicholas*. The three firſt were united in the ſtricteſt Bonds of Love and Friendſhip: They continually join'd their Endeavours for the Good of their Country, and

prov'd

The Prevalency of Hyde.

prov'd noble Inſtruments in cloſing up the Wounds, and eſtabliſhing the Proſperity of the Nation. Yet ſtill the Chancellor had the Superiority and Preference of them all in the Favour and Eſteem of the King, who for about two Years after his Return rely'd entirely on his Advice and Conduct. His Daughter had been ſecretly marry'd, or rather contracted abroad to the Duke of *York*; and ſo ſecretly, that after the great Revolution, when her Pregnancy appear'd, his Highneſs was attack'd by ſeveral Friends in private with ſo much Vigour and Reſentment, that he was brought under the ſtrongeſt Temptations to diſown the Obligation: But the King, tho' much ſurpris'd at the unequal Alliance, after ſtrong Solicitations, very generouſly preſerv'd the Honour of an excellent Servant, who had not at firſt been privy to it, and aſſured him, *That this Accident ſhould not leſſen the Eſteem and Favour he had for him*; yet his own good Judgment made him immediately ſenſible, and to declare it to his intimate Friends, *That this muſt certainly be the Occaſion of the Diminution of his Credit.* Being prime Miniſter of State, and principal Manager of the publick Affairs, he was oblig'd to ſuſtain the Odium of ſome unpopular Acts, of which the real Springs were then altogether unknown. Yet the Nation at the ſame Time cou'd not but be ſenſible of the Greatneſs of his Abilities and Induſtry; that he was a wiſe and faithful Servant, both to his King and Country; and that none was more dextrous and happy in making up the Breaches between Both, without too much hazarding the Repoſe of Either. Notwithſtanding he was a finiſh'd Stateſman, and every way equal to the Height of his Station, he was judg'd to have had a general Failing, which has been ſometimes, and by good Men, turn'd to his Commendation; and this was a certain overbearing Greatneſs, or perhaps Haughtineſs, which was ſo viſible in his publick Actions, and ſometimes private Reproofs, that it gave Uneaſineſs to many who envy'd his Grandeur, and the Favours he enjoy'd. This, together with a Strictneſs of Morals that carry'd ſome Awe with it, muſt needs be diſagreeable to a Court which gradually gave Countenance and Encouragement to all ſorts of Pleaſures that proceeded from new Taſte, Politeneſs, Converſation, Courtſhip, and Gallantry, with other Names that ſerv'd to cover or palliate the greateſt Licentiouſneſs. Notwithſtanding he gave a great Check to all theſe in the worſt Senſe, and took the Liberty to reprove the greater, as well as the leſſer Offenders, he happily ſtood his Ground, and maintain'd his Authority, till he had more than Time to compoſe the Minds of the People, and ſettle the moſt difficult Affairs of the Nation.

The firſt Complaint againſt Him.

The firſt Complaint againſt this great Man proceeded chiefly from the Cavalier Party, and his Friends; and this began ſo early after the Reſtoration, that it will be very proper to take ſome Notice of it before we proceed farther in the Hiſtory. The King, as was before hinted, to ſhew that he wou'd not reign only over a Party of his Subjects, and to teſtify his Readineſs to forgive, thought it proper and fit to reward and prefer ſeveral who had been open Enemies to his Father and himſelf; and at the ſame Time he ſet aſide, or beyond Expectation neglected many loyal and faithful Subjects, who had been illuſtrious Sufferers for the Cauſe of both Kings. The Care for the former was thought to be the Cauſe of the Neglect of the latter; and tho' the Reaſons for either were not then well or fully known, yet both became ſo conſpicuous to the Nation, that a diſadvantagious Report was ſoon ſpread abroad, 'That the 'Chancellor had inſtill'd a Principle into the King's Mind, '*That he muſt prefer and advance his Enemies, to gain them 'to be his Friends*; *but for his old Friends*, *it was no Matter 'how he us'd them*, *for they wou'd continue ſo ſtill.*' This Report did not only fall heavy upon the Chancellor, but likewiſe reach'd the King himſelf, whoſe general Practice in this Matter will hardly admit of a total Vindication, tho' of a very great Alleviation. Much of it was owing to Neceſſity, as well as Policy: For the Sufferings of the King's Friends were too great and too numerous, ever to expect a full Compenſation and Reward; and the preſent Poverty, and the inſenſibly encreaſing Expences of the Court render'd it ſtill more impracticable. Beſides, the Pretenders were as numerous, or at leaſt as noiſy, as the real Sufferers; and they oftentimes by their Importunities exercis'd the King's Good Nature to the Diſadvantage of the other. Every one was ready to celebrate and diſplay his own particular Merits; but never more plauſibly, than when they related to the glorious Work of the Reſtoration. Great Numbers were eager to be thought Sharers and Aſſiſtants in that important Affair; and not a few were really ſo, who had before been violent Promoters of all that was diſſerviceable to the Crown. Of this Sort the King thought himſelf particularly oblig'd to take Notice, and diſtinguiſh them by his Favours. It is believ'd that this Conſideration brought in the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Lord *Say*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, and ſeveral others who had been great Agents in the grand Rebellion: Among whom the Earl of *Mancheſter* did ſignally diſtinguiſh himſelf by the moſt manifeſt Tokens of Repentance, and the moſt real Aſſurances of future Loyalty.

The Presbyterians *encourag'd.*

The *Presbyterians* having had a very conſiderable Hand in the Reſtoration, the King, for ſome Time eſpecially, ſhew'd a particular Regard to them, and made choice of two prime Miniſters of their Party, Mr. *Richard Baxter* and Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, beſides others, to be his Chaplains in Ordinary. His Majeſty's publick Acknowledgment of their Aſſiſtance, with other Circumſtances, afterwards gave that Party Occaſion to extend the Merits of their Services, and to challenge the chief Hand in that wonderful Revolution. This has been frequently inſiſted on, not ſo much to praiſe themſelves, as to aggravate the Ingratitude of a Government, which they ſay was ſo much indebted to Them; and this is ſtill continu'd as a Matter of warm Diſpute between the Church and *Presbyterian* Party. The moſt common Anſwer to this often repeated Challenge, is not ſo much a direct Denial of the Fact, as an Aſſertion, drawn from many Circumſtances in Hiſtory, 'That whatever the *Presbyterians* did in this Matter, was 'principally to relieve themſelves from the Oppreſſions of the '*Independents*, and other Sectaries, who had wreſted the 'Power out of their Hands, and not out of any real Affecti'on for the King, or the Church, which very much alter'd the 'Merit of their Services; eſpecially when they afterwards 'ſhew'd ſo little Repentance for thoſe Actions that produ'ced all the Miſeries of the Nation.' But not to enter too far into a Matter of Controverſy, which may lead us aſide, we ſhall conclude and determine the Hiſtory of the Reſtoration in the Words of a great Man, written four or five Years after it: 'Shall the Honour of that immortal 'Work be fix'd on a private Sect? Whereas it was accom'pliſh'd by the immediate Favour of Divine Providence, 'by the Wiſdom of a victorious General, by the perpetual 'and immoveable Fidelity of the Royal Party, by the 'Hands, the Wiſhes, the Tongues, and the united Deſires 'of three Kingdoms. 'Tis true indeed, the *Presbyterians* 'went along with the mighty Torrent, but the whole 'Courſe of this happy Violence is not therefore to be attri'buted to them. It was in that, as in a ſudden Land 'Flood, which, as it comes down, carries with it Trees, 'and Stones, and Houſes, and all that it meets in the Way. 'And even all theſe which lay before quiet, nay, which 'reſiſted the firſt Waters while they were weak, do add to 'the Impetuoſity of the Current when it is going. But we 'muſt not therefore ſay that the Flood it ſelf took its Riſe 'from thence, ſeeing it was in truth caus'd by Rain com'ing down from Heaven, and by Streams flowing in from 'every Part of the Country.' And now it is Time to proceed to the healing Methods us'd after the Reſtoration, and to begin with the *Convention-Parliament*, that was to ſettle the Happineſs of the Kingdom.

The Share they had in the Reſtoration.

An Account of the CONVENTION.

3. The Convention-Parliament, that had met on the 25th Day of *April* laſt, conſiſted of many conſiderable Perſons of different Parties; not without ſeveral of the King's Enemies, and two or three of the Regicides themſelves, as *Hutchinſon* and *Laſſels*. As to their Election, they were limited to particular Qualifications by the laſt Long Parliament; one of which was, 'That all that advis'd, or vo'luntary aided in the War againſt the Parliament in 1641, 'unleſs they have ſince given a Manifeſtation of their good 'Affection, they, or their Sons, ſhall be incapable of being 'elected Members of this Parliament.' The Speaker himſelf, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, had been a Member of the Long Parliament, and had joyn'd with them, tho' after a more moderate way, till the Treaty of the Iſle of *Wight*; ſoon after which he was excluded the Houſe with many others. Notwithſtanding all the foremention'd Care, many of the Royal Party, and other Promoters of Peace, were elected; ſo that the Houſe of Commons conſiſted of ſuch a Number of Perſons as were fully diſpos'd to do Juſtice to the King, and to make up all the Breaches of the Nation. The Houſe of Peers, tho' at preſent without the Biſhops, ſeem'd ſtill more united, and were reſolv'd to make a full Compenſation for all former Errors and Miſcarriages: And both Houſes had made as large Steps towards an Accommodation, as Time wou'd permit, before the Arrival of the King. At which Time their Speeches and Compliments to his Majeſty at *Whitehall*, teſtify'd as much Joy, Affection, and Loyalty as can be expreſs'd by any Subjects in the World.

The King's Speech to it.

Within two Days after his Arrival, his Majeſty, accompany'd with his two Royal Brothers, *York* and *Gloceſter*, Lord-Chancellor *Hyde*, and many other Perſons of Honour, went in a ſolemn Manner by Water to the Houſe of Lords: Where, being ſeated on his Throne, and the Commons appearing at the Bar, he in a ſhort Speech acquainted them with the Occaſion and Cauſe of his preſent ſending for them, namely, to paſs thoſe Bills which he underſtood were prepared for him, all which were very material at this Time. ‘The firſt was for conſtituting the preſent *Convention* to be a *Parliament:* The ſecond for authorizing the Tax for Seventy Thouſand Pounds *per Menſem* for three Months longer; and the third for *Continuance of Proceſs and all judicial Proceedings*.’ Which being paſs'd, the Lord-Chancellor in a handſom Speech told both Houſes, ‘With how much Readineſs his Majeſty had paſs'd theſe important Acts, and how willing they ſhou'd at all times hereafter find him, to paſs any other that might tend to the Advantage and Benefit of the People; in a particular Manner deſiring, in his Majeſty's Behalf, That the *Bill of Oblivion*, in which they had made ſo good a Progreſs, might be expedited: That the People might ſee and know his Majeſty's extraordinary gracious Care to eaſe and free them from their Doubts and Fears; and that he had not forgotten his gracious Declaration made at *Breda*, but that he wou'd in all Points make good the ſame.’

The Convention turn'd into a PARLIAMENT.

They begin with a general Act of Pardon.

II. 1. The Convention, having now the Eſſence of a Parliament, tho' not the exact Form, proceeded in the great Affairs of the Nation with all Diligence and Vigour. They had, among others, three great Points to bring to Perfection, the general Act of Indemnity, the disbanding of the Army, and the ſettling the Publick Revenues. The firſt was judg'd moſt neceſſary to begin withal: The Commons thought that neither themſelves, nor the People of *England*, were freed from that Guilt and Puniſhment which the unhappy Times had contracted, unleſs they laid hold on his Majeſty's Grace, mentiond in his Declaration from *Breda*; therefore they reſolv'd, ‘That the Houſe doth declare, That they do in the Name of themſelves, and all the Commons of *England*, lay hold on his Majeſty's gracious Pardon, mention'd in his Declaration, with Reference to the excepting of ſuch as ſhall be excepted in an Act of Pardon.’ And accordingly a Declaration was drawn up, and ſolemnly preſented to the King in the *Banquetting-Houſe* by Mr. *Denzil Hollis*. The King graciouſly accepted of this Declaration, as well as another from the Lords; and about the ſame Time he iſſu'd out a Proclamation, declaring, ‘That all ſuch of the late King's Judges, as did not render themſelves within fourteen Days, ſhould be excepted out of the General Pardon. Upon which ſeveral of them ſurrender'd themſelves, while ſome made their Eſcape, and others were taken in their Flight. At the ſame Time ſeveral of the moſt eminent Officers under the Uſurpation, for their greater Security, got their particular Pardons exemplify'd under the Great-Seal of *England*. The King was very forward in granting theſe Pardons, and was more than ordinary preſſing for a ſpeedy paſſing the Act of Oblivion. Nor was his Majeſty wanting to give all ſuch publick Teſtimonies of a Virtue and Prudence, as might render him deſervedly Glorious in the Eſteem of all ſober and moderate Perſons; and that by ſeveral wholeſom Edicts, eſpecially by that ſeaſonable Proclamation which he publiſh'd, one of the firſt Things he did after his Arrival, ‘For the diſcountenancing and puniſhing of Debauchery, Profaneneſs, and other Vices;’ which began openly to break out from the ungovernable Joy of the Times.

Addreſſes, &c.

Every Day produc'd Rejoycings and Triumphs; and the King was perpetually entertain'd with the loyal Addreſſes of his People, and with the ſolemn Congratulations of Foreign Princes and Potentates, who ſeem'd all to vie in Haſte and Zeal for ſending over their Ambaſſadors and Agents to compliment his Majeſty upon his happy Reſtoration to his Royal Dignity and Government. Addreſſes came from all Parts of the Kingdom, as well as from *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and all thoſe Towns and Corporations that had bought out their ſeveral Fee-Farm Rents formerly belonging to the Crown, and by the late Common-wealth alienated from it, ſent their Deputies to the King, to make a voluntary Surrender of them into his Hands. Others preſented him with Sums of Gold and other Gifts, according to their reſpective Abilities: But the City of *London*, as being the chief, and the Seat of Kings for many Ages, judg'd themſelves oblig'd in Point of Duty and Reputation, to exceed all the reſt in the Glory of their Performances towards their Sovereign; and therefore to the Splendor of their former Preparations at his firſt Reception and triumphant Entrance, they added the Expence of a moſt magnificent Entertainment at *Guild-Hall*, which was gloriouſly beautify'd and adorn'd for that great Occaſion.

The King and Parliament entertain'd by the City.

To which Place the King, his two Royal Brothers, the Lords of the Privy-Council, both the Houſes of Parliament, and the chief Officers of State being ſolemnly invited, were on the 5th of *July* conducted thither in mighty Pomp and State by the Lord-Mayor and Grandees of the City, where they were feaſted in a munificent Manner with the moſt exquiſite Rarities, and admirable Muſick, and whatever elſe cou'd be thought agreeable and equal to ſuch an illuſtrious Aſſembly.

The Commons proceed in the Act of Indemnity.

2. All this Time the Parliament proceeded in the Act of Oblivion, but met with ſeveral Obſtructions that proceeded from the Animoſities of ſome who were for ſeverer Proceedings. The King himſelf was a great Promoter of the Act, and often ſate in Council about that, and the great Affairs of the Government: But notwithſtanding his great Care and Zeal to compoſe all publick Differences, many ill-affected Perſons in Pamphlets aſpers'd his Actions, endeavouring to inſinuate, That he intended nothing leſs than the Performance of his Promiſes from *Breda*. This caus'd him to ſend a remarkable Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons by Secretary *Morrice*, to quicken their Debates about the Act of Indemnity, as the beſt Means to quiet the Minds of his Subjects.

The King's Meſſage to them concerning it.

He told them, ‘He had too ample a Manifeſtation of their Affections and Duty towards him, to make the leaſt Doubt of the Continuance and Improvement thereof, or in the leaſt Degree to diſlike what they had done, or to complain of what they had left undone. He knew well the Weight of thoſe Affairs which depended upon their Counſels, and the Time that moſt unavoidably be ſpent, where there muſt be naturally Difference of Opinions and Judgments amongſt thoſe, whoſe Deſires of the Publick Peace and Safety were the ſame. And that neither He nor They muſt be overmuch troubled, if they found the good Intentions and unwearied Pains, taken to reduce thoſe good Intentions into real Acts, for the Quiet and Security of the Nation, miſrepreſented, and miſ-interpreted, by thoſe who are in truth much afflicted to ſee the publick Diſtractions, by God's Bleſſing, ſo near an End; and by others upon whoſe Weakneſs, Fears and Jealouſies, the Activity and Cunning of thoſe ill Men hath had too great an Influence. That how wonderful and miraculous ſoever the great Harmony of Affections between him and his Subjects is; yet it is not to be thought that God Almighty had wrought that Miracle to that Degree, that a Nation ſo miſerably divided for ſo many Years, wou'd be ſo ſoon and intirely united in their Affections and Endeavours, as were to be wiſhed; but that the Evil Conſciences of many continu'd ſo awake for Miſchief, they wou'd not be willing to take Reſt themſelves, or ſuffer others to take it: That they all had too ſad Experience of the unhappy Effects of *Fears* and *Jealouſies*, how groundleſs and unreaſonable ſoever, not to think it very neceſſary to apply all timely and proper Remedies to thoſe Diſtempers, and to prevent the Inconveniencies and Miſchiefs which ſo naturally flow from thence: That he well foreſaw, That the great Violation, which the Laws of the Land had for ſo many Years ſuſtain'd, had fill'd the Hearts of the People with terrible Apprehenſions of Inſecurity to themſelves, if all they had ſaid and done ſhou'd be liable to be examin'd and puniſh'd by thoſe Laws which had been ſo violated. And that nothing cou'd eſtabliſh the Security of King and People, but a full Proviſion, that the Returning to the Reverence and Obedience of the Law, which is good for *All*, ſhou'd not turn to the Ruin of *Any* who were willing and fit receive that Protection hereafter from the Law, and to pay that Subjection to it, which were juſt and neceſſary. And therefore he made a free Offer of a *General Pardon*, in ſuch a Manner as was expreſs'd in his *Declaration*; and how ready and deſirous he was to make good the ſame, appear'd by his *Proclamation* iſſu'd out upon and according to their Deſire. However, it was evident, That all he had offer'd or did offer, did not enough compoſe the Minds of the People; nor in their Opinions cou'd their Security be provided for, till the *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* was paſs'd.’ He told them, ‘He had found great Induſtry us'd to perſuade his good Subjects, that he had no Mind to make good his Promiſes, which he deſired to perform for his own Sake as well as theirs. Therefore he did very earneſtly recommend it to them, That all Expedition might be us'd in the paſſing *that moſt neceſſary Act*, whereby his good Subjects generally wou'd be ſatisfy'd, that their Security was in their own Hands, and depended upon their future Actions, and that they were *Free* for all paſt; and ſo the Endeavours of ill Men wou'd be diſappointed, who wou'd perſuade them not to do well *Now*, becauſe they had done amiſs *Heretofore*. And that he was the more engag'd to this Recommendation, becauſe upon the Reflection of their eminent Zeal and Affection for his Service, and hearty Concurrence with him in all things deſired from them, Men were apt to perſuade others, tho' not believing it themſelves, That the paſſing this *Act* was therefore not deſired, becauſe he did not enough preſs the Diſpatch of it; which he did deſire from his Heart, and was confident they wou'd the ſooner do it, upon his earneſt Recommendation.

The Commons diſpatch the Bill:

This Meſſage did ſo much quicken the Debates of the Commons, that they diſpatcht the Bill in a very ſhort time after, and ſent it up to the Lords; by which the Peoples Minds were much compos'd, and the more, becauſe his Majeſty, by a Proclamation after it, did declare a Kind of Impatience for the Delay of it. The Commons had been very favourable, and in the Act had excepted for Life and Eſtate but a few of the moſt notorious Regicides; but the Lords were more ſtrict and warm in their Debates, being incited by the Importunities of ſeveral Widows and Relations of thoſe who had ſuffer'd Death by the late Uſurpers. Therefore they enter'd into a Conſultation, to except all from Pardon that had been Judges in any *High Court of Juſtice.* But the Clemency of the King extended to all who were not immediately guilty of his Father's Murder; and obſerving that thoſe Debates much obſtructed the ſpeeding and perfecting that Bill he ſo earneſtly deſired to have finiſh'd, on the 27th Day of *July*, about two Months after his Reſtoration, he went to the Houſe; and in a remarkable Speech, he expreſs'd his Zeal for it in theſe Words.

The King's Speech to the Lords upon the ſame Subject.

'*My Lords*, When I came firſt hither to you, which was within two or three Days after I came to *Whitehall*, I did, with as much Eearneſtneſs as I cou'd, both by my ſelf and the Chancellor, recommend to you and the Houſe of Commons, the ſpeedy Diſpatch of the *Act of Indemnity*, as a neceſſary Foundation of that Security we all pray for. I did ſince, by a particular *Meſſage* to the Houſe of Commons, again preſs them to haſten that *Important Work*; and did likewiſe by a *Proclamation* publiſh to all the Kingdom, *That I did with Impatience expect that that Act wou'd be preſented to Me for my Aſſent, as the moſt reaſonable and ſolid Foundation of that Peace, Happineſs and Security I hope and pray for to my ſelf, and all my Dominions.* I will not deny it to you, That I thought the Houſe of Commons too long about that Work; and therefore now, it is come up to you, I wou'd not have you guilty of the ſame Delay. I thank God, I have the ſame Intentions and Reſolutions now I am here with you, which I had at *Breda*; and believe that I owe my *being here*, to God's Bleſſing upon the Intentions and Reſolutions I then expreſs'd to have. I will read to you what I then ſaid:

'*And to the End that Fear of Puniſhment may not engage any, conſcious to themſelves of what is paſt, to a Perſeverance in Guilt for the future, by oppoſing the Quiet and Happineſs of their Country, in the Reſtoration both of King, Peers, and People, to their juſt, ancient and fundamental Rights; We do by theſe Preſents declare, That we do grant a free and general Pardon, which we are ready, upon Demand, to paſs under our Great Seal of* England, *to all our Subjects of what Degree or Quality ſoever, who within forty Days after the publiſhing hereof ſhall lay hold upon this our Grace and Favour, and ſhall by any publick Act declare their doing ſo, and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects; excepting only ſuch Perſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by Parliament.* Thoſe only excepted, *Let all our Subjects, how faulty ſoever, rely upon the Word of a King, ſolemnly given by this preſent* Declaration, *That no Crime whatſoever committed againſt us, or our Royal Father, before the Publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in Judgment, or be brought in Queſtion againſt any of them, to the leaſt Indamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Eſtates, or, as far forth as lies in our Power, ſo much as to the Prejudice of their* Reputations, *by any Reproach*, or Terms of Diſtinction *from the reſt of our beſt Subjects; we deſiring, and ordaining, That henceforward all* Notes of Diſcord, Separation, *and* Difference of Parties, *be utterly aboliſhed among all our Subjects; whom we invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themſelves, under our Protection, for the Reſettlement of our juſt Rights, and theirs, in a* Free Parliament; *by which, upon the Word of a King, we will be adviſed.*

'*My Lords*, If you do not join with me in extinguiſhing this Fear, which keeps the Hearts of Men awake, and apprehenſive of Safety and Security; you keep Me from performing my Promiſe, which *if I had not made*, I am perſuaded neither I nor you had been now here: I pray let us not deceive *thoſe* who brought, or permitted us to come together. I knew well there were ſome Men, who cou'd neither forgive themſelves, nor be forgiven by us; and I thank you for your Juſtice towards thoſe, *the immediate Murtherers of my Father:* And I will deal truly with you, I never thought of excepting any *other.* I pray think well upon what I have offer'd, and the Benefit you and I have receiv'd from that Offer; and encourage and oblige all other Perſons, by not excluding them from the Benefit of this Act. This Mercy and Indulgence is the beſt Way to bring them to a true Repentance, and to make them more ſevere to themſelves, when they find we are not ſo to them. It will make them good Subjects to me, and good Friends and Neighbours to you; and we have then all our End, and you ſhall find this the ſecureſt Expedient to prevent future Miſchief. Therefore I do earneſtly deſire and conjure you, to depart from all particular Animoſities and Revenge, or Memory of paſt Provocations; and that you will paſs this Act without other Exceptions, than of thoſe *who were immediately guilty of the Murther of my Father.*' Then, after a few Expreſſions of leſs Moment, and a Word or two concerning *Ireland*, he thus concluded: 'I do again conjure you, That you will uſe all Expedition in the Diſpatch of this Bill.

3. This Speech did not only expedite the Paſſing of this Act in the Houſe of Peers, but gave a general Satisfaction to the People, who were exceedingly eas'd in their Minds with the King's immoveable Care on the Behalf of all his Subjects. And ſhortly after, to prevent all Delays, and remove all Impediments, the King ſent a very obliging Meſſage, to be communicated to both Houſes in theſe Words: 'His Majeſty is well inform'd of the Value of thoſe Conceſſions, which are to paſs in the Act of Indemnity, which relate entirely to his Majeſty's Profits, and which have little or no Relation to the War: He knows well that the Arrears of the Wars, the Alienations with Licenſe, Purveyance, Reſpite of Homage, the Arrears of the Rents ſtill in the Hands of the Tenants, and the other Particulars, amount to a vaſt great Sum; all which are releas'd and diſcharg'd by this Act. But his Majeſty is ſo well ſatisfy'd of the good Affection of the Houſe of Commons, and of their Intentions and Reſolutions to ſettle ſuch a Revenue upon his Majeſty, as may preſerve the Crown from Want, and from being undervalu'd by its Neighbours: That he is reſolv'd not to inſiſt upon any Particular, which the Houſe of Commons deſir'd his Majeſty ſhou'd releaſe; and therefore as his Majeſty thanks the Houſe of Peers for the Information they have given him, and for the Care they have expreſs'd for his Majeſty's Profit, ſo he is well contented that that Clauſe ſhall paſs in ſuch a Manner as the Houſe of Commons have ſet down, and continues his earneſt Deſires, that all Expedition be us'd in paſſing the ſaid Act in the Manner he hath formerly expreſs'd.' This ſeaſonable and condeſcending Meſſage did not only produce the hearty Thanks of the Houſe of Commons, but likewiſe a particular Order 'For the ſettling ſuch a Revenue on his Majeſty, as may maintain the Splendor and Grandeur of the Kingly Office, *&c.*

He ſends an obliging Meſſage after it.

Nor was his Majeſty's Mind ſo intent upon this neceſſary Affair, as to neglect the other Concerns of Government: But obſerving, That the late Differences of his People had created many Animoſities among them, which occaſion'd frequent Duels, he thought fit to prevent the Miſchiefs of them by a Proclamation, by which he maniſeſted ſo great a Diſlike of Duels, as 'Strictly to command all his Subjects whatſoever, neither by Themſelves nor any Other, by Meſſage, Word or Writing, or other Ways or Means to challenge, or cauſe to be challeng'd, any Perſon or Perſons to fight in Duel, nor to carry, accept, nor conceal any Challenge, nor actually to fight, or be Second to any therein.' And he further declared, 'That every Perſon offending againſt his Commands herein, ſhou'd not only incurr his Diſpleaſure, but be incapable of holding any Office in his Service, and never after be permitted to come to Court or preferr'd, beſides the ſuffering ſuch Puniſhment as the Law ſhou'd inflict on ſuch Offenders: And all Perſons that ſhou'd accept or know of ſuch Challenges, and not reveal the ſame to one of the Privy-Council, or the next Juſtice of Peace, ſhou'd be liable to the ſame Penalties' And laſt of all, he was ſo ſtrict in the Matter, as to forbid '*any Interceſſion to be made for Offenders againſt this Proclamation.*

His Proclamation againſt Duels.

At the ſame Time the King took no leſs Care of the Benefit and Revenues of the Church, eſpecially with Relation to poor Vicarages and other Endowments, and wrote Letters to all the Biſhops, Deans and Chapters in the Kingdom, teſtifying his Will and Pleaſure, 'That no Leaſe be granted of any Rectory or Parſonage, belonging to any of them, or their Succeſſors, unleſs they firſt provided, That the reſpective Vicarages or Curates Places, where no Vicarages are endow'd, have ſo much Revenues in Glebe Lands, or other Emoluments, as commonly will amount to eighty Pounds *per Annum*; or more, if it will bear it: And where the Rectories are of ſmall Value, and cannot admit of ſuch Portion to the Vicar or Curate, that then one half of the Profits of ſuch Rectory be reſerv'd for the Maintenance of ſuch Vicar or Curate, *&c.* All which being communicated to the Houſe of Commons, new Thanks were return'd by them to his Majeſty, in which they particularly teſtify'd 'the great Joy they took in the Goodneſs and Favour he had expreſs'd to his People.' And after that proceeded to prepare ſuch a Bill as ſhou'd beſt anſwer his Majeſty's pious Intentions.

His Care of the Church.

4. The great Act of Indemnity, in a ſhort Time, was ſent from the Lords to the Commons with ſeveral Alterations, to which the Commons were unwilling to agree: For the latter had ſubjected twenty, that were not the King's Judges, to be liable to ſuch Pains and Penalties, not extending to Life, as ſhou'd be inflicted by another Act to be paſs'd in this Parliament: Whereas the Lords finding the King's Inclination to tend towards the pardoning of all but ſuch as were his Father's Judges, or otherwiſe Actors in his Murder, they diſagreed to that Part of the Act, as to all thoſe nam'd by the Commons, except Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Colonel *John Lambert*, who were eſteem'd to be ſo maliciouſly active in Oppoſition to his Majeſty's Government, as to be excepted from any Conditions of Pardon. The Lords were more ſtrict as to the King's Judges, and thought none ought to be ſpared, even thoſe who had ſurrender'd themſelves upon the Proclamation; but the Commons were of Opinion that a Difference ought to be made between thoſe and the reſt. They for ſome Time adhered to their firſt Reſolutions; but after ſeveral free Conferences, Matters were ſo compromis'd, that they agreed with the Lords in all Things, except ſome little Alterations to their Form of the Act: *Vane* and *Lambert* were excepted as to Life and Eſtate, but *Haſlerigg* remain'd liable to ſuch Pains, Penalties and Forfeitures, as ſhou'd be inflicted on him, not extending to Life; and the reſt of thoſe, put under the ſame Qualification by the Commons that were not of the King's Judges, were with others made only incapable of Offices, *&c.* The Favour ſhewn to Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* was chiefly owing to General *Monk*, who in the Beginning of the Reſtoration, being unwilling to make a Man deſperate, who had two Regiments at his Command, had promis'd him upon his Submiſſion, to ſecure both his Life and Eſtate. This being made known in a Conference by the Houſe of Commons, was juſtify'd with great Modeſty by the General in the Houſe of Peers, and his Life was thereupon pardon'd in the Act, and ſhortly after his Eſtate alſo was, at the Mediation of the General, granted to his Heir, a Perſon averſe to his Father's Principles: Sir *Arthur* himſelf, a while after his Impriſonment, dying of a Feaver in the *Tower*.

The Lords and Commons agree about the Act of INDEMNITY.

At the laſt Conference between the Lords and Commons, Chancellor *Hyde* took Occaſion to ſpeak of the King's Affection to his People by a very remarkable Inſtance, affirming, 'That he, being employ'd in a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Court of *Spain*, had it ſtrictly given him in Charge by his preſent Majeſty, to avow and declare, *That the horrid Murther of his Royal Father was not the Act of the Parliament, or the People of* England, *but of a very wretched, and a very little Company of Miſcreants in this Kingnom*.' This was ſo very pleaſing and obliging to the Houſe of Commons, that upon the Report of it to them, they order'd ſuch of the Privy-Council as were Members of that Houſe, 'That they preſent to his Majeſty the humble, hearty and thankful Senſe this Houſe hath of his Majeſty's Juſtice and Favour, in making this juſt Defence for the Parliament, and People of *England*.' And within a few Days after, they compleated the much deſired Act of Indemnity.

The Subſtance of the ACT.

The Act was large and very extenſive, and ſuch as was moſt likely to compoſe the Minds of a divided and diſtracted People, and to give Eaſe and Quiet to various and innumerable Criminals. One healing Clauſe was, 'That if any Perſon objected againſt another any Words of Reproach, tending to revive the Memory of the late Differences, he ſhou'd pay ten Pounds, if a Gentleman, and forty Shillings, if one of a more inferior Degree. As to the Exceptions, the Act gave no Benefit to *Row*, *Garland*, *Harvey*, *Smith*, *Martin*, *Waller*, *Titchburn*, *Fleetwood*, *J. Temple*, *Wait*, *Meyn*, *Heveningham*, *Pennington*, *P. Temple*, *Lilburn*, *Millington*, *Potter*, *Wogan*, *Downs*, *Scroop*, *Liſle*, *Say*, *Walton*, *Harriſon*, *Whally*, *Barkſteed*, *Ludlow*, *Liveſey*, *Okey*, *Hewſon*, *Goffe*, *Holland*, *Challoner*, *Carew*, *Jones*, *Corbet*, *Clement*, *Scott*, *Cawley*, *Love*, *Dixwell*, *Blagrave*, *Cook*, *Broughton*, *Dendy*, *Hewlett*, *Peters*, *Hacker*, *Axtell*, or any of them; nor to thoſe two diſguis'd upon the Scaffold the 30th of *January* 1648.' All which Perſons, for being inſtrumental in the Murther of the late King, are wholly excluded: But in regard the nineteen firſt-mention'd had render'd themſelves according to the Proclamation of the 6th of *June*, and thereby pretended to ſome Favour, it was enacted, 'That if the ſaid *Row*, and the reſt ſo firſt mention'd, are attainted, their Execution ſhou'd be ſuſpended, until the King and Parliament ſhou'd order the ſame.' Only Mr. *Scroop*, for vindicating his Crime, was again excepted. 'Next, *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Bradſhaw*, and *Pride*, though dead, were excepted, and the Lands and Goods, Rights and Truſts of them, and one and twenty others deceas'd, viz. *Ewer*, *Danvers*, *Maleverer*, *Purefoy*, *Blakeſtone*, *Conſtable*, *Dean*, *Allen*, *Pelham*, *Moor*, *Alred*, *Edwards*, *Norton*, *Ven*, *Andrews*, *Stapely*, *Horton*, *Fry*, *Hammond*, *Skippon* and *Bouchier*, were made ſubject to ſuch Penalties and Forfeitures as by another Act to be paſs'd ſhou'd be ordain'd. Moreover, *Mounſon*, *Mildmay*, *Harrington* and *Wallop*, as not having ſign'd the Warrant for the Execution of the King, were reſerv'd to future Penalties and Forfeitures, not extending to Life. *Phelps* and *Haſlerigg* were put into the ſame Condition. *Hutchinſon* and *Laſſels* were made incapable to execute any Place of Truſt, and to pay one Year's Value by Way of Fine. *Oliver* St. *John*, and ſeventeen others nam'd in the Act, were to be excluded from any Benefit by this Act, if they accepted or executed any Office in *England*, either Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Military. And all that had given Sentence of Death in any of the late illegal High-Courts of Juſtice, except Colonel *Ingoldsby*, and Colonel *Thomlinſon*, were diſabled from being Members in any Parliament, or bearing any Office in *England* or *Wales*. Laſtly, no Perſons were to be indemnify'd who had enter'd into any Lands, *&c.* called *Fabrick Lands*, or poſſeſs'd themſelves of any Rents or Revenues given for the Repair of any Cathedral or any other Church, or who had ſacrilegiouſly enrich'd themſelves by the converting of the Plate, Utenſils, and Materials belonging to ſuch Churches, to their private Uſe.' After all we muſt not forget that Sir *Henry Vane* and *John Lambert* were intirely excepted out of the Act.

Other Acts.

With this, ſome other Acts were prepar'd for the Royal Aſſent, particularly One *for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings*; which was likewiſe a very healing Act, and highly neceſſary at this Juncture; ſince, without this, beſides other Inconveniencies, there muſt have been ſo great a Concuſſion in moſt Mens Eſtates, as wou'd have render'd them ſubject to perpetual Difficulties and Uncertainties. By this All Proceedings in Law, Equity, *&c.* ſince the firſt of *May* 1642, were confirm'd, notwithſtanding any Defect of Legal Power, or Difference in Stile or Title; but ſtill with ſome Reſtrictions, eſpecially as to Crown and Church Lands, where no Purchaſers cou'd pretend or expect to have a Right. A Third was an *Act for a Proviſion of Mony to pay off the Armies and Navy*, which was by an extraordinary Poll, that variouſly comprehended Perſons of all Ranks and Conditions. The Fourth was an *Act for reſtraining the taking of exceſſive Uſury*, which makes it highly penal to any that ſhou'd take above ſix Pounds for the Loan of a hundred Pounds for a Year, and to any Scrivener or Broker that ſhou'd take above five Shillings for the ſame, or above twelve Pence for the making or renewing a Bond or Bill. The laſt publick Act was *for a perpetual Anniverſary Thankſgiving on the twenty ninth Day of* May, the Day of his Majeſty's Nativity and Reſtoration.

The King's Speech at his paſſing them.

Theſe Acts being ready, the King on the 29th of *Auguſt* paſs'd them, with the following Speech to both Houſes: '*My Lords, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I have been here ſome times before with you, but never with more Willingneſs, than I am at this Time. And there are few Men in the Kingdom have longed more impatiently to have thoſe Bills paſs'd, than I have done to paſs them; and I hope they will be the Foundation of Peace and Security to us all. I do very willingly pardon all that is pardon'd by this Act of *Indemnity*, to that Time which is mention'd in the Bill: Nay, I will tell you, That from that Time to this Day, I will not uſe great Severity, except in ſuch Caſes where the Malice is notorious, and the Publick Peace exceedingly concern'd. But for the Time to come, the ſame Diſcretion and Conſcience, which diſpos'd me to the Clemency I have expreſs'd (which is moſt agreeable to my Nature) will oblige me to all Rigour and Severity, how contrary ſoever it be to my Nature, towards thoſe who ſhall not now acquieſce, but continue to manifeſt their Sedition and Diſlike of the Government, either in Actions or Words. And I muſt conjure you all, *my Lords and Gentlemen*, to concurr with me in this juſt and neceſſary Severity; and that you will, in your ſeveral Stations, be ſo jealous of the Publick Peace, and of my particular Honour, that you will cauſe exemplary Juſtice upon thoſe who are guilty of ſeditious Speeches or Writings, as well as thoſe who break out into ſeditious Actions: And that you will believe thoſe who delight in reproaching and traducing *My Perſon*, not to be well affected to *You* and the *Publick Peace*. Never King valu'd himſelf more upon the Affections of his People than I do: Nor do I know a better Way to make my ſelf ſure of your Affections, than by being juſt and kind to you all: And whilſt I am ſo, I pray let the World ſee, *That I am poſſeſs'd of your Affections*. For your *Poll-Bill*, I thank you as much as if the Mony were to come into my own Coffers; and wiſh with all my Heart that it may amount to as great a Sum as you reckon upon.------

1660.
Car. 12.
Reſ. 1.

I pray very earneſtly, as faſt as Mony comes in, diſcharge that great Burthen of the Navy, and disband the Army as faſt as you can; and till you can disband the reſt, make a Proviſion for their Supply. I do conjure you, as you love me, let me not hear the Noiſe of *Free Quarter*, which will be imputed to my want of Care and Government, how innocent ſoever I am. I am ſo confident of your Affections, that I will not move you in any thing that immediately relates to my ſelf: And yet I muſt tell you, That I am not richer, that is, I have not ſo much Mony in my Purſe, as when I came to you. The Truth is, I have liv'd principally ever ſince upon what I brought with me, which was indeed your Mony: You ſent it to me, and I thank you for it. The weekly Expence of the Navy eats up all you have given me by the Bill of *Tonnage and Poundage:* Nor have I been able to give my Brothers one Shilling ſince I came into *England*, nor to keep any Table in my Houſe but where I eat my ſelf. And that which troubles me moſt, is, to ſee many of you come to me at *Whitehall*, and to think you muſt go ſome where elſe to ſeek a Dinner. I do not mention this to you, as any thing that troubles me: Do but take Care of the Publick, and for what is neceſſary for the *Peace* and *Quiet* of the Kingdom, and take your own Time for my *own Particular*; which I am ſure you will provide for with as much Affection and Frankneſs as I can deſire.'

Part of the Speaker's Speech.

At the ſame Time a long Speech was made by the Speaker, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, who diſcourſing upon the ſeveral Bills preſented to the King, upon the Act of Indemnity, he has theſe Words: ‘ There is another Bill intitled, *An Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion:* It may well be call'd a *free Pardon*; for your Majeſty was pleas'd to offer it before we had Confidence enough to ask it, and at a Time when your People had moſt need of it; and it may as truly be called a *General Pardon* in reſpect of the Extenſiveneſs of it. But looking over a long, black, prodigious, diſmal Roll and Catalogue of Malefactors, we there met not with Men, but with Monſters, guilty of Blood, precious Blood, precious Royal Blood, never to be remember'd without Tears; incomparable in all kinds of Villanies that ever were acted by the worſt of Miſcreants, Perverters of Religion, Subverters of the Government, Falſe to God, Diſloyal to the beſt of Kings, and Perfidious to their Country. And therefore we find an abſolute and indiſpenſible Neceſſity incumbent on us, to except and ſet ſome apart for an *Antidote* to expel the Poiſon of Sin and Rebellion out of others, and that they may be made *Sacrifices* to appeaſe God's Wrath, and ſatisfy Divine Vengeance.'

5. The Parliament underſtanding from the King that they were to have a Receſs after the 13th of the next Month, proceeded with all Vigour to compleat ſome Bills under Conſideration. That which was of moſt immediate Importance, was a Bill for the ſpeedy disbanding the Army and Garriſons, upon which they were very intent.

The Commons Care in ſettling the Revenues of the Crown.

The next was the Eſtabliſhment of the Revenues of the Crown; and underſtanding the preſent Wants of the Royal Family, they began with a Preſent of ten Thouſand Pounds to the Duke of *York*, and another of ſeven Thouſand to the Duke of *Gloceſter*. They juſtly conſider'd that the Misfortunes of the late King, and the conſequent Miſeries, were originally owing to his Want of Mony; and therefore they particularly examin'd into that Matter. They found the Total of the Revenue which came unto his late Majeſty, amounted from the Year 1637 to the Year 1641 incluſive, *communibus Annis*, unto 895819 Pounds; whereof 210493 Pounds did ariſe by Payment partly not warranted by Law, and partly expir'd: And that the Expences of his late Majeſty's Government did amount, *communibus Annis*, to about 200000 Pounds a Year above the Receipt; in which Computation the Incomes ariſing by *Ship-Mony* are not comprehended. Next, they found that the preſent Revenue of his now Majeſty, by the additional Compoſition for the *Court of Wards*, may be computed at 819389 Pounds, or thereabouts; which Revenue they thought too little for the Support and Dignity of the Crown of *England*; therefore they reſolv'd to make a very conſiderable Addition.

But before they cou'd compleat that Matter, having prepared ſeven or eight publick Bills for the Royal Aſſent, on the 13th of *September* his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers and paſs'd them all. What they were, and the Nature of them, will appear from the Speaker's Speech, as following,

The Speaker's Speech to the King.

‘ *Sir*, the Royal Favour and Fatherly Kindneſs unto your People, hath naturaliz'd their Affections to your Perſon, and their Obedience to your Precepts: And as it is their Duty, ſo it is their Deſire to manifeſt and evidence the Truth and Reality thereof, by ſupporting and upholding that Grandeur and Splendor which is due to the Majeſty of ſo meritorious a Prince as your ſelf; and therefore they have reſolv'd, *uno Flatû* and *Nemine Contradicente*, to make up your Majeſty's conſtant and ordinary Revenue twelve hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. But finding as to ſome Part of the Settlement of that Revenue, there will be a Neceſſity of making uſe of the Legiſlative Power; and that the Bills brought into the Houſe for that Purpoſe cannot poſſibly be made ready for your Royal Aſſent, until the next Meeting of your Houſes again, therefore they have taken your Majeſty's preſent Supply into their Conſideration; and firſt how to raiſe it in the moſt expeditious way to anſwer your preſent Occaſions. They have wrapt up their Affections to your Majeſty, and the Truſt repoſed in them by the People, in one of theſe Bills here in my Hand, intitled, *An Act for the ſpeedy raiſing of a hundred thouſand Pounds for a preſent Supply*, to be levy'd by way of Land-Tax within the Space of one Month.-----*Sir*, they have likewiſe paſs'd another Bill with Rules and Inſtructions how to impower and direct your Commiſſioners in what manner *to disband your Army and Garriſons, and to pay off ſome Part of your Fleet*, and to begin with thoſe Ships now in Harbour. But not knowing for certain whether the Monies upon the *Poll-Bill*, which is deſigned for that Purpoſe, will be ſufficient to defray that Charge; and being unwilling that any thing ſhould be wanting on their Parts to perfect ſo good a Work, ſo acceptable to your Majeſty, and ſo grateful to all your People, they have paſs'd another *Act for raiſing a hundred and forty thouſand Pounds, at ſeventy thouſand Pounds* per Menſem, to begin the firſt of *November*.----*Sir*, there are other Bills likewiſe which wait and attend for your Royal Aſſent; one entitled, *An Act for regulating the Bay Trade*, which is the only way to keep up the Credit of that which is now in ſome Danger to be loſt: When the Credit of Trade begins to decline, the Trade it ſelf decays with it, and is never long liv'd after it.------*Sir*, there is another Bill intitled, *An Act for encouraging and encreaſing Shipping and Navigation*; which will enable your Majeſty to give Laws to foreign Princes abroad, as your Royal Predeceſſors have done before you.------*Sir*, there is another Bill entitled, *An Act for reſtoring ſome Miniſters into their Places*, out of which they have been long and injuriouſly ejected and expos'd, *and for confirming others in vacant Places.* Crazy Titles need your Majeſty's Help, as much as crazy Bodies need the Help of a Phyſician: And what your Majeſty hath already done in that kind to this Parliament, and what you are now about to do, and what you have ever expreſs'd your Readineſs in, if we cou'd be as ready as your Majeſty is to give, we hope to baniſh all Fears and Jealouſies out of Mens Minds for the future, and teach them with much Confidence and Contentedneſs to reſt, and wholly rely upon your Majeſty's Grace and Goodneſs, for what may be thought further neceſſary to be done hereafter, when a fitting Opportunity ſhall be offer'd at the next Meeting of your Houſes of Parliament.'-----

In the paſſing of theſe, and about fourteen private Bills, which related chiefly to the reſtoring of ſome Perſons to their Eſtates, his Majeſty made this following Speech:

The King's Speech at paſſing ſeveral Bills.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, If my Preſence here had not been requiſite for the paſſing of theſe many Bills, I did always intend to ſee you together before your Adjournment, that I may again thank you for the many good things you have done for Me and the Kingdom: And in truth, I do thank you more for what you have done for the *Publick*, than what you have done for my *Own Particular*; and yet I do thank you for that with all my Heart. But I confeſs to you, I do thank you more for the Proviſion you have made to prevent *Free Quarter*, during the Time the Army ſhall be disbanded, which I take to be given for my Satisfaction, than I do for the Preſent you have made me for my own particular Occaſions. And I do promiſe you, which is the beſt way I can take to gratify you, I will not apply one Penny of that Mony to my own particular Occaſions, what Shift ſoever I make, till it is evident to me that the Publick will not ſtand in need of it; and if it do, every Penny of it ſhall be diſburs'd that way, and I dare ſay I ſhall not be the poorer for it. I cannot but take Notice of one particular Bill I have paſs'd, which may ſeem of an extraordinary Nature [*An Act for reſtoring the Marqueſs of* Hertford *to the Dukedom of* Somerſet.] But you all know it is for an extraordinary Perſon, who hath merited ſo much of the King my Father, and my ſelf, as a Subject can do: And I am none of thoſe who think, *That Subjects, by performing their Duties in an extraordinary Manner, do not oblige their Princes to reward them in an extraordinary Manner.* There can be no Danger from ſuch a Precedent; and I hope no Man will envy him, becauſe I have done what a good Maſter ſhould do to ſuch a Servant. *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I will not deny to you,

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‘That I had ſome Inclination, when I conſented to your Deſire for your Receſs, to have made a *Seſſion*, which I thought moſt agreeable to the ancient Order of Parliaments; and I hope you will joyn with me in reducing of Parliaments to their ancient Rules and Orders, the Deviation from which hath done us no Good. And I think there were never ſo many Bills paſs'd as I have this Day, without a *Seſſion:* But upon the Deſire, and Reaſons given by the Houſe of Commons, for an *Adjournment*, without a *Seſſion*, I do very willingly part from that Inclination, and do as willingly give you Leave, and direct you to *adjourn* your ſelves to the Sixth of *November*, when I hope you will meet again: And in the mean Time that you will be welcome to your Countries, and do much Service.’

The Subſtance of the Chancellor's Speech.

After which his Majeſty referr'd to the Lord Chancellor to ſpeak of many other things which he had to recommend to them: For in the Time of their Receſs, the Army was to be daily disbanding; of which many ſuſpicious Diſcourſes had been ſpread abroad by diſaffected Perſons: Some ſaid the King wou'd keep them up; and others, that they wou'd not ſuffer themſelves to be disbanded. And tho' an Act was paſs'd to confirm Miniſters, yet farther Order was to be taken in Reference to Church Government, and particularly in reſpect to tender Conſciences; as alſo about Purchaſes and Sales of Publick Lands, which had, without Iſſue, much taken up the Time of both Houſes. And therefore ſince the Parliament was to adjourn before theſe Matters were effected, it was expedient to ſatisfy the People with the King's generous Intentions in theſe and other Affairs. Accordingly the Lord-Chancellor diſplay'd his Eloquence in a long Speech, conſiſting of Variety of Subjects, principally tending to the compoſing and healing of all former Differences. As to the Army, he told them, ‘That his Majeſty cou'd not take it unkindly at their Hands who thought he wou'd not disband them: It was a ſober and rational Jealouſy; ſince no other Prince in *Europe* cou'd be willing to diſband ſuch an Army, every Way ſo valuable, *&c.*’ But what he alledg'd, as the greateſt Felicity to a diſtracted Nation, was the *Act of Indemnity*; in which he particularly inſiſted upon that moſt charitable Clauſe, ‘That made it penal to any Perſons, who within three Years, ſhou'd maliciouſly call, or object againſt others any *Name* or *Words of Reproach*, any Ways tending to revive the Memory of the late Differences.’ Nay farther, he let them know, ‘That even evil and envious Looks, murmuring and diſcontented Hearts, were directly againſt the *Equity* of the Statute, and, as far as they were diſcover'd, ſhou'd be ſo eſteem'd by his Majeſty.’ Therefore he conjured them from the King, ‘to joyn with Him in reſtoring the whole Nation to its primitive Temper, and Integrity, to its old Good Manners, to its old Good Humour, and its old Good Nature: *Good Nature*, a Virtue ſo peculiar to Them, ſo appropriated by God Almighty to this Nation, that it can be tranſlated into no other Language, hardly practis'd by any other People.’ After this he put them in Mind of the neceſſary Severity that ought to be us'd towards ſuch as ſhall ſtill continue to widen the Breaches; but likewiſe happily told them, ‘That too much Ill cou'd not befall Thoſe, who did the beſt they cou'd to corrupt his Majeſty's Nature, and to extinguiſh his Mercy.’ The whole conſiſted of great Variety, and was fill'd with ſuch generous and healing Sentences, as were agreeable to the beſt of Kings, and beſt of Miniſters; and concluded in theſe Words, ‘Be but pleas'd your ſelves, and perſuade others to be ſo; contrive all the Ways imaginable for your own Happineſs, and you will make his Majeſty the beſt pleas'd and the moſt happy Prince in the World.

The Parliament adjourn'd for near two Months.

Upon finiſhing this Speech the King retired, and both Houſes of Parliament adjourn'd themſelves to the ſixth Day of *November*, after they had ſat four Months and eighteen Days, from their firſt Meeting, and three Months and fourteen Days from the King's Arrival; in which Time they compleated as much Buſineſs, as cou'd poſſibly be expected, in this great Exigency of Affairs.

III. 1. During the Time of the Parliament's Receſs, which continu'd almoſt two Months, while Joy and Triumphs ſtill appear'd in every Place, a darker Scene began to open, and the Divine Vengeance took Place againſt the moſt notorious Murderers of his Majeſty's Royal Father. The Judges, Officers, and other immediate Actors in that bloody Tragedy, were in Number about Fourſcore; of whom four or five and twenty were dead, and gone to receive the Judgment of Heaven; eighteen or nineteen were fled from Juſtice; about ſeven, who were thought to have ſinn'd with leſs Malice, without Tryal had their Lives ſpared: and twenty nine were reſerv'd for preſent

Twenty nine Regicides try'd.

Tryal and Judgment, namely, *Waller*, *Harriſon*, *Carew*, *Cook*, *Peters*, *Scot*, *Clement*, *Scroop*, *Jones*, *Hacker*, *Axtel*, *Heveningham*, *Marten*, *Millington*, *Tichborn*, *Roe*, *Lilburn*, *Harvey*, *Pennington*, *Smith*, *Downs*, *Potter*, *Garland*, *Fleetwood*, *Meyn*, *J. Temple*, *P. Temple*, *Howlet* and *Waite*. For the Tryal of theſe the King appointed an extraordinary Bench of Commiſſioners, conſiſting of the beſt and moſt able of the Nobility, Judges, Lawyers and Gentlemen, to ſit at the *Old-Baily*, and determine the whole with the higheſt Decency and Solemnity. They

The Judges and Witneſſes, &c.

conſiſted of thirty four in Number, namely, Sir *Thomas Allen*, Lord-Mayor of *London*, Lord-Chancellor *Hyde*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Earl of *Barkſhire*, the Earl of *Sandwich*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Roberts*, the Lord *Finch*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *Charles Barkley*, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, Mr. *Arthur Anneſly*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Juſtice *Foſter*, Mr. Juſtice *Mallet*, Mr. Juſtice *Hyde*, Mr. Baron *Atkins*, Mr. Juſtice *Twiſden*, Mr. Juſtice *Tyrrel*, Mr. Baron *Turner*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Sir *William Wild* Recorder of *London*, Mr. Serjeant *Brown*, Mr. Serjeant *Hale*, and Mr. *John Howel*. The Proſecutors in Behalf of the King were Sir *Jeffery Palmer* Attorney-General, Sir *Heneage Finch* Sollicitor-General, Sir *Edward Turner* Attorney to the Duke of *York*, Serjeant *Keeling*, Mr. *Wadham Windham*, and Mr. *Edward Shelton* Clerk of the Crown. As the Bench conſiſted of ſeveral who had been great Promoters of that Cauſe which ruin'd the late King, ſo were ſeveral of the Witneſſes of the ſame Stamp, ſuch as Mr. *Maſterſon*, Colonel *Hunks*, Colonel *Tomlinſon*, Mr. *John Ruſhworth*, Mr. *William Lenthal*, Mr. *Anthony Mildmay*, *&c.*

All the Commiſſioners being met on the 9th Day of *October*, the Grand Jury was ſworn, which conſiſted of Baronets, Knights, and Gentlemen of the beſt Rank. Which done, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, who ſat as principal Judge, in a long and learned Charge, clearly open'd and ſtated the whole Matter to them: He told them, after a proper

The Subſtance of Bridgman's *Speech.*

Introduction, ‘That he muſt deliver to them for plain and true Law, *That no Authority*, *no ſingle Perſon*, *no Community of Perſons*, *not the People Collectively*, *or Repreſentatively*, *had any coercive Power over the King of* England.’ He ſhew'd them by the Common and Statute Law, ‘*That the King was not only the Head of the* People, *but the Head of the* Common-Wealth, *the* Three Eſtates *of the Realm.* All which was agreeable to the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*; which Oaths, all Men who enter'd into the Parliament Houſe were oblig'd to take. Now for a few Members of the Houſe of Commons, who had taken theſe Oaths, and by them ſtood oblig'd to defend the King againſt all Attempts againſt his Perſon, Crown and Dignity; for a few Members, not an eighth Part of the Houſe, to aſſume to Themſelves an Authority to make Laws, to erect an *High Court of Juſtice*, and to take away the Life of their Sovereign; a King, that had not only redreſs'd all Grievances in the Beginning of the Parliament, as the *Star-Chamber*, *High Commiſſion* Court, *Ship-Mony*, &c. but had afterwards made ſuch *Conceſſions* in the *Iſle of Wight*, as were more than the People cou'd deſire-----When theſe few Commons, not only without, but excluding the reſt of the Commons, and likewiſe rejecting all the Lords, ſhall take upon them this Authority, and, by Colour of this, ſentence to Death their Sovereign Liege Lord, and, *as King*, put him to Death before his own Royal Palace at Noon Day; it was ſuch an Aggravation of Villany, that no Words cou'd expreſs it: No Story in any Romance, or invented Tragedy, cou'd produce the like. Therefore, for any of theſe Criminals to ſhelter themſelves under this pretended mock Authority, was ſo far from being an Excuſe, that it was the Height of Aggravation.’

The Criminals indicted.

The Criminals being put upon their Tryal the next Day, and their Indictment read, two only pleaded Guilty, Sir *Hardreſs Waller* and Mr. *George Fleetwood*. The reſt pleaded *Not guilty*; tho' ſeveral of them for the while trifled with the Court: Particularly *Harriſon*, after Uſeleſs Evaſions, ſaid, *He wou'd be try'd according to the Laws of the Lord*; and when they told him the neceſſary Form was *By God and the Country*, he ſaid, *They were vain Words. Harry Martin* pleaded, ‘That he was not excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, the Perſon there mention'd being *Henry*, and not *Harry*, which was his real Name;’ but the Court inform'd him, ‘That a Miſnomer in this Caſe was not pleadable.’ *Carew* put himſelf upon his Tryal with this ſtrange Salvo, *Saving to our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *his Right to the Government of theſe Nations. Axtel* for a while ſtood mute; and after the Court had convinc'd him of the Danger of it, and put him upon the Form of *God and the Country*, he anſwer'd, *That is not lawful*; *God is not locally here. Hugh Peters* declar'd, *He wou'd not for ten Thouſand Worlds ſay he was guilty*; and ſo deſir'd to be try'd *by the Word of God*; which he of all Men had ſo ſcandalouſly abus'd, that it produc'd a loud Laughter in the Court.

Harriſon's *Tryal.*

2. The Forms of Indictment being over, the next Day began with the Tryal of *Thomas Harriſon*, not long ſince call'd Major-General *Harriſon*, an inveterate Man, and moſt deeply engag'd. He was charg'd not only with ſitting as a Judge upon the late King, but with bringing him Priſoner to *London*, and treating him rudely, and, as a particular Aggravation, with ſaying to thoſe who drew up his Charge, *Gentlemen, it will be good for us to* Blacken *him what we can*; *pray let us* Blacken *him!* The Priſoner began his Defence by a ſurpriſing Argumentation, ' from the Notoriety of the Fact, *That it was not done in a Corner*; That he believ'd God was with his Servants in thoſe Days, however it ſeem'd good to him to ſuffer this *Turn* to come upon them: That he had with Prayers and Tears deſired to know the Mind of God in it; but he had received no Conviction of the Evil of it, but rather Aſſurance: He profeſs'd the Harmleſſneſs of his Nature to Man, Woman and Child: That he follow'd not his own Judgment, but his Conſcience to the Lord: That divers of thoſe upon the Bench were formerly as active in the ſame *Cauſe:* That he had ſuffer'd Impriſonment, becauſe he wou'd not turn aſide from the *Cauſe* to *Cromwell*, and refus'd the Temptation of ſitting at his Right Hand: That what he had done, was by Authority of Parliament; and that neither this nor any other inferior Court, had any Cognizance or Juriſdiction on That; and therefore they could not queſtion Him that acted in Obedience to that Authority; *and that he did act in the Fear of the Lord.*' Hereupon the Court and Audience were amaz'd, and cry'd out, *Away with him, for he made God the Author of his Treaſons and Murders!* And as to his pretended Authority, by which he warranted his Actions, it was anſwer'd, ' That the King and Lords cou'd not do any Thing without the Commons, nor the King and Commons without the Lords, nor the Lords and Commons without the King; and for the Priſoner to excuſe, nay, juſtify himſelf, upon Pretence of being impower'd by one Houſe, nay the eighth Part of a Houſe, to condemn their King, whom no Authority upon Earth cou'd call in Queſtion, and without Whom both Houſes together cou'd not take away the meaneſt Subject's Life, deſerv'd not only Reproof, but immediate Sentence.' They told him, ' That this Diſcourſe was to infect the People;' and Sir *Edward Turner* added, *That he had the Plague all over him.* So the whole Court unanimouſly and ſeverally rejected that treaſonable Tenet of an Authority in both or either Houſes without the King, and overrul'd that Plea. At which *Harriſon* deſired Counſel; and after ſome Interlocutions, he began a Diſcourſe of the War; the King's ſetting up his Standard againſt his People, and ſhedding of innocent Blood: And being interrupted there, avouching the ſame Authority, he profeſs'd his Abhorrence of blackening the King; and equivocated with his bringing him Priſoner from *Hurſt-Caſtle*, ſince he was commanded to do it from the General. At laſt he urg'd his Unpreparation for his Tryal, being ſix Months a cloſe Priſoner; but that he had ſome Acts of Parliament to produce to his Juſtification, and ſo concluded. Judgment being demanded, the Jury pronounc'd him guilty, without ſtirring from the Place; and Sentence of Execution was paſs'd upon him. *Ludlow* mentions two Particulars, not to be found in the printed Tryals: The firſt, the Truth of which is much doubted, was, that the Executioner in an ugly Dreſs, with a Halter in his Hand, was plac'd near the Priſoner, and continu'd there during the whole Time of the Tryal. The other was, That after Sentence had been pronounc'd againſt him, he ſaid aloud as he was withdrawing from the Court, *That he had no Reaſon to be aſham'd of the Cauſe in which he had been engag'd.* But whether this be to the Advantage of the Priſoner, is left to the Judgment of the Reader.

Scroop's *Tryal.*

The next that was ſet to the Bar was Colonel *Adrian Scroop*, who was convicted by the ſame Evidence of ſitting as Judge in the *High Court of Juſtice*, and ſigning the Warrant for the Execution of the late King; as alſo by the Teſtimony of Sir *Richard Brown*, the Lord-Mayor Elect, who ſaid, ' That ſince the Return of the King, in ſome accidental Conference, he ſeem'd to allow and approve of the Fact, by ſaying, *Many People did not think it ſuch a heinous Matter*; *and that ſome be of one Mind, and ſome of another:*' Which he deny'd now to have expreſly ſaid; but bewail'd the Misfortune of that Encounter with Sir *Richard*; ' For whereas before, he was not excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, the very laſt Day it paſs'd he was, by that Means, even then excepted. He juſtify'd that Authority, and the Fact committed by that Authority, but not the Perſon; proteſting he had no Malice againſt the King, and that it was an Error of Judgment, not of his Will; and that he ſaw a great many Faces at this Time that were miſ-led as well as himſelf: That he really took the Parliament's Authority for valid.' But being over-rul'd in that Plea, according to the preceding Tryal, he acquainted the Jury, ' That he lay under a great Prejudice by the Fact, and deſired them to conſider his Caſe as they wou'd their own; and hinted at the Benefit of the Proclamation.' He had more of the Port and Language of a Gentleman than any of the reſt of the King's Judges; and tho' he was found guilty, yet it is juſtly believ'd that he wou'd have eſcap'd with Life, had not his Crime been aggravated by the particular Teſtimony of Sir *Richard Brown.*

Carew's *Tryal.*

Mr. *John Carew* was next brought to the Bar, who being charg'd with ſitting as a Judge, and ſigning the bloody Warrant for the Murder of the King, he fell into the like Diſcourſe with *Harriſon*, declaring, ' That he was ſo far from acting with a traiterous and malicious Heart; that what he did was in the Fear of the Lord, and in Obedience to his holy and righteous Laws; and next in Obedience to that which was the Supream Authority of the Nation; which having been controverted in the Face of the whole World, the Lord had given an Anſwer upon ſolemn Appeals to theſe Things.' The Court interrupted him, and the Lord Chief Baron bad him remember, *That the Devil ſometimes appear'd in the Habit of an Angel of Light.* Others charg'd him with ſowing Sedition, and the Solicitor told him, ' Tho' he pretended Conſcience, and the Fear of the Lord, all the World knew he did it againſt the Law of the Lord, his own Conſcience, the Light of Nature, and the Laws of the Land, againſt the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* which he himſelf had taken.' He ſtill inſiſted upon the Power and Authority of the Parliament, and ſo left it with the Jury, who without removing from the Bar brought him in guilty.

Scot's *Tryal.*

Mr. *Thomas Scot* being the next at the Bar, the ſame Witneſſes were produc'd in all Things as the former, concerning his ſitting and ſigning the Warrant for Execution: But ſome Things were added by Way of aggravation; particularly it was ſworn, ' That he was ſo far from repenting of the Act, that in open Parliament he deſired that upon his Tomb-Stone he might have this Inſcription, *Here lies* Thomas Scot, *who adjudg'd to Death the late King.* And afterwards, upon the Diſſolution of the Parliament, he in the Houſe added theſe Words, *Since it is your Pleaſure to have it ſo, I know not how to hinder it; but when that is done I know not where to hide this* Hated Head *of mine.*' The Priſoner was very bold in his Defence, and declared ' That he was not to anſwer for Words ſpoken in Parliament; and that it was a high Breach of Privilege.' To which he was anſwer'd, ' That there cou'd be no Privilege of Parliament for Treaſon, nor Felony neither.' Then he flew to the Authority of the Commons in Parliament, and inſiſted ' It was a Parliament, and that that Court had no Cognizance to declare whether it was a Parliament or not.' To this he was anſwer'd, ' That then any Man might pretend to an Authority of Parliament: If forty Men ſhou'd meet at *Shooter*'s-*Hill*, as the little Convention did at *Weſtminſter*, and ſay, *We declare our ſelves the PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND*; becauſe they do ſo, ſhall not this be judg'd what is a Statute, and what not?' He then alledg'd, ' He knew not but that it might be as lawful for the Commons to make Laws, as this preſent Parliament, being call'd by the *Keepers of the Liberties of* England;' adding withal, ' That the Authority of the remaining Members might be as good as the Parliament was when the Biſhops were excluded; and Two *Eſtates* may take away a Third, if the Second do not continue to execute their Truſt, He that is in Occupancy may have a Title to the whole; therefore he affirm'd he had a Parliamentary and Legiſlative Power to juſtify him.' To this was reply'd, ' That the Biſhops were taken away by an Act, with the Conſent of the King, Lords and Commons; and therefore the Juſtification of this poyſonous Doctrine was inſufferable.' After ſome little ſtruggle more, the Jury, being directed, ſoon brought him in Guilty.

Clement's *and* Jones's *Tryal.*

There were two others to be try'd on the ſame Day, Mr. *Gregory Clement*, and Colonel *John Jones*, both for aſſuming a Power of judging and condemning the late King. The former wav'd his Plea, and confeſs'd his Crime, and deliver'd a Petition, as Sir *Hardreſs Waller* had before. Colonel *Jones* made ſome little Defence, but upon a full Proof of his ſitting in Court, and ſigning the Warrant, he acquieſc'd. And ſo all the five that were try'd this Day receiv'd Sentence together. Before the paſſing of which, Sir *Orlando Bridgman* made an affecting Speech to them and the Audience, in which, after he had enlarg'd upon the Virtues and Conceſſions of the late King, and the Peace and Proſperity that once flouriſh'd in his Reign, he more immediately apply'd to the Criminals: And becauſe Mr. *Scot* and others had alledg'd, *That they had by Prayers and Tears often ſought the Lord, That if there were*

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any Iniquity in It, he wou'd ſhew it them; 'he remember'd them of our Saviour's Saying, *The Time cometh, that whoſoever killeth you, will think that he doeth God Service*----There is a ſpiritual Pride; Men may over-run themſelves by their own Holineſs, and may follow pretended Revelations: Men may ſay *I have pray'd about ſuch a Thing:* A Man may commit a Robbery, or Murther, meerly becauſe he will, and may come and ſay, *I have pray'd againſt it, and cannot underſtand it to be a Sin*, as one in *Shropſhire* did, and yet notwithſtanding kill'd his own Father and Mother.

Cook's *Tryal.*

3. The Commiſſioners, having try'd ſome of thoſe who were more ſtrictly call'd *The King's Judges*, thought fit to proceed to ſome others who were more remotely, tho' as effectually concern'd as the reſt. The firſt of theſe was the Solicitor *John Cook*, who was arraign'd for aſſuming a Power over the King's Life; for drawing and exhibiting the Charge; for preſſing the Charge to be taken *pro Confeſſo*; in ſum, for being Inſtrumental in the King's Death. It was alſo particularly ſworn againſt him, 'That he acknowledg'd he was a wiſe and gracious King, but added, *That he muſt die, and Monarchy with him*.' To all which he anſwer'd very acutely, to the Honour of his Parts, and Infamy of his Practice: He began with St. *Paul*'s Plea, '*Againſt the Law, and againſt* Cæſar, *he hop'd he had not offended at all.* For firſt, he cou'd not be juſtly ſaid to have contriv'd or counſell'd the Death of the King, becauſe the Proclamation for the King's Tryal was, without Diſpute, publiſh'd on the ninth of *January*, which was the Day before he was appointed Solicitor to the *High Court of Juſtice.* In the ſecoud Place, tho' the Court ſhou'd not admit that to be an *Act of Parliament*, which had authoriz'd him; yet he aſſured himſelf they wou'd allow it to be an *Order*, which was enough to acquit him of Treaſon. Thirdly, That he, who had been neither Accuſer, Witneſs, Judge, or Executioner, cou'd not be guilty in this Caſe. He alledg'd, he was but Counſel, and acted in his Sphere for a Fee; in which his Crime might be call'd *Avaritia*, but not *Malitia:* That he was no Sword-Man: That he executed no Power over the King: That to pray and demand Juſtice, tho' Injuſtice be done upon it, cou'd not be Treaſon within the Statute: That when he demanded Juſtice, it might be meant of Acquittal, as well as of Condemnation; and that if it ſhou'd be accounted Treaſon in a Counſellor to plead againſt the King, it muſt alſo be Felony to plead againſt a Man who happens to be unjuſtly condemn'd for Felony: That the *High Court of Juſtice*, tho' now call'd tyrannical and unlawful, was yet a *Court*, had Officers attending them, and many think had Authority, there being then no *Other* in the Nation than that which gave them their Power; and if this will not juſtify a Man for acting within his own Sphere, it will not be lawful for any one to exerciſe his Profeſſion, unleſs he may be ſure of the Legality of the Court in which he acts.' He obſerv'd, 'that the Word *Inſtrumental*, in the Exception of the Act, was inſignificant, or otherwiſe incomprehenſive of him: That by the King's gracious Letter, a *Free Parliament* was to declare the excepted Perſons; which this cou'd not be, not being called by the King's Writ. Laſtly he ſtill pray'd for the Equity of that Act of Parliament in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, which indemnify'd thoſe that acted under a *de Facto* Authority.' After all his long Pleadings, he was anſwer'd by the Court, 'That he had been ſufficiently prov'd *Inſtrumental* in taking away the King's Life; therefore his alledging, That he was neither Witneſs, Jury, Judge nor Executioner, was no more than ſaying, *Becauſe there are others worſe than my ſelf, I am innocent:* That as no Man cou'd have a lawful Calling to purſue the Life of his King, ſo for a private Perſon, tho' he only intends to beat a Man, yet if he dies thereupon, in Law it is Murder; and if a Man counſels another to commit Murder, he is guilty himſelf: That his demanding the King as a Traytor to be brought to Juſtice, cou'd not reaſonably be meant that of Acquittal: That no Court cou'd ſhelter or excuſe a Perſon in the Commiſſion of *Treaſon:* That by a *Free Parliament* the King deſign'd the preſent Parliament, and as ſuch confirm'd it, before he paſs'd the Act of Indemnity. And laſtly for the Act of Parliament alledg'd, the Intent and Meaning of it was againſt him; it was to preſerve the King *de Facto*, how much more the King *de Jure*; eſpecially ſince he was both charg'd and ſentenc'd in the Court as King of *England*.' Being told that warranting the Authority was an Aggravation of his Crime, he deſired not to be miſtaken, *meaning only in Point of High-Treaſon*; ſo he wou'd have gladly eſcap'd with a *Miſdemeanor*, or *Miſpriſion*; but the Jury, after a little Conſideration, brought him in guilty as to the whole Indictment.

Hugh Peters's *Tryal.*

The next Perſon try'd was a Criminal of a peculiar Nature, *Hugh Peters*, who had been long a Scandal to the Pulpit: He was charg'd with contriving the King's Death, 'by conſpiring with *Oliver Cromwell* at ſeveral Times and Places, and procuring the Soldiers to cry out *Juſtice, againſt the Traytor at the Bar!* by preaching divers Sermons to perſuade the Army to take off the King, comparing him to *Barabbas*, and the Soldiers to *Jeſus Chriſt*, and applying part of that Pſalm where it is ſaid, *They ſhall bind their Kings in Chains, &c.* to the Proceedings againſt him; aſſuring them from the Bible, *That whoever ſheddeth Man's Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed*; and that neither the King, nor Prince *Rupert, nor none of that Rabble*, were excepted. He was alſo accus'd of comparing the *High Court of Juſtice*, to the *Laſt Judgment by the Saints*, and of ſaying, *That the Levites, Lords and Lawyers muſt be taken away in order to eſtabliſh a Common-Wealth; That the King was a Tyrant, and that the Office was Chargeable, Uſeleſs, and Dangerous.*' To all which he made a very mean Defence, having loſt all his uſual Briskneſs of Wit, and Preſence of Mind: 'He made ſome little Cavils againſt the Witneſſes, and in Effect only declar'd himſelf to be an Orthodox harmleſs Man, and that he had ever acted without Malice, Avarice, or Ambition.' He was alſo ſtrongly ſuſpected of being the Executioner; but as to that, he prov'd he was ſick in Bed that very Day. The Jury ſoon found him guilty of Treaſon; and ſo Solicitor *Cook* and he receiv'd Sentence together.

Axtel's *Tryal.*

The next Day appear'd at the Bar Colonel *Daniel Axtel*, who had eſcap'd, as he thought, the Exception in the Act, but was lately added to the miſerable Number, upon the Account of other Blood that likewiſe lay upon him. The chief Heads of his Charge were, 'That he commanded the Guards both at the Tryal and Execution of the King; that he order'd the Soldiers, in a tumultuous Manner, to cry out *Juſtice* and *Execution!* and beat ſome for not doing ſo; and that he bid them Shoot at a Lady, ſuppos'd to be the Lady *Fairfax*, whom he there term'd *Whore*, for ſaying *that* Cromwell *was a Rogue, and that the twentieth Part of the People never conſented to the Tryal of the King:* That he had ſent for and encourag'd the Executioner, and that he had charg'd a Perſon with Cowardiſe for refuſing to ſign the Warrant for Execution.' He made long Harangues in his Defence, and ſaid, 'That he was commanded thither by his General, whom the Lords and Commons had commiſſion'd: That they had declared Themſelves to be the Interpreters of the Law; and if he had not obey'd his General's Command, he was then liable to the Puniſhment: That that Statute of 25 of *Edward* III. did not extend to private Perſons in that Caſe: That ſeveral Judges had declared, That it was lawful and juſtifiable to obey the Parliament: That if the *Collected* Body in Parliament be guilty of Treaſon, where will they find a Jury in the *Diſtributed* Part of the People?' Here he was charg'd for being One of thoſe who actually put the Force upon the Houſe, and turn'd the *Parliament* into a *Juncto*. He anſwer'd 'he only obey'd his Superiors; and that *Eſſex*, *Mancheſter*, *Fairfax*, nay General *Monk*, were equally guilty for acting by the ſame Commiſſion: That he was appointed to keep the Peace in the Court, and therefore it was no Treaſon to ſilence a Lady that ſpoke impertinently; and if the Soldiers did cry *Juſtice, Execution!* he might beat them and ſay *I'll Juſtice you, I'll Execution you:* That at the worſt, Juſtice being an Attribute of God, it was no Treaſon to require it; and that the Execution of it was no more: That, as *Cook* had ſaid before, he neither Sentenc'd, Signed, Sealed nor Sate; and pleaded the Statute of *Henry* VII. for aiding a King *de Facto*. To all which he was anſwer'd, 'That there cou'd be no Excuſes for direct Treaſon: That the Parliament, tho' conſiſting of Lords and Commons, nor the General, cou'd never give any Authority to murther the King; nor was it in his Commiſſion to guard the High-Court of Juſtice, nor to cry for Execution: That any of thoſe Things was an Overt-Act of his Imagination, and ſufficiently prov'd that *Juſtice* and *Execution* was the Intent of Murthering the King, which was confirm'd by his wrathful Speech to the Lady.' Theſe, and other Things being alledg'd by the Court, the Jury ſoon brought him in guilty of Treaſon.

Hacker's *Tryal.*

The next brought to the Bar was Colonel *Francis Hacker*; againſt whom the Wineſſes depos'd 'That he was one of the Perſons that were upon the Guard, and kept the King Priſoner: That the Warrant for ſeeing the Sentence againſt the King put in Execution, was directed to Him with Others: That in Proſecution of that Commiſſion, he had ſign'd a Warrant for Executing the King; and that, by Virtue of the Warrant he had receiv'd, he took the King out of the Cuſtody of Colonel *Thomlinſon*, and conducted him to the Scaffold where he was put to Death. He had been all the while preſent at the laſt Tryal, and ſaw how fruitleſs it wou'd be to make the ſame Allegations with *Axtel*; Therefore he only ſaid, 'That he had

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‘ had acted by the Command of his Superiors, and that he ‘ had always endeavour'd to ſerve his Country in all his ‘ publick Actions:’ So that his Tryal was ſoon diſpatcht, and he brought in guilty of Treaſon.

The reſt ſubmit,

4. Of the twenty nine Regicides that were reſerv'd for Tryal, Ten only ſuffer'd Death, the Tryals of whom have already been related. The nineteen remaining were *Harvey*, *Pennington*, *Marten*, *Millington*, *Tichborn*, *Roe*, *Lilburn*, *Smith*, *Downs*, *Potter*, *Garland*, *Heveningham*, *Meyne*, *J. Temple*, *P. Temple*, *Wait*, *Hewlet*, *Waller* and *Fleetwood.* The two laſt, as was formerly obſerv'd, had pleaded guilty; and the Reſt, having all, but *Hewlet*, ſurrender'd themſelves upon the King's Proclamation, were, if condemn'd, to have their Execution ſuſpended, till the ſame ſhou'd be order'd by the King and Parliament. But firſt they were all oblig'd to undergo the Formality of Tryal; in which moſt of them ſubmitted to Mercy, uſing very little other Excuſe but ‘ that they were Ignorant and ‘ free from Malice.’ So that we have but little Material in their Tryals: Only ſomething ſhou'd be ſaid concerning Three of them, *Marten*, *Downs* and *Hewlet.*

Except Marten, Downs *and* Hewlet.

Colonel *Harry Marten* was charg'd not only with Sitting, Signing and Sealing, as others were, but alſo, That at the firſt Meeting of the *High-Court of Juſtice* in the *Painted Chamber*, upon the Landing of the King from *White-Hall* to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe, *Cromwell* upon Sight of Him, asking them this Queſtion, *The firſt Thing the King will demand of us will be*, By what Authority we bring him before us; *what ſhall we ſay, by whoſe Authority*? After a little Pauſe *Marten* reply'd, *In the Name and Authority of the Commons and Parliament aſſembled, and the good People of* England. In Anſwer to this he firſt own'd the *Fact*, but not the *Malice*; and when, as an Aggravation, he was told *That he Sign'd the Warrant merrily, and in ſport*, he immediately return'd, *Then it was not in Malice.* And ſo he proceeded to juſtify the Authority of the Parliament; and tho' he own'd it was but a Remnant of a Parliament, ‘ yet in the Caſe of Commons to a Cottage, ‘ if a Stick be but left, the Commons ſtill belong'd to that ‘ Cottage.’ Colonel *Downs*, upon his Tryal, had ſomething to plead which none of the reſt had; namely, that in the King's Tryal, he had caus'd the Court to adjourn, and had ſaid and done what wou'd have been of the higheſt Importance to his Majeſty, had he not been over-rul'd; the Particulars of which may be ſeen in the former Part of this Hiſtory. Captain *Hewlet*, once a Serjeant of Colonel *Hewſon*'s Regiment, was indicted for being the Man that was in the Frock, and cut off the King's Head: This was averr'd from his own Confeſſion by three Witneſſes; and as many atteſted it was *Gregory Brandon* the common Executioner: ‘ That He, the Executioner, after it was ‘ done, was put into a Boat, and trembled every Joint of ‘ him; and that he affirm'd as much to the Lord *Capel* at ‘ his Suffering by the ſame Ax, of which the Executioner ‘ aſſur'd him.’ The Priſoner further ſaid, ‘ That he ‘ cou'd make it appear he was not upon the Scaffold that ‘ Day, nor near it, for that he and other Serjeants were ‘ ſecured that Day, for refuſing to be there.’ But the other Witneſſes Evidence being expreſs, He was found guilty. The Court gave him all the Advantage that cou'd be, and repriev'd him, ſo that he eſcap'd with Life.

Bridgeman*'s concluding Speech.*

As the Lord chief Baron *Bridgeman* had open'd, ſo he concluded the whole Affair with a learned and affecting Speech, addreſs'd to the greateſt Number of the Criminals then ſtanding at the Bar. He told them, ‘ That what he ‘ did was with as much Sorrow of Heart as they had ‘ themſelves, many of them being of liberal Education, ‘ and of great Parts.’ He let them know, ‘ That they ‘ were now only before the Tribunal of Man, to receive ‘ Judgment for their Offence here; but there was another ‘ Judgment hereafter, and a Tribunal before which all ‘ muſt appear, and receive according to their Works. And ‘ ſince Mercy was reſerv'd by Heaven for the greateſt Offenders, he adviſ'd them to lay hold on the moſt probable ‘ Means to obtain it, and have a ſpecial Care of being ‘ given over to a Reprobate Senſe, and of a ſeared Conſcience, and bold Confidence, which wou'd prove the ‘ moſt ſignal Judgment upon them.’ He did not at all blame them for making the beſt Defence they cou'd for their Lives; but then he fully made it appear, ‘ That their ‘ Condemnation was juſt, and according to the certain ‘ ſtanding Laws of their Country: Accordingly he repeated to them ſome Things he had formerly ſaid concerning the legal Supremacy of the Kings of *England*, ‘ and *that no Body or Community of Men had any coercive* ‘ *Power over their Perſons.* Then he nam'd the Words of ‘ the Act of the Firſt of King *James*, wherein the Lords ‘ and Commons *did acknowledge an humble and natural* ‘ *Liege Obedience to the King as Supreme, his Heirs and* ‘ *Succeſſors; and in the Name of themſelves and all the People, humbly ſubmit themſelves untill the laſt Drop of their* ‘ *Blood be ſpent in Defence of the King and his Royal Poſterity.* Remember, added He, theſe were not Words ‘ of Compliment: You ſhall find that they, all of Them, ‘ and ſo did as many of You as were Members of Parliament before you came into the Houſe of Commons, took ‘ the Oath of Allegiance, which was made after this Recognition, or otherwiſe were not to be Members: In ‘ which Oath you ſwore *to defend the King, his Perſon,* ‘ *his Crown and Dignity*, &c. Therefore their Oaths were ‘ a further Aggravation of their Crimes; and there never ‘ was ſuch a Blow given to the Church of *England*, and ‘ the Proteſtant Religion.’ Then, after a new adviſing them to beware of an *obſtinate, perverſe Courſe*, he proceeded to Sentence of Execution.

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The Execution of Harriſon, Carew, Cook, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scroop, Jones, Hacker *and* Axtel.

5. What follow'd was more tragical and amazing, which was the Execution and Behaviour of Ten of theſe wretched Criminals; in which there appear'd a prodigious Spirit of Enthuſiaſm. *Harriſon* was the Firſt, who on the thirteenth of *October*, ſuffer'd according to the Letter of the Law at *Charing-Croſs*, the People loudly ſhouting at his exemplary Fall. He was firſt hang'd with his Face towards the *Banquetting-Houſe*, and then, being cut down alive, his Body was quarter'd and plac'd upon the City Gates, and his Head upon *Weſtminſter-Hall.* Two Days after Mr. *Carew* was brought to the ſame Place, and ſuffer'd in the ſame Manner; only, upon the Interceſſion of his Friends, the King permitted his Body to be bury'd. The following Day *John Cook* and *Hugh Peters* were together brought to the Place, and were executed after the ſame Manner; *Cook*'s Head being plac'd upon *Weſtminſter-Hall* by *Harriſon*'s, and that of *Peters* upon *London-Bridge.* On the Day following four ſuffer'd at the ſame Place, at two ſeveral Times, firſt *Scot* and *Clement*, next *Scroop* and *Jones.* As to *Hacker* and *Axtel*, being Criminals of another Nature, and not the King's Judges, they were order'd to be hang'd and quarter'd at *Tyburn*; but the Body of *Hacker* was, by the King's Favour, given to his Friends, and bury'd. To aggravate the Severity of theſe Executions, *Ludlow* mentions two Circumſtances not obſerv'd by every Writer: The Firſt was, that when *Cooke* was drawn upon his Sledge, the Head of *Harriſon*, with his Face uncover'd, was plac'd before him, to the great Deteſtation of the People. The other was, when his Body was cut down and quarter'd, the Executioner, rubbing his bloody Hands together, came to *Peters*, then going to ſuffer, and ask'd him *How he lik'd that Work*? To whom the other reply'd, *He was not at all terrify'd, and that he might do his worſt.*

An Account and Character of them.

To give ſome ſhort Account of theſe Sufferers: Firſt, *Thomas Harriſon* was a Butcher's Son of *Newcaſtle Underline* in *Staffordſhire*, who being brought up an Attorney, left his Employment, and betook himſelf to the Army in the Beginning of the Wars; where his pragmatical Spirit, his voluble Tongue, and his Enthuſiaſtical Preaching, ſo recommended him to the Army, and to *Cromwell* himſelf, that he was gradually rais'd to the Office of a Major-General. Being a great Confident, by his Aſſiſtance *Cromwell* broke the Power of the *Presbyterians*, purg'd the Houſe of Commons, and brought the King to his Tryal, and laſt of all deſtroy'd the Long Parliament, call'd the Commonwealth of *England.* But upon his making himſelf ſole Governor, *Harriſon* left him with great Scorn and Indignation, and became the Ring-leader of that dangerous Sect call'd the *Fifth-Monarchy Men*; and ſubmitted to be rebaptiz'd to gain the *Anabaptiſts* to his Party. Being very buſie in raiſing Forces to oppoſe the Reſtoration, he was prevented in his Deſign, taken Priſoner, and brought to his Tryal and fatal End. The next was Mr. *John Carew*, a *Corniſh* Gentleman, Brother to Sir *Alexander Carew*, who loſt his Head in 1644; who, notwithſtanding a liberal Education, fell into the *Fifth-Monarchy* Crew, and being an Enemy to all Regal Government, he not only hated King *Charles*, but afterwards *Cromwell* Himſelf, whoſe Power and Intereſt he had ſo much promoted. Mr. *John Cook* was a Man of mean Birth, and inconſiderable Fortune, but of very good Parts and a genteel Education; who being made a Barriſter at Law, his ſmall Practice made him ready to joyn with the Regicides; for which he was rewarded with the Title of Lord-Chief-Juſtice in *Ireland*, where he prov'd a great Preacher and Favourer of the *Anabaptiſts.* In the Height of his Preferment, he cou'd not always conceal the Laſhes of a troubled Conſcience, with Relation to his particular Crime; tho' at laſt he dy'd as impenitent as any of the reſt. *Hugh Peters* was firſt educated in, then whipt and expell'd out of *Cambridge*; and from thence became an Itinerant Preacher in *New-England*, *Holland*, and other Places, and afterwards a Chaplain in the Camp, where he acted ſeveral Parts, as that of Colonel and Agitator, and became the great Scandal of the Pulpit, by his ſtrange Cant, Scurrility, and Buffoonry. At the Reſtoration he was diſcover'd by one of his *New-England*

Confidents, ſeiz'd in Bed with another Man's Wife, and ſo brought to his Priſon and Tryal. *Thomas Scot* was born of obſcure Parents in *Buckinghamſhire*, being firſt a Brewer's Clerk or Partner in *London*, and then a Country Attorney; and ſignalizing his Zeal for the Cauſe, he was choſen a Member of Parliament for a Borough in his own County, and always continu'd a moſt inveterate Enemy againſt his Sovereign Maſter. *Gregory Clement* was firſt a Merchant; but failing there, he forc'd himſelf into the Parliament Houſe, and ſought to grow rich by a new Trade in Biſhop's Lands, wherein he got a conſiderable Eſtate: He was turn'd out of the Rump Parliament for his Lewdneſs, but was taken in again when they were reſtored after *Cromwell*'s Interruption. His Guilt or his Ignorance wou'd not ſuffer him to make any Plea at the Bar, or any Speech at the Gallows. Mr. *Adrian Scroop* was deſcended of a good Family in *Buckinghamſhire*, and ally'd to the Cavalier Family in *Lincolnſhire*, having above the reſt the Port and Mien of a Gentleman: He was a great Puritan and Stickler againſt the King, for which he was rewarded with ſeveral Employments, and particularly the Office of a Colonel. The next Man was Mr. *John Jones*, a Man of a mean Family in *Wales*, once a Serving-Man to Sir *Thomas Middleton*; but riſing in the Wars, he got into the Parliament-Houſe, and marry'd one of *Cromwell*'s Siſters; after which he obtain'd ſeveral Places; and beſides that of Colonel in the Army, he was made Governour of *Anglesey*, and then a Commiſſioner for the Government of *Ireland*, where he behav'd himſelf after a ſevere and tyrannical Manner. There is little to be ſaid of the two laſt, *Hacker* and *Axtell*; only the former was a Soldier of Fortune, whoſe notable Reſolution and Conduct brought him into the Familiarity of *Cromwell*. The latter was firſt a Grocer's Apprentice in *London*; but being an Anabaptiſt, and a gifted Man, he ſoon became acquainted in the Army, where that and his barbarous Diſpoſition rais'd him to the Office of a Lieutenant-Colonel.

Their prodigious Behaviour

Nothing can be more aſtoniſhing and ſhocking to good Chriſtians and Subjects than the Behaviour of theſe Criminals, as it is publiſh'd by their own ſpecial Friends under the Title of *The Speeches and Prayers of ſome of the late King's Judges*, &c. by which we ſee that they were ſo far from expreſſing the leaſt Repentance, that moſt of them glory'd in the Villany; and none of the primitive Martyrs left the World with ſo much Aſſurance and Self-Juſtification. *Harriſon* declar'd, *That the Lord's Spirit did witneſs with his Spirit, that all his Sins were done away by Jeſus Chriſt*; and as he was carry'd to his Execution, he ſeveral times cry'd out, *I go to ſuffer upon the Account of the moſt glorious Cauſe that ever was in the World!* Then in his laſt Speech he ſaid, *He believ'd, e'er it be long, the Lord wou'd make it known from Heaven, That there was more of God in it than Men were aware of.* *Carew* declared, *What he did was of the Lord, and if it were to be done again, he wou'd do it.* He ſaid, *The Lord had juſtify'd the Cauſe in the Field once already, but he wou'd again do it with a Witneſs.* He afterwards added, *I dye not in the Lord only, but for the Lord: And think not that this* bleſſed Cauſe *ſhall be loſt, for it ſhall reach the End of the Earth.* *Cook* began his Speech upon the Ladder in theſe Words, *The moſt glorious Sight that ever was ſeen in the World, was our Lord Jeſus upon the Croſs; and the moſt glorious next to that, is to ſee any poor Creature ſuffer for him in his Cauſe.* And in his laſt Prayer he has theſe Words, *I believe that an Army of Martyrs wou'd willingly come from Heaven, to ſuffer in ſuch a Cauſe as this I come here to ſuffer for.* *Scot* declar'd it *To be a Cauſe not to be repented of*; and expreſs'd no other Sorrow but for his asking the Benefit of the King's Proclamation. *Axtel* ſaid, *If he had a thouſand Lives, he cou'd lay them all down for the Cauſe*; and declar'd, *They had nothing againſt him, neither by God's Law, nor their own Law, to condemn him*; therefore, *They had meerly murther'd him, and might as well have done it at the* Tower, *as brought him thither to make this Buſtle:* Yet he very charitably wiſh'd, *That his Blood might not cry to the Third and Fourth Generation.* *Hacker* ſhew'd much of the ſame Spirit, and in a Paper he read at his Execution he ſaid, *I thank the Lord, I have nothing lies upon my Conſcience as Guilt whereof I am now condemned; and do not doubt but to have the Sentence revers'd.* The Behaviour of *Scroop* and *Jones* was more decent than the reſt; for tho' both theſe aged Gentlemen in Effect maintain'd the ſame Cauſe, yet the former pray'd for the King, and the latter acquitted his Majeſty, ‘as having done nothing but ‘the Part of a loving Son to a Father; and the Court, as ‘acting by Law according to the beſt of their Underſtandings:’ Yet ſpeaking of the Sledge that was to carry him to Execution, he cou'd not help ſaying, *It was like* Elijah*'s fiery Chariot, only it goes through* Fleet-ſtreet.

Such were the prodigious Effects of Enthuſiaſm, Poſſeſſion, or ſomething that wants a Name; which were ſufficient to create Horror in good Men, and Infidelity in bad. Yet this obdurate and impenitent Behaviour is believ'd not to have riſen wholly from within, or from a ſedate Frame of Mind: For others tell us that moſt of them made uſe of Art, and prepared themſelves for their Journies by intoxicating Cordials and other ſtrong Liquors: Particularly *Harriſon* and *Carew*, in whoſe Looks there was a ſenſible and remarkable Change; which by *Carew*'s Friends is related in this ſhocking Expreſſion, *His Countenance ſhining with great Glory.* As to *Hugh Peters*, he had taken ſo large a Potion, that he for ſome time behaved himſelf like an Ideot, and was ſtupidly drunk; which caus'd *Cook*, who ſuffer'd with him, to ſay, *Here is a poor Brother coming, I am afraid he is not fit to dye at this Time.*

The reſt eſcape with Life.

As to the nineteen other Priſoners, formerly mention'd, who came in upon the Proclamation, and were condemn'd as well as the reſt, they were all remitted to the *Tower*, till the farther Pleaſure of the King and Parliament ſhou'd be known. Their Eſtates were immediately ſeiz'd into the King's Hands; but they ſo far eſcap'd in their Perſons, that none of them ſuffer'd Death, as many expected and deſir'd: Only ſome few others, who were afterwards taken, ſuffer'd the Law, as will be mention'd in due Time.

6. During theſe Proceedings of Juſtice, the King and his Miniſtry were uſing all ſoftning Methods to allay and cure the Diſtempers of the Nation; eſpecially thoſe relating to Religion, which had been the principal Cauſes of the late Wars. Almoſt all Diſſenters from the Church of *England* had apply'd themſelves to the Crown, but more particularly the *Presbyterians*, who had a comfortable Proſpect from the Favours ſhewn to their chief Miniſters, the Countenance of great Men, and the King's Declaration at *Breda*. In order to bring all to a good Temper, the King, according to his Promiſe made at the Adjournment of the Parliament, on the 25th of *October* publiſh'd a long and healing Declaration to all his loving Subjects, moſt agreeable to that from *Breda*, which had particularly declar'd, ‘That no Man ſhou'd be diſquieted or called in ‘queſtion for Differences in Opinion in Matters of Re‘ligion, which did not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom; ‘and that the King ſhou'd be ready to conſent to ſuch an ‘Act of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation ſhou'd ‘be offer'd to him, for the full granting that *Indulgence*.’

The King's Declaration.

In this new Declaration his Majeſty, towards the Beginning, complains, ‘That he had not been ſo candidly dealt ‘with as he deſerv'd; and that there were unquiet and ‘reſtleſs Spirits who continu'd their Bitterneſs againſt the ‘Church, and endeavour'd to raiſe Jealouſies, as if he was ‘not true to the Profeſſions he had made: And in order ‘thereto, beſides their publiſhing of ſeveral ſeditious Pam‘phlets, they had printed and diſpers'd a former *Declara‘tion* he had made in *Scotland*; of which he ſhou'd ſay ‘no more, than *That the Circumſtances by which he was ‘forc'd to ſign that Declaration, were well known to the ‘World; and that the worthieſt and greateſt Part of that ‘Nation did even then deteſt and abhor the ill Uſage of him ‘in that Particular*.’ After this he proceeded to declare, ‘That upon a full Conference with learned Men of ſeve‘ral Perſuaſions, he found, That the Miſchiefs, under ‘which both the Church and State at preſent ſuffer'd, did ‘not reſult from any form'd Doctrine or Concluſion main‘tain'd by either Party, but from the Paſſion, Appetite, ‘and Intereſt of particular Perſons, who contracted ‘greater Prejudice from thoſe Affections, than from their ‘Opinions.’ After having declar'd his Affection and Eſteem for the Church of *England*, and that he cou'd not preſently call a Synod, according to his Deſign, he in the mean Time, to allay the preſent Diſtempers thought fit to make theſe eight following Conceſſions or Orders. ‘The ‘firſt was to promote the Power of Godlineſs in the Ex‘erciſes of Religion and the Lord's Day, and to encou‘rage the frequent Preaching of Biſhops. 2. To ap‘point Suffragan Biſhops, eſpecially in the larger Dioceſes. ‘3. That no Biſhop ordain, or exerciſe Church-Cenſures ‘without the Advice and Aſſiſtance of the Presbyters; ‘and that Lay-Officers be excluded in Matters purely Spi‘ritual. 4. That Deans and Chapters be better fitted to ‘afford Counſel and Aſſiſtance to the Biſhops in Ordina‘tions and other Spiritual Matters. 5. For the Regula‘tion of Confirmation, Admiſſion to the Lord's Supper, ‘and Catechiſm; in which Rural Deans were to be aſ‘ſiſting. 6. That no Biſhop exerciſe any Power, or im‘poſe any Thing, but according to the known Law of the ‘Land. 7. For appointing ſome learned Divines to reviſe ‘and make ſome Amendments to the Liturgy; and that ‘ſcrupulous Perſons be not puniſh'd for the Diſuſe of it ‘at preſent. The Eighth and laſt was concerning Cere‘monies, in which Perſons were for the preſent left at Li‘berty, as to Kneeling in the Sacrament, the Croſs in Bap‘tiſm, bowing at the Name of *Jeſus*, and even the Oath

‘ of Canonical Obedience.’ Such was the Subſtance of theſe Conceſſions, which are thought by a late ingenious Writer to have been overſtrain'd, as not only to over-rule the Canons, and diſable the Diſcipline of the Church, but likewiſe to diſpenſe with the Statutes to the Conſtruction of a Repeal, and ſo to lye hard on the Civil Conſtitution. But theſe were Times of Unſettlemeht and Neceſſity, which required Uncommon and Irregular Remedies: And, with this Conſideration, if we read the Declaration at large, we ſhall find in general a noble Spirit of Wiſdom and Goodneſs, and an excellent Pattern for Poſterity, when they are beſt diſpos'd to conſider of the moſt proper and healing Methods, either for the Reſtoration of the Diſcipline, or the making up the Breaches of the eſtabliſh'd Church.

Epiſcopacy revives.

In the mean Time the Church of *England* and Epiſcopacy gradually reviv'd in the Nation; tho' the Biſhops themſelves, by Reaſon of the Act of Parliament in 1641, ſtill continu'd excluded from the Houſe of Peers. It is obſervable that only nine of the old Biſhops ſurviv'd the Times of Confuſion, who now all recover'd their Epiſcopal Sees; as *William Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, *William Pierce* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Robert Skinner* Biſhop of *Oxford*, *John Warner* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *William Roberts* Biſhop of *Bangor*, *Matthew Wren* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Bryan Duppa* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, *Henry King* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and *Accepted Frewen* Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. Of theſe, in a ſhort Time, *Juxon* was tranſlated to the See of *Canterbury*, *Frewen* to that of *York*, *Duppa* to *Wincheſter*, and *Skinner* to *Worceſter*.

New Biſhops

Seven or eight others were conſecrated this Year, and appointed to their reſpective Biſhopricks, as *John Coſens* to that of *Durham*, *William Lucy* to *Saint-Davids*, *Benjamin Laney* to *Peterborough*, *Richard Stern* to *Carliſle*, *Hugh Lloid* to *Landaff*, *Bryan Walton* to *Cheſter*, and *John Gauden* to *Exeter*. About the ſame Time ſeveral of the Presbyterian Miniſters were invited to Church Preferments; Mr. *Calamy* had the Biſhoprick of *Litchfield* and *Coventry* offer'd him, Dr. *Reynolds* that of *Norwich*, and Mr. *Baxter* that of *Hereford:* Dr. *Manton* was offer'd the Deanry of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Bates* the Deanry of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, and Mr. *Bowles* the Deanry of *York:* But all refus'd, on the Account of the uncertain Continuance of the Terms of the *Declaration*, except Dr. *Reynolds*, who accepted of *Norwich*, and continu'd about ſixteen Years in that Biſhoprick. Theſe Biſhops, tho' they were ſtill hinder'd from their Places and Votes in Parliament, were fully reſtored to their Spiritual Juriſdiction, and all other Rights of Ordination, Inſtitution, Cenſures, *&c.* ſo that the eſtabliſh'd Church daily recover'd its former Authority, and began to ſhine with its uſual Splendor.

All this Time Joy and Pleaſure appear'd in all Places; and the King was not only entertain'd with the continual Addreſſes of his Loyal Subjects, but with the more ſolemn Congratulations of Foreign Princes and States, who by their Agents and Ambaſſadors did often ſend over Preſents as well as Compliments; and particularly thoſe of the *United Provinces* diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by an excellent Collection of Pictures, and other Rarities. In the paying of theſe Foreign Ceremonies a dreadful Rencounter hapned on *Tower-Hill*, in a Diſpute of Precedence between the Coaches of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors.

The Arrival of the Princeſs of Orange.

In the midſt of theſe Times of Feſtivity, the admirable Princeſs of *Orange*, having recommended the Intereſt of her young Son the Prince to the Care of the *States General*, who had now agreed to inveſt him with the Truſt and Dignity of his Anceſtors, came over into *England* to viſit her Royal Brothers, and once again to ſee her native Country, from which ſhe had been abſent about nineteen Years. But the Joy in ſeeing her eldeſt Brother peaceably enthroned, was extreamly clouded by her Sorrow for the Loſs of her youngeſt and beloved Brother *Henry* of *Oatlands* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who juſt before her landing dy'd of the Small-Pox, on the 13th of *September*, aged twenty Years, two Months and five Days.

The Death and Character of the Duke of Gloceſter.

His Funeral was ſolemniz'd in *Weſtminſter-Abby*; his Brother the Duke of *York* being chief Mourner, attended by the three Dukes of *Richmond*, *Buckingham* and *Albemarle*, and follow'd by the reſt of the Nobility, *&c.* He was not only lamented by his Royal Relations, but by all great and good Men, being a Prince excellently accompliſh'd, Religious, Valiant, and Wiſe above his Years, a dutiful and affectionate Brother, a juſt Counſellor, a good Maſter, and a faithful Friend. As to his Religion, he was an inviolable Obſerver of his dying Father's Inſtructions, and an Invincible Aſſerter of the Proteſtant Faith againſt all the Errors of *Popery*; to preſerve him from the Temptations of which, his pious Siſter, now coming to viſit him, had for ſome Years parted with one half of her annual Income that was left to her own Diſpoſal; as I learnt from an unqueſtionable Hand.

The Arrival of the Queen Mother.

Within a few Days after, there arriv'd the Queen Mother from *France* with a conſiderable Train, among whom was her fair Daughter *Henrietta Maria*, now ſixteen Years of Age, together with Prince *Edward*, Brother to the Elector *Palatine*. Theſe were all formally met by the King, the Duke of *York*, and the Princeſs of *Orange*, and on the 2d of *November* conducted to *White-Hall*, from which Palace the Queen had been abſent nineteen Years. This Viſit was made to effect ſeveral political Ends, as particularly to adviſe of a Match between the young Princeſs and Monſieur, Brother to the *French* King; and likewiſe to promote a Match for the King himſelf. And firſt, we are inform'd, ſhe propos'd the famous *Hortenſia Mancina*, Neice to the Cardinal *Mazarin*, with a Portion of above twenty Millions of Livres. But that being rejected as an improper Match, ſhe then promoted the Alliance with *Portugal*, and a Match with the Infanta of that Kingdom, which had been ſet on foot by the *Portugal* Ambaſſador before the Reſtoration, and propos'd by General *Monk* to the King immediately after his Arrival in *England*. During her Majeſty's Stay, which was not above two Months, ſhe us'd her frequent Endeavours to perſuade her Son to remove the Chancellor *Hyde* from his Councils; and finding ſhe effected nothing in that Affair, ſhe became uneaſie and more willing to depart; yet, by the King's Importunity, ſhe at length admitted the new Dutcheſs of *York* to come into her Preſence; tho' by her Behaviour towards her, while preſent, it appear'd that ſhe thought her not worthy to be treated as a Daughter. Her chief Deſigns in this Viſit, contrary to thoſe of the Chancellor, ſeem'd to have been to promote the Intereſt of *France* and *Portugal* againſt the Monarchy of *Spain:* And notwithſtanding the former had articled not to aſſiſt *Portugal*, yet *Mazarin*, to encourage the *Engliſh* to a Treaty, and to ſend Forces thither, engag'd to eaſe them of their Tranſport Charge, and promis'd to advance two hundred thouſand Crowns in Specie as ſoon as the Treaty was ſign'd; and tho' he dy'd himſelf ſoon after, it was punctually perform'd by his Creature Monſieur *Colbert*. And here it is obſervable, that this Mony and new Alliance begot the 19th Article of that Treaty, by which it was ſtipulated, ‘ That *Dunkirk* ſhou'd never be given up to the King of *Spain:*’ Which laid the Foundation for the ſelling of that important Place to *France*, and which in a little Time was fully effected.

The Second Meeting of the Firſt PARLIAMENT.

IV. 1. After a Receſs of near two Months, the Parliament met on the 6th Day of *November* according to the former Adjournment; and one of the firſt Things done by the Houſe of Commons was, the Appointment of a Committee to attend the Queen-Mother with a congratulatory Meſſage, ‘ Repreſenting the Joy and Contentment ‘ this Houſe had receiv'd on Occaſion of her Majeſty's ‘ Return to *England*.’ To which the Queen in her Anſwer, ‘ acknowledg'd with Thankfulneſs the Expreſſions ‘ of the Houſe; deſiring the Continuance of their Reſpects, ‘ *Which*, ſhe ſaid, *ſhe ſhou'd never fail to do what lay in* ‘ *her Part to deſerve*.’ The Compliment of the Commons was ſeconded with a Preſent of ten thouſand Pounds made to her Daughter *Henrietta Maria*, as likewiſe the ſame Sum to the Princeſs of *Orange*, which prov'd very acceptable at this Time. The next Concern was to compleat the Disbanding of the Army, which had been too great a Burthen and Terror to the Nation, which was now daily diminiſh'd and reduc'd to a ſmall Compaſs. The Effect of it ſo viſibly appear'd in the Declenſion and Downfall of the *Presbyterian* Intereſt, that Mr. *Prynne* cou'd not with-hold from expreſſing his former Zeal, and after he had reported to the Houſe the Number of Regiments disbanded, he deſired the Houſe, *That they wou'd be mindful not to do thoſe things that might bring them together again*; which ſo rous'd the other Party, that with Difficulty he eſcap'd a ſevere Cenſure.

Their Active Proceedings.

Both Houſes apply'd themſelves to the making ſuch Laws as were moſt proper for the preſent Occaſion; in which they were the more diligent and ſpeedy, becauſe they receiv'd a Meſſage from the King informing them, That upon the Account of the Preparations for his Coronation, and other Reaſons, he had determin'd to diſſolve them in the End of *December*; and therefore deſired, ‘ That they might the more vigorouſly apply themſelves ‘ to the Diſpatch of the moſt important Buſineſs that depended before them.’ Shortly after the Houſe of Commons repreſented to his Majeſty ‘ The great Senſe that ‘ Houſe had of the many Expreſſions of Grace which ‘ they had receiv'd from him in his ſeveral Declarations; ‘ further acquainting him with the great Unanimity of the ‘ Houſe in ſettling a Revenue of Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* on his Majeſty, according to ‘ their former Vote.’ To which Vote the King return'd his Thanks for their Care of him; and aſſured them, *That he wou'd employ his Revenue for the Good of Them and the Kingdom*. In the mean Time the Parliament order'd, ‘ That the ſeveral Bodies of *Oliver Cromwell*, *John Bradſhaw*,

ſhaw, *Henry Ireton*, and *Thomas Pride*, be taken out of their Graves, drawn on a Hurdle to *Tyburn*, there to be hang'd up from Ten a Clock till Sun-ſetting, and then bury'd under the Gallows.’ At the ſame Time they made an Act of Attainder, which did not only extend to the Blood and Eſtates of theſe Four, but alſo to the nineteen Regicides that fled from Juſtice, namely, *Liſle*, *Say*, *Waulton*, *Whalley*, *Barkſtead*, *Ludlow*, *Liveſey*, *Okey*, *Hewſon*, *Goffe*, *Holland*, *Challoner*, *Cawley*, *Corbet*, *Love*, *Dixwell*, *Blagrave*, *Broughton*, and *Dendy*, who by this Act ſtood Adjudg'd, Convicted, and Attainted of High Treaſon.

The Commons likewiſe took Notice of an inferior Criminal, *William Drake*, a Citizen and Merchant of *London*, and drew up an Impeachment againſt him for writing and publiſhing a dangerous Book intitled *The Long Parliament Revived*, in which he endeavours to prove that the ſaid Parliament was not yet legally diſſolv'd. This rais'd a conſiderable Noiſe, but they wanted Time to bring it to a Tryal. About the ſame Time, upon the Rumour of Plots and Deſigns to ſeize the King, and the *Tower*, to kill the Queen Mother, and reſtore the Long Parliament, of which we can give no certain and perfect Account, ſeveral old Officers were ſecured, as *Overton*, *Desborough*, *Salmon*, *Farley*, and *Whitby* in the City, and *Duckenfield*, *Morgan*, and ſeveral others, in the Country.

The Sum of the Speaker's Speech to the King.

2. After a Seſſion of near two Months, and a Diſſolution expected, on the 29th of *December*, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd all the publick and private Bills that were ready for the Royal Aſſent. The Nature of thoſe that were of a publick Concern we find from the following Part of the Speaker's Speech.--------- ‘ As I am commanded, I moſt humbly aſſure your Majeſty, That the many healing Expedients propounded by your Self in your ſeveral Gracious *Declarations*, have been the Subject Matter upon which your Commons have wrought all this Parliament. And in the firſt Place they took into Conſideration the great and growing Charges which then lay upon your People for the Pay of your Army and Navy. And they conceiv'd it neceſſary to begin with that Part wherein your People have the more Eaſe, and the greateſt Security and Satisfaction; Which was the disbanding and diſcharging the Forces by Sea and Land: And this led them into a Conſideration of proper Ways and Means for raiſing Monies for that Purpoſe, as the *Poll-Bill*, and the *Aſſeſſment of Seventy Thouſand Pounds per Month*. But thoſe not having done the Works, here are Others ready in my Hand: The One entitled *An Act for levying the Arrears of the twelve Months Aſſeſſment*, &c. And the Other entitled *An Act for the further Supplying ſeveral Defects in the* Act for Disbanding all the Forces both by Land and Sea; and they hope this Account will be clear'd off at laſt. Sir, your Commons have likewiſe taken into Conſideration the Charge of your Summer's Fleet, *&c.* and paſs'd a Bill entitled *An Act for Six Months Aſſeſſment at Seventy Thouſand Pounds per Menſem*, to begin the Firſt of *January*. I have three other Bills in my Hand, which have Relation to your Majeſty's Revenue, and are Branches thereof: The One entitled *An Act for the better ordering the Selling of Wines by Retaile, and for preventing Abuſes in the Mingling, Corrupting and Limiting the Prices of the ſame:* And this Bill is tender'd to your Majeſty to prevent all future Diſputes touching the Legality thereof; for we know it is your Majeſty's Deſire that Nothing be done otherwiſe by any of your Miniſters acting under your Command. Another is entitled *An Act for Erecting and Eſtabliſhing a Poſt-Office*; and this being legally Settled, will be of great Uſe to all your Majeſty's Subjects for holding Intelligence with their Factors and Agents in Foreign Parts. The other Bill provides for the Encreaſe of your Majeſty's Ordinary and Conſtant Revenue, by Granting of *an Impoſt upon Ale*, *Beer*, *Cyder*, *and other Liquors*, therein expreſs'd, to hold for your Majeſty's Life. As it is the Deſire of your Commons, That your Majeſty might never be neceſſitated to reſort to Extraordinary or Unparliamentary Ways, for raiſing of Mony upon your People; ſo they likewiſe acknowledge it to be their Duties to ſupport and uphold, to the utmoſt of their Powers, the Honour and Grandeur of your Majeſty's State and Dignity. And for a further Evidence of your Commons duriful Affections to your Majeſty's Royal and Dear Perſon, they have paſs'd another Bill for *Raiſing Seventy Thouſand Pounds for your Majeſty's further Supply.* All which Bills I am commanded humbly to preſent to your Majeſty; and to pray your Majeſty's gracious Acceptance and Royal Aſſent.

‘ There are other Bills of Publick Concernment which have paſs'd both Houſes, and now attend upon your Majeſty for your Royal Aſſent: The One entitled *An Act for Attainder of ſeveral Perſons guilty of the horrid Murther of his late Sacred Majeſty*, your Royal Father of ever Bleſſed Memory. Another entitled *An Act for Confirmation of Leaſes and Grants for Colleges and Hoſpitals*, which will tend much to the Quieting of Mens Eſtates, that in the late Unhappy Times were forc'd to renew and change their Revenues much for the worſe, were it not for the Favour your Majeſty intends them in this Bill. There is another Bill entitled *An Act to prohibit the Exportation of Wooll*, *Wooll-Fells*, *Fullers-Earth*, *or any other Scouring Earth*; which will be the beſt Encouragement for the Woollen Manufactures; and without which there wou'd be a double Loſs; Firſt to your Majeſty in your Cuſtoms, and next to your People, who wou'd be diſcourag'd, and in a ſhort Time beaten out of that ancient Native Staple Trade, upon which depends the Subſiſtance of many Thouſand Families. There is another Bill entitled *An Act for prohibiting the Planting*, *Setting*, *or Sowing of Tobacco in* England *and* Ireland; which if permitted wou'd occaſion the Abatement of your Majeſty's Cuſtoms, the Deſtruction of your Plantations abroad, and the Diſcouraging of Navigation, and conſequently the Decay of Shipping, which are the Walls and Bulwarks of your Majeſty's Kingdom. There is One Bill more, entitled, *An Act for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, together with Tenure in Capite, Knights Service, and Purveyances, and for ſettling a Revenue upon his Majeſty in lieu thereof.* This Bill *Ex re natâ* may properly be call'd *A Bill of Exchange*; for as Care is therein taken for the Eaſe of your People, ſo the Supply of that Part of your Majeſty's Revenue, which formerly came into your Treaſury, by your *Tenures* and *Purveyances*, is thereby likewiſe fully provided for by the Grant of another Impoſition *upon Ale and Beer, and other Liquors*, to hold to your Majeſty, your Heirs, and Succeſſors for ever. And yet they ſhou'd not look upon the Conſiderations mention'd in this Bill as a full Compenſation for your Majeſty's parting with two ſuch Royal Prerogatives and Ancient Flowers of the Crown, if more were not imply'd than is expreſs'd. For your Tenures *in Capite* are not only turned into a Tenure of *Soccage* (which alone will for ever give your Majeſty a juſt Right and Title to the Labour of our Ploughs, and the Sweat of our Brows) but they are likewiſe turn'd into a Tenure *in Corde*. What your Majeſty had before in your *Court of Wards*, you will be ſure to find hereafter in the *Exchequer of all your Peoples Hearts*. The King of *Spain*'s Mines will ſooner deceive Him, than this Revenue will fail you: For his Mines have Bottoms, but the deeper your Majeſty ſinks into the Hearts and Affections of your People, the greater will you find your Wealth, and the more invincible your Strength.--------Royal Sir, you have deny'd us Nothing we have ask'd this Parliament. Indeed you have out-done your Parliament, by doing much more for us, than we cou'd agree among our ſelves to ask. And therefore we muſt needs be a Happy Parliament, a Healing Parliament, a Reconciling and Peace-making Parliament, a Parliament *propter Excellentiam* that may truly be call'd *Parliamentiſſimum Parliamentum*------

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

Upon paſſing the forementíon'd Acts, the King made the following Speech, which ought to be inſerted without any Abridgement: *My Lords and Gentlemen*, ‘ I will not entertain you with a long Diſcourſe; the Sum of all I have to ſay to you, being to give you Thanks, very Hearty Thanks: And I aſſure you I find it a very difficult Work to ſatisfy my Self in my own Expreſſions of thoſe Thanks. Perfunctory Thanks, Ordinary Thanks for Ordinary Civilities are eaſily given; but when the Heart is full as mine is, it is a Labour to thank you. You have taken great Pains to oblige me; and therefore it cannot be eaſy for me to expreſs the Senſe I have for it. I will enlarge no further to You on this Occaſion, than to tell you, when God brought me hither, I brought with me an Extraordinary Affection and Eſteem for Parliaments. I need not tell you how much it is improv'd by your Carriage towards Me: You have out-done all the good and obliging Acts of your Predeceſſors towards the Crown; and therefore you cannot but believe my Heart is exceedingly enlarg'd with the Acknowledgment. Many former Parliaments have had particular Denominations for what they have done: They have been ſtiled *Learned*, and *Unlearned*, and ſometimes have had the worſt Epithets: I pray let us Reſolve that This be for ever call'd the HEALING, and the BLESSED PARLIAMENT. As I thank you, tho' not enough, for what you have done, ſo I have not the leaſt Doubt, but when I ſhall call the next Parliament (which I ſhall do as ſoon as you can reaſonably expect or deſire) I ſhall receive your hearty Thanks for what I ſhall then have done ſince I have parted with you. For I deal truely with you:

‘I ſhall not more propoſe any one Rule to my Self in my Actions and Counſels than this: *What is a Parliament like to think of this Action, and this Counſel*? And it ſhall be Want of Underſtanding in me, if it will not bear that Teſt. I ſhall conclude with this, which I cannot ſay too often, nor you too often where you go: *That*, next to the miraculous Bleſſing of God Almighty, and indeed as an immediate Effect of that Bleſſing, *I do impute the good Diſpoſition and Security we are all in, to the happy Act of Indemnity and Oblivion:* That is the Principal Corner Stone which ſupports this excellent Building, that creates Kindneſs in us to each other, and Confidence in our joint and common Security. You may be ſure I will not only obſerve it Religiouſly and Inviolably my Self, but alſo exact the Obſervation of it from Others: And if any Perſon ſhall ever have the Boldneſs to attempt to perſuade me to the contrary, he wou'd find ſuch an Acceptation from Me, as He wou'd have, who ſhou'd perſuade me to burn *Magna-Charta*, cancel the old Laws, and erect a new Government after my own Invention and Appetite.

The Subſtance of the Chancellor's Speech.

After this he referr'd them to the Lord Chancellor, who diſplay'd his uſual Eloquence in a very long Speech, conſiſting of Variety of Matter, chiefly tending to the healing of all former Differences, and expreſſing the great Happineſs of the preſent State of Affairs, together with the glorious Harmony between the King and his People, the beſt of Princes, and the moſt loyal Subjects. He applauded the Wiſdom of the Houſes in the King's Reſtoration, and likewiſe in all ſeveral Proceedings, and particularly told them, ‘That he made no doubt but all ſucceeding Parliaments wou'd pay to Them their Thanks for all they had done, and look upon their Actions, and their Example, with all poſſible Approbation and Reverence.’ As to the Reſtoration of the languiſhing Church to Peace, Unity and Order, he told them, ‘the King had been ſo careful, that *Conſtantine* himſelf had hardly ſpent ſo much of his own Time in private and publick Conferences to that Purpoſe.’ After many Topicks, entering upon the Glory and Reputation of *England*, he freely told them, ‘That they were too partial to it, who believ'd it the beſt Country in the World: There was better Earth, better Air, and a warmer Sun in other Countries; but he was not unjuſt when he ſaid, *That* England *was an Incloſure of the beſt People in the World, when they were well inform'd and inſtructed:* A People in Sobriety of Conſcience, the moſt devoted to God Almighty; in the Integrity of their Affections, the moſt dutiful to the King; in their good Manners and Inclinations, moſt regardful to their Superiors!’ Therefore he deſired the Houſe of Commons, in their Return home, to aſſure them, ‘That his Majeſty thinks himſelf the happieſt and greateſt Prince in the World, not from the Situation of his Dominions, and the Power of his great Navy, with which he can viſit his Neighbours, and keep them from viſiting him; but from being poſſeſs'd of the Affections and Hearts of ſuch Subjects; that he does ſo entirely love them, and depend upon them, *That all his Actions, and all his Counſels ſhall tend to no other End, but to make them happy and proſperous.*’ But notwithſtanding all this Care and Tenderneſs of his Majeſty, there were ſtill ſome Men, who by their Writings and Preachings endeavour'd to continue the former Breaches; and ſome others had been ſo dangerous to the publick Peace, that they had lately been ſecured in Priſon. And then he proceeded to give them a Narrative ‘how a Party of the late disbanded Officers and Soldiers, and others full of Diſcontent and ſeditious Purpoſes, had reſolv'd to attempt the Change of the preſent Government, and to erect a Common-Wealth; in which *Ludlow*, and other deſperate Perſons, were concern'd.’ Therefore, upon the Account of theſe unexpected Plots and Conſpiracies, he wiſh'd, ‘That their other weighty Affairs wou'd have given them Time to have publiſh'd their Opinion and Advice in the Buſineſs of the *Militia*; That the People, after ſo many Diſputes upon that Argument, might have found, *That the King and his two Houſes of Parliament, were as much of the ſame Mind in That, as in other Things.*’ Therefore to ſecure the Peace of the Nation, he acquainted them ‘That the King wou'd be conſtrain'd to eſtabliſh it for the preſent, as formerly his Predeceſſors had done.’ Then ſpeaking of the former Succeſſes ſo often inſiſted on by the Heads of the ruin'd Party, he retorted their Arguments, in the wonderful Preſervation of the King's ſacred Perſon, and alledg'd, ‘That God Almighty wou'd not have led him through ſo many Wilderneſſes of Affliction of all Kinds, conducting him through ſo many Perils by Land; ſnatching him out of the midſt of his Kingdom, when it was not worthy of him, and when the Hands of his Enemies were upon him, when they thought themſelves ſo ſure of him, that they wou'd bid ſo cheap and vile a Price for him: He wou'd not then have ſo cover'd him with a Cloud, that he travell'd with ſome Pleaſure, and great Obſervation through the midſt of his Enemies: He wou'd not ſo wonderfully have modell'd that Army; ſo inſpired their Hearts, and the Hearts of the whole Nation, with an honeſt and impatient Longing for the Return of their dread Sovereign; and in the mean Time have ſo exercis'd him with thoſe unnatural, or at leaſt unuſual Diſreſpects and Reproaches abroad, that he might have a harmleſs and innocent Appetite to his own Country, and return to his own People full Value, and the whole unwaſted Bulk of his Affections, without being corrupted or biaſs'd by extraordinary Foreign Obligations: God Almighty wou'd not have done all This, but for a Servant whom he will always preſerve as the Apple of his own Eye, and always defend from the moſt ſecret Machinations of his Enemies.’ In Concluſion, by the King's Command, he declar'd the preſent Parliament diſſolv'd.

The Diſſolution of the Firſt PARLIAMENT

The Behaviour of Hyde *and his two Friends.*

Thus ended the famous CONVENTION, about eight Months after the firſt Meeting, and ſeven after the Reſtoration, when it receiv'd the Royal Stamp of PARLIAMENT: An Aſſembly that began with the greateſt Expectation, and ended with the greateſt Satisfaction of all People. Never was ſo glorious a Harmony between the King and Parliament of *England* for many Years before. And here we may obſerve, with an ingenious Modern Writer, that it looks as if Heaven took a more than ordinary Care of the *Engliſh*, that they did not throw up all their Liberties at once, upon the Reſtoration of the King; for, tho' ſome were for bringing him back upon *Terms*, yet after he was once come, he ſo entirely poſſeſs'd the Hearts of his People, that they thought nothing too much for them to grant, or for him to receive. Among other Deſigns to oblige him, there was one form'd to ſettle ſuch a Revenue upon him for Life, as ſhou'd place him beyond the Neceſſity of asking more, except in the Caſe of a War, or ſome ſuch Emergency. And as to Particulars, another Writer informs us, That Mr. *Alexander Popham*, a Man of Intrigue and great Capacity, offer'd the King, with the Aſſiſtance of a Party he had in the Parliament, to procure an Act for ſettling on Him and his Succeſſors above two Millions a Year by way of Subſidy; which, with the Revenue of the Exciſe and other Duties, muſt have made him a very rich Prince. The King was well pleas'd with the Propoſal, eſpecially ſince the Want of Money had occaſion'd his Father's unfortunate Projects; but adviſing about it with Chancellor *Hyde*, that Miniſter told him, *That the beſt Revenue he cou'd have, wou'd be the gaining the Hearts of his Subjects; that if he wou'd truſt to them, he wou'd find ſuch Supplies as ſhou'd never fail him in Time of Need.* Therefore it may be added, with another Writer, It is to his Memory, that we owe our being a free People; for He, with his two great Friends, the Duke of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, check'd the Forwardneſs of ſome who were deſirous to load the Crown with Prerogative and Revenue. He put a Stop to all this, which being afterwards odiouſly repreſented, brought on that great and laſting, but honourable Diſgrace. However, one Project for additional Authority took Place without any preſent Oppoſition; which was, That upon the disbanding of the Army, the King, beſides his uſual Band of Penſioners, thought fit, in Imitation of *France* and Foreign Kingdoms, to eſtabliſh a conſiderable Number of both Horſe and Foot Guards, commonly call'd the *Life-Guard*; which, tho' not diſlik'd at preſent, as being of ſpecial Uſe at this Time, was afterwards complain'd of as a conſiderable Grievance to the Nation, and as having too near an Alliance with a Standing Army.

The Affairs of Scotland.

3. While the King was buſily employ'd in ſettling and eſtabliſhing the grand Affairs of *England*, in this memorable Year, he was no ways negligent with reſpect to the Peace and Happineſs of his two other Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. As to *Scotland*, the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners having been employ'd as Judges for the Government of that Nation, and having had their Commiſſions continu'd for ſome Time after the King's Reſtoration, they were at length by Letters from the Duke of *Albermarle* acquainted with the King's Pleaſure, ‘That from the 22d of *Auguſt* they ſhou'd ceaſe to act in this their Judicatory Power, in regard that Kingdom was thenceforth to be reduc'd to its ancient Form of Government:’ In order to which, Proclamation was made in the King's Name, for the ſpeedy convening of the *Committee of the Three Eſtates of* Scotland; and a *Parliament* alſo was to be call'd there within a few Months. In the Interim, the chief Miniſters of State were conſtituted; the Earl of *Glencarn* was made Lord Chancellor, the Lord *Crawford-Lindſey* Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Caſſiles* Juſtice General, the Earl of *Lauderdale* chief Secretary of State, and General *Middleton* the King's Commiſſioner, with ſeveral others. The *Committee of Eſtates* being aſſembled, made

it their firſt Care to keep all Things in Peace and full Obedience to the preſent Government: For, notwithſtanding the late Unanimity of the People at *Edinburgh*, as well as other Places, in the publick proclaiming of his Majeſty, yet after a ſhort Space a Spirit of Diſcontent began to diſcover it ſelf among certain prime Miniſters of the Kirk Party, as appear'd by their meeting together at an appointed Place, for the drawing up a *Remonſtrance* concerning certain Things in which they thought themſelves aggriev'd: Of which the *Committee of Eſtates* having Notice, ſent immediately to apprehend them, and ſecured them in Priſon; and to prevent the like Diſturbance for the future, they ſet forth a Proclamation *againſt all unlawful Meetings, and ſeditious Papers.* The like Impriſonment hapned alſo to their Country-Man the famous Marqueſs of *Argyle*, who notwithſtanding he came to the *Engliſh* Court, with other of the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry, upon Pretence of rendering his Service to his Majeſty, was found ſo culpable, that he was committed to the *Tower* for High Treaſon, and afterwards ſent to be try'd in his own Country.

But to make a perfect Settlement of the Peace and Proſperity of *Scotland*, as well as *England*, the King thought it neceſſary to ſummon a Parliament to meet at *Edinburgh* the 12th Day of *December*. And to prepare the Way, he iſſu'd out a Proclamation in that Kingdom, which ſhew'd him to be of the ſame Diſpoſition in all his Dominions. By this he ſolemnly declar'd, 'That he rely'd ſo much on the Loyalty, Prudence, and Care of his *Parliament*, as abſolutely to commit to Them the trying and judging of the Carriage of his Subjects during the late Troubles, concerning which he wou'd receive Addreſſes and Informations only from his *Parliament* or *Committee of Eſtates*. To whom, in the mean Time, he recommended the ordering and preparing that Affair, and to whom alone any of his People that were intereſted, might freely, and ſhou'd Only make their Applications; aſſuring them, That his own Honour once vindicated, and the ancient Prerogatives of the Crown once aſſerted, he wou'd grant ſuch a full and free Pardon, *An Act of Indemnity*, as might witneſs, *That he deſired nothing more than that his People ſhould be ſettled with abundance of Happineſs, Peace and Plenty, under his Government.*

And of Ireland.

As to the Kingdom of *Ireland*, his Majeſty very early iſſu'd out his Proclamation againſt all Diſturbers of the Peace in thoſe Parts, and with good Effect; and Colonel *Eyres*, who had endeavour'd to raiſe a Party there, was ſoon reduced by Sir *Charles Coot*. The *Convention* that had aſſembled in that Kingdom upon the Change of Government, as ſoon as they had taken Order for the ſettling of the publick Affairs, and had appointed certain Commiſſioners to wait upon his Majeſty with their congratulatory Addreſſes, thought fit to diſſolve themſelves, in Expectation of the King's Pleaſure for the calling of a full *Parliament*, and to make Way for the ancient Conſtitution of the Government by a Lord Lieutenant, as had been determin'd by the King and his Council. But in the mean Time, for the preſent Government of that Kingdom, his Majeſty made Sir *Maurice Euſtace* Knight Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, *Roger* Earl of *Orrerey* Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, and *Charles* Earl of *Montraith* Lord Preſident of *Connaught*, to be Lords Juſtices, who manag'd and govern'd there with great Candor and Moderation. So that excepting from ſome whoſe Diſcontent and Guilt wou'd allow them no Reſt, there was now a general Quiet throughout the King's Dominions.

4. And now, to draw towards a Concluſion of this wonderful Year, we may take ſome Notice of the general Joy and Felicity that ſhin'd through the *Britiſh* Dominions, after ſuch Clouds of Darkneſs and Confuſion; which was introduc'd without one Drop of Blood, and afterwards eſtabliſh'd with the Execution of but ten Perſons in *England*, and the leſſer Puniſhment of a few more. This Revolution, begun by an over-ruling Providence, was moderated and compleated by the Wiſdom and Clemency of the preſent Adminiſtration, which ſo work'd up the Candor and Moderation of the Convention Parliament, that, in ſpite of the Repinings of ſome reſtleſs Perſons, the Happineſs was in Effect made univerſal. All Arts and Sciences at this Time acquired new Life and Vigour; all Sorts of Knowledge and Learning met with Countenance and Incouragement; all curious Inventions and Experiments were approv'd of and promoted, and Politeneſs and good Taſte came more and more into Faſhion; and even the *Engliſh* Tongue was daily more improv'd and refined, both as to Verſe and Proſe, by the ingenious Men of the Age, ſuch as *Waller*, *Cowley*, *Denham*, *Davenant*, *Sprat*, *Leſtrange*, *Dryden*, *Etheridge*, *Wilkins*, *Tillotſon*, and others, beſides thoſe of the Court, as the King himſelf, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Rocheſter*; who altogether introduc'd a more juſt and judicious way of Writing and Speaking than had been known before in *England*. This great Year likewiſe had the Fame of producing that memorable Eſtabliſhment, ſo much encourag'd by the King and the Court, call'd *The Royal Society*; a celebrated Body of Men, who this Year laid a glorious Foundation for the fineſt Inventions and Experiments in Mathematicks, Phyſick, Philoſophy, &c. which ſince then have met with innumerable Additions and Improvements, to the Glory of Learning, and the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation. The chief Promoters of this Society in its Infancy were Dr. *Ward*, Mr. *Boyl*, the Lord *Brouncker*, Dr. *Wilkins*, Dr. *Wallis*, Sir *William Murrey*, Sir *William Petty*, Dr. *Goddard*, Dr. *Willis*, Dr. *Bathurſt*, Dr. *Wren*, and Mr. *Rook*; which afterwards receiv'd a great Addition of the moſt eminent Men in the Nation. The Felicity of this Year, being leſs reſiſtible by many than the preceding Adverſity, likewiſe unhappily produc'd other Sorts, or rather other Effects of Politeneſs and genteel Education, ſuch as jovial Entertainments, loyal Remembrances, free Converſation, amorous Intrigues, refined Courtſhip and Gallantry, with other ſoftning and faſhionable Expreſſions, which ſerv'd to cover the moſt enormous Viciouſneſs in the Court and other Places. All which was incourag'd and promoted by the Licentiouſneſs of the two new erected Theatres or Play-Houſes, where there ſeem'd to have been very little Reſtraint, and where a new Cuſtom was now introduced of bringing in Women upon the Stage, which before had been perſonated by Boys or young Men. Thus the Felicity of the Times was firſt ſully'd, and afterwards corrupted, ſo as by degrees to bring inſuperable Inconveniencies upon the Nation.

The Beginning of the Royal Society.

The Deaths of Mary *Princeſs of* Orange,

The general Joy of this Year was much interrupted at the Concluſion of it, by the immature Death of the King's beloved Siſter *Mary* Princeſs of *Orange*, who on the 24th of *December* dy'd of the Small-Pox, a Diſtemper that has been fatal to the Royal Family. Her Death was a moſt ſenſible Affliction to the King and all the Court, being a Lady of a noble Soul, of admirable Virtues, and all Princely Endowments, and one who had been the great Support and Comfort to her three Brothers in the Time of their greateſt Diſtreſs. She was now twenty nine Years of Age, and was bury'd in the ſame Place, and after the ſame Manner with her Brother the Duke of *Glouceſter*. She left only one Son behind her, about ten Years of Age, *William* Prince of *Orange*, who afterwards became the prime Inſtrument in the wonderful Revolution that hapenn'd in the Year 1688. The Princeſs's Death was uſher'd in by a fatal Accident, the Overſetting of the *Aſſurance* Frigate, riding at Anchor at *Wolledge*, by a ſudden Blaſt of Wind, by which Misfortune ſeveral Perſons in the Ship were drown'd. Her Death was likewiſe in ſome Meaſure accompany'd by the Deaths of two of the Nobility, *William* Marqueſs of *Hertford*, lately advanc'd to the Dukedom of *Somerſet*, and *John* Lord *Colepeper*; both Perſons of great Worth and ſingular Loyalty, whoſe Characters have been given in the other Part or Volume of this Hiſtory.

The Marqueſs of Hertford,

The Lord Colepeper,

Dr. Hammond,

Dr. Zouche

Mr. Rumſey,

Mr. Oughtred,

Beſides thoſe of the higheſt Quality, this Year is remarkable for the Deaths of ſeveral others, whoſe Names ought to be remember'd in Hiſtory; the firſt of which was Dr. *Henry Hammond*, the famous Divine, and the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, not only for Theology, but for many other learned Acquiſitions. He had been made Arch-deacon of *Chicheſter*, Canon of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and Orator to that Univerſity, and likewiſe made Chaplain in Ordinary to the late King, to whom he was ſignally ſerviceable in the Treaties of *Uxbridge*, the Iſle of *Wight*, and in other Emergencies. Notwithſtanding his admirable Learning and Piety, he was driven from *Oxford*; from whence he retired to the Houſe of Sir *John Packington* in *Worceſterſhire*, where after ſeveral Years living in the profoundeſt Devotion and Humility, and moſt unparallell'd Charity, he expired in the 56th Year of his Age, about a Month before the glorious Reſtoration; which if he had ſurviv'd, he wou'd have adorn'd the Church in one of its higheſt Stations. The next Perſon to be nam'd is Dr. *Richard Zouche*, a moſt celebrated Civilian, Profeſſor of that Faculty, Principal of St. *Alban's-Hall* in *Oxford*, and Judge of the Court of Admiralty; a Perſon noble by Birth, and highly accompliſh'd by Learning, whoſe Judgment and Works were not only held in great Eſtimation in *England*, but alſo in foreign Countries. Beſides this great Civilian, this Year, there dy'd a famous Common Lawyer, Mr. *Walter Rumſey*; educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, made a Bencher of *Gray's-Inn*, and afterwards a Judge in *South-Wales*, being ſo noted for his Profeſſion, that he was uſually ſtil'd *The Pick-Lock of the Law*; and beſides, he was not a little admir'd for his Philoſophical and Muſical Genius, and his ſeveral curious Inventions. We ought likewiſe to mention Mr. *William Oughtred*, a Gentleman of an ancient Family, educated in *Cambridge* Univerſity, and Fellow of *King's-College*; and afterwards Rector of

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Albury in *Surrey*; where, tho' he worthily perform'd the Offices of his Function, he moſt of all excell'd in the moſt difficult Parts of the Mathematicks, ſo that all his Contemporaries unanimouſly acknowledg'd him *the Prince of Mathematicians*; and he had the particular Happineſs to be a great Inſtructor of ſeveral of thoſe who form'd *the Royal Society*. And becauſe the moſt vile, as well as the moſt valuable Perſons, are ſometimes to be mention'd in Hiſtory, we ſhall laſtly take Notice of *James Nailor* the *Quaker*, whoſe ſtrange Crime and Puniſhment is already remember'd: The Extravagance of the former caus'd him, for a while, to be diſown'd by the *Quakers*; but upon his Repentance, as it is ſaid, he was again receiv'd into their Society, and ſo continu'd one of their Preachers till his Death, which happen'd this Year in the County of *Huntingdon*.

And James Nailor.

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The Inſurrection of the Fifth-Monarchy *Men.*

V. I. While the Affairs of the Nation ſeem'd to be in Peace and Tranquillity, in the Beginning of the new Year there happen'd a ſtrange and unparallel'd Action in *London*, which ſtrengthen'd the Belief of thoſe ſecret Plots and Conſpiracies mention'd by the Lord Chancellor in his laſt Speech to the Parliament. This was occaſion'd by a ſmall Body of *Fifth-Monarchy* Men, who hating all Monarchy, and the Appearance of it, had formerly made an Attempt againſt *Cromwell*'s Government, but eſcap'd beyond Expectation. The Head of them was one *Thomas Venner*, ſometime a Wine-Cooper, who by the King's Indulgence held a Conventicle in *Coleman-ſtreet*, where he, and others, us'd to preach to them out of the Prophecies of *Daniel* and the Revelations, and from thence drew ſtrange Inferences, perſuading their Congregation *to take up Arms for King* JESUS, *againſt the Powers of the Earth*, the King, the Duke of *York*, General *Monk*, *&c.* aſſuring them, *That no Weapons form'd againſt them ſhould proſper, nor a Hair of their Heads be touch'd; for One ſhould chace a Thouſand, and Two put Ten Thouſand to Flight.* Upon which they got a Declaration printed, entitled, *A Door of Hope open'd*; in which they ſaid, and declared, 'That they wou'd never ſheath their Swords 'till *Babylon*, as they call'd Monarchy, became a *Hiſſing 'and a Curſe*, and there be left neither Remnant, Son, nor 'Nephew: That when they had *led Captivity Captive* in '*England*, they wou'd go into *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, '*&c.* and rather dye than take the wicked Oaths of *Su'premacy* and *Allegiance*: That they wou'd not make 'any Leagues with *Monarchiſts*, but wou'd riſe up againſt 'the *Carnal*, to poſſeſs the *Gate*, or the World, *to bind 'their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of 'Iron.*' And ſo to accompliſh this heroick Deſign, they obſerv'd ſo much Policy as to put it in Execution when the King was attending his Mother and Siſter to embark at *Portſmouth*, for their Return into *France*. Accordingly on *Sunday* the 6th of *January*, being fully animated by the Sermon, which hinted to them, *that they had been praying and preaching, but not acting for God*, they ſally'd out well arm'd from their Meeting-Houſe, and march'd to St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard in the Dark of the Evening. Here they muſter'd their Party, amounting to above Fifty, and plac'd their Centinels for the Time, one of whom kill'd a poor innocent Man, who upon Demand had anſwer'd, *He was for God and King* Charles! This gave an Alarm to the City, and the Lord-Mayor, Sir *Richard Brown*; and the Train'd-Bands being upon the Guard, ſome Files of Men were ſent againſt them, whom theſe deſperate Men quickly routed, and ſo march'd on to *Biſhops-Gate*, where they paſs'd without Oppoſition, and from thence to *Cripple-Gate*, where they came into the City again, and ſo to *Alders-Gate*. Here threatning the Conſtable, who was weakly attended, they were let out again. Then they declared themſelves for KING *JESUS*, and thus proceeded to *Beech-Lane*, where they kill'd a *Headborough* that oppos'd them, and ſo haſtned to *Cane*-Wood, about two Miles from the City, between *Highgate* and *Hampſted*, where they repos'd themſelves for that Night.

Their Enthuſiaſm.

The Noiſe of this ſtrange Inſurrection caus'd the General to ſend a Party of Horſe and Foot the next Day, who drove them out of the Wood, and took ſome of them Priſoners, who were committed to the *Gate-Houſe*. The reſt having rally'd again, on *Wedneſday* Morning return'd to *London*, with Aſſurance by *Venner* their Leader *That no Weapon form'd againſt them ſhou'd proſper: Therefore they might look upon the Example of* Gideon: *It was the ſame Thing to God, whether he ſav'd by a Few or a Multitude.* Their firſt Appearance was in *Threadneedle-Street*, behind the *Exchange*, where they beat back a Party ſent by the Guard there. But, upon the Advance of more Forces, they retreated to *Biſhop-Gate-Street*; where, after a ſharp Encounter, two of each Side being ſlain, they gradually ſlipt away and diſappear'd. A while after, like the gathering of Clouds, they were ſeen again at *Colledge-Hill* and *Maiden-Lane*, where they deſign'd to ſacrifice the Lord-Mayor. But miſſing of him, they croſs'd *Cheapſide*, and paſs'd into *Wood-Street*. Here began a cruel Fight, wherein they ſhew'd Skill as well as great Valour; and having ruffled ſome Train'd-Bands, and repell'd the Horſe-Guards that came to aſſiſt them, they did not give Way till *Venner* was knock'd down and ſeverely wounded, and *Tuffney* and *Cragg*, two of their fierceſt Preachers and Combatants, were ſlain. Whereupon the greateſt Part of them retreated to *Cripple-Gate*, firing in good Order in their Rear upon the Train'd-Bands, who were in cloſe Purſuit of them. Colonel *Cox*, who commanded, lodg'd ten of them in an Ale-Houſe near the Poſtern, which Houſe they obſtinately maintain'd. The Houſe being ſurrounded, ſome of the Soldiers untiled the next Houſe, and ſhot in upon them, being in the upper Room, who ſtill refus'd Quarter: At the ſame Time another Party of Musketeers got up the Stairs, broke down the Door, and enter'd their Garriſon. Six of them were kill'd before, another refuſing Quarter was firſt knock'd down, and then ſhot with a Musket. The reſt being demanded why they did not ask Quarter before, anſwer'd *They durſt not for fear their own Fellows ſhou'd have ſhot them.* In this Inſurrection, twenty of the King's Men were ſlain, and as many of the Rebels. Thoſe taken were *Venner* himſelf, *Hodgkins*, *Gowler*, *Allen*, *Pym*, *Aſhton*, *Prichard*, *Fall*, *Hopkins*, *Wells*, and about as many more, not much worth the Naming; who blaſphemouſly alledg'd, *That if they were deceiv'd or miſ-led, 'twas God that deceiv'd them.*

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They are defeated.

Theſe, to the Number of twenty, were ſoon after arraign'd at the *Old Baily* for Treaſon and Murder; which being fully prov'd, with all the foremention'd Particulars, they were all found guilty, except *Hopkins* and *Wells*, againſt whom the Evidence was not full, and againſt one *Patſhul* only a ſingle Witneſs: Wherefore they were acquitted by their Jury. When Sentence was pronounc'd againſt them, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Foſter* ſeriouſly charg'd *Venner* with the Blood of his unhappy Accomplices, he impudently reply'd, *It was not he, but Jeſus that led them.* Three of them confeſs'd their Crime, and crav'd Mercy, but the reſt continu'd obſtinate. Being ſentenc'd to be hang'd drawn and quarter'd, *Venner* and *Hodgkins* were on the 19th of *January* executed over-againſt their Meeting-Houſe in *Coleman-Street*. The former ſpoke little but in Vindication of himſelf and his Fact, and ſomething of his Opinion, with an Aſſurance *That the Time was at Hand when other Judgment wou'd be*; highly reflecting upon the preſent Government. *Hodgkins* rav'd and curs'd in the Manner of Praying, *calling down Vengeance from Heaven upon the King, the Judges, and the City of* London; nor wou'd he deſiſt, till the Executioner put an End to all his Extravagancies. Two Days after nine more were executed in five ſeveral Places of the City, without being quarter'd, as the two firſt were. All perſiſted, like the Regicides, in juſtifying their Crimes, except one young Man, who ſhew'd great Signs of Repentance.

Venner *and others executed.*

Thus ended a Rebellion of a very ſtrange Nature, which was begun and carry'd on with ſuch infernal Rage, that if their Numbers had been equal to their Spirits, they wou'd have overturn'd the City, and the Nation, and the World, which in their Imagination they had divided among themſelves. Tho' this was look'd upon as an Excurſion ſo wild and extravagant, as not to be attributed to a whole Party; yet ſeveral Perſons being ſeiz'd not long before, it was thought to be a Branch of the main Deſign againſt Monarchy and the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and that only the over-hot Zeal of theſe Enthuſiaſts fired the Train before the grand Mine was ready to ſpring. However it was thus taken by the Government, which, having been merciful to the utmoſt Degree, now began otherwiſe to exert itſelf, and to bear a little harder upon a Party who had formerly promoted the moſt furious Methods. Accordingly a Proclamation was iſſu'd out 'Prohibiting all 'ſeditious and unlawful *Meetings* and *Conventicles*, under 'Pretence of Religious Worſhip; and commanding that 'the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* be tender'd to all 'Perſons diſaffected to the Government, and in Caſe of 'Refuſal, that they be proceeded againſt, and ſuffer the ſe'vere Penalties of the Statute of the Seventh of King '*James*.' So, for the preſent, all Things were reduced to Peace and Quietneſs; which was eſtabliſh'd by the total disbanding of the Army in *England*, except the Lord General's Regiment of Foot, and Life-Guard of Horſe, who were all paid off and disbanded on *Tower-Hill* the 14th of *February*, by the Commiſſioners nominated by Parliament, who intimated to the Officers and others, 'That tho' they were disbanded as to the Kingdom's Pay, 'yet they were to be timely advanc'd into his Majeſty's 'Service, as an extraordinary Guard to his Royal Perſon.

The Conſequence of the Inſurrection.

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Preparations for the Coronation.

2. And now the King was preparing for two great Affairs, beſides the Meeting of a new Parliament, a Coronation, and a Marriage. The firſt was appointed to be

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ſolemniz'd on the 23d Day of *April*; and was reſolv'd to be made more pompous and magnificent than thoſe of his two laſt Predeceſſors, who were thought too little mindful of what regarded the outward Grandeur and Honour of the Crown, which had been ſo wiſely and viſibly ſupported by the great Queen before them. Theſe, for Reaſons of State, had omitted the moſt chargeable and glorious Part of the Solemnity, the triumphant Cavalcade from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*, which Sight had been much incourag'd and promoted by popular Princes. This was now reſolv'd to be reviv'd; and Care was taken that no Expences ſhou'd be wanting that might compleat the Delight and Splendor of the Day. In order to which the City of *London*, according to their Charter, erected four Triumphal Arches of more than ordinary Magnificence, for his Majeſty and his Train to paſs through to the Coronation. The firſt in *Leaden-Hall-Street*, near *Lime-Street* End, made after the *Dorick* Order, nobly repreſenting his Majeſty's happy Arrival in *England*. The Second, being a fine Naval Repreſentation, was near the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*. The third, conſiſting of the *Corinthian* and *Compoſite* Order, and repreſenting the Temple of *Concord*, was plac'd in *Cheapſide*, near the End of *Wood-Street*. The Fourth, conſiſting of the *Dorick* and *Ionick* Orders, and repreſenting the *Garden of Plenty*, ſtood in *Fleet-Street*, near *White Friars*. All which, with their ſeveral Inſcriptions, Mottoes, *&c.* are fully deſcrib'd by Mr. *Ogilby* and others.

The Knights of the Garter.

The better to grace the Solemnity, the King advanc'd ſeveral eminent Perſons to higher Degrees of Dignity. And firſt he ſettled and compleated the Number of Knights of the noble Order of the *Garter*, which on the 16th of *April* ſtood as following: *Charles*, King of *Great Britain*, *&c. James*, Duke of *York*; *Charles Lodowick*, Prince Elector Palatine; *Frederick William*, Elector of *Brandenburg*; *Rupert*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Cumberland*; *Edward*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*; *William* of *Naſſaw*, Prince of *Orange*; *Barnard*, Duke of *Eſpernon*; *Charles*, Prince of *Tarante*; *William*, Earl of *Salisbury*; *Thomas*, Earl of *Berkſhire*; *Algernon*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *James*, Duke of *Ormond*; *George*, Duke of *Buckingham*; *Thomas*, Earl of *Southampton*; *William*, Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*; *George*, Earl of *Briſtol*; *Gaſper*, Count of *Marſin*; *George*, Duke of *Albemarle*; *Edward*, Earl of *Sandwich*; *Aubery*, Earl of *Oxford*; *Charles*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*; *Montague*, Earl of *Lindſey*; *Edward*, Earl of *Mancheſter*, and *William* Earl of *Strafford*. About the ſame Time the King thought fit to create ſix Earls, and ſix Barons, ſome of whom are already mention'd: The Lord Chancellor was created Earl of *Clarendon*; *Arthur*, Lord *Capel*, Earl of *Eſſex*; *Thomas*, Lord *Brudenel*, Earl of *Cardigan*; *Arthur*, Viſcount *Valentia*, Earl of *Angleſey*; Sir *John Greenvile*, Earl of *Bath*; *Charles Howard*, Earl of *Carliſle*; *Denzil Hollis*, Lord *Hollis* of *Ifeld*; Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Lord *Cornwallis* of *Eye* in *Suffolk*; Sir *George Booth*, Lord *de-la-Mere*; Sir *Horatio Townſhend*, Baron of *Lyn Regis*; Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, Baron of *Winterburn St. Giles*; and *John Crew* made Lord *Crew* of *Stene*.

The Knights of the Bath.

Beſides theſe Noblemen, for the greater Ornament of the Coronation, his Majeſty was pleaſed to make ſixty eight *Knights of the Bath*, intitled alſo *Knights of the Holy Trinity*; which, for the Curioſity of ſome Readers, are here nam'd. The Fifteen firſt were Sons, or Relations to Noblemen, as Sir *Edward Clinton*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Lincoln*; Sir *John Egerton*, Eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Bridgewater*; Sir *William Egerton*, ſecond Son to the ſame Earl; Sir *Philip Herbert*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Pembroke*; Sir *Vere Fane*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Weſtmorland*; Sir *Charles Berkley*, eldeſt Son to the Lord *Berkley*; Sir *Henry Bellaſis*, eldeſt Son to the Lord *Bellaſis*; Sir *Henry Hyde*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Clarendon*; Sir *Rowland Bellaſis*, Brother to the Lord *Faulconbridge*; Sir *Henry Capel*, Brother to the Earl of *Eſſex*; Sir *John Vaughan*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Carbury*; Sir *Charles Stanley*, Grandſon to the Earl of *Derby*; Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, eldeſt Son to the Lord *Cornwallis*; Sir *Francis Fane*, and Sir *Henry Fane*, Grandſons to the Earl of *Weſtmorland*. The next Six were Baronets, as Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Richard Temple*, Sir *William Ducy*, Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Sir *John Scudamore*, and Sir *William Gardiner*. The reſt were Sir *John Nicholas*, Sir *John Monſon*, Sir *John Bramſton*, Sir *Bourchier Wray*, Sir *John Coventry*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *John Knevot*, Sir *Philip Butler*, Sir *Adrian Scroop*, Sir *Richard Knightley*, Sir *Henry Heron*, Sir *John Lewknor*, Sir *George Brown*, Sir *William Tyringham*, Sir *Francis Godolphin*, Sir *Edward Baynton*, Sir *Grevil Verney*, Sir *Edward Harley*, Sir *Edward Walpoole*, Sir *Francis Popham*, Sir *Edward Wiſe*, Sir *Chriſtopher Calthorp*, Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, Sir *William Bromley*, Sir *Thomas Bridges*, Sir *Thomas Fanſhaw*, Sir *John Denham*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Sir *James Altham*, Sir *Thomas Wendy*, Sir *George Freeman*, Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, Sir *Richard Ingoldsby*, Sir *John Bates*, Sir *Edward Heath*, Sir *William Morley*, Sir *John Bennet*, Sir *Hugh Smith*, Sir *Simon Leach*, Sir *Henry Cheſter*, Sir *Robert Atkins*, Sir *Robert Gayre*, Sir *Richard Pawle*, Sir *Hugh Ducy*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, Sir *Ralph Buſh*, and Sir *Thomas Whitmore*. Theſe all receiv'd their Honours with very great Ceremony, and a very particular and Feſtival Solemnity.

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The Solemnity of the CORONATION.

All Things being prepar'd on *Monday* the 22d of *April*, his Majeſty, attended by all his Nobility, Judges, Officers, *&c.* made his grand Cavalcade from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*, in ſuch a glorious and ſplendid Manner, and with ſuch a ſurpriſing and aſtoniſhing Appearance, that it ſeem'd as if the Riches of both the *Indies* were ſent over to adorn this Day's Triumph. The Streets and Houſes were prepared after an extraordinary Manner, and fill'd with innumerable Multitudes of People from all Parts of the Country, beſides many Foreigners, who acknowledg'd they had never ſeen, among all the great Sights of the World, any that cou'd equal This: Even the *French* themſelves confeſs'd their late Nuptial Solemnities at their King and Queen's Entrance into *Paris* to be inferior in Pomp, State and Riches, to this illuſtrious Cavalcade. Nothing cou'd vie with it but the wonderful Reſtoration it ſelf, the Remembrance of which being now reviv'd, occaſion'd incredible Tranſports in the People. The next Day, being St. *George*'s Day, the Coronation was Solemniz'd at *Weſtminſter*, in the Preſence of ſeveral Foreign Ambaſſadors, after the uſual and ancient Manner, yet with ſeveral Additions as to Ceremony, Habit, Feaſting, and the greateſt Magnificence: So that it was very wonderful to all Strangers, that ſo much Wealth and Grandeur ſhou'd appear in a Kingdom ſo lately over-run with Confuſion and Deſolation. It is obſervable that theſe two Days were the only Days clear from Rain for above a Month together; but as ſoon as the whole Solemnity was over, and the King at Dinner in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, there fell ſuch a Storm of Thunder, Lightning and Rain, as had never been known at that Time of the Year; which ſeveral were ready to look upon as Ominous, and portending ſome future Calamities.

The Divines concern'd in the Savoy *Conference.*

3. While Preparations were making for theſe great Solemnities, and the Meeting of a new Parliament, the King was buſily and ſecretly imploy'd in the Affair of a Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*; in which he came to ſuch a Reſolution, as to think it convenient to diſcover and lay it before his Parliament; the Steps and Proceedings of which will be mention'd in a more proper Place. In the mean Time his Majeſty was likewiſe carrying on another Deſign, purſuant to his large Declaration in *October* laſt, which began to take Place before the Meeting of the Parliament, and which was an Attempt and Endeavour to reconcile the different Parties as to Religious Matters, more eſpecially the Church of *England* and the *Presbyterian*. This was judg'd a very laudable Deſign; and accordingly the King iſſu'd out a Commiſſion directed to twelve Biſhops, and nine Epiſcopal Divines as Aſſiſtants, on one Side; and to twelve *Presbyterian* Divines, as Principals, and nine Others, as Aſſiſtants, on the other Side. The Biſhops were *Fruen* of *York*, *Coſens* of *Durham*, *Sheldon* of *London*, *Warner* of *Rocheſter*, *King* of *Chicheſter*, *Henchman* of *Salisbury*, *Morley* of *Worceſter*, *Sanderſon* of *Lincoln*, *Laney* of *Peterborough*, *Walton* of *Cheſter*, *Sterne* of *Carliſle*, and *Gauden* of *Exeter*: Their Aſſiſtants were Dr. *Earl*, Dr. *Heylyn*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Barwick*, Dr. *Gunning*, Dr. *Pearſon*, Dr. *Price*, Dr. *Sparrow*, and Mr. *Thorndike*. The twelve *Presbyterian* Divines were Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Tuckney*, Dr. *Conant*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Jackſon*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Clark*, and Mr. *Newcomen*: Their Aſſiſtants were Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, Mr. *Cooper*, Mr. *Collins*, Mr. *Drake*, Mr. *Rawlinſon*, and Mr. *Woodbridge*. All theſe were commiſſion'd by the King to act for four Months from the 25th of *March*, and more particularly ' To adviſe upon, and review the *Book of Common-Prayer*, comparing the ſame with the moſt ancient ' *Liturgies* which have been us'd in the Church in the ' primitive and pureſt Times, and to take into their ſerious ' and grave Conſiderations the ſeveral *Directions* and *Rules*, ' *Forms of Prayer*, and *Things* in the ſaid *Book of Common-Prayer* contained; and to adviſe and conſult upon and ' about the ſame, and the ſeveral *Objections* and *Exceptions* ' which ſhall now be rais'd againſt the ſame; and, if Occaſion be, to make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary *Alterations*, *Corrections* and *Amendments*, as ſhall be agreed upon ' to be needful and expedient for giving Satisfaction to ' *Tender Conſciences*, and the Reſtoring and Continuance ' of *Peace* and *Unity* in the Churches under his Majeſty's ' Government and Protection.-------And to certify to his ' Majeſty in Writing, under their ſeveral Hands, the *Matters* and *Things* whereupon they ſhall ſo determine, to be ' by his Majeſty approv'd, *&c.*

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Their Meeting.

Great were the Expectations of all Parties what the Reſult wou'd be of the Meeting of ſo many conſiderable Divines, who cou'd not be ſuppos'd to aſſemble without ſome Prejudices and Reſentments. The Biſhop of *London*'s Lodgings in the *Savoy* was the Place appointed for their Meeting; and when the Parties appear'd, that Biſhop, as One in Poſſeſſion, acquainted the *Presbyterian* Miniſters, *That Themſelves, and not the Biſhops, had requeſted the Conference for making ſome* Alterations *in the* Liturgy: *That therefore nothing was to be done, till they had deliver'd their* Exceptions *in Writing, together with the additional* Forms *and* Alterations *which they deſired.* This Method had before been declin'd by the *Presbyterian* Miniſters, when firſt offer'd by the King, and next by the Chancellor, excuſing themſelves, *as not having a Commiſſion from their Brethren, who were very numerous:* And when they were urg'd to declare their own Senſe, excluſive of their Party, they endeavour'd to evade it, by begging, *That if they made their* Propoſals, *the other Party might bring in their utmoſt* Conceſſions *at the ſame Time, ſo that when both were compared, ſome Judgment might be made of the Succeſs.* According to this reſerved Way the *Presbyterian* Commiſſioners objected againſt the Propoſal of the Biſhop of *London*, and mov'd for *an amicable Conference, according to the Intent*, as they preſum'd, *of the Commiſſion*, and which they thought *more likely to contribute to a Diſpatch of their great End of Meeting; whereas Writing wou'd be a tedious endleſs Buſineſs, and prevent the Familiarity and Acquaintance with each others Minds, which wou'd beſt facilitate Peace and Concord.* But Biſhop *Sheldon* firmly adhered to the ſafer and more certain Way of bringing all their Exceptions, Alterations and Additions in one View in Writing, to which, in the ſame Manner, they ſhou'd likewiſe receive diſtinct Anſwers. After ſome Debate, it was finally agreed, 'That they ſhou'd bring in all their *Exceptions* at one Time, and all their *Additions* at another Time.

The Presbyterian Exceptions.

Accordingly the *Exceptions* were drawn up by Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Dr. *Bates*, &c. and preſented to the Biſhops under this Title, *The Exceptions of the Presbyterian Brethren againſt ſome Paſſages in the preſent Liturgy.* In which Paper, their general Allegation and Requeſt was, 'That as the *Reformers* at firſt ſo compos'd the Liturgy, as might be moſt likely to win upon the *Papiſts*, and draw them into their Church Communion by varying as little as well they cou'd from the *Romiſh Forms* before in uſe; ſo it might, according to the ſame Rules of Prudence, be then ſo compos'd, as to gain upon the Judgments and Affection of Thoſe, who in the *Subſtantials* of the *Proteſtant Religion* are of the ſame Perſuaſion.' In Order to this they began with an impracticable Propoſal, namely, 'That the *Prayers* and *Materials* of the *Liturgy* might have nothing in them *Doubtful* or *Queſtion'd* among pious, learned and orthodox Perſons.' Then they proceeded to deſire, 'That the *Repetitions* and *Reſponſals* of Clerk and People might be omitted: That the *Petitions* in the *Litany* might be caſt into one ſolemn Prayer to be offer'd up by the Miniſter alone: That there be nothing countenancing the Obſervation of *Lent* as a Religious Faſt: That the Obſervation of *Saints Days*, &c. be omitted: That the *Gift of Prayer* be not excluded from being a Part of Publick Worſhip: That the new Tranſlation of the Scriptures be every where us'd inſtead of the Old Verſion: That all *Apocryphal* Leſſons be omitted: That no Part of the *Liturgy* be read at the *Communion-Table:* That the Word *Prieſt* and *Curate* be turn'd into that of *Miniſter*, and *Sunday* into *Lord's-Day*. And, beſides Others, That no *Ceremonies* of *Habit* or Poſture be impos'd, but left to the Diſcretion of the Miniſter.' After theſe general *Propoſals*, they added their particular *Exceptions* to ſeveral Parts and Paſſages in the *Liturgy*, and expreſs'd or ſuggeſted many Alterations and Amendments to be made in them. To theſe the Epiſcopal Clergy gave in their Anſwer, and accepted of the other's Reply; and at length ſeveral Amendments and Alterations were made in the Publick Liturgy. But after all, it was an unfortunate Prejudice to the Peace of the Church and Nation, that the *Presbyterian* Divines thought theſe Conceſſions and Amendments not ſufficient for their own Honour, and the general Satisfaction of their Party: And on the other Side, the Biſhops and Clergy, that the more they yielded, the more importunate Demands wou'd be made upon them; as they found by the Practice of the aſſiduous Mr. *Baxter*. For when the drawing up the *Additions* to be made to the Liturgy, the main Deſign of the Commiſſion, was by the Brethren committed to him alone, he ſhew'd ſo mean an Opinion of it, as if incapable of Amendments, that he drew up One in effect New, which he intitled the *Reformed Liturgy*. This, tho' perform'd by a ſingle Hand, not well vers'd in Antiquity, was read by the *Presbyterian* Miniſters, and generally approv'd, to the Diſſatisfaction of the other Party, who thought ſuch a total Alteration too great a Preſumption for any One to undertake; eſpecially ſince the old *Liturgy* had been compiled by learned Confeſſors and Martyrs, and conſider'd and approv'd by many eminent Foreign Divines.

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A Perſonal Conference.

And now the Diviſions were more ſenſibly encreas'd than diminiſh'd; after ſeveral ineffectual Papers of *Propoſals*, *Exceptions*, *Anſwers*, *Replies* and *Rejoynders*, when the Commiſſion was within ten Days of expiring, the *Presbyterian* Divines earneſtly deſired the Biſhops to admit them to a Perſonal Conference, upon the Subject Matter of the Papers that had paſs'd between them. To remove all Complaints, the Biſhops who always declin'd this Way of Altercation, did now yield to it; and three of each Party were appointed to manage the Diſpute: The Biſhops choſe Dr. *Pearſon*, Dr. *Gunning*, and Dr. *Sparrow*; and the other Side choſe Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Baxter*. When they met, the Conference through Want of Order, frequent Interruptions, and perſonal Reflections, turn'd to little or no Account. Time being thus ineffectually ſpent, Biſhop *Coſens* at length produc'd a Paper, containing an Expedient to end the Controverſy, by a Motion, 'To put the Complainants upon diſtinguiſhing between the Things they charg'd as *Sinful*, and thoſe they excepted againſt as only *Inexpedient*.' The *Presbyterian* Miniſters being deſired to draw up an Anſwer to it, they comply'd the next Morning, and deliver'd it, but in their own Names only. In this they charg'd eight things in the Liturgy as *flatly ſinful, and contrary to the Word of God*: 1. 'That no Miniſter be admitted to baptize without the tranſient Image of the *Croſs*. 2. That no Miniſter be permitted to Read, Pray, or exerciſe the other Parts of his Office, that dares not wear a *Surplice*. 3. That none be admitted to the Communion of the Lord's Supper, that dare not receive it kneeling. 4. That Miniſters be forced to pronounce all Baptized Infants *Regenerate by the Holy Ghoſt*. 5. That Miniſters be forced to deliver the Sacrament unto the *Unfit*, both in Health and Sickneſs, and that with Perſonal Application, putting it into their Hands. 6. That the Miniſters be forced to abſolve the *Unfit*, and that in abſolute Expreſſions. 7. That Miniſters are forced to give Thanks for all whom they Bury, as *Brethren whom God hath deliver'd and taken to himſelf*. 8. That none may be a Preacher that dares not ſubſcribe, *That there is nothing in the Common-Prayer Book, Book of Ordination, and the thirty nine Articles, that is contrary to the Word of God.*' Theſe were ſhocking Things; and, as an ingenious Modern Author obſerves, this Charge looks like a naked Affirmation: For ought appears, they either begg'd the Queſtion, or elſe fail'd in the Proof. Beſides, in the fifth and ſixth Particulars, they went upon a Suppoſition evidently falſe: For, notwithſtanding Dr. *Calamy*'s Plea, by the *Common-Prayer Book* the Miniſter was never forc'd to adminiſter either the Sacrament, or the Abſolution, to any Perſon *Unfit*.

The Meeting breaks up.

This Way of Management on the *Presbyterian* Side, gave but a ſlender Proſpect of an Accommodation. However the Epiſcopal Divines, being willing the others ſhou'd exert their whole Force, came to an Agreement to argue in Writing, and that each Party ſhou'd oppoſe and anſwer by Turns. And ſo they proceeded to diſpute upon this Queſtion, *Whether it was ſinful to enjoin Miniſters to deny the Communion to thoſe that dare not receive it Kneeling?* And here many Arguments were warmly urg'd about making Things, in their own Nature *Indifferent*, to become *Neceſſary* as to their *Uſe*, when commanded by lawful Authority. In this Debate, Mr. *Baxter* is repreſented to have been either perplex'd in his Underſtanding, or indiſpos'd for cloſing the Difference, for no Propoſition cou'd be made plain enough to gain his Aſſent. His Talent is ſaid to have lain in retiring to Foreign Diſtinctions, and Miſapplications of the Rules of Logick; and it was hard to ſay whether his involving an Argument, and raiſing a Miſt, was Art or Infirmity. Thus, after much Diſputing, ſome Cavilling, and ſeveral warm Expreſſions, the famous Conference ended without Union or Accommodation; the *Presbyterian* Divines depending too much on the Encouragement they had receiv'd from the King and the Miniſtry, on the Aſſurances from ſome leading Members in Parliament, and on the Affections of the People: In all which they found themſelves miſtaken. Mr. *Baxter* lays all the Blame upon the Managers of the Church Side; and that at a Time ſo proper for the Reconciling of Differences, they wou'd yield nothing at the Deſire of the *Presbyterians*, and the more paſſionately they preſs'd for any thing, the more tenacious they were of it. But others are of Opinion that he himſelf was much too forward, and to blame in the Management of this Conference; and notwithſtanding all his Induſtry and Activity, and his no ſmall Parts, he was inferior in Temper, Judgment and Learning to ſeveral of his Brethren. However in Concluſion, it

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was mutually agreed, That the Report of the Conference ſhou'd be deliver'd to the King in Writing: And that each Party ſhou'd give in this general Account, ‘ That the Welfare of the Church, Unity and Peace, and his Majeſty's Satisfaction, were *Ends* upon which they were all agreed; but as to the *Means*, they cou'd not come to any Accommodation.

The Second PARLIAMENT.

VI. 1. Some Time before the finiſhing of this Conference, the much expected Parliament met, on the 8th Day of *May*, with unuſual Solemnity. It was the firſt that was regularly choſen in this Reign, and continu'd, with ſeveral Intermiſſions, for above ſeventeen Years; ſo that in Time it obtain'd the Name of the *Long Parliament.* In the main, and in general, it muſt be ſaid to have been excellently well and wiſely choſen for the good and peaceable Eſtabliſhment of the Publick Affairs; the Houſe of Commons conſiſting of the moſt conſiderable and eminent Perſons for Birth, Eſtates, Knowledge and Experience, that were to be found in three Kingdoms: Tho' by Length of Time, Changes upon Deaths, and other Accidents, ſeveral of the Members were thought to be too liable to Impreſſions from a degenerate and corrupted Court; for which Reaſon ſome afterwards gave it the opprobrious Name of the *Penſionary Parliament.* Being met upon the appointed Day, the King, to revive and eſtabliſh the ancient Grandeur of the Crown, rode in State from his Palace to *Weſtminſter*-Abby, attended with the whole Body of the Nobility in their Robes, and all his great Officers in Order, with Drums, Trumpets and other Muſick, after ſuch a ſolemn and pompous Manner, as was little inferior to the Glories of a Coronation.

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

After this Ceremonial was over, and a learned Sermon preach'd before him by Dr. *Ironſide* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, his Majeſty went into the Houſe of Peers, and from his Throne open'd the Parliament with this following Speech to both Houſes, which deſerves to be inſerted without any Abridgment: ‘ *My Lords, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I will not ſpend the Time in telling you why I call'd you hither; I am ſure I am glad to ſee you here. I do value my ſelf much upon keeping my Word, upon making good whatſoever I promiſe to my Subjects: And I well remember when I was laſt in this Place, I promis'd that I wou'd call a Parliament as ſoon as cou'd be reaſonably expected or deſired; and truly, conſidering the Seaſon of the Year, and all that has been done ſince we parted, you cou'd not reaſonably expect to meet ſooner than now we do. If it might have been a Week ſooner, you will confeſs there was ſome Reaſon to defer it to this Day: For this Day, we may without Superſtition love one Day, prefer one Day before another, for the Memory of ſome Bleſſings that befel us that Day; and then you will not wonder that the Memory of the great Affection the whole Kingdom ſhew'd to me this Day Twelve-Month, made me deſirous to meet you again this Day, when I dare ſwear you are full of the ſame Spirit, and that it will be laſting in you. I think there are not many of you who are not particularly known to me; there are very few of whom I have not heard ſo much Good, that I am ſure, as I can be of any thing that is to come, that you will all concur with me, and that I ſhall concur with you in all Things which may advance the Peace, Plenty and Proſperity of the Nation, I ſhall be exceedingly deceiv'd elſe.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, you will find what Method I think beſt for your Proceeding, by two Bills I have caus'd to be prepar'd for you, which are for Confirmation of all that was enacted at our laſt Meeting: And above all, I muſt repeat what I ſaid when I was laſt here: *That next to the miraculous Bleſſing of God Almighty, and indeed, as an immediate Effect of that Bleſſing, I do impute the good Diſpoſition and Security we are all in, to the happy Act of* Indemnity *and* Oblivion: *That is the principal* Corner-Stone *which ſupports this excellent Building, that creates Kindneſs in us to each other, and Confidence in our joint and common Security.* I am ſure I am ſtill of the ſame Opinion, and more, if it be poſſible, of that Opinion, than I was, by the Experience I have of the Benefit of it, and from the Unreaſonableneſs of what *ſome Men* ſay againſt it, tho' I aſſure you not in my Hearing. In God's Name, provide full Remedies for any future Miſchiefs; be as ſevere as you will againſt *new Offenders*, eſpecially if they be ſo upon *Old Principles*, and pull up thoſe Principles by the Roots. But I ſhall never think him a wiſe Man, who wou'd endeavour to undermine or ſhake that Foundation of our Publick Peace, by infringing that *Act* in the leaſt Degree; or that he can be my Friend, or wiſh me well, who wou'd perſuade me ever to conſent to the Breach of a Promiſe I ſo ſolemnly made when I was abroad, and perform'd with that Solemnity; becauſe, and after I promis'd it, I cannot ſuſpect any Attempts of that kind by any Men of Merit and Virtue.

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‘ I will not conclude without telling you ſome *News*; News that I think will be very acceptable to you; and therefore I ſhou'd think my ſelf unkind and ill-natur'd, if I ſhou'd not impart it to you. I have been often put in Mind by my Friends, *That it was now high Time to Marry*; and I have thought ſo my ſelf ever ſince I came into *England*: But there appeared Difficulties enough in the Choice, tho' many Overtures have been made to me; and if I ſhou'd never marry till I cou'd make ſuch a Choice, againſt which there cou'd be no Foreſight of any Inconvenience that may enſue, you wou'd live to ſee me an old Batchelor, which I think you do not deſire to do. I can now tell you, not only that I am reſolv'd to marry, but to whom I reſolve to marry, if God pleaſe: And towards my Reſolution, I have us'd that Deliberation, and taken that Advice as I ought to do in an Affair of that Importance; and truſt me, with a full Conſideration of the Good of my Subjects in general, as of my ſelf: It is with the Daughter of *Portugal.* When I had, as well as I cou'd, weigh'd all that occur'd to me, the firſt Reſolution I took, was to ſtate the whole Overtures which had been made to me, and in Truth, all that had been ſaid againſt it, to my *Privy-Council*; without hearing whoſe Advice, I never did, nor ever will, reſolve any thing of *Publick Importance.* And I tell you with great Satisfaction and Comfort to my ſelf, that after many Hours Debate in a full Council, for I think there was not above one abſent; and truly I believe, upon all that can be ſaid upon that Subject, for or againſt it, my Lords, without one diſſenting Vote, yet there were very few ſate ſilent, adviſ'd me with all imaginable Chearfulneſs to this Marriage; which I look'd upon as very Wonderful, and even as ſome Inſtance of the Approbation of God Himſelf; and ſo took my own Reſolution, and concluded all with the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, who is departing with the whole Treaty ſign'd, which you will find to contain many great Advantages to the Kingdom: And I make all the Haſte I can to fetch you a Queen hither, who I doubt not will bring great Bleſſings with Her, to Me and You.

The Subſtance of the Chancellor's Speech.

He referr'd the reſt to the Lord Chancellor, who made an elegant Speech, too long to be inſerted but by way of Abridgment. He told them, ‘ That the King had call'd them hither by his Writ, which was the only good and lawful Way to the meeting of a Parliament; and they ought to thank God he had reſerv'd them to that Day, a Day that many good Men had dy'd praying for, that after all the Prodigies in Church and State, they had liv'd to ſee the King at the opening of the Parliament. That his Majeſty had caus'd a Bill or two to be prepared for the Confirmation of all that was enacted in the laſt Parliament; which, tho' not call'd by the King's Writ, might be reaſonably thought to have been call'd by God Himſelf, upon the Prayers of the whole Kingdom, as the only Means to reſtore the Nation to its Happineſs, to its Self, to its Honour, and even to its Innocence. That for the King after ſo many Injuries and Loſſes to have been not only willing to confirm and enact the Act of *Oblivion* and *Indemnity*, but to prepare ſuch an Act for them, to conjure them by that was precious, by their Friendſhip to him, to diſpatch thoſe Acts with Expedition, was ſuch a Piece of Fatherly Tenderneſs and Piety, as cou'd proceed from no Heart, but ſuch a one in which God had treaſur'd up a Stock of Mercy, and Juſtice and Wiſdom, to redeem a Nation. That the laſt Parliament which had done ſuch Wonders, had ſtill left great Things for them to do: They wou'd find the Revenue the laſt Parliament intended to raiſe for the King, very much ſhort of what they promis'd: They wou'd find the publick Debts for the Diſcharge of the Army and the Navy, which the laſt Parliament thought ſufficiently provided for, to be ſtill in Arrear, and unpaid. That they were now the great Phyſicians of the Kingdom; and God knows had many wayward, froward and diſtemper'd Patients; ſome who in truth were very ſick, others who thought themſelves ſicker than they were, and ſome who thought themſelves in Health, and were moſt ſick of all: They were therefore to uſe all the Diligence, Patience and Compaſſion, which good Phyſicians have for their Patients; all the Chearfulneſs, Complacency and Indulgence, their ſeveral Habits, Conſtitutions and Diſtempers might require. But there were a ſort of Patients who deſerv'd none of their Lenity; ſuch who were ſo far from valuing their Preſcriptions, that they accounted them not as their Phyſicians, but as their Patients: Theſe were the ſeditious Preachers, who cou'd not be contented to be diſpens'd with for their full Obedience to ſome Laws eſtabliſh'd, without reproaching and inveighing againſt thoſe Laws how eſtabliſh'd ſoever.’ After ſome ſevere Expreſſions againſt theſe Preachers, he told them, ‘ That when the King ſpoke laſt in this Place, he ſaid, *He ſhou'd not more propoſe to himſelf any one Rule in his*

‘ *Actions or Councils, than this: What is a Parliament like to think of this Action, or of that Counſel?* and that *it ſhou'd be want of Underſtanding in him, if it wou'd not bear that Teſt.* That in a little Time after the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, while his Majeſty accompany'd his Mother to the Sea-Side, the moſt deſperate and prodigious Rebellion broke out in this City, that had been heard of in any Age; and by the Multitude of intercepted Letters from and to all the Counties of *England*, in which the Time was ſet down wherein the *Work of the Lord* was to be done, by the deſperate Carriage of the Traytors themſelves, and the Bragging of their Friends, it might be concluded the Combination reach'd very far; and if the indefatigable Induſtry of the Lord Mayor had not prevented it, probably the Fury wou'd not have been extinguiſh'd, before this famous City, or a great Part of it, had been burnt to Aſhes: And therefore it wou'd become their Wiſdoms to provide new Remedies for new Diſeaſes, and to ſecure the precious Perſon of their Sovereign from the firſt Approaches of Villany, and the Peace of the Kingdom from the firſt Overtures of Sedition.’ Then he proceeded to ſpeak of the King's intended Marriage, which he ſaid, ‘ wou'd be the moſt grateful News that the whole Kingdom cou'd receive: That it wou'd be judg'd an irrecoverable Error in Policy, if *Portugal* ſhou'd be ſuffer'd again to be ſwallow'd up by *Spain*: That the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was ſolicitous to obſtruct the Match; and the King had not conceal'd from his Council, what that Ambaſſador had offer'd againſt this Marriage; what Proffers he had made of Others, what Threats of War in one Caſe, what Advantage of Dowry in another; nay, that he had pretended to be ſo ſolicitous for the Advancement of the *Proteſtant* Religion, that he had offer'd ſeveral *Proteſtant* Princeſſes, to whom his Maſter ſhou'd give a Portion, as with the Infanta of *Spain*: But he had withal preſs'd very earneſtly the Delivering up of *Dunkirk* and *Jamaica*; by what it was plain the *Spaniſh* King wou'd have that Recompence for the Portion he wou'd give. That there being an unanimous Advice from his Council to make this Marriage, his Majeſty had ſent for the *Portugal* Ambaſſador, had declared his Reſolution to him, had writ himſelf to *Portugal*, and was preparing his Fleet to fetch home their Queen.’ In the laſt Place he told them, ‘ There were ſome other Particulars of Weight, but he wou'd reſerve them till they met again, after they had choſen their Speaker.

Sir Edward Turner *choſen Speaker of the Commons.*

His Speech to the King.

The Houſe of Commons having the King's Licence to chuſe their Speaker, where was a noble Appearance of worthy Patriots, upon the Motion of Sir *Charles Berkley* Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold, they made Choice of the Duke of *York*'s Solicitor-General, Sir *Edward Turner*, a worthy, ingenious, and experienc'd Perſon, whoſe great Modeſty in declining the Office, heighten'd the Deſire of the Houſe for him to undertake it; and thereupon was led up to the Chair by three eminent Servants of his Majeſty, Sir *Charles Berkley*, Sir *George Carteret*, and Sir *Heneage Finch*. On the tenth of *May* he was preſented to the King in the Houſe of Peers, where having again declin'd the Office, and receiv'd an Anſwer from the Lord Chancellor that he cou'd not be excus'd, he proceeded to make a full and elegant Speech concerning the late Troubles of the Nation, and the happy Deliverance out of them, and particularly obſerv'd, ‘ That as the former Spirit of Reformation at firſt brought us into this Miſery; ſo the Spirit of Giddineſs which God ſent among our *Reformers*, at length cured us.’ Then applying himſelf to the King, he ſaid, ‘ As we have Cauſe at all Times to bleſs God, that he hath thus brought your Majeſty to your People; ſo we have juſt Cauſe at this Time to return our hearty Thanks unto your Majeſty, that you have thus brought your People to your Self. The Sun exhales the Vapours from the Earth, and then ſends them down in Showers of Plenty; ſo we joyfully find that our Obedience and Affection to your Majeſty, are return'd upon our Heads in Plenty, Peace and Protection. The laſt Meeting here in Parliament was happy in healing the bleeding Wounds of this Nation; they were bleſs'd alſo, even for their Works ſake, you ſacred Majeſty did bleſs them, and therefore they ſhall be *bleſſed to all Poſterity*. But, Sir, we hope you have a Bleſſing left for us too: That was your Parliament by *Adoption*, but this is yours by *Birth-Right*: This Parliament is *Free-Born*: I hope this Honour will beget in us an Emulation to exceed the Actions of our Predeceſſors, and not only to meet your Majeſty as our Sovereign, with the Duty of Subjects, but with the Love of Sons to a moſt indulgent Father.--- If the Affections of all *Engliſhmen* can make you Happy; if the Riches of this Nation can make you Great; if the Strength of this warlike People can make you Conſiderable at Home and Abroad, be aſſured you are the greateſt Monarch in the World. Give me Leave to double my Words and ſay it again, I wiſh my Voice cou'd reach to *Spain*, and to the *Indies* too, *You are the greateſt Monarch in the World!*’ Then he concluded with the uſual Requeſt for the Commons wonted Privileges, Freedom of Speech, Protection from Arreſts, and Acceſs to his Majeſty upon all Occaſions.

The Chancellor's ſecond Speech;

Upon the finiſhing of this, the Lord Chancellor made a ſecond Speech by way of Supplement to his former; in which he told the Speaker and the Commons, ‘ That the King had done his Part, by publiſhing the very Day he intended the Parliament ſhou'd meet, a good Time before the Writs were ſeal'd, that the Country might not be ſurpriz'd in their Elections; but that they might ſend up ſuch a Repreſentative to him as he might make a clear View and Proſpect of the Affections and Deſires of his People: And He is perſuaded that the Commons of *England* were never *more exactly repreſented* than they were in the preſent Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes.’ After that he took Notice ‘ of the great Privilege of the common People of *England* to be repreſented by the greateſt, and learnedeſt, and wealthieſt, and wiſeſt Perſons that cou'd be choſen out of the Nation: But, added he, the compounding the Commons of *England*, that noble Repreſentative, with the common People of *England*, was the firſt Ingredient of that accurſed Doſe which intoxicated the Brains of Men with that Imagination of a *Common-Wealth*; a Government as impoſſible for the Spirit and Genius of the *Engliſh* Nation to ſubmit to, as it is to perſuade them to give their Cattel and their Corn to other Men, and to live themſelves upon Herbs and Roots.’ He told them, ‘ There was not a Common-Wealth in *Europe*, where every Man that was worth one thouſand Pounds, did not pay more to the Government, than a Man of a thouſand Pounds a Year ever did to the Crown here before the late Troubles; and he was perſuaded that that Monſter *Common-Wealth* coſt this Nation more in the few Years ſhe was begot, born and brought up, and in her Funeral, than the Monarchy had done theſe ſix hundred Years.’ Then he proceeded to other Heads, and particularly urg'd them to provide againſt the exceſſive Drinking and Expences that prov'd inconvenient in Elections; and recommended to them the great Improvements to be made by draining of Fens, and the like. Laſtly he deſired them ‘ That they wou'd uſe ſuch Expedition in their Counſels of moſt Importance, that the reſt may be left to a Receſs in the Winter, after an Adjournment, that his Majeſty might have Time to beſtow himſelf upon his Subjects in a Progreſs which he wou'd be glad to begin before the End of *July*. That his Majeſty deſired again to ſee his good City of *Worceſter*, and to thank God for his Deliverance there; and to thank God even in thoſe Cottages, and Barns, and Hay-Lofts, wherein he was ſhelter'd, and feaſted, and preſerved: And in the Cloſe of that Progreſs he hopes he ſhall find his Queen in his Arms; and ſo return to meet them there in the Beginning of Winter.

Both Houſes approve the King's Marriage.

2. Theſe uſeful Ceremonies being over, the Parliament proceeded to the great Affairs of the Kingdom; and within three Days both Houſes came to a Vote and Reſolution concerning the King's intended Marriage, and accordingly attended his Majeſty at *Whitehall* with their ‘ humble Acknowledgment and Thanks for the free and gracious Communication of his Reſolution to marry with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*; which they conceiv'd to be of ſo high a Concernment to this Nation, that they receiv'd it with great Joy and Satisfaction, and did with all Earneſtneſs beg a Bleſſing upon, and a ſpeedy Accompliſhment of it; and they cou'd not but expreſs their own unanimous Reſolutions, which they were confident wou'd have a general Influence upon the Hearts of all his Subjects: That they ſhou'd upon all Occaſions be ready to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the Purſuance of theſe his Intentions againſt all Oppoſitions whatſoever.’ To which the King return'd his particular Thanks, declaring, *That he did, in the Matter of the intended Marriage, as much ſtudy their Good, as his own.*

The Loyalty of the Commons.

While this was tranſacting, the Houſe of Commons, for the greater Solemnity of their Proceedings, and to teſtify their Approbation of the eſtabliſh'd Church, order'd all their Members to receive the Sacrament according to the preſcrib'd Liturgy, within a certain Time, upon Pain of being prohibited the Houſe. Then proceeding with the ſame Zeal, and joining with the Houſe of Peers, on the 20th of *May* they order'd, ‘ That the *Inſtrument* of *Writing*, that had caus'd ſo much Miſchief, call'd, The *SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT*, ſhou'd be burnt by the Hand of the common Hang-Man, in the *Palace-Yard* at *Weſtminſter*, in *Cheapſide*, and before the *Old Exchange*, on the 22d of *May*; and be forthwith taken off the Record in the Houſe of Peers, and all other Courts and Places where the ſame is recorded; and that all Co-

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The Covenant *and other Papers burnt.*

'pies thereof be taken down out of all Churches, Chapels, and all other publick Places in *England* and *Wales*. All which was perform'd in Triumph, to the great Mortification of the Adorers of this Idol. A few Days after, *May* 28, The Act for *Erecting a HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, for Trying and Judging* Charles Stuart, was burnt by the Hands of the Common Hang-Man in the midſt of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, while the Courts were ſitting. Likewiſe the Act for *Subſcribing the ENGAGEMENT againſt a King and Houſe of Peers*; Another, for *declaring the People of* England *to be a COMMON-WEALTH and Free State*; Another, for *Renouncing the Title of* CHARLES STUART, and alſo another *for the Security of the Lord* PROTECTOR'*s Perſon*, were all burnt with the ſame ſolemn Abhorrence and Deteſtation.

Prynne *cenſur'd.*

During the Debate of the Houſe of Commons on theſe Subjects, and Matters of the like Nature, the warm Mr. *Prynne*, againſt the Privilege of the Houſe, cou'd not withhold from publiſhing certain Reaſons againſt an intended Bill for *regulating Corporations*, as contrary to *Magna Charta*; for which the Houſe cenſur'd him: But upon his Submiſſion, and Recantation, and in Conſideration of his good Services towards the King's Reſtoration, he was by the Houſe remitted of the Cenſure and Puniſhment he had incurr'd by his Overſight.

The King's Letter for Act of Indemnity.

The Commons were ſo unanimous and zealous in their Loyalty and Affections to their Soveraign, that the Republican Party began to be apprehenſive that the late *Act of Oblivion and Indemnity* wou'd not ſecure them from an After-Reckoning. They fear'd that the Validity of that Act might be queſtion'd, unleſs confirm'd, and expreſly eſtabliſh'd by the preſent Parliament; therefore they had ſolicited the King for this new Security, and he had promis'd to procure it for them. But leſt the Inclinations of the Houſe ſhou'd not ſo readily concur with the King's Deſire, upon the Importunity of thoſe who were conſcious of their Guilt and Danger, his Majeſty, on the 20th of *June*, ſent this following kind and obliging Letter to the Houſe of Commons: 'At the Opening our Parliament you were told, That we had a great Deſire this Summer to make a Progreſs through ſome Parts of our Kingdom, which we reſolve to begin in Devotion to our City of *Worceſter*, that we may pour out our Thanks to God for our Deliverance there; and the Seaſon of the Year quickens us in that Inclination, as we preſume it diſpoſes you to a Deſire to withdraw from this City, and to viſit your Countries. But you may remember we told you then, That we had caus'd ſome Bills to be prepared for you, for Confirmation of what we enacted in our laſt Meeting; and we ſaid all we cou'd to you of the Value we ſet upon the *Act of Indemnity* (as we have great Reaſon to do) and if we cou'd have us'd ſtronger Expreſſions to have conjur'd you ſpeedily to have diſpatcht it, we aſſure you we wou'd have done it. And we did think what we ſaid wou'd have made an Impreſſion in all who profeſs a Deſire to ſerve us; and therefore we expected every Day, that the ſame Bill wou'd have been preſented to us for another Aſſent. We muſt confeſs, we hear you have ſhewed great Affection to us, ſince your coming together, and that you have already prepared and paſs'd ſome very good Bills (for which we heartily thank you) that are ready for the Royal Aſſent: Yet we cannot but tell you, That tho' we are enough concern'd to expedite thoſe Bills, we have no mind to paſs them till the *Act of Indemnity* be likewiſe preſented to us, upon which, if you take our Word, moſt of our Quiet and Good depends, and in which we are ſure our Honour is concern'd. Therefore we muſt again, and as earneſtly as is poſſible, conjure you to uſe all poſſible Expedition in Paſſing that Act in the ſame Terms we already paſs'd it (to which we take our Self oblig'd) and that you will for the preſent lay aſide all private Buſineſs, that ſo betaking your ſelves only to the Publick, you may be ready to adjourn by the Middle of the next Month, which will beſt ſuit with all our Occaſions.

The Commons Care of the King's Revenues.

This Letter had the deſired Effect of prevailing with the Commons, and obliging the People; but firſt they reſolv'd to do ſomething for the King in the Matter of his Revenues, 'and to conſider of ſettling ſo much as might maintain the Splendor and Grandeur of his Kingly Office, and preſerve the Crown from Want, and from being undervalu'd by his Neighbours.' In which Sir *Philip Warwick* made a Report, That upon a full Examination he found the Cuſtoms, eſtimated at 500000 Pounds *per Annum*, wou'd fall ſhort 100000: That the Crown Lands, valu'd at 120000 Pounds *per Annum*, wou'd fall ſhort 40000: That the Exciſe, valu'd at 300000 Pounds *per Annum*, wou'd fall ſhort 50000: That the Eſtimate upon the Advance of the Queen's Joynture, at 50000 Pounds, wou'd fall ſhort 40000: That the Eſtates forfeited, eſtimated at 38000 Pounds, wou'd fall ſhort 25000: And that the Wine Licences, eſtimated at 25000 Pounds, wou'd fall ſhort 10000: The Total of the Defect was 265000 Pounds. But that no Time might be loſt, in the Point of the King's Revenues, the Commons order'd, 'That forthwith be provided a plentiful Supply for his Majeſty's preſent unavoidable great Occaſions, as well as a Settlement of a conſtant and ſtanding Revenue:' And accordingly they order'd a Bill to be brought in, 'To enable his Majeſty to ſend out Commiſſions to receive the free and voluntary Contributions of his People, towards the preſent Supply of his Majeſty's Affairs, *&c.*'

The Speaker's Speech to the King.

Having finiſh'd this, and afterwards the Bill for Confirmation of the Act of *Oblivion and Indemnity*, on the 8th Day of *July* the King came to the Houſe of Peers, where being ſeated on his Throne, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, among other things, ſpoke thus to his Majeſty: 'Your Majeſty was pleas'd, at the Opening of the Parliament, to recommend unto us two Bills; one for Confirmation of publick Acts, another for the private Acts that paſſed the laſt Parliament: They were ſo many in Number, and great in Weight, that hitherto we cou'd not conſider of them all; but ſome we have peruſed, as the Act for *Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings*, that for *taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries*, and alſo all thoſe that relate to your Majeſty's *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſe*. And that we might with ſome Chearfulneſs ſee your Majeſty's Face, we have brought our Brother *Benjamin* with us, I mean Your *Act of Oblivion*. I take the Boldneſs to call it *Yours*, for ſo it is by many Titles: Your Majeſty firſt conceiv'd it at *Breda*, you help'd to contrive and form it here in *England*, and we muſt all bear you Witneſs, you labour'd and travell'd till it was brought forth: And ſince it had a Being, ſome Queſtion being made of its *Legitimation*, your Royal Heart is not at Eaſe until it be confirm'd. And now, Sir, give me Leave to ſay, By the Suffrage of a Full, a Free, and Legal Parliament, it is preſented to your Majeſty to be *naturaliz'd*. Your Majeſty's Deſires are fully anſwer'd by all the Repreſentatives of the People; and their hearty Prayer to God is, That all your Subjects may be truly thankful to you, and that your Majeſty may long live to enjoy the Fruits of the *unparallel'd Mercy*. Your Majeſty was pleas'd lately to intimate to us, *That you ſo valu'd the Quiet and Satisfaction of your People, and the Keeping of your Royal Word, that tho' divers other Bills were made ready for you, you wou'd vouchſafe the Honour to this Bill alone, your Favourite, to come and paſs it.* Sir, hereby you have made this a great *Holiday*, and we ſhall obſerve it with Joy and Thankſgiving. Upon ſuch ſolemn Feſtivals, there us'd to be a ſecond Service, and Anthem, and a Collect, or at leaſt an Offering: My Anthem ſhall be, *Quid tibi retribuam Domine*? and my Collect *A ſhort Report of your Revenue.*' Then mentioning the King's Patience, Providence, and Frugality abroad, in not bringing home any Debts for the Nation to pay, *&c.* he thus concluded: 'The Commons of *England* do by me their Servant humbly preſent you with this Bill, intitled, *An Act for a free and voluntary Preſent*, and wiſh it a Succeſs anſwerable to your Royal Heart's Deſire.

The King's Speech at his paſſing two Bills.

In the paſſing of the two Bills mention'd in the Speaker's Speech, the King himſelf ſpoke as follows: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, It is a good Time ſince I heard of your paſſing this Bill of Money, and I am ſure you wou'd have preſented it to me ſooner, if you had thought I had deſired it; but the Truth is, tho' I had need enough of it, I had no Mind to receive it from you, till I might at the ſame time give my Aſſent to this other very good Bill that accompanies it, for which I long'd very impatiently. I thank you for both with all my Heart; and tho' there are other good Bills ready, with which you will eaſily believe I am very well pleas'd, and in which I am indeed enough concern'd, yet I choſe rather to paſs theſe two Bills together, and to paſs them by themſelves without any other, that you may all ſee, and in you the whole Kingdom, *that I am at leaſt equally concern'd for You and them, as for my Self:* And in Truth it will be want of Judgment in me, if ever I deſire any thing for my ſelf, that is not equally good for you and them. I am confident you will believe that my Well-Being is of ſome Uſe and Benefit to you, and I am ſure your Well-Being, and being well pleas'd, is the greateſt Comfort and Bleſſing I can receive in the World. I hope you will be ready within a few Days to diſpatch thoſe other publick Bills which are ſtill depending before you, that I may come hither and paſs all together, and then adjourn till Winter, when what remains may be provided for. The laſt Parliament by God's Bleſſing laid the Foundation of the Happineſs we all enjoy; therefore I thought it but Juſtice to the Memory of it, to ſend you Bills for the *Confirmation* of what was then enacted; and I cannot doubt but you will diſpatch what remains of that

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kind with all convenient Speed; and that you will think, that what was then thought neceſſary for the publick Peace, ought not to be ſhaken now, or any good Man leſs ſecure of what he poſſeſſes, than he was when you came together. It is to put my ſelf in mind, as well as you, that I ſo often mention to you my *Declaration* from *Breda:* And let me put you in mind of another *Declaration* publiſh'd by your ſelves about the ſame Time, and which I am perſuaded made mine the more effectual, an honeſt, generous, and chriſtian *Declaration*, ſign'd by the moſt eminent Perſons, who had been the moſt eminent Sufferers, in which you *renounc'd all former Animoſities, all Memory of former Unkindneſſes, vow'd all imaginable Good-Will to and all Confidence in each other.* Therefore let it be in no Man's Power to charge Me or You with Breach of our Word or Promiſe: Let us look forwards, and not backwards, and never think of what is paſs'd, except Men put us in mind of it by repeated Faults we had forgot, and then let us remember no more than what concerns thoſe very Perſons. God hath wrought a wonderful Miracle in ſettling us as he hath done; I pray let us do all we can to get the Reputation at Home and Abroad of being well ſettled. We have Enemies and Envyers enough, who labour to have it thought otherwiſe; and if we wou'd indeed have our Enemies fear us, and our Neighbours love and reſpect us, and fear us enough to love us, let us take all the Ways we can, that as the World cannot but take Notice of your extraordinary Affection to me, and of the Comfort I take in that Affection, ſo that it may likewiſe take Notice of your Affection to, and Confidence in each other; which will diſappoint all Deſigns againſt the publick Peace, and fully eſtabliſh our joint Security.'

Proceedings againſt ſome of the Regicides.

3. All this Time the Parliament proceeded with Vigour in finiſhing the other Bills projected and intended; and tho' the *Act of Indemnity* was the King's Favourite *Act*, yet they reſolv'd to conſider the Honour of his injur'd Father in ſome Particulars, and ſo proceeded to the Confiſcation of the Eſtates of twenty one Regicides deceas'd, *viz. Pelham*, *Skippon*, *Edwards*, *Conſtable*, *Dean*, *Danvers*, *Moore*, *Alured*, *Stapeley*, *Frye*, *Allen*, *Maleverer*, *Blakeſtone*, *Hammond*, *Bourchier*, *Horton*, *Purefoy*, *Norton*, *Ewer*, *Ven*, and *Andrews*. They likewiſe order'd the Lord *Mounſon*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, and Mr. *Robert Wallop*, who had been favour'd, as the others had been reſerv'd in the Act of *Indemnity*, to be brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Commons; where confeſſing their Crimes, a Bill was order'd to be brought in to confiſcate their Eſtates, as alſo Sir *James Harrington* and *John Phelps*, not yet apprehended: And it was farther order'd, ‘That the Lord *Mounſon*, Sir *James Harrington*, and Sir *Henry Mildmay* ſhou'd be degraded of their ſeveral Honours and Titles; and that thoſe now in Cuſtody, and the other two, when apprehended, ſhou'd all be drawn upon Sledges with Ropes about their Necks, from the *Tower* of *London* to, and under the Gallows at *Tyburn*, and thence convey'd back to the *Tower*, there to remain Priſoners during their Lives.' Which Sentences were ſolemnly executed upon the 30th of *January* following.

The Speaker's Speech at the Breaking up of the Parliament.

As much Buſineſs being effected, and as many Acts prepared as cou'd well be compleated in a limited Time, the King came to the Houſe of Peers on the 30th Day of *July*, when he thought a Receſs very neceſſary. Being ſeated on his Throne, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons preſented the ſeveral Bills for the Royal Aſſent, the Nature of which will be beſt underſtood by giving the Subſtance of his Speech to his Majeſty: ‘Your loyal Houſe of Commons have with unwearied Labour conſulted for the Service of your Majeſty, and the Good of this Nation; and now the Fields grow white to Harveſt. In the great Field of Nature all Fruits do not grow ripe together, but ſome in one Month, ſome in another: So it is in the Courſe of our Proceedings; ſome of our Fruits are in the Bloſſom, when others are in the Bud; ſome are near ripe, and others fit to be preſented to your Majeſty. Amongſt the Number of our choiceſt ripe Fruits, we firſt preſent you with a *Bill for the Safety and Preſervation of your Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Government*; wherein we deſire it may be enacted, *That if any Perſon ſhall compaſs, imagine, or deſign your Majeſty's Death, Deſtruction, or bodily Harm, to impriſon or reſtrain your Royal Perſon, or depoſe you, or ſhall levy War againſt your Majeſty, within or without your Realm, or ſtir up any foreign Power to invade you, and ſhall declare or expreſs ſuch his wicked Intention by Printing, Writing, Preaching, or malicious and adviſed Speaking, being thereof legally convicted, ſhall be adjudg'd a Traytor.* And becauſe much of our late Miſery took its Riſe from ſeditious Pamphlets, and Speeches from the Pulpits, it is provided, *That if any Man ſhall maliciouſly and adviſedly publiſh or affirm your Majeſty to be an* Heretick, *or a* Papiſt, *or that you endeavour to introduce* Popery, *or ſhall ſtir up the People to Hatred or Diſlike of your Royal Perſon or Government, then every ſuch Perſon ſhall be made incapable of any Office or Imployment, either in Church or State.* And if any Man ſhall maliciouſly and adviſedly affirm, *That the Parliament begun in* Weſtminſter *the 3d of* November 1640 *is yet in Being, or that any* Covenant *or* Engagement, *ſince that Time impos'd upon the People, doth oblige them to endeavour a* Change *of the Government either in* Church *or* State; *or that Either, or Both Houſes of Parliament have a* Legiſlative Power *without your Majeſty, then every ſuch Offender, being thereof legally convict, ſhall incur the Penalties of a* Premunire, *mention'd in the Statute made 16th of* Richard II.

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‘In the next Place, Sir, give me Leave, I beſeech you, without any Violence to the *Act of Oblivion*, to remember a ſad Effect of the Diſtempers in the laſt Age: When the Feaver began to ſeize upon the People, they were impatient till they loſt ſome Blood: The *Lords Spiritual*, who in all Ages had enjoy'd a Place in Parliament, were by an Act of Parliament excluded. Your Majeſty's Royal Grandfather was wont to ſay, *No Biſhop no King*: We found his Words true; for after they were put out, the Feaver ſtill increaſing, in another Fit the Temporal Lords follow'd, and the King himſelf: Nor did the Humour reſt there, but in the Round, the Houſe of Commons was firſt garbled, and then turn'd out of Doors. It is no Wonder, when a Sword is put into a Mad-man's Hand, to ſee him cut off Limb by Limb, and then to kill himſelf. Your Majeſty is now happily reſtored to the Government, the Temporal Lords and Commons are reſtored to their Seats in Parliament, and ſhall the Church alone ſuffer? *Sit Eccleſia* Anglicana *libera, & habeat Libertates ſuas illæſas!* In order to this great Work, the Commons have prepared a Bill to *repeal the Law made in the 17th Car.* whereby the Biſhops were excluded this Houſe. Theſe noble Lords have all agreed, and now we beg your Majeſty will give it Life: *Speak but the Word, Great Sir, and your Servants yet ſhall live.*

‘We cannot forget the Method, how our late Miſeries, like Waves of the Sea, came in upon us: Firſt the People were invited to *Petition*, to give Colour to ſome illegal Demands; then they muſt *Remonſtrate*; then they muſt *Proteſt*; then they muſt *Covenant*; then they muſt *Aſſociate*; then they muſt *Engage* againſt our lawful Government, and for the Maintenance of the moſt horrid Tyranny that ever was invented. For the Prevention of this Practice for the future, we do humbly tender to your Majeſty a Bill entitled, *An Act againſt Tumults and Diſorders, upon Pretence of preparing or preſenting publick Petitions or Addreſſes to your Majeſty or the Parliament.* In the next Place we hold it our Duty to undeceive the People, who have been poyſon'd with an Opinion, *That the Militia of this Nation was in Themſelves, or in their Repreſentatives in Parliament:* And according to the ancient known Laws we have declared *the ſole Right of the Militia to be in your Majeſty.* And foraſmuch as our Time hath not permitted us to finiſh a Bill intended for the future ordering of the ſame, we ſhall preſent you with a Temporary Bill, for the *preſent managing and diſpoſing of the Land Forces:* And likewiſe another Bill, for *the eſtabliſhing certain Orders for the Regulation and Government of your Majeſty's Navies and Forces by Sea.* According to your Majeſty's Commands, we have examin'd many of the publick and private Bills which paſs'd laſt Parliament, and have prepared ſome Bills of Confirmation. We have alſo aſcertained the *Pains and Penalties to be impos'd upon the Perſons or Eſtates of thoſe Miſcreants who had a Hand in the Murder of your Royal Father of bleſſed Memory*, and were excepted in your Majeſty's *Act of Oblivion:* Wherein we have declared to all the World, how juſt an Indignation we had againſt that *horrid Regicide.* We have likewiſe prepared a Bill for the *Collection of great Arrears of the Duty of Exciſe*, which I do here, in the Name of the Commons of *England*, preſent unto your Majeſty.-----Your Majeſty was pleas'd, at the Opening of the Parliament, to tell us *you intended this Summer to take a Progreſs, and ſee your People, and at your Return hop'd to bring a Queen home with you.* Sir, this welcome News hath made us caſt about all Ways for your Accommodation; and therefore that no Conveniencies might be wanting for your Self, your Queen, or Attendants, we have prepared a Bill intitled, *An Act for providing neceſſary Carriages in all your Royal Progreſſes and Removals.* Your Majeſty was likewiſe pleas'd at our firſt Meeting, to ſay, *You wou'd not tire us with hard Duty, and therefore about this Time intended a Receſs.* That Royal Favour will now be ſeaſonable, and we hope advantageous to your Majeſty, and our ſelves. We know in our Abſence your Princely Heart and Head will not be free from Cares and Thoughts of our Protection: And when we leave

‘ our Hive, like the induſtrious Bee, we ſhall but fly about the ſeveral Countries of the Nation to gather *Honey*; and when your Majeſty ſhall be pleas’d to name the Time, return with loaded Thighs unto our Houſe again.’

The King’s Speech at the ſame Time.

At the paſſing of the afore-mention’d Bills, the King made this following Speech, which cannot conveniently be abridg’d: ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I perceive by the thin Appearance of the Members of both Houſes this Day, that it is high Time to Adjourn: In Truth, the Seaſon of the Year, as well as your particular Affairs, require it, and therefore I do willingly conſent to it. I thank you for the many Bills you have preſented me with this Day, of which I hope the Benefit will redound to the whole Kingdom. I thank you for the Care you have taken for the *Safety of my Perſon*; which, truſt Me, is the more valuable to Me, for the Conſequence I think it is of to you, and, upon my Conſcience, there is no Body wiſhes ill to Me, but they who wou’d quickly revenge themſelves of You, if they cou’d. I thank you for the Care you have taken of Your Selves, of your own Safety and Honour, in the Act *againſt Tumults and Diſorders* upon Pretence of Petitions; to which Licence we owe much of the Calamities we have undergone: But I thank you with all my Heart, indeed as much as I can do for any Thing, for the Repeal of that Act which *Excluded the Biſhops from Parliament:* It was an unhappy Act in an unhappy Time, paſs’d with many unhappy Circumſtances, and attended with miſerable Events, and therefore I do again thank you for Repealing it. You have thereby reſtored Parliaments to their Primitive Inſtitutions; and I hope, *my Lords and Gentlemen*, you will in a ſhort Time reſtore them to the Primitive Order, and Gravity of Debates and Determinations, which the Licence of the late diſtemper’d Times had ſo much corrupted; which is the only Way to reſtore Parliaments to their Primitive Veneration with the People, which I heartily wiſh they ſhou’d always have.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, You are now going to your ſeveral Countries, where you cannot but be welcome for the Services you have perform’d here: I do very earneſtly recommend the good Government and Peace of your Countries to your Care, and your Counſel, and your Vigilance. There are diſtemper’d Spirits enough, which lie in wait to do Miſchief, by laying Reproaches upon the Court, upon the Government, Reproaches upon Me, and Reproaches upon You; your Wiſdoms and Reputations, and Authority will, I doubt not, weigh down their light Credit; and the old and new good Laws will, I hope, prevent any Miſchief they intend. However you have done very well, and I do very heartily thank you for it, in declaring my ſole Right over the *Militia*, the Queſtioning of which was the Fountain from which all our bitter Waters flow’d. I pray make haſte to put the whole Kingdom into ſuch a Poſture, that evil Men, who will not be converted, may yet chuſe to be quiet, becauſe they find that they ſhall not be able to do the Harm they deſire to do. I know you have begun many Bills in both Houſes which cannot be finiſh’d till your Meeting again; and that they may be finiſh’d then, I forbear to make a *Seſſions* now, but am contented that you adjourn till the twentieth of *November*, when I hope, by God’s Bleſſing, we ſhall come happily together again. In a Word, *my Lords and Gentlemen*, I thank you for what you have done, and am confident, that what you have left undone you will diſpatch with all Alacrity, and to all our Satisfactions at our next Meeting: And ſo you may adjourn till the twentieth of *November*.’ And thus ended the firſt Meeting of the ſecond Parliament of this Reign, after it had ſat with great Satisfaction to the King and Kingdom two Months, three Weeks, and one Day.

The End of the Firſt Meeting of the Second Parliament.

4. At the Summoning this Parliament, the Church was not perfectly re-eſtabliſh’d; and the King having granted a *Commiſſion* to Divines of both Parties to treat of an Union at the *Savoy*, as is remember’d, the Court had once almoſt reſolv’d not to call a *Convocation* with the Parliament, as was uſually done. But before the Matter was fully ſettled the learned Dr. *Heylin* wrote a Letter to a principal Miniſter to ſolicit the King, That the Clergy might be continu’d in their ancient Privilege of holding *Synods:* of which ſome Part ought to be here mention’d: ‘ If ’tis objected, That the *Commiſſion*, now on foot, *for altering and explaining certain Paſſages in the Publick Liturgy*, may either paſs inſtead of a *Convocation*, or is thought to be neither compatible nor conſiſtent with it; I hope better in the One, and I can ſee no Reaſon in the Other. For firſt, the ſelecting ſome few Biſhops and other learned Men of the lower Clergy, to debate on certain Points contain’d in the *Common-Prayer-Book*, is not intended for a *Repreſentation of the Church of* England, which is a Body more diffuſed, and cannot legally ſtand bound by their Acts. And if this *Conference* be for no other Purpoſe, but only to prepare Matters for the *Convocation*, why may not ſuch a *Conference* and *Convocation* be held at once? For neither the ſelecting of ſome learned Men out of both the *Orders* for the compoſing and reviewing the two *Liturgies* in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, prov’d any Hindrance to thoſe *Convocations* held in the ſeveral Years of that Reign. Nor did the holding of a *Convocation* together with the firſt Parliament under Queen *Elizabeth*, prove any Hindrance to that *Conference* or *Diſputation* which was deſign’d between the Biſhops and ſome learned Men of the oppoſite Parties. All which conſider’d, I do moſt humbly beg your Lordſhip to put his Majeſty in mind of ſending out his *Mandates* to the two Arch-Biſhops for Summoning a *Convocation*, according to the uſual Form; that this poor Church may be beheld with ſome degree of Veneration, both at Home and Abroad.’ Upon the Strength of theſe Arguments, and the Seaſonableneſs of this Application, the King, as it is ſaid, thought fit to diſpatch his *Mandates* for a *Convocation* in each Province; the *Writs* for ſummoning the Parliament having been iſſu’d ſome unuſual Time before.

Proceedings of the Convocation.

The 8th of *May*, which was the Day of the Meeting of the Parliament, was alſo that of the Convocation, which was ſolemnly open’d at St. *Pauls* by Divine Service and a *Latin* Sermon preach’d by Dr. *Thomas Pierce*, upon a very healing and accommodating Subject; which ſoon after was ſucceeded by the Election and Confirmation of a Prolocutor for the lower Houſe, Dr. *Henry Fearne*, Dean of *Ely*. But the Buſineſs they did, during the Sitting of the Parliament, was much the leſs, by reaſon of the fore-mention’d Meeting and Conference of the *Savoy*; from which many things were expected proper to be tranſmitted to them. However they proceeded to draw up a ſolemn Thankſgiving for the King’s Birth-day and Reſtoration, the 29th of *May*; and another ſpecial Form of Prayer to be us’d on that Calamitous Day, the 30th of *January*. Which done, the Preſident intimated to the Aſſembly the Want of a particular Form in the Liturgy *For the Miniſtration of Baptiſm to thoſe of riper Years*; and referr’d it to a ſelect Committee of both Houſes. They likewiſe proceeded to examine the Canons already made, and to conſider of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and the Regulation of Spiritual Courts and Officers; as alſo to form a *Book of Articles of Enquiry* to be us’d in the Viſitation of every Biſhop, with ſome other leſſer Matters. Laſtly, ſince the granting of Mony was then their inherent Right, they made a particular Subſcription for a Royal *Benevolence* to be preſented to the King; and ſo broke up at the ſame Time with the Parliament.

Proceedings in Scotland.

VII. 1. While Affairs were carry’d with ſo much Eaſe and Succeſs in *England*, the Parliament in *Scotland* proceeded with no leſs Satisfaction to the Court and loyal Party. And firſt they proceeded to reſcind that great Engine of Trouble and Confuſion, *The Solemn and League and Covenant*; in which Caſe they expreſly declar’d, ‘ That there is no Obligation upon this Kingdom by *Covenant*, *Treaties*, or otherwiſe, to endeavour by Arms a Reformation of Religion in the Kingdom of *England*, or to meddle with the Government or Adminiſtration of that Kingdom.’ They commanded, ‘ That none of his Majeſty’s Subjects preſume, upon any Pretext of any Authority whatſoever, to require a Renewing or Swearing to the ſaid *League and Covenant*, or any other *Covenants* or publick *Oaths* concerning the Government of the Church or Kingdom, without his Majeſty’s ſpecial Warrant and Approbation.’ They next proceeded to declare the Power of the *Militia* to be in the King’s Majeſty alone; and after that they put a particular Brand upon the Act of the 16th of *January* 1647, which related to the Sale and Diſpoſal of the King’s Perſon, and declared ‘ That it was carry’d on and concluded by a prevalent Party, againſt the Judgment of many of his Majeſty’s Loyal Subjects; And that it was a moſt ſinful, diſloyal, and unworthy Act, contrary to the Will and Commandment of God; contrary to all Laws, Divine and Humane; contrary to the Duty and Allegiance of Subjects; contrary to all the Rules of Juſtice, Honour, Gratitude and Humanity, and highly reflecting on the Honour of this ancient Kingdom, and the Reputation of his Majeſty’s good Subjects therein. And therefore they do hereby Annull and Condemn the ſame for ever; and Ordain it to be expung’d out of all Records, and never to be remember’d again, but with due Abhorrence and Deteſtation.

Epiſcopacy there reviv’d.

Epiſcopacy likewiſe reviv’d in this Kingdom, as well as in *England:* In order to which Mr. *James Sharp*, Mr. *Hamilton*, Mr. *Barwell* and Mr. *Leighton*, all in *Presbyterian* Orders, came to *London*; where after being ordain’d Deacons and Prieſts, they were conſecrated Biſhops by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with the Aſſiſtance of two other *Engliſh* Prelates. At the Solemnity, they expreſly diſclaim’d the Validity of their former Ordination; and likewiſe pro-

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cured a Proclamation, declaring the King's Pleaſure for reſtoring the Government of the Church by Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, as it was eſtabliſh'd in the Year 1637. It was likewiſe ſignify'd in this *Inſtrument*, That his Majeſty had nominated Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops to their reſpective Sees, to exerciſe the ſame Authority, with which the Prelates govern'd that Church in the Reign of his Royal Grand-Father. Purſuant to this Proclamation, the Privy-Council of *Scotland* ſtrictly diſcharg'd all Eccleſiaſtical Meetings at *Synods*, *Presbyteries*, &c. till they ſhou'd be authoriz'd by the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops. Not long after, on the 8th Day of *May*, the Reſtoration of Epiſcopacy was confirm'd by Act of Parliament. The Preamble of which Act ſets forth, 'That in the Beginning of, and by the late Rebellion within this Kingdom, in the Year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty ſeven, the ancient and ſacred Order of Biſhops was cut off; their Perſons and Rights were injured and overturn'd, and a ſeeming Parity among the Clergy factiouſly and violently brought in, to the great Diſturbance of the *Publick Peace*, the Reproach of the *Reformed Religion*, and Violation of the Excellent *Laws of the Realm*, for Preſerving an *Orderly Subordination* in the Church, *&c.*' Another Statute was made, which Enacted Obedience from the inferior Clergy to their Dioceſans, and likewiſe prohibited all *Meetings* or *Conventicles* in Houſes for Religious Exerciſes. Another Act was made for Reviving the Right of *Patronages* which had been ſeiz'd by the *Presbyterian* Party. Beſides all theſe, Proviſion was made by another Act, that all Perſons in Publick Truſt or Office ſhou'd Sign a ſolemn Declaration againſt the *National Covenant* in 1638, and the *Solemn League and Covenant* in 1643; in which they declared it *unlawful to Subjects*, *upon Pretence of* Reformation, *or other Pretence whatſoever*, *to enter into* Leagues *and* Covenants, *or take up Arms againſt the King*, *or thoſe Commiſſion'd by Him*, &c.

And eſtabliſh'd.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſeveral Laws, Mercy was ſhewn to innumerable Offenders here, as well as in *England:* Only ſome few were excepted; more particularly the famous Marqueſs of *Argyle*, who had been ſo deeply ingag'd in the late Miſeries, and of whom much has been ſaid in the former Volume of this Hiſtory. Being brought before the Parliament, and many Articles of High-Treaſon exhibited againſt him, he made a long and ſubtle Defence; and afterwards preſented a Paper call'd *a Submiſſion to the King's Majeſty*; in which he acknowledg'd his Treſpaſſes in General, and ſaid, *That he had rather lye at the Mercy of the Prince, than plead any Thing tending to his own Juſtification.* This Paper was rejected, as being not fully ſubmiſſive and ſatisfactory, in regard he acknowledg'd *no Treaſonable Guilt* in it; but extenuating his Crimes he call'd them *only Treſpaſſes, either through the Fatality or Neceſſity of the Times, wherein many others were involv'd as well as he.* He afterwards pleaded, 'That ſince his Majeſty in the Year 1641 had ratify'd in Parliament Things that he now ſtood indicted for, he ought not to be queſtion'd for them, and hoped that none thirſted after his Life or Eſtate; *for his Life wou'd little avail them, and his Eſtate wou'd be but of ſmall Value, when every Man had his own.*' But they prov'd ſeveral Treaſonable Actings after that Year, and likewiſe ſome Expreſſions that aggravated his Crimes; as particularly he had diſſuaded the *Presbyterians*, both in *Scotland* and in *London*, not to pray for the King, *as One whom God had rejected*; and that he had ſaid, *If all were to do, that are done in theſe paſt Times, he wou'd do them over again.* After all his Apologies, in which he ſhew'd he cou'd fence well, he was found guilty of High-Treaſon, condemn'd to be beheaded, and his Head plac'd on the *Tol-Booth*, in the Room of that of his great Enemy the renowned Marqueſs of *Montroſs*. Being brought to the Scaffold on the 28th Day of *May*, he made there a ſhort Speech, in which he deny'd all Treaſon againſt his Majeſty, *and much rejoyc'd that he was reſtored:* He confeſs'd *he had us'd Compliance with the* Engliſh, *but not to extirpate the King and his Family, but, as others of that Nation did, to ſecure his Eſtate.* He likewiſe declared himſelf a great Friend to the *Covenant*; and at laſt tearing his written Speech into ſix Parts, and giving it to ſix Friends, he ſubmitted his Head to the Block, upon which Head the Blood of ſeveral was thought to lie heavy. Sure it was no ſmall Mortification to him to ſee the Funeral of the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* ſolemniz'd in *Edinburgh*, a few Days before he ſuffer'd, by Order of the Government, with a Pomp and Magnificence not inferior to that of a King.

Proceedings againſt the Marqueſs of Argyle.

He is beheaded.

2. To return to *England*, in the like manner as the great *Montroſs* had been interr'd, ſo with proportionable Solemnity the two moſt loyal Commanders Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle* were re-interr'd at *Colcheſter*, the 7th of *June*, the ſame Day thirteen Years they took up Arms for the King in that Town, which they nobly defended to the laſt. The neighbouring Gentry and Townſ-Men, in Arms and deep Mourning, in a noble Proceſſion attended their Hearſes; and both Corps were depoſited in a Vault ſet apart for the Burying Place of Sir *Charles*'s Family. His Majeſty very much promoted all ſuch honourable Remembrances; but either did not, or cou'd not do much for that Party that had been ſuch ſignal Sufferers for his Perſon and Cauſe. He had once reſolv'd this Year upon a Summer Progreſs, and more eſpecially to *Worceſter*, and to the *Royal-Oak*, that he might the better manifeſt the Senſe of his Deliverance, and teſtify his Gratitude and Acknowledgments in thoſe Parts. In order to which his Tent-Office was held at *Clarken-Well-Green*, to prepare all Things for his Equipage and Accommodation. But either Cares, Buſineſs, or Pleaſures intervening, the Progreſs was deferr'd till another Summer, and then not made. However the principal Inſtruments of his wonderful Eſcape were not forgotten: The Parliament took Notice of ſome of them, and particularly allow'd a thouſand Pounds to Mrs. *Jane Lane*; and the *Penderels*, thoſe faithful Brothers, waiting upon his Majeſty, were diſmiſs'd with a Princely Reward.

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Yet ſtill the Cavalier Party had too much Reaſon to complain of the Hardſhips they labour'd under from the Neglect of the Government; and this very Year they were not ſparing of their Exclamations againſt many that were encourag'd and favour'd by the King, and againſt ſeveral Preachers who had ſhewn themſelves ungratefully diſſatisfy'd with the preſent Eſtabliſhment. In the Month of *Auguſt* a notable Book was publiſh'd by Mr. *Leſtrange* in Favour of the diſtreſſed Cavaliers; which took ſo wonderfully in the Nation, and contain'd ſo many bold Truths, that it will not be improper here to inſert ſome few Paſſages, leaving the Reader to make Allowance for the Vehemence of his Stile. He declar'd, 'That he verily believ'd the King was betray'd; That many of his Favours were ſurreptitiouſly obtain'd, and others abus'd and miſapply'd by ſecond Hands, that were entruſted to diſpoſe of them better.' He likewiſe ſaid, 'He that ſaw *Cromwell*'s, *Bradſhaw*'s, and *Saint John*'s Creatures, nay and the meaneſt of them, laden with Offices and Honours, might give himſelf a ſecond Thought to underſtand the Meaning of it: Eſpecially conſidering how many Thouſands of loyal Subjects were ready to periſh for want of That, which was ſuperfluouſly ſcatter'd among ſcarce ſo many ſingle Perſons on the other Side.' He then laid down one General Rule for his Majeſty to obſerve: '*The Prince who pinches his Subjects Bellies, will loſe their Hearts:* And Sir *Francis Bacon* obſerv'd, *That the Multiplying of the Nobility, and other Degrees of Quality, doth ſpeedily bring a State to Neceſſity:* Which becomes yet more dangerous, where it happens that the ancient Nobility is ſhrunk into Nothing, and the new Nobility are rais'd out of Nothing.' In other Places he tells us, 'The Court was dangerouſly throng'd with Paraſites; Knaves repreſented to the King for honeſt Men, and honeſt Men for Villains; a Watch upon the King's Ear, to keep out better Information; ſeditious Miniſters protected and encourag'd; Libels againſt the King's Authority and Perſon diſpers'd even by his Majeſty's ſworn Servants; and to diſcover Treaſon, was, in ſome Reſpects, more hazardous, than to commit it.' Afterwards ſpeaking of the *Act of Indemnity*, he declar'd, 'That Act made the Enemies to the Conſtitution Maſters, in effect, of the Booty of three Nations, bating the Crown and Church Lands, all which they might now call their own; while thoſe who ſtood up for the Laws, were by theſe People abandon'd to the Comfort of an irreparable, but an honourable Ruin.' Then ſpeaking of many of the preſent Preachers, and the *Non-Conformiſts* in General, he ſays, 'As to their Numbers, upon a moderate Calculation there wou'd ariſe at leaſt Thirty againſt One throughout the Nation; even in *Covent-Garden*, a Pariſh of the *Geneva* Stamp, the Odds was little leſs, betwixt the late Petitioners for the *Common-Prayer*, and the Oppoſers of it. And yet ſtill the Pulpits were profaned by unqualify'd and ſeditious *Lecturers*, and Thoſe too out of the rankeſt of the old Separatiſts, both *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, the better to advance the Common Work of ſtirring up the Rabble againſt his Sacred Majeſty; whom they more than covertly aſperſe with *Rottenneſs of Heart*; preſſing the Calamities of the Nation, and the Danger of *Perſecution*, ſo cloſe and home to the People, as if the Knife were already at their Throats. They pray for the King's Converſion, rather than his Eſtabliſhment. *Hancock* prays, *Give the King another*, *a* New *Heart*, *Lord!* *Mead* ſeconds him with a Word of Conſolation; *Ye do not know what a* Year, *nay what a MONTH may bring forth:* This laſt was repeated ſo often, and with ſuch an Accent, that it look'd more like the Timing of a *Plot*, than Preſſing of a *Duty*. Theſe Lecturers, he ſaid, were increas'd, both in Number and Boldneſs, to a moſt ſcandalous and prodigious Degree, even ſince the late Receſs of the Parliament, not only to the Hazard of

Great Complaints of the Cavaliers.

‘the Publick Peace, but to the Diſhonour of the *Engliſh* Church.’ In Sum, he very freely declar’d his Thoughts, and let his Majeſty know, ‘*That miſ-plac’d Mercy was his Father’s Ruin.*

A noiſe of Plots, &c.

However, about this Time there was a great Noiſe of Projects and Plots carry’d on by a reſtleſs Party; which, ſeveral ſay, was an Invention to take Advantage againſt them. *Heath* tells us, That the good Progreſs made by this Parliament highly rais’d the Diſcontents of the late *Anarchy*; and their Anger ſuggeſting ſome Hopes of undoing all, they parted themſelves, becauſe they ſaw the *Presbyterians* concern’d, who either muſt comply, or ſuffer with them by ſuch Proceedings: And therefore new Deſigns were thought of, and divers Conſpiracies fram’d, and Councils and Meetings held by ſeveral of that Party, who were afterwards taken into Cuſtody, after they had vainly endeavour’d and projected new Troubles; ſuch were *Praiſe-God Barebone*, *Samuel Moyer*, Colonel *Salmon*, Major *Wildman*, late Alderman *Ireton*, Major *Hains*, and others. The *Presbyterian* Defenders alledge that theſe were only ſham Plots to help forwards the ſevere Act of *Uniformity* then in *Embryo*; but others believe the Contrary. We cannot fully determine a Matter that at this Time wants ſo much Light: We only take Notice that the People generally believ’d them to be true; and they are always ready to believe the worſt of ſuch as have once given them Occaſion.

Thus ſtood the Affairs of the Nation at the ſecond Meeting of the Parliament; about which Time the remaining Regicides were ſent away from the *Tower* to remote Priſons, in Caſtles and Iſlands, there to continue for Life. But before we proceed to the Parliament, we ſhall juſt take Notice of the Motions of our Fleet, now under the Command of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who ſet Sail with his Vice-Admiral Sir *John Lawſon*, on the 19th of *June*, toward the *Streights*, to reduce the Pirates who had much obſtructed the *Engliſh* Trade and Navigation. On *July* the 29th he came before the Port of *Algier*, and ſent a Meſſage to the *Dey* of that Place, to come out and confirm the League formerly made with *England*. A Treaty accordingly began, but the *Algerines* appear’d ſo inſolent in their Terms, that the Admiral weigh’d and ſtood into their Harbour, but found it ſo well ſecur’d by a new Mole, with Forts and Batteries, that after firing ſome Ships, and ſtriking the Town into a great Conſternation, he found it adviſible to bring off the Fleet, which had ſuffer’d extreamly in their Sails and Rigging: Then, leaving Sir *John Lawſon* to block them up, he ſet Sail with part of the Fleet to the Coaſt of *Spain*; from thence croſſing to *Tangier*, he return’d back to *Liſbon*, according to his firſt Orders. The old Republicans made their envious and ſeditious Remarks, That the Naval Power of *England* wou’d never be ſo formidable under Monarchy, as it had been under a Common-Wealth.

The Motions of the Fleet.

The SECOND SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

3. After a Receſs of three Months, and as many Weeks, the Parliament met a ſecond Time on the 20th Day of *November*, in a full and compleat Manner, now conſiſting of the three Eſtates of the Realm. The King being ſeated on his Throne, made the following Speech, which to prevent the Danger of Mutilations, is inſerted in full Length: ‘*My Lords, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I know the Viſit I make you this Day is not neceſſary, is not of Courſe; yet if there were no more in it, it wou’d not be ſtrange that I come to ſee what you and I ſo long deſired to ſee: *The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of* England *met together to conſult for the Peace and Safety of the Church and State*; by which Parliaments are reſtored to their primitive Luſtre and Integrity. I do heartily congratulate with you for *This Day*. But, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, as my coming hither at this Time is ſomewhat extraordinary: It is to ſay ſomething to you on my own Behalf, to aſk ſomething of you for my ſelf; which is more than I have done of you, or of thoſe that met here before you, ſince my coming into *England*. I needed not have done it to them; and, upon my Conſcience, I need not do it now. They did, and you do, upon all Occaſions, expreſs ſo great an Affection and Care of all that concerns me, that I may very well refer, both the Matter and Manner of your doing any thing for me, to your own Wiſdoms and Kindneſs: And indeed, if I did think that what I am to ſay to you now did alone, or did moſt concern myſelf; if the uneaſie Condition I am in, if the Streights and Neceſſities I am to ſtruggle with did not manifeſtly relate to the Publick Peace and Safety, more than to my Particular, otherwiſe than I am concern’d in the Publick, I ſhou’d not give you this Trouble this Day. I can bear my Neceſſities, which merely relate to myſelf, with Patience enough.

The King’s Speech to both Houſes.

‘*Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I do not now importune you to make more Haſte in the conſtant Revenue of the Crown, than is agreeable to the Method you propoſe to yourſelves: I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider the inſupportable Weight that lies upon it, the Obligations it lieth under to provide for the Intereſt, Honour and Security of the Nation in another Proportion than in any former Times it hath been oblig’d to. I know very well, you have very affectionately and worthily taken all this into your Thoughts, and will proceed in it with as much Expedition, as I can reaſonably wiſh; but I come to put you in Mind of the crying Debts which do every Day call upon me for ſome neceſſary Proviſions, which are to be made without Delay, for the very Safety of the Kingdom; of the great Sums of Mony that ſhou’d be ready to diſcharge the ſeveral Fleets when they come home, and for the neceſſary Preparations that are to be made for ſetting out new Fleets to Sea againſt the Spring; that Revenue being already anticipated to as important Services, which ſhou’d be aſſign’d to thoſe Preparations. Theſe are the preſſing Occaſions which I am forc’d to recommend to you with all poſſible Earneſtneſs, and do conjure you to provide for as ſpeedily as poſſible, in ſuch a Manner, as may give us Security at home, and ſome Reputation abroad. I make this Diſcourſe to you with ſome Confidence, becauſe I am very willing, and deſirous, that you ſhou’d throughly examine whether theſe Neceſſities I mention, be Real, or Imaginary; or whether they be fallen upon Us by my Fault, by my own Managery, or Exceſſes, and provide for them accordingly. I am very willing that you make a full Inſpection into my Revenue, as well the Disburſements, as Receipts; and if you find it hath been ill manag’d by any Corruption in the Officers I truſt, or by my own Unthriftineſs, I ſhall take the Information and Advice you ſhall give me very kindly: I ſay, if you find it; for I wou’d not have you believe any looſe Diſcourſes, how confidently ſoever urg’d, of giving away eighty thouſand Pounds in a Morning, and many other Extravagancies of that kind. I have much more Reaſon to be ſorry that I have not to reward thoſe who have ever faithfully ſerv’d the King my Father, and myſelf, than aſham’d of any Bounty I have exercis’d towards any Man.

‘*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am ſorry to find that the general Temper and Affections of the Nation are not ſo well compos’d, as I hop’d they wou’d have been, after ſuch ſignal Bleſſings from God Almighty upon us all, and after ſo great Indulgence and Condeſcenſions from me towards all Intereſts. There are many wicked Inſtruments ſtill as active as ever, who labour Night and Day to diſturb the publick Peace, and to make all People jealous of each other. It will be worthy of your Care and Vigilance, to provide proper Remedies for the Diſeaſes of that kind; and if you find new Diſeaſes, you muſt ſtudy new Remedies. Let us not be diſcourag’d; if we help one another, we ſhall by God’s Bleſſing maſter all our Difficulties: Theſe which concern Matters of Religion, I confeſs to you are too hard for me; and therefore I do recommend them to your Care and Deliberation, which can beſt provide for them: I ſhall not need to recommend, or put you in mind of the good Correſpondence that ought to be kept between you for the Good of your Selves, and Me, and the whole Kingdom; and I may tell you, it is very neceſſary for us all. You will find Whoſoever doth not believe Me, doth not love You; and they who have not Reverence for You, have little Kindneſs for Me. Therefore, I pray let us adhere faſt to each other, and then we ſhall, with the Help of God, in a ſhort Time perſwade, or oblige all Men to that Submiſſion, and Obedience to the Law, as may conſtitute a full Meaſure of Happineſs to Prince and People, and perſwade our Neighbours to that Eſteem and Value they have formerly had for us.

Purſuant to this Speech the Parliament proceeded diligently to Buſineſs, and the better to preſerve the Peace of the Nation, both Houſes immediately agreed to petition for a Proclamation, ‘For diſarming the disbanded and caſhier’d Officers and Soldiers, and to command them to depart twenty Miles from the City of *London*, for ſuch Time as his Majeſty ſhall think fit.’ And the Commons, to ſhew their Readineſs to aſſiſt the King in his Wants, on the ſame Day, voted, ‘That the Sum of twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds ſhou’d be ſpeedily paid and rais’d for the Supply of the King’s Majeſty’s preſent Occaſions;’ and ſo proceeded accordingly. For which the King ſoon after return’d his hearty Thanks, and particularly expreſs’d *how exceeding much he was beholden to the Houſe of Commons for their great Gift, and the Manner of it, in giving ſo freely.* After which he ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, ‘That making the Good of his People the Subject of his Thoughts, and conſidering that the calling in the Mony call’d *The Common-Wealth’s Mony* by the laſt of this Month, might be prejudicial to his People, and

A Vote for Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

'and hazard the Exportation of a great Part thereof, was 'graciouſly pleas'd, by the Advice of his Privy-Council, 'to direct a Proclamation to be iſſu'd, ſignifying his Ma'jeſty's Pleaſure to accept of the ſaid Mony in any Pay'ment to be made to him till the 25th Day of *March* next.

Proceedings againſt the Regicides.

The firſt Parliament having reſpited the Puniſhments of ſeveral of the Regicides, as well thoſe that lay under Condemnation, as others not ſo flagrantly guilty of that Crime; the Houſes reſum'd the Matter, and on the 25th of *November* thoſe Regicides that came in upon Proclamation were brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, to anſwer what they cou'd ſay for themſelves, why Judgment ſhou'd not be executed againſt them. They ſeverally alledg'd, 'That upon his Majeſty's gracious Declaration 'from *Breda*, and the Votes of Parliament, and his Ma'jeſty's Proclamation, publiſh'd by the Advice of the Lords 'and Commons then aſſembled in Parliament, they did 'render themſelves, being advis'd that they ſhou'd thereby 'ſecure their Lives; and humbly crav'd the Benefit thereof, 'and the Mercy of the Houſes, and their Mediation to his 'Majeſty in their Behalfs.' *Harry Marten* briskly added, *That he had never obey'd any Proclamation before This, and hop'd that he ſhou'd not be hang'd for taking of the King's Word now.* New Debates aroſe about them, and a Bill was brought in for their Execution, which was read twice, but afterwards dropt; and ſo they were all ſent to their ſeveral Priſons, and but little more heard of them. The Difficulty had like to have been the heavier upon them, by reaſon of ſeveral ſeditious Pamphlets publiſh'd about this Time, and likewiſe by reaſon of a Meſſage from the King, deliver'd by the Lord Chancellor in a Conference between both Houſes. At which Time the Chancellor declar'd, 'That the ſame did 'concern Things of a high and dangerous Nature, and that 'there had been a real Deſign, which had been forming 'ever ſince *March* laſt, to diſturb the Union and Peace of 'this Kingdom:' And ſo proceeded to name ſeveral of the Parties engag'd, with the Manner and Contrivance of their barbarous Deſigns, and the Progreſs they had from Time to Time made therein. 'And that although their 'Deſigns were at preſent diſorder'd, as to the effecting of 'them in this Town, to which End they made a general 'Invitation of disbanded Soldiers, and diſaffected Perſons, 'to reſort hither about the 11th of this Month; yet they 'were ſtill practiſing to put the ſame in Execution in the 'Country: And that the Lords, to provide a Remedy a'gainſt theſe Evils, had appointed a Committee of Twelve 'of their Houſe, and deſired that an anſwerable Number 'of the other Houſe be joyn'd with the Lords, who 'might, during the Receſs, examine the ſaid Traiterous 'Deſigns, and find out ſuch Expedients, as they ſhou'd 'perceive neceſſary for the preventing and ſuppreſſing them, 'and ſecuring the Peace of the Kingdom.' All which they agreed to, and put in Practice.

New Plots.

The King paſſes ſome Acts.

The next Day, which was the 20th of *December*, the Mony Bill, and three other Bills being ready for the Royal Aſſent, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, where the Commons Speaker preſented to his Majeſty a *Bill for granting Twelve Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Pounds to the King, to be levy'd by an Aſſeſſment of Seventy Thouſand Pounds by the Month, for Eighteen Months.* At the paſſing of this Bill, the King, in a ſhort Speech, 'gave very hear'ty Thanks to the Houſe for their *Great Preſent*, and de'clared *That he had receiv'd the Benefit of it before he had 'it*; the Reputation thereof having given him Credit both 'at Home and Abroad: And that he was not more 'willing to give his Royal Aſſent to that Bill, than he 'ſhou'd have been to paſs any Bills whatſoever, which that 'Houſe ſhou'd preſent to him for his People's Good.' He likewiſe paſs'd other three Bills at this Time; the Firſt, *An Act for regulating Corporations*; the Second, *For preventing vexatious Delays in Law-Suits*; and the Laſt, *for impowering his Majeſty to make Leaſes of his Lands in the Dutchy of* Cornwall. The firſt, ſince uſually call'd the *Corporation Act*, made the greateſt Noiſe, and met with ſome Struggles in the Houſe. It prov'd indeed a ſevere Mortification and a Blow to one Party, and made a mighty Alteration in ſeveral Places, which the Court look'd upon as Neſts of Sedition. Part of the Preamble very well ſhews the Deſign of the Act, namely, 'That the Succeſſion 'in ſuch Corporations may be moſt probably perpetuated 'in the Hands of Perſons well affected to his Majeſty, and 'the eſtabliſh'd Government; it being too well known that 'notwithſtanding all his Majeſty's Endeavours, and unpa'rallel'd Indulgence in pardoning all that is paſt, nevertheleſs 'many evil Spirits are ſtill working:' Therefore for the preventing this, every Mayor, Alderman, Common-Council Man, or any other Officer in a Corporation, was oblig'd, beſides the common Oath of *Allegiance and Supremacy*, and a particular Declaration againſt the *Solemn League and Covenant*, to take an Oath, declaring, *That it was not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King; and that he did abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his* Authority *againſt his* Perſon, *or againſt thoſe* commiſſion'd *by Him.* And to put this in Execution the King was authoriz'd to grant a Commiſſion to ſuch Perſons as he thought fit, to laſt above two Years, with ſufficient Powers to anſwer the Ends of the Act. Upon the paſſing of theſe Acts, the Parliament was adjourn'd to the 10th Day of *January*; and ſo, breaking up, had a Receſs for near three Weeks.

The Corporation *Act.*

Chriſtmaſs

4. During the Receſs of Parliament, it being now *Chriſtmaſs*, the Town was fill'd with extraordinary Feaſtings, Revellings, Mirth, Pleaſure and Luxury, as well in rich Cloaths and Habits, as choice Eating and Drinking. The Honourable Society of *Lincolns-Inn* renew'd their old Cuſtom of the Inns of Court, by chuſing a Prince, who during the ſolemn Feſtival commanded like a Sovereign in, and in the Places adjoyning to, the ſaid Inn. The Gentleman elected at this Time was *John Lort* Eſquire, of a good Family in *Wales*, who invited the King Himſelf to the Inn, and gave him a noble Entertainment at Dinner. The King was pleas'd to ſee all the Ceremonies due to a Prince exactly obſerv'd in every Reſpect, as a Council, Judges and Officers of State, Honour and Nobility attending upon this his Highneſs; and his Majeſty, at the Expiration of the Term of his Royalty, was pleas'd to preſent him with the Honour of a Baronet of *England.*

And now, according to our uſual Method, we ſhall conclude the old Year with the Deaths of ſome Perſons of moſt eminent Conſideration: And firſt we ſhall begin with the renowned Lady, *Elizabeth Stuart* Queen of *Bohemia*, eldeſt Daughter of King *James* the Firſt, and the only remaining Child of that Prince. She had been marry'd to the unfortunate Elector Palatine in the Year 1612; and having, with great Conſtancy and Nobleneſs of Spirit, endured and ſurvived all the poſſible Misfortunes of her Family, ſhe this Year came to congratulate the Reſtoration of her Nephew the King, and to die in Peace in her Father's Dominions, on the 13th of *February*. Her Body was convey'd to *Somerſet-Houſe*, and from thence by Water to *Weſtminſter-Abby*; where, being accompany'd with Prince *Rupert* her Son, and many of the Nobility, it was privately interr'd in the ſame Vault with Prince *Henry* her eldeſt Brother. She had a numerous and noble Progeny of ſeven Sons and five Daughters, of whom the youngeſt ſurviving, the Princeſs *Sophia*, was after many Years declared and created Heir to the Crown of *Great Britain.*

The Death of the Queen of Bohemia.

The Deaths of Biſhop Walton,

Beſides this illuſtrious Perſon, we are to take Notice of ſeveral others, that deſerve to be recorded in Hiſtory: And of theſe, we ſhall firſt mention two Biſhops, both of the ſame See of *Cheſter*, and educated both in the ſame Univerſity of *Cambridge.* The firſt was Dr. *Brian Walton*, admitted in *Magdalen*, and remov'd to *Peter-Houſe-Colledge*, and ſo to the City of *London*; a Perſon highly remarkable for his excellent Virtues, Learning and Sufferings for his Loyalty; but ſtill more eminently diſtinguiſh'd for his indefatigable Labours in bringing into the World that noble Work the *Biblia Polyglotta*, which, by the Aſſiſtance of many great Men, was brought to that Perfection, that it is confeſſedly the moſt abſolute, and moſt famous Edition of the BIBLE, that the Chriſtian World ever enjoy'd. After the Reſtoration he was juſtly preferr'd to the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*; but he poſſeſs'd that See but a few Months, before his Death made Room for his Succeſſor, Dr. *Henry Ferne*, the other Biſhop we are to mention, who alſo dy'd in the ſame Year, after he had been but a while remov'd from his Prolocutor's Place in Convocation. This pious and learned Man, tho' continuing a ſhort Time in *Oxford*, was both Fellow and Maſter of *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and then became Dean of *Ely*, beſides Prolocutor, before he mounted the Epiſcopal Chair. He was celebrated in the late Times for his clear Reſolutions of the Differences between the King and Parliament, and between the Churches of *England*, *Geneva*, and *Rome*; which he perform'd with ſo mighty a Strength and Perſpicuity, that the two adverſe Parties confeſs'd, *That the Church of* England'*s Cauſe never look'd ſo clearly and devoutly in any Writings, as in thoſe of Dr.* Ferne. After theſe two Prelates, we are to mention three Divines of different Talents and Characters; and firſt Dr. *John Oliver*, the worthy Preſident of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*, and Prebendary of *Wincheſter*; from which Preferments he was ejected by the late prevailing Powers, notwithſtanding his eminent and conſpicuous Learning, Charity, and Humility; till in the great Year 1660, he was both reſtored, and made Dean of *Worceſter* by the Intereſt of the preſent Lord Chancellor, to whom he had the Honour to be Tutor in the Univerſity. Before his Death he was infinitely deſirous to leave the World at a Time when all learned Men wou'd naturally have the ſtrongeſt Deſires to ſtay in it. The next to be mention'd was Dr. *Barten Hollyday*, a Perſon educated in *Chriſt-*

Biſhop Ferne,

Dr. Oliver,

Dr. Hollyday,

1661.
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Ref. 2.

Dr. Fuller,

Church in *Oxford*, and one of a very various Genius; being a forward and eloquent Preacher, and a skilful Philoſopher, yet ſtill more diſtinguiſh'd by his Poetical Labours, both Tranſlations and Originals, of which ſome, tho' not ſo agreeable at this Time, were produc'd at an Age ſo young, as is not eaſily to be parallel'd. The third was Dr. *Thomas Fuller*, an eminent *London* Divine, Chaplain to his preſent Majeſty, educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, both in *Queen*'s and *Sidney* Colledge, who by his particular Temper and Management weather'd the late great Storm with more Succeſs than many other great Men. He was a general Scholar, an extenſive Hiſtorian, and a walking Library, and had a prodigious Memory, a moſt quick Wit, and a luxuriant Fancy and Invention, but not the moſt exact Judgment: He publiſh'd many Pieces, but was moſt of all diſtinguiſh'd by that laborious, but imperfect Work, *The Hiſtory of the Worthies of* England.

Serjeant Glanvill,

Lord Langdale,
Sir John Stawell,

Earl of Monmouth,

And Sir Arthur Haſlerigg.

Beſides theſe, we are to take Notice of four or five other Perſons of a different Character, as firſt Sir *John Glanvill*, Serjeant at Law, a famous Orator both in the Houſe and at the Bar, excellently skill'd in, and an Ornament to, his Profeſſion; a Perſon who bravely ſtood in the Gap in the late Reign, both when the Prerogative was carry'd too high, and when it was too much depreſs'd, and for both which he was a remarkable Sufferer. Next, we are to mention two brave Loyaliſts and valiant Soldiers, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *John Stawell*, both magnanimous Sufferers for their King and Country; of whom leſs need to be ſaid, becauſe ſo particularly taken Notice of in the laſt Volume; only that the Former of the two was, before the Reſtoration, made a Baron of the Realm, by the Title of Lord *Langdale* of *Holme* in *Spalding-Moor*, in the County of *York*. Another Perſon ought likewiſe to be mention'd, which was *Henry Cary*, Earl of *Monmouth*, a noted Traveller, a general Scholar, and well skill'd in modern Languages, which Talents he honourably employ'd in tranſlating the beſt *Spaniſh*, *French*, and *Italian* Authors, during the Time of the Nation's Troubles; while Others of the Nobility were too often forc'd to ſubmit to the Company and Converſation of their aſſuming Inferiors. Laſt of all we ſhall mention Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, that implacable Incendiary, who had been ſo deeply involved in the Miſeries of the Kingdom, and of whom ſo much has been ſaid in the laſt Volume. Tho' he had the good Fortune to meet with an extraordinary Friend in General *Monk*, and ſo to eſcape both with Life and Eſtate, yet being made a Priſoner in the *Tower*, he pin'd away with Anger and Grief, being unable to bear either his own Diſgrace, or the common Felicity of theſe Times.

166½.
Car. 14.
Ref. 2.

The Chancellor's Account of ſome Plots.

VIII. 1. After the Feaſtings and Revellings were ſomewhat abated, the Parliament met on the 10th of *January* according to Adjournment, and proceeded to Buſineſs with all Vigour, ſhewing themſelves ready both to advance the Prerogative, as well as the Revenue of the King. They were now farther alarm'd with the Noiſe of Plots and Conſpiracies; and they began with receiving the Report of the ſelect Committee of Lords and Commons, appointed juſt before the Receſs. In this the Lord Chancellor gave an additional Account of the traiterous Deſigns ſet on foot at ſeveral Times, and acquainted them with the Names of ſuch as were engag'd, as *Wildman*, *Salmon*, and others before-mention'd. He told them, 'That there was found with *Salmon* a Liſt of a hundred and ſixty Officers of the late Army: That it was further diſcover'd that there ſhou'd have been a Meeting in *London* about the 10th of *December*, and that they intended about the End of *January* to have made ſure of *Shrewsbury*, *Coventry*, and *Briſtol*, and that they ſhou'd riſe in ſeveral Parts at once: That where they were prevalent, they ſhould begin with Aſſaſſination, which mov'd one of them to relate, *That ſome of the late King's Judges were entertain'd in* France, Holland *and* Germany, *and held conſtant Correſpondence with thoſe, and were fomented by ſome foreign Princes.* That many Arms were bought in order to this Deſign, and that they bragg'd, *If they once got Footing, they ſhou'd not want Means to carry on their Work.* That they were diſcover'd by one of their Party, and his Relation confirm'd by ſuch Intelligence from abroad, as never fail'd' He further told them, 'That at *Huntington* many there met under the Name of *Quakers*, that were not ſo; and rode there in Multitudes by Night, to the great Terror of his Majeſty's good Subjects. That it might be wonder'd at that ſome Propoſals were not made to remedy this impending Evil: But the King had adviſ'd with the Duke of *Albemarle*, now preſent at this Committee, and has put two Troops into *Shrewsbury*, and as many into *Coventry*, who by the Way had broken a great Knot of Thieves, and taken twenty. That a Rumour was ſpread, That the appointing of this Committee was only a Plot to govern by an Army; but the Committee was very ſenſible of the real Danger, and hop'd the Houſes wou'd be ſo too; and that ſince all their Adverſaries were united to deſtroy them, ſo they ſhou'd unite to preſerve themſelves.' Upon this Report, the Houſe of Commons reſum'd their former Order of proceeding againſt *Vane*, *Lambert*, *Waller*, and ſome others that were ſtill under the Power of the Law, and proceeded with greater Activity in finiſhing the two great Bills for the Eſtabliſhment of the Crown and Church, one for inſuring the *Militia* to the Crown, and the other for ſettling *Uniformity* in the Church.

A Meſſage from the King to the Commons.

Nor were the Commons leſs careful in the improving and advancing his Majeſty's Revenues, and proceeded to offer great Incouragement to all who ſhou'd ſend him any Mony for his preſent Occaſions. While they were conſidering of this Point, on the 18th of *February*, they receiv'd a very obliging Meſſage from the King by Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, who inform'd the Houſe, 'That he had Directions from his Majeſty to deſire the Houſe, That they wou'd put a *Superſedeas* to any further Debate upon the Bill for *Permiſſion to ſuch Perſons as ſhou'd advance Mony for his Majeſty's preſent Occaſions, to take Intereſt at Ten* per Cent. That his Majeſty, finding the Bill might have ſome ungrateful Reliſh in it, reſolv'd to put himſelf upon the greateſt Streights, rather than adventure upon any Courſe, that might in the leaſt ſeem to diſguſt this Houſe, or prejudice his good Subjects; and therefore wou'd endeavour to find ſome other Means to ſupply his preſent urgent Occaſions, and deſir'd the Bill might be laid aſide.' This Meſſage affected them ſo much, that they immediately returned their humble Thanks to the King for his Tenderneſs to his People, and order'd, 'That his Majeſty be made acquainted, That this Houſe wou'd leave no Means unattempted to advance his Majeſty's Revenue, and ſupply his preſent urgent Occaſions.'

A particular Speech to the Commons alone.

The King finding his Neceſſities to encreaſe, within ten Days after, order'd the Houſe of Commons to attend him at *White-Hall*, in a Body by themſelves: Which was accordingly done upon the Firſt of *March*; when his Majeſty, after ſome remarkable Acknowledgments of their extraordinary Services, and having declared, *That he knew moſt of their Faces, and never hop'd to find better Men in their Places*, he proceeded thus: '*Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, you will wonder now, after I have willingly made this juſt Acknowledgment to you, that I ſhou'd lament, and complain That I, and You, and the Kingdom are yet without that preſent Fruit and Advantage, which we might reaſonably promiſe ourſelves, from ſuch a Harmony of Affections, and an Unity in Reſolutions, to advance the Publick Service, and to provide for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom, that you do not expedite thoſe good Counſels that are moſt neceſſary for Both. I know not how it comes to paſs, but for theſe many Weeks paſt, even ſince your laſt *Adjournment*, private and particular Buſineſs hath almoſt thruſt the Conſideration of the publick out of Doors: And in Truth, I do not know that you are nearer ſettling my Revenue than you were at *Chriſtmaſs*: I am ſure I have communicated my Condition to you without Reſerve; what I have coming in, and what my neceſſary Diſburſements are; and I am exceedingly deceiv'd, if whatſoever you give to me, be any other ways given to me, than to be iſſu'd out for your own Uſe and Benefit. Truſt me, it ſhall be ſo; and if you conſider it well, you will find that you are the Richer by what you give, ſince it is all to be laid out, that you may enjoy the reſt in Eaſe and Security. *Gentlemen*, I need not put you in mind of the miſerable Effects which have attended the Wants and Neceſſities of the Crown. I need not tell you that there is a *Republican* Party ſtill in the Kingdom, which had the Courage to promiſe themſelves another Revolution: And you know the only Way, with God's Bleſſing, to diſappoint their Hopes, and reduce them from thoſe extravagant Deſires, is to let them ſee that you have ſo provided for the Crown, that it hath *wherewithal to ſupport itſelf, and to ſecure you*; which is all that I deſire, and do deſire it only for your Preſervation. Therefore I do conjure you by all the Profeſſions of Affection you have made to me, by all the Kindneſſes I know you have for me, to betake yourſelves to ſome ſpeedy Reſolutions, and ſettle ſuch a *real* and *ſubſtantial Revenue* upon me, as may hold ſome Proportion with my neceſſary Expences for the Peace and Honour of the Kingdom; that they who look for Trouble at home, may deſpair of their Wiſhes; and that our Neighbours abroad, by ſeeing all is well at home, may have that Value and Eſteem for us, as may ſecure the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation, and make the Happineſs of this Kingdom, and of this City, once more the Admiration and Envy of the World.

'*Gentlemen*, I hear you are very zealous for the Church, and very ſolicitous, and even jealous that there is not Expedition enough us'd in that Affair. I thank you for it, ſince I preſume it proceeds from a good Root of

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'Piety and Devotion : But I muſt tell you, I have the worſt Luck in the World, if after all the Reproaches of being a *Papiſt*, while I was abroad ; I am ſuſpected of being a *Presbyterian*, now I am come home. I know you will not take it unkindly, if I tell you I am as zealous for the Church of *England*, as any of you can be, and am enough acquainted with the Enemies of it on all Sides ; That I am as much in love with the Book of *Common-Prayer*, as you can wiſh, and have Prejudice enough to thoſe who do not love it, who I hope in Time will be better inform'd, and change their Minds; and you may be confident, I do as much deſire to ſee an *Uniformity* ſettled as any amongſt you. I pray truſt me in that Affair : I promiſe you to haſten the Diſpatch of it with all convenient Speed ; you may relye upon me in it. I have tranſmitted the Book of *Common-Prayer*, with thoſe Alterations and Additions which have been preſented to me by the Convocation, to the Houſe of Peers, with my Approbation, that the *Act of Uniformity* may relate to it ; ſo that I preſume, it will be ſhortly diſpatch'd there : And when we have done all we can, the well-ſettling that Affair will require great Prudence and Diſcretion, and the Abſence of all Paſſion and Precipitation. I will conclude with putting you in Mind, that the Seaſon of the Year, and the Good you may do, will require a Receſs into the Country, where you will find that many Tares have been ſown in your Abſence : The Arrival alſo of my Wife, whom I expect the next Month, and the Neceſſity of my being out of Town to meet her, and to ſtay ſome Time before ſhe comes hither, makes it very neceſſary that the Parliament break up before *Eaſter*, to meet again in the Winter : And that it may do ſo, I pray lay aſide all private Buſineſs, that you may in that Time diſpatch the Publick.-------- The mention of my Wife's Arrival puts me in Mind to deſire you to put that Compliment upon her, That her Entrance into the Town may be with more Decency, than the Ways will now ſuffer it to be ; and to that Purpoſe, I pray you wou'd quickly diſpatch and paſs ſuch Laws as are before you in Order to the amending of thoſe Ways, and that ſhe may not find *White-Hall* ſurrounded with Water. I will detain you no longer, but do promiſe myſelf great Fruits of this Converſation with you, and that you will juſtify the Confidence I have in your Affections, by letting the World ſee, that you take my Concernments to Heart, and are ready to do what I deſire for the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.

The Commons Vigour.

Upon this Speech, which we do not find in Print, the Commons proceeded with more Vigour in the diſpatching of the ſeveral Bills before them; and in a ſhort Time they finiſh'd that which his Majeſty had propos'd to them, *For the repairing of the Streets and High-Ways in and near* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and Parts adjacent* ; together with another *Againſt the People call'd Quakers*, which inflicted certain Penalties upon them, both for their Meeting, and their refuſing the Oaths : Both which were paſs'd by Commiſſion. In the ſettling of the King's Revenue, they took into Conſideration the Wants and Neceſſities of many of the Loyal Cavaliers, who had loſt their Eſtates in his Father's Service, and appointed threeſcore thouſand Pounds, out of the eighteen Months Aſſeſſment, to be diſtributed amongſt them by Commiſſioners of their own Nomination.

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The Proceedings of the Convocation.

2. All this while the Convocation was buſily employ'd about ſeveral Matters, but principally ſuch as were for the perpetuating and eſtabliſhing the Church of *England*. They had now choſen a new Prolucutor in the Room of Dr. *Ferne*, remov'd to the See of *Cheſter*, namely Dr. *John Barwick*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, a Man of great Worth and Conſideration. Among various Debates a remarkable Piece of Law was conſider'd and examin'd, as how far it was ſafe or lawful for the Biſhops to join in the Houſe of Lords, in the Tryal and Condemnation of Perſons impeach'd of Treaſon; and after many Arguments, it was agreed to take Advice of the chief common Lawyers, and Civilians, in the Nation : Theſe, after ſeveral new Arguments, deliver'd in their Opinion in Writing, 'That the Biſhops might ſit and act with other Peers in Parliament, without Detriment or Prejudice, during the Tryal and Condemnation of Perſons guilty of Treaſon and Blood.' But the greateſt Buſineſs of the Convocation was, their reviewing the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and making Amendments and Alterations in it, in order to prepare it for the intended *Act of Uniformity*. This important Buſineſs took up the Care and Application of both Houſes for a conſiderable Time; who made ſome few Alterations in the *Liturgy*, and added three Prayers, particularly one for the *High Court of Parliament*, beſides a new Office for *Baptiſm to ſuch as are of riper Years*, and two more, one for the 30th of *January*, the other for the 29th of *May*. The Work being finiſh'd, it was ſolemnly receiv'd, approv'd and ſubſcrib'd by all the Members of each Houſe. After that, being ſent to the Houſe of Lords, it was receiv'd with the utmoſt Satisfaction ; and the Lord Chancellor, as well in his own Name, as in the Name of all the Peers in Parliament, return'd Thanks to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, for their great Care and Induſtry in reviſing the ſaid Book of *Common-Prayer* ; and return'd the like Thanks to the Prolocutor, the Dignitaries and Clergy, for their reſpective Care and Labour in the ſaid Work.

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The Speaker's Speech to the King.

The Act of *Uniformity*, and ſeveral others being ready for the Royal Aſſent, on the 19th Day of *May* the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd all that were ready. The Nature of them will in ſome Meaſure appear from the following good Speech of Sir *Edward Turner* the Speaker, who, after ſome introductory Compliments, proceeded thus : 'If your Majeſty but pleaſe to caſt your Eyes upon the Table, and behold the great Number of Bills that there preſent themſelves before you, like ſo many Sheafs of Corn bound up, and ready to be houſed ; and will vouchſafe to ſee how both my Hands are fill'd with no light Preſents from your Loyal Commons ; and if your Royal Majeſty, the great Lord of the Harveſt, ſhall vouchſafe to crown this Day by your Conceſſions to our Deſires, the World will then ſee how great a Duty your People chearfully pay both to your Royal Perſon and your Government, and likewiſe how great a Zeal your Majeſty hath, by the faithful Advice of your Lords and Commons, to ſettle the Church in her ancient Glory, and to reſtore the happy People of this Nation to their ancient Rights and Privileges. Some Foreign Writers, that envy the Happineſs of our Government, injuriouſly aſperſe this Nation with a reproachful Saying, *That the Crown of* England *is only maintain'd by the Benevolence of the People, which is never granted, but in Exchange of ſome Royal Prerogative.* Great Sir, we know the ſtrongeſt Building muſt fall, if the coupling Pins be pull'd out ; therefore our Care hath been to prepare ſuch Conſtitutions, that the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Propriety of the People, may, like ſquared Stones in a well built Arch, each ſupport the other, and grow the cloſer and ſtronger for any Weight or Force that ſhall be laid upon them. We cannot forget the late Diſputing Age, wherein moſt Perſons took a Liberty, and ſome Men made it their Delight, to trample upon the Diſcipline and Government of the Church ; the Hedge being trod down, the Foxes and the Wolves enter'd, the Swine and other unclean Beaſts defiled the Temple : At length it was diſcern'd, the *Smectymnian* Plot did not only bend itſelf to reform *Ceremonies*, but ſought to erect a popular Authority of *Elders*, and root out *Epiſcopal* Juriſdiction. In Order to this Work, Church Ornaments were firſt taken away, then the Means whereby Diſtinction or Inequality might be upheld among Eccleſiaſtical Governors ; then the Forms of Common Prayer, which, as Members of the Publick Body of *Chriſt*'s Church, were enjoin'd us, were decry'd as ſuperſtitious, and in lieu thereof, Nothing, or worſe than Nothing, introduced. Your Majeſty having already reſtored the Governors and Government of the Church, the Patrimony and Privileges of our Church-Men ; we held it now our Duty, for the Reformation of all Abuſes in the publick Worſhip of God, humbly to preſent to your Majeſty a Bill for *The Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments.* We hope the God of Order and Unity will conform the Hearts of all the People in this Nation, to ſerve him in this Order and Uniformity.

'Next to the Worſhip and Service of God, we apply'd ourſelves to the ſettling our great Concern, the *Militia.* We have already, according to our Duties, and the Laws, declared *the ſole Right of the Militia to be in your Majeſty* : And we humbly tender your Majeſty a Bill for *the better Regulation and Ordering the Standing Forces of the Nation* ; wherein we have taken Care to make all Things ſo certain, that your Lieutenants and their Deputies may know what to command, and all the People learn how to obey. And becauſe our late Wounds are yet but green, and poſſibly before the Body Politick be well purg'd, may incline to break out again, whereby your Majeſty may be forc'd to draw your Sword before your Treaſury be ſupply'd with Mony ; We have conſented that your Majeſty may raiſe for the three next enſuing Years, one Month's Tax in each Year, *after the Rate of Seventy thouſand Pounds* per Menſem, if Neceſſity ſhall ſo require. In the next Place, according to your Majeſty's Commands, we have ſurvey'd the waſted Revenue of the Crown ; and in Purſuance of our Promiſes, do humbly propound to your Majeſty a fair Addition : We conſider'd that great Part of your Revenue is but for Life, and depends upon the Peace and Trade of the Nation, and therefore may be much impaired by Foreign Wars ; therefore we have ſought ſomething that might

‘ ariſe within our own Walls, and not be ſubject to ſuch Contingencies. We fix'd at laſt upon thoſe Places where we enjoy our greateſt Comforts and Securities, our Dwelling Houſes; and conſidering even that Security is ſecured to us by your Majeſty's Vigilance and Care in the Government, we have prepared a Bill, *That all Houſes in this Kingdom, of the yearly Value of above twenty Shillings, and not inhabited by Almes-men, ſhall pay to your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors, two Shillings yearly, for every Chimney-Hearth in each Houſe for ever.* When the great *Achitophels* of our latter Age had by Force raviſh'd the venerable Laws of this Nation, then every petty Artiſt in his Way, yea the very common Beggars had the Confidence to offer Violence to their Chaſtity. We have therefore been conſtrain'd to prepare ſeveral Bills for the Regulation of *Trade*, our *Cloathing-Trade*, our *Fiſhing-Trade*, our Trade for *Stuffs*, our Trade for *Silks*; and for the better Maintenance of *Intercourſe* in Trade, to re-inforce our former Laws for maintaining the *High-Ways*, with ſome Additions for Decency and Pleaſure of Travellers. God in his Providence hath determin'd, *That the Poor we muſt have always with us:* Some are made ſo by the immediate Hand of God; others by their Loyalty, Duty and Service to your Royal Perſon, and your bleſſed Father; others by their own Wickedneſs and Idleneſs: We have taken care to relieve the Firſt, to encourage the Second, and to reform the laſt. Nor hath the Caſe of any Private Perſon been unwelcome to us; thoſe many *Private Bills* that lye before your Majeſty do enough confirm this Truth, That where we found it juſt and honourable, we have deny'd our helping Hand to none that pray'd it. And now, great Sir, after theſe many Months moſt painful and faithful Service of your Majeſty and our Countries, we hope we ſhall have leave to go home, to viſit our Relations, to tell our Neighbours what great Things your Majeſty hath done for us, what great Things, *abſit Invidia Verbo*, we have done for your Majeſty, and what great Things God hath done for us all; and to pray Almighty God for his Mercy to this Nation, in the Continuance of your Majeſty's long and happy Reign over us.

The King's Speech to both Houſes at the Prorogation.

At the paſſing of the foremention'd Bills, the King made the following Speech, which is here inſerted without the leaſt Abridgement or Alteration: ‘ *My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I think there have been very few Seſſions of Parliament, in which there have been ſo many *Bills*, as I have paſs'd this Day: I am confident, never ſo many *Private Bills*, which I hope you will not draw into Example. It is true, theſe late ill Times have driven Men into great Streights, and may have oblig'd them to make Conveyances *colourably*, to avoid Inconveniencies, and yet not afterwards to be avoided; and Men have gotten Eſtates by new and greater Frauds than have been heretofore practis'd; and therefore in this Conjuncture, extraordinary Remedies may be neceſſary, which hath induced me to comply with your Advice, in paſſing theſe Bills; but I pray let this be very rarely done hereafter. The good old Rules of the Law are the beſt Security; and let not Men have ſo much Cauſe to fear, *That the Settlements they make of their Eſtates, ſhall be too eaſily unſettled, when they are dead, by the Power of Parliaments.*

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, You have ſo much oblig'd me, not only in the Matter of thoſe Bills which concern my Revenue, but in the Manner of Paſſing them, with ſo great Affection and Kindneſs to Me, that I know not how to thank you enough. I do aſſure you, and I pray aſſure your Friends in the Country, *That I will apply all you have given me, to the utmoſt Improvement of the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom*; *and will, with the beſt Advice and good Husbandry I can, bring my Expences within a narrower Compaſs.* Now I am ſpeaking to you of my own good Husbandry, I muſt tell you, that will not be enough: I cannot but obſerve to you, *That the whole Nation ſeems to me a little corrupted in their Exceſs of Living.* Sure all Men ſpend much more in their Clothes, in their Diet, in all their Expences, than they have us'd to do. I hope it hath only been the Exceſs of Joy, after ſo long Sufferings, that hath tranſported us to theſe other Exceſſes; but let us take heed that the Continuance of them doth not indeed corrupt our Natures. I do believe I have been faulty my Self; I promiſe you, I will reform, and if you will joyn with me in your ſeveral Capacities, we ſhall by our Examples do more Good, both in City and Country, than any new Laws wou'd do. I tell you again, I will do my Part, and I will tell ſome of you, if you do not do Yours. I hope the Laws I have paſs'd this Day, will produce ſome Reformation with Reference to the Multitude of Beggars and poor People which infeſt the Kingdom: Great Severity muſt be us'd to Thoſe who love Idleneſs and refuſe to Work, and great Care and Charity to Thoſe who are willing to Work. I do very heartily recommend the Execution of thoſe good Laws to your utmoſt Diligence; and I am ſure I need not put you in mind ſo to ſettle the *Militia*, that all Seditious Inſurrections may not only be prevented, to which the Minds of too Many are inclined, but that the People may be without reaſonable Apprehenſion of ſuch Inſecurity. You will eaſily believe, that it is very neceſſary for the Publick Juſtice of the Kingdom, and even for the Preſervation of the Reverence due to Parliaments, that I make this a *Seſſion*; and it will be worthy of your Wiſdoms when you come together again, to provide that there be not ſo great a Clamour againſt the Multitude of *Protections*. I will ſay no more, but renew my hearty Thanks to you All, and refer the reſt to the Chancellor.

The Subſtance of the Chancellor's Speech.

Accordingly the Lord Chancellor made a long and affecting Speech, of which ſome Account ought to be given. He told them, ‘ That they had, like the richeſt and nobleſt Soil, yielded the King two full Harveſts in one Year; and therefore it was but good Husbandry to lye Fallow for ſome Time: They had not only ſupply'd the Crown to a good Degree for Diſcharging many Debts and Preſſures, under which it even groan'd, and enabled it to ſtruggle with the preſent Streights and Neceſſities, Debts not contracted, and Neceſſities not run into by Improvidence and Exceſs; but they had wiſely provided ſuch a conſtant growing Revenue, as might with God's Bleſſing preſerve the Crown from thoſe ſcandalous Wants and Neceſſities, as had lately expos'd it and the Kingdom to thoſe diſmal Miſeries, from which they were but even now buoy'd up: For whatſoever other Human Cauſes might be aſſign'd, according to the ſeveral Fancies of Men, of the late miſerable Diſtractions, they could not be ſo reaſonably imputed to any one Cauſe, *as to the extream Poverty of the Crown:* The Want of Power cou'd never have appeared, if it had not been for the Want of Money. They had therefore worthily provided for the Vindication and Manifeſtation of the One by the Bill of the *Militia*, and for the Supply of the Other by the Act for the *Additional Revenue*; and he doubted not but both the preſent and ſucceeding Ages wou'd bleſs God, and celebrate their Memories for thoſe two Bills, as the Foundation of their Peace, Quiet and Security. Then he proceeded to take Notice ‘ That the Spirit of Libelling was never more pregnant than at preſent; neither King, Parliament, Church, nor State cou'd eſcape thoſe Strokes of the Tongue, from which God alone cou'd preſerve the moſt innocent and excellent Perſons. Men, he ſaid, were no ways diſpos'd to remember the general excellent Temper of the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, the bleſſed Reſignation of the People then to the Crown, the awful Reverence they then had to the Government, and to the Governors both in Church and State; but they remember, as if it was but Yeſterday, how few Subſidies Parliaments then gave to the Queen, how ſmall Supplies the Crown then had from the People, and wonder that the ſame Meaſures ſhou'd not give the ſame Reputation, and make the ſame Noiſe in Chriſtendom. But they were ſuperior to ſuch Reproaches, and well knew, that as to his preſent Majeſty, at leaſt Two Parts of Three, that have been given to him, have been iſſu'd out for Disbanding Armies never rais'd by Him, and for Payment of Fleets never ſent out by him, and of Debts never contracted by him. They alſo knew the vaſt Diſparity between the former Times and the Preſent, upon the Account of the mighty Encreaſe of Commerce, Naval Powers, and other extraordinary Things, in the ſeveral Parts of the World; ſo that the Crown was now at the neceſſary Expence by Sea and Land, of eight hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year, which formerly did not coſt it Eighty Thouſand Pounds a Year.

After this he proceeded to other Topicks, and intimated the Neceſſity of making the People underſtand ‘ the Profit, Benefit and Eaſe, which always attended a chearful Obedience, and Submiſſion to Laws and Government; and declar'd that a little Pains, Kindneſs and Condeſcenſion in the Wiſe, towards the Weak, Half the Diligence and Dexterity in Converſation and Example, which had been us'd to corrupt the People in their Loyalty and Underſtanding, wou'd quickly reduce them to their Primitive Temper, namely, to be the beſt Neighbours, and the beſt Friends, and the beſt Subjects in the World. And he doubted not but the great Piety and Devotion, the Moderation, Charity and Hoſpitality of the Biſhops, in their ſeveral Dioceſes, wou'd in a ſhort Time recover the poor miſ-led People: And tho' the Frowardneſs and Pride of ſome of their Teachers was not enough ſubdu'd; tho' ſome of the Clergy ſtill repeated their old Errors, and did ſtill diſcredit all their other Doctrine, with the Abſence of any viſible Repentance; yet he hop'd the Laity wou'd ſoon return into the Boſom of the Church, and ea-

‘ ſily diſcern the Fraud and Impoſture of their Seducers; and that all Diligence wou'd be us'd, heartily to reconcile both Clergy and Laity, by all Means which may prove effectual.’ Then ſpeaking of the Sharpneſs of the new Laws, he intimated, That the Execution of them ‘ ſtill depended upon the Wiſdom of the moſt diſcerning, generous, and merciful Prince, who having had more Experience of the Nature and Humour of Mankind, than any Prince living, cou'd beſt diſtinguiſh between the Tenderneſs of Conſcience, and the Pride of Conſcience, between the real Effects of Conſcience, and the wicked Pretences to Conſcience; who knew how to guard Himſelf and the Kingdom from the Violence of a malicious corrupted Will and Underſtanding, and to ſecure both from the feeble Nets of deluded Fancies and Imaginations: In a Word, a Prince of ſo excellent a Nature, and ſo tender a Conſcience Himſelf, that he had the higheſt Compaſſion for all Errors of that Kind, and wou'd never ſuffer the Weak to undergo the Puniſhment ordain'd for the Wicked.’ Then he intimated to them, ‘ That many honeſt Perſons, in the late Times, were miſled by not diſcerning Conſequences, who wou'd as ſoon have renounc'd their Part in Heaven, as concurr'd in the firſt unwarrantable Action, if they had ſuſpected what follow'd. But the moſt dangerous Enemies to the publick Peace, he ſaid, were the Republicans, the Commonwealths-Men, who were every Day calling in the Aid of the Law, that they might overthrow the Law, which they knew to be their irreconcilable Enemy; a People reſtleſs in their Counſels, and no leſs punctual and induſtrious in their Correſpondencies, abroad as well as at home: Therefore they cou'd not be too vigilant and inquiſitive as to thoſe Men.’ Then ſpeaking of the Happineſs they had procured, he told them, ‘ That they wanted only one Bleſſing, the Arrival of their Queen, whom God had now ſafely brought to the Nation; a Queen of ſuch rare Perfection in Body and Mind, of ſuch great Endowments of Wiſdom, Virtue, and Piety, that they might from her reaſonably promiſe themſelves all the Happineſs they were capable of; and there cou'd not be a more tranſcendent Inſtance of the King's Love and Paſſion for his People, than that he had ſtay'd theſe four Days to take his Leave of them; and that he might give them this Day's Work, all theſe good Laws, had deny'd himſelf ſo long the enjoying the greateſt Comfort he is aſſured of in this World.’ Then exhorting them again to teſtify their Joy, and tranſmit it into their Countries, he by the King's Commands prorogu'd the Parliament till the 18th Day of *February*.

The End of the Second Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

3. And thus ended the ſecond Meeting of the ſecond Parliament, after it had ſate, with ſome inconſiderable Intermiſſions, ſix Months wanting one Day. And here we may properly take Notice of two or three Acts now paſs'd, more particularly than what we find in the Speaker's Speech; as the *Militia* Act, and that for *Uniformity*; but firſt obſerve how far the Prerogative was advanc'd, or at leaſt confirm'd in the preceding, as well as the preſent Parliament. The preceding Parliament, tho' elected with Reſtrictions as excluſive as well cou'd be of the late and preſent King's Friends, was ſo forward, as in the *Act of Attainder of the Regicides*, to uſe theſe remarkable Words; *Be it hereby declared, That by the undoubted and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor Both together in Parliament or out of Parliament, nor the People Collectively or Repreſentatively, nor any other Perſons whatſoever, ever had, have, hath, or ought to have any Coercive Power over the Perſons of the Kings of this Realm.* Anſwerable to this Declaration the *Militia* Act, paſs'd in this Parliament, begins with theſe Words; *Foraſmuch as within all his Majeſty's Realms and Dominions, the ſole and Supream Power, Government, Command and Diſpoſition of the* Militia, *and of all Forces by Sea and Land, and of all Forts and Places of Strength is, and by the Laws of* England *ever was, the undoubted Right of his Majeſty, and his Royal Predeceſſors, Kings and Queens of* England; *and that both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, cannot, or ought to pretend to the ſame; nor can, nor lawfully may raiſe, or levy any War, Offenſive or Defenſive, againſt his Majeſty, his Heirs, or lawful Succeſſors*, &c. Not ſatisfy'd with theſe Words, which ſeem'd to fence againſt all Evaſion and Reſerve, a particular Oath was added to be neceſſarily taken by all Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Officers and Soldiers, in theſe Words; *I* A. B. *do declare and believe, That it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take up Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition, That Arms may be taken by his* Authority *againſt his* Perſon, *or againſt thoſe that are* Commiſſion'd by him *in Purſuance of ſuch Military Commiſſions.* All theſe, put together, were ſo ſtrong and expreſſive, that they ſeem'd at once to give up the whole Conſtitution; and no Wonder if many of the Laity, as well as Clergy, upon the Account of theſe Acts, eſpous'd a Doctrine, which, if rigidly taken, was ſo very hard to be reconciled to the great Deliverance afterwards. But ſomething ought to be remember'd by way of Explanation; that when the latter Part of the Oath, the Words *Commiſſion'd by him*, which ſeem'd moſt dangerous to the Conſtitution, came to be debated, it was mov'd in the Houſe of Commons, and particularly preſs'd by the great Lawyer Sir *John Vaughan*, who offer'd many Inſtances of the Law-Books to ſhew, ‘ That it was lawful in many Caſes to take up Arms againſt thoſe who were *Commiſſion'd* by the King;’ and therefore offer'd this Amendment, ‘ That the Word *Lawfully* might be added, to make all clear.’ But the Attorney-General, Sir *Heneage Finch*, anſwer'd, ‘ That it was not neceſſary, for the very Word *Commiſſion* imported it, ſince if it was not *Lawfully* iſſu'd out to *Lawful* Perſons, and for a *Lawful* Reaſon, it was no *Commiſſion*;’ and the whole Houſe aſſented to this Interpretation. The ſame Word *Lawfully* was likewiſe preſs'd to be added in the Houſe of Peers by the Earl of *Southampton* himſelf; but much the ſame Anſwer, given in the Houſe of Commons, was made to him by the Earl of *Angleſey*. But the former inſiſted to have the Word added, ‘ Becauſe it wou'd clear all Difficulties with many, who not having heard the particular Senſe of both Houſes, might fancy, That if any ſort of *Commiſſion* was granted, it wou'd not be lawful to reſiſt it.’ He did not prevail: For it was alledg'd as a ſatisfactory Anſwer, *That this Explanation being the Senſe of both Houſes, it wou'd be ſoon ſpread and known over the Nation.*

The Militia *Act.*

The Act of Uniformity.

As to the Act of *Uniformity*, it was form'd with as much Skill and Exactneſs as it well cou'd be for introducing a ſtrict Miniſterial Conformity, according to the new Book of *Common-Prayer*, and for excluding thoſe Miſchiefs that at firſt had crept into, and afterwards overrun the eſtabliſhed Church. By this Act every Parſon, Vicar, or other Miniſter was oblig'd to conform before the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew* next, upon Pain of loſing all his Eccleſiaſtical Preferments; for the compleating of which, theſe Words were to be us'd, *I* A. B. *do here declare my unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all and every thing contain'd and preſcrib'd in and by the Book intitled the Book of Common-Prayer*, &c. Every Perſon was likewiſe oblig'd to ſubſcribe a Declaration, containing the very Words of the forementtion'd Oath in the *Militia* Act; in which Declaration he was not only to promiſe to conform to the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, but likewiſe to renounce the *ſolemn League and Covenant*, declaring it to be *an unlawful Oath, and impos'd upon the Subjects of this Realm againſt the known Laws and Liberties of the People.* Several Penalties were annex'd to this Act; particularly, ‘ No Perſon ſhou'd be capable of any Benefice, or preſume to conſecrate and adminiſter the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, before he be ordained Prieſt by Epiſcopal Ordination, upon Pain to forfeit for every Offence the Sum of one hundred Pounds.’ And becauſe Lecturers had been great Inſtruments in inflaming the People towards the late Miſeries of the Nation, none were allow'd by this Act, unleſs approv'd and licens'd by the Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the Dioceſe; and as to reading the *Common-Prayer*, making the *Declarations*, &c. they were put under ſtricter Limitations than the legal Miniſters of Pariſhes. Theſe and ſeveral other things were contain'd in this famous Act, commonly call'd *The Bartholomew Act*, becauſe it took Place on that Day; an Act highly extoll'd and exclaim'd againſt by different Parties, as it ſupported or diſappointed their Expectations: Accordingly it has been call'd both the Glory and Diſgrace of the Church, tho' the Laity as well as the Clergy were equally concern'd in the making of it. It preſs'd hard indeed upon the Principles of ſome good, as well as turbulent Miniſters, and caus'd great Numbers of both to quit their Preferments, as will be afterwards remember'd: But, notwithſtanding what has been alledg'd of late in their Favour, we think there is much Truth in theſe Words of a modern Hiſtorian; ‘ It was undoubtedly the Faction and Sedition of the ſeveral Sects and Parties, that work'd up the Wiſdom of the Nation into this expedient Awe and Reſtraint upon them.

Chimney-Mony.

Something likewiſe ought to be ſaid of the Act for *ſettling an annual Revenue of Two Shillings upon every Fire-Hearth*, commonly call'd by the Name of *Chimney-Mony*. It was a new Revenue deſign'd to be for ever annex'd to the Crown of *England*; a Burthen that afterwards lay upon the Minds much heavier than the Fortunes of the People, eſpecially upon the Account of the arbitrary way of collecting it; and therefore the Remiſſion of it by King *William* afterwards was thought a wiſe Act of Popularity. This Tax afterwards amounted to about two hundred and fifty ſix thouſand Pounds a Year; which, together with *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, *Exciſe*, and other Duties, in Length of

Time

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Time made the Revenue of this King to be more than double to any of his Predeceſſors ſince the Reformation. Yet the Power and Prerogative of the Crown, notwithſtanding ſome extraordinary Words in the *Militia* Act and others, was not in ſeveral Caſes ſo great and extenſive as in the laſt three Reigns: For, beſides that the Act for *Triennial Parliaments* was in Force, the Crown had before the Year 1641 ſeveral legal Powers and Privileges ariſing from the *Star-Chamber*, the *High-Commiſſion Court*, the *Clerkſhip of the Markets*, the *Foreſts*, &c. which were then entirely given up, and never reſtored again; not to mention the *Court of Wards*, which was yielded for an annual Revenue of a hundred thouſand Pounds, immediately after the Reſtoration.

Beſides theſe publick Acts, there was a particular One *for the Reverſing the Earl of* Strafford's *Attainder*, of which the Preamble has been printed in Foreign Countries, and deſerves to be remember'd here as follows:

The Earl of Strafford's *Attainder revers'd.*

'Whereas *Thomas* late Earl of *Strafford* was Impeach'd of High-Treaſon, upon Pretence of *endeavouring to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws*, and call'd to a publick and ſolemn Arraignment and Tryal before the Peers in Parliament, where he made a particular Defence to every Article objected againſt him; (2) inſomuch that the Turbulent Party then ſeeing no Hopes to effect their unjuſt Deſigns by any ordinary Way and Method of Proceeding, did at laſt reſolve to attempt the Deſtruction and *Attainder* of the ſaid Earl by an Act of Parliament, to be therefore purpoſely made to condemn him upon *Accumulative Treaſon*, none of the pretended Crimes being *Treaſon* Apart, and ſo cou'd not be in the Whole, if they had been prov'd, as they were not, (3) and alſo judg'd him guilty of *Conſtructive Treaſon*, that is, of Levying War againſt the King, though it was only the Commanding an Order of the Council-Board in *Ireland* to be executed by a Serjeant at Arms, and three or four Soldiers, which was the conſtant Practice of the *Deputies* there for a long Time; (4) To which End they having firſt preſented a Bill for this Intent to the Houſe of Commons, and finding there more Oppoſition than they expected, they caus'd a Multitude of tumultuous Perſons to come down to *Weſtminſter*, arm'd with Swords and Staves, and to fill both the *Palace-Yards*, and all the Approaches to both Houſes of Parliament with Fury and Clamour, and to require *Juſtice*, *ſpeedy Juſtice* againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; (5) And having by theſe, and other Undue Practices, obtain'd that Bill to paſs in the Houſe of Commons, they caus'd the Names of thoſe reſolute Gentlemen, who in Cauſe of Innocent Blood had freely diſcharg'd their Conſciences, being Nine and Fifty, to be poſted up in ſeveral Places about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and ſtil'd them STRAFFORDIANS, and *Enemies to their Country*, hoping thereby to deliver them up to the Fury of the People, whom they had endeavour'd to incenſe againſt Them, (6) and then procur'd the ſaid Bill to be ſent up to the Houſe of Peers, where it having ſome Time reſted under the great Deliberation, at laſt in a Time when a great Part of the Peers were abſent by reaſon of the Tumults, and many of thoſe who were preſent proteſted againſt it, the ſaid Bill paſs'd in the Houſe of Peers: (7) And at length his late Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſt of Glorious Memory, granted a *Commiſſion* for giving his Royal Aſſent thereunto; which nevertheleſs was done by his ſaid Majeſty with exceeding great Sorrow then, and ever remember'd by him with unexpreſſible Grief of Heart, and out of his Majeſty's great Piety he did publickly expreſs it when his own Sacred Life was taken away by the moſt deteſtable Traitors that ever were. For all which Cauſes, &c.

Ref. 3.

IX. 1. Before the Parliament broke up, the Court, as well as the King himſelf, were buſily employ'd in making Preparations for the Royal Marriage, the new Queen being juſt landed at *Portſmouth*. This Marriage having made a great Noiſe, and occaſion'd innumerable Reflections, the Steps and Progreſs of it ought to be a little traced, tho' with ſome ſmall Repetitions of ſome things formerly remember'd; eſpecially ſince they have been ſo little known, and ſo much miſtaken by the Nation; and this we ſhall do from a Manuſcript of Sir *Robert Southwell*, an intimate Friend to the great Duke of *Ormond*, and from ſome other Informations of unqueſtionable Veracity. The Occaſion and Root of this Marriage ſprung from the famous *Pyrenean* Treaty in 1659, concluded by the two great Miniſters of *France* and *Spain*, Cardinal *Mazarine*, and Don *Lewis de Haro*; in which the Former gain'd ſo much the Advantage of the Latter, as to bring it ſo about, That his Enemy ſhou'd leave him Peace, and he his Enemy in War. This War was with *Portugal*, which *Spain* now hop'd to recover, after near twenty Years Revolt, ſince *France* promis'd not to intermeddle directly or indirectly in the Affairs of that Kingdom, or give the leaſt Aſſiſtance either by Sea or Land. Tho' this Agreement was very unfaithfully obſerv'd by the Cardinal, yet the very Name of it gave great Terror to the *Portugueſe*; and his Eminence was willing to excite them to look out for other Help at preſent, that he might the more privately relieve them. This had its Effect; for Don *Franciſco de Mello*, afterwards Marqueſs *de Sandy*, being their Ambaſſador in *England*, ſo induſtriouſly apply'd himſelf to the Powers then uppermoſt, as that the *Council of State* did actually ſign with him a Treaty for the Defence of *Portugal*, as appears in the *Paper-Office* at *Whitehall*. But General *Monk* coming in this Juncture to *London*, and ſuperſeding all before him, the ſaid Ambaſſador as diligently apply'd to him for Aſſiſtance; and began with diſcovering a moſt uſeful Secret, 'That the *Spaniards* had reſolv'd, if the King was call'd home, to detain him at *Bruſſels*, till he ſhou'd deliver up *Dunkirk* and *Jamaica*:' This cauſing his Majeſty's ſudden Removal to *Breda*, where he was out of the Power of *Spain*; *De Mello* proceeded to other Matters with the General, and propos'd a new Alliance, a Marriage between the King and the *Infanta* of *Portugal*. He then inſiſted, 'That this Match wou'd be the moſt advantagious to *England* of any in *Chriſtendom*; ſince, beſides the greateſt Portion in Mony that ever Queen had, the *Infanta* was to bring with her *Tangier*, which wou'd make the *Engliſh* Maſters of the Trade in the *Mediterranean*, and *Bombaim*, which wou'd give them the like Advantage in the *Eaſt-Indies*; and over and above, wou'd ſerve to humble the proud *Spaniard*;' which the General, according to the Notions he had imbibed in his younger Days, thought to be the greateſt Advantage of all.

1662. Car. 14. Ref. 3.

The Steps towards the King's MARRIAGE.

Firſt propos'd to General Monk,

Theſe ſpecious Propoſals were very acceptable to the General, who taking all theſe things in their full Extent, and eſpecially conſidering, That nothing was at preſent deſired but Forces, and that hereby the moſt mutinous of thoſe Regiments, bred up by *Cromwell*, might be ſent away, and the Peace of the Nation he had undertaken ſecured, he entirely clos'd with what was offer'd. This Affair was negotiated between Mr. *Morrice*, then in moſt Confidence with the General, and Mr. *Ruſſel* a Prieſt, then *Engliſh* Secretary and Interpeter to the ſaid Ambaſſador: And no ſooner did his Majeſty land in *England*, but the General offer'd him this Marriage Propoſal; which coming from one now reverenc'd as his Reſtorer, it was immediately embrac'd and purſu'd. When it was once well ſet on foot, it was highly encourag'd by ſuch as were Enemies to *Spain*, and by ſome who really thought the Power of that Monarchy ſtill too exorbitant; but what was further remarkable, Cardinal *Mazarine*, always fertile in Expedients, was a particular Promoter and Actor in it; which caus'd him to ſend over the Queen-Mother to countenance the Treaty in *England*, if the Propoſal concerning his Niece ſhou'd be ineffectual, as it ſoon prov'd. In ſum, the *Portugal* Intereſt was ſo puſh'd forward, that *France* engag'd to eaſe the *Engliſh* Tranſport-Charge of the Forces that were deſired; and promis'd two hundred thouſand Crowns, aſſoon as the Treaty ſhou'd be ſign'd and ratify'd, and before thoſe Forces cou'd be ready to embark; and tho' *Mazarine* dy'd in *March* 16$\frac{60}{61}$, yet was his Undertaking punctually obſerv'd by his Succeſſor Monſieur *Colbert*, as was before mention'd. Yet after all this Induſtry, this Marriage Treaty in its Progreſs met with ſuch Obſtacles, that it was not concluded and ſign'd till the 23d Day of *June* 1661, the Parliament being then ſitting.

Who cloſes with it.

One conſiderable Obſtacle was the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, without whoſe Knowledge this Treaty was begun, and without his Approbation it was concluded; therefore he endeavour'd to overthrow it, while it continu'd in any Ballance. It is true, he did for ſome Time come in to the general Meaſures then on foot, till he made ſome Diſcovery of the probable Conſequences of the Marriage. Therefore upon one *Sunday* he begg'd of his Majeſty to call a Secret or Cabinet Council in the *Red-Chamber* in *White-Hall*; to which the King immediately conſented. At this Council, by the Chancellor's Management, none were preſent but the King himſelf, the Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer *Southampton*, and the Duke of *Ormond*. The Chancellor acquainting the King with the Occaſion of his having deſired this private Meeting, ſaid, *That he had hitherto, in Obedience to his Majeſty's Orders, chearfully gone one with the Marriage Treaty, without regarding what the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador had to object againſt it, which he conſider'd as coming from an Enemy: But that now he had certain Information that this Match, if concluded, wou'd bring ſuch a Calamity upon the Nation, as he was ſure his Majeſty wou'd prevent, if it were poſſible: For he had now undoubted Proofs that the Infanta of* Portugal *was not capable of having Children.* He then produc'd a Liſt of ſix Princeſſes, all Proteſtants, out of which his Majeſty

might

But in vain.

might chuſe a fit and proper Wife. But the King frowning and ſwelling, anſwer'd *That this was all a Lie of the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador*, adding, *My Lord, I command you to go on with this Treaty*; and ſo the Meeting broke up. This Incapacity of having Children was publickly talk'd of among the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Lisbon* before this Princeſs left the Place; and they remonſtrated the ſame to the Earl of *Sandwich*, when he came to bring her to *England*: Of this Incapacity Sir *Robert Southwell* was fully aſſur'd afterwards by the Dutcheſs of *Guadiloupa* at *Madrid*, a Lady who had been acquainted with her from her Infancy, and in her Nurſery. But this is not to be imputed either to her Age, or her Country, but to ſome peculiar Infirmities of Body; and it is manifeſt from the Teſtimony of ſome Ladies about her, that ſhe was in a Child-Bearing Condition till after the King's Death, which was twenty two Years after her Marriage.

The worthy and virtuous Princeſs *Donna Catharina*, Infanta of *Portugal*, was born on the 14th Day of *November*, 1638, ſo that ſhe was full twenty four Years of Age at this Time: She was Daughter of *Juan* Duke of *Braganza*, reſtored to the Crown of *Portugal* after that Monarchy had been interrupted for about ſixty Years, and only Siſter of *Don Alphonſo* the ſixth, and of *Don Pedro*, ſucceſſively Kings of *Portugal*. The Portion which ſhe brought with her was two Millions of *Croiſadoes*, about three hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, with the Inheritance of *Tangier* in *Barbary*, and the Iſle of *Bombaim* in the *Eaſt-Indies*; in Conſideration of which ſhe had a Jointure ſettled on her of thirty thouſand Pounds a Year. After the Return of the *Conde de Mello* with the Articles of Treaty and Marriage to *Lisbon*, and *Tangier* deliver'd into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, this Princeſs was marry'd by ſolemn Proxy in the Perſon of his Excellency the Earl of *Sandwich*, with great Joy and Triumph; and under his Conduct ſhe embark'd for *England* on the 23d of *April*, attended by a noble Squadron of the Royal Navy, and was met at the Iſle of *Wight* by the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, with many triumphant Salvos of the Navy. At *Portſmouth* ſhe was welcomed by a glorious Show of Nobility, Gentry and Citizens of *London*, who appear'd with the richeſt Habits and Equipages that cou'd be procured. Here in a little Time ſhe was received by the King himſelf, and there on the 21ſt of *May* privately marry'd to him by Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* Biſhop of *London*, as was commonly reported to ſatisfy the People of *England*; tho' others report that the new Queen refus'd to be marry'd by any but a Prieſt of her own Religion. From *Portſmouth* the Royal Pair remov'd to *Wincheſter*, to *Farnham*, and to *Windſor*, and ſo to *Hampton-Court*, where their Majeſties took up a conſiderable Part of the *Summer*. Here the Queen receiv'd the Addreſſes of all the Nobility, and Submiſſions of the ſeveral Deputies for the Cities of *England*; more particularly from the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, who, by Sir *William Wylde* their Recorder, pronounc'd a *Spaniſh* Oration, and preſented her with a rich Purſe of Gold. On the 23d of *Auguſt* ſhe was with great Pomp and Splendor brought by Water from *Hampton-Court*, to finiſh her Voyage to *Whitehall*. Upon which Occaſion all the Companies in their Barges, nobly ſet out, attended the Lord-Mayor at the Solemnity, and ſeveral Pageants were plac'd upon the River, and Speeches made; all which made a very noble Sight, compleated by the glorious ſetting out of the King's own Barge. The whole Nation upon this Occaſion was fill'd with new Triumphs, Rejoicings and Feaſtings; which bore hard upon many of the old Cavaliers, who were moſt ready, and leaſt able, to join in the Extravagancy of the Times.

The Marriage compleated.

The Queen-Mother ſettles in England.

Upon the compleating of this Marriage, the Queen-Mother, with the Earl of *St. Albans* and others, came over a ſecond Time into *England*, and had a ſplendid Court ſettled for her in *Somerſet-Houſe*, which ſhe propos'd to be the Abode of her remaining Widowhood. Another Effect of this Marriage was the Sale of *Dunkirk*, which happen'd not long after the Conſummation of it; of which the Foundation was laid by the very Treaty it ſelf: For the *Portugueſe* had ſo far prevail'd, that by the nineteenth Article of the ſaid Treaty, it was expreſly ſtipulated, 'That *Dunkirk* ſhou'd never be parted withal to the *Spaniard*;' which gave *France* a fair Opportunity to cloſe with the King, and to make a Bargain with him at a Time when he wanted ready Mony for the extraordinary Expences of this Year, and particularly the Payment of his Siſter's Portion. Many Reaſons were urg'd for the parting with this important Place; and the firſt Motive to the King, as I am aſſur'd by a knowing Man, was the great Expence in the keeping of it, which *Rutherford* the Governor had encreas'd to an exorbitant Degree ſince the Diſmiſſion of Sir *Edward Harley*. And the Earl of *Sandwich* particularly alledg'd to his Majeſty, *That the Coaſt was generally ſo tempeſtuous, and the Grounds ſo rowling upon every Storm, that there wou'd never remain a certain Steerage to that Port*. Theſe and other Reaſons being alledg'd in Council, tho' oppos'd by Chancellor *Clarendon*, and Treaſurer *Southampton*, the King was content to deliver up the Town and Port of *Dunkirk*, with all the Ordnance and Ammunition, for the Sum of five hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling; one half to be paid down, and the other in a ſhort Time after. Several Books were written in Vindication of this Sale, ſhewing how uſeleſs the Place was to *England*, unleſs Millions of Mony were expended upon it; and at this Time we do not find many Complaints againſt either this, or the *Portugal* Match: But when the ill Effects of both began afterwards to appear, as the increaſing Power of *France*, and the Queen's want of Iſſue, great Outcries were made, and Chancellor *Hyde* was unreaſonably charg'd with the Scandal of both, when he was really free from the Guilt, or rather Misfortune of either.

The Sale of Dunkirk.

2. While the great Match was preparing, and Mens Minds taken up in the Joy and Triumph of the Times, ſeveral high Criminals were taken and brought to their Execution; many being animated by the Zeal of the Parliament, fell again upon enquiring after the Regicides and Traytors excepted from the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. Several of them had fled beyond the Seas, among whom were *Miles Corbet*, Colonel *Okey*, and Colonel *Berkſtead*; who, having wander'd through many Parts of *Low* and *High Germany*, and for a while ſettled at *Hanow* under borrow'd Names, return'd in the Spring to *Delf* in *Holland*, having appointed their Wives to meet them there, to underſtand the Condition of Affairs in *England*. Their Letters being intercepted by the Vigilance of Sir *George Downing*, the King's Reſident at the *Hague*, one formerly of their own Party, they were all three ſuddenly ſeiz'd, and by the States Conſent put on Board the *Blackmore* Frigate, then lying at *Helvor-Sluce*, and ſo brought over and committed to the *Tower* at *London*. In this Affair, we are told that the States were very much ſurpriz'd, and wou'd have willingly revok'd their Orders when it was too late; ſo that they do not deſerve the high Exclamations againſt them, made by *Ludlow* and others, as if they, by delivering theſe Perſons, had broken a Fundamental Maxim of all Free Eſtates.

Corbet, Okey, *and* Berkſtead *ſeiz'd in* Holland.

After they had been ſome Time in the *Tower*, theſe three were brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar, and there demanded *what they cou'd ſay for themſelves, why they ſhou'd not dye according to Law*, the Act of Attainder being read to them: To which they alledg'd, they were not the ſame Perſons mention'd in that Act; whereupon Witneſſes being ready, they were call'd, and a Jury impannell'd, who gave Verdict that they were the ſame Perſons; upon which the Lord Chief Juſtice *Foſter* proceeded to Sentence, which was the ſame with the former Accomplices and Sufferers for that Fact. They were ſoon after executed at *Tyburn*, where they made better Ends than moſt of the reſt of the Regicides, and particularly acknowledg'd their reſolv'd Acquieſcence under the King's Government, as of God, and exhorted others to do the ſame; eſpecially Colonel *Okey*, a Perſon that for his Valour, and other good Qualities, was pity'd by all Men, for having been ſo blindly engag'd in his own Deſtruction. They all profeſs'd they had no Malice to his late Majeſty, and that they had miſtaken the Parliament's Authority for good and ſufficient in that unhappy Act. Being all three hang'd, bowell'd and quarter'd, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd, in Regard to Colonel *Okey*'s Chriſtian and dutiful Carriage, to return his Quarters to his Friends to be interr'd; which was done in the Chapel of the *Tower*, according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, to prevent the tumultuous Concourſe of the Fanaticks, who met in ſuch Numbers to attend the Corps, that the City Sheriffs were forc'd to diſperſe them. The Quarters of *Berkſtead* and *Corbet* were ſet upon the City Gates; the Head of the former was plac'd upon a Pole on *Traitor's-Gate* in the *Tower*, and that of the other on *London-Bridge*. We have little to ſay of theſe three unhappy Criminals; only *Corbet* was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in the County of *Norfolk*, and brought up in the Society of *Lincoln's-Inn*, and being Member of Parliament, he was a great Actor in purging the Houſe of Commons, in Favour of the *Independent* Party, being one of the *Congregational Way*. *Berkſtead* and *Okey* were both Citizens of *London*, the firſt a Working Silver-Smith, and the latter a poor Chandler; but by their Induſtry, and the Commotions of the Times, rais'd to be Colonels in the Army, where, with the reſt of their Party, they effectually compleated the Miſeries of the Nation.

They are executed.

Some little Account of them.

Proceedings againſt Vane, *and* Lambert.

Their Execution was not long after ſucceeded by that of a Superior Criminal, the famous Sir *Henry Vane*, whoſe Blood ſeems to have been demanded by the peculiar Vengeance of Heaven. This prodigious Man had been moſt deeply ingag'd in the darkeſt Scenes of the late Calamities, which he carry'd on with infinite Subtlety and Artifice, to the Deception of incredible Numbers in the Nations; and tho' he cunningly kept himſelf from the impious Court that condemn'd the King, it was ſufficiently known that none contributed more to the bringing Him thither; and after that, none more zealouſly promoted the Eſtabliſhment of the new *Common-Wealth*; and his Actions daily diſcover'd ſo much of Republican Rancour, that it was impoſſible for him to live in Quiet under any Reſemblance of Monarchy. So after the Reſtoration, having been found tampering with ſome Malecontents of the Army, and Others, in Order to freſh Diſturbances, the Government thought fit to confine him; and tho' He, with *Lambert*, was particularly excepted in the Act of Indemnity, yet he found ſo much Favour afterwards from the Houſe of Commons in the ſame Parliament, that they petition'd the King, in which they were joyn'd by the Houſe of Peers, That he might yet be exempt from ſuffering the Pains of Death; to which, as his Friends alledge, his Majeſty conſented. This was look'd upon as ſufficient Security; yet either upon the Account of his own Behaviour, or that of his Party, or ſome private Reſentment, the preſent Houſe of Commons thought fit to addreſs the King to bring Him, together with Colonel *John Lambert*, to their Tryals.

Vane's *bold Defence.*

Lambert ſubmits, and is repriev'd.

Accordingly on the 4th of *June*, they were both arraign'd at the King's-Bench Bar, before Sir *Robert Foſter* Lord Chief-Juſtice, and other Judges, and Indicted; Sir *Henry, for imagining and compaſſing the Death of the King, and for taking upon him, and uſurping the Government*; and Colonel *Lambert, for levying War againſt the King in ſeveral Parts of this Kingdom.* The Carriage and Behaviour of the Former was very extraordinary; for being charg'd by the King's Council with a continu'd Series of Treaſons from the King's Murder to the Reſtoration, without inſiſting upon the Rebellion with which they might have begun, he abſolutely deny'd they had any Power to try him, and declar'd, *That neither the King's Death, nor the Members themſelves cou'd diſſolve the Long Parliament, whereof he being One, no inferior Court cou'd call him in queſtion.* Then as to his Behaviour in the other Governments in Being after the King's Death, he urg'd this Pretence of Law, 'That his preſent Majeſty being at that Time but King *de Jure*, and not *de Facto*, he cou'd not be indicted for Treaſon before his Reſtoration.' He alſo more plauſibly alledg'd the Petitions of the Lords and Commons, and the King's Concurrence with them for the ſaving his Life, which he look'd upon as equivalent to an Act of Parliament. To which he was anſwer'd, That unleſs it had been paſs'd into an Act, it cou'd not be pleaded; and Replies were given to all his Queries and Difficulties, which he ſo often repeated, and with ſo many Pauſes, that he very much exercis'd the Patience of the Court. His whole Behaviour was ſo aſſuming and inſolent, that the Court and King's Council told him, *That his own Defence was a freſh Charge againſt him, and the higheſt Evidence of his inward Guilt, had there not been ſuch a Cloud of Witneſſes to prove the Particulars.* He ſtill found Means to ſpin out the Time with new Digreſſions and Queries, till with great Difficulty he was ſilenc'd, after he had often complain'd of his broken Memory, and long Impriſonment. At laſt the Jury, after a very ſhort Stay, brought him in guilty of High-Treaſon. Colonel *Lambert*'s Behaviour was quite contrary, full of Submiſſion and Diſcretion; ſo that the King's Council confeſs'd That his Carriage had been much different from the Other, not troubling the Court with Seditious Queries, but modeſtly urging his own Defence; but they added, *That good Manners muſt not commute for Treaſon*, and therefore demanded Judgment. He was likewiſe condemn'd, but when he was to receive Sentence with Sir *Henry Vane*, he was by the King's Favour repriev'd at the Bar, upon the Report that the Judges had given of his ſubmiſſive and handſome Deportment at his Tryal: Upon which he deſired the Judges to return to his Majeſty his moſt humble Thanks for his *ſo unexpected Mercy*; *which*, the Judges ſaid, *might have been, and was once thought to be extended to Sir* Henry, *if his Frowardneſs and Contemptuous Behaviour had not precluded the Way to it.* The Colonel was confin'd during Life in the Iſle of *Guernſey*, where he continu'd a patient and diſcreet Priſoner for above Thirty Years.

Vane's *prodigious Behaviour.*

His Execution and Character

The reſt of Sir *Henry Vane*'s Behaviour was ſo fill'd with Pride and Enthuſiaſm, that nothing can be more ſurprizing and ſhocking to Human Nature. According to *Ludlow He acquired Eternal Reputation by nobly Pleading for the dying Liberties of his Country.* His Friends Account of his Tryal, and Deportment afterwards, tends directly to this main End, *That in Right of* Jeſus Chriſt, *and his People, it was juſtifiable to ſtand up againſt any Government, and to Controll, and Subvert at Pleaſure.* Accordingly, when he receiv'd Sentence, at his Departure he us'd the Words of the bloody *Venner, Whom Man judges, God will not Condemn!* In like Manner, becauſe he was not ſuffer'd to defend the Treaſons he had acted for twenty Years together, he ſaid *It was a Violation of the Right of every Free-Born* Engliſh-*Man.* The King readily favour'd his Friends with changing his Sentence, from Hanging and Quartering to that of Beheading; and ſeem'd ſtill willing to have gone further; but when ſome perſuaded Him to ſubmit to the King, and endeavour to obtain his Life, he ſaid, *If the King did not think himſelf more concern'd for his Honour, and his Word, than he did for his Life, they might take it: Nay*, he declar'd, *That he valu'd his Life leſs in a good Cauſe, than the King cou'd do his Promiſe*; with ſuch like Rants, as if he deſign'd to precipitate his own Ruin. Then for his Religious Deportment, he declar'd *He had ſuch Signs of ſpecial Salvation, as to aſſure himſelf a Place no lower than the Right-Hand of Jeſus Chriſt.* He further ſaid, *This was the Day of his Spiritual Birth*, and even *whilſt here in Body, he was made Partaker of Eternal Life in the Firſt Fruits of it.* Being brought to the Scaffold on the 14th of *June*, he there run out into ſuch Lectures of Treaſon and Enthuſiaſm, that the Sheriff and the reſt, after two or three Warnings, were forc'd to drown them with the Noiſe of Drums and Trumpets, and were going to take his Papers from him; but he with great Rage and Indignation tore them in Pieces, and ſubmitted to the Block in a very diſcompos'd Manner. Yet his Friends tell us That his laſt Words at the Block, which concluded his Prayer, were Theſe: *Father, glorify thy Servant in the Sight of Men, that he may glorify Thee in the Diſcharge of his Duty to Thee, and to his Country!* He dy'd in the very ſame Place on *Tower-Hill* with the famous Earl of *Strafford*, of whoſe Death he was the prime Inſtrument, and for whoſe principally he was thought now to have Suffer'd. His Character and Actions have been fully accounted for in the laſt Volume of this Hiſtory; therefore we ſhall only obſerve That ſo much Diſſimulation and Enthuſiaſm, ſuch vaſt Parts and ſuch ſtrong Deluſions, ſo much good Senſe and ſo much Madneſs can hardly be believ'd to meet in any one Man in the World. And it is further obſerv'd, That as he was the firſt Man that open'd the Fountain of Blood that over-run the *Engliſh* Nation, ſo he was the laſt that clos'd it up in his own Execution; for we find none that ſuffer'd in *England* after him, upon the Account of the Grand Rebellion.

Difficulties among the Diſſenting Miniſters.

3. For about three Months after the breaking up of the Parliament, the Diſſenting Miniſters, eſpecially the *Presbyterians*, were under great Conſultations and Difficulties with Relation to the formidable *Act of Uniformity.* Some indeed were poſitive and reſolute againſt any Compliance with it, but great Numbers were very doubtful and uncertain, and appear'd to have had hard Struggles among the various Attractions of Conſcience and Honour, Intereſt and Humour. The Act was ſtrictly penn'd, and preſs'd hard upon late Principles and Practices; and the Severity of it was, no doubt, promoted by ſome who were concern'd in it, to keep out ſeveral particular Teachers, who they thought did not deſerve to enter into the Church. A continual Intercourſe of Letters and Meſſages paſs'd between thoſe in the City and the reſt in Countries, how to proceed in this nice Affair: Sometimes the Chief of them were for Compliance, as I have been aſſur'd by the beſt Hands; and then, upon further Conſideration, they chang'd their Minds. They were under conſiderable Temptations on both Sides: On one Side their Livings and Preferments were no ſmall Inducement towards their Compliance: On the other Side, beſides their Conſciences, they were much incourag'd by the Greatneſs of their Numbers, and were made to believe, That if they unanimouſly ſtood out, the Church muſt come to them, ſince the People wou'd never bear ſo ſhocking a Change, nor endure *ſo great a Silence of the Word*, as muſt happen if the Act took Place. Beſides they had great Expectations from ſeveral Friends at Court, and particularly the Popiſh Party, who gave them great Incouragement, not only by a Promiſe of Penſions to ſome, but alſo by a Toleration, and a Suſpenſion of the Act it ſelf, which not long after was partly made good. No doubt but the Non-Compliance of ſeveral proceeded purely from a Tender Conſcience they cou'd not reſiſt; and in that Caſe ought not only to be pityed, but rather applauded than condemn'd.

Two thouſand ſilenc'd.

However it was, it appear'd upon the 24th Day of *Auguſt*, which they call'd *The Fatal* Bartholomew, that tho' the Grounds for Non-Compliance were not the ſame to every individual Perſon, yet about two thouſand of them quitted their Preferments, or refus'd new Offers, upon ſcrupling ſome Parts of the Statute. We have a tragical Account from ſome Writers of the great Miſchiefs that hapned to the Church, and to Chriſtianity it ſelf, by the Loſs of ſo many eminent Preachers and Divines, and it is repreſented as a Caſe not to be parallel'd. On the other Side we are told, That there was more Senſe and ſound Doctrine preach'd throughout the Kingdom in one Twelve-Month after their *Fatal* Bartholomew, than had been in

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nigh twenty Years before. We believe neither of them to be exactly true, but both over-ſtrain'd in the Expreſſion at leaſt. But if we come to examine the Catalogue of the two thouſand Miniſters, we may find many conſiderable Abatements in ſeveral Reſpects, and ſuch as may extreamly leſſen the Horror expreſs'd by their greateſt Friends. If we ſtrictly enquire into the Titles and Preferments of ſome, the Principles and Opinions of others, with the real Deſerts and Practices of others of theſe two thouſand, we ſhall find the Loſs ſuſtain'd, or at leaſt the Hardſhips ariſing from this Act, very much to diminiſh, and to be much more inconſiderable than of late repreſented. If conſider'd all together, they were a confus'd Maſs and Body of ſeveral Sects, and Men of different Principles, many of whom mortally hated each other; but the *Presbyterians* bearing ſo great a Share in the Catalogue, the reſt ſeem'd to have been taken in to fill up the Number. But after all, if it be remember'd how many of them had been unjuſt Intruders, how many had been Trumpets and Incendiaries in the late Miſeries of the Nation, and how many had been unmerciful Perſecutors of the legal *Clergy* of *England*, and likewiſe how few were willing to diſown their ſeditious Practices, it is no Wonder that they met with no more Favour from the Parliament and Convocation, tho' they did ſhortly after from the Court. It ought alſo to be acknowledg'd, that among Theſe there were ſeveral Men of real and conſiderable Worth, both as to Piety and Learning, who felt the Severity of this Act of Parliament, and who might, if conforming, been Ornaments to the Church of *England*.

The Chief of them.

Their Reaſons for Non-Conformity.

Of the two thouſand Catalogue of thoſe Miniſters ejected or ſilenc'd, we find about ſixſcore about *London* and *Middleſex*, and above fourſcore in the two Univerſities; the reſt being interſpers'd through the Kingdom. We ſhall mention about forty of the moſt conſiderable and moſt noted amongſt them, either for Ability or Activity; whether they were *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, *Anabaptiſts*, or bare *Non-Conformiſts*: In and about *London* were Dr. *Thomas Jacomb*, Dr. *Ezekiel Hopkins*, Dr. *William Bates*, Dr. *William Spurſtow*, Dr. *Thomas Manton*, Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, Mr. *Stephen Charnock*, Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, Mr. *Matthew Pool*, Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*, Mr. *Thomas Caſe*, Mr. *William Jenkin*, Mr. *Zachary Crofton*, Mr. *Philip Nye*, and Mr. *Matthew Mead*. In the Univerſity of *Oxford* were Dr. *John Owen*, Dr. *John Conant*, Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, and Mr. *Theophilus Gale*. In the other of *Cambridge* were Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*, and Mr. *John Ray*. In the ſeveral Parts of the Country we may mention Dr. *Francis Cheynell*, Dr. *Cornelius Burgeſs*, Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, Mr. *Richard Baxter*, Mr. *John How*, Mr. *Samuel Cradock*, Mr. *Ralph Ward*, Mr. *David Clarkſon*, Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*, Mr. *Jonathan Jephcot*, Mr. *John Harmar*, Mr. *Joſeph Allen*, Mr. *Richard Heath*, Mr. *John Tombes*, Mr. *Joſeph Truman*, Mr. *John Hieron*, Mr. *George Hughs*, Mr. *John Rogers*, Mr. *John Shaw*, Mr. *Edward Bowles*, Mr. *Edward Reyner*, and Mr. *John Corbet*. Of theſe, ſome few afterwards conformed, as Dr. *Hopkins* and Dr. *Conant*. The Reaſons of the Nonconformity of ſuch great Numbers have been variouſly judg'd and reported; but as they and their Friends have given them, they are reduceable to theſe Five. 1. By the *Act of Uniformity* they were oblig'd to be re-ordain'd, if not Epiſcopally ordain'd before; which was the Caſe of only ſome of them. 2. They muſt declare their Aſſent and Conſent to every thing contain'd in the Book of *Common-Prayer*, &c. 3. They muſt take the Oath of Canonical Obedience. 4. They muſt abjure the *ſolemn League and Covenant*; and, 5. They muſt abjure the *taking Arms upon any Pretence whatſoever againſt the King*, &c. Tho' theſe Reaſons have been enlarg'd, and inſiſted on with the utmoſt Advantage every Particular wou'd admit of; yet it is juſtly believ'd, That that Temporary Part of the Act which was for the abjuring the *ſolemn League and Covenant*, rais'd greater Difficulties among many, than the conforming to the Ceremonies of the Church. Many People had ſtill an unaccountable Fondneſs and Veneration for it, therefore the Difficulty was inſuperable to ſeveral who thought themſelves under a perpetual Obligation to that lawleſs Engine of Miſery, which had been invented to eſtabliſh *Presbytery*, yet fram'd and finiſh'd by thoſe who hated both the Name and Thing.

The Caſe of the Church of England *with that of the Diſſenters.*

And here in this Place we may properly take Notice of the Caſe of the *Church of England*, and that of the *Diſſenters*, both with Relation to the preſent, and ſome other Times of this Reign; which ſhall be in the Words of a knowing Writer, who never was thought partial to the Former, or unfavourable to the Latter. Dr. *Burnet*, before he was Biſhop, in the Year 1688, writing againſt the Author of *Parliamentum Pacificum*, proceeds thus: ‘The King did indeed in his *Declaration* from *Breda* promiſe *Liberty of Conſcience*, on which he inſiſted in a large and wiſe *Declaration*, ſet out after he was ſettled on the Throne; but after he had got a Parliament, who for many Years granted him every thing that he deſired, a ſevere *Act of Uniformity* was paſs'd; and the King's Promiſe was carry'd off by this, *That the King cou'd not refuſe to comply with ſo loyal a Parliament*. It is well known, that thoſe who were then ſecretly *Papiſts*, and who diſguiſed their Religion for many Years after this, as the King himſelf did to the laſt, animated the chief Men of our Church to carry the Points of *Uniformity* as high as was poſſible, ---- that there might be many *Nonconformiſts*, and great Occaſion given for a *Toleration*, under which *Popery* might inſenſibly creep in: For if the Expedients that the King himſelf propos'd in his *Declaration* had been ſtood to, it is well known, That of the two thouſand *Conſcientious Miniſters*, as our Author calls them by an Affectation too groſs to paſs on them that were turn'd out, above ſeventeen hundred had ſtaid in. Their Practices had but too good Succeſs on thoſe who were then at the Head of the Church; whoſe Spirits were too much ſoured by their ill Uſage during the War, and whoſe Principles led them to ſo good an Opinion of all that the Court did, that for a great while they wou'd ſuſpect nothing. But at the ſame Time that the Church Party, that carry'd all before them in that Parliament, were animated to preſs things ſo hard, the *Diſſenters* were ſecretly encourag'd to ſtand out, and were told, *That the King's Temper and Principle, and the Conſideration of Trade, wou'd certainly procure them a Toleration:* And ever ſince, that Party that had thus ſet us together by the Ears, has ſhifted Sides dexterouſly enough; but ſtill they have carry'd on the *main Deſign*, which was to keep up the Quarrel in the Intervals of Parliament. *Liberty of Conſcience* was in vogue; but when a *Seſſion of Parliament* came, and the King wanted Mony, then a new ſevere Law againſt the *Diſſenters* was offer'd to the angry Men of the Church Party, as the Price of it; and this ſeldom fail'd to have its Effect: So that they were like the *Jewels of the Crown*, pawn'd when the King needed Mony, but redeem'd at the next Prorogation.

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In another Book written by the ſame Author a little after, with the ſame healing Deſign, we may juſtly take Notice of what follows: ‘I am ſorry that I muſt confeſs, That all the Parties among us have ſhew'd, that as their Turn came to be uppermoſt, they have forgot the ſame Principles of Moderation and Liberty which they all claim'd when they were oppreſs'd. If it ſhou'd ſhew too much ill Nature to examine what the *Presbytery* did in *Scotland* when the *Covenant* was in Dominion, or what the *Independents* have done in *New-England*; why may not I claim the ſame Privilege with relation to the Church of *England*, if Severities have been committed by her while ſhe bore Rule? Yet it were as eaſy, as it wou'd be invidious, to ſhew, That both *Presbyterians* and *Independents* have carry'd the Principle of Rigour in the Point of Conſcience much *higher*, and have acted more *implacably* upon it, than ever the Church of *England* has done, even in its *angrieſt Fits*.’ Then he proceeded to declare, in Oppoſition to that of *Rome*, ‘That the Church of *England* was the leaſt perſecuting in her *Principles*;’ and particularly manifeſted her wonderful Moderation after the blackeſt Perſecutions in Queen *Mary*'s Reign; ‘which, he ſays, is an Inſtance of the Clemency of our Church, that perhaps cannot be match'd in Hiſtory.’ Then he thus ſtates the Caſe in the preſent Reign of King *Charles*: ‘It is to be conſider'd, That upon the King's Reſtoration, the Remembrance of the former War, the ill Uſage that our Clergy had met with in their *Sequeſtrations*, the angry Reſentments of the Cavalier Party, who were ruin'd by the War; the Intereſt of the Court to have all thoſe Principles condemn'd that had occaſion'd it; the Heat that all Parties that have been ill us'd, are apt to fall into upon a Revolution; but above all, the Practices of Thoſe who have ſtill blown the Coals, and ſet one againſt another, all concurr'd to make us loſe the happy Opportunity offer'd in the Year 1660, to have heal'd all our Diviſions, and to have triumph'd over all the *Diſſenters*; not by ruining them, but by overcoming them with the Spirit of Love and Gentleneſs. In ſhort, ſevere Laws were made at ſeveral Times, ---- But this Spirit of Severity was heightned by the Practices of the *Papiſts*, who engag'd the King in *December* 1662, to give a Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*. Thoſe who knew the Secret of his Religion, as they ſaw that it aim'd at the Introduction of *Popery*, ſo they thought there was no Way ſo effectual for the keeping out of *Popery*, as the maintaining the *Uniformity*, and the ſuppreſſing of all Deſigns for a *Toleration*. ---- And thus all the Slacknings of the Rigour of the Laws, during the firſt *Dutch* War, that were ſet on upon the Pretence of *Quieting the Nation*, and *Encouraging of Trade*, were reſiſted by the Inſtruments of an honeſt Miniſter of State, the Lord *Clarendon*, who knew as well then, as we do now, what lay ſtill at Bottom, when *Li-*

'*berty of Conſcience* was pretended.' In this Manner he goes on with the reſt of the Deſign, and towards the latter End owns, 'That many Church-men, who underſtood not 'the Principles of Human Society, and the Rules of our 'Government, ſo well as other Points of Divinity, writ 'ſeveral Treatiſes concerning the *Meaſures of Submiſſion*, 'that were then as much cenſured, as their Performances 'ſince againſt *Popery* have been deſervedly admired.' Then ſpeaking of their Proſecution of the Diſſenters, he ſays, '*Self-Preſervation* is very natural: And it is plain, that 'many of them took that to be the Caſe; ſo that truly 'ſpeaking, it was not ſo much at firſt a Spirit of *Perſecution*, as a Deſire of *diſabling* thoſe, who they believ'd in'tended to ruin them, from effecting their Deſigns, that ſet 'them on thoſe unhappy things that follow'd. ----I will not 'deny but many of the Diſſenters were put to great Hard'ſhips in many Parts of *England*: But this I will poſitive'ly ſay, having obſerv'd it all narrowly, That he muſt have 'the Brow of a *Jeſuit*, that can caſt this wholly on the 'Church of *England*, and free the Court of it.' He concludes thus: 'Upon the whole Matter, all that can be 'made out of this is, That the Paſſions and Infirmities of 'ſome of the Church of *England* being unhappily ſtirr'd 'up by the *Diſſenters*, they were fatally conducted by the '*Popiſh* Party to be Inſtruments of doing a great deal of 'Miſchief.

The Caſe of the Revenues of the Church.

4. But to return to the Hiſtory of the preſent Year; We are to remember, That no ſooner was the Church of *England* eſtabliſh'd by the noted *Act of Uniformity*, but the next Conſideration was, the providing a better Maintenance for the conformable Clergy. The Appropriations of Rectories made by the Popes to Religious Houſes; the Secular Views of ſome great Lay Perſons at the Reformation, continuing the Alienation of the great Tithes, and reſerving them to Themſelves, and the further Depredations afterwards made upon the Patrimony of the Church, had altogether reduc'd many of the Parochial Clergy to a lamentable Condition: In many Towns the whole Profits were appropriated, and only a ſlender Stipend allow'd to the Perſon officiating; and in many others a Vicarage was ſettled, but ſo meanly endow'd, that the Vicar, tho' without the Charge of a Family, cou'd not tolerably ſubſiſt upon it. This Defect, which had been the Burden and Scandal of the Nation, was often conſider'd after the King's Return; and all Men of Senſe and Conſcience ſaw that the Church of *England* cou'd not be eſtabliſh'd with Honour and Safety, without a more competent Maintenance for the Parochial Clergy. And in regard many of the Impropriate Rectories were annex'd to Sees, or Cathedral and Collegiate Bodies, or to other Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, it was thought proper, that the good Example ſhou'd begin amongſt the Clergy themſelves; who were then more eſpecially enabled to augment the Cures, by reaſon of the conſiderable Fines lately receiv'd by them. Hence a Bill was depending in Parliament, for Rules and Orders to be obſerv'd in ſuch Augmentation of poor Vicarages and other inſufficient Cures: But, for particular Ends, it was thought more adviſable to refer the Matter to the King's *Inſtructions*. Purſuant to this Suggeſtion, his Majeſty directed his Royal Letters to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, requiring them, 'That forthwith Proviſion be made for 'Augmentation of all ſuch *Vicarages* and *Cures* where the 'Tithes and Profits are appropriated to them and their Succeſſors in ſuch Manner, that they who immediately attend 'upon the Performance of Miniſterial Offices, in every 'Pariſh, may have a competent Portion out of every Recto'ry Impropriate, *&c.*' Theſe Letters met with a chearful Compliance, and very conſiderable Augmentations were made in moſt of the Pariſhes appropriated to Eccleſiaſtical Corporations: But the Lay Impropriators too cloſely adhered to the Point of Intereſt, and refus'd to be govern'd by the King's Directions. Indeed, many of the Houſe of Commons ſeem'd well diſpos'd to a Remedy for this Evil, and ſeveral good Reſolves were made to that Purpoſe: But theſe pious Advances came to no Effect. The Miſcarriage is attributed either to the Members being diverted and call'd off by the King's preſſing Neceſſities, the Jealouſie and Avarice of ſome Lay Patrons and Impropriators, or the Profaneneſs and Irreligion of many of the leading Courtiers, who began to diſregard all that was good and ſerious.

A Deſign for Augmentation.

The Progreſs of the Fleet.

Before the Concluſion of the Year, we are to take Notice of ſome few other Particulars; and among the other Occurrences of it, it is to be remember'd, that the Vice-Admiral Sir *John Lawſon*, leaving the Earl of *Sandwich* this Summer to convoy the Queen from *Liſbon*, ſail'd with a ſtrong Squadron into the *Streights*, and there ſtruck ſuch a Terror into all the Neſts of Pirates, *Tunis*, *Tripoli* and *Algiers*, where Admiral *Blake*'s Actions were freſh in Remembrance, that he made them all yield to the Offer of a Treaty, and to the Acceptance of former Articles. Upon the Concluſion of this Peace, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, to their eternal Commendation, contributed a noble Sum of Mony, and ſent their Collection by two of their own Number, the Archdeacon of *Bath*, and a Prebendary, to *Algiers*, with which they redeemed above a hundred and fifty Chriſtian Slaves, *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh*, from the ſad Miſeries of a *Turkiſh* Captivity. The King of *England* had the greater Advantage of keeping the *African* Parts in Awe by the new Poſſeſſion of *Tangier*; to which the Lord *Rutherford*, late Governor of *Dunkirk*, newly made Earl of *Tiviot*, was ſent to be Governor in the Room of the Earl of *Peterborough*; and his Majeſty made it now a free Port, and granted it all the Privileges of a Merchant City, being ſeated very commodiouſly for Strength and Safety to guard any Naval Power, and to command thoſe Seas. But the vaſt Expence in Fortifying and Defending, and the Neceſſity at laſt of demoliſhing that Place, in Time made it more a Burden than a Portion to the Crown of *England*.

Tangier *a free Port.*

All this Year the Commiſſioners for regulating Corporations, as they were empower'd by Act of Parliament, proceeded to the Diſmiſſion of ſuch from all Offices and Places in Council, and otherwhere, who refus'd to renounce the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and who were juſtly ſuſpected for Diſaffection to the preſent Government. For the Peace of the Nation, beſides the diſplacing of Officers, they order'd that the Walls of the reſpective Cities and Towns of *Gloceſter* and *Coventry*, *Northampton*, *Taunton* and *Leiceſter*, together with other Places which had maintain'd the War againſt the late King, ſhou'd be entirely demoliſh'd, as Examples and Security to ſucceeding Times; and the Country Troops and reſpective Train'd-Bands guarded thoſe Places when they were demoliſh'd. Whether diſguſted at theſe, or other Proceedings, a new Plot was form'd againſt the Government, and diſcover'd juſt about the End of the Year, carry'd on chiefly by *Fifth-Monarchy* Men and *Anabaptiſts*. The Diſcovery began from one Captain *Baker* a *New-England* Man, an Acquaintance of *Hugh Peters*, and one of *Cromwell*'s Band of Penſioners, who firſt in the Street inform'd one *Hill*, the Son of an *Independent* Preacher, of the whole Deſign, and brought him acquainted at ſeveral Meetings of divers of the Conſpiracy; of which he having ſufficient Information, reveal'd it, with the Names of the Conſpirators, to Sir *Richard Brown*, late Lord-Mayor of *London*. For this, on the 11th of *December*, ſix of them were arraign'd for High-Treaſon at the *Old-Baily*, namely *George Philips* Serjeant to a Company of Foot, *Thomas Tongue* a Diſtiller of Strong-Waters, *Francis Stubbs* a Cheeſemonger, *James Hind* Gunner, *John Sellars* Compaſs-Maker, and *Nathaniel Gibbs* Felt-Maker. The following Particulars were prov'd againſt them, 'That they had a Deſign to ſeize and 'deſtroy his Majeſty's Perſon, the Duke of *York*, the Duke 'of *Albemarle*, and Major-General *Brown*, to ſeize the '*Tower* of *London*, and *Windſor-Caſtle*; and that they had 'already deliver'd out ſix hundred Arms: That this De'ſign was firſt manag'd by a Council of *Forty*, afterwards 'by a Council of *Six*, *viz. Thomas*, *Nye*, *Elton*, *Rawdon*, '*Spurway* and *Ward*: That this Council was to unite the '*Congregated* Intereſts: That an *Agitator* was ſent into 'every County, to draw in the late disbanded Soldiers: 'That old Army Colonels were to head the ſeveral Regi'ments, and *Ludlow* in chief: That ſeveral Forces were 'already liſted in *London*, and the Country, and that *All-Hallow*'s Eve was the Time appointed for their General 'Riſing.' They were convicted by Evidence of their Fellow-Conſpirators, *Rigge*, *Bradley*, and others; but only *Hind* pleaded Guilty, and crav'd the King's Mercy. They alledg'd, *That they never acted ſuch traiterous Intentions*; but the Deſign was prov'd to have been communicated and laid open to them: After their full Defence they were all found guilty, and on the 22d of *December*, *Philips*, *Tongue*, *Gibbs* and *Stubs* were executed according to Sentence; but the King was graciouſly pleas'd to give their Quarters to be bury'd, and diſpos'd of their Heads on *Tower-Hill* At the Place of Execution *Tongue* confeſs'd *That he had ſeveral Times joyn'd with the Conſpirators at their Meetings*: The reſt acknowledg'd *They were at theſe Meetings*, but alledg'd, *They were drawn in*: So that upon the whole we cannot find on what Reaſon or Authority this can be reckon'd a Sham-Plot.

The Walls of Gloceſter, *&c. demoliſhed.*

A new Plot.

Several executed.

The Deaths of Biſhop Duppa,

Beſides theſe mean Perſons, this Year is memorable for the Deaths of many conſiderable Men, who ought to have a Name in Hiſtory; and firſt we ſhall mention two or three Prelates, as Dr. *Brian Duppa*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Almoner to the King, a Perſon who had formerly gone through many Preferments, as well as Troubles, and particularly had the Honour to be for ſeveral Years Tutor to his preſent Majeſty when Prince of *Wales*; in all which he behav'd himſelf with ſingular Moderation, and an unblemiſh'd Reputation: He was a Man of excellent Parts, exemplary Piety, and every way qualified for his Function;

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more particularly as to the Comelineſs of his Perſon, and the Gracefulneſs of his Deportment, which render'd him worthy of the Service of a Court, and moſt fit to ſtand before Princes: And he was ſo much belov'd and eſteem'd by his grateful Sovereign, that the Day before his Death, he made him a Viſit at *Richmond*, and at his Bed-ſide crav'd his laſt Bleſſing in the moſt humble Poſture of a Subject. *Biſhop* Sanderſon, The next was Dr. *Robert Sanderſon*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, a Perſon of a ſtill greater Genius than the other, and one of the bright Ornaments of *England*, who was admired by all Learned Men, as well as by the late and preſent King; but ſignally diſtinguiſh'd for the Strength and Clearneſs of his Head and Judgment, and eſteem'd the moſt knowing Caſuiſt that the Nation ever produc'd: To compleat his Character from an eminent Hand, we are aſſur'd, 'That whether you conſider him in his Writings, or Converſation, 'from his firſt Book of *Logick* to his Divinity *Lectures*, '*Sermons*, and other *Diſcourſes*, the Variety of his *Learning*, his unparallel'd Meekneſs, Humility, and Conſtancy, 'you cannot but confeſs that the Church of *England* cou'd 'not loſe a greater Pillar, a better Man, and more accom- *Biſhop* Gauden, 'pliſh'd Divine.' The third Prelate was Dr. *John Gauden*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, a Perſon in ſome Reſpects inferior to both the other, yet not to be forgotten upon ſeveral Accounts: For he was a Man of very great Parts and Induſtry, and celebrated for an admirable Preacher; but cou'd not altogether preſerve himſelf from the Diſreputation of a *Time-Server*, nor his Memory from the Character of one criminally aſpiring after Preferments, and falſly aſſuming to himſelf the Honour of Writing a *Royal Treatiſe*, and one of the moſt excellent of the Age; for which he is believ'd likewiſe to have ſuffer'd in his Poſterity, being reduc'd to perfect Beggary. Next to theſe Biſhops, we may properly mention a Divine, in ſeveral Reſpects, not inferior to *Dr*. Heylyn, any of them, which was Dr. *Peter Heylyn*; a Perſon of whom it can hardly be ſaid which was moſt to be admired, his natural Parts and Abilities, or his active Pains and Induſtry; in both which he became remarkably conſpicuous by the vaſt Variety of his Works and Writings, but more particularly in *Hiſtory* and *Coſmography*; and all notwithſtanding the innumerable Oppoſitions and Interruptions he met with from the late Sectaries, who cou'd not forgive ſo great a Favourite of Archbiſhop *Laud*, and ſo zealous an Advocate for the Crown and Church of *England*. After all his Services, Labours and Sufferings, he never arriv'd at any higher Church-Preferment than the Sub-Deanery of *Weſtminſter*; which ſeems moſt juſtly to be attributed to a violent and inflexible Spirit, which had prov'd highly prejudicial to that very Church he had ſo often ſtrenuouſly and nobly defended.

After theſe of the Church of *England*, we may juſtly *Mr*. Ley, mention two *Presbyterian* Divines, namely, Mr. *John Ley*, and Mr. *Henry Jeanes*: The Firſt was juſtly eſteem'd one of the Pillars of *Presbytery*, being a Perſon well vers'd in various Authors, and a moſt ready Writer and Preacher; who, after he had been one of *the Aſſembly of Divines*, and gone through divers Fortunes and Preferments, he dy'd in Retirement at *Sutton Coldfield* in *Warwickſhire*. The O- *Mr*. Jeanes, ther, Mr. *Jeanes*, was Rector of *Chedſey* in *Somerſetſhire*; of whom *Wood* ſays 'He was a moſt excellent Philoſopher, a noted Metaphyſician, and well grounded in Polemical Divinity; a Scholaſtical Man, a Contemner of the 'World, generous, free-hearted, jolly, witty and facetious;' He wrote many Books, and dy'd a little before the *Fatal Bartholomew*, and therefore not ſo properly to be reckon'd among the ejected Miniſters. After theſe we ſhall mention two famous Parliamentarians, the old Lord *Say*, and the Speaker *Lenthall*, whoſe Characters and Actions have been given and diſplaid in the laſt Volume of this *The Lord* Say, Hiſtory, yet ſomething may here be properly added. The Former, after he had liv'd to ſee all his fine Projects and ambitious Deſigns defeated by the over-ruling Power of his Friend *Cromwell*, was firſt content with a voluntary Retreat, or rather Impriſonment in the Iſle of *Lundy*, and after that to employ the ſame Parts and Induſtry in Promoting the Reſtoration of the old Government: For which the Merciful King not only forgave all his former Crimes, but rewarded him with the *Privy-Seal*, to the great Diſguſt and Diſappointment of many of the old Cavaliers, who probably cou'd not then judge of the real Inducements to this Preferment. He dy'd in Peace after fourſcore Years ſpent in Variety of Troubles, at his Houſe at *Broughton* in *Oxfordſhire*, where he had help'd to lay the Foundation of *Mr*. Lenthill, our Civil Wars. The Other, Mr. *William Lenthall*, the famous Time-Server, after all his weak and wicked Proceedings, found Means at the Reſtoration to ſave both Himſelf and great Eſtate, and ſo likewiſe dy'd quietly, and was bury'd moſt obſcurely at *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*; only we are to obſerve, That at his Death, contrary to moſt of his Party, he ſhew'd himſelf a great Penitent, as far as related to a free Acknowledgment, Confeſſion and Sorrow for the Crimes he had committed, and yielded to, when he was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. After him we may well enough mention *John Biddle*, the famous Heretick, who by his Parts, Induſtry and Writings made ſo much Noiſe in the late Times, when it was thought they were ſcarcely capable of any additional Diſturbance: After John Biddle, various Confinements, Strugglings and Tryals, in which his Life was often in Danger, he at laſt dy'd in Priſon, leaving ſome Works behind him, whoſe Venom has not yet been wholly cured. To make a Tranſition from the Worſt to the Beſt, we ſhall laſt of all mention Mr. *Lau- And Mr.* Rooke. *rence Rooke*, Profeſſor both of Aſtronomy and Geometry in *Greſham*-College, and One of the Firſt and moſt glorious Members of the *Royal Society*; an admirable Man, not only in Mathematicks, but in all Sorts of Learning, 'in 'whom an incorrupt Probity of Manners, was joyn'd 'with an univerſal Knowledge of Things; a more than 'Virgin Modeſty, with a more than Virile Underſtanding; 'a moſt candid Simplicity, with a moſt ſagacious Prudence; 'a penetrating Sharpneſs of Wit, with a profound Solidity of Judgment; an invincible Patience of Labour, with 'a vivid Chearfulneſs of Mind; and laſtly a ſevere unblameable Life, with a moſt ſweet Converſation; all which 'conſpired in Him, by a rare and almoſt incredible Temperament.

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X. I. For above two Years after the Reſtoration, and till after the King's Marriage and the Queen Mother's Settlement in *England*, while Chancellor *Hyde* continu'd prime Miniſter without any Rivalſhip, his Majeſty's Councils were for the moſt part regular and ſteady, and were carry'd on with Wiſdom and Forecaſt. But be- *The Chancellor's Intereſt declines.* fore the Beginning of this Year, as the Popiſh Intereſt gather'd Strength at Court, ſo that of the Chancellor, and his true Friends, began to decline, and his mighty Influence and Authority ſenſibly to diminiſh; tho' he ſtill retain'd his Place, and a conſiderable Power, for ſome Years. This firſt appear'd at the Removal of his Friend Sir *Edward Nicholas*, that wiſe and faithful Servant to two Kings, who is ſaid to have reſign'd his Secretary's Place upon the Account of his Age. However he readily parted with it for a good Conſideration, and the King offer'd further to reward him with making him a Baron of *England*; but this worthy Gentleman modeſtly declin'd the Honour, *That his Majeſty might not too much increaſe the Nobility*. He was immediately ſucceeded in his Place by Sir *Henry Bennet*, *Sir* Henry Bennet *made Secretary.* lately the King's Reſident in *Spain*, a Perſon of no mean Abilities, but One who ſecretly eſpous'd the Cauſe of Popery, and one who had much influenc'd the King towards the embracing that Religion, the Year before his Reſtoration, at *Fontarabia*; for which he was ſo much threatned by the Lord *Colepeper*, that it is believ'd he durſt not return into *England* till after the Death of that Nobleman. Not only the Removal of Secretary *Nicholas*, and the Settlement and Influence of the Queen Mother, but likewiſe the Abſence of the Duke of *Ormond* ſeem'd to conſpire towards the Diminution of the Chancellor's Intereſt. That great Man and Friend had been ſent over into *Ireland*, where, as Lord-Lieutenant, he was receiv'd with greater Honour and Triumph, with more Magnificence and larger Preſents, than was ever known in that Kingdom.

After this new Alteration and Eſtabliſhment, which happen'd towards the End of the laſt Year, the King's Counſels began to be more unſteady and variable, and ſome different Meaſures began to be taken, which prov'd not altogether ſo agreeable to the Parliament, which till this Time had never differ'd with him in any Thing. The only Matter where they ſeem'd to have any Difference, was that of Indulgence and Toleration to the Nonconformiſts; of whom, the *Presbyterians* had the beſt Pretenſions to be favourably conſider'd: For they had been conſiderably inſtrumental in the King's Return, and had the Promiſe of his Favour; and moſt of their Divines had expreſs'd a good Temper for Moderation and Union, declaring for a Regulated Epiſcopacy, and a Reformed Liturgy. For which Reaſons the King had been particularly kind and gracious to them, and had given them great Hopes, that he wou'd either not paſs the Bill for *Uniformity*, or procure them ſome Clauſe of Exception and Exemption in it: But finding themſelves diſappointed in both theſe Expectations, and generally agreeing to ſuffer Ejectment at St. *Bartholomew*'s Day, they ſhortly after apply'd themſelves to the King and Council for a *Diſpenſation* from the Penalties of that Act. The Council ſhew'd their Averſeneſs to a *Diſpenſing Power* in general, and eſpecially to this particular Exerciſe of it. But the King betray'd a manifeſt Inclination for it, and ſeem'd to labour under a Promiſe that he wou'd effect it. And therefore to introduce it with leſs Offence and Surprize, he publiſh'd a handſom *Declaration* to all his loving Subjects, conſiſting of ſeveral Particulars. 'In this, He firſt *The King's Declaration.* 'of all complains of four Things unjuſtly charg'd upon 'him: 1. That he intended nothing leſs than the Obſervation 'of the *Act of Indemnity*. 2. That upon the Pretence of

'Plots, he intended to introduce a Military Way of Government. 3. That notwithſtanding his Promiſe from *Breda*, and *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*, he had fetter'd the Scrupulous by the *Act of Uniformity*; and 4. That he was indulgent to *Papiſts* to ſuch a Degree, as might endanger the Proteſtant Religion. To all theſe he gave particular and direct Anſwers; but as to the *Act of Uniformity*, he declar'd his own firm Adherence to it, only, for the Sake of Others, he was ready and willing to Diſpenſe with ſome Matters in it.' In the Concluſion he promis'd, 1. 'To puniſh by ſevere Laws that Licentiouſneſs and Impiety, which ſince the Diſſolution of the Government had overſpread the Nation. 2. As well by Sumptuary Laws, as his own Example of Frugality, to reſtrain the Exceſs in Mens Expences, which was grown ſo general and exorbitant, beyond all Bounds, either of their Qualities or Fortunes. 3. So to retrench all his own ordinary and extraordinary Charges, as to bring them within the Compaſs of his ſettled Revenue, that thereby his Subjects might have little Cauſe to fear his frequent Preſſing them for new Aſſiſtances. And laſtly, ſo to improve the good Conſequences of theſe Three Particulars to the Advancement of Trade, that all his Subjects finding the Advantage of them in that prime Foundation of Plenty, they might all with Minds happily compos'd by his *Indulgence*, apply themſelves comfortably to their ſeveral Vocations, in ſuch a Manner as the private Intereſt of every One might encourage him to contribute to the general Proſperity.'

Deſign'd for the Eaſe of Diſſenters.

This Declaration, which was ſpread through the Nation in the Beginning of *January*, is believ'd to have been fram'd at *Somerſet-Houſe*, where the Queen-Mother kept her Court; and it was generally perceiv'd that the chief Deſign was to make way for a Toleration of Diſſenters, contrary to the *Act of Uniformity*. This preſently appear'd in the particular Inſtance of Mr. *Calamy*, one of the Heads of the *Presbyterians*, who, notwithſtanding he was diſabled by the Act, as ſoon as the Declaration was publiſh'd, ventur'd to preach at his former Church of *Aldermanbury*, upon the Default of a Preacher there expected. Upon which he was committed to *Newgate* by the Lord-Mayor, not only upon the Account of the Breach of the Act, but upon a Repreſentation that his Sermon tended to Sedition; yet in a few Days he was ſet at Liberty by the King's expreſs Order, without the due Manner of a legal Diſcharge; which gave a particular Offence to the Houſe of Commons, who, ſitting ſoon after, made a ſtrict Enquiry into the Fact. The King had partly ſatisfy'd the more ſober Diſſenters, that he had a tender Regard for their Eaſe and Indemnity; but they ſoon found that they had leſs Intereſt in the Parliament than in the Court. It was undoubtedly a preſent Unhappineſs, that they found ſo much Countenance from the Unſteadineſs of the King, and ſome of his Miniſters; for this did but ſerve to heighten their Prejudices againſt the eſtabliſh'd Church, and render'd them ſtill leſs inclinable to Conformity and Union, becauſe they continually ſupported themſelves with the Hopes of Liberty and Toleration. Whereas if they had loſt all Dependance on a Court Intereſt, and had found the King and the Miniſtry as intent upon the Obſervance of the *Act of Uniformity*, as the Commons of *England*, moſt of the ſober Sort wou'd in all Probability have been gradually brought over, and ſo added great Strength and Glory to the Church and Nation. What Motives diſpos'd his Majeſty to be ſo favourable to them, and to encourage their contending with the Laws of the Land, was not at this Time ſo eaſily determinable: Whether it was his Temper, whether it was his Promiſe, whether it was his Gratitude, and whether it was his real Judgment, or Political Opinion, it was then uncertain; but ſince then it has been gradually diſcover'd, that tho' theſe might all have their Weight and Influence, yet a main Reaſon was, under the Cover of an Indulgence to *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, to give the better Protection and Advantage to *Popery*; of which the Chancellor ſeem'd moſt ſenſible during the reſt of his Miniſtry.

The THIRD SESSION *of the Second Parliament. The King's Speech to both Houſes.*

2. Thus ſtood the Affairs of the Nation at the Third Meeting of the preſent Parliament, which, according to Prorogation, fell on the 18th Day of *February*, after a long Receſs of about nine Months. The King's Speech to both Houſes was in theſe Words: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am very glad to meet you here again, having thought the Time long ſince we parted, and have often wiſh'd you had been together to help me in ſome Occaſions which have fallen out: I need not repeat them to you, you have all had the Noiſe of them in your ſeveral Counties; and, God be thanked, they were but Noiſe without any worſe Effects. To cure the Diſtempers, and compoſe the differing Minds among us, I ſet forth my *Declaration* of the 26th of *December*, in which you may ſee I am willing to ſet Bounds to the Hopes of Some, and to the Fears of Others; of which, when you ſhall have examin'd well the Grounds, I doubt not but I ſhall have your Concurrence therein. The Truth is, I am in my Nature an Enemy to all Severity for Religion and Conſcience, *how miſtaken ſoever it be*, when it extends to Capital and Sanguinary Puniſhments, which I am told were begun in *Popiſh* Times: Therefore when I ſay this, I hope I ſhall not need to warn any here not to infer from thence I mean to favour *Popery*. I muſt confeſs to you, There are many of that Profeſſion, who having ſerv'd my Father and my Self very well, may fairly hope for ſome Part of that *Indulgence* I wou'd willingly afford to Others who diſſent from us: But let me explain my ſelf, leſt ſome miſtake me herein, as I hear they did in my *Declaration:* I am far from meaning by this, a *Toleration*, or *Qualifying* them thereby to hold any Offices or Places in the Government; nay further, I deſire ſome Laws may be made to hinder the Growth and Progreſs of their Doctrines. I hope you have all ſo good an Opinion of my Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion, as I need not tell you I will not yield to any therein, not to the Biſhops themſelves, nor in my Liking the *Uniformity* of it, as it is now eſtabliſhed; which being the Standard of our Religion, muſt be kept pure and uncorrupted, free from all other Mixtures: And yet if the *Diſſenters* will demean themſelves peaceably and modeſtly under the Government, I cou'd heartily wiſh I had ſuch a *Power of Indulgence*, to uſe upon *Occaſions*, as might not needleſly force them out of the Kingdom, or ſtaying here, give them Cauſe to conſpire againſt the Peace of it. *My Lords and Gentlemen*, it wou'd look like Flattery in me to tell you to what Degree I am confident of your Wiſdom and Affection in all things that relate to the Greatneſs and Proſperity of the Kingdom. If you conſider well what is beſt for us all, I dare ſay we ſhall not diſagree. I have no more to ſay to you at preſent, but once again to bid you heartily welcome.'

The Commons are againſt Indulgence.

This Speech, together with the late Declaration, gave ſome little Alarm to the Houſe of Commons, who were juſtly apprehenſive of the Dangers of a Toleration, becauſe the *Papiſts*, as well as other *Sectaries*, wou'd find their Advantage in it. Therefore they appointed the 25th of *February*, to take into Conſideration his Majeſty's gracious Declaration of the 26th of *December* laſt, and his Speech made at the Opening this Seſſion: At which Time they unanimouſly reſolv'd, That the Thanks of the Houſe ſhou'd be return'd to the King's Majeſty for all the other Parts of his Declaration; but as to the Point of *Indulgence*, they reſolv'd, *That it be preſented to the King's Majeſty, as the humble Advice of this Houſe, That no Indulgence be granted to the Diſſenters from the* Act of Uniformity. And they order'd, *That a Committee be appointed to collect and bring in the Reaſons of this Houſe for this Vote upon the preſent Debate.* On the next Day, a Report was made to the Houſe from the Committee by Sir *Heneage Finch*, his Majeſty's Sollicitor-General; and after ſome Amendments and Additions, the Reaſons and Addreſs were agreed to, and preſented to his Majeſty at the *Banquetting-Houſe* in *White-hall* the 27th of *February*, where it was read and deliver'd by the Speaker.

Their particular Addreſs to the King.

In the Addreſs it ſelf, after they had return'd their particular Thanks for the ſeveral Parts of the Declaration, they proceeded thus: 'It is with extream Unwillingneſs and Reluctancy of Heart, that we are brought to differ from any thing which your Majeſty has thought fit to propoſe: And tho' we do no way doubt, but that the unreaſonable Diſtempers of Mens Spirits, and the many Mutinies and Conſpiracies which were carry'd on, during the late Intervals of Parliament, did reaſonably incline your Majeſty to endeavour by your *Declaration* to give ſome Allay to thoſe ill Humours, till the Parliament aſſembled; and the Hopes of *Indulgence*, if the Parliament ſhou'd conſent to it; eſpecially ſeeing the Pretenders to this *Indulgence* did ſeem to make ſome Titles to it, by vertue of your Majeſty's Declaration from *Breda*. Nevertheleſs, we your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, who are now return'd to ſerve in Parliament, from thoſe ſeveral Parts and Places of your Kingdom, for which we were choſen, do humbly offer to your Majeſty's great Wiſdom, *That it is in no ſort adviſeable that there be any* Indulgence *to ſuch Perſons, who preſume to diſſent from the* Act of Uniformity, *and the Religion eſtabliſh'd:* For theſe Reaſons, we have conſider'd the Nature of your Majeſty's Declaration from *Breda*, and are humbly of Opinion, *That your Majeſty ought not to be preſs'd with it any further*; 1. Becauſe it is not a *Promiſe* in it ſelf, but only a gracious Declaration of your Majeſty's *Intentions*, to do what in you lay, and what a Parliament ſhou'd adviſe your Majeſty to do; and no ſuch Advice was ever given, or thought fit to be offer'd; nor cou'd it be otherwiſe underſtood, becauſe there were Laws of *Uniformity* then in being, which cou'd not be diſpens'd with, but by Act of Parliament.

‘ 2. They who do pretend a Right to that ſuppoſed *Promiſe*, put the Right into the Hands of their Repreſentatives, whom they choſe to ſerve for them in this Parliament, who have paſs'd, and your Majeſty conſented to, the *Act of Uniformity*. If any ſhall preſume to ſay, *That a Right to the Benefit of this Declaration doth ſtill remain after this Act paſſed*, 3. It tends to diſſolve the very Bonds of Government, and to ſuppoſe a Diſability in your Majeſty and the Houſes of Parliament, to make a Law contrary to any Part of your Majeſty's Declaration, tho' both Houſes ſhou'd adviſe your Majeſty to it.

‘ We have alſo conſider'd the *Nature* of the *Indulgence* propos'd, with Reference to thoſe *Conſequences* which muſt neceſſarily attend it. 1. It will eſtabliſh *Schiſm* by a Law, and make the whole Government of the Church precarious, and the Cenſures of it of no Moment or Conſideration at all. 2. It will no way become the Gravity or Wiſdom of a Parliament, to paſs a Law at one Seſſion for *Uniformity*, and at the next Seſſion (the Reaſons of *Uniformity* continuing ſtill the ſame) to paſs another Law to fruſtrate or weaken the Execution of it. 3. It will expoſe your Majeſty to the reſtleſs Importunity of every *Sect* or Opinion, and of every ſingle Perſon alſo, who ſhall preſume to diſſent from the Church of *England*. 4. It will be a Cauſe of increaſing *Sects* and *Sectaries*, whoſe Numbers will weaken the true *Proteſtant* Profeſſion ſo far, that it will at leaſt be difficult for it to defend it ſelf againſt them: And, which is yet further conſiderable, thoſe Numbers which, by being troubleſome to the Government, find they can arrive to an *Indulgence*, will, as their Numbers increaſe, be yet more troubleſome, that ſo at length they may arrive to a *General Toleration*, which your Majeſty hath declared againſt; and in Time, ſome prevalent *Sect* will at laſt contend for an *Eſtabliſhment*; which, for ought can be foreſeen, may end in *Popery*. 5. It is a thing altogether without Precedent, and it will take away all Means of convicting *Recuſants*, and be inconſiſtent with the Method and Proceedings of the Laws of *England*. Laſtly, It is humbly conceiv'd, That the *Indulgence* propos'd will be ſo far from tending to the Peace of the Kingdom, that it is rather likely to occaſion great Diſturbance. And on the contrary, That the aſſerting of the Laws, and the Religion eſtabliſh'd, according to the *Act of Uniformity*, is the moſt probable Means to produce a ſettled Peace and Obedience throughout your Kingdom: Becauſe the Variety of Profeſſions in Religion, when openly indulg'd, doth directly diſtinguiſh Men into *Parties*, and withal gives them Opportunity to count their Numbers; which, conſidering the Animoſities that out of a Religious Pride will be kept on foot by the ſeveral *Factions*, doth tend directly and inevitably to open Diſturbance. Nor can your Majeſty have any Security, that the Doctrine or Worſhip of the ſeveral *Factions*, which are all govern'd by a ſeveral Rule, ſhall be conſiſtent with the Peace of your Kindom. And if any Perſons ſhall preſume to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, we do in all Humility declare, *That we will for ever, and on all Occaſions, be ready with our utmoſt Endeavours and Aſſiſtance to adhere to, and ſerve your Majeſty according to our bounden Duty and Allegiance.*

The King's Anſwer,

And Meſſage.

To this notable Addreſs, his Majeſty gave this gracious Anſwer: *That He gave them hearty Thanks for their many Thanks; That never any King was ſo happy in a Houſe of Commons, as He in This; That the Paper and Reaſons were long, and therefore he wou'd take Time to conſider of them, and ſend them a Meſſage; That they cou'd never differ but in Judgement, and that muſt be when he did not rightly expreſs Himſelf, or They did not rightly underſtand Him; but their Intereſt was ſo far linkt together, that they cou'd never diſagree.* According to this Promiſe, a little above a Fortnight after, on the 16th of *March*, he ſent this Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons: ‘ That he was unwilling to enlarge upon the Addreſs lately made to him by his Houſe of Commons, or to reply to the Reaſons, tho' he found what he ſaid not much underſtood; but he renew'd his hearty Thanks to them, for their Expreſſions of ſo great Duty and Affection, and for their free Declaration *That if any Perſon ſhall preſume to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, they will for ever, upon all Occaſions, be ready with their utmoſt Endeavours and Aſſiſtance, to adhere to, and ſerve his Majeſty*; and did very heartily deſire them ſo to enable Him, and to put the Kingdom into ſuch a Poſture of Defence, as that if any Diſturbance or Seditious Deſigns aroſe, they might be eaſily ſuppreſs'd.' To all which the Houſe of Commons return'd their particular Thanks and Promiſes.

Lords and Commons petition againſt Papiſts.

3. As the Houſe of Commons were ſo ſtrict and exact with Relation to the Proteſtant Diſſenters, ſo they were no leſs careful and diligent againſt the Papiſts. They perceiv'd that the King's Profeſſion of Indulgence towards the Former, did very much encourage the Confidence of *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits; and therefore joyning with the Houſe of Lords, within a ſhort Time they together agreed and drew up *A humble Repreſentation and Petition of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, concerning Romiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.* This was preſented to the King by both Houſes, on the firſt of *April*, and was as following: ‘ The humble Repreſentation and Petition of the Lords and Commons, Sheweth, That notwithſtanding your Majeſty's unqueſtionable Affection and Zeal for the true *Proteſtant* Religion, manifeſted in your conſtant Profeſſion and Practice, againſt all Temptations whatſoever; yet, by the great Reſort of Jeſuits and *Romiſh* Prieſts into this Kingdom, your good Subjects are generally much affected with Jealouſie and Apprehenſion, That the *Popiſh* Religion may much increaſe in this Kingdom, which your Majeſty hath moſt piouſly deſired may be prevented; and ſo the Peace both in Church and State may be inſenſibly diſturb'd, to the great Danger of Both. Your two Houſes of Parliament are therefore humble Suitors to your Majeſty to iſſue out your Proclamation to command all Jeſuits, and all *Engliſh*, *Iriſh* and *Scottiſh* Popiſh Prieſts, and all ſuch other Prieſts as have taken Orders from the See of *Rome*, or by Authority thereof (except ſuch Foreign Jeſuits or Prieſts as by Contract of Marriage are to attend the Perſons of either of the Queens, or by the Law of Nations to attend Foreign Ambaſſadors) to depart this Kingdom by a Day, under Pain of having the Penalties of the Law inflicted upon them.

The King's Reply to it.

This Repreſentation having been read to his Majeſty, he immediately made the following Speech to both Houſes: ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, You do not expect that I ſhou'd give you an Anſwer preſently to your Petition, yet I tell you That I will ſpeedily ſend you an Anſwer, which I am confident will be to your Satisfaction. It may be the general Jealouſie of the Nation hath made this Addreſs neceſſary; and indeed I believe nothing hath more contributed to that Jealouſie than my own Confidence, *That it was impoſſible there ſhou'd be any ſuch Jealouſie*, and the Effects of that Confidence: But I ſhall give you Satisfaction, and then I am ſure you will eaſily ſatisfie and compoſe the Minds of the Nation. I confeſs, *my Lords and Gentlemen*, I have heard of one Jealouſie, which I will never forgive the Authors of, *That I had a Jealouſie of your Affections, That I was offended with the Parliament to that Degree that I intended to diſſolve it.* They ſay Men are naturally moſt Angry with thoſe Reports which reflect upon their Underſtanding, which makes them thought weak Men: Truly, I ſhou'd appear a very weak Man, if I ſhou'd have any ſuch Paſſion, any ſuch Purpoſe. No, *my Lords and Gentlemen*, I will not part with you upon thoſe Terms! Never King was ſo much beholden to a Parliament as I am to you; and if my Kindneſs to you, and my Confidence in you be not Proportionable, I am behind-hand with you, which, God willing, I will not be.

‘ *Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I am willing to take this Occaſion to give you my particular Thanks for your great Kindneſs in taking hold upon an eaſie Intimation, rather than an Invitation from Me, to enter upon the Conſideration of my Revenue: It was kindly done, and I ſhall never forget it. I have given Order, that you may be fully inform'd of the true State of it, and then I know you will do that which is good for Me, and You: And I pray purſue your good Reſolution, in putting the Kingdom into ſuch a Poſture, that we may prevent, at leaſt not fear, any deſperate Inſurrection.

A Second Anſwer.

The King according to his Promiſe, the very next Day ſent an Anſwer to the Petition in Writing to the Houſe of Lords, which, in a Conference between both Houſes, was likewiſe deliver'd to the Commons, and was as following: ‘ His Majeſty having ſeriouſly conſider'd and weigh'd *the humble Repreſentation and Petition of his Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament*, and the great Affection and Duty with which the ſame was preſented to him; and after having made ſome Reflections on Himſelf and his own Actions, is not a little troubled that his Lenity and Condeſcenſions towards many of the *Popiſh* Perſuaſion (which were but natural Effects of his Generoſity and Good-Nature, after having liv'd ſo many Years in the Dominions of *Roman* Catholick Princes; and out of a juſt Memory of what many of them had done and ſuffer'd in the Service of his Royal Father of bleſſed Memory, and of ſome eminent Services perform'd by Others of them, towards his Majeſty Himſelf in the Time of his greateſt Affliction) have been made ſo ill uſe

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‘ of,and ſo ill deſerv'd,that the Reſort of Jeſuits and Prieſts into this Kingdom hath been thereby increas'd; with which his Majeſty is, and hath long been highly Offended. And therefore his Majeſty readily concurs with the Advice of his Two Houſes of Parliament, and hath given Order for the preparing and iſſuing out ſuch a Proclamation as is deſired, with the ſame Clauſe referring to the Treaty of Marriage, as was in the Proclamation, which, upon the like Occaſion, iſſu'd out upon the Advice of both Houſes of Parliament in the Year 1640. And his Majeſty will take farther Care, that the ſame ſhall be effectual, at leaſt to a greater Degree than any Proclamation of this Kind hath ever been. And his Majeſty farther declares, and aſſures both his Houſes of Parliament, and all his loving Subjects of all his Dominions, That as his Affection and Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion and the Church of *England* hath not been conceal'd, or untaken Notice of in the World: So he is not, nor ever will be, ſo ſolicitous for the ſettling his own Revenue, or providing any other Expedients for the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, as for the Advancement and Improvement of the Religion eſtabliſh'd, and for the uſing and applying all proper and effectual Remedies to hinder the Growth of *Popery*; both which he doth in Truth look upon as the beſt Expedient to eſtabliſh the Peace and Proſperity of all his Kingdoms.

Immediate Thanks were return'd to the King for this obliging Anſwer; and his Majeſty, according to Promiſe, did within a few Days after publiſh ſuch a Proclamation as was deſired, *commanding all Jeſuits, and Popiſh Prieſts to depart this Kingdom*, &c. But it did not appear to be much more in the real Intentions of the Court, than another Popular Proclamation, not long after iſſu'd out for the *better Obſervation of the Lord's Day*, and likewiſe for renewing a former Proclamation againſt *vitious, debauch'd and profane Perſons*: For notwithſtanding theſe Publick Profeſſions towards pleaſing of the People, it became more viſible that Popery and Profaneneſs were both in the Increaſe at Court; and that the former, if it was not the Occaſion, was the unfortunate Concomitant, or near Attendant of the latter.

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The Commons Care of the King's Revenue,

4. The Commons in Parliament were now buſily employ'd, among other Things, in examining the true State of the King's Revenue, as his Majeſty had deſired them in his laſt Speech. They proceeded to enquire into all the particular Branches, as the *Cuſtoms*, the *Exciſe*, the *Crown Lands*, the *Hearth Mony*, the *Poſt-Office*, the *Firſt Fruits* and *Tenths*, the *Coynage*, the *Alienation*, and other Offices, with ſeveral other leſſer Matters; and found that all together did not at this Time amount to quite eleven hundred thouſand Pounds a Year. While they were conſidering and inquiring into theſe Matters, on the 12th of *June* the King ſent for the Speaker, and the whole Houſe, to the *Banquetting-Houſe* at *White-Hall*, where he made a remarkable and affecting Speech to them, which ought not to be omitted,and, tho' ſomewhat long, ſhou'd not be abridg'd; eſpecially ſince we do not find that it ever was in Print, or any other Book beſides the *Journals of the Houſe of Commons*: And it is ſo contriv'd, that it will hardly bear any Sort of Mutilation; therefore the Reader may be pleas'd to accept of it in full Length.

The King's Speech to them alone.

‘ *Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I have ſent for you this Day to communicate with you, as good Friends ought to do, when they diſcover the leaſt Jealouſie growing, which may leſſen their Confidence in each other. It is a Freedom very neceſſary to be us'd between me and you: And you may all remember, That when there was lately a little Jealouſie amongſt you, upon ſomewhat I had ſaid or done, I made all the Haſte I cou'd to give you Satisfaction; for which you all return'd me your hearty Thanks; and were, I think, ſatisfy'd. *Gentlemen*, it is in no Man's Power, no not in your own Power, to make me ſuſpect, or in the leaſt Degree imagine it poſſible, That your Affections and Kindneſs is leſſen'd or diminiſh'd towards me. I know very well, That the People did never in any Age uſe that Vigilance and Circumſpection, in the Election of Perſons of known and try'd Affections to the Crown; of your good Principles, and unqueſtionable Inclinations to the Peace of the Church and the State, for their Repreſentatives in Parliament, as they did when they choſe You. You are the very ſame Men, who at your firſt coming together, gave ſuch ſignal Teſtimonies of your Affection and Friendſhip to my Perſon, of your Zeal for the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and liberal Support of the Government, and of your Horror and Deteſtation of thoſe Men, whoſe Principles you diſcern'd keep them awake to take all Occaſions to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and to embroil us in a new Civil War; which is as much their Endeavour now as ever, and it may be not enough abhorr'd by Others, whoſe Principles and Ends are very different from them. You are the ſame Men, who at your firſt Meeting by a wonderful and chearful Harmony and Concurrence in whatſoever I cou'd wiſh, gave me Reputation Abroad, and Security at Home, made our Neighbours ſolicitous for our Friendſhip, and ſet a juſt Value upon it. And, truſt me, ſuch a Reputation is of ſuch a vaſt Importance, as made my Evil Subjects even deſpair of bringing their wicked Purpoſes to paſs. And is it poſſible that the ſame Perſons can continue the Same together, without the ſame Affection for Me? I am ſure it is impoſſible!

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‘ And yet, I muſt tell you, the Reputation I had from your Concurrence and Tenderneſs towards me is not at all improv'd ſince the Beginning of this Seſſion: Indeed it is much leſſen'd. And I am ſure I never ſtood in more need of that Reputation than at preſent, to carry me through the many Difficulties, in which the Publick is at leaſt concern'd, as much as my ſelf. Let Me and You think never ſo well of our ſelves, if all the World knows or believes that we are poor, that we are in Extremity of Want, if our Friends think we can do them no Good, or our Enemies believe we can do them no Harm, our Condition is far from being proſperous. You cannot take it amiſs (you ſhall uſe as much Freedom with me) That I tell you there hath not appeared that Warmth in you of late in the Conſideration of my Revenue, as I expected, as well from ſome of your Meſſages, as my own Confidence in your Care and Kindneſs. It hath been ſaid to my ſelf, *That it is uſual for the Parliament to give the Crown extraordinary Supplies upon emergent Occaſions, but not to improve the conſtant Revenue of the Crown.* I wiſh, and ſo do you, that nothing had lately been done in and by Parliaments but what is *Uſual*: But if ill Parliaments contrive the Ruin and Diſinheriſon of the Crown, God forbid but good Parliaments ſhou'd repair it, how *Unuſual* ſoever it is. If you your ſelves had not in an extraordinary Manner improv'd my Revenue, the Government cou'd not have been ſupported; and if it be not yet improv'd to the Proportion you have deſign'd, I cannot doubt but you will proceed in it with your old Alacrity. I am very well contented that you proceed in your Inſpection; I know it will be to my Advantage, and that you will neither find my Receipts ſo great, nor my Expences ſo exorbitant, as you imagine: And for an Evidence of the laſt, I will give you an Account of the Iſſues of the twelve hundred thouſand Pounds you ſo liberally gave me; one Penny whereof was not diſpos'd but upon full Deliberation with my ſelf, and by my own Order, and I think you will all ſay for the Publick Service. But, *Gentlemen*, this Inquiſition cannot be finiſh'd in the ſhort Time we can now conveniently ſtay together: And yet if you do not provide before we part, for the better Paying and Collecting what you have already given me, you can hardly preſume what it will amount to; and if you do not ſupport what you have already given me by ſome Addition, you will quickly ſee Lawful Ways found to leſſen the Revenue more than you imagine: And therefore I cannot but expect your Wiſdoms will ſeaſonably and ſpeedily provide a Remedy for that growing Miſchief. Believe me, *Gentlemen*, the moſt diſaffected Subjects in *England* are not more unwilling to pay any Tax or Impoſition you lay upon them, than I am to receive it: God knows I do not long more for any Bleſſing in this World, than *that I may live to call a Parliament, and not ask or receive any Mony from them*; I will do all I can to ſee that happy Day. I know the vaſt Burthens the Kingdom hath born the laſt twenty Years and more; that it is exceedingly impoveriſh'd: But, alas! what will that which is left do them good, if the Government cannot be ſupported; if I am not able to defray the Charge that is neceſſary for their Peace and Security? I muſt deal plainly with you (and I do but diſcharge my Conſcience in that Plainneſs) if you do not, beſides the improving my Revenue in the Manner I have recommended to you, give me ſome preſent Supply of Mony to enable me to ſtruggle with thoſe Difficulties I am preſs'd with, I ſhall have a very Melancholick Summer, and ſhall much apprehend the Publick Quiet.

‘ You have heard, I preſume, of the late Deſign in *Ireland* for the Surprize of the Caſtle of *Dublin*, which was ſpread all over that Kingdom, and many Parliament-Men were engag'd in it. There is an abſolute Neceſſity that I forthwith ſend over a Sum of Money thither, for the Payment of the Army, and putting the Garriſons there in good Order. You will not doubt but that thoſe ſeditious Perſons there, had a Correſpondence with their Friends here: And I pray let us not be too careleſs of them.

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‘ I aſſure you, I have ſo great Occaſion for Mony here, which my Revenue cannot ſupply me with, that I every Day omit the doing ſomewhat that is very neceſſary for the Publick Benefit. Theſe ſure are juſt Motives to perſuade you to give me a Supply, as ever mov'd a Houſe of Commons. And therefore I conjure you to go chearfully about it, and let me not be diſappointed in my Confidence of your Affections: And I pray remember the Seaſon of the Year; and how neceſſary it is that we make a *Receſs* at or about *Midſummer*. I have enlarg'd much more to you upon this Occaſion than I have us'd to do; and you may perceive it hath not been very eaſy to me: But I was willing that you ſhou'd underſtand from my ſelf what I deſire, and expect from you: and the rather, becauſe I hear ſome Men have confidently undertaken to know my Mind, who have had no Authority from me, and to drive on Deſigns very contrary to my Deſires. I do pray heartily that the Effect of this Day's Converſation may be the renewing of our Confidence in each other, and raiſing our joint Reputation, which will be our ſtrongeſt Security, with God's Bleſſing, the Kingdom can have for its Peace, Plenty and full Proſperity: And upon my Word, you ſhall have great Comfort in what you ſhall do for me, upon this very earneſt and hearty Recommendation.

They, and the Clergy, grant Supplies.

This Speech, together with the affecting Way of Delivery, had ſuch an Influence upon the Minds of the Commons, that they immediately reſolv'd upon a preſent Supply, and in a ſhort Time gave his Majeſty four entire Subſidies. The Clergy in Convocation, following their Example, likewiſe gave four Subſidies; which, in Reality, was the laſt Mony that ever was given to the Crown by that Reverend Body or Aſſembly.

Deſigns againſt the Chancellor.

5. During this Seſſion of Parliament, it became viſible that the Lord-Chancellor *Clarendon* began to decline as to his great Power and Influence at Court; and he ſeem'd to ſtand ready to be given up to his Enemies, and to bear the Odium of every publick Miſcarriage or Misfortune. This great Man was ſenſible that the late Alterations in Court, and particularly in the Secretary's Office, were no ways to his Advantage, and therefore arm'd himſelf againſt all Enemies from thence; well knowing that the King ſtill retain'd a conſiderable Eſteem and Affection for him. But now aroſe a Storm from an unexpected Quarter: There had been a long Courſe of uninterrupted Friendſhip, both in Adverſity and Proſperity, between the famous Earl of *Briſtol* and the Chancellor, ſo that the Band ſeem'd almoſt indiſſolvable. But gradually falling into different Meaſures, upon the Account of Religion or Politicks, and the Chancellor refuſing a ſmall Boon, as the Earl of *Briſtol* took it to be, which was ſaid to be the paſſing a Patent in Favour of a Court Lady, the latter thought himſelf ſo diſoblig'd, that letting looſe his fiery Temper, he reſolv'd upon nothing but Revenge. And having digeſted all things within himſelf, which might tend to the Overthrow of the Chancellor, he firſt made a bitter and artful Speech againſt him in the Houſe of Lords; and then, on the 10th of *July*, exhibited Articles of High-Treaſon, and other Crimes, againſt him.

Articles exhibited againſt him by the Earl of Briſtol.

The Subſtance of the whole Accuſation was as following, ‘ That the Chancellor, being in Place of higheſt Truſt and Confidence with his Majeſty, and having arrogated a ſupream Direction in all things, had, with a Traiterous Intent to draw Contempt upon his Majeſty's Perſon, and to alienate the Affections of his Subjects, abus'd the ſaid Truſt in Manner following. 1. He had endeavour'd to alienate the Hearts of his Majeſty's Subjects, by artificially inſinuating to his Creatures and Dependents, That his Majeſty was inclined to *Popery*, and deſign'd to alter the Eſtabliſh'd Religion. 2. He had ſaid to ſeveral Perſons of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, *That his Majeſty was dangerouſly corrupted in his Religion, and inclined to Popery: That Perſons of that Religion had ſuch Acceſs, and ſuch Credit with him, that unleſs there were a careful Eye had upon it, the* Proteſtant *Religion wou'd be overthrown in this Kingdom.* 3. Upon his Majeſty's admitting Sir *Henry Bennet* to be Secretary of State, in the Place of Sir *Edward Nicholas*, he ſaid, *That his Majeſty had given ten thouſand Pounds to remove a zealous* Proteſtant, *that he might bring into that high Place a conceal-ed* Papiſt. 4. In Purſuance of the ſame Traiterous Deſign, ſeveral Friends and Dependents of his have ſaid aloud, *That were it not for my Lord Chancellor's ſtanding in the Gap,* Popery *would be introduc'd into this Kingdom.* 5. That he had perſuaded the King, contrary to his Reaſons, to allow his Name to be us'd to the Pope and ſeveral Cardinals in the Sollicitation of a Cardinal's Cap for the Lord *Aubigney*, great Almoner to the Queen: In order to effect which, he had employ'd Mr. *Richard Bealing*, a known Papiſt; and had likewiſe apply'd himſelf to ſeveral Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits for the ſame Purpoſe, promiſing great Favour to the Papiſts here, in Caſe it ſhou'd be effected. 6. That he had likewiſe promis'd to ſeveral Papiſts he would do his Endeavour, and ſaid, *He hop'd to compaſs the taking away all penal Laws againſt them*; to the End they might preſume and grow vain upon his Patronage, and by their publiſhing their Hopes of *Toleration*, encreaſe the Scandal, deſign'd by him to be rais'd throughout the Kingdom. 7. That being intruſted with the Treaty betwixt his Majeſty, and his Royal Conſort the Queen, he concluded it upon Articles Scandalous and Dangerous to the *Proteſtant* Religion: Moreover he brought the King and Queen together, without any ſettled Agreement about the Performance of the Marriage-Rites; whereby the Queen refuſing to be marry'd by a *Proteſtant* Prieſt, in Caſe of her being with Child, either the Succeſſion ſhou'd be made uncertain for want of the due Rites of Matrimony, or elſe his Majeſty be expoſed to a Suſpicion of having been marry'd in his own Dominions by a *Romiſh* Prieſt. 8. That having endeavour'd to alienate the Hearts of the King's Subjects upon the Score of Religion, he endeavour'd to make uſe of all his Scandals and Jealouſies to raiſe to himſelf a popular Applauſe of being *the zealous Upholder of the Proteſtant Religion*, &c. 9. That he further endeavour'd to alienate the Hearts of the King's Subjects, by venting in his own Diſcourſe, and thoſe of his Emiſſaries, opprobrious Scandals againſt his Majeſty's Perſon, and Courſe of Life, ſuch as are not fit to be mention'd, unleſs Neceſſity ſhall require it. 10. That he endeavour'd to alienate the Affections of the Duke of *York* from his Majeſty, by ſuggeſting to him, *That his Majeſty intended to Legitimate the Duke of* Monmouth. 11. That he had perſuaded the King, againſt the Advice of the Lord-General, to withdraw the *Engliſh* Garriſons out of *Scotland*, and demoliſh all the Forts built there, at ſo vaſt a Charge to this Kingdom; and all without expecting the Advice of the Parliament of *England*. 12. That he endeavour'd to alienate his Majeſty's Affections and Eſteem for his preſent Parliament, by telling him, *That there was never ſo weak and inconſiderable a Houſe of Lords, nor never ſo weak and heady a Houſe of Commons*; and particularly, *That it was better to ſell* Dunkirk, *than to be at their Mercy for want of Mony*. 13. That contrary to a known Law made laſt Seſſions, by which Mony was given and apply'd for the maintaining of *Dunkirk*, he advis'd and effected the Sale of the ſame to the *French* King. 14. That he had, contrary to Law, enrich'd himſelf and his Treaſurers by the Sale of Offices. 15. That he had converted to his own Uſe vaſt Sums of publick Mony raiſed in *Ireland* by way of *Subſidy*, private and publick *Benevolences*, and otherwiſe given and intended to defray the Charge of the Government in that Kingdom. 16. That having arrogated to himſelf a ſupream Direction of all his Majeſty's Affairs, he had prevailed to have his Majeſty's Cuſtoms Farmed at a lower Rate than others offer'd, and that by Perſons with ſome of whom he went a Share, and other Parts of Mony reſulting from his Majeſty's Revenue.

Reflections upon them.

This heavy Charge, fill'd with Inſinuations and Aggravations, appear'd rather to have been a perſonal Quarrel, than any ſerious Concern for publick Truth and Juſtice. The Words concerning the King's private Inclinations, here charg'd as ſpoken by him, were generally thought to have been the real Expreſſions or Suggeſtions of that great Man; but ſurely it was not altogether without a Cauſe: They may be thought the Effect of an indecent Freedom, but can hardly be imagin'd to have proceeded from any want of Integrity or Loyalty. And indeed there appears a perverſe Turn in the Articles, firſt to repreſent the Chancellor as jealous of *Popery*, and complaining of the King's Inclination to it, by chuſing new Miniſters Popiſhly affected; and yet after all, to make the Chancellor himſelf the Inſtrument of thoſe very Deſigns laid for Popery, and the profeſs'd Promoter of them. This was ſomewhat ſurpriſing; and what has ſince made the deſign'd Revenge more apparent, is, That the Articles ſhou'd tax the Chancellor with ſaying *Bennet* was a conceal'd Papiſt, when *Briſtol* himſelf, the Accuſer, was the ſame, and had been privy to all that the King had done at *Fontarabia*, at the *Pyrenean* Treaty. And indeed the Houſe of Lords ſeem'd ſenſible of the Malice of the Accuſation, as ſoon as the Articles were exhibited and read before them. Upon which, after a ſhort Conſideration, they made this following Order: ‘ That a Copy of the Articles or Charge of High-Treaſon, exhibited this Day by the Earl of *Briſtol* againſt the Lord-Chancellor, be deliver'd to the Lord-Chief-Juſtice; who, with all the reſt of the Judges, are to conſider, *Whether the ſaid Charge hath been brought in Regularly and Legally*; and *Whether it may be proceeded on, and how*; and *Whether there be any Treaſon in it or no*; and make Report thereof to this Houſe on *Monday* next, if they can, or elſe as ſoon after as poſſibly they may.

1663.
Car. 15.
Ref. 4.

Upon this important Occaſion all the Judges met at *Serjeant's-Inn*, and the Earl of *Briſtol* repaired to them, deſiring to ſee their Order; which being read, he told them, *He came out of Reſpect to know of them Whether they were inform'd how it came into the Houſe of Peers, whether as a Charge or not:* But one of the Judges, who had been preſent when it was deliver'd in, ſaying, *They were ty'd up by their Order*, the Earl took ſome Exception at the Manner of his Expreſſion, *as if his Addreſs were unneceſſary at that Time*, and taking it as a Rebuke upon him, departed. But according to their Order, which ſuppos'd it to be a Charge of *High-Treaſon*, and not mentioning *Miſdemeanour*, they did upon Conſideration unanimouſly agree upon this enſuing Anſwer, which the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Foſter* deliver'd into the Houſe of Lords: 'We conceive that a Charge of *High-Treaſon* cannot, by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, be *Originally* exhibited by one Peer againſt another unto the *Houſe of Peers*; and that therefore a Charge of *High-Treaſon* by the Earl of *Briſtol* againſt the Lord *Chancellor*, mention'd in the *Order* of Reference to us of the Tenth of this Inſtant *July*, hath not been *Regularly* and *Legally* brought in; and if the Matters alledg'd in the ſaid Charge were admitted to be true, altho' alledg'd to be *Traiterouſly* done, yet there is no Treaſon in it.' Upon the reading of this Anſwer, the Earl of *Briſtol* took Exceptions at it; and ſome of the Lords, who were Friends to the Chancellor, inferr'd, 'That if it was not *Regularly* and *Legally* brought in, it was a *Libel*, and it ought to be condemn'd, and the Author of it cenſured.' To ſatisfy the Houſe, one of the Judges, upon Conference with his Brethren, did the next Day deliver the Reaſons of the Opinion of the Judges in their ſaid Anſwer; when the Earl of *Briſtol*, a little to extenuate the Matter, ſaid, *the Articles were not intended by him as a Charge, but as an Information.* Hereupon their Lordſhips, upon a fair Debate upon the Queſtion, did unanimouſly reſolve to declare their Concurrence with the Opinion of the Judges; and ſo the Contrivance of Overthrowing this great Man ſunk for the preſent. Yet this early Step to his Fall had gain'd very much of the deſign'd Effect, which was to make him leſs gracious with his Royal Maſter, leſs reſpected in the Houſes of Parliament, and leſs beloved by the People; and ſo gradually to become a more eaſy Prey, whenever his Enemies ſhou'd attempt to hunt him down.

The Lords reject them.

3. Theſe Proceedings were not long finiſh'd, when the King, reſolving upon a Receſs, upon the 27th of *July* came to the Houſe of Peers, and being ſeated on his Throne, ſent for the Houſe of Commons, who had ſeveral Bills ready for the Royal Aſſent. The Speaker, in preſenting of them, thus handſomly addreſs'd himſelf to his Majeſty: 'The Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Commons Houſe of Parliament, have, ſince their laſt Meeting, in many weighty and arduous Affairs preſented your Majeſty with their *humble Advice*; which with all Thankfulneſs they acknowledge, never wanted a moſt Gracious Reception. Never any Prince did ſo freely commune with his People, and never any People did with more Joy and Duty commemorate their Happineſs. The laſt Seſſion of Parliament our Care was chiefly to ſecure the *Being* of this Nation under our ancient happy Monarchical Government: This Seſſion we have endeavour'd to advance the Peace and *Well-being* both of Church and State. Material Structures are beſt ſecured by deep Foundations in the Earth; but the Foundations of true Happineſs are from above: We have therefore in the firſt Place perus'd the Laws, which enjoin the *Obſervation of the Lord's-Day*, and where we found any Defect, either in Rules or Penalties, we have with great Care ſupply'd them; well knowing, That he who doth not remember on the firſt Day of the Week to obſerve a *Chriſtian Sabbath*, will hazard, before the Week comes round, to forget he is a Chriſtian. ----- At the Opening of this Seſſion, your Majeſty was moſt graciouſly pleas'd to call upon us to prepare ſome Laws for the *Prevention of the Growth of Popery*; and we have heartily labour'd therein, both to prevent the Growth of *Popery*, and all ſorts of *Sectaries* and *Nonconformiſts:* But as the rankeſt Corn, and the fulleſt Ears are apteſt to be laid; ſo fares it in this Matter, theſe Fruits are not yet ready for the Harveſt. But we are confident, by the Wiſdom of your Majeſty's Government, and the Readineſs of your faithful Subjects to ſupport it, by the juſt and true Execution of the Laws, theſe Perſons will either be perſuaded to Conformity, or forc'd into a peaceable and orderly Converſation.' Then, in the Name of the Commons of *England*, praying for one Proclamation againſt Papiſts, Sectaries, and Nonconformiſts, and another againſt Profaneneſs, Debauchery, and Licentiouſneſs, he proceeded thus: 'And for the better ſecuring the Peace of the Nation againſt the united Counſels of all the *Diſſenters* to our Religion, and eſtabliſh'd Diſcipline, we have prepared an Additional Bill *for the ordering the Forces of the Kingdom*; whereby your Majeſty's Lieutenants, and the Deputy-Lieutenants, will be enabled to train, diſcipline, and keep together ſuch a Party as will be able to prevent Diſorders, and ſufficient to check any Inſurrections, till the great Body of the *Militia* can come into their Aſſiſtance. During the late unhappy Wars in this Nation, our Neighbours Eyes were open to ſpy out all Advantages of ſpoiling our Trade, and to advance their own; but *by the ſeveral good Bills* here made ready for your Majeſty's Royal Aſſent, we hope we ſhall reſtore and encreaſe the flouriſhing Trade of this Nation. *Great SIR*, I have but one Word more, and that is by Command from your Majeſty's loyal and dutiful Subjects, the Commons of *England:* They have duly conſider'd the preſent unſettled Condition of this Nation, and the great Expence which muſt attend ſuch Diſtractions: And do humbly beſeech your Majeſty to accept an Aid from them, *conſiſting of Four entire Subſidies*; Two of which are to be paid by the firſt of *November* next, and the other Two by the firſt of *May* next following.

The Speaker's Speech to the King at the Prorogation.

1663.
Car. 15.
Ref. 4.

Upon the Finiſhing of this, and paſſing ſome Bills, of which ſeveral were not expreſly mention'd by the Speaker, the King made this following Speech to both Houſes: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I thank you for the Preſent you have made me this Day; I hope your Countries will thank you when you come home for having done it. I am not conſcious of having brought the Streights and Neceſſities I am in upon my ſelf, by any Improvidence or Ill-husbandry of my own: I know the contrary, and I aſſure you, I wou'd not have deſir'd, or receiv'd the Supply you have given me, if it were not abſolutely neceſſary for the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, as well as mine: And I muſt tell you, it will do me very little Good, if I do not improve it by very good Huſbandry of my own; and by retrenching thoſe very Expences, which in many Reſpects may be thought neceſſary enough. But you ſhall ſee I will much rather impoſe upon my Self, than you my Subjects; and if all Men will follow my Example in retrenching their Expences, (which it may be they may do with much more Conveniency than I can do mine) the Kingdom will in a very ſhort Time gain what you have given me this Day. I am very glad you are now going into your ſeveral Countries, where your Preſence will do much Good: And I hope your Vigilance and Authority will prevent thoſe Diſturbances, which the reſtleſs Spirits of ill and unquiet Men will be always contriving, and of which I aſſure you they promiſe themſelves ſome Effects this Summer. There have been more Pains and unuſual Ways taken to kindle the Old fatal Fears and Jealouſies, than I thought I ſhou'd ever have liv'd to have ſeen, at leaſt to have ſeen ſo countenanc'd. I do deſire you, and conjure you, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, to watch this Evil Spirit and Temper with your utmoſt Care and Prudence, and ſecure the Perſons of thoſe whom you find poſſeſs'd with it, That the Peace of the Kingdom may not be ſacrific'd to their Pride, Humour and Madneſs.

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

'I did expect to have had ſome Bills preſented unto me againſt the ſeveral *Diſtempers in Religion*, againſt *Seditious Conventicles*, and againſt *the Growth of Popery:* But it may be you have been in ſome Fear of thoſe Contradictions in Religion in ſome Conſpiracy againſt the Publick Peace, to which I doubt Men of the moſt contrary Motives in Conſcience are inclineable enough. I do promiſe you to lay this Buſineſs, and the Miſchiefs which muſt flow from theſe Licences, to heart; and if I live to meet with you again, as I hope I ſhall, I will my Self take care to preſent two Bills to you to that End. And as I have already given it in Charge to the Judges, in their ſeveral Circuits, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to prevent and puniſh the ſcandalous and Seditious Meetings of *Sectaries*, and to convict the *Papiſts*, ſo I will be as watchful, and take all the Pains I can, That neither the One nor the Other ſhall diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom. I ſhall not need to deſire you to uſe all Diligence in Levying and Collecting the Subſidies you have given me, and heartily wiſh the Diſtribution may be made with all Equality and Juſtice, and without any Animoſity or Faction, or Remembring any Thing that hath been done in the late ill Times, which you know we are all oblig'd to forget, as well as to forgive. And indeed till we have done ſo, we can never be in perfect Peace; and therefore I can never put you too much in Mind of it. I think it neceſſary to make this a *Seſſion*, That ſo the Current of Juſtice may run the next two Terms, without any Obſtruction by Privilege of Parliament: And therefore I ſhall prorogue you till *March*, when I doubt not but by God's Bleſſing we ſhall meet again,

‘ again to our joint Satisfaction; and that you ſhall have Cauſe to thank me for what I ſhall have done in the Interval.

The End of the Third Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

Thus ended the Third Meeting or Seſſion of the Second Parliament, which laſted five Months and above a Week; in which Time, beſides the Subſidies, there paſs'd fourteen or fifteen Acts, of conſiderable Uſe to the Publick, as to Conveniency and Trade, but not of very great Moment in Hiſtory, and therefore not ſo proper to be inlarg'd on in a Work of this Nature: Only we may remember that in this Parliament the Revenues of the *Poſt-Office* and *Wine Licenſes*, both improving, were ſettled uptled upon his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*; by which he was enabled to keep a diſtinct Court, and gradually to obtain ſome Degree of Independence.

The King makes a Progreſs.

7. Not long after the breaking up of the Parliament, in the long Vacation, the King to divert Himſelf, and to oblige his People, reſolv'd upon a publick Progreſs into the *Weſt*, together with his Royal Conſort the Queen. He went from *London* to the *Bath*, and from thence through *Glocesterſhire* to the Univerſity of *Oxford*; being preſented at *Reading* and *Newbury* with handſom Purſes of Gold. Where-ever he came he was receiv'd with very great and ſplendid Entertainments; particularly at *Littleton*, from Mr. *Alexander Popham*; at *Newbury*, from Sir *Thomas Dolman*; at *Marlborough*, from the Lord *Seymour*; at *Long-Leet*, from Sir *James Thyn*; at *Badmanton*, from the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*; and at *Cornbury*, from the Lord-Chancellor *Hyde*. Coming towards *Oxford*, he was ſolemnly met half a Mile from the City by the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors and Scholars in all their Formalities; and entering the Suburbs, by the Militia of the City, through which he paſs'd from his firſt Entry to his Lodgings. During his Abode there, he viſited the Schools, where he was entertain'd with a magnificent Banquet; and his Son the Duke of *Monmouth*, now fourteen Years of Age, was formally incorporated into the Univerſity. He alſo touch'd above three hundred Perſons for the *Evil*; and ſo, with great Impreſſions of Duty and Reverence left behind him, he return'd to *London* in *October*, after a Progreſs of a little above five Weeks.

A new Plot diſcover'd the North.

During this Progreſs, and both before and after it, there was a ſecret and dangerous Correſpondence carry'd on between the Zealots for Separation, and the Republican Party, to conſpire for the Advancement of the *Good old Cauſe*, and to take up Arms for the reſtoring it. The Place of Plotting was chiefly in the *North*, as being more remote from the Court, and nearer the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, where they had their Agitators employ'd among the moſt violent of the Kirk-Men, as they had alſo in *London*, and moſt of the Counties in *England*. They had ſeveral Meetings in *Yorkſhire*, and particularly at a Place call'd *Stan-houſe*. They had an Oath of Secrecy among themſelves, which was ſtrictly obſerv'd for a Time; and they had agreed to riſe on the 12th of *October*, and gave Aſſurance to their Friends, ‘ That the Inſurrection wou'd be general; That *Whitehall* ſhou'd be ſecured; That *Nottingham*, *Glocester*, and *Newcaſtle* ſhou'd be ſeiz'd for the moſt convenient Paſſes over the *Severne*, *Trent*, and *Tine*; and *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire* for a Sea-Port to receive Succours out of *Holland*, and other Foreign Parts.’ Their Pretences were *to redeem themſelves from the Exciſe and all Subſidies*; *to re-eſtabliſh a Goſpel-Magiſtracy and Miniſtry*; *to reſtore the Long-Parliament*; *and to reform all Orders and Degrees of Men, eſpecially the Lawyers and Clergy*. In Order to this they printed a Sort of Declaration, or Call to Rebellion, beginning in theſe Words, *If there be any City, Town or County in the three Nations that will begin this righteous and glorious Work, they may be aſſured*, &c. according to which, a conſiderable Number of them appear'd in Arms at *Farnley*-Wood in *Yorkſhire*.

The Deſign of it.

166¾. But ſome of the principal Conſpirators having been diſcover'd and ſecur'd, and the Time and Places of Rendezvous known, the Militia were drawn out, and ſome regular Troops ſent into *Yorkſhire*, which took ſeveral of them up, and prevented the Execution of their Deſign. A ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* was ſent to *York*, in the midſt of Winter, for the Trying the Principal Leaders of them; moſt of whom were Conventicle-Preachers, or old Parliament Soldiers. It appear'd upon full Evidence, ‘ That the Plot had been on Foot two Years, carry'd on by a private Committee that ſat in *London*; that in *July* laſt they had twelve hundred Horſe in Readineſs in *England*; That they had a particular Deſign to unite all the *Sectaries* againſt the Government, and had propos'd *Lambert* and *Ludlow* for their Head; That the Riſing was to begin in *Ireland*, afterwards to follow in *England*, and then in *Scotland*. *Walters*, one of the Evidences, declar'd Who were to command in the *Weſt-Riding*, who in the *Eaſt-Riding*, and who in the

North-Riding in *Yorkſhire*; who in *Nottinghamſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and the *Biſhoprick of Durham*, and what Numbers; who were their Agents, where their Meetings were, and what Places and Paſſes they were to ſurprize: That they were under an Ingagement to ſeize the Horſe and Arms of the Lord *Falconbridge*, and the Lord *Fairfax* of *Gilling*, and that they deſign'd to ſecure all the Priſoners they took in *Skipton*-Caſtle:’ Of all which Crimes being found Guilty by a proper Jury, theſe One and Twenty Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz.* *Thomas Oats*, *Samuel Ellis*, *John Nettleton* Senior, *John Nettleton* Junior, *Robert Scot*, *William Tolſon*, *John Foſter*, *Robert Oldroyd*, *Joſhua Aſhnith*, *Peregrine Corney*, *John Snowden*, *John Smith*, *William Aſh*, *John Errington*, *Robert Atkins*, *William Cotton*, *George Denham*, *Henry Watſon*, *Richard Wilſon*, *Ralph Rymer*, and *Charles Carre*. Some of the Priſoners behav'd themſelves with inſufferable Inſolence, eſpecially *Cotton*, *Denham* and *Atkins*, of whom *Cotton* proteſted in the Face of the Court, *That in ſuch a Cauſe he valu'd his Life no more than the Judge did his Handkerchief.* After their Conviction, the greateſt Part were executed at *York*, three at *Leeds*, and the reſt at their own Doors, and at other Places. Theſe ſeveral Tryals and Executions were all in the Month of *January* 166¾.

Many condemn'd.

And executed.

Others puniſh'd.

The Infection of the Conſpiracy likewiſe ſpread Southwards; for in *London* they had retain'd a Printer to print their ſtrange Declaration; who, being taken up and found guilty, was drawn, hang'd and quarter'd. Treaſonable Books, and Libels againſt the King and Government, were this Winter more than ordinary diſpers'd; and in *February* one *John Twyn* a Printer was condemn'd at the *Old-Bayly* Seſſions, for being concern'd in Printing a Treaſonable Libel, and was executed in *Smithfield*. Shortly after, *Simon Dover* Printer, *Thomas Brewſter* Bookſeller, and *Nathan Brooks* Book-Binder, were Indicted for Publiſhing and uttering Books written by *Buchanan*, *Milton* and others, in *Juſtification of the Murder of the late King, and maintaining the Lawfulneſs of Subjects taking up Arms againſt their Sovereign*, in Oppoſition to ſome late Acts of Parliament: Of which being found guilty, they were ſentenc'd to ſtand in the Pillory, pay each a Fine, and to remain in Priſon during the King's Pleaſure. Soon after there was an Account of ſeizing ſeveral of the reſt of the Northern Conſpirators; but we do not find that any more of them except Three ſuffer'd Death. Concerning the ſeveral Plots and Conſpiracies in the Beginning of the new Government and Eſtabliſhment, *Ludlow* and his Friends were ready to charge them upon the Government, as Sham-Plots and State Contrivances; but he ſeems to confirm this laſt, and plainly ſhew'd the Diſpoſition of Himſelf, and the Reſt of his Opinion: For he tells us, ‘ That about this Time, *Summer* 1663, their Friends in all Parts began to entertain Hopes they might be again employ'd to reſcue their Country from Servitude; and that in this Poſture of Affairs Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, who had for ſome Time reſided in *Italy*, thought convenient to draw nearer home, that if any Opportunity ſhou'd offer, he might not be wanting in his Duty and the Publick Service, and ſo reſolv'd to Winter in *Flanders*. And paſſing through *Switzerland*, he made a Viſit to *Ludlow* and his Friends, then harbour'd there; and ſtaying with them three Weeks, he aſſur'd them of his Affection and Friendſhip, and no ways declin'd to own Them, and the *Cauſe* for which they Suffer'd.

The Deaths of Archbiſhop Juxon,

Dr. Haywood,

Dr. Creed,

Is is now Time to conclude the Year, after the uſual Manner, with the Death of ſeveral Perſons of the greateſt Note and Conſideration; and firſt we ſhall mention that of Dr. *William Juxon*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, a moſt admirable and venerable Man, of whoſe Character and Fame we have more than once taken Notice in the laſt Volume; Who, after he had happily weather'd the greateſt of all Storms, in Reward of his Wiſdom, Honeſty, and all other Excellencies, was advanc'd to this higheſt Station in the Church, in which he dy'd in Peace, Honour, and a good old Age; leaving his Body to be bury'd by that of Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, at St. *John*'s College in *Oxford*, which was perform'd by that Univerſity with a Pomp and Solemnity ſcarce inferior to that of Princes. His Death made way for the Tranſlation of two great Men, Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* from *London* to *Canterbury*, and Dr. *Humphrey Henchman* from *Salisbury* to *London*. After this Prelate we may properly mention the Loſs of two worthy Divines and eminent Preachers; the Firſt, Dr. *William Haywood*, educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and ſucceſſively made Chaplain to Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, and to the late good King, as well as Miniſter of St. *Giles London*, and Canon of *Weſtminſter*: But being a true Loyaliſt, notwithſtanding his great Learning, and mild and meek Diſpoſition, he ſuffer'd a total Deprivation, Impriſonment, and other uſual Calamities; till he recover'd all by the general Reſtoration, and dy'd in Peace and Happineſs. The other was Dr. *William Creed*, educated in the ſame Uni-

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verſity; and, tho' he was a ſtrenuous Defender of the Church of *England* in the moſt dangerous Times, he had the Happineſs to eſcape much better than the former; and after the Reſtoration, upon the Account of his ſublime Skill in Theology, he was not only made Arch-Deacon of *Wilts*, but alſo the King's Profeſſor of Divinity in *Oxford*, in the Poſſeſſion of which Honour he departed this Life.

Judge Jenkyns,

Judge Forſter,

Beſides theſe, this Year there dy'd two Judges that ought to be mention'd in Hiſtory; as firſt, Mr. *David Jenkyns*, a *Welſh*-Man by Birth, and a *Welſh* Judge for many Years, who being a Perſon of great Abilities in his Profeſſion, his Counſel was often us'd by the two great Attorneys *Banks* and *Noy*; and being likewiſe of an invincible Courage, he became ſo ſtrenuous an Aſſertor of the Rights of the King, the Laws of *England*, and the Liberties of the People, in the worſt of Times, that, beſides Impriſonments and other Hardſhips, his Life was often threatned, which he was always prepared to loſe, with his Bible under one Arm, and *Magna Charta* under the other. Being now arriv'd at a good old Age, he peaceably reſign'd his Breath at his own Eſtate in *Glamorganſhire*. The other Judge, who was of a higher Station, was Sir *Robert Forſter*, an eminent Lawyer, who from one of the Juſtices of the King's-Bench, became likewiſe a Sufferer in the late Times of Confuſion, till at the Reſtoration he was made Lord-Chief-Juſtice of *England*: After which he became in a diſtinguiſhing Manner ſerviceable to the Publick in puniſhing the Felonies and other Outrages that proceeded from an old disbanded Army, and in reſtraining the over-great Mercy of the King in his frequent Pardons granted to ſuch ſort of Criminals.

The Earl of Portland,

And Sir William Compton.

After all theſe we ſhall mention two brave Men of the Nobility, who ought not to be forgot; the firſt, *Jerome Weſton* Earl of *Portland*, one of the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, who acted and ſuffer'd ſo much for the King and his Royal Father; a Perſon of ſo many eminent Virtues, that for Largeneſs of Heart, Strength of Underſtanding, Candour, and Fidelity, with all other Characters of Honour and Greatneſs, he is believ'd to have left very few Equals behind him: Only we may except the other Perſon to be mention'd, which was Sir *William Compton*, the third Son of the late glorious Earl of *Northampton*, one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and Maſter of the Ordnance; one of the moſt eminent Examples of Piety, Loyalty, Modeſty, and Magnanimity, and briefly of all Virtues both Civil and Military, that this Age has produced. He left five heroick Brothers behind him, all Inheritors of their Father's Courage and Bravery, of whom the youngeſt afterwards took to the Gown, and was made Biſhop of *London*.

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The FOURTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

XI. I. The Noiſe of the late Plots and Conſpiracies had very much alarm'd the People, and not a little heated and exaſperated the Parliament, when both Houſes met, according to the Prorogation, on the 16th Day of *March*, after a Receſs of near eight Months. This was the fourth Meeting, or Seſſion, of the Second Parliament, which was open'd by a pretty long Speech, made by the King, which will be more informing to the Reader, without any Abridgement; and therefore it is fully inſerted as following: ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, You ſee, God be thanked, we have met together again at the Time appointed; and I do aſſure you, I have been ſo far from ever intending it ſhou'd be otherwiſe, that I do not know one Perſon who ever wiſh'd it ſhou'd be otherwiſe. Think therefore, I pray, what good Meaning thoſe Men cou'd have, who from the Time of the Prorogation to the Day of your Meeting, have continually whiſper'd and induſtriouſly infus'd into the Minds of the People, *That the Parliament ſhou'd meet no more*; *That it ſhou'd either be preſently diſſolv'd, or ſo continu'd by Prorogation, that they ſhou'd be kept without a Parliament.* I pray watch theſe Whiſperers all you can, as Men who uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to ſow Jealouſies between You and Me; and I do promiſe you they ſhall not prevail with me; and I do promiſe my ſelf they ſhall not prevail with you: And the Truth is, we are both concern'd they ſhou'd not; and we ſhall then, with God's Bleſſing, prevent all the Miſchief they intend.

‘ You may judge by the late Treaſon in the *North*, for which ſo many Men have been executed, how active the Spirits of many of our old Enemies ſtill are, notwithſtanding all our Mercy. I do aſſure you, we are not yet at the Bottom of that Buſineſs. Thus much appears manifeſtly, That this Conſpiracy was but a Branch of that which I diſcover'd, as well as I cou'd, to you about two Years ſince: and had been then executed nearer hand, if I had not, by God's Goodneſs, come to the Knowledge of ſome of the principal Contrivers, and ſo ſecured them from doing the Miſchief they intended. And if I had not, by the like Providence, had timely Notice of the very Hour, and ſeveral Places of their Rendezvous in the *North*, and provided for them accordingly, by ſending ſome of my own Troops, as well as by drawing the Train'd-Bands together, their Conjunction wou'd have been in greater Numbers than had been convenient. You will wonder, but I tell true, they are even now in thoſe Parts, and at this Time, when they ſee their Friends under Tryal and Execution, ſtill purſuing the ſame Conſultations: And it is evident they have Correſpondence with deſperate Perſons in moſt Counties, and a ſtanding Council in this Town, from which they receive their Directions, and by whom they were adviſ'd to defer their laſt intended Inſurrection. But thoſe Orders ſerv'd only to diſtract them, and came too late to prevent their Deſtruction. I know more of their Intrigues than they think I do; and I hope I ſhall ſhortly diſcover the Bottom: In the mean Time, I pray let us all be as watchful to prevent, as they are to contrive their Miſchief. I cannot omit upon this Occaſion to tell you, that theſe deſperate Men, as appears by ſeveral Examinations, have not been all of one Mind in the Ways of carrying on their wicked Reſolutions. Some wou'd ſtill inſiſt upon the *Authority of the Long Parliament*, of which they ſay they have Members enough willing to meet: Others have fancied to themſelves, by ſome Computation of their own, upon ſome Clauſe in the *Triennial Bill*, *That this preſent Parliament was at End ſome Months ſince; and that for want of new Writs, they may aſſemble themſelves, and chuſe Members for Parliament:* And this is the beſt Expedient to bring themſelves together for their own Purpoſes. For the *Long Parliament*, You and I can do no more to inform and compoſe the Minds of all Men; let them proceed upon their Peril. But methinks there is nothing done to diſabuſe them in Reſpect of the *Triennial Bill*. I confeſs, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I have often my ſelf read over that Bill; and tho' there is no Colour for the Fancy of the Determination of this Parliament, yet I will not deny to you, That I have always expected you wou'd, and even admired you have not conſider'd the wonderful Clauſes in that Bill, which paſs'd in a Time very uncareful for the Dignity of the Crown, or Security of the People. I pray, *Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, give that *Triennial Bill* once a Reading in your Houſe; and then, in God's Name, do what you think fit for me, and your ſelves, and the whole Kingdom. I need not tell you how much I love Parliaments: Never King was ſo much beholden to Parliaments as I have been; nor do I think the Crown can ever be happy without frequent Parliaments. But, aſſure your ſelves, if I did think otherwiſe, *I wou'd never ſuffer a Parliament to come together by the Means preſcribed by that Bill.*

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I muſt renew my Thanks to you, for the free Supply you gave me the laſt Seſſion of four Subſidies; yet I cannot but tell you, That the Supply is fallen much ſhort of what I expected, or you intended. It will hardly be believ'd, yet you know it to be true, that very many Perſons who have Eſtates of three and four thouſand Pounds a Year, do not pay for theſe four Subſidies ſixteen Pounds: So that whereas you intended and declared, *That they ſhou'd be collected according to former Precedents*, they do not now ariſe to half the Proportion they did in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*; and yet ſure the Crown wants more now than it did then, and the Subject is at leaſt as able to give. The Truth is, by the Licence of the late ill Times, and ill Humour of this, too many of the People, and even of thoſe who make fair Promiſes, believe it to be no Sin to defraud the Crown of any thing that is due to it. You no ſooner gave me *Tonnage and Poundage*, than Men were deviſing all the Ways they could to ſteal Cuſtom; nor can the Farmers be ſo vigilant for the Collection, as others are to ſteal the Duties. You gave me the *Exciſe*, which all People abroad believe to be the moſt inſenſible Impoſition that can be laid upon a People: What Conſpiracies and Combinations are enter'd into againſt it by the Brewers, who I am ſure bear not that Burthen themſelves, to bring that Revenue to nothing, you may hear in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. You have given me *Chimney-Mony*, which you have reaſon to believe is a growing Revenue, for Men build at leaſt faſt enough; and you will therefore wonder that it is already declined, and this half Year brought in leſs than the former did. I pray therefore review that Bill; and ſince I am ſure you wou'd have me receive whatſoever you give me, let me have the collecting and husbanding of it by my own Officers, and then I doubt not but to improve that Receipt, and will be cozen'd of as little as I can.

‘ I will conclude with conjuring you, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, to keep a very good Correſpondence together, That it may not be in the Power of any ſeditious or factious Spirits to make you jealous of each other, or either of you jealous of me; till you

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' ſee me pretend one Thing, and do another, which I am ſure you have never yet done. Truſt me, it ſhall be in no Body's Power to make me jealous of you. I pray contrive any good ſhort Bills, that may improve the Induſtry of the Nation; and ſince the Seaſon of the Year will invite us ſhortly to take the Country Air, I deſire you wou'd be ready for a *Seſſion*, within two Months or thereabouts, and we will meet next earlier in the Year. And ſo God bleſs your Counſels!

The Proceedings of the Commons.

The Parliament proceeded with all Diligence and Unanimity, eſpecially the Commons, who took three Things into their particular Conſideration*:* Firſt, the *Triennial Act*, made in the Year 1641, which had much debas'd, as well as diminiſh'd, the Prerogative of the Crown*:* Next, the Dangers threatned from the late Plots and Conſpiracies; which gave them both Occaſion and Provocation to fall hard upon the *Diſſenters* in general, who were look'd upon, and commonly believ'd, to be too great Friends to thoſe Inſurrections*:* Laſtly, the Injuries and Incroachments lately made by the *Dutch*, in which they had been incourag'd by the *French* Court, and had a Promiſe of Support and Aſſiſtance from it. As to the firſt Buſineſs, they ſoon agreed wholly to repeal the Act made in the Year 1641, and to make another in its Room, intitled, *An Act for the aſſembling and holding of Parliaments once in three Years at leaſt.* In the Debate upon this Subject, they firſt took Care, and came to a Reſolution, ' That there ſhou'd be no Clauſe of Coercion on his Majeſty for the Calling of Parliaments, other than there is for the Execution of all other Laws.' Within a few Days they finiſh'd the Bill, of which the Preamble is to be remember'd, as following: *Whereas the Act made*, &c. *is in Derogation of his Majeſty's juſt Rights and Prerogative inherent to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, for calling and aſſembling of Parliaments, and may be an Occaſion of manifold Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies, and much endanger the Peace and Safety of his Majeſty, and all his Liege People of this Realm:* They therefore totally repeal'd the Act, and made another ſhort Act, the Subſtance of which was, ' That the Sitting of Parliaments ſhou'd not be intermitted or diſcontinu'd above three Years at the moſt; and that within three Years after the Determination of the preſent Parliament, or of any other Parliament, his Majeſty ſhou'd iſſue out his Writs for the calling and aſſembling another Parliament.'

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The King's Speech upon the Repealing the Triennial Act.

2. This Bill having paſs'd both Houſes, on the 5th Day of *April* his Majeſty came purpoſely to the Houſe of Peers to give his Royal Aſſent to this alone; which he did with the following Speech, which we do not find in Print: ' *My Lords and Gentlemen*, You will eaſily believe that I have come very willingly to give my Aſſent to this Bill. I do thank you very heartily for your ſo unanimous Concurrence in it, and for your deſiring me ſpeedily to finiſh it. And if I underſtand any thing that concerns the Peace and Security of the Kingdom, and the Welfare of my Subjects (all which I ſtudy more than my Prerogative, and indeed I conſider my Prerogative in order only to preſerving the other) every good *Engliſhman* will thank you for it: For the Act you have repeal'd cou'd only ſerve to diſcredit Parliaments, and to make the Crown jealous of Parliaments, and Parliaments of the Crown, and perſwade Neighbour Princes that *England* was not govern'd under a Monarch. It cou'd never have been the Occaſion of frequent Parliaments. I do promiſe you, I will not be an Hour the leſs without one for this Act of Repeal; nor I am ſure will you be the leſs kind to me in Parliament. I do again thank you for your excellent Temper and Reſpect to me, and deſire you ſo to proceed that the Seſſion may be within the Time I propoſed to you laſt. And I do aſſure you upon my Word, and I pray believe me, That I will have no other Thoughts or Deſigns in my Heart, but to make you all happy in the Support of the Religion and Laws eſtabliſh'd*:* And if my own Wants and Neceſſities are at any Time grievous to me, it is only as I apprehend I may not be able ſufficiently to provide for Thoſe, and for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom. And therefore I am confident, That You and I, who agree in the End, ſhall never differ in the Way.'

After this the Houſe of Commons proceeded to make Enquiry into the Obſtructions and Incroachments upon Trade, and more particularly thoſe of late made by the *Hollanders*, who, being incourag'd by the *French*, had made unexpected Advances. After much Time ſpent, both They and the Lords came to this grand Reſolution, *viz.* ' That the Wrongs, Diſhonours, and Indignities done to his Majeſty by the Subjects of the *United Provinces*, by invading his Rights in *India*, *Africa*, and elſewhere; and the Damages, Affronts, and Injuries done by them to our Merchants, are the greateſt Obſtructions of our foreign Trade: And that the ſame be humbly and ſpeedily preſented to his Majeſty; and that he be moſt humbly mov'd to take ſome ſpeedy and effectual Courſe for Redreſs thereof, and all other of the like Nature, and for Prevention of the like in Future: And in Proſecution thereof, *they will, with their Lives and Fortunes, aſſiſt his Majeſty againſt all Oppoſitions whatſoever.*' Upon this Occaſion both Houſes waited upon his Majeſty at the *Banquetting-Houſe* on the 27th of *April*, and the next Day received this following Anſwer in Writing: ' His Majeſty having conſider'd the Addreſs made to him by his Two Houſes of Parliament, is very well pleas'd with the great Zeal they have expreſs'd for the Advancement of the Trade of this Kingdom, and removing all Obſtructions which may hinder the ſame, being wholly convinc'd, That it is that which contributes moſt to the Honour and Glory of the Nation, and the Proſperity of his People: And therefore his Majeſty will examine and peruſe the particular Complaints, which have been preſented to his Parliament; and thereupon, according to their Advice, appoint his Miniſter at the *Hague* to demand ſpeedy Juſtice and Reparation from the *States General*, and alſo uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to ſecure his Subjects from the like Violences for the Future*:* In the Proſecution of which, or upon the Denials of Juſtice, *he depends upon the Promiſes of both Houſes to ſtand by him, and returns them his hearty Thanks for their frank Declaration therein.*' For which Royal Aſſurance, both Houſes return'd their humble and hearty Thanks; and here was the Foundation, and the firſt Step towards the firſt *Dutch* War.

Reſolution of the Lords and Commons againſt the Dutch.

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The King's Anſwer.

After this not much was done before the Prorogation, beſides the preparing ſome Bills hereafter to be mention'd, and more particularly that againſt all Diſſenters: Only we may juſt mention two things that gave ſome Conſideration to the Houſe of Commons; the Firſt was a Report from the Committee for *Advancement and Improvement of Trade*, which had lately laid open the Injuries and Incroachments of the *Dutch*; and having conſider'd ſeveral Expedients proper for that Occaſion, came to this Reſolution, ' That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That for the Encreaſe of Trade, the Houſe wou'd admit of a *Bill for the Naturalization of all Foreigners*, that ſhall take the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, except *Jews*:' In which they wanted Time to come to a full Determination in the Houſe. The other Matter was more private, and concern'd the old Incendiary Mr. *Prynne*, who, by his great Officiouſneſs, fell a ſecond Time under the Diſpleaſure of this Houſe. The Complaint againſt him was, That after the committing of a *Bill concerning Vintners, and the Retailers of Ale and Beer*, he had alter'd the ſaid Bill in ſeveral Particulars. Being thus charg'd, he acknowledg'd his Error and Miſtake in altering the Bill, profeſſing *That he did not do it out of any ill Intent, but to rectify ſome Matters miſtaken in it, and to make the Bill agree with the Senſe of the Houſe*; for which he crav'd the Pardon of the Houſe. Being order'd to withdraw, after a conſiderable Debate Mr. *Prynne* was call'd in, and the Speaker acquainted him, *That the Houſe was very ſenſible of this great Error and Miſtake in ſo ancient and knowing a Member as he was, to break ſo material and eſſential an Order of the Houſe, as to alter, amend, or interline a Bill after Commitment, without Order, Knowledge, or Direction of the Committee: But the Houſe had conſider'd of his Anſwer and Submiſſion, and were content at this Time, in Reſpect thereof, to remit the Offence.*

Deſigns of the Commons.

Mr. Prynne *culpable.*

3. Several Bills being ready, and a Prorogation deſign'd, on the 17th Day of *May* the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and being ſeated on the Throne, the Speaker of the Commons, Sir *Edward Turner*, made this following ſeaſonable Speech to his Majeſty: ' At the Opening this Seſſion, your Majeſty was pleas'd to recommend ſeveral things to the Care of your two Houſes of Parliament; which we deliberately conſider'd, and unanimouſly preſented our humble Advice thereupon. The firſt thing we took into Conſideration, was the Act made in the 16th of the late King of glorious Memory *for Triennial Parliaments:* When we had given it a Reading, we found it derogatory to the Eſſential Prerogative of the Crown, of *Calling*, *Holding*, and *Diſſolving* Parliaments: We found it unpracticable, and only uſeful to learn the People how to Rebel; therefore we melted it down, extracted the pure Metal from counterfeit and droſſy Allays, and then preſented it to your Majeſty to be new ſtamp'd, and made currant Coin for the Uſe of the Nation. We do return our moſt humble Thanks to your Majeſty, that you were pleas'd to accept our Advice, and to paſs our Bill; but more eſpecially for thoſe gracious Expreſſions your Majeſty was pleas'd to uſe at that Solemnity, whereby we are aſſured not only of your Perſonal Affection to Parliaments,

The Speaker's Speech to the King at the Prorogation.

‘ but of your Judgment alſo, *That the Happineſs of the Crown conſiſts in the Frequency of Parliaments.* In the next Place we review'd the Act for *Chimney-Mony*, which we intended a great Branch of your Majeſty's Revenue, although by ſome Miſtakes it is fallen ſhort: And in Hopes your Majeſty may improve that Receipt, we have prepar'd a Bill for *Collecting that Duty*, by ſuch Officers as your Majeſty and your Succeſſors ſhall from Time to Time think fit to appoint.’

‘ Whilſt we were intent upon theſe weighty Affairs, we were often interrupted by Petitions, and Letters, and Motions, repreſenting the unſettled Condition of ſome Counties, by Reaſon of *Phanaticks*, *Sectaries*, and *Nonconformiſts*: They differ in their Shapes and Species, and accordingly are more or leſs dangerous; but in this they all agree, they are no Friends to the Eſtabliſh'd Government either in Church or State. And if the old Rule be true, *Qui Eccleſiæ contradicit, non eſt pacificus*, we have great Reaſon to prevent their Growth, and to puniſh their Practice. To this Purpoſe we have prepared a Bill *againſt their Frequenting of Conventicles*, the Seed-Plots and Nurſeries of their Opinions, under Pretence of Religious Worſhip. “ The firſt Offence is made puniſhable with five Pounds, or three Months Impriſonment, and ten Pounds for a Peer: The ſecond Offence with ten Pounds, or ſix Months Impriſonment, and twenty Pounds for a Peer; but the third Offence, after a Tryal by a Jury, and the Tryal of a Peer by his Peers, the Party convicted ſhall be tranſported to ſome foreign Plantation, unleſs he lays down a hundred Pounds.” *Immedicabile Vulnus Enſe reſcindendum, ne Pars ſincera trahatur.* We have had much Thought how to improve the Induſtry of the Nation, and prevent that Idleneſs and Licentiouſneſs which too faſt grow upon us, eſpecially by exceſſive and diſorderly *Gaming*: Men are not content to ſport away their precious Time, and play away their ready Mony, but to loſe or pawn their Houſes and Lands, their Manors, and their Honours alſo. For the Prevention of the Growth of this Diſeaſe, we have prepared a Bill *to make Securities for Mony won at Play, whether Real or Perſonal, to be void.*

‘ We have examin'd alſo the Reaſons of the Decay of Trade: In the firſt Place we found our Merchants undermin'd by Fraud and Practice, and ſometimes beaten out in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, in *Turkey*, and in *Africa*, by our Neighbours the *Dutch*, who, beſides the unſufferable Indignities offer'd to your Royal Majeſty, and the Crown of *England, have in a few Years ſpoil'd your Subjects, to the Value of Seven or Eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds.* For Remedy whereof we have made our humble Addreſs to your Majeſty, and receiv'd a gracious Anſwer; and have no Cauſe to fear but a ſhort Time will produce a juſt and honourable Satisfaction. The next Obſtruction to our Trade, hath been a baſe degenerous Practice of ſome Seamen, who are willing to be robb'd by Pirates, that they may Share in the Prize: We have therefore prepared a Bill for *the Puniſhment of ſuch traiterous Actions, and for the juſt Reward of thoſe honeſt Seamen that ſhall preſerve their Owners Goods, and manfully maintain the Honour of the* English *Nation.* Some other Diſcoveries we have made, which may be the Subject Matter of future Bills; but in Reſpect to your Majeſty's Intimation of a ſhort Seſſion, we were not willing to attempt more than we cou'd reaſonably diſpatch. And now, *Great Sir*, give me Leave with Joy, to remember the *Unparallel'd Unanimity* that hath this Seſſion attended our Counſels: Our Conſtancy and Reſolution hath been try'd beyond the Precedent of former Parliaments, or any other Seſſion of this Parliament. The *Heathens* were wont to obſerve and envy the *Chriſtians* for their Unity and Love of one another, *Ecce ut invicem ſe diligunt* CHRISTIANI! And may the happy Correſpondence between your Majeſty, and your two Houſes of Parliament, increaſe and grow to be the Envy of the World, till all your Majeſty's Enemies are forc'd to cry, *Ecce ut invicem ſe diligunt* ANGLICANI.’

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

In paſſing theſe Bills mention'd by the Speaker, the King made the following Speech to both Houſes: ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I did deſire and conjure you at the Opening this Seſſion, that you wou'd keep a very good Correſpondence together, that it might not be in the Power of any ſeditious and factious Spirits to make you jealous of each Other, or either of you jealous of Me: And I deſired you to be ready for a *Seſſion* within two Months, or thereabouts. I muſt confeſs to you, you have comply'd very fully with me, for which I can never thank you enough: You have perform'd thoſe good Reſpects towards me, and kept ſo very good Correſpondence towards each other, that you have exceedingly diſappointed thoſe ill Men, who both at home and abroad had raiſed great Hopes and Expectations of new Troubles and Confuſions. You have gratify'd me in all I deſired, and are now ready for a *Seſſion* within the Time propoſed. This Harmony will, with God's Bleſſing, make us all eſteem'd abroad, and ſecure at home; and theſe Obligations cannot but make me think the Time long till we meet again.

‘ This Seaſon of the Year, and your own Affairs, will invite you into the Country; and your Preſence there is of great Importance to my Service, and to the publick Peace. You will watch thoſe unquiet Spirits which are ſtill lurking, and ready to embrace all Opportunities to involve the Nation in new Diſtractions, under what ſpecious Pretences whatſoever: And you will carefully inform the People *how much it is in their own Power to be as happy as they can wiſh to be.* Indeed, if they are truly ſenſible of their preſent Happineſs, it will quickly be improved. I will add no more, but that I thank you all, and every one of you. And if God bleſs us till *November*, we will meet here again: I name *November* to you, becauſe, if nothing extraordinary fall out, I reſolve not to meet till then: But becauſe ſomewhat extraordinary may fall out, you ſhall be at preſent prorogu'd but till *Auguſt*; and before that Day you ſhall have ſeaſonable Notice by Proclamation not to give your Attendance, except there be Occaſion, and then *November* will be the Time.’ And thus ended the Fourth Meeting or Seſſion of the Second Parliament, which continu'd no longer than two Months and one Day; in which ſhort Seſſion, never was more Buſineſs done for the Time, nor with more Alacrity and Unanimity, ſince the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth.* This was the leſs expected upon two Accounts: Firſt, the aſſiduous Endeavours of the Earl of *Briſtol*, the Head of the *Popiſh* Party, to raiſe a ſecond Storm againſt the Lord Chancellor; in which he was defeated by the Steadineſs of the Houſe of Peers. The other was the ſtinging *Act againſt Conventicles*, which did not only occaſion many Debates and Conferences between the Lords and Commons, but caus'd various Reſolutions in the King himſelf, who appear'd always more ready to oblige or eaſe the Diſſenters than the two Houſes, eſpecially the Commons, who, remembring the late Rebellion, thought nothing more beneficial to the Publick Peace than theſe new Severities, more againſt *Conventiclers*, than *Diſſenters*.

The End of the Fourth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

Ref. 5.

The King applies himſelf to Spain by his Ambaſſador Fanſhaw.

4. As all Things now tended towards a Rupture between *England*, and the *United Provinces*, which was particularly promoted by the Parliament it ſelf: ſo the King took timely Care to provide againſt the Storm by endeavouring for Alliances, and uſing all other proper Methods. And firſt he found it convenient to ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy into *Spain*, which he effected by Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, a Perſon of great Worth and Experience, and equal to ſo high a Poſt. This Ambaſſador, upon his Arrival at *Cadiz*, and afterwards, was receiv'd with unuſual Pomp and Splendor, and treated beyond all Expectation, which gave great Hopes to the *Engliſh* Court; but theſe were gradually damp'd by the tedious Formality, and ſometimes by an unaccountable Coldneſs and Averſion that appear'd in the other of *Spain*; ſo that the Embaſſy had not all the deſired Effect, which was the Reaping ſome more immediate Advantage from that Court. The *Spaniards* appear'd diſpleaſed, and backwards in Treating, upon ſeveral Accounts: They were uneaſy not only for the new and ſtrict Alliance between *England* and *Portugal*, which had ſo much eſtabliſh'd the late Revolt, but alſo for the preſent Poſſeſſion of *Tangier* and *Jamaica*, and the irrecoverable Loſs of *Dunkirk*; all which made them the more ſtiff and dilatory in their Proceedings and Advances. The Court of *England* well knew *France* had reſolv'd to begin a War upon *Spain*, upon the immediate Death of his Catholick Majeſty; which being, by Reaſon of his Infirmities, much ſooner expected, the *French* had in two Winters provided extraordinary Magazines upon the Frontiers, to be ready upon ſo great an Occaſion. His *Britannick* Majeſty us'd all poſſible Means to prepare and diſpoſe the *Spaniards* with that Apprehenſion, and offer'd his Friendſhip to that Degree, as might be moſt for the Benefit and Security of both Crowns: But *Spain* flattering her ſelf that *France* wou'd not break with them, at leaſt that they wou'd not give them any Cauſe, by raiſing any new Jealouſie in them, never made any ſuch Approaches as were agreeable with common Policy. Mr. Secretary *Bennet* in one of his Letters to the Lord Ambaſſador *Fanſhaw*, thus expoſtulates, and ſtates their Caſe: ‘ Do they not ſee and feel their own Weakneſs? Have they not had Peace with all *Chriſtendom* beſides, only to intend with more Vigour the Conqueſt of *Portugal*? What Progreſs have they made in it? Do they not ſee and feel the dying Condition of their King, and the young, tender and uncertain Health of their Prince? Do they not ſee *France* with their Swords drawn, ready to invade them on all Sides? What Friends have they to ſtand by them? If the Emperor hath made

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‘ Peace with the *Turk*, is there not a Fire already kindled ‘ in *Germany* in their Diſputes?------If, I ſay, to ſum up ‘ all, theſe Reflections do not awaken them, and oblige ‘ them to cultivate the King our Maſter's Friendſhip, it ‘ muſt be concluded ſome irreſiſtible Fate or Judgment attends that Monarchy, which their own Skill cannot di‘ vert.’ Notwithſtanding this their Caſe, they wou'd not be induc'd this Year to finiſh any material Treaty, without the giving up of *Tangier* and *Jamaica*; and they were ſo Romantickly intent upon their firſt Deſigns, that the Ambaſſador *Fanſhaw* in his Reply tells the Secretary, that he found the Conſtant Poſition throughout his laſt Conference was, *That his Catholick Majeſty, in Point of Honour, wou'd hazard all the Reſt of his Monarchy, rather than not atchieve the Conqueſt or Rendition of* Portugal.

The Intrigues of France.

As to *France*, the King of *England* had at this Time but little to expect from that Court; tho' he ſent over the Lord *Hollis* as his Ambaſſador to endeavour to gain ſome Advantages there. The *French* King had of late profeſs'd great Friendſhip to the *States-General*, and had enter'd into a ſecret Alliance, and private Projects with Them, or rather the great Penſionary *De-Wit*, who then bore a mighty Sway in thoſe Provinces. That famous Miniſter of State, by reaſon of the Prevalency of a Party, or ſome other Inducement, had really joyn'd with the Intereſt of *France* againſt that of his own Country; in which he had proceeded ſo far as to enter into a moſt ſecret Correſpondence with the *French* King, and his reſiding Ambaſſador Count *D'Eſtrades*, an able Miniſter, and fit to carry on the Intriegues of his Maſter: From whoſe Memoirs we learn that, among other Deſigns and Inventions, they had form'd a remarkable Project, even in the Life of the preſent King of *Spain*, to divide Part of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* between the *French* King and the States-General, and with the Reſt to frame a Republick, to enter into Alliance with the *United Provinces*, as the *Griſons* are united to the *Swiſs*. By this, *Cambray*, St. *Omer*, *Aire*, all *Artois*, *Bergue St. Vinox*, *Furnes* and *Newport*, were to be added to *France*; and *Oſtend*, *Bruges*, with what is on the Continent, as far as *l'Ecluſe*, to the *United Provinces*: All which was to be concluded and effected by the moſt clandeſtine Ways imaginable. This Project indeed by degrees fell in Pieces, by reaſon of the Infirmities of the *Spaniſh* King, and once the Report of his Death, after which the King of *France* might expect greater Advantages in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; yet ſtill ſo many Intriegues were carrying on between Him and *De-Wit*, that at this Time he had no Inclination to joyn in any Alliance againſt the *United Provinces*, where, by means of *De-Wit*'s or the *Louveſtine* Faction, his Friends were ſo numerous and certain. So that he was ſo far from aſſiſting the *Engliſh* in the approaching War, that he ſeem'd more inclinable to joyn with the *Dutch*; tho' he generally declar'd for Peace, and more than once offer'd his Mediation in order to prevent a War. And it is obſervable that in one of his Letters to his Ambaſſador *D'Eſtrades*, he has theſe Words: *Whatever I ſhall reſolve on, it very much imports me, That the States be not born down, tho' I had no Treaty with them, becauſe the Power of* England *wou'd by that Means become too formidable at Sea.*

The King demands Reparation of the States of Holland.

5. Notwithſtanding the Diſcouragements the King of *England* ſuſtain'd for want of ſufficient Alliances and Support from Abroad, the Diſpoſition of the Parliament and People, together with the Inſtigation of ſome particular Perſons, made him willing to undertake and fall in with a War, which in a few Months became viſible, tho' ſtill not inevitable. His Majeſty had given his particular Inſtructions to his Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, Sir *George Downing*, who about the middle of *May* gave in a Memorial to the *States-General*, of the great Damages which the *Engliſh* complain'd to have ſuffer'd in their Trade and Commerce by the Subjects of thoſe Provinces; which, in ſeveral Places, amounted to ſeven or eight hundred thouſand Pounds. This Ambaſſador is much complain'd of by the Count *D'Eſtrades* for his proud and inſolent Behaviour; and he was thought to be a great Promoter and Incendiary in the Quarrel between the two Nations. However it was, the *States* wiſely declin'd a preſent Anſwer, and paſs'd it over with a Promiſe of ſending their own Ambaſſadors to his *Britannick* Majeſty; which had the Appearance of a more ſolemn Reſpect, and, what was more intended, gave them the Opportunity of Deliberation and Delay. But the King, in the mean Time, to loſe no Opportunity, gave Orders for ſetting out a conſiderable Fleet, to ſecure his Subjects in their Freedom of Trade, and to vindicate the Intereſt and Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation. Still he had one continual Misfortune attending him, the Want of ready Money: To ſupply this Defect, he ſent ſome of the Lords of his Privy-Council to move the City of *London* for the Loan of a hundred thouſand Pounds upon this extraordinary Occaſion. The Common-Council of the City, who were ſenſible of their Sufferings in Trade, readily comply'd with his Majeſty's Requeſt, and voted an immediate Supply of that Sum, which was to be repaid upon moderate Terms concerted with the Lord Treaſurer.

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In the mean Time, Sir *George Downing*, upon the dilatory Meaſures taken by the *States*, came over into *England* for more private and poſitive Inſtructions; and returning back, held ſeveral Conſultations with the Deputies of the *States*, and deliver'd in ſeveral Particulars of the Damages and Injuries ſuſtain'd by the *Engliſh*: For which he a ſecond Time demanded Reparation. The *States* had no preſent Inclination to a War, and leſs to anſwer the Greatneſs of theſe Demands; therefore they again declin'd giving any expreſs Anſwer, and artfully deferr'd all Propoſals of making Satisfaction. The King underſtood their crafty Deſign to be, the keeping him in Suſpence till they had got home their ſeveral rich Fleets of Merchant-Men; and therefore reſolv'd to intercept them in the *Channel*, by Way of Repriſal, without waiting the Ceremony of a declared War. The Heer *Van Goch* was ſent as an Ambaſſador from the *States* to endeavour an Accommodation, and had a ſolemn Audience of the King on *June* the 25th. His firſt Diſcourſe was upon the Affairs that concern'd the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Companies of *Holland*: Upon which the King, among other Reaſons, told him, ‘ That it was not ‘ to be ſuffer'd, That the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company, on‘ ly by the Means of a few Forts and three or four Ships, ‘ ſhou'd pretend to render the Coaſts of *Africa* inacceſſible ‘ to all others, by blocking up the Havens, againſt their ‘ Commerce, and keeping them off, and driving them from ‘ every Place.’ The Ambaſſador reply'd, ‘ That all Dif‘ ficulties about that Affair were terminated by the laſt ‘ Treaty; and that it ought to be examin'd whether the ‘ *Dutch* had acted contrary to it;’ and after that made his Complaints of ſome Hoſtile Attempts of Captain *Holms* on the Coaſt of *Guiny*. To which the King made him the ſame Anſwer he had formerly done upon the like Subject, ‘ That he had not the leaſt Knowledge of that at preſent;’ and ſo proceeded to complain of the great Naval Preparations that were making in *Holland*. The Ambaſſador anſwer'd, ‘ That theſe were chiefly for the great Convoys ‘ they were forc'd to allow their Merchant Ships, for the ‘ Security of their Commerce;’ praying his Majeſty withal, ‘ That he wou'd give Order, as the *States* wou'd do on ‘ their Side, That Nothing might paſs between the two ‘ Fleets, that might interrupt the good Correſpondence ‘ ſettled between the two Nations.’ Soon after the Ambaſſador preſented a Memorial concerning the extraordinary Naval Preparations in *England*, with a Renewal of ſome former Complaints againſt Captain *Holms*, and the Forbidding the Importation of *Dutch* Commodities into the Kingdom. The King gave the ſame Anſwer concerning Captain *Holms*; and that his forbidding the *Dutch* Commodities was upon the Account of a contagious Diſeaſe then reigning in *Holland*. Shortly after he wrote a Letter to the *States*, declaring his great Deſire to maintain the Peace; but then added, *That he ſaw with great Regret, that they went not about to give any Satisfaction to the* Engliſh *for their Loſſes*; and concluded with a Proteſtation before God and Man, *That they wou'd be guilty of all the Inconveniencies, and fatal Conſequences, if a ſpeedy Reparation was not made.*

They ſend their Ambaſſador into England.

The King's Anſwer to the States.

The King's Preparations and Proceedings.

During theſe mutual Repreſentations, the *French* King by his Ambaſſadors at *London* and the *Hague*, preſented his Mediation in order to accommodate the growing Differences between theſe two Powers; which the *United Provinces* agreeably receiv'd, but *England* refus'd, till ſome Reparation was made: Which ſhortly after occaſion'd the Ambaſſadors of that Crown to return home ill ſatisfy'd. In the mean Time the *Engliſh* King made it his Buſineſs, and his great Pleaſure, to viſit his Docks and Ports in Perſon; and gave Orders for fitting and furniſhing a Fleet with all Expedition imaginable, to be under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, and to ſail for *Guiny*, if the *Dutch* Fleet under Admiral *Obdam* ſhou'd happen to paſs the *Channel*, and purſue their intended Voyage to thoſe Coaſts. Accordingly, on the 15th of *October*, Prince *Rupert*, with his Squadron of Sixteen Men of War, came to the *Spit-head*; and in the Beginning of *November* the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, went down to *Portſmouth*; and joyning with the Prince and the Earl of *Sandwich*, took Charge of the Fleet, and ſtruck ſuch a Terror upon the Coaſts of *Holland*, that *Obdam* was willing to lie ſtill with his Navy at the *Goree*, while the *Dutch Bourdeaux* Fleet, homewards bound with Wine and Brandy, fell moſt of them into the Hands of the *Engliſh*; and, together with other laden Ships, to the Number of above a hundred and thirty, were brought into the *Engliſh* Ports, and condemn'd for lawful Prizes by the Admiralty, tho' no War had been actually declared. This Proceeding was thought to be more arbitrary than was allow'd by the Law of Nations; and yet it muſt not be forgot that *De Ruyter*, the

Dutch

The Forwardneſs of London.

Dutch Admiral, did the ſame Year diſpoſſeſs the *Engliſh* of their Factories in *Cape Verd*, and the Iſle of *Gogee*, and committed other Hoſtilities, while there was all the Appearance of Friendſhip and Alliance. However, it is further Juſtice to obſerve, that this Way of Dealing was no Foreign, much leſs *French* Project, and Intrigue of the preſent Miniſtry, as ſome repreſent it, but it was the Voice of the Parliament and People of *England*, and eſpecially the Cry of all the great Merchants and Traders. The City of *London* was ſo fill'd with Reſentments againſt the *Dutch* for Engroſſing and Uſurping upon their Navigation and Commerce, that they not only lent a hundred thouſand Pounds upon this Occaſion, as is before remember'd; but, when the King wanted another like Sum ſhortly after, they advanc'd it with the ſame Freedom and Alacrity.

The Juſtice of the War ſtated.

It is hard to determine the Juſtice, or exactly to ſtate the Caſe of a War beginning between two contending Nations who were Rivals, perhaps, more in Trade than Power; and whoſe increaſing Pretenſions and Complaints are not eaſily to be number'd. Yet it may not be improper to let the Reader know how the Caſe in ſhort was ſtated by Mr. Secretary *Bennet* to Ambaſſador *Fanſhaw*, in a Letter to him this Year, dated *Sep.* 29, in which, after other Matters, he proceeds thus: ‘ The Parliament complains to the King, upon the Diſquiſition made by them into the Impediments to the common Trade of the Kingdom, *That the Violences and Depredations of the* Hollanders *had much prejudic'd it.* His Majeſty anſwers them, *That he wou'd enquire into it, and ſee Juſtice done.* The Parliament thanks his Majeſty for it, and ſaith, *That in the Proſecution thereof, they will ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes.* This Compliment was accepted by his Majeſty with that Kindneſs it deſerved; but nothing further proceeded upon it, ſave the calling hither Sir *George Downing*, to be inform'd rightly of our Grievances. This, I ſay, was the only Thing done on our Side. Now ſee what they did on theirs: They preſently vote the ſetting out thirty Sail of Ships, and work *Sundays* and *Holy-Days* to make them ready with all poſſible Expedition. Upon all this, may it not fairly be ſaid, If I diſpoſe my ſelf to ask a Man Satisfaction, in the Form agreed of, for Wrong done to me, and the Man betake himſelf to his Arms, draw his Sword, and cock his Piſtol; may it not, I ſay, fairly be ſaid, *That the Man behaving himſelf ſo, is the Peace-Breaker, and War follow upon it, and not I? Is not the Peace broken till I have the Sword or the Piſtol ſhot in my Body?* The Truth is, they are not only to blame in the Continuance of many Wrongs and Injuries done us heretofore, but in endeavouring thus violently to ſupport them; in which they are encourag'd by the great Power and Vogue the *Eaſt* and *Weſt India* Companies have over that Government, being the principal Members of it, and who care not how dear it coſt the Publick, to maintain the Wealth of their Trade; which the common People begin to ſee, and when they feel it a little more, will certainly mutiny againſt it.

The FIFTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

XII. I. Thus ſtood the Affairs of *England* with Reſpect to Foreign Countries when the Parliament met again, according to Prorogation, on the 24th Day of *November*, after a Receſs of a little above ſix Months. This was the Fifth Meeting or Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament; which was open'd by a very handſome Speech made by the King, which at this Time was harkned to with great Eagerneſs and Expectation; and, without any Abridgement, is as follows: ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, When we parted laſt in this Place, I did not think we ſhou'd meet here again till *November*, though I prorogu'd you but to a Day in *Auguſt*: But muſt now tell you, that if I cou'd have ſuſpected, or reaſonably have imagin'd, that our Neighbours wou'd have dealt ſo unneighbourly with me, and have forc'd me to make ſuch Preparations, as they have done, for my Defence, at ſo vaſt an Expence: I ſay, if I cou'd have foreſeen in *Auguſt*, that they wou'd have treated me thus, I ſhou'd not have prevented your coming together then. Yet truly I have Reaſon to be glad that it hath been deferr'd thus long: You have had Leiſure to attend your own Conveniencies in the Country, and the Publick Service there; and I have been able to let our Neighbours ſee that I can defend my ſelf and my Subjects againſt their Inſolence, upon the Stock of my own Credit and Reputation; And that when I find it neceſſary for the Good of my People, I can ſet out a Fleet to Sea, which will not decline meeting with all their Naval Power, even before the Parliament come together; which I am perſuaded if they had believ'd poſſible, they wou'd not ſo importunately have preſs'd me to it. I will not deny to you, I have done more than I thought I cou'd have done, which I impute to the Credit your Vote gave me, and to the Opinion all Men had, *That I did what you wiſh'd I ſhou'd do*; by borrowing very liberally for my ſelf out of my own Stores, and by the kind and chearful Aſſiſtance the City of *London* hath given me, I have a Fleet now at Sea, *Worthy of the* Engliſh *Nation*; and, to ſay no more, not inferior to any that hath been ſet out in any Age; and which (if I may uſe all Freedom with you) to diſcharge to Morrow, and to repleniſh all my Stores, wou'd coſt me little leſs than eight hundred thouſand Pounds. What hath paſs'd between me and the *Dutch*, and by what Degrees, Accidents and Provocations, I have been neceſſitated to the Preparation and Expence I have made, you ſhall be told when I have done. I ſhall only tell you, that if I had proceeded more ſlowly, I ſhou'd have expos'd my own Honour, and the Honour of the Nation, and ſhou'd have ſeem'd not confident of your Affections, and the Aſſurance you gave me *to ſtand by me on this Occaſion.* That which I am now very earneſtly to deſire, and indeed expect from you, is, that you will uſe all poſſible Expedition in your Reſolutions, leaſt that by unneceſſary Formalities the World ſhou'd think that I have not your chearful Concurrence in what is done; and that you are not forward enough in the Support of it, which I am ſure you will be: and that in raiſing the Supplies you take ſuch Order, that when the Expence is Obvious and certain, the Supply be as Real and Subſtantial, not Imaginary, as the laſt *Subſidies* were, which you all well enough underſtand.

‘ *Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, I know not whether it be worth my Pains to endeavour to remove a vile Jealouſy which ſome ill Men ſcatter abroad, and which, I am ſure, will never ſink into the Breaſt of any Man who is worthy to ſit upon your Benches, *That when you have given me a noble and proportionable Supply for the Support of a War, I may be induced by ſome evil Counſellors* (for they will be thought to think very reſpectfully of my own Perſon) *to make a ſudden Peace, and get all that Mony for my own private Occaſions.* I am ſure you all think it an unworthy Jealouſie, and not to deſerve an Anſwer. I wou'd not be thought to have ſo brutiſh an Inclination *to love War for War's Sake:* God knows, I deſire no Bleſſing in the World ſo much as that I may live to ſee a firm Peace between all Chriſtian Princes and States. But let me tell you, and you may be confident of it, That when I am compell'd to enter into a War for the Protection, Honour and Benefit of my Subjects; I will, God willing, not make a Peace, but upon the obtaining and ſecuring thoſe Ends for which the War is enter'd into: And when that can be done, no good Man will be ſorry for the Determination of it. To conclude, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I conjure you all, in your ſeveral Stations, to uſe all poſſible Expedition, That our Friends and our Enemies may ſee, That I am poſſeſs'd of your Hearts, and that we move with one Soul, and I am ſure you will not deceive my Expectation.

The Chanceller not for the War.

The Parliament unanimous for it.

After his Majeſty had finiſh'd his Speech, he further declared to them, ‘ That he did intend the Lord Chancellor ſhou'd have made *a Narrative concerning the Treaty and Manner of Proceedings with the* Dutch; but the Chancellor being laid up with the Gout, he had caus'd the Narrative to be put into Writing, which being ſign'd by his Majeſty, was deliver'd to both Houſes. It is not improbable but that the Chancellor's Diſtemper at this Time was more Political than Real; and that he was willing to be abſent from Parliament at a Time when there appear'd ſo much Zeal for a War, to which he was always moſt averſe. He and the Lord-Treaſurer *Southampton* ſeem'd much of an Opinion, and were ſenſible of the Miſchiefs that might happen to the Nation, by entring into a War without proper Alliance with the Neighbour Princes. The King himſelf was not ſo heartily warm as ſome others; but his Brother the Duke of *York*, being prompted by his private Intereſt, as well as publick Courage, appear'd ſo vigorous, as ſeem'd much to have caſt the Scale in this Affair. How divided ſoever the Court was, the Parliament prov'd unanimous, and the very next Day after the King's Speech, both Houſes agreed in theſe two Reſolutions; Firſt, ‘ That the humble Thanks of both Houſes be preſented to his Majeſty for his moſt gracious *Speech*, and *Narrative*, to his two Houſes of Parliament, and his great Care of the Preſervation of the Honour, and Safety, and Trade of the Nation, by his Preparations for the Defence thereof againſt the *Dutch*; and that his Majeſty wou'd give Leave that his Speech may be printed.’ The next was, ‘ That the Thanks of both Houſes of Parliament be given to the City of *London* for their Forwardneſs in aſſiſting his Majeſty; and in particular, by furniſhing him with ſeveral great Sums of Mony towards his Preparations for the Honour, Safety, and Trade of this Nation.’ This laſt was ſolemnly done by ſix Lords and twelve Commoners, who met with a Reception more ſplendid and pompous than cou'd well have been expected. At the ſame Time the Houſe of Commons let the King know, ‘ That they cou'd not ſufficiently expreſs

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The great Reſolve of the Commons.

preſs their Loyalty and Affection to his Majeſty, nor the deep Senſe which they all had of the Injuries and Violations committed by the *Dutch:* That they had conſider'd the Burden of his Majeſty's Expences, and the Neceſſity of his Naval Preparations; and begg'd leave to aſſure him of their Readineſs and Conſtancy to yield him all the Duties of Aſſiſtance and Obedience with their Lives and Fortunes: Accordingly they Reſolv'd, *That five and twenty hundred thouſand Pounds Supply ſhall be raiſed for his Majeſty, in three Years, and apply'd towards the Maintenance of the* Dutch *War.*’ This was a Sum ſo great and unuſual at this Time, that it rais'd a Terror in *Holland*, and a Wonder in the Neighbouring Nations. Within three Weeks Time they went through the *Ways* and *Means* of raiſing this Sum, which at this Time was not eaſy to do; and ſo both Houſes adjourn'd till the 12th Day of *January*, and ſo had a ſhort Receſs of near a Month.

The King's **Declaration** *concerning* **Letters of Mart.**

Immediately upon the Receſs, the King publiſh'd the following Declaration concerning *Letters of General Repriſals:* ‘ His Majeſty having taken into Conſideration the Injuries, Affronts and Spoils done by the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Companies, and others, the Subjects of the *States* of the *United Provinces*, to the Ships, Goods and Perſons of his Subjects, extending to their grievous Damages, and amounting to vaſt Sums; and notwithſtanding many and frequent *Demands* made by his Majeſty to the ſaid *States* for Redreſs and Reparation, yet none cou'd ever be obtain'd from them; hath, with the Advice of his Privy-Council, thought fit and order'd, That *General Repriſals* be granted againſt the Ships, Goods and Subjects of the ſaid *States*; ſo that his Majeſty's Fleets and Ships, and all other Ships and Veſſels commiſſioned by *Letters of Marque*, or *General Repriſal*, by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, ſhall and may lawfully ſeize all Ships, *&c.* belonging to the *States*, or any of their Subjects, and bring the ſame to Judgment in the *Admiralty-Court:* And that the ſaid *Court of Admiralty* is hereby authoriz'd to proceed thereupon according to the *Courſe of Admiralty*, and *Law of Nations*; and to adjudge and condemn the ſame accordingly. And further, that foraſmuch as by Order and Direction of his Majeſty many of the Ships and Goods belonging to the ſaid *States*, and their Subjects, have been already ſeiz'd, and remain now under Cuſtody; his Majeſty doth order and declare, That all the ſaid Ships and Goods ſo taken and ſeiz'd, *&c.* ſhall ſtand ſubject to the ſaid *General Repriſals*, and be proceeded againſt by the *Court of Admiralty* thereupon, according to the *Courſe of Admiralty*, and *Laws of Nations*, in final Judgment and Condemnation.

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2. After a ſhort Receſs, and the ſumptuous Diverſions of *Chriſtmas*, the Parliament met again, and proceeded to the grand Buſineſs of the Nation: and the King having Notice of the compleating the great Mony-Bill, upon the 9th Day of *February* he came to the Houſe of Peers, where Sir *Edward Turner* the Commons Speaker preſented him with the Bill, with the following Speech, which he pronounc'd with his uſual graceful Manner:

The Speaker's Speech at the Paſſing the Mony-Bill.

‘*May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty*, The laſt Seſſion of this Parliament, the Lords and Commons did humbly preſent unto your Majeſty the many Wrongs and Indignities done to your Majeſty, and the many Injuries done to your Merchants by the Subjects of the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*; and did moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty That ſome effectual Couſe might be taken for Redreſs thereof. Your Majeſty at the Opening of this Seſſion was graciouſly pleas'd to acquaint your two Houſes, That in Purſuance of their Deſires, you had by your Agent required Satisfaction: But that Way prov'd ineffectual, and many freſh Provocations given, whereby your Majeſty was neceſſitated to a Warlike Preparation; by the ſpeedy Diſpatch whereof you had let your Neighbours ſee, *That you cou'd defend your Self and your Subjects againſt their Inſolence, upon the Stock of your own Credit, before your Parliament came together.* And now, Sir, give me leave to ſay; Your Neighbours may ſee, how a Great King may be made Greater by his Parliament. Your Loyal Commons after they had convened, did not ſuffer four and twenty Hours to paſs, before they moſt chearfully gave your Majeſty more than four and twenty hundred thouſand Pounds.-----*Great Sir*, Your Lords and Commons will not only yield Obedience with their Bodies, but with their Purſes alſo: In Token whereof I do, in the Name of all the Commons of *England*, preſent unto your Majeſty this Bill, whereby we have given unto your Majeſty a *Royal Aid of four and twenty hundred ſeventy ſeven thouſand and five hundred Pounds, to be paid in three Years by Twelve Quarterly Payments, to begin from the 25th of* December *laſt*. And we do humbly beſeech your Majeſty to accept it as a pregnant Demonſtration of our moſt unfeigned Duty and Thankfulneſs to your Majeſty.’ To which his Majeſty, in a ſhort Reply, ‘ Return'd his hearty Thanks, with a generous Aſſurance That the Mony ſhou'd be expended to the Advantage and Satisfaction of his People.

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Car. 17.
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The Parliament having thus ſhewn the Senſe of the People by this Royal Aid, and the Hearts of the trading Part of the Nation being now entirely turn'd againſt the *Dutch*, the King order'd the drawing up a formal Declaration of War, ſign'd and approv'd the 22d of *February*, and is as follows:

The King's Declaration of War againſt the States *of* **Holland.**

‘ Whereas upon Complaint of the ſeveral Injuries, Affronts, and Spoils done by the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Companies, and other the Subjects of the *United Provinces*, unto and upon the Ships, Goods, and Perſons of our Subjects, to their grievous Damages, and amounting to vaſt Sums; inſtead of Reparation and Satisfaction, which hath been by us frequently demanded, we found that Orders had been given to *De Ruyter*, not only to abandon the Conſortſhip againſt the Pyrates of the *Mediterranean* Seas, to which the *States-General* had invited us, but alſo to uſe all Acts of Depredation and Hoſtility againſt our Subjects in *Africa*. We therefore gave Order for the detaining the Ships belonging to the States of the *United Provinces*, their Subjects and Inhabitants: Yet notwithſtanding we did not give any Commiſſion for *Letters of Mart*, nor were there any *Proceedings* againſt the Ships detain'd, until we had a clear and undeniable Evidence that *De Ruyter* had put the ſaid Orders in Execution, by ſeizing ſeveral of our Subjects Ships and Goods. But now finding by theſe freſh Injuries and Actings of theirs, and the Intelligence we have had of their great Preparations for War, and their granting of *Letters of Mart* againſt our People, that both our Forbearance, and the other Remedies we have us'd to bring them to a Compliance with us, have prov'd ineffectual, and that they are reſolv'd what they have done by Wrong, to maintain by Arms and War againſt us:

‘ We have therefore thought fit, by and with the Advice of our Privy-Council, to declare, and do hereby declare to all the World, *That the ſaid* States *are the Aggreſſors, and that they ought in Juſtice to be ſo look'd upon by all Men*; ſo that as well our Fleets and Ships, as all other Ships and Veſſels that ſhall be commiſſionated by *Letters of Mart* from our dear Brother the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, ſhall and may lawfully fight with, ſubdue, ſeize, and take all Ships, Veſſels, and Goods belonging to the *States* of the *United Provinces*, or any of their Subjects or Inhabitants within any of their Territories. And we do hereby command as well all our own Subjects, as advertiſe all other Perſons of what Nation ſoever, not to tranſport or carry any Soldiers, Arms, Powder, Ammunition, or any other Contraband Goods, to any of the Territories, Lands, Plantations, or Countries of the ſaid *States* of the *United Provinces*; *Declaring*, That whatſoever Ship or Veſſel ſhall be met withal, tranſporting or carrying any Soldiers, Arms, Powder, Ammunition, or other Contraband Goods to any of the Territories, Lands, Plantations, or Countries of the ſaid *States* of the *United Provinces*, the ſame being taken, ſhall be condemn'd as good and lawful Prize. And we do farther *Declare*, That whatſoever Ship or Veſſel, of what Nation ſoever, ſhall be met withal, having any Goods, Merchandizes, or any Number of Perſons in her belonging to the ſaid *States* of the *United Provinces*, or any of their Subjects or Inhabitants, the Whole being taken, ſhall be adjudg'd as good and lawful Prize. As likewiſe all Goods and Merchandizes, of what Nation ſoever, whether of our Own or of Foreigners, that ſhall be laden aboard any Ship or Veſſel that ſhall belong to the *States* of the *United Provinces*, or any of their Subjects, or any inhabiting with them, and ſhall be taken, the Whole ſhall be condemn'd as good and lawful Prize; except the ſaid Ship or Veſſel hath Ours, or our dear Brother's *Letters of ſafe Conduct* granted to them. And to the End that due Intimation and Publication of this our *Declaration* may be made, and publick Notice thereof be taken, it is our Will and Pleaſure that this our preſent *Declaration* be publiſh'd in due and uſual Form.’ It is obſervable that tho' this *Declaration* was approv'd of by no leſs than two and twenty of the Privy-Council, whoſe Names are plac'd in the Front, yet we find that neither the Chancellor *Clarendon*, nor the Treaſurer *Southampton*, were, or wou'd be concern'd in this great and difficult Affair.

3. Several Bills being got ready for the Royal Aſſent, and a Prorogation being reſolv'd on, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, where Sir *Edward Turner*, the Commons Speaker, preſented the Bills with the following Speech, which beſt ſhews the Nature of them.

The Speaker's Speech at the Prorogation of the Parliament.

‘ *May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty*, The Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Commons Houſe of Parliament, having in the Beginning of this Seſſion apply'd themſelves 'to the Aiding of your Majeſty in your Naval Preparations, have of late conſider'd of ſome Bills that may be moſt grateful to the People, either in redreſſing things that are grievous to them, or in advancing their Trade and Commerce; which are the Life and Soul of the Nation. *Evil Manners produce good Laws*; but the beſt Laws in Time may grow obſolete: And ſuch is the wicked Nature of Man, that when he cannot by Force break through a Law, he will by Fraud and Tricks endeavour to evade it. I may with great Truth affirm, the Common Law of *England* is the beſt Municipal Law in the World; and yet if the Legiſlative Power were not ready to countermine the Works, and make up the Breaches that are daily made upon it, the Sons of *Zeruiah* wou'd be too ſtrong for us. We have now preſented to your Majeſty ſeveral Bills *for the Regulation of the Law*, which will ſerve to prune ſome exuberant Branches, and ſo pull away the Ivy that robb'd this Tree of her juſt Nouriſhment: And if your Majeſty be now pleas'd graciouſly to ſhine upon her, ſhe will flouriſh in great Abundance, to the Content of your Majeſty, and all your People.

'*Coſmographers* do agree, That this Iſland is incomparably furniſh'd with pleaſant Rivers, like Veins in the natural Body, which convey the Blood into all the Parts, whereby the Whole is nouriſh'd and made uſeful. Therefore we have prepared ſome *Bills for making ſmall Rivers navigable*; a thing that in other Countries hath been more experienc'd, and hath been found very advantagious: It eaſeth the People of their great Charge of Land-Carriages preſerves the High-ways, which are daily worn out with Waggons carrying exceſſive Burthens: It breeds up a Nurſery of Watermen, which upon Occaſion will prove good Seamen, and with much more Facility maintains Intercourſe and Communication between Cities and Countries. We have been very much affected with the Cries and Wants of the Poor this hard Seaſon, eſpecially thoſe who are about this Town, who are ready to ſtarve for want of Fuel, the Price of Coals being ſo unreaſonably enhanc'd by the extorting Engroſſers. We have therefore, for their preſent and future Eaſe, prepared a Bill authorizing the *Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of* London, *and three Juſtices of Peace within the County, from Time to Time to ſet the Prices of Coals, having Regard to the Price paid by the Importer, and other emergent Charges*. And now, *Great Sir*, having finiſh'd our preſent Counſels, we hope your Majeſty will give us Leave to return for a Time into our Countries, where in our ſeveral Spheres we ſhall be ready to ſerve you with our Perſons and our Purſes, and alſo with our Prayers to the great God of Hoſts, *That he will be pleas'd to ſtrengthen your Hands in the Day of Battel, and make you Victorious over all your Enemies both at home and abroad.*

The King's Speech.

In paſſing theſe Bills, the King, in a ſhort Speech, gave in ſpecial Charge to the Members of the Houſe of Commons, 'That upon their Return into their reſpective Countries, they wou'd as well make it their Buſineſs to ſee the Supply, they had now granted this Seſſion, Equally laid upon Particulars, that there might be no Cauſe of Complaint; as he Himſelf had made it his Royal Care that there might be no Diſproportion upon the Countries themſelves, by making an Abatement, where any of them appear'd overburthen'd.' After which he prorogu'd both Houſes till the 21ſt of *June*, then to the Firſt of *Auguſt*, and laſtly to the 9th of *October*. Thus ended the Fifth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had continu'd three Months and ſix Days, to the ſingular Satisfaction of the King and People at home, and to the Terror of ſome and the Wonder of other Neighbouring Nations abroad.

The End of the Fifth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

A great Change in the Rights of the Clergy.

4. During this Parliament there began a very extraordinary Change in the Liberties and Properties of the Clergy of *England*, by altering the Way of Taxing themſelves as formerly, and being tax'd in Common with the People in Parliament. It is to be obſerv'd, that by the Original Conſtitution of the Nation, the Lords Spiritual and Prelates and Clergy were eſteem'd one of the *Three Eſtates* of the Realm, and therefore met in *Convocation* on the Civil Account of Giving their own Mony, and Securing their own Secular Rights and Liberties. This Right of Taxing themſelves, and of not being Tax'd by Parliaments, had been inviolably obſerv'd before, as well as after the Reformation; only with this ſmall Difference, that after the Reformation, their Grants of *Subſidy*, for the more Certainty of collecting of them, were uſually confirm'd by Acts of Parliament; and yet they gave *Benevolences* as formerly, to be levy'd and paid according to Rules and Conſtitutions of their own Making. The Rebellion in the late Reign, and the following Uſurpations, were the firſt that broke in upon this peculiar Privilege: For the Miniſters of thoſe Times, either out of voluntary Compliance, Affectation of Popularity, or for want of Proxies to repreſent their Body, had their Benefices tax'd with the Laity, in the *pretended* Parliaments. But at the King's Reſtoration, *this* ancient Right of the Church was recover'd with him; and thus the Matter continu'd for the firſt four Years. But now, as it appear'd, ſome of the Biſhops and Clergy fell into Sentiments very different from thoſe of their Predeceſſors. They began to think this cuſtomary Method of Taxing Themſelves ſomewhat burthenſom: They probably thought the Expectations of the Court might be ſet too high upon them this Way; and that the Commons were often diſcontented, unleſs they over-charg'd themſelves, and ſwell'd their *Subſidies* beyond a reaſonable Proportion. We ſhall not examine how well theſe Jealouſies were founded; but it is ſaid, That the Apprehenſion of theſe and other Inconveniences, brought Arch-Biſhop *Sheldon*, and ſome other leading Prelates into a Concert with Chancellor *Clarendon*, Treaſurer *Southampton*, and ſome others of the Miniſtry. And now at a Conſultation it was concluded, That the Clergy ſhou'd ſilently wave the ancient Cuſtom of Taxing their own Body, and ſuffer themſelves to be included in the Money Bills prepared by the Houſe of Commons: And to encourage their Aſſent to this Ceſſion, Two of their four *Subſidies*, they had granted laſt Year, were to be remitted; and over and above, they had the Promiſe of a Clauſe *For Saving their Ancient Rights*.

They ſubmit to be tax'd by the Parliament.

This being comply'd withal, the Security was accordingly given, and a very clear comprehenſive *Proviſo* inſerted in the *Act for Granting a Royal Aid unto the King's Majeſty*, which ought not to be forgot. It ſtands thus; **Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That all Spiritual Promotions, and all Lands, Poſſeſſions or Revenues annex'd to, and all Goods and Chattels growing, or renew'd upon the ſame or elſewhere, appertaining to the Owners of the ſaid Spiritual Promotions, or any of them, which are or ſhall be charg'd, or made contributing to this Act towards the Payment aforeſaid, during the Time therein appointed** (which was to be rais'd, levy'd and paid in the Space of Three Years) **ſhall be abſolutely freed and diſcharg'd from the two laſt of the four** Subſidies **granted by the Clergy to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, by an Act made in the former Seſſion of this preſent Parliament, Entituled,** An Act for confirming of four Subſidies granted by the Clergy, **any Clauſe or Thing in the ſaid Act to the contrary notwithſtanding. —— Provided always, That nothing herein contain'd, ſhall be drawn into Example to the Prejudice of the Ancient Rights belonging unto the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, or Clergy of this Realm, or unto either of the ſaid Univerſities, or unto any Colleges, Schools, Alms-Houſes, Hoſpitals, or Cinque-ports.** Notwithſtanding this Saving *Proviſo*, which has expreſly ſecured all Rights, the Clergy ſeem'd to have acquieſc'd for the future, and never after reaſſum'd their great Claim; and from this Time, during the whole Reign, the Convocation met principally for Form Sake. The Parochial Clergy however gain'd one Privilege, which they had not before, which was their Voting for Members of the Houſe of Commons: But whether they were Gainers or Loſers in the Whole, has been a Matter of ſome Diſpute; yet we think a very little Conſideration may determine whether the Gaining of the latter Privilege be a full Compenſation for the Waving, if not the Loſing the Former.

The War proclaim'd againſt the Dutch.

Within two Days after the Breaking up of the Parliament, *March* 4, the King's *Declaration* againſt the *Dutch* was publickly read and proclaim'd by the ſeveral Heralds and Serjeants in *Weſtminſter* and *London*, after a very pompous and ſolemn Manner. And thus *England*, after it had a breathing Time of leſs than five Years, was involv'd in a very hazardous and expenſive War.

The Deaths of Arch-Biſhop Frewen,

And here we ſhall conclude both the Year, and the Period, with the Deaths of a few eminent Perſons, who ought not to be altogether forgotten in Hiſtory; and firſt we ſhall mention a great Prelate, Dr. *Accepted Frewen*, Arch-Biſhop of the Province of *York*, a Perſon educated in *Oxford*, and made Preſident of *Magdalen* College in that Univerſity, where he ſhew'd himſelf a particular Friend to Arch-Biſhop *Laud*. By Reaſon of his Parts and Abilities he was appointed to attend the late King, when Prince of *Wales*, in his Courtſhip in *Spain*, always ſhewing himſelf a general Scholar and a good Orator; by which Endowments he rais'd himſelf through ſeveral Preferments, and particularly the Biſhoprick of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, to the high Station in which he dy'd, and

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Dr. Barwick,

Mr. Stephens,

where he left a worthy Character behind him. He was ſucceeded by an eminent Man, Dr. *Richard Sterne*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*. Next to him we ſhall take Notice of two great Divines of the Church of *England*, Dr. *John Barwick*, and Mr. *Jeremy Stephens*: The former was a *Weſtmoreland* Man, educated in and made Fellow of St. *John*'s College in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and after that Prebendary of the Church of *Durham*; out of both which he was ejected, and, notwithſtanding his pious Behaviour, us'd with inhuman Barbarities: All theſe he bore with a noble Conſtancy, and ſtill kept an uninterrupted Correſpondence with Chancellor *Hyde* beyond the Seas, and was not only very aſſiſting to the Neceſſities of the King in his Exile, but was particularly inſtrumental in the Reſtoration it ſelf; for which, after the King's Return, he was rewarded firſt with the Deanery of *Durham*, and then with that of St. *Paul*'s, in which Preferment he left the World, when he had a juſt Expectation of ſomething ſtill greater. He was ſucceeded by Dr. *William Sancroft*, afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. The next, Mr. *Stephens*, was a learned *Oxonian* by Education, who, after no very long Continuance in that Univerſity, remov'd into the Country, where he took up with the Livings of *Quinton* and *Wotton* in the County of *Northampton*; from whence he was ejected by the prevailing Party, plunder'd, impriſon'd and ſilenc'd. He was remarkably diſtinguiſh'd for his learned Skill in Antiquities, and was intimately acquainted and highly aſſiſting to the famous Sir *Henry Spelman*, in his Volume of the *Councils*, his *Hiſtory of Sacrilege*, and other Works of great Value: Upon the King's Return, he was reſtored to his Livings, but met with no further Reward than a Prebendary of *Salisbury*.

And Mrs. Philips.

In the next Place we ought not to forget one of the other Sex, Mrs. *Katharine Philips*, a marry'd Lady or Widow, whoſe Maiden Name was *Fowler*, but moſt commonly and very juſtly call'd *The matchleſs* ORINDA; a Perſon of that admirable Merit and Reputation for Poetry, that ſhe is believ'd to have equall'd at leaſt the Poeteſſes of Antiquity, the *Lesbian Sappho*, and the *Roman Sulpitia*; and her Memory has been celebrated by the moſt eminent Poets of the Age, the great Earls of *Orrery* and *Roſcommon*, the incomparable *Cowley*, the ingenious *Flatman*, and others, who ſeem to have exhauſted their own Wit in the diſplaying of hers. This moſt excellent Lady, after ſome Removals and Travels, returning to her native City of *London*, was ſuddenly ſnatch'd away by the Small-Pox in the 31ſt Year of her Age, to the mighty Regret of great Numbers of her Admirers.

CHAP. II.

From the Publick Declaration of the Firſt War againſt the Dutch, *to the Concluſion of the Treaty of* Breda, *and the Proclaiming of the Peace.*

Containing the Space of two Years, Five Months, and Three Weeks.

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The Firſt DUTCH WAR.

I. 1. FROM the Concluſion of the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and the King's glorious Reſtoration, for about five Years there was a general and profound Peace throughout all *Chriſtendom*, except only the Remainder of a feeble War between *Spain* and *Portugal*; but now, in the Year 1665, a Fire broke out between *England* and *Holland*, which, before it could be extinguiſh'd, threaten'd the Repoſe of many Nations. Something has already been ſaid concerning the Juſtice of this War, and of the Complaints and Provocations on both Sides. As to the latter, nothing ſeem'd to have made a more ſenſible Impreſſion upon the *Engliſh* than the Proceedings of *De Ruyter*, who deſerting the common Cauſe againſt the Pirates in the *Mediterranean*, had made great Depredations upon the *Engliſh* in *Guiney*, *Barbadoes*, and *Long-Iſland*, tho' not with equal Succeſs; ingloriouſly beginning a Piratick War under the ſacred Bands of Friendſhip and Alliance. Upon which Proceedings the *Hollanders* took Occaſion to inſult the *Engliſh* for the Loſſes brought upon them by ſuch Treachery: For a *Dutch*-Man in *London*, pretending himſelf to be a *Swede*, lately come from *Guiney*, made it his profeſs'd Buſineſs and Pleaſure to report the utter Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* in thoſe Coaſts by *De Ruyter*; for which Inſolence he was, in the Beginning of the Year, whipp'd through the Streets of *London*, both as an Impoſtor and an open Enemy.

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It begins with a Paper War.

All the while the *States-General* affected to be ſilent, and ſeem to hope to decline the Imputation of being the real Aggreſſors; tho' both their Orders, and the Execution of them, ſufficiently diſcover'd, That they did not wait to be on the Defenſive Side. When they were charg'd by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador with many Inſtances of their Violation of their Faith and Honour with that Nation, they ſo far deſcended as to publiſh a diſingenuous Libel, entitled, *An Extract of the Memorials of the* States-General *of the* United Provinces, *upon the Memorial of Sir* George Downing, *Envoy Extraordinary of the King of* Great Britain. In which there appear'd ſo many Invectives againſt the King, and ſo many Aſperſions upon the *Engliſh* Nation, that it put Sir *George* upon the Neceſſity of a Printed Vindication. And the *Sates*, as if intending no more than a Paper War, contented themſelves with Publiſhing a Second Libel, call'd *A ſummary Obſervation and Deduction deliver'd by the Deputies of the* States General, *upon the Memorial of Sir* George Downing, *Envoy*, &c. But when they ſaw the *Engliſh*, upon Denial of Satisfaction, to be in earneſt and reſolute as to a War, they ſent away Monſieur *Beuninghen* to lay their Condition, and the Proſpect of a Rupture, before the King of *France*, who gave them ſeveral Promiſes of his Favour and Protection, which were particularly grounded upon a ſecret Treaty between them in the Year 1662. And yet, to take Advantage of their Neceſſities, he order'd his Ambaſſador in *Holland* to demand the full Reſtitution of two very conſiderable *Eaſt-India* Ships, formerly taken from his Subjects; to which they were forc'd to yield with great Difficulty and Struggle, as at large appears in the Count *D'Eſtrades*'s Memoirs.

Encouragements given to the Dutch.

They had certainly great Expectations from the encreaſing Power of the *French* King, who had for ſeveral Years held a ſecret and diſreputable Correſpondence with their grand Penſionary *De Wit*. This great Man, being the Head of the *Louveſtine* Faction, and a mortal Enemy to the Pretenſions of the *Naſſau* Family in *Holland*, carry'd on ſome unjuſtifiable Meaſures to ſupport his Deſigns; and having, by his great Parts and indefatigable Induſtry, gain'd a mighty Authority in *Holland*, he became the greateſt Obſtacle to all Terms of Reconciliation, and the chief Promoter of the Hatred between his Country-Men and the *Engliſh*; in all which he ſeem'd tranſported by an unwarrantable Zeal and Jealouſy for the Liberty of the Common-wealth. The *Dutch* being by his Party gradually rous'd, they proceeded to that Arrogance, as to give it out among the People, 'That the Affairs of *England* were in ſuch an ill 'Poſture, that the Civil War being lately ended, they had 'not Mony ſufficient to make War abroad; and that the 'King was as yet ſo inſecurely eſtabliſh'd in his Government, that he cou'd not revenge the Injuries of Foreigners: That it was not ſafe for him to truſt Arms in 'the Hands of his Subjects, which afterwards they might 'be unwilling to lay down. That the *Engliſh* were not 'now the ſame formidable Enemies as the *Dutch* had 'found them under the *Rump-Parliament*; and that the 'warlike Fierceneſs of the Nation was gone off with the '*Sectarians*, and that none remain'd amongſt them but a 'Company of ignorant Cowards: That there were a great 'many *Diſſenters* in *England*, who probably wou'd fight 'for the *Dutch* againſt the King, or at leaſt wou'd not 'fight for him againſt thoſe who were for *Liberty of Conſcience*.' Nor were there wanting a great many *Engliſh* Fugitives among the *Hollanders*, who made it their Buſineſs to cauſe theſe falſe Reports to be more credited among the People. However their Spirits were rais'd and inſtigated, the Earl of *Caſtlemain* obſerves, *That never were a wiſe and ſober People more deceiv'd, nor at any Time took wronger Meaſures than they.*

Preparations of the Engliſh.

Things being in this Forwardneſs, on the latter End of *March*, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, animated with the Love of Fame, ſet out, with a glorious Attendance, to go on Board the *Engliſh* Fleet; which being now ready to Sail, a proper and pious Care was taken to compleat the Preparation by an Order for a *General Faſt* to be obſerv'd on *April* the 5th, *To implore the Bleſſing of God upon his Majeſty's Forces employ'd againſt the* Dutch. And it is obſervable, that the Queen-Mother and the Queen-Conſort did both eminently manifeſt their Zeal on this Occaſion; and, by expreſs and particular Appointment, commanded all their Domeſticks to ſet themſelves apart with entire Abſtinence and extraordinary Devotions for the Service of the Day. When the Duke went on board, the *Dutch* were not ready to come forth; and at preſent did not ſeem in earneſt for a War: They were then ſolliciting for the Mediation of the *French* King; who, apprehending the Naval Power of *England*, accordingly ſent Meſſieurs *Venevel* and *Courtine* his Ambaſſadors Extraordinary, to the *Engliſh* Court, who arriv'd at *London April* the 6th in great State and Magnificence.

The French *interpoſe in vain.*

Their Buſineſs was to interpoſe, and make an Accommodation between *England* and *Holland*, and particularly repreſented to the King 'The great Inconveniencies that wou'd happen if he 'carry'd on the War, or by immoderate Demands drove

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'a State to Deſpair, which had great Reſources as to 'Mony, and had powerful Friends engag'd to defend her, 'who wou'd not let her periſh if ſhe cou'd not ſupport 'her ſelf by her own Forces.' Several Propoſitions were made, but none prov'd acceptable to either Party at this Time; and indeed the *Dutch* themſelves were at preſent ſo ſtiff, that the *French* Ambaſſador *D'Eſtrades* wrote thus to his Maſter, 'It were to be wiſh'd that ſome ill Succeſs 'wou'd happen to the *States*, to make them more ſupple, 'and readier to give up ſome Things in order to procure 'an Accommodation.' In the mean time all that they cou'd do for a while, was to enlarge their Embargo upon the *Engliſh*, and to provide, That none of the Subjects of that *State* ſhou'd inſure any Goods belonging to the Subjects of the King of *England*, and to prevent all Neuters to carry *contraband* Goods to any of the Dominions of his *Britannick* Majeſty.

Reſ. 6. *The War opens.*

2. The opening of the War happen'd in *May*, when ſome of the *Engliſh* Cruſers began with good Succeſs, and took three *Dutch* Frigates; the firſt a Caper of ſeven Guns, and forty ſeven Men; the other two were *Direction* Ships; one of thirty two Guns and eighty Men, taken by the *Diamond*, in which Captain *Golding*, a brave Officer, loſt his Life; the other of twenty two Guns and ſixty Men, taken by the *Yarmouth*, after a ſtout Reſiſtance. One of theſe *Direction* Ships was commanded by young *Everts*, whom the Duke treated with ſingular Courteſy, and the King generouſly gave him his Liberty, and a hundred Pounds to carry him home, as an Acknowledgment for the good Offices he had formerly receiv'd from his Father in *Holland*. In the mean Time the Duke of *York*, with ſeveral of the Nobility, ſet ſail with the Royal Fleet of *England*, conſiſting of a hundred and ſeven Men of War, and fourteen Fireſhips, *&c.* divided into three Squadrons: The Firſt, under the *Red Flag*, was commanded by the Duke himſelf, *Pen* and *Lawſon*: The ſecond, being the *White* Squadron, was under the Conduct of Prince *Rupert*, *Minns* and *Sanſon:* And the third, which was the *Blue* Squadron, was commanded by the Earl of *Sandwich*, *Cuttins* and Sir *George Ayſcough*. With this formidable Navy the Duke of *York* ſtood off the Coaſts of *Holland*, before the *Dutch* ſo much as appear'd; and coming before the *Texel*, he ſent in a Squadron ſo near the Shore and Harbour, that the Inhabitants were in a great Alarm and Conſternation, and erected Beacons all along the Sands from the *Texel* to the *Maeſe*, to give Notice upon any Attempt of Landing. All this Daring of the *Engliſh* cou'd not draw out the Enemies Fleet; and therefore, after the taking many rich Merchant-Men in the Mouth of their Rivers and Ports, and meeting with ſome tempeſtuous Weather, the Duke ſet Sail for the *Engliſh* Coaſts. The *Dutch* took that Advantage and Opportunity of coming out, and by the 29th of *May* appear'd about the *Dogger-Sands* with their whole Fleet, divided into ſeven Squadrons: The firſt was under Admiral *Opdam*, the ſecond under *John Everts*, the third under *Cortenaar*, the fourth under *Stillingwerf*, the fifth under *Cornelius Tromp*, the ſixth under *Cornelius Everts*, and the ſeventh was under *Schram*; the whole amounting to a hundred and three Men of War, eleven Fireſhips, ſeven Yatches, with Tenders. By the Duke's retiring from the Coaſts of *Holland*, the Enemy took the Advantage of intercepting the *Engliſh Hamburgh* Fleet, who had ſent to the Duke, lying before the *Texel*, for a Convoy, which was diſpatcht to them: And bringing them along the *Holland* Coaſts, when the Duke was ſail'd away, and unhappily miſſing of the *Roe-Ketch*, which he had ſent to meet them, and give them Notice of his Removal, they fell in with a Squadron of the *Dutch* ſent out purpoſely to attend their coming, and were moſt of them taken.

A general BATTEL

The Engliſh *victorious.*

The News of this rous'd the Duke of *York*, who reſolv'd to loſe no Time in meeting the Enemy; and on the 2d of *June*, not far from the Coaſt of *Harwich*, the two greateſt Naval Powers in the World began to face each other; which was both a glorious and a terrible Sight. The *Dutch*, tho' they had the Advantage of the Wind, declin'd the preſent Engagement, as ſomething ominous, becauſe juſt that Day twelve Years Admiral *Monk* had given them ſo remarkable an Overthrow. The next Day, very ſoon in the Morning, the Battel began with dreadful Thundrings on both Sides, loudly reſounding through all the neighbouring Shores. After they had fired at ſome Diſtance, they came to a cloſe Fight, which for ſome Time was carry'd on with great Fury on both Sides. The Duke of *York* and Admiral *Opdam* fell Side to Side into a fierce and cloſe Ingagement, with all imaginable Bravery; in which the Duke ply'd him ſo ſharply, that he not only overpower'd him, but ſo beat his own Fire upon him, that his great Ship, himſelf and his Men were all with a prodigious Concuſſion blown up into the Air. This threw the *Dutch* into a great Conſternation, and a ſignal Victory follow'd on the *Engliſh* Side, who took eighteen Capital Men of War, and ſunk and fired about fourteen more, with the Loſs of only one of theirs, the *Charity*, which had been before taken from the Enemy. We have good Reaſon to believe, that the Fleet had been totally deſtroy'd, had not one Mr. *Brunkard*, of the Duke's Bed-Chamber, prevented the Execution of his Orders the very Night after the Victory: It ſeems the Duke, having given Orders to make all Sail, and purſue the Remainder of the broken Navy, and having laid down to take a little Reſt, that Gentleman took the Liberty to tell Sir *John Harman* the Captain *he was too laviſh in expoſing the Heir of the Crown*, and counterfeited a new Order from him for ſlackning Sail, to which the other unadviſedly conſented; for which *Brunkard* was afterwards tax'd in the Houſe of Commons. The Loſs of the *Dutch* was computed at eight thouſand Men kill'd, or taken Priſoners; that of the *Engliſh* was much leſs than a thouſand, of whom about ſixty were in the Duke's Ship: Indeed they loſt ſeveral brave Men of Quality and Courage; the Earl of *Falmouth*, the Lord *Murkerry*, and the honourable Mr. *Boyl*, fell all three by one Cannon Shot, ſo near the Perſon of the Duke, that he was almoſt cover'd with their Blood and Brains, while he himſelf gave an Example of the greateſt Courage and Conduct. The Earl of *Portland*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and Reer Admiral *Sanſon*, were kill'd in the Fight, and Sir *John Lawſon* ſoon after dy'd of his Wounds. Of theſe, the renowned Earl of *Marlborough* diſtinguiſh'd himſelf both in his Valour and his pious Diſpoſition, which he particularly manifeſted in a Letter to Sir *Hugh Pollard* ſome time before the Battel; in which he nobly vindicated Religion againſt all Infidels and Atheiſts, and proteſted that what he wrote *proceeded from no fantaſtick Terror of Mind*; and in Concluſion has theſe Words, *Dear Sir* Hugh, *let us be more generous than to believe we die as the Beaſts that periſh*; *but*, *with a Chriſtian*, *Manly*, *Brave Reſolution*, *look to what is Eternal.*

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Honours conſerr'd on the Duke of York.

Two thouſand and ſixty three *Dutch* Priſoners, of whom thirteen were Commanders, were brought to *Colcheſter*, not long after the Battel. About the ſame Time his Royal Highneſs the Duke left the Fleet, and rode Poſt to *Whitehall*, accompany'd with Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and other Perſons of Quality, and receiv'd the Congratulations of the Court and City with all the Marks of Publick Joy and Triumph. And a ſolemn Day of Thankſgiving for the late Victory was obſerv'd, firſt in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and then in the other Parts of *England* and *Wales*. Beſides this, in Honour of the Duke himſelf, and in Memory of the great Action, there was the following Medal ſtruck: Of the Duke's Effigy in Buſt, clad in a *Roman* Mantle, with theſe Words round it; *Jacobus Dux Ebor. & Alban. Domin. Magn. Admiralius Angliæ*, &c. The Reverſe repreſenting the Admiral and whole Fleet in Conflict, with theſe Words, *Nec Minor in Terris*, *June* III. MDCLXV. Upon the ſame Action there was likewiſe ſtruck another no leſs glorious Medalion, with the Duke in Buſt, ſhort Hair, *&c.* having this Inſcription: *Jacobus Dux Ebor. & Alban. Frater Auguſtiſſimi Caroli* II. *Regis.* The Reverſe was a rich Trophy, and Ships in Fight, with theſe Words, *Genus Antiquum.* And now all Perſons began more and more to look upon the Duke, who had ſo often maintain'd the Grandeur of his Birth by his own perſonal Valour and Merit. He was now in the Heighth of his Glory; he enjoy'd moſt of the great Places of Profit and Honour in the Nation; and was not only Lord High-Admiral of *England*, but was Governor of the *Cinque Ports*, and of *Portſmouth*, and had the Benefit of the *Poſt-Office*, the *Wine-Licences*, &c. Then having Children, and the King none, many Perſons made their Court to him as the Heir to the Crown, which was likewiſe to paſs away to his Head, and remain in his Family; and what added to the Happineſs was, that the King was never the leaſt jealous of him or his Actions, a thing very rare between two Brothers of that Rank. In this State of Felicity the Duke continu'd for ſome Years, wanting neither the Favour of the Prince, nor the Reſpect of the People; till firſt the Suſpicion, and then the Diſcovery of his Religion, which happen'd about ſix Years after, did very much withdraw the Love and Affections of Men from him, and gave the firſt Shock to all his great Proſperity.

And on inferior Officers.

The Queen Mother leaves England.

Soon after this memorable Battel, the King took into Conſideration the valiant Behaviour of ſeveral inferior Officers, and gave the Honour of Knighthood to Captain *Chriſtopher Minns*, and to Captain *Jeremy Smith.* Soon after his Majeſty, attended by his Royal Brother, Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and others of the Nobility, waited upon the Queen-Mother in the *Katharine* Yatch to the *Buoy in the Nore*, in order to her Return into *France*, where ſhe took her laſt Leave of her two Sons, and never ſaw *England* more. Here his Majeſty took the Opportunity of viſiting the Royal Navy; eſpecially the

Flag-Ships; and going aboard the *Royal Charles*, in which his Brother had ſo bravely fought, he there beſtow'd the Honour of Knighthood on divers Officers who had nobly diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in the late Conflict; as Rear-Admiral *Thomas Tyddiman*, Captain *Joſeph Jordan*, Captain *Edward Spragg*, and Captain *Cuttings*.

Diſcontents in Holland.

While Rewards were thus beſtow'd in *England*, the contrary chiefly appear'd in *Holland*; where the Misfortunes of their Fleet threw the common People into ſo many Complaints and Murmurs, that the *States* were forc'd to give way to the popular Paſſions, and to queſtion many Officers for Cowardiſe, or for ill Conduct, or even for Treachery it ſelf; and, for a publick Expiation, to execute three of their Sea-Captains at *Helder*; and to order two more to have their Swords broken over their Heads, and to make another ſtand ſome Hours upon a Scaffold with a Halter about his Neck. All which Show and Ceremony of Juſtice was thought rather to appeaſe the Madneſs of the People, than to vindicate the Honour of their Country. And Penſionary *De Wit*'s Party met with a moſt ſenſible Shock; inſomuch that at *Leyden* the People threw a Drummer into the River, for beating up for Men for the *Service of the Lords the States*, crying out, *He ſhou'd beat for the Prince of* Orange, *and not for Traytors.* And ſeveral Sea-Captains, and others, publickly ſaid, *They wou'd never go to Sea again, if the Prince of* Orange's *Flag was not born.*

The English *Fleet ſets out a ſecond Time.*

3. In *England*, it was thought reaſonable and proper by the King and Council, that the Lord High Admiral the Duke of *York* ſhou'd not venture his Perſon in another Sea Fight, therefore the chief Command of the Navy was committed to the Earl of *Sandwich*; who, having repair'd the Loſſes ſuſtain'd in the late Action, and having fitted out ſeveral of the *Dutch* Prizes, on the 5th of *July* weigh'd about ſixty Sail from *Soul-Bay*, and made for the Coaſt of *Holland*. The Royal Standard was born by the Earl himſelf, under whom Sir *George Ayſcough* was Vice-Admiral, and Sir *Thomas Tyddiman* Rear-Admiral: Sir *William Pen* was Admiral of the White, and under him Sir *William Berkley* Vice-Admiral, and Sir *Joſeph Jordan* Rear-Admiral: And the Blue Flag was carry'd by Sir *Thomas Allen*, whoſe Flag Officers were Sir *Chriſtopher Minns* and Captain *Harman*. The *Dutch* all this Time waited for the Return of *De Ruyter* from *Newfoundland*, to which Place, after he had been beat off from *Barbadoes*, he had ſteer'd his Courſe with a Squadron of ſeventeen Men of War; and arriving at St. *John*'s, he took the *Diamond* of *Plymouth*, and the *Unity* of *Dartmouth*, and plunder'd the Colony of their Proviſion, and their very Cloaths. At *Bay-Bull*'s Harbour he took two Ships more, and in *Pit*'s Harbour three other Ships, and ranſack'd all the Fiſhing-Coaſts, and brought away above a hundred able Seamen, becauſe they refus'd to enter into the Service of the *States*. With theſe few Prizes, and his own Ships extreamly damag'd, he crept home by the Coaſt of *Norway* and *Denmark*, and was immediately made Admiral of the *Dutch* Fleet, yet rather to carry the Flag than to command the Maritime Affairs, which in a new Model were put under the Superintendency of three of their great Men, *De Wit*, *Huggens*, and *Boreel*. Their great Fear and Concern at this Time was for the Safety and Return of their rich Fleets, particularly the *Smyrna* and *Streights* Fleet, which, together with ſeveral *Eaſt-India* Ships, to the Value of ſome Millions, were got into the Port of *Berghen* in *Norway*, under the Protection of the *Daniſh* Governor of that Place. A famous Attempt was made upon theſe vaſt Prizes by the *Engliſh*: The Cauſes of which, together with the Miſcarriage, is a Piece of Hiſtory ſo very curious, and altogether new to the Reader, that we ſhall be very particular in the Narrative, from a Manuſcript written by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, a Perſon principally concern'd in the whole Affair, whoſe Authority we cannot queſtion.

A new and curious Account of their Attempt upon the Dutch *in* Berghen.

Sir *Gilbert Talbot* being the *Engliſh* reſiding Envoy at the *Daniſh* Court at *Copenhagen*, that King was pleas'd often to diſcourſe very freely with him; and particularly, on the 14th of *June*, among other Matters, took an Occaſion to complain of 'the hard Condition in which the '*Hollanders* by their Treachery had involv'd him, by 'drawing the *Swediſh* War upon him, that he might be 'neceſſitated to have Recourſe to them for Supplies of 'Mony and Shipping, that thereby they might get into 'their Hands the Cuſtoms of *Norway* and the *Sound* for 'their Security.' Sir *Gilbert* readily told the King, That if he wou'd give him Leave, he wou'd point him out a Way whereby he ſhou'd not only free himſelf from that Bondage, but plentifully repair his Condition; but withal he ſaid, *That he ſpake it as a private Perſon devoted to his Intereſt, not as a publick Miniſter.* The King conjuring him to tell him what he meant, he ſaid, *That his Majeſty had it in his own Hands, if he wou'd make uſe of it*; but ſtill he ſeem'd not to underſtand, and deſired Sir *Gilbert* to explain; who then told him, *That the* Dutch Smyrna *Fleet, worth many Millions, was within his Net at* Berghen, *together with many rich* Eaſt-India *Ships; and that they ſtaid in Expectation of more, and of the Return of* De Ruyter *with his Squadron.* Sir *Gilbert* then ask'd his Majeſty *Why he wou'd not make Seizure of thoſe Ships within his Harbour, before the expected Convoy came?* The King anſwer'd, *That he wanted Strength to do it:* Sir *Gilbert* well knew that, but expected the Acknowledgment from his own Mouth, that he might have Occaſion to lead him to the Point: For having now in Effect diſcover'd, that it was only want of Power that hinder'd him, he the more confidently reply'd, *That he doubted not but that the King his Maſter wou'd lend him Forces to effect it; But it wou'd be reaſonable, if his Maſter reduc'd them by his Power, that he ſhou'd equally partake of the Profit.* The King reply'd, *That he wou'd be content with all his Heart to ſhare equally with the King of* England. Sir *Gilbert* thereupon ask'd him, *If he wou'd give him Commiſſion to propoſe the Matter to the King his Maſter?* He anſwer'd, *Moſt willingly*; and deſired him to do it with all Expedition and Secrecy.

Sir G. Talbot *the Projector of it.*

Upon this Incouragement, on the 17th following, Sir *Gilbert* propos'd it in Cypher to Mr. Secretary *Bennet*, lately made Lord *Arlington*; who in his Anſwer dated *June* the 30th told him, 'That he had imparted the Deſign to his Majeſty, who very well approv'd what he 'had done, and commanded him to purſue it, promiſing 'him that the Fleet ſhou'd be ready to put it in Execution.' As ſoon as Sir *Gilbert* had receiv'd this Letter, which was on the 10th of *July*, he immediately went to the Court, and told the King, *That the King his Maſter embrac'd the Propoſal, and had given him Order to proceed to an Agreement with his Majeſty about the Particulars.* Hereupon the chief Treaſurer *Seſted*, General *Shack*, and the prime Miniſter *Gabel*, were appointed Commiſſioners to concert with him the Agreement and Method of putting it in Execution. But no Articles were to appear in Writing, in Regard of the tender Nature of the Affair, which was juſtifiable in the King of *England*, but not to be publickly avow'd by his Majeſty of *Denmark*. All this while there was no News of *De Ruyter*, or the expected *Eaſt-India* Fleet, which was order'd to come home round *Scotland*. But on the 20th of *July*, the King of *Denmark* receiv'd ſeveral Letters out of *Norway*, which brought Intelligence, That *De Ruyter* was upon the Coaſt, and ſome Ships were come into *Copenhagen*, which had ſpoken with him at Sea. His Majeſty immediately ſent to Sir *Gilbert Talbot* to acquaint him with the News, and deſir'd him to tranſmit it with all Speed to the *Engliſh* Fleet; thereupon he preſently writ to the Earl of *Sandwich*, and within two Hours diſpatch'd his Secretary to him. And becauſe he had no Cypher with the Earl, he was forc'd to acquaint his Secretary with the whole Matter, and refer his Lordſhip to his Relation: But inſtead of finding the Earl upon the *Dogger-Bank*, he fell into the *Dutch* Fleet, and was carry'd away Priſoner into *Holland*. Yet, diſſembling his Condition, and pretending that he was going to ſtudy at *Leyden*, he was releas'd, and came back over by Land to his Maſter.

The Deſign itſelf.

On the 20th, the forenam'd Day that the King receiv'd the firſt News of *De Ruyter*, his Majeſty writ to his Vice-Roy of *Norway*, *Guildenlien*, and to General *Alefelt*, Governor of *Berghen*, adviſing them 'To uſe all fair Means 'to keep the *Hollanders* ſtill in their Harbours, and that 'they ſhou'd by an Expreſs underſtand the Reaſon of it in 'Cypher; and withal receive Inſtructions how they were 'to proceed in order to this Service.' On the 24th that King diſpatch'd the Expreſs with the ſaid Inſtructions; and Sir *Gilbert Talbot* by the ſame Expreſs ſent two Letters, one to be left with the Vice-Roy at *Chriſtiana*, the other with Governor *Alefelt* at *Berghen*; to be by them convey'd to the Commanders in Chief of the *Engliſh* Men of War, aſſoon as they ſhou'd arrive in either of their reſpective Ports, and under Pretence of the Governor's Enquiry What their Deſigns were; and deſiring them not to act any Hoſtility in their Harbours. Theſe Letters were to be ſlipt into their Hands, and by them they wou'd know what was capitulated between the *Daniſh* King and him, which was, 'That the *Engliſh* ſhou'd boldly aſſault their 'Enemies in the Port, foraſmuch as the *Danes* wou'd 'make no Reſiſtance againſt them, under Pretence of Fear 'that the *Engliſh* if provoked might deſtroy their Towns, 'and carry all away as their Prize. But that a juſt Account 'was to be kept of the Whole, in regard that the King of '*Denmark* was to have an equal Share; for which he 'wou'd rely on the King of *England*'s Juſtice. And 'ſince, for his Honour's ſake, he cou'd not openly aſſent 'to the Seizure of them in his Ports, his Commanders, 'to blind the World, ſhou'd ſtorm high, and pretend to 'be greatly offended; but ſhou'd equally ſeem to dread 'the Provocation of a victorious Power, ſuch as the *Engliſh* then was.'

Falſe Steps towards it.

On the 26th of *July* Sir *Gilbert Talbot* receiv'd a Letter from the Earl of *Sandwich* by Mr. *Worden*, a young Gentleman, dated the 17th; wherein his Lordſhip deſired Sir *Gilbert* to ſend him Word by the ſame Meſſenger how they had agreed the Matter, that he might act accordingly. He now found by his Lordſhip's Letter that he had acquainted Mr. *Worden* with the whole Deſign, altho' it was earneſtly deſired, 'That, for the Honour of the King of *Denmark*, 'it might be imparted to as few as the Nature of the Employment wou'd bear;' which Sir *Gilbert* look'd upon as the firſt falſe Step made by the Earl. And the ſame Minute that Mr. *Worden* left him, his Lordſhip weigh'd Anchor, and ſtood over for the Coaſt of *England*, to meet a Squadron that came out to joyn him; which was no ſooner done, but he precipitately ſteer'd his Courſe for *Berghen*. The Veſſel that landed Mr. *Worden* in the *Elve* was unluckily commanded back, and to follow the Fleet aſſoon as he was put on Shore. Hereupon Sir *Gilbert* went with Mr. *Worden* to *Elſenore*, in hopes to waft him from thence in queſt of the Earl; but could meet with no Opportunity, till at length, on the 2d of *Auguſt*, Captain *Motham*'s Frigate, having loſt the *Engliſh* Fleet, and coming by chance into the *Sound*, he prevail'd with that Captain to take the Gentleman on Board, and to convey him with all Speed to the Earl of *Sandwich*. But the ſame Day he ſet Sail out of the *Sound*, did the *Engliſh* Fleet attack the Enemy's Ships at *Berghen*; as Mr. *Worden* had before told Sir *Gilbert Talbot* that the Earl intended to do, *and that he wou'd not ſtay for an Anſwer from him, but fall on, if he found the* Dutch *Fleet there*. All which Proceedings, as Sir *Gilbert* obſerves, was ſo contrary to the Earl's Letters, ſo contrary to Orders, and ſo contrary to common Reaſon, that it is no Wonder that ſo great a Miſcarriage and Diſappointment attended it. This Sir *Gilbert* foretold to Mr. *Worden*, as ſoon as he perceiv'd the Proceedings of the Admiral; becauſe the Orders in Cypher, which went from *Copenhagen* on the 24th of *July*, cou'd not poſſibly ſo ſoon arrive at *Berghen*, ſince that Journey was ten, and uſually twelve Days by Land. Indeed the Vice-Roy, who reſided at *Chriſtiana*, receiv'd his Orders ſooner; and in Obedience to them ſent out two Galliots to find the *Engliſh* Fleet, and inform them of what Agreement was made by the Envoy, *&c.* but he unfortunately miſs'd them, they having made all Haſte to *Berghen*.

The Engliſh *appear before* Berghen.

When the Governor of *Berghen* underſtood that the *Engliſh* Fleet was near, and riding without the Rocks, he began to dread their falling haſtily upon the *Dutch*, before his expected Orders and Inſtructions came how to govern himſelf in that weighty Affair. He therefore ſent one Mr. *Tolner*, a Gentleman of ſufficient Fidelity and Ability, to deſire them 'Not to offer any Violence to 'the Port at preſent, for Reaſons they might eaſily imagine; but to ſtay the Arrival of the Poſt, which was 'expected within two or three Days at the fartheſt, 'till when he cou'd not receive his particular Directions: 'And in the mean Time, to diſguiſe their Stay, they 'might pretend to want freſh Water and Proviſions, with 'which he wou'd give Order they ſhou'd be furniſh'd.' In anſwer to this, Sir *Thomas Clifford* was ſent privately into the Town to diſcourſe the Governor, who clearly laid the whole Matter before him. At his Return to the Fleet the Earl of *Sandwich* call'd a Council of War to adviſe what was to be done. Here Sir *Gilbert*'s firſt Letter to the Commander in Chief was produc'd and read, in which the whole Concertation between the *Daniſh* Commiſſioners and him was in plain Terms expreſs'd, and a Signification of the very Orders which were upon the Way to the Governor, directing him how exactly he was to carry himſelf when the *Engliſh* fell on. But the Captains, animated with ſome forward Counſels, and the Expectation of a vaſt Booty, were unanimouſly for engaging the *Dutch* without any Delay; and having form'd in their Minds the Facility of the Enterprize, they diſdain'd to wait the Arrival of the Governor's expreſs Orders.

Sir T. Tyddiman *attempts the Port*;

According to this warm Reſolution, Sir *Thomas Tyddiman* boldly went in with his Squadron, under the Favour of a full Gale: But when he had gain'd the Entrance of the Port, the Wind chop'd about, and he was forc'd to drop Anchor under the Cittadel, within half Musket ſhot of their vaſt large Cannon. In this very Place he began to thunder out his great Shot againſt the *Dutch* Ships in the Harbour; and did much Damage to the Houſes in the Town, and kill'd ſeveral of the Inhabitants. The Caſtles ſeeing this open Hoſtility offer'd in the King's Chamber, and having not yet receiv'd the particular Directions from his Majeſty how to behave themſelves, furiouſly diſcharg'd upon the *Engliſh*, diſabled divers Men of War, and kill'd many Officers and Seamen. The *Engliſh* had indeed diſmounted all the Guns upon the ſmall Fort, that ſtood above; but the Cittadel ſtood ſo low, and cloſe upon the Water, that, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Holland* Gunners, it made no Shot in vain. So *Tyddiman*, find his Squadron ruin'd, and himſelf ready to ſink, was compell'd at length to ſlip his Cables, and fall off to the grand Fleet, which lay ſtill without the Rocks. The Governor, under a handſome Pretence of Expoſtulation with the Admiral, *Why he ſhou'd violate his Maſter's Peace*, ſent Mr. *Tolner* a ſecond time to the Fleet, to let them know 'They had ruin'd their Buſineſs by Precipitation, and had 'forc'd him to do what was as much againſt his Inclinations, as, he believ'd, was againſt the Mind of the King 'his Maſter: But if they wou'd yet be content to ſtay 'without the Rocks, he wou'd fiſh up all their Anchors 'for them, and furniſh them with new Cables, for what 'were cut and loſt, and with whatſoever Proviſions the 'Fleet ſhou'd want.'

But in vain.

When the whole Work was thus deſtroy'd by the eager Impatience of the *Engliſh* Commanders, tho' not without great Damage to the *Dutch*; upon the next Day, *Auguſt* the 4th, the Poſt came and brought the capitulated Inſtructions. The Governor thereupon ſent once more to deſire Sir *Thomas Clifford* to come privately on Shore, which he did: And the Governor, to demonſtrate the real Intentions of the King his Maſter, ſhew'd him the Orders decypher'd, which were, 'That when the *Engliſh* attack'd 'the *Dutch* Ships in the Harbour, the Governor ſhould 'ſeem highly affronted, and ſtorm; yet make no Reſiſtance from the Caſtles, but ſuffer the quiet Seizure of 'them by the *Engliſh*, under Pretence of Fear, That if 'the Forts ſhot, the *Engliſh* might be provok'd to fire 'the Town, which was not able to defend it ſelf againſt 'them.' But withal he told him, *That as it wou'd have coſt him his Head, if he had conſented to the giving up the* Dutch *before his particular Orders came; he cou'd not, without the like Danger of his Head, execute the firſt Order, till he had certify'd the Alteration of the Caſe, and receiv'd a Confirmation of Orders, which he did in no wiſe doubt but wou'd in a ſhort Time come, if the* Engliſh *wou'd have the Patience to expect them*. Then if the whole Fleet did not think fit to ſtay, he deſir'd the *Engliſh* to leave but ſix Men of War at the Mouth of the Harbour, and he wou'd engage that the *Dutch* ſhou'd not ſtir out, till the Fleet return'd back to take them. But they were diſguſted and ſullen, and departed without giving the Envoy a Word of their Miſcarriage, or Complaint againſt the *Daniſh* Governor. Nor did the King of *Denmark* or Sir *Gilbert Talbot* know any thing of the Arrival of the *Engliſh* or the laſt *India* Fleet at *Berghen*, but by the ſame Expreſs which brought News of the Diſaſter; which ſo afflicted his Majeſty of *Denmark*, that he was perfectly dejected for a Month after, as believing he ſhould never have the like Opportunity to repair his Condition. As to the other, the Envoy, it was ſuch a Heart-breaking to him to find his beloved Deſign ſo fatally defeated, that he thought he cou'd not have out-liv'd the Miſcarriage; now deſpairing ever to meet with an Occaſion to perform ſuch eminent Service to his King and Country: 'For, adds he, the 'Loſs of thoſe ſeveral Fleets, and vaſt Maſs of Wealth, 'ſuch as no Age ever ſaw together upon the Sea, had 'brought the proud *States* upon their Knees, and *France* 'wou'd have had but ſmall Encouragement to undertake 'their Support.

The Engliſh *totally diſappointed.*

Reflections upon it.

Thus far according to the Narrative of the Envoy Sir *Gilbert Talbot* Himſelf, who after that makes ſeveral Obſervations and Reflections, and throws the whole Miſcarriage upon the Avarice and Ambition of the *Engliſh* Commanders. But Theſe, to cover their own Errors, ſoon found Means ſo to prepoſſeſs the King of *England*, as to charge all upon the *Daniſh* Court; which was done firſt by a ſevere Expoſtulation with the King of *Denmark* and his Miniſters: And tho' ſufficient Anſwers were made and return'd, yet it was afterwards ſucceeded by a very unkind Remonſtrance, not a little reflecting upon his *Daniſh* Majeſty's Conduct in this Affair. This Sir *Gilbert* looks upon as hard and unreaſonable, and he tells us that afterwards, He with the *Daniſh* Ambaſſador had an Opportunity ſo far to ſatiſfy the King of *England*, that he ſaid to them, *I find that* Tyddiman *has been very much to blame in this Matter, and that I have wrong'd my Brother of* Denmark; *but by the Grace of God I will make him Satiſfaction*. In the Concluſion he obſerves, That as to the Legality of the Deſign, which ſome have undertaken to cenſure, his Majeſty of *England* was excuſable before the whole World if he made uſe of any politick Means to humble an inſolent and ungrateful Enemy. Perhaps, ſays he, it may not be altogether ſo eaſy to juſtify the King of *Denmark*; altho' it may be argued to be a juſt Retaliation of a fraudulent Deſign upon the encroaching *Hollanders*, who had by a Wile engag'd that King in a War with *Sweden*, and got the Seizure of all his Revenues in *Norway* and the *Sound* into their Hands, purely upon that Account.

1665.
Car. 17.
Ref. 6.

The Concluſion of the firſt Year's War.

4. But to conclude the Sea Affairs and Actions of this Year, after this Attempt at *Berghen*, in which the *Dutch* were likewiſe great Sufferers, the *Engliſh* Fleet ſtood off for the Coaſt of *Holland*; and having been incommoded by a Storm that carry'd them back Northwards, on the Beginning of *September* they met with the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Men, and ſeveral other Merchant Ships under a ſtrong Convoy; and tho' the Stormy Weather much favour'd the Eſcape of the *Dutch*, yet the *Engliſh* took eight good Men of War, two of their beſt *Eaſt-India* Ships valu'd at a Million of Pounds Sterling, and twenty Sail of their Merchant-Men. And a few Days after part of the *Engliſh* Fleet fell in with eighteen Sail of *Hollanders*, and took the greateſt Part of them; bringing away, with the other Prizes, four *Dutch* Men of War, and above a Thouſand Priſoners.

In the mean Time the *Mediterranean* Seas were well ſecured by a good Squadron of Ships, under the Command of Sir *Jeremy Smith*; and the *Channel* by another ſtrong Squadron commanded by Sir *Chriſtopher Minns*, who hearing of a *Dutch* Squadron near *Oſtend*, made after them, and chac'd them into the *Weilings*: And ſo clearing the Seas, and the very Coaſts of all *Dutch* Veſſels, he ſtood off for the Coaſt of *Sweden*, and dropt Anchor at the Mouth of the *Elve*, where the *Swediſh* General *Wrangle*, in Compliment to the *Engliſh* Admiral, travell'd above thirty Miles to give him a Viſit, and he was entertain'd by him on Shipboard with great Civility and Splendor according to his Dignity. So that in this Year, notwithſtanding the Miſcarriage at *Berghen*, the *Engliſh* rod triumphant in the Sea, and manifeſtly ſhew'd themſelves ſuperior to their Enemies.

The Great PLAGUE.

II. 1. During the Height of theſe Triumphs, God was pleaſed to puniſh the Sins of the Nation with ſuch a publick Calamity, as, in that Kind, had not been in *England* for ſome Centuries of Years: This was a dreadful Peſtilence which firſt appear'd, about the middle of *May*, in the Vitals of the three Kingdoms, the City of *London*; where it gradually ſwell'd and rag'd to that Degree, and with ſuch reſiſtleſs Infection, that in the City and Suburbs it ſwept away a Hundred Thouſand Perſons, and all in leſs than the Compaſs of one Year. This hapning juſt forty Years after the Plague that fearfully, tho' not equally prevail'd in 1625; it cauſ'd ſeveral People to impute a Fatality to that particular Number; as if in this Senſe *The Land was to have Reſt but forty Years.* Death now rod triumphant after a very different Manner than it had done in the Seas and Ocean, and with a much more melancholy and formidable Aſpect; terrifying and confounding Men of all Religions and all Profeſſions. It was certainly a diſmal Thing to ſee the great *Emporium* of the World deſolate, and ſcarce any Thing vendible but Coffins; and to be continually entertain'd with the daily Cries from the Windows, *Pray for us!* and the Nightly Calls, *Bring out your Dead!* which like Dung, were thrown into Carts, and tumbled into Pits without Numbering. But it was ſtill more amazing to ſee the prodigious Mixture both of Piety and Profaneneſs at the ſame Time; which, according to the Deſcription of a good Eye-Witneſs and Obſerver, was thus: In one Houſe you might hear them Roaring under the Pangs of Death; in the next Tipling, Whoring, and belching out Blaſphemies againſt God; one Houſe ſhut up with a *Red Croſs*, and *Lord have Mercy upon us!* the next open to all Uncleanneſs and Impiety, as altogether inſenſible of the Vengeance of Heaven.

The Cauſes of it.

As to the natural Cauſes of this terrible Contagion, ſome Phyſicians were of Opinion that the Original was a heightned and venomous Pox, which advanc'd to the Poiſon of this Peſtilence, and ſo brought its natural Puniſhment with it, at a Time when Lewdneſs was moſt exorbitant and triumphant in this City. Moſt agreed that it did not ariſe from any real Infection in the Air, but by Propagation from one Perſon to another; and Dr. *Skinner* ſpeaks as if it was occaſion'd by the infected Goods that were brought from *Holland* into *England*. Yet ſtill Dr. *Baynard* obſerves, That during the Rage of it, there was ſuch a general Calm and Serenity of Weather, as if the Wind and Rain alſo had been baniſh'd the Realm; and, for many Weeks together, he cou'd not diſcover the leaſt Breath of Wind, ſo much as to ſtir a Fane: The Fires with great Difficulty were made to burn, through the great Scarcity of Nitre in the Air; there fell abundance of Mildews; and the very Birds would pant for Breath, eſpecially the larger Sort, and were obſerv'd to fly more heavily than at other Times. Whatever were the Cauſes, the Effects were very direful: The whole City was abandon'd by almoſt all the Rich, who left the Poor to die by Thouſands in a Week; and ſeveral Miniſters, in this ſad Time of Tryal, deſerted their Flocks, whoſe empty Pulpits were ſometimes charitably fill'd by thoſe of other Perſuaſions, whoſe ſeaſonable Fervour is ſaid to have had good Effects upon a wicked People. Yet there were many noble Inſtances of the Courage, Piety and Charity of the Church of *England* Divines at this Time, who ventur'd all in the Service of God and the poor miſerable People. The King Himſelf manifeſted a Paternal Regard to his Subjects, and tho' he retired firſt to *Hampton-Court*, and then to *Saliſbury*, he left the City to the Affectionate Care of the brave Duke of *Albemarle*, who in the Height of the Contagion continu'd at *White-Hall*, and gave Orders and Relief to the Diſtreſſed with ſuch an unſhaken Courage, as if he had been born to triumph over Diſeaſes and Death. The preſent Archbiſhop *Sheldon* firmly continu'd all the Time of the greateſt Danger, and with his diffuſive Charity preſerv'd great Numbers alive, that wou'd have periſh'd in their Neceſſities, and by his affecting Letters to all the Biſhops, procured great Sums to be return'd out of all Parts of his Province. Nor muſt we forget the glorious Behaviour of *William* Earl of *Craven*, who freely choſe to venture his Life upon a Thouſand Occaſions, in the Midſt of the Infected, provided Nurſes and Phyſicians for the Sick, and out of his own Purſe expended vaſt Sums to ſupply the Neceſſities of many that were ready to periſh: An Honour beyond all his gallant and noble Exploits perform'd in *Germany* and elſewhere.

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The Charitable Care of many.

The Remedies apply'd.

Several general Remedies were undertaken by the Publick for the Cure of this uncommon Diſtemper: The firſt Healing Method was a Proclamation to command a *General Faſt*, to be religiouſly obſerv'd throughout the Kingdom of *England*, *That Prayers and Supplications might be every where made for the Removal of ſo heavy a Judgment*; in a *Form* drawn up by the Biſhops, and appointed by the King to be likewiſe *us'd in all Churches and Chappels within the Bills of Mortality, on every* Wedneſday *in the Week during the Contagion.* This, with the real Reformation of many wicked Perſons, was believ'd to have extraordinary Effects. A ſecond Office of Piety and Charity, was to order the making of Continual Collections, Publick and Private, for Relief of the Sick and Needy in this miſerable Diſtreſs, as was partly before hinted. A Third Means of ſtopping the Plague, or hindering the Tumults and Diſtractions that might ariſe upon it, was to Publiſh a Proclamation, *Requiring all disbanded Officers and Soldiers, who had ſerv'd in the Armies of any of the late* Uſurped Powers, *to depart the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and not to return within Twenty Miles of the ſame, till* November *following*. And laſtly, a new and likely Expedient for Reſtoring wholeſom Breath was put in Practice, by ordering continual Fires to be kindled and kept in all the Streets and open Places of the City, three whole Days and Nights together, to purge and purify the Air. All which ſeem'd to have taken place before the End of the Year in the City; tho' the Infection at length expanded it ſelf into many Cities and Towns in the Country, where, after an equal Mortality, it expired in the following Year.

Deſigns of the Republican Party.

2. Both the *Dutch* and the *French* took Advantage from this Calamity; and it ſeems the Republican Party took Advantage both from That and the preſent War, and did not only hold Correſpondence with the publick Enemy, but ſome of them went into the actual Service of the *Dutch* againſt their own natural Prince and Country. Theſe ſecret Contrivances have often been deny'd, yet of late they ſufficiently appear from the Writings of their own Party. *Ludlow* freely informs us, That by Means of this *Dutch* War, ſome of their Friends conceiving great Hopes of the Reſtitution of the *Common-Wealth*, enter'd into a Treaty with divers principal Miniſters of the *States*, for Procuring ſome Forces to joyn with their Party in *England* againſt the Common Enemy, the King and Parliament. His Concurrence being deſired by a Perſon of Honour, he ſtood off upon the Account of the Behaviour of the *Dutch* to *Barkſtead*, *Okey* and *Corbet*, the three Regicides formerly mention'd, which made him apprehend the ſame Uſage in caſe of an Accommodation with *England*. In the mean Time he receiv'd a Letter from Mr. *Say*, then at *Amſterdam*, inviting him by many cogent Arguments to quit *Switzerland*, that he might be Inſtrumental in the Service of his Country: In which Letter he has theſe Words, 'The Ruin of the preſent Government in *England* is certainly intended, and I have 'Cauſe to believe will certainly be effected; the *States* 'being unanimouſly for this War, and at laſt brought to 'ſee *That their Common-Wealth cannot long Subſiſt, if Monarchy continue in* England. The King of *England* is never 'mention'd without the utmoſt Contempt, and Writings 'are every Day publiſh'd to expoſe his Perſon and Government.-------I am certainly inform'd, That conſiderable 'Numbers in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, ſenſible of 'their preſent Servitude, will appear for Us.' A little above

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a Week after, as the ſame Author tells us, he receiv'd another Letter from the ſame Perſon, deſiring Credit to the Contents of his laſt, and adding, That the *Heer Newport* had at a Conference aſſur'd him, ‘ That the Intentions of the *States* were to relieve the good People of *England*; That the *Dutch* had thirty thouſand Men ready to put on Board their Fleet, of which Number ten thouſand were Land-Soldiers, to be diſpos'd as They, the Republicans, ſhou'd direct: That a great Sum of Mony was prepared for this Service, and the whole Fleet ſhou'd be commanded to favour the Enterprize: That if it ſhou'd be thought neceſſary to tranſport Horſe into *England*, they wou'd comply with that alſo. He therefore earneſtly begg'd him to lay aſide Prejudices, and, as he lov'd the Cauſe, to come ſpeedily, and ſet his Hand and Heart to the Work: That a conſiderable Miniſter there had inquired after him, and given Reaſon to hope, That if he wou'd come in that Conjuncture, they wou'd place him at the Head of ſuch a Number of Men, as ſhou'd by the Bleſſing of God, and the Concurrence of their Friends in *England*, be ſufficient to reſtore the Common-Wealth.' He concludes in theſe Words, ‘ *I dare aſſure you from the beſt Information I can get, That on ſuch an Occaſion there wou'd be a greater Appearance for us, than at the Beginning of the late War in* 1642. *Let me therefore not hear from you, but ſee you.*

The SIXTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament. At* OXFORD.

Theſe and the like ſecret Projects were not altogether unknown to the Government, when the Parliament, after ſeveral Prorogations, and a Receſs of a little above ſeven Months, met on the 9th Day of *October*, not at *Weſtminſter* as uſual, by Reaſon of the grand Infection, but at the City of *Oxford*, where the Univerſity Schools were prepared for the Conveniency of both Houſes. Being there aſſembled and ſettled, a Meſſage was ſent from the Lords to the Houſe of Commons, that both Houſes ſhou'd attend his Majeſty at *Chriſt-Church*, the next Morning at nine a Clock. At which Time, the King being ſeated on a Throne at the upper End of the great Hall in that College, he made this following acceptable Speech to both Houſes:

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am confident you will believe, That if it had not been abſolutely neceſſary to conſult with you, I wou'd not have called you together at this Time, when the Contagion hath ſo ſpread it ſelf over ſo many Parts of the Kingdom. I take it for a good *Omen* to ſee ſo good an Appearance this Day; and I doubt not but every Day will add to your Number; and I give you all my Thanks for your Compliance ſo far with my Deſires.

‘ The Truth is, as I enter'd upon this War by your Advice and Incouragement, ſo I deſire that you may as frequently as is poſſible receive Information of the Conduct and Effects of it; and that I may have the Continuance of your chearful Supply for the carrying it on. I will not deny to you, that it hath prov'd more chargeable than I cou'd imagine it wou'd have been: The Addition they ſtill made to their Fleets beyond their firſt Purpoſe, made it unavoidably neceſſary for me to make proportionable Preparations, which God hath hitherto bleſſed with Succeſs in all Encounters. And as the Enemies have us'd their utmoſt Endeavours, by Calumnies and falſe Suggeſtions, to make themſelves Friends, and to perſuade Others to aſſiſt them againſt Us; ſo I have not been wanting to encourage thoſe Princes who have been wrong'd by the *Dutch*, to recover their own by Force: And in order thereunto, I have aſſiſted the Biſhop of *Munſter* with a very great Sum of ready Mony, and am to continue a Supply to him, who is now in the Bowels of their Country, with a powerful Army. Theſe Iſſues, I may tell you, have been made with very good Conduct and Husbandry; nor indeed do I know, that any thing hath been ſpent, that cou'd have been well and ſafely ſaved. I ſay this Expence will not ſuffer you to wonder that the great Supply which you gave me for this War, in ſo bountiful a Proportion, is upon the Matter already ſpent. So that I muſt not only deſire Aſſiſtance from you to carry on this War, but ſuch an Aſſiſtance as may enable me to defend my ſelf and you againſt a more powerful Neighbour, if he ſhall prefer the Friendſhip of the *Dutch* before mine. I told you when I enter'd upon this War, *That I had not ſuch a Brutal Appetite, as to make War for War ſake.* I am ſtill of the ſame Mind: I am ready to receive any Propoſitions that *France* hath thought fit to offer to that End; but hitherto nothing hath been offer'd worthy my Acceptance; nor are the *Dutch* leſs inſolent; tho' I know no Advantage they have had but the Continuance of the Contagion. God Almighty, I hope, will ſhortly deprive them of ſuch Incouragement: The Chancellor will inform you of all the Particulars.'

Accordingly the Lord *Clarendon*, being now in his own Univerſity, exerted his uſual Talent of Eloquence in a remarkable Speech, which, tho' too long to be verbally inſerted, is too informing to be wholly omitted: Running over the whole Proceſs of State-Affairs from the King's Reſtoration to the preſent Juncture, he obſerved, ‘ That notwithſtanding the Indignities his Majeſty had receiv'd from *Holland*, during the late Uſurpation, where he had been little leſs *Proſcrib'd* than in *England*, he was ſtill pleas'd to embark himſelf from thence, when he was preſs'd by two Neighbour Kings, from whom he had receiv'd more Civilities, to have made uſe of their Ports. That being return'd, he found one thing that exceedingly ſurpris'd him, a Thing incredible to Poſterity, that a triumphant Nation, which, by its numerous Sea-Fights had reign'd over the Ocean, and made it ſelf formidable to all Chriſtendom, ſhould at that Time not have in all their Magazines, in all their Stores, Arms enough to put into the Hands of five thouſand Men, nor Proviſions enough to ſet out ten new Ships to Sea: All which his Majeſty, tho' he then liv'd upon Credit, did not deſire ſhou'd be known to his beſt Neighbours, howſoever aſſur'd of their Affections; therefore he did not ſo much as make it known to his Parliament: But he made it his firſt Care, without the leaſt Noiſe, and with all imaginable Shifts, to provide for the full Supply of theſe important Magazines and Stores, which had been ever ſince repleniſh'd as they ought. His Majeſty had not only done this, but alſo had provided ſeveral Fleets againſt the Pyrates in the *Mediterranean* Sea, which had happily and honourably brought them to Submiſſion. Then he related the *Dutch*'s deſerting of him in thoſe worthy Deſigns, and repeated the ſeveral Injuries and Inſolencies committed by them; the Neceſſity of vindicating the Rights and Honour of the Nation; the King's referring of this Cauſe to the Parliament, the Parliament's humble Deſires of Redreſs; the States Preparations for War, and the whole Series and Succeſs of the War, in which he repreſented the great Agony the King ſuſtain'd upon the Account of his Brother's Safety. Then ſpeaking of the Mediation of the *French*, he ſays, ‘ The *Dutch* reproach them for interpoſing for Peace, inſtead of aſſiſting them in the War, boldly inſiſting upon the Advantage the Contagion gives them, alledging, *That the King will be no longer able to maintain a Fleet againſt them*; as if God had ſent this heavy Viſitation upon the Kingdom on their Behalf, and to expoſe it to their Malice and Inſolency. They load us with ſuch Reproaches, as the Civility of no other Language will admit the Relation. The Truth is, they have a Dialect of Rudeneſs ſo peculiar to their Language, and their People, that it is high Time for all Princes to oblige them to ſome Reformation, if they intend to hold Correſpondence and Commerce with them.

The Subſtance of the Chancellor's Speech.

Having rous'd them with Reſpect to Foreign Enemies, he proceeded to take Notice of their Domeſtick Foes, ‘ Thoſe unquiet reſtleſs Spirits in their own Bowels, in whoſe Fidelity their Enemies abroad had more Dependance than upon their own Fleets. I muſt appeal, added he, to every one of your Obſervations, Whether the Countenances of theſe Men have not appeared to you more erected, and more inſolent in all Places, ſince the Beginning of this War, than they were before. In what Readineſs they were, if any Misfortune had befallen the King's Fleet, which they promis'd themſelves, to have brought the Calamity into your Fields, and into your Houſes, is notoriouſly known. The horrid Murtherers of our late Royal Maſter have been receiv'd into the moſt ſecret Counſels in *Holland*; and other infamous proſtituted Perſons of our Nation are admitted to ſhare in the Conduct of their Affairs, and maintain their Correſpondence here upon liberal Allowances and Penſions. Too many of his Majeſty's Subjects, who were ſent by this Crown to aſſiſt and defend this ungrateful State againſt their Enemies, have been miſerably wrought upon, for the keeping a vile mean Subſiſtence, rather than their Livelihood, to renounce their Allegiance and become Enemies to their native Country; ſome of whom have wantonly put themſelves on Board the Enemy's Fleet, without Command or Office, purely out of Appetite and Delight to rebel againſt their King, and to worry their Country. Their Friends at home, impatient of further Delays for the Succeſs they had promis'd themſelves, and for the Succours which others had promis'd to them, made no Doubt of doing the Buſineſs themſelves, if they cou'd but appoint a *Lucky Day* to begin the Work. And you had heard of them in all Places upon the third of the laſt Month, their ſo much celebrated *Third of* September, if the great Vigilance and indefatigable Induſtry of the good General, had not two Days before apprehended the ſeditious Leaders, and given Advertiſements for the Security of others in moſt Parts of the Kingdom; by the Confeſſions of many of whom their wicked Deſign is enough manifeſted, and ready for Juſtice: Yet ſome of the principal Perſons are not yet taken, and ſome ‘others got themſelves reſcued after they were apprehended.------If you carefully provide for the ſuppreſſing your Enemies at home, which will put you to little other Expence than of Courage, Conſtancy and Circumſpection, you will find your Enemies abroad leſs exalted, and in a ſhort Time more inclined to live in Amity with you, than to make War upon you; eſpecially when they ſee you do *in Bello Pacis gerere Negotium*, and that you take the carrying on the War to Heart, as the beſt and only Expedient to produce a happy and honeſt Peace.

The Unanimity of both Houſes.

1250000 Pounds voted.

Upon this, and the King's Speech, the Houſe of Commons with great Unanimity came to theſe two preſent Reſolutions: ‘Firſt, That the humble and hearty Thanks of this Houſe be return'd to his Majeſty for his Care and Conduct in the Preſervation of his People, and the Honour of this Nation: And that this Houſe will aſſiſt his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes againſt the *Dutch*, or any other that ſhall aſſiſt them in Oppoſition to his Majeſty. Secondly, That the humble Thanks of this Houſe be return'd to his Majeſty for the Care he hath had of the Perſon of his Royal Highneſs, the Duke of *York*.’ To both which Votes the Lords gave their chearful Concurrence; and ſo both Houſes went in a full Body to attend his Majeſty upon this Occaſion. After this they proceeded without Delay to conſider of two great Points; one, the carrying on the preſent War, the other the ſuppreſſing and reſtraining the Enemies and Oppoſers at home. As to the Firſt, the Commons, to make good their Promiſe, voted a new Supply *of twelve hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, to be raiſ'd by a proportionable Addition to the Monthly Aſſeſſment to begin at* Chriſtmaſs *next*; all which they ſoon turn'd into a Bill. After which they brought in another Bill for a *Month's further Aſſeſſment of a hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds, to commence from the Expiration of the former Aſſeſſment, to be granted to his Majeſty, with a Deſire to his Majeſty to diſpoſe of it to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of* York.

The Commons Thanks to the Univerſity.

3. Theſe, and ſeveral other Bills being finiſh'd, on the laſt Day of the Seſſion, the Honourable Houſe of Commons conſidering that they ſate in the Convocation Houſe of the Univerſity, and remembring the many great and loyal Actions of that Place, in the moſt dangerous and difficult Times, they came to this grateful and acceptable Vote: ‘Reſolved, That the Thanks of the Houſe be given to the Chancellor, Maſters, and Scholars of the famous Univerſity of *Oxford*, for their eminent Loyalty to his Majeſty, and his Father of ever bleſſed Memory, during the late Rebellion; eſpecially for their unparallel'd Zeal and Courage in refuſing to ſubmit to be viſited by the uſurped Powers, and to ſubſcribe the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and for thoſe Excellent REASONS they publiſh'd to the World to juſtify their Refuſal, and to aſſert his Majeſty's Righteous Cauſe.’ Theſe Thanks were in a very ſolemn Manner preſented to the Univerſity in full Convocation by four of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Laurence Hyde* and Sir *Heneoge Finch*, Members for the Univerſity, and Sir *John Berkenhead* and Colonel *Giles Strangeways*; and all four were either now, or a little before, honour'd by the Univerſity with the Titles of Doctors of the Civil Law.

The Speaker's Speech to the King at the Prorogation.

The ſame Day that this Vote was made, *October* the 31ſt, the King came to the Houſe of Peers in order to paſs the ſeveral Bills, and to make a Prorogation: At which Time, the Commons being ſent for, their Speaker, Sir *Edward Turner*, in preſenting the Bills, made a remarkable Speech to the King, which ſhews ſo much the Zeal of the Commons, and the Nature of the Acts themſelves, that it cannot well be abridg'd. With his uſual graceful Way he deliver'd himſelf thus: ‘*May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty*, The Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Commons Houſe of Parliament, in Obedience to your Majeſty's Writ of Adjournment, came chearfully to this City of *Oxford* to receive your Royal Commands. And when your Majeſty was pleas'd to acquaint them with your great Expences this Summer, and the continuing Inſolencies of the *Dutch*, they were ſo inflamed with an Affection and Zeal for your Majeſty's Service, that they cou'd not ſuffer the leaſt Juncto of Time to paſs before they had made a Return ſuitable to their Engagements, *That they wou'd aſſiſt your Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes againſt the* Dutch, *or any other that ſhou'd aſſiſt them in Oppoſition to your Majeſty.* The *Engliſh* Man uſeth to ſpeak as he writes, and the *Engliſh* Parliament to ſpeak as they think: No Security upon the Earth can be greater than the Engagement of your two Houſes of Parliament; *Sed quid Verba audiam, dum Facta videam!* As a Demonſtration of their Fidelity, I am commanded to preſent unto your Majeſty this Bill, whereby they have given your Majeſty *twelve hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, to be levy'd in two Years, beginning from* Chriſtmaſs *next, by quarterly Payments added to the former Royal Aid:* And that your Majeſty's Occaſions may be ſupply'd with ready Mony, before the Additional Aid can be rais'd, we have by the Bill prepared an undoubted Security *for all ſuch Perſons as ſhall bring their Monies into the publick Bank of the Exchequer*. As the Rivers do naturally empty themſelves into the Sea, ſo we hope the Veins of Gold and Silver in this Nation will plentifully run into this Ocean, for the Maintenance of your Majeſty's juſt Soveraignty on the Seas.

‘*Great Sir*, When firſt we beſought your Majeſty to correct the Inſolencies, and to repair your Subjects againſt the Rapines of the *Dutch*, we did reaſonably ſuppoſe, That the Juſtice of your Majeſty's Demands wou'd at leaſt have had a fair and ingenuous Reception: But the *Dutch* reſolv'd, with *Machiavil*, *to keep by Force what they had got by Fraud*, and to return their Anſwer by the thundering Noiſe of their Cannon: The great God of Hoſts, to whom Vengeance belongeth, hath eminently appear'd in your Majeſty's Quarrel, and ſharply rebuk'd the Inſolence of that proud People. It is true, our Sins do cry aloud, as well as theirs; but God is pleas'd in Mercy to correct us himſelf, while by our Hands he puniſhes them, and makes them fly before us: I hope his Mercy will invite us to a National Repentance, and if *He be with us, who can be againſt us*? We can but take Notice of the ſordid Defection of ſome *Engliſh* Fugitives, who have traiterouſly joyn'd with the *Dutch*, both in their Counſels and Actions, againſt your Majeſty, and this their native Country: We therefore have prepared a Bill, whereby *they are enjoin'd to return by a Day, and anſwer to the Law, or elſe they ſhall be attainted of High-Treaſon*. It hath been an old Obſervation, *That ſcandalous Livings make ſcandalous Miniſters*; and this moſt frequently falls out in Cities and Corporate Towns, where are little or no Predial Tythes, and therefore for meer Want they are forc'd to chant ſuch Tunes as may pleaſe the rich Men in their Pariſhes: For Prevention of this for the future, there is a Bill prepared for the *Uniting of ſmall Churches and Chappels in Cities and Towns Corporate, by the Conſent of the Patron*, reſerving other Parochial Rights diſtinct as they were before. This being a Time wherein your Majeſty needs great Supply, we held it our Duty to eaſe the People in ſome unneceſſary Expences; and therefore we have prepared a Bill *for the more effectual Proceeding upon Diſtreſſes and Avowries for Rent:* Another *to avoid Circuity of Actions*; a Third *to leſſen the Charge of neceſſary Suits in Law*; and a Fourth to take away an ancient and burthenſom Fee in the Courts of Judicature, call'd *Damage Cleer*, or *Damna Clericorum*.

‘*Tacitus* has a Saying, *Such as are falſe in their Love, are true in their Hatred*; and this we find verify'd in our *Nonconformiſts:* While they were in the Boſom of the Church of *England*, they were like inward Vapours, and inward Bleedings, always oppreſſing and ſtrangling the Body of the Church; and now they are rejected and excluded from the Miniſterial Function, they have more Malice, and no leſs Opportunity to propagate their Principles than they had before. Some of them are Objects of Pity; they ſubmitted their Reaſon to their Leaders of a higher Claſs, who fail'd them in their Hopes, and left them to the Rigour of the Law. Thoſe poor Creatures have ſeen their Errors, and felt the Smart, and wou'd live peaceably; but their Jeſuitical Leaders keep up their Spirits, and herd with them in Cities and Corporate Towns, where, by the Pretence of *Perſecution* and *Self-Denial*, they move the Pity of good-natur'd People, who with their Charity keep up the Party, leſſen the Maintenance of *Conforming* Miniſters, and ſpread their Contagion amongſt the Youth of the Nation. For the Prevention of this growing Miſchief, we have prepared a SHIBOLETH, a *Teſt*, to diſtinguiſh amongſt them who will be peaceable, and give Hopes of a future Conformity, and who, of Malice and evil Diſpoſition, remain obdurate: The One, we ſhall keep amongſt us with all Love and Charity; the Other, we ſhall exclude from *Cities* and *Corporation Towns*, like thoſe that have an infectious Diſeaſe upon them.

‘It is not unuſual for the Commons, at the Cloſe of a Seſſion of Parliament, by their Speaker to preſent a Petition to their Soveraign; and, with your Majeſty's Leave, I am now commanded that Service: We do, with all humble Thankfulneſs, acknowledge to God our great Happineſs, That we are govern'd by a Prince, whoſe Prudence in Council, whoſe Valour in Action, and whoſe Fatherly Care in Protection of his People is eminent in all the World; and it is not the leaſt Mercy, both to your Majeſty and your People, That God has bleſs'd you with a BROTHER ſo like your Self. The Name of his ROYAL HIGHNESS is already 'enroll'd amongſt the Heroes of *other Nations*; but his *Native Country* had not ſo great Experience of him, till your Majeſty was pleas'd, in this Summer's Expedition, to truſt him with the Conduct of the moſt Royal Fleet that ever ſail'd upon the *Britiſh* Seas; wherein he ſhew'd that Prowefs and that Prudence, and, by the Bleſſing of Almighty God, was crown'd with that Succeſs againſt the *Dutch*, that we cannot paſs it by in Silence; and yet we are at a Loſs how to expreſs our Thanks both to your Majeſty and Him. I am commanded therefore to beſeech your Majeſty, That you will vouchſafe to let us make a PRESENT to you of a Month's Tax, *to come in the Rear after the twenty four Months of your Majeſty's Royal Aid; and that your Majeſty will be pleas'd to beſtow it upon his Royal Highneſs.* And now, *Great Sir*, I have no more, but to beſeech Almighty God, who hath ſo miraculouſly preſerv'd your Royal Perſon, and your two Houſes of Parliament, from all Sickneſs and Contagion during this Seſſion, that he will be pleas'd to ſend Health throughout all the Nation; that he will crown all your Deſigns againſt your Enemies with Victory and Succeſs, and give your Majeſty a long and happy Reign over us.'

The End of the Sixth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

Upon paſſing the fore-mention'd Bills, the King, without any particular Speech, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 20th Day of *February*, and ſo terminated the Sixth Seſſion of the Second Parliament, after it had ſate no longer than twenty two Days. This was the ſhorteſt Seſſion of Parliament ſince the Reformation; yet perhaps equal to any for Vigour, Unanimity, and Diſpatch; nor does it appear by any ſubſtantial Proof, that the Members had ever been yet led or induc'd by Rewards or Promiſes to act contrary to their natural Inclination. They have indeed been cenſur'd by ſome for making this laſt ſevere Act againſt the Diſſenting Teachers; but ſtill it was their own Inclination, and not that of the Court, tho' the Chancellor himſelf encourag'd it.

The Five Mile Act.

The Subſtance of this noted Act is, 'That no Non-conforming Teacher, under what Denomination ſoever, ſhall dwell, or come, unleſs upon the Road, within five Miles of any Corporation, or any other Place where they had been Miniſters, or had preached after the *Act of Oblivion*, unleſs they firſt took the following Oath; *I* A. B. *do ſwear, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor the traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſion'd by him, in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſions; And that I will not at any Time endeavour any Alteration of Government, either in Church or State.*' The Penalty was forty Pounds, and ſix Months Impriſonment, unleſs they took the ſaid Oath before their Commitment. The Reaſon of this Severity given in the Act, is, 'That theſe Teachers had ſettled themſelves in divers *Corporations*, ſometimes three or more in a Place, and took Opportunity to diſtil the poyſonous Principles of Schiſm and Rebellion, to the great Danger of the Church and Kingdom.' We are told by an anonymous Author in 1675, that this Oath was ſtrongly oppos'd in the Houſe of Lords by the Lord Treaſurer *Southampton*, the Lord *Wharton*, the Lord *Aſhley*, and others, as a moſt unlawful and unjuſtifiable Oath; but in the Houſe of Commons it was ſo far approv'd of, that it was there ſeconded by another Bill to impoſe the ſame Oath upon the whole Nation, which was thrown out only by two or three Votes.

Reflections upon it.

It has been a general Obſervation, That whatever Hardſhips the Diſſenting Party met or felt from the Laws, they aroſe more from the ſeditious Practices of ſome of them, than the religious Exerciſes of any of them; and that every Act of Parliament made to their Detriment, was founded upon the Reality, or the certain Belief of ſome Plot or Conſpiracy againſt the Nation's Peace, which they had promoted and encourag'd: So that what the Parliament did, eſpecially in the firſt ſeven Years of the Reſtoration, look'd more like *Self-Preſervation*, than *Perſecution*. And particularly in this Year, beſides what has been already ſaid, the Correſpondence of ſome of them with the Enemy was too notorious to be deny'd; and even the more Moderate of them ſhew'd a manifeſt Diſinclination to the War againſt the *Dutch*, tho' begun by the Call of the main Body of the People: So that when this Parliament was rous'd by the Information of the Chancellor, they thought they cou'd do no leſs than lay a new tho' hard Reſtraint upon them, which they did by this call'd *The Five Mile Act*. In the other Act, before mention'd, they attainted *Thomas Doleman*, *Joſeph Bamfield*, alias *Stepner*, and *Thomas Scot*, Son to *Thomas Scot* the Regicide formerly executed, and others in the *Dutch* Service, who might be ſummon'd to return by a Proclamation: Accordingly Colonel *Desborough*, Colonel *Kelſey*, Colonel *White*, *Grove*, *Honywood*, *Nicholas*, and others, were afterwards ſummon'd to return by a certain Day; but we do not find that any of them did, except *Desborough*. Another Cauſe or Occaſion of the Parliament's ſtrict Proceedings againſt the Diſſenters, was the *Conventiclers* in *Scotland*, who were this Year very mutinous and inſolent, and were thought to have held too much Correſpondence both with the *Dutch* and their Brethren in *England*.

The Behaviour of the Diſſenters.

As to the Behaviour of the Diſſenters with reſpect to thoſe Laws that bore hard upon them, the *Act of Uniformity*, the *Conventicle Act*, and the *Five Mile Act*, we ſhall give ſome Account in the Words of a particular Friend; who tells us in the Year 1664, after the two firſt Acts were paſs'd, the *Nonconformiſts* were not a little divided among themſelves, as to the Lawfulneſs and Expediency of worſhipping God in the publick Churches, over and above their private Meetings, ſtill kept up with great Secrecy. Mr. *Baxter*, and Dr. *Bates*, and ſeveral others with them, were for frequenting the publick Churches, when better Helps were not to be had; and for reſorting to them now and then, tho' they had their Choice, to ſhew their Charity. They were for having their moſt *Uſual Communion* with thoſe Aſſemblies, which they thought were manag'd moſt agreeably to the Rule and End of Worſhip; and yet for having *Occaſional Communion* with others, as Members of the Catholick Church, to ſhew their *Catholick Communion* with all the Body of Chriſt. But others were vehement for an *entire Separation*. From this Account we learn the Riſe of OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY, which, at this Time, did not appear to be ſubſervient to any ſecular Ends or political Purpoſes. After the *Five Mile Act* took place, the ſame Author tells us, That thoſe Miniſters that had any Maintenance of their own, found out ſome Dwellings in obſcure Villages, or in ſome Market-Towns that were not Corporations: And ſome that had nothing, left their Wives and Children, and hid themſelves abroad, and ſometimes came ſecretly to them by Night. But the moſt reſolv'd hereupon to preach the more freely in Cities and Corporations till they went to Priſon, *&c.* But the *Nonconformiſts* being in this Act charg'd with ſeditious Doctrines, and heinous Crimes, many were much concern'd. And hereupon they endeavour'd to find out a Senſe in which the Oath might be taken ſafely, to prevent their paſſing under that Brand to Poſterity. Dr. *Bates* conſulted the Lord-Keeper *Bridgeman*, who profeſs'd a great Reſpect for him, about his taking it in a Sound Senſe. He, to ſatisfy him, promis'd to be at the next Seſſions, and there on the Bench to declare openly, That by *Endeavour* in the Oath to change Church-Government, was meant *only Unlawful Endeavour*. Upon which Declaration, He and ſundry other *Non-conformiſts*, to the Number of Twenty, took it at the Seſſions, to avoid the Imputation of Seditious Doctrine.

The King's Civility to them and the French Proteſtants.

To this Account we may reaſonably add what is ſaid by Another, the Author of *the Compleat Hiſtory of* England; That tho' the *Diſſenters* did, for the Reaſons before mention'd, *&c.* happen to raiſe the Zeal or Jealouſy of the two Houſes of Parliament againſt them; yet the King, and his ſecret Council, were always diſpos'd to countenance and protect them. And the King Himſelf, in Clemency and Good-Nature, if not in Judgment and Conſcience, gave a very generous and faithful Protection to the Foreign *Proteſtants*, and eſpecially the *French*, even after the Breach with that Court; reſerving his Promiſes of Safety, and Protection to them, in his Declaration of War: For which, immediately after, ſome Deputies from the *French* Church in the *Savoy* attended his Majeſty, with 'The humble Thanks of that Church for his good Protection, and kind Indulgence, expreſs'd towards them in his late Declaration againſt *France*.' And to give them the greater Invitations of Security and Eaſe, the *French* Proteſtants had the Favour to have a new Church, and full Liberty of uſing it, granted to them in the City of *Dublin*: And when their firſt Aſſembly met, at the Opening of it, the Lord-Lieutenant *Ormond* honour'd them with his Preſence, and with a firm Aſſurance of Continuing to them their Liberty, and a peaceable Enjoyment of it.

The Affairs of Ireland,

4. And now it is Time to come to a Concluſion of the old Year 1665, after having ſpoken a Word or two with Relation to *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and mention'd ſome inferior Matters in *England*. In *Ireland*, the Duke of *Ormond*, Lord-Lieutenant, was remanded back to that Kingdom, and being receiv'd at *Dublin* with great Splendor and Magnificence, held a Parliament at the End of this Year; which granted to the King eight intire Subſidies, towards Supporting the weighty Occaſions of his Majeſty's Expences. Here ſeveral of the Members were accus'd for having been in the Plot againſt the Government in 1663, and Mr. *Staples* and Mr. *Shapcot*, and five others, being call'd to the Bar, were for ever expell'd the Houſe.

And Scotland.

A Parliament was alſo held in *Scotland*, which being provok'd by the inſolent Carriage of one *Alexander Smith*, and other Conventiclers, a ſevere Proclamation was iſſu'd out in that Kingdom, *December* 24th, 'Commanding all

‘ Silenc'd *Presbyterian* Miniſters to remove themſelves and their Families out of the Pariſhes where they were Incumbents, within Forty Days, and not reſide within twenty Miles of the ſame, or within ſix Miles of *Edinburgh*, or any *Cathedral Church*, or within three Miles of any *Burgh-Royal* of the Kingdom, or reſide Two of them in one Pariſh, under Pain of Incurring the Penalties of the Law, againſt *Movers of Sedition.*

The Term adjourn'd to Oxford.

The King's Care, and Diverſion.

In *England*, upon the Account of the dreadful Peſtilence, the King by Proclamation adjourn'd the *Michaelmas* Term from *Weſtminſter* to *Oxford*; and ſoon after the Breaking up of the Parliament, the ſeveral Courts of Juſtice ſat in the Publick Schools of the Univerſity. Here Sir *John Keeling*, an eminent Lawyer, firſt appear'd on the Bench as Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*; and Sir *William Morton* one of the Judges of the ſame Court, in the Place of Sir *Wadham Windham* deceas'd. The next *Hilary* Term was from thence adjourn'd to *Windſor*; but, upon the Plague ceaſing, was from thence reſtor'd to *Weſtminſter*. His Majeſty, in the mean Time, to reſtrain Extravagancy, and to promote good Husbandry, firſt declared in Council, and then wrote to the Lord-Mayor of *London*, ‘ That both Himſelf and his Royal Conſort wou'd wear, neither Inſide nor Outſide of their Cloaths, any Thing but what was Manufactured within his Kingdom of *England*; and that he had enjoin'd his whole Court to follow their good Examples therein, expecting the reſt of his good Subjects to do the ſame; with only an Exception of Linnen-Cloth and Calicoes.’ Then for Diverſion and Curioſity, in the Beginning of this Year the King was pleas'd to viſit the famous Colledge of Phyſicians at *London*, where he was very honourably receiv'd by the eminent and learned Doctors. Here he ſaw the Marble Statue of the famous *Harvey*, the great Diſcoverer of the Blood's Circulation; and heard the Preſident Dr. *George Ent*, with equal Eloquence and Art, Reading upon the Myſteries of Anatomy, whom he there honour'd with Knighthood: There he ſaw the chief Phyſician *Bates*, renowned both in the Medical Skill, and his Knowledge of the *Latin* Tongue; and *Fraſier* his chief Phyſician ſince; and *Gliſſon*, excellent in Medicine and Natural Philoſophy; and ſucceſsful *Micklethwait*; and much eſteemed *Cox*; and *Scarborough*, accompliſh'd in all Philoſophy, and no leſs famous among the Muſes; with *Wharton* the Secretary of the *Glandules*; and acute *Merret*: Beſides many others eminent in the Art of Healing and Relieving; to whom afterwards was aſſociated *Willis* the noble Reſtorer of Medicine, but of too ſhort a Life, together with *Lower* and *Needham*, who have ſince illuſtrated the Faculty by their ſeveral Writings.

An Account of Mr. Greatrakes.

After theſe we may mention a prodigious Healer of another Nature, who appear'd in *England* this Year, and fill'd the Mouths of all People, both in the Country and City: This was Mr. *Valentine Greatrakes*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman of a good Family, and a Juſtice of the Peace in the County of *Cork*; whoſe apparent Simplicity of Manners was attended with a great ſhew of Piety and Religion. As he himſelf informs us, In the Year 1662, an inward Inſpiration inform'd him, that he had the Gift of Curing the *King's-Evil*; which Perſwaſion grew ſo ſtrong in him, that he touch'd ſeveral People, and fully cured them. After this he had a ſecond Impulſe, and then a Third, by which he was ſatisfy'd that he cou'd cure Agues, and Pains in the Head, as likewiſe Wounds and Ulcers; all which, he ſays, was confirm'd by Experience; and he even found that he cured Convulſions, Dropſies, and ſeveral other Diſtempers. People flock'd to him from all Parts, and his Reputation encreas'd to that Degree, that the Lord *Conway* of *Ragley* in *Warwickſhire* engag'd him to come over and attend his Lady, then labouring under a long Illneſs. As he advanc'd towards that Seat, the Magiſtrates of ſeveral Cities and Towns invited him to paſs through the ſame, to cure their Sick; and the King being inform'd of the Rarity, commanded the Earl of *Arlington* to order him to repair to *White-Hall*. From thence he daily repaired to *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, whither came incredible Numbers of Perſons of all Ranks and Sexes, expecting the Reſtoration of their Health. He undertook all without receiving Mony, or any other Preſent; and all he did was only to Stroak the Patients; by which all old Pains, Gout, Rheumatiſms, Convulſions, *&c.* were ſenſibly remov'd from Part to Part to the Extremities of the Body, after which they entirely ceas'd; which caus'd him to be commonly call'd *The Stroaker*. Of all which he had the Teſtimonials of ſome of the moſt curious Men in the Nation, both Phyſicians and Divines. But his Failing ſometimes, and his leaving the Nation, ſoon made the Wonder to diminiſh, and great Numbers to attribute his Cures to the Credulity of the People. Yet many eminent and wiſe Men will not allow him to be an Impoſtor; and ſeveral of the Facts were ſo manifeſt and unqueſtionable, that ſome *Vertuoſi*, as Mr. *Boyl*, Dr. *Stubbe* and Dr. *Henry Moor*, have in Print made a plauſible Attempt to give a natural and Philoſophical Solution of theſe Cures, too long to be mention'd in this Hiſtory.

The Deaths of the Earl of Lindſey,

After ſo many noted Men living, we are in the laſt Place to take Notice of ſome who dy'd this Year, as four of the Laity, and five Profeſſing Divinity. The Firſt was *Mountague Bertie*, Earl of *Lindſey*, and Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*, one of the *Quadrumvirate* that had been ſo eminently diſtinguiſh'd for their unparallel'd Loyalty to the late King, as has been formerly hinted; a brave and experienc'd Soldier; a great Patron of uſeful Learning and Ingenuity, an honeſt, frugal and faithful *Engliſhman*, and a true Patriot and Imitator of the ancient Nobility, whoſe Grandeur conſiſted neither in rich Cloaths, nor fine Courtſhip: After he had waded through an Ocean of Difficulties, he dy'd in Quiet, Peace and Honour. The two next dy'd in War and Action, and both at Sea; who were Sir *John Lawſon*, and Mr. *Edward Mountague*.

Sir John Lawſon,

Mr. Mountague,

Sir Kenelme Digby.

The Former was a poor Man's Son of *Hull*, who being bred to the Sea, by his great Induſtry and Courage ſoon became Captain of a Man of War, and ſignaliz'd himſelf in all the ſeveral Battels againſt the *Dutch*, during the Uſurpation; and afterwards gain'd new Honour in the *Mediterranean*, by bringing *Argiers*, and other great Diſturbers of Commerce, to Terms of Reaſon and Submiſſion; till at laſt, being one of the Admirals under the Duke of *York*, he bravely ventur'd and loſt his Life in the late great Sea-Fight, as was before mention'd. The Other, Mr. *Mountague*, was Son to the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*, a near Relation to the Earl of *Sandwich*, and the Queen's Maſter of the Horſe; who having nobly diſplay'd his Courage, he was cut off in the unſucceſsful Attempt at *Berghen*, under Sir *Thomas Tyddiman*, to the particular Regret of the Court; being a young Gentleman ſo finely accompliſh'd by Nature and his own Induſtry, that it was always a Doubt among his Friends which was moſt agreeable, his polite Wit, or his gentile Behaviour. The Fourth to be mention'd, and very different from all the reſt, is Sir *Kenelme Digby*, a Gentleman of the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Family, the head *Vertuoſo* of the Times, One of a ſtrange extenſive and unbounded Genius, who by his unweary'd Induſtry, and his various Travels into many Foreign Countries, brought himſelf to a prodigious Inſight into all Parts of Knowledge; ſo that he was generally ſtyl'd the *Magazine of all Arts*, and by ſome the *Ornament of the Nation*: He was beſides a Man of intrepid Courage and Gallantry; his Perſon handſom and ſurprizing, accompany'd with ſuch a graceful Elocution and noble Addreſs, as commanded Reſpect from all Strangers. Yet with all his Accompliſhments, both of Body and Mind, his Wit and Invention did ſometimes ſo tranſport him, that he is charg'd with ſuch unlimited Vanities, and Romantick Extravagancies as are hardly conſiſtent with the ſound Senſe and exact Judgment that he ſo often manifeſted to the Learned World. This excellent and exorbitant Man dy'd in the 63d Year of his Age, at his Houſe in *Covent-Garden London*; which had been a Rendezvous to the greateſt Wits and *Vertuoſi* of the Age.

Biſhop Earle,

Dean Warmeſtry,

Dr. Spurſtow,

Among the Divines we ſhall firſt take Notice of Dr. *John Earle*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, a Perſon educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and afterwards made Chaplain and Tutor to the preſent King, when Prince of *Wales*: After he had ſuffer'd with him in his Exile, at the Reſtoration, he was gradually made Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and Biſhop of *Worceſter*, till he arriv'd at the See of *Salisbury*: He was a Man of a moſt gentile and obliging Temper; and one ſays of him, ‘ That ſince Mr. *Richard Hooker*, none have liv'd, whom God had bleſs'd with more innocent Wiſdom, more ſanctify'd Learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive Temper than he.’ The next was Dr. *Thomas Warmeſtry*, Dean of *Worceſter*, a worthy Divine, educated in the ſame Univerſity of *Oxford*; who, having loſt all his Preferments in the late Troubles, ſettled at *London*, and there became the Almoner General to the Sufferers for the Royal Intereſt, the chief Confeſſor to Loyal Martyrs, a conſtant and indefatigable Viſitor and Comforter of ſick and diſtreſſed Cavaliers, zealous and happy in converting Infidels, induſtrious in reclaiming the Looſe, and eſtabliſhing the Wavering, and no leſs vigorous in preparing his Auditors for the Sacrament, and for Death; in all which he out-did the contrary Party in their own Talent of Preaching. The three other Divines were all *Presbyterians*, Dr. *William Spurſtow*, Dr. *Francis Cheynell*, and Dr. *Cornelius Burgeſs*, all three celebrated Incendiaries in the late Times of Confuſion. The firſt, Dr. *Spurſtow*, was the moſt moderate of the three, yet was one of the five who compoſed the Book that ſo boldly ſtruck at the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, call'd *Smectymnuus*; the other four being *Stephen Marſhall*, *Edmund Calamy*, *Thomas Young*, and *Matthew Newcomen*, the initial Letters of whoſe Names compos'd that uncommon Word: Notwithſtanding this, and ſome Sermons of his

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Dr. Cheynell, *And Dr.* Burgeſs.

before the Long Parliament, he is ſaid to be of a peaceable and humble Diſpoſition. He was one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, Maſter of *Catharine-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and Miniſter of *Hackney* near *London*; out of the Maſter-ſhip he was ejected for refuſing the *Engagement*, and out of the laſt for Non-Compliance with the *Act of Uniformity*. The Second, Dr. *Cheynell*, was likewiſe one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and a frequent Preacher before the Parliament, and Miniſter of the rich Living of *Petworth* in *Suſſex*: He was a Man of conſiderable Learning and great Abilities, and of great Perſonal Strength and Courage, all which he employ'd to good and bad Purpoſes; having ſuch a heat in his Temper as for a while diſorder'd his Brain, the Fury of which ſufficiently ſhew'd itſelf in his Behaviour at the Funeral of the great Mr. *Chillingworth*, which has been formerly mention'd. The laſt, Dr. *Burgeſs*, was alſo one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and a very frequent Preacher before the Long Parliament, and one of the greateſt *Boutefeu's* of the whole Party, being the perpetual Trumpeter to the worſt and moſt violent Proceedings of that Parliament: He was certainly a great Inſtrument in bringing on the Miſeries of the Nation, as is formerly remember'd, in which he was ſo furiouſly active, and withal ſo ſcandalouſly ſubſervient, that few or none have undertaken to vindicate him. He had been educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and made Chaplain to the late King; but being diſguſted with a Proſecution in the *High Commiſſion* Court, and his Ambition unanſwer'd, he ſhew'd himſelf a true Time-Server, and gain'd ſo much as to grow rich by the Purchaſe of Biſhops Lands: But after the Reſtoration, he loſt all, and living privately at *Watford* in *Hertfordſhire*, he there dy'd in great Want and Poverty, tormented and eaten up with a Cancer in his Neck and Cheek. An Incendiary, let his *Religion* or *Cauſe* be what it will, is never to be ſpared by an impartial Hiſtorian; whoſe Buſineſs is to diſplay the Honour, and expoſe the Infamy of all that make a great Noiſe in the World.

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The Caſe of the Dutch, *Who depend upon* France.

III. I. About the Beginning of the New Year, the two contending Nations of *England* and *Holland* were both preparing for new War and Action, which they ſeem'd reſolv'd to carry on with the utmoſt Power and Vigour. The *Dutch*, in the preceding Year, had been manifeſtly the greateſt Sufferers by Sea; and while they were ſtruggling with thoſe Inconveniencies, they had ſtill a greater Difficulty to defend themſelves by Land. For the Biſhop of *Munſter*, as was hinted in the King's Speech to the Parliament, being encourag'd by the *Engliſh*, and ſupported by their Mony, had advanc'd into the Country of *Frieſland*, and defeating ſeveral conſiderable Parties of the *Dutch*, had taken ſome Towns, and had pillag'd and burnt ſeveral Villages, while Prince *Maurice*, with eighteen thouſand Men, was little more than a Spectator. The *Dutch*, under this Mortification, had no Friends or Aſſiſtants but the King of *France*, the *Lunenburgers*, and the *Brandenburgers*; which laſt were cold in the Cauſe, and choſe rather to be negotiating a Mediation between the *States* of *Holland* and the Biſhop of *Munſter*. The *Lunenburgers* were altogether as indifferent in the Matter, and ſent to excuſe themſelves to the King of *England*, for what they had done, and pretended Ignorance of the Gronnds and Cauſes of the Biſhop's taking Arms. The greateſt Hopes and Dependence of the States was in the *French* King; who, tho' provok'd by the Biſhop of *Munſter*, yet ſent them only a Supply of ſome ſickly Troops, which rather more infected than aſſiſted their Allies; and therefore were ſent to quarter in the *Brandenburgers* Country, as if they went chiefly for freſh Air. But ſtill the Biſhop of *Munſter*, with all theſe Advantages, thought himſelf not ſufficiently ſupported by the *Engliſh* Mony, and became a little wavering; which occaſion'd Chancellor *Clarendon* to uſe theſe Words, in a Letter to Sir *William Temple* at *Bruſſels*: 'And as the Failing towards 'the Biſhop of *Munſter* has not proceeded from any Faults 'of ours, but even from the Hand of God; ſo we ſhall 'out of hand repair theſe Omiſſions.' In the ſame Letter he complain'd of the great Weight that lay upon them in carrying on one War againſt the *Dutch*, and preparing for another againſt *France*; and afterwards has theſe remarkable Words, 'There is nothing now ought to be labour'd 'with ſo much Induſtry and Dexterity, as the uniting *England*, *Spain* and *Flanders*; which wou'd give, and which 'only can give Peace to *Chriſtendom*. I am ſure our Maſter is paſſionately inclin'd to it; and truely I think *Spain* 'is well diſpos'd in the main; yet I know not how by the 'fatal Delay in Diſpatch there, and it may be their Expectation, that in the Straights we are in, we ſhall buy their 'Friendſhip at a Rate we ſhall never pay for, there is not 'the Haſte made that the Affair required.

Chancellor Hyde's *Opinion.*

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About the middle of the Winter the *French* King began to be very ſenſible, that the *Engliſh* were much ſuperior to the *Dutch* by Sea; and being apprehenſive of the prevailing Power of the former, he more than once threatned to declare War againſt them: But yet to make it rather a Politick Intrigue, than an open compleat Rupture, he began with acquainting the Queen Mother of *England*, *That tho', by means of the repeated Inſtigations of the* Dutch, *he cou'd no longer keep off a Declaration of War againſt his Majeſty of* Great Britain; *yet he ſhou'd always preſerve the ſame Eſteem and Value for his Majeſty's Perſon, hoping that his* Britannick *Majeſty wou'd always continue the ſame Kindneſs and Affection to him.* To prevent or divert this impending Storm, the Lord *Hollis*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, preſented a Memorial to the *French* King, teſtifying his Maſter's Inclination to Peace: But knowing the Humour of the *French*, and finding that their Ambaſſador *Courtin* had ſaid at *Oxford*, *The Parliament might give as they pleas'd, he was ſure the People wou'd never pay the Mony*, he inſerted this Paragraph in his Memorial, which ſhou'd not be here omitted: 'The *Dutch* at firſt hop'd to make their 'Advantage of ſome ſuppos'd Diſorders in *England*, or of 'the King's not being able to carry on the War for want 'of Mony; which embolden'd them to injure and inſult 'us, and actually to begin a War with us in *Guiney*. But, 'God be thanked, they are ſo out of their Calculation, 'That the People of *England* were never better united than 'at preſent: And as to Mony, the King will never want 'any to carry on the War. I can ſay this perhaps with 'more Aſſurance than another, having been converſant 'with Parliamentary Affairs theſe forty Years, from the 'Time of King *James* of happy Memory; and I will affirm, 'that the two Houſes are ſo zealous for their Prince's Glory, and the Publick Intereſt of the Nation, that they will 'not ſuffer the leaſt Want of what is neceſſary to finiſh this 'War. If what is already given be defective, they will 'give three Quarters, and reſerve only for themſelves what 'is neceſſary to keep them alive. *This, Sir, is what I am 'ſure the King my Maſter will meet with in the Affection of 'his People, for the Support of his Rights, againſt the Inſults 'and Violences of his Enemies.*

Hollis's *Memorial to the* French *King.*

The French *King's Declaration of War againſt* England.

Denmark joins with Holland.

The Memorial was preſented on the 20th Day of *January*; notwithſtanding which, the *French* King within ſix Days after publiſh'd his *Declaration of War againſt* England, which begins with this following mild Narrative: 'His 'Majeſty having receiv'd Advice, that ſome Miſunderſtandings had aroſe between *England* and the *United Provinces*, 'order'd his Ambaſſadors in Ordinary to try all the good 'Offices in his Name to endeavour to ſtifle this Diviſion 'in its Birth; and having with Grief underſtood, that both 'Sides were ſo exaſperated as to come to Acts of Hoſtility, his Majeſty ſent Ambaſſadors Extraordinary to the King 'of *Great Britain*, to endeavour by new Offices to pacify 'and compoſe thoſe Differences by an Accommodation: 'But the Mediation not meeting with the promis'd Effect, 'the *States General* of the *United Provinces* have, with 'preſſing Inſtances, continu'd to ſolicite his Majeſty to execute the Treaty of a *Defenſive League* concluded with 'them the 27th of *April* 1662: And his Majeſty finding 'himſelf oblig'd to perform his Royal Word, and the Engagements into which he enter'd by a *Solemn Treaty*, at a 'Time when *England* and *Holland* were entire Friends, 'and without any Proſpect of a Rupture; his Majeſty has 'declared, and by theſe ſign'd Preſents does declare, that 'he has agreed and reſolv'd to aſſiſt the *States General* of 'the *United Provinces*, purſuant to the ſaid *Defenſive League*, 'and to join all his Forces to theirs, to act againſt the *Engliſh*, as well by Sea as by Land. And for that End, his 'Majeſty commands all his Subjects, *&c.* to attack the ſaid '*Engliſh*; and forbids them hereafter to have any Communication, Commerce, or Intelligence with them on Pain 'of Death.---' Before the Publication of this Declaration, the *French* King and the *States* had in Effect made themſelves ſecure of the King of *Denmark*, who having been by Miſtake unkindly treated by *England* upon the *Berghen* Expedition, was privately induc'd upon the Payment of a certain Sum of Mony, to come into this following Treaty: '1. That each Party ſhou'd abſolutely deſiſt 'from all former Pretenſions. 2. That all Miſunderſtandings in *Norway* ſhou'd be totally forgotten. 3. That the '*States General* ſhou'd engage to pay the King of *Denmark* fifteen hundred thouſand Livres *per Annum*, as long 'as the War againſt *England* ſhou'd continue; of which 'the *French* ſhou'd pay three hundred thouſand Livres yearly for their Part: For which his *Daniſh* Majeſty ſhou'd 'engage to maintain a Fleet at Sea of thirty Ships of War, 'to be employ'd in the Service of the *States*, of which 'ſome ſhou'd be furniſh'd with a ſufficient Number of Regular Troops.' This Treaty was carry'd on with that Secrecy, that the King of *England* had no Notice of it till the Concluſion: For the Secretary of the *Daniſh* King's Embaſſy in *Holland* was ſent *Incognito* by the Miniſters of that Prince, immediately after the finiſhing the Treaty, to the King their Maſter, to preſent it to him, and get his Ratification; after which the Secretary return'd with all Expedition to the *Hague*. By which clandeſtine Management the

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the *Engliſh* Reſident at *Denmark*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, had not Time to caution the Merchants of his own Nation; ſo that all their Effects were ſeiz'd and confiſcated throughout the whole Extent of the Kingdom.

The Swedes *reſent it.*

This was ſo ill reſented by the Regents of *Sweden*, that they declared to all Publick Miniſters their Reſolution to ſtand firm to the League with *England:* In order to which, General *Wrangle*, underſtanding that ſome *Dutch* Frigates were come into the *Elbe*, where at that Time rode a Fleet of *Engliſh* Merchantmen, commanded a *Swediſh* Man of War to guard them, and rather to ſink by their Sides, than to ſuffer them to receive any Injury. The ſame Care was likewiſe taken by the *Swedes* to ſecure the *Engliſh* in *Schonen*. They alſo ſent an Ambaſſador into *Denmark*, to expoſtulate the Reaſon of their new Alliance, and to teſtify their Diſlike of the whole Tranſaction. And when the *Daniſh* Reſident, in a formal Speech, endeavour'd to give the Queen and Regents of *Sweden* 'an Account of his 'Maſter's Intentions in that League for the Security of the '*Sound*, and the Provocations pretended from *England*, 'which forc'd him to a Retaliation, and offer'd to have the 'Crown of *Sweden* included in the ſame Alliance;' he was briskly anſwer'd, *That the Procedure of his Maſter ſeem'd ſo unfair and diſhonourable, that they knew not how any Prince for the future wou'd treat with him.* But the *Swedes*, ſeeing what the *Danes* had determined, reſolv'd by no Means to ſuffer the *Sound* to be ſhut up at Pleaſure; therefore they reinforc'd their Garriſons in *Schonen*, and prepared a ſufficient Navy for their Defence. However, to ſhew themſelves not altogether averſe from Peace, the *Swedes* afterwards form'd a Project for an Accommodation between the *States* and Themſelves, which contain'd ſo many Points of Reſtitutions and Reparations, to be made by the *States*, as cou'd meet with no favourable Reception: Eſpecially ſince the *Swedes* inſiſted to be admitted into the Trade of the *Indies*; a Point, above all the reſt, in which the *Dutch* were moſt jealous and tenacious.

Soon after the Defection of *Denmark*, the Biſhop of *Munſter* began to ſhew the ſame mercenary Temper; and being preſs'd by the *French*, the *Dutch*, and the *Brandenburgers*, and wanting ſome Remainder of the *Engliſh* Subſidies, he hearken'd to Propoſals of Accommodation. Sir *William Temple*, the *Engliſh* Envoy at *Bruſſels*, who had been a chief Inſtrument in the Alliance, wrote a pathetick Letter to him; and ſhortly after took a Journey to *Munſter*, to endeavour to keep him true to it, but in vain. But upon his Return to *Bruſſels*, being inform'd that Monſieur *Colbert*, the *French* Miniſter, was going to *Munſter* to hire the Troops the Biſhop deſign'd to diſmiſs, Sir *William* by a Letter repreſented to that Prince, 'How unjuſt, 'how treacherous, how ungrateful it wou'd appear, for 'thoſe Troops that were rais'd and arm'd by the King his 'Maſter's Mony, to enter into the Service of a foreign 'Prince, now at open Enmity with *England*; by which 'Means they became Rebels rather than Enemies: And 'therefore deſired that thoſe Troops be plac'd in the Service of the King of *Spain*, who had been long his *Britannick* Majeſty's Friend and Confederate.'

The Biſhop of Munſter *fall off from* England.

However, the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Munſter* Envoys met at *Cleve*, and there by the Mediation of the Elector of *Brandenburgh* concluded a Peace, notwithſtanding Sir *William*'s Endeavours to prevent it; who with great Difficulty and Danger, in the Diſguiſe of a *Spaniard*, repair'd to *Munſter* juſt as the Treaty was ſign'd. The Biſhop wou'd have engag'd him to ſtay there, till he had repreſented his Reaſons to the King his Maſter, and receiv'd his Anſwer; but Sir *William* finding his Deſign was to keep him there, while his Agent at *Bruſſels* receiv'd Bills of Exchange from *England*, wiſely refus'd to comply. So with the ſame Secrecy, and no leſs Danger and Fatigue, Sir *William* haſtned through the wildeſt Country, and had the good Fortune to arrive at *Bruſſels* Time enough to ſtop ſeveral Bills of Exchange, that wou'd otherwiſe have fallen into the Hands of the Biſhop's Agent, and to forbid the Payment of the reſt he receiv'd in his Abſence. And thus ended the whole Affair of *Munſter*, that made ſo much Noiſe, and rais'd ſo much Expectation in the World: However, Sir *William* ſo well concerted with the Biſhop, that he engag'd him to ſend five or ſix thouſand of his beſt Troops into the *Spaniſh* Service, upon the Governor's paying fifty thouſand Pattacoons, and obliging himſelf to reſtore them, when the Biſhop wanted them, upon the Re-payment of the like Sum; which however defeated the Negotiation of Monſieur *Colbert* at *Munſter*.

England's *bad Condition.*

Thus the King of *England*, before he cou'd enter upon his ſecond Year's Expedition, was abandon'd and left deſtitute of his chief Friends and Supporters, and likewiſe forc'd to contend and ſtruggle with unforeſeen and powerful Enemies; and all this while a dreadful Plague, tho' juſt expired in the City of *London*, ſtill rag'd in many other Cities and Towns in the Kingdom. Of his new Enemies, the *French* were more fair than the *Danes*: For upon the Lord *Hollis*'s remonſtrating at *Paris* the great Injuſtice of the new *Declaration of War*, which ſubjected the *Engliſh* Eſtates and Perſons to all Acts of Hoſtility, contrary to former Treaties between the two Crowns, allowing three Months to each Party for withdrawing Effects after a Rupture; the *French* King thereupon iſſu'd out a ſecond Proclamation allowing the *Engliſh* the ſaid Liberty of three Months to tranſport themſelves and their Goods.

The King, &c. *return to* London.

2. In the mean Time, the Plague being in a manner ceas'd in *London*, on the firſt of *February* the King, with his Royal Brother the Duke of *York*, left *Hampton-Court* and *Oxford*, and repair'd to his Palace at *Whitehall*, to the infinite Joy of the City, which they manifeſted with Bells, Bonfires, and more than ordinary Marks of Exultation. And the next Day the Lord-Mayor and the Sheriffs of the City of *London* waited upon his Majeſty with a particular Compliment from the City, *in an humble and hearty Welcome to his happy Return, after ſo long and melancholy an Abſence*; and were ſo graciouſly receiv'd, that his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on Alderman *Robert Hanſon*, and Alderman *William Hooker*, the two Sheriffs of the City. The Queen, being much indiſpos'd, was for a while left behind, who met with an Illneſs and Misfortune that was leaſt of all expected, which was a Miſcarriage of a Child, and which her Infirmities wou'd not permit her to bring to Maturity. Of which Affair, we find theſe Words in a Manuſcript of a knowing Miniſter, '*February* the '10th, It is whiſper'd that the Queen gives out, That the 'true Cauſe of her Miſcarriage was a Longing to ſee the 'King, and not ſhe her ſelf, who ſaid, *She was ſure ſhe 'cou'd never eſcape it!* So great was her Paſſion at that 'Time.'

The Queen miſcarries.

The King being ſettled again at *Whitehall*, and finding the hearty Zeal of his Subjects, without any Fear or Delay publiſh'd his *Declaration of War againſt the* French; which began in theſe modeſt Terms: 'Whereas the *French* 'King, pretending the Execution of a *Defenſive Treaty* 'with the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, and 'thereby determining us to be the Aggreſſors and Invaders 'of them (the contrary to which is moſt notoriouſly known 'to all the World) did on the $\frac{16}{26}$th of *January* laſt declare 'War againſt our Subjects, making himſelf thus the Aggreſſor, and rendring the Peace we have always deſired 'with the ſaid *States* more difficult; towards which the '*French* King's Ambaſſadors never offer'd either Satisfaction 'for paſt Injuries done to our Subjects, or a fair Regulation of Commerce for the future; We relying upon the 'Help of God Almighty in the *Juſtice of our Cauſe*, and 'being aſſured of the Valour and Affections of our Subjects in Defence thereof, have thought fit to declare, 'and by theſe Preſents do Declare, That we will oppoſe 'the *French* King, and vigorouſly proſecute the War which 'he hath ſo unjuſtly begun, with the utmoſt of our Force 'by Sea and Land, *&c.*'--- After he had forbid all his Subjects from holding Correſpondence with the *French*, upon Pain of Death, he nevertheleſs graciouſly declar'd; 'That 'all ſuch of the *French* or *Dutch* Nation, remaining in his 'Dominions, as ſhou'd demean themſelves dutifully, without correſponding with his Enemies, ſhou'd be ſafe in 'their Perſons and Eſtates, and free from all Moleſtation 'and Trouble. And further, he declared, That if any of 'the *French* or *Low-Country* Subjects, upon any Reaſon, 'ſhou'd come into his Kingdoms, they ſhou'd be all protected in their Perſons and Eſtates, and eſpecially thoſe of 'the *Reformed Religion*, whoſe Intereſt ſhou'd ever be particularly owned by Him.

The King's Declaration of War againſt France.

The Nation pleas'd with it.

This Declaration was on the 10th of *February* publiſh'd with the uſual Solemnities by the Heralds at Arms in ſeveral Parts of the City, where there appear'd a general Harmony and Satisfaction. His Majeſty then iſſu'd out his Orders to all the Maritime Counties to put themſelves into a Poſture of Defence; which they did with all poſſible Readineſs and Alacrity, and offer'd their continual Attendance of their Militia in Arms; but the King unwilling to give them a needleſs Trouble and Expence, was pleas'd to direct their Diſmiſſion and return home, till farther Occaſion ſhou'd require. Thus early were the People warm'd and animated againſt the Power of *France*, before they cou'd foreſee the ſwelling Exorbitance of it: For at this Time the *French* King, tho' he had undoubtedly form'd vaſt Deſigns in his Head, had himſelf done nothing ſo great either by Sea or Land, as to give any direful Apprehenſions to his Neighbours, beſides the Purchaſe of *Dunkirk*; which at that Time was not look'd upon as a Matter ſo formidable, as it afterwards appear'd.

1666.
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Reſ. 6.

The ſecond Year's Expedition againſt the Dutch.

3. It was with all the foremention'd Inconveniencies and Difficulties that the King undertook and began the ſecond Year's Expedition againſt the *Dutch*, now ſtrengthen'd or encourag'd by a new Alliance; which caus'd them to put to Sea with great Readineſs and Forwardneſs. The *Engliſh*

1666.
Car. 18.
Reſ. 7.

Fleet was no ways defective in Expedition; and becauſe it was ſtill reſolv'd that the Admiral the Duke of *York* ſhou'd not adventure his Perſon, and that the Earl of *Sandwich* was now ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*, it was therefore appointed that Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle*, two intrepid Commanders, ſhou'd be his Majeſty's Generals at Sea for this Summer's Expedition; having Sir *George Ayſcough* Admiral of the *White*, and Sir *Thomas Allen* of the *Blue* Squadron. Theſe, with other brave Soldiers, on the 23d of *April*, went down to the Fleet, and enter'd on the Command of it. They lay for ſome Time at the *Buoy in the Nore*, where they were ſolemnly viſited by the King Himſelf, and his Royal Brother, on the 3d of *May*. On the 23d they arriv'd at the *Gun-Fleet*, and were riding in the *Downs* on the 29th, when Prince *Rupert* receiv'd particular Orders to leave the grand Fleet, and ſail with twenty great Ships and joyn with ten more at *Plymouth*, to meet and intercept the *French* Fleet under the Duke of *Beaufort*, which were believ'd to be then coming from *Belle-Iſle* into the *Engliſh Channel*. This was thought an artificial Rumour to divide the *Engliſh* Fleet: The Orders however were too haſtily obey'd; and at the ſame Time it was reported that the *Dutch* Fleet wou'd not be out in ſix Weeks.

The Second BATTEL.

Neither of theſe prov'd true; and the Want of exact Intelligence prov'd very pernicious, tho' not fatal to the *Engliſh*, who on *Friday* the 1ſt of *June* diſcover'd the whole *Dutch* Fleet, under *De Ruyter* and *Tromp*, at Anchor near *Newport*, conſiſting of ninety one Sail, when theirs amounted to a little above fifty. Upon which Admiral *Monk* call'd a Coucil of the Flag-Officers, who agreed with him, 'That, conſidering the preſent State and Circumſtances, it wou'd be unſafe and diſhonourable to retire and decline the Battel;' and ſo, with this great Inequality, they reſolv'd to engage the Enemy; and tho' the Height of the Wind hinder'd them from uſing their loweſt Tire of Guns, they fell in with ſo brisk a Reſolution, that the *Dutch* were forc'd to cut their Cables, not having Time to weigh Anchor. And thus, with ſuch Thunderings as reach'd the City of *London*, began that bloody and celebrated Battel of four Days, the Memory of which, according to the Words of a *Dutch* Writer, 'ought to be preſerv'd to all Poſterity, as well for the unexampled Bravery of the *Engliſh*, tho' over-power'd by Numbers, becauſe divided in Force, as for the dear bought Advantage of the *Hollanders*, which yet was far from meriting the Name of a Victory, tho' State Policy requir'd it ſhou'd be extoll'd and proclaim'd abroad as one of the moſt compleat Kind.

Firſt Day.

Second Day.

Third Day.

The Particulars of this Battel are ſomewhat variouſly related, according to the Judgment and Opinion of each Party: But in General all agree that the Duke of *Albemarle*, the *Engliſh* Admiral, with his unequal Numbers moſt glorioſly engag'd and fought the whole *Dutch* Fleet for the beſt Part of three Days. The Firſt Day's Fight was manag'd with great Bravery on both Sides, and with almoſt equal Advantage. After which, ſoon in the next Morning, calling the Commanders and Captains to a Council of War, he ſpoke to them after this Manner: *Had we fear'd the double Number of the Enemy, we ſhou'd have fled Yeſterday; for tho' we are inferior to them in Ships, in all Things elſe we are Superior. Numbers make them bold, and couragious: Let us reflect upon that Fortune and Valour, which the* Dutch *have ſo often felt to their woful Experience. Let our Adverſaries find to Day, that tho' our Fleet be divided, our Courage is entire; and when we conſider our own Glory and ancient Renown, how much more honourable will it be to dye reveng'd upon the Seas, than to be carry'd Priſoners, as a Spectacle of Triumph to the* Dutch? *It is leſs Diſgrace to be overcome than fly; and Death is to be prefer'd before Fear.* This was immediately ſucceeded with the ſecond Day's Fight, which was more terrible and bloody than the Former, eſpecially in the Afternoon; ſo that there were few Ships of either Fleet but ſufficiently felt the Effects of it by the Loſs of their Maſts, Round-Tops, Sails and Rigging. And, notwithſtanding the *Dutch* receiv'd that Day a new Supply of ſixteen Ships, both Fleets parted that Night without any apparent Advantage on either Side. In the Third Day's Fight, the Numbers being ſtill more unequal, the *Engliſh* retired towards their own Shore: Yet in this the Valour and Conduct of their Admiral appear'd in full Splendor; for being Himſelf ever in the Rear, he ſo bravely and warmly receiv'd the Purſuers, and ſo skilfully cover'd and protected the weakeſt of the *Engliſh* Ships, that moſt of them made a commodious and ſafe Retreat.

Fourth Day.

Both Sides challenge the Victory.

The Duke having thus unequally and bravely fought for three Days, Prince *Rupert*, hearing the Noiſe of the Cannon, came up and joyn'd him; and ſo there began a fourth Day's Fight, which was continu'd in ſeveral Forms and Ways, with incredible Bravery and Reſolution: And it may be ſaid, that there and then it was, that the Valour of all in general and of every one in particular, appear'd in its full Power and Luſtre. The Conſequence of which was ſufficiently hideous and diſmal; on both Sides a ſad Spectacle to be ſeen of dead and wounded Men, and a terrible Harveſt of Maſts mown down, and of Sails and all ſorts of Tackle tumbling into the Sea, with all the Mixtures of Horror and Confuſion. Prince *Rupert*, with a Courage and Heat peculiar to Himſelf, with his Squadron fought four or five Times through the whole Body of the *Dutch* Fleet with good Advantage; but when he thought himſelf ready to reap the Fruits of his Valour, he found his Maſts were ſhot off, and his Ship diſabled for any Purſuit. And now both Sides being miſerably ſhatter'd, as the Evening came on, they retired to their own Coaſts, each of them Challenging the Victory; but the *Dutch* coming out firſt, were reputed to be Maſters of the Sea. The Loſſes were conſiderable on both Sides, but variouſly related. The *Dutch* are ſaid to have loſt above fifteen Ships and twenty one Captains, and above five thouſand common Seamen. The *Engliſh* had nine Men of War taken or burnt, of which the chief was the *Prince*, a firſt Rate Ship commanded by Sir *George Ayſcough*, which being unfortunately ſtranded, Sir *George* was taken Priſoner, and the Ship burnt. The Ships that eſcap'd ſuffer'd terribly for the moſt part, eſpecially in their Rigging; and of thoſe Men that were kill'd, which were ſtill leſs numerous than the *Dutch*, Sir *William Berkley* and Sir *Chriſtopher Minns* were the moſt noted and lamented.

Great Inſtances of Valour.

In this memorable Battel of four Days, there were diſcover'd innumerable Inſtances of the Valour and Bravery of particular Men; of which we ſhall only mention two of the *Engliſh*, and both taken from the Accounts publiſh'd by the *Dutch*, which were thoſe of Sir *John Harman*, and Sir *William Berkley*. The Former was Rear-Admiral of the *White*, and Commander of the *Henry* of ſeventy ſix Guns, of whom they give us this Account.---'Whoſe Ship having been vigorouſly attack'd by *De Ruyter*, and ſome other Ships of his Squadron, and being very much ſhatter'd, *De Ruyter* ſent out a Fireſhip, which faſtned upon her and ſet her on Fire; but the firſt Fireſhip was put off and ſunk, and the Flames in the Rear-Admiral extinguiſh'd. Then another Fireſhip of the *Zealand* Squadron was ſent to burn her; and again ſet the *Engliſh* Ship in Flames, but that was likewiſe repell'd, and the Fire quencht. A Third Fireſhip, under the Covert of Admiral *Evertz*'s Guns, was once more ſent to try to repair the former Miſcarriages, but was no more fortunate; for faſtning upon the *Engliſh* Rear-Admiral, he indeed ſet fire to him; but in a Moment that was quencht, and the Fireſhip ſunk with the Cannou-Shot: So that according to the Teſtimony of all the *Dutch* Officers, who were Spectators of that glorious Action, the undaunted Bravery of the *Engliſh* Commander cou'd not be ſufficiently admired; which was ſo much the more remarkable, becauſe near three hundred of his Men had deſerted him, and leapt into the Sea, at the Approach of the two firſt Fireſhips. And at the End of the Conflict, the ſame Rear-Admiral perform'd likewiſe an Action glorious to Him, but fatal to Us, by a Cannot-Shot, that took away the Life of the illuſtrious Admiral *Evertz*, whoſe good Conduct and great Courage had made him admired both in this and other Encounters.' As to the other Inſtance of Sir *William Berkley*, they write thus: 'Among other remarkable Paſſages in the Fight, the undaunted Reſolution of Vice-Admiral *Berkley* was particularly admired; who having had forty Men kill'd on board him, and being no longer able to make Reſiſtance, yet was ſo obſtinately bent to fight, that he wou'd take no Quarter; and wou'd have kill'd with his own Hand three or four of his Enemies that had boarded his Ship: But at laſt being ſhot into the Throat with a Musket Bullet, he retired into his Cabbin, where laying himſelf at Length on the Table, he was in that Poſture found dead by the Victors, all cover'd with the Blood that flow'd out of his Wounds. After all the ſame Writers tells us, 'That under God, the undaunted Courage and wiſe Conduct of Admiral *De Ruyter* had the greateſt Share in what Advantage was gotten in that fierce Battel againſt the Potent and Warlike; who, tho' out-number'd and overpower'd, yet fought ſo obſtinately, that they wou'd in all Probability have raviſh'd the Victory from a leſs expert and valiant Commander than himſelf.

The Dutch *appear a ſecond Time.*

4. Both Parties being retired to their own Coaſts and Harbours, the *Dutch*, eſpecially *De Wit*'s Party, ſhew'd all the Marks of Joy and Triumph for their dear bought Victory; and, being again encourag'd by the Promiſes of the *French* Ambaſſador, they us'd all poſſible Vigour and Diligence to put to Sea again. They had the Credit and Reputation of appearing on the Ocean, before the *Engliſh* were ready to come out; which caus'd them to ride braving upon the Coaſts, dating their Letters and Paſſports *From aboard the* Seven Provinces *in the Mouth of the River of* London. They conſiſted of eighty ſix Sail, and were

divided into three Squadrons, the firſt commanded by *De Ruyter*, the ſecond by the other *Evertz*, and the third by *Tromp*; and as they rode upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, they often made towards *France*, in a ſecond Expectation of meeting the *French* Fleet to join them, under the Command of the Duke of *Beaufort*. They had not been long at Sea, when they were very much ſurpris'd to ſee their Enemy, whom they thought they had irrecoverably weaken'd for one Year, appear with no leſs than ninety Sail of Men of War, and twenty Fire-Ships, *&c.* They were likewiſe divided into three Squadrons; the *Red* under the Command of Prince *Rupert* and General *Monk*, the *White* under Sir *Thomas Allen*, and the *Blue* under Sir *Jeremy Smith*. Beſides whom there were theſe brave Commanders, Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, Sir *Thomas Tyddiman*, Captain *Utbert*, Sir *Robert Holms*, Sir *Edward Spragge*, and Captain *Kempthorn*, who had each of them the Honour to bear a Flag.

The Engliſh *meet them.*

In a very ſhort Time, on the 24th of *July*, the two formidable Fleets came in Sight of each other, reſolving to exert themſelves to the utmoſt Degree; and the next Morning began the Battel with all imaginable Fierceneſs and Fury. Never were greater Numbers of Guns diſcharg'd within the Space of four Hours; the dreadful roaring of which ſeem'd to outvie all the Thunderings of the Heavens; and the Smoak clouded the very Sun, and render'd the Air blacker than in the darkeſt Winter Days. After a hideous Confuſion, and terrible Strugglings and Conflicts, *De Ruyter*, finding his Ship miſerably ſhatter'd, and three hundred of his Men ſlain or diſabled, on the Afternoon made all the Sail he cou'd, and retired, being with the reſt of his Fleet forc'd to yield to the *Engliſh* the ſo much conteſted Empire of the Sea. The latter ſunk and burnt above twenty of their Men of War, kill'd *Evertz* Admiral of *Zealand*, *Tirrick Hiddes* Admiral of *Friezland*, the Vice-Admiral of *Friezland*, and Rear-Admiral *Van-Saen*, with above four thouſand common Sea-Men, and near three thouſand wounded; and likewiſe chas'd their Ships along the Coaſts of *Zealand* and *Holland*, till with the Advantage of the Flats and Banks, over which the *Engliſh* great Ships cou'd not follow them, they got into the *Weilings*. All this was effected with a very inconſiderable, or at leaſt diſproportionable Loſs on the *Engliſh* Side. In the Flight the Enemy met with a ridiculous kind of a Mortification: For, when the *Engliſh* were unable to purſue any further, the *Fanfan*, a ſort of a Pleaſure-Boat made for Prince *Rupert*, made up with her Oars to *De Ruyter* himſelf, and bringing her two little Guns on one Side, continu'd for near an Hour, plying Broad-Sides, to the great Laughter of the *Engliſh*, and Indignation of the *Dutch*, to ſee their Chief Admiral attack'd by a ſingle Sloop.

The Third BATTEL.

The Engliſh *victorious.*

The Conſequences of the Victory.

The Conſequences of this Victory were ſtill more conſiderable: For the Prince and the Duke, finding their Enemies in Effect block'd up in their Harbours, reſolv'd not to lye unemploy'd on the *Dutch* Coaſts; but underſtanding that there were many rich Merchant Ships at the *Uly* near the Mouth of the *Texel*, they order'd Sir *Robert Holms*, a Man of an enterprizing Spirit, to undertake the Deſtruction of thoſe Veſſels, and to make a Deſcent into the Iſlands. Sir *Robert* having form'd the Scheme and Manner of proceeding, and having left a Guard of Ships at the Entry of the Enemy's Harbour, he took with him five Fire-Ships, and one Frigate, beſides Pinnaces and Boats mann'd with ſelect Soldiers and Seamen, and very boldly entering in, he burnt, beſides two Men of War, a hundred and fifty large Merchant Ships, ſome of whom were *Eaſt-India* Veſſels, and richly laden. He likewiſe burnt the Town of *Brandaris* in the Iſle of *Schelling*, conſiſting of about a thouſand Houſes, and gave the remaining Plunder to the Soldiers. *Holms* having thus ſhared the Glory and Danger with his Men, came ſafely off, leaving behind him a terrible Bone-fire of Ships and Houſes, and a dreadful Conſternation on all the neighbouring Coaſts. In a good Manuſcript out of the Secretary's Office, I find that the Loſs of theſe Ships alone amounted at leaſt to ten hundred thouſand Pound Sterling.

The Dutch *appear a third Time.*

5. To recover theſe Diſaſters, or rather to appeaſe the People, the *Dutch* us'd all Diligence, and put to Sea again about the End of *Auguſt*; and on the firſt of *September* paſs'd by *Dover*, and made for the Coaſt of *France*, ſtill purſuing the miſtaken Hopes of being join'd by the *French* Admiral, the Duke of *Beaufort*, who lay at *Rochelle* with forty Men of War. The *Engliſh* Fleet, now under the ſole Command of Prince *Rupert*, ſtood after them to the *Bolloign*-Road; where the *Dutch*, endeavouring to avoid another Battel, were forc'd to hawl their Veſſels cloſe to the Shore, and had probably been all burnt or ſtav'd, if a ſudden Storm had not oblig'd the other to abandon the Chace, and ſtand for St. *Hellen*'s Bay, the Place of Rendezvous, and the moſt proper Station for their hindering the Conjunction of the *Dutch* and *French* Fleets. The *Dutch* by this Means recover'd their own Coaſts; and the *French* ſeveral Times made an Attempt to join them, and once got as far as *Dieppe*: Yet with all their Caution, three or four Men of War being ſeparated from the reſt, fell among an *Engliſh* Squadron, commanded by Sir *Thomas Allen*, who took the *Ruby*, a Ship of a thouſand Tunns, and five hundred Men, commanded by Monſieur *la Roche*; which Accident was a fair Pretence for the *French* Fleet to proceed no farther this Year. But in the ſame Year they found Means to do great Damages to the *Engliſh* in their Plantations upon the *Leeward* Iſlands; and almoſt totally expell'd them out of *Saint Chriſtopher*'s, and much interrupted the Trade in thoſe Parts. In the mean Time *De Ruyter*, being compell'd by Sickneſs to return home, the *States General* recall'd their Fleet, and brought the People into very ſeditious Murmurs at the ill Succeſs of it. At the ſame Time *De Ruyter* and *Tromp*, who were of two different Parties, fell into a dangerous Quarrel, and threw the Miſcarriages upon each other. The *States*, through the Intereſt of *De Wit*, favour'd the former, and took away *Tromp*'s Commiſſion, and confin'd him to *Amſterdam*; and moreover examin'd many of the Captains for Cowardiſe or ill Conduct, of whom ſome were puniſh'd with Death, and others with great Fines. All the while the People, and the inferior Cities, were crying out for Peace, and bore very hard upon *De Wit*, and his Party.

But to no Effect.

Troubles in Holland.

It is worthy of the Reader's Knowledge how theſe Matters were taken and reſented by the *French* King, and with what a lofty Air he expreſs'd himſelf to his Ambaſſador *D' Eſtrades*, in his Letter to him of the 17th of *September*; in which he proceeded thus: 'The Provinces who cry out for Peace, and ſo loudly declare they can no longer maintain the Charges of the War, act directly contrary to their Aim. That is not the Way to obtain it, but rather to ſhew the Enemy that they ought not to grant it; and it is to tell them plainly, *They ought to be ſtiff, and require that it ſhou'd be begg'd of them at their own* Doors. This it is to enter into cloſe Alliance with *Popular States*, who very often do not underſtand their *Intereſt*, making little reckoning of their *Honour*, their *Word*, and their *Treaties*, and act ſtill leſs out of a Principle of *Gratitude*. Their *State* had been undone, if I had not ſupported them againſt the ſingle Attack of the Biſhop of *Munſter*, with whom ſeveral Princes of the Empire wou'd have join'd, had I not declared for them. The King of *Denmark* embrac'd their Party only on my Account: I kept the *Swedes* from joining with the *Engliſh* in the War againſt them, to which that Nation was very much inclin'd: I reduc'd the King of *England* ſo low in his Intereſt abroad, that he had no Friend nor Ally in this War, which he was oblig'd to carry on with the Forces of a Kingdom only, divided into different Sects, all diſaffected to his Government. I my ſelf enter'd into a War with that King, my near Relation, and my Friend, only for their Intereſt, and entirely againſt my own, tho' it was not very evident that he was the Aggreſſor. I might have ſtopp'd at a ſimple Rupture, and fulfill'd the Treaty of our Alliance: But I have been at the Expence of arming my Fleet, to aſſiſt them more powerfully; and after ſeven Months embarking ſo heartily and affectionately, I hear five Provinces crying out for Peace! and declaring *they can contribute no more to the Charges of the War*. After ſome other Complaints of the *States* Miſmanagement in this Year's Expedition, and their not joining with his Fleet, he proceeded thus: 'I like very well what the Sieur *De Wit* propos'd, that is, for you to declare Peace ſhall be labour'd after, provided the King of *England* will explain himſelf on the Propoſitions made in Behalf of the *States* at *Paris*.---In fine, I am willing to make a Peace, and have really more Intereſt in it than another, having none at all in the War, which cannot produce any imaginable Advantage to me: But I wou'd have this Peace treated of by honourable Ways; and am reſolv'd, happen what will, not to ſuffer my ſelf to be impos'd upon, either by my Friends or my Enemies.

How reſented by the French *King.*

The Deſigns of the Republicans abroad.

VI. 1. While the King of *England* was contending and ſtruggling with the open and profeſs'd Enemies of his Kingdoms, he was, this Year as well as the laſt, not a little endanger'd by the ſecret Projects and Correſpondencies of the Republican Party, who, taking Advantage of the calamitous Times, more than ordinarily exerted themſelves. *Ludlow* himſelf freely acknowledges their new Deſigns this Year, and that a Treaty of the ſame Nature with that in *Holland* before mention'd, after the Rupture with *France*, was agreed to be carry'd on at *Paris*, where Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, *Ludlow*, and others, were to be lodg'd in the Houſe of the *Dutch* Ambaſſador; to which End they had Letters of ſafe Conduct from Monſieur *de Lionne* the *French* King's Secretary, and Paſſes from Monſieur *d' Eſtrades* the Governor of *Dunkirk*. At the ſame Time *Ludlow* had a Letter from *England* informing him,

‘ That the Condition of their Friends there was not contemptible; That they thought no Hazards too great to venture for the *Cauſe*; exhorting therefore to lay aſide Scruples, and improve that favourable Conjuncture to the Advantage of the *Common-Wealth*.’ He had other Letters about the ſame Time from Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Say*, and Colonel *Briſcoe*, preſſing him to engage in the Undertaking; but the Lord *Jermyn* being then upon a Treaty at *Paris*, *Ludlow* was apprehenſive of the Succeſs of his Negotiation: Notwithſtanding which he promis'd, ‘ That if the *States* of *Holland* wou'd by a publick Declaration acknowledge their Error in delivering up their three Friends, formerly mention'd, &c. he wou'd heartily engage in the Enterprize.’ He afterwards receiv'd another Letter from *Holland*, ſubſcrib'd by many Hands, importing, ‘ That they had there receiv'd ſuch an Account of the Condition of their Friends in *England*, that the *States* were inclin'd to give them conſiderable Succours of all Things neceſſary for the Enterprize, and had a *Second Time* caus'd a great Body of Land Forces to be ſhipp'd on Board the Fleet, *purely on their Account*, ſolemnly proteſting, *That they had no other Deſign than to give the good People of* England *a ſeaſonable and effectual Aid:* So they, the Subſcribers, renew'd their moſt affectionate Deſires, *That he wou'd haſten to them, and not let another Opportunity be loſt*.’ He was afterwards deſired to command four thouſand Land-Men, put on board the *Dutch* Fleet, which were then commanded by Colonel *Doleman*, and deſign'd to be landed at a certain Place in *England*, and their Friends were to have timely Notice of their Intentions: But after all, *Ludlow* having no Satisfaction in the Points he inſiſted on, and being apprehenſive of a diſcouraging Peace, declin'd the Service.

A Conſpiracy at home.

As a natural Concatenation with this laſt Project, we may here properly take Notice of a more Domeſtick Conſpiracy, as it was publiſh'd by the Government at the Concluſion of the Month of *April*, as following: At the Seſſions in the *Old Bayly*, *John Rathbone*, an old Army Colonel, *William Sanders*, *Henry Tucker*, *Thomas Flint*, *Thomas Evans*, *John Myles*, *William Weſcot*, and *John Cole*, formerly Officers or Soldiers in the late Rebellion, were indicted *for conſpiring the Death of his Majeſty, and the Overthrow of the Government*; having laid their Plot and Contrivance for the Surprizal of the *Tower*, the killing his Grace the Lord General *Monk*, Sir *John Robinſon* Lieutenant of his Majeſty's *Tower* of *London*, and Sir *Richard Brown*, and then to have declared for an equal Diviſion of Lands, &c. The better to effect this helliſh Deſign, *the City was to have been fired*, and the Portcullis's to have been let down, to keep out all Aſſiſtance; the Horſe Guards to have been ſurpriz'd in the Inns where they were quarter'd, ſeveral Oſtlers having been gain'd for that Purpoſe: The *Tower* was accordingly view'd, and its Surprize order'd by Boats over the Mote, and from thence to ſcale the Wall. One *Alexander*, who is not yet taken, had likewiſe diſtributed Sums of Mony to theſe Conſpirators; and for the carrying on of the Deſign more effectually, they were told of a Council of the Great Ones that ſate frequently in *London*, from whom iſſu'd all Orders; which Council receiv'd their Directions from another in *Holland*, who ſate with the *States*; and that the THIRD OF *SEPTEMBER* was pitch'd on for the Attempt, as being found by *Lilly*'s Almanack and a Scheme erected for that Purpoſe, to be a LUCKY DAY; a *Planet* then ruling which prognoſticated the *Downfall of Monarchy*. The Evidence againſt theſe Perſons was very full and clear, and they accordingly were found guilty of High-Treaſon, and ſuffer'd accordingly.

The great FIRE *of* London.

2. The Third of *September* was a Day auſpicious and full of Expectation from one Party, but at this Time ominous and direful to the Nation: And tho' the Hand of Juſtice laid hold of theſe laſt Criminals, yet the City was burnt at the very Time thus projected and prognoſticated; which gave a ſtrong Suſpicion, tho' not a full Proof, of the Authors and Promoters of it. This diſmal Fire broke out in a Baker's Shop in *Pudding-lane*, in the lower Part of the City near *Thames-ſtreet*, amongſt rotten wooden Houſes ready to take Fire, and full of combuſtible Goods; and the Darkneſs of the Night very much increas'd the Confuſion and Horror of the ſurprizing Calamity. The Citizens, affrighted and amaz'd, delay'd the Uſe of timely Remedies; and what added to the Misfortune was the Peoples neglecting their Houſes, and being ſo fatally ſet upon the haſty removing of their Goods, which were notwithſtanding devoured by the nimble Encreaſe of the Flames. A raging Eaſt Wind fomented it to an incredible Degree, which in a Moment rais'd the Fire from the Bottom to the Tops of the Houſes, and ſcatter'd prodigious Flakes in all Places, which were mounted ſo vaſtly high into the Air, as if Heaven and Earth were threatned with the ſame Conflagration. The Fury ſoon became inſuperable againſt all the Arts of Men, and Power of Engines; and beſides the dreadful Scenes of Flames, Ruins, and Deſolation, there appear'd the moſt killing Sight under the Sun, the diſtracted Looks of ſo many Citizens, the Wailings of miſerable Women, and the Cries of poor Children, and decrepid old People, with all the Marks of Confuſion and Deſpair. No Man that had the Senſe of human Miſeries cou'd unconcernedly behold the diſmal Ravage and Deſtruction made in one of the nobleſt Cities in the World. The reſt ſhall be taken from the Inſcription on the famous Monument, the moſt ſtately Pillar in *Europe*, erected in Memory of this Calamity: *The dreadful Fire broke out in a Lane adjoyning, about Midnight, and being driven by a high Wind, conſum'd not only the adjacent Parts, but Places far remote; and with incredible Noiſe and Fury deſtroy'd eighty nine Churches, among which was the Cathedral of St.* Paul, *City Gates,* Guild-Hall, *many publick Structures, Hoſpitals, Schools, Libraries, a vaſt Number of ſtately Edifices, thirteen thouſand two hundred Dwelling-Houſes, four hundred Streets; of ſix and twenty* Wards, *it utterly ruin'd fifteen, and left eight others ſhatter'd and half burnt. The Ruins of the City were four hundred thirty ſix Acres, extending from the* Tower *along the* Thames *Side to the* Temple *Church, and from the North-Eaſt Gate along the City Wall to* Holborn-Bridge *or* Fleet-Ditch. *It was mercileſs to the States and Fortunes of the Citizens, but favourable to their Lives, that it might in all things reſemble the laſt and great Conflagration. The Deſtruction was ſudden; for in a ſhort Time the ſame City, which was ſeen in a flouriſhing Condition, was reduc'd to Nothing; and, after three Days, when the fatal Fire had in Appearance overcome all Means of Reſiſtance, and human Counſels, by the Will of Heaven it ſtop'd, and was extinguiſh'd.*

The Inſcription upon the Monument

The tender Care of the King and Others.

During the whole Continuance of this unparallel'd Calamity, the King himſelf, rous'd from his Pleaſures, commiſerated the Care of the Diſtreſſed, and acted like a true Father of his People. In a Manuſcript from the Secretary's Office we find theſe Words: ‘ All own the immediate Hand of God, and bleſs the Goodneſs and tender Care of the King, who made the Round of the Fire uſually twice every Day, and for many Hours together, on Horſeback and on Foot, gave Orders for purſuing the Work by Commands, Threatnings, Deſires, Example, and good Store of Mony, which he himſelf diſtributed to the Workers out of a hundred Pound Bag, which he carry'd with him for that Purpoſe.’ At the ſame Time the Duke of *York* alſo, and many of the Nobility, were as diligent as was poſſible; they commended and encourag'd the Forward, aſſiſted the miſerable Sufferers, and gave a moſt generous Example to all by the vigorous Oppoſition they made againſt the devouring Flames. And after that, when the Multitudes of poor People were forc'd to lodge in the Fields, or crowd themſelves into poor Huts and Booths built with Deal-boards, his Majeſty was frequent in conſulting all Ways to relieve theſe Wretches, as well by his Proclamations, as Orders to the Juſtices of the Peace, to ſend Proviſions into *Moor-fields* and other Places; and moreover he ſent them out of the *Tower* the warlike Proviſions of Victuals, which were there depoſited for the Seamen and Soldiers, to keep them from ſtarving in this Extremity. At the ſame Time he proclaimed a general Faſt throughout *England* and *Wales*; and order'd, That the diſtreſſed Condition of the Sufferers ſhou'd be recommended to the Charity of all well-diſpos'd Perſons, upon that Day, to be afterwards diſtributed by the Hands of the Lord-Mayor of *London*. Laſtly, to ſhew his ſpecial Care for the City's Reſtoration in Council, where he firſt prohibited the haſty Building any Houſes, till Care cou'd be taken for its Re-edification, ſo as might beſt ſecure it from the like fatal Accident; for the Encouragement of others, he promis'd to rebuild his own *Cuſtom-houſe*, and to enlarge it for the Benefit of Merchants and Trade; which he afterwards perform'd at his own particular Charge.

Conjectures and Reflections upon the Whole.

Great Calamities naturally produce various Conjectures and prodigious Imaginations; Men ſeldom conſidering that the moſt ſtupendous Effects often proceed from the moſt minute Cauſes, or moſt remote Accidents. At firſt the People naturally and generally look'd upon this as the Judgment of Heaven upon a wicked City and Nation, not ſufficiently humbled by the preceding Peſtilence. But Time ſoon produc'd abundance of Suſpicions, and Variety of Opinions: Some believ'd that it was carry'd on by a Conſpiracy of Papiſts and Jeſuits; which was afterwards offer'd to be made appear in the *Popiſh Plot*. Others ſuſpected it an inſidious Way of the *Dutch* and *French* making War upon the *Engliſh*; their two Fleets being at that very Time neareſt to a Conjunction: And what increas'd that Suſpicion was, that the above-nam'd Criminals that ſuffer'd were ſaid to be under the Direction of a Committee who ſate conſtantly in *London*, and receiv'd Orders from another

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ther Council in *Holland*: And not long before the Fire, the *French* had ſent the Governor of *Chouſey* in a ſmall Boat with a Letter to Major-General *Lambert*, then Priſoner in *Guernſey*, to offer him Terms to contrive the Delivery of that Iſland to them; but the Governor and Pilot were both taken and hang'd as Spies. Divers Strangers, both *Dutch* and *French*, were during the Fire apprehended upon Suſpicion, impriſon'd, and ſtrictly examin'd: And in the above-nam'd Manuſcript we find theſe Words: '*Tueſday*, *Sept.* 11. My Lord Chief-Juſtice is upon the Examination of thoſe *Dutch* and *French* that have been ſeiz'd on Suſpicion of being Agents in the late burning of the City: This Morning comes in from my Lord *Lovelace* a plain Confeſſion of a Youth, one *Taylor*, Son to a *Dutch*-man reſiding in *London*, who moſt expreſly confeſſes, He, his Father, and his Uncle ſet Fire on the Man's Houſe in *Pudding-Lane*, on *Saturday* Night, by Fire-balls thrown in at a Glaſs-window which was open, with many other Circumſtances of their propagating that horrid Deſign. The Boy's Age being but ten Years old renders the whole ſuſpected; but it is put into my Lord Chief-Juſtice's Hands.' As to the Papiſts contributing to this Fire, I have been told by an eminent Prelate that Dr. *Graunt*, one of that Religion, was ſtrongly ſuſpected, who, having a Share in the Water-Houſe by *Iſlington*, contriv'd, as is believ'd, to ſtop up the Pipes the Night before the Fire broke out, ſo that it was many Hours before that any Water cou'd be got after the uſual Manner in the City.. After all Examinations there was but one Man try'd for being the Incendiary, who confeſſing the Fact, was executed for it: This was *Robert Hubert*, a *French Hugonot* of *Rohan* in *Normandy*, a Perſon falſly ſaid to be a Papiſt, but really a ſort of a Lunatick, who by meer Accident was brought into *England* juſt before the breaking out of the Fire, but not landed till two Days after, as afterwards appear'd by the Evidence of *Laurence Peterſon*, the Maſter of the Ship who had him on board. As to the Reports concerning the King and the Duke, and *Oates* and *Bedloe*'s Narratives as to this Matter, the Suppoſitions are ſo monſtrous, and the Evidence ſo wretchedly mean, that they deſerve no Hiſtorian's Conſideration. So that after weighing all Circumſtances, we can ſtill make no exact Determination; but to judge on the charitable, and perhaps probable Side, we may ſay, That the Beginning of this dreadful Fire was the Judgment, and the End of it the Mercy of Heaven; for neither of them ſeem to have been the Effects of human Means or Counſels.

The SEVENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

3. Not long after this Conflagration, on the 21ſt Day of *September*, the Parliament, after ſeveral Prorogations, and a long Receſs of ten Months and three Weeks, met at *Weſtminſter*; being now the Life and Expectation of the Nation, after the two great Calamities of Peſtilence and Fire. This was the Seventh Meeting or Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, which was open'd by a very acceptable Speech of the King's to both Houſes, which is as follows: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am very glad to meet ſo many of you together again, and God be thanked for our Meeting together in this Place: Little Time hath paſs'd ſince we were almoſt in Deſpair of having this Place left to meet in. You ſee the diſmal Ruins the Fire hath made; and nothing but a Miracle of God's Mercy cou'd have preſerved what is left from the ſame Deſtruction.

'I need make no Excuſe for diſpenſing with your Attendance in *April*; I am conſcious you all thank'd me for it: The Truth is, I deſire to put you to as little Trouble as I can; and I can tell you truly, I deſire to put you to as little Coſt as I can poſſibly. I wiſh with all my Heart that I cou'd bear the whole Charge of this War my ſelf, and that my Subjects ſhou'd reap the Benefit of it to themſelves. But you have two very great and powerful Enemies, who uſe all the Means they can, fair and foul, to make all the World concur with them; and the War is more chargeable by that Conjunction, than any Body thought it wou'd have been. I need not tell you the Succeſs of this Summer, in which God hath given us great Succeſs; and no Queſtion but the Enemy hath undergone great Loſſes; and if it had pleaſed God to have with-held his laſt Judgment by Fire, we had been in no ill Condition. You have given me very large Supplies for carrying on the War: And I muſt tell you, if I had not, by anticipating my Revenue, rais'd a very great Sum of Mony, I had not been able to have ſet out the Fleet this laſt Spring; and I have ſome Hope upon the ſame Credit to be able to pay off the great Ships as they come in. You will conſider what is to be done next, when you are well inform'd of the Expence; and I muſt leave it to your Wiſdoms to find out the beſt Expedients for the carrying on this War with as little Burthen to the People as is poſſible. I ſhall add no more, than to add, That our Enemies are very inſolent; and if they were able this laſt Year to perſuade this miſerable People, whom they ſo miſ-led, *That the Contagion had ſo waſted the Nation, and impoveriſh'd us, that we cou'd not be able to ſet out any Fleet*, how will they be exalted with this laſt Impoveriſhment of this City, and contemn all reaſonable Conditions of Peace? And therefore I cannot doubt but you will provide accordingly.'

The Commons Reſolves.

Immediately upon this Speech the Commons unanimouſly reſolved, 'That the humble and hearty Thanks of this Houſe be returned to his Majeſty for his great Care in the Management of the preſent War, and that this Houſe will ſupply his Majeſty *proportionably* to his preſent Occaſions; and that the Lords Concurrence be deſired to this Vote.' And ſoon after, to make good their Promiſe, they voted a Royal Aid of one Million and eight hundred Thouſand Pounds for carrying on the preſent War. And on the 25th of *September*, in the Afternoon, both Houſes of Parliament, being agreed, attended his Majeſty in a Body at the *Banquetting-houſe* in *Whitehall*, 'To manifeſt their hearty Concurrence in the Vote for ſupplying his Majeſty with whatſoever was neceſſary for the carrying on of the War;' which his Majeſty received with all the Satisfaction imaginable, and very graciouſly diſmiſs'd them. After this, on the 1ſt of *October*, the Commons were ſo ſenſible of the King's paternal Regard to his Subjects in the late Fire, that they particularly reſolved and voted, 'That the Thanks of this Houſe be given to his Majeſty for his great Care and Endeavour to prevent the burning of the City of *London*.'

Both Houſes addreſs againſt Popery.

Notwithſtanding the Unanimity and Concurrence of both Houſes in ſerving both the King and the Publick, yet they were not ſo forward in coming into the exact Meaſures of the Court. They were ſenſible that Popery there met with no ſmall Encouragement from ſeveral Springs; and tho' many of the Members of each Houſe were themſelves a Part of the Court, Camp, and Miniſtry, yet they wou'd not be ſilent when they thought themſelves in Danger from the reſtleſs Spirits, and encreaſing Power of the Papiſts. Therefore they agreed in a particular and zealous Addreſs to his Majeſty, 'For executing the Laws againſt Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, *who were labouring to pervert his Majeſty's Subjects*; and for maintaining the true Religion eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*.' Upon this concurrent Senſe of the two Houſes, the King thought himſelf oblig'd to publiſh a Proclamation on the 10th of *November*, for the Baniſhment of all Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, with ſome Exceptions, and putting the Laws in ſpeedy and due Execution againſt all other Popiſh Recuſants.

The King's Proclamation againſt Papiſts.

His Majeſty therein declaring, 'That he had ſeriouſly conſider'd of the late Addreſs and humble Deſire made to him by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in the preſent Parliament aſſembled, *for ſuppreſſing the Inſolencies of the Papiſts*; and accepting with much Contentment their great Care for the Preſervation of the true Religion eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom: And therefore he had thought fit to charge and require all *Popiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits to depart the Kingdom before the 10th of *December*, upon Pain of having the Laws of this Realm inflicted upon them; the Magiſtrates and Officers in all Ports having Order, upon their declaring themſelves, to aſſiſt them in ſeeing them ſhip'd and ſent away; and charging the Judges and all Magiſtrates to put the Laws in Execution againſt all *Papiſt* Recuſants, and ſuch as are ſo ſuſpected, in order to their Conviction; and that in their reſpective Courts, Aſſizes, *&c.* they publickly give the Laws in charge againſt them; and that the Judges, in their Returns, give an Account of their Proceedings therein to the Chancellor for the Time being.' How far the King was really pleas'd or ſatisfy'd with his own Proceedings in this Affair, may be gueſs'd at by a Paſſage in a Letter from the Secretary the Lord *Arlington*, a conceal'd Papiſt, to the Earl of *Sandwich*, Ambaſſador at *Madrid*, ſent a few Weeks after, in which are theſe Words: *Your Excellency knows ſufficiently the Springs upon which the Animoſity to the Roman Catholicks riſes, and how hard it is for his Majeſty to forbear declaring againſt them, when the Complaint ariſeth from both Houſes of Parliament, and accordingly you can your ſelf frame your Anſwer to the Queen of* Spain.

A Rebellion in Scotland

4. When the Parliament had ſate about two Months, the Nation was alarm'd with a ſudden Inſurrection and Rebellion in *Scotland*, fram'd and rais'd by the rigid *Preſbyterians* in thoſe Parts, who were thought to have held too near a Correſpondence with thoſe in *England*. In the Month of *November* above fifteen hundred of them got into a Body, and by Degrees form'd themſelves into a regular Army, having their Foot commanded by one *Wallace*, and their Horſe by one *Lairmont*, formerly a Taylor: Moſt of the other Leaders of their Troops were caſhier'd Preachers, by whoſe Advice they all took the *Covenant* at

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It is defeated.

Lanrick; and being then drawn up in Battalia on *Pentland* Hills, their Word was *The Covenant!* In the Heighth of their Power they were met by the King's Forces, whoſe Word was *God and the King!* and were entirely defeated and diſpers'd by them, who had on their Right Wing his Majeſty's two Troops of Guards, and the Major-General's Troop, making four Squadrons; and on the Left the Lieutenant-General Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Ayrly*, and many other Noblemen. Of the Rebels, who made great Reſiſtance, about five hundred were kill'd, and an hundred taken Priſoners, of whom moſt were executed. Upon the firſt News of this Defeat, the King immediately communicated the Matter to the Houſe of Commons, which was on the 2d of *December*, when Sir *Thomas Clifford*, his Comptroller, reported, 'That his Majeſty had been graciouſly pleas'd to command the Lord of *Bath* to deliver him the Letter from the Lord *Drummond* in *Scotland*, concerning the routing and diſperſing the Rebels there, to be communicated to the Houſe.' Which Letter being read, the Houſe, with great Satisfaction, reſolv'd, 'That the humble and hearty Thanks of this Houſe be return'd unto his Majeſty, for his great Favour in imparting to this Houſe the good News out of *Scotland*.'

The King's Meſſage to the Commons.

Soon after the Houſe began to be employ'd in enquiring into ſome Miſcarriages and Miſdemeanors, and deſign'd particularly to Impeach the Lord Viſcount *Mordant*, Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Windſor*. Which Proceedings were thought too dilatory, and not ſo agreeable with the Exigencies of the Court. Therefore the King, on the 15th of *December*, ſent a particular Meſſage in Writing by Mr. Secretary *Morrice* to the Speaker, in theſe Words: 'His Majeſty is ſorry That the Difficulty his Houſe of Commons hath met with, hath detain'd them ſo long without Perfecting his Supply. His Majeſty cou'd wiſh, That the Poſture of his Affairs wou'd permit the giving of his two Houſes a ſhort Receſs at *Chriſtmaſs*: But the Seaſon of the Year being conſider'd, and how much the neceſſary Preparations againſt the Spring depend upon the Diſpatch of the Supply, he aſſures himſelf is preparing for him, he cannot think it conſiſtent with his Service, and the Publick Safety, to permit any Adjournment, except for the Chief Feſtival Days, until that, and the Other moſt Publick Bills, be diſpatch'd, which he deſires may be haſtned; and which his Majeſty ſhou'd be glad, if poſſible, might be finiſh'd by *Chriſtmaſs*, as well for their Eaſe, as for his own Service.' Notwithſtanding this, the Commons, tho' highly reſpectful to his Majeſty, proceeded their own Way, and took their Proper Time for finiſhing the Supply.

Diſturbances by the Duke of Buckingham.

The King's Proclamation againſt him.

While the Commons proceeded in this Manner, there hapned ſome little Diſorders among the Lords, principally occaſion'd by the volatile and reſtleſs Duke of *Buckingham*. The Beginning was a Challenge between Him and the Earl of *Oſſory*, Son to the Duke of *Ormond*, and lately call'd by the King's Writ to the Houſe of Peers. Upon Examination before their Lordſhips both confeſs'd the ſending and receiving the Challenge; and tho' the Earl made it appear, that it was upon an old Quarrel, and not from any Words ſpoken in the Houſe, as the Duke pretended, the Earl was committed to the *Tower*, and the Duke to the Black-Rod. Being both brought before the Houſe and releas'd, not long after there hapned another Diſturbance between the ſame Duke and the Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, for Room at a free Conference between the Lords and Commons in the *Painted-Chamber*. Here the Duke preſſing very hard upon the Marqueſs, the latter told him *He ought not to croud him ſo much, for he was as good a Man as He*. The Duke made ſome very ſmart Reply, to which the Marqueſs return'd him the *Lye*; upon which the Duke either gave him a Blow, or pull'd him by the Perriwigg; which occaſion'd ſuch a Noiſe and Diſturbance, that the Houſe of Lords commanded them both to the *Tower*. Shortly after, the Duke having got his Liberty, without begging the King's Pardon, preſum'd to appear in his Majeſty's Preſence on *Chriſtmaſs*-Day; for which he was immediately forbidden the Court. In his Abſence, his inſolent Behaviour ſoon increas'd to that Height, that, tho' he had been both Caterer and Sharer in his Majeſty's Pleaſures, the King thought it neceſſary to iſſue out a Proclamation againſt him, importing, 'That the ſaid Duke, who was of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and otherwiſe employ'd in great Truſt, relating to his Majeſty's Perſon and the Publick, and not only bound by common Duty and Allegiance, but farther oblig'd by ſpecial and extraordinary Ties of Gratitude and Fidelity to the Crown, had notwithſtanding held and maintain'd Secret Correſpondencies by Letters and other Tranſactions, tending to raiſe Mutinies in ſome of his Majeſty's Forces, and ſtir up Sedition amongſt his People, and other Traiterous Deſigns and Practices. And that when to bring the ſaid Duke to anſwer what might be objected againſt him, his Majeſty had given Orders to one of his Serjeants at Arms to uſe all Diligence to apprehend him, his Majeſty's Miniſter was ill treated, and contemptuouſly reſiſted, not without the Knowledge of the ſaid Duke Himſelf, who, as conſcious of his Demerits, had now ſecretly eſcaped and withdrawn himſelf: Therefore his Majeſty commands the ſaid Duke to ſurrender Himſelf, *&c.*' Notwithſtanding this high Diſpleaſure, the King ſtill found ſomething ſo agreeable and Captivating in the Duke's Perſon and Acquaintance, and his peculiar Services, that in no long Time he was admitted to the Court, and receiv'd into as great Favour as ever.

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Articles of Impeachment againſt the Lord Mordant.

V. I. After a ſhort Receſs in *Chriſtmaſs*, the Parliament met again on the ſecond of *January*; and the Houſe of Commons proceeded to Buſineſs with Vigour; but ſtill reſolv'd upon the Impeachment of the Lord *Mordant*, and accordingly drew up Articles of High Crimes and Miſdemeanours with the uſual Formality, the Subſtance of which uncommon Accuſation was as follows: '1. That the ſaid Lord *Mordant*, being Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Windſor*, and Commander of the Garriſon there, underſtanding That one *William Taleur* Eſq; a Loyal Perſon in Office in the ſaid Caſtle, and poſſeſs'd of certain Lodgings there appertaining to his Offices, did intend to ſtand for one of the Burgeſſes of *Windſor* to ſerve in this preſent Parliament that met in 1661; ſome Weeks before the Election, to diſparage and prevent the ſaid *William Taleur*, and to ſtrike a Terror into thoſe of the Borough, by Colour of a Warrant from his Majeſty, on the 17th of *March*, did by Soldiers forcibly eject the ſaid *William Taleur*, together with his big-belly'd Wife, Family and Goods out of the ſaid Lodgings and Caſtle; the rude Carriage of which Soldiers frighted a young Child out of its Wits, whereof it dy'd ſoon after. 2. On the 23d of the ſaid Month, the ſaid Lord *Mordant* did command *William Taleur* to be forcibly ſeiz'd upon by his Soldiers in the Priſon of the Borough, out of the Precincts of the Caſtle, where he was a Priſoner for Debt, carry'd him out of the Priſon to the Caſtle, without any Warrant, and detain'd him Priſoner eleven Hours in a cold low Room, notwithſtanding the Offer of two Thouſand Pound Bail. 3. That the ſaid Lord *Mordant*, during the Time of Mr. *Taleur*'s Impriſonment, being told *that he was the King's Servant, and had the great Seal for his Place as well as He*, in high Contempt of the King's Authority, reply'd, *He wou'd diſpoſe of his Places, and break the great Seal, and juſtify it when he had done.* 4. That the ſaid Lord *Mordant*, in *March* 1664, by Letters and otherwiſe made ſundry uncivil Addreſſes to a Daughter of Mr. *Taleur*'s; which ſhe rejecting, and threatning to acquaint his Lady with them, he ſwore a moſt dreadful Oath and Imprecation, *He wou'd proſecute Her and her Family to all Eternity*. 5. That on the 23d of *November* 1665, Mr. *Taleur* was by the Lord *Mordant*'s Command forcibly diſpoſſeſs'd of certain Rooms in the Timber Yard belonging to the Caſtle, without the Walls, belonging to his Office of Paymaſter and Surveyor of the Caſtle. 6. That a Warrant ſurreptitiouſly obtain'd from his Majeſty, dated *November* 30th, 1665, but not produc'd till ſome Months after, for reſtraining Mr. *Taleur* from going out of the Caſtle, was directed to the ſaid Lord *Mordant*; who, without mentioning the King's Warrant, caus'd him again forcibly to be apprehended in the Borough of *Windſor*, and carry'd to the Caſtle, where he was detain'd Priſoner twenty Weeks, five of which in cloſe Durance, contrary to the King's Warrant, which only reſtrain'd him to the Caſtle. 7. That during this Impriſonment the ſaid Lord refus'd to obey a *Habeas Corpus* brought by Mr. *Taleur*, and when he was ſerv'd with another, he gave the Meſſenger reproachful Language, calling him *Rogue* for delivering the ſaid Writ, and ſaying *That was all the Anſwer he wou'd give to it*. 8. That Mr. *Taleur*, when he was enlarg'd by an Order from the *King's Bench*, fearing he ſhou'd be again illegally impriſon'd, did thereupon make Application to his Lordſhip by Friends for a Reconciliation, who anſwer'd *He wou'd never be reconcil'd to him*, and threatned to impriſon him again; *and if he brought another* Habeas Corpus, *he wou'd impriſon him again and again, and keep him Priſoner as long as he liv'd, and likewiſe turn him out of all his Offices*. By reaſon of which Menaces Mr. *Taleur* was forc'd to deſert his Wife, Family and Employments at *Windſor*, and to abſent himſelf till this preſent Seſſion of Parliament. For all which high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, the Commons of *England* demanded Juſtice, condign Puniſhment, *&c.*'

The Proſecution of theſe Articles, tho' of a private Nature, caus'd particular Delays among the Commons, and ſome Diviſions between them and the Lords. The Matter of taking the Publick Accounts of Money, and the Poll-Bill, which was granted to compleat the great Supply,

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The Lords and Commons diſagree.

Supply, took up much Time; beſides another Bill againſt importing of Cattle out of *Ireland*, which was by no Means agreeable to the Court, as appears from the Lord *Arlington*'s Letters. As to the Firſt, the Taking the Publick Accounts, having had a free Conference with the Lords upon that Occaſion, the following Report was made from the Conference: ‘That the Lords had formerly agreed to a Committee of both Houſes, but found no Precedent for ſuch a Committee to be impower'd to take Oaths. But as to a Bill, which the Commons had prepared, they found that an extraordinary Way, and that there was no Neceſſity for it, but had thought on an *Expedient* which might conduce to the Buſineſs, and make it as effectual as a *Bill*, and had drawn a *Petition*, to which his Majeſty had ſent his Anſwer for a *Commiſſion* to iſſue, for *Taking the Accounts on Oath*.’ This Report, together with the Petition, and the King's Anſwer, being debated, the Houſe was rais'd into a Ferment, and reſolv'd, ‘That this Proceeding of the Lords in going by *Petition* to the King for a *Commiſſion* for taking the Publick Accounts, while there was a *Bill* ſent up by this Houſe, and depending before them, for taking the Accounts another Way, is Unparliamentary, and of dangerous Conſequence.’ Within two or three Days they likewiſe declared, ‘That according to the right and ſettled Courſe of Parliament upon Bills, neither a Bill, nor any Part thereof, is to be communicated to his Majeſty by either Houſe, untill the whole be agreed unto by both Houſes.’ As to the Poll-Bill, the Lords in a free Conference inſiſted, among other Things, upon adding ſome Names to the Commiſſioners. To which the Commons diſagreed; but without the leaſt aſſerting their peculiar Rights as to Mony-Bills: They only gave this modeſt Reaſon for their Noncompliance, ‘That it hath been obſerv'd, That in all Acts of Subſidies and of Poll-Mony, the greater the Number of Commiſſioners, the leſs Mony hath been rais'd; for many Commiſſioners incumber one another, and rather procure the Eaſe of themſelves, and their many Friends, than the Advance of the King's Service, and the Publick Benefit.

The King paſſes ſome Bills with a Speech.

2. During theſe Diviſions between the Houſes, the King underſtanding the Poll-Bill, and ſome others, to have got through both, on the 18th of *January* came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd that and the reſt with the following gracious Speech: ‘*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I have now paſs'd your Bills, and was in hopes to have had other Bills to paſs too: I cannot forget that within a few Days after your coming together in *September*, both Houſes preſented me with their Vote and Declaration, *That they wou'd give me a Supply proportionable to my Occaſions*. And the Confidence of this made me anticipate that ſmall Part of my Revenue, which was unanticipated, for the Payment of the Sea-Men; and my Credit hath gone further than I had reaſon to think it wou'd, but it is now at an End. This is the firſt Day I have heard of any Supply, being the 18th of *January*; and what this will amount to, God knows; and what Time I have to make ſuch Preparations as are neceſſary to meet three ſuch Enemies as I have, you can well enough judge. And I muſt tell you what Diſcourſes are abroad; I am not in any Treaty; but by the Grace of God I will not give over my Self and You, but will do what is in my Power for the Defence of my ſelf and you. It is high Time for you to make good your Promiſe, and it is high Time for you to be in the Country, as well for raiſing of Mony, as that the Lord-Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants may watch the Seditious Spirits which are at work to diſturb the Publick Peace: And therefore I am reſolv'd to put an End to this Seſſion on *Monday* next come Seven-Night; before which Time I pray let all Things be made ready that I am to diſpatch. I am not willing to complain that you have dealt unkindly with me in a Bill I have now paſs'd, in which you have manifeſted a greater Diſtruſt of me than I have deſerv'd. I do not pretend to be without Infirmities, but I have never broken my Word with you; and, if I do not flatter my ſelf, the Nation had never leſs Cauſe to complain of Grievances, or the leaſt Injuſtice or Oppreſſion, than it hath had in theſe ſeven Years it hath pleas'd God to reſtore Me to You: I wou'd be glad to be uſed accordingly.

It ſeems the King was a little diſpleas'd with the Commons for putting ſome Things out of his Power, with relation to the Commiſſioners in the Poll-Bill; nor did he ſeem to be well ſatisfy'd with the Impeaching the Lord *Mordant*, his own Servant, which not only ſtruck at his Prerogative, but protracted other Buſineſs. Notwithſtanding the Commons ſpent a conſiderable Part of the ſhort Remainder of their Time in the Proſecution of their Impeachment, and ſearch'd ſeveral Precedents to determine the Manner and Method of proceeding; and likewiſe appointed Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *Robert Atkins*, and Mr. *William Prynne*, &c. to manage the Evidence at the Hearing. On the 26th of *January* the Managers read the Articles before the Houſe of Lords; but with Diſſatisfaction obſerv'd, that during the Reading of them, the Lord *Mordant* was within the Bar of the Houſe. Of this the Commons complain'd, and mov'd ‘That, according to former Precedents in ſuch Proceedings, his Lordſhip might ſtand without the Bar of the Houſe.’ And when one appeared as Council for him, beginning to plead in this Matter, they thought fit to interrupt him, acquainting the Peers, ‘That his Lordſhip ought not to have any Council aſſign'd him to plead for him in *Matter of Fact* upon the Impeachment.’ This caus'd a Conference, and indeed a Difference between the two Houſes: The Lords inſiſted upon their Rights and Privileges, and on the 4th of *February* confirm'd their Order for the Lord *Mordant*'s ſitting within the Bar at his Tryal, produc'd two Precedents for it, and declar'd themſelves ready for the Tryal the next Morning. The Commons upon this were ſtill more diſſatisfy'd, and deſir'd a free Conference; in which Matters were carry'd ſo high, that the Lords declared, ‘That they deſired this Conference to preſerve a right Underſtanding between both Houſes; but inſiſted upon it, that they might deny a free Conference with the Commons, citing a Precedent, 12th *Jacobi*, where a Free Conference was deny'd the Commons in Point of one Impoſition; and that in *Point of Judicature* (which the Lords inſiſted on to be only in the King and themſelves) they might deny the Commons a Free Conference.

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Further Diſputes between the Lords and Commons.

The Speaker's Speech to the King at the Prorogation.

3. But all theſe Diſputes were ended on the eighth of *February* by the Appearance of the King in the Houſe of Peers, who having his Robes and Crown on, ſent for the Houſe of Commons in order to a Prorogation. Their Speaker, Sir *Edward Turner*, having ſeveral Bills ready, preſented them, after his uſual graceful Manner, with this following Speech to his Majeſty, which is the laſt we find that he made upon the ſame Occaſion: ‘*May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty*, Nothing conduceth more to the Happineſs of a Nation, than a right Underſtanding between the Prince and the People: And nothing more advanceth this Correſpondence, than frequent Meetings in Common Council. By the Wiſdom of our Fore-Fathers, the Security of our Lives, our Liberties, and our Properties, is lodg'd in our *Engliſh* Parliaments; and ſo gracious have your Majeſty's Predeceſſors been, That for the Satisfaction of their People, they have made ſeveral Laws, ſome for *Triennial*, ſome for *Annual* Parliaments. Your Majeſty by their Example, upon the humble Suit of your Lords and Commons, hath in a former Seſſion of this Parliament paſs'd an Act *For Triennial Meetings in Parliament*: But in this your Majeſty hath exceeded all your Predeceſſors, *That as your happy Reſtoration was in a Convention of Parliament, ſo of your own Accord, for the Publick Good, and as a Demonſtration of your extraordinary Love to Parliaments, you have vouchſaf'd ever ſince your Return to converſe with your People in Parliament*; this being the ſixth Year, and ſixth Seſſion [ſeventh Meeting] of this preſent Parliament. The laſt Time your Majeſty was pleas'd to ſpeak to us, you commanded us to make ready all Things that you were to diſpatch this Seſſion: In Obedience thereunto, we have with all Induſtry imaginable endeavour'd, ſo to prepare thoſe Matters that were before us, That your Majeſty and the whole Nation may receive Satisfaction in our Diſpatches. Firſt it concern'd us to keep our Words with your Majeſty, in finiſhing that Supply which we promis'd you for the carrying on the War. In Order whereunto I do here preſent unto your Majeſty this Bill of *Eleven Months Aſſeſſments upon our Lands*, to take Place in a Poſt Charge after the *Additional Royal Aid* now current is expired. This Act, together with the *Poll-Bill* lately paſſed, we conceive will fully make good the Million eight hundred thouſand Pounds we promis'd to your Majeſty.

‘We muſt for ever with Humility acknowledge the Juſtice of God in puniſhing this whole Nation by the late dreadful Conflagration of *London*: We know they were not the greateſt Sinners on whom the Tower of *Siloam* fell; and doubtleſs all our Sins did contribute to the filling up that Meaſure, which being full, drew down the Wrath of God upon that City: But it very much reviveth us to behold the miraculous Bleſſing of God upon your Majeſty's Endeavours for the Preſervation of that Part of the City which is left: *Et fas eſt reſurgere Mœnia Trojæ!* We hope God will direct your Royal Heart, and fortunate Iſland in a few Days to lay a Foundation-Stone in the Re-building that Royal City; the Beauty and Praiſe whereof ſhall fill the whole Earth. For the Encouragement of this Noble Work we have prepared ſeveral Bills: One, *for the Eſtabliſhing a Judicatory for the ſpeedy Determining all Actions and Cauſes of Action*, that have or may ariſe between Landlords and Tenants upon

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'this ſad Accident. Though I perſuade my ſelf no *Engliſh-Man* wou'd be exempted from making ſome Offering to carry on this pious Undertaking; yet the exemplary Charity of your Twelve Reverend Judges is fit with Honour to be mention'd before your Majeſty: They are willing to ſpend all their Sand that doth not run out in your Majeſty's immediate Service of diſpenſing Juſtice in their ſeveral Courts to your People, in Hearing and Determining thoſe Controverſies that may ariſe upon *Old Agreements*, and making *New Rules* between Owners and Tenants, for their mutual Encouragement in this Glorious Action. We have likewiſe prepared a Bill *For the Regularity of the New Buildings*, that they may be rais'd with more *Conveniency*, *Beauty*, and *Security*, than they had before: Some Streets we have order'd to be open'd and enlarg'd, and many Obſtructions to be remov'd; but all with your Majeſty's Approbation. This we conceive cannot be done with Juſtice, unleſs a Compenſation be given to thoſe that ſhall be Loſers; we have therefore laid an Impoſition *of twelve Pence upon every Chaldron, and twelve Pence upon every Tun of Coals that ſhall be brought into the Port of* London *for ten Years*, the better to enable the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to recompence thoſe Perſons whoſe Grounds ſhall be taken from them.

'*Rome* was not built in a Day: Nor can we in the Cloſe of this Seſſion finiſh the Rules for the dividing of Pariſhes, Rebuilding of the Churches, and the Ornamental Parts of the City that we intended; Theſe things muſt reſt till another Seſſion: But we know your Majeſty in the mean Time will take them into your Princely Conſideration, and make it your Care, *That the Houſes of God, and your Royal Chamber, be decently and conveniently reſtored.* And now, *Great Sir*, having thus happily finiſh'd the Buſineſs of this Seſſion, we beg your Majeſty's Leave that we may return to our own Houſes, there to put in Execution the good Laws which you have made, and to defend our ſeveral Countries againſt all Deſigns to diſturb the Peace of the Nation. And we beſeech Almighty God, who hath hitherto wonderfully preſerv'd your Majeſty's Perſon, and made you glorious in all your Atchievements, ſtill to proſper your Forces both at Sea and Land, till he hath made your Majeſty an *Aſylum* for all your Friends, and a Terror to your Enemies both at Home and Abroad.'

The King's Speech to the Houſes at the ſame Time.

Upon paſſing the Bills mention'd in this Speech, and ſome few others of leſs Moment, his Majeſty made the following Speech: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I thank you for this other Bill of Supply which you have given me, and I aſſure you the Mony ſhall be laid out for the Ends it is given: I hope we ſhall live to have *Bills of this Nature* in the *Old Stile*, with fewer *Proviſoes*. I look'd to have ſomewhat offer'd to me concerning *the Accounts of the Mony that hath been already rais'd ſince the War:* Which ſince you have not done, I will take Care (after ſo much Noiſe) that the ſame be not ſtifled, but will iſſue out my *Commiſſion* in the Manner I formerly promis'd the Houſe of Peers; and the Commiſſioners ſhall have very much to anſwer, if they do not diſcover all Matters of Fraud and Cozenage. The Seaſon of the Year is very far ſpent, in which our Enemies have got great Advantages over us; but by the Grace of God, I will make all the Preparations I can, and as faſt as I can: And yet I muſt tell you, That if any good Overtures be made for an honourable Peace, I will not reject them; and I believe all ſober Men will be glad to ſee it brought to paſs.

'I ſhall now prorogue you till towards Winter, that you may, in your ſeveral Places, attend the Peace and Security of your ſeveral Countries, where there are unquiet Spirits enough working: And I do pray you, and I do expect it from you, That you will uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to remove all thoſe falſe Imaginations in the Hearts of the People (which the Malice of ill Men hath induſtriouſly infus'd into them) of I know not what *Jealouſies* and *Grievances*. For I muſt tell you again (and I am ſure I am in the Right) *That the People had never ſo little Cauſe to complain of Oppreſſion and Grievances, as they have had ſince my Return to you.* If the Taxes and Impoſitions are heavy upon them, you will put them in Mind, *That a War with ſuch powerful Enemies cannot be maintain'd without Taxes:* And I am ſure the Monies rais'd thereby come not into my Purſe. I ſhall add no more; but I promiſe myſelf all good Effects from your Affections and Wiſdoms where-ever you are; and I hope we ſhall meet again of one Mind, for my Honour, and the Good of the Kingdom.' And now, my Lord Privy-Seal, do as I have directed you.' Accordingly the Lord *Roberts* declar'd the King's Pleaſure for proroguing the Parliament to the 10th Day of *October*; which put an End to the Seventh Seſſion, or rather Meeting, of the Second and Long Parliament, after a Continuance of four Months and about two Weeks. And it is obſervable, that the Parliament began now to act and proceed with ſomewhat leſs Unanimity, and more Uneaſineſs than before. For a chargeable War, and an old Miniſtry, will naturally create in a free Nation Suſpicions of new Grievances and Miſmanagements, with a numberleſs Train of troubleſome Suggeſtions and imaginary Oppreſſions; which gradually became more apparent in the next Seſſion of Parliament.

The End of the Seventh Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

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Places and Preferments.

4. For a Concluſion of this memorable Year, we ſhall take Notice of ſome Changes, Deaths, and other inferior Matters, which ſhou'd not altogether be forgotten by an *Engliſh* Hiſtorian. The Lord *Hollis* had return'd from his Embaſſy in *France*, and the Lord *Bellaſis* from his Government of *Tangier* in the Beginning of *May*. *Henry Coventry* Eſquire arriv'd at *White-Hall* from his Embaſſy to *Sweden* on the latter End of *June*: About which Time Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, Ambaſſador in *Spain*, having near finiſh'd his Negotiation, dy'd at the City of *Madrid*. The Lord *Willoughby*, Governor of the *Caribbie* Iſlands, was unfortunately loſt in a Hurricane near *Martinico* at the latter End of *July*. The Earl of *Oſſory*, Son to the Duke of *Ormond*, was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council; and being ſoon after call'd by the King's Writ to the Houſe of Peers, he took his Place in the Beginning of this laſt Seſſion. On the Death of Sir *Hugh Pollard*, the Place of Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold was in *November* conferr'd on Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who was alſo ſworn of the Privy-Council, with this publick Character, that it was 'For the ſingular Zeal wherein he had on all Occaſions merited in his Majeſty's Service, and more eminently in the honourable Dangers of this War againſt the *Dutch* and *French*, where he has been all along a conſtant Actor; having been obſerv'd to have made it his Choice to take his Share in the warmeſt Part of thoſe Services.' In *December*, *Robert* Earl of *Lindſey* was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council; as was the Earl of *Bridgewater* in *February* following. As to the King's more private ordering his Family, in the Beginning of *October*, his Majeſty, to promote Frugality and Decency in Habit, and to diſcourage the Extravagancy of *French* Faſhions, made a ſolemn and peremptory Declaration of the Faſhion of his Apparel which he reſolv'd to wear for the future. 'It was a ſtraight *Spaniſh* Breeches; inſtead of a Doublet, a long Veſt down to the Mid-Leg; and above that a looſe Coat after the *Muſcovite* or *Poliſh* Way; the Sword girt over the Veſt; and inſtead of Shoes and Stockins, a Pair of Buskins or Brodekins.' Which Habit was found to be very decent and becoming to his Majeſty, and was for a conſiderable Time us'd and follow'd by the chief of his Courtiers.

The Rebuilding of London.

The Fire of *London* had exercis'd the Wits and Inventions of many Heads, and particularly put ſeveral ingenious Perſons on contriving and ſetting up an *Office for the Enſuring of Houſes from Fire*; ſo that for a ſmall Sum annually paid, any Man might enſure Houſes and Goods to a much greater Value. Dr. *Barbon*, one of the firſt and conſiderable Rebuilders of the City, was the principal Contriver of this Office; which was thought to be one of the greateſt Deſigns produc'd in this Age, and appear'd to be more univerſally advantagious than was at firſt believ'd; thoſe ſevere Strokes falling ſince more lightly on particular Perſons, than formerly, being by virtue of this Contrivance fully repaired by a publick Stock. All Perſons were indefatigably induſtrious in the great Work of Re-building; and when all Proviſions were made for the City's Reſurrection, the famous Sir *Jonas Moor*, that general Projector, firſt of all produc'd the beautiful *Fleet-Street*, according to the appointed Model; and from that Beginning the City grew ſo haſtily towards a general Perfection, that within the Compaſs of a few Years, it far tranſcended its former Splendor. In the mean Time the *Royal Society* having been driven out from *Greſham*-Colledge, *Henry Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, invited that noble Body to hold their weekly Meetings at *Arundel*-Houſe, where he aſſign'd them very convenient Rooms; and on *New-Year*'s Day, being a Member of that Society himſelf, he very generouſly preſented that Society, and their Succeſſors, with a fair Library of excellent Books.

The Deaths of Biſhop Warner,

And now, for a Concluſion of all, we ſhall take Notice of the Deaths of ſome conſiderable Perſons, and begin with two noted Divines of a very different Way and Character. The firſt was Dr. *John Warner*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, an aged and beneficent Prelate, educated in *Magdalen* College in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and afterwards rais'd through ſeveral ſmall Preferments to the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter* in the Year 1637, in which he ſhew'd himſelf a celebrated School Divine, and well read in the Fathers. In the Beginning of the late Troubles he appear'd a ſtrenuous Aſſerter of Epiſcopacy in the Houſe of Lords, and to the laſt very valiantly defended the Antiquity and Juſtice of the Biſhops Votes in Parliament; for

Mr. Calamy,

which he did not only ſuffer with his Brethren in his Spiritual Revenues, but likewiſe in his Temporal Eſtate, which was conſiderable. Being reſtored to his Biſhoprick, he dy'd in Peace in the 86th Year of his Age, leaving Benefactions to Clergymens Widows, Colleges, poor Vicarages, &c. to the Value of no leſs than fifteen thouſand Pounds. The next was that famous leading Presbyterian Divine, Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, B. D. educated in *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*, took into the Family of *Felton* Biſhop of *Ely*, remov'd to St. *Edmund*'s-*Bury* in *Suffolk*, from thence to *Rochford* in *Eſſex* under the Patronage of the Earl of *Warwick*, and laſtly to *Aldermanbury* in *London*, where he continu'd one of the Heads of the Party in all the Times of Confuſion. He was a Perſon of very great Induſtry and Activity, and of no ſmall Learning, Piety, and Devotion; but at the ſame Time he was ſo much an Incendiary, and Promoter of the grand Rebellion, and *Scotch* Invaſion, that his Actions cannot be vindicated, but only palliated under the venerable Name of a Houſe of Commons, who either miſ-led him, or were miſ-led by him; he being a frequent Preacher before them. He was one of the Authors of the celebrated *Smectymnuus*: His Houſe was the general Receptacle for all Presbyterian Miniſters, and his Intereſt was ſo great in the City, that after the Reſtoration he had a Biſhoprick offer'd him, which he refus'd, becauſe he cou'd not have it upon the Terms of the King's Declaration; ſo ſuffering himſelf to be ejected by the *Act of Uniformity*, he dy'd almoſt broken-hearted upon the late dreadful Fire; leaving three Sons behind him, two of which were as eminent for the Church of *England*, as he was againſt it.

Sir Richard Fanſhaw,

Mr. Howell

Mr. Hoole,

Mr. Shirley,

And Serjeant Glynne.

After theſe we ſhall mention four others, all of different Genius's and Employments; and firſt Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, lately mention'd, the King's Ambaſſador in *Spain*, a Gentleman educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he became ſuch a Proficient in *Latin*, *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *Portugueſe*, that he underſtood them as well as his Mother Tongue. He remov'd from the Univerſity to the Court, where he became equally acquainted with Buſineſs, as he had been with the Muſes, and acted in ſeveral Employments under the late King, as well as his preſent Majeſty, all which he diſcharg'd with great Wiſdom and Honeſty. Having juſt finiſh'd his great Work, he dy'd at *Madrid* in the 59th Year of his Age; leaving behind him the Character of an able Stateſman, a great Scholar, a ſincere, ſweet-natur'd, and pious Gentleman. The next was Mr. *James Howell*, Hiſtoriographer Royal, the firſt that had that Title and Place given by the Crown, a *Welſh*-man by Birth, an *Oxonian* by Education, of many Countries by his Travels, and of ſeveral Parties by his Practice: He was one who aroſe from nothing, and undertook every thing; became a various and voluminous Writer, having a ſingular Command of his Pen, whether in Verſe or Proſe; and after a remarkable Diverſity of Fortunes and Compliances, he dy'd at laſt in Priſon. The third was Mr. *Charles Hoole*, a *Yorkſhire* Man, educated in *Oxford* Univerſity, and encourag'd by his Kinſman Biſhop *Sanderſon*, who gave him a Prebend of *Lincoln*, and deſign'd him greater Preferments, as being an excellent *Latiniſt*, *Grecian*, and *Hebrician*, and admirably skill'd in Claſſical Learning. Tho' his Profeſſion was Divinity, yet he moſt of all excell'd in teaching Youth, and became the moſt celebrated School-maſter in the Kingdom, and publiſh'd ſeveral uſeful Books upon that Occaſion. After teaching ſeveral private Schools, and ſuffering much Trouble for his Loyalty, he liv'd ſome Years in Peace, and dy'd Rector of *Stock* near *Chelmsford* in *Eſſex*. The fourth was Mr. *James Shirley*, the moſt celebrated Dramatick Poet in his Time, who by ſome hath been accounted equal to *Fletcher* himſelf, a Perſon of pregnant Parts, who had his Education in both Univerſities, and became Servant in the late Reign to Queen *Henrietta Maria*; but his chief Employment ſeems to have been writing of Plays, of which he furniſh'd the Stage and the World with near forty, highly valu'd at that Time, and in ſome of which he join'd with *George Chapman*, of whom Mention is made in the Year 1634. After all theſe four, we may add a fifth, too remarkable to be omitted, which was Sir *John Glynne*, Serjeant at Law, and noted in his Profeſſion, a Perſon more than once mention'd in the laſt Volume, having been a violent Promoter of the late Miſeries of the Kingdom, by which he was a very particular Gainer. Being a Member of the Long Parliament, he prov'd a mortal Enemy to the Earl of *Strafford* and to Biſhops, a zealous *Covenanter*, one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and a profeſs'd *Presbyterian*; but being expell'd the Houſe by the *Independent* Party, he afterwards wheel'd about, and became a Favourite with *Cromwell*, who made him a Serjeant, a Judge, a Lord, and a Tool: Yet ſtill after the Reſtoration, the King, by the too bountiful Meaſures of the Times, as the Cavaliers judg'd, was pleas'd to Knight him, and make him his eldeſt Serjeant at Law, in which Station he dy'd in Peace, and was bury'd with unuſual Solemnity at *Weſtminſter-Abby*.

The Swede mediates for a Peace.

VI. 1. The two great contending Nations, the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, this Year began both to be ſo weary of the expenſive War, as to be willing to hearken to an Accommodation. The *French*, the chief Supporters of the Latter, were, for particular Reaſons, inclin'd to a Peace; and for that end the Mediation of *Sweden* was propos'd, and their Ambaſſadors came over to *London* in order to effect ſo deſirable a Work. Matters being brought to ſome Forwardneſs, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors labour'd hard about the Place and the Manner of Treating. The King thought it reaſonable that the *States* of *Holland* ſhou'd ſend to him, and propos'd *London* itſelf for the Place of Treaty; which they confeſs'd was but fitting: But the Kings of *France* and *Denmark* being by Leagues involv'd in the War with them, without whom they cou'd not Treat, they therefore propounded that ſome neutral Place might be choſen, where the King's and their Confederates Plenipotentiaries might appear. The *French* King thought it bore too much upon his Honour to ſend to *London*, and propos'd the Queen Mother's Lodgings at *Paris* for the Place of Treaty, looking upon it as a neutral Place, and without Exception. He alſo excepted againſt all Places within the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, for which he had his private Reaſons that ſoon after appear'd; and when ſome Places in *Germany* were mention'd, he alledg'd That they were too remote for daily Intelligence: So that for ſome Time this firſt Step towards a Treaty was held in Suſpence; each Party endeavouring to gain ſome particular Advantage only by means of the Place.

Difficulties about the Place of Treating.

Breda *agreed upon.*

The King of *England* had at this Time in his Court the Baron *l'Iſola*, a Miniſter of the Emperor, and much in the *Spaniſh* Intereſt, a Man of conſiderable Abilities and Subtlety, who was more than ordinary vigilant againſt the Power of *France*. By his good Addreſs he inſinuated himſelf into the *Engliſh* Court and Miniſtry, tho' he was no Friend to the Chancellor himſelf, and for a while he had a great Influence on Affairs there. It is believ'd that it was by this Perſon's Advice, and to countermine the Intrigues of *France*, that the King made a civil and condeſcending Propoſal to the *Dutch*, That to remove all Scruples and Difficulties, he was willing that the *Hague* itſelf ſhou'd be the Place for treating of an Accommodation; well-knowing that the Inſolencies of the People in a Common-wealth, and the Cries of a ruin'd Multitude, wou'd prove the beſt Mediators in this Affair. This Propoſal was very ſhocking and affrightning to the great *De Wit* and all his Party, who ſoon perceiv'd that if it ſucceeded, it wou'd much hazard the Diminution of their Authority, and elevate the contrary Party. The *French* King was no leſs ſenſible of this Deſign; accordingly his Secretary *Lionne* wrote thus to the Ambaſſador *D'Eſtrades*: 'His Majeſty is aſſured the King of *England* was advis'd to propoſe the *Hague* by one of the very *States* in the Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*; and he is ſenſible that all is levell'd at Monſieur *De Wit*'s Credit and Authority, which his Majeſty is reſolv'd to maintain to the utmoſt.' Then propoſing *Breda*, *Boiſleduc*, &c. he added, 'If you can but perſwade the *States* into the ſame Opinion, we ſhall not value *l'Iſola*'s Brags to *Friquet* that he has levell'd againſt *France*,' However, the better to divert this Matter, and to countermine the *Engliſh*, the *French* King made a new Propoſal to have *Dover* in *England* to be the Place of Treaty. This was on the other Side declin'd, as a Place unfit to receive ſo many Perſons of Quality and their Trains; and ſo, after ſeveral Places nam'd, *Breda* was the Place fix'd on for all Parties to meet and bring about this great Affair, where they reſolv'd to open the Treaty in the Beginning of *May*.

The ſeveral Plenipotentiaries.

The Engliſh *Entry.*

2. Things thus ſettled, the Lord *Denzill Hollis* and Mr. *Henry Coventry* of the King's Bed-chamber, were appointed Ambaſſadors and Plenipotentiaries for *England*. For the King of *France* were Monſieur *d'Eſtrades* and *Courtin*; for the King of *Denmark*, the Lord *Paul Clingenberge*, and *Peter Caniſius*; for the *States-General*, *Beverning*, *Hubert*, and *Jongſtall*, of *Holland*, *Zeeland*, and *Freeſland*; and the Mediators from *Sweden* were the Lords *George Flemming* and *Julius Cojet*. Theſe were all provided with the moſt commodious Houſes in *Breda*, and for their publick Meetings was fitted up the great Hall in the Caſtle, being the uſual Reſidence of the Prince of *Orange*. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors having their ſeveral Paſſports, arriv'd at *Fluſhing* on the 2d Day of *May* with three Frigates and four Baggage Ships, where they were ſolemnly receiv'd in the *States* Yatches, which brought them to *Tir-Heyde*, a Fort near *Breda*, where they tarry'd till their Houſes were made fit for them. On the 14th of the ſame Month they made their publick Entry into *Breda*, which was very great and ſolemn: They were met a

Mile from the Town by two hundred Horſe, ſent by the Governor; with whom went the Commander of the Town in the Governor's Coach. The Horſe led the Van, then ſixteen Pages on Horſeback, and after them four Trumpets in the King of *England*'s rich Liveries: After them the Gentleman of the Horſe to the Ambaſſadors, follow'd by the Mareſchal of the Ambaſſy, who preceded the Ambaſſador's Coach which was very ſtately, drawn with ſix Horſes, beſides three others of their own, and that of the Governor. And the Gentlemen which waited on the Ambaſſadors had put their Servants in the ſame Liveries, which made the Train very numerous and ſurpriſing. They were met at the Gates by the Governor, who nobly treated them the firſt Day at their own Houſe; and they afterwards treated him in like manner, each keeping a moſt ſplendid Table: So that they were never without Spectators, who came from all Places to ſee the Grandeur, or partake of the Bounty of it.

The Proceedings in the Negotiation.

As to the Negotiations, which were carry'd on with great Formality as well as Regularity, there was this Advantage, that the Preliminaries were in ſome Meaſure agreed on before the Meeting; the *States-General* having offer'd his *Britannick* Majeſty his Choice of *Reſtoring to each other whatſoever had been taken before or during the War*; or otherwiſe, *That each ſhou'd keep what he had taken, without giving of any Satisfaction.* Of which the King had declar'd for the latter, to prevent all future Diſputes; but ſtill inſiſted upon Satisfaction to be made for the two great Ships the *Bonadventure* and the *Good Hope*, the taking of which by the *Dutch* had been a prime Occaſion of the War; but to this the *States* wou'd by no means comply, alledging 'It ſhew'd more Submiſſion and Dependence than was agreeable to a free Eſtate. The *Engliſh*, during the War, had taken from the *Dutch* the Iſlands of *Euſtatius* and *Tabago* in the *Weſt-Indies*, which the *French* had taken from the *Engliſh* again; of which the *States* inſiſted upon Reſtitution, and which the *French* did not much diſpute. As to the Iſland of *Poloron* in the *Eaſt Indies*, it was prov'd by a Receipt, That the *Eaſt India* Company of *Holland* had deliver'd it to the *Engliſh*; and having afterwards, during the War, taken it from them again, it was agreed that each Party ſhou'd keep all the Lands, Forts, *&c.* whereof they were poſſeſs'd on the 20th of *May* in the Year 1667, without making any Reſtitution whatſoever. At the ſame Time the *Daniſh* Plenipotentiaries demanded Reſtitution of the Iſlands *Schetland* and the *Orcades*, anciently mortgag'd to a King of *Scotland* for five thouſand Pounds Sterling, alledging 'That his *Britannick* Majeſty had receiv'd more out of 'the Profits than the Principal and Intereſt of the Mony 'amounted to:' But all the Plenipotentiaries in general concluded that the *Daniſh* King's Pretenſion was ungrounded; eſpecially ſince he had not offer'd the Repayment of the Mony lent and receiv'd by his own Confeſſion.

After a few Weeks Negotiation, the Lord *Cojet*, one of the *Swediſh* Plenipotentiaries and Mediators, ſicken'd at *Breda*, where he dy'd of a Feaver. This caus'd ſome Delay in the Proceedings; but the Count *de Dona*, Ambaſſador to the *States* at the *Hague*, was in a ſhort Time ſent to ſupply his Place as Mediator. In the mean Time the *States* warmly inſiſted upon the *Engliſh*'s recalling of all Proclamations, or Acts which were prejudicial to Commerce, and more particularly that call'd *The Act of Navigation*; which their Plenipotentiaries declar'd to be out of their Powers, it being an Act of Parliament, and conſequently not to be repeal'd without Conſent of Parliament. Tho' they were poſitive and tenacious in ſome Particulars, yet to comply with the *States* as much as cou'd be in this Matter, it was agreed by a ſecret Article, 'That it ſhou'd 'be lawful for all *Dutch* Ships to bring into *England*, or 'any of the King's Dominions, all Manufactures made of 'the Growth of the *Netherlands* and of *Germany*, which 'moſt uſually are convey'd down the great Rivers, or by 'Carts, and no otherways, unto the Sea-Ports, to be 'tranſported from thence beyond the Seas.' Thus they continu'd for a conſiderable Time without coming to a Concluſion; all Parties acting and proceeding with Caution and Reſerve, in a great Meaſure waiting for the Succeſs of their Fleets and Armies, of which it is Time to make mention.

The Dutch and English *Preparations for this Year.*

3. The *Dutch*, both before and after the Treaty began, had made their uſual Preparations for War, as the moſt likely Way to obtain a better Peace, and accordingly with great Expence fitted out a Fleet of ſeventy Men of War; in which they were ſtill more vigorous when they perceiv'd that the *Engliſh* had taken contrary Meaſures. It ſeems, in the Beginning of the War it had often been propos'd to the King by ſeveral knowing Perſons, and eſpecially by Sir *John Lawſon*, That ſince the Life of the *Dutch* conſiſted in Trade, a Pyratical War wou'd prove much cheaper, and wou'd ſooner bring them to Submiſſion; for if they cou'd traffick, they wou'd not much value the Expence, but perhaps grow rich upon it, as they did in their long Conteſt with *Spain*. His Majeſty, at that Time, cou'd by no Means be ſatisfy'd with the Advice, conceiving it a Diſhonour to him, who was juſtly accounted the moſt powerful Maſter of the Seas, not to make it good by open Courage and Bravery; eſpecially ſince the Continuance of the War was ſo uncertain. But at laſt, after his ſeveral Victories were apparent, and that the Enemy wou'd in a ſhort Time conclude a Peace, he was now advis'd only to fit out a light Fleet, which dividing itſelf into every Quarter, muſt certainly make great Spoil among the *Dutch* Merchant-Ships, and more nearly affect the Traders than before. So, without putting himſelf to the great Charge of a Fleet, he order'd ſeveral Frigates to cruiſe in the *Scottiſh* Seas, and others in the *Channel* about *Plymouth*, thereby to ſhut up the *Britiſh* Seas on all Sides. Beſides which, *Sheerneſs* and *Upnore*-Caſtle were order'd to be fortify'd, and a Chain to be drawn croſs the River of *Medway*, to ſecure the Royal-Fleet at *Chatham*: All which were better advis'd than executed.

The Dutch *Expedition at* CHATHAM.

The *Dutch* took the Advantage of the too great Security of the *Engliſh*, and appearing with their great Fleet, under *De Ruyter* and *De Wit*'s Brother, they rod in Triumph upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, and near the Mouth of the *Thames*. And finding no Oppoſition, being baſely pylotted by ſome *Engliſh* Fugitives, they made a bold Attempt, and ſail'd up the *Medway* on the 10th of *June*, and ſoon made themſelves Maſters of the Fort of *Sheerneſs*, tho' valiantly defended by Sir *Edward Spragg*. To put a ſtop to their farther Progreſs, ſeveral Veſſels were ſunk about *Muſcle-Bank*, the narroweſt Part of the River, and a ſtrong Chain was put croſs the Channel; and the Lord General, the Duke of *Albemarle*, was got down thither with a Land Force to oppoſe them. But having the Advantage of an Eaſterly Wind, and a ſtrong Tyde, they furiouſly preſs'd on and broke through the Chain, and fought and burnt the three Ships that lay to guard it, the *Matthias*, the *Unity*, and the *Charles the Fifth*, all three *Dutch* Ships taken in the preſent War, damaging many other Veſſels, and taking along with them the Hull of the *Royal Charles*, which was twice fired by the *Engliſh*, and as often extinguiſh'd by the Enemy. After which they advanc'd with ſix Men of War, and five Fire-ſhips, as far as *Upnore*-Caſtle, and burnt the *Royal-Oak*, and in Effect deſtroy'd the *Loyal London* and the *Great James*, which they left a great Part under Water. And after all this Inſult and Ravage, they fell down the River again with no great Damage to themſelves but the Loſs of their Fireſhips, and the running a-ground two of their Men of War, which they were forc'd to ſet on Fire. This ſudden and bold Attempt threw the Court and City of *London* into a vaſt Aſtoniſhment and Conſternation; and indeed Diſcontent and Confuſion appear'd in every Man's Looks, all dreading the infinite Danger of the Enemies coming up the *Thames* as far as *London-Bridge*. Whereupon all Hands were at Work, and beſides the Muſtering the Train'd-Bands, nine Ships were ſunk at *Woolwich*, and four at *Black-Wall*; and Platforms furniſh'd with Artillery and Works to defend them, were rais'd in divers Places to hinder the *Dutch* from coming up to the City. All Perſons took the liberty to exclaim againſt the preſent Counſellors, who had caus'd the King to be ſo amus'd with the Hopes of Peace, as to treat without Sword in Hand, and after ſuch Victories obtain'd againſt the *Dutch*, which by Avarice and Overſight were now obſcur'd and tarniſh'd to that Degree, as they cou'd not eaſily recover their former Luſtre.

A more particular Account given of it by the Duke of Albemarle.

This Attempt having been ſo ſurpriſing and diſgraceful to the *Engliſh* Nation, it may be very proper to give a more particular Account of it in the Narrative that the Duke of *Albemarle* Himſelf gave in to the Houſe of Commons in the next Seſſion of Parliament; which will be the more deſirable, becauſe we do not find that ever it was publiſh'd before; and this we ſhall do in the Duke's own Words: 'I went early on *Tueſday* the 11th of *June* 'to *Chatham*, where I found ſcarce Twelve of eight 'hundred Men, which were then in the King's Pay, in his 'Majeſty's Yards; and thoſe ſo diſtracted with Fear, that 'I cou'd have little or no Service from them. I had heard 'of thirty Boats which were provided by his *Royal Highneſs*; but they were all, except five or ſix, taken away 'by thoſe of the Yards, who went themſelves with them, 'and ſent and took them away by the Example of Commiſſioner *Pett*, who had the chief Command there, and 'ſent away his own Goods in ſome of them. I found no 'Ammunition there, but what was in the *Monmouth*; ſo 'that I preſently ſent to *Graveſend* for the Train to be 'ſent to me, which got thither about two of the Clock 'next Day. After I had diſpatcht this Order, I went 'to viſit the Chain, which was the next Thing to be

'fortify'd

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‘fortify’d for the Security of the River; where I found no Works for the Defence of it. I then immediately ſet Soldiers to Work for the raiſing of two Batteries, for there were no other Men to be got; and when I employ’d them in it, I found it very difficult to get Tools; for Commiſſioner *Pett* wou’d not furniſh us with above Thirty, till by Breaking open the Stores we found more. I then directed Timber and thick Planks to be ſent to the Batteries and Guns alſo, that they might be ready to be planted as ſoon as the Batteries were made; and in the next Place I ſent Captain *Wintour* with his Company to *Upnore*-Caſtle, which I took to be a Place very fit to hinder the Enemy from coming forwards, if they ſhou’d force the Chain: And upon further Conſideration, tho’ I had Horſe near the Fort, leſt the Enemy ſhou’d land there, I commanded Sir *Edward Scot* with his Company for a further Strength of the Place; and gave him the Charge of it, with Orders to let me know what he wanted for the Security thereof.

‘Having thus provided for *Upnore*, I conſider’d where to ſink Ships without the Chain, next to the Enemy, as a further Security to it. I found five Fireſhips, and the *Unity*, upon the Place; and adviſing with Commiſſioner *Pett*, and the *Maſter of Attendance* and the Pylot, how to do it; *Pett* told me *It was their Opinion, That if three Ships were ſunk at the narrow Paſſage by the* Muſcle-Bank, *the* Dutch *Fleet cou’d not be able to come up:* And I relying upon their Experience who beſt knew the River, gave Orders accordingly for the doing of it. But when this was done, they ſaid *they wanted two Ships more*, which I directed them to take and Sink. After this, I order’d Sir *Edward Spragg* to take a Boat and Sound whether the Sinking of thoſe wou’d ſufficiently ſecure the Paſſage; which he did, and found another Paſſage (which the Pylot and *Maſter of Attendance* had not before obſerv’d) that was deep enough for great Ships to come in: I thereupon reſolv’d to ſink ſome Ships within the Chain, and provide ſome againſt there ſhou’d be Occaſion. I went then to look after the other Ships and Batteries, and to ſee the Men and all Things ready; but I found the Guns, which I had before order’d to be there, not yet come down; and inſtead of thick Oaken Planks (of which there was good Store in the Yards, as it afterwards appear’d) the Commiſſioner wou’d only ſend Planks of Deal, ſaying *He had no Other*; which prov’d very prejudicial in the Uſe of them: For they were ſo weak, That at every Shot, the Wheels ſunk through the Boards, which put us to a continual Trouble to get them out.

‘About Noon, before the Batteries were quite rais’d, the Enemy came on to the Place where our firſt Ships were ſunk: I went on Board the *Monmouth* with fifty Volunteers, and appointed Soldiers in other Ships to make the beſt Defence we cou’d, if they had proceeded; but they were ſo incumber’d, before they cou’d clear the Way through the ſunk Ships, and find another Paſſage, that the Tide was ſpent, and therefore they made no further Advance that Day; whereby we had Time to conſider what to do againſt the next Attempt. There were two Ships order’d to lye within the Chain, to be ready to ſink, if Occaſion ſhould be: And wanting One Ship more to ſink in the Middle between theſe two Ships, I that Night order’d the *Sancta Maria*, a great *Dutch* Prize, to be ſunk in the deepeſt Place between the two foreſaid Ships; and I judg’d it ſo neceſſary to be done, that I charg’d Commiſſioner *Pett*, and the *Maſter of Attendance*, on Peril of their Lives to do it by Morning; they having Time enough before the Tide ſerv’d to provide Things to carry her down. Commiſſioner *Pett*, who had receiv’d Orders from his Royal Highneſs on the 26th of *March* to remove the *Royal Charles* above the Dock, had for about nine or ten Weeks neglected thoſe Orders: And when I was getting all the Boats I cou’d (for I wanted many) for carrying Materials for the Batteries, and Ammunition and Soldiers for the Defence of all our Places, he came and told me *He wou’d carry her up that Tide, if he might have Boats*, which I cou’d not then ſpare: For if they were gone, all our Batteries muſt have been neglected, and I cou’d not tranſport the Timber, Powder and Shot, and Men to them, to reſiſt the Enemy the next Day. And beſides, it was thought adviſeable at that Inſtant, if the *Dutch* ſhou’d have landed in the Marſh by the *Crane*, ſhe might have been uſeful, and have hinder’d them, having Guns on Board. Nevertheleſs, having notice ſhortly after, That there was neither Sponge, Ladle, Powder nor Shot in her, I ſent Captain *Millet*, Commander of the *Matthias*, about ten in the Morning, with Orders to Commiſſioner *Pett* to carry her up, as he cou’d, the next Tide; who pretended *he cou’d not then do it, becauſe there was but one Pylot that wou’d undertake it, and he was employ’d about ſinking of Ships*. And ſeeing ſhe was not remov’d in the Morning, I my ſelf ſpoke to Commiſſioner *Pett* in the Evening, in the Preſence of Colonel *Mac-Noughton* and Captain *Mansfield*, to fetch her off that Tide; but notwithſtanding theſe Orders, the Ship was not remov’d, but lay there till the Enemy took her. On the ſame Morning, by Break of Day, I went to ſee what was done about the *Sancta Maria*, and found Men towing her along to the Place intended, and they had Time enough to do their Buſineſs: But ſoon after I had diſpers’d my Orders to the Ships, I look’d and ſaw the *Sancta Maria*, by the Careleſneſs of the Pylots and *Maſters of Attendance*, was run on Ground, at which I was much troubled: For if that Ship had been ſunk in the Place where I appointed, the *Dutch* Ships cou’d not have got beyond thoſe of ours ſunk within the Chain, and thereby none of the King’s Ships within cou’d have been deſtroy’d, in regard that our Guard-Ships within our Batteries wou’d have hinder’d them from removing our ſunk Ships.

‘About ten a Clock on *Wedneſday*, the Enemy came on with Part of their Fleet, and two Men of War, five or ſix Fireſhips, and ſome other Men of War ſeconding them. They firſt attempted the *Unity*, which was plac’d on the Right-Hand cloſe without the Chain to defend it; and they took Her; and one of their Fireſhips ſtrook upon the Chain, but it ſtop’d it. Then came another great Fireſhip, and with the Weight of them two the Chain gave way; and then the Ships came on in that very Paſſage where the *Sancta Maria* ſhou’d have been ſunk. They burnt the two Guard-ſhips, and took off the *Royal Charles*, wherein the Gunners and Boat-Swain did not do their Duty in firing her, tho’ they ſay they attempted it twice, buſt the Fire did not take. This was all that I obſerv’d of the Enemies Action on *Wedneſday*. Our next Care was to provide againſt the Tide ſerv’d the next Day: I enquir’d what had been done by Sir *Edward Scott* at *Upnore*, and ſent him as many of thoſe Things he needed as I cou’d get Boats to carry them to him, and ſent likewiſe a Company more than was formerly order’d, to reinforce the Place in caſe of Landing; and then directed three Batteries to be made in the King’s Yard; but cou’d not get a Carpenter, but two that were running away. I alſo planted that Night about fifty Cannon in ſeveral Places, beſides thoſe that came with the Train of Artillery, which were alſo planted. I ſtaid all Night in the Place with the Men, and having no Money to pay them, all I cou’d do or ſay was little enough for their Encouragement: For I had no Aſſiſtance from Commiſſioner *Pett*, nor no Gunners or Men to draw on the Guns, except the two *Maſters of Attendance*.

‘On *Thurſday* Morning betimes, *Upnore* was in a pretty Condition, and our Batteries ready: I got ſome Captains of Ships and other Officers, Sea Volunteers, and others that came to me to ply the Guns; and other Land Volunteers did aſſiſt them to draw them on the Batteries. About Noon the Enemy came on again with two Men of War, and two Fireſhips, and ſome more Men of War following them: The firſt two anchor’d before *Upnore*, and play’d upon it whilſt the Fireſhips paſs’d by to the *Great James*, the *Royal Oake*, and the *Loyal London*. The two firſt Fireſhips burnt without any Effect; but the reſt went up and burnt the three Ships mention’d: And if we had had but five or ſix Boats to cut off the Boats of the Fireſhips, we had prevented the Burning of thoſe Ships; but thoſe being burnt, as ſoon as the Tide turn’d, they went back, and made no further Attempt. I had in the Morning before this Action receiv’d his Majeſty’s Command to return to *London*; but I thought it moſt for his Service to ſtay till the Attempt was over: And then having left upon the Place the Earl of *Carliſle*, and the Earl of *Middleton* to command there till further Order, I came away about eight in the Evening, and by two in the Morning arriv’d at *Lodon*.’ Such was the Narrative of the Duke of *Albemarle*; and tho’ it was not given in till ſome Months after, yet the Neglects of Commiſſioner *Pett* appear’d ſo ſoon, to whom the Care of *Chatham* Yard and the Navy had been intruſted, that within a few Days after he was committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*, as well as afterwards impeach’d by the Houſe of Commons.

The Proceedings of the Dutch *after it.*

But to proceed: The *Dutch* having, after this unexpected Advantage, got out to Sea again, made many other Attempts of Bravery, or rather of Revenge; which they continu’d even after the Peace was concluded at *Breda*. They ſail’d to *Portſmouth* with a Deſign upon the Ships in that Harbour, but finding them too well ſecured by the Diligence of the Earl of *Macclesfield*, and Captain *Elliot*, ſent thither by the King for that Purpoſe, they appear’d before *Plymouth* in the Middle of *July*, and ſoon after made an Attempt upon *Tor-Bay*, but were beaten off. Then they ſtood Eaſtward, and again enter’d the River *Thames*, and got about twenty five Sail into *Tilbury Hope*, where the *Engliſh* had about eighteen Men of War and Fireſhips. Sir *Edward Spragg*, who commanded that Squadron, was unfortunately abſent when the *Dutch* came firſt up with them; and therefore the *Dutch* with their Fireſhips did ſome conſiderable Miſchief: But Sir *Edward* returning on Ship-board, and being joyn'd with a ſmall Squadron from *Harwich* under Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, he ſo ply'd the *Dutch*, that they were glad to fall down the River again with as much Damage to themſelves as to their Oppoſers. After this they bid Defiance to the Town of *Harwich*, and landed three thouſand Men near *Felſtone-Cliff*, and made two ſeveral Attacks upon *Landguard-Fort*, and made a Stand againſt the Train'd-Bands, under the Command of the Earl of *Suffolk*; and without any great Loſs or Execution, they re-imbark'd and ſtood again for the *Thames*; and coming up as far as *Hull-Haven*, they engag'd the Squadron of Sir *Edward Spragg*, compos'd of the *Succeſs* and eighteen other Men of War; where the Encounter was ſo ſharp, that the *Engliſh* ſtood off for *Graveſend*, and left the *Dutch* at Anchor in the *Hope*: but they ſoon fell down to the *Buoy in the Nore*; and, leaving Sir *Edward Spragg* the Honour of ſeeming to purſue them, they got to Sea, and again made to the Weſtern Coaſts, and attempted to land firſt at *Wenbury* in *Devonſhire*, and then near *Cawland* in *Cornwall*. And thus they hover'd about with continual Allarms of Offers of Deſcent; till not being able any longer to diſſemble their Knowledge of a Peace, *de Ruyter* obligingly invited ſome of the *Corniſh* Gentlemen on Board him, and gave them a liberal Entertainment; and civilly excuſing ſome of his latter Acts of Hoſtility, he handſomely diſmiſs'd them, and ſail'd to his own Country.

Upon which the Parliament is Summon'd.

4. The firſt Approach of the *Dutch* Fleet, and their Succeſs at *Chatham*, had ſo allarm'd the *Engliſh* Court, that at the firſt Meeting of the Council, a Propoſition was made to aſſemble the Parliament with all poſſible Expedition, tho' they had been already prorogu'd to the 10th of *October*. On the other Side, the Chancellor *Hyde*, finding the popular Diſcontents to riſe high againſt him, us'd all Diligence to oppoſe that Motion; and conceiving an Army more uſeful to the Court at this Juncture of Affairs, took this Occaſion to propoſe the Raiſing of twelve thouſand Men. And tho' the major Part of the Council carry'd it for the Aſſembling of the Parliament, and that a Proclamation ſhou'd be immediately publiſh'd for their meeting on the 25th of *July*, yet the Deſign of raiſing an Army was not laid aſide. At the Cloſe of the laſt Seſſion, the King had promis'd his two Houſes of Parliament, that he wou'd conſtitute Commiſſioners for *Taking the Accounts of the ſeveral Sums of Monies which had been rais'd and aſſign'd to his Majeſty, during the great and important Wars, to the End that his Majeſty and his People might be ſatisfy'd in the faithful Application and Expence of them.* In diſcharge of this Royal Word and Promiſe, before this unexpected Meeting of the Parliament, the King granted a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England* 'to *John* Earl of *Bridgewater*, *Oliver* Earl of *Bolingbroke*, *Robert* Earl of *Ailsbury*, *Edward* Viſcount *Conway*, *John* Lord *Lucas*, and *John* Lord *Crew*, Peers of this Realm, together with Sir *William Lowther*, Sir *Thomas Meers*, Sir *Humphry Winch*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Sir *William Thompſon*, Sir *Thomas Osborne*, Sir *Thomas Gower*, Col. *Samuel Sandys*, *Giles Strangeways*, *William Garway*, *Edward Boſcowen*, and *John Jones*, Eſquires, being Members of the Houſe of Commons, with full Power to examine and ſtate the ſaid Accounts,' which was accordingly put in Execution. By which Manner of Proceeding it appears, that the Enquiry into Publick Accounts was hitherto reſerv'd to the King himſelf; but now by him graciouſly promis'd to the People, and purſu'd in a Method that ſeem'd to ſignify, That the Lords were as much concern'd in this Matter as the Commons.

An intermediate SESSION.

In Obedience to the King's Proclamation, but contrary to uſual Cuſtom, the Parliament met on the 25th of *July*, making a ſort of an intermediate Seſſion, and of a very ſhort Continuance. The Commons immediately enter'd upon the Debate of the new-rais'd Army, which they reſolv'd to break as ſoon as might be, and ſpoke ſo clearly and freely in that Matter, that the Court reſolv'd to give them ſome little Interruption, either to mollify the warmeſt Oppoſers, or to make Way for new Meaſures. For this End a Meſſage was ſent from the Chancellor to the Speaker of the Commons 'To let them know, That his Majeſty conceiving the Houſe might not be full at their firſt Meeting, he had deferr'd his coming to acquaint them with what he had to ſay, till *Monday* the 29th of this Month; and that the Houſe ſhou'd be adjourn'd till that Day.' But before the Meſſage came to them, they had paſs'd a Reſolution, 'That his Majeſty ſhou'd be humbly deſired, that as ſoon as the Peace was concluded, the new-rais'd Forces might be Disbanded.' Upon the appointed Day, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers with the uſual Ceremonies, where he made a ſhort Speech to the two Houſes, 'Excuſing the Trouble of extraordinary Attendance, and telling them the Occaſions of their Metting were now *leſs urgent*; and therefore he cou'd again diſmiſs them to the Day formerly prefix'd, and ſhou'd take an Oppoortunity, in the mean while, *to do ſome Things, which he hop'd wou'd not be unwelcome to them*:' And accordingly he prorogu'd them to the 10th of *October*.

A Prorogation.

The Negotiations at Breda.

5. And now to return and proceed to the Treaty of *Breda*; which for ſome Time had been carry'd on cautiouſly, and by ſlow Steps, but ſtill with ſome Advantage to the *Engliſh* Cauſe. But the unexpected Succeſſes of the *Dutch* ſoon made a great Change in the Negotiation for Peace; and the *States* Plenipotentiaries were not ſhy in declaring, 'That the Advantages their Arms had newly obtain'd, might probably make their Maſters alter their Minds; and tho' they had conſented to conclude a Peace upon ſome Conditions that had been preſented, yet they cou'd not anſwer for its Ratification: And that it was not to be imagin'd, the *States* and their Allies ſhou'd ſtand to the Offers that had been made, if God continu'd to bleſs their Arms with new Conqueſts.' The *Dutch* ſeem'd now reſolv'd to oblige the *Engliſh*, who ſhew'd a particular Unwillingneſs, to come intirely into one or other of the Propoſitions that had been made them, *viz.* 'That each Party ſhou'd either reciprocally render back what they had taken, or elſe on both Sides keep what they had.' And the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries, being alſo further influenc'd by the Diſcontents at home, appear'd much more inclinable to Peace, and more yielding than before; and the Differences, as well with *Holland*, as with *France* and *Denmark*, were at laſt terminated on the 10th Day of *July*; excepting only, that Mr. *Coventry*, one of the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries, was oblig'd to return with all Speed to *London* to get ſome Points agreed to, which were not in their Power to decide.

Domeſtick Diſcontents.

As to the Domeſtick Diſcontents that were ſo predominant, we may well take Notice of theſe Words in Sir *William Temple*'s Letter, written to the Lord *Arlington*, *July* the 19th. 'Every Packet I receive from *England* confirms me in the Belief, that a War abroad is not our preſent Buſineſs, till all at home be in better Order; no more than hard Exerciſe, which ſtrengthens healthy Bodies, can be proper for thoſe that have a Feaver lurking in the Veins, or a Conſumption in the Fleſh, for which Reſt, and Order, and Diet are neceſſary, perhaps ſome Medicine too, provided it comes from a careful and ſkilful Hand. This is all that I ſhall ſay upon that Subject, which I preſume has before this received ſome Reſolutions by my Lord Ambaſſador *Coventry*'s Arrival; for I confeſs my Stomach is come down, and I ſhou'd be glad to hear the Peace ended, and our Coaſts clear, ſince it will not be better; but all this while, *Multa gemens Ignominiam Plagaſque ſuperbi Hoſtis*, and I am ſure, wou'd not deſire to live, unleſs with Hopes of ſeeing our ſelves one Day in another Poſture, which God Almighty has made us capable of, when-ever we pleaſe our ſelves.

The French King invades Flanders.

But there was another thing that very much haſtned, and was like to have precipitated the Peace, and that was the ſudden Progreſs of the *French* King, who this Year began really to exert himſelf, and to appear formidable to all his Neighbours. This aſpiring Monarch had for a conſiderable Time projected the Seizure of a great Part of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and it was ſeveral Times ſecretly deſign'd to make a Diviſion of them between him and the *Dutch*; but upon the Death of the King of *Spain*, his Father-in-Law, which happened in *September* 1665, he was furniſh'd with a new and plauſible Pretence, namely, that much of theſe Dominions in the *Netherlands*, together with the *Franche County* belong'd intirely and diſtinctly to his Queen by Right of Inheritance. And, tho' there had been ſolemn Renunciations made of thoſe Pretenſions at the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and upon the Concluſion of the Marriage, yet he and his Dependants had invented new Pretexts to evade and invalidate them; namely, 'That they were only *Conditional*, and had not been confirm'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, that the Queen's Dowry had not been paid according to the ſaid Agreement, &c.' therefore his Chriſtian Majeſty declared and repreſented to *Spain*, *Holland* and others, 'That he deſign'd nothing but Peace and Amity; but only he found it neceſſary to go and take quiet Poſſeſſion, and receive the Allegiance of his Subjects in thoſe Provinces that were the hereditary and unalienable Right of his Queen.' Accordingly in the Month of *May*, he advanc'd with a powerful Army to the Frontiers, and ſoon made ſuch an Impreſſion as rais'd a Terror to all about him. Yet ſtill, to ſhew the

Moderateneſs of his Demands, he pretended to be content with an Exchange that ſhou'd be ſomewhat leſs in Value, and conſiderably leſs formidable to his Friends, than thoſe Places to which he made his Claim. In order to which he made a ſecret Offer to the *Dutch*, ‘ That in lieu of all Rights due to his Wife, he wou'd be content to accept the *Franche County*, the Dutchy of *Luxemburg*, *Cambray*, *Cambreſis*, *Aire*, St. *Omer*, *Bergues*, *Charleroy*, *Tournay* and *Doway*, with the Countries thereunto belonging.’ But theſe Offers not being clos'd withal, he proceeded in ſuch a rapid Manner, that both the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* became more pliable, and reſolv'd to conclude and compleat the Peace, the Ratifications of which were exchang'd on the 14th Day of *Auguſt*.

The PEACE *of* BREDA.

As to the Articles of this Treaty and Peace now concluded, they conſiſted of no leſs than thirty eight in Number, very much of which were Matters of uſual Form, tending to the better Eſtabliſhment of future Amity, good Neighbourhood, and a more civil Correſpondence, but not ſo neceſſary to be particulariz'd by a Hiſtorian: Only ſome Parts of them ought not to be omitted. In the third Article it was agreed, ‘ That each Party ſhou'd hold and poſſeſs for the Time to come, in full Right of Sovereignty, Propriety and Poſſeſſion, all ſuch Countries, Iſles, Towns, Forts, Places and Colonies, as whether during this War, or before, have taken and kept from the other by Force of Arms, and in what other Manner ſoever, and that as they enjoy'd and poſſeſs'd them the 10th Day of *May* laſt.’ The next Article imported, ‘ That all Ships, Goods and Moveables, which at any time had come into the Power of either Party, ſhou'd remain in the preſent Poſſeſſors thereof, without any Compenſation or Reſtitution for the ſame.’ In like Manner it was agreed by other Articles, ‘ That all Actions, Demands and Pretenſions whatſoever for the ſame, ſhou'd remain void, obliterated, and diſannul'd: And that under the foreſaid Renunciation and Stipulation, all Letters of Reprizal, general or particular, ought to be comprehended and revoked, notwithſtanding any Grant to the contrary: And likewiſe all Priſoners on both Sides, of what State or Quality ſoever, ſhou'd be ſet at Liberty, without any Exception.’ Some Articles related to a Denial of protecting of Rebels and Traitors, and others to Freedom of Trade, as well as Cuſtoms and Impoſitions. Beſides which there were two that ought to be particularly remember'd; the one was, ‘ That all Ships and Veſſels of the *United Provinces*, as well Men of War, as Merchant Ships and others, which ſhou'd meet in the *Britannick* Seas any Ship of War belonging to the King of *Great Britain*, ſhou'd ſtrike the Flag, and lower the Sail, as it has formerly been practis'd.’ The other was, ‘ That if the former Differences ſhou'd be renew'd, and turn'd into an open War, the Ships, Merchandize, and all Moveable Effects of both Parties, which ſhou'd be found in the Sea-Ports, and in the Dominions of the adverſe Party, ſhou'd be by no Means confiſcated or damag'd; but there ſhou'd be granted to the Subjects of both Parties the Term of ſix whole Months, during which Time they might tranſport the ſaid Effects where they pleas'd.’ Beſides all theſe, in a ſeparate Article there are theſe Words; ‘ If any Perſon is found guilty of the abominable Murther committed upon the Perſon of the deceaſed King *Charles* the Firſt of happy Memory, and are lawfully convicted and condemn'd, and they are found under the Dominion of the *States General*, ſo that the ſaid *States*, or any of their Officers, ſhall have Knowledge of it; they ſhall be apprehended, put in Priſon, and ſent bound to *England*, *&c.* This Article was highly exclaim'd againſt by the Republican Party, and as much commended by the contrary Party, who look'd upon it as very inſtrumental in the ſettling of Peace and Quiet in *England*.

It is proclaim'd in London.

On the 24th of *Auguſt* the Peace was by the King's Command proclaim'd by Heralds and other Officers, in ſeveral Parts of *London*, with great Solemnity and Triumph; the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen aſſiſting at the Ceremony, which was compleated with all the Marks of Joy and Satisfaction imaginable. And thus ended the Firſt *Dutch* War; in which the *Engliſh*, with all their Difficulties and Miſcarriages, gain'd much Honour and Reputation abroad; but quite otherwiſe from the Peace, by which they obtain'd little apparent Advantage, or publick Compenſation. This War, from the publiſhing of the Declaration of it, till the proclaiming the Peace, continu'd two Years, and a little above five Months: during which Space *England* was compell'd, with little or no Aſſiſtance, to contend with two powerful Kings, beſides the Common Enemy, and to ſtruggle with two of the greateſt Calamities of Peſtilence and Fire, that ever befel that, or any other Northern Nation. And yet the War coſt the *Dutch* four Millions Sterling, whereas that in 1652, *&c.* coſt them not a Million and an half, as appear'd by the *States* Accounts.

CHAP. III.

From the Concluſion of the Treaty of Breda, *and the End of the Firſt War, to the Proclaiming of the Second War againſt the* Dutch.

Containing the Space of 4 Years, 6 Months, and 3 Weeks.

I. 1. THE Peace, tho' inglorious upon ſome Accounts, was highly acceptable to the *Engliſh* Nation, which now again had a breathing Time after a formidable and expenſive War, attended with uncommon and direful Circumſtances. But tho' the War was at an End, yet like a violent Diſtemper ill cured, it left very bad Effects and Reliques behind it, moſt Perſons taking the Liberty to expoſe and condemn the real or ſeeming Miſcarriages of the late Proceedings and Tranſactions. Concerning which we may take Notice of a Letter from the Lord *Arlington* to the Earl of *Sandwich* in *Spain*, upon the Concluſion of the Peace, in which are theſe Words; ‘ The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador here, and the Baron *d' Iſola* preſs his Majeſty very much to furniſh *Flanders* with a conſiderable Body of Foot; which his Majeſty only anſwers, *That, till he ſees himſelf in an intire Poſſeſſion of his Peace from* Breda, *he cannot enter into new Engagements*; eſpecially ſeeing the Emperor and *States* of *Holland* ſo backward, when they are more nearly concern'd. And the Truth is, my Lord, tho' the Peace be made with our Enemies abroad, there is ſuch a Fermentation of ill Humours at home, that no good Counſellor can adviſe his Majeſty to any new Hazards, or coſtly Deſigns, till he ſees his Affairs quieter at home.’ The Murmurings of ſo many, upon the Pretence of the late Miſcarriages and Miſmanagements, made it in effect neceſſary to throw the Odium upon ſome prime Miniſter of State, who muſt be given up a Sacrifice upon this Occaſion. In purſuance of this common Policy, on the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, his Majeſty thought fit to take the Seal from his old and faithful Miniſter, the Earl of *Clarendon*, and by that Mark of Diſgrace to give him up to the Malice of his Enemies, who ſhortly after hunted him into Impeachment and Baniſhment. The Great Seal was given to Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, with the Title of *Lord-Keeper*; a Perſon of ſufficient Note and Eminency in his Profeſſion, who had been ſucceſſively Lord-Chief-Baron of the *Exchequer*, and Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, before he arriv'd at this high Station; and yet had ſome Diſadvantage in ſucceeding a Perſon of ſo great and extenſive Abilities.

Diſcontents at home.

The Earl of Clarendon *remov'd.*

Sir O. Bridgeman *ſucceeds him*

The Cauſes, and the Steps towards the Fall and Diſgrace of the great *Clarendon* have been partly taken Notice of before, and how boldly he had been ſtruck at by the Head of the Popiſh Party, the Earl of *Briſtol*, and others; but here ſomething more ought to be added. It has indeed been often admired, that ſuch a good-natur'd Prince as King *Charles*, ſhou'd not only conſent to diſcard, but ſoon after to baniſh a Friend, who had been as honeſt and faithful to him as the beſt, and perhaps more uſeful and ſerviceable than any that he had ever employ'd; which ſurely cou'd never have been brought to bear without numerous Envyers and Enemies. To ſhew how theſe were rais'd, we are to remember, as before, that during the Height of his Grandeur, which continu'd two Years without Rivalſhip, as well as the reſt of his Miniſtry, he manifeſted an inflexible Steadineſs to the Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, in equal Oppoſition to the *Papiſts* on one Side, and the reſt of the Diſſenters on the other, ſo that none of theſe cou'd ever be reconcil'd to him, or his Proceedings. Yet he ſeem'd forward in the Beginning to do ſo much towards the making a Coalition of all Parties, that the Cavaliers, and ſtrict Churchmen, thought themſelves too groſsly neglected; and many of them, upon that Account, tho' unjuſtly, entertain'd inſuperable Prejudices againſt him, and join'd with the greateſt of his Enemies. His Authority was once ſo great and prevailing, that even when it was much diminiſh'd, the unpopular Acts, Miſcarriages or Misfortunes were generally charg'd upon him. Moreover his Perſonal Behaviour was attended with a Sort of a Gravity and Haughtineſs, that ſtruck a very diſagreeable Awe into a Court fill'd with comical and licentious Perſons of both Sexes. He often took Liberty to give ſuch Reproofs to theſe Perſons of Wit and Gallantry, as were very unacceptable to them; and ſometimes thought it his Duty to adviſe the King himſelf in ſuch a Manner, as they took Advantage of him, and as he paſs'd in the Court, wou'd often ſay to his Majeſty, *There goes your School-Maſter!* The Chief of theſe was the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had a ſurpriſing Talent of Ridicule and Buf-

Claren-don's *Fall, and Cauſes of it.*

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foonery; and that he might make way to his Ruin, he often did act and mimick this great Man in the Preſence of the King, walking ſtately with a Pair of Bellows before him for the *Purſe*, and Colonel *Titus* carrying a Fire-ſhovel on his Shoulder for the *Mace*; with which ſort of Banter and Farce the King was too much delighted and captivated. Theſe, with ſome more ſerious of the *Popiſh* Party, aſſiſted by the Solicitations of the Ladies of Pleaſure, made ſuch daily Impreſſions upon the Mind of the King, that he at laſt gave way, and became pleas'd and willing to part both from his Perſon and Services.

It is generally believ'd that the King had ſome particular and private Reſentments againſt him, as his checking of thoſe who were too forward in loading the Crown with Prerogative and Revenue, and ſuch like Proceedings. And more particularly we are told, That he had beſides countermin'd the King in a grand Deſign he had to be divorc'd from his Queen, under theſe Pretences, 'That ſhe had been preingag'd to another Perſon; or that ſhe had made a Vow of Chaſtity before her Marriage, and that ſhe was uncapable of having Children.' The Perſon deſign'd to ſupply her Place was Mrs. *Stuart*, a beautiful young Lady, who was related to the King, and had ſome Office under the Queen. The Chancellor, to prevent this, ſent for the Duke of *Richmond*, who was of the ſame Name, and ſeeming to be ſorry that a Perſon of his Worth and his Relation to his Majeſty ſhou'd receive no Marks of his Favour, advis'd him to marry the ſaid Lady, as the moſt likely way to advance himſelf. The young Nobleman, liking the Perſon, unwarily follow'd the Advice, made immediate Application to her Ladyſhip, who was ignorant of the King's Intentions, and in a few Days marry'd her. The King thus diſappointed, and ſoon after inform'd how the Match was brought about, baniſh'd the Duke with his new Dutcheſs from the Court, and reſerv'd his Reſentment againſt the Chancellor to a more convenient Opportunity. However it was, in a Letter to the Earl of *Sandwich* from the Lord *Arlington*, who never was a Friend to the Chancellor, we find theſe Words: 'His Majeſty hath taken the Seals from the Lord Chancellor, and given them to my Lord *Bridgeman*, with a great deal of Satisfaction to the World, and to Himſelf; and he hopes, *that rectifying ſome other important things before the Parliament*, he may expect they will deliver him out of the *Streights* he is ſo unhappily fallen into.' As to the private Reaſons of the King's abandoning the Chancellor, his Majeſty wrote an obliging Letter to the Duke of *Ormond*, then in *Ireland*, to give him Satisfaction in that Matter, as knowing him to be his intimate Friend. The Letter was never yet publiſh'd, nor wou'd a Copy of it be granted; but I have more than once been told the Subſtance of it by thoſe who have read it; and the principal Reaſon there given by the King was, *The Chancellor's Inſupportable Temper*.

One unpopular Act of his is not to be forgot, becauſe it had a great Influence in a ſhort Time; and this was the building a very ſtately large Houſe by the *Park*, call'd *Clarendon-Houſe*, which in a little Time obtain'd the Name of *Dunkirk-Houſe*, as tho' it had been built by the Mony taken for the Sale of that Place. This Houſe was built in the Chancellor's Abſence in the Plague Year, principally at the Charge of the *Vintner's Company*, who deſigning to monopolize his Favour, made it abundantly more large and magnificent than ever he intended or deſired. And I have been aſſured by an unqueſtionable Hand, that when he came to ſee the Caſe of that Houſe, he rather ſubmitted than conſented, and with a Sigh ſaid, *This Houſe will one Day be my Ruin!* Whatever his Failings/were, the King parted from this wiſe Counſellor when he had greateſt Need of him; for within three Months before, he had loſt his other chief Stateſman, the Lord Treaſurer *Southampton*. That great and excellent Man had always teſtify'd an inviolable Friendſhip to the Chancellor, and no Man was more ſenſible of his real Worth; and the laſt Time he appear'd at the Council-board, when Age and Infirmities wou'd hardly permit him to ſpeak, he bravely exerted himſelf in the Chancellor's Behalf, ſtood up, and ſpoke with all his Power to this Effect: *This Man is a true Proteſtant, and an honeſt* Engliſhman; *and while he is in Place, we are ſecure of our Laws, Liberties, and Religion; but whenever he ſhall be remov'd*, England *will feel the ill Effects of it:* All which came from a Perſon then preſent. Upon his Death, the King not knowing where to find a ſingle Man of equal Capacity for ſo great a Truſt, conſtituted Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, namely, his Grace the Duke of *Albemarle*, Lord General, the Right Honourable the Lord *Aſhley Cooper*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, Sir *William Coventry*, and Sir *John Duncomb*, Knights and Privy-Counſellors.

The Earl *of* Southampton *ſtands up for him.*

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The EIGHTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

2. In this Poſture of Affairs, on the 10th Day of *October*, after a double Prorogation, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, having in Effect had a Receſs of about nine Months, but from the laſt ſhort intermediate Meeting not above ten Weeks. This was properly the Eighth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament; at the Meeting of which there were great Expectations as to what ſhou'd be propos'd to them; and particularly it was not doubted but the King wou'd deſire Mony of them, after theſe extraordinary Charges and Expences: But his Majeſty very politickly declin'd that Motion at preſent, and only made this ſhort Speech to both Houſes: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, When we laſt met here, about eleven Weeks ago, I thought fit to prorogue the Parliament to this very Day, reſolving that there ſhou'd be a *Seſſion* now, and to give my ſelf Time to do ſome Things I have ſince done, *which I hope will not be unwelcome to you*, but a Foundation for a greater Confidence between us for the future. The other Reaſons for that Prorogation, and ſome other Matters with which I wou'd acquaint you, I have commanded my Lord-Keeper to declare unto you.'

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

The Lord-Keeper Bridgeman's *Speech.*

Hereupon the new Lord-Keeper *Bridgeman* made this handſom following Speech, which ſeems not too long to be verbally inſerted: '*My Lords, and you Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*, This Parliament (after many good and wholeſome Laws made with your Advice in ſeveral Seſſions, many great Supplies and Aids given to his Majeſty, and for the Maintenance of the Wars, and many other ſignal Teſtimonies of your Affection and Duty to him, for which his Majeſty again and again renews unto you his moſt hearty Thanks) was, as you very well know, Prorogu'd from *February* laſt, till this tenth of *October*; his Majeſty having then Reaſon to believe, that there cou'd be no Cauſe of your Re-aſſembling in the mean Time. But in this Interval, the *Dutch* (who ſince the War began, were ſtrengthen'd by the Union of *France* and *Denmark*, having a great Fleet) actually invaded the Land; and the *French* at the ſame time had a Royal Army in the Field, not far from the Sea-Coaſt; the Conjunction of which with the others, in ſome Deſign againſt *England*, or ſome other of his Majeſty's Dominions, we had then Cauſe to ſuſpect. In this Streight, his Majeſty (who in leſſer Difficulties had frequent Recourſe unto his Parliament, as his great and faithful Council, and therefore hath every Year once, often twice, Re-aſſembled you) thought it neceſſary to anticipate the Time, and iſſu'd out Proclamations for your Meeting on the 25th Day of *July* laſt. This, tho' unuſual, was done by the Advice of his Privy-Council; publick Neceſſity and Exigencies allowing, or at leaſt diſpenſing with many Things, which, except in ſuch Caſes, were not to be allow'd or diſpens'd withal. Before the 25th Day of *July*, there was a Proſpect and daily Expectation, and within three Days following, an Aſſurance of a Peace concluded with, and ratify'd by our three potent Adverſaries. The Storm which threatned us being thus blown over, and ſucceeded by ſo great a Serenity, it was rais'd as a Doubt by grave and wiſe Men, *Whether or no, the Neceſſities and Difficulties which caus'd ſo early a Summons being remov'd, you cou'd Sit or Act as a Parliament before the 10th of* October; being the fix'd Time to which you were formerly Prorogu'd. For this Cauſe, together with thoſe others mention'd by his Majeſty, he in his Princely Wiſdom held it neceſſary, in a Matter of ſo great Conſequence, again to fix upon this Day for your Meeting in Parliament, about which there can be no Diſpute; which being thus twice prefixt, and you Meeting here upon a double Call, his Majeſty hopes it is a happy Omen, *That this Seſſion of Parliament* (which in Law is but this one Day, all Acts of this *Seſſion* referring to it, unleſs otherwiſe ſpecially provided) *will be happy and proſperous to his Majeſty, to You, and to the whole Kingdom.*

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, His Majeſty ſuppoſes, That no Man wou'd expect, that during your Receſs he ſhou'd have refuſed Overtures of Peace: The Vicinity as well as Potency of his united Enemies, the great Expences of the War, carry'd on with much Diſadvantage, by reaſon of the Plague and diſmal Fire in *London*, the Conſideration of the Poſture of Affairs abroad, beſides many other Motives obvious unto you, induc'd him to embrace the Opportunity of concluding a Peace. But you well know, That tho' the War be at an End, all the Effects thereof are not yet ended. It will require Time and your good Advice, to remove thoſe Obſtructions which hinder the Current of Trade both at home and abroad. And in this Particular, his Majeſty thinks fit to recommend it to your Wiſdom, to ſettle ſuch a Balance of Trade between his Subjects of this Kingdom and thoſe of *Scotland*, as that we may not be prejudic'd by the

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‘ Import of their Commodities hither; nor yet they be ſo diſcourag'd, as to leave off Trading here, and find out other Vent abroad more dangerous to us. This he finds too hard for him without your Aſſiſtance, tho' upon your recommending it to him, he has us'd ſome Endeavours therein. His Majeſty formerly promis'd, *That you ſhou'd have an Account of the Monies given towards the War*, which his Majeſty has commanded his Officers to make ready: And ſince that way of *Commiſſion*, wherein he had put the Examination of them, hath been ineffectual, he is willing you ſhou'd follow your own Method, examine them in what way, and as ſtrictly as you pleaſe; he doth aſſure you, *He will leave every one concern'd to ſtand or fall, according to his own Innocence or Guilt.* His Majeſty has Reaſon to believe, That ſome diſaffected Perſons, taking Advantage of the publick Neceſſities, have ſpread abroad Diſcourſes and Rumours reflecting upon the Government, intending thereby to beget a Diſaffection in his good Subjects: And it is an eaſy thing to take Exceptions, *Cum neque Culpam humana infirmitas, neque Calumniam regnandi Difficultas evitet.* But his Majeſty promiſes himſelf from your good Affections, that every one of you in your ſeveral Places will endeavour to preſerve a good Underſtanding between Him and his People: And if any juſt Grievances ſhall have happen'd, his Majeſty will be as willing and ready to redreſs them for the future, as you to have them repreſented unto him. And his Majeſty doubts not but you will give healing and moderate Counſels, and imprint that known Truth into the Hearts of his Subjects, *That there is no diſtinct Intereſt between the King and his People; but the Good of One, is the Good of Both.*

Immediately after, the Houſe of Commons took into Conſideration what had been ſaid to them, and reſolv'd upon an Addreſs of Thanks to his Majeſty, in which they deſir'd and obtain'd the Concurrence of the Lords. Accordingly, on the 15th of *October*, the two Houſes in a Body, with their Speakers, attended the King in the *Banquetting-Houſe* at *Whitehall*; where the Lord-Keeper, as Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, in the Name of both Houſes, repeated this following Addreſs to his Majeſty:

The Addreſs of both Houſes to the King.

‘ We your Majeſty's loyal and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, having taken into our ſerious Conſideration your Majeſty's gracious Speech, wherein you were pleas'd to let us know, That your Majeſty thought fit to prorogue this Parliament till the 10th of *October*, *That you might give your ſelf Time to do ſomething which wou'd not be unwelcome, but a Foundation for a greater Confidence between your Majeſty and your People*; We find our ſelves bound in Duty to return your Majeſty our humble and hearty Thanks for the gracious Declaration of your Royal Intentions in that your Majeſty's gracious Speech, and in that deliver'd by your Majeſty's Command by the Lord Keeper. And particularly, “ That your Majeſty has been pleas'd to diſband the late rais'd Forces; and to diſmiſs the Papiſts from out your Guards, and other military Employments: For your Majeſty's Care in quickning the Execution of the Act *for reſtraining the Importation of foreign Cattle:* For cauſing the *Canary Patent* to be ſurrender'd and vacated: And more eſpecially, That your Majeſty hath been pleas'd to diſplace the late Lord Chancellor, and remove him from the Exerciſe of publick Truſt and Employment in Affairs of State.” To which Addreſs his Majeſty was pleas'd to make this Return; *I thank you for your Thanks; I am glad the things I have done have given you ſo good Satisfaction: And for the Earl of* Clarendon, *I aſſure you I will never employ him again in any publick Affairs whatſoever.*

His Anſwer.

The Commons Proceedings againſt the Earl of Clarendon.

3. The King ſhewing himſelf ſo ready to give up the Earl of *Clarendon*, incourag'd the Houſe of Commons to be more forward and zealous in the Proſecution of that ſinking Stateſman. Every Man ſeem'd prepar'd to join in the general Cry againſt him; and beſides what has been related, the Count *D'Eſtrades*, in his Memoirs, tells us that Foreigners had a conſiderable Stroke in his Diſgrace, particularly the *Spaniſh* and Imperial Miniſters, the Count *de Molina*, and the Baron *d'Iſola*, who thought him not ſufficiently engag'd with the *Spaniſh* Party, which then, and for ſome Time after, prevail'd and govern'd in the Court of *England*. The Houſe of Commons being ſufficiently diſpos'd and prepar'd, on the 26th of *October*, Mr. *Edward*, ſince Sir *Edward Seymour*, was the firſt Man that charg'd the Earl *viva voce* with many great and heinous Crimes. Upon which there aroſe a Debate in the Houſe how they ſhou'd proceed upon it; ſome moving he *ſhou'd be Impeach'd in the Name of the Commons, till Articles ſhou'd be form'd againſt him*; others urg'd, *That Witneſſes ſhou'd be firſt examin'd to ſee how the Charge might be made good, leſt in Caſe of Failure it might reflect on the Honour of the Houſe.* After a long Debate a Committee was appointed to ſearch Records for Parliamentary Proceedings in the like Caſes; from which Sir *Thomas Littleton* making Report on the 30th, that they had found various Proceedings in ſeveral Parliaments, there aroſe another long Debate, which was maintain'd with great Warmth, and in which the Earl was loaded with many heavy Crimes and Miſdemeanors. The chief Speakers againſt his Lordſhip were Mr. *Seymour*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Thomas Oſborn*, Sir *Robert Howard*, Mr. *Garraway*, Lord *Saint John*, Sir *Charles Wheeler*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Marvel*, Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, Mr. *Waller*, and Sir *John Vaughan*; which laſt having been formerly intimate with the Chancellor, upon the Reſtoration finding himſelf receiv'd with more Coolneſs than he expected, omitted no Opportunity of oppoſing him; and in theſe Debates none purſu'd him with greater Animoſity. The chief on the other Side, who ſtood up in Favour of the Earl, were Sir *Heneage Finch*, Sir *Francis Goodrick*, Mr. *Coventry*, Sir *Edward Thurland*, Sir *John Brampſton*, Sir *John Talbot*, Sir *John Shaw*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, and the Earl's own Son, Mr. *Lawrence Hyde*; which laſt, being beſt ſatisfy'd of the Unreaſonableneſs of the Accuſation, and the Miſtakes in the Particulars, with no leſs Modeſty than filial Piety, declar'd, *He was ſenſible the Houſe might think him partial; but that he ſhou'd endeavour to ſhew himſelf not ſo much the Son of the Earl of* Clarendon, *as a Member of that Houſe: That if he ſhou'd be found guilty, no Man ſhou'd be more againſt him than he; otherwiſe he hop'd every one wou'd be for him as much as himſelf: That every one in his own Conſcience was to conſider what of that Charge was true; ſince he was aſſur'd, That if one Article was prov'd againſt the Earl, he and all his Friends wou'd own him guilty of all the reſt.*

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His Son vindicates him.

This was a fair and noble Challenge; but however the Debate ended in a Vote, that the Committee ſhou'd reduce the Accuſation to Heads, and preſent them to the Houſe; all which was done on the 6th of *November*; when Sir *Thomas Littleton* reported and read the ſame as follows:

The Commons Articles againſt him.

‘ I. That the Earl of *Clarendon* hath deſign'd a ſtanding Army to be rais'd, and to govern the Kingdom thereby; and advis'd the King to diſſolve this preſent Parliament, and to lay aſide all Thoughts of Parliaments for the future, to govern by a Military Power, and to maintain the ſame by Free-Quarter and Contribution. II. That he hath, in the hearing of the King's Subjects, falſly and ſeditiouſly ſaid, *That the King was in his Heart a Papiſt, or Popiſhly affected*; or Words to that Effect. III. That he hath receiv'd great Sums of Mony for the Procuring of the *Canary Patent*, and other illegal Patents; and granted illegal *Injunctions* to ſtop Proceedings at Law againſt them, and other illegal Patents formerly granted. IV. That he hath adviſed and procur'd divers of his Majeſty's Subjects to be impriſon'd againſt Law, in remote Iſlands, Garriſons, and other Places, thereby to prevent them from the Benefit of the Law, and to produce *Precedents* for the impriſoning any other of his Majeſty's Subjects in this Manner. V. That he procured his Majeſty's Cuſtoms to be Farmed at Under-Rates, knowing the ſame; and great pretended Debts to be paid by his Majeſty, to the Payment of which his Majeſty was not ſtrictly bound; and afterwards receiv'd great Sums of Mony for procuring the ſame. VI. That he receiv'd great Sums of Mony from the *Company of Vintners*, or ſome of them, or their Agents, for inhanſing the Prices of Wines, and for freeing them from the Payment of legal Penalties, which they had incurr'd. VII. That he hath in a ſhort Time gain'd to himſelf a greater Eſtate than can be imagin'd to be gain'd lawfully in ſo ſhort a Time; and, contrary to his Oath, he hath procured ſeveral Grants under the Seal, from his Majeſty to himſelf and Relations, of ſeveral of his Majeſty's Lands, Hereditaments and Leaſes, to the Diſprofit of his Majeſty. VIII. That he hath introduc'd an Arbitrary Government in his Majeſty's Foreign Plantations, and hath caus'd ſuch as complain'd thereof before his Majeſty and Council, to be impriſon'd for ſo doing. IX. That he did reject and fruſtrate a Propoſal and Undertaking, approv'd by his Majeſty, for the Preſervation of *Nevis*, and *Saint Chriſtopher's*, and reducing the *French* Plantations to his Majeſty's Obedience, after the Commiſſions were drawn for that Purpoſe; which was the Occaſion of our great Loſſes and Damages in thoſe Parts. X. That he held Correſpondence with *Cromwell* and his Complices, when he was in Parts beyond the Seas, attending his Majeſty, and thereby adhered to the King's Enemies. XI. That he adviſed and effected the Sale of *Dunkirk* to the *French* King, being Part of his Majeſty's Dominions; together with the Ammunition, Artillery, and all Sorts of Stores there, and for no greater Value than the ſaid Ammunition, Artillery and Stores were worth. XII. That the

‘ ſaid Earl did unduely cauſe his Majeſty's Letters Patents, ‘ under the Great Seal of *England*, to one Dr. *Crowther*, ‘ to be alter'd, and the Enrollment thereof to be unduely ‘ raſed. XIII. That he hath in an Arbitrary Way examin'd and drawn into Queſtion divers of his Majeſty's ‘ Subjects concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods, ‘ Chattels and Properties, determin'd thereof at the *Council Table*, and ſtopp'd Proceedings at Law by Order of ‘ the *Council Table*, and threatned ſome that pleaded the ‘ Statute of the 17th *Car.* I. XIV. That he hath cauſed ‘ *Quo Warranto's* to be iſſu'd out againſt moſt of the Corporations of *England*, immediately after their *Charters* ‘ were confirm'd by an Act of Parliament, to the Intent ‘ he might require great Sums of Mony of them for renewing their *Charters*; which when they comply'd withal, he caus'd the ſaid *Quo Warranto's* to be diſcharg'd, ‘ and Proſecution therein to ceaſe. XV. That he procur'd the Bills of Settlement of *Ireland*, and receiv'd ‘ great Sums of Mony for the ſame in a moſt corrupt and ‘ unlawful Manner. XVI. That he hath deluded and ‘ betrayed his Majeſty and the Nation in all Foreign Treaties, ‘ and Negotiations relating to the late War, and betray'd ‘ and diſcover'd his Majeſty's ſecret Counſels to his Enemies. XVII. That he was the Principal Author of that ‘ Fatal Counſel of dividing the Fleet about *June* 1666.’

Their Examination of the Particulars.

After Reading theſe Heads of Accuſation, it was reaſonably mov'd, That *in regard the Articles were many, they might be referr'd to a Committee to ſee how far they were true, becauſe Fame was too ſlender a Ground to bring a Man upon the Stage.* But this was carry'd in the Negative; and ſo they proceeded to the Reading the Articles ſingly and ſeparately, and to ſpeak to the Truth or Probability of them. The Firſt Article being read, to ſee what cou'd induce the Houſe to Impeach, Sir *Robert Howard* and Sir *John Vaughan* ſaid, *They heard from Perſons of Quality, that it wou'd be prov'd.* As to the ſecond Article, the Lord *Saint John* ſaid, *Perſons of great Quality had aſſur'd him to make it good; and if they did not, he wou'd acquaint the Houſe who they were.* Mr. *Seymour*, as to the third Article, alledg'd *That ſufficient Perſons wou'd make it good*, with this additional Saying, *So long as the King is King, and I Lord Chancellor, the Patents will ſtand.* The fourth and fifth Articles, Sir *Richard Temple* ſaid, *Divers had undertaken to make good; if they did not, he wou'd name them:* And for the Receiving Money of the Vintners, Sir *Robert Car* ſaid *That he knew who wou'd prove it.* About his getting a great Eſtate ſo ſuddenly, Mr. *Seymour* ſaid *They need not prove that the Sun ſhone at Noon-Day*; and Sir *Thomas Littleton* added *That his Place as Chancellor cou'd not be worth above four or five Thouſand Pounds a Year.* Then, about introducing an Arbitrary Government in the Plantations, Sir *Thomas Littleton* and Sir *Thomas Osborn* alledg'd *That one* Farmer *and others came from* Barbadoes *to complain of it, and lodg'd their Petition in that Houſe, but were impriſon'd, that they might not be heard:* And, for fruſtrating Propoſals for preſerving *Nevis*, &c. Sir *Charles Wheeler* ſaid *My Lord Chancellor only oppos'd it.* As to the Sale of *Dunkirk*, Sir *Thomas Osborn* ſaid, *a great Lord told him, that he had made a Bargain for* Dunkirk *three Quarters of a Year before it was known.* Then, for the Article of ſealing Dr. *Crowther*'s Patent, Mr. *Streeter* ſaid *the King gave a Living to* Crowther; *that in the Grant there was a Miſtake of a County*; Crowther *finding the Miſtake, petition'd the King to mend it: that the King call'd for the Chancellor and Seal, and in the King's Preſence it was amended and Seal'd.* Mr. *Thompſon* ſaid, *He ſhou'd be able to make good the Article of drawing Mens Lands into Queſtion:* And for *Quo Warranto*'s to Corporations, Sir *Thomas Littleton* ſaid, *It was ſo publick a Thing that it need not to be prov'd.* Sir *Robert Howard* doubted not *but the Buſineſs about the Settlement of* Ireland *wou'd be made out*: And, for Foreign Treaties *it wou'd*, according to Sir *Thomas Littleton*, *appear by the Treaties themſelves, putting them in Hopes of Peace, and ſo hindering the Fleets ſetting out.* Laſtly, Mr. *Thompſon* ſaid, *He did not want Perſons to make good the Article about the Miſcarriage of the War.*

Thus every Perſon declar'd his Opinion and Belief upon Matters of which they had but a very imperfect Knowledge; the Accuſation being chiefly founded upon common Reports, and ſtrong Prejudices, attended with weak Proofs and dubious Circumſtances. But one of the Articles, the Tenth in Number, concerning the Earl's Correſpondence with *Cromwell* upon a Debate was found to be within the general Act of Indemnity, and therefore was drop'd and expung'd. Having gone over the reſt of the Articles, and a Member moving *that they ſhou'd know where and when ſuch and ſuch Words were ſpoken*, it was anſwer'd, *That wou'd be a Way to ſuppreſs the Evidence*; and at laſt the Queſtion being put Whether the Houſe had ſufficient Inducement to Impeach, it was carry'd in the Affirmative. So on the 9th of *November* the firſt Article being read, a long and learn'd Debate aroſe whether to accuſe him of Treaſon upon it; but it was carry'd by a great Majority in the Negative. The ſecond Article was debated, but not voted: The Third and Fourth were ſo on carry'd againſt the Earl: The Fifth had the ſame Fate with the Second: The Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth, were read and voted. But the Tenth, that of *Dunkirk*, admitted of a ſtrenuous Debate, and at laſt was paſſed by, without determining whether it was Treaſon or not. The Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth, were carry'd without Oppoſition. As to the Fifteenth, which was now the laſt but one, after a Debate it was carry'd to Impeach of Treaſon.

They impeach him of High-Treaſon, &c.

Accordingly they reſolv'd that Impeachment of Treaſon, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors, ſhou'd be carry'd up to the Lords againſt him by Mr. *Edward Seymour*; who on *November* the 12th went up to the Houſe of Lords; and the Lord-Keeper *Bridgman* being come to the Bar to meet him, he deliver'd Himſelf to this purpoſe: *My Lords, The Commons aſſembled in Parliament, having been informed of ſeveral Traiterous Practices, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors committed by* Edward *Earl of* Clarendon, *a Member of this Honourable Houſe, have commanded Me to Impeach him: And I do accordingly Impeach him of High-Treaſon, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors, in the Name of the ſaid* Commons, *and of all the* Commons *of England. And they have farther commanded me to deſire your Lordſhips to ſequeſter him from Parliament, and to Commit him to ſafe Cuſtody, and in convenient Time they will Exhibit Articles againſt him.*

Sir Stephen Fox *for him.*

It is to be remember'd, that in all the Proceedings of the Commons againſt this unfortunate Man, Sir *Stephen Fox*, who had a particular Place in the King's Houſhold, as well as in the Commons, always voted in Favour of the Earl. For which he was reprimanded by the King himſelf, who ſeeing him one Day, ſaid, *How now*, Fox, *how came you to vote againſt my Inclinations*? Sir *Stephen* bravely anſwered to this Effect, *Sir, I have known this Gentleman many Years, and have liv'd under the ſame Roof with him; and I am ſure he is an honeſt Man, and can never be guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge.* Upon which the King reply'd with a Puff, *Ay*, Fox, *you will ſay any thing*; and ſo turn'd away without any more Words, or future ſhow of Reſentment.

The Lords diſagree with the Commons;

4. Thus the Commons proceeded with an irreſiſtible Career, till they met with a Check from the Lords, which caus'd a Diviſion between both Houſes. For the Lords being not ſatisfy'd with a general Way of Impeaching the Earl, on the 15th of *November* ſent down to deſire a Conference in the *Painted-Chamber*. At which, without any Debate, the Earl of *Oxford* deliver'd a Paper to this Effect: ‘ That the Lords had not committed the Earl of ‘ *Clarendon*, becauſe the Accuſation was only of *Treaſon* ‘ *in General*, without Charging him with any Thing in ‘ *Particular*.’ Upon this there aroſe a warm Debate in the Houſe of Commons, in which Mr. *Garraway* ſaid, *I had rather the Houſe ſhou'd loſe the Puniſhment of this Man, tho' a great Offender, than that this Houſe ſhould loſe its Privilege: For if this Houſe may at no Time Impeach a Lord without giving in Particular Articles, it may fall out at a Time (as in the Duke of* Buckingham'*s Caſe) where a great Man by his Intereſt with the King procures the Diſſolution of the Parliament, and then the Accuſation falls.* The Debate ended in a Reſolution to appoint a Committee to draw up Reaſons to juſtify what they had done; and which were delivered in three Days after: Of which this ſeems to be the Principal; ‘ If before ſecuring the Perſons, the ‘ Special Matter of the Treaſon ſhou'd be alledg'd, it ‘ wou'd be a ready Courſe that Complices in the Treaſon might make their Eſcape, or quicken the Execution of ‘ the Treaſon intended, to ſecure themſelves the better thereby.’ The Reaſons, with divers Precedents to inforce them, were on the 28th communicated at a Free Conference: In which the Lords chiefly inſiſted upon the *Petition of Right*, where it was provided that none ſhou'd be committed without ſpecial Cauſe, whereby the Party might anſwer according to Law; from whence they inferr'd ‘ That the Commons Proceedings were contrary to Law, becauſe a General Charge was againſt the *Petition of Right*.

Who reſent it.

On the 2d of *December* the Lords confirm'd their Proceedings, and ſent down a Meſſage to the Commons by two Judges, to this Effect, ‘ That upon the Report made ‘ to them of the laſt Free Conference, they were not ſatisfy'd to Commit or Sequeſter from Parliament the Earl ‘ of *Clarendon*, without the particular Treaſon were mention'd or aſſign'd.’ This threw the Houſe of Commons into a great Ferment, and occaſion'd ſeveral warm Speeches, particularly from Mr. *Waller* and Sir *John Vaughan*. The Former ſtood up and ſaid, *The Lords are a noble Eſtate, but whatever the Matter is, they have of late ſome Advice given them, which makes them proceed as they never did yet; for ſcarce any Thing happens, but they encroach up-*

Warm Speeches in the Houſe.

on us. The Militia *is now as burthenſome to the Fifty Pound Man in the Country, almoſt as all other Taxes, and the Lords have gotten this Advantage on us, that they touch not the Burthen of it with their Finger: So in the Time of the* Plague, *the Commons muſt be ſhut up, but not They; inſomuch that a good Act provided to that Purpoſe paſſed not. We Impeach'd the Lord* Mordant, *and cou'd not bring him to the Bar, tho' formerly I have known an* Earl *and a* Lord *brought thither; you deſired a Free Conference about it, but cou'd not obtain one to this Day.* Rome *was at firſt modeſt, and only meddled with* Spirituals, *but afterwards concern'd themſelves ſo much with other Matters, that every Thing was made to be* in Ordine ad Spiritualia, *and many Kingdoms thereupon broke from them. The Lords now inſiſt upon One Thing, becauſe they ſay* it is in Order to their Judicature, *perhaps hereafter they will tell us we muſt come to them on our Knees, becauſe it is* in Order to their Judgment. *Conſider therefore whether there be any hope of giving them Satisfaction.* Sir *John Vaughan* was long about Precedents and Law, upon the latter of which the Lords had inſiſted; and he ſaid That in the free Conference *there was much Diſcourſe about the* Great Charter, *and of the Statute* of 28 Edw. III. *but not apply'd: So that I thought Law in a Lord's Mouth was like a Sword in a Lady's Hand; the Sword might be there, but when it comes to cut, it wou'd be awkward and uſeleſs.---- The Concluſion muſt be, that no Impeachment by the Commons muſt go on, unleſs it be by* Preſentment; *and ſo there is an End of all that for which the Parliament is principally call'd; unleſs we are Part of thoſe five Hundred contemptible Ones, who are only fit to give Money: That may be reſerv'd for us, but nothing elſe.*

On the other Side Mr. *Colembine* ſtood up, and thus modeſtly argu'd in Favour of the Lords: *The Lords ſay,* That Committing upon a general Impeachment was againſt Law, *and he thought it wou'd appear ſo: He deny'd not, but a* Mittimus *without ſpecial Cauſe might be Legal, and grounded upon the* Petition of Right; *the Reaſon of which was to ſecure Men againſt Commitment by a ſpecial Warrant, and a Judge ought not to diſcharge where Treaſon was alledg'd: But in this Caſe it was different, the Judges could not diſcharge a Man committed after Examination, but the Lords ought not to Commit a Man, except there were particular Treaſon. That if he came before a Juſtice of Peace, and ſaid,* I accuſe this Man of Treaſon, *wou'd any wiſe Man commit him? He made his Warrant indeed, but he that accus'd muſt go farther, and make it more Particular, and the Special Matter muſt appear before he Commits; and this was the preſent Caſe. The Common Law was,* That no Man ought to be committed without particular Cauſe; *becauſe no Man could commit in Capital Matters, without taking Examination before-hand, otherwiſe no Man cou'd juſtify a Commitment: Therefore he was not ſatisfy'd that the Lords had not Reaſon to deny it. That the Commons were in the Nature of a* Grand Jury *to preſent, but the Lords were the* Judges: *That* Commitment *was not the* Judgment, *but in order to it; and the Lords had a Diſcretionary Power in the Caſe: They ſaid not* that they wou'd not Commit, *but* that they were not ſatisfy'd to do it without Special Matter; *therefore the Commons ought to ſend it up.* After all the Debate, the Houſe came to this poſitive Reſolution, ‘That the Lords, not having comply'd with the Deſire of the Commons in Committing the Earl of *Clarendon*, and Sequeſtring him from Parliament upon the Impeachment from that Houſe, was an Obſtruction to the Publick Juſtice of the Kingdom, and a Precedent of evil and dangerous Conſequence:’ And upon this they appointed a Committee to draw up a Declaration to vindicate their Proceedings.

The Earl of Clarendon *withdraws, and leaves a remarkable* APOLOGY.

II. 1. During theſe Diviſions and Struggles, the Earl of *Clarendon*, finding the Storm to bear very hard upon him from all Quarters, eſpecially from the Court, thought it moſt adviſable to withdraw himſelf, and only to leave behind him ſome written Vindication of his Innocence and Honour; which he did in a Paper thus entitled, *To the Right Honourable, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled: The Humble Petition and Addreſs of* Edward *Earl of* Clarendon. Which Paper, tho' often before printed and publiſhed, is ſo informing and material, that it wou'd be a maiming this Hiſtory to omit any Part of it; therefore it is inſerted as follows: ‘*May it pleaſe your Lordſhips*, I cannot expreſs the inſupportable Trouble and Grief of Mind I ſuſtain under the Apprehenſion of being miſrepreſented to your Lordſhips: And when I hear how much of your Lordſhips Time hath been ſpent upon the Mention of me, as it is attended with more Publick Conſequence, and of the Difference in Opinion, which hath already, or may probably ariſe, betwixt your Lordſhips and the Honourable Houſe of Commons, whereby the great and weighty Affairs of the Kingdom may be obſtructed, in a Time of ſo general Diſſatisfaction, I am very unfortunate to find my ſelf to ſuffer ſo much under two very diſadvantagious Reflections, which are in no Degree applicable to me. The Firſt, *From the Greatneſs of my Eſtate and Fortune, collected and made in ſo few Years*; which if it be proportionable to what is reported, may give reaſonable Cauſe for my Integrity to be ſuſpected. The Second, *That I have been the ſole Manager and chief Miniſter of all the Tranſactions of State, ſince the King's Return into* England *to* Auguſt *laſt*; and therefore that all Miſcarriages and Misfortunes ought to be imputed to me, and to my Counſels.

1. ‘*Concerning my Eſtate*, your Lordſhips will not believe, that after Malice and Envy have been ſo inquiſitive and ſharp-ſighted, I will offer any Thing to your Lordſhips, but what is exactly true: And I do aſſure your Lordſhips, in the firſt Place, that, excepting the King's Bounty, I have never receiv'd or taken one Penny, but what was generally underſtood to be the juſt and lawful Perquiſites of my Office, by the conſtant Practice of the beſt of Times; which I do, in my own Judgment, conceive to be that of my Lord *Coventry*, and my Lord *Elleſmere*, the Practice of which I conſtantly obſerv'd; altho' the Office in both theſe Times was lawfully worth double to what it was to me, and I do believe now is. That all the Courteſies and Favours which I have been able to obtain from the King, or other Perſons, in Church, State, or *Weſtminſter-Hall*, have been never worth to me five Pounds; ſo that your Lordſhips may be confident I am as innocent from Corruption, as I am from any Diſloyal Thoughts; which after near thirty Years Service of the Crown, in ſome Difficulties and Diſtreſs, I did never expect wou'd be objected to me in my Age. And I do aſſure your Lordſhips, and will make it very manifeſt, That the ſeveral Sums of Mony, and ſome Parcels of Land, which his Majeſty hath bountifully beſtow'd upon me ſince his Return into *England*, are worth more than all I have amounts to; ſo far am I from advancing my Eſtate by *indirect Means*. And tho' this Bounty of his Majeſty hath very far exceeded my Merits, or my Expectations; yet ſome others have been as fortunate at leaſt in the ſame Bounty, who had as ſmall Pretences to it, and have no great Reaſon to envy my Condition.

2. ‘*Concerning the other Imputation of the Credit and Power of being Chief Miniſter, and ſo cauſing all to be done that I had a mind to*; I have no more to ſay than that I had the good Fortune to ſerve a Maſter of very great Judgment and Underſtanding; and to be always join'd with Perſons of great Ability and Experience, without whoſe Advice and Concurrence, never any thing hath been done. Before his Majeſty's coming into *England*, he was conſtantly attended by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the late Lord *Colepeper*, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, who were equally truſted with my ſelf, and without whoſe joint Advice and Concurrence, when they were all preſent (as ſome of them always were) I never gave any Counſel. As ſoon as it pleaſed God to bring his Majeſty into *England* he eſtabliſh'd his Privy-Council, and ſhortly out of them a Number of honourable Perſons of great Reputation (who for the moſt Part are alive ſtill) as a *Committee for Foreign Affairs*, and Conſideration of ſuch Things, as the Nature of them require with Secrecy: And with theſe Perſons he vouchſaf'd to join me; and I am confident the *Committee* never tranſacted any Thing of Moment (his Majeſty being always preſent) without preſenting the ſame to the Council-Board: And I muſt appeal to them concerning my Carriage, and whether we were not all of one Mind in all Matters of Importance. For more than two Years I never knew any Difference in the Council, or that there were any Complaints in the Kingdom; which I wholly impute to his Majeſty's great Wiſdom, and the entire Concurrence of his Council, without the Vanity of aſſuming any thing to my ſelf: *And therefore I hope I ſhall not be ſingly charged with any thing that hath ſince fallen out amiſs.* But from the Time that Mr Secretary *Nicholas* was remov'd from his Place, there were great Alterations; and whoſoever knew any thing of the Court or Council, knew well how much my Credit ſince that Time hath been diminiſh'd, tho' his Majeſty graciouſly vouchſaf'd ſtill to have my Advice in moſt of his Affairs: Nor hath there been, from that Time to this, above One or Two Perſons brought into Council, or preferr'd to any conſiderable Office in the Court, who have been of my intimate Acquaintance, or ſuſpected to have any Kindneſs for me; and moſt of them notoriouſly known to have been very long my Enemies, and of different Judgment and Principles from me, both in *Church* and *State*; and have taken all Opportunities to leſſen my Credit with the King, and with all other Perſons, by miſrepreſenting and miſreporting all that I ſaid or did; and perſuading Men *That I had done them ſome Prejudices with his Majeſty, or croſs'd them in ſome of their Pretences*; tho' his Majeſty's

jeſty's Goodneſs and Juſtice was ſuch, that it made little Impreſſion upon him.

3. ‘In my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes of the Kingdom have proceeded from the War, to which it was notoriouſly known that I was always moſt averſe; and may without Vanity ſay, I did not only foreſee, but I did declare the Miſchiefs we ſhou'd run into, *by entering into a War before any Alliance made with Neighbour Princes:* And that it may not be imputed to his Majeſty's Want of Care, or the Negligence of his Counſellors, that no ſuch Alliances were enter'd into; I muſt take the Boldneſs to ſay, that his Majeſty left nothing unattempted in order thereunto: And knowing very well that *France* reſolv'd to begin a War upon *Spain*, as ſoon as his *Catholick* Majeſty ſhou'd depart this World; which being much ſooner expected by them, they had in the two Winters before been at great Charge in providing plentiful Magazines of all Proviſions upon the Frontiers, that they might be ready for the War; his Majeſty us'd all poſſible Means to prepare and diſpoſe the *Spaniards* with that Apprehenſion, offering his Friendſhip to that Degree, as might be for the Security and Benefit of both Crowns. But *Spain* flattering it ſelf that *France* wou'd not break with them, at leaſt that they wou'd not give them any Cauſe, by adminiſtring Matter of Jealouſie to them, never made any real Approach towards Friendſhip with his Majeſty; but both by their Ambaſſadors here, and to his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors at *Madrid*, always inſiſted as Preliminaries, upon the giving up of *Dunkirk Tangier*, and *Jamaica*. Tho' *France* had an Ambaſſador here, to whom a Project for a Treaty was offer'd, and the Lord *Hollis*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at *Paris*, us'd all Endeavours to promote and proſecute this Treaty; yet it was quickly diſcern'd, That the principal Deſign of *France* was to draw his Majeſty into ſuch a nearer Alliance, as might advance their Deſign, without which they had no Mind to enter into the Treaty propos'd. And this was the State of Affairs, when the War was enter'd into with the *Dutch*; from which Time neither Crown concern'd themſelves with the making Alliance with *England*.

‘As I did from my Soul abhor the Entering into this War, ſo I never preſum'd to give any Advice or Counſel for the Way of managing it, but by oppoſing any Propoſition which ſeem'd to the late Lord Treaſurer and my ſelf, to be unreaſonable, *as the Payment of Seamen with Tickets*, and many other Particulars which added to the Expence, my Enemies took all Occaſions to inveigh againſt me; and making their Friendſhip with others out of the Council, of more licentious Principles, and who knew well enough how much I diſlik'd and complain'd of the Liberty they took to themſelves *of reviling all Counſels and Counſellors, and turning all things ſerious and ſacred into Ridicule*; they took all Ways imaginable to render me ungrateful to all Sorts of Men (whom I ſhall be compell'd to name in my Defence) perſuading thoſe that miſcarry'd in any of their Deſigns, *That it was the Chancellor's Doing*; whereof I never knew any thing. However they cou'd not withdraw the King's Favour from me, who was ſtill pleas'd to uſe my Service, with others; nor was there ever any thing done but upon the joint Advice of at leaſt the Major Part of thoſe that were conſulted with. And as his Majeſty commanded my Service in the late Treaties, ſo I never gave the leaſt Advice in private, nor wrote one Letter to any one Perſon in any of thoſe Negotiations, but upon the Advice of the Council, or at leaſt by the King himſelf, and ſome others. And if I prepared any *Inſtructions* or *Memorials*, it was by the King's Command, and the Requeſt of the Secretaries, who deſired my Aſſiſtance: Nor was it any Wiſh of mine own, That any Ambaſſador ſhould give me any Account of their Tranſactions, but to the Secretaries, with whom I was always ready to adviſe: Nor am I conſcious to my ſelf of ever having given Advice that hath proved miſchievous or inconvenient to his Majeſty: And I have been ſo far from being the ſole Manager of Affairs, that I have not, in the whole laſt Year, been twice with his Majeſty in any Room alone, and very ſeldom in the two or three Years preceding. And ſince the Parliament at *Oxford*, it hath been very viſible that my Credit hath been very little; and that very few things have been hearken'd unto, which have been propos'd by me, but contradicted, *eo Nomine*, becauſe propos'd by me.

4. ‘*I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to remember the Office and Truſt I had for ſeven Years; in which, in Diſcharge of my Duty, I was oblig'd to ſtop and obſtruct many Mens Pretences, and to refuſe to ſet my Seal to many Mens Pardons, and other Grants, which wou'd have been profitable to thoſe who procured them; and many whereof, upon my Repreſentation to his Majeſty, were for ever ſtop'd; which naturally have rais'd many Enemies to me.* And my frequent concurring with the late Lord Treaſurer, with whom I had the Honour to have a long and a faſt Friendſhip to his Death, in repreſenting ſeveral Exceſſes and Exorbitancies (the yearly Iſſue ſo far exceeding the Revenue) provok'd many Perſons concern'd, of great Power and Credit, to do me all the ill Offices they cou'd. And yet I may faithfully ſay, That I never meddled with any Part of the Revenue, or the Adminiſtration of it, but when I was deſired by the Lord Treaſurer to give him my Aſſiſtance and Advice (having had the Honour to ſerve the Crown as *Chancellor of the Exchequer*) which was for the moſt Part in his Majeſty's Preſence. Nor have I ever been in the leaſt Degree concern'd in Point of Profit in the letting any Part of his Majeſty's Revenue, nor have ever treated or debated it but in his Majeſty's Preſence; in which my Opinion concurr'd always with the major Part of the Counſellors who were preſent. All which, upon Examination, will be made manifeſt to your Lordſhips, how much ſoever my Integrity is blaſted by the Malice of thoſe, who, I am confident, do not believe Themſelves. Nor have I in my Life, upon all the Treaties, or otherwiſe, receiv'd to the Value of one Shilling from all the Kings and Princes in the World (excepting the Books of the *Louvre* Print, ſent me by the Chancellor of *France* by that King's Direction) but from my own Maſter; to whoſe entire Service, and the Good and Welfare of my Country, no Man's Heart was ever more devoted. This being my preſent Condition, I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to retain a favourable Opinion of me, and to believe me to be innocent from thoſe foul Aſperſions, until the contrary ſhall be proved; which I am ſure can never be, by any Man worthy to be believ'd. And ſince the Diſtemper of the Times, and the Difference between the two Houſes in the preſent Debate, with the Power and Malice of my Enemies, who give out, *That I ſhall prevail with his Majeſty to Prorogue or Diſſolve this Parliament in Diſpleaſure*, and threaten to expoſe me to the Rage and Fury of the People, may make me be look'd upon as the Cauſe which obſtructs the King's Service, and the Unity and Peace of the Kingdom; I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips, that I may not forfeit your Lordſhips Favour and Protection, *by withdrawing my ſelf from ſo powerful a Perſecution*; in hopes I may be able, by ſuch Withdrawing, hereafter to appear, and make my Defence; when his Majeſty's Juſtice, to which I ſhall always ſubmit, may not be obſtructed nor controuled by the Power and Malice of thoſe who have ſworn my Deſtruction.’

Thus was this great Man, who had ſo often triumph'd in his Eloquence almoſt from the Throne, reduc'd to employ his Parts to plead, in effect, at the Bar of the ſame Houſe; and had the farther Miſfortune to have his noble Apology turn'd againſt himſelf, and made a particular Aggravation of the Crimes laid to his Charge. The Lords, upon receiving this Addreſs, on the 3d of *December* ſent a Meſſage to the Commons by two Judges, ‘That they had receiv'd a large Petition from the Earl of *Clarendon*, which intimated that he was withdrawn;’ and ſoon after deſir'd a preſent Conference with them. At which Conference the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was plainly aim'd at in the Petition, deliver'd it to the Commons, and with his uſual way of Inſult and Ridicule ſaid, *The Lords have commanded me to deliver to you this ſcandalous and ſeditious Paper ſent from the Earl of* Clarendon: *They bid me to preſent it to you, and deſire you in convenient Time to ſend it to them again; for it has a Stile which they are in love with, and therefore deſire to keep it.* As to the Earl's Retreat and Departure, the Publick gave this following Advertiſement of it: ‘*Whitehall, December* the 4th. Yeſterday Morning became publick the firſt Notice of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s having withdrawn himſelf, but the Time when he retired is not certain. This Afternoon his Majeſty was pleas'd to declare his Pleaſure in Council, that the ſaid Earl be put out of the Council, and remain henceforth diveſted of the Place of a Counſellor.’ The laſt Perſon of Note who took Leave of this unfortunate Gentleman in *England*, was his intimate Acquaintance Sir *Stephen Fox*, who had always been true and faithful to him: Being arriv'd at the melancholy Place, and embracing each other with all the Tenderneſs and the Meltings of parting Friends, the Earl ſpoke to this Effect; *Dear Sir* Stephen, *give my humble Service, and my hearty Thanks to all my Friends you meet with; and let them know from me, That if they can but forgive the Folly of the great Houſe, they ſhall never have Reaſon to be aſham'd, or repent of whatever they have done for me.* So, taking his laſt Leave, he went over into *France*, where he continu'd an Exile to the Time of his Death, which happen'd juſt ſeven Years after.

The Earl leaves England.

And goes into France.

2. When the Earl's Addreſs and Apology was read by the Commons, it occaſion'd a new Turn, and a new Warmth in the Debates of that Houſe. Lawyer *Vaughan* began with great Fury, and among other Things ſaid, *It*

Warm Speeches among the Commons.

is the firſt Time that ever I heard an innocent Man run away under the greateſt Charge, with Hopes to return again and vindicate himſelf. Mark one Expreſſion; he ſays, He is as far from Corruption, as he is from Diſloyalty: *If he ſaid, he was guilty of Neither, he had ſaid ſomething, but by that Expreſſion he may be guilty of Both. So inſolent a Paper I never met with in this Kingdom, nor have I ever heard the like in any other: So inconſiderable a Part of the Nation as he is, to lay it upon the Nation, who, if innocent, might defend himſelf; if guilty, why does he charge the Nation with Perſecuting? Therefore, without troubling our ſelves with it, do as the Lords have done, who deliver'd it to us as a* ſcandalous and ſeditious Paper; *it has Malice in it, and is the greateſt Reproach upon the King and the whole Nation, that ever was given by Man.* Therefore in Concluſion he put the Queſtion, *Whether the Paper ſhou'd be voted Scandalous and Malicious, and a Reproach to the Juſtice of the Nation?* Which was carry'd in the Affirmative. Sir *Robert Howard* mov'd that it ſhou'd be burnt by the Common Hangman; but that was oppos'd, becauſe the Lords deſir'd the Paper to be return'd; yet ſtill at laſt that was carry'd alſo in the Affirmative. In this Heat ſeveral other Things were propos'd, but for a while kept in Suſpence; only they appear'd reſolute in the Juſtification of their own Proceedings.

The Lords ſend down a Bill to baniſh the Earl.

On the 13th of *December* they met with another Turn, which was a Bill ſent down from the Lords *For the Baniſhment of the Earl of* Clarendon. Upon the Reading of which, ſeveral Objections were made; and it being alledg'd, That it was an Abuſe put upon the Commons by the Lords, and that a Bill of Attainder being propos'd, after ſome Debate the Houſe paſs'd this Vote; '*Reſolved,* That this Houſe taking Notice of the Flight of the Earl of *Clarendon*, being under an Impeachment of High-Treaſon by this Houſe, the King's Majeſty be humbly deſired to iſſue out his Proclamation for ſummoning the ſaid Earl to appear by a Day, and to apprehend him in order to his Tryal: And that the Lords be ſent to for their Concurrence in this Vote.' But the Lords, who ſeem'd to have a more favourable Opinion of the Perſon accuſed, as well as a Concern for their own Rights, wou'd not concur; and on the following Day deliver'd their Reaſons, and particularly declared, 'That their Lordſhips, upon Conſideration of the whole State of Affairs, and of the Kingdom, have, upon Grounds of Prudence and Juſtice, thought fit, for Security of King and Kingdom, to proceed in a *Legiſlative Way* againſt the ſaid Earl; and have to that End paſs'd and ſent down a Bill of Baniſhment and Incapacity againſt him; with which their Vote was inconſiſtent.' This brought on a Debate concerning the Bill of Baniſhment, which ſome thought too little for the Crimes alledg'd, and others too great for the Cauſe in Hand. Mr. *Swinford* ſpoke his Mind freely, and among other things ſaid, *The Lords will neither ſecure nor ſummon him, but will condemn him unheard; and this they put you upon, which is againſt Honour and Juſtice, eſpecially to do it upon Reaſon of State. The Power of Parliaments is indeed Great; it hath no Bounds, but the Integrity and Juſtice of Parliaments. If Reaſon of State be a Motive of Parliament to baniſh one Man, ſo it may be for many. If you go in this* Legiſlative Way, *you bring upon your ſelves all the Diſhonour of the Buſineſs; but the Lords will have ſome Excuſe, which you cannot; for they look'd upon the Charge ſo ſlight, as not to impriſon him. The Party is gone,* apprehending, *he ſays,* the Fear of the Multitude, not of his Tryal; *ſo the Lords not giving Credit to your Charge againſt him, he ſays,* He flies not from Juſtice. *Now if upon this Bill you ſhou'd baniſh him, it wou'd be ſaid, You cou'd not make good your Charge, and therefore laid this Sentence upon him. The Precedent is alſo dangerous, if having gone ſo far in a* Judicial Way, *you ſhou'd now go in a* Legiſlative. *If, upon Reaſon of State, Lords might be baniſh'd, it may be by Dozens: As you proceed juſtly, ſo you will be juſtify'd.* After ſeveral Speeches, on the 18th of *December* the Bill was read the Third time in a thin Houſe, and the Queſtion being put for paſſing it, ſixty five were for it, and forty two againſt it. It eaſily obtain'd the King's Aſſent, either becauſe he had entertain'd inſuperable Prejudices againſt the Earl, or, as in the Caſe of proſecuting the *Papiſts*, becauſe he cou'd deny nothing required by his two Houſes of Parliament: Yet this ſhort Method was thought the moſt politick Courſe to prevent a legal Anſwer, and to ſtop the Diſcovery of ſome Secrets that muſt have been otherwiſe expos'd.

Debates upon it.

The Bill paſs'd.

Reflections upon the Earl's Fate.

Such was the Fate and Fortune of this great and wiſe Stateſman, who by his ſignal Abilities and indefatigable Induſtry had rais'd himſelf from the Station of a common Gentleman to the greateſt Heights in the Kingdom, ſo as to be plac'd above the Level of Subjects, becoming accidentally the Grandfather of two glorious Queens: And now, in the 60th Year of his Age, burthen'd with Infirmities, he was ſent to paſs the reſt of his Life in perpetual Baniſhment, after he had ſpent the Vigour of it, and weather'd innumerable Storms in the moſt difficult Services of two great Kings. As has been before hinted, it muſt be acknowledg'd, That in his Station he carry'd himſelf with ſomewhat a greater Reſerve and Haughtineſs than became him, or was uſeful to him, which alone muſt neceſſarily create him Enemies; for tho' his other Virtues were above the reſt of his Kind, yet ſtill nothing is ſo diſagreeable to Human Nature as Neglect or Contempt. And of this a very prudent Check was once given to this great Man, according to the following Story we find in the anonymous Writer of his Life. Some Time after the Reſtoration, the Lord-Chancellor *Clarendon*, then in the Heighth of his Grandeur, going down to his Seat of *Cornbury* in *Oxfordſhire*, all the Gentry round the Country flock'd thither to pay their Reſpects to his Lordſhip: Amongſt the reſt appear'd old *William Lenthall*, the Speaker of the Long Parliament, who coming pretty late into the Hall, and obſerving the Company ſcornfully ſmiling at him all along as he paſs'd up to the Chancellor; after he had made his Compliment, with a handſom Addreſs he took Notice to his Lordſhip, That he had obſerv'd the Gentlemen to ſmile and jeſt to ſee him come to attend his Lordſhip; then looking round, he added, *My Lord, pray obſerve, theſe very Gentlemen here preſent, that now come to pay their Reſpects to your Lordſhip, have formerly done the very ſame to me.* A juſt Reprimand to the Gentlemen, and a wiſe Caution to the Chancellor to be on his Guard, leſt it might come to his Turn to be as much deſpis'd, as he was then courted by them; which indeed his haſty Fate afterwards brought upon him.

Acts paſs'd, and the Parliament adjourn'd for ſeven Weeks.

On the 19th of *December*, the Day after the Commons had paſs'd the Bill againſt the Earl, the King by Commiſſion paſs'd that, and four other Bills, *viz.* 1. An Act *for taking the Accounts of the ſeveral Sums of Mony herein mention'd.* 2. An Act *for aſſigning Orders in the Exchequer without Revocation.* 3. An Act *to make Prize-Ships free for Trade.* And, 4. An Act *for ſettling Freedom and Intercourſe of Trade between* England *and* Scotland. Immediately after, Mr. Secretary *Morrice* deliver'd this Meſſage from the King to the Houſe of Commons; 'His Majeſty having by a former Meſſage acquainted you, That he intended an Adjournment to the Beginning of *February*; he doth now conceive, That *Thurſday* the 6th of *February* is a convenient Day to which ſuch an Adjournment may be made: And his Majeſty is willing to adjourn to that Time.' Accordingly the Parliament broke up, after it had ſate a little above two Months, and without any Prorogation, had now a Receſs of above ſeven Weeks.

3. For a Concluſion of this Year, we ſhall take Notice of ſome few Matters of inferior Note, beſides the Deaths of ſome eminent Men. A little before the Meeting of the Parliament, his Majeſty having Notice of the vaſt Concourſe of many Perſons of the *Romiſh* Religion to the Chappels at St. *James*'s and *Somerſet-houſe*, he gave Order in Council, and by Proclamation, 'That if any of his Subjects, not being of the Families of the Queen, or Queen-Mother, or of foreign Ambaſſadors, ſhou'd repair to hear *Maſs*, or perform any Exerciſes of the *Romiſh* Religion, that they ſhou'd be ſeverely proſecuted, and have ſuch Puniſhments inflicted upon them as were provided by Law.' This was a very popular Act at this Time; and indeed the King took Delight in theſe and other leſſer Ways of ingratiating himſelf to the People, eſpecially where he met with little Trouble or Expence. Accordingly, on the 23d of *October*, he rode into the City with great Splendor, and laid the firſt Stone of the Foundation of the *Royal-Exchange* in *London*; and was after that entertain'd on the Place by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and there conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon the two Sheriffs, Mr. *Dennis Gauden* and Mr. *Thomas Davis.* About ſeven Days after, the Duke of *York*, attended with ſeveral Noblemen, went into the City; and being honourably receiv'd by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and treated in a Tent on Purpoſe, with the uſual Ceremonies, laid the firſt Stone for a ſecond Pillar; which gave ſo great Encouragement to the Workmen, that ſo large a Structure was never carry'd on with greater Expedition.

Proclamation againſt Papiſts.

The King lays the Foundation of the Exchange.

The Deaths of the Earl of Southampton.

As to the Deaths of eminent Men, we ſhall begin with *Thomas Wriotheſley* Earl of *Southampton*, before-mention'd in this Year, the laſt, and not the leaſt worthy of the famous *Quadrumvirate*, that had offer'd their Lives to ſave that of their Royal Maſter, the other three being the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, afterwards Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Earl of *Lindſey*. His Character has been already given; therefore we ſhall only ſay that no Family cou'd produce a truer Patriot and *Engliſhman*, nor ſhew more Honour and Integrity, Judgment and Penetration, Humility and Charity, than what were to be found in this great Man; yet he cou'd not eſcape without

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ſuffering ſixty thouſand Pounds Loſs in the late Times of Diſtraction. After him we ſhall mention two great Prelates, Dr. *Matthew Wren*, Biſhop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Jeremy Taylor*, Biſhop of *Down* and *Connor* in *Ireland*.

Bp. Wren.

The Former was educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was Fellow of *Pembroke-Hall*, and then Maſter of *Peter-Houſe*; from whence he was remov'd through ſeveral Preferments, as the Deanery of *Windſor*, the Biſhopricks of *Hereford* and *Norwich*, to the See of *Ely*; in all which he ſhew'd himſelf a Perſon of great Learning, ſingular Gravity, and exemplary Piety, and of no little Severity, eſpecially againſt the Puritan Party, towards whom he us'd ſo high a Hand, that many of them, in his Dioceſe of *Norwich*, left the Nation, and ſettled in foreign Parts. For which, when the Times turn'd, he was grievouſly perſecuted and oppreſs'd by the Plunder of his Goods, Seizure of his Eſtate, and by a cloſe Impriſonment in the *Tower* of *London*, which he endur'd with great Magnanimity near eighteen Years: From whence he was reſtored to his Biſhoprick of *Ely*, in which, notwithſtanding his former Loſſes, he perform'd ſeveral Acts of Charity and Munificence, and particularly became a noble Benefactor to his own College of *Pembroke-Hall*, where he built and endow'd a very beautiful Chappel, which this Year was made his Burying-place, being eighty one Years of Age.

Bp. Taylor,

The other Prelate, Biſhop *Taylor*, was born in *Cambridge*, and educated in *Gonvil* and *Caius* College, from whence, by Arch-Biſhop *Laud*'s Means, he remov'd to *All-Souls* in *Oxford*, where he ſoon diſplay'd his wonderful Parts and Abilities. Being in the Way to great Preferment, and the Civil Wars breaking out, he attended the King's Army in the Condition of a Chaplain, and after that was compell'd to a mean Retreat in *Wales*; in which Solitude he compos'd many excellent Treatiſes, highly valu'd for the Exactneſs of Wit, Profoundneſs of Judgment, Richneſs of Fancy, Copiouſneſs of Invention, and general Uſefulneſs to all the Purpoſes of a Chriſtian. From thence he remov'd firſt to *London*, and then into *Ireland*, where, upon the Reſtoration, he was made Biſhop of *Down* and *Connor*, and had the Adminiſtration of the See of *Dromore* granted to him by the King. Here he further diſplay'd his mighty Talents, and ſhew'd with an unbounded Imagination all the Eloquence of Orators, all the Flights of Poetry, together with all the Strictneſs and Regularity of the deepeſt Caſuiſts.

Mr. Cowley,

Beſides theſe Three, we are to mention ſome others, all of different Characters, Profeſſions and Employments: And firſt Mr. *Abraham Cowley*, the Ornament of the *Engliſh* Nation, as well by the Candor of his Life as the Excellency of his Writings, a Perſon born in *London* and educated in *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, and afterwards in Foreign Countries under the Earl of St. *Albans*. His incomparable Parts, and admirable Faculties in Poetry caus'd him to be call'd the *Pindar*, the *Maro*, and the *Flaccus* of the Age: He had a moſt towering Genius, a moſt pregnant Invention, and a moſt luxuriant Fancy, and all accompany'd with ſuch ſingular Modeſty and Sweetneſs of Temper, that upon the News of his Death at Court, the King was pleas'd to ſay, *That Mr.* Cowley *had not left a better Man behind him in* England. He dy'd in the 49th Year of his Age; and tho' his Life was retired and ſomewhat obſcure, yet his Funeral was ſolemniz'd at *Weſtminſter-Abby* with great Pomp, at the Charge of his Patron the Duke of *Buckingham*, who placing him near *Chaucer* and *Spenſer*, erected a noble Monument to his Memory.

Dr. Skinner,

The next was Dr. *Stephen Skinner*, a celebrated Phyſician, educated in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, from whence he travell'd into many Countries, viſited the Courts of divers Princes, frequented ſeveral Univerſities, and obtain'd the Society and Friendſhip of the moſt learned Men of them: At *Heidelberg* he was honour'd with the Degree of Doctor of Phyſick; being not only eminent in that Faculty, but well vers'd in moſt Parts of Learning, moſt skilful in the Oriental Languages, an excellent *Grecian*, and in ſhort a living Library. Returning into *England*, he ſettled at the City of *Lincoln*, where he ſucceſsfully follow'd his Employment, and dy'd in great Reputation with all the Gentry in thoſe Parts.

Mr. Hughs,

The Third was Mr. *George Hughs*, one of the moſt noted *Presbyterian* Miniſters of this Time, eſpecially in the Weſt of *England*, where he made a greater Figure, and had a greater Intereſt and Influence than moſt of his Brethren. He was many Years Miniſter of St. *Andrews* in *Plymouth*, where he ſhew'd himſelf a Perſon of great Induſtry, celebrated Learning, ſtrict Morality, and of a very obliging Diſpoſition, which, after his Ejectment by the *Bartholomew* Act, caus'd him to be much belov'd and eſteem'd by many of the Epiſcopal Clergy, with whom, in the Time of his Proſperity, he had cultivated a fair and generous Correſpondence.

And George Withers.

In the laſt Place we ought not to forget *George Withers*, the Poet, Prophet, *&c.* the Reverſe of Mr. *Cowley*; who under the Name of Verſe and Prediction undertook to revile all Governments and Governors, and publiſh'd to the World no leſs than a Hundred ſeveral Pieces, many of which were much read and admir'd by young Perſons, eſpecially thoſe puritannically educated; while others of more Senſe and Judgment look'd upon them as the Fancies of a conceited, and confident, if not Enthuſiaſtical Brain. His Verſe and Rimes were wild and rambling; and the Titles of his Books will give the Reader ſome Idea of the Man, of which two are here mention'd. *Amygdala Britannica, Almonds for Parrots: A Diſh of Stone-Fruit, partly ſhell'd, and partly unſhell'd; which (if crack'd, pick'd, and digeſted) may be wholſom againſt thoſe Epidemick Diſtempers of the Brain, now predominant*, &c. printed 1647. The other was, *The dark Lanthorn, containing dim Diſcovery, in Riddles, Parables, and Semi-Riddles, intermix'd with Cautions, Remembrances, and Predictions*, &c. printed 1650. Yet this Man was a dangerous Incendiary, and able to do a great deal of Miſchief.

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III. 1. Some Time before the Removal and Diſgrace of the Earl of *Clarendon*, the Meaſures of the *Engliſh* Court gradually became more variable and uncertain, Popery as well as Pleaſures became more open and uncontroul'd, and more deſperate and Quack Remedies were us'd in the State than before; and after his Removal, Parties were ſecretly excited and let looſe againſt each other, to the Advancing of the private Projects of the Court, but to the general Sickening of the Community. Only we muſt except the Beginnings of the new Miniſtry, which did ſome Things much to the Honour and Advantage of the *Engliſh* Nation.

The Engliſh *Court apprehenſive of the growing Power of* France:

For now *England*, as well as *Holland* and the Empire, became ſenſible of the Diſproportion between the two Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, of the Flowings of the One, and the Ebbings of the Other. The ſwift Progreſs of the *French* King was ſufficient to alarm all his Neighbours, tho' he pretended to Nothing but a peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Rights of his Queen: Upon which Account the Baron *d'Iſola*, formerly mention'd, wrote a very notable Treatiſe, call'd *The Buckler of State and Juſtice*, in which he manifeſtly refuted the *French* Pretenſions, and prov'd the Validity of the Renunciations at the *Pyrenean* Treaty by ſuch ſtrong Arguments, that, the Book being tranſlated into *Engliſh*, it made an extraordinary Impreſſion upon the Court and Country. The Lord-Keeper *Bridgeman*, and the Earl of *Arlington* himſelf, was forward in guarding againſt the new Danger; and the King was ſo ſatisfy'd in the Matter, that on the firſt of *January*, he came to a full Reſolution to enter into a ſtrict League with *Holland*, and to endeavour to extend it to a Triple Alliance, by engaging *Sweden* in the ſame Meaſures, for the mutual Defence of the three Allies, the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and the Repoſe and Safety of *Chriſtendom*.

To check which Sir William Temple *is ſent into* Holland.

For the Management of this great Work, Sir *William Temple* was appointed to repair with all Expedition into *Holland*, with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary. The Steps and Progreſs of this whole Treaty are ſo curious, and the Management ſo dextrous, that we ought to omit no Part of the Account of them, which we have from Sir *William*'s own Writings, who beſt knew the Proceedings. The Particulars are the more to be obſerv'd, becauſe the *French* King had ſome Intimations or Suſpicion of ſome ſuch Treaty as was now ſet on Foot, and yet was not ſo apprehenſive of the Effects of it, as to exert his utmoſt to prevent it; but ſeem'd rather to ſlight it, as we find in a Letter from his Secretary *de Lionne* to the Ambaſſador *d'Eſtrades* at the *Hague*, in *November* laſt, in which he ſays,

The French *King not fearful of the Deſign.*

'The *States* muſt certainly 'think, that being engag'd by the Treaty of 1662, to be 'Guarantee of the King's Rights, and not only neglecting 'that, but Confederating to hinder his Majeſty from obliging his Enemies to do him Juſtice; that his Majeſty, 'after ſo direct a Contravention on their Part, has no great 'Reaſon to depend much on the Contents of that Treaty, 'from which yet the *United Provinces* have hitherto drawn 'many Advantages, and his Majeſty as many Prejudices 'by a War undertaken ſolely for their Intereſts, and againſt all thoſe of his Crown.-----If, after the King has 'put into the Hands of the *States* the Certainty of Peace, pro'vided they wou'd exert themſelves as they ought to the '*Spaniards*, the ſaid *States*, inſtead of that, take up the Cards, 'and make Alliances contrary to the Intereſt of his Ma'jeſty; we ſhall not be ſo much diſturb'd at it here as they 'think. I know what I ſay, and on what Foundation I 'ſay it: Thoſe who wou'd do us a Miſchief, wou'd do 'more to Themſelves, and perhaps better advance the In'tereſt of his Majeſty; *therefore live merrily, whatever you 'ſee happen.*

About a Month after, *d'Eſtrades*, who had been very buſy in endeavouring to bring the *States* to join and force the *Spaniards* to a Compliance, wrote thus to Secretary *de Lionne*: 'We are now at the Criſis of Affairs; and what

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The Opinion of his Ambaſſador.

the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador has ſaid and written againſt Monſieur *de Wit*, will not a little help me to puſh on my ſide the taking of a good Reſolution. Since this Extravagance of that Ambaſſador, I ſee many which were cool for Monſieur *de Wit*, grow warm, and take his Part. I cannot yet ſend you any Thing poſitive, but hope that He will bring his Maſters to a good Reſolution. We muſt deal by Degrees with this People, and not think of bringing them all at once to a Rupture with *Spain*, but engage and bind them in a Treaty, ſo that at laſt they cannot help it.' Thus was this Miniſter very ſanguine, and full of Hopes of a Compliance from the *States*, in the Month of *December*.

Sir William Temple *firſt confers with the Penſionary* de Wit.

2. But in the Beginning of *January* the Scale was ſoon turn'd by the Arrival and Management of Sir *William Temple*, who immediately and cloſely apply'd himſelf to Monſieur *de Wit:* At the firſt Conference with the Penſionary, he began with telling him, 'That he cou'd not but remember, that when he paſs'd that Way the laſt Month into *England*, he told him, upon what Points the King his Maſter deſir'd with all Secrecy to know his Opinion, and by that to gueſs at what might be the *States*, upon the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs in *Flanders*, that his Majeſty might accordingly take his own Meaſures. That the King gueſs'd by the general Carriage and Diſcourſes of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *London*, the *States* were not willing to ſee *Flanders* over-run by *France*, but cou'd not find they had any Thing poſitive to ſay to him upon that Subject: That his Maſter had therefore ſent him privately and plainly to tell him his Mind, as to a Man of Honour, and who he believ'd wou'd make no ill Uſe of it; and, if he thought fit, to know his Sentiments upon that Affair. That for his Majeſty, he neither thought it fit for his own Intereſt nor Safety, nor for that of the *States*, or of *Chriſtendom* in General, that *Flanders* ſhou'd be loſt; and therefore was reſolv'd to do his utmoſt to preſerve it, provided the *States* were of the ſame Mind, and that it might be done in Conjunction between them; and to that End, deſir'd to know whether the *States* wou'd enter into an Alliance with him, both Defenſive between Themſelves, and Offenſive againſt *France*, for the Preſervation of *Flanders*. That Monſieur *de Wit* might remember his Anſwer was, *Firſt, much Applauſe of his Majeſty's Reſolution*; *great Acknowledgment of his Confidence towards him by that Communication, and an Aſſurance that the* States *wou'd be of the ſame Mind, as to the Preſervation of* Flanders; *which was their neareſt Intereſt next their own: That he found both his Majeſty and the* States *had the ſame Mind as well as Intereſt in this Matter, but that the Diſtruſt remaining upon the late Quarrel between them, had kept either of them from beginning to enter frankly upon it. But ſince his Majeſty had been pleas'd to break it to him, in a Manner ſo obliging, tho' he cou'd not pretend to tell Sir* William *his Maſters Mind, yet he wou'd his own*; *which was, That the Defence of* Flanders *was abſolutely neceſſary*; *but that it ought to be try'd firſt rather by a joint Mediation of a Peace between the two Crowns of* France *and* Spain, *than by a Declaration of War*; *but that if the Firſt wou'd not ſerve, it ought to come to the Other. That Sir* William *knew*, France *had already offer'd a Peace to the Overtures made by the* States *upon the* Alternative, *at the Choice of the* Spaniards: *That he thought the Mediation of* England *and* Holland *ought to be offer'd to both Crowns upon that Foot, to induce* France *to make good their own Offer, and* Spain *to accept it: and that to this Purpoſe, he thought it very Neceſſary to make a ſtrict Alliance between his* Britannick *Majeſty and the* States. *That for making an* Offenſive *Alliance, it could not be*; *for it was a* Maxim *obſerv'd by that* State, *never to make any, at leaſt when they were in Peace: That for* Defenſive *Leagues, they had them with many Princes, and he believ'd they wou'd be ready to enter into one with his Majeſty; at leaſt, he wou'd uſe all his Endeavours to bring the* States *to ſuch Opinions and Reſolutions.*

When Sir *William Temple* had repeated all this, and obſerv'd by the Penſionary's Face and Action, that he aſſented to this Recital, he ask'd him, *Whether this was all right, that he might know whether he had miſtaken Nothing in repreſenting his Majeſty's Meaning to him, nor his to his Majeſty:* He fairly anſwer'd him, *That it was all right, and that he very well remember'd it*, and much commended a Method of Proceeding *ſo exact and ſincere.* Hereupon Sir *William* purſu'd his Diſcourſe, and let him know, 'That upon his faithful Repreſenting theſe Things to the King his Maſter, his Majeſty had taken ſo much Confidence in the Penſionary's Opinion and Judgment, as well as in his Credit with the *States*, that he had taken a firm and ſudden Reſolution upon it; Firſt, *to join with the* States *in the Offer of a Mediation between the two Crowns*, and upon ſuch Terms as They and He ſhou'd agree; but with a Deſire that they might be as advantagious as the *States* cou'd be induc'd to, for the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and Recovery of ſuch Places as ſhou'd be moſt neceſſary to it: In the next Place, *to conclude a Treaty, the ſtrongeſt that cou'd be, between* England *and* Holland, *for obliging* France *to accept the Peace upon thoſe Terms*, and in the mean Time for putting a Stop to the Courſe of their Arms in *Flanders*. But that his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to begin all this, with a ſtrict League between him and the *States*, for their own mutual Defence, and to this purpoſe had ſent Him over as his Envoy to the *States* with full Powers, and the Draught of a *Defenſive League* between them; but referr'd the reſt, concerning *Flanders*, to what the *States* and He ſhou'd agree.

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Car. 19.
Ref. 8.

Monſieur *de Wit*, who had ſome Years before far engag'd himſelf in the Intereſt of *France*; but who, like a wiſe and dextrous Politician, made ſenſible of a falſe Step before committed, rather endeavour'd to retrieve it by Degrees, than by a quick Turn expoſe his former Conduct, receiv'd Sir *William*'s Diſcourſe with a Countenance pleas'd, but yet ſomewhat ſurpris'd, as if he expected not a Return from his Majeſty ſo ſudden and reſolute. He ſaid, *The* States *wou'd be very much pleas'd with the Honour his Majeſty did them, and the Overtures he made them; that Sir* William *ſhou'd chuſe his Time, whenever he deſir'd it, for his Audience; and he wou'd paſs the Forms of demanding it from the* Preſident of the Weeks: *That he was ſtill confident, the* States *wou'd enter with his Majeſty into the Mediation, tho'* France *gave them hopes of ſucceeding by their Own: That the* Provinces *differ'd in Opinion, upon what Terms the Peace ſhou'd be made: That* Utrecht *was ſo bold as to think*, Nothing but Juſtice ought to be conſider'd in the Caſe: *That all that* France *had conquer'd ſhou'd be reſtor'd to* Spain, *and their Pretenſions referr'd to Judgment or Arbitrage. But* Holland *and moſt of the other* Provinces *were of another Mind; and conſidering their own preſent Condition, as well as that of* France, *thought it beſt to keep the* French *to their own Offer*; *but he believ'd wou'd come to Means of more Force, if* France *ſhou'd recede from what they themſelves had advanc'd to the* States. *That for the* Defenſive League *between the King and the* States, *he did not know whether the late Sore were yet fit for ſuch an Application, but wou'd try the Minds of the* States. *That he doubted, they wou'd think it like to prove too ſudden a Change of all their Intereſts, and that which wou'd abſolutely break them off from ſo* Old *and* Conſtant *a Friend as* France, *to rely wholly upon ſo* New *and ſo* Uncertain *a Friend, as* England *had prov'd.*

De Wit's Anſwer.

Sir William's *Reply*, &c.

To all which, Sir *William Temple* anſwer'd, 'That the Doing what he ſaid, wou'd be the Effect of any Treaties of this Nature between the two Nations, let them be as tenderly handled and compos'd as they cou'd: That *France* wou'd take it as ill of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, to be ſtopp'd in the remaining Conqueſt of *Flanders*, as to be forc'd out of all they had already gain'd: That he knew very well, it had been long their Deſign, at any Price, to poſſeſs themſelves of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*: and he knew as well, that it was their Intereſt to do ſo, conſidering the Advantage it wou'd give them over the reſt of *Chriſtendom*; that it was as much the Intereſt of *England* and *Holland* to hinder it, and that nothing cou'd do it but a firm Conjunction between them. That the *States* Part wou'd be next after *Flanders* was gone, and therefore they had now as much Need of being protected by *England* againſt *France*, as they thought they had three or four Years ago of being protected by *France* againſt *England*; and that they had no other Choice, but to continue their Friendſhip with *France*, till they ſhou'd ſee both *Flanders* and themſelves ſwallow'd up by ſuch a Neighbour; or elſe change their whole Meaſures, and enter into the ſtricteſt Alliance with his *Britannick* Majeſty, for the Preſervation of both; and let *France* take it as they pleas'd.' Monſieur *De Wit* confeſs'd the Deſigns of *France* for the Conqueſt of *Flanders*, acknowledg'd the Treaties they had made with the *States* in Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Time, and lately offer'd again for *Partitioning* the Provinces between them; and further ſaid, 'He well underſtood the Danger of ſuch a Counſel and Neighbourhood, elſe he ſhou'd have fallen into them: But the Ventures were great on the other Side too: That the *States* were much more expos'd than the King; That the *Spaniards* were weak, and ill to be truſted by the *States*, between whom there never had yet been better Meaſures, than barely that of the *Munſter* Peace, after ſo great Rancors and long Hoſtilities. That tho' he believ'd the *German* Princes wou'd be glad of what his Majeſty propos'd, yet he knew not how far *Sweden* might be engag'd in the Meaſures with *France*; who lay there at their Backs in the Dutchy of *Bremen*. And laſt of all, tho' this Reſolution ſeem'd now to be taken by his *Britannick* Majeſty and his Miniſters, on the ſu-

‘reſt and wiſeſt Foundations, which were thoſe of true *Intereſt* and *Safety*; yet no Man knew how long it might laſt. That if they ſhould break all other Meaſures with *France*, and throw themſelves wholly upon his Majeſty by ſuch a Conjunction, any Change of Counſels in *England* wou'd be their certain Ruin: That he knew not this preſent Miniſtry, and could ſay nothing to them; *but that he knew the laſt too well.*’ Upon which he began to expatiate upon the uncertain Conduct of *England* ſince the King's Return, and concluded, that the Unſteadineſs of Counſels in *England*, ſeem'd a fatal Thing to its Conſtitution: That he wou'd not judge from what Grounds, *But from the Time of Queen* Elizabeth, *there had been a perpetual Fluctuation in the Conduct of* England, *with whom it was not poſſible to take Meaſures for two Years together.*

After this ended, with ſome Melancholy which look'd a little irreſolute, Sir *William* argued, ‘That as to their own Intereſts, the Penſionary knew them, and cou'd weigh them better than himſelf: That after his Audience, and firſt Conference with Commiſſioners, he ſhou'd quickly ſee how the *States* wou'd underſtand them; in which he knew very well how great a Part the Penſionary wou'd have. That as for the Danger, he confeſs'd the *Dutch* wou'd be firſt expos'd to *France*, and *England* the laſt; which made it reaſonable, they ſhou'd make the firſt Pace to their Safety. That for *Sweden*, he had no Orders to negotiate with them; but being fully inſtructed in his Majeſty's general Intentions, he ſhou'd be glad to ſee them ſtrengthen'd all he cou'd: And to that Purpoſe, if he thought fit, he wou'd talk to the Count *de Dona*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, and ſee whether he had any Powers to engage that Crown in any common Meaſures for the Safety of *Chriſtendom*; that if by ſuch a Conjunction they cou'd extend it to a *Triple Alliance*, upon the ſame Foundation, he believ'd he muſt think it too ſtrong a Bar for *France* to venture on. That for the Unſteadineſs of the *Engliſh* Counſels, he wou'd rather bewail than defend it; but that he ſhou'd not have made this Journey, if he had not been confident *That* had been ended, and Things now bottom'd paſt any Change or Remove. That he cou'd not pretend to know any Body's Mind certainly, but his own; but upon this Matter, he was as confident of his Majeſty's, the Lord-Keeper's, and the Lord *Arlington*'s, as he was of his own.’ Upon this Occaſion he inlarg'd, not only upon the Intereſts, but Reſentments that engag'd the *Engliſh* King and his Miniſters in this Counſel; and concluded, ‘He was confident it would never break; if ever it did, it ſhould never be by his Hand; and was as confident, that he might anſwer, thoſe two Lords wou'd fall or ſtand upon this Bottom.’ Monſieur *de Wit* ſeem'd very much ſatisfy'd with what Sir *William* had alledg'd; and aſſur'd him, ‘For his Part, he wou'd give his Hands towards a good Concluſion of this Affair: That he wou'd truſt his *Britannick* Majeſty's Honour and Intereſt upon ſo great a Conjuncture, as well as the Sincerity and Conſtancy of his Miniſters; which he cou'd judge of by no other Lights, but what Sir *William* gave him.’ Then he made him Compliments upon the great Confidence he had taken in him and his Manner of dealing, by what he had heard and ſeen of him, ſince the firſt Viſit Sir *William* had made him in his Paſſage through the *Hague*, after the End of the War: And concluded, that Sir *William* ſhould ſee Count *Dona*, and try how far *Sweden* was to be engag'd in this great Affair.

They come to ſome Iſſue.

3. Matters being thus prepared, that very Evening Sir *William Temple* went to Count *Dona*, and paſs'd over the Ceremonies of their reſpective Characters, by going directly into his Chamber, taking a Chair, and ſitting down by him, before he cou'd riſe off his; and freely told him, *He hop'd he wou'd excuſe this Liberty, upon an Errand wherein he thought both their Maſters were concern'd; that Ceremonies were intended to facilitate Buſineſs, and not to hinder it: That he knew nothing to make his ſeeing the other Ambaſſadors at the* Hague *neceſſary, and ſo was content with the Difficulties had been introduc'd between their Characters: But thinking it abſolutely neceſſary for his Maſter's Service to enter into Confidence with his Excellency, he had reſolv'd to do it in this Manner; and if he gave him leave, to purſue it as if their Acquaintance and Commerce had been of never ſo long a Date.* The Count embrac'd him, gave him great Thanks for the Honour he did him, and the frank and confident Manner he us'd with him; and ſaid, *he was ready to return it upon any Thing he ſhou'd think fit to communicate to him.* Compliments being paſt, Sir *William* enter'd into the Detail of his whole Progreſs to that Time, both in *England* and at the *Hague*; ‘Of his Maſter's Reaſons, of the common Intereſts of *Chriſtendom*, of the Reception his Overtures found from Monſieur *de Wit*, and the Hopes he had of ſucceeding: Of their Diſcourſes about engaging *Sweden* in the ſame Meaſures, and a Deſire of extending their League into a *Triple Alliance*, for their mutual Defence, the Safety of *Flanders*, and thereby of *Chriſtendom*. That he knew how the Crown of *Sweden* had been treated of late Years by *France*; how cloſe they had kept to the Friendſhip with his Maſter, and how beneficial, as well as honourable, ſuch a Part as this might prove to them by the particular Uſe they might make of it to the Crown of *Spain*; and that upon any good Occaſion they might be ſure of his Maſter's Offices and the *States*, who reſolv'd to enter into this Affair without any other Intereſt, than that of the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and thereby of their own Safety, and the Common Good.

Sir William *applies to the* Swediſh *Ambaſſador.*

His good Reception.

The Count *Dona* profeſs'd to applaud his *Britannick* Majeſty's Counſel, to be confident that *Sweden* wou'd be content to go his Pace in all the common Affairs of *Chriſtendom*, which he was aſſur'd of by his own Inſtructions in general; but that ſuch an Affair as this being not foreſeen, he cou'd have none upon it. He added, ‘That if it ſucceeded, he wou'd make all the Paces he cou'd to engage his Maſter in it, as what he thought of Honour and Advantage to the common Safety: But that he wou'd return Sir *William*'s Frankneſs with the ſame to him, in telling him, *That he doubted his bringing it to an Iſſue.* That he firſt doubted Monſieur *de Wit*'s Reſolution, to break upon any Terms with *France*, and cloſe with *England*; not only conſidering what had lately paſs'd between them, but the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Orange*, which he muſt ever believe, wou'd, at one Time or another, be advanc'd by *England*; whereas he was ſure to be ſupported againſt them by *France*: Therefore he believ'd, that tho' the Penſionary wou'd not oppoſe it, becauſe the *States* and People might run into it; yet he wou'd find ſome Means to elude the Concluſion and Effect of it, without appearing himſelf in any ſuch Deſign. That in the next Place, ſince ſuch a Treaty cou'd not be made by the *States-General*, without firſt being ſent to all the Provinces and Towns for their Approbation, and Orders upon it to their Deputies; he did not ſee how it was poſſible for the *French* Ambaſſador to fail of engaging ſome Towns or Provinces againſt it, and the Oppoſition of any one of them wou'd loſe the Effect; ſince no new Treaty cou'd be made by the Conſtitution of that Republick, without the Univerſal Conſent. That however, he wou'd not diſcourage him, but wiſh'd him Succeſs with all his Heart, upon many Reaſons; and among others, his being ſo much a Servant to the Houſe of *Orange*, which cou'd not but profit by a Conjunction between *England* and *Holland*.’ And ſo again promis'd, whenever Sir *William* brought it to a Period, *to uſe all his Endeavours, and ſtretch his Powers as far as he cou'd, towards engaging his Maſter in the ſame Meaſures.*

Sir William*'s ſecond Conference with* de Wit.

In the ſecond Conference that Sir *William Temple* had with the Penſionary *de Wit*, he acquainted him with what had paſs'd with Count *Dona*, with which he ſeem'd much pleas'd, and ſaid, *Tho' we cou'd not expect he could have Powers ſo general as to conclude ſuch an Affair; yet an Inſtrument might be drawn up between us, whereby Room may be left for* Sweden *to enter as* Principal *into our Alliance; and the Count* de Dona *has ſo much Credit at his Court, to recommend it there ſo as to ſucceed, eſpecially upon the Hopes we muſt give him of obtaining Subſidies from* Spain, *which may countervail what they may loſe from* France *upon this Occaſion.* In the next Place they diſcours'd of the Treaty it ſelf: And *de Wit* was of Opinion, ‘That the Condition of forcing *Spain* to accept the *Alternative* offer'd by the *French* King, was neceſſary to the common End, and to clear the Means towards it from all Accidents that might ariſe.’ And as for the *Defenſive League*, he continu'd in his former Thoughts, ‘That it ſhou'd be negotiated between *England* and *Holland*; tho' upon the Project offer'd his Majeſty at *Scheveling*; by which all Matters of Commerce might be ſo adjuſted, as to leave no Seeds of any Quarrels between the two Nations.’ After this Sir *William* fell upon the Form of concluding the main Treaty, freely declaring, ‘He cou'd eaſily foretel the Fate of it, if it muſt paſs the common Forms of being ſent by the ſeveral *Deputies* to all their *Principals* for their Reſult upon it: That he knew, this wou'd take up a Month or ſix Weeks Time; and that nothing wou'd be ſo eaſie as for the *French* Ambaſſador to meet with it in running that Circle, and by engaging ſome one Member, perhaps by Mony thrown among the chief Perſons in ſome of the ſmall Towns, to prevent and ruin a Counſel of the greateſt Importance to *Chriſtendom*, as well as *England* and *Holland*, that had been on foot in many Ages. In ſum, he told him, *That unleſs the* States-General *wou'd conclude and ſign the Treaty immediately, and truſt to the Ap-*

Approbation of their ſeveral Provinces *and* Towns *after it was done, he ſhou'd give it for gone, and think no more of it.*

This was a little ſurpriſing to the Penſionary, who ſeem'd to believe it impoſſible, and alledg'd, ‘ That no ſuch Thing had ever been done ſince the firſt Inſtitution of their Common-Wealth; and that tho' it was true, the *States-General* might ſign a Treaty, yet they cou'd not ratify it without Recourſe to their *Principals*; and that they ſhou'd venture their Heads in ſigning it, if their *Principals*, not approving it, ſhou'd queſtion them for doing it without *Orders:* That he hop'd the *Forms* might be expedited in three Weeks Time, and that all Care that cou'd be ſhou'd be taken to prevent the Addreſſes of the *French* Ambaſſador among the Provinces.' But here Sir *William* cut the Matter ſhort, and peremptorily told him, ‘ That he continu'd of his firſt Opinion, to ſee it immediately agreed between Himſelf and the Commiſſioners, and then ſign'd by the *States*, which might be done in four or five Days; and that the *Deputies* might ſafely truſt to the Approbation of their *Principals* in a Point of ſo great and evident publick Intereſt. That for his Part, he knew not how this Delay, and thereby Hazard of the Affair, might be interpreted in *England*, nor what Changes in his Orders it might produce.' In Concluſion he ſaid, *I have now Powers to conclude an Alliance of the laſt Conſequence to the Safety of* Flanders *and this Republick: that if it ſhou'd miſcarry by the too great Caution of the* Deputies *in Point of* Form, *for ought I know, they may venture their Heads that way, and more deſervedly, than by ſigning at preſent, what all of them believ'd wou'd not only be ratify'd, but applauded by their Principals:* And with this free Caution Sir *William Temple* left him.

Sir William's Audience and Conference with the States Commiſſioners.

4. The next Day, which was the 18th of *January*, Sir *William Temple* had his Audience, which paſs'd with all the Reſpect that cou'd be given to his Character; and the following Morning began his Conference with the eight Commiſſioners of ſecret Affairs. Having ſhewn his Powers, and ſeen theirs, he offer'd them the Project of the *Defenſive League*, ‘ as that which was to be the Foundation of all further Negotiation; and without which, perhaps, neither of the Parties ſhou'd be forward to ſpeak their Minds with Confidence and Freedom, in what concern'd their Neighbours, being likely therein to ſhock ſo great Powers abroad: Adding, That his Maſter having reſolv'd, as far as he cou'd in Honour, to comply with the Senſe of the *States* in the Offices of *Mediation* between *France* and *Spain*, he expected from them the Knowledge of the *States* Reſolution, in caſe they were already agreed.' Sir *William* took this Courſe in his firſt Propoſals, becauſe upon his firſt Arrival he found, That the Provinces were divided in their Opinions, five of them only having come into that of Monſieur *de Wit*; *Zealand* being for agreeing with *France* in dividing *Flanders*, and *Utrecht* for ſuffering *France* only to retain the laſt Year's Conqueſt, by way of *Compromiſe*, till their Pretenſions were adjudg'd before competent Arbiters, or joynt Mediators. Upon theſe Propoſals Monſieur *de Wit*, who ſpoke for all the Commiſſioners, after a Preamble of the uſual Forms and Compliments on the King's happy Diſpoſitions to enter into a nearer Alliance with the *States*, declar'd the ſame Reſolution to their High Mightineſſes; and allowing a mutual Confidence by a *Defenſive League* for the Baſis of the reſt, ſaid, *The States were willing to have Clauſes for their common Safety inſerted in the Articles of the Mediation*; and was large upon that Argument, ‘ That the laſt being of preſſing Haſte, as well as Neceſſity; and they having already Order from their Provinces to proceed upon it, they cou'd not have the ſame Powers upon the *Defenſive*, being a new Matter, under ſix Weeks or two Months Time; But as ſoon as they receiv'd them, wou'd ſend their Ambaſſadors in *England* Inſtructions to go upon that Treaty; which muſt, for a Baſis, have at the ſame Time an Adjuſtment of Matters of Commerce.' To cut this Matter ſhort, Sir *William* told the Commiſſioners directly, ‘ He had no Orders to proceed upon any other Points but in Conſequence or Conjunction of the *Defenſive League*; in which he thought his Maſter had all the Reaſon that cou'd be, both becauſe he wou'd not venture a War's ending in *Flanders* to begin upon *England*; and on the other Side knew, the *States*, whoſe Danger was nearer, wou'd never be capable of taking any vigorous Reſolutions in their Neighbours Affairs, till they were ſecure at home by his *Britannick* Majeſty's Defence. That his Maſter thought the moſt generous and friendly Advance that cou'd be, was made on his Side by his Propoſition, being Himſelf ſo much more out of Danger than They were, and ſo much courted to a Conjunction with *France* to their Prejudice, as well as that of *Flanders*: That they had not made a Difficulty of ſuch Alliances with Princes who had lately Quarrels with them as well as *England*; and that, God be thanked, *his Maſter was not in a Condition to have ſuch an Offer refus'd by any Prince or State in Chriſtendom.*'

Another Conference.

After ſome other Diſcourſes, and the Commiſſioners withdrawing three Times, it was reſolv'd that two of them, Monſieur *de Wit* and Monſieur *Isbrant*, ſhou'd ſpend that Afternoon with Sir *William Temple*, at his Excellency's Lodgings, to endeavour the adjuſting of Circumſtances, ſince they ſeem'd to agree in Subſtance: Which accordingly they did, and advanc'd to this Point, That inſtead of former Projects, the *States* wou'd proceed upon that of a *Defenſive League*, in Caſe the proviſional Articles in the *Breda* Treaty might be inſerted and perpetuated in this; and that thereupon they wou'd expect the King's Anſwer to what Sir *William* ſhou'd write that Night. The next Day in the Afternoon he had another Conference with the two Commiſſioners, who acquainted him with the *States* Reſolution, conformable to *De Wit*'s Opinion, *That it was neceſſary the Articles Proviſional ſhou'd be inſerted in the Treaty*; ſo as Sir *William* began to doubt a Stop of every thing, till the King's Anſwer, which ſubjected all to Uncertainties: He knew that Count *d'Eſtrades*, the *French* Ambaſſador, was grown into very ill Humour upon his Arrival, and had fallen into Complaints and Expoſtulations with ſeveral of the *States*; and the more becauſe he cou'd not ſee *de Wit* from Sir *William*'s coming over till that Time, tho' he had often endeavour'd it. He knew likewiſe that vigilant Miniſter had diſpatch'd an Expreſs to *Paris* upon this Occaſion; and therefore he reſolv'd to fall upon all poſſible Inſtances and Expedients to draw up a ſudden Concluſion. Hereupon he told the Commiſſioners, ‘ He deſir'd it extreamly before he cou'd hear again from *England*, becauſe he left Monſieur *Rovigny*, the *French* Ambaſſador in *London*, very buſy at his coming away, and not unbefriended: That he fear'd the ſame Artifices of *France* to diſturb their Meaſures at the *Hague*, and perhaps Monſieur *d'Eſtrades* might at his next Meeting infuſe ſome Jealouſies into the *States*, by the Relation of what had paſs'd between the Earl of *Arlington* and Monſieur *Rovigny*, three or four Days before the Date of his Inſtructions:' Upon which he told them frankly (as the King had given him Leave) what had paſs'd, in relation to a Scheme propos'd by *France* to the King of *England* for dividing the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. Monſieur *de Wit*, ſtartled by this Diſcovery, ask'd Sir *William*, *Whether he cou'd ſhew him the Paper drawn up between thoſe two Miniſters?* And Sir *William* anſwering, *He had it not*, the other earneſtly deſired he wou'd procure it him, aſſuring him, *No Uſe ſhou'd be made of it but by joynt Conſent*; adding, *Nothing cou'd ſerve ſo far to juſtify the States, in Caſe of a Breach growing neceſſary between Them and* France.

Sir *William Temple* promis'd to write to the Earl of *Arlington* about it; and the better to engage the Penſionary, inform'd him, ‘ What Confidence he had given his Maſter of his ſincere Proceedings; and how he had been ſupported by the Earl of *Arlington* in thoſe Suggeſtions, againſt the Opinion of ſome other great Men: What Advantage theſe wou'd take, if they ſaw the whole Negotiation was ſtopp'd upon a thing that look'd like *Chicanery*; ſince *Articles Proviſional*, till new Agreements, were as ſtrong as *Perpetual*, which might even be chang'd by new Agreements: That this wou'd be eſteemed an Artifice of Monſieur *de Wit*, eſpecially ſince he had declared, *That it was his Opinion not to conclude without inſerting thoſe Articles*, which yet he cou'd not deny to be of preſent Force.' Monſieur *Isbrant* was ſatisfy'd with Sir *William*'s Reaſons, and ſaid, *He wou'd undertake his Province ſhou'd be ſo too:* But the Penſionary alledg'd, That *Holland* and *Zealand* wou'd not. Hereupon Sir *William* told them, ‘ He was ſure the *States* wou'd not think fit to loſe the Effect of the League propos'd upon ſuch a Point, as the ſeeing the King's Reſolution in Anſwer to his Letter, before they concluded, that this ſhou'd not hinder at laſt: That he foreſaw that many things might happen in ten Days Time to break all their good Intentions, and ſome more than he had told them, or could at preſent: That if they knew him, and how far he was to be truſted, where he gave his Word, he wou'd propoſe an Expedient to them; but it being new among them, he thought it was to no Purpoſe.' Here he pauſed; and they deſiring he wou'd however propoſe the Expedient: He did ſo; which was, ‘ That they ſhou'd proceed to draw up the whole Project, and ſign as ſoon as was poſſible; and that in Caſe he afterwards receiv'd his Maſter's Leave to inſert thoſe *Proviſional Articles*, he wou'd freely declare it, and inſert them in a *ſeparate Article*, to be a Part of the *Defenſive League*.' They both look'd a while upon each other, and after a Pauſe, Monſieur *de Wit* gave Sir *William* his Hand, and complimenting him in the Confidence he had taken in his Face, and the reſt of

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his Dealing ſince their firſt Meeting, he told him, ‘That if he wou'd promiſe him, *upon the Word of an honeſt Man*, what he ſaid, they wou'd aſk no further Aſſurance of him: And provided the Treaty of *Breda* might be confirm'd in the Preamble of this, for his Part, tho' he cou'd promiſe nothing what the *States* wou'd reſolve, yet he wou'd promiſe that Himſelf and Monſieur *Isbrant* wou'd uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to induce them to proceed upon his Propoſition.’

The Subſtance of the Treaties.

Sir *William Temple* knowing that new Treaties uſe to begin by Confirmation of the old, made no Difficulty about it; and ſo they proceeded immediately to digeſt the Project of the whole Treaty in three ſeveral Inſtruments. The Firſt contain'd a *League Defenſive and Perpetual, between the King of* Great Britain *and the* States-General, ‘againſt all Perſons, without Exception, that ſhou'd invade either of them; with *Agreement* to furniſh each other, upon Occaſion, with forty Ships of War, of which fourteen betwixt ſixty and eighty Guns, and four hundred Men one with another; fourteen more between forty and ſixty Guns, and three hundred Men each; and of the other twelve, none under thirty ſix Guns, and a hundred and ſixty Men: Beſides theſe, ſix thouſand Foot and four hundred Horſe, or Mony inſtead of them, at the Choice of the Invaded; and to be repaid within three Years after the End of the War; the Proportions of Mony to the ſeveral Parts of the ſaid Aid, being aſcertain'd in the ſaid Treaty.’ The ſecond Inſtrument contained *The joint Obligations of* England *and the* United Provinces, ‘to diſpoſe *France* to make Peace in *Flanders* upon one of the Alternatives already propos'd; and likewiſe to diſpoſe *Spain* to accept it before the End of *May* next; but in Caſe of Difficulty made by them, to diſpoſe *France* however to ſtop all further Progreſs of its own Arms there, and leave it wholly to the Allies to procure the Ends propos'd in the League.’ The third Inſtrument contain'd *four ſeparate Articles, of the ſame Force with the Treaty*, in Subſtance as follows. 1. If in the procuring the Peace between *France* and *Spain*, any Difficulty ſhou'd ariſe about the *Renunciation*, the Form ſhou'd be contriv'd in ſuch Words, that no Prejudice ſhou'd be created to either of them in Point of Right: But if either of the two Kings ſhou'd not conſent to this Expedient, the King of *Great Britain* and the *States-General* ſhou'd proceed againſt the Refuſer, in the Manner agreed in the ſecond Inſtrument. 2. That the King of *Great Britain* and the *States-General* ſhou'd uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to eſtabliſh Peace between the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and tho' the *French* King might be allow'd to aſſiſt the Latter in ſome Caſes; yet with this Proviſo, that he ſhou'd alſo oblige himſelf not to make War in the *Low-Countries*. 3. In Caſe the *French* King ſhou'd reject the Cautions and Proviſions expreſs'd in the ſecond Inſtrument, and make a further Progreſs in *Flanders*, then *England* and the *United Provinces* ſhou'd joyn with the King of *Spain*, and make War againſt *France*, till they compel him to comply with the Terms of the *Pyrenean* Treaty. 4. That theſe *ſeparate Articles* ſhould be confirm'd and ratify'd, and the mutual Inſtruments of Ratification exchang'd on both Sides, within four Weeks.’ Having ſat up all *Saturday* Night, till *Sunday* Morning, they agreed upon the Project in *French*, and gave Order for the tranſlating it into *Latin*; which was done and perus'd by Sir *William Temple* and the Commiſſioners, and agreed to between twelve and one that Night, and laſtly engroſs'd and got ready for ſigning by eleven next *Monday* Morning.

The happy Concluſion of them.

5. The Whole being got to this ſurpriſing Forwardneſs, on *Monday* in the Afternoon, *January* the 23d, all the *Dutch* Commiſſioners met, and, together with Sir *William Temple*, ſign'd, ſeal'd, and deliver'd the three Inſtruments. Upon this they all embrac'd with much Kindneſs, and Applauſe of Sir *William*'s particular Saying upon this Occaſion, *At* Breda *like Friends, here like Brothers!* And Monſieur *de Wit* made him a moſt obliging Compliment, *of having the Honour which never any other Miniſter had before him, of drawing the* States *to a Reſolution and Concluſion in five Days, upon a Matter of the greateſt Importance, and an Aſſiſtance of the greateſt Expence they had ever been engag'd in; and all directly againſt the Nature of their Conſtitutions, which enjoin'd them Recourſe to their Provinces:* Adding, *That now it was done, it look'd like a* MIRACLE. It is hard to imagine the Joy and Wonder conceiv'd in *Holland* upon the Concluſion of this Treaty, brought to an Iſſue in five Days; nor the Applauſe given to his *Britannick* Majeſty's Reſolutions, as the wiſeſt and happieſt that cou'd in this Conjuncture be taken by a Prince, both for his own and his Neighbours Affairs. Nor were the Counſels and Conduct, either of the preſent Miniſtry in *England*, or of Sir *William Temple*, leſs commended; the Treaty being almoſt finiſh'd at the *Hague*, as ſoon as his Journey was known in *London*, and before his Errand was ſuſpected by any publick Miniſter in *England*. To this Purpoſe Sir *William Temple* wrote with no leſs Wit than Modeſty to Monſieur *Gourville*, a Miniſter of *France*, then reſiding at *Lunenburgh*; *They will needs have me paſs here for one of great Abilities, for having finiſh'd and ſign'd in five Days a Treaty of ſuch Importance to* Chriſtendom: *But I will tell you the* Secret *of it: To draw things out of their Center, requires Labour and Addreſs to put them into Motion; but to make them return hither, Nature helps ſo far, that there needs no more than juſt to ſet them a going. Now I think a* ſtrict Alliance *is the true* Center *of our two Nations.-----In ſhort, the two Nations are cloſer united, than if there never had been a War. Our common Deſign is to give Peace to all* Chriſtendom*: So that if* France *pleaſes they may have it this Spring; if not (as Monſieur* d'Eſtrades *ſays, at leaſt not after our Faſhion) they may have their Fill of the War.*

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The French *Ambaſſador contemns,*

And reſents the Proceedings.

The *French* Ambaſſador *d'Eſtrades*, who fondly imagin'd that the *States* wou'd never have ventur'd upon ſuch a large Step, was now much ſurpriz'd at the Concluſion of the Treaty. For upon Sir *William*'s firſt Conference with the *Dutch* Commiſſioners he ſaid, *All wou'd fly into Smoak, and the King his Maſter wou'd laugh at it.* And the Day before their Signing, being told they advanc'd very faſt, he unconcernedly reply'd, *Very well, ſix Weeks hence we'll talk on it*; relying upon the Forms of the *States*, to run the Circle of their Towns. But when *de Wit* and Sir *William* ſhew'd him the whole Treaty, except the *ſeparate Articles*, he ſaid coldly, *That he doubted they had not taken a right Way to their End: That the fourth Article of the ſecond Inſtrument, was not in Terms very proper to be digeſted by a King of twenty nine Years old, and at the Head of eighty thouſand Men: That if* England *and* Holland *had join'd both, to deſire his Maſter to prolong the Offer he had made, of a Ceſſation of Arms till the Time they propos'd; and withal, not to move his Arms further in* Flanders, *tho'* Spain *ſhou'd refuſe, they might have hoped to ſucceed: But if they thought to preſcribe him Laws, and force him to a Compliance, by Leagues between themſelves, or with* Spain, *tho'* Sweden *and the* German *Princes ſhou'd joyn with them, he knew his Maſter wou'd not yield, and that it wou'd come to a War of forty Years.* From this he fell a little warmly upon the Proceedings of the *States*, ſaying, *They knew his Maſter's Reſolutions upon thoſe two Points, neither to prolong the Ceſſation propos'd beyond the End of* March, *nor to deſiſt the Purſuit of his Conqueſts with his own Arms, in Caſe* Spain *conſented not to his Demands within that Term.* He added, *His* Britannick *Majeſty not being an Ally, might treat and conclude what he pleas'd, without their Offence; but for the* States, *who were their neareſt Ally, to conclude ſo much to his Maſter's Diſreſpect at leaſt, and without communicating with him the Ambaſſador at all during the whole Treaty, he muſt leave it to his Maſter to interpret as he thought fit.* Monſieur *de Wit* defended their Cauſe, and the common Intentions of both with great Phlegm, but great Steadineſs; and told Sir *William*, after the other was gone, *That this was the leaſt they cou'd expect at firſt from a* Frenchman; *and that he ſhou'd do well however to give his Maſter an Account of it by the firſt; that they ſhou'd put their ſelves early in Poſture to make good what they had ſaid: And that as to the Time and Degree of their Arming, he wou'd conſult with the* States, *and let him know their Thoughts, to be communicated to his Maſter.*

They produce the TRIPLE LEAGUE.

The next Day Sir *William Temple* and Monſieur *de Wit* made the like Communication of their Treaty to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who receiv'd it with ſome Deſcants upon the Hardſhips of it, but in Sir *William*'s Opinion, with great Satisfaction at Heart. On the 26th Count *Dona*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, with whom Sir *William* had gone along in the whole Buſineſs with perfect Confidence and Concert, ſign'd a ſeparate Inſtrument, jointly with Sir *William* and the *States* Commiſſioners, obliging his Maſter to enter as a *Principal* into the ſame Alliance: *ſo that the* ſaid League *might acquire the Subſtance, as well as the Form of a* Triple Agreement; *to which all the reſpective Parties ſhou'd make it their Buſineſs to invite their Friends and Alleys, if any of them ſhou'd deſire to be admitted.* For the finiſhing of which Count *Dona* ſet out the next Day for *England*, in Company of Mr. *Henry Temple*, Brother to Sir *William*, with the whole Account of the Buſineſs, and the Treaties ſign'd in order to their Ratification. Their Arrival was very acceptable to the *Engliſh* Court and City; and within ten Days the Ratifications from *England* were receiv'd at the *Hague*, with the ſame Joy that the Treaty was concluded; and not long after, all was compleated by the King of *Sweden*, to the general Satiſfaction of all who dreaded the Power of *France*. And thus happily was compleated that famous Alliance, generally call'd the TRIPLE LEAGUE; in Relating of which we have been the more particular, not only becauſe it has been accounted the ſafeſt and wiſeſt Step King *Charles* made in the whole Courſe of his Reign, both in reſpect to his Neighbours and his own Subjects; but alſo becauſe it diſcover'd the true Sentiments and Opinions of both Nations, in Relation to the then growing Power of *France*. As Sir *William Temple* had ſo great a Share in this Affair, ſo he ought to loſe no Part of the Honour; therefore we ſhall juſt mention what is ſaid of him in two Letters, the firſt from Monſieur *de Wit* to the Earl of *Arlington*, and the other from the *States-General* to the King of *Great Britain*. The former ſays, *as it was impoſſible to ſend a Miniſter of greater Capacity, or more proper for the Temper and Genius of this Nation, than Sir* William Temple; *ſo I believe, no other Perſon, either will or can more equitably judge of the Diſpoſition wherein he has found the* States, *to anſwer the good Intentions of the King of* Great Britain. In the *States* Letter, they tell the King, *As it is a Thing without Example, that in ſo few Days, three ſuch important Treaties have been concluded, ſo we can ſay, That the Addreſs, the Vigilance, and the Sincerity of Sir* William Temple, *are alſo without Example.-----If your Majeſty continues to make uſe of ſuch Miniſters, the Knot will grow too faſt, ever to be unty'd.*

The Praiſes of Sir William Temple.

Other Leagues.

About the Time of the Ratification of this, Sir *William Temple* concluded another League with the *States-General*, of a more private Nature, relating only to Navigation and Commerce, and ſo remov'd to *Bruſſels* with his former Character of Reſident. And near the ſame Time, by the Mediation of the Earl of *Sandwich*, the King's Ambaſſador at *Spain*, and Sir *Robert Southwell* his Envoy in *Portugal*, a Peace was concluded between thoſe two Crowns, and the King of *Great Britain* declared the Mediator and Guarantee of it. So that all Things ſeem'd to be put into a Condition of reducing the encreaſing Power of the *French* King, and eſtabliſhing the Ballance of *Europe*.

The Continuation of the EIGHTH SESSION *of Parliament.*

V. I. During theſe Foreign Tranſactions, the Parliament of *England*, having had a Receſs of near eight Weeks, met at *Weſtminſter* on the 10th Day of *February*; which was the ninth Meeting, but more properly call'd the Continuation of the eighth Seſſion of the ſecond Parliament. On the Firſt Day of this Meeting, the King came to the Houſe of Lords, and having on his Crown and Robes, with the uſual Solemnity took his Seat, where the Houſe of Commons with their Speaker appearing, his Majeſty was pleas'd to expreſs himſelf to both Houſes in this following Speech: ' *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am ' glad to ſee you here again, to tell you what I have done ' in this Interval, which I am confident you will be pleas'd ' with, ſince it is ſo much for the Honour and Security ' of this Nation. I have made a *League Defenſive* with ' the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, and likewiſe ' a League for an efficacious Mediation of Peace between ' the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*; into which League, ' that of *Sweden* by its Ambaſſador hath offer'd to enter as ' a *Principal*.

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

' I did not at our laſt Meeting move you for any Aid, ' tho' I lie under great Debts contracted in the laſt War; ' but now the Poſture of our Neighbours abroad, and the ' Conſequence of the new Alliance, will oblige me, for ' our Security, to ſet out a conſiderable Fleet to Sea this ' Summer. And becauſe I muſt build more great Ships, ' and it is as neceſſary that I do ſomething in order to the ' fortifying ſome of our Ports; I have begun ſomething ' my ſelf in order to theſe Ends; but if I have not your ' ſpeedy Aſſiſtance, I ſhall not be able to go through with ' it. Wherefore I do earneſtly deſire you to take it into ' your ſpeedy Conſideration; for the Loſs of a little Time ' now may beget a Prejudice not to be repaired. And for ' the ſettling a firm Peace, as well at home as abroad, one ' Thing more I hold my ſelf oblig'd to recommend to you ' at this preſent; which is, That you wou'd ſeriouſly think ' of ſome Courſe to beget a better Union and Compoſure ' in the Minds of my *Proteſtant* Subjects in Matters of Re' ligion; whereby they may be induced not only to ſubmit ' quietly to the Government, but alſo chearfully give their ' Aſſiſtance for the Support of it.

The Commons enquire into Miſcarriages.

The Houſe of Commons were highly pleas'd with the new Alliances, and were now better diſpos'd for good-humour'd Proceedings; but ſtill being a little ruffled with the Thoughts of the late Miſmanagements, they thought fit to defer the Conſideration of his Majeſty's Speech for a few Days, till after the Report made by the Committee, appointed to enquire into the Miſcarriages of the late War. In order to which Enquiry, Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle* had both given into the Houſe their particular Narratives and Accounts of their ſeveral Expeditions, and more particularly of the Miſcarriages at *Chatham*, which have been already remember'd; after which the Duke of *York* himſelf deliver'd to them an Account of the Fort of *Sheerneſs*. From all which, and from other Examinations, the Commons diſcover'd and voted ſeveral Miſcarriages in the late War, and ' particularly in the Expedition ' at *Berghen*; in the plundering the *Eaſt-India* Ships while ' the *Dutch* paſs'd by; in the not ſetting out a ſufficient ' Fleet laſt Year; in the Separation of thoſe that were out, ' ſo that they became uſeleſs; in the Want of Proviſion ' and Ammunition in the Fleet, and in the Forts; in Pay' ment of the Sea-Men by Tickets; in the Want of Intel' ligence, and dividing the Fleets in the ſecond Year of the ' War; in the Buſineſs of *Chatham*, &c.' And they particularly reſolved, ' That notwithſtanding his Majeſty had ' eighteen thouſand Men in Pay, in diſperſed Ships in the ' Year 1667, there was not a ſufficient Number of Ships ' left to ſecure the Rivers *Medway* and *Thames*.' They ſtrictly examin'd into one Miſcarriage as to the firſt Battel againſt the *Dutch*, in which it appear'd, ' That if the Orders ' of the Duke of *York* had been ſtrictly obſerv'd, as they ' ought, in that Engagement, the whole Fleet of the Enemy ' had probably been deſtroy'd. For this, Mr. *Brunkard*, a Member of the Houſe, was accus'd of giving falſe Orders to Sir *John Harman* to ſlacken Sail, while the Duke was repoſing himſelf, and when they were purſuing the Enemy with the utmoſt Advantage; for which Mr. *Brunkard* was both expell'd the Houſe, and order'd to be impeach'd.

They impeach Commiſſioner Pett.

The Miſcarriage at *Chatham* was ſo conſpicuous, that they thought they cou'd do no leſs than Impeach Commiſſioner *Pett* for ſo great a Delinquency in that Affair: Accordingly they drew up Articles againſt him to this Effect: ' I. That the ſaid *Peter Pett*, being a Commiſſioner eſpe' cially authoriz'd and entruſted with the Care of his Ma' jeſty's Yards, Stores and Proviſions of the Royal Navy ' at *Chatham*; and having receiv'd Orders from the Duke ' of *York* about the 26th of *March* laſt, requiring him to ' bring up and mere his Majeſty's Ship, the *Royal Charles*, ' and other Ships, did wilfully neglect and refuſe ſo to ' do; whereby the ſaid Ships were loſt, and became a ' Prey to the Enemy. II. That his Majeſty having upon ' the 11th of *June* laſt appointed the Duke of *Albemarle* ' to repair to *Chatham*, to ſecure all Things againſt the In' vaſion of the *Dutch*; he the ſaid Duke found the *Royal* ' *Charles* not brought up, but lying below in a Place of ' Danger; and having given Orders to the ſaid *Pett* to ' cauſe the ſaid Ship to be brought up as high as cou'd be ' into a Place of Safety, the ſaid *Pett* neglected the doing ' thereof. III. That Captain *Brooks*, one of his Majeſty's ' Attendants at *Chatham*, knowing that the Duke had ' given expreſs Orders to cauſe the *Royal Charles* to be ' brought up, did prepare Anchors and other Tackling ' ready for the ſame; and deſir'd the ſaid *Pett* to give Or' ders for his ſo doing, which he refus'd to do. IV. That ' the Duke of *York* having given Orders to the ſaid *Pett* ' to provide thirty Boats for the Defence of the River and ' Navy, he did not only himſelf miſemploy ſome of the ' ſaid Boats for the removing ſome of his particular Goods, ' but ſuffer'd the reſt to be likewiſe miſemploy'd, and did ' alſo ſeize a Boat belonging to Sir *Edward Spragg*; ſo ' for want of theſe Boats many of his Majeſty's Ships ' were loſt, and the Security of the reſt hinder'd. V. ' That the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Navy, having ' ſignify'd to him on the 4th of *June*, That the *Dutch* ' were out, and given him ſpecial Charge to command all ' Captains on Land to their Ships, and to be vigilant in the ' reſt of the Charge committed to him; He was ſo negli' gent, that of eight hundred Perſons, which were under ' his Care and Command, when the Duke of *Albemarle* re' paired thither, there were not above ten ready upon the ' Invaſion of the Enemy. VI. That the ſaid Duke having ' appointed Soldiers to raiſe Batteries for the Defence of ' the Navy; He, to obſtruct the Service, refus'd to give ' them the Number of Tools required, notwithſtanding he ' had a ſufficient Quantity in his Majeſty's Stores, as it ' appear'd when thoſe Stores were broke open. VII. ' That the ſaid Duke having ſent Orders to him to ſend ' out of his Majeſty's Yards ſome Oaken Planks for his ' Platforms and Batteries, he ſent only Deal Boards, which ' were prejudicial to the Service, notwithſtanding that ' there were in his Majeſty's Yards ſeveral Oaken Planks ' fit for that Service.' For all which Crimes and Miſdemeanors they demanded Juſtice and condign Puniſhment, &c. at the Bar of the Lords.

And likewiſe Sir William Penn.

Not ſatisfy'd with this Impeachment, by means of ſome Diſcoveries and Informations, the Commons found and ſingled out Sir *William Penn*, another of his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, and drew up Articles againſt him to this Purpoſe. I. ' Whereas in *September* 1665, the *Golden* ' *Phœnix*, and the *Slothany*, two *Dutch* Ships, were taken ' at Sea as Prize, by his Majeſty's Fleet under the Earl of ' *Sandwich*, in which the ſaid Sir *William Penn* was then ' Vice-Admiral; He the ſaid Sir *William*, contrary to his ' Duty, &c. did conſpire with ſeveral Perſons to open ' the Holds of the ſaid Ships, before Judgment paſs'd in the ' Admiralty Court, and from thence imbezell'd great Quan' tities of rich Goods, whereby his Majeſty was defrauded of above an hundred and fifteen Thouſand Pounds. II. The ſaid Sir *William*, in purſuance of the Conſpiracy, did about the ſame Time repair on board the Prize-Ship the *Lothany*, with Sir *William Berkley*, Vice-Admiral under his Command, and did there give Orders to Captain *Waerden*, to whoſe Charge the ſaid Ship was committed, to follow the Directions of Sir *William Berkley*; who thereupon broke open the Hold of the ſaid Ship, and took out ſeveral rich Goods of great Value, after it was clos'd and ſeal'd up, and by the Aſſiſtance of Sir *William Penn*, who ſent ſeveral Men on board for that Purpoſe. III. He the ſaid Sir *William* got a conſiderable Part of the Goods into his Poſſeſſion, and ſhortly after did ſell divers Parcels of the ſaid Goods, and further warranted the Sale thereof. IV. The better to colour the ſaid Fraud and Imbezelment, Orders were obtain'd from the Earl of *Sandwich* for diſtributing ſome Part of the ſaid Goods among ſeveral Officers (whereof Sir *William* was Chief) ſubmitted, as was pretended, to his Majeſty's further Pleaſure, tho' Sir *William* well knew the Orders of the Earl of *Sandwich* were void in every Reſpect. And afterwards a Warrant for diſtributing the Goods was duly procured from his Majeſty, whereas the ſaid Sir *William* had, before that, poſſeſs'd himſelf of divers of the Goods; and over and above, did diſpoſe of a further Quantity of Goods than was contain'd in the Orders of the Earl of *Sandwich*, or his Majeſty's Warrant, to the Value of above two Thouſand Pounds.' For all which Crimes and Miſdemeanors the Commons likewiſe demanded Judgment, *&c.* of the Lords.

The King's Meſſages to the Commons.

2. Theſe Proceedings and Impeachments were never compleated ſo as to anſwer the Ends of them; they chiefly ſerving to retard other Buſineſs and the Supplies to be granted to the King: Upon which Account he ſent three ſeveral Meſſages to the Houſe of Commons; the firſt in theſe Words, 'His Majeſty hath been unwilling hitherto to interrupt you in your Proceedings; But conſidering the Poſture in which his Neighbours now are; and that the Spring is already ſo far advanc'd, and that his Allies (as they have great Cauſe) preſs his Majeſty to haſten his Preparations, he holds it abſolutely neceſſary, in reſpect of the Safety as well as the Honour of the Nation, that a Fleet be ſet forth with all Speed, and that Courſe be taken for fortifying his Ports, and building more Ships: And therefore he doth again earneſtly recommend it to you forthwith to provide for ſuch a Supply as theſe Occaſions ſhall require: And becauſe you have not yet had Satiſfaction upon the Bill of Accounts of the former Supply, his Majeſty is very willing That this be collected and iſſu'd for thoſe Purpoſes by ſuch Perſons only as you ſhall think fit.' The ſecond and the third Meſſage were only to enforce this, only in the laſt he let them know that he deſign'd to put a Period to this Seſſion on the 4th of *May*. But finding this Deſign not ſo well reliſh'd, he ſent a fourth Meſſage to them on the 24th of *April* in theſe Words, 'His Majeſty by his former Meſſage thought fit to acquaint you *That he intended the preſent Seſſion of Parliament ſhou'd determine on the 4th of* May; but finding the Proceedings in many important Bnſineſſes, now under Agitation, wou'd be loſt, if there ſhou'd be a *Seſſion*; and that many Things not yet foreſeen may happen to induce him to call you together again before Winter, hath now thought fit to acquaint you, That he intends only an *Adjournment* for three Months; and deſires you therefore to perfect the Bills for Supplies, and ſuch others as may be made ready by the ſaid 4th of *May*, ſo that he may then give his Royal Aſſent to them before the Adjournment.

In the mean Time the Commons were employ'd in other Matters, as well as the Supplies; and took into Conſideration 'the Informations they receiv'd from ſome Counties, particularly *Staffordſhire*, of the inſolent Carriage and Abuſes committed by Perſons in ſeveral Places, in interrupting and diſturbing of Miniſters in their Churches, and holding Meetings contrary to Law.' This Houſe, that had ſo effectually overthrown the Earl of *Clarendon*, had ſtill a Majority of the ſame Judgment with his Lordſhip, that *Popery* had its Growth under the Cover of indulging *Proteſtant* Diſſenters; and were ſenſible the King's Motion in his Speech concerning the *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, made them too preſuming in their Liberty, and the *Papiſts* too inſolent in their Expectations: Therefore, upon a ſolemn Debate and Reſolution, they made and preſented an humble Petition to his Majeſty, 'That he wou'd iſſue out his Proclamation for enforcing the Laws againſt *Conventicles*; and that Care might be taken for the Preſervation of the Peace againſt all unlawful Aſſemblies of *Papiſts* and *Nonconformiſts*.' The King thought himſelf oblig'd to comply with his Commons, and accordingly gave this Anſwer; *I will iſſue forth my Proclamation according to your Deſire*; adding withal, *And I do not doubt but you will take the ſecond Part of my Speech into Conſideration, according to the Vote.* Accordingly he iſſu'd out his Proclamation, while the Parliament was ſitting, declaring, 'That upon the Conſideration of the late humble Petition of his Loyal Subjects the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, and upon Information *That divers Perſons, in ſeveral Parts of this Realm, abuſing the Clemency which had been us'd towards Perſons not conforming to the Worſhip and Government eſtabliſh'd in the Church of* England (even whilſt it was under Conſideration to find out a Way for the better Union of his Proteſtant Subjects) *have of late frequently and openly, in great Numbers, and to the great Diſturbance of the Peace, held unlawful Aſſemblies and Conventicles*; Therefore his Majeſty had been pleas'd in Council to declare, *That he will by no means permit ſuch notorious Contempts of himſelf and his Laws to go unpuniſh'd*; but does by this Proclamation require and charge all Magiſtrates, *&c.* that they be circumſpect and Vigilant in their ſeveral Juriſdictions, and put in Execution all the Laws againſt unlawful *Conventicles*; and that they take Care of the Peace of his Kingdom againſt the unlawful Aſſemblies of *Papiſts* and *Nonconformiſts*.

The King's Proclamation againſt all Diſſenters.

A Difference between the two Houſes

There was a third Thing happened which very much obſtructed Buſineſs, which was a Difference between the Lords and Commons, occaſion'd by Mr. *Skinner* a conſiderable Merchant of *London*, who having receiv'd great Damages from the *Eaſt-India* Company, had brought the Matter by Petition into the Houſe of Lords originally, by whom he was reliev'd in 5000 Pounds Coſt. The Commons hearing of this, after a Debate came to theſe Votes and Reſolves on the 2d of *May*: '1. That the Lords taking cognizance of the Matter ſet forth and contain'd in the Petition of *Thomas Skinner* Merchant, againſt the Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, concerning the taking away the Petitioner's Ship and Goods, and aſſaulting his Perſon, and their Lordſhips over-ruling the Plea of the ſaid Governor and Company, the ſaid Cauſe coming before their Houſe *Originally*, only upon the Complaint of the ſaid *Skinner*, being a *Common Plea*, is not agreeable to the Law of the Land; and tending to deprive the Subject of his Right, Eaſe and Benefit due to him by the ſaid Laws. 2. That the Lords taking Cognizance of the Right and Title of the Iſland in the Petition mention'd, and giving Damages thereupon againſt the ſaid Governor and Company, is not warranted by the Laws of this Kingdom. 3. That the ſaid *Thomas Skinner*, in commencing and proſecuting a Suit by Petition in the Houſe of Lords againſt the Company of Merchants trading to the *Eaſt-Indies* (wherein ſeveral Members of this Houſe are Parties concern'd with the ſaid Company in particular Intereſts and Eſtates) and in procuring Judgment therein, with Directions to be ſerv'd upon the Governor, being a Member of this Houſe; or upon the Deputy Governor of the ſaid Company, is a Breach of the Privilege of this Houſe.' In Concluſion, they order'd the ſaid Mr. *Skinner*, for ſo acting, to be taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms.

The Votes of the Commons upon it.

The *Eaſt-India* Company having petition'd the Commons, as well as Mr. *Skinner* had the Lords, the Commons after their three Votes, further Reſolved, 'That the Petition of the Merchants trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the two firſt Votes of this Houſe now paſſed, relating to the Juriſdiction of the Lords, be deliver'd by a Meſſage to the Lords Barr, with Reaſons for Enforcing the ſaid Votes.' This occaſion'd two or three Conferences with the Peers; in which their Lordſhips were very ſtrict and tenacious as to their Rights of Judicature, and made ſome Reflections upon the Company's Petition to the Houſe of Commons, declaring it *Scandalous*, &c. This rais'd the Ferment, and caus'd the Commons to come to new Votes and Reſolves, as, '1. That the Petition of the *Eaſt-India* Company to this Houſe, touching the Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, in the Caſe of *Thomas Skinner*, is not *Scandalous*. 2. That the Delivery of the ſaid Petition of the *Eaſt-India* Company to the Houſe, and the Entertainment thereof, and the Proceedings and Votes of this Houſe thereupon, *was no Breach of the Privilege, or Encroachment upon the Juriſdiction of the Houſe of Lords*; but very proper and fit for this Houſe, *without Breach of the fair Correſpondence*, which ought to be between the two Houſes. 3. That a Meſſage be ſent to the Lords to acquaint them, That this Houſe doth take Notice of the Deſire of the Lords at the laſt Conference, *For a good Union to be kept between both Houſes*: And it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That the beſt Expedient to preſerve *ſuch an Union*, is, That all Proceedings be forborn upon the Sentence and Judgment of the Lords, in the Caſe of *Thomas Skinner* againſt the *Eaſt India* Company; and that Sir *Andrew Riccard*, Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton*, Mr. *Rowland Gwyn*, and Mr. *Chriſtopher Boone* be ſet at Liberty; this Houſe being unſatisfy'd with their Lordſhips Reaſons offer'd at the laſt Conference.'

Laſt of all, after a long Debate, they Reſolv'd, ‘ That whoſoever ſhall be aiding or aſſiſting in putting in Execution the Order or Sentence of the Houſe of Lords, in the Caſe of *Thomas Skinner* againſt the *Eaſt-India* Company, ſhall be deem'd a Betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the Commons of *England*, and an Infringer of the Privileges of this Houſe.

Acts paſs'd.

They had no ſooner finiſh'd this Vote, which was on the 8th Day of *May*, but the King, by the Uſher of the Black-Rod, ſent for them to the Houſe of Peers, where he paſs'd theſe following publick Bills, 1. An Act *for raiſing three hundred and ten thouſand Pounds by an Impoſition on Wines and other Liquors.* 2. An Additional Act *againſt the Importation of Foreign Cattle.* 3. An Act *for Proceeding to Judgment on Writs of* Error *brought in the Exchequer.* 4. An Act *for giving Liberty to buy and Export Leather, and Skins tanned or dreſſed.* 5. An Act *for the better Payment of Monies received for the Uſe of the Crown.* 6. An Act *for the Encreaſe and Preſervation of Timber within the Foreſt of* Dean. 7. An Act *to regulate the Trade of Silk-Throwing.* Having paſs'd theſe, and ſome private Bills, his Majeſty declar'd ‘ That it was his Pleaſure, that the two Houſes be adjourn'd till the 11th of *Auguſt*; That if he cou'd ſo order his Affairs, that they might forbear their aſſembling at that Time, when their being in the Country wou'd be ſo neceſſary for their private Occaſions, he wou'd give timely Notice, that they might ſpare Attendance.’ Thus without any other Speech from the King, and without any at all from the Speaker, the Parliament broke up, having ſate ſince the laſt Meeting in *February*, near three Months, and ſo concluded the Eighth Seſſion, or rather Ninth Meeting of the Second and Long Parliament; and tho' it was only adjourn'd at preſent, and again a ſecond Time, yet it was at laſt Prorogu'd till the 19th of *October* 1669. So that it had a Receſs and Intermiſſion of no leſs than a Year and above five Months. Of the breaking up of this Parliament, and of another Affair at the ſame Time, we ſhall mention the Words of the Earl of *Arlington*, who in a Letter to Sir *William Temple* abroad, dated *May* the 8th, ſays, ‘ His Majeſty had reſolv'd the Parliament ſhou'd adjourn on *Monday* laſt the 4th, but an unhappy Difference falling out betwixt the Lords and Commons upon a great Point of their Privileges, their Sitting has been ſpun on to this Day, tho' not without Hopes of our finally riſing to Morrow. Our long talk'd-of Miſcarriages have this Week been finiſh'd with a very unhappy one in the Queen; after twenty Weeks going, and raiſing the dejected Hopes of the whole Nation, which even this Misfortune hath ſomewhat reviv'd.

The End of the Eighth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

The Queen's ſecond Miſcarriage.

The Progreſs of the French *King.*

3. During the ſitting of the Parliament, *England*, as well as other Places, was not a little concern'd at the Deſigns and Progreſs of the *French* King. The *Triple League* concluded, and ready to be compleated between *England*, *Sweden* and *Holland*, had given a manifeſt Check to his Attempts in *Flanders*. Therefore he reſolv'd to turn his Arms another Way, and poſſeſs himſelf of the *Franche County*, which then belong'd to *Spain*. But to make the Thing more plauſible, he though fit to communicate the Deſign in a Letter to the *States-General*, wherein he told them, ‘ That the two principal Motives that prompted him to this Expedition, were, *Firſt*, the giving their High-Mightineſſes more effectual Means to diſpoſe the *Spaniards* to Peace. *Secondly*, his own Security, upon Advice that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Vienna* endeavour'd to engage the Emperor to ſend an Army into *Burgundy*: But declaring withal, that how proſperous ſoever this Expedition might be, he would not, upon that Account, expect higher or more advantagious Conditions of Peace, than ſuch as he had offer'd with Relation to the Equivalent or Alternative, formerly mention'd.’ Accordingly he proceeded with a rapid Courſe, and made an entire Conqueſt of *Franche-County* in a Fortnight, and in the worſt Seaſon of the Year. After which, fluſh'd with theſe Succeſſes, his Miniſters began to alter their Language, and to expreſs their Reſentment of the Meaſures lately concerted between *England* and *Holland*, and talk'd as if the inſiſting upon their Maſter's former Promiſe was *Preſcribing him Laws.* In one of the Letters from the *French* Secretary *Lionne* to Ambaſſador *d'Eſtrades*, he ſays upon this Occaſion, *I do not believe the King to be of a Temper to ſuffer himſelf to be ſhav'd againſt the Grain, by any Body.* In another he pretends, *That the King his Maſter was entirely diſengag'd of his Offer of a Truce, by the Refuſal of the* Spaniſh *Governor* de Caſtel-Rodrigo. He adds, that he told the *Dutch* Ambaſſador *Van Beuningen*, in his firſt Conference with him, *That the Peace would infallibly have been made upon either of the Alternatives, if the League of the* Hague *had not been concluded: But that League having given a Proſpect to the World, which might induce People to think, that whatever the King would have done of his own Motion, and to gain the Glory of* MODERATION, *which now was the only Thing he wanted, would now be the Effect of* COMPULSION *for fear of the League; This appear'd to him of ſo hard Digeſtion for a Prince of the King's Temper, who preferr'd his Reputation before any any other Conſideration, that he knew not what to ſay to it.*

This laſt Expedition was an Allarm to the *Imperialiſts* and *Switzers*, as well as the *Spaniards*, which caus'd them a little to conſider their own Safety. *England* and *Holland* were more nearly concern'd for the ſaving of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and, beſides the forming of the *Triple League*, they us'd all Endeavours to bring *France* and *Spain* to an Accommodation. In order to effect ſo great a Work, Sir *William Temple*, who had been ſo fortunate in the laſt League, was again employ'd, who us'd all Inſtances with the Marqueſs *de Caſtel-Rodrigo*, the *Spaniſh* Governor at *Bruſſels*, to ſubmit to one of the Alternatives propos'd by the *French* King, as the ſureſt Means to preſerve the reſt of the *Netherlands*, and of giving Peace to *Europe*. In this Sir *William* met with ſeveral Difficulties; for the Governor and the *Spaniards* were at firſt very obſtinate and out of Humour, and full of Exclamations againſt the unjuſt Invaſions of the *French*, inſiſted upon the Equity of the Renunciations, and expected that, by Vertue of the *Triple Alliance*, *England* and *Holland* ſhou'd immediately force the *French* King to quit all his Conqueſts. Sir *William* ſoon ſatisfy'd them in ſeveral Points, and by his Penetration diſcover'd the Matter in general to ſtand thus, as he wrote to the Earl of *Arlington*; ‘ It ſeems plain that *France* deſir'd to purſue the War, but feared *England* engaging in it; and to hinder that, would uſe all the Addreſs that could be, to lay the Obſtruction of the Peace upon the *Spaniards*: That the latter, on the other Side, deſir'd to continue the War, provided they might be ſure of the Aſſiſtance of *England* and *Holland*; and that, to that End, if they play'd their Game well, they would be ſure to retort the Addreſs of *France* upon them, and lay the Blame of the War at their Doors; without which they had no Hopes of *Holland*'s falling into their Party: Who whether they were partial to the *French* or no in the Quarrel, were partial to the Peace, and would not be drawn to ſhare in the War, *but upon the laſt Neceſſity*.’ However Sir *William* took inceſſant Pains to remove all Difficulties and Impediments with the *Spaniſh* Governor *de Caſtel-Rodrigo*, who was once ſo much out of Humour with the *Dutch* Proceedings, that he told Sir *William* freely, *That if he were, at this Juncture, in the Council of* Spain, *he wou'd without delay give his Advice, for making Peace with* France, *by delivering up all* Flanders *to them, rather than ſuffer ſuch a Treatment from all their Neighbours, who were more intereſted in the Loſs of it than the* Spaniards. It ſeems there was ſome Deſign of quitting the *Netherlands*, and receiving an Equivalent on the other Side of *France*, which muſt have been fatal to *Holland*, and moſt ſhocking to *England*. At length the Governor was prevail'd upon to accept of one of the Alternatives offer'd by the *French*, which prov'd to be that which was leaſt eligible to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, namely the yielding up all thoſe Places the *French* had already conquer'd in *Flanders*, of which Mention will be preſently made.

Sir William Temple *employ'd to endeavour a Peace.*

This main Point obtain'd, a Treaty was ſoon ſet on foot between the two contending Monarchs of *France* and *Spain*, and *Aix-la-Chapelle* was the Place agreed on and appointed for the Meeting of the ſeveral Commiſſioners and Plenipotentiaries. Upon which Occaſion, Sir *William Temple* remov'd from *Bruſſels*, and arriv'd at that Place on the 27th of *April*, with the Character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary from his *Britannick* Majeſty, and with a very pompous and ſplendid Appearance. Not to enter into the Mazes of this Treaty, as in the laſt, by the Diligence of Sir *William* and others it was brought to a Head within leſs than a Fortnight. By this Treaty ‘ the *French* were to keep Poſſeſſion, in full Sovereignty, of the Towns, Places, and Forts they had taken during the laſt Campaign, namely, *Charleroy*, *Binch*, *Aeth*, *Doway*, *Fort-de-Scarpe*, *Tournay*, *Audenard*, *Lille*, *Armentiers*, *Courtray*, *Bergues*, and *Furnes*, with their Dependencies; on Condition, that *France* ſhou'd reſtore to *Spain* the *Franche-County*, and all other Places which the Arms of *France* might have ſeiz'd on to the Day of the proclaiming of the Peace, after the exchanging of the Ratifications; which was to be done by the laſt Day of *May*: Provided alſo that the King of *England* and the *States-General* did withal oblige themſelves by a Treaty to warrant the King of *Spain* from all future Pretences, or Invaſion to be made by the King of *France* in any of his Territories, for ever hereafter:’ Which they accordingly perform'd. And as to this Treaty, ‘ all Kings, Princes, and

The Treaty of Aix.

The Concluſion of it.

‘ and Potentates might give to their moſt *Chriſtian* and *Catholick* Majeſties their Promiſes and Aſſurances of Guaranty.’

Sir W. Temple's *Letter to the* E. *of* Arlington.

At the Concluſion of the Treaty, Sir *William Temple* takes Notice of ſome Things to the Earl of *Arlington* which ought not to be forgotten; declaring his Opinion to him, ‘ That ſince no Supplies were arriv'd from *Spain*, nor hardly expected in any Time; ſince *Holland* was ſo deſperately bent upon the Peace, without any Reſpect to the *Spaniſh* Honour or Intereſt, further than joyn'd immediately with their own; ſince *Spain* had not been able to find Means to engage *England* or *Sweden* in their Quarrels, by Supplies neceſſary to both Crowns; ſince the King of *England* was not in any Condition of entering into the Buſineſs ſingle, upon Conſiderations of Honour, Juſtice, or remote Danger; and conſequently, ſince upon the Projects made at *Paris*, it grew evident to *Spain*, *that they muſt ſign the firſt Project of Peace, or do worſe:* Upon all theſe Conſiderations it was his Opinion that the *Spaniard*'s Buſineſs was to end frankly, and as ſoon as poſſible.’ Afterwards he ſays to his Lordſhip in the ſame Letter, ‘ I have been the more earneſt in bringing this Matter to an Iſſue here, (which the *Holland* Ambaſſador ſays had never been done without me) becauſe I conceiv'd that not only you deſir'd it in *England*, but *that the Peace was neceſſary for the Conſtitution of his Majeſty's preſent Affairs:* And ſince he has had the Glory of making two Peaces ſo important, we have now nothing to wiſh but to ſee him in a Condition to make War as well as Peace, whenever the Honour and Intereſt of his Crowns ſhall make it neceſſary: For that Neceſſity can, I ſuppoſe, be no ways long avoided, but by our being in a Poſture to welcome it whenever it comes, and to make Advantage of it. And I think the beſt Time to fall into Counſels tending to this great End, will be after the Concluſion of this general Peace, when no Engagement abroad forces his Majeſty to have ſo much Need of Mony from his People: For the Time to repair the Harms that Storms have done in a Houſe, is in fair Weather; and to mend a leaky Ship, ſhe muſt be brought a-ſhore. God grant we may take Warning by the poor *Spaniard*'s Example, whoſe ill Conduct of late in the Government has ſo far ſubjected them to their Neighbours Diſeſteem, Inſolence and Humour, as well as to their Conqueſts, Violence, and Oppreſſion; which I confeſs have been enough to put them upon ſuch deſperate Counſels as your Lordſhip mentions, *of giving up all to the* French, *in theſe Countries*, *rather than be bare Guardians of other's Frontiers*. And yet all theſe Misfortunes are the natural Conſequences of their Conduct, and will never fail befalling any Prince that follows their Example. I wiſh *That* might befall the *French*, to temper a little ſuch an *over-grown Greatneſs*; but I doubt it much from the preſent King's Diſpoſition, among whoſe Qualities thoſe of *Careleſneſs*, or *laviſhing his Treaſures*, I am afraid are none. Therefore I wiſh him engag'd in ſome very charming Pleaſures, or elſe in ſome more difficult Enterpriſes than his laſt, and where we may not have ſo great a Share.’

4. Sir *William Temple* having brought the Negotiation at *Aix* to a happy Concluſion, remov'd from thence to *Bruſſels*, where he compleated the Ratifications, and purſu'd the Directions he had receiv'd from the Earl of *Arlingtoe*, about the Subſidies promis'd by *England* and *Holland*, on the Part of *Spain*, to the Crown of *Sweden*, in order to engage the latter in the *Triple Alliance*. Upon the Confidence of theſe Promiſes, Count *Dona*, as was formerly hinted, went into *England*; where, upon the Exchange of the Treaty, the *Engliſh* Miniſter and *Dutch* Ambaſſador, then in *London*, gave him an Act, in which, in Concert with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, they undertook to get thoſe Subſidies made good by the Marqueſs *de Caſtel-Rodrigo*, the *Spaniſh* Governor of *Flanders*. But when Sir *William* demanded of the Marqueſs the Performance of that Engagement, he declin'd the Matter, and privately told Sir *William*, *That the* Dutch *had croſs'd him in an Alliance he was making laſt Year with* Sweden, *becauſe they wou'd make themſelves Maſters of the Affair*; *and now wou'd buy the* Swedes *Dependence at the Coſt of* Spain. *That he had all the Reaſon in the World to be ſatisfy'd with the King of* England'*s Conduct of this Affair*, *but little in the* Dutch: *That he knew no Reaſon why they ſhou'd not pay what they had promis'd to* Sweden *after the Treaty of* Breda; *nor why all the Mony* Spain *cou'd ſpare ſhou'd not be given to his* Britannick *Majeſty*, *upon a nearer League*, *who was the only Prince that had proceeded affectionately and generouſly in the* Spaniſh *Affairs*; *and who was the beſt able to ſupport them*, *in caſe he were in a Condition to make War without his Peoples Purſes: And that at laſt*, *if it muſt be paid by* Spain, *it ſhou'd be all laid in the King of* England'*s Hands to diſpoſe of as he pleas'd.* Sir *William* return'd the Marqueſs Thanks for his obliging Expreſſions in what concern'd his Maſter; but deſired him *to take it as a Ground in all the Superſtructures to be made upon the preſent Foundations*, “ *That* Spain *muſt not diſoblige* Holland, *even to* “ *oblige* England;’ *but diſſemble any Reſentments they had given him*, *and ſacrifice them to the Advantage both* England *and* Spain *received by their Separation from* France.

His Di-ſcourſe with the Governor of Flanders.

His Arrival at London.

Sir *William* having ſatisfy'd the Governor in all Points, he not long after left *Bruſſels*, and return'd through *Holland* into *England:* Upon his Arrival at *London*, he was receiv'd with all the Demonſtrations of Favour and Reſpect, both by the King and Court; the People ſeeming generally pleas'd with the late Counſels and Negotiations, in which he had ſo great a Share. And if he had been as forward to puſh his Fortune, as he was to deſerve it, he wou'd not have loſt the Advantage of coming home with the common Opinion of great Merits. Upon this Occaſion he modeſtly wrote thus to his Father, ‘ I cannot imagine why I ſhou'd pretend to have deſerv'd more than my *Pay* of the King, for which I ſerv'd him in my late Employments; and if I got *Honour* by them, 'twas ſo much more than I had to reckon upon. Beſides, I ſhou'd be ſorry to ask Mony of him, *at a Time when*, for ought I can judge by the Cry of the Court, *He wants it more than I do.*’ In another Patt of the ſame Letter, he lets his Father know, ‘ After the Concluſion of the *Triple Alliance* and the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, I was at an End of my Ambition; having ſeen *Flanders* ſaved, as if it had been by one of the Miracles the Houſe of *Auſtria*, they ſay, has been us'd to; and the general Intereſts of *Chriſtendom* ſecured againſt the Power and Attempts of *France*; and at the ſame Time the Conſideration and Honour of his Majeſty and his Crown abroad, rais'd to a Degree it has not been in for ſome Ages paſt, and we had no Reaſon to expect it ſhou'd be in ſome Ages to come, upon the Decline it felt after the Buſineſs of *Chatham*, and the Peace of *Breda* that ſucceeded it.’ And here it may be ſaid, that from this Time *England* had the beſt Opportunity of holding the Ballance of *Europe*, which if it had immovably obſerv'd, and with reaſonable Vigour, it might have ſav'd the ſpending of thoſe Millions of Treaſure, and Oceans of Blood, that have ſince happen'd. And for a Concluſion of this Period, we may take Notice of another Thing; That whatever the *Spaniards* loſt by the late *French* Ravages, the *Engliſh* gain'd a very great private Benefit by it: For one *Brewer*, ſaid to be of *Engliſh* Parents, with about fifty *Walloons*, who wrought and dy'd fine Woollen Cloths, thereupon came into *England*; and the King, after the Example of King *Edward* III, and Queen *Elizabeth*, entertain'd them, and gave them the Benefit of natural-born Subjects: And by them the *Engliſh* were in a a few Years Time inſtructed to make and dye fine Woollen Cloths cheaper by Forty *per Cent.* than they cou'd before; not only to the Advantage of the *Engliſh* at home, but in Foreign Vent abroad, which before had been enjoy'd by the *Dutch*.

His Letter to his Father

Improvement of the Engliſh *Wooll Trade.*

The Nature of the Court of England.

5. All Wars, and Rumours of Wars being at an End, the King had now full Leiſure and Opportunity to cultivate the Arts of Peace, which he did by promoting and improving hopeful Projects, Inventions and Diſcoveries, as well as the Variety of Exerciſes, Pleaſures and Diverſions. The latter he now enjoy'd after a more uninterrupted Manner than before the Removal of the Earl of *Clarendon*, who was ſucceeded, tho' not in Place, yet in Favour, by a more eaſie Maſter, the Duke of *Buckingham*; a Man ſo addicted and abandon'd, as well as active and fertile in the moſt criminal Pleaſures, that he, and his true Aſſociate the Earl of *Rocheſter*, ſeem'd capable of corrupting any Court in the World. The Nature of the Court, and the Politicks of theſe Times, are handſomely glanc'd at by Sir *William Temple*, who well knew both: For tho' he was ſenſible that the Meaſures taken as to Foreign Potentates were very right and honourable, yet he was not ignorant that the Spirit and Vigour of the great Men began much to be enervated, and the Court to be over-run with Luxury and Extravagancy. And as to the late Eſtabliſhments abroad, he had Reaſon to ſuſpect the Duration of them; declaring that Sir *Thomas Clifford* confidently ſaid to a Friend of his, upon all the Joy that appear'd at the Concluſion of the *Triple-Alliance*; *Well*, *for all this Noiſe*, *we muſt yet have another War with the* Dutch *before it be long.* As to the Government, what he writes to the Lord-Keeper *Bridgeman*, *Oct.* 2. is worthy of Remembrance: ‘ If Men ſee the Way to riſe, is by Worth and virtuous Qualities, the Genius of a Nation will run that Way, and produce great Subjects: If they can hope to do it by vicious Humours, by little Arts, by warm Purſuits every Man of his own Intereſt; the whole Spirit runs into thoſe Courſes, and perhaps the faſter, from the Propenſion of our Natures rather to Ill than to Good.’ In another Place in the ſame Letter, he ſays; ‘ Without great Virtue and ‘ Steadi-

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'Steadineſs in the Government, and Reſolution of going through with whatſoever is thought fit and juſt, whereby Men may ſee, that the only Way to riſe is to deſerve it; all Tempering of Factions, taking off Perſons, and Soothing of Parties, is but Patching up an Ill Houſe; I mean not *Virtue*, in a peaking, formal, *Presbyterian* Senſe, but that which the greateſt Nations of Old ſo politickly favour'd and renown'd, which conſiſted in thoſe Qualities, that made Men fit for the Service of their Princes and Country, by ſtrong and healthful Diſpoſitions both of Bodies and Minds.

The King's Progreſſes.

This Summer the King, the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, &c. made ſeveral Progreſſes into the Country, to *Newmarket*, to *Bagſhot*, to *Portſmouth*, again to *Newmarket* and *Audley-Inn*, to *Ipſwich*, *Harwich* and other Places, partly for the Diverſion of Hunting, *&c.* and partly for Service in viewing of Ports and the Strengths of the Nation. The Navy was the King's particular Delight, and was ſingularly well known and underſtood by him; and tho' it was in the Time of a profound Peace, yet he thought it for the Honour of the Nation to ſet out a conſiderable Part of it this Summer, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Allen*. Having, with his Royal Highneſs, viſited and view'd the Fleet in the *Downs*, on the 23d of *June* he order'd Sir *Thomas* to ſail through the *Channel* to the *Mediterranean* Sea, where he arriv'd at the City and Port of *Algiers*. Here threatning the Place, they ſoon made an Offer of Releaſing all the *Engliſh* Captives, and renew'd their former Peace with *England*, upon good Additional Articles to this Effect, '1. That all their Captains ſhou'd be commanded to let all *Engliſh* Veſſels paſs without Damage or Moleſtation, upon their ſhewing *Engliſh* Colours: If in any Veſſel the *Engliſh* were equal to the Strangers, they ſhou'd then be free; if the Strangers exceeded the *Engliſh*, then lawful Prize; yet, if they cou'd ſhew an *Engliſh* Paſs, to be let go. 2. That none of their little Frigates with Oars ſhou'd ſtop any Veſſel laden with Proviſions or Ammunition for *Tangier*. 3. That they ſhall not deliver any of their little Frigates with Oars to any of the *Sally* Men to make uſe of. 4. That if any of the little Veſſels intended to go to *Tangier*, they ſhou'd take a Paſs from the *Engliſh* Conſul at *Algiers*.' From thence Sir *Thomas Allen* ſail'd for *Tripoli*, at whoſe Appearance the King of the Place ſent out a Brigantine, and Favourite of his, to bid him welcome; aſſuring him of his Readineſs to keep and maintain the ancient Friendſhip, and obſerve and continue the Articles already agreed on.

A Fleet ſent into the Mediterranean.

We have but little more to add in this Year but an Account of ſome Promotions, Removals, and Deaths of particular Perſons. After the general Peace of *Europe*, to maintain an amicable Correſpondence, the King ſent over Sir *William Godolphin*, lately Knighted by him, to reſide as his Ambaſſador in the Court of *Spain*; and ſent Sir *Edward Spragg* as Envoy to the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, upon his late Entry on the Government of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. Sir *Daniel Harvey* was ſent Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*; the Earl of *Carliſle* Ambaſſador to the Crown of *Sweden*, with Sir *Samuel Moreland* as Envoy; and Mr. *Ralph Mountague*, Maſter of the Horſe to the Queen, was ſent firſt Envoy, and ſhortly after Ambaſſador to the King of *France*. After theſe, Sir *William Temple* was again ſent Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the *States-General*, where he was preſented by them with a Gold Chain and Medal of Six Hundred Pounds Value, and his Brother with another Chain and Medal worth two hundred Pounds, in Conſideration of the good and acceptable Services done to the *States* in the late Conjuncture of Time. About the ſame Time the famous Monſieur *Colbert*, late Plenipotentiary at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, came over as Ambaſſador from the *French* King; and made his publick Entry into *London* in *Auguſt*; as did, not long after, Signiour *Pietro Morcenigo*, Ambaſſador from the State of *Venice*. As to Promotions, on the 22d of *May* Sir *John Vaughan*, who was ſo zealous againſt the Earl of *Clarendon*, was made a Serjeant at Law, and the next Day Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*. Upon the Death of the Lord Viſcount *Fitz-Harding*, Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſhold, his Office was in *June* conferr'd upon Sir *Thomas Clifford*, formerly Comptroller of the Houſhold, and the Office of Comptroller given to *Francis* Lord *Newport*, who was likewiſe ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council. In *September*, the Duke of *Monmouth* in *Hyde* Park was plac'd by his Majeſty in the Command of Captain of his Life-Guard of Horſe, void by the Reſignation of the Lord *Gerrard* of *Brandon*. Sir *John Trevor*, who had return'd from his Employment as Envoy Extraordinary to the *French* King, and had given his Majeſty a ſatisfactory Account of his Negotiation in that Court, was on the 29th of *September* ſworn one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, upon the Reſignation of Sir *William Morrice*, who had ten thouſand Pounds given him, and continu'd one of the King's Privy-Council.

Several Promotions, &c.

1668.
Car. 20.
Ref. 9.

The Deaths of the Earl of Northumberland,

As to the Deaths of conſiderable and eminent Men this Year, we ſhall take Notice of Four; and Firſt *Algernoon Percy*, the noted Earl of *Northumberland*, formerly much honour'd, and highly in Favour with the late pious King, but afterwards ſo open a Deſerter, that his Memory has been branded with Ingratitude, as well as Diſloyalty. The Lord *Clarendon*, as was formerly hinted, ſays of him, *If he had thought the King as much above Him, as he thought Himſelf above other conſiderable Men, he wou'd have been a good Subject.* His High Temper caus'd him to be a great Inſtrument in the late Miſeries; notwithſtanding which he was receiv'd into Favour with the preſent King, and dy'd in Peace, being within two Years of the laſt of that famous and ancient Family of the *Percys*. The next was Sir *William Waller*, a Gentleman who had ſtill a deeper Hand in the late Civil Wars, who having been diſguſted at the Court, joyn'd with the Long Parliament, and perform'd ſuch martial Exploits for them, that for ſome Time he gain'd the Name of *William the Conqueror*. Yet he was afterwards both laid aſide, and impriſon'd by the *Independent* Party, ſo that at the King's Reſtoration he was look'd upon as a Sort of Royaliſt, and had laſt of all a ſolemn Funeral in *Weſtminſter*-Abby; but all his Atchievements that were hung over his Tomb, were ſhortly after taken down by the *College of Arms*, and thrown aſide as falſe Things. The other Two were both eminent and celebrated Poets, Sir *William Davenant*, and Sir *John Denham*: The former was born in the City of *Oxford*, and educated in that Univerſity; and tho' he wanted much of Academical Learning, yet he made as high and noble Flights in the Poetical Faculty, as Fancy cou'd advance without it: For which, upon the Death of *Ben Johnſon*, he was made Poet-Laureat to the late King, to whom he was often ſerviceable both in a Military and a Civil Way, and receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood. After the preſent King's Return, he became the chief Reſtorer of the Stage both by his Dramatick Writings, and his active Contrivances; yet he was further diſtinguiſh'd by that famous Heroick Poem of his call'd *Gondibert*, which was particularly celebrated by thoſe admiral Poets, *Cowley* and *Waller*: He dy'd in the 63d Year of his Age, and was bury'd in *Weſtminſter*, and near that other Poet, now to be mention'd, Sir *John Denham*, a Gentleman of a good Family, who likewiſe had his Education in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and afterwards became well known to the late and preſent King; by the laſt of whom he was made Surveyor-General of all his Majeſty's Buildings, in the Room of Mr. *Inigo Jones*, deceaſed, and afterwards Knight of the *Bath* at the Solemnity of the Coronation. He was a Man of excellent Parts, and a fine Genius, tho' he wrote not much; and was highly applauded and admired for one particular Poem call'd *Coopers-Hill*; of which Mr. *Dryden*, who ſucceeded Sir *William Davenant* in the Laurel, ſays, *That for the Majeſty of Stile, it is, and ever will be, the exact Standard of good Writing.*

Sir William Waller,

Sir William Davenant.

And Sir John Denham.

1669.
Car. 21.
Ref. 10.

Several Embaſſies.

VI. 1. The following Year was a Time of Peace, Pleaſure and Enjoyment, a Year in which there cou'd be nothing more calm and quiet than the Surface of the *Engliſh* Affairs, had not the future Effects of its ſilent Motions made it appear, that tho' Action fail'd, Counſel ſufficiently prevail'd: Upon which Account Envoys and Ambaſſadors were frequently employ'd, a common Forerunner of active Deſigns. About the Beginning of the Year, the Earl of *Carliſle*, who was ſent Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *Sweden*, for a while repos'd himſelf at *Copenhagen*, in which Court he was well known: Here he receiv'd a Letter ſent after him by the King of *England*, in Return to a very obliging Letter from his Majeſty of *Denmark*; with the Receipt of which, the King of *Denmark* was ſo well pleas'd and ſatisfy'd, that at the ſeaſonable Inſtance of his Excellency, he caus'd his Orders to be ſent to all his Ports, particularly to his Cuſtom-Houſes and Havens in *Norway*, for Reſtoring the *Engliſh* Liberty of Trading in any Part of his Dominions, with the ſame Privileges they formerly enjoy'd, according to the Treaty concluded in the Year 1660. Being arriv'd at *Sweden*, among other Tranſactions, he had a ſpecial Audience, in which he preſented the King of *Sweden* with the *Engliſh George* and *Garter*, worn by the Knights of that Order; which the King receiv'd with great Expreſſions of Joy; and was after that, by a particular Commiſſion to the Earl, ſolemnly and publickly preſented and inveſted by him with all the peculiar Habits and Ornaments belonging to the ſaid Order.

Several other Ambaſſadors were employ'd in other Courts, as Mr. *Montague* in *France*, Sir *William Godolphin* in *Spain*, and Sir *Peter Wyche* in *Muſcovy*, &c. but none was more vigilant than Sir *William Temple* in *Holland*, who took daily Pains to ſtrengthen, or at leaſt ſecure the *Triple Alliance*, which began to be in ſome Danger this Year, as well from the *Spaniards* ſupine Neglect

1669. Car. 21. Ref. 10.

Sir William Temple's *Care, and Letter to the Lord-Keeper.*

of paying their principal Subſidies to the *Swedes*, as from the uncertain Meaſures of the Court of *England*, which began to be much influenc'd by the *French* Ambaſſador Monſieur *Colbert*. Sir *William*, about the End of *April*, made ſome remarkable Diſcovery, which he thought fit to communicate to the Lord-Keeper *Bridgeman*, and to him alone, and which may here properly be inſerted in his own Words: ‘ The preſent Subject is ſo delicate, that I can ‘ hardly tell how to touch it my ſelf, or to truſt it in any ‘ other Hands but your Lordſhip's.-----Monſieur *De Wit* ‘ came to me, as he ſaid, upon a particular Viſit, as a ‘ *Friend*, not a *Miniſter:* But the Occaſion of it at pre- ‘ ſent he wou'd confeſs, was, to acquaint me with a Con- ‘ verſation he had lately had with Monſieur *Puffendorff*, ‘ a *Swediſh* Agent, who paſs'd this Way from *Paris* to ‘ his own Country: That he had been ſome Time at the ‘ *French* Court ſince our Meaſures taken by the *Triple Al-* ‘ *liance*, and the Negotiations ſet on foot with the *Spani-* ‘ *ards*. That the Miniſters in *France* had taken much ‘ Pains to perſuade him, “ That *Sweden* wou'd find their “ Account very ill in purſuing thoſe Meaſures: That “ *Spain* wou'd fail them, in what was pretended from them; “ and that *Hollond* alone wou'd not be able to ſupport “ them, or the Meaſures they had raſhly taken;” And to ‘ make this good, the Miniſters there had at length told ‘ him (but as a Secret only for the Service and Informa- ‘ tion of the Court of *Sweden*) “ That *England* wou'd “ certainly fail them; and was already chang'd in the “ Courſe of all thoſe Counſels they had taken with *Hol-* “ *land* and *Sweden*, tho' they did not think fit to let any “ Thing of it appear; and the *Secret* was yet in very few “ Hands, either in the *French* or the *Engliſh* Court.” ‘ That when this Agent ſeem'd incredulous of all this Sto- ‘ ry, and to ſuſpect that it was Artificial, and only inten- ‘ ded to give an Umbrage or falſe Light to the Court of ‘ *Sweden*, and thereby help them to make the firſt falſe ‘ Step; Monſieur *Turenne* at laſt ſhew'd him a Letter ‘ from Monſieur *Colbert* their Ambaſſador, wherein he ‘ gave an Account of “ the happy Succeſſes he had met with “ in his Negotiations in the *Engliſh* Court, of the good “ Diſpoſitions there, and eſpecially thoſe of ſome of the “ chief Miniſters: with the Addition of theſe Words, *And* “ *I have at laſt made them ſenſible of the whole Extent of* “ *his Majeſty's Liberality.*

After Sir *William* had made ſome Excuſes for the *Engliſh* Miniſtry, and clear'd himſelf from the leaſt Knowledge of the Matter, Monſieur *de Wit* proceeded and ſaid, ‘ That he had been very ſuſpicious when he firſt enter'd ‘ into the Miniſtry, but had been ſo often deceiv'd by it, ‘ he had cured himſelf of that Quality. That he knew ‘ very well it had been ſaid among ſome Foreign Miniſters ‘ here ſome Months ſince, *That it muſt be confeſs'd, there* ‘ *has been for nine Months the greateſt Miniſtry in the World,* ‘ *in* England; as if they believ'd ſome Change had befal- ‘ len our Counſels before the laſt Year ended. That for ‘ his Part, who went to the Subſtantial as near as he ‘ cou'd, and the plaineſt Way; he had made but one Re- ‘ flection, and kept that as much as he cou'd to him- ‘ ſelf: Which was, “ That after my Embaſſy hither had “ been reſolv'd in *England*, to ſupport and improve the “ Ends of our laſt Alliances, and to engage the Emperor “ and chief Princes of the Empire, as well as *Spain* in the “ Support of them; he cou'd not but wonder to find me “ engag'd of late by my Orders from Court, ſo warmly in “ a *Chicane* about ſuch a Trifle, as that of *Surinam*; and in “ ſo many eager Diſputes about the Pretenſions of our *Eaſt-* “ *India* Company, which were fitter for Merchants than “ for Miniſters: And look'd, as if we had them more at “ Heart, than the Purſuit of the Publick Intereſts, that were “ thought ſo neceſſary for *Chriſtendom*, at my firſt coming “ over. But after all, for his Part, he wou'd go on con- “ ſtantly upon the Foot of our laſt Alliance, as the beſt “ Ground of our common Safety; and believ'd that the “ *States* wou'd do ſo too, 'till his Majeſty or his Mini- “ ſters ſhou'd let them plainly ſee, *he had chang'd his* “ *Meaſures.*

The Arrival of the Prince of Tuſcany.

2. In *England*, while Pleaſures, Diverſions and Entertainments abounded, on the End of *March* there arriv'd the famous *Coſmo de Medicis* Prince of *Tuſcany*, whoſe Deſign was to viſit and view the moſt conſiderable Countries and Places in *Europe*. Removing from *Portugal* and *Spain*, he landed at *Plymouth*, where he was honourably receiv'd by Sir *John Skelton* the Governor, and repairing to *Exeter*, he was ſolemnly complimented and attended by the Mayor and his Brethren. On the firſt of *April* he came to *Salisbury*, where he was waited on by the Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Mayor and Aldermen in their Habits, and the next Day was magnificently entertain'd by the Earl at his Houſe in *Wilton:* And proceeding on his Road, he was met and complimented in the King's Name at *Brentford*, by the Lord Viſcount *Mandeville* in one of his Majeſty's Coaches; and coming to *London* in private, he was at his Arrival attended by Sir *William Killigrew* with a Compliment from the Queen, by the Earl of *Peterborough* from the Duke of *York*, and from the Dutcheſs by her Maſter of the Horſe Sir *William Powel*. At the End of the Month, his Highneſs went along with the King, and the Duke and Prince *Rupert* to *Newmarket*; and having diverted himſelf with the Recreations of that pleaſant Place, he went to viſit the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was receiv'd with all imaginable Reſpect, being attended at his Lodgings, and complimented in the Name of the Univerſity by the two Divinity Profeſſors, Dr. *Gunning* and Dr. *Pearſon*, accompany'd by all the young Noblemen Students, and likewiſe by the Mayor and Aldermen from the Town. The next Morning, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Duport*, with the Heads and the Proctors, ſtood ready in their Formalities to receive his Highneſs in the Publick *Schools*, all the Scholars being rang'd on each Side of the Way. The Univerſity Orator, Dr. *Widdrington*, entertain'd him with a publick Speech at the Gate, from whence he was conducted into the *Regent-Houſe*, where was held a *Congregation* for creating *Degrees* in all Faculties on this Occaſion, by the particular Command of his Majeſty, where a ſecond Speech was made to him by the ſame Orator. In the Afternoon he was pleas'd to be preſent at a *Philoſophy-Act* appointed for that Purpoſe, which was perform'd to the ſingular Satisfaction of his Highneſs and the whole Auditory.

His Reception at Cambridge

And at Oxford.

On the 3d of *May* his Highneſs arriv'd late at Night at *Oxford*, and refuſing the Lodgings offer'd him by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Fell*, went to be more private in the *Angel-Inn*; where the next Morning he was attended by the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors in their Scarlet to compliment him, and to know his Pleaſure when he wou'd be at leiſure to be receiv'd in *Convocation*. In the mean Time they waited on him to ſhew him moſt of the Colleges, where he was receiv'd by the reſpective Societies, and complimented with Speeches. In the Afternoon the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors went again to his Lodgings, and conducted him thence to the *Convocation*, his Highneſs being pleas'd to walk all the Way on Foot, through the Ranks of Scholars plac'd on each Side from his Lodgings to the *Schools*. The Maſters of Arts being ſet in the *Convocation-Houſe* attended there his Arrival, upon which the Convovation began, the Prince being firſt ſeated in a Chair of State provided for that Occaſion on the right Hand of the Vice-Chancellor: Then the publick Orator, Dr. *South*, made him an Oration, which ended, and ſeveral Academical Affairs diſpatcht, to ſatisfy his Highneſs of the Manner of acting in thoſe Aſſemblies; his Phyſician, a Doctor of *Bononia*, was incorporated and admitted to the ſame Degree. Thence the Prince was conducted to the new Theatre, almoſt finiſh'd, and ſo to the Publick Library, where he had a View of the choiceſt Manuſcripts, Coins and other Rarities of that Place; and hence to the ſeveral *Schools*, in moſt of which the Profeſſors and Lecturers were reading in their ſeveral Faculties, and Diſputations held in the others. His Highneſs was particularly pleas'd to take a Seat in that of *Geometry*, and to hear a learned Lecture read by Dr. *Wallis*; and having heard ſome Diſputations in the *School of Tongues*, and in that of *Natural Philoſophy*, he was entertain'd in the *Muſick School* with Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſick; and at ſeven in the Evening was re-conducted to his Lodgings by the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors, who attended him next Morning, and took their Leave upon his departing that Day for *Windſor*, and ſo to *London*.

A few Days after, his Highneſs was carry'd by the King into *Hyde-Park* to take a View of the three Troops of his Majeſty's Horſe-Guards, and ſeven of the Regiment of Guards commanded by the Earl of *Oxford*, and fourteen Companies of the Foot-Guards of his Majeſty's Regiment of Guards, all drawn up in excellent Order and Equipage. On the laſt Day of *May* both the King and the Duke of *York* were pleas'd to do the Prince the Honour to ſup with him at St. *Albans* Houſe in St. *James*'s *Fields*, and were entertain'd by him with great Splendor and Magnificence. The next Day he took his Leave of the Court, and ſoon after took ſhipping for *Holland*, after he had continu'd in *England* ſomewhat above nine Weeks. It is obſervable, that this Prince ever after retain'd ſuch a grateful Remembrance of the generous Uſage he met withal in *England*, that when he came to be grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, as he ſhortly after did, and is ſtill, he always receiv'd the *Engliſh* in his Court after a more free and diſtinguiſhing Manner than any other Nation. And as an Earneſt of his Affecton to that Nation, he purpoſely built, and preſented to the King of *England* two very large Gallies, for a Guard of the Coaſts about *Tangier*, which prov'd of great Importance to the Service of his Majeſty.

His Departure and Gratitude.

Prince George *viſits the Court.*

About a Month after the Departure of the Prince of *Tuſcany*, young Prince *George* of *Denmark*, after a ſhort Tour in *France*, came over to viſit the Court of *England*; and about the middle of *July*, was by the Lord-Chamberlain of the Houſhold conducted to his Majeſty, and in the Afternoon, with equal Ceremony was introduc'd to the Queen; and after a very honourable Reception at the Court, he return'd again for *Denmark*.

The opening of the new Theatre at Oxford.

3. On the 9th of *July* in this peaceful Year, was open'd the new Theatre of *Oxford*, the noble and munificent Benefaction of Dr. *Sheldon*, the preſent Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; when the Univerſity, in a full and glorious Body, went to take Poſſeſſion of the Place, where after the reading of his Grace's Grant by the Regiſter of the Univerſity, Dr. *South* the publick Orator made an excellent Speech upon this ſolemn Occaſion. In the Afternoon, being again aſſembled and plac'd in the Theatre, after the Muſick, were pronounc'd ſeveral Panegyricks, the firſt in Proſe, then one in Pindarick Verſe, after that an Oration, then a Dialogue in Poetry; which having continu'd a conſiderable Time, the Auditory was diverted with excellent Muſick, Vocal and Inſtrumental: Which ended, they were again entertain'd with another Oration, follow'd by two Speeches in Poetry, and afterwards by a Diſcourſe in favour of Learning, then a ſhort Speech from the Muſick Gallery, uſhering in two Odes, which were admirably ſung; after which follow'd another Speech, which concluded the Solemnity of that Day. Three Days after this Dedication, there was celebrated a moſt ſplendid *Act*, ſuch as had not been equal'd in any Perſon's Remembrance.

The D. of Ormond *choſen Chancellor there.*

Shortly after the good Arch-Biſhop reſign'd his Place of Chancellor of the Univerſity, in a Reſolution of retiring from publick Buſineſs, and an inward Satisfaction of having ſerv'd the Univerſity with as much Affection and greater Munificence than any of his Predeceſſors. He recommended his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* to ſucceed him in this honourable Charge, which was readily effected, having a great and juſt Opinion of the Duke's Integrity and Honour: And to ſhew the higher Eſteem of him, he did this at a Juncture, when the Duke was out of Favour at Court; having been lately call'd out of *Ireland*, and leaving his Son the Lord *Oſſory* to command in his Abſence, was ſoon ſucceeded by the Lord *Roberts*, a Perſon of a contrary Party. However his Grace left a Reputation and Intereſt in that Kingdom exceeding great; inſomuch that upon the firſt News of the Change, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, the Provoſt of the College, the Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, and moſt of the Clergy attended the Lord *Oſſory*, to make a ſolemn Acknowledgment 'of the numerous Benefits receiv'd by the City from the Government of his Father and himſelf, and the Protection and Favours which the Church had enjoy'd, *as well by their good Examples*, as by the plentiful Proviſion made by them for the Clergy.

The Caſe of the Diſſenters.

The Keeper endeavours to relieve them,

4. As to the State of Religion, and the Caſe of the Diſſenters, we are here to take Notice that the Removal of the Earl of *Clarendon* was a great Satisfaction to them, and they had much greater Hopes from his Succeſſor Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, who not ſo well knowing the Deſigns of the Court, was more ready to comply with the moderate Proceedings there incourag'd and promoted. It ſeems he had a Deſire to try the Spirits and Principles of the Nonconformiſts, eſpecially the *Presbyterians*, and was willing to oblige them: In order to this, as Dr. *Calamy* informs us, Dr. *Manton* ſent a Letter to Mr. *Baxter*, intimating that Sir *John Baber*, who belong'd to the Lord-Keeper *Bridgeman*, told him that his Lordſhip deſir'd to confer with them two about a *Comprehenſion* and *Toleration*. On *January* laſt, they waited upon the Keeper, who freely told them, 'That he had ſent for them to think of a Way of their Reſtoration; and to that End he had ſome Propoſals to offer to them, which was for a *Comprehenſion* for the *Presbyterians*, and an *Indulgence* for the *Independents*, and the reſt.' After ſome Debate it was agreed to go firſt upon the Buſineſs of *Comprehenſion*; upon which Occaſion Dr. *Wilkins*, and the Keeper's Chaplain Dr. *Burton*, were conſulted. The Point they moſt differ'd about was *Re-Ordination*; but at laſt Chief-Juſtice *Hale* ſuggeſted an Expedient to adjuſt the Difference; which was, That thoſe Nonconformiſts that had been *Ordain'd* before, ſhou'd be admitted into the Miniſtry of the Church of *England* with this Form of Words, *Take thou* Legal *Authority to preach the Word of God, and adminiſter the Holy Sacraments in any Congregation of* England, *where thou ſhalt be* Lawfully *appointed thereunto*. It was likewiſe agreed, That *Ceremonies* ſhould be left indifferent, and the *Liturgy* alter'd, and that thoſe who cou'd not be *Comprehended* ſhou'd be *Indulg'd*; and for Security to the Government, the Names of the *Teachers*, and all the Members of the Congregations, were to be regiſter'd. Accordingly a Bill was drawn up by the ſaid Chief-Juſtice, againſt the enſuing Parliament. But all this met with no Succeſs in Parliament; and the Lord-Keeper, who ſet it on Foot, is blam'd for his unexpected Indifferency, and going along the Stream. A warm Writer, who appear'd in 1706, aſſures us, that the Diſſenters at every Meeting making freſh Demands, the Lord-Keeper and others grew weary, and deſpair'd of fixing them even to their own Conceſſions; for, adds he, 'this was the true State of the Caſe, as Sir *John Baber* inform'd him, who was chiefly concern'd in bringing on the Debate, in which he took much Pains, but finding nothing but *Tergiverſation* and *Cavils*, without any Proſpect of a reaſonable Compliance, he gave them over for a Company of *Whiffling Fellows*, as his Term was, and cou'd never ſince believe *There was any Thing of Conſcience in all their Pretences*, which he really thought before. As for Dr. *Burton*, who was very fond of, and forward at firſt in the Affair, he at laſt gave a like Account with Sir *John Baber*, and as much deſpair'd of ever bringing them to Reaſon.' This Charge may be thought too ſevere, yet

But in vain.

Their Intereſt increaſes.

However it was, the Nonconformiſts were more eaſy in their Conſciences, had now their open Meetings more full and frequent, and their Intereſt and Figure grew more conſiderable, by reaſon of the King's apparent Inclinations of Indulgence to them; and likewiſe by the particular Countenance and Protection of ſome of the chief Miniſters of State, who agreed in the Patronage of them, tho' on different Principles; ſome out of Humanity and Moderation, and others from a Motive of weakning the Communion of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, or of gaining the more Liberty to the *Papiſts*. Under theſe Advantages, the Diſſenters gradually aſſum'd a Liberty that became offenſive to thoſe who were by Conſcience in the Communion of the Church of *England*, and had Reſpect for the Legal Conſtitution of the Kingdom. And to make themſelves a more formidable Body againſt the Church, or to ſecure themſelves, the two chief Parties, the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, formerly great Enemies to each other, were now projecting an Union and Coalition. Under this Diſpoſition and Confidence, the whole Body of the Diſſenters appear'd ſo open againſt the preſent Laws and Conſtitution, that it juſtly rais'd not only the Indignation of the Churchmen, but the Jealouſy of all who were zealouſly concern'd for the Government, and the legal Adminiſtration of it. And therefore the better to diſcover their Number and Places of publick Meeting, his Grace the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* iſſu'd out his Circular Letter, dated *June* 8, requiring the Biſhop of *London* and his other Suffragans, to take a very particular Account of them within the reſpective Dioceſes. The Return of this Enquiry ſoon after, made ſuch a ſenſible Impreſſion upon the more diſcerning Part of the Miniſtry, that the King was prevail'd upon to Iſſue out his Proclamation on the 16th of *July*, declaring, 'Upon ſeveral Informations, which had been given in to his Majeſty from ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, that thoſe who ſeparate themſelves from the Eſtabliſh'd Worſhip, do meet in greater Numbers than formerly, to ſuch a Degree, *as may endanger the Publick Peace*; by which his Majeſty cou'd not but take Notice how far his once and ſtill avow'd Eaſineſs to Indulge Tender Conſciences was abuſed thereby; his Majeſty, by the Advice of his Privy-Council, was pleas'd to order his Proclamation to be iſſu'd out, ſtrictly charging and commanding all his Juſtices of the Peace, within the Limits of their ſeveral Juriſdictions, where they ſhall find ſuch Meetings to be held, that they put the Laws in Execution for the Suppreſſion thereof, and particularly proceed againſt the Preachers, according to the Statute made in the 17th of his Majeſty's Reign, entitled, *An Act for Reſtraining Nonconformiſts from Inhabiting in Corporations*.

A Proclamation againſt them.

Yet privately incourag'd by the King.

And yet ſuch was the Unſteadineſs of the Court or of the King himſelf, that in the Month of *September*, Sir *John Baber* was ſent to Dr. *Manton* to inform him, 'That the King was inclin'd to favour the *Nonconformiſts*, and that an Addreſs now wou'd be accepted; and that it muſt be a thankful Acknowledgment of the Clemency of his Majeſty's Government, and the Liberty enjoy'd under it.' Whereupon ſuch an Addreſs was ſhortly agreed on, and preſented by Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Ennis*: And the King was pleas'd to meet them in the Earl of *Arlington*'s Lodgings, receiv'd them very graciouſly, and promis'd them *to do his utmoſt to get them Comprehended within the Publick Eſtabliſhment*. Which undoubtedly gave them great Hopes and Encouragement, tho' they ſhortly after met with very different Uſage from the two Houſes of Parliament.

The NINTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

VII. 1. Such was the State of Affairs when, on the 19th Day of *October*, the Parliament met, after ſeveral Adjournments, and at laſt a Prorogation; having had a long Intermiſſion and Receſs of one Year, five Months, and ten Days; and this made the Ninth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, which is thought to have been deferr'd the longer upon the Account of the laſt Differences between the two Houſes. His Majeſty having aſcended the Throne with the uſual Solemnity and Order in the Houſe of Lords, and being attended by the Houſe of Commons and their Speaker, deliver'd himſelf in this ſhort Speech: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am very glad to ſee you here at this Time; and I hope this will be a happy Seſſion: For I have had great Experience of your Affections and Loyalty to me, and am very confident of the Continuance of it. It is now almoſt a Hear and Half ſince your laſt Sitting: And tho' my Debts have preſs'd me much, yet I was unwilling to call for your Aſſiſtance till this Time: What you gave laſt was wholly employ'd to the Navy, and that Extraordinary Fleet for which it was intended. I deſire that you wou'd now take my Debts effectually into your Conſideration. Something I have to propoſe to you of great Importance, concerning the Uniting of *England* and *Scotland*, but it will require ſome Length; and I have left That, and ſome other Things, to the Lord-Keeper to open them more fully to you.

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

Accordingly the Lord-Keeper *Bridgeman* made the following Speech, which has no Reaſon to be abridg'd: '*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*, His Majeſty in his moſt gracious Speech hath expreſs'd his great Satisfaction in ſeeing you here at this time; and his Hopes of a happy Iſſue of this Meeting: To obtain which, nothing can induce more than a good Correſpondency and Union among your ſelves. He hath Reaſon to believe that you all come with the ſame common Affections for the general Good, and therefore perſuades himſelf, there will be no Difference between the two Houſes; but if there ſhou'd be any ſuch, he earneſtly recommends it to you, that by your Moderation and Wiſdom ſuch Expedients may be found out, as may compoſe them, and that thereby no Delay or Obſtruction be to your other Proceedings. His Majeſty hath alſo deſired you to take his Debts effectually into Conſideration. I need not mention to you the Uneaſineſs of his Condition with that Burden, nor the Inconveniencies or Miſchiefs which might fall out, if he ſhould continue under it. It is not unknown to you, that his Majeſty hath been a happy Inſtrument by the Treaty at *Aix*, and by the *Triple-Alliance*, to procure Peace between the two Neighbouring Crowns: The ſecuring of that Peace (wherein our own Peace is concern'd, and his Majeſty's Reputation abroad) will alſo much depend upon your Kindneſs to him: And therefore he hopes you will conſider of how great an Importance it is at this Time, That his Majeſty be enabled to bear ſuch a Part in the Affairs of *Europe*, as may contribute moſt to his own Honour, and the Safety, Benefit and Glory of this Nation.

The Lord-Keeper's Speech.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, you may remember that upon his Majeſty's Recommendation, an Act was lately made *for ſettling Freedom and Intercourſe of Trade between* England *and* Scotland, which was occaſion'd upon Complaints of new Duties impos'd in each Kingdom upon divers Commodities of the Growth, Production or Manufacture of the other. According to this Act, Commiſſioners were appointed by his Majeſty for both Kingdoms to Treat upon that Affair, and they had ſeveral Meetings, which produc'd no Effect, unleſs it were a Conviction of the Difficulty, if not Impoſſibility of ſettling it in any other way than by a nearer and more compleat *Union* of the two Kingdoms. His Majeſty is fully perſuaded that nothing can tend more to the Good and Security of both Nations, than ſuch an *Union*; and finds that his Royal Grandfather King *James*, of bleſſed Memory, went ſo far on towards this good Work, that by an Act of Parliament in the Firſt Year of his Reign, Commiſſioners were authoriz'd to Treat and Conſult with Commiſſioners from *Scotland* concerning it. And in Purſuance of their Treating, in the Fourth Year of his Reign, an Act was made *for the Repeal of Hoſtile Laws, and the Abolition of the Memory of Hoſtility between the two Nations*; and after the End of that Seſſion, about the Seventh Year of his Reign, it was by the Judges of all the Courts at *Weſtminſter-hall* ſolemnly adjudg'd in the Caſe of the *Poſt Nati*, That thoſe who, after the Deſcent of the Crown to King *James*, were born in *Scotland*, were no *Aliens* in *England*; and conſequently were capable not only of Lands, but all other Immunities, as if they had been born here. By theſe Steps ſo great an Advance hath been made towards this Union, that his Majeſty well hopes that what is yet wanting to the perfecting of it, may be now accompliſh'd: The Continuance under the ſame Obedience and Subjection for near Threeſcore and ſeven Years, having begotten the ſame common Friends, and common Enemies to both Nations, and taken off a great Part of thoſe Difficulties which at the firſt ſtood in the Way. And therefore his Majeſty doth moſt heartily recommend it unto you, That Commiſſioners may be nominated to Treat and Conſult with Commiſſioners from *Scotland*, concerning this Union. His Majeſty hath given Directions to the Earl of *Lauderdale*, his Commiſſioner for *Scotland*, to make the like Propoſal to the Parliament which is now ſitting there; and doubts not but upon the Meeting of ſuch Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms, thoſe Things will be offer'd to your Conſiderations, in order to the *Union*, as ſhall tend to the Honour of his Majeſty, and the common Good of all his Subjects.

Proceedings of the Commons.

Inſtead of taking theſe Speeches into Conſideration, the Commons proceeded upon other Matters, enquired into the Points of Privileges, with relation to the two Houſes, and were ſtrict in the Examination of the Accounts of the Monies expended by the Publick; in the Paſſing of which they found Sir *George Carterett*, who had the Keeping of ſome of the Books, ſo blameable, that they expell'd him the Houſe. But being much oblig'd with the King's laſt Proclamation, they ſoon reſolv'd, 'That the humble and hearty Thanks of this Houſe be return'd to the King's Majeſty for iſſuing out his Proclamation *for putting in Execution the Laws againſt Nonconformiſts, and for Suppreſſing Conventicles*, with the humble Deſire of this Houſe for his Majeſty's Continuance of the ſame Care for Suppreſſing of them for the Future.' The Concurrence of the Lords being deſired, and readily obtain'd, on the 6th of *November* both Houſes, in purſuance of this Vote, attended his Majeſty in the *Banquetting-Houſe* in *White-hall*, where the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Vaughan*, ſupplying the Room of the Lord-Keeper then indiſpos'd, in the Name of both Houſes return'd his Majeſty the forementioned Thanks: For which he return'd them this particular Anſwer, '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I thank you for this Mark of your Affection to me: I doubt not of the Continuance and Concurrence of it in other Things, as well as in this of my Proclamation: I recommend to you, That you wou'd well weigh all that I ſay and deſire in it towards the Welfare and Peace of the Nation; in order to which, as I ſhall always be ready to contribute my utmoſt Endeavours, ſo I hope you will never be failing in yours to enable me to do it.' After which the Commons appointed a Committee to enquire into the Behaviour of the Diſſenters, who reported, 'That there were divers Conventicles and other Seditious Meetings near the Parliament, where great Numbers of Evil-affected Perſons frequently meet; which they conceiv'd, was not only an Affront to the preſent Government, but alſo of imminent Danger to both Houſes of Parliament, and the Peace of the Kingdom.' Upon which the whole Houſe made this Declaration and Reſolution, *That they will adhere to his Majeſty in the Maintenance of the Government of the Church and State, as it is now Eſtabliſh'd, againſt all Enemies whatſoever.* Shortly after, Information was given to the Houſe from General *Monk*, 'of the great Reſort of dangerous and diſaffected Perſons to this Town, and of the Meetings and Endeavours to diſturb the Publick Peace; and that he had, and wou'd take care what he cou'd to prevent their Attempts.' Upon which the Commons immediately reſolv'd, 'That the Thanks of the Houſe be return'd to the Lord-General, for his Care in Preſerving the Peace of the Kingdom.' So that the Suppreſſing or Reſtraining of Conventicles was now look'd upon not ſo much a Matter of Religion, as of Neceſſity and Safety to the Government.

They enquire after Diſſenters.

Sir S. *Bernardiſton's Narrative to the Houſe.*

2. As to Point of Privilege, the Commons not having Satisfaction in the laſt Seſſion, reviv'd the Debate of the Difference between the two Houſes, as it ſtood upon the Caſe of the *Eaſt-India* Company and *Skinner* the Merchant; and underſtanding that Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton* was a particular Sufferer by the Lords in this Caſe, they examin'd him in the Matter, who at the Barr of the Houſe gave them this ſhort Account: 'Mr. *Speaker*, As ſoon as the Commons, according to his Majeſty's Command, had Adjourn'd themſelves on the 8th of *May*, 1668, I was preſently call'd as a Delinquent upon my Knees to the Barr of the Lords Houſe, and demanded *What I had to ſay for my ſelf why the Judgment of that Houſe ſhou'd not paſs upon me, for having a Hand in, and being one of the Contrivers of a Scandalous Libel againſt that Houſe:* To which my Reply was, *That I knew not my ſelf to be concern'd in any Scandalous Libel; but true it was, I did deliver a Petition to the Houſe of Commons in Behalf of the* Eaſt-India *Company by their Order, being Deputy-Governor; and I did it out of no other Deſign, than to preſerve the Company's Intereſt and Eſtate, according to my Oath and Duty of my Place.* Then I was commanded to withdraw, and others were call'd in: Soon after ſome of the Lords came to me in their *Lobby*, and told me *the Houſe was highly incens'd againſt me*; *That I ſhould* pre-

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preſently be call'd in again; and if I did not then ſubmit my ſelf, and own my Fault, I muſt expect the Indignation of the Houſe of Peers to fall upon me. And being call'd in again the ſecond Time, it was demanded, *What further I had to ſay for my ſelf, before Judgment ſhou'd paſs againſt me.* When repeating my former Diſcourſe, adding, *That I had no Deſign to create any Difference between the two Houſes, but to preſerve the Company's Eſtate: Yet if I had offended their Lordſhips, I humbly begg'd their Pardon.* Being then commanded to withdraw again, I was afterwards call'd in: And, being upon my Knees, Sentence was pronounc'd againſt me to pay three hundred Pounds Fine to his Majeſty, and to lye in Cuſtody of the *Black-Rod* till the Mony was paid. And accordingly, Sir *John Eyton*, Uſher of the *Black-Rod*, kept me in his Cuſtody till the 10th of *Auguſt* following, when at nine at Night, he came to me and ſaid, Sir *Samuel, I am come to diſcharge you from your Impriſonment, and you may go when, and where you pleaſe.* I then demanded *how this unexpected Releaſement came to paſs, and to whom I was beholden for the ſame.* He reply'd, *You are diſcharg'd upon honourable Terms, but pray ask me no Queſtions, for I muſt make you no Anſwer: Yet if I ſee you to Morrow, after the Houſe is Adjourn'd, I will tell you more; there is a Myſtery, but I have ſufficient Authority for what I do.*

The Commons Reſolves upon it.

Upon hearing of this, the Houſe fell into a warm Debate about ſome Expedients for ſettling the Difference in Point of Privilege and Juriſdiction of the two Houſes, which cou'd not be ended that Night; and after that they reſolved to bring in a Bill for that Purpoſe. This appear'd to be a Matter of too great Nicety and Difficulty to be effected in a ſhort Time. However, after Conferences with the Houſe of Lords, they came to theſe five grand Reſolutions. ‘I. That it is an inherent Right of every Commoner of *England* to prepare and preſent *Petitions* to the Houſe of Commons in Caſe of Grievance, and the Houſe of Commons to receive the ſame: In Evidence whereof, it is one of the firſt Works that is done by the Commous, to appoint a grand Committee to receive Petitions and Informations of Grievances. II. That it is the undoubted Right and Privilege of the Commons to judge and determine concerning the *Nature* and *Matter* of ſuch *Petitions*, how far they are fit or unfit to be receiv'd; and that in no Age they found any Perſon preſenting a Grievance by way of *Petition* to the Houſe of Commons, and receiv'd by them, that was ever cenſur'd by the Lords, without Complaint by the Commons. III. That no Court whatſoever hath Power to judge or cenſure any *Petition* preſented to the Houſe of Commons, and receiv'd by them, unleſs tranſmitted from thence, or the Matter complain'd of by them: And that no Suitors for Juſtice in any inferior Court, in *Law* or *Equity*, are therefore puniſhable *Criminally*, tho' untrue, or ſuable by Way of *Action* in any other Court; but are only ſubject to a moderate Fine or Amercement by that Court, unleſs in ſome Caſes *ſpecially* provided by Act of Parliament, as *Appeals*, or the like. In Caſe Men ſhou'd be puniſhable in other Courts for preſenting Petitions to the Houſe of Commons, it may deter his Majeſty's Subjects from ſeeking Redreſs of their Grievances, and fruſtrate the principal End for which Parliaments were ordained. IV. Whereas a *Petition* from the *Eaſt-India* Company was preſented to the Houſe by Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton* and others, complaining of Grievances therein, which the Lords have cenſured under the Notion of a *Scandalous Paper* or *Libel:* The ſaid Cenſure, and Proceeding of the Lords againſt the ſaid Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton*, are contrary to, and a Subverſion of the Rights and Privileges of the Houſe of Commons, and Liberties of the Commons of *England*; And further, no *Petition*, or any Matter depending in the Houſe of Commons, can be taken Notice of by the Lords, without Breach of Privilege, unleſs permitted by the Houſe of Commons. V. That the Continuance upon Record of the Judgment given by the Lords, and complain'd of by the Commons, in the laſt Seſſion of this Parliament, in the Caſe of *Thomas Skinner* and the *Eaſt-India* Company, is prejudicial to the Rights of the Commons of *England*.’ In Concluſion they added this further Allegation, ‘That the Houſe of Peers, as well as all other Courts, are in all their *Judicial Proceedings* to be guided and governed by Law: But if they ſhall give a wrongful Sentence contrary to Law, and the Party griev'd might not ſeek Redreſs thereof in full Parliament, and for that End repair to the Houſe of Commons, (who are Part of the Legiſlative Power) That either they may interpoſe with their Lordſhips for the Reverſal of ſuch Sentence, or prepare a Bill for that Purpoſe, and for the preventing the like Grievances for the Time to come; the Conſequence thereof wou'd plainly be, *That their Lordſhips Judicature is boundleſs and above Law, and that the Party grieved ſhall be without Remedy.*’ Therefore, as a preſent Remedy, they reſolv'd upon theſe two following Propoſitions to be preſented to their Lordſhips: ‘Firſt, That the Lords be deſired to vacate the Judgment againſt Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton*, given the laſt Seſſion of this preſent Parliament. Secondly, That the Lords be alſo deſired to vacate the Judgment againſt the *Eaſt-India* Company, given by them the laſt Seſſion of this Parliament.

These Reſolutions ſeem'd to have made no great Impreſſions upon the Lords, who were ever jealous of their Rights in Point of Judicature: But while the Heats were increaſing, on the 11th Day of *December*, the King by Commiſſion ſuddenly put a Stop to all Proceedings, by Proroguing both Houſes to the 14th Day of *February* next. And thus ended the ninth Seſſion, or rather tenth Meeting of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had ſate but a little above ſeven Weeks, without paſſing one Act; which was the firſt Seſſion in this Reign that broke up in this Manner: Only we are to remember that the Houſe of Commons proceeded ſo far as to vote a Supply of four hundred thouſand Pounds, for his Majeſty's ſpecial Occaſions.

The End of the Ninth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

A Parliament in Scotland.

3. Upon the very ſame Day that the *Engliſh* Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, the Parliament of *Scotland* met at *Edinburgh*, under the Lord-Commiſſioner, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, formerly a violent Covenanter, now a zealous Royaliſt, who was ſent over in great Pomp and Splendor to bring about unuſual Matters, and particularly the Union of the two Kingdoms. The King wrote a ſhort Letter to them, with the reading of which the Parliament was open'd, and which partly for the Stile's Sake is here inſerted: ‘*My Lords and Gentlemen*, We do often reflect with Thankfulneſs and Joy, upon the Goodneſs of Almighty God, for reſtoring us to our Kingdoms, and them to their former Liberty and Peace: And we acknowledge it a farther Inſtance of God's Goodneſs, that as he hath fill'd our Heart with Kindneſs towards our Subjects of that our *Ancient Kingdom*, and with a conſtant Zeal to promote what we judge conducible to their Welfare; ſo he has bleſs'd us with Returns from them of Love, Loyalty, and ready Compliance with our Pleaſure on all Occaſions, moſt ſuitable thereunto; of which our late Parliament hath given ſignal Proofs, as well as our other good Subjects. And this gives us Confidence, That the earneſt Deſire we have to render this Iſland more happy than ever it was in Times paſt, by ſettling amongſt all our good Subjects within the ſame a mutual Affection that may endure to all Poſterity, ſhall meet with a free Concurrence from you our Parliament, whom we have call'd together chiefly for this End. The Bringing of theſe two Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England* to as cloſe and ſtrict an *Union* as is poſſible, is the Means that we propoſe for effectuating thereof: Which as it is the higheſt and nobleſt Deſign we can have, for witneſſing our Royal Affection to them both; ſo the Accompliſhment of it will raiſe our Satisfaction almoſt as high as our Wiſhes. For by the *Union* of the Hearts and Hands of our People, not only our Throne ſhall be ſtrengthen'd, and they have Peace and Love ſettled among them for ever; but we ſhall have the Glory of accompliſhing what our Royal Grandfather King *James*, of ever bleſſed Memory, attempted, as the greateſt Thing he cou'd deviſe, and wherein he, who was a competent Judge, placed the Happineſs of the Crown and Kingdoms, and wherein he meant to have gloried as the chiefeſt Action of his Life.

The King's Letter.

The Subſtance of the Commiſſioner's Speech.

After reading this Letter, the Lord-Commiſſioner *Lauderdale* made a long Speech to enforce it, in which, among other Things, he let them know, ‘That in the firſt Place his Majeſty was reſolv'd to maintain the true Reformed *Proteſtant* Religion, for which he wou'd conſtantly lay out his whole Power and Authority, and wou'd diſcourage and puniſh all *Atheiſm* and *Profanities*, and all that was contrary to true *Religion* and *Godlineſs*. In the next Place he was reſolv'd to maintain the ancient Government by *Arch-Biſhops* and *Biſhops*, as a ſure Fence for the true Reformed *Proteſtant* Religion: A Government moſt ſuitable to Monarchy; and well might he call it Ancient; for, *whoſoever wou'd look into Antiquity, ſhou'd find Epiſcopal Government had continu'd in the whole Catholick Church, both Eaſt and Weſt, even from the moſt Primitive and Apoſtolick Times.* In the next Place his Majeſty wou'd not endure theſe numerous and unlawful *Conventicles*, which tend to Sedition and Schiſm; which had been too frequent in ſome Shires of that Kingdom.’ Then enlarging upon the Benefits of the *Union*, he concluded. The Parliament ſhew'd themſelves very unanimous, and in a little Time return'd a ſuitable Anſwer to the King's Letter, in which they offer'd to his Majeſty the very Nomination of the Commiſſioners to treat for their Kingdom, with his appointing their Number,

Quorum,

The Parliament's Anſwer.

Quorum, Time and Place of their Meeting: And towards the Concluſion they particularly us'd theſe Words, *We do humbly return unto your Majeſty the Offer of our Lives and Fortunes, for the Advancement of your Majeſty's Honour and Greatneſs, and Maintenance of your Royal Authority and Government.* Falling upon Buſineſs, they made an Act *Aſſerting his Majeſty's Supremacy over all Perſons and in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical*, to a higher and more effectual Degree than had ever been before Legally declar'd. And they made another Act for the Benefit of Trade by the *Naturalization of Strangers within the Kingdom of* Scotland; providing, 'That all Strangers of the 'Proteſtant Religion, who ſhou'd think fit to bring their 'Eſtates into the ſaid Kingdom, or ſhou'd come to ſet up 'new Manufactures therein, ſhou'd be received as Native 'Subjects to all Intents and Purpoſes.

Lauderdale's *Government there.*

The enlarging of the King's Power and Grandeur in this Kingdom, was much owing to the Management of the preſent Commiſſioner *Lauderdale*, who had formerly been as much for depreſſing, as he was now for exalting the Prerogative. From the Time of his Commiſſion the *Scots* are ſaid to calculate the Date of all the enſuing Inconveniences in this and the following Reign: For having there undertaken to make the King's Power abſolute and arbitrary, he ſtrain'd the Royal Prerogative to all Kinds of Exceſſes; and aſſum'd to Himſelf a ſort of a lawleſs Adminiſtration of Affairs, the Exerciſe of which was ſuppos'd to be granted to him upon the large Promiſes he had made: And more apprehending other Mens officious Interfering, than diſtruſting his own Abilities, he in Time took care to make himſelf his Majeſty's Sole Informer, as well as his Sole Secretary; and by that Means, not only upon the Pretence of the King's Prerogative, the Affairs of *Scotland* were diſpos'd of in the Court of *England*, without any Notice taken of the King's Council in *Scotland*; but ſtrict Obſervation was alſo made of all *Scotch* Men that came to the *Engliſh* Court: and to attempt an Addreſs and Acceſs to his Majeſty, otherwiſe than by *Lauderdale*'s Mediation, was to hazard his perpetual Reſentment. By theſe Ways he gradually made himſelf the almoſt only Significant Perſon of the whole *Scottiſh* Nation; and in *Stotland* it ſelf procur'd to himſelf that Soveraign Authority, as to name the Privy-Counſellors, to place and remove the Lords of the Seſſion and Exchequer, to grant Gifts and Penſions, to levy and diſband Forces, to appoint General Officers, and to tranſact all Matters of Importance.

Royal Favours to the See of Salisbury.

4. But to return to *England*, and conclude the Year with ſome inferior Matters, we are to take Notice, That in a Chapter of the moſt noble Order of the *Garter*, held at *White-Hall* on the 19th of *November*, the Sovereign then declared, 'That the Reaſon of calling this Chapter was to conſider of the Pretenſions of Dr. *Seth Ward*, 'Biſhop of *Salisbury*, exhibited in a Petition concerning 'the Title and Claim of Himſelf and his Succeſſors to the 'Office of *Chancellor* of the moſt noble Order of the *Garter*, when the ſame ſhou'd become void;' the Biſhop grounding the Equity of his Claim upon a Charter firſt granted by King *Edward* the Fourth, in the 15th Year of his Reign, unto *Richard Beauchamp* Biſhop of *Salisbury* and his Succeſſors for ever; which Charter had been ſince confirm'd under the Great Seal of *England* by other Kings and Queens, and particularly by the late King *Charles* the Firſt. Hereupon the Biſhop was order'd to be called in, and to produce his Proofs to make good his Pretenſion; his Lordſhip humbly offer'd an authentick Copy of the Original Charter of King *Edward* the Fourth, renew'd and confirm'd by King *Charles* the Firſt, in the fourth Year of his Reign; which being read, and duely conſider'd, together with the Objections to the contrary, particularly, That 'the Poſſeſſion and Execution of the ſaid Office of Chancellor, had been for above a Hundred Years committed 'unto Lay-Men;' notwithſtanding which, the Sovereign and Companions, being fully ſatisfy'd with the Juſtneſs of the Biſhop's Claim, grounded upon the foreſaid Charters, and likewiſe concluding, 'That the Returning of 'the ſaid Office to the *Firſt Inſtitution* wou'd be for the 'Honour and Dignity of that moſt noble Order;' the Sovereign thereupon, with the unanimous Conſent of the Companions then preſent, did Declare and Ordain, 'That the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and his Succeſſors for ever, 'ſhou'd have and execute the ſaid Office of *Chancellor*, 'and receive and enjoy all Rights, Privileges and Advantages thereunto belonging, immediately upon the firſt Vacancy of the ſaid Office.

The Death of Biſhop King.

This Year was remarkable for the Deaths of ſeveral conſiderable Perſons very different in their Profeſſions, Employments and Characters; of whom we ſhall begin with two eminent Divines, and firſt Dr. *Henry King*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, educated in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and from thence he paſs'd through ſeveral Preferments, till in the Year 1641 he was made a Biſhop by the late King at a Time when he endeavour'd to oblige the Parliament, by chuſing Perſons of his avow'd Temper and Moderation: In his younger Days he excell'd in the Studies of Muſick and Poetry, which, with his great Wit and Fancy, render'd his Converſation very acceptable; and afterwards apply'd himſelf to Oratory, Philoſophy and Theology, ſo that at length he well deſerv'd the Miter; and laſt of all left behind him in his Neighbourhood the Title of *Epitome of Honours, Virtues and noble Generoſity*; and the Reputation of a Perſon never to be forgotten by his Tenants, and the Poor. The next was Dr. *Henry Byam*, educated in *Exeter* College in *Oxford*, where he ſoon became one of the Ornaments of that Univerſity, and the moſt noted Perſon there for his excellent polite Learning, and his admirable Faculty of Preaching: Removing from thence he became Miniſter of the two Pariſhes of *Luckham* and *Selworthy* in *Somerſetſhire*; where he became a dreadful Sufferer in the Civil Wars, having had four Sons, all Captains, in the King's Service: After a poor obſcure Life, he was at the King's Return reſtor'd to his Livings, but met with no greater Addition, than to be made Canon of *Wells* and Prebendary of *Exeter*; tho' his Worth and Abilities were ſo conſpicuous, that, if it had not been for his exceeding Modeſty, he might certainly have been advanc'd to a good Biſhoprick.

Dr. Byam,

Mr. Clarke,

After theſe two, we may properly mention Mr. *Samuel Clarke*, an extraordinary Perſon, educated, and for the moſt Part living in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he held that Office call'd *Architypographus* of the Univerſity, and was made Senior Beadle of the Civil Law, both which Places having after him been united. He was particularly fam'd and diſtinguiſh'd for his indefatigable Induſtry, and his admirable Skill in the Oriental Learning; upon which Account he had a particular Hand in that great and noble Work the *Polyglott Bible*, for which his Name will be remember'd with Honour to future Ages. A fourth Perſon to be mention'd is Dr. *George Bate*, a moſt noted Phyſician of his Time, who leaving *Oxford*, became not only Fellow of the Colledge it ſelf, but likewiſe ſucceſſively chief Phyſician to King *Charles* the Firſt, and *Oliver Cromwell*, to the laſt of whom he is ſuppos'd to have given a ſure Doſe; and after that had the ſame Poſt under the preſent King. Beſides his great Skill in his Profeſſion, he is particularly diſtinguiſh'd by his Account of the late Troubles, call'd *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia*, &c. which *Latine* Hiſtory, tho' written with Severity, and not without Partiality, has ſeveral notable Paſſages, and ſome Maſterly Stroakes.

Dr. Bate,

Mr. Fiennes,

The Three next to be remember'd are the honourable *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Serjeant *Wylde*, and Mr. *William Prynne*, all active, tho' not equal Incendiaries towards the late Troubles and Confuſions, and all more than once mention'd in the Second Volume of this Hiſtory. Yet ſomething may be properly ſaid in this Place. The Firſt, Mr. *Fiennes*, was ſecond Son to the famous Lord *Say*, and a great Follower of his Steps, and a true Friend to the Long Parliament, to whoſe Cauſe he adhered, tho' once condemn'd to Death by them, till the *Independents* prevail'd, when he took the *Engagement*, became a Favourite with *Cromwell*, one of his Privy-Council, one of his Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, one of his Lords, and his principal Tool in promoting his Kingſhip: After the Reſtoration, he retir'd into the Country, liv'd obſcurely, and dy'd neglected at *Newton Tony* near *Salisbury*. The next, Serjeant *Wylde*, was as deeply ingag'd in the late Miſeries, as the laſt, but rather ſtill in a more infamous Manner, tho' he never acted much under *Cromwell*'s Government, he being employ'd by the Long Parliament to pervert and proſtitute the Law upon all Occaſions: Particularly in 1647, he condemn'd and executed Captain *Burley* at *Wincheſter*, for cauſing a Drum to beat for God and King *Charles* at *Newport*, declaring he was guilty of *Levying War againſt the King*; for which he was rewarded with a Thouſand Pounds: About the ſame Time he acquitted Major *Rolph*, who had been accus'd, and prov'd guilty of deſigning to Murder or Poyſon the ſaid King, which he wou'd not allow to be Treaſon; for which he is ſaid to have received another Thouſand Pounds. After the King's Return, he likewiſe led a cloſe retir'd Life in the Country, and dy'd at *Hampſtead* near *London*. The laſt, Mr. *Prynne*, was a noted but not excellent Lawyer, who by his Pen ſhew'd himſelf to be one of the moſt indefatigable, as well as voluminous Writers that this or any Age has produc'd, having publiſh'd near two Hundred Treatiſes, of all Sorts and Sizes, againſt all Perſons and Parties, and all Offices and Governments; and moſt of them wrote with all the Rage and Fury, and all the Smoak and Duſt that can well be imagin'd. Being weary with engaging with all his Enemies and Antagoniſts, who ſeldom cared to engage him, he became a conſiderable Inſtrument in the Reſtoration, and being receiv'd into Favour, and put upon vaſt Labours among the Records of the *Tower*, where he did the moſt

Serjeant Wylde,

Mr. Prynne,

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Service, he at laſt dy'd at *London* a Member of the preſent Parliament.

The Duke of Albemarle,

Laſt of all, on the 3d of *January*, dy'd the famous *George Monk*, Duke of *Albemarle*, General of his Majeſty's Forces, *&c.* in the 62d Year of his Age; a Perſon who, by the Bleſſing of Heaven, had been a wonderful Inſtrument in Reſtoring Peace and Happineſs to three Kingdoms over-run with Miſery and Confuſion; of which his Majeſty retain'd a moſt grateful Remembrance, without any Deviation, or Degree of Jealouſy, which is apt to ariſe in Crown'd Heads upon the Account of extraordinary Obligations. We have already given his Character in the other Volume, therefore ſhall only obſerve, that after he was loaden with Honours, Favours and Acknowledgments, he never ſeem'd once to over-value his Services, but ever preſerv'd himſelf in the Eſteem of the Court, and the Affections of the People. On his Death-Bed, he was often viſited by the King, accompany'd with his Royal Brother; and after his Death had a glorious Funeral ſolemniz'd at his Majeſty's own Charge.

And the Queen Mother.

After all theſe, we muſt not omit the Queen Mother, *Henrietta Maria*, who having left *England* four Years to reſide in her Native Country, departed this Life, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, at her Houſe of *Colombe* four Leagues from *Paris*, in the 60th Year of her Age. Her Body was Embalm'd, and expos'd ſome time in an Apartment within the Caſtle of *Colombe* with great Ceremonies; her Heart was in a Veſſel of Silver, inſcrib'd with her Name and Title, carry'd in a Mourning Coach to the Monaſtry of *Chaliot*, attended by the Lord *Montague* her Almoner and a noble Retinue: Her Body was convey'd to St. *Denys*, and receiv'd at the Door of the Church by the Religious with Tapers in their Hands, where the grand Almoner made an Oration upon the Subject, which was anſwer'd by the Prior; then the Body was plac'd in a Chappel behind the Choir, and afterwards interr'd with extraordinary Solemnity. This great Queen was thought to be fatal to the Quiet and Happineſs of the *Engliſh* Nation, and was no more Popular in the Reign of her Son, than ſhe had been in that of her Royal Huſband; having had the common Imputation of bringing no leſs Misfortunes on the one Reign, than ſhe had Miſeries on the other.

16 69/70.

VIII. 1. The following Year, as well as the laſt, was altogether peaceful and free from Action, but full of ſecret Projects and clandeſtine Deſigns, as in a great Meaſure appear'd in no long Time. The King began to to be a little uneaſie at the Temper and Proceedings of his Parliament, and almoſt inſenſibly fell into different Meaſures; yet he ſtood in great need of their Aſſiſtance as to Money, the Want of which threw him under great Difficulties, and made him fly to uncommon Remedies, ſuch as ſeem'd more proper for Acute than Chronical Diſtempers. Upon which Occaſion, Sir *William Temple* has ſomething very material in a Letter to the Lord *Arlington*, wrote from the *Hague*, ſhortly after the Breaking up of the Parliament; in which he ſays thus to his Lordſhip,

Sir W. Temple's Letter to the Lord Arlington.

'I doubt whether we are of a Temper or Humour to reſolve or execute any bold or ſmart Propoſitions, how well ſoever conceiv'd, or conducing to our Health and good Fortunes: Tho' I queſtion not at all, but God Almighty has given us the Power of going as high as any of our Neighbours. But where-ever it lies, I doubt it will never come out, till his Majeſty can find the Means to make an end of all *Fencing* with the Bents of his Parliament, or Diſcontents of his People; and bring his Government into the Credit of having no other Aims or Intereſts but thoſe of his Subjects in General, not in Particular; nor conſequently any Eye upon their Money, but for thoſe Uſes they are willing to give it. This I confeſs is my Opinion upon the whole, and, *That all does not conſiſt in a Parliament's being prevail'd with to give what is ask'd in Point of Money*, as I find many People think. I am confident every Man that thinks at all, muſt think it were not amiſs if his Majeſty and his Miniſters wou'd once for all conſider and agree upon a general Draught of thoſe Ways and Counſels both at home and abroad, as they judge will beſt anſwer the great Ends of the King and Kingdom's Safety, Honour and Quiet. But if it ſhou'd prove, as I find ſome Men think, *That we live only by the Day*; and content our ſelves to patch up Things as they break out, and fly at the Game as it riſes; it is at the beſt but like *Birding* or *Hawking*, which may furniſh a Diſh or two, *but can never keep the Houſe*.'

A French Man's Saying.

In Sum, the King's Wants and his Diverſions daily and viſibly increas'd; but with a ſenſible Difference between him and his prevailing Neighbour the *French* King, of whom an ingenious Country-man of his, in comparing the two Kings, has this remarkable Saying; *Our Monarch, though he abandons himſelf to his Pleaſures, yet he can abandon thoſe Pleaſures for his Glory; which the Other*, the *Engliſh* King, *cannot*.

The TENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament*

Thus Affairs ſtood, when the Parliament, according to Prorogation, met at *Weſtminſter* on the 14th Day of *February*, after a ſhort Receſs of not above two Months, and three Days. This was the Tenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, of which Meeting there were great Expectations; and the King himſelf at this Time made a more than uſual Appearance, being attended in his Coach by all his Trumpets and Kettle-Drums, at the Head of his new Guards, and follow'd by a long Train of his Horſe-Guards. Being ſeated on his Throne with Crown and Robes on, he ſent for the Commons, and made this following Speech to both Houſes,

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The King's Speech to both Houſes.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I ſent forth my Proclamation that there might be a good Appearance at this Meeting, having moſt Confidence in *Full Houſes*, where the Well-being of the Church, and all other Intereſts of the Crown and Nation are beſt ſecured. When we laſt met, I ask'd you a Supply, and I ask it now again with greater Inſtance; the Uneaſineſs and Straitneſs of my Affairs cannot continue without very ill Effects to the whole Kingdom: Conſider this ſeriouſly and ſpeedily; it is yours and the Kingdom's Intereſt as well as Mine; and the ill Conſequence of a Want of an effectual Supply muſt not lye at my Door. And that no Miſapprehenſions or Miſtakes touching the Expences of the laſt War may remain with you, I think fit to let you know, That I have fully inform'd my ſelf in that Matter, and do affirm to you, That no Part of thoſe Moneys that you gave to me, have been diverted to other Uſes; but on the contrary, beſides all thoſe Supplies, a very great Sum hath been rais'd out of my ſtanding Revenue and Credit, and a very great Debt contracted, and all for the War. One thing I muſt earneſtly recommend to the Prudence of both Houſes, *That you will not ſuffer any Occaſion of Difference between your Selves to be reviv'd*; ſince nothing but the Unity of your Minds and Counſels can make this Meeting happy either to me or to the Nation. I did recommend to you at our laſt Meeting, *the Union of the two Kingdoms*; and I did the ſame to my Parliament in *Scotland*; they have made a great Step towards it; and I do again ſeriouſly recommend that Matter to you. I have directed my Lord Keeper to ſpeak more at large to you.

The Lord Keeper's Speech.

Accordingly the Lord Keeper *Bridgman* made this following Speech, which was the laſt but one he ſpoke in this Place: '*My Lords, and you Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*, At your laſt Meeting, his Majeſty did acquaint you with the great Occaſions he had for a Supply, and that he had forborn to ask it ſooner, more in Conſideration of giving ſome Time, for the Eaſe of the People after the Burden of the War, than that the Condition of his Affairs cou'd ſo long have wanted it: And his Majeſty hath commanded me now to ſpeak more fully and plainly upon this Subject. His Majeſty hath not only by his Miniſters, but in his own Royal Perſon examin'd the Accompts, touching the Expences of the laſt War, and hath thought himſelf concern'd to let you know, That all the Supplies which you gave him for the War, have been by him apply'd to the War, and no Part of them to any other Uſes: Nay ſo far from it, that if the Preparations towards the War ſhall be taken to be for the Uſe of the War, as they muſt be; a great Part of his own Revenue, to many Hundred Thouſands of Pounds, hath been employ'd alſo, and ſwallow'd up in the Charge of the War, and what did neceſſarily relate to it. To which may be added the great Debts contracted by his Majeſty in the War, and the great Charges in the Repairs of the Hulls of his Ships, and putting his Navy into ſuch a Condition as it was before. Beſides, his Majeſty thinks it ought to be conſider'd, that when the Charges of the War were at the higheſt, the inevitable Effects of it, and thoſe other Calamities, which it pleas'd God at that Time to bring upon us, did make ſo great a Diminution of his Revenues, that beſides all other Accidents and Diſadvantages, the Loſs that he ſuſtain'd in Three Branches of his Revenue, in his *Cuſtoms*, *Exciſe*, and *Hearth-Money*, by Reaſon of the War, the Plague, and the Fire, did amount to little leſs than to Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds. Thus you ſee, that tho' your Supplies have been great, yet the Charges occaſion'd by the War, and the Calamities which accompany'd it, have been greater: And that the Debt which is left upon his Majeſty, and which he complains of, hath been contracted by the War, and not by the Diverſion of the Monies deſign'd for it.

'His Majeſty hath commanded me to ſay one Thing more to you upon this Subject, That he did not enter into the War upon any private Inclination or Appetite of his own. The firſt ſtep he made towards it, did ariſe from your Advice, and the Promiſes of your Aſſiſtance: But if the Charges and Accidents of the War have outgone all your Supplies, and left him under the Burden of this Debt, he thinks that as well the Juſtice to your Promiſe, as the Duty and Loyalty you have always

'ſhew'd

16$\frac{69}{70}$.
Car. 22.
Reſ. 10.

‘ ſhew'd him, will oblige you to relieve him from it; and the rather, when you ſhall ſeriouſly conſider, how uneaſy this Burden muſt be to him, and what ill Conſequences the Continuance under it muſt draw upon all his Affairs; in which Particular, you, and every Perſon you repreſent in this Nation, will be concern'd, as well as Himſelf. His Majeſty doth therefore command me in his Name, to deſire you once more, and to conjure you, by that conſtant Duty and Loyalty which you have always expreſs'd to him, and by all the Concernment you have for the Support of the Honour and Safety of his Government, to provide ſuch a Supply for him at this Time, as may bear Proportion to the preſſing Occaſions that he hath, and to the State of his Affairs at home and abroad; and ſo ſpeedily and ſo effectually, as may anſwer the Ends for which he hath deſired it. His Majeſty hath farther commanded me to put you in mind of what was at your laſt Meeting propos'd to you, concerning an *Union between the two Kingdoms*, and to let you know, that the Parliament of *Scotland* hath ſince declar'd to his Majeſty, *That ſuch Commiſſioners as his Majeſty ſhall name, ſhall be Authoriz'd on their Part, to treat with Commiſſioners for this Kingdom, upon the Grounds and Conditions of the Union.* His Majeſty therefore thought fit now again to recommend it to you, to take that Matter effectually into your Conſideration.

The King's Propoſals to the Houſes.

It is accepted of.

During this ſhort Seſſion of Parliament, which laſted but a little above ſeven Weeks, Four Things were chiefly in Debate and Agitation, all which had been mov'd, and brought to ſome Perfection in the laſt Seſſion, namely, the unhappy Difference between the two Houſes, the Proſecution of the *Diſſenters*, the Union of the two Kingdoms, and the Supplies for his Majeſty's Service. The Firſt being reviv'd to ſuch a Degree as might hazard the Succeſs of the Laſt, the King Himſelf thought fit to interpoſe, and to make a Propoſition of an Expedient; which, after eight Days ſitting, he did to both Houſes ſummon'd to *White-Hall*, in this following ſhort Speech: ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I did very earneſtly recommend to you the other Day, *That you wou'd not ſuffer any Differences between your ſelves to be reviv'd*; and I think it of ſo great Importance, that I have ſent for you again upon the ſame Subject. I remember very well, that the Caſe of *Skinner* was firſt ſent by me to the Lords. I have therefore thought my Self concern'd to offer to you what I judge the beſt and ſafeſt Way to put an End to the Differences: I will my Self give preſent Order to raze all Records and Entries of this Matter in the *Council Books*, and in the *Exchequer*, and do deſire you to do the like in both Houſes, that no Memory may remain of this Diſpute between you; and then I hope all future Apprehenſions will be ſecured.’ This had ſuch an Effect upon the Houſe of Commons, who thought themſelves the only Perſons aggriev'd, that they immediately Reſolv'd, ‘ That in Obedience to his Majeſty's Command in his Speech, a Razure or Vacate be made in the *Journal* of the Houſe of all the Matters therein contain'd, relating to the Buſineſs of the *Eaſt-India* Company and *Skinner*.’ Which was not only done, but they further Reſolv'd, ‘ That the humble Thanks of this Houſe be return'd to his Majeſty, in the Name of this Houſe, and of all the Commons of *England*, for his Majeſty's gracious Speech, and Favour therein expreſs'd to this Houſe, and the Commons of *England*.’ The Lords likewiſe agreeing in this important Affair, it gave a general Satisfaction; and by Order of the Government the Concluſion was thus repreſented in the *Gazette*, on the 22d of *February*: ‘ This Day the two Houſes of Parliament did, at his Majeſty's gracious Recommendation, come to a happy Agreement in the Matter in Difference between them, to the great Joy and Content of all that wiſh well to the Proſperity of his Majeſty's Government, and the publick Quiet of this his Kingdom.’

Reſolutions againſt Diſſenters.

This Point thus obtain'd, other Matters were more eaſily manag'd and effected, and particularly their Proceedings againſt Diſſenters of all Kinds. Beſides the ſeveral Informations that had been given in the laſt Seſſions, concerning the Dangers of unlawful Meetings, the Houſe of Commons were further rous'd by new Complaints againſt them; and particularly they now receiv'd Information of a dangerous *Conventicle* lately met in the *Weſt*, and of treaſonable Words there ſpoken; and that his Majeſty had given Order for the Proſecution of the Offenders. Upon a Debate of this Matter, and believing the Diſſenters to be a reſtleſs Party, they preſently reſolv'd, ‘ That the Thanks of this Houſe be return'd to his Majeſty, for his Care in giving Order to bring the Offenders to Juſtice; And that his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to conſider the Danger of *Conventicles* in and near *London* and *Weſtminſter*, from the Nature of thoſe further Offenders, and to give Order for the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing them: And likewiſe, that his Majeſty wou'd give Order to put the Laws in Execution againſt *Popiſh* Recuſants; and that Leave be given to bring in a Bill for the more eaſie and ſpeedy Conviction of *Popiſh* Recuſants.’ In this Vote the Lords unanimouſly join'd; and accordingly, on the 11th of *March*, they attended the King in the *Banquetting-Houſe* with the ſaid Vote and Deſire, who was pleas'd to declare, *That effectual Courſe ſhou'd be taken in both Caſes.*

16$\frac{69}{70}$.
Car. 22.
Reſ. 10.

Several Acts paſs'd.

The Parliament breaks up.

After this they proceeded with great Expedition, and ſeveral Bills being got ready, on the 11th of *April*, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd theſe following Bills. 1. An Act *for granting his Majeſty an Impoſition upon all Wines and Vinegar imported between* June 1670, *and* June 1678. 2. An Act *for taking away the Benefit of the Clergy from ſuch as ſteal Cloth from Racks, and ſuch as ſhall ſteal or imbezle his Majeſty's Ammunition and Stores.* 3. An Act *for Improvement of Tillage, and the Breed of Cattle.* 4. An Act *for aſcertaining the Meaſures of Corn and Salt.* 5. An Act *for the Repairing the Haven and Peers of* Great Yarmouth. 6. An additional Act *for the better Repairing of High-Ways and Bridges.* 7. An Act *for the Advancing the Sale of his Majeſty's Fee-Farm Rents, and other Rents.* 8. An Act *to ſuppreſs and prevent ſeditious Conventicles.* 9. An Act *for ſettling the Impoſition upon Brandy.* 10. An Act *for authorizing ſeveral Commiſſioners of the Realm of* England, *to treat with Commiſſioners of* Scotland, *for the Weal of both Kingdoms.* 11. An additional Act *for Rebuilding of the City of* London, *Uniting of Pariſhes, and Rebuilding of the Cathedral and Parochial Churches within the ſaid City.* 12. An Act *to enable his Majeſty to make Leaſes, Grants, and Copies of Offices, Lands, Tenements aud Hereditaments, Parcel of his Highneſs's Dutchy of* Cornwall, *or annex'd to the ſame.* Upon paſſing theſe Acts, his Majeſty declar'd that it was his Pleaſure that the Parliament ſhou'd be only adjourn'd, and that to the 24th Day of *October*; and thus the Tenth Seſſion of this Parliament broke up, after it had ſate a little above ſeven Weeks.

The Act againſt Conventicles.

Of theſe Acts, that for Supply, being an Impoſition upon Wines, &c. is computed at five hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds; in which particular Proviſion was made to recompenſe his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* for what Damages he might ſuſtain in his Revenue of Wine-Licences. That Act for the advancing the Sale of the King's Fee-Farm Rents, is believ'd to have rais'd to his Majeſty more than double the Mony of the other. That Act for treating of an *Union* between the two Kingdoms, was by Concert follow'd in *Scotland*, with an Act of that Parliament for appointing their Commiſſioners to meet and act in purſuance of that great Affair: But after many Conferences and ſeeming Reſolutions of Agreement in the main Things, they broke off in mutual Jealouſies, and a general Diſſatisfaction. The Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory of* England ſays, he had heard one of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners themſelves confeſs it was their own Fault in being over-wiſe and nice in ſmaller Terms of Accommodation. But that Act which made moſt Noiſe, and caus'd greateſt Complaints, was *for Suppreſſing and Preventing ſeditious Conventicles*: The Subſtance of which Act was, ‘ If any Perſons upwards of ſixteen ſhou'd be preſent at any Aſſembly, Conventicle or Meeting, under Colour or Pretence of any Exerciſe of Religion, in any other Manner than according to the *Liturgy* and Practice of the Church of *England*, where there was five Perſons or more beſides thoſe of the ſaid Houſhold; in ſuch Caſes the Offenders were to pay five Shillings for the firſt Offence, and ten Shillings for the ſecond. And the Preachers and Teachers in any ſuch Meetings were to forfeit twenty Pounds for the firſt, and forty for the ſecond Offence. And laſtly, thoſe who knowingly ſuffer'd any ſuch Conventicle in their Houſes, Barns, Yards, &c. were likewiſe to forfeit twenty Pounds.’ This was the laſt penal Statute made directly againſt the Proteſtant Diſſenters, which for a while was warmly put in Execution, and then quite relax'd: And it is obſervable that all the Laws againſt them were made more upon Civil and Political, than upon Moral or Religious Accounts; and always upon ſome freſh Provocation in Reality or Appearance: And what is further remarkable, That all theſe were made and paſs'd contrary to the Deſires and Inclinations of the King, who had always been for Indulgence and Toleration; but knew not how to diſoblige ſuch Lords and Commons, as, in other Matters, were thought too ready to oblige him.

1670.
Car. 22.
Reſ. 11.

The CABAL.

2. And now the King and his Miniſtry began more and more to practiſe the Arts of Diſſimulation, of which they were all thought to be Maſters, to enter into dark and foreign Deſigns, and to purſue different Meaſures from thoſe of former Miniſters, or thoſe of the preſent Parliament. The Miniſtry was now made up of a more different Species of Perſons than in the firſt and moſt happy Part of the Reign, conſiſting of a heterogeneous Body of Counſellors, a ſelect Cabinet of five noted Men, *Clifford*,

ford, *Aſhly*, *Buckingham*, *Arlington* and *Lauderdale*, the initial Letters of whoſe Titles caus'd them to obtain that well-known Name of CABAL; which was judg'd to have been ſo ominous to the *Engliſh* Affairs. The Projects and Proceedings of this remarkable Set of Men prov'd manifeſtly and highly prejudicial to the main Bent and Intereſt of the Nation; and conſidering the Secretneſs and Subtlety of their Progreſs, their Deſigns and Characters may be better worth knowing from a Foreign Writer, who had ſufficient Information of this and other Matters from the Mouth of King *James* himſelf. This was Father *Orleans*, a penetrating Author, from whom the two following Paragraphs are taken, for the Reader's peculiar Information and Curioſity. After diſcourſing of his Royal Highneſs's Concealment of his Religion, he mentions an extraordinary Project that gave him hopes of the Liberty to diſcover it, which was as follows.

An Account of it from a Foreign Writer.

In the Year 1670, the Court of *England* perceiving that the Republican Spirit was inſenſibly creeping into the Parliament again, ſeriouſly conſider'd how to remedy that Evil that foreboded many more. The Managers of that Enterprize were five Lords, who were call'd the *Cabal*, as well from the ſtrict Union amongſt them, as from the firſt Letters of their Names compoſing that Word. One of them was the King's Favourite, and the other four his Miniſters, all of them in high Poſts, and of great Intereſt in the Council. Each of theſe five Perſons ſingly was not without his Faults; but join'd all together, compos'd a Body that was very little defective in compaſſing the greateſt Deſigns. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the King's Favourite, was very capable of being a Miniſter of State, had his Application anſwer'd his Talents; and had not his Mind, which was excellently endow'd, been diverted from Buſineſs by an extream Degree of Lewdneſs, and ſuch a Reſignation to his Pleaſures, as render'd him trivial, tho' born as fit as any for ſolid Affairs. The Duke of *Lauderdale*, a *Scotch* Man, and Secretary of State for that Kingdom, was a ſharp-ſighted Perſon, and a refin'd Politician. The Lord *Clifford*, afterwards Lord-Treaſurer, wanted nothing but a Stage, on which ſound Reaſon and Virtue was more uſual than at this Time in his native Country, to appear ſuperior to the others. The Earl of *Arlington*, Secretary of State, had the leaſt Genius of the Five; but that was well ſupply'd by his Experience, which had gain'd him great Knowledge in Foreign Affairs. *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*, a famous Actor in the late Troubles of *England*, was the fitteſt of them to manage any weighty Undertaking, and was the very Soul of this we are ſpeaking of: A vaſt Genius, clear-ſighted, bold, full of Intrigue, equally ſteady, both on the right and the wrong Side, as long as his Adherents gave him no Occaſion to change; a conſtant Friend, but an implacable Enemy, and the more dangerous, ſince having no Regard to Religion or Conſcience, it was the eaſier for him to contrive Miſchief, as never being daunted by the Multitude or Heinouſneſs of any Crimes, if he thought them neceſſary, either to preſerve himſelf, or deſtroy the Provokers of his Hatred. Such an uncommon Mixture of Counſels muſt needs produce extraordinary Effects; of which the ſame Author gives this following Account.

Buckingham.

Lauderdale.

Clifford.

Arlington.

Aſhley-Cooper.

Their Deſigns.

These Lords, firmly bound to their Maſter by their high Places and Favours, cou'd not without Indignation obſerve what Advances the Republican Spirit, which began to revive again, had caus'd the Parliament to make againſt the Regal Authority. Among others the *Triple Alliance*, to which the Republican *Cabal* had forc'd the King againſt his Will, appear'd to them as an audacious Incroachment upon the Prerogative, of which the Conſequences were to be prevented. Fill'd with theſe juſt Reſentments, they perſwaded the King to be as abſolute as he was entitled by the Crown, and the Laws of the Realm; to confine the Parliament to the Bounds preſcrib'd them by immemorial Cuſtom; and to take Care, that a Mixture of *Common-Wealth* with *Monarchy*, introduc'd by Violence and Subjects Uſurpations, did not produce a monſtrous *Anarchy*, which might again expoſe *England* to that dreadful Confuſion, from which it was ſcarce recover'd. To effect all this, it was neceſſary to have a War, which might furniſh the King with a Pretence to raiſe an Army; and this they had againſt the *Dutch*, and the more favourable, becauſe the Honour and the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation were equally concern'd; for the old Controverſy about the *Flag* began to be renew'd, and the *Eaſt-India* Merchants daily complain'd that they were unfairly treated by the *Dutch*. This, I ſay, was the *Pretence*; but the real *Motive* for pitching upon this War rather than any other, was the cloſe Correſpondence between the *Engliſh* Republicans and thoſe of *Holland*; the latter inceſſantly inſtilling into the Minds of the former that Love of Liberty they ſo highly valu'd; to make them out of love with Monarchy, and to excite them to throw off the Yoke of Legal Dominion, being always ready to ſupport any Faction that ſhou'd attack it, *&c.* Thus far the *French* Jeſuit; whoſe ſhort Account of the *Cabal* ſeems more material than moſt of the *Engliſh* Pamphlets and *Secret Hiſtories* that have been wrote upon that Occaſion.

The Arrival of the Dutcheſs of Orleans.

3. To carry on theſe or the like Deſigns, about the middle of *May*, the *French* King ſent over a prevailing Ambaſſadreſs, the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, under the Pretence of making a Viſit to her two Royal Brothers, the King and the Duke of *York*; while he himſelf went to view the ſtupendous Works that were raiſing at his famous Port of *Dunkirk*. Upon hearing of her intended Viſit, his Majeſty not only ſent a Squadron of Men of War to attend her, but he himſelf, with his Brother the Duke of *York*, Pince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and other Perſons of Quality, rode Poſt to meet her at *Dover*; being ſhortly follow'd by the Queen her ſelf, the Dutcheſs of *York*, and other Ladies of the higheſt Quality. On the 15th of *May*, her Royal Highneſs, the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, arriv'd at *Dover*, attended amongſt other of the *French* Nobility by the Marſhal *de Pleſſis Praſlin*, and his Brother the Biſhop of *Tournay*, Madam *de Pleſſis* the Marſhal's Son's Lady, and the Counteſs *de Gramont*. At her Highneſs's Approach, the King was pleas'd to meet her on the Road, and conduct her into the Town, and to treat and entertain her with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy and Affection. In this Place the Court continu'd for above a Fortnight in great Splendor, where Joy, Mirth and Pleaſure reign'd almoſt without Abatement or Intermiſſion; and Love and Gallantry was intermixt with all the Entertainments of Comedies, Masks, Muſick, Banquettings, and all kind of Diverſions. While the Court continu'd there, the Lord *Buckhurſt* was ſent from the King, and Mr. *Thynne* from his Royal Highneſs the Duke, to compliment his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at his Arrival at *Dunkirk*. Shortly after, Madam the Dutcheſs and her Train, without removing to any other Town, embark'd for *France*, and never ſaw *England* any more.

The King meets her at Dover.

Primi's Account of the Meeting

Innumerable Conjectures have been made concerning this extraordinary Meeting of the King and his Siſter; and many Things have been wrote upon it, ſome ſevere, ſome ſcandalous, and moſt of them uncertain, which have taken up much Room in Libels and *Secret Hiſtories*. The Negotiation was for a long Time a Secret, and the firſt Diſcoveries that were made of it, proceeded rather from Conſequences, than from real Proofs. After all the Searches, we find the Account that was moſt Authentick, and moſt to be credited, was publiſh'd in the Year 1682, by the Abbot *Primi*, a Perſon employ'd by Monſieur *Colbert* Himſelf, who allow'd him a Penſion for collecting his Memoirs. To prevent Miſunderſtanding, we ſhall give it in the Abbot's own Words: ‘*Colbert de Croiſſy*, Ambaſſador from *France* to the Court of *England*, after having ſet forth to the King of *England* all the Reaſons he had to be diſſatisfy'd with the *Dutch*, after reminding him of the Medals in which They had attributed to themſelves all the Honour of the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, and treated the Mediation of *England* with ſo much Contempt; He at laſt gave him to know, *That the Time was come of being reveng'd upon a Nation that had ſo little Reſpect for Kings, and he cou'd never meet a more favourable Opportunity, ſince ſeveral* German *Princes had already enter'd into the Confederacy; and the King of* France *was ſtrong and powerful enough to be able to aſſure his Allies, that all due Satisfaction ſhou'd be made to their Glory and Intereſt in the Sequel of this War.* Upon this Repreſentation the King of *England* ſign'd a private Treaty with *France*: And to give him further Aſſurances upon the Matter, *Henrietta* of *England*, Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, a Princeſs whoſe Wit and Capacity was equal to her Beauty, Siſter to the King of *England*, and Siſter-in-law to the King of *France*, croſs'd over to *England* in 1670, and in the Name of the moſt Chriſtian King made a Propoſal to her Royal Brother, of Inſuring him an abſolute Authority over his Parliament, and Re-eſtabliſhing the Catholick Religion in the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. But ſhe ſaid, *That in Order to compaſs that End, there was a Neceſſity above all Things of lowering the Pride and Power of the* Dutch, *who plac'd their whole Study in Sowing and Fomenting Diviſion among their Neighbours, and of Reducing that State to the narrow Compaſs of the Province of* Holland, *of which the Prince of* Orange *ſhou'd be Soveraign, or at leaſt perpetual* Stadtholder: *That the Execution of this Project might be eaſily accompliſh'd by two powerful Princes ſtrictly ally'd; That by this Scheme the King of* England *ſhou'd have* Zealand *for a Retreat in Caſe of Neceſſity, and the reſt of the* Netherlands *ſhou'd remain in the Hands of the King of* France, *if he cou'd make himſelf Maſter of it.*’ In Confirmation of what is written by the Abbot, we may add what Father *Orleans*, the other Writer before mention'd, ſays upon this Occaſion; ‘The

‘ *Engliſh* Miniſters enter'd upon a Treaty with thoſe in *France*, in Order to conclude an Alliance between the two Crowns, that might help to promote their Deſigns. Monſieur *Colbert de Croiſſy* treated in *England*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* in *France*: Madam, the late Dutcheſs of *Orleans* concluded it, when ſhe made that Myſterious Voyage beyond the Sea.' However ſhe left behind her a beautiful Attendant, Madam *Querouaille*, commonly call'd *Carewell*, of a Family in Low *Bretaign*, who prov'd the great Object of the King's Affection and the Nation's Hatred, and ſoon after the inchanting and intriguing Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*.

Madam Carewell *left in* England.

The *French* King appear'd highly pleas'd with his Siſter's Return and Management, but her Stay in *England* having been longer than *Monſieur* her Husband allow'd or expected, it rais'd ſome unaccountable Jealouſy, or at leaſt Diſcontent in him; and it ſeem'd plainly owing to his unkind Reception of her, that in her full Strength and Health, and but twenty ſix Years of Age, She was hurry'd out of the World within a few Days after her Return. Moſt Writers take Notice of the Manner of her Death, which has given great Suſpicions to the World: On the 29th of *June*, N. S. *Madame* having eaten very well at Dinner, and ſo continu'd for ſome Hours, about four in the Afternoon ſhe call'd for a Glaſs of Succory Water, which ſhe us'd to take every Day about that Hour; and having drunk it off, complain'd that it was very bitter, and preſently after began to find her ſelf ill, and fell into dreadful Fits of the Cholick; upon which ſhe ſaid, *She was ſure ſhe ſhou'd die*, and immediately ſent for her Confeſſor, and paſs'd through all the Forms of the *Romiſh* Church. The News of her ſudden Illneſs was immediately diſpatcht from St. *Clou*, where ſhe lay, to *Verſailles*, and occaſion'd the King's haſtning to her, who arriv'd about eight that Night, with his chief Phyſician, who began to comfort her with an Aſſurance, *That her Cholick cou'd not eaſily carry away a Perſon of her Age.* But ſhe perſiſted in declaring *ſhe ſhou'd die*, and firſt ſpoke a good while ſoftly to the King, and then afterwards aloud, *That ſhe had no Regret at her Death, but only by ſo hard a Separation ſhe muſt loſe his Majeſty's Friendſhip and good Graces, which he had always expreſs'd to her.* She ſpoke to *Monſieur* her Husband in the ſame Terms about her Willingneſs to die, *which*, ſhe ſaid, *was the more, becauſe ſhe had nothing to reproach her ſelf of in her Conduct towards Him.* The King left her about Ten, his Phyſician aſſuring him, *She cou'd not die of a Cholick, or at leaſt not ſo ſuddenly as ſhe apprehended:* But her Illneſs and Pain increaſing, ſhe expired about two in the Morning, leaving a general Sadneſs throughout the whole Court. Her Body being open'd in the Preſence of ſeveral Perſons, and among them the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, they cou'd find no manner of Cauſe for ſo ſudden a Death. This gave a ſtrong Suſpicion of Villany, eſpecially to Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, who upon the News of her Death immediately went to St. *Clou*, and tho' he got thither by Six in the ſame Morning, the Corps ſmelt ſo ſtrong, as he ſaid, that he cou'd hardly bear the Room.

The Death of the Dutcheſs of Orleans.

The Concern of the King.

The News of this was ſo ſurpriſing, that it caus'd a ſort of a Conſternation in the Court of *England*, and a more than ordinary Emotion in the King, who lov'd his Siſter with all imaginable Tenderneſs. The firſt Account was brought to him by Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, who rod Poſt for *England*, and freely gave him his Opinion upon the whole. Whereupon the King fell into Tears, and expreſs'd himſelf very paſſionately againſt Monſieur his Brother, and ſaid *He was a*------! *But pr'ythee*, Tom, *don't ſpeak of it.* Immediately after, the Marqueſs of *Bellefonds* came from *France* publickly to notify this Loſs, which he did after the ſofteſt Manner that cou'd be.

The King now having reſolv'd that Nothing ſhou'd diſturb the Meaſures lately taken between the two Courts, began to cool; and ſhortly after ſent the Duke of *Buckingham* with the Character of his Ambaſſador to the Court of *France*, in Appearance to condole with them for the Death of the Dutcheſs, but chiefly to confirm the late Agreement made at *Dover*, and to concert the Methods of purſuing the Deſign. The Duke was receiv'd at Court with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Eſteem and Favour; his noble Preſence and graceful Mien was very acceptable, and even captivating to many that beheld him, and the King himſelf took particular Notice of him, and ſaid *He was almoſt the only* Engliſh *Gentleman he had ſeen.* All the Forces about *Paris* were drawn up and exercis'd in his Preſence; Masks and Balls, Comedies and Operas were prepared, and likewiſe a Repreſentation of a Sea-Fight in the Canal at *Verſailles*, all for his Diverſion; and the King gave him divers rich Preſents, and made a publick Feaſt on St. *Lewis*'s Day, principally on his Account.

The Duke of Buckingham's *Reception in* France.

As a further Account of his Reception, the two following Letters from his Grace to the Earl of *Arlington*, are worthy of Notice. The Firſt dated *Aug.* 15, ſays, ‘ If I had had the good Fortune to bring my Lord *Falconbridge*'s Secretary with me, he wou'd have entertain'd your Lordſhip with a whole Sheet of Paper full of the Particulars of my Reception; for, *I have had more Honours done me, than ever were given to any Subject.* You will receive in two or three Days a Propoſition from this Court, concerning the making War upon *Holland* only, which you may enlarge as you pleaſe. Monſieur *de Lionne* ſhew'd me the Model of it laſt Night, and I ſhall ſee the Particulars before they are ſent. In the mean Time, having not your Cipher, I ſhall only tell you in general, That nothing but our being *Mealy-mouth'd* can hinder us from finding our *Accounts* in this Matter: *For you may almoſt ask what you pleaſe.* I have written more at large in Cipher to my Lord *Aſhley*, and when you have diſcours'd together, if you think my Stay here will be of Uſe to his Majeſty, let me know it; if not, I will come away.' *I am yours*, &c. The Second, dated two Days after, ſays, ‘ I have nothing to add to what I writ laſt, but that I am every Day convinc'd of the *happy Conjuncture* we have at preſent in our Hands, of *any Conditions* from the Court, that we can in *Reaſon* demand. The King of *France* is mightily taken with the Diſcourſes I make to him of his *Greatneſs* by Land, that he talks to me twenty times a Day: All the Courtiers here *wonder* at it, and I am very glad of it, and am very much *yours*, &c.' Soon after his Arrival, Things were carry'd on with Vigour; a hundred thouſand Piſtoles were ſaid to be remitted to Monſieur *Colbert* in *England* for ſecret Service; the *French* Army was order'd to break up, and to march towards the new Conqueſts; and many began to ſuſpect the League between *France* and *England*, and of their Intentions to employ their joynt Forces againſt the *United Provinces*.

The *Dutch* began to be allarm'd at theſe Preparations, and *De Wit* himſelf intimated to Sir *William Temple* his Apprehenſion of the Embaſſy of the Duke of *Buckingham* to *Paris*, *which he cou'd not think was to ſee the Country, or learn the Language.* The *Holland* Ambaſſador at *Paris* went in great Haſte to Monſieur *Lionne*, and deſir'd to be inform'd, Whether the *French* Army was to be employ'd againſt his Maſters. But the Secretary aſſur'd him there was no Ground for any ſuch Apprehenſions, and that if thoſe Troops were us'd in an Expedition, the Storm wou'd fall far enough from their Territories. And accordingly the Marſhal *de Crequi*, at the Head of twenty five thouſand Men, enter'd the Dukedom of *Lorrain*, ſeiz'd *Nancy*, and all the Places that lay in his Way, and was within half an Hour of ſurpriſing the Duke's Perſon at *Eſpinal*. For the Reaſon of this ſudden Invaſion the *French* King pretended, ‘ That the Duke of *Lorrain* had, contrary to a late Treaty, fortify'd ſome of his own Towns, and had endeavour'd in a Clandeſtine Manner to be admitted into the *Triple Alliance*; declaring That he intended not to retain the Dutchy in his Poſſeſſion, but deſign'd to put it into the Hands of ſome other Perſon of the *Lorrain* Family, who ſhou'd be more worthy of it.' In the mean Time the Mareſchal *de Crequi* having driven the Duke out of his Territories, publiſh'd an Order, forbidding his Subjects to yield him Obedience; commanding thoſe in Arms for him, to quit his Service, and put themſelves into that of the King, and requiring all Orders of Men there to do Homage and ſwear Allegiance to him, under Pain of Death and Confiſcation of Eſtate. The Duke of *Lorrain* being thus diſpoſſeſs'd of his Dominions, without any preceding Declaration of War, fill'd all *Europe* with his Complaints, and diſpatcht a Miniſter to the King of *England* to deſire his good Offices with the *French* King in this Conjuncture, which he cou'd not eaſily doubt of, on the Account of the Obligations he had formerly laid upon him, in offering to ſerve him with his Perſon and Troops during the Time of his Exile. But inſtead of the Favour expected, his Miniſter receiv'd no other Anſwer, than *He was ſorry for what had happen'd, and that the preſent Violence, like the Miſchiefs of a ſudden Inundation, muſt be endured at this Time.*

The French *King ſeizes* Lorrain.

4. In this State of Affairs, ſoon after the Return of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Parliament met on the 24th of *October*, according to Adjournment. But before this Meeting, we are to remember, that the King, as apprehenſive of the Diſcontents of his People, iſſu'd out a Proclamation, commanding all Officers and Soldiers ſerving in any of the Armies of the late Uſurped Powers, not having a conſtant Habitation, to depart out of the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and not to return again, or come within twenty Miles, till after the 10th Day of *December* next, and in the mean time to carry no Sword, Piſtol, or any other Arms. This Meeting was the Continuation of the Tenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament; at the Opening of which the King made a very ſhort Speech, and referr'd all to the Lord-Keeper *Bridgeman*. This Miniſter was not let into any of the Secrets of the *Cabal*, and

The Continuation of the TENTH SESSION *of Parliament.*

knew

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knew no more of their Deſigns than what was neceſſary to his Office; and therefore was the fitter to deliver a Speech ſo little conſiſtent with the late private Intrigues. This Speech was thought fit to be ſuppreſs'd, and not ſuffer'd to be printed, nor is it in the Journals of the Houſe of Commons; therefore it is the more neceſſary to have it in full Length here, without any Abridgement:

The Lord-Keeper's Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, When the two Houſes were laſt Adjourn'd, this Day, as you know, was prefix'd for our Meeting again, the Proclamation ſince iſſu'd requiring all your Attendance at the ſame Time, ſhewing not only his Majeſty's Belief that his Buſineſs will thrive beſt when the Houſes are fulleſt, but the Importance alſo of the Affairs, for which you are ſo called; and Important they are. You cannot be ignorant of the great Forces, both for Land and Sea-Service, which our Neighbours of *France* and the *Low-Countries* have new raiſed, and have now in actual Pay, nor of the great Preparations they continue to make in Levying of Men, Building of Ships, filling their Magazines and Stores with immenſe Quantities of all Sorts of Warlike Proviſions. Since the Beginning of the laſt *Dutch* War, the *French* have increas'd the Greatneſs and Number of their Ships ſo much, that their Strength by Sea is thrice as much as it was before. And ſince the End of it, the *Dutch* have been very diligent alſo in augmenting their Fleets. In this Conjuncture, when our Neighbours arm ſo potently, even common Prudence requires that his Majeſty ſhou'd make ſome ſuitable Preparations; that he may at leaſt keep pace with his Neighbours, if not out-go them in Number and Strength of Shipping. For this being an Iſland, both our *Safety*, our *Trade*, our *Being*, and our *Well-being* depend upon our Forces at Sea. His Majeſty therefore, of his Princely Care for the Good of his People, hath given Order for the Fitting out Fifty Sail of the greateſt Ships, againſt the Spring, beſides thoſe which are to be for Security of our Merchants in the *Mediterranean*; as foreſeeing, if he ſhou'd not have a conſiderable Fleet, while his Neighbours have ſuch Forces both at Land and Sea, *Temptation* might be given to thoſe who ſeem not now to intend it, to give us an *Affront*, at leaſt, if not to do us *Miſchief*. To which may be added; That his Majeſty, by the *Leagues* he hath made for the common Peace of *Chriſtendom*, and the Good of his Kingdoms, is oblig'd to a certain Number of Forces, in caſe of *Infraction* thereof; as alſo for the Aſſiſtance of ſome of his Neighbours, in caſe of *Invaſion*. And his Majeſty wou'd be in a very ill Condition to perform his Part of the Leagues, if (while the Clouds are gathering ſo thick about us) he ſhou'd, in hopes that the Wind wou'd diſperſe them, omit to provide againſt the Storm.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, Having nam'd the *Leagues*
made by his Majeſty, I think it neceſſary to put you in
Mind, That ſince the Cloſe of the late War, his Maje-
ſty hath made ſeveral *Leagues*, to his own *Honour*, and
1. infinite *Advantage* to the Nation: One, known by the
Name of the *Triple Alliance*, wherein his Majeſty, the
Crown of *Sweden*, and the *States* of the *United Pro-
vinces*, are engag'd to preſerve the Treaty of *Aix-la-
Chapelle*, concerning a Peace between the two warring
Princes; which Peace produc'd that Effect, That it
quench'd the Fire which was ready to have ſet all *Chri-
ſtendom* in a Flame; and beſides other great Benefits by
it, which ſhe ſtill enjoys, gave Opportunity to tranſmit
thoſe Forces againſt the *Infidels*, which wou'd other-
2. wiſe have been imbrued in *Chriſtian Blood*. Another,
between his Majeſty and the ſaid *States* for a mutual Aſ-
ſiſtance with a certain Number of Men and Ships, in
3. caſe of Invaſion by any others. Another, between his
Majeſty and the Duke of *Savoy*, Eſtabliſhing a Free-
Trade for his Majeſty's Subjects at *Villa Franca*, a Port
of his own upon the *Mediterranean*, and through the Do-
minions of that Prince; and thereby opening a Paſſage
to a rich Part of *Italy*, and Part of *Germany*, which will
be of a very great Advantage for the Vending of Cloth,
and other our home Commodities, bringing back Silk,
4. and other Materials for Manufactures here. Another,
between his Majeſty and the King of *Denmark*, whereby
thoſe other Impoſitions that were lately laid upon our
Trade there, are taken off, and as great Privileges grant-
ed to our Merchants, as ever they had in former Times,
or as the Subjects of any other Prince or State do now
5. enjoy. Another, upon a Treaty of Commerce with
Spain, whereby there is not only a Ceſſation and giving
up to his Majeſty of all their Pretenſions to *Jamaica*,
and other Iſlands and Countries in the *Weſt-Indies*, in
the Poſſeſſion of his Majeſty or his Subjects, but withal,
free Liberty is given to his Majeſty's Subjects to enter
their Ports for Victuals and Water, and Safety of Har-
bour, and Return, if Storm or other Accidents bring
them thither; Privileges which were never before grant-
ed by them to the *Engliſh* or any others. Not to men-
tion the *Leagues* formerly made with *Sweden* and *Por-
tugal*, and the Advantages which we enjoy thereby; nor
thoſe Treaties now depending between his Majeſty and
France, or his Majeſty and the *States* of the *United Pro-
vinces* touching Commerce; wherein his Majeſty will
have a ſingular Regard to the *Honour* of this Nation,
and alſo to the *Trade* of it, *which never was greater than
now it is*. In a Word, almoſt all the Princes of *Europe*
do ſeek his Majeſty's Friendſhip, as acknowledging they
cannot *Secure*, much leſs *Improve* their preſent Condition
without it.

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‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, His Majeſty is confident that you will not be contented to ſee him depriv'd of all the Advantages which he might procure hereby to his own Kingdoms, nay, even to all *Chriſtendom*, in the Repoſe and Quiet of it. That you will not be content alone to ſee your Neighbours ſtrengthening Themſelves in Shipping, ſo much more than they were before, and at home to ſee the Government ſtrugling every Year with Difficulties; and not able to keep up our Navies equal with Theirs. He finds that by his Accounts from the Year 1660, to the late War, the ordinary Charge of the Fleet *communibus Annis*, came to about five hundred thouſand Pounds a Year, and it cannot be ſupported with leſs. If that Particular alone takes up ſo much, add to it the other conſtant Charges of the Government, and the Revenue (although the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury have manag'd it with all imaginable Thrift) will in no degree ſuffice to take off the Debts due upon Intereſt, much leſs give him a Fund for the ſetting out of this Fleet, which by common Eſtimation thereof, cannot coſt leſs than eight hundred thouſand Pounds. His Majeſty in his moſt gracious Speech hath expreſs'd the great Senſe he hath of your Zeal and Affection for him, and as he will ever retain a grateful Memory of your former Readineſs to ſupply him in all Exigencies, ſo he doth with particular Thanks acknowledge your Frank and Chearful Gift of the new Duty upon Wines, at your laſt Meeting: But the ſame is likely to fall very ſhort in Value of what it was conceiv'd to be worth; and ſhou'd it have anſwer'd Expectation, yet far too ſhort to eaſe and help him upon theſe Occaſions. And therefore ſuch a Supply as may enable him to take off his Debts upon Intereſt, and to ſet out this Fleet againſt the Spring, is that which he deſires from you, and recommends it to you, as that which concerns the *Honour* and *Support* of the Government, and the *Welfare* and *Safety* of your Selves, and the whole Kingdom. Now, *my Lords and Gentlemen*, you may perceive by what his Majeſty hath already ſaid, that he holds it requiſite that an End be put to this *Meeting* before *Chriſtmas*. It is ſo, not only in reference to the Preparation for the Fleet, which muſt be in readineſs in the Spring, but alſo to the Seaſon of the Year. It is a Time when you wou'd be willing to be in your Countries, and your Neighbours wou'd be glad to ſee you there, and partake of your Hoſpitality and Charity, and you thereby indear your Selves to them, and keep up that Intereſt and Power among them, which is neceſſary for the Service of your King and Country; and a Receſs at that Time, leaving your Buſineſs unfiniſh'd till your Return, cannot either be convenient for You, or ſuitable to the Condition of his Majeſty's Affairs, which requires your *Speedy* as well as *Affectionate Conſideration*.

The Commons are very bountiful.

This plauſible Speech, fill'd with ſo many Leagues and Treaties, Debts and Difficulties, had ſuch a ſenſible Effect upon the Houſe of Commons, who took all for granted, that they ſhew'd themſelves ready to give with both Hands, and, after a ſhort Adjournment, chearfully voted, ‘ That his Majeſty ſhou'd be ſupply'd proportionably to his preſent Occaſions.’ Accordingly they went upon *Ways* and *Means* of all Sorts, and in a ſhort Time began to form three ſeveral Mony-Bills; the Firſt was for raiſing eight hundred thouſand Pounds by Way of *Subſidies* upon Real and Perſonal Eſtates: The Second was an Additional *Exciſe* upon Beer, Ale, *&c.* for ſix Years; and the laſt was for laying Impoſitions on *Proceedings at Law*, which was to continue nine Years. In managing of theſe, they proceeded with Unanimity and good Temper till near *Chriſtmas*, when they had a ſhort Receſs: Only they were a little interrupted and diſcompos'd by an Affair of a different Nature, relating to Sir *Samuel Sterling*, the laſt Lord-Mayor of *London*, and Sir *Joſeph Sheldon*, and Sir *Andrew King*, with others of the Lieutenancy of the City, who had committed two Gentlemen to Priſon, Mr. *Hayes* and Mr. *Jekell*, for attempting to bribe the Magiſtrates in Caſe of the Act againſt Conventicles. The Matter being brought before the Houſe of Commons, and debated, it was thus Reſolv'd, ‘ That this Houſe doth give Approbation to what was done by the late Lord-Mayor, Sir *Samuel Sterling*, and the Lieutenancy of *London*, in committing

‘ Mr. *Hayes* and Mr. *Jekell*; and that it was done in order to the Preſervation of the King, and Peace of the Kingdom.’ Notwithſtanding this Vote, Mr. *Jekell* ſoon after ventur’d to ſue Sir *Andrew King* at Law; of which Information being given to the Commons, they fell into a Heat, and Reſolv’d, ‘ That Mr. *Jekell* be ſent for in the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, to anſwer his Contempt in proſecuting his Suit at Law againſt Sir *Andrew King*, after the Vote of this Houſe, whereby it was declared, *That the Commitment of the ſaid Mr.* Jekell *was in order to the Preſervation of the King, and Peace of the Kingdom*.’ And further, they order’d Mr. *Burton*, Counſel for Mr. *Jekell*, and Mr. *Ogden* his Attorney, to be likewiſe ſent for in Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, for their Contempt in moving and acting for Mr. *Jekell*, after the fore-mention’d Vote. Being all brought to the Bar of the Houſe, and making a full Submiſſion, they were diſcharg’d; and ſo on the 20th of *December*, before they had finiſh’d any Bills, the Commons roſe up in their former good Humour, and had a Receſs for about a Month.

They have a ſhort Receſs.

The Prince of Orange *deſigns for* England.

5. Shortly after the Sitting of the Parliament, the Nation was entertain’d with the News of the Arrival of his Majeſty’s Nephew the Prince of *Orange* from *Holland:* who not long before, at eighteen Years of Age, had been choſen firſt Nobleman of *Zealand*, and began now to ſhew himſelf very forward, and to deſerve the Character of a Prince of extraordinary Hopes. About the Beginning of *June* he had been there introduc’d into the *Council of State*, and that with all the pleaſing Circumſtances of being ineffectually oppos’d, and of his prevailing by the Affections of the People. At this happy Juncture he reſolv’d upon a Journey into *England*; but before he ſet out, he was very earneſt with Sir *William Temple*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, to have his Opinion, whether he was likely to procure any Satisfaction in his Pretenſions there; alledging, *That all his beſt Friends in* Holland *were of Opinion, That in Caſe that ſhou’d wholly fail him, his Journey wou’d prove of great Prejudice to his Affairs at home, by letting his Friends ſee how little he was conſider’d by his Uncle, whoſe Countenance wou’d be a great Support to him in the Courſe of his Fortunes.* Theſe Pretenſions of his were ſuppos’d to be ſome Mony owing from *England* upon the Account of his Mother’s Fortune; for the Ambaſſador’s Anſwer to him upon this Subject was, *That he was wholly ignorant of all his Majeſty’s Affairs, beſides what related to that Country, and particularly of the preſent State of the Revenue, or how much the late Supplies had contributed towards the Eaſe of it.* Upon which the Prince ſeem’d very deſirous that Sir *William* ſhou’d touch on it to one of the chief Miniſters in *England*, ſo as to receive his Thoughts upon it before he began his Journey. This Motion was thought chiefly to have proceeded from the Princeſs Dowager, who ſome Weeks before poſitively declared her Opinion to Sir *William* upon that Matter to the ſame Effect, and for ſome Time perſiſted in it. This private Affair might be one Motive, and the more profeſs’d Reaſon of his going into *England*, but it was not to be doubted, but that even then, he had ſome more publick Thoughts and Cares upon him, relating to his own Honour and Hereditary Claims, the Intereſt of his Country, and the common Good of *Europe*, which now ſeem’d to be near a Criſis.

His Arrival and Reception

At London,

But whatever were the main Expectations and Deſigns of his Journey, it was diſcourag’d and protracted from Time to Time, and at laſt deferr’d to the Sitting of the *Engliſh* Parliament. At length, with a Spirit not eaſily diverted from any Reſolution, he embark’d at the *Bril* in one of his Majeſty’s Yatches, that waited there for him, and arriv’d in *England* on the 29th Day of *October*. He immediately took Poſt for *Canterbury*, and lay that Night at *Rocheſter*; and the next Morning arriving at *Grave’s-End*, he was attended by Sir *Charles Cotterel*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, with his Majeſty’s Barges, and ſo conducted to *White-hall*; where landing, he was receiv’d at the Foot of the Stairs by the Lord-Chamberlain, and conducted to the Preſence of the King and Queen, who receiv’d him with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy and Affection, as likewiſe did their Royal Highneſſes, the Duke and Dutcheſs, to whom he was in like Manner conducted, and thence to the Apartment prepared for him in the *Cock-Pit*. A few Days after his Arrival, the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London* came and complimented his Highneſs upon this pleaſing Occaſion, as if preſaging his being the future Reſtorer and Preſerver of their Rights and Liberties. After he had been a few Weeks at the Court, the Lord *Arlington*, in one of his Letters to Sir *William Godolphin* Ambaſſador in *Spain*, has theſe Words: ‘ The Prince of *Orange* hath been now theſe three Weeks amongſt us, much to the Satisfaction of the King, and all that have ſeen him; *being a young Man of the moſt extraordinary Underſtanding and Parts*, beſides his Quality and Birth, that makes him ſhine the better. His Majeſty hath promis’d to pay his Debt, or aſſign it upon a good Fund before he goes, which he hopes will be an Encouragement to the Queen of *Spain* to do the like, &c.

At Cambridge,

And Oxford.

His Return.

About the End of *November* his Highneſs repaired to *New-Market*, from whence he viſited the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was nobly receiv’d by that venerable Body, entertain’d in *Congregation* with ſeveral Speeches, and treated at a ſplendid Dinner by Dr. *Fleetwood* Provoſt of *King’s* College. Returning to *London*, on the 6th of *December*, he was treated in *Drapers-Hall* by the Lord-Mayor and City of *London* with more than ordinary Magnificence. On the 18th he went to *Windſor*, and the next Day to *Oxford*, where he was receiv’d at the Eaſt-Gate by the Mayor and Aldermen, and at St. *Mary*’s was attended by the Vice-Chancellor and the whole Body of the Univerſity, and at the great Gate of *Chriſt-Church* was receiv’d and complimented by the Dean, Canons and whole Society, and by them conducted to his Apartment in that College, where his Highneſs and his Train were nobly treated by the generous Dean Dr. *Fell.* The next Morning his Highneſs went to view the ſeveral Colleges, and found the Heads with their reſpective Societies ſtanding at the Gates in a Readineſs to receive him. After Noon he viſited the Schools, the Library and Theatre, in which laſt Place a *Convocation* was held, where his Highneſs was complimented in a Speech by the Orator Dr. *South*, and, as well as others of his Train, did the Univeſity the Honour of accepting of a Degree, and an Invitation from the Vice-Chancellor to his College of St. *John*’s, where he was entertain’d with an excellent and liberal Dinner. After he had ſtaid in *England* above three Months, on the 15th of *February*, he took his Leave at *White-hall*, in order to his Return for *Holland*, infinitely ſenſible of the great Tenderneſs and Affection expreſs’d to him by both their Majeſties, during the whole Time of his Stay, and no leſs ſatisfy’d with the univerſal Eſteem and Reſpects of the Court and People.

Sir William Temple *leaves* Holland.

6. Before the Prince’s Arrival in *England*, Sir *William Temple* return’d from his Embaſſy in *Holland*, being more and more apprehenſive of the new and different Meaſures taken in the *Engliſh* Court. Arriving at *London*, he went immediately to the Lord *Arlington*, according to his Cuſtom: But whereas, upon his ſeveral Journies over in the late Conjunctures, his Lordſhip had ever quitted all Company to receive him, and always did it with open Arms, and in the kindeſt Manner, he now made him ſtay an Hour and half in an outward Room before he came to him, while he was in private with the Lord *Aſhley*, the Chief of the *Cabal*; and then receiv’d him with a Coldneſs, at which Sir *William* was ſurpris’d: So that after a Quarter of an Hour’s Talk about indifferent Matters, and not a Word of the Occaſion of his being recall’d from his Embaſſy, Sir *William* went away. However the next Morning he went to his Lordſhip again, deſiring to be introduc’d by him to kiſs the King’s Hand, as he had us’d upon his former Journies: He perform’d that Part of his Office without much Ceremony, bringing Sir *William* to his Majeſty as he was walking in St. *James’s Park*; where the King ſtopp’d to give Sir *William* his Hand, ask’d him half a Dozen Queſtions about his Jouruey, and about the Prince of *Orange*, and ſo walk’d on. After this he went to ſee the Lord-Keeper, and Mr. Secretary *Trevor*; and found the Firſt uneaſy and apprehenſive of the preſent Counſels; but the latter confident that no Endeavours cou’d break the Meaſures between *England* and *Holland*, as being ſo neceſſary abroad, and ſo rational at home. But Sir *William*, who had more Penetration, perceiv’d them both to be barely in the Skirts of Buſineſs, and only in Right of their Poſts; and found that the Secret of it lay wholly in the *Cabal* formerly mention’d.

His Diſcourſe with Sir Thomas Clifford.

It is obſervable, that however different Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Thomas Clifford* had always been in their Schemes and Notions, ſo that there never was any great Commerce between them; yet now he receiv’d him with wonderful Gracioufneſs and Civility, and ſome Time after deſir’d a private Conference with him, about the Affairs of *Holland*. Being both met, Sir *Thomas* began with great Compliments on Sir *William*’s Services to the King, in his Employments abroad; went on with the Neceſſity of preſerving their Meaſures with *Holland*, and concluded with wondering, ‘ Why the *States* ſhou’d have ſhew’d ſo much Difficulty upon thoſe two Affairs, of *Surinam* and the *Eaſt-India* Company, wherein our Demands ſeem’d ſo reaſonable; and how it came about that he had fail’d in Compaſſing his Majeſty’s Satisfaction in thoſe two Matters, after having ſucceeded ſo well in all his other Negotiations.’ Sir *William*, thinking he did not underſtand the Bottom of thoſe Affairs, laid it open to him, with the *Dutch* Reaſons, which ſeem’d to be but too well grounded. Sir *Thomas* was unſatisfy’d with them all, and told Sir *William*,

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He muſt undertake the Matter again, and bring it to a Period; and ask'd him, *Whether he did not think he cou'd bring the* Dutch *to Reaſon*? Sir *William* anſwer'd plainly, *He believ'd he never cou'd, to what they call'd ſo, and therefore was very unwilling to undertake it; That he had ſpent all his Shot in vain, and therefore thought it the beſt Way to employ ſome Perſon in it that had more Wit or Ability than himſelf.* Upon which Sir *Thomas*, a little mov'd, reply'd, *That for Wit and Ability they all knew he had enough; and all the Queſtion was, Whether he was willing to employ them upon this Occaſion, which ſo much concern'd the Service of the King, and the Honour of the Nation*? Hereupon Sir *William* at large let him know how he had us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to no purpoſe; and being a little heated after ſo long and unpleaſant Diſcourſe, ask'd him, *In the Name of God, what he thought a Man cou'd do more*? To this, in a great Rage, Sir *Thomas* anſwer'd; *Yes, I'll tell you what a Man might do more, and what you ought to do more; and that is, to let the King and all the World know, how baſely and unworthily the* States *have us'd Him; and to declare publickly, how their Miniſters are a Company of* Rogues *and* Raſcals, *and not fit for his Majeſty, or any other Prince to have any Thing to do with: And this is a Part that no Body can do ſo well as you.* Sir *William*'s Anſwer was very calm, *That he was not a Man fit for* Declarations; *that whenever he did ſpeak upon any Occaſions, he ſhould ſpeak of all Men what he thought of them; and ſo he ſhould do of the* States, *and the Miniſters in* Holland; *which was all he cou'd ſay of the Buſineſs:* And ſo their Converſation ended. Upon theſe, and ſome other Paſſages, Sir *William* fix'd his Judgment of the Affairs and Counſels then in Agitation; and foreſeeing, as he wrote to his Father, ' Weather coming that he ſhou'd have no Mind to ' go abroad in, he therefore reſolv'd to get a warm Houſe ' over his Head; and neither apprehend Uneaſineſs of ' Mind or Fortune in the private Life he propos'd to him' ſelf; unleſs ſome Revolutions ſhou'd draw both upon ' him, which cou'd not touch him alone, but muſt be ' born like a common Calamity.

A ſtrange Attempt upon the Duke of Ormond,

7. Before the Adjournment of the Parliament, the City and Neighbourhood was ſtrangely allarm'd by a barbarous and inhumane Attempt made upon the Perſon and Life of his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, in the open Streets; of which I find the moſt perfect Account in a Manuſcript written by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*. The chief Contriver and Manager of this audacious Enterprize was one *Blud*, the Son of a Black-Smith in *Ireland*, a notorious Villain, who always thought ſmall Crimes below him. He firſt ſignaliz'd Himſelf in Reſcuing one of his wicked Comrades in *Yorkſhire* out of the Hands of the Sheriff's Men, as they were leading him to the Gallows. After which he laid a Deſign in *Ireland* to ſurpriſe the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and the Magazine there, and to uſurp the Government: But being diſcover'd by the Duke of *Ormond* the Night before the intended Execution, ſome of his Accomplices were apprehended and executed as Traytors, whoſe Deaths *Blud* and the reſt of the ſurviving Rogues bound themſelves by ſolemn Oath to revenge upon the Perſon of the Duke. His Grace now living at *Clarendon* Houſe, was obſerv'd by *Blud* uſually to go late home, attended with two or three Footmen at the moſt; therefore with five or ſix more of his Aſſociates, all well Mounted and Arm'd, on the 6th of *December*, he ſtay'd at the *Bull-Head* Tavern, near *Charing-Croſs*, till the Duke came by. He was no ſooner paſs'd, but they all took Horſe and gallop'd after him; and coming up with his Coach, before he got to his own Gate, they knock'd down his Footmen, took him out of the Coach, and forc'd him up behind one of the Horſemen, and were riding away with him as far as *Berkley-Houſe*. The Coach-man and Servants crying out, the Porter came forth with his long Cane; but the Duke ſuſpecting that they might act their intended Miſchief upon him, before any Reſcue cou'd come, forcibly threw himſelf off the Horſe, with the Villain who had ty'd his Grace faſt to him. The reſt turn'd back, and fearing leſt their Prey might eſcape them, diſcharg'd two Piſtols at him, but taking their Aim in the Dark miſs'd his Body; and finding the Porter and Neighbourhood coming in, they all fled, leaving the Duke much bruis'd with his Fall. Their Deſign, it ſeems, was to have carry'd him to *Tyburn*, and hang'd him there with a Paper pinn'd on his Breaſt, to have ſhewn the Reaſon of their Diabolical Proceeding. The Authors of this prodigious Attempt were for a conſiderable Time unknown, and the King was pleas'd to offer a thouſand Pounds Reward for the Diſcovery of any one of theſe Villains.

And Sir John Coventry.

A few Days after another barbarous Attempt was made upon the Perſon of Sir *John Coventry*, Knight of the *Bath*, and a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and upon the Perſon of his Servant *William Wylkes*, by a conſiderable Number of Armed Men, both on Foot and Horſeback, by which the ſaid Sir *John Coventry* and his Servants then loſt ſeveral Goods, and Sir *John* Himſelf receiv'd divers Wounds, ſome of which were given in ſuch barbarous Manner, that ſome of the Offenders held him while others wounded him. The Fact, by Bills of Indictment, was found to be committed by Sir *Thomas Sandys*, Knight, *Charles Orbian*, Eſq; *Simon Parry* and *Miles Reeves*, who all fled from Juſtice, not daring to abide a legal Tryal. The Cauſe of this Barbarity is not well known, but as to the Effects, it occaſion'd a new Act of Parliament, hereafter to be mention'd.

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The Deaths of Biſhop Skinner,

For a Concluſion of the Year, we ſhall, as uſual, take Notice of the Death of ſeveral conſiderable Perſons; and firſt of two worthy Prelates, Dr. *Robert Skinner* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Dr. *John Hackett*, Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. The Firſt was educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was Fellow of *Trinity* College, and Tutor to ſeveral eminent Men, as Mr. *Chillingworth*, Judge *Newdigate*, &c. After which he became a noted Preacher, and by King *Charles* the Firſt made ſucceſſively Biſhop of *Briſtol* and *Oxford*, the laſt in 1641, when thoſe a little Puritannically inclin'd were moſt acceptable to the Parliament. Yet he was a Sufferer in the Times of the Troubles, and was almoſt the only Biſhop that conferr'd Orders in thoſe Times, and after the Reſtoration, above a Hundred receiv'd Orders from him at once; ſo that at his Death, which was at his See of *Worceſter*, it was computed that he had ſent more Labourers into the Vineyard, than all his Brethren he had left behind him. The next, Biſhop *Hackett* of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, was educated in *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, where he made no ſmall Improvement of his Talents. Removing through ſeveral Stages, he became a ſtrenuous Aſſertor of the Hierarchy of the Church of *England* againſt the prevailing Powers in 1641, for which he was a common Sufferer. Being after the Reſtoration advanc'd to this Biſhoprick, he became a munificent Benefactor there, expending twenty thouſand Pounds upon the Repairing, or rather Rebuilding his Cathedral. Beſides his Generoſity, he was very valuable for his penetrating and lively Parts, his ſolid Judgment, and his eaſy and entertaining Elocution, by which, with a very happy Memory, he became an extraordinary Philologer and Divine. The next Perſon to be mention'd is an eminent Divine of the *Presbyterian* Stamp, Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*, Maſter of St. *John*'s College, and Regius Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and afterwards one of the Commiſſioners for the Conference at the *Savoy*. In 1661 he retired from his Places in the Univerſity, having an Allowance of a hundred Pounds a Year from his Succeſſor Dr. *Gunning*, and afterwards dy'd in *London*, leaving behind him the Name of a Perſon eminent for Learning and Piety, as well as Humility and good Temper.

Biſhop Hackett,

Dr. Tuckney,

Sir Jeffry Palmer,

There are three others to be mention'd, as different from each other as is poſſible: The firſt was Sir *Jeffry Palmer* Baronet, a Gentleman brought up to the Law, and made Doctor at the Univerſity of *Oxford*, who firſt of all join'd with the Long Parliament in 1641, but out of Principle turn'd Loyaliſt, and became a great Sufferer: He was a Man of great Worth and Eminency in his Profeſſion, and after the Reſtoration he was made the King's Attorney-General, and Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*, in which Places he dy'd this Year at *Hampſted*. The ſecond was *Vavaſor Powell*, a Man famous among the Diſſenters, who often preach'd with great Vehemency in the Woods, Mountains and Fields, as well as Markets and Fairs, eſpecially in *Wales* his Native Country: Yet it is hard to tell of what Religion he was; ſome holding him for an Anabaptiſt, others for a Fifth-Monarchy Man and a Millenary; he was certainly neither *Presbyterian* nor *Independent*, but a bold, dangerous and peſtilent Man, a pragmatical and indefatigable Enemy to Monarchy and Epiſcopacy, who did a World of Miſchief, as ſome ſay, or a World of Good, as others ſay, in his own Country. This reſtleſs Man, having been an Oppoſer of all Higher Powers, met with Impriſonment from different Parties, to whom he ſhew'd an invincible Spirit, and laſt of all dy'd a Priſoner in the *Fleet*, and was bury'd in the Fields near *Bunhill*, in the Preſence of innumerahle Multitudes of Diſſenters. The Laſt was old *Henry Jenkins*, a poor Fiſherman of *Yorkſhire*, who is mention'd purely upon the Account of his almoſt incredible Age, being accounted the oldeſt Man born upon the Ruins of this *Poſt-diluvian* World. He was born in 1501, the 16th Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, and liv'd a hundred and ſixty nine Years, in the Reigns of eight Kings and Queens of *England*, being ſeventeen Years older than the noted *Thomas Parr*, who is mention'd in the Year 1635.

Vavaſor Powell,

And Henry Jenkins.

IX. 1. Towards the latter end of *January* the Parliament met according to Adjournment, but the Houſe of Commons were very much diſcompos'd and out of Temper

upon

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upon the Account of the barbarous Attempt lately made upon Sir *John Coventry*; and the Diſſatisfaction aroſe to that Height, that they profeſs'd their Unwillingneſs to proceed upon any other Affairs, till they had paſs'd a Bill againſt thoſe they conceiv'd to be the Authors of the Injury done againſt their Members. Accordingly they drew up a Bill, in which they made the Criminals incapable of any Pardon but by particular Act of Parliament, and made it Death for the future for any Man maliciouſly to diſable or diſmember another, to put out an Eye, to cut off a Noſe or Lip, *&c.* and concluded all with one peculiar Clauſe, 'That his Majeſty's Royal Aſſent to this Bill 'ſhou'd not determine this Seſſion of Parliament.' This was afterwards commonly call'd by the Name of *Coventry*'s Act; which being ſent up to the Lords, the Commons naturally and eaſily return'd to their former good Temper: Soon after his Majeſty, on the 14th of *February* ſent a Meſſage by Mr. Secretary *Trevor* to acquaint them, 'That his Majeſty was inform'd, that there had ſome Bills 'paſs'd both Houſes, and that there were others depending near their Diſpatch, which he deſir'd them to haſten, 'eſpecially thoſe for his Supply: And leſt they ſhou'd not 'be ready for his Aſſent by the 22d of this Inſtant *February*, he had given Order for the Adjourning of the Seſſion until the 10th of *March* next.

The Addreſs of both Houſes againſt Popery.

Notwithſtanding this quickning Meſſage, they proceeded to other Matters as well as the Supplies, and more particularly to the Fears and Dangers ariſing from Popery, which gradually appear'd more threatning than formerly. Accordingly they drew up the following remarkable Addreſs, in which the Lords afterwards join'd: '*May it 'pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty*, We your Majeſty's 'moſt humble and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament, being ſenſible of your 'Majeſty's Conſtancy to the *Proteſtant* Religion, both at 'home and abroad, hold our ſelves bound in Conſcience 'and Duty to repreſent to your Majeſty the *Cauſes* of the 'dangerous Growth of Popery in your Majeſty's Dominions, the ill Conſequence whereof we heartily deſire 'may be prevented. And therefore what we humbly conceive 'to be ſome preſent Remedies for the ſaid growing Miſchiefs we have hereunto added in our moſt humble Petitions.

Cauſes of the Growth of Popery.

'1. That there are great Numbers of Prieſts and Jeſuits 'frequenting the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and 'moſt of the Counties of this Kingdom, more than formerly, ſeducing your Majeſty's good Subjects. 2. That 'there are ſeveral *Chapels* and Places us'd for *Saying of 'Maſs* in the great Towns, and many other Parts of the 'Kingdom, beſides thoſe in Ambaſſadors Houſes, whither 'great Numbers of your Majeſty's Subjects conſtantly reſort and repair without Comptrol; And eſpecially in the 'Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, contrary to the Laws 'Eſtabliſhed. 3. That there are *Fraternities* or *Convents* 'of *Engliſh* Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits at St. *James*'s, and 'at the *Combe* in *Herefordſhire*, and other Parts of the 'Kingdom, beſides ſeveral *Schools* are kept in divers Parts of 'the Kingdom for the corrupt Educating of Youth in the 'Principles of Popery. 4. The Common and Publick 'Selling of *Popiſh Catechiſms*, and other Seditious Books, 'even in the Time of Parliament. 5. The general Remiſsneſs of the Magiſtrates and other Officers, Clerks of 'the Aſſize, and Clerks of the Peace, in not Convicting 'of Papiſts according to Law. 6. That ſuſpected Recuſants are free from all Offices chargeable and troubleſome, and do enjoy the Advantage of Offices and Places 'beneficial; executed either by Themſelves, or Perſons entruſted for them. 7. That the Advowſance of Churches, 'and Preſentations to Livings are diſpos'd by *Popiſh* Recuſants, or by others entruſted by them as they direct; 'whereby moſt of thoſe Livings and Benefices are fill'd 'with Scandalous and Unfit Miniſters. 8. That many 'Perſons take the Liberty to ſend their Children beyond 'the Seas to be Educated in the *Popiſh* Religion; and that 'ſeveral young Perſons are ſent beyond the Seas, upon the Notion of their better Education, under Tutors 'and Guardians who are not put to take the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and uſually corrupt the Youth 'under their Tuition, into Popery. 9. That there have 'been few Exchequer Proceſſes iſſu'd forth ſince the 'Act of Parliament *Againſt Popiſh Recuſants Convict*, tho' 'many have been certify'd thither. 10. The great Inſolencies of Papiſts in *Ireland* (where do publickly appear '*Arch-Biſhops* and *Biſhops* reputed to be made ſo by the 'Pope, in Oppoſition to Thoſe made under his Majeſty's 'Authority, according to the Religion Eſtabliſh'd in *England* and *Ireland*) and the Open Exerciſe of Maſs in '*Dublin*, and other Parts of that Kingdom, is further a 'great *Cauſe* of the preſent Growth of Popery. That '*Peter Talbot*, the Reputed *Arch-Biſhop* of *Dublin*, was 'Publickly Conſecrated ſo at *Antwerp* with great Solemnity; from whence he came to *London*, where he exerciſ'd his Function; and was all along in his Journey to '*Cheſter* treated with the Character of His *Grace* by the 'Popiſh Recuſants whom he viſited: And at his Landing 'at *Dublin* was receiv'd with very great Solemnity by 'thoſe of the Popiſh Religion there, where alſo he exerciſ'd his Function Publickly, great Multitudes then flocking to him, and ſtill continue to do the ſame. His preſent Reſidence is within three Miles of *Dublin*, at his 'Brother's, Colonel *Richard Talbot*, who is now here ſolliciting your Majeſty as Publick Agent on the Behalf of 'the *Iriſh* Papiſts of that Kingdom.

Remedies againſt theſe growing Miſchiefs.

'We the Lords and Commons aſſembled in this preſent 'Parliament, do in all Humility repreſent to your Sacred 'Majeſty in theſe our Petitions following; 1. That your 'Majeſty by your Proclamation wou'd be moſt graciouſly pleas'd to Command, that all Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits do depart this Realm, and all other your Majeſty's 'Dominions, on or before a ſhort Day to be prefix'd, at 'their Perils; Except only ſuch Foreign Prieſts as attend 'her Majeſty's Perſon by the Contract of Marriage, 'and Ambaſſadors, according to the Law of Nations: 'And that all Judges, *&c.* do cauſe the Laws now in 'Force againſt *Popiſh* Recuſants Convict, to be put in due 'Execution: And in the firſt Place, for the ſpeedy convicting ſuch *Popiſh* Recuſants, That all Judges and Juſtices 'aforeſaid do ſtrictly give the ſaid Laws in Charge unto 'the Juries at all Aſſizes and Seſſions, under the Penalty 'of Incurring your Majeſty's higheſt Diſpleaſure. 2. That 'your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to reſtrain and hinder the 'great Concourſe of your Native Subjects from hearing 'of *Maſs*, and other Exerciſes of the *Romiſh* Religion, in 'the Houſes of Foreign Ambaſſadors or Agents, and in 'all other Chapels and Places of this Kingdom. 3. That 'your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to take care and cauſe, '*That no Office or Employment of Publick Authority, Truſt, 'or Command in Civil or Military Affairs, be committed 'to, or continu'd in the Hands of any Perſon being a Popiſh 'Recuſant, or juſtly reputed ſo to be.* 4. That your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to take notice of all *Fraternities* 'or *Convents* of *Engliſh*, and other *Popiſh* Prieſts, Jeſuits 'or Fryars, and *Schools* for the Educating of Youth in the 'Principles of Popery, erected within your Majeſty's Dominions, and to cauſe the ſame to be aboliſh'd, and the 'ſaid Prieſts, Jeſuits, Fryars and Schoolmaſters to be duly puniſh'd for ſuch their Inſolencies. 5. That your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd from Time to Time to require 'and cauſe, That all the Officers of, or relating to the 'Exchequer, iſſue forth Proceſſes effectually againſt *Popiſh* 'Recuſants Convict certify'd thither. And that ſuch Officers as ſhall refuſe or neglect to do their Duty, as aforeſaid, be ſeverely puniſh'd for ſuch their Failures. 6. 'That your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to give Order for 'apprehending and bringing over into *England* one '*Plunckett*, who goes under the Name of *Primate* of *Ireland*, and one *Peter Talbot*, who takes on him the Name 'of *Arch-Biſhop* of *Dublin*, to anſwer ſuch Matters as 'ſhall be objected againſt them.

'To theſe our moſt humble Petitions, proceeding from our 'Duty and Zeal for the Glory of God, and the Good of 'your Sacred Majeſty, and from the Care incumbent on 'us for the Safety and Peace of theſe your Majeſty's Kingdoms, We do in all Humility beſeech your Majeſty to 'vouchſafe a Gracious Anſwer: And we your Majeſty's 'moſt loyal and obedient Subjects, the Lords and Commons in the preſent Parliament aſſembled, ſhall ever 'pray for your Majeſty's long and happy Reign over us; 'and (as in Conſcience we are oblig'd) ſhall conſtantly 'adhere to, and aſſiſt your Majeſty in the Maintenance 'and Defence of your Majeſty's *Supremacy*, and the true '*Proteſtant* Religion now eſtabliſh'd in your Majeſty's 'Kingdoms, in Oppoſition to all *Foreign Powers*, and '*Popiſh Pretences* whatſoever.

The King's Anſwer.

When this Addreſs was ſent up to the Lords, they took ſome Time to conſider of it, as not being well ſatisfy'd with the Certainty of ſome Matters of Fact therein mention'd, as particularly the *Chappels*, *Fraternities* and *Convents*, and the Advancement of *Peter Talbot*; but having afterwards in a Conference receiv'd Satisfaction, they joyn'd with the Commons, and together with them preſented the Addreſs to the King at the *Banquetting-Houſe* in *Whitehall*. His Majeſty made this moſt gracious Anſwer to them; '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I will take care 'of all theſe Things; I will cauſe a Proclamation to be 'iſſu'd out againſt the Prieſts; I will cauſe the Judges, 'and all other Officers to put the Laws againſt Papiſts in 'Execution, and all other Things that may conduce to 'the Prevention of the *Growth of Popery*. But I ſuppoſe

'no

16$\frac{70}{71}$. Car. 23. Ref. 11.

no Man will wonder, if I make a Difference between Thoſe that have newly chang'd their Religion, and thoſe that were bred up in that Religion, and ſerv'd my Father and Me faithfully in the late Wars.' The Houſes return'd their Thanks for this Anſwer, and the King accordingly iſſu'd out his Proclamation, which began after the Manner that moſt of his Proclamations did upon this Occaſion. The Subſtance was, ‘ Whereas the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, have by their Petition preſented to his Majeſty their Fears and Apprehenſions of the *Growth of Popery*, together with the *Cauſes* thereof, and alſo ſuch *Remedies* as they conceive moſt proper to prevent ſuch Miſchiefs: Which Petition his Majeſty having ſeriouſly conſider'd, and with much Contentment approving the great Care of the ſaid Lords and Commons, for the Preſervation of the true Religion eſtabliſh'd; to which his *Majeſty* declares, *as he hath always adhered againſt all Temptations whatſoever, ſo he will ſtill employ his utmoſt Care and Zeal in the Maintenance and Defence of it*. And therefore ſtrictly commands all Jeſuits and *Romiſh* Prieſts to depart out of *England* before the firſt of *May*, upon pain of having the Penalties of the Laws of this Realm inflicted upon them. And his Majeſty commands all Judges, *&c.* forthwith to put the Laws in Execution againſt all *Popiſh* Recuſants, and ſuch as are ſuſpected to be ſo, in order to their ſpeedy Conviction, and due Proceſs upon ſuch Convictions. And becauſe there may be ſome Prieſts impriſon'd in this Realm, unknown to his Majeſty; all Sheriffs, *&c.* are within twenty Days to advertiſe ſome of the Lords of the Privy-Council of their Names, and for what Cauſe they were committed, to the End Orders may be given for their Tranſportation.

His Proclamation againſt Papiſts.

2. As ſoon as the Commons began to foreſee the Succeſs of their Addreſs, they proceeded with all Vigour upon the King's Supplies, the *Subſidy* Bill, the *Exciſe* Bill, and the *Law* Bill; to which Three they afterwards added a *Fourth* Bill *For Impoſitions on Foreign Commodities*. This liberal, and as ſome thought profuſe Way of Giving, met with ſome Check from the Houſe of Lords; and when the Subſidy Bill was read there a Second Time, the old loyal Lord *Lucas* ſtood up and oppos'd it in a bold and remarkable Speech, which he made when the King was preſent at the Debate. The Speech ſhews ſo much of the Times, that it cannot be here omitted, but is inſerted for the Reader's neceſſary Information: ‘ *My Lords!* When by the Providence of Almighty God, the Nation recall'd his Majeſty to the Exerciſe of the Regal Power, it was the Hopes of all Good Men, That we ſhou'd not only be reſtored to his Majeſty's Royal Preſence, and Divine Laws, but we ſhou'd be free from thoſe heavy Burthens under which we had lain ſo long oppreſs'd: We did believe that from thenceforth every Man ſhou'd *ſit under his own Vine*, enjoying the Fruits of Peace and Plenty; and *Aſtræa* her Self, long ſince for the Sins of Men fled up to Heaven, ſhou'd have been invited by his Majeſty's moſt gracious and happy Reign, to return hither, and dwell and converſe amongſt Mortals again. But alas! we are all fallen very ſhort of our Expectations, and our Burthens are ſo far from being made lighter to us, that they are heavier than ever they were; and as our Burthens are increas'd, ſo our Strength alſo is diminiſh'd, and we are leſs able to ſupport them.-----It is evident there is a Scarcity of Money in the Nation; and yet if amidſt this Scarcity, the vaſt Sums given were all imploy'd for the King and Kingdom, it wou'd not ſo much trouble us: But we cannot without infinite Regret of Heart, ſee ſo great a Part of it pounded up in the Purſes of other private Men, and ſee them flouriſh in Eſtates, who in the Time of his Majeſty's moſt happy Reſtoration, were worth very little or Nothing: and now the ſame Men purchaſe Lands, and keep their Coach and ſix Horſes, their Pages and their Lacqueys; while in the mean Time thoſe that have faithfully ſerv'd the King, are expos'd to Penury and Want, and ſcarce ſufficient left to buy them Bread. And is this, *my Lords*, the Reward of our Services? Have we for this born the Heat of the Day, been Impriſon'd, Sequeſter'd, ventur'd our Lives and our Families, our Eſtates and our Fortunes? And muſt we after all this ſacrifice ſo much of our poor Remainder to the Will of a few particular Men, and the Maintenance of their Vanities?

The Lord Lucas's warm Speech concerning Subſidies.

‘ But ſuppoſe all the Money given were employ'd for the Uſe of his Majeſty, and his Majeſty were not cozen'd, as without doubt he is, is there no Bounds to, or Moderation in Giving? Will you ſay that if we ſhall not plentifully ſupply his Majeſty, he will not be able to defend us, or to maintain the *Triple League*; and we ſhall thereby run the Hazard of being conquer'd? 'Tis true, *my Lords*, that this may be a Reaſon for giving Something, but 'tis ſo far from being an Argument for giving ſo Much, that it may clearly be made out to your Lordſhips, *That it is the direct and ready Way to be conquer'd by a Foreigner*. And it may be the Policy of the *French* King, by thoſe often Alarms of Armies and Fleets, to induce us to conſume our Treaſure in vain Preparations againſt him: And after he has by this Means made us poor and weak enough, he may then come upon us and deſtroy us. It is not the giving of a great deal, but the well managing the Money given, that muſt keep us Safe from our Enemies. Your Lordſhips may be pleas'd to call to mind the Story of *Sampſon*, who while he preſerv'd his Hair wherein his Strength lay, was ſtill Victor over his Enemies; but when by the Inticement of his *Dalilah*, his Hair was cut off, the *Philiſtins* came upon him, and overcame him: And ſo, *my Lords*, if we ſhall preſerve and husband well our Treaſure, wherein our Strength and Sinews of War lie, and apply it to the right Uſes, we ſhall ſtill be ſuperior to our Enemies; but if we ſhall vainly and imprudently miſpend it, we ſhall become an eaſy Prey to them. Beſides, *my Lords*, what is this but *Ne moriare mori*, and for fear of being conquer'd by a Foreigner, to put our ſelves in a Condition almoſt as bad? pardon me, *my Lords*, if I ſay in ſome reſpect a great deal worſe; for when we are under the Power of the Victor, we know we can fall no lower; and the Certainties of our Miſeries are ſome Sort of Diminution of them: But in this wild Way, we have no Certainty at all; for if you give thus much to Day, you may give as much to Morrow, and never leave giving till we have given all that ever we have away, and the Anxiety of Mind which ariſes from this doubtful Eſtate, is a high Addition to our Afflictions. All that I beg, *my Lords*, is that we may be able to make ſome Eſtimate of our Selves: Wou'd his Majeſty be pleas'd to have a Quarter of our Eſtates? for my Part he ſhall have it; wou'd his Majeſty be pleas'd to have Half? for my Part upon good Occaſions he ſhall have it: But I beſeech your Lordſhips then, that we may have ſome Aſſurances of the quiet Enjoyment of the Remainder, and know what we have to truſt to.

16$\frac{70}{71}$. Car. 23. Ref. 11.

‘ *My Lords*, the Commons have here ſent up a Bill for the giving his Majeſty the Twentieth part of our Eſtates at the full extended Value; and I hear there are other Bills for Money alſo preparing, which together, according to the beſt computation, will amount to little leſs than Three Millions of Money; a prodigious Sum, and ſuch, that if your Lordſhips will not afford Relief, we muſt of Neceſſity ſink under the Weight of to heavy a Preſſure. *My Lords*, the Scripture tells, That God Almighty ſets Bounds to the Ocean, and ſays to it, *Hither ſhall thy proud Waves come, and no further*. And ſo I hope your Lordſhips, in Imitation of the Deity, will ſet ſome Bounds, ſome Limits to the over-liberal Humour of the Commons, and ſay to them, *Hither ſhall your Profuſeneſs come, and no further*. Either your Lordſhips can deny or moderate a Bill for Money coming from the Commons; or if you cannot, all your great Eſtates are wholly at their Diſpoſal, and your Lordſhips have nothing that you can properly call your own, and then let us paſs this Bill without further Examination; but if you can *deny* or *moderate* (as without Queſtion you can) your Lordſhips never had, nor poſſibly will have ſuch a fair Occaſion to ſhew it. *My Lords*, upon the whole Matter, I moſt humbly propoſe to your Lordſhips, that you wou'd be pleas'd to reduce the Twelve Pence in the Pound to Eight Pence. And truly I have ſome Reaſon to hope that if your Lordſhips will duely reflect upon it, ye will find it to do accordingly; for in the firſt Place it will be ſo far from being a Diſſervice to his Majeſty, that your Lordſhips will do his Majeſty in it the higheſt Service in the World; for tho' you ſhall thereby take from his Majeſty a Part of the Sum, you will give him a great deal more in the Love and Hearts of his Subjects; *and there his Majeſty muſt reign, if he will be great and glorious*. And next your Lordſhips will acquire to your Selves Eternal Honour; ye ſhall thereby indear your ſelves to the whole Nation, who for the future will look upon you as the Ancients did upon their *Tutelar Gods*; nor ſhall the *Houſe of Commons*, but the *Houſe of Peers*, be hereafter precious in their Sight. *My Lords*, give me leave to mind your Lordſhips, that *Noble Acts* are the Steps whereby the Great Men of the World aſcend the Throne of Glory, and can there be a nobler Act than to *Releaſe a diſtreſſed Kingdom* which lies languiſhing under ſo many hard Oppreſſions, and about to be ſo much more oppreſs'd?

This Speech was ſpoke upon the 22d of *February*, and being printed ſhortly after, it was ſo diſtaſteful to the preſent Miniſtry, that it was order'd to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman. How it affected the Heart of this loyal Lord is not eaſily known; but in a very ſhort Time after he departed this Life with the Reputation of one

16$\frac{70}{71}$.
Car. 23.
Ref. 11.

The Lords make Proviſos to the Subſidy-Bill

The Commons Reaſons againſt it.

one who had ever been faithful to his King and Country. However, it ſeem'd to have affected the Houſe of Lords ſo far, that they immediately began to examine this Subſidy Bill with more than uſual Strictneſs; and conceiving that the *Diſtreſſes* allow'd and appointed in that Bill, ſuch as the breaking open of their Doors, were not agreeable to the ancient Privileges of Peers, they made ſome Amendments by Way of *Proviſoe* to the Bill, in order to aſſert their particular Privilege. The Commons refus'd their Amendments at this Time, not becauſe it was a Mony-Bill, but for theſe following Reaſons, which they deliver'd to their Lordſhips at a Conference: 'Firſt, the Privilege demanded was againſt the King, and againſt the Execution for his Supply, which ought not to be clogg'd with any unneceſſary Circumſtances; it being it ſelf a *Non omittas propter aliquam Libertatem.* Secondly, The Privilege demanded is not due to their Lordſhips in Point of *Right*, nor can it be inſiſted upon in Point of *Honour:* 1. Becauſe there is as much Reverence paid to their Lordſhips Privileges in this Bill, as ever was paid in a Bill of Supply; there being a Proviſoe, *That the Taxes to be collected for the Perſonal Eſtates and the Offices of the Peers, ſhall be collected by a Collector of their own.* 2. The Amendments agreed to: *That Nothing therein contain'd ſhall be drawn into Example to the Privilege of the Ancient Rights belonging to the Peers:* So no Danger of any Ancient Right. 3. Their Lordſhips are the beſt Judges of their own Honour; but in the Bill for the *Royal Aid,* there is the ſame Clauſe as in this Bill, yet their Lordſhips did not then think fit to add ſuch a Qualification to that Clauſe. 4. It is true the Commiſſioners were nam'd in that Act: but that can make no Difference in the Caſe, unleſs their Lordſhips be affraid where the Nomination is truſted to the King. 5. It wou'd be a Diſhonour to your Lordſhips to have this Clauſe ſtand in the Bill: For it doth not concern the Tax upon Perſonal Eſtates or Offices, but ſuppoſes a Lord tax'd for his Land, and not a Hoof left upon the Land to diſtrain; and that after all this a Lord barricados up his Houſe to reſiſt a Diſtreſs; is it fit to ſuppoſe ſuch a Caſe, or ſhou'd it be treated with Ceremony when it happens? 6. If the Lord be return'd into the *Exchequer*, the meaneſt Bayliff of the Sheriff may break open the Houſe of a Peer without more Ceremony; why ſhou'd a Commiſſioner be appointed in this Caſe, unleſs all Exchequer Proceſs be intended to be debarr'd by this Clauſe too? 7. *No Diſtreſs can be upon a Peer without a Warrant under the Hands of two Commiſſioners*; which is Caution enough. 8. The Lords have no Privilege above the Commons as to *Execution* againſt their Eſtates; And therefore we hope this Occaſion ſhall not be taken to create Precedents for new Privileges in Payment of Money. 9. It wou'd diſcourage Perſons from being Commiſſioners, if they muſt be Officers to attend the Diſtreſs, and no Man will be willing to ſerve. 10. The *Act of Printing* leaveth the Lords and Commons, as to the Privileges of Houſes; and no Bill of Money did ever diſtinguiſh them. 11. The whole Duty may be avoided; for in Truth there lies no Obligation upon any Commiſſioner to go with any Officer, and ſo the Matter may be wholly neglected. 12. If a Diſtreſs be wrongful, Why ſhou'd a Lord have a better Man to bring his Action againſt, than a Commoner; and who will ever go to ſubject himſelf to the Action of a Peer, if he be diſpleas'd with the Diſtreſs?

Some Acts paſs'd.

However convincing theſe Reaſons were, their Lordſhips acquieſc'd; ſo that this and other Bills being ready, on the 6th of *March*, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd theſe following publick Bills: 1. An Act *for granting a Subſidy to his Majeſty for Supply of his Extraordinary Occaſions.* 2. An Act *for an Additional Exciſe on Beer, Ale, and other Liquors.* 3. An Act *for Regulating the making of* Kidderminſter *Stuffs.* 4. An Act *to prevent the malicious Burning of Houſes, Stacks of Corn and Hay, Killing and Maiming of Cattle.* 5. An Act to *prevent malicious Maiming and Wounding.* 6. An Act for *Reveſting the Power of granting Wine Licences in his Majeſty's Heirs and Succeſſors, and for ſettling a Revenue on his Royal Highneſs in lieu thereof*; which amounted to twenty four Thouſand Pounds a Year. 7. An Act for Continuance of a former Act, entitled, *An Act to prevent Delays in Extending Statutes, Judgment and Recognizances.* 8. An Act for Continuing of a former Act, *to prevent Arreſts of Judgments, and Superſeding Executions.*

1671.
Car. 23.
Ref. 12.

The g-eat Controverſy between the Lords and Commons concerning Mony-Bills.

3. Two Mony-Bills being paſs'd, there ſtill remain'd two more to be compleated; one for *Impoſitions on Proceedings at Law*, and the other for an *Additional Impoſition on ſeveral Foreign Commodities.* The former eaſily got through both Houſes, but the latter met with ſuch unexpected Impediments in the Lord's Houſe, as not only caus'd the Bill to be loſt, but occaſion'd one of the moſt famous Controverſies that happen'd throughout the whole Parliament. After this Bill had been finiſh'd by the Commons, and ſent up to the Lords for their Conſent, the *London* Merchants preſented a Petition to the Lords againſt many Particulars in that Bill, 'ſhewing the Inequality and Diſproportion of the Rates impos'd upon certain Commodities to be ſuch, as if not alter'd, and ſome which were too high, brought down to hold a true Proportion with others, which the Houſe of Commons had ſet low, wou'd utterly ruin the whole Trade of thoſe Commodities, and bring an irreparable Prejudice upon all the *Engliſh* Plantations, and conſequently upon the whole Kingdom; that of thoſe Commodities being the principal Trade of the Plantations, and that of the Plantations a moſt conſiderable Part of the Trade of the Kingdom.' The Lords, convinc'd with the Arguments and Demonſtrations of the Merchants, judg'd it abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome Alterations in the Bill, and to lower ſome of thoſe Rates; and return'd the Bill ſo alter'd and amended to the Commons; withal giving their Reaſons for thoſe Amendments and Alterations, which was done at a Conference between both Houſes. This was reſented by the Houſe of Commons, who preſently paſs'd a Vote, 'Declaring it to be a *Fundamental Right* lodg'd in their Houſe alone, to impoſe Rates upon Merchandize, as to *Matter*, *Meaſure* and *Time*, and to paſs Bills for that Purpoſe, and this in *Excluſion* of the Houſe of Lords.' Which Reſolution of theirs was by them deliver'd back at another Conference, together with ſome particular Reaſons given to juſtify their Rates impos'd, in Oppoſition to the Alterations made by the Lords: But the main Argument, which they ſtill urg'd, and with which they clos'd almoſt every Period of their Diſcourſe was, *That the Lords had nothing to do with the altering of any Rate impos'd upon Merchandize:* And they further ſaid, *That this was a Right ſo fundamentally ſettled in the Commons, that they cou'd not give Reaſons for it, without weakning their Rights and Privileges.*

The Lords Reaſons for altering Mony Bills.

This brought all to a Criſis, and the Lords, *nemine Contradicente*, came to this poſitive Reſolution, 'That the Power exercis'd by the Houſe of Peers, in making the Amendments and Abatements in the Bill, entitled, *An Act for an Additional Impoſition on ſeveral Foreign Commodities*, both as to the *Matter*, *Meaſure* and *Time*, and concerning the Rates on Impoſitions and Merchandize, is a *Fundamental*, *Inherent* and *Undoubted* Right of the Houſe of Peers, from which they cannot depart, for theſe following Reaſons: 1. The great Happineſs of the Government is, *That nothing can be done in order to the Legiſlature, but what is conſider'd by both Houſes, before the King's Sanction be given unto it*; and the greateſt Security of all the Subjects of this Kingdom, is, *That the Houſes by their Conſtitution, do not only give Aſſiſtance, but are mutual Checks to each other.* 2. In the Writs of Summons to Parliament, the Lords are excluded from none of the *Great and Arduous Affairs of the Kingdom, and Church of* England, but are call'd *to treat, and give their Counſel upon them all*, without Exception. 3. We find no Footſteps in Record or Hiſtory for this new Claim of the Houſe of Commons: We wou'd ſee that *Charter* or *Contract* produc'd, by which the Lords diveſted themſelves of this Right, and appropriated it to the Commons, with an Excluſion to themſelves: Till then, we cannot conſent to ſhake or remove *Foundations*, in the laying whereof it will not be deny'd, *That the Lords and Grands of the Kingdom had the greateſt hand.* 4. If this Right ſhou'd be deny'd, the Lords have not a Negative Voice allow'd them in Bills of this Nature; for if the Lords, who have the Power of *Treating*, *Adviſing*, *Giving Counſel*, and *Applying Remedies*, cannot *Amend*, *Abate* or *Refuſe* a Bill in Part, by what Conſequence, or Reaſon, can they enjoy a Liberty to reject the Whole? when the Commons ſhall think fit to queſtion it, they may pretend the ſame Grounds for it. 5. In Caſe of *Judicature*, which is undoubtedly and indiſputably the *Peculiar* Right and Privilege of the Houſe of Lords; if their Lordſhips ſend down a Bill to the Commons for giving Judgment in a *Legiſlative Way*, they allow and acknowledge the ſame Right in the Commons to amend and alter ſuch Bills, as the Lords have exercis'd in this *Bill of Impoſitions* ſent up by the Commons. 6. By this new Maxim of the Houſe of Commons, a hard and ignoble Choice is left to the Lords, either to refuſe the Crown Supplies when they are moſt neceſſary, or conſent to Ways and Proportions of Aid which neither their own Judgment, nor Intereſt, nor the Good of the Government and People, can admit. 7. If poſitive Aſſertion can introduce a Right, what Security have the Lords, that the Houſe of Commons ſhall not in other Bills (pretended to be for the general Good of the Commons, whereof they will conceive themſelves to be the fitteſt Judges) claim the ſame peculiar Privilege in Excluſion of any *Deliberation* or *Alteration* of the Lords, when they ſhall judge it neceſſary or expedient. 8. And whereas you ſay, *This is the only poor Thing, whereupon you can value your ſelves to the King*, their Lordſhips ſay, that they rather deſire to encreaſe, than any Ways to diminiſh the Value and Eſteem of the Houſe of Commons, not only with his Majeſty, but with the whole Kingdom: But they cannot give way that it ſhou'd be rais'd by the *Undervaluing of the Houſe of Peers*, and an Endeavour to render that Houſe *unuſeful to the King and Kingdom*, by the denying of it thoſe juſt Powers which the Conſtitution of this Government, and the Laws of the Land, have lodg'd in it for the Service and Benefit of both.

Their Precedents,

Theſe Reaſons were deliver'd to the Commons in a Conference, together with many Precedents annex'd; the Deſign of which were to prove, ‘ 1. That the Lords and Commons have conſulted together, and conferr'd with one another upon the Subject of *Supplies* to the King, and of the *Manner* how the ſame might be levy'd. 2. That in *Aids* and Subſidies, the Lords have anciently been *expreſly* join'd with the Commons in the *Gift*. 3. That in Subſidies of this Nature, *viz. Cuſtoms*, the Lords have join'd with the Commons in the *Grant* of them; and that in the very Beginning of theſe Impoſitions. 4. And more particularly in Impoſitions of this very Species, *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, the Lords were even at the firſt Beginning join'd with the Commons in the *Grant*. 5. That the Lords may make Amendments and Alterations in the Bills which grant *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which was the very Queſtion between them.’ For all which Particulars they produc'd their ſeveral Precedents. After which they proceeded to a more expoſtulatory Way, in theſe Words:

And general Arguments.

‘ We have ſeriouſly conſulted our Judgments and Reaſons to find Objections, if it were poſſible, againſt the Power of the Lords, and are ſo far from finding any, That we are fix'd in Opinion, that the Want of it wou'd be deſtructive to the Government and Peace of the Kingdom, and the Right of the Crown in Ballancing and Regulating of Trade, and the making and preſerving Leagues and Treaties with Foreign Princes and States; and the Exerciſe of it cannot but be for the Security of all, and for the Eaſe and Benefit of the Subject. The Modeſty of your Anceſtors in thoſe *Arduous Affairs* gave great Deference to the Wiſdom of the Lords. Their Lordſhips are very far from deſiring to obſtruct this Gift, no not for a Moment of Time, much leſs *for ever*, as was hinted to them at the laſt Conference. And therefore they deſire the Houſe of Commons to lay it to heart, and conſider, if it ſhou'd happen that there ſhou'd be an Obſtruction upon Occaſion of this Difference, at whoſe Door it muſt lye, Theirs that aſſume to themſelves more than belongs to them, to the Prejudice or Diminution of the other's Right; or Theirs that exerciſe that *Juſt*, *Lawful* and *Neceſſary* Power, which by the very *Nature* and conſtant *Practice* of Parliaments is, and for many Ages hath been, veſted in both Houſes. Their Lordſhips had under their Conſideration and Debate, the deſiring of a *Free Conference* with your Houſe, upon the Reaſons of the Amendments in Difference between the Houſes; but when they found that you had interwoven your *General* Poſition with every Reaſon you had offer'd upon *Particulars*, it ſeem'd to them *That your Judgments were prepoſſeſs'd:* And they hold it in vain, and below the Wiſdom of Parliament, to reaſon or argue againſt *Fix'd Reſolutions*, and upon Terms of *Impoſſibility* to perſuade; and have therefore apply'd themſelves only to that Point which yet remains an Impediment in the Way of Free and Parliamentary Debates and Conferences, which muſt neceſſarily be firſt remov'd, That ſo we may come to a *Free Conference* upon the Bill it ſelf, and part with a fair Correſpondence between the two Houſes.

The Anſwer of the Commons.

On the other Side the Houſe of Commons gave in a large Anſwer, in drawing up of which, they chiefly employ'd the ingenious Sir *Heneage Finch*, lately made Atney-General in the Room of Sir *Jeffrey Palmer*. In this Anſwer, ‘ The Commons confeſs, that the beſt Rule for deciding Queſtions of Right between the two Houſes, is the *Law* and *Uſage* of Parliament; and that the beſt Evidence of that Uſage and Cuſtom of Parliament, are the moſt frequent and authentick Precedents. Therefore the Commons will firſt examine the Precedents your Lordſhips ſeem to rely upon, then they will produce thoſe by which their Right is aſſerted; and in the laſt Place they will conſider the Reaſons upon which your Lordſhips ground your ſelves. By the Nature of the Precedents which your Lordſhips produce there is an evident Departure from the Queſtion as the former Conference left it: There the Doubt was narrow'd to this ſingle Point, *Whether your Lordſhips cou'd retrench or abate any Part of the Rates which the Commons had granted*; Here the Precedents reach a joint Power of *Impoſing* and *Beginning* of Taxes, which we have not yet heard your Lordſhips pretend to, tho' this preſent Difference prepares for it. Therefore either theſe Precedents prove too much, by proving a Power of *Impoſing*; or they prove nothing at all, by not proving the Power of *Leſſening*. And yet they do not prove a Power of *Impoſing* neither: For theſe Words, *the Lords and Commons grant*, muſt either be underſtood *reddendo ſingula ſingulis*, that is, the Lords grant for themſelves, and the Commons grant for the Counties, Cities and Boroughs whom they repreſent; or elſe the Word *Grant* muſt be underſtood only of the Lords *Aſſent* to what the Commons grant, becauſe that the Form of Law requires that both join in one Bill to give it the Force of a Law.’ Then they proceeded to examine the Lords Precedents, and to produce ſeveral of their own, too long to be here ſpecify'd, and after that to conſider the Reaſons themſelves, which they thus introduced.

Their particular Reaſons.

‘ Before the Commons anſwer to your Lordſhips Reaſons in Particular, they deſire firſt in General, That it is a very unſafe Thing in any ſettled Government to argue the Reaſons of the *Fundamental Conſtitutions*, for they can tend to nothing that is profitable to the whole. And this will more ſenſibly appear to your Lordſhips, if the Grounds and Foundations of *Judicature* be examin'd. If Uſage for ſo long a Time hath ſilenc'd all Diſputes touching that; ſhall that Uſage be of no Force to preſerve the Privileges of the Commons from all further Queſtions? But to come to Particulars: 1. Your Lordſhips firſt Reaſon is from the Happineſs of the Conſtitution, that the two Houſes are mutual Checks upon each other. So they are ſtill, for your Lordſhips have a Negative to the whole. But on the other Side, it wou'd be a double Check to his Majeſty's Affairs, if the King may not rely upon the *Quantum*, when once his People have given it. And therefore the Privilege now contended for by your Lordſhips, is not of Uſe to the Crown, but much to the contrary. 2. Your Lordſhips Reaſons drawn from the Writ of Summons, are as little concluding: For tho' the Writ do not exclude you from any Affairs, yet it is only *de quibuſdam arduis Negotiis*, and muſt be underſtood of ſuch as in Courſe of Parliament are proper; elſe the Commons, upon the like Ground, may entitle themſelves to *Judicature*, for they are alſo called *ad faciendum & conſentiendum de quibuſdam arduis, & ſuper Negotiis antedictis*. 3. Your Lordſhips demand where is that Record or Contract in Parliament to be found, where the Lords appropriate this Right to the Commons in Excluſion of themſelves? To this Rhetorical Queſtion the Commons pray they may anſwer by another Queſtion; Where is that Record or Contract by which the Commons ſubmitted that *Judicature* ſhould be appropriated to the Lords, in Excluſion of themſelves? Wherever your Lordſhips find the laſt Record, they will ſhew the firſt endorſed upon the Back of the ſame Roll. Truth is, Precedents there are where both Sides do exerciſe their ſeveral Rights, but none how either Side came by them. 4. If the Lords may deny the Whole, why not a Part? elſe the Commons may at laſt pretend to barr a Negative Voice: The Lords and Commons muſt accept the whole in a *General Pardon*, or deny it; yet this takes not away their Negative: The Clergy have a Right to tax themſelves, and it is Part of the Privilege of their Eſtate; doth the Upper Convocation Houſe alter what the Lower Houſe grant; or do the Lords and Commons ever abate any Part of their Gift? yet they have Power to reject the whole. But if *Abatement* ſhou'd be made, it wou'd inſenſibly go to a *Riſeing*, and deprive the Clergy of their ancient Rights to tax themſelves. 5. Your Lordſhips ſay that you allow the Commons to amend and alter Bills of *Judicature*, therefore you expect the ſame in Mony-Bills. If Contracts were now to be made for Privileges, the Offer might ſeem fair: But yet the Commons ſhou'd profit but little by it; for your Lordſhips do now induſtriouſly avoid all Bills of that Nature, and chuſe to do any Thing by your own Power, which ought to be done by the Legiſlative; of which we forbear the Inſtances, becauſe your Lordſhips we hope will *Reform* them. 6. As to your Lordſhips Complaint of an ignoble Choice, *&c.* We deſire to obſerve, that this Reaſon, firſt makes your Lordſhips Judgments to be the Welfare of the Commons of *England:* ſecondly, it gives you Power to raiſe and encreaſe Taxes, as well as to abate. It is an ignoble Choice put upon the King and his People, that either his Majeſty muſt demand, and his Commons give ſo ſmall an Aid that can never be diminiſh'd; or elſe run the Hazard of your Lordſhips Examination of the Rates, whoſe Proportions in all Taxes (in Compariſon to what the Commonwealth pay) are very inconſiderable. 7. Your Lordſhips ſay, if poſitive Aſſertions can 'introduce a Right, you have no Security, but the Commons may extend a Right as they judge neceſſary. We hope no Aſſertions or Denyals, tho' never ſo poſitive, ſhall give or take away Right; but we rely upon Uſage on our Side, and Non-Uſage on your Lordſhips Part as the beſt Evidences by which your Lordſhips or we can claim any Privileges. 8. Your Lordſhips profeſs a Deſire to raiſe our Eſteem with his Majeſty and the whole Kingdom, but not by the Undervaluation of the Houſe of Peers. We have ſo great Confidence in his Majeſty's Goodneſs, That we aſſure our ſelves nothing can leſſen his Majeſty's Eſteem of our Dutiful Affections to him; and we hope we have deſerv'd ſo well of our Country, that we ſhall not need your Lordſhips Recommendation to any who wiſh well to his Majeſty, or the preſent Government.-------To conclude, the Commons have examin'd themſelves, and their Proceedings, and find no Cauſe why your Lordſhips ſhou'd put them in mind of that Modeſty by which their Anceſtors ſhew'd a great Deference to the Wiſdom of the Lords; and will obſerve the Modeſty of their Anceſtors, and doubt not but your Lordſhips will alſo follow the Wiſdom of yours.'

The Lords Replys.

To theſe the Lords proceeded to make ſome Replys, and particularly as to their having no Power to alter the Subſidies of the Clergy, nor an Act for a General Pardon: They ſaid 'theſe were Things eccentrick to Parliaments, and had their Motion in another Sphere: The Convocation gave one, and the King of his free Grace beſtow'd the other; and the Parliament only gave them the Force of Law, and might chuſe whether they wou'd do it or not; and conſequently this was no Ways to the Caſe in Diſpute. But to read the Commons Mony-Bill three Times in their Houſe, and to commit it, without any Power of debating upon it, was a ſolemn Piece of Pageantry, beneath the Dignity of a Parliament.' As to the Point of *Judicature*, they alledg'd, 'It belong'd to the Peers before the very Being of a Houſe of Commons, rather as the Grand Council of the Nation, than Part of the Parliament; and being veſted in the King, as well as themſelves, might poſſibly exiſt without the Sitting of a Parliament.' As to Precedents, they alledg'd, 'We have ſeveral for us; but it were enough for our Juſtification, if there be none againſt us; and there cou'd be one of theſe Kinds, either that we have of our ſelves diſclaim'd ſuch a Power, or that it hath been deny'd them when they have claim'd it, and whoſoever ſheweth one of either, *Erit nobis magnus Apollo*.

The Commons Addreſs.

The King's Anſwer.

He paſſes ſeveral Acts.

But before they cou'd finiſh their Arguments, or put any Period to this great Controverſy, on the 22d of *April*, his Majeſty, who had been us'd to cut thoſe Knots that were not eaſily unty'd, came to the Houſe of Peers, in order to a Prorogation. But before that the two Houſes found ſo much Time as to preſent his Majeſty with an Addreſs, 'That his Majeſty wou'd be graciouſly pleas'd by his own Example to encourage the conſtant wearing of the Manufactures of his own Kingdom and Dominions, and diſcountenauce the Wear of any Manufactures made in Foreign Countries.' His Majeſty very graciouſly accepted their humble Motion, and was pleas'd to declare, 'That he willingly comply'd with their Deſires therein; and did aſſure them, that as he had already put it in Practice in his own Perſon, ſo he wou'd for the future take Care, that it ſhou'd be obſerv'd by himſelf, and thoſe of his Family.' After which he gave his Royal Aſſent to the ſeveral Bills that were preſented to him, fourteen private Acts and eighteen publick, of which laſt were, 1. An Act *to prevent the Delivery up of Merchant Ships, and for the Encreaſe of good and ſerviceable Shipping*. 2. An Act *for exporting of Beer, Ale, and Mum*. 3. An Act for *laying Impoſitions on Proceedings at Law*. 4. An Act for *the better ſettling of Inteſtate Eſtates*. 5. An Act for *Determining of Differences touching Houſes burnt within four Years ſince the late dreadful Fire of* London. 6. An Additional Act for *aſcertaining the Meaſures of Corn and Salt*. 7. An Act for *the more certain Recovery of Fines and Forfeitures due to his Majeſty*. 8. An Act for *the better Paving and Clearing the Streets and Shores in and about* London. 9. An Act for *the Relief and Releaſe of poor Priſoners for Debt*. 10. An Act for *the Diſcovery of ſuch as have defrauded the Poor of* London *of the Monies given them at the Times of the late Plague and Fire*. 11. An Act for *the better regulating of Work-Houſes, for ſetting the Poor on Work*. 12. An Act for *the better Settlement of the Maintenance of the Parſons, Vicars and Curates in the Pariſhes of* London, *burnt by the late dreadful Fire*. 13. An Act for *veſting certain Fee-Farm Rents, and other ſmall Rents, in Truſtees*. 14. An Act *to prevent Frauds in the buying and ſelling Cattle in* Smithfield *and elſewhere*. 15. An Act for *the better preſervation of the Game, and for ſecuring Warrens not encloſed, and the ſeveral Fiſhings of the Realm*. 16. An Act for *the taking Accounts of ſixty thouſand Pounds, and other Moneys, given to the loyal indigent Officers*. 17. An Act *to prevent the planting Tobacco in* England, *and for regulating the Plantation Trade*. 18. An Act to revive a former Act, entitled, *An Act to prevent the Diſturbances of Sea-Men and others, and to preſerve the Stores belonging to his Majeſty's Royal Navy*. Upon paſſing theſe Acts, his Majeſty, without any Speech, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 16th of *April* next, and afterwards, from Time to Time, to the 4th of *February* 1672-3. And thus ended the tenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had ſate this laſt Time about three Months; in which Seſſion more Money is believ'd to have been granted, tho' not all at once, than in any before. After which there was the longeſt Receſs that had been in this Reign, namely a Year, and above nine Months.

The End of the Tenth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

The Death and Progeny of the Dutcheſs of York.

X. I. During this long Interval and Intermiſſion, the Miniſtry having Opportunity to act without Inſpection or Controul, more bold as well as falſe Steps were made, and more dark Deſigns carry'd on and effected, than had been known in all the Reign before. But before we come to any Particulars, we are to begin the Year 1671 in Mourning for the Death of *Anne* Dutcheſs of *York*, the eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, late Lord Chancellor of *England*: After a growing Corpulency that caſt her into a long Indiſpoſition of Health, ſhe dy'd in the 34th Year of her Age at the Palace of St. *James* on *Friday* the 31ſt of *March*, while the Parliament was Sitting; and five Days after was interr'd in a large Vault in *Weſtminſter* Abbey, on the South ſide of King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel; her Body being accompany'd from the *Painted Chamber* in the old Palace by his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, who appear'd as chief Mourner, and by moſt of the Nobility who follow'd in Order: The Kings and Officers of Arms gave their Attendance, and his Majeſty's and Royal Highneſs's Servants, and ſeveral Gentlemen and Perſons of Quality preceded the Corps to the Place of Interment, with all the Ceremonies uſually practis'd on the like great Solemnities. This Lady, who had liv'd a firm and zealous Member of the Church of *England*, was in the Time of her long Weakneſs importun'd and overpower'd to declare her ſelf a *Roman* Catholick; and ſhe left a Paper written not long before her Death, in which ſhe attributed her Converſion chiefly to the Reading Dr. *Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation*. Yet her Change of Religion is moſtly imputed to the Zeal of the Duke her Husband, who prevail'd upon her, notwithſtanding all the Care of her Father, who fearing her Deſertion, wrote two pathetick and expoſtulatory Letters to prevent, or at leaſt to lament the Miſfortune. She had in all, four Sons and four Daughters, namely, *Charles*, born *October* 22, 1660. *Mary*, born *April* 30, 1662. *James*, born *July* 12, 1663. *Anne*, born *February* 6, 1664. *Charles*, born *July* 4, 1666. *Edgar*, born *September* 14, 1667. *Henrietta*, born *January* 13, 1668. and *Katharine*, born *February* 9, 1670. Of theſe, *Charles*, *James*, *Charles*, and *Henrietta* dy'd before their Mother; and *Edgar* and *Katharine* dy'd ſhortly after. The two ſurviving Daughters, *Mary* and *Anne*, now nine and ſeven Years of Age, afterwards prov'd two great Queens, the Glory and Happineſs of the *Engliſh* Nation, and both the Bulwark and Ornament of the Reformation.

The Duke abjures the Proteſtant Religion.

The King's intended Divorce.

Shortly after the Death of the Dutcheſs, his Royal Highneſs the Duke thought fit to abjure the Proteſtant Religion in Form, which he did before Father *Simons* an *Engliſh* Jeſuit. He had long been of the *Romiſh* Religion, even before the Reſtoration, and ever continu'd a true Member of that Church; but by the Advice of the King, a more imperfect Votary than Himſelf, and ſome few Friends, he was prevail'd upon to conceal his Religion, for ſome Years; tho' of late he began more and more to be ſuſpected. The *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, whoſe Influence and Intereſt daily increas'd at Court, were not content with his bare Profeſſion, but expected a more open and ſolemn Declaration of his Faith; and to ſecure ſo illuſtrious a Convert, they at length engag'd him to the forementio'd Abjuration, which he had often promis'd, but had long deferr'd, as having no great Inclination to enter upon a ſolemn Form, when there was no Neceſſity for it. But now he met with a peculiar Inducement, which is proper to be remember'd in this Place, and is one of the great Secrets of the Reign. The King, it ſeems, had for ſome Years entertain'd a ſecret Deſign of being Divorc'd from his Queen, whoſe Perſon he had ever diſlik'd, upon the Account of her Bodily Infirmities, as well as her unfortunate Barrenneſs. Many Reaſons were invented, and Pretences made to give Colour and Plauſibility to the Divorce. One Pretence was, that the Queen had been pre-ingag'd to another Perſon; another was, that ſhe had made a Vow of Chaſtity before her Marriage; and beſides, her Incapacity of bearing Children was thought a ſufficient Reaſon for Diſſolving the Marriage: And we are told by ſome, that even Treachery it ſelf was not forgotten, in order to effect the intended Divorce; and Snares were ſaid to be laid to betray her Majeſty into ſuch kind of Freedoms, as might be the Ground of a dangerous Accuſation. Whatever was ſaid and done, the Papiſts themſelves had the greateſt Hand in it, and brought it to the greateſt Forwardneſs; and what is more ſurpriſing, the Court of *Rome* ſeems to have had the greateſt ſtroke of all in it. This I have been aſſured by a Noble Man of unqueſtion'd Fidelity, who being at *Venice* in the Year 1670, he was there told by the Pope's Nuncio, *That the Divorce was then concluded on, and as good as compleated at* Rome. At his Return into *England*, he found the whole Deſign at an End; and being acquainted with ſome Secrets in the Court, his Father being a Privy-Counſellor, he ſoon found the Cauſe of the Change. The *Romiſh* Eccleſiaſticks, not thinking themſelves abſolutely ſecure of their Convert, had often urg'd the Duke to an Abjuration, and at laſt ſolemnly ingag'd upon That, to undertake to put a total Period to the Divorce that had been ſo long in projecting. From which Time the whole Deſign was for ever laid aſide, and a ſecond Marriage reſolv'd on, for the Encreaſe of the Duke's Family.

The Duke of Monmouth's *Riſe and Character.*

As the Duke's Religion began gradually to appear to the Eyes of the World, the great Love and Eſteem of the Nation, eſpecially of one Party, began ſenſibly to diminiſh, and the Height of his Glory began to be in ſome Proportion abated: And as his Power and Intereſt decreas'd, ſo that of the Duke of *Monmouth* did manifeſtly increaſe with the ſame Party, and among the Populace; ſo that theſe two by Degrees became the Heads of thoſe two Parties that afterwards ſo unhappily divided and diſtracted the Nation. The Duke of *Monmouth* was now about twenty two Years of Age, and not long ſince admitted into the Privy-Council. To give ſome ſhort Account of him at once, he was the eldeſt and belov'd Natural Son of the King by Mrs. *Lucy Barlow* alias *Walters*, bearing the Name of *James Crofts* till his Majeſty's Reſtoration; educated chiefly at *Paris* under the Eye of the Queen-Mother, and the Government of Mr. *Roſs*, afterwards Keeper of the King's Library, and Groom of the Privy-Chamber. At thirteen Years of Age, in the Bloom of his Youth and Beauty, he was brought over into *England*, and receiv'd by the King with wonderful Demonſtrations of Joy and Affection. He had an Apartment fitted up for him in the Privy-Gallery at *White-Hall*; he had his Gentlemen and Pages to attend him, with a noble Equipage, Train, and Penſion ſuitable to his Birth and Royal Relation. The ſame Year, 1662, he was created Duke of *Orkney* in *Scotland*, and ſoon after Duke of *Monmouth*; and the next Year was inſtall'd Knight of the Garter with the uſual Solemnities, at *Windſor*. In 1665 he was enter'd a Member of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, having been before Incorporated a Maſter of Arts in both Univerſities. In the ſame Year he was made Maſter of the Horſe; and ſhortly after, at the King's own Procuring, he marry'd *Anne* Daughter and Heir to *Francis* Earl of *Buccleugh* in *Scotland*, generally eſteem'd the greateſt Fortune and fineſt Lady in the three Kingdoms. His Majeſty after that loaded him with ſeveral other Places of Honour and Profit, as General of the Land-Forces, Captain of his Life-Guard of Horſe, Lord-Lieutenant of the *Eaſt-Riding* in *Yorkſhire*, Governor of the Town and Citadel of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, Chief-Juſtice in *Eyre* on the South ſide of the River *Trent*; and in right of hi Lady, he made him Duke of *Buccleugh*, and Lord Great-Chamberlain of *Scotland*: And, what was above all other Titles, he became every Day more and more a Favourite of the King, and of the People. His Face and Perſon was beautiful and majeſtick, his Mien and Behaviour graceful and engaging; ſo that he often captivated the Affections of both Sexes. He was of an intrepid Courage and Bravery, and his Heart was always divided between Love and Glory: He had, in ſhort, all the Accompliſhments of a fine Gentleman, but allay'd with too much Ambition; and not having a profound reach of Judgment, he became too ſuſceptible of the Inſinuations of deſigning Men; ſo that he was a fit Inſtrument to promote other Mens Ambition, as well as his own, and as ſuch was us'd by Him who was the Soul of the *Cabal*, to which Council it is time to return.

The Proceedings of the Cabal.

2. All this while the *Cabal* proceeded in their Deſigns with Vigour, the chief of which they pretended to, was to make his Majeſty a Great King. This was to be effected by the new Alliance with *France*, by the Breach of the *Triple Alliance*, and by a War to humble the *States* of the *United Provinces*. The better to effect which, Mr. *Henry Coventry*, who had aſſiſted in the Treaty of *Breda*, was ſent Ambaſſador to the Court of *Sweden*, and Sir *George Downing* to the *Hague*, in the room of Sir *William Temple*; but all Things ſtill were carry'd on with the utmoſt Secrecy and Artifice. The *French* King, as *Primi* aſſures us, ſent his *Britannick* Majeſty a ſufficient Sum of Mony for fitting out a conſiderable Fleet; and the better to conceal the Confederacy, advis'd him to ſignify to the *Dutch*, 'That he deſign'd to keep up a good Underſtanding with 'them, to appear firm to the Treaty of the *Triple Alliance*, 'and to give out that he wou'd not have fitted out a Fleet, 'if his Neighbours, and *France* in particular, had not made 'great Naval Preparations in all their Ports upon the O'cean.' All Things being diſpos'd towards a Rupture with the *Dutch*, Occaſion was ſought for a plauſible Beginning, and particularly the *Eaſt-India* Company were ſummon'd to know, whether they had any Thing to object againſt them. Some Inſolencies were diſcover'd, and certain ſcandalous Pictures, reflecting upon the King and his Government, were complain'd of now, and afterwards inſiſted on as a Cauſe of the Breach.

The Beginning of the Breach with Holland.

In the Month of *Auguſt* a fair Occaſion was offer'd towards an open Quarrel: Sir *William Temple* being totally recall'd from his Embaſſy, one of the King's Yachts was ſent to bring over his Lady; while the *Dutch* Fleet were floating in the narrow Seas, to ſhew, as it was ſuppos'd, that they were in a Condition to meet thoſe Dangers they began to ſuſpect from the Motions of *France*, and the late Conduct of *England*. The Captain of the Yacht, that was appointed to bring over the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadreſs, had publick Orders given him at Court, if he came in ſight of the *Dutch* Fleet, he ſhou'd ſail through them, and ſhoot at thoſe Ships that were next him; either till he made them ſtrike Sail, or till they ſhot at him again, and then purſue his Courſe. He paſs'd into *Holland* without ſeeing them; but as he return'd he met the Fleet, and ſailing through them, made ſeveral Shots at thoſe near him: Upon which they ſeeming, at leaſt, not to know what he meant, and to believe that he might be in ſome Diſtreſs, the Admiral ſent Boat on Board him to inquire. The Captain told them, *That he had been ſent to bring back the* Engliſh *Ambaſſadreſs with her Family from* Holland; *and had Orders to make the* Dutch *Fleet ſtrike, where-ever he met them in thoſe Seas.* Upon which unexpected Meſſage, Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent* went himſelf on Board the Yacht, as upon a Compliment to the Lady *Temple*; which being handſomly perform'd, he deſired to ſpeak with the Captain, of whom he inquired the Reaſon of his Shooting; and receiving the ſame Anſwer, he ſaid *It was a Point wherein they had receiv'd no Orders from their Maſters, and did not know how that Affair was agreed between his Majeſty and the* States: *But tho' it were ſettled, the Captain cou'd not pretend the Fleet and Admiral ſhou'd ſtrike to a Yacht; which was but a* Pleaſure-Boat, *and cou'd not paſs for one of the King's Men of War.* The Captain ſaid *He had his Orders, and was bound to follow them.* After *Van Ghent* was gone, the Captain, in great Perplexity, came to the Lady *Temple*, and deſired to know, *What ſhe pleas'd he ſhou'd do in the Caſe; which ſhe ſaw he did not like very Well, and wou'd be glad to be extricated by her Help.* Her Ladyſhip told him, *he knew his Orders beſt, and what he was to do upon them; which ſhe left him to follow as he thought fit, without any Regard to Her or her Children.* However the Captain purſu'd his Courſe, and landed her ſafe in *England*.

Sir W. Temple's *Diſcourſe with the King.*

Immediately after the Lady repair'd to Court, where ſhe was well receiv'd, and much commended for her Part in what had paſs'd; and the ſame Night Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, Judge of the Prerogative, was ſent to take her Examination in Form, upon the whole Matter of Fact. When Sir *William Temple* went next to the King's Levee, his Majeſty began to ſpeak of his Lady's Carriage at Sea, and to extol it as much as he blam'd that of the Captain, declaring *That the Lady had ſhew'd more Courage than the Captain.* Then falling upon the Inſolence of the *Dutch*, Sir *William*, with a pleaſant Air, ſaid, *That however Matters went, it muſt be confeſs'd that there was ſome Merit in my Family, ſince I had made the* ALLIANCES *with* Holland, *and my Wife was like to have the Honour of making the* WAR. The King ſmil'd, as well as Sir *William*, who rightly judg'd this to be the only Way to turn the Diſcourſe into good Humour. When he went into the King's Cloſet, he deſired to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand upon the Concluſion of his Embaſſy; which the King gave him very graciouſly, and told him, *He had all the Reaſon that cou'd be to be ſatisfy'd with his Services.* And upon Sir *William*'s Deſire, *That his Majeſty wou'd give him ſome Help in the Diſpatch of his Payments due from the Exchequer, ſince he was reſolved to ask him nothing elſe; and without them had been at ſo great and long Expence to maintain his Family at the* Hague; his Majeſty told him, *He wou'd ſpeak to the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury to do him Juſtice, and in the mean Time wou'd give him the Plate belonging to his Embaſſy*, which he had ſtill in his Poſſeſſion. For which he return'd his humble Thanks to his Majeſty, who ſeem'd very much pleas'd to ſee he took it kindly, and was ſo eaſily contented. 'And thus, to 'uſe Sir *William*'s own Words, an Adventure has ended, 'which had for almoſt three Years made ſo much Noiſe

‘ in the World, reſtor'd and preſerv'd ſo long the General Peace, and left his Majeſty the Arbitrage of all Affairs among our Neighbours, by the Emperor and *Spain*'s Reſolutions, as well as *Sweden* and *Holland*'s, to follow his Meaſures for the common Peace and Safety of *Chriſtendom*.

The King celebrates the Feaſt of St. George.

3. Tho' Preparations were daily making for War, yet ſtill all Things were carry'd on with Secrecy and Artifice, and the King ſeem'd wholly taken up with the Arts and Pleaſures of Peace, and particularly in making Progreſſes through ſeveral Parts of his Dominions, which ſerv'd both for Uſe and Delight. But before he undertook theſe, he thought fit to celebrate ſome great Solemnities relating to the Honour of the *Garter*, at his Palace of *Windſor*, where noble Preparations were made. Accordingly on *Sunday* the 28th of *May*, being now the Eve of St. *George*, as it was this Year appointed to be obſerv'd, upon the Account of the Anniverſary of his Majeſty's Birth and Reſtoration, the King as Sovereign of the Order, accompany'd by his Royal Brother the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert* and other Companions of the ſame Order, all in their Habits proceeded in the Afternoon to the Chappel of St. *George* in *Windſor* with extraordinary Solemnity, where before the Divine Service began, the Earl of *Carliſle*, introduc'd between his Royal Highneſs and Prince *Rupert*, was Inſtall'd as Proxy of the King of *Sweden*; and the Earl of *Winchelſea*, between the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Buckingham*, as Proxy for the Elector of *Saxony*, both which Princes had been inveſted with the full Habit of the Order in the Year 1669; and after them the Duke of *Albemarle*, introduc'd between the Earls of *Sandwich* and *Oxford*, was likewiſe inveſted and plac'd in his Stall. The next Day the grand Feaſt was celebrated with unuſual Splendor and Magnificence; and the Day following, the Sovereign proceeding to the Chappel, after he had taken his Stall, the Companions, before they aſcended to theirs, offer'd in Order the Atchievements of Arms, *viz.* the Banners, Swords and Creſts of ſeven deceaſed Knights, *William* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *Thomas* Earl of *Berks*, *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *Montague* Earl of *Lindſey*, and *Edward* Earl of *Mancheſter*.

He makes a Progreſs through ſeveral Parts of his Kingdom.

Not long after, the King began to make his ſeveral Progreſſes, beginning firſt at ſuch Places as he had formerly viſited, as *Portſmouth* and the Iſle of *Wight*; from whence his Majeſty went by Sea to *Plymouth*, and coming back by *Exeter* and *Wilton*, he return'd to *Windſor* and *White-hall* within leſs than a Month. In the Month of *September* he undertook a new Progreſs to ſuch Places as he had never ſeen before, being attended by his Royal Brother, Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and other of the Nobility, and ſome Part of the Way with the Queen her ſelf. On the 26th the noble Train ſet out from *Newmarket* to the Lord *Arlington*'s Houſe at *Euſton-Hall*, and from thence to the Town of *Yarmouth*, where his Majeſty was receiv'd with all poſſible Expreſſions of Joy, and with the Diſcharge of above twelve hundred Pieces of Ordnance from the Ships and the Town. His Majeſty was infinitely pleas'd with the Town and the Port, and ſaid *He did not think he had had ſuch a Place in his Dominions*; and having receiv'd a noble Treat from the Magiſtrates, he went to viſit the City of *Norwich*, where at the Bounds of the City Liberties he was met by the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen on Horſe-back, beſides the Biſhop, Dean and Chapter, attended by a numerous Train of the Country Clergy, and likewiſe the Lord *Henry Howard* with his Coaches. His Majeſty was complimented by the Recorder, and ſo conducted through the Militia of the City, rank'd on both Sides the Streets, to the *Duke's Place*, the Paſſages being throng'd with incredible Numbers of People. About two Hours after the Queen alſo arriv'd, attended by ſeveral Ladies of the chiefeſt Quality of her Court, from the Lord *Arlington*'s Houſe at *Euſton*: And at Eight in the Evening both their Majeſties, together with the whole Court, which was very numerous, were treated with a magnificent Supper, in a very large Room, beautifully illuminated with Wax-Flambeaux. The next Day, having viſited the Cathedral and Biſhop's Palace, and every where attended with the loud Acclamations of the People, their Majeſties were treated by the City with a glorious Banquet at the New-Hall; and before the King parted from the City, he conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon the famous Phyſician Dr. *Thomas Brown*. Then, viſiting Sir *John Hubbert*'s at *Blecking*, and Sir *Robert Paſton*'s at *Oxney*, the Court return'd to *Newmarket*.

He viſits the Univerſity of Cambridge.

After a ſhort Stay there, his Majeſty thought fit to make a Viſit to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where his Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham* had been lately choſen Chancellor in the Room of the deceas'd Earl of *Mancheſter*. On the fourth of *October* he went thither, attended with a great Train of the Nobility; and was firſt met without the Town by the Mayor and Aldermen, and the Train'd-Bands. The whole Body of the Students according to their ſeveral Orders and Degrees in their Habits, attended in the Streets from his firſt Entrance to the Publick Schools; and as he paſs'd by the Market-Place, the Conduit ran with Claret-Wine. At the Schools he was receiv'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, as Chancellor of the Univerſity, attended by the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors, who preſented him with a fair Bible, while Dr. *Widdrington* the Orator complimented him with a ſhort Speech. The King view'd the Publick Library, and took eſpecial Notice of the rare Eaſtern Manuſcript given by the late Duke of *Buckingham*, as alſo of the many fair Volumes bought by the annual Beneficence of Mr. *Tobias Ruſtall*, one of his Majeſty's preſent Servants. From thence he paſs'd to King's-College Chapel, where he heard an Anthem; and from the Top of the Leads had a fair Proſpect of the whole Town and Country. After this he walk'd through the Streets to St. *John*'s and *Trinity* Colleges, where he view'd their Libraries, and heard Speeches from the Maſters of both, as he had before done at *King*'s College. Immediately after he was entertain'd in *Trinity* College-Hall with a ſplendid Dinner, ſerv'd up by Maſters of Arts, being Regents, in their Habits, where plentiful Tables were alſo ſpread for the Nobility, and all belonging to the Court. After Dinner his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Charles Cæſar*, Eſq; Son of Sir *Henry Cæſar*, who brought up the firſt Diſh: And having ſeen a Comedy acted there, with which his Majeſty ſhew'd himſelf exceedingly pleas'd, as alſo with the good Order of the whole Univerſity, he return'd the ſame Night to *Newmarket*.

He is treated by the City of London.

The King being return'd to *White-hall*, on the 30th of *October*, the City of *London*, being now recover'd out of the late deplorable Ruins to a greater Beauty and Splendor than before, made a ſolemn Invitation to both their Majeſties to honour their Feaſt on the Lord-Mayor's Day, for which they made more than ordinary Preparations. The King and Queen were pleas'd to honour the City with their Royal Preſence, firſt at the Show in *Cheapſide*, under a rich Canopy of State, and afterwards at the *Guild-Hall* at Dinner. Their Majeſties were attended by his Royal Highneſs the Duke, Prince *Rupert*, the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Anne*, Daughters to the Duke, the greateſt Part of the Nobility, both Lords and Ladies, the Judges and Serjeants at Law, beſides all Foreign Ambaſſadors, and publick Miniſters. The Entertainment was magnificent beyond Expreſſion; the whole Service was manag'd with admirable Order, and with as much Quiet and Decency, as the Place and Number cou'd poſſibly admit; and nothing was omitted by the City, that might expreſs their Joy and Exultation, as well as the Duty and Affection to their Majeſties, for this particular Favour. Before Dinner his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon thoſe noted Gentlemen *Jonathan Dawes*, and *Robert Clayton* Eſquires, the preſent Sheriffs; and in the Evening return'd to *White-Hall*, infinitely pleas'd at the extraordinary Reſpects with which the City receiv'd the Honour of his Preſence; which was accompany'd with the univerſal Joy and Acclamations of the People, who on this Occaſion had throng'd all the Streets where their Majeſties paſs'd, in moſt incredible Numbers.

A particular Account of Blud's *Attempt upon the Crown.*

4. Before we conclude this Year, we are to give an Account of a ſtrange and prodigious Attempt made by *Blud*, formerly mention'd, and his abominable Confederates. This ſuperlative Villain, after he had been diſappointed in his former Attempts, and laſt of all in that upon the Life of the Duke of *Ormond*, in a ſhort Time enter'd upon a more deſperate Deſign, that might fully recompence all former Miſcarriages with an immenſe Gain, and the Reputation of the moſt daring Wickedneſs; and this was to ſeize upon the Crown and *Regalia* of the Kingdom. The Particulars and Conſequences of this unparallel'd Contrivance are little known to the World; therefore a full Account of both is here given from a Manuſcript of Sir *Gilbert Talbot*'s, Maſter of the Jewel-Houſe, who made a ſtrict Enquiry into the whole Affair; and may be entertaining, as well as uſeful, to a curious Reader.

About three Weeks before this *Blud*, the chief Undertaker, made his Attempt upon the Crown, he came to the *Tower* in the Habit of a Clergy-Man, with a long Cloak, Caſſock, and Canonical Girdle; and brought a Woman with him whom he call'd his Wife, tho' his Wife was then ſick in *Lancaſhire*. This pretended Wife deſired to ſee the Crown; and having ſeen it, pretended to have a Qualm come upon her Stomach, and deſired the Keeper of the Crown, old Mr. *Edwards*, to ſend for ſome Spirits, who immediately caus'd his Wife to fetch ſome; of which

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which when ſhe had drunk, Mrs. *Edwards* invited her to repoſe her ſelf upon a Bed, which ſhe accepted of, and ſoon recover'd: At their Departure they declar'd themſelves very thankful for this Civility. About three Days after, *Blud* came again to Mr. *Edwards* with a Preſent of four pair of fine Gloves from his Wife; and having thus begun the Acquaintance, made frequent Viſits to improve it, profeſſing, *That he ſhou'd never ſufficiently acknowledge her Kindneſs.* Having made ſome ſmall Reſpit of his Compliments, he return'd again and told Mrs. *Edwards, That his Wife cou'd diſcourſe of Nothing but of the Kindneſs of thoſe good People in the* Tower: *That ſhe had long ſtudy'd, and at length bethought her ſelf of a handſom Way of Requital. You have*, ſaid he, *a pretty Gentlewoman to your Daughter, and I have a young Nephew who has two or three Hundred Pounds a Year Land, and is at my Diſpoſal: If your Daughter be free, and you approve of it, I will bring him hither to ſee her, and we will endeavour to make it a Match.* This was eaſily aſſented to by old Mr. *Edwards*, who invited the pretended Parſon to dine with him that Day, and he as readily accepted of the Invitation, who taking upon him to ſay Grace, perform'd it with ſingular Devotion, and lifting up of Eyes, and concluded his long-winded Bleſſing with a hearty Prayer for the King, Queen and Royal Family. After Dinner he went up to ſee the Rooms, and diſcovering a handſome Caſe of Piſtols there, he expreſs'd a great Deſire to buy them *to preſent to a young Lord who was his Neighbour*; probably to diſarm the Houſe againſt the Time he intended to put his Deſign in Execution. At his Departure, which was with a Canonical Benediction of the good Company, he appointed a Day and Hour to bring his young Nephew to his Miſtreſs, which was that very Day that he made his bold Attempt, the 9th of *May*, about ſeven in the Morning.

The Progreſs of it.

At that Time the old Man was got up ready to receive his Gueſts, and the Daughter had put her ſelf into her beſt Dreſs, to receive her Gallant; when, according to Appointment, Parſon *Blud* with three more came to the Jewel-Houſe, all arm'd with Rapier Blades in their Canes, and every one a Dagger, and a Pair of Pocket Piſtols: Two of his Companions enter'd in with him, and the third ſtaid at the Door, for a careful Watch. The Daughter thought it not modeſt for her to come down, till ſhe was call'd; but ſent her Maid to take a view of the Company, and to bring her a Deſcription of the Perſon of her Gallant. The Maid imagin'd that he who ſtaid at the Door was the intended Bridegroom, becauſe he was the youngeſt of the Company, and return'd to her young Miſtreſs with the Character ſhe had form'd of his Perſon. In the interim, *Blud* told Mr. *Edwards* that they wou'd not go up Stairs till his Wife came; and deſired him to ſhew his Friends the Crown *to paſs the Time till then.* As ſoon as they were enter'd the Room where the Crown was kept, and the Door, as uſually, was ſhut behind them, they threw a Cloak over the old Man's Head, and clapt a Gag into his Mouth, which was a great Plug of Wood with a ſmall Hole to take breath at, that was ty'd on with a waxed Leather which went round his Neck. At the ſame Time they faſten'd an Iron Hook to his Noſe, that no Sound might paſs from him that way. Having thus ſecur'd him from crying out, they plainly told him, *That they were reſolv'd to have the Crown, Globe and Scepter; and if he wou'd quietly ſubmit to it, they wou'd ſpare his Life, otherwiſe he was to expect no Mercy.* He thereupon forc'd himſelf to make all the Noiſe he poſſibly cou'd, to be heard above: Upon which they knock'd him down with a wooden Mallet, and told him, *That if he wou'd lye quietly, they wou'd ſpare his Life; but if not, upon the next Attempt to diſcover them, they wou'd kill him,* and pointed three Daggers at his Breaſt. Still he ſtrain'd himſelf to make the greater Noiſe; at which they gave him nine or ten Stroaks more upon the Head with the Mallet, and ſtabb'd him into the Belly. The poor Man, almoſt fourſcore Years old, fell and lay ſome Time entranc'd; when one of them kneeling on the Ground to try if he breath'd, and not perceiving any Breath to come from him, ſaid, *He is dead, I'll warrant him:* Mr. *Edwards* recovering a little, heard his Words, and conceiving it beſt for Himſelf to be ſo thought, lay very quietly. Concluding him dead, they omitted to tye his Hands behind him; and *Parret*, one of the Companions, put the Globe into his Breeches, *Blud* kept the Crown under his Cloak; the Third was deſign'd to file the Sceptre in two, becauſe too long to carry conveniently, and then to put it into a Bag brought for that purpoſe.

The Diſappointment.

But before this cou'd be done, young Mr. *Edwards*, Son of the old Gentleman, juſt come from *Flanders*, chanc'd to arrive at the very Inſtant that this was acting; and coming to the Door, the Perſon who ſtood Centinel for the reſt, ask'd him *With whom he wou'd ſpeak?* He made Anſwer *He belong'd to the Houſe*; but perceiving by his Queſtion, that he himſelf was a Stranger, told him, *That if he had any Buſineſs with his Father, he wou'd go and acquaint him with it*, and went up Stairs, where he was welcom'd by his Mother, Wife and Siſter. In the mean Time the Centinel gave notice of the Son's Arrival, and they immediately haſted away with the Crown and the Globe, but left the Sceptre, not having Time to file it. The old Man returning to himſelf, got ſuddenly up, pull'd off the Gag, and cry'd out *Treaſon, Murder!* The Daughter hearing him, ran down, and ſeeing her Father thus wounded, ruſh'd out upon the *Tower-Hill*, and cry'd *Treaſon, the Crown is ſtoln!* This gave the firſt Alarm; and *Blud* and *Parret* making great Haſte, were obſerv'd to jogg each other with their Elbows as they went, which caus'd them to be ſuſpected and purſu'd. By this Time young *Edwards* and one Captain *Beckman*, upon the Cry of their Siſter, were come down, and left their Father likewiſe to run after the Villains: But they were advanc'd beyond the main Guard, and the Allarm being given to the Warder at the Draw-Bridge, he put himſelf in a Poſture to ſtop them. *Blud* came up firſt, and diſcharg'd a Piſtol at him; the Bullet miſs'd him, but the Powder or Fear made him fall to the Ground, whereby they got ſafe to the little Ward-Houſe Gate, where one *Sill*, one of *Cromwell*'s Soldiers, ſtood Centinel, who, tho' he ſaw the other Warder ſhot, made no Reſiſtance, by which means the Villains got over that Draw-Bridge, and through the outward Gate upon the Wharf, and made all poſſible Haſte towards their Horſes, which attended at St. *Catharine*'s Gate, call'd *the Iron-Gate*; crying themſelves, as they ran, *Stop the Rogues!* and the grave Canonical Habit made them thought innocent.

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Immediately after, Captain *Beckman* got up to them, at which *Blud* diſcharg'd his ſecond Piſtol at the Captain's Head, but he ſtooping down avoided the Shot, and ſeiz'd upon him, with the Crown under his Cloak: Yet *Blud* had the Impudence, tho' he ſaw himſelf a Priſoner, to ſtruggle a long while for the Crown, and when it was wreſted from him, he cry'd *It was a gallant Attempt, however unſucceſsful, for it was for a Crown.* A Servant belonging to Captain *Shirburn* ſeiz'd upon *Parret*, before *Blud* was taken: And there was ſo much Conſternation in all Men, and ſo much Confuſion in the Purſuit, that it was a Miracle that ſeveral innocent Perſons had not ſuffer'd; for young *Edwards* overtaking one that was bloody in the Scuffle, and ſuppoſing him to be one of his Father's Murtherers, was going to run him through, had not Captain *Beckman* hinder'd him. And as this Captain himſelf made vaſt Haſte in the Purſuit, the Guards were going to fire at him, thinking him to be one of the Rogues; but one of them, who fortunately knew him, cry'd out, *He is a Friend! Blud* and *Parret* being both ſeiz'd, *Hunt*, another of them, and Son-in-law to *Blud*, leap'd to Horſe with two more of the Conſpirators, and rid far away; but a Cart in the Street chanc'd to turn ſhort, *Hunt* run his Head againſt a Pole that ſtuck out, which made him fall aſtoniſh'd from his Horſe: But recovering his Legs, and putting his Foot into the Stirrup, a Cobler running in, cry'd *This is* Tom Hunt, *who was in the bloody Buſineſs againſt the Duke of* Ormond, *let us ſecure him!* A Conſtable being accidentally there, ſeiz'd him upon this Affirmation, and he was, with *Blud* and *Parret*, committed to ſafe Cuſtody in the *Tower*. *Parret* was a Silk Dyer in *Southwark*, and in the Rebellion had been Lieutenant to Major-General *Harriſon*. In the robuſtious Struggle for the Crown, the great Pearl and fair Diamond fell off, and were loſt for a while, with ſome other ſmaller Stones; but the Pearl was found by a poor ſweeping Woman to one of the Warders, and the Diamond by a Barber's Prentice, and both faithfully reſtored. Other ſmall Stones were pick'd up by ſeveral Perſons, and brought in. The fair *Ballas* Ruby, belonging to the Sceptre, was found in *Parret*'s Pocket; ſo that nothing conſiderable was wanting; the Crown only was bruis'd, and ſent to be repair'd.

Blud, *&c. taken.*

Blud *examin'd by the King himſelf.*

5. All Perſons were allarm'd with the Noiſe of this unparallel'd Tranſaction, and the King had the Curioſity to hear the Examination Himſelf, for which Reaſon the Priſoners were carry'd to *White-hall*. Nothing but this Appearance before his Majeſty cou'd poſſily have ſav'd *Blud* from Execution; but that which ought to have been his ſurer Condemnation, prov'd to be his Safety. For all Men concluding that none but thoſe who had the Courage to venture upon ſuch a daring Villany as that of the Crown, cou'd be guilty of the Practice upon ſuch an eminent Peer as the Duke of *Ormond*; therefore, amongſt other Queſtions, it was thought fit to interrogate him *whether he had not a Part in that Aſſault*; for the Authors of it were yet in the dark. *Blud*, as if he valu'd himſelf upon the Action, and poſſibly ſuſpecting that the King might have made ſome Diſcovery of it, without Heſitation, confeſs'd he had.

Being

His impudent Plea.

Being then aſk'd who were his Aſſociates, he anſwer'd, *That he wou'd never betray a Friend's Life, nor deny a Guilt in Defence of his own.* He was next aſk'd, What Provocation he had to make ſo bold an Aſſault upon the Duke of *Ormond*? He ſaid, *the Duke had taken away his Eſtate, and executed ſome of his Friends, and that he and many others had engag'd themſelves by ſolemn Oath to revenge it.* It was now more apparent from his forward Confeſſion of his Conſpiracy againſt the Caſtle of *Dublin*, that he aim'd at great Eſteem by the Extravagancy and Audacity of his Atchievements. And leſt the Concealment of any of his Villanies ſhou'd leſſen the Romance of his Life, in his Examination about the Crown, he voluntarily, tho' perhaps falſly, confeſs'd to the King, *That he had been engag'd in a Deſign to kill his Majeſty with a Carabine, from out the Reeds by the* Thames *Side, above* Batterſey, *where he often went to Swim: That the Cauſe of this Reſolution in Himſelf and Others, was his Majeſty's Severity over the Conſciences of the* GODLY, *in ſuppreſſing the Freedom of their Religious Aſſemblies. That when he had taken his Stand in the Reeds to that purpoſe, his Heart was check'd with an Awe of Majeſty; and he did not only relent himſelf, but diverted the reſt of his Aſſociates from the Deſign.* He further told his Majeſty, *That he had by theſe his Confeſſions ſufficiently laid himſelf open to the Law, and he might reaſonably expect the utmoſt Rigour of it; for which he was, without much Concern of his own, prepared.* But withal he declar'd, *That the Matter wou'd not be of that Indifferency to his Majeſty, in as much as there were hundreds of his Friends, yet undiſcover'd, who were all bound together by the indiſpenſable Oaths of Conſpirators, to revenge the Death of any of the Fraternity, upon thoſe who ſhou'd bring them to Juſtice; which wou'd expoſe his Majeſty, and all his Miniſters, to the daily Fear and Expectation of a Maſſacre. But on the other ſide, if his Majeſty wou'd ſpare the Lives of a few, he might oblige the Hearts of many; who, as they had been ſeen to act daring Miſchiefs, wou'd be as bold, if receiv'd into Pardon and Favour, in performing eminent Services to the Crown.* And *Blud* pretended ſuch an Intereſt and Sway amongſt the Diſſenters and diſaffected Party, to diſpoſe them to their Fidelity, as if he had been their choſen General, and had them all enter'd in his Muſter-Roll.

He and his Aſſociates are pardon'd.

Since this Villain's Crimes were ſo numerous and notorious, and his Merits inviſible and inconceivable, every Man took the liberty to conjecture, what Conſideration cou'd poſſibly beget his Pardon. It required a great Meaſure of Mercy in a Prince to forgive ſuch flagrant Injuries to Himſelf; but it was thought above his Mercy to pardon the Offences committed againſt others, without any kind of Satisfaction: Yet the Lord *Arlington* came in the King's Name to the Duke of *Ormond* to tell him, That he wou'd not have *Blud* proſecuted, *for Reaſons which he was commanded to give him.* The Duke bravely reply'd, *That his Majeſty's Commands was the Only Reaſon that cou'd be given, and therefore he might ſpare the reſt: And the King ſhou'd ſee, that he valu'd his Life as little as his Majeſty did his Crown.* It was a gallant Anſwer of his Grace, and ſuch as became the Loyalty of his Family; but it is pity that the World ſhou'd want the Knowledge of his Lordſhip's Reaſons, which had weight enough to ſmother a Matter ſo much to the Diſhonour of Juſtice, and the Detriment of Peerage. How myſterious ſoever it was, *Blud* and his Aſſociates were not only pardon'd, and ſet at Liberty, but the Arch-Villain Himſelf had five hundred Pounds a Year in Land conferr'd upon him in *Ireland*; and that meritorious Perſon admitted into all the Privacy and Intimacy of the Court. No Man was more aſſiduous than he in both the Secretary's Offices; and if any one had a Buſineſs in Court that ſtuck, he made his Applications to *Blud*, as the moſt induſtrious and ſucceſsful Solicitor. On the other ſide, tho' many had been ſolicited for old Mr. *Edwards*, yet all that cou'd be obtain'd for his Fidelity and Sufferings, was a Grant of two hundred Pounds out of the Exchequer, and a hundred to his Son; the Payment of which was ſo long delay'd, and his Surgeons daily calling upon him for ſatisfaction for their Drugs and Pains, he was forc'd to ſell his Order, and likewiſe his Son, for juſt half the Money, and liv'd not long to enjoy the Remainder. Sir *Gilbert Talbot* makes ſeveral Reflections upon the whole, and particularly obſerves, ‘ That nothing cou'd more betray the ‘ Weakneſs of a Government, than that it ſhou'd have re‘ courſe to ſuch Inſtruments to ſupport it, nor cou'd any ‘ Thing render the Authority more deſpicable, than that it ‘ ſhou'd be terrify'd from the Execution of Juſtice upon ‘ the greateſt Malefactor recorded in Hiſtory, for fear that ‘ *Blud*'s Ghoſt ſhou'd riſe, or his ſurviving Confederates ‘ meditate Revenge.’ Such was the Condition of the State under the Management of the famous *Cabal*; for the Cure of whoſe Diſtempers, bold and Quack Remedies daily became more in Uſe and Practice, than ſafe and wholeſome Phyſick.

The Deaths of the Earl of Mancheſter,

The Lord Fairfaix,

In this Year we are to take Notice of the Deaths of ſeveral Perſons of Note and Fame, among which we ſhall begin with two Noblemen, one having an *Engliſh* and the other a *Scotch* Title. The firſt was *Edward Mountague*, Earl of *Mancheſter*, before-mention'd, a Perſon whoſe Character has been given in the laſt Volume, who prov'd a great and a publick Inſtrument in the Miſeries of the late Wars, and afterwards a very conſiderable one in the Reſtoration, when he ſhew'd himſelf the moſt real and unaffected Penitent of any of his Party, and publickly declar'd ſome Things much to the Honour of the late King; for which he was made Lord-Chamberlain by his preſent Majeſty, and choſen Chancellor of *Cambridge*, by which he had Opportunity of making Amends for the Damages he had done to that Univerſity. The other was *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax*, Baron of *Camerone* in *Scotland*, a Perſon who happen'd to have a greater Power and Intereſt than the laſt, and did more effectually caſt the Scale, both in the Civil Wars and the Reſtoration. But as to the King's Death, he was out-witted by *Cromwell*, and always declar'd his utter Abhorrence of that Parricide with Tears; and tho' his martial Fame had reſounded throughout all *Europe*, yet the retired Part of his Life gave him greater Satisfaction than all his former Victories, when he many Years liv'd at Eaſe at his Houſe at *Nun-Appleton* in *Yorkſhire*, where he dy'd in Peace, in the 60th Year of his Age.

Biſhop Nicolſon,

Biſhop Wiſhart,

The two next were two Reverend Prelates of the Church, one of *England*, and the other of *Scotland*. The former was Dr. *William Nicholſon*, Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, a Perſon educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, who after ſeveral ſmall Preferments, aroſe to this Biſhoprick ſoon after the Reſtoration; where he continu'd the reſt of his Life, with the Reputation of a right learned Divine, well read in the Fathers and Schoolmen, a Man of great Prudence, Charity and Moderation; but yet more particularly diſtinguiſh'd for his excellent Skill in the critical Part of Grammar, in which Faculty none in his Time, or perhaps any before, ever exceeded him. The *Scotch* Prelate was Dr. *Robert Wiſhart*, Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, Son of the learned and famous Dr. *George Wiſhart*, a Perſon who had ſuffer'd a long and diſmal Impriſonment at *Edinburgh*, in the Regency of the *Covenant*, and afterwards accompany'd the victorious Marqueſs of *Montroſs*: Upon his Patron's Declenſion he became Chaplain to the famous Queen of *Bohemia*, and after the King's Return, Miniſter of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, where he was held in great Veneration for his Learning and Loyalty. From thence he was remov'd to the Biſhoprick of *Edinburgh*, where he diſplay'd both his Piety and Charity; and particularly, remembring the Miſeries of a Priſon, he took Care, at each Dinner that he made, to ſend his firſt Diſh from his Table to the Priſoners.

Dr Caſaubon,

Dr. Worthington,

Judge Keeling,

And Mr. Bagſhaw.

After theſe Prelates, we ſhall mention two other celebrated Divines, the firſt was Dr. *Meric Caſaubon*, Son of the moſt learned *Iſaac Caſaubon*, born in *Geneva*, but educated in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and afterwards made Prebendary of *Canterbury*, and Rector of *Ickham* four Miles from thence. He was a noted and general Scholar, and wrote many Books, but moſt of all excell'd in Criticiſms, which was likewiſe his Father's great Talent: He was taken Notice of by ſeveral Foreigners, and was courted by *Cromwell* to write his Hiſtory, but he continu'd loyal and faithful to the laſt. The other was Dr. *John Worthington*, ſometime Maſter of *Jeſus* College in *Cambridge*, Vice-Chancellor of that Univerſity, and Rector of *Fen-Ditton* in the ſame County; afterwards Rector of *Ingoldsby* in *Lincolnſhire*, and Prebendary in the Cathedral Church, but at laſt remov'd to *Hackney* near *London*. He was an admirable Man both for Piety and Learning, and highly eſteem'd by all that knew him: His Parts and Induſtry were both extraordinary, and he was eminently skill'd in the learned Languages, as well Oriental as Occidental. But he is particularly noted for thoſe uſeful Pains he took for ſeveral Years, in collecting, reviſing and publiſhing the elaborate Works of the famous Mr. *Joſeph Mede*, one of the great Glories of the Church and Nation. We ſhall next mention that eminent Lawyer Sir *John Keeling* Knight, Lord-Chief-Juſtice of his Majeſty's Court of the *King's-Bench*, who after a long Weakneſs and Decay of Strength, dy'd at his Houſe in *London*, much lamented for his great Integrity and Worth. His Majeſty was pleas'd to confer that important Place upon the famous Lord-Chief-Baron *Hales*; who left his Seat in the *Exchequer* to be fill'd with Sir *Edward Turner*, Solicitor-General, and Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; who was ſucceeded in his Place of Solicitor-General, by the Lord *North*'s Son, Sir *Francis North*. In the laſt Place we ſhall mention Mr. *Edward Bagſhaw*, a turbulent and ungovernable Diſſenter, but of what Denomination is hard to know, any more than *Vavaſor Powel*, mention'd in the laſt Year, between whom there ſeem'd much Reſemblance. He was a Man of notable Parts and Abilities, and of no ſmall Learning, but of a pragmatical and unmanagable Diſpoſition, oppoſite to all Rule and Government; for which he had been a Sufferer

from

1671. Car. 23. Ref. 12.

from more than one Party, and was laſt of all ſent to *New-gate* for refuſing the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, where he ended his Life. He was buried, as *Powel* was before him, in the noted Place near *Bunhill*, being accompany'd by a thouſand *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, and had a memorable Epitaph made by one of the chief of them. Theſe ſort of Perſons ought not to eſcape in Hiſtory; and a few of ſuch Men, under the Notion of painful and powerful Preaching, have been able to ſeduce Multitudes, and do incredible Miſchief.

167½. Car. 24. Ref. 12.

The bold Steps made by the preſent Miniſtry.

XI. 1. All Things being juſt ripe for Execution, and according to the Alliance with *France*, a War determin'd againſt *Holland*, this Year began with three ſuch bold Stretches of the King's Prerogative and common Juſtice, as had not been known before in the Reign, all proceeding from the now reigning Miniſtry, the prolifick *Cabal*. As the King had enter'd upon the Deſign of a Second War, contrary to the Intereſt and Humour of the Nation, and without the Advice and Conſent of his Parliament, which was prorogu'd to the next Year, ſo his Majeſty was oblig'd to carry it on without their Aſſiſtance, and to depend upon the Purſe of his Brother the King of *France*, and upon the Inventions of his ſecret and ſelect Miniſters. Therefore the firſt Project and Attempt was to procure Mony, which, notwithſtanding the Liberalities of the Parliament, was ſtill very much wanting. The *French* King is ſaid to have remitted ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds, which was paid in Mr. *Chiffin*'s Name; but that was found not ſufficient to anſwer the Expence of a new League, and a laviſh Court. Therefore a new Thought was form'd with Relation to the Exchequer, wherein the Bankers, who had furniſh'd the King upon all Occaſions at very exceſſive Intereſt, had lodg'd mighty Sums of other Subjects Mony. As to the ſecret Steps and Progreſs towards this Attempt, we have the fulleſt Account from a Manuſcript of Sir *Joſeph Tyley*'s, which in part has already ſeen the Light; and is the rather taken Notice of, becauſe it agrees ſo well with ſome other Accounts we have receiv'd.

His Majeſty being under preſſing Neceſſities, in a private Meeting with his Miniſters, declared, *If any one of them cou'd invent a Method how to raiſe about fifteen hundred thouſand Pounds, without a Parliament, he ſhould have the White-Staff*, namely the Lord Treaſurer's Place. Whereupon the next Day, the intriguing Lord *Aſhley* told Sir *Thomas Clifford* in Confidence, *That there was a* WAY *to ſupply the King immediately with ſuch a Sum; but it was hazardous to put it in Practice, and might draw a Train of ill Conſequences along with it, by inflaming both the Parliament and People.* Sir *Thomas* was impatient to know the Secret, being bold and couragious, intirely in the *French* and *Popiſh* Intereſt, and pleas'd with any thing that might render the King uneaſie with Parliaments. Therefore to diſcover this Politician's Project, he ply'd his Lordſhip with Viſits; and having one Night drunk him up to a proper Height, he inſenſibly led the Converſation into the King's great Wants; and the Lord *Aſhley* being warm and unguarded, dropt the important Secret, which was *The ſhutting up the Exchequer*. Sir *Thomas* immediately took the Hint, left his Lordſhip as ſoon as he handſomely cou'd, went directly to *White-hall*, and without going to Bed, attended till the King roſe, fell on his Knees, and demanded the *White-Staff* according to Promiſe. His Majeſty cry'd out, *God's Fiſh! I'll be as good as my Word, if you can find the Mony.* Then Sir *Thomas* told him, *If he wou'd ſhut up the Exchequer, he might be ſure of fifteen hundred thouſand Pounds.* The King, who was as quick as any of his Miniſters, eaſily fell in with the Project; and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, after it was found effectual, was made Lord-High-Treaſurer and a Peer. The Lord *Aſhley* was ſenſibly touch'd to be thus circumvented by his Pupil; but the Thing was done, and the Honour of the Invention appropriated; therefore to put the beſt Colour he cou'd on it, he ſaid, *That* Clifford *had plough'd with his Heifer*; and having been Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had the more Reaſon to expect the *White-Staff* himſelf. However, his Majeſty, not to be forgetful of ſuch an eminent Piece of Service, firſt made him Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and ſoon after Lord-Chancellor of *England*.

1ſt. The Shutting up of the Exchequer.

All Matters prepared, the grand Propoſal was made in Council by Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who declar'd, *That the King muſt have Mony to carry on the War againſt* Holland, *in which his Honour was ingag'd: That he knew of no other Means at preſent than ſhutting up the Exchequer; and he deſired none wou'd ſpeak againſt it without propoſing ſome Method more certain and expeditious.* To this no Reply was made; and ſo the Year began with a total Stop put to all publick Payments in the Exchequer, to the great Surpriſe and Wonder of the whole Kingdom. But to ſoften and mitigate a Practice ſo ſhocking and unjuſtifiable in it ſelf, his Majeſty, being preſent in Council, on the 2d of *January*, was pleas'd to make this following Declaration: 'That ſeeing all the Princes and the States his Neighbours, were making great Preparations for War, both by Sea and Land; his Majeſty, for the Safety of his Government and People, look'd upon himſelf as oblig'd to make ſuch Preparations as might be proportionable for the Protection both of the one and the other; and to that End had already given Orders for the fitting and preparing a very conſiderable Fleet, to be ready againſt the Spring. That by this inevitable Neceſſity, his Majeſty conſidering the great Charges that muſt attend ſuch Preparations, and after his ſerious Debates and beſt Conſiderations, not finding any Poſſibility to defray ſuch unuſual Expences, by the uſual Ways and Means of borrowing Monies, by reaſon his Revenues were ſo anticipated and engag'd, he was neceſſitated (contrary to his own Inclinations) upon theſe Emergencies, and for the publick Safety at the preſent, to cauſe a Stop to be made of the Payment of any Monies, now being, or to be brought into his Exchequer for the Space of one whole Year, ending the laſt Day of *December* next.-----His Majeſty, as far as in him lies, to take away Apprehenſions or Terror, that might poſſeſs any of his Subjects Spirits, declareth, That no Perſon whatſoever ſhall be defrauded of any Thing that is juſtly due to him, nor ſhall this Reſtraint, which his Majeſty hath been compell'd to lay upon ſuch Monies, continue longer than the foreſaid laſt Day of *December*; and that then no new Orders, &c. ſhall intervene to break the Courſe of ſuch Payments. That nothing cou'd have urg'd his Majeſty to an Act of this Nature, *but ſuch a Conjuncture of Affairs, when all the Neighbouring Princes and States were making ſuch threatning Preparations, that his Government cou'd not be ſafe, without appearing in the ſame Poſture.*

However tenderly the Matter was repreſented by the Publick, great Numbers were in a Conſternation about it; and ſome did not fear to ſay, *That the Crown had publiſh'd it ſelf a Bankrupt*; but by degrees, by the King's new Promiſes, Perſons began to be appeas'd, tho' never reliev'd. Within ſeven Days after, the Lord *Arlington*, a Perſon too much concern'd in the Buſineſs, in a Letter to the Earl of *Sunderland* in *Spain*, gave this following Account of the Reſult of it: 'The Diſtempers have continu'd in the Town, and the angry Diſcourſes about them; but his Majeſty having Yeſterday convened the Bankers before him at the Treaſury, and after many kind and confident Aſſurances given them, *that he wou'd punctually ſatisfy his Debt to them, either out of what the Parliament ſhou'd give him the next Seſſion, or out of his own Revenue*, he told them, *He likewiſe required of them, that without Delay they ſhou'd take off the Stop they had made of paying the Merchants their current Caſh, which lay depoſited in their Hands, not to be lent to his Occaſions, or for Intereſt, but for the Security of keeping it*; becauſe indeed, the Stop of this was the Occaſion of the great Clamour; the Merchants not daring, or being able to accept or pay any Bills of Exchange, drive their Trade abroad, or clear their Ships at the Cuſtom-Houſe at Home. After many Things the King ſaid to them, and very handſomly upon this Subject, they all went away better ſatisfy'd, promiſing his Majeſty they wou'd this Day begin their Payments to the Merchants, which I hear they have accordingly done, and upon it, the Diſcontent is already viſibly appeas'd; ſo that we do not doubt, but in a few Days it will quite wear out, and conſequently his Majeſty find himſelf in a Condition of Arming out his Fleet with Ready Mony, and ſupporting whatever ſhall happen to be his Game, with relation to the Affairs abroad this Summer.' But whatſoever the Expectations were at this Time, it appear'd afterwards that many Perſons were utterly ruin'd, and all that had lent their Mony to the Exchequer were wholly without Remedy, to the great Diſhonour of the Government, and the Diſgrace of the preſent Miniſtry.

2d. The Attempt upon the Dutch *Smyrna Fleet.*

2. The ſecond bold Step and Attempt made under the ſame Adminiſtration, was likewiſe for the gaining of Mony and Profit, to which the *French* King and Monſieur *Colbert* gave particular Incouragement. And this was to fall upon and ſeize the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, before any War was declared, which Fleet had already paſs'd the *Straits Mouth*, and was daily expected home. This the *French* look'd upon as a favourable Opportunity to fix the *Engliſh* in an inevitable War. With which View they gave his *Britannick* Majeſty to underſtand, 'That ſuch a Prize as this wou'd furniſh him with more in one Day, than his Revenues amounted to in a whole Year; that it was poſſible this might ſerve his Occaſions during the whole War, without obliging him to have Recourſe to his Parliament: But an Attempt of this Nature wou'd admit of no Delay, eſpecially ſince he well knew that let it ſucceed as it wou'd, his People elated with Proſperity, and ſenſible of Affronts, wou'd now ſpare nothing

either to carry on the War, and raiſe the Nation by humbling the *Dutch*, or to be reveng'd upon the Merchants that had taken ſuch Advantages of them, and dar'd to diſpute with them the Empire of the Sea.' Upon this Incouragement, the King of *England* reſolv'd upon the Attempt, and immediately ſent out thirty eight Men of War into the *Channel*, in three ſeparate Squadrons, to wait for the *Dutch* Fleet that was oblig'd to paſs that Way. Theſe were no ſooner got into the *Channel*, but the *Smyrna* Fleet was ſeen off the Iſle of *Wight*, being ſeventy two Sail of Merchant-Men, the richeſt they ever had, under the Convoy of ſix Men of War, and ſeveral Privateers, all drawn up in Line of Battel and prepar'd to ingage.

On the 13th of *March*, the *Engliſh* Squadron under Sir *Robert Holms*, to the Number of nine Frigates and three Yatchts, ſail'd a Head to come in with them, without being ſtartled at their Appearing in Line of Battle, becauſe the *Dutch* were uſually upon their Guard, eſpecilly when laden with Goods of Value. The *Engliſh* did not know that the *Dutch* Admirals had receiv'd Intelligence of their Deſign by *de Clarges* the States Agent at *Calais*, and that thereupon they had ſtrengthen'd their Fleet by the Junction of ſome *Spaniſh* Ships, and an *Amſterdam* Man of War, that they met in their Paſſage; reſolving, if Occaſion were, to defend themſelves to the laſt Extremity. As ſoon as Sir *Robert Holms* came in view of the *Dutch* Fleet, he gave the Signals for forming of a Line; and ſoon after he came up with a Ship of eighty Guns, and ſent to deſire the *Dutch* Admiral to come on board of him. At the ſame Time he order'd the next commanding Officer to make the ſame Advance with his Ship, and invite the *Dutch* Rear-Admiral on board of him; deſigning, it ſeems, to ſeize on the principal Officers by Stratagem, and under the Pretence of Civility, and ſo make themſelves Maſters of the whole Fleet with greater Facility, either by Force or in an amicable Way.

Haes the *Dutch* Admiral deſiring to ſave his Fleet without Ingagement, endeavour'd to pacify the *Engliſh* by his Submiſſion, and to ſcour off with all Expedition; and having ſent his Excuſe for not daring to leave his Ship, order'd his Pilot to wait upon the *Engliſh* Admiral, and pay him all Manner of Reſpects. But *Boes* the Rear-Admiral acted with leſs Caution, and roughly anſwer'd the *Engliſh* Commander, *If he had any Thing to ſay to him, he might come on board him.* The *Engliſh* provok'd at the Diſappointment, and having no other Captive but a poor Pilot, preſently began the Fight. The *Dutch* Fleet threw themſelves into the Form of a *Creſcent*, and for ſome Hours maintain'd the Fight ſo vigorouſly, that Sir *Robert Holms* thought fit to ſtand off towards Night: But the next Day, having receiv'd a Re-inforcement of four or five Men of War, he came up with them again, and charg'd them a ſecond Time, but with no better Fortune; and the whole *Smyrna* Fleet had eſcap'd, had not the *Engliſh*, upon renewing the Fight a third Time, took one of their Convoy Ships whoſe Captain was kill'd, which was the Cauſe of the Loſs of four Merchant Ships which were cut off from a Squadron put into great Diſorder. But the main Body of the Merchant-Men, under the Protection of a ſudden Fog, in a little Time got ſafely into the deſired Ports. Such was the End of this Fight, and this was all the Advantage which the *Engliſh* gain'd by an Action that can never be vindicated: Yet it was palliated by the Account of it given at that Time by the Publick, which intimated as if this Battle began purely becauſe the *Dutch* refus'd to ſtrike, and lower their Top-Sails.

3d. *The Grant of Liberty of Conſcience.*

3. It was but two Days after this Attempt, that the third large Step was made by the preſent Miniſtry, which was the Granting of *Liberty of Conſcience* and a *Toleration* for all ſorts of Diſſenters, contrary to ſeveral Acts of Parliament, which were not to be under the Name of an *Abrogation*, but only that of a *Suſpenſion*. This had been long thought of by the Government, and ſometimes attempted, but with no great Succeſs. However it was now reſolv'd on; and on what Grounds, it ſhall be ſhewn from a foremention'd *French* Author, Father *Orleans*, who from King *James* ſeem'd to have had a clearer Information of this Affair than the common *Engliſh* Writers: ‘ The Diſſenters had put the King to ſome Trouble during the firſt *Dutch* War, being offended at the attacking a People of their own Principles, and whom they look'd upon as their Support. For the removing any ſuch Obſtacle, and to pacify thoſe turbulent Spirits, *Shaftsbury* propos'd granting *Liberty of Conſcience*, agreed by the King's Declaration at *Breda*, and afterwards taken away by the Parliament.' For the clearing of this Point, he tells us, ‘ There were great Debates in the Beginning of this Parliament about Liberty of Conſcience, between the Proteſtants and the Catholicks, the Church of *England* and the Presbyterians. The Catholick Party was ſupported by the Earl of *Briſtol*, a Man in great Repute, and Head of a potent Faction; the Proteſtant Party by Chancellor *Hyde*, Chief of an oppoſite Faction, and a Perſon of no leſs Conſideration, who putting himſelf at the Head of the prevailing Church of *England* Party in the Parliament, declar'd not only againſt the Catholicks, but againſt the Presbyterians, and all thoſe call'd Nonconformiſts. The King, who was no good Chriſtian in his Actions, *but a Catholick in his Heart*, did all that cou'd be expected from his eaſy Temper, to maintain the common Liberty, that ſo the Catholick Church might have Share in it; but the Church of *England* prevail'd, and Chancellor *Hyde* was ſo warm upon that Point, that his Majeſty was oblig'd to yield rather to his Importunity than his Reaſons. It was the Reſtoring this Liberty of Conſcience, that *Shaftsbury* thought requiſite for carrying on the great Deſign in Hand. He communicated it to his Colleagues of the *Cabal*, who were of the ſame Opinion, not only on account of the Reaſon he urg'd, which was the Gaining of the Diſſenters, whom they fear'd; but upon Another, which he eaſily approv'd of, and was the Favouring of the Catholicks, for whom moſt of them had an Affection, and all an Eſteem. *Clifford* and *Arlington* were ſo in private, and both dy'd in the Church; the Duke of *Buckingham* needed no Converſion as to Opinion, cou'd he have prevail'd with Himſelf as to Libertiniſm; *Shaftsbury* Himſelf was not very averſe to it, as long as Intereſt and Malice did not carry him over to another Party, from that to which he was inclin'd.------ It is eaſy to believe the King readily comply'd with them, being Himſelf always of *that Opinion* till Death, bating that Policy prevail'd on him to act counter, and that the Duke of *York* us'd all his Intereſt to ſupport them. All the Debate was, concerning the Extent of that Liberty; and the two Kings acting in Concert, that Affair was handled in their Treaty: Several Propoſals were made, ſome more, ſome leſs advantagious to the Catholicks; *France* was for the more moderate, as ſafeſt and moſt ſeaſonable, and it was agreed, that the King ſhou'd grant Liberty of Conſcience to all his Subjects in General.

Such were the Diſcoveries made by this curious Jeſuit, of which the Nation, or even the Parliament, had but an imperfect Knowledge at this Time. According to this Agreement, on the 14th of *March*, a well penn'd Declaration was publiſh'd by his Majeſty, which, conſidering the critical Juncture, ought to be inſerted without any Degree of Mutilation. It was entitled *His Majeſty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects*, beginning in this plauſible Way: ‘ Our Care and Endeavours for the Preſervation of the Rights and Intereſts of the Church, have been ſufficiently manifeſted to the World, by the whole Courſe of our Government, ſince our happy Reſtoration, and by the many and frequent Ways of Coercion that we have us'd for reducing all *erring* or *diſſenting* Perſons, and for compoſing the unhappy Differences in Matters of Religion, which we found among our Subjects upon our Return: But it being evident by the ſad Experience of Twelve Years, that there is very little Fruit of all thoſe forceable Courſes, we think our ſelves oblig'd to make uſe of that *Supream Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters*, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recogniz'd to be ſo by ſeveral Statutes and Acts of Parliament: And therefore we do now accordingly iſſue out this our Royal *Declaration*, as well for the Quieting the Minds of our good Subjects in theſe Points, for Inviting Strangers in this Conjuncture to come and live under us, and for the better Encouragement of all to a chearful Following of their Trade and Callings, from whence we hope, by the Bleſſing of God, to have many good and happy Advantages to our Government; as alſo for Preventing for the future, the Danger that might otherwiſe ariſe from *Private Meetings*, and *Seditious Conventicles.*

The Declaration for it.

‘ And in the Firſt Place, we Declare our expreſs Reſolution, Meaning and Intention to be, *That the Church of* England *be preſerv'd, and remain entire in its Doctrine, Diſcipline and Government, as now it ſtands Eſtabliſh'd by Law:* And that this be taken to be, as it is, the Baſis, Rule and Standard of the General and Publick Worſhip of God, and that the Orthodox conformable Clergy do receive and enjoy the Revenues belonging thereunto; and that no Perſon, tho' of different Opinion and Perſuaſion, ſhall be exempt from paying his Tythes, or other Dues whatſoever. And further, we Declare, *That no Perſon ſhall be capable of holding any Benefice, Living, or Eccleſiaſtical Dignity or Preferment of any Kind in this our Kingdom of* England, *who is not exactly conformable.* We do in the next place declare our Will and Pleaſure to be, *That the Execution of all and all Manner of Penal Laws in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, againſt whatſoever Sort of* Non-conformiſts *or* Recuſants, *be immediately Suſpended*, and they are hereby Suſpended. And all Judges of Aſſize and Goal-Delivery, Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and other Officers whatſoever, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, are to take Notice of it, and pay due Obedience thereunto. And that there may be no Pretence for any of our Subjects to continue their illegal *Meetings* and *Conventicles*; we do Declare, *That we ſhall from Time to Time allow a ſufficient Number of Places, as ſhall be deſired, in all Parts of this our Kingdom, for the Uſe of ſuch as do not conform to the Church of* England, *to meet and aſſemble in, in order to their publik Worſhip and Devotion*; which Places ſhall be open and free to all Perſons. But to prevent ſuch Diſorders and Inconveniencies as may happen by this our *Indulgence*, if not duely regulated, and that they may be the better protected by the Civil Magiſtrate, our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, *That none of our Subjects do preſume to meet in any Place, until ſuch Place be allow'd, and the Teacher of that Congregation be approv'd by us.*

‘ And leſt any ſhou'd apprehend, that this Reſtriction ſhou'd make our ſaid Allowance and Approbation difficult to be obtain'd, We do further Declare, That this our Indulgence, as to the Allowance of publick Places of Worſhip, and Approbation of Teachers, *ſhall extend to all Sorts of* Non-Conformiſts *and* Recuſants, *except the* Recuſants *of the* Roman *Catholick Religion, to whom we ſhall in no Ways allow publick Places of Worſhip, but only Indulge them their Share in the common Exemption from the Executing the Penal Laws, and the Exerciſe of their Worſhip in their private Houſes only.* And if after this our *Clemency* and *Indulgence*, any of our Subjects ſhall preſume to abuſe this Liberty, and ſhall preach Seditiouſly, or to the Derogation of the Doctrine, Diſcipline, or Government of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, or ſhall meet in Places not allow'd by us; We do hereby give them warning, and Declare, *we will proceed againſt them with all imaginable Severity:* And we will let them ſee, *We can be as ſevere to puniſh ſuch Offenders, when ſo juſtly provok'd, as we are Indulgent to truely Tender Conſciences.*

The Deſign of it.

The Timing of this Indulgence ſeems to have been a particular Fetch of Policy: The Church Party in general were ſo loyal in their Affections to the King, that they were not forward in ſuſpecting the Intrigues of the Court, and therefore fell in with the Meaſures of aſſiſting the *French* and humbling the *Dutch* with an implicit Belief, that it was the Wiſdom of the Miniſtry ſo to do. But the Diſſenters, in the ſeveral Parties of them, had no ſuch Veneration for the Government, but were more jealous of the Adminiſtration of it; and therefore in this Juncture were naturally diſpos'd to murmur at the Politicks of the Court in eſpouſing the Cauſe of *France*, againſt their particular Friends in *Holland*, and ſhew'd their Apprehenſions very much upon this Occaſion. So that it was the more neceſſary to appeaſe the Clamours of theſe Men by an Indulgence, and divert them from the Proſpects of Popery and Arbitrary Power, which they conceiv'd they had in their View. And excepting this one Political Reaſon of giving *Content* and *Quiet*, there appears no other Cauſe of Indulging, but that of giving Liberty to Papiſts, and of gaining a new Precedent for a Diſpenſing Power, without which Popery cou'd never prevail in *England.* The wiſer Diſſenters were themſelves ſenſible, that this Favour was not granted purely for their ſakes; as they acknowledge in theſe Words: ‘ The Beginning of the *Dutch* War made the Court think it neceſſary to grant an Indulgence to the Diſſenters, that ſo there might be a Peace at home while there was War abroad: And upon this Occaſion they had Liberty given them, tho' much to the Diſſatisfaction of thoſe who had a hand in framing all the ſevere Laws againſt them.' However it was, tho' the Parliament was entirely againſt this Indulgence, yet there was little or nothing done againſt the Diſſenters, till upon new Provocations in the Year 1681: So that for about nine Years together they had their Meetings almoſt as publickly and regularly as the other had their Churches; and in all that Time, whatſoever private Hardſhips any of them might meet in ſome Corners of *England*, they had in moſt Parts the free Exerciſe of their Worſhip and Religion.

4. The three grand Things being conquer'd, the Miniſtry had nothing more to do than to make an open Declaration of War. They had waited a while for the Return of Sir *George Downing* out of *Holland*, who had made ſeveral Demands of the States, but not in a manner ſatiſfactory to the *Engliſh* Court: So that upon his Return home, after a private Examination by the Lords of the Council, and an Account given to his Majeſty, he was ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*, for not obeying Orders. Shortly after, on the 17th of *March*, the King in Council order'd the Publiſhing his *Declaration of War againſt the States General of the United Provinces*, which begins in theſe Words:

The King's Declaration of War againſt the Dutch.

‘ We have been always ſo zealous for the Quiet of *Chriſtendom*, and ſo careful not to invade any other Kingdom or State, that we hope the World will do us the Juſtice to believe, *that it is nothing but inevitable Neceſſity forceth us to the Reſolution of taking up Arms.*' The greateſt Part is Hiſtorical, and ſo artfully drawn up, that no Part of that ought to be omitted; and is as follows:

‘ Immediately upon our Reſtoration to our Crowns, the firſt Work we undertook, was the Eſtabliſhing of Peace, and the Settling a good Correſpondence between Us and our Neighbours; and in particular, our Care was to conclude a ſtrict League with the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, upon ſuch equal Terms, as wou'd certainly not have been broken, if any Obligations cou'd have kept them within the Bounds of Friendſhip and Juſtice. This League was maintain'd inviolable on our Part: But in the Year 1664, We were ſtirr'd up by the Complaints of our People, and the unanimous Vote of both Houſes of Parliament, finding it a vain Attempt to endeavour the Proſperity of our Kingdoms by peaceable Ways at home, while our Subjects were ſtill expos'd to the Injuries and Oppreſſions of the *States* abroad. That whole Summer was ſpent in Negotiations and Endeavours on our Side, to bring them to reaſonable Terms, which notwithſtanding all we cou'd do, prov'd at length ineffectual; for the more we purſu'd them with friendly Propoſitions, the more obſtinately they kept off from agreeing with us. Upon this enſu'd the War in the Year 1665, and continu'd till the Year 1667; in all which Time our Victories and their Loſſes were memorable enough to put them in mind of being more faithful to their Leagues for the future. But inſtead of that, the Peace was no ſooner made, but they return'd to their uſual Cuſtom of breaking Articles, and ſupplanting our Trade. 1. For inſtance, the *States* were particularly engag'd in an Article of the Treaty of *Breda*, to ſend Commiſſioners to us at *London*, about the Regulation of our Trade in the *Eaſt-Indies*; but they were ſo far from doing it upon that Obligation, that when we ſent over our Ambaſſador to put them in mind of it, he cou'd not in three Years Time get from them any Satisfaction in the material Points, nor a Forbearance of the Wrongs which our Subjects receiv'd in thoſe Parts.

2. ‘ In the *Weſt-Indies* they went a little farther, for by an Article in the ſame Treaty, we were to reſtore *Surinam* into their Hands, and by Articles upon the Place confirm'd by that Treaty, they were to give Liberty to all our Subjects in that Colony, to tranſport themſelves and Eſtates into any other of our Plantations. In purſuance of this Agreement, we deliver'd up the Place, and yet they detain'd all our Men in it; only Major *Baniſter* they ſent away Priſoner, for but deſiring to remove according to the Articles. Our Ambaſſador complaining of this Behaviour, after two Years Sollicitation, obtain'd an Order for the Performance of thoſe Articles: But when we ſent Commiſſioners, and two Ships to bring our Men away, the *Hollanders* (according to their former Practice in the Buſineſs of *Poleroon* for above forty Years together) ſent private Orders contrary to thoſe they own'd to us in publick; and ſo the only Effect of our Commiſſioners Journey thither, was to bring away ſome few of the pooreſt of our Subjects, and the Prayers and Cries of the moſt conſiderable and wealthieſt of them, for Relief out of that Captivity. After this, we made our Complaints by our Letter in *Auguſt* laſt to the *States-General*, wherein we deſired an Order to their Governors there, for the full Obſervance of thoſe Articles; yet to this time we cou'd never receive one Word of Anſwer or Satisfaction. 3. But it is no Wonder that they venture at theſe Outrages upon our Subjects in remote Parts, when they dare be ſo bold with our Royal Perſon, and the Honour of the Nation, ſo near us, as in their own Country, there being ſcarce a Town within their Territories that is not fill'd with abuſive Pictures, and falſe Hiſtorical Medals and Pillars; ſome of which have been expos'd to view by Command of the *States* themſelves, and in the very Time when we were joyn'd with them in united Counſels for the Support of the *Triple-League*, and the Peace of *Chriſtendom*. This alone were Cauſe ſufficient for our Diſpleaſure, and the Reſentment of all our Subjects. But we are urg'd to it by Conſiderations yet nearer to us, than what only relates to our Self; the Safety of our Trade, upon which the Wealth and Proſperity of our People depends, the Preſervation of them abroad from Violence and Oppreſſion, and the *Hollanders* daring to affront us almoſt within our very Ports, are the Things which move our juſt Indignation againſt them.

4. ‘ The Right of the *Flagg* is ſo ancient, that it was one of the Firſt Prerogatives of our Royal Predeceſſors, and ought to be the laſt from which this Kingdom ſhou'd ever depart. It was never queſtion'd, and it was expreſly acknowledg'd in the Treaty of *Breda*; and yet this laſt Summer it was not only violated by their Commanders at Sea, and that Violation afterwards juſtify'd at the *Hague*, but it was alſo repreſented by them in moſt

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‘ Courts of *Chriſtendom*, as *Ridiculous for us to demand.* An ungrateful Inſolence! That they ſhou'd contend with us about the Dominion of theſe Seas, who even in the Reign of our Royal Father (in the Years 1635, 1636, and 1637) thought it an Obligation to be permitted to Fiſh in them, by taking of Licenſes, and for a Tribute; and who owe their being now in a Condition of making this Diſpute, to the Protection of our Anceſtors, and the Valour and Blood of their Subjects. Notwithſtanding all theſe Provocations, we patiently expected Satisfaction, not being willing to expoſe the Peace of *Chriſtendom* for our particular Reſentments, while they ceaſed not on their Parts to endeavour to provoke the moſt Chriſtian King againſt us: of which they thought themſelves ſo ſecure, that for above theſe twelve Months their Miniſters here have threatned us with it. At length, hearing nothing from them, we ſent another Ambaſſador to them, who after ſeveral preſſing Memorials in our Name, cou'd receive no Anſwer, till after he had declared his Revocation. Then they offer'd a Paper to this Effect, *That in this Conjuncture they wou'd condeſcend to Strike to us, if we wou'd aſſiſt them againſt the* French; *but upon Condition, that it ſhou'd never be taken for a Precedent hereafter to their Prejudice.* Since the Return of our ſaid Ambaſſador, they have ſent an Extraordinary One to us, who in a moſt extraordinary Manner hath given us to underſtand, *That he can offer us no Satisfaction, till he hath ſent back to his Maſters.* Wherefore deſpairing now of any good Effect of a further Treaty, we are compell'd to take up Arms in Defence of the Ancient Prerogative of our Crowns, and the Glory and Safety of our Kingdoms: And we put our Truſt in God, that he will give us his Aſſiſtance in this our juſt Undertaking, ſince we had no Way left to defend our People from the Artifice of that Nation in Peace, but by the Valour of our Subjects in War.

The reſt of the Declaration was only Form, and therefore unneceſſary to be inſerted; only the Concluſion muſt not be omitted, which was more ſtrange and ſurpriſing to ſome than all the reſt. It runs in theſe Words; ‘ And whereas we are engag'd by a Treaty to ſupport the Peace made at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, we do finally Declare, *That notwithſtanding the Proſecution of this War, we will maintain the true Intent and Scope of the ſaid Treaty, and that in all the Alliances, which We have or ſhall make in the Progreſs of this War, we have and will take care to preſerve the Ends thereof inviolable, unleſs provok'd to the contrary.*’

The War proclaim'd.

This Declaration being publiſh'd, was immediately after publickly read and proclaim'd by the Heralds and Serjeants at the uſual Places both in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and with all the common Solemnities. Thus *England*, after it had a breathing Time and a Reſt of above four Years and an Half, was a ſecond Time involv'd in a hazardous and expenſive War, and in a War much more againſt Reaſon and Policy than the former, tho' at this Time better ſupported by Foreign Alliances; a War manifeſtly againſt the general Bent of the Nation, which did in ſome meaſure appear at the Procloiming of it, when the People were really encourag'd to Shouts and Acclamations, and the Lord Mayor invited the Heralds and Guards to a plentiful Dinner, that the World might imagine it to be undertaken at the Deſire, and with the Satisfaction of the City. In ſum, the firſt War was undertaken at the Deſire and Inſtigation of Parliament, City and Country; and this laſt, in a great Meaſure, without the Knowledge, and contrary to the Inclination of all of them.

CHAP. IV.

From the Proclaiming the Second War againſt the Dutch, *to the Concluſion of the whole, and laſt War with that Nation.*

Containing the Space of 2 Years, wanting near 3 Weeks.

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The Second DUTCH WAR.

I. 1. THE Breaking out of this Second *Dutch* War, which was very viſible from the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet, prov'd a great Surpriſe not only to *Holland*, but to all neighbouring States. The *Dutch* cou'd never be poſſeſs'd with a Belief that the *Engliſh* were in earneſt, till the Blow was given; but thought his *Britannick* Majeſty's Unkindneſs and Expoſtulations of late, wou'd end at laſt in Demands of Mony, or the Prince of *Orange*'s Reſtoration to all the Dignities of his Predeceſſors. So that when Penſionary *de Wit* receiv'd a certain Account of the Rupture, in the Aſſembly of the *States*, in reading the Letter, he fell back upon his Chair almoſt in a Swoon; but in a Moment recovering his natural Vivacity, he incourag'd the *States* to make all neceſſary Preparations: The Princes concern'd in the Safety of *Holland*, cou'd not imagine, that after having ſav'd *Flanders* out of the Hands of the *French*, the King of *England* wou'd ſuffer *Holland* to fall into the ſame Danger. And the Lord *Arlington* told Sir *William Temple*, that the Court of *France* did not believe it themſelves, till the Blow was ſtruck in the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet. Upon which they immediately ſet out their Declaration, which was of a different Style from that of *England:* It ſets forth, ‘ That the Diſpleaſure his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had receiv'd from the Carriage of the *States-General* of the *United Provinces* for ſome Years paſt towards him, was come to ſuch a Height, that his Majeſty cou'd not, without Diminution of his own Glory, any longer diſſemble the Indignation rais'd in him, by a Treatment ſo unſuitable to the great Obligations, which his Majeſty and the Kings his Predeceſſors had ſo liberally heap'd upon them: Therefore his Majeſty was at laſt provok'd to make this Declaration of War againſt them, both by Sea and Land.’ The War was proclaim'd againſt them, both at *London* and *Paris* in one Day; and the Preparations were ſo great on the *French* Side, that the United Provinces were never in ſuch apparent Danger ſince their firſt Foundation and Eſtabliſhment.

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Ref. 13.

The French *King's Declaration.*

To divert or diſſipate this impending Storm, the States made uſe of all proper Methods and Expedients: And firſt they undertook to anſwer the Reaſons in the King of *England*'s Declaration; and particularly declared, ‘ That as to *Trade* they had made no unjuſt Inroads upon any of the *Engliſh* Factories or Plantations: And as to the *Engliſh* Planters in *Surinam*, they themſelves were not willing to forſake their Effects and Subſiſtance, and therefore ſtaid there behind upon their own Choice. As to the *Pictures* and *Medals*, they ſay they knew of none, except one Medal, which might be liable to any ill Conſtruction; but as ſoon as they knew of it, they caus'd the Stamp to be broken. As to the Honour of the *Flagg*, they diſown'd the Refuſal of it, and offer'd to make any reaſonable Satisfaction.’ It muſt be own'd that they had of late aſſum'd too much to themſelves, particularly with Reſpect to the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and that *de Wit* and the *Louveſtein* Faction had been too inflexible in anſwering the Demands of the *Engliſh*, as to the *Flagg*, and other Points of Honour. But now all being in extream Danger, the *States*, contrary to the Struggles of that Faction, had Recourſe to the young Prince of *Orange*, and ſeem'd to depend upon him as born for their Defence and Protection; and tho' he was now but twenty two Years of Age, they preſented him with the Command of their Armies by Land, and with the Title of Admiral of the *United Provinces.* They were the more induc'd to this upon a Proſpect of ſoftning the *Engliſh* Court, and diſcours'd of ſending an Extraordinary Ambaſſador thither *to purchaſe Good-Will*; expecting, as they ſaid, *That the Prince's Promotion, and Satisfaction given upon the* Flagg, *wou'd certainly appeaſe them*; to which, it ſeems, they were then incourag'd by their own Ambaſſador ſtill at *London.*

The Dutch *Anſwer to the* Engliſh.

They advance the Prince of Orange.

Whatever their Expectations were, the Court of *England* proceeded in the War with a Reſolution not to be diverted, and began firſt with a ſolemn Faſt throughout the Kingdom; which indeed prov'd a Day of Sorrow and Humiliation to many diſcerning Perſons. Under ſo great a Diſaffection of his Subjects, his Majeſty choſe to make himſelf more popular by taking into his Council theſe four Perſons of good Reputation among the People; *Henry* Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, Lord Preſident of the Council of *Wales*; *Arthur* Earl of *Eſſex*, whom his Majeſty declar'd he was ſending into *Ireland* as Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom; *Thomas* Viſcount *Falconbridge*, Captain of his Majeſty's Band of Penſioners, and *George* Viſcount *Hallifax*, whom he afterwards made an Earl and a Marqueſs; who being admitted on the 17th of *April*, took the uſual Oaths and their Places at the Board. But the *Cabal* or Cabinet Council were diſtinguiſh'd with more peculiar Favours; for on the 20th of the ſame Month, his Majeſty was pleas'd to create *John* Earl of *Lauderdale*, Principal Secretary of State of *Scotland*, Duke of *Lauderdale* in that Kingdom; *Henry* Lord *Arlington*, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary, Earl of *Arlington*, and Viſcount *Thetford*; *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley Cooper*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and Baron *Cooper* of *Paulet*; and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſhold, Baron *Clifford* of *Chudleigh.* And about the ſame Time the Duke of *Lauderdale* was made Knight of the Garter; as likewiſe the Earl of *Arlington* in another Chapter held not long after. About which Time another able Miniſter was rais'd up, Sir *Thomas Osborn* Baronet, who was admitted into his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council on the 3d of *May.* This Summer, four other Perſons were inſtall'd Knights of the Garter, *Henry* Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, the Earl of St. *Albans*, the Earl of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Oſſory*, Son to the famous Duke of *Ormond.*

Advancements in England.

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Preparations for the War.

As to the War, the Preparations were carry'd on with the utmoſt Diligence; and as the King enter'd upon it with a Diſpenſation of the Laws relating to Religion, *by Vertue*, as he claim'd, *of his Supreme Power in Matters Eccleſiaſtical*, ſo he now proceeded to diſpenſe with another Law in a Matter purely Civil. For on the 10th of *May*, ſoon after the Fleet was gone out, his Majeſty was pleas'd in Council to order and declare, ' That the Act of Parliament made in the 12th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, *For the Encouraging and Encreaſing of Shipping and Navigation*, be totally ſuſpended and diſpens'd with; as likewiſe ' another Act made in the thirteenth Year of his Majeſty's ' Reign, entitled, *An Act for the Encouragement of Trade*: ' His Majeſty declaring, That the Suſpenſion of thoſe ' Laws ſhall continue during his own Royal Will and ' Pleaſure; and that when his Majeſty ſhall think fit to determine this Diſpenſation, he will by Proclamation give ' ſix Months Notice thereof.' Tho' the diſpenſing in theſe particular Matters, under the Neceſſities of a War, was in all Probability for the common Good, yet the doing of it by Royal Will and Pleaſure, without Advice and Conſent of Parliament, was thought a very ill Precedent, which might inſenſibly grow into more dangerous Acts of Power. This ſeems a further Strain of the *Cabal*, whoſe Buſineſs was to advance the Prerogative, and, as before hinted, to make his Majeſty a great King; when in Concluſion they only made themſelves firſt great, and afterwards deſpiſed Subjects.

The War begins.

2. In the Month of *May* all the Fleets appear'd at Sea, and the War began with all Vigour. About the Beginning, the Duke of *York*, Admiral of the *Engliſh* Fleet, conſiſting of near a hundred Ships, twenty thouſand Men, and four thouſand Guns, having gain'd the Wind of the *Dutch*, who had endeavour'd to prevent their getting out of the *Thames*, join'd the Navy of *France*, commanded by the Count *d' Eſtrees*, which conſiſted of forty Men of War, thirteen thouſand Men, and two thouſand Guns: And the King of *England* being then at *Portſmouth*, had the Complaiſance to go on Board the Count *d' Eſtrees'* Ship, to ſhew the mutual Confidence of the two Nations. Being join'd they both compos'd one noble Fleet, which was divided into three Squadrons: The Duke of *York*, as Lord-High-Admiral of *England*, had the Command of the main Battel, or the *Red* Squadron; the Count *d' Eſtrees* Vice-Admiral of *France*, commanded the Right Wing, or the *White* Squadron; and Admiral *Montague*, Earl of *Sandwich*, had the Conduct of the Left Wing, or *Blue* Squadron. On the other Side appear'd the *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of above fourſcore large Men of War, and fifty ſmall Rates, twenty two thouſand Men, and four thouſand Guns; under the Command of the famous *de Ruyter*, to whom was join'd *Cornelius de Wit*, Brother to the Penſionary, who appear'd in a Magiſtrate's Robe, and all the outward Marks of Grandeur. And thus the greateſt Naval Powers in the Univerſe were prepared to contend for the Empire of the Seas and Ocean. On *Sunday* the 19th of *May*, the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleet got their firſt Sight of the *Dutch* about eight Leagues off the *Gun-Fleet*, and put themſelves in Readineſs for Engagement the next Morning; but being again ſeparated and hinder'd by hazy Weather, the *Engliſh* ſtood into *Sould-Bay* in *Suffolk*, and lay there at Anchor for ſeven or eight Days, with too much Signs of Security. For the Day before the Engagement there was great Jollity and Feaſting; and many Country Gentlemen were on Ship-board, and many Sea-Officers were on Shore at *Sould*, *Dunwich* and *Alborough*. In this Poſture the Earl of *Sandwich* was obſerv'd to ſay, *That as the Wind ſtood, the Fleet rode in danger of being ſurpris'd by the* Dutch, *and therefore he thought it adviſable to weigh Anchor and get out to Sea.* The Duke of *York*, who was not in perfect Friendſhip with him, ſlighted the Advice, and retorted upon the Earl, as if *he had ſpoke this out of Fear*; which Reflection his Lordſhip is thought to have ſo far reſented, as the next Day out of Indignation to have ſacrific'd his Life, which he might have otherwiſe preſerv'd.

The Firſt BATTEL.

On *Whitſun-Tueſday*, *May* the 28th, very ſoon in the Morning, the *Dutch* Fleet appear'd with the Advantage of the Weather-Gage; which put the *Engliſh* into ſome Confuſion, and forc'd many of them to cut their Cables. Having got into Order, in a little Time the two mighty Fleets fac'd each other, and was firſt the moſt glorious, and then the moſt terrible Sight in the World. The *Dutch* began the Fight ſoon after Break of Day; Admiral *de Ruyter* diſpos'd himſelf to attack the *Red* Squadron, Lieutenant-Admiral *Bankert* the *White*, and Lieutenant-Admiral *de Ghent* the *Blue*; and the two Vans, the Rears, and the Centres, even to the leaſt Ships, were ſo nicely matcht juſt oppoſite to one another, and that with ſo equal a Motion, as if it had been mutually concerted. Immediately their Blood began to riſe, the Squadrons fell in furiouſly upon each other, and the Air was fill'd with Fire and Smoak, with vaſt Cries, and with the prodigious Thunder of the Artillery, whoſe Sound was carry'd many Miles into the Country, to the great Terror of infinite Numbers of the common People. The Duke of *York* and *de Ruyter* fell in cloſe with each other, and for above two Hours pour'd in great and ſmall Shot with uncommon Fury and Bravery; but the *Dutch* Admiral being aſſiſted by a Ship of the *Maeſe* Squadron, and having ſhot down the Duke's main Top-Maſt at the *Flag*, his Royal Highneſs was oblig'd to leave his Ship, and remove his Flag to the *London*, which, as *Primi* ſays, he did with great Intrepidity. However *de Ruyter* declared afterwards, *that he was never in ſo hot an Action in his Life*. The Admiral of the *Blue*, the Earl of *Sandwich*, with his Squadron, made ſuch vigorous Attacks, that Admiral *de Ghent* was kill'd in the Beginning of the Fight, and was like to make a greater Impreſſion upon the Enemy; but being ſingled out, he was attack'd by four Fireſhips, and after he had ſunk three of them, he was grapled by the fourth; when Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, his Vice-Admiral, who might have diſengag'd the Earl, ſail'd up to the *Red*, to the Duke's Aſſiſtance: So that here the noble Earl, with his brave Ship the *Royal James*, that had a thouſand Men on Board, of whom ſix hundred were ſlain upon the Deck, drew near their End; for the Ship at laſt being ſet on Fire, the Earl retired to his Cabbin, where he was followed by Sir *Richard Haddock*, then his Captain, who finding him with a Handkerchief before his Eyes, he told him of the Danger, and adviſ'd him to ſave himſelf in his Boat; but he anſwer'd, *He ſaw how Things went, and was reſolv'd to periſh with the Ship*. The Ship was blown up, and he and ſeveral brave Men were drown'd in the Sea. The *French* Squadron were at firſt warmly engag'd with fifty Ships under *Bankert*; but fighting more at a Diſtance, and perhaps with Deſign, much leſs Damage was done there, than in the reſt of the Fleet. The Fight continu'd till nine at Night, when Sir *Joſeph Jordan* getting the Weather-Gage of the *Dutch*, they ſtood off, and the Duke ſailing after, got the Appearance of a Victory.

The next Morning after this ſevere Fight, the two Fleets ſeem'd like to engage again; the Duke hoiſting up his bloody Flag, and bearing towards the Enemy, when on a ſudden there fell ſuch a Miſt, that none cou'd ſee a Ship's Length; and at the ſame Time the Wind riſing, made the Sea run high, then the *Dutch* making the beſt of their Way to their own Coaſt, the *Engliſh* ſtood after them, till the Duke, finding himſelf near the *Oyſter-Banks*, tack'd about and ſtood away four Leagues, then came to an Anchor, and ſo continu'd all Night; but about ten next Morning, having no Hopes of ſeeing the Enemy, he return'd with the Fleet into the *Engliſh* Harbours. Thus ended the firſt Battel, and in Effect the whole Summer's Expedition. Both Sides challeng'd the Victory, or rather the Advantage, but neither of them had Reaſon to boaſt; but it is generally believ'd the *Engliſh* were conſiderable Sufferers by relying ſo much upon the *French*, who were certainly defective in their Service, tho' they loſt in the Battel their Rear-Admiral *De la Rabiniere*. The *Engliſh* loſt, beſides the noble Earl of *Sandwich*, Mr. *Digby*, the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Son, Captain of the *Henry*, Sir *Fretchville Hollis* Captain of the *Cambridge*, Sir *John Cox* Captain of the *Prince*, Captain *Pearce* of the *George*, Captain *Waterworth* of the *Anne*, Captain *Hannam* of the *Triumph*, Captain *Tennes* of the *Allice* and *Frances* Fireſhip; and of the *Engliſh* Voluntiers, the Lord *Maidſtone*, Mr. *Mountague*, Mr. *Richard Nicholls*, and Mr. *Roger Vaughan*, both of his Royal Highneſs's Bed-Chamber, Mr. *Trevanian* his Gentleman-Uſher, Sir *Philip Carteret*, Sir *Charles Harbord*, Captain *Bromeley*, Captain *Bennet*, Mr. *Cotterel*, Mr. *Burgh*, Captain *Barry*, Mr. *Napier*, Brother to a *Scotch* Lord of that Name, Mr. *Bowles*, and very many wounded. The Body of the Earl of *Sandwich*, which was known by his *George*, was diſcover'd by one of his Majeſty's Ketches, and was taken up and brought into *Harwich*, where it was receiv'd and embalm'd by the Governor Sir *Charles Littleton*, who ſending Notice of it to *White-hall*, his Majeſty generouſly declar'd, ' That out of his Princely Regard to the great Deſervings of the ſaid Earl, and ' his unexampled Performances in this laſt Act of his Life, ' he reſolved to have his Body brought up to *London*, there ' at his Charge to receive the Rites of Funeral due to his ' great Quality and Merits:' All which were afterwards celebrated with no ſmall Splendor and Solemnity.

The Loſs of the Engliſh.

The French *Conqueſts by Land.*

3. Tho' the *French* had done very little at Sea againſt the *Dutch*, yet their Progreſs and Conqueſts by Land were formidable and amazing. Their aſpiring Monarch having in the Beginning of *May* drawn together a noble Army of a hundred and twenty thouſand effective Men, divided them into three Bodies: The firſt, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand, he took under his own peculiar Command. At the Head of the ſecond, which was of forty thouſand, he plac'd the Prince of *Conde*; and gave about ten thouſand more to the Count *de Chamilly*, to ſerve as a flying Camp. All theſe Forces

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directing their March towards *Maeſtricht*, a Council of War was held, and a Debate ariſing about beſieging that Place, it was adjudg'd to be an Enterpriſe ſo full of Hazard and Difficulty, by reaſon of the numerous Garriſon and ſtrong Fortifications, that they reſolv'd to make their Advances towards the *Rhine*, where the Places were not in ſo good a Condition; yet it was thought convenient to leave *Chamilly* near *Tongeren*, to prevent the Excurſions of the Garriſon of *Maeſtricht*. This done, the two Armies commanded by the King and Prince of *Conde*, march'd ſeveral Days without ſeeing an Enemy, except two hundred Men, who had intrench'd themſelves on the Side of the *Rhine*, and yielded themſelves Priſoners after a ſmall Reſiſtance. From thence the Prince of *Conde* was ſent to beſiege *Weſel*, while the King himſelf inveſted *Orſoy*, and the Mareſchal *Turenne* did the ſame by *Burick*. Theſe three Sieges being undertaken at the ſame Time, caus'd a general Allarm; but when they ſaw that *Orſoy* had hardly held out twenty four Hours, and that *Burick* and *Weſel* had been ſurrender'd in a little more than the ſame Time, the Conſternation vaſtly increas'd. The Governor of *Weſel*, which was accounted a ſtrong Place, was afterwards ſentenc'd to loſe his Head; but having ſome Friends, the Executioner was order'd only to paſs the Sword over him; and the Count *D' Eſtrades*, in Conſideration of his great Services in *Holland*, was made Governor of the Place. *Rhineberg*, *Reez*, *Emerick*, *Ultz* and *Dotekom*, ſoon follow'd the Example; and *Culcar* and *Cleve* ſet open their Gates to the Victor. At the ſame Time the Biſhop of *Munſter*, a Confederate with the *French*, took *Loken*, *Borkelo* and *Grol*: So that in the Beginning of *June*, all the Country beyond the *Yſſel*, the *Rhine* and the *Wael* as far as the *Maeſe*, ſubmitted to the Will of the Conquerors.

The *French* King reſolving to puſh on his Victories, form'd a Deſign of paſſing the *Yſſel*, in order to attack the Places on the other Side of that River, and communicated it to the Prince of *Conde*, and the Mareſchal *Turenne*; but being diſſuaded from that Attempt, it was reſolv'd to try to paſs the *Rhine*, which they thought more practicable. In purſuance of this Reſolution, they procur'd the beſt Advice, and were inform'd by a Betrayer of his Country, that there was a Place where the Water was neither very deep nor rapid: Which being try'd and found true, the King expreſs'd a mighty Satisfaction, becauſe he cou'd as well enter the Country that Way as by the *Yſſel*. The *Dutch* ſuſpecting the Place, had already ſent an Officer to ſecure the Paſſage; but he finding himſelf too weak, abandon'd the Poſt with the Conſent of the States Deputies; and Lieutenant-General *Wurtz* was ſent by the Prince of *Orange* with a greater Force. By this Means much Time was loſt, and the *French* King had Leiſure to erect Batteries, which gall'd *Wurtz*'s Horſe in ſuch a Manner, that they found themſelves oblig'd to take Shelter in the Woods. All Things being prepared, Part of a Regiment of *French* Horſe ſwam the River, and were receiv'd ſo warmly by *Wurtz*, that they were forc'd back into the Water; but being ſupported by great Numbers, they ſoon made good their Ground, and repell'd the *Dutch* Horſe: However in this Paſſage the Duke of *Longueville*, Nephew to the Prince of *Conde*, was kill'd, and the Prince himſelf wounded by a Muſquet-Ball. Upon this the *French* took the Caſtle of *Tolbuys* juſt by, and laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhine*; which ſo terrify'd the *Dutch*, that they abandon'd all their Intrenchments; ſo that the King found his Work more eaſy than he expected. After which he reſolv'd to paſs the *Yſſel*, and was not a little ſurpris'd to find the Paſſage ſo clear, and quite otherwiſe than had been repreſented to him. Having beſieg'd and taken *Doesburg*, Deputies arriv'd in his Camp from *Utrecht*, offering to deliver the Town and Dependencies. The Duke of *Orleans* took *Zutphen*, *Turenne* poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Arnheim*, *Nimiguen*, Fort *Knotſemberg* and *Graven*; *Bonnel* and *Sckincken Scans* fell alſo into the Hands of the *French*; the Biſhop of *Munſter* took *Deventer*, and the Marqueſs of *Rochefort* made himſelf Maſter of *Naerden* and ſome other Places. While the *French* King, in the Beginning of *July*, took Poſſeſſion of *Utrecht*, where he kept his Court for a conſiderable Time, in the very Heart of all the *United Provinces*.

The French *King paſſes the* Rhine,

And ſettles at Utrecht.

The aſtoniſhing Succeſs that attended the *French* in every Attempt, drove the common People of *Holland* into Rage and Deſpair. The *States* themſelves were in Diſorder, and irreſolute what to do; their Troops were at firſt without a General, and, which was worſe, without a Heart; and tho' *De Ruyter* by his admirable Conduct kept the Infection of theſe Evils out of the Fleet, yet Faction, Diſtruſt, Sedition and Diſtraction made ſuch Entrances upon the State and Army, when the *French* began their Expedition, that they knew not how to make any Stand. During this ſurpriſing Progreſs of their Enemies by Land, they found ſome Colour to publiſh that they had obtain'd a Victory over the Royal Fleets by Sea; which News being ſpread at the *Hague* immediately after the Battel, not a little contributed to raiſe and revive the expiring Courage of the People. And it may be ſaid, that if the Confederate Fleets had been as ſucceſsful as their Land-Armies, the *States* had been loſt without Retrieve, and the *United Provinces* muſt have entirely ſubmitted to a Foreign Yoke: But by reaſon that the *French* Fleet fought ſo little, and that the *Engliſh* truſting to their Aſſiſtance did not employ their full naval Power, and that *De Ruyter* by his Vigilance had ſurpris'd them at a Diſadvantage, when they little expected him, that bare Succeſs was to him and the *Dutch*, at this nice Juncture of Affairs, as advantagious as an actual and compleat Victory at any other Seaſon; by keeping up the Hearts of the diſpirited People, ſecuring their Navigation, and preſerving their Coaſts from the like direful Deſolation with which their Land-Frontiers were afflicted. This was indeed a Critical Time, in which the *United Provinces* were in imminent Danger, and the Remainder was forc'd to depend chiefly upon their Situation, and to open their Sluces and lay their Country under Water. And yet they own themſelves more protected by Providence, than by any Skill of their own. For near the Time that the *French* King took Poſſeſſion of *Utrecht*, when the two Royal Confederate Fleets appear'd before the *Dutch* Coaſt with deſign to make a Deſcent near the *Hague*, *Harlem*, or the *Texel*, a conſiderable *Dutch* Writer tells us, 'That the 'Enterpriſe was diverted by a Kind of Miracle: For on 'the very Day fix'd for that Deſign, as the *Engliſh* and '*French* were expecting the Coming in of the Tide, to ſend 'in their ſmall Veſſels and Boats to land their Soldiers, it 'hapned to alter its Courſe, and came twelve full Hours 'later than its natural Order, to the great Surpriſe and A'ſtoniſhment of all that were vers'd in Sea Affairs. That 'Prodigy was look'd upon as one of the moſt ſenſible 'Marks of the Protection of God that began to declare it'ſelf for the *States*: And this was likewiſe ſucceeded by a 'dreadful Tempeſt, which forc'd the Confederate Fleets 'with Terror to quit the *Holland* Coaſts, and retire home'wards with great Loſs.

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The narrow Eſcape of the Dutch.

In the mean Time the Mob began to riſe in great Multitudes, and accus'd thoſe who had the Management of the Government, and principally the two Brothers the *de Wits*, of being the Authors of all the preſent Diſaſters, and charg'd them with Treaſon, and holding dangerous Correſpondence with the Enemies of the State, Nay, they further openly declar'd, 'That there was no Poſſibility of 'governing the State any longer, unleſs the *Louveſtein* Fa'ction were pull'd down, and the perpetual Edict made by 'them in 1667 to the Prejudice of the illuſtrious Houſe of '*Orange* were annull'd, and the Dignity of *Stadt-Holder* 'reſtored to the preſent Prince, *&c.*' So that in Concluſion they ſo far prevail'd, that on the 3d of *July*, that Prince, who before had been made Captain-General and Admiral of the *States* Forces, was reſtored to the Power of *Stadt-Holder*, with all Advantages, and even ſome more than thoſe which had been exercis'd by his Anceſtors. This being ſtrenuouſly oppos'd by the *de Wits*, at a Time when the Prince's Friends were ſo very numerous, it ſhortly after caus'd the Ruin of theſe two noted Brothers. *Cornelius*, the Elder Brother, having lately left the Fleet with conſiderable Reputation, was accus'd of a Deſign upon the Prince's Life, and of endeavouring to hire one of his Highneſs's Domeſticks in this Attempt. But no other Witneſs appearing, he was ſentenc'd only to be baniſh'd; at which the People ſhew'd great Diſſatisfaction, as believing him worthy of a greater Puniſhment. The Morning he was to leave his Priſon, his Brother the Penſionary, againſt the Opinion of his Friends, went himſelf to bring him out with more Honour, and carry him out of the *Hague*; and to that end appear'd with his Coach and four Horſes. This being unuſual to this Miniſter, caus'd the People to take more Notice, and gather together tumultuouſly firſt in the Streets where he paſs'd, and then about the Court where the Priſoner was kept. Some of the Train'd-Bands of the Town that were upon the Guard, mingled among them, and began to exclaim againſt the Judgment of the Court, the Crime of one Brother, and the Inſolence of the other, *who pretended to carry him away in Triumph*. In the midſt of the Fury, the two Brothers came out into the Street, where they were immediately knock'd down, kill'd, dragg'd about the Town, and torn in Pieces, after a Manner unknown to an *Engliſh* Mob. The Penſionary was one of the greateſt Genius and Politicians of the Age; but cannot well be acquitted as to his ſecret Correſpondence with *France*, and his inflexible Behaviour towards *England*.

They make the Prince of Orange *Stadt-Holder.*

The two De Wits *murder'd.*

As ſoon as the Prince of *Orange* was ſettled in his high Poſts, the *French* turn'd their Applications to him, and made his Highneſs the moſt plauſible Offers of Honour and Advantage to his Perſon and Family, provided he wou'd be content to depend upon them. The Bait which they conceiv'd cou'd not fail of taking place, and about which moſt Artifice was us'd, was, the Propoſal of making him Sovereign of the *Seven Provinces*, under the Protection of

The French *apply to the Prince of* Orange *in vain.*

England and *France*. And at a Time when ſo little of the Provinces was left, and what remain'd was under Water, and in ſo imminent Danger upon the firſt Froſts, this ſeem'd a Temptation to which a meaner Soul than that of the Prince might well ſubmit. But he was above it, and his Anſwers always ſteady, *That he wou'd never betray a Truſt that was given him, nor ever ſell the Liberty of his Country, that his Anceſtors had ſo long defended.* Yet the Game he play'd was then thought ſo deſperate, that one of his neareſt Servants told Sir *William Temple*, he had long expoſtulated it with his Maſter, and at laſt ask'd him, *How he pretended to live after* Holland *was loſt*? To which the Prince anſwer'd, *He reſolv'd to live upon the Lands he had in* Germany; *and that he had rather paſs his Life in Hunting there, than ſell his Country or his Liberty to* France *at any Price.* However it was, all Things began now to be calm'd at home, and he made the firſt Appearance of defending what was left of his Country. The State grew united, the Army more in heart, and Foreign Princes began to take Confidence in the Honour and Conſtancy of the young Prince; which they had in a manner loſt, upon the Diviſions and Misfortunes of the State.

Diſcontents in England.

4. The repeated News of the rapid Victories of the *French* had a particular Effect in *England*; and tho' they were Allies, and engag'd in the ſame Cauſe, yet the *Engliſh* People were ſo diſpos'd to Murmurs and Complaints upon their vaſt Progreſs, that his Majeſty was neceſſitated to iſſue out his Proclamation, for 'Suppreſſing that unlawful and undutiful kind of Diſcourſe, by a moſt ſtrict and exemplary Puniſhment of all Perſons, who ſhou'd be found Spreaders of falſe News, or Promoters of any malicious Slanders or Calumnies in any Coffee-Houſe, or any publick or private Meeting,' But this Proclamation rather irritating, than qualifying the general ill Humour and Diſcontents of the People, his Majeſty thought fit to publiſh a Declaration in favour even of the *Dutch*, viz. 'That notwithſtanding the War, if any of the *Low-Country* Subjects, either out of Affection to his Majeſty or his Government, or by reaſon of the Oppreſſion they met with at home from their Governors, ſhou'd come into the King's Dominions, they ſhou'd be, by his Majeſty, protected in their Perſons and Eſtates; his Majeſty continuing in the ſame gracious Inclination towards all ſuch of the Subjects of the *Low-Countries*, as wou'd deſire to deliver themſelves from the Calamity and Diſtreſs into which the ill Counſels of ſome prevailing Perſons in the Government of thoſe Countries had juſtly drawn them.

Under theſe dreadful Apprehenſions the *States-General* ſent over their Deputies to the King of *England*, to repreſent the common Dangers of *Europe*, in the inevitable Ruin of their own Country, and Neceſſity of putting a Stop to the overflowing Progreſs of the *French* Arms. Whereupon the King, on the 20th of *June*, appointed the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Arlington* and *Shaftsbury*, and the Lord *Clifford*, to meet the *Dutch* Deputies at *Hampton-Court*, to know *what Propoſals they had to offer to his Majeſty*. They reply'd, *They had no Power or Inſtructions to make any Offer, but to hear what his Majeſty wou'd demand.* Upon which the King preſently appointed the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Arlington*, and the Lord *Hallifax*, to be his Ambaſſadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries, to treat jointly with ſuch as ſhou'd be appointed by the moſt *Chriſtian* King, with any Deputies or Commiſſioners from the *States-General*. Theſe Ambaſſadors within a few Days ſet Sail for *Holland*, and were receiv'd with great Joy and Satisfaction by the People, out of hopes that they came to conclude a Peace, and were met near the *Hague* by a Multitude of Men, Women and Children, who, as they paſs'd, joyn'd in their Acclamations of *God bleſs the King of* England! *God bleſs the Prince of* Orange! *and the Devil take the* States! The Ambaſſadors purſu'd their Journey to *Utrecht*, where they found the *French* King in the Height of his Grandeur and Exaltation; but of what paſs'd between them, we have but an imperfect Account.

The King ſends Plenipotentiaries to Utrecht.

It was commonly believ'd in *England* and *Holland*, that the true End or Subject of this Embaſſy, was the Jealouſy the *Engliſh* had of the *French* Conqueſts going on ſo faſt, while their own went ſo lame; and great Hopes were rais'd in *Holland*, that it was to ſtop their Courſe or Extent: But theſe were ſoon daſh'd by the Return of the Ambaſſadors, after having renew'd and faſtned the Meaſures formerly taken between the two Crowns. However, the Ambaſſadors were deſirous, as they paſs'd through *Holland*, that the firſt ſhou'd be believ'd; which gave Occaſion for a very juſt Repartee of the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange* to the volatile Duke of *Buckingham*, who paid her a Viſit at the *Hague*; and talking much of *their being good* Hollanders, ſhe told him, *That was more than they ask'd; which was only that they ſhou'd be good* Engliſh *Men*: He aſſur'd her, they were *not only ſo, but good* Dutch-*Men too*; *That indeed they did not uſe* Holland *like a Miſtreſs, but they lov'd her like a Wife.* To which the Princeſs briskly reply'd, *Truly, I think you love Us juſt as you do yours.* It is likewiſe reported that the Duke had a long Conference with the Prince of *Orange* about the bad Poſture of the Affairs of his Country; and having us'd many Arguments to him for accepting the Sovereignty of it, under the Protection of *England* and *France*, his Grace told him at laſt, *He wonder'd what his Highneſs cou'd propoſe to himſelf in ſuch a deſperate Caſe; ſince according to the Humour he perſiſted in, he muſt unavoidably ſee the final Ruin of it.* To this the Prince reply'd, *That what his Grace ſaid concerning their dangerous Condition, was indeed true; but yet he had one Way ſtill, not to ſee its Ruin compleated; which was to lye in the laſt Dyke*: By which he meant the Fighting of it out to the laſt. When the *French* had loſt all Hopes of ſhocking the Conſtancy of this Prince, they bent all their Thoughts of ſubduing and ruining the Remainder of the Country; but his Highneſs with a Handful of Men, and the natural Advantages of the Country, put a ſtop to their Career, and in no long Time very much turn'd the Scale.

But to no great Effect.

The Meeting of the Parliament put off.

5. In *England* there were, in the mean Time, great Expectations of the Meeting of the Parliament, which had been Prorogu'd from the 16th Day of *April* laſt to the 30th of *October*; but juſt before the Time, when Mens Minds began to be fill'd with Hopes or Fears, a Proclamation came out for a further Prorogation; of which the Earl of *Arlington* gives this following Account in a Letter to Sir *Bernard Gaſcoyn*, then Reſident at *Vienna*: 'The laſt Week his Majeſty reſolv'd in Council a further Prorogation of the Parliament to the 4th of *February* next, by which a great Meaſure of the *Hollanders* is broken, having fancied to themſelves that they ſhou'd prevail with many of the Members of it, to make them clamorous upon his Majeſty for a Separate Treaty upon eaſy Terms, and with Excluſion to *France*; ſo that they ſeeing this Thruſt broken, and finding no great Eaſe to their preſent Calamity from the Auxiliary Forces of *Germany*, we perſuade our ſelves we ſhall find them very reaſonable in a ſhort Time; and in *February* his Majeſty bringing into Parliament a determinate Reſolution either of Peace or War, will much more eaſily obtain all the Ends there.' In the mean Time his Majeſty was to raiſe Men, and provide Mony, by his own Intereſt and Authority. On the 4th of *December* he was pleas'd to declare in Council, 'That he found it neceſſary, during the preſent War, to raiſe more Soldiers, and to form them into Regiments, and diſpoſe of them in ſeveral Quarters, until there ſhou'd be Occaſion for their Service againſt the Enemy.' And therefore he order'd a particular Proclamation, 'To forbid any Rudeneſs or Miſdemeanor in their reſpective Quarters.' And that the Fund of the Exchequer might not be deficient for this Occaſion, a few Days after, he order'd a Declaration to be publiſh'd for a further Stop to the Payment of any former Debts, 'Confeſſing that he had before Declared the Stop of Payments ſhou'd not continue beyond the laſt Day of this Inſtant *December*. But notwithſtanding his Majeſty hath not been wanting on his Part to comply with all honourable Ways and Means that might operate ſuch happy Effects; yet the Continuance of thoſe inevitable Neceſſities which firſt inforc'd his Majeſty, contrary to his own Inclinations, to cauſe a Stop to be made of Payment of Monies, compels him at this preſent to continue the ſame Stop of Payments of any Monies now being to be brought into his Exchequer, until the Firſt Day of *May* next enſuing. Doubting not but that all his loving Subjects have ſuch Truſt and Confidence in his Juſtice, that it will take away all Apprehenſions of their being in the leaſt defrauded of any Thing that is juſtly due to them.

The King puts a further Stop to the Exchequer.

His Majeſty by a particular Agreement with the *French* King, was to ſend Six Thouſand Men into his Service by Land. Theſe Forces, conſiſting of *Engliſh* and *Scots*, were commanded by the riſing Duke of *Monmouth*, who was this Year ſent abroad to diſtinguiſh himſelf by Arms, and to diſplay his Martial Qualifications. Theſe Forces arriv'd at the *French* Camp near *Charleroy* at the Beginning of the Campaign, and the Duke was graciouſly receiv'd by the *French* King and the Duke of *Orleans*. His Grace was preſent at the taking of *Orſoy*, *Rhineberg*, *Weſel*, *Emmerick*, *Doesburg*, and *Zutphen*, and was in the *French* King's Camp near *Utrecht*, when that City ſent her Keys to the Conqueror. Immediately after, the Duke, with the *Engliſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen Voluntiers, went to view the Town, and were honourably entertain'd by the Magiſtrates. In *July* the Army broke up, and march'd back to *Flanders*; and the Campaign being over, the *French* King return'd to St. *Germains*, and the Duke to *England*. On his Arrival at *London*, he was receiv'd with univerſal Joy; for tho' the People were diſſatisfy'd with the War, yet

The Duke of Monmouth *aſſiſts the* French.

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His Reception abroad.

they were pleas'd to hear how much his Grace was a Heroe in it. In *November* the Duke went again to *France*, on News that the Prince of *Orange* was ſet down before *Charleroy*; but the Prince leaving that Siege upon greater Deſigns, *Flanders* was quiet the reſt of the Winter. The Duke landed at *Calais*, and went thence to *Dourlens*, where his Regiment quarter'd. In his Way thither the Duke *de Elbeuf*, Governor of *Montrevil*, receiv'd him in an extraordinary Manner. At *Beville* the Militia were drawn up, and the Mayor complimented him at the Gates; and near *Dourlens* the Governor met him with his Coaches, attended with forty Horſe, waited upon him into the Town, entertain'd him ſplendidly for five Days, and receiv'd the *Word* from him every Night. Here the Duke made a Review of his Soldiers, which he found in good Order, and well diſciplin'd, from thence he went to *Paris*, and ſo to St. *Germains*, where he was receiv'd by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty with particular Honours. He made no long Stay at the *French* Court; but finding there was no Probability of any ſudden Action, he return'd to *England*, and remain'd there till the Opening of the Campaign. It is obſervable, that in whatever Place his Grace appear'd, he was very much reſpected, and no leſs admired.

Promotions in England.

We have little more to add this Year, beſides Promotions and Deaths of eminent Perſons. In the middle of the Summer, dy'd Sir *John Trevor*, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State; in whoſe Place *Henry Coventry* Eſquire, late Ambaſſador at the Court of *Sweden*, was ſworn; and was at the ſame Time, together with Sir *Robert Long* Knight and Baronet, admitted into the Privy-Council. The Earl of *Eſſex* having been appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the room of the Lord *Berkley*, began his Journey towards that Kingdom on the latter End of *July*, with a noble Equipage; and arrived at *Dublin* ſhortly after, had the Sword of State deliver'd to him by the Lord *Berkley*, who the next Day embark'd for *England*. In *November*, by the Reſignation of Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to give the Great Seal to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, with the Title of Lord-Chancellor of *England*; who was ſucceeded by Sir *John Duncomb* in the Place of Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer. A few Days after the Lord *Clifford* was made Lord-High-Treaſurer of *England*, which Place had been held in Commiſſion for about five Years, ever ſince the Death of the Earl of *Southampton*. His Place of Treaſurer of the Houſhold was conferr'd upon the Lord *Newport*, and that of Comptroller, formerly poſſeſs'd by his Lordſhip, given to the Lord *Maynard*. The Lord *Clifford* having receiv'd the *White Staff*, went with a mighty Solemnity and Attendance to be ſworn at *Weſtminſter-Hall*; where the new Lord-Chancellor in a Speech to him diſplay'd his Eloquence in ſuch a Manner, as ought not to be wholly forgotten; after telling him the Nature of his Office, he proceeded thus: 'I may juſtly 'ſay you are in a Place of the very firſt Rank, as to *Dignity*, *Power*, *Truſt* and *Influence* of Affairs: A Place 'that requires ſuch a Man as our great Maſter's Wiſdom 'hath found for it; from whoſe natural Temper we may 'expect Courage, Quickneſs, and Reſolution; from 'whoſe Education, Wiſdom and Experience; and from 'whoſe Extraction, that noble and illuſtrious Houſe of 'the *Cliffords*, an heroick Mind, a large Soul, and an unſhaken Fidelity to the Crown. *My Lord*, 'Tis a great 'Honour, much beyond even the Place it ſelf, that you 'are choſen to it by this King, who, without Flattery I 'may ſay, is as great a Maſter in the Knowledge of Men 'and Things, as this, or any other Age hath produc'd: 'And let me ſay farther, it is not only your Honour, that 'you are choſen by Him, but it is your Safety too, that 'you have Him to ſerve; with whom no ſubtle Inſinuations of any near Him, nor the aſpiring Intereſt of a *Favourite*, ſhall ever prevail againſt Thoſe that ſerve him 'well. Nor can his Servants fear to be ſacrific'd to the 'Malice, Fury or Miſtake of a more ſwelling Popular 'Greatneſs; A Prince under whom the Unfortunate fall 'gently! a Prince, in a Word, that beſt of all Mankind deſerves the Title of *Deliciæ Humani Generis*. 'Let me end with this Wiſh, or rather Prophecy, That 'you may exceed all your Predeceſſors in this Place; the 'Abilities, and Fidelity of the renowned Lord *Burleigh*; 'the Sagacity, Quickneſs and great Diſpatch of his Son 'the Lord *Saliſbury*; and the Uprightneſs, Integrity and 'Wiſdom of that great Man that went laſt before you, 'the Earl of *Southampton*.

C. Shaftsbury*'s Speech to T.* Clifford.

The Deaths of Biſhop Coſen,

1672.
Car. 24.
Reſ. 13.

Biſhop Wilkins.

Mr. Caryl,

Mr. Nye,

As to the Deaths of eminent Men, we ſhall firſt take notice of two Reverend Prelates, Dr. *John Coſen* Biſhop of *Durham*, and Dr. *John Wilkins* Biſhop of *Cheſter*. The firſt, Biſhop *Coſen*, had his Education in *Caius* College in *Cambridge*, and was afterwards Maſter of *Peter-Houſe* College in the ſame Univerſity, and ſoon after Dean of *Peterborough*. Being a very ſtrict Church-Man, and eminently loyal to the late King, he was charg'd with Popery, and ſuffer'd all the Extremities of Plunder and Sequeſtration; and during the Time of Uſurpation, he retired into *France*, where he in ſome Things declin'd joyning in Communion with the *French* Proteſtants; but yet by his exemplary Life, conſtant Preaching and learned Diſputes, he gain'd over ſeveral Papiſts to the Church of *England*. At the Reſtoration, in Conſideration of his Sufferings, and his Worth and Learning, he was advanc'd to the rich See of *Durham*, the Riches of which he the more deſerv'd, becauſe of his munificent Benefactions, and his leaving a great Part of his Eſtate to pious and publick Uſes. The other, Biſhop *Wilkins*, was a Perſon of a different Temper, and a more extenſive Genius, who was no Loſer, but a conſiderable Gainer in the late troubleſome Times: He was educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was Warden of *Wadham* College, and from thence remov'd to the Maſterſhip of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge* by *Cromwell*, whoſe Siſter he had marry'd. Tho' he was depriv'd of this at the Reſtoration, yet afterwards, for his admirable Abilities, he was made Biſhop of *Cheſter*; and ſurely the Court cou'd never have found a Man of greater Ingenuity and Capacity, or of more univerſal Knowledge and Underſtanding; being diſtinguiſh'd, not only for his Theology, and his excellent Preaching, but for his Skill in Mathematicks, in Philoſophy, and in all ſorts of polite and valuable Learning, than whom none had a truer Taſte, or a more ſolid Judgment. The two next to be mention'd were Divines of the Diſſenting Party, both Independents, and both Incendiaries in the late Times, but not equally ſo, Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*, and Mr. *Philip Nye*. The Former, who had the more moderate Spirit, having been educated in *Oxford*, became Preacher to the honourable Society of *Lincolns-Inn*, where he continu'd ſeveral Years with Good-liking and Applauſe: After which he became a frequent Preacher before the Long Parliament, a Licencer of their Books for the *Cauſe*, and one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and afterwards one of the *Triers* for the Approbation of Miniſters, in all which he ſhew'd himſelf a Man of conſiderable Parts and Learning, but a very great Bigot with reſpect to the Royal Martyr's Cauſe and Behaviour. After the Reſtoration he was ſilenc'd by the Act of *Uniformity*, and liv'd privately in *London*, where he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, beſides other Books, by his valuable *Expoſition*, &c. *on the Book of* Job. The other Independent Preacher, Mr. *Nye*, was likewiſe educated in *Oxford*, one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and a louder Trumpeter to the Long Parliament, and not without ſome infamous Marks of Villany and Deſign. So that at the Meeting of the firſt Parliament, it was debated for ſeveral Hours whether He and *John Goodwin*, as well as *Hugh Peters*, ſhou'd be excepted for Life; and the Reſult was, 'That if *Philip Nye* ſhou'd hereafter accept or exerciſe 'any Office Eccleſiaſtical, Civil or Military, he ſhou'd to 'all Intents and Purpoſes in Law ſtand as if he had been 'totally excepted from Life.' After this he liv'd privately in *London*, and dy'd with the Name of a Man of uncommon Depth, who was ſeldom, if ever, outreach'd: He was alſo noted for his great Labours in the Pulpit; but a painful Preacher, with an Antichriſtian Spirit, makes but a wretched Character.

And Mr. Francis Willoughby.

After all theſe, we ſhall mention *Francis Willoughby* Eſquire, a Gentleman of *Middleton* in *Warwickſhire*, and one highly celebrated among the greateſt *Virtuoſi* in *Europe*. He was deſcended from two Branches of that ancient and famous Family of the *Willoughbys*, and prov'd a mighty Ornament to both. His rare natural Abilities, join'd with an indefatigable Induſtry, brought him to a very great Skill in all Parts of Learning, and particularly into thoſe Sciences which are moſt abſtruſe and uncommon to vulgar Capacities, the moſt ſubtle Parts of Mathematicks, and natural Philoſophy, and more particularly the Hiſtory of Animals, Birds, Beaſts, Fiſhes and Inſects, in which he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, almoſt beyond Example, and became the Glory of the Age. In order to which, he travell'd into many Countries, and left no Experiments untry'd; and laſt of all he was ſnatch'd away in the 37th Year of his Age, to the great Concern of all curious and inquiſitive Scholars, eſpecially thoſe of the *Royal Society*, and the great Loſs of all good Men who were acquainted with his Virtues, and of all learned Men who cou'd judge of his Labours.

167$\frac{2}{3}$.
Car. 25.
Reſ. 13.

The ELEVENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

II. I. Never were greater Expectations of the meeting of any Parliament than at this Time: The long Receſs and Intermiſſion of a Year and above nine Months, and the many bold Things tranſacted during the Interval, fill'd all Men's Minds with Curioſity, and a Deſire to ſee the Event of this Meeting. On the fourth Day of *February* both Houſes met according to Prorogation, and this made the Eleventh Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament. Sir *Edward Turner*, the laſt Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, having been made Lord-Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, *Sir* Job Charleton *the new Speaker.*

quer, the firſt Thing they did was the Choice of a new Speaker; to this End Sir *Job Charleton* Serjeant at Law was recommended to them, and unanimouſly elected. This able Man being preſented to the King, deſir'd to be excus'd from ſo difficult and weighty a Concern; but the Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury* in another Speech to him, let him know that no Excuſes wou'd be admitted, and particularly ſaid in the Preſence of the King and both Houſes, ‘The Conjuncture of Time, and the King's and Kingdom's Affairs require *ſuch a Houſe of Commons*, *ſuch a Speaker*; for with Reverence to the Holy Scripture, the King may upon this Occaſion ſay, *He that is not with me is againſt me*: For he that doth not now put his *Hand* and *Heart* to ſupport the King in the common Cauſe of this Kingdom, can hardly ever hope for ſuch another *Opportunity*, or find a Time to make Satisfaction for the *Omiſſion of this.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

Immediately after, his Majeſty from the Throne made this following Speech to both Houſes of Parliament: ‘*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am glad to ſee you here this Day; I wou'd have call'd you together ſooner, but that I was willing to eaſe you and the Country, till there was an abſolute Neceſſity. Since you were laſt here, I have been forc'd to a moſt important, neceſſary and expenſive War; and I make no Doubt but you will give me ſuitable and effectual Aſſiſtance to go through with it. I refer you to my *Declaration* for the *Cauſes*, and indeed the *Neceſſity* of this War; and ſhall now only tell you, that I might have digeſted the Indignities to my own Perſon, rather than have brought it to this Extremity, if the *Intereſt*, as well as the *Honour* of the whole Kingdom had not been at Stake: And if I had omitted this Conjuncture, perhaps I had not again ever met with the like Advantage. You will find the laſt Supply you gave me did not anſwer the Expectation for the End you gave it, the Payment of my Debts. Therefore I muſt in the next Place recommend them again to your eſpecial Care.

‘Some few Days before I declared the War, I put forth my *Declaration for Indulgence to Diſſenters*, and have hitherto found a good Effect of it, by ſecuring Peace at home, when I had War abroad. There is one Part in it that hath been ſubject to Miſconſtruction, which is that concerning the *Papiſts*; as if more Liberty were granted to them, than to the other Recuſants; when it is plain there is leſs: For the others have publick Places allow'd them, and I never intended that They ſhou'd have any, but only have the Freedom of their Religion in their own Houſes, without any Concourſe of others. And I cou'd not grant them leſs than this, when I had extended ſo much more Grace to others, moſt of them having been Loyal, and in the Service of me, and of the King my Father; and in the whole Courſe of this Indulgence, I do not intend that it ſhall any way prejudice the Church, but I will ſupport its Rights, and in its full Power. Having ſaid this, I ſhall take it very ill to receive Contradiction in what I have done. And I will deal plainly with you, *I am reſolv'd to ſtick to my Declaration*. There is one Jealouſie more that is maliciouſly ſpread abroad, and yet ſo weak and frivolous, that I once thought it not of Moment enough to mention; but it may have gotten ſome Ground with ſome well-minded People, and that is, *That the Forces I have raiſ'd in this War were deſign'd to controll Law and Property*: I wiſh I had had more Forces laſt Summer, the want of them then convinces me I muſt raiſe more againſt the next Spring; and I do not doubt but you will conſider the Charge of them in your Supplies. I will conclude with this Aſſurance to you, *That I will preſerve the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, and the Church as it is now Eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom; and that no Man's Property or Liberty ſhall ever be invaded.* I leave the reſt to the Lord Chancellor.

The Lord Chancellor Shaftsbury*'s Speech.*

Whereupon his Lordſhip deliver'd a Speech ſo remarkable and memorable, that not a Word of it ought to be omitted, and is as follows: ‘*My Lords, and you Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*, The King hath ſpoken ſo fully, ſo excellently well, and ſo like himſelf, that you are not to expect much from me. There is not a Word in his Speech that hath not its *full Weight*: And, I dare with Aſſurance ſay, will have its *Effect* with you. His Majeſty had called you ſooner, and his Affairs required it, but that he was reſolv'd to give you all the Eaſe, and Vacancy to your own private Concerns; and the People as much Reſpit from Payments and Taxes, as the Neceſſity of his Buſineſs, or their Preſervation wou'd permit. And yet (which I cannot but here mention to you) by the crafty Inſinuations of ſome ill-affected Perſons, there have been ſpread ſtrange and deſperate *Rumours*, which your Meeting together this Day hath ſufficiently prov'd both malicious, and falſe. His Majeſty hath told you, that he is now engag'd in an *important*, very *expenſive*, and indeed a War abſolutely *neceſſary*, and *unavoidable*. He hath referr'd you to his *Declaration*, where you will find the *Perſonal Indignities* by *Pictures*, and *Medals*, and other *Publick Affronts*, his Majeſty hath receiv'd from the *States*, their *Breach of Treaties* both in the *Surinam*, and the *Eaſt-India* Buſineſs: And at laſt they came to that Height of Inſolence, as to deny the Honour and Right of the *Flagg*, tho' an undoubted Jewel of this Crown, never to be parted with, and by them particularly own'd in the late Treaty of *Breda*, and never conteſted in any Age. And whilſt the King long expected, and then ſolemnly demanded *Satisfaction*, they diſputed his Title to it in all the Courts of *Chriſtendom*, and made great Offers to the *French* King, if he wou'd ſtand by them againſt us. But the moſt Chriſtian King too well remember'd what they did at *Munſter*, contrary to ſo many Treaties, and ſolemn Ingagements; and how dangerous a Neighbour they were to all *Crowned Heads*. The King and his Miniſters had here a hard Time, and lay every Day under new Obloquies. Sometimes they were repreſented as ſelling all to *France* for Mony, to make this War: *Portſmouth*, *Plymouth* and *Hull*, were to be given into the *French* Hands for Caution. The next Day's News came, that *France* and *Holland* were agreed. Then the Obloquy was turn'd from *Treachery* to *Folly*: The Miniſters were now *Fools*, that ſome Days before were *Villains*. And indeed the Coffee-Houſes were not to be blam'd for their laſt Apprehenſions; ſince if that *Conjunction* had taken effect, then *England* had been in a far worſe Caſe than now it is, and the War had been turn'd upon us. But both Kings knowing their Intereſt, reſolv'd to join againſt them, who were the Common Enemies to all *Monarchies*, and I may ſay eſpecially to ours, their only Competitor for *Trade* and *Power at Sea*; and who only ſtand in their Way to an *Univerſal Empire*, as great as *Rome*. This the *States* underſtood ſo well, and had ſwallow'd ſo deep, that under all their preſent Diſtreſs and Danger, they are ſo intoxicated with that vaſt *Ambition*, that they ſlight a *Treaty*, and refuſe a *Ceſſation*. All this you and the whole Nation ſaw before the laſt War; but it cou'd not then be ſo well *Timed*, or our Alliances ſo well made. But you judg'd aright, *That at any Rate*, DELENDA EST CARTHAGO, *that Government was to be brought down*. And therefore the King may well ſay to you, *It is your War!* He took his Meaſures from you, and they were *juſt* and *right* ones: And he expects a ſuitable Aſſiſtance to ſo neceſſary and expenſive an Action; which he has hitherto maintain'd at his own Charge, and was unwilling either to trouble you, or burden the Country, until it came to an *inevitable Neceſſity*. And his Majeſty commands me to tell you, that unleſs it be a *certain Sum, and ſpeedily raiſ'd*, it can never anſwer the Occaſion.

‘*My Lords and Gentlemen*, REPUTATION is the great Support of War or Peace. This War had never begun, nor had the *States* ever ſlighted the King, or ever refus'd him Satisfaction, neither had this War continu'd to this Day, or ſubſiſted now, but that the *States* were deceiv'd in their *Meaſures*, and apprehended his Majeſty in that great Want of Mony, that he muſt ſit down under many *Affronts*, and was not able to begin or carry on a War. Nay, at this Day the *States* ſupport themſelves amongſt their People by this only Falſhood, *that they are aſſured of the Temper of* England, *and of the Parliament, and that you will not ſupply the King in this War; and that if they can hold out till your Meeting, they will have new Life, and take new Meaſures.* There are lately taken two of their principal Agents, with their Credentials and Inſtructions to this Purpoſe, who are now in the *Tower*, and ſhall be proceeded againſt according to the Law of Nations. But the King is ſufficiently aſſured of his People; knows you better; and can never doubt his Parliament. This had not been mention'd, but to ſhew you of what Importance the *Frankneſs*, and *Seaſonableneſs* of this Supply is, as well as the *Fulneſs* of it. Let me ſay, the King has brought the *States* to that Condition, that your hearty Conjunction, at this Time, in ſupplying his Majeſty, will make them never more formidable to *Kings*, or dangerous to *England*. And if after this you ſuffer them to get up, let this be remember'd, *The States of* Holland *are* England*'s Eternal Enemy, both by* INTEREST, *and* INCLINATION. In the next place to the Supply for carrying on the War, his Majeſty recommends to you the taking Care of his Debts. What you gave the laſt Seſſion did not near anſwer your own Expectation. Beſides, another conſiderable Aid you deſign'd his Majeſty, was unfortunately *loſt in the Birth*; ſo that the King was forc'd for the carrying on his Affairs, much againſt his Will, to put a Stop to the Payments out of the *Exchequer*.

‘He

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Car. 25.
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He ſaw the Preſſures upon Himſelf, and growing Inconveniencies to his People by great Intereſt; and the Difference through all his Buſineſs between *Ready Mony*, and *Orders*. This gave the King the Neceſſity of that Proceeding; to make uſe of his own Revenue, which hath been of ſo great Effect in this War. But tho' he hath put a Stop to the Trade and Gain of the Bankers, yet he wou'd be unwilling to ruin them, and oppreſs ſo many Families as are concern'd in thoſe Debts: Beſides, it were too diſproportionable a Burden upon many of his good Subjects. But neither the Bankers, nor They, have Reaſon to complain, if you now take them into your Care, and they have paid them what was due to them, when the Stop was made, with Six *per Cent.* Intereſt from that Time. The King is very much concern'd both in *Honour* and *Intereſt*, to ſee this done. And yet he deſires you not to miſ-time it; but that it may have only the *Second Place*, and that you will firſt ſettle, what you intend about the Supply.

‘ His Majeſty has ſo fully vindicated his *Declaration* from that Calumny concerning the *Papiſts*, that no reaſonable Scruple can be made by any good Man. He has ſufficiently juſtify'd it by the *Time* it was publiſh'd in, and the *Effects* he hath had from it; and might have done it more from the *Agreeableneſs* of it, to his own Natural Diſpoſition, which no good *Engliſh* Man can wiſh other than it is. He loves not Blood, or rigorous Severities; but where mild or gentle Ways may be us'd by a wiſe Prince he is certain to chuſe them. The Church of *England*, and all good *Proteſtants* have Reaſon to rejoyce in ſuch a *Head*, and ſuch a *Defender*. His Majeſty doth declare his Care, and Concerns for the Church, and will maintain them in all their Rights and Privileges, equal, if not beyond any of his Predeceſſors. He was born, and bred up in it: It was that his Father dy'd for: We all know how great Temptations and Offers he reſiſted abroad, when he was in his loweſt Condition; and he thinks it the Honour of his Reign, *That he hath been the Reſtorer of the Church*: 'Tis That he will ever Maintain, and hopes to leave to Poſterity, in greater *Luſtre*, and upon ſurer *Grounds*, than our Anceſtors ever ſaw it. But his Majeſty is not convinc'd that *Violent Ways* are the Intereſt of Religion, or the Church. There is one Thing more, that I am commanded to ſpeak to you of, which is the *Jealouſy* that hath been fooliſhly ſpread abroad, of the Forces the King hath rais'd in this War. Wherein the King hath open'd himſelf *freely* to you, and confeſs'd the Fault of the other Hand. For if this laſt Summer had not prov'd a Miracle of Storms and Tempeſts, ſuch as ſecured the *Eaſt-India* Fleet, and protected their Sea-Coaſt from a Deſcent, nothing but the true Reaſon, *Want of Mony*, cou'd have juſtify'd the Defect in the Number of our Forces. 'Tis that his Majeſty is providing for againſt the next Spring, having given out Orders for the raiſing of ſeven or eight Regiments more of Foot, under the Command of Perſons of the greateſt Fortunes and Quality. And I am earneſtly to recommend to you, That in your Supplies, you will take into your Conſideration this *Neceſſary Addition of Charges*.

The Concluſion of it.

The reſt of the Speech, tho' chiefly Rhetorick and Compliment, yet conſidering the Art and Character of the Inventer, is as much to be remember'd as the preceding Part. By Way of Addition to the Text and Subſtance he proceeds thus: ‘ And after his Majeſty's Concluſion of his Speech, let me Conclude, nay let us all Conclude with Bleſſing God, and the King! Let us bleſs God, That he hath given us ſuch a King to be the *Repairer* of our *Breaches* both in Church and State; and the *Reſtorer of our Paths to dwell in*: That in the midſt of War and Miſery, which rages in our Neighbour Countries, *our Garners are full*, and *there is no Complaining in our Streets*; and a Man can hardly know that there is a War. Let us bleſs God, that he hath given this King ſignally the Hearts of his *People*, and moſt particularly of his *Parliament*, who in their Affection and Loyalty to their Prince, have exceeded all their Predeceſſors. A *Parliament* with whom the King hath many Years liv'd with all the *Careſſes* of a Happy Marriage. Has the King had a *Concern*? You have wedded it. Has his Majeſty wanted *Supplies*? You have readily, chearfully, and fully provided for them. You have rely'd upon the *Wiſdom* and *Conduct* of his Majeſty in all his Affairs; ſo that you have never attempted to exceed your Bounds, or to impoſe upon Him: Whilſt the King on the other Hand, hath made your *Counſels* the Foundations of all his Proceedings; and hath been ſo tender of You, that he hath upon his own *Revenue* and *Credit* endeavoured to ſupport even *Foreign Wars*, that he might be leaſt uneaſy to You, or burthenſom to his People. And let me ſay, That tho' this *Marriage* be according to *Moſes*'s Law, where the Husband can give a *Bill of Divorce*, put her away, and take another; yet I can aſſure you, It is as impoſſible for the King to part with *This Parliament*, as it is for you to depart from that *Loyalty*, *Affection*, and *Dutiful Behaviour*, you have hitherto ſhewn towards Him. Let us bleſs the King for taking away all our *Fears*, and leaving no Room for *Jealouſies*; for thoſe *Aſſurances*, and *Promiſes* he hath made us. Let us bleſs God and the King, That our *Religion* is ſafe; That the *Church of* England is the Care of our Prince; That *Parliaments* are ſafe; that our *Properties* and *Liberties* are ſafe. What more hath a good *Engliſh* Man to ask, *but that this King may long reign, and that this Triple Alliance of King, Parliament and People, may never be diſſolv'd*?

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Car. 25.
Reſ. 13.

The Commons not pleas'd with the Chancellor.

Notwithſtanding this famous Speech, the Commons wou'd not immediately or intirely fall in with the Meaſures of the Court; and indeed they had already entertain'd ſome ill Opinion of the Speaker of it, whom they look'd upon as a forward Projector, who had particularly diſoblig'd them in iſſuing out Writs under the Broad Seal for Electing and Returning of Perſons to ſit in their Houſe, in the Places of ſuch as were dead or remov'd. This they loudly complain'd of as Undue and Irregular, even before their own Speaker was approv'd of by the King; which occaſion'd his Majeſty immediately after the two Speeches to declare to them, ‘ That he had given Order to the Lord Chancellor to ſend out Writs for the better Supply of their Houſe, having ſeen Precedents for it: But if any Scruple or Queſtion did ariſe about it, he left it to the Houſe to debate as ſoon as they cou'd.’ Accordingly, the very next Day the Commons fell into warm and angry Debates concerning thoſe Writs and Returns, which ended in the Voting them Irregular, and turning out thoſe Members ſo elected, who were ſaid to be all Creatures of the Lord Chancellor. For this, and other large Steps, the Country Party began to mark him out for an Impeachment; which is thought to be the chief Reaſon of the ſudden Turn of his Lordſhip, which appear'd within a ſhort Time after. However the Commons ſoon fell into a Conſideration of the King's Wants and Neceſſities; and tho' they did not approve of the preſent War, yet *to Supply his Majeſty's Extraordinary Occaſions*, they freely reſolv'd, ‘ That a Supply be given of Eighteen Months Aſſeſsment, according to the Proportion of the laſt Royal Aid, not exceeding ſeventy Thouſand Pounds *per Menſem*;’ which in all amounted to Twelve Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Pounds.

They vote a Supply.

They addreſs againſt the Declaration for Indulgence.

2. The Commons did no ways act like Penſioners, but freely took Notice of the late Tranſactions of the Court, and without Reſerve expreſs'd their Fears of Popery and an overgrowing Power; reſolving that the Redreſs of Grievances ſhou'd keep an even Pace with the Mony-Bill. They ſaw an Army encamp'd at *Black-Heath* under many Popiſh Officers, rais'd without Advice of Parliament, to ſend againſt a Proteſtant Country already too far ſwallow'd up by the *French*; and the Diſpenſing Power exercis'd in a *Declaration of Indulgence*, for the Sake of *Popiſh* Recuſants, as well as *Proteſtant* Diſſenters. Theſe Things having alarm'd them, they firſt agreed to this following Addreſs to his Majeſty: ‘ *Moſt Gracious Sovereign*, We your Majeſty's moſt faithful and loyal Subjects, the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, do in the firſt Place, as in all Duty bound, return your Majeſty our moſt humble and hearty Thanks for the many gracious Promiſes and Aſſurances, which your Majeſty hath ſeveral Times (during this preſent Parliament) given unto us, *That your Majeſty wou'd Secure and Maintain unto us the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, our Liberties and Properties*; Which moſt gracious Aſſurances, your Majeſty hath, out of your great Goodneſs, been pleas'd to renew unto us more particularly at the Opening of this preſent Seſſion of Parliament. And further we crave Leave humbly to repreſent, That we have with all Duty and Expedition taken into our Conſideration ſeveral Parts of your Majeſty's laſt Speech to us, and withal the *Declaration* therein mention'd for *Indulgence* to Diſſenters, dated the 15th Day of *March* laſt: and we find our ſelves bound in Duty to inform your Majeſty, *That Penal Statutes in Matters Eccleſiaſtical cannot be ſuſpended but by Act of Parliament*. We therefore, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of your Majeſty's Houſe of Commons, do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, That the Laws may have their Free Courſe, until it ſhall be otherwiſe provided for by Act of Parliament: And that your Majeſty wou'd be graciouſly pleas'd to give ſuch Directions herein, *That no Apprehenſions or Jealouſies may remain in the Hearts of your Majeſty's good and faithful Subjects*.

The King's Anſwer.

This Addreſs was deliver'd to the King on the 19th of *February*; to which his Majeſty anſwer'd, *That it was of Importance, and therefore he wou'd return his Anſwer in Writing*. Accordingly, four Days after, he ſent this Anſwer,

ſwer to the Houſe. '*Charles* Rex. His Majeſty hath receiv'd an Addreſs from you, and hath ſeriouſly conſider'd of it, and returneth you this Anſwer: That he is very much troubled That that *Declaration*, which he put out for Ends ſo neceſſary to the Quiet of this Kingdom, eſpecially in that Conjuncture, ſhou'd prove the Cauſe of Diſquiet, and give Occaſion to the Queſtioning of his *Power in Eccleſiaſtiques*, which he finds not done in the Reigns of any of his Anceſtors. He is ſure he never had Thoughts of uſing it otherwiſe, than as it hath been entruſted in him to the Peace and Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England*, and the Eaſe of all his Subjects in General: Neither doth he pretend to ſuſpend any Laws, wherein the *Properties*, *Rights* or *Liberties* of any of his Subjects are concern'd, nor to alter any Thing in the Eſtabliſh'd *Doctrine* or *Diſcipline* of the Church of *England:* But his only Deſign in this, was to take off the *Penalties* the Statutes inflict upon the Diſſenters, and which he believ'd, when well conſider'd of, you your ſelves wou'd not wiſh executed according to the Rigour and Letter of the Law: Neither hath he done this with any Thought of Avoiding or Precluding the Advice of his Parliament; and if any Bill ſhall be offer'd him, which ſhall appear more proper to attain the aforeſaid Ends, and ſecure the Peace of the Church and Kingdom; when tender'd in due Manner to Him, *he will ſhew how readily he will concur in all Ways that ſhall appear good for the Good of the Kingdom.*

The Commons Second Addreſs.

The Commons immediately came to this ſhort Reſolution, 'That the Thanks of this Houſe be return'd to his Majeſty, for his gracious *Aſſurances*, and *Promiſes* in his Anſwer to the Addreſs.' But being ſtill unſatisfy'd, they three Days after agreed upon this following Anſwer, or Second Addreſs: '*Moſt gracious Sovereign*, We your Majeſty's humble and loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in Parliament aſſembled, do render to your Sacred Majeſty our moſt dutiful Thanks, for that, to our unſpeakable Comfort, your Majeſty hath been pleas'd to reiterate to us thoſe gracious Promiſes and Aſſurances of *Maintaining the Religion now eſtabliſh'd, and the Liberties and Properties of your People*: And we do not in the leaſt Meaſure doubt but that your Majeſty had the ſame *gracious Intentions* in giving Satisfaction to your Subjects, by your Anſwer to our laſt Petition and Addreſs. Yet, upon a ſerious Conſideration thereof, we find, That the ſaid Anſwer is not ſufficient to clear the Apprehenſions, that may juſtly remain in the Minds of your People, by your Majeſty's having claim'd a *Power to ſuſpend Penal Statutes in Matters Eccleſiaſtical*; and which your Majeſty does ſtill ſeem to aſſert in the ſaid Anſwer, *to be entitled in the Crown, and never queſtion'd in any of the Reigns of your Anceſtors:* Wherein we humbly conceive, That your Majeſty hath been much miſ-inform'd; Since no ſuch Power was ever claim'd, or exercis'd by any of your Majeſty's Predeceſſors. And if it ſhou'd be admitted, might tend to the Interrupting the Free Courſe of the Laws, and Altering the *Legiſlative Power*, which hath always been acknowledg'd to *Reſide in your Majeſty, and your two Houſes of Parliament.* We do therefore, with an unanimous Conſent, become again moſt humble Suitors to your Sacred Majeſty, That you wou'd be pleaſed to give us a full and Satisfactory Anſwer to our ſaid Petition and Addreſs; and that your Majeſty wou'd take ſuch effectual Order, *That the Proceedings in this Matter, may not, for the future, be drawn into Conſequence, or Example.*

Sir Job Charleton *retires.*

Mr E. Seymour *choſen Speaker.*

The King's Anſwer to this Addreſs was, *It is of Conſequence, and I will take it into Conſideration.* But before this, there happen'd a particular Change in the Houſe of Commons, where the Debates were ſo warm, and ſo unacceptable to the Court, that they are thought to have made the Speaker weary of his Chair, before he was well ſettled in it. However the Publick gave this ſoft Account of the unuſual Alteration, *viz. Saturday Feb.* 15th, Sir *Job Charleton*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, having been taken ill the Night before, ſo as not to be able to proceed in the Service of the Houſe that Day; the Houſe, notwithſtanding the great and preſſing Affairs now depending before them, thought fit to Adjourn till *Tueſday*; at which Time Mr. Speaker finding his Indiſpoſition ſtill to continue upon him, did by Letter make his humble Suit to his Majeſty that he might be eas'd of the Burden he was not able longer to ſuſtain. The ſame Morning he ſent a Letter to the Houſe, deſiring Leave to retire into the Country. Whereupon his Majeſty ſignify'd to the Commons, by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, his Permiſſion to them to chuſe a new Speaker; and immediately the Houſe did unanimouſly make choice of *Edward Seymour*, Eſquire, much to his Majeſty's Satisfaction, for his known Loyalty and great Abilities to diſcharge that Place; as it is there expreſs'd. He was undoubtedly very acceptable to the Court at this Time; and the Earl of *Arlington*, in a Letter to Sir *Bernard Gaſcoyn*, ſays, 'Mr *Edward Seymour* by his Majeſty's Recommendation was choſen Speaker, who ſupplies the Place very well, and with much more Sufficiency than his Predeceſſor did.

Some of the Diſſenters againſt the laſt Indulgence.

3. In the midſt of the warm Debates concerning the King's *Declaration* for Indulgence, it is obſervable that no Man was more zealous in oppoſing it than Alderman *Love*, a City Member, and a noted Diſſenter, who declared, *He had much rather ſtill go without their deſired Liberty, than have it in a Way that wou'd prove ſo detrimental to the Nation.* Theſe Debates gradually introduc'd a new Act, ſince call'd *The Teſt Act*, then levell'd at the Papiſts; upon which, we are told, that the Lord *Clifford* got ſome in the Houſe to move in favour of the Diſſenters, hoping that wou'd have provok'd one Side or the other; and that either the Church Party might be offended with the Motion, or the Diſſenters with refuſing it: But it was ſtopp'd by the fore-mention'd Alderman, who deſir'd, tho' his Perſuaſion was well known, *That nothing with Relation to them might intervene, to ſtop the Security that the Nation, and the Proteſtant Religion, might have by that new Act*; in which he was ſeconded by moſt of his Party. Their Behaviour in theſe Matters, it ſeems, wrought ſo much upon the Houſe, that had been ſo zealous againſt them, that they order'd a Bill to be brought in *For the Eaſe of his Majeſty's Subjects, Diſſenters in Matters of Religion from the Church of* England, which was firſt read on the 27th of *February*, and not long after compleated in the Houſe of Commons. It did not get through the Houſe of Lords, but was not ſtopp'd there, as is generally repreſented, but only accidentally protracted upon the Account of ſome Amendments, till the King caus'd the Parliament to break up before the Amendments cou'd be agreed to by the Commons, as appears by the Journals. However the Subſtance of the Bill is proper to be remember'd, eſpecially ſince we do not find it in Print.

An Act deſign'd for the Eaſe of 'em.

Another for Catechiſing of Youth.

'1. That Eaſe ſhall be given to his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, Diſſenters in matters of Religion, who ſhall ſubſcribe the Articles of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and ſhall take the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*. 2. That the ſaid Proteſtant Subjects be eas'd from all Pains and Penalties for not coming to Church. 3. That the Clauſe in the late *Act* of *Uniformity* for Declaring the *Aſſent* and *Conſent*, be taken away by this Bill. 4. That the ſaid Proteſtant Subjects be eas'd from all Pains and Penalties for Meeting together for Performance of any Religious Exerciſe. 5. That every Teacher ſhall firſt give Notice of the Place where he intends ſuch his Meeting, to the reſpective Quarter Seſſions; where in open Court he ſhall firſt make ſuch Subſcription, and take ſuch Oaths as aforeſaid, and receive from thence a Certificate thereof, where all ſuch Proceedings ſhall remain upon Record. 6. That any ſuch Teacher may exerciſe as aforeſaid untill the next reſpective Quarter Seſſions, and no longer, in Caſe he ſhall not firſt take the Oaths, and make ſuch Subſcription before two of the neighbouring Juſtices of the Peace; and ſhall firſt give them Notice of the Place of this intended Meeting, and take Certificate thereof under the ſaid Juſtices Hand; a Duplicate whereof they are to return into the next Quarter Seſſions. 7. That the Doors and Paſſages of all Houſes and Places where the ſaid Diſſenters do meet, ſhall be always open and free, during the Time of ſuch Exerciſe. 8. That if any Diſſenter refuſe to take Church-Wardens Oaths, that then he ſhall find them another fit Perſon, who is no Diſſenter, to execute that Office, and ſhall pay him for his Pains.' At the ſame Time that they were deſigning Eaſe for the Diſſenters, they were conſidering the Duties of the Church, and fell into a Debate touching the moſt uſeful, and too much neglected Duty of Educating and Inſtructing the Youth of the Kingdom in the Catechiſm enjoyn'd by the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; whereupon it was order'd, 'That a Bill be prepared and brought in to enjoyn all Perſons that are in Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, to Catechiſe and Inſtruct the Youth within their ſeveral Pariſhes and Places of Incumbency every *Sunday* in the Afternoon, in the Church Catechiſm, and to explain the ſame; and to expound thereupon to the Congregation.' This Bill was order'd to be brought in by the Attorney-General, but want of Time render'd it abortive, as well as other Matters.

An Addreſs of both Houſes againſt Papiſts and Jeſuits.

Shortly after the Bill was brought in for the Eaſe of Proteſtant Diſſenters, both Houſes being apprehenſive of the late Incouragement of Popiſh Perſons and Principles, unanimouſly joyn'd in the following remarkable Addreſs to his Majeſty; 'We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, being very ſenſible of the great Dangers and Miſchiefs that may ariſe within this your Majeſty's Realm, by the Encreaſe of Popiſh Recuſants amongſt us; and conſidering the 'great Reſort of Prieſts and Jeſuits in this Kingdom, who daily endeavour to ſeduce your Majeſty's good Subjects from their Religion and Allegiance, and how much your Loyal Subjects are diſheartned to ſee ſuch Popiſh Recuſants admitted into Employments of great *Truſt* and *Profit*, and eſpecially into *Military Commands* over the Forces now in your Majeſty's Service; and having a tender Regard to the Preſervation of your Majeſty's Perſon, and the Peace and Tranquility of this Kingdom, in all Humility deſire, 1. That your Majeſty would be pleas'd to iſſue out your Royal Proclamation to command all Prieſts and Jeſuits (other than ſuch, as not being natural born Subjects, are oblig'd to attend upon your Royal Conſort the Queen) to depart within thirty Days out of this your Majeſty's Kingdom: And that if any Prieſt or Jeſuit ſhall happen to be taken in *England*, after the Expiration of the ſaid Time, that the Laws be put in Execution againſt them; and that your Majeſty wou'd pleaſe in the ſaid Proclamation to command all Judges, and other Officers, to put the ſaid Laws in Execution. 2. That your Majeſty wou'd likewiſe be pleas'd, That the Lord Chancellor of *England* ſhall, on or before the 25th of *March* inſtant, iſſue out Commiſſions of *Dedimus Poteſtatem* to the Judge Advocate and Commiſſaries of the Muſters, and ſuch other Perſons as he ſhall think fit, to tender the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* to all Officers and Soldiers, now in your Majeſty's Service and Pay; and that ſuch as refuſe the ſaid Oaths may immediately be disbanded, and not allow'd to continue in any Pay or Penſion; and that the Chancellor ſhall require due Returns to be made thereof, within ſome convenient Time after iſſuing out of the ſaid Commiſſions. 3. That the Commiſſaries of the Muſters be commanded and enjoyn'd by your Majeſty's Warrant, upon the Penalty of loſing their Places, not to permit any Officer to be muſter'd in the Service and Pay of his Majeſty, until he hath taken the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and receiv'd the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Uſage of the Church of *England*; and that every Soldier ſhall take the ſaid Oaths before his firſt Muſter, and receive the Sacrament in like manner before his ſecond Muſter. And this we preſent in all Dutifulneſs to your Majeſty's Princely Wiſdom and Conſideration, *as the beſt Means for Satisfying and Compoſing the Minds of your Loyal Subjects*; humbly deſiring your Majeſty graciouſly to accept of this our Petition, as proceeding from Hearts and Affections entirely devoted to your Majeſty's Service, and to give it your Royal Approbation.

The King's Proclamation thereupon

Upon this Addreſs his Majeſty ſoon after iſſu'd out his Proclamation againſt the Papiſts; which was the Seventh of that kind which he had put forth, at the joynt Petition of both Houſes of Parliament. It began as the reſt uſually did, *viz.* 'Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, have by their humble Petition repreſented to his Majeſty, their Fears and Apprehenſions of the Growth and Increaſe of the Popiſh Religion, *&c.* His Majeſty had ſeriouſly conſider'd of the ſaid Petition, and with much Contentment and Satisfaction did accept and approve of the great Care of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, for the Preſervation of the true Religion eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom; to which his Majeſty declares, as he hath always adhered againſt all Temptations whatſoever, ſo he will ſtill employ his utmoſt Care and Zeal in the Maintenance and Defence of it. And therefore ſtrictly charges and commands all Jeſuits and *Romiſh* Prieſts to depart the Kingdom, and the Laws to be put in due Execution againſt all *Popiſh* Recuſants, or juſtly ſuſpected to be ſo, *&c.*' This did not give full Content and Satisfaction, becauſe it did not extend to all the Particulars of the Parliament's Petition, as to the Removal of Papiſts that were in Offices and Places of Truſt; therefore a new Act and other Meaſures were ſet on foot to obtain that End. And indeed the Houſe of Commons ſeem'd reſolute, that they wou'd not finiſh the Money-Bill till they had ſecured that and ſome other Matters, eſpecially the King's Revocation or Diſowning his Declaration for Indulgence.

The King under Difficulties.

4. In the mean Time the King was under greater Difficulties, and never ſo perplex'd ſince his Reſtoration. His greateſt Concern was about Liberty of Conſcience; and he had declar'd in his Speech *That he wou'd ſtick to his Declaration*; ſo that both Honour and Inclination prompted him not to give it up, but he really wanted Money. What further troubled him was, that his Friends and all the Court were divided; ſome adviſing him to yield to the preſſing Neceſſity of getting a Supply, and to uſe ſome Complaiſance with thoſe that cou'd give it him; and others diſſuading him from yielding up a Point ſo neceſſary for raiſing his Authority to ſuch a Degree as wou'd enable him to act as a King. Among the firſt were, not only the Duke of *Ormond*, and ſeveral other Proteſtants, zealous for their Religion, but even the Earl of *Arlington*, a Man timerous, and naturally yielding, who thought the ſafeſt Method was for a while to give way to the Heat of the Commons, in order to bring them more ſecurely back to their Obedience, when the *Dutch* were ſubdued. The Duke of *York* and the reſt of the *Cabal* were of another Opinion, not only as Father *Orleans* ſays, with Reſpect to the Catholick Religion conſider'd in it ſelf, and with Regard to the Monarchy; but becauſe they thought it of Conſequence that the King ſhou'd be ſteady in his Reſolutions, againſt the Attempts of an Aſſembly that was too apt to oppoſe them. They inſiſted and alledg'd, 'how the Parliament in 1641 had dealt with the late King, as ſoon as he condeſcended to their firſt Propoſals; and ſaid, they ſaw no leſs Cauſe to fear in the preſent Circumſtances; for no ſooner wou'd the King recall his *Declaration*, but they wou'd ſet up ſome other Demands, which wou'd never end, till they were carry'd ſo high, that the King being unable to grant them without undoing himſelf, Things wou'd be left in the ſame Condition they were in that Year, and after a thouſand prejudicial Condeſcentions, he wou'd be at laſt compell'd to break with his Parliament, and all the Fruit he ſhou'd reap from his Compliance, wou'd be the making that Aſſembly the bolder in contradicting of him.' They further added, ſays the ſame Author, 'That his holding his Reſolution a few Days wou'd bring the Parliament to Reaſon, his Majeſty having a Party among them that began to make the Leaders waver; and that there were Forces ſufficient on foot to ſupport the one Side, and intimidate the other; and *Shaftsbury* himſelf undertook to anſwer for the Succeſs. Theſe Reaſons ſtrenuouſly urg'd on both Sides, held the King in Suſpence. It has been believ'd that the Ladies ingag'd in this Affair, and prevail'd with his Majeſty to follow their Advice who were for recalling the *Declaration*; however it was effected, he did recall it, and with his own Hands broke the Great Seal annex'd to it.

He revokes his Declaration of Indulgence.

His Speech to both Houſes.

Their Thanks for it.

Having proceeded thus far, on the 8th Day of *March*, his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons, he made this following Speech to both Houſes. '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, Yeſterday you preſented me with an Addreſs, *as the beſt Means for the ſatisfying and compoſing the Minds of my Subjects*; to which I freely and readily agree, and ſhall take Care to ſee it perform'd accordingly. I hope on the other Side, *you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, will do your Part; for I muſt put you in Mind, it is near five Weeks ſince I demanded a Supply, and what you voted unanimouſly upon it, did both give Life to my Affairs at home, and diſheartned my Enemies abroad: But the ſeeming Delay it hath met with ſince, hath made them take new Courage, and they are now preparing for this next Summer a greater Fleet, as they ſay, than ever they had yet; ſo that if the Supply be not ſpeedily diſpatcht, it will be altogether ineffectual, and the Safety, Honour and Intereſt of *England* muſt of Neceſſity be expos'd. Pray lay this to Heart, and let not the Fears and Jealouſies of ſome draw inevitable Ruin upon us all. *My Lords and Gentlemen*, If there be any Scruple yet remaining with you concerning *Suſpenſion of Penal Laws*, I here faithfully promiſe you, that what hath been done in that Particular, *ſhall not for the future be drawn into Example and Conſequence*. And as I daily expect from you a Bill for my Supply, ſo I aſſure you, I ſhall as willingly receive and paſs any other you ſhall offer me, *that may tend to the giving you Satisfaction in all your juſt Grievances*.' This Speech was ſo pleaſing and obliging to the Parliament in general, that both Houſes join'd in the following Vote, '*Reſolved nemine contracidente*, That the humble and hearty Thanks of theſe Houſes be return'd to his Majeſty, for his *Gracious*, *Full* and *Satisfactory* Anſwer this Day given to their humble Petitions and Addreſſes.' This was declar'd to the King in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, by the Mouth of the Lord-Chancellor, at the Head of both Houſes; to which his Majeſty made this Anſwer, *My Lords and Gentlemen, I hope there never will be any Difference amongſt us; I aſſure you there ſhall never be any Occaſion on my Part.*

The unexpected Defection of Chancellor Shaftsbury.

Immediately upon this there appear'd a ſudden and ſurpriſing Change in the Lord-Chancellor *Shaftsbury*, who had been the Soul of the *Cabal*, and the Maſter-Builder in making his Majeſty a great King. Father *Orleans*, who had good Information of this Affair, has given us a particular Account of the Defection of this great Miniſter, from whom we ſhall borrow the two following Paragraphs. He ſays, few Men had done the King more conſiderable Service than he, and none had been ſo zealous for reſtoring the Monarch and Monarchy to their juſt Rights, which the Troubles of the laſt Reign had encourag'd the Parliament to invade. The Project of *Liberty of Conſcience* is a Teſtimony of that Miniſter's Zeal for his Maſter; but meer Spight to ſee it diſappointed by that which he accounted

Weakneſs in the King, cauſ'd him to change Sides at once, and from a devoted Subject, to become an open Male-Content, and at laſt a Chief of the Conſpirators. Two things concurr'd to throw him into theſe Extreams: The one was, his deſpairing of being able to do any thing effectual for a Prince he thought had not Reſolution enough to carry on a great Undertaking. He already complain'd *that the King had forſaken him in an Affair wherein he had promis'd to ſtand by him*, and in which the Intereſt of the Crown was as much concern'd as this now mention'd. The Election of Members to fill up the Vacancies in the Houſe of Commons had been ſo order'd for a long time, that the ſeditious Party generally prevail'd; becauſe that Houſe had aſſum'd the Authority of iſſuing the Writs. This was an Abuſe introduc'd during the Troubles of the laſt Reign, and ſuffer'd to continue after the Reſtoration, through the Weakneſs or Ignorance of thoſe who had been Chancellors before *Shaftſbury*. He ſays, the ancient Cuſtom was, that when any Member dy'd, the Chancellor iſſu'd a Writ under the Great Seal for electing another; by which Means, tho' the Writ contain'd nothing to obſtruct the Freedom of the Election, yet the King by this cou'd at leaſt uſe Means for diverting the Choice from falling upon Perſons that were againſt him. *Shaftſbury* had attempted to retrieve that Right, and brought it into Uſe during the laſt Interval of Parliament; having firſt obtain'd the King's Promiſe to ſtand firm by him, in Oppoſition to all the Complaints he foreſaw the Commons wou'd make on that Account; but they preſs'd ſo hard, that the King comply'd with them. Thus, contrary to his Maſter's Promiſe, the Chancellor had the Mortification of ſeeing his Elections made void, and the old Abuſe reſtored. From that Time he foretold, That the *Liberty of Conſcience* wou'd ſink, and freely declar'd, *That in caſe it did, he wou'd go over to the Parliament Party, and have no Regard for the Court*; in which he was as good as his Word.

The Cauſes of it.

The ſame Author goes on, and tells us, His Maſter's giving up the Elections lay at his Heart, when the Recalling of *Liberty of Conſcience* put him quite out of Patience, and made him openly ſay, *That that Man who forſook himſelf, deſerv'd to be forſaken*; a falſe Maxim, when the Sovereign is concern'd, or that Party that cannot lawfully be forſaken. As turbulent a Man as *Shaftſbury* was, he perhaps had not carry'd his Reſentment ſo far, had there been no other Motive but the King's Intereſt. He that commits an Error to his own Diſadvantage, is rather to be pitied than hated; but the King's yielding the Point of *Liberty of Conſcience*, concern'd his Miniſters perſonally, becauſe his Majeſty by that Means diſclaiming their Advice given him, left them expos'd to the Rage of the Parliament; and the Earl, appearing to have had the greateſt Share in all the Court Projects, had Cauſe to fear that the Commons wou'd mark him out for an Example to others. This was the ſecond Motive that carry'd this Man to ſuch Extreams. It may be ſaid, he reſolv'd his preſent Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion, and for the *Parliament*, ſhou'd expiate for that other he had expreſs'd for the *Catholick* Religion and *Monarchy*. After he had taken theſe Reſolutions, the Author ſays, the Attack was ſudden and unexpected: Never was any great Change ſo quick as that of this Miniſter. No ſooner did the King begin to incline to the recalling his *Declaration of Indulgence*, but he perceiv'd it. He loſt no Time; the Reſolution was not taken till eleven at Night, and the next Morning he appear'd in the Houſe of Lords, at the Head of the moſt zealous Peers againſt the Catholick Religion, the Wars with *Holland*, and the Alliance with *France*. This firſt Sally ſurpris'd the Parliament, as well as the Court, and rais'd an extraordinary Commotion in both; which Diſorder was much heightned, when the Earl diſcover'd the private Motions that had induc'd the King to grant *Liberty of Conſcience*, to join with *France*, and to declare War againſt *Holland*. It is a Crime in an *Engliſh* King to think of breaking Parliamentary Chains, and of confining that Aſſembly within the Bounds preſcrib'd by the Laws, to which it draws back the Sovereign, if he happens to make never ſo little Excurſion. His Majeſty's Deſign was before ſuſpected; but no Queſtion was made of it after *Shaftſbury* had ſpoke; ſo that they were upon their Guard againſt all future Projects of that Nature.

Thus far the ſubtle Jeſuit, who had particular Informations: And this Matter is farther open'd in a forementioned Manuſcript left by Sir *Joſeph Tyley*, a Perſon moſt oppoſite to this Author, who ſays, that the Lord *Clifford*, that Day, had undertook to open the Debates of the Lords Houſe, for eſtabliſhing a perpetual Fund, in order to advance the Prerogative, and render Parliaments inconſiderable. He prepared a ſet Speech to that Purpoſe, which he read to the Lord-Chancellor, who deſired to hear it again; and upon the ſecond Reading he charg'd his Memory with the Subſtance of it, promiſing he wou'd likewiſe come roundly into the Debate. This gave him an Opportunity he wiſh'd for to be reveng'd of the Courtiers, and the Lord *Clifford*, who purſuant to the Determination of the *Cabal*, began the Debate with the very Speech he had ſhew'd the Lord-Chancellor; while his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs were then in the Houſe to countenance the Deſign. The Country Lords, and thoſe who were not in the Secret, ſtar'd at one another; the whole Houſe, at the End of the Speech, meditating the Fate of *England*, remain'd in an awful Silence, when Chancellor *Shaftſbury* ſtood up, and anſwer'd his Speech from the Beginning to the End, ſhewing, 'That his Propoſitions were extravagant: That what he aim'd at wou'd end in Confuſion, and the Ruin of the Government: That it might perhaps ſend the Royal Family abroad again, to ſpend their Lives in Exile, without Hopes of a Return.' All which he ſpoke with ſo much Spirit and Sharpneſs, that he confounded the Court Counſels. While he was ſpeaking, the Duke of *York*, inrag'd at him, whiſper'd the King, *What a Rogue have you of a Lord-Chancellor*? The King briskly reply'd, *God's fiſh! What a Fool you have of a Lord-Treaſurer*? The Debate ended in a Ruffle, and the Lord *Clifford* narrowly eſcap'd being ſent to the *Tower*; and finding himſelf thus given up by the King, like his new Opponent, he declar'd, *He wou'd ſerve no Prince in the World, who had not Courage to avow his Principles, and ſupport his Miniſters in the Execution of his Demands.*

He defeats Clifford *in the Houſe of Peers.*

5. And now the Popiſh Party began to meet with a Retribution of their Counſels and Proceedings. They had render'd themſelves formidable by their obtaining many Places of Honour, Profit and Truſt; but now a Bill was depending that wou'd certainly throw them out of all, and ſecure all Places, to thoſe of the Church of *England* alone. This was call'd the *Teſt Act*, which was particularly promoted, if not invented by the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, who reſolv'd to ſtrike directly at the Duke of *York* and his Friends, tho' the Act reach'd all Sorts of Diſſenters. This Bill gave a great Alarm to many Perſons, who us'd all Means to oppoſe it; but it ſoon paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, whoſe Apprehenſions of Popery daily increas'd. When it came to be debated in the Houſe of Peers, in the Preſence of the King himſelf, *March* 15, the famous Earl of *Briſtol*, tho' a profeſs'd *Roman Catholick*, unexpectedly ſtood up for the Bill in general, and ſpoke remarkably upon it; of which ſome Account ſhall be given to ſhew the Temper of the Times, as well as the Ingenuity of the Speaker.

The Teſt-Act *paſſes the Commons.*

The Earl of Briſtol's *Speech for it.*

Towards the Beginning of his Speech he declar'd himſelf 'A Catholick of the Church of *Rome*, not a Catholick of the Court of *Rome*; a Diſtinction he thought worthy of Memory and Reflection, whenever any ſevere Proceedings againſt thoſe they call'd *Papiſts* ſhou'd come in Queſtion, ſince thoſe of the Court of *Rome* did only deſerve that Name.' Therefore he inſiſted, 'That they ſhou'd not ſpeak here as *Roman* Catholicks, but as faithful Members of a *Proteſtant* Parliament.' Coming to the Bill it ſelf, he proceeded thus: 'In the firſt Place, *my Lords*, I beſeech you to conſider, That this Bill for ſecuring of general Fears, is brought up to you from the Houſe of Commons, the great Repreſentative of the People, and conſequently the beſt Judges of the true Temper of the Nation: A Houſe of Commons ſurpaſſing all that ever have been, in the illuſtrious Marks of their Duty, Loyalty and Affection to their Sovereign, both in his Perſon and Government: Such a Houſe of Commons as his Majeſty ought to conſider, and cheriſh always, with ſuch a kind of Love as is due to a Wife, never to be parted with unkindly, and not as a Miſtreſs, to be turn'd off when our Turn is ſerv'd by her. *My Lords*, this caſual mention of a Wife, ſuggeſts to my Thoughts a Purſuance of the Compariſon. I have obſerv'd in the Courſe of my Life, that Men who have Wives ſomewhat Coquets, that is a little ſubject to Gallantries, live eaſier Lives with them, and freer from troubleſome Contentions, than thoſe who have Wives of exact rigid Virtue; and the Reaſon is clear: For the more gameſome Ladies being conſcious of their Failings in that eſſential Part, are careful to diſguiſe, and repair them by kind and tender Compliances with their Husband's Humour in all other Things; whereas Wives ſeverely punctual and exact in the chief Matrimonial Duty, expect, and even exact far greater Compliances from their Husbands, and think themſelves as it were priviledg'd by the Rigidneſs of their Virtue to be ſometimes troubleſome in Domeſtick Affairs; eſpecially if there be any Jealouſy in the Caſe. In like Manner, *my Lords*, it is not to be much wonder'd at, if this incomparable Houſe of Commons, tranſcending all that ever were in the grand Eſſentials of Duty, Loyalty, and Affection to their King, ſhou'd at ſometimes be a little troubleſome to him in leſſer Occurrences; eſpecially when once Fears and Jealouſies are on Wing. *My Lords*, I ſhall not pretend to determine whether there have been any juſt Grounds given by any violent Men, or by the unſeaſonable Ambition of any *Roman* Catholicks for ſuch

‘ Fears and Jealouſies; it ſuffices to exact the Neceſſity of a timely Remedy, ſince they have indeed moſt violently ſeiz'd, and diſtemper'd the Minds of the Major Part of his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects, which certainly no Man converſant in the World can deny. Now, *my Lords*, in popular Fears and Apprehenſions, thoſe uſually prove moſt dangerous that are rais'd upon Grounds not well underſtood, and may rightly be reſembled to the fatal Effects of panick Fears in Armies, where I have ſeldom ſeen great Diſorder ariſe from Intelligences brought in by Parties and Scouts, or by Advertiſements to Generals; but from Allarms upon groundleſs and capricious Fears of Danger, taken up we know not either how, or why: This no Man of moderate Experience in military Affairs but hath found the dangerous Effects of one Time or other; in giving a Stop to which Miſchiefs, the Skill of great Commanders is beſt ſeen. In like Manner, *my Lords*, this great and judicious Aſſembly of the Houſe of Commons, rightly ſenſible of the dangerous Effects which ſo general a Diſturbance of Mens Minds in the Concernments of Religion (how groundleſs ſoever) might produce, have apply'd their Care to obviate them by this Bill: *A Bill*, in my Opinion, *as full of Moderation towards Catholicks, as of Prudence, and Security towards the Religion of the State.* In this Bill, *my Lords*, notwithſtanding all the Allarms of the *Encreaſe of Popery*, and *Deſigns of Papiſts*, here is no Mention of barring them from private, and modeſt Exerciſe of their Religion; no baniſhing them to ſuch a Diſtance from Court, no putting in Execution of Penal Laws in force againſt them; all their Precautions are reduc'd to this one Intent, natural to all Societies of Men, of hindering a leſſer Oppoſite Party from growing too ſtrong for the greater and more conſiderable One: And in this juſt Way of Prevention, is not the Moderation of the Houſe of Commons to be admired, That they have reſtain'd it to this ſole Point, *of debarring their Adverſaries from Offices, and Places, and from Acceſſions of Wealth by Favour of the Sovereign*?----- And after all, *my Lords*, how few do theſe ſharp Tryals, and Teſts of this Act regard? only a few ſuch *Roman* Catholicks as wou'd fain hold Offices, and Places at the Price of Hypocriſy, and Diſſimulation of their true Sentiments in Religion. *My Lords*, I am none of Thoſe, none of thoſe Wherry-Men in Religion, who look one Way, and row another. ----- Upon the whole Matter, *my Lords*, however the Sentiments of a *Catholick* of the Church of *Rome* (I ſtill ſay, not of the *Court* of *Rome*) may oblige me, upon Scruple of Conſcience, in ſome Particulars of this Bill to give my Negative to it, when it comes to paſſing; yet as a Member of a *Proteſtant Parliament* my Advice prudentially cannot but go along with the main Scope of it; the preſent Circumſtances of Time, and Affairs conſider'd, and the Neceſſity of compoſing the diſturbed Minds of the People.

The Commons Addreſs concerning Grievances in England.

All theſe Proceedings made the King very uneaſy, eſpecially ſince the Mony-Bill went on but ſlowly: and beſides this *Teſt-Act*, there were other Bills on foot, which made the *Roman* Catholicks almoſt deſperate, and particularly one *To prevent Intermarriages between Proteſtants and Papiſts*, which, if paſs'd, muſt, as it was thought, have put a Stop to two ſeveral intended Marriages of the Duke of *York*, of which one took place. The Complaints and Demands of the Parliament ſeem'd to increaſe; therefore to allay the preſent Temper, the King not only yielded to the *Teſt-Act*, but likewiſe granted an Act *for his moſt gracious, general and free Pardon*, which prov'd very popular and acceptable. The Commons went on with more Alacrity, and the King by two ſeveral Meſſages urg'd them to a Concluſion; yet before they wou'd finiſh all, they drew up two Addreſſes of Grievances to his Majeſty, one concerning *England*, and the other *Ireland*, both fit to be remember'd, and the rather becauſe they are not taken notice of by the common Writers. The Firſt is, ‘ *Moſt gracious Sovereign*, We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, conceiving our ſelves bound in neceſſary Duty to your Majeſty, and in Diſcharge of the Truſt repos'd in us, truly to inform your Majeſty of the Eſtate of this your Kingdom; And tho' we are abundantly ſatisfy'd, that it hath been always your Royal Will and Pleaſure, *That your Subjects ſhou'd be govern'd according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of theſe Realms*; yet finding, that contrary to your Majeſty's gracious Intentions, ſome Abuſes and Grievances are crept in, We crave Leave humbly to repreſent them to your Majeſty's Knowledge, and to deſire, 1. That the Impoſition of Twelve Pence *per* Chaldron upon Coals, for providing of Convoys, by Vertue of an Order of Council, dated the 15th of *May* 1672, may be recall'd, and all Bonds, taken by Vertue thereof, cancell'd. 2. That your Majeſty's Proclamation of the 4th of *December* 1672, *for preventing Diſorders which may be committed by Soldiers*, and whereby the Soldiers now in your Majeſty's Service are in a Manner exempted from the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice, may likewiſe be recall'd. 3. And whereas great Complaints have been made out of ſeveral Parts of this Kingdom *of divers Abuſes committed in Quartering of Soldiers*, That your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to give Order to redreſs thoſe Abuſes; and in particular, That no Soldiers be hereafter Quarter'd in any private Houſes; and that due Satisfaction may be given to the Inn-Keepers and Victuallers where they lye, before they remove. 4. And ſince the Continuance of Soldiers in this Realm will neceſſarily produce many Inconveniencies to your Majeſty's Subjects, We do humbly preſent it as our Petition and Advice, That when the preſent War is ended, all the Soldiers that have been rais'd ſince the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, may be disbanded. 5. That your Majeſty wou'd likewiſe be pleas'd to conſider of the Irregularities and Abuſes in Preſſing Soldiers, and give Order for the Prevention thereof for the future. 6. And altho' it hath been the Courſe of former Parliaments to deſire Redreſs in their Grievances, before they proceeded to give a Supply; yet we have ſo full Aſſurance of your Majeſty's Tenderneſs and Compaſſion towards your People, that we humbly proſtrate our Selves at your Majeſty's Feet with theſe our Petitions, deſiring your Majeſty to take them into your Princely Conſideration, and to give ſuch Orders for the Relief of your Subjects, and the Removing theſe Preſſures, as ſhall ſeem beſt to your Royal Wiſdom.

Another concerning Grievances in Ireland.

The Second concerning *Ireland* was as follows: ‘ *Moſt Gracious Sovereign*, We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, taking into Conſideration the great Calamities which have formerly befallen your Majeſty's Subjects of the Kingdom of *Ireland* from the *Popiſh* Recuſants there, who for the moſt Part are profeſs'd Enemies to the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and how they making ill Uſe of your Majeſty's gracious Diſpoſition and Clemency, are at this Time grown more inſolent and preſumptuous than formerly, to the apparent Danger of that Kingdom, and your Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects there, the Conſequence whereof may likewiſe prove very fatal to this your Majeſty's Kingdom of *England*, if not timely prevented; And having ſeriouſly weigh'd what Remedies may be moſt properly apply'd to theſe growing Diſtempers, do in all Humility preſent your Majeſty with theſe our Petitions. 1. That for the Eſtabliſhing and Quieting the Poſſeſſions of your Majeſty's Subjects in that Kingdom, your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to maintain the *Act of Settlement*, and *Explanatory Act* thereupon, and to recall the *Commiſſion of Enquiry into* Iriſh *Affairs* bearing Date the 17th of *January* laſt, as containing many new and extraordinary Powers, not only to the Prejudice of particular Perſons, whoſe Eſtates and Titles are thereby made liable to be queſtion'd; but in a Manner to the Overthrow of the *Acts of Settlement*; and if purſu'd, may be the Occaſion of great Charge and Attendance to many of your Subjects in *Ireland*, and ſhake the Peace and Security of the whole. 2. That your Majeſty wou'd give Order, That no *Papiſt* be either continu'd, or hereafter admitted to be Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Coroners or Mayors, Sovereign or Portrieves in that Kingdom. 3. That the Titular *Popiſh* Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Vicars-General, Abbots, and all other Exerciſing Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction by the *Pope*'s Authority, and in particular, *Peter Talbot*, pretended Arch-biſhop of *Dublin*, for his notorious Diſloyalty to your Majeſty, and Diſobedience and Contempt of your Laws, may be commanded by Proclamation forthwith to depart out of *Ireland*, and all other your Majeſty's Dominions, or otherwiſe to be proſecuted according to Law. And that all Convents, Seminaries, and publick Popiſh Schools may be diſſolv'd and ſuppreſs'd, and the Regular Prieſts commanded to depart under the like Penalties. 4. That no *Iriſh Papiſt* be admitted to inhabit in any Corporation in that Kingdom, unleſs duly licens'd according to the foreſaid *Acts of Settlement*; and that your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to recall your Letters of the 26th of *February* 1671, and your Proclamation thereupon, whereby *general Licence* is given ſuch *Papiſts* as inhabit in Corporations there. 5. That your Majeſty's Letters of the 28th of *September* 1672, and the Order of Council thereupon, whereby your Subjects are required *not to proſecute any Actions againſt the* Iriſh *for any Wrongs or Injuries committed during the late Rebellion*, may likewiſe be recall'd. 6. That Colonel *Richard Talbot*, who hath notoriouſly aſſum'd to himſelf the Title of *Agent for the Roman Catholicks in* Ireland, be immediately diſmiſs'd out of all Command, either Civil or Military, and forbid any Acceſs to your Majeſty's Court. 7. That your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd, from Time to Time, out of your Princely Wiſdom to give ſuch further Orders and Directions to the Lord-Lieutenant, as may beſt conduce to the Encouragement of the *Engliſh* Planters, and *Proteſtant* Intereſt

‘ there, and the Suppreſſion of the Inſolencies and Diſorders of the *Iriſh* Papiſts there. Theſe our humble Deſires we preſent to your Majeſty, as the beſt Means to preſerve the Peace and Safety of that your Kingdom, which hath been ſo much of late in Danger from the Practices of the ſaid *Iriſh Papiſts*, and particularly of the ſaid *Richard* and *Peter Talbot*. And we do not doubt but your Majeſty will find the happy Effects thereof to the great Satisfaction and Security of your Government and Perſon, which of all Earthly Things is moſt dear to us your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects.

The King's Anſwer.

Thanks voted.

Acts paſs'd.

The End of the Eleventh Meeting of the ſecond Parliament.

Theſe two Addreſſes being preſented to the King, his Majeſty immediately return'd this following obliging Anſwer, by way of Meſſage, *That he obſerv'd the Addreſſes conſiſted of many different Parts, therefore it cou'd not be expected there ſhou'd be a preſent Anſwer: But for the ſeveral particular Things contain'd in them, he wou'd, before the next Meeting, take ſuch effectual Care, that no Man ſhou'd have Reaſon to complain.* With which the Houſe thought themſelves and the Nation ſo well ſecured, that they preſently Voted ‘That the humble Thanks of the Houſe be preſented to his Majeſty, for the often Acceſſes they have been admitted to his Majeſty's Perſon; and for his moſt gracious Anſwers to the ſeveral Addreſſes of this Houſe; and particularly for the laſt gracious Meſſage, and for the Care he hath declared, *He will take of the Proteſtant Religion.*’ The Mony-Bill immediately paſs'd, but under the Title of a *Supply of his Majeſty's Extraordinary Occaſions*; and with a particular Proviſo tack'd to it, *That no Papiſt ſhou'd be capable of holding any publick Employment.* On the 29th of *March*, before the Bill in Favour of Proteſtant Diſſenters, and ſome others cou'd be finiſh'd, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and, beſides the Mony-Bill, paſs'd nine publick Acts, *viz.* 1. An Act *for the King's Majeſty's moſt gracious, general, and free Pardon*, but with many Exceptions. 2. An Act *continuing a former Act concerning Coynage.* 3. An Act *for enabling his Majeſty to make Leaſes of his Lands belonging to the Dutchy of* Cornwall. 4. An Act *for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants.* 5. An Act *for Reviving the Judicature for the Determination of Differences touching Houſes burnt down by the late Fire*, &c. 6. An Act *for taking off Aliens Duties upon Commodities of the Growth and Manufactures of this Nation.* 7. An Act *for Encouraging the* Greenland *Trades, and for the better ſecuring the Plantation Trades.* 8. An Act *for Repeal of a Clauſe in a former Act 'to prohibit Sales-men from ſelling fat Cattle.* 9. An Act *to enable the County Palatine of* Durham *to ſend Knights and Burgeſſes to ſerve in Parliament.* Upon paſſing theſe Bills, the King adjourn'd the Parliament to the 20th of *October*, and ſo put an End to the Eleventh Meeting of the Second and Long-Parliament, after a ſhort but ſharp Seſſion of ſeven Weeks and four Days.

The Subſtance of the Teſt-Act.

Of all theſe Acts none did then, or ſince, make ſo great a Noiſe as *That for Preventing Dangers which happen from Popiſh Recuſants*, moſt commonly call'd *The Teſt-Act*; which required, ‘That all Perſons bearing any Office or Place of Truſt or Profit, ſhou'd take the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance* in publick and open Court, and ſhou'd alſo receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Uſage of the Church of *England*, in ſome Pariſh-Church, on ſome Lord's-Day, immediately after Divine Service and Sermon, and deliver a *Certificate* of having ſo receiv'd the Sacrament, under the Hands of the reſpective Miniſter and Church-Wardens, prov'd by two credible Witneſſes upon Oath, and put upon Record in Court: And that all Perſons taking the ſaid Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*, ſhou'd likewiſe make and ſubſcribe this following Declaration; *I* A. B. *do declare, that I do believe there is not any Tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, at, or after the Conſecration thereof, by any Perſon whatſoever.*’ This Act, and Teſt therein preſcrib'd, has been generally accounted a great Bulwark to the eſtabliſh'd Church of *England*. It was principally, if not ſolely levell'd at the *Roman* Catholicks, in order to preclude them from all Places of Note and Truſt, yet it did as effectually reach all ſtrict Diſſenters from the ſaid Church. However the former ſooneſt felt the Effects of it; and not only many *Popiſh* Officers quitted their Truſts, but the Duke of *York* himſelf, who was High-Admiral of *England*, and the Lord-Treaſurer *Clifford*, both laid down their Places. The latter is ſaid to have been ſo much diſguſted at the King's paſſing this Bill, and ſome other Condeſcenſions, that he retired, and dy'd in Privacy and Diſcontent in his own Country of *Devonſhire*.

The Continuation of the WAR.

The P. of Orange's Care.

III. 1. All this while great Preparations were making both by the King of *England* and the *States* of *Holland*, for the Summer's Expedition by Sea. The latter had acquired new Strength and Vigour, ſince their Revolution by the Death of the *De Wits*, and the brave Prince of *Orange* was made their chief Commander. That Prince us'd all poſſible Diligence, both by Land and Sea, to reſtore and ſecure his Country againſt the two formidable Powers of *France* and *England*. At Sea, their Fleets were in much greater Forwardneſs than the *Engliſh*; and to make the Naval Forces more effectual, his Highneſs took care to reconcile thoſe two glorious Commanders *de Ruyter* and *van Tromp*, ſo that for the future there was a perfect Underſtanding between them. Being got to Sea, he wrote to them, and the other Officers, to encourage them, and particularly told them, ‘That the Eyes and Hearts of all the Subjects of the *United Provinces*, nay, and of all *Chriſtendom* were now turn'd to the Fleet, and were attentively obſerving what Motions, and what Attempts it wou'd make under the Valour and Conduct of thoſe who govern'd it.’ He further wrote thus, ‘We ſhall take care to recompence the Merit and Bravery of thoſe that ſhall give any ſignal Proofs of it, and ſhall provide, that great and glorious Actions ſhall not be repaid with Ingratitude, but with a proportionable Reward. I pray you aſſure all under your Flag, from the Greateſt to the Leaſt, of this Reſolution; and at the ſame Time, let every one of them know, *That no Pardon is to be expected by them who ſhall not do their Duty, and ſhall be guilty of Cowardice.*’ They were out at Sea before the Beginning of *May*, and had projected an Attempt of very great Importance, which was to dam up the Mouth of the *Thames*, by ſinking in it a great many Ships extraordinarily loaden, and ſo to render it impaſſable: And if that Project had ſucceeded, *England* wou'd a long Time have felt its Effects by the Interruption of Commerce, which wou'd thereby have been vaſtly endamag'd, without any Battel or Bloodſhed.

The Forwardneſs of the Dutch.

The Engliſh *Preparations.*

On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* carry'd on their Preparations with conſiderable Diligence, but with ſeveral Impediments, and leſs Expedition, partly occaſioned by ſome Diviſions, or perhaps Miſunderſtandings between the Duke of *York*, who had laid down, and Prince *Rupert*, who had taken up his high Office. The Prince's Friends complain that he was too much limited in his Commiſſion, that he was not befriended in the Choice of his Officers, nor never ſufficiently ſupported during the whole Expedition; ſo that they ſay, never Admiral went out to Sea with greater Diſcouragements: And if he had not us'd more than ordinary Vigour and Activity, he cou'd not have prevented the *Dutch* Deſign of damming up the Mouth of the *Thames*, nor have got ſafely paſt them, in order to joyn with the *French* then coming from *Breſt*, both which he effected with great Conduct, and difficult Management. On the 16th of *May*, he joyn'd the *French* Squadron off of the Coaſt of *Rye*; at which Place the King and the Duke went down to ſee the Fleet, and on the 19th left them ready to Sail with the firſt fair Wind: But before his coming away, his Majeſty made the Duke of *Ormond*'s Son, the Earl of *Oſſory*, Rear-Admiral of the *Blue* Squadron, under the famous Sir *Edward Spragge*. The *Red* Squadron, which was the Principal, was commanded by Prince *Rupert*, and the *White* by Count *d' Eſtree*, the *French* Admiral; the whole Fleet conſiſting of about a Hundred and forty Sail, of which ninety were capital Men of War. The *Dutch* Fleet was likewiſe divided into three Squadrons, the Firſt commanded by *de Ruyter*, the Second by *Bankert*, and the Third by *van Tromp*; conſiſting of fifty five Capital Men of War, fourteen Frigates, twenty five Fire-Ships, fourteen Advice-Yatches, and ſeven Galliots, in all an Hundred and fifteen Sail.

The Second BATTEL.

On the 28th of *May*, the firſt Battle this Year, but the ſecond in this War, began near the Sands of *Schonevelt* upon the Borders of *Zealand*; and this was the ſame Day on which the laſt Battel was fought in *Sould-Bay*. Here the *Dutch* Fleet lay in Safety; but when *de Ruyter* ſaw the Confederates appear, he weighed Anchor to meet them, and found them rang'd in the Form of a Creſcent. The *Engliſh* being ill ſatisfy'd with the Conduct of the *French* in the laſt Battel, and fearing their Deſertion, thought fit to place ſeveral of them under their own Squadrons; and particularly Monſieur *d' Aſſedan*, the *French* Rear-Admiral, was put under Prince *Rupert*'s Squadron, and the Marqueſs *de Grancy* under that of Admiral *Spragge*. About Twelve at Noon, *Tromp* and Sir *Edward Spragge* began the Fight, which on every Side was continu'd with vaſt Noiſe and Fury, till the Darkneſs of the Night parted them. The Fire-Ships of both Fleets were able to do but little Execution, and yet a great many of them were either burnt or ſunk. The *Dutch* loſt Vice-Admiral *Schram*, and Rear-Admiral *Ulugh*; and Captain *Legg* took one *Dutch* Man of War, but Captain *Backer* who loſt it, bravely retook it, but with the Loſs of his Life. The *Deventer*, another *Dutch* Ship of ſixty Guns, was diſabled; and ſtriking on the Sand in her return home, all the Men were drown'd, except Thirty. The *Dutch* affirm they loſt only this Ship, whereas they ſay the Confederates loſt ſeveral, either ſunk or burnt, moſt of them *French* and Fire-Ships, which they knew not how to uſe. It is certain that both Sides were well beaten, and ſeverely ſhatter'd, and therefore both Sides claim'd the Victory. *De Ruyter*, in his Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, ſays, *We juſtly judge, that thus far the Victory, God be prais'd, is on the ſide of the States and your Highneſs.* And Prince *Rupert* in his Letter to the Earl of *Arlington*, writes thus, *I thought it beſt for us to ceaſe the Purſuit, and drop Anchor where I now am.* On the *Engliſh* ſide were kill'd Captain *Fowls*, Captain *Werden*, and Captain *Finch*; and Colonel *Hamilton* had his Leg ſhot off: The Captains *Legg*, *Holmes*, *Wetwang* and *Story*, ſignaliz'd themſelves in this Battel; which Battel drove back the *Engliſh* to their Coaſts, and the *Dutch* to *Schonevelt*.

The Third BATTEL.

2. The *Dutch* having the Opportunity, by lying ſo near their own Coaſts, to refit and refurniſh themſelves, and well knowing as the Wind ſtood, the *Engliſh* cou'd not do the like, on the 4th Day of *June* came out upon the *Engliſh* Fleet, towards the Coaſts of *Suffolk*; which brought on a ſecond Battel within ſeven Days after the Former. About four in the Afternoon, the Fight again began by thoſe two valiant Commanders *Tromp* and *Spragge*, who with great Thunderings bravely engag'd each other. Soon after *De Ruyter* with his Squadron engag'd Prince *Rupert*, and *Bankert* fell in with *D' Eſtree* and the *White* Squadron. At *de Ruyter*'s firſt approach, he made a ſhew of attacking the Prince, but before he was within Muſquet-Shot, he ſprung his Loof, and went off of a ſudden; which made the Prince think, he had ſome extraordinary Damage in his Ship, or that he was hurt. In no long Time the whole *Dutch* Fleet began to ſtand off, but continu'd Canonading the *Engliſh*, but at a great Diſtance, till dark Night, while the *Engliſh* continu'd their Station. About Mid-Night part of the *Dutch* Fleet tack'd, ſtanding to the Eaſt Southerly: At Two in the Morning the *Engliſh* tacked alſo, and ſtood after them, but cou'd not come up before they were got again within their Sands; ſo that the Prince tack'd and ſtood to the *Engliſh* Coaſt, and all that cou'd be ſaid, was, that the *Dutch* went off in great Diſorder, but their Loſs cou'd not be known. Yet *de Ruyter*, in his Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, ſays, *The next Day we ſaw the Enemies were gone, and doubt not but they made to the* Thames; *we ſatisfy'd our ſelves with purſuing them half Way, and then return'd to our former Station.* However, the *Engliſh* loſt not a Ship, and but few Men; and of Captains, only *White*, Commander of the *Warſpight*, and *Sadlington*, Commander of the *Crown*, were killed.

The Deficiencies in the Engliſh *Fleet*

The next Day after the Battel, Prince *Rupert* had leiſure to conſider the ill Condition of the whole Fleet, when from all Parts of it came miſerable Complaints to his Highneſs of Want of Sea-Men, and all manner of Neceſſaries in every Ship, tho' all Things had been writen for, and frequently promis'd that they ſhou'd be ſent. The Commanders exclaim'd that they ſhou'd be thus expoſed, ſo as not to have convenient Supplies, but to be in Want of Powder, Shot, Water, Beer, Fiſh, ſmall Stores, and what not; whereupon it being impoſſible to avoid returning home, therefore to refit and revictual themſelves as ſoon as might be, the whole Fleet ſet ſail to the *Buoy of the Nore*, where on the 8th of *June* they rod at Anchor. And on the 14th his Highneſs return'd to *London* to give his Majeſty an Account of the Condition of his Navy, and to preſs for a ſpeedy Supply of all Neceſſaries for the Refitting of the Fleet out to Sea again. About ſeven Days after he return'd again to the Fleet, where with indefatigable Induſtry, he ſet all Things in forwardneſs, and made ſo quick a Diſpatch, that had not a Delay interven'd, of ſending Soldiers to be landed by them in *Holland*, they had been much ſooner out at Sea: But by the 16th of *July* his Highneſs weigh'd Anchor, and his Majeſty alſo in his Yatch, having a ſtrong Gale at *South-Weſt*, and came to the *Middle-Ground*; where humbly taking his leave of his Majeſty, he quickly got the whole Fleet through the *Narrow*, and on the 19th of *July* ſtood with an eaſy Sail for the Coaſts of *Zealand* and *Holland*; in all which he ſhewed both his Skill and Labour, and prov'd himſelf an excellent Manager as to both.

Recover'd by Prince Rupert.

The fourth and laſt BATTEL.

3. After a Variety of Motions, the two contending Fleets met on *Monday* the 11th of *Auguſt*, near the Mouth of the *Texel*, upon the Coaſts of *Holland*, and brought on a Third Battel this Year, which was the Fourth and Laſt of this War. The ſeveral Squadrons were under the ſame Command as before; but now the *French* led the Van, Prince *Rupert* was in the Middle, and Sir *Edward Spragge* in the Rear. The *Dutch* having the Advantage of the Weather-Gage, came boldly on; *Bankert* attack'd the *French* under *D' Eſtree*, *de Ruyter* the Prince, and *Tromp* a third Time engag'd *Spragge*. About eight in the Morning, the Battel began with as much Noiſe and threatning Deſolation as had ever been known upon the Ocean; and it is incredible to imagine with what dreadful Rage and Thunder they equally and furiouſly batter'd each other, while Confuſion and Deſtruction appear'd in every Part of the greateſt Naval Powers in the Univerſe. But within two or three Hours Time there happened a conſiderable Alteration; for the *French*, excepting Rear-Admiral *Martel*, who fought with all imaginable Bravery, ſhew'd by their Conduct that their Deſign was, to husband and ſpare their Forces; and according to the Opinion of the moſt knowing Men, it was believ'd, that the Count *D' Eſtree*, tho' he made a ſhew of fighting bravely for a Time, had ſecret Orders from his Maſter to act in that Manner: So that about eleven a Clock they very fairly made a Tack about to the Eaſtward, under the Pretence of getting the Weather-Gage, where they in effect remain'd malicious Spectators of the reſt of the Battel. Whereupon Admiral *Bankert*, ſeeing the *French* were gone off, thought it not fit to purſue them any longer, for fear of being drawn away too far from the Main of the *Dutch* Fleet, but veer'd back towards the main Battel, and went to the Aſſiſtance of *de Ruyter*; ſo that Prince *Rupert*, under this unequal Conteſt, was put to great Difficulties; notwithſtanding he bravely bore up and charg'd through the Enemy ſeveral Times. Still *Trompe* furiouſly engag'd *Spragge*, and *Trompe*'s Second, the Earl of *Oſſory*, who anſwer'd them with equal Bravery. In the Afternoon *Spragge*'s Ship being diſabled, he haſtned aboard the St. *George*, where he put up his Flagg; which when the Earl of *Oſſory* ſaw, he ſent Sir *John Narborough* to tell him, *That if he pleas'd, he wou'd ſet upon* Trompe *and directly board him, if he had his Aſſiſtance*: *Spragge* commended his Heroick Reſolution, and encouraged him to go on, and he wou'd be with him immediately; but his ſudden Death was the Loſs of a noble Deſign: For he had not been long on board the St. *George*, but by the Loſs of her main Maſt he was forc'd to leave her alſo; and as he was going on board the *Royal Charles*, the Boat was unhappily ſhatter'd to Pieces by an accidental Shot, whereby he was drown'd in the Ocean, over which he had ſo often triumph'd by his repeated Victories. *Tromp* being ſeverely gaul'd by the Earl of *Oſſory*, began to give way; but ſeeing *de Ruyter* coming towards him, he ſtayed; and being both joyn'd, they fell furiouſly upon the *Blue* Squadron, vainly endeavouring to ſeparate them from Prince *Rupert*, who coming in with all imaginable Speed, and others ſeaſonably joyning with him, the Diſpute was bloody and terrible on both Sides; And the Prince ſending two Fire-Ships, guarded by Captain *Legg*, amongſt the Enemies Fleet, put them into ſuch Confuſion, that if the wary *French*, who were then Maſters of the Wind, had come in, the Diſpute of the *Dutch* concerning the Dominion of the Seas had been at an End. The brave *Martel*, the *French* Commander, in his Narrative owns, ‘ That if ‘ the Count *d' Eſtree* wou'd have fallen in with the fair ‘ Wind upon *de Ruyter* and *Bankert*, when they firſt en‘ gag'd with Prince *Rupert*, they muſt needs have been ‘ enclos'd between his Highneſs and the Count, and ſo ‘ there wou'd have been an entire Defeat of the Ene‘ my.

The Failure of the French.

The End of the Summer's Expedition.

In this Battel the *Dutch* loſt two Flag-Officers, *de Leifde* and *Sweers*, ſeveral Captains, and about a Thouſand common Sea-Men. Among the *Engliſh*, were ſlain Captain *le Neve*, and Captain *Merryweather*, both Foot Officers, and Mr. *May* a Voluntier; of the Sea-Commanders Sir *William Reeves*, and Captain *Heywood*, both gallant Soldiers. But the Perſon moſt lamented was Sir *Edward Spragge*, who is ſaid by a *Dutch* Writer, to have been one of the moſt valiant Admirals *England* ever had; and of whom it was reported, that when he took leave of the King his Maſter, he declar'd *He wou'd bring Admiral* Trompe *alive or dead, or elſe loſe his own Life in the Attempt*, which laſt accordingly came to paſs. The *Engliſh* had ſhip'd ſix thouſand Men, commanded by the Mareſchal *de Schomberg*, for a Deſcent upon the Coaſts of *Holland*; but their not being able to attempt any thing by Land, was an Argument that they were not ſuperior at Sea. And here it may be obſerv'd that when ever the *Engliſh* engag'd the *Dutch* without any Foreign Aſſiſtance, they generally came off with Honour and Renown; but when they were ſupported, or rather joyn'd by the Power of *France*, they never cou'd make the like Impreſſion. And here ended the Summer's Expedition, and in effect the whole War; only we are to take Notice, that the Iſland *Tobago*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, was this Year taken from the *Dutch* by the *Engliſh* Commander Sir *Tobias Bridges*, with a Booty of four hundred Priſoners, and as many Negroes. The *Dutch* in Reprizal, had ſeized upon the *Engliſh* Iſle of St. *Helens*, which wou'd have been a great Obſtruction to their *Eaſt-India* Trade; had it not been ſoon after regain'd by Captain *Mundy*, with a more fatal Loſs to the *Dutch* of three rich *Eaſt-India* Ships: For which acceptable Service the Captain, on his Return, was Knighted by his Majeſty.

The Prince of Orange *recovers his Country.*

Theſe three Battles fought at Sea, though none of them were Victories, prov'd very advantagious to the *Dutch*, by keeping up the Hearts and Spirits of the People at Land, who began not only to breath after their dreadful Loſſes from the *French*, but to recover their former Strength and Vigour. All which was principally owing to the Vigilance and Activity of the Prince of *Orange*, who having taken his Meaſures with the Emperor, *Spain* and *Brandenburg*, undertook the Siege of *Naerden* with full Succeſs. After the Reduction of that Place, which happen'd in the Sight of the *French* Army, the Prince, like another young *Scipio*, reſolv'd to ſave his Country by abandoning it; and accordingly he contented himſelf to leave the chief Poſt guarded with a Part of the Army, and with the reſt marched into *Germany*, joyn'd Part of the Imperialiſts, and beſieg'd *Bonne*, which had been put into the Hands of *France* in the Beginning of the War. The Boldneſs of this Attempt amaz'd all Men, but the Succeſs diſplay'd the Prudence, as well as the Bravery of it; for the Prince took *Bonne*, and by that Means open'd a Paſſage for the *German* Forces over the *Rhine*, and ſo into *Flanders*, and gave ſuch a Diverſion and Damp to the Deſigns and Enterprize of the *French*, that they immediately abandon'd all their Conqueſts upon *Holland* with greater Celerity than they made them, retaining only *Maeſtricht* and the *Grave*, of all they had poſſeſs'd belonging to the *States*: All which happen'd before the Concluſion of this Year. The *Dutch* were tranſported at this great and unexpected Turn of Affairs, and juſtly imputed it chiefly to the Wiſdom and Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*; and therefore a greater Honour was done to him than to any of his illuſtrious Anceſtors: For now the *States-General* not only confirmed the Office of Stadt-Holder in the Perſon of his Highneſs during Life, but ſettled it likewiſe upon his Heirs Male born in Wedlock, by a ſolemn Decree made in the latter End of the Year. And on the ſame Day the States of *Zealand*, to ſhew their Gratitude, made him chief Hereditary Nobleman of that Province.

His Honours.

A Treaty ſet on Foot at Cologn.

IV. 1. During the Heat and Vigour of this Summer's War, a Treaty of Peace was not forgotten, which was firſt agreed, by the Mediation of the King of *Sweden*, to be held at *Aix-la-Chapelle*: but ſoon after, by the King of *England*'s Conſent, at the City of *Cologn*; to which Place by the middle of *June*, and ſome before, repaired all the Plenipotentiaries of the ſeveral Confederates. For his *Britannick* Majeſty, there appeared Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, and Sir *Lionel Jenkins*; for the King of *Spain*, Count *Areſchot*, and *Don Emanuel de Lyra*; for the Emperor, Count *Conningſech*, and the Baron *D' Iſola*; Count *Tott*, for the Crown of *Sweden*; *Van Beverning*, *Van Haren*, and *Odyke*, for the *States* of *Holland*; and the Duke *de Chauſnes*, for his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty of *France*. But the *Dutch*, depending upon their Succeſſes, and having other Deſigns than were carrying on in that Place, wou'd yield to no conſiderable Point: Nor were their Plenipotentiaries ſo fully inſtructed, but that upon the Propoſitions deliver'd by the *Engliſh*, they pleaded they cou'd give no poſitive Anſwer, without conſulting their Maſters. So carrying Things with a high Hand, they return'd to *Holland*, while the *States* had Leiſure to form an Anſwer; which when they had deliver'd at *Cologn*, was look'd upon as little more than a Contrivance to protract Time: By which means *Cologn* became a Place of great Concourſe, but of little Buſineſs.

Promotions in England.

Sir Thomas Oſborne *Lord Treaſurer.*

The Chancellor's Speech to him.

All which Time the King and the Court were preparing for the next Meeting of Parliament, which, by Adjournment only, was to be on the 20th Day of *October*: Before which Day ſeveral Alterations were made as to Places and Preferments. Beſides the Reſignation of the Duke of *York*, which ſeemed to have been done not without Reſentment, the Lord *Clifford*, being a profeſs'd *Roman* Catholick, finding himſelf diſabled by the new *Teſt Act*, as was before hinted, reſign'd into his Majeſty's Hands his Staff, as Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, on the 19th of *June*; which, by the Recommendation of the favourite Duke of *Buckingham*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to deliver the ſame Day to the celebrated Sir *Thomas Oſborne*, Knight and Baronet, and lately created Lord Viſcount *Dunblain* in *Scotland*. Soon after, on the Death of Sir *Robert Long*, Auditor of his Majeſty's Exchequer, that profitable Place was given to the witty Sir *Robert Howard*, who left his Office of Secretary to the Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, to *Charles Bertie*, Eſquire, Brother to the Earl of *Lindſey*. As to the Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury*, tho' his Reign appear'd to be ſhort-liv'd, he was reſerv'd for the Management of the approaching Seſſion of Parliament, upon the Succeſs of which his Fate ſeem'd much to depend. He had lately put himſelf at the Head of the Complaining Party, appear'd more reſerv'd as to the Court Intereſt, and ſaid ſeveral Things in publick Speeches which reſembled more the Patriot, than the Courtier, for which he met with a proportionable Degree of Applauſe and Diſcommendation. When Serjeant *Thurland* took his Oath before him as one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in his Speech he gave him this free Advice. 'In the firſt Place 'you are to maintain the King's *Prerogative*; and let not 'the King's *Prerogative* and the *Law*, be two things with 'you: For the King's *Prerogative* is *Law*, and the Principal Part of the *Law*; and therefore in maintaining 'That, you maintain the *Law*.' But after this he further ſaid to him, 'Let me recommend to you, ſo to manage 'the King's *Juſtice* and the *Revenues*, as the King may have 'moſt *Profit*, and the Subject leaſt *Vexation*. Raking for 'old Debts, the Number of Informations, Projects upon 'Concealments, I cou'd not find, in the eleven Years Experience I have had in this Court, ever to advantage the 'Crown: But ſuch Proceedings have, for the moſt Part, 'deliver'd up the King's good Subjects into the Hands of 'the *Worſt of Men*.' Afterwards, when the new Lord Treaſurer, Sir *Thomas Oſborne* was ſworn, he in his Speech from the Bench, among other Things, ſaid, '*Kings* are as '*Gods*, and beſtow Honour, Riches and Power where 'they pleaſe; but in this they *are as Men*, that they can 'only *chuſe*, not *make* a Perſon Adequate to their Imployment: For if their Choice be merely *Favour*, not *Fitneſs*, 'their *Omnipotency* is quickly ſeen through. There is no 'more to be ask'd of you in this Condition, but that you '*know your own Intereſt*, and that will ſecure you to the '*King*'s and the *Nation*'s. I repeat them thus together, 'becauſe none but *Mountebanks* in State Matters can think 'of them aſunder. And let me ſay to your Lordſhip, that 'however happy you have been in arriving to this high Station, yet *Parta tueri non minor eſt Virtus*. Many great 'Men have prov'd unfortunate, in not obſerving that the '*Addreſs* and *Means* to attain great Things, are oftentimes 'very different from thoſe that are neceſſary to maintain 'and eſtabliſh a ſure and long Poſſeſſion of them.' The new Treaſurer thank'd the Chancellor in publick; but the next Day, when he had conſider'd the Terms in the Speech, it is ſaid he ſent to revoke his former Thanks.

A ſecond Marriage deſign'd for the Duke of York.

In the mean Time the *Cliffordian* or Popiſh Party had taken great Pains to bring about the ſecond Marriage of the Duke of *York*, as the ſureſt Method to ſtrengthen their Intereſt. Several Propoſals had been made to his Royal Highneſs, all of his own Religion, and particularly a long Negotiation for a Match between him and the Arch-Dutcheſs of *Inſpruck*, a great Fortune in *Germany*; but the Emperor happening to become a Widower before it cou'd be compleated, he marry'd her himſelf. Upon which the Duke, being oblig'd to caſt his Eye another Way, at laſt fix'd upon *Mary D'Eſte*, Siſter to *Francis* then Duke of *Modena* in *Italy*, and Daughter to *Alphonſo D'Eſte*, the third of that Name, by *Laura Maneſſi*. The better to advance this unequal Match, and make it appear more conſiderable, the *French* King declared her an adopted Daughter of *France*, and promis'd her a ſuitable Portion. The Match was concluded without any great Difficulty, by the Earl of *Peterborough*, and afterwards conſummated by the ſame Perſon, according to the Form us'd among Princes. This Marriage was contrary to the Bent of the *Engliſh* Nation, who began to have many Jealouſies about it; and it was ſoon known that the approaching Parliament wou'd complain of it; eſpecially ſince it was now unqueſtionable that his Royal Highneſs was a profeſs'd *Roman* Catholick. His Friends therefore made what Proviſions they cou'd againſt the Meeting of the Parliament, which being only by Adjournment, they found ſeveral things ready to be finiſh'd, which were contrary to their Advantage; particularly the *Bill for Eaſe of Proteſtant Diſſenters*, which wanted very litttle of paſſing the Houſe of Lords, and if compleated, might have prov'd a new Bulwark againſt Popery. Therefore to prevent this, and ſome other Matters, a Prorogation was thought convenient and neceſſary in this Juncture of Affairs.

TWELFTH SESSION of the ſecond Parliament.

2. On the 20th Day of *October*, the Parliament met according to their Adjournment, and ſo made a Continuation of the Eleventh Seſſion of this Long Parliament: But they had no ſooner met, but the Houſe of Commons ſhew'd their Diſguſt againſt ſeveral Proceedings of late, and preſently voted 'That an Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, to 'acquaint his Majeſty, that it is the humble Deſire of this 'Houſe, that the intended Marriage of his Royal Highneſs with the Dutcheſs of *Modena*, be not conſummated; '*and that he may not be marry'd to any Perſon but of the* '*Proteſtant Religion*.' Upon which the King immediately prorogu'd the Parliament to the 27th of the ſame Month; ſo that on that Day began the twelfth Seſſion of the Second Parliament, which prov'd the ſhorteſt and the ſharpeſt of any that preceded it. His Majeſty, without ſhewing any particular Diſpleaſure, from the Throne

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The King’s Speech to both Houſes.

made this following Speech: ‘*My Lords and Gentlemen,* I thought this Day to have welcomed you with an honourable Peace: My Preparations for the War, and Condeſcenſions at the Treaty, gave me great Reaſon to believe ſo; but the *Dutch* have diſappointed me in that Expectation, and have treated my Ambaſſadors at *Cologn* with the Contempt of Conquerors, and not as might be expected from Men in their Condition. They have other Thoughts than Peace. This obligeth me to move you again for a Supply; the Safety and Honour of the Nation neceſſarily requiring it. It muſt be one *proportionable* to the Occaſion; and I muſt tell you beſides, that if I have it not *ſpeedily*, the Miſchief will be irreparable in my Preparations for the next Spring. The great Experience I have had of you, *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, will not ſuffer me to believe, that the Artifices of our Enemies can poſſibly divert you from *giving* me this Supply, or that you can fail of adjuſting the *Proportion* of it. I hope I need not uſe many Words to perſwade you, that I am ſteady in maintaining all the Profeſſions and Promiſes I have made you concerning *Religion* and *Property*: And I ſhall be very ready to give you freſh Inſtances of my Zeal, for preſerving the Eſtabliſh’d Religion and Laws, as often as any Occaſion ſhall require. In the laſt Place I am highly concern’d to commend to your Conſideration and Care the Debt I owe the *Gold-Smiths*, in which very many other of my good Subjects are involv’d: I heartily recommend their Condition to you, and deſire your Aſſiſtance for their Relief. There is more that I wou’d have you inform’d of, which I leave to the Chancellor.

The Lord Chancellor Shaftsbury*’s Speech.*

Accordingly the Chancellor made the following Speech, which, upon the Account of the Speaker, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, is here verbally inſerted: ‘*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*, His Majeſty had Reaſon to expect that he ſhou’d have met you with the Olive Branch of *Peace*: His *Naval Preparations*, greater than in any former Years, together with his *Land Forces* he had ready for any Occaſion, gave him Aſſurance to obtain it before this Time: And the rather, becauſe his Aims were not *Conqueſt*, unleſs by Obſtinacy inforc’d; but his *Condeſcenſions* at the Treaty have been ſo great, That the very Mediators have declared they were not reaſonably to be refus’d. He cou’d not be King of *Great Britain* without Securing the *Dominion* and *Property* of his own Seas; the Firſt by an Article clear, and not eluſory of the FLAGG; the Other, by an Article that preſerv’d the *Right* of the *Fiſhing*, but gave the *Dutch* Permiſſion, as Tenants, under a ſmall Rent, to enjoy, and continue that Gainful Trade upon the Coaſts. The King was oblig’d, for the Security of a laſting Peace, as alſo by the Laws of *Gratitude* and *Relation*, to ſee the Houſe of *Orange* ſetled, and the LOVESTEIN, that CARTHAGINIAN PARTY, brought down. Neither in this did the King inſiſt beyond what was moderate, and agreeable to their Government, and what the Prince’s Anceſtors enjoy’d amongſt them. Beſides theſe, they were neceſſary to the Trade of *England*, that there ſhou’d be a fair Adjuſtment of Commerce in the *Eaſt-Indies*; where the King’s Demands were reaſonable, and according to the *Law of Nations*; and their Practice of late Years hath been Exorbitant and Oppreſſive, ſuitable only to their Power and Intereſt, and Deſtructive, if continu’d, to our *Eaſt-India* Company. Theſe were all, of any Moment, the King inſiſted on; as judging right, That that Peace that was Reaſonable, Juſt and Fair to both Parties, wou’d be Sacred and Durable. And that by this Means, He ſhou’d depreſs the Intereſt and Reputation of that LOVESTEIN PARTY amongſt them, who ſuck’d in with their Milk an *Inveterate Hatred* to *England*, and tranſmit it to their Poſterity, as a *Diſtinguiſhing Character* wherein they place their Loyalty to their Country.

‘In return to this candid, and fair Proceeding on the King’s Part, his Majeſty aſſures you, he hath receiv’d nothing but the moſt ſcornful and contemptuous Treatment imaginable; Papers deliver’d in to the Mediators, own’d by them to be ſtuff’d with ſo unhandſom Language, that they were aſham’d, and refus’d to ſhew them; never agreeing to any Article about the *Flagg*, that was clear or plain; refuſing any Article of the *Fiſhing*, but ſuch a one, as might ſell them the Right of Inheritance, for an inconſiderable Sum of Mony, tho’ it be a *Royalty* ſo *Inherent to the Crown of* England, that I may ſay (with his Majeſty’s Pardon for the Expreſſion) He cannot ſell it. The Article of the Prince of *Orange*, and the Adjuſtment of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, had neither of them any better Succeſs: And to make all of a Piece, they have this laſt Week ſent a Trumpeter with an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty, being a *Deduction of their ſeveral Offers of Peace*, as they call them, *and their Deſires for it now*; but it is both in the Penning and the Timeing of it, plainly an *Appeal* to his Majeſty’s People againſt Himſelf: And the King hath commanded me to tell you, He is reſolv’d to joyn Iſſue with them, and print both their *Addreſs*, and his *Anſwer*, that his People and the World may ſee how notorious Falſhoods and Slights they endeavour to put upon Him. In a Word, in *England*, and all other Places, and to all other Perſons in the World, they declare *They offer all Things to obtain a Peace from the King of* England; but to Himſelf, his Miniſters, the Mediators, or his Plenipotentiaries, it may with Confidence and Truth be affirm’d, that to this Day, nay even in this laſt Addreſs, *they have offer’d Nothing*. They deſire the King’s Subjects wou’d believe *They beg for Peace*, while their true Requeſt is, only *to be permitted to be Maſters of the Seas*; which they hope, if they can ſubſiſt at Land, Length of Time may give them; and if once got, is never to be loſt; nor can it be bought by any State or Empire *at too great a Rate*. And what Security their Agreement with us in Religion will afford, when they ſhall have the Power, former Inſtances may give Demonſtration of. *Joint Intereſts* have often ſecured the Peace of *differing Religions*, but *agreeing Profeſſions* have hardly an Example of preſerving the Peace of *different Intereſts*.

‘This being the true and natural State of Things, his Majeſty doth with great Aſſurance throw himſelf into the Arms of you his Parliament, for a Supply ſuitable to this great Affair he is engag’d in. When you conſider we are an Iſland, ’tis not *Riches* nor *Greatneſs* we contend for; yet thoſe muſt attend the Succeſs; but it is our very *Beings* are in Queſtion: We fight *pro Aris & Focis* in this War. We are no longer *Free-Men*, being Iſlanders, and *Neighbours*, if they Maſter us at Sea. There is not ſo lawful or commendable Jealouſy in the World, as an *Engliſh* Man’s, of the growing Greatneſs of any Prince or State at Sea. If you permit the Sea, our *Britiſh* Wife, to be raviſh’d, an eternal Mark of Infamy will ſtick upon us: Therefore I am commanded earneſtly to recommend to you, not only the *Proportion*, but the *Time* of the Supply. For unleſs you think of it early, it will not be ſerviceable to the chief End of ſetting out a Fleet betimes the next Spring. As for the next Part of the King’s Speech, I can add nothing to what his Majeſty hath ſaid. For as to *Religion* and *Property*, his Heart is with your Heart, perfectly with your Heart. He hath not yet learned to deny you any Thing; and he believes your Wiſdom and Moderation is ſuch, he never ſhall. He asks of you *to be at Peace in Him, as he is in You*, and he ſhall never deceive you.

‘There is one Word more, I am commanded to ſay concerning the Debt owing to the *Gold-Smiths*: The King holds himſelf in Honour and Conſcience oblig’d to ſee them ſatisfy’d. Beſides, you all know how many Widows, Orphans and particular Perſons, this Publick Calamity hath overtaken; and how hard it is, That ſo diſproportionable a Burthen ſhou’d fall upon them, even to their utter Ruin. The whole Caſe is ſo well and generally known, that I need ſay no more. Your *Great Wiſdom* hath not done it at the firſt, peradventure that the Trade of the Bankers might be ſuppreſſed; which End is now attain’d: So that now your *Great Goodneſs* may reſtore to thoſe poor People, and the many innocent Ones that are concern’d with them, ſome Life and Aſſurance of Payment in a competent Time. *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I have no more in Command, and therefore I ſhall conclude with my own hearty Prayers, That this Seſſion may equal, nay exceed the Honour of the laſt; That it may perfect what the laſt begun for the Safety of this King and Kingdom; That it may be for ever famous for having Eſtabliſh’d, upon a durable Foundation, our *Religion*, *Laws* and *Properties*; That we may not be toſs’d with boiſterous Winds, nor overtaken by a ſudden dead Calm: But that a gentle fair Gale may carry you in a ſteady, even, and reſolv’d Way into the Ports of *Wiſdom* and *Security*.

The Speech ended, and the Commons return’d to their Houſe, they were ſo affected with the Thoughts of *Popery*, that the firſt Thing they reſolv’d was a more than ordinary Solemnization of the Fifth of *November*, and that Dr. *Stillingfleet* be the Preacher. Then appointing a Grand Committee for Religion, Grievances, Trade, and Courts of Juſtice, they adjourn’d themſelves till the 30th Inſtant. On which Day Mr. Secretary *Coventry* brought from his Majeſty the following Anſwer to their Addreſs concerning the Duke of *York*, and his intended Marriage:

A Meſſage of the King to the Commons.

‘*C. R.* His Majeſty having receiv’d an Addreſs from the Houſe of Commons, preſenting their humble Deſire That the intended Marriage betwixt his Royal Highneſs and the Princeſs of *Modena* may not be conſummated, commanded this Anſwer to be return’d, *That he perceiv’d the*

'*the Houſe of Commons have wanted a full Information of this Matter, the Marriage not being barely Intended, but Compleated according to the Forms us'd amongſt Princes, and by his Royal Conſent and Authority: Nor cou'd he in the leaſt ſuppoſe it diſagreeable to his Houſe of Commons, his Royal Highneſs having been in the View of the World for ſeveral Months engag'd in a Treaty of Marriage with another Catholick Princeſs, and yet a Parliament held during the Time, and not the leaſt Exception taken at it.*' They were no way ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, but look'd upon this *French* Match in effect of far greater Danger, than the propos'd Marriage with the Arch-Dutcheſs of *Inſpruck*, hinted in the Anſwer, was at the Time of the Treaty thereof; for then the Duke's Religion was not certainly known to the Nation; and beſides, the Family of the Arch-Dutcheſs, the Houſe of *Auſtria*, did not appear to be in an equal Capacity to aſſiſt in the Propagation of that Religion, as the *French* at this Time did. And therefore the Houſe immediately Voted to draw up another Addreſs, with particular Reaſons againſt the Marriage; and the ſame Day voted, 'That a Bill ſhou'd be prepared for a *General Teſt* betwixt *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*, and thoſe that refus'd to take it, ſhou'd be incapable of bearing any Office Military or Civil, or to ſit in Parliament, or to come within five Miles of the Court.' They likewiſe went on with a Bill *for Repair of Churches*, and *for the better recovery of ſmall Tythes.*

Their grand Reſolve.

3. It was upon *Friday* the 31ſt of *October* that the Houſe of Commons firſt took into their Conſideration his Majeſty's Speech, and after a long and ſerious Debate in a grand Committee, they finally Reſolv'd, 'That the Houſe, conſidering the preſent Condition of the Nation, will not take into any further Debate the Conſideration of any *Aid* or *Supply*, or *Charge* upon the Subject, before the Time of Payment of the Eighteen Months Aſſeſsment, granted by a late Act of Parliament, Entitled, *An Act for Raiſing the Sum of Twelve Hundred thirty eight Thouſand ſeven Hundred and fifty Pounds*, be expired; Except it ſhall appear that the *Obſtinacy* of the *Dutch* ſhall render it Neceſſary; Nor before this Kingdom be effectually ſecured from *Popery* and *Popiſh* Counſellors, and the other preſent *Grievances* be redreſs'd.' At the ſame Time they order'd an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty for a general Faſt to be obſerved throughout the Nation. Which Proceedings prov'd very uneaſy and ſhocking to the King and the Court, who therefore reſolv'd to give them one Remove more: But that it might not ſeem altogether upon the Account of denying Mony, they allow'd the Parliament to proceed; who on the *Monday* following attended his Majeſty with their ſecond Addreſs, with Reaſons againſt the Marriage; being then aſſured that it was not ſo far concluded, but that for Reaſon of State it might have been rejected, as it has been practis'd in ſeveral Nations, and even by the *French* themſelves in ſeveral Examples.

Their particular Addreſs againſt the Duke's Marriage.

The Addreſs is too remarkable to be omitted, and is inſerted as follows: 'We your Majeſty's moſt humble and loyal Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, being full of Aſſurance of your Majeſty's gracious Intentions to provide for the Eſtabliſhment of Religion, and the Preſervation of your People in Peace and Security; and foreſeeing the dangerous Conſequences which may follow the Marriage of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* with the Princeſs of *Modena*, or any other of the *Popiſh* Religion; do hold our ſelves bound in Conſcience and Duty to repreſent the ſame to your Sacred Majeſty, not doubting but thoſe conſtant Teſtimonies which we have given your Majeſty of our True and Loyal Affections to your ſacred Perſon, will eaſily gain a Belief that theſe our humble Deſires proceed from Hearts ſtill full of the ſame Affections towards your Sacred Majeſty, and with Intentions to eſtabliſh your Royal Government upon thoſe true Supports of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Hearts of your People, with all Humility deſiring your Majeſty to take the ſame into your Princely Conſideration, and to relieve your Subjects from thoſe Fears and Apprehenſions which at preſent they lye under, from the Progreſs that hath been made in that Treaty. We do therefore humbly beſeech your Majeſty to conſider, 1. That if this Match do proceed, it will be a Means to diſquiet the Minds of your *Proteſtant* Subjects at home, and to fill them with endleſs Jealouſies and Diſcontents; and will bring your Majeſty into ſuch Alliances abroad, as will prove highly prejudicial, if not deſtructive, to the Intereſt of the very *Proteſtant* Religion it ſelf. 2. We find by ſad Experience, that ſuch Marriages have increas'd and encourag'd *Popery* in this Kingdom, and given Opportunity to Prieſts and Jeſuits to propagate their Opinions, and ſeduce great Numbers of your Majeſty's Subjects. 3. We do already obſerve how much the Party is animated with the Hopes of this Match, which were lately diſcourag'd by your Gracious Conceſſions in the laſt Meeting of this Parliament. 4. We greatly fear this may be an Occaſion to leſſen the Affections of the People to his Royal Highneſs, who is ſo nearly related to the Crown, and whoſe Honour and Eſteem we deſire may always be entirely preſerv'd. 5. That for another Age more at leaſt, this Kingdom will be under the continual Apprehenſions of the *Growth of Popery*, and the *Danger of the Proteſtant Religion*. Laſtly, We conſider that this Princeſs having ſo near a Relation and Kindred to many eminent Perſons of the Court of *Rome*, may give them great Opportunities to promote their Deſigns, and carry on their Practices amongſt us, and by the ſame Means penetrate into your Majeſty's moſt ſecret Counſels, and more eaſily diſcover the State of the whole Kingdom. And finding by the Opinions of very Learned Men, it is generally admitted, *That ſuch Treaties and Contracts by Proxy are Diſſolvable*, of which there are ſeveral Inſtances to be produc'd; We do in all Humility beſeech your Majeſty to put a ſtop to the Conſummation of this intended Marriage. And this we do the more importunately deſire, becauſe we have not as yet the Happineſs to ſee any Iſſue of your Majeſty that may ſucceed in the Government of theſe Kingdoms; which Bleſſing we moſt heartily pray Almighty God in his due Time to beſtow upon your Majeſty and theſe Kingdoms, to the unſpeakable Joy and Comfort of all your Majeſty's Loyal Subjects, who deſire nothing more than to continue under the Reigns of your Majeſty, and your Royal Poſterity for ever.

To which Addreſs his Majeſty return'd this Anſwer, *That it was a Matter he wou'd take into his preſent Conſideration, and wou'd ſpeedily return an Anſwer.* After which the Commons proceeded further, and Voted the ſtanding Army a Grievance; and accordingly they prepar'd an Addreſs to be made to his Majeſty, ſhewing *That the Standing Army was a Grievance, and a Burthen to the Nation.* Having prepared this on the 4th of *November*, and deſigning that Day to wait upon his Majeſty with it, the King unexpectedly, and of a ſudden, appear'd at the Houſe of Peers with his Robes and Crown. The Lords made all haſte to attend him, while the Uſher of the Black-Rod was ſent to the Commons, to command the Speaker and that Houſe immediately to come up to his Majeſty. But it happen'd that the Speaker and the Uſher met both at the Door of the Houſe of Commons; but the Speaker being within the Houſe, ſome of the Members ſuddenly ſhut the Door, and cry'd out *To the Chair, to the Chair!* while others cry'd *The Black-Rod is at the Door*! The Speaker was immediately hurry'd to the Chair, and then it was mov'd, 1. *That our Alliance with* France *was a Grievance.* 2. *That the Evil Counſellors about the King were a Grievance*; and, 3. *That the Duke of* Lauderdale *was a Grievance, and not fit to be truſted or employ'd in any Office or Place of Truſt.* To which there was a general Cry, *To the Queſtion, to the Queſtion!* but the Black-Rod knocking earneſtly at the Door, the Speaker leapt out of the Chair, and the Houſe roſe in great Confuſion.

Their warm Proceedings.

The King Prorogues the Parliament with a Speech.

Being come into the Houſe of Peers, the King from the Throne made this following Speech to both Houſes: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I need not tell you how unwillingly I call you hither at this Time, being enough ſenſible what Advantages my Enemies both abroad and at home will reap by the leaſt Appearance of a Difference betwixt Me and my Parliament; nay, being aſſured they expect more Succeſs from ſuch a Breach (cou'd they procure it) than from their Arms. This, I ſay, ſhall, while I live, be my chief Endeavour to prevent; and for that Reaſon I think it neceſſary to make a ſhort Receſs, that all good Men may recollect themſelves againſt the next Meeting, and conſider, *Whether the preſent Poſture of Affairs will not rather require their Applications to Matters of Religion, and Support againſt our only Competitors at Sea, than to Things of leſs Importance:* And in the mean Time, I will not be wanting to let all my Subjects ſee, *That no Care can be greater than my own, in the effectual Suppreſſing of Popery:* And it ſhall be your Faults, if in your ſeveral Countries the Laws be not effectually executed againſt the Growth of it. I will not be idle neither in ſome Things which may add to your Satisfaction; *and then I ſhall expect a ſuitable Return from you.*' Having ſpoke thus, he Prorogu'd the Parliament to the 7th Day of *January* following. And thus ended the Twelfth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had continu'd no longer than nine Days; in which Time we do not find that the Lords tranſacted any Thing very Material, but ſeem'd rather to attend the Motions of the Houſe of Commons.

The End of the Twelfth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

4. Now it was, that the King began more ſenſibly to find the Loſs of his old Counſellor, the Earl of *Clarendon*, and to feel the Difficulties brought upon him by his Favourites of the *Cabal*. He was now labouring and toil-

The Earl of Shaftsbury *turn'd out.*

And the Seals given to Sir Heneage Finch.

ing, as it befell him in the greateſt Part of his Reign, to get a little Eaſe and Relief from Buſineſs, which probably he might have attain'd with no great Trouble, had he been leſs given to try Experiments. However, he reſolv'd to get free from the Perſon who had ſo great a Share in involving him of late, the Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury*, whoſe Actions had render'd him very obnoxious to the Court Party, eſpecially the Duke of *York*. Accordingly, ſoon after the Breaking up of the Parliament, the Earl was ſent for on a *Sunday* Morning to Court, as was alſo Sir *Heneage Finch*, Attorney-General, to whom the Seals were promis'd. As ſoon as the Earl came, he retired with the King into the Cloſet, while the prevailing Party waited in Triumph to ſee him return without the Purſe. His Lordſhip being alone with the King, ſaid, *Sir, I know you intend to give the Seals to the Attorney-General; but I am ſure your Majeſty never deſign'd to diſmiſs me with Contempt.* The King, who cou'd not do an ill-natur'd Thing, reply'd, *Godsfiſh, my Lord, I will not do it with any Circumſtance as may look like an Affront. Then, Sir*, ſaid the Earl, *I deſire your Majeſty will permit me to carry the Seals before you to Chappel, and ſend for them afterwards from my own Houſe*; to which his Majeſty readily comply'd; and the Earl entertain'd the King with News, and other diverting Stories, till the very Minute he was to go to Chappel, purpoſely to amuſe the Courtiers and his Succeſſor, who he believ'd was upon the Rack for fear he ſhou'd prevail upon the King to change his Mind. The King and the ſtill Chancellor came out of the Cloſet talking together and ſmiling, and went together to Chappel, which extreamly ſurpris'd them all, who cou'd have no Opportunity to inform themſelves what was to be expected; and ſome ran immediately to tell the Duke of *York* all their Meaſures were broken, and the Attorney-General was ſaid to be inconſoleable. After Sermon the Earl went home with the Seals, and that Evening the King gave them to the Attorney-General, a Man of great Parts and Abilities, with the Title of Lord-Keeper. And thus ended the Reign of the great Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Prevalency of which had continu'd above three Years, but the Grandeur of it, in which he had no Equal, laſted a few Days leſs than one Year.

The King's Care to hinder Popery, &c.

Immediately after, to oblige the Parliament and Nation as much as poſſible, on the 14th of *November*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to ſummon in Council the two Lords Chief-Juſtices, and the Lord Chief-Baron, and to command them to conſider of the moſt effectual Means of putting the Laws in Execution for preventing the *Growth of Popery*, and ſpeedily to report the ſame to his Majeſty: And at the ſame Time he was particularly pleas'd to order, 'That no Perſon who is a *Roman* Catholick, or is reputed to be of 'the *Roman* Catholick Religion, do preſume, after 'the 18th of this Inſtant *November*, to come into his Majeſty's Royal Preſence, or to his Palace, or to the Place 'where his Court ſhall be: And accordingly the Lord 'Steward, and Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, were order'd to cauſe his Majeſty's Pleaſure to be 'effectually put in Execution.' In purſuance of which, the King iſſu'd out a new Proclamation againſt the *Papiſts*, which was the Eighth of that Kind, and began with the uſual Intimation, *that it was according to the Deſire of his two Houſes of Parliament*. And not long after, on the 10th of *December*, his Majeſty was pleas'd farther to declare in Council, 'That no *Popiſh* Recuſant, or reputed 'to be ſo, ſhou'd preſume to come into St. *James*'s Houſe, 'or into the Park adjoyning. So that he ſeem'd to have taken all reaſonable Care to put an End to the Fears and Apprehenſions of the Growth of Popery. And to ſatisfie his People with relation to the preſent *Dutch* War, he publiſh'd the Letter mention'd in the Chancellor's laſt Speech to him from the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, who began to aſſume a higher Stile upon their late Succeſſes, and their new Alliances with the Emperor and the King of *Spain*. With which he publiſh'd his own Anſwer, which concluded in theſe Words, 'If you have a Deſire 'to promote the Peace in good Earneſt, ſend Powers 'without further Delay to your Deputies at *Coloign*, to 'draw up juſt and equal Articles with Ours; and the World 'ſhall ſee how ready We ſhall be to comply with them, 'and to reſume thoſe Sentiments of Friendſhip and Eſteem 'which the Kings our Predeceſſors have always had for 'your State; and to manifeſt to you That We are truely '*Your good Friend*, C. R.

The Duke of York's *Marriage Conſummated.*

But whatever was done to ſuppreſs the Fears of Popery, the formidable Contract of Marriage between the Royal Brother the Duke, and the Princeſs of *Modena*, took Place. And that Lady, having reſided a while at the Court of *France*, arriv'd at *Dover* on the 21ſt of *November*, accompany'd with her Mother the Dutcheſs of *Modena*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, who were nobly receiv'd by his Royal Highneſs, who on the ſame Day was by the Biſhop of *Oxford* marry'd to the ſaid Princeſs *Mary D'Eſte*, then in the Bloom of her Beauty, and very little above fifteen Years of Age. A few Days after, his Majeſty himſelf, attended by the principal of the Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality, went in his Barges down the River, to meet both their Royal Highneſſes, who on the 26th of *November* arriv'd at *Whitehall*, where they were honourably receiv'd, and gloriouſly entertain'd by the King and Court.

The Deaths of Dr. Browne,

Dr. Horton,

Sir Robert Murrey,

Dr. Wilſon,

For a Concluſion of this Year, as in others, we ſhall take notice of the Deaths of ſeveral Perſons of Note and Eminency, and firſt of two Reverend Divines, but of different Parties and Perſuaſions, Dr. *Thomas Browne*, and Dr. *Thomas Horton*. The former, Dr. *Browne*, was educated in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, became Domeſtick Chaplain to Arcbiſhop *Laud*, and ſo Rector of *Aldermary* in *London*, and Canon of *Windſor*. But loſing all for his loyalty in the troubleſome Times, he travelled, and for a while was made Chaplain to the famous Princeſs of *Orange*, and got a particular Acquaintance of the moſt learned Men in *Holland*. At the King's Return he was reſtor'd to what he loſt, without any further Preferment in the Church, and dy'd with the Reputation of an acute Critick, an eloquent Orator, a nice Caſuiſt, and a learned Divine. The Other, Dr. *Horton*, was an eminent Man of the Presbyterian Stamp, who had his Education in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was ſometime Maſter of *Queen*'s College, and a celebrated Preacher. Removing to *London*, he became Preacher to the Society of *Grey's-Inn*, Reader of Divinity in *Greſham* College, and Miniſter of great St. *Hellens* in the City. He was a noted Man in the Time of the late Troubles, and was eſteem'd a ſound and ſolid Divine, a good Textuary, and well skill'd in Original Languages. The next Perſon to be mention'd is Sir *Robert Murrey*, a Gentleman born and educated in *Scotland*, and afterwards in Foreign Countries, who became one of the firſt Contrivers and Inſtitutors of the famous *Royal Society*, of which he was made the firſt Preſident. This Perſon, tho' Presbyterianly educated and affected, had the particular Favour of the King's Ear, and was indefatigable in his Undertakings, a moſt renowned Chymiſt, a great Patron of the *Roſie-Crucians*, and an excellent Mathematician, and no leſs vers'd in Experimental Philoſophy. He dy'd ſuddenly in his Pavilion in the Garden at *White-Hall*, and was, at the King's own Charge, bury'd in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. And becauſe the Memory of Men excelling in any Profeſſion ought to be preſerv'd, we ſhall particularly mention Dr. *John Wilſon*, the moſt noted Muſician in *England*, Muſick Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and Servant in Ordinary, and Favourite to both the late and preſent King, who were often charm'd with his Compoſitions, and his practical Performances, eſpecially upon the Lute, of which he was the moſt famous Maſter of the Age.

Oliver St. John,

And the Lord Clifford.

After all theſe, we ſhall mention two remarkable Men, of different Principles and Practicces, *Oliver St. John* Eſquire, and the Lord *Clifford*. The former, whoſe Character has been given in the other Volume, had one of the deepeſt and moſt dreadful Hands in the late Miſeries in the Kingdom, and obtain'd the Name of *Oliver Cromwell's Dark Lanthorn*, for which he was excluded the Benefit of the *Act of Indemnity*, if he ever offer'd to accept or execute any Office, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil or Military; and conſidering the infernal and implacable Spirit with which he had acted ſo many Years, it was admired that he eſcap'd with Life. After this he liv'd retiredly, and dy'd obſcurely at his own Eſtate at *Long-Thorp* in *Northamptonſhire*, in the 75th Year of his Age; and what the laſt and dying Sentiments were of ſo great a Man, and ſo vaſt an Inſtrument, wou'd be well worth the Knowledge of the World. Sufficient has been ſaid as to the warm Character, and violent Temper of the laſt Perſon to be mention'd, the Lord *Clifford*, who went off the Stage in Diſcontent. We ſhall therefore only add a ſhort Story of him out of a Manuſcript formerly mention'd, which may not be improper to the preſent Year: While he had the *Staff*, it happen'd that the King, the Duke of *York*, and himſelf, were ſhut up in a Room in Conſultation, when Sir *William Bucknal*, a Commiſſioner of the Exciſe, came to ſpeak with the King, to whom he had free Acceſs, as frequently accommodating his Majeſty with Money. In Preſumption of his uſual Liberty, he went directly to the Room where he underſtood the King was, and hearing Diſcourſe, had the Curioſity to liſten cloſe at the Door, to which he was excited by the King's ſpeaking with ſome Earneſtneſs; but he cou'd only hear broken and imperfect Expreſſions. The Duke ſpoke ſo low he cou'd not underſtand what he ſaid, but *Clifford* ſpoke loud, as in Publick, and very audibly anſwer'd the King in theſe Words, *Sir, if you are driven off upon Fears, you will never be ſafe; the Work will do, if you declare your ſelf with Reſolution; there are enough to ſtand by you.* The King reply'd, *This Name of* Popery *will never be ſwallow'd by the People*; and upon ſaying this, he ſtarted from his Seat, crying, *Some Body is at the Door!* Upon which *Clifford* ran haſtily to it, and without ſpeaking a Word, fell furiouſly upon Sir *William Bucknal*,

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dragging him to a Pair of Stairs, from whence he kick'd him down; and ſoon after Sir *William* met with his Death, which was not improbably thought to have proceeded from that Miſfortune.

The THIRTEENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

V. I. The King having ſmooth'd the Way by ſeveral popular Acts, on the 7th Day of *January* both Houſes of Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, according to the Prorogation, after a Receſs of two Months and three Days; and this made the Thirteenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament. The Actions of the laſt Seſſion very much rais'd the Expectations of the People as to the Meeting of This; and the more, becauſe, during the Interval, the *States-General* had made new Overtures of Peace, which was a Thing very deſirable to all the Nation. Therefore all Perſons were eager to know what the King wou'd now ſay to his Parliament, which was as followeth. ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, When I parted with you laſt, it was but for a little Time, and with a Reſolution of Meeting ſuddenly again. That alone was enough to ſatisfy my Friends that they need not fear, and my Enemies that they cou'd not hope for a Breach between us. I then told you, *That the Time of this ſhort Receſs ſhou'd be employ'd in doing ſuch Things as might add to your Satisfaction:* I hope I have done my Part towards it; and if there be any Thing elſe you think wanting to ſecure *Religion* or *Property*, there is nothing which you ſhall reaſonably propoſe, but I ſhall be ready to receive it. I do now expect you ſhou'd do your Parts too, for our Enemies make vigorous Preparations for War, and yet their chief Hopes are to diſunite us at home; 'tis their common Diſcourſe, and they reckon upon it as their beſt Relief.

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, It is not poſſible for me to doubt your Affections at any Time, much leſs at ſuch a Time as this, when the Evidences of your Affections are become ſo neceſſary to us all. I deſire you to conſider, that as the War cannot be made without a Supply, ſo neither can a good Peace be had without being in a Poſture of War. I am very far from being in love with War, for War's ſake; but if I ſaw any likelyhood of Peace without Diſhonour to my Self, and Damage to you, I wou'd ſoon embrace it. But no Propoſals of Peace have yet been offer'd with Intent to *Conclude*, but only to *Amuſe*. Therefore the Way to a good Peace is to ſet out a good Fleet, which we have time enough to do very effectually, if the Supply be not delay'd. If after this a Peace ſhou'd follow, yet the Supply wou'd be very well given; for whatever remains of it, I am willing ſhou'd be appropriated for Building more Ships. To conclude, a *ſpeedy*, a *proportionable*, and above all a *chearful* Aid, is now more neceſſary than ever, and I rely upon you for it. I lately put you in mind of my Debt to the *Goldſmiths*, I hope a fit Time will come to take that into Conſideration. I cannot conclude without ſhewing the entire Confidence I have in you. I know you have heard much of my Alliance with *France*, and I believe it hath been very ſtrangely miſrepreſented to you, as if there were certain ſecret Articles of dangerous Conſequence; but I make no Difficulty of letting the Treaties, and all the Articles of them, without any the leaſt Reſerve, be ſeen by a ſmall Committee of both Houſes, who may report to You the true Scope of them: And I aſſure you there is no other Treaty with *France*, either before or ſince, not already printed, which ſhall not be made known. And having thus freely truſted you, I do not doubt but you will have a Care of my Honour, and the Good of the Kingdom. The reſt I refer to my Lord Keeper.

The Lord Keeper Finch's *Speech.*

Accordingly the new Lord Keeper *Finch* made a long and eloquent Speech, of which a great Part ought not to be omitted, beginning Thus: ‘ *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*, The King hath already in part told you, *What* he hath done for you ſince the laſt Receſs, *What* he is ſtill ready to do, and *What* it is he doth now expect from you: And this in Terms ſo full and obliging, ſo generous and ſo ſatisfactory, That He whoſe Affections are not rais'd by that Diſcourſe, He who cannot acquieſce in the Fulneſs of this Aſſurance, He whoſe Heart is not eſtabliſh'd by it in ſuch a Belief as may entirely diſpoſe him to the Service of the Crown, will hardly be recover'd to a better Diſpoſition by any other Expedient. For indeed what better Way can be found to undeceive thoſe who have been abus'd? The King refers you to the Time paſt, not to his *Promiſes*, but to his *Performances*; gives Men leave to judge by what they *See*, of what they *Hear*; by what hath been done ſince the Laſt Seſſion, of what is offer'd you Now, and what is likely to be done for the Time to come. And doth not every Man ſee that the King hath given new Life and Motion to ſuch Laws as were long dead, or faſt aſleep? That he hath once more repaired the Hedge about our Vine-yard, and made it a Fence againſt all thoſe who are Enemies to the Planting it, who wou'd be glad to ſee it trodden down, or rooted up, and ſtudy how to ſap and undermine our very Foundations? Do we not ſee that the King hath made it his Care and Buſineſs to do all that is poſſible to preſerve our Civil Rights too, That he makes the Laws of his Kingdom the Meaſures not only of his *Power* but his *Prudenee*, That he ſuffers no Man to be wiſer than the Laws, That he thinks he cannot judge of the Health or Sickneſs of his State by any better Indication than the Current of his Laws, and ſuffers nothing to remain that may in the leaſt hinder Juſtice from flowing in its due and proper Channel? To name a few Inſtances: If the Conviction of all *Recuſants*, and bringing them under the Penal Laws, can ſuppreſs *Popery:* If without ſtaying for Forms of Law in Points of Conviction, the preſent forbidding of *Papiſts*, or reputed *Papiſts* to come to Court, and the Extending this Prohibition to his Royal Palace at St. *James*'s, be enough to diſcountenance them; If the not extending his *Prerogative* beyond its due Limits, can ſecure your *Liberties*; If his leſſening and reducing all his Land Forces, and maintaining ſo few Extraordinary, as will ſcarce be enough to mann his Fleet this Summer, can extinguiſh the Fears of a *Standing Army*; If a rigorous and ſevere Proſecution of all the Officers and Soldiers in his Majeſty's Guards, when they miſbehave themſelves towards the meaneſt Subject, can ſecure your *Properties*; If the Abrogation of all the Privileges from Arreſts, claim'd by his Majeſty's Servants Extraordinary, who are very numerous, can prevent the Delays and Obſtructions of Juſtice; Then ſurely his Majeſty hath Reaſon to believe, that nothing is wanting which can lawfully be Done, or modeſtly be Wiſh'd, either for your Satisfaction, or your Security. Theſe are not ſingle and tranſient *Acts*, but ſuch as flow from *Habits*; theſe are not *Leaves* and *Bloſſoms*, but true, ſolid and laſting *Fruits:* Long, long! may that *Royal Tree* live and flouriſh, upon which theſe *Fruits* do grow. And yet his Majeſty's Indulgence to you reſts not here; He gives you leave to ſtudy and contrive your own Aſſurance; and if you think you want any further Security, if any Thing have eſcap'd his Majeſty's Care, who meditates nothing more than your Preſervation, you ſee you have free Leave to make any *Reaſonable Propoſition*, and his gracious Promiſe that he will receive it. This is a Satisfaction equal to all your Wiſhes. Now if ever your Joys are full, there wants no more to the Improvement of this Happineſs, but the Wiſdom of the Parliament to uſe theſe Advantages with due Moderation. If therefore upon Enquiry you ſhall think it needful to apply any other Remedies, it is extremely to be wiſh'd that thoſe Remedies may be few, and withal, that they be gentle and eaſy too. For the Sick periſh as often by too many Remedies, as by none at all; but none fall ſo fatally and ſo finally as they who, being enter'd into ſome Degrees of Convaleſcence, reſolve to recover it in an Inſtant, and had rather make ſome great Effort, or try ſome *Bold Experiment* upon themſelves, than obſerve the *Methods*, or attend thoſe *Gradual Progreſſions* which are neceſſary to perfect that Health, and compleat that Recovery.

‘ I muſt not omit one Inſtance more of his Majeſty's Care for you, and that is the great Induſtry and Aplication of Mind which his Majeſty hath us'd all along, in hopes to have obtain'd by this Time, if it had been poſſible, an *honourable and juſt Peace*,’ Then he made a large Deduction of the *Dutch* Averſeneſs to Peace, their uncivil Demeanour to the King's Plenipotentiaries at *Cologn*, and how indirectly they dealt with his Majeſty in all the Overtures of Peace, by appealing to his own People, *&c.* After which he proceeded in theſe Words: ‘ I have done with theſe few Inſtances of his Majeſty's Care, thoſe of his *Kindneſs* are infinite; That which you heard this Morning is of a tranſcendent, and indeed a very ſurpriſing Nature; 'Tis an Act of ſo entire a *Confidence* on his Majeſty's Part, that it can never be repaid by any other Tribute on your Part, but that of a true and humble *Affiance* in Him. I muſt now proceed to put you in mind, That there are ſome other Things which his Majeſty with great Juſtice, and great Aſſurance, doth expect from you again. The firſt is a *ſpeedy* and *proportionable Supply*; and this is of abſolute Neceſſity both for War and Peace. His Majeſty is well aſſured his Fleet is in ſuch a Forwardneſs, that if the Supply come in any reaſonable Time, you will find no Time hath been loſt in the Preparation; and it was no ſmall Matter to bring it to that paſs, that we may be as forward as our Enemies, if we pleaſe, or very near it. If the Supply be at all delay'd, it will have almoſt as ill Effect as if it were deny'd; for we may chance to be found like *Archimedes*, drawing Lines in the Duſt while the Enemy is entering into our Ports. And if the further Progreſs of this Fleet be ſtopp'd for want of your Concurrence, make account all Hopes of Peace are ſtopp'd too; for tho' the Fruit of

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War be Peace, yet it is ſuch a Fruit as we muſt not hope to gather without our Arms in our Hands. It is not the Way to have a brave Peace, to ſhew our Selves weary of the War: Who ever truſted in the Good Nature of their Enemies? It is a vigorous Aſſiſtance of the Crown that muſt make not only our *Arms* conſiderable, but our *Treaties* too. On the other Side, if the putting of our ſelves into a good Poſture of War ſhou'd produce a Peace, as poſſibly it may do; yet you will have the beſt Account of your Supply your Hearts can wiſh, for his Majeſty is content it be appropriated to the Building of more Ships: Therefore if the Diſcourſe upon this Subject be a little more preſſing than ordinary, you may be ſure the Occaſion is ſo too. There cannot be a higher Gratification of your Enemies, than to be backward in this Point; the very Opinion they have that you wou'd be ſo, hath already done us ſo much Harm, that perhaps it is one great Cauſe of the Continuance of the War. Had the Enemy deſpair'd of any Diviſion here, 'tis likely his Proceedings had been more Sincere, and our Peace had not been ſo far off as now it ſeems to be. There is one Thing more the King hath mentioned to you, that is the Conſideration of the *Gold-Smiths*, which involves ſo many Perſons and Families, that the Concern is little leſs than *National:* It is an Affair the King lays very much to Heart, and hopes a *Proper Time* will come when a favourable Regard may be had to it.

' *My Lords and Gentlemen*, The King doth not only aſſure himſelf of your Affections at this Time, but from ſuch Affections ſo known and ſo try'd as yours, he doth yet Expect far greater Things than theſe. He doth Expect that you ſhou'd do your Endeavours to reſtore and improve the *Mutual Confidence* between him and his People, and that you ſhou'd do it in ſuch a *Degree* that it may recover its full Strength, and quite extinguiſh all their *Fears* and *Jealouſies*. For the King takes Notice, that the Malice of his Enemies hath been very active in ſowing ſo many Tares, as are almoſt enough to ſpoil that Harveſt of Love and Duty which his Majeſty may juſtly expect to reap from the good Seed which he himſelf had ſown. Among the venomous Inſinuations which have been us'd, the Fears and Jealouſies of *Religion* and *Liberty* are of the worſt Sort, and the moſt dangerous Impreſſions. Certainly Malice was never more buſie than it hath been in theſe Reports, and it hath been aſſiſted by a great deal of Invention; but it is hop'd that no Man's Judgment or Affections will be either miſ-led or diſturb'd by ſuch Reports. For Calumnies and Slanders of this Nature are like Meteors in the Air; they may ſeem perhaps, eſpecially to the Fearful, to be ill Prognoſticks, and the direct Fore-runners of Miſchief; but in themſelves they are vain Apparitions, and have no kind of Solidity, no Permanence or Duration at all. For after a little while the Vapour ſpends it ſelf, and then the baſe Exhalation quickly falls back into that Earth from whence it came. *Religion* and *Liberty* ſtand ſecured by the moſt ſacred Ties that are; nay the King hath a greater Intereſt in the Preſervation of both, than you your ſelves: For as *Religion*, the *Proteſtant Religion*, commands your indiſpenſable Obedience, ſo it is a juſt and lawful *Liberty* which ſweetens that Command, and endears it to you. Let other Princes therefore glory in the moſt reſign'd Obedience of their Vaſſals, his Majeſty values himſelf upon the Hearts and Affections of his People, and thinks his Throne, when ſeated there, better eſtabliſh'd than the moſt exalted Sovereignty of thoſe who tread upon the Necks of them that riſe up againſt them. Since the World ſtood, never had any King ſo great a Cauſe to reſt upon this Security. They were your Hearts that mourned for the Abſence of the King: They were your Hearts and Affections which tyr'd out all the late Uſurpations, by your invincible Patience and Fortitude: It was you that taught our *Engliſh* World to ſee and know, *That no Government cou'd be ſettled here, but upon the true Foundations of Honour and Allegiance.* This, this alone made Way for all the happy Changes which have follow'd. And yet Poſterity will have cauſe to doubt, which was the greater Felicity of the two, That Providence which reſtored the Crown, or That which ſent us ſuch a Parliament to preſerve it when it was reſtored. What may not the King now hope from You? What may not you aſſure your ſelves from Him! Can any Thing be difficult to Hearts ſo united, to Intereſts ſo twiſted and interwoven together, as the King's and Yours are? Doubtleſs the King will *ſurpaſs* himſelf at this Time in endeavouring to procure the Good of the Kingdom; do but you *excel* your ſelves in the continual Evidences of your Affections, and then the Glory of *Reviving this State* will be entirely due to this Seſſion. Then they who wait for the Languiſhing and Declenſion of the preſent Government, will be amazed to ſee ſo happy a *Criſis*, ſo bleſt a *Revolution*: And Ages to come will find Cauſe to celebrate your Memories, as the trueſt *Phyſicians*, the wiſeſt *Counſellors*, the nobleſt *Patriots*, and the *beſt Seſſion* of the *beſt Parliament*, that ever King or Kingdom met with.

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Notwithſtanding theſe affecting Speeches, both Houſes ſoon manifeſted their Diſcontent at the Continuance of the War with *Holland*, at the exorbitant Power of *France*, and the Prevalence of *Popiſh* Counſels, beſides other inferior Matters. As to the Growth of *Popery*, the Houſe of Lords in this Seſſion led the Way, and preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty, humbly beſeeching him, ' That he wou'd be graciouſly pleas'd to iſſue out his Royal Proclamation, requiring all *Papiſts* and *reputed Papiſts*, within five Miles of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, or *Southwark*, not being Houſholders, nor attending Peers of this Realm as menial Servants, to repair to their reſpective Dwellings, or to depart Ten Miles from the Cities and Borough aforeſaid, and not to return during this Seſſion of Parliament: And likewiſe that his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to give Order to the Quarter-Seſſions, that they give in a faithful Account of what Houſholders are within the Cities or Borough aforeſaid, and five Miles thereof, who are of that Profeſſion; and that the Quarter-Seſſions do adjourn themſelves from Time to Time for that Purpoſe.'

The Lords Addreſs againſt Popery.

The King's Proclamation upon it.

According to which Addreſs, his Majeſty without Delay iſſu'd out his Proclamation, dated *January* 14th, declaring, ' That he had ſeriouſly conſider'd the Addreſs of his moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and did accept it with much Contentment and Satisfaction: And as he had always manifeſted his Zeal for the Preſervation of the true Religion eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom, and to hinder the Growth and Increaſe of the *Popiſh* Religion; ſo he was now ready, upon this Occaſion, to prevent all Fears and Dangers that might ariſe by the Concourſe of Perſons of that Profeſſion, in or near his Cities of *London*, or *Weſtminſter*, &c.

Both Houſes for a Faſt.

In purſuance of the ſame End both Lords and Commons immediately after joyn'd in an Addreſs to his Majeſty for a General Faſt, uſing theſe very Words, ' We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Obedient Subjects, &c. being paſſionately ſenſible of the Calamitous Condition of this Kingdom, not only by reaſon of the War wherein it is at preſent involv'd, but many other Inteſtine Differences and Diviſions amongſt Us, which are *chiefly occaſioned* by the undermining Contrivances of *Popiſh* Recuſants, whoſe *Numbers* and *Inſolencies* are greatly of late increaſed, and whoſe *reſtleſs Practices* threaten a Subverſion both of Church and State; all which our Sins have juſtly deſerv'd, &c.' To which the King readily comply'd, and the 4th of *February* was appointed for the Day of Humiliation.

The Commons Proceedings againſt Popery.

2. The Houſe of Commons, in their Way, proceeded with great Warmth and Vigour; and firſt agreed ' That the humble and hearty Thanks of this Houſe be return'd to his Majeſty for thoſe Acts which he had done ſince the laſt Prorogation, towards the Suppreſſing and Diſcountenancing of *Popery*, and for his gracious Promiſes and Aſſurances in his laſt Speech.' But when they proceeded to the Conſideration of the Speech it ſelf, which they did upon the ſame Day, they ſoon came to this grand Reſolve, ' That the Houſe will in the firſt Place proceed to have their *Grievances* Effectually redreſs'd, the *Proteſtant* Religion, their *Liberties* and *Properties* effectually ſecured, and to ſuppreſs *Popery*, and remove all Perſons and Counſellors popiſhly affected, or otherways obnoxious or dangerous to the Government.' Which being done, to ſhew their further Deteſtation of Popery, they immediately order'd an Addreſs to his Majeſty, ' That the Militia of the City of *London*, and County of *Middleſex*, may be in readineſs at an Hour's Warning, and the Militia of all other Counties of *England*, at a Day's Warning, for Suppreſſing of all tumultuous Inſurrections, which may be occaſion'd by *Papiſts*, or any other malecontented Perſons.' To which Addreſs his Majeſty made this gracious Anſwer, *That he wou'd take a ſpecial Care, as well for the Preſervation of their Perſons, as of their Liberties and Properties.*

And the Cabal.

The Commons in the next Place reſolv'd to ſtrike at three Members of the famous *Cabal*, which were *Buckingham*, *Arlington* and *Lauderdale:* As to *Shaftsbury*, whoſe Contrivances had been deepeſt amongſt them, he, by his late Activity againſt Popery and former Counſels, had made his Peace with the Country Party, of whom he was making himſelf the Head. *Buckingham* was now beginning to tread the ſame Steps, but at preſent that was unknown to the Commons, who reſolved to attack him ſpeedily; but firſt they began with the *Scotch* Miniſter of State, and Reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, ' That an Ad-

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dreſs be preſented to his Majeſty to remove the Duke of *Lauderdale* from all his Imployments, and from his Preſence and Counſels for ever, *being a Perſon obnoxious and dangerous to the Government*.’ Soon after they debated upon ſome Heads of Accuſation againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*; and while the Debate continued, a Letter was ſent from the Duke to the Speaker, requeſting to be heard before that honourable Houſe, which was granted, and he was admitted with great Ceremony on the 13th Day of *January*. His Deſign was not only to acquit and ingratiate himſelf, but likewiſe to ſcreen the Reputation of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and throw what Odium he cou'd upon the Earl of *Arlington*. But his Diſcourſe, which conſiſted of a peculiar Sort of Wit and Eloquence, ſeem'd ſo looſe and uncertain, that they reſolv'd the next Day to tye him down to ſome certain Queries, drawn up in Writing, to which he was to give diſtinct Anſwers. Accordingly the next Day he appear'd in great Splendor, and with a particular Addreſs made this following Speech:

The Duke of Buckingham's *Speech to them.*

‘ *Mr. Speaker*, I give the Houſe my humble Thanks for the Honour you have twice done me, eſpecially Expreſſing my ſelf ſo ill Yeſterday. I hope you will conſider the Condition I am in, in danger of paſſing in the Cenſure of the World for a vicious Perſon, and a Betrayer of my Country; I have ever had the Misfortune to bear the blame of other Men's Faults. I know the revealing the King's Counſels, and correſponding with the King's Enemies, which are laid againſt me; but I hope for your Pardon if I ſpeak Truth for my Self. I told you Yeſterday, if the *Triple League* had any Advantage in it (I ſpeak it without Vanity) I had as great a Hand in it as any Man. Then upon the Inſtance of the *French* Ambaſſador, I was ſent into *France* upon the ſad Subject of Condoling the Death of *Madam*, where I urg'd for the Service of the King, *that the* French *ought not to endeavour to make Themſelves Conſiderable at Sea*, of whom we had Reaſon to be more jealous than of the *Dutch*, becauſe the *French* then wou'd have Power to conquer us. When I return'd, I found all Demonſtrations that the *French* had no ſuch Thoughts, but that the King of *England* ſhou'd be Maſter at Sea. I do not pretend to judge whether I or other Men were in the Right, I leave the Judgment of that to this honourable Houſe. At this Time my Lord *Shaftsbury* and my Self advis'd not to begin a War without the Advice of the Parliament, and the Affections of the People; this was my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Opinion and Mine, but not my Lord *Arlington*'s. My next Advice was not to make uſe of *French* Ships, half their Value in Mony wou'd have been more ſerviceable. I alledg'd *they wou'd be of no Uſe to us, by reaſon of their Want of Experience in our Seas, and there wou'd be great Danger in their learning the Uſe of them*; which Advice my Lord *Arlington* oppos'd: notwithſtanding the King was ſo deſirous of avoiding a Breach with *France*, that he ſent me to *Dunkirk*, and my Lord *Arlington* to *Utrecht*, where I ſtill endeavour'd to get Mony inſtead of Ships. At my firſt Audience, the King of *France* was willing to comply, but after ſome Returns and Letters from hence, he was alter'd; but I make no Reflections upon Perſons, but barely State Matters of Fact. Then it was my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Advice and Mine *ſo to order the War, as that the* French *ſhou'd deliver us ſome Towns of their Conqueſts into our Hands*; an uſeful Precaution in former Times. My Lord *Arlington* wou'd have no Towns at all for one Year; and here is the Cauſe of the Condition of our Affairs. We ſet out a Fleet with Intention to land Men in order to the taking of Towns: the *French* Army go on Conquering and get All, and we get Nothing, nor agree for any. Pray conſider who it was that was ſo often lockt up with the *French* Ambaſſador. My Spirit moves me to tell you, That when we were to conſider what to do, we were to adviſe with the *French* Ambaſſador. I will not trouble you with Reports, but pray look not upon me as a Peer, but an Honeſt *Engliſh* Gentleman, who has ſuffer'd much for my Love to my Country. I had a Regiment given me, which was Sir *Edward Scott*'s; I gave him ſixteen Hundred Pound for it: There is no *Papiſt* Officer in it, nor *Iriſh* Man. I ſhall ſay nothing of my Extraordinary Gains, I am ſure I have loſt as much Eſtate as ſome Men have gotten, and that is a big Word! I am honeſt, and when I appear otherwiſe, I deſire to dye. I am not the Man that has gotten by all this; yet after all this I am a *Grievance*: I am the *cheapeſt Grievance* this Houſe ever had; and ſo I humbly ask the Pardon of the Houſe for the Trouble I have given.

The Speaker then proceeded to ask the Duke the following Queſtions by Order of the Houſe, to each of which his Grace gave an Anſwer. 1. *Whether any Perſons declared to your Grace any ill Advices or Purpoſes againſt the Liberties and Privileges of this Houſe, or to alter the Government; Who they were, and what they advis'd*? A. ‘ There is an old Proverb, Mr. *Speaker*, *Over Shoes over Boots*. This reflects upon one that is now living, and ſo I deſire Pardon for ſaying any Thing farther, fearing it may be thought a malicious Invention of mine, the Perſon being dead. I have ſaid nothing yet but what I can juſtify, but this I cannot.’ 2. *Some Words fell from your Grace Yeſterday, wherein you were pleas'd to ſay you had gotten nothing, but others had gotten three, four or five Hundred Thouſand Pounds: Who were they that had gotten it, and by what Means*? A. ‘ I am not well acquainted by what *Means* they got ſo much, being not at all acquainted with the *Ways* of getting Mony. What the Duke of *Ormond* has got is upon Record, being about five hundred Thouſand Pounds; my Lord *Arlington* has not got ſo much, but he has got a *Great Deal*.’ 3. *By whoſe Advice was the Army rais'd, and Monſieur* Schomberg *made General*? A. ‘ I cannot ſay by whoſe Advice, but, upon my Honour, not by mine. I was told by a Man that's dead, that my Lord *Arlington* ſent for him, and it will be eaſily prov'd.’ 4. *By whoſe Advice was this Army brought up to awe the Debates and Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons*? A. ‘ I muſt make to this the ſame Anſwer as I did before; it was a Diſcourſe from a Man dead to one now living. If I had deſerved the Honour, I think I might have had the Command of that Army before Him; but *Schomberg* was told my Lord *Arlington* wou'd have the Government by an Army.’ 5. *Who made the Triple Alliance*? A. ‘ My Lord *Arlington* and my ſelf were only employ'd to treat; and finding the Danger we were in of being Cheated, we preſs'd the Ambaſſadors to ſign before they had Power; and tho' 'twas an odd Requeſt, yet they did ſign.’ 6. *Who made the firſt Treaty with* France, *by which the Triple Alliance was broken*? A. ‘ I made that Treaty.’ 7. *By whoſe Advice was the Exchequer ſhut up, and the Order of Payment there broken*? A. ‘ I was not the Adviſer; I am ſure I loſt three Thouſand Pound by it.’ 8. *Who advis'd the Declaration in Matters of Religion*? A. ‘ I do not diſown that I advis'd it; being always of Opinion that ſomething was to be done in that Nature in Matters of Conſcience, but no further than the King might do by Law. 9. *Who advis'd the Attacking the* Smyrna *Fleet before the War was proclaim'd*? A. ‘ It was my Lord *Arlington*'s Advice; I was utterly againſt it, as careful of the Honour of the Nation, and incurr'd ſome Anger by it. My Lord *Arlington* principally moved it, and I might ſay more.’ 10. *By whoſe Advice was the ſecond Treaty at* Utrecht? A. My Lord *Arlington* and I were ſent over, and I found in *Holland* the greateſt Conſternation imaginable, like the Burning of the *Rump* in *England*, the People crying, *God bleſs the King of* England! and *Curſing the States*; and had we then landed, we might have conquered the Country. The Prince of *Orange* wou'd have had the ſame Share in the Peace with *France* that we had, but tho' the King's Nephew, I thought he muſt be kind to his own Country. If we had made Peace then, we had been in a worſe Condition than before; and laſtly the Prince of *Orange* hop'd for a good Peace with us upon that Treaty; but I never cou'd conſent that *France* muſt have All and we Nothing. The Conſequence wou'd be that *Holland* muſt intirely depend upon *France*? and I think it a wiſe Article, That the *French* were not to make Peace without us.’ 11. *By what Counſel was the War begun without the Parliament, and thereupon the Parliament Prorogu'd*? A. ‘ My Lord *Shaftsbury* and I were for adviſing with the Parliament, and averſe to the Prorogation. I can ſay nothing, but I believe the Parliament will never be againſt a War for the Good of *England*.’ 12. *By whoſe Advice was the Parliament Prorogu'd the 4th of* November *laſt*? A.----.

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His Anſwers to their Queries.

The Houſe was ſo little ſatisfy'd with the Duke's Speech, and his ſeveral Anſwers, that upon a further Debate they came to this Reſolution, ‘ That an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to remove the ſaid Duke of *Buckingham* from all his Imployments that are held during his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and from his Preſence and Counſels for ever.’ The next Day they enter'd upon a Debate about the Earl of *Arlington*, who at his own Requeſt was likewiſe admitted to be heard in the Houſe. In making of his Defence, he anſwer'd ſome Parts of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Speeches, and fairly gave the Honour of the *Triple Alliance* to Sir *William Temple*. But he was ſo far from giving Satisfaction to the Houſe as to his own Conduct, that they preſently drew up Articles of Impeachment againſt him, under this Title; *Articles of treaſonable and other Crimes of high Miſdemeanor againſt the Earl of* Arlington, *Principal Secretary of State*, viz. ‘ I. The ſaid Earl hath been a conſtant and vehement Promoter of *Popery*, and *Popiſh* Counſels. 1. By procuring Commiſſions for all the *Papiſts* lately in Command, who made their Application to him only, as a known Favourer of that Faction;

Their Vote againſt him

Their Articles of Impeachment againſt the Earl of Arlington.

‘ ction; there being not one Commiſſion ſign'd by the other Secretary, many of which Commiſſions were procured and ſign'd by him ſince the ſeveral Addreſſes of the two Houſes of Parliament to his Majeſty, and the Paſſing the late Act againſt *Popery*. 2. By procuring his Majeſty's Letter, commanding *Iriſh* Papiſts and Rebels to be let into Corporations, and admitted into the Commiſſions of the Peace, and other Offices of Truſt, Military and Civil, contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Laws and Conſtitutions of that Realm, to the great Terror of the King's *Proteſtant* Subjects there. 3. By not only ſetting up and ſupporting the aforeſaid Papiſts there, but bringing the moſt violent and fierceſt of them to command Companies and Regiments of the King's *Engliſh* Subjects there, to the great Diſhonour and Danger of this Kingdom. 4. By openly and avowedly Entertaining and Lodging in his Family a *Popiſh* Prieſt, contrary to the known Laws of the Land; which ſaid Prieſt was a noted Solicitor and Promoter of the *Popiſh* Faction, and hath ſince fled out of this Kingdom. 5. By procuring Penſions in other Mens Names for *Popiſh* Officers, contrary to, and in Illuſion of, the late Act of Parliament. 6. By obtaining Grants of conſiderable Sums of Mony to be charg'd upon the Revenue of *Ireland*, for the moſt violent and pernicious *Papiſts* there; particularly two thouſand Pounds for one Colonel *Fitz-Patrick*, a notorious *Iriſh* Rebel, whoſe Mother was hang'd in the late Wars for Murthering ſeveral *Engliſh*, and making Candles of their Fat; this Grant being procured for the ſaid *Fitz-Patrick*, at a Time when he was accus'd to the ſaid Lord *Arlington* of high Crimes by the now Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*. 7. By procuring his Majeſty to releaſe to ſeveral *Iriſh Papiſts*, ſome whereof were deeply engag'd in the horrid Rebellion of that Kingdom, the Chieferies, or Head-Rents reſerv'd to the Crown, out of the forfeited Eſtates of *Papiſts* there, being a principal Part of his Majeſty's Revenue in that Kingdom.

‘ II. That the ſaid Earl hath been guilty of many undue Practices to promote his own Greatneſs, and hath imbezzelled and waſted the Treaſure of this Nation. 1. By procuring vaſt and exorbitant Grants for Himſelf, both in *England* and *Ireland*, breaking into the Settlement of that Kingdom, and diſpoſſeſſing ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Adventurers and Soldiers of the Proprieties and Free-Holds, in which they were duly and legally ſtated, without any Colour of Reaſon, or Suggeſtion of Right. 2. By charging exceſſive, and almoſt incredible Sums for falſe and deceitful Intelligence. 3. By procuring his Majeſty's Hand for the giving away, from his firſt Entrance into his Office, the Value of three Millions of Sterling Mony at the leaſt; the ſeveral Grants whereof are extant, counterſign'd by him, and by him only. 4. That the ſaid Earl, preſuming to trample upon all Eſtates and Degrees of the Subjects of this Realm, the better to ſubdue them to his Will and Pleaſure, hath cauſeleſly and illegally impriſon'd many of his Majeſty's Subjects. 5. That he did procure a Principal Peer of the Realm to be unjuſtly impriſon'd, and to be proclaim'd Traytor, without any Legal Proceeding or Tryal, and did maliciouſly ſuborn falſe Witneſſes with Money to take away his Life, upon Pretence of Treaſonable Words.

‘ III. That the ſaid Earl hath falſely and trayterouſly betray'd the great Truſt repos'd in him by his Majeſty, as Counſellor and Principal Secretary of State. 1. By entertaining a more than uſual Intimacy with the *French* Ambaſſador, not only lodging him in his Houſe, but letting him into the King's moſt ſecret Counſels. 2. By altering in private, and ſingly by Himſelf, ſeveral ſolemn Determinations of his Majeſty's Council. 3. By procuring a Stranger to have the chief Command of the late rais'd Army, for the Invaſion of *Holland*, to the great Diſhonour and Diſcouragement of all the Legal Nobility and Gentry of this Nation. 4. By adviſing his Majeſty to admit of a Squadron of *French* Ships to be join'd with our *Engliſh* Fleet (the ſad Conſequence whereof we have ſince felt) notwithſtanding the King of *France* had agreed to ſend a Supply of Men, in order to have the Fleet wholly *Engliſh*. 5. Whereas the King was adviſ'd by ſeveral of the Counſellors to preſs the *French* King to deſiſt from making any farther Progreſs in the Conqueſt of the Inland Towns of *Holland*, whereof *England* was to have no Benefit, and to turn his Army upon thoſe Maritime Towns that were by the Treaty to be ours, his Lordſhip gave the King Counſel to deſiſt; whereby that Part of our Expectation was wholly fruſtrated. 6. Whereas the King was adviſ'd by ſeveral of his Council not to enter into this War, till his Majeſty was out of Debt, and had adviſ'd with his Parliament, his Lordſhip was of Opinion to the contrary, and gave his Advice accordingly. 7. When the *French* Ships were diſpers'd after the late Fight at Sea, and had loſt all their Anchors and Cables by reaſon of the foul Weather that then enſu'd, he perſuaded his Majeſty to ſend them eighty Cables and Anchors, although it was then objected, and he knew it to be true, That his Majeſty had not at that Time any more in his Stores to ſupply his own Ships in caſe of the like Neceſſity. 8. He hath trayterouſly correſponded with the King's Enemies beyond the Seas, and contrary to the Truſt repos'd in him, hath given Intelligence to them.

A New Teſt againſt Popery.

Not ſatisfy'd with what they had done againſt the Earl of *Arlington*, whom they look'd upon as a notorious *Romaniſt*, the Commons proceeded to prepare a ſevere Bill *For a General Teſt, to diſtinguiſh between* Proteſtants *and* Papiſts, *and to prevent the Danger and further Growth of* Popery, *and for a more eaſie and ſpeedy Conviction of* Popiſh *Recuſants*; *and Thoſe that ſhall refuſe to take it, be made incapable to enjoy any Office, Military or Civil, to ſit in either Houſe of Parliament, or to come within five Miles of the Court.* Tho' there wanted Time to bring the Bill into a Law, yet the *Teſt* it ſelf is not to be forgotten, which was in theſe Words: ‘ I *A. B.* do ſolemnly, from my Heart, and in the Preſence of Almighty God, profeſs, teſtifie and declare, That I do not believe in my Conſcience that the Church of *Rome* is the only *Catholick* and *Univerſal Church* of *Chriſt*, out of which there is no Salvation; Or that the *Pope* hath any Juriſdiction or Supremacy over the *Catholick Church* in General, or over my ſelf in Particular, or that it belongs to the ſaid Church of *Rome* alone to judge of the true *Senſe* and *Interpretation* of the Holy Scriptures; Or that in the Holy Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*, there is made a perfect Change of the whole Subſtance of the Bread into *Chriſt*'s Body, or of the whole Subſtance of the Wine into *Chriſt*'s Blood, which Change the ſaid Church of *Rome* calleth *Tranſubſtantiation*; Or that the Virgin *Mary*, or any other Saint, ought to be worſhipped, or pray'd unto: And all theſe aforeſaid *Doctrines* and *Poſitions*, I do Renounce and Diſclaim, as Falſe and Erroneous, and contrary to God's Word, and the Chriſtian Religion.

A Peace in Forwardneſs.

3. All theſe Proceedings prov'd very uneaſy to thoſe of the Court, who daily became more ſenſible that nothing cou'd be effected without a ſudden Peace with *Holland*. The Negotiation that had been ſet on foot for a General Peace at *Coloign* was juſt then a breaking, by the exorbitant Demands of the *French* and their Allies; ſo that the *States-General*, finding there was no Reliance to be made on ſuch a Peace, ſtruck in with the general Inclination of the Parliament and People of *England*, and us'd all Methods to make a ſeparate Peace with that Kingdom. In order to which they made uſe of the *Spaniards*, who by Vertue of their Alliance with the *Dutch* had lately declared War againſt *France*; and for that purpoſe ſent full Powers to their Ambaſſador, the Marqueſs *de Freſno*, to treat on that Subject at *London*; who manag'd it ſo well, and ſo ſeaſonably, that his *Britannick* Majeſty was induc'd to deſert the *French*, and once more to make the *United Provinces* his Friends and Allies. And therefore on the 24th Day of *January*, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he made this ſignificant Speech; ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, At the Beginning of this Seſſion I told you, as I thought I had Reaſon to do, *That the* States-General *had not yet made me any Propoſals which cou'd be imagin'd with Intent to Conclude, but only to Amuſe*. To avoid this Imputation, they have now ſent me a Letter by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, offering me ſome Terms of Peace, upon Conditions formally drawn up, and in a more decent Stile than before. It is upon this, that I deſire your ſpeedy Advice: For if you ſhall find the Terms ſuch as may be embraced, your Advice will have great Weight with Me; and if you find them defective, I hope you will give me your Advice and Aſſurance how to get better Terms. Upon the whole Matter I doubt not but you will take care of my Honour, and the Honour and Safety of the Nation, which are now ſo deeply concern'd.

The King's Speech upon it.

With this Speech, the King deliver'd to the two Houſes Copies of the Memorial from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, together with Propoſals from the *Dutch* in Order to a Treaty. The Ambaſſador's Memorial, after a large diſplaying of the Dangers from the boundleſs Attempts and Ambition of *France*, concludes in theſe Words: ‘ And I cannot but promiſe my ſelf from Conſiderations of this Importance, a ſpeedy, favourable, and benign Anſwer to return to the Queen my Miſtreſs, whereby to bind up in a cloſer Tye of Friendſhip the Thoughts, and Inclinations of the Subjects of both Crowns: For ſhou'd a contrary Anſwer be given to the Adjuſtment that is propos'd on ſuch reaſonable Terms, *Spain* muſt be oblig'd to take other Meaſures for its Security; it being incompatible that a ſincere Friendſhip, or a Peace can ſubſiſt between

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Thanks.

Anſwer.

‘ the two Crowns, if your Majeſty will perſevere in the ‘ Engagements of this War.’ Upon Reading of this, and the *Dutch* Propoſals in the Houſe of Commons, they vo- their humble and hearty Thanks to be return'd to his Majeſty for his moſt gracious Speech; and immediately after they Reſolv'd, ‘ That upon Conſideration had upon his ‘ Majeſty's ſaid gracious Speech, and the Propoſals of the ‘ *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, this Houſe is of ‘ Opinion That his Majeſty be humbly adviſ'd to proceed ‘ in a Treaty with the *States-General*, in Order to a ſpeedy ‘ Peace.’ The Lords alſo joyning in the ſame Reſolution of Advice, it was ſolemnly preſented to his Majeſty, who return'd this direct Anſwer, *My Lords and Gentlemen, I cannot better thank you for your Advice than by following it; which I ſhall endeavour, and doubt not of your Aſſiſtance to enable me to perform it.*

The Commons Reaſons againſt the King's Guards.

The Houſe of Commons, tho' they were pleas'd with the Proſpect of a Peace, proceeded in their uſual Way, and on the 7th of *February* went into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to take into their Conſideration the Grievances of the Nation, in which they particularly Reſolv'd, ‘ That ‘ the Continuance of any Standing Forces in this Nation, ‘ other than the Militia, is a great Grievance and Vexation ‘ to the People; and it is the humble Petition and Addreſs ‘ of this Houſe to his Majeſty, That he will immediately ‘ cauſe to be disbanded that Part of them that were rais'd ‘ ſince the 1ſt Day of *January*, 1663.’ This Matter gradually led them into an uncommon Debate concerning the King's Guards, which had been eſtabliſh'd ſoon after the Reſtoration; and theſe following Reaſons were given in *For Disbanding the Horſe and Foot-Guards, commonly call'd the King's Life-Guard.* 1. ‘ That according to the Laws ‘ of the Land, the King hath no Guards but thoſe call'd ‘ *Gentlemen Penſioners*, and *Yeomen of the Guard.* 2. That ‘ ever ſince this Parliament, although there have been ſo ‘ many Seſſions, they never ſettled the *Life-Guard* by Act ‘ of Parliament; nay, they have been ſo far from it, that ‘ whenſoever they have been ſo much as mention'd in the ‘ Houſe of Commons, they wou'd never in the leaſt take ‘ any favourable Notice of them, always looking upon ‘ them as a Number of Men unlawfully aſſembled, and in ‘ no reſpect fit to be the leaſt countenanc'd by the Parliament of *England.* 3. That they are of vaſt Charge to ‘ the King and Kingdom. 4. That they are altogether uſeleſs to this Kingdom, as doth plainly appear by his Majeſty's moſt happy and peaceable Reign ſince his bleſſed ‘ Reſtoration; there being ſo much real and mutual Love, ‘ Confidence and Truſt between his Majeſty and his good ‘ People, which is daily manifeſted by his Majeſty's frequent truſting and expoſing his Sacred Perſon to his People without a Guard. 5. That Guards, or Standing Armies, are only in uſe where Princes govern more by ‘ Fear, than by Love, as in *France*, where the Government is Arbitrary. 6. That this *Life-Guard* is a Standing ‘ Army in diſguiſe, and that as long as they continue, the ‘ Roots of a Standing Army will remain amongſt us; and ‘ therefore it is impoſſible effectually to deliver this Nation ‘ from a Standing Army, till theſe Guards are pull'd up by ‘ the Roots. 7. That the *Life-Guard* is a Place of Refuge ‘ and Retreat for *Papiſts* and Men Popiſhly affected, and a ‘ School and Nurſery for Men of debauched and arbitrary ‘ Principles, and Favourers of the *French* Government, as ‘ did too plainly appear in the Caſe of Sir *John Coventry.* ‘ 8. That if the *Life-Guard* were disbanded, the King ‘ wou'd thereby ſave ſome hundred thouſands of Pounds ‘ *per Annum*; which wou'd in a few Years enable him to ‘ pay all his Debts, without burthening his good People ‘ with any further Taxes to that End.

The King's Speech about Peace.

Theſe Proceedings were very diſtaſteful, if not mortifying to the Court Party; yet ſtill the King ſeem'd reſolv'd not to ſhew any outward Marks of Diſobligation, but proceeded with all Vigour in finiſhing the Peace with *Holland*, which was brought to ſo ſpeedy an Iſſue, that on the 11th Day of *February*, he came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he made this Speech to both Houſes; ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, In purſuance of your Advice, I have made a ſpeedy, an honourable, and I hope ‘ a laſting Peace with the *Dutch.* As to your Addreſs for ‘ the Disbanding of the Forces, I have, ſince the Peace ‘ made with the *Dutch*, given Orders for Disbanding them; ‘ nay, I have order'd to disband more than you deſired. ‘ As for your Addreſs about the *Iriſh* Regiments, I have ‘ order'd to ſend them back into *Ireland.* But I muſt needs ‘ acquaint you, That there is a great Want of Capital Ships, ‘ and I wou'd be glad to be equal in Number with my ‘ Neighbours, and I hope I ſhall have your Aſſiſtance upon ſo good an Occaſion, to preſerve the Honour and ‘ Safety of this Nation.’ This Speech ſo affected the Houſe of Commons, that they immediately Reſolv'd, ‘ That the humble and hearty Thanks of their Houſe be ‘ return'd to his Majeſty for his making a ſpeedy Peace, ‘ and for his gracious Anſwers to the Addreſſes of their ‘ Houſe concerning the Standing Forces.

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The Commons proceed ſtill againſt Grievances.

But ſtill the Commons, inſtead of granting Mony, proceeded to the further Conſideration of the Grievances of the Nation, and particularly Voted ‘ That a Committee ‘ be appointed to inſpect the Laws lately made in *Scotland*, ‘ whereby an Army is authoriz'd to march into *England*, ‘ or *Ireland*; and peruſe ſuch other Laws as do tend to the ‘ Breach of the Union of the two Nations.’ They likewiſe in a grand Committee, ſhortly after took into their Conſideration the State and Condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and Reſolv'd, ‘ That a Committee be appointed ‘ to inſpect the State and Condition of that Kingdom; and ‘ more eſpecially to conſider of the State of Religion; and ‘ the Militia, and the Forces of that Kingdom, and examine the Matters of Fact relating thereunto.’ About the ſame Time, when they were upon the Topick of Grievances, they appointed another Committee ‘ To inſpect ‘ the Laws, and to conſider how the King may commit ‘ any Subject by his immediate Warrant, as the Law now ‘ ſtands, and to report their Opinions: And further, they ‘ were order'd to conſider how the Law now ſtands touching the Committing of Perſons by the Council-Table, ‘ and to report the ſame.’ Upon which Occaſion, they brought in a particular Bill concerning *Writs of Habeas Corpus*, a Bill much for the Liberty of the Subject, which was read three times, and paſs'd the Houſe of Commons. They likewiſe order'd a Bill to be brought in, For a *Teſt to be taken by the Members of both Houſes.* And thus for above twelve Days, they went on without Intermiſſion, or Interruption.

The King's Speech at the Prorogation.

The King had now great Occaſion to exerciſe his Talent of Diſſimulation, which of late ſeem'd to have been improv'd, and become more habitual. He found it beſt to ſtifle his Reſentments, and, ſince there was very little Proſpect of Money, to part as ſpeedily and amicably as he cou'd. Therefore taking the happy Opportunity of compleating the Peace, he reſolv'd to put an End to the Seſſion, and on the 24th Day of *February* he came to the Houſe of Peers, where ſending for the Commons, he made this following Speech to both Houſes; ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, When I was here laſt, I told you the Peace was ‘ Sign'd; I am now come to tell you it is Ratify'd; and I ‘ hope it will prove a happy and laſting Peace to both Nations. This, and the Spring coming on ſo faſt, it will ‘ be convenient for You to be in your Countries, both for ‘ your own Buſineſs and mine. And I therefore think fit ‘ to make a Receſs at this Time, the Winter being more ‘ convenient for Buſineſs. In the mean time I will do my ‘ Endeavour to ſatisfie the World of my Stedfaſtneſs for ‘ the Securing the *Proteſtant* Religion, as it is now eſtabliſh'd, and your *Properties*; and I deſire that you in your ‘ ſeveral Counties will endeavour to ſatisfie the People ‘ therewith. I have no more to ſay at this time, but that ‘ I have commanded my Lord-Keeper to prorogue the ‘ Parliament to the Tenth of *November* next.’

The End of the Thirteenth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

And accordingly the Lord-Keeper prorogu'd both Houſes to that time, and ſo put an End to the Thirteenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had ſat ſix Weeks and three Days, without having granted or voted any Money, or having one ſingle Act paſs'd. The Prorogation was for a little above nine Months, but they did not really meet till almoſt fourteen Months, and in a much hotter Seaſon of the Year.

The Peace proclaim'd.

4. Within four Days after the Parliament broke up, *February* 28, the Peace was ſolemnly publiſh'd and proclaim'd, by the Heralds, and other Officers, after the uſual Form, in the ſeveral Parts of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; which was receiv'd in all Places with a general Satisfaction, expreſs'd by the loud Acclamations of the People, and all the outward Marks of Joy and Tranſport. The Treaty it ſelf was founded on that of *Breda* in the Year 1667, and the Marine Treaty made at the *Hague* in 1668, and conſiſted of five diſtinct Articles, of which here follows the Subſtance:

The Articles of it.

‘ I. It is agreed, That the Ships and Veſſels belonging to ‘ the *United Provinces*, as well Men of War and Ships of ‘ Defence, as others, whether ſingle or in Fleets, which ‘ ſhall happen to meet the King of *Great Britain*'s Men of ‘ War in the *Britiſh* Seas, whether they alſo be ſingle or in ‘ Fleets, provided they carry the King's *Flagg*, ſhall ſtrike ‘ their Flagg, and lower their Topſail: And the ſaid *States* ‘ of the *United Provinces* ſhall order all their Commanders ‘ at Sea fully and *bona fide* to comply with this Article.

‘ II. It is agreed to make certain convenient Laws concerning Trade and Commerce of both Parties in the *Indies*, and other Places out of *Europe*, to an exact and reciprocal Rule; and limit the ſame within certain unalterable Laws. And becauſe it appears too difficult to be ‘ immediately perfected, both Parties conſent it ſhall be ‘ deferr'd;

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‘ deferr'd; and Commiſſioners be nominated within three Months after the Concluſion of the Peace, who ſhall meet at *London*, and conclude the Matter in the moſt amicable Way. III. Whereas the *Engliſh* complain of being detain'd in *Surinam*, contrary to Articles, it is agreed, That the *States-General* ſhall *bona fide* take care that the ſaid Articles ſhall be executed; and that the Space of three Months ſhall be allow'd to the *Engliſh* Inhabitants for ſelling their Eſtates, who ſhall be tranſported at a moderate Rate, and be permitted to carry away their Slaves with them. IV. It is agreed, That if either Party ſhall, during this War, have poſſeſs'd themſelves of any Countries, Iſlands, Towns, Forts, Colonies, or other Places belonging to the other Party, all and every of the ſame, without any Diſtinction of Place or Time, ſhall be immediately and *bona fide* reſtored in the ſame Condition they ſhall happen to be in, when Notice ſhall come of the Concluſion of the Peace in thoſe Places. V. To put an End to all Occaſions and Cauſes of new Queſtions, Pretenſions and Actions, of what ſort ſoever they be, or by what Name or Pretext ſoever claim'd, it is agreed, that the ſaid *States-General* ſhall pay to the King of *Great Britain* the Sum of eight hundred Thouſand Patacoons; which Sum the ſaid *States-General* ſhall pay at certain Days, as followeth; *viz.* a Fourth Part thereof as ſoon as the Ratifications ſhall be exhibited, and the Reſt the Three enſuing Years by Equal Portions.

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The End of the Second DUTCH WAR.

And thus ended the Second *Dutch* War that happen'd ſince the Reſtoration, which laſted from the publick Proclamation of the War, to the Proclaiming the Peace, juſt two Years, wanting two Weeks, and four Days, which was above five Months ſhorter than the laſt. And here it is obſervable, that in the laſt War, when the *Engliſh* contended with all the Power of *Holland* and *France*, they had greater Succeſs in their Battels, than now when they had joyn'd with the Power of *France* againſt *Holland* alone: So Inſignificant, as well as Unfortunate, was his *Britannick* Majeſty's Alliance with ſuch an inſinuating and uncertain Monarch as the *French* King.

The End of the Firſt Book.

HISTO-

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

Conſiſting of the Remainder of the Reign of King CHARLES *the Second: From the End of the Second* Dutch *War, to the Day of his Death.*

Containing the Space of 11 *Years, wanting* 3 *Weeks.*

CHAP. I.

The Mediatorſhip of England: *From the Concluſion of the Second* Dutch *War, to the End of that between* France *and* Holland; *which brought on a General Peace in* Europe.

Containing the Space of about Four Years, and Six Months.

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I. 1. THE remaining Part of the Reign, tho' free from all actual Wars and Foreign Invaſions, was ſtill the moſt buſie Part; and was moſtly taken up with Inteſtine Diſputes, and Domeſtick Diſturbances, both in the Houſes of Parliament, and throughout the whole Country, which ſometimes produc'd very ungrateful and tragical Effects. Tho' the publick Affairs were chequer'd with a ſtrange Mixture of Felicity and Calamity, or rather Pleaſure and Vexation, yet Eaſe and Luxury ſtill encreas'd, and, as well as Faction and Diſcord, ſtrove mightily to be predominant in the Nation. The King and the Court ſeem'd reſolv'd that the Former ſhou'd have the Aſcendent; and his Majeſty himſelf took more Pains to enjoy a quiet and undiſturb'd Life, than ſome have done to ruin the Peace of whole Kingdoms; which made him too liable to be led by ſuch as pretended to the peculiar Art of Relieving. As a great Man obſerves, from his own natural Diſpoſition, he deſired nothing but to be eaſie himſelf, and that every Body elſe ſhou'd be ſo; and wou'd have been glad to ſee the leaſt of his Subjects pleas'd, and to refuſe no Man what he ask'd. But this Softneſs of Temper made him apt to fall into the Perſuaſions of whoever had his Kindneſs and Confidence for the Time, how different ſoever from the Opinions he was of before; and he was very eaſie to change Hands when thoſe he employ'd had engag'd him in any Difficulties; ſo as nothing look'd ſteady in the Conduct of his Affairs, nor appear'd to aim at any certain End. Yet ſure no Prince had more Qualities to make him lov'd, with a great many to make him eſteem'd, and all without a Grain of Pride or Vanity in his whole Conſtitution; nor cou'd he ſuffer Flattery in any Kind, growing uneaſy upon the firſt Approaches of it, and diverting it to ſome other Subject; a Thing remarkable in Princes. Where he was pleas'd to be familiar, he ſhew'd great Quickneſs of Conception, Pleaſantneſs of Wit, with Variety of Knowledge, and more Obſervation and truer Judgment of Men than cou'd be imagin'd from ſo careleſs and eaſie a Manner as was natural to him in all he ſaid or did. But having abandon'd himſelf to Pleaſures, this Humour made him loſe many great Opportunities of Glory to himſelf, and Greatneſs to his Crown, which the Conjunctures of his Reign had forc'd him to reflect upon; and made way for the aſpiring Deſigns of a Neighbour Prince, which wou'd not have appear'd, or cou'd not have ſucceeded in the World, without the Application and Arts employ'd to manage this eaſy and inglorious Temper that became ſo viſible to the World.

A ſecond Character of the King.

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The King offers his Mediation towards a general Peace.

As ſoon as the Peace was concluded with *Holland*, the King's firſt Care was to ſoften the Stroke as much as he cou'd towards *France*; which was done, or attempted, by repreſenting the Neceſſities of it, which needed no Diſſimulation, and likewiſe to offer his Mediation between the ſtill contending Parties, in Order to bring about a general Peace, which wou'd conduce both to his Honour and his Quiet. He was very deſirous to make *France* ſome Amends for abandoning their Intereſt, and making a ſeparate Treaty: Yet the *Spaniſh* Miniſters at *Bruſſels*, as we learn from Sir *Richard Bulſtrode*, were at this Time of Opinion, That his Majeſty had made this Peace with the full Conſent of the *French* King, which wou'd in the end prove more to that Monarch's Advantage than their Conjunction; and that it was a great Miſtake in thoſe who thought this Peace was made by Conſtraint of the Parliament, which he had rather made by his own Election. Their Reaſons were, 'That his *Britannick* Majeſty finding ſo ſtrong an 'Union againſt *France*, that it was like to be a general 'War in theſe Parts of *Europe*, and that there was no diſ'intereſs'd Prince ſufficiently puiſſant to become Media'tor; the King therefore by quitting of *France*, and decla'ring a Neutrality, was the only Prince in *Europe* able to 'balance, and conſequently to be a Mediator; which was 'at this Time propoſing: And that if the *French* King 'cou'd but maintain the War this Summer, his Majeſty 'of *England* wou'd get ſo great Advantages by carrying 'away all the Trade, and wou'd be ſo enrich'd by that 'and the Retrenchment of his Army, that he wou'd the 'next Year be able, without the Aſſiſtance of Parlia'ment, to carry on a War againſt thoſe that ſhou'd refuſe 'a reaſonable Peace.' Whatever their Conceptions were, the King's Endeavours were for a general Treaty, and ſuch as might reſtore the Peace, and ſettle the Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*. The only Difficulties that appear'd in this great Affair, were what the Confederates were like to make in accepting the King's Mediation, whoſe late Engagements with *France* had made him thought very partial on that Side. And the Houſe of *Auſtria* now finding that Crown abandon'd by *England*, had too greedily ſwallow'd the Hopes of being fully reveng'd, to deſire any ſudden Treaty till their expected Succeſſes in the War might reduce *France* to the Terms of the *Pyrenean* Treaty.

The French *King accepts of it.*

To make way for this extraordinary Work, the *French* King in a ſhort Time thought fit to accept and approve of the King of *England*'s Offer of Mediation; that of *Sweden* being ended by the *Cologn* Aſſembly's breaking up in Expoſtulations and Quarrels upon the Emperor's ſeizing the

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the Perſon of Prince *William* of *Furſtenburgh*, a Subject of the Empire, but an Inſtrument of *France*, as his Brother the Biſhop of *Straſburgh* had been in all the late Invaſions of that Crown upon their Neighbours. In this difficult Affair, ſince the Declenſion and Diſſolution of the *Cabal*, none was thought ſo proper to effect it as Sir *William Temple*, who had gain'd ſo much Credit with *Spain* as well as *Holland*, from the Negotiations he had formerly run through at the *Hague*, *Bruſſels*, and *Aix-la-Chapelle*, by which the remaining Parts of *Flanders* had been ſav'd out of the Hands of *France* in the Year 1668. But having often reflected upon the unhappy Iſſue of his laſt Negotiations from the fatal Turn of Counſels in the *Engliſh* Court, and from the counter Deſigns of the *Cabal*, he reſolv'd, before he went on his Embaſſy, to know the Ground on which he ſtood; and in order to that, to ſound the King's true Sentiments and Diſpoſitions, as to the Meaſures he had now taken, or rather renew'd, and truſt no more to his Miniſters, who had ſo much deceiv'd either Him or Themſelves.

Sir William Temple's private Diſcourſe with the King.

To effect this he had a long Audience with the King in his Cloſet, where he took Occaſion to reflect upon the late Counſels and Miniſtry of the *Cabal* 'how ill his Majeſty had been adviſ'd to break Meaſures and Treaties ſo ſolemnly taken and agreed; how ill he had been ſerv'd, and how ill ſucceeded by the violent Humour of the Nation's breaking out againſt ſuch Proceedings, and by the Jealouſies they had raiſ'd againſt the Crown.' The King ſaid, *'Twas true, he had ſucceeded ill; but if he had been well ſerv'd, he might have made a good Buſineſs enough of it*; and ſo proceeded in a good meaſure to juſtify what was paſt. Sir *William* was ſorry to find ſuch a Preſage of what might happen again from the like Thought; and therefore he freely went to the Bottom of the Matter, and made a juſt Detection of all *French* Counſels and Meaſures. He ſhew'd 'how difficult, if not impoſſible, it was in *England* to ſet up the ſame Religion or Government that was in *France*; That the univerſal Bent of the Nation was againſt Both; That many who were, perhaps, indifferent enough in the Matter of Religion, conſider'd it cou'd not be chang'd here but by Force of an Army; and that the ſame Force which made the King Maſter of their Religion, made him Maſter of their Liberties and Fortunes. That in *France* there was none to be conſider'd but the Nobles and the Clergy; That if a King cou'd engage them in his Deſigns, he had no more to do; for the Peaſants having no Land, were as inſignificant in the Government, as the Women and Children are here. That on the contrary, the great Bulk of Land in *England* lies in the Hands of the Yeomanry or lower Gentry; and their Hearts are high by Eaſe and Plenty, as thoſe of the *French* Peaſantry are diſpirited by Labour and Want. That the Kings of *France* are very great in Poſſeſſions of Land, and in Dependances by ſuch vaſt Numbers of Offices both Military and Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical; whereas thoſe of *England* having few Offices to beſtow, having parted with their Lands, their *Court of Wards*, and *Knights Services*, have no Means to raiſe or keep Armies on foot, but by Supplies from their Parliaments, nor Revenues to maintain any Foreign War by other Ways. That if he had an Army on foot, yet if compos'd of *Engliſh*, they would never ſerve Ends that the People hated and fear'd. That the *Roman Catholicks* in *England* were not the hundredth Part of the Nation, and in *Scotland* not the two hundredth; and it ſeem'd againſt all common Senſe, to think by one Part to govern Ninety Nine that were of contrary Minds and Humours. That for Foreign Troops, if they were few, they wou'd ſignify nothing but to raiſe Hatred and Diſcontent; and how to raiſe, to bring over at once, and to maintain many, was very hard to imagine. That the Force which ſeem'd neceſſary to ſubdue the Liberties and Spirits of this Nation, cou'd not be leſs than an Army of threeſcore thouſand Men, ſince the *Romans* were forc'd to keep twelve Legions to that purpoſe, the *Norman* to inſtitute ſixty two thouſand Knights Fees, and *Cromwell* left an Army of near eighty thouſand Men.' After this Sir *William* took occaſion to mention Monſieur *Gourville*, whom he knew the King eſteem'd the ſoundeſt Head of any *French* Man he had ſeen; and ſaid, 'That he never knew but one Foreigner that underſtood *England* well, and that was Him; who when he was at *Bruſſels* the firſt *Dutch* War, and heard the Parliament grew weary of it, he ſaid, *The King had nothing to do but to make the Peace:* Adding, *That he had been long enough in* England, *ſeen enough of that Court, and People, and Parliaments, to conclude, That a King of* England, *who will be the* MAN *of his People, is the greateſt King in the World; but if he will be Something more, by G--d he is Nothing at all.* The King heard Sir *William* very attentively, but ſeem'd a little impatient at firſt: Yet at laſt he declar'd Sir *William* had *Reaſon in all, and ſo had* Gourville; and then laying his Hand upon Sir *William*'s, he added like a true King of *England*, *And I will be the* MAN *of my People.*

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He is ſent Ambaſſador to Holland.

2. Sir *William Temple* being appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary for the forementioned Ends, and all his Diſpatches finiſh'd, he departed for *Holland* in *July*. His Inſtructions in General were, 'To aſſure the *States* of his *Britannick* Majeſty's Friendſhip, and firm Reſolution to obſerve his Treaties with them; then to offer his Mediation in the preſent War, in which both They and almoſt all *Chriſtendom* were engag'd; and after their Acceptance of it, to endeavour it likewiſe with all their Allies; and, to that End, to engage the Offices and Intervention of the *States:* But, in particular, immediately after his Arrival at the *Hague*, to repair to the Prince of *Orange*, then in the Field, to give him Part of his Majeſty's Intentions in all this Affair, and Aſſurance of his Kindneſs; and engage his Highneſs as far as cou'd be, to ſecond his Majeſty's Deſires, in promoting a General Peace, wherein the *United Provinces* ſeem'd to have the greateſt Intereſt.

Upon his Arrival at the *Hague*, Sir *William* deliver'd his Credentials to the proper Preſident, and made a Viſit to Penſionary *Fagel*, in which he ſoon diſcover'd a ſtrong Inclination in the *States* to a Peace, as far as was conſiſtent with the Honour and Engagements of their Allies; and was aſſur'd of the *States* Readineſs to accept of his Maſter's Mediation. After which his Excellency went to *Antwerp*, in hopes of finding the Prince of *Orange* at his Camp between that City and *Louvain*, where he had lain ſome time expecting the Advance of the Confederate Forces; but his Highneſs having two Days before march'd beyond *Louvain*, Sir *William* repair'd to *Bruſſels*, there to deſire a Guard to convey him to the Camp. Having ſent his Secretary to the Governor Count *Monterery* with his Compliments, and Deſires of a Guard, the Count return'd the firſt very coldly, and the other with ſuch Excuſes, as amounted to a Refuſal. In reality, the *Spaniards* were grown ſo jealous of his *Britannick* Majeſty's Mediation offer'd at the *Hague*; of the *States* and Peoples violent Inclinations to a Peace, and of the Offices they thought the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador might uſe to ſlacken the Prince of *Orange* in the Proſecution of their preſent hopeful Deſigns; that he found it was reſolv'd by the *Spaniards*, in concert with the Prince Himſelf, firſt to delay, and then to hinder any Interview between his Highneſs and Him, till the Campaign was ended. Sir *William* being ſenſible of this, and unwilling to expoſe either his Majeſty's Character, or Credit with his Nephew, he very prudently return'd to the *Hague*, where he had long Converſations with the Penſionary; by which he gain'd the Lights neceſſary to diſcover the preſent Scene of Affairs, and the Pulſes of the Confederates, in what related to the General Peace.

His Propoſals to Penſionary Fagel.

His Excellency let him know 'How much his Majeſty was ſatiſfy'd with That he had lately made with the *States*; how much he was reſolv'd to continue and cultivate it; and how much Reaſon he had to be content with the Poſture that had left him in Peace with all his Neighbours, while they were all in War. That the Advantages of Commerce from it, were enough to make him trouble himſelf no further about the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, if his Goodneſs and Piety did not prevail more with him, than his Intereſt. But that theſe, and the Deſire of a General Good, had perſuaded him to offer his Mediation in the preſent Conteſts. That it had been already accepted by *France*, and that the Emperor and *Spain* had promis'd to conſider of it in concert with their Allies. That the *States* Ambaſſadors at *London*, had aſſur'd his Majeſty their Maſters wou'd be pleas'd with it, and doubted not their Conſent, that the Treaty ſhou'd be at *London*; and that thereupon his Majeſty had charg'd him with a Letter to the *States*, to offer them his Mediation. That he cou'd not doubt their accepting it with the beſt Grace that cou'd be; for he knew their Intereſt was to have a Peace, and not to diſoblige the King. That if his Majeſty was Partial to any Side, they ought to believe it wou'd be to that wherein his own Nephew was ſo deeply concern'd; and the more, becauſe he proffer'd his Offices towards a Peace, at a Time when the Advantages and Preparations for War run ſo high on the *French* Side, as he doubted the Events might ſhew if it continu'd. That they knew his Intereſt wou'd not ſuffer him to ſee *Flanders* loſt; and that conſidering what had paſs'd, his Honour wou'd not ſuffer him to think of Preſerving it any other Way than by that of a Peace. That he wou'd be glad to ſee that Country left by the next Peace, in a better Poſture of Defence than it was by the laſt; and the *Spaniſh* Territories lye cloſer and rounder than they were then left. That when this ſhou'd be concluded, his Majeſty wou'd be ready to enter into the ſtrongeſt

‘Guarantees they cou'd deſire, and might with Honour enter into a War to preſerve it, tho' he cou'd not to obtain it.

Fagel's Anſwer.

The Penſionary firſt gave Sir *William* Thanks for his good Offices in the late Peace, and in all the Meaſures of Friendſhip that had interceeded between his Maſter and them ſince the firſt Breach: ‘He applauded the King's Reſolution in ſo pious and generous an Offer, and acknowledg'd his Intereſt might lead him to other Meaſures: That he doubted not the *States* Willingneſs to accept it; all the Difference wou'd be about the *Time*, and the *Manner* of doing it. As to this, he ſaid, they cou'd not do it at leaſt without the Communication of their Allies; but wou'd immediately give them Part of his Majeſty's Offer, and the *States* Diſpoſition to receive it. That for the *Terms of a Peace*, they wou'd be content to make his Majeſty the *Arbiter* of it: That they had lately recover'd all the Towns they had loſt, except *Grave* and *Maeſtricht*, the laſt of which was in ſome meaſure engag'd to *Spain*; and for the other, they doubted not of having a good Account of it ſoon. But he doubted whether their Allies wou'd be ſo eaſy in their Expectations or Demands; and it was impoſſible for the *States* to leave them, who had ſav'd their Country from Ruin, when two ſuch great Kings had invaded them; nor to break the offenſive Treaties they had made with the *Emperor*, *Spain* and *Brandenburgh*. That the Terms ſtipulated with *Spain* oblig'd them to reduce *France* to the *Pyrenean* Treaty; with only this Reſerve in one Article, *Unleſs it ſhou'd be otherwiſe agreed by Conſent between them.* That whatever wou'd content *Spain*, ſhou'd ſatisfie Them; tho' they were both equally ſenſible of the ambitious Deſigns of the *French*, as well as their Reſentment to the *States*. That they cou'd never hope for ſuch another Conjuncture, to reduce them to ſuch Bounds as might give Safety to their Neighbours, and Quiet to *Chriſtendom.* That it was a wrong Time to enter into a Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, becauſe they knew they cou'd not handſomly demand the Reſtitution of any Towns loſt by the *Spaniards* in *Flanders* in the laſt War, and given up by the ſucceeding Peace; yet the King and They both knew, That without it a Peace cou'd never be ſafe for *Flanders*, nor for *Holland*, nor conſequently for *England.* But he believ'd there wou'd not paſs many Days before ſome deciſive Action wou'd happen between the two Armies, then not far diſtant in the Field, which might make room for a Negotiation of Peace the next Winter; in which his Majeſty wou'd find the Intereſts and Humours of a Trading Country, as theirs was, very ſtrong, and diſpos'd to preſs their Allies, as far as poſſible, to facilitate ſo great and ſo good a Work.

The Battel of Seneffe.

The Prince of Orange's *Behaviour.*

3. The Penſionary had Reaſon to expect ſome ſudden Action in the Field: For about the middle of *Auguſt* was fought the famous Battel of *Seneffe*, between the Confederates under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French* under the renowned Prince of *Conde.* But it prov'd not an Action ſo deciſive as was expected from two Armies of ſo great Force, and ſo animated by the Hatred and Revenge of the Parties, as well as by the Bravery and Ambition of the Commanders. The Succeſs of this Battel was ſo differently reported by thoſe that engag'd in it, that it was hard to judge of the Victory, which each Side challeng'd; and perhaps neither with any good Reaſon. The Confederates claim'd it, becauſe they were laſt upon the Field; and the *French* upon the greateſt Number of Priſoners and Standards they carry'd away: But whoever had the Honour, they both ſeverely felt the Loſs. Only we muſt not forget that the Prince of *Orange*, now about twenty three Years of Age, did glorioully diſtinguiſh himſelf in this fierce Conteſt; of which there is the moſt undoubted Evidence. Count *de Zouche*, the *German* General, in his Letter to the *States*, ſays, ‘That in the whole Courſe of the Action, the Prince had ſhew'd the Conduct of an Aged Commander, the Courage of a *Cæſar*, and the undaunted Bravery of a *Marius*.’ The Prince of *Conde* himſelf gave this Teſtimony, *That he had done like an old Captain in all, but only in venturing himſelf too much like a young Man*; in both which he himſelf was remarkable that Day. Sir *Richard Bulſtrode*, then Envoy at the Court of *Bruſſels*, in a Letter to the Earl of *Arlington*, dated *Aug.* 17. has theſe Words, ‘It is acknowledg'd by all Perſons, that the Courage and Conduct of the Prince of *Orange* was that Day to be admired, who flew from one Part of the Field to another, not only to encourage his Men, but from the firſt to the laſt of the ſeveral Engagements, and in the Heat of every Attack, was the foremoſt, and has thereby gain'd Immortal Honour.’ In another Letter to the ſame Perſon about ten Days after, he ſays, ‘Never General more endeavour'd to put an Army in good Order, or took more Pains, or was more diligent in that great Station, than his Highneſs; being ſo indefatigable in his Perſon, of ſo excellent a Temper, ſo valiant againſt his Enemies, and ſo obliging to his whole Army, that he is in general cry'd up for the moſt hopeful Prince living, and that he is like to be a greater General than any of his Anceſtors.

After the Repair neceſſary to each Camp, both Armies took the Field again, and gave a general Expectation of another Battel: But the Prince of *Conde* ſo well choſe and fortify'd his Encampments, as not to be forc'd out without apparent Diſadvantages. Hereupon the Prince of *Orange* ſat down before *Oudenarde* in *September*, and gain'd his End of drawing the Prince of *Conde* out of his cautious Marches, who came immediately to relieve it. Upon Sight of the *French* Army, the Prince of *Orange* propos'd to draw out and attack them before they were reſted after their hard Day's March. The *Spaniards* were willing, but Count *de Zouche* wou'd not agree to it, and ſo the hopeful Occaſion was loſt; and with ſuch Diſcontent among the Generals, that the next Day the *Germans* left their Trenches, and march'd away about a League, leaving room to the *French* to put what Relief they pleas'd into the Town. Hereupon the Prince of *Orange* was forc'd to riſe too; and leaving Part of the *Dutch* Forces with Count *Monterey*, the *Spaniſh* Governor, went himſelf with the reſt to preſs on the Siege of *Grave*; being reſolv'd, ſince he fail'd in what he deſign'd in the Favour of the *Spaniards*, to free his own Country from the laſt Mark of their intended Servitude. The Place had been inveſted a Month before; yet the Prince found the Siege but little advanc'd at his Arrival, and the *Dutch* Soldiers ſo foil'd with the brave Defence from within, that nothing cou'd have carry'd the Place at this Seaſon, about the Middle of *October*, but the former Humour of leading on his Men whenever they ſhrunk. By which, and his uſual Vigour, as well as the common Methods of ſuch Sieges, he took *Grave* by the End of the Month, with equal Glory to Himſelf, and Satisfaction to all the *United Provinces*; and diſpoſing his Forces into Winter Quarters, he return'd to the *Hague* about the middle of *November*.

He takes Grave.

Sir W. Temple's *Application to him.*

His Anſwer

4. Being arriv'd there, Sir *William Temple* apply'd himſelf to his Highneſs, and particularly acquanted him with his ‘Majeſty's perſonal Kindneſs and Eſteem for him; his Reſolution to cultivate his preſent Friendſhip with the *States*, and his Deſire to ſee a General Peace reſtored to *Chriſtendom*; in which he intended to act wholly in concert with his Highneſs, whoſe Opinion as to the *Thing*, and the *Conditions* moſt neceſſary for his Highneſs to inſiſt on, He much deſir'd to underſtand as ſoon and as fully as he cou'd.’ The Prince anſwer'd him with full Expreſſions of Duty and Kindneſs to his Majeſty, and Deſires of a near Conjunction between the two Nations; *which*, he thought, *alone cou'd make his Majeſty ſafe at Home and Abroad.* For the Peace, he ſaid, *Tho' he cou'd make many Complaints of both the* Spaniards *and* Imperialiſts *Conduct ſince their Treaties, yet the* States *cou'd not with any Faith or Honour make any ſeparate Peace upon any Terms that* France *cou'd offer them. That a* general Peace *cou'd not be made, without leaving* Flanders *in a Poſture of defending it ſelf upon any new Invaſion, againſt which no Guarantees cou'd ſecure it: That* Spain *cou'd not quit the Country of* Burgundy *or* Cambray, *or any Thing in* Flanders, *beyond the* Pyrenean *Treaty, except* Aire *and St.* Omer. *This,* his Highneſs ſaid, *was his Opinion: But if he might know the King's, and find it at all conſiſtent with the Safety of his Country, and his own Honour towards his Allies, he wou'd do all he cou'd to bring it about, as he had already done the Point of his Majeſty's Mediation; which was accepted at* Vienna *and* Madrid. Sir *William* alledg'd, ‘That the King having been the Author and Guarantee of the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and not having ſeen the *French* driven out of any Town given them by that Treaty, cou'd with ill Grace propoſe any Thing to *France* beyond thoſe Terms, unleſs it were upon ſome Equivalent.’ The Prince reſolutely reply'd, *'Twere better going on with the War, let it laſt as long, and coſt as much as it wou'd. That his Majeſty might, if he pleas'd, induce* France *to whatever Terms he thought juſt; and cou'd never ſhow him ſo much Kindneſs as to bring him out of this War with Honour. If he wou'd not, he muſt go on till ſome Change happen'd, to make the Peace neceſſary on one Side or other. How it wou'd happen he cou'd not tell, and muſt leave it to God; but he thought they had as fair a Game as the* French: *He was ſure they might have been abſolutely beaten at* Seneffe, *if Count* de Zouche *had ſo pleas'd; and have had a fair Blow for it again at* Oudenarde. *That he was ſure* Germany *cou'd furniſh more and better Men than* France; *and they were now in a manner united in the common Defence: But however, he muſt perform what his own Honour, as well as that of the* States *had engag'd to their Allies, let it coſt what it wou'd.*

Sir *William* finding the Prince immoveable upon theſe Diſcourſes, he turn'd them another Way, to a tender Point, about which the *Engliſh* King and Court wou'd gladly have been ſatisfy'd; which was upon Occaſion of the many diſcontented Perſons in *England*, at the Courſe of the laſt War and Miniſtry, who were ſuſpected to have correſponded with *Holland*, about raiſing Seditions, and perhaps Inſurrections in *England*, if the War had continu'd, and the *Dutch* Fleet appear'd upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, that were like to be unguarded the next Summer, by reaſon of his Majeſty's wanting Money to ſet out a Fleet. It was believ'd, among others, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was one that had lately play'd this Game, who having been at the Bottom of the Counſels of the *Cabal*, had firſt done all he cou'd towards the Deſtruction of the *Dutch*, and after that turn'd ſhort upon the Court, and the reſt of the *Cabal*, fell in with the popular Humour both in City and Parliament, decry'd the preſent Conduct and Deſigns, tho' with the Loſs of his Chancellor's Place, and was ſuſpected to manage a Practice in *Holland* for ſome Inſtructions in *England*. Upon which Account Sir *William* told the *Prince* 'What the King ſuſpected of ſome of his Subjects, without naming any; how much Service it wou'd be to his Majeſty to know them more certainly, and how kind it wou'd be in his Highneſs to diſcover them.' Here the Prince was upon the Reſerve, and ſaid, *He was ſure the King wou'd not preſs him upon a Thing ſo much againſt all Honour, as to betray Men that profeſs'd to be his Friends.* Yet in a ſerious and private Diſcourſe afterwards, the Prince acknowledg'd ſo much in general, *That during the laſt War, neither the* States, *nor He in particular, were without Applications made them from ſeveral Perſons, and conſiderable, in* England, *who wou'd fain have engag'd them to head the Diſcontents that were rais'd by the Conduct of the Court in that whole War; which he knew was begun and carry'd on quite contrary to the Humour of the Nation, and might, perhaps, have prov'd very dangerous to the Crown, if it had not ended as it did.*

The Prince is immoveable.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador gave his Majeſty an Account of all that paſs'd this Year between the Prince and Him; which was look'd upon at Court both as cold to his Majeſty, and ſtiff as to the Peace, which great Work they found cou'd not be brought about without another Campaign, and a conſiderable Space of Time. Still the King had the Honour of a Mediation for the general Peace of *Chriſtendom*, being the principal neutral and uningag'd: Notwithſtanding which he became in effect a ſecret Penſioner to the *French* King, as ſufficiently appears by the Letters publiſh'd by the late Duke of *Leeds*; wherein we find that that Monarch, being apprehenſive of the Power of his *Britannick* Majeſty, and his reaſſuming the *Triple Alliance*, tho' much diſoblig'd at the ſeparate Peace, was willing to comply with his Wants and his Pleaſures, and to allow him a conſiderable annual Stipend or Gratuity, of at leaſt a hundred thouſand Pounds, beſides caſual Donatives. This has been believ'd and deny'd according to the Affections of a Party, but never ſo authentickly publiſh'd as in the formention'd Letters: Of which we may properly in this Place take notice of one from Ambaſſador *Mountagu* at *Paris* to the King, in 1677, wherein he has theſe Words; 'I am ſure the Greatneſs of the King of *France* is ſupported only by your Majeſty's Connivance at what he does, and the good Will *Chriſtendom* ſees you have for him. The Advantage he has by it, even in the Point of Revenue, by his Conqueſts, does amount to five times the Sum you have now from him; and tho' After-Games are hard to play, I think I underſtand this Court ſo well, and if you care to have it done, I am confident I cou'd get you, by Agreement, a Million of Livres a Year to be paid while the War ſhall laſt, and four Millions after the Peace ſhall be made; I mean, Sir, over and above what you have from *France* now.' In another Letter written ſhortly after to the Lord Treaſurer, the Ambaſſador ſays thus: 'I expect his Chriſtian Majeſty's Anſwer to the Demands I made by the King's Directions, of two hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, to be paid till the General Peace is concluded; taking for granted that it will be conform to my Orders from the King, to inſiſt either upon two Million of Livres a Year, during the War, and four Millions after the Peace, or elſe two hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling during the War. But I am told this Morning, that Mr. *Courtin* has agreed this Matter with the King my Maſter, and in your Lordſhip's Preſence; and that his Majeſty will be content with two Millions of Livres a Year only during the War; which, I confeſs, ſurpris'd me extreamly, conſidering the Neceſſity of his Majeſty's Condition, and the Poſitiveneſs of his Commands to me to inſiſt upon two hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, which I had done very effectually, and muſt have ſucceeded in, conſidering the Reaſonableneſs of the Demand, except the Generoſity of the King our Maſter's Nature, *who values Money ſo little,* has already condeſcended to the leſſer Sum of two Millions; in which I am afraid, by the End of the Year, he will fall ſhort of being able to ſupport all the emergent Occaſions that may happen, and perhaps *France* to be a greater Sufferer by it than he Himſelf.' But to return to the preſent Year, and the Domeſtick Affairs of *England*.

The King of England *too much link'd with* France.

5. The King was believ'd to have been ſo much offended with the Proceedings of the Parliament in their laſt Seſſion, that it was much diſcours'd of that he had no Inclination to meet them again; tho' they had been ſo long endear'd to him, by ſo many agreeable Acts and continual Supplies. Hence the Popular Rumour aroſe, That his Majeſty intended to diſſolve the Parliament: But the King apprehending that a Report of this Nature might irritate ſome of the Leading Members, and be otherwiſe prejudicial to his Affairs, he publiſh'd a Proclamation in *May*, Declaring, 'That whereas of late many Perſons ill-affected to the Government, have aſſum'd to themſelves a Liberty in their ordinary Diſcourſes, to cenſure and defame the Proceedings of State, whereby they endeavour to create and nouriſh in the Minds of his Majeſty's good Subjects an evil Opinion of Things they underſtand not; and further to promote their Seditious Ends, they do daily invent falſe News, and ſpread the ſame abroad among the People, to the great Scandal of his Majeſty's Government: Whereof his Majeſty taking notice, and in particular of that very falſe Report of an *Intention to Diſſolve this preſent Parliament*, which hath not been under Deliberation, his Majeſty ſeeing no Cauſe to change his Reſolutions taken touching their Meeting: And therefore his Majeſty wou'd look upon the Spreaders of that Report ſeditiouſly inclin'd, and ill affected to his Service, and was reſolv'd to ſuppreſs that unlawful and undutiful Kind of Diſcourſe, by a moſt ſtrict and exemplary Puniſhment of all ſuch Offenders, as ſhall hereafter be diſcover'd.

The King's Proclamation concerning the Parliament.

The Papiſts Endeavours for a Diſſolution.

However it was, it is obſervable that both the Papiſts on one Side, and the Proteſtant Diſſenters on the other, began to long for a Diſſolution of this Parliament, which had been ſo ſtrict againſt both: And the Former this very Year made ſome very bold Efforts towards the obtaining of ſo great a Point, and ſome other Advantages as to their Religion and Intereſt. One of the moſt active Sticklers in this Cauſe was Mr. *Edward Coleman*, Secretary to the Duke of *York*, a Perſon of a warm forward Diſpoſition, very zealous in his Way, and of ſuch good natural Parts, and ſo ſenſible of them, that he was thought capable of undertaking very great Projects, and believ'd to be much incourag'd by his Party. However, he certainly attempted ſeveral Things above his Sphere, if not his Capacity, and maintain'd ſuch Correſpondencies with Foreigners, who were Enemies to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution and Religion, as afterwards gave Occaſion to ſtrange and unexpected Diſturbances in the Nation. His Letters of Correſpondence are remarkable, and ſome of them having been writ this Year, we ought to take notice of two or three directed to the *French* King's Confeſſor, and the Pope's Inter-Nuncio. The firſt Letter that was diſcover'd was dated the 29th of *June* this Year, and began thus: 'I am commanded to tell you, That his *Royal Highneſs*, my Maſter, is very ſenſible of the Friendſhip of his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, which he will endeavour to cultivate very *carefully*, and to give him all poſſible *Aſſurances* of it, to take away all *Jealouſies* that his Enemies wou'd raiſe to the contrary. That his *Royal Highneſs* has done nothing in any Manner whatſoever, nor in any Place, againſt the Intereſt of his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, but hath render'd him all the *good Offices* he hath been capable of. That as for Recalling the Parliament, and touching my Lord *Arlington*, his Highneſs is altogether of Opinion of his Majeſty, That neither One or Other is uſeful, but quite contrary, very dangerous as well for *England* as *France*; and that his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* is in great Danger of loſing the *Neutrality* of *England* at the next Seſſion (if the Parliament meet) as he loſt its *Alliance* by the *Peace* of *Holland* at the Laſt; becauſe the *Lower Houſe* and their Friends (as the furious Proteſtants, and the Malignants in the Houſe of Lords) have a Deſign to leſſen his *Royal Highneſs*, and root out the *Catholick* Religion; and they think they cannot make uſe of any other fitter Means to attain their Ends, than to raiſe the *Dutch*, and to perplex his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, as much as lies in their Power. That his Highneſs doubts not, but it is abſolutely neceſſary for the Intereſt of his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, and his *Royal Highneſs*, to uſe all Endeavours to hinder the Meeting of the Parliament, by perſuading his *Britannick Majeſty*, That his *Greatneſs*, his *Honour*, and his *Quiet*, are no leſs concern'd therein than Theirs: So that if his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* wou'd write freely his Thoughts thereupon to his *Br— Majeſty* to forewarn him of the Danger he apprehends from thence,

Coleman's *Letters.* I.

and wou'd withal think fit to make him the ſame generous Offer of his *Purſe*, to perſuade him to diſſolve the preſent Parliament, as he hath done to his Highneſs for the Election of Another, perhaps he wou'd ſucceed therein by the Aſſiſtance we wou'd give him here. As for another Parliament, it wou'd be eaſy enough to get ſuch a one as we wiſh for; the Conſtitutions of our Parliaments being of ſuch a Nature, that as there is Nothing to be hop'd for by the King from an *Old One*, ſo there is Nothing to be fear'd from a *New One*; becauſe ſuch a One at their firſt Meeting muſt needs aſſiſt his Majeſty, ſo far as to *inable* him to acknowledge his Obligations both to his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, and to all the World.---

2. In a ſecond Letter, in *September*, after ſome Compliments, and Aſſurances of his Maſter's Steadineſs, *&c.* he proceeds thus: ‘For the firſt Point in your Letter, his *Royal Highneſs* has commanded me to tell you, that he will govern himſelf according to your Advice, and treat of Nothing concerning the *Catholick Religion* with Monſieur *Rouvigny*, nor with any other Perſon than your Self; but that he will communicate to you all Things he ſhall find neceſſary for the Good of the *Catholicks*, and ſhall be very well pleas'd to receive Advices from you thereupon. For the reſt, his *Royal Highneſs* does a little wonder, that he hears nothing from Monſieur *Rouvigny* touching the Second Point of your Letter, ſince you have written ſo poſitively, that he had Order to confirm, and procure Execution of what his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty propos'd to him the 2d of *June* laſt, by your Mediation.---His *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* made a very generous Offer to his Royal Highneſs of the *Aſſiſtance of his Purſe*, to enable him to defend them both from the Evils that threatned him, and by good luck his Royal Highneſs has labour'd with ſo much Diligence and Succeſs, that the Dangers which they apprehended are a little put off: But one Thing more is neceſſary for the perfect ſecuring their Affairs; and without making one ſtep more, all that he has already done will ſignify nothing. For that the Aſſiſtance of his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* is no leſs neceſſary at preſent, than heretofore, to *ſubdue intirely* Thoſe, who being exaſperated againſt his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, as much as againſt his *Royal Highneſs*, and are angry with his Royal Highneſs, only becauſe he is *unalterably* addicted to the Intereſt of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, will exerciſe their Malice and their Rage with more *Brutality* than ever, if they find Occaſion for it hereafter. If you can therefore, by your Credit, obtain from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the Accompliſhment of the Offer of his *Purſe*, for raiſing the Reputation of his Royal Highneſs, in the Opinion of his *Britannick Majeſty*, and for putting him in a Condition to reſiſt the ſharpeſt Batteries of the Adverſaries of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and Royal Highneſs, to wit, the *Poſſibility* they pretend to get Money from the Parliament, and the *Impoſſibility* of having any elſewhere, by which they often keep the Mind of his *Britannick Majeſty* in ſuſpence, and wherein they place their Hope they have to conquer him at laſt: There will nothing more remain to be fear'd by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, or his Royal Highneſs, but his Royal Highneſs *will be able to diſſolve the Parliament with Eaſe*, and afterwards, in Recompence of the ſaid *Aſſiſtance*, will perform on his Part all that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall *ask* of him, and will proceed with *Sincerity* upon the Word of a *Prince* (that no Man can reproach him for Violation of) for the *Intereſt* of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

3. In a third Letter of Mr. *Coleman*'s to the Pope's Inter-Nuncio, dated *September* the 4th, he tells him, ‘That the Duke's principal Deſign is, to uſe the Pope's Interpoſition and by that means to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, through the Aſſiſtance of *France* and *Spain*,’ and to turn all their Cares for the Eaſe of the Pope's Friends, and particularly for the *Catholicks* of the Church, againſt their great Enemies; and aſſures him he will find, That the Pope never had an Occaſion ſo favourable as at this Hour, to enrich thoſe of his Family, and to augment the Number of his Friends; and if he lets it ſlip, he will never find the like: So that if ever they propoſe to make uſe of the Treaſure of the Church, 'tis now they ought to do it, for they can demand nothing that the Duke will not be capable to do for the Pope's Friends: On the other ſide, without their Aid, he will run great hazard of being loſt, both Himſelf and his Aſſociates.’

4. And in another Letter of *October* 3. Mr. *Coleman* to the Inter-Nuncio begins thus: ‘You agree with me, that Money is the only Means of bringing the King into the Duke's Intereſt, and of diſengaging him from the Parliament; and you muſt alſo agree with me, that nothing can more promote the Intereſt of the *Catholick Party*, which is the principal Object of the Duke's Care and Affection, and of the Hatred of the Parliament, and which muſt hope, or fear, according as the one or other of them increaſe in Power.---Nothing in the World is more certain, than that the King has a good Inclination towards the Duke and the *Catholicks*, and wou'd join himſelf willingly and inſeparably to their Intereſts, if he did not apprehend ſome Danger from ſuch an Union; which, however, he wou'd not have cauſe to fear, if he found their Intereſt, and conſequently their Power, ſo far advanc'd above that of their Adverſaries, that they ſhou'd neither have the Power nor the Boldneſs to conteſt any Thing with them; which the King cou'd ſee in a very little Time, if we cou'd perſuade him to do two or three Things: And I am certain Mony cou'd not fail of perſuading him to it; for there is Nothing it cannot make him do, tho' it were as much to his Prejudice, as this we endeavour to perſuade him to, will be to his Advantage.’ Theſe, and other Letters ſufficiently prove the Deſigns, as well as the Expectations of the *Popiſh* Party, and likewiſe their great Influence in the Court; and in one of them it is expreſly ſaid, That *it was by their own Intereſt* that the Parliament was put off from ſitting this Year. It had been actually Prorogu'd to the 10th of *November*; but on the 22d of *September* his Majeſty was pleas'd to publiſh a Proclamation for the further Proroguing the Parliament to the 13th Day of *April* 1675. Yet to ſeem to anſwer the Addreſſes of the laſt Meeting, he was pleas'd to ſhew a publick Care for ſuppreſſing Popery, and convicting *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, and did not only order them to be immediately tranſported, but promis'd a Reward of five hundred Pounds for any one that ſhou'd be taken up.

6. For the Remainder and Concluſion of the Year, we have little elſe to take notice of but the Honours and Preferments, the Deaths and Deceaſes of ſome conſiderable Perſons of Note and Eminency. As to Honour, we ſhall begin with one very peculiar and uncommon, rather accepted of, or condeſcended to, than conferr'd upon the King Himſelf, which was the *Freedom* of the famous City of *London*. His Majeſty having been nobly and magnificently entertain'd at *Guild-Hall* on the 29th of *October*, when Sir *Robert Viner* was ſworn Lord-Mayor, was graciouſly pleas'd to accept of the Freedom of the City, in the *Chamberlain's Office*, from the Hands of Sir *Thomas Player*, the preſent Chamberlain. Upon which the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council unanimouſly reſolv'd to teſtify their deepeſt Senſe of ſo unparallel'd a Favour and Honour done to the City, beyond the Example of all his Progenitors. And accordingly, not long after the Lord Mayor, attended by his Brethren and the Commons, attended on his Majeſty in the moſt ſolemn Manner in the *Banquetting-Houſe*; where he and the Chamberlain on their Knees, preſented the King with the Copy of the ſaid Freedom of the City, curiouſly written in Vellum, and adorn'd with Gilding after the fineſt Manner, in a large Square Box of Maſſy Gold; the Seal of the ſaid Freedom hanging at it, inclos'd in another Box of Gold, ſet all over with large Diamonds of a very great Value. All which his Majeſty was pleas'd graciouſly to accept, with many Expreſſions of extraordinary Kindneſs to the City; ſo that there appear'd all the Marks of indiſſoluble Love and Affection on one Side, as well as unalterable Duty and Loyalty on the other.

The King accepts of the Freedom of London.

Honours and Preferments.

As to Offices and Honours conferr'd by his Majeſty this Year, the firſt Perſon diſtinguiſh'd was *John* Earl of *Mulgrave*, who by the Favour of the Dutcheſs of *Cleveland* obtain'd the noble Honour of the *Garter*, when ſeveral others were diſappointed, and was inſtall'd at *Windſor* on the 28th of *May*. About the ſame Time *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland* was admitted into the Privy-Council; and not long after, the Earl of *Peterborough* was ſworn into the ſame Honour of a Privy-Counſellor, and after that the ſame Honour was conferr'd upon the Earl of *Strafford*. Sir *Leoline Jenkins* and Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, the King's Ambaſſadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty at *Coloign*, arriv'd at *White-Hall* in *May*, and were very graciouſly receiv'd by his Majeſty: And for a Reward of this Service, Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, having been one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council, was now made Principal Secretary of State: Which Place became vacant by the Advancement of the Earl of *Arlington*, who, upon the Reſignation of the Earl of St. *Albans Sept.* 11th receiv'd the Staff of Lord-Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and with this publick Reaſon given, *That it was in Recompence of his long and faithful Service, and particularly for having perform'd the Office of Principal Secretary of State for the Space of twelve Years, to his Majeſty's great Satisfaction.* On the contrary, the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been a Perſonal Favourite of the King, began now again to decline very much in the good Opinion of his Majeſty. He had made two Lord Treaſurers, and other Miniſters of State; but now was ſo far ſunk, that, being Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, his Majeſty

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jeſty thought fit to declare that Place vacant. Whereupon the Senate of the Univerſity, in a full Aſſembly, the beſt to oblige his Majeſty, unanimouſly elected his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth* to ſucceed him, who was accordingly inſtall'd in *Worceſter*-Houſe; the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Spencer*, making an eloquent Speech in *Engliſh*, and Dr. *Paman* the Univerſity Orator another in *Latin*, upon that Occaſion. And when the great Ceremony was over, the new Chancellor treated the whole Company, amounting to near three hundred Perſons, with great Splendor and Magnificence.

The Deaths of Biſhop Laney,

Of the conſiderable Perſons that dy'd this Year, we ſhall begin with a worthy Prelate of the Church, Dr. *Benjamin Laney*, Biſhop of *Ely*, a Perſon educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was Maſter of *Pembroke* Hall, and Vice-Chancellor, and likewiſe Chaplain in Ordinary to King *Charles* the Firſt, in the Misfortunes of whom he became a great Sharer; and upon the Account of his great Learning and Loyalty, he was appointed to attend his Majeſty in the famous Treaty of *Uxbridge*: After innumerable Sufferings, and ſome Years Exile with the preſent King, he was mounted through ſeveral Preferments to this rich Biſhoprick, where he dy'd in Honour and Reputation. The next was Sir *John Vaughan* Knight, Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, a *Welſhman* by Birth, who after an Academical Education in *Oxford*, was particularly incourag'd by the great *Selden* and others, to take Pains in the municipal Laws of the Nation, beſides other Parts of Knowledge; all which he undertook with ſuch Succeſs, that he became the moſt noted and learned Lawyer of his Time, and was juſtly rewarded with this high Station in the Law; in which he was ſucceeded by Sir *Francis North*, his Majeſty's Attorney-General, who afterwards became Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal. The Third to be mention'd is Dr. *Jonathan Goddard*, a celebrated Phyſician and Vertuoſo, belonging to *Cromwell* himſelf, who made him one of his Council of State, after he had given him the Wardenſhip of *Merton* College in *Oxford*. Afterwards he became Fellow of the College of Phyſicians, and of the Royal-Society, and Profeſſor of Phyſick in *Greſham* College, where he ſhew'd himſelf a zealous Member for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge, but more eſpecially in Experiments, and the Secrets of Chymiſtry.

Judge Vaughan,

Dr. Goddard,

The Earl of Clarendon,

The two laſt Perſons we ſhall name, are the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *John Milton*, two the moſt oppoſite Perſons in the World in Principles and Practices, tho' both of extraordinary Abilities. Sufficient has been ſaid as to the Character and Fortunes of the Former; therefore we ſhall only add that this great Man dy'd at *Roan* in *France*, in the 67th Year of his Age, after ſeven Years Exile from his Native Country, from which he deſerv'd a much better Fate; and that it is to this Exile that the World owes a conſiderable Part of his glorious Hiſtory; but the moſt valuable Part, from the Reſtoration to his Diſgrace, is ſtill, and we fear ever will be, wanted in this Nation. The other, Mr. *John Milton*, had his Education, and firſt diſplay'd his Parts in *Chriſt-College* in *Cambridge*, which he improv'd by his Travels and his indefatigable Induſtry to that Degree, that he became the Wonder of the Age, tho' always affecting uncommon and heterodoxical Opinions. He was made *Latine* Secretary to the long Parliament, and afterwards to *Cromwell* Himſelf; in which Station he ſhew'd himſelf a moſt inveterate and unexampled Enemy to the Memory of the Murder'd and Martyr'd King; inſomuch that at the Reſtoration ſome of his Books were order'd to be burnt, and he himſelf was in great Danger. He was certainly a Man of prodigious Parts, and wrote many Books; but what did moſt, and moſt juſtly, diſtinguiſh him was his Poetry, particularly his *Paradiſe loſt*, in which he manifeſted ſuch a wonderful ſublime Genius, as perhaps was never exceeded in any Age or Nation in the World. After he had loſt both his Eyes by hard Studying, he this Year dy'd at *Bunhill* near *London*, in the ſame Year of his Age with the laſt mention'd Earl of *Clarendon*.

And John Milton.

167$\frac{4}{5}$. Car. 27. Ref. 15.

The Earl of Arlington's *Deſigns.*

II. 1. All this Winter the Court and the Miniſtry were very much divided in their Intereſts and Deſigns, and cou'd not well tell how to ſteer with Relation to the next intended Meeting of the Parliament, which ſome were reſolv'd to oppoſe, and others to promote. The Earl of *Arlington* was very active and induſtrious to recover and ſecure his Intereſt, which began ſenſibly to decline, while that of the Earl of *Danby* encreas'd, who ſucceeded the Lord *Clifford* in the Treaſury, which had ever been the Height of the Earl's Ambition; which gave him an implacable Envy and Hatred againſt the Treaſurer, and which no Offices of Friends cou'd ever allay. This Earl now found himſelf a Sufferer by having ſo deeply engag'd in the *Cabal*, that the Country was againſt him for his Attempts, and the King diſpleas'd at his ill Succeſs. Yet ſtill he thought himſelf out of Danger from the Parliament, and therefore appear'd zealous for their Sitting; and to increaſe his Reputation with them, and to become a Favourite, he ſet himſelf all he cou'd to proſecute the *Roman* Catholicks, and to oppoſe the *French Intereſt*. To ſhew his Zeal againſt the firſt, he reviv'd ſome old dormant Orders for Prohibiting Papiſts to appear about the King, and put them in Execution at his firſt coming into his Office of Lord-Chamberlain. And he had gone ſo far as to joyn with the Duke of *Ormond* and Secretary *Coventry*, to perſuade his Majeſty to remove his Brother wholly from Court and Publick Buſineſs, as a Means to appeaſe the Diſcontents of the Parliament, occaſion'd by the late Conduct of Affairs. By which Counſel he had very much offended the Duke; and finding himſelf ill both with his Royal Highneſs and the People, and daily declining in Credit with the King, he thought there was no Way of retrieving his Game, but by making himſelf the Inſtrument of ſome ſecret and cloſe Meaſures, that might be taken between the King and the Prince of *Orange* abroad. He firſt infus'd into his Majeſty the 'Neceſſity and Advantage of ſuch a Negotiation, and then that of his being 'employ'd in it, from the Intereſt his Lady's Friends 'and Kindred in *Holland* wou'd be able to give him, as 'well as from the Credit of having been ſo long in the Secret of the King's Affairs, and ſo beſt able to give them 'ſuch Colours as might render the late Conduct of them 'leſs diſagreable to the Prince. Tho' he profeſs'd great 'Friendſhip to Sir *William Temple*, then at the *Hague*, yet 'he repreſented him as unlikely to be truſted with ſuch 'Confidence from the Prince, as was requiſite in this nice 'Affair, for having been ſo intimate with *De Wit* in his 'former Embaſſy.' His Suggeſtions prevail'd upon the King, who cou'd not refuſe an old Servant into whoſe Family he had marry'd a Son; and ſo he went over with all the Auxiliaries that ſeem'd uſeful in this Expedition, carrying not only his own Lady, Siſter to Ambaſſador *Odyke*, but her Siſter *Oſſory*, whoſe Converſation was very agreeable to the Prince; Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, who pretended a great Intimacy with Monſieur *Bentinck*; Dr. *Durel*, a Man fit to deal with Monſieur *Mureſt* a *French* Miniſter in Credit with the Prince; and the Lord *Oſſory*, who had a great Share in the Prince's Eſteem and Kindneſs, as well from his Marriage into that Family, as from his Perſonal Bravery; a Quality lov'd by the Prince, even in an Enemy. All this was concerted without the Knowledge of the Lord-Treaſurer *Danby*, who had been made to believe, that a Lettter from the Prince to Monſieur *Odyke* had given an Occaſion to this Journey; as if the Prince had deſir'd ſome Perſon at the *Hague* from the King, with whom he might enter into the laſt Confidence. But his Highneſs aſſured Sir *William Temple*, that there was no ſuch Thing, and that Monſieur *Rouvigny*, the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*, had more Part in the Journey than He, and perhaps any Man elſe; and that all the Endeavours us'd towards a general Peace, came from that Side.

167$\frac{4}{5}$. Car. 27. Ref. 15.

He makes a private Journey to the Hague.

He applys to Sir W. Temple.

However inſtructed, yet thus ſupported, the Lord *Arlington* went to the *Hague*, and told Sir *William Temple* at their firſt Meeting, 'That he came over to ſet ſome 'Things right between the King and the Prince, that he 'doubted were amiſs, and ſettle a perfect Kindneſs and 'Confidence between them; to effect which he muſt go 'to the Bottom of the Sore, and rake into Things paſt; 'which was an unpleaſant Task, and which Sir *William* 'cou'd not do, as having no Part in the King's Buſineſs 'during that Time, wherein the Prince took his Offence 'at the Counſels of *England*. That his Majeſty had choſen him for this Office, becauſe he cou'd beſt juſtify his 'Maſter's Intentions to his Highneſs, in the whole Courſe 'of that Affair. That for the intended Peace, tho' his 'Majeſty deſir'd it, yet he wou'd not meddle with it, unleſs the Prince, of Himſelf, made any Overtures about 'it; but wou'd only endeavour to give the Prince what 'Lights he cou'd as to the State of Things in general, 'and what he might hope from his Allies, as well as from '*France*: That if the Prince made no Advances to him 'upon it, he wou'd let it fall, and leave it in Sir *William* '*Temple*'s Hands.' He ſaid beſides, 'That after having 'fought the King's Battle with the Prince, he muſt fight 'another of his own, who did not deſerve the Coldneſs 'his Highneſs had of late expreſs'd to him; and when that 'was done, all his Buſineſs was ended.' He therefore deſir'd Sir *William* wou'd introduce him and the Lord *Oſſory* the firſt Time to the Prince, and after that he wou'd give his Excellency no more Trouble. Sir *William Temple* told his Lordſhip, 'He was glad to ſee him, let his 'Buſineſs be what it wou'd: That he ſhou'd be gladder 'yet that the King's Buſineſs ſhou'd be done, let it be by 'whom it wou'd; but much more that it might be by 'Him: That for ſetting Matters right between the King 'and the Prince, he thought it the beſt Office that cou'd 'be done them both. That for the Way he mention'd of

Sir William's *Anſwer.*

‘ *Raking into the Sore, and fighting of Battles*, in Defence ‘ or Juſtification of what is paſt, he knew not what to ſay ‘ to it; but wou'd leave it to their own Diſcretions: But ‘ for what he knew in particular of the Prince's Humour ‘ and Thoughts, whatever he did of that Sort, he believ'd ‘ ſhou'd be very gentle, and not go too deep; being of ‘ Opinion, *That Expoſtulations were apt to end well between Lovers, but ill between Friends.*

The Earl applies to the Prince of Orange.

Sir *William Temple* was well entertain'd during the Courſe of this Adventure; for the Lord *Arlington* told him every Day what he thought fit of all that paſs'd between the Prince and him; and his Highneſs told him not only the Thing, but the Manner of it, which was more important than the Matter it ſelf. His Lordſhip told him much of his ‘ Expoſtulations, and with what good Turns ‘ of Wit he had juſtify'd the King's Part in the late War, ‘ and his own; but upon all he found the Prince dry, ſullen and uneaſy. That as to the State of *Chriſtendom*, ‘ and what related to that general War he was engag'd in, ‘ he made him no Overtures at all, not entering further ‘ than *That the King might bring him out of it with Honour, if he pleas'd, and with Safety to* Europe; *if not*, ‘ *it muſt go on, till the Fortunes of the Parties changing*, ‘ *made way for other Thoughts.*’ On the other Side the Prince freely acquainted Sir *William Temple* with ‘ what ‘ Arrogance and Inſolence the Lord *Arlington* had enter'd ‘ upon all his Expoſtulations with him; ſhewing not only ‘ in his Diſcourſe, as if he pretended to deal with a Child, ‘ and cou'd by his Wit make him believe what he pleas'd; ‘ but in the Manner of it, as if he had taken himſelf for ‘ the Prince of *Orange*, and Him for the Lord *Arlington*. ‘ That all he ſaid was ſo Artificial, and giving ſuch falſe ‘ Colours to Things every Body knew, that he that was ‘ a plain Man cou'd not hear it, and was never ſo weary ‘ of any Converſation in his Life.’ In a Word, by all the Prince told Sir *William Temple* upon it, his Highneſs was provok'd at the Lord *Arlington*, and not very much pleas'd with the King's Intentions upon the Errand; tho' he ſaid, *He was ſure his Majeſty never intended he ſhou'd treat it in the Manner he had, if he remember'd that he was his Nephew, tho' nothing elſe.*

His ill Succeſs.

The Penſionary and Count *Waldeck* perceiv'd, That the Bent of the Lord *Arlington* was, Firſt to draw the Prince into ſuch Meaſures of a Peace as *France* then ſo much deſired. Secondly, into a Diſcovery of thoſe Perſons who had made Advances to the Prince or the *States*, of raiſing Commotions in *England*. Thirdly, into ſecret Meaſures with the King, of aſſiſting him againſt any Rebels at home, as well as Enemies abroad. And Fourthly, into the Hopes or Deſigns of a Match with the Duke of *York*'s eldeſt Daughter. Tho', they ſaid, the Earl found the Prince wou'd not enter at all into the Firſt; was obſtinate againſt the Second; treated the Third as a Diſreſpect to the King, to think he cou'd be ſo ill belov'd, or ſo imprudent as to need it: And upon mention made of the laſt by the Lord *Oſſory*, he took no further hold of it, than ſaying, *His Fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wiſe.* The Lord *Arlington*, equally diſappointed and diſcontented, took the firſt Opportunity of returning into *England*; and ſo finiſh'd his Myſtical Journey, which is here the more unveil'd, becauſe tho' it brought forth no preſent Fruits, yet Seeds were then ſcatter'd, which afterwards produc'd great Events. At his Return to Court, he was receiv'd but coldly by the King, and ill by the Duke, who was angry that any mention was made of his Daughter, tho' it was only done by the Lord *Oſſory*, and unknown whether with Order from the King or no: So that never any Strain of Court-Skill and Contrivance ſucceeded ſo unfortunately, and ſo contrary to all the propos'd Ends of it. Inſtead of Advancing the general Peace, he left it deſperate; inſtead of eſtabliſhing a Confidence between the King and the Prince, he left it colder than he found it; inſtead of entering into any Perſonal Friendſhip with the Prince, he left an Unkindneſs that laſted ever after; inſtead of retrieving his Credit at Court, which he found waining upon the Encreaſe of the Lord *Danby*'s, he made an end of all he had left with the King, who ever after us'd him with no further Confidence than the Forms of his Place; and found the Treaſurer's Credit more advanc'd in ſix Weeks he had been away, than it had in many Months before.

He ſinks in the Court.

As the Credit of this Earl declin'd, ſo ſeveral Perſons at Court took the Liberty to act and mimick his Perſon and Behaviour, as had been formerly done againſt the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*; and it became a common Jeſt for ſome Courtier to put a black Patch upon his Noſe, and ſtrut about with a White-Staff in his Hand, in order to make the King merry; yet he held his Lord-Chamberlain's Place to the Day of his Death. The Reaſon of the King's Coldneſs, or perhaps Diſpleaſure, is believ'd to proceed from his late turning towards the popular Stream, and more eſpecially his outward Proceedings againſt the Papiſts, when the Court believ'd him to be one inwardly himſelf. Concerning this, I have receiv'd a particular Story from an unqueſtionable Hand; namely, That Colonel *Richard Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Tyrconnel*, having been ſome Time abſent from the Court, upon his Return, found the Earl of *Arlington*'s Credit in a low Condition, and ſeeing him one Day acted by a Perſon with a Patch and Staff, he took Occaſion to expoſtulate this Matter with the King, with whom he was very familiar; remonſtrating *how very hard it was that poor* Harry Bennet *ſhou'd be thus us'd, after he had ſo long and faithfully ſerv'd his Majeſty, and follow'd him every where in his Exile.* The King hereupon began to complain too, declaring what Cauſe he had to be diſſatisfy'd with *Harry Bennet*'s Conduct, *who had of late behav'd himſelf after a ſtrange Manner; for not content to come to Prayers, as others did, he muſt be conſtant at Sacraments too: Why*, ſaid *Talbot* interrupting him, *does not your Majeſty do the very ſame Thing? Gods fiſh!* reply'd the King with ſome Heat, *I hope there is a Difference between* Harry Bennet *and Me.*

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The FOURTEENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

2. The Way being pav'd by a new Proclamation, and likewiſe a Declaration againſt Popiſh Prieſts, Jeſuits, &c. on the 13th Day of *April* both Houſes of Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, according to the laſt Prorogation, after a Receſs and Interval of almoſt fourteen Months. The Expectations and Curioſities of the People of late were encreas'd at every Meeting of Parliament; and now more eſpecially, ſince it had been ſo much doubted whether they ſhou'd ever meet again. This was the Fourteenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, at which the King appear'd with great Solemnity, and open'd it with this following Speech from the Throne to both Houſes; ‘ *My* ‘ *Lords and Gentlemen*, The principal End of my Calling ‘ of you now, is to know what you think may be yet ‘ wanting to the Security of *Religion* and *Property*, and ‘ to give my Self the Satisfaction of having us'd the utmoſt ‘ of my Endeavours to procure and ſettle a Right and ‘ Laſting Underſtanding between us: For I muſt tell you, ‘ I find the contrary ſo much labour'd, and that the pernicious Deſigns of ill Men have taken ſo much place ‘ under *Specious Pretences*, that it is high Time to be watchful in preventing their Contrivances; of which this is ‘ not the leaſt, That they wou'd by all Means they can ‘ adviſe, make it *Unpracticable* any longer to continue this ‘ preſent Parliament. For that Reaſon, I confeſs, I cannot think ſuch have any good Meaning to Me: And ‘ therefore when I conſider how much the greateſt Part of ‘ this Parliament has either Themſelves or Fathers, given ‘ me Teſtimonies of their Affections and Loyalty, I ſhou'd ‘ be extreme loath to oblige thoſe Enemies, by parting with ‘ ſuch Friends: And they may be aſſur'd, That none ſhall ‘ be able to recommend themſelves to Me by any other ‘ Way, than their good Services. I have done as much ‘ on my Part as was poſſible, to extinguiſh the Fears and ‘ Jealouſies of *Popery*; and will leave nothing undone ‘ that may ſhew the World my Zeal to the *Proteſtant* Religion, as it is Eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*, from ‘ which I will never depart.

‘ I muſt needs recommend to you the Condition of the ‘ *Fleet*, which I am not able to put into that Eſtate it ‘ ought to be, and which will require ſo much Time to ‘ repair and build, that I ſhou'd be ſorry to ſee the Summer ‘ (and conſequently a whole Year) loſt, without providing ‘ for it. The Seaſon of the Year will not permit any ‘ long Seſſion; nor wou'd I have call'd you now, but in ‘ hopes to do ſomething that may give Content to all my ‘ Subjects, and to lay before you the Conſideration of the ‘ Fleet; for I intend to meet you again in Winter. In ‘ the mean Time, I earneſtly recommend to you all, ſuch ‘ a Temper and Moderation in your Proceedings, as may ‘ tend to unite us all in Counſel and Affections, and diſappoint the Expectations of thoſe, who can hope only ‘ by violent and irregular Motions to prevent the bringing ‘ this Seſſion to a happy Concluſion. The reſt I leave to ‘ my Lord-Keeper.

The Lord-Keeper Finch's *Speech.*

Accordingly the Lord-Keeper made a long and eloquent Speech to this venerable Aſſembly, of which the greateſt Part ought not to be omitted, beginning thus, ‘ *My Lords*, ‘ &c. The Solemnity of this Day's Appearance is equal to ‘ the Weight and Importance of the Occaſion; The Matters to be treated of, deſerve no leſs than an Aſſembly ‘ of the *Three Eſtates*, and a full Concourſe of all the ‘ Wiſe and Excellent Perſons who bear a Part in this ‘ *Great Council*, and do conſtitute and compleat this high ‘ and honourable Court.------His Majeſty begins with the ‘ Conſideration of *Religion*; He ſees it is the firſt Thing ‘ in all your Thoughts, and you cannot but ſee that it ‘ hath been, and is ſtill, the firſt and principal Part of his ‘ Care. He hath alſo conſidered Religion, Firſt in General, as it is *Proteſtant*, and ſtands in Oppoſition to *Popery:* And upon that Account it is that he hath awaken'd

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all the Laws againſt the *Papiſts*: There is not one Statute extant in all the Volumes of our Laws, but his Majeſty hath now put in a Way of taking its full Courſe againſt them. And upon this Account alſo it is, That in a League lately renew'd with a *Proteſtant* Crown, his Majeſty hath made it one Article of that League, that there ſhall be a mutual Defence of the *Proteſtant* Religion. His Majeſty hath conſider'd Religion again more particularly, as it is the *Proteſtant* Religion *Eſtabliſh'd by Law* in the Church of *England*; He ſees that as ſuch, it is not only beſt ſuited to the *Monarchy*, and moſt likely to defend it, but moſt able to defend it ſelf againſt the Enemies of all *Reformation*: And therefore upon this Account it is that his Majeſty, with equal and impartial Juſtice, hath reviv'd all the Laws againſt *Diſſenters* and *Nonconformiſts*; but not with equal Severity: For the Laws againſt the *Papiſts* are edg'd, and the Execution of them quicken'd by new Rewards propos'd to the Informers: Thoſe againſt Diſſenters are left to that Strength which they have already. Both theſe, and all other Laws whatſoever, are always underſtood to be ſubject to the Pleaſure of a Parliament, which may alter, amend, or explain them as they ſee Cauſe, and according with publick Convenience. For when we conſider Religion in Parliament, we are ſuppos'd to conſider it as a Parliament ſhou'd do, and as Parliaments in all Ages have done; That is, as it is a Part of our Laws, a Part, and a neceſſary Part of our Government. For as it works upon the Conſcience, as it is an inward Principle of the Divine Life by which good Men do govern all their Actions, the *State has Nothing to do with it*, 'tis a Thing which belongs to another *Kind of Commiſſion* than that by which we ſit here.------

'In the next Place the King hath thought fit to direct your Conſiderations upon the Safety and Honour of the *State*; both which are then beſt provided for, when we keep up the Strength and Reputation of our *Fleet*. It is not altogether the natural Decay of Shipping, no nor the Accidents of War, that have leſſen'd our Fleet, tho' ſomething may be attributed to both theſe; but our Fleet ſeems rather to be weakned for the preſent, by being out-grown and out-built by our Neighbours.' Then proceeding to diſcourſe of the Laws in general, he told them, 'In making of Laws therefore it will import us to conſider, That too many Laws are a *Snare*, too few are a *Weakneſs* in the Government; too gentle are ſeldom *obey'd*, too ſevere are as ſeldom *executed*; and Sanguinary Laws are for the moſt Part either the *Cauſe* or the *Effect* of a Diſtemper in the State. To eſtabliſh this State there ſeems not to need many Laws; ſome will always be wanting: And tho' all that is wanting ſhou'd not now be finiſh'd, yet whatever ſhall remain unfiniſh'd, may be perfected in Winter, at which Time we have a gracious Intimation from his Majeſty, that we ſhall meet again.' Then ſpeaking of the preſent Happineſs of the Nation, he proceeded thus: 'We are newly gotten out of an expenſive War, and upon Terms more honourable than ever. The whole World is now in Peace with us; all Ports are open to us, and we exerciſe a free and uninterrupted Traffick through the Ocean: And we are reaping the Fruits of all this Peace by a daily Improvement of our Trade, and the Encreaſe of our Shipping and Navigation. Our Conſtitution ſeems to be ſo vigorous and ſtrong, that nothing can diſorder it, but our ſelves. No Influences of the Stars, no Configurations of the Heavens are to be fear'd, ſo long as theſe two Houſes ſtand in a good Diſpoſition to each other, and both of them in a happy Conjunction with their Lord and Soveraign. Why ſhou'd we doubt it? Never was Diſcord more unſeaſonable. A Difference in Matters of the *Church* wou'd gratify the Enemies of our Religion, and do them more Service than the beſt of their Auxiliaries. A Difference in Matters of *State* wou'd gratify our Enemies too, the Enemies of our Peace, the Enemies of this Parliament, that hope to ſee, and practiſe to bring about, Revolutions in the Government. They well underſtand, That the beſt Health may be deſtroy'd by too much Care of it; an anxious ſcrupulous Care, a Care that is always tampering; a Care that labours ſo long to purge all ill Humours out of the Body, that at laſt it leaves neither good Blood nor Spirits behind. In like manner there are two Symptoms which are dangerous in every *State*, and of which the Hiſtorian hath long ſince given us Warning: One is, when Men do *Quieta movere*; when they ſtir thoſe Things or Queſtions which are, and ought to be in Peace; and like unſkilful Architects, think to mend the Building by removing all the Materials which are not plac'd as they wou'd have them. Another is, *Cum Res parvæ magnis Motibus aguntur*; When Things, not of the greateſt Moment, are agitated with greateſt Heat; and as much Weight is laid upon a New, and not always very Neceſſary Propoſition, as if the whole Sum of Affairs depended upon it.------

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'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, The King is far, infinitely far, from fearing any Exceſs of this Kind here; He knows too well the Wiſdom, the Honour, and the Loyalty of this great Aſſembly, to apprehend any Kind of Error either in your Judgments, or your Affections. He does not only find himſelf ſafe, but he thinks himſelf arm'd too, while he is attended with ſuch a *Nobility*, ſuch a Gentry as this. You that were able to raiſe the King's Affairs when they were in the loweſt and moſt deplor'd Condition, will ſurely be able to keep them from any Relapſe. You that were able to make this Government take Root again, will ſurely be able to preſerve it in a growing and flouriſhing Eſtate. Such Pilots need not fear a Storm! If you cou'd, this Conſideration alone were enough to ſupport you, *That you carry* Cæſar *and his Fortunes*; you ſerve a Prince in whoſe Preſervation Miracles are become Familiar; a Prince in whoſe Stile *Dei Gratiâ* ſeems not to be written by a Vulgar Pen, but by the Arm of Omnipotence it ſelf. Raiſe up then, by your Example, the Hearts and Hopes of all thoſe whom ill Men have wrought upon to ſuch a Degree, as to caſt them into a Sadneſs, and into a Deſpondency, which is moſt unreaſonable. What the *Romans* ſcorn'd to do after the Battel of *Cannæ*, What the *Venetians* never did when they had loſt all their *Terra Firma*; That Men are now taught to think a Virtue, and the Sign of a wiſe and good Man, *Deſperare de Republicâ*. And all this in a Time of as much Juſtice and Peace at home; As good Laws for the Security of Religion and Liberty; As good Execution of thoſe Laws; As great Plenty of Trade and Commerce abroad, and as likely a Conjuncture of Affairs for the Continuance of theſe Bleſſings to us, as ever Nation proſper'd under. Confirm the Faith then of thoſe that are made weak, by ſhewing them the Stedfaſtneſs of your Belief; Give the King the Hearts of all his Subjects, by making him a Preſent of yours. Then will the King eſteem himſelf a richer Prince than if he were poſſeſs'd of all the Treaſures of the Eaſt: Then, tho' this Seſſion ſhou'd cloſe in a few Weeks, yet it may be Perpetual for the Fruit it ſhall produce, and for the Commemoration that will follow it. Then will this Year be a true Year of *Jubilee*; and we ſhall have nothing to wiſh or pray for in this World, *but the bleſſed Continuance of his Majeſty's long and happy Reign over us.*

The Commons Thank

The Houſe of Commons appear'd in a very good Humour, and the firſt Thing they did was to Vote, 'Their humble and hearty Thanks to his Majeſty for his gracious Promiſes and Aſſurances explain'd in his ſaid Speech, to preſerve and maintain us in the *Eſtabliſh'd Religion*, and our *Properties* according to Law, and for his Calling us together *at this Time* for that Purpoſe.' Which being preſented to the King in a full Body in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, his Majeſty return'd this gracious Anſwer, *That he had a great Confidence in his Houſe of Commons; and that the ſaid Houſe may be confident that he wou'd always preſerve them in the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, and in their Liberties and Properties.* This did not hinder them from an immediate Proceeding to a new Bill againſt the Growth of Popery; in debating of which they came to theſe three Reſolves. 1. 'That in the Bill there be inſerted a Clauſe for Payment of a conſiderable Reward to any Perſon that ſhall diſcover any *Popiſh* Prieſt, who upon Tryal ſhall be prov'd to be ſo, to be paid by the Perſon to whom he ſhall be prov'd to have ſaid *Maſs*, or by ſuch as have wittingly receiv'd, ſuccour'd or entertain'd ſuch *Popiſh* Prieſt. 2. That He ſhall be eſteem'd to be a *Popiſh* Prieſt, who ſhall be prov'd to have ſaid *Maſs*, or officiated either in this Realm, or in any Foreign Country, in the Manner of a Prieſt, according to the Uſage of the See of *Rome*, if ſuch Prieſt be not reconcil'd to the Church of *England*; and that theſe Votes ſhall not prejudice the Laws now in being concerning *Popiſh* Prieſts. 3. That Penalties be laid on all that are prov'd to have remain'd with any ſuch *Popiſh* Prieſt, when he ſhall be ſaying *Maſs*, or Officiating in the Manner of a Prieſt, according to the Uſage of the See of *Rome*.' Shortly after, they added two Reſolves more, *viz.* 1. 'That a Clauſe be inſerted into the Bill, to regulate and reſtrain Mr. Attorney-General to enter any *Noli proſequi*. 2. That another Clauſe be inſerted for the more effectual Proſecution, and Levying of Penalties upon *Popiſh* Recuſants.

Their Reſolves againſt Popery.

After they had ſhewn their Diſlike and Reſentment againſt the Papiſts and their Proceedings, they reſolv'd to take notice of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, the only remaining Perſon in Favour, of the late *Cabal*. And to compleat their Accuſation againſt him, they had the Teſtimony of Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, an eminent *Scotch* Divine, who had formerly been intimate with his Grace, but for good Reaſons had alter'd his Opinion of him, and his Actions. What he

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Dr. Bur*net's Information.*

he teſtify'd againſt this Miniſter was, ‘That coming into *England*, the firſt *Saturday* in *September* 1673, he went to viſit the Duke of *Lauderdale* in his Lodgings in *Whitehall*, where the Duke and he diſcours'd of the Affairs of *England* and *Scotland*, and particularly of the Proceedings of Parliament concerning the *Declaration* for ſuſpending Penal Laws in Matters Eccleſiaſtical: And being afterwards ask'd, *Whether if* Scotland *being call'd to aſſiſt the King, they wou'd aſſiſt him or not*, he anſwer'd, *he thought they wou'd not*; but the Duke reply'd, *He liev'd they wou'd, and that his coming into* England *wou'd bring a great many.* That the Duke asking him of the Affairs of *Scotland*, he anſwer'd, *The People in* Scotland *that were at ſuch a Diſtance, cou'd not imagine what to think of the King's Speech and Declaration.* Whereunto the Duke reply'd, *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ! and that all had forſaken the King but Himſelf and the Lord* Clifford.

The Commons Addreſs againſt the Duke of Lauderdale.

Upon which, and other Informations, the Commons drew up a particular Addreſs againſt him to the King, which after the Preamble runs thus: ‘Yet we find upon ſerious Examination of the State of this Kingdom, That there is a great Jealouſie ariſen from ſome late Proceedings in the Hearts of your Subjects, That ſome Perſons in great Imployment under your Majeſty have fomented Deſigns contrary to the Intereſt both of your Majeſty and your People, intending to deprive us of our ancient Rights and Liberties, *&c.* Among thoſe who are at preſent imploy'd under your Majeſty, we have juſt Cauſe to accuſe for a Promoter of ſuch Deſigns the Duke of *Lauderdale*, lately created Earl of *Guilford*, becauſe we have heard it teſtify'd in our Houſe by ſeveral of our own Members, That in the Hearing before the Council of the Caſe of Mr. *Whaley*, who had committed Mr. *James* contrary to your Majeſty's Declaration of the 15th of *March*, 1671, He the ſaid Duke of *Lauderdale* did openly affirm in the Preſence of your Majeſty ſitting in Council, and before divers of your Subjects attending there, *That your Majeſty's Edicts ought to be obey'd; for your Edicts are equal with Laws, and ought to be obey'd in the firſt Place*; thereby, as much as in him lay, juſtifying the ſaid Declaration, and the Proceedings thereupon, and declaring his Inclinations to arbitrary Counſels, in Terror of your good People. And we are farther confirm'd in this Opinion by late Acts of Parliament of a very ſtrange and dangerous Nature, which we have obſerv'd amongſt the Printed Statutes of your Kingdom of *Scotland*; the firſt whereof was in the Third Seſſion of the Firſt Parliament held there under your Majeſty, Cap. 25. and the other in your Majeſty's ſecond Parliament, Cap. 2. the like whereof was never paſt ſince the Union of the two Kingdoms, and are directly contrary to the Intention of an Act paſt here in the fourth Year of the Reign of King *James*, *For the utter Abolition of all Memory of Hoſtility, and the Dependencies thereof between* England *and* Scotland, *and for the Repreſſing of Occaſions of Diſcords and Diſorders in Time to come*; And of a like Act paſt about the ſame Time in the Kingdom of *Scotland.* By Force of which ſaid late Acts, there is a *Militia* ſettled in that Kingdom of Twenty Thouſand Foot and Two Thouſand Horſe, *who are oblig'd to be in a Readineſs to march into any Part of this Kingdom, for any Service wherein your Majeſty's Honour, Authority and Greatneſs may be concern'd; and are to obey ſuch Orders and Directions as they ſhall from Time to Time receive from the Privy-Council there.* By colour of which general Words we conceive this Realm may be liable to be invaded under any Pretence whatſoever; and this hath been done, as we apprehend, principally by the Procurement of the ſaid Duke of *Lauderdale*; he having all the Time of theſe Tranſactions been principal Secretary of the ſaid Kingdom, and chiefly intruſted with the Adminiſtration of Affairs of State there, and Himſelf Commiſſioner for holding the Parliament at the Time of paſſing the latter of the ſaid Acts, whereby the Providing of the ſaid Horſe and Foot is effectually impos'd upon the ſaid Kingdom, and that Extraordinary Power veſted in the Privy-Council there: And we conceive we have juſt Reaſon to apprehend the ill Conſequences of ſo great and unuſual a Power; eſpecially when the Affairs of that Kingdom are manag'd by the ſaid Duke, who hath manifeſted himſelf a Perſon of ſuch pernicious Principles. We do therefore in all Humility implore your Sacred Majeſty, conſidering how univerſal a Fame and Clamour of the ſaid Miſdemeanors runneth openly throughout this your Realm, that for the Eaſe of the Hearts of your People, who are poſſeſs'd with extraordinary Grief and Sorrow to ſee your Majeſty thus abus'd, and the Kingdom endanger'd, *your Majeſty wou'd graciouſly be pleas'd to remove the ſaid Duke of* Lauderdale *from all his Imployments, and from your Majeſty's Preſence and Counſels for ever, as being a Perſon obnoxious and dangerous to the Government.*

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The King's Anſwer.

After ſome Time of Conſideration, the King return'd the following Anſwer to the Houſe of Commons in Writing: ‘His Majeſty hath conſider'd of the Addreſs againſt the Duke of *Landerdale*, and the Reaſons accompanying it: As to the Acts of Parliament mention'd to have been paſs'd in *Scotland*, his Majeſty obſerves that the Firſt of thoſe Acts was in the Year 1663, which was long before the Duke of *Landerdale* was his Majeſty's Commiſſioner in that Kingdom; And the Latter was in Purſuance of the Former. And as to the Words, by the Time of Mr. *Whaley*'s Cauſe his Majeſty perceiving, that if they had been ſpoken, they muſt have been ſpoken before the late *Act of General Pardon*: And his Majeſty being ſenſible how great a Satisfaction and Security, the inviolable Preſervation of the former *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* hath been to all his Subjects; cannot but apprehend the dangerous Conſequences of Inquiring into any Thing that hath been pardoned by any Act of General Pardon; leaſt the Example of that might give Men Cauſe to fear their Security under the Act of Oblivion.’ This Anſwer was ſo little Satisfactory to the Commons, that they afterwards reſolv'd to draw up another Addreſs againſt the Duke; but that, as well as many other Matters, prov'd abortive.

The Commons Accuſation of the Earl of Danby.

3. After the Commons had gone ſo far againſt the *Scotch* Favourite, they began to think upon the *Engliſh* One, the Lord-Treaſurer *Danby*, who had carry'd many Things with a high Hand, and an over-ruling Genius; ſo that he prov'd a fit Mark to be ſingled out by Emulation and Detraction. The Sum of the Accuſation againſt him was, I. ‘That the Earl had overthrown the ancient Courſe and Conſtitution of the Exchequer, by perverting the Method of Receipts, in Payments and Accounts contrary to Law; whereby the King's Revenue is put into Confuſion and a waſteful Way of Expence, to the Deſtruction of his Credit, and expoſing his Treaſure to private Bargains and Corruptions; and had ingroſs'd to Himſelf the Power of Diſpoſing all the King's Revenues; laying aſide the Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, whereby all Checks and Controlls are avoided. II. That a Suit of Law being intended about the Marriage of the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Hyde*, the ſaid Earl caus'd one Mr. *Brandley*, a Principal Witneſs in the Cauſe, to be arreſted by an extraordinary Warrant from one of the Secretaries of State, and to be kept for ſome Time in cloſe Cuſtody; during which the Earl's Agents labour'd with Mr. *Brandley* by Threats and Promiſes not to declare the Truth, and at Midnight he was brought and examin'd before the King in the Preſence of the Earl; whereupon Mr. *Brandley* was induc'd to deliver in a Teſtimony againſt his own Knowledge and Conſcience, he being then in dureſſe: And all this was done with an Intent to procure the ſaid Heireſs to be marry'd to the Earl's ſecond Son. III. That the Earl had receiv'd very great Sums of Mony, beſides the extraordinary Revenue, which had been waſtefully ſpent; and far greater Sums than ever iſſu'd out for *Secret Service*, without Account; the King's Debts remaining unpaid, the Stores unfurniſh'd, and the Navy unrepair'd. IV. The Earl had violated the Rights and Properties of the People, by ſtopping, without Authority, thoſe legal Payments due in the Exchequer. V. That tho' the Office of a Lord-Treaſurer is always very full of neceſſary and great Imployments, yet the Earl had alſo aſſum'd to himſelf the Management of the *Iriſh* Affairs, which before were always diſpatcht by the Secretaries, and paſs'd in Council; thereby ſubtlely enabling himſelf the better to convert great Sums of Mony out of the *Iriſh* Revenues to his own private Advantage. VI. That the Earl had procured great Gifts and Grants from the Crown, whilſt under great Debts, by Warrants counterſign'd by Himſelf. VII. That on *Decemb.* 4, 1674, at the Hearing of a Cauſe in the Treaſury-Chamber, ſome Acts of Parliament now in being were urg'd againſt a Proclamation, and contrary to what his Lordſhip aim'd at; whereupon the Earl, in Contempt of the Law, utter'd this Arbitrary Expreſſion, *That a new Proclamation is better than an old Act.* Upon his Lordſhip's Report to the Privy-Council, the Perſon in Queſtion being a Foreigner, and not obeying ſuch Proclamation, but purſuing his Right at Law, was baniſh'd the Kingdom.’ Thus early did the Houſe of Commons ſtrike at this great Man; but when the Articles were particularly and at ſeveral Times examin'd, they firſt ſtruck out one, and then another, till upon the whole they concluded that there was not ſufficient Ground for an Impeachment againſt him.

A further Addreſs.

Not reſting here, the Commons proceeded to another Matter not leſs unacceptable to the King, whoſe Honour was particularly concern'd in it; And this was ‘An humble Addreſs to his Majeſty for the ſpeedy recalling all his Subjects home out of the *French* King's Service; and for

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‘hindering any more from going over for that Service for the future.’ The King ſeem'd willing to comply with the Latter Part, but was apparently averſe to the Former; and therefore after ſome Conſideration, return'd this Anſwer in Writing: ‘That ſuch Troops of his Subjects that were in the moſt *Chriſtian* King's Service, before the late Treaty made with the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, and were not by that to be recall'd, as they are at preſent become inconſiderable in their Number; ſo his Majeſty conceives they cannot be recall'd, without derogating from his Honour and Dignity, and to the Prejudice of the Peace he now enjoyeth; which he hath publickly profeſs'd to maintain with all his Neighbours: But as to the Prohibiting the going over of any more, his Majeſty will renew his Proclamation, and uſe all other effectual Means both to forbid and hinder it.’ Accordingly the King did iſſue out his Proclamation to prohibit his Subjects from going into the *French* King's Service; and tho' it proceeded ſo far as to recall all ſuch as had enter'd into his Service, ſince the Concluſion of the Peace with *Holland*, yet it gave not full Satisfaction; and they prepared a Second Addreſs, with this Addition, ‘That the Officers of the ſeveral Ports do take care for hindering any more going over for that Service for the future.

A grand Debate amongſt the Lords,

4. But before this, and ſeveral other Things cou'd come to any Maturity, there appear'd a famous Struggle in the Houſe of Peers, who began to think the Commons leſs zealous in their Loyalty, or perhaps more conſiderate in ſupporting the Prerogative than they had formerly been; and therefore had brought in a remarkable Bill Entitled, *An Act to prevent the Dangers which may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government.* By which Bill, unexpectedly brought in, all ſuch as enjoy'd any beneficial Office, or Employment, Eccleſiaſtical, or Civil, or Military, to which was added Privy-Counſellors, and Members of Parliament; were under a Penalty to take this following Oath: *I* A. B. *do declare, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority, againſt his Perſon, or againſt Thoſe that are Commiſſion'd by him in Purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion: And I do ſwear, That I will not at any Time endeavour the Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State. So help me God.* This Oath had, in part, been introduc'd and enforc'd in the *Corporation Act*, and then in the *Militia Act*, and afterwards in full, in the *Five-Mile Act* againſt the Diſſenting Teachers, but at thoſe Times limited and apply'd to more particular Perſons and Caſes. But being now contriv'd to be more general, and in effect univerſal, and at a Time when the Fervour of the Nation had much abated, it rous'd a Spirit among many of the Lords, who reſolv'd to Canvaſs the Matter with a more rigorous Strictneſs than formerly it had been done; and it occaſion'd a warm Author to ſay, *No Conveyancer cou'd ever in more compendious or binding Terms, have draw a Diſſettlement of the whole Birth-Right of* England.

Upon the Account of a new Bill.

The Bill was brought in by the Earl of *Lindſey*, and receiv'd its firſt Reading and Appointment for the Second without much Oppoſition. At the Second Reading the Lord-Keeper, and ſome other of the Court Lords, recommended the Bill in ſet and elaborate Speeches, the Keeper calling it *a moderate Security to the Church and Crown*; and the other Lords declaim'd very much upon the Rebellion of the late Times, the great Number of Phanaticks, and the dangerous Principles of Rebellion ſtill remaining. But the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, now a total Deſerter of the Court, with ſome other Country Lords, earneſtly preſs'd that the Bill might be laid aſide, and that they might not be engag'd in the Debate of it; ‘or elſe that that Freedom they ſhou'd be forc'd to uſe in the neceſſary Defence of their Opinion, and the preſerving of their *Laws*, *Rights* and *Liberties*, which this Bill wou'd overthrow, might not be miſconſtrued: For there were many Things that muſt be ſpoken upon the Debate, both concerning Church and State, that it was well known they had no Mind to hear.’ Notwithſtanding this, the other Party call'd for the Queſtion of referring the Bill to a Committee; whereupon the Earl of *Shaftsbury* at large laid open all the miſchievous Deſigns and Conſequences of the Bill; and other Lords joyn'd with him with ſuch Reſolution, that the Debate laſted five Days before the Bill was committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe; which had hardly ever happen'd to any Bill before, and occaſion'd theſe two following Proteſtations.

A Proteſtation.

The firſt Proteſtation runs thus; ‘We whoſe Names are underwritten, being Peers of this Realm, do, according to our Rights and ancient Uſage of Parliaments, declare, that the Queſtion having been put whether the Bill, Entitled *An Act to prevent the Danger which may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government*, doth ſo far intrench upon the Priviledges of this Houſe, that it ought therefore to be caſt out: It being reſolv'd in the Negative, we do humbly conceive that any Bill which impoſeth an Oath upon the Peers with a Penalty, as this doth, that upon the Refuſal of that Oath, They ſhall be made incapable of Sitting and Voting in this Houſe, as it is a Thing unprecedented in former Times, ſo is it, in our humble Opinion, the higheſt Invaſion of the Liberties and Privileges of the Peerage, that poſſibly may be, and moſt deſtructive of the Freedom which they ought to enjoy as Members of Parliament; becauſe the Privileges of Sitting and Voting in Parliament is an Honour they have by Birth, and a Right ſo inherent in them, and inſeparable from them, as that nothing can take it away, but what by the Law of the Land muſt withal take away their Lives, and corrupt their Blood; upon which Ground we do here enter our Diſſent from that Vote, and our Proteſtation againſt it.’ Subſcrib'd, *Buckingham*, *Bridgewater*, *Wincheſter*, *Salisbury*, *Bedford*, *Dorſet*, *Aylsbury*, *Briſtol*, *Denbeigh*, *Pagitt*, *Hollis*, *Peter*, *Berkſhire*, *Mohun*, *Stamford*, *Hallifax*, *De-la-mer*, *Eure*, *Shaftsbury*, *Clarendon*, *Grey Roll*, *Say and Seal*, *Wharton*.

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Another.

The ſecond Proteſtation was againſt the Vote of committing the Bill, in theſe Words: ‘The Queſtion being put Whether the Bill ſhou'd be committed, it being carry'd in the Affirmative, and We after ſeveral Days Debate being in no Meaſure ſatisfy'd, but ſtill apprehending that this Bill doth not only ſubvert the Privileges, and Birth-right of the Peers, by impoſing an Oath upon them with the Penalty of loſing their Places in Parliament; but alſo, as we humbly conceive, ſtrike at the *Root of Government*; it being neceſſary to all Government to have Freedom of Votes and Debates in Thoſe, who have Power to alter, and make Laws; and beſides, the expreſs Words of this Bill obliging every Man to abjure all Endeavours to alter the Government in the Church, without regard to any Thing the Rules of Prudence in the Government, or Chriſtian Compaſſion to Proteſtant Diſſenters, or the Neceſſity of Affairs at any Time, ſhall or may require. Upon theſe Conſiderations, We humbly conceive it to be of dangerous Conſequence to have any Bill of this Nature, ſo much as *Committed*, and do enter our Diſſents from that Vote, and Proteſtation againſt it.’ Subſcribed, *Buckingham*, *Wincheſter*, *Salisbury*, *Denbigh*, *Briſtol*, *Berkſhire*, *Clarendon*, *Stamford*, *Shaftsbury*, *Wharton*, *Mohun*, *De-la-mer*.

Theſe Proteſtations were read even by the Commons, and they rais'd a Storm againſt the Subſcribers in their own Houſe, where the very Liberty of entering Proteſtations was diſputed; but ended at laſt with a Vote, ‘That the Reaſons given in the ſaid Proteſtations, did reflect upon the Honour of the Houſe, and were of dangerous Conſequence.’ This begat a new Proteſtation, in which they declar'd, ‘That they had no Intention to reflect upon any Member, much leſs upon the whole Houſe; therefore they proteſted againſt the Vote it ſelf.’ Yet upon the Commitment of the Bill theſe Lords obtain'd two previous Votes, implying, ‘That it ſhou'd not extend to deprive the Members of either Houſe of Parliament, of their ancient Freedom and Privilege of Debating any Matters whatſover, or Repealing, or Altering of any old, or preparing any new Laws, or redreſſing any publick Grievance; but all ſhou'd have the ſame Freedom of Speech, and all other Privileges, as they had before the making this Act.’ But this did not ſatisfy as to the Bill it ſelf, and the Nature of the Oath, about which there aroſe very warm and many Days Debates, of which ſome Particulars are neceſſary to be remember'd. The firſt Thing enter'd upon, was, Whether there ſhou'd be an Oath at all in the Bill; in which the Lord *Hallifax*, with great Acuteneſs, undertook to make it appear, ‘That as there really was no Security to any State by Oaths, ſo alſo no private Perſon, much leſs States-Man, wou'd ever order his Affairs as relying upon it; no Man wou'd ever ſleep with open Doors, or unlock'd up Plate or Treaſure, ſhou'd all the Town be ſworn not to rob: So that the Uſe of multiplying Oaths had been moſt commonly to exclude, or diſturb ſome honeſt conſcientious Men, who never wou'd have been prejudicial to the Government.’ It was alſo inſiſted on by the ſame Lord and others, ‘That the Oath impos'd by the Bill contain'd three Clauſes, the two former Aſſertory, and the laſt Promiſſory; and that it was worthy the Conſideration of the Biſhops, Whether *Aſſertory Oaths*, which are properly appointed to give Teſtimony of a Matter of Fact, of which a Man is capable to be aſſur'd by the Evidence of his Senſes, be lawful to be made uſe of to confirm or invalidate Doctrinal Propoſitions; and whether that Legiſlative Power, which impoſes ſuch an Oath, doth not neceſſarily aſſume to it ſelf an Infallibility. And as to *Promiſſory Oaths*, It was deſir'd that thoſe learned Prelates wou'd conſider the Opi-

The Continuation of the Debate.

‘ nion of *Grotius de jure Belli & Pacis, lib.* 2. *cap.* 3. who ſeems to make it plain, that thoſe Kind of Oaths are forbidden by our Saviour *Chriſt, Mat.* 5. 34, 37. and whether it wou'd not become the Fathers of the Church, when they have well weigh'd that and other Places of the New Teſtament, to be more tender in multiplying Oaths, than hitherto the great Men of the Church have been?’ But the Biſhops carry'd the Point, and an Oath was order'd by the Majority of the Houſe.

Of the Oath in the Bill.

1.

After ſome further Conſiderations, they proceeded to the Particulars of the Oath, as Firſt, *I A. B. do declare that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King.* Againſt which it was objected, ‘ That it might introduce a mighty Change in the Government, to oblige all the Men of Truſt in *England,* to declare the exact Boundary, and Extent, of the Oath of Allegiance, and enforce ſome Things to be ſtated, that are much better involv'd in Generals, and perhaps are not capable of another Way of Expreſſion, without great Wrong on the one Side, or the Other. There was a Law of 25 *Edward* 3, That Arms ſhall not be taken up againſt the King, and it is Treaſon ſo to do, and it was a very juſt and reaſonable Law: But it was an idle Queſtion at beſt, to ask Whether Arms in *any Caſe* can be taken up againſt a Lawful Prince, becauſe it neceſſarily brought a Difficulty into every Man's Mind, How there can be a Diſtinction then left between *Abſolute* and *Bounded* Monarchies, if Monarchs had only the *Fear of God,* and no *Fear of Human Reſiſtance* to reſtrain them.’ And it was further urg'd, ‘ That if the Chance of Human Affairs ſhou'd give the *French* King a juſt Title and Inveſtiture in the Crown of *England,* and he ſhou'd avowedly own a Deſign by Force, to change the Religion, and, by the Extirpation of the Chief of the Proteſtant Party, make his Government here as abſolute as in *France,* whether in ſuch, or like Caſes, the Oath wou'd be a Service to the Government as it is now eſtabliſh'd? It was They overthrew the Government, that propos'd to place any Part of it above the Fear of Man: For in the *Engliſh* Government, and all limited Monarchies, there every individual Subject was under the Fear of the King and his People, either for breaking the Peace, or diſturbing the common Intereſt every Man had in it; or if he invaded the Perſon or Right of his Prince, he invaded his whole People, who had bound up in him and deriv'd from him all their Liberty, Property and Safety: As alſo the Prince himſelf, was under the Fear of breaking that golden Chain and Contexture between Him and his People, by making his Intereſt contrary to that they juſtly and rightly claim'd. And therefore, ſaid they, neither our Anceſtors, nor any other Country, free like ours, while they preſerv'd their Liberties, did ever ſuffer any Mercenary, or ſtanding Guards to their Prince; but took care *That his Safety ſhou'd be in Them, as theirs was in Him.*

2.

They went further in the ſecond Particular of the Oath, *And that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon:* Againſt which they alledg'd, ‘ That if this were meant an Explanation of the Oath of *Allegiance,* to leave Men without Pretence to oppoſe where the individual Perſon of the King was, that the Propoſition as it was here ſet down was Univerſal, and yet in moſt Caſes the Poſition was not to be abhor'd by honeſt or wiſe Men: For there was but one Caſe, and that never like to happen again, where this Poſition was in danger to be Trayterous, which was the Caſe of of the Long Parliament, made perpetual by the King's own Act, by which the Government was perfectly alter'd, and made inconſiſtent with itſelf; but it was to be ſuppos'd the Crown had ſufficient Warning, and full Power to prevent falling into the like Danger. But the other Caſes were many, and ſuch as may every Day occur, wherein this Poſition was ſo far from being Trayterous, that it wou'd prove neceſſary and a Duty. As in the famous Inſtance of *Henry* the Sixth, who being a ſoft and weak Prince, when taken Priſoner by his Couſin *Edward* the Fourth, that pretended to the Crown, and the great Earl of *Warwick,* was carry'd in their Armies, gave what Orders and Commiſſions they pleas'd, and yet all that were Loyal to him adhered to his Wife and Son, fought in a pitcht Battel againſt him in Perſon, and retook him. This was directly taking up Arms by his *Authority* againſt his Perſon, and againſt thoſe that were *Commiſſion'd* by him; and yet to this Day no Man ever blam'd them, but thought that if they had done otherwiſe, they had betray'd their Prince.’ Then they mention'd the Inſtance of King *Charles* the Sixth of *France,* and of King *James* in his Minority, and then put the Caſe, ‘ That ſhou'd a future King of *England,* of the ſame Temper with *Henry* the 6th, or *Charles* the 6th of *France,* be taken Priſoner by the *Spaniard, Dutch,* or *French,* whoſe overgrowing Power ſhou'd give them Thoughts of univerſal Empire, and ſhou'd, with the *Perſon* and the *Commiſſion* of the King, invade *England* for a Conqueſt, were it not ſuitable to the *Engliſh* Loyalty to join with the Son of that King, for the Defence of his Father's Crown and Dignity, even againſt his *Perſon* and *Commiſſion*? In thoſe and the like Caſes it was not juſtify'd, but that the ſtrict Letter of the Law might be otherwiſe conſtrued, and when wiſely conſider'd, fit it ſhou'd be ſo; yet that it was not ſafe either for the Kingdom, or Perſon of the King and his Crown, that it ſhou'd be in expreſs Words ſworn againſt: For, ſaid they, if we ſhall forſwear all *Diſtinctions,* which ill Men have made uſe of, either in *Rebellion* or *Hereſy,* we muſt extend the Oath to all the Particulars of *Divinity* and *Politicks.*’ To this Biſhop *Morley* of *Wincheſter* reply'd, *That to take up Arms in ſuch Caſes, was not againſt, but for the Perſon of the King.* Upon which his Lordſhip was told, *That he might as well, and much better, have left it upon the old Oath of* Allegiance, *than have made ſo wide a Gap in his new* Declaration.

3.

The laſt Particular in the declaratory Part of the Oath was, *Or againſt thoſe that are Commiſſion'd by him in Purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion.* In this they ſaid, ‘ The Mask was plainly pluck'd off, and *Arbitrary Government* appear'd bare-fac'd, and a *ſtanding Army* eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament: For if whatſoever was by the King's *Commiſſion,* cou'd not be oppos'd by the King's *Authority,* then a ſtanding Army was Law whenever the King pleas'd: And yet the King's *Commiſſion* was never thought ſufficient to protect or juſtify any Man, where it is againſt his *Authority,* which is Law; this allow'd, the whole Law of *England* was alter'd, in the moſt eſſential and fundamental Parts of it, and made the whole Law of *Property* to become *Arbitrary,* and without effect, whenever the King pleas'd. For Inſtance, if in a Suit with a great Favourite, a Man recovers Houſe and Lands, and by Courſe of Law be put into Poſſeſſion by the Sheriff, and afterwards a Warrant is obtain'd by the Intereſt of the Favourite, to command ſome Soldiers of the Standing Army to take Poſſeſſion and deliver it back, in ſuch a Caſe, the Man in Poſſeſſion may juſtify the Defence of Himſelf, by killing thoſe who ſhall forcibly endeavour to enter his Houſe; here the Party, whoſe Houſe is invaded, takes up Arms by the King's own *Authority* againſt thoſe, who are *Commiſſion'd* by him. In like manner, if the Soldiers had been *Commiſſion'd* to defend the Houſe againſt the Sheriff, when he firſt went to take Poſſeſſion, no Order or *Commiſſion* of the King's cou'd put a Stop to the Sheriff, who had ſtill the King's *Authority* in raiſing the *Poſſe* of the County to put the Law in Execution.’ They further ſaid, ‘ It was not out of the Way to ſuppoſe, That if any King hereafter ſhou'd, contrary to the *Petition of Right,* demand and levy Money by Privy-Seal, or otherwiſe, and cauſe Soldiers to enter and diſtrain for ſuch illegal Taxes, that in ſuch a Caſe any Man might defend his Houſe againſt them; and yet this was of the ſame Nature with the former, and againſt the Words of the *Declaration.* Theſe Inſtances, tho' ſomewhat rough, were to be excus'd when All was concern'd; and however happy they were now in a Prince, the Suppoſitions were not extravagant, when they conſider'd that Kings were but Men, and ſurrounded with greater Temptations than others.’ The Lord Keeper ſaid *Theſe were remote Inſtances;* to which the Earl of *Salisbury* quickly and freely reply'd, *That they wou'd not hereafter prove ſo, when this new Declaration had made the Practice of them Juſtifiable:* Many other Things were urg'd, but leſs Fundamental, and the Debate laſted ſixteen or ſeventeen whole Days, the Houſe often ſitting till Nine at Night, and ſometimes till Midnight: In the Concluſion of which, the Duke of *Buckingham,* as General of the Party, and laſt in the Field, made a famous Speech conſiſting of eloquent, regular, and well-plac'd Nonſenſe, hoping that that might prevail when nothing elſe wou'd; and ſo brought Confuſion into the Houſe.

A great Difference between the Lords and Commons.

5. But the whole was diverted and interrupted by an Accident that rais'd a violent Conteſt and Diviſion between both Houſes, with relation to the Powers and Privileges of Parliament. It was occaſion'd by one Dr. *Shirley*'s bringing an Appeal in the Houſe of Lords, from a Decree in *Chancery,* againſt Sir *John Fagg,* a Member of the Houſe of Commons; which that Houſe look'd upon as an open Infringement of their Privileges. Accordingly they order'd Dr. *Shirley* to be taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms; and the firſt Account they heard of him was, That the Warrant for taking the Doctor into Cuſtody was forceably taken from the Serjeant's Deputy by the Lord *Mohun.* Upon which they ſent to the Upper Houſe to demand Juſtice againſt the ſaid Lord *Mohun,* and inſtead of Reparation receiv'd this Anſwer from them, ‘ That the

'Lord *Mohun* had done Nothing but what was according to his Duty.' The Commons deſired 'That there might be no further Proceedings in the Cauſe before their Lordſhips;' which occaſion'd a Meſſage from them, 'That a Conference be deſired by the Lords to know whether the Houſe of Commons own'd the Warrant for taking Dr. *Shirley* into Cuſtody.' They anſwer'd 'They wou'd conſider of it,' and Reſolved, 'That the Meſſage laſt receiv'd from the Lords, was an unparliamentary Meſſage; and that Whoſoever ſhou'd appear at the Bar of the Lords Houſe to proſecute any Suit againſt any Member of theirs, ſhou'd be deem'd an Infringer of the Privileges of Parliament.' Soon after they receiv'd this Reſolution of the Houſe of Peers, 'That it is the undoubted Right of the Lords in Judicature to receive and determine in Time of Parliament Appeals from Inferior Courts, tho' Members of either Houſe be concern'd, that there may be no Failure of Juſtice in the Land; and from their Rights and Privileges, and the Exerciſes thereof, their Lordſhips will never depart.' The Commons on the other Side reſolv'd, 'That it is the undoubted Right of their Houſe, That none of the Members thereof be Summon'd to attend the Houſe of Lords, during the Seſſion and Privilege of Parliament; and that a Conference be deſired with their Lordſhips thereupon.' To which the Lords ſent an Anſwer, 'That they agreed to a Conference to Morrow Morning, provided Nothing was offer'd then that might concern their Lordſhips Juriſdiction.' Upon this the Commons Voted, 'That it was no Grant of a Conference, as it was deſired;' and proceeded ſo far as to Reſolve, 'That there lyes no Appeal to the Juriſdiction of the Lords in Parliament from *Courts of Equity*.' And farther to ſhew their Authority, they took up Serjeant *Pemberton*, Serjeant *Peck*, Sir *John Churchill* and Mr. *Porter*, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, as being Council in the Caſe, by the Speaker's Warrant, and committed them to the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms; and Sir *John Fagg*, their own Member, for his Compliance with the Lords, was ſent to the *Tower*.

The Merit of the Cauſe.

For the Lords.

The Reaſons on both Sides for theſe Proceedings, are worth the Inſerting, eſpecially ſince they were never publiſh'd before. The Lords in a Conference deliver'd theſe by the Lord Privy-Seal: '1. The Lords do take notice of the Houſe of Commons their ordering into Cuſtody of their Serjeant at Arms Mr. Serjeant *Pemberton*, Mr. Serjeant *Peck*, Sir *John Churchill*, and Mr. *Charles Porter*, Counſellors at Law, aſſign'd by their Lordſhips at the Barr of their Houſe. 2. The Lords do judge theſe Orders for Impriſonment to be Illegal and Arbitrary, and the Exerciſe thereof a great Indignity to the King's Majeſty in this his higheſt Court of Judicature in this Kingdom, the Lords in Parliament, where his Majeſty is higheſt, and where the laſt Reſort in all Cauſes, and over all Perſons, is undoubtedly fix'd, and permanently lodg'd. 3. It is an unexampled Uſurpation, and Breach of Privilege againſt the Houſe of Peers, That their Orders or Judgments ſhou'd be diſpens'd with, or endeavour'd to be controverted, or the Execution thereof obſtructed by the Lower Houſe of Parliament, who are no Court, nor have any Authority to adminiſter an Oath, or give any Judgment. 4. It is a tranſcendent Invaſion of the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and againſt *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right*, and many other Laws which have provided *That no Free-Man ſhall be impriſon'd, or otherwiſe reſtrain'd of his Liberty, but by due Proceſs of Law.* 5. This tends to the Subverſion of the Government of this Kingdom, and to the Introducing of Arbitrarineſs and Diſorders. Becauſe it is in the Nature of an Injunction from the Lower Houſe, who have no Authority, nor Power of Judicature over inferior Subjects, much leſs over the King and Lords, againſt the Orders and Judgments of the Supream Court. We are further commanded to acquaint you, That the Lords have therefore, out of the Juſtice which they are Diſpenſers of againſt Oppreſſion and Breach of Laws, by Judgment of this Court, ſet at Liberty, by the Gentleman-Uſher of the Black-Rod, all the ſaid Perſons, and prohibited the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and all other Keepers of Priſons, and all Perſons moleſting or charging the ſaid Gentlemen, or any of them, in this Caſe; and if any Perſon whatſoever ſhall preſume to the contrary, their Lordſhips will execute Authority with thoſe intruſted for putting the Laws in Execution.

For the Commons.

To which the Commons return'd the following Anſwer: 'Your Lordſhips having deſired the laſt Conference upon *Matters of high Importance, concerning the Dignity of the King, and Safety of the Government*, the Commons did not expect to hear from your Lordſhips at that Conference Things ſo contrary to, and inconſiſtent with the Matters upon which the ſaid Conference was deſir'd, as were then deliver'd by your Lordſhips. It was much below the Expectations of the Commons, that after the Repreſentation of your Lordſhip's Meſſage of Matters of ſo high Importance, the Part upon which the Conference was grounded, ſhou'd prove only the Commitment of four Lawyers to the Cuſtody of their own Serjeant at Arms, for a manifeſt Violation of the Privileges of their Houſe. But the Commons were much more ſurpris'd, when your Lordſhips had introduc'd the Conference with an Aſſurance *That it was in Order to a good Correſpondence between the two Houſes*, that your Lordſhips ſhou'd aſſume a Power to judge the Orders of the Houſe of Commons for impriſoning the ſaid Lawyers, *to be illegal and arbitrary, and the Execution thereof a great Indignity to the King's Majeſty*; with many other high Reflections upon the Houſe of Commons, throughout the whole Conference; Whereby your Lordſhips have condemn'd the whole Houſe of Commons as Criminal, which is without Precedent or Example, or any Ground or Reaſon ſo to do. 1. It is not againſt the King's Dignity for the Houſe of Commons to puniſh by Impriſonment the Commoner that is guilty of violating thoſe Proceedings that be according to the known Laws and Cuſtoms of Parliament, and the Rights of their Privileges, declared by the King's Royal Predeceſſors in former Parliaments, and by Himſelf in this. But your Lordſhips claiming to be the *Supream Court, and that his Majeſty is higheſt in his Royal Eſtate in the Court of Judicature there*, is a Diminution of the Dignities of the King, who is higheſt in his Royal Eſtate in full Parliament, and is derogatory to the Authority of the whole Parliament, by appropriating it to your Selves. 2. The Commons did not by this Impriſonment infringe any Privileges of the Houſe of Peers, but only defend and maintain their own: On the other Side, your Lordſhips do highly intrench on the Rights and Privileges of the Houſe of Commons, by denying them to be any *Court*, or to have any *Authority* or *Power of Judicature*; which if admitted, will leave them without any Power or Authority to preſerve themſelves. As for what the Lords call *tranſcendent Invaſion* of the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and againſt *Magna Charta*, the *Petition of Right*, and many other Laws, the Houſe of Commons preſume your Lordſhips know, That neither the *Great Charter*, *Petition of Right*, or any other Laws, do take away the Laws and Cuſtoms of Parliament, or of either Houſe of Parliament; or elſe your Lordſhips have much forgotten the *Great Charter*; and thoſe other Laws in the ſeveral Judgments you have paſs'd upon the King's Subjects in Caſes of *Privileges*: But the Commons cannot find by *Magna Charta*, or any other Laws, or ancient Cuſtoms of Parliament, That your Lordſhips have any Juriſdiction in Caſes of *Appeals from the Courts of Equity*. We are further commanded to acquaint you, That the Inlargement of thoſe Perſons in Priſon by Order of the Houſe of Commons by the Gentleman-Uſher of the Black-Rod, and the Prohibition which threatens all Officers, and other Perſons whatſoever, not to receive or detain them, is an apparent Breach of the Rights and Privileges of the Houſe of Commons; and they have therefore cauſed them to be retaken into the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, and have committed them to the *Tower*.

The King interpoſes.

6. Theſe Diſputes running very high, and more like to encreaſe, than meet with any Accommodation, the King thought fit to ſummon both Houſes of Parliament to *White-Hall*, where, *June* 5, he made the following Speech to them: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, You may remember That at the Meeting of the Seſſion, I told you *No Endeavours wou'd be wanting to make the Continuance of this Parliament Unpracticable*: I am ſorry that Expreſſion hath ſo quickly ſhew'd you the Truth of what I then ſaid; but I hope you are all convinc'd, That the Intent of all theſe Contrivances is only to procure a Diſſolution. I confeſs, I look on it as a moſt malicious Deſign of thoſe that are Enemies to Me, and the Church of *England*; and were the Contrivers known, I wou'd not doubt but the Diſlike of their Practices wou'd alone be a Means of bringing the Houſes to a good Underſtanding: But ſince I cannot preſcribe any Way how to arrive to the Diſcovery of it, I muſt tell you plainly my Opinion, That the Means of coming to any Compoſure between your Selves cannot be without admitting of ſuch *Free Conferences*, as may convince one another by the Reaſons then offer'd, or enable Me to judge rightly of the Differences, when all hath been ſaid on both Sides, as the Matter will afford. For I am not to ſuffer the Differences to grow to Diſorders in the whole Kingdom, if I can prevent it; and I am ſure my Judgment ſhall be Impartial between my two Houſes of Parliament; but I muſt let you know, *That whilſt you are in Debate about Your Privileges, I will not ſuffer my Own to be invaded*. I have no more to ſay to you at

‘ this Time, but to deſire, as I did when we met firſt, That you wou'd yet conſider, and not ſuffer ill Mens Deſigns to hinder this Seſſion from a happy Concluſion.

The Diſputes increaſe.

The Commons immediately Reſolv'd, *nemine Contradicente*, ‘ That the humble and hearty Thanks of this Houſe be return'd to his Majeſty for his gracious Speech rhis Day made to both Houſes of Parliament, and the Expreſſions therein contain'd.’ But Reſolv'd alſo, ‘ That it doth not appear to this Houſe, That any Member thereof hath either contriv'd or promoted the Differences between the two Houſes of Parliament, in Aſſerting the Rights of the Commons of *England*, and the Privileges of this Houſe, or to have done any Thing inconſiſtent with his Duty, or the Truſt in him repoſed.’ The Lords on the other Side ſent the Uſher of the Black-Rod to the *Tower* to demand the four Lawyers committed by the Commons; but being refuſed by Sir *John Robinſon* the Lieutenant, they addreſs'd the King for Removing him from his Place, to which his Majeſty return'd an uncertain Anſwer. This failing, the Lieutenant was ſerv'd with four Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, to bring the ſaid four *Lawyers before the King and his Parliament at* Weſtminſter *the next Morning*. This was a puzling Caſe to the Lieutenant, who immediately adviſ'd with the Houſe of Commons, who did not only promiſe him Protection, but came to theſe following Reſolves. ‘ 1. That no Commoner of *England*, committed by the Order or Warrant of this Houſe for Breach of the Privileges, or Contempt of the Authority of the ſaid Houſe, ought without the Order of this Houſe to be by any Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, or any other Authority whatſoever, made to appear and anſwer, or to do, or receive any Determination in the Houſe of Peers, during the Seſſion of Parliament wherein ſuch Perſons were committed. 2. That the Order of the Houſe of Peers for iſſuing out the Writs of *Habeas Corpus* is inſufficient and illegal, for that it is general, and expreſſeth no particular Cauſe of Privilege, and commands the King's Great Seal to be put to Writs not returnable before the ſaid Houſe of Peers. 3. That the Lord-Keeper be acquainted with theſe Reſolutions, to the end that the Writs of *Habeas Corpus* be ſuſpended, as contrary to Law, and the Privileges of this Houſe. 4. That a Meſſage be ſent to the Lords, to acquaint their Lordſhips, That theſe Gentlemen were committed by the Order and Warrant of this Houſe, for manifeſt Breach and Contempt of the Authority of this Houſe. 5. That a Meſſage be ſent to the Houſe of Lords to deſire a Conference upon the Subject Matter of the laſt Conference.

The King prorogues the Houſe with a Speech.

But they immediately receiv'd a more material Meſſage themſelves from the King, who reſolving not any longer to be perplex'd with endleſs Difficulties, ſent for them to the Houſe of Peers, where from the Throne he made this following Speech to both Houſes: ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I think I have given ſufficient Evidence to the World that I have not been wanting on my part, in my Endeavours to procure the full Satisfaction of all my Subjects, in the Matters both of *Religion* and *Property*. I have not only invited you to thoſe Conſiderations at our firſt Meeting, but I have been careful through the whole Seſſion, that no Concern of my own ſhou'd divert you from them. Beſides, as I had only deſign'd the Matter of it to be the Procuring of good Laws, ſo, for the Gaining of them, I have already waited much longer than I intended, and ſhou'd have been contented ſtill to have continu'd my Expectations, had there any Hopes remain'd of a good Concluſion: But I muſt confeſs the ill Deſigns of our Enemies have been too prevalent againſt thoſe good ones I had propos'd to myſelf, in behalf of my People; and thoſe unhappy Differences between my two Houſes are grown to ſuch a Height, that I find no poſſible Means of putting an End to them, but by a *Prorogation*. It is with great Unwillingneſs that I make uſe of this Expedient, having always intended an *Adjournment*, for the Preſerving of ſuch good Bills as were unfiniſh'd; but my Hopes are, that by this Means, the preſent Occaſion of Differences being taken away, you will be ſo careful hereafter of the Publick, as not to ſeek new Ones, nor to revive the Old. I intend to meet you again in Winter, and have directed my Lord Keeper to Prorogue you till the thirteenth Day of *October* next.

The End of the Fourteenth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

Thus on the 9th Day of *June* ended the Fourteenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had continu'd very near the Space of two Months. Only five Bills were paſs'd, and all of them private, therefore not mention'd. Others were in a conſiderable Forwardneſs, and Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds was deſign'd to be given the King for the Building of Ships; but at the ſame Time the Commons had determin'd to appropriate the ancient *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, amounting to four hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year, to the Uſe of the Navy, as it was firſt deſign'd; but this was no ways acceptable to the Court, and was thought to be one Occaſion of the Loſs of the Other. Indeed they ſeem'd to have had very little Inclination to give Money, and particularly upon the Account of the preſent Lord Treaſurer, at whoſe Greatneſs they were not a little uneaſy; and tho' they had in effect acquitted him of the Articles againſt him, yet the moſt conſiderable of them, fomented by the Lord *Arlington* himſelf, had agreed, not to conſent to give the King any Money while the preſent Lord Treaſurer continu'd in his Place.

Affairs abroad.

III. 1. Before, and during this Interval of Parliament, the General Peace, in which his *Britannick* Majeſty was ſo nearly concern'd, proceeded by ſlow Steps beyond Sea. After the *Engliſh* Mediation had been fully accepted, the firſt Point conſider'd on, was the Place of Treaty, which occaſion'd no ſmall Diſpute; the ſeveral Parties reciprocally propoſing or rejecting ſeveral Places: But at laſt, Sir *William Temple*, who was very active in it, having nam'd *Cleve* and *Nimeguen*, the Latter was agreed on firſt by *France*, and afterwards by the Allies. But it ſoon appear'd that Nothing of Moment cou'd be brought to bear till the finiſhing of the next Campaign; which prov'd but of little Honour or Advantage to the *French* in *Flanders*, but much worſe to them upon the *Rhine*. Here they receiv'd a Blow much more conſiderable to them than the Loſs of a Province, which was the Death of the famous Mareſchal *de Turenne*, who was taken off by a Cannon Ball in a Skirmiſh. The Aſtoniſhment was unſpeakable in the *French* Camp, upon the Loſs of ſuch a General; and the Preſumption as great in that of the Imperialiſts, who look'd upon themſelves as Maſters of the whole *French* Army, that was ſtraitned between them and the *Rhine*, in want, diſtemper'd, and above all diſcourag'd by the Fall of their Captain. All others had the ſame Expectation; but the Mareſchal *de Lorge* taking the Command of the Army, had the Honour of making a Retreat that was worth a Victory; and by the Force of Order and Conduct, with the Bravery of the *Engliſh* Troops, and Captain *Churchill* among them, he paſs'd the *Rhine* in Sight of the Imperialiſts, and preſerv'd the *French* Army. The Imperialiſts ſoon after took *Triers*, and with their Allies made ſuch a Progreſs, and Change in the Face of Affairs, that the King of *England* in a Letter to Sir *William Temple*, bid him uſe it for an Argument to induce the Prince of *Orange* to be eaſy in the Buſineſs of Peace, *That it was now Time for him to begin to apprehend again the Greatneſs of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *inſtead of that of* France. When Sir *William* afterwards put the Prince in mind of this new Apprehenſion, his Highneſs very readily reply'd, *There was no Fear of that, till they ſhou'd go beyond the Peace of the* Pyrennees; *whenever that ſhou'd happen, he ſhou'd be as much a* French *Man, as he was now a* Spaniard.

The King's Diſcourſe with Sir William Temple.

In the mean Time the King of *England*, ſeeing the Negotiations of the Peace for a Time laid aſleep, ſent for Sir *William Temple* to take a ſhort Turn into *England*, and give him an Account of all the Obſervations he had made abroad, in the preſent Conjunctures and Diſpoſitions; as well as receive his Majeſty's Inſtructions, for the future Progreſs of his Mediation. Upon his Arrival ſoon after the Prorogation of the Parliament, his Majeſty diſcovering to him the ſeveral Reaſons that had mov'd him to it, ſaid, *That he doubted much while the War laſted abroad, it wou'd give Occaſion or Pretence for thoſe Heats that had of late appear'd in the Parliament, and make him very uneaſy in his Revenue, which ſo much needed their Aſſiſtance: That ſome of the warm Leaders in both Houſes had a mind to engage him in a War with* France, *which they ſhou'd not do for many Reaſons; and, among the reſt, becauſe he was ſure if they did, they wou'd leave him in it, and make uſe of it to ruin his Miniſters, and make him depend upon them more than he intended, or any King wou'd deſire. But beſides all this, he doubted an impertinent Quarrel between the Lord Treaſurer and Lord Chamberlain did him more Diſſervice in the Parliament than he cou'd imagine: For the laſt did not care what Harm he did his Buſineſs there, ſo he hop'd to ruin the Lord Treaſurer; and had perſuaded a great many in the Houſe of Commons, that this wou'd certainly be compaſs'd, if they were ſtanch, in giving no Money during his Miniſtry. That Sir* William *knew they were both his Friends, and He deſir'd he wou'd reconcile them while he ſtay'd in* England. Sir *William* endeavour'd it, but fail'd: The Earl of *Danby* was very inclinable, being ſo poſted as to deſire only to continue where he was; but the Lord *Arlington* was ſo uneaſy at his preſent Condition, which he chiefly attributed to the Treaſurer's Greatneſs, that he was unmanageable upon that Subject. So that when Sir *William* found the Wound too much rankled to be cured, he deſiſted; telling each of them, *That ſince he cou'd not make them Friends, he wou'd however live with them both,* *as if they were ſo; and deſir'd them not to expect he ſhou'd ſacrifice one Friend to another.* The Treaſurer was contented with this Frankneſs; but the Eal of *Arlington* cou'd not bear this neither, but grew dry and ſtiff in all that paſs'd between them two; often mingling little Reproaches of Sir *William*'s Greatneſs with the Treaſurer; and grew ſo weary of the Scene at Court, where he found himſelf left out, that he retired into the Country for the reſt of the Summer.

Diviſions at home.

Thus the Seeds of Diſcontent, that had been ſown in the Parliament under the Counſels of the *Cabal*, began to ſpring faſt, and root deep, after their Power was wholly at an End; and theſe Heats were, under other Covers, fomented by two of the Chief that compos'd that Miniſtry, *Shaftsbury* and *Buckingham*, and with the Help of Time and Accidents, grew to thoſe Flames that afterwards appear'd. But whatever began or increas'd them, it is certain theſe Agitations in *England* had remarkable Effects on thoſe on the War and Peace abroad. For the Confederates were confident, *That the Humour of the Parliament and People wou'd at length engage the King in their Quarrel*; which they knew wou'd force *France* to ſuch a Peace as they deſir'd. Among the reſt, *Spain* was ſo preſuming, That *England* wou'd not ſuffer the Loſs of *Flanders*, that they grew careleſs of its Defence, or of thoſe Orders and Supplies that were neceſſary to it; at preſent relying upon the *Dutch* to preſerve it, and on the King of *England* hereafter, whenever he ſhou'd find it more in Danger. And theſe Conſiderations made the Allies leſs inclinable to a Peace, which they might have had upon better Conditions the following Winter, than ever after fell to their Share, by Revolutions not then foreſeen, but yet ſuch as were juſtly ſuſpected by thoſe who knew the Weakneſs of the *Spaniards*, the Diviſions of the Imperial, and the uncertain Meaſures of the *Engliſh* Court.

Coleman's remarkable Letters.

At home, the chiefeſt Preparations, as well as the greateſt Expectations, were about the next meeting of Parliament, the Diſſolution of which was deſired by moſt of the Diſſenting Party, but not now ſo much by the *Roman* Catholicks, who look'd upon the Caſe as to them to be very much alter'd, as we find by ſome of Mr. *Coleman*'s Letters, which were written in this Interval of Parliament, and are of too great Moment to be wholly omitted. In one dated *Auguſt* 30, to the Pope's *Inter-Nuncio*, he has theſe Words; 'The Duke hath almoſt ſurmounted all the Difficulties which have oppos'd his Eſtabliſhment: The Face of his Affairs are well chang'd; for we now paſſionately wiſh to ſee the coming on of the Parliament, which we ſo much fear'd before: And while it was held doubtful whether it ought to meet or no, we employ'd all our Power to bring it on; which Point we have gain'd but within theſe few Days. And for my Part, I no ways doubt but that we ſhall receive as much good by it, as we apprehended ill, provided that the Duke fail not in the Execution of the good Reſolutions which he hath taken.' In a long Letter wrote about a Month after to the *French* King's Confeſſor, Father *Le Cheſe*, in which he gave him a ſhort Hiſtory of three Years Tranſactions, he ſays thus: 'I take our Caſe to be much the ſame, as it was the laſt Seſſions; if we can advance the Duke's Intereſt one Step forward, we ſhall put him out of the Reach of all Chances for ever, and all wou'd come over to him as the only *ſteady Center of our Government*. In order to this, we have two great Deſigns to attempt the next Seſſions: 1. That which we were about before, *viz. To put the Parliament upon making it their humble Requeſt to the King, That the Fleet may be put to his Royal Highneſs's Care.* 2. *To get an Act for a General Liberty of Conſcience.* If we carry theſe two, or either of them, we ſhall in effect do what we liſt afterwards. -------- Therefore if his moſt *Chriſtian Majeſty* wou'd ſtand by us a little in this Conjuncture, and help us to ſuch a Sum as twenty Thouſand Pounds Sterling, (which is no great Matter to venture upon ſuch an Undertaking as this) I wou'd be content to be ſacrific'd to the utmoſt Malice of my Enemies, if I did not ſucceed. I have propos'd this ſeveral Times to Monſieur *Rouvigny*, who ſeems always of my Opinion, but I know not [being a *Proteſtant*] whether he will be as zealous in this Point as a *Catholick* wou'd be; becauſe our prevailing in theſe Things *will give the greateſt Blow to the Proteſtant Religion here, that ever it receiv'd ſince its Birth*, which perhaps he wou'd not be very glad to ſee; eſpecially when he believes there is another Way of doing his Maſter's Buſineſs without it, which is by a Diſſolution of the Parliament -------- But I think our Caſe extreamly alter'd from what it was a Year ago in relation to a Diſſolution; for then the Body of our governing Miniſters, all but the Earl of *Arlington*, were entirely united to the Duke, and wou'd have govern'd his Way, if they had been free from all Fear and Controul, as they wou'd have been, if the Parliament had been diſſolv'd: But having ſince then been engag'd in quite different Counſels, and embark'd themſelves and Intereſts upon other Bottoms, having declar'd themſelves againſt Popery, &c. to diſſolve the Parliament ſimply, and without any other Step made, will leave them to govern what Way they liſt, &c.' Soon after, and a little before the Meeting of the Parliament, he ſent another Letter to the ſame Confeſſor, which, when diſcover'd, made a mighty Impreſſion upon the Nation, and the more becauſe he told him of writing after a Way inviſible to other People, by the Juice of a Lemon, &c. In which Letter, he has theſe ſtartling Words: 'We have here a mighty Work upon our Hands, no leſs than the Converſion of three Kingdoms, and by that perhaps the ſubduing of a Peſtilent Hereſy, which has domineered over a great Part of this Northern World a long Time; there were never ſuch Hopes of Succeſs ſince the Death of Queen *Mary*, as now in our Days: When God has given us a Prince who is become (may I ſay, a Miracle) zealous of being the Author and Inſtrument of ſo glorious a Work; but the Oppoſition we are ſure to meet with, is alſo like to be great; ſo that it imports us to get all the Aid and Aſſiſtance we can, *For the Harveſt is great, and the Labourers but few.*

The FIFTEENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

2. Before the Meeting of the Parliament, thoſe Debates in the Houſe of Lords concerning the new intended Act and Oath were made publick; which ſo affronted and offended the Court, that an Order was given for the burning of them. This was no popular, but was thought a neceſſary Act, to prepare the Way for the next Seſſion, which according to Prorogation met on the 13th Day of *October*, after a Receſs or Interval of a little above four Months. This was the Fifteenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, concerning which Mens Curioſities and Expectations were rais'd as high as any that preceded it. The King being ſeated on the Throne, and adorn'd with his Robes and Crown, made the following Speech to both Houſes: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I meet you now with more than uſual Concern for the Event of this Seſſion; and I know it is but what may reaſonably be expected from that Care I owe to the Preſervation of the Government. The Cauſes of the laſt Prorogation, as I for my part do not deſire to remember, ſo I hope no Man elſe will, unleſs it be to learn from thence, how to avoid the like Occaſions for the future; And I pray conſider how fatal the Conſequence may be, and how little Benefit is like to redound to the People by it. However, if any Thing of that Kind ſhall ariſe, I deſire you wou'd deferr thoſe Debates, till you have brought ſuch Publick Bills to Perfection as may conduce to the Good and Safety of the Kingdom; and particularly I recommend to you, whatever may tend to the Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion as it is now eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*.

'I muſt likewiſe deſire your Aſſiſtance in ſome Supplies, as well to take off the Anticipations which are upon my Revenue, as for Building of Ships; and tho' the War has been the great Cauſe of theſe Anticipations, yet I find by a late Account I have taken of my Expences, that I have not been altogether ſo good a Huſband, as I might have been, and as I reſolve to be for the Future: Although at the ſame Time I have had the Satisfaction to find, That I have been far from ſuch an Extravagancy in my own Expence, as ſome wou'd have the World believe. I am not ignorant, that there are many who wou'd prevent the Kindneſs of my Parliament to me at this Time; but I as well know that your Affections have never fail'd me: And you may remember, *It is now above three Years ſince I have ask'd you any Thing for my own Uſe*. The Reſt I refer to my Lord Keeper.

The Lord Keeper Finch's *Speech.*

Accordingly the Lord Keeper made a Speech, which for the Importance of it is given without Abridgment or Mutilation: '*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*, The Cauſes of this preſent Aſſembly, and the Reaſons which have mov'd his Majeſty to command your Attendance upon him at this Time, are of the higheſt Importance. The King reſolves to enter into Terms of ſtricteſt Correſpondence and Endearment with his Parliament; To take your Counſel in his moſt weighty Affairs; To impart all his Cares to you; To acquaint you with all his Wants and Neceſſities; To offer you all that can be yet wanting to make you enjoy your Selves; To eſtabliſh a right Underſtanding between Himſelf and his *Three Eſtates*, and between the *Eſtates* Themſelves; To redreſs all your juſt Complaints, and to put all his Subjects at Eaſe, as far as in him lies, and can conſiſt with the Honour and Safety of the Government. And having made all theſe Advances, he doubts not but you will behave your ſelves like thoſe that deſerve to be call'd *the King's Friends*, and that you will put him at Eaſe too. There is no Cauſe why any Fears of *Religion* or *Liberty* ſhou'd divert you: For his Majeſty hath ſo often recommended to you the

‘ Conſiderations of Religion, ſo very often deſired you to aſſiſt him in his Care and Protection of it, That *the Defender of the Faith* is become the Advocate of it too, and hath left all thoſe without Excuſe who ſtill remain under any kind of Doubts or Fears. Again, the Care of your Civil Rights and Liberties hath been ſo much his Majeſty's, that the more you reflect upon theſe Concerns, the more you will find your ſelves oblig'd to acknowledge his Majeſty's Tenderneſs of you, and Indulgence to you. Search your own Annals, the Annals of thoſe Times you account moſt Happy, you will ſcarce find one Year without an Example of ſomething more Severe, and more Extraordinary, than a whole Reign hath yet produc'd. Peruſe the Hiſtories of Foreign Nations, and you ſhall find, Statues and Altars too have been erected to the Memories of thoſe Princes, whoſe beſt Virtues never arriv'd to Half that *Moderation,* which we live to ſee and enjoy. No King did ever meet a Parliament with juſter Cauſe of Confidence in their Affections: And therefore his Majeſty will not ſuffer himſelf to doubt, but relies firmly upon it, that you never will forſake him, when he is under any kind of Difficulties. He doth aſſure himſelf that you will now think fit to provide for his Honour and your own Safety, by helping him to pay ſome Part of his Debts, and to make his Navy as Great and as Conſiderable, as it ought to be. For the Greatneſs of the King is the Greatneſs and Safety of his People. The Springs and Rivers which pay Tribute to the Ocean, do not leſſen but preſerve themſelves by that Contribution. It is impoſſible that thoſe Affections that Piety and Allegiance firſt planted, which Perſecution cou'd not abate, which the gracious Influences of his Majeſty's happy Government have hitherto encreas'd, ſhou'd now appear to Wither and Decay: But then the beſt Indication of the Heart is by the Hand. And becauſe it is of infinite Moment to the King's Affairs that there ſhou'd be a chearful Concurrence to his Supplies, there let Hand and Heart both join in the Oblation, for that will make it a Sacrifice well pleaſing indeed.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen,* The Happineſs of this preſent Age, and the Fate and Fortune of the next too, is very much in your Hands, and at this Time; All that you would deſire to ſettle and improve; All that you wou'd wiſh to ſecure and tranſmit to your Poſterities, may now be accompliſh'd. Wou'd you raiſe the due Eſtimation and Reverence of the Church of *England* to its juſt Height? Wou'd you provide for the Safety and Eſtabliſhment of it? Do there want any Laws to ſecure the Peace and Quiet of the State? Wou'd you enrich and adorn this Kingdom, by providing for the Extent and Improvement of Trade, by introducing new and uſeful Manufactures, and by Encouraging thoſe we have already? Wou'd you prevent all Frauds and Perjuries, all Delays and Abuſes in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice? Wou'd you preſerve a famous City from being depopulated by the Suburbs? Wou'd you reſtrain the Exceſs of thoſe new Buildings which begin to ſwarm with Inhabitants unknown? All your Petitions of this kind will be grateful to the King; and you may with Eaſe effect all theſe and much more which your great Wiſdoms will ſuggeſt to you. A little Time will ſerve to make many excellent Laws, and to give you the Honour to be the Repairers of all our Breaches; ſo as that Time be wholly employ'd upon the Publick, and not taken up by ſuch Conſiderations as are leſs Meritorious. If therefore there be any without Doors, that labour to diſunite your Counſels, or to render them ineffectual; If they can hope that the Occaſions for this may ariſe from ſome Differences within your ſelves, or hope by thoſe Differences to diſguiſe their own Diſaffections to your good Proceedings; 'tis in your Power to defeat thoſe Hopes, to pull off this Diſguiſe, and to ſecure a happy Concluſion of this Meeting, by ſtudying to preſerve a good Correſpondence, and by a careful avoiding all ſuch Queſtions as are apt to engender Strife. And if ever there were a Time, when the Gravity of the Counſel, the Wiſdom, and good Temper of a Parliament, were neceſſary to ſupport that Government which only can ſupport theſe Aſſemblies, *certainly this is the Hour.* You ſee with what Zeal the King hath recommended to you a good Agreement between your ſelves, and that he doth it with all the Care and Compaſſion, all the Earneſtneſs and Importunity, fit for ſo great a Prince to expreſs, who wou'd be very ſorry that any ſuch Misfortune as your Diſagreement, ſhou'd either deprive him of your Advice and Aſſiſtance, or his People of thoſe good Laws which he is ready to grant you. There is no other Way our Enemies can think of, by which 'tis poſſible for this Seſſions to miſcarry; for Fears and Jealouſies cannot enter here, Calumnies and Slanders will find no Place amongſt wiſe and good Men. They that uſe theſe Arts abroad, will quickly be diſcredited, when the World ſhall ſee the generous Effects of your Confidence. Men will deſpair of attempting any Diſturbance in the State, when they ſee every Step that tends that Way, ſerves only to give you freſh Occaſions to teſtify your Loyalty and your Zeal. You have all the Reaſon in the World to make Men ſee this; For you have the ſame Monarchy to aſſert, the ſame Church to defend, the ſame Intereſts of Nobility and Gentry to maintain, the ſame excellent King to contend for, and the ſame Enemies to contend againſt.

‘ And now, *My Lords and Gentlemen,* Since the whole Seſſion of Parliament is in the Judgment and Conſtruction of our Law but as One Day, let us all endeavour that the Morning of it, the firſt Entrance upon it, may be with ſuch fair and auſpicious Circumſtances as may give the whole Kingdom an Aſſurance of a bright and chearful Day. Let no ill Humours gather into Clouds to darken or obſcure it; for this Day is a Critical Day, and more depends upon that Judgment of our Affairs which will be made by it, than can eaſily be imagin'd. It imports us therefore to take care that no Part of this Time be loſt; let every precious Minute of this Day be ſpent in receiving ſuch Acts of Grace and Goodneſs as are ready to flow from the King, and in making ſuch Retributions for them as may become the grateful Hearts of the beſt of Subjects to the beſt of Kings. So ſhall this Day become a Day of Diſappointment and Diſcomfort to our Enemies, but to us and all good Men a Glorious Day, a Day of Triumph and Deliverance, a Memorable and Joyful Day to this preſent, and to all future Generations.

The Proceedings of the Commons.

Notwithſtanding all this Rhetorick, and all theſe Promiſes, the Houſe of Commons began with reaſſuming ſuch publick Bills as they had ſet on foot in the laſt Seſſion, and others that prov'd to the more immediate Liberty of the Subject; as the Bill for *Habeas Corpus*; that *againſt ſending Men Priſoners beyond Sea*; another againſt *raiſing Mony without Conſent of Parliament*; a fourth againſt *Papiſts ſitting in either Houſe*; another *for ſpeedier Convicting of Papiſts*; another for *Recalling the King's Subjects out of the* French *Service*, &c. But in theſe they ſuffer'd themſelves to be diverted, or rather interrupted by a private Quarrel that happen'd between the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Thomas Meers*, and Colonel *Thomas Howard* in St. *James's Park*; in which they thought themſelves ſo far concern'd in Honour, that they firſt ſent the Lord *Cavendiſh*, one of their Members, and afterwards Colonel *Howard*, to the *Tower.* And after that order'd a Bill to be brought in to *prevent Challenges, Duels and Quarrels, and the Miſchiefs that may thereby enſue.*

The Accounts of the Nation Stated.

3. After a Week's Sitting, the Commons began to think of the King's Deſire of a Supply, and took into Conſideration all the Charges and Expences of the late War. The Account in ſhort ſtands thus in the Journals of the Houſe of Commons: *The Charges of the two Years War amounted to two Millions and forty thouſand Pounds; and what was given by the Parliament, what aroſe from the Cuſtoms that ought to have been appropriated, and what was gain'd by the Prizes, and the* Dutch *Contributions at laſt, did all together amount to three Millions and forty thouſand Pounds; ſo there remain'd a full Million miſapply'd or waſted by ill Management.* In conſequence of which they add, ‘ That at the Beginning of this War, by the illegal ſtopping of the Exchequer, the reſt of the Revenue, as well as the Cuſtoms before mention'd, were diſcharg'd of all Incumbrances, and became a clear Revenue to the Crown, and was more than enough to ſatisfy all other reaſonable Expences of the Crown and Government ever ſince, and ſo there is no Reaſon to give a Tax whilſt we continue in a Peace. But if it be objected, *That ſince the ſaid Million of Money is gone, and this overgrown Revenue is all ſpent, and even now goes on to be further charg'd in theſe two Years of Peace, than it was left charg'd after the ſaid two Years of War; and tho' it is own'd Things are much amiſs, and the Management very ill, wiſhing it might be amended, yet the Parliament muſt look forwards, the Government muſt be ſupported, the Counſels muſt not be made deſperate, and therefore the King muſt be ſupply'd:* The Anſwer is, That this Kind of Reaſoning and Timerouſneſs hath brought on us all the Taxes and Miſchiefs we have ſuffer'd theſe Nine Years paſt, and yet nothing amended; and they ſtill go on, till they are made deſperate, which the Parliament ought to prevent. There is no Fear of Breaking the Bankers the Second Time, and paying Debts by that diſhonourable Way; it is eaſy to demonſtrate how the laſt contracted Debt may be in a few Years diſcharg'd by the Revenue, and his Majeſty's neceſſary Expences ſufficiently ſupply'd by honeſt and careful Management. No Parliament is oblig'd to pay the King's Debts by a Tax: By the like Reaſoning we ought

1675.
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‘ to pay ſuch another about a Year and a half hence, and ſo encourage the Court to exact two Millions and a half Yearly, as hitherto they have done, to the great Diſquiet and Impoveriſhment of the Nation; and if (unlook'd for) they ſhou'd prove good Husbands or Frugal, then to the imminent Hazard and Loſs of Parliaments, and the ancient Liberties of the Subject, as now in *France*. Since the War is ended, the whole Charge of the Government both by Sea and Land amounts not to above ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; and the clear Income of the Revenue at preſent comes at leaſt to ſixteen hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; *Quære*, *What is become of near a Million per Annum*? And yet the King hath theſe two Years laſt, *proh Dolor!* anticipated his Revenue near a Million more, as his Creatures, and worthy Truſtees for their Country, have confeſs'd in Parliament, as a powerful Argument to enforce the Commons to pay ſuch Debts, and by a farther Law entail perpetual Anticipations upon the Kingdom, to its utter Ruin and Deſolation.

A Supply voted.

Upon Conſideration of all this, they finally Reſolv'd, ‘ That they wou'd not grant any Supply to his Majeſty for the taking off the Anticipations that were upon his Revenue.’ But ſoon after they voted a Supply of three hundred thouſand Pounds for the Building of twenty Ships of War, *viz.* One Firſt Rate, of fourteen hundred Tun; Eight Second Rates, of eleven hundred Tun; and Eleven Third Rates, of ſeven hundred Tun. But again reſolv'd to appropriate the ancient *Tunnage* and *Poundage* to the Uſe of the Navy; which prov'd very unacceptable to the Court. Another Thing under Conſideration was the Trade with *France*, concerning which Sir *George Downing* deliver'd the following Paper, entitled, *A Schedule of the Trade as it is at preſent carry'd on between* England *and* France, *in the Commodities of the Native Product and Manufacture of each Country, calculated as exactly as poſſible, in Obedience to the Command of the right honourable the Lords Commiſſioners for the Treaty of Commerce with* England, *humbly tender'd to your Lordſhips.* ‘ The Particulars of the Commodities exported from *England* to *France*, and the Commodities imported from *France* into *England*, are for Brevity ſake omitted; and by the Accounts given to the Lords Commiſſioners, it is perceiv'd, That the Linnen and Silk Manufactures only imported from *France* amount to upwards of eight hundred thouſand Pounds; and that the Manufacture of Wool and Silk exported into *France*, doth not amount to eighty five thouſand Pounds; as alſo that all other Commodities of the Product and Manufacture of *England* exported into *France*, doth not amount to ninety thouſand Pounds more: Whereas the Wine, Brandy, and other Commodities of the Product and Manufacture of *France* imported into *England*, amount to upwards of three hundred thouſand Pounds, beſides an incredible Value of Toys, rich Apparel, Point Lace, &c. and ſo it is apparent that the Exports of our natural Commodities and Manufactures to *France*, are leſs in Value by at leaſt a Million Sterling than the Native Commodities and Manufactures of *France*, which we receive from thence; And if your Lordſhips pleaſe to reflect thereupon, they will diſcover the Prejudices the *Engliſh* Nation ſuſtains, and the great Advantages the *French* have, and do eaſily make by holding the Treaty in Suſpence; this Notice upon the Matter excluding Trade thither, whilſt in the mean Time the *French* enjoy all and as great Advantages, as they can reaſonably expect by any Treaty.’ Upon this Subject they order'd a Bill to be brought in, which was receiv'd with Approbation.

An Account of the Trade with France.

A new Teſt againſt Bribery.

The Houſe of Commons, eſpecially of late Years, had acted very unlike Penſioners, tho' they were often ſo term'd by Way of Reproach. Therefore being one Day inform'd of Reports ſpread abroad of Mony diſpers'd, and Rewards given among Members of the Houſe for giving their Votes and promoting Bills, they enter'd upon a Debate, and contriv'd a Teſt for purging the Members, and vindicating the Honour of the Houſe. This Teſt never being publiſh'd, will be worth the Remembring, and runs thus: ‘ I *A. B.* do proteſt before God, and this Houſe of Parliament, That directly nor indirectly, neither I, nor any for my Uſe to my Knowledge, have ſince the firſt Day of *January* 1672, had, or receiv'd any Sum or Sums of Mony by Ways of Impreſt, Gift, Loan, or otherwiſe from the King's Majeſty, or any other Perſon by his Majeſty's Order, Direction or Knowledge, or by Authority deriv'd from his ſaid Majeſty, or any Pardon, Diſcharge, or Reſpite of any Mony due to his ſaid Majeſty upon Account, or any Grant, Penſion, Gratuity, or Reward, or any Promiſe of any ſuch Office, Place or Command, of or from his Majeſty, or out of any Money, Treaſure, or Eſtate, of or belonging to his Majeſty, or of, from, or by any Foreign Ambaſſador, or Miniſter, or of, or from any other Perſon in the Name, or by the Appointment, or with the Knowledge of his Majeſty, or any of them; otherwiſe than what I have now in Writing faithfully diſcover'd, and deliver'd to this Houſe, which I have ſubſcrib'd with my Name: Neither do I know of any ſuch Gift, Grant, or Promiſe ſo given or made ſince the ſaid Time to any other Member of this Houſe, but what I have alſo inſerted in the ſaid Writing; nor have I given my Vote in Parliament for any Reward or Promiſe whatſoever. So help me God, &c.

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The Inſolence of ſome Romiſh Prieſts.

4. As this, and ſome other uſeful Matters were carrying on, the Houſe was diſturb'd, and thrown into a Ferment by two Things that happen'd ſoon after. The firſt was the Inſolence of ſome Papiſts and Jeſuits, particularly one named Monſieur St. *Germain*, a celebrated Jeſuit, who, underſtanding that one Monſieur *Luzancy* had been lately converted from the *Romiſh* to the *Proteſtant* Religion, and had publickly preach'd upon that Occaſion, ventur'd even in this Seſſion of Parliament, with ſome others, to ſet upon *Luzancy* in his Lodgings, and by Threats and Terrors of aſſaſſinating him, and of carrying him away by Force beyond Sea, compell'd him to tranſcribe and ſign a pretended Recantation, of what he had ſo preach'd and publiſh'd, to the great Violation of his Honour and Conſcience. The whole Matter at large was laid before the Secretaries of State, and likewiſe before the Houſe of Commons, with theſe Additions of Monſieur *Luzancy*, which ought not to be forgot, *viz.* ‘ The ſaid Monſieur St. *Germain*, ſeveral Times conferring with Me, has atteſted to me what follows: 1. That the King was a *Roman* Catholick in his Heart. 2. That the Court were endeavouring to get a *Liberty of Conſcience* in *England* for the *Roman*-Catholicks, and that granted, in two Years moſt of the *Engliſh* wou'd acknowledge the *Pope*. 3. That he knew the King's Intentions concerning Religion, and that he was ſure his Majeſty wou'd approve of all he ſhou'd do in that Matter. 4. That he laugh'd at the Parliament, as being only a Wave that had but a little Time; and ſaid, that no Body was better welcome at Court, and had greater Intrigues with any of the Nobility than He. 5. That it was good ſometimes to force People to Heaven; and that there were an infinite Number of Prieſts and Jeſuits in *London*, that did God very great Service. All theſe Things will be ſworn by Mr. *Luzancy* to have been affirm'd by the Jeſuit St. *Germain*, who is the buſieſt Man amongſt them all againſt *Proteſtants*; and many Perſons of good Credit and Repute are alſo ready to juſtify upon Oath, that ſeveral of the *Roman*-Catholicks have ſpoken Things quite as bad, or worſe: In a Word, they are grown ſo bold and inſolent, eſpecially the *French* and *Iriſh*, that a Proſelyte cannot walk the Streets, without being threatned at every Step, and call'd a thouſand opprobrious Names.

St. Germain's Letters.

This, as it caus'd a Heat in the Houſe, ſo it brought forth a Proclamation from the King, not only promiſing Protection and Incouragement to Monſieur *Luzancy*, but alſo a Reward of two hundred Pounds for the taking the ſaid Monſieur St. *Germain*. But that active Jeſuit ſoon made his Eſcape, and took a proper Refuge in *France*, from whence he held a conſtant Correſpondence with the zealous Mr. *Coleman* ſo often mention'd. In one of his Letters to him, dated *December* 11th in this Year, He tells him ‘ A Friend had given the *French* King's Confeſſor to underſtand, That his Majeſty of *France* ought not to do any Thing with the King of *England*, but by the Duke of *York*; and he hath promis'd and engag'd upon his Life to the King's Confeſſor to make all ſucceed, in Caſe that Way be made uſe of.’ In another Letter directed to Mr. *Coleman* about a Month after, it is ſaid, ‘ Monſieur St. *Germain* has obſerv'd to the Confeſſor of the King of *France*, how great the Power of the Duke of *York* is, by the Diſgrace of the two Perſons concerning which Mr. *Coleman* had writ to Monſieur St. *Germain*; and that the vigorous Counſels which were all abſolutely neceſſary, whereby to ſucceed in the Traffick of the *Catholicks*, came from the Duke of *York*, by the Inſpiration of Mr. *Coleman*, who alſo alone was moſt truly link'd to the Welfare of the Commerce of the King of *England*, the Duke of *York*, and the *Catholicks*.

The D. of Buckingham's *Speech for a Toleration.*

The Indignation rais'd in the Houſe by the Inſolence and Activity of the *Popiſh* Party, gave them Occaſion to conſider, as they had done of late Years, of more moderate Proceedings againſt the *Proteſtant* Diſſenters. Upon which Subject the Duke of *Buckingham* exerted himſelf in the Houſe of Lords, in a particular Speech, which being inſerted in the Commons Journals, is proper to be remember'd, and the more becauſe it was ſo publickly diſpers'd: ‘ *My Lords*, There is a Thing call'd *Liberty*, which (whatſoever ſome Men may think) is that the People of *England* are fondeſt of; it is that they will never part with, and is that his Majeſty in his Speech has promis'd us to take a particular Care of. This, *my Lords*, in my Opinion, can never be done without giving an *Indulgence* to all *Proteſtant* Diſſenters. It is certainly a very uneaſy Kind of Life to any Man, that has either Chriſtian Charity, Humanity, or good Nature, to ſee his Fellow-Subjects daily abus'd, diveſted of their Liberty and Birth-rights, and miſerably thrown out of their Poſſeſſions and Free-Holds, only becauſe they cannot agree with others in ſome Opinions and Niceties of Religion, which their Conſciences will not give them leave to conſent to; and which, even by the Confeſſion of thoſe, who wou'd impoſe them upon them, are no ways neceſſary to Salvation. But, *My Lords*, beſides this, and all that may be ſaid upon it, in Order to the Improvement of our Trade, and Increaſe of the Wealth, Strength and Greatneſs of this Nation (which, with your Leave, I ſhall preſume to diſcourſe of ſome other Time) there is, methinks, in this Notion of Perſecution a very groſs Miſtake, both as to the Point of *Government*, and the Point of *Religion*. There is ſo as to the Point of Government, becauſe it makes every Man's Safety depend on the wrong Place; not upon the Governors, or Man's living well towards the Civil Government eſtabliſh'd by Law, but upon his being tranſported with Zeal for every Opinion that is held by Thoſe that have Power in the Church that is in Faſhion; and I conceive it's a Miſtake in Religion, becauſe it is poſitively againſt the expreſs Doctrine and Example of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Nay, *My Lords*, as to our *Proteſtant* Religion, there is ſomething in it yet worſe; for We *Proteſtants* maintain That none of thoſe Opinions which Chriſtians differ about, are *Infallible*; and therefore in us it is ſomewhat an inexcuſable Conception, That Men ought to be depriv'd of their Inheritance, and all the certain Conveniencies and Advantages of Life, becauſe they will not agree with us in our Uncertain Opinions of Religion. My humble Motion therefore to your *Lordſhips*, is, That you wou'd give leave to bring in a Bill of Indulgence to all *Proteſtant* Diſſenters. I know very well that every Peer of this Realm hath a Right to bring into Parliament any Bill he conceives to be uſeful to his Nation: But I thought it more reſpectful to your *Lordſhips* to ask your Leave before; and I cannot think the doing of it will be any Prejudice to the Bill, becauſe I am confident the *Reaſon*, the *Prudence*, and the *Charitableneſs* of it, will be able to juſtify it to this Houſe, and the whole World.' Accordingly the Houſe gave his Grace leave to bring in a Bill to that Purpoſe.

The Revival of the Diſpute between the two Houſes.

5. But this, and ſeveral other Bills depending were totally interrupted and loſt by the ſecond Thing to be mention'd, which threw both Houſes into a Ferment; and this was the Revival of the unfortunate Conteſt between them, concerning Dr. *Shirley* and Sir *John Fagg*; the Former having continu'd his Proceſs againſt the Latter, and the Lords themſelves adhered to their firſt Hearing of his Appeal. Upon which the Commons again voted it a Breach of Privilege, and laid their Commands upon Sir *John Fagg*, their own Member, not to make any Defence at the Lords Bar in the ſaid Appeal; and after that deſired a Conference with the Lords, *For avoiding Differences between the two Houſes.* This being obtain'd, on the 19th of *November*, the Commons deliver'd a ſhort Paper in theſe Words: ‘ His Majeſty having recommended to us at the Opening of this Seſſion of Parliament, the Avoiding this Difference, if poſſible; and if it cou'd not be prevented, *that then we ſhou'd deferr the Debate, till we had brought ſuch Publick Bills to Perfection, as may conduce to the Good and Safety of the Kingdom:* The Commons eſteem it a great Misfortune, that contrary to that moſt excellent Advice, the Proceedings in the Appeal, brought the laſt Seſſion againſt Sir *John Fagg* by Dr. *Shirley*, have been renew'd, and a Day ſet for hearing the Cauſe: And therefore the Commons have judg'd it the beſt Way, before they enter into the Argument of the Defence of their Rights in this Matter, to propoſe to your Lordſhips the putting off the Proceedings in that Matter for ſome ſhort Time, that ſo they may, according to his Majeſty's Advice, give a Diſpatch to ſome Bills, now before them, of great Importance to the King and Kingdom; which being finiſh'd, the Commons will be ready to give your Lordſhips ſuch Reaſons againſt thoſe Proceedings, and in Defence of their Rights, as we hope may ſatisfy your Lordſhips, that no ſuch Proceedings ought to have been.' This was ſucceeded the ſame Day by ſomething really violent or unſeaſonable, *viz. Reſolved* and *Declared*, &c. ‘ That whoever ſhall proſecute any Appeal before the Lords againſt any Commoner of *England*, from any *Court of Equity*, ſhall be deem'd a Betrayer of the Rights and Privileges of the Commons of *England*, and ſhall be proceeded againſt accordingly; and *Order'd*, That this Reſolution be affix'd to the *Lobby*, *Weſtminſter-Hall* Gate, and all the Inns of *Court* and *Chancery*.

The Earl of Shaftsbury's *upon Speech that Occaſion.*

This threw all into a Fame, and the Lords immediately Voted, ‘ That the Paper poſted up in ſeveral Places againſt the Judicature of the Houſe of Peers, was Illegal, Unparliamentary, and tending to the Diſſolution of the Government.' Several Speeches were made by the Lords, and among the reſt the Earl of *Shaftsbury* began his with theſe Words, *Our All is at Stake!* and afterwards proceeded thus: ‘ This Matter is no leſs than your whole *Judicature*, and your Judicature is the Life and Soul of the Dignity of the Peerage of *England*; you will quickly grow burthenſome if you grow uſeleſs; You have now the greateſt and moſt uſeful End of Parliaments in you, which is not to make new Laws, but to redreſs Grievances, and to maintain the old Land-Marks. The Houſe of Commons Buſineſs is to complain, your Lordſhips to redreſs, not only the Complaints from them, that are the Eyes of the Nation, but all other particular Perſons that addreſs to you. A Land may groan under a Multitude of Laws, and I believe ours does; and when Laws grow ſo multiply'd, they prove oftner Snares than Directions and Security to the People.' Then ſpeaking of the Commons, he ſaid, ‘ I am willing to come to Conference whenever the Diſpute ſhall begin again, and dare undertake to your Lordſhips, That they have neither *Precedent*, *Reaſon*, nor any juſtifiable *Pretence* to ſhew againſt us; and therefore, *my Lords*, if you will part with this undoubted Right meerly for asking, where will the asking ſtop?---- I have all the Duty imaginable to his Majeſty, and ſhall with all Submiſſion give way to any Thing he ſhou'd think of Importance to his Affairs: But in this Point it is to alter the Conſtitution of the Government; and there no Reaſon of State can be an Argument to your Lordſhips, to turn your ſelves out of that Intereſt you have in the Conſtitution of the Government: 'Tis not only your Concern that you maintain your ſelves in it, but 'tis the Concern of the pooreſt Man in the Kingdom that you keep your Station. 'Tis your Lordſhips Concern, and that ſo highly, that I will be bold to ſay, the King can give none of you a Requital or Recompence for it. What are empty Titles? What is preſent Power, or Riches and a great Eſtate, wherein I have no firm nor fix'd Property? 'Tis the Conſtitution of the Government, and Maintaining it, that ſecures your Lordſhips, and every Man elſe, in what he hath. The pooreſt Lord, if the Birthright of the Peerage be maintain'd, has a fair Proſpect before him for Himſelf or his Poſterity; but the greateſt Title, with the greateſt preſent Power and Riches, is but a mean Creature, and maintains thoſe in abſolute Monarchies no otherwiſe than by ſervile and low Flatteries, and upon uncertain Terms. *My Lords*, it is not only your Intereſt, but the Intereſt of the Nation, that you maintain your Rights; for let the Houſe of Commons and Gentry of *England* think what they pleaſe, there is no Prince that ever govern'd without *Nobility* or an *Army*: If you have not one you muſt have the other, or the Monarchy cannot long ſupport, or keep it ſelf from tumbling into a *Democratical Republick*; Your *Lordſhips* and the *People* have the ſame Cauſe, and the ſame Enemies. *My Lords*, wou'd you be in favour with the King? 'Tis a very ill way to it, to put your ſelves out of a future Capacity to be conſiderable in his Service: I do not find in Story, or in Modern Experience, but that 'tis better, and a Man is much more regarded, that is ſtill in a Capacity and an Opportunity to ſerve, than He that hath wholly depriv'd himſelf of all for his Prince's Service: And I therefore declare, That I will ſerve my *Prince* as a *Peer*, and will not deſtroy my *Peerage* to ſerve him.----

Matters were carry'd ſo high in the Houſe of Lords, and the Commons were look'd upon ſo dangerous and pernicious at this Time, that the Lord *Mohun* propos'd to make an Addreſs to his Majeſty to diſſolve the preſent Parliament, and call another. This occaſion'd a warm Debate, which laſted till eight a Clock on *Saturday* Night; when the Queſtion being put for the Addreſs, it paſs'd in the Negative by only two Voices, fifty againſt forty eight. The chief Lords for the Addreſs were His Royal Highneſs Himſelf, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Mancheſter*, *Shaftsbury*, *Clarendon*, *Mulgrave*, *Scarſedale* and *Eſſex*, the Lords *Hallifax*, *Wharton*, *Mohun* and *Townſhend*. The chief againſt the Addreſs were the Lords Keeper, Treaſurer, Privy-Seal and Great Chamberlain, Duke *Lauderdale*, the Earls of *Northampton*, *Briſtol*, and *Oſſery*, and all the Biſhops that were preſent. The King himſelf, who had been us'd to cut thoſe Knots he cou'd not unty, reſolv'd to put an End to all Diſputes, and on *Monday* Morning, the 22d of *November*, came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he prorogu'd the Parliament till the 15th Day of *February* come Twelve-Month; which was the longeſt ſingle Prorogation, but not the longeſt Interval of Parliament, that had been known in the whole Reign.

The End of the fifteenth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

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Reign. He only paſs'd three private Bills, of which one was *For Rebuilding the Town of* Northampton, which this Year had ſuffer'd a vaſt Loſs by Fire to the value of Two hundred thouſand Pounds. And thus ended the Fifteenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had continu'd only five Weeks and two Days.

The Arrival of the Prince of Newburgh,

6. For a Concluſion and Completion of this Year, we are to take Notice of ſome Tranſactions, which may ſeem to be of an inferior Conſideration, but ſuch as ought not to be wholly omitted. When all ſorts of Pleaſures, Diverſions and Gallantry reign'd in the Court, in the Month of *May*, his Highneſs the Prince of *Newburgh* was pleas'd to make a Viſit to the King of *England*; and coming over in one of his Majeſty's Yatches, appointed to tranſport him from *Calais*, he arriv'd at *Greenwich*, and immediately came to Town with a noble Train of fifty Attendants, among whom were ſeveral Perſons of Quality: Shortly after he was introduc'd at Court, and ſaluted both their Majeſties, and his Royal Highneſs, by whom he was receiv'd with very particular Demonſtrations of Kindneſs and Eſteem, and with repeated Entertainments upon the *Thames* and other Places, for the ſake of the Duke his Father, who had ſhewn remarkable Civilities to his Majeſty in his Exile. In *June*, his Highneſs repair'd to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was receiv'd after the Manner of the Prince of *Tuſcany*, was created Doctor of Laws, and was extremely ſatisfy'd with the Civilities and Curioſities of the Place. In the ſame Year came over to the *Engliſh* Court the Famous Dutcheſs of *Mazarine*, who had formerly the greateſt Fortune of any Lady in *Europe*, and was judg'd to have as much Merit, at leaſt ſo far as Wit and Beauty cou'd extend, the two captivating Qualities of her Sex. She was once thought a fit Match for the King Himſelf, and ſo deſign'd; but now with the Loſs of her Fortune and her Reputation, and the final Parting from her Husband, ſhe was forc'd to take Refuge in the *Engliſh* Court; where ſhe was for a while ſet up as a Rival to the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and might probably have prov'd ſo, had not her amorous Inclinations towards another been too ſoon diſcover'd to the King; who notwithſtanding allow'd her a Half Penſion, four thouſand Pounds a Year: And her Houſe for many Years became the Rendezvous of all the Men of Wit and Quality, and the Scene of all the News of the Town, of Gaming, curious and exquiſite Entertainments, and all manner of Diverſions.

And the Dutcheſs of Mazarine.

Promotions this Year.

As to Preferments and Promotions this Year, they were not very numerous or conſiderable; on the 31ſt of *March*, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd, in Conſideration of the good and faithful Services of *Thomas Povey* Eſquire, to cauſe him to be ſworn one of the Maſters of Requeſts, in the Room of Sir *Thomas Beverly* deceas'd. On the 23d of *June*, his Majeſty was pleas'd, in Conſideration of the eminent Loyalty and Sufferings of *Giles Strangeways* Eſquire, to cauſe him to be ſworn of his moſt honourable Privy-Coucil, and accordingly he took his Place at the Board. On the 15th of *October*, his Grace the Duke of *Albemarle* was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council. On *December* 19, his Majeſty, as a particular Mark of his Grace and Favour to the Right Honourable *Heneage* Lord *Finch*, Baron of *Daventry*, was pleas'd to change his Title of Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, into that of Lord High Chancellor of *England*. On the 19th of *January*, his Majeſty conſidering the good Services of *Richard Bulſtrode* Eſquire, as his Agent with the Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, had been pleas'd to appoint him his Reſident in that Court, and as a farther Mark of his Favour, this Day to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon him. Two Days after his Majeſty was pleas'd to cauſe the right Reverend *Henry Compton*, Lord Biſhop of *London*, to be ſworn one of the Lords of his Privy-Council, and accordingly his Lordſhip took his Place at the Board. To this worthy Prelate was in a great Meaſure owing the happy Education of the two young Princeſſes, the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Anne*, who by his Means were brought up in the Principles of the Church of *England*, and were this Year ſolemnly confirm'd by him in the King's Chapel, being thirteen and eleven Years old, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of all who had any Fears and Apprehenſions of Popery.

The young Princeſſes confirm'd.

The Deaths of Biſhop Henchman,

Of the eminent Perſons that dy'd this Year, we ſhall begin with two celebrated Divines of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Humphrey Henchman*, and Dr. *John Lightfoot*; the firſt was educated in *Clare-Hall* in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, from whence he juſtly roſe by ſeveral Steps to be Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and then of *London*, and Lord Almoner to the King: He was for his Wiſdom and Prudence highly eſteem'd by his Majeſty, whoſe happy Eſcape after the Battel of *Worceſter* this pious Prelate did admirably well manage, eſpecially when he came in a Diſguiſe near *Saliſbury*. He was ſucceeded by the foremention'd Dr. *Compton*, the youngeſt Son to the famous Earl of *Northampton*. The other, Dr. *Lightfoot*, was Maſter of *Catharine-Hall* in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and a Divine of a peculiar Mold, who wonderfully diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by an inexhauſtible Fund of Rabinical Learning; in which, if his Judgment had been every way equal to his Labours and Diſcoveries, he muſt have been the greateſt Man of the Age. He was ſucceeded in his Maſterſhip by Dr. *John Echard*, a Perſon ſo nearly related to the Author that he cannot give him his juſt Character without Suſpicion of Partiality. The next Perſon to be mention'd is Mr. *Richard Smith*, a Citizen of *London*, a Perſon who was infinitely curious in, and inquiſitive after Books and Manuſcripts, and ſuffer'd nothing conſiderable to eſcape his Notice, ſo that in Time he liv'd to ſee himſelf Maſter of one of the choiceſt and beſt collected Libraries in the whole Kingdom; which after his Death was ſold and broken in pieces, to the great Reluctancy of publick-ſpirited Men.

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Dr. Lightfoot,

Mr. R. Smith,

Dr. Willis,

Two others are to be mention'd, of different Genius's, Faculties, &c. The Firſt was Dr. *Thomas Willis*, the moſt renowned Phyſician of his Time, educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was made Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy, and for a conſiderable Time diſplay'd his Skill with wonderful Succeſs. Afterwards, upon the Invitation of Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, he remov'd to *London*, where he became the moſt celebrated in the College of Phyſicians, as well as the Royal Society, and gain'd the Admiration of all Foreigners, as well as thoſe of his own Country, by his Learned Writings, and his extraordinary Cures, the Pains and Labours of which are thought to have ſhorten'd his Life, and carry'd him off in the 54th Year of his Age. The laſt was Mr. *Bulſtrode Whitelock*, a Perſon who in the late Times made a greater Noiſe and Figure than any of the reſt, and has been many Times mention'd in the laſt Volume, therefore the leſs to be ſpoken of here. We ſhall only take notice of him as an Author who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his *Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs*, in which he has ſhewn himſelf one of the moſt impartial Writers of his Party, and conſequently the more to be rely'd on: It is look'd upon as a very valuable Work, yet it is convenient to let the Reader know, That in the Month of *January* 16$\frac{59}{60}$, Page 694, Fig. 3. the Author has theſe Words, in his additional Manuſcript: '*My Wife alſo burnt many of my Papers relating to the Publick Affairs, which makes the preſent Relations the leſs perfect.* About twenty Years of his Life were moſt publick and active, and the laſt fifteen as obſcure and retired.

And Mr. Bulſtrode Whitelock.

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IV. 1. The following Year 1676, in which there cou'd be no Meeting of Parliament, was in a great meaſure taken up with Pleaſures and Diverſions, and ordinary Occurrences at home, and with ſlow Progreſſes of a Mediation and a general Peace abroad. In the Beginning of it, the People of *England* were ſo impatient for a general ſecure Peace, and ſo jealous of the Increaſe of Popery and the *French* Power, that they took the liberty of reflecting upon the King and his Miniſtry in ſo open a Manner, that it was thought fit by Order of Council to put down all common Coffee-Houſes by Proclamation, with this Reaſon given, 'Becauſe in ſuch Houſes, and by the Occaſion of the Meeting of diſaffected Perſons in them, divers falſe, malicious and ſcandalous Reports were devis'd and ſpread abroad, to the Defamation of his Majeſty's Government, and to the Diſturbance of the Quiet and Peace of the Realm.' Soon after another Proclamation was publiſh'd for 'diſcovering and puniſhing Malicious and Diſaffected Perſons, who did daily deviſe and publiſh, as well by Writing as Printing, ſundry falſe, infamous and ſcandalous Libels; endeavouring thereby not only to Traduce and Reproach the Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Government of this Kingdom, and the Publick Adminiſtrations of the ſame, but alſo to ſtir up and diſpoſe the Minds of his Majeſty's Subjects to Sedition and Rebellion.' But upon Petition of the Merchants and Retailers of Coffee and Tea, a Permiſſion was granted to keep open their Coffee-Houſes to the 24th of *June*; upon Condition, that every Keeper of ſuch Houſe ſhou'd uſe his utmoſt Endeavour to prevent and hinder all ſcandalous Papers, Books or Libels, concerning the Government, or the publick Miniſtry, from being brought into his Houſe, or to be read or divulg'd; and to prevent and hinder all Perſons from declaring and uttering in his Houſe all manner of falſe and ſcandalous Reports of the Government, or any of the Miniſters thereof.

Proclamation againſt falſe News, &c.

The Beginning of the Treaty of Nimeguen

But his Majeſty's greateſt Concern at preſent was abroad, where he had undertaken, by the Conſent of all Parties, to be the Mediator for the Peace of the Weſtern World. *Nimeguen*, as was formerly mention'd, was the Place appointed for this grand Treaty; and to this Place there gradually and ſlowly repair'd the Ambaſſadors and Plenipotentiaries from the Emperor, from *France*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, *Brandenburg*, *Savoy*, *Lorrain*, and ſeveral Princes of the Empire. The *Engliſh* Mediators and

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Ambaſſadors were Sir *William Temple*, and Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, who arriv'd at the Place in *July*; but they only found there two of the Parties concern'd, namely the *French* and the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries: The reſt were ſome Months in coming in; and to the *Engliſh* were afterwards added the Lord *Berkley*, and Mr. *Laurence Hyde*, ſecond Son to the late Earl of *Clarendon*. The *French* were the moſt forward in forming the Congreſs, and haſtned their Ambaſſadors to be upon the Place; hoping by their Readineſs, and the great Backwardneſs of ſome of the Allies, to make way for ſeparate Treaties, eſpecially with the *Dutch*. On the contrary, the Houſe of *Auſtria* was ſullen, and, like many Loſers, were ſlow and reſty in all their Steps towards this Treaty: The *Germans* hop'd for great Succeſſes in their Arms this Campaign, and the *Spaniards* flatter'd themſelves with the Intereſts his *Britannick* Majeſty had in the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and with the Part his Parliament had of late taken in their Affairs; and both were in hopes that ſomething wou'd ariſe from one of theſe Sides, to countenance a Pretence that cou'd not bear as Things ſtood at preſent. The *Swede* was very earneſt for a Peace, as having a better Proſpect of recovering himſelf that Way, than by the Courſe of a War. *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were violent for continuing the War, finding the *Swedes* weak, divided, and not relievable by *France*, otherwiſe than with their Mony, and hoping to drive them this Summer out of *Germany*. The *States-General* were very deſirous of a Peace, having no Pretenſions of their own, but to get well out of a War that had ſo much damag'd their Trade and Revenues; but they durſt not break from their Confederates; not truſting *England* enough, nor *France* at all, ſo as to leave themſelves in a Condition of depending upon either of them after the Concluſion of the Peace. One general Thread ran through the Counſels on both Sides; on the *French*, to break the Confidence and Union of the Confederacy by different Paces and Advances to the ſeveral Parties in the Courſe of the Treaty; on the Confederates, to preſerve the ſame Union and Confidence with which they had carry'd on the War, even after the Peace ſhou'd be made. As to the King of *England*, tho' he was offer'd by ſome of the Parties to be Arbiter as well as Mediator in the preſent Differences, and was known by all to have it in his Power to make what Figure he pleas'd, yet he choſe the latter, and gave Orders to his Miniſters only to perform the Offices of a bare Mediation, and to avoid the Parties ſubmitting their Differences to his Determination. And indeed the Counſels at Court were ſo in Ballance, between the Deſires of living at leaſt fair with *France*, and the Fears of too much diſpleaſing the Parliament, that their Steps upon the whole Affair look'd like croſs Purpoſes, which none at home or abroad cou'd well underſtand; and were often miſtaken by both Parties engag'd in the War, as well as by both Parties in the Houſe of Commons.

The Progreſs of the French *in* Flanders.

2. All this Time the War was carried on with Vigour by the *French*, and the Campaign began with ſufficient Glory to Them; for before the middle of *April*, the Mareſchal *Crequi* inveſted the Town of *Conde* with ſixteen Thouſand Men. This haſtned the Prince of *Orange*'s March from *Roſendale* to join the *Spaniſh* General, the Duke *De Villa-Hermoſa*, which he did at *Cambron*, on *April* 26th; but the *French* King and his Brother the Duke of *Orleans*, with a Re-inforcement of ten Thouſand Men came before *Conde*, and order'd the Town to be ſo furiouſly batter'd and ſtorm'd on every Side, that the Garriſon was forc'd to ſurrender at Diſcretion, tho' the Prince of *Orange* was march'd as far as *Granville* in order to relieve them. Soon after, the *French* ſat down before *Bouchain*, a ſmall Town of Importance between *Cambray* and *Valenciennes*, and keeping the Communication between thoſe two Places, which in a ſhort Time was likewiſe ſurrender'd to them. After which the *French* King, who judg'd he had made a ſufficient Appearance in Perſon, in the Beginning of *June* return'd to *Paris*, leaving the Command of his Army in the *Netherlands* to the famous Mareſchal *Schomberg*.

The Attempts of the Prince of Orange.

In the mean Time the Prince of *Orange* having inveſted *Maeſtricht*, reſolv'd about the End of *July* to lay a formal Siege to it; this being the only Town of the *Dutch* Provinces remaining in the *French* Hands, and fortify'd by them with all the Advantages of Art and Expence, and with a Garriſon of eight Thouſand Men under Monſieur *Caloo*, a daring Commander who reſolv'd to hold out to the laſt. This Siege was carry'd on with uncommon Bravery, and many deſperate Aſſaults. About the middle of *Auguſt*, the Prince, who expos'd himſelf upon all Occaſions, receiv'd a Muſquet-Shot in his Arm; at which, perceiving that thoſe about him were diſcourag'd, he immediately pull'd off his Hat with the wounded Arm, and wav'd it about his Head, to ſhew the Wound was only in the Fleſh, and the Bone ſafe; whereupon they all reviv'd, and the Prince went on without Interruption in all the Motions of

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the Siege. But there were two principal Reaſons why he cou'd not carry the Place; firſt, the River was grown ſo ſhallow, that he was forc'd to ſtay ſome Days for his heavy Cannon from *Ruremond* for want of Water; then the Forces he expected from the Biſhop of *Munſter* and Princes of *Lunenburg* never came to his Aſſiſtance; to which if it be added, that a cruel Sickneſs fell into the Army, which weaken'd it more than all the Attacks they made upon the Town, the Diſappointment is not to be wonder'd at: For this not only gave Monſieur *Schomberg* an Opportunity to beſiege and take *Aire*, but Encouragement to march even through the Heart of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, to the Relief of *Maeſtricht*. Upon whoſe Approach, it was agreed in a Council of War, that the Siege ſhou'd be rais'd; with which the Campaign ended in the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Provinces.

The Campaign being ended, all Parties began to turn their Thoughts towards the Motions of the Treaty at *Nimeguen*; and the Prince of *Orange*, no ways ſatisfy'd with the dilatory Progreſs of the Emperor, the *German* Princes, and the King of *Spain*, was by Penſionary *Fagel* adviſ'd of the Neceſſity of making a ſeparate Peace, if no other cou'd be obtain'd. Sir *William Temple* had ſeveral Conferences with the Prince upon this Subject, and one Day told him 'That the Penſionary, in a Diſcourſe with him, 'was of Opinion that nothing elſe cou'd be done but to 'make a ſeparate Peace, and that he knew not a Man in '*Holland* who was not of his Mind.' Upon which his Highneſs, interrupting him, ſaid, *Yes, I am ſure I know One, and that is my Self, and I'll hinder it as long as I can; but if any Thing ſhou'd happen to me, I know it wou'd be done in two Days.* Then the Ambaſſador ask'd him, 'Whether he was of the Penſionary's Mind as to what he 'thought likely to happen the next Campaign:' He acknowledg'd, *That the Appearances were ill, but Campaigns did not always end as they began; That Accidents might happen which no Man cou'd foreſee, and that if they came to one fair Battel, none cou'd anſwer for the Event: That the King of* England, *if he pleas'd, might make the Peace before it began; but if he was ſo indifferent as to let that Seaſon paſs, for his Part, he was oblig'd to go on, and take his Fortune.* Then he told him, *That he had that very Morning ſeen a poor old Man tugging alone in a little Boat with his Oars, againſt the Eddy of a Sluce upon a Canal; that when with the laſt Endeavours he was juſt got up to the Place intended, the Force of the Eddy carry'd him quite back again; and thus three or four Times while the Prince ſaw him.* Then he concluded, *That this old Man's Buſineſs and his were too much like one another; and that He ought however to do juſt as the old Man did, without knowing the Succeſs, any more than what happen'd in the poor Man's Caſe.*

His Reſolution againſt a ſeparate Peace.

The King's Orders concerning Neutrality, &c.

3. To return to *England*; the King having, as it is thought, with ſome Reluctancy made Peace with *Holland*, and being now in a Neutrality with other Princes, appear'd reſolv'd to keep the Peace at home. But the *Dutch* on one Side ſuſpected, that he ſecretly gave Aſſiſtance to the *French*; and the *French* again alledg'd, That ſome *Engliſh* Ships were retain'd in the Service of *Holland*. Hence, 'Upon Complaints made to the King by the Miniſters of 'ſeveral Princes now in Amity with his Majeſty, that di'vers of his Subjects had lately taken Commiſſions from 'ſome Princes and States now in Amity with his Majeſty, 'to ſerve at Sea againſt others, who are likewiſe his Ma'jeſty's Allies; his Majeſty, for the Preſervation and Con'tinuance of Friendſhip and Amity between him and his 'reſpective Allies,' thought fit by his Royal Proclamation given at *White-Hall*, *May* 17th 'Strictly to prohibit and 'forbid all his Subjects whatſoever to take any Commiſſion 'at Sea from any Foreign Prince or State, againſt any other 'Foreign Prince or State now in Amity with his Majeſty, 'or to ſerve as Mariners or Sea-Men in any Ship or Veſ'ſel which ſhall be employ'd againſt any Prince or State 'now in Amity with his Majeſty, during the preſent War.' Shortly after, upon further Complaints from abroad, that Acts of Hoſtility were ſuffer'd to be committed under the Protection of the *Engliſh* Coaſts and Ports, his Majeſty was pleas'd to cauſe another Royal Proclamation to be publiſh'd, in which he declared, 'That finding the Security 'of Navigation and Commerce to and from his Majeſty's 'Ports, in this Time of War, hath been very much di'ſturb'd, and that even the Reverence due to his Ports hath 'been violated, his Will and Pleaſure is, that theſe follow'ing Rules and Ordinances be obſerv'd: I. That within 'his Majeſty's Ports, Havens and Creeks, and the Precincts 'thereof, no Hoſtilities ſhall be committed by any of the 'Parties whatſoever, but that all Ships during their being 'in the ſaid Ports, *&c.* ſhall be under his Majeſty's ſpe'cial Protection; that the Ships and Goods of all Aggreſ'ſors or Offenders herein ſhall be *ipſo facto* Confiſcate, not'withſtanding any Commiſſion of War they may have. 'II. That all his Majeſty's Officers and Subjects do, as far

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'as in them lies, prohibit the Roving of Men of War ſo near his Majeſty's Coaſts or Ports, as may give Apprehenſion to the Merchant-Men that their Paſſage is unſafe, or may hinder the Commerce of his Subjects. That all his Majeſty's Officers do ſuccour and reſcue all Merchant-Men and others, as ſhall be attack'd upon his Majeſty's Coaſts, and apprehend and ſeize the Offenders, in order to bring them to condign Puniſhment.'-----To which were added five other Rules and Orders, all deſign'd to inforce the like general Intention of Neturality and impartial Protection.

The Inſolence of the French *Privateers.*

But while the *French* in a ſpecial Manner receiv'd the Benefit of theſe Orders, the *Engliſh* Veſſels cou'd not be ſo protected from the Injuſtice and Inſolence of their Privateers; who, after the ſeparate Peace between *England* and *Holland*, were let looſe, and ſwarming in the *Channel*, pick'd up many of the *Engliſh* Merchant-Men, and, as if in open War, made Prizes of them. And upon Complaint of this Grievance in the *French* Court, the Method of Redreſs prov'd a new Oppreſſion: For Sir *Ellis Leighton*, Secretary to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in the Court of *France*, being appointed to Solicit in that Court the Reſtitution of the *Engliſh* Ships, and their Ladings, thus ſhamefully taken by *French* Privateers, he behav'd himſelf corruptly in the Negotiation, by making open Contracts, and receiving Bribes in the Proſecution of the Merchants Affairs, and ſometimes making private Agreements with the *French* Privateers to deſiſt from, and relinquiſh all farther Solicitations of the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Subjects, to the great Detriment and Loſs of the Merchants concern'd. All which being made to appear to his Majeſty in Council, he was taken into Cuſtody, in order to be ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*, and to a full Proſecution: But being conſcious of the Effects, he made his Eſcape from the Meſſenger, and fled from Juſtice.

A Repreſentation of them to the King.

His Anſwer.

Under the Preſſure of theſe Loſſes and Indignities, the Lords of the Committee of Trade, by the repeated Petitions from the Merchants and Sea-Men, found themſelves oblig'd to preſent to his Majeſty in Council a Report touching the Injuries which his Subjects ſuſtain'd by the *French* Privateers; with a Liſt of ſuch *Engliſh* Ships as had been ſeiz'd by them ſince *December* 1673, to the Number of fifty three, concluding thus, 'Wherefore conſidering that the Root of all this Diſorder ariſes from the Violence and Rapine of the *French* Capers, who ought to be look'd on as the Diſturbers of the Publick Quiet, and Enemies to the good Friendſhip between the two Crowns; We are humbly of Opinion, That your Majeſty has juſt Occaſion, from the Injuries paſt, and thoſe which are now depending, *and which do every Day increaſe*, to make a very ſerious Repreſentation of all unto his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; and not only preſs for ſome better Method of Repairing the Grievances mention'd, but earneſtly to inſiſt on the Calling in of all Privateers: Or elſe your Majeſty muſt do Right, and give Defence to your Subjects from all the Inſolencies which they ſo frequently meet.' Sign'd *Finch C. Angleſey*, *Bath*, *Bridgewater*, *Craven*, *H. Coventry*, *J. Ernle*, *G. Carteret*, and *Robert Southwell*. To which Report, this particular Anſwer in Council was given: 'His Majeſty taking into his ſerious Conſideration the daily Complaint of his Subjects, and having a great Senſe and Reſentment of their ill Uſage, hath thought fit to approve the ſaid Report, and is therefore graciouſly pleas'd to order, and it is hereby order'd accordingly, That the Right Honourable Mr. *Henry Coventry* do immediately tranſmit to his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at *Paris* a Copy thereof, that ſo the evil and unhappy State of theſe Things may be made known to that Court, and the Remedies preſs'd for in his Majeſty's Name, which are propos'd by the ſaid Report. And Maſter Secretary is alſo to attend the *French* Ambaſſador here with the ſame Repreſentation, and to expoſtulate upon all theſe Hardſhips, and the little Remedy given to his Majeſty's Subjects, either in the Merits of their Cauſes, or the Recommendations of them by his Majeſty: That ſo his Excellency being made ſenſible of his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure herein, and the reaſonable Diſcontent of his Subjects, there may be by his Care ſuch lively Impreſſions hereof fix'd with the King his Maſter, and the Miniſters of *France*, as may redreſs the Evils that are complain'd of, and obtain the juſt Remedies which are propos'd.

Notwithſtanding this, no other Satisfaction cou'd be obtain'd, than by doing Juſtice to themſelves, by a Reprizal on ſeveral of their Privateers; and this only Method did by no means repair the Loſſes of private Men, tho' it ſeem'd a ſort of a Vindication of the publick Honour. Theſe Inſolencies of the *French*, however, had this Effect, that they made the People of *England* more and more impatient for a Sitting Parliament, expecting and hoping that this inſufferable Grievance wou'd then be effectually redreſs'd by a Reparation of their Damages, or at leaſt by an open War.

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Complaints againſt the Papiſts.

A Redreſs.

By way of Preparation for this Meeting, the King thought fit to take notice of the Dangers of Popery, which grew more open and viſible every Day: And tho' the Intervals of Parliament gave Impunity and Connivance to the *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, yet Complaints were publickly made to the King and Council, who particularly in *October* were inform'd, 'Of the bold and open Repair made to ſeveral Places, and eſpecially to her Majeſty's Chappel in *Somerſet-houſe*, and the Houſes of Foreign Ambaſſadors, Agents, and other publick Miniſters, for the hearing of Maſs, and other Worſhip and Service of the *Romiſh* Church; and that the ſaid Ambaſſadors, Agents, and Miniſters do permit and ſuffer, both daily Maſſes to be ſaid, and other Worſhip and Service to be perform'd in their Houſes in a publick manner by *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Prieſts; and alſo Sermons in *Engliſh*, to be preached in the ſaid Houſes and Chappels, contrary to the expreſs Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom.' Upon hearing of this, an Order of Council was ſoon after iſſued out, declaring, 'That his Majeſty had taken the ſad Complaint into ſerious Conſideration, and being ſenſible thereof as a matter highly tending to the Violation of the Laws of the Realm, and the Scandal of Religion and Government, and Breach of good Order; and in his Princely Wiſdom weighing the dangerous Conſequence thereof, was reſolv'd to take ſtrict Order for the ſtopping this Evil before it ſpread any further: His Majeſty therefore, by the Advice of his Council, forbids any of his Subjects hereafter to offend in the like kind at their utmoſt Perils; and likewiſe orders, that his Principal Secretaries of State ſhou'd repair to the Foreign Miniſters, to make known unto them his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and to expect their Compliance, that they wou'd not permit Maſſes, or other Service, to be ſaid by any of the ſaid Prieſts, or Sermons to be preach'd in *Engliſh* in their Houſes or Chappels, things never heard of, or attempted by any precedent Ambaſſadors or Agents here. His Majeſty thinking fit that Notice ſhou'd be firſt given to the ſaid publick Miniſters (the rather to teſtify his Reſpects unto them) before the ſtricter Courſe his Majeſty hath reſolv'd be taken with his own Subjects, by a vigorous Proſecution and Infliction of Penalties and Puniſhments, for the preventing and repreſſing the like hereafter.

Promotions, &c.

4. As the People grew impatient for a Sitting Parliament, ſo a great many appear'd ſuſpicious of their Meeting; and the long Interval of Seſſions began ſo much to open the Mouths of the City and Country, that on the 23d of *December* his Majeſty thought fit to quiet his loving Subjects by the certain Proſpect of a Sitting Parliament, and by a Proclamation to declare, 'That having been pleas'd to continue this preſent Parliament by Prorogation until the 15th of *February* now next coming, he had a full Purpoſe and Reſolution, that the Parliament ſhould be then holden: And he was deſirous, for divers weighty Conſiderations, *to have then a full Aſſembly of the Members of both Houſes*.' But before we arrive at that Aſſembly, we are to conclude the old Year with ſome few Promotions, and the Deaths of ſeveral notable Men. In Places and Honours there were no conſiderable Alterations. On the 26th of *April* the Lord Biſhop of *Durham*, Dr. *Crew*, was ſworn one of the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy-Council. The Honour of Knighthood, as was uſual of late, was conferr'd on the two Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, Sir *John Peak* and Sir *Thomas Stamp*. And on the 28th of *October*, both their Majeſties, accompany'd by their Royal Highneſſes, and the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Anne*, and attended by many of the Nobility and principal Perſons of Quality, were pleas'd to accept of a hearty Invitation from the City, and to honour the new Lord-Mayor, Sir *Thomas Davis*, with their Preſence, firſt at the great Show in *Cheapſide*, and afterwards in the *Guildhall* at Dinner, where the Entertainment was exceeding ſplendid and magnificent in all Kinds, and very much to the Satisfaction of their Majeſties, and the whole Court. Not long after Sir *Thomas Doleman*, Knight, was Sworn one of the Clerks of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council, in the room of Sir *Edward Walker* deceaſed.

The Death of Biſhop Reynolds,

We are to remember ſeveral celebrated Perſons that died this Year, of various Genius's and Characters; and ſhall begin with two learned Divines of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Edward Reynolds*, and Dr. *Iſaac Baſire*. The former, an *Oxonian*, was brought up in the *Presbyterian* way, became one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and was for ſeveral Years the Glory of their Party in the City of *London*: But after the Reſtoration, he thought fit to comply with the Church of *England*, and the *Act of Uniformity*, and was rewarded with the Biſhoprick of *Norwich*, which he held to his Death; leaving behind him the Character of a Man of excellent Parts and Endowments, of a very great Wit, Fancy and Judgment, an eminent Divine, and highly eſteem'd by all Parties for his famous Preaching, and his

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Dr. Baſire,

exemplary Life and Converſation. The other, Dr. *Baſire*, was educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and became one of the late King's Chaplains, and Archdeacon of *Northumberland*, before the breaking out of the Troubles of *England*. After which he ſhew'd himſelf eminent both for his Loyalty and Learning, and Travell'd into ſeveral Countries in the Eaſt, as *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, *Meſopotamia*, *Egypt*, *Greece*, *&c.* where he made himſelf famous by his indefatigable Labours and Enquiries into the State of the *Eaſtern* Churches, and by diſplaying the Nature and Excellency of his own among the Patriarchs and learned Men in thoſe Countries. After the Reſtoration he again took Poſſeſſion of his Archdeaconry, which together with a Prebendary of *Durham*, was all the Preferment held by this learned and laborious Man.

Judge Hale,

Sir William Morrice,

Sir Edward Walker,

We ſhall next mention three famous Knights, Sir *Matthew Hale*, Sir *William Morrice*, and Sir *Edward Walker*. The firſt was a *Glouceſterſhire* Gentleman, and famous both for Law and Divinity, a great Genius, and an Ornament of the *Engliſh* Nation; who by mighty Induſtry, and the Acquaintance of great Men, *Glanvile*, *Noy*, *Selden*, *Vaughan*, *&c.* arriv'd at a more than ordinary Perfection in the Municipal Laws of the Kingdom; for which he was highly diſtinguiſh'd in the moſt difficult Times, and afterwards made Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, and then Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*: In both which Stations he did not only manifeſt a great Reach and a profound Judgment, but ſuch an unaffected Honeſty and Uprightneſs, as can never be exceeded. To ſum up his Character in the Words of the celebrated Writer of his Life, 'He was one of the greateſt Patterns that this Age hath 'afforded, whether in his private Deportment as a Chri'ſtian, or in publick Employments, either at the Bar, or 'on the Bench.' The ſecond was Sir *William Morrice*, a *Devonſhire* Gentleman, who tho' inferior to the other, was ſo conſiderable for the prudent Management, and ſo ſerviceable in the great Work of the Reſtoration, that his Name ought to live in Hiſtory; for which he was rewarded not only with the Honour of Knighthood, but with being made Principal Secretary of State. But after eight Years Preferment, he deſir'd to reſign his Place, and retire into the Country, where he had provided a choice Library of Books; which prov'd his principal Diverſion, and moſt ſenſible Pleaſure during the laſt Years of his Life. The laſt was Sir *Edward Walker*, of *Somerſetſhire* by Birth, a zealous and loyal Gentleman, who was highly intruſted by the late King in his greateſt Difficulties, was made Secretary of War, and *Garter* King at Arms. He is more particularly to be remember'd for his Diligence and careful Obſervation in collecting and recounting the grand Occurrences that paſs'd in the King's Army in the Civil Wars; from whoſe Papers the Lord *Clarendon* had the greateſt and moſt conſiderable Helps, in writing the warlike Parts of his famous Hiſtory.

Mr. John Tombes,

Mr. Henry Stubbe,

Mr. John Ogilby,

We have three or four other notable Men to mention, but as different as can be; and firſt Mr. *John Tombes*, Batchelor of Divinity, educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*; a Perſon who in Time became the Head of the Anabaptiſt Sect, and their moſt celebrated Preacher: He was one of incomparable Parts, well vers'd in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Languages, and a moſt excellent Diſputant, ſo exceeding apprehenſive, that he could find out the End upon the firſt entry of the Diſputes. He was turn'd out of *Lemſter* by the *Act of Uniformity*, and dy'd at *Salisbury*, having ſhewn himſelf as much averſe to the Presbyterian, as to the Church of *England* Doctrines. The next to be mention'd is Mr. *Henry Stubbe*, the noted Phyſician and Philoſopher, commonly call'd the *Doctor of* Warwick, from the Place of his Habitation. He was educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he ſoon diſcover'd a warm Head, and a moſt pragmatical Spirit, and afterwards he became as various and bold a Writer as any in the Age. He was dexterous with his Pen, whether *pro* or *con*, that few or none cou'd equal, anſwer, or come near him; having admirable Parts, a prodigious Memory, and a great Knowledge in the common Languages and Sciences: But he had a violent and reſtleſs Head, and no fix'd Principles, ſo that his Raſhneſs often brought him into Danger. After a Life of perpetual Toil and Hurry, he was drown'd near the *Bath*, in the 47th Year of his Age. The third was Mr. *John Ogilby*, a *Scotch* Man by Birth, and only a Dancing-Maſter by Education, who by his own great Labour and Pains made himſelf famous for a great many things, and gain'd the Favour and Acquaintance of the King, and the chief Men of the Kingdom. The great Poets he tranſlated, the voluminous Books that he publiſh'd, the Cuts, Maps and Surveys that he made, together with the Projects he contriv'd, all ſhew him to be a Perſon of uncommon Reach and wonderful Induſtry; and it is ſaid, that if he had been carefully educated when young, he might have prov'd the Glory of the *Scotch* Nation.

And the Earl of Briſtol.

Laſt of all died *George Digby*, the famous Earl of *Briſtol*, a Perſon who had undergone as much Variety of Fortunes as any Man, whoſe Character has been already given, and his Actions often remember'd. He dy'd in the 65th Year of his Age, and his Garter was given to the Lord-Treaſurer *Danby*, who now appear'd the greateſt Favourite in the Court.

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The SIXTEENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

V. I. All the laſt Year had in a great Meaſure fill'd an Interval of Parliament, the Prorogation of which was very near fifteen Months, and the longeſt ſingle Prorogation that ever had been known. The length of this, together with the Deſires of a great many in the Nation, occaſion'd three or four Books to be writ, in order to prove the preſent Parliament to be diſſolv'd, according to the ancient Laws of the Kingdom. Others were written on the contrary ſide, by the Encouragement of the preſent Miniſtry, and particularly two call'd *Pacquets of Advices*, &c. *To the Men of* Shaftsbury, &c. all which made a conſiderable Noiſe in the Nation, and very much increas'd the Curioſity and Expectations of the People, at the Meeting of the Parliament, which, according to Prorogation, was on the 15th of *February*. This was the Sixteenth Seſſion of the ſecond and long Parliament; at which Meeting a vaſt Number of People crowded into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the *Court of Requeſts*, the *Painted-Chamber*, the *Lobbies*, and all Places near the Houſes, being fill'd with more than ordinary Doubts and Expectations. The King, ſeated on the Throne in the Houſe of Peers, adorn'd with his Robes and Crown, made this remarkable Speech to both Houſes. '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I have call'd 'you together again after a long Prorogation, that you 'might have an Opportunity to repair the Misfortunes of 'the laſt Seſſion, and to recover and reſtore the right Uſe 'of Parliaments. The Time I have given you to recol'lect your ſelves in, and to conſider whither thoſe Diffe'rences tend, which have been ſo unhappily manag'd and 'improv'd between you, is enough to leave you without 'all Excuſe, if ever you fall into the like again. I am 'now reſolv'd to let the World ſee, *That it ſhall not be* '*my Fault, if they be not made happy by your Conſultations* '*in Parliament.* For I declare my ſelf very plainly to 'you, that I am prepared to give you all the Satisfaction 'and Security in the great Concerns of the *Proteſtant* Re'ligion, as it is eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*, that 'ſhall reaſonably be ask'd, or can conſiſt with Chriſtian 'Prudence; and I declare my ſelf as freely, that I am 'ready to gratify you in a further Security of your *Liberty* 'and *Property* (if you can think you want it) by as 'many good Laws as you ſhall propoſe, and as can 'conſiſt with the Safety of the *Government*, without which 'there will neither be Liberty nor Property left to any 'Man.

'Having thus plainly told you what I am ready to do 'for you, I ſhall deal as plainly with you again, and tell 'you what it is I do expect from you. Firſt, I do expect 'and require from you, *That all Occaſions of Differences* '*between the two Houſes be carefully avoided*; for elſe 'they who have no Hopes to prevent your good Reſolu'tions, will hope by this Reſerve to hinder them from 'taking any Effect. And let all Men judge who is moſt 'for Arbitrary Government, they that foment ſuch Diffe'rences as tend to Diſſolve all Parliaments; or I, that 'wou'd preſerve This and all Parliaments from being 'made uſeleſs by ſuch Diſſentions. In the next place, I de'ſire you to conſider the Neceſſity of Building more Ships, 'and how much all our Safeties are concern'd in it. And 'ſince the Additional Revenue of Exciſe will ſhortly ex'pire, you that know me to be under a great Burden of 'Debts, and how hard a Shift I am making to pay them 'off as faſt as I can, I hope will never deny me the Con'tinuance of this Revenue, and ſome reaſonable Supply to 'make my Condition more eaſy. And that you may be 'ſatisfy'd how impoſſible it is (whatſoever ſome Men 'think) to ſupport the Government with leſs than the 'preſent Revenue, you may at any Time ſee the yearly 'eſtabliſh'd Charge; by which it will appear, That the 'conſtant and unavoidable Charge being paid, there will 'remain no Overplus towards the Diſcharging thoſe Con'tingencies which may happen in all Kingdoms, and 'which have been a conſiderable Charge to me this laſt 'Year. To conclude, I do recommend to you the *Peace* 'of the Kingdom, in the careful Prevention of all Diffe'rences; the *Safety* of the Kingdom, in providing ſome 'greater Strength at Sea; and the *Proſperity* of the King'dom, in aſſiſting the neceſſary Charge and Support of 'the Government. And if any of theſe good Ends ſhou'd 'happen to be diſappointed, I call God and Man to Wit'neſs this Day, *That the Misfortune of that Diſappointment* '*ſhall not lye at my Door.* The reſt I refer to the Chan'cellor.

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The Lord Chancellor's Speech.

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Whereupon the Chancellor made a long and eloquent Speech, the greateſt Part of which ſeems neceſſary to be remember'd. ‘ *My Lords*, &c. By the moſt gracious Pleaſure of the King, you are here again aſſembled to hold another Seſſion of this Parliament; wherein the King expects your *Advice* and your *Aſſiſtance*; your Advice in the Matters of the higheſt Deliberation, your Aſſiſtance in Matters of extream and preſſing Difficulty. Your Deliberations will chiefly be exercis'd about thoſe Things which belong to your Peace, the Peace of the *Church*, and the Peace of the *State*; two Conſiderations of ſo cloſe a Connexion between Themſelves, that in the very *Original Writ of Summons*, by vertue of which you ſtill ſit here, they are jointly recommended to your Counſel and your Care. The Peace of the Church is harder to preſerve than the Peace of the State; for they who deſire Innovations in the State, moſt commonly begin the Attempt upon the Church. And by this Means it comes to paſs, That the Peace of the Church is ſo often diſturb'd, not only by thoſe poor miſtaken Souls, who deſerve to be pity'd, but by malicious and deſigning Men, who deſerve to be puniſh'd: And while Things continue in this Eſtate, it cannot be avoided but that the Laws which are neceſſary to reſtrain the Malicious, muſt and will ſometimes diſquiet and wound thoſe that are Weak. What Remedies are fit for this Diſeaſe, Whether the Fault be in the *Laws*, or the *Men*, in the Men that ſhou'd *Obey*, or in the Men that ſhou'd *Execute*; Whether the Cure be a Work of Time and Patience, or of Zeal and Diligence; or Whether any new Expedient can be found to ſecure the Ship from that Storm which the ſwelling of two contrary Tides ſeems to threaten, is wholly left to your Advice: The King hath call'd you for that End, and doubts not but your Counſels will be ſuch as ſhall tend to Safety and to Eſtabliſhment.

‘ The Peace of the State requires as much of your Care and Vigilance too: Our Peace at *Home*, and our Peace *Abroad*. As for that Abroad, We are at this Time, bleſſed be God for his Mercy to us, and the King for his Care of us, in perfect Peace with all the Nations upon Earth: Such a Peace as makes us the Envy of the *Chriſtian* World, and hath enabled us to do our ſelves Right againſt the *Infidels*: Such a Peace as brings with it all the Fruits of Peace, and deſerves not only our Prayers for the Continuance of it, but our beſt and moſt watchful Care that nothing may be done on our Part to give it an Interruption. But then we muſt conſider again, that our Peace Abroad will not ſubſiſt any longer than while we maintain our Peace at Home: For without this, no Kingdom can be able to act in its full Strength; and without that, the Friendſhip or Enmity of any Nation ceaſes to be conſiderable to its Neighbours. Now 'tis a great and dangerous Miſtake in thoſe, who think the Peace at Home is well enough preſerv'd, ſo long as the Sword is not drawn; whereas in Truth nothing deſerves the Name of Peace, but *Unity*: Such an Unity as flows from an unſhaken Truſt and Confidence between the King and his People, from a due Reverence and Obedience to the Laws, and to his Government, from a religious and aweful Care, not to remove the *Ancient Land-marks*, not to diſturb thoſe *Conſtitutions* which Time and the Publick Convenience hath ſettled, from a Zeal to preſerve the whole *Frame* and *Order* of the Government upon the old Foundations, and from a perfect Deteſtation and Abhorrency of all ſuch as are given to change: Whatever falls ſhort of This, falls ſhort of Peace too. If therefore there be any Endeavours to renew, nay if there be not all poſſible Endeavours to extinguiſh the *Memory* of all former Provocations and Offences, and the *Occaſions* of the like for the future; If there be ſuch Diviſions as beget great Thoughts of Heart; Shall we call this Peace, becauſe it is not War, or becauſe Men do not yet take the Field? As well we may call it Health, when there is a dangerous Fermentation in the Blood and Spirits, becauſe the Patient hath not yet taken his Bed.

Then laying open the Difficulties with Relation to the Weakneſs of the Fleet and the King's particular Debts, he proceeded thus: ‘ One Difficulty more there is, without which all the reſt were none, and that is the ſtrange *Diffidence* and *Diſtruſt*, which like a general *Infection* begins to ſpread it ſelf through all the Corners of the Land. Much of this riſes from the Artifice of ill Men, who create and nouriſh all the Suſpicions they can deviſe; But the *Cure* of it lies perfectly in your Hands, for all will preſently vaniſh as ſoon as Men ſhall ſee your Acquieſcence, and the Fruits of it in a chearful Concurrence with his Majeſty to all theſe good and publick Ends which he hath now ſo earneſtly recommended to you. It wou'd be ſomewhat ſtrange, and without all Example in Story, that a Nation ſhou'd be twice ruin'd, twice undone, by the ſelf-ſame Ways and Means, the ſame *Fears* and *Jealouſies*. Will any Man that but gives himſelf leave to think, refuſe to enjoy and take Comfort in the Bleſſings that are preſent, only for fear of future Changes and Alterations? Surely it is enough for any Kingdom, and more than moſt Kingdoms of the World can boaſt of, to have their Affairs brought into ſuch Condition, that they may in all *Human Probability*, and unleſs by their own Default, continue a long Time ſafe and happy. Future Contingencies are not capable of any certain Proſpect: A Security beyond that of Human Probability, no Nation ever did or ever ſhall attain to. If a Kingdom be Guarded by *Nature* againſt all Dangers from Without, and then will rely too much upon what Nature hath done for them; If a Kingdom be warn'd and caution'd againſt all Dangers from Within, by former *Experiences*, and then will either forget, or make no uſe of thoſe Experiences; If a Kingdom be powerful in Shipping and Navigation, and then ſee their Neighbours endeavouring to overpower them that Way, without being ſolicitous to augment and reinforce their own naval Strength; If a Kingdom be happy in the frequent Aſſemblies of their great Councils, where all that is grievous may be redreſs'd, and all that is wanting may be enacted, and then will render thoſe Councils uſeleſs and impracticable, by continuing endleſs Diſtractions; who can wonder if their Affairs ſhou'd begin to be leſs proſperous, when otherwiſe, humanly ſpeaking, and in all common Probability, their Condition wou'd have been out of the Reach of Fortune, and their Security in a manner Impregnable.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, If the Preſaging Malice of our Enemies ſhou'd portend any ſuch Fate as this to befal us, the Wiſdom and Magnanimity of this great Council will quickly be too hard for all their Auguries: The Honour and Loyalty of this auguſt and venerable Aſſembly will leave no Kind of Room for ſuch Divinations. You that have the Happineſs to live under ſo excellent a Monarchy, ſo admirable a Conſtitution and Temper of Government; You that remember what the Want of this Government coſt us, and the miſerable Deſolations which attended it, have all the Motives, and are under all poſſible Obligations to ſecure and advance the Intereſt of it. The King on his Part meets you with ſo open and ſo full a Heart, and ſo abſolutely reſolv'd to do his utmoſt to *Glad the Hearts of his People*, that it muſt be the ſtrangeſt Infelicity in the World, if either He or his Subjects ſhou'd meet with any Diſappointments here. For the King hath no Deſires but what are *Publick*, no Ends or Aims which terminate in Himſelf; All his Endeavours are ſo entirely bent upon the Welfare of his whole Dominions, that he doth not think any Man a good *Subject* who doth not heartily love his *Country*: And therefore let no Man paſs for a good *Patriot*, who doth not heartily love and ſerve his *Prince*. Private Men indeed are ſubject to be miſ-led by private Intereſts, and may entertain ſome vain and ſlender Hopes of ſurviving the *Publick*; but a Prince is ſure to fall with it, and therefore can never have any Intereſts divided from it. To live and dye with the King is the higheſt *Profeſſion* a Subject can make, and ſometimes 'tis a Profeſſion only and no more; but in a King 'tis an abſolute *Neceſſity*, 'tis a Fate inevitable, that he muſt live and dye with his People. Away then with all the vain Imaginations of thoſe who infuſe a Misbelief of the Government; Away with all thoſe ill-meant Diſtinctions between the *Court* and the *Country*, between the *Natural* and the *Politick* Capacity; and let us all who go about to perſuade others that there are *ſeveral Intereſts*, have a care of that Precipice to which ſuch Principles may lead them. For the firſt Men that ever began to diſtinguiſh of their *Duty*, never left off till they had quite diſtinguiſh'd themſelves out of their *Allegiance*. Let no Contention then come near this Place, but that of a noble Emulation who ſhall ſerve his Country beſt, by well ſerving of the King; Let no Paſſions enter here, but that of a pious Zeal to lay hold upon all Opportunities of Promoting the Honour and Service of the Crown, till our Enemies deſpair of ever profiting by any Diſorders amongſt us. And let all who pray for the long Life and Proſperity of the King, add their Endeavours to their Prayers, and ſtudy to prolong this Sacred Life, *by giving him all the Joys of Heart which can ariſe from the Demonſtrations of the lively and the warm Affections of his People.*

This Rhetorical Speech was ſhortly after ſucceeded by one of another Kind, deliver'd by the volatile Duke of *Buckingham*, who before had been prepar'd to diſpute the Validity and Eſſence of the preſent Parliament. Therefore as ſoon as the Commons were withdrawn from the upper Houſe, and a Bill offer'd to be read, his Grace ſtood up, and with great Briskneſs deſir'd to be heard firſt. Conſidering the Man, the Argument, and Event, it will be very proper to inſert a great Part of his Speech. After

The Duke of Buckingham's Speech to prove the Parliament diſſolv'd.

an Introduction he thus comes to the Point; ‘The Queſtion is not *what we are to do*, but Whether at this Time *we can do any Thing as a Parliament*; it being clear to me that the Parliament is Diſſolv'd: And if in this Opinion I have the Misfortune to be miſtaken, I have another Misfortune joyn'd to it; for I deſire to maintain the Argument with all the Judges and Lawyers in *England*, and leave it afterwards to your Lordſhips, whether I am in the right or no.’ After that, ſpeaking of the other Houſe, he ſaid, ‘I have often wonder'd how it ſhou'd come to paſs, that this Houſe of Commons, in which there are ſo many honeſt, and ſo many worthy Gentlemen, ſhou'd yet be leſs reſpectful to your Lordſhips, as certainly they have been, than any Houſe of Commons that were ever choſen in *England*; and yet if the Matter be a little enquired into, the Reaſon of it will plainly appear. For, *My Lords*, the very Nature of the Houſe of Commons is chang'd; they do not think now that they are an Aſſembly that are to return to their own Houſes, and become *Private Men* again; but they look upon themſelves as a *Standing Senate*, and as a Number of Men pick'd out to be Legiſlators for the reſt of their Lives: And if that be the Caſe, they have Reaſon to believe themſelves our Equals. But, *My Lords*, 'tis a dangerous Thing to try Experiments in a Government: Men do not foreſee the ill Conſequences that muſt happen, when they go about to alter the Eſſential Parts of it, *the Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions of Parliaments*. For all Governments are *Artificial Things*, and every Part of them has a Dependence one upon another: And it is with them as with Clocks and Watches; if you ſhou'd put great Wheels in the place of little ones, all the Movement wou'd ſtand ſtill: So that we cannot alter any one Part of a Government, without prejudicing the Motions of the whole.-------I ſhall go on to ſhew you, *why*, in my Opinion, *we are at this Time no Parliament*. The Ground of this Opinion of mine is taken from the ancient and unqueſtionable Statutes of this Realm; and give me leave to tell your Lordſhips by the Way, *That Statutes are not like Women, for they are not one jot the worſe for being old*. This Firſt Statute is that in the 4th of *Edward* III. *viz.* It is accorded, *That a Parliament ſhall be holden every Year once, and more often, if need be*. Now tho' theſe Words are as plain as a Pike-Staff, and no Man living, that is not a Scholar, cou'd poſſibly miſtake the Meaning of them; yet the Grammarians in thoſe Days made a Shift to explain, That the Words, *if need be*, related as well to the Words *every Year once*, as to the Words *more often*; and ſo by this Grammatical Whimſey of theirs, have made the Statute to ſignify juſt nothing at all. For this Reaſon, in the 36th Year of the ſame King's Reign, a new Act of Parliament was made, in which thoſe unfortunate Words *if need be*, are left out; and that Act of Parliament, relating to *Magna Charta* and other Statutes, made good. Here now, my Lords, there is not left the leaſt Colour or Shadow for any Miſtake; for it is plainly declar'd, *That the Kings of* England *muſt call a Parliament once within a Year*.

Then mentioning the Objection rais'd from the two *Triennial Bills*, he further ſaid, ‘There have been ſeveral Half Kind of Arguments drawn out of theſe Bills againſt the old Statutes, which I confeſs I never cou'd remember, nor indeed thoſe that urg'd them to me ever durſt own: For they always laid their Faults upon ſome Body elſe, like ugly fooliſh Children, whom becauſe of their Deformity and Want of Wit, their Parents are aſham'd of, and ſo turn them out to the Pariſh.-----The whole Matter, *my Lords*, is reduc'd to this ſhort *Dilemma*; Either the Kings of *England* are bound by the Acts above-mention'd, or elſe the whole Government of *England* by Parliaments and by Law is abſolutely at an End: For if the Kings of *England* have Power, by an Order of theirs, to invalidate an Act made for the Maintenance of *Magna Charta*, they have alſo Power, by an Order of theirs, to invalidate *Magna Charta* it ſelf. This, *my Lords*, I think is a Power that no Lawyer will pretend the Kings of *England* have; and yet this Power muſt be allow'd, or elſe we that are met here this Day cannot act as a Parliament. For we are now met by vertue of the laſt Prorogation, and that Prorogation is an Order of the King's point-blank contrary to two Acts of Parliament, that ſay, *That a Parliament ſhall be holden once within a Year*; and the Prorogation ſaith, *A Parliament ſhall not be held within a Year, but ſome Months after*; and this is a plain Contradiction, and conſequently the Prorogation is void. Now if we cannot act as a Parliament, by vertue of this laſt Prorogation, I beſeech your Lordſhips by vertue of what elſe can we act? Shall we act by vertue of the King's Proclamation? Pray, *my Lords*, how ſo? Is a Proclamation of more Force than a Prorogation? Or if a Thing that hath been order'd the firſt Time, be not valid, doth the ordering it the ſecond Time make it good in Law? I have heard indeed, *That two Negatives made an Affirmative*, but I never heard before *That two Nothings ever made any Thing*. Well, but how then are we met? Is it by our own Adjournment? I ſuppoſe no Body has the Confidence to ſay that: Which way then is it? Do we meet by Accident? That Thing may be granted; but an accidental Meeting can no more make a *Parliament*, than an accidental Clapping a Crown upon a Man's Head, can make a King.------

‘*Oh!* but ſay ſome, *if the Prorogation be null and void, then things are juſt as they were before, and therefore the Parliament is ſtill in being.* I confeſs there wou'd be ſome Weight in this but for one thing, which is, that not one Word of it is true: For if, when the King had prorogu'd us, we had taken no Notice of the Prorogation; but had gone on and adjourn'd our ſelves *de Die in Diem*, then I confeſs things had been juſt as they were before. But ſince upon the Prorogation we went away, and took no Care of our ſelves for our Meeting again, if we cannot meet and act by vertue of that Prorogation, there is an Impoſſibility of our meeting and acting any other way. One may as properly ſay, that a Man that is kill'd by Aſſault is ſtill alive, becauſe he was kill'd unlawfully, as that the Parliament is ſtill alive becauſe the Prorogation was unlawful. The next Argument thoſe are reduc'd to, who wou'd maintain this to be a Parliament, is, *That the Parliament is prorogu'd* ſine Die, *and therefore the King may call them again by Proclamation.* Now the Statute ſays, *That a Parliament ſhall be holden once within a Year*; and the Prorogation having put them off till a Day without the Year, that Day in the Eye of the Law is no Day at all, that is *ſine Die:* And the Prorogation might as well have been put off till ſo many Months after *Dooms-Day*; and then I think no Body wou'd have doubted, but that had been a very ſufficient Diſſolution.--------Another Thing which they much inſiſt upon, is, *That they have found out a Precedent in Queen* Elizabeth's *Time, when a Parliament was once prorogu'd three Days beyond a Year.* This is but one *Precedent*, and of a very odd Kind of Nature; for it was in the Time of a very great Plague, when every Body of a ſudden was forc'd to run away one from another, and ſo being in haſte, had not Leiſure to calculate well the Time of the Prorogation; tho' the Appointing it to be within three Days of the Year is an Argument to me, that their Deſign was to keep within the Bounds of the Acts of Parliament. Now I beſeech your Lordſhips, what more can be drawn from the ſhewing this *Precedent*, but only that Becauſe *once upon a Time a Thing was done Illegally, therefore your Lordſhips ſhou'd do ſo again now.*-----*Oh!* but ſay they, *you muſt think Prudentially of the Inconveniencies which will follow upon it; for if this be allow'd, all thoſe Acts which were made in that Seſſion of Parliament will then be void.* It is the Part of Prudential Perſons to examine the Inconveniencies on both Sides, to weigh which are the Greateſt, and to be ſure to avoid them. And, *my Lords*, to that Kind of Examination I willingly ſubmit this Cauſe; For I preſume it will be eaſy for your Lordſhips to judge, which of theſe two will be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Nation; Either to allow that the Statutes made in that particular Seſſion are void, (which may eaſily be confirm'd by a Lawful Parliament) or to lay it down for a Maxim,’ “That the Kings of *England*, by a particular Order of theirs, have Power to break all the Laws of *England* when they pleaſe.”----

‘It is plain then in my Opinion, That we are no more a Parliament; and I humbly conceive, your Lordſhips ought to give God Thanks for it, ſince it has pleas'd him by his Providence to take you out of a Condition, wherein you muſt have been entirely uſeleſs to his Majeſty, to your Selves, and to the whole Nation. For, I do beſeech your Lordſhips, if nothing of this I have urg'd were true, what honourable Excuſe cou'd we find for our Acting again with this Houſe of Commons? Except we cou'd pretend an Exquiſite Art of Forgetfulneſs to avoid calling to Mind all that paſs'd between us laſt Seſſions; and unleſs we cou'd have alſo a Faculty of teaching the ſame Art to the whole Nation. What Opinion cou'd They have of us, if it ſhou'd happen, that the very ſame Men, who were ſo earneſt the laſt Seſſion, for having this Houſe of Commons Diſſolv'd, when there was no Queſtion of their lawful Sitting, ſhou'd be now willing to joyn with them again, when without Queſtion they are Diſſolv'd? Nothing can be more dangerous to a King or a People, than that the Laws ſhou'd be made by an Aſſembly, of which there can be no doubt, Whether they have Power to make Laws or no: And it wou'd be in us inexcuſable, if we ſhou'd over-look this Danger, ſince there is for it ſo eaſy a Remedy, which the Law requires, and which all the Nation longs for,

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‘ namely, *The Calling a new Parliament:* That only can put his Majeſty into a Poſſibility of Receiving Supplies; That can ſecure your Lordſhips the Honour of Sitting in this Houſe like Peers, and of being ſerviceable to your King and Country; and that can reſtore to all the People of *England* their undoubted Rights of Chuſing Men frequently to repreſent their Grievances in Parliament. Without this, all we can do wou'd be in vain; the Nation may languiſh a while, but muſt periſh at laſt: We ſhou'd become a Burden to our Selves, and a Prey to our Neighbours. My Motion therefore to your Lordſhips ſhall be, That we humbly addreſs our Selves to his Majeſty, and beg of him for his own Sake, as well as for the People's Sake, *to give us Speedily a new Parliament*; that ſo we may unanimouſly, before it be too late, uſe our utmoſt Endeavours for his Majeſty's Service, and for the Safety, the Welfare, and the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation.

This ſurpriſing Speech was thought ſo bold and ſhocking, by the Lords in the Miniſtry, that one of them mov'd that the Duke might be call'd to the Bar. But the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was fully prepar'd, oppos'd this Motion as improper and extravagant; and did with great Courage and Sharpneſs of Application, ſecond and enforce the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Argument; and the Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Wharton* fell in briskly on the ſame Side. While one of them was Speaking, the Duke took a Pen and writ the following Syllogiſm; ‘ It is a Maxim in the Law of *England*, that the Kings of *England* are bound up by all the Statutes made *pro bono Publico*; that every *Order* or *Direction* of theirs, contrary to the Scope and full Intent of any ſuch Statute, is *Void* and *Null* in Law: But the laſt Prorogation of the Parliament was an *Order* of the King's contrary to an Act of King *Edward* III. made for the greateſt *Common Good*, viz. The Maintenance of all the Statutes of *England*, and for the Prevention of the *Miſchiefs* and Grievances which daily happen: *Ergo* the laſt Prorogation of Parliament is *Void* and *Null* in Law.’ After which he appeal'd to the Biſhops, whether it was not a true *Syllogiſm*, and to the Judges, whether the *Propoſitions* were not true in Law. The Debates aroſe to that Height, that all the four Lords were order'd to be ſent to the *Tower*, for Contempt of the Authority and Being of the preſent Parliament, there to remain during the Pleaſure of his Majeſty and the Houſe of Peers. In the mean Time, the Duke of *Buckingham* took the Opportunity of ſlipping out of the Houſe, while the Lord *Angleſey* was arguing againſt committing them. The Houſe finding he had withdrawn himſelf, were in a Rage, and deſign'd to addreſs the King for a Proclamation againſt him; but the Duke, foreſeeing the Event, wou'd not give them ſo much Trouble, and appear'd the next Day in his Place. The Court Lords immediately cry'd out *To the Bar!* But his Grace, who cou'd readily turn any Thing ſerious into Jeſt, and extricate himſelf out of any Difficulties, roſe up and ſaid, *He begg'd their Lordſhips Pardon for Retiring the Night before; That they very well knew the exact Oeconomy he kept in his Family, and perceiving their Lordſhips intended he ſhou'd be ſome Time in another Place, he only went home to ſet his Houſe in Order, and was now come to ſubmit to their Lordſhips Pleaſure*, which was to ſend him to the *Tower* after the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*. We hear that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, being jealous of the Duke's ſetting himſelf up for the Head of his Party, us'd to ſpeak ſlightly of him as a Man Inconſtant and Giddy, which the other hearing, reſented. It happen'd afterwards that the Duke, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*, being diſcharg'd on their Submiſſion, and only the Earl of *Shaftsbury* continu'd in the *Tower*; the Earl look'd out of a Window as his Grace was taking Coach, and cry'd, *What, my Lord, are you going to leave us?* *Ay, my Lord*, ſaid he, *ſuch giddy-headed Fellows as I can never ſtay long in a Place.* The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was continu'd above a Year, as will be afterwards remember'd. The Lords further to ſhew their Reſentment, order'd one Dr. *Cary* to be brought to the Bar of their Houſe, and to be queſtion'd concerning a Book he had carry'd to the Preſs, treating of the Illegality of the Prorogation; and becauſe he wou'd not ſatisfy them in ſome Interrogatories, they fin'd him a Thouſand Pounds for his Contempt, and kept him cloſe Priſoner till the Payment of the Money.

He, and the E of Shaftsbury, *the E. of* Salisbury, *and the L.* Wharton *are ſent to the* Tower.

The Proceedings of the Commons.

2. Theſe active and vigorous Proceedings of the Houſe of Peers, ſo much to the Honour and Advantage of the Commons, ſeem'd to have brought that Houſe into a better, or more giving Temper than they had been in ſome late Seſſions. For, notwithſtanding ſome little Oppoſition from a few Members, they ſoon agreed to grant a Tax of near ſix hundred Thouſand Pounds towards the Building and Furniſhing of thirty Ships of War, and without appropriating any Part of the Cuſtoms. And whereas the additional Exciſe upon Beer and Ale, which had been granted upon the *Triple Alliance*, was now of courſe to expire on the 24th of *June* this Year, a Bill for Continuing of it three Years longer likewiſe paſs'd without any Difficulty. Yet they refus'd three Bills ſent down from the Lords, One entitled *An Act for Securing the Proteſtant Religion, by Educating the Children of the Royal Family, and providing for the Maintenance of the Proteſtant Clergy.* Another, *For the more effectual Conviction and Proſecution of Popiſh Recuſants.* A Third, *For the Regulation of the Preſs*, with a Clauſe *to break open a Houſe on Suſpicion of any Pamphlets.* The two firſt they rejected, as not anſwering the Ends of their Titles, and the laſt as too ſevere, at a Time when they thought the People under ſome Neceſſity of declaring their Minds, eſpecially againſt the growing Power of *France*. This laſt ſeem'd their great Concern; and the general Diſpoſition of the Houſe was either for declaring War, or making ſtricter Alliances for preventing the Progreſs of the *French* Conqueſts in *Flanders*, and on the *Rhine*, which now began to appear more formidable than ever. Accordingly they made this following Addreſs to the King: ‘ We your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects, &c. do moſt humbly offer to your Majeſty's Conſideration, That the Minds of your People are much diſquieted with the manifeſt Dangers ariſing to your Majeſty by the Growth and Power of the *French* King; eſpecially by the Acquiſitions already made, and the farther Progreſs like to be made by him, in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, in the Preſervation and Security whereof, we humbly conceive the Intereſt of your Majeſty, and the Safety of your People are highly concern'd; and therefore we humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take the ſame into your Royal Care, and to ſtrengthen yourſelf with ſuch ſtricter Alliances, as may ſecure your Majeſty's Kingdoms, and ſecure and preſerve the ſaid *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and thereby quiet the Minds of your Majeſty's People.’ To which the King ſhortly after gave this following Anſwer; *That his Majeſty was of the Opinion of his two Houſes of Parliament; That the Preſervation of* Flanders *was of great Conſequence; and that he wou'd uſe all Means in his Power for the Safety of his Kingdom.*

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Their Addreſs to the King.

The Anſwer.

A Second Addreſs.

Shortly after, on the 26th of *March*, they drew up a ſecond Addreſs, as follows: ‘ We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, &c. do with unſpeakable Joy and Comfort, preſent our humble Thanks to your Majeſty, for your Majeſty's gracious Acceptance of our late Addreſs, and that your Majeſty was pleas'd in your Princely Wiſdom to expreſs your *Concurrence and Opinion with your two Houſes in reference to the Preſervation of the* Spaniſh Netherlands. And we do with moſt earneſt and repeated Deſires implore your Majeſty, that you would be pleas'd to take timely Care to prevent thoſe Dangers that may ariſe to theſe Kingdoms by the great Power of the *French* King, and the Progreſs he daily makes in thoſe *Netherlands* and other Places. And therefore that your Majeſty wou'd not defer the entring into ſuch Alliances as may obtain thoſe Ends; and in Caſe it ſhall happen, that in Purſuance of ſuch Alliances, your Majeſty ſhou'd be engag'd in a War with the *French* King, we do hold our Selves oblig'd, and do with all Humility and Chearfulneſs aſſure your Majeſty, That we your moſt Loyal Subjects ſhall always be ready upon Signification thereof in Parliament, fully, and from Time to Time, to aſſiſt your Majeſty with ſuch Aids and Supplies, as, by the Divine Aſſiſtance, may enable your Majeſty to proſecute the ſame with Succeſs. All which we do moſt humbly offer to your Majeſty as the unanimous Senſe and Deſire of the whole Kingdom.

Debates upon it.

Upon a ſolemn Debate in the Houſe, thoſe againſt the Addreſs argu'd and alledg'd, ‘ That to preſs the King to make farther Alliances with the Confederates againſt the *French* King, was in effect to preſs him to a War, that being the direct and unavoidable Conſequence thereof: That the Conſideration of War was moſt proper for the King, who had full Intelligence of Foreign Affairs, and knew the *Arcana Imperii*. That it was a dangerous Thing haſtily to incite the King to a War; ſince our Merchant-Ships and Effects wou'd immediately be ſeiz'd by the *French* King, who wou'd thereby probably acquire the Value of near a Million to enable him to maintain the War againſt us: That he wou'd fall upon our Plantations, and take, plunder and annoy them: That he wou'd ſend out abundance of Privateers, and take, and diſturb our Trading Ships in theſe Seas, and in the *Mediterranean*.’ It was further alledg'd, ‘ That at preſent we had not ſo many Ships of War as He, and thoſe Thirty which were to be built with the ſix hundred Thouſand Pounds now given, cou'd not be finiſh'd in two Years: That we had not Naval Stores and Ammunition, &c. ſufficient for ſuch a Purpoſe; and if we had, yet the Seaſon of the Year was too far advanc'd to ſet out a conſiderable Fleet, and we cou'd not now

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lay in Beef, Pork, *&c.* That when we were engag'd in a War, the *Dutch* wou'd probably leave us in it, and ſo gain to themſelves the ſingular Advantage of ſole Trading in Peace, a Privilege we now enjoy, and ſhou'd not be weary of. That it was next to impoſſible to make Alliances with the ſeveral Parties as might be expected, ſuch and ſo various were the Intereſts and Croſs-Biaſſes, of and amongſt the Emperor, the *Spaniard*, the *Dane*, the *Dutch*, the *Bradenburger*, and the ſeveral leſſer Princes of *Germany*, and others. That we may eaſily enter into a War, but it would be hard to find the Way out of it, and a long War wou'd be deſtructive to us; for the Emperor, the *French*, *Spaniard*, &c. uſe to maintain War for many Years; yet a Trading Nation, ſuch as *England*, cou'd not endure a tedious War.

In Anſwer to theſe Allegations, on the other Side it was inſiſted on, ‘That they did not Addreſs for making *War*, but making *Leagues*, which might be a Means to prevent a War; That the beſt Way to preſerve Peace, was to be in a Preparation for War: That admitting a War ſhou'd enſue thereupon, as was not unlikely, yet in Concluſion that wou'd tend to our Peace and Safety; for it cou'd not be deny'd, *That if the Power of* France *were not reduc'd, and brought to a more equal Ballance, we muſt, firſt or laſt, fight or ſubmit.* That it was commonly the Fate of thoſe who kept themſelves Neutral, when their Neighbours were at War, to become a Prey to the Conqueror. That now or never was the Seaſon to make War with *France*, while we may have ſuch Auxiliaries; and if it were a formidable Thing to engage him now, how much more when this Opportunity was loſt, the Confederacy diſſolv'd, and we left to withſtand him alone? That as to his ſeizing our Merchants Effects, the Caſe is the ſame now as it wou'd be three Years hence, or whenever the War ſhall commence: And as to our Plantations and Traders, we muſt look upon the *French* as Powerful, but not Omnipotent; and we may as well defend them as the *Dutch* do theirs by Convoys, *&c.* and chiefly when the *French* ſhall have ſo many Enemies, and we ſo many Friends, as no other time is like to afford. They were ſorry, indeed, to hear we wanted Ships, Stores, *&c.* but hop'd it wou'd appear to be otherwiſe. That the Seaſon was not ſo far ſpent, but that a competent Fleet might be ſet out this Summer; and that, however defective we might be in this kind, the *Dutch* were ready to make an effectual Supplement in that behalf. That however ill and falſe ſome Men might eſteem the *Dutch*, yet *Intereſt will not lye*; and it is ſo much their Intereſt to confine and reduce the *French*, that it is not to be imagin'd but that they will ſteadily adhere to every Friend, and every Alliance they ſhall join with for that purpoſe. That however various the ſeveral Confederates and their Intereſts were, yet a common Alliance might be made with them againſt the *French*, and the preſent Alliance may be extended to *England*. That a numerous and vigorous Conjunction againſt the *French* King is the way to ſhorten the Work; whereas, if he ſhou'd hereafter attack us ſingly, he wou'd continue the War on as long as he pleas'd, till he made an end of it and us together by our final Deſtruction. In concluſion they urg'd, ‘That the preſent was the beſt time for the purpoſe, and that it wou'd give Reputation to the Confederates, and immediate Comfort and Courage to our beſt Friends, and Safety to our ſelves in futurity againſt the *Old perpetual Enemy of* England.

3. The Arguments on this ſide prevail'd; and the ſecond Addreſs was preſented to his Majeſty on the 30th of *March*, but they receiv'd no Anſwer till 12 Days after. In the mean time they vigorouſly proceeded in the finiſhing of ſeveral good Bills, as one for taking away the Writ *De Hæretico Comburendo*, a Law that made many People very uneaſy, eſpecially now when the Fears of Popery were increaſing. Another againſt the *Profanation of the Lord's-Day:* A third *for the Augmentation of ſmall Vicarages*, which had brought a Scandal upon the Perſons, as well as Revenues of the Clergy. Another remarkable one againſt *Fraud* and *Perjuries*, with ſome others. While they were thus buſily employ'd, on the 11th of *April*, they receiv'd this Meſſage from the King, *His Majeſty having conſider'd your laſt Addreſs, and finding ſome late Alterations in Affairs Abroad, thinks it neceſſary to put you in mind, that the only way to prevent the Dangers which may ariſe in theſe Kingdoms, muſt be putting his Majeſty timely in a Condition to make ſuch fitting Preparations as may enable him to do what may be moſt for the Security of them. And if for this Reaſon you ſhall deſire to ſit any longer time, his Majeſty is content you may adjourn now before* Eaſter [this Year the 15th of *April*,] *and meet again ſuddenly after, to ripen this Matter, and to perfect ſome of the moſt neceſſary Bills now depending.*

The King's Meſſage to them.

1677.
Car. 29.
Reſ. 17.

Debates upon it.

Upon this Meſſage it was mov'd, that the Houſe ſhou'd adjourn till after *Eaſter*, with a Reſolution to enable the King to make ſuch Preparations as ſhou'd be thought neceſſary, and alſo paſs ſome neceſſary Bills for the Kingdom; ‘Which if they did not, the blame of the Neglect muſt reſt upon themſelves, and it wou'd be obſerv'd, they had not ſate to any Effect this four Years; and that now they had a Seſſion, and given a Million, they took little care to redreſs Grievances, or paſs good Laws for the People; and that they ſhou'd not be able to give any Account of themſelves to their Neighbours in the Country, unleſs they ſhou'd face them down, that there was no Grievance or Miſchief in the Nation to be redreſs'd, and that the King had ſtopp'd their Mouths by offering them to ſit longer.’ Others ſaid, ‘They ſhou'd perfect two Money-Bills, and give the King Eaſe, and take another time to conſider further of *Religion*, *Liberty* and *Property*, eſpecially ſeeing all Bills now depending wou'd be kept on foot; the intended Receſs being deſign'd only for an Adjournment: That they had very good Laws already, and wou'd give their Shares in any new ones they were making, to be in the Country at the preſent time; that it was neceſſary for them to be there the 10th of *May*, to execute the Money Bill, and ſome time was to be allow'd for their Journeys, and Reſt after it; that the *Paſſing ſome neceſſary Bills*, came in the end of the King's Meſſage, and by the by; for his Majeſty ſaith, *That if for this Reaſon*, that is, for making of Preparations, *&c. they ſhou'd deſire to ſit longer*; and if ſo, then alſo take Opportunity of paſſing ſuch Bills.’ So the Senſe and Inclination of the Houſe was to riſe before *Eaſter*, as had been before intimated and expected. Then they fell upon the main Conſideration of the Meſſage, and to make a preſent Anſwer. In the Debate, the Majority ſhew'd themſelves zealous againſt *France*; and when it was objected, ‘That it was not convenient for his Majeſty to declare his ſecret Purpoſes in a publick Aſſembly;’ they reply'd, ‘They did not much deſire Secrecy; for let the King take a great Reſolution, and put himſelf at the Head of his Parliament and People in this weighty and worthy Cauſe of *England*, and let a Flying Poſt carry the News to *Paris*, and the *French* King do his worſt.

But being a very thin Houſe at this time, by reaſon of an expected Receſs at *Eaſter*, they were very cautious of giving in any large Proportion; yet as an Earneſt of what they intended, they were willing to do ſomething at preſent, and accordingly they voted the following Anſwer, which was preſented to the King by the Speaker and the whole Houſe on the 13th of *April:* ‘We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, *&c.* do with great Satisfaction of Mind obſerve the Regard your Majeſty is pleas'd to expreſs to our former Addreſſes, by intimating to us *the late Alteration of Affairs Abroad*, and do return our moſt humble Thanks for your Majeſty's moſt gracious Offer made to us thereupon in your late Meſſage: And having taken a ſerious Deliberation of the ſame, and of the Preparations your Majeſty hath therein intimated to us were fitting to be made, in order to thoſe publick Ends we have at preſent provided a Security in a Bill *for the Additional Duty of Exciſe*, upon which your Majeſty may raiſe the Sum of Two hundred thouſand Pounds. And if your Majeſty ſhall think fit to call us together again for this purpoſe in ſome ſhort time after *Eaſter*, by any publick Signification of your Pleaſure, commanding our Attendance; we ſhall at our next Meeting not only be ready to reimburſe your Majeſty what Sums of Money ſhall be expended upon ſuch extraordinary Preparations as ſhall be in purſuance of our former Addreſſes; but ſhall likewiſe with thankful Hearts proceed then, and at all other times, to furniſh your Majeſty with ſo large a Proportion of Aſſiſtance and Supplies upon this Occaſion, as may give your Majeſty and the whole World, an ample Teſtimony of our Loyalty and Affection to your Majeſty's Service; and as may enable your Majeſty, by the help of Almighty God, to maintain ſuch ſtricter Alliances as you ſhall have enter'd into, againſt all Oppoſition whatſoever.’ Hereupon his Majeſty, within two Days, ſent this ſecond Meſſage to the Houſe: *His Majeſty having conſider'd the Anſwer of this Houſe to the laſt Meſſage about enabling him to make fitting Preparations for the Security of theſe Kingdoms, finds by it that they have only enabled him to borrow Two hundred thouſand Pounds upon a Fund given him for other Uſes; his Majeſty deſires therefore this Houſe ſhou'd know, and he hopes they will always believe of him, that not only that Fund, but any other within his Power ſhall be engag'd to the utmoſt for the Preſervation of his Kingdom: But as his Majeſty's Condition is, (which he doubts not but is as well known to this Houſe as himſelf) he muſt tell them plainly, That without the Sum of* Six hundred thouſand Pounds, *or Credit for ſuch a Sum, upon new Funds, it will not be poſſible for him to ſpeak or act thoſe*

An Anſwer to it.

Another Meſſage from the King.

things which ſhou'd anſwer the Ends of their ſeveral Addreſſes, without expoſing the Kingdom to much greater Danger. His Majeſty doth further acquaint you, that having done his Part, and laid the true ſtate of things before you, he will not be wanting to uſe the beſt means for the Safety of his People, which at preſent he is capable of.

Another Addreſs from the Commons.

The Houſe fell into an immediate Conſideration of an Anſwer, and after a ſhort Debate, they drew up the following Addreſs: ‘ We your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects, *&c.* having conſider'd your Majeſty's laſt Meſſage, and the gracious Expreſſions therein contain'd, for *employing your Majeſty's whole Revenue at any time, to raiſe Money for the Preſervation of your Majeſty's Kingdoms*, do find great Cauſe to return our moſt humble Thanks to your Majeſty for the ſame, and to deſire your Majeſty to reſt aſſur'd, that you ſhall find as much Duty and Affection in us, as can be expected from a moſt loyal People, to their moſt gracious Sovereign: And whereas your Majeſty is pleas'd to ſignify to us, *That the Sum of Two hundred thouſand Pounds is not ſufficient without a further Supply, to enable your Majeſty to ſpeak or act thoſe things deſir'd by your People*, We humbly take leave to acquaint your Majeſty, that many of our Members being (upon an Expectation of an Adjournment before *Eaſter*) gone into their ſeveral Countries, we cannot think it Parliamentary in their Abſence, to take upon us the granting of Money; but do therefore deſire your Majeſty to be pleas'd that this Houſe may adjourn itſelf for ſuch a ſhort time, before the ſaid Two hundred thouſand Pounds be expended, as your Majeſty ſhall think fit, and by your Royal Proclamation to command the Attendance of all our Members at the Day of Meeting. By which time we hope your Majeſty may have ſo form'd your Affairs, and fix'd your Alliances, in purſuance of our former Addreſſes, that your Majeſty may be graciouſly pleas'd to impart them to us in Parliament; and we no ways doubt, but at our next aſſembling, your Majeſty will not only meet with a Compliance in the Supply your Majeſty deſires; but withal, ſuch farther Aſſiſtance as the poſture of your Majeſty's Affairs ſhou'd require. In confidence whereof, we hope your Majeſty will be encourag'd in the mean time to ſpeak and act ſuch things as you ſhall judge neceſſary for attaining thoſe great Ends, as we have formerly repreſented to your Majeſty.'

The King paſſes ſeveral Bills.

The King had no ſooner receiv'd this Addreſs, but, finding the Mony Bills ready, the ſame Evening, *April* the 16th, he came ſuddenly to the Houſe of Peers, and being ſeated on his Throne with the uſual Solemnity, he ſent for the Houſe of Commons, and gave his Royal Aſſent to the ſeveral Bills preſented to him, *viz.* 1. *An Act for raiſing the Sum of Five hundred eighty four thouſand Pounds*, &c. *for the ſpeedy building thirty Ships of War.* 2. An Act for *an additional Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors for three Years.* 3. An Act for *the better Obſervation of the Lord's-Day.* 4. An Act for *Prevention of Frauds and Perjuries.* 5. An Act for *taking Affidavits in the Country, to be us'd in the Courts of* Weſtminſter-Hall. 6. An Act for *confirming and perpetuating Augmentations made by Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, on ſmall Vicarages and Curacies.* 7. An Act for *taking away the Writ* De Hæretico Comburendo. 8. An Act for *Naturalizing of Children of his Majeſty's* Engliſh *Subjects born in Foreign Countries during the late Troubles.* 9. An Act for *Erecting a Judicature to determine Differences touching Houſes burnt by the late dreadful Fire in* Southwark. 10. *An Act for the better Repairing and Maintaining the Peer of* Great Yarmouth. Of all theſe Acts the Fourth, *Againſt Frauds and Perjuries*, has been diſtinguiſh'd and commended, as one of univerſal Benefit to the Nation; and a moſt eminent Lawyer has declar'd his Opinion of it, ‘ That it is of that Weight and Worth, that every Paragraph is equal to another Act of Parliament.' After the paſſing theſe Acts, the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, acquainted the two Houſes, that they had leave to Adjourn themſelves till the 21*ſt* of *May* next. And thus the Parliament broke up, and had a Receſs of near five Weeks, having had an imperfect, but not diſhonourable Seſſion, of a little above two Months.

The Parliament Adjourn'd.

The Progreſs of the French King.

4. What ſo much excited the Vigour and Activity of the Houſe of Commons, was the great Progreſs of the *French* abroad, as was before hinted; who, while the *Engliſh* Court was taken up with Pleaſures, were with their great Monarch purſuing their Glory with irreſiſtible Force. They had block'd up *Cambray* and *Valenciennes* in the Beginning of the Year; and about the End of *February*, having provided ſufficient Magazines in the Winter, they began to break into *Flanders*, and into the Parts of *Germany* on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, and with all the moſt cruel Ravages of Burning and Spoiling thoſe Parts of *Germany* that cou'd be exercis'd, and ſuch as had not been us'd by either Side ſince the War began. The Allies and Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen* made Complaints of this new Manner of War to his *Britannick* Majeſty, who employ'd his Offices towards *France*, to hinder ſuch a Proſecution of a Conteſt, while a Peace was treating under his Mediation; but the Thing was done, and their Point was gain'd, before any Interpoſition cou'd take place. Being ſecure againſt any Diverſion from the *Rhine*, about the Beginning of *March*, the *French* King ſat down before *Valenciennes*; and having ſurmounted the very Force of the Seaſons, he took it on the 17th of that Month. From thence he march'd with a mighty Army, and laid Siege to *Cambray* with one Part of it, and to St. *Omer* with the other, under the Duke of *Orleans*. After five Days Siege from the Opening of the Trenches, he took *Cambray*, like all the other *Spaniſh* Towns, by Surrender upon Articles; but the Citadel held out for ſome Days longer.

In the mean Time, the *Dutch*, finding the *French* thus going on, while the Treaty at *Nimeguen* ſerv'd but for an Amuſement, reſolv'd to venture another Campaign; being kept up to this Reſolution by the Vigour of the Prince of *Orange*, who urg'd them to the Obſervance of their Treaties, and their Intereſt in the Defence of *Flanders*. The *Spaniards* were very negligent, ſo that his Highneſs with all imaginable Diligence and Application cou'd not come to the Relief of *Valenciennes* or *Cambray*, but with Part of the Forces of the *States* alone; and without either Troops, or ſo much as Guides furniſh'd him by the *Spaniards*, he march'd directly to St. *Omer*, reſolving to raiſe that Siege with the Hazard of a Battel, how diſadvantagious ſoever. The Duke of *Orleans* leaving a ſmall Part of his Troops to defend his Trenches before St. *Omer*, march'd to meet the Prince of *Orange*, being on the Way reinforc'd by Monſieur *de Luxemburg*, with all the Troops the *French* King cou'd ſpare out of his Army, before the Citadel of *Cambray*. Theſe Armies met, and fought with great Bravery at *Mont-Caſſel*, where after a ſharp Diſpute, the firſt Regiment of the *Dutch* Infantry began to break, and fall into Diſorder: The Prince rode immediately to that Part where the ſhock began, rally'd them ſeveral Times, and renew'd the Charge; but at laſt was born down by the Flight of his Men, whom he was forc'd to reſiſt like Enemies, and fall in among them with his Sword in his Hand; and cutting the firſt croſs over the Face, cry'd out aloud, *Raſcal! I'll ſet a Mark on Thee at leaſt, that I may hang thee afterwards.* Neither Voice nor Action, Threats nor Example, cou'd give Courage to Men who had already loſt it; and ſo the Prince was forc'd to yield to the Stream that carry'd him back to the reſt of his Troops, which yet ſtood firm; with whom, and what he cou'd gather of thoſe that had been routed, he made a Retreat that, as Sir *William Temple* ſays, wanted little of the Honour of a Victory; the Safety of the *Dutch* Army being wholly owing to his Highneſs's Conduct and Bravery. After this Misfortune, both St. *Omer* and the Citadel of *Cambray* were ſurrender'd to the *French* about the 20th of *April*; with which the *Spaniards* loſt the main Strength of their Frontier of *Flanders* on that Side, as they had done that on the other by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* in the former War, as likewiſe all the Hopes of raiſing Contributions in *France*, which was a great Part of the Subſiſtance of the *Spaniſh* Troops: So as there now remain'd nothing of Frontier conſiderable, beſides *Namur* and *Mons* to the Land, and *Oſtend* and *Newport* to the Sea.

The Fight of Mont-Caſſel.

The Neglect of the Spaniards.

After all, the *Spaniards* were ſo extremely paſſive, that they ſeem'd to have abandon'd the Fate of *Flanders* to the Care of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, with a Reſignation more becoming good Chriſtians than wiſe Reaſoners. From whence the foremention'd Author obſerv'd, from all he had ſeen, heard or read, That nothing was ſo fallacious, as to reaſon upon the Counſels and Conduct of Governments, from what one conceives to be their true *Intereſts*: For in all Places there was an Intereſt of the Governors, and another of the Governed; and further, there was an Intereſt of Quiet Men, that deſire only to keep what they have; and another of Unquiet Men, who deſire to obtain what they have not. Therefore *He never cou'd find a better way of Judging the Reſolutions of a State, than by the Perſonal Temper and Underſtanding, or Paſſions and Humours of the Princes, or chief Miniſters, that were then at the Head of Affairs.* But the *Spaniards* reaſon'd only the common Way, from what they thought the Intereſt of each Country: They knew *Holland* wou'd ſave *Flanders* if they cou'd; and they were ſure *England* cou'd, if they wou'd; and believ'd they wou'd be brought to it at laſt by the Increaſe of the Danger, the Force of their Intereſt, and the Humour of the People. In this Hope or Preſumption they were much flatter'd by the Miniſters then in *England*, *de Salinas*, Envoy from *Spain*, and *Fonſeca*, Conſul there, who did

ſndeed

indeed very induſtriouſly foment the Heats that began to appear about this Time in Parliament, upon the Apprehenſions of the *French* Conqueſts; which mov'd them to make the already mention'd Addreſſes to the King. *De Salinas* proceeded ſo far as to tell ſome of the Commons, That the King was very angry at their Addreſs, and ſaid, *That the Authors of it were a Company of Rogues*: Which making a great Noiſe in the Houſe, his Majeſty reſented it as a Piece of Malice, or at leaſt as a Deſign to inflame the Commons; and thereupon order'd *de Salinas* to depart the Kingdom within certain Days.

The Offers of France.

All this Time *France* had ſo much regard to the Jealouſies of *England* and *Holland*, of their deſigning an Entire Conqueſt of *Flanders*, that after having gain'd thoſe three important Frontier Towns ſo eaſily in the Spring, and diſpos'd his Army into Quarters of Refreſhment, the King went to *Dunkirk*; from whence he ſent the Duke of *Crequi* to his *Britannick* Majeſty with a Compliment and a Letter, importing, 'That to ſhew he had no Intention to conquer *Flanders*, but only to make a *General Peace*, he was contented, notwithſtanding the great Advantages and Forces he had at preſent, to make a *General Truce*, in Caſe his Allies the *Swedes* wou'd agree to it, which he deſired his Majeſty to inform himſelf of, ſince he had not Convenience of doing it, *for want of Liberty of Couriers into* Sweden.' The Contents of this Letter were promoted by the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, among the ſeveral Miniſters there, till they found it had an Effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken by all for too groſs an Artifice. Even *Beverning* the *Dutch* Plenipotentiary, tho' of all others the moſt forward for a Peace, reſented it ſo openly, that he ſaid, *That the* French *were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of* Importance, *nor ſo much as of* Amuſement: *That they had given their* Blow, *and wou'd now hinder the Allies from giving Theirs: That the Reſerve of* Sweden'*s Conſent was an eaſy Way of avoiding the Truce, if the Allies ſhou'd accept it: That this it ſelf cou'd not be done, becauſe* Flanders *wou'd be left ſo open, as to be eaſily ſwallow'd up by the next Invaſion, having no Frontier on either ſide. That for his Part, he deſired the Peace contrary to the Politicks of his Aſſociate* Beuninghen, *and the other Miniſters of the Allies in* Englaud; ever affirming, *That notwithſtanding all their Intrigues and Intelligences there, he was aſſur'd, That his* Britannick *Majeſty wou'd not enter into the War to ſave the laſt Town in* Flanders. In purſuance of this Confidence, he follow'd all the Ways imaginable towards a Peace, and by ſuch Steps as ſome thought forwarder than his Commiſſion allow'd, and very ill concerted with thoſe of the Allies; ſo that about *July* all Points were ſeparately, and in a great meaſure adjuſted between the *French* and the *Hollanders*.

The Continuation of the SIXTEENTH SESSION *of Parliament.*

VI. 1. In the mean Time, on the 21ſt of *May*, the Parliament of *England* met according to Adjournment, after a Receſs of near five Weeks, and this was a Continuation of the Sixteenth Seſſion of the ſecond and long Parliament. This began without any Speech from the King; but the Meeting was open'd by a verbal Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, deliver'd by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, by which 'His Majeſty acquainted the Houſe, That having according to their Deſire in their Anſwer to his late Meſſage, *April* 16, directed their Adjournment to this Time; becauſe they did alledge it *to be Unparliamentary to Grant Supplies when the Houſe was ſo thin, in Expectation of a ſpeedy Adjournment*; and having alſo iſſu'd out his Proclamation of Summons, to the End there might be a full Houſe, he did now expect they wou'd forthwith enter upon the Conſideration of his laſt Meſſage, and the rather, becauſe he intended there ſhou'd be a Receſs very quickly.' Upon this it was mov'd, That the King's laſt Meſſage of *April* 16, and the Anſwer to it, ſhou'd be read: Which being done, after a long Silence, a Debate began about their Expectation, and Neceſſity of Alliances; and particularly it was intimated 'That an Alliance with *Holland* was moſt expedient, for that we ſhou'd deceive our ſelves if we thought we cou'd be defended otherwiſe; we alone cou'd not withſtand the *French*, his Purſe and Power was too great; nor cou'd the *Dutch* withſtand him, but both together might.' The general Argument was, 'That they came with an Expectation to have Alliances declared, and if they were not made ſo as to be imported, they were not call'd or come to that Purpoſe they deſired, and hop'd to meet upon; and if ſome few Days might ripen them, they wou'd be content to Adjourn for the mean Time.' The Secretary and others ſaid, 'Theſe Alliances were things of great Weight and Difficulty, and the Time had been ſhort; but if they were finiſh'd, yet it was not convenient to publiſh them, 'till the King was in a Readineſs and Poſture to proſecute and maintain them; 'till when his Majeſty cou'd not ſo much as ſpeak out, *i. e. without firſt receiving ſix hundred thouſand Pounds*, according to the Words of his Meſſage.' By others it was obſerv'd and ſaid, 'That they met now upon a publick Notice by Proclamation, which Proclamation was in purſuance of their laſt Addreſs, in which Addreſs they deſire the King *They may adjourn for ſuch Time, as within which, they hop'd, Alliances might be fix'd, ſo as to be imparted.* They mention'd not any particular Day; if his Majeſty had not thought this Time long enough for the purpoſe, he might have appointed the Adjournment for a longer Time; or he might have given Notice by Proclamation, That upon this Account they ſhou'd Re-Adjourn to a yet longer Time.' In this State of Uncertainty, the Houſe adjourn'd for two Days, having firſt order'd the Committee for the Bill *for Recalling his Majeſty's Subjects out of the Service of the French King*, to ſit in the Afternoon, when they went through the Bill.

Debates of the Commons.

The King's Speech to them.

The Commons being met at the Time appointed, his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage for the Houſe to attend him immediately at the *Banquetting-Houſe* in *White-Hall*, where he made the following Speech to them; *Gentlemen, I have ſent for you hither that I might prevent thoſe Miſtakes and Diſtruſts which I find ſome are ready to make, as if I had called you together only to get Money from you, for other Uſes than you wou'd have it employ'd. I do aſſure you on the Word of a King, that you ſhall not repent any Truſt you repoſe in Me, for the Safety of my Kingdoms; and I deſire you to believe I wou'd not break my Credit with you; but as I have already told you,* That it will not be poſſible for me to Speak or Act thoſe Things which ſhou'd anſwer the Ends of your ſeveral Addreſſes, without expoſing my Kingdoms to ſo much greater Dangers, *ſo I declare to you again, I will neither hazard my own Safety, nor Yours; untill I be in a better Condition than I am able to put my ſelf, both to defend my Subjects, and offend my Enemies. I do further aſſure you, I have not loſt one Day ſince your laſt Meeting in doing all I cou'd for your Defence; and I tell you plainly, it ſhall be your Fault and not mine, if your Security be not ſufficiently provided for.*

Debates upon it.

The Commons returning to their Houſe, reſolv'd to conſider of the Speech in a full and regular Debate: In which the Secretary and others propounded the ſix hundred thouſand Pounds Supply, but ſaid, 'They did not preſs the Houſe, but they might do as they pleas'd: But if they expected Alliances to be made, and made known, that Sum muſt be firſt granted: The King had the ſame Power of making War and Leagues, as this Houſe had in giving Money; He cou'd not have Money without them, nor they Alliances without Him. He had conſider'd the Matter, and found that he ought by ſuch a Sum to be enabled to maintain and proſecute his Alliances, before they cou'd or ſhou'd be declar'd, and truly otherwiſe our Nakedneſs and Weakneſs wou'd be expos'd. 'Tis true as has been objected, The asking and giving of Money for this purpoſe, wou'd allarm as declaring the Alliance, but then it wou'd defend too. *A Whip will allarm a wild Beaſt, but will not defend the Man; a Sword will allarm the Beaſt, but will alſo defend the Man.*' Others alledg'd, 'That Alliances might be made forthwith, and then Mony wou'd be granted forthwith; if they were declar'd to Day, the ſix hundred thouſand Pounds wou'd be granted to Morrow: There was no Fear of the Want of Money, our own Extravagancies wou'd maintain the War.' They further ſaid, '*The Door towards* France *muſt be ſhut and guarded; for as long as it is open, our Treaſure and Trade will creep out, and their Religion creep in at it.* We think the proſecuting theſe Alliances, the only good uſe for which our Mony can be employ'd; and therefore before we give, we ſhou'd be ſecure it ſhou'd be apply'd to this purpoſe, and not by ill Counſels diverted to others.

An Addreſs to the King.

After a long Debate, they agreed to draw up a long Addreſs to his Majeſty, of which the greateſt Part ought to be inſerted; 'We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, *&c.* having taken into Conſideration your Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech, do beſeech your Majeſty to believe it is a great Affliction to us, to find our ſelves oblig'd, at preſent, to declare againſt the granting your Majeſty the Supply you are pleas'd to demand; conceiving it not agreeable to the Uſage of Parliaments, to grant Supplies for Maintenance of Wars and Alliances, before they are ſignify'd in Parliament; from which Uſage, if we might depart, the Precedent might be of dangerous Conſequence in future Times, tho' your Majeſty's Goodneſs gives us great Security during your Reign, which we beſeech God long to continue. This Conſideration prompted us in our laſt Addreſs, humbly to mention to your Majeſty our Hopes, that before our Meeting again, your Majeſty's Alliances might be ſo fix'd, as that you might be graciouſly pleas'd to impart them to us in Parliament, that ſo our earneſt Deſires of ſupplying your Majeſty might meet with no Impediment or Obſtruction;

1677. Car. 28. Reſ. 17.

being highly ſenſible of the Neceſſity of Supporting, as well as Making the forementiondo'd Alliances, and which we ſtill conceive ſo important to the Safety of your Majeſty and your Kingdoms, That we cannot omit, upon all Occaſions, humbly to beſeech your Majeſty, as we do now, *to enter into a League, Offenſive and Defenſive, with the* States-General *of the* United Provinces, *againſt the Growth and Power of the* French *King, and for the Preſervation of the* Spaniſh Netherlands; *and to make ſuch other Alliances with other ſuch of the Confederates, as your Majeſty ſhall think fit and uſeful to that End:* In doing which (that no Time may be loſt) we humbly offer to your Majeſty theſe Reaſons for the expediting of it. 1. That if the entering into ſuch Alliances ſhou'd draw on a War with the *French* King, it wou'd be leaſt detrimental to your Subjects at this Time of the Year, they having now feweſt Effects within the Dominion of that King. 2. That tho' we have great Reaſon to believe the Power of the *French* King to be dangerous to your Majeſty and your Kingdoms, when he ſhall be at more leiſure to moleſt us; yet we conceive the many Enemies he has to deal withal at preſent, together with the Situation of your Majeſty's Kingdoms, *the Unanimity of the People in the Cauſe*, the Care your Majeſty hath been pleas'd to take of your ordinary Guards of the Sea, together with the Credit provided by the late Act *for an Additional Exciſe for three Years*, make the Entering into, and Declaring Alliances very ſafe, until we may in a regular Way give your Majeſty ſuch further Supplies, as may enable you to ſupport your Alliances, and defend your Kingdoms. 3. And becauſe of the great Danger and Charge which muſt neceſſarily fall upon your Majeſty's Kingdoms, if through Want of that timely Encouragement and Aſſiſtance, which your joining with the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, and other Confederates, wou'd give them, the ſaid *States*, or any other conſiderable Part of the Confederates, ſhou'd the next Winter, or ſooner, make a Peace, or a Truce with the *French* King.----- Having thus diſcharg'd our Duty, in laying before your Majeſty the Danger threatning your Majeſty and your Kingdoms, and the only Remedies we can think of, for the ſecuring and quieting the Minds of your Majeſty's People, with ſome few of thoſe Reaſans which have mov'd us to this, and our former Addreſſes on theſe Subjects; We moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to take the Matter into your ſerious Conſideration, and to take ſuch Reſolutions, as may not leave it in the Power of any neighbouring Prince, to rob your People of that Happineſs which they enjoy under your Majeſty's gracious Government; beſeeching your Majeſty to reſt confident and aſſured, that when your Majeſty ſhall be pleas'd to declare ſuch Alliances in Parliament, we ſhall hold our ſelves oblig'd, not only by our Promiſes and Aſſurances given, and now with great Unanimity reviv'd in a full Houſe; but by the Zeal and Deſires of thoſe whom we repreſent, and by the Intereſts of all our Safeties, moſt chearfully to give your Majeſty from time to time ſuch ſpeedy Supplies and Aſſiſtances, as may fully and plentifully anſwer the Occaſions, and by God's Bleſſing preſerve your Majeſty's Honour, and the Safety of the People.

After the Reading of this Addreſs in the Houſe, it was obſerv'd and objected, ‘ That there was but one Reaſon given in it for declining the Granting Money, and that was *that it was unprecedented*, about which they were not ſatisfy'd.’ On the other Side it was ſaid, ‘ There might be other Reaſons aſſign'd againſt giving of Money before the Alliances, but they rather deſired to ſpare them;’ only in general they ſaid, ‘ 'Twas not reaſonable to grant Money before there was a Change (they wou'd not ſay of *Counſellors*, but) of *Counſels*; and a hearty Undertaking theſe Alliances, wou'd be the beſt Demonſtration of that Change: For the Swerving from this Intereſt and Part, was the Step by which we went awry, and the Returning thereto wou'd reſtore us to our right Place and Way.’ Some other Things were objected, but in the main the Addreſs paſs'd the Houſe without any Diviſion, and was preſented to the King on the 26th of *May*. His Majeſty was ſenſibly mov'd at this Addreſs; and two Days after, he ſent for the Commons to the *Banquetting-Houſe* in *White-Hall*, where he was pleas'd to ſhew his Reſentment in this following Speech. *Gentlemen, Cou'd I have been Silent, I wou'd rather have choſen to be ſo, than to call to mind Things ſo unfit for you to meddle with, as are contain'd in ſome Parts of your laſt* Addreſs, *wherein you have entrench'd upon ſo undoubted a Right of the Crown, that I am confident it will appear in no Age (when the Sword was not drawn) that the* Prerogative of making Peace and War *hath been ſo dangerouſly invaded. You do not content your ſelves with deſiring Me to enter into* ſuch Leagues, *as may be for the Safety of the Kingdom, but you tell me what* Sort of Leagues *they muſt be, and* with Whom; *and, as your Addreſs is worded, it is more liable to be underſtood to be by your* Leave, *than at your* Requeſt, *that I ſhou'd make ſuch other other Alliances, as I pleaſe, with other of the Confederates. Shou'd I ſuffer this Fundamental Power of* Making War and Peace *to be ſo far invaded (tho' but once) as to have the* Manner *and* Circumſtances *of Leagues preſcrib'd to Me by* Parliament, *'tis plain that no Prince or State wou'd any longer believe that the Sovereignty of* England *reſts in the* Crown; *Nor cou'd I think my ſelf to ſignify any more to Foreign Princes, than the empty Sound of a* King. *Wherefore you may reſt aſſured, That no Condition ſhall make me depart from, or leſſen, ſo Eſſential a Part of the* Monarchy; *And I am willing to believe ſo well of the Houſe of Commons, that I am confident theſe* ill Conſequences *are not intended by You. Theſe are in ſhort the Reaſons why I can by no means approve of your Addreſs; and yet tho' you have declin'd to grant me that Supply which is neceſſary to the Ends of it, I do again declare to you, That as I have done all that lay in my Power ſince your laſt Meeting, ſo I will ſtill apply my ſelf by all the Means I can, to let the World ſee my* Care *for the Security and Satisfaction of my People, altho' it may not be with thoſe* Advantages *to them, which by your Aſſiſtance I might have procured.* At the Concluſion of this Speech, his Majeſty was pleas'd farther to declare his Pleaſure to them, That the Houſe be Adjourn'd 'till the 16th of *July* next; telling them, He wou'd give them Notice by his Proclamation when he intended they ſhou'd ſit again; which, his Majeſty was pleas'd to add, wou'd not be till the Winter, unleſs there ſhou'd happen ſome extraordinary Occaſion of calling them ſooner.

The King's reſenting Speech.

1677. Car. 29. Reſ. 18.

And thus ended this Part of the Sixteenth Seſſion of the Second Parliament, which broke up with much Uneaſineſs on both Sides; and the King, to teſtify his Reſentment, order'd his Speech to be printed in the next *Gazette*, a Thing 'till now altogether unuſual in this Reign. But before we leave the Parliamentary Affairs, we are to remember, among the Proceedings of this Seſſion, That a Queſtion was made without Doors, as had formerly been within, Whether this Parliament were not truly and legally diſſolv'd. Therefore the Lords, who had been ſo ſevere with their own Members, to reſtrain and terrify People from ſuch exceſſive Freedom, made an Order; ‘ That the Serjeant at Arms attending that Houſe ſhou'd take into his Cuſtody *Aaron Smith*, and bring him to the Bar of the ſaid Houſe, there to anſwer for ſpeaking certain dangerous and ſeditious Words againſt the Being of this preſent Parliament.’ And Mr. *Smith* having upon this abſconded, they immediately preſented their humble Deſires to his Majeſty, ‘ That he wou'd by his Royal Proclamation ſtrictly charge and command, that the utmoſt and moſt effectual Endeavours ſhou'd be us'd for apprehending the Perſon of the ſaid *Aaron Smith*, and bring him before the ſaid Houſe of Peers (if the Parliament ſhou'd be ſitting at the Time of his Apprehenſion) or in caſe the Parliament ſhou'd not be then ſitting, before one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, to the Intent that the ſaid *Aaron Smith* might be ſecured, in order to his Appearance before the Houſe of Peers, to anſwer for his ſaid Offence.’ To which his Majeſty comply'd by a Proclamation iſſu'd out two or three Days after the Parliament broke up. And it is believ'd, the more effectually to chaſtiſe Him and other like Offenders, that the Parliament was this Year continu'd by Adjournments rather than by Prorogation, as was moſt commonly practis'd.

The Parliament breaks up by Adjournment.

2. All this while the Affairs abroad were kept in ſome Suſpence, and chiefly by the very ſlow Progreſs made in the Treaty at *Nimeguen*. And what ſtill lengthen'd the Negotiation, was the Departure of Sir *William Temple*, the chief *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, who was ſent for into *England* by the King, under the Notion of Preferring him to the Secretary's Place. Sir *William* did not approve of the Conditions, but was very graciouſly receiv'd by his Majeſty, who often held private Diſcourſes with him in his Cloſet alone, or with none other preſent beſides the Duke of *York*, or the Lord Treaſurer, and often both. The Subjects of theſe Converſations were uſually the general Peace, and an intended Journey of the Prince of *Orange* into *England*. The King always expreſs'd a great Deſire for the firſt, but none for the other, till the firſt was concluded. He ſaid, *The Parliament wou'd never be quiet or eaſy with him while the War laſted abroad: That they had got it into their Heads to draw him into it whether he wou'd or no. That they pretended* Publick Ends *and* Dangers from *France*; *and there might be both meant by a great many honeſt Men amongſt them; but the Heats had been rais'd by ſome factious Leaders, who thought more of themſelves than of any Thing elſe; and had a mind to engage him in a War, and then leave him in it, unleſs they might have their Terms in removing and filling up Places: And he was very unwilling to be ſo much at their Mercy. That beſides,*

he ſaw the longer it continu'd, the worſe it wou'd be for the Confederates; and therefore he wou'd fain have the Prince make the Peace for them, if they wou'd not do it for Themſelves: That if He and the Prince cou'd fall into the Terms of it, he was ſure it might be done; And after ſeveral Converſations upon this Subject, the King told him, *He found that the Conduct of* Spain *was like to ruin all at laſt, therefore he had a great Mind that he ſhou'd go and try the Prince, if he cou'd perſuade him to it.* The Duke and the Lord-Treaſurer both preſs'd Sir *William* upon the ſame Point; but he repreſented to them, ‘ How often he had been employ'd upon this Errand to the Prince; how immoveable he had found him, and how ſure he was to find him ſo ſtill, unleſs his Majeſty wou'd conſider of another *Scheme* for the Peace. That his Majeſty wou'd do well to try another Hand; and he wou'd the better know the Prince's Mind, if his Anſwers were the ſame to both.’ The King ſaid, *It was an Affair of Confidence between Him and the Prince, and muſt be ſo treated; and he knew no Body he had beſides to ſend.* Upon which Sir *William* propos'd to name a Perſon, which was Mr. *Hyde*; whoſe Choice was approv'd by the Duke of *York*, the Lord-Treaſurer, and the King himſelf. Mr. *Hyde* was diſpatcht away accordingly, and attended the Prince at the Camp; but found his Highneſs firm and reſolute againſt the Peace, upon the very Terms he had propos'd to Sir *William Temple*: Of which he gave an Account, both to the King and Sir *William*; and then went to reſide at *Nimeguen* as one of the Ambaſſadors and Mediators.

Steps towards the Marriage of the Prince of Orange.

The other Affair, the intended Journey of the Prince of *Orange* into *England*, was a great Secret of the higheſt Importance, which began to diſcover it ſelf towards the End of this Year's Campaign; and this was for a Marriage between his Highneſs and the Princeſs *Mary*, eldeſt Daughter of *James* Duke of *York*, a glorious Lady, not much above 15 Years of Age. The firſt Motion of this happy Deſign was made by the Prince himſelf to Sir *William Temple* at the beginning of the Spring in the former Year 1676; when being ready to take the Field, he told that Ambaſſador, *That he deſired to have ſome Diſcourſe with him in private*, and appointed him a Time to meet him in his Garden at *Hounſler-dyke*, where he freely unboſom'd himſelf to his Excellency, and told him, ‘ He wou'd eaſily believe, that being the only Son that was left of his Family, he was often preſs'd by his Friends to think of marrying, and had many Perſons propos'd to him, as their ſeveral Humours led them: That for his own Part, he knew it was a thing to be done at one time or other; but that he had hitherto excus'd the Thoughts of it otherwiſe than in general, till the War was ended: That, beſides his own Friends, the Deputies of the *States* began to preſs him more earneſtly every Day, and the more as they ſaw the War like to continue; and perhaps they had more Reaſon to do it than any others. That he had at laſt promis'd them he wou'd think of it more ſeriouſly and particularly; and ſo he had, and reſolv'd he wou'd marry; but the Choice of a Perſon he thought more difficult: That he found himſelf inclin'd to no Propoſals that had been made him out of *France* or *Germany*, nor indeed to any that had been mention'd upon this Occaſion by any of his Friends, but that of *England*. That before he concluded to make any Steps that way, he was reſolv'd to have his Opinion upon two Points; but yet wou'd not ask it, unleſs he promis'd to anſwer him as a *Friend*, or at leaſt an *indifferent Perſon*, and not as the King of *England*'s Ambaſſador.’ When Sir *William* told him *he ſhou'd be obey'd*, he proceeded and ſaid, ‘ That he wou'd confeſs to him, *That during the late War, neither the* States *nor he in particular, were without Applications made to them from ſeveral Perſons, and conſiderable in* England, *who wou'd fain have engag'd them to Head the Diſcontents that were rais'd by the Conduct of the Court in that whole War, which he knew was begun and carried on quite contrary to the Humour of the Nation, and might, perhaps, have prov'd dangerous to the Crown, if it had not ended as it did.* That all theſe Perſons, who pretended to be much his Friends, were extreamly againſt any Thoughts of his marrying in *England*; and their Reaſons were, That he wou'd by that loſe all the Eſteem and Intereſt he had there, and be believ'd to have run wholly into the Diſpoſition and Deſigns of the Court, which were generally thought ſo different from thoſe of the Nation, eſpecially upon the *Point of Religion*; that his Friends there did not believe the Government wou'd be long without ſome great Diſturbance, unleſs they chang'd their Meaſures, which was not thought very likely to be done; *and upon this he deſir'd his Thoughts as a Friend.*’ The next was the Perſon and Diſpoſitions of the young Lady; ‘ for tho' it wou'd not paſs in the World for a Prince to ſeem concern'd in thoſe Particulars, yet for himſelf he wou'd ſay without any Affectation, that no Circumſtances of *Fortune* or *Intereſt* wou'd engage him, without thoſe of the *Perſon*, eſpecially thoſe of *Humour* and *Diſpoſition*. That he might, perhaps, be not very eaſy for a Wife to live with; he was ſure he ſhou'd not to ſuch Wives as were generally in the Courts of this Age. That if he ſhou'd meet with one to give him Trouble at Home, 'twas what he ſhou'd not be able to bear, who was like to have enough Abroad in the Courſe of his Life: And that after the manner he was reſolv'd to live with a Wife, which ſhou'd be the beſt he cou'd, he wou'd have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended upon their *Diſpoſition* and *Education*; and if he knew any thing particular of the Lady *Mary* in theſe Points, he deſired him to tell him freely.

Sir *William Temple* like a Friend anſwer'd his Highneſs, ‘ That he was very glad to find he was reſolv'd to Marry, being what he ow'd his Family and Friends: That he was much pleas'd that his Inclinations led him to endeavour it in *England*. That he thought it as much for his Intereſt, as other of his *Engliſh* Friends thought it was againſt it. That the King and his Highneſs wou'd ever be able to do one another more Good and more Harm, than any other Princes cou'd do either of them, by being Friends or Enemies. That it was a great Step to be one Degree nearer the Crown, and in all Appearance the next. That for his Friends (as they pretended) in *England*, they muſt ſee much further than he cou'd, to believe the King in any ſuch Dangers or Difficulties as they imagin'd. That the Crown of *England* ſtood upon ſurer Foundations than ever it had done in former Times, and the more for what had paſs'd in the laſt Reign; and that he believ'd the People would be found better Subjects than perhaps the King himſelf believ'd them. That it was, however, in his Power to be as well with them as he pleas'd, and to make as ſhort Turns to ſuch an End; if not, yet with the Help of a little good Husbandry, he might paſs his Reign in Peace, tho' not perhaps with ſo much Eaſe at home, or Glory abroad, as if he fell into the Humour of his People. That if the Court were of Sentiments different from thoſe of his Highneſs, yet his Adviſers wou'd make him a greater Compliment, in believing him as likely to induce the Court to his, as in concluding they wou'd bring him to theirs; and if that ſhou'd happen, the moſt ſeditious Men in *England* will hardly be able to find an ill Side in ſuch a Match. That for the other Point, he cou'd ſay nothing to it; but that he had always heard his Wife and Siſter ſpeak with all the Advantage that cou'd be of what they cou'd diſcern in a Princeſs ſo young; and more from what they had been told by the Governeſs, with whom they had a particular Friendſhip, and who, they were ſure, took all the Care that cou'd be in ſo much of the Lady's Education as fell to her Share.

The Progreſs of it.

After two Hours Diſcourſe upon this Subject, the Reſult was, that the Prince concluded to enter upon his Purſuit; and in order to it, reſolv'd to write both to the King and the Duke, to beg their Favour and Leave to come over into *England*, and make his Applications at the End of the Campaign. And likewiſe, that Sir *William Temple*'s Lady, a Perſon of admirable Senſe and Addreſs, who was then going over upon private Affairs, ſhould carry and deliver theſe Letters; but ſhou'd firſt endeavour to inform her ſelf the beſt ſhe cou'd, of all that concern'd the Perſon, Humour and Diſpoſition of the young Princeſs. The only Perſon in *England* intruſted with this Secret, for a conſiderable time, was the Lord Treaſurer *Danby*, who inviolably obſerv'd it. And he has ſince inform'd us, that the King did not know any of the Prince's Thoughts of that Matter till *May* 1677, when he firſt try'd how the King wou'd approve of ſuch a Propoſal; and that it was at leaſt two Months after before he had any Hopes of his Majeſty's Allowance of any Treaty about it. The Prince himſelf was long diverted from this Purſuit and Inclination by his Fatigues in the Camp, and by the Perplexity of the Affairs of *Europe*, and eſpecially by the tedious Suſpence of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*. About the end of *July* this Year he made an Attempt upon *Charleroy*, but fail'd in the intended Surprize of that Place. And now at laſt perceiving there cou'd be no Stop put to the Progreſs of the *French* Arms, but by calling in the Aſſiſtance of *England*, he reſolv'd to purſue the Marriage with all Vigour, and ſent over Monſieur *Bentinck*, ſince Earl of *Portland*, into *England*, to ſollicit that Affair, and to make Way for his Journey thither. This was managed with ſuch Skill and Secrecy, by the Aſſiſtance of the Lord-Treaſurer, that the King was brought to allow and approve of the Prince's Journey; but ſtill in a great Meaſure under the Cover of Foreign Buſineſs.

The Prince arrives in England.

3. Under this Encouragement, the Prince, accompanied by a great many Perſons of the beſt Quality in *Holland*, came over into *England*, and arriv'd at *Harwich* on the 9th Day of *October*. His Highneſs, like an eager Lover, went Poſt from thence to *Newmarket*, where the Court was enjoying all ſorts of Rural Sports and Entertainments. At his firſt alighting, the Earl of *Arlington*, as Chamberlain, attended his Highneſs, making his Pretence of the chief Confidence with him; and the Court expected no leſs from his Acquaintance and Journeys into *Holland*. The Lord-Treaſurer and Sir *William Temple* went together to attend him; and whiſpering to them both, he ſaid to Sir *William*, *That he muſt deſire him to anſwer for him and the Lord-Treaſurer one to another, ſo as they might from that Time, enter both into Buſineſs and Converſation, as if they had been of a longer Acquaintance.* This was a wiſe Strain of Policy, conſidering the Treaſurer's Intereſt in the Court at that Time, and prov'd of ſpecial Uſe to the Prince, in the Courſe of his Affairs then in *England:* And tho' it much diſpleas'd the Lord *Arlington* and his Friends, yet it cou'd not be wonder'd at by ſuch as knew what had paſs'd between the Prince and him. His Highneſs was very kindly receiv'd by the King and the Duke, who both invited him often into Diſcourſes of Buſineſs, which they were ſurpris'd to ſee him decline ſo induſtriouſly; inſomuch that the King order'd Sir *William Temple* to find out the Reaſon of it. His Highneſs plainly told Sir *William*, *He was reſolv'd to ſee the young Princeſs, before he enter'd upon any Conferences about the Peace or War.* The King laugh'd at this nice Piece of Gallantry; but, however, to humour his Highneſs in it, he left *Newmarket* ſome Days ſooner than he intended.

His Reception.

The Prince, upon his Arrival at *London*, and ſight of the Lady *Mary*, was ſo captivated with her Perſon, and all thoſe Signs of ſuch an Humour as had been deſcrib'd to him upon former Enquiries, that he immediately made his Suit to the King and the Duke of *York*. His Royal Highneſs was very cold upon the Propoſal, which was very well receiv'd and aſſented to by his Majeſty; but with this Condition, *That the Terms of a Peace Abroad might be firſt agreed on between them.* The Prince excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, *He muſt end his firſt Buſineſs before he begun the other.* The King and the Duke were both poſitive in their Opinion, and the Prince as reſolute in his; and ſaid at laſt, *That his Allies, who were like to have hard Terms of the Peace, as Things then ſtood, wou'd be apt to believe that he had made his Match at their Coſt; and for his Part, he wou'd never ſell his Honour for a Wife.* This prevail'd not, but the King continu'd ſo poſitive for three or four Days, that the Lord-Treaſurer and Sir *William Temple*, the great Promoters of the Match, began to fear the whole Buſineſs wou'd break upon this Punctilio. About that Time Sir *William* went by chance to the Prince after Supper, and found him in the worſt Humour that ever he ſaw him. His Highneſs told him, *That he repented he ever came into* England, *and reſolv'd he wou'd ſtay but two Days longer, and then be gone, if the King continu'd in his Mind of treating upon the Peace before he was married; but that before he went, the King muſt chuſe how they ſhou'd live hereafter; for he was ſure it muſt be either like the greateſt Friends, or the greateſt Enemies*; and deſir'd Sir *William to let his Majeſty know ſo next Morning, and give him Account of what he ſhou'd ſay upon it.* Accordingly Sir *William*, early in the Morning, told the King all that the Prince had ſaid to him the Night before, and repreſented to his Majeſty the ill Conſequences of a Breach between them, *conſidering the ill Humours of ſo many of his Subjects upon the late Meaſures with* France, *and the INVITATION made the Prince by ſeveral of them during the late War.* The King heard him with great Attention, and in Concluſion ſaid, *I never yet was deceiv'd in judging a Man's Honeſty by his Looks*, of which he gave him ſome Examples; *and if I am not deceiv'd in the Prince's Face, he is the honeſteſt Man in the World, and I will truſt him, and he ſhall have his Wife, and you ſhall go immediately and tell my Brother ſo, and that 'tis a Thing I am reſolv'd on.* Sir *William* did ſo, and the Duke at firſt ſeem'd a little ſurpris'd, but at laſt ſaid, *The King ſhall be obey'd, and I ſhou'd be glad if all his Subjects wou'd learn of me to obey him: I do tell him my Opinion very freely upon any thing; but when that is done, and I know his Pleaſure upon it, I obey him.* From the Duke of *York*, Sir *William Temple* went to the Prince of *Orange*, who hearing the Story was ſo tranſported, that embracing him, he told him, *He had made him a very happy Man, and very unexpectedly.*

The Match declared between him and the Lady Mary.

Immediately after, Sir *William* gave an Account of what had paſs'd to the Lord Treaſurer, who took upon him to adjuſt all the reſt, as well the Portion of forty thouſand Pounds, as other Matters, between the King, the Duke and the Prince; all which he effected ſo well, that the Match was declar'd that Evening at the Committee, before any other of the Court knew the leaſt of it. The next Morning, the 24th of *October*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to ſummon the Lords of the Privy-Council upon this extraordinary Occaſion, and to declare to them, That he had concluded a Marriage between her Highneſs the Lady *Mary*, and his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*. Upon which their Lordſhips, about three in the Afternoon, with great Pleaſure, went in a Body to make their Compliments and Congratulations firſt to the Lady, and afterwards to the Prince. And as the ſurpriſing News flew about, the City was preſently fill'd with Lights of Bonefires, the Sound of the Guns and Bells, and all the Marks of the moſt dilated Joy and Satisfaction. The *French* Ambaſſador and the Lord *Arlington* appear'd the only two diſſatisfy'd Perſons about the Court; the firſt not knowing how to anſwer it to his Maſter, that an Affair of that high Importance ſhould be tranſacted without his Advice, or ſo much as his Knowledge, in a Court where nothing before had been done ſo for many Years; and the Lord *Arlington*, that it ſhould paſs without his Knowledge, who ſtill endeavour'd to keep up the Court in the Belief of his Confidence with the Prince; to whom, however, he made this Compliment, *That ſome Things good in themſelves, were ſpoil'd by the* Manner *of doing them, as ſome Things bad were mended by it; but he wou'd confeſs this was a Thing ſo good in it ſelf, that the* Manner *of doing of it, cou'd not ſpoil it.* On the 29th of the ſame Month, Sir *Francis Chaplin*, the preſent Lord Mayor, made a Solemn Invitation in the Name of the City to the Prince and the whole Court. Accordingly both their Majeſties, accompany'd with his Royal Highneſs the Duke, with the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Anne*, the Prince of *Orange*, attended by a great many of the principal Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality, went firſt to the Show in *Cheapſide*, and after that to the *Guild-Hall* to Dinner, where the Entertainment was wonderful Noble and Magnificent in all Kinds. His Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *William Royſton* and *Thomas Beckford*, the preſent Sheriffs, and return'd with the Court to *White-Hall*, extreamly pleas'd with the abundant Demonſtrations of Joy and Duty that appear'd upon this Occaſion.

Their Entertainment by the Lord-Mayor.

The Prince of *Orange*, upon the firſt Notice of his Succeſs, immediately diſpatch'd away an Expreſs to the *States*, to acquaint them with what had paſs'd, expecting the Approbation of the Match with all Speed; that he might the ſooner repair to them, for the Service of their Country. Upon which the *States-General* aſſembled, and having maturely weigh'd the Advantages which might accrue to their Government by this Marriage; and particularly, ‘A Confirmation of the *Union* between *England* and *Holland*, the Eſtabliſhment and Illuſtration of the Houſe of *Orange*, and the Concluſion of the Peace ſo earneſtly deſired, beſides the happy Choice his Highneſs had made of a Princeſs, *every Way accompliſh'd*;’ they expreſs'd their Approbation by a *Publick Edict*, in Terms full of Joy and Satisfaction: Declaring moreover, ‘the mighty Eſteem they had for ſo glorious an Alliance, and their ſincere and firm Reſolution to cultivate the ancient Friendſhip and good Correſpondence, which was between his *Britannick* Majeſty and Them.’ This Anſwer arriving at *London* on his Highneſs's Birth-Day, *November* the 4th, the Marriage was privately celebrated at St. *James*'s, about Eleven at Night, by the Biſhop of *London*, in the Preſence of his Majeſty, (who gave the Bride) their Royal Highneſſes, and ſome of the principal Nobility. The News of this the next Morning rais'd new Tranſports of Joy in the City; and this was the firſt Time that the *Fifth of November* ſeem'd to have met with a double Solemnity. This Marriage was ſo much for the preſent Benefit of the Nation, and ſo important in the Conſequence, that too much Gratitude can hardly be expreſs'd to the Memory of the Authors. And here we may properly take Notice of Father *Orleans*'s Account of it, a Perſon afterwards ſo well acquainted with King *James*, who ſays, ‘Some are of Opinion that the Prince had Foreſight enough to have the Succeſſion in View when he marry'd the Princeſs *Mary*, Eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of *York*; and that from the Time he perceiv'd the Storm riſing againſt the Heir to the Crown of *England*, he thought it his Right to make the beſt Advantage of his Shipwreck. The Duke of *York* had miſtruſted it, and done all he could to obſtruct the Match, which the King his Brother, being impos'd upon by the Earl of *Danby* and Sir *William Temple*, had concluded without his Privity. The Event has plainly ſhew'd that the Duke ſaw farther than others; but being under Command, he could make no uſe of that Foreſight for his own Preſervation, &c.’ This, tho' obliquely repreſented by a Jeſuit, muſt juſtly be turn'd to the Honour of theſe two Great Men; and the former of them, ſince he was Duke of *Leeds*, has declared in Print, *That he will*

The Marriage conſummated:

The two Authors of it.

not ſuffer that Part of his Service to be bury'd in Oblivion. What Senſe the Prince had of his Services, will appear from his Letters to the Treaſurer, in which we ſhall take Notice of two Paſſages: Firſt, when the Prince was going into *Holland* with his Princeſs, *December* 8th from on board his Ship, he writes thus, 'I was deſirous to write 'to you juſt upon my Departure from *England*, that the 'laſt Thing I do before I go, may be thanking you for 'all the good Offices you have done me, and intreating 'that I may always have the Continuance of them.' Soon after he landed in *Holland*, in another Letter he writes thus, 'Altho' I landed but Yeſterday, and therefore 'can have no great Buſineſs to write about; yet I cou'd 'not forbear writing, to repeat to you the Offer of my 'moſt humble Service, and to aſſure you of the true Senſe 'I have of all the Obligations you have laid upon me.---- 'As for me, I entirely rely upon you; and reſt ſatisfy'd, 'that you will neglect nothing that lies in your Power to 'do for the Security of both the Nations, and am, with 'all the Paſſion that is poſſible for me to be, *Yours, &c.* '*W. H.*

Debates between the King and the Prince about the Peace.

4. Within a few Days after this auſpicious Marriage, the Prince earneſtly proceeded to the other Affair which he had ſo long declin'd; and the King, the Duke and He, with none others admitted but the Lord-Treaſurer and Sir *William Temple*, fell into Debates upon the Terms of a general Peace. The Prince inſiſted hard upon the Strength and Enlargement of a Frontier, or Barrier, on both Sides of *Flanders*, *without which* France *would end his War with the Proſpect of beginning another, and carrying* Flanders *in one Campaign.* The King was content to leave that Buſineſs a little looſer, upon the Confidence *That* France *was ſo weary of the War, that if they could get out of it with Honour, they would never begin another in this Reign*; *That the King grew paſt his Youth, and lazy, and would turn to the Pleaſures of the Court, and Building, and leave his Neighbours in Quiet.* The Prince ſtill urg'd, *That* France *wou'd not make a Peace now, but to break the preſent Confederacy; and their Ambition wou'd never end till they had all* Flanders *and* Germany *to the* Rhine, *and thereby* Holland *in an abſolute Dependance upon them, which wou'd leave the* Dutch *in a bad Condition, and the* Engliſh *in no good one.* Sir *William Temple* ſeconded the Prince, and told his Majeſty, *That in the Courſe of his Life, he had never obſerv'd Men's Natures to alter by Age or Fortunes*; *but that a good Boy made a good Man*; *a young Coxcomb, an old Fool*; *a young Cheat, an old Knave*; *and that quiet Spirits were ſo, young as well as old*; *and unquiet Ones wou'd be ſo, old as well as young: That he believ'd the King of* France *wou'd have ſome Bent or other, ſometimes War, ſometimes Love, ſometimes Building*; *but he was of the Prince's Opinion, That he wou'd ever make Peace with a Deſign of a new War, after he had fix'd his Conqueſt by the laſt*; of which Opinion his Majeſty approv'd. The Points of demanding *Lorrain* and *Alſatia* were eaſily agreed to by the King and Duke; but they wou'd not hear of the County of *Burgundy, as what* France *cou'd never be brought to*, tho' the Prince inſiſted much upon it; ſo as the King imagined he was touch'd by the Intereſt of his own Lands in that Country, which were too conſiderable to be neglected; and thereupon told him, *That for his Lands he wou'd charge Himſelf with either his enjoying them as ſafely under* France *as* Spain, *or if he ſhould rather chuſe to part with them than have that Dependence, he wou'd undertake to get him what Price he ſhould value them at.* But the Prince anſwer'd briskly and generouſly, *That he ſhou'd not trouble himſelf nor the Peace about that Matter*; *and that he would be content to loſe all his Lands there, to get one good Town more for the* Spaniards *upon the Frontier of* Flanders. This admitted great Debates between the King and Prince; one pretending *France* would never be brought to one Scheme, and t'other that *Spain* would never conſent to the other. But at laſt it was agreed, That the Peace ſhould be made upon theſe Terms, 'All ſhould be reſtored 'by *France* to the Emperor that had been taken in the 'War; the Dutchy of *Lorrain* to that Duke, and all on 'both ſides between *France* and *Holland*; and to *Spain* the 'Towns of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, St. *Giſland*, and *Binch*.' That the Prince ſhould endeavour to procure the Conſent of *Spain*, and the King that of *France*; for which Purpoſe he ſhould ſend ſome Perſon immediately over with the Propoſition, who was to enter into no Reaſonings upon it, but demand a poſitive Anſwer in two Days, and after that Term immediately return.

A Scheme agreed on.

For the effecting of this, the Lord *Duras*, the afterwards Earl of *Feverſham*, a Creature of the Duke's, was at laſt the Perſon fix'd on, and ſent over into *France*. Soon after which, the Prince and Princeſs embark'd for *Holland*; the King aſſuring his Highneſs, *That he wou'd never part from the leaſt Point of the Scheme ſent over, and wou'd enter into the War againſt* France, *if they refus'd it.* However, before he went, he had the Mortification to ſee the Sitting of the Parliament put off from the Third of *December*, to the Fourth of *April*; which the *French* Ambaſſador had gain'd, to make ſome friendly Appearance with *France* after the Prince's Marriage, and before the Diſpatch of the Terms of Peace to that Court.

And here in this Place it will not be amiſs to recite a Manuſcript Account taken from Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, which ſays, That the Match being made upon Political Views, againſt the Will of the Duke, and not with the hearty Liking of the King, the *Country Party*, as they were then call'd, were exceedingly pleas'd and elevated: And, after the Lord-Mayor's Feaſt, a ſecret Deſign was laid to invite the new-marry'd Couple into the City to a publick and ſolemn Entertainment to be made for them. To prevent this, the *Court* hurry'd both the Bridegroom and Bride, as faſt as they cou'd, out of Town. Inſomuch that they departed with ſuch Precipitation, that they had ſcarce Time to make any Proviſion for their Journey. Their Servants and Baggage went by Way of *Harwich*; but the Prince and Princeſs by *Canterbury* Road; where they were to lye till the Wind was fair, and the Yatcht ready to ſail with them.

The Prince and Princeſs's Acquaintance with Dr. Tillotſon.

Being arriv'd at *Canterbury*, they repair'd to an Inn; and no good Care being taken in their Haſte to ſeparate what was needful for their Journey, they came very meanly provided thither. Monſieur *Bentinck*, who attended them, endeavour'd to borrow ſome Plate and Money of the Corporation for their Accommodation; but upon grave Deliberation, the Mayor and Body prov'd to be really afraid to lend them Either. Dr. *Tillotſon* then Dean of *Canterbury*, and at that Time in Reſidence, hearing of this, immediately got together his own Plate, and other that he borrow'd, together with a good Number of Guineas, and all other Neceſſaries for them; and went directly to the Inn to Monſieur *Bentinck*, and offer'd him all that he had got; and withal complain'd that they did not come to the Deanery, where the Royal Family were wont to lodge; and heartily invited them ſtill to go thither, *where they might be ſure of a better Accommodation.* This laſt they declin'd; but the Money, Plate and the reſt were highly acceptable to them. Upon this the Dean was carry'd to wait upon the Prince and Princeſs; and his great Intereſt ſoon brought others to attend upon them. By this lucky Accident he began that Acquaintance and Correſpondence with the Prince and Monſieur *Bentinck*, which yearly encreas'd to the very Revolution: When both Monſieur *Bentinck* had great Occaſion for Him and his Friends, on his own Account, as well as the Prince Himſelf, when arriv'd at the Crown. And this was the true ſecret Ground, on which the Biſhop of *London*, (whoſe Quality and Services ſeem'd to entitle him without a Rival to the Archbiſhoprick) was yet ſet aſide, and Dr. *Tillotſon* advanc'd over his Head.

The Delays of France.

But to return to the Publick; upon the Lord *Duras*'s Arrival at *Paris*, the Court there were ſurpris'd both at the Thing and more at the Manner; but took it gently, and ſaid, 'His *Britannick* Majeſty knew very well he 'might always be Maſter of the Peace; but ſome of the 'Towns in *Flanders* ſeem'd very hard, eſpecially *Tournay*, 'upon whoſe Fortifications ſuch vaſt Sums had been ex'pended; and that they would take ſome ſhort Time to 'conſider of the Anſwer.' His Lordſhip told them, *he was ty'd to two Days Stay*; but when that was out, he was prevail'd with to ſtay ſome few Days longer, and to come away without any poſitive Anſwer: What he brought was, *That the moſt Chriſtian King hop'd his Brother would not break with him upon one or two Towns*; *but even upon them he would ſend Orders to his Ambaſſador at* London *to treat with his Majeſty Himſelf.* And to ſave thoſe Towns, very great Sums of Money were offer'd to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador *Montague*, for the Uſe of the King, and the Lord-Treaſurer, which were never accepted. However, the King was ſo mollify'd, that the Buſineſs came to be drawn out into ſo many Meſſages from *England*, and Returns from *France*, that it diminiſh'd into nothing.

In the mean Time the ill Humour of the People growing higher upon the Noiſe of a Peace, and negotiated in *France*, and the late Prolongation of the Parliament, the King thought fit by Proclamation to anticipate the Meeting of the Parliament, and to appoint it on the 15th Day of *January*; making a Shew as if he reſolv'd to enter into the War, for which the Parliament ſeem'd impatient whenever the King appear'd averſe to it, and grew jealous of ſome Tricks whenever the Court ſeem'd inclin'd to it. However, the King was ſure of obliging them in the Particular of the late Marriage of his Neece; the News of which Marriage at *Nimeguen*, gave the Confederates great Hopes that his Majeſty of *England* would now declare in their Favour. But it had a different Effect in *Holland*, particularly in *Amſterdam*; and tho' it had been generally receiv'd with great Satisfaction, yet in a little Time the *French* Emiſſaries found Means to raiſe Jealouſies of the Meaſures concerted between the King and the Prince upon this new Alliance, as dangerous to the Liberty of their Country; and to make it believ'd, 'That by this Match the King and 'the Duke had wholly brought over the Prince to their Intereſt and Sentiments;' when in reality, the Prince went away poſſeſs'd of having drawn Them into His; tho' they were equally miſtaken. But how different ſoever their Apprehenſions abroad might be of Things, at Home the King wav'd his Engagements to the Prince of entring into the War with the Allies, in caſe of no direct and immediate Anſwer from the King of *France*; and contented himſelf with ſending Mr. *Thynne* over into *Holland* with a former Draught of an Alliance to be made with the *States-General*, in order to compel *France* and *Spain* into the Compliance of the Scheme agreed on; and to conſign the ſame into the Hands of Mr. *Hyde*, then at the *Hague*. Accordingly the Treaty was ſign'd on the 16th of *January*, tho' not without great Difficulties, and much Diſſatisfaction on the Part of the Prince of *Orange*; who had yet the ſmall Comfort to be cover'd in it by the private Conſent of the *Spaniſh* Miniſter there, in behalf of his Maſter; ſo that the War cou'd not break out but upon *France*, in caſe of their Refuſal.

And Contrivances

Promotions at Home.

5. Such was the State of Affairs at the next Meeting of the Parliament, againſt which all Preparations had been made; but before we come to that, for a Concluſion of the Year, we are to take Notice of ſome Honours and Preferments, and the Deaths of ſeveral noted and conſiderable Men. As to the Former, this Year his Grace *Henry* Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and the Earl of *Danby* Lord-Treaſurer of *England*, were inſtall'd Knights of the moſt noble Order of the *Garter* at *Windſor*, on the 19th of *April*, in the Room of *William* Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and *George* Earl of *Briſtol*. About the Beginning of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Ormond* was again conſtituted Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and made his Journey towards that Kingdom with a noble Equipage, and agreeable to the Dignity of that Employment; being accompany'd out of Town by moſt of the principal Nobility and Perſons of Quality, in a numerous Train of Coaches: Arriving in *Ireland*, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, his Grace was ſolemnly conducted to the Council-Chamber, where he was ſworn into that great Office, and receiv'd the Sword from the Earl of *Eſſex*, the laſt Lord-Lieutenant, who began now to decline in the King's Favour. In the Beginning of *January*, his Majeſty was pleas'd, in Conſideration of the great Services perform'd to him and his Royal Father, by *George Wharton*, Eſquire, and of his Sufferings in the late Times of Uſurpation, to confer on him the Dignity of a Baronet of this Kingdom.

The Deaths of Archbiſhop Sheldon,

Of the Eminent Perſons that dy'd this Year, we ſhall begin with two venerable Prelates, Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, and Dr. *William Lucy*: The Former was educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was Warden of *All-Souls*; and having been Chaplain to the late King, and run through many Difficulties, after the Reſtoration, he was made firſt Biſhop of *London*, and laſtly Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which See he fill'd with great Honour and Reputation for above Fourteen Years, when he dy'd at Seventy nine Years of Age. Beſides his Learning and Piety, he is particularly diſtinguiſh'd by his munificent Benefactions, in which no Man more readily ſignaliz'd himſelf; and particularly he immortaliz'd his Name in that glorious Work, the Theatre of *Oxford*; and we are aſſur'd from his Relations, that from the Time of his being Biſhop of *London* to that of his Death, it appear'd in his Book of Accompts, that upon Publick, Pious and Charitable Uſes, he had beſtow'd about threeſcore and ſix thouſand Pounds. He was ſucceeded in this high Station by Dr. *William Sancroft*, the worthy Dean of St. *Pauls*, who was advanc'd to it without any Expectation or Inclination of his own. The other Prelate was Dr *Lucy*, Biſhop of St. *Davids*, a Perſon who had his Education in both Univerſities, and particularly in *Caius* College in *Cambridge*, where he liv'd ſeveral Years on his own Eſtate; from whence removing into *Hampſhire*, after variety of Fortunes, he was upon the Reſtoration advanc'd to his Epiſcopal See, in which he dy'd in the 87th of his Age, full of Years and Reputation; being a Perſon of ſignal Candor, and Virtues requiſite to a true Church-Man, which in the moſt difficult Times gain'd him great Eſteem from the very Enemies of his Order and Function.

Biſhop Lucy,

Dr. Barrow,

The next to be mention'd are two other eminent Divines of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Iſaac Barrow*, and Dr. *Robert Mapletoft*: The Former was of *London* by Birth, and principally educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where, after he had improv'd Himſelf by Travel, he was made ſucceſſively *Greek* and Mathematick Profeſſor, as well as Geometry Lecturer in *Greſham* College: Afterwards the preſent King made him Maſter of *Trinity* College in the ſame Univerſity, and when he beſtow'd it upon him was pleas'd to ſay, *That he gave it to the beſt Scholar in* England; and truly he ſhew'd himſelf of a moſt extenſive Genius, profoundly vers'd in Theology, as well as other Parts of Learning, and had ſuch an Invention and Method, that all his Sermons ſeem'd as compleat Treatiſes, in which the Subject, after his peculiar Manner, was exhauſted. After an exemplary Life of Piety, Modeſty and Sweetneſs, he dy'd in the 47th Year of his Age. The Other Divine, Dr. *Mapletoft*, was of *Lincolnſhire* by Birth, and of *Pembroke*-Hall in *Cambridge* by Education, of which College he was afterwards made Maſter, afterwards Sub-Dean of *Lincoln*, and laſt of all Dean of *Ely*. His Worth was ſo diſtinguiſhing, that when Archbiſhop *Sheldon* perceiv'd the Dutcheſs of *York* inclinable to Popery, he look'd upon Dr. *Mapletoft* a ſufficient Perſon to ſatisfy her Scruples, and keep her in the Communion of the Church of *England*, and us'd to call him by the Name of *The Primitive Divine*; but he was ſent for too late. He is particularly to be remember'd for his pious and charitable Donations, his Founding two Schools, his Catechetical Lectures, his free Gifts to Cathedrals, Colleges, Clergy-Mens Widows, *&c.* for which his Name deſerves to be perpetuated.

Dr. Mapletoft,

Dr. Manton,

After theſe, we are to mention two celebrated Divines of the Diſſenting Party, Dr. *Thomas Manton*, and Mr. *Theophilus Gale*: The Firſt was once of the *Presbyterian*, and then of the *Independent* Sect, and a Chief amongſt Both, of whoſe extraordinary Services and Compliances with reſpect to *Oliver* and *Richard Cromwell*, mention has been formerly made. At the King's Reſtoration he was in great Repute, was made one of his Majeſty's Chaplains, one of the *Savoy* Commiſſioners, and became a zealous Mover to get the Declaration for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs paſs'd into a Law; which had he compaſs'd, he wou'd have accepted of a Deanery that was offer'd him; but upon the Act of *Uniformity*, he thought fit not only to refuſe his Deanery, but alſo to quit his Church of *Covent-Garden* in *London*. After which he became a conſiderable Sufferer from the Laws againſt Diſſenters, yet kept up a mighty Intereſt with ſome great Men, as the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Wharton*, &c. and left the World with the Name of a Perſon of great Learning and Temper, Judgment and Integrity, and an excellent unwearied Preacher. But with all theſe good Qualities and Abilities, a faithful Hiſtorian ought not to let him paſs without declaring, That he knows not how to excuſe his general Proceedings in the late Times. It cannot be deny'd, that the Diſſenters felt a great Loſs in his Death; which was the leſs regretted at firſt by being ſucceeded by the unexceptionable Dr. *Symon Patrick*. The Other, Mr. *Gale*, ſeem'd to have had more Learning and leſs Faction than the Former: He had been Fellow of *Magdalen* College in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and a frequent Preacher there. Being ejected, at the Reſtoration, out of that, and a Place in *Wincheſter*, he travell'd into Foreign Parts, as Tutor to the Lord *Wharton*'s Sons; from whence returning, he ſettled in *London*, and ſhew'd himſelf to be a Man of vaſt Reading and Induſtry, an exact Philologiſt and Philoſopher, as his *Court of the Gentiles*, and his other learned Works do ſufficiently teſtify. In the midſt of his great Deſigns he was ſnatcht away in the Prime of his Years, the 49th of his Age.

Mr. Gale,

Mr. Sheringham,

Beſides theſe, we are to mention three or four others of different Characters: The two firſt were Mr. *Robert Sheringham*, and Dr. *Francis Gliſſon*, both educated in *Caius* College in *Cambridge*. The Firſt, being driven from his Fellowſhip in the College in 1643, went into *Holland*, where he taught the *Hebrew* and *Arabick* Tongues; but after the Reſtoration, he return'd to his Fellowſhip, and liv'd a ſtudious and retired Life, ſhewing himſelf to be an extraordinary Linguiſt, eſpecially in the Oriental and *Gothick* Languages, as alſo admirably well vers'd in the Original Antiquities of the *Engliſh* Nation, as appears from his Book *De Anglorum Gentis Origine*, and other learned Writings. The Other, Dr. *Gliſſon*, was one of the famous Phyſicians of the Age, who for his Eminency was firſt made the King's Profeſſor of Phyſick in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and afterwards Preſident of the College of Phyſicians. He made ſeveral notable Diſcoveries in Anatomy, wrote ſome very uſeful Treatiſes in his Faculty, and dy'd at *London*, much lamented by Foreigners, as well as his own Countrymen.

Dr. Gliſſon,

Sir John King,

The two laſt to be mention'd are Sir *John King*, and Mr. *James Harrington*: The Former had his Education in *Queen*'s College in *Cambridge*, where he firſt diſcover'd his great Parts and Abilities; from whence he remov'd to the *Inner Temple*, where he ſhew'd himſelf moſt famous in his Profeſſion, the Law, and was made Sollicitor-General to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*; and his Buſineſs ſo much encreas'd upon his Hands, that in the laſt Part of his Life his Fees amounted to forty and fifty Pounds a

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Day. He was not only a compleat Lawyer, but a general Scholar, an accompliſh'd Gentleman, and a modeſt and pious Chriſtian, who was ſuddenly taken from the World in the 39th Year of his Age, to the great Affliction of his numerous Friends and Relations.

And Mr. Harrington.

The Other, Mr. *James Harrington*, was a fine Gentleman that made a conſiderable Figure in the World during the late Times of Confuſion, of whom mention has been already made. After a great Improvement made by ſeveral Years Travels, and having been an Attendant on the late King during his Impriſonment, he afterwards much diſtinguiſh'd Himſelf by Inventing a new Model of a Commonwealth, and writing ſeveral Books to that End, of which his *Oceana* and the *Rota* were ſo highly admired by ſome, as to be compared to the *Pattern in the Mount*, but by others look'd upon as ingenious Maggots, never to be reduc'd to Practice in the *Engliſh* Nation. After the Reſtoration his Schemes all vaniſh'd and diſappear'd, and he again went to travel in Foreign Countries, ſeeking out new Models of Government, till the Warmth of his curious Head, after his Return home, brought on a ſort of a Delirium, or an uncommon Strength of Imagination, in which Condition he left the World in the 67th Year of his Age.

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A further Continuation of the SIXTEENTH SESSION *of Parliament.*

VII. 1. We are now arriv'd at the 30th Year of this King's Reign, a Year, upon the Account of Domeſtick Affairs, more remarkable and tumultuous than any ſince the Reſtoration. It began with a further Continuation of the Sixteenth Seſſion of the Second and long Parliament. By way of Preparation to this Meeting, his Majeſty thought fit to do ſome Things Terrifying as well as Popular, to ſhew his Authority as well as his Clemency, in ſuppreſſing Libels and ſeditious Diſcourſes, which very much encreas'd about this Time. Particularly the Dangers of Popery, and the Advances of the *Popiſh* Intereſt at Court, were ſo boldly and reflectingly repreſented by Mr. *Andrew Marvel* in his *Account of the Growth of Popery*, &c. that his Majeſty caus'd an Order to be publiſh'd in theſe Words: 'Whereas there have been lately Printed and Publiſh'd ſeveral Seditious and Scandalous Libels againſt the Proceedings of both Houſes of Parliament, and other his Majeſty's Courts of Juſtice, to the Diſhonour of his Majeſty's Government, and the Hazard of the Publick Peace: Theſe are to give notice, That what Perſon ſoever ſhall diſcover unto one of the Secretaries of State, the Printer, Publiſher, Author, or Hander to the Preſs of any of the ſaid Libels, ſo that full Evidence thereof may be made to a Jury, without mentioning the Informer; eſpecially one Libel entitled, *An Account of the Growth of Popery*, &c. and another call'd, *A Seaſonable Argument to all Grand Juries*, &c. The Diſcoverer ſhall be rewarded as follows: He ſhall have fifty Pound for ſuch Diſcovery, as aforeſaid, of the Printer, or the Publiſher of it from the Preſs; and for the Hander of it to the Preſs, one hundred Pounds, &c.

The King's Meſſage,

Thus prepared, on the 15th Day of *January* both Houſes of Parliament met according to Adjournment, after a Receſs or Interval of a little above ſeven Months. But before they began any Buſineſs, the King ſent them this following Meſſage: 'That his Majeſty had Matters of very great Importance to communicate to both Houſes, in Order to the Satisfaction of the late Addreſſes *for the Preſervation of* Flanders. But it ſo happening, that Matters are not yet ſo ripe as within a few Days they will be; therefore his Majeſty's Pleaſure was, that they ſhou'd be immediately adjourn'd till *Monday* the 28th of this Inſtant *January*.'

And Speech to both Houſes.

On that Day his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he made this remarkable Speech to both Houſes: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, When we parted laſt I told you, *That before we met again I wou'd do that which ſhou'd be to your Satisfaction*; I have accordingly made ſuch Alliances with *Holland* as are for the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and which cannot fail of that End, unleſs prevented either by the Want of due *Aſſiſtances* to ſupport thoſe Alliances, or by the ſmall *Regard* the *Spaniards* themſelves muſt have to their own Preſervation. The firſt of theſe I cannot ſuſpect, by reaſon of your repeated *Engagements* to maintain them; and I know you are ſo wiſe as to conſider, That a War, which muſt be the neceſſary Conſequence of them, ought neither to be proſecuted by Halves, nor to want ſuch Aſſurances of *Perſeverance* as may give me Encouragement to purſue it: Beſides, it will not be leſs neceſſary to let our Enemies have ſuch a *Proſpect* of our Reſolutions, as may let them ſee certainly, That we ſhall not be weary of our Arms, 'till *Chriſtendom* be reſtored to ſuch a Peace, as ſhall not be in the Power of any Prince alone to diſturb.

'I do acknowledge to you, that I have us'd all Means poſſible, by a Mediation, to have procured an honourable and ſafe *Peace for Chriſtendom*; knowing how preferrable ſuch a Peace wou'd have been to any War, and eſpecially to this Kingdom, which muſt neceſſarily own the vaſt Benefits it has receiv'd by Peace, while its Neighbours only have yet ſmarted by the War: But finding it no longer to be hop'd for by fair Means, it ſhall not be my Fault if that be not obtain'd by *Force*, which cannot be had any other *Ways*. For this Reaſon I have recall'd my Troops from *France*, and have conſider'd, That altho' the *Dutch* ſhall do their Parts, we cannot have leſs on ours than ninety Sail of Capital Ships conſtantly maintain'd, nor leſs than thirty or forty thouſand Land Men (with the Dependencies) to be employ'd upon our Fleets and elſewhere. And becauſe there ſhall be no Fear of Miſemploying what you ſhall give to theſe Uſes, I am contented that ſuch Money be appropriated to thoſe Ends as ſtrictly as you can deſire. I have given Teſtimony enough of my Care in that Kind by the Progreſs I have made in Building the new Ships; wherein, for the making them more uſeful, I have directed ſuch larger Dimenſions, as will coſt me above one hundred thouſand Pounds more than the Acts allow. I have gone as far as I cou'd in Repairing the Old Fleet, and in Buying neceſſary Stores for the Navy and Ordnance; and in this and other Proviſions, for better Securing both my Foreign Plantations and the Iſlands nearer home, I have expended a great deal more than the two hundred thouſand Pounds you enabled me to Borrow upon the Exciſe, altho' I have not found ſuch Credit as I expected upon that Security. I have born the Charge both of a Rebellion in *Virginia*, and a new War with *Algiers*: I ſtand engag'd to the Prince of *Orange* for my Neice's Portion; and I ſhall not be able to maintain my conſtant neceſſary Eſtabliſhments, unleſs the *New Impoſt upon Wines*, &c. be continu'd to me, which wou'd otherwiſe turn only to their Profit to whom we leaſt intend it.

'I hope theſe Things will need little Recommendation to you, when you conſider your *Promiſes* in ſome, and the *Neceſſity* of the reſt; and to let you ſee that I have not only employ'd my Time and Treaſure for your Safety, but done all I cou'd to remove all ſorts of Jealouſies, I have marry'd my Neice to the Prince of *Orange*, by which I hope I have given full Aſſurances that I ſhall never ſuffer his Intereſts to be ruin'd, if I can be aſſiſted as I ought to be, to preſerve them. Having done all this, I expect from you a *Plentiful Supply* ſuitable to ſuch great Occaſions; whereon depends not only the *Honour*, but, for ought I know, the *Being* of an *Engliſh* Nation, which will not be ſav'd by finding Faults afterwards, but may be prevented by avoiding the chief Fault of doing Weakly and by Halves, what can only be hop'd from a vigorous and thorough Proſecution of what we undertake. Theſe Conſiderations are of the greateſt Importance that ever concern'd this Kingdom, and therefore I wou'd have you enter immediately upon them, without ſuffering any other *Buſineſs* whatſoever to divert you from bringing them to good *Reſolutions*.

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The Conſtitution of the Commons.

The Conſtitution of the preſent Houſe of Commons, that had ſat near ſeventeen Years, was now more manifeſtly grown into two Parties, which were call'd by the Name of the *Court* and the *Country*: The Former were grown numerous, by a Practice introduc'd about five Years before this time by the Lord-Treaſurer *Clifford*, of downright buying off one Man after another, as they cou'd make the Bargain. The Country Party ſtill continu'd the Majority, and retain'd more Credit upon the Corruption of others, and their Profeſſion of Adherence to the true Intereſts of the Nation, eſpecially in the Points of *France* and *Popery*: Where theſe came in Queſtion, many of the Court Party voted with thoſe of the Country, who then carried all before them; but whenever the Court appear'd to fall in with the true Intereſts of the Nation, eſpecially in thoſe two Points, then many of the Country Party, meaning fairly, fell in with the Court, and carried the Votes, as they ſoon did upon the King's Pretence to grow bold with *France*, and reſolve upon a War, if the Peace was refus'd. But firſt they began with an unexpected Strain of Loyalty, and before they conſider'd any part of his Majeſty's Speech.

Their Loyalty.

Having ſat on part of the 30th of *January*, the Anniverſary Faſt, upon the Motion of the Lord *O-Brian*, whoſe Son had lately marry'd the Lord-Treaſurer's Daughter, they voted, 'The Sum of ſeventy thouſand Pounds for a ſolemn Funeral of his late Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſt, and to erect a Monument for the ſaid Prince of glorious Memory; the ſaid Sum to be rais'd by a two Months Tax, to begin at the Expiration of the preſent Tax for building Ships.' This, tho' look'd upon as an Affair to which the Nation had ſtood oblig'd for many Years, yet being never heartily and fully mov'd in that Houſe before,

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was at preſent not a little ſurpriſing to many, whoſe Minds were fill'd with various Conjectures.

And Addreſs to the King.

2. The next Day the Commons took the King's Speech into Conſideration, and in return preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty at *Whitehall*, declaring their ‘ Thanks for his Care expreſſed for the Preſervation and Encouragement of the *Proteſtant Religion*, in concluding a Marriage between his Neice and the Prince of *Orange*; beſeeching him not to admit any Treaty of Peace, whereby the *French* King ſhou'd be left in Poſſeſſion of any greater Dominion or Power, than was left him by the *Pyrenean* Treaty: That both on our Parts, and the Parts of the Confederates, no Ship nor Veſſel may be admitted to come out of any Port of *France*, but that the Ships and Men be ſeiz'd, and the Goods deſtroy'd: That he wou'd pleaſe to provide that none of the Parties who ſhou'd join in this Alliance and Confederacy againſt *France*, depart from the ſaid Alliance, 'till the ſaid King be reduced to the ſaid Treaty: That neither we nor the Confederates admit any Trade with *France*, or ſuffer any Goods to be imported from thence on pain of Forfeiture: That his Majeſty in making ſuch Confederacies as neceſſary for attaining theſe Ends, ſhall never doubt of the Affections of his People. Laſtly, they renew'd their former Proteſtations and Engagements to perſevere in the Proſecution of the ſaid War; and when he ſhou'd be pleas'd to impart ſuch Alliances and Confederacies to them in Parliament, they wou'd give ſuch ready Aſſiſtances, upon all Occaſions, as might bring the War to a happy Concluſion.

The King's Anſwer.

To this Addreſs the King return'd the following Anſwer in Writing, which was read in the Houſe of Commons the 4th of *February*: ‘ That he was not a little ſurpris'd to find ſo much inſerted in their Addreſs of what *ſhou'd not be*, and ſo little of what *ſhou'd*: That his Speech was to both Houſes jointly, and the Return ought to be from both: That in their Addreſs of the 20th of *May* laſt, they did *invite him to a League Offenſive and Defenſive with* Holland *againſt the* French *King, and for Preſerving the* Spaniſh Netherlands; *and upon his Declaration of ſuch Alliances, aſſur'd ſuch ſpeedy Aſſiſtances as might fully anſwer the Occaſion*: That he hath made ſuch Alliances, yet finds no Return but the *Old* Promiſes upon *New* Conditions; and ſo he may be us'd to Eternity, ſhou'd he ſeem ſatisfy'd with ſuch Proceedings: That on the 28th of *May* laſt he told them, *how highly he was offended at the great Invaſion of his Prerogative*; yet they took no notice of it, but added to their former ill Conduct new Invaſions. They deſir'd him to *oblige his Confederates never to conſent to a Peace till the moſt Chriſtian King be reduc'd to the* Pyrenean *Treaty*; a Determination fitting only for God Almighty, ſince none but he can tell the Terms of Peace who knows the Event of War: They deſire him *not to ſuffer a Ship of theirs to come from* France *under Pain of Confiſcation*, not excepting Allies, Prince, or Ambaſſadors (if any among them:) That he did not believe any Aſſembly of Men ever gave ſo great and publick a Provocation to the whole World, without ſo much as conſidering to provide one Ship, Regiment, or Penny towards juſtifying it: That, however, if by their Aſſiſtance he might be put into Arms ſufficient for ſuch a Work, he wou'd not be weary till *Chriſtendom* be reſtor'd *to ſuch a Peace, that it ſhou'd not be in the Power of one Prince to diſturb it*: That the Rights of making and managing War and Peace were in his Majeſty; and if they thought he wou'd depart from any part of that Right, they were miſtaken: The Reins of Government were in his Hands, and he had the ſame Care to preſerve them there, as to preſerve his own Perſon. He kept both his People's Protection and Safety; and that if the Houſe of Commons wou'd encourage his Majeſty to go further in Alliances, they muſt conſider of raiſing *ſpeedy Supplies*; for from the Conſideration of thoſe he muſt take his Meaſures.'

Shortly after the Commons reſolv'd upon a Supply, but with ſome ſtrict Limitations. At the ſame time they undertook to regulate ſuch Grievances as aroſe from their own Privileges; and took off all written Protections which had been granted by ſeveral Members to ſuch as were not really their Servants, to an incredible Number; and particularly voted, ‘ That no Protection ſhou'd be allow'd to any but their Menial Servants, actually in Service, and that without a written Certificate.

The E. of Shaftsbury's Caſe,

3. All this time, and for above a Year, the Earl of *Shaftſbury* was kept a cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*; for an Offence of a high Nature, as was formerly mention'd. After he had continu'd many Months, and finding his Petitions rejected for want of a formal Recantation of his Crime, he had recourſe to the *King's-Bench*, whither he was brought by a *Habeas Corpus* on the 27th of *January*, where Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Wallop*, and Mr. *Smith*, his Council, argued that the Court ought to relieve him; and the Earl ſpoke himſelf with great Reaſon and Eloquence for the Liberty of the Subject, and his own Diſcharge. Yet the Judges deny'd him Redreſs, one of them declaring before the Cauſe was heard, *That the Court cou'd not help him*; and ſo the Earl was remanded to Priſon. This Application to an inferior Court was ſoon taken Notice of by the Lords, who voted it a Breach of Privilege, for which the Earl was to anſwer his Contempt at the Bar of the Houſe. On the 22d of *February* he was accordingly brought to the Bar, where he offer'd to acknowledge his aſſerting the Diſſolution of the Parliament to be an unadviſed Action, and to beg their Lordſhips Pardon for his Offence in bringing his *Habeas Corpus*. Soon after the Houſe proceeded to a Reſolution, that the Lord *Shaftſbury* ſhou'd make his Submiſſion and Acknowledgment in a Form preſcrib'd by that Houſe, without which he was to expect no Releaſe. This, tho' a Mortification to a high Spirit, the Earl was forc'd to ſubmit to: Accordingly the Lord Chancellor read the following Words to him, while the Earl kneeling repeated them at the Bar. 1. *I do acknowledge that my endeavouring to maintain that the Parliament was diſſolv'd, was an ill-adviſed Action; for which I humbly beg Pardon of the King's Majeſty, and this moſt honourable Houſe.* 2. *I do acknowledge that my bringing a Writ of* Habeas Corpus *in the King's-Bench, was a high Violation of your Lordſhips Privilege, and a great Aggravation of my former Offence, for all which I beg Pardon.* Having both repeated and ſubſcrib'd this Recantation, the Houſe order'd the Lords with White Staffs to acquaint his Majeſty, ‘ That they had receiv'd Satisfaction from the Earl of *Shaftſbury* in the Matter of the *Habeas Corpus*, and the other Contempt, and pray'd him to diſcharge the ſaid Earl from his Confinement.' Accordingly the Earl was releas'd, after an Impriſonment of about thirteen Months, and the next Day ſat in the Houſe of Lords, where he ſoon found Opportunities of ſhewing his uſual Reſentments.

And Submiſſion.

167$\frac{7}{8}$.
Car. 30.
Ref. 18.

The Progreſs of the French *in* Flanders.

About the ſame time the City and Parliament were very much alarm'd with the ſudden and ſucceſsful Motions of the *French* King; who, to the Surpriſe of all Men, began his Campaign on the End of *February*: And marching at the Head of his Army with his Queen and Court Ladies to *Mentz*, he ſeem'd firſt to threaten *Luxemburg*, *Namur* or *Mons*; but having drawn the *Spaniſh* Forces that way, he ſuddenly croſs'd the Country, and ſat down before *Ghent*; and notwithſtanding the Difficulties of the Seaſon, and their drowning part of the Country, he made himſelf Maſter of that large Place, and ſoon after of *Ypres*. By which he gave a mighty Alarm to *Holland*, and ſtrengthen'd the Credit and Endeavours of thoſe who were already diſpos'd to his Conditions of Peace, as grown now abſolutely neceſſary; while *England* ſeem'd reſolv'd to enter into the War, or at leaſt gave the Confederates many ſuch Hopes. After this Succeſs, the *French* King thought fit for a while to relax, and to diſpoſe his Armies into Quarters of Refreſhment; whether he thought them ſufficiently harraſs'd, or whether he was afraid of the King of *England*, who, at the Deſire of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, had ſent over conſiderable Forces, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*, to ſecure the important Town of *Oſtend*, which now ſeem'd much in Danger. And now the *French* King was pleas'd to make a publick Declaration of the Terms, upon which he was reſolv'd to make a Peace: Which, tho' very different from thoſe agreed between *England* and *Holland*, and more from the Pretenſions of the Allies; yet having, as to what concern'd *Spain* and *Holland*, been firſt privately agreed with ſome Leaders of the principal Towns, prov'd indeed the *Plan* of the Peace, both for *Holland*, and all the other Confederates. And here the *French* began that imperious way of Treating, which they afterwards purſued in the whole Negotiation of the enſuing Peace; peremptorily declaring, ſuch and ſuch were the Conditions they wou'd admit, and no other; and to which the King of *France* pretended to be tied no longer than one Month. And about the ſame time his Ambaſſador at *London* began to change his Language, who had ever before pretended, *That his* Britannick *Majeſty ſhou'd always be Arbiter of the Peace*; but now aſſuring himſelf that his Maſter had agreed with *Holland*, he ſeem'd to wonder and expoſtulate *Why the King of* England *ſhou'd pretend to obtain better Terms for the* Spaniards, *than were allow'd by their Allies the* Dutch.

The Houſe of Commons alarm'd.

In the mean time the Commons, under great Apprehenſions, haſtned the Poll-Bill for raiſing of Mony, and on the 14th of *March* expreſs'd their Impatiency for a War in theſe Terms: ‘ Upon ſeveral Motions made for conſidering the deplorable Condition of the Nation, reſolv'd in a Committee of the whole Houſe, That it is their Opinion, that an Addreſs be preſented to the King, humbly to adviſe his Majeſty, that his Majeſty, to quiet the Minds

of

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Car. 30.
Reſ. 18.

of his loyal Subjects, and to encourage the Princes and States, Confederates againſt the *French* King, wou'd be graciouſly pleas'd to proclaim, and enter into an actual War with the *French* King; and to give his Majeſty Aſſurances, That this Houſe will conſtantly ſtand by and aid his Majeſty, in the Proſecution thereof, with neceſſary and plentiful Supplies and Aſſiſtances; and that his Majeſty wou'd preſently diſmiſs the *French* Ambaſſador, and recal his from *France* and *Nimeguen*.' Which Addreſs was the next Day drawn up accordingly, and ſent to the Lords for their Concurrence, but never proceeded further. For the King made haſte to ſecure the Money-Bill, and on the 20th of *March* came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſſed that and another, entitled, An Act for Continuance of two former Acts, *For preventing of Theft and Rapine upon the Northern Borders of* England. In the Poll-Bill there was one ſtrict appropriating Clauſe for the Mony ſo levied, to be apply'd to no uſe but the intended *French* War; and alſo another Clauſe prohibiting the Importation of any *French* Commodities for three Years. Upon paſſing theſe Bills, by the King's Order, the Parliament was adjourn'd for about three Weeks, 'till the 11th of *April*, and then again for above a Fortnight longer to the 29th of the ſame Month.

A ſhort Receſs.

1678.

4. On *Thurſday* the 11th of *April*, the Parliament met, and adjourn'd to the *Monday* following; at which time, by the King's particular Appointment, they choſe a new Speaker in the Houſe of Commons, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, one of the King's Council Learned, and a great Practicer in the Exchequer; and from thence adjourn'd over to *Monday* the 29th of *April*. But in a few Days Sir *Robert Sawyer* excus'd his Attendance in a Letter, that he cou'd not follow the Service by reaſon of a violent Fit of the Stone, occaſion'd by his long ſitting one Day in the Houſe; whereupon the old Speaker, Mr. *Edward Seymour*, was again choſen, and reinſtated in the Chair. During the Receſs of Parliament, a very ſtrict Faſt was kept on *Wedneſday* the 10th of *April* in the City of *London*, and a Fortnight following throughout all *England*, to implore God's Bleſſing upon his Majeſty and his Kingdoms, and for the averting the particular Judgments of Heaven.

A Faſt.

Both Houſes being met on *Monday* the 29th of *April*, and the King and the Lords in their Robes; the Lord Chancellor *Finch* in a long Speech, ‘ recited all the Addreſſes that had been made in relation to a War with *France*; what the King had already done in purſuance of the ſame, and joining in an effectual League with the Confederates to that End, and how ready the King was to purſue their Deſires; but that now his Majeſty had diſcover'd, that the *Dutch* were entering upon a Treaty of Peace with the *French* King, and that without his Conſent or Privity; therefore his Majeſty demands the Advices of his two Houſes how to proceed.' Upon Conſideration of this, on the 4th of *May*, the Commons directly voted, ‘ to give their humble Advice to his Majeſty, that he wou'd forthwith enter into the preſent Alliance with the Confederates, and an actual War with *France*, &c.' Beſides this Advice, it was voted by a Majority of ſixteen Voices, ‘ That the late Leagues, made with the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, are not purſuant to the Addreſſes of this Houſe, nor conſiſtent with the Good and Safety of the Kingdom.' Upon which, two Days after, the King being diſoblig'd, return'd this Anſwer, *His Majeſty having been acquainted with the Votes of the 4th Inſtant is very much ſurpriz'd both with the Matter and Manner of them; but if his Majeſty had had Exceptions to neither, yet his Majeſty having ask'd the Advice of both the Houſes, doth not think fit to give any Anſwer to any thing of that Nature, till he hath the concurrent Advice of both Houſes.*

The Commons Vote.

The King's Reply.

In the mean time the Commons appear'd not at all diſcourag'd with this Anſwer, but drew up a new Addreſs, and preſented it to his Majeſty on the 11th of *May*, *Saturday* in the Afternoon, containing, ‘ Their humble Thanks to his Majeſty, for demanding their Advice; that accordingly they gave it, and they beſeech him to communicate to them his Reſolutions thereupon; and whereas they conceive that the Inconveniencies and Dangers which the Kingdom now lies under, might totally, or in a great meaſure have been prevented, in caſe his Majeſty had accepted of the Advice by them given in their Addreſſes of the 26th of *May* laſt, and the 31ſt of *January*: That therefore he wou'd be pleas'd to remove thoſe Counſellors that advis'd him to give thoſe Anſwers which he did to the ſaid Addreſſes; that he wou'd pleaſe to accept of this Petition in good part, as proceeding from Perſons heartily devoted to him, &c. in fine, that he wou'd be pleas'd to remove the Duke of *Lauderdale* from his Preſence and Councils.' This put the King beyond all Patience; and as ſoon as he heard it, he immediately return'd Anſwer in theſe Words; *That he was much ſurpris'd at the Extravagancy of their Addreſs, and unwilling at preſent to give it ſuch a due Anſwer as it deſerves.* And now finding the Heats of the Houſe increaſe, he thought nothing ſo proper as a ſhort Prorogation; accordingly, on *Monday* the 13th of *May*, he came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſſing ſome private Bills, he caus'd the Parliament to be Prorogu'd till *Thurſday* come Sevennight, being the 23d of this Inſtant *May*. And this put an End to the Sixteenth Seſſion of the ſecond and long Parliament, which Seſſion had continued by ſeveral Adjournments, and ſome Intermiſſions, above fifteen Months. What ſeem'd moſt ſenſibly to touch the King in the Houſe of Commons was an unlucky peeviſh Vote, as Sir *William Temple* calls it, mov'd by Sir *Thomas Clargis*, in ſpite to the Lord-Treaſurer, and paſs'd the Houſe, *That no Mony ſhou'd be given, 'till Satisfaction was given in Matters of Religion.* This left all ſo looſe and ſo lame, that the King, who appear'd reſolv'd to declare War, was in a Rage, and reproach'd Sir *William Temple*, the Promoter of it, with his *Popular Notions*, and ask'd him, *When or how he thought he cou'd truſt the Houſe of Commons to carry him through the War, if he ſhou'd engage in it?* He ſays, no Vote cou'd ever have paſs'd more unhappily, nor in ſuch a Counter Seaſon, nor more croſs to the Humour of the Houſe, which was generally bent upon engaging the King in a War, and the Perſon that mov'd it was probably of the ſame Mind; but having ſince the Loſs of a Place ever acted with great Animoſity againſt the preſent Miniſtry, in whoſe Hands ſoever it was, this private ill Humour carried him contrary to his publick Intentions, as he did many more in the Houſe, who pretended to be ready to ſupply the King upon occaſion of the War, or even of his Debts, but that they wou'd not do it during the Lord-Treaſurer's Miniſtry.

An Addreſs.

1678.
Car. 30.
Reſ. 19.

The King provok'd, and the Parliament prorogu'd.

The End of the Sixteenth Seſſion of the ſecond Parliament.

VIII. 1. During this laſt Seſſion of Parliament, and ſince the Paſſing of the Poll-Bill, within ſix Weeks time, the King had raiſed an Army of about twenty thouſand Men, the moſt compleat, and in all Appearance the braveſt Troops that could be ſeen in any Place; and might have rais'd many more upon ſo great a Concurrence of People's Humour with his Majeſty's ſeeming Deſign of entering into a War againſt *France*; and it was acknowledg'd by all the Foreign Miniſters, That no King of *Chriſtendom* could have made and compleated ſuch a Levy as this appear'd, in ſo ſhort a time. And now his Majeſty's Reſolutions appear'd entirely for War, when, before the Parliament broke up, there came Letters from Mr. *Hyde*, and Mr. *Godolphin*, ‘ That *Holland* abſolutely deſired the Peace, even upon the Terms propos'd by *France*, and had reſolv'd to ſend Monſieur *Van Lewen* into *England*, to diſpoſe the King to be contented with them.' Upon his Arrival the King immediately ſent Sir *William Temple* to know his Errand. He was the Chief of the Town of *Leyden*, and had join'd with *Amſterdam*, and ſome other Places, on promoting the Peace; but being a Man of great Honour and Worth, and having come upon Suſpicion that *England*, at the Bottom, was ſtill in with *France*, and that all the reſt was but Amuſement; the Prince of *Orange* had procur'd him to be ſent over purpoſely to ſatisfy himſelf, and his Accomplices for the Peace, that the King's Intentions were really for the War, which his Highneſs thought the only Means to prevent the Peace. He freely told Sir *William Temple*, ‘ That nothing was more againſt their Inclinations in *Holland*, than to make a Peace upon Terms ſo low and unſafe for *Flanders*; and that if the King had gone into the War, as was promis'd, upon *France*'s delaying to accept the Scheme, they would certainly have continu'd it: But his Majeſty's Proceedings look'd ever ſince ſo Uncertain or Unreſolv'd, that it had rais'd Jealouſies in *Holland*, of the *Engliſh* Meaſures being, at the Bottom, fix'd with *France*; which made moſt of the Towns in *Holland* think they had nothing left to do, but to go in with them as faſt as they could; and the Approach of the *French* Army to *Antwerpe* left them no Time to deliberate:' Yet, he profeſſed to Sir *William* in private, *That if the King would immediately declare the War, he believ'd the States would ſtill go on with it, in purſuit of their Alliance, and the Terms contain'd in it.*

An Army rais'd in England.

Holland *for a Peace.*

Sir *William* made this Report to the King, who now was juſt ready to declare the War, if the Parliament wou'd ſupport it; when on a ſudden happen'd the foremention'd croſs Vote in the Houſe of Commons, which ſhew'd there was ſuch a mutual Diſtruſt both in the Court and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into ſound Meaſures between them. The King at leaſt ſaw, that he had now loſt his Time of entering into the War, and that he ought to have done it with the whole Confederacy, upon the Return of the Lord *Duras* from *France*. But the witty Turn that his Majeſty gave all this, was, *That ſince the* Dutch *wou'd have a Peace upon the* French *Terms, and*

A Private Treaty between England *and* France.

France *offer'd Money for his Conſent, to what he cou'd not help, he did not know why he ſhou'd not get the Money*; and thereupon order'd Sir *William* to treat with Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*; but Sir *William* found Means handſomely to decline a Treaty, which he ſaid *belong'd not to his Poſt.* At the ſame time the Heats in the Houſe of Commons much increas'd the ill Opinion the King had conceiv'd of their Intentions in preſſing him to enter upon a War. Yet notwithſtanding all this, he had conceiv'd ſuch Indignation at one Article of the *Private Treaty*, propos'd by the *French* Ambaſſador, that he ſaid *He wou'd never forget it while he liv'd.* Sir *William*, who tells us he had it from a good Hand, leaves us however in the Dark as to that Secret Article: But the Publiſher of his Letters, Dr. *Swift*, acquaints us with that remarkable Paſſage, namely, That *France*, in order to break the Force of the Confederacy, and elude all juſt Conditions of a General Peace, reſolv'd by any Means to enter into ſeparate Meaſures with *Holland*; to which End it was abſolutely neceſſary to engage the good Offices of the King of *England*, who was look'd upon as the *Maſter of the Peace*, whenever he pleas'd. The Bargain was ſtruck for either Three or Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds: But when all was agreed, Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, told the King, That he had Orders from his Maſter, before Payment, to add a private Article, by which his Majeſty ſhould be engag'd, *Never to keep above Eight Thouſand Men of ſtanding Troops in his Three Kingdoms.* This unexpected Propoſal put the King in a Rage, and made him ſay, *Gods Fiſh! does my Brother of* France *think to ſerve me thus? Are all his Promiſes to make me abſolute Maſter of my ------ come to this? Or does he think That a Thing to be done with Eight Thouſand Men?*

Tho' the King ſaid nothing to Sir *William Temple* of his Reſentment, yet he obſerv'd his Majeſty to be at this Time more reſolv'd to enter into the War, than he had ever before ſeen, or thought him. In the mean time young Monſieur *Ruvigny*, who was diſpatch'd into *France*, to know the laſt Intentions of that Court, being return'd without any clear or poſitive Anſwer; the King proceeded to compleat his Levies, and to prepare for War: But this again was defeated by the Prorogation of the Parliament; and Monſieur *Van Lewen*, the *Dutch* Agent, diſtaſted with theſe Delays, and the Counter-Paces between King and Parliament, began to talk freely of the 'Neceſſity his Maſters found to make the Peace as they cou'd, ſince there was no Relying upon any Meaſures with *England* for carrying on the War; and the Seaſon was too far advanc'd to admit of any longer Delays.' Upon theſe Diſcourſes from him, the King began again to cool his Talk of a War, and to ſay, *The Peace muſt be left to the Courſe which* Holland *had given it.* And tho' at the next Meeting of the Parliament, the Commons ſeem'd in a much better Temper than they parted; yet News coming about the ſame time, that Monſieur *Beverning* was ſent by the *States-General* to the *French* Court at *Gent*, to propoſe a Ceſſation of Arms for ſix Weeks, in order to negotiate the Terms of the Peace; both the Court and Parliament began to look upon it as a Thing concluded, or at leaſt, as like to receive no other Motion than what ſhou'd be given it by *Holland* and *France.* And indeed the Diſpoſitions were ſo inclin'd to it on both Sides, that the Terms were in no long time adjuſted between them.

The Dutch *reſolve upon a ſeparate Treaty.*

The SEVENTEENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

2. In the mean time the Parliament met again according to Prorogation, on *Thurſday* the 23d of *May*, after a ſhort Receſs or Interval of only ten Days. The Parliament had before been continu'd a conſiderable time by Adjournments; but now a Prorogation was thought neceſſary, to ſettle the Minds of the People, or to anſwer the Expectations of the Court; ſo that this Meeting made the Seventeenth Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament of this Reign. Upon the foremention'd Day, his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and being ſeated on the Throne with his Robes and Crown, the Uſher of the Black-Rod was ſent to the Houſe of Commons to attend his Majeſty in the other Houſe, where he made a ſhort Speech to both Houſes, to this Effect: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, In the firſt Place, I am reſolv'd, as far as I am able, to ſave *Flanders*, either by a War or a Peace, which Way I ſee moſt conducing to that End. In either Way, I think it convenient to keep up my Army, and Navy at Sea, for ſome time; but I leave it to you to conſider of Supplies for their Continuance or Disbanding; and in either Caſe not to diſcourage ſo many worthy and gallant Gentlemen, who have offer'd their Lives and Services to their Country, and that in Purſuit of your Advice and Reſolutions. I muſt tell you, That a Branch of my Revenues is now expiring, and another Part of it is cut off by a Clauſe in the *Poll-Bill*; That I have borrow'd two Hundred Thouſand Pounds upon the *Exciſe* at your Requeſt, of all which you are to conſider. That I have no Intentions but of Good to You, and my People, nor ever ſhall; therefore I deſire you will not drive me into Extremities, which muſt end ill both for You and Me, and (which is worſt of all) for the Nation. I deſire to prevent all Diſorders and Miſchiefs that may befall by our Diſagreement; but in caſe there do, I leave it to God-Almighty to judge who is the Occaſion of it. In Concluſion I muſt tell you, That I will not for the future ſuffer the old Courſe and Method of Paſſing of Laws to be chang'd, by *Tacking together ſeveral Matters in one Bill.* The reſt I leave to the Lord Chancellor.'

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

The Main of the Lord Chancellor's Speech.

Accordingly his Lordſhip made a long and remarkable Speech, of which the greateſt Part ought not to be omitted. He let them firſt know, 'That with Reference to the preſent State of *Chriſtendom*, and a general Peace, the Advances which had been made abroad, tho' haſtned by ſome late Occurrences, were long ſince meditated and prepared in *Holland:* For when the *States-General* perceiv'd, that tho' they had ſtrain'd themſelves to the utmoſt, and exceeded all the Proportions which by their Treaty they were bound to furniſh, yet the *Spaniards* fail'd them in every Point, not only in the *Subſidies* they were oblig'd to pay, but in the very *Strength* and *Forces* they ſtood engag'd to ſet out; inſomuch that all their Towns and Garriſons were ſo far from being in any tolerable Poſture to receive any Enemy, that they remain'd as perfectly defenceleſs as if they were intended to be abandon'd: Hereupon the *States* reſolv'd to ſeek all Occaſions of coming out of the War, and to lay hold on the firſt that ſhou'd offer itſelf; and to that End, the laſt Year they ſolicited his Majeſty to endeavour a Peace, and they would then have taken ſuch a Peace as they now ſeek: But his Majeſty thought he had done great Service to the Chriſtian World, when he had gain'd two Points upon them; Firſt, to model and concert with them the Terms and Articles of a better Peace; and then, on Proſpect of that Peace, to enter into a *League Offenſive and Defenſive* with his Majeſty, to obtain that Peace by Force, if it could not be had otherwiſe. Tho' the *Dutch* were ſtill inclin'd to accept of Peace, and were hearkning after the *French* Propoſitions at *Nimeguen*; yet ſuch were his Majeſty's Reſolutions to hold them to their *League*, and ſo conſtant were all his Refuſals to hearken to ſuch a Peace, that they muſt of Neceſſity at laſt have been oblig'd to continue on the War ſome way or other. But ſince it was heard abroad, that this *League*, which was the only Thing by which his Majeſty cou'd oblige the *States*, had been ſo ill underſtood at home, as to meet with ſome very unfitting, and very undeſerving Reflections; as ſoon as it had taken Air, and underſtood *That there was a Reſolution to give no Money until Satisfaction was given in matters of Religion*, which in all Countries are the longeſt Debates that can be enter'd upon, and at this Time, above all others, ſhou'd leaſt have been ſtirr'd; and when at laſt the King had receiv'd an Addreſs, which they took to be of ſuch Nature as was never ſeen or heard of before in any State or Kingdom of the World, and had proceeded ſo far as to expreſs his Reſentment of it: Then they concluded with themſelves, *That it was in vain to rely any longer upon* England, *for* England *was no longer itſelf:* Then all Sides began to wiſh for Peace, even *Spain*, as well as *Holland*; and if the Ceſſation, which is endeavour'd to be made in order to it, take effect, as in all likelihood it will, we may conclude, That the Peace will ſoon follow.'

After this Hiſtorical Account, he proceeded to this Effect: 'What Influence ſuch a Peace will have upon our Affairs, is uncertain; only we know we have given no ſmall Provocation to a mighty King, who may be at leiſure enough to reſent it when he pleaſes; therefore it imports us to ſecure ourſelves, by preſerving Peace and Unity at Home: He that foments Diviſions now, does more Hurt to his Country, than a Foreign Enemy can do, and diſarms it at a Time when all the Hands and Hearts we have are little enough to defend us: No Fears of *Arbitrary Government* can juſtify, no Zeal to *Religion* can ſanctify ſuch a Proceeding!' He then reminded them of the late Times, 'When *Religion* and *Liberty* were truly loſt by being made a Handle and Pretence for *Sedition*; when *Prelacy* was call'd *Popery*, and *Monarchy* nam'd *Tyranny*, *&c.* and can we now endure to ſee Men break the Act of *Oblivion* every Day, by reviving the Memory of forgotten Crimes in new Practices? It is worth the Conſideration Whether we do not bring ſome Kind of Scandal upon the *Proteſtant Religion*, when we ſeem ſo far to diſtruſt the Truth and Power of it, that after ſo many Laws paſt to guard it, and ſo many miraculous Deliverances from the Attempts made againſt it, we ſhou'd ſtill be afraid of its Continuance? Hath not the late Act made it abſolutely impoſſible for the moſt conceal'd Papiſt that is, to get into any Kind of

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‘Employment? And did ever any Law ſince the Reformation give us ſo great a Security as this? As little Reaſon there is to be jealous of our *Liberties* and *Properties*. Can there be a greater Evidence of the Moderation of a Prince, and his Tenderneſs of the Liberty of the Subject, than to ſuffer, as he does every Day, ſo much licentious and malicious Talk to paſs unpuniſh'd? If there be not a ſingle Inſtance to be found in a whole Reign, of a Man that has ſuffer'd againſt Law, and very few of thoſe that have ſuffer'd by it, ſhall we endure them that dare ſay in all publick Places, *That the Nation is enſlav'd*? Let them ſhew the Time, if they can, ſince the World began, and this Nation was firſt inhabited, wherein there were fewer Grievances, or leſs Cauſe of Complaint than at this preſent Time: Nay, let them ſearch all Ages and Places, and tell us when and where there was ever found a happier People than we are at this Day.

He proceeded then to the Matter of the Revenue, and to the ſame purpoſe with what the King had ſaid before, with ſome Enlargement; but plainly told them, ‘That the *Manner* of their Proceedings was as conſiderable to his Majeſty, as the *Matter*; and that he wou'd not accept a good Bill, how valuable ſoever, unleſs it came to him in the old and decent Method of Parliaments: That the late Way of *Tacking* together ſeveral Independent and Incoherent Matters in one Bill, ſeem'd to alter the whole Frame and Conſtitution of Parliaments, and conſequently of the Government itſelf. It took away the King's Negative Voice in effect, and forc'd him to take all or none, when one Part of the Bill might be as dangerous, as the other was neceſſary for the Kingdom: It took away the *Negative Voice* of the Houſe of Peers by the ſame Conſequence, and diſinherited the Lords of their native Liberty of Debating and Judging what is good for the Kingdom: It look'd like a Kind of Defamation of the Government, and ſeem'd to ſuppoſe the King and Lords to be ſo ill affected to the Publick, that a good Bill cou'd not carry itſelf through by the Strength of its own Reaſon and Juſtice, unleſs help'd forwards by being *Tack'd* to another that will be favour'd: It did at laſt give up the greateſt Share of the *Legiſlature* to the Commons, and by conſequence the chief Power of Judging what Laws are beſt for the Kingdom.’ In fine he ſhew'd that the ſame Method might be made uſe of by the Lords againſt the Commons; ‘and thus every good Bill wou'd be dearly bought at laſt, and one chief End of Calling Parliaments, the Making of good Laws, be wholly fruſtrated and diſappointed, by departing from that Method which the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors purpoſely preſcrib'd to prevent and exclude ſuch Inconveniencies. Theſe *Innovations* the King reſolv'd to aboliſh, and had commanded him to ſay to them, *State ſuper Vias antiquas*.’ Then he ſaid, ‘If this Seſſion do not repair the Misfortunes, and amend the Faults of the laſt, it will look like Fatality upon the Nation. He whoſe Houſe is deſtroy'd by Fire, wou'd find but little Comfort in ſaying, *The Fire did not begin by his Means*; but it will be a Matter of perpetual Anguiſh and Vexation to remember, *That it was in his Power to have extinguiſh'd it*. Let the World now ſee that your Zeal to preſerve the Government is the ſame as when you were ready to dye for its Reſtoration; and know, 'tis an Act as Meritorious, and of as great Duty and Loyalty, to ſtand between the King and thoſe Libellers, who wou'd create a Miſunderſtanding between Him and his Parliament, as 'tis to fight for him in a Day of Battel. Embelliſh the Hiſtory of this Parliament, by ſhewing us the Healing Virtue of this Seſſion: So ſhall your Service be acceptable to the King, *who never forgets any Thing but Injuries*: So ſhall you recommend your Selves to Poſterity, by tranſmitting to them the ſame Peace and Happineſs you are truſted with. And the God of Peace and Unity proſper all your Conſultations to the Honour and Happineſs of the King, and the Joy and Comfort of all his good Subjects.

The Commons Reſolve.

The King's Anſwer.

For the better Conſideration of theſe Speeches, the Houſe of Commons was adjourn'd for three or four Days; and meeting on *Monday* the 27th of *May*, they ſoon came to this Reſolution, ‘That the Houſe taking into Conſideration the State of his Majeſty's Affairs, and the great Charge and Burthen that his Majeſty and the Nation lye under by the Army now in being, are humbly of Opinion, That if his Majeſty pleaſe to think fit to enter into the War againſt the *French* King, this Houſe is, and always will be, ready to ſupport and aſſiſt him in that War; but if otherwiſe, they will proceed to the Conſideration of Providing for the ſpeedy Diſbanding of the Army.’ The Houſe further order'd, That the Members of his Majeſty's Privy Council, do acquaint the King with theſe Votes, and pray his Majeſty's ſpeedy Anſwer. To which the King return'd the following Anſwer, which was read the very next Day in the Houſe of Commons; ‘That the *French* King hath made ſuch Offers of a Ceſſation till the 27th of *July*, as his Majeſty doth not only believe will be accepted, but will end in a general Peace; yet ſince that is not certain, he does not think it prudent to diſmiſs either Fleet or Army before that Time, nor doth he think it will add much to the Charge, in regard the raiſing Money, and paying them off, wou'd take up that Time, were they to be Diſbanded as ſpeedily as poſſible: In the mean Time he deſired Money for their Subſiſtance, that as hitherto they have been the moſt orderly Army that ever came together, they may be encourag'd to continue ſo. Then he coucluded with reminding them of the two Hundred Thouſand Pounds formerly mention'd in his Speech, which he wanted for the Subſiſtance of his Houſhold.’ Hereupon, on the next Sitting Day, the Commons unanimouſly Voted, ‘That all Forces rais'd ſince the 29th of *September* laſt (except thoſe tranſported to Foreign Plantations) be forthwith paid off and Diſbanded, and that they wou'd conſider of a Supply for that Purpoſe.

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Sir William Scroggs *promoted.*

In the mean Time there happen'd ſome Alterations in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, not to be forgotten in this Place: On the laſt Day of *May*, being the Firſt of *Trinity* Term, the eminent Sir *William Scroggs*, an active Man at that Time, Prime Judge in the *Common-Pleas*, took his Place in the *King's Bench*, as Lord-Chief-Juſtice of *England*, to which Station he was preferr'd by the King's ſpecial Favour, upon the Removal of Sir *Richard Rainsford*, who reſign'd his Place a few Days before. Sir *William* was ſucceeded in the *Common-Pleas* by Baron *Bartie*; and Serjeant *Brampſtone* was promoted to his Place in the *Exchequer*.

The Commons vote a Supply.

3. Upon the 4th Day of *June*, the Houſe of Commons, who ſeem'd now in a more giving Humour than in the laſt Seſſion, firſt voted two Hundred Thouſand Pounds to be rais'd by a Monthly Tax, in ſix Months, after the Land-Tax, now in being, ſhou'd be expired; but with a Clauſe, *That this be for the Diſbanding the Army, by the End of this preſent* June. The next Day they voted the King two hundred Thouſand Pounds more, towards Defraying the Expences of the Fleet; and were ready to add another ſuch Sum for the King's extraordinary Occaſions. Soon after which, his Majeſty ſent them a Meſſage by one of the Secretaries of State, importing, ‘That his Mind was ſtill the ſame with what he deliver'd in his Speech the 23d of *May* laſt, *viz. That the Army and Fleet ought to be kept up till the expected Peace be concluded*: And he further recommended to their Conſideration, Whether it were not diſhonourable for him to recall his Forces in *Flanders*, from thoſe Towns which he had taken into his Protection, before they cou'd provide themſelves of other Succours.’ Upon Conſideration of which, the Commons extended the Time, as to the Forces in *Flanders*, to the 27th Day of *July*. But upon *Saturday*, the 15th of *June*, they Reſolv'd, ‘That after the *Tueſday* following, no Motions ſhou'd be made for any new Supplies of Money, till after the next Receſs; nor any more private Bills brought in, till after the ſaid Receſs.

The King's Second Speech to both Houſes.

On the foreſaid *Tueſday*, *June* 18th, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Houſe of Commons, he declar'd to them all in a pathetick Speech, ‘That the Seaſon requiring a Receſs by the Middle of the next Month, it was convenient that He and his Parliament ſhou'd part fairly, and with a perfect Confidence of one another: Therefore he open'd his Heart freely to them in ſome Particulars of the neareſt Concern: That what he told them in the Beginning of the Seſſion concerning a Peace, ſeem'd ready to be determin'd, at leaſt as to *Spain* and *Holland*; in which Peace his Part wou'd be not only that of a Mediator, but alſo to give his Warranty in it. That *Spain* writes Word, *That unleſs* England *bears the Charge of maintaining* Flanders, *even after the Peace, they will not be in a Condition to ſupport it long*; Therefore to that End, it was neceſſary to keep up the Navy at Sea, and not only ſo, but to give the World ſome Aſſurance of being well united at home: That tho' the Houſe of Commons might think ſuch a Peace as ill a Bargain as a War, becauſe it wou'd coſt them Money; yet if they ſeriouſly conſider'd that otherwiſe *Flanders* had been loſt, and perhaps by this Time, He believ'd they wou'd give much greater Sums than that wou'd coſt, rather than the ſingle Town of *Oſtend* ſhou'd be in the *French* Hands, and forty of their Men of War in ſo good a Haven over againſt the River's Mouth.’ Then he inſinuated to them, ‘that they cou'd not but be pleas'd to underſtand, the Reputation *England* had gain'd abroad, by having in forty Days rais'd an Army of thirty Thouſand Men, and prepar'd a Navy of ninety Men of War; Therefore if they deſir'd to keep up the Honour of the Crown at home, and look to the Safety of the Balance of Affairs abroad, and purſue the Wars of *Algiers*; If they deſir'd he ſhou'd paſs any Part

‘ of his Life in Quiet, and all the reſt in Confidence and ‘ Kindneſs with Them, and other future Parliaments; ‘ they muſt find a Way, not only to ſettle for his Life his ‘ Revenue as at *Chriſtmas* laſt, but alſo to add a new Fund ‘ of three hundred Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, upon ‘ which he wou'd paſs an Act to ſettle Fifty Thouſand ‘ Pounds upon the Navy and Ordnance; and ſhou'd be ‘ likewiſe always ready to conſent to all ſuch Laws as ‘ they ſhou'd propoſe for the Good of the Nation.’ He laſtly reminded them, ‘ to enable him to keep his Word ‘ with the Prince of *Orange*, in the Payment of his Neice's ‘ Portion, which was forty Thouſand Pounds; the firſt ‘ Payment being now due and demanded by Him.

Not comply'd withal.

Upon the Return of the Commons to their Houſe, they immediately took this affecting Speech into Conſideration, and ſoon voted his Majeſty the humble Thanks of the Houſe for his moſt gracious Expreſſions in it. But when they came to debate on the Additional Revenue propos'd, they gave a total Denyal to it; and not only ſo, but when a Motion was made to give a Compenſation for the loſt Part of his Majeſty's Revenues by the late *Prohibiting Act*, concerning *French* Commodities, it paſs'd in the Negative, 202 againſt 145. Not long after, the Lords, having paſs'd the Bill for *Diſbanding the Army*, &c. and ſent it down with a Clauſe of Enlargement of the Time prefix'd for one Month longer; the Commons wou'd by no means agree to it, but deſiring a Conference, they gave their Lordſhips their Reaſons why they cou'd not conſent to the Amendment.

Several Bills paſs'd.

After ſome Continuance longer, and ſome conſiderable Bills prepar'd, the King growing more and more uneaſy, on the 15th of *July* he came to the Houſe of Peers, and with the uſual Solemnity paſs'd the following Bills, 1. An Act *for granting a Supply to his Majeſty of ſix hundred nineteen Thouſand Pounds*, &c. *for Diſbanding the Army, and other Uſes therein mention'd.* 2. An Act *for granting an Additional Duty to his Majeſty upon Wines for three Years.* 3. An Act *to enable Creditors to recover their Debts of the Executors and Adminiſtrators of Executors in their own Wrong.* 4. An Act *for Burying in Woollen.* 5. An Act *for Admeaſurement of Keels and Boats carrying Coals.* 6. An Act *for Reviving a former Act, entitled,* An Act for avoiding unneceſſary Suits and Delays, *and for Continuance of another Act, entitled,* An Act for the better ſettling Inteſtate Eſtates. 7. An Act *for further Relief and Diſcharge of poor Priſoners for Debt.* 8. An Act *for Repealing certain Words in a Clauſe in a former Act, entitled,* An Act for Enlarging and Repairing Common High-Ways. 9. An Act *for Preſervation of Fiſhing in the River* Severn. After which the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, acquainted the two Houſes, ‘ That his Majeſty ‘ had thought fit in the preſent Juncture of Affairs, to ‘ prorogue them to the firſt of *Auguſt* next, and ſo to keep ‘ them in Call by ſhort Prorogations; his Majeſty not ‘ knowing how ſoon he might have need of their further ‘ Service and Aſſiſtance: But that his Majeſty's Intention ‘ was, they ſhou'd not meet till towards Winter, unleſs ‘ there were Occaſion for their Aſſembling ſooner, of ‘ which he wou'd give them timely Notice by his Proclamation.’ And accordingly the Parliament was prorogu'd till the firſt Day of *Auguſt*; but they did not really meet till the 21ſt Day of *October*. And thus ended the Seventeenth Seſſion of the Second and long Parliament, after it had ſate this Time about ſeven Weeks; and was the laſt Meeting but one of this famous Aſſembly.

The End of the Seventeenth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

Affairs abroad.

4. During this laſt Seſſion of Parliament, the Peace abroad went on variouſly, according to the uncertain Meaſures and Motions in *England*, which was ſo much and nearly concern'd in it. The whole Treaty was manag'd with great Artifice by the *French*, and with too much Remiſſneſs and Negligence by moſt of the Confederates. At length the *Dutch*, quite wearied out with the Charge of the War, having gain'd a ſort of a paſſive Compliance from the *Spaniards*, reaſſum'd their Reſolution of a ſeparate Peace: Accordingly, on the 22d of *June*, the *States* gave Orders to their Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*, to ſign the Peace with *France* before the End of that Month; and, at the ſame Time, they acquainted the King of *France* with their Intentions. But notwithſtanding this Tendency, both in *Spain* and *Holland*, to give the Treaty the finiſhing Stroke, an unexpected Accident fell out, which went near to overturn the whole Fabrick, and renew the War with greater Vigour, and more equal Forces, by engaging *England* in a Share of it, in Favour of the Allies, which they had long been endeavouring, without any real Succeſs. The Occaſion was: In the Conditions the *States* had made for the *French* reſtoring the ſix Towns of *Ghent*, *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray* and *Limburgh*, there was no particular Mention made of the Time of that Reſtitution; the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* preſuming it was to be upon the Ratification of the Treaty with *Spain* and *Holland*, whether any other of the Confederates were included or no. The Negotiation had been manag'd in that manner, till the Day before the Peace was to be ſign'd; when the *Spaniſh* Plenipotentiary either found, or made ſome Occaſion of enquiring more particularly of the *French* Intentions upon this Point. Whereupon the *French* Ambaſſadors made no Difficulty of Declaring, ‘ That the King, ‘ their Maſter, being oblig'd to ſee an entire Reſtitution ‘ made to their Allies the *Swedes*, of all they had loſt in ‘ the War, cou'd not evacuate thoſe ſix Towns, till thoſe ‘ were likewiſe reſtored to the *Swedes*; and that the Detention of theſe *Spaniſh* Towns was the only Means to induce the Princes in the *North* to accept of the Peace.’ The *Dutch* Miniſters, having receiv'd the *States* Anſwer upon this Affair, declared to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, ‘ That they cou'd not ſign the Peace without the actual ‘ Reſtitution of the ſaid Places in *Flanders*, upon the Ratification of the Treaty;’ on the other Side, the *French* Miniſters were immoveable, and poſitively inſiſted upon the Satisfaction of the *Swedes*. Upon this unexpected Procedure of *France*, the *States-General* order'd Monſieur *Van Lewen* to acquaint his *Britannick* Majeſty with it, and to know his Reſolution upon a Point of ſo great Moment to the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, as well as the Safety of *Flanders*.

The French *take Advantage in the Treaty.*

The King of England *provok'd.*

The King of *England* cou'd hardly believe a Matter ſo improbable; but ſending to the *French* Ambaſſador at *London* to know the Certainty of it, and finding him own his Maſter's Intention not to evacuate the Towns in *Flanders*, till *Sweden* was ſatisfy'd, he was both ſurpris'd and inrag'd; and the next Morning ſent for Sir *William Temple* to the Foreign Committee, and there declared his Reſolution of ſending him immediatedly into *Holland*, with full Commiſſion to Sign a Treaty with the *States-General*; by which they ſhou'd be oblig'd to carry on the War, and his Majeſty to enter into it, in caſe *France* ſhou'd not agree to evacuate the Towns within a certain limited Time. Upon this Occaſion, his Brother the Duke of *York* fell into the ſame Counſel with great Warmth, and declared in the Committee, *That it was plain by this Step, that* France *was not ſincere in the Buſineſs of the Peace; that they aim'd at the* Univerſal Monarchy; *and that none but his Majeſty cou'd hinder them from it, in the Poſture that* Chriſtendom *then ſtood.* All the Lords of the Committee agreed with ſo general an Approbation, that it was hard to imagine that this cou'd prove any Thing leſs than a ſteady Reſolution. His Majeſty, to promote it, took the Pains to preſs *Van Lewen* to go over with Sir *William Temple*, to perſuade the *States* of the Sincerity and Conſtancy of his Reſolution to purſue this Meaſure with the utmoſt of his Power; and moreover took upon Himſelf to excuſe to the *States*, his Maſters, the making this Journey without their Conſent.

He makes a new Alliance with the Dutch.

A little before the Time of the breaking up of the Parliament, Sir *William Temple* and Monſieur *Van Lewen* went over into *Holland*, and being arriv'd at the *Hague*, the Negotiation was immediately ſet on foot, and in the Space of ſix Days, the famous Treaty of Alliance between *England* and *Holland* was happily concluded on the 26th of *July*, to the general Satisfaction of the *Dutch* Commiſſioners; who, at the firſt Conference, made Sir *William* the Compliment, *That they eſteem'd his coming into* Holland, *like that of the Swallows, which always brought fair Weather with them.* And it is obſervable, that Mr. *Godolphin*, who had been ſo lately in *Holland*, told Sir *William* before his Departure, *That if he brought the* States *to conclude the Treaty his Majeſty propos'd, he wou'd move the Parliament to have his Statue ſet up.* Among the reſt, the Prince of *Orange* receiv'd the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador with the greateſt Joy imaginable, hoping by the Succeſs of his Errand, either to continue the War, or recover ſuch Conditions of the Peace for the Allies, as had been wreſted out of his Hands by a Faction begun at *Amſterdam*, and ſince diffuſ'd into the reſt of the Provinces. And it was hardly to be conceiv'd, what a new Life this Alliance gave to the Authority and Fortunes of that Prince; who was now acknowledg'd by the *States* to have made a truer Judgment than themſelves, of the Meaſures they were to expect both from *France* and *England*: The laſt having proceeded ſo reſolutely and unexpectedly to the Offers of entering into the War; and *France*, after raiſing ſo great a Difficulty in the Peace, having purſu'd the War ſo far as to block up *Mons*, one of the beſt remaining Frontiers in *Flanders*, which was expected to fall into their Hands before the Time limited for the Concluſion or Breach of the Peace ſhou'd expire. Hereupon Preparations were made with the greateſt Vigour and Diligence, for his Highneſs's Expedition to relieve that important Place; and about Ten Thouſand brave *Engliſh*, already arriv'd in *Flanders*, were order'd to march that Way, and joyn his Army. The Prince went into the Field with a firm Confidence that the War wou'd certainly go on, and with great Hopes to en-

Forces ſent into Flanders.

gage the *French* Army before the Term for ſigning the Peace ſhould expire; and therefore reſolv'd to relieve the City of *Mons*, or dye in the Attempt, whether the Peace ſucceeded or no; ſo that the Continuance of the War now ſeem'd inevitable.

5. After the Treaty concluded between *England* and *Holland* had been ſignify'd to *France*, all the Arts imaginable were practis'd, on that ſide, to elude it; particularly by drawing the Matter into a Negotiation, or at leaſt, a greater length, which before had ſo well ſucceeded in *England*. They offer'd to treat upon it firſt at St. *Quintin*, then at *Ghent*, where the *French* King himſelf propos'd to meet ſuch Ambaſſadors as the *Dutch* ſhou'd ſend to either of thoſe Towns: But the *States* continued reſolv'd not to recede from their laſt Treaty, and were immoveable, 'till about five Days before the Expiration of the limited Time; when the Arrival of a certain Perſon in *Holland* gave a new and ſtrange Turn to the whole Affair. This was one *De Croſs*, an inferior and buſy Agent of *Sweden*, who came from *London*, with Orders from his *Britannick* Majeſty for Sir *William Temple* immediately to repair to *Nimeguen*, and to uſe his utmoſt to perſuade the *Swediſh* Plenipotentiaries, to let the *French* there know, 'That they wou'd, for the Good of *Chriſtendom*, conſent, and even deſire the King of *France* no longer to defer the Evacuation of the Towns, and conſequently the Peace; and to aſſure the ſaid *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, that after this Peace the King of *England* wou'd uſe all the moſt effectual Endeavours he cou'd, for the Reſtitution of all the Towns and Territories the *Swedes* had loſt in the War.' Sir *William* was extreamly ſurpris'd at this new Diſpatch; but Penſionary *Fagel* being as it were Thunder-ſtruck, went and told his Excellency the whole Contents of it, before he had mention'd it to any Man; and particularly, 'That *De Croſs* had moſt induſtriouſly gone about to the Deputies of the ſeveral Towns, and acquainted them with it; and that the Terms of the Peace were abſolutely agreed between the two Kings; that he brought Sir *William Temple* Orders to go ſtrait to *Nimeguen*, where at his Arrival he ſhou'd meet with Letters from the Lord *Sunderland*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, with all the Particulars concluded between both their Majeſties.

A ſudden Turn from England.

How this ſtrange Diſpatch by *De Croſs* was gain'd, or by whom, was never certainly known: But upon Sir *William*'s Return into *England*, the Duke of *York* told him, *That he knew nothing of it 'till it was gone, having been a hunting that Morning*: The Lord-Treaſurer ſaid all that cou'd be to excuſe himſelf of it; but the King indeed told him pleaſantly, *That the Rogue* de Croſs *had outwitted them all*. The Truth is, theſe Orders ſeem'd to be the Reſult of *French* Intrigues and Management; being agreed and diſpatch'd one Morning in the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*'s Chamber, by the Intervention of Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador. Yet by one of the Lord-Treaſurer *Danby*'s Letters to Sir *William Temple*, dated *Auguſt* the 12th, it appears that the King was much diſpleas'd at *de Croſs*'s Proceedings; in which are theſe Words: 'You will find that Mr. *Hyde* is no leſs impower'd to give Satisfaction about Monſieur *de Croſs*, who was ſo far from having any ſort of Commiſſion from the King, that if the Penſionary will permit any thing to be prov'd againſt him of theſe private Diſcourſes, which you ſay you had from the Penſionary, *his Majeſty will make him a publick Example for the Satisfaction of himſelf as well as the reſt of the World*.' However it was, and what Endeavours ſoever were made immediately after, at the Court of *England*, to retrieve this falſe Step, it never cou'd be done; and this one Incident chang'd the whole Face of *Chriſtendom*, which ſhews that the greateſt Counſels and Revolutions often turn upon the ſmalleſt Motions and Accidents.

Which proves irretrievable.

When Sir *William Temple* arriv'd at *Nimeguen*, which was but three Days before the Expiration of the Term fix'd by the late Treaty between *England* and *Holland*, either for the *French* to evacuate the Towns, or for carrying on the War jointly againſt *France*; there appear'd but little Diſpoſition towards the Signing of the Peace, but rather the contrary, by the Stiffneſs ſhew'd on both Sides, to adhere firmly to their reſpective Demands. And the *Dutch*, contrary to the *French* Propoſals, poſitively maintain'd, 'That there cou'd be no Deputation made to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, either at St. *Quintin* or *Ghent*, nor any other Expedient for putting a Stop to the Operations of the War, beſides the direct Aſſent of *France* to evacuate the ſix Towns.' So that the Peace thereupon ſeem'd deſperate; and the more ſo, becauſe at the ſame Time, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* preſs'd *Mons*, and the Mareſchal *Schomberg* threatned *Cologn*; and *Bruſſels* it ſelf grew very uneaſy, upon finding it ſelf almoſt ſurrounded by *French* Troops: So that the Confederate Miniſters thought themſelves ſecure of what they had ſo much and long deſir'd, and aim'd at; which was a War againſt *France*, in Conjunction with *England*. In the midſt of theſe Views and Diſpoſitions at *Nimeguen*, came the critical Day, fix'd by the late Treaty at the *Hague*, which was to determine whether a ſudden Peace, or a long War, were to be reckon'd upon in *Chriſtendom*: In the Morning of which, *Auguſt* 11. *N. S.* the *French* Miniſters, who had lately been wholly upon the Reſerve, thought fit to yield to the Evacuation of the Towns, and apply'd themſelves with ſo much Dexterity, that before twelve that Night they gain'd the great Point for their Maſter's Intereſt and Advantage, and ſecur'd the ſeparate Peace with the *States* of the *United Provinces*.

The Peace between France *and* Holland *ſecured.*

All this while the important City of *Mons* was ſtrongly block'd up by the *French* Army under the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who was ſo confident of his Security, that he ſent an Account to the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrades*, one of the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*, 'That he was ſo well poſted, that if he had but ten thouſand Men, and the Prince of *Orange* forty thouſand, yet he was ſure he cou'd not be forc'd; much leſs when he knew his Army to be much ſtronger than that of the Prince.' But however, the intrepid Prince reſolv'd to break through all Diſadvantages whatſoever; and having on a *Sunday* decamp'd from *Soignies*, march'd towards *Roches*, and from thence reſolv'd to attack the Enemy, whoſe Right Wing was poſted at the Abbey of St. *Dennis*, and the Left at *Mamoy St. Pierre*, with ſuch Advantange of Situation, that they thought themſelves inacceſſible; for beſides the Woods, there was only a Precipice led to them, and that by narrow Paſſages. About Noon the Cannon play'd furiouſly upon St. *Dennis*, and ſoon after the Confederate Dragoons behav'd themſelves ſo gallantly, that they drove the *French* from their Faſtneſs, and made themſelves Maſters of the Cloyſter; while Adjutant-General *Collier* advanc'd towards the Abby, and paſſing his Battallions in a Defile through the narrow Paſſes, and ſliding down the Precipice with an invincible Reſolution, after a vigorous Reſiſtance, made the *French* to retire within their Lines. The valiant Duke of *Monmouth* was preſent with the Prince at the deſperate Attack upon the Abby; and both highly animated the Soldiers by their Preſence and Example. From hence they both wheel'd off to *Chaſtieau*, which was warmly attack'd by the *Spaniards* in the Right Wing, under the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa*, aſſiſted by ſome *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments, commanded by the brave Earl of *Oſſery*, who really did Wonders. Here the Prince of *Orange* advanc'd ſo far, that he was in great Danger of being loſt, had not Monſieur *Overkirk* ſeaſonably come into his Relief, and kill'd a *French* Captain that was juſt ſhooting him in the Head. At laſt, by Favour of the Night, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* made his Retreat without any Noiſe, withdrew towards *Mons*, and cover'd himſelf with a Wood on one ſide, and a River on the other, leaving to the Prince, as a Teſtimony of his Victory, the Field of Battle, the greateſt Part of the wounded, ſeveral Tents, and ſome Baggage, with a great Quantity of Powder and other Warlike Ammunition. This Enterpriſe was ſo conſiderable, that one of the *French* Officers was heard after the Battle to ſay, *That he eſteem'd this the only Heroick Action that had been done in the whole Courſe or Progreſs of the War.*

The Prince of Orange's *Attempt to relieve* Mons.

The Succeſs of it.

Greater things might have been reaſonably expected; but the very next Morning the Prince of *Orange* receiv'd Advice from the *States* of the ſeparate Peace ſign'd between them and the *French* at *Nimeguen*. The News of which he immediately ſent to the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who with a great Compliment deſir'd an Interview with his Highneſs; which being agreed to, they met in the Field at the Head of their chief Officers, where all things paſs'd with great Civility and Gallantry on both ſides; the *French* crowding about a young Prince that had gain'd ſuch Fame in the World; and the Day before had given Life and Vigour to ſuch a deſperate Action, as all Men eſteem'd this Battle of St. *Dennis*. Yet many Reflections were made upon it by the Prince's Friends as well as his Enemies: Some ſaid that he knew the Peace was ſign'd before the Fight began; and that it was too great a Venture both to himſelf and the *States*, and too great a Sacrifice to his own Honour, ſince it cou'd be to no other Advantage: Others laid the Blame upon the Marqueſs of *Grana*, who they ſaid had intercepted and conceal'd the *States* Packet to the Prince, which came into the Camp the Day before, but after the Battle was reſolv'd on; and that he had hopes by ſuch a Breach of the Peace, even after it was ſign'd, that the Progreſs of it wou'd have beeen defeated. Whether this were real Fact or no, cou'd never be made appear; but ſo much was true, that the Prince cou'd not have ended the War with greater Glory, nor with greater Reſentment, to ſee ſuch a mighty Occaſion wreſted out of his Hands, by the ſudden and unexpected Signing of the Peace, which he had aſſur'd himſelf the *States* wou'd not have

Reflections upon it.

conſented to without the *Spaniards*. Yet upon the News of it, he drew back his Army, return'd to the *Hague*, and left the *States* to purſue their own Steps, in order to finiſhing the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*; wherein the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* employ'd themſelves with great Zeal and Diligence, and no longer as Parties or Confederates, but as Mediators, while the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries declin'd the Function, as a Matter wherein the *Engliſh* Court wou'd not take any Part, or allow themſelves to have had any Hand in the Peace between *France* and *Holland*.

And the Peace then concluded. This particular and ſeparate Peace was ſign'd upon the 11th Day of *Auguſt*, to the great Satisfaction of the *Dutch*, and the no leſs Diſappointment of their Confederates: And it is obſervable, that no Negotiation was ever manag'd with greater Addreſs and Skill, than this had been by the *French* in the whole Courſe of the Affair; eſpecially after the Marriage of the Prince of *Orange*, which was thought to have given them ſo great a Blow, and by Force of Conduct was turn'd ſo much to their Advantage. It is apparent, that they never intended to continue the War, if *England* fell with ſuch Weight into the Scale of the Confederates, as the Force of that Kingdom, and Humour of the People wou'd have given to ſuch a Conjunction; and conſequently, that his *Britannick* Majeſty might have preſcrib'd what Terms he pleas'd of the Peace, during the whole Courſe of his Mediation. But the Peace being thus dexterouſly gain'd with *Holland*, the King of *England* was excluded from any fair Pretence of entring into the War, after the vaſt Expence of raiſing a great Army, and tranſporting them into *Flanders*, and after great Expectation of his People rais'd, and, as they thought, deluded as well as diſappointed. *Spain* was neceſſitated to accept the Terms that the *Dutch* had negotiated for them; and this left the Peace of the Empire wholly at the Mercy and Diſcretion of *France*, and the Reſtitution of *Lorrain* wholly abandon'd and unprovided. Whatever Advantages aroſe to *France* by this Negotiation, in a little Time all *Chriſtendom* had the Happineſs of a general Peace and Tranquility, after the greateſt Part of it had been employ'd in a bloody and expenſive War of about ſix Years; with the Concluſion of which ended the famous Treaty of *Nimeguen*, which in a few Months after this ſeparate Treaty, finiſh'd, or laid aſleep all the Wars and Conteſts in the Weſtern World. *The End of the Treaty of* Nimeguen.

CHAP. II.

From the End of the War between France *and* Holland, *and the Mediatorſhip of* England, *to the Diſſolution of the Second and Long Parliament.*

Containing the Space of Five Months, and about Three Weeks.

The POPISH PLOT. I. 1. AT the Time of the Concluſion of this laſt Treaty, Eaſe and Plenty increas'd in the Country, Trade and Riches abounded in the City, Luxury and Pleaſures triumph'd in the Court, and all enjoy'd the natural Bleſſings of Peace and Tranquility: Yet in the midſt of all theſe outward Felicities, a ſudden Fire broke out, which, as it increas'd, did not only diſturb and inrage, but in effect diſtracted and confounded the greateſt Part of the Kingdom; producing a thouſand ſtrange and uncommon Effects. And this was the Diſcovery of a Plot, commonly call'd the POPISH PLOT; *a Plot carried on by the Jeſuits, and other Papiſts, againſt his Majeſty's Life, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom.* It was more particularly diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Oates*'s Plot, and afterwards *Shaftsbury*'s Plot; the firſt being accounted the main Diſcoverer of the Facts, and the latter the grand Promoter of the Belief of them. It is uſual with State-Plots, that tho' their Roots be ſmall and almoſt inviſible, yet the Branches are large and conſpicuous; eſpecially when a People are ready prepar'd and diſpos'd to preſerve and cheriſh thoſe exuberant Plants. This was ſo well cultivated in its Riſe and Growth, that it ſoon overſpread and clouded the Nation: And ſince it ſo ſoon grew very large and monſtrous, for the greater Clearneſs and the Reader's Eaſe, we ſhall firſt repreſent it in its full Extent and Amplitude, as we have it from *Oates* himſelf, *H. Care*, and other zealous Favourers of the Belief of it.

The Extent of it, as repreſented by the Diſcoverers. The Deſign in general, as they inform us, was by Fire and Sword, when all other Means fail'd, to ſubvert the eſtabliſh'd Government and Religion of theſe Kingdoms, and to reduce the ſame to *Popery*, ſo as no Toleration ſhould be given to any *Proteſtant*, but all to be extirpated Root and Branch. The chief Conſpirators that deſign'd, and were to carry on, this great Work, were thus marſhal'd: 1. The preſent Pope, *Innocent* the Eleventh, who in the Congregation *de propaganda Fide*, conſiſting of above three Hundred Perſons, held about *December*, 1677, Declared 'all the King of *England*'s Dominions to be a 'Part of St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, as forfeited to the Holy 'See for the Hereſy of the Prince and People, and ſo to 'be diſpos'd of as he ſhould think fit.' 2. The *Engliſh* Cardinal *Howard*, who in Purſuance of ſuch a Declaration, was appointed by his Holineſs as his *Legate* to take Poſſeſſion of *England* in his Name: He likewiſe made him Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with an Augmentation of forty Thouſand Crowns a Year, for the Maintenance of his Legantine Authority; and had alſo conſtituted Biſhops and Dignitaries of all or moſt of the Sees and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions in *England*; as *Perrot*, Superior of the ſecular Prieſts, to be Archbiſhop of *York*, *Corker* Biſhop of *London*, *Whitebread* of *Wincheſter*, *Strange* of *Durham*, Dr. *Godden* of *Salisbury*, *Napper*, a *Franciſcan* Fryar, of *Norwich*, &c. removing all the Biſhops in Poſſeſſion from their preſent Dignities. 3. *Johannes Paulus de Oliva*, Father-General of the Jeſuits Society, reſiding at *Rome*, who was to give Directions to the *Provincial* of the Jeſuits in *London*, how to proceed in this Affair. 4. *Pedro Jeronymo de Corduba*, Provincial of the Jeſuits in *Spain*, who was to aſſiſt with Counſel and Money, and to miſrepreſent the Actions of his *Britannick* Majeſty to the *Spaniſh* Court; which likewiſe was to be done by a Jeſuit, Confeſſor to the Emperor, in relation to *England* and that Court. 5. Father *Le Cheſe*, a Jeſuit, Confeſſor to the *French* King, with whom *Coleman* held a conſtant Correſpondence, in order to betray his Country. 6. The *Provincial* of the Jeſuits for the Time being in *England*, which of late was firſt *Strange*, and then *Whitebread*. 7. The *Benedictine* Monks at the *Savoy* in *London*, where they had erected them a College, to carry on ſuch private Ends. 8. Great Numbers of Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts, now reſiding in *England*, who were generally privy to the main Deſign, tho' perhaps not all acquainted with Particulars. 9. Several Lay Perſons of Quality drawn in, out of Zeal, Ambition, Avarice, &c. to join with them, to command the Forces they were to raiſe, and execute the great Offices in the Realm; as the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, to be Lord-Chancellor of *England*; the Lord *Powis*, Lord-Treaſurer; Sir *William Godolphin*, Lord-Privy-Seal; Mr. *Edward Coleman*, Secretary of State; Lord *Bellaſis*, General of the Army; Sir *Francis Ratcliff*, Major-General; Mr. *John Lambert*, Adjutant-General; Mr. *Langhorn*, Advocate-General, &c. who had all Commiſſions ſent them, ready ſeal'd by *Paulus de Oliva*, from the Court of *Rome*. Beſides theſe, and other inferior Conſpirators to be mention'd afterwards, the Queen and the Duke of *York* were ſaid to be concern'd, but not ſo poſitively as the reſt.

Next they tell us the Means whereby they reſolv'd to accompliſh this vaſt Undertaking, which were as follows: 1. By Killing the King, finding they cou'd not work him to their Deſigns; and therefore to remove him, they form'd ſeveral diſtinct Plots, and all to be kept unknown to each other: As Firſt, *Grove* and *Pickering* to ſhoot him; Secondly, *Conyers* and *Anderton*, Benedictine Monks, and four *Iriſh* Ruffians, to ſtab him; and Thirdly, Sir *George Wakeman*, the Queen's Phyſician, to Poyſon him; for which Purpoſe five Thouſand Pounds was enter'd in their Books, as paid to him in Part of fifteen Thouſand Pounds Reward, when he had finiſh'd the Work. As for the Duke of *York*, they concluded to make uſe of his Name and Intereſt, if he wou'd comply with theſe Conditions; Firſt, to accept of the three Kingdoms as a Gift from the Pope, and hold them in Fee of him, and confirm their Settlement of the Church and State: Next, if he wou'd exterminate all Proteſtants; and Laſtly, if he wou'd pardon the Murtherers of his Brother, the Murtherers of the People, and thoſe who ſhou'd fire the remaining Part of the City and Suburbs. 2. For that was the ſecond Particular of their Work, to fire *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the adjacent Places; as alſo other the chief Cities and Towns of *England*, immediately on the Killing of his Majeſty; and then lay the whole Load, both of the Murther and Firing, on the *Presbyterians* and *Fanaticks*, thereby provoking the *Epiſcopal* Men to joyn with them to cut them off; that ſo Proteſtants being weakned by their own Fewds, they might have the better Opportunities, and eaſier Task, to ſubdue them all. 3. By a general Maſſacre; to which Purpoſe they are ſaid to have form'd an Army, conſiſting of fifty Thouſand Men to be liſted about *London*; the Officers all reſolute Papiſts, and for the moſt part *French* and *Iriſh*. Theſe they gave out *were enow to cut the Throats of one Hundred Thouſand Proteſtants*; eſpecially being taken upon a Surpriſe, when the *Militia* of *London* were unprovided and undiſciplin'd, and the Country generally

rally diſarm'd as aforeſaid. And beſides, the Conſpirators had of the *French*, ten Thouſand Soldiers from *Flanders*, and thirty Thouſand Pilgrims and Lay-Brothers daily expected from *Spain*, to aſſiſt them. 4. In *Ireland*, the Pope had made *Talbot*, the Titular Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, his Legate, to take Poſſeſſion for him of that Kingdom; whoſe Brother was to be General of all the Forces there, conſiſting of ſeventy Thouſand Papiſts, beſides the *French* Auxiliaries. There it was to be carry'd on by a general Rebellion and Maſſacre of the Proteſtants, as in 1641, which they call'd *Demonſtrating of their Zeal for the Catholick Faith.* Four Jeſuits had undertook firſt to aſſaſſinate the Duke of *Ormond*; and the better to carry on the whole, the Pope was to contribute eight Hundred Thouſand Crowns, and the *French* had privately ſent over ſome Supplies of Men and Arms, and were to furniſh them with more as ſoon as they ſhou'd be in Action; *Le Cheſe* having a great Influence in promoting all theſe Tranſactions. 5. Moreover in *Scotland*, particular Care was taken to foment Diſcontents, and raiſe a Rebellion; to which End they at proper Times ſent over ſeveral Jeſuits, to *mingle* themſelves if they cou'd with the Diſſenters, ſo as they might preach in their *Field-Meetings*, and inflame them to take Arms to vindicate their *Religion* and *Liberty* againſt the ſuppos'd Invaders of both; and which they were to *aggravate*, as well as the Complaints againſt Epiſcopacy. And for their Encouragement, the *Papiſts* there were to raiſe eight Thouſand Men to joyn with ſuch Diſſenters, leſt they ſhou'd be too weak to oppoſe the Government; by which they ſhou'd have the Advantage of a double Stroke, make a wide Difference between *Proteſtants*, and caſt the old Odium of Rebellion upon the *Presbyterians*, if it ſhou'd not, or deſtroy the Government, if it ſhou'd ſucceed.

The Nation prepared for its Reception.

Such was the Sum and Subſtance of this formidable Plot, of which all theſe, with many other Particulars, were formally and ſolemnly given in upon Oath; not at once, or all together, but at ſeveral Times, and by ſeveral Parcels, and likewiſe by ſeveral Perſons, who ſeem'd to ſtart up exactly as the Stories met with Credit and Incouragement, and by their *Oaths* and *Narratives* for a while bore down all Oppoſition. And yet, after the ſtricteſt and cooleſt Examinations, and after a full Length of Time, the Government cou'd find very little Foundation to ſupport ſo vaſt a Fabrick, beſides downright Swearing and Aſſurance; not a Gun, Sword, nor Dagger, not a Flask of Powder, or a Dark Lanthorn, to effect this ſtrange Villany; and, excepting *Coleman*'s Writings, not one Snip of an Original Letter, or Commiſſion, among thoſe great Numbers alledg'd to uphold the Reputation of the Diſcoverers. But ſtill the Generality of the Nation, and the Parliament in particular, were at this Time more than uſually prepared and diſpos'd to receive and believe ſuch extraordinary Stories: Eſpecially the Houſe of Commons had been much agitated and heated of late by the juſt Jealouſies of the Power of *France*, and the Growth of Popery, of both which they had too much Reaſon to be apprehenſive. The Latter had ſo much Effect upon them, that about three Months before, it diverted their Deſigns with Relation to the Former; and in a Conference with the Lords, they vehemently complain'd ‘ of the reſtleſs Endeavours of the ‘ Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, and of the great Difficulties ‘ they found both in the Conviction, and the Puniſhment ‘ of all Popiſh Recuſants.’ This, and their great Zeal for the King's Perſon, made them ſuſceptible of any new Impreſſions, and ready to take Fire more from the Horror, than the Probability of the Fact. And in theſe Matters there wanted not Incendiaries in both Houſes, who knew how to take the greateſt Advantages from the leaſt Diſcoveries. Of whom none was more quick-ſighted, or more deſperately diſpos'd than the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, whoſe Reſentments and Reſolutions had been blown up to the Height; and if, as probably, he was not the Original Contriver, he was the grand Refiner and Improver of all the Materials. And ſo much he ſeem'd to acknowledge to a Noble Man of his Acquaintance, when he ſaid, *I will not ſay who* Started *the Game, but I am ſure I had the full* Hunting *of it.*

An Account of Titus Oates,

And Dr. Tongue.

They joyn.

2. But to proceed more gradually to lay open the Beginning and Progreſs of this Myſterious Plot, we are firſt to take Notice of the main Diſcoverers, or rather Projectors of it, beginning with the famous *Titus Oates*, who was thought ſo meritorious by ſome as to be call'd, *The Saviour of the Nation.* As to his Family, he was the Son of a Ribban-Weaver, who afterwards turning Anabaptiſt-Preacher, and being Chaplain to a Regiment of *Cromwell*'s Forces in *Scotland*, was there clapt up in Priſon upon *Overton*'s Plot againſt that Uſurper; but having the Fortune to eſcape upon the King's Reſtoration, he conform'd to the Church, and got the Living of *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*; where he continu'd till he thought fit to return again to his former Anabaptiſtical Station. This Son of his had his firſt Education in *Merchant-Taylor*'s School in *London*, and next in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was Student in two Colleges, *Caius* and St. *John*'s, and where he left no Reputation behind him for his Parts or Learning; tho' he ſeem'd diſtinguiſh'd for a tenacious Memory, a plodding Induſtry, and an unparallel'd Aſſurance, beſides a particular Canting Way that appear'd in his Academical Exerciſes. Removing from thence, he ſlipt into Orders, and for a while officiated as Curate to his Father; after which he enjoy'd a ſmall Vicarage in *Kent*, from whence he remov'd to another in *Suſſex*, and after that for ſome time got into the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Family, when he particularly ſided with the *Socinians* at *London*; ſo that he became very uncertain as to his Principles and Religion, and infamous as to his Morals. In the laſt Year, 1677, being abandon'd and deſtitute of common Neceſſaries, he fell into the Acquaintance of Dr. *Ezrael Tongue*, a City Divine, a Man of Letters, and a prolifick Head fill'd with all the *Romiſh* Plots and Conſpiracies ſince the Reformation. This Man was remarkable for his Parts, and great Reading, but of a reſtleſs and humorous Temper, full of Variety of Projects, and ſcarce ever without a Pen in his Hand, and a Plot in his Head. At firſt he ſeem'd to entertain *Oates* out of Charity, who then went by the Name of *Ambroſe*; and complaining that he knew not where to get Bread, the Doctor took him to his Houſe, gave him Cloaths, Lodging and Diet, and told him *He wou'd put him in a Way.* After which, finding him a bold Undertaker, he perſuaded him to inſinuate Himſelf among the Papiſts, and get particular Acquaintance with them: Which being effected, he let him underſtand, ‘ That ‘ there had been ſeveral *Plots* in *England* to bring in *Popery*, and if he wou'd go beyond Sea among the *Jeſuits*, ‘ and ſtrictly obſerve their Ways, it was poſſible there ‘ might be one at preſent; and if he cou'd make that out, ‘ *it wou'd be his Preferment for ever:* But however, if ‘ he cou'd get their Names, and ſome Informations from ‘ the Papiſts, *it wou'd be very eaſy to rouſe People with* ‘ *the Fears of* POPERY.

Oates's Travels.

Thus inſtructed and qualify'd, *Oates* formally reconcil'd himſelf to the Church of *Rome*, and further, as was ſaid, enter'd into the Society of the *Jeſuits*; and in the Month of *April* or *May* 1677, he took Shipping and went to *Valladolid* in *Spain*, in which Kingdom he continu'd about half a Year, and ſo return'd to *England.* But not having made ſufficient Diſcoveries in his Journey, after a Month's ſtay, he went, or was rather ſent over to St. *Omers*, the famous *Engliſh* Seminary, where, tho' near thirty Years of Age, he was enter'd among the Younger Students, and where he continu'd about ſix or ſeven Months. In the latter End of *June*, this Year, full fraighted with Materials of Names, Places, *&c.* he return'd to *London*, to his Friend and Aſſiſtant Dr. *Tongue.* After ſome Thought and Conſideration, they reſolv'd to draw up a *Narrative of a Horrid Plot*, &c. and under the Pretence of Secrecy, or perhaps to increaſe the Myſtery, they went over the River and lodg'd at *Fox-Hall* at one *Lambert*'s, a Bell-Founder; which Houſe was afterwards call'd the *Plot-Houſe.* Here *Oates*'s, or rather *Tongue*'s Narrative was written, firſt in *Greek* Characters, and then in *Engliſh*, but often varied and chang'd; but at laſt they agreed upon one that ſhou'd be Authentick and Immutable, then conſiſting of forty Three diſtinct Articles, with great ſhew of Exactneſs and Formality. This was about Half of what afterwards was call'd *Oates*'s *Narrative*, and was in the Nature and Form of *Depoſitions*, but without any Deponent's Name at preſent. This was to open the whole Scene, and the Subſtance is as follows:

The Subſtance of his Narrative.

‘ That in *April* 1677, the ſaid Deponent was employ'd ‘ by *Strange*, the then Provincial, *Fenwick*, *Harcourt*, and ‘ other Jeſuits in *London*, to carry their Letters to one Father *Suinam*, an *Iriſh* Jeſuit, at *Madrid* in *Spain*: That ‘ in his Journey he broke open the ſaid Letters, and found ‘ therein an Account given of what Jeſuits they had ſent ‘ into *Scotland* to encourage the Presbyterians to rebel; ‘ and that they fear'd not Succeſs in their Deſigns, by reaſon of the King's being ſo addicted to his Pleaſures, and ‘ their Intereſt in the Duke of *York*, *&c.* That he ſaw ſeveral Students ſent out of *England* to *Valladolid*, who were ‘ oblig'd by the Jeſuits of the College to renounce their ‘ Allegiance to his Majeſty of *Great Britain*; and that ‘ one *Armſtrong*, in a Sermon to the Students there, did ‘ with moſt falſe and black-mouth'd Scandals repreſent his ‘ ſaid Majeſty, uſing ſuch irreverent baſe Expreſſions, ‘ as no good Subject cou'd repeat without Horror; with ‘ ſeveral other Trayterous Words and Correſpondencies ‘ which he there diſcover'd. Being return'd to *England*, ‘ where he made further Diſcoveries, about the Beginning ‘ of *December*, the ſaid Deponent was ſent with another ‘ Treaſonable Letter, written by *Strange* and ſeveral other ‘ Jeſuits, to St. *Omer's*, wherein was expreſly mention'd

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their Deſign to *Stab*, or otherwiſe to *Poyſon* the King; and that they had receiv'd Ten Thouſand Pounds from *Le Cheſe*, which was in the Hands of one *Worſley* a Goldſmith in *London*. There was likewiſe incloſed a Letter of Thanks to *Le Cheſe*, which the Deponent carry'd to him from St. *Omers* to *Paris*. During this his Journey, and being abroad, he ſaw and read many other of their Letters, all tending to the ſame End of Cutting off the King, Subverting the preſent Government of *England*, and Reſtoring the *Romiſh* Religion; and they were ſo confident as in ſome of them to ſay, *That his Majeſty of* England *was ſo poſſeſs'd of their Fidelity, that if any Malecontent amongſt them ſhou'd not prove true, but offer to diſcover, he wou'd never believe them.*

But one of the principal Things he tells us in this *Narrative* was, ' That in *April* 1678, he came over from St. *Omers*, with other Jeſuits, to the Grand Conſult which was held the 24th of that Month, by about fifty Jeſuits, at the *White-Horſe* Tavern in the *Strand*, where they met and plotted their Deſigns for their Society: From whence they diſpers'd into ſeveral little Clubs, five or ſix in a Company, where they ſign'd a *Reſolve for the Death of the King*, with the Manner how it was to be done, which the Deponent, as a Meſſenger, carry'd from one Company to another to be Sign'd. Very ſhortly after he return'd to St. *Omers*, and towards the End of *June* came back to *England*; where he ſoon became privy to the Treaty with *Wakeman* to poyſon, and Honeſt *William* and *Pickering*, to ſhoot the King; and that he heard *Keins* a Jeſuit preach a Sermon to twelve Perſons of Quality in Diſguiſe, wherein he aſſerted, *That Proteſtants and other Heretical Princes, were* ipſo facto *depos'd, becauſe ſuch; and that it was as lawful to deſtroy them, as an* Oliver Cromwell, *or any other Uſurper*, &c.' Beſides theſe new Diſcoveries, he tells us that he learnt ſeveral other remarkable Particulars from them, as ' that the late Wars, and many other Miſchiefs were brought about by them; but more particularly the dreadful Fire in Sixty Six, which was principally manag'd by *Strange* the Provincial; in which their Society employ'd Eighty, or Eighty Six Men, he cou'd not tell which, and ſpent Seven Hundred Fire-Balls, and, over and above all their vaſt Expences, they were fourteen Thouſand Pounds Gainers by the Plunder, amongſt which was a Box of Jewels, conſiſting of a Thouſand Carracts of Diamonds. He further learnt that the Fire in *Southwark* in the Year 1676, was brought about by the like Means; and tho' in that they were at the Expence of a Thouſand Pounds, they made a Shift to get two Thouſand clear into their own Pockets.' Theſe, and many other ſtrange Particulars are to be found in this tedious *Narrative*, which ſure cou'd never have met with ſuch Credit, and produc'd ſuch wonderful Effects in the Nation, had it been broach'd in any other Time, or had it not been kept alive by extraordinary Supporters, and uncommon Accidents.

Tongue *opens the Scene,*

3. *Tongue* and *Oates* being thus charg'd and prepared, on the 12th of *Auguſt* they began to put the whole in Execution; and the Former apply'd himſelf with all Secrecy to one Mr. *Chriſtopher Kirkby*, a Perſon who had ſome Intereſt at Court, ſhew'd him the forty three Articles drawn up in Writing; and, after a full Aſſurance of Fidelity, requeſted him that with the utmoſt Caution he wou'd make the ſame known to the King. *Kirkby* freely undertook the Matter, but cou'd not get an Opportunity of ſeeing his Majeſty, but in Company with his Brother, till the next Morning: At which Time, in the Park, he privately acquainted his Majeſty, *That his Enemies had a Deſign againſt his Life*, and humbly deſir'd him to be very careful, *for he did not know but he might be in Danger in that very Walk.* The King, more ſurpris'd with the Strangeneſs of the News, than any Apprehenſion of the Danger, only ask'd *how that cou'd be*? To which the other anſwer'd, *That it might be by being ſhot at; but to give a particular Account required more Privacy.* Hereupon the King order'd him to attend his Return out of the Park; and then taking him aſide, laid his Commands on him, to tell him what he knew; who acquainted him, *That there were two Men, call'd* Honeſt William *and* Pickering, *that watch'd an Opportunity to ſhoot his Majeſty, and that Sir* George Wakeman *was hired to poyſon him, as he had been the Day before acquainted by a Friend, who had a more full Account thereof in Writing, and was near at hand, ready to appear when commanded*; which his Majeſty was pleas'd ſhou'd be about Eight that Evening. Accordingly Mr. *Kirkby* and Dr. *Tongue* did at that Hour attend his Majeſty; and in the *Red Room* at *White-Hall*, deliver'd to him the foreſaid forty three Articles, copy'd out by the Doctor's Hand; and both of them humbly begg'd that thoſe Papers might be kept Safe and Secret, *leſt the full Diſcovery ſhou'd otherwiſe be prevented, and their own Lives indanger'd.* His Majeſty, looking upon them, was pleas'd to anſwer, *That being to go with the Court next Morning to* Windſor, *he wou'd ſafely depoſite the ſaid Papers in the Hands of one he cou'd intruſt, and with whom he wou'd anſwer for their Safety*; and ſo order'd them to wait upon the Lord-Treaſurer *Danby*, the next Morning.

And delivers the Narrative to the King.

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He is privately examin'd by the Lord-Treaſurer,

Accordingly, on the 14th of *Auguſt*, they both appear'd before the Lord-Treaſurer, who deſir'd Mr. *Kirkby* to withdraw while he ſpoke with the Doctor; who told his Lordſhip *That he had deliver'd ſome Papers of great Concernment to the King: That his Majeſty had look'd ſuperficially over them, but being to go out of Town, had left them with his Lordſhip.* Whereupon the Earl ſhew'd the Papers to the Doctor, and ask'd *Whether they were Originals*? He told him, *They were Copies of his own Writing.* Then he deſir'd to know *Who was the Author, and where were the Originals*? His Anſwer was, *He did not know the Author, for the Originals, then in his Cuſtody, had been thruſt under the Door of his Chamber, but he did not know by whom; only he fancy'd it muſt be one that had ſome Time before held Diſcourſe with him tending to ſuch like Matters.* He laſt of all ask'd *If he knew where to find the Man*? He ſaid *No, but he had ſeen him lately two or three Times in the Streets, and it was likely not to be long before he ſhou'd meet him again*; ſo nicely cautious was the Doctor in all his Steps and Proceedings. About three or four Days after he brought more written Informations to the Earl, and the Doctor told his Lordſhip *That he had ſince met the Man; That he it prov'd to be as he had gueſs'd; That he own'd himſelf to be the Author, and had given him another Paper of the like Kind, number'd into Heads as the Firſt was, but deſir'd not to have his Name known to any Body but the Doctor, becauſe the Papiſts wou'd murther him, if they knew what he was doing.* Upon this the Earl ask'd him directly *Whether he knew thoſe Men, who were call'd* Honeſt William *and* Pickering, *who were nam'd in thoſe Papers as Men deſign'd to aſſaſſinate the King*? He anſwer'd, *That they us'd to walk frequently in St.* James's *Park; and if any Man was appointed to keep him Company, it was two to one but he ſhou'd have an Opportunity of letting that Perſon ſee one or both of them in a little Time.* Laſtly he demanded of the Doctor *If he knew where they liv'd? for it wou'd be neceſſary to ſecure thoſe Men forthwith.* He reply'd, *He knew not at that Time; but he wou'd inform himſelf, and let his Lordſhip know very ſpeedily.*

Who diſcovers the whole Matter to the King.

Hereupon his Lordſhip went immediately to *Windſor*, and acquainted the King, *That Doctor* Tongue *had been with him according to his Majeſty's Directions*; and ſhewing his Majeſty the Additional Paper, he inform'd him of all that was paſs'd, and that he had left a Servant at *London*, to get a Sight of *Honeſt William* and *Pickering*, in order to the Apprehending of them, *if his Majeſty thought fit.* At the ſame Time his Lordſhip deſired the King, *That one of the Secretaries might ſend a Warrant for the Apprehending them; and that the Matter being of ſuch Danger to his Majeſty's Perſon, ſome more of the Council might be acquainted with it.* But the King wou'd neither ſuffer the Men to be apprehended, 'till he were more inform'd of the Deſign, nor wou'd he permit the Earl to ſpeak one Word of it to any Man living; and particularly caution'd him againſt the Duke of *York*'s coming to the Knowledge of it; but only ſaid, *He wou'd be very careful of Himſelf, till he heard more.* Soon after, the Earl went from *Windſor* to his Houſe at *Wimbleton* not far off, leaving direct Orders, ' That if Doctor *Tongue* had any Thing more to ſay to him of that Matter, he ſhou'd come to him thither; or elſe ſend away that very Gentleman the Earl had left to ſtay with him, to ſee the Men, and learn their Lodgings; and to be diligent in bringing any Intelligence which required Haſte.' Accordingly that Gentleman did go from *London* to *Wimbleton* every Day, and back to the Doctor's Houſe at Night; and did ſometimes bring Additional Papers to the Former, and brought Information of the Dwellings of *Honeſt William* and *Pickering*, and brought Word alſo from the Doctor, *That he ſaid he ſhou'd be able to give his Lordſhip certain Notice beforehand, when any of them were to go to* Windſor: Of all which the Earl gave from Time to Time an exact Account to his Majeſty.

Tongue*'s further Diſcoveries.*

Among other Informations, the Doctor went one Night to *Wimbleton* Himſelf, and told the Earl ' That ſome of the intended Aſſaſſins were to go the next Morning to *Windſor*, but that he cou'd order it ſo, that the Earl's Gentleman ſhou'd go in the ſame Coach with them, or if the Coach ſhou'd be full, he might go on Horſeback in their Company, and watch them ſo as to give Notice of their Arrival, and take them more conveniently that Way upon the Place, where they wou'd not be able to give an Account what they had to do there.' Upon this particular Information, the Earl order'd his Gentleman to obſerve the Doctor's Directions, and went immediately Himſelf to *Windſor*; where he acquainted his

Majeſty with the whole Matter, and Order was taken for ſeizing theſe Men at their Arrival at *Windſor*: But inſtead of that, the Gentleman brought word from Dr. *Tongue*, ‘ That ſomething had prevented their going that Day; but ‘ that they intended their Journey the Day following, or ‘ within two Days at fartheſt:’ but then alſo News was brought that they were again prevented *by one of their Horſes being ſlipt in the Shoulder*, or ſome ſuch Accident. Upon theſe trifling Ways and Pretences, the King, who before wou'd not give much credit to it, look'd upon all as meer Sham and Fiction; and notwithſtanding all that the Earl cou'd urge, to get the Buſineſs communicated to Others, beſides Himſelf, the King was more poſitive not to permit it, ſaying, *He ſhould allarm all* England, *and put Thoughts of Killing him into Peoples Heads, who had no ſuch Thoughts before.*

The King believes nothing of the Matter.

The Matter having for a while reſted here, and the Earl done all that lay in his Power, he got leave of his Majeſty to go half a Day's Journey into *Oxfordſhire*, upon particular Buſineſs; and left Order at *Wimbleton* to have any Thing diſpatcht to him, that ſhou'd come from Dr. *Tongue*. Accordingly three Days after, the Earl was diſturb'd with another Letter from the Doctor to Himſelf, giving Account of new Matters, particularly of a Pacquet of Letters from ſome Jeſuits concern'd, which were to go the Poſt-Houſe in *Windſor*, directed to one Mr. *Bedingfield* a Prieſt. Upon this Notice, the Earl immediately return'd to *Windſor*, and inform'd his Majeſty, ſhewing him the Doctor's Letter. It happen'd that the King was no Stranger to it, who ſaid, That ſuch a Pacquet had been deliver'd ſome few Hours before by the ſaid *Bedingfield* to the Duke of *York*; and that *Bedingfield* had told the Duke *He fear'd ſome Ill was intended him by the ſaid Pacquet, becauſe the Letters therein ſeem'd to be of a dangerous Nature, and that he was ſure they were not the Hand-Writing of the Perſons whoſe Names were ſubſcrib'd to the Letters.* Theſe Letters appear'd with ſuch Marks of Forgery, that they ſtill begot leſs Belief in the King that there was any real Plot; inſomuch, that he ſeem'd reſolv'd not to permit the Earl to produce thoſe Papers, and Intelligence he had receiv'd from Dr. *Tongue*; till his Royal Highneſs the Duke ſhew'd himſelf very earneſt to have the Truth of thoſe Letters examin'd, which Mr. *Bedingfield* had brought to him. By which means the Earl got leave at the ſame Time to produce the ſaid Papers and Letters in the Council; ſo that in a little Time all became publick, which the King was deſirous to have had conceal'd, and totally neglected.

More Diſcoveries, by Letters.

4. But before this was effected, *Tongue* and *Kirkby* had ply'd the King and the Earl with freſh Importunities, and new Circumſtances of Diſcovery, but with ſo cold a Reception, that they made it their Endeavours to keep up the Cauſe by other Means, and ſo transfer it to the Parliament, where it cou'd not fail of a hearty Welcome among ſuch a Variety of Humours and Inclinations. In order to which, on the 6th of *September*, *Tongue* and *Oates* apply'd themſelves to Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, a conſiderable Juſtice of the Peace in St. *Martin*'s Pariſh, who was earneſtly preſs'd, and with Difficulty prevail'd upon, to ſwear *Oates* to the forementiou'd *Narrative*. This was done without the Juſtice being permitted to read the Particulars; only he was aſſur'd in general, *That it contain'd Matter of Treaſon, and other High-Crimes*; and Dr. *Tongue* particularly depos'd upon Oath, *That the ſame had been made known to the King*. Not long after, the King and Court remov'd from *Windſor* to *White-Hall*, where, chiefly by means of the Duke of *York*, the foreſaid Letters and Papers were laid before the Privy-Council: The Strangeneſs of the Stories, and the Fear of the King's Perſon, made no ſmall Impreſſions upon Men ſo Loyal and Affectionate, and therefore they reſolv'd to examine into the Bottom of this myſterious Matter. Accordingly, on the 27th of *September*, above ſix Weeks after the Matter had been open'd to the King and the Treaſurer, Dr. *Tongue* was ſent for to go the Council, who went thither together with *Kirkby*; but the Council was riſen before they came, and Orders were given them to attend next Day. Whereupon they reſolv'd early in the Morning to get two more Copies of the *Narrative* ſworn to, that each Man might have an Authentick Copy; which accordingly they did before the ſame Juſtice, Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, with freſh and further Informations, which compleated the *Narrative* as it was afterwards publiſh'd in Print. Leaving a Copy there, they attended the Council, who after ſome Examinations of the Depoſitions, ſent for Mr. *Oates*, and preſently order'd both Him and Dr. *Tongue* Lodgings in *White-Hall*, and Guards for their Security, and ſoon after they had a bountiful Weekly Salary for their Subſiſtance.

The whole Matter laid before the Privy-Council.

Oates *and* Tongue *advanc'd.*

And now the Privy-Council ſate twice a Day, from *Saturday* the 28th of *September*, for a Week and more, when all Perſons were gradually alarm'd with a Thouſand dark and confus'd Imaginations. *Oates*, after a long Examination, now appear'd to be the chief Diſcoverer of the Plot, and was the firſt Night employ'd with a Guard to ſearch after ſome Prieſts and Jeſuits, to ſecure their Perſons, and ſeize their Papers; and thus he was buſily employ'd for two or three Days together, and ſo buſily employ'd, that the Fatigue afterwards ſerv'd as a plauſible Pretence for the Defects of his Memory, the Alterations of, and the Additions to his Stories he had given in upon Oath before the Privy-Council. By his thorow Swearing he ſoon made himſelf formidable to the whole Body of the *Roman* Catholicks; and by his Means many Perſons were taken up and ſecured, as Sir *George Wakeman*, Phyſician to the Queen, Mr. *Edward Coleman*, Mr. *Richard Langhorn*, *Thomas Whitebread*, *John Gawen*, *Anthony Turner*, *William Ireland*, *William Marſhall*, *William Ramſey*, *James Corker*, and *Thomas Pickering*; of which Number, the Eight laſt were *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, with divers others. What gave the greateſt Credit to *Oates*'s Teſtimony were Mr. *Coleman*'s Letters and Papers, of which we have formerly given an Account, and which, tho' imperfect and intirely remote from the Murther of the King, were now the chief Supporters of the Belief of the Reality of the Plot. Theſe were found to be Authentick, and undeniable, while the five Letters to Mr. *Bedingfield* were by diſcerning Men look'd upon as nothing. But in the midſt of this Heat and Diſturbance, after four Days Examination of Teſtimonies, and ſeveral Perſons accus'd, on the 2d of *October* the King ſuddenly went to *Newmarket*, there to divert himſelf a few Days, while his Privy-Council were earneſtly employ'd in a Matter in which he deſir'd to have little or no Concern or Imployment.

Many Papiſts taken up.

The King goes to Newmarket.

5. Tho' the Rumour of a helliſh Plot and Conſpiracy, eſpecially againſt the Perſon of the King, had very much inflam'd the Court and the People, yet after a Fortnight's Conſideration of it, with the Nature and Proofs, it began a little to cool, and was ſinking in its Credit, when an extraordinary Accident happen'd that rais'd its Reputation much higher than before, and threw all into a Rage and Fury. And this was the ſurpriſing Death of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, the Magiſtrate who had twice ſworn *Oates* to the forementiou'd *Narrative*, a Perſon who then lay under great Fears and Apprehenſions, but of what Nature it is hard to ſay expreſly. This melancholy Gentleman went from his Houſe in St. *Martins* on *Saturday* Morning the 12th Day of *October*, and tho' he had been ſeen by ſeveral of his Acquaintance that Day, yet he was miſſing for four whole Days, till on *Thurſday* the 17th he was found towards the Evening in a Ditch, with his own Sword through his Body, at or near a Place call'd *Primroſe Hill*, in the mid Way between *London* and *Hampſtead*, with Money in his Pockets, and Rings on his Fingers, with his Cane and Gloves by him. The Coroners Inqueſt ſate upon the Body, but meeting with ſome Difficulties, adjourn'd to the Day following, when they gave up their Verdict, ‘ That he was murder'd by certain Perſons un‘known to the Jurors, and that his Death proceeded from ‘ *Suffocation* and *Strangling* by a certain piece of Linnen ‘ Cloth of no Value, *&c.*

The Murder of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey.

Within a Day after this unfortunate Gentleman was miſſing, the Town began to be fill'd with Whiſpers and Conjectures, and little odd Reports; but when the Body was found, and the Nature of the Murder declared by the Jury, the People were in a ſort of Conſternation, and were preſently made to believe, what afterwards was poſitively ſworn, that he was murder'd by the *Papiſts*. Some Paſſages or Preſages were preſently remember'd concerning this Gentleman's Fears, of which two ought here to be mention'd, as being ſoon after given in to the Houſe of Commons by way of Information. The Firſt was that of Mr. *Mulys*, who declar'd, ‘ That about five or ſix Days ‘ before Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey* was miſſing from his ‘ Houſe, I met him in St. *James*'s Park, and in Diſcourſe ‘ told him, That I underſtood he examin'd Mr. *Oates* ‘ about a Plot that was much diſcours'd of, and deſir'd to ‘ have ſuch an Account from him as might be fit to be ‘ communicated: Whereupon he gave me ſome ſhort Re‘lation, agreeing for the moſt Part with what was the ‘ common Diſcourſe of the Town.--------- *But I muſt not* ‘ *talk much*, ſaid He, *for I lye under ill Circumſtances*: ‘ *Some Great Men blame me for* not having done my Du‘ty, *and I am threatned by others, and very Great Ones too*, ‘ for having done too much. He then preſs'd to leave me, ‘ and without ſaying much we parted.’ The next Account was given by one Mr. *Robinſon*, who declar'd, ‘ That he met Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey* at the Seſſions at ‘ *Weſtminſter* on *Tueſday* and *Wedneſday* before he was ‘ miſſing; and that he ask'd him whether he had any Hand ‘ in taking the Informations touching the Plot; and that he ‘ made him anſwer, *That he had taken them, tho' very un*‘*willingly*: And deſiring of him that he might ſee them, he ‘ told him *he cou'd not, for he had left them with my Lord*

His preſaging Fears before.

'*Chief Juſtice* Scroggs: And that dining with him on *Wedneſday*, and diſcourſing concerning the Plot, and the Examinations touching the ſame, He ſaid theſe Words; *I have taken them, and I know not what will be the Conſequence of them, but I believe I ſhall be the firſt Martyr.*' Some have interpreted theſe and the like preſaging Words, as only ſignifying his Fears of being call'd to an Account for a Miſpriſion, or Neglect, by the Parliament that was to ſit within a Fortnight; he being well known to ſome to be a Favourer, rather than a Proſecutor of the Papiſts. But his Expreſſions, tho' not very clear in themſelves, admitting of another Interpretation, and more agreeable to the Humour of the Times, the Murder was immediately charg'd upon the Papiſts, and was made not only a Part, but the grand Supporter of the Credit of the Plot; inſomuch that That common Queſtion, in every Man's Mouth, of *Who Murder'd Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey? was afterwards look'd upon as a ſufficient Anſwer to all the difficult Objections that cou'd be raiſed againſt the Belief of it. But we cannot fully lay open and clear the Myſtery of this great Matter; but ſhall afterwards take Notice of the Contrivance and Manner of it as it was ſworn in Court.

The Murder is made a part of the Plot.

In the mean Time, the King return'd from *Newmarket*, to meet his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; and the very Day before the Sitting, *Sunday* the 20th of *October*, he publiſh'd his Proclamation, commanding all his Officers and Subjects to uſe their utmoſt Diligence to diſcover the Murtherers of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*; and particularly, 'His Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd to promiſe to any Perſon or Perſons, who ſhou'd make ſuch Diſcovery, whereby the ſaid Murtherers, or any of them, ſhou'd be apprehended, the Sum of five Hundred Pounds, which ſhould be immediately paid upon ſufficient Teſtimony, that ſuch Perſons or Perſon were or was guilty of the ſaid Murther: And if any one of the Murtherers ſhou'd diſcover the reſt, whereby They, or any of Them, ſhou'd be apprehended, ſuch Diſcoverer ſhould not only be pardon'd his Offence, but ſhould in like Manner receive the like Reward of five Hundred Pounds.' This not having any open Effect, upon Suggeſtion that there were People that wou'd come in to diſcover the Murther, if it were not for the Danger of being murther'd themſelves in Revenge, his Majeſty was pleas'd to publiſh a ſecond Proclamation four Days after, in which 'He ſignify'd, and on the Word of a King promis'd, That if any Perſons ſhould ſpeedily make ſuch Diſcovery to one of his principal Secretaries of State, he ſhould not only receive the five Hundred Pounds, and Pardon promis'd by his late Proclamation, but his Majeſty wou'd take ſuch effectual Courſes, for the Security of ſuch Diſcoverer, as he ſhould in Reaſon propoſe.' This Incouragement did not only produce Diſcoverers of the Murther, but likewiſe new Diſcoveries of the Plot, both which in a little Time fell gradually into a perfect Union and Coalition.

Two Proclamations for the Diſcovery of the Murtherers.

The EIGHTEENTH SESSION *of the Second Parliament.*

II. 1. Such was the State of the Nation, when the Parliament met according to Prorogation, on the 21ſt Day of *October*, which was the Eighteenth and laſt Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament in this Reign. The King was very unwilling that the Parliament ſhou'd take any Notice or Cogniſance of the Plot; yet he knew not how to forbear mentioning a Matter that had rais'd ſuch a general Amazement and Abhorrence in the Nation: Therefore he deliver'd himſelf thus to the two Houſes, now fill'd with the higheſt Expectation. *My Lords and Gentlemen*, 'I have thought the time very long ſince we parted laſt, and wou'd not have deferr'd your Meeting by ſo many Prorogations, if I cou'd well have met you ſooner.

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

'The Part which I have had this Summer in the Preſervation of our Neighbours, and the well ſecuring what was left of *Flanders*, is ſufficiently known, and acknowledg'd by all that are Abroad. And tho' for this Cauſe I have been oblig'd to keep up my Troops, without which our Neighbours had abſolutely deſpair'd, yet both the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation have been ſo far improv'd by it, that I am confident no Man here would repine at it, or think the Money rais'd for their Disbanding to have been ill employ'd in their Continuance; and I do aſſure you, I am ſo much more out of Purſe for that Service, that I expect you ſhou'd ſupply it. How far it may be neceſſary, conſidering the preſent State of *Chriſtendom*, to reduce the Land and Sea Forces, or to what Degree, is worthy of all our ſerious Conſiderations.

'I now intend to acquaint you (as I ſhall always do with any thing that concerns me) that I have been inform'd of a Deſign againſt my Perſon by the *Jeſuits*, of which I ſhall forbear any Opinion, leaſt I may ſeem to ſay *too much* or *too little*: But I will leave the Matter to the Law, and in the mean time will take as much Care as I can, to prevent all manner of Practices by that ſort of Men, and of others too, who have been tampering in a high Degree by Foreigners, and contriving how to introduce *Popery* amongſt us. I ſhall conclude with recommending to you my other Concerns. I have been under great Diſappointments by the Defect of the Poll-Bill. My Revenue is under great Anticipations, and at beſt was never equal to the conſtant and neceſſary Expence of the Government, whereof I intend to have the whole State laid before you, and require you to look into it, and conſider of it with that Duty and Affection which I am ſure I ſhall ever find from you. The reſt I leave to the Lord-Chancellor.

The Lord-Chancellor Finch's Speech.

The Chancellor's Speech conſiſted moſtly of Hiſtorical Matters, with leſs Flights than formerly; but being ſpoke in ſo critical a time, we can omit but very little Part of it. After a ſhort Preamble, he proceeded thus: 'The Cloſe and Period of the laſt Seſſion is very memorable, for it may ſeem perhaps to ſome to have ended with very different, if not contrary Counſels and Supplies, tending both to War and Peace: But yet they who look more nearly into the Matter, ſhall find that this Incertainty proceeded not from any Unſteadineſs at home; but from the Mutability of Affairs abroad; every Week, almoſt, producing ſeveral and contrary Appearances. The ſame Incertainties of Counſels and Events abroad continu'd for the moſt Part of the Summer: One while, the Parties exhauſted by the War, ſeem'd to be willing to accept any Peace their Enemies wou'd give; and there wanted not thoſe among them who made uſe of the Impatience of their People to neceſſitate them to it. Another while, the Performance of the Conditions offer'd became ſo doubtful, and was at laſt explain'd in a Manner ſo vaſtly different from the firſt Propoſals, that Deſpair begot new Reſolutions of continuing the War. In the midſt of theſe miſerable Perplexities and Confuſions, his Majeſty was daily ſolicited with the higheſt Importunities, and the moſt earneſt Supplications that were poſſible, not to Disband the Troops he had rais'd; and not only ſo, but that he wou'd ſtill continue to ſend over more and more of his Troops, and to augment the Forces which he had already Abroad. They did as good as tell him plainly, *That it was from the Reputation of his Alliance, that any Overtures of Peace had been made at all; and that it was from the Continuance of his Arms that any further Performance cou'd be expected.* They pray'd his Majeſty to conſider, *That if he thought it expedient to obtain ſome kind of Reſpite or Breathing-time for the* Spaniſh Netherlands, *or to ſecure any kind of Frontier or Barrier between them and their too powerful Neighbours; all this and more, very much more, perhaps no leſs than the* Safety of Chriſtendom, *wou'd entirely depend upon his Majeſty's preſerving himſelf in that conſiderable Poſture both by Sea and Land, wherein he then was.* There was no reſiſting ſuch repeated Interceſſions; and tho' his Majeſty ſaw well enough, that his complying with theſe Deſires wou'd engage him in an Expence far beyond what he was then provided for, yet he could not poſſibly decline the Charge, nor refuſe to undergo the Difficulties. And now, whatever the Coſt of all this may amount to, yet neither his People will have any Cauſe to repent it, when they ſhall conſider that it hath already produc'd ſuch great and good Effects to his Majeſty's Allies, and ſo much Honour to the whole Nation, that whatever is ſav'd of *Flanders*, is now acknowledg'd by all the World to be wholly due to his Majeſty's Interpoſition. And tho' the Peace, which ſince hath follow'd, be very far from ſuch a Peace as his Majeſty cou'd have wiſh'd, yet it is ſuch a Peace *as his Neighbours were reſolv'd to have*. No Obligations they lay under to inſiſt upon a better Peace, no Conjunction with his Majeſty, no nor the Offers to declare War on their behalfs, if they deſir'd it, cou'd prevail with them, or keep them from being wrought upon by the Arts of thoſe who firſt rais'd unreaſonable Jealouſies amongſt them, and then caus'd them to precipitate themſelves into a Peace. Thus you ſee at once, not only the *Neceſſity* which his Majeſty had to continue his Troops in Pay, but likewiſe the *Benefits* and *Advantages* which have come of it.

Then, inſiſting upon the Neceſſity of a Supply in the ſame manner that the King had in his Speech, he proceeded in theſe Words: 'Thus you have in ſhort an Account of what hath been doing Abroad, and the Charge of it; 'tis now high time to look a little nearer Home: And ſurely in that ſtate of Things to which they are now reduc'd, 'tis viſible and plain enough what muſt be our Buſineſs for the time to come. Firſt, We muſt look to our ſelves, and provide for our own Safety: For that which the Confederates acknowledge with Thanks, we may be ſure hath a quite different Reſentment in other Places. And in order to this, care muſt be taken ſo to ſtrengthen ourſelves both at Home and Abroad, that they who ſee us in a firm and well ſettled Eſtate, may have no

Hopes to ſurpriſe, nor any Temptation to make any Attempt upon us. And herein it will be neceſſary to take Notice of what his Majeſty hath recommended to you, and to weigh very well the *Importance* of reducing the Sea and Land Forces, and the *Conſequences* which may attend ſuch a Reducement: For this be aſſur'd, that nothing in the World wou'd more gratify our Enemies, than to ſee us afraid of maintaining ourſelves in a Poſture of Defence, which is the only Poſture they are afraid to find us in. And that the *Fears of Popery* may not too much diſquiet you, be pleas'd to conſider that you have one *Security* more, ſince that which was always the Intereſt of his Majeſty's *Honour* and *Conſcience*, is now become the Intereſt of his *Perſon* too, to protect the *Proteſtant* Religion, and to prevent the ſwarming of Seminary Prieſts. For his Majeſty hath told you, *That he hath lately receiv'd Information of Deſigns againſt his own Life by the Jeſuits.* And tho' he doth in no ſort Prejudge the Perſons accus'd, yet the ſtrict Enquiry into this Matter hath been a Means to diſcover ſo many *other unwarrantable Practices* of theirs, *that his Majeſty hath reaſon to look to them.* Nor are theſe Men the only Factors for *Rome*; but there are found amongſt the *Laity* alſo ſome who have made themſelves *Agitators* to promote the Intereſts of a Foreign Religion, who meddle with Matters of State and Parliament, [*Coleman*] and carry on their pernicious Deſigns by a moſt dangerous Correſpondence with Foreign Nations. What kind of Proceſs the Proof will bear, and to how high a Degree the Extent and Nature of theſe Crimes will riſe, is under Conſideration, and will be fully left to the Courſe of Law.

‘ In the next place, let us carefully avoid all Differences amongſt our ſelves, all manner of Claſhing about *Juriſdictions*, and all Diſputes of ſuch Nature, as can never end in any Accommodation. For this is ſtill what our Enemies wou'd wiſh, who wou'd be glad to ſee us ruin'd, without their being at the Charge of it. And therefore we muſt now, above all other times, labour to ſhew the World the moſt effectual Significations of our Loyalty and Duty that we are able to expreſs; for nothing in the World can more diſcourage our Enemies: as on the contrary nothing does or can ſo ripen a Nation for Deſtruction, as to be obſerv'd to diſtruſt their own Government. Be pleas'd then now to take Occaſion to manifeſt ſuch a Zeal for the Government, as to look into the State of that *Revenue* which ſhou'd ſupport the conſtant and neceſſary Charge of it, and to ſee that it be made equal to it. There are many Motives to oblige us to this Inſpection: Firſt, you ſee the King expects it; and then again you cannot but ſee, that nothing is or can be of a more publick Conſideration, than to ſupport the Dignity of the Crown, which is in truth the Dignity of the Nation. Beſides, 'tis Unſafe, as well as Diſhonourable, that the King's Revenue ſhou'd fall ſhort of his moſt neceſſary, and moſt unavoidable Expences. And if upon a due Examination it ſhall be made appear to you, that tho' there had been no Diminution of the Cuſtoms, yet no Thrift or Conduct in the World cou'd ever make the Revenue able to anſwer the certain Charge of the Government, much leſs to diſcharge thoſe Anticipations which lie heavy upon it; how can it be poſſible for it to ſupply thoſe Contingencies which happen even in Times of Peace, and which can never be brought under any Regulation or Eſtabliſhment? You may be ſure a great and generous Prince wou'd be glad, by good Managery, to have wherewithal to exerciſe his Royal Bounty. But our Neighbours have found a way to prevent that: For their vaſt Preparations put his Majeſty upon a vaſt Expence, to preſerve himſelf and us.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, You now find the King involv'd in Difficulties as great, and, without your Aſſiſtance, as inſuperable, as ever any Government did labour under. And yet his Majeſty doth not think that there need many Words to beſpeak your Zeal and Induſtry in his Service: For the Things themſelves now ſpeak, and ſpeak aloud. The Publick and Private Intereſt do both perſwade the ſame things, and are, and ought to be, mighty in Perſwaſion. If the Honour and Safety of your Country; and, which is next to that, the Concerns of your own Families and Poſterities, cannot awaken your utmoſt Care to preſerve that Government which only can ſupport you and yours, all other Diſcourſes will be to no purpoſe. There can be no Difficulties at all to them who take delight in ſerving of the King and their Country, and love the Occaſions of ſhewing it. Such are all here! But tho' the King hath had for many Years a large and full Experience of your *Duty*, yet there never was a time like this to try your *Affections*. There is ſo ſtrange a Concurrence of ill Accidents at this time, that 'tis not to be wonder'd at, if ſome very honeſt and good Men begin to have troubled and thoughtful Hearts. Yet that which is infinitely to be lamented, is, that malicious Men too begin to work upon this *Occaſion*, and are in no ſmall Hopes to raiſe a Storm that nothing ſhall be able to allay. If you can reſcue the King's Affairs from ſuch a Tempeſt as this; if you can weather this Storm, and ſteer the Veſſel into the Harbour; if you can find a way to quiet the Apprehenſions of thoſe who mean well, without being carried away by the Paſſions of others who mean ill; if you can prevent the Deſigns of thoſe without Doors, who ſtudy nothing elſe but how to diſtract your Counſels, and to diſturb all your Proceedings; then you will have perform'd as great and as ſeaſonable a Piece of Service to the King, as ever yet he ſtood in need of. And when the World ſhall ſee, that nothing hath been able to diſappoint the King of the Aſſiſtance he had reaſon to hope from this Seſſion; but that there is a *Right Underſtanding* between the King and his Parliament, and that again ſtrengthen'd and increas'd by the Evidences of your Duty and Affection, and rais'd above all Poſſibility of being interrupted; then ſhall the King be poſſeſs'd of that *true Glory* which others vainly purſue, the Glory of *Reigning in the Hearts of his People.* Then ſhall the People be poſſeſs'd of as much Felicity as this World is capable of: And you ſhall have the perpetual Honour and Satisfaction of having been the means to procure ſo much ſolid and laſting Good to your Country, as the *Eſtabliſhment of the Peace and Tranquility of this Kingdom; and conſequently of all his Majeſty's Dominions.*

The King uneaſy about the Plot.

The King was under conſiderable Difficulties and Perplexities upon the Account of the Plot, which he had reaſon to fear wou'd much increaſe the former Heats in his Parliament, and retard his main Buſineſs; and therefore he had in vain endeavour'd to divert the Miſchief by ſending over more Troops into *Flanders*, to join with *Holland*, and continue the War againſt *France*. And now he took care that what related to that matter in his own, and the Chancellor's Speech, ſhou'd be deliver'd with the utmoſt Caution, and with a plain Intimation that the Laws, and not the Houſe of Parliament, were to decide it; and further to prevent their meddling, he gave expreſs Commands to his prime Miniſter, the Lord-Treaſurer *Danby*, not to make any Diſcoveries to the Parliament. But that Lord, perhaps expecting that the Horror of the thing might rouſe the Affection of the Commons, and make them in a more giving Temper, or perhaps to ingratiate himſelf where he had many deſperate Enemies, thought fit the firſt Day to bring *Oates*'s Informations before their Houſe. Upon this the King was very much provok'd, and told him plainly, *That tho' you do not believe it, you ſhall find that you have given the Parliament a handle to ruin yourſelf, as well as to diſturb all my Affairs; and that you will live to repent it.* This he found to be true, and made him afterwards acknowledge, *That he had liv'd to find Kings to be true Prophets, as well as Kings; having ſeen many villainous Deſigns acted under the Cover of the Popiſh Plot.* To finiſh and make an end of the envy'd State of this great Miniſter, ſoon after the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and Earl of *Sunderland*, join'd with the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and the Duke of *Monmouth*, in the Deſign of his Ruin. And tho' the King thought fit afterwards to protect him by a Pardon from the Commons Impeachment; yet this appear'd more to ſkreen his own, than to preſerve his Miniſter's Reputation; and he ſeem'd never after to have any great Favour or Affection for this great and active Stateſman.

The Treaſurer brings it into Parliament, againſt his Conſent.

The King, whoſe Inclinations were more to Popery than any other Religion, had almoſt from the Beginning look'd upon the Plot-Diſcoverers as little better than Impoſtors; but ſoon after the Beginning of this Seſſion of Parliament, he was more fully confirm'd in it by an Accident and Paſſage not hitherto publiſh'd; but was related by the King Himſelf to a Perſon of full Credit, who communicated it to the Author of this Hiſtory. The Subſtance of the Story was, That as ſoon as *Oates* was by the Parliament eſteem'd the prime Diſcoverer of this Plot, his Reputation in the Height, and all Perſons inflam'd with the Horror of it, about Twenty eminent rich Citizens, entire Believers of the whole, met at a great Supper in the City, to which they invited Dr. *Tongue*, Mr. *Oates*, and another noted Divine, who had been often favour'd with the King's private Converſation. Theſe three were handſomely entertain'd, and particularly careſs'd by the reſt of the Company; but their higheſt and diſtinguiſhing Compliments were paid to Mr. *Oates*, and with ſuch a ſeeming Derogation to the Honour of Dr. *Tongue*, who valu'd himſelf and his Abilities as much as any Man, that there aroſe a verbal Quarrel between theſe two Confederates; which came to that Height, that the Doctor plainly told *Oates*, *That he knew nothing of the Plot, but what he learnt from Him.* Theſe dangerous Words diſturb'd and confounded the whole Company; and had ſuch an Effect upon one of them, who was thought to be a Spy, that the very next Morning he went to the King, and told him the whole

The King confirm'd in the Diſbelief of it by an Accident.

Paſſage and Tranſaction. Upon which, his Majeſty immediately ſent for the foremention'd Divine, in whom he had a good Confidence, and opening the Matter to him, he let him know *That he expected to hear the Particulars from Him.* But he made ſome Excuſes, and particularly alledg'd the *Badneſs of his Memory*; at which the King ſaid in a Paſſion, *If you are good for any Thing, it is for your Memory*; and then let him know, *that he had heard ſufficient of the Matter already, but expected it all from Him.* But ſtill he pretended not to remember it, or elſe gave ſo imperfect an Account of it, that the King incens'd, at laſt ſpoke to this effect to him; *I find there is like to be a great deal of Bloodſhed about this Plot; and the Times are ſo troubleſome and dangerous to Me, that I durſt not venture to pardon any that is condemn'd: Therefore their Blood be upon your Head, and not upon Mine! And I deſire to ſee you no more.* And ſo he finally diſmiſs'd him his Preſence.

Yet he is uneaſy

The King had ſo good an Opinion of the *Papiſts* Loyalty, and ſo great a Friendſhip for their Perſons, that had he never receiv'd this Information, he cou'd not eaſily have believ'd the common Account of the Plot, much leſs the Aſſaſſinating Part of it. Yet being alone with his Friend the Lord *Hallifax*, he cou'd not help expreſſing an Uneaſineſs at the thought of the *Papiſts* endeavouring to take away his Life; therefore, by Way of upbraiding them with Ingratitude, or by Way of Arguing againſt the Improbability of ſuch a Deſign, he ſaid to his Lordſhip, *Have not I been kind enough to them?* His Lordſhip anſwer'd, *Yes, Sir, too kind indeed. But granting that*, ſaid the King, *why then ſhou'd they deſire to take away my Life?* *O, Sir*, reply'd the other with his uſual Quickneſs, *they know you will only Trot, and they want a Prince that will Gallop.* ----- This I had from an unqueſtionable Hand. But to return to the Parliament.

The Diligence of the Commons.

Addreſs of both Houſes.

2. The Houſe of Commons having receiv'd *Oates*'s Informations, they fell into a Flame, and were ſo aſſiduouſly employ'd, that in the Beginning of this Seſſion they ſat whole Days, from Morning till late at Night; chiefly enquiring into the Plot and the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, and with ſo much Secrecy, that the Minutes and Votes of the Houſe were forbid to be divulg'd. The Upper Houſe ſeem'd no leſs diligent; and the Firſt Buſineſs of both was to agree in the following Addreſs to his Majeſty, *viz.* 'That Information had been given of a horrible Deſign againſt his Sacred Life, and being very ſenſible of the fatal Conſequences of ſuch an Attempt, and of the Dangers of the Subverſion of the *Proteſtant* Religion and Government of this Realm, They humbly beſeech his Majeſty, That a ſolemn Day of Faſting and Humiliation may be appointed to implore the Mercy and Protection of Almighty God to his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and in Him to all his Loyal Subjects, and to pray that God will bring to Light more and more all ſecret Machinations againſt his Majeſty and the whole Kingdom.' All which was accordingly done by Proclamation, dated the 25th of *October*, requiring that *Wedneſday* the 13th of *November* ſhou'd be kept for a General Faſt. Soon after both Houſes again agreed in another Addreſs, 'That having taken into their ſerious Conſideration the bloody and trayterous Deſigns of *Popiſh* Recuſants againſt his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon and Government, and the *Proteſtant* Religion, they do for Prevention thereof moſt humbly beſeech his Majeſty to iſſue forth his Royal Proclamation, commanding all Perſons, being *Popiſh* Recuſants, or ſo reputed, to depart from the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and all other Places within Ten Miles of the ſame, on or before the 7th of *November* next enſuing, under Pain of his Majeſty's higheſt Diſpleaſure, and of the ſevereſt Execution of the Laws againſt them.' To which his Majeſty comply'd, and ſent out a Proclamation to that Effect, dated *October* 30. This being not thought ſufficient, they proceeded to another in theſe Words; 'Whereas the Safety and Preſervation of your Majeſty's Sacred Perſon is of ſo great a Conſequence and Concernment to the *Proteſtant* Religion, and to all your Subjects; We do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to command the Lord Chamberlain, and all other the Officers of your Majeſty's Houſhold, to take a ſtrict Care that no Unknown or Suſpicious Perſons may have Acceſs near your Majeſty's Perſon; and that your Majeſty will likewiſe pleaſe to command the Lord Mayor, and Lieutenancy of *London*, to appoint ſufficient *Guards* of the Train'd-Bands, during this Seſſion of Parliament; and likewiſe the Lords Lieutenants of *Middleſex* and *Surry*, to appoint the like *Guards* of the Train'd-Bands, in *Middleſex*, *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, and other Places adjacent, as ſhall be thought neceſſary.

Oates examined by the Commons.

The Commons grand Reſolve.

Sir E. Godfrey's Funeral.

On the ſame Day, *October* 24th, Mr. *Oates*, now call'd Dr. *Oates*, was examin'd in the Houſe of Commons ſix or ſeven Hours; at the End of which he was ſeveral Times, and with great Strictneſs, Interrogated *Whether he knew any Thing more of the Plot, or any other Perſons concern'd in it, than what he had already mention'd?* He ſolemnly anſwer'd *He did not*; and about Nine at Night, the Houſe ſent for the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*, who took his Examination upon Oath, and in the Houſe ſeal'd twenty ſix Warrants againſt ſeveral Lords and Others that he had ſworn againſt. Whereupon the five Lords, namely, the Lord *Powis*, the Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Petre*, and the Lord *Bellaſis*, and Sir *Henry Tichburn* Baronet, were taken into Cuſtody, and ſhortly after committed to the *Tower*; and ſeveral others were ſent Priſoners to *Newgate*. But notwithſtanding *Oates*'s ſolemn Aſſeverations of his not knowing any more, he ſoon began ſo much to abound with new Diſcoveries, that ſome began to ſuſpect his Veracity: Therefore to put an end to all ſuch Doubtings, on the 31ſt of *October*, the Commons Reſolv'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, 'That upon the Evidence that has already appear'd to this Houſe, this Houſe is of Opinion, *That there is, and hath been a Damnable and Helliſh* PLOT *contrived and carry'd on by* Popiſh *Recuſants, for Aſſaſſinating and Murdering the King, for Subverting the Government, and Rooting out and Deſtroying the* Proteſtant *Religion.*' After which they Order'd, 'That this Vote be communicated to the Lords at a Conference, and that the Lords be deſired to join with this Houſe in providing Remedies for the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and the *Proteſtant* Religion.' This remarkable Vote had a great Effect in all Places; and the very ſame Day the People were ſtrangely affected with the Sight of the Funeral of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*: The Solemnity proceeded from *Bridewell* to St. *Martins* in the Fields; and the Body was attended by ſeventy two *London* Divines, who went in Proceſſion before it, and above a thouſand Perſons of Quality and conſiderable Citizens, who follow'd after in the ſame Order, all being compleated by a memorable Funeral Sermon preach'd by Dr. *Lloyd* Miniſter of the Pariſh.

The Lords Report.

A Proclamation againſt Papiſts.

The next Day there was a Conference between the two Houſes, upon the Subject of the laſt Vote of the Commons; and this Report was made. 'The Lords have conſider'd the Vote of the Houſe of Commons communicated to them at the Conference, and have moſt readily and unanimouſly concurr'd with them in it, *Nemine Contradicente*; and their Lordſhips are very glad to ſee that Zeal which the Commons have ſhew'd upon this Occaſion, and do fully concurr with them, *That the moſt ſpeedy and ſerious Conſiderations of both Houſes are neceſſary for Prevention of the Imminent Dangers*; In Order whereunto, their Lordſhips have Reſolv'd to Sit *de Die in Diem*, Forenoon and Afternoon, and deſire that the Houſe of Commons will do the ſame, &c. At the ſame Time the King, finding the Unanimity of both Houſes, and receiving a new Addreſs againſt the *Papiſts*, acted as tho' he equally believ'd the Danger, and iſſu'd out his Proclamation, Beginning with 'The Lords and Commons having taken into their ſerious Conſideration the *Bloody* and *Traiterous* Deſigns of *Popiſh* Recuſants againſt his Majeſty's Sacred *Perſon* and *Government*, and the *Proteſtant* Religion; therefore he commanded them all, except ſettled Houſe-keepers that wou'd take the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, to depart the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and all Places within Ten Miles diſtant from the ſame.' In purſuance of this Proclamation, many *Papiſts*, refuſing thoſe Oaths, went out of Town with great Lamentations, leaving their Trades and Habitations; but within a Week or two, they generally return'd again, and, being better ſatisfy'd by their Leaders, ventur'd to take the foreſaid Oaths.

Another.

One great Danger of *Popery* at this Time was the Number of Papiſts, and even of new Converts, retain'd in his Majeſty's Guards; and therefore to remove the Apprehenſion of the Parliament, on the 2d of *November*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to declare in Council, 'That whoſoever ſhall make Diſcovery of any Officer or Soldier of his Majeſty's Horſe or Foot Guards, who, having formerly taken the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and the *Teſt* enjoyn'd by a late Act of Parliament, *For Preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants*, hath ſince been perverted to the *Romiſh* Religion, or hears Maſs, ſuch Diſcoverer, upon Information thereof given to his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord-General of his Majeſty's Forces, ſhall have a Reward of Twenty Pounds for every Soldier or Officer ſo diſcover'd as aforeſaid. And to the End his Majeſty's Pleaſure herein may be fully known, his Majeſty doth command that this Order be forthwith printed and publiſh'd.' A Second Danger was from the Intereſt of *Popiſh* Members of Parliament, but eſpecially in the Houſe of Peers; and therefore the Commons prepar'd a Bill, *For the more effectual Preſerving the King's Perſon and Government, by diſabling Papiſts from Sitting in either Houſe of Parliament.* But a Third, which

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which now moſt threatned the Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion, was the Proſpect of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor; and therefore the Popular Members of both Houſes began to form the Deſign of a *Bill of Excluſion*, as the only Means to extinguiſh the Hopes and Expectation of the *Romiſh* Party. The Commons began gently on this Occaſion, and on the 4th of *November* ſuffer'd a Debate to ariſe in their Houſe, for an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, *That his Royal Highneſs may withdraw himſelf from his Majeſty's Perſon and Counſels.* But then they adjourn'd this Debate till *Friday November* 8, and then again adjourn'd it to the *Tueſday* following.

The King's Second Speech to both Houſes.

The King, who had conſented to all they had aſk'd this Seſſion, now reſolv'd to give them a handſome Check, as well underſtanding the Tendency of this Addreſs; and therefore on the *Saturday* before, *November* 9, he came to the Houſe of Peers, and made this remarkable Speech to both Houſes: ' *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am ſo very ſenſible of the great and extraordinary Care you have already taken, and ſtill continue to ſhew for the Safety and Preſervation of my Perſon in theſe Times of Danger, that I cou'd not ſatisfy my ſelf without coming hither on purpoſe to give you all my moſt hearty Thanks for it. Nor do I think it enough to give you my Thanks only, but I hold my ſelf oblig'd to let you ſee withal, That I do as much ſtudy your Preſervation too, as I can poſſibly; and that I am as ready to join with you, in all the Ways and Means that may eſtabliſh a Firm Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion, as your own Hearts can wiſh: And this not only during my Time, of which I am ſure you have no Fear, but in future Ages, even to the End of the World. And therefore I am come to aſſure you, That whatſoever reaſonable Bills you ſhall preſent to be paſſed into Laws, to make you ſafe in the Reign of my Succeſſor, (ſo they tend not to Impeach the *Right of Succeſſion*, nor the *Deſcent of the Crown in the true Line*, and ſo as they *Reſtrain not my Power*, nor the *Juſt Rights of any Proteſtant Succeſſor*) ſhall find from Me a ready Concurrence. And I deſire you withal, to think of ſome more Effectual Means for the Conviction of *Popiſh* Recuſants, and to expedite your Counſels as faſt as you can, That the World may ſee Our Unanimity, and that I may have the Opportunity of ſhewing you how ready I am to do any Thing *that may give Comfort and Satisfaction to ſuch Dutiful and Loyal Subjects.*' In the Afternoon, the Houſe of Commons went to the *Banquetting-Houſe* of *White-Hall*, and by their Speaker return'd his Majeſty their humble and hearty Thanks, for his moſt gracious Speech this Day made to both Houſes of Parliament. To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to give this obliging Anſwer, *Gentlemen, it ſhall always be my Study to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, and to advance and ſupport the Intereſt of my People.*

The Appearance and Character of Bedloe.

3. In the mean Time, while the Credit of the Plot began to ſink a ſecond Time, and to become a little too unwieldy for one Evidence, there ſuddenly appear'd another Supporter, one *William Bedloe*, or *Beddoe*, according to his reputed Father's Name; a Fellow who took upon him the Title of Captain *Bedloe*, being a proper Colleague and Aſſiſtant to Dr. *Oates*, and having undergone greater Variety of Fortunes. He was one of a baſe Birth and worſe Manners, who from a poor Foot-Boy and Runner of Errands, for a while got into a Livery in the Lord *Bellaſis*'s Family; and having for his Villanies ſuffer'd Hardſhip and Want in many Priſons in *England*, he afterwards turn'd a kind of a Poſt or Letter-Carrier, for thoſe who thought fit to employ him, beyond Sea. By theſe means he got the Names and Habitations of Men of Quality, their Relations, Correſpondents and Intereſt; and upon this Bottom, with a daring Boldneſs, and a dextrous Turn of Fancy and Addreſs, he put himſelf into the World. He was ſkilful in all the Arts and Methods of Cheating; but his Maſter-Piece was his perſonating Men of Quality, getting Credit for Watches, Coats, Horſes, borrowing Mony upon Recommendations, bilking of Vintners and Tradeſmen; Lying and Romancing, to the Degree of Impoſing upon any Man that had any Remainders of Humanity or good Nature. He liv'd like a Wild *Arab*, upon the Prey and Ramble; and where-ever he was in *Flanders*, *France*, *Spain* or *England*, he never fail'd of leaving the Name of a notorious Cheat and Impoſter. In ſum, he was an admirable Second to help out *Oates* in his Evidences, had more Wit and Humour, but ſtill he was better at a Sham off-hand, than a Conſpiracy by Book.

He firſt pretended only to diſcover the Murther of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, and ſeem'd to have a ſpecial Eye to the five hundred Pounds Reward, which had not ſufficient Effect till it was back'd by a ſecond Proclamation, which offer'd Protection as well as Reward to any Perſon that ſhould make the Diſcovery. In order to make the more Noiſe, within a Day or two after the laſt Proclamation, *Bedloe* took a ſudden Journey from *London* to *Briſtol*, having but lately got out of Priſon, where he was fed out of the common Alms-Basket. In this Journey, he wrote a Letter from *Newberry* to Secretary *Coventry*, a little myſteriouſly worded, but implying a Deſire to have him give Orders to the Mayor of *Briſtol*, to have him taken up and ſent to Him. This took Effect, and he was accordingly taken up in the moſt publick Place and Manner at *Briſtol*, and with all the Noiſe and Affectation of being taken Notice of as a grand Diſcoverer. On the 5th of *November* he left *Briſtol*, and return'd to *London*, where he was immediately dubb'd a Captain, and a *King's Evidence*; and, as *Oates* before him, was honour'd with Guards for his Security, and Subſiſtance at his Majeſty's Charges at *White-Hall*.

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He is examin'd before the King,

He was immediately examin'd by the two principal Secretaries of State, in the Preſence of the King Himſelf, touching the Murther of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, and other Matters. He declar'd he had been bred up in the Church of *England* till within theſe two Years, when by the Perſuaſion and Promiſes of the *Jeſuits*, he was drawn over to them, but he was not one of their Order. As to Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey* he ſaid *He knew that he was Murther'd in* Somerſet-Houſe; but at the ſame Time he ſolemnly declar'd upon his Oath, *That he cou'd ſay nothing at all to the* Plot *that was then in Queſtion.*

And by the Lords.

The next Day, *Novemb.* 8th, he was examin'd by the Houſe of Lords; where, upon new Incouragement, he thought fit to be more open, and launch out into the Depths of the Plot, with a new and Supplemental Evidence; wherein he declar'd, that *Walſh* and *Le Phaire*, two Jeſuits concern'd in the horrid Murther, inform'd him, ' That the Lord *Bellaſis* had a Commiſſion to command Forces in the *North*, the Earl of *Powis* in *South-Wales*, and the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour* had a Commiſſion from the Pope to grant Commiſſions to whom he pleas'd; That *Coleman* had been a great Agitator in the Deſign againſt the King, and that he aſk'd the Jeſuits, *why they had not formerly told him what they had deſign'd concerning the King's Death*, they anſwer'd, *That none but whom my Lord* Bellaſis *gave Directions for, were to know it.*' Then he deſired he might have Time to put the whole *Narrative* into Writing, which he ſaid he had begun. They particularly aſk'd him, whether he knew *Titus Oates*, and he poſitively deny'd it; tho' afterwards he came off with a *Salvo*, that he knew him by the Name of *Ambroſe*.

His Diſcoveries.

The firſt Diſcovery ſoon took place, and preſently produc'd an Order to make a ſtrict Search for *Charles Walſh*, *Le Phaire*, and other ſuſpicious Perſons, and an Addreſs the Day following for a Proclamation againſt *Conyers*, *Simmonds*, *Walſh*, *Le Phaire*, *Pritchard* and *Caſtaway*, as Perſons guilty of the *Damnable and Helliſh Plot*, &c. On the 12th of the ſame Month, upon a further Examination in the Houſe of Lords, *Bedloe*'s Eyes were more open'd, and his Knowledge much enlarged, both as to the Plot and the Murder. The Subſtance of what he ſaid concerning the *Plot* was: ' That the Monks of *Doway* firſt told him the Deſign; and after four Sacraments of Secrecy, they ſent him to *Harcourt*, a *Jeſuit* in *Duke-ſtreet*, *London*; who provided for him, and ſent him to *Paris*, &c. That *Le Phaire*, *Walſh*, *Pritchard* and *Lewis* told him what Lords were to govern, what Men were to be rais'd; particularly forty thouſand to be ready in *London*; what Succours were to be expected, namely ten thouſand from *Flanders*, twenty or thirty thouſand Religious Men and Pilgrims from St. *Jago* in *Spain*; that *Hull* was to be ſurpris'd; and that juſt in the critical Time the Plot was diſcover'd; that *Le Phaire* gave him a Sacrament of Secrecy; and they told him who and who were to be kill'd, and the Men that were to do the Work. *Le Phaire* ſaid further, That *Conyers* was my Lord *Bellaſis*'s Confeſſor, and communicated his Orders; and that they were reſolv'd, *if any Plotters were taken, to diſpatch them before they cou'd be brought to Tryal, or to burn the Priſon.* He moreover depos'd, That *Le Phaire*, *Pritchard*, *Lewis*, *Keines* and *Walſh*, and others, had often told him, *That there was not a* Roman-*Catholick in* England, *of any Quality or Credit, but was acquainted with this Deſign of the* Papiſts, *and had receiv'd the Sacrament from their Father Confeſſors, to be ſecret and aſſiſtant in the carrying of it on.* He further added, That the Part that was aſſign'd him, was to bring and carry Orders and Counſels, and all other Intelligences from one Army to another, upon all Occaſions; he knowing every Part and Road of *England* and *Wales*.' In this long Examination, the Lords were for the moſt part very ſtrict and particular, and they eſpecially conjur'd him to ſpeak nothing but Truth; and he did *in the Preſence of God, as he ſhould anſwer it at the Day of Judgment, aſſure all to be true he had Depoſed.*

4. As the Credit of the Plot increas'd, ſo did the Labour and Diligence of the two Houſes of Parliament, and the

A new Proclamation

The Commons Addreſs.

The King's Anſwer.

the King ſeem'd all along to keep the ſame Pace with them: Particularly, on the 12th of *November*, he iſſu'd out a new Proclamation, ‘ whereby all *Romiſh* Recuſants, and ſuch reputed, were enjoyn'd under the Penalty of the Laws, to repair to their own Houſes, and not to remove more than five Miles from thence without Licence; excepting out of this Proclamation the Inhabitants of *London* and *Weſtminſter.*’ On the ſame Day, the Houſe of Commons, to whom the King was moſt attentive, Reſolv'd, ‘ That there being an Accuſation of High-Treaſon againſt Sir *William Godolphin*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador in *Spain*, an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to deſire him to call home Sir *William Godolphin* to anſwer the Accuſation.’ To which his Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer, *That he had already order'd his Letters of Revocation; and that he had a Perſon in his Eye, who he deſign'd ſhould ſucceed him in that Service.* And on the ſame Day the Commons preſented another Addreſs to his Majeſty, praying, ‘ That a ſpecial Commiſſion may be iſſu'd forth, for tendering the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* to all the Servants of his Majeſty and Royal Highneſs, and to all other Perſons (except his Majeſty's *Portugal* Servants) reſiding within the Palaces of *White-Hall*, St. *James*, and *Somerſet-Houſe*, and all other his Majeſty's Houſes; and that there may be likewiſe ſpecial Commiſſions iſſu'd forth, for tendering the ſaid Oaths to all Perſons reſiding within the two *Serjeant*'s, *Inns*, all the *Inns of Court*, and *Inns of Chancery.*’ To which his Majeſty return'd an Anſwer in Writing two Days after, *That as to all his Majeſty's own Servants, all the Servants of his Royal Highneſs, all other Perſons reſiding in* White-Hall, *St.* James's, Somerſet-Houſe, *or any other of his Majeſty's Houſes, except the* menial Servants *of the Queen and Dutcheſs; as alſo all Perſons within either of the* Serjeant's-Inns, *or any of the* Inns of Court *or* Chancery, *his Majeſty willingly grants it. But as to the Queen's* Menial Servants, *who are ſo very inconſiderable in their Number, and within the Articles of Marriage, his Majeſty does not think it fit. And his Majeſty cannot but take Notice, That in a late Addreſs from the Houſe of Peers, the* Menial Servants *of the Queen and Dutcheſs are excepted; and his Majeſty hopes this Houſe will proceed with the ſame Moderation as to that Particular.*

Another Addreſs.

But the Commons were ſo heated with new Examinations and Diſcoveries, that they cou'd not be ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer; therefore in another Addreſs, they humbly adviſ'd his Majeſty, and renew their Deſires, That the Perſons excepted in his Majeſty's Meſſage, may be comprehended in the ſame Commiſſion; for which they do in all Duty lay before his Majeſty the Reaſons following: ‘ 1. For the Quieting the Minds of your Majeſty's good *Proteſtant* Subjects, who have more than ordinary Care and Solicitude for the Safety of your Majeſty's Perſon, by reaſon of the notorious Conſpiracy of the *Popiſh* Party at this Time, even againſt the Life of your ſacred Majeſty. 2. By your Majeſty's Proclamation, ſet forth upon the Addreſs of both Houſes, *for Baniſhing Popiſh Recuſants ten Miles from* London, there is no ſuch Reſtriction. 3. The Diſcouragement it wou'd be to this Kingdom, to ſee ſo great a Neglect; and the Occaſions that *Papiſts* would take to ſay from thence, *That all our Fears were groundleſs.* 4. It is too great a Countenance to the Dangerous Factions, which are already come to that Height, that it renders all manner of Diſcouragement on that ſide neceſſary. 5. It is againſt the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; which, as they are preſerv'd and maintain'd by your Majeſty's Authority, ſo We aſſure our ſelves, You will not ſuffer them to be thus violated by your Family and Royal Preſence, upon the Account of *Popiſh* Recuſants.

The Commons ſend Secretary Williamſon to the Tower.

The King releaſes him.

This was not very pleaſing to his Majeſty; but before he cou'd well return any Anſwer, there happen'd an Accident that made him more uneaſy: For, on the 18th of *November*, the Commons being inform'd, That there were ſeveral Commiſſions granted to Popiſh Recuſants, and Warrants alſo that they ſhou'd be Muſter'd, notwithſtanding they had not taken the Oaths, and ſubſcrib'd the *Declaration*, according to the Act of Parliament, and that they were counter-ſign'd by Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Secretary of State: The Notice of this rais'd ſuch a Heat in the Houſe, that they immediately ſent Sir *Joſeph*, as a Member of their Houſe, to the *Tower*. This much offended the King, who the next Day ſent for the Houſe of Commons to attend him in the *Banquetting-Houſe* in *White-Hall*, where in a Speech to them he told them plainly, *That tho' they had committed his Servant without acquainting Him; yet he intended to deal more freely with Them, and acquaint them with his Intentions, to Releaſe his Secretary*; which accordingly he did that very Day.

They Addreſs the King.

Upon which immediately, the ſame Day, the Commons drew up an Addreſs to his Majeſty, to preſent to him theſe Reaſons of their Proceedings in the Commitment of Sir *Joſeph Williamſom*, as a Member of their Houſe, *viz.* ‘ 1. That divers *Commiſſions* were granted to *Popiſh* Officers, and counter-ſign'd by the ſaid Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, and deliver'd out in *October* laſt, ſince the Meeting of this Houſe, and the Diſcovery of the preſent *Popiſh Conſpiracy.* 2. Divers *Warrants* have alſo been produc'd before Us, of *Diſpenſations*, contrary to Law, for *Popiſh* Officers to continue in their Commands, and to be paſs'd in Muſter, notwithſtanding they have not taken the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and receiv'd the Bleſſed *Sacrament* of the *Lord's Supper*, according to the late Act of Parliament in that Behalf: All which ſaid *Warrants* were likewiſe counter-ſign'd by the ſaid Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*; which being complain'd of to us, and confeſs'd by the ſaid Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful Subjects, having the immediate Conſideration before us, of the imminent Danger of your Majeſty's Perſon, the Safety whereof is above all things moſt dear, and likewiſe the Dangers from *Popiſh Plots* ſo nearly threatning the Peace and Safety of your Majeſty's Government, and the *Proteſtant* Religion, we humbly are of Opinion, we cou'd not diſcharge our Duty to your Majeſty and the whole Kingdom, without the committing the ſaid Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*; and therefore moſt humbly deſire, *That he may not be diſcharg'd by your Majeſty.* And we do further moſt humbly deſire your Majeſty, to recall all Commiſſions granted to all *Papiſts* within the Kingdom of *England*, and *Ireland*, or any other of your Majeſty's Dominions and Territories.

The King's Anſwer.

This Adherence of the Commons made the King not a little weary of their Proceedings; but however, in two Days time he return'd this Anſwer in Writing, which was deliver'd to the Houſe by Mr. Secretary *Coventry. His Majeſty having receiv'd an Addreſs the 19th Inſtant from this Houſe, is pleas'd to return this Anſwer: That he releas'd Mr. Secretary* Williamſon *before your Addreſs came, as he told you in the* Banquetting-Houſe *he wou'd do. As to the Returns of granting thoſe* Commiſſions, *his Majeſty acquainted you at large with them, in his Speech, when you laſt attended him: But in Anſwer to your preſent Addreſs, his Majeſty promiſes to recal all his* Commiſſions *whatſoever given to* Papiſts *or* reputed Papiſts, *either in* England *or* Ireland, *immediately; and for his remoter Dominions, they ſhall likewiſe be recall'd with all the Expedition the Safety of thoſe Places will permit.*

A Diſturbance in the Houſe of Commons.

About this time the Bill formerly mention'd *for Diſabling all Papiſts from Sitting in either Houſe of Parliament*, having been ſent up from the Commons to the Lords, it there paſs'd with ſome little Amendments, and a particular Clauſe in Favour of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York.* The ſaid Bill being ſent back to the Commons on the 21ſt of *November*, it paſſed there alſo with the ſeveral Alterations, but not without ſome conſiderable Difficulty: For Sir *Jonathan Trelawny* and one Mr. *Aſh*, being violently heated in the Debate, and opprobrious Words paſſing between them, Sir *Jonathan*, unable to bear them, ſtruck the other a Cuff on the Ear; which being return'd by Mr. *Aſh* over the Face, they both began to draw their Swords. But this Diſturbance being at laſt quieted by the Speaker, Sir *Jonathan* was preſently ſent to the *Tower*, and Mr. *Aſh* was publickly Reprimanded by the Speaker. About the ſame time there came out an Order of Council, explaining the late Proclamation, whereby all Papiſts were baniſh'd ten Miles from *London*, ‘ Declaring it not to extend to Merchant Strangers, and ſuch Outlandiſh Perſons, who repaired thither on the Account of Travel.’ And on the ſame Day came out a Proclamation, ‘ Offering a Reward of twenty Pounds to any one who ſhou'd diſcover or apprehend a *Romiſh* Prieſt or *Jeſuit.*

The King's Third Speech to both Houſes.

5. The King finding the Delays of the Commons, and himſelf under Wants and Difficulties, on the 25th of *November* he came to the Houſe of Lords, and made this third Speech to both Houſes. ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I told you in the beginning of this Seſſion, how much I had been oblig'd to keep up my Forces in *Flanders: That without it our Neighbours had abſolutely deſpair'd; and by this Means, whatever has been ſav'd of* Flanders, *is acknowledg'd to be wholly due to my Interpoſition:* And I ſhew'd you withal, *That I had been forc'd to employ that Money which had been rais'd for the Disbanding thoſe Troops, in the Continuance of them together*; and not only ſo, *but that I had been much more out of Purſe for that Service; a Service by which the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation hath been ſo far improv'd, that as I am confident no Man wou'd repine at it*, ſo I did not doubt *but you wou'd all be willing to ſupply it.* I have now undergone this Expence ſo long, that I find it abſolutely impoſſible to ſupport the Charge any longer; and did therefore think of putting an End to that Charge, by Recalling my Troops with all poſſible Speed, who are already expos'd to the utmoſt Want and Miſery, being without

‘ any Proſpect of further Pay or Subſiſtance. But whilſt I was about to do this, I have been importun'd by the *Spaniſh* Miniſters to continue them a little longer, until the Ratifications of the Peace be exchang'd: Without which, all that hath been hitherto ſav'd in *Flanders*, will inevitably fall into the Hands of their Enemies. And now, between this Importunity to keep up thoſe Troops, and my own Inability to pay them any longer, I find my ſelf in great Difficulties what to reſolve. If you do not think that the publick Safety may require the Continuance, I do wiſh as heartily as any Man, that, for the publick Eaſe, they may be ſpeedily Disbanded, and paid off. I have thought fit thus to lay the Matter before you; and having acquitted my ſelf to all the World, by asking your Advice and Aſſiſtance, I deſire it may be ſpeedy, and without any Manner of Delay.

The Commons reſolve to Disband the Army.

The Commons apprehending ſome Danger from the *Engliſh* Army in *Flanders*, which, upon the late Juncture of a Separate Peace, had now nothing to do; they therefore preſently Reſolv'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, ‘ That it is neceſſary for the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, and Preſervation of the Peace of the Government, that all the Forces that have been rais'd ſince the 29th of *September* 1677, and all others that ſince that Time have been brought over from beyond Seas from Foreign Service, be forthwith Disbanded; And reſolv'd, *It be the humble Opinion and Deſire of the Houſe, That the Forces which are now in* Flanders, *may be immediately call'd over, in Order to their Disbanding*;’ to which purpoſe they preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty. At the ſame time the Houſe of Commons had before them a Bill, *For Raiſing a Third Part of the Militia, to be in conſtant Arms for a time*; which, with Amendments, was Ingroſs'd immediately after the King's Speech, and ſent up to the Lords, where it likewiſe paſs'd that Houſe.

A Bill paſs'd againſt the Papiſts.

Upon the 30th of *November*, it was preſented to the King on the Throne; together with that Other deſirable Bill, *For Diſabling Papiſts from Sitting in either Houſe of Parliament.* This laſt Bill he readily paſs'd, to the great Satisfaction of the People; and ſhew'd himſelf very willing to Recall his Forces from *Flanders*, in Order to their Disbanding; but the *Militia Bill* he totally rejected, alledging, *That it was to put the* Militia *out of his Power, which Thing he wou'd not do,* NO NOT FOR ONE HOUR; *but if the Commons would aſſiſt him with Mony for that purpoſe, He wou'd take care to raiſe ſuch a Part of the* Militia, *as ſhou'd ſecure the Peace of the Government, and his own Perſon.* And to the ſame Effect, he ſhortly after ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, declaring, *It was to prevent all Miſunderſtandings that might ariſe from his not paſſing that Bill.*

Another rejected.

III.

1. All this time, while theſe Things were tranſacting in the Parliament, the King proceeded in the ſame manner with relation to the Plot, as tho' he believ'd the whole Truth of it. He ſeem'd now to have Occaſion to exerciſe his Talent of Diſſimulation; and the *French* Hiſtorian *Orleans* ſays, *He counterfeited a Credulity, which was made uſe of to the committing of much Injuſtice.* However, according to his firſt Speech, he wholly left the accus'd Perſons to the Law, and the common Courts of Judicature, and the Appointment, Management and Proſecution of their Tryals to his Judges and proper Officers. The firſt Man deſign'd for Tryal was Mr. *Edward Coleman*, as the moſt ſignal and obnoxious Offender. But there unexpectedly happen'd a Caſe ſo eaſy, and free from Difficulties, tho' no part of the grand Plot, that it was thought fit to begin with a much later Criminal; one Mr. *William Staley*, a Goldſmith in *Covent-Garden*, a ſtrict and zealous *Romaniſt*, bred in one of the *Engliſh* Seminaries beyond the Seas, and intended for a Prieſt; but afterwards, for a more profitable Proſpect, he return'd home, and became an Aſſiſtant to his Father in the Shop, who had a great Trade, being entruſted with the Caſh of many of the *Popiſh* Nobility and Gentry. Theſe, upon the Noiſe of the Plot, ſuddenly began to call in their Money; and He, as it is ſaid, being unable readily to make up his Accounts with his Father, and finding their Trade in a bad Condition, grew ſo far diſturb'd, that on the 4th of *November*, being in Company with one *Fromante*, a Foreigner, in a Cook's Shop, diſcourſing together about the Plot, *&c.* the Foreigner ſaid in *French*, *That the King of* England *was a great Tormenter of the People of God:* To which the ſaid *Staley* anſwer'd, *The King of* England! furiouſly repeating the Words, *is a grand Heretick, and the greateſt Rogue in the World: Here's the Heart*, ſtriking his Hand upon his Breaſt, *and here's the Hand that will kill him, my ſelf.* He was heard to ſpeak theſe Words by three *Scotch* Gentlemen, who were in the next Room, with the Door open juſt over againſt him.

Mr. Staley's *Treaſon.*

This Man being inform'd againſt, was immediately taken up, arraign'd on the 20th of *November*, and the next Day try'd at the *King's Bench* Bar before the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*. The Witneſſes, *William Carſtairs*, and *Alexander Sutherland*, did both poſitively ſwear the Words before cited, for they both underſtood *French* very well; and the third Witneſs, tho' he did not underſtand *French*, ſwore he heard the Priſoner ſpeak ſomething with great Earneſtneſs, and that Captain *Carſtairs*, at that Inſtant, told him it was in *Engliſh*, *That he would kill the King.* The Priſoner own'd, ‘ That he was at that Time with *Fromante* at the Cook's Shop, but deny'd that he ſpoke the Words, and ſaid they only ſpoke of the *French* King, and the Words ſworn by the Witneſſes in *French*, muſt ſignify, *I will kill my ſelf*, rather than *I will kill him my ſelf.*’ But to this the Court obſerv'd, ‘ Firſt, that the Witneſſes ſwore directly that it was the King of *England* he ſpoke of, and nam'd him twice; nor did he count the *French* King a Heretick: And as to the ſecond, they obſerv'd, that after he had given the King ſuch ſcurrilous Names, it cou'd not be Senſe to ſay, *He wou'd kill Himſelf.*’ The Priſoner had little more to ſay for himſelf, beſides general Proteſtations of his Loyal Intentions. And therefore the Lord-Chief-Juſtice, having repreſented the Proof to the Jury, without going from the Bar they brought him in guilty of Treaſon; and Sentence was pronounc'd on him to be Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd.

His Tryal,

Accordingly, about five Days after, he was Executed at *Tyburn*, behaving himſelf in his Paſſage after a very ſober and penitent Manner: Yet he deny'd the Words for which he was condemn'd; or if he did ſay them, *They were the Effect of a raſh Paſſion, without any Deſign againſt the King's Perſon.* His Quarters, upon the Petition of his Relations, were deliver'd to them privately to be Bury'd, and not to be ſet upon the Gates of the City. But to the Abuſe of his Majeſty's Mercy, his Friends caus'd ſeveral *Maſſes* to be ſaid over thoſe Quarters, and us'd other *Popiſh* Ceremonies, and ſolemnly appointed a Time for his Interment, from his Father's Houſe in *Covent-Garden*; at which Time a pompous Funeral was made, and many People follow'd the Corps to the Pariſh-Church, where it was bury'd. The King hearing of this, was juſtly diſpleas'd, and commanded the Coroner of *Weſtminſter* to take up the Body, and deliver it to the Sheriff of *Middleſex* to be ſet upon the Gates of the City; all which was preſently done according to the uſual Form and Method.

And Execution.

2. The Condemnation and Execution of Mr. *Staley*, tho' of a Nature remote, was of conſiderable Uſe to the Plot-Diſcoverers, and open'd a Paſſage to the Tryal of a more Important Perſon, who was likely to be the chief Foundation; and this was Mr. *Edward Coleman*, Secretary to the Dutcheſs of *York*, a zealous and active *Romaniſt*, whom we have particularly taken Notice of in the Years 1674, and 1675. Upon the firſt Diſcovery of the Plot, *September* the 30th, his Houſe was ſearch'd, and his Papers ſeiz'd; tho' it is believ'd that he had Time enough to convey away all the Papers of the two laſt Years, with the Book of Entries of them. The next Day he ſurrender'd Himſelf to Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*; and being under Examination, he, as Sir *George Wakeman*, ſeem'd to hear the wicked Things charg'd upon him, with Scorn and Indignation; inſomuch, that tho' Warrants were drawn up to ſend him to *Newgate*, he was only for the Time preſent committed to a Meſſenger to ſecure him againſt the firſt Order. But afterwards he was cloſely confin'd, and now on the 27th of *November*, the very Day after Mr. *Staley*'s Execution, he was brought to his Tryal at the *King's Bench* Bar, before the ſame Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*, having a Jury of very conſiderable Men in *Middleſex*, who were not ſo much as challeng'd by the Priſoner. The General Heads of the Charge were, *The Conſpiring the Death of the King*; *The Endeavour of Subverting the Government of* England, *and the* Proteſtant *Religion.* Which Treaſonable Deſigns were to be made out, partly by Witneſſes, *vivâ voce*, and partly by Letters and Negotiations under his own Hand, proving a Correſpondence with ſeveral Agents for the Accompliſhing thoſe Ends. The living Witneſſes were the celebrated *Duumvirate*, Dr. *Oates*, and Captain *Bedloe*, who were now approaching to the Height of their Glory, and ſeem'd under the Neceſſity of exerting their utmoſt Powers.

The Tryal of Coleman.

The Subſtance of *Oates*'s Evidence was, 1. ‘ That in *November* 1677, being brought acquainted with the Priſoner by Mr. *Keins*, then the Deponent's Confeſſor, who lodg'd at the Priſoner's Houſe, he carry'd ſome Letters from him to St. *Omers*, in which were Treaſonable Expreſſions againſt the King, calling him *Tyrant*, &c. and a Letter in *Latin* enclos'd to Father *Le Cheſe*, to whom *Oates* carry'd it from St. *Omers* to *Paris*; in which there were Thanks return'd for the Ten thouſand Pounds by him remitted into *England*, for the Propagation of the *Catholick* Religion, and promiſing it ſhould be employ'd for no other Purpoſe, but for what it was ſent, *viz. To cut*

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'*off the King of* England, as appear'd by the Letter of *Le Cheſe*, to which this was an Anſwer, and which *Oates* ſaw and read. 2. That *Coleman* was concern'd in the Deſign of killing the King; for when, at the *Jeſuits* great Conſult, on the 24th of *April*, which afterwards divided into ſeveral Clubs, it was reſolv'd, that *Pickering* and *Grove* ſhould take off his Majeſty by Shooting, or other Means; this Reſolve was communicated to *Coleman*, in *Oates*'s hearing, at *Wild-Houſe*, who did approve thereof, and ſaid *it was well contriv'd*. 3. That in *Auguſt*, 78, *Coleman* was preſent at a Conſult with the *Jeſuits* and *Benedictine* Monks in the *Savoy*, for raiſing a Rebellion in *Ireland*, for which Forty thouſand Black Bills, as Arms, were provided; and was very forward to have Dr. *Fogartby* ſent over to poyſon the Duke of *Ormond:* And at another Time, being in *Fenwick*'s Chamber, *Coleman* ſaid to him in *Oates*'s hearing, *That he had found out a way to tranſmit Two Hundred thouſand Pounds to carry on the Rebellion in* Ireland. 4. That in the ſame Month of *Auguſt*, *Coleman* knew of the four *Iriſh* Ruffians ſent to kill the King at *Windſor*; and in *Oates*'s hearing, ask'd Father *Harcourt* at *Wild-Houſe*, *what Care was taken for thoſe four Gentlemen that went laſt Night to* Windſor? who reply'd, *That Eighty Pounds was order'd them*, which he ſaw there on the Table, moſt of it in Guineas; and that *Coleman* was ſo zealous, that he gave a Guinea to the Meſſenger who was to carry the Money, to expedite the Buſineſs. 5. That in *July*, 78, *Coleman* was privy to the Inſtructions brought by *Aſhby*, Rector of St. *Omers*, from Father *Whitebread*, to impower the Conſulters to propoſe Ten thouſand Pounds to Sir *George Wakeman* to poyſon the King, provided *Pickering* and *Grove* fail'd to do the Work: That *Oates* had read and copy'd thoſe Inſtructions, and tranſmitted them to ſeveral others of the Conſpirators, who were gathering Contributions about the Kingdom, who wou'd be the more incourag'd to give largely, both becauſe they were aſſur'd the Buſineſs wou'd ſoon be diſpatched, and that they might ſee they had Aſſiſtance from beyond the Seas; and that *Coleman* was ſo far from diſappointing this Treaſon, that he ſaid, *It was too little, and that it were well to give Five thouſand Pounds more, to make the Buſineſs ſure*. 6. That in *April*, 78, *Oates* ſaw *Coleman*'s Patent, or Commiſſion to be Secretary of State, from *Paulus de Oliva*, General of the Society of *Jeſuits*, by vertue of a Brief from the Pope, and he knew the Hand perfectly well; and that in *Fenwick*'s Chamber, he ſaw *Coleman* open it, and heard him ſay, *It was a good Exchange*.' Laſt of all, *Oates* being ask'd how many came over in *April* to the grand Conſult, and how many Prieſts and Jeſuits had been in *England* at one Time? he ſaid, *he could not exactly remember their Numbers, but to his Knowledge there had been in* England, *at the ſame Time, a Hundred and ſixty* Secular *Prieſts, Eighty* Jeſuits, *and by Names upon a Liſt above Three Hundred.*

2. *Bedloe's Evidence.*

The Second Witneſs againſt the Priſoner was *Bedloe*, who teſtify'd to this Effect. 1. 'That he knew not of any Commiſſion to Mr. *Coleman*; but that Sir *Henry Tichbourn* had told him, that he brought a Commiſſion for him to be Principal Secretary of State, when he brought over the reſt of the Commiſſions for the Lords and others, from the principal *Jeſuits* at *Rome*, by Order of the Pope. 2. That in *April*, 75, he carry'd over a large Packet of Letters from *Coleman* to Father *le Cheſe*, about carrying on the Plot, and brought back an Anſwer: And on *May* 24th, or 25th, 77, he receiv'd another Packet of *Coleman's*, to carry to *Paris* to the *Engliſh* Monks; and that he had receiv'd Money to carry on the Deſign to ſubvert the Government of *England*, *to free* England *from Damnation and Ignorance, and free all Catholicks from the hard Tyranny and Oppreſſion of Hereticks*. 3. That upon *Bedloe*'s Return with Anſwers to the laſt Letters, which were deliver'd to *Coleman* by *Harcourt*, he heard the Priſoner, at his Houſe behind *Weſtminſter-Abby*, at the Foot of the Stair-Caſe, ſay, *If he had a hundred Lives, and a Sea of Blood to carry on the Cauſe, he wou'd ſpend it all to eſtabliſh the Church of* Rome *in* England; *and if there were a Hundred Heretical Kings to be depoſed, he would ſee them all deſtroy'd*.' Upon this ſtrange Saying, Mr. *Coleman* ask'd him this Queſtion; *Did I ever ſee you in my Life*? *Yes*, ſaid the other, *in the Stone-Gallery in* Somerſet-Houſe, *when you came from a Conſult, where were great Perſons, which I am not to name here; that wou'd make the Bottom of your Plot to tremble: You ſaw me then.*

3. *The Priſoner's own Papers.*

The Third Evidence againſt Mr. *Coleman* was his own Papers and Letters, which were undoubtedly real, and of that Moment, that we have already taken Notice of the chief of them, according to their proper Dates, 1674, and 1675. Theſe were moſtly written to Father *le Cheſe*, the *French* King's Confeſſor, and ſhew him to be very bold and pragmatical, working hard for Money, as well as the Advancement of his Religion, promiſing by the Power of that to diſſolve and make Parliaments, and to do many other great Things far above his Station. Altho' the Subſtance of theſe Letters hath been formerly mention'd, yet here we ought not to omit two or three Paſſages which prov'd ſo ſtartling and ſhocking at this Time. Towards the End of his long Letter to the Confeſſor, he ſays, *Our prevailing in theſe Things, wou'd give the greateſt Blow to the Proteſtant Religion that ever it receiv'd ſince its Birth.* Afterwards, in another Letter he has theſe Words: *We have a mighty Work upon our Hands, no leſs than the Converſion of three Kingdoms; and by that, perhaps, the utter ſubduing a* Peſtilent Hereſy, *which has domineer'd over a great Part of the Northern World a long Time: There never were ſuch Hopes of Succeſs ſince the Death of our Queen* Mary, *as now in our Days*. And again he ſays, *The Oppoſition we are ſure to meet with, is alſo like to be great, ſo that it imports us to get all the Aid and Aſſiſtance we can, for the Harveſt is great, and the Labourers but few.* Theſe were dangerous Paſſages, that had great Effect at this critical Juncture; tho' in all the Letters, there was nothing found that look'd like taking off the King, or making uſe of any Foreign Power, beſides that of Money, of which the largeſt Sum that ever was propos'd to the Confeſſor, was Three hundred thouſand Pounds, and at other Times much leſs Sums. In ſhort, the criminal Part of the Letters, excepting the promoting his Religion, bore no ſort of Reſemblance or Compariſon with thoſe Matters charg'd upon the Writer by *Oates* and *Bedloe*.

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Ref. 19.

His Defence.

The Priſoner's Defence he made for himſelf, conſiſted of theſe Particulars. '1. That *Oates*, who now pretended ſuch *Acquaintance* with him, declared before the King and Council, *That he never ſaw him before*, or *did not know him*.' To which the other anſwer'd, 'That it being by Candle-Light, and his Sight weak, and *Coleman* alter'd in Habit and Wig, he did at firſt ſay *he cou'd not ſwear that was the Man*, or that *he had ever ſeen him before*; but as ſoon as he heard him ſpeak, he knew him well, and cou'd have then ſworn it, had it been demanded. 2. That had the Things now alledg'd by *Oates* been true, he wou'd have charg'd the ſame before the Council: But then he only charg'd him with a Letter, and ſuch ſlender Matters, that the Council was ready to let him go at large; and therefore all the reſt muſt be invented ſince.' To this *Oates* reply'd, 'That he was then ſo weak and weary, he cou'd not well tell what he ſaid; beſides his Deſign was then to lay no more to his Charge than might ſerve for Information, *&c.* 3. Whereas *Oates* charged him with conſenting to *Wakeman*'s Poyſoning of the King, and that it was conſulted by him in *Auguſt*, and as he remember'd about the 21ſt Day, *Coleman* alledg'd that he was then in *Warwickſhire*, and one of his Men and He were there all *Auguſt*, as he thought, but was not ſure of it; and after Conviction, he offer'd a Book that would ſhew he was out of Town from the 18th, to the 31ſt of *Auguſt*:' But this was no Evidence in it ſelf, and offer'd too late, ſo it did not contradict *Oates*, who was not poſitive to the Day, but only to the Month. As to what was ſworn by *Bedloe*, he made no other Anſwer than a ſolemn Aſſeveration *that he never ſaw the Man in his Life*. But as to his Papers, which he did not deny, he alledg'd, 'There was no *Treaſon* in them, tho' very *Extravagant Expreſſions*; and that it would plainly appear from them, that his Deſign was ſo far from killing the King, that it was only *to make the King and Duke as Great as cou'd be*.' In the Concluſion of his Defence, he us'd theſe Words, as he had in effect before; *I poſitively ſay, and upon my Salvation, I never ſaw theſe Witneſſes,* Oates *but once, and* Bedloe *never before.*

He is Caſt.

Then the Jury went out, and after ſome Time return'd, and brought him in Guilty of Treaſon; and the next Day he was again brought to the Bar, and there receiv'd Sentence: Before which paſs'd, the Lord-Chief-Juſtice made a ſolemn and affecting Speech to him; in which he warmly urg'd him, as the only Satisfaction he cou'd make to the Nation, publickly to confeſs all that he knew; and further ſaid, *Were I in your Caſe, there ſhould be nothing at the Bottom of my Heart that I wou'd not diſcloſe; as your Offence is Publick, ſo ought your Confeſſion to be. Perchance you may be deluded with the fond Hopes of having your Sentence reſpited: Truſt not to it,* Mr. Coleman; *you may be flatter'd to ſtop your Mouth, till they have ſtopt your Breath, and I doubt you will find that to be the Event.* After a further Diſcourſe, he ſaid thus, *We are at this Time in ſuch Diſorders, and the People ſo continually alarm'd either with ſecret Murthers, or ſome Outcries and Violences that are at this Day on foot, that tho' the King, who is merciful almoſt to a Fault, ſhou'd be inclin'd that Way, I verily believe both Houſes of Parliament would interpoſe between That and You.* In Anſwer to this and much more, the Priſoner made a very moving Oration to his Lordſhip, in which he particularly ſaid, *Your Lordſhip, moſt Chriſtian-*

The Lord C. Juſtice's Diſcourſe with him.

Chriſtian-like, hath obſerv'd, That Confeſſion *is extream neceſſary to a dying Man, and I do ſo too; but that Confeſſion your Lordſhip I ſuppoſe means, is of a* Guilty Evil Conſcience *in any of thoſe Points I am condemn'd for*, of maliciouſly contriving, &c. *If I thought I had any ſuch Guilt, I ſhould aſſuredly think my ſelf damn'd, now I am going out of the World, by* Concealing *them, in ſpite of all* Pardons *or* Indulgences, *or any* Act *that the* Pope, *or the Church of* Rome *cou'd do for me, as I believe any one Article of Faith. Therefore pray hear the Words of a Dying Man! I have made a Reſolution, I thank God, not to tell a Lye, no not a ſingle Lye, not to ſave my Life. I hope God will not ſo far leave me as to let me do it; and I do renounce all Manner of Mercy that God can ſhew me, if I have not told the Houſe of Commons, all that I know in my whole Heart towards this Buſineſs; and I never in all my Life either made any Propoſition towards the Supplanting and Invading the King's Life, Crown, or Dignity, or to make any Invaſion or Diſturbance to introduce any new Government, or to bring in Popery by any Violence or Force in the World.------ I do confeſs I am guilty of many common Crimes; but in Matters of this Nature that I now ſtand condemn'd for, tho' I do not at all complain of the Court; for I do confeſs I have had all the fair Play imaginable; but I ſay as to any Act of mine, ſo far as Acts require Intention to make them Acts, as all Human Acts do, I am as innocent of any Crime that I now ſtand charg'd as guilty of, as when I was firſt born.* Upon this the Lord-Chief-Juſtice ſaid, *That is not poſſible!* The Priſoner anſwer'd, *With Submiſſion, I do not ſay* Innocent *as to any Crime in going againſt any Act of Parliament, then it is a Crime to hear* Maſs, *or to do any Act that they prohibit, but for intending and endeavouring to bring in that Religion by the Aid and Aſſiſtance of the King of* France, *I never intended or meant by that Aid and Aſſiſtance, any Force in the World, but ſuch Aid and Aſſiſtance as might procure us* LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

His Execution.

After this the Lord-Chief-Juſtice ſolemnly urg'd him to declare Whether his Correſpondence and Negotiations did continue longer than the Letters that were found, that is after 1675, *not having diſcover'd one Paper, but what was found unknown to him, and againſt his Will.* He anſwer'd, *Upon the Words of a dying Man, and upon the Expectation I have of Salvation, I tell your Lordſhip, that there is not a Book nor Paper in the World, that I have laid aſide voluntarily. No?* ſaid his Lordſhip, *Perhaps you have burnt them.* The other vehemently reply'd, *Not, by the* LIVING GOD! And ſo he perſiſted againſt all Examinations to the Day of his Death, which was upon the 3d of *December*, when he was drawn upon a Sledge from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; and being come thither, he declared, *That he had been a* Roman Catholick *for many Years; and that he thank'd God, he dy'd in that Religion:* And he further declar'd, *He did not think that Religion at all prejudicial to the King and Government.* The Sheriff told him, *if he had any Thing to ſay by Way of Confeſſion or Contrition, he might proceed; otherwiſe it was not reaſonable for him to go on with ſuch like Expreſſions.* And being ask'd if he knew any Thing of the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, he declar'd, *upon the Words of a Dying Man, he knew not any Thing of it; and he was a Priſoner at that Time.* Then after ſome private Prayers and Ejaculations to himſelf, he was hang'd and quarter'd, but his Quarters were granted to his Friends to be bury'd. It was the Opinion of ſome that beheld him as he was drawn along, or while he was ſpeaking or praying at *Tyburn*, that he was ſomewhat diſturb'd in his Thoughts, or under ſome Expectations of a Reprieve: And it was confidently reported, that he ſhou'd ſay that Day, with great Paſſion, *There is no Faith in Man!* But as to the laſt, *H. Care* tells us that Enquiry was made, and no credible Perſons appear'd to teſtify that they heard the Words ſpoken; ſo that it ought to paſs only as a common Rumour, deſign'd for a particular Reflection upon the Duke of *York*.

A Proclamation to encourage further Diſcoveries.

3. When the two great Diſcoverers, *Oates* and *Bedloe*, had once drawn Blood, they aſſum'd new Courage, and became more formidable to the *Romiſh* Party, and more eſtimable to the Other. They were all along ſupported by great Numbers of both Houſes of Parliament, with different Intentions; and particularly the Lords, to ſhew their Zeal, by an Addreſs obtain'd a new Proclamation from the King, which was iſſu'd out the ſame Day that Mr. *Coleman* was try'd, which in theſe Words did Declare, 'Upon the humble Requeſt of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, That if any Perſon or Perſons ſhall before the twenty fifth Day of *December* next, make any further Diſcovery of the late *Horrid Deſign againſt his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon and Government*, to one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State; He or They, making ſuch Diſcovery, ſhall not only receive from his Majeſty, for every ſuch Diſcovery, the Reward of Two Hundred Pounds, to be immediately paid upon due Proof of the Truth thereof; but if He or They were a Principal, or Principals in the ſaid Deſign, or guilty of the former Concealment thereof, He or They ſhall have his Majeſty's Gracious Pardon for ſuch His or Their reſpective Offence.

Bedloe *and* Oates *accuſe the Queen.*

This gave new Incouragement to every bold Diſcoverer; and the ſame Evening, *Oates* and *Bedloe*, having juſt before overthrown *Coleman*, proceeded ſo far as to accuſe the Queen her Self, before the Privy-Council. *Bedloe* ſwore 'That about the latter End of *April* was a Twelvemonth, about Six in the Afternoon, there was a Conſult held in the *Chappel Gallery* at *Somerſet-Houſe*, where were preſent the Lord *Bellaſis*, Mr. *Coleman*, *Le Phaire*, *Pritchard*, *Latham* and *Sheldon*, and two *French* Men in Orders, whom he took for *Abbots*, and two other Perſons of Quality, but did not ſee their Faces, and Others: Amongſt them, the Queen: And further, that *Coleman* and *Pritchard* told him, That after the Conſult the Queen wept at what was propos'd there, but was over-perſuaded to Conſent, by the Strength of the two *French* Mens Arguments. That he was below walking in the Chappel in the Time of the Conſult, with others, *&c.* The Queen came through the Room where the Prieſts dreſs'd themſelves, and that he then obſerv'd ſome Alteration in her Majeſty's Countenance.' *Oates* back'd this with another Story, which he Swore before the Council, namely, 'In the Month of *July*, this preſent Year, Sir *George Wakeman*, in a Letter to *Aſhby* the Jeſuit, did write, *That the Queen wou'd aſſiſt him to Poyſon the King.* That a few Days after, Father *Harcourt* and four other Jeſuits did go to attend the Queen at *Somerſet-Houſe*, being ſent for, and He himſelf waited upon them; and they went into a Chamber, and while he waited without, he heard a Woman's Voice, which did ſay, *That ſhe wou'd not endure the Violations of her Bed, and that ſhe wou'd aſſiſt Sir* George Wakeman *in Poyſoning the King*; and that he was afterwards admitted in, and that he ſaw no other Woman there but her Majeſty; and he heard, while he was within, the ſame Voice ask Father *Harcourt*, *If he had receiv'd the laſt Thouſand Pound?*

The Houſe of Commons enraged.

This ſurpriſing Evidence threw the Parliament into a new Flame and Rage, and the very next Day the Houſe of Commons drew up the following Addreſs to the King; 'We your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful Subjects, *&c.* having receiv'd Information by ſeveral Witneſſes [*Oates* and *Bedloe*] of a moſt Deſperate and Trayterous *Deſign* and *Conſpiracy* againſt the Life of your Sacred Majeſty, wherein, to our great Aſtoniſhment, the QUEEN is particularly charg'd and accus'd: In Diſcharge of our Allegiance, and out of our Affections and Care for the Preſervation of your Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, and conſequently, of the whole Kingdom, do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, That the *Queen*, and all her *Family*, and all *Papiſts* and *Reputed Papiſts*, be forthwith remov'd from your Majeſty's Court at *White-Hall.*' Immediately after, they came to this grand Reſolve, *That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, That all* Papiſts *and* Suſpected Papiſts, *within the ſeveral Counties of* England *and* Wales, *and the Town of* Berwick *upon* Tweed, *may be Apprehended and Secured.* But the King himſelf was ſo diſoblig'd at *Oates*'s inſolent Behaviour, that he immediately order'd a ſtricter Guard upon him than ever; which occaſion'd the Commons, the Day after, to order an Addreſs to his Majeſty, 'That the ſaid *Oates* be freed from his Reſtraint, attended by his own Servants, and that a competent Allowance be appointed for his Maintenance.' And thus there appear'd a Struggle between the King and the Commons; but the Latter, reſolving to make ſure of the Offenders of the higheſt Rank, who were appointed to be try'd the common Way, came to this Determination on the 5th of *December*, 'That the Houſe do proceed by Way of Impeachment of High-Treaſon, *&c.* againſt the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, Lord *Powis*, Lord *Petre*, Lord *Bellaſis*, and Viſcount *Stafford.*' Accordingly, the next Day they did Impeach the ſaid Lords, at the Bar of the Houſe of Peers; but the Articles were not exhibited againſt them this Parliament, and the Matter was reaſſum'd by another Houſe of Commons.

They impeach ſeveral Lords.

The Tryals of Ireland, Pickering, *and* Grove.

4. In the mean Time *Oates* and *Bedloe* fell into further Buſineſs, by Means of the Tryal of Three Perſons at one Time, *William Ireland*, and *Thomas Pickering*, both Prieſts, and *John Grove*, a Lay-Brother. Theſe were arraign'd on the 17th of *December* at the *Old Bayly*, together with *Thomas Whitebread* and *John Fenwick*, two Jeſuits; but in the Courſe of the Evidence, there not appearing ſufficient Proof againſt the two laſt, the Jury was diſcharg'd of them, and they reſerv'd for another Time. The Three firſt were Indicted for High Treaſon, and that of the moſt odious Nature, as being actively concern'd in Carrying on the General Plot for Subverſion of the Go-

vernment, but more eſpecially for the Horrid Deſign *to Murther his Majeſty's Perſon*; *Ireland*, for contriving and conſenting to it; and *Pickering* and *Grove*, for having undertaken, and actually attempted to effect it.

Oates's Evidence.

The Sum of *Oates*'s Evidence againſt the Priſoners, waving ſome Generals already mention'd, was 1. ‘ That at the Grand Conſult of *April* 24, at the *White-Horſe* in the *Strand*, whereof *Ireland* was one; It was reſolv'd that *Pickering* and *Grove*, as having been formerly engag'd, ſhou'd go on in their Deſign and Attempt to Murther the King; and that *Grove* being a Lay-man, ſhou'd have fifteen Hundred Pound for his Reward; and *Pickering*, being a Prieſt, Thirty Thouſand Maſſes, which at twelve Pence a Maſs amounted to that Sum. 2. That this Reſolve was the ſame Day drawn up in Writing by one *Mico*, that was Secretary to the Society, and Companion to Provincial *Whitebread*, at the ſaid *Whitebread*'s Chamber, who having ſign'd it, it was carry'd by the Deponent *Oates*, as being a Meſſenger to the Conſult, to be ſign'd by the reſt of the Colloquies; and that *Ireland* in his own Chamber did ſign it in his Preſence. 3. *Pickering* and *Grove* conſented to ſuch Reſolve, accepted the Terms, and alſo ſign'd it the ſame Day, at the ſaid *Whitebread*'s Chamber, at Mrs. *Sanders*'s at *Wild-Houſe*, where in a little Chappel, they and about forty or fifty of the Conſulters heard Maſs, and receiv'd the Sacrament, adminiſter'd by one *Barton*, a Jeſuit; and thereupon took an Oath of Secrecy upon a Maſs-Book which *Mico* held, while *Whitebread* pronounc'd the Words. 4. That in Purſuance of this Reſolve, the Deponent did ſeveral Times ſee *Pickering* and *Grove* walk in the Park together, with Screw'd Piſtols, longer than ordinary Piſtols, and ſhorter than ſome Carabines: That they had Silver Bullets to ſhoot with; and that *Grove* wou'd have had the Bullets champt, to render the Wound incurable; and that he ſaw *Grove*'s Bullets in *May*, and *Pickering*'s in *Auguſt*. Moreover, 5. That, before the Conſult, in the Month of *March*, *Pickering* had a fair Opportunity to ſhoot the King, but the Flint of his Piſtol happen'd to be looſe, and he durſt not venture to give Fire; and becauſe by their Negligence this Opportunity was miſs'd, *Pickering* underwent *Penance*, and had twenty or thirty Strokes of *Diſcipline*, and *Grove* was chidden for his Careleſneſs, as the Deponent had ſeen in *Whitebread*'s Letters. 6. That *Grove* did go about with one *Smith* to gather *Peter-Pence*, either to carry on the Deſign, or to ſend to *Rome*: That he ſaw the Book wherein it was enter'd, and heard the ſaid *Grove* ſay *he had been gathering it*.

2. Bedloe's *Evidence.*

Bedloe was the ſecond Evidence, who *now* ſwore, ‘ 1. That he was imploy'd for the Space of five Years as a Meſſenger, by the Conſpirators, for Carrying their Letters to their Confederates beyond the Seas, and bringing others back, all or moſt of them relating to the *Plot*; for he had a Way to open and read them, by which he fully inform'd himſelf of thoſe Matters: And for the *Nature* of the *Plot*, he heard ſome of the Conſpirators ſay, *That they wou'd not leave any Member of a* Heretick *in* England, *that ſhou'd ſurvive to tell hereafter, That there ever was any ſuch Religion as the* Proteſtant. And to confirm his Intimacy with them, he ſwore the Manner of his coming firſt to be imploy'd by them; by Means of the Lady Abbeſs of the *Engliſh* Nunnery at *Dunkirk*, who, having kept him ſix Weeks in her Convent, recommended him to Sir *John Warner*, as a proper Inſtrument, who afterwards ſent him to Father *Harcourt* to be inſtructed.’ And as a further Confirmation, he brought his Brother *James Bedloe*, who ſwore he knew nothing of the *Plot*, but did teſtify, ‘ That he had heard the Priſoners often named, as being of his Brother's Acquaintance; and that he had on his Brother's Behalf, receiv'd ſeveral Sums of Money from Prieſts and Jeſuits, as fifty or ſixty Pounds at a Time. 2. That about the latter End of *Auguſt*, this Year, at Mr. *Harcourt*'s Chamber, he met the Priſoners, *Ireland*, *Pickering* and *Grove*, with ſome others, where he heard them diſcourſe, That ſince the four *Iriſh* Ruffians had miſs'd of Killing the King at *Windſor*, *Pickering* and *Grove* ſhou'd go on in their Deſign, and that one *Conyers*, a *Benedictine* Monk, was to be joyn'd with them; and that they ſhou'd endeavour to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty in his Morning Walk at *New-Market*: That they were zealous in the Matter; and Mr. *Grove*, more forward than the reſt, ſaid, *Since it cou'd not be done Clandeſtinely, it ſhou'd be attempted Openly, and that thoſe that ſhou'd fall in the Attempt, had the Glory to dye in a good Cauſe; but if it were diſcover'd, the Diſcovery wou'd never reach ſo far, but their Party wou'd be ſtrong enough to accompliſh their Work.* 3. He ſwore that *Harcourt* told him, *Grove* was to have fifteen Hundred Pounds, and *Pickering* as many Maſſes, as at twelve Pence a Maſs, came to the like Sum. 4. That at the ſame Time, when the Diſcourſe about Killing the King was at *Harcourt*'s Chamber, there was likewiſe a Deſign concerted amongſt them of Killing ſeveral Noble Perſons, and the particular Parts aſſign'd to every one; as *Knight*, to kill the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; *Prichard*, the Duke of *Buckingham*; *Oneile*, the Earl of *Oſſory*; *Obrian*, the Duke of *Ormond*, &c.

The Defence of the Priſoners.

The Priſoners Defence againſt all this, was, 1. ‘ A peremptory Denial of the whole: *Grove* particularly ſaid, *As I have a Soul to be ſav'd, I know nothing of this Matter charg'd upon me.* *Pickering* affirm'd, *That he never ſhot off a Piſtol in his Life.* And *Whitebread*, who was there during the Tryal, declar'd *before Almighty God*, *That* Oates *had not ſpoken three Words of Truth.* 2. A particular Denyal of their Knowledge of, or Acquaintance with the Witneſſes: *Ireland* deny'd, That he ever ſaw *Bedloe* before that Time in the Court, and challeng'd him to produce one Witneſs that he had ever ſpoken to him. *Pickering* affirm'd that he never ſaw *Oates* before; and offer'd to ſwear, that he never was in *Bedloe*'s Company. And *Grove* deny'd that he had ſcarce any Acquaintance with *Oates*.’ Whereupon *Oates* gave him a remarkable Token, *viz.* ‘ That in *December* laſt, when he was with him, he own'd, *that he and three* Iriſhmen *had fired* Southwark; *and that they had a Thouſand Pounds given them for it*; *whereof he had Four Hundred Pounds, and the reſt Two Hundred Pounds a-piece.* 3. *Ireland*, againſt *Bedloe*'s Evidence, affirm'd, He was not in *London* the whole Month of *Auguſt*, and part of *September*; and offer'd to prove by twenty Witneſſes, that he was in *Staffordſhire* and *Cheſhire* all that Time; and urg'd *Bedloe* to name the Place and the Company where ever they were together. But not only *Bedloe* ſwore the contrary, but likewiſe *Oates* himſelf; but what ſeem'd more important, one *Sarah Pain*, formerly a Servant to *Grove*, ſwore, that ſhe ſaw Mr. *Ireland* at a Scrivener's Door in *Fetter-Lane*, about the 12th or 13th of *Auguſt*. 4. *Ireland*, as well as *Whitebread*, objected againſt the Grand Conſult of *April* 24th, that Hundreds could prove that *Oates* was at St. *Omers* all the Months of *April* and *May*; and offer'd to produce a Certificate from thence, under the Seal of the College.’ But ſuch Certificate was not allow'd as Evidence by the Law of *England*. Laſtly, They endeavour'd to blaſt the Reputation of Dr. *Oates*, to prove him Perjur'd, *&c.* but their Witneſſes at this Time were ſo tender and fearful, that they were of little Service.

The Lord Chief-Juſtice's Speech

After this, the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs* proceeded to Sum up the Evidence; and in his Speech to the Jury, among many others, ſpeaking of the Popiſh Prieſts and their Religion, had theſe remarkable Expreſſions; *If they had not murther'd Kings, I would not ſay they wou'd have done Ours: But when it hath been their* Practice *ſo to do*; *when they have debauch'd Men's* Underſtandings, *over-turn'd all* Morals, *and deſtroy'd all* Divinity; *what ſhall I ſay of Them? When their* Humility *is ſuch, that they tread upon the Necks of Emperors*; *their* Charity *ſuch, as to kill Princes*; *and their Vows of* Poverty *ſuch, as to covet Kingdoms*; *what ſhall I judge of them? When they have* Licenſes *to Lye, and* Indulgences *for Falſhood*; *nay, when they can make him a* Saint *that dies in One, and then Pray to him*; *as the Carpenter firſt makes an* Image, *and then worſhips it*; *and can then think to bring in that* Wooden Religion *of theirs amongſt us in this Nation*; *What ſhall I think of them? what ſhall I ſay to them? what ſhall I do with them? They eat their* God; *they kill their* King, *and Saint the* Murderer: *They indulge all ſorts of Sins, and no Human Bonds can hold them.* To ſecond him, the Recorder, Sir *George Jefferys*, in a long Speech when he paſſed Sentence upon the Priſoners, had theſe Expreſſions;

Sir George Jefferys's *Speech.*

You muſt e'er long appear before a Great Tribunal, where your Maſſes will not ſignify ſo many Groats to you; *no, not one Farthing: I muſt ſay it for the ſake of thoſe ſilly People whom you have impos'd upon with ſuch Fallacies, that the Maſſes can no more ſave you from a future Damnation, than they do from a preſent Condemnation.* In another Place, he advis'd them *not to rely upon their Maſſes, Tricks, or Trumperys*; and afterwards proceeded thus: *I am ſorry with all my Soul to hear a Layman ſhould with ſo much Malice declare,* That a Bullet, if round and ſmooth, was not ſafe enough to execute his Villanies by: *But he muſt be ſure, not only to ſet his poiſonous Invention on work about it, but he muſt add thereto his poiſonous Teeth; for fear if the Bullet were ſmooth, it might light in ſome Part where the Wound might be cured. But ſuch is the Height of ſome Men's Malice, that they will put all the Venome and Malice they can into their Actions. I am ſure this was ſo horrid a Deſign, that nothing but a Conclave of Devils in Hell, or a College of ſuch Jeſuits as yours on Earth, could have thought upon.* In Concluſion, he Sentenc'd them to be Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd.

But there being a Delay of their Execution, on the 26th of *December*, the Houſe of Commons order'd the ſaid Recorder to attend, and give the Houſe an Account why he did not iſſue out his Warrant to execute them. And being call'd on again the next Day, he inform'd the Houſe, that he had not yet receiv'd any Orders from the King for their Execution; which Anſwer ſeem'd very unſatisfactory to ſome Members, but the Debate of that Matter was adjourn'd. They were reſpited till the 24th of *January*, the Day that the Parliament was diſſolv'd, when *William Ireland* and *John Grove* ſuffer'd according to Sentence, at the common Place of Execution. But the latter, *Thomas Pickering*, whether to induce him to a Confeſſion, or for what other Reaſons, it appears not, was kept a conſiderable Time afterwards; but at laſt he was likewiſe executed on the 9th of *May*. It is obſervable, that He, and the other two before him, perpetually deny'd their Crimes, and inſiſted upon their Innocence to the laſt Moment of their Lives. And it is further to be remember'd, that it was chiefly upon the Tryal of theſe Three, that *Oates* was afterwards convicted of Perjury: In which, two and twenty Witneſſes prov'd that *Oates* was actually at St. *Omers* during the grand Conſult he ſwore to; and above Forty teſtify'd, that *Ireland* was in *Staffordſhire*, when *Oates* ſwore he was at *London*. As to *Ireland* himſelf, we may here take Notice, That the King was ſo particularly ſenſible of his Innocence, that he frequently expreſs'd his great Concern for having conſented to his Execution; and this, we are aſſur'd, continu'd with him to his dying Day, as the Buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford* did with his Royal Father. But in this, and other Executions, he ſeem'd to have found out a more eaſy Way of Relieving his Conſcience, by charging all upon the *Regular Proſecutions*, and the *Legal Proceedings* againſt the Sufferers, and by occaſionally ſaying, *Their Blood be upon other Men's Heads, and not mine!*

The Priſoners executed.

IV. 1. While the two Houſes of Parliament were buſily employ'd, and warmly upon the Scent of the *Popiſh Plot*, they were of a ſudden diverted, and thrown into a new Flame by an unexpected Event that appear'd at this Time. The Cauſe of it was from a long Deſign laid to overthrow the Prime Miniſter of State, the Lord-Treaſurer *Danby*, whoſe Endeavours to bring the King out of thoſe deſtructive Methods he had been led into by the *Cabal*, and the *French* Intereſt, and his rejecting many Offers of *France* with a generous Indignation, had given ſuch a Diſtaſte to that Court, that it became a Maxim amongſt them, *That he muſt be ruin'd before they could do any good in* England. To effect this, Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, found it the beſt way to joyn with one Party in the Parliament; and young *Ruvigny* was ſent over from *France* purpoſely to manage with the Lord *Ruſſel*, and other Malecontents in the Houſe of Commons; while the Duke of *Monmouth*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, *Eſſex*, and others of the ſame Party, joyn'd with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, to leſſen his Reputation with the King; who had already been diſpleas'd with him for giving ſo much Countenance to the Plot. Theſe ſeeming ſeparate Intereſts being thus combin'd, and devoted to his Deſtruction, there wanted only a fair Opportunity to accompliſh it; and this was effected by means of the honourable *Ralph Mountagu*, formerly mention'd, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in the *French* Court, a Perſon of great Parts and Subtlety, who had been for ſome time projecting and obtaining *French* Money for his *Britannick* Majeſty. But that Part of his Employment being, or ſeeming to be, at an End by the approaching Peace, he was deſirous to come over, and be one of the Secretaries of State; in which he was civilly oppos'd by his old Friend the Lord-Treaſurer, who had particularly engag'd to bring in Sir *William Temple*. Whereupon he came privately over into *England*, without the King's Conſent or Knowledge; and not only got himſelf choſen into the Houſe of Commons, for *Northampton*, but ſecretly joyn'd himſelf with *Barillon*, and the diſcontented Members, and ſeem'd to wait for the firſt Occaſion to expoſe his Maſter's Secrets, and to defeat his Prime Miniſter; which thus preſented it ſelf.

Deſigns againſt the Lord-Treaſurer Danby.

The King, who began highly to diſlike his Proceedings, receiv'd ſuch kind of Intelligence from Mr. *Olivecrans*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, that on the 19th of *December*, he ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, ‘That upon Information, That Mr. *Mountagu*, a Member of that Houſe, and late Ambaſſador in *France*, had held ſeveral Conferences with the Pope's *Nuncio* there, without any Directions or Inſtructions from his Majeſty; His Majeſty, to the end that he might know the Truth of that Matter, had given Orders for the ſeizing Mr. *Mountagu*'s Papers.’ The Houſe now looking upon this Gentleman as a Proſelyte, ſeem'd ſullen at the Meſſage, and particularly deſired to know *Whether the Information was upon Oath, and of what Nature the Offence?* Upon which Mr. *Mountagu* ſtanding up, took the Opportunity to acquaint the Houſe, ‘That he had in his Cuſtody ſeveral Papers, which he conceiv'd might tend very much to the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Preſervation of the Kingdom.’ A Committee was immediately appointed to bring the Writings to the Houſe; which being accordingly done, and Mr. *Mountagu* order'd to ſelect ſuch of them as he thought for the Service of the Houſe, and diſpoſe of the reſt as he pleas'd, he produc'd two Letters out of many others, both ſubſcrib'd *Danby*, and both written to him when he was Ambaſſador at *Paris*.

Mr. Mountagu *accuſes him to the Commons.*

The firſt was dated at *London*, *January* 17, 167$\frac{7}{8}$, in which they took Notice of theſe Words: *Yeſterday young* Ruvigny *came to me with Monſieur* Barillon, *(having given me his Father's Letters the Day before) and diſcours'd much upon the Confidence the* French *King hath of the Firmneſs of Ours to Him; of the good Opinion his Maſter hath of Me; of his King's Reſolution to condeſcend to any Thing that is not infamous to him, for the Satisfaction of our King; How certainly our King may depend upon all Aſſiſtances and Supplies from his Maſter, in caſe the Friendſhip be preſerv'd.-----The Main of their Drift was, to engage me to prevail with the Prince of* Orange, *as to the Town of* Tournay.------*The King muſt come to ſome Declaration of his Mind to the Parliament when it meets. That which makes the Hopes of Peace leſs probable, is, That the Duke grows every Day leſs inclin'd to it, and has created a greater Indifferency in the King than I cou'd have imagin'd; which being added to the* French *King's Reſolutions, not to part with* Tournay, *does, I confeſs, make me deſpair of any Accommodation: Neverthele ſs, I am aſſured, That one principal Cauſe of this Adjournment for Thirteen Days, has been to ſee if any Expedient for the Peace cou'd have been found in that Time; and the Effect of the Adjournment hath hitherto been, That no Body will now believe other than that the Peace is already concluded between Us and* France. The Second Letter produc'd by Mr. *Mountagu*, was dated, *London, March* 25, 1678, in which were mark'd out theſe Words: *In caſe the Conditions of the Peace ſhall be accepted, the King expects to have Six Millions of* Livres *a Year, for Three Years, from the Time that this Agreement ſhall be ſign'd betwixt his Majeſty and the King of* France; *becauſe it will probably be two or three Years before the Parliament will be in Humour to give him any Supplies after the making any Peace with* France; *and the Ambaſſador here has always agreed to that Sum, but not for ſo long a Time. If you find the Peace will not be accepted, you are not to mention the Money at all; and all poſſible Care muſt be taken to have this whole Negotiation as private as is poſſible, for fear of giving Offence at Home; where, for the moſt Part, we hear in ten Days after of any Thing that is communicated to the* French *Miniſter.* At the Bottom of this Letter are theſe Words: THIS LETTER IS WRITTEN BY MY ORDER. C. R.

Two of his Letters produc'd.

Upon reading of theſe Letters, the Houſe was all in a Flame, which was no ways allay'd by the King's own Hand that appear'd at the Bottom; and now having gain'd the deſired Opportunity, they immediately Reſolv'd, ‘That there was ſufficient Matter of Impeachment againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, Lord-Treaſurer of *England*;’ and within two Days, by the Help of Mr. *Mountagu* and Mr. *Harbord*, Articles of Impeachment were fully drawn up, and agreed on, as following: ‘I. That he hath traiterouſly incroach'd to himſelf Regal Power, by treating in Matters of Peace and War with Foreign Princes and Ambaſſadors, and giving Inſtructions to his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors abroad, without communicating the ſame to the Secretaries of State, and the reſt of his Majeſty's Council, &c. II. That he hath traiterouſly endeavour'd to ſubvert the ancient and well-eſtabliſh'd Form of Government; and inſtead thereof, to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Way of Government; and the better to effect this his Purpoſe, he did deſign the Raiſing of an Army under Pretence of a War againſt the *French* King, and then to continue the ſame, as a Standing Army within this Kingdom: And an Army being ſo raiſed, and no War enſuing, an Act being paſs'd to Pay and Diſband the ſame, he did continue the Army contrary to the ſaid Act, and miſapply'd the Money to the Continuance thereof, and wilfully neglected to take Security of the Paymaſters of the Army, as the ſaid Act required, &c. III. That he traiterouſly Intending and Deſigning to alienate the Hearts and Affections of his Majeſty's good Subjects from his Royal Perſon and Government, and to hinder the Meetings of Parliaments, and to deprive his Majeſty of their ſafe and wholeſome Counſel, did propoſe and negotiate a Peace for the *French* King, upon Terms diſadvantagious to the Intereſt of his Majeſty, and his Kingdoms; for the doing whereof, he endeavour'd to procure a great Sum of Money from the *French* King, for enabling him to maintain and carry on his ſaid traiterous Deſigns and Purpoſes. IV. That he is *Popiſhly* affected, and hath traiterouſly concealed (after he had Notice) the late horrid and bloody Plot and Conſpiracy, contrived by the Papiſts, againſt his Majeſty's Perſon and Government; and

The Commons draw up Articles of Impeachment againſt him.

‘hath

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'hath ſuppreſs'd the Evidence, and reproachfully diſcountenanc'd the King's Witneſſes in the Diſcovery of it, in Favour of *Popery*, &c. V. That he hath waſted the King's Treaſure, by iſſuing out of his Majeſty's Exchequer ſeveral Branches of his Revenue for unneceſſary Penſions and ſecret Services, to the Value of 231602 Pounds, within two Years, *&c.* and he hath remov'd two of his Majeſty's Commiſſioners of that Part of the Revenue, for refuſing to conſent to ſuch his unwarrantable Actings therein, and to advance Money upon that Branch of the Revenue for private Uſes. VI. That he hath by indirect Means procur'd from his Majeſty to himſelf divers conſiderable Gifts and Grants of Inheritance, of the ancient Revenue of the Crown, even contrary to Acts of Parliament.

Two of Mr. Mountagu'*s Letters ſent to the Commons.*

2. The Lord-Treaſurer finding ſo great a Storm ready to fall upon him, and chiefly by the Means of Mr. *Mountagu*, thought once to divert it by expoſing all that Gentleman's Letters, which, eſpecially in the Caſe of the *French* Money, muſt have render'd him much more obnoxious than himſelf. All this he found neceſſary in his own Defence, without he was ſufficiently protected by the King his Maſter; who, upon conſulting with him, thereupon offer'd him his Pardon, if Occaſion requir'd, to plead againſt the Impeachment; and he was particularly told by his Majeſty, *That he ow'd him more Duty than to expoſe his and his Ambaſſador's Letters of private Negotiations betwixt him and the King of* France; *and he was ſure he wou'd not be guilty of ſuch perfidious Baſeneſs to him, as* Mountagu *had been.* However, whether by Permiſſion or otherwiſe, the Treaſurer ſent two of Mr. *Mountagu*'s Letters to the Houſe of Commons, expecting they might turn to his Advantage. The firſt was dated *Paris, January* 11, 167$\frac{7}{8}$, in which were theſe Words, *I give you the beſt Light I can into the Reaſon of Monſieur* Ruvigny'*s Son's Journey into* England, *who will be there perhaps as ſoon as this Letter. If his Father's Age wou'd have permitted it, I believe they wou'd have ſent him; for they have choſen the Son, who is to make uſe of Lights his Father will give him; and by the near Relation he has to my Lady* Vaughan, *who is his Couſin-German, and the particular Friendſhip which Father and Son have with Mr.* William Ruſſel, *he is to be introduc'd into a great Commerce with the Malecontented Members of Parliament, and inſinuate what they ſhall think fit, to croſs your Meaſures at Court, if they ſhall prove diſagreeable to them here, whilſt Monſieur* Barillon *goes on in his ſmooth Civil way.* The ſecond Letter, dated *Paris, January* 18, 167$\frac{7}{8}$, has theſe Words, after ſpeaking of young *Ruvigny*'s Journey: *His chief Errand is to let the King know,* '*That the King of* France *did hope he was ſo firm to him, as not to be led away by the Grand-Treaſurer;* [Danby] *who was an ambitious Man, and, to keep himſelf with the People, wou'd gratify their Inclinations, by leading his Maſter into an unreaſonable War againſt* France.' *That as for Money,* '*if he wanted that, he ſhou'd have what he wou'd from hence.*' *His Inſtructions are, if this does not take, by the means of* William Ruſſel, *and other diſcontented People, to give a great deal of Money, and croſs all your Meaſures at Court.---Old* Ruvigny, *that values himſelf for knowing of* England, *has given it them for a Maxim,* '*That they muſt diminiſh your Credit, before they can do any Good;*' *But ſince their chief Quarrel to you is, the being ſo juſt to your Maſter's Intereſt, I am ſure he is too juſt to let them do you any Hurt. If the King is for a War, you know what to do; if he hearkens to their Money, be pleas'd to let me know what they offer, and I dare anſwer to get our Maſter as much again; for* Barillon'*s Orders are to make the Market as low as he can.*

The Lord-Treaſurer Impeached.

His vindicating Speech to the Lords.

Theſe, when offer'd in the Earl's Vindication, were not ſuffer'd to be read; and the Commons purſu'd him with greater Eagerneſs than the five *Popiſh* Lords accus'd of the Plot. Inſomuch, that in two Days they both impeach'd him at the Bar of the Houſe of Peers, and ſent up the Articles by Sir *Henry Capel*, Brother to the Earl of *Eſſex*, under the Title of *Articles of Impeachment of High-Treaſon, and other High Crimes, Miſdemeanors*, &c. Upon the reading of theſe, the Earl ſtood up in his own Juſtification, and made a formal Speech, of which the greateſt part is worthy to be preſerv'd. After a handſom Introduction he proceeded thus: '*My Lords*, I know this is not the time for me to enter regularly upon my Defence, becauſe I know your Lordſhips will firſt order me a Copy of my Charge, and appoint me a Time for my Vindication; when I doubt not to do it to the full Satiſfaction of your Lordſhips and all the World. In the mean time I will only beg leave to obſerve to your Lordſhips, that thoſe Articles in this Charge which ſeem to have any thing of Treaſon in them, have their Anſwer ſo obvious, that there is very little in them which may not be anſwer'd by many others, as well as myſelf, and ſome of them by every Man in the Kingdom. 1. The *Firſt*, which is the *Aſſuming of Regal Power*, I confeſs I do not underſtand; having never in my Life done any thing of great Moment, either at Home, or relating to Foreign Matters, for which I have not always had his Majeſty's Command. And tho' I am far from having been the moſt cautious Man in taking care of my own Security (which perhaps my great Innocence hath been the Cauſe of) yet I have not been ſo wanting of common Prudence, as in the moſt Material things not to have had his Majeſty's Orders and Directions under his own Hand, and particularly for the Letters now made uſe of againſt me. 2. The *Second*, I think doth ſcarce need my giving any Anſwer to; it being obvious, that the Army was no more rais'd by me, than by every Lord in this Houſe: And whoever is in that Station which I hold, muſt certainly be a Fool, to deſire any thing which creates a want of Money, eſpecially ſo great a one, as the Charge of an Army muſt neceſſarily and immediately produce. And for one part of the Article concerning the Pay-Maſter of the Army, it is in Fact otherwiſe; for Security from the Pay-Maſter has been taken in Sum of Four hundred thouſand Pounds. 3. The *Third* is of the ſame Nature with the Firſt, and comes from the ſame Foundation, which is, What a Gentleman hath thought to produce to the Houſe of Commons. I will not now cenſure his Actions, I think it will do enough for its ſelf; I will only ſay, that tho' I take it for one of the greateſt Misfortunes which can befall a Man, to lie under ſuch a Charge of the Houſe of Commons, yet I wou'd much ſooner chuſe to be under that Unhappineſs, than under his Circumſtances.

4. 'The *Fourth Article* is not only falſe in every Part of it, but it is not poſſible to believe it true, without my being the greateſt Fool on Earth, as well as the blackeſt Villain. For were I capable of ſuch Wickedneſs, yet the more wicked any Man is, the more he is carry'd to his own Intereſt; and is it poſſible any thing under Heaven can agree leſs with my Intereſt, than the Deſtruction of this King? Can I poſſibly hope to be better than I am? And is it not apparent, that there is not one Man living, whoſe Happineſs depends ſo much as mine upon the Preſervation of his Perſon? *My Lords*, I know there is not one Man in the World, that can in his Heart think me guilty of that part of the Article, if I ſhou'd ſay nothing to it. But beſides, I was ſo far from concealing this Helliſh Plot, that it is notoriouſly known, his Majeſty ſent me the firſt Notice of it, together with forty three Heads of the *Information*, before I knew a Syllable of it from any body elſe: And it hath been own'd at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons by him, from whom only I had the Intelligence, *That he had all the Encouragement and Diſpatch from me, that I cou'd give him.* Beſides, when it was diſclos'd to the Council-Board, he told ſome of the Clerks of the Council, as he had done me divers Times before, *That it wou'd have been much better, and more wou'd have been diſcover'd, if it had been longer kept private.* Beſides this, I had the Fortune to be particularly Inſtrumental in ſeizing Mr. *Coleman*'s Papers, without which Care, there had not one of them appear'd, and conſequently, the beſt and moſt material *Evidence* which is yet of the Plot, had been wholly wanting. And certainly this is the firſt time that any Man was accus'd to be the *Concealer* of that Plot, whereof he hath been a principal Means of procuring the *Diſcovery*. For that Part of the Article that ſays, I am *Popiſhly affected*, I thank God, that the contrary is ſo well known to all the World, that even ſome of thoſe that voted againſt me, did own their Knowledge of the Falſity of that Allegation; and I hope I have through my whole Life given ſo good Teſtimony of my Religion, both in my own Family, and by my Services to the Church, whenever it hath lain in my Power, that I ſhall not need much Vindication in that Particular: And I hope your Lordſhips will forgive me my Weakneſs, in telling you, that I have a younger Son in the Houſe of Commons, whom I ſhall love the better as long as I live, for moving to have that Part of the Article to ſtand againſt me, *That by that Pattern it might appear, with what Sort of Zeal the Whole hath been carried to my Prejudice.*

5. 'The *Fifth Article* will, upon Examination, appear to be as ill-grounded as any of the reſt; and I am ſorry I am able to give one Reaſon, which is, That I have known no Treaſure in my Time to waſte, having enter'd upon an empty Treaſury, and never ſeen one Farthing given to his Majeſty, in almoſt ſix Years, that hath not been appropriated to particular Uſes, and ſtrictly ſo apply'd by me, as the Acts have directed. And there hath not been one of thoſe Aids, which, inſtead of giving the King Money, hath not coſt him more out of his own Purſe to the ſame Uſes, as doth appear by the

larger Dimenſions of the new Ships, and ſo in other things: Inſomuch, that I take upon me the Vanity to ſay, that by the Payments I have made to the Navy and Seamen beyond former Times; the Paying off the greateſt Part of the Debt which was ſtopt in the Exchequer before my Time; by my Punctuality in the Courſe of Payments, and by other things which I am able to ſhew, I doubt not to appear Meritorious, inſtead of being Criminal upon that Article. 6. As to the *Sixth Article*, which mentions my *Great Gettings*, I cannot deny but that I ſerve a Maſter, whoſe Goodneſs and Bounty hath been a great deal more to me than I have deſerved, and to whom I can never pay Gratitude enough by all the Services of my Life. But when the Particulars of thoſe Gettings ſhall appear, it will be found very contrary to what is ſuggeſted Abroad; and that in near ſix Years Time in this great Place, I have not got half that, which many others have got in leſſer Places in half that Time. And from the Examination of this, which I deſire may be ſeen, there will ariſe Matter to accuſe my Prudence, in not having done for my Family what juſtly I might, but nothing to arraign my Honour, my Conſcience, or my faithful Service to the Crown.

‘ *My Lords*, if my Obedience to the King ſhall not be my Crime, I think nothing elſe will ſtick upon me from theſe *Articles*: For my own Heart flatters me to believe, That I have done Nothing but as a true *Proteſtant*, and a faithful Servant both to my King and Country. Nay, I am as confident, as that now I ſpeak, that had I been either a *Papiſt*, or Friend to the *French*, I had not been now accus'd. For I have Reaſon to believe, That the principal Informer of the Houſe of Commons hath been aſſiſted by *French* Advice to this Accuſation; and if that Gentleman were as Juſt to produce all he knows for me, as he hath been Malicious to ſhew what may be liable to Miſconſtruction againſt me, or rather againſt the King, as indeed it is, no Man cou'd vindicate me more than Himſelf: Under whoſe Hand I have to ſhew, *how great an Enemy to* France *I am thought*; *how much I might have had to have been otherwiſe*; *and what he himſelf might have had for getting me to take it.* But I do not wonder this Gentleman will do me no Right, when he does not think fit to do it to his Majeſty, upon whom chiefly this Matter muſt reflect: Tho' he knows, as will appear under his Hand, *That the greateſt Invitations to his Majeſty for having Money from* France, *have been made by Himſelf*; *That if his Majeſty wou'd have been tempted for Money, he might have ſold Towns for as much as if they had been his own, and the Money have been convey'd as privately as he pleaſed*; *That his Majeſty might have made Matches with* France, *if he wou'd have conſented to have given them Towns*; and yet, that the King hath always ſcorn'd to yield the meaneſt Village, that was not agreed to by the *Spaniard* and *Hollander*. That Gentleman hath often pretended *how much his own Intereſt in* France *was diminiſh'd, only by being thought my Friend.* And beſides divers other Inſtances I have under his Hand to ſhew the Malice of the *French* Court againſt me, I ſent two of his Letters to the Houſe of Commons, which ſhew how Monſieur *Ruvigny* was ſent hither on purpoſe to ruin Me; which I am well aſſur'd at this Time they wou'd rather ſee, than of any one Man in *England*. Beſides what that Gentleman cou'd ſay of this Kind, if he pleas'd, I hope his Majeſty will give me leave, in my Defence, to ſay in his Preſence, and in the Hearing of divers Lords, with whom I have the Honour to ſit in the Committee of Foreign Affairs, that, which were it not true, his Majeſty muſt think me the impudenteſt and worſt of Men to affirm before him, That ever ſince I had the Honour to ſerve his Majeſty to this Day, I have deliver'd it as my conſtant Opinion, *That* France *was the worſt Intereſt his Majeſty cou'd embrace*; *and that they were the Nation in the World from whom I did believe, he ought to apprehend the greateſt Danger*; *and who have both his* PERSON *and* GOVERNMENT *under the laſt Degree of Contempt. For which Reaſon alone, were there no other, I wou'd never adviſe his Majeſty to truſt to their Friendſhip.*——

The Earl of Carnarvon's *Speech*

Upon the Debate of this grand Affair, we are told of a very peculiar Speech pronounc'd by the Earl of *Carnarvon*, a Lord who is ſaid never to have ſpoken before in that Houſe; who having been heated with Wine, and more excited to diſplay his Abilities by the Duke of *Buckingham* (who meant no Favour to the Treaſurer, but only Ridicule) was reſolv'd before he went up, to ſpeak upon any Subject that ſhould offer it ſelf. Accordingly he ſtood up, and deliver'd himſelf to this Effect: ‘ *My Lords*, I underſtand but little of *Latin*, but a good deal of *Engliſh*, and not a little of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory; from which I have learnt the Miſchiefs of ſuch Kind of Proſecutions as theſe, and the ill Fate of the Proſecutors. I cou'd bring many Inſtances, and thoſe very ancient; but, *my Lords*, I ſhall go no further back than the latter End of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign: At which Time the Earl of *Eſſex* was run down by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and your Lordſhips very well know what became of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*. My Lord *Bacon*, he ran down Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and your Lordſhips know what became of my Lord *Bacon*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, he ran down my Lord *Bacon*, and your Lordſhips know what happen'd to the Duke of *Buckingham*. Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of *Strafford*, ran down the Duke of *Buckingham*, and you all know what became of Him. Sir *Harry Vane*, he ran down the Earl of *Strafford*, and your Lordſhips know what became of Sir *Harry Vane*. Chancellor *Hyde*, he ran down Sir *Harry Vane*, and your Lordſhips know what became of the Chancellor. Sir *Thomas Osborn*, now Earl of *Danby*, ran down Chancellor *Hyde*; but what will become of the Earl of *Danby*, your Lordſhips beſt can tell. But let me ſee that Man that dare run the Earl of *Danby* down, and we ſhall ſoon ſee what will become of Him.' This being pronounc'd with a remarkable Humour and Tone, the Duke of *Buckingham*, both ſurpris'd and diſappointed, after his Way, cry'd out *The Man is Inſpir'd! and Claret has done the Buſineſs.*

The King's Speech.

However it was, the Houſe cou'd not come to an Agreement to impriſon the Earl, whoſe Cauſe was now the Diſcourſe and Noiſe of the whole Town, and ſeem'd to labour under great Difficulties. The King himſelf was ſo diſturb'd and perplex'd with theſe Proceedings, which confounded the Minds of all Men, that he reſolv'd, as uſually in ſuch Caſes, to put an End to the Seſſion, before he had paſs'd one Bill, beſides that killing Act againſt the *Roman* Catholicks before-mention'd. Accordingly, on *Monday* the 30th of *December*, he came to the Houſe of Lords, and declared in a Speech, *That it was with great Unwillingneſs that he came to tell them, that he intended to Prorogue them*; *that all of them were Witneſſes, he had not been well us'd, the Particulars of which he wou'd acquaint them with at a more ſeaſonable Time: In the mean Time he wou'd immediately enter upon the* Disbanding the Army, *and do what Good he cou'd for the Kingdom, and Safety of Religion*; *and that he wou'd proſecute the Diſcovery of the* Popiſh Plot, *to find out the Inſtruments of it, and to take all the Care that was in his Power to ſecure the* Proteſtant Religion, *as was now by Law Eſtabliſh'd.* Accordingly his Majeſty was pleas'd to Prorogue the Parliament till the 4th Day of *February* next. And thus ended the Eighteenth and Laſt Seſſion of the Second and Long Parliament, after it had continu'd the Space of two Months and nine Days. This was the moſt warm and buſy Seſſion of any that preceded it, both Houſes were work'd into a Flame, and no Money was given to the King: The Commons indeed had prepar'd a Money-Bill *For the Disbanding of the Army*, but had inſerted a Clauſe for the Money to be paid into the Chamber of *London*; for which Reaſon the Lords totally rejected it; ſo that the Soldiers came over in Depth of Winter, and many of thoſe brave Men, who had gain'd ſo much Glory at *Mons*, and other Places, againſt the *French*, miſerably periſh'd thro' Sickneſs, Want and Cold.

The End of the Eighteenth Seſſion of the Second Parliament.

Honours and Preferments.

3. For a Concluſion of the old Year, we are to take Notice of ſome Promotions, and Deaths, and ſome Matters of an inferior Nature. As to Honours and Preferments conferr'd this Year, on *July* 17, the Right Honourable *George* Lord *Berkely*, of *Berkely-Caſtle*, was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council: On *October* 18, the Earl of *Ailesbury* was admitted to the ſame Board; as was *James* Earl of *Saliſbury*, and *Henry* Earl of *Clarendon*, about two Months after. The Right Honourable *James* Earl of *Arran*, Son to his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton*, was about the ſame Time ſworn one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber in Ordinary; ‘ Which Mark of his ſpecial Favour his Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd to confer upon him, in Conſidetion of the great and loyal Services of that Ancient and Noble Family.' Mr. Secretary *Williamſon* having fallen into the high Diſpleaſure of the Houſe of Commons, not only for the Reaſon of his Commitment, but, as they thought, of his irregular Diſcharge, thought fit to reſign his Place, and immediately after the Prorogation, his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute the Right Honourable *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland*, one of his principal Secretaries of State in the Room of Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, who reſigning the Seals into his Majeſty's Hands, retir'd, and marry'd the Lord *O Brian*'s Widow, a rich Lady, in the Country. Sir *William Temple* was call'd over from *Holland* by the King, in order to take upon him this Office; who acquainted the Prince of *Orange*, and the *States*, with his Journey, and the Deſign of it. They made him Compliments upon that Occaſion, and intimated to him, That his Secretary's Place was to make Amends for his being Ambaſſa-

The Earl of Sunderland *made Secretary.*

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Ambaſſador ; but Sir *William* ſaid to the Prince, *That tho' He muſt go, yet if he found the Scene to be what it appear'd at that Diſtance, he wou'd not charge himſelf with that Employment, upon any Terms that cou'd be offer'd.* Whether Sir *William* did refuſe it, or whether it was never earneſtly offer'd to him, it is certain it was diſpos'd of before Sir *William*'s Return into *England:* And it was not long a Secret, that the Earl of *Sunderland* paid to Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* ſix Thouſand Pounds, and five Hundred Guineas, in Conſideration of his Surrender of the ſaid Place. The Earl of *Danby*, lying under the Weight of an Impeachment, tho' not Impriſonment, his Majeſty thought fit to diſmiſs him from the Office of Lord-High-Treaſurer of *England*; and the Lord *Latimer*, his Son, having deliver'd the White-Staff into his Majeſty's Hands, the King was pleas'd to appoint the Right Honourable the Earl of *Eſſex*, *Lawrence Hyde*, Brother to the Earl of *Clarendon*, Sir *John Ernle*, Sir *Edward Deering*, and *Sidney Godolphin* Eſquire, to be Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury.

The Earl of Danby *out, and the Treaſury in Commiſſion.*

In this Year we are to take Notice of ſome remarkable Crimes committed both by a Lay-Lord, and a Clergyman. In the Beginning of it, the Earl of *Pembroke* was by the King's Command committed to the *Tower*, for Blaſphemy, Abuſe of the Celebration of the Sacrament, and other Miſdemeanors unfit to be nam'd, towards the Lord *North*'s Chaplain, and others: But not long after he was releas'd from his Impriſonment, upon the Hearing of his Caſe in the Houſe of Lords, who upon the ſame Declared and Adjudg'd, 'That the ſingle Teſtimony of a Commoner, altho' upon *Oath*, was not a ſufficient Evidence againſt a Peer, who deny'd the Fact upon *Honour*.' His Lordſhip not long after fell under the Accuſation of Murther, for which he abſconded for ſome Time; but in *April* he ſurrender'd himſelf to Sir *George Carteret*, Gentleman-Uſher of the Black-Rod, who immediately convey'd him to the *Tower*, in Order to bring him to his Tryal before the Houſe of Peers; and ſoon after he was brought thither by Sir *John Robinſon*, Lieutenant of the *Tower* ; and after Eight Hours ſpent in the Formality of the Tryal, his Lordſhip was by the Votes of the major Part of the Peers then preſent declar'd, *Not Guilty of Murther*, but *Guilty of Man-Slaughter* ; and had the Benefit of his Peerage allow'd him for the ſame by the Lord-Chancellor, who was High-Steward *pro hac Vice*, purſuant to the Privilege granted to the Nobility in this Behalf, for their firſt Offence, made in the firſt Year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth. The Clergyman was Mr. *Robert Foulkes*, Miniſter of *Sumton-Lacy*, in the County of *Salop*; who having been convicted and ſentenc'd at the Seſſions in the *Old-Bayly*, *London*, for the Murther of a Baſtard-Child, begotten by himſelf, was ſoon after executed at *Tyburn* ; leaving behind a very ſolemn Declaration of Repentance, which was publiſh'd in Print ; and by the Strains of Devotion in it, did, in a great Meaſure, wipe away the Scandal he had given to his Holy Function.

The Earl of Pembroke *obnoxious.*

Mr. Foulkes *ſuffers Death*

It likewiſe ſeems proper to be remember'd, as an extraordinary Event, that ſoon after the Prorogation of the Parliament, on *Sunday*, *January* the 12th, for above a Quarter of an Hour, between Ten and Eleven in the Morning, was ſo great and ſudden a Darkneſs, in and about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, that the People within the Churches cou'd not ſee to read in their Bibles, and were not able in the Streets to diſtinguiſh one Perſon from another. It was for a Time a deeper Blackneſs than that of an Eclipſe, which did not now happen; and was thought to equal, if not exceed, the great Solar Eclipſe, which in the late Times left the Name of *Black-Monday*.

A ſtrange Darkneſs.

As to the Deaths of conſiderable Men, in this Year, we ſhall begin within three Divines, very different in their Characters, Qualifications and Stations: The Firſt, a Reverend Prelate, Dr. *Joſeph Henſhaw*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*, a Perſon educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and much in Renown for his admirable Way of Preaching in *London* and other Places, before the great Confuſions in the Nation ; during which he was a great Sufferer in the general Calamity : After which, he was rewarded with the Deanery of *Chicheſter*, and at laſt with the forementios'd Biſhoprick, where he ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd himſelf both by his great Learning and good Preaching, but did not ſo well approve himſelf as to Hoſpitality and Humility. The Second was Mr. *Francis Potter*, a Batchelor of Divinity, and Rector of *Kilmington* in *Somerſetſhire*, where for about Fifty-eight Years he led a retired, ſingle and Monaſtick Life, without the Converſation of ingenious Men. Yet he was choſen a Member of the *Royal-Society*, and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by many ingenious Inventions, both Mechanical and Medical, as in Water Engines, and the Transfuſion of the Blood ; beſides his extraordinary Diſcourſes upon the *Revelations*, which were admired by ſome of the greateſt Men in the Nation ; and laſt of all, he dy'd very aged and blind; and without a Soleciſm or Reflection, he may be term'd the *Apocalyptick Vertuoſo*. The laſt was Mr. *Abraham Woodhead*, a celebrated Divine of the *Romiſh* Perſuaſion, who had taken Orders according to the Church of *England*, and had been ſeveral Years Fellow of *Univerſity* College in *Oxford*, where he was Tutor to the fam'd *Obadiah Walker*. But being driven from the Univerſity, in his Travels beyond Sea he chang'd his Religion, and returning to his College after the Reſtoration, and deſiring to conceal his Religion, he retired to a little Cell in *Hogſden* near *London*, in which great Obſcurity he liv'd 18 Years, and wrote many notable Tracts, ſeveral of which were publiſh'd after his Death, by his Pupil *Walker*, and had a great Influence in the following Reign ; he being accounted the moſt modeſt, and likewiſe the moſt ingenious and ſolid Writer of the whole *Romiſh* Party.

The Deaths of Biſhop Henſhaw,

Mr. Potter,

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Mr. Woodhead,

The Three next were as various in their Genius and Characters as the other ; the Firſt of whom was Dr. *John Godolphin*, a Doctor of the Civil Law, and a celebrated Man in his Profeſſion, who in the Time of the *Engliſh* Republick was made one of the Judges of the Admiralty, and after the Reſtoration, one of the King's Advocates ; being eſteem'd a very learned Man, and as well read in Divinity as in his own Faculty ; yet diſtinguiſh'd by his noted *Abridgment of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm.* The next was Mr. *Thomas Stanley*, a learned and ingenious Gentleman, of *Cumberlow* in *Hertfordſhire*, who made himſelf ſufficiently known to the learned World by his Skill in Philoſophy, Hiſtory and Poetry, in which he ſhew'd great Reading, exquiſite Fancy, and admirable Judgment : He was noted, not only for his *Hiſtory of Philoſophy*, and his own Productions, but likewiſe for his various Tranſlations of the ancient *Greek* and *Latin*, as alſo of the modern *Italian*, *French* and *Spaniſh* Poets ; in which he ſhew'd himſelf Maſter of Languages, as well as other ſorts of Knowledge. The laſt was a learned Foreigner, call'd *Henry Oldenburg*, ſometimes call'd *Grubendole* ; a Perſon who had been Conſul for his own Country-men in the Dutchy of *Breme* in the *Lower-Saxony*, and came to reſide in *London*, in the Time of the Long Parliament and *Cromwell*'s Power : At length quitting his Employment, upon the Founding the *Royal-Society*, he became Fellow and Secretary to that noble Eſtabliſhment ; in which Poſt, he publiſh'd the famous *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, from the Year 1664, to 1677 ; by which Work he render'd himſelf a wonderful Benefactor to Mankind, by his affectionate Care, and indefatigable Diligence and Endeavours, in maintaining the moſt extenſive Intelligence, and promoting the Deſigns and Intereſt of the moſt profitable and general Philoſophy, Mathematicks, *&c.*

Dr. Godolphin,

Mr. Stanley

Mr. Oldenburg,

After all theſe, we ſhall mention two fam'd Writers that made much Noiſe in the World, *Andrew Marvel*, and *Marchamont Nedham*, both peſtilent Wits, and noted Incendiaries. But Mr. *Marvel*, having an Appearance of more Honeſty and Steadineſs, is firſt mention'd. He was Son to *Andrew Marvel*, the facetious *Calviniſtical* Miniſter of *Hull*, who gave him an Academical Education in *Cambridge* ; where gaining the Maſterſhip of the *Latin* Tongue, he became Aſſiſtant to *John Milton*, when he was *Latin* Secretary to *Cromwell*, and very intimate and converſant with him. After the Reſtoration, he was choſen into this preſent Long Parliament by the Burghers of *Hull*, who gave him an honourable Penſion for his Maintenance ; in which Poſt he continu'd to his Death. He was of a reſerv'd Converſation, and a thoughtful keen Wit, which he employ'd with great Severity, not only againſt particular Perſons, but againſt the Church and Crown ; and he made himſelf very remarkable by his *Rehearſal tranſpros'd*, and his *Growth of Popery*, the latter of which brought him into Danger from the State ; but Death put an End to all a little before the Diſcovery of the preſent Plot. As to *Nedham*, it is hard to give a full Account of him, who was one of the moſt various Writers, and moſt mutable Men in the Age ; a Perſon, who with a fluent Pen, and a pregnant Fancy, wrote through thick and thin, with the utmoſt Boldneſs and Sharpneſs imaginable. He wrote both for and againſt the late King and his Friends, for and againſt Monarchy, *&c.* according as he was hired and incourag'd ; ſo that, without ſaying any more, he is juſtly accounted an accompliſh'd mercenary Writer, and a ſignal Inſtance of the Miſchiefs that may ariſe from the Uſe of Pen, Ink, and Paper.

Mr. Marvel,

And M. Nedham.

V. I. After the ſudden Prorogation of the Parliament, the Month of *January* was buſily employ'd in Court Conſultations, and Proclamations, and very much diſturb'd by new Diſcoverers of the grand Plot, and the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, ſuch as *Prance*, *Dugdale*, *Everard*, &c. who out of Dread of Puniſhment, or Hopes of Reward, appear'd upon this Occaſion. The firſt prov'd a material and ſeaſonable Evidence at this Time ; eſpecially when

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Enquiries into the Death of Sir E. Godfrey.

when it was found ſo exceeding uſeful to tack the Murder to the Plot, and to make one a Part, or rather a Support, of the other. But to ſhew how he was brought in and induc'd to make ſuch important Diſcoveries, it is neceſſary to look a little back, and take Notice of ſome previous Matters, reſerv'd, for Method and Regularity, to this Place. In order to which, it is to be remember'd, that upon the miſſing of Juſtice *Godfrey*, the Town was fill'd with various Rumours and Surmiſes of Fancy and Conjecture, about him. Sometimes it was ſaid, he was murther'd in *Arundel-Houſe*; othertimes, in the Lord *Bellaſis*'s Cellar; and then again, That the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Coach was ſeen to come from *Primroſe-Hill* the *Saturday* that he went away: But at laſt, they pitch'd upon *Somerſet-Houſe*, and adher'd to that Place, as a *Popiſh* Palace, tho' two Miles from that where the Body was found. And of this, *Bedloe*, as before mention'd, was the firſt publick Diſcoverer. The Noiſe of this Murder, ſoon after that of the Plot, had ſuch a terrible Effect, that the chief Promoters of the Diſcovery, took the greateſt Advantages from it; more eſpecially that Head of them the penetrating Earl of *Shaftsbury*, whoſe indefatigable and indirect Endeavours in this Matter, we are to take Notice of here in ſome Inſtances, afterwards given in upon Oath.

The Earl of Shaftsbury's *Management,*

In the Caſe of Brumwell *and* Walters,

The Firſt was the Treatment of the two Perſons, who firſt diſcover'd Sir *Edmund-bury*'s Cane and Gloves, which occaſion'd the finding of the Body immediately after, *viz. William Brumwell* and *John Walters*, two ordinary Perſons, the latter a Blackſmith, who came that Way by accident. Within leſs than a Fortnight after, they were both taken up, and brought before the Lords Committees at *Wallingford* Houſe, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* being in the Chair, where they were examin'd; and *Brumwell* was ſeverely threatned by the ſaid Earl, and committed to *Newgate*. *Walters* was more ſtrictly examin'd and threatned, and *Titus Oates* was there ready *to ſee if he knew him*; after which he was ſent to the *Gate-Houſe*, where he was Fetter'd and Hand-Cuffed, and kept in a Dungeon for three Days and Nights together. About ten Days after, when *Bedloe* was opening his Diſcoveries, *Brumwell* was ſent for again, when the Lord *Shaftsbury* declared, *This Man was ſet on by ſome Great Roman Catholick to find out the Body of Sir* Edmund-bury Godfrey; *and if any Man ever was hang'd, he ſhou'd be hang'd if he did not diſcover it.* After which Menaces, Major *Wildman* took him into a private Place, and there ask'd him, *Why he wou'd not diſcover who ſet him on, for he ſhould have Five hundred Pounds Reward, his Life ſecured*, &c. but he told him plainly, *That he had ſpoke what he knew already, and that he could ſay no more, nor would he accuſe any Man falſly.* Whereupon he was re-manded to *Newgate*, and kept nine Weeks Priſoner, without ſuffering any to ſee him but his Wife, who came twice by the Permiſſion of the Duke of *Buckingham*. About the ſame Time, *Walters* was alſo ſent for to the ſame Place, where the Lord *Shaftsbury* took him into a By-Cloſet, and with a pleaſing Countenance, ſaid, *Honeſt* Smug *the Smith, thou look'ſt like an honeſt Fellow, thou ſhalt Shoe my Horſes, and I'll make a Man of thee: Pr'ythee tell me who murther'd this Man, and who ſet thee to find him out? What* Papiſt *doſt thou Work for?* And thus going on, he anſwer'd, *My Lord, if I knew your Self had murther'd him, I would diſcover it, tho' I dy'd for it*; and then he told him, as well as he could remember, for what Cuſtomers he wrought: whereupon he was re-deliver'd to the Keeper; but upon further Conſideration, he was call'd back and diſcharg'd.

Of Mrs. Gibbon,

The next Inſtance was of Mrs. *Mary Gibbon*, the Wife of Captain *Thomas Gibbon*, a Gentleman related to Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, and one of his chiefeſt Confidents. When the Buſineſs of the Murder was at the higheſt before the Lords Committees, this Mrs. *Gibbon* deliver'd a particular Paper to a Perſon of Quality, Sir *John Banks*, who deliver'd the ſame to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. The Deſign of it was to ſhew the melancholy Apprehenſions of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, eight or nine Days before his Death, in which were theſe Words: 'Sir *Edmund* came 'to her Houſe, and having gone into a Chamber with 'her, and bolted the Door, he appeared to be much trou'bled and out of Order. He ask'd her, *If ſhe had not 'heard that he was to be Hang'd? For*, added he, *all the 'Town is in an Uproar about me.* She ask'd him *for what?* 'To which he reply'd, *That having taken* Oates *and* 'Tongue'*s Examinations, a Month ago, and tho' he had 'been often at Dinner ſince at my Lord* Chancellor's, *and 'Sir* William Jones *the Attorney-General, yet he never 'had diſcover'd the* Plot *they had ſworn to.* She ask'd him '*What Plot?* And he ſaid *That* Oates *had forſworn Him'ſelf, and it wou'd come to Nothing.*' Upon this Paper Mrs. *Gibbon* was ſent for to attend the Committee, where the Lord *Shaftsbury* call'd to her ſaying, *You Damn'd Woman, what Deviliſh Paper is this you have given us in?* Then putting her upon her Oath to declare who wrote it, he call'd her *Bitch*, and other vile Names, and threatned her, *That if She wou'd not confeſs, that Sir* John Banks, *Mr.* Pepys, *and Monſieur* de Puy *ſet her on to write this Paper, ſhe ſhou'd be torn to Pieces by the Multitude*; threatning her alſo *to have her worry'd as the Dogs worry Cats*; inſomuch that out of Fear ſhe fell into Fits, and thought ſhe ſhou'd never have got home. All which ſhe after deliver'd in upon Oath to one of the Secretaries of State; with an Addition of theſe Words, *I* Mary Gibbon *am indiſpos'd in Health; but whether I live or dye, in the Preſence of God, and his Holy Angels, I do make Oath, that this is every Syllable True.*

And of Francis Corral

But the moſt remarkable Inſtance was that of *Francis Corral*, a common Hackney Coachman, who was taken up about a Fortnight after Sir *Edmund*'s Body was found, upon an officious Information of ſome Words he had drop'd concerning the Carrying of it to *Primroſe-Hill*. Whereupon, the next Day, he was carry'd to *Wallingford-Houſe*; and being ſworn and examin'd, the Lord *Shaftsbury*, with others, ask'd him *If he carry'd Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey *to* Primroſe-Hill *in his Coach, or knew who carry'd him?* To which he anſwer'd, *That he did not, and that he knew not who did.* The Lord *Shaftsbury* ſaid, *That if he wou'd ſwear the Truth, he ſhou'd have Five Hundred Pounds*; and laid down ſome Money on the Table, promiſing, *That he ſhould have a Room near the Court, if he was afraid of any Body that ſet him to work, and ſhou'd command a File of Muſqueteers to guard him, for fear that thoſe that employ'd him ſhou'd do him a Miſchief.* He ask'd, *Who ſhou'd thoſe be, my Lord? No Body ſet me at Work; nor do I know for what I am brought hither.* The Earl reply'd, *We are Peers of the Land; and if thou wilt not confeſs, there ſhall be a Barrel of Nails provided to put thee in, and roul thee down a Hill.* The Coachman anſwer'd, *What wou'd you have me ſay, my Lord? I know nothing of the Matter: Wou'd you have me to accuſe other People, to bring them into my Condition?* Upon which his Lordſhip expreſly ſaid, *Then thou ſhalt dye.------ The* Papiſts *have hired him, and he will not confeſs:* And thereupon a *Mittimus* was drawn, and the poor Man committed to *Newgate*, and laid in vaſt heavy Irons, and thruſt into the Dungeon; where, after he had continu'd about three or four Hours, he was taken out again; but ſo faint with the Cloſeneſs and Naſtineſs of the Place, that he ſwooned away, ſo that they gave him Brandy to keep him alive. About three in the Afternoon, the ſame Day, he was carry'd to a Houſe in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, where the Lord *Shaftsbury* ſaid to him, *Now, You Rogue; here's one that will juſtify he ſaw you:* And, ſpeaking to a Perſon that ſtood by, ſaid, *Did not you ſee him whip his Horſes, and go down by* Tottenham-Court? The Man replying, *Yes, my Lord*; his Lordſhip cry'd, *Sirrah, What's the Reaſon you will not confeſs, but put us to all this Trouble?* The other haſtily reply'd, *What wou'd you have me confeſs? I know no more than your Lordſhip does, and it may be, not ſo much.* Then ſaid the Lord *Shaftsbury*, *If thou wilt not confeſs,* Richardſon, *take him away, and let him be ſtarv'd to Death*; with which the poor Man wept. *Ah Rogue!* ſaid the Earl, *There's never a Tear comes down.* Upon which he, with Imprecations, told his Lordſhip, *That he knew no more than the Child that is unborn. That's a* Popiſh *Word*, reply'd my Lord, *he has conſulted with the* Papiſts, *and will not confeſs*; *ſo,* Richardſon, *take him away, and let him be ſtarv'd to Death.* Accordingly he was carry'd to *Newgate*, and kept in great Irons in the *Condemn'd Hole*, from *Thurſday* Evening till *Sunday* Noon, without any Thing to eat or drink; which put the poor Creature into ſuch Deſpair, that he ſaid, *If his Knife had not dropt out of his Hand, he had kill'd Himſelf.*

On *Monday* Morning, the ſame Man was carry'd to the Houſe of Lords, and ſo to the ſecret Committee, where he ſaw the ſame Lords as before; and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* with a pleaſing Countenance ſaid, *Come, Thou look'ſt like an honeſt Fellow, tell us the Truth, and thou ſhalt have the ſame Reward that was promis'd thee at* Wallingford-Houſe; *and then thou ſhalt go preſently home to thy Wife and Children, and we will ſecure thee from any Harm: What doſt thou ſay to us all? Now ſpeak.* Whereupon the poor Man fell down upon his Knees, and ſaid, *I know nothing of it, and before I wrong any Man, I will dye immediately.* The Lord *Shaftsbury* changing his Tone, ſaid, *Thou art a ſuch preremptory Rogue, thou ſhalt go back to* Newgate, *and rot there a while. And thou ſhalt be brought to be try'd at the Seſſions, and then there will come enow againſt thee, and thou ſhalt be hang'd. Hadſt thou not better confeſs the Truth, and have that Money, than be brought before the Judges, and be condemn'd to be hang'd? It will be a dreadful Hearing for thee. Yes, my Lord,* cry'd the other, *I know it will be a dreadful Hearing: But, my Lord, it will be a more dreadful Hearing for me, at the Lord's Bar, if I ſhould wrongfully accuſe any Man; it will be a more dreadful Hearing, when it ſhall be ſaid,*

‘ *Take him away, Devil, for he hath falſly accus'd thoſe he* ‘ *knew no Hurt by?*’ Whereupon the Lord *Shaftsbury* ſaid, *I ſee we can do no good with him; take him away, and let him lye there and rot.* The poor Man pleaded that he had a Wife and Children; the Lord *Shaftsbury* anſwer'd, *Let his Wife and Children ſtarve.* In fine, the Coachman lay in the *Condemn'd Hole* with heavy Irons, ſix Weeks and three Days; and afterwards ſeven Weeks on the *Common Side* upon Boards, without Irons. At length, when another ſwore that Sir *Edmund*'s Body was carry'd a Horſeback, upon good Security the Man was diſcharg'd; but his Legs were ſo gall'd and eaten up with the Irons, that he was not able to drive a Coach till eight Weeks after he had his Liberty. Such were the Arbitrary Proceedings of the great Pretenders againſt Arbitrary Power.

Miles Prance *a new Diſcoverer of Sir* E. Godfrey's *Death* &c.

2. At laſt they accidentally found, or met with a Man who very much, if not fully, anſwer'd their Ends and Purpoſes, the foremention'd *Miles Prance*, a Goldſmith in *Princeſs-Street*, and a Papiſt well known in *Somerſet-Houſe*, where he had ſometimes work'd for the Queen in her Chapel. This Man, who had ſhewn himſelf a Friend to the Plotters, had the ill Fortune to have a Lodger in his Houſe, one *John Wren*, that was fourteen Months Rent in Arrear; and preſſing him for the Money, he was obſerv'd to uſe threatning Words againſt his Landlord. And ſhortly after, the loſs of a Tankard, which was never found again, caus'd a new Quarrel between them. Upon the 20th of *December*, *Prance* had his Rent paid him; but was taken up the next Morning by a Warrant from the Council, at the Inſtance and Complaint of this *Wren* and others, upon a Suſpicion of being privy to the Murther of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*; and it was ſuggeſted in the Information, ‘ That *Prance* lay out of his Houſe, ſome Nights while ‘ Sir *Edmund* was miſſing.’ His Dealings with *Grove*, his Brother being a Prieſt; *Pickering* and *Ireland* having been at his Houſe; his hiring a Horſe to go out of the Town, *&c.* made the Matter appear ſo probable, that *Wren* and two others put in for the Five Hundred Pounds promis'd in the King's Proclamation. *Prance* was carry'd away in Cuſtody into a little Room with a Lobby by the Houſe of Commons; into which ſeveral went out of Curioſity, and among the reſt the Diſcoverer *Bedloe*; who ſtaring about him, enquired privately, *Which was the Priſoner?* and finding the Man, he immediately retir'd. After ſome Hours waiting, they carry'd *Prance* to an Eating-Houſe call'd *Heaven*; and into a Room where *Bedloe* was purpoſely planted by Sir *William Waller* and others: When of a ſudden he ſtarted up, and with a curſed Oath cry'd out, *This is one of the Rogues that I ſaw with a Dark Lanthorn about the Body of Sir* Edmund-bury Godfrey; *but he was then in a Perriwig.*

He is charg'd by Bedloe,

Prance was carry'd from thence to the Committee of Lords; and while he was waiting to be call'd, *Wren* came to him and ſaid, *Now is your Time to Confeſs, or you are Ruin'd*; ſpeaking of *Godfrey*'s Murther. Coming before the Lords, *Bedloe* directly charg'd him with the Murther; and *Wren*, with being out of the Houſe while the Body was miſſing; but being examin'd upon Oath, he poſitively deny'd all, and wiſh'd Damnation to himſelf, *if he knew any thing of the Murther, or if he ever ſaw* Bedloe; and objected againſt *Wren* as an incompetent Witneſs. He acknowledg'd indeed, ‘ That he had been a *Papiſt*, but was ‘ now a *Proteſtant*, and had taken the Oaths; That he had ‘ wrought in his Trade for *Grove*, *Pickering*, *Fenwick* and ‘ *Ireland*; That the *Sunday* after thoſe Perſons were taken ‘ up, he ſaid in a *Coffee-Houſe*, *They were very honeſt Men*, ‘ which ſome People took Offence at: That he kept out ‘ of the Way for fear of being queſtion'd, but never lay ‘ out of his Houſe but three Nights in two Years: That ‘ he did not go to the Queen's Chappel once a Month. ‘ He deny'd the Hiring of a Horſe at firſt; but confeſs'd ‘ it afterwards, and that it was not to avoid the Oaths; but ‘ an Arreſt ſtaid him in Town: That he lay at a Neighbour's Houſe on *Monday* when Sir *Edmund* was miſſing: ‘ That he never wore a Wig in his Life; That he neither ‘ knew *Bedloe*, *Walſh*, *Prichard*, nor *Le Phaire*, with ſome inferior Matters. In Sum, he with Execrations deny'd both the *Plot* and the *Murther*. After his Examination, which gave no Satisfaction, he was ſent to *Newgate*, and there was committed to the *Condemn'd Hole*, loaden with Heavy Irons; and for that Night was left to conſider what further Anſwers to make, and whether he wou'd venture his Soul or his Body.

Examin'd by the Lords,

And manag'd by Shaftsbury.

The next Morning early, being *Sunday*, there came a Perſon to him wholly unknown, who laid down a Paper upon a Form juſt by him, and ſo retired; and ſoon after another came with a Candle, who ſet it down and left him. By that Light he read the Paper, wherein he found the Subſtance of theſe following Minutes: ‘ So many *Popiſh* ‘ Lords mention'd by Name; —— Fifty Thouſand Men to be ‘ rais'd; —— Commiſſions given out, —— Officers appointed; —— *Ireland* acquainted with the Deſign; —— *Bedloe*'s ‘ Evidence as to the Murder, was ſumm'd up, and abſtracted in it. —— And there were Suggeſtions in it, That he ‘ muſt undoubtedly be privy to the Plot, with Words ‘ to this Effect, *You had better confeſs than be hang'd.*’ *Prance* preſently imagined this to be a Contrivance of the Lord *Shaftsbury*, and deſign'd for Hints to what he was to ſwear: All which were the very Points of *Bedloe*'s Depoſitions; and as *Bedloe* was to ſecond *Oates* in the One, ſo *Prance* was to ſecond *Bedloe* in the other. *Prance* ponder'd for ſome Hours upon the Heads of his Paper, and the Circumſtances of his Condition; and what with the Noiſomneſs of the Place, the Cold of the Seaſon, the Weight of his Chains, the Senſe of his Miſery, and the Dread of Death, he took the moſt immediate Care of the Safety of his Body, and begg'd of the Maſter of the Priſon to carry him to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s, under Pretence of Matters of great Moment to communicate to his Lordſhip. The Maſter, Captain *Richardſon*, gave the Earl an Account of it, and thereupon receiv'd a particular Order to bring him to *Shaftsbury-Houſe*, to be further examin'd. He was carry'd thither between five and ſix the ſame Evening, and there continu'd till about Eleven that Night. As ſoon as he appear'd, he was call'd into a low Parlour where was the Earl and three more, and there ſtrictly examin'd upon the Points of the Paper, and threatned with certain Death if he did not confeſs. And further, if we may believe *Prance* himſelf, the Lord *Shaftsbury* told him, *That there were* Great Ones *concern'd, and he muſt diſcover them too; for the* Little Ones *ſhou'd not ſerve his Turn*; calling him *Rogue* and *Raſcal* ſeveral Times for croſſing *Bedloe*'s Evidence, and ſaying *There muſt be* Great Perſons *in it*; reflecting upon the Queen and the Duke of *York*; bidding him *not ſpare the King Himſelf:* Saying likewiſe, *That the Body was laid under the Altar*, &c. However it was, *Prance* yielded to the Menaces, and ſo fram'd a *Diſcovery* in Part, with a Promiſe to ſpeak out more at large, if he might have his Pardon. Whereupon, there was a Paper drawn up, which being ſign'd by the Priſoner, he was return'd to the Place from whence he came.

Prance having proceeded ſo far, and Information given to the Houſe of Lords, how willing he was to make Diſcoveries, if he might be aſſur'd of the King's Pardon, their Lordſhips made Application to his Majeſty for a full and general Pardon; and on the ſame Day, *December* 23d, Ordered, ‘ That certain Lords ſhou'd acquaint *Miles* ‘ *Prance* in *Newgate*, that Afternoon, with his Majeſty's ‘ gracious Aſſurance, and that they ſhou'd then and there ‘ examine him thoroughly, in order to a true and perfect ‘ Diſcovery; and that Care ſhou'd be taken, *That no other* ‘ *Perſon, Lord or Commoner, ſhou'd be preſent at the ſaid* ‘ *Examination, but the ſaid Lords and the Priſoner.*’ On the ſame Day, the Houſe of Commons order'd, ‘ That ‘ the *Committee of Secrecy* do repair to the Priſon, and take ‘ the Examination of Mr. *Prance* touching the Plot, and ‘ the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*: And that they ‘ do impart to the Priſoners in *Newgate*, the Contents of ‘ his Majeſty's Proclamation in relation to the Diſcovery ‘ of the Plot, *&c.*’ After he had been ply'd by theſe two Committees with all Strictneſs and Severity, their Encouragement, and the Aſſurance of Pardon, had ſo ripen'd him, that the next Day he was fit to be examin'd before the King and Council; before whom he was very particular about the Murther of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, and directly accus'd five Perſons as actually preſent at the Murther, as Father *Girald*, and Father *Kelly*, two *Iriſh* Prieſts; *Robert Green*, Cuſhion-Man to the Queen's Chappel; *Laurence Hill*, Servant to Dr. *Godden*, Treaſurer of the Chappel; and *Henry Berry*, Porter of *Somerſet-Houſe*; beſides others more remotely concern'd, as Father *Lewſon*, *Vernatti*, &c. Being ask'd *Why he gave ſo different a Relation to the Committee of Lords, from what he now ſo freely confeſs'd:* He anſwer'd, *He was in much Confuſion before the Committee, being not ſure of his Pardon; but now being ſure, and upon his Oath, did ſpeak the whole Truth, according to his Knowledge.* And being then further ask'd, *Why he came not in upon the Proclamation; and Reward thereof*; He ſaid, *He was afraid to truſt to it.* After ſeveral Queſtions, he was ſtill ſo particular as to the Circumſtances, of Time, Place and Manner, that the King appointed the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Oſſory*, with Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, to take *Prance*'s Information at *Somerſet-Houſe*, from Place to Place were the things were acted; which they perform'd with great Diligence: In which Examination *Prance* was very punctual in naming and ſhowing ſome of the Rooms; but ſo uncertain and dubious in ſome Particulars, eſpecially about the chief Room, that when the Duke of *Monmouth* privately ask'd the Earl of *Oſſory what he thought on't*, he anſwer'd, *It was all a great Cheat.*

His Diſcovery to King and Council.

The Council ſat again in the Afternoon, and *Prance* was confronted with *Green*, *Berry* and *Hill*, who deny'd every

Syllable

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Syllable of the Charge, and *Prance* ſtood as ſtoutly to every Point of the Accuſation. After which he was ſent back to *Newgate*, for four or five Days, with his Irons ſometimes off, and ſometimes on, according as he was in a diſcovering Temper; during which time, he was often viſited by Members of both Houſes, who ſometimes ſeverely threaten'd him, when his Evidence did not agree with *Bedloe*'s; and particularly becauſe he wou'd not own the Perriwig which *Bedloe* had firſt mention'd. Upon *Sunday* the 29th of *December*, he was again examin'd before the King in Council; but before he was brought before the Board, he made it his Requeſt, that he might firſt wait upon the King himſelf. Upon which Captain *Richardſon* was order'd to carry *Prance* to Mr. *Chiffinch*'s Lodgings, where his Majeſty came and took him into a Room by himſelf. After a ſhort time, the King open'd the Door, *Prance* being then upon his Knees, and bad Mr. *Chiffinch* and Captain *Richardſon* to take Notice of what *Prance* ſaid; who being call'd upon to ſpeak out plainly, he declar'd, *That the Men he had Sworn againſt were all Innocent; and that All he had Sworn againſt them was falſe*; which he affirm'd with great Paſſion, and earneſt Aſſeveration. Upon which the King preſs'd him in theſe very Words, *Upon your Salvation is it ſo!* He reply'd, *Upon my Salvation, the whole Accuſation is falſe.* He was from thence carry'd to the Council, where falling down upon his Knees alſo, he declared to the ſame Effect. Upon which he was ask'd, *What Inducement he had to his former Story? Why he ſwore againſt thoſe Perſons? Who put him upon it?* He ſaid, *No body prompted him; he only knew the Men he ſwore againſt; he never ſaw* Bedloe *before he was taken up; he knew nothing of the* Plot, *nor of the* Murther; *All he had Sworn was falſe; he was never guilty of any Man's Blood, and cou'd not reſt for the Story he had told: But* Wren *ow'd him Money, and threatned him becauſe he dunn'd him for it, and ſo hair'd him into it.* This was a great Surpriſe to the Council, and ſome there were that call'd him a thouſand *Villains* and *Apoſtates*, and threaten'd to ſhew him the Rack; and the Duke of *Monmouth* ſaid, *Certainly they have let Prieſts and Jeſuits come to him, he cou'd never have gone off as he did elſe.* The very next Day he was likewiſe brought before the King and Council, where he finally perſiſted in the ſame Story, and was remanded to *Newgate*; firſt declaring, ‘ That he had no other Hints to the Story he had told them, than what he took from the foremention'd Paper of *Inſtructions*, that was laid by him in the *Condemn'd Hole* in *Newgate*.

He denies all before them.

His barbarous Uſage in Newgate.

Prance, excepting juſt after his Return, ſtood firm and immoveable in his Denial, againſt all Terrors and Temptations for about 12 Days, from the 29th of *December* to the 11th of this preſent *January*. During which ſpace of time, his Uſage was barbarous, and more like the *Romiſh Inquiſition*, than the Methods of a Free Nation. For nine Days at leaſt his Caſe was deplorable; and what with the deadly Cold and Naſtineſs of the Place, the Diſtreſs of his Condition, the Agony of his Thoughts, under the Horror of bringing new Guilt upon his Conſcience, and the galling Weight of the Irons, he lay in ſuch Torments, both of Body and Mind, that he ſpent his Hours in Roaring and Groaning, frequently and pitifully crying out, *Not Guilty, not Guilty! No Murther, no Murther!* He us'd the ſame Outcries, or Clamours at leaſt to that Effect, ſo often, that the Impoſers had no way to cover the Scandal and the Inhumanity of this Treatment, but either by imputing the Anguiſh of a wounded Conſcience to the Ravings of a diſtemper'd Brain; or by converting the Marks of a true Repentance into the Story of a Counterfeit Madneſs. But when things were at the worſt, *Prance* was now and then, as the good Humour prevail'd, eas'd of his Irons, comforted with good Words and Promiſes, and no Artifice omitted for the bringing him to a proper Underſtanding. The Keepers were then under the ſole Direction of a certain ambulatory *Committee*, when and in what degree to ſqueeze, to pinch, to eaſe, to ſhackle, to comfort, or to torment their Priſoners; and moſt things were done according to the particular Orders of that Cabal. It wou'd be too tedious to recite all the Sufferings of this unfortunate Man, who being unable to hold out as *Corral* had done, and finding his Life in the ſame Danger with thoſe he had accuſed, he at length ſubmitted to the Temptation, and upon a new Aſſurance of Pardon, he promis'd to ſtand by his former Evidence. Immediately upon this, on the 11th of *January*, his Irons were knocked off, and he was remov'd from hard Boards, and a diſmal cold Room, to a fine Lodging and a curious Bed, with variety of the beſt Meats and Drinks. Here, having Pen, Ink and Paper, and the Aſſiſtance of his Friend one Mr. *Boyce*, he finiſh'd his Story, and prepar'd for being a compleat Evidence againſt *Green*, *Berry* and *Hill*, who were ſhortly after to come upon their Tryals.

He returns to his firſt Evidence.

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Prance and *Bedloe* had given in very different Accounts of the Murther; but now *Prance*'s Story was more fix'd and regular, and was to ſtand good againſt all others; while *Bedloe*'s was to be rather by way of Supply and Confirmation. *Prance*'s Story, which took ſo much with the Belief of the Nation, was to this Effect; ‘ *Girald*, *Kelly*, *Green*, *Berry*, *Hill* and *Prance*, with the Approbation of ſome others, after ſeveral Conſultations, had reſolv'd to Murther Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, as being a bitter Perſecutor of the Catholicks, an active Diſcoverer of their Deſigns, and a particular Enemy to the Queen's Servants. Thus determin'd, on *Saturday* the 12th of *October*, *Hill* went to Sir *Edmund-bury*'s Houſe in the Morning, and talk'd with him in private: Then taking his leave, he went to *Girald* and *Green*, and with them ſtaid hard by, waiting for the Gentleman's coming out, which he did about 10 or 11, all alone as uſually. They dog'd him to ſeveral Places, till about 6 or 7 in the Evening, when *Green* went to *Prance*'s Houſe, and told him, *They had ſet him near St.* Clements; and that *Prance* muſt make all haſte to the *Water-Gate* at *Somerſet-Houſe*, where he ſhou'd find *Kelly* and *Berry*, which he did; and they three waited there till about nine a Clock. When of a ſudden *Hill* came running and ſaid, *He was coming, and they muſt pretend a Quarrel, and he wou'd fetch him in.* While *Kelly* and *Berry* were in a ſeeming Scuffle, *Hill* at the Gate ſtop'd Sir *Edmund-bury*, and entreated him *for God's ſake to come in, for two Men were a quarrelling, and he was afraid there wou'd be Bloodſhed.* The Gentleman, being a Magiſtrate, did at laſt Conſent, and *Hill* entred the Gate firſt, to ſhew him the Perſons; and after them follow'd *Girald* and *Green*; while *Prance* watched the *Water-Gate*, and *Berry* was to ſecure the Paſſage by the Chappel. But firſt he and *Kelly*, the pretended Combatants, ſtood about the end of the Rail by the Queen's Stables; and as Sir *Edmund* went down towards them, *Green* ſuddenly threw a twiſted Handkerchief about his Neck, and immediately all four pull'd him down and ſtrangled him, ſo as he cou'd make no Noiſe; after which they threw him behind the Rail, and gave him ſome violent Punches on the Breaſt with their Knees, and *Green* with all his Force wrung his Neck almoſt round. *Prance* and *Berry* being come to them, when he was quite dead, they all help'd to carry the Body into Dr. *Godden*'s Lodgings, where *Hill* liv'd, and where they brought him up five or ſix Steps, into a little Room on the Right Hand, and there left him that Night, and *Sunday* all Day and Night. On *Monday* Night, *Hill* and ſome others remov'd him into a Room in the upper Court, where *Prance* was ſhewn the Body by the light of a Dark-Lanthorn, and where *Bedloe* ſwore he ſaw *Prance*. On *Tueſday* Night, they carried him to another Room in the long Entry, over-againſt Dr. *Godden*'s Lodgings; and on *Wedneſday* Night they remov'd it to the little Room where it was firſt laid. Having kept the Body above four Days and Nights, *Girald* and *Kelly* advis'd to carry it into the Fields, and leave him run through with his own Sword, that he might be ſuppos'd *to have murthered himſelf*; and therefore his Money, Rings, &c. were all to be left with him. This being agreed, they reſolv'd to carry him out that Night; and accordingly *Hill* procur'd a Sedan, or Chair, into which they put the Body about 12 a-Clock. *Berry* the Porter, having invited the Centinels into his Houſe, open'd the Gate, and *Prance* and *Girald* carry'd out the Sedan. Thus, ſometimes they two, and ſometimes *Kelly* and *Green*, carried it up towards *Soho-Fields*, hard by the *Grecians* Church; and there *Hill* attending with a Horſe, they ſet the Body up before him, and left the *Sedan* in ſome unfiniſh'd Buildings in that Place; whereupon *Girald* ſaid, *I wiſh we had a hundred ſuch Rogues as ſecure as this.* Then *Prance*, being a Houſe-keeper, return'd home; and the other four went on, one leading the Horſe, *Hill* riding and holding the Body, and the other two walking by. They carried him to a Place call'd *Primroſe-Hill*, about two Miles out of Town, where they left him in a Ditch, with his own Sword run through his Body by *Girald* himſelf, in the exact Poſture of One that had murder'd himſelf.’ This Story, which afterwards met with inſuperable Difficulties and Inconſiſtencies, at preſent had a wonderful Effect upon the Nation, was aſſerted with ſuch Pretences and Circumſtances, and ſo plauſibly connected and united to the grand Plot, that it was dangerous for any Man to ſuſpect the Truth, or the Probability of it.

The Subſtance of his ſtrange Story.

3. All this while the King was under no ſmall Perplexities about the Plot, the Murther, the Charge againſt the Lord *Danby*, &c. but he acted as one that believed all, and was frequently iſſuing out Proclamations againſt the Papiſts, who immediately after the Prorogation of the Parliament, flock'd to *London* and *Weſtminſter* in great Num-

Proclamations againſt the Papiſts.

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bers, and began to talk with unuſual Boldneſs about the
preſent Times. The firſt Proclamation was dated *Ja-*
nuary 3, which declared, ‘ That whereas ſeveral *Popiſh*
Recuſants, and Perſons reputed to be ſuch, had ſince the
late Prorogation of the Parliament taken the Boldneſs
1. to reſort to the ſaid Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*,
his Majeſty was moſt highly offended with their Preſump-
tion, and did order, That a diligent and ſpeedy Search
and Inquiry ſhould be made after them, and they ſhould
be proceeded againſt with the utmoſt Severity.’ On the
11th of *January*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to publiſh ano-
2. ther Proclamation, ‘ Commanding the immediate Return
of all his Majeſty's Subjects who were in foreign Semi-
naries, offering Pardon to thoſe who ſhall obey, and for-
bidding all Relief or Maintenance to be ſent to them
that ſtay, according to the Statute made 27th of *Eliza-*
beth.’ About this Time, *Come* in *Herefordſhire* was ſaid
to be diſcover'd to be a College of *Jeſuits*; and Mr. *Ste-*
phen Dugdale, formerly Servant to the Lord *Aſton* in *Staf-*
fordſhire, came in and made a conſiderable Diſcovery;
whereupon, on the 15th of *January* there came out a third
Proclamation, ‘ Againſt *Francis Evers*, alias *Eurie*, of
3. *Tixal* in the County of *Stafford*, *John Gaven*, late of
Woolverhampton, *Vavaſor*, alias *Gifford*, late of *Boſcobel*,
Edward Leviſon, late of *Wilnot*, all Jeſuits, and *Broad-*
ſtreet, late of *Hore-Croſs*, a Popiſh Prieſt, being all charg'd to
be guilty of the *Popiſh* Plot; and a Promiſe of a hundred
Pounds to any that would apprehend *Evers*, and fifty
Pounds for each of the reſt.’ Of theſe, *Gaven* was ſoon
after taken into Cuſtody, but the reſt abſconded.

Queries of the Juſtices of Middle-ſex.

Notwithſtanding theſe Proceedings of the Court, the Juſtices of the Peace of *Middleſex* ſeem'd apprehenſive of ſome Relaxations in Favour of the *Papiſts*, and therefore on the 17th of *January*, they preſented to his Majeſty in Council theſe ſix Queries. 1. ‘ Whether Foreigners (*Popiſh* Recuſants) that are, and have long been here ſettled Houſe-Keepers, and are Tradeſmen, *viz.* Chirurgeons, Taylors, Perriwig-makers, or ordinary Shop-keepers, following Imployment for their own Advantages, but not otherwiſe Merchants, but are certify'd to be *Merchant-Strangers*, ſhall be excus'd from taking the Oaths, or finding Sureties, or either of them? 2. Whether ſuch Foreigners, being certify'd by Ambaſſadors, or other Foreign Miniſters, to be their Servants at this Time, ſhall be excus'd? 3. Whether Foreigners (*Popiſh* Recuſants) ſettled here Houſe-keepers, but neither are Tradeſmen, Travellers, or Foreign Miniſters Servants, ſhall be excus'd? 4. Whether Native Subjects of our Sovereign Lord, that are menial Servants of Foreign Miniſters, ſhall be excus'd? 5. Whether married Women, being *Popiſh* Recuſants, but their Husbands *Proteſtants*, ſhall be excus'd? 6. Whether *Popiſh* Recuſants that have taken the Oaths, found Sureties, have appeared, and are convicted, ſhall find new Sureties, or be continued over?’ Upon receiving of theſe Queries, his Majeſty referred the Matter to the Judges of the Land, who very ſhortly return'd him this Anſwer in Writing: ‘ *May it pleaſe your Majeſty*, We have met and conſidered of the Queſtions propoſed to us, and hereby humbly return our Opinions. 1. That Foreigners, being *Popiſh* Recuſants, and exerciſing ordinary Trades, but not Merchants, are not excus'd from taking the Oaths, or finding Sureties. 2. That Foreigners, tho' certify'd by Ambaſſadors to be their Servants, except they are their menial Servants, are not excus'd. 3. That Foreigners, tho' ſettled Houſe-Keepers, being no Travellers, or Foreign Miniſter's Servants, are not excus'd. 4. That the King's Native Subjects are not excus'd from taking the Oaths, by being menial Servants to Foreign Maſters. 5. We find no Law that excuſes a Feme-Covert, being a *Papiſt*, from taking the Oaths, tho' her Husband be a *Proteſtant*. 6. That a *Popiſh* Recuſant, having taken the Oaths, is not bound to find new Sureties; unleſs upon a new Tender of the Oaths, he ſhall refuſe to take them. All which, with great Humility, we ſubmit to your Majeſty's Judgment: *W. Scroggs*, *F. North*, *W. Mountagu*, *W. Wylde*, *F. Littleton*, *W. Wyndham*, *R. Atkyns*, *U. Bertie*, *F. Bramſton*, *T. Jones*, *W. Dolben*.’ The King approved of the Opinion, and thereupon made an Order of Council, which was ſent to the *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of each County, to be obſerv'd by all Magiſtrates whatſoever.

Anſwer'd by the Judges.

In the mean Time, during moſt of the Month of *January*, all Peoples Mouths were fill'd with various Reports concerning the next Meeting of the Parliament: It was often affirmed, That the next Seſſion was to be further Prorogued till the 25th of *February*; and then again, That the Parliament would certainly meet on the 4th of *February*, the Day mentioned at the Prorogation. But as a Period to all common Reports and Conjectures, on the 24th of this Month of *January*, his Majeſty iſſu'd out a ſurpriſing Proclamation, in which he declar'd, ‘ That he had taken into his ſerious Conſideration the many Inconveniencies ariſing by the over-long Continuance of one and the ſame Parliament; wherefore he Publiſhes and declares his Royal Will and Pleaſure to *Diſſolve this preſent Parliament*. ------ But to the Intent his Majeſty's Loyal Subjects may perceive the Confidence his Majeſty hath in their good Affections, and how Willing and Deſirous his Majeſty is to meet his People, and have their Advice by their *Repreſentatives* in Parliament, he will cauſe Writs in due Form of Law, to be forthwith iſſu'd for the *Calling of a New Parliament*, which ſhall begin and be holden at *Weſtminſter*, on *Thurſday* the ſixth Day of *March* next; when his Majeſty doth expect ſuch *Laws* will be Enacted, and ſuch *Order* taken, by the Conſent and Advice of his Parliament, as will tend to the Securing the True *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Peaceable and Happy Government of this his Kingdom.

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The SECOND PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.

Thus ended the famous Long Parliament, the Second, or, as ſome call it, the Firſt of this Reign, which had been continu'd, by Eighteen Prorogations, and ſeveral Adjournments, for Seventeen Years, Eight Months, and Seventeen Days. For above two Thirds of which Time, the King had liv'd with ſo entire an Agreement with it, that both the *Proteſtant* and *Popiſh* Diſſenters had us'd their utmoſt Efforts for its Diſſolution; but by the Death of ſome, and Defection of others, and the violent Heats rais'd by the Plot, and other Matters, it became ſo much alter'd, that the King was wearied out with what the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, when Lord Chancellor, had call'd *His Wife*, ſo as to give her this *Bill of Divorce*. The Houſe of Commons had been choſen out of as Great, Wiſe and Conſiderable Men, as were in the Nation; and, conſidering the vaſt Exigencies when they met, they made as good and wiſe Laws and Eſtabliſhments. As they cannot be vindicated in all Particulars, ſo perhaps they cannot be altogether ſo, with relation to their Treatment of Diſſenters of both Kinds; but this ought to be ſtill remember'd, that all the Proceedings of that Nature aroſe from particular Provocations, which had reviv'd old Reſentments, and ſeem'd rather the Effects of Policy and Self-Preſervation, than of Religion and Devotion, tho' there was a great Mixture of both: And further, all theſe were really contrary to the Humour and Inclination of the King Himſelf. From whence we have leſs Reaſon to believe thoſe Corruptions charg'd upon them by Enemies on both ſides, but rather to depend upon the Words of the knowing Duke of *Leeds*, which he wrote above Thirty Years after the Diſſolution of this Parliament. Speaking of the rough Treatment he met with from them upon the Account of his Letters, he ſays, *And it is no leſs difficult to conceive, how that Parliament ſhould be thought a* Penſionary Parliament, *which was not only ſo ſparing in the Supplies which were Neceſſary, and did Appropriate every Penny to particular Uſes upon Account; and that I, who was call'd the* Promoter *and* Pay-Maſter *of thoſe* Penſions, *had not Power to preſerve my ſelf from being impeach'd of* Treaſon *by thoſe* Penſioners, *for what in Juſtice my worſt Enemies could not have made a* Miſdemeanour: *Theſe are ſuch Contradictions in their own Nature, that they need no Anſwer.* Not but Bribery was practis'd the ſix laſt Years, but never ſufficient to gain a Majority; and this Cuſtom, as Sir *William Temple* obſerves, was introduc'd by the Lord-Treaſurer *Clifford*, near Twelve Years after the firſt Meeting; and ſtill there were many great Men that ſhew'd themſelves above all Temptations, as the Lord *Caſtleton*, Mr. *Sacheverell*, Mr. *Garraway*, Sir *William Hickman*, &c. who were faithful to their King, Country and Church, in ſpight of all Tryals whatſoever. As to the Cauſes of the Diſſolution of this famous Aſſembly, there have been innumerable Conjectures, therefore we ſhall only uſe the Words of the forementioned noble Author, who ſays, *As I hope I have made it appear that I never needed a Pardon, nor to have abſented my ſelf from Tryal, but that I did both in Obedience to the King's Commands; ſo I verily believe, the King was ſo apprehenſive that the producing Mr.* Mountagu's *Letters would have ſo much heightned the ill Humour of that Parliament, that the Fear of producing them (which I muſt have done, rather than ſuffer a Bill of* Attainder *to paſs againſt me) was one of the Cauſes of Diſſolving that Parliament.* We ſhall conclude with obſerving, that during that Time they were under the leaſt Temptations of Bribery, they were moſt Loyal and Complying with the King; but when they were under the Greateſt, they were moſt Oppoſing and Contradicting; and if the King Himſelf had always been as careful of his own Honour as they themſelves were, they might in all Probability have continu'd the whole Reign, in Oppoſition to all Parties and Factions whatſoever.

Obſervations upon that Parliament.

CHAP. III.

From the Diſſolution of the Second and Long Parliament, to the Diſſolution of the Fifth and laſt Parliament in this Reign.

Containing the Space of Two Years, Two Months, and Four Days.

The Nation buſy in Elections.

Uncommon Practices.

I. 1. IN this following Period, the Nation was more agitated, and the King and Court under greater Difficulties, than at any Time ſince the Reſtoration. Upon the unexpected Diſſolution of a Parliament, which ſome ſaid, *Nothing but God Almighty could put an End to*, the whole Nation was in a ſudden Ferment, and all were violently engag'd in the new Elections, upon the Writs iſſued out the 25th of *January*. Moſt of the Diſſenters were tranſported at the Diſſolution, and many of them and their Friends exerted themſelves in the Elections after an extraordinary manner, having a hopeful Proſpect of a new Struggle, either for a Superiority in the Legiſlature, or an equal Eſtabliſhment as to Religion. They knew how to make all the Advantages of the *Popiſh* Plot, and generally falling into the Wiſhes and Endeavours of a zealous Proſecution of it, became thereby the more Popular; and they now had the happy Opportunity of making the World believe, that they were the chief Aſſertors of *Engliſh Liberty*, and the *Reformed Religion*. And thoſe Members of each Houſe, who were thought to be in their Intereſt, had now the Advantage of being eſteem'd the greateſt Patriots, and the better Friends of the *Proteſtant* Religion; while many of thoſe who were more profeſſedly for the Eſtabliſh'd Church of *England* were drawn into the Meaſures of the Court, and into the Perſonal Intereſt of the Duke of *York*, and thereby fell into the odious Character of being *Popiſhly Affected*, and the *Promoters of Arbitrary Power*. Having multiplied theſe ſorts of Accuſations, they proceeded to the Multiplying of Free-Holds, a Practice ſaid to be unknown before this Time; and ſo all the Diſſenting Teachers, old Committee-Men, Sequeſtrators, and Parliament Soldiers, rallied their Forces, and joining with all thoſe Semi-Conformiſts, that had complied with the Church out of Neceſſity or Convenience, they made a very powerful Body. But notwithſtanding all this Care, and theſe uncommon Advantages, the Diſſenting Party did not carry the Elections every where, nor almoſt any where without great Oppoſition. For on the other Side, the Gentry appear'd themſelves, and brought in their Tenants and Dependents; and many of the Yeomen Free-Holders were zealous for the Church and Government: And in Corporations, the Magiſtrates and Freemen had not forgot the old Methods of the Diſſenters, ſo that the two Parties were almoſt equal there. In the Counties in general, the Gentry had been certainly the ſtronger Side, if Arts had not been employ'd againſt them: And in ſome Places they prevail'd againſt all thoſe that were us'd, but not ſo much as to make an equal Party in the Houſe. As to the City of *London*, they choſe all of one Side, now call'd the *Country Party*, viz. Sir *Robert Clayton*, Knight, and Alderman; Sir *Thomas Player*, Knight, and Chamberlain of the City; *William Love*, Eſquire, late Alderman; and *Thomas Pilkington*, Eſquire, a *Turkey* Merchant.

The King uſes all popular Methods.

All this while the King ſeemed intirely to keep Pace with the Country, now fill'd with the Rumours of Plots, Conſpiracies and Murthers, and endeavour'd to oblige the People by all deſirable Proceedings againſt the *Romiſh* Party, for which he himſelf had moſt real Affection, and from which, perhaps, he had leaſt Apprehenſion: He did not only enforce the Order of Council before mention'd, but made particular Enquiry into the ſeveral Neglects of Proſecution in the Country; and finding a Remiſſneſs in ſeveral Places, and notwithſtanding the many Proclamations he had publiſh'd of late, that ſeveral did refuſe or neglect to put the ſame in Execution, his Majeſty, within ſeven Days after the Parliament was diſſolv'd, was pleas'd in Council to Order, 'That all his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace do with all Care and Diligence purſue his Majeſty's Commands ſignify'd in ſuch his late Proclamations. And his Majeſty doth hereby further direct the Lord-Chancellor of *England*, upon due Complaint made of the Neglect or Refuſal of any of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace in the Execution of the Premiſſes, forthwith to put them, and every of them out of Commiſſion for the Peace, as *Perſons Diſaffected to his Majeſty's Government, and the true Proteſtant Religion*; and to put in their Places Perſons who may be likely to act with more Vigour and Affection.' In Sum, all the King's Proceedings at this Time were like one who fear'd and hated both the Papiſts, and their Religion.

The Tryal of Green, Berry, *and* Hill.

Prance the main Witneſs.

2. What added to the Ferment of the Times, and the Horror of the People, was the Conviction of the three reputed Murtherers of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*; *Green*, *Berry* and *Hill*, who were tried on the 10th of *February*, at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, before the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*, with as much Expectation and Concourſe as the greateſt of the Plotters. Here *Oates* had but a ſmall Share, who ſwore only to the Fears and Apprehenſions of Sir *Edmund-bury*, a little before the Murther, as that he told him, *That he went in Fear of his Life by the Popiſh Party*; and when he adviſ'd him to take his Man always with him, he ſaid, *No, he did not fear them, if they did but come fairly*. This Evidence was confirm'd by one Mr. *Robinſon*, who teſtify'd he heard him ſay, *That he believ'd he ſhould be the firſt Martyr*. But *Prance*'s Evidence was large and full; and he told the whole Story at length, as we have already recited it, and was ſo poſitive and particular, that it was ſufficient alone to convict the Priſoners. And yet he was put to two Difficulties in the Tryal, which at another Time could not be ſo eaſily conquer'd. The Firſt was that obvious one of his Recanting and Denying all before the King and Council; but in this he was not a little help'd out by the Court, and it was alledged, *That all that was nothing but an unuſual Fear, and a Want of full Aſſurance of his Pardon*. The Second was upon his being ask'd by Mrs. *Hill*, upon his Oath, *Whether he had not been tortured in* Newgate, *ſince ſeveral had heard him cry out in that Place*? The poor Man, to ſupport the Credit of his Evidence, was forc'd to diſown all his barbarous Uſage, and to ſay, *That Captain* Richardſon *had us'd him as civilly as any Man in* England; *and that all the Time he was there, he wanted for nothing*: And all directly contrary to ſufficient Proofs that were made to appear afterwards.

Bedloe's Evidence.

The next Witneſs was *Bedloe*, the firſt Diſcoverer, whoſe Evidence before the Lords was, 'That *Le Phaire*, *Walſh*, *Pritchard*, *Keins*, &c. had wheedled Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey* into *Somerſet-Houſe* Court, under the Pretence of taking ſome principal Plotters; and after a Turn or two, and the Pretence of ſending for a Conſtable, they ſhov'd him into a Room, preſented a Piſtol to him, *if he made any Noiſe, but wou'd do him no hurt, if he wou'd ſend for his Examinations*; which he refuſing to do, they ſtifled him between two Pillows, and after that, upon finding ſome Life in him, they ſtrangled him with a long Cravat.' But now it was neceſſary to omit ſeveral Particulars in this Story, to make his and *Prance*'s Evidence agree; and indeed the main Buſineſs between them two, was the ſame as between *Oates* and him, to make a real Harmony without an appearing Confederacy. What he teſtify'd upon the Tryal, was generally more remote, yet at ſuch a near Diſtance as might anſwer the Ends of his Swearing. He ſwore, 'That about a Fortnight before the Murther, *Le Phaire*, *Pritchard*, *Keins*, and ſome other *Romiſh* Prieſts, all unknown to *Prance* and his Criminals, diſcourſed him about *Killing a certain Gentleman*, not nam'd; and then ſet him to inſinuate himſelf into Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*'s Acquaintance, which he did under ſeveral Pretences. That on the very Day of the Murther *Le Phaire* told him, *There was a Gentleman to be put out of the Way that Night*, and would have him to aſſiſt, and *that there would be Four thouſand Pounds Reward from the Lord* Bellaſis, &c. and therefore deſir'd him to meet in the Cloyſters at *Somerſet-Houſe* that Evening, *for thereabouts it was to be done*; which he promiſed to do, but wilfully fail'd them, *Becauſe he would not have his Hands in Blood*. On the *Monday* after, *Le Phaire* meeting him, charg'd him with Breach of Promiſe, and appointed him to come to *Somerſet-Houſe* at Nine that Night, where he told the Witneſs, *That he had done ill, that he did not help in the Buſineſs*; *but if he would aſſiſt to carry him off, he ſhould ſtill have half the Reward*; and told him he was actually murthered. The Witneſs ask'd *if he might ſee him*; upon which *Le Phaire* led him through a dark Entry into a Room where were ſeveral People, and *Prance* amongſt them, and only by the Light of a dark Lanthorn, he ſaw the Face of the murther'd Perſon, and knew him to be Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*. The Witneſs adviſ'd to tie Weights about him, and throw him into the *Thames*; but they did not approve of that, but ſaid, *They would put it upon himſelf, and carry him out in a Chair by the Help of Porter* Berry, *at Twelve that Night*. The Witneſs promiſ'd, *upon the Sacrament*, which he had taken the *Thurſday* before, *to come again to help them*; but being got from them, his Conſcience would not permit him to go any further; tho' he had been promiſ'd Two thouſand Pounds for his

'Labour,

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‘ Labour, but he rather choſe to diſcover the Villany to ‘ the King and Council, and accept of a Quarter of the ‘ Sum in an honeſt Way.

Some Circumſtantial Evidences.

By Way of Circumſtance and Confirmation, the Conſtable that view'd the Body in the Ditch, gave an Account, ‘ That the Sword was ſticking through him, but no ‘ Blood appear'd on the Ground, and he found Gold and ‘ Silver in his Pockets.’ And two Surgeons ſwore, ‘ That they verily believ'd, the Sword was run through ‘ him after he was dead and cold; but that he dy'd by ‘ reaſon of the Suffocation, and breaking of his Neck, ‘ and Bruiſes on the Breaſt.’ Sir *Robert Southwell* depos'd, ‘ That *Prance* having related the Matter to the ‘ Council, and being ſent with the Duke of *Monmouth* ‘ and the Earl of *Oſſory* to ſhew the Places he mention'd, ‘ did readily go to them all, and they appeared to be all ‘ ſuch as he had deſcrib'd them; only as to the Room in ‘ the upper Court where the Body was laid one Night, ‘ having never been there but once, he ſaid he cou'd not ‘ poſitively aſſign it, but pointed to ſome Rooms, and ſaid, ‘ *He was ſure it was thereabouts.*’ And this Dubiouſneſs the Court obſerv'd, gave more Credit to the reſt of his Teſtimonies, *for a Man that will ſwear any Thing, will ſtick at Nothing.* Theſe, and ſome other ſmaller Matters, were brought as Circumſtantial Proofs againſt the Priſoners.

The Defence made by the Priſoners.

As to their Defence, they had ſeveral material Things to alledge, which were not ſo much regarded at this Time. *Hill* brought ſeveral Witneſſes to prove, ‘ That he was ‘ never out of his Lodgings, after Nine a-Clock at ‘ Night, during the whole Time of this Tranſaction;’ but they were the leſs minded by reaſon of their being *Papiſts*, and of the ſame Religion with himſelf. Beſides he proved, ‘ That when he heard of *Prance*'s being taken up ‘ for the Murther, he had full time to make his Eſcape, ‘ which he never endeavouring, was a great Preſumption ‘ of his Innocence.’ *Green* prov'd by two Witneſſes, *James Warrier* and his Wife, ‘ that he was at their Houſe ‘ in the *Strand*, from between Seven and Eight, till after ‘ Ten, on that very Night and Time, that Sir *Edmund* ‘ was ſaid to be Murther'd in *Somerſet-Houſe*: And when ‘ *Prance* was taken up, he ſhew'd ſuch a Deteſtation of the ‘ Fact, that he ſaid, *Rather than he ſhould eſcape, if he* ‘ *were guilty, he would be the Executioner himſelf.*’ In Behalf of *Berry* the Porter, the Soldiers that were placed Sentinel at the Gate, teſtify'd, ‘ that no Sedan went out of ‘ the Gate that Night that the Body was ſaid to be carried ‘ off, tho' one did come in,’ (which belong'd to the Lady *Wiche*, as it afterwards appear'd,) ‘ *and that they cou'd not* ‘ *be miſtaken in ſo plain a Matter.*’ And *Berry*'s Maid declar'd, ‘ that her Maſter was in Bed by Twelve a-Clock ‘ that Night, and never ſtirred out; which made it impoſ‘ſible for him to be upon the whole Expedition.’ They all endeavour'd likewiſe to invalidate *Prance*'s Evidence; but his fine Story carried the Point at laſt; and the Court particularly obſerv'd, *That it was impoſſible that Mr.* Prance, *a Man of that mean Capacity, ſhould invent a Story with ſo many conſiſting Circumſtances, if there were not Truth in the Bottom of it:* Which made others obſerve, *that the Story was invented by ſome Body elſe of a greater Capacity.*

They are found guilty.

In Concluſion, the Jury brought them in all guilty of the Murther: Whereupon the Lord Chief-Juſtice ſaid, *Gentlemen, you have found the ſame Verdict that I would have found, if I had been one with you; and if it were the laſt Word I were to ſpeak in this World, I ſhould have pronounc'd them Guilty.* At which Words, the whole Aſſembly in *Weſtminſter-Hall* gave a great Shout of Applauſe.

Condemn'd.

The next Day Mr. Juſtice *Wyld*, as ſecond Judge in the Court, paſſed Sentence upon them with a Speech, in which we may take notice of theſe Words: *If I could abſtract Folly from Wickedneſs, certainly it was one of the greateſt Pieces of Folly and Sottiſhneſs in the World: For what cou'd be your End in it? Did you think that all the Magiſtrates in* England *were lodg'd in Sir* Edmund-bury Godfrey? *that if he were taken out of the Way, there were not Men of Spirit and Courage, as faithful and diligent as he was?* -------- After their Condemnation, great Pains were taken, and particularly by Mr. *Smith* the Ordinary of *Newgate*, to bring them to a Confeſſion of their Guilt, or Knowledge of the Murther; but they continually denied they had any Knowledge of it, and immoveably inſiſted upon their Innocence to the laſt Moment of their Lives; all which was then generally imputed to their *Popiſh* Principles; tho' *Berry* in effect own'd to the Ordinary, That he was a *Proteſtant* in his Heart, but had for ſome Time diſſembled his Religion for his private Advantage. *Hill*, to ſhew his Sincerity, confeſs'd to the Ordinary, *That he had wrong'd one in a Twelve Penny Matter, which had ſo troubled his Conſcience, that he had made Reſtitution ſince his Condemnation, tho' he was in extream Want of preſent Neceſſaries:* and therefore he thus argu'd with him, *If I have taken Shame upon my ſelf, in confeſſing my Crime in the Caſe of a Trifle; can you think I wou'd deny the Murther to maintain my Reputation?* About the ſame Time he wrote this Letter to his Wife, which may deſerve to be remembred: ‘ *My dear Wife*, I recommend you to that good God of ‘ Heaven, who I hope will be both a Husband to you, and ‘ a Father to my poor Child, if you ſerve and love him ‘ as you ought to do: And the firſt Thing you are to do, ‘ is *heartily to forgive him that is the Occaſion of my Death*; ‘ and not to bear him any Malice, but leave the Revenge ‘ wholly to God, who knows beſt how to revenge the ‘ Innocent. This I earneſtly beg of you to do; and like‘wiſe to deſire all my Friends to pray to God Almighty, ‘ *That if it be his Divine Will, this little Suffering may* ‘ *mitigate his Juſt Wrath againſt me for my heinous Sins.*’

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And executed.

In purſuance of their Sentence, *Lawrence Hill* and *Robert Green* were executed at *Tyburn*, on the 21ſt of *February*: But *Henry Berry*, being now look'd upon as a Proteſtant, was repriev'd till the 28th, in Expectation of ſome Diſcovery; but he finally inſiſted, as the other two had done, *That he was as Innocent as the Child new Born*; which was then only look'd upon as a Canting and Equivocating Expreſſion, invented by the *Papiſts* to be us'd upon theſe and the like Occaſions.

Oates and Bedloe's Bills.

And now the two grand Evidences, *Oates* and *Bedloe*, having gain'd the main Point, of making the *Murther* to be an eſſential Part of the *Plot*, and the chief Support of the Credit of it, they ſeem'd in the Height of their Glory, and no Man durſt preſume to doubt of their Veracity. Therefore on the ſame Week that the Three laſt Perſons were condemn'd, when Mens Beliefs were freſh and ſtrong, they thought fit to bring in their Bills of Charges, of what Moneys they had, for the good of the Publick, expended and paid out of their own Pockets; *Oates* beginning his at a Time when he was in a ſtarving Condition, without Money or Credit; and *Bedloe*, when he had juſt before been fed out of the Alms-Basket at the *Marſhalſea*, and a little before at the Caſtle of *Lincoln*. The former amounted to ſix Hundred and ſeventy eight Pounds, twelve and Sixpence: The Latter, being of a ſhorter ſtanding, amounted to no more than two Hundred and thirteen Pounds, without any odd Money. We do not find how well the Government paid them; but for the Truth of them, many Perſons have ſince thought that their Bills and their *Narratives* were equally credible.

3. As the Time for the Meeting of the new Parliament drew near, ſo the King was daily preparing the Way to make it an uſeful and eaſy Seſſion; and omitted no popular Acts that might teſtify his Apprehenſions of Popery and the Plot, which had now ſo fill'd the Heads of the Nation. But the moſt popular Act at this Time was reſerv'd to the laſt, and that was the ſending away his Brother the Duke of *York*, that he might be no Cauſe of Diſputes in the Parliament, nor be imagin'd to influence any Counſels at Court. Accordingly, he directed the following Letter to his Royal Highneſs, on the 28th of *February*:

The King's Letter to the Duke of York.

‘ I have already given you my Reſolves at large, why I ‘ think it fit that you ſhould abſent your ſelf for ſome ‘ Time beyond the Seas: As I am truly ſorry for the Oc‘caſion, ſo may you be ſure, I ſhall never deſire it longer ‘ than it will be abſolutely neceſſary for your *Good*, and ‘ my *Service*. In the mean Time I think it proper *to give* ‘ *it you under my Hand*, That I expect this Compliance ‘ from you, and deſire it may be as ſoon as conveniently ‘ you can. You may eaſily believe with what Trouble I ‘ write; there being nothing I am more ſenſible of than the ‘ conſtant Kindneſs you have ever had for me. I hope you ‘ are as Juſt to me, to be aſſured, *That no Abſence nor* ‘ *any Thing elſe, can ever change me from being Truly* ‘ *and Kindly Yours*, C. R.

The Duke goes beyond Sea.

In Purſuance of this Command, his Royal Highneſs, with the Dutcheſs and his Family, immediately made ready to take Shipping for *Holland*, which they did upon the 3d Day of *March*. The Day before, Sir *William Temple* being juſt arriv'd from *Holland*, he took an Occaſion to diſcourſe with that Miniſter, and told him with great Freedom the Steps that had been made towards the Reſolution of this Journey, *which was much againſt his own Opinion:* Therefore he bid Sir *William* remember what he now foretold him, *That however this was thought likely to ſtop the violent Humour then rais'd by the* Plot, *yet he ſhou'd ſee it wou'd go next to my Lord-Treaſurer's Ruin, tho' he did not expect it.* But to obviate this Miſchief, and to prevent the Inconveniencies that might fall upon the King by a Parliamentary Impeachment, his Majeſty, upon the Firſt of *March*, had granted as full and as compleat a Pardon as cou'd be drawn up, for all Crimes and Miſdemeanors whatſoever, that cou'd before that Time be alledg'd againſt that prime Miniſter. That, and the Diſmiſſion from his Office, which preſently follow'd, was look'd upon as a ſure Protection againſt all Impeachments and Accuſations.

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His Reception in Holland.

On the 12th of *March*, the Duke of *York* and his Family arriv'd at *Holland*, and at his firſt Landing was receiv'd by his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, accompany'd with many Perſons of the Higheſt Quality, who conducted them to the *Hague*. Here the Prince drew out all his Guards before his Father-in-law, to the Number of three Thouſand, in a very good Equipage; and when the Duke paſs'd by them, the Prince put himſelf at the Head of his *Guards du Corps*, and ſaluted him with his Sword in his Hand; and as they fil'd off, the Prince march'd at the Head of them, and repeated the ſame Civility, tho' the Duke did what he cou'd to hinder them. The *States-General*, upon Notice of their Royal Highneſſes Arrival, deſired to have render'd them thoſe Publick Honours which were due to their high Quality, but the Duke excus'd it, deſiring to be there *Incognito*. Of all which, there was a pompous Account publiſh'd at *London* by Authority. After a while, the Duke and his Family remov'd to *Bruſſels*, a Place in which he had formerly been well acquainted, where he ſtay'd moſt of the Summer, waiting for a proper Opportunity to return into *England*.

Goes to Bruſſels.

The Third PARLIAMENT.

II. 1. The King having prepared the Way by all plauſible and probable Methods, to render Himſelf and his Buſineſs acceptable to his new Parliament, on *Thurſday* the 6th of *March*, that great Aſſembly met at *Weſtminſter*, watch'd and attended by the Eyes and Ears of the whole Kingdom. After all the preſent Members had taken the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, his Majeſty appear'd in great Splendor upon his Throne, and having ſent for the Houſe of Commons, he made this remarkable Speech to both Houſes: ‘*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I meet you here with the moſt earneſt Deſire that Man can have, to unite the Minds of all my Subjects, both to Me, and to one another. And I reſolve it ſhall be your Faults, if the Succeſs be not ſuitable to my Deſires. I have done many great Things already in Order to that End, as the Excluſion of the Popiſh Lords from their Seats in Parliament; the Execution of ſeveral Men, both upon the Score of the *Plot*, and the Murther of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*; and it is apparent, that I have not been idle in Proſecuting the Diſcovery of Both, as much further as hath been poſſible in ſo ſhort a Time. I have diſbanded as much of the Army as I cou'd get Money to do; and I am ready to diſband the reſt ſo ſoon as you ſhall reimburſe me the Money they have coſt me, and will enable me to pay off the Remainder: And above all, I have commanded my Brother to abſent Himſelf from Me, becauſe I wou'd not leave malicious Men Room to ſay, *I had not remov'd all Cauſes which cou'd be pretended to Influence Me towards* Popiſh *Counſels*.

The King's Speech to both Houſes

‘Beſides that End of Union which I aim at (and which I cou'd wiſh cou'd be extended to *Proteſtants* Abroad, as well as at Home) I propoſe by this laſt great Step I have made, to diſcern Whether *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Peace of the Kingdom* be as truly intended by Others, as they are really aim'd at by Me: For if they be, you will employ your Time upon the great Concerns of the Nation, and not be drawn to promote private Animoſities, under the Pretences of the *Publick*: Your Proceedings will be calm and peaceable, in Order to thoſe good Ends I have recommended to you; and you will curb the Motions of any unruly Spirits, which wou'd endeavour to diſturb them. I hope there will be none ſuch among you, becauſe there can be no Man that muſt not ſee how fatal Differences amongſt our Selves are like to be at this Time, both at Home and Abroad. I ſhall not ceaſe my Endeavours, daily to find out what more I can, both of the *Plot*, and the Murther of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, and ſhall deſire the Aſſiſtance of both my Houſes in the Work. I have not been wanting in giving Orders for Putting all the preſent Laws in Execution againſt *Papiſts*; and I am ready to join in the Making ſuch further Laws as may be neceſſary for ſecuring the Kingdom againſt *Popery*.

‘I muſt deſire your Aſſiſtance alſo in the Supplies, both for Diſbanding the Army, as I have already told you, and for Paying that Part of the Fleet, which hath been provided for by Parliament but till the Fifth of *June* laſt; as alſo that Debt for Stores, which was occaſion'd by the *Poll-Bill*'s falling ſhort of the Sum which that Act gave Credit for. I muſt neceſſarily recommend to you likewiſe the Diſcharging of thoſe *Anticipations* which are upon my Revenue, and which I have commanded to be laid before you; and I hope I have juſt Cauſe to deſire ſuch an *Increaſe of the Revenue* it ſelf, as might make it equal to my neceſſary Expences; but by reaſon of thoſe other Supplies, which are abſolutely neceſſary at this Time, I am contented to ſtruggle with that Difficulty a while longer; expecting for the preſent, only to have thoſe Additional Duties upon *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſe* to be prolonged to me; and that you will ſome other Way make up the Loſs I ſuſtain by the Prohibition of *French* Wines and Brandy, which turns only to my Prejudice, and to the great Advantage of the *French*. I muſt needs put you in Mind how neceſſary it will be to have a good Strength at Sea at Summer, ſince our Neighbours are making Naval Preparations: And notwithſtanding the great Difficulties I labour under, I have taken ſuch Care as will prevent any Danger that can threaten us, if your Parts be perform'd in Time. And I do heartily recommend to you, That ſuch a *Conſtant Eſtabliſhment* might be made for the Navy, as might make the Kingdom not only ſafe, but formidable; which can never be, whilſt there remains not enough beſides, to pay the neceſſary Charges of the Crown.

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‘I will conclude as I begun, with my earneſt Deſires to have this a HEALING PARLIAMENT; and I do give you this Aſſurance, That I will with my Life defend both the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Laws of this Kingdom*; and I do expect from you to be defended from the *Calumny*, as well as the *Danger* of thoſe Worſt of Men, who endeavour to render Me, and my Government, odious to my People. The reſt I leave to the Lord Chancellor.

The Lord Chancellor Finch's *Speech.*

Accordingly the Lord Chancellor *Finch* deliver'd a long and eloquent Speech, of which the greateſt Part muſt be here inſerted. After a handſome Introduction, he proceeded thus: ‘The Conſiderations which are now to be laid before you, are as urgent and as weighty as were ever yet offer'd to any Parliament, or indeed ever can be; ſo great, and ſo ſurpriſing have been our Dangers at Home, ſo formidable are the Appearances of Danger from Abroad, that the moſt united Counſels, the moſt ſedate and calmeſt Temper, together with the moſt dutiful and zealous Affections that a Parliament can ſhew, are all become abſolutely and indiſpenſably neceſſary for our Preſervation. At Home, we had need look about us; for his Majeſty's Royal Perſon hath been in Danger by a Conſpiracy againſt his Sacred Life, maliciouſly contriv'd, and induſtriouſly carry'd on, by thoſe Seminary Prieſts and *Jeſuits*, and their Adherents, who think themſelves under ſome Obligations of Conſcience to effect it; and having vow'd the Subverſion of the true Religion amongſt us, find no Way ſo likely to compaſs it, as to wound us in the Head, and to kill the *Defender of the Faith.* His Majeſty wanted not ſufficient Evidence of his Zeal for our Religion, without this Teſtimony from his Enemies, who were about to ſacrifice him for it: But it hath ever been the Practice of thoſe *Votaries*, firſt to murder the Fame of Princes, and then their Perſons; firſt to ſlander them to their People, as if they favour'd *Papiſts*, and then to aſſaſſinate them for being too zealous *Proteſtants*. And thus, by all the Ways and Means which our Law calls *Treaſon*, and their Divinity calls *Merit* and *Martyrdom*, they are trying to ſet up the Dominion and the Supremacy of the Pope, as if the Dignity of his Triple Crown cou'd never be ſufficiently advanc'd, unleſs theſe Three Kingdoms were added unto him, and all brought back again under that Yoke, *which neither We, nor our Fore-Fathers, were able to bear.*

‘The Enquiry into this Conſpiracy hath been cloſely purſu'd; and the Lords of the Council have been careful to proſecute the Diſcovery ever ſince the Riſing of the laſt Parliament, and the King doth now recommend it to you to perfect. More Evidence hath been already found out, and more Malefactors diſcover'd, ſome in Hold, ſome fled; the Juſtices of the Peace have been quicken'd in the Execution of their Duty; the Negligent have been reprov'd and puniſh'd, the Diligent encourag'd and aſſiſted in doubtful Caſes, by the Opinions of the Judges; active and faithful Meſſengers have been ſent into all the Corners of the Kingdom, where there was any Hopes of Service to be done; the very Priſons have been ſearch'd, to ſee whether any had fled thither to hide themſelves there, and under Pretence of Debt to eſcape the Purſuit: And if any have deſired Leave to go beyond Sea, they have firſt given Security not to go to *Rome*, nor ſend their Children to any Foreign Seminaries; and then they have been oblig'd to give in a Liſt of all their Menial Servants, and thoſe Servants too have been examin'd upon Oath: And Order is given that they be again examin'd at the Ports, and make Oath they are the ſame Perſons who were examin'd above: So that all poſſible Care hath been taken that no Malefactors might eſcape us in Diſguiſe. And tho' the Prieſts themſelves do not keep the *Confeſſions* of their Proſelytes more ſecret than theſe keep the *Injunctions* of their Prieſts, yet enough hath appear'd to bring ſome Capital Offenders to publick Juſtice, and to convict them of the Crime: Some of the Traytors have been executed; ſeveral Prieſts have been arreſted and impriſon'd; all are hiding them-

‘ſelves,

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ſelves, and lurking in ſecret Corners, like the *Sons of Darkneſs*. The Murderers of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey* have been condemn'd, and ſuffer'd Death: Some *Papiſts* have baniſh'd themſelves out of the Kingdom; others are impriſon'd for not taking the Oaths: All are proſecuted towards Conviction; and the very Shame and Reproach which attends ſuch abominable Practices, hath cover'd ſo many Faces with new and ſtrange Confuſions, that it hath prov'd a powerful Argument for their Converſions: Nor is it to be wonder'd at, that they cou'd no longer believe all that to be Goſpel which their Prieſts taught them, when they ſaw the Way and Means of introducing it was ſo far from being Evangelical. In a Word, ſo univerſal is that Deſpair to which the *Papiſts* are now reduc'd, that they have no other Hope left but this, *That we may chance to overdo our own Buſineſs*; and, by being too far tranſported with the *Fears of Popery*, neglect the Opportunities we now have of making ſober and laſting Proviſions againſt it. And 'tis not to be doubted but that it wou'd infinitely gratify the Papiſts in the Revenge they wiſh, for this Diſcovery, if they cou'd ſee us diſtracted with Jealouſies incurable, and diſtruſting the Government to ſuch a Degree, as ſhou'd weaken all that Reverence by which it ſtands: For then the *Plot* wou'd not be altogether without Effect; but thoſe whom they cou'd not deſtroy by their Conſpiracy, they ſhou'd have the Satiſfaction to ſee Ruining themſelves after the Diſcovery: So that, tho' we had eſcap'd that *Deſolation* which they intended to have brought upon us, nothing cou'd ſave us from that *Deſtruction* which we ſhall bring upon our ſelves. But their Expectations of this are as vain, as their other Deſigns were wicked; For his Majeſty hath already begun to let them ſee with what Severity he intends to proceed againſt them. He hath paſs'd a Law to diſable all the Nobility and Gentry of that Faction ever to ſit in Parliament; and not content with that, he did offer to the laſt Parliament, and does again renew the ſame Offer to this Parliament, to paſs any further Laws againſt *Popery* which ſhall be deſired; ſo as the ſame extend not to the Diminution of his own *Prerogative*, nor alter the *Deſcent* of the Crown in the *Right Line*, nor defeat the *Succeſſion*. He hath refus'd the Petition of the Lords, who, during the Interval of Parliament, deſired to be brought to their Tryal, and, after ſo long an Impriſonment, might reaſonably enough have expected it. But his Majeſty thought it fitter to reſerve them to a more publick and conſpicuous Tryal in Parliament: For which Cauſe their Tryal ought now to be haſtned; for it is high Time there ſhou'd be ſome Period put to the Impriſonment of the Lords.

‘ But that which the King hath been pleas'd to mention to you this Morning, ſurpaſſes all the reſt, and is ſufficient of it ſelf alone to diſcharge all thoſe Fears of *Popiſh Influences* which many good Men had too far entertain'd: For now you ſee his Majeſty of his own accord hath done that which wou'd have been very difficult for you to aſk; and hath depriv'd himſelf of the Converſation of his Royal and only Brother, by commanding him to depart the Kingdom; to which Command his Royal Highneſs hath paid a humble and a moſt entire Submiſſion and Obedience. This Separation was attended with a more than ordinary Sorrow on both ſides. But he, that for your Sakes cou'd part with ſuch a Brother, and ſuch a Friend, you may be ſure, *hath now no Favourite but his People*. Since therefore his Majeſty hath ſhewn ſo much Readineſs to concur with, and in a manner to prevent, the Deſires of the Parliament, 'tis a miſerable Refuge our Enemies muſt truſt to, when they hope to ſee our Zeal out-run our Diſcretion, and that we our ſelves ſhall become the unhappy Occaſion of making our own Counſels abortive. Not only the Care of the State, but the Care we ought to have of the Church too, will preſerve us from all Errors of this kind: For as there neither is, nor hath been theſe fifteen hundred Years, a purer Church than ours; ſo 'tis for the ſake of this poor Church alone, that the State hath been ſo much diſturb'd. It is her Truth and Peace, her Decency and Order, which they labour to undermine, and purſue with ſo reſtleſs a Malice: And ſince they do ſo, it will be neceſſary for us to diſtinguiſh between *Popiſh* and other Recuſants, between them that wou'd deſtroy the whole Flock, and them that only wander from it. And among the many good Laws you ſhall think fit to provide, it may not be amiſs to think of ſome better Remedy for regulating the Preſs, from whence there daily ſteal forth *Popiſh Catechiſms*, *Pſalters*, and *Books of Controverſy*: And it may be another good Fruit of ſuch a Law, to hinder Schiſmatical and Seditious Libels too; for certainly it were much better for us *to make ſuch Laws as will prevent Offences, rather than ſuch as ſerve only to puniſh the Offenders*.'

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Then, inſiſting upon the Reaſonableneſs of a Supply, from the Dangers abroad, and Neceſſities at home, he proceeded thus:

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, There are ſo many things to do, and ſo little Time to do them in, that there ought not to be one Minute loſt. The Seaſon of the Year is not yet ſo far advanced, as to make it too late to ſet out a Fleet this Summer; for moſt of the Preparations are ready, if we go about it with that Diligence which is requiſite: And therefore it doth infinitely import us all to husband Time. The beſt way of doing this will be, to avoid all long and tedious *Conſultations*, which ſometimes do as much Harm as ill *Reſolutions*: And, above all, to take heed to ſuch *Queſtions* and *Debates* as tend to raiſe Heat, or may create any Kind of Diſturbance. Nor doth any thing in the World ſo much contribute to *Diſpatch*, as quiet and orderly Proceedings: For they who are in haſte, and attempt to do all their Buſineſs at once, moſt commonly hinder themſelves from bringing any thing to Perfection. You have now an Opportunity of doing great Things for the King and Kingdom; and it deſerves your utmoſt Care to make a right Uſe of it: For 'tis not in the Power of a Parliament to recover a loſt Opportunity, or to reſtore themſelves again to the ſame Circumſtances, or the ſame Condition, which they once had a Power to have improv'd. Wou'd you ſecure Religion at Home, and ſtrengthen it Abroad, by uniting the Intereſts of all the *Proteſtants* in *Europe*? *This is the Time.* Wou'd you let the *Chriſtian* World ſee the King in a Condition able to protect thoſe who ſhall adhere to Him, or depend upon Him? *This is the Time.* Wou'd you extinguiſh all our Fears and Jealouſies? Wou'd you lay aſide all private Animoſities, and give them up to the Quiet and Repoſe of the Publick? *This is the Time.* Wou'd you lay the Foundations of a laſting Peace, and ſecure the Church and State againſt all the future Machinations of our Enemies? THIS IS THE TIME.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, The preſent Face of Things, and the State wherein we now are, is ſo well known and underſtood Abroad, that the whole World is in great Expectation of thoſe Reſolutions which ſhall be taken here: The Reſults of this Council ſeem to be deciſive of the Fate of theſe Kingdoms for many Ages, and are like to determine us either to Happineſs or Miſery of a very long Duration. We uſe to ſay, and ſay truly, *That the King, when ſeated in Parliament, is then in the Fulneſs of his Majeſty and Power, and ſhines forth with the brighteſt Luſtre*: Let no Exhalations from beneath darken or obſcure it! Foreign Nations ſay, and ſay truly, *That a King of* England, *in Conjunction with his Parliament, is as Great and Dreadful a Prince as any in* Europe: Shew them the Sight they are afraid of! And ſince they have laid it down for a Maxim in their Politicks, *That* England *can never be deſtroy'd but by it ſelf; and that it is in vain to make any Attempts upon this Nation, until they be in ſome great Diſorder and Confuſion among themſelves*; make the Ambitious deſpair betimes, and eſtabliſh ſo perfect an Intelligence between all the Parts of this great Body, that there may be but one Heart, and one Soul among us. And let us all pray, *That he, who hath once more miraculouſly deliver'd the King, the Church, and the State, wou'd be pleas'd ſtill to continue his Divine Protection, and give us thankful and obedient Hearts*. And when we have offer'd up thoſe Hearts to God, let us in the next place offer them again to the King, and lay them down at the Foot-ſtool of his Throne, that ſo the King may ſee himſelf ſafe in your Counſels, rich in your Affections, victorious by your Arms, and rais'd to ſuch a Height by your Loyalty and Courage, that you may have the Honour of making him the *Greateſt King*, and he the Glory of making you the *Happieſt People*.'

Mr. Edward Seymour *choſen Speaker.*

In Concluſion, by the King's Commands, he order'd the Houſe of Commons to proceed to the Choice of a Speaker, who was to be preſented to the King the next Day; and being return'd to their Houſe, Colonel *Birch* did nominate and recommend the Right Honourable *Edward Seymour*, Knight of the Shire for the County of *Devon*, Treaſurer of the Navy, one of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council, and Speaker of the laſt Parliament: ‘ Being a Perſon acceptable to the King, and one who for his great Integrity, Ability, and long Experience in the Employment, was the fitteſt Perſon for ſo great a Truſt.' And Mr. *Seymour* being unanimouſly call'd upon to the Chair, was conducted thither by Sir *Thomas Lee*, Sir *Thomas Whitmore*, and divers other Members; and being there placed, he made a gratulatory Speech to the Houſe for their great Kindneſs and Affection towards him, in their unanimous Choice of him: But ſtill he deſired the Houſe that they wou'd proceed to a new Election, *For the long Sittings of the late Parliament had* *ſo impaired his Health, that he doubted he ſhou'd not be well able to undergo the Service of the Houſe, as wou'd be expected from him:* But the Houſe not admitting of any Excuſe, confirm'd their Choice; upon which he deſir'd leave, *That he might intercede with his Majeſty, that he wou'd be pleas'd to Diſcharge him of the Duty.*

The King refuſes him.

The Commons diſguſted.

But it appears, that he need not have been ſo urgent; for the King and the Earl of *Danby*, taking this Choice to be an ill Preſage, that this Parliament wou'd begin where the laſt ended, were reſolv'd not to approve of it: And as ſoon as he appear'd to be preſented, the Lord-Chancellor ſtood up, and ſaid, *That if his Majeſty ſhou'd always accept a Perſon pitch'd upon by the Houſe of Commons, then it wou'd be no great Favour to be choſen a Speaker; and therefore his Majeſty, being the beſt Judge of Perſons and Things, thought fit to except againſt Mr.* Seymour, *as being fitly qualify'd for other Services and Imployments, without giving any Reaſon to the Perſons chuſing, or the Perſon choſen:* And therefore he order'd them to fix upon ſome other Perſon by to Morrow Morning, to be preſented to the King for his Approbation. The Commons immediately return'd back to their own Houſe; where Sir *John Ernly* ſtood up and acquainted them, *He had Order from his Majeſty to recommend Sir* Thomas Meers *to them to be their Speaker, as a Perſon well known in the Method and Practice of Parliaments, and a Perſon that he thought wou'd be very acceptable and ſerviceable to them.* But the Houſe in a great Heat, cry'd out, *No, No!* and fell into a warm Debate. Mr. *Sacheverell* ſaid, *It was never known that a Perſon ſhou'd be excepted againſt, and no Reaſon at all given*; and therefore concluded, *That it was done purpoſely to gratify ſome particular Perſons.* Mr. *Williams* ſaid, *For above a hundred Years, it had not been known that a Speaker preſented was ever excepted againſt; and the thing it ſelf of preſenting him to the King, as he humbly conceiv'd, was but a bare Compliment.* Sir *Thomas Clarges* alledg'd, *That there were Parliaments long before there were Speakers choſen, and afterwards for the Eaſe of the Houſe among themſelves, they pitch'd upon a Speaker.--- All our Lives and Liberties are preſerv'd by this Houſe, therefore we are to preſerve the Liberties of it.* Mr. *Garraway* objected, *If Mr.* Seymour *be rejected, and no Reaſon given, pray who muſt chuſe a Speaker, the King or we? It is plain, not we.*------Sir *Thomas Lee* ſaid, *We addreſs'd our ſelves to his Majeſty the laſt Parliament, as fearing his Perſon to be in Danger, but we receiv'd no Anſwer at all in a whole Week; we were immediately Prorogu'd unexpectedly, and a little after Diſſolv'd as unexpectedly: And I ſuppoſe the ſame Perſons that gave that Advice, gave this alſo.* Others concluded, that all this was only for a Bone of Contention, fearing they ſhou'd agree, and ſo call'd to *Adjourn*, which was ſoon agreed to.

They apply to the King.

His Anſwer.

Theſe Heats were ſo much the greater, becauſe they reaſonably ſuppos'd that it was all occaſiou'd by the Earl of *Danby*, whoſe Power was not wholly at an End, and between whom and Mr. *Seymour* there was a particular Reſentment. However, the firſt thing reſolv'd on the next Day, being *Saturday*, was, ‘That an humble Application be made to the King, to acquaint his Majeſty, That the Matter Yeſterday deliver'd by the Lord-Chancellor, relating to the Speaker, is of ſo great Importance, that this Houſe cannot immediately come to a Reſolution therein: And therefore do humbly deſire his Majeſty, that he will graciouſly be pleas'd to grant ſome further Time for this Houſe to take the Matter into Conſideration.’ And they order'd the Chancellor of the Dutchy, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, and Sir *Henry Capel* immediately to attend his Majeſty with this Vote. Being return'd in a ſhort Time, the Lord *Ruſſel* acquainted the Houſe, ‘That they had attended his Majeſty, who was ſitting in Council; and that his Majeſty, as ſoon as he was inform'd they were to wait upon him from the Houſe, immediately came out, and receiv'd them with great Chearfulneſs and Kindneſs: And having deliver'd their Meſſage, his Majeſty retired to the Council-Chamber, and Coming out again, was pleas'd to return the following Anſwer by Word of Mouth, which they had reduc'd to Writing’: *Gentlemen, I have conſider'd of your Meſſage, and do conſent to a further Time, which I appoint to be on* Tueſday *next, unleſs you ſhall find ſome Expedient in the mean time; for as I would not have my* Prerogative *intrench'd upon, ſo I would not do any Thing againſt the* Privileges *of the Houſe.*

The Commons Repreſentation.

The King's Anſwer.

Upon the ſaid *Tueſday*, they drew up this humble *Repreſentation*: ‘We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, do with all Obedience return your Majeſty moſt hearty Thanks for the favourable Reception and gracious Anſwer your Majeſty was pleas'd to return to our late Meſſage; wherein your Majeſty was pleas'd, not only to *allow us longer Time* to deliberate of what was deliver'd to us by the Lord-Chancellor, relating to the Choice of a Speaker, but likewiſe to expreſs ſo great a Care *not to infringe our Privileges.* And we deſire your Majeſty to believe, no Subjects ever had more tender Regard, than our ſelves, to the Right of your Majeſty and your Royal Prerogative, which we ſhall always acknowledge to be veſted in the Crown for the Benefit and Protection of your People. And therefore, for the clearing all Doubts that may ariſe in your Royal Mind, upon this Occaſion now before us, we crave Leave humbly to repreſent to your Majeſty, That it is the undoubted Right of the Commons to have the Free Election of one of their Members to be their Speaker, and to perform the Service of the Houſe: And that the Speaker ſo Elected, and Preſented according to Cuſtom, hath by the conſtant Practice of all former Ages, been continu'd Speaker, and executed that Imployment, unleſs ſuch Perſons have been excus'd for ſome Corporal Diſeaſe, which has been alledg'd, either by themſelves, or ſome others in their Behalf, in full Parliament. According to this Uſage, Mr. *Edward Seymour* was unanimouſly choſen, upon the Conſideration of his great Ability and Sufficiency for that Place, of which we had large Experience in the laſt Parliament, and was preſented by us to your Majeſty, as a Perſon we conceiv'd would be moſt acceptable to your Majeſty's Royal Judgment. This being the true State of the Caſe, we do in all Humility lay it before your Majeſty's View; hoping that your Majeſty, upon due Conſideration of former Precedents, will reſt ſatisfy'd with our Proceeding, and will think fit not to deprive us of ſo neceſſary a Member, by employing him in any other Service; but to give us ſuch a gracious Anſwer, as your Majeſty and your Royal Predeceſſors have always done heretofore upon the like Occaſions; that ſo we may, without more Loſs of Time, proceed to the Diſpatch of thoſe *Important Affairs* for which we were call'd hither: Wherein we doubt not but we ſhall ſo behave our ſelves, as to give an ample Teſtimony to the whole World of our Duty and Affection to your Majeſty's Service, and of our Care of the Peace and Proſperity of your Kingdoms.’ To this Repreſentation the King immediately gave this ſhort Anſwer: *Gentlemen, All this is but Loſs of Time; and therefore I deſire you to go back again, and do as I have directed you.*

The Commons Addreſt.

The King prorogues the Parliament.

This giving no Satisfaction to the Houſe, the next Day, *March* 12, the Commons, after a warm Debate, drew up this following Addreſs: ‘*Moſt Gracious Sovereign*, Whereas by the Gracious Anſwer your Majeſty was pleas'd to give to our firſt Meſſage in Council, whereby your Majeſty was pleas'd to declare a Reſolution *not to infringe our juſt Rights and Privileges*, we your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Commons were encourag'd to make an *Humble Repreſentation* to your Majeſty upon the Choice of our Speaker, which on *Tueſday* laſt was preſented by ſome of our Members: We do, with great Trouble and infinite Sorrow, find by the Report made to us by thoſe Members at their Return, that your Majeſty was pleas'd to give us an immediate Anſwer to the ſame, without taking any further Conſideration; which we are perſuaded if your Majeſty had done, what we then offer'd to your Majeſty would ſo far have prevail'd upon your Royal Judgment, as to have given your Majeſty Satisfaction in the Reaſonableneſs of our Deſire; and preſerv'd us in your Majeſty's favourable Opinion of our Proceedings. And ſince we do humbly conceive, that the Occaſion of this Queſtion hath ariſen from your Majeſty's not being truly inform'd of the State of the Caſe; we humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take the ſaid Repreſentation into your further Conſideration, and give us ſuch a Gracious Anſwer, that we may be put in a Capacity to manifeſt our Readineſs to enter into thoſe Conſultations which neceſſarily tend to the Preſervation and Welfare of your Majeſty and your Kingdoms.’ Upon reading of this Addreſs to the King, he immediately gave this quick and ſharp Return; *Gentlemen, I will ſend you an Anſwer to Morrow.* Accordingly, as he had often done before upon great Difficulties, he reſolv'd to put an End to the Diſpute, and on the next Morning, being *Thurſday* the 13th of *March*, he came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he immediately Prorogu'd the Parliament till *Saturday* following, after the Commons had ſate without a Speaker, but Six Days. And thus the King found a Way to gain his Point, but with very little Advantage to his own Buſineſs and Affairs.

The Second Seſſion.

2. On the appointed Day, *March* 15th, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers in his Royal Robes, and the Houſe of Commons attending, his Majeſty was pleas'd to put both Houſes in mind of what he ſaid to them at the Opening of the Parliament: And then the Lord Chancellor, by the King's Command, directed the Commons to

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Serjeant Gregory *Speaker.*

return to their Houſe, and to proceed to the Choice of a Speaker. And being return'd, the Lord *Ruſſel* put the Houſe in mind of the King's Commands, and immediately recommended *William Gregory*, Serjeant at Law *as a Perſon, for his great Learning and Integrity, fit for the Employment:* And Mr. Serjeant *Gregory* being unanimouſly call'd upon to the Chair, he in a ſhort Speech modeſtly excus'd himſelf, and deſir'd of the Houſe, that another might be nominated; but no Excuſe being admitted, he was formally conducted to the Chair by the two intimate Friends, the Lord *Ruſſel* and the Lord *Cavendiſh*, and there confirm'd in the Place. On the *Monday* following, he was preſented by the Commons to the King, in the Houſe of Lords, who without Heſitation approv'd of the Choice.

Controverted Elections.

A Committee of Secrecy.

The Earl of Danby *retires.*

At the Beginning, the Houſe was much employ'd with what was almoſt unknown in the laſt Parliament, the Buſineſs of controverted Elections, chiefly occaſion'd by riotous Methods, and the unuſual Zeal of Parties: Concerning which, there were above Threeſcore Petitions preſented, Six of them from Counties themſelves, which was a great Number in thoſe Days. As ſoon as thoſe were put into a way of Determination, they appear'd reſolved to purſue the latter Meaſures taken in the former Parliament; and therefore on *Wedneſday* the 19th of *March*, they Reſolv'd, 'That a Committee be appointed to inſpect the Journals of the laſt Seſſion of the laſt Parliament, and to prepare and draw up a *State of the Matters* then depending and undetermined, and the Progreſs that was made therein.' And on the next Day they *Reſolv'd*, 'That a *Committee of Secrecy* be appointed to take Informations, and prepare Evidence, and draw up Articles againſt the Lords that are Impeach'd, and that are now in the *Tower*; and to take ſuch further Informations as ſhall be given, relating to the Plot and Conſpiracy againſt his Majeſty and the Government, and the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*.' And then to be yet more particular, they immediately after, *Reſolv'd*, 'That a Meſſage be ſent to the Lords, to put them in mind of the *Impeachment* of High-Treaſon, exhibited againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, in the Names of the Commons of *England*, and to deſire that he may be committed to ſafe Cuſtody:' *Reſolving* again, 'That it be referr'd to the *Committee of Secrecy*, to draw up further Articles againſt him.' However, the Letters produc'd againſt the Earl being written by the King's particular Command, and ſome private Papers being neceſſary for his Defence, which his Majeſty would not ſuffer to be made publick; he at laſt reſolv'd to adhere to the Benefit of his Pardon, and hoping his Abſence might allay the Storm, thought fit to withdraw.

Oates *and* Bedloe's *Informations.*

An Addreſs for Bedloe.

The King's Anſwer.

And that nothing might be wanting to proſecute the Plot, the Murder, and this Nobleman, all Countenance was given to the Plot-Diſcoverers; and on the 21ſt of *March* Dr. *Tongue* and Mr. *Oates* were call'd before the Commons to give in their Informations concerning the Plot, *&c.* And the Latter gave in an Information, not only againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, but alſo againſt Sir *John Robinſon*, Colonel *Edward Sackville*, and Captain *Henry Goreing*, all Three Members of the Houſe of Commons; which rais'd a new Flame in that Place. On the ſame Day *Bedloe* likewiſe deliver'd in his Information; upon which the Houſe *Reſolv'd*, 'That an humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, That the Five Hundred Pounds Reward promis'd by his Proclamation, for the Diſcovery of the Murther of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, may be forthwith paid to Mr. *Bedloe, who this Houſe is ſatisfied to be the Firſt Diſcoverer thereof:* and that his Majeſty would further be pleas'd to order that the Twenty Pounds Reward for the Diſcovery of every Prieſt, may be effectually paid to the Diſcoverers of them.' At the ſame time, in another Addreſs, they deſired his Majeſty, 'That the Care of Mr. *Bedloe*'s Safety may be immediately recommended to his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*;' which was carry'd up by the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Henry Capell*, Mr. *Booth*, Mr. *Powle*, Sir *Robert Carr*, Sir *John Earnly*, and Sir *William Portman*. The King gave a preſent Anſwer, 'That he would take immediate Care for the Payment of the Five Hundred Pounds, and the Twenty Pounds they deſired: That he had hitherto taken all the Care he could of Mr. *Bedloe*, and that he knew *how conſiderable his Evidence was*; And that he would ſee hereafter, that he ſhould want for nothing; and that he would be reſponſible for him, whilſt be remain'd in *White-Hall*; but that he could not be anſwerable for him when he went abroad.' Beſides theſe, there appear'd one Mr. *Edmund Everard*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, who had been Four Years Priſoner in the *Tower*, who making ſome old Diſcoveries, was encourag'd, as *Oates* before him, to put the whole into a formal *Narrative.*

A Grand Reſolve.

A Faſt deſired.

Upon the whole, they came to this unanimous Grand *Reſolve*, ſomething like that in the laſt Parliament, *viz.* 'That the Houſe doth declare, that they are fully ſatisfy'd by the Proofs they have heard, that there now is, and for divers Years laſt paſt hath been, a Horrid and Treaſonable *Plot* and *Conſpiracy*, contriv'd and carry'd on by thoſe of the *Popiſh* Religion, for the Murthering his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, and for ſubverting the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Ancient and Well-Eſtabliſh'd Government of this Kingdom.' To this Vote they deſired the Concurrence of the Lords, as they likewiſe did and obtain'd that to a particular Addreſs to his Majeſty *For appointing a Solemn Day of Humiliation*; 'being deeply ſenſible of the ſad and calamitous Condition of your Majeſty's Kingdom, occaſion'd chiefly by the impious and malicious Conſpiracies of a *Popiſh* Party, who have not only Plotted and Intended the Deſtruction of your Majeſty's Royal Perſon, but the total Subverſion of the Government, and true Religion eſtabliſh'd among us.' Afterwards they expreſs themſelves thus: 'That we may by Faſting and Prayer, and with humble and penitent Hearts, ſeek Reconciliation with Almighty God, and implore him by his Power and Goodneſs, *to infatuate and defeat the wicked Counſels and Imaginations of our Enemies, and continue his Mercies and the Light of his Goſpel to Us and our Poſterities*; and particularly, *to beſtow his abundant Bleſſings upon your Sacred Majeſty, and this preſent Parliament*, &c.' Accordingly, his Majeſty commanded a General and Publick *Faſt*, to be kept throughout the Kingdom on the 11th of *April*; beginning his Proclamation for it, as he generally did upon ſuch an Occaſion, with mentioning and alledging the *Deſire of the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled.*

$167\frac{8}{9}$. Car. 30. Reſ. 19.

A Meſſage againſt the Earl of Danby.

A Conference about him.

During this Height of Zeal, the Comons on *March* 22, order'd a Bill to be brought in, *To ſecure the King and Kingdom againſt the Danger and Growth of Popery.* And being commanded, at the ſame time, to attend his Majeſty in the Houſe of Peers, the King ſpoke to them in Favour of the Earl of *Danby*: But returning to their Houſe, they preſently *Reſolv'd*, 'That a Meſſage be immediately ſent to the Lords, to remind their Lordſhips of the laſt Meſſage ſent them from this Houſe, relating to *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*; and to demand that he might be forthwith ſequeſter'd from Parliament, and committed to ſafe Cuſtody.' Upon which extraordinary Requeſt, the Lords deſir'd a preſent Conference; but the Commons return'd Anſwer, *That it was not agreeable to the Uſage and Proceedings of Parliament for either Houſe to ſend for a Conference, without expreſſing the ſubject Matter of it.* Upon a ſecond Meſſage, wherein the Earl of *Danby* was mention'd, they met the Lords in the *Painted-Chamber*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* ſpoke as follows: 'I am commanded by the Lords to acquaint you, that their Lordſhips having taken into Conſideration Matters relating to the Earl of *Danby*, together with what his Majeſty was pleas'd to ſay upon that Subject; have Order'd, That a Bill be brought in, *by which* Thomas *Earl of* Danby *may be made for ever incapable of coming to his Majeſty's Preſence, and of all Offices and Employments, and of receiving any Gifts or Grants from the Crown, and of Sitting in the Houſe of Peers.*

An Account of his Pardon.

In the mean time, the Commons hearing that the King had ſign'd a Pardon for the Earl, they appointed a Committee to repair to the ſeveral Offices, and particularly to the Lord Chancellor, to enquire into the manner of ſuing out that Pardon. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor inform'd the Committee, 'That the Pardon was paſs'd with the utmoſt Privacy, at the Deſire of the Earl, who gave this Reaſon for it, '*That he did not intend to make uſe of it, but to ſtand upon his Innocence, except falſe Witneſſes ſhould be produc'd againſt him; and then he would make uſe of it at the laſt Extremity.* That he adviſ'd the Earl to let the Pardon paſs in the regular Courſe; but after conſulting with the King, his Majeſty declared, *he was reſolv'd to let it paſs with all Privacy*: And ſuddenly after the King commanded the Lord Chancellor to bring the Seal to *White-Hall*, and being there he laid it upon the Table; thereupon his Majeſty commanded the Seal to be taken out of the Bag, which his Lordſhip was oblig'd to ſubmit unto, it not being in his Power to hinder it; and the King wrote his Name upon the Top of the Parchment, and then directed to have it Seal'd; whereupon the Perſon that uſually carry'd the Purſe, affix'd the Seal to it. The Chancellor added, *That at the very Time of affixing the Seal to the Parchment, he did not look upon himſelf to have the Cuſtody of the Seal.*

Mr. Powle's *Speech againſt him.*

Upon reading this Report, the Houſe fell into a violent Heat and Debate; and of thoſe that ſpoke, we muſt not omit Mr. *Powle*'s ſevere Speech, who naming the Earl of *Danby*, proceeded thus: *The Perſon to whom we owe the Dangers and Fears of the* French *King againſt us: The Perſon to whom we owe the Threats and ſevere Anſwers to thoſe humble Addreſſes we made the laſt Seſſion of Parliament: The Perſon to whom we owe the Ruin of this Nation, and exhauſting the King's Revenue: The Perſon to whom we owe the Expence of Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year,*

167$\frac{8}{9}$.
Car. 31.
Ref. 19.

Year, unaccounted for: The Perſon to whom we owe the Raiſing of a Standing Army, to be kept up by the Receipt of Six Millions of Livres *Yearly, for Three Years, to enſlave Us and our Religion: The Perſon to whom we owe the late Bone that was thrown in on the Sitting of the laſt Parliament, to hinder the good Iſſue that might have come by their Proceedings; who is now laying down his* Staff, *and making up his Accompts in the Treaſury as he pleaſes, to enrich himſelf out of the Spoils of the People, and ſo depart.* At the Concluſion of the Debate, *Reſolved, Nemine Contradicente,* ‘That a Meſſage be ſent to the Lords, to demand Juſtice, in the Name of the Commons of *England*, againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*; and that he may be immediately ſequeſter'd from Parliament, and committed to ſafe Cuſtody.’ They likewiſe *Reſolv'd*, ‘That an humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, repreſenting to his Majeſty the *Irregularity* and *Illegality* of the Pardon, mention'd by his Majeſty to be granted to the Earl of *Danby*, and the *dangerous Conſequence* of granting Pardons to any Perſons that lie under an Impeachment of the Commons of *England*.

His Pardon queſtion'd.

1679.
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The Earl of Shaftsbury's *Speech to the Lords.*

3. The Houſe of Lords was likewiſe agitated with Heats and Apprehenſions, which were particularly fomented by the great and reſtleſs Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who on the 25th of *March* deliver'd his Thoughts in a peculiar and artful Speech, much diſcours'd of at this Time. After a few Words, he proceeds thus: *I never ſtudy'd either to make my Court well, or to be Popular; I always ſpeak what I am commanded by the Dictates of the* Spirit *within me. There are ſome Conſiderations Abroad that concern* England *ſo nearly, that without them you will come far ſhort of Safety and Quiet at Home,* ‘We have a little Siſter, and ſhe hath no Breaſts; what ſhall we do for our Siſter in the Day when ſhe ſhall be ſpoken for? If ſhe be a Wall, we will build on her a Palace of Silver; if ſhe be a Door, we will encloſe her with Boards of Cedar.’ *We have ſeveral little Siſters without Breaſts, the* French *Proteſtant Churches, the two Kingdoms of* Ireland *and* Scotland*: The Foreign Proteſtants are a Wall, the only Wall and Defence to* England; *upon it you may build* Palaces of Silver, *Glorious Palaces. The Protection of the Proteſtants abroad, is the greateſt Power and Security the Crown of* England *can attain to, and which can only help us to give Check to the growing Greatneſs of* France. Scotland *and* Ireland *are two* Doors, *either to let in Good or Miſchief upon us; they are much weakned by the Artifice of our cunning Enemies, and we ought to encloſe them with* Boards of Cedar. Popery *and* Slavery, *like two Siſters, go Hand in Hand; ſometimes one goes firſt, ſometimes the other; but whereſoever the one enters, the other is always following cloſe at Hand. In* England, Popery *was to have brought in* Slavery; *In* Scotland, Slavery *went before, and* Popery *was to follow. I do not think your Lordſhips or the Parliament have Juriſdiction there: It is a noble and ancient Kingdom; they have an illuſtrious Nobility, a gallant Gentry, a learned Clergy, an underſtanding worthy People; but yet we cannot think of* England *as we ought, without reflecting on their Condition. They are under the ſame Prince, and the Influence of the ſame Favourites and Counſels; when they are hardly dealt with, can we that are richer expect better Uſage? For 'tis certain, that in all abſolute Governments, the pooreſt Countries are always moſt favourably dealt with.----Yet* Scotland *hath outdone all the* Eaſtern *and* Southern *Countries, in having their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates ſubjected to the Arbitrary Will and Pleaſure of thoſe that Govern.* After a large Enumeration of the Grievances in *Scotland*, he ſaid, *I am afraid your Lordſhips will think I have ſaid too much, having no Concern there: But if a* French *Nobleman ſhould come to dwell in my Houſe and Family, I ſhould think it concern'd me to ask what he did in* France*: For if he were there a Felon, a Rogue, a Plunderer, I ſhould deſire him to live elſewhere; and I hope your Lordſhips will do the ſame Thing for the Nation, if you find the ſame Cauſe.*----- This Speech was ſuppos'd to have laid the Foundation for the enſuing Troubles in *Scotland*; and by the next Poſt Forty written Copies of it were tranſmitted to the Earl's Correſpondents at *Edinburgh*, who being induc'd by theſe Artifices to believe they might be ſeconded in *England*, grew ſo inſolent, that Accounts were preſently ſent up to the Court of the great Danger of the Publick Peace from the Enemies of the Church and Monarchy; but theſe Reports were ſlighted as the Contrivance of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, who had been ſo ſhrewdly handled in the Speech.

On the ſame Day the Lords ſent a Meſſage to acquaint the Houſe of Commons, ‘That they had ſent to apprehend *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, both to his Houſe here in Town, and to his Houſe at *Wimbleton*; and that the Gentleman-Uſher of the Black Rod had return'd their Lordſhips Anſwer, *That he could not be found.*’ Whereupon the Commons, reſolving not to be defeated, Order'd, ‘That a Bill be brought in to Summon *Thomas* Earl of *Danby* to render himſelf to Juſtice by a certain Day to be therein limited; or in Default thereof, to Attaint him.’ Then to render him more obnoxious, *Bedloe* came before the Houſe, and made a great Complaint of the harſh Uſage and Diſencouragements he had met with from the ſaid Earl, when Treaſurer; ſetting forth upon Oath, ‘That going to him for ſome Money, by vertue of an Order from the Council, his Lordſhip took him into his Cloſet, and ask'd him, *Whether the Duke of* Buckingham, *or Lord* Shaftsbury, *or any of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, had deſir'd him to ſay any Thing againſt him, and to tell him who they were, and he would well reward him; and to know if he would deſiſt from giving Evidence againſt the--- and the Lords in the* Tower, *&c.* To which *Bedloe* anſwer'd, *That he had once been an ill Man, and deſired to be ſo no more.* To which the Earl reply'd, *You may have a great Sum of Money, and live in another Country, as* Geneva, Sweeden, *or* New England; *and ſhould have what Money he would ask to maintain him there.* But *Bedloe* refuſing all ſuch Temptations, his Lordſhip began to threaten him, ſaying, *There was a Yatch ready to carry him far enough for telling of Tales:* And after this, the Guards were as Spies upon him, and he very ill us'd, till by their Addreſs to the King the ſame was remedy'd, and better Care was taken.’ And at the ſame time appear'd *Oates* in the Houſe, who declared, ‘That being one Day in the *Privy-Garden*, the Earl of *Danby*, paſſing by, reflected upon him, and ſaid, *There goes one of the Saviours of* England, *but I hope to ſee him hang'd within a Month.*’ And likewiſe at the ſame time *Oates* gave his Teſtimony againſt Colonel *Sackville*, a Member of the Houſe formerly mention'd, declaring that he ſaid, *That they were Sons of Whores, who ſaid there was a Plot, and that he was a lying Rogue that ſaid it.* Whereupon the Colonel was immediately ſent to the *Tower*, and order'd to be expell'd the Houſe, with a Petition to the King to be made incapable of bearing any Office. But in a ſhort time, upon his Submiſſion, he was diſcharg'd from his Impriſonment, but not reſtor'd to his Seat in the Houſe.

The Commons reſolve to attaint the Earl of Danby.

1679.
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Ref. 19.

Bedloe's *and* Oates's *Complaints againſt him.*

Colonel Sackville *expell'd.*

And now every Man was in danger from the Commons, who either ſeem'd to doubt of the Plot or the Murder, or appear'd to be a Friend to the Earl of *Danby*. Upon this laſt Account, Dr. *John Nalſon* was taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, for Writing a Pamphlet in favour of the Earl; and the Printer was call'd to an Account for publiſhing two of Mr. *Mountagu*'s Letters; and the Earl's Speech upon his firſt Impeachment. Sir *Robert Southwell* alſo was accus'd by one Mr. *Chetwins*, and put to ſome Trouble in the Houſe, upon a Suppoſition that he was negligent, or not enough Officious in the Matter of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*. Some others likewiſe were diſturb'd and threatened upon the Account of the Plot, or ſomething that was eſteem'd a Branch of it. But the Perſons moſt in Danger from them at this Time, beſides the Earl of *Danby*, were the five *Popiſh* Lords, the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord Viſcount *Stafford*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Petre*, and the Lord *Bellaſis*, now Priſoners in the *Tower*; againſt whom they drew up Articles of Impeachment of High-Treaſon, *&c.* upon the 3d Day of *April*. They begin thus: ‘That for many Years now laſt paſt, there hath been contriv'd and carry'd on a Trayterous and Execrable *Conſpiracy* and *Plot* within this Kingdom of *England*, and other Places, to alter, change, and ſubvert the ancient Government and Laws of this Kingdom and Nation, and to ſuppreſs the true Religion therein eſtabliſh'd, and to extirpate and deſtroy the Profeſſors thereof; which ſaid *Plot* and *Conſpiracy* was contriv'd and carry'd on in divers Places, and by ſeveral Ways and Means, and by a great Number of Perſons of ſeveral Qualities and Degrees, who acted therein, and intended to execute and accompliſh the aforeſaid wicked and trayterous Deſigns and Purpoſes.’ The reſt ſeems a ſort of an Abſtract of *Oates*'s *Narrative*, and *Prance*'s Account of the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, and drawn up in ſuch general Terms, that the Lords knew not how to give a particular Anſwer, but only made a general Denial to the whole. The Articles were carry'd up to the Houſe of Peers by the Lord *Ruſſel*, who was look'd upon as a zealous Proſecutor of thoſe Lords.

Several Perſons troubled.

The five Popiſh Lords Impeached.

A Conference about the Earl of Danby.

4. But the Commons were principally imploy'd upon the Affair of the Earl of *Danby*; and on the 4th of *April* there was a Conference between the two Houſes, in the *Painted-Chamber*, concerning the Bill ſent up againſt that great Man; where the Earl of *Angleſey*, Lord-Privy-Seal, deliver'd himſelf to this Effect, ‘That the Lords choſe to deliver back this Bill by *Conference*, rather than *Meſſage*, to preſerve a good Underſtanding, and prevent Debate and Controverſy between them. The Lords obſerve, that the greateſt Affairs of this Nation are at a Stand, at the Time of greateſt Danger and Difficulty that this Kingdom ever labour'd under: That the King hath always in his Reign

‘ inclin'd to Mercy and Clemency to all his Subjects : Therefore to a King ſo merciful and compaſſionate, the firſt Interruption of his Clemency they did deſire ſhould not proceed from the two Houſes, preſſing the King to an Act of the greateſt Severity ; therefore they have paſs'd the Bill with ſome Amendments, which he deliver'd to them.' The Commons were no way ſatisfy'd with the Lords Proceedings, therefore drew up Reaſons againſt them, to be offer'd in another Conference, which were as following : ‘ The Addition of the *Title* does ſhew, that the Amendments made by your Lordſhips to the Bill do wholly alter the Nature of it, and from a *Bill of Attainder*, have converted it to a *Bill of Baniſhment*, which the Commons cannot conſent to for theſe Reaſons: 1. That Baniſhment is not the Legal Judgment in Caſes of High-Treaſon ; and the Earl of *Danby* being impeach'd by the Commons of High-Treaſon, and fled from Juſtice, hath hereby confeſs'd the Charge, and therefore ought to have the Judgment of High-Treaſon for the Puniſhment. 2. That Baniſhment being not the Puniſhment the Law inflicts upon thoſe Crimes, the Earl of *Danby* might make uſe of this Remiſſion of his Sentence as an Argument, *That either the Commons were diſtruſtful of their Proofs againſt him, or elſe that the Crimes are not in themſelves of ſo high a Nature as Treaſon*. 3. That the Example of this wou'd be an Encouragement to all Perſons that ſhould hereafter be impeach'd by the Commons, to withdraw themſelves from Juſtice, which they would be always ready to do, if not prevented by a Commitment upon their Impeachment ; and therefore hope to obtain a more favourable Sentence in a *Legiſlative* Way, than your Lordſhips would be oblig'd to paſs upon them in your *Judicial* Capacity.' Upon the Reading of this Paper, they immediately Reſolv'd, ‘ That an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would iſſue out his Royal Proclamation for apprehending of *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*.

A Second Conference.

On the ſame Day, *April* 8th, they had a ſecond Conference with the Lords upon the ſame Caſe, where the Earl of *Huntington* manag'd for the Houſe of Peers, and what he deliver'd was to this Effect, ‘ The Lords have deſired this Conference with the Commons, not ſo much to argue and diſpute, as to mitigate and reconcile : They have already obſerv'd, *That the Debates of this Bill have given too long, and too great an Obſtruction to publick Buſineſs*; and therefore they deſire you to believe, that *That* is the Reaſon which hath chiefly prevail'd with their Lordſhips in a Matter of this Nature. And upon this Ground it is, that if a Way may be found to ſatisfy and ſecure the Publick Fears, by going leſs than the Bill you have propos'd, the Lords do not think it adviſeable to inſiſt upon the utmoſt and moſt rigorous Satisfaction to publick Juſtice, which might be demanded. To induce you to this Compliance, the Lords do acknowledge, that Baniſhment is ſo far from being the Legal Judgment in Caſe of High-Treaſon, that it is not the Legal Judgment in any Caſe whatſoever, ſince it can never be inflicted but by the *Legiſlative Authority:* But they ſee no Reaſon why the Legiſlative Authority ſhould always be bound to act to the utmoſt Extent of its Power ; for there may be a prudential Neceſſity ſometimes of making Abatements, and it might be of fatal Conſequence, if it ſhould not be ſo. And the Lords, to remove all Jealouſies of the Precedents of this Kind, do declare, that nothing which hath been done in the Earl of *Danby*'s Caſe ſhall ever be drawn into Example for the Time to come, and will ſo enter it upon their Journal. And thereupon their Lordſhips inſiſt upon their Amendments ſo far, as to exclude all *Attainders* ; and do promiſe themſelves, the Commons will in this Point comply with their Lordſhips, who do again aſſure them, *That their Reſolutions are grounded only upon their Tenderneſs, and the Conſideration of the Publick.*

A Third and free Conference.

This being not ſatisfactory, a Third and a Free Conference was held two Days after, in which the Lord-Privy-Seal ſaid, ‘ That the Houſe of Commons might ſee by the preſent quick *Free Conference*, which the Lords deſired, that their Lordſhips did ſhew their Willingneſs, by uſing all Means poſſible, to reconcile both Houſes, and to come to ſuch an Underſtanding, as to paſs the Bill with all Expedition. He own'd the Cogency of the Commons Reaſons, and therefore the Lords were content to make the Bill abſolute, without giving the Lord of *Danby* any Day to appear, and the Penalties to continue. He obſerv'd, that by the paſſing of this Bill he would not only be ruin'd, together with his Family, but likewiſe thoſe Acquiſitions which he got by the Marriage into a noble Family, would be loſt. And if the Houſe of Commons would have any other Penalties added to the Bill, their Lordſhips would leave it to them, provided *they run not to the abſolute Deſtruction of the Lord Impeach'd.* He took notice, that altho' Reaſon and Juſtice were of the Commons Side, yet in a *Legiſlative Capacity*, they were to conſider Circumſtances with Relation to the Good of the Publick.' Then by way of Incouragement to the Commons, he told them, ‘ That in this Affair they had gain'd two great Points ; The Firſt was, *That Impeachments made by the Commons in one Parliament, continue from Seſſion to Seſſion, and Parliament to Parliament, notwithſtanding Prorogations or Diſſolutions :* The other Point was, *That in Caſes of Impeachment, upon ſpecial Matter ſhewn, if the Modeſty of the Party impeach'd directs him not to withdraw, the Lords admit that of Right they order him to withdraw, and that afterwards he muſt be committed.* But without ſpecial Matter alledg'd, he ſaid, He did not know how many of their Lordſhips might be pick'd out of the Houſe of a ſudden. The Earl of *Shaftſbury*, now in a Way of Preferment in Court, declar'd, they were as willing to be rid of the Earl of *Danby*, as the Commons ; but he let them know, that the Expreſſion which was ſent with Reaſons from the Lords the other Day, namely, *That the Lords would not draw into Example the Proceedings of the Earl of* Danby, *but would vacate them*, they intended that to extend only to the Points of *not Withdrawing*, and *not Committing*.' He likewiſe declar'd, ‘ that the Way now propos'd would be a Means to have the Bill paſs ; for the Commons might have other Penalties if they would, as Confiſcation of Eſtate, Loſs of Honours, &c. Therefore he deſir'd the Commons to conſider, that there were weighty Reaſons, which were better underſtood than expreſs'd, that prov'd it neceſſary for the Good of the Publick, that this Bill ſhould ſpeedily paſs.' The Commons reply'd, ‘ that they hop'd their Lordſhips did not think, they took it as if they had now gain'd any Point; for the Points which their Lordſhips mention'd as gain'd, were nothing but what was agreeable to the ancient Courſe and Methods of Parliament.' And thus they ſo immovably adhered to their own Bill of Attainder, that within two or three Days Time the Lords thought fit to give way to the Heat of the Seaſon, and paſs'd the Bill, in which, the 21ſt of *April* was appointed for the Earl's ſurrendering himſelf to Tryal.

The Attainder Bill paſſes againſt him.

The Earl ſurrenders himſelf.

The Earl finding himſelf reduc'd to this Extremity, rather than riſque the Miſchiefs that might happen to himſelf, or to the King if he ſhould refuſe to paſs the Bill, on the 15th of *April* ſurrender'd himſelf to the Uſher of the Black Rod. The next Day, being brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Peers, the Lord Chancellor let him know, ‘ that he ſtood impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons; and that upon his withdrawing himſelf, a Bill of Attainder had paſs'd the two Houſes; by which, however, he had Time given him to come in, and make his Defence. The Earl handſomly excus'd his not appearing ſooner, and declar'd his Innocency with ſeveral Proteſtations, and then was order'd to withdraw. Being call'd in, and brought to the Bar a ſecond Time, the Lord-Chancellor acquainted him, ‘ That their Lordſhips would allow him Time to give in his Anſwer to the Articles of his Impeachment, till the firſt Day of the Sitting of the Houſe after *Eaſter*; that if any further Charge were put in againſt him, he ſhould have further Time to anſwer ; that he ſhould have Council aſſign'd him, and Liberty to make uſe of Records, and that his Witneſſes ſhould be ſummon'd.' Upon which he withdrew, and by Order of the Houſe he was immediately committed to the *Tower* ; being attended by ſuch a vaſt Concourſe of People, that upon his Account a general Inſurrection was fear'd in the City. Thus this great Man, who had taken ſuch unreaſonable Pains in the Houſe of Commons to hunt down the famous Earl of *Clarendon*, now felt the ſame Hardſhips, and met with the like Fate as to his Honour, and a worſe Proſpect as to his Life.

He is ſent to the Tower.

The King under great Difficulties.

III. 1. The Parliament had ſate but a ſhort Time when the King found himſelf daily involv'd with new Troubles and Difficulties, ſuch as he had never ſtruggled with before, which oblig'd him to take new Meaſures, and make a total Alteration in his Court. Of which Alteration, and the Springs of it, Sir *William Temple* has given us the beſt Account; who tells us, that upon the Heats of the Commons, which increas'd into new Meaſures and Motions among them, as they were ſway'd by popular Humours upon the *Plot*, and many new Plots laid by the Ambitions of private Perſons, carry'd on under the Covert of the other ; He never ſaw any Man more ſenſible of the miſerable Condition of his Affairs, than he found the King, upon many Diſcourſes with him. But nothing his Majeſty ſaid mov'd him more, than when upon the ſad Proſpect of them all, he told him, *He had none left, with whom he could ſo much as ſpeak of them in Confidence, ſince my Lord Treaſurer was gone.* And this gave him an Occaſion of entering into more Confidence with one who had always been the Treaſurer's Friend.

Sir William *Temple's Endeavours to eaſe him.*

In Order to extricate his Majeſty, Sir *William* firſt conſider'd, that the Deſign of the Treaſurer's Removal had been carried on by the Duke of *Monmouth*, in Conjunction with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* and the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was then moſt intimate with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and by his Grace and the Earl of *Sunderland* newly brought into the Treaſury. He found the Lord *Sunderland*, at leaſt, in Compliance with this Combination; and that all were reſolv'd to bring the Earl of *Shaftsbury* again into the Court, who was in Confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Eſſex*, and near related to the Lord *Sunderland*. He obſerv'd the tender Affection the King had to the Duke of *Monmouth*; and plainly ſaw the Uſe his Grace would make of it, in caſe he could introduce a Miniſtry at his own Devotion: And this being a Matter that might ſtrike at the very Succeſſion of the Crown, and not only injure the Duke of *York*, but through Him, his Children and the Prince of *Orange*, he firſt reſolv'd, if it were poſſible, to break the Power of that Miniſtry; tho' he found no Men he could fix in it, with any Satisfaction to the King, or Advantage to his Service. On the other Side, Sir *William* obſerv'd the Parliament to grow every Day more violent, upon the Support they receiv'd by the Humours rais'd by the *Plot*, and the Incentives given them by the Ambitions of Perſons playing that Game. He ſaw a Probability of Matters growing to ſuch a Height, that the King might be compelled to part with them; and yet he ſaw not ſufficient Authority left in the Crown, either to do that without great Hazards, or to live without another Parliament, till the preſent Humours might cool. Both theſe Conſiderations meeting, gave Sir *William* the Thoughts of the King's Eſtabliſhing a New Council, of ſuch a Conſtitution as might either gain Credit enough with the Parliament, by taking ſome Lords and Commoners who had moſt Sway in both Houſes, and thereby eaſe both the King and People; or, if the Humours ſhould grow outragious and ungovernable, the King might yet, at the Head of ſuch a Council, with more Authority and leſs Hazard, either Prorogue or Diſſolve them, as his own Neceſſities or their Extravagancies ſhould require. Theſe he propos'd to mix with others of the King's more general Choice, for making up one Half of the Council; while the other Half, being deſign'd Fifteen in Number, were ever to be the preſent Chief Officers of his Crown and Houſhold; who being all in his Majeſty's known Truſt, as well as Choice, would be ſure to keep the Council ſteadily to the Intereſt of King and Crown. Moreover, one chief Regard neceſſary to this Conſtitution, was, that of the Perſonal Riches of the new Council; which in Revenues of Land or Offices, was found to amount to about Three hundred thouſand Pounds a Year; whereas thoſe of the Houſe of Commons were found not to exceed Four hundred Thouſand a Year. And as Authority was obſerv'd much to follow Land; ſo, at the worſt, ſuch a Council, upon an Emergency, might out of their own Stock furniſh the King ſo far, as to relieve ſome great Neceſſity of the Crown.

His Model of a new Council

After this great Scheme had been debated and digeſted about a Month between the King and Sir *William Temple*, and his Majeſty well ſatisfied with the whole; Sir *William* deſir'd him *Not to take a Reſolution of that Importance, without the Advice of three or four Perſons, on whoſe Judgment and Affection to his Service, his Majeſty cou'd moſt rely.* Hereupon the King order'd him to communicate the whole Deſign to the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, but one after the other, and with the utmoſt Secrecy; and if they concurr'd with his Opinion, he ſhould appoint them to attend his Majeſty the next Morning, in as private a Way as they could. They all receiv'd the Overture with equal Amazement and Satisfaction: The Lord Chancellor ſaid, *It look'd like a Thing from Heaven fallen into his Majeſty's Breaſt*: The Lord *Eſſex* believ'd, *That it wou'd leave the Parliament and Nation in the ſame Diſpoſition to the King which he found at his Coming in*; and the Lord *Sunderland* approv'd it as much as any.

It is propos'd to three Lords.

The next Day theſe four attended the King in private, and had a very long Audience; in which no Difficulties aroſe but Two that were wholly Perſonal. Sir *William* had propos'd the Lord *Hallifax* as one of the Lords; to whom the King, in the firſt Conſultations, had ſhewn more Averſion than to any of the reſt; but upon ſeveral Repreſentations of his Family, his Abilities, his Eſtate and Intereſt, as well as Talent to ridicule and unravel whatever he reſented, Sir *William* thought the King had acquieſc'd. But at this Meeting his Majeſty rais'd new Difficulties, and appear'd a great while inflexible, till at laſt the three Lords joyning with Sir *William*, and the latter ſaying, *They wou'd fall upon their Knees to gain a Point they all thought neceſſary for his Service*, his Majeſty conſented. The other Difficulty was concerning the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who had never been nam'd in the firſt Debates; and the King either had not thought of him before, or had not mention'd him to Sir *William*, as knowing what ill Opinion he had of that Lord. But after the Lord *Hallifax* had paſs'd, the King ſaid, *There was Another, who, if he were left out, might do as much Miſchief as any*, and nam'd the Lord *Shaftsbury*; to which the three Lords agreed, and over and above concluded, *That he wou'd never be content with a Counſellor's Place among Thirty*, and therefore it was propos'd to add One to the Number, by making a Preſident, and that He ſhou'd be the Man. Sir *William* diſputed this Point from the firſt Propoſal to the Concluſion; foretelling, *He would deſtroy all the Good they expected from the whole Conſtitution*; and ſpoke with ſo much Earneſtneſs, that when he ſaw by the King's Agreeing it wou'd be concluded, he walk'd off, irreſolute whether he ſhou'd have left the Room or not; but turning again, he deſired his Majeſty to remember, *That he had no Part in Lord* Shaftſbury's *Coming into the Council, or his Affairs; That his Majeſty and the other three Lords had reſolved it without Him, and that he was ſtill abſolutely againſt it.* The King laugh'd, and turn'd Sir *William*'s Paſſion into a Jeſt; and ſo proceeded to conclude the Form of the Conſtitution. Sir *William* had foretold this Fate to his Majeſty the Year before; when upon his coming from *Holland*, the King had fallen into all the violent Expreſſions imaginable againſt that Earl. He then told his Majeſty, *That with his good Leave, he would hold any Wager, he ſhould ſee that Lord again in his Buſineſs*: And when the King ask'd him, *what made him think ſo?* he anſwer'd, *Becauſe he knew he was reſtleſs while he was out, and wou'd try every Door to get in; had Wit and Induſtry to find out the Ways; and where Mony wou'd work, had as much as any Body to beſtow, and Skill enough to know where to place it.*

The whole agreed on.

2. All things being compleated, on the 20th Day of *April*, the King having order'd an extraordinary meeting of his Privy-Council, order'd the Lord Chancellor to read the following Declaration: ‘ *My Lords*, ‘ His Majeſty hath call'd you together at this Time to communicate a Reſolution he hath taken, in a Matter of great Importance to his Crown and Government; and which he hopes will prove of the greateſt Satisfaction and Advantage to his Kingdoms, in all Affairs hereafter, both at Home and Abroad; and therefore he doubts not of your Approbation, however you may ſeem concern'd in it. In the firſt Place, his Majeſty gives you all Thanks for your Service to him here; and for all the good Advices you have given him; which might have been more frequent, if the great Number of this Council had not made it unfit for the Secrecy and Diſpatch that are neceſſary to many great Affairs. This forc'd him to uſe a ſmaller Number of you in a Foreign Committee; and ſometimes the Advices of ſome few among them, upon ſuch Occaſions, for many Years paſt. He is ſorry for the ill Succeſs he found in this Courſe, and ſenſible of the ill Poſture of Affairs from That and ſome unhappy Accidents, which have rais'd great Jealouſies and Diſſatisfaction among his good Subjects; and thereby left the Crown and Government in a Condition too weak for thoſe Dangers we have Reaſon to fear, both at Home and Abroad. Theſe his Majeſty hopes may be yet prevented, by a courſe of wiſe and ſteady Counſels for the future; and theſe Kingdoms grow again to make ſuch a Figure as they formerly have done in the World; and as they may always do, if our Union and Conduct were equal to our Force. To this End, he hath reſolv'd to lay aſide the Uſe he may have hitherto made of any *Single Miniſtry*, or *Private Advice*, or *Foreign Committees*, for the general Direction of his Affairs; and to conſtitute ſuch a *Privy-Council*, as may not only by its Number be fit for the Conſultation and Digeſtion of all Buſineſs, both Domeſtick and Foreign; but alſo by the Choice of them, out of the ſeveral Parts this *State* is compos'd of, may be the beſt inform'd in the true Conſtitutions of it, and thereby the moſt able to counſel him in all the Affairs and Intereſts of this Crown and Nation. And by the conſtant Advice of ſuch a *Council*, his Majeſty is reſolv'd hereafter to govern his Kingdoms; together with the frequent Uſe of his *Great Council of Parliament*, which he takes to be the ancient Conſtitution of this State and Government.

The King's Declaration upon it.

‘ Now for the greater Dignity of this Council, his Majeſty reſolves their conſtant Number ſhall be limited to Thirty: And for their greater Authority, there ſhall be Fifteen of his chief Officers, who ſhall be Privy-Counſellors by their Places; and for the other Fifteen, he will chuſe Ten out of the ſeveral Ranks of the Nobility, and Five Commoners of the Realm, whoſe known Abilities, Intereſt and Eſteem in the Nation, ſhall render them without all Suſpicion of either Miſtaking or Betraying the true Intereſt of the Kingdom, and conſequently of adviſing him ill. In the firſt Place therefore, and to take care of the Church, his Majeſty will have the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *London*, for the

' Time being: And to inform him well in what concerns the Laws, the Lord Chancellor and one of the Lord Chief Juſtices. For the Navy and Stores, the Admiral, and Maſter of the Ordnance: For the Treaſury, the Treaſurer, or Firſt Commiſſioner, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The reſt of the Fifteen ſhall be the Lord Privy-Seal, the Maſter of the Horſe, the Lord Steward and Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, the Groom of the Stole, and the two Secretaries of State; which ſhall be all the Offices of his Kingdom, to which the Dignity of a *Privy-Counſellor* ſhall be annex'd. The others his Majeſty has reſolv'd on, and hopes he has not choſen ill. His Majeſty intends beſides, to have ſuch Princes of his Blood as he ſhall at any Time call to this Board, being here in Court; a Preſident of the Council, whenever he ſhall find it neceſſary; and the Secretary of *Scotland*, when any ſuch ſhall be here. But theſe being uncertain, he reckons not of the conſtant Number of Thirty, which ſhall never be exceeded.

The New COUNCIL.

To make way for this new Council, the King was pleas'd to diſſolve the old One, with repeated Thanks for their former Services; and the next Morning to nominate and appoint theſe following Members; His Highneſs Prince *Rupert*; *William*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Heneage* Lord *Finch*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Lord Preſident of the Council; *Arthur* Earl of *Angleſey*, Lord Privy-Seal; *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Albemarle*; *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, Maſter of the Horſe; *Henry* Duke of *Newcaſtle*; *John* Duke of *Lauderdale*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*, *James* Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Steward of the Houſhold; *Charles* Lord Marquis of *Wincheſter*; *Henry* Lord Marquis of *Worceſter*; *Henry* Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold; *James* Earl of *Salisbury*; *John* Earl of *Bridgewater*; *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland*, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State; *Arthur* Earl of *Eſſex*, firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury; *John* Earl of *Bath*, Groom of the Stole; *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Falconberg*; *George* Lord Viſcount *Hallifax*; *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*; *John* Lord *Roberts*; *Denzil* Lord *Hollis*; *William* Lord *Ruſſel*; *William* Lord *Cavendiſh*; *Henry Coventry* Eſquire, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State; Sir *Francis North*, Knight, Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas; Sir *Henry Capel*, Knight of the *Bath*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty; Sir *John Ernly*, Knight, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*; Sir *Thomas Chicheley*, Knight, Maſter of the Ordnance, Sir *William Temple*, Baronet; *Edward Seymour*, Eſquire; and *Henry Powle*, Eſquire. Theſe or moſt of them being ſworn, his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare, *That he would have all his Affairs here debated freely, of what kind ſoever they were; and therefore with abſolute Secrecy.*

The King's Speech to the Parliament upon this Occaſion.

The King had now Reaſon to hope well upon this Eſtabliſhment of a Council ſo generally grateful to the two Houſes, and the Bulk of the People; and therefore his Majeſty the very ſame Morning came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, made this Speech to both Houſes: My Lords and Gentlemen, *I thought it neceſſary to acquaint you what I have done this Day; which is, that I have eſtabliſh'd a new Privy-Council, the conſtant Number of which ſhall never exceed Thirty. I have made choice of ſuch Perſons as are worthy and able to adviſe me; and am reſolv'd in all my weighty and important Affairs, next to the Advice of my Great Council in Parliament, which I ſhall often conſult with, to be adviſ'd by this Privy-Council. I cou'd not make ſo great a Change without Acquainting both Houſes of Parliament: And I deſire you all to apply your ſelves heartily, as I ſhall do, to thoſe Things which are neceſſary for the Good and Safety of the Kingdom, and that no Time may be loſt in it.*

How received.

This Alteration and Eſtabliſhment was receiv'd with general Joy and Applauſe throughout the Kingdom; with Bells and Bonfires in the City, and the ſame even in *Ireland*. In *Holland*, the Stocks of the *Eaſt-India* Company immediately roſe upon the News; and the *States* deſign'd one of their moſt conſiderable Men, *Van Lewen*, to come Miniſter into *England* upon this Occaſion. *France* alone was unſatisfied with it, and their Ambaſſador *Barillon* ſaid, *It was making* STATES *and not* COUNCILS; but it was eaſy to gueſs at his Reaſons, and ſo they were not much regarded. The Houſe of Commons receiv'd it with moſt Coldneſs, where the contrary was moſt reaſonably expected: And the pretending *Knowers* among them, who were not of this Council, now pretended ' to know nothing of it; to expect new Revelations; to doubt it might be a *Court-Juggle*; to refer it to Time to diſcover the Truth of it; and in the mean while, to ſuſpend their Judgment.' This, ſays Sir *William Temple*, was the firſt Effect of the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s good Meaning to the King and his Affairs, into which he was enter'd; but not with that perſonal and tranſcendent Credit he aim'd at with his Majeſty, and in which he rightly judg'd thoſe who had been Authors of this new Council, had the greateſt Share. This made him fall in more abſolutely with the People's Favourite the Duke of *Monmouth*, and uſe all Endeavours to raiſe ſuch Heats and Diſcontents in the Houſes, upon the *Fears of Popery*, and the *Propoſitions to prevent it*, that the King ſoon found himſelf upon as uneaſy Terms with this Seſſion of Parliament, as ever he had been ſince his Reſtoration; the Humours being rais'd by the Earl's Inſinuations among his Patriots, ' That the Duke of *Monmouth* had ſo much Credit with the King, that his Majeſty deſir'd nothing but a good Occaſion of conſenting to all the Parliament wou'd inſiſt on; which would be granted him, if they kept up their Heat and Obſtinacy in ſo popular a Point, as that againſt *Popery*: And if that were once gain'd, the Duke of *Monmouth* and he ſhou'd be able to ſteer all the reſt, to the Satisfaction of thoſe who call'd themſelves *the Good* or *the Honeſt Party*.' Such a Miſchief, ſays the ſame Author, cou'd never have grown, if the Lord *Shaftsbury* had not work'd himſelf up into Credit, both in Parliament and City, by the Appearance of having it with the King, and in Council, where he was Preſident; and by the Infuſions given of his having, or growing yet into greater, by a more ſecret Spring; which was the Prevalency of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the King's increaſing Kindneſs for him, as appear'd ſince the Abſence of the Duke of *York*. Therefore he cou'd not believe but all this wou'd have been avoided, if, upon this new Conſtitution, the Lord *Shaftſbury* had been laid aſide, as a Perſon mark'd out by his Majeſty, and never to enter more into his Affairs or Confidence; *which*, ſays he, *the whole Courſe of his Life, from his very firſt Entrance upon the Publick Stage, if examin'd never ſo ſtrictly, wou'd have given good Ground for.*

The Earl of Shaftsbury's *ambitious Deſigns.*

A Quadrumvirate *in the Council.*

Upon the firſt Conſtitution of this Council, the Lord *Sunderland* and Sir *William Temple* enter'd into a near and diſtinct Confidence from any others in the Courſe of the King's Affairs; and ſhortly after they took in the Earl of *Eſſex*, with ſome Unwillingneſs in Sir *William*, and ſo became a *Triumvirate*, to undertake the firſt Digeſtion of Affairs, and to prepare them either for the Parliament or the Council. But Sir *William* finding Matters grow very uneaſy among the Commons by the Practices of the Lord *Shaftsbury*, with the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Cover at leaſt, and that the Lord *Hallifax* appeared unſatisfied by obſerving where the King's Connfidence lay; he propos'd to the Lords *Sunderland* and *Eſſex*, to receive him into all their Conſultations; which he thought wou'd give him more Credit with the King, and them more Eaſe in the Courſe of their Proceedings. They receiv'd the Propoſal with little Satisfaction, and the Lord *Sunderland* particularly told Sir *William*, *He ſhou'd not find the Lord* Hallifax *the Perſon he took him for; but one that cou'd draw with no body, and ſtill climbing up to the Top himſelf*; but upon Sir *William*'s urging the Matter, they conſented, and ſo all four join'd together in their Meetings and Conſultations, by which means they had the greateſt Sway, and in effect preſided in the Council. This they continu'd, for a conſiderable time, with ſo much Union, and Endeavours for the general Good of the Service of the King and Nation, that Sir *William* cou'd not but ſay to them, at the End of one of their Meetings, *That we four were either the four honeſteſt Men in* England, *or the greateſt Knaves; for we made one another at leaſt believe, that we were the honeſteſt Men in the World.* But this Conjunction, by Time or Accident, was broken, or rather alter'd before the Riſing of the Parliament.

Their Proceedings.

The principal Matters that lay before the King at that time, were, Firſt, the Satisfaction of his People, by falling into ſome Meaſures with the Parliament, that might enable him to look abroad in ſuch a Figure as became the Crown of *England*, and was neceſſary for preventing the common Fears of a new Invaſion of *France* upon *Flanders* or *Holland*; which look'd very deſperate, without ſome brave and reſolute Protection from *England*. The Second was, a Reſolution to be taken in Anſwer to the Inſtances made by Monſieur *Van Lewen* from the *States-General*, about a new Guaranty to be given upon the late General Peace by his Majeſty; particularly to *Spain*, in the Buſineſs of *Flanders*. The Third was, the giving ſome Eaſe to *Scotland*, where the Humours began to ſwell about this time; and which the *Quadrumvirate* thought cou'd be no way done ſo eaſily, as by the Removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*; a Man too much hated both here and there, to be fit for the Temper his Majeſty ſeem'd reſolv'd to uſe at this time. But for this laſt, they cou'd not upon any Terms obtain it of the King, by all the joint and ſeparate Arguments uſed by all four; the King's Defence being, as Sir *William Temple* well obſerv'd, a very true one, *That none of them knew* Scotland *ſo well as himſelf*. As for the Second, they eaſily agreed upon the Meaſures that ſeem'd neceſſary for the Satisfaction of the *States-General*, and the Safety of *Flanders*; being all four of the Committee for Foreign Affairs.

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The Difficulties they met with.

But the moſt difficult and important Matter was the Firſt, which they found more perplex'd than they cou'd imagine. For both Houſes of Parliament ſeem'd now to have no Eyes, but for the Dangers of Popery upon the Duke's Succeſſion to the Crown; which Humour, as before hinted, was blown up by all the Arts and Intrigues of the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Shaftsbury*. The King appear'd willing to give them all poſſible Security againſt thoſe Fears, without changing the Laws in Point of Succeſſion: And, on the other ſide, the Houſe of Commons were buſy in finding out Expedients to ſecure this Point, but cou'd agree in none; being ſtill diverted from fixing on any, by the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Practices. The Council fell upon the ſame Subject with great Earneſtneſs; and after much Debate, agreed upon many Heads to be laid before the Parliament, which were to be hinted at by the King in a Speech to both Houſes. One of theſe Expedients was, to have a Bill brought in for the *Aſſociation* of all his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects: Another was, a Bill for the Baniſhment of all conſiderable *Papiſts* out of *England:* A third, for ſecuring frequent Parliaments; and it was likewiſe propos'd, That the Prince of *Orange* ſhou'd be join'd in the Adminiſtration with the Duke of *York*, upon the latter's coming to the Crown. Theſe Expedients were agreed to by all the Council, except the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and Sir *William Temple*, who were againſt them upon very different Grounds. Sir *William*'s were two; ' Firſt, becauſe he believ'd, that nothing that came ' firſt from the King upon theſe Points, wou'd be accept' ed by the Commons; who, if they wou'd be ſatisfied at ' all, he thought ſhou'd firſt agree upon what, and leave it ' to the King to take or refuſe. The Second was, that as ' he did not ſee any certain Eaſe their Expedients wou'd ' give to the King, tho' agreed to by the two Houſes; ' ſo it was evident to all, *That they wou'd leave the* ' *Crown, after him, in Shackles*; which being put on upon ' the Duke's Occaſion, and in his Time, wou'd not be ' eaſily knock'd off by any Succeſſor.' The Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Ground was plain, and ſo expreſs'd by him upon all Occaſions; which was, *That there cou'd be no Security againſt the Duke, if once in Poſſeſſion of the Crown:* And this being well infus'd by his and the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Friends into the Houſe of Commons, occaſion'd their ſullen rejecting all the Expedients offer'd them by the King, and laid the Foundation for the Proceedings of the next Houſe of Commons, and the great Diſorders that follow'd.

The Tryal and Puniſhment of Mr. Reading.

3. To return to the more immediate Tranſactions of Parliament; the Commons, who were daily employ'd in troubleſome Buſineſs, about the Time of this new Conſtitution, were not a little heated with the Caſe of *Nathaniel Reading*, Eſquire, a *Lincolnſhire* Gentleman, and a Counſel at Law, then diſtinguiſh'd for his Adventures in the Iſle of *Axolme*. This Lawyer, of a ſmooth Tongue and ready Wit, was accus'd before the Houſe of Commons of endeavouring to mollifie and ſweeten, and in ſome Degree to corrupt the inflexible Honeſty of Mr. *Bedloe*; who tho' he had receiv'd from him above Fifty Pounds, and larger Sums in Promiſes, *not to ſtifle the whole Plot*, but only to make him *Eaſy* toward ſome particular Perſons, his Conſcience wou'd not permit him to conceal ſo foul a Practice. This made a great Noiſe, and was look'd upon as a Matter of dangerous Conſequence, in the Houſe of Commons; who thereupon petition'd the King to iſſue out a Special Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* for the immediate Tryal of the ſaid *Nathaniel Reading*. Accordingly, on the 24th, he was Try'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar before the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *North* (in the Abſence of *Scroggs)* and moſt of the other Judges, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, named in the Commiſſion. The Facts were prov'd upon him by the Oaths of *Bedloe* himſelf, one *Wiggins* his Man, and one Mr. *Speke*; which two laſt *Bedloe* had hid privately in his Chamber to overhear their Diſcourſe. Mr. *Reading*, in his Defence, did in effect own the Correſpondence with Mr. *Bedloe*, but with ſeveral fine Words alledg'd, ' That Mr. ' *Bedloe* firſt propos'd the Matter to him; and that all that ' he did, was not in the leaſt to *ſhorten*, *leſſen*, or *ſtifle* ' any thing of the Truth, which Mr. *Bedloe* had to ſay, ' but only to prevent him from the great Guilt of *Per-* ' *jury* and *Innocent Blood, &c.*' But being found Guilty, the Lord-Chief-Juſtice, after a grave Speech, ' reflecting ' upon the Heinouſneſs of the Crime, and the Quality of ' the Perſon, as being of the Long Robe, whoſe *Know-* ' *ledge* ſhou'd keep them from ſo fooliſh, and their *Ho-* ' *nour* from ſo wicked an Attempt,' pronounc'd the Judgment of the Court, *viz. That he be fin'd a Thouſand Pounds, impriſon'd for one Year, and ſtand one Hour in the Pillory, in the* Palace-Yard *in* Weſtminſter,&c. which was done accordingly, for a Terror to all Perſons who ſhou'd pretend to manage or influence the King's Evidence.

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A new Diſcovery about Fires.

This Sentence was no ſooner paſs'd, but the Houſe was heated and allarm'd with a new Account of the *Papiſts* Deſigns of firing the City: And a Servant Maid, call'd *Elizabeth Oxley*, was found to have ſet Fire to her Maſter *Bird*'s Houſe in *Fetter-lane*, which by the Help of the Watch was ſoon extinguiſh'd. She declar'd upon her Examination, that ſhe was employ'd to do it by one *Stubbs* a *Papiſt*, who promis'd her five Pounds. Hereupon *Stubbs* was ſeiz'd, who acknowledg'd he had perſuaded her to it; but further declared, that Father *Gifford*, his Confeſſor, had put him upon the Buſineſs, and told him, *It was no Sin to fire all the Houſes of Hereticks*; and that *Gifford* had promis'd him a hundred Pounds for the ſame; and told him *he was to have the Money from the Church.* He likewiſe ſaid, that he us'd to meet the ſaid *Gifford* with *Flower* and *Clinton*, two *Iriſh* Men, in St. *James*'s Fields, in the Duſk of the Evening, to conſult theſe Matters. Moreover, theſe two, *Stubbs* and *Oxley*, declar'd to the Houſe ſeveral other Things concerning an Inſurrection at home by *Papiſts*, and an Invaſion of 60000 Men ſpeedily to be made by the *French, &c.* Upon which free Confeſſions, the Houſe of Commons petition'd the King for a Pardon for theſe two, and a Proclamation againſt *Gifford* and the two *Iriſhmen*, both which were readily granted. This Story ſeem'd to have laid a Foundation for *Bedloe*'s ſtrange *Narrative* about Fires, with which he ſhortly after allarm'd and frighted the weaker Part of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. However it was, as ſoon as it was reported in the Houſe, *Saturday* the 26th of *April*, the Commons ſhew'd a more than ordinary Reſentment; and, beſides their Addreſs for the Execution of *Pickering*, and other Condemn'd Prieſts, they *Reſolv'd, Nemine Contradicente*, ' That this Houſe will ſit to Morrow [*Sunday*] ' to conſider the beſt Ways and Means to ſecure and pre' ſerve the King's Perſon, and alſo the *Proteſtant* Religion, ' againſt the Attempts of the *Papiſts*, both in the Reign of ' his Majeſty and his Succeſſor.' Accordingly, the next Morning, they firſt ordered a Bill to be brought in to Baniſh all Papiſts or Reputed Papiſts within *London* and *Weſtminſter* 20 Miles from the ſame for ſix Months; and then they came to their Grand *Reſolve*, which was alſo *Nemine Contradicente*, ' That the Duke of *York* being a *Papiſt*, ' and the Hopes of his coming ſuch to the Crown, has ' given the greateſt Countenance and Encouragement to ' the preſent Conſpiracies and Deſigns of the *Papiſts* a' gainſt the King and the *Proteſtant* Religion.' And they deſir'd the Concurrence of the Lords to this Vote, and order'd the Lord *Ruſſel* to carry up the ſame.

The Reſentment of the Houſe of Commons.

The Earl of Danby *pleads the King's Pardon.*

In the mean Time, the Earl of *Danby*, finding the Fury of the Commons, appear'd at the Bar of the Houſe of Peers, and there pleaded and produc'd the King's moſt gracious Pardon for all Crimes and Offences whatſoever, committed before the 28th Day of *February* laſt. At which the Commons were not a little diſoblig'd; and upon *April* 28th, the *Committee of Secrecy*, which were appointed to examine and peruſe the Nature of the Earl's Plea, made this Report; ' 1. We find no Precedent that ever any ' Pardon was granted to any Perſon Impeach'd by the ' Commons of High-Treaſon, or other High Crimes de' pending in the Impeachment. 2. As to the manner of ' paſſing the Earl of *Danby*'s Pardon, it hath been for' merly reported to the Houſe, and the Committee refer ' themſelves to that Report. 3. That by what Means it ' was obtain'd, the Time allow'd the Committee hath ' been ſo ſhort, that we cannot as yet diſcover the Ad' viſers or Promoters thereof, any further than what is ' mention'd in the ſaid Report relating to the Lord-Chan' cellor.' Whereupon the Houſe *Reſolv'd*, ' That a Meſ' ſage be ſent to the Lords, to deſire their Lordſhips to ' demand of the Earl of *Danby*, *Whether he will rely up-* ' *on, and abide by, the Plea of his Pardon.*' Accordingly, the next Day, the Earl was again brought to the Bar of the Lords Houſe, where kneeling, and then ſtanding up, the Lord-Chancellor acquainted him, ' That the Com' mons had return'd to their Lordſhips the Plea deliver'd ' by him at the Bar of their Houſe on the 25th Inſtant, ' with a Deſire that their Lordſhips ſhou'd aſk him, *Whe-* ' *ther he will rely upon, and abide by, his ſaid Plea.*' The Earl praying Time to anſwer, their Lordſhips allow'd him four Days, till *Saturday* next, and then he was ſent back to the *Tower*. On the ſame Day, the King return'd this Anſwer to the Commons Addreſs for the Execution of *Pickering* and other Prieſts; Gentlemen, *I have always been tender in Matters of Blood, which my Subjects have no Reaſon to take Exception at: But this is a Matter of great Weight, I ſhall therefore conſider of it, and return you an Anſwer.*

Debates upon it.

4. Several Things being prepar'd by the new Privy-Council, in order to eaſe the Minds of the People, now variouſly agitated, on *Wedneſday* the 30th of *April*, his Majeſty came in his Royal Robes to the Houſe of Peers,

and

The King's Second Speech to both Houſes

and ſending for the Commons, he made this ſhort Speech to both Houſes; My Lords and Gentlemen, *The Seaſon of the Year advancing ſo faſt, I thought it neceſſary to put you in mind of three Particulars: 1. The Proſecution of the Plot: 2. The Disbanding of the Army: 3. The Providing a Fleet for our Common Security. And to ſhew you, that whilſt you are doing your Parts, my Thoughts have not been miſemploy'd; but that it is my conſtant Care to do every Thing that may preſerve your Religion, and ſecure it for the future in all Events, I have commanded my Lord Chancellor to mention ſeveral Particulars; which, I hope, will be an Evidence, that in all Things that concern the Publick Security, I ſhall not Follow your Zeal, but Lead it.*

The Lord Chancellor's Second Speech.

Accordingly the Lord-Chancellor made this following memorable Speech, which ought to be inſerted without any Abridgment: ‘ *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons,* That Royal Care which his Majeſty hath taken for the General Quiet and Satisfaction of all his Subjects, is now more evident by theſe new and freſh Inſtances of it, which I have in Command to open to you. His Majeſty hath conſider'd with Himſelf, that 'tis not enough that your Religion and Liberty is ſecure during his *Own Reign*, but he thinks he owes it to his People to do all that in him lies, that theſe Bleſſings may be tranſmitted to your *Poſterity*, and ſo well ſecured to Them, that no *Succeſſion in After-Ages* may be able to work the leaſt Alteration. And therefore his Majeſty, who hath often ſaid in this Place, *That he is ready to conſent to any Laws of this Kind, ſo that the ſame extend not to alter the Deſcent of the Crown in the Right Line, nor to defeat the Succeſſion*, hath now commanded this to be further Explain'd.

‘ And to the End it may never be in the Power of any
‘ *Papiſt*, if the Crown deſcend upon him, to make any
‘ Change either in Church or State; I am commanded to
‘ tell you, That his Majeſty is willing that Proviſion may
‘ be made, Firſt to diſtinguiſh a *Papiſt* from a *Proteſtant*
‘ *Succeſſor*; then ſo to limit and circumſcribe the Autho-
‘ rity of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, in theſe Caſes following, that
‘ he may be diſabled to do any Harm: Firſt, in Reference
1. ‘ to the *Church*; his Majeſty is content that Care be ta-
‘ ken, that all *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Spiritual* Benefices and
‘ Promotions in Gift of the Crown, may be Conferr'd in
‘ ſuch a Manner, that we may be ſure the Incumbents
‘ ſhall always be of the moſt Pious and Learned *Prote-*
‘ *ſtants:* And that no *Popiſh* Succeſſor, while he conti-
‘ nues ſo, may have any Power to controll ſuch Preſent-
‘ ments. In Reference to the *State*, and Civil Part of
2. ‘ the Government; as it is already Provided, *That no Pa-*
‘ *piſt can ſit in either Houſe of Parliament*; ſo the King is
‘ pleas'd that it be Provided too, that there may never
‘ want a Parliament, when the King ſhall happen to dye,
‘ but that the Parliament then in Being may continue In-
‘ diſſolvable for a Competent Time; or if there be no
‘ Parliament in Being, then the laſt Parliament which was
‘ in Being before that Time, may Reaſſemble, and Sit a
‘ Competent Time, without any New Summons, or E-
3. ‘ lections. And as no Papiſt can by Law hold any Place
‘ of Truſt, ſo the King is content that it may be further
‘ Provided, That no *Lords*, or others of the *Privy-Coun-*
‘ *cil*, no Judges of the Common Law, or in Chancery,
‘ ſhall at any Time, during the Reign of a *Popiſh Succeſ-*
‘ *ſor*, be Put in, or Diſplac'd, but by the Authority of
‘ Parliament: And that Care be taken, that none but ſin-
‘ cere Proteſtants may be *Juſtices of the Peace*. In Refe-
4. ‘ rence to the *Military Part*, the King is willing that no
‘ *Lord-Lieutenant*, or *Deputy-Lieutenant*, nor no Officer
‘ in the Navy, during the Reign of any *Popiſh Succeſſor*,
‘ be Put out, or Remov'd, but either by Authority of Par-
‘ liament, or of ſuch Perſons as the Parliament ſhall in-
‘ truſt with ſuch Authority.

‘ It is hard to invent another Reſtraint to be put upon a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, conſidering how much the Revenue of the Succeſſor will depend upon Conſent of Parliament, and how impoſſible it is to raiſe Money without ſuch Conſent. But yet, if any Thing elſe can occur to the Wiſdom of the Parliament, which may further ſecure Religion and Liberty againſt a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, without defeating the *Right of Succeſſion* it ſelf, his Majeſty will moſt readily conſent to it. Thus watchful is the King for all your Safety; and if He cou'd think of any Thing elſe, that you do either want or wiſh to make you happy, he wou'd make it his Buſineſs to effect it for you. God Almighty long continue this Bleſſed Union between the King, and his Parliament, and People.

This was the Reſult of the ſeveral Expedients which were brought to a Center, as we are told, by the deep Head of the Lord *Hallifax*; which being ſo derogatory to the Prerogative, yet coming from the King himſelf, and a new and unexceptionable Council, in the Abſence and beyond the Influence of the Duke of *York*, it may be thought a ſtrange Infatuation that theſe popular Conceſſions ſhou'd meet with ſo cold a Reception. The Reaſons have been more than hinted at in our Account taken from Sir *William Temple*, and may not be irrationally attributed to a Perverſeneſs and Deluſion, as well as Reſentment and Provocation. But Heaven, which can take Advantage of poor Mortals Miſtakes, as well as their Crimes, ſeem'd to have deſign'd Greater Things, without either Ruining the Monarchy, or the Privileges of the Nation: So that that perverſe Man who rais'd thoſe Difficulties then not to be ſurmounted, and ſo hard to be vindicated, might, in the Hand of Providence, be the Inſtrument or Occaſion of the greateſt Security and Eſtabliſhment againſt all the Spiritual and Temporal Miſchiefs of Popery.

The Commons very uneaſy.

The Commons were ſo heated with the continu'd Infuſions, and repeated Stories, about Popiſh and Arbitrary Deſigns, that they knew not how to proceed with the Calmneſs and Clearneſs of Debate neceſſary to ſo venerable an Aſſembly. On the next Day after theſe Speeches, they revived a Committee formerly appointed to conſider what Part of the Money given for Disbanding of the Army, is yet undiſpos'd of, and remaining in the Exchequer; being ſtill apprehenſive of the Corruptions of the Earl of *Danby*. But to ſhew a perſonal Concern for their Sovereign, at the ſame Time they fell upon the further Conſideration of Securing and Preſerving the King, and the *Proteſtant* Religion, againſt the Attempts of the *Papiſts*, both in the Reign of Majeſty and his Succeſſors. They alſo read at the ſame Time, a *Bill for better Prevention of Illegal Exaction of Money from the Subject*; and *Order'd*, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill, ‘ That when any Member of this Houſe is preferr'd to any Office or Place of Profit, a new Writ ſhall immediately iſſue out for Electing a Member to ſerve in his ſtead.’

They demand Judgment againſt the Earl of Danby.

Still the Earl of *Danby* was one of their chief Grievances, and his Pardon a very great Vexation; therefore on the 5th of *May*, they *Reſolv'd*, ‘ That it was the Opinion of this Hobſe, That the Pardon pleaded by the Earl of *Danby* was Illegal and Void, and ought not to be allow'd in bar of the Impeachment of the Commons of *England*.’ And Mr. Speaker, with the whole Houſe, went up to the Lords Bar, and demanded Judgment, in theſe Words; *My Lords, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament aſſembled, are come up to demand Judgment, in their own Names, and the Names of all the Commons of* England, *againſt* Thomas *Earl of* Danby, *who ſtands Impeach'd by them before your Lordſhips of High-Treaſon, and divers High Crimes and Miſdemeanors; to which he has pleaded a Pardon; which Pardon the Commons conceive to be Illegal and Void; and therefore they do demand Judgment of your Lordſhips accordingly.* Shortly after they fell upon another great Man, more juſtly obnoxious, the Duke of *Lauderdale*, againſt whom they drew up this following Addreſs; ‘ We your Majeſty's moſt loyal and dutiful Subjects, the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, finding your Majeſty's Kingdoms involv'd in imminent Dangers and great Difficulties, by the evil Deſigns, and pernicious Counſels of ſome who have been, and are in high Place, and Truſt and Authority about your Royal Perſon; who contrary to the Duty of their Places, by their arbitrary and deſtructive Counſels, tending to the Subverſion of the Rights, Liberties and Properties of your Subjects, and the Alteration of the *Proteſtant* Religion Eſtabliſh'd, have endeavour'd to alienate the Hearts of your Loyal Subjects from your Majeſty and your Government. Amongſt whom we have juſt Reaſon to accuſe *John* Duke of *Lauderdale*, for a chief Promoter of ſuch Counſels; and more particularly for Contriving and Endeavouring to raiſe Jealouſies and Miſunderſtandings between your Majeſty's Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; whereby Hoſtilities might have enſu'd, and may ariſe between both Nations, if not prevented. Wherefore, we your Majeſty's Loyal Subjects cou'd not but be ſenſibly affected with Trouble to find ſuch a Perſon (notwithſtanding the repeated Addreſſes of the laſt Parliament) continu'd in your Counſels at this Time, when the Affairs of your Kingdom require none to be put into ſuch Employments, but ſuch as are of known Abilities, Intereſt and Eſteem, in the Nation, without all Suſpicion of either Miſtaking or Betraying the true Intereſt of the Kingdom, and conſequently of Adviſing your Majeſty ill. We do therefore moſt humbly beſeech your moſt ſacred Majeſty, for the taking away the great Jealouſies, Diſſatisfactions and Fears amongſt your good Subjects, that your Majeſty will graciouſly be pleas'd to remove the Duke of *Lauderdale* from your Majeſty's Councils in your Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and from all Offices, Employments and Places of Truſt, and from your Majeſty's Preſence, for ever.’ This Addreſs was carry'd in a full Body,

Their Addreſs againſt the Duke of Lauderdale.

Body, but the King only made this cold Reply, *That he wou'd conſider of it, and return an Anſwer.*

The King's Meſſage to them.

In the mean Time his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the Commons by the Lord *Ruſſel*, one of his new Privy-Council, who acquainted the Houſe, ‘That his Majeſty commanded him to let the Houſe know, that his Majeſty is willing to comply with the Requeſt made to him by the Houſe, concerning *Pickering*, and that the Law ſhall paſs upon him accordingly. As to the condemn'd Prieſts, the Houſe of Peers have ſent for them, in order, as his Majeſty conceives, to ſome Examinations. And further to acquaint you, That he repeateth his Inſtances to you, to think of putting the Fleet in ſuch a Poſture, as may quiet Mens Fears, and at leaſt ſecure us from any ſudden Attempt; which his Majeſty doubts not but you will do: And tho' the Streights and Difficulties he lyeth under are very great, he doth not intend, during this Seſſion, to preſs for any other Supply; being willing rather to ſuffer the Burdens that are upon him ſome Time longer, than to interrupt you, whilſt you are employ'd about the *Diſcovery of the Plot*, the *Tryal of the Lords*, and the Bill for *Securing of our Religion*.

A Money-Bill paſs'd.

How prepared.

In one Matter of Moment the King and both Houſes agreed, the Neceſſity of a Tax: And therefore, on the 9th of *May*, the Money-Bill being prepar'd, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, paſs'd an Act *For Granting a Supply to his Majeſty of Two Hundred and ſix Thouſand four Hundred ſixty two Pounds, ſeventeen Shillings and Three-pence, for Paying off and Disbanding the Forces rais'd ſince the nine and twentieth of* September, *One thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy ſeven.* In which Act there was a particular Clauſe to continue to Futurity, enacting, That Soldiers ſhall not be quarter'd in any Perſon's Houſe againſt their Conſent: This was the laſt, and one of the leaſt Money-Bills, in this Reign; about the Preparing of which, ſomething, for the Reader's Curioſity, is here tranſcrib'd *verbatim* from the *Journals* of the Houſe of Commons: *Die Jovis* 8 *Maii*; ‘The Houſe then took into Conſideration the *Amendments* made by the Lords to the Bill for *Granting a Supply to his Majeſty of* 206462 *l.* 17 *s.* 3 *d. for Paying off and Disbanding the Forces rais'd ſince the* 29*th of* September, 1677. And the Firſt, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth *Amendments*, being twice read, were upon the Queſtion ſeverally agreed. The Sixth and Seventh *Amendments* (for leaving out *John* Lord *Roſs*, Son and Heir apparent to the Earl of *Rutland)* being read a ſecond Time, and the Lord *Roſs* having been call'd up to the Houſe of Peers, ſince the Bill was ſent up to the Houſe of Lords; *Reſolved*, That the Houſe doth agree with the Lords in the ſaid *Amendments*. The reſt of the *Amendments*, to the hundred and ſecond Skin, ſixth Line, being twice read, were upon the Queſtion, ſeverally agreed. The Amendment in the hundred and ſecond Skin, ſixth Line, being read a ſecond Time, and the Queſton being put for Agreeing with the Lords in that *Amendment*, it paſs'd in the Negative. The reſt of the *Amendments*, to the End of the Bill, being twice read, were upon the Queſtion ſeverally agreed. The two Clauſes to be added at the End of the Bill, being twice read, and the Queſtion being ſeverally put, to agree with the Lords in the ſaid Clauſes, it paſs'd in the Negative. *Order'd*, That a Committee be appointed to draw up Reaſons, to be deliver'd at a Conference to be had with the Lords, why the Houſe have diſagreed with their Lordſhips in SEVERAL of their *Amendments* to the Bill for *Paying off and Disbanding the Army*.’ The Reader is left to make his own Obſervations upon this Tranſcript.

A Meſſage from the Lords.

5. The Commons were not only intent upon the Proſecution of the Earl of *Danby*, but were ſeveral Times inclinable to impeach his Friend Sir *William Temple*, as an Inſtrument of making the general Peace, and a Man of Arbitrary Principles; and Mr. *Mountagu*, who had been ſo bitter againſt the Earl, went a great Way from Man to Man in the Houſe, to know whether if ſuch an Accuſation were brought in againſt Sir *William*, they would be againſt him. Several went into it out of Reſentment to the Earl of *Danby*, and other private Reaſons; but it did not take Effect. But they were inceſſant in their Proceedings againſt the Earl, whoſe laſt Plea made them very uneaſy and tumultuous. About the Time of the paſſing the Money-Bill, this unpleaſing Meſſage was ſent by two Judges from the Lords: ‘*Mr. Speaker*, We are commanded by the Lords to acquaint this Houſe with an Order Yeſterday made concerning the Earl of *Danby*, viz: Whereas the Earl of *Danby* hath adhered to the Plea of his Pardon, and pray'd to be heard by his Council, to make good the Validity of his Pardon: And whereas the Commons have by their Speaker, in proper Perſon, demanded Judgment againſt the ſaid Earl, as conceiving his Pardon to be Illegal and Void; “It is ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament Aſſembled, that *Saturday* the tenth Inſtant be appointed for Hearing the Earl of *Danby* to make good his Plea.” And are further to acquaint you, that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal have Yeſterday *Reſolv'd*, “That the five Lords in the *Tower*, *William* Earl of *Powis*, *William* Viſcount *Stafford*, *William* Lord *Petre*, *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, and *John* Lord *Bellaſis*, ſhall be brought to their Tryals, upon *Wedneſday* the fourteenth of this Month.” The Part concerning the Earl of *Danby* ſo heated the Houſe, that they *Reſolved*, ‘That no Commoner whatſoever ſhall preſume to maintain the Validity of the Pardon pleaded by the Earl of *Danby*, without the Conſent of the Houſe firſt had, and that the Perſons ſo doing ſhall be accounted Betrayers of the Liberties of the Commons of *England*.’ Which Vote they order'd to be poſted up at *Weſtminſter-Hall*-Gate, and at the ſeveral Gates of the *Serjeant's-Inns*, and the *Inns of Court*.

The Commons Reſolve.

This heightned the Differences that were already begun, about the Manner and Method of Proceeding upon the Impeachments depending: The Lords had addreſs'd to the King for a Lord-High-Steward to preſide in the Tryals; but the Commons thought it unneceſſary, or too great an Obſtruction to Buſineſs; therefore they propos'd, ‘that a Committee of both Houſes might be Nominated, to conſider of the moſt proper Ways and Methods of Proceeding upon Impeachments.’ The Lords refus'd to agree, and in a Conference aſſign'd this Reaſon, ‘That they did not find it conformable to the Rules and Orders of Proceedings of this Court, *which is, and ever muſt be tender in Matters relating to their Judicature*.’ Upon which the Commons, *May* 9th, *Voted*, ‘That the Anſwer deliver'd by the Lords at the laſt Conference, tends to the Interruption of the good Correſpondency between the two Houſes.’ And deſiring a Conference with the Lords the next Day, they in Concluſion deliver'd this Reſolution, *That Things ſtanding thus, they cannot proceed in the Tryals of the Lords, before the Methods of Proceedings be adjuſted between the two Houſes.* Upon which their Lordſhips, upon Conſideration, did conſent to have a Committee of both Houſes, to conſider of Propoſitions and Circumſtances relating to the Tryal of the Lords in the *Tower*. But in another Conference, the ſame Day, the Lord-Privy-Seal acquainted them, ‘That the Lords had receiv'd a Petition from the Earl of *Danby*, who was order'd to attend their Lordſhips this Day, which their Lordſhips read; whereby the Earl of *Danby* ſet forth, *That he met with Informations ſeverally from his Council, that he durſt not appear to argue the Validity of his Pardon, by Reaſon of the Vote of the Houſe of Commons*; and that their Lordſhips deſired to know, *Whether there was any ſuch Vote as was alledg'd in the Petition*?

With ſome Difficulty the Lords agree.

The Heat and Reſolves of the Commons.

This only increas'd the Ferment in the lower Houſe; and this indeed prov'd a hot Day; in which, to teſtify their Fears and Apprehenſions, and to make Way for the intended Tryals, they reſolv'd upon an Addreſs to the King, ‘taking Notice of the Multitude of *Jeſuits*, *Popiſh* Prieſts, and other *Popiſh* Recuſants, who conſtantly reſorted to the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and obſtinately continu'd there, in Contempt of his Majeſty's Laws and Royal Proclamations; wherefore they humbly beſeech his Majeſty, that the *Militia* of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, the *Tower-Hamlets*, and the Counties of *Middleſex* and *Surrey*, may immediately be rais'd, and put in a Poſture of Defence.’ Then, to obviate theſe great Difficulties and Dangers, they reſolv'd to ſit the next Day, tho' a *Sunday*, as they had done a Fortnight before, on which Day they brought their former grand *Reſolve* to Maturity, and *order'd* a Bill to be brought in, *To diſable the Duke of* York *to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm*; and referr'd it to the Drawing up of Mr. *Bennet*, Mr. *Trenchard*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, Sir *Thomas Player*, Mr. *Vaughan*, Sir *Francis Winnington*, Mr. *Boſcawen*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Hamden*, Colonel *Birch*, Mr. *Sacheverel*, and Mr. *Swinfen*. And immediately after they *Reſolv'd*, *Nemine Contradicente*, ‘That in Defence of the *King's Perſon*, and the *Proteſtant Religion*, this Houſe doth Declare, that they will ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Majeſty ſhould come by any violent Death, (which God forbid) they will revenge it to the utmoſt on the *Papiſts*.’ This was ſoon after put into the Form of an Addreſs; which being preſented to his Majeſty, he return'd this Anſwer, *Gentlemen, I thank you for your Zeal for the Preſervation of the* Proteſtant *Religion, and of my Perſon; and I aſſure you, I ſhall do what in me* *lyes, to ſecure the* Proteſtant *Religion*; *and am willing to do all ſuch Things, as may tend to the Good and Benefit of my Subjects.*

The King's Meſſage to them.

In the mean Time, to put forward more ſubſtantial Buſineſs, on *Wedneſday* the 14th of *May*, the King ſent this following Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. *Powle*, one of his new Privy-Council. ‘C. R. Though his Majeſty hath already, at the firſt Meeting in Parliament, and ſince by a Word or two, mention'd the Neceſſity of having a Fleet at Sea this Summer; yet the Seaſon for preparing it being far advanc'd, and our Neighbours before us in their Preparations, he cannot hold himſelf diſcharg'd towards his People, if he do not now with more Earneſtneſs again recommend the ſame to your preſent Care and Conſideration; and the rather, from the daily Expectation of the Return of the Fleet from the *Streights*, to which a great Arrear is due; and hereby he muſt acquit himſelf of the evil Conſequences, which the want of a Fleet in ſuch a Juncture may produce: And he hath not done this without conſidering, *that the entering upon the Work preſently, can be no Hinderance to the other Great Affairs upon your Hands*; *but rather a Security, in the Diſpatch thereof.*’ This Meſſage, tho' reaſonable and proper, and proceeding from an unexceptionable Council, was no further regarded, than after a Debate, it was *Reſolv'd*, ‘That the further Conſideration of the ſaid Meſſage be adjourn'd till *Monday* next come Seven-Night.

Proceedings about the Impeach'd Lords.

6. Both Houſes having agreed to a joynt Committee for ſettling the Way and Method of trying the Impeach'd Lords, after ſome Meetings, a Report was made to the Houſe of Commons by Sir *John Trevor*, to this Effect: ‘That the Commons had made two Propoſitions to the Committee of Lords; Firſt they deſired to ſee the Commiſſion of the Lord-High-Steward, and thoſe to former Lords: Secondly, they deſired to know what Reſolutions had been taken about the Lords Spiritual being preſent or abſent at the Tryal of the Lords Impeach'd. For the firſt, the Lords Committee produc'd ſeveral Copies of the Commiſſions to the Lord-High-Stewards, and particularly that for the Tryal of the Earl of *Danby*, and for the five Lords in the *Tower*. But withal they communicated a Reſolution of the Lords Houſe, of the 12th of *May*, in theſe Words, *It is Declared and Order'd by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that the Office of a High-Steward, upon Tryals of Peers upon Impeachments, is not neceſſary to the Houſe of Peers, but that the Lords may proceed upon ſuch Tryals, if a High-Steward be not appointed according to their Humble Deſire.* Their Lordſhips further Declared to the Committee, *that a Lord-High-Steward was made* pro hac vice *only: That notwithſtanding the making a High-Steward, the Court remain'd the ſame, and was not thereby alter'd, but ſtill remain'd* The Court of Peers *in Parliament: That the Lord-High-Steward was but as a Speaker or Chair-Man, for the more orderly Proceedings at the Tryals.* Notwithſtanding which, they had petition'd and obtain'd a Lord High-Steward for the enſuing Tryals. As to the ſecond Propoſition, the Reſolution of the Houſe of Peers was in theſe Words, *Reſolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that the Lords Spiritual have a Right to ſtay in Court in Capital Caſes, till ſuch Time as Judgment of Death comes to be pronounc'd.* The next Day the Lords explain'd themſelves, and declared the Meaning of their Reſolution to be, *that the Lords Spiritual have a Right to ſtay and ſit in Court, till the Court proceed to the Vote of Guilty or not Guilty.* The Second Propoſition being a Matter of great Weight and Conſideration, the Committee of the Commons had commanded him to Report it to the Houſe, in order to receive their Directions for their further Proceedings.

Two Days after, Sir *John Trevor* made another Report from the Committee of both Houſes, ‘That the Lords had communicated to the Committee certain Proceedings of the Houſe of Lord, in theſe Words; *Reſolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that* Thurſday *the 22d Inſtant be appointed to begin the Tryals of the Five Lords in the* Tower, *the Earl of* Powis, *Lord Viſcount* Stafford, *Lord* Petre, *Lord* Arundel *of* Warder, *and Lord* Bellaſis. After which Reſolution paſs'd, *The Lords Spiritual ask'd the Leave of the Houſe, that they might withdraw themſelves from the Tryals of the ſaid Lords, with the Liberty of Entering their uſual Proteſtations.* And that the Commons Committee did deſire the Direction of the Houſe, how they ſhould proceed thereon.’ Upon hearing the Report, the Houſe of Commons, after a warm Debate, *Reſolv'd*, ‘That it be given as an Inſtruction to the ſaid Committee to inſiſt, *That the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in any Proceedings againſt the Lords in the* Tower; and when that Matter ſhall be ſettled, and the Methods of Proceedings adjuſted, this Houſe ſhall then be ready to proceed upon the Tryal of the Pardon of the Earl of *Danby*, againſt whom this Houſe hath already demanded Judgment; and afterwards to the Tryals of the other five Lords in the *Tower.*’ About the Rights of the Lords Spiritual, ſeveral notable Books were written; and about this Time there ſeem'd to have been a more than ordinary Spleen againſt them; and Three of them, *Gunning* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Prichard* Biſhop of *Glocester*, and *Mew* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, were accus'd for *Papiſts*: But the Accuſation ſoon fell, it being diſcover'd to be a malicious Contrivance to blaſt their Reputation, and fix a Scandal on the whole Order.

Spleen againſt the Biſhops.

The Subſtance of the EXCLUSION-BILL.

7. On the 15th of *May*, the Commons perfected their Grand Bill *to diſable the Duke of* York *from Inheriting the Imperial Crown of* England; now obtaining the Name of the *Excluſion-Bill*; and was read the firſt Time, without any great Oppoſition. It ſet forth, after the Particulars of the Execrable Conſpiracy, ‘That the Emiſſaries, Prieſts and Agents for the *Pope*, had traiterouſly ſeduc'd *James* Duke of *York*, Preſumptive Heir to theſe Crowns, to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; and had induc'd him to enter into ſeveral Negotiations with the *Pope*, his Cardinals and Nuncio's, for promoting the *Romiſh* Church and Intereſt; and by his Means and Procurement had advanc'd the Power and Greatneſs of the *French* King, to the manifeſt Hazard of theſe Kingdoms. That by Deſcent of theſe Crowns upon a *Papiſt*, and by Foreign Alliances and Aſſiſtance, they might be able to ſucceed in their wicked and villanous Deſigns.’ Then after another Preamble, they enacted to this Effect, 1. ‘That the ſaid *James* Duke of *York*, *Albany* and *Ulſter*, ſhould be incapable of Inheriting the Crowns of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, with their Dependencies; and of enjoying any of the Titles, Rights, Prerogatives and Revenues belonging to the ſaid Crowns. 2. That in Caſe his Majeſty ſhou'd happen to die, or reſign his Dominions, they ſhou'd devolve to the Perſon next in Succeſſion, in the ſame Manner as if the Duke were dead. 3. That all Acts of Sovereignty and Royalty that Prince might then happen to perform, were not only declared void, but to be High-Treaſon, and puniſhable as ſuch. 4. That if any one, at any Time whatſoever, ſhou'd endeavour to bring the ſaid Duke into any of the forementĭon'd Dominions, or correſpond with him in Order to make him Inherit, he ſhou'd be guilty of High-Treaſon. 5. That if the Duke himſelf ever return'd into any of theſe Dominions, conſidering the Miſchiefs that muſt enſue, he ſhou'd be look'd upon as guilty of the ſame Offence; and all Perſons were authoris'd and required to ſeize upon and impriſon him, and in Caſe of Reſiſtance made by Him or his Adherents, to ſubdue them by Force of Arms.’ This Bill of Baniſhment, as well as Excluſion, was five Days after read a Second Time in the Houſe: Upon which the Queſtion being put, whether the Bill ſhould be Committed, the Houſe divided, and the *Yeas* order'd to go forth, which were two Hundred and Seven, and the *Noes*, who ſtaid, were but a Hundred and twenty Eight, the Majority Seventy nine; and ſo the Bill was committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe. But the Parliament being ſoon after Prorogu'd, it never proceeded further.

Enquiry after Penſioners.

The reſt of the Time was chiefly employ'd in ſearching and finding out Grievances, and Offenders; and particularly Sir *Anthony Deane*, Officer of the King's Yard at *Portſmouth*, and Mr. *Samuel Pepys*, Secretary of the Admiralty, were accus'd before the Houſe of Piratical Practices in the Year 1673, and of making ſome criminal Diſcoveries to the *French* in 1675, all tending to the *carrying on of the late Plot*; for which they were both ſent to the *Tower*, and order'd to be proſecuted by the Attorney-General. They likewiſe took great Pains to enquire after the Penſioners in the laſt Parliament, which were found to be neither ſo numerous nor conſiderable as was expected. By the Help of Sir *Stephen Fox*, they got a Roll of Eighteen that had receiv'd annual Penſions from the King, *viz.* Sir *Charles Wheeler*, 400 Pounds; Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, 500; *Robert Roberts*, 500; Sir *James Smith*, 500; Sir *Philip Howard*, 500; Sir *Courtney Poole*, 1000; Sir *Richard Wiſeman*, 500; Colonel *King*, 200; *Thomas Price*, 400; Mr. *Weſtphaling*, 200; *Humphrey Cornwall*, 200; Sir *John Barnaby*, 300; Sir *Lionel Walden*, 300; *Daniel Collingwood*, 300; Sir *Job Charlton*, 1000; Mr. *Knolls*, 200; *Robert Philips*, 300; and *Randolph Egerton*, 500 Pounds; In all 7800 Pounds a Year. Beſides theſe, the Names of Six others were read, who had receiv'd certain Sums at one Time, as Sir *George Reeves*, 500 Pounds; Sir *John Duncomb*, 2000; Sir *Thomas Woodcock*, 200;

Henry Clark, 400; Sir *John Talbot*, 500; and Sir *Philip Mountain*, 300 Pounds at a Time: In all 3900 Pounds. Over and above, Sir *John Robinſon* was brought in for 1500 Pounds; Mr. *Rogers*, for 200; and Colonel *Whiteley*, for 300 Pounds upon Account. Sir *Joſeph Tredenham*, Mr. *Piercy Goring*, Sir *Robert Holt*, Mr. *Glaſcock*, and Sir *John Johnſton*, were brought in for uncertain Sums. How far theſe Gentlemen were culpable or criminal in this Matter, is hard to determine: However, the Houſe of Commons now look'd upon them as ſuch, and order'd a Bill to be brought in 'That no Members receive any 'Penſions or Places of Profit, during this Seſſion of Par'liament.' As to the Impeached Lords, the Commons ſtill inſiſted upon their former Vote, *That the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in the Proceedings againſt the Lords in the* Tower; and till that Matter was ſettled, they cou'd not proceed. On the other Side the Lords, not allowing them to be proper Judges, to the laſt adhered to their firſt Reſolution; ſo that in that Poſture of Affairs, the Impeach'd Lords were never to be try'd at all.

Proceedings in the Council.

8. But before we come to the Concluſion of the Seſſion, ſome Notice is to be taken of the Proceeding of the new inſtituted Council; in which the *Quadrumvirate*, the Lords *Hallifax*, *Eſſex* and *Sunderland*, and Sir *William Temple*, joyntly proceeded with great Freeneſs and Unanimity: But this Conjunction held not long in the ſame Condition: For after the Expedients and Conceſſions offer'd in the Lord Chancellor's Speech had been rejected, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* finding himſelf neither in Confidence with the King, nor Credit in the Council, turn'd all his Practices and Hopes to the Houſe of Commons, and inflam'd them to that Degree, as made the Three Lords to grow uneaſy, and to caſt about which Way they might lay the Storm. At length the Lord *Sunderland* told Sir *William Temple*, that the other two Lords were of Opinion, *That it was neceſſary to take in the Duke of* Monmouth *and the Earl of* Shaftsbury, *into the firſt Digeſtion of Affairs, conſidering the Influence they had upon the Houſe of Commons; and for that End, to agree with them in the Baniſhment of the Duke of* York, *either for a certain Time, or during the King's Life*; and deſired to know Whether he wou'd fall into it with them, and join in bringing it about with the King. Sir *William* plainly told the Lord *Sunderland* He wou'd not: 'For firſt, he wou'd never 'have any Thing to do with the Duke of *Monmouth* and 'the Lord *Shaftsbury*; and next, he wou'd never enter 'into Matters of Difference between the King and his 'Brother; having upon ſeveral Occaſions told them both, '*That he wou'd ever do all he cou'd towards the Union of 'the whole Royal Family; but never wou'd have any Thing 'to do with the Diviſions of it*; and no Man ſhou'd ever 'reproach him with Breaking his Word, and much leſs 'the King and the Duke.' Upon this peremptory Anſwer, the three Lords fell into Meetings and Conſultations with the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, which Sir *William* knew nothing of; but tho' they did not keep up the firſt Confidence with the Latter, their former Kindneſs to one another ſtill continu'd.

They agree to prorogue the Parliament.

But their Union laſted not long neither: For within a Fortnight, they began to find the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury* unreaſonable, and like to prevail upon the Houſe of Commons, to endeavour the reducing the King to a Neceſſity of yielding all Points to them; and conſequently they Two wou'd be left abſolutely at the Head of Affairs: So that the three Lords began to make their Complaints of it to Sir *William Temple*, and to fall upon the Thoughts of Proroguing the Parliament, as the only Remedy left for the preſent Diſtemper. Sir *William* agreed with them in this Propoſal; and the more readily, becuſe he foreſaw it wou'd totally break off all the Commerce between the three Lords, and the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Shaftsbury*: And ſo they agreed to propoſe it to the King, and that it ſhou'd be debated in Council, where they concluded it wou'd not fail of Succeſs. In this Reſolution they parted, and appointed to meet two Days after, for fixing it with his Majeſty in Council, which was on the 27th of *May*. Sir *William* ſtaid his two Days in the Country; and upon his Arrival early in the Morning, he was told by the Earl of *Eſſex*, *That the King had found out there were* Remonſtrances *ready prepared in the Houſe of Commons, to inflame the City and Nation upon the Points of* Plot *and* Popery; *and that their three Lordſhips*, Hallifax, Sunderland *and Himſelf, having thereupon Conſulted with his Majeſty, he reſolv'd the Parliament ſhou'd be Prorogu'd that Morning, upon the King's Coming to the Houſe; and that it cou'd not be allow'd Time or Vent by a Debate in full Council.* Sir *William* was ſorry that it cou'd not have that Sanction, according to uſual Forms: But it paſs'd otherwiſe, and with very great Surpriſe and Reſentment of both Houſes, and ſuch Rage of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, that thereupon he cry'd out in the Houſe, *He wou'd have the Heads of thoſe who were the Adviſers of this Prorogation.*

The End of the Third Parliament.

At the ſame Time the King, in his Royal Robes, paſs'd theſe Bills, 1. An Act *for the Securing the Liberty of the Subject, and for Prevention of Impriſonments beyond the Seas.* 2. An Act *for Re-ingroſſing the Records of Fines, burnt in the late Fire in the* Temple. 3. A private Act, concerning *Charles Dale* of *Rutlandſhire*, Eſquire. Of theſe, the Firſt is juſtly accounted one of the beſt Acts for Securing of the Liberty of the Subject, that ever paſs'd ſince *Magna Charta*: This is the famous *Habeas Corpus* Act, which ſo ſignally diſtinguiſhes *Engliſh* Men from the Subjects of all the Governments in *Europe*, whether they be Monarchies, or Common-Wealths: And conſidering the King's Conceſſions in this Act, and in every Thing elſe, but one Point, it will not be hard to determine who were moſt culpable this Seſſion, nor whether he had Reaſon to part with this his Parliament; which, tho' only Prorogu'd, never met after; having ſate in all two Months and three Weeks. The Day mention'd in the Prorogation, was the 14th of *Auguſt*.

Deſigns of the Conventiclers in Scotland.

IV. 1. During the warm Proceedings of this laſt Parliament, the Fire of Rebellion was kindling in the Bowels of *Scotland*; where the depreſſed Party receiv'd great Incouragement from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Speech to the Lords, the Parliament's Addreſs againſt the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and particularly, as it's ſaid, from the deſign'd Remonſtrances of the Houſe of Commons; ſo that if the Parliament had not ſuddenly broke up, the Malecontents might have appear'd much more formidable. Being once animated, they began at their Conventicles openly to diſplay the Banners of *JESUS CHRIST*, as they call'd their Colours; and their Preachers told them, *That was the Time of their Deliverance, when God wou'd take Vengeance of their Enemies; only they muſt repent, and be Strong, and of great Courage, and fight the Battles of the Lord Manfully.* They threatned ſuch as they thought were active againſt them, and they talk'd of great Revolutions in *England*; and dropt Liſts of thoſe Men they deſign'd ſhou'd fall by Heroical Hands; in the Head of which ſtood the Name of the *Perjur'd Apoſtate Prelate Sharp*, as they term'd the Primate of *Scotland*, the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s. Several Years before, the Murder of this eminent Prelate was attempted by one *Mitchel*, a Conventicle Preacher, who as his Coach ſtopt in the Streets in *Edinburgh*, diſcharg'd a Piſtol at him loaden with three Bullets, which were intercepted by the Arm of the Biſhop of *Orkney*, who was then getting into his Grace's Coach. The Aſſaſſine made his Eſcape, but was taken and executed ſome Years after, when he glory'd in and juſtify'd the Fact to the laſt. But tho' he fail'd, others of the ſame Spirit reſolv'd to finiſh what he attempted; which Heaven permitted them to accompliſh in the following Manner.

The barbarous Murder of the Arch-biſhop of St. Andrew's.

His Grace having been aſſiſting at the Privy-Council at *Edinburgh*, went over into *Fife* the 2d of *May*, this Year, and lodg'd that Night at a Village between *Burnt-Iſland* and St. *Andrew*'s. About Midnight two Men, well mounted and arm'd, enquir'd in the Village, if the Arch-biſhop was there; and hearing that he was, they immediately rode away. The next Morning the Arch-biſhop took Coach, with only his Daughter with him, and three Servants on Horſeback to attend him, one of whom he had ſent with a Compliment to a Perſon of Honour near the Road; and ſafely purſu'd his Journey, till he came within two Miles of St. *Andrew*'s; where, a little before Noon, he perceiv'd he was purſu'd by about twelve Horſe-Men with Piſtols, and drawn Swords hanging at their Arms; upon which the Coachman drove as faſt as ſix good Horſes cou'd gallop. They purſu'd and fir'd at the Coach, till at length one of them nam'd *Balfour*, who was beſt mounted, overtook the Coach, and having wounded the Poſtilion, ſhot one of the fore-Horſes, and having hamſtring'd the other, ſtop'd the Coach. The reſt of the Murderers came up, and one of them fir'd a Piſtol ſo near, as to ſinge his Grace's Gown; then calling him *Dog, Apoſtate, Betrayer of the Godly, Perſecutor of Chriſt's Church*, they bid him come out of the Coach, and receive the Reward of his Wickedneſs againſt the *Kirk* of *Scotland*. Upon this his Daughter came out, and upon her Knees moſt movingly beg'd her Father's Life; but they threw her down, trampled on her, and wounded her. Upon which piteous Sight, the Father came out, and calmly told them, *He did not know he had ever injur'd them: If he had, he was ready to make Reparation*; beſeeching them *to ſpare his Life, and he wou'd never trouble them for that Violence*; but pray'd them *to conſider, before they brought the Guilt of innocent Blood upon themſelves.* The Reverence of his Perſon, and his compos'd Carriage ſurpris'd the Villains; and one of them cry'd *Spare his Grey Hairs*; but others reply'd *He muſt die, and the trai-*

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terous Villain, Judas, *Enemy to God's People, muſt now receive the Reward of his Apoſtacy.* He then beg'd Time to pray, telling them *He won'd pray for Them*; but they ſcornfully told him, *They cared not for his Prayers, they were ſure God wou'd not hear ſo baſe a Dog as he was.* Then earneſtly looking on one of the Aſſaſſins, he kneel'd to him, and ſaid, *Sir, you're a Gentleman, I beg my laſt Favour of you, that ſince you are reſolv'd I muſt die, you will have Pity upon my poor Child here, and ſpare her Life, and for this, Sir, give me your Hand*; and reaching it out to him, the inhuman Wretch almoſt cut it off with his broad Sword, and with another Blow gave him a deep Wound over the Eye, which brought him to the Ground: But getting again upon his Knees, he ſaid, *Gentlemen, it is enough, you have done your Work*; and lifting up his Hands, as well as he cou'd, he cry'd out, *Lord Jeſus have Mercy upon my Soul, and receive my Spirit*; they ſtill wounding him, till laying his Head upon his Arm, he ſaid, *God forgive you, and I forgive you all:* With which Words he expired, having received many Wounds, and his Brains ſtirr'd in his Scull by the Ends of their Swords; leaving a Strange Inſtance of *Fanatick* Rage and Barbarity.

This horrid Fact was committed the 2d of *May*, ſome time after the Reception of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Speech in *Scotland*: Within a few Days after this Fact, arriv'd the Addreſs of the Commons of *England* againſt the Duke of *Lauderdale*, which found all things ripe for an Inſurrection. For the Murther of ſo illuſtrious a Perſon as the Primate of that Kingdom, and a Privy-Counſellor, in ſo publick a manner, was not to be ſmother'd; ſo that the Dread of Puniſhment, and the Hopes of Aſſiſtance from *England*, concurr'd to puſh them forwards to an open Rebellion, for which they might poſſibly expect the like Encouragement, as in that againſt the late King. Accordingly on the 29th of *May*, before they could hear of the Prorogation of the Parliament, about 80 of them came to *Ragland*, where they proclaim'd the *Covenant*, burnt ſeveral Acts of Parliament made ſince the Reſtoration, and affix'd a Rebellious Declaration on the Market-Croſs, and attempted the like at *Glaſcow*, but were prevented by ſome of the King's Forces there. On *Sunday* the firſt of *June*, they rendezvous'd upon *Loudon-Hill*, being encreas'd to near 1500 Men, well-arm'd, in good Order; the Foot being commanded by one *Weir*, and the Horſe by *Balfour* and *Huckſton*, two of the Murderers of the Archbiſhop, and by *Robert Hamilton* and one *Patron*. Captain *Graham* of *Claverhouſe*, afterwards Lord *Dundee*, march'd againſt them with a Troop of Horſe, and a Company of Dragoons; but after a ſharp Engagement, being overpower'd in Number, was oblig'd to retire. Fluſh'd with this Succeſs, on the next Day the Rebels made two Attacks on the City of *Glaſcow*, in both which they were repuls'd with conſiderable Loſs; but afterwards their Strength encreaſing, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of it, and iſſu'd out their Proclamation, imperiouſly commanding the Magiſtrates to turn out all the *Archbiſhops, Biſhops and Curates, their Bairns and Servants, and all Families and Perſons concern'd in the King's Army, within* 48 *Hours, under the higheſt Pains.* They alſo publiſh'd another Declaration, to demand Redreſs of their ſeveral Grievances, and to invite their Brethren to join them; and committed great Outrages there, and in the adjacent Country. In the mean time the Council of *Scotland* were not idle, but rais'd an Army, which they quarter'd ſo as to prevent the Approach of the *Covenanters* to *Edinburgh*, and ſent Accounts to the King of all that paſs'd, expecting his Majeſty's further Orders.

The Conventiclers appear in Rebellion.

Diviſions in the Engliſh *Council.*

The King and his Miniſters were not a little puzzled with this Affair, and there was a manifeſt Diviſion in the Council it ſelf. For ſince the laſt Prorogation, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had been buſy in preparing Fuel for the next Seſſion, not without continual Appearance of ill Humour at Council, which often broke out into ſpiteful Repartees between him and the Lord *Hallifax*, the ableſt Perſon to cope with him. And on the other ſide, the Duke of *Monmouth* had broken all Meaſures with the Earl of *Eſſex*, with whom he had been long intimate to the laſt Degree: So as this grew to be a Perſonal Quarrel between theſe four; and tho' commonly ſmother'd when they met, yet ſeldom without the Appearance of ſome Smoak. Therefore, when they receiv'd the News of the *Scotch* Rebellion, it was remarkable to obſerve the Counter-Paces that were made. The King was for ſuppreſſing it immediately, by Forces from *England*, to be diſpatcht and join'd with thoſe in *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* to go and Command them all. The Lord *Shaftsbury* ſhew'd plainly at Council, and in other Places, that he was unwilling that the Inſurrection ſhould be wholly, or too ſoon ſuppreſs'd, or otherwiſe than by his Friends in *Scotland*, who might be brought into the Direction of Affairs there, with the Removal of the Duke of *Landerdale*: Yet on the other ſide, he was willing to ſee the Duke of *Monmouth* grow great by ſuch a Command of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Forces: and agreed with his Grace, to put the King upon another Project at the ſame time, which was in the Abſence of ſo many Forces, to raiſe a Troop of 200 Gentlemen for the Security of the King's Perſon, and the Duke of *Monmouth* to be Captain; and which was to be compos'd chiefly of broken Officers, whoſe Fidelity was beſt known to the Duke. On the other ſide, the Earl of *Eſſex*, tho' he agreed with the King in ſuppreſſing the Inſurrection, yet he deſir'd it might be only done by the *Scotch*, to prevent the increaſing Greatneſs of the Duke of *Monmouth*, if he met with Succeſs. And tho' he wou'd not oppoſe the King in his Deſign of ſending his Grace upon this Expedition; yet he openly did in the other of raiſing the Two hundred Gentlemen, and defeated it by raiſing invincible Difficulties in the Treaſury, where he was at the Head.

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The Duke of Monmouth *ordered for* Scotland.

After all, it was agreed by the four Leaders, *Eſſex*, *Sunderland*, *Hallifax*, and *Temple*, that the Duke ſhou'd go into *Scotland*, with ſuch Forces only as were now rais'd, and cou'd be conveniently ſpared. The Duke ſhew'd great Expedition and Bravery; and joining with ſeveral *Scotch* Forces, without Loſs of time, on the 22d Day of *June*, at *Bothwell-Bridge*, he fought the Rebels with great Fury, and tho' 17000 in Number, entirely routed them, killing about 800 on the Spot, and taking near 1200 Priſoners, by which the Inſurrection was cruſh'd, and that Country reduc'd to Peace and Order. Some few of the Priſoners were hang'd, eſpecially thoſe concern'd in the Archbiſhop's Murder, and moſt of the reſt were tranſported. The Duke of *Monmouth* ſoon return'd in Triumph; and was receiv'd with great Applauſes at the Court, and with ſingular Appearance of Kindneſs and Affection from the King: Tho' the Suppreſſion of this Rebellion was not very ſatisfactory to many of his ſecret Admirers.

He routs the Rebels.

2. In the mean time the Buſineſs and Credit of the Plot was ſucceſsfully carry'd on in the grand Tryal of five noted Jeſuits, *viz. Thomas Whitbread*, Provincial, or Chief of the Jeſuits in *England*; *William Harcourt*, reputed Rector of *London*; *John Fenwick*, Procurator of the Jeſuits in *England*; *John Gawen*, and *Anthony Turner*, all Prieſts and Jeſuits; Men of Gravity, Learning and Education; who on the 13th of *June* were brought to the *Old Baily*, and Try'd by the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*, and the reſt of the Judges of *England*. The Proofs againſt them were long, and conſiſted of divers Particulars. *Oates*'s Evidence was, '1. That the great Conſult of the 24th of '*April*, 1678, was by order of *Whitebread* the Provincial; 'and that he, *Fenwick*, *Harcourt* and *Turner*, did all in his 'Preſence ſign the Reſolve for the King's Death. 2. That '*Whitebread*, after his Return to St. *Omers*, did ſay, *He* '*hop'd to ſee the black Fool's Head at* Whitehall *laid faſt* '*enough; and if his Brother ſhou'd appear to follow his* '*Footſteps, his Paſsport ſhou'd be made too.* 3. That in *July*, '*Aſhby*, a Prieſt, brought over Inſtructions from *White*'*bread* to offer Sir *George Wakeman* Ten thouſand Pounds 'to Poiſon the King; and alſo a Commiſſion to Sir *John* '*Gage* to be an Officer in the Army they deſign'd to raiſe, 'which the Witneſs deliver'd to Sir *John*. 4. As for '*Gawen*, tho' he cou'd not poſitively ſay he ſaw him at the 'Conſult, yet he ſaw his Hand ſubſcrib'd to the Reſolve: 'And that in *July* 78, he gave them in *London* an Ac'count how proſperous their Affairs were in *Stafford*'*ſhire* and *Shropſhire*; that the Lord *Stafford* was very di'ligent, and that there was two or three thouſand Pounds 'ready there, to carry on the Deſign; all which he after'wards heard him declare in Father *Ireland*'s Chamber.

The Tryals of five Jeſuits.

Oates.

The next Witneſs was Mr. *Stephen Dugdale*, a new Evidence lately appearing, formerly a Servant to the Lord *Aſton*, from whom he is ſaid to have embezzled Three hundred Pounds. He ſwore, '1. Againſt *Whitebread*, 'That he ſaw a Letter under his Hand to Father *Ewers*, 'a Jeſuit, and Confeſſor to the Witneſs; in which he or'der'd him to be ſure to chuſe Men that were *Hardy* and '*Truſty*, no matter whether they were *Gentlemen*: And 'he ſwore what they were to do; that the Words under 'his Hand were in expreſs Terms——*For killing the* '*King.* 2. Againſt *Gawen* he ſwore, that he entertain'd 'the Witneſs to be of the Conſpiracy to Murther the 'King, as one of thoſe reſolute Fellows deſcrib'd by '*Whitebread*; and for that End they had ſeveral Conſul'tations in the Country; as at *Boſcobel*, and at *Tixal* in *Sept.* '1678. And he heard them talk in one of theſe Conſults, 'that it was the Opinion of the Monks at *Paris*, who 'were to aſſiſt in the Conſpiracy, *That as ſoon as the Deed* '*was done, they ſhou'd lay it on the Presbyterians*, and ſo 'provoke the other Proteſtants to cut their Throats. That 'he had intercepted and read above a hundred Letters to 'the ſame Purpoſe, to be deliver'd by private Marks 'known to Father *Ewers*. 3. That the Witneſs him'ſelf was ſo zealous in the Cauſe, that he had given them

Dugdale

Four hundred Pounds for carrying on the Deſign, which *Gawen* had made him believe was not only lawful, but meritorious; and that he was to be ſent up to *London* by *Harcourt*, there to be inſtructed about killing the King. 4. That the ſame *Harcourt* did write Word to Father *Ewers* of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*'s being diſpatcht that very Night it was done; ſo that they knew of it in *Staffordſhire* ſeveral Days before it was commonly known in *London*. And to confirm this Teſtimony, he produc'd Mr. *Chetwin*, a Gentleman, who ſwore, he did hear it reported as from Mr. *Dugdale*; and that he was not in Town when the Murtherers of Sir *Edmund-bury-Godfrey* were Try'd, or elſe he wou'd then have witneſſed the ſame. 5. Againſt *Turner* he ſwore, That he ſaw him with others at *Ewers*'s Chamber, where they conſulted together to carry on this Deſign of bringing in Popery by killing the King.’

Prance.

In this Tryal, *Prance* had a ſmall ſhare in Swearing, and teſtify'd, ‘ That *Harcourt*, one Day paying him for an Image of the *Virgin Mary*, told him there was a Deſign of Killing the King: And that *Fenwick* told him in *Ireland*'s Chamber, that there ſhould be Fifty thouſand Men in Arms in a readineſs to ſettle their Religion, and that they ſhou'd be commanded by the Lords *Bellaſis*, *Powis*, and *Arundel* of *Warder*’. But *Bedloe* was to give the concluſive Evidence, who firſt gave an Account, why he did not come againſt *Whitebread* and *Fenwick*, when they were upon their Tryal, becauſe he was finding out the corrupt Practices of Mr. *Reading*; and then he poſitively ſwore, ‘ 1. That he had ſeen *Whitebread* and *Fenwick* at ſeveral Conſults about the Plot; and that he had heard *Whitebread* at *Harcourt*'s Chamber, tell *Coleman* the Manner of the ſending the four Ruffians to *Windſor* to kill the King. 2. That he ſaw *Harcourt* take out of a Cabinet about fourſcore or a hundred Pounds to give it to a Meſſenger, to be carry'd to the ſaid Ruffians, with a Guinea to drink Mr. *Coleman*'s Health. 3. That *Whitebread* told him, That *Pickering* was to have a great Number of *Maſſes*, and *Grove* Fifteen hundred Pounds for Killing the King. 4. That *Harcourt* employ'd him ſeveral Times to carry their Conſults beyond the Seas; and that, in *Harcourt*'s Preſence, he receiv'd *Coleman*'s Thanks for his Fidelity, and that *Harcourt* recommended him to the Lord *Arundel*, who promis'd him great Favour when the Times were turn'd: Alſo that he ſaw *Harcourt* give *Wakeman* a Bill to receive 2000 Pounds, in part of a greater Sum; and heard Sir *George* ſay, *Fifteen thouſand Pounds was but a ſmall Reward, for the ſettling Religion, and preſerving three Kingdoms from Ruin.*’ Beſides theſe Evidences, there was a Letter found among *Harcourt*'s Papers, from one *Petre* a Jeſuit, which names a Meeting deſign'd on the 24th of *April*, 1678; which was brought to fortify *Oates*'s Evidence of the grand Conſult: But this was explain'd to ſignify a Triennial Meeting about the Choice of a Procurator to be ſent to *Rome*; but not to the full Satisfaction of the Court.

And Bedloe.

The Priſoners Defence.

The Defence made by the Priſoners was various and long: Beſides their frequent Aſſeverations and Proteſtations of their Innocence, and their Ignorance of any Deſigns againſt the King; they much argu'd againſt the Witneſſes, inſiſting, ‘ That to the making of a *Credible Witneſs*, there muſt be *Integrity of Life*, *Truth of Teſtimony*, and *Probability of Matter*; but the Witneſſes againſt them, *Oates*, *Bedloe*, *Prance* and *Dugdale*, were Men of deſperate Fortunes, and flagitious Perſons, and that Falſe-Swearing was their Livelihood. And particularly they alledg'd the great Improbability of truſting *Oates* with Secrets of the higheſt Importance, when he was turn'd away from St. *Omers* for his Miſdemeanors and Immoralities, which were ſo great, that he was deny'd the Sacrament. They charg'd him with Contradictions with relation to his former Evidences; and alledg'd, *If the Evidence on their ſide ſhould be rejected becauſe they were* Roman Catholicks, *all Commerce with ſeveral Countries would be deſtroy'd.* Thereupon they produc'd about ſixteen Witneſſes to prove, that *Oates* had been all *April*, *May*, and till the latter End of *June*, 1678, at St. *Omers*; and that they ſaw him every Day, convers'd and din'd with him, and that he was never out of the College, except two Days, and one Night he was at *Watton*, and two or three Days he was in the *Infirmary*, &c. and conſequently he could not be at the Conſult of the 24th of *April*. And further they prov'd, That Sir *John Warner* and Sir *Thomas Preſton*, whom *Oates* had ſworn to come over with him to the Conſult, were all that Time beyond the Seas, one at *Watton*, the other at *Liege*.’ And moreover to ſhew that *Oates* was not a Man to be credited, ‘ they produc'd Eleven Witneſſes to prove that Father *Ireland*, who was executed, was not at *London*, and made it appear directly contrary to what he had ſworn upon his Tryal.’ In Anſwer to theſe Accuſations, *Oates* alledg'd, ‘ That his coming to *London* to the Conſult was very privare; yet he produc'd ſix or ſeven Witneſſes to teſtify they ſaw him there about that Time, but in a ſort of a Diſguiſe. But none ſpoke very home but Mr. *Smith*, a School-maſter of *Iſlington*, who afterwards in a *Narrative* retracted all that he had ſaid, and confeſs'd his Guilt. As to *Ireland*'s being in *London*, *Oates* produc'd one, and but one Witneſs, who did affirm to have ſeen him there at that Time. The Priſoners alledg'd alſo ſeveral particular Things as to their own diſtinct Caſes; and *Gawen* offer'd himſelf to undergo the *Ordeal*, or Fiery-Tryal, over red hot Plow-Shares, as a Teſt of his Innocence, but this was not allow'd him by the Court.

These and other Things pleaded by the Priſoners, might probably have met with a more favourable Hearing, if, beſides the violent Bent of the Times, the Court and the Aſſembly had not been ſurpriz'd and irritated by the new Matter produc'd by *Dugdale* concerning Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*. So that when the Lord Chief-Juſtice ſumm'd up the Evidence, he took particular Notice of the Proof made, that *Harcourt* was privy to that Murder, which he had never heard before this Day, and in which he declar'd, he could never be better ſatisfy'd: And thereupon ſpeaking to the Priſoners, he ſaid, *This will ſtick, I aſſure you, Sirs, upon all your Party — While this Gentleman's Blood lies upon you, it muſt be yet further told you, That in what you* did *do, you have given us a* Specimen *of what you* would *do. We have a Teſtimony, that for promoting your Cauſe, you would not ſtick at the* Proteſtants *Blood. You began with Sir* Edmund-bury Godfrey, *but who knows where you would have made an End! It was this Man you killed in his* Perſon, *but in* Effigie *the whole Nation. It was in one Man's Blood your Hands were embrew'd, but your Souls were* dipt *in the Blood of us all. This was a Handſel only of what was to follow; and ſo long as we are convinc'd you kill'd Him, we cannot but believe, you would alſo kill the King. We cannot but believe, you would make us All away, that ſtand in the Way of your Religion; A Religion, which according to what it* is, *you would bring in upon us by a Converſion of us with* Blood, *and by a Baptiſm with* Fire. *God keep the Land from* One, *and the City from the* Other! The Jury after a ſhort Conſideration return'd, and brought all the five Priſoners in guilty of High-Treaſon; but Sentence was reſpited till the next Day.

The Chief-Juſtice's Speech.

Found Guilty.

Laghorn's *Tryal.*

On which Day came on the Tryal of *Richard Langhorn* Eſquire, a Counſellor at Law of the *Temple*, a *Romiſh* Gentleman well skill'd in conveyancing, and much employ'd by that Party. Being brought to the ſame Place with the five *Jeſuits*, and before the ſame Perſons, with a new Jury; *Oates* appear'd and ſwore, ‘ 1. That the Priſoner held Correſpondence with *Le Cheſe* and others, and that the Witneſs carry'd ſeveral Letters to Perſons beyond the Seas; in one of which he ſaw under his own Hand, Words to this Purpoſe, *That now they had a fair Opportunity to begin, or give the Blow*; with other Expreſſions plain enough concerning the Plot. 2. That he had Order from the Provincial *Whitebread* to give Mr. *Langhorn* an Account of the Reſolve of the Grand Conſult, *April* 24th, 1678; and upon acquainting him with it, the Gentleman lifted up his Hands and Eyes, and pray'd, *That God would give it good Succeſs*. 3. That he ſaw in his Chamber certain Commiſſions, which they call'd *Patents*; and that he permitted the Witneſs to peruſe ſeveral of them: One was to the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, to be Lord Chancellor, another to the Lord *Powis*, to be Treaſurer, and one to the Priſoner, to be Advocate of the Army; all ſign'd *Johannes Paulus d'Oliva*, by vertue of a Brief from the Pope. 4. That being employ'd as a Sollicitor for ſeveral of the Fathers of the Society, the Priſoner prevail'd with the *Benedictine* Monks to raiſe Six thouſand Pounds for carrying on the Cauſe; and ſaid in his Hearing, *That he would do his utmoſt for procuring the Mony*. 5. That he was diſguſted that Sir *G. Wakeman* was not content with Ten thouſand Pounds to poyſon the King, and call'd him a *Narrow-ſpirited, narrow-ſoul'd Phyſician; who, for ſo publick a Cauſe, ought to have done it for nothing*. 6. An Inſtrument being produc'd, ſign'd *Paulus d'Oliva*, found in *Langhorn*'s Chamber; *Oates* ſwore that the forementioned Commiſſions were ſign'd by the ſame Hand; but they were all convey'd away, and this being only an Eccleſiaſtical Buſineſs, and not dangerous as they thought, was left behind.’

Oates.

In the next Place *Bedloe* ſwore firſt, ‘ that going with *Coleman* to the Priſoner's Chamber, the former gave him his Letters to *Le Cheſe*, the Pope's Nuncio and others, open, to read, and Regiſter in a Book kept by him for that Purpoſe; and that ſome of the Expreſſions in theſe Letters, were, *That all Things were now in Readineſs, and they only wanted Mony; that the Catholicks were now in Safety; that Places and Offices had been diſpos'd to them, and that all Garriſons either were, or ſuddenly would be in their Hands; and now they had a fair Opportunity, having a King ſo eaſy to believe what was*

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‘*dictated to him by a Party.* 2. That he brought other Letters from *Harcourt* to *Langhorn* to be regiſter'd; of which Letters, one was from the Rector of the *Iriſh* College at *Salamanca*, which ſpecify'd, *That the Lord* Bellaſis *and the reſt concern'd ſhould be in readineſs, for that they had ſent ſome* Iriſh *caſhier'd Soldiers, with many other Lay Brothers, under the Notion of* Pilgrims *for St.* Jago, *who were to take Shipping at the* Groyn, *and to land at* Milford-Haven, *and there to joyn with the Lord* Powis.

Langhorn's *Defence, and Condemnation.*

Mr. *Langhorn* in his Defence, beſides the ſolemn Proteſtations of his Innocence, alledg'd, ‘that *Oates* and *Bedloe* the Witneſſes againſt him were *Parties* in the Crime, and deſir'd to know whether they had their Pardons.’ Upon underſtanding that *Bedloe* had *Three*, and *Oates* had *Two*, all under the Broad-Seal; he inſiſted, ‘That they were ſtill *Approvers* in the Eye of the Law, and therefore not to be heard; and deſir'd to know whether they expected any Rewards for their Diſcoveries.’ *Oates* reply'd upon Oath, *that he had been rewarded by Expending Six or ſeven hundred Pounds out of his own Pocket, without knowing whether he ever ſhould ſee it again. Langhorn* then alledg'd, he had heard that *Bedloe* had receiv'd five hundred Pounds; but he was anſwer'd, that That was for the Diſcovery of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*'s Murder, and not for the Plot. And *Bedloe* ſwore, *that he was ſo far from having any Benefit by that Diſcovery, that he was ſeven hundred Pounds out of Pocket.* When the Priſoner inſiſted upon the Improbability of their Aſſertions, by reaſon of their great Neceſſities and Poverty when they firſt made their Diſcoveries, he was told that ſuch Enquiries were foreign to the Matter in Hand. And ſo he proceeded to prove *Oates* to be perjured with reſpect to the Conſult in *April* 24th, and to the Buſineſs of Father *Ireland*, by the ſame Witneſſes that had been us'd by the five Jeſuits the Day before. And becauſe *Oates* had formerly ſworn, that he lay at *Grove*'s Houſe about the Time of the Conſult, he brought Mrs. *Grove* to teſtify, that he never was there about that Time; which was confirm'd by her Maid; and both affirm'd, that the Houſe was then taken up, and that there was no Room to lodge him in. He ſaid he had more Things to alledge, but was diſcourag'd, becauſe ſome of his Witneſſes were beaten and abus'd for appearing for him, and one Woman durſt not ſo much as ſpeak, for fear of the Inſolence of the Rabble.

The Execution of the five Jeſuits, and Langhorn.

In Concluſion, the Jury brought him in Guilty, and he receiv'd Sentence, together with the five *Jeſuits*; at the Pronouncing of which by the Recorder, there was a very great Acclamation in the Place. On the 20th of this Month *June*, the five Jeſuits were carry'd to *Tyburn*, at which Place of Execution they all made ſolemn Speeches. *Whitebread* in his Speech has theſe Words; ‘I am to make my Appearance before the Face of Almighty God, and with all imaginable Certainty and Evidence to receive a final Judgment, for all the Thoughts, Words and Actions of my whole Life: So that I am not now upon Terms to ſpeak other than the Truth; and therefore in his moſt holy Preſence, and as I hope for Mercy from his Divine Majeſty, I do declare to you here preſent, and to the whole World, that I go out of the World as *Innocent* and as free from any *Guilt* of theſe Things laid to my Charge, as I came into the World from my Mother's Womb: And that I do renounce from my Heart all manner of *Pardons*, *Abſolutions*, *Diſpenſations for Swearing*, as *Occaſions* or *Intereſts* may ſeem to require, which ſome have been pleas'd to lay to our Charge; as Matter of our *Practice* and *Doctrine*; but is a Thing ſo *Unjuſtifiable* and *Unlawful*, that I believe, and ever did, *that no Power on Earth can authorize Me, or any Body ſo to do.*------I do moreover declare, that this is the true and plain Senſe of my Soul, in the Sight of him who knows the Secrets of my Heart, and as I hope to ſee his bleſſed Face, without any *Equivocation*, or *Mental Reſervation*.’ The reſt ſpoke much to the ſame Effect; and *Harcourt*, upon a Queſtion put to him by the Sheriff, particularly deny'd, that he wrote that Letter concerning the Diſpatch of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, which had been ſworn againſt him.

Mr. *Langhorn*, either in Conſideration of his Affairs with others, which might be convenient to adjuſt, or rather in hopes of bringing out a free Confeſſion, was repriev'd for a Month, and then executed the 14th of *July*; perſiſting likewiſe in the moſt ſolemn, poſitive and ſtrong Expreſſions of his Innocence, which he had written down in a Paper, and deliver'd to the Sheriff. Among other Things he has theſe remarkable Words, ‘I do believe, That it is no ways lawful for me to lye, or to ſpeak any Thing which I know to be untrue; or to commit any Sin, or do any Evil *that Good may come of it.* And that it is not in the Power of any *Prieſt*, or of the *Pope*, or of GOD Himſelf, to give me a *Lycenſe* to lye, or to ſpeak any Thing which I know to be untrue; becauſe every ſuch Lye wou'd be a Sin againſt *Truth:* And Almighty God, who is perfect TRUTH, cannot give me a *Lycenſe* to commit a Sin againſt his own ESSENCE.’ Which Words ſo affected an eminent City Divine, ſince in the higheſt Station, that he ſaid, *Either this Man muſt be Innocent, or the moſt ſuperlative Villain that ever trod upon the Earth.* But all that He, or the others could ſay, would gain no Credit at this Time; it being a general Belief, that they thought it lawful to utter the greateſt Falſhoods and Lies, in favour of their Religion and Cauſe.

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Proceedings in the Council.

3. Theſe ſharp Proceedings were no ways grateful to the King, nor to a conſiderable Part of the new Council, who were buſily employ'd in making way for a calmer and better-temper'd Seſſion of Parliament, after the ſhort Prorogation that had been made. Yet as to the *Plot*, the Lord *Hallifax* expreſly declar'd to his three Aſſociates, *that That muſt be handled as if it were true, whether it were ſo or not, eſpecially in thoſe Points that were ſo generally believ'd by City or Country, as well as both Houſes.* As the Term of the Prorogation drew near expiring, all agreed that a Seſſion could not conveniently begin before *October*; and a Day was appointed for conſidering that Matter in full Council. It was obſerved, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was now greater than ever; and that the Lord *Shaftsbury* expected the ſame, upon the next Meeting of the Parliament, and at the Coſt of thoſe whom he took to be the Authors of the laſt Prorogation: The Lords *Eſſex* and *Hallifax*, now out of all Meaſures with the Duke of *Monmouth*, look'd upon themſelves as moſt in Danger, and aim'd at by the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Threats. This occaſion'd a Conſultation among the three Lords, and Sir *William Temple*, whether, conſidering the Diſtemper of the preſent Parliament, the beſt Courſe were not to Diſſolve it, and have another call'd in *October*? Which being unanimouſly carry'd in the Affirmative, and the King being fully of the ſame Mind; it was Reſolv'd, that his Majeſty ſhould at next Council propoſe the Queſtion, *Whether there ſhould be a further Prorogation, or a Diſſolution, with a new Parliament*; and that in the mean Time, the Lord Chancellor and the other Chief Officers ſhould be acquainted with the King's Mind, either by himſelf or the three Lords, Sir *William Temple* being to go into the Country. By their Computation, they all Four concluded, there could not be above ſix in the whole Council that could be againſt the Diſſolution; which they thought would be a great Support to the King's Reſolution againſt all the Exclamations they expected from the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and his Party; and at leaſt againſt the Conſequences uſually deduc'd from the Forms of Calling and Diſmiſſing Parliaments, viz. *The Advice of the Privy-Council.*

But when the Council Day came, which was the 10th of *July*, the King and the three Lords having neglected to prepare the Lord Chancellor and other Chief Officers, Sir *William Temple*, at the King's propoſing the Queſtion, obſerv'd a general Surpriſe at the Board; which made him ſuſpect his Majeſty had ſpoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor, before he came in. It ſoon appear'd he had not ſo much as done that neither: For after a long Pauſe, he was the firſt that roſe up, and ſpoke long and violently againſt the Diſſolution; was follow'd by the Lord *Shaftsbury* in the fulleſt manner, and moſt tragical Terms; and by the Lord *Angleſey*, who urg'd all the fatal Conſequences that could be; being ſtill follow'd by the Lord *Arlington*, Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, and every Man there, except the three Lords, who ſpoke for the Diſſolution; but neither with half the Length or Force of Argument they intended to have done. They left, it ſeems, that Part to Sir *William Temple*, who was ſufficiently inſtructed in the Caſe; but reſenting the Negligence of his Friends, who might ſo eaſily have effected what was agreed on, and ſeeing that Reaſons would ſignify nothing, after ſuch a plain Majority, he contented himſelf with ſaying, *That he thought it was every Man's Opinion, that a happy Agreement between his Majeſty and Parliament was neceſſary to his Affairs, both at home and Abroad: That all the Difference, in a Continuance of this, or Aſſembling of another Parliament, would depend only upon the Probability of agreeing better and eaſier with one than the other: That his Majeſty had ſpoken ſo much of his Deſpairing about any Agreement with this preſent Parliament, and the Hopes he had of doing it with another, that for his part he thought That ought to decide it; becauſe he believ'd his Majeſty could better judge of that Point than any Body elſe.*

In which the King declares the Parliament diſſolved.

Upon this, the King order'd the Chancellor to draw up a Proclamation for Diſſolving the preſent Parliament, and calling another to aſſemble on the 17th of *October* following: Whereupon the Council broke up with the greateſt Rage in the World, of the Lord *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Ruſſel*, and two or three more, and the general Diſſatisfaction of the whole Board.

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Still the King had ſome Hopes that his Subjects, upon reflecting on the late Miſcarriages, and the Nation's Danger of being involv'd in an inteſtine War, at a Time when the victorious Arms of *France* hung like a Cloud over their Heads, would proceed with more Caution, in the next Election, and ſend him up Men of cooler Tempers. But his Majeſty ſoon found himſelf miſtaken; and the common People, who generally follow as they are led, were perſuaded to believe the Parliament was Prorogu'd and Diſſolv'd, only to prevent the Tryal of the *Popiſh* Lords; tho' only the Commons had obſtructed it, and refus'd to appear againſt them, when they were brought to the Lords Bar. The Leaders of the Country, or *Shaftsbury*'s Party, encreas'd the Noiſe of *Popery*, *French Penſioners*, and *Arbitrary Government*; and beſides theſe general Charges, took ſpecial Advantage of two Things that occurr'd in the laſt Parliament: The firſt was the *Excluſion Bill*, which was made a kind of Teſt, and all thoſe Gentlemen who voted againſt it, were mark'd as Favourers of *Popery*, if not downright Papiſts. The next was a Diſcovery, formerly mention'd, made by Sir *Stephen Fox*, of the Penſioners in the long Parliament, which being by Order of the Houſe made on a ſudden by Memory only, and no Record of it enter'd, they took the Advantage of naming who they miſlik'd in their Black Liſts of *Court Penſioners:* All thoſe who had any Publick Employments were excepted againſt, and thoſe recommended who either had never been truſted, or had been turn'd out of their Places; who were all applauded as Men not to be bought, Enemies to the Court and Miniſters, and true Friends to the *Proteſtant Religion* and their Country: *And all this was done*, as they alledg'd, *for the Advancement of his Majeſty's Service, and the encreaſing the Love of his People towards him.* But the King being of another Opinion, would not permit them to come together, ſo ſoon as was intended.

New Elections.

The Tryal of Sir George *Wakeman,* &c.

4. In the midſt of theſe Heats, they brought on the Tryal of Sir *George Wakeman*, Phyſician to the Queen, together with *William Marſhal*, and *James Corker*, two *Benedictine* Monks, and *William Rumley*, a Lay Brother of that Order; who, on the 18th Day of *July*, were all arraign'd for High-Treaſon at the *Old-Bayly*, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, and other Judges. In the opening of the Tryal, to prove the Plot in general, there appear'd Mr. *Dugdale* and Mr. *Prance*, and one Mr. *Jenniſon*, a new Evidence and Diſcoverer, of whom, the principal Buſineſs of the laſt was to prove, that Father *Ireland* was at *London* in the Month of *June*, 78, contrary to what he had proteſted at his Execution. Againſt Sir *George Wakeman* in particular, Dr. *Oates*, as he was then call'd, ſwore, '1. That the Priſoner in the Month of *July*, 78, 'ſending a Letter to *Aſhby* the Jeſuit, of Inſtructions, how 'he ſhould order himſelf before he went to, and at the '*Bath*, whither he was going, did afterwards in the ſame 'Letter write, *That the Queen would aſſiſt him to poyſon the King:* And knew it to be his Hand, becauſe ſome 'two Days after he ſaw Sir *George* at *Aſhby*'s Lodging ſit in 'a writing Poſture, and then lay by his Pen, and roſe up; 'and going away, left behind him a written Paper, wet 'with the Ink, purporting a Bill to an Apothecary; and 'the Hand of this Paper ſo left by Sir *George*, was the 'ſame with that of the fore-mention'd Letter to *Aſhby*. '2. That at the ſame Time, Mr. *Aſhby* did give Sir *George* 'ſome Inſtructions concerning the *Patent* or *Commiſſion* 'he had receiv'd of being Phyſician to the Army; 'and that the Witneſs did ſee the ſaid Commiſſion in 'Sir *George*'s Hands. 3. That a few Days after, Father '*Harcourt* and four other Jeſuits went to attend the Queen 'at *Somerſet-Houſe*; and while they were in a Chamber, 'and the Witneſs waiting without, he heard a Woman's 'Voice, ſaying, *She would not endure thoſe Violations of her Bed any longer, and that ſhe would aſſiſt Sir* George 'Wakeman *in poyſoning the King*; and that he was afterwards admitted in, where he ſaw no other Woman there 'but the Queen; and after that he heard the ſame Perſon 'ask *Harcourt*, *If he had receiv'd the laſt Thouſand Pounds.* '4. That in the ſame Month, Ten thouſand Pounds was 'propos'd to Sir *George* to poyſon the King, by *Aſhby*, at 'his Lodgings in *Wild-Houſe*, in the Preſence of *Harcourt*, '*Ireland*, and the Witneſs; but at that Time he refus'd it, 'ſaying, *It was too little for ſo great a Work.* 5. He 'heard that Five thouſand more was offer'd afterwards 'and accepted; and poſitively ſwore, He himſelf had ſeen 'in the Jeſuits Entry Book, an Entry thereof, in theſe 'or the like Words: *Memorand. Such a Day of* Auguſt '*fifteen thouſand Pounds was propos'd to Sir* George Wake-'man, *which he accepted*; which was *Harcourt*'s Hand; 'and under it was a Receipt to this Effect, *Receiv'd five Thouſand Pounds, in Part of this fifteen Thouſand Pounds, of Father* Harcourt, *by Order of* Edward Coleman, *by me* 'George Wakeman. Which laſt Words were the ſame 'Hand and Character with that Letter to *Aſhby*, and the 'Bill to the Apothecary, which the Witneſs had ſeen be-'fore.

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The next Witneſs was Captain *Bedloe*, who ſwore, 'That about the Beginning of *Auguſt*, 78, being at Father '*Harcourt*'s Chamber, Sir *George Wakeman* came in diſ-'contented, and ask'd *Why he was drill'd on in a Concern of that Importance, and ſlighted?* and ſaid, *He knew not whether he ſhou'd go on or no:* But *Harcourt* ask'd him '*What he wou'd have? they were ready for him*; and then 'fetcht a Bill and gave him, which he ſaid *he receiv'd that Day by the Queen's Order*; and that it was on ſuch a 'Goldſmith for two Thouſand Pounds. Upon which Sir '*George* ſaid, *'Tis well ſomebody gives me Encouragement; I have more Encouragement from my good Lady and Miſtreſs, than from any of You. Nay*, reply'd *Harcourt* to 'him, *For Encouragement, that you ſhall not want, for the reſt ſhall be paid in due Time: But, Sir* George, conti-'nu'd he, *this muſt be well follow'd, becauſe ſo much depends upon it: For if we ſhou'd miſs to kill him at* Wind-'ſor, *or you miſs in your Way, we will do it at* Newmar-'ket.'------Which Words were twice repeated by *Bedloe*; upon which Sir *George* ſaid privately to his Fellow Priſoners, *There is my Buſineſs done.*

The Priſoner's Defence.

Sir *George* in his Defence alledg'd, 1. As to *Oates*'s Evidence concerning the Letter to *Aſhby*, he brought an Apothecary that produc'd a Piece of a Letter of Directions to *Aſhby*, ſent from Sir *George*, and ſaid *he had read it all, and that there was no Mention of the King or Queen.* And when *Oates* pretended that that was not the Letter he ſaw, the Priſoner argu'd how improbable it was he ſhou'd write two Letters about the ſame Thing. 2. His next Exception to *Oates*'s Teſtimony was, That before the Houſe of Lords he ſhou'd ſay, *That he thought the foremention'd Letter to be* Wakeman'*s Writing, only becauſe it was ſubſcrib'd* George Wakeman; but *Oates* gave another Account of thoſe Words, to the beſt of his Remembrance. 3. That *Oates* did not charge Sir *George* ſo fully before the King and Council, but rather deny'd that he knew any thing againſt him, but what he had ſeen in other Peoples Letters: And to this purpoſe Sir *Philip Lloyd* teſtify'd, 'That *Oates* did 'then ſay, He had ſeen a Letter from *Whitebread* to *Fen-'wick*, that Sir *George* was to poyſon the King, &c. And 'that Sir *George* did then carry himſelf, as if he were not 'concern'd at the Accuſation, and that *Oates* being call'd 'in again, and ask'd whether he knew any more againſt 'him, he lift up his Hands, and ſaid, *No, God forbid that I ſhou'd ſay any thing againſt Sir* George Wakeman, *for I know nothing more againſt him.*' *Oates*'s Reply to this Difficulty, was, That he was then ſo weak and weary with watching, and hurrying up and down, that he was not in a Condition to make Anſwers. As to *Bedloe*'s Evidence, Sir *George* inſiſted how improbable it was to make him privy to ſo great a Secret, who was a meer Stranger; and further, he ſolemnly ſwore, *He never ſaw* Bedloe *before in his Life.*

As to the other Priſoners, *Corker*, *Marſhal* and *Rumley*, in ſhort *Oates* ſwore that they were all privy to the Deſign of Killing the King, and conſenting to the Conſult of the *Benedictines*, *Aug.* 15, 1678, for raiſing ſix Thouſand Pounds for carrying on that Deſign. *Bedloe* confirm'd the Matter as to the two firſt, but cou'd ſay nothing againſt *Rumley*. In the Courſe of his Evidence, *Oates*'s Credit met with an unexpected Blow: Whereas he had ſworn that *Corker* was Preſident of the *Benedictines*, and as ſuch his Hand was neceſſary in a particular Caſe; there appear'd three ſeveral Women, who teſtify'd that Mr. *Stapleton* was Preſident of the *Benedictines*, and had been ſo for ſeveral Years, and that *Corker* had never officiated in that Place. Some reflecting things were likewiſe alledg'd againſt both *Oates* and *Bedloe*, whoſe Credit now appear'd to be upon the Declenſion. However, it is plain, the Jury ſuſpected them, and notwithſtanding their poſitive Swearing, they brought in all the Priſoners not guilty: So Sir *George Wakeman* and *Rumley* were diſcharg'd out of *Newgate*; but *Corker* and *Marſhal*, being Prieſts, and liable to another Indictment upon that Account, were continu'd in Cuſtody.

They are acquitted.

This Tryal and Acquittal prov'd a conſiderable Shock to the whole Fabrick of the Plot, and it might have been more ruinous to it, had it not been ſo well ſupported by the next Parliament. In the mean time, it occaſion'd various Diſcourſes, and the Writing of ſeveral Pamphlets on both Sides, and was no ſmall Diſcouragement to thoſe call'd *The King's Evidences.* But the Credit of it was in ſome meaſure kept up by a new *Narrative* publiſh'd by Mr. *Jenniſon*, a Witneſs in this laſt Tryal, in which he not only teſtify'd that Father *Ireland* was in *London* in the Month of *June*, 78, contrary to the *Jeſuits* Aſſertions, and his own Dying Words; but undertook to name the four Ruffians that were to kill the King at *Windſor*, ſo often mention'd without Names; who were Mr. *Levallyn*, Mr. *Thomas Braball*, Mr. *Karney*, three *Iriſh* Men, and Mr. *Wilſon* an

Jenniſon's *Narrative.*

Engliſh Papiſt, all of *Gray's Inn*, or harbouring thereabouts. Mr. *Jenniſon* made particular Excuſes, why he appear'd no ſooner, and ſtill reſerv'd ſome farther Particulars to be diſcover'd as Occaſion ſhou'd offer. The King, tho' he believ'd nothing of the Matter, however iſſu'd out his Proclamation, commanding the forenam'd Perſons to render themſelves, and propos'd a Hundred Pounds Reward to any that ſhou'd take all or one of theſe dangerous Men. As to the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*, he met with ſo many Reflections, that upon the firſt Day of *Michaelmas* Term, he took occaſion to make a notable Speech in the *King's Bench* Court, concerning the very ſcandalous Libels that had been publiſh'd againſt him ſince Sir *George Wakeman*'s Tryal and Acquittal; in which Speech he purg'd himſelf at large of any Degree of Corruption, and with great Courage declar'd, *That he was neither afraid nor aſham'd to own what he had done*; *That the Impeachment of the Courſe of Publick Juſtice by vulgar Noiſe and Clamour, did not at all terrify him to a Compliance with the Rabble, againſt his Conſcience and Underſtanding*; *nor to try any Cauſe, otherwiſe than according to the* Evidence, *and the* Probability, *and the* Credibility *it carry'd with it.* Mr. Juſtice *Jones*, and Mr. Juſtice *Dolben* ſpoke alſo to the ſame purpoſe, and appear'd as Compurgators of the Honeſty and Integrity of the Chief-Juſtice.

A ſudden Change at Court.

5. But before this, in the latter End of *Auguſt*, there happen'd a conſiderable Change: The King being at *Windſor*, ſuddenly fell ſick, and with three ſuch Fits of an Ague and Fever, as gave great Apprehenſion, and occaſion'd a general Conſternation; the People looking upon any thing that ſhou'd happen ill to the King, at this time, as the *End of the World.* The three Lords were then attending at *Windſor*, and Sir *William Temple* their Aſſociate in the Country. Upon the King's firſt Illneſs, the Lords *Eſſex* and *Hallifax* thought the Danger very great, and their own ſo too; and that if any thing happen'd to the King's Life, the Duke of *Monmouth*, now in his Meridian, wou'd be at the Head of the Nation, in Oppoſition to the Royal Brother, and in Conjunction with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who had threatned to have their Heads upon the Prorogation of the laſt Parliament. This Fright ſo affected theſe two great Men, that tho' they had been violent Oppoſers of his Royal Highneſs, they, as ſoon as they cou'd, propos'd to the King the ſending immediately for Him from *Bruſſels*; all which was done with the greateſt Secrecy and Speed imaginable, ſo that the Duke arriv'd at *Windſor* upon the 2d of *September.* But finding the King out of Danger, it was agreed to paſs for a Journey wholly of his own, and that it ſhou'd be receiv'd by his Majeſty and the three Lords with all Sign of Surpriſe. However this Advice and Management ſo inrag'd the Duke of *Monmouth*, as well as the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, that theſe Lords ſaw no ſafe Way but to ruin them both, and throw them quite out of the King's Affairs; and ſo joyning themſelves wholly with the Intereſt of the Duke of *York*, they never ceas'd till they effected all that his Royal Highneſs deſired for his Security againſt his two great Enemies. And ſo the Duke of *Monmouth*, juſt in the Height of his Glory, was remov'd from his Place of Captain-General, and for a while ſent into *Holland*, to the great Surpriſe of the Nation: And ſhortly after, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was turn'd out from being Preſident of the Council.

Monmouth *and* Shaftsbury *out.*

Upon the King's full Recovery, which caus'd a general Joy, the Lord Mayor of *London*, with the Court of Aldermen, and a Train of thirty Coaches, and about a Hundred Horſe-Men, went on *Monday* the 15th of *September* to *Windſor* to congratulate his Majeſty's happy Recovery; which Compliment was as kindly receiv'd, as it was handſomly perform'd. On the *Wedneſday* following, the King, attended by his Royal Highneſs and the whole Court, return'd to *White-Hall*; and that Night, by the Lord Mayor's expreſs Order, there were Bone-Fires throughout the whole City for his Majeſty's Return, *as well to his former Health, as his Place of Reſidency.* On the latter End of the Month, the King and Queen went to *New-Market*, where they were eſpecially congratulated by Dr. *Echard*, the Vice-Chancellor, with the chief of the Body of the Univerſity of *Cambridge.* As to the Duke of *York*, he once more went over to *Bruſſels*, but without Deſigns of any long Continuance. For his Royal Highneſs obtain'd leave of the King that he might retire to *Scotland*, where his Figure might be greater than abroad, and his Return, upon any Exigency, might be more quick and eaſy. This Compromiſe between the King and the Duke, had this Notice given of it by Authority; '*New-Market, Octob.* 7. 'His Royal Highneſs having repreſented to his Majeſty, 'that he conceives it, for many Reſpects, more proper for 'him to be in his Majeſty's Dominions, rather than thoſe 'of another Prince, and made it his humble Requeſt to his 'Majeſty, to have his Leave to go into *Scotland*, his Ma'jeſty hath granted it; and, it's preſum'd his Royal High'neſs will in a ſhort Time repair thither.' In Order to this, on *Sunday* Night, the 12th of *October*, the Duke, the Dutcheſs, and Family, ſuddenly arriv'd at St. *James's*, to the Surpriſe of ſome, and Joy of others. Not long after, both their Royal Highneſſes, attended by many of the Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality, follow'd with a numerous Train of Coaches, began their Journey towards *Scotland*, which laſted above a Month, with ſhort and pompous Stages. At *Edinburgh*, *Decemb.* 4, they were receiv'd and complimented by the Privy-Council, with full Reſpect and Honour: The Lord Chancellor made a Speech in the Name of all the Council; to which his Royal Highneſs anſwer'd in very affectionate Terms, 'expreſſing his 'great Satisfaction at the Civilities he had receiv'd in that 'Kingdom; and declaring his Readineſs to promote the 'Honour and Service of the King and the particular Inte'reſts of the *Scottiſh* Nation.

The Duke of York *goes into* Scotland.

The Council diſunited.

6. In the mean time the new Council began to be more and more diſunited, and gradually to fall in ſunder: Sir *William Temple* was highly diſoblig'd at Two of the the Three Lords, *Eſſex* and *Hallifax*, for Concealing their ſending for the Duke of *York*, and ſtill treating of him as if they were Strangers to it; which ended all private Commerce between Them and Him. On the other Side, they thought themſelves not ſufficiently ſound in the King's or the Duke's Confidence, and that they did other Mens Work; therefore they appear'd ready to give up their Parts in the Publick Affairs. Others, not well pleas'd with what was done at and after the Duke's Arrival, ſeem'd inclinable to the ſame Retreat. In this State of Affairs, *October* came on, in which the new Parliament was to meet; at which time the two Dukes of *York* and *Monmouth* were both abroad. The Lord *Shaftsbury* endeavour'd to inflame the Noiſe of the late Conduct and Counſels againſt the Sitting of the Parliament, and to ſet on foot Petitions in caſe they did not Sit: The Miniſters were not able to ſtand the Opening of the Parliament; and therefore a ſhort Prorogation was expected ſome Days before that appointed for the Meeting. On the 15th of this Month, the Council being ſate, the King, after a little Pauſe, told them, *That upon many Conſiderations, which he cou'd not at preſent acquaint them with, he found it neceſſary to make a longer Prorogation of the Parliament than he intended: That he had conſider'd all the Conſequences, ſo far as to be abſolutely Reſolv'd, and not to hear any thing that ſhou'd be ſaid againſt it: That he wou'd have the Meeting put off till that time Twelve Month.* However he order'd the Prorogation to extend no farther than the 26th of *January* next.

The new Parliament further Prorogu'd.

All the Council were ſtartled at this ſurpriſing Reſolution, and the Way of Propoſing it, except thoſe few that were in the Secret; and they thought fit to be ſilent, and leave the Thing wholly upon his Majeſty: Several others ſtood up, and wou'd have argu'd the Reaſons and Conſequences of it; but the King wou'd not hear them, and ſo all Debate ended. After which, Sir *William Temple* ſtood up, and with great Freedom told his Majeſty, *That as to the Reſolution he had taken, he wou'd ſay Nothing, becauſe he was reſolv'd to hear no Reaſoning upon it; therefore he wou'd only preſume to offer him his humble Advice as to the Courſe of his Future Proceedings; which was, That his Majeſty in his Affairs wou'd pleaſe to make uſe of ſome Council or other, and allow Freedom to their Debates and Advices; after hearing which, his Majeſty might yet reſolve as he pleas'd. That if he did not think the Perſons or Number of this preſent Council ſuited with his Affairs, it was in his Power to Diſſolve them, and conſtitute another of any Number he pleas'd, and to alter them again when he wou'd: But to make* Counſellors that ſhou'd not Counſel, *he doubted whether it was in his Majeſty's Power or not, becauſe it imply'd a* Contradiction. *And ſo far as he had obſerv'd, either of former Ages or the preſent, he queſtion'd whether it was a thing ever practis'd in* England *by his Majeſty's Predeceſſors, or were ſo now by any of the preſent Princes in* Chriſtendom: *Therefore he humbly adviſ'd him to conſtitute ſome ſuch Council, as he wou'd think fit to make uſe of, in the Digeſtion of his great and publick Affairs.* His Majeſty ſeem'd not diſpleas'd at what he ſaid, but concluded the Matter as he had before determin'd it.

Sir William Temple's *Speech.*

This increas'd the Breach in the new Council; and in no long time the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Henry Capel*, and Mr. *Powle*, pretending to deſpair of being able to ſerve the King any longer, in a Conduct of Affairs ſo diſagreeable to the general Humour of the People, went together to the King, and deſired his Majeſty to excuſe their Attendance any more upon him at Council; to which the King, with his uſual Frankneſs anſwer'd, *With all my Heart.* The Lords *Saliſbury*, *Eſſex* and *Hallifax*, ſeem'd to have taken the ſame Reſolution, tho' not ſo much in Form. However the Lord *Eſſex* quitted his Place in the Treaſury, and the Lord *Hallifax* did in Effect retire; tho' he had own'd to Sir *William Temple* *That his*

Several Removals at Court.

Humour muſt always have Buſineſs to employ it, or wou'd elſe be uneaſie. Upon the Earl of *Eſſex*'s leaving the Treaſury, Mr. *Laurence Hyde*, and Mr. *Sydney Godolphin*, were brought into the Council, and the Firſt in courſe took the Lord *Eſſex*'s Place. Theſe two, joyning in Confidence with the Lord *Sunderland*, while *Eſſex* and *Hallifax* were abſent, and Sir *William Temple* in the Country, they three were eſteem'd to be alone in the Secret and Management of the King's Affairs, and look'd upon as *the Miniſtry*. Upon the Removal of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the King made the Lord *Roberts*, ſoon after Earl of *Radnor*, Preſident of the Council. In the Room of the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Duke of *Albemarle* was made Captain of the Life-Guards of Horſe, and the Earl of *Mulgrave* Governor of *Hull*, and Lord-Lieutenant of the *Eaſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*. Sir *Stephen Fox* was made one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and *Daniel Finch*, eldeſt Son of the Lord Chancellor, now in the room of Sir *Henry Capel*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, was brought into the Council.

The MEAL-TUB *Plot.* Dangerfield *Principal.*

7. One Thing that help'd forwards theſe Alterations and almoſt Diſtractions in Court, was a new Amuſement of the Nation, a ſtrange Diſcovery of a *Plot*, to throw and retaliate the *Popiſh* Plot upon the *Presbyterian* Party, which obtain'd the Name of *the Meal-Tub Plot*. The principal Agent in it was one *Thomas Dangerfield*, alias *Willoughby*, alias *Day*, alias, &c. a Perſon famous for the former Extravagancies and ſubtle Practices of his Life, for which he had met with ſeveral ignominious Puniſhments: one naturally of a bold enterprizing Temper, a deſperate Fortune, a brisk genteel Carriage, a voluble Tongue, and Maſter of a notable debauch'd Wit, as well as matchleſs Confidence; in ſum, he appear'd to be as great a Cheat as *Bedloe*, tho' he had not the Fortune to draw as much Blood. The chief Account of this Matter is from his own *Narrative*; which informs us, that profeſſing the *Romiſh* Religion, and being a Priſoner in *Newgate*, he was apply'd to by Mrs. *Cellier*, Wife of a *French* Merchant, a Mid-Wife by Employment, and an Intimate with the Lady *Powis*, who after ſome petty Tryal of his Parts, procured his Liberty, and paid his Fees. But being immediately after clap'd up for Debt, they Remov'd him into the *King's-Bench*; where, being allow'd a weekly Subſiſtance, he was employ'd to trepan one *Stroud*, in order to undermine Mr. *Bedloe*, but not with equal Succeſs. Having compounded his Debts, amounting to near ſeven Hundred Pounds, Mrs. *Cellier* furniſh'd him with Mony to diſcharge them; and brought him into the Acquaintance of the Lady *Powis*, who promis'd to make him a Fortune, took Lodgings for him in *Drury-Lane*, employ'd him to get Prieſts out of Priſon, and ſent him on Errands to the Lord *Caſtlemain*, and other conſiderable *Papiſts*. He took Notes at the Tryal of the five Jeſuits, and that of Sir *George Wakeman*, and carry'd them to the Lords in the *Tower*, who encourag'd him to write Pamphlets; and thenceforth he was allow'd three Pounds a Week, beſides Diet. The Lord *Caſtlemain* particularly employ'd him to get *Knox* and *Lane*, two ordinary Men, out of the *Gate-Houſe*, who were to ſwear againſt *Oates*, deſigning to indict him firſt of Perjury, and then of Sodomy. By the Lords Orders, he was to go to the principal Coffee-Houſes and diſperſe Pamphlets; and he receiv'd from *Nevil*, a reputed Prieſt, divers Papers and Letters to tranſcribe; among which were forty Liſts of Names, each containing above Eight Hundred. Theſe were privately to be left by their Agents throughout *England* in the Houſes of *Nonconformiſts* and other Proteſtants; and then Search being made on other Pretences, when theſe dangerous Papers were found, the Perſons mention'd wou'd be ſeiz'd for Treaſon.

His Exploits.

After theſe, and other Exploits, he tells us, That about the Beginning of *Auguſt*, lodging at Mrs. *Cellier*'s Houſe, he was ſent for to the *Tower*, where the Lord *Arundel*, in the Preſence of the Lord *Powis*, ask'd him, *If for a good Reward he would venture to kill the King*, mentioning two Thouſand Pounds: But *Dangerfield* bluſhing at ſuch a Motion, *Powis* put it off, and propos'd five Hundred Pounds, *If he wou'd kill the Earl of* Shaftsbury; which he promis'd to undertake. Whereupon they told him of one *Rigaut*, a *Virginia* Merchant, that wou'd adviſe with him about it, and ſecure him the Mony. And the next Day, waiting on the Lord *Caſtlemain*, he appear'd much inrag'd, ſaying, *Why were you ſo unwilling to do what you were taken out of Priſon for?* Whereupon he made haſte away; but Mrs. *Cellier* excus'd his *Lordſhip*'s Paſſion at that Time. Soon after he went to meet Sir *Robert Peyton* at *Gadbury*'s Houſe, the Aſtrologer, where *Gadbury* appear'd very angry, becauſe he refus'd to kill the King; adding, *That he had calculated his Nativity, and found him a fit Perſon for that Enterprize, and that he might come off with Safety.* Then the Counteſs of *Powis* dictated to him *Remarks of four Clubs in the Town*, and Names of ſeveral Perſons, which Paper was afterwards found in the *Meal-Tub*; and by means of the Lord *Peterborough*, he was introduc'd to the Duke of *York*, and acquainted him with this *Presbyterian Plot*. Soon after the Duke gave him twenty Guineas with his own Hand, and brought him to the King; and having receiv'd Inſtructions from the Lady *Powis*, as to charging the Lord *Grey*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and others, he did all ſo well, that he thought his Majeſty then believ'd him, being pleas'd to order him forty Pounds. About the ſame Time, in purſuance of the Lords Inſtructions, he went twice to murther the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, arm'd with a Dagger given him by Mrs. *Cellier*, pretending Buſineſs from Her and the Lady *Powis*; but was both Times prevented by Peoples coming, and his own guilty Fears; for which the Counteſs call'd him Coward, and Mrs. *Cellier* ſaid, *She wou'd go, and let the World know, that ſome of her Sex were more brave than the Men*: But ſtill cou'd not meet with a fair Opportunity. His laſt Exploit was his carrying ſome dangerous Papers to the Lodgings of Colonel *Roderick Manſel* in *Weſtminſter*, which he privately pin'd behind his Beds-head; which he did under the Pretence of ſeeing Rooms that were to be Lett. Upon which he inform'd two Officers of the Cuſtom-Houſe to come there to ſearch for Prohibited Goods to the Value of two Thouſand Pounds; which they did upon the 22d of *October*, in the Colonel's Abſence, attended by Him and one *Bedford*. The Officers finding nothing, he directed them to remove the Bed, and at laſt going himſelf behind it, diſcover'd the Papers; and precipitately cry'd out *Here is Treaſon!* The Officers carry'd the Papers with them, which were order'd to be return'd; but the Colonel in the mean time having notice, that ſuch a Man had been concern'd in the Matter, he found *Dangerfield* out at Mrs. *Cellier*'s Houſe, and caus'd him to be brought before the King and Council, where after a full Hearing, the Contrivance was detected and the Gentleman ſent to *Newgate* on the 27th of *October*.

The Heads of this Plot.

Two Days after, Sir *William Waller*, a moſt active Magiſtrate, ſearching *Cellier*'s Houſe, accidentally found the Paper Book ty'd with Ribbons, hid in a Meal-Tub, containing the Model of this New Plot; the Matter whereof was dictated by the Lady *Powis*, and prov'd by her Maid to be laid there by her Order, from whence it obtain'd the foremention'd Name of *The Meal-Tub Plot*. It contain'd Remarks or chief Heads of Things, and Perſons to be Charg'd; as particularly, the Lords *Shaftsbury*, *Eſſex*, *Hallifax*, *Radnor*, *Wharton*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and others, to be of *Counſel* in this Conſpiracy; the Duke of *Monmouth*, General; the Earl of *Macclesfield*, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, and Lord *Grey*, Lieutenant-Generals; Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, Colonel *Blood*, and Sir *William Waller*, Major-Generals; Colonel *Manſel*, Quarter-Maſter General, &c. To which were added Liſts of particular Perſons uſually meeting in four Principal Clubs about the Town, too tedious to be mention'd here. *Dangerfield* now finding himſelf miſtaken, on the laſt of *October* made Application to the Lord Mayor, Sir *Robert Clayton*; before whom, and other Perſons of Quality, he made a large Confeſſion upon Oath, which was preſently tranſmitted to the King and Council. Upon this, and a further Examination of the ſeveral Perſons concern'd, the Earl of *Caſtlemain* was committed to the *Tower*, from whence he had been bail'd before, as having been charg'd only by *Oates*; Mrs. *Cellier* and Mr. *Rigault* to *Newgate*, and Aſtrologer *Gadbury* to the *Gate-Houſe*. And on the 4th of *November*, the Lady *Powis* being further examin'd, and divers Circumſtances prov'd againſt her, by others beſides *Dangerfield*, ſhe was by Order of the Board committed to the *Tower* for High-Treaſon in Conſpiring the Death of the King. *Knox* and *Lane* were likewiſe ſecured, for forming a Conſpiracy againſt the Reputation of Dr. *Oates*. This new Plot was a great Occaſion of the Diſguſts of the Lords *Eſſex* and *Hallifax*, before hinted at; who finding themſelves mention'd in it, and yet left out of the ſecret Examinations about it, it ſo offended their high Spirits, that they made great Complaints, and declared that they wou'd retire from the World, and have nothing to do with Publick Affairs.

The Burning of the Pope.

This dark Intrigue came ſeaſonably in for the Support of the Credit of the grand Plot; and tho' the Nation began to be weary'd and ſatiated with the Rumours of Helliſh Deſigns and Conſpiracies, yet this ſerv'd very much to keep up the old Heat and Fervor, which was now eaſily preſerv'd by every little Accident and Occaſion. Particularly, the 17th of *November*, commonly call'd Queen *Elizabeth*'s Day, when the Effigies of the Pope was uſually burnt by the People, was now celebrated with more than ordinary Pomp and Solemnity, and met with a more ſenſible Effect upon the People. The Proceſſion conſiſted of One perſonating the Dead Body of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, carry'd on a Horſe, with a Bell-Man to mind the People of his barbarous Murder: Prieſts in Copes with a large Silver Croſs, Carmelites and Gray Friars, and ſix Jeſuits; and

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after them Waiters, ſeveral Biſhops, ſome in Lawn-Sleeves, others adorn'd with Copes and Miters, and then ſix Cardinals, and after them the Pope on a fine Pageant, with Boys and Incenſe-Pots, *&c.* and behind him the Repreſentative of the Devil. In this Manner they march'd about five at Night from *Biſhop*'s-*Gate*, through the whole City to near *Temple-Bar*, attended with prodigious Multitudes of People; at which appointed Station, they committed the Effigies to the Flames of a very extraordinary Bone-Fire, which concluded the chargeable Show and Spectacle. About Ten Days after the People were affected with a Sight of another Nature, which was the ſudden Arrival of the Duke of *Monmouth* from beyond the Seas; and tho' he enter'd the City about Midnight, upon the Watch ſpreading the News of it, the Bells immediately rung, and Bone-Fires were made through the City and Suburbs after a very diſtinguiſhing Manner.

Monmouth's *Return.*

And now it may be Time to conclude the old Year, as uſually, with the Deaths of ſome conſiderable Perſons; of which we ſhall begin with two Divines, both of the Presbyterian Stamp, but of a different Character, Mr. *Matthew Pool*, and Dr. *Robert Wild.* The Former had his Birth in *York*, his Education in *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, and his chief Reſidence in *London*, where he was Miniſter of St. *Michael*'s *Quern*; but being ejected for his Nonconformity, he afterwards retired, and dy'd at *Amſterdam.* He was very much noted for his Learning, his ſtrict Piety, and his moſt uſeful Charity; but moſt juſtly celebrated for the Writing of thoſe admirable and elaborate Books, entitled *Synopſis Criticorum Bibliorum*, &c. for which, and other Works, he left behind him in *Holland* the Character of *Clariſſimus Criticus, & Caſuiſta.*

The Deaths of Mr. Pool,

The other Divine, Dr. *Wild*, was educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and became Rector of *Ayno* in *Northamptonſhire*, where he became celebrated for his facetious Wit, and his Poems which he wrote in behalf of the *Presbyterians*, as *John Cleaveland* did againſt them; being a Man of a peculiar Genius and Fancy, and the Occaſion of ſeveral other witty Writings, particularly that call'd *Moon-Shine*, by Mr. *John Echard.* Being likewiſe ejected by the *Bartholomew* Act in 1662, he liv'd privately, and dy'd at *Oundle* in the ſame County. The two next were eminent Phyſicians, *viz.* Dr. *John Smith*, and Dr. *Jaſper Needham*: The firſt was educated in *Braſenoſe* College in *Oxford*, from whence he remov'd and ſettled in *London*, where he became one of the College of Phyſicians, and ſignaliz'd Himſelf both in his Skill in Phyſick, and in other Pieces of Learning; ſo that he was juſtly ſtil'd *The Learned Phyſician.* The other, Dr. *Needham*, had his Education in *Peter-Houſe* College in the other Univerſity, whence he removed to *Oxford*, where he made great Uſe of the famous Library there; he likewiſe ſettled at *London*, and became one of the College of Phyſicians, and for ſeveral Years he made himſelf eminent for Practice till the Time of his Death.

Dr. Wild,

Dr. Smith,

Dr. Needham,

After theſe we ſhall mention two Men of great, but very different Genius's, the Earl of *Orrery*, and Mr. *Thomas Hobbes.* The former was an *Iriſh* Noble-Man, by Name *Roger Boyle*, Brother to *Richard* Earl of *Burlington*, and *Robert* the famous Philoſopher and Virtuoſo; a Perſon, who living much in the Court, ſhew'd himſelf a very great States-Man, a Soldier and a Poet; and he prov'd himſelf ſo much the laſt, that it was obſerv'd that his Lordſhip's Reputation, joyn'd with the Earl of *Roſcomon*'s, was more than ſufficient to juſtify their Country's Character in Point of Wit. In the four Tragedies that he publiſh'd, not only the true *Engliſh* Courage is delineated to the Life; but likewiſe the very Infidels and Barbarians are taught by his Pen, not only Humanity, but the higheſt Morality and Virtue. The other, Mr. *Hobbes*, a Clergy-Man's Son, was born in *Malmsbury* in *Wilts*, from whence he obtain'd the Name of *Malmsburienſis*, and educated in *Magdalen Hall* in *Oxford*, where he took his Degree of Batchelor of Arts; from whence he was taken into the Earl of *Devonſhire*'s Family before he was twenty Years of Age; and ſoon after travelling with his Son into *France* and *Italy*, he not only improv'd himſelf by learning the modern Languages, but alſo very much as to Men and Manners: After Variety of Travels abroad, where he became known to the moſt learned Men, and Returns into *England*, in the 63d Year of his Age he ſettled in the Houſe of his Patron the Earl of *Devonſhire*, where he liv'd many Years, in Eaſe and Plenty, rather as a Friend and Confident, than a Tutor or Inſtructor. He was one of a very extenſive Genius, improv'd by great Labour and Sedulity, and had the Reputation both Abroad and at Home of a great Philoſopher and Mathematician; and the preſent King, having learn'd Mathematicks of him, at his Reſtoration allow'd him a Penſion of a hundred Pounds a Year out of the Exchequer, tho' he was a Contemner of all Money and Riches. The Lord *Clarendon* ſays of him, 'It had always been a Lamentation among 'his Friends, that he ſpent too much Time in Thinking, 'and too little in Exerciſing thoſe Thoughts in the Company of other Men of the ſame, or of as good Faculties; for want whereof his Natural Conſtitution, with 'Age, contracted ſuch a Moroſity, that doubting and 'contradicting Men were never grateful to him.' As to his peculiar Notions in Religion and Policy, with which he infected ſo many ingenious Gentlemen, they are too difficult to be excus'd, and too dangerous to be palliated; of the Conſequences of which, either his Guilt or his Cowardiſe often made him very apprehenſive; ſo that his natural Fears by which his whole Life ſeem'd to have been govern'd, increas'd with his Years, till he unwillingly left the World, and the noble Family, in the ninety firſt of his Age.

The Earl of Orrery,

And Mr. Hobbes.

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An Appeal, &c.

V. I. All this Winter, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Leaders, Mens Minds were agitated by Pamphlets and Petitions; but none made more Noiſe, or had greater Effects, than that call'd *An Appeal from the Country to the City*; of which we are to take ſome little Notice. The Author deſires the chief Citizens to go up to the Top of the Monument, and fancy to themſelves the following Objects: 'Firſt, Imagine you ſee the whole Town in 'Flames, occaſion'd a ſecond Time by the ſame *Popiſh* 'Malice which ſet it on Fire before. At the ſame Inſtant 'fancy, that amongſt the diſtracted Crowd, you behold 'Troops of *Papiſts* raviſhing your Wives and Daughters, 'daſhing your little Childrens Brains out againſt the 'Walls, Plundering your Houſes, and cutting your own 'Throats, by the Name of *Heretick Dogs.* Then repreſent to your Selves the *Tower* playing off its Cannon, 'and battering down the Houſes about your Ears. Alſo 'caſting your Eye towards *Smithfield*, imagine you ſee 'your Father or your Mother, or ſome of your neareſt 'Relations, ty'd to a Stake in the midſt of Flames; when 'with Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, they ſcream 'and cry out to that God, for whoſe Cauſe they die; 'which was a frequent Spectacle the laſt Time *Popery* 'reign'd among us. Fancy you behold thoſe beautiful 'Churches, erected for the true Worſhip of God, abus'd 'and turn'd into *Idolatrous Temples*, to the Diſhonour of 'Chriſt, and Scandal of Religion; the Miniſters of God's 'Holy Word torn in Pieces before your Eyes, and their 'beſt Friends not daring to ſpeak in their Behalf. The 'only Objects will be Women running with their Hair 'about their Ears, Men cover'd with Blood, and Children ſprawling under Horſes Feet, and only the Walls 'of Houſes left ſtanding. When thoſe that ſurvive this 'fatal Day, may ſigh and cry, *Here once ſtood my Houſe, 'there my Friends, and here my Kinſmen: But alas that 'Time is paſt.* The only Noiſe will then be, *O my Wife! 'O my Husband! O my deareſt Children!* In fine, what 'the Devil himſelf wou'd do, were he here upon Earth, 'will in his Abſence infallibly be acted by his Agents the '*Papiſts*: Thoſe who had ſo much Ingratitude and Baſeneſs to attempt the Life of a Prince, ſo Indulgent to 'them, will hardly be leſs cruel to any of his *Proteſtant* 'Subjects.' After much arguing and exclaiming, for the Prevention of theſe Miſchiefs, he ſays at laſt, 'for which 'purpoſe no Perſon is fitter than his Grace the Duke of '*Monmouth*, as well for Quality, Courage and Conduct, 'as for that his Life and Fortune depends upon the ſame 'Bottom with Yours. He will ſtand by you, therefore 'ought you to ſtand by Him. And remember the old Rule 'is, *He who hath the worſt Title, ever makes the beſt King.*

Petitioning,

While theſe and the like Pamphlets were ſhewing to the People, great Endeavours were us'd to procure a Multitude of Hands to Petitions which were framing in *London*, *Weſtminſter* and ſeveral Counties, to be preſented to the King for the Sitting of the Parliament on the 26th of *January*, according to the laſt Prorogation; which Manner of Petitioning being accounted unwarrantable and tumultuous, his Majeſty was pleas'd in Council, to order the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen, 'To 'take Care in their ſeveral Stations of his Majeſty's Honour, and of the Peace and Safety of the City; and not 'to ſuffer ſuch Perſons that ſhou'd ſign ſuch Petitions, or 'go about to procure Hands to them, to go unpuniſh'd; 'but that they ſhou'd proceed againſt them, or cauſe them 'to be brought before the Council-Board to be puniſh'd, 'according to a Reſolution of all the Judges of *England*, '*Secundo Jacobi.*' Two Days after his Majeſty was further pleas'd to iſſue out his Royal Proclamation, Containing, 'That whereas he hath been inform'd that divers 'evil diſpoſed Perſons endeavour in ſeveral Parts of this 'Kingdom to frame Petitions to his Majeſty for ſpecious 'Ends and Purpoſes relating to the Publick, and thereupon to collect and procure to the ſame the Hands and 'Subſcriptions of Multitudes of his Majeſty's Subjects; '*which Proceedings being contrary to the common and 'known Laws of this Land*, and tending to promote Diſcontents among the People, and to raiſe Sedition and 'Rebellion, his Majeſty doth therefore ſtrictly charge and 'command all and every of his loving Subjects of what

Diſcourag'd by the King.

'Rank or Degree ſoever, that they preſume not to agitate or promote any ſuch Subſcriptions, nor in any ways join in any Petition of that Manner to be preferr'd to his Majeſty, upon Peril of the utmoſt Rigour of the Law that may be inflicted for the ſame.' At the ſame Inſtant, his Majeſty iſſu'd out another Proclamation, Declaring his Reſolution to prorogue the Parliament from the 26th of *January* to the 11th of *November*.

Sir G. Ge*rard's Petition.*

The King's Anſwer.

Notwithſtanding the Scope of theſe two Proclamations, the Buſineſs of Petitioning was zealouſly carried on; and many were prepared, and ſome preſented not long after. Particularly on the 13th of *January*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, accompanied with ſeveral eminent Citizens, preſented the following Petition from *Thouſands of his Majeſty's Subjects in* London, Weſtminſter, *and Parts adjacent*, ſhewing, 'That whereas there has been, and ſtill is, a moſt helliſh and damnable Plot, branched forth into the moſt horrid Villanies againſt your Majeſty's moſt Sacred Perſon, for which ſeveral of the principal Conſpirators ſtand now impeached by Parliament: Therefore in ſuch a Time, when your Majeſty's Royal Perſon, &c. are thus in moſt imminent Danger; your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and obedient Subjects, in the deepeſt Senſe of our Duty and Allegiance to your Majeſty, do moſt humbly and earneſtly pray, that the Parliament, which is prorogu'd until the 26th Day of *January*, may then ſit to try the Offenders, and to redreſs all our Grievances, no otherwiſe to be redreſs'd.' To which his Majeſty anſwer'd, *That he look'd upon himſelf to be the Head of the Government, and the only Judge of what was fit to be done in ſuch Caſes; and that he wou'd do what he thought moſt for the Good of himſelf and his People.* Then turning to Sir *Gilbert*, he ſaid, *That he did not expect to find one of his Name, and particularly him, in ſuch a Thing, and that he was ſorry for it.* Whereupon Sir *Gilbert* wou'd have ſaid ſomething to the King, but his Majeſty turn'd away, and wou'd not hear him.

Other Petitions.

A few Days after, the famous *Thomas Thynn* Eſquire, accompany'd by Sir *Walter St. John*, and Sir *Edward Hungerford*, preſented the *Wiltſhire* Petition to the ſame Effect, in the Name of that County. His Majeſty was pleas'd to ask them, *Whether they had their Directions from the Grand Jury?* Mr. *Thynn* anſwer'd, No: The King preſently reply'd, *Why ſay you then that you come from the County? You come from a Company of looſe diſaffected People*; adding, *What do you take me to be? And what do you take your ſelves to be? I admire that Gentlemen of your Eſtates ſhou'd animate People to Mutiny and Rebellion. You wou'd not take it well, I ſhou'd meddle with your Affairs; and I deſire you wou'd not meddle with mine, eſpecially with a Matter that is ſo Eſſential a Part of my Prerogative.* Another Petition of the like Nature, being preſented to him the Day following by Sir *Robert Barrington*, Colonel *Mildmay*, Mr. *Honywood*, &c. in the Names of themſelves, and others the Inhabitants of the County of *Eſſex*; the King's Anſwer was, *That he was extremely ſurpris'd to ſee them meddle with Matters that ſo immediately concern'd the Crown and him, and that againſt the Senſe of the beſt and chiefeſt Men of the County; that he believ'd that ſome of thoſe that had ſign'd the Petition might mean well, but that they were abus'd by thoſe that did not.* To which he was pleas'd to add, *That he was not willing to call to mind Things paſs'd; yet, that he cou'd not but remember the* Act of Oblivion, *tho' not as ſome did; that thoſe who had ſtood in Need of that Act, wou'd do well not to take ſuch Courſes, as might need another; and that he very well remember'd* FORTY; and ſo turn'd away. And for the *Berkſhire* Gentlemen, and their Petition, which was preſented the ſame Day from their Quarter-Seſſions, the King in a more drolling Manner ſaid, *That they wou'd agree that Matter over a Cup of Ale, when they met at* Windſor; *tho' he wonder'd that his* Neighbours *wou'd meddle with his Buſineſs.* And that the Nation, as well as thoſe Gentlemen, might not be ignorant of the Court Reſentments, theſe Anſwers were publickly inſerted in the *Gazettes*.

The King meets, and further prorogues the Parliament.

2. However, the King reſolv'd to give a Meeting to his Parliament, upon the 26th of *January*, when coming to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he in a ſhort Speech let both Houſes know, 'That when he declared in Council his Intention of putting off the Parliament to a Time ſo remote as *November*, it was not without mature Conſideration; that he cou'd not be perſuaded from any Thing that had happen'd ſince (in Reference to Affairs within the Kingdom) to alter or repent of that Reſolution; That notwithſtanding, conſidering the preſent Danger which threatned ſome of our Neighbours and Allies, he thought fit to appoint a Day for their Meeting again in *April*: Yet the Diſtractions and Jealouſies at home were of ſuch a Nature, and ſo heightned and improv'd by the Malice and Induſtry of ill Men, that he was unalterably of Opinion, *That a longer Interval of Parliament wou'd be abſolutely neceſſary for compoſing and quieting of Men's Minds*; in order to which, he was afraid the moſt proper Remedies wou'd prove ineffectual, without the Aſſiſtance of ſome further Time: He reſolv'd therefore, that on the ſaid Meeting in *April* there ſhou'd be a further Prorogation, unleſs the Condition of our Allies Abroad did then require our immediate Aſſiſtance.' Hereupon the Lord-Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 15th Day of *April* next.

The Duke of York *ſent for.*

Having ventur'd ſo far, two Days after, his Majeſty thought fit to declare in Council, 'That he had ſent for his Royal Highneſs, not having found ſuch Effect from his Abſence, as ſhou'd incline him to keep him longer from him; That ſome Queſtions had been ſtarted of late of ſuch a Nature, and of ſo great Concern to the Duke, as made it reaſonable to have him preſent at the next Seſſion of Parliament: And tho' his Majeſty wou'd take Care to preſerve his Right, yet it might be for his Satisfaction to be here himſelf; and that his Majeſty was ſo well aſſur'd of the Duke's Compliance, that his Return ſhou'd have no Influence upon the Publick.

His Speech at his leaving Scotland.

The Chancellor's Reply.

According to this Invitation, on the 31ſt of *January* the Duke of *York* acquainted the Lords of the Privy-Council at *Edinburgh*, 'That he had receiv'd a Letter from the King, calling him very ſpeedily to Court; That tho' he did very chearfully obey his Majeſty's Commands, and went with much Joy to attend him, yet he cou'd not part with their Lordſhips ſo ſoon without a great deal of Reluctancy and Trouble, having both at his Reception, and during the ſhort Time of his Abode there, met with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Civility and Kindneſs, both from the Nobility, Gentry, and from the Repreſentatives of the ſeveral Bodies of the Nation; particularly from the Council, of which he had ſo juſt a Reſentment, that he cou'd not in all his Life forget them, and ſhou'd not fail upon all Occaſions to meet their great Kindneſs and Affection ſhewn him, with all the Service he was capable to do them; That he wou'd acquaint his Majeſty, *That he had in* Scotland *a brave and loyal Nobility and Gentry, a regular Privy-Council, and the Judicatures fill'd with able Perſons well affected to his Majeſty's Service and Intereſt; and that he had obſerv'd the Diſaffected Party were nothing ſo conſiderable as their Friends in* England *ſtudied induſtriouſly to repreſent them to be.*' He then recommended to the Council the ſettling of the Differences between ſeveral Gentlemen of the *Highlands*, whom he always obſerv'd to be firm to his Majeſty's Intereſt. The Lord-Chancellor, in the Name of the Council, 'acknowledg'd the great Happineſs they had in his Preſence, Conduct and Advice, and declared how much devoted they all were to the Service of his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs; and that they cou'd not expreſs their great Grief they had to part ſo ſoon with him, to whoſe Counſel and Preſence they ow'd ſo many Advantages.

The Council's Letter to the King.

The Reception of the Duke at London, &c.

Soon after this, the Duke, Dutcheſs, and all their Retinue, began their Voyage by Sea for *London*, where they arriv'd at the Privy-Stairs on the 24th of *February*, after a pompous Manner, and with all the Signs of true Joy and hearty Welcome. At the ſame Time there arriv'd a Letter from the Privy-Council of *Scotland*, ſubſcribed by above twenty of the chief Nobility, fill'd with Expreſſions of Loyalty and Commendations of his Royal Highneſs: 'Particularly they tell his Majeſty, no Breach of Peace, no Libel, no Paſquil, have been ever diſcover'd during his Abode here; ſo that this too ſhort Time has been the moſt peaceable and ſerene Part of our Life, and the happieſt Days we ever ſaw, except your Majeſty's miraculous Reſtitution.' In Concluſion they tell him, 'For which Happineſs we can make your Majeſty no other Return, ſave to aſſure you, that with our Hearts, our Lives, and our Fortunes, we will maintain your Sacred Majeſty and your Royal Succeſſors, in the ordinary Degrees of Succeſſion, according to the unalterable Right of Blood, which you and they derive only from God Almighty; and wiſh that his Royal Highneſs may meet every where that Satisfaction and Tranquillity that he has occaſion'd, and that Kindneſs and Affection which his Merit has rais'd in *Edinburgh*.' Two Days after his Arrival, his Royal Highneſs was attended by the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, Recorder and Common Council of the City of *London*; at which Time the Recorder having in all their Names congratulated his ſafe Arrival, they all kiſs'd the Hands both of the Duke and Dutcheſs. Soon after the King and his Royal Highneſs were entertain'd by Sir *Robert Clayton*, the Lord Mayor, at a magnificent Supper; at which Night the Citizens by their Bonefires, Illuminations, &c. expreſs'd a more than ordinary Joy, to the ſenſible Satisfaction of the two Royal Brothers. The next Day, being *March* 10, the King and

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his Brother ſet forwards for *New-market*, where they were both met by Two hundred of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and the Duke in a particular Manner congratulated on his Return from *Scotland*.

Complaints againſt the Lord-Chief-Juſtice.

In the mean Time the contrary Party were very buſy and induſtrious; and before the King took his Journey, *Oates* and *Bedloe*, by way of Complaint to the King and Council, offer'd Articles of High Miſdemeanors againſt the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs:* They had formerly declar'd, 'That they were unwilling to give any Evidence 'againſt any Papiſts, or concerning the late *Popiſh Plot*, 'in any Court where the ſaid Chief-Juſtice ſhou'd ſit as 'Judge;' and now they deſir'd he might be brought to condign Puniſhment. But that Judge's Anſwer to their Articles being openly heard and debated before his Majeſty in Council, his Lordſhip was vindicated in all Particulars by the King and the Council, and their Articles diſmiſs'd, and his Lordſhip left to take his Courſe at Law, as he ſhou'd think fit. And ſo the Matter reſted, till it cou'd be brought into the Parliament.

Variety of Proſecutions.

However, Proſecutions were not yet laid aſide; and about the Beginning of *Hilary* Term, Sir *Thomas Gaſcoigne*, a *Yorkſhire* Gentleman of Eighty five Years of Age, was arraign'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, upon an Information of High-Treaſon, in Conſpiring the Death of the King, and the Subverſion of the Government. The Jury were all *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen, and the Foreman Sir *Thomas Hodſon*. The chief Evidence againſt him was one *Balron*, who had formerly been Baily of his Coal-Pits, and one *Mowbray*, who had alſo belong'd to his Family: But their Teſtimonies, it ſeems, not being of that Weight or Credibility with the Jury as ſome expected, they brought in their Verdict Not Guilty; whereupon the Priſoner was immediately diſcharg'd. Other inferior Tryals, and of a different Nature, happen'd in the ſame Term, and at the ſame Bench; as particularly *Thomas Whitfield*, *John Smallbones*, and *William Laud*, being try'd for a Riot, in Tearing a Petition carried about to get Subſcriptions to it concerning the Sitting of the Parliament, were found Not Guilty of the Riot; but only *Whitfield* Guilty of Tearing the Petition; but the Puniſhment due to that Crime, was not at that Time declar'd by the Court. About the ſame Time ſeveral Bookſellers, of the Country Party, were Indicted for publiſhing ſeditious and ſcandalous Libels, as *Francis Smith*, and *Langley Curtis*, beſides *Henry Care* the Author; but above all, the Sentence againſt *Benjamin Harris*, the Publiſher of the *Weekly Domeſtick Intelligence*, is moſt obſervable, who having been found guilty of Vending the Pamphlet formerly mention'd, call'd *An Appeal from the Country to the City*, had Judgment on the laſt Day of the Term, 'To ſtand on the Pillory be'fore the old *Exchange*; to ſuffer Impriſonment for one 'Year, to find Sureties for three Years good Behaviour, 'and to be fin'd five Hundred Pounds; and moreover 'the ſaid Appeal to be burnt by the Common-Hang-Man.' And the better to prevent theſe Exorbitancies, not long after, all the Judges in *England*, having been demanded their Opinions, made their Report in Council, and declared for Law, 'That his Majeſty may prohibit the Printing 'and Publiſhing of all News-Books and Pamphlets of 'News whatſoever, not Licenc'd by his Majeſty's Au'thority, as manifeſtly tending to the Breach of the Peace, 'and Diſturbance of the Kingdom.' And accordingly the King iſſu'd out a Proclamation to ſuppreſs all News-Books and Pamphlets of that Nature.

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Abhorrences

3. And now it was that thoſe very Counties, which had been lately ſo active and zealous in promoting Petitions for the ſitting of the Parliament, ſeem'd to be aſham'd, and to fall into the contrary Practice of Abhorring. The City of *Weſtminſter* led the Way, whoſe Grand-Jury by their publick and formal Act, at their Seſſions after *Eaſter*, diſown'd and abhorr'd the ſaid Action of promoting Petitions, and charg'd it on *certain Factious Perſons unknown to them:* This, and more to the ſame Purpoſe, they deſir'd their Steward, Mr. *Withers* of the *Middle-Temple*, to repreſent in their Names to his Majeſty; which he did with good Succeſs, and was Knighted for his Loyalty, by the Name of Sir *Francis Withers*. After this, there follow'd the like Addreſſes from the Counties of *Surrey*, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, *Somerſet*, *Salop*, *Norfolk*, &c. which laſt mention'd County of *Norfolk*, had this further Acknowledgment in their Addreſs, *viz.* *Their Humble Thanks to his Majeſty for recalling his Royal Highneſs from* Flanders. Great Heats and Animoſities were created by theſe *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*, both in the City and Country, and they occaſion'd many Feuds and Quarrels in private Converſations; and about the ſame Time, and from

The Riſe of WHIGG *and* TORY

this Cauſe, aroſe the pernicious Terms, and Diſtinctions of WHIG and TORY, both Exotick Names, which the Parties invidiouſly beſtow'd upon each other: All that adher'd to the Intereſt of the Crown and Lineal Succeſſion, were by the contrary Party branded with the Title given to the *Iriſh* Robbers; and they in Return, gave the others the Name of *Whigg*, or *Sour-Milk*, formerly appropriated to the *Scotch* Presbyterians, and rigid Covenanters: Two unhappy Denominations, too well remember'd at this Time.

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An Enquiry into the D. of Monmouth's Legitimacy.

The latter Party, being actuated by a great and ſubtle Head, about this Time propagated a dangerous and amuſing Rumour about the Town, concerning a *Black Box*, reported to be found in the Cuſtody, or at leaſt the Knowledge of Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, containing a Writing importing a Marriage, or a Contract of a Marriage between the King and the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother. This Report being made when the ſaid Duke was the Darling of the People, the King was pleas'd to call an extraordinary Council on the 26th of *April*, in which he declared *the ſaid Report to be altogether falſe, and that he thought himſelf oblig'd in Honour and Conſcience to have the Matter throughly examin'd and ſearch'd into.* And for the fuller Satiſfaction, Sir *Gilbert Gerard* was ſummon'd to appear; and being examin'd in Council, before the two Royal Brothers, and all the Judges of the Land, he anſwer'd upon Oath, *That he never had any ſuch Writing, as was reported, committed to his Charge, nor did he ever ſee or know of ſuch Writing:* To all which he ſubſcrib'd his Name. His Majeſty then declar'd, he was reſolv'd to uſe all poſſible Means to find out the Author of this Report; and accordingly a Committee of Council was order'd to ſit a conſiderable Time to examine into the Bottom of this Affair. After the ſtricteſt Enquiries made after Spreaders of this dangerous Report, his Majeſty publiſh'd a particular Declaration, on the 3d of *June*, in Confirmation of one made *January* 6th, and of another made *March* 3d, which was enter'd in the Council-Books, and ſign'd by ſixteen Privy-Counſellors, viz. *That for the avoiding any Diſputes that might happen in Time to come, concerning the Succeſſion of the Crown, he did declare in the Preſence of Almighty God, that he never gave, nor made any Contract of Marriage, nor was marry'd to Mrs.* Walters *alias* Barlow, *the Duke of* Monmouth'*s Mother, nor any other Woman whatſoever, but to his preſent Wife Queen* Catharine *then living*. Which Declaration was on the 15th of *June* Regiſter'd on Record in the High Court of Chancery, and all the great Lords of the Privy-Council, who were preſent when his Majeſty declar'd and ſign'd the ſame, atteſted the Action upon their corporal Oaths in open Court. The Lord Chancellor declaring at the ſame Time, *that this Declaration is not Inroll'd here to receive any Augmentation of Repute or Force from this Court; for it cannot receive more than it hath already; but only to be preſerv'd here as in a Repoſitory or Regiſtry: And he doubts not but it will alſo find a more noble Regiſtry than this, that is, the Hearts of all the Loyal Subjects of the Nation.* And here we may properly take Notice of a new Addition to the *Complete Hiſtory of* England, which ſays, That the Maſter of the *Charter-Houſe*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, long in the Service of the King abroad, had the particular Care and Cuſtody of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother, and bury'd her at *Paris*. He was often expreſs in this Matter, and ſaid poſitively, 'The King had never 'any Intention to marry her; and that indeed ſhe did not 'deſerve any ſuch good Intention towards her, *being a 'very ill Woman.*

Several Proſecutions.

4. In *Eaſter* and *Trinity* Terms this Year, there happen'd ſeveral Proſecutions and Tryals, of which ſome Notice ought to be here taken. About the Middle of *Eaſter*-Term, upon the Evidence of *Dangerfield*, a Bill of Indictment of High-Treaſon againſt the Counteſs of *Powis* was deliver'd to the Grand-Jury of *Middleſex*; who not being ſatisfy'd with the Validity of the Evidence, after a long Examination, brought in the Bill, *Ignoramus*. About a Week after, *Richard Taſborough* Eſquire, a *Roman* Catholick, of *Flixton* in *Suffolk*, was try'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar upon an Indictment of High-Treaſon in conſpiring the Death of the King; but upon a long Hearing, to no great Purpoſe, the Jury, without going from the Bar, brought him in Not Guilty, upon which he was diſcharg'd. Two Days after, the Lord *Stafford*, one of the five in the *Tower*, was brought to the ſame Bar, by *Habeas Corpus*, where complaining of his long Impriſonment, he mov'd for Bail; but being Impeach'd by Parliament, the Judges told him, he was not within the Benefit of the late *Habeas Corpus* Act, and ſo could not relieve him. But the Day following, Sir *Henry Tichburn*, the elder *Roper*, and *John Caryl* Eſquire, were bail'd at the ſame Bar, tho' accus'd of High-Treaſon; and the Reaſon given was, becauſe only Mr. *Oates*, one Witneſs, appear'd againſt them, wherefore they were inlarg'd upon Bail. On the laſt Day of the Term, the Counteſs of *Powis*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, and one *Beddingfield*, were abſolutely diſcharg'd of all Attendance.

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Proceedings againſt Mrs. Cellier.

On the firſt Day of *Trinity* Term, Mrs. *Elizabeth Cellier*, formerly mention'd, was try'd for High-Treaſon at the *King's-Bench* Bar; the Indictment running in the uſual Form as againſt the reſt of the Plotters: But the Chief, and almoſt only Evidence againſt her, *Thomas Dangerfield*, being prov'd by Records then produc'd ſo great and infamous a Criminal, his Teſtimony was refus'd to be admitted by the Court, and chiefly in regard he ſtood outlaw'd of Felony, and Felony not being expreſs'd in his Pardon, ſhe was therefore found Not Guilty; and *Dangerfield* himſelf committed to Cuſtody, till he could find Bail to reverſe the Outlawry, to anſwer the Felony, and for his good Behaviour. But within a few Days after, the ſaid *Dangerfield* produc'd a *Newgate* Pardon, wherein all Felonies were pardon'd; and his Name being found therein, he was diſcharg'd. As to Mrs. *Cellier*, ſhe ſhortly after publiſh'd a *Narrative* of her Tryal and Sufferings, under the Name of *Malice Defeated*, in which were found ſome ſevere Reflections upon Perſons, which were look'd upon as affronting to the Government: For which ſhe was tryed a ſecond Time, and found guilty of Publiſhing a Libel, and ſentenc'd to ſtand three Times in the Pillory, to pay a thouſand Pounds Fine, and to ſuffer Impriſonment till all was perform'd. Others that were to be try'd about the Plot, in regard the Attorney-General had not ſufficient Evidence againſt them, were ſome bail'd, and ſome abſolutely diſcharg'd, by vertue of the Act of late *Habeas Corpus*. Of the former ſort were the Lord *Aſton*, Sir *James Symonds*, *Edward Peters*, and *Needham*, with ſeveral others who were reputed Prieſts. Mr. *Howard*, Mr. *Heveningham*, both the *Ropers*, Sir *John Gaye*, and young *Langhorn*, were abſolutely diſcharg'd from their long Impriſonments, ſome having lain there three and twenty Months; and the Reaſon of their Diſcharge was, becauſe Mr. Attorney-General declared, that he had but one Witneſs againſt them. Sir *Anthony Dean*, and Mr. *Pepys*, were alſo at the ſame Time finally diſcharg'd from further Attendance.

The Tryal of the Earl of Caſtlemain.

The Tryal that made moſt Noiſe, was that of the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, Husband to the famous Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*, who was arraign'd for High-Treaſon at the *King's-Bench* Bar, on the 23d of *June*, before the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*, and a Jury of very conſiderable Gentlemen. The two Witneſſes againſt him were *Oates* and *Dangerfield*. The former ſwore to ſome treaſonable Correſpondencies carry'd on by Letters, *&c.* beyond the Seas, by his Lordſhip; and further, that he was acquainted with the great *April Conſult*, ſo often mention'd, and thereupon ſaid, *That now he would be reveng'd for the Injuries done him.* The ſame Evidence had formerly ſworn before the King and Council, and the two Houſes of Parliament, that he had ſeen a Divorce ſu'd out at *Rome*, by his Lordſhip, between him and his Dutcheſs; but being now ſtrictly examin'd upon it, he began to faulter in that, and ſome other Particulars, in which he was much pinch'd by the Earl; ſo that he manifeſtly loſt Ground in this Tryal. As to *Dangerfield*, tho' he had been made a *Legal* Witneſs by his late Pardon, yet his Actions had been ſuch, that it could not make him a *Creditable* Witneſs; ſo the Jury, without examining ſo much into *Oates*'s Reputation, ſoon brought the Earl in Not guilty, which was follow'd with great Shouts and Acclamations, to the Diſappointment and Mortification of many at that Time.

He is acquitted.

Bedloe's *Depoſition and Death.*

Oates's great Second and Aſſiſtant *Bedloe*, was now abſent, and within leſs than two Months after dy'd at *Briſtol*. Four Days before his Death, in his laſt Sickneſs, he was viſited by the Lord Chief-Juſtice *North*, then in his Circuit, before whom he ſign'd the following Depoſitions: ‘The Examinant ſaith, That the Duke of *York* hath been ſo far engag'd in the Plot, as he hath ſeen by Letters in Cardinal *Barbarini*'s Secretary's Study, that no Part that hath been prov'd againſt any Man already, that hath ſuffer'd, but that to the full thoſe Letters have made him guilty of it; all but what tended to the King's Death. And at *Rome* I ask'd Father *Anderton*, and Father *Lodge*, two Jeſuits, *What would the Duke do with his Brother when he was King*? And they anſwer'd me, *They would find a Means for that; they would give him no Trouble about it*. Then I told them, *I believ'd the Duke lov'd his Brother ſo well, he would ſuffer no Violence to be done to him.* They ſaid, *No*: *If the Duke could be brought to that, as he had been religiouſly to every Thing elſe, they might do their Work*; *their other Buſineſs was ready, and they might do it preſently. But they knew they could not bring him to that Point; but they would take Care for that themſelves. They had not begun with him to leave him in ſuch Scruples as that. But they would ſet him into his Throne; and there he ſhould reign blindfold three or four Days; for they had ſettled ſome they ſhould pitch the Action upon, ſhould clear their Party. And then he ſhould fly upon them with the Sword of Revenge.* And this Examinant doth further add, That the Queen is not, to this Examinant's Knowledge, nor by any Thing that he could ever find out, any Way concern'd in the Murder of the King; but barely by her Letters conſenting and promiſing to contribute what Money ſhe could to the Introducing the Catholick Religion. Nay, it was a great while, and it made her weep before ſhe could be brought to that.’ Beſides this Depoſition, he declared to the Lord Chief-Juſtice upon the Faith of a dying Man, *That whatſoever he had teſtify'd concerning the Plot, was true: And that he had wrong'd no Man by his Teſtimony, but had teſtified rather under than over what was Truth*; And further, *That he had other Things to diſcover, which were of great Importance to the King, and the Country*, with other Matters of the like Nature. In Concluſion, his Lordſhip was *deſired to repreſent to his Majeſty his Condition, and that his Sickneſs was very Chargeable, and move his Majeſty on his Behalf for ſome Supply of Money for his Subſiſtance*; which he promis'd to do. But he dy'd ſoon after, on the 20th Day of *Auguſt*. We know not how to ſpeak ſoftly of the dying Words of one hardned by many Years Villanies; but muſt expreſly declare, that as to his publick Oaths he did not only ſwear to the moſt ſhocking Improbabilities, but ſometimes chang'd, and othertimes contradicted his own Evidence. However, great Uſe was made of his laſt Words in the next Parliament, which came in very ſeaſonably for the Support of the Credit of the Plot, which was now in a declining Condition.

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Diſturbances in London *about Sheriffs.*

5. During the Heat of theſe Times, the City of *London* felt the Effect, and was agitated with more than uſual Violence, in the Election of two Sheriffs. The Choice upon *Midſummer* Day, fell upon Mr. *Slingsby Bethel* and Mr. *Henry Corniſh*, the former one of the *Committee of Safety* in the late Times, and both accounted Phanaticks by one Party, and Patriots by another; but ſince appearing uncapable to bear Office in any Corporation by a Statute in the 13th of this King, a new Election was appointed to be at *Guild-Hall* on *Wedneſday* the 14th of *July*. Before which Time, changing their Minds, theſe two qualify'd themſelves by the Receiving the Sacrament, Abjuring the *Covenant*, &c. as appointed by the ſaid Act, and ſtood for a new Choice; againſt whom appear'd two other Competitors, Mr. *Box* and Mr. *Nicholſon*; and with ſuch a Strength, that they came to a Poll, a Thing uncommon till this Time. During which, a Riotous Aſſault was committed on the Perſon of Sir *Simon Lewis*, one of the preſent Sheriffs, by *Osborn* a Draper, and others of *Bethel*'s Party, which being repreſented to the King the ſame Night, by the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs in Perſon, he order'd a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to be iſſu'd out, for the Tryal of the ſaid Riot. They continu'd Polling with great Noiſe 'till *Monday* following, and from thence by Adjournment to *Thurſday*; while the King in the mean Time was nobly entertain'd at Supper at Sheriff *Lewis*'s Houſe, on *Tueſday* the 20th of *July*, and went the next Day to *Windſor*.

Bethel *and* Corniſh *elected.*

On the 29th of *July*, and not before, the Votes were declared at a Common-Hall then aſſembled at the *Guild-Hall*, to ſtand thus, *Bethel*, 2276; *Corniſh*, 2483; *Box*, 1428; *Nicholſon*, 1230. Whereupon the two firſt were declared choſen, with great and mighty Acclamations. At the ſame Time an Addreſs was preſented to the Lord-Mayor by *Thomas Papillon* Eſquire, in the Name of the City, ‘thereby diſowning all tumultuous and diſorderly Proceeding in their laſt Aſſembly, other than what might be the Effect of Emulation for his Majeſty's Service, and the Preſervation of their own juſt Rights; deſiring his Lordſhip to repreſent the ſame to the King, and that he wou'd in their Names humbly beſeech his Majeſty that the Parliament might ſpeedily aſſemble.’ To which the Lord-Mayor anſwer'd in a ſhort Speech, ‘That he had not miſrepreſented any Thing touching their laſt Aſſembly to his Majeſty: That their Addreſs touching the Parliament might have been ſpared, in Regard the King had been pleas'd to declare to him, and aſſure him, That the Parliament ſhould ſit in *October* next; however he wou'd not be wanting with all Humility to lay the whole Matter before Him.’ And within a few Days after, it was made known by a Publick Proclamation, That the Parliament ſhou'd Sit and do Buſineſs on the 21ſt Day of *October*; to the great Satisfaction of the prevailing Party of the City, who had choſen the very ſame Members they had in the laſt Parliament.

Proceedings in Council.

6. But before we come to the Meeting of this much expected Parliament, we are to take Notice of the Proceedings this Summer of the Court and Miniſtry, and other Leading Men of the Times. After ſome Alterations in the Council, formerly mention'd, the firſt Digeſtion of Affairs was in a great Meaſure manag'd by the Lord *Sunderland*, Mr. *Hyde*, and Mr. *Godolphin*, with whom Sir *William Temple* joyn'd occaſionally. The latter was offer'd the Place of Secretary *Coventry*, which, upon a Conſideration, he deſir'd to lay down; but upon his Refuſal

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The Earl of Eſſex's Ambition.

it was given to Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, lately Ambaſſador at *Nimiguen*, and now Judge of the Admiralty. Sir *William*'s Attendance was chiefly upon the Account of the *Iriſh* Affairs, which in the Beginning of the Year happen'd to be the Subject of much Debate in the Council; The Lord-Lieutenant the Duke of *Ormond*, and Council there, having tranſmitted ſeveral Acts over to *England*, both of Grace and Supplies, in Order to a Parliament to be held in *Ireland*. This brought the Earl of *Eſſex* again into Play, after ſo much Diſcontent, and ſo little Attendance for ſeveral Months at Council. He had formerly ſaid to Sir *William Temple*'s Brother, *That he had more Credit with the King than all the reſt of his Miniſters, or any Man in* England; and now he had the Opportunity to try the Extent of it. His Buſineſs was to undermine the Duke of *Ormond*, and get his Poſt; for his Eye and Heart had ever been bent upon his Return to the Government of *Ireland*; which made him ſteer all by that Compaſs, and purſue Court or Popular Humour, as he thought either moſt likely to obtain that End. Whenever the *Iriſh* Acts came into Council, he was ſure to be there; firſt raiſing many Difficulties in the particular Acts, and arraigning not only the Prudence, but Common Senſe of the Lord-Lieutenant and Council there: Then Arguing againſt the Aſſembling a Parliament in that Kingdom; and at laſt Introducing Sir *James Sheen* to make Propoſals of Encreaſing the King's Revenue there near Eighty thouſand Pounds a Year, upon a new Farm to himſelf and the Company he offer'd to be join'd with him. The Secret was, that if this fair Bait was ſwallow'd, Sir *James* was upon the Concluſion to declare, that he and his Company were ready to perform all the Conditions agreed on; but cou'd not do ſo great a Thing, unleſs my Lord *Eſſex* might be ſent over Lieutenant of *Ireland*. This plauſible Scheme, as it was ever ſupported by the Earl, ſo it was continually oppos'd by Sir *William Temple*, who found out the Cheat of the whole Thing; and that this Farm, as it was drawn up, was not of the *Revenue*, but of the *Crown of Ireland:* And becauſe the Scheme was ſet on foot by the Earl of *Eſſex*, as a great *Maſter-piece of that Cunning*, which his Friends us'd to ſay was his Talent; a Talent, for which of all other Sir *William* had ever the greateſt Averſion. Tho' this was approv'd of by Mr. *Hyde*, and ſeveral of the Council, as very advantageous to the King, yet Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, by their Aſſiduity and Intereſt, laid the Matter ſo bare, and drew it to ſuch a Length, that the Earl with great Uneaſineſs ſeem'd to give over the Deſign at Court, and to reckon upon laying a ſurer Foundation for that Purpoſe, from the Credit he intended to gain in the approaching Parliament.

The Duke of Monmouth's *Deſigns.*

The Duke of York *preſented in* Weſtminſter-Hall.

In order to prevent or allay all Diſtempers, and to prepare for an eaſy Seſſion of Parliament the next Winter, the Miniſters were reſolv'd upon all Meaſures that might effect it during the Summer; and, as one of the Chief, were reſolv'd to ſend Ambaſſadors and Envoys to *Spain*, *Denmark*, and other of the Confederate Nations, and enter with them into the ſtricteſt Meaſures for the Common Defence againſt the Power of *France*. Upon which Account Sir *William Temple* was nominated for Ambaſſador into *Spain*, but the King could not well part with him before the meeting of the Parliament. For as it approach'd, there daily appear'd new Symptoms of Diſcontent and Diſturbance. The Duke of *Monmouth*, as beforemention'd, returning from *Holland* without Leave, never came to Court, but made ſeveral Progreſſes Weſtward and Northward, viſited ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry as he knew were true to his Intereſt, and was receiv'd in many Places with unuſual Pomp and Ceremony; by which Means he increas'd the Affection of the People, and in effect made himſelf the Head of thoſe who were diſcontented either with the Return of the Duke of *York*, or the Intermiſſion of the Parliament. In Acting this Part, he was guided by the penetrating Head of the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, who reſolv'd to blow up the Fire as high as he cou'd this Summer; ſo as to make the Neceſſity greater of the Parliament's Sitting at the Time appointed. And becauſe Boldneſs ſo well reſembles Strength, to encourage his Party with an Opinion of Both, he engag'd above a Dozen Lords and Gentlemen of Note, to go with him publickly to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and at the *King's-Bench* Bar to preſent the Duke of *York* as a *Popiſh* Recuſant, which they did by a Bill in Form. Thoſe that atteſted or ſign'd it were the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wark*, the Lord *Brandon Gerard*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *Scroop How*, Sir *William Cooper*, Sir *Thomas Wharton*, *John Trenchard* Eſquire, *Thomas Thynne* Eſquire, and *William Forreſter* Eſquire. Though, by Reaſon of the ſudden Diſmiſſion of the Grand-Jury, the Matter had no Conſequence in the Forms of the Court; yet it had a general one upon the Minds of the People, and a ſtrong one upon the Paſſions of all thoſe that were ſo publickly engag'd in this bold Step againſt the Duke of *York*; which was indeed breaking all Meaſures with him, and entering into the deſperate Reſolution of either Ruining his Royal Highneſs, or Overthrowing themſelves.

He retires to Scotland.

Upon this ſurpriſing Action, the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had ſo eagerly purſu'd his Return to the Government of *Ireland*, began again to fall into Commerce with the Earl of *Shaftſbury*; who ſaid to him in theſe ſhameleſs Words, *My Lord, if you will come in to Us, never trouble your Self, we'll make you Lieutenant of* Ireland. The Way to this Return was to oppoſe the Duke of *York*'s Stay in *England*, eſpecially during the Seſſion of Parliament. The Lord *Hallifax*, tho' he fell not in with the Lord *Shaftſbury*, yet was glad to make fair Weather againſt the Parliament met, by his Oppoſitions to the Duke. The Lord *Sunderland* was ſtruck with the Boldneſs of the Preſentment in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the Conſequence of Men being irretrievably engag'd in an Attempt wherein they were like to be ſeconded by the Humour of the Nation upon the Allarms of *Popery*; which made him conclude, the King would not be able to ſupport his Brother any longer, but muſt be forc'd to deſert him at laſt; and he believ'd his Majeſty himſelf was of the ſame Opinion. Mr. *Godolphin* fell naturally into the ſame Thoughts with the Lord *Sunderland:* So that upon the Debate in Council, concerning the Duke's Stay, or Return into *Scotland* before the Parliament met, theſe four joyn'd intirely in the Reaſons and Advices for his going away. And tho' the reſt of the Council were generally of the contrary Opinion, yet the King fell in with theſe Four, and concluded the Thing, both againſt the Duke's Will and his Friends. And ſo the Duke, having receiv'd new Aſſurances of his Brother's Steadineſs, departed for *Scotland* the very Day before the Meeting of the Parliament, leaving his Adverſaries in Appearance Maſters of the Field.

The FOURTH PARLIAMENT.

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

VI. I. And now at laſt came the long expected Day, the 21ſt of *October*, being the ſame Day two Years of the Meeting of the laſt Seſſion of the long Parliament, which broke with the King, and therefore by ſome thought an Ominous Day. The King had provided againſt this Day with as much Precaution as reaſonably could be expected; and being now prepared, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers in his Royal Robes, with the uſual Solemnity, and ſending for the Houſe of Commons, he made this remarkable Speech to both Houſes; '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, The ſeveral Prorogations I have made, have 'been very advantagious to our Neighbours, and very uſe'ful to Me; for I have employ'd that Time in Making 'and Perfecting an Alliance with the Crown of *Spain*, 'ſuitable to that which I had before with the *States* of the '*United Provinces*, and they alſo had with *Spain*, conſiſt'ing of mutual Obligations of Succour and Defence. I 'have all the Reaſon in the World to believe, that what 'was ſo much deſired by former Parliaments, muſt needs 'be very grateful to you now: For tho' ſome, perhaps, 'may wiſh theſe Meaſures had been taken ſooner; yet no 'Man can with Reaſon think that it is now too late; for 'they who deſire to make theſe Alliances, and they who 'deſire to break them, ſhew themſelves to be of another 'Opinion. And as theſe are the beſt Meaſures that could 'be taken for the Safety of *England*, and the Repoſe of '*Chriſtendom*; ſo they cannot fail to attain their End, and 'to ſpread and improve themſelves further, if our Divi'ſions at Home do not render our Friendſhip leſs conſi'derable Abroad.

'To prevent thoſe as much as may be, I think fit to 'renew to you all the Aſſurances which can be deſired, 'That nothing ſhall be wanting on my Part to give you 'the fulleſt Satisfaction your Hearts can wiſh, for the Se'curity of the *Proteſtant Religion*, which I am fully re'ſolv'd to Maintain againſt all the Conſpiracies of our 'Enemies, and to concur with you in any *New Remedies*, 'which ſhall be propos'd, that may conſiſt with the Pre'ſerving the *Succeſſion in its due and legal Courſe of De'ſcent*. And in Order to this, I do recommend it to 'you, to purſue the further Examination of the *Plot*, 'with a ſtrict and an impartial Enquiry. I do not think 'my Self Safe, nor you neither, till that Matter be gone 'through with; and therefore it will be neceſſary that the 'Lords in the *Tower* be brought to their ſpeedy Tryal, 'That Juſtice may be done.

'I need not tell you what Danger the City of *Tangier* is 'in, nor of what Importance it is to Us to preſerve it. I 'have, with a mighty Charge and Expence, ſent a very 'conſiderable Relief thither; but conſtantly to maintain 'ſo great a Force as that War will require, and to make 'ſuch new Works and Fortifications, without which the 'Place will not be long Tenable, amounts to ſo vaſt a 'Sum, that without your Support, it will be impoſſible 'for Me to undergo it: Therefore I lay the Matter 'plainly before you, and do deſire your Advice and Aſ'ſiſtance.

'But that which I value above all the Treaſure in the World, and which I am ſure will give me greater Strength and Reputation both at Home and Abroad, than any Treaſure can do, is, *A perfect Union among our Selves.* Nothing but this can reſtore the Kingdom to that Strength and Vigour which it ſeems to have loſt, and raiſe us again to that Conſideration which *England* hath uſually had. All *Europe* have their Eyes upon this Aſſembly, and think their own Happineſs or Miſery, as well as ours, will depend upon it. If we ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into ſuch a Miſunderſtanding among our Selves, as would render our Friendſhip unſafe to truſt to, it will not be to be wonder'd at, if our Neighbours ſhould begin to take new Reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as may be Fatal to Us.

'Let us therefore take Care that we do not gratify our Enemies, and diſcourage our Friends, by any unſeaſonable Diſputes. If any ſuch do happen, the World will ſee it was no Fault of mine; for I have done all that was poſſible for me to do, to keep you in Peace while I live, and to leave you ſo when I dye. But from ſo great Prudence and ſo good Affection as Yours, I can fear nothing of this Kind; but do rely upon you All, that you will uſe your beſt Endeavours to bring this Parliament to a good and happy Concluſion.

Mr. Williams *choſen Speaker of the Commons.*

After this Speech, the Lord Chancellor, without making any Himſelf, by his Majeſty's Command, directed the Commons to return to their Houſe, and to proceed to the Choice of a Speaker: which they accordingly did, and unanimouſly Elected *William Williams* Eſquire, of *Gray's-Inn*, Councellor at Law, and Recorder of *Cheſter*; who, the next Day, was preſented to his Majeſty ſeated on his Throne in the Houſe of Lords, and readily approv'd by him. One of the firſt Things the Commons did, was to purge their own Houſe of certain obnoxious Members; as Sir *Robert Cann*, a Burgeſs for *Briſtol*, having ſaid, *There was no Plot but a Presbyterian Plot*; and Sir *Francis Withins*, Head Steward of *Weſtminſter*, and one of the Burgeſſes for the ſame, for having been an *Abhorrer* of the late Petitions for the Parliament's Sitting. The firſt of theſe was expell'd the Houſe, and committed to the *Tower*, the other was only expell'd; but both were order'd to receive their Cenſure on their Knees. And ſeveral other Members were declared Guilty of the laſt mention'd Offence. While they were making theſe Inquiſitions, they were not ſatisfy'd in puniſhing their own Members, but took Notice of others that were without their Walls; and among the reſt, Sir *George Jeffreys* became the Object of their Diſpleaſure; who being Recorder of *London*, the King's Serjeant at Law, and Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*, was for the foremention'd Crime, Voted *A Betrayer of the Rights of the Subject*, and an Addreſs order'd to be made to his Majeſty to remove him from all Publick Offices. At the ſame Time they order'd a very ſtrict Enquiry to be made after all ſuch Perſons as had been any Ways Adviſing or Promoting the late Proclamation, Entituled, *A Proclamation againſt Tumultuous Petitioning.*

Members expell'd.

Plot-Diſcoverers incourag'd.

From the Beginning of the Seſſion, their Minds were fill'd and heated with the Fears and Apprehenſions of *Popery, Plots* and *Conſpiracies*. And now all Sorts of Plot-Diſcoverers apply'd themſelves with their *Narratives* and Relations, and never fail'd of proportionable Encouragement. *Dangerfield* began with giving in his Information into the Houſe; and was ſoon after follow'd by *Jenniſon* and *Dugdale*, and one *Turberville* a new Evidence, who had all ſomething Material or Surprizing to lay before the Aſſembly. *Bedloe*'s laſt Depoſition and Words before the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *North*, was order'd to by Printed; and as theſe were look'd upon as a great Strengthner of the Credit of the Plot, ſo his Death was accounted at this Time a great Misfortune; and his Widow was encourag'd to Petition the Houſe of Commons for a Maintenance, in Conſideration of her Husband's great Services to the Publick. Great Notice was likewiſe taken of Dr. *Tongue*, the firſt Mover in this great Affair, who was now by the Commons recommended to his Majeſty for the firſt good Eccleſiaſtical Preferment that fell in his Gift; but the Doctor was diſappointed of the Benefit, by leaving the World not long after, in the Month of *December* this Year. Beſides theſe Evidences at Home, there came a Company of others from *Ireland*, as *Hetherington, Murphey*, the two *Fitz-Geralds*, &c. who gave in their Informations of a Dangerous Plot in that Kingdom: Upon which Account, Dr. *Oliver Plunket*, the Titular Primate of *Ireland*, was now brought over to be try'd for High-Treaſon.

Tongue's *Death.*

The King joyns in it.

As the Houſe of Commons proceeded with a reſiſtleſs Force againſt the Plot and Popery, ſo the King, rather than ſtem the Torrent, ſeem'd to fall in with them in a like Zeal againſt both; and therefore on the 30th of *October*, he iſſu'd out a Proclamation, *For the Incouragement of the further Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot*, in which he declar'd 'His Princely Care for ſecuring the true *Proteſtant* Religion, and for ſatisfying the Minds of all his Loving Subjects therein; and that therefore he thought fit, for the more effectual Diſcovery and Suppreſſion of the moſt *Horrid and Execrable Popiſh Plot*, and the Incouragement of all Perſons who have any Knowledge thereof, to make Diſcovery of the ſame, to ſet forth his Royal Proclamation, hereby Promiſing and Aſſuring his free and gracious Pardon to all and every Perſon and Perſons, who within two Months next enſuing the Date of thoſe Preſents, ſhould come and give further Information and Evidence concerning the ſaid *Popiſh Plot*.

Debates about the Duke of York.

2. But the greateſt Heats and Apprehenſions of the Houſe of Commons aroſe from his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, which were gradually carry'd to that Height, that nothing leſs than a total Exciſion could give Satiſfaction. The firſt Debate began, *October* 26th, five Days after the Meeting of the Parliament, and was open'd by *William* Lord *Ruſſel*, who ſaid, 'That ſeeing by *God's Providence* and his *Majeſty's Favour*, they were aſſembled, to conſult and adviſe about the great Affairs of the Kingdom, it would be moſt conducive to begin with what was of moſt Conſequence both to the King and Country: It was his Opinion, That the Life of the King, the Safety of the Nation, and the *Proteſtant* Religion, were in great Danger from *Popery*; and that either that Parliament muſt ſuppreſs the Growth and Power thereof, or elſe *Popery* would ſoon deſtroy not only Parliaments, but all that was near and dear to them; therefore he humbly mov'd they might in the firſt Place take into Conſideration how to ſuppreſs *Popery*, and prevent a *Popiſh Succeſſor*.' Way being made, Sir *Henry Capel*, Brother to the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſeconded the Motion, and in a long Speech related, 'How the *Popiſh* Party made it their utmoſt Endeavours, by their Diabolical Counſels, to weaken the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, in order to a general Deſtruction of it, by engaging us in a War againſt *Holland*, as alſo dividing our Fleet under Prince *Rupert* and General *Monk*, with a Deſign to deſtroy them, as well as our Navy at *Chatham*: How, when the City of *London* was burnt in 1666, that thoſe who were taken in carrying on that wicked Act, were generally diſcharg'd without Tryal: How they caus'd the Violation of the *Triple League*, and ſacrific'd the King's Honour to the *French*, not only by making Alliance with them, but by ſeizing the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, and then proclaiming War againſt them, while the *French* only prov'd Spectators of the two Nations Ruin: How the *Papiſts* in *Ireland* were diſpens'd with to wear Arms, to the great Danger, as well as Prejudice of the *Proteſtants* there: That the Government of *Scotland* was quite alter'd, the Uſe of Parliaments in a Manner aboliſh'd, and the Government of that Kingdom lodg'd in a *Commiſſioner* and a *Council*, beſides an *Army* of twenty Thouſand Men ſettled: That all Endeavours were us'd to divide the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, and to incourage the *Popiſh*, who were emboldned to act any Thing, contrary both to Law and Reaſon, by help of the Duke of *York*, in hopes of having him for King. Thus they were encourag'd by the *French* Ambaſſador too, who by his Frequency at Court ſeem'd to be rather one of the Family and the King's Houſhold, than a Foreign Ambaſſador; and by his free Recourſe to his Majeſty, rather a prime Miniſter of State of this Kingdom, than a Counſellor to another Prince; and the Truth of all had been confirm'd by *Coleman*'s Letters. Then he inferr'd, ſince all theſe Irregularities and Enormities proceed from the *Popiſh* Party, ſupported by the Duke of *York*, it was high Time to think of ſome effectual Expedient to prevent *Popery* and a *Popiſh Succeſſor*. But ſince the Difficulties and Hazards he run were ſo great, and his King and Country had call'd him to this Service, he ſaid, *I am reſolv'd, that as my Father loſt his Life for King* Charles *the Firſt, ſo I will not be afraid to venture mine for King* Charles *the Second.*

Several other Members ſpoke to the ſame Effect, with a further Enumeration of Miſmanagements of the Affairs of the Kingdom, occaſion'd by the Papiſts and their Agents. But we do not find that any Member vindicated the Duke, or ſpoke in his Behalf, till the Houſe came to theſe two following Reſolves upon the Second of *November*; '*Reſolved*, That the Duke of *York*'s being a *Papiſt*, and the Hopes of his coming ſuch to the Crown, hath given the greateſt Countenance and Incouragement to the preſent Deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt the King and *Proteſtant* Religion. *Reſolved*, That in Defence of the King's Perſon and Government, and *Proteſtant* Religion, this Houſe doth declare, *That they will ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes, and that if his Majeſty ſhou'd come to any violent Death, which God forbid, they will revenge it to the utmoſt on the* Papiſts.' Upon
which

Two Reſolves thereupon.

1680.
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Further Debates.

which Colonel *Titus* and the Lord *Ruſſel* did ſeverally move that a Committee be appointed to bring in a Bill to diſable the Duke of *York* from Inheriting the Imperial Crown of this Realm: And Mr. *Harbord* zealouſly argu'd ‘ the Neceſſity of it, from the great Influence the Duke and his Party had upon the King, that Peace, War, Foreign Alliances, Meeting, Diſſolutions and Prorogations of Parliaments, Tryals at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, Reſolutions in Council, and other Things of Importance, had been influenc'd by a Popiſh Party: That ſome who had the Examination of the Plot, in which the King's Life and the Safety of the Nation was ſo much concern'd, had been kept off to Admiration, and the Witneſſes diſcourag'd even to Deſpair; all proceeding from no leſs Perſon than the Duke, for whoſe Perſon he had no ill Will, but rather a great Veneration, as deſcended from the Royal Family; but, he thought, it ought not to ſtand in Competition with his Duty to the King and Country, which cou'd never be ſafe, ſo long as By-Intereſt was ſo predominant: therefore he was for the Bill.

On the other Side Mr. *William Garraway* ſtood up, and ſaid, ‘ That he was conſcious of the Danger of Popery, yet he hop'd the Prudence of the Houſe might find out ſome Expedients to ſecure the Nation, without the Bill of Excluſion; arguing, That the King had at the Opening of the Seſſion Declared, *That he wou'd conſent to any Thing that ſhou'd be offer'd for the Proteſtant Religion, provided it conſiſted with the Preſerving the Succeſſion in the due Legal Courſe of Deſcent*; and to proceed in the Bill propos'd, wou'd be a Means to diſoblige the King, and interrupt all other Affairs, which might at that Time be very unfortunate to the Nation, and our Neighbours too. For his Part, he was more afraid of an Army without a General, than of a General without an Army; therefore he thought it moſt adviſeable, inſtead of this Bill to bring in another for Baniſhing all Papiſts out of the Nation, and other Bills for having frequent Parliaments, and to ſecure good Judges and Juſtices. He humbly mov'd that they wou'd try thoſe Ways, and not proceed with ſuch Severity againſt the Duke, ſeeing it was not conſiſtent with Juſtice to paſs ſuch a ſevere Sentence upon the Duke, who had not yet been heard, or found guilty.’ To thoſe Objections Sir *Henry Capel* and Colonel *Titus* ſpoke ſucceſſively; and the former inſiſted ‘ That all other Bills, without the Excluſion, wou'd prove ineffectual, ſince they muſt be left in the unhappy Condition, of conteſting with the Influence of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor during the King's Life, and with the Power of a *Popiſh* King hereafter: And whereas it was ſaid, *Take away the Army, and you need not fear the General*, he anſwer'd, That the General that had the Power of a King, wou'd never want an Army.’ The Colonel argu'd, ‘ That to proceed contrary to the King's Reſolution, of not conſenting to the Succeſſion from its Legal Courſe of Deſcent, was not inconſiſtent with their Duties, nor void of Precedent. For it had oftentimes hapned, That Parliaments before now had offer'd ſuch Advice to the Kings of this Nation, as had not been grateful to them at firſt, and yet after mature Deliberation had been well reſented, and found abſolutely neceſſary: As when his Majeſty had been perſwaded to grant a Toleration in 1672, and to tell the Parliament in his Speech made to them, *That he wou'd ſtand by it, and make it good*; yet that Houſe of Commons finding it of dangerous Conſequence, and humbly offering ſuch their Advice to his Majeſty, he was pleas'd, notwithſtanding the ſaid Speech, to cancel the ſaid Declaration.’ Other Things were alledg'd to prove the Inſecurity under a *Popiſh* Prince; but nothing ſeem'd to have made a greater Impreſſion upon the Houſe, than a Belief that the King, by Importunity or Neceſſity, wou'd comply with them at laſt.

But that nothing might be wanting, a Perſon of Quality ſtood up, and reflected upon the Duke and the Earl of *Clarendon* for making up the Match for the King, as foreſeeing the Queen wou'd have no Children; and particularly on the Duke for the Loſs of the Earl of *Sandwich*, for clearing of Perſons taken in the Fire of *London*, the Death of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, &c. Whereupon he was ſomewhat interrupted by Mr. *Hyde*, who ſtood up to vindicate the Honour of the Duke, and the Reputation of his Father; and as to the Bill, his Opinion was, ‘ That the bringing of it in wou'd be a great Hindrance to the Buſineſs of the Nation, without attaining its End: He declar'd, He was concern'd for the Juſtice of the Nation; for tho' the Duke deſerv'd great Mortifications, for giving ſuch Suſpicion of his Religion, and might reaſonably expect not to come to the Crown, on ſuch Terms as formerly; yet he thought it very hard to offer at ſo great a Condemnation, without hearing the Perſon concern'd, or having had any preceding Proceſs: For his Part, he made it a great Queſtion, whether it wou'd be Binding to him, or a great many other Loyal Perſons of this Nation; and if not, it might hereafter occaſion a Civil War. He farther ſaid, I cou'd not apprehend our Caſe ſo deſperate, but that we might ſecure our ſelves ſome other Way, without *Overturning Foundations*; ſtill, he cou'd not fear a General without an Army; and mov'd for Expedients.’ Sir *Leoline Jenkins* ſeconded Mr. *Hyde*, and ſhew'd, ‘ That Expedients were more eligible than Extremity, and that he look'd on the Bill to be the greateſt Extremity imaginable, and the Paſſing of the Bill to be againſt both Law and Conſcience, and that nothing leſs than an Army cou'd be neceſſary to ſupport it: Therefore he humbly conceiv'd, That the Tryal of Expedients might be made; for it was Time enough to proceed to Extremity, when all the Ways and Means were found inſufficient.

1680.
Car. 32.
Ref. 21.

In anſwer to theſe two Perſons, Mr. *Thomas Bennet* ſaid, ‘ That no Bill cou'd be againſt Law, nor this againſt Conſcience, unleſs it cou'd be made out, That we ought in Conſcience to bring in Popery. As to Expedients, he ſhou'd be glad to hear any Arguments to make them good; but he was afraid that when they came to be examin'd at the Bottom, they wou'd be found very inſufficient, and that they might as well think to catch a Lyon with a Mouſe-Trap as to be ſecure againſt *Popery*, without the Excluſion Bill. That thoſe they were to deal with, cou'd not be bound by any Law or Contract whatſoever, much leſs cou'd their Words or Promiſes be depended upon: Did they ever keep any League or Contract that was made with *Proteſtants*, longer than was neceſſary in Order to cut their Throats? And if Laws cannot bind inferior Perſons, much leſs will they Princes of the Catholick Religon.’ He afterwards ſaid, ‘ He was of Opinion, That ſuch an Engine might be contriv'd as ſhou'd give ſuch a Whirle to the *Popiſh* Intereſt, as that it ſhou'd never riſe up againſt us again; he knew of no Difficulty but the ſame which happen'd to *Archimedes*, where to fix it; and as long as there was a good King, he was not altogether at a Loſs for that neither. As to the Fears of a Civil War, he ſaid he never fear'd a War in Favour of Idolatry, eſpecially when we had gotten a Law on our Side to defend our Religion.’ This Gentleman was ſeconded by Sir *Thomas Player*, one of the City Members, who ſaid, ‘ He had read in Scripture of one Man dying for a Nation, but never of Three Nations dying for One Man; which was like to be our Caſe.’ He further told them, ‘ That he had been lately in Company with a great many Perſons, where he had heard the Duke ſo cry'd up, and the King ſo ſlighted, that he dreaded they had Thoughts of acting over-here, what was lately done in *Portugal*;’ therefore he vehemently preſs'd to have the Bill go forwards.

On the contrary, Mr. *Edward Seymour*, after an Introduction, in which he complain'd *That he had been Shot at by Wind-Guns*, ſpoke thus; ‘ Sir, I muſt confeſs I am very much againſt the bringing in this Bill, for I think it a very unfortunate Thing, that whereas his Majeſty hath prohibited but *One Thing* only, that we ſhou'd ſo ſoon fall upon it. I do not ſee there is any Cauſe we ſhou'd fear *Popery* ſo much, as to make us run into ſuch an Extream.-----Have we not had great Experience of the Duke's Love for his Nation? hath he not always ſquared his Actions by the exacteſt Rules of Juſtice and Moderation? Is there not a Poſſibility of being of the *Church*, and not of the *Court* of *Rome*? Hath he not bred up his Children in the *Proteſtant* Religion, and ſhew'd a great Reſpect for all Perſons of that Profeſſion? Wou'd it not be a dangerous Thing for Him (I mean in Point of Intereſt) to offer at any ſuch Alteration of the Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law? Can any Man imagine that it can be attempted without great Hazard of utterly deſtroying both Himſelf and his Family? And can ſo undiſcreet an Attempt be expected from a Prince ſo abounding in Prudence and Wiſdom? But tho' we ſhou'd reſolve to have no Moderation in our Proceedings againſt *Papiſts*, yet I hope we ſhall have ſome for our ſelves. It cannot be imagin'd that ſuch a Law will bind all here in *England*, any in *Scotland*; and is it diſputed whether it will be binding in *Ireland*; ſo that in Probability, it will not only divide us amongſt our ſelves, but the Three Kingdoms one from the other, and occaſion a miſerable Civil War. For it cannot be imagin'd, that the Duke will ſubmit to it. And to diſinherit him for his Religion, is not only to act according to the *Popiſh Principles*, but to give Cauſe for a War with all the *Catholick* Princes in *Europe*; and that muſt occaſion a *Standing Army*, from whom there will be more Danger of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, than from a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, or a *Popiſh King*.’ To ſecond which Point Sir *R. Graham* made a long Diſcourſe, ſhewing the Dangers and Miſeries of a Civil War, by a full Account of thoſe between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*; and that this Bill wou'd break the Union between the three Kingdoms, and totally cut off *Scotland*: Therefore if the Bill muſt be brought in, he deſir'd that the Succeſſor ſhou'd be nam'd, which he was ſure wou'd require a great deal of Conſideration.

In anſwer to theſe, and other Oppoſers, Sir *William Jones* ſaid, ‘*Sir*, I am of Opinion that Expedients in Politicks, are like Mountebank-Tricks in Phyſick; as the one does ſeldom Good to Bodies Natural, ſo nor the other in Bodies Politick. Government is a weighty Thing, and cannot be protected and ſupported but by ſuch Pillars as have neither Flaws nor Cracks, and plac'd on a ſure Foundation. I am afraid that all Expedients will be found to have far different Qualifications. I cannot ſee how the Excluding any Perſon who hath a Right to the Succeſſion, depending upon Contingencies, ſhou'd occaſion a Civil War; but rather do think, that there is a great deal more Danger, not only of a Civil War, but of our Religion and Liberty too, if we ſhou'd not, and ſo have a *Popiſh King*: For I do believe, that ſuch a King wou'd ſoon have a *Popiſh Council*: For if there be Eleven to Seven now for the Intereſt of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, what may we not expect when we have a *Popiſh King*? And ſhou'd you not then have ſoon *Popiſh Judges*, *Deputy Lieutenants*, *Commanders* at Sea and Land, nay and *Popiſh Biſhops* too? For if there be none put into any of theſe Places now, that are for acting againſt a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, well may we expect that none ſhall be put in then, but what are for a *Popiſh King*.—— This is not to diſinherit a Man for his Religion, but becauſe he has render'd himſelf uncapable to govern us, according to our Laws: which, whether it proceeded from his Religion, or any Thing elſe, is all one to us. His being uncapable, is the Ground for our Proceedings, having no other Way to ſecure our ſelves. Upon the whole Matter, I do conclude, That a *Popiſh King* and a *Proteſtant Religion* are Irreconcilable, and we have no Reaſon to fear a Civil War, ſo long as we have a Law for our Defence, and a *Proteſtant King* to head us, which we cannot expect without paſſing ſome ſuch Bill under Debate, and therefore I humbly move it may be brought in.

Upon this, Mr. *Finch*, eldeſt Son to the Lord Chancellor, declar'd, ‘That the Buſineſs was of ſo high a Nature, that he cou'd not tell how to ſpeak of it without Fear and Trembling. To go about to alter the Succeſſion of the Crown, muſt be of great Concernment to all *Engliſh* Men, and therefore to be conſider'd with a great deal of Deliberation, for which the Juſtice, Prudence and Uſage of the Houſe call'd aloud. He ſaid he was not ſatisfy'd how they cou'd in Juſtice paſs any ſuch Bill as was propos'd; for he never heard of any Law which made an Opinion in Religion a Cauſe to be diſpoſſeſs'd of Right; in former Times it was not ſo, tho' there were Princes and Emperors that were Apoſtates: And Queen *Elizabeth* wou'd not allow of putting any ſuch Thing in practice, but rather choſe to proceed againſt the Queen of *Scots*, according to the ſettled Laws of the Nation. This Nation had been ſo unfortunate as to cut off one King already, they ought to have a Care how they cut off the Right of another, *&c.*' Mr. *Boſcawen* immediately exclaim'd, ‘Have not the *Papiſts* always proceeded againſt the *Proteſtants* with a Barbarity ſurmounting the worſt of *Heathens*? And muſt we be ſo mighty careful how to proceed to hinder them from Ruling over us, as that we muſt ſtumble at every Straw, and be afraid of every Buſh? A Man that is in a Houſe that is on Fire, will leap out of a Window rather than be burnt; and ſo he inſiſted upon the Law of Self-Preſervation.' He was follow'd by Mr. *Trenchard*, who, among other Things, ſaid, ‘Let it be never ſaid of this Houſe of Commons, that they were ſo ſtupify'd or negligent of their Duty to their Country, or ſo indifferent in their Religion, or Preſervation of their Liberties, as to forget ſo great a Concern. If, when we have done what we can, we ſhou'd be conquer'd by Force, or deceiv'd by ſuch little Arts and Tricks as may be us'd, a patient Submiſſion to God's Providence muſt follow. But to be the Occaſion of our own Deſtruction, by being ſupine, and inconſiderate, will never be anſwer'd to Poſterity.' In Concluſion of the Debate it was Reſolv'd, *That a Bill be brought in to diſable the Duke of* York *to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm.*

A Bill brought in to diſable the Duke.

New Debates upon it.

Which Bill was read the firſt Time upon the 4th of *November*, when Sir *Leoline Jenkins* ſtood up and directly argu'd, ‘1. That it was contrary to Natural Juſtice, to condemn any Man before the Conviction, or the Hearing of him. 2. It was contrary to the Principles of our Religion, to diſpoſſeſs a Man of his Right, becauſe he differs in Point of Faith. 3. He was of Opinion, That the Kings of *England* had their Right from God alone and that no Power upon Earth cou'd deprive them of it.' ‘4. It was againſt the Oath of Allegiance, taken in its own Senſe, without *Jeſuitical* Evaſions; which binding all Perſons to the King, his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, the Duke as Preſumptive Heir muſt be underſtood.' Other Members argu'd not only for the *Legality*, but for the *Expedience*, and even *Neceſſity* of ſuch a Bill, as the only probable Means of Preſerving the King, the Government, and the *Proteſtant* Religion; and repeated ſome former Arguments: And ſo it was by a great Majority *Reſolved*, ‘That the Bill ſhou'd be read a Second Time on *Saturday* Morning, the 6th of *November*.' At which Time it was likewiſe *Reſolved*, ‘That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe. And that it be an Inſtruction to the ſaid Committee, *That the Excluſion in the ſaid Bill do extend to the Perſon of* James *Duke of* York *only*. And that this Houſe will reſolve it ſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, on *Monday* Morning next at Ten a Clock, to proceed to the Conſideration of the ſaid Bill.' Accordingly, on *November* the 8th the Houſe Reſolved it ſelf into a Committee; and after many Debates about ſeveral Amendments, and Clauſes to be added, the Bill to diſable *James* Duke of *York*, *&c.* was agreed and Reported to the Houſe; and *Reſolved*, ‘That the ſaid Bill, with the ſeveral Clauſes and Amendments, be Engroſſed.

The Bill engroſs'd.

The Chief Cauſes of it.

How this grand Matter came to be carry'd on with ſo much impetuous Zeal, Sir *William Temple* has given a ſhort Account, who ſays, The Parliament began with the general Knowledge of ſo many great Perſons appearing ſo publickly againſt the Duke in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and ſo conſiderable Ones in the Court it ſelf, and at the Council Table: Thoſe of the firſt ſort fell immediately into the Cabals of Lords and Commons, who fram'd the Bill of Excluſion; wherein they were deſperately engag'd, not only, as they profeſs'd, upon Opinion of National Ends, but likewiſe upon that of Self-Preſervation, having before now irreparably broken all Meaſures with the Duke: The Generality of the Houſe of Commons were carry'd, partly with the Plauſibleneſs of the Thing, calculated in Appearance only againſt *Popery*, without any private Ends as they pretended; and partly with the Opinion of the King's Compliance, upon the Obſerving ſuch Lords of the Court being engag'd ſo far in ſending away the Duke. All the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Friends drove it on violently; not doubting he wou'd come into the Duke's Place, tho' there was no immediate Proviſion for that. And all theſe Circumſtances concurring, made ſo violent a Torrent for carrying this Bill, as nothing cou'd reſiſt, or any Ways divert, and as it happens upon all Occaſions, the Oppoſition made by three or four Men, made the Violence the Greater. Beſides theſe general Circumſtances, there were two more Particular and Perſonal, that ſeem'd to have a great Influence upon the Houſe: One was, the Lord *Ruſſel*'s ſetting himſelf, almoſt with Affectation, at the Head of this Affair; who was a Perſon in general Repute of an honeſt worthy Gentleman, without Tricks or private Ambition, and who was known to venture as great a Stake perhaps as any Subject of *England*. The other was Sir *William Jones* entring upon it ſo abruptly and deſperately as he did, the firſt Day he came into the Houſe; and he being a Perſon of great Virtue and Piety, and bearing the Name of the greateſt Lawyer of *England*, and commonly of a very wiſe Man; beſides this of a very rich, and of a wary, or rather timorous Nature; it made People generally conclude that the Thing was certain and ſafe, and wou'd at laſt be agreed on all Parts, whatever the Appearance was at Court.

The King's Meſſage to the Commons.

3. The King was very uneaſy, and not a little provok'd at theſe Proceedings againſt his only Brother; but to ſhew his Reſentment in the ſofteſt Manner, on the 10th of *November*, two Days after the Excluſion Bill was order'd to be Engroſs'd, he ſent this Meſſage to the Commons; *His Majeſty deſires this Houſe, as well for the Satisfaction of his People, as of Himſelf, to expedite ſuch Matters as are depending before them, relating to* Popery *and the* Plot; *and wou'd have them reſt aſſured, That all Remedies they can tender to his Majeſty conducing to thoſe Ends, ſhall be very acceptable to him; Provided they be ſuch as may conſiſt with Preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its* Legal Courſe of Deſcent.

Their Addreſs upon it.

This ſerv'd but to encreaſe the Heats of the Commons, who the next Day drew up the following Addreſs to the King; ‘We your Majeſty's Loyal Subjects, *&c.* having taken into Conſideration your Majeſty's gracious Meſſage, do with all Thankfulneſs acknowledge your Majeſty's Care and Goodneſs, in inviting us to expedite ſuch Matters as are depending before us, relating to *Popery* and the *Plot*. And we do in all Humility repreſent to your Majeſty, That we are fully convinc'd, that it is highly incumbent upon us, in Diſcharge both of our Duty to your Majeſty, and of that great Truſt repos'd in us by thoſe we repreſent, to endeavour by the moſt ſpeedy

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'and effectual Ways the *Suppreſſion of Popery* within this your Kingdom, and the bringing to publick Juſtice all ſuch as ſhall be found Guilty of the *Horrid and Damnable Popiſh Plot*. And tho' the Time of our Sitting hath not much exceeded a Fortnight, yet we have in this Time not only made a conſiderable Progreſs in ſome Things which to us ſeem, and (when preſented to your Majeſty in a *Parliamentary Way)* will, we truſt, appear to your Majeſty to be abſolutely neceſſary for the Safety of your Majeſty's Perſon, the effectual Suppreſſion of *Popery*, and the Security of the Religion, Lives and Eſtates of your Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects: But even in Relation to the Tryals of the five Lords Impeach'd in Parliament for the *Execrable Popiſh Plot*, we have ſo far proceeded, as we doubt not but in a ſhort Time we ſhall be ready for the ſame. But we cannot (without being unfaithful to your Majeſty, and to our Country, by whom we are entruſted) omit, upon this Occaſion, humbly to inform your Majeſty, That our *Difficulties*, even as to theſe *Tryals*, are much encreas'd, by the evil and deſtructive Counſels of thoſe Perſons who adviſ'd your Majeſty, firſt to the Prorogation, and then to the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, at a Time when the Commons had taken great Pains about, and were prepared for thoſe *Tryals*; and by the like pernicious Counſels of thoſe who adviſ'd the many and long Prorogations of the preſent Parliament, before the ſame was permitted to ſit; whereby ſome of the Evidence which was prepared in the laſt Parliament, may poſſibly (during ſo great an Interval) be forgotten or loſt, and ſome Perſons, who might probably have come in as Witneſſes, are either dead, have been taken off, or may have been diſcourag'd from giving their Evidence. But of one miſchievous Conſequence of thoſe dangerous and unhappy Counſels, we are certainly and ſadly ſenſible, namely that the Teſtimony of a Material Witneſs [*Bedloe*] againſt every one of theſe five Lords, (and who cou'd probably have diſcover'd and brought in much other Evidence about the *Plot* in General, and thoſe Lords in Particular) cannot now be given *viva voce*, foraſmuch as that Witneſs is unfortunately dead, between the Calling and Sitting of the Parliament. To prevent the like, or greater Inconveniencies for the future, we make it our moſt humble Requeſt to your moſt Excellent Majeſty, That, as you tender the Safety of your *Royal Perſon*, the Security of your *Loyal Subjects*, and the Preſervation of the true *Proteſtant Religion*, you will not ſuffer your ſelf to be prevail'd upon by the like Counſels, to do any Thing which may occaſion in *Conſequence* (tho' we are aſſured never with your Majeſty's *Intention*) either the deferring of a full and perfect Diſcovery and Examination of this moſt deteſtable *Plot*, or the Preventing the Conſpirators therein from being brought to ſpeedy and exemplary Juſtice and Puniſhment. And we humbly beſeech your Majeſty to reſt aſſured (notwithſtanding any Suggeſtions which may be made by Perſons, who for their own wicked Purpoſes contrive to create a Diſtruſt in your People) That nothing is more in the Deſires, and ſhall be more the Endeavours of Us, your Faithful and Loyal Commons, than the *Promoting and Advancing your Majeſty's true Happineſs and Greatneſs*.'

The Bill of Excluſion.

On the ſame Day they read the Ingroſſed Bill, Intitled, *An Act for Securing the Proteſtant Religion, by Diſenabling* James *Duke of* York *to inherit the Imperial Crown of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*. This was both a Bill of Excluſion and Baniſhment, with the Penalty of High-Treaſon annex'd, not much differing from the other Bill brought in the laſt Parliament; only it had the Addition of this following Clauſe: 'And be it *further Enacted*, by the Authority aforeſaid, That during the Life of the ſaid *James* Duke of *York*, this Act ſhall be given in Charge at every Aſſizes, and the general Seſſions of the Peace within the Kingdoms, Dominions and Territories aforeſaid; and alſo ſhall be openly read in every Cathedral-Church, and Pariſh-Church, and Chappels within the foreſaid Kingdoms, Dominions and Territories, by the ſeveral reſpective Parſons, Vicars, Curates and Readers thereof, who are hereby required immediately after Divine Service in the Forenoons to read the ſame Twice in every Year; that is to ſay, on the 25th of *December*, and upon *Eaſter* Day, during the Life of the ſaid *James* Duke of *York*.'

New Debates upon it.

Upon Reading this Bill, Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, among other things, ſaid, 'I deſire you to conſider, that this Prince is Brother to our preſent King, and Son to our late pious King *Charles* the Firſt; for whoſe Memory this Nation hath a great Veneration; that this Prince is enrich'd with excellent Endowments, which he hath employ'd in the Service of this Nation, by Fighting our Battels, and Defending of us from the Oppreſſion of our Enemies, and is only guilty of this one Crime, which I hope upon a mature Deliberation, will not deſerve ſo great a Condemnation. -----I wou'd once more remember you, that there are Laws already for the Puniſhment of the Crimes he is accus'd of, and therefore humbly conceive you ought not to chaſtiſe him, by making a new Law, before any Hearing.' In Anſwer to him, another Member reflected upon the Duke for the Breach of the Triple League, the Loſs of the Earl of *Sandwich*, the Firing of *London*; and was going on more ſeverely, when he was interrupted by the Houſe. Mr. *Mountague* deſir'd that there might be a Proviſo in the Bill, *That if the Duke ſhou'd turn Proteſtant, that then the Bill ſhou'd be void, and he not excluded from his Right*. Mr. *Hyde* was ſtill warm againſt the Bill, and ſaid, 'I do not know that any of the King's Murderers were condemn'd without being heard; and muſt we deal thus with the Brother of our King? It would conſiſt much better with the Juſtice of the Houſe, to Impeach him, and Try him in a Formal Way, and then cut off his Head, if he deſerves it. I will not offer to diſpute the Power of Parliaments; but I queſtion whether this Law, if made, wou'd be good in it ſelf. Some Laws have a *Natural Weakneſs* with them: I think that by which the old Long Parliament carry'd on the Rebellion, was judg'd afterwards void in it ſelf, becauſe there was a Power given, which cou'd not be taken from the Crown. For ought I know, when you have made this Law, it may have the ſame Flaw in it; if not, I am confident there are a Loyal Party which will never obey, but will think themſelves bound by their Oath of Allegiance, and Duty, to pay Obedience to the Duke, if ever he ſhou'd come to be King, which muſt occaſion a Civil War.' Sir *William Jones* and Sir *Francis Winnington* made long Speeches, and both ſpoke as to the Oath of Allegiance: The Former inſiſted, that it cou'd never extend to the Succeſſor during the King's Life, and the Latter look'd upon ſuch a Notion as a dangerous Maxim, if ever the next Heir of the Crown ſhou'd raiſe a Rebellion; for he might thereby challenge Allegiance from the People as well as the King, which might be of pernicious Conſequence: And he further ask'd, 'Doth not the Act of the Thirteenth of Queen *Elizabeth* make it Treaſon, for any Man to ſay that the Parliament cannot alter the Succeſſion.' Upon which Argument, Mr. *Finch* ſaid, 'I will not ſay that Acts of Parliament cannot diſpoſe of the Succeſſion, becauſe it was made Treaſon by the Statute in the 13th of *Elizabeth*: But I will deny, that the Kings of *England* rule by vertue of any Statute-Law, as was ſuggeſted; for their Right is by ſo ancient a Preſcription, as that it may juſtly be ſaid to be from God alone, and that no Power on Earth ought to diſpute it.' After a little longer Debate, the Bill paſs'd the Houſe by a very great Majority.

The Bill paſſes the Commons.

The King's ſecond Meſſage.

4. In the mean time, the King, daily more uneaſy and perplex'd, endeavour'd to divert the Humours in the Houſe, by ſending the following Meſſage to them, on the 12th of *November*: *His Majeſty did in his Speech at the Opening of this Seſſion deſire the Advice and Aſſiſtance of his Parliament in relation to* Tangier*: The Condition and Importance of the Place obliges his Majeſty to put this Houſe in mind again, that he relies upon them for the Support of it, without which it cannot be much longer preſerv'd. His Majeſty doth therefore very earneſtly recommend* Tangier *again to the due and ſpeedy Care and Conſideration of this Houſe.*

Debates upon it.

Upon this Meſſage, there aroſe a warm Debate: Some objected, 'That it was a Duty incumbent on them to ſecure Things at home, on which their All depended, before they enter'd into an Expence of Time about Securing Things abroad; *Tangier* might be of great Importance to Trade, but not ſo manag'd as to be any Security to the *Proteſtant Religion*. The *Portugueſe*, when they deliver'd it up, did Covenant to have one *Popiſh* Church remain there, for the Conveniency of Prieſts and Fryars: And tho' it was then agreed, that their Mortality ſhou'd not be ſupply'd, but after the Deceaſe of thoſe Perſons, the ſaid *Popiſh* Church might be demoliſh'd, or converted to a *Proteſtant* Uſe; yet things had been otherwiſe manag'd, and the *Papiſts* there were now more than ever: That my Lord *Bellaſis*, now a Priſoner in the *Tower* for the Plot, had been Governor of *Tangier*, and even ſtill the Soldiers and Commanders were moſt of that Religion, ſo that the Place was but a kind of a Nurſery for a *Popiſh* Army.' Others argu'd, 'That they were indeed afraid of *Tangier*, but more afraid of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor, and were for ſecuring the Ship before they diſpos'd of the Cabbins: But they were unwilling to give any Mony, becauſe they remember'd when above a Million was given for Ships, not one Ship was built; and above two Millions given for the *Triple League*, when it was ſoon employ'd for the Breaking of it; and above a Million given for an Actual War with *France*, when we were under private Obligations for Peace.' On the other Side ſome alledg'd the Importance of the Place, ‘ And that if we ſhou'd part with it, we ſhou'd loſe the two Millions we have laid out on the *Mold*; and there wou'd be as great an Outcry, as there was upon the Delivery of *Dunkirk* to the *French*.’ Others again pleaded, ‘ That there was no need of raiſing new Forces for the Security of *Tangier*; ſince there were ſeveral Regiments, beſides the Guards, in Pay at home, which might be tranſported thither, with little Charge, and be maintain'd there, as cheap as here.’ In Concluſion, the Houſe *Reſolved* to draw up an Addreſs, *Humbly repreſenting to his Majeſty, the dangerous State and Condition of the Kingdom, in Anſwer to his Majeſty's Meſſage.*

The Commons Addreſs, or Remonſtrance.

This Addreſs was long, and in effect a Remonſtrance of all the Grievances in the Reign, with relation to *Popery*: In Subſtance it contain'd theſe Particulars. 1. ‘ That *Tangier* had been ſeveral Times under the Command of *Popiſh* Governors: That the Supplies ſent thither, had been in a great Part made up of *Popiſh* Officers and Soldiers, and that the *Iriſh Papiſts* had been the moſt countenanc'd and encourag'd. 2. That here at home, the Endeavours and Attempts of the *Popiſh* Party had been ſo bold and ſucceſsful, that it was a Matter of Admiration to them, and which they cou'd only aſcribe to an Overruling Providence, That his Majeſty's Reign was ſtill continu'd over them, and that they were yet aſſembled to conſult the Means of their Preſervation. 3. That this bloody and reſtleſs Party had found Countenance and Protection from the Laws made againſt them: That they had form'd Means to diſgrace their Oppoſers; and if they were Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, or other Magiſtrates, to have them turn'd out of Commiſſion: So that after ſome Time, they became able to influence Matters of State and Government; and thereby to Deſtroy thoſe they cou'd not corrupt. 4. The Continuance and Prorogation of Parliaments, had been accommodated to ſerve the Purpoſes of that Party. 5. Mony rais'd upon the People to ſupply his Majeſty's Extraordinary Occaſions, had, by the Prevalence of *Popiſh* Counſels, been employ'd to make War upon a *Proteſtant State*, and to advance and augment the dreadful Power of the *French* King. 6. That great Numbers of his Majeſty's Subjects were ſent into, and continu'd in, the Service of that King: And even the Miniſters of *England* were made Inſtruments to preſs the *States* of *Holland* to accept of a Demand from the *French* King, of Admitting the Publick Exerciſe of the *Roman Catholick* Religion. 7. That if ever any Command were given for thoſe Laws to be put in Execution againſt the *Papiſts*, even from thence they gain'd Advantage to their Party, while the Edge of thoſe Laws was turn'd againſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, and the *Papiſts* eſcap'd in a Manner untouch'd. 8. That the *Teſt-Act* had little Effect; for the *Papiſts*, either by Diſpenſations obtain'd from *Rome*, ſubmitted to thoſe Teſts, and held their Offices Themſelves; or thoſe put in their Places were ſo favourable to the ſame Intereſts, that *Popery* it ſelf had rather gain'd than loſt Ground ſince that *Act*. 9. That a *Popiſh* Secretary, ſince executed for his Treaſons, had maintain'd a Correſpondence at *Rome*, and in the Courts of other Foreign Princes, *For the Subduing* (to uſe their own Words) *that Peſtilent Hereſy which had ſo long Domineer'd over this Northern World*. 10. That out of thoſe Counſels and Correſpondencies was hatch'd that Damnable and Helliſh *Plot*, by the good Providence of God brought to light about two Years ſince. 11. That when this Accurſed Conſpiracy was firſt diſcover'd, the *Papiſts* began to ſmother it, with the barbarous Murder of a Juſtice of Peace, within one of his Majeſty's own Palaces. 12. That amidſt theſe Diſtractions and Fears, *Popiſh* Officers for the Command of Forces were allow'd upon the Muſters, upon ſpecial Orders, Counter-ſign'd by a Secretary of State: And in like Manner, above Fifty new Commiſſions were granted about the ſame time to known *Papiſts*. 13. That when in the next Parliament, the Houſe of Commons were prepared to bring to a Legal Tryal the Principal Conſpirators in this Plot, that Parliament was firſt Prorogu'd, and then Diſſolv'd: And the Interval between the Calling and Sitting of this Parliament had been ſo long, that the *Papiſts* had gain'd Time and Advantage of covering their paſt Crimes, and Practiſing them more effectually. 14. That Witneſſes had been corrupted, not only by Promiſes of Reward, but of the Favour of his Majeſty's Brother. 15. That divers of the moſt conſiderable of his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects had Crimes of the higheſt Nature forg'd againſt them, the Charge to be ſupported by Subornation and Perjury, that they might be deſtroy'd by Forms of Law and Juſtice. 16. That a Preſentment being prepared for the Grand Jury of *Middleſex*, againſt the Duke of *York*, the Grand Jury were in an unprecedented and illegal manner Diſcharg'd; and that with ſo much Haſte and Fear, leſt they ſhou'd finiſh that Preſentment, that they were prevented from Delivering many other Indictments by them at that Time found againſt other *Popiſh* Recuſants. 17. That becauſe a Pamphlet came forth Weekly, call'd, *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from* Rome, expoſing *Popery* as ridiculous to the People, as it deſerv'd; a new and arbitrary Rule of Court was made in the *King's Bench* (rather like a *Star-Chamber*, than a *Court of Law*) That the ſame ſhou'd not for the future be printed by any Perſon whatſoever. 18. That notwithſtanding all the Proclamations for the Baniſhing Papiſts from about this great City, and Reſidence from his Majeſty's Court, and the Parliament; yet great Numbers of them, and of the moſt dangerous Sort, did daily reſort hither, and abide here.

Having gone through theſe Heads, they proceeded thus; ‘ Under theſe and other ſad Effects and Evidences of the Prevalency of *Popery*, and its Adherents, We your Majeſty's faithful Commons found this your Majeſty's diſtreſſed Kingdom, and other Parts of your Dominions labouring, when we aſſembled. And therefore from our Allegiance to your Majeſty, our Zeal to our Religion, our Faithfulneſs to our Country, and our Care of Poſterity, we have lately, upon mature Deliberation, propos'd one Remedy of theſe great Evils, without which, in our Judgments, all others will prove vain and fruitleſs, and (like all deceitful Securities againſt certain Dangers) will rather expoſe your Majeſty's Perſon to the greateſt Hazard, and the People, together with all that's valuable to them as Men and Chriſtians, to utter Ruin and Deſtruction. We have taken this Occaſion of an Acceſs to your Majeſty's Royal Preſence, humbly to lay before your Majeſty's great Judgment and Gracious Conſideration, this moſt dreadful Deſign of Introducing *Popery*, and, as neceſſary Conſequences of it, all other Calamities, into your Majeſty's Kingdoms. And if after all this, the private Suggeſtions of the ſubtle Accomplices of that Party and Deſign ſhou'd yet prevail, either to elude, or totally obſtruct the faithful Endeavours of Us your Commons for a happy Settlement of this Kingdom, We ſhall have this remaining Comfort, That we have freed our ſelves from the Guilt of that Blood and Deſolation which is like to enſue. But our only Hope, next under God, is in your Sacred Majeſty, that by your great Wiſdom and Goodneſs we may be effectually ſecured from *Popery*, and all the Evils that attend it; and that none but Perſons of known Fidelity to your Majeſty, and ſincere Affections to the *Proteſtant Religion*, may be put into any Employment, Civil or Military; that whilſt we ſhall give a Supply to *Tangier*, we may be aſſured we do not augment the Strength of our *Popiſh* Adverſaries, nor increaſe our own Dangers. Which Deſires of your Faithful Commons, if your Majeſty ſhall graciouſly vouchſafe to grant, we ſhall not only be ready to aſſiſt your Majeſty in Defence of *Tangier*, but do whatſoever elſe ſhall be in our Power to enable your Majeſty to protect the *Proteſtant* Religion and Intereſt, at Home and Abroad, and to reſiſt and repel the Attempts of your Majeſty's and the Kingdom's Enemies.

The Excluſion Bill carry'd up to the Lords.

Within two Days after the drawing up this Remonſtrance, which was very unacceptable at Court, upon the 15th of *November*, the Commons having compleated their grand Bill for Diſinheriting the Duke of *York*, it was ſolemnly carry'd up to the Houſe of Lords by *William* Lord *Ruſſel*, attended by the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Henry Capel*, and indeed by almoſt the whole Houſe of Commons. Here it met with a very different Reception. The King himſelf was Reſolv'd, and to all his Friends declar'd againſt the Bill before it came to be read: And tho' the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and about Fifteen more, were zealous and violent for it; yet moſt of the reſt of the Houſe were firm and poſitive againſt it; among whom the Lord *Hallifax* appear'd with great Reſolution in the Head of all Debates. Upon the firſt reading of it indeed, it was carry'd in the Affirmative by two Votes only. Upon the ſecond Reading it was ſtrenuouſly Debated till Eleven a Clock at Night, the King being preſent all the whole Time; and then the Houſe divided, the *No*'s being 63, the *Yea*'s but 30; the Biſhops being 14, were all againſt it except three. And ſo the Bill, without any Conference, was thrown out, and totally quaſh'd, to the great Diſappointment and Mortification of all the chief Promoters of this unweildy Attempt.

By whom it is thrown out.

Warm Proceedings of the Commons.

VII. I. The Noiſe of this unexpected Turn ſoon flew about the Nation, and caus'd a Thouſand warm Diſcourſes, and ſtrange Conjectures amongſt all Sorts of People. As to the Houſe of Commons, they were terribly inrag'd, and they ſoon began to fall upon Perſons, as well as Things; and hearing that the Lord *Hallifax* had been active againſt the Excluſion-Bill, they Reſolv'd an

Addreſs to his Majeſty to remove him from his Council and Preſence for ever. As to their own Member, Mr. *Edward Seymour*, they not only petition'd for the ſame Removal, but likewiſe agreed to Impeach him upon four Articles. Sir *Robert Peyton*, another Member, was brought upon his Knees, and Expell'd the Houſe with very opprobrious Language. At the ſame time ſeveral Foremen of Grand Juries were ſent for into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, for *Abhorring* the Petitioning for Sitting of the Parliament, which was now turn'd to a *Breach of Privilege*. Upon this Account they firſt ſent for Sir *Giles Philips*, and Mr. *Coleman* out of *Devonſhire*; and they did the ſame by Captain *William Caſtle*, Mr. *John Hutchinſon*, Mr. *Henry Walrond*, Mr. *William Stavel*, Mr. *Thomas Herbert*, Mr. *Thomas Staples*, and Sir *Thomas Holt*, Serjeant at Law. And becauſe Sir *Francis North*, Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, Adviſed and was Aſſiſting in drawing up the Proclamation againſt Petitioning for the Sitting of the Parliament, The Commons Voted, 'That it was a ſufficient Ground for the Houſe to proceed againſt him for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors.' The like Vote paſs'd againſt Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*; and Sir *Richard Weſton*, one of the Barons of *Exchequer*. But for the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*, they were ſo incens'd at him, that they reſolv'd to Impeach him of High-Treaſon. To theſe Proceedings, we may add the Caſe of Mr. *Sheridan*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman of a good Family, who was kept five Weeks Priſoner, upon bare Suſpicion, without any Crime or Breach of Privilege alledg'd; on which Commitment, when he brought his *Habeas Corpus*, according to the Act of Parliament, moſt of the Judges were ſo terrify'd by theſe Proceedings, that they did not dare to allow it.

The Tryal of the Lord Stafford.

But what cauſ'd the greateſt Notice, and was carry'd on with the greateſt Fervour, was the Proſecution of *William Howard*, Lord Viſcount *Stafford*, one of the five *Popiſh* Lords in the *Tower*, an aged Peer, ſingled out from the reſt, and brought to his Tryal before the Lords in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, on the 30th of *November*, with all the uſual Forms and Solemnities. The Managers for the Commons, among whom were the moſt conſiderable Lawyers in the Houſe, as Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *William Jones*, Mr. *Treby*, &c. open'd the Cauſe with great Copiouſneſs and Eloquence, 'they began with the *Plot* in General, and laid open the Malice, Wickedneſs and Horror, of ſo dreadful, bloody and Helliſh a Deſign: They ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the expreſs poſitive Oaths of the Witneſſes, upon whom the Credit of the Plot chiefly depended: They expatiated upon *Coleman*'s Letters, and others, clearly proving the Deſigns and Activity of the Writers: They preſs'd home the execrable Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, charg'd upon the *Papiſts*, as well by the Oaths of ſelf-acknowledg'd Partners in the Fact, as by a Letter ſent from *London* to *Tixall*, intimating this very Murder the third Day after it was committed: They fully diſplay'd the Sham-Plots, and Counter-Contrivances, whereby the *Papiſts* wou'd have ſuborn'd the King's Evidence, and turn'd all the Guilt upon his Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects: They urged the Firing the City, the Burning the Navy, the Calling in *French* Armies, Wild-*Iriſh*, *Spaniſh* Pilgrims, *&c.* They recapitulated the ſeveral Tryals of *Ireland*, *Whitebread*, *Langhorn*, &c. and alledg'd the Votes of both Houſes of Parliament declaring the Plot. To corroborate all which, they repeated the Cruelties of Queen *Mary*, the *French* and *Iriſh* Maſſacres, the Powder-Plot, *&c.* and they anatomiz'd the wicked Principles and Practices of Murdering, Lying, Equivocating, Forſwearing, Faith-Breaking, *&c.* imputed to the *Papiſts*, as held by them Lawful and Meritorious.' In ſum, nothing was omitted, or neglected through the whole Proceſs, but the leaſt Circumſtance fully enforc'd and advanc'd, with ſuch Art and Acuteneſs, as well anſwer'd to ſo great a Cauſe, proſecuted by ſo high an Authority, before ſo illuſtrious Judges, and ſo Auguſt an Aſſembly.

Evidences againſt him.

Dugdale,

Oates,

And Turberville.

Some Witneſſes were firſt produc'd to prove the Reality, or at leaſt the Probability, of the Plot in general; but chiefly three appear'd againſt the Lord in particular, namely, *Dugdale*, *Oates*, and *Turberville*, the laſt ſaid to be both a profligate and an indigent Perſon. 1. *Dugdale* ſwore, 'That at a certain Meeting held at *Tixall* in *Staffordſhire*, about the End of *Auguſt*, or Beginning of *September*, 1678, the Lord *Stafford*, with Lord *Aſton* and others, did in the Preſence of the Witneſs, give his full Conſent *to take away the King's Life, and introduce the Popiſh Religion*. That on the 20th or 21ſt of *September* in the Forenoon, the Lord ſent for the Witneſs to his Chamber, while he was Dreſſing; and, turning his Servants out, offer'd him five Hundred Pounds for his Charges and Encouragement, to take away the King's Life; and further told him, *He ſhou'd have free Pardon of all his Sins, and be Sainted*; *for the King had been Excommunicated, and was likewiſe a Traytor and a Rebel, and an Enemy to* Jeſus Chriſt.' 2. *Oates* ſwore, 'That in the Year 1677, both in *Spain* and at St. *Omer*'s, he ſaw ſeveral Letters, ſign'd *Stafford*, wherein his Lordſhip aſſured the *Jeſuits* of his Fidelity and Zeal in Promoting the Catholick Cauſe. That in 1678, being in *London*, his Lordſhip came to the Chamber of Father *Fenwick*, ſince executed, and there in his Preſence receiv'd a Commiſſion from him, to be Pay-Maſter-General to the Army: Whereupon his Lordſhip ſaid, *he muſt of Neceſſity go down into the Country to take account how Affairs ſtood there*; *and did not doubt*, *but at his Return*, Grove *ſhou'd do the Buſineſs*. And, ſpeaking of the King, he further added, *He hath deceiv'd us a great while, and we can bear no longer*. 3. *Turberville* gave an Account of Diſobliging his Friends by leaving his Fryar's Habit at *Doway*; and thereupon went into *France*, in the Year 75, where at *Paris* getting Acquaintance with his Lordſhip, he propos'd to the Witneſs a Way, both to retrieve his Credit with his Friends, and make himſelf happy, and this was by *Taking away the Life of the King of* England, *who was a Heretick, and a Rebel againſt God Almighty*. That when he took leave of him, his Lordſhip appointed to meet him at *London*; but he ſoon after return'd into *France*, not being willing to undertake the Propoſals, and was diſcountenanc'd by his Friends, and reduc'd to Poverty.

His Defence.

The accus'd Lord, in his Defence, alledg'd many Things to invalidate the Credit of the Plot, and particularly the Reputation of theſe three Witneſſes. Againſt *Dugdale*, he produc'd Evidence, 'That he was a Perſon of an infamous Life; That he had cheated the Lord *Aſton* his Maſter, and defrauded Work-Men and Servants of their Wages; that by his Extravagancies and Miſdemeanours, he had run himſelf into ſeveral Hundred Pounds Debt, for which he was thrown into Jail, and deſpair'd of ever getting out from thence, otherwiſe than by making the pretended *Diſcoveries*. In the next Place, that he had directly perjur'd himſelf, in divers Parts and Circumſtances, as to Time and Place, in this and other Depoſitions: And further, he prov'd, That he had endeavour'd to ſuborn divers Perſons to make falſe Oaths, and ſo to ſtrengthen his own by other Men's Perjury. Againſt *Oates*, he enlarged upon the mighty Improbabilities, that ſo many great and rich Conſpirators, who had truſted him with their greateſt Secrets, and whoſe Lives were at his Mercy, ſhould ſuffer him to be reduc'd to ſuch a wretched Degree of Beggary, as he was acknowledg'd to be when he made his firſt Diſcoveries. He likewiſe inſiſted upon his *Omiſſions*, *Additions* and *Contradictions*, that plainly appear'd in his ſeveral Depoſitions about the *Plot*; and alſo upon his villainous Feigning himſelf to be of another Religion, by ſolemn Renunciations of his Faith, and by ſuch Sacraments on one ſide, and ſuch Abjurations and Execrations on the other, as render'd him unfit to be admitted for an Evidence againſt any Man living. As to *Turberville*, he urg'd that he was perjur'd in this, and many other of his Depoſitions; and that his *Narrative* had many Miſtakes and Blunders in it. He deny'd that He, or any of his Servants, ever ſaw him at *Paris*; and made ſome Remarks upon his Poverty and Want, his looſe Manner of Living, his ſhameful Curſing and Swearing; and particularly his uſing theſe Words, *God damn Me! there is no Trade good now, but that of a* DISCOVERER.

The Managers Reply.

It would be too long to mention all the Particulars of this Tryal, which laſted a whole Week, and in which great Skill and Dexterity was us'd by the Managers to ſupport the Credit and Reputation of the Witneſſes, among whom they believ'd there was no Contrivance or Confederacy. They argu'd, 'That they had made it plain and apparent in the Beginning of the Tryal, by the Teſtimony of ſix Witneſſes, by the Declarations of both Houſes of Parliament, by *Coleman*'s Letters, by the Tryal and Conviction of other Traytors, *That there was a general Deſign amongſt the* Papiſts, *to introduce their Religion, by Raiſing of Armies, Murdering the King, and Subverting the Government*. And as to his Lordſhip's particular Caſe, they had three Witneſſes, which ſufficiently prov'd him Guilty; and ſo expatiated upon the Danger of *Popiſh* Principles, *&c.*' And particularly Sir *William Jones* exerted his Skill and Eloquence in a long Speech, as much to prove the Reality of the Plot as the Guilt of the Priſoner; and thus eſpecially argu'd. 'So that I think now none remain that do pretend not to believe it, but two Sorts of Perſons; the One, thoſe that were Conſpirators in it; and the Other, thoſe that wiſh'd it had ſucceeded, and deſire it may ſo ſtill.' And by Way of Concluſion he ſaid, 'The Evidence is ſo ſtrong, that I think it admits of no Doubt; and the Offences prov'd againſt my Lord and the reſt of his Party are ſo foul, that they need no Aggravation. The Of-

‘ fences are againſt the King, againſt his Sacred Life, againſt the *Proteſtant* Religion, nay againſt all *Proteſtants*.------It is a Deſign that appears with ſo dreadful a Countenance to your Lordſhips, to this great Aſſembly, and to the whole Nation, that it needs not any Words I can uſe to make you apprehend it.’ His Lordſhip made two ſeveral Pathetick *Speeches*, beſides his Anſwers to the Witneſſes, and in Concluſion declared, *in the Preſence of God, of his Angels, of their Lordſhips, and all who heard him, That he was intirely Innocent of what was laid to his Charge; That he left it to their Lordſhips to do Juſtice, and with all Submiſſion reſign'd himſelf to them.*

His ſecond Defence, and the Judges Reply.

After this his Lordſhip had Recourſe to a Point of Law, which many thought wou'd have reliev'd him, and this was the Neceſſity of two Witneſſes in the Caſe of Treaſon: And whereas treaſonable Words were ſworn againſt him at two ſeveral Times and Places, *viz.* 75 and 78, *France* and *England*, and but by one Witneſs at each Time and Place, he conceiv'd he cou'd not by their Teſtimony be legally convicted of Treaſon. This Objection, tho' reply'd to by the Managers, was thought of that Importance, that the Court judg'd it neceſſary to have the ſolemn Opinion of all the Judges preſent, which were Ten in Number. The Lord-Chief-Juſtice *North* began with his in theſe Words, ‘ I do here deliver my Opinion, and am clear in it, That if there be ſeveral Overt-Acts or Facts which are Evidences of the *ſame* Treaſon, if there be one Witneſs to prove one ſuch Overt-Act at one Time, and another Witneſs to prove another Overt-Act at another Time, both the Acts being Evidence of the *ſame* Treaſon, theſe are two ſufficient Witneſſes of that Treaſon, and will maintain an Indictment or an Impeachment of Treaſon.’ The reſt of the Judges declar'd themſelves of the ſame Opinion; and one of them, Baron *Atkins*, by Way of Explanation, ſaid, ‘ If a Man deſigns to kill the King, and buys Powder at one Place at one Time, and a Piſtol at another Place at another Time, and promiſes a Reward to one to aſſiſt him to do the Thing at a third Place and a third Time, theſe are ſeveral Overt-Acts: But if the Law requires that each be prov'd by two Witneſſes, I do not ſee how any Man can be convicted of Treaſon.’ This Opinion of the Judges was afterwards look'd upon as an Extraordinary Precedent, and was us'd with no little Severity againſt the contrary Party.

He is found Guilty.

After which, the Court gave final Judgment; and the Lord-Chancellor, who was now Lord High-Steward, collecting the Votes, the Lord *Stafford* was pronounc'd Guilty by fifty five Votes againſt thirty one. Upon his being told by the High-Steward, that he was found guilty, he calmly ſaid, *God's holy Name be praiſed!* And then being ask'd by the ſame Perſon, *What he could ſay for himſelf, why Judgment of Death ſhould not paſs upon him according to Law:* He reply'd, *My Lord, I have very little to ſay; I confeſs I am ſurpris'd at it, for I did not expect it. But God's Will be done; I will not murmur at it. God forgive thoſe who have falſely ſworn againſt me!*

The Lord Chancellor's Speech upon it.

In Concluſion, the Lord-Chancellor made this following Speech to his Lordſhip. ‘ That which remains now to be done, is very ſad on my Part; I have never given Sentence on any Man, and I am very ſorry I muſt begin with your Lordſhip, a Perſon of your Quality and Fortune, deſcended of Noble Anceſtors, a great Sufferer in the late Times, oblig'd to the Government for the Moderation you had in the Exerciſe of your Religion; oblig'd to the King's Father, and ſo much to this King: Yet you have gone about not only to conſult his Death, but even the Deſtroying of three whole Nations, both of Body and Soul, as far as in you lay; of which you ſtand Impeach'd by the Commons, and have been found Guilty by the Lords. There have been many and great Conſpiracies againſt the Life of the King for the Deſtroying of the Government; and they have been carry'd on by Conſults, Letters and otherways; by the Burning of *London*, and the Death of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, the Plot hath been carry'd on Abroad, at *White-Hall*, and *London*, and your Lordſhip hath been concern'd in them all, with a Mixture of Malice: You have call'd the King *Heretick*, and ſaid, *He was an Enemy to God Almighty*; here the Proverb is verify'd, *Curſe not the King, tho' in the Inward Chamber, for the Birds of the Air will reveal it.* It hath pleas'd God to leave you to your ſelf, and *you have digg'd a Pit, and fallen into it your ſelf.* God never leaves any Man until they leave themſelves; think not ſtill well of your Religion, and let not blind Guides miſ-lead you; true Repentance is never too late, and be not perſuaded not to confeſs that Sin in Publick, which you poſſibly have been Abſolv'd of in Private: For whatſoever Value you ſet on the Prayers of them you call Hereticks, yet I am ſure That both they that clear'd you, and thoſe that condemn'd you, are ſorry for your Condition. I will pray for your Lordſhip; and this is the laſt Time I muſt call you *My Lord.*’ And ſo he pronounc'd Sentence of Death againſt him according to the uſual Form in Caſe of High-Treaſon.

Shortly after Sentence was paſs'd upon him, ſeveral of his Relations and Acquaintance, ſome out of Zeal againſt Popery, and others out of Kindneſs to his Lordſhip, were daily urgent with him to make Diſcoveries of all he knew, as the only Means to ſave his Life, regain the King's Favour, and obtain the Thanks of the Nation. His Reply was, *He was moſt willing and ready, out of a meer Senſe of Duty and Conſcience, without any Temporal View, to diſcover the utmoſt of what he knew, either to the King, or the Houſe of Lords, when ever they required it.* Of which the Lords being inform'd, they order'd his Appearance before them the next Day; at which Time he made his Acknowledgments to this Effect: ‘ That he thought it no Crime for any Man to wiſh his Neighbour might be of the ſame Religion wherein he himſelf hop'd to be ſav'd; nay to ſeek, and promote it by ſuch Ways and Means, as the Laws of God, and the Nation allow: That there had been at divers Times, and on ſeveral Occaſions, Endeavours us'd, and Overtures made to obtain an *Abrogation*, or at leaſt a *Mitigation* of Severities againſt *Catholicks*; but this to be procured no otherwiſe than by Legal and Parliamentary Means: That he himſelf went to *Breda*, while the King was there, and propounded a Hundred thouſand Pounds in Behalf of the *Catholicks*, to take off the Penal Laws: That after the King came in, there was a Bill brought into the Houſe of Lords, in Favour of *Catholicks*, but it was oppos'd and quaſh'd by my Lord Chancellor *Hyde*. That there had likewiſe been fram'd by the Earl of *Briſtol* and others, in Order to the Propoſing of them in Parliament, ſeveral Forms of *Oaths*, contain'd in ſuch Terms as might fully expreſs all *Duty* and *Allegiance* to the King; yet not entangle Tender Conſciences with Clauſes and Proviſo's, diſagreeable to *Faith*, and no ways belonging to *Loyalty:* But neither did this ſucceed. That afterwards he had offer'd ſome Propoſals, as well to the Lord Chancellor at his Houſe at *Kenſington*, as to the Duke of *York*, concerning ſome Legal Expedients, conducing to the Good, as he thought, both of *Catholicks* and the whole Nation; and alſo about Diſſolving the Long Parliament; the Subſtance of which he likewiſe communicated to the Lord *Shaftsbury*, who ſaid, *He doubted not but that there would come great Advantages to the King by it.* Theſe he avouch'd were the Chief, and only *Deſigns* he ever had, or knew of amongſt *Catholicks*, for Promoting their Religion; of more than theſe, he proteſted before Almighty God, and their Lordſhips, he was wholly ignorant.’ But this Declaration not giving Satisfaction as to the *Plot*, his Lordſhip was remanded to the *Tower*.

His Diſcovery made to the Lords.

Corniſh *and* Bethell's *Application to the Commons.*

As the Day of Execution approach'd, the two famous Sheriffs, *Corniſh* and *Bethell*, began to be very ſcrupulous concerning the Sentence, which the King had chang'd from that of Hanging and Quartering, to that of Beheading; and thereupon apply'd themſelves to the Houſe of Commons with theſe following Queries; ‘ 1. Whether the King, being neither *Judge* nor *Party*, can order the Execution? 2. Whether the Lords can award the Execution? 3. Whether the King can diſpence with any Part of the Execution? 4. If the King can diſpence with ſome Part of the Execution, why not with all?’ This Officiouſneſs was ſhocking to ſome upon the Debate; but Sir *William Jones* gave it a handſome Turn, ſaying, *This Houſe lyes under no Obligation to offer at any Oppoſition; eſpecially at a Time when ſuch a Diſpute may end in Preventing the Execution of the ſaid Lord* Stafford. Whereupon they came to this *Reſolve*, ‘ That this Houſe is content that the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* do execute *William* late Viſcount *Stafford*, by Severing his Head from his Body only.’

The Lord Stafford's Speech upon the Scaffold.

Accordingly, on the 29th of *December*, he was brought to a Scaffold upon *Tower-Hill*, in the Preſence of an incredible Number of Spectators; where finding the People more than uſually ſilent and attentive, he with a graceful Air, and audible Voice, pronounc'd a long and affecting Speech to them; in which he ſeveral Times proteſted his abſolute Innocence as to thoſe Crimes for which he ſtood condemn'd. Particularly, ‘ He did, upon his Death and Salvation aver, That he never ſpoke one Word either to *Oates* or *Turberville*, or to his Knowledge ever ſaw them, till his Tryal; and for *Dugdale*, he never ſpoke to him, but about ſome trivial Matters, and then was never alone with him.’ And to ſatisfy the World he cou'd make no Diſcovery relating to the Plot, he us'd this Argument; ‘ That whereas he might have ſav'd his Life, if he made any ſuch Diſcoveries; his not making of them, when he cou'd, was throwing away his Life, and making himſelf guilty of Self-Murther; which he

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'look'd upon as the moſt dangerous of all Sins. He likewiſe renounc'd all *Indulgences*, *Diſpenſations* and *Pardons*, that cou'd be given for Lies, Oaths, and other Crimes *in future*; and declar'd That no Power on Earth cou'd allow him or any Man to lift up his Hand againſt the King.' The Subſtance of his Speech, and the Manner of his Speaking was ſo moving, eſpecially when he came freely to forgive the Perjury of his Witneſſes, that many of the People pull'd off their Hats and bow'd, and others cry'd out, *God bleſs you, My Lord! We believe you, My Lord!* &c. Having laid his Head upon the Block, the Executioner took the Axe in his Hand, and after a ſhort Pauſe, lifted it up, as it were to take Aim, and laid it down again. A ſecond Time he did ſo, and ſigh'd; but the third Time he gave the fatal Blow, which ſever'd his Head from his Body; he being ſixty eight Years of Age.

His Execution.

This Lord was the laſt Perſon we find that ſuffer'd Death for the *Popiſh Plot*, ſo far as it was confin'd to *England*; and tho' the Sufferers in that Plot were ſent out of the World by Witneſſes of very bad Reputation, yet it cannot be deny'd, that their Party had given too great an Occaſion of Suſpicion, and had been too buſy and induſtrious in Promoting and Propagating a *Religion* and a *Cauſe*, that was inconſiſtent with the Government and Genius of *England*. And indeed their inceſſant Zeal, and their general Procedure for above a Hundred Years together can neither be vindicated by the Laws of the Goſpel, nor by thoſe of the Land. Their Barbarities when in Power, and their Treacheries when out, were now remember'd with a remarkable Retaliation. And the Gun-Powder Plot was remember'd by the Priſoner himſelf, who at his Tryal acknowledg'd *That the Malice of the Jeſuits, or the Wit of Man cou'd not offer an Excuſe for it, it was ſo execrable a Thing.* It is no Wonder therefore if ſome have been ready to believe their Puniſhments to be more the Judgments of Heaven than thoſe of Men; and that that Party which had been guilty of ſo many villainous Actions ſhou'd now ſuffer by the Means of villainous Evidences.--------- Evidences that cou'd cut two Ways at once, and who were ready, and, while they were believ'd, able to make Deſtruction among the moſt contrary Parties.

The King's ſecond Speech to both Houſes.

2. While the Commons were on their full Career, the King came to the Houſe of Lords, on the 15th of *December*, and ſending for the Commons, he made this handſome Speech to both Houſes; '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, At the Opening of the Parliament I did acquaint you with the Alliance I made with *Spain* and *Holland*, as the beſt Meaſures that could be taken for the Safety of *England*, and the Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*. But I told you withal, *That if our Friendſhip became unſafe to truſt to, it would not be wonder'd at, if our Neighbours ſhou'd begin to take new Reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as might be Fatal to Us.* I muſt now tell you, That our Allies cannot but ſee how little has been done ſince this Meeting, to encourage their Dependence upon us: And I find by them, That unleſs we can be ſo united at Home, as to make our Alliance valuable to them, it will not be poſſible to hinder them from ſeeking ſome other Refuge, and making ſuch new Friendſhips, as will not be conſiſtent with our Safety. Conſider, that a Neglect of this Opportunity is never to be repaired. I did likewiſe lay the Matter plainly before you, touching the Eſtate and Condition of *Tangier*. I muſt now tell you again, That if that Place be thought worth the keeping, you muſt take ſuch Conſideration of it, that it may be ſpeedily ſupply'd; it being impoſſible for me to prevent it, on an Expence ſo far above my Power. I did promiſe you *the fulleſt Satisfaction your Hearts could wiſh, for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and to concur with you in any Remedies, which might conſiſt with Preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its due and Legal Courſe of Deſcent:* I do again, with the ſame Reſervations, renew the ſame Promiſes to you. And being thus ready on my Part to do all that can reaſonably be expected from Me; I ſhou'd be glad to know from you, as ſoon as may be, how far I ſhall be aſſiſted by you, and what it is you deſire from Me.

Several Reſolves of the Commons.

The Commons, as was expected, did not go immediately upon his Majeſty's Speech, but reſolv'd themſelves into a Grand Committee, how to ſecure the Kingdom againſt *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, the Technical Words of theſe Times. After ſome warm Debate, they *Reſolved*, 'That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That one Means to ſuppreſs *Popery*, is, That a Bill be brought in immediately, to Baniſh all the conſiderable *Papiſts* out of the Kingdom.' And upon a further Debate on the Miſchiefs and Dangers of *Popery*, They *Reſolv'd*, 'That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That as long as the *Papiſts* have any Hopes of the Duke of *York*'s ſucceeding the King in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominions thereunto belonging; the King's *Perſon*, the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Properties* of all his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects, are in apparent Danger of being deſtroy'd.' Then upon Reference made to an Act of Queen *Elizabeth* for an *Aſſociation*, to revenge her Death upon the *Papiſts*, they came to a like *Reſolution*, 'That it is the Opinion of the Committee, That a Bill be brought in for an *Aſſociation of all his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects*, for the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, the Defence of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Preſervation of his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects, againſt all Invaſions and Oppoſitions; and for preventing the Duke of *York*, or any other *Papiſt*, from ſucceeding to the Crown.' Two Days after, the Houſe went again upon Conſidering of Ways and Means to ſecure the Kingdom againſt *Popery* and Arbitrary Government; and after ſeveral Debates, came to theſe three Reſolves, '1. That it is the Opinion of the Houſe, That a Bill be brought in, *For the more effectual Securing of the Meetings and Sittings of Frequent Parliaments.* 2. That it is the Opinion of the Houſe, That a Bill be brought in, That the Judges may hold their Places and Salaries, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint.* 3. That it is the Opinion of the Houſe That a Bill be brought in *againſt Illegal Exaction of Money upon the People, to make it High-Treaſon.*

A new Addreſs from them.

After theſe Reſolves, they thought fit to read and conſider the King's laſt Speech; and after many evere Reflections upon the *French* Ambaſſador, and the *French* Women, and the Duke, and the Duke's Creatures, they Reſolv'd upon an Addreſs by Way of Anſwer to the Speech; in which Addreſs the Commons Repreſented, 'That this *Proteſtant* Kingdom can never be ſafe, while there is any Hopes or Expectations of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor; and they beſeech his Majeſty, in his great Wiſdom to conſider, Whether, in caſe the Imperial Crown of this *Proteſtant* Kingdom ſhou'd Deſcend to the Duke of *York*; the Oppoſition which may poſſibly be made to his Poſſeſſing it, may not only Endanger the farther Deſcent in the Royal Line, but even Monarchy it ſelf? They therefore became humble Petitioners to his Sacred Majeſty, That in tender Commiſeration to his poor Proteſtant People, his Majeſty wou'd be graciouſly pleas'd to depart from the Reſervation in the ſaid Speech; and whenever a *Bill* ſhall be tender'd to his Majeſty in a Parliamentary Way, *To diſable the Duke of* York *from Inheriting the Crown*, his Majeſty will give his Royal Aſſent thereto: As alſo to another *Act*, whereby his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects may be enabled to *Aſſociate themſelves, for the Defence of his Majeſty's Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Security of his Kingdom.* And as ſome further Means for the Preſervation both of their Religion and Property, they are humble Suiters to his Majeſty, That from henceforth ſuch Perſons only may be Judges, as are Men of Ability, Integrity, and known Affection to the *Proteſtant* Religion, and that they may hold both their Offices and Salaries, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint.* That no one may bear the Office of a Lord-Lieutenant, but who is a Perſon of Integrity, and known Affection to the *Proteſtant* Religion: That Deputy-Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace may be alſo qualify'd, and may be moreover Men of Ability, of Eſtates and Intereſt in their Country: That none may be employ'd as Military Officers, or Officers in his Majeſty's Fleet, but Men of known Experience, Courage and Affection to the *Proteſtant* Religion. And theſe their humble Requeſts being obtain'd, They ſhall on their Part, be ready to aſſiſt his Majeſty, for the Preſervation of *Tangier*, and for putting his Majeſty's Fleet into ſuch a Condition, as it may preſerve his Majeſty's Soveraignty of the Seas, and be for the Defence of the Nation.

3. The Commons receiv'd no Anſwer to this Addreſs till about a Fortnight after; Part of which Time they employ'd in endeavouring to relieve the *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, who were now thought to deſerve a particular Indulgence. Formerly it had been the Intereſt of the *Popiſh* Party to promote a Toleration to them, that they might ſhare in the Benefit; but now it was their Intereſt to encourage a ſevere Proſecution of them, to take off the Edge of the Laws againſt themſelves, and to turn the Zeal of the Church of *England* againſt thoſe who had rais'd ſuch Heats about the Plot. It is obſerv'd that the Bigottry of the *Scotch Prethyterians*, this Year, very much help'd to throw an *Odinm* upon all of that Denomination in *England*. Several of them had rigidly aſſerted the Lawfulneſs of the Excommunication and killing of Kings, while the *Papiſts* were daily Renouncing or Diſowning thoſe Doctrines and Principles. For when *James Skeyn*, Brother to the Laird of *Skeyn*, *Archibald Steward*, and *John Spreull*, were on the 13th of *November* examin'd before his Majeſty's Privy-Council at *Edinburgh*, concerning the late Rebellion at *Bothwell-Bridge*,

The Fury of the Scotch *Conventiclers.*

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Bridge, and *Airdsmoſſe*, the ſaid *James Skeyn* did own and declare, *That the Perſons concern'd in either of thoſe Actions were not Rebels: That the Burning of the Act of Parliament, and the Proclamation made againſt the King, were juſt. That the Excommunication us'd againſt the King, and the Reaſons of it, were juſt: That the killing of the late Archbiſhop of St.* Andrews *was no Murder, but the Actors were upon their Duty. That there is a Declared War between thoſe that ſerve the Lord, and thoſe that ſerve the King, againſt the* Covenant: *That it is lawful to kill any of the King's Council and Soldiers, in Defence of the* Goſpel. *That the King being Excommunicated, and there being now a Lawful Declared War againſt him, on Account of the* Covenant, *it is lawful to kill him, and all thoſe who are in Oppoſition to the* Covenant. Another of them, *Archibald Steward*, confeſs'd he was in the Rebellion at *Airdsmoſſe*, and preſent at the Excommunication of the King, and the Burning the Acts of Parliament: He declared, *The King was juſtly Excommunicated, and diſown'd the King's Authority, and thought himſelf not oblig'd to obey him.* And as the Diſſenters in *England* were made the more odious, by the Violence of their Brethren in *Scotland*, ſo a conſiderable Number of the Church-Men, and eſpecially of the Clergy, fell under a Notion of being *Popiſhly affected*, becauſe they vigorouſly eſpous'd the Intereſt of the Court, in Oppoſing the *Aſſociation*, and the *Excluſion-Bill*: For which one Mr. *Richard Thomſon* a Miniſter in *Briſtol* did ſo warmly diſtinguiſh himſelf, that the Houſe of Commons cenſur'd him, and ſent for him into Cuſtody; which turn'd only to his Merit and Preferment in Court. Under which Diſpoſition of the Clergy, many ſevere Reflections were made upon them in the Houſe of Commons.

The Commons Debates about the Engliſh *Diſſenters.*

However it was, the Commons thought it highly ſeaſonable at this Time, to give Eaſe to the *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, and on the 21ſt of *December* they read a Bill *For Uniting his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects.* Upon the Debating of which, the firſt Gentleman that ſpoke, ſaid, *There were a ſort of Men, who wou'd neither be adviſ'd nor over-rul'd, but under the Pretence of Conſcience, break violently through all Laws whatſoever, to the great Diſturbance both of Church and State. Therefore he thought it more convenient to have a Law for Forcing the Diſſenters to yield to the Church, and not to force the Church to yield to them.* Another of the ſame ſide ſaid, *He was affraid, That if once the Government ſhou'd begin to yield to the Diſſenters, it wou'd be as in Forty One, nothing wou'd ſerve but an utter Subverſion; the Receiving of one Thing wou'd give Occaſion for Demanding more; and it wou'd be impoſſible to give them any Satisfaction, without laying all open, and running into Confuſion.*

On the other ſide, a Gentleman ſtood up and ſpoke thus: *Sir, this Bill is intended for the Preſervation of the Church, and I am of Opinion, it is the beſt Bill that can be made in order thereto, our Circumſtances conſider'd. But I know not what Effect it may have, becauſe you are to deal with a ſtubborn ſort of People, who in many Things prefer their Humour before Reaſon, or their own Safety, or the Publick Good. But I think this a very good Time to try whether they will be drawn by the Cords of Love or no, and the Bill will be very agreeable to that Chriſtian Charity which our Church profeſſes; and I hope that in the Time of this imminent Danger, they will conſider their own Safety, and the Safety of the* Proteſtant *Religion, and not longer keep a-foot the unhappy Diviſions among us, on which the* Papiſts *ground their Hopes: But rather, ſeeing the Church ſo far condeſcend, as to diſpenſe with the Surplice and thoſe other Things they ſcruple at, that they will ſubmit to the reſt that is enjoyn'd by Law, that ſo we may unite againſt the Common Enemy. But if this Bill ſhou'd not have the deſired Effect, but on the contrary, notwithſtanding this Condeſcenſion, they ſhou'd continue their Animoſities and Diſobedience to the Church, I think ſtill the Church will gain very much hereby, and leave that Party without Excuſe, and be a juſt Cauſe for the making of more coercive Laws.* He was ſeconded by another Gentleman who argu'd thus, *What real Love, Friendſhip or Obedience, can the Church expect from ſuch Perſons, as by the Execution of ſuch Laws may be forc'd to come to Church? How can they be depended on, or the Church ſtrengthened by them? You may prevent their* Conventicles, *and force them either to come to Church, or pay Fines, or be impriſon'd; but you cannot expect that their Opinions or Affections ſhould be alter'd by ſuch Proceedings, without which the Church can never be the ſtronger.* —— *Hath the* Oxford Act, *or that of the 35th of Queen* Elizabeth, *or any other againſt the Diſſenters, been executed in Favour of the Church? Are not the Diſſenters as many, if not more now, than ever? Is there any Thing more viſible, than that theſe Laws have been made uſe of to ſerve the* Popiſh *Intereſt, or as Engines rather for the State than the Church; when in the Year* 1670, *by the ſevere Execution of theſe Laws, all Meetings and Conventicles were prevented, and many Diſſenters came to Church, did not the Toleration happen thereupon? And if this Toleration had been intended for the Advantage of the* Proteſtant *Religion, why were not the Church-Men or Diſſenters of any kind, pleas'd with it? And if the* Oxford *Act, and other Laws againſt Diſſenters, were projected in Favour of the* Proteſtant *Religion, it was ſtrange that they were ſo much promoted by Sir* Thomas Clifford, *Sir* Solomon Swale, *and Sir* Roger Strickland, *who have ſince all appear'd to be Papiſts.*

1680.
Car. 32.
Ref. 21.

The Events.

In Concluſion, this Bill, tho' it was commited, wou'd not paſs; but another was brought in, which is ſaid to have paſs'd both Houſes, and was privately convey'd away, when the King was to have paſs'd it: This was *For Exempting his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, Diſſenting from the Church of* England, *from Penalty impoſed upon the Papiſts by the Act of the 35th of* Elizabeth. The Commons concluded the old Year with this remarkable Vote,

A Reſolve.

Reſolved, 'That no Member of this Houſe ſhall accept of any Office or Place of Profit from the Crown, without leave of this Houſe; nor any Promiſe of any ſuch Office or Place of Profit, during ſuch Time as he ſhall continue a Member of this Houſe.

The King under great Difficulties.

4. All this Time, the King found himſelf under vaſt Difficulties, and particularly what Anſwer to give to the Commons laſt Addreſs. Expedients were conſider'd of, and Propoſals by Way of Diverſion, with relation to the Affairs Abroad; but the Commons were now ſo bent upon what they thought the Chief of their Home Concerns, that the Name of any Thing Foreign wou'd not be allow'd amongſt them; nay, the Mention of *Spaniſh* Leagues, Alliances with *Holland*, and the King's deſign'd Meaſures with other Confederates, were laugh'd at as *Court Tricks*, and too *Stale* to paſs any longer. Both Parties run exceeding high, and tho' they cou'd agree in nothing elſe, yet they did in that one Point of bringing Things to the laſt Extremity. The Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and his Party, believ'd that the Points of Popular Diſcontents and Petitions, or elſe at leaſt that of the King's Wants, wou'd at laſt bring the Court to their Mercy, in this or ſome other Parliament, therefore they wou'd in no Degree recede. On the other Side, thoſe Miniſters who were paſt all Meaſures with the Houſe of Commons, thought there was no Way, but by their Heats, to bring the King to a full Diſlike, and conſequently to a Diſuſe of Parliaments; and by this Means the Duke of *York*'s Intereſt was now in the only Way to be ſecured.

Sir William *Temple's Opinion of them.*

Theſe Extreams were very apparent to Sir *William Temple*, in the laſt Debates in the Council, concerning the Anſwer his Majeſty ſhou'd return to the laſt Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, relating to the Excluſion. Sir *William* was of Opinion, 'That when both Houſes agreed upon an Addreſs to that Purpoſe, his Majeſty ſhould give them an Anſwer; but till then ſuſpend it, and not ſend a poſitive Reply to one Houſe upon ſo weighty an Occaſion, which, for what appear'd, might be contrary to the Senſe of the other. By this Means he cou'd be ſecure from the Neceſſity of any direct Breach with the Commons; ſince he knew well enough, the Lords would not conſent to the Addreſs. And if the Parliament came to be Diſſolv'd, it were better for the King it ſhou'd break upon Differences between the two Houſes, than between his Majeſty and them; For that wou'd give the Nation an Opinion, that he was reſolv'd to live without Parliaments hereafter; which perhaps might endanger the Peace at Home, but however wou'd ruin the Hopes of our Neighbours Abroad, who had no other of Defending themſelves againſt *France*, but by the Power of *England*. That if this Parliament broke upon Diſputes between the two Houſes, it might yet be expected he wou'd call another, and perhaps a Third, and agree with ſome of them; by which alone he cou'd be *Great* and Safe both at Home and Abroad. For it was between the *King* and his *Parliament*, as between the *Mountain* and *Mahomet*, who told the People what Miracles he cou'd do when he was at the Top of the Mountain; and to that Purpoſe, on ſuch a Day, he wou'd call it to him: He did ſo, but when the Mountain wou'd not come, he ſaid, *That if the Mountain wou'd not come to* Mahomet, *he wou'd go to the Mountain*; for unleſs they both met, no Wonders cou'd be done.' The King ſeem'd pleas'd with all he ſaid, and with the Compariſon; but thoſe of the Council that were chief in the private Meaſures taken at that Time, were for a poſitive Anſwer to be given to the Houſe of Commons, *let them take it how they pleas'd*; and accordingly they drew One up in private, and without the Knowledge of Sir *William Temple*.

After the Thing was finiſh'd, they had ſome doubt as to the Perſon that was to carry it to the Houſe of Commons: Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* was firſt charg'd with it; but he was thought too unacceptable to the Houſe, for a Meſſage that was like to prove ſo; and the next Morning the King wou'd have had Sir *Robert Carr*, or Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, to have carry'd it, but they both excus'd themſelves. Whereupon the King ſent for Sir *William Temple*, who had lately told his Majeſty, *He expected to be turn'd out of the Houſe in the Morning, and out of the Council in the Afternoon.* But not expecting this Order, Sir *William* freely anſwer'd his Majeſty, *That he did not very well underſtand why a Thing agreed upon laſt Night at the Council-Table, ſhou'd be alter'd in his Chamber; but however he was very willing to obey him; and rather, becauſe others had excus'd themſelves, and to ſhew his Majeſty that he intended to play no Popular Games.* Upon which he took the Paper, and with the ſame Freedom ſaid to the King, *That he was very ſenſible how much of his Confidence he formerly had, and how much he had loſt, without knowing the Occaſion; or elſe he might have had Part in the Conſulting this Change of what was laſt Night reſolv'd, as well as in Executing it; and he wou'd confeſs to his Majeſty, That he had not ſo good a Stomach in Buſineſs, as to be content with Swallowing what other People had Chew'd.* Upon which he departed, and deliver'd the Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons upon the fourth Day of *January*.

He carries the King's Meſſage to the Commons.

The Meſſage was not publickly read till three Days after, tho' the Tenour of it was ſufficiently known; for they were at this Time buſily employ'd in Enquiring into the Crimes and Miſdemeanours of the Judges and others, and particularly were drawing up Articles of Impeachment againſt the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*, who was accus'd of Endeavouring to ſtifle the Belief of the Plot, Diſcouraging the King's Evidences, diſmiſſing the Grand-Jury that ſhou'd have preſented the Duke of *York*, and of unjuſtly Proſecuting ſeveral Writers and Publiſhers of Pamphlets, as *Henry Care*, *George Broome*, *Edward Berry*, *Benjamin Harris*, *Francis Smith* Senior and Junior, *Jane Curtis*, &c. all which Crimes and Miſdemeanours, ought, in their Opinion, to be accounted Treaſon. So they determin'd their Impeachment, and order'd the Articles to be Ingroſs'd and carry'd up to the Lords, by the Lord *Cavendiſh*. On the other ſide the Lords were as obliging, in ſending at the ſame Time this Meſſage; ‘ *Reſolved*, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That they do Declare, that they are fully ſatisfy'd, that there now is and for divers Years laſt hath been, a horrid and Treaſonable Plot, Contriv'd and Carry'd on by thoſe of the *Popiſh* Religion in *Ireland*, for Maſſacring the *Engliſh*, and Subverting the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the ancient Eſtabliſh'd Government in that Kingdom: To which their Lordſhips deſire the Concurrence of this Houſe.’ Upon this the Commons ſoon *Reſolv'd*, ‘ That the Houſe doth agree with the Lords in the ſaid Vote, with the Addition of theſe Words; *That the Duke of* York*'s being a* Papiſt, *and the Expectation of his Coming to the Crown, hath given the greateſt Countenance and Incouragement thereto, as well as to the Horrid* Popiſh Plot *in the Kingdom of* England.

The Lords Reſolve.

5. On *Friday* the 7th of *January*, the Houſe of Commons thought fit to read the King's Meſſage and Anſwer to their laſt Addreſs, which did run in theſe Words: CHARLES REX, *His Majeſty receiv'd the Addreſs of this Houſe with all the Diſpoſition they cou'd wiſh to comply with their Reaſonable Deſires, but upon Peruſing it, he is ſorry to ſee their Thoughts ſo wholly fix'd upon the Bill of* Excluſion, *as to determine*, That all other Remedies for the Suppreſſing of *Popery* will be ineffectual: *His Majeſty is confirm'd in an Opinion againſt that Bill, by the Judgement of the Houſe of Lords, who Rejected it. He therefore thinks there remains nothing more for him to ſay, in Anſwer to the Addreſs of this Houſe, but to Recommend to them the Conſideration of all* Other Means *for the Preſervation of the* Proteſtant Religion; *in which they have no Reaſon to doubt of his Concurrence, whenever they ſhall be preſented to him in a* Parliamentary Way: *And that they wou'd conſider the Preſent State of the* Kingdom, *as well as the Condition of* Chriſtendom, *in ſuch a Manner as may enable him to preſerve* Tangier, *and Secure the Alliances Abroad, and the Peace and Settlement at Home.*

The King's Meſſage in Anſwer to the Commons Addreſs.

When Sir *William Temple* firſt appear'd with this Meſſage, Sir *William Jones*, having taken an Affection to him, was ſorry to ſee him upon ſuch an Occaſion; and told him, *That for Himſelf, he was old and infirm, and expected to die in a ſhort Time: But You*, added he, *will in all Probability live to ſee the whole Kingdom lament the Conſequences of this Meſſage you have now brought us from the King.* Accordingly the Houſe of Commons receiv'd it with the utmoſt Reſentment, and not a little reflected upon the Houſe of Lords for throwing out the Excluſion-Bill without ſo much as a Conference, or Propoſal of Expedients; and One ſaid, *If the King ſhou'd ask the Lords why they were of that Opinion, many of them would tell him, Becauſe he was of that Opinion, and becauſe they were aw'd by his Preſence.* They likewiſe reflected upon the Duke, and Sir *Francis Winnington* ſaid, *If he had ever conſulted the Books writ by his Grand-Father or Father, or their Declarations in Matters of Religion, he wou'd never have brought theſe Difficulties upon his King and Country: It was ſtrange he ſhou'd aim to get Heaven, by Proceedings ſo contrary to what his Father atteſted with his Blood.* Then they argu'd afreſh for the Excluſion of the Duke, and ſaid, *That a* Popiſh Head *on a* Proteſtant Body *wou'd be ſuch a Monſter in Nature, as wou'd neither be fit to preſerve, or be preſerved; and that therefore it wou'd as naturally follow, as Night did the Day, That either the Head will change the Body, or the Body the Head.* Then as to Expedients, which were much talk'd of, Colonel *Titus* alledg'd, *That to accept of them to ſecure the* Proteſtant *Religion, after ſuch a King had mounted the Throne, wou'd be as ſtrange as if there were a Lyon in the Lobby, and they ſhou'd Vote, That they wou'd rather ſecure themſelves by letting him in and Chaining him, than by Keeping him out.*

Warm Debates upon it.

On the other Side, they were briskly oppos'd by Mr. *Hyde*, Mr. *Finch*, and Secretary *Jenkins*, who argu'd againſt the *Invalidity*, as well as the *Unreaſonableneſs* of the Bill, and endeavour'd to convince them of the *Folly* of Endeavouring to obtain a Thing, which they might be ſure the King and the Lords wou'd never grant. All which only ſo much the more enrag'd them, and in Concluſion of the Debate, they came to theſe Three grand Reſolutions. 1. *Reſolved*, ‘ That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That there is no Security or Safety for the *Proteſtant* Religion, the King's Life, or Government of this Nation, without Paſſing a Bill for Diſabling *James* Duke of *York* to Inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: And to rely upon any other Means and Remedies, is not only *Inſufficient*, but *Dangerous*. 2. *Reſolved*, That his Majeſty, in his laſt Meſſage, having aſſured this Houſe of his Readineſs to Concur in all other Means for the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant* Religion, *This Houſe doth Declare*, That until a Bill be likewiſe paſs'd for excluding the Duke of *York*, this Houſe cannot give any Supply to his Majeſty, without Danger to his Majeſty's Perſon, extreme Hazard of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and Unfaithfulneſs to thoſe by whom the Houſe is intruſted. 3. *Reſolved*, That all Perſons who advis'd his Majeſty in his laſt Meſſage to this Houſe, to inſiſt upon an Opinion againſt the Bill for Excluding the Duke of *York*, have given pernicious Counſel to his Majeſty, and are Promoters of *Popery*, and Enemies to the King and Kingdom.

Three great Reſolves.

Not thus ſatisfy'd, they proceeded to name ſeveral Perſons, whom they ſuppos'd had given ill Advice to his Majeſty; and they us'd ſeveral Arguments to prove That Addreſſes might be made, grounded on *Common Fame*, for their Removal. They inſiſted ‘ That it was an ancient Right, and conſtant Practice of the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, to make Addreſſes to the King, grounded on Common Fame, or Moral Certainty, for the Removing ſuch Counſellors or Officers, as they thought were pernicious to the Government.’ The Reſult was, that beſides *George* Earl of *Hallifax*, they expreſly nam'd *Laurence Hyde* Eſquire, *Henry* Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, *Henry* Earl of *Clarendon*, and *Lewis* Earl of *Feverſham*; and Voted an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, to remove them from all Offices of Honour and Profits, and from his Majeſty's Councils and Preſence for ever. And to proceed yet further, the Houſe enter'd into a Debate of Parliamentary Aids, and againſt all other Ways of Supplying the King's Occaſions, as tending to keeping off Parliaments, and exhauſting the Publick Treaſures, and contracting Debts, and Undermining the Government; and in Concluſion came to two Grand Reſolutions; 1. *Reſolved*, ‘ That whoſoever ſhall hereafter Lend, or cauſe to be Lent, by *Way of Advance*, any Money, upon the Branches of the King's Revenue, ariſing by *Cuſtom*, *Exciſe*, or *Hearth-Money*, ſhall be judg'd a Hinderer of the Sitting of Parliaments, and be reſponſible for the ſame in Parliament. 2. *Reſolved*, That whoſoever ſhall Accept or Buy any Tally, or Anticipation, upon any Part of the King's Revenue; or whoever ſhall pay ſuch Tally hereafter to be ſtruck, ſhall be adjudg'd to hinder the Sitting of Parliaments, and be reſponſible therefore in Parliament.

Addreſſes againſt Perſons.

Two more Reſolves.

6. Thus were Things carry'd to the utmoſt Extremity, and chiefly upon the Account of the Excluſion-Bill, in the Proſecution of which they ſeem'd indefatigable. The Lord *Ruſſel*, upon the firſt Diſappointment in the other Houſe, grew ſo warm as to ſay, *That if his own Father had been one of thoſe that refus'd to paſs the Bill, he would have been the firſt Man that ſhould Impeach him of High-Treaſon:* Words of an high Nature, and

not

The King tempted to yield.

not like to be ſoon forgotten. They all along acted like Men not without Hopes; and being ſtill perſuaded, that moſt of thoſe Peers that rejected the Bill did it to oblige the King, they apply'd themſelves to prevail upon his Majeſty's Reſolution by various Methods. Father *Orleans* tells us they made uſe of the Ladies, whom they had purchas'd with large Sums, to gain this important Point; and one of thoſe beautiful Creatures caſt herſelf at his Majeſty's Feet, to beg he would conſent to exclude the Duke; which, he ſaid, was a dangerous Tryal of Brotherly Affection, upon a Prince ſo open and yielding in that Particular. No Methods were left unattempted; and even a Memorial from *Holland* was ſent over by Mr. *Sydney*, the King's Envoy there, from the Penſioner *Fagel*, Repreſenting the ſad Conſequences abroad of the King's not agreeing with his Parliaments; the Danger of the Allies, and the *Proteſtant* Religion; and ſeeming to wiſh that the King would not break with them, tho' it were upon this grand Point. This was at firſt ſuppos'd to be the Contrivance of the Earl of *Sunderland*, Nephew to Mr. *Sydney*, and was accordingly reſented at Court.

The Commons laſt Reſolves.

The Parliament Prorogu'd.

All theſe only ſerv'd to exſaperate the King, and to cauſe thoſe about him to make Compariſons between this Year and Forty One, ſo that he might be out of Love with Parliaments. He now found that he could neither ſecure his Miniſters nor his Brother, nor hardly Himſelf; therefore on *Monday* the 10th of *January* he reſolv'd to put an End to the Seſſion of Parliament. The Commons having private Notice of this, aſſembled early in the Morning, and before the Uſher of the Black-Rod came in, they came to theſe Three great Reſolutions: '1. *Reſolved*, That whoſoever advis'd his Majeſty to prorogue the 'Parliament, to any other Purpoſe than in Order to paſſing a Bill for the Excluſion of *James* Duke of *York*, is 'a Betrayer of the King, the Proteſtant Religion, and of 'the Kingdom of *England*, a Promoter of the *French* 'Intereſt, and a Penſioner of *France*. 2. *Reſolved*, That 'it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That the Acts of Parliament made in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* and King '*James*, againſt *Popiſh Recuſants*, ought not to be extended againſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*. 3. *Reſolved*, That 'it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That the Proſecution of '*Proteſtant Diſſenters* upon the Penal Laws, is at this 'Time grievous to the Subject, a Weakning the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, an Encouragement to *Popery*, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom.' After which the Houſe of Commons were ſent for up to the Lords; where his Majeſty ſeated on his Throne, was pleas'd to give his Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act Prohibiting the Importation of Cattle from* Ireland. 2. *An Act for Supplying the late Act for Burying in Woollen*: And 3. to a *Private Act*, concerning Sir *Charles Houghton*. And then his Majeſty was pleas'd to command the Lord Chancellor to prorogue the Parliament till *Thurſday* the 20th of this Inſtant *January*. And thus, in Effect, ended the Fourth Parliament in this Reign, after it had ſate two Months, and near three Weeks.

London *Petition.*

The Diſſolution of the Fourth Parliament.

New Writs.

On the Day of the Prorogation, the Commons had with their expiring Breath ſent their kind Commendations and Thanks to the City of *London*; which ſo affected them, that on the 13th Inſtant, the Lord-Mayor, Sir *Patience Ward*, with a Court of Common-Council, order'd a Petition to be drawn up, and preſented to the King, ſetting forth, 'That whereas the Parliament had convicted one of the five *Popiſh* Lords in the *Tower*, and were 'about to convict the other Four of High-Treaſon; That 'they had Impeach'd the Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*, and were 'about to Impeach other Judges; and all this in Order 'to the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Life, the *Proteſtant* 'Religion, and the Government of *England*: That they 'were extreamly ſurpris'd to ſee the Parliament prorogu'd 'in the Height of their Buſineſs: That their only Hopes 'were that this was done only in Order to bring ſuch 'Affairs about again as were neceſſary to the Settling the 'Nation. They therefore pray'd, that his Majeſty would 'be pleas'd to let the Parliament ſit at the Day appointed, 'and ſo to continue till they had effected all the great Affairs before them.' To this Effect was the Petition, which was further order'd to be deliver'd that Night, or as ſoon as might be, by the Lord-Mayor, attended by the new Recorder *George Treby* Eſquire, and certain Members of the Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council. But this further provok'd the King, and haſtned his Reſolution of finally parting with his Parliament. Accordingly, two Days before the Time of their Meeting, he by Proclamation Diſſolv'd the preſent Parliament: And in the ſame Proclamation, he declar'd his Intentions of Calling another Parliament to meet on the 21ſt Day of *March* next: But, being offended at the City of *London*, and hoping to meet with better Succeſs by a Removal, he appointed *Oxford* to be the Place of their Meeting, where he had formerly, in the Year 1665, found the moſt imaginable Harmony in and between both Houſes.

The Deaths of the Earl of Oſſory,

The Earl of Rocheſter,

In this Year there dy'd ſeveral Perſons of Note and Eminency, of various Qualities and Characters; among whom we ſhall begin with two of the Nobility, *Thomas Boteler* Earl of *Oſſory*, and *John Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*. The firſt was an *Iriſh* Earl, and an *Engliſh* Baron, the Eldeſt Son of the preſent famous Duke of *Ormond*, a Perſon of invincible Courage and Bravery, who did Wonders in the Second *Dutch* War: His Eminent Loyalty and forward Zeal on all Occaſions to ſerve his King and Country, were manifeſted by many generous and gallant Actions; which, as they caus'd him to be honour'd and eſteem'd by all when living, made him alſo when dead to be generally lamented by the Court and Country, and many famous Elegies to be writ in Memory of ſo great and valiant a Commander. The other, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, was Son to *Wilmot* the General, ſo often mention'd in the laſt Volume, who having improv'd his firſt Studies by his Travels abroad, and diſplay'd his Courage in the firſt *Dutch* War, he appear'd at Court in the 18th Year of his Age, with all the Advantages and Accompliſhments of Body and Mind; a handſome and graceful Perſon, a polite and genteel Behaviour, a Wit and Pregnancy of Fancy not to be imitated, in which, as to ſome Particulars, he ſeem'd to outdo the beſt of the ancient and modern Poets, of which he ſhew'd himſelf a great Maſter. But being gradually corrupted by the Pleaſures of the Court, and the Charms of the Company, as the Duke of *Buckingham*, &c. the Heat and Vivacity of his Temper tranſported him to the utmoſt Exceſſes and Extravagancies of Thought and Invention; ſo that for keen Satyr, and unlimited Senſuality, he was diſtinguiſh'd in the moſt knowing and voluptuous Court in the World. At length his Body being worn, and ſeiz'd with a lingering Sickneſs, he was made ſenſible of his miſerable Condition, and at laſt, contrary to the Expectation and Belief of his lewd Companions, became a ſolemn and ſignal Penitent; being carry'd off in his Prime, the 32d Year of his Age.

Dr. Alleſtry

Dr. Duport

Mr. Glanvill

Mr. Charnock,

Mr. Davenport,

After theſe Noblemen, we ſhall mention four or five Divines, and firſt Dr. *Richard Alleſtry*, educated in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, where beſides his Learning, he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Loyalty to the late King, for which he was a great Sufferer, and ſometime an Exile with the preſent King. After the Reſtoration he was made Canon of *Chriſt-Church*, and *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity, and laſt of all, Provoſt of *Eaton* College; in all which Places he ſhew'd himſelf a Perſon richly furniſh'd with all Variety of choice ſolid Learning, requiſite to recommend him to the more intelligent World, for one of the moſt eminent Divines and Preachers in the Age. The next was Dr. *James Duport*, who had his Education in *Trinity* College in *Cambridge* Univerſity, from whence he remov'd to *Magdalen* College, of which College he was for ſome Time Maſter, and afterwards Dean of *Peterborough*: He was a conſiderable and noted Scholar, and particularly an extraordinary *Grecian*, as to which he manifeſted his Faculties in ſeveral Pieces, eſpecially his celebrated Paraphraſe upon the *Pſalms*, and the Book of *Job*. The Third was Mr. *Joſeph Glanvill*, an *Oxonian*, and Fellow of the *Royal Society*, Chaplain to the King, and Rector of the great Church in *Bathe*; he was a great Philoſopher and Virtuoſo, and very much diſplay'd his Parts and Talents in publiſhing ſeveral Books of curious and uncommon Subjects, in which he ſhew'd a rich and warm Fancy, a Quickneſs and Facility of Writing, with a notable Way of Argumentation: He propagated ſome Notions and Opinions in Theology and Philoſophy, which were thought not very ſound in One, or very certain in the Other; and he particularly diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by teaching the Nature of Immaterial Subſtances, Apparitions, Witchcraft, and other Matters above the Credibility of ſeveral of the Age. The Fourth was Mr. *Stephen Charnock*, Batchelor of Divinity, a *Presbyterian* Divine, firſt educated in *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, then remov'd to *New-College* in *Oxford*, and afterwards to *Dublin*, in the Family of *Henry Cromwell*. Returning into *England*, he refus'd Conformity with the Church of *England* according to the *Bartholomew-Act*; and after ſome Time, he became Paſtor of a Congregation in *London*, where he was much admired for his ſolid and judicious Preaching, in which he ſhew'd great Parts, a ſtrong Reaſon, a ſound Judgment, together with a curious Fancy; and what was ſtill more valuable, his Love and Charity was as extenſive as his Knowledge; which made him take in whatſoever was amiable in any Perſon or Thing, that came within the Compaſs of it. After theſe, we may mention a Fifth, *viz.* Mr. *Chriſtopher Davenport*, a Native of *Coventry*, who after a ſhort Continuance in *Merton* College in *Oxford*, went over into *Flanders*, where turning Papiſt, he enter'd into the Order of the *Franciſcans* in

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Car. 32.
Ref. 21.

the Reign of King *James*; and after ſome Travels, he became a noted Miſſionary in *England*, where he went by the Name of *Franciſcus à Sancta Clara*, and at length was made one of the Chaplains to the late Queen *Henrietta Maria*, when he became particularly known to Archbiſhop *Laud*, and his Acquaintance was made one Article againſt that Prelate. He likewiſe became Theologiſt and chief Chaplain to the preſent Queen *Catharine*, and was ſeveral times made Provincial Miniſter of his Order for the Kingdom of *England*. After his Settlement in *England*, where he continu'd going and coming more than fifty Years, he did extraordinary Service to the *Romiſh* Church, by gaining Diſciples, raiſing Moneys, writing of Books, and by his unweary'd Endeavours in exerting his great Learning and Abilities in carrying on the general Cauſe of his Party. At laſt he dy'd at *Somerſet-Houſe* in Peace and Quiet, in the 83d Year of his Age.

Mr. Butler,

Harry Marten,

And Sir Peter Lely.

We have three other extraordinary, but very different Perſons ſtill to mention; the firſt, Mr. *Samuel Butler*, of *Worceſterſhire* by Birth, and of *Cambridge* by Education, from whence he was taken into the Service of the Counteſs of *Kent*; in whoſe Family he for ſeveral Years exercis'd his Parts in Painting, Muſick and Poetry, ſo as to be taken Notice of by the moſt eminent in thoſe Accompliſhments. Afterwards he was ſucceſſively made Secretary to the Lord *Carbury*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, when he made himſelf famous for that admirable Poem call'd *Hudibras*, in which he ſurpriſingly diſplay'd the ſublimeſt Wit and nobleſt Thoughts in a Dreſs ſo Humorſom and Comical, that it became the chief Entertainment of the King and Court, and all that had a Taſte for the moſt refin'd Ridicule and Satyr. But at length, this Man having the Enjoyment of more Wit than he knew how to manage, and more Pleaſures than he knew how to maintain, became in effect neglected, and dy'd almoſt in Obſcurity. The ſecond was *Harry Marten*, the Regicide, often mention'd in this Hiſtory, a Perſon moſt deeply engag'd in all the late Miſeries in the Kingdom, and in the moſt infamous and bloody Part of them, and all with ſuch a merry and careleſs Air, as is ſcarce to be credited upon ſuch a melancoly Occaſion. His natural Parts, his ſharp Repartees, and his exceeding apt Inſtances, made him not only the Sport and Diverſion, but very often the Manager and Director of the Commons in the Long Parliament. Having ſpent a noble Paternal Eſtate, and vaſt Sums, gain'd by Plunder, or given by Parliaments, upon his Debaucheries, he was upon the Reſtoration condemn'd to dye; but in Concluſion confin'd to *Chepſtow* Caſtle in *Monmouthſhire*, where he continu'd Priſoner for twenty Years, in a poor wretched Condition, being glad to receive a Pot of Ale from any that wou'd give it him; and thus low in Spirits, and his Wit exhauſted, he dy'd ſuddenly with Meat in his Mouth, in the 78th Year of his Age. The laſt was Sir *Peter Lely*, the renowned Painter of the Age, a *German* by Birth, who began his Education in *Holland*, and compleated it in *England*, where he was highly eſteem'd by the late and the preſent King; the latter of whom made him his Painter, and gave him the Honour of Knighthood. He excell'd in the Correctneſs of his Drawing, and the Beauty of his Colouring; but eſpecially in the graceful Airs of his Figures, the pleaſing Variety of his Poſtures, and his genteel Negligence and looſe Manner of Draperies. Beſides the King, he was extreamly reſpected by all the Perſons of Eminence in the Kingdom; and indeed ſo diſtinguiſhing were his Natural Parts, and alſo his acquired Knowledge, that it wou'd be hard to determine whether he was a better Painter, or a more accompliſh'd Gentleman. While he was continually improving in his Art, he was ſnatcht away by an Apoplectick Fit, in the 63d Year of his Age.

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Several Alterations in Court.

VIII. 1. The Nation was at this Time in the greateſt Ferment, and the King under no leſs Difficulties and Perplexities: But tho' his Majeſty knew not how to Diſſolve his Parliament without Calling another in the ſame Proclamation, yet as ſoon as he had given the Blow, he began to fall into new Meaſures and Contrivances, and to ſhew that he did not ſo much value the Agreeing with his Parliaments, eſpecially if the next ſhou'd not anſwer his Wants and Expectations. And firſt he made ſeveral Removes and Alterations in his Council, and particularly the Earl of *Sunderland* was remov'd both from the Council and his Secretary's Place, who had voted for the Excluſion Bill not only againſt the King's Mind, but his expreſs Command; which caus'd the Commons to hope that he wou'd not have done ſo, unleſs he believ'd the King intended to comply with them at laſt. About the ſame Time the Names of the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Saliſbury* and Sir *William Temple*, were ſtruck out of the Council Book, as Perſons not proper for the preſent Times; tho' Sir *William* tells us that he had juſt then retired of himſelf, not expecting to be further ſerviceable to his Majeſty's Affairs. In the Room of the Earl of *Sunderland*, the right honourable *Edward* Earl of *Conway* was made one of the principal Secretaries of State, and took his Place in the Council, on the 2d of *February*. About the ſame Time the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, and the Earl of *Alesbury*, were ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and took their Places at the Board. Shortly after, Sir *Robert Sawyer* was ſworn his Majeſty's Attorney-General, in the Room of Sir *Creſwell Levinz*, who was made one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*, in the Place of Sir *Thomas Ellis* deceas'd. And not long after that, the Earl of *Craven* was likewiſe ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council.

New Elections.

On the other Side, both City and Country were buſily and warmly employ'd in the Election of Members to ſerve in the enſuing Parliament. The City of *London* led the Way, and ſet an Example; when the Election was made at *Guild-Hall* on the 4th of *February*, and the Choice fix'd upon by the Common-Hall, were their old Members, Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *Thomas Player*, *Thomas Pilkington*, and *William Love* Eſquires. As ſoon as the Election was over, an extraordinary Paper was preſented to theſe Four in the Name of the Citizens of *London* then aſſembled in Common-Hall, containing a 'Return of their moſt hearty Thanks for their faithful and 'unweary'd Endeavours, in the two laſt Parliaments, to 'ſearch into and diſcover the Depth of the *Popiſh Plot*, 'to preſerve his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, the *Proteſtant* Re'ligion, and the well Eſtabliſh'd Government of this Realm, 'to ſecure the Meeting and Sitting of frequent Parliaments, 'to aſſert our undoubted Rights of Petitioning, and to 'puniſh ſuch as have betray'd thoſe Rights, to promote the 'long wiſh'd-for Union of his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Sub'jects, to repeal the thirty fifth of *Elizabeth*, and the *Cor'poration* Act; and more eſpecially for their aſſiduous En'deavours in Promoting the Bill of Excluſion of *James* 'Duke of *York*.' In fine they concluded, 'That being 'confidently aſſur'd that They, the ſaid Members for the 'City, will never conſent to the Granting any Money-'Supply, till they have effectually ſecured them againſt '*Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, they reſolv'd, by God's Aſ'ſiſtance, to ſtand by their ſaid Members, with their Lives 'and Fortunes.' In the like Manner were the former Members of Parliament again choſen, in moſt Places in the Kingdom; and in many, ſuch like Papers of Addreſſes preſented to them, in their reſpective Countries, as had been done to their Members by the Commonalty of *London*. And the Zeal was now ſo great, that, contrary to the Cuſtom of the Members treating the Country, now the Country in moſt Places treated them, or at leaſt every Man bore his own Charges.

London *Inſtructions.*

The Earl of Eſſex's *Speech to the King.*

2. The greateſt Uneaſineſs and Diſappointment to the prevailing Party in the Elections, was the Place of their Meeting, *Oxford*, the Diſtance of which might naturally cauſe a Diminution of their Power and Influence. Therefore it was reſolv'd by ſeveral of the Nobility to draw up a formal Petition againſt that Place; which was early deliver'd to the King by the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf, who introduc'd it by this following Speech: May it pleaſe your Majeſty, *The Lords here preſent, together with divers other Peers of the Realm, taking notice that by your late Proclamation, your Majeſty had declar'd an Intention of Calling a* Parliament *at* Oxford; *and obſerving from Hiſtory and Records, how unfortunate many Aſſemblies have been, when call'd at a Place remote from the Capital City; as particularly the Congreſs in* Henry *the Second's Time at* Clarendon; *Three ſeveral Parliaments at* Oxford *in* Henry *the Third's Time, and at* Coventry *in* Henry *the Sixth's Time; with divers others which have prov'd very fatal to thoſe Kings, and have been follow'd with great Miſchief on the whole Kingdom: And conſidering the preſent Poſture of Affairs, the many Jealouſies and Diſcontents which are amongſt the People, we have great Cauſe to apprehend, that the Conſequences of a Parliament now at* Oxford *may be as fatal to your Majeſty and the Nation, as thoſe others mention'd have been to the then Reigning Kings. And therefore we do conceive, that we cannot anſwer it to God, to your Majeſty, or to the People, if we, being Peers of the Realm, ſhould not on ſo important an Occaſion humbly offer our Advice to your Majeſty; That if poſſible, your Majeſty may be prevail'd with to alter this (as we apprehend)* Unſeaſonable Reſolution. *The Grounds and Reaſons of our Opinion are contain'd in this our* Petition, *which we humbly preſent to your Majeſty.*

The Petition againſt Sitting at Oxford.

The Petition it ſelf conſiſted very much of a Recapitulation of the Misfortunes attending the untimely Prorogations, Diſſolutions, and Diſcontinuations of Parliaments of late, at a time when his Majeſty's Perſon, and the whole Nation was in imminent Danger from the *Papiſts*: 'And now at laſt his Majeſty had been prevail'd to call 'another Parliament at *Oxford*, where neither Lords nor Commons cou'd be in Safety, but wou'd be daily expos'd to the Sword of the *Papiſts*, and their Adherents, of whom too many had crept into his Majeſty's *Guards:* The Liberty of Speaking according to their Conſciences wou'd be thereby deſtroy'd, and the Validity of their Acts and Proceedings left diſputable: The Straitneſs of the Place no ways admitted of ſuch a Concourſe of Perſons, as now follow'd every Parliament; and the Witneſſes which were neceſſary to give Evidence upon the Commons Impeachment, were unable to bear the Charges of ſuch a Journey, and unwilling to truſt themſelves under the Protection of a Parliament, that was it ſelf evidently under the Power of *Guards* and *Soldiers*. In Concluſion, they pray'd that the Parliament might, as uſually, ſit at *Weſtminſter*, where they might Conſult and Act with *Safety* and *Freedom*.' This Petition was ſubſcrib'd by ſixteen Lords, *viz. Monmouth*, *Kent*, *Huntington*, *Bedford*, *Salisbury*, *Clare*, *Stamford*, *Eſſex*, *Shaftſbury*, *Mordant*, *Evers*, *Paget*, *Grey*, *Herbert*, *Howard* and *Delamer*. The King gave no Anſwer that we find, but frown'd upon the Deliverers of this Petition; and perſiſted in his Reſolution of Holding the Parliament at *Oxford*.

Libels:

The Caſe of Fitz-Harris.

His Project.

3. All this while Libels, Pamphlets, and ſtrange Stories flew about the City and Country, being for the moſt part publiſh'd and diſpers'd by *Francis Smith*, *Benjamin Harris*, *Langly Curtis*, &c. In Oppoſition to which, and in Favour of the King and Court, there Weekly came out a notable Paper call'd *Heraclitus Ridens*, written by unknown Perſons, and fill'd with uncommon Wit and Humour, which continu'd for a Year and a Half with no ſmall Succeſs. But at this Time none made greater Noiſe, or caus'd more Enquiries, than a Libel written by an *Iriſh* Papiſt call'd *Fitz-Harris*, the Deſign of which was by ſome look'd upon as a ſecond *Meal-Tub Plot*. The Myſtery of this, as of many villainous Projects, is hard to be unfolded; but the Main of what we know of it, is to this Effect. Mr. *Edward Fitz-Harris*, the Son of Sir *Edward Fitz-Harris* of *Ireland*, was a particular Correſpondent with the intriguing Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and her favourite Woman, Mrs. *Wall*, and likewiſe with the Confeſſor of the *French* Ambaſſador; and the Dutcheſs had ſeveral Times ſupply'd him with Money, and once with two Hundred and fifty Pounds, either for ſecret Service, or Charity, as it was differently reported. *Fitz-Harris*, having been acquainted with one *Everard* beyond Sea, where they were both in the *French* King's Service, about the Beginning of *February*, after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, he renew'd his Acquaintance with that Gentleman, and repreſented the Advantages he might receive by forſaking the *Engliſh*, and entering himſelf into the *French* and *Popiſh* Intereſt; and particularly that it wou'd be very conducive to that Intereſt, if he wou'd publiſh a Pamphlet, which might ſo reflect upon the King, as ſhou'd alienate both Him and his People, and break the Union between them. Tho' *Everard* did not give a full conſent to this, yet *Fitz-Harris*, upon the 21ſt of *February*, gave him ſome Heads by Word of Mouth to draw up ſuch a Pamphlet: Which Procedure caus'd *Everard* to acquaint ſeveral with the Project, and particularly one Mr. *Smith* and Sir *William Waller*, whom he engag'd in a conceal'd Manner, to be at an appointed Place to hear the further Diſcourſe between them, which was the next Day; and whither the Former came, where he heard *Fitz-Harris* give his Inſtructions to this purpoſe: 'That the King and Royal Family ſhou'd be traduc'd, as being *Papiſts*, and *arbitrarily affected* from the Beginning; That King *Charles* the Firſt had a Hand in the *Iriſh* Rebellion, and that *Charles* the Second did countenance the ſame, by preferring *Fitz-Gerald*, *Fitz-Patrick*, and *Mount-Garret*, who were engag'd in the ſaid Rebellion: That the Act forbidding to call the King a *Papiſt*, was to ſtop Mens Mouths when he ſhou'd encline to further *Popery*; which appear'd by his adhering ſo cloſely to the Duke of *York*'s Intereſt, and hindering him from being proceeded againſt by the Parliament, and hindering the Officers put in by the Duke to be turn'd out; and for that the Privy-Counſellors and Juſtices of the Peace, who were for the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, were turn'd out of all Places of Truſt: That it was as much in the Power of the People, to Depoſe a *Popiſh Poſſeſſor*, as a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, and ſeeing there was no Hopes, that the Parliament, when they met at *Oxford*, cou'd do any Good, the People were bound to provide for Themſelves.

The Diſcovery of it.

This being finiſh'd, they agreed to meet the next Day upon the ſame Buſineſs; and *Everard* ſent Sir *William Waller* a Letter to meet there in a conceal'd Manner, and take notice of Paſſages; to whom *Everard*, upon his coming, gave two Copies of the foreſaid Inſtructions, which Sir *William* mark'd. Soon after *Fitz-Harris* came in, and enquired of *Everard* what he had done; who anſwer'd, *He had drawn two Copies of the Buſineſs*, and pray'd *Fitz-Harris* to ſee *how he lik'd them*: Who, upon Peruſal, alter'd one of them; yet thought it not full enough, but wou'd have it fair wrote over for the *French* Ambaſſador's Confeſſor. After which, *Everard* deſired to give him Inſtructions in Writing; which *Fitz-Harris* did, and in that Paper wrote this Paſſage, *That it was in the People's Power to depoſe a Popiſh Poſſeſſor, as well as a Popiſh Succeſſor*, and other Treaſonable Heads, and left the ſame with him. And next Day *Fitz-Harris* came again for a fair Copy writ out, which *Everard* deliver'd to him, who thereupon promis'd him a Recompence, which was to be the Entrance into the Buſineſs, and that *Everard* ſhou'd be brought into the *Cabal*, where ſeveral Proteſtants and Parliament Men were to give an Account to the *French* Ambaſſador of what was tranſacted. But before *Fitz-Harris* was to receive the Libel, he was to go to the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, between whom and the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, before this, he had carry'd ſeveral Meſſages, and went a great Way towards bringing his Lordſhip over to the Court Intereſt, who had been an open Enemy to it. This was ſo well purſu'd by *Fitz-Harris*, that the Lord waited ſeveral Times upon the Dutcheſs, and found the King there; and the Night before the Lord *Stafford*'s Sentence, *Fitz-Harris* came to him from the King, and told his Lordſhip, *That his Majeſty wou'd take it as a great Reſignation to his Will and Pleaſure, if his Lordſhip wou'd go the next Day and vote for my Lord* Stafford.

The Libel it ſelf.

But to take ſome Notice of the Libel it ſelf, it was Entitled, *The true Engliſh-Man, ſpeaking plain Engliſh*, and began thus: 'Sir, I thank you for *The Character of a Popiſh Succeſſor*, which you ſent me; wherein our juſt Fears, and the Grounds of them, are juſtly ſet out. But I am in greater Fear of the preſent Poſſeſſor; Why do we frighten our ſelves about the Evil that to is come, not looking to that which is at hand? We wou'd cut off the budding Weed, and let the Poyſonous Root lye ſtill; we wou'd ſtop the Channel of our Evils, and let the Fountain ſtill run: My Meaning is this. Can *Pylades* know and Act all theſe bloody Conſpiracies, and not impart them to his dear *Oreſtes*? If *James* be conſcious and guilty, *Charles* is ſo too: Believe me, theſe two Brethren in Iniquity are in Confederacy with the *Pope* and *French* to introduce *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, as all their Actions demonſtrate: The Parliament, *Magna Charta*, and Liberty of the Subject are as heavy Yoaks, which they wou'd caſt off to be as abſolute as their Brother of *France*; and if this can be prov'd to be their only Aim and Endeavour, why ſhou'd not every true *Britain* be a *Quaker* thus far? Let the *Engliſh* riſe, and move as one Man to Self-Defence, to open Action, and fling off their intolerable Riders; *Blow the Trumpet*, ſtand on your Guard, and withſtand them as Bears and Tygers. And ſince there can be no Truſt given to this goodly Couple of *Popiſh* Brethren, nor no Relief expected from a Parliament, truſt to your Swords, in Defence of your Lives, Laws, Religion and Properties, like the ſtout Earl of old, who told his King, *That if he cou'd not be defended by* Magna Charta, *he wou'd be reliev'd by* Longa Spada.' After many virulent Reflections upon the *Scotch* Race, all in a Republican Strain, ſpeaking of the preſent King, he proceeds thus: 'Is it not manifeſt therefore, That *Scotch* Oaths, *Breda* Promiſes, *Proteſtant* Profeſſion, Liberty of Conſcience, War with *France*, ſaving of *Flanders*, is all to delude *Proteſtant* Subjects? Is it not apparent that Breaking of Leagues, *Dutch* Wars, *Smyrna* Fleet, *French* Meaſures to favour their Conqueſts, Loſs of Ships, War in *Chriſtendom*, Blood of *Proteſtants*, Reprieving of *Popiſh* Traytors, is all in Earneſt, and done in Favour of *Popery*? And are not his fair Speeches, his true *Proteſtant* Love to Parliaments juſt Rights, and *Engliſh* Liberties, his pretended Ignorance of the *Plot*, and his Hanging Traytors to ſerve a Turn, but in meer Jeſt? Are not his great Debaucheries, his Whoring Courtiers, *Popiſh* Councils, Cheating Rogues, Helliſh Plottings, his ſaving of Traytors, his *French* Penſioners, his Neſts of Whores, and Swarms of Baſtards, his *Macks*, his Cut-Throats, his horrid Murthers, his Burning of *London*, his Sham-Plotting, his ſubborn'd Villains, his *Popiſh* Officers, his Struglings for a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, his Agreements with *France*, his frequent Diſſolutions of Parliaments, his Buying of Voices, and his falſe Returns, all of them Deſigns to ruin us in good Earneſt, and in favour of *Arbitrary Government*,' &c.

The Deſign of it.

This Libel, as is ſaid, was to have been promoted in the Name of the Nonconformiſts and Diſſenters, and fix'd upon them; and was to be diſpers'd by the Penny-Poſt, to the Proteſting Lords, and Leading Men in the Houſe

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of Commons, who were immediately thereupon to be taken up and ſearch'd. *Everard* affirm'd, That the Court had a Hand in it, and that the King had given *Fitz-Harris* Money, and promis'd him more if it met with Succeſs: And this was the more credited, becauſe the King himſelf had told Sheriff *Corniſh*, *That* Fitz-Harris, *three Months before his Apprehenſion, had been with Him, and acquainted him he was in Purſuit of a Plot, which very much related to his Perſon and Government*, &c. And that upon Sir *William Waller*'s acquainting the King with the aforeſaid Particulars he had taken while he was conceal'd; tho' his Majeſty thank'd him for it, and commanded Secretary *Jenkins* to iſſue out a Warrant for the Apprehenſion of *Fitz-Harris*, and that Sir *William* ſhou'd take care of the Execution of it: Yet he was no ſooner gone but Sir *William* declar'd, He was inform'd by two Worthy Gentlemen, *That the King was highly offended with him, ſaying, He had broken all his Meaſures; and that he wou'd one Way or other have him taken off.* However Sir *William* was ſo induſtrious, that in a little Time he took *Fitz-Harris*, and committed him to *Newgate*, in which Place he continu'd a few Days.

Fitz-Harris *ſeiz'd and put in* Newgate.

His ſtrict Examination.

Being in this Place, fetter'd, monyleſs and friendleſs, and his Wife and Family in a ſtarving Condition, he was ſtrangely tempted by ſeveral inſinuating Examinations, as we are inform'd from his dying Confeſſion. 'Particularly the two Sheriffs, *Bethel* and *Corniſh*, came to him, with a Token from the Lord *Howard*, which he knew to be true, and brought Heads from *Everard*, accuſing him of being a Court Emiſſary, employ'd by the King to put the Libel into Proteſtant's Houſes; which he utterly deny'd. They told him *he was to be try'd within three or four Days, that the People wou'd proſecute him, and the Parliament Impeach him, and that nothing wou'd ſave his Life but Diſcovering the Popiſh Plot:* And then they encourag'd him from the Lord *Howard*, *That if he wou'd declare that he believ'd ſo much of the Plot as amounted to the Introducing the King; or if he cou'd find out any that wou'd charge the Queen, his Royal Highneſs, or make ſo much as a plauſible Story to confirm the Plot, the Parliament wou'd reſtore him to his Father's Eſtate, with the Profits thereof ſince the Reſtoration.* Finding himſelf in a miſerable Condition, he ſoon began to ſhew a Compliance, and to hearken to the particular Inſtructions they brought, which they ſaid *came from forty Lords and Commons, who met that Day in order to addreſs the King in his Behalf, if he ſhou'd confirm their Inſtructions:* And they made uſe of the Name of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and others, to ſhew him the Advantages he might gain by ſo doing. Upon which he drew up a formal Story, and *Narrative* concerning the Plot, but moſtly relating to the general Heads publickly known: But *Corniſh* told him, *Theſe were Things cry'd about the Streets two Years ago.* Upon anſwering, *He cou'd ſay no more*, He told him, *He was ſorry for him with all his Heart, but thought he cou'd ſay more if he wou'd*; and preſs'd him hard to ſpeak to ſeveral Heads, relating to the Queen, the Duke, the Earl of *Danby*, and other Perſons of Quality, *without which there was no Hopes of Life.* But giving no Satisfaction, he was ſoon after as ſtrictly examin'd by Sir *Robert Clayton*, and the Recorder Sir *George Treby*. Sir *Robert* ask'd him *what he cou'd ſay to Juſtice* Godfrey's *Murder.* He anſwer'd, *ſomething.* Upon which he reply'd, *It may be you are in a Confuſion; recollect your ſelf.* Sir *George* kept him three Hours, preſs'd him about *Godfrey*'s Death; and declar'd, *unleſs he cou'd ſpeak to that Murder, he cou'd ſay Nothing.* Then ſaying ſomething he had heard from others, he ask'd him, *If he cou'd ſay no more?* He reply'd, *Is not this enough to ſave my Life? Am I not Rogue enough?* Hereupon the Recorder cry'd out in a Paſſion, *What were you ever but a Rogue?* Then he enter'd upon the Heads of the Examination, and told him *all this wou'd not ſave his Life, unleſs he wou'd ſpeak to the* Libel, *which was a Court-Trick; and it was not for Nothing that he had been ſo often ſeen at the Lady* Portſmouth's.' The Earl of *Shaftsbury* likewiſe examin'd him, and told him, '*That he knew more of theſe Matters than any Man*' But before they cou'd effect their Deſigns, he was upon the 11th of *March* ſuddenly taken out of their Hands, by Orders from above, and ſent cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*.

He is remov'd to the Tower.

IX. 1. All this ſerv'd to heap up new Fewel againſt the Meeting of the new Parliament, the Time of which was approaching, with the warmeſt Diſcourſes, and the higheſt Expectation of the Kingdom. The King and Court might well foreſee a Storm from ſeveral plain Appearances; however his Majeſty reſolv'd to try an Experiment, and to meet his Parliament with all the outward Marks of Openneſs and Kindneſs. In Order to which on the 14th of *March*, he left *Windſor-Caſtle*, and Meeting with his Royal Conſort, they were ſolemnly receiv'd at the Confines of *Oxfordſhire* by the High-Sheriff *Gregory*, and at *Wheatly* by the Lord *Norris*, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, and conducted with great Pomp, and a mighty Appearance of Gentry, to the City of *Oxford*. Here they were receiv'd and preſented by the Mayor *Bowel*, and Body of the City, at the *Eaſt-Gate*; and from thence attended with loud Acclamations, and all imaginable Demonſtrations of Joy, to *Chriſt-Church*. The next Day, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Halton* Provoſt of *Queen*'s College, with the Body of the Univerſity, attended their Majeſties, with *Latin* and *Engliſh* Speeches, and had the Honour to kiſs their Hands; preſenting to the King at the ſame Time a large *Oxford* Bible, and to the Queen, the Cuts belonging to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Univerſity. In Sum, their Reception here was with ſo much Satisfaction, that it was expreſs'd in the Account given by the Publick, 'That this Univerſity was no leſs renowned Abroad, as well as at Home, for its Loyalty and Duty to his Majeſty, than for its Learning and Sound Religion: In a Word, that his Majeſty had met in that Place, with all the Demonſtrations poſſible of Duty and Joy, at his having honour'd them with his Royal Preſence.' The Place was ſoon fill'd and crowded with Strangers; for on the other ſide, the Members of Parliament brought vaſt Retinues to the Meeting. Thoſe for the City of *London*, came with a numerous Body of well arm'd Horſe, having Ribbands in their Hats, with theſe Words woven in them, *No* POPERY, *No* SLAVERY! And many others of the Members were attended in the like Manner, as apprehending ſome extraordinary Deſigns of the *Papiſts* againſt them; ſo that at length, the Manner of their Aſſembling look'd more like the Rendezvous of a Country Militia, than the regular Meeting of a Parliament.

The King goes to meet

The FIFTH PARLIAMENT.

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

The 21ſt Day of *March* being come, there began the fifth and laſt Parliament in this Reign, at the City of *Oxford*; where the Gallery at the Publick *Schools* was prepared for the Lords, and the *Convocation*-Houſe for the Commons. Both Houſes being met, the King adorn'd with his Royal Robes, and ſeated on the Throne, made this following remarkable Speech to them: '*My Lords and Gentleman*, The unwarrantable Proceedings of the laſt Houſe of Commons, were the Occaſion of my Parting with the laſt Parliament; for I, who will never uſe *Arbitrary Government* my Self, am reſolv'd not to ſuffer it in Others. I am unwilling to mention Particulars, becauſe I am deſirous to forget Faults; but whoſoever ſhall calmly conſider what Offers I have formerly made, and what Aſſurances I renew'd to the laſt Parliament; how I recommended Nothing ſo much to them, as the Alliances I had made for Preſervation of the General Peace in *Chriſtendom*, and the further Examination of the *Popiſh Plot*, and how I deſir'd their Advice and Aſſiſtance concerning the Preſervation of *Tangier*; and ſhall then reflect upon the ſtrange unſuitable Returns made to ſuch Propoſitions, by Men that were call'd together to *Conſult*; perhaps, may wonder more, that I had Patience ſo long, than that at laſt I grew weary of their Proceedings. I have thought it neceſſary to ſay thus much to you, that I may not have any new Occaſion given me to remember more of the late Miſcarriages: It is much my Intereſt, and it ſhall be as much My Care as Yours, to preſerve the Liberty of the Subject; becauſe the Crown can never be ſafe when That is in Danger: And I wou'd have you likewiſe be convinc'd, That neither your *Liberties* and *Properties* can ſubſiſt long, when the juſt *Rights* and *Prerogatives* of the Crown are invaded, or the Honour of the Government brought low, and into Diſreputation.

'I let you ſee, by my calling this Parliament ſo ſoon, That no Irregularities in Parliament ſhall make me out of love with them; and by this Means, offer you another Opportunity of Providing for our Security here, by giving that Countenance and Protection to our Neighbours and Allies, which you cannot but know they expect from Us, and extremely ſtand in need of at this Inſtant; And at the ſame Time give one Evidence more, That I have not neglected my Part, to give that General Satisfaction and Security, which, by the Bleſſing of God, may be attain'd, if You, on your Parts, bring ſuitable Diſpoſitions towards it: And that the juſt Care you ought to have of *Religion*, be not ſo manag'd and improv'd into *Unneceſſary Fears*, as may be made a Pretence for Changing the *Foundation* of the Government. I hope the Example of the ill Succeſs of former Heats, will diſpoſe you to a better Temper; and not ſo much inveigh againſt what is paſt, as to conſider what is beſt to be done in the preſent Conjuncture. The farther Proſecution of the *Plot*; the Tryal of the Lords in the *Tower*; the Providing a more ſpeedy Conviction of *Recuſants*; and, if it be practicable, the Ridding our ſelves quite of that *Party*, that have any conſiderable Autho-

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16$\frac{80}{81}$. Car. 33. Reſ. 21.

‘rity or Intereſt amongſt them, are Things, tho’ of the higheſt Importance, that hardly need to be recommended to you, they are ſo obvious to every Man’s Conſideration, and ſo neceſſary for our Security. But I muſt needs deſire you, not to lay ſo much Weight upon any One *Expedient* againſt *Popery*, as to determine that all Other are *Ineffectual*; And among all your Cares for Religion, remember, That without the *Safety* and *Dignity* of the *Monarchy*, neither *Religion* nor *Property* can be preſerv’d.

‘What I have formerly, and ſo often Declared touching the *Succeſſion*, I cannot depart from. But to remove all Reaſonable Fears that may ariſe from the Poſſibility of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*’s coming to the Crown; if *Means* can be found, that in ſuch a Caſe the Adminiſtration of the Government may remain in *Proteſtant’s* Hands; I ſhall be ready to hearken to any ſuch *Expedient*, by which the *Religion* might be preſerv’d, and the *Monarchy* not deſtroy’d. I muſt therefore earneſtly recommend to you, To provide for the *Religion* and *Government* together, with Regard to one another, becauſe they ſupport each other: And let us be united at Home, that we may recover the Eſteem and Conſideration we us’d to have Abroad. I conclude with this one Advice to You, *That the Rules and Meaſures of all your Votes may be the known and eſtabliſh’d Laws of the Land*; which neither can, nor ought to be departed from, nor chang’d, but by Act of Parliament: And I may the more reaſonably require, That you make the Laws of the Land your *Rule*, becauſe *I am reſolv’d they ſhall be mine.*

Upon finiſhing this Speech, the Lord-Chancellor, by his Majeſty’s Command, directed the Commons to return to their Houſe, and to chuſe a Speaker. Which they accordingly did, unanimouſly electing *William Williams* of *Gray’s-Inn* Eſquire, Counſellor at Law, and Recorder of *Cheſter*, who had been Speaker in the laſt Parliament. When the Commons preſented him to his Majeſty, on *Tueſday* the 22d of *March*, he made this Speech to the King: ‘*May it pleaſe your Majeſty*, The Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament Aſſembled, with Duty and Loyalty agreeable to Themſelves and the Perſons whom they Repreſent, have in Obedience to your Royal Pleaſure, for the Diſpoſing of themſelves in that great Aſſembly for your Majeſty’s Service, conſider’d of a Speaker; and, to manifeſt to your Majeſty, and the World, *That they are not inclinable to Changes*, have with one Voice Elected Me their Speaker, having had the Honour to ſerve your Majeſty and the Commons in that Truſt, in the laſt Parliament. With all Humility, I preſume again, by their Commands, to ſtand before your Majeſty, to receive your Pleaſure, with a Head and Heart full of Loyalty to your Sacred Perſon; arm’d with a ſettled Reſolution, never to depart from your well known, ancient and eſtabliſh’d Government.’

The Commons Speaker’s Speeches to the King.

Tho’ the King was not pleas’d with one Expreſſion in the Speech, which diſcover’d a ſort of a Petulancy, yet he thought fit by the Lord-Chancellor to approve of the Election, in the uſual Form. Upon which the new Speaker made this further Speech: ‘*Moſt gracious Sovereign*, Natural Allegiance commands Loyalty to your Majeſty from every Subject. Your ſingular Grace and Favour to Me, in the laſt Parliament, continu’d by the Honour I have in this, add more than Dutifulneſs and Obedience to my Loyalty. I am ſet in the firſt Station of your Commons for Truſt and Quality; an high and ſlippery Place! It requires a ſteddy Head, and a well-pois’d Body in him that will ſtand firm there. Uprightneſs is the ſafe Poſture, and beſt Policy, and ſhall be mine in this Place, guarded with this Opinion, That your Majeſty’s Service in this Truſt, is one and the ſame with the Service of your Commons, and that they are no more to be divided than your Crown and Sceptre. They truly ſerve the Crown and Country, which ſhall be my Care and Induſtry, who make the Safety of your Sacred Perſon, the Defence and Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion, the Support of your Majeſty’s Government, the Maintenance of the Laws, and Preſervation of the ancient Conſtitutions of Parliament, one and the ſame undivided Intereſt, one and the ſame Safety, one and the ſame inſeparable Security for your Self and People. Theſe are the Deſires of all good Men, but muſt be the Effects of Good Counſels. For the Enabling of your Majeſty’s Great Council now in Parliament aſſembled, to compleat this bleſſed Eſtabliſhment, with all Humility I Addreſs to your Majeſty, in the Name and on the Behalf of the Commons in Parliament; 1. *That We and our Servants may be free in our Perſons and Eſtates, from Arreſts, and other Diſturbances.* 2. *That in our Debates, Liberty and Freedom of Speech be allow’d us.* 3. *That, as Occaſion ſhall require, your Majeſty will vouchſafe us Acceſs to your Royal Perſon.* I take leave to joyn this humble Petition for my Self, *That nothing by me, in Weakneſs, or through Inadvertency, ſaid or done, may turn to the Prejudice of the Commons; and that my Behaviour and Proceedings may receive a benign and favourable Interpretation with your Gracious Majeſty.*

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The Chancellor’s Speech to him.

Upon this, the Lord-Chancellor, by Command from his Majeſty, made this Return to the Speaker: *Mr.* Speaker, *All your* Petitions *are fully and freely granted by his Majeſty, in as* large *and* ample *a manner, as ever any Houſe of Commons yet enjoy’d them: the King is very ſure, the Wiſdom of this Houſe of Commons will make as prudent an* Uſe *of them, as any of your Anceſtors ever did. Your own particular* Petition *is grateful to the King too; becauſe he knows you will be as careful to avoid Miſtakes, as his Majeſty is ready to forgive them. And now, Mr.* Speaker, *theſe Preliminaries being thus over, the King deſires you would haſten to the reſt that are Neceſſary to be diſpatcht, before we can enter into Buſineſs; that ſo we may husband Time, which is now more neceſſary than ever; and he hopes that this Parliament will come to a very happy and proſperous Concluſion: And that it may do ſo, God Almighty direct and proſper all your Conſultations.*

The Proceedings of the Commons.

2. The Houſe of Commons ſoon ſhew’d their Reſolutions to begin where the laſt Houſe ended, and to bring in theſe three Particulars under their Debates; Firſt, the Preparing a Bill againſt the Succeſſion of the Duke of *York*; the Second, the taking the Bill of the Repeal of the Act of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, out of the Houſe of Lords; and the Third, a Proſecution againſt the Impeach’d Lords in the *Tower*; to which was added a Fourth, that was new, a particular Enquiry into the dark Proceedings of *Fitz-Harris*, before mention’d. They ſpent the three firſt Days in chuſing their Speaker, and confirming him, and in taking ſuch Oaths as the Law directs; ſo that it was *Thurſday* the 24th of *March* before they enter’d upon any material Buſineſs. On which Day, the Debates began with a Motion for Printing the Votes; which by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* was oppos’d as *againſt the Gravity of that Aſſembly*; That *no great Aſſembly in Chriſtendom did it*; That again, *It was againſt their Gravity, and a ſort of Appeal to the People*. But the Members on the other ſide argu’d, *That Printing their Votes was like true* Engliſh-men, *who are not aſham’d of what they do; and that the People whom they Repreſent, may have a true Account of their Proceedings*; and ſo the Reſolution paſs’d for Printing.

Debates about the Excluſion Bill.

This being obtain’d, another Motion was made, to Enquire into the Miſcarriage of the Bill for Repeal of the Act of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, how it came to be ſlipt over in the laſt Parliament, and not preſented for the Royal Aſſent? *Which*, ſaid the Mover, *I look upon as a Breach of the Conſtitution of the Government*. But the further Debate of this Matter was Adjourn’d to the next Day; while another Motion was made, ‘That for the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the King’s Perſon, a Bill be brought in, to prevent a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, and in particular againſt *James* Duke of *York*; and that it be the ſame Bill which paſs’d the laſt Parliament.’ Upon which Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* ſtood up and ſaid, *I muſt give my Negative to this Motion; and my Reaſon why I do ſo, is, becauſe the King hath declared in his Speech, That as to the Point of altering the Succeſſion, he cannot depart from what he has ſo often declared: The King has given his Vote againſt it, and therefore I muſt do ſo too.* It was further argu’d, ‘That the King’s Speech gave them a Latitude for Expedients; and therefore they ſhould not have the Bill any more put to the Hazard of Rejection, but think of ſome Expedients.’ Upon mentioning of the King’s Speech, *B. W.* ſaid, *They who adviſ’d the King’s Speech, muſt anſwer for it. The Words of the Speech are*, If any other Way can be found out, *&c. I think thoſe about the King have done enough to ruin Him and Us: But I wou’d have the King ſee, we are ſo far from putting him upon that Streſs, that we would help him out. I think that Speech they read to us, to have Nothing of the King’s in it: He is a better Man, and a better* Proteſtant *than to do it of Himſelf: Therefore I would not put on a Reſolution as flat and as ſhort as that is in the King’s Speech. The King has gone ſo far as this Reſolution in his Speech comes to, in his* Declaration about Diſſenters *formerly; and yet from the Reaſons from hence, he was perſuaded to revoke it. If Perſons have been ſo prevalent as to put the King upon this Speech, let me ſee thoſe Perſons ſo forward in bringing the King into a Thing, to help him out; if they do not, I hope the King will lay the Blame at their Doors, and not at Ours.* Notwithſtanding this Warmth, the Houſe came to that Temper, as to agree, ‘That in Order to pay the King all the Reſpect that might be, they would ſet a-part a Time to conſider of Expedients, and accordingly they appointed *Saturday* the 26th for the Debate of them.

The next Day the Commons began upon a Motion that was made for Returning Thanks to thoſe Places, who had generouſly and without Expence choſen their Members; and the Members ſo freely Elected, were ordered to ſend their

16$\frac{80}{81}$.
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Ref. 21.

About the Diſſenters.

their particular Thanks to thoſe that choſe them. Then they proceeded to reſume Yeſterday's Debate upon the Loſs of the Bill for Repeal of the Act of the 35th of *Elizabeth.* Upon which Sir *William Jones* ſtood up, and ſaid, *This Matter deſerves mature Conſideration, whether in Reſpect of the Loſs of the Bill, or the Shaking of the very Conſtitution of Parliament. The Bill that is loſt, is of great Moment, and of great Service to the Country, and perhaps to their Lives, in the Time of a* Popiſh Succeſſor. *Thoſe Men that hinder'd the Paſſing the Bill had a Proſpect of that; and if it be ſent up again, we are like to meet with great Oppoſition. But be the Bill what it will, the* Precedent *is of the higheſt Conſequence: The King has his* Negative *to all Bills; but I never knew that the Clerk of the Parliament had a* Negative.------ *No Man that knows Law or Hiſtory, but can tell that to Bills Grateful and Popular, the King gives his Conſent to them: But if this Way be found out, that Bills ſhall be thrown by, it may be hereafter ſaid,* they were forgot, and laid by; *and ſo we ſhall never know whether the King would paſs them or no. If this be ſuffer'd, 'tis in vain to ſpend Time here*, &c. In Concluſion, the Buſineſs was referr'd to a Conference with the Lords, concerning the Conſtitution of Parliaments, in Matters relating to Paſſing of Bills.

About Fitz-Harris.

They next read the Account of *Fitz-Harris*, formerly mention'd, together with the Libel he wrote againſt the King and Government. Upon the whole, they thought the Matter ſo full of Knavery and Subtlety, and of that Conſequence to the Publick, that for the better Enquiry, they reſolv'd to Impeach the ſaid *Fitz-Harris* of High-Treaſon; and accordingly they appointed Secretary *Jenkins* Himſelf to carry up the Impeachment to the Houſe of Lords. Whether conſcious of the Myſtery, or fearful of Offending, he directly refus'd, and ſaid, *The ſending him upon that Meſſage, reflected upon the King his Maſter, and let them do what they wou'd to him, he wou'd not go.* This caus'd a new Ferment; but being threatned by the Houſe, and advis'd by his Friends, he ſaid at laſt, *he was ready to obey the Order of the Houſe, and was ſorry his Words had given Offence*; and went up with the Meſſage. Upon which Colonel *Birch*, ſaid, *We ought all to give God Thanks for this Diſcovery of* Fitz-Harris, *next to the firſt Diſcovery of the Plot. It is a great Service to the Nation, and it is not the firſt that Sir* William Waller *has done. If ever the Thanks of the Houſe was deſerv'd, it is for this Diſcovery; and I move that Sir* William Waller *may have the Thanks of this Houſe*; which was accordingly obtain'd and done.

He is Impeached.

1681.
Car. 33.
Ref. 21.

Expedients inſtead of the Excluſion-Bill.

3. On *Saturday* the 26th of *March*, came on the great Buſineſs of the *Excluſion*, which began with the Reading a Paper of Expedients, which we do not find was ever yet publiſh'd in Print, and therefore the more convenient to be inſerted. It was entitled, *Heads of the Expedients propos'd, in lieu of the former Bill for Excluding* James *Duke of* York; *viz.* ‘ 1. That the Duke of *York* be baniſh'd, during his Life, five hundred Miles from *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories to them belonging. 2. That the whole Government, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, ſhall, upon the Demiſe of the King, be veſted in a Regent, for ſuch Time as the Duke of *York* ſhall ſurvive. 3. That the Regent be the Princeſs of *Orange*; and in Caſe of her Deceaſe without Iſſue, or with Iſſue in Minority, then the Lady *Anne*. 4. That if the Duke have a Son Educated a *Proteſtant*, then the ſaid Princeſſes reſpectively ſhall ſucceed in the Regency, during the Minority of ſuch Son, and no longer: Which obviates an *incurable Abſurdity* in the former Bill of Excluſion. 5. That the Regent do nominate the Privy-Council, and they to be, or not to be approv'd in Parliament, as ſhall be judg'd Safeſt, upon directing the Drawing up of this intended Act. 6. That notwithſtanding theſe Kingdoms (out of Reſpect to the Royal Family and Monarchy it ſelf) may be govern'd by the ſaid Regent, in the Name and Style of *James* the Second, *&c.* yet it ſhall by this intended Act be made Capital for any to take up Arms on his Behalf, or by his Commiſſion, not ſign'd by the ſaid Regent, or granted by Lawful Authority deriv'd from, and under ſuch Regent; or to maintain an Opinion, That the Retaining the ſaid Name and Style, ſhall in this Caſe purge the Diſabilities impos'd by this Act, or elude the Force thereof. 7. That Commiſſioners be forthwith ſent to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, to take their Oaths, That they will take upon them the Execution of this Act, and that their Oaths be here Recorded. 8. That all Officers, Civil and Military, forthwith take Oaths to obſerve this Act, from Time to Time, as in the Act for the *Teſt*. 9. That his Majeſty wou'd graciouſly declare to Call a Parliament in *Scotland*, in Order to Paſſing the like Act there, and recommend the ſame; and the like to be done in *Ireland*, if thought neceſſary. 10. That in Caſe the ſaid Duke ſhall come into any of theſe Kingdoms, then ſhall he be *ipſo facto* Excluded, and ſhall ſuffer, as in the former Bill; and the Sovereignty ſhall be forthwith inveſted in the Regent, upon ſuch his Coming into any of theſe Kingdoms. 11. That all conſiderable *Papiſts* be Baniſh'd by Name. 12. That all their Fraudulent Conveyances be defeated. 13. That their Children be Educated in the *Proteſtant* Religion. By this Means theſe Three Kingdoms will be United in the Defence of the *Proteſtant* Religion, his Majeſty's Perſon, and Government; and a ſure Foundation laid of an effectual League with *Holland*, and conſequently with the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, in Oppoſition to the growing Greatneſs of *France*.

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Debates upon them.

Upon this Matter the Houſe fell into a long Debate, and ſoon ſhew'd it ſelf more inclinable to the old Bill, than to any new Expedients.. A Regency was much argu'd, as the beſt Expedient to preſerve the Monarchy; upon which Subject Sir *W. Poultney* ſpoke thus. *Conſider what is a* Regency; *I never heard of it, but of a Prince in Poſſeſſion, in* Minority, *or* Lunacy; *and it has generally been very unfortunate: But to talk of a* Regency in futuro *in Condition and Limitation of Time, I never heard of. This* Expedient *does not anſwer the King's Speech, nor your former Bill; they make the King but a* Shadow, *and they divide* Perſon *from* Power; *our Law will not endure it. The* Perſon *divided from the* Power, *both will be courted. The King leads you to conſider* Expedients, *but ſuch as will conſiſt with the Safety and Dignity of* Monarchy. *This muſt be two Kings at the ſame Time, one by* Law, *and another by* Right.------*The former Bill has been under Conſideration of all the People of* England, *and perhaps all the* Proteſtants *of* Europe; *all the Wits of Learned Men have made their Objections againſt it, yet notwithſtanding all People are ſtill of the ſame Mind. And now we run upon the moſt miſ-ſhapen Thing, which it may be two or three Years before we underſtand it; and we may expect to have an Operation of it, no Body knows when.* Mr. *H. C.* appear'd more for Expedients, and argu'd, *If the Excluſion of the Duke be the beſt Way to preſerve Religion, this Houſe cannot do it alone; If we cannot have that beſt Way, we are guilty to our Country, if we take none. If a Man be Sick, and ſo order'd that Nothing muſt be taken but by Direction of Three Phyſicians, and Two are for giving him the* Jeſuits Powder, *and One againſt it, and he thinks he does the Duty of his Profeſſion; but they all Three not agreeing, muſt the Patient take Nothing? And we are but one Part of the Legiſlative Power.-----When Men preſs ſo faſt, they may come late into their Inn by tyring their Horſes. Let a Grand Committee try* Expedients, *elſe 'tis not* Conſultare, *but* Dicere. In Anſwer to the Simile of the three Phyſicians, Mr. *J. S.* ſaid, *If the Caſe be ſuch, that the Two, in the Judgment of the Third, did offer Nothing to the Sick Man but what was Mortal, he ought not to venture upon his own Diſreputation in joyning with them.* And another, call'd *T. B.* ſaid, *Expedients had been mov'd for already, as the* Jeſuit's Powder *for an Ague; but our Diſeaſe is a Pleuriſy, and we muſt let Blood.* Sir *William Jones* and Sir *Francis Winnington* were immoveably for the former Bill of Excluſion, and none appear'd ſo directly againſt it as Colonel *Legg*, who urg'd the Dangers of a Republick, and told them, when his Father was in Priſon in the late Troubles, an eminent Man, then in Power, in Diſcourſe with him, ſaid, *I have oblig'd you, and if the King come in, as I believe he will, then think of Me: Look to your Selves when you are in the Saddle again; if once you divide, Adieu to Monarchy for ever.* As to Expedients, the longer they were urg'd, the more they were exploded. *One compared them to Cucumbers, which after they were well dreſs'd, were to be thrown away.* Another ſaid, *It ſeems to me, as if a Man that ſcorch'd his Shins at the Fire, inſtead of removing himſelf further off, ſhou'd ſend for a Maſon to remove the Chimney back.---If I am to leap over a River, I had rather have no Staff, than a broken one. I ſee no Remedy to ſave Religion, unleſs Excluding the Duke.* In Concluſion the Bill was order'd to be brought in, on *Monday* Morning, the next Day of Meeting.

And upon Fitz-Harris.

As ſoon as they had finiſh'd this Matter, and been well heated with it, they were ſuddenly inflam'd by another; An Account brought to the Houſe, That the Lords had finally thrown out the Impeachment of *Fitz-Harris*, and had directed That he ſhou'd be proſecuted at Common Law. This was ſuch a Diſappointment and Surpriſe, juſt at their Riſing, that they knew not how to digeſt. Sir *Thomas Littleton* cry'd out, *I ſee by the Lords refuſing this Impeachment, no further Uſe of a Parliament: They will be a Court, or not a Court, to ſerve a preſent Purpoſe.*----- Sir *William Jones* did not only exclaim againſt the other Houſe, but againſt the Biſhops in particular, Declaring, *They had no Right to Vote in this Caſe.* Serjeant

Three great Reſolves.

jeant *Maynard* ſaid, *That their All was at Stake*; *and if they muſt not proſecute*, Holland *and* Flanders *muſt ſubmit to the* French, *and they run over all.* After a few warm Speeches, they came to theſe Three Grand Reſolutions: ‘ 1. *Reſolved*, That it is the undoubted Right of the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, to Impeach before the Lords in Parliament any Peer or Commoner, for Treaſon, or any other Crime or Miſdemeanor; And that the Refuſal of the Lords to proceed in Parliament upon ſuch Impeachment, is a Denyal of Juſtice, and a Violation of the Conſtitution of Parliaments. 2. *Reſolved*, That in the Caſe of *Edward Fitz-Harris*, who by the Commons had been Impeach'd of High-Treaſon before the Lords, with a Declaration, *That in convenient Time they would bring up the Articles againſt him*, for the Lords to Reſolve, *That the ſaid* Fitz-Harris *ſhall be proceeded with according to the Courſe of Common Law, and not by Way of Impeachment at this Time*, is a Denial of Juſtice, and a Violation of the Conſtitution of Parliaments, and an Obſtruction to the further Diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot*, and of great Danger to his Majeſty's Perſon, and the *Proteſtant* Religion. 3. *Reſolved*, That for any Inferior Court to proceed againſt *Edward Fitz-Harris*, or any other Perſon lying under the Impeachment in Parliament, for the ſame Crimes for which He or They ſtand Impeach'd, is a High Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.

The Excluſion Bill read.

On *Monday* the 28th of *March*, the Excluſion Bill was read; upon which Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* ſtood up, and fearleſly ſaid, *No Bill was ever offer'd in Parliament of the like Nature, ſo much againſt the Juſtice of the Nation*; *It condemns a Man unheard, and by a Law made* Ex poſt Facto; *not only againſt the Fundamental Juſtice, but againſt the Wiſdom of the Nation, and will introduce a Change of Government. If the Duke will try to cut this Law with his Sword, if he overcome, he will have the ſame Power to ſet aſide all Laws, both for* Religion *and* Property; *the Power will be in the Hands of the Conqueror, and certainly he will change the Government. It is againſt the Religion, and Oaths of the Nation*, &c. *Poſſibly I am too tedious, and not willingly heard. If the Bill be againſt the* Religion, *oblig'd by* Oaths, *againſt the* Government *and the* Wiſdom *of the Nation, I hope you will throw it out.* Whereupon Mr. *T. B.* ſaid, *Mr. Secretary has mov'd to throw out the Bill, and deſir'd to be heard patiently*; *I find no Body Seconds him, pray let him go on and Second Himſelf.* And ſo the Bill was order'd a Second Reading. They were reſuming the Debate about *Fitz-Harris*, when on a ſudden the Uſher of the Black-Rod commanded their Attendance in the Houſe of Lords, where they found the King in his Robes, who told them, *He perceiv'd there were great Heats between the Lords and the Commons*; *and their Beginnings had been ſuch, as he cou'd expect no good Succeſs of this Parliament, and therefore thought fit to Diſſolve them:* And accordingly the Lord Chancellor declar'd the Parliament Diſſolv'd, after it had ſat but ſeven Days. The King immediately took Coach, and drove with all Speed to *Windſor*, leaving both Houſes in an Amaze, and the City of *Oxford* in a perfect Conſternation; and ſo the next Morning poſted to *White-Hall*, ſeeming extreamly pleas'd he had made his Eſcape, as it were, and got a Deliverance from his Fifth and Laſt Parliament.

The Fifth Parliament Diſſolv'd.

CHAP. IV.

From the Diſſolution of the Fifth and Laſt Parliament, to the Firſt Diſcovery of that Call'd, The Rye-Houſe Plot.

Containing the Space of One Year, and Ten Weeks.

The King's general Proceedings and Succeſs.

I. 1. THE ſudden Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, with its natural Conſequences, ſhew'd an unuſual Courage in the King, and gave a remarkable Turn to the Fate of the Nation. It open'd a Paſſage to a more independent Adminiſtration, and a leſs unactive Government than before; ſo that his Majeſty had both a Pretence and an Opportunity, for the Remainder of his Reign, to act more like an Abſolute Monarch, than ever he had done ſince the Reſtoration. All which ſeem'd to have its Riſe from the inſuperable Fears and Apprehenſions of the *Popiſh Plot*, and in Conſequence of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, which gave ſuch terrible Diſquiets to the King, and which he found gradually to diminiſh in the Intervals of Parliament, and afterwards to diſappear upon the Diſuſe of them. He likewiſe found that his greateſt Conceſſions wou'd not anſwer his Purpoſes, but more was, and ſtill wou'd be, expected; and therefore he ſeem'd reſolv'd to exert his Authority, to retrench and retrieve his Extravagancies, to husband his Revenues, and to ſupply his Neceſſities by other than Parliamentary Methods: And being tired out with the endleſs Stories of the Plot, and ſatiated, if not infected, with the Blood he had ſhed of Thoſe whom he look'd upon as Innocent, he grew ſtill more tricking and artful in his Proceedings, and more ſanguinary in his Temper, eſpecially againſt the Popular Proſecutors; and that Good-Nature, which had ſometime made him accounted *The Delight of Mankind*, ſeem'd ſenſibly to leſſen, and a more regular Revenge, or Retaliation to take Place, upon ſeveral Occaſions and Things that happen'd in the remaining Part of his Reign. How juſt his Reſentments were, is hard to determine, having been ſo differently repreſented by the Heats and Humours of Parties; but we may ſafely ſay that he had met with hard Uſage, and great Provocations from ſome Leaders, whoſe Aims were little known to their Followers; of which the far greater Part of the Nation in Time became ſo ſenſible, as to give their moſt publick Teſtimonies of it: So that, notwithſtanding ſome Severities that had been unuſual to his Nature, and former Practice, for ſome Time before he dy'd, which has been often wonder'd at, he not only gain'd more Authority and Reverence, but more Love and Affection, than he had met with for ſeveral Years before.

His DECLARATION, *to be read in all Churches* 1.

Whatever his Intentions were as to his future Government, he began with Art and Smoothneſs, and to pave the Way by a well-penn'd *Declaration to all his Loving Subjects, touching the* Cauſes *and* Reaſons *that mov'd him to Diſſolve the two laſt Parliaments*, as follows: ‘ It was with exceeding great Trouble, that We were brought to the *Diſſolving* of the two laſt Parliaments, without more Benefit to our People by the *Calling of them:* But having done our Part, in giving ſo many Opportunities of Providing for their Good, it cannot be juſtly imputed to Us, that the Succeſs hath not anſwer'd our Expectations. We cannot at this Time but take Notice of the particular Cauſes of our Diſſatisfaction, which at the Beginning of the laſt Parliament We did recommend to their Care to avoid, and expected We ſhou'd have had no new Cauſe to remember them.

‘ We open'd the laſt Parliament, which was held at *Weſtminſter*, with as gracious Expreſſions of our Readineſs to ſatisfy the Deſires of our good Subjects, and to ſecure them againſt all their juſt Fears, as the weighty Conſideration, either of Preſerving the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, and the Liberty and Property of our Subjects at Home, or of Supporting our Neighbours and Allies Abroad, cou'd fill our Heart with, or poſſibly require from Us. And We do ſolemnly declare, That we did intend, as far as wou'd have conſiſted with the very Being of the Government, to have comply'd with *Any Thing*, that cou'd have been propos'd to Us, to accompliſh thoſe Ends. We ask'd of them the *Supporting the Alliances We had made for the Preſervation of the General Peace in Chriſtendom*; We recommended to them the *Further Examination of the Plot*; We deſired their *Advice and Aſſiſtance concerning the Preſervation of* Tangier; We offer'd to concur in any *Remedies that cou'd be propos'd for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, that might conſiſt with Preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its due and legal Courſe of Deſcent:* To all which we met with moſt unſuitable Returns from the Houſe of Commons; *Addreſſes*, in the Nature of *Remonſtrances*, rather than of *Anſwers*; Arbitrary *Orders* for taking our Subjects into Cuſtody, for Matters that had no Relation to Privileges of Parliament; ſtrange Illegal *Votes*, declaring divers Eminent Perſons to be *Enemies to the King and Kingdom*, without any Order or Proceſs of Law, any Hearing of their Defence, or any Proof ſo much as offer'd againſt them.

‘ Beſides theſe Proceedings, they voted as followeth on the 7th of *January* [*the two Reſolves againſt Lending of Money, and Buying any Tally of Anticipation.*] Which Votes, inſtead of giving Us Aſſiſtance to ſupport our Allies, or enable Us to preſerve *Tangier*, tended rather to diſable us from contributing to Either, by our Revenue or Credit; not only expoſing Us to all Dangers that might happen either at Home or Abroad; but endeavouring to deprive Us of the Poſſibility of Supporting the Government it ſelf, and to reduce Us to a more helpleſs Condition than the Meaneſt of our Subjects. And on the 10th of the ſame Month they paſs'd another Vote [*Againſt the Proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters upon the Penal Laws.*] By which Vote, without any Regard to the Laws eſtabliſh'd, they aſſum'd to themſelves a Power of *Suſpending Acts of Parliament.*

‘Whereas our Judges and Miniſters of Juſtice, neither can, nor ought, in Reverence to the *Votes* of either or both the Houſes, break the Oaths they have taken, for the due and impartial Execution of our Laws; which by Experience have been found to be the beſt Support, both of the *Proteſtant Intereſt*, and of the *Peace of the Kingdom.* Theſe were ſome of the *Unwarrantable Proceedings* of that Houſe of Commons, which were the Occaſion our of Parting with that Parliament.

2. ‘Which we had no ſooner Diſſolv'd, but we caus'd another to be forthwith Aſſembled at *Oxford*; at the Opening of which, We thought it neceſſary to give them Warning of the Errors of the former, in hopes to have prevented the like Miſcarriages: And We required of Them *to make the Laws of the Land their Rule*; *as We did, and do reſolve, they ſhall be Ours.* We further added, *That What We had formerly and ſo often declared concerning the* Succeſſion, *We wou'd not depart from*; *but to remove all Reaſonable Fears that might ariſe from the Poſſibility of a* Popiſh Succeſſor*'s coming to the Crown, if* Means *cou'd be found, that in ſuch a Caſe the Adminiſtration of the Government might remain in* Proteſtants *Hands, We were ready to hearken to any* Expedient, *by which the* Religion *Eſtabliſh'd might be preſerv'd, and the* Monarchy *not deſtroy'd.* But contrary to our Offers and Expectation, We ſaw, that no *Expedient* wou'd be entertain'd, but that of a *Total Excluſion*, which We had ſo often declar'd, *was a Point, that in our own Royal Judgment, ſo nearly concern'd us both in Honour, Juſtice and Conſcience, that we cou'd never conſent to it.* In ſhort, we cannot, after the ſad Experience We have had of the late Civil Wars, that murder'd our Father of Bleſſed Memory, and ruin'd the Monarchy, conſent to a Law, that ſhall eſtabliſh another moſt Unnatural War, or at leaſt make it neceſſary to maintain a *Standing Force* for the preſerving the Government and Peace of the Kingdom. And We have Reaſon to believe, by what paſs'd in the laſt Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, that if We cou'd have been brought to give our Conſent to a Bill of *Excluſion*, the Intent was, not to reſt there, but to paſs further, and to attempt ſome other great and important Changes, even in the Preſent.

‘The Buſineſs of *Fitz-Harris*, who was impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons of High-Treaſon, and by the Houſe of Lords referr'd to the *Ordinary Courſe of Law*, was on a ſudden carry'd on to that Extremity, by the Votes which the Commons paſs'd on the 26th of *March* laſt, that there was no Poſſibility left of Reconciliation. [*Here the three fore-recited Votes were inſerted.*] It was a Matter extremely ſenſible to Us, to find an *Impeachment* made uſe of to delay a *Tryal*, that We had directed againſt a profeſſed *Papiſt*, charg'd with Treaſons againſt Us, of an Extraordinary Nature: And certainly the Houſe of Peers did themſelves Right in Refuſing to give Countenance to ſuch a Proceeding. But when either of the Houſes are ſo far tranſported, as to Vote the Proceedings of the Other to be a *Denyal of Juſtice*, a *Violation of the Conſtitution of Parliaments*, *of Danger to our Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion*, without Conferences firſt had to examine upon what Grounds ſuch Proceedings were made, and how far they might be juſtify'd; This puts the two Houſes out of Capacity of tranſacting Buſineſs together, and conſequently is the greateſt Violation of the Conſtitution of Parliaments. This was the Caſe; and every Day's Continuance being like to produce new Inſtances of further Heat and Anger between the two Houſes, to the Diſappointment of all Publick Ends for which they were Called, We found it neceſſary to put an End to this Parliament likewiſe.

3. ‘But notwithſtanding all this, let not the reſtleſs Malice of ill Men, who are labouring to poyſon our People, ſome out of Fondneſs for their old belov'd *Common-Wealth* Principles, and ſome out of Anger at their being diſappointed in the particular Deſigns they had for the Accompliſhment of their own Ambition and Greatneſs, perſuade any of our good Subjects, *That we intend to lay aſide the Uſe of Parliaments*: For We do ſtill Declare, That no Irregularities in Parliaments, ſhall ever make us out of Love with Parliaments; which We look upon as the beſt Method for Healing the Diſtempers of the Kingdom, and the only Means to preſerve the Monarchy in that due Credit and Reſpect which it ought to have both at Home and Abroad. And for this Cauſe We are reſolv'd, by the Bleſſing of God, to have frequent Parliaments; and both in and out of Parliament, to uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to extirpate *Popery*, and to redreſs all the Grievances of our good Subjects, and in all Things to govern according to the Laws of the Kingdom. And we hope that a little Time will ſo far open the Eyes of all our good Subjects, that our next Meeting in Parliament ſhall perfect all that Settlement and Peace, which ſhall be found wanting either in Church or State. To which, as We ſhall contribute our utmoſt Endeavours, ſo we aſſure our Self, That we ſhall be aſſiſted therein by the Loyalty and good Affections of all thoſe who conſider the Riſe and Progreſs of the late Troubles and Confuſions, and deſire to preſerve their Country from a Relapſe. And who cannot but remember, that *Religion*, *Liberty* and *Property* were all loſt and gone, when the *Monarchy* was ſhaken off; and cou'd never be revived, till that was Reſtored. *Given at our Court at* White-Hall, *the 8th Day of* April, 1681.

Reflections upon it.

On the ſame Day, it was Order'd by his Majeſty in Council, *That the ſaid Declaration be forthwith Printed and Publiſh'd, and Read in all Churches and Chappels throughout this Kingdom*; which for the moſt part was chearfully obey'd, and with remarkable Succeſs. To weaken the natural Effects of a Thing ſo Popular, there came out two celebrated Pieces, the Firſt Entitled, *A Juſt and Modeſt Vindication of the Proceedings of the two laſt Parliaments*, aſcrib'd to the ingenious Pen of Sir *William Jones*. In which he tells us, ‘That the Peers at *Oxford* were ſo totally ignorant of the Counſel, that they never once thought of a Diſſolution till they heard it pronounc'd; but the Dutcheſs of *Mazarine* had better Intelligence, and publiſh'd the News at St. *James*'s many Hours before it was done. As to the Declaration, he ſays, ‘That tho' the King did not communicate this Paper to the Council till *Friday* the 8th of *April*, yet Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, read it over three Days before, and demanded of a Gentleman there his Opinion of it.’ He ſuppoſes it to be of a *French* Extract, and charges it with having *Galliciſms* in it, and particularly that Expreſſion, *That it was a Matter extremely ſenſible to Us*; ‘a Form of Speech peculiar to the *French*, and unknown to any other Nation.’ He blames the mean Condeſcenſion of the King, yet he likewiſe queſtions the Validity of the *Declaration*; ‘ſince no King of *England* before, as King, ever ſpoke to his Subjects, but either Perſonally in Parliament, or under the Broad-Seal of *England*; whereas this *Declaration* was only ſign'd by a Clerk of the Council, and therefore void of Authority.’ He expoſtulates, ‘That We have had Miniſters heretofore ſo bold, as to accuſe a pretended *Factious Party* in the Houſe, but never did any go ſo high as openly to Repreſent the whole Houſe of Commons as a *Faction*; much leſs to cauſe them to be Denounc'd ſo in all the Churches of the Kingdom, that ſo the People might look upon it as a kind of *Excommunication*.’ The ſecond Piece was call'd *A Letter from a Perſon of Quality to his Friend, concerning his Majeſty's late Declaration*, &c. the Author of which very freely tells us, ‘That there never was more Occaſion for a Parliament, than at the Opening of the laſt, held at *Weſtminſter*; never had People juſter Fears, nor of weightier Conſideration, to be ſecured againſt; never were our *Liberties* and *Properties* more in Danger; nor the *Proteſtant* Religion more expos'd to an utter Extirpation both at Home and Abroad.’ Speaking of the Perſon of the King, he informs us, ‘In his *Private Capacity* as a Man, he can only Eat and Drink, and perform ſome other Acts of Nature; but that all his Actings without Himſelf, are only as a King, and in his *Politick Capacity* he ought not to Marry, Love, Hate, make War, Friendſhip or Peace, but as King, and agreeable to the People, and their Intereſt he governs.’ And as to the Lords rejecting *Fitz-Harris*'s Impeachment, he ſays, *Their Votes wou'd not have born a Conference.* This Author was ſoon after laſh'd by the Satyrical Pen of Mr. *John Dryden*; who undertook to expoſe the Exorbitancies of him and his Friends, and to vindicate the Honour and Dignity of the Houſe of Lords, as to the Caſe of *Fitz-Harris*, and to ſhew that they ought in ſuch Matters to be ſole Judges. Without which, he ſays, *The Number of Impeachments wou'd be ſo increaſed, that the Peers wou'd have no time for any other Buſineſs of the Publick.* Again, *The Commons may make Spaniels of the Lords, throw them a Man, and bid them go Judge, as we command a Dog to Fetch and Carry.*

Anſwers.

Many Addreſſes of Thanks for it.

As both Parties had now appeal'd to the People, ſo it ſoon appear'd which met with the greateſt Succeſs: The King's *Declaration* having been read in all Churches, and enforc'd by frequent Argumentations, it rais'd a Spirit of Indignation againſt particular Perſons, and produc'd innumerable Addreſſes of Thanks and Congratulations, which, for ſeveral Months, flow'd from all Parts of the Nations, Counties, Corporations, &c. moſt of them engaging their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, for the *Preſervation of his Majeſty's Government in Church and State as by Law Eſtabliſh'd.* Among theſe Loyal Addreſſes, that from *Norwich* was obſerv'd to run higheſt for the King's Prerogative, and a little reflecting upon the Exorbitancies of the late Houſes of Commons: But, as if it were a notorious Scandal to the Parliament, the Grand Jury of *Middleſex* preſented it at the

King's-Bench as a publick Libel; but with no Diſcouragement to the prevailing Party, who more zealouſly continu'd their Addreſſes. It wou'd be too tedious to enumerate all, which weekly fill'd the *Gazettes*, and to mention how kindly they were receiv'd by the King, who never ſuffer'd thoſe that brought them to depart without ſome gracious Mark of his Favour. The Reception was quite otherwiſe to ſome others, who took upon them in their Petitions to direct his Majeſty about the Calling and Continuance of Parliaments. It is obſervable, that the City of *London* was divided in theſe Matters; Moſt of the Court of Aldermen, and ſome of the Common-Council, had drawn up a Loyal Addreſs, as the whole Borough of *Southwark* had done before; which they preſented to the King at *Windſor* by the Hands of Sir *William Turner* and Sir *John Moor*, with diſtinguiſhing Countenance and Favour: But another Party in the City having compos'd a far different Petition, both for Form and Matter, and being the ſame Day carry'd to *Windſor* by the Lord-Mayor, one Alderman, and the Recorder, they were refus'd Admittance to the King's Preſence, but order'd to attend the Council at *Hampton-Court* the *Thurſday* following, where they receiv'd a Reprimand from the Lord Chancellor, and a further Mortification by the kind Reception of the Lieutenancy of *London*, who that Day came with the Offers of their *Lives and Fortunes*; among whom was Sir *George Jeffreys* the King's Servant, and late Recorder of *London*, who appear'd with his Sword on, as one of the ſaid Lieutenancy.

And as theſe Addreſſes prevailed, all the contrary News Papers call'd *Domeſtick Intelligence, &c.* and Weekly Printed for *Francis Smith*, *Benjamin Harris* and *Langly Curtis*, were by Order of Council, as was reported, put down and ſilenced: And the forementiou'd *Francis Smith*, called *Elephant Smith*, the moſt publick Vender of ſuch Papers, was committed to *Newgate*. To anſwer and expoſe theſe and the like Papers and Pamphlets, and to vindicate the preſent Government againſt all Oppoſers, Mr. *Roger L'Eſtrange* enter'd the Liſts; and joining in the ſame Deſign with *Heraclitus Ridens*, beforemention'd, he began to publiſh his *Obſervators*, ſoon after the Appearance of the King's *Declaration*; a Work that continu'd a long Time, made a great Noiſe, and had no ſmall Influence upon the Nation; and particularly ſerv'd to keep up the Diviſions and Diſtinctions of *Whigg*, *Tory* and *Trimmer*, and to lay open the Faults of two of them with the utmoſt Sharpneſs and Severity. This Gentleman, having been a ſtrict Cavalier, and a grand Sufferer, ever ſtood up as a Champion for his Party, for which he was attack'd by Variety and Numbers of Adverſaries; in all which Encounters he ſhew'd he cou'd fence with great Quickneſs, Cunning and Dexterity, ſo as ſometimes to wound and diſarm, and other Times to drive his Enemy out of the Field. Yet it has ſince appear'd plain, that both he and they often fought in the Dark, or in a very uncertain Light; particularly in that great Point of the King's Religion, or rather Inclination to Popery, in which both the Offender and Defender were perhaps equally ignorant; the one charging and the other clearing him without any Knowledge. However it was, he with *Heraclitus*, and ſome others back'd with Legal Authority, not only maintain'd their Ground this Reign, but are thought to have ſtemmed the Tide of a popular Current, which, with a little more Help and Succeſs, might have been very pernicious to the Nation. In order to promote the ſame Deſign, this Year there appeared a celebrated Poem, call'd *Abſalom* and *Achitophel*, which very much ſurpris'd and delighted the Nation, and ſo ſatyrically and ſolemnly expos'd the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and his chief Followers, that it made a mighty Impreſſion upon the Minds of both Parties. It was written by Mr. *Dryden* beforemention'd, tho' then unknown to be the Author, and ſhews the great Power and Energy of the *Engliſh* Tongue; there being many Lines in it, which are juſtly thought equal to any in the ancient Poets.

Mr. L'Eſtrange *and Mr.* Dryden *draw their Pens.*

Alterations and Preferments at Court.

2. Soon after the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, there began to be ſome Alterations and Preferments at Court; and firſt his Majeſty began with his own Natural Son *Charles* Duke of *Richmond*, Son to the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, whom at nine Years of Age he made Knight of the Noble Order of the *Garter*. A few Days after, *April* the 27th, in Conſideration of the faithful Services perform'd by the Right Honourable *Laurence Hyde*, Eſquire, firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, in that and other Employments of eminent Truſts, his Majeſty was pleas'd to create him Viſcount *Hyde* of *Kennelworth*, and Baron of *Wooton-Baſſet*. Not long after, as a Mark of the great Satisfaction his Majeſty had in the many faithful Services which his Lordſhip had render'd the Crown, he was pleas'd to confer upon the Right Honourable *Heneage* Lord *Finch*, Lord-Chancellor of *England*, the Honour and Dignity of an Earl of this Kingdom, by creating him Earl of *Nottingham*. Beſides theſe Noblemen, at the beginning of *Eaſter* Term, the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs* having obtained a Writ of Eaſe, Sir *Francis Pemberton* was made Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Court of *King's-Bench*; who having receiv'd his Commiſſion, and taken the Oaths, was on the 13th of *April* brought by the Lord-Chancellor to pay his Duty to his Majeſty; by whom he was moſt graciouſly receiv'd, ſuitable to the Opinion he had of his great Integrity, Loyalty and Knowledge of the Laws.

Proceedings againſt Fitz-Harris.

This celebrated Lawyer enter'd upon his Employment with a nice and difficult Affair, the Tryal of *Edward Fitz-Harris*, about whom there were mighty Expectations to ſee what the Court wou'd do in his Caſe, after the Houſe of Commons had made ſuch menacing Votes againſt any that ſhou'd preſume to try him. However, his Tryal was reſolv'd upon, and within leſs than a Month after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, *April* 26th, he was indicted of High-Treaſon at the *King's-Bench* Bar, and the Bill given to the Grand-Jury of *Middleſex*, of which Mr. *Godfrey*, Brother and Heir to the late Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, was the Foreman. It was with ſome Heſitation that they were made to receive this Bill, in regard he had been impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons, till they were inform'd and ſatisfied by the Court, 'That 'all the Judges of *England* had the Day before met, and reſolv'd upon the Queſtion, *Nemine Contradicente*, That 'they might lawfully proceed in the Tryal, notwithſtanding the aforementioned Votes of the Houſe of Commons.' Whereupon the ſaid Jury found the Bill, and *Fitz-Harris* was arraign'd at the Bar, on the laſt Day of *April*: He was thrice bid to hold up his Hand, inſiſting upon the Impeachment in Parliament; but at laſt he held up his Hand, and heard his Indictment read; which was for High-Treaſon, expreſs'd in a certain Writing call'd *The true Engliſhman, &c.* full of horrid Expreſſions againſt the King, as has been formerly remembred. To which Indictment he put into Court a Dilatory Plea againſt the Juriſdiction, alledging, *That having been impeach'd by the Commons in Parliament, he cou'd not be try'd there*; but his Plea not being under Councils Hand, was refus'd to be receiv'd. However, the Court gave him Time to conſider whether he wou'd ſtand by ſuch a Plea, *in regard it might be fatal to him in caſe he ſhou'd be over-rul'd*; and aſſign'd him for Council Sir *Francis Winnington*, Mr. *Williams* the late Speaker, Mr. *Pollexfen*, and Mr. *Wallop*, as he deſired, to argue the ſaid Point of Judicature, if he perſiſted in ſuch a Plea.

His Plea

At the Time appointed, four Days after, the Priſoner was again brought to the Bar, attended with his Council; at which Time the King's Attorney, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, entered a Demurrer to the Priſoner's Plea, and chiefly inſiſted on the manifeſt Defect of Form, 'In regard the Plea 'run that the ſaid *Fitz-Harris* was Impeached in the late 'Parliament at *Oxford*, *de Alta Proditione*, but does not ſay 'of what ſort or manner of Treaſon, nor ſets forth the Impeachment at large, which a Plea ought to do, whenever it is to the Juriſdiction.' After which the Council of the Priſoner join'd in Demurrer; but upon their earneſt Motion, tho' oppos'd by the Attorney-General, three Days Time was given them to prepare themſelves to maintain the ſaid Plea by Argument. At laſt, on the 7th of *May*, the Matter was argued at large by *Williams*, *Winnington*, *Wallop* and *Pollexfen*, for the Priſoner; and by the Attorny-General, the Sollicitor, Serjeant *Jeffreys*, and Sir *Francis Withens* for the King. The King's Council, and alſo the Court, artfully inſiſted, 'That they meddled not at 'all with the *Privilege* of the Houſe of Commons, or the '*Juriſdiction* of the Lords in Parliament, which was not 'in the Point, but only as to the *Form of the Plea*;' while the Priſoner's Council as vigorouſly inſiſted upon both thoſe Points. After all the Debate, which was very curious, and laſted above four Hours, the Lord Chief-Juſtice declar'd, *That the Court wou'd take a convenient Time to conſider before they gave their Judgment*. Accordingly, four Days after, when the Priſoner was again brought to the Bar by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Pemberton*, in the Name of the whole Court gave Judgment, and declared, 'That he and 'his Brethren had conſider'd of the Plea, and that they had 'alſo conſulted with others of the Judges; and that Himſelf, Mr. Juſtice *Jones*, and Mr. Juſtice *Raymond* were of 'Opinion, *That the Plea was inſufficient*, Mr. Juſtice *Dolben* alone doubting.' In Conſequence, the Plea was Overrul'd, and the Priſoner ordered to plead *Over*; and accordingly he pleaded *Not Guilty*; but alledging that a Material Evidence on his Part was now in *Holland*, his Tryal was put off till near a Month, till the Beginning of the next Term, and the 9th of *June*.

It is over-rul'd.

He accuſes the Earl of Danby, &c.

But before that Day, *Fitz-Harris* was call'd again into the *King's-Bench* Court upon another Account, namely to give Evidence to the Grand-Jury upon a Bill of Indictment againſt one *De Puy*, who had been Groom of the Robes to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*. The Grand-Jury were urgent that the Evidence might be given to them in private, but the Court thought fit to over-rule that; and *Fitz-Harris* declar'd upon Oath, in open Court, a great deal of ſcandalous Matter, concerning the Queen, and the Duke, and the Earl of *Danby*; and particularly the Latter, with Relation to the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, which he ſaid *De Puy* had told him a little before the Death of that Gentleman; but all this he ſpoke from *De Puy*'s Mouth. Of his own Knowledge, he only ſaid thus much, That the Earl of *Danby* coming down the Stairs at *Windſor*, he heard him ſay, *That now he would make* Godfrey'*s Heart ake:* To which he added, That preſently after the Murder *De Puy* told him, *That the Earl had ſent* Godfrey *on an Errand, from which he would never return.* Upon this unexpected Evidence, the Earl of *Danby*'s Name was likewiſe inſerted into the Bill of Indictment againſt *De Puy*, as an Acceſſary to the ſaid Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*; and the Bill was accordingly found againſt them Both. But this Bill never took Place: and not long after *Fitz-Harris*, finding no Relief, retracted all, and declar'd, *That what he ſaid was purpoſely deſign'd to ſtave off his Tryal till a new Parliament; and that he was particularly put upon to accuſe the Lord* Danby *of* Godfrey'*s Murder, becauſe the Crime of Murder was not inſerted in his Pardon.*

Retracts.

The Tryal of Dr. Plunket.

3. But juſt before *Fitz-Harris* was to be try'd, the Court thought it convenient to bring on the Tryal of a Perſon charg'd with the higheſt Crimes, but of a different Nature; Dr. *Oliver Plunket*, the Titular Primate of *Ireland*, whoſe Tryal was long expected, and whoſe Conviction would probably confirm the Belief of the *Popiſh Plot* in that Kingdom, according to the Votes of the laſt *Weſtminſter* Parliament. To prove which Plot, and to condemn which Man, at the Meeting of that Parliament, ſeveral Witneſſes were incourag'd to come over from *Ireland*, who now wanting Money, and likewiſe their Pardons, they were forc'd to work hard to obtain both; and they were ſoon found to be proper Inſtruments for different Kinds of Services. About ſeven of them were thought fit to be firſt employ'd againſt *Plunket*, who was try'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar, on the 8th Day of *June*, for High-Treaſon. The Sum of the Charge and Proofs againſt him, was, 'That the Priſoner was made Primate 'of *Ireland* by the Pope, at the Recommendation of the '*French* King; and that upon his Election he made theſe 'Conditions with his Chriſtian Majeſty, to raiſe Sixty 'or Seventy thouſand *Iriſh*, to be ready to joyn with the '*French* to deſtroy the *Proteſtant* Religion; the ſaid *Plunket* having ingag'd to get *Dublin*, *London-derry*, and all 'the Sea-Ports into their own Hands, to levy War, and 'carry on the Deſign, and that they ſhould have the King 'of *France* to protect them during Life: Moreover, upon 'this Contract, the ſaid *Plunket*, for the managing this 'War, and Maintenance of this vaſt Body of Men, had 'tax'd the *Iriſh* Clergy ſeveral Sums of Money, *viz.* Some 'of them Ten, ſome Twenty, nay ſome Forty Shillings '*per Annum*; and had himſelf pitch'd upon *Carlingford* Haven for the Landing of the *French*; which Invaſion was 'to have been made in the Year 1679, a Year after the Diſcovery of the Plot in *England*. And beſides a *French* 'Army, there was likewiſe a *Spaniſh* Army provided, that 'were to Land with them.' Theſe, and ſome other like Matters were ſworn againſt the Priſoner, by Witneſſes who were moſt, if not all, profeſs'd *Papiſts*.

His Defence.

He is Condemned.

In his Defence, the Priſoner, beſides his alledging many peculiar Hardſhips, inſiſted, not only upon the Malice of his Accuſers, but the mighty Improbablities of the Facts Charg'd upon him. He acknowledg'd, 'That he had 'the Title of *Primate of all Ireland*, but his Juriſdiction 'was limitted to the Province of *Ulſter*, where the 'whole Number of Men, Women and Children of 'the *Roman* Catholicks, did not amount to Seventy Thouſand Souls: That the *Popiſh* Clergy in *Ireland* were very Poor, and had no Revenue nor Land, but liv'd as the '*Presbyterians* in *England*, and were totally unable to contribute to any great Deſign: That he himſelf never receiv'd a Farthing of Money but in his own Diſtrict, and 'for his own Livelyhood, in which the Prieſts under 'him gave ſome Twenty, and ſome Thirty Shillings a 'Year; and that he never receiv'd above Threeſcore Pounds 'a Year in his Life, unleſs ſome Gentleman wou'd now 'and then give him Ten Shillings for his Relief: That he 'was never able to keep above one Servant, and the Place 'he liv'd in was a little Thatch'd Houſe, wherein was only a little Room for a Library, not ſeven Foot High; 'Therefore how was it poſſible for thoſe Things charg'd 'againſt him to be true? Beſides, he had an Atteſtation of his good Behaviour in *Ireland*, under the Hands 'of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Berkley*, when they 'were Lord-Lieutenants of that Kingdom.' Tho' the Accuſation look'd very Romantick, not to ſay malicious, yet the Witneſſes were ſo perfect and poſitive in their Oaths, that the Jury found him guilty of High-Treaſon, and Sentence paſs'd upon him accordingly. I have been aſſur'd from an unqueſtionable Hand, that the Earl of *Eſſex* Himſelf was ſo ſenſible of this poor Man's Hardſhips, that he generouſly apply'd to the King for a Pardon, and told his Majeſty *that the Witneſſes muſt needs be perjur'd; for thoſe Things ſworn againſt him could not poſſibly be true.* Upon which the King in a Paſſion ſaid, *Why did you not atteſt this at his Tryal? It would have done him good then: I durſt pardon no Body.* And ſo concluded with the ſame Kind of Anſwer he had given to other Perſons formerly, *His Blood be upon your Head, and not upon Mine!*

The Tryal and Condemnation of Fitz-Harris.

4. The very next Day after *Plunket*'s Tryal, *Thurſday* the 9th of *June*, came on the much-expected Tryal of *Fitz-Harris*, who was arraign'd at the ſame Bar for his Treaſonable Libel. It was now become a Party Cauſe; and tho' he was acknowledg'd to be a *Papiſt*, the *Whiggs* were for ſaving him, and the *Tories* for Hanging him; and the Former are ſaid to have taken great Pains in the making of a Jury, but were unexpectedly diſappointed. The Libel, mention'd in the Indictment, was ſo fully prov'd upon him by Mr. *Everard*, Mr. *Smith*, and Sir *William Waller*, that he could not deny it; but continually inſinuated that what he did was by the Order of his Superiors, and the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* was brought in as a Party. To confirm theſe Inſinuations, *Titus Oates*, Mr. *Corniſh*, Colonel *Manſel*, Mr. *Hunt*, and Mr. *Bethel*, appear'd in the Behalf of the Priſoner, but with no better Effect than throwing an outward Suſpicion upon the Court. And beſides the Lord *Howard*, the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and her Woman Mrs. *Wall*, appear'd in the Court, at the Inſtance of the Priſoner Himſelf; but they fully deny'd what he chiefly wanted them to affirm, their Employing him in any Buſineſs of this Nature, and alledg'd, 'That what little Money he receiv'd from Court was meer Charity.' In this Tryal, which laſted ſeveral Hours, Papers were privately put into the Hands of the Jury, containing Reaſons why they ought not to find the Priſoner Guilty, and concluded with a Menace, in caſe they did ſo, 'That 'they ſhould anſwer it in Parliament, and that the Nation 'would never leave them, till they had ruin'd them and 'their Families.' And as they withdrew from the Bar, ſome Perſons ſaid to them in their Paſſage *Find him Guilty, if you dare!* Wagers were laid that he would be acquitted; but it ſeems one of the Jury turn'd the Scale by Threatning to faſt with them all, ſo that at length they brought him in Guilty; having been firſt inform'd by the Court, that the Vote of the Houſe of Commons could be no Bar to their Verdict. Mr. *Hawles* complains of great Hardſhips in this Matter, which the Reader may ſee in his *Remarks* upon this and other Tryals. And Mrs. *Fitz-Harris* did ſeveral Years after aver to a Perſon of Worth, *That the Buſineſs of the Libel was a Court Trick, and the King was privy to it*; which, if true, ſhews to what wretched Shifts they were reduc'd, and what poor Means they were forc'd to uſe to countermine their Oppoſers at that Time.

Lord Howard *Committed.*

However, within two Days after her Husband's Tryal, She and her Maid did both accuſe the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* of the Contrivance of the ſaid Treaſonable Libel: upon which Accuſation his Lordſhip was committed to the *Tower*, on the 12th of *June*. And on the laſt Day of *Trinity* Term, a Bill of Indictment againſt the ſaid Lord, being deliver'd in to the Grand-Jury of *Edminton* Hundred, then ſerving in the *King's-Bench* for the County of *Middleſex*, ſworn to by Mrs. *Fitz-Harris*, and her Maid, and ſome others, and the Jury not thinking the Evidence ſufficient, they were ready to Indorſe it with an *Ignoramus*; when Mr. *Ward*, one of the Clerks of the Crown-Office, attending upon them, withdrew it from before them. Of which Action they complain'd to the Court, where they were told, that the Attorney-General might ſtop theſe Proceedings as he ſaw Occaſion, or Words to that purpoſe; but the Jury being no ways ſatisfy'd, they went immediately and preferred a Bill of Indictment againſt the ſaid *Ward* to the Grand-Jury of *Oſwelſton* Hundred, then attending, for his High Miſdemeanour; which Bill was preſently found by this laſt mention'd Jury.

Fitz-Harris's *Confeſſion.*

In the mean Time, *Fitz-Harris* made his Confeſſion at large to Dr. *Hawkins*, Miniſter of the *Tower*, out of which ſome Particulars have already been mention'd. Among thoſe not before mention'd, we are to remember, that he often told the Doctor, 'That there was a Deſign laid by 'the *Proteſtant Party* to ſeize the Perſon of the King, and 'carry him into the City, and there detain him till he had 'condeſcended to call a Parliament, which ſhould ſit till 'the Excluſion Bill againſt the Duke was paſs'd, all Evil 'Counſellors remov'd, Men of their Chuſing put into 'Places of Truſt, the Militia ſettled, the Navy put into 'good Hands, and all Grievances redreſs'd according to 'their Liking; and had this Deſign ſucceeded, the Biſhops 'and others of the Clergy wou'd have ſuffer'd ſeverely.

'The Party ingag'd in this Deſign, he ſaid, were Men of Intereſt, and could have Sixty thouſand Men at Command, at a ſhort Warning: That *Hayns* and He were both privy to this Deſign, and had ſeveral Meetings with the Lord *Howard* about it; and as a particular Encouragement, the Lord *Howard* aſſur'd them of Breaking the Settlement of *Ireland*, taking off the additional Revenue of the Biſhops, and Grantees, whoſe Eſtates were to be ſhar'd among the Party.' Then upon the Words of a Dying Man, he declar'd, 'That concerning this Deſign to ſeize the King, *It was every Word true*.' He afterwards told the Doctor, 'That to his Knowledge *Hayns* was tamper'd with to come in againſt the Queen, the Duke, and the Earl of *Danby*, who were the chief Perſons aim'd at; and that a conſiderable Perſon ſaid to him, *I prithee*, Fitz-Harris, *find me out Men that will ſwear the Murder of* Godfrey *againſt the Duke*; which he to humour him, ſaid, *There are Men, if there were Money*; to which the Perſon reply'd, *Find me the Men, and the Money ſhall not be wanting*.' He moreover declar'd, 'That a Paper of Inſtructions was put into his Pocket in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, wherein he was bid to *ſpeak boldly, and not ſpare the Greateſt, the King Himſelf; and if he did not ſpeak againſt the Queen, his Royal Highneſs, the Lord* Powis, *and his Lady, Lord* Arundel, *Lord* Bellaſis, *Lord* Peters, *Lord* Danby *and Lord* Peterborough, *all his Friends would forſake him*.' At another Time he inform'd him, 'That his Wife laſt Night had whiſper'd to him, How a certain Perſon had been with her from a great Lord, to deſire him *to ſay Nothing when he came to dye, and they did not value what he had ſaid to Doctor* Hawkins *elſewhere*; *and if ſhe could perſuade him not to declare any Thing againſt the Party, when he came to be Executed, they had promis'd to continue their Allowance to her of three Guineas a Week, and to make her the ſame Preſent of three Hundred Guineas, on the Day of his Execution, which ſhould have been made him on the Day of his Tryal, had he been acquitted*.' And when he reduc'd his Confeſſion to Writing, he often ſaid, *His Confeſſion would injure his poor Wife and Children; her Allowance would be withdrawn, and ſhe would loſe thoſe, who were now her beſt Friends*. And indeed when it came to be publiſh'd, it was very ſurpriſing, and provoking to thoſe who had ſo much endeavour'd to ſave his Life.

His Execution, together with Plunket.

On *Friday* the firſt of *July*, both He and Dr. *Plunket* before-mention'd, were drawn on two Sledges to *Tyburn*, and both Hang'd and Quarter'd. *Plunket* in a long Speech declar'd himſelf abſolutely Innocent of the Crimes he was accus'd of, forgave his Enemies, and pray'd for King, Queen, and Duke of *York*. But *Fitz-Harris* made a very ſhort Speech, in which he declar'd, 'He was no further concern'd in the Libel, than to diſcover to the King what Practices of that Kind were againſt him, tho' thoſe that employ'd him *refuſ'd to do him Juſtice at his Tryal*; and that he never had a Farthing of Money of the King in his Life, but on the Account of the like Service.' And referr'd what he had further to Declare, to what he had left with Dr. *Hawkins*. The two Sheriffs, not ſatisfy'd, urg'd him to ſpeak more fully; and Mr. *Bethel* ſaid, *Mr.* Fitz-Harris, *you declared when you were in* Newgate, *that you knew more of the* Popiſh *Plot than any Man; you ought to ſay what you know before you dye*. Then Mr. *Corniſh* ſaid, *Mr.* Fitz-Harris, *if you know any Thing that may ſave Innocent Blood, you ought to declare it*. He ſtill referr'd them to what he had left with Dr. *Hawkins*; which made them very earneſt *to know what it was, and where*. But the Doctor told them, *That they were Papers which probably were not in his Power to produce*; and having Notice before, of the Deſign to ſtifle the Confeſſion by his not owning it at his Death, he deſir'd the Dying Man to declare, *Whether all that he had left with him were true*? The Sheriffs ſeem'd much concern'd that he ſhould put this Queſtion to him, and ſaid, *He had nothing to do to put Queſtions there, nor ſhould he*. He quickly reply'd, *Shall I not bid the Dying ſpeak the Truth*? Upon which, *Fitz-Harris* turn'd to him and ſaid, *Yes, 'tis true*. After which, the Sheriffs cou'd learn nothing Material from him, tho' often urg'd; and ſo they proceeded to the Execution. All which, and his Confeſſion, was the ſubject Matter of Diſcourſe amongſt all People, for a conſiderable Time after.

Proceedings againſt the contrary Party;

II. 1. The King ſeem'd no ways pleas'd with the Blood of theſe two different Sufferers, and had Reaſon to wiſh that neither of them had been proſecuted, or brought upon the Stage; yet he found it neceſſary for his preſent Repoſe, that both ſhould dye without Mercy. All which ſerv'd but to increaſe his Diſlike and Averſion to that Party which had driven him to this Neceſſity, and given him ſo great a Diſturbance; and to raiſe in him a more vindictive Diſpoſition, and a warmer Reſolution of making them feel the Weight of Sovereign Power. *Fitz-Harris*'s Confeſſions, which he at ſeveral Times made to Dr. *Hawkins*, gave him a fair Occaſion of ſearching after a new Sort of *Plotters*, who were now to attone for all former Proceedings and Proſecutions; and accordingly there was a great Noiſe of Warrants iſſu'd out againſt ſeveral Offenders, as *Rouſe*, *Hayns*, *White*, and one *Colledge*, commonly call'd the *Proteſtant Joyner*, and eſpecially the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, now by Way of Eminency call'd the *Proteſtant Earl*; who were all ſent to the *Tower* for High-Treaſon, about the Beginning of *July*. To prevent theſe and the like Perſons accus'd, and to countermine againſt the Deſigns from above, Means was ſoon found in the City to keep all *Proteſtant Friends* from the Laſh of the Law; and by the Help of their two celebrated Sheriffs, *Bethel* and *Corniſh*, ſuch Grand-Juries were ſecured, as ſeem'd to put them out of all Danger from the Government: Which Grand-Juries, by Length of Time, and frequent Practice, obtain'd the noted Title of IGNORAMUS; a Title accounted Ignominious and Infamous by one Sort of Men, and Glorious and Renowned by Another.

Particularly Colledge.

However, the Court reſolv'd to proceed firſt in the moſt Regular Way, and to try the Temper of the City-Juries; and ſo begun with ſingling out the *Proteſtant Joyner*, *Stephen Colledge*, a Perſon, tho' of ordinary Education, of Parts and Courage, for the moſt Part a Diſſenter from the Church of *England*, of an uncertain Religion, yet a ſtrenuous Aſſertor of the *Proteſtant* Cauſe: He was undoubtedly of a pragmatical Spirit, and of a ſawcy Behaviour with reſpect to his Superiors; and would take the Liberty both to ſing and talk any Thing againſt the King and his beſt Friends. This Man, who had been very active in the Death of the Lord *Stafford*, and a zealous Defender of the Honeſty of *Dugdale*, &c. had now the Fortune to have thoſe very Evidences turn'd againſt himſelf. Accordingly, when a Bill of Indictment of High-Treaſon againſt him was deliver'd to the Grand-Jury of *London*, theſe Men appear'd, and, if their Credit had been unſuſpected, ſwore enough to condemn any Man whatſoever: But the Grand-Jury, of which one *Wilmore* was the Fore-Man, was prepar'd againſt all ſuch Attacks, and at once threw out the Bill with an *Ignoramus*; which made a mighty Noiſe and Rejoycing in the City, and diſcover'd how much his Cauſe was eſpouſed.

An Ignoramus.

Remov'd to Oxford.

His Tryal.

His Inſtructions.

This Diſappointment and Triumph ſo exaſperated the Court, that they ſeem'd reſolv'd to proceed with the utmoſt Severity; and finding that Part of the Treaſonable Words and Actions charg'd upon him had paſs'd at *Oxford*, they determin'd to lay the Scene there; and for his Tryal, four Judges were appointed to meet there at the Aſſizes, Chief-Juſtice *North*, Juſtice *Jones*, Juſtice *Raymond*, and Juſtice *Levinz*. To make ſure of the Bill of Indictment, we are told, that the King's Council poſted thither, with the ſeveral Witneſſes, and were privately ſhut up with the Grand-Jury, till they were prevail'd upon to find the Bill; a Practice much complain'd of afterwards. In the mean Time, the Priſoner was allow'd by the King and Council to have a Counſellor and a Sollicitor, *Weſt* and *Smith*, to adviſe and aſſiſt him, before his Tryal; which Favour was looked upon as a Deſign to betray him. For when he was going from the Priſon at *Oxford* to his Tryal, the Jaylor and Meſſenger ſuddenly ran him into a Houſe, and by Order of the King's Council, took from him all his Papers of Inſtructions, and carry'd them to them; as well to diſable him to make his Defence, as to enable them to proceed againſt him by ſome Way in which he was leſs, or wholly unprovided. Thus beſet, he was arraign'd at Twelve a-Clock, *Auguſt* 17th, when he immediately demanded his Papers of the Court; which was poſitively refus'd him till he pleaded Not Guilty; and then two of them, which were not of his Hand-Writing, were ſtill deny'd him: The One was a Speech which he was to ſpeak at his Tryal, which the Court told him was a Libel; the Other was a Paper of Directions, what and how to plead, written by his Sollicitor *Aaron Smith*, in which they found theſe Words: 'Before you plead, ſpeak to this Purpoſe: My Lords, *I have been us'd not only unlike an* Innocent, *or an* Engliſh-Man, *but I believe more barbarouſly than any Convicted Villain under the Tyranny of* Turkey, *or* France: *When I was firſt apprehended, I was, contrary to the Privilege of the City of* London, *hurry'd out from thence before a Secretary of State.----I might with as much Juſtice have been hang'd at* Tyburn *by the Way, as to be brought hither to be murder'd with a little more Formality.-----* If the Attorney-General, or any of the King's Council interrupt you, &c. Anſwer thus, *I will not be murder'd in Hugger-Mugger.-----* When you come to open your own Evidence, ſpeak to this Purpoſe, to the Judges and

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‘ Jury, *I hope you will not bring ſo much Scandal upon your* ‘ *ſelves, as to be the* Pope’*s Drudges*; *and give the firſt* ‘ *Blow to the* Proteſtant Cauſe, *by convicting me upon ſuch* ‘ *Infamous Evidence.*’ Upon the Refuſal of his Papers, *Colledge* cry’d out, *This is a horrid Conſpiracy, not only againſt my Life, but againſt all the* Proteſtants *in* England! which put the Court and King’s Council to the Whiſper; and the Court was Adjourn’d, under the Pretence of going to Dinner; tho’ it is believ’d the true Reaſon was to give the King’s Council an Opportunity of ſorting their Evidence, and altering the Method of Proceeding.

His Accuſation.

Upon the Return of the Court in the Afternoon, the King’s Attorney, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, mov’d, that the King’s Evidence might be examin’d in the Hearing of one another; in which he was over-rul’d, but the Rule not obſerv’d. The firſt Witneſs was *Stephen Dugdale*, who ſwore, ‘ That *Colledge* told him that the King was a *Papiſt*; that he was as deep in the *Plot* as any of them all; ‘ that he had a Hand in Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*’s Death; ‘ that he was a *Rogue*; that nothing was to be expected ‘ from him but *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*; that ‘ he had ſhew’d him ſeveral ſcandalous Libels and Pictures, of which he was the Author; that he had a Silk ‘ Armour, a Brace of Horſe-Piſtols, a Pocket-Piſtol, and ‘ a Sword; that he ſaid *he had ſeveral ſtout Men to ſtand* ‘ *by him, and that he would make uſe of them for the Defence of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and that the King’s Party was but a Handful to His.*’ *Turberville* ſwore that the Priſoner ſaid at *Oxford*, ‘ *There was no Good to be expected from the King, and that he wiſh’d the King would* ‘ *begin*; *if he did not, they would begin with Him, and* ‘ *ſeize Him*; and ſaid *He came to* Oxford *for that Purpoſe.*’ *Smith* ſwore ‘ his ſpeaking ſcandalous Words ‘ of the King, and of his having Armour, and that when ‘ he ſhew’d it to the Witneſs, he ſaid, *theſe are the Things* ‘ *which will deſtroy the pitiful Guards of old* Rowley! He ‘ expected the King would ſeize ſome of the Members of ‘ Parliament at *Oxford*; if ſo *He would be one that ſhould* ‘ *ſeize Him*; that he ſaid *Fitz-Gerald* at *Oxford* had made ‘ his Noſe bleed, *but before long he hop’d to ſee a great* ‘ *deal more Blood ſhed for the* Cauſe; *that if any, nay, if* ‘ Rowley *Himſelf came to diſarm the City, he wou’d be* ‘ *the Death of him.*’ Beſides theſe Three who had been Evidence againſt the Lord *Stafford*, one *Stephens* ſwore to the finding the Original of that Scandalous Picture, *&c.* call’d the *Raree Show*, in the Priſoner’s Chamber. *Hayns* ſwore he ſaid, ‘ *Unleſs the King wou’d let the Parliament* ‘ *ſit at* Oxford, *they wou’d ſeize him, and bring him to the* ‘ *Block*; and that he ſaid *The City had fifteen Hundred* ‘ *Barrels of Powder, and a Hundred Thouſand Men ready* ‘ *at an Hour’s Warning.*’ Mr. *Maſters* ſwore, ‘ That he ‘ juſtify’d the Proceedings of the Parliament in 1641; at ‘ which the Witneſs wondring how he cou’d juſtify that ‘ Parliament that rais’d the Rebellion and cut off the ‘ King’s Head, the Priſoner reply’d, *That that Parliament* ‘ *had done Nothing but what they had juſt Cauſe for*; *and* ‘ *the laſt* Weſtminſter *Parliament was of the ſame Opinion*: ‘ That he call’d the Priſoner *Colonel* in Mockery, who ‘ reply’d, *Mock not, I may be one in a little Time.*’ Laſtly, Sir *William Jennings* ſwore as to the Priſoner’s Fighting with *Fitz-Gerald*, and the Words about his Bleeding.

His Defence.

On the other Side, there appear’d ſeveral Witneſſes for the Priſoner, and *Titus Oates* in Chief, whoſe Buſineſs was to ingage with the Three Plot-Diſcoverers, *Dugdale*, *Turberville* and *Smith*. As to *Dugdale*, he teſtify’d ‘ That ‘ he heard him ſay, *He call’d God to Witneſs, he knew nothing againſt any Proteſtant in* England: And having ‘ tax’d him afterwards for Swearing againſt *Colledge* before the *London* Grand-Jury, he anſwer’d, *It was all* ‘ *long of Colonel* Warcup, *for he cou’d get no Money elſe,* ‘ *and he had promis’d him a Place in the* Cuſtom-Houſe: ‘ And that *Dugdale* had given out he had been poyſon’d, ‘ when in Truth it was the Pox; as he cou’d make appear by the Phyſician that cur’d him.’ In Oppoſition to which *Dugdale* ſwore, *Upon the Oath he had taken, and as he hop’d for Salvation, it was all falſe*; and as to the Pox, *if any Doctor wou’d come forth, he wou’d ſtand guilty of all that was imputed to him*. As to *Turberville*, *Oates* teſtify’d, ‘ That asking him whether he was a Witneſs againſt *Colledge*, he ſaid *He wou’d break any Man’s Head* ‘ *that ſhou’d ſay ſo*; *for he neither was a Witneſs, nor* ‘ *cou’d give any Evidence againſt him*: But after he ‘ came from *Oxford*, he own’d he had ſworn before the ‘ Grand-Jury, and ſaid, *The Proteſtant Citizens had deſerted him*; *and God damn him, he wou’d not Starve.*’ In Concluſion, *Oates* ſaid, *Upon the Word of a Prieſt, what I ſay is true*; *As I am a Miniſter, and in the Preſence of God, this Gentleman did ſay theſe Words to me.* In Anſwer to this *Turberville* Swore, ‘ He once met Dr. ‘ *Oates*, but did not ſpeak a Tittle to him about any Evidence; adding, *Upon my Oath, I did not*: *And truly I* ‘ *always look’d upon the Doctor as a very Ill Man, and never wou’d converſe much with him.*’ Againſt *Smith*, *Oates* atteſted, ‘ That he heard him ſwear, *God damn him,* ‘ *he wou’d have* Colledge’*s Blood*: Upon which he ſaid, ‘ *Mr.* Smith, *you profeſs your Self to be a Prieſt, and have* ‘ *ſtood at the* Altar; *and now you intend to take upon you* ‘ *the Miniſtry of the Church of* England; *theſe Words do* ‘ *not become a Miniſter of the Goſpel*; His Reply was, ‘ *God damn the Goſpel.*’ *This is Truth*, continu’d *Oates*, *I ſpeak it in the Preſence of God and Man.* On the other Side, *Smith* ſaid, *Not one Word of this is true, upon my Oath.* Then addreſſing himſelf to *Oates*, he ſaid, *’Tis wonderful you ſhou’d ſay this of Me. But I will ſufficiently prove it againſt you*; *That you have confounded the Goſpel, and deny’d the Divinity too.*

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Car. 33.
Ref. 22.

It wou’d be too tedious to mention all the Evidences for the Priſoner; only that *Haynes* was prov’d an Ill Man, and had ſtolen a Tankard, and ſomething was ſaid againſt moſt of the King’s Witneſſes, to invalidate their Credit. In ſumming up the whole, the Attorney-General complain’d, *That it was an unhappy Thing, That Doctor* Oates *ſhou’d come in againſt thoſe Men that had ſupported his Evidence before*: And Mr. Serjeant *Jeffreys* thus argu’d to the Jury; *If* Dugdale, Smith *and* Turberville, *be not to be believ’d, you perjure no leſs than Three Men*; *and, in them, trip up the Heels of all the Evidence and Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot.* In ſum, the Jury brought him in guilty of High-Treaſon, and the Court declared, *They were well ſatisfy’d in the Verdict given*, and ſo condemn’d him to be Drawn, Hang’d and Quarter’d. His Execution was deferr’d fourteen Days, till the 31ſt of *Auguſt*; during which Time, in Company he ſeem’d to be very little concern’d, but often had terrible Agonies when he was by himſelf; and his Religion appear’d to be very much mix’d with Enthuſiaſm. At his Execution he made a long Speech, ‘ in which he declar’d he dy’d of the Church of *England*, ‘ *according to the beſt Reformation of the Church from all* ‘ *Idolatry, Superſtition*, &c. He complain’d of great Hardſhips, and ſaid *he knew of no Plot, but the Popiſh Plot*, ‘ and deny’d the Main of his Accuſation; He gave an Account of his Journey to *Oxford*, and that he heard the ‘ Parliament, as well as the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, was to be ‘ deſtroy’d there; and that the Arms that He and Others ‘ had, were for their own Defence, in caſe the *Papiſts* ‘ ſhou’d make an Attempt upon them by way of Maſſacre, ‘ *&c.* And he particularly declar’d thus, *I do believe* ‘ *that I am as certainly Murder’d by the Hands of the* ‘ Papiſts, *as Sir* Edmund-bury Godfrey *Himſelf was, tho’* ‘ *the Thing is not ſeen.*’ Being Hang’d, by the King’s Order, his Body was deliver’d whole to his Friends; and his Death was ſo much reſented or regretted, that he was by many accounted and call’d a *Martyr*. Whatever he was, it is hard to vindicate his inſatiable Endeavours after the Blood of the Lord *Stafford* and others; and his Dying by the ſame Witneſſes whoſe Credit he had ſupported, looks more like the juſt Vengeance of Heaven, than the unjuſt Puniſhment of Men.

His laſt Speech and Execution.

Oates *diſcarded at Court.*

2. On the ſame Day that *Colledge* ſuffer’d, the famous *Titus Oates*, whoſe Salary had been abridg’d ſome Months before, was now by Order of Council turn’d out of his Lodgings at *White-Hall*, where he had continu’d near Three Years, had his Salary taken quite from him, and Orders given him not to come within the Verge of the Council-Chamber: And all occaſion’d by his inſolent Behaviour, and ſome Miſdemeanors laid to his Charge; his Proceedings at *Colledge*’s Tryal being alſo remember’d, where in the Court he ſaid to Sir *George Jeffreys*, *Mr. Serjeant, you ſhall hear of this in another Place!* From this Time the Belief and Fears of the *Popiſh Plot* more ſenſibly declin’d and diminiſh’d, and the Infirmities and Abſurdities of it became more viſible to all Men. So that the King and the Court had now a breathing Time from all the Vexations of it; and his Majeſty ſeem’d more to enjoy himſelf this Summer, than in ſome Years before; being daily complimented by the Addreſſes of his Subjects, which ſtill flow’d from all Parts of his Kingdom. For which Addreſſes, and the general Proceedings of the Court, *Heraclitus* and *Leſtrange* were now the weekly Champions.

Favours to the French *Proteſtants.*

This Summer, his Majeſty had a new Opportunity of Obliging the greateſt Part of his Subjects: Great Numbers of poor *French* Proteſtants, driven by a ſevere Perſecution from their own Country, came over into *England* for Shelter and Refuge. Upon which the King was pleas’d to declare in Council, ‘ That he held himſelf obliged, in Honour and Conſcience, to comfort and ſupport all ſuch afflicted *Proteſtants*, who by Reaſon of the ‘ Rigours and Severities us’d towards them, upon Account of their Religion, ſhou’d be forc’d to quit their ‘ Native Country, and ſhou’d deſire to ſhelter themſelves

‘ under

Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners.

‘ under his Majeſty's Royal Protection, for the Preſervation and free Exerciſe of their Religion.’ And in Order hereunto, his Majeſty was pleas'd further to Declare, ‘ That he will grant unto every ſuch Diſtreſſed *Proteſtant*, who ſhall come hither for Refuge, and reſide here, his Letters of *Denization*, under the Great Seal, without any Charge whatſoever; and will likewiſe recommend it to his Parliament, at their next Meeting, to paſs an Act for the *General Naturalization* of all ſuch *Proteſtants* as ſhall come over as aforeſaid, *&c.*’ And afterwards, when a Suſpicion was rais'd, that many of theſe Exiles, pretending to be *Proteſtants*, were really *French Papiſts*, and therefore dangerous Enemies in Diſguiſe, the King was pleas'd to publiſh another Advertiſement, as might ſufficiently obviate that Objection and Difficulty; and likewiſe granted ample Letter Patents for Collecting Monies all over *England* for their Relief, which had a noble Effect in all Counties. In the ſame Summer, to oblige the Church of *England*, He appointed under him, certain Deputies or Commiſſioners of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; to whom he delegated his Power to Diſpoſe of all ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Preferments as belong'd to his immediate Patronage. The Names of which Commiſſioners were, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Lord *Radnor*, the Lord *Hallifax*, the Lord *Hyde*, and Mr. *Edward Seymour*: Which Commiſſion continu'd in Force about Three Years.

The Court at New-market.

Dr. Gower*'s Speech to the King there.*

In the midſt of the Nation's Addreſſes and Congratulations, on the 10th of *September*, both the King and the Queen repaired to *New-Market*, to be entertain'd with the Pleaſures and Diverſions of that Place. Here they were ſoon attended by a numerous and ſolemn Appearance of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, at the Head of which was the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Humfrey Gower*, Maſter of St. *John*'s College; who with the reſt being admitted, he made this following Speech, of which great Notice was taken at that Time: ‘ SACRED SIR! We your Majeſty's moſt faithful and obedient Subjects, of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, have long, with the greateſt and ſincereſt Joy, beheld, what we hope is in ſome Meaſure an Effect of our own Prayers; the generous Emulation of our Fellow-Subjects, contending who ſhou'd Firſt and Beſt expreſs their Duty and Gratitude to their Sovereign, at this Time eſpecially, when the Seditious Endeavours of unreaſonable Men have *made it neceſſary to aſſert the Ancient Loyalty of the* Engliſh *Nation*, and make the World ſenſible, That we do not degenerate from thoſe Prime Glories of our Anceſtors, *Love and Allegiance to our Prince*.

‘ That we were not ſeen in thoſe *Loyal Crowds*, but choſe rather to ſtand by and applaud their Honeſt and Religious Zeal; we humbly preſume will not be imputed to the Want of it in our Selves, either by your Majeſty, or your People. For, SIR, it is, at preſent, the great Honour of this your Univerſity, not only to be Stedfaſt and Conſtant in our Duty, but to be Eminently ſo, and to ſuffer for it, as much as the Calumnies and Reproaches of Factious and Malicious Men can inflict upon us: And that they have been hitherto able to do no more than vent the Venom of their Tongues; that they have not proceeded to Plunder and Sequeſtration, to violate our Cappels, rifle our Libraries, and empty our Colleges, as once they did; Next to the over-ruling Providence of Almighty God, is only due to the Royal Care and Prudence of your moſt Sacred Majeſty, who gave ſo *Seaſonable a Check to their Arbitrary and Inſolent Undertakings*.

‘ But no Earthly Power, we hope, no Menaces or Miſery ſhall ever be able to make us Renounce, or Forget our Duty. We will ſtill believe and maintain, *That our Kings derive not their Titles from the People, but from God; That to Him only they are accountable; That it belongs not to Subjects, either to Create or Cenſure, but to Honour and Obey their Sovereign*, who comes to be ſo, *by a Fundamental Hereditary Right of Succeſſion, which no* Religion, *no* Law, *no* Fault *or* Forfeiture *can alter or diminiſh*. Nor will we abate of our well-inſtructed Zeal for our moſt Holy Religion, as it is Profeſs'd, and by Law Eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*; that Church which hath ſo long ſtood, and ſtill is the *Envy* and *Terror* of her Adverſaries, as well as the *Beauty* and *Strength* of the *Reformation*.

‘ It is thus, DREAD SIR, That we have learn'd our own, and thus we teach others their Duty to God and the King; in the conſcientious Diſcharge of both which, we have been ſo long protected and encourag'd by your Majeſty's moſt Juſt and Gracious Government; that we neither need nor deſire any other Declaration, than that Experience for our Aſſurance and Security for the future. In all which Grace and Goodneſs, GREAT SIR, we have Nothing to return; We bring no *Names* and *Seals*, no *Lives* and *Fortunes*, well capable of your Majeſty's Service, or at all worthy of your Acceptance; Nothing but *Hearts* and *Prayers*, *Vows* of a zealous and laſting *Loyalty*; our *Selves* and *Studies*, all that we can, or ever ſhall be able to *perform*, which we here moſt ſincerely promiſe, and moſt humbly tender to your Majeſty's Feet; a mean and a worthleſs Preſent; but ſuch a One as we hope will not be diſdain'd by the moſt *Gracious and Indulgent Prince, that Heaven ever beſtow'd upon a People*.

The King's Anſwer.

To which lofty Speech his Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer, *That he was fully ſatisfy'd of the* Loyalty *of the Univerſity, and that he did not at all doubt but they wou'd always act according to what they there Declared*. His Majeſty further told them, *That he wou'd conſtantly own and defend the Church of* England, *as Eſtabliſh'd by Law: This he bid them be aſſur'd of, for he wou'd be as good as his Word, whatever Repreſentation, either had, or ſhou'd be made of Him to the contrary*. Being further pleas'd to add, *That there was no other Church in the World that Taught and Practis'd* Loyalty *ſo Conſcientiouſly as that did*. Upon the whole, the King ſhew'd an unuſual Pleaſure and Satisfaction, and told the Vice-Chancellor, *That he and his Queen wou'd ſhortly make a Viſit to the Univerſity*; but laid his Commands upon him, *So to Order his Reception, that what he intended for a Favour and Kindneſs, ſhou'd not prove a Trouble and Burden to that learned Body*.

His and the Queen's Entertainment at Cambridge.

Accordingly, on *September* the 27th, both their Majeſties ſet forth, attended by the whole Court; and about two Miles from *Cambridge*, were met by Sir *Thomas Slater*, High Sheriff of the County, with his Men in their Liveries; and ſoon after by the Mayor and Aldermen, *&c.* with all Formality. At the Entrance of the Town, the Scholars were regularly placed, firſt *Under-Graduates* and the *Batchelors*, in one continu'd Rank from thence to the *Schools*; and as their Majeſties paſs'd, they on their Knees fill'd the Air with the loud Acclamations of *Vivat Rex! Vivat Regina!* As they came to the *Schools*, they found the *Regent-Walk* crouded on both ſides with *Regents* and *Non-Regents*, through whoſe joyful Applauſes they walk'd till they came near two Chairs of State; the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Colleges, and all the Doctors ſtanding in their Scarlet Robes. Their Majeſties being ſate, the Univerſity Orator, Mr. *Billers*, ſpoke firſt in *Latine* to the King, and then in *Engliſh* to the Queen. The Vice-Chancellor, after a ſhort *Latine* Speech, deliver'd a large Bible to his Majeſty, and then another Speech to the Queen, with a Book call'd, *A View of the late Troubles in* England. After the Ceremony of Creating ſeveral Noblemen Doctors, the Royal Pair went to *King's College Chappel*, where after two Speeches and Preſents made by Dr. *Coppleſton*, the Provoſt of that College, they were pleas'd to go up to the Top, and view all that magnificent Structure. From whence they went to *Trinity-College*; and after hearing two Speeches, to St. *John's College*, where Dr. *Gower*, the Maſter and Vice-Chancellor, after Speeches, Preſents, and ſhewing them the Library, entertain'd their Majeſties in his long Gallery, with ſo much Grandeur and Satisfaction at Dinner that the King was pleas'd to tell him, while he waited at the Table, *That he cou'd find but one Fault, and that was the over-great Plenty*. And parting with him at the College-Gate, he declared at large, *how highly he was ſatisfy'd with his Reception, and the Regard he wou'd always have for the Univerſity of* Cambridge; and the Queen was pleas'd to give him *her particular Thanks for this Entertainment*. In Sum, the whole was ſo great and magnificent, and withal ſo zealous and hearty, to the Nobility as well as their Majeſties, that the Court was never better ſatisfy'd with any Entertainment, of which the News ſoon reſounded through the whole Kingdom.

New Sheriffs, and a Lord-Mayor

3. During theſe pleaſing Times, the City of *London*, or a prevailing Party, was very buſy and active in croſſing and oppoſing the Meaſures of the Court. In order to which, they with great Difficulty choſe two new Sheriffs, Mr. *Thomas Pilkington*, one of their Members of Parliament, and Mr. *Samuel Shute*, Perſons of the ſame Stamp with the laſt Sheriffs, *Bethel* and *Corniſh*. But upon an Election of a Lord Mayor, on *Michaelmas* Day, Sir *John Moor*, an Addreſſer, was choſen into that Office, with three Hundred Voices more than Sir *John Shorter* and Sir *Thomas Gold*; tho' with great and unuſual Oppoſition, by the Sheriff's Party. This Election was very much to the Satisfaction of the Court, but that of the Sheriffs as much to the contrary; concerning which the King had ſhortly an Opportunity of Expreſſing his Diſpleaſure: For when, on the 13th of *October*, Sir *George Treby* Recorder, and theſe Sheriffs were ſent to invite their Majeſties in the Name of the City, to do them the Honour of Dining at *Guild-*

Guild-Hall on the 28th, the King gave them this Anſwer, *Mr. Recorder, an Invitation from my Lord Mayor, and the City, is very Acceptable to Me; and to ſhew you that it is ſo, notwithſtanding that it is brought by Meſſengers that are ſo* Unwelcome *to Me, as theſe two Sheriffs are, yet I Accept it.* However it was obſerv'd, that not long before the King had condeſcended to a leſſer Matter, by diſtinguiſhing the Loyal Apprentices of *London*, and giving a Brace of Bucks for a Dinner at *Sadlers-Hall*, and ſending many of his principal Courtiers to Dine with them, and directing his Son the Duke of *Grafton* to be one of the Stewards for another Year.

A Struggle in the City.

The firſt Effect of the new Election of Sheriffs was a Struggle at *Hick's-Hall*, where the Seſſions for the County of *Middleſex* were held the Week before *Michaelmas* Term. At which time Sir *George Jeffreys*, being Chair-Man to the whole Bench, required Mr. *Goodenough*, the Under-Sheriff, to alter Two of the Pannel, as the Juſtices have Power to do by the Statute of the Third of *Henry* the Eighth. Which he refuſing to do, the two Head Sheriffs *Pilkington* and *Shute*, were call'd; and not appearing, they were Fin'd Fifty Pounds a Man. Notwithſtanding that, the Recorder put in a Proteſt, that the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* were never bound to attend in Perſon at *Hick's-Hall*. After which, the ſaid Fine being Eſtreated, a Common-Council in *London* Declared, 'That they wou'd ſtand by their Sheriffs, and defend them againſt any Suit of Law that ſhou'd be brought touching that Matter, and that at the Charges and Expences of the City.' And to ſhew their Diſpoſition, at the Seſſions for *London*, held at the ſame Time, *Rouſe* before-mention'd being charg'd with High-Treaſon, and a Bill of Indictment Exhibited to the Grand Jury attending for that City, againſt Him, notwithſtanding Eight Witneſſes ſwore Matter of Fact poſitively againſt him, they found the Bill *Ignoramus*, as had been formerly done in the Caſe of *Stephen Colledge*.

4. This was a particular Mortification to the Court, but not ſo great a Diſcouragement as to hinder the bringing on the Tryal of the Head of the Party, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, which had been long in Preparing.

Proceedings againſt the Earl of Shaftsbury.

In order to it, on the 24th of *November*, all the Judges ſate with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at the *Old Bayly*, by a ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; all Mens Heads being fill'd with the greateſt Expectations. The two Sheriffs, *Pilkington* and *Shute*, had Impanell'd a Grand Jury of theſe one and twenty noted Men, Sir *Samuel Barnadiſton*, Foreman, *John Morden*, *Thomas Papillon*, *John Dubois*, *Charles Hearle*, *Edward Rudge*, *Humphrey Edwin*, *John Morrice*, *Edmund Harriſon*, *Joſeph Wright*, *John Cox*, *Thomas Parker*, *Leonard Robinſon*, *Thomas Shepherd*, *John Flavell*, *Michael Godfrey*, *Joſeph Richardſon*, *William Empſon*, *Andrew Kendrick*, *John Lane*, and *John Hall*. To theſe was exhibited a Bill of Indictment of High-Treaſon againſt the Earl; and after Inſtructions given them by the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Pemberton*, and a Paper found in the Earl's Study produc'd, the eight following

Witneſſes.

Witneſſes appear'd, *John Booth*, *Edward Turberville*, *John Smith*, *Brian Haynes*, *John Macknamarra*, *Dennis Macknamarra*, *Edward Ivey*, and *Bernard Dennis*; ſeveral of whom had been Evidences in *Stephen Colledge*'s Tryal. The Grand Jury were for a while very urgent to examine theſe Witneſſes in private, but the Court over-rul'd them in that Point, intimating that his Majeſty deſign'd to have the Matter as publick as it cou'd be. Then they mov'd to have them examin'd ſeparately; to which the Court conſented, but the vaſt Concourſe of People made it impracticable.

Booth,

Booth ſwore, 'That he was engag'd to Captain *Wilkinſon*, who ſaid he had a Commiſſion from the Lord *Shaftsbury* and ſeveral others to go to *Carolina*, and was about that time introduc'd into the Earl's Acquaintance by the Captain, and was with them four or five Times between *Chriſtmaſs* and *March*; that the Captain told him he was to command Fifty Men to be the Earl's Guard at the *Oxford* Parliament, and wou'd have had him to be One; That if the King did not conſent to ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and other Things, they were to purge the Guards and Court of ſeveral Perſons, particularly the Earl of *Worceſter*, the Lord *Clarendon*, the Lord *Hallifax*, the Lord *Feverſham*, and Mr. *Hyde*: And tho' the Captain told him this at firſt, he afterwards, a little before the Meeting of the *Oxford* Parliament, heard the Earl ſay the ſame Things, with a particular Complaint *That he thought himſelf not ſufficiently valu'd, or reſpected*; of which he gave ſome Intimation to *Walter Banes*, and then writ it down, and ſent it to the Council in a Cover.'

Turberville,

Turberville ſwore, 'That about *February* he heard the Earl ſay, *There was little Good to be had from the King, as long as his Guards were about him; for were it not for them, we wou'd qnickly go down to* White-Hall, *and obtain what Terms we thought fit:* And at *Oxford* he heard his Lordſhip ſay, *He wonder'd the People of* England *ſhou'd ſtickle ſo much about* Religion; *if he were to chuſe a Religion, he wou'd One that ſhou'd beſt carry on their* Cauſe.'

Smith.

Smith teſtify'd a great deal of Diſcourſe between him and the Lord *Shaftsbury*, reflecting upon the King, as '*That he was a weak and unconſtant Man, eaſily led by the Noſe*, &c. and ſaid, *That if the King ſhou'd offer any Violence to the Parliament at* Oxford, *he wou'd meet with a ſtrong Oppoſition, for the Gentlemen out of the Country came well provided with Horſe and Arms to Oppoſe, and that they might lawfully do it, if he offer'd any Violence to them:* And that he further ſaid to him, *Mr.* Smith, *if the King were not as well ſatisfy'd with the Coming in of* Popery, *as ever the Duke of* York *was, do you think the Duke wou'd be ſo much concern'd in the Bringing in of* Popery *as he is?*'

Hayns,

Hayns ſwore, that the Earl ſaid, '*If the King did not give* Hayns *his Pardon, he made himſelf the Author of the* Plot, *and that He and Others wou'd raiſe the Kingdom againſt him*; That he gave the Earl an exact Account of Tranſactions ſince King *Charles* the Firſt's Coming to the Crown, and that the Earl ſaid *The Duke of* Buckingham *had as much Right to the Crown as any* Stuart *in* England: And further the Earl ſaid, *The King has no more Religion than a Horſe; when he came firſt to* England, *he had a Tincture of* Popery, *and was much inclin'd that Way; but ſince he was degenerated from all the Principles of* Chriſtianity, *and was juſt like a perfect Beaſt.*'

J. Macknamarra,

The Firſt *Macknamarra* ſwore, 'That the Earl ſaid to him, *That the King was a faithleſs Man, had the Dutcheſs of* Mazarine *for his Cabinet Council, was* Popiſhly *affected, and took the ſame Methods his Father did, which brought his Head to the Block, and We will bring his thither: and he deſerv'd to be depos'd as much as King* Richard *the Second.*'

D. Macknamarra,

The other *Macknamarra* likewiſe teſtify'd the ſame Words; and that it was the latter End of *March*, or Beginning of *April*.

Ivey *and* Dennis.

Ivey ſwore, 'That the Earl told him that *Haynes* had ſomething to diſcover about the Death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*; *and if the King deny'd him a Pardon, they wou'd riſe upon him, and force him to give one; and that they deſign'd to depoſe him, and ſet up another in his ſtead.*' Laſt of all *Dennis* teſtify'd, 'That the Earl urg'd him to ſpeak home againſt the Queen and the Duke as to the *Plot*, and bid him ſpeak to his Friends in *Ireland* to be in Readineſs to aſſiſt the Common-Wealth of *England*; *for they intended to have* England *under a Common-Wealth, and Extirpate the King and his Family*.

The new Aſſociation.

But what made more Noiſe than the Teſtimony of theſe Witneſſes, and had greater Effects upon the Nation, was the Paper of *Aſſociation* found in the Earl's Study, and believ'd to have been form'd by Himſelf, which was read as following: 'We the *Knights*, &c. finding to the Grief of our Hearts, the *Popiſh* Prieſts and *Jeſuits*, and their *Adherents* and *Abetters*, have for ſeveral Years laſt paſt purſu'd a moſt pernicious and helliſh *Plot*, to root out the true *Proteſtant* Religion as a *Peſtilent Hereſy*, to take away the Life of our Gracious King, to ſubvert our Laws and Liberties, and to ſet up Arbitrary Power and *Popery*: 2. And it being notorious that they have been highly encourag'd by the Countenance and Protection given and procured for them by *James* Duke of *York*, and by their Expectations of his Succeeding to the Crown, and that through crafty *Popiſh* Counſels his Deſigns have ſo far prevail'd, that he hath created many and great Dependents upon him, by beſtowing his Offices and Preferments both in Church and State: 3. It appearing alſo to Us, That by his Influence *Mercenary Forces* have been levy'd and kept on foot for his ſecret Deſigns, contrary to our Laws; the Officers thereof having been nam'd and appointed by Him, to the apparent Hazard of his Majeſty's Perſon, our Religion and Government, if the Danger had not been timely foreſeen by ſeveral Parliaments, and Part of thoſe Forces, with great Difficulty, caus'd by them to be Diſbanded at the Kingdom's great Expence: And it being evident, that notwithſtanding all the continual Endeavours of the Parliament to deliver his Majeſty from the Counſels, and out of the Power of the ſaid Duke, yet his Intereſt in the Miniſtry of State and Others have been ſo prevalent, that Parliaments have been unreaſonably Prorogu'd, and Diſſolv'd, when they have been in hot Purſuit of the *Popiſh* Conſpiracies, and *Ill Miniſters of State*, their Aſſiſtants: 4. And that the ſaid Duke, in order to reduce all into his own Power, hath procur'd the Garriſons, the Army and Ammunition, and all the Power of the Seas and Soldiery, and Lands belonging to theſe three Kingdoms, to be put into the Hands of his *Party*, and their *Adherents*, even in Oppoſition to the Advice and Order of the laſt Parliament: 5. And as We, conſidering with heavy Hearts, how greatly the Strength, Reputation and Treaſure of the Kingdom both at Sea and Land is Waſted and Conſumed, and loſt by the intricate expenſive Management of thoſe wicked deſtructive Deſigns; and finding the ſame Counſels, after exemplary Juſtice upon ſome of the Conſpirators, to be ſtill purſu'd with the utmoſt Deviliſh Malice, and Deſire of Revenge; whereby his Majeſty is in continual Hazard of being Murder'd to make way for the ſaid Duke's Advancement to the Crown, and the whole Kingdom in ſuch Caſe is deſtitute of all Security of their Religion, Laws, Eſtates and Liberty; ſad Experience in the Caſe, Queen *Mary*, having prov'd the wiſeſt Laws to be of little Force to keep out *Popery* and *Tyranny* under a *Popiſh* Prince: 6. We have therefore endeavour'd in a *Parliamentary-Way* by a Bill for the purpoſe to Bar and Exclude the ſaid Duke from the Succeſſion to the Crown, and to Baniſh him for ever out of theſe Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*. But the firſt Means of the King and Kingdom's Safety being utterly rejected, and we left almoſt in Deſpair of Obtaining any Real and Effectual Security, and knowing our Selves to be intruſted to Adviſe and Act for the Preſervation of his Majeſty and the Kingdom, and being perſuaded in our Conſciences that the Dangers aforeſaid are ſo Imminent and Preſſing, that there ought to be no Delay of the beſt Means that are in our Power to ſecure the Kingdom againſt them: We have thought fit to propoſe to all true *Proteſtants* an *Union* amongſt Themſelves, by Solemn and Sacred Promiſe of *Mutual Defence* and *Aſſiſtance* in the Preſervation of the true *Proteſtant* Religion, his Majeſty's Perſon and Royal State, and our Laws, Liberties and Properties; and we hold it our bounden Duty to joyn our ſelves for the ſame Intent in a *Declaration* of our United Affections and Reſolutions in the Form enſuing.

‘ *I* A. B. *do in the Preſence of God ſolemnly Promiſe, Vow, and Proteſt to maintain and defend to the utmoſt of my Power, with my Perſon and Eſtate, the true* Proteſtant *Religion, againſt* Popery *and all* Popiſh Superſtition, Idolatry, *or* Innovation, *and all thoſe who do or ſhall endeavour to ſpread or advance it within this Kingdom.* 2. *I will alſo, as far as in me lies, Maintain and Defend his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Eſtate; as alſo the Power and Privilege of Parliaments, the Lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject againſt all Incroachments and Uſurpation of* Arbitrary Power *whatſoever, and endeavour entirely to Diſband all ſuch* Mercenary Forces *as we have Reaſon to believe were Rais'd to advance it, and are ſtill kept up in and about* London, *to the great Amazement and Terror of all the good People of the Land.* 3. *Moreover,* James *Duke of* York, *having publickly profeſs'd and own'd the* Popiſh *Religion, and notoriouſly given Life and Birth to the Damnable and Helliſh* Plots *of the* Papiſts *againſt his Majeſty's Perſon, the* Proteſtant *Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom; I will never conſent that the ſaid* James *Duke of* York, *or any other, who is or hath been a* Papiſt, *or any ways adher'd to the* Papiſts *in their wicked Deſigns, be admitted to the Succeſſion of the Crown of* England; *but by all lawful Means, and by Force of Arms, if need ſo require, according to my Abilities, will oppoſe him, and endeavour to ſubdue, expel and deſtroy him, if he come into* England, *or the Dominions thereof, and ſeek by Force to ſet up his pretended Title; and all ſuch as ſhall adhere unto him, or raiſe any War, Tumult, or Sedition for him, or by his Command, as publick Enemies of our Laws, Religion and Country.*

‘ To this End we and every one of us, whoſe Hands are here under-written, do moſt willingly bind our ſelves, and every one of us unto the other jointly and ſeverally in the Bond of one Firm and Loyal *Society* or *Aſſociation*, and do promiſe and vow before God, that with our joint and particular Forces we will Oppoſe and Purſue unto Deſtruction all ſuch as, upon any Title whatſoever, ſhall oppoſe the Juſt and Righteous Ends of this *Aſſociation*; and Maintain, Protect and Defend all ſuch as ſhall enter into it, in the juſt Performance of the true Intent and Meaning of it. And leſt this *Juſt* and *Pious Work* be any ways obſtructed or hinder'd for Want of Diſcipline and Conduct, or any evil-minded Perſons, under Pretence of raiſing Forces for the Service of this *Aſſociation*, ſhou'd attempt to commit Diſorders, we will follow ſuch Orders as we ſhall from time to time receive from this *preſent Parliament*, whilſt it ſhall be *Sitting*, or the *major part* of the Members of both Houſes ſubſcribing this *Aſſociation*, when it ſhall be *Prorogu'd* or *Diſſolv'd*; and obey ſuch Officers as ſhall by them be ſet over us in the ſeveral Counties, Cities and Boroughs, until the next Meeting of this or another Parliament; and will then ſhew the ſame Obedience and Submiſſion unto it, and thoſe who ſhall be of it. Neither will we, for any Reſpect of *Perſons* or *Cauſes*, or for *Fear* or *Reward*, ſeparate our ſelves from this *Aſſociation*, or fail in the Proſecution thereof during our Lives, upon Pain of being by the reſt of us proſecuted and ſuppreſs'd as *Perjur'd Perſons* and *Publick Enemies* to God, the King, and our Native Country. To which Pains and Puniſhments we do voluntarily ſubmit our ſelves, and every one of us, without Benefit of any *Colour* or *Pretence* to excuſe us. *In Witneſs of all which Premiſes to be inviolably kept, we do to this preſent Writing put our Hands and Seals, and ſhall be moſt ready to accept and admit any others hereafter into this* Society *and* Aſſociation.

There was likewiſe found among the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Papers, beſides the *Aſſociation*, a Book of the ſeveral Counties of *England*, rang'd in *Alphabet*, under the Heads of *Worthy Men* on the one ſide, and *Men Worthy* on the other; being intended, and made uſe of for a diſcriminating Liſt of the *Royaliſts* and *Republicans*, as afterwards appear'd; and under the Cypher of *Men Worthy*, was couch'd the Conceit of *Men worthy to be hang'd*. However it was, neither the Papers found upon the Earl, nor the Witneſſes againſt him cou'd prevail upon the Grand-Jury to find the Bill; but the former not appearing to be in his Hand, and the latter not of ſufficient Credit with them, they return'd the Bill *Ignoramus*; which was brought into the Court with extraordinary Shouts and Acclamations of the People. The Witneſſes againſt the Earl were preſently aſſaulted by the Rabble, and in ſuch danger of their Lives, that the Sheriffs, by the Command of the Judges, were oblig'd to guard them that Night as far as the *Savoy*, towards their Lodgings; among whom *Graham* the Sollicitor againſt the Earl was in particular danger. Several Bonfires were made that Night in the City, at which many Riotous Actions were committed; and the general Cry was a *Monmouth*, a *Shaftsbury*, a *Buckingham*! And a Medal was caſt, upon which Medal Mr. *Dryden* made a very ingenious Poem. Four Days after, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, both Priſoners in the *Tower*, were brought by *Habeas Corpus*, and bail'd at the *King's-Bench*; the former had the Lord *Ruſſel*, Sir *William Cooper*, Mr. *Mountagu*, and Mr. *Charlton* for his Bail; himſelf being bound in a Recognizance of Three thouſand Pounds, and each other in half the Sum. The Lord *Howard* was alſo bail'd in the ſame manner; but particular Orders were tranſmitted by the Privy-Council to the Lord-Mayor, to ſend to every Ward and Pariſh to prevent all Bonfires and Bells Ringing that Night. Theſe Proceedings of *Ignoramus* Juries, and the new diſcover'd *Aſſociation*, tho' applauded by many, rous'd the Indignation, and rais'd the higheſt Reſentments of the greateſt part of the Nation in the beginning of the next Year.

The Earl acquitted in Triumph.

5. But before we finiſh this Year, it will be neceſſary to take ſome Notice of the Affairs of *Scotland*; where his Royal Highneſs the Duke ſeem'd more ſucceſsful than his Brother at home. On the 28th of *July*, the Parliament ſat in that Kingdom, where the Duke of *York* preſided as his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner. At the opening of the Seſſions the King's Letter was read, ſetting forth, ‘ That he had call'd them at that time to adviſe of ſuch things as may truly conduce to the Security and Intereſt of that Kingdom; and as an eminent Expreſſion of his Favour, he hath named his moſt dear and moſt intirely beloved Brother *James* Duke of *Albany* and *York*, to be his *Commiſſioner* there, *&c.*’ After which the Duke himſelf made a ſolemn Speech to them, in which he declared, ‘ The high Eſteem he had of the great Honour and Happineſs the King had been pleas'd to do him, in making Choice of him to ſerve as his *Commiſſioner* in that his ancient Kingdom; ſince it ſhew'd to all the World the Goodneſs the King had for him, and Confidence he had in him, and capacitated him, not only to ſerve his Majeſty as becomes a Loyal Subject, but alſo to evince the real Concern he had for the Good of that Kingdom, and his Readineſs to ſerve it, and improve its Intereſt: That his Majeſty had commanded him to aſſure them, That he would inviolably maintain and protect the *Proteſtant* Religion as by Law Eſtabliſh'd in that Kingdom, and the Church-Government by Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops: That he would maintain and allow the Properties and Rights of his Subjects according to the due Courſe of Law, and that he did expect that they would not be ſhort of the Loyalty of their Anceſtors, in vigorouſly aſſerting and clearing his *Royal Prerogative*, and in declaring the Rights of his Crown, in its *Natural* and *Legal Courſe of Deſcent*, &c.’ After which, his Royal Highneſs entertain'd the whole Parliament at a

A Parliament in Scotland.

King's Letter.

Duke of York's *Speech.*

ſplendid and magnificent Feaſt; the Lords by themſelves, and the Commons by themſelves, at ſeveral Tables, in ſuch a manner as gave a general Satisfaction to that Noble Aſſembly.

Act of Succeſſion.

On the Firſt of *Auguſt*, the Parliament return'd a moſt Loyal and Dutiful Anſwer to his Majeſty's Letter, fill'd with the higheſt Compliments, and the largeſt Expreſſions of Gratitude. And alſo, in Purſuance and Confirmation of their zealous Affections, on the 14th of the ſame Month, the Parliament paſs'd an Act *Acknowledging and Aſſerting the Right of Succeſſion to the Imperial Crown of* Scotland; By which 'They Recognize and Declare, That the ſaid 'Crown is by Inherent Right, and the Nature of the Monarchy, as well as by the fundamental and unalterable 'Laws of the Realm, tranſmitted and devolv'd by *Lineal 'Succeſſion*, according to *Proximity of Blood*; and that no 'Difference in Religion, no Law nor Act of Parliament 'can alter or divert the Right of Succeſſion and Lineal 'Deſcent of the Crown to the neareſt and lawful Heirs; 'and therefore it is declared High-Treaſon, by Writing, 'Speaking, or any other manner of Way to endeavour the 'Alteration, Suſpenſion or Diverſion of the *Right of Succeſſion*.' At the ſame Time they paſs'd another Act, *Ratifying all former Laws for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion*; by which all the Laws made by King *James*, King *Charles* the Firſt, and the preſent King, for Setling and Securing the Liberty and Freedom of the true *Kirk* of God, and the *Proteſtant* Religion, *preſently profeſs'd in this Realm*, and all Acts againſt *Popery*, were confirm'd. To which Act was annex'd a long and remarkable Teſt and Oath, to be taken by all Officers in Church and State, all Graduates in the Univerſities, and innumerable Others.

The Earl of Argyle *refractory.*

His Condemnation and Flight.

Several other Acts paſs'd before the Breaking up of the Parliament; but none had a more immediate Effect than the Teſt Act laſt mention'd, which in the Event caus'd great Diſcontents and Emotions amongſt the *Presbyterian* Party of that Kingdom. This Teſt, tho' afterwards explain'd and qualify'd, was ſtill ſo contrary to the Senſe of that Party, that ſeveral of their Miniſters refus'd it, and ſome of the Laiety; among whom of greateſt Note was *Archibald Campbel*, Earl of *Argyle*, Son to the famous Marquis ſo often mention'd in the laſt Volume. This zealous and active Man, encreaſing in Power and Luſtre, after his Father's and his own Forfeitures, ſeem'd to have been mark'd out by his Royal Highneſs, tho' he had given ſome ſignal Inſtances of Loyalty, before as well as after both their Proſecutions. For during the Sitting of the Parliament, he did not only endeavour to hinder the paſſing of the Teſt, (which was as much againſt *Popery* as *Fanaticiſm*) but when it was in Debate, he was the Perſon that ſpoke againſt *Excepting the King's Brothers and Sons* from taking that Oath then intended or declared for the Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion: For which he was afterwards told by a Biſhop, *That that had down-right fired the Kiln*. Accordingly, when he was to take this Teſt, as one of the Privy-Council, and had declared, *That he cou'd not do it but with a Reſerve of his own Explanation*, he was ſhortly after made Priſoner in the Caſtle, as guilty of *Defaming the King's Laws*. And tho' his Explanation was no more than what the Council it ſelf thought fit to allow for the Satisfaction of the People; yet the Actions of his Father, as well as his own, ſeem'd to have made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the Duke of *York*, that he reſolv'd to humble his Greatneſs, and therefore caus'd his Interpretation to be ſcan'd and ſifted to that Degree, that at length his Advocates found a *latent Piece of Treaſon* in it. Upon which he was brought to a formal Tryal with great Solemnity, and after many Strains of Eloquence, and uncommon Aggravations, he was found guilty of Treaſon, and had Sentence of Death paſs'd upon him, but with reſerve of Execution. One Thing aggravated againſt him with Plauſibility, was his being condemn'd and pardon'd in the Year 1662. But that Condemnation was thought ſo hard, that the King then declar'd, *It was impoſſible to take a Man's Life upon ſo ſmall an Account*: And the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* bleſs'd God, *That he liv'd not in a Country where there was ſuch Laws*. This Proſecution was thought no leſs ſevere and unjuſt, inſomuch that in the great *Claim of Right* in 1689, it was by Act of Parliament annul'd, and order'd to be expung'd and raz'd out of the Records. The Court gave it out that there was no Deſign upon his Life, but only the Forfeiture of ſome eligible Juriſdictions and Superiorities, which ſeem'd to have been the firſt Motive towards his Proſecution; but the Earl finding the Heat of his Purſuers, made his Eſcape; whereupon he had all the Marks of Diſhonour denounc'd againſt him, as were by National Cuſtom due to Traytors. This gave Riſe to new Diſturbances; and the Earl, now deſperate in his Fortunes, never left purſuing his Revenge till he met with his own Deſtruction.

Promotions at Home.

6. And now to conclude the Year, we ſhall take Notice of ſome few Promotions, and Deaths of conſiderable Perſons. Beſides thoſe already mention'd this Year, in *July*, his Majeſty being deſirous to place a laſting Mark of Eſteem upon the Family of Sir *George Carteret*, late Vice-Chamberlain of the Houſhold, as well for the long and loyal Services of the ſaid Sir *George* at Home and Abroad, as for the Merit of his Son Sir *Philip Carteret*, who loſt his Life in his Service at Sea, was graciouſly pleas'd to create young Sir *George Carteret*, Son to Sir *Philip*, a Baron of *England*, by the Name of Baron *Carteret* of *Hawnes* in the County of *Bedford*. Afterwards his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute his Grace the Duke of *Grafton* Colonel of his Firſt Regiment of Foot-Guards, in the Room of Colonel *Ruſſel*, who had reſign'd that Command. And ſoon after, *George Legg* Eſquire, Maſter-General of the Ordnance, was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council. Sir *Samuel Morland* had invented a wonderful Engine, which with the Strength of Eight Men, would force the Water in a continual Stream, at the rate of above Sixty Barrels an Hour, from the River *Thames* up to the Top of *Windſor-Caſtle*, and from thence into the Air above Sixty Foot higher, to the great Admiration of all that ſaw it. This Experiment being often repeated before the King, Queen, and foreign Ambaſſadors, gave ſo much Satisfaction to his Majeſty, that on the 14th of *Auguſt* he ſent for Sir *Samuel Morland*, and in the Preſence of Prince *Rupert*, and many of the Nobility, Declared, *That he was highly pleas'd with all the late Experiments and extraordinary Effects of Sir* Samuel's *Water-Engine*; and therefore, as an Earneſt of his particular Grace and Favour, gave him with his own Hand, and order'd him to wear it on his Breaſt during Life, a fair Medal of Gold, faſtned to a great Ribbon, on the one Side of which Medal was his Majeſty's Effigies, ſet round with Diamonds of a conſiderable Value; and on the other Side the following Inſcription, CAROLO II. *Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, Regi, Samuel Morlandus Eques Auratus & Baronettus*, MAGISTER MECHANICORUM, *in rebus adverſis ſummo Vitæ periculo, in proſperis, fælici Ingenio frequens adſuit*. After which the Lord Chamberlain, by his Majeſty's Order, caus'd him to be ſworn *Maſter of the* MECHANICKS, and the Inſcription on the Medal to be regiſter'd in the great Parchment Roll of the Office.

The Deaths of Dr. Honywood,

As to the Deaths of conſiderable Men, we ſhall begin with two worthy Divines, and firſt Dr. *Michael Honywood*, Educated in *Chriſt-College* in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and immediately after the Reſtoration made Dean of *Lincoln*, where his pious and hoſpitable Behaviour ſhew'd he was equal to that Dignity; and he was particularly diſtinguiſh'd for his munificent Benefactions to his own College, as well as to that Church and Deanery, for which he built and gave a very handſome Library, and which he deſign'd very much to improve, if his Life had continued longer. The next was Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, Educated in *King's-College* in *Cambridge*, and above twenty Years Miniſter of St. *Sepulchres* in *London*, which he loſt by his Non-Conforming to the *Act of Uniformity*, tho' for ſeveral of his laſt Years he continu'd in the Communion of the Church of *England*; an admirable and glorious Man, whoſe excellent Temper, unaffected Goodneſs, and univerſal Benevolence, attracted the Love and Veneration of all Parties, who could never find the leaſt Blemiſh in his Life and Converſation. His Charities were ſo diffuſive, and his Labours in Procuring and Diſtributing them ſo indefatigable, that Dr. *Tillotſon* ſaid of him; 'that all Things 'conſider'd, there have not, ſince the Primitive Times of 'Chriſtianity, been many among the Sons of Men, to 'whom that glorious Character of the Son of God might 'be better apply'd, That *He went about doing Good*.

Mr. Gouge.

Sir Richard Brown,

The next to be mention'd were two eminent Baronets, Sir *Richard Brown*, and Sir *Thomas Herbert*, both conſiderable Travellers. The former was likewiſe Doctor of the Civil-Law, who after his Travels became one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, and Clerk of the Council to King *Charles* the Firſt, by whom he was employ'd abroad in ſeveral remarkable Negotiations, as the Marriage of his Daughter to the Prince of *Orange*, &c. From 1641 to 1660, in the moſt difficult Times, he continu'd Redſient in the Court of *France* for both the King *Charles's*, where he chiefly ſubſiſted upon his own Eſtate, with much Honour and Reputation; and returning with the preſent King, he executed his Office of the Clerk of the Council for ſome Time, till Years made him retire to his Seat in *Kent*, where he ſpent the Remainder of his Time in a pleaſing Retirement, and ſtudious Receſs. The other, Sir *Thomas Herbert*, was a Gentleman of the Family of the Earls of *Pembroke*, who after great Travels through *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, fell in with the Parliamentarians againſt King

Sir Thomas Herbert.

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Charles the Firſt, by whom he was appointed to be a near Attendant on the King from the Time of his being brought to *Holdenby* Houſe. He thus continu'd to the laſt Moment of his Life, with great Obſervance and Fidelity, which gave him an Opportunity to ſee exactly into the Character of that good Prince, and fully convinc'd him, that he was no *Papiſt*, no *Arbitrary* and *obſtinate Man*, &c. as he and others had been made to believe from the common Repreſentation of his Enemies. For which Service, he was after the Reſtoration made a Baronet of *England*; and beſides an Account of his *Travels*, he left behind him *Memoirs of the two laſt Years of the Reign of King* Charles *the Firſt*, a Book written with as much Candour, Simplicity and Impartiality, as perhaps any in the Age.

Sir George Wharton,

William Lilly,

And John Lacy.

The next were two memorable Aſtrologers, *&c.* and great Antagoniſts, Sir *George Wharton* and Mr. *William Lilly*, both great Writers, and deeply engag'd in oppoſite Parties. The firſt had an Academical Education at *Oxford*, who at the Beginning of the Civil Wars turn'd his Eſtate into Money, and rais'd a gallant Troop of Horſe for the King, and for ſeveral Years employ'd firſt his Sword, and then his Pen in the ſame Cauſe, writing upon ſeveral Subjects, and oftentimes againſt *William Lilly* and *John Booker*; in which he ſhew'd himſelf a pleaſant Companion, a witty Droll, and a waggiſh Poet, as well as a conſiderable Aſtronomer and Mathematician. After the Reſtoration he was made a Baronet, and at length dy'd in Retirement at *Enfield* in *Middleſex*. The other, *William Lilly*, had no Academical Education, and therefore the more Remarkable, conſidering the ſtrange Variety of his Writings, which were fill'd with Phyſical and Aſtrological Predictions of a ſurpriſing Nature, and generally with great Bitterneſs turn'd againſt the Fate of the Royal Family; for which he was a long Time Idoliz'd by the Vulgar as a true Prophet, and a Perſon of the profoundeſt Knowledge. After the Reſtoration, he was generouſly ſcreen'd by his Antagoniſt *Wharton*, but his Fame very much declin'd, tho' to the laſt he retain'd the Reputation of a knowing Phyſician, when he left the World at *Walton* upon *Thames*. Since we are to mention all Perſons that excel in their Way and Profeſſion, we may after him very well take Notice of *John Lacy*, the celebrated Actor and Comedian, a *Yorkſhire-Man*, and originally an Apprentice of *John Ogleby* when he was a Dancing-Maſter; a Perſon who for many Years perform'd all the Parts he undertook to a Miracle, and indeed he was both the Wonder and Delight of the Stage; but being ſo highly approv'd by the preſent King, an unqueſtionable Judge in Dramatick Arts, that he caus'd ſeveral Pictures of him to be drawn in different Habits and Poſtures, in Memory of his rare and ſurpriſing Performances.

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The Effects of the new Aſſociation.

III. 1. This Winter, ſoon after the Diſcharge of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the publick Appearance of his *Aſſociation*, the Nation began to be rous'd and irritated after an unuſual Manner. The King and Court were diſappointed and exaſperated: Both Parties began to boaſt of their Strength and Numbers, and to ſhew their Reſentments with more Heat than formerly; but it ſoon appear'd where the Majority lay, and the moſt publick Teſtimony was given of it, to the great Mortification of one Side. The firſt Effect of this Commotion, was letting all the Laws looſe, which in the laſt Year had begun to be put in Execution, againſt the Diſſenters, who had ſo unanimouſly or openly eſpous'd the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Cauſe, that it was not to be doubted but that they were true Friends to the new *Aſſociation*. The ſecond Effect was the Appearance of innumerable Addreſſes, which a ſecond Time flow'd from all Parts of the Nation, now in Abhorrence of the ſaid *Aſſociation*, and the Practices of the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and his Party. A third was, the Clergy's frequent Preaching up *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, and carrying thoſe Doctrines and Opinions to the utmoſt Height this Year; in which theſe Divines were encourag'd and ſupported by ſome of the moſt conſiderable Lawyers in the *Inns of Court*, who occaſionally and daily alledg'd the ſeveral Acts of Parliament made ſince the Reſtoration.

The Proſecution of Diſſenters.

As to the Proſecution of the Diſſenters, ſome have judg'd it to be a Piece of *Court Artifice* in playing the Church of *England* and them againſt each other, to the Weakning of Both; and others, a *Juſt Reſentment* againſt that Party, which had formerly caus'd ſuch Miſchiefs, and of late given ſuch Uneaſineſs to the Crown. However it was, the King, whoſe Principle and Practice, againſt the Inclinations of his long Parliament, had been to indulge the Diſſenters, was now drawn in to promote a rigorous Proſecution of them. The Humour of the Magiſtrates and People at this Time, made the Matter more eaſy to him; for ſoon after the Diſcharge of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Juſtices of *Middleſex* ſhew'd a greater Forwardneſs in putting the Laws in Execution againſt their Meetings, which they now look'd upon rather as Seditious than Religious Aſſemblies. Under that Denomination, the Laws had been formerly made againſt them in this Reign; and in purſuance of that, they humbly preſented to his Majeſty, in *December*, 'That an Intimation of his Pleaſure was neceſſary at this Time, as to the putting the Laws in Execution againſt *Conventicles*; in regard that when it was lately given them in Charge at the Council-Board, to put the Laws in Execution againſt *Popiſh Recuſants*, there was no mention made of Suppreſſing *Conventicles*; and therefore it was pretended, *That they were not to be diſturb'd or medled with.*' Upon which his Majeſty was pleas'd to take this Occaſion to Command the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and the ſaid Juſtices of the Peace, 'to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to ſuppreſs all *Conventicles*, and *Unlawful Meetings*, upon *Pretence* of Religious Worſhip: His Majeſty declaring, It is his expreſs Pleaſure, *That the Laws be effectually put in Execution againſt them, both in City and Country.*

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Proceedings of the Juſtices at Hicks's-Hall.

Accordingly, the Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Middleſex*, at their Seſſions at *Hicks*'s-*Hall*, before *Hilary-Term*, order'd by their publick Act, dated the 13th of *January*, 'That whereas the Conſtables and Church-Wardens, *&c.* of every Pariſh and Precinct within the ſaid County, had been enjoyn'd laſt Seſſions to make a Return the Day firſt of this, of the Names of the Preachers in *Conventicles*, and the moſt conſiderable Frequenters of the ſame within their ſeveral Limits; which Order not being obey'd, but contemn'd by ſome, it was therefore by the Juſtices then aſſembled, deſired, that the Lord Biſhop of *London* will pleaſe to direct thoſe Officers which are under his Juriſdiction, to uſe their utmoſt Diligence, that all ſuch Perſons may be *Excommunicated* who commit Crimes deſerving that Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, and that the ſaid *Excommunications* may be publiſh'd in the Pariſhes where the Perſons live, that they may be taken Notice of, and be obvious to the Penalties that belong to Perſons *Excommunicate*, viz. *Not to be admitted for a Witneſs, or return'd upon Juries, or capable to ſue for any Debt.*' And they further order'd in the ſame Seſſions, 'That the Statute of the Firſt of *Elizabeth*, and the Third of *James*, be put in due Execution, for the Levying *Twelve Pence per Sunday* upon ſuch Perſons who repair not to Divine Service and Sermons at their Pariſh, or ſome other publick Church.' All which made way for all Sorts of Proſecutions, both in City and Country, which in many Places were carry'd on with great Spite and Severity, where there never wanted buſy Agents and Informers, of which a few were ſufficient to put the Laws in Execution. So that, for the moſt Part, the Diſſenters, this Year, and much longer, met with cruel and unchriſtian Uſage, greater than any Subjects had felt ſince the Reſtoration. For what they had done before that Time was afreſh remember'd, and rais'd ſuch an Indignation and Prejudice againſt them, as the wiſeſt Men cou'd not eaſily conquer. The Beginnings of theſe Proceedings raiſed a mighty Noiſe and Diſcontent, and occaſion'd ſome Reflections upon the King which were very rude and violent; as particularly, Mr. *Frederick Harvey* ſaid, *That the King's Conſenting to the Tyrannical Proceedings of Convicting Diſſenters, he did not queſtion but wou'd make him the Head ſhorter; and that he did admire the City did not ſecure him the laſt Lord Mayor's-Day, when they had him there:* For which Words, he was committed Priſoner to *Newgate* for High-Treaſon.

Their Addreſs againſt the Aſſociation.

But to return to the Proceedings at *Hicks*'s-*Hall*, there was another Act of the ſame Seſſions, which bore Date the 18th of *January*; with which the Juſtices of the Peace attended upon his Majeſty at *White-Hall* the ſame Day, and preſented the Paper to his Royal Hands, It contain'd, 'That they the ſaid Juſtices were ſenſible of their great Honour and Happineſs in being the Firſt who return'd their humble and hearty Acknowledgment for his moſt Gracious *Declaration*; which being follow'd by a Multitude of Addreſſes from all Parts of the Kingdom, his Majeſty hath had a full Diſcovery of the Peoples Affections, and that his Enemies were neither ſo Numerous nor Formidable as they were by ſome apprehended to be: That now, as his Majeſty can have no Cauſe to fear them, ſo they the ſaid Juſtices hope He will never be perſuaded to truſt them; That they are aſham'd that they, who live ſo near his Royal Perſon, were not likewiſe the firſt in Expreſſing their Indignation againſt that moſt Execrable and Traiterous deſign'd *Aſſociation*, lately diſcover'd by his Majeſty, which certainly in the Judgment of all good Men, may more corrupt the Blood of the wicked Inventers, than if they ſhou'd be diſcover'd and attainted by Law: That the ſaid Treaſon was not only againſt the King, but the Monarchy; and if any Perſons ſhou'd attempt, under Colour or Pretence of ſo horrid and damnable a Contrivance, to diſturb the Peace and Quiet of his Majeſty's Government, they doubted not, but that whatſoever Impunity they might meet with upon Earth, yet they ſhou'd not eſcape the Divine Juſtice.' This Pa-

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per being read, his Majeſty was pleas'd heartily to thank thoſe Juſtices *for their conſtant Affection to Him, and the Eſtabliſh'd Government.*

Others.

That of the Middle-Temple *in particular.*

To this Purpoſe were innumerable other Congratulations and Addreſſes to the King, ſome before, but moſt after this of *Middleſex*, from *Norwich*, *Hereford*, *Briſtol*, the Lieutenancy of *London*, the *Inns of Court*, and all Parts of the Kingdom; all which were call'd *A ſecond Edition of Loyalty*, or a *New ſort of Addreſſes circulating a Second Time.* But none was taken more Notice of than that from the Gentlemen of the *Middle-Temple*, which was preſented on the 19th of *February*, with great Satisfaction to his Majeſty. It was read by Mr. *Edmund Saunders*, as following: 'We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Dutiful 'Subjects, profeſſing the Study and Practice of your Majeſty's Laws, in the Society of the *Middle-Temple*, do 'with all Humility proſtrate our Selves at your Royal Feet; 'and conceiving our Selves, by reaſon of our Profeſſion, 'more oblig'd than Others of your Majeſty's Subjects, 'to offer to your Sacred Majeſty our Senſe of that Execrable Paper, purporting the Frame and Form of a *Traiterous Aſſociation*, produc'd at the late Proceedings againſt 'the Earl of *Shaftsbury* at the *Old-Bailey*; Do therefore 'Declare it our Opinion, That the ſame contains moſt 'groſs and apparent *Treaſons*, more manifeſtly tending to 'the Ruin of your Majeſty's Dominions, than the Old 'Hypocritical *Solemn League and Covenant*, which they 'that were ſeduced to take, are no more bound to keep, 'than he that ſhould ſwear to murder his Father, is oblig'd 'to commit the Parricide. And it is moſt evident to us, 'That whoſoever promoted that *Rebellious Aſſociation*, deſign'd by the ſaid Paper, or Countenanc'd the ſame, by 'refuſing, upon full Evidence, to find Bills of Indictment 'againſt the Authors and Promoters thereof, and thereby, 'as much as in them lay, preventing their being brought to 'a fair Tryal, have in a high Meaſure perverted the Laws, 'and cou'd have no other Deſign thereby, than to Uſurp 'to themſelves an arbitrary and tyrannical Dominion, not 'only over your Subjects, but over your Majeſty alſo. 'And we humbly beſeech your Majeſty, favourably to 'accept of this reiterated Teſtimony of our Allegiance, 'all of us jointly and ſeparately declaring, before the Almighty, That we do from our Souls *utterly Deteſt and Abhor* that, and all other *Aſſociations* whatſoever, promoted againſt your Majeſty's Crown and Dignity. And 'that we will, to our utmoſt Power, endeavour to preſerve your Sacred Majeſty, your Heirs and Lawful Succeſſors, from all Rebels, Traytors, and from all Conſpiracies againſt your Perſon, or moſt Excellent Government; and will make it our daily and hearty Prayer to 'the King of Kings, to grant your Majeſty a long and 'proſperous Reign.

Newark.

The Duke's Picture defaced.

This Addreſs caus'd the *Obſervator* and his Friends to triumph, who call'd it, *An Act of Authority, as well as of Bravery and Duty; it being no leſs than the Opinion of that Learned Society, tranſmitted to the Publick, upon the Matter in Queſtion.* And what added to this Triumph, was the Addreſs from *Newark*, publiſh'd the ſame Day, which promis'd his Majeſty, 'That when ever he ſhou'd, 'in his great Wiſdom, be pleas'd to call another Parliament, they would admit no Candidates for that Borough, 'but ſuch as ſhould declare beforehand their Abhorrence of 'that *Aſſociation*.' And indeed there began at this Time to be a general Emulation, who ſhould ſhew themſelves moſt loyal to the King, or moſt faithful to the Duke. The City of *London* had a particular Opportunity of expreſſing their Affection, by Means of an unuſual Accident, which happened in the Beginning of the Year. Some baſe unknown Perſon had in the Night, cut, mangled and defac'd the Duke of *York*'s Picture, which, with the King's, hung up in *Guild-Hall*, both nobly painted, as a ſignal Ornament to the City. Upon which Action, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen publiſh'd a Declaration in Print, 'In 'which proteſting their deep Reſentment of that inſolent 'and villainous Act, to be abhorr'd by every Loyal Subject; and being greatly concern'd and deſirous to find 'out the Author thereof, they therefore unanimouſly Publiſh and Declare, That whoſoever can diſcover the Perſon 'who committed that Fact, the ſaid Lord Mayor and Aldermen will not only acknowledge the ſaid Diſcovery as 'a moſt acceptable Service to the City, but alſo pay to 'ſuch Diſcoverer the Sum of five Hundred Pounds upon 'the Offender's Conviction.' In Return to which generous Act of the City, his Royal Highneſs ſent a Gentleman out of *Scotland*, expreſly to Compliment the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and to thank them for their great Reſpect, and open Juſtice to his Cauſe.

An Account of the Aſſaſſination of M.Thynne.

2. In the midſt of theſe Court Succeſſes, the City and Country were allarm'd with the Noiſe of a publick Aſſaſſination, ſtrange and unuſual in the Streets of an *Engliſh*

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City; but the leſs to be admired, as committed by the Hands of Foreigners. Of which this was the Occaſion. *Joſceline* the laſt Earl of *Northumberland*, of the Family of *Piercy*, dying in the Year 1670, left no Iſſue beſides *Elizabeth* his Daughter and ſole Heir, at the Time of his Death about four Years of Age; which young Lady, being ſo great a Fortune, was in her Minority marry'd to *Henry* Earl of *Ogle*, Son and Heir apparent to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, who dying ſoon after ſuch Marriage, left her a Virgin Widow. After which many aſpired to the Happineſs and Advantage of a ſecond Match with this fine young Lady; among whom was a *German* Lord call'd Count *Coningsmark*, who ſojourning in *England*, was honourably countenanc'd by the King himſelf. But the young Lady, chiefly by Means of her Grand-Mother, as is reported, was ſecretly marry'd the laſt Summer to *Thomas Thynne* of *Longleet* Eſquire, one who had been a Member in ſeveral Parliaments, a Gentleman of great Note both in City and Country, having a noble Eſtate of Ten Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, given him by an Uncle. This Marriage, it ſeems, was not made ſo well to the Satisfaction of all Parties, but that the young Lady was prevail'd with, the laſt *Michaelmas* Term, to convey her ſelf privately into *Holland*; and this was done before her Husband had ever bedded with her. Hereupon the Town was allarm'd with the Approach of a mighty Suit at Law, concerning the Validity of the Match; and the beſt Civilians of *Doctors Commons* were ingag'd and retain'd on one ſide or other. And not only ſo, but Count *Coningsmark*, who had left *England* ſome time before, began afreſh to concern himſelf, and again came over to *London* in Diſguiſe. He had already ſent two Challenges to Mr. *Thynne*, by a Dependant of his call'd Captain *Uratz*; but inſtead of anſwering himſelf, he ſent ſix Men after him into *France*, to kill both the Count and the Captain; but they both eſcap'd in the Conflict, and kill'd two themſelves, as the Captain afterwards declared. However it was, on *Sunday* Night, the 12th of *February*, Mr. *Thynne* as he was paſſing the *Pall-Mall* near the *Hay-Market* in his Coach, was encounter'd by three Men on Horſe-back, one of which diſcharg'd a Muſquetoon into the Coach, and with two Brace of Bullets mortally wounded him; and having perform'd this deſperate Act, they rod away and made their Eſcape.

Count Coningſmark *the Cauſe.*

The Aſſaſſins taken,

and Executed.

Coningſmark *eſcapes.*

The King having been inform'd of what happen'd, immediately gave Orders for the Stopping all Perſons that cou'd not give a good Account of themſelves in the ſeveral Ports; and for making diligent Search in Town, in Order to diſcover the Aſſaſſinates. The Diligence of thoſe who made the Search was ſo ſucceſsful, that upon ſome Information given them, they trac'd the Murtherers to their ſeveral Lodgings, and there apprehended them, and brought them the next Day before the Council, which was Extraordinarily aſſembled for that purpoſe. The chief of them being examin'd, readily confeſs'd the whole Fact, and ſaid, 'He was a *German*, by Name *Uratz*, and a Captain 'of Foot; That he had accompany'd *Charles-John Coningsmark* in his Travels, and came with him into *England*; 'That the Friendſhip and Acquaintance he had with 'him, and the Favours he had receiv'd from his Family, 'had made him nearly ſenſible of the Affronts that Mr. '*Thynne* had put upon the Count, by his Diſcourſes and 'otherwiſe, and therefore reſolv'd to take Satisfaction of 'him; and being inform'd on *Sunday*, That Mr. *Thynne* 'was gone abroad in his Coach, he took Horſe with a 'Friend and a Servant of his own, who were provided 'with a Muſquetoon, and themſelves arm'd with Swords 'and Piſtols: That meeting his Coach in the *Pall-Mall*, 'he rod up to it, and bid the Coach-Man ſtand, intending 'fairly to fight Mr. *Thynne*; but his Servant, not rightly 'apprehending what he ſaid, diſcharg'd his Muſquetoon upon Mr. *Thynne*, whereupon they made their Eſcape.' Six Days after, Count *Coningsmark* was taken at *Graves-End* in a Diſguiſe, intending to imbark on a Veſſel that was going out; He was next Morning brought to Town, and examin'd in Council before the King, who referr'd the Matter to the Lord Chief Juſtice, and his Lordſhip committed him Priſoner to *Newgate*. On the 28th of *February*, the Three Principals, Captain *Chriſtopher Uratz*, Lieutenant *John Stern*, and *George Boroski* a *Polander*, were together with the Count try'd at the *Old-Baily*; where they were ſoon convicted and condemn'd; but the Count, who was indicted as Acceſſary, was with great Difficulty, and perhaps no leſs Partiality, found Not Guilty, and acquitted: The Three were executed in the *Pall-Mall*, the Lieutenant and *Polander* being very penitent; tho' their Notion had for ſome Time been, *That Obedience to the Orders of their Superiors wou'd clear any Man from Guilt.* But the Captain ſeem'd to continue in his firſt Opinion, *That God had a greater Favour for Gentlemen, than to require Punctilios of Humility at their Hands; and*

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that it was abſurd to think, that ſo many Thouſand Gentlemen in the World, that ſtood upon their Honour and Reputation as much as He, ſhou'd be for ever damn'd, becauſe they cou'd not Stoop to Things that wou'd ſpoil the Figure they made in the World.

Reflections upon it.

As this Accident made a great Noiſe, ſo it was at firſt look'd upon as a Party Cauſe, Mr *Thynne* being ſo deeply ingag'd with thoſe now call'd the *Whigs*, and the more upon the Account of the Acquittal of Count *Coningsmark*. But ſome look'd upon it as a Judgment upon him for his treacherous Practices to another Lady, noted for her Modeſty and Virtue, who had bravely reſiſted the Temptations of a vicious Court, and more particularly the Courtſhip of the Duke of *Monmouth*, as being a Marry'd Man. The Duke inrag'd at the Diſappointment, it ſeems apply'd himſelf for Revenge to an Unmarry'd-Man, his Friend Mr. *Thynne*, who by the Help of his great Eſtate, and his honourable Propoſals and Pretenſions, as it is ſaid, found Means and Opportunity at length baſely to betray her Virtue, and then ſhamefully abandon'd Her. This was fully remember'd after his Death, and it became a ſort of a Saying, *That if he had marry'd the Lady he had bedded, or had bedded the Lady he had marry'd, he had never come to this untimely End.* As to the Lady *Ogle*, who was an innocent but unfortunate Occaſion of this Diſaſter, ſhe was afterwards marry'd to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and ſoon ſhew'd to the World that her Worth and Reputation was above all Blemiſh.

The Arrival of the Duke of York *from* Scotland.

3. Immediately after the Execution of the Criminals, the King, Queen and Court repair'd to *Newmarket*, where it was deſign'd that the Duke of *York* from *Scotland* ſhou'd meet them with publick Pomp and Solemnity. In order to which, his Royal Highneſs landed at Great *Yarmouth*, on the 10th of *March*, where he was receiv'd by the Bayliffs and Corporation, with all the Marks of Joy and Reſpect, and entertain'd with as noble a Dinner as cou'd be provided upon ſo ſudden an Occaſion. From thence, with great Satisfaction, he was attended by Mr. *Knyvet* the High-Sheriff of *Norfolk*, and a glorious Train of the Neighbouring Gentry, to the City of *Norwich*; where he was again magnificently treated by the Mayor and Aldermen, with Banquets and Bonefires, and lodg'd that Night at the Biſhop's Palace. The next Day, towards the Evening, he arriv'd at *Newmarket*, where he was receiv'd by both their Majeſties with all the Demonſtrations of Kindneſs and Affection; having been met ſeveral Miles out of Town by a numerous Appearance of Noblemen and Gentlemen, then attending the Court; and now the popular Acclamations for the Duke of *York* appear'd in all Places as great as any that had been for the Duke of *Monmouth*.

Briſtol *Addreſs.*

The very next Day, the two Royal Brothers had the Pleaſure of an Addreſs from the Artillery Company in *Briſtol*, which, becauſe it was much diſcours'd of, and more particularly decipher'd the *Aſſociation*, is for the moſt Part here remember'd: Theſe Addreſſers ‘Expreſs from the Bottom of their Souls an utter Abhorrence of all *Covenants* and *Aſſociations* whatſoever, made againſt or without his Majeſty's Approbation, eſpecially that Treaſonable One ſeiz'd in the Cloſet of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; wherein the Securing the Proteſtant Religion, and the Defence of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Eſtate, is made the *Pretence*; but the Subverſion of the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, and the final Deſtruction of his Majeſty and Lawful Succeſſors, is the Real *Deſign*: And this to be perform'd, not by the Major Part of a Parliament, as in the late deſtructive Rebellion; but by devolving his Majeſty's Crown and Sceptre into the Hands of the Major Part of the Members of both Houſes, *Subſcribing that Aſſociation*, though Diſſolv'd, without Regard to their Quality, or Number. His Majeſty's Guards, for the Defence of his Royal Perſon, are falſly ſtil'd *Mercenary Forces*, and a *Terror to all the good People of the Land*: His Majeſty's Royal Brother to be excluded and Deſtroyed, if he came into *England*, and all who ſhall oppoſe that Rebellious, Accurſed, Helliſh and Unprecedented *Aſſociation*, are to be *purſu'd to Deſtruction*, tho' in Defence of his Majeſty's Title.’ After ſome other Expreſſions, they conclude, ‘That they will aſſert and defend the Rights and Prerogatives of his Majeſty and Lawful Succeſſors in Oppoſition to all *Unions* and *Societies* made to the contrary; and that they cannot think that Man fit to be a Repreſentative in Parliament, who will not diſown ſuch Aſſociations.

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Ref. 23.

Cambridge *Univerſity compliment the Duke.*

4. While the King and the Court were entertaining themſelves with all ſorts of rural and field Sports, the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, in the Beginning of *April*, waited upon his Majeſty with a Loyal Addreſs of Abhorrency. At which Time alſo the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Coga*, with the reſt of the Body, waited upon the Duke of *York*, and in the Name of Himſelf and the Univerſity, made a ſhort Speech in *Latin*, ‘To congratulate his Royal Highneſs's Return into *England*, and to acknowledge that by his good Conduct, the Government of *Scotland*, both in Church and State, is ſettled in Peace; and therefore they cou'd by no means doubt, but that under his Majeſty, his Royal Highneſs's Preſence wou'd have a great Influence in Effecting the ſame here in *England*; by which means all *Great Britain* being joyn'd in One, the Church of *England*, and the Rights of the Crown may for ever flouriſh.’ To which Speech his Royal Highneſs was pleas'd to return an Anſwer to this Effect; *That he gave the Univerſity his Thanks for their kind Expreſſions; That he was very glad of this and all other Occaſions to Declare,* That he wou'd ever ſtand by the Church of England, as now Eſtabliſh'd, *and Countenance the Members of it, as having ſeen by Experience, that they are the beſt Supporters of the Crown; and that he wou'd uſe his Endeavours and Intereſt for the Preſervation of the King's Perſon, and the Government in the State, and the Church of* England, *as now Eſtabliſh'd by Law.* And now ſeveral other Addreſſes alſo which were made to the King, had particular Words in them Congratulating the Duke's happy Return into *England*.

1682.
Car. 34.
Ref. 23.

They chuſe the Duke of Albemarle *their Chancellor.*

As the Credit of the Duke of *York* increas'd, ſo that of the Duke of *Monmouth* began to be in danger, tho' he had preſerv'd and kept it up by all imaginable Arts of Popularity. Theſe were really diſguſtful to the King, tho' he ſtill retain'd a ſecret and warm Affection for him; but now having a fair Opportunity of checking his Grandeur, he thought fit to ſignify his Pleaſure to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, that they ſhou'd chuſe another Chancellor in the Place of the Duke of *Monmouth*. With which Order the Univerſity readily comply'd, and made choice of his Grace the Duke of *Albemarle* to be their Chancellor. Accordingly, for the more ſolemn Inſtallment of their new Chancellor, the Heads of the Univerſity, with other Members, to the Number of two Hundred and fifty, repair'd to *London*, and made a pompous Proceſſion in all their Robes and Habits, from *Northumberland-Houſe* to *Albemarle-Houſe*. Here the Ceremony was perform'd with great Decency and Grandeur, and his Grace was entertain'd with ſeveral Speeches. After which, his Grace was pleas'd to expreſs in very obliging Terms, *his great Satisfaction in the Place into which they had Elected him, and his Readineſs to do them all Acts of Kindneſs to the utmoſt of his Power.* The whole was concluded by a noble and ſplendid Entertainment; at which were preſent, beſides thoſe of the Univerſity, ſeveral Perſons of Honour and great Quality, beſides an infinite Number of Spectators.

The Duke of York *treated at* London.

As ſoon as the King return'd to *London*, together with his Royal Brother, on the 10th of *April* he was attended by the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, and Court of Aldermen; who having paid their Duty to the King, upon his Return from *Newmarket*, they all went to St. *James*'s, where they waited upon his Royal Highneſs, and congratulated his Happy Return into *England*, and to that his particular Palace. A few Days after his Royal Highneſs was ſolemnly invited by the *Artillery Company*, to their Annual Feaſt held at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, which he readily accepted of, as being their Captain-General, and went accompany'd with great Numbers of the Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality. The Entertainment was manag'd with more than ordinary Pomp and Splendor, and after Dinner, upon his Retiring into another Room, great Numbers of the Citizens crowded in, and were admitted to kiſs his Royal Highneſs's Hand.

An oppoſite Invitation.

In Oppoſition, as it were, to this Invitation, the Party moſt zealous againſt *Popery* and the *Duke's Succeſſion*, to ſhew and improve their Strength, appointed a Publick Meeting, with a Sermon and a Dinner, as uſual among particular Bodies and Societies; and they invited their Gueſts, upon a Ticket in theſe Words: *It having pleas'd Almighty God, by his wonderful Providence, to Deliver and Protect his Majeſty's* Perſon, *the* Proteſtant *Religion, and* Engliſh Liberties, *hitherto, from the Helliſh and frequent Attempts of their Enemies, the* Papiſts; *In teſtimony of thankfulneſs herein, and for the Preſerving and Improving Mutual Love and Charity, among ſuch as are ſenſible thereof, You are deſired to meet many of the Loyal* Proteſtant *Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Citizens, on* Friday *the 21ſt Day of this Inſtant* April, 1682, *at Ten a Clock, at St.* Michael's Church *in* Cornhill, *there to hear a Sermon, and from thence to go to* Haberdaſhers-Hall *to Dinner; and to bring this Ticket with you.* The Court, which daily grew more vigilant and jealous, ſoon diſcover'd the Matter, and publiſh'd this following Order of Council, dated *April* the 19th, ‘Whereas the Appointing of Publick *Faſts* and *Thankſgivings* is Matter of State, and belongs only to

Defeated by the Court.

‘his Majeſty by his Prerogative; And his Majeſty being inform'd, that in the City of *London*, Invitations have been made of great and unuſual Numbers, by *Printed Tickets*, one of which is hereunto annex'd; his Majeſty looks upon the ſame as an Inſolent Attempt; in manifeſt Derogation of his Right, and of dangerous Conſequence: The *Matter* of the ſaid Invitation being of a Publick Nature, and *Manner* of Carrying it on, tending to *Sedition*, and Raiſing *Diſtinctions* and *Confederacies* amongſt his Subjects, againſt the known Laws and Peace of the Kingdom; his Majeſty therefore, by the Advice of his Council, hath thought fit, and doth hereby ſtrictly charge and command the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, as they will anſwer the contrary at their Peril, to take immediate and effectual Care to prevent and hinder the ſaid Meeting, as an *Unlawful Aſſembly*; and all Sheriffs, Conſtables, and other his Majeſty's Officers in the ſaid City, are hereby commanded to be Aiding and Aſſiſting therein.

A Letter from Scotland *in favour of the Duke.*

On the ſame Day, for an Increaſe of the Duke's Credit, was publiſh'd by Authority a remarkable Letter ſubſcrib'd by ſeven Biſhops in *Scotland*, and directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſoon after his Royal Highneſs's Departure from that Kingdom: It bears date at *Edinburgh*, March 9, 1682, and ſets forth, ‘That ſince his Royal Highneſs came into that Kingdom, they, the ſaid Biſhops, found their Caſe much chang'd for the better, and their Church and Order ſenſibly reliev'd and reſcu'd; which, next to the watchful Providence of God, they can aſcribe to nothing ſo much as to his Royal Highneſs's gracious Owning, and vigilant Protecting of them; who upon all Occaſions gave freſh Inſtances of his Eminent Zeal againſt the moſt unreaſonable Schiſm, which by Renting threatens the Subverſion of their Church and Religion; and concerns himſelf as a Patron to them in all their Publick, and even Perſonal Intereſts. That they did never propoſe to his Royal Highneſs any Rational Expedient, which might conduce to the Relief or Security of the Church, which he did not readily embrace and effectuate: That the Peace and Tranquillity of that Kingdom is the Effect of his prudent and ſteady Conduct of affairs: That the Humours of the wicked *Phanaticks* there, are much reſtrain'd from dangerous Eruptions, upon their Apprehenſions of his Vigilance and Juſtice; And that they deſired the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to make their Dutiful Acknowledgments to his Royal Highneſs for all his Princely Favours to them, with Aſſurance of their firm Endeavours to ſerve him, and of their moſt fervent Prayers for his Temporal and Eternel Happineſs.’ Subſcrib'd, St. *Andrews*, *Glaſco*, *Edinburgh*, *Galloway*, *Dunkeld*, *Brechin* and *Dumblain*.

His R. Highneſs goes for Scotland.

5. Shortly after, his Royal Highneſs had an Occaſion of going once more, and the laſt Time, into *Scotland*, deſigning to bring his Dutcheſs and Family from thence, and to make but a very ſhort Stay. Accordingly on the 3d of *May* he departed from *Windſor*, accompany'd with ſeveral Perſons of Quality, and went down in one of the King's Yatchts to imbark on the *Glouceſter*, commanded by Sir *John Berry*, and attended by the *Dartmouth*, the *Ruby*, and the *Happy Return*, &c. But on *Friday* Morning early, *May* the 5th, the *Glouceſter* Frigate unhappily ſtruck upon the Sand call'd the *Lemon and Oar*, about ſixteen Leagues from the Mouth of the *Humber*, tho' the Weather was fair, and one *Ayres*, reckon'd the beſt Coaſter in *England*, his Pilot. His Royal Highneſs being awak'd out of his Sleep, and perceiving the Danger, ſtill ſtaid as long as he cou'd ſafely on Board, till, having notice given him, that there was above ſeven Foot Water in the Hold, he put off in his Pinnace, with as many of the beſt Perſons as it wou'd well hold, and ſav'd himſelf on Board of the *Mary* Yatcht. Other Boats were immediately ſent to ſave the Men in the ſinking Ship; but before any Service cou'd be done, the Duke and the reſt, to their unexpreſſible Grief, ſaw the Veſſel ſink to the bottom of the Sea. By which the Earl of *Roxborough* in *Scotland*, the Lord *Obryan*, the Laird of *Hopton*, Sir *Joſeph Douglas*, Lieutenant *Hyde* Brother-in-law to the Duke, with ſeveral of the Duke's Servants, and above a Hundred and Thirty Seamen, were miſerably loſt; the Commander, Sir *John Berry*, hardly eſcaping by a Rope over the Stern, into Captain *Wyborn*'s Boat. We are told ſomething very remarkable concerning the poor Seamen in the ſinking Ship, who in the midſt of the Difficulty and Confuſion, when they ſaw their old Maſter the Duke out of Danger, they expreſs'd a particular Joy and Thankfulneſs for his Preſervation, while they themſelves were in a dying and deplorable Condition.

His Eſcape at Sea.

Upon this extraordinary Eſcape, a remarkable Medal was ſtruck, on which was the Duke's Effigies in Buſt, with theſe Words round it, JACOBUS DUX EBORACENSIS ET ALBANENSIS G. B. F. The Reverſe, is a Ship ſinking in the Ocean, and a Rock and Caſtle at a Diſtance, with theſe Words, IMPAVIDUM FERIUNT.

Soon after this ſad Diſaſter, the Duke ſafely arriv'd at the deſired Country, on the 7th of *May*; where on the next Day he went to Council, and there declar'd, That it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure to conſtitute the Lord *Haddo* Lord-Preſident of the Seſſions, Lord-Chancellor of the Kingdom, the Earl of *Queenſbery* Lord-Treaſurer, and the Earl of *Perth* Lord-Juſtice-General; and then having taken his ſolemn and laſt Leave of that Kingdom, he with his Dutcheſs, and the Lady *Anne*, together with a great Train of Nobility, went to *Leith-Road*, where he embark'd in the *Happy-Return*, and on the 26th arriv'd ſafe at the *Buoy* in the *Gun-Fleet*: Of which, an Expreſs coming to *Windſor*, both their Majeſties, attended with a numerous and ſplendid Train of Nobility, came the next Day in their Coaches to *Putney*, and there took Barge, and went down the River to meet the Duke and Dutcheſs, which they did at *Erif*; and at the Approach of the King's Barge, the Ships in the Road ſaluted him with a general Diſcharge of their Cannon. Then their Royal Highneſſes, *&c.* enter'd the Barge; and after particular Expreſſions of Joy for the Duke's great Deliverance at Sea, the Royal Brothers and Conſorts came to *White-Hall*, where they landed; being ſaluted all the Way up the River by the Ships in the Road, and great Guns from the *Tower*. From whence they went to *Arlington-Houſe* in the Park, where they were entertain'd with a ſumptuous Banquet, and whither the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City repair'd, to congratulate his Royal Highneſs's happy Return and Eſcape: And that Night the City blaz'd with Bone-Fires, and gave all the outward Demonſtrations of Joy and Satisfaction.

His Arrival and Reception in England,

Where he continues the reſt of the Reign.

During the reſt of this King's Reign, which was two Years and eight Months, his Royal Highneſs the Duke continu'd in *England*, and often with the King's Perſon and Preſence, over whoſe Actions and Proceedings he is thought to have had a more than uſual Influence, and to have been a great Cauſe of ſome Severities and Irregularities charg'd upon his Majeſty, who appear'd more willing to paſs his latter Days with more Eaſe and Indolence. Yet notwithſtanding, I have been aſſur'd from knowing Perſons, that in theſe latter Days the King began to take more to Buſineſs than in many Years before, to exert himſelf, and to ſhew his Anger and Reſentments againſt an increaſing Party that had ſo much diſturbed his Repoſe, and threatned his Safety; in which he found anſwerable Succeſs, in ſecuring the Rights and Dignity of the Crown, as ſome, or endangering the general Liberties of the People, as others expreſs it. However he knew the Humour of the Nation ſo well, and valu'd his Quiet ſo much, that he kept himſelf under ſuch proper Limitations, as not to ſink or overthrow Himſelf; and more than once took an Occaſion to ſay to his Brother the Duke, *Brother, I am reſolv'd never to Travel again; you may do ſo, if you pleaſe.*

The preſent State of Affairs.

IV. I. As the Vigilance and Severities of the Court ſeem'd actually to increaſe, ſo the Heats and Exorbitancies on the other ſide ſeem'd as much to give Occaſion to them, and to require a ſtrict Hand and a ſtrict Rein to manage them. The Struggles on each Side were this Year brought to a *Criſis*; and the preſent Circumſtance of Affairs is thus deſcrib'd by a Great Man in his intended Advice to the King: Speaking of the Times of Rebellion, he ſays, ‘The Scene is only chang'd; from Skirmiſhes and Battles in the Fields, and Sieges of Cities and Towns, it is come now to Altercations and Fightings between Sheriffs and other Officers, Grand-Juries and Petty-Juries; and they and the Courts of Juſtice, who by Law are the Conſervators of our Peace, are ingag'd in the Quarrels, and Verdicts are found, and Judgments given as the litigant Parties exceed one another in Power and Practice, more than by the Merits of the Cauſe; which ingageth almoſt the whole People of one ſide or other, in every Caſe. So that now Juſtice hath loſt its old deep Channel, and all Cauſes are carry'd by a fierce impetuous Torrent, which in Time, if not diverted, may break all our Banks, and bring a general Inundation: for it is come to this already, that all Reverence to Miniſterial Officers, Juries, and Judges, is loſt; and there is now no Caſe of Moment almoſt, wherein there is not Muſtering of Parties, and inſtead of Parliaments, Appeals are made to the People, who can neither meet nor judge in a Body, and therefore end all Controverſies by quarrelling Parties.’ In ſum, there was ſeldom more need of the Reins of Government, than at this Time.

A Swarm of Pamphlets.

And all this while, the Preſs, which the laſt Year had been under ſome Reſtraint, ſwarm'd with innumerable Books and Pamphlets, which ſerv'd more to whet and ſour Men's Minds, than to bring them to any right Underſtanding.

Among theſe, none made a greater Noiſe than *The Life of Julian the Apoſtate*, in which was artfully drawn a Parallel between Him and the Duke of *York*, the Excluſion maintain'd and vindicated, and *Paſſive Obedience* exploded as a *Mahometan* Doctrine. The Author was Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, a Clergy-Man of the Earl of *Bedford*'s Family, a Man of a ſober Life and good Morals, and of notable Wit and Parts, but of ſuch a fiery and fearleſs Spirit, as might rouſe the Vigilance of the beſt, as well as the worſt of Governments. This Book did not only occaſion many ſharp Anſwers, and the Author to be mark'd out by the Publick; but that and other Accidents cauſ'd *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance* to be more zealouſly preach'd up and maintain'd, both by Divines and Lawyers, and to become more faſhionable, if not more neceſſary Doctrines, than in any Time before this Year: By which Means they were ſwell'd and carry'd to that Height, as made them indeed very difficult to be reconcil'd with the Liberties of the Nation, or with that great Deliverance that happen'd afterwards.

The Earl of Shaftsbury *againſt Mr.* Cradock.

As to publick Tryals, *Eaſter* Term yielded ſeveral Paſſages of conſiderable Note in the *King's-Bench* Court at *Weſtminſter:* The Earl of *Shaftsbury*, after his Eſcape, had brought his Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt one Mr. *Cradock*, a conſiderable Citizen and Mercer in *Pater Noſter-Row*, for ſpeaking ſome Words implying the Earl to be a Traytor; which Action being laid in *London*, the Defendent's Council ſhew'd and alledg'd, 'That there 'was no Probability of a Fair Tryal by a *London* Jury, 'by Reaſon that the Earl was not only free of the City, 'but alſo of the *Skinner*'s-Company, of which Sheriff '*Pilkington* was Maſter, and that therefore the Jury ought 'to ariſe out of ſome Neighbouring County:' To which the Court inclin'd, and gave the Earl his Choice of a Jury out of any County in *England*; but the Earl reply'd, *That he had rather lay down his Action, than admit it to be try'd in any other County, in regard moſt of them had put* Abhorrences *upon him:* Which poſitive Reſolution confirm'd the Lord Chief-Juſtice in his Opinion of the Earl's total Reliance upon a *London* Jury, and therefore order'd, 'That unleſs he would conſent to try his Cauſe 'by a Country Jury, it ſhould not be Try'd in *London*;' whereupon the Earl diſcontinu'd his Action. The like Rule was made ſoon after in the ſame Court, between the ſaid Earl and Mr. *Graham*, Principal of *Clifford*'s-Inn, againſt whom his Lordſhip had brought an *Action of Conſpiracy*, as having been appointed by the King's Council to be Sollicitor in the Indictment againſt the Earl at the *Old-Baily*. The like Rule was alſo made in the *Exchequer* in Mr. *Slingsby Bethel*'s Caſe.

Wilmore's *Caſe.*

Alſo Mr. *Wilmore*, the Foreman of *Stephen Colledge*'s *Ignoramus* Jury, having convey'd away a young Boy and ſent him to *Jamaica*, a Writ *de Homine replegiando* was brought againſt him; upon which Writ, the Sheriffs *Pilkington* and *Shute* making an inſufficient Return, and poſitively refuſing to return *Elongatus eſt*, the only Legal Return in that Caſe, they were both brought into the *King's-Bench* upon an Attachment, where they receiv'd a ſharp Reprimand from the Court, and were glad to ſubmit, with a Promiſe of better Behaviour for the future. Hereupon an *Elongatus eſt* being return'd, a *Capias in Withernam* iſſu'd out againſt *Wilmore*, to take him into Cuſtody, and detain him till he produc'd the Boy. Nor was this ſufficient, but the ſaid *Wilmore* was on the End of *May* Try'd at the *King's-Bench* upon an Information exhibited by the Attorney-General, for Kidnapping the ſaid Boy, being under the Age of Thirteen, and unknown to his Parents; and upon full Evidence of the plain Fact, he was found guilty by a *Kentiſh* Jury, who never went from the Bar; ſo much Difference was there between a Country and a City Jury. The foreſaid *Wilmore* had been indicted in the City for the ſaid Crime of Boy-Stealing, but the Grand-Jury there found the Bill *Ignoramus*. And to the ſame Effect, one *Harris*, being try'd at *Guild-Hall*, for diſperſing a ſcandalous Libel againſt the Government, was found Not Guilty, againſt the moſt apparent Evidence, and poſitive Directions of the Court; the Jury giving no other Reaſon but their own Will and Pleaſure. Thus the *London* Juries began to be diſtinguiſh'd and fam'd abroad in the Nation; againſt which, and the like Actions, the Court reſolv'd upon two preventing Expedients; one was to alter the late Method of Electing Sheriffs, and bring it to the ancient Courſe, and the other was to bring a *Quo Warranto* againſt the City Charter itſelf; both which were effected in Time.

And others.

On the contrary Side, three Perſons, *Nathaniel Thompſon*, *William Paine*, and *John Farewell*, were Try'd at *Guild-Hall*, 'For Writing, Printing and Publiſhing infa'mous and Seditious Libels, by Way of Letters to Mr. '*Prance* and other Perſons, defaming the Publick Juſtice 'of the Nation in the Proceedings againſt the Murtherers 'of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey:*' And being Convicted, after a full Hearing, they were Condemn'd to ſtand in the Pillory, where they felt the utmoſt Severity of an inrag'd Multitude; when the like Criminals of the other Party, as *Aaron Smith*, *&c.* had formerly come off untouch'd.

A Struggle about the Sheriffs of London.

2. The 24th of *June*, the cuſtomary Day for Electing Sheriffs of *London* for the enſuing Year, was the great Time of Struggle between the two Parties. Not long before, at a Dinner, call'd the *Bridge-Houſe* Feaſt, the Lord Mayor, according to ancient Cuſtom, had choſen Mr. *Dudley North* by the Ceremony of Drinking to him; and thereupon iſſu'd out his Summons to the ſeveral Companies to appear at *Guild-Hall*, on the ſaid 24th Day of *June*, for the Confirmation of Mr. *North*, and for the Election of another Sheriff. At the appointed Day a vaſt Concourſe of People aſſembled at *Guild-Hall*, reſolving to oppoſe the Lord Mayor, who was ſitting with the Sheriffs on the *Huſtings:* There were two Parties appear'd in Competition, Mr. *North* and Mr. *Box* on the *Tory* Party, and Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois* on the other. The Poll was manag'd by the preſent Sheriffs, Mr. *Pilkington* and Mr. *Shute*; in which it was obſerv'd, that the Names of thoſe who Poll'd for the Confirmation of *North*, and the Election of *Box*, were refus'd to be enter'd; and on the other Side, it was ſaid, that ſeveral Men's Names were enter'd who were not actually preſent, or not duly intitled to Vote. The Lord Mayor ſeeing this violent Oppoſition, by Proclamation adjourned the Court to the 27th of *June*, and departed the Hall. Upon Proclaiming of *God Save the King*, the People hiſs'd, and cry'd *God Save the Proteſtant Sheriffs! No Adjournment, &c.* and preſs'd ſo hard upon the Lord Mayor, that he was thrown upon his Knees, and endanger'd by the Croud. Notwithſtanding this Adjournment, and againſt more than one expreſs Command of the Lord Mayor, the two Sheriffs continu'd to Poll on till Night. The next Day, being *Sunday*, admitted of no Buſineſs: But on *Monday* Morning, the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and the two Sheriffs were all ſent for to appear before the King and Council; where the Matter being fully examin'd, the two Sheriffs were committed Priſoners to the *Tower*, by a Warrant ſign'd by Twenty four Privy-Counſellors, who made a further Order, 'That Mr. At'torney-General ſhould forthwith Exhibite an Information 'in the *King's-Bench* againſt *Thomas Pilkington* and *Sa*'*muel Shute* Eſquires, Sheriffs of *London*, and *Henry* '*Corniſh* Eſquire, one of the Aldermen, and ſuch Others 'as upon Examination ſhould be found to have been Pro'moters and Encouragers of the late Enormous Riot, 'and that he do proceed againſt them according to the 'utmoſt Severity of the Law.

The Court takes Notice of it.

On *Tueſday* the 27th of *June*, the appointed Day of Meeting, the Common-Hall was again Adjourn'd by the Lord Mayor to the 5th of *July*. And three Days after, the two foremention'd Sheriffs were brought by *Habeas Corpus* by the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to the *King's-Bench* Bar, where they were admitted to be Bail'd by four Gentlemen of conſiderable Eſtates; themſelves being bound in two Thouſand, and the Bail in one Thouſand Pound Bonds a-piece. At the ſame Time they pleaded Not Guilty to an Information for a Tumultuous and Riotous Aſſembly in Holding the Common-Hall after it was Adjourn'd, and the Aſſembly diſcharg'd. Being thus at Liberty, the Sheriffs met at the Common-Hall on the 5th of *July*; and notwithſtanding the Lord Mayor, being now ſick, ſent Order by the Recorder to Adjourn the Hall to the 7th following, the Validity of the Adjournment was deny'd, and the Sheriffs and the Multitude proceeded to the Election, and declar'd their Choice of *Papillon* and *Dubois*. On the 7th the Lord Mayor and his Party met again at *Guild-Hall*; but ſome Diſputes ariſing concerning the laſt Adjournment, four noted Lawyers were ſent for to the Court of Aldermen to argue the Validity of the Point, Sir *George Jeffreys* and Mr. *Saunders* for the Lord Mayor, and Mr. *Pollexfen* and Mr. *Williams* on the other Side; but coming to no Concluſion, the Court was further Adjourn'd to that Day Seven-Night, the 14th of *July*.

A further Conteſt.

The Court again interpoſes.

But immediately before that Day, the King and Court thought fit to interpoſe, and his Majeſty was pleas'd to iſſue out an Order of Council in theſe Words: 'His 'Majeſty having been inform'd by the Lord Mayor and 'divers of the Aldermen of *London*, That the Diſorders 'and Riots ariſen in the City upon the Day appointed 'for the Election of Sheriffs, have been chiefly occaſion'd 'by the Proceedings of the Common-Hall in an irregu'lar Way, contrary to what hath been anciently accu'ſtom'd; His Majeſty, by the Advice of his Council, 'hath thought fit, for the better keeping of the Peace of 'the City, to direct, and hereby to require the Lord May-

' or to maintain and preſerve intire the *Ancient Cuſtoms* ' *of the City*; and for the better doing thereof, to take ' effectual Order, that at the Common-Hall to be held to ' Morrow, all Proceedings be begun a-new, and carry'd ' on in the uſual Manner, as they ought to have been up- ' on the 24th of *June* laſt.' This was read the next Day in the Common-Hall, but oppos'd by the adverſe Party with great Noiſe and Clamour; ſome crying out for the Reading of the Statute of the 16th of *Charles* I. Chap. X. in which was a Clauſe Declaratory, *That the Privy-Council have no Authority to Examine, Determine or Diſpoſe of the Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels of any of the Subjects of this Kingdom.* But this being look'd upon as no ways pertinent to the preſent Caſe, they proceeded accordingly: The Lord Mayor, in the firſt Place, declared Mr. *North* duly Elected by Him, and that he would Poll for the other Three, *viz. Box, Papillon,* and *Dubois*; and in order to it, caus'd Books to be prepared with Three Columns only. In the mean Time, the Sheriffs, with a *Salvo Jure* to their former Election of *Midſummer*-Day, went on a-part, and Poll'd for Four Heads. The next Day, the Lord Mayor declared Mr. *Box* duly Elected by the Majority of Votes in his Books, and therefore *North* and *Box* to be Sheriffs for the next Year. On the other Hand, the preſent Sheriffs declar'd *Papillon* and *Dubois* to have the Majority in their Books; and ſo the Poll, but not the Conteſt, ended.

North *and* Box *Choſen Sheriffs.*

On the 27th of *July* the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen aſſembled again, not without Apprehenſions of a Diſturbance from the contrary Party; therefore two Companies of Foot were order'd to be up at the *Exchange* that Day, and the Lieutenancy plac'd themſelves in the Gallery before the Room where the Court of Aldermen ſate, to keep off the Multitude from preſſing in upon them. Very great Numbers were gather'd into *Guild-Hall*, requiring an Anſwer to a Petition, which they had formerly deliver'd to that Court, demanding that Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois* ſhould be call'd forth to give Bonds to ſerve for the next Year's Sheriffs. Some few of the Chief of this Party being at length call'd in, the Lord Mayor caus'd the following Paper to be read to them, as a final Anſwer: '*Gentlemen*, This Court hath conſi- ' der'd of your Petition, and will take Care that ſuch ' Perſons ſhall take the Office of Sheriffs upon them as ' are duly Elected, *according to Law and the ancient Cu-* ' *ſtoms of this City*; and in this, and in all other Things, ' this Court will endeavour to maintain *the Rights and* ' *Privileges of the Chair, and of the whole City*; and ' wherein ye think that we do otherwiſe, *the Law muſt* ' *judge between Us.*' With this Anſwer the Lord Mayor commanded them, in the King's Name, to depart; and he alſo laid his Commands upon Sheriff *Pilkington* to go out, and cauſe them to depart; which Mr. Sheriff durſt not diſobey, tho' he himſelf and all that Party were highly diſſatisfy'd with the Anſwer. And thus the Matter reſted for near two Months, when the Power of the ſame Party began ſenſibly to diminiſh; and ſo ſenſibly, that *Heraclitus* thought it not neceſſary to contend with them any longer, but totally laid down his Satyrical Pen, after Eighteen Months Uſe of it, in a Sort of a Triumph.

The Mayor carries his Point.

A Conteſt between the D. *of* Ormond, *and the* E. *of* Angleſey.

3. In the mean Time, there happen'd a ſort of an inteſtine Difference at Court, which occaſion'd much Diſcourſe at this Time. The Earl of *Angleſey* had ſome time ſince wrote *Obſervations and Reflections upon the Lord* Caſtlehaven'*s Memoirs concerning* Ireland; in which the Duke of *Ormond* thought himſelf and the Government ſo openly reflected upon, that he judg'd it convenient to make a publick Complaint of it, and to repreſent the Caſe in Writing to the King and Council. Whereupon his Majeſty order'd the Repreſentation to be read in Form, and a Copy of it to be deliver'd to the Earl of *Angleſey*, and that he ſhou'd appear to make Anſwer thereunto, at a Council to be held at *White-Hall*, on the 23d of *June*. In Obedience to this, the Earl of *Agleſey*, then labouring under an acute Diſtemper, appear'd, made a ſhort Speech to his Majeſty in Vindication of himſelf, diſcuſs'd the Matter with the Duke of *Ormond*, and then put in his Anſwer to his Repreſentation or Complaint againſt him. This done, another Council was held on the 13th of *July*; at which Time the Duke delivering a Paper to the Board containing ſeveral Charges againſt him, it was then order'd that a Copy of it ſhou'd be ſent to the Earl, and he to return an Anſwer to it, on the 20th at *Hampton-Court*. But no Council being then held, notwithſtanding the Earl had anſwer'd to the Duke's particular Charges the next Day, the Matter was deferr'd ſeven Days longer. Another Council being therefore held that Day, the Charges and Anſwers were debated, and the two Lords concern'd being withdrawn, the Council paſs'd this Reſolution, ' That the Earl of *Angleſey*'s Obſervations, &c. was a ' ſcandalous Libel againſt his late Majeſty, againſt his pre- ' ſent Majeſty, and againſt the Government.'

Upon this mortifying Sentence both Lords were call'd in, and *Angleſey* was particularly told, ' That his Majeſty ' conceiv'd him blameable in a particular Clauſe or Paſ- ' ſage in his Book, wherein the Committees of the Par- ' liament of *Ireland* were mention'd *as having been in at* ' *the Intrigues of the Popiſh Faction at Court.*' After which, a further Hearing was appointed in Council on the 3d of *Auguſt* following; but *Angleſey* continuing extreamly Ill, and finding himſelf, as he ſaid, prejudic'd by the Lords of the Council, he wrote a Letter the Day before to the King, extenuating that, and vindicating ſome other Paſſages: This was read in Council, and in ſome Degree reſented, but no further Proceedings appear'd upon it. But about the ſame Time the Earl of *Caſtlehaven* was more than once call'd in, and queſtion'd about his *Memoirs*; which he acknowledging to be his own, that Book likewiſe was by his Majeſty and Council adjudg'd *To be a ſcandalous Libel againſt the Government.* In Concluſion, on the 9th of *Auguſt*, the Privy-Seal, by his Majeſty's Command, was taken from the Earl of *Angleſey* by Sir *Leolin Jenkins*, Principal Secretary of State, without any further Hearing, and given to *George* Earl of *Hallifax*, whom the King ſhortly after honour'd with the Title of a Marquiſs. The Earl of *Angleſey* had been in Favour at Court ever ſince the Reſtoration, and had enjoy'd the Privy-Seal near ten Years; and when he came to deliver it up, he deſired the Secretary to let his Majeſty know, *That at the Signification of his Pleaſure, he delivered the Seal more joyfully than ever he received it.*

Angleſey *remov'd.*

4. But to return to the Conteſt in the City; during the long Vacation, Mr. *Box*, who had been choſen Sheriff to ſerve with Mr. *North*, thought it better to pay his Fine, than to take upon him the Office. Hereupon the Lord Mayor call'd a Common-Hall on the 19th of *September*, and propos'd the Electing of another Sheriff in his Place; which was violently oppos'd by the adverſe Party, who cry'd out *No North, no North! no Election!* &c. But the Lord Mayor being ſteady and reſolute, went on in the Election, and by the Majority of his Party, *Peter Rich*, Eſquire, a Lieutenant-Colonel in *Southwark*, and twice a Burgeſs in Parliament for that Borough, was choſen, and ſo declared; whereupon the Lord Mayor diſſolv'd the Court, and return'd to his Houſe in Triumph. Notwithſtanding which, the two Sheriffs, *Pilkington* and *Shute*, continu'd the Aſſembly, and put the Queſtion to their own Party, who only remain'd, Whether they wou'd abide by their former Choice of *Papillon* and *Dubois*, or not? In the mean Time the Lord Mayor ſent a Meſſage to them, declaring the Court was diſſolv'd, and requiring them to depart; yet ſtill they went on with the Poll, and caſting up their Books, declar'd the ſaid *Papillon* and *Dubois* Sheriffs Elect. But the next Morning the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen waited upon the King at *White-Hall*, and gave a full Account of the Proceedings; which cauſed the two Sheriffs to be immediately ſent for to the Council, where they were ſeverely reprimanded, and told *They had been guilty of a high Miſdemeanor*; and were not diſmiſs'd but upon good Bail to anſwer to an Information for the ſame. So on the 28th of *September*, in the Morning, Mr. *Dudly North* and Mr. *Peter Rich* were according to Cuſtom ſworn Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, before the Lord Mayor in the *Huſtings*: At which Time, to prevent a Tumult, a Company of the City Train'd-Bands were drawn up in *Guild-Hall*. And two Days after the ſaid Sheriffs were preſented by the Recorder in the *Exchequer*, and ſworn there; the old Sheriffs giving up their Office at the ſame Time.

A new Conteſt in the City.

North *and* Rich *the Sheriffs.*

This great Point gain'd, a new Struggle happen'd on *Michaelmas*-Day, which being the cuſtomary Time for the Election of a Lord Mayor, the Whig Party muſter'd their utmoſt Strength againſt Sir *William Prichard*, who was next in Courſe, and ſet up againſt him two ſeveral Aldermen, *Gould* and *Corniſh*, of whom the laſt had been Sheriff but the Year before. At the firſt Appearance theſe two had the Majority of Votes; till at laſt, upon a long Scrutiny and a thorough Examination into the Capacity of the Voters, it was found that a great Number had appear'd for them, who were not legally entitled to Voices, and, as was reported, no leſs than Sixty in the ſingle Company of the *Merchant-Taylors*: Which Kind of People being ſtruck out of the Number, it appear'd that Sir *William Prichard* had 2138 Votes, *Gould* 2124, and *Corniſh* 2093. Whereupon, on the 25th Day of *October*, Sir *William* was by the Court of Aldermen at *Guild-Hall* declar'd Lord Mayor Elect, and the uſual Ceremonies then and there perform'd to him as ſuch, with mighty Shouts and Acclamations from all the Loyal Party in the City. Two Days after, he was preſented to his Majeſty

Sir William Prichard *Lord Mayor.*

at *White-Hall* by the Court of Aldermen, Recorder and Sheriffs, where the King was pleas'd to tell them, *That they had made Choice of a Perſon to be their Lord Mayor, of whoſe Loyalty and Affection to the Eſtabliſh'd Government, and Ability to diſcharge that great Office, he was well aſſured, and that he did Approve of him.* And at the ſame Time his Majeſty expreſs'd his particular Satisfaction he had in the good Adminiſtration of Sir *John Moore*, now going out of his Office. On the 30th of *October* Sir *William Prichard* was ſworn at *Weſtminſter Hall*; at which Solemnity many of the other Party refus'd to attend, as on other Years. And they proceeded ſo far that they appointed Mr. *Williams* and Mr. *Wallop*, Counſellors at Law, to move in the *King's-Bench*, 'That a *Mandamus* might be directed to Sir *John Moore*, and the Aldermen of *London*, to ſwear either Alderman *Gould*, or Alderman *Corniſh*, into the Office of Lord Mayor of *London*.' But the Motion was look'd upon as ridiculous, and the Lord Chief-Juſtice refus'd to give it the leaſt Countenance; 'ſuch a *Mandamus* in the Disjunctive, being a thing never heard of, and abſurd in it ſelf.

The Whig *Party declines.*

This new Settlement of the Sheriffs of *London*, and back'd by a Lord Mayor of the ſame Principles, prov'd a terrible Blow to the diſaffected Party, and forc'd them to depend and rely upon more deſperate Attempts. Many of them found themſelves in great Danger from the violent, if not ſeditious Oppoſitions they had made to the Court; and perceiv'd that now they cou'd be no longer protected by their Fellow-Subjects, under the Name of *Ignoramus Juries*. Particularly the Head of them, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, being conſcious of the Variety of his dark Practices, and finding he was now in the Compaſs of the Juſtice he had lately fruſtrated, thenceforth gave over all his quieter and more plauſible Arts of Embroiling, whereby he proudly bragg'd, *He ſhou'd, in Time, leiſurely Walk the King out of his Dominions*; and ſuddenly betook himſelf to more precipitate Enterprizes; allarming his Confidents with a near Proſpect of their Common Danger, and inflaming them to Inſurrections, and baſer Actions, which produced thoſe Conſpiracies that made ſo great a Noiſe the next Year. He form'd a Council of Six, a Correſpondence with *Scotland*, and other Matters to effect his Ends; but ſtill his great Spirit began to ſink, and his Courage to forſake him, inſomuch that he durſt not ſtay in *England*; but abandoning his Aſſociates, in the Month of *November*, he went, or rather fled over into *Holland*, and ſhelter'd himſelf under the Protection of thoſe very States, which he had formerly threatned and endeavour'd utterly to exterminate.

The Earl of Shaftsbury *retires into* Holland.

Before his Departure, and at that Time, all things tended to the Declenſion and Downfal of that Party he had ſo vigorouſly ſupported, and in ſome meaſure created. A *Quo Warranto* was determin'd to iſſue out againſt the City of *London*, and likewiſe other Places, upon their Account. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs were very active and vigilant in ſuppreſſing their Clubs and Conventicles; ſo that they were forc'd to betake themſelves to more ſecret Counſels and Contrivances: And in this *Michaelmas*-Term, all the *Weekly Intelligences*, which were daily publiſh'd to keep up and animate, were by publick Authority prohibited, and all the Hawkers ſilenc'd. The Reins of Government were now held with a more ſtrict and ſteady Hand than in ſeveral Years before, as appear'd in ſeveral Inſtances: Particularly upon the Celebration of the Fifth of *November*, the Multitude were ſo unruly after the Bonefire, that they gather'd together in great Numbers, crying out *a Monmouth, a Monmouth!* and knocking down ſuch as they ſuſpected not to be of their own Gang, and committing many other Riotous Actions in *Cheapſide* and the Neighbouring Parts. But they were ſoon diſpers'd by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, aſſiſted by ſome of the Train'd-Bands, who took ſeveral of the Rioters, and committed them, ſome to *Newgate*, and others to the *Counters*; of which moſt of them were afterwards Fin'd and Pillory'd. The Diſturbance immediately cauſed a ſtrict Order from the King and Council, commanding, 'That no Perſon whatſoever ſhou'd preſume to make any Bonefire, and other Fire-Works, without ſpecial Order ſo to do from the Lord Mayor and other Magiſtrates.' Which Order being vigilantly obſerv'd by the Juſtices of *Middleſex*, and the Lord Mayor, who with the Sheriffs rid up and down the Streets of *London* all the Evening of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Day the 17th of *November*; no riotous Actions, nor no Burning of the *Pope*, &c. was ſuffer'd that Night, as had been uſed for ſeveral late Years.

The Tory *Party prevail.*

The Duke of York's *Caſe againſt* Pilkington.

All theſe Things ſerv'd to eſtabliſh the Power and Intereſt of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, who on the 24th of *November* brought on a great Cauſe, which was Try'd between Him and the late Sheriff Alderman *Pilkington*, for theſe Words ſpoken by the Defendent; *The Duke of* York *has fired the City, and is now come to cut our Throats.* This was the greateſt and moſt noted *Scandalum Magnatum* that perhaps was ever Try'd; and the Words being fully prov'd by Sir *William Hooker*, and Sir *Henry Tulſe*, both Aldermen of *London*, the Jury found for the Plaintiff, and gave no leſs than a Hundred Thouſand Pound Damages; ſo forward were the Juries at this Time. Whereupon, on the laſt Day of the Term, Mr. *Pilkington* render'd himſelf, in Diſcharge of his Bail, a Priſoner in Execution; and Mr. Sheriff *North* was Elected into his Place of Alderman.

Two Embaſſies.

5. And now it is Time to come to more independent Matters, ſuch as Embaſſies, Promotions, and Deaths, and ſo finiſh the old Year 1682, which became very remarkable for the Arrival of two very extraordinary Ambaſſadors to the King, never known before in *England*. The Firſt from the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco*, his Name *Hamet Ben Hamet Ben Haddu Ottor*, a Man of great Abilities and Eminency in his own Country: His Buſineſs was about ſettling a Peace with *Tangier*, and much reſpected in *England*, highly complimented at Court, and at both the Univerſities, and he ſeem'd to expreſs no leſs Eſteem for the *Engliſh* Nation: But upon his Return, for Reaſons unknown here, he was reported to be receiv'd by his Maſter with Diſgrace. The other Ambaſſador was from as far as the King of *Bantam*, or *Suroſoam*, in the Iſland of *Java* in the *Eaſt-Indies*; his Buſineſs was about the *Eaſt-India* Trade there, in which the *Dutch* had at that Time made ſeveral Incroachments, and in Concluſion gain'd their Point.

Honours and Promotions.

Honours and Preferments this Year were very numerous; and beſides the Favours conferr'd on the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, before mention'd, on the 20th of *September*, the profound Earl of *Sunderland* was by his Majeſty's Command re-admitted a Privy-Counſellor; and not long after, upon the Lord *Conway*'s Reſignation, he was again made one of the Principal Secretaries of State. On the 25th of *September*, the Duke of *Hamilton* was elected a Knight Companion of the Honourable Order of the *Garter*, in a Chapter held at *White-Hall*. Towards the End of *November*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer upon Sir *John Bennet*, Knight of the Bath, the Dignity of a Baron of *England*, under the Stile and Title of *John* Lord *Oſſulſton*. And ſhortly after his Majeſty was pleas'd to create his old Friend and Servant, *James* Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, a Duke of *England*, by the ſame Name and Title; And the Lord Marquiſs of *Worceſter*, a Duke of the ſame Kingdom, by the Name and Title of Duke of *Beaufort*; And the Lord *Norris*, an Earl, by the Name and Title of Earl of *Abington*. And with a greater Flood of diſtinguiſhing Favours, cheap and acceptable, at the Beginning of *December*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to grant the Title and Dignity of an Earl of this Kingdom, to *Edward* Viſcount *Cambden*, by the Name and Stile of Earl of *Gainſborough*: And to *Conyers* Lord *Darcy*, by the Name and Stile of Earl of *Holderneſs*: And to *Thomas* Lord *Windſor*, Governor of the Town and Garriſon of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, by the Name and Stile of Earl of *Plymouth*: As alſo the Title and Dignity of a Viſcount, to *Horatio* Lord *Townſhend*, by the Name and Stile of Viſcount *Townſhend* of *Raynham*: The Titles and Dignities of a Baron and a Viſcount, to Sir *Thomas Thynne*, Baronet, by the Name and Stile of Baron *Thynne* of *Warmiſter*, and Viſcount *Weymouth*: The Title and Dignity of a Baron, to Colonel *George Legg*, of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and Maſter-General of the Ordnance, by the Name and Stile of Baron of *Dartmouth*. His Majeſty at the ſame Time created the celebrated Colonel *John Churchill*, Lord *Churchill* of *Aymouth* in *Scotland*. And his Majeſty obſerving the extraordinary Inclination with which his Grace the Duke of *Grafton* had apply'd himſelf to Sea Affairs, and the Succeſsful Progreſs he had made therein, to encourage this Diſpoſition in him, was graciouſly pleas'd to confer upon him the Office of Vice-Admiral of *England*, vacant by the Death of his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*; whoſe Office of Conſtable and Governor of the Caſtle and Foreſt of *Windſor*, and Lord-Lieutenant of the Counties of *Berks* and *Surry*, his Majeſty conferr'd upon *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, Son and Heir to his Grace the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl-Marſhal of *England*.

The Deaths of Prince Rupert.

Of the eminent Perſons that dy'd this Year, we ſhall begin with Three of the higheſt Rank, Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and the Lord Chancellor *Finch*. The firſt was Couſin-German to the preſent King, and Third Son of the Queen of *Bohemia*, and own Brother to the Princeſs *Sophia*, who beſide his Foreign Titles, was Duke of *Cumberland*, Earl of *Holderneſs*, Knight of the *Garter*, &c. A Perſon of whom much has been ſaid in this and the laſt Volume, who after innumerable Toils, and Variety of Heroick Actions, both by Land and Sea, ſpent ſeveral Years in ſedate Studies, and the Proſecution of

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The Duke of Lauderdale,

Lord Chancellor Finch,

Sir John Finch,

of Chymical and Philoſophical Experiments, with which the King was very much pleas'd and delighted. He dy'd on the 29th of *November*, and 63d Year of his Age, generally lamented; having maintain'd ſuch good Temper, and exact Neutrality, in the preſent unhappy Diviſions, that he was honour'd and reſpected by Men of the moſt differing Intereſts. The next was *John Maitland*, Duke of *Lauderdale*, a Perſon who had been many Years in Favour with the King, and had promoted ſome of the moſt unjuſtifiable Proceedings in the Reign; therefore much fear'd and hated both in *Scotland* and *England*, and the more for having ſo great an Influence at Court. He was a Man of great Wit and Parts, and conſiderable Learning. but of an impetuous Spirit, and very looſe as to his Morals, if not Principles; for he was formerly a zealous *Covenanter* and Aſſerter of Liberty againſt the late King, and in the preſent Reign an Enemy to the Presbyterians, and a great Promoter of Arbitrary Power; and at the ſame Time a ſecret Underminer of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, by putting it upon a new Foundation in that Kingdom, *The meer Pleaſure of the King*. The Third was *Heneage* Earl of *Nottingham*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, a Perſon who by his great Abilities, Ingenuity and Induſtry, had rais'd himſelf to the higheſt Poſts in the Law, to all which he was a great Ornament, and in all which he ſo much diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Eloquence, that he was by ſome ſtil'd the *Silver-Tongu'd Finch*, and by others the *Engliſh Cicero.* Dr. *Burnet* ſaid of him, 'That his great Parts, 'and greater Virtues, were ſo conſpicuous, that it wou'd 'be a high Preſumption in him to ſay any Thing in his 'Commendation.' He held his high Station in the moſt boiſterous Seaſon with as even a Conduct, as ſteady a Steerage, and as little Envy from others, as any before him; only he cou'd not Eſcape being thought too *Yeilding to the Times*, in the great Tryal of the Lord *Stafford*; of which, I have been well aſſur'd, he heartily repented not long before his Death. He dy'd in the 60th Year of his Age, and was ſucceeded, as to the Great Seal by Sir *Francis North*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*; to which Station Chief-Juſtice *Pemberton* was remov'd, and ſucceeded in his own by Sir *Edmund Saunders*. Next to the Chancellor, we ſhall mention an excellent Brother of his, Sir *John Finch*, who dy'd much about the ſame Time; a moſt accompliſh'd Gentleman, who had vaſtly improv'd himſelf by his Travels in his younger Years, where he gain'd the higheſt Eſteem imaginable. At *Padua*, where he was a Doctor of Phyſick, he was unanimouſly preferr'd to be Syndick of that whole Univerſity, an Honour no *Engliſh* Man ever had before, and had a Statue erected to the Memory of his excellent Government; and the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, invited by the Fame of his Learning and Virtues, made him his publick Profeſſor at *Piſa*; all the *Italian* Princes ſtriving who ſhou'd moſt honour a Perſon, ſo knowing and meritorious above his Years. After having been made the King's Reſident in *Tuſcany*, and his Ambaſſador in *Conſtantinople*, he dy'd at *London*, and was buried in the Chappel of *Chriſt-College* in *Cambridge*, to which College he was a munificent Benefactor.

Sir Henry Blount,

Sir Thomas Browne,

Sir Philip Warwick,

After theſe Men of Noble Blood, we ſhall mention three Knights, Sir *Henry Blount*, Sir *Thomas Browne*, and Sir *Philip Warwick.* The Firſt had his Education in *Trinity-College* in *Oxford*, and after that in *Gray's-Inn* in *London*; in both which he diſplay'd his pregnant Parts and facetious Wit, that was almoſt peculiar to himſelf: After which he travell'd into ſeveral Countries, made a Voyage to *Conſtantinople*, and all the *Levant*, in the Reign of the late King, by whom he was Knighted. But when his Cauſe declin'd, he comply'd with, but not fomented the late Troubles, in which Times he was much employ'd in Regulating the Abuſes of the Law, and other Matters. He liv'd to a great Age, and was eſteem'd by thoſe that knew him as a Gentleman of a very clear Judgment, great Experience, much Contemplation, and of a notable Foreſight into Government. The Second, Sir *Thomas Browne*, had his Education in *Pembroke* College in *Oxford*, in which Univerſity he commenc'd Doctor of Phyſick, as well as at *Leyden* in *Holland*; being after that Fellow of the College of Phyſicians at *London*. After his Travels, he fixt at the City of *Norwich*, where he was highly eſteem'd, and attended by innumerable Patients for his admirable Skill in Phyſick, which he practis'd there with great Succeſs for many Years. He was likewiſe diſtinguiſh'd for his Piety and Humanity, his great Learning and Inſight into Nature; and his *Religio Medici* alone is a laſting Monument of his extenſive Genius, and his capacious Soul. The Laſt, Sir *Philip Warwick*, was likewiſe a Traveller, who having return'd to his own Country with many Accompliſhments, became Secretary to the Lord Treaſurer *Juxon*, and Clerk of the Signet, and accompany'd the late King in all his Troubles, with all the Marks of the moſt inviolable Loyalty. After the Reſtoration, he acted under the Lord Treaſurer *Southampton* with Honour and Fidelity, and with ſo much Dexterity, that, being then a Knight, he was often call'd Sir *Philip the Knight-Treaſurer*. He was eſteem'd a Man of a very publick Spirit, above all the Riches and Preferments in the World, of true Honeſty and Integrity; and has been ſince his Death celebrated for his poſthumous *Memoirs of the Reign of King* Charles *the Firſt*, &c. in which Book there is great Knowledge and Simplicity, and ſeveral conſiderable Paſſages, to be found in no other Writer.

1682. Car. 34. Ref. 23.

And the Earl of Shaftsbury:

Laſt of all dy'd *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, the famous Earl of *Shaftsbury*, at his Houſe in *Amſterdam*, after he had liv'd there but a little above ſix Weeks, being now ſixty-one Years of Age; of whoſe Character and Actions, much has been already remember'd. But in general, I have been aſſur'd by an eminent Perſon who knew him well, and was thought to have joyn'd too much in his Meaſures, *That he was the Author and Occaſion of the moſt unjuſtifiable Actions in this Reign*; when in Power, the greateſt Tyrant; when out, the greateſt Incendiary; Arbitrary in one Caſe, and Seditious in the other: So that in the latter Part of his Time he plainly ſhew'd, That there is no Man more dangerous to the Repoſe of a Government, than a diſappointed Courtier that ſets up for the People's Patriot. And it is obſervable that his intire Friend Mr. *Locke*, tho' he diſplays his wonderful Abilities, and ſhews his Sagacity and Penetration almoſt to knowing of Mens Thoughts, ſays little or nothing of his Honeſty, Simplicity or Integrity. However, he has one Saying of his, worthy of a Place in Hiſtory, namely, *That Wiſdom lay in the Heart and not in the Head; and that it was not the Want of Knowledge, but the Perverſeneſs of the Will, that fill'd Mens Actions with Folly, and their Lives with Diſorder.*

168$\frac{2}{3}$. Car. 35. Ref. 23.

The State of the Nation.

V. I. About the Entrance of the new Year, the State of the Nation ſeem'd to have been in a more quiet and calm Condition, than ever ſince the Breaking out of the *Popiſh Plot*; the one Party being forc'd to give Way to the other, more apparently than for ſeveral Years before. The Struggles and Contrivances of the declining Party were either more feeble, or more clandeſtine; the Pulpits were againſt them, as well as the Univerſities and *Inns of Court*, and the King and the Duke of *York* gain'd Ground every Day. In the midſt of this time of Eaſe and Pleaſure, on the Firſt Day of *January*, *Humphrey Mackworth* and *Thomas Montgomery* Eſquires, the preſent Treaſurers of the *Middle-Temple*, and other the Officers of that Honourable Society, waited on his Majeſty at *White-Hall*, to wiſh him a *Happy New-Year*; and in a very Loyal Speech expreſs'd their unanimous Reſolutions to adhere to their former Addreſſes; and they were very kindly and graciouſly receiv'd by his Majeſty. They then paid the like Reſpect to his Brother the Duke, and were as handſomely receiv'd by his Royal Highneſs. For which Compliments, ſhortly after his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon Mr. *Mackworth*, as a diſtinguiſhing *Mark of his Royal Favour to the Loyal Society of the* Middle-Temple. The ſame Honour was about the ſame time conferr'd upon *Dudley North* Eſquire, the Senior Sheriff of *London* and *Middleſex*; in Gratitude to the City for having lately Voted in a Common-Council, 'That the Thanks of the 'Corporation ſhou'd be return'd to Sir *John Moore*, for 'his good Adminiſtration of the Office of Lord-Mayor 'laſt Year.

The Duke of Monmouth's *Popularity.*

On the other ſide, the Duke of *Monmouth* and his Party were contriving and entering into ſecret and deſperate Methods: Since the Departure of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, his Grace was now more effectually the Head of that Party, and every Accident was turn'd as much as poſſible to the promoting his Popularity. About the Beginning of this Year there happen'd a ſmall Tranſaction beyond Sea, which made his Name more diſcours'd of than at other Times: The Horſes of *England* are valuable and famous on many Accounts, and among others for Racing; and it was upon this Conſideration the *French* King invited into *France* the moſt noted Racers from ſeveral Countries, by expoſing a Plate, or Prize, of a Thouſand Piſtoles, to be run for before him, in the Plain *d'Echere*, near St. *Germain en lay*. And accordingly on the 25th of *February*, N.S. the ſaid Race was Run before the King, Queen and *Dauphine*, by ſeveral famous Horſes, where the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Horſe won the Prize; and was afterwards purchas'd by the *French* King. This ſeem'd to add to the Fame of the Duke; and the *French* King himſelf, partly upon this Account, was pleas'd at that Time to countenance the Honourable *Bernard Howard* Eſquire, a younger Brother of the Duke of *Norfolk*, ſo far as to allow him to come in his Coach within the *Louvre* it ſelf; a Preheminence due only to the Princes of the Blood, and ſome few others of the higheſt Quality in *France*.

Soon

$168\frac{2}{3}$.
Car. 35.
Reſ. 23.

The King at Newmarket.

London *Addreſs.*

Soon after, the King of *England*, having made the Earls of *Huntington* and *Peterborough* Privy-Counſellors, thought fit to go take the uſual Diverſion of *Newmarket*, together with the Queen, the Duke, Dutcheſs, *&c.* Within a few Days after his Arrival there, *March* 16th, his Majeſty was waited upon by a Committee from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London*, with this following Petition and Addreſs: 'We, *&c.* being highly ſenſible of the great Happineſs we enjoy under your Majeſty's moſt Wiſe, Benign and Gracious Government, and of the many Privileges and Immunities by your Majeſty and your Royal Progenitors granted to this *Your Imperial Chamber*, moſt humbly proſtrating our Selves at your Royal Feet, return our unfeigned Thanks and Acknowledgment, humbly begging your Sacred Majeſty to believe, That as none of our Fellow-Subjects have receiv'd larger Bounties from the Crown, ſo none ſhall be more ready to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in the Service thereof, in the Defence of your Sacred Perſon, your Lawful Heirs and Succeſſors, and the Government as now by Law Eſtabliſh'd in Church and State, than We your obedient and dutiful Subjects of the Loyal City of *London*. And as we have lately receiv'd an Expreſſion of your Royal Grace and Favour to us, in your Majeſty's being pleas'd to order a Stop to be put (until a further Hearing) to a Patent for the Grant of a Fair and Weekly Markets for Live Cattel in *Conduit-Mead*, which would be greatly prejudicial to the Inhabitants in and about *Smithfield*, your Hoſpital of St. *Bartholomew*, and your City of *London* in general; ſo we humbly conceive our ſelves oblig'd in Duty to return our hearty Thanks to your Sacred Majeſty, imploring the Continuance of your Royal Grace and Favour. *And your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, ſhall for ever Pray*, &c.

A great Fire at New-market.

But ſix Days after, about Eight at Night, there ſuddenly broke out a terrible Fire in *Newmarket*, which conſum'd about Half of the Town. The King Himſelf by the approaching of the Fury of the Flames was immediately driven out of his own Palace, and remov'd himſelf into another Quarter of the Town, remote from the Fire, and as yet free from any Annoyance of Smoke and Aſhes. There his Majeſty finding he might be tolerably well accommodated, reſolv'd to ſtay, and continue his Recreations as before, till the Day firſt apppinted for his Journey back to *London*. But he had no ſooner declar'd that Reſolution, when the Wind, as conducted by an inviſible Power, ſuddenly chang'd about, and blew the Smoke and Cinders directly on his new Lodgings, and in a Moment made them as untenable as the other. Upon which the King being put to a new Shift, and not finding the like Conveniency elſewhere, immediately declared, he wou'd ſpeedily return to *White-Hall*, which he did very ſhortly after, together with his Royal Brother, and ſome others. This happening ſeveral Days before the appointed Time, the Misfortune at *Newmarket* was afterwards accounted and call'd a *Providential Fire*; as defeating and preventing a black Conſpiracy, form'd againſt him and his Brother in their Return to *London*; which will be afterwards more particularly remember'd.

Which cauſes the King to remove.

1683.
Car. 35.
Reſ. 24.

An uncommon Action in London.

2. Shortly after the King's Return to *White-Hall*, and the whole Court's Removal to *Windſor*, the declining Party in *London* ventur'd upon an extraordinary Attempt and Exploit, ſuch as had never been known in that City: One *Broom*, Clerk of the *Skinners* Company, and Coroner of *London*, having receiv'd a *Latitat* out of the *King's-Bench* in an Action upon the Caſe, at the Suit of the late Candidates, Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*, againſt the Lord Mayor, Sheriff *North*, and ſeveral Loyal Aldermen; the ſaid *Broom* acquainting them with the Writ, they all ſubmitted to his Arreſt, and went with him as Priſoners to *Skinners-Hall*, and there remain'd under his Cuſtody till one a Clock at Night. In the mean time, eight Companies of the Militia were immediately rais'd by the Lieutenancy, and poſted all that Night in ſeveral Parts of the City, to prevent any Tumults which might ariſe from ſo ſtrange a thing as the Arreſt and Detainer of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. But it ſo happen'd, that one *Fletcher*, a common Serjeant of the *Poultry-Counter*, having an Action of Debt, upon a Bond of four hundred Pounds, againſt the ſaid *Broom*, which Action had been enter'd a Week paſt, and *Broom* acquainted with it, who promis'd to give Bail; but the Serjeant finding that Promiſe not perform'd, and perceiving him ſo officiouſly pert againſt the chief Magiſtrates of the City, without any further Delay, he arreſted his Body in his own Precincts, *Skinners-Hall*, and immediately carry'd him to the *Counter*. *Broom* being thus remov'd, and none left in Charge of the Lord Mayor and his Fellow Priſoners, they demanded if there were any about the Houſe that had Orders to detain them any longer in that Place, which being anſwer'd in the Negative, they all departed peaceably to their Habitations.

1683.
Car. 35.
Reſ. 24.

However, this help'd to haſten the Fate of the City; and the whole Contrivance and Management was thought to be ſuch an open Inſult upon the Friends of the King and Court, that the Governors and Repreſentatives were forc'd to diſclaim the Action by the following Order, at a *Common-Council* held at *Guild-Hall* not long after: 'That whereas Sir *William Pritchard*, Knight, Lord Mayor of this City, was in a rude Manner lately Arreſted at the Suit, or in the Name of Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*; And whereas it hath been alledg'd by the ſaid Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*; *That the Action upon which the ſaid Arreſt was, was proſecuted at the Inſtance of the Citizens of London:* The Members of this Court, to deliver themſelves and ſaid Citizens from this undue Imputation, do declare, That they were not Privy or Conſenting to the ſaid Action, or Arreſt, and do Diſown and Diſapprove the ſame.' In conſequence of which, ſhortly after, *Broom* the Coroner was, by the *Common-Council*, put out of that Office, and made uncapable of Enjoying any Place of Preferment in the City.

Diſclaim'd by the Common-Council.

The Tryal of the great Riot in the City.

In the midſt of this unſeaſonable Heat, on the 8th of *May*, and at *Guild-Hall*, came on the long-expected Tryal of the great Riot committed at the ſame Place upon *Midſummer*-Day laſt, at the Election of Sheriffs for *London* and *Middleſex*. And this was try'd before the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Saunders*, upon an Information exhibited in the Crown Office by the Attorney-General, as has been formerly hinted. The Information was particularly againſt fourteen Perſons, *viz.* the then Sheriffs, *Pilkington* and *Shute*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wark*, Sir *Thomas Player*, *Corniſh*, *Bethel*, *Jenks*, *Goodenough*, *Deagle*, *Jekyl*, *Freeman*, *Wickham*, *Keys*, and *Swinock*; and the Subſtance of it was, 'That there had been a Riotous and unlawful Aſſembly, of a thouſand Perſons unknown, who endeavour'd to raiſe a Tumult by Clamours, Outcries, and Diſorders, in Contempt of the Laws of the Kingdom, aſſaulted the Lord Mayor, forc'd him upon his Knees, threw off his Hat, beat down the Sword, and continu'd the Hall after a Legal Adjournment; denying the Authority of the Lord Mayor, *&c.* in which Riotous Aſſembly the ſeveral Defendants were concern'd and involv'd.' The Council for them, Mr. *Thomſon*, Mr. *Williams*, Sir *Francis Winton*, and Mr. *Wallop*, made two Challenges of the Array; but the Challenges were over-rul'd: The Matter being open'd, the Points in Queſtion were, Firſt, the Lord Mayor's Right of Calling, Adjourning and Diſſolving the *Common-Hall*; and Secondly, to prove the Riot upon the Defendants; both which were ſo fully made out, that Judgment was given againſt them; and they were all ſeverally fin'd, as follows; *Pilkington*, five Hundred Pounds; *Shute*, a Thouſand Marks; *Corniſh*, the ſame Sum; Lord *Gray*, the ſame Sum; Sir *Thomas Player*, five Hundred Marks; *Bethel*, a Thouſand Marks; *Jenks*, three Hundred Marks; *Deagle*, four Hundred Marks; *Freeman*, three Hundred Marks; *Goodenough*, five Hundred Marks; *Keys*, a Hundred Marks, *Wickham*, a Hundred Marks; *Swinock*, five Hundred Marks, and *Jekyl*, two Hundred Marks; being thus diſtinguiſh'd, perhaps, not ſo much for their preſent Guilt, as their former Behaviour and Activity upon ſuch like Occaſions. And ſoon after this Tryal, Sir *Patience Ward*, an Alderman of the ſame Strain, was try'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar, upon an Information of Perjury, for giving falſe Evidence in the late Cauſe try'd between the Duke and *Pilkington*. The Perjury was prov'd upon him by the Oaths of ſeveral Aldermen, and other Perſons of Credit, among whom where two of the Jury that had try'd the ſame Cauſe. Whereupon Sir *Patience* was convicted, and found guilty by the Jury; but the Judgment of the Court was reſpited till a more convenient Seaſon.

The Fine.

Sir P. Ward *caſt.*

The Zeal of the City.

And now the City appear'd more and more Loyal and obſequious to the King and the Duke; and on the 6th of *June* was held a *Common-Council* in *Guild-Hall*, where all the Treaſonable and Irregular Acts of that Court, in the Times of Rebellion, were formally Repeal'd, and a Bill paſt in the ſaid *Common-Council*, *For Declaring and Aſſerting the Ancient Rights of the Chair*; by which Bill the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen were reſtored to their Negative Voice, which had been taken away by an Act in the late troubleſome Times, and before then had never been queſtion'd. It was alſo at this *Common-Council* Declar'd and Enacted, 'That the Lord Mayor has ſufficient and lawful Power of chuſing one Sheriff:' And accordingly, the Lord Mayor, the next Day, at that call'd the *Bridge-Houſe* Feaſt, did Declare his Choice, by the old Ceremony of Drinking to Mr. Alderman *Daniel*, as one of the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, for the enſuing Year.

A Statue erected to the late King.

About the ſame Time was erected in one of the Niches of the *Old Exchange*, a noble Statue of King *Charles* the Firſt, with the following Inſcription cut in Marble: ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ: *Sereniſſimi ac Religioſſimi Prin-*

cipis CAROLI PRIMI, *Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defenſoris, (Bis Martyris, in Corpore, et in Effigie) Impiis Rebellium Manibus ex hoc Loco deturbata et confracta,* A. D. MDCXLVIII. *Reſtituta, et hic demum collocata* A. D. MDCLXXXIII. And not long after, the Scaffolds in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, after they had ſtood there and incommoded the Hall for above three Years, were at laſt by publick Order taken down and remov'd.

The Quo Warranto *againſt* London *Charter.*

3. All the loyal and forward Proceedings of the City of *London* cou'd not prevent and keep off the great Buſineſs of the *Quo Warranto*, which for ſeveral Months hung like a dark Cloud over their Heads, and threatned the very Being of their noble Corporation, and the total Forfeiture of their Charter. And what made way towards the Succeſs of the Government, was the delivering up of the Charter of *Norwich*, and ſome other Corporations, while this grand Cauſe was depending. Yet ſtill, in the midſt of the various Diſcourſes about it, it was very much hop'd that Judgment wou'd be given for the City of *London*, as ſome of the Judges and the King's Council had given out it wou'd, tho' the contrary ſeem'd reſolv'd on. The *Quo Warranto*, which had been long threatned, was actually brought againſt the City in *Hillary* Term, in the Beginning of this Year, to ſhew by what Warrant they pretended to be a Corporation, and to have the Privileges mention'd in the Writ; to which the City pleaded at the *King's-Bench* Bar, and ſet forth their Right, and the King reply'd, and ſet forth ſeveral Matters done by them, contrary to the Duty of a Corporation. The Crimes on which this Writ was grounded were two: 'Firſt, for Exacting Tolls in their Markets illegally, and particularly raiſing Money for rebuilding *Cheapſide* Conduit. Secondly, for framing and printing a ſcandalous Petition, wherein they charg'd the King with obſtructing the Juſtice of the Nation, by proroguing the laſt *Weſtminſter* Parliament.' Whether theſe were ſufficient Cauſes of ſeizing their Liberties and Franchiſes, was argu'd *pro* and *con* by the Solicitor-General, and Sir *George Treby* the Recorder, in *Hilary*-Term, and by the Attorney General, and Mr. *Pollexfen*, in *Eaſter*-Term, very largely, learnedly and elaborately. It was alledg'd in general 'That the City Charter and Privileges were ſo well confirm'd by Kings, and particular Acts of Parliament, that they cou'd not, or ought not to be forfeited, tho' poſſibly regulated; and that it was a part of every Free-Man's Oath to maintain them to the utmoſt, and conſequently they cou'd not give them up.' To which it was anſwer'd, 'That all Charters came originally from the Crown; that an unforfeitable Charter was a Nullity in itſelf; it was ſetting up *Imperium in Imperio*, a Government Independent of the Power that really created it; that the Acts of Parliament were as much a Declaration and a Confirmation of the King's Original Right, as of their Privileges, &c. and therefore the Free-Mens Oaths were under the ſame Conditions and Limitations.

Arguments on both Sides.

Theſe, and many other Particulars being argued at large, the Matter hung till the 12th of *June*, the firſt *Tueſday* in *Trinity*-Term, when, after a great Concourſe and mighty Expectations, Judgment was given by Mr. *Juſtice Jones*, in the Abſence of the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Saunders*, who was then ſick, and unfit to appear. His Lordſhip having conciſely ſumm'd up all the paſt Proceedings, in a very remarkable Speech, gave Judgment, and declared it to be the unanimous Opinion of that Court, *That the Liberties and Franchiſes of the City of* London *be ſeiz'd into the King's Hands.* After which he particularly declar'd, by the King's Expreſs Command, *That Judgment ſhou'd not be enter'd, till his Majeſty's Pleaſure be further known.* This Sentence made a great Noiſe, and the latter Part was look'd upon as a Deſign to make the Citizens reſign their own Liberties, inſtead of being condemn'd to a Deprivation of them. However great Complaints were made, and this Judgment was obſerv'd by Mr. *Hawles* and others, to be ſtrange and unwarrantable, conſidering the Importance of it; it being deliver'd by two Judges only, and no Reaſon given of that Judgment; whereof Sir *Francis Wythens* was one, who, he thinks, heard but one Argument in the Caſe. However, *Jones* and He, to confirm this Judgment with more Authority than their own, both declar'd upon the Bench, that their Brother *Raymond* was of the ſame Opinion with them, and ſo was the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Saunders*; tho' he was at that Time paſt his Senſes, and had only Underſtanding enough to expoſtulate with them, for troubling him, when he had loſt his Memory. The ſame Author, exclaiming againſt this and other Irregular and Unjuſt Judgments in the latter End of this Reign, tells us, That being once with a certain Nobleman, of a conſiderable Character in the Council, who complaining, 'That the King was miſ-led by the Advice of his Lawyers;' he ask'd him, 'Whether the King put his Judges and Council upon doing what was done, without conſidering whether it was Legal, as the common Vogue was he did; or that his Lawyers firſt adviſ'd what to be done, was Law:' The Nobleman anſwer'd him on his Honour, *That the King's Council at Law firſt adviſ'd the King might do by Law what he wou'd have done, before he commanded them to do it.*

The City caſt.

Reflections upon it.

It can hardly be deny'd, that however ſmall the Pretenſions were for this Proſecution, the Provocations were not inconſiderable in the Eye of any Government; and the City ſeem'd ſo ſenſible of this, that two Days after Judgment given, a *Common-Council* was call'd, to conſult how to proceed in this Exigency. Here they reſolv'd to draw up a ſubmiſſive and yielding Petition, which was order'd ſoon after to be preſented to the King at *Windſor*: It was entitled, *The humble Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of* London, *in Common-Council Aſſembled*; in which the Petitioners 'Acknowledg'd their hearty and unfeigned Sorrow for the Miſgovernment of the City of late Years, whereby the Citizens had fallen under his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, which had occaſion'd a *Quo Warranto*, and Judgment to be pronounc'd againſt them; that they were deeply and thankfully ſenſible of his Majeſty's great Favour in not requiring Judgment to be immediately enter'd thereon: And conſidering this their diſtreſſed Condition, they humbly caſt themſelves at his Royal Feet, imploring his Princely Compaſſion and Grace, to be extended to this his Ancient City, moſt humbly begging his Majeſty's Pardon for all their Offences, with moſt ſolemn Promiſes and Aſſurances of conſtant Loyalty and Obedience to his *Majeſty*, his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, and of a regular Adminiſtration of his Government in that City for the future; and humbly begg'd his Majeſty's Commands and Directions.' Upon the Reading this Petition in the Common-Council, and putting the Queſtion whether they approv'd of it, it is remarkable that there were but two Perſons in the Aſſembly that held up their Hands by Way of Diſſent; ſo much diſpirited and intimidated were the Generality of the Body at this Time.

The City's Submiſſion,

This Petition was carry'd to *Windſor* on *Monday* the 18th of *June*, and preſented to the King by the Lord Mayor, and ſeveral loyal Aldermen and Citizens of *London*. After the Reading of it, they were all order'd to withdraw; and being call'd in again, the Lord-Keeper *North*, by the King's Command, in a Speech declar'd to them, 'That for the ſakes of ſo many of the preſent Magiſtrates, and other eminent Citizens in *London*, who were of undoubted Loyalty and Affection to his Majeſty's Service, his Majeſty wou'd ſtill ſhew the City all the Favour they cou'd reaſonably deſire; And tho' he had obtain'd Judgment in a *Quo Warranto*, it was not his Intention to prejudice them in their real *Properties* or *Cuſtoms*. That the City had not been well adviſ'd, to defer their Application to his Majeſty thus long, even till the Court had pronounc'd Judgment; It might have been done with much better Grace, if it had been more early. However his Majeſty wou'd not reject their Suit, if they agreed upon the Particulars the King did now require of them: For, ſays he, his Majeſty requires your Submiſſion to theſe following Regulations: 1. *That no Lord Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, Common-Serjeant, Town-Clerk, or Coroner of the City of* London, *or Steward of the Borough of* Southwark, *ſhall be capable of, or admitted to, the Exerciſe of their reſpective Offices, before his Majeſty ſhall have approv'd them under his Sign-Manual.* 2. *That if his Majeſty ſhall diſapprove the Choice of any Perſon to be Lord Mayor, and ſignify the ſame under his Sign-Manual to the Lord Mayor, or, in Default of a Lord Mayor, to the Recorder, or Senior Alderman; the Citizens ſhall within one Week proceed to a new Choice: And if his Majeſty ſhall in like Manner Diſapprove the ſecond Choice, his Majeſty may, if he pleaſe, Nominate a Perſon to be Lord Mayor for the enſuing Year.* 3. *If his Majeſty ſhall, in like Manner, Diſapprove the Perſons choſen to be Sheriffs, or either of them; his Majeſty may appoint Perſons to be Sheriffs for the enſuing Year, by his Commiſſion, if he ſo pleaſe.* 4. *The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen may alſo, with the Leave of his Majeſty, diſplace any Alderman, Recorder,* &c. ut ſupra. 5. *Upon the Election of an Alderman, if the Court of Aldermen ſhall judge, and declare the Perſon Preſented to be Unfit, the Ward ſhall chuſe again; and upon a Diſapproval of a ſecond Choice, the Court may appoint another in his Room.* 6. *The Juſtices of the Peace are to be by the King's Commiſſion; and the Setling of theſe Matters to be left to his Majeſty's Attorney, and Sollicitor General, and Council learned in the Law.*' Then the Lord Keeper told them, 'That theſe Regulations being made, his Majeſty wou'd not only Pardon

Preſented to the King.

The City reſtored upon certain Terms.

'this Proſecution, but Confirm their Charter in ſuch a Manner, as may be conſiſtent with them.' Concluding thus, '*My Lord Mayor*, the Term draws towards an End, and *Midſummer-Day* is at Hand, when ſome of the Officers us'd to be choſen, whereof his Majeſty will reſerve the Approbation: Therefore it is his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that you return to the City, and conſult the *Common-Council*, that he may ſpeedily know Your Reſolutions hereupon, and accordingly give his Directions. That you may ſee the King is in Earneſt, and the Matter is not capable of Delay, I am commanded to let you know, He hath given Order to his Attorney-General to enter upon Judgment on *Saturday* next, unleſs you prevent it by your Compliance in all theſe Particulars.'

Which are conſented to. According to this Order, two Days after, a Court of *Common-Council* was again held in *Guild-Hall*; where the Queſtion being put, Whether they ſhou'd aſſent and ſubmit to his Majeſty's Order of Regulations, as above expreſs'd; the Court was divided, but it was carry'd in the Affirmative by a Majority of Eighteen Voices; the *Yeas* being 104, and the *Noes* 86. The next Day the Sheriffs waited on his Majeſty at *Windſor*, to ſatisfy him they had ſubmitted to his Regulations, and had put off the Election of Sheriffs from the 24th of *June*, to the 6th of *July*. And thus ended the whole Proceedings, which have been often accounted hard and unjuſt on one ſide, and baſe and mean on the other; ſo hard and ſo mean, that the whole was revers'd by an Act of Parliament made in the Second of K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, which declar'd them to be *Illegal* and *Arbitrary*: Of which I may be more particular, if I meet with Encouragement enough to enter upon a Fourth Volume. Yet it is ſtill to be remember'd, that the Judgment againſt the City, their yielding Petition, and their final Submiſſion, all happen'd at ſuch an extraordinary Juncture of Time, when the People were ſo amus'd and amaz'd with new and ſtrange Diſcoveries againſt the Government, that hardly any Notice was taken of theſe uncommon Proceedings. Upon which Diſcoveries and Conſpiracies we ſhall enter in the following Chapter.

CHAP. V.

From the Firſt Diſcovery of the Rye-Houſe Plot, *to the Day of the Death of King* Charles *the Second.*

Containing the Space of One Year, 7 Months, and above 3 Weeks.

The RYE-HOUSE *Plot, &c.* I. 1. AT a Time when the Three Kingdoms enjoy'd a ſettled Peace, and profound Security, while the greateſt Part of the Neighbouring World was involv'd in Wars and Calamities, on the 12th Day of *June*, the King and Council, and ſoon after the City and Country, were ſuddenly awaken'd and ſurpris'd with the Diſcovery of an extraordinary Conſpiracy againſt the King and Government; which in effect gave a fatal Blow, and brought Ruin to an already declining Party. In Plots and Conſpiracies, there are uſually ſo many Secrets, as well as Shams, that it is the hardeſt Buſineſs for an Hiſtorian to lay them open; but we ſhall take our Account from what has been given by the Government, from the ſworn Informations of particular Perſons, and the Tryals and Confeſſions of ſome of the Sufferers: In order to the clearing of which, we ſhall be oblig'd to go a little back, as far as the Month of *October* laſt. This Conſpiracy was moſt commonly call'd The *Rye-Houſe-Plot*; that Houſe, and the Deſign there, being the principal Scene, and the moſt diſtinguiſhing Branch of it. But according to the largeſt Extent, it has been often call'd the *Fanatick*, the *Whiggiſh*, or *Preſbyterian-Plot*. Some have call'd it a Piece of *State-Policy*, and no better than an *Impoſture*: But others, who could not get over the Difficulties ariſing from plain Confeſſions, as well as other Proofs, have ſtood up for the Reaſonableneſs, if not Juſtice of the Cauſe, and have call'd it 'a *Combination* or *Aſſociation of Patriots*, for the Defence of the invaded Liberties and Religion of the Nation.'

The Riſe of it. But by whatever Name it was diſtinguiſh'd, it ſeem'd plainly to have had its firſt Riſe from the Arts and Management of the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, who brought it more eſpecially to operate in the Months of *October* and *November*, when his Party, as well as himſelf, was driven out of all Holds, and into a Sort of a Deſparation, by the Eſtabliſhment of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and the Danger of the Loſs of the City Charter, as has been already remember'd. The Deſign itſelf was two-fold, a general Way by an Inſurrection, and ſeizing the King's Guards, and a more compendious Way of Aſſaſſinating the King and Duke: The former was of longer Standing, and conſulted and promoted by the ſuperior Agents; but the other was more lately reſolv'd on, tho' long in *Embryo*, and undertaken by the inferior Sort. *The Chief Perſons concern'd in it.* The chief Perſons concern'd in one Part or other, tho' not equally Guilty, beſides the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, the Head of them, were, Firſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, whom his Party had long alienated from his Duty and Gratitude to his Royal Father, poyſon'd his Mind with forbidden Hopes, and made a prime Inſtrument to effect all their Deſigns. Next, the Lord *Gray* of *Wark*, who for ſome Years had been ingag'd in the warmeſt Deſigns of the Party; eſpecially after he found his private Crimes were not like to paſs in a quiet State with Secrecy or Impunity. Then, the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe high Spirit and ſecret Ambition had betray'd him into many dark Deſigns, contrary to the expreſs Advice and Injunction of his dying Father. Next, the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, who had always been a buſy Promoter of Republican Projects for Alterations in Church and State; and for a Time the ſecond Favourite of the Diſaffected, while he was impriſon'd with the Earl of *Shaftſbury*. And the Lord *Ruſſel*, a Perſon of eminent Rectitude, Piety, and Sobriety, but inſenſibly drawn into dangerous Company, and miſ-led by a Notion, to this Effect, 'That Reſiſtance was lawful upon the ſmaller, as well as the greater Invaſions of the Conſtitution.' Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, a Perſon who had been deeply ingag'd in the late Times of Confuſion, and had merited ſo well of the *Good old Cauſe*, that he was nominated to be one of the King's Judges, tho' he did not actually ſit amongſt them.

Beſides theſe of noble Blood, we are to mention ſome others, as Mr. *John Hambden* the Younger, an unfortunate Gentleman, who retain'd the Hereditary Temper of a Family, which ſhew'd that the violent Defence of the beſt Things are often attended with the moſt pernicious Conſequences. Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, a debauch'd Bully and Bravo, who had forfeited his Life, and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by Murdering Mr. *Scroop*, a conſiderable Gentleman, in the Play-Houſe. Lieutenant-Colonel *Walcot*, an old Officer in *Cromwell*'s Army, who was introduc'd by the Lord *Howard*, under the Name of a ſtout and able Soldier, into the intimate Acquaintance of the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, who made him one of his Legatees in his Will, and from whom he never after parted till his Death. Colonel *John Romſey*, who had gotten Credit in *Portugal*, by his Courage and Skill in Military Affairs; and being a Soldier of Fortune, and fit for any deſperate Attempt, he was likewiſe recommended to the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, to whom he became an entire Creature and Dependent. *Thomas Shepard*, Merchant of *London*, a violent Nonconformiſt, but of a plentiful Eſtate, and of as eminent Repute as any of his Rank on the *Exchange*. The two *Goodenoughs*, *Richard* and *Francis*, both zealous Friends to the Party, who had been for ſome Years, and by Turns, Under-Sheriffs of *London*; ſo that the whole Art and Myſtery of Securing *Ignoramus* Juries paſs'd through their Hands. Major *Holms*, a Fifth-Monarchy-Man, an old Officer under *Cromwell*, and a Truſtee for his Family, acquainted with the Earl of *Argyle* in *Scotland*, and made privy to all his Secret Deſigns. *Richard Rumbald* Malſter at the *Rye-Houſe*, another old Army-Officer, a deſperate Perſon, who had often before laid Deſigns for Murdering the King. *William Rumbald*, his Brother, a Perſon much of the ſame Temper. *Aaron Smith*, a furious Zealot, who had ſignaliz'd himſelf when he was Solicitor in the Tryal of *Stephen Colledge*. *William Hone*, a Joyner, a melancholy Enthuſiaſt, of the ſame Trade and Spirit with *Colledge*. *John Rouſe*, an active Agent in all the tumultuous Proceedings of the City Elections. *Zachary Bourn*, a Brewer, and *Joſiah Keeling* a Salter, both Independents; *Thomas Lea*, a Dyer, and *Andrew Barber*, both Anabaptiſts. Laſtly, *John Ayloff*, *Joſeph Tyley*, *Edward Norton*, *Edward Wade*, *Richard Nelthorp*, and *Robert Weſt*, all of them Republican Lawyers, Men of notable Heads, and voluble Tongues, who had undertaken to reform the chief Errors in Church and State.

Others in Scotland. Beſides theſe in *England*, by the Earl of *Shaftſbury*'s Means, a Correſpondence was form'd and kept up with *Scotland*, where ſeveral Inſtruments were employ'd and ingag'd in the ſame general Deſign. Of all which, the Head and Chief was the Earl of *Argyle*, who after his Condemnation and Flight, formerly mention'd, became a reſtleſs and indefatigable Promoter of all Projects againſt the preſent Eſtabliſh'd Government. Among the reſt that joyn'd with him, were Sir *Hugh* and Sir *John Campbell*, near Relations to the ſaid Earl; Sir *John Cockran*, Mr. *Baillie* and Mr. *Monroe*, who were employ'd in *London*, to joyn and act with the *Engliſh* Managers of the Deſign. Beſides theſe, there were the Lord *Melvil*, Mr. *James Steuart*, Sir *Patrick Hume*, *Hugh Scot*, *Willam Carſtairs*, and ſome others. But of all the Conſpirators, whether *Engliſh* or *Scotch*, the deepeſt Man, next to the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Argyle*, was *Robert Ferguſon*, a *Scotch* Man living in *England*: He had been divers Years a fierce Independent Preacher in the City of *London*, and had long exercis'd his virulent Pen againſt the Government, in which he had a peculiar Talent; and by means of a fluent Tongue, a ſubtil Head, and invincible Spirit, he animated the whole, and moreover excited and actuated the blackeſt Part of the Contrivance.

The Earl of Shaftsbury's *Concern in it.*

All theſe had for a conſiderable Time proceeded with ſlow Steps, more like Patriots than Conſpirators, and *Leiſurely*, as their chief Mover the Earl of *Shaftsbury* expreſs'd it, till *Michaelmas* and *October* put them beyond common Hopes, and precipitated them into extraordinary Methods. The Earl himſelf was ſo allarmed, that he immediately abſconded, and us'd all poſſible Means to terrify his Aſſociates into ſpeedy Action, by the Proſpect of the preſent imminent Dangers. Accordingly, he ſent for the Lord *Howard* in his Retirement, and told him, *That finding the due Elections of the City fruſtrated, and the falſe Sheriffs eſtabliſh'd, he could no longer think any Honeſt Man ſafe; and had therefore made his Retreat, having done all Things neceſſary for a ſudden Inſurrection: That many Thouſands were ready in the City to Maſter the Gates, and Attack* White-Hall: *That they within were to be aſſiſted from the Adjacent Counties with a Thouſand or twelve Hundred Horſe, under good Officers.* Only he complain'd of the Backwardneſs of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and other great Men, who had promis'd, 'by Riſing in other remote Counties at the ſame Time, to give Diverſion to the Standing Forces.' This being communicated by his Lordſhip to the Duke, he alſo complain'd of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s *Acting of late on a ſeparate Bottom, and that his preſent Fears had blinded his uſual Prudence*; and therefore he deſired a ſpeedy Meeting with him, to reeſtabliſh a better Underſtanding for the future. This being reported to the Earl, he reply'd, *His People were impatient of longer Delays, having advanc'd ſo far, that there was no Retreat*; and thereupon he proceeded to declare his vehement Suſpicion of the Duke of *Monmouth*; *That his Dilatorineſs proceeded from ſome private Correſpondence between Him and the King*; *That it was to be fear'd his Grace acted with a different Proſpect from theirs, only minding his own Advancement: Whereas his own Reſolutions were, that ſince it was plain their Liberties were not to be ſecured, but under a* COMMON-WEALTH, *he alone with his Intereſt would attempt the Deliverance of his Country: If the reſt of the Lords would concur with him, they might ſhare in the Glory; elſe he hop'd he ſhould be able to effect the Work without them, by the Help of an honeſt briſk Party in the City.* Upon this Anſwer, the Duke ſuſpecting that before all Perſons could be in a Readineſs, the Earl's unſeaſonable Anxiety for his own Safety might put him on raſh and dangerous Meaſures, therefore he was the more deſirous to have a Meeting with him. In a few Days, they and the Confederate Lords met; and their Differences and Suſpicions were in ſome meaſure piec'd up, and they began again to act joyntly towards a ſpeedy Inſurrection.

To this Purpoſe ſeveral Days were propos'd, One about the latter End of *October*, but it was deferr'd till the Concurrence of the ſeveral Counties could be ſignify'd up: Then that of Queen *Elizabeth*, *November* 17th was nam'd, but rejected, becauſe the King's Guards were commonly in Arms to ſuppreſs the wonted Tumults. At laſt the 19th of *November* was fix'd on; which happening to be of a *Sunday*, while ſome excepted againſt it for that Reaſon, *Ferguſon* boldly reply'd, *That the Sanctity of the Day was ſuitable to the Sanctity of the Work.* The Day being thus determin'd, they immediately prepar'd their ſeveral Parts: Eſpecially the great Managers held Aſſemblies to receive Accounts, how the Counties were diſpos'd, and to conſult upon ſurpriſing the Guards; for which End the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, undertook to view their Poſture, and reported back, *That the ſeizing them was a Thing very ſeaſible.* In the mean Time the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was very uneaſy, and weary of lodging in Holes, where every Sound and Breath of Air became frightful to him, wherefore with repeated and importunate Meſſages he urg'd the other Lords to keep to the Day; expoſtulating with them upon their former Slowneſs, whereby they had loſt ſo many plain Opportunities. At length one Day, when their great Council about *London* was aſſembled at Mr. *Shepard*'s Houſe in *Ab-Church-Lane*, the Earl ſent Colonel *Romſey* to quicken their Debates, and once for all learn the final Reſult of their Determinations. But they having juſt before receiv'd ſeveral Advices out of the *Weſt*, that their Friends there, eſpecially in *Taunton* and *Devonſhire*, could not poſſibly be ready on ſo ſhort a Warning, immediately ſent him back ſuch Word; concluding it could not be avoided, but He and They muſt be content to reſpite the Time to a longer Day. This poſitive Anſwer broke all his Meaſures, and made him inſtantly reſolved to leave *England.* Wherefore removing his Lodging into *Wapping*, where he and his Cauſe had many Friends; the very Night that Place was burnt, being the Night of the ſame 19th of *November*, when he expected to ſet the Nation on a Flame, he privately ſculk'd down the River, and took Shipping for *Holland*; leaving his Friends with this Ominous Prognoſtick, *That their Deſign cou'd not long be conceal'd, there being ſo many acquainted with it.* Which indeed prov'd true, tho' he liv'd not to ſee it fulfill'd; and of the Thirty *Engliſh* Agents, formerly mention'd, Eight, *viz.* the Lord *Howard*, *Romſey*, *Shepard*, *Weſt*, *Keeling*, *Brown*, *Lea* and *Barber*, all afterwards turn'd Diſcoverers and Informers.

The Failures at laſt.

The Steps of the chief Perſons concern'd.

2. After the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Departure and Death, which happen'd in a ſhort Time, the Great Machine mov'd upon other Hinges; for while he continu'd in *England*, all the Deliberations of the Actors ſeem'd to receive Life and Vertue from his Direction and Approbation. But now, tho' much diſpirited, they reſolv'd to puſh forwards, and form'd themſelves into ſeveral Cabals and Committees. They had a ſupreme Council of Six, compos'd of the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Howard*, Colonel *Sidney* and Mr. *Hambden*; among whom the Lord *Ruſſel* was ſometimes preſent, and others admitted upon eſpecial Occaſions, as *Romſey*, *Armſtrong*, *Shepard*, *Ferguſon*, &c. Theſe met at Mr. *Hambden*'s Houſe, ſometimes at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s, but moſt frequently at Mr. *Shepard*'s in *Ab-Church-Lane*; while other Subordinate Cabals aſſembled at Mr. *Weſt*'s Chambers in the *Temple*, and at ſeveral Publick Houſes and Taverns, in and about *London*, to conſult and communicate their Reſolutions to each other. Having their Meetings ſo often in Places of Publick Entertainment, to prevent the Obſervation of Drawers and Servants, they invented a Jargon whereby they veil'd their Deſigns under Canting Terms and borrow'd Words: The King they ſometimes call'd *Church-Warden of White-Hall*; the King and Duke, the *Black-Bird* and the *Gold-Finch*, the *Captain* and *Lieutenant.* Blunderbuſſes, Muſquets and Piſtols, went by the Names of *Swan-Quills*, *Gooſe-Quills* and *Crow-Quills.* The Inſurrection was ſtiled the *General Point*, the Aſſaſſination the *Lopping Point*, and *Striking at the Head*, with ſeveral other Names borrow'd from Terms of Law, which the Lawyers among them had wantonly abus'd. But when they were free, and amongſt themſelves, they diſcours'd of the whole Contrivance in plain Language; their common Healths being ſuch as theſe, *To the Man who firſt draws his Sword againſt* Popery *and* Slavery, *in Defence of the* Proteſtant *Religion. Confuſion to the two Brothers*, Popery *and* Slavery; meaning the two Royal Brothers at *White-Hall.* And when ſome of them, leſs harden'd in Cruelty, expreſs'd ſome Horror of ſuch a villainous Blow, and deſir'd that the Infamy might be thrown on the *Papiſts*; others, particularly *Ferguſon*, declar'd, *They thought the Action too good for the* Papiſts *to have the Honour of it*; and often applauded it as a *Glorious Work*; *That it wou'd be an Admonition to Princes to take heed how they oppreſſed their Subjects*; *That he hop'd to ſee the Fact rewarded in Parliament, and the Actors have the Honour of Statues erected to them, with the Title of* PRESERVERS OF THEIR COUNTRY. So alſo when *Nelthorp* and *Walcot*, and ſome few others, declar'd themſelves willing to joyn in the Inſurrection, but at firſt ſhrunk at the Horror of the Aſſaſſination, *R. Rumbald* and *R. Goodenough* impiouſly maintain'd the King and the Duke's Murder as *the more pious Deſign of the two*, and recommended it as *Keeping one of the Ten Commandments, and the beſt Way to prevent Shedding Chriſtian Blood.*

As to the Inſurrection.

As to the Point of the Inſurrection, the City of *London* was by them divided into Twenty Parts; and to that End one of the largeſt Maps of the City and Liberties was hung up in Mr. *Weſt*'s Chamber, the moſt uſual Place of their Rendezvouzes; the making the ſeveral Partitions and Allotments of the whole, being committed to *R. Goodenough*, who by reaſon of his general Acquaintance, by being ſo often Under-Sheriff, was judg'd the fitteſt Man for that Work. Each Part was to furniſh out a competent Number of Men, who in Time of Action were to be commanded by ſome of the old Officers of *Cromwell*'s

Army, that were in Town for that Purpoſe. By this Means they doubted not but they ſhou'd have a ſecret Body of Eight or Ten Thouſand of well appointed Men; *Goodenough* alone having aſſured them, that out of ſeven Diviſions only there were three Thouſand Men ready at an Hour's Warning for the firſt Onſet. The Counties were alſo to be in Readineſs at the exact Time, and the Conſpirators in each of them to be commanded by a truſty and experienc'd Head. In the mean Time, to advance their Numbers, the active Agents were employ'd in *London* to encourage their Friends that were privy to the Deſign, and bring in ſuch as were thought to be diſaffected, by ſtarting the Matter firſt in general and ambiguous Terms, according to Inſtructions given them, and then as they found them Suſceptible, coming cloſer home, and laying open the whole Contrivance. Ways were alſo concerted for bringing in the Sea-Men about *Wapping*, by throwing up a Golden Ball on *Black-Heath*; they being thought diſcontented for Want of Pay. And when all Things ſhou'd thus be in Readineſs, it was reſolv'd that the *Tower* of *London* ſhou'd be attempted by Stratagem, the *Savoy* forc'd, the Guards ſurpris'd, and the King and the Court beſet in *White-Hall*; which was to be attack'd on all Sides, both by Water and Land; not doubting but there to make ſure of the King, his Brother and Friends, or at leaſt if they ſhou'd attempt to fly, to intercept them by Men poſted on all the Roads about, to hinder their Eſcape. And all Things thus ſucceeding, that they might not want any neceſſary Means for purſuing their Deſign to the utmoſt, they projected the ſeiſing the King's Revenues in the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, *Exciſe-Office*, *Chimney-Money*, the Plate in *Lombard-Street*, and the Caſh of the Wealthy Citizens, who, if they appear'd unwilling to part with it, the Villain *Ferguſon* adviſ'd *That ſome of them ſhou'd be hang'd up for a Terror to the reſt*. But, once for all, it may be here obſerv'd, That the Execution of all theſe and many more Treaſons and Cruelties was propos'd, before they had agreed upon any certain Form of Government to be ſet up in the Place of that which they had reſolv'd to pull down: Only, as they had agreed to deſtroy the Magiſtracy of *London*, the preſent and the late Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, *&c.* ſo they reſolv'd that Alderman *Corniſh* or *Gould* ſhou'd be declar'd Lord Mayor, and *Papillon* and *Dubois* Sheriffs, *&c.*

And as to the Aſſaſſination.

And now the *Lopping Point*, as they call'd it, the Aſſaſſination, kept Pace in the inferior private Cabals; and the Politicians amongſt them look'd upon it as more compendious and expeditious in compaſſing the great Deſigns. Many Ways were therefore propos'd for effecting this extraordinary Point: Some were for having the King and the Duke ſet upon in St. *James*'s Park, as they were going privately and ill attended to that Palace: Others were for ſinking their Barge, when they went down the River for their Diverſion; or elſe to do it in their Return from the *Play-Houſe* by the Wall in *Covent-Garden:* Others again were for ſhooting them with Pocket Blunderbuſſes in the *Play-Houſe* it ſelf; which extreamly pleas'd *Ferguſon*, who thereupon ſaid, *That then they wou'd die in their Calling:* And others were for undertaking it between *Windſor* and *Hampton-Court*, or in their Going to *Wincheſter*; or if they ſhou'd happen to be preſent at the *Bull-Feaſt* in *Red-Lyon-Fields*. But the moſt preferable Method, and which was finally determin'd, was to attempt it upon the two Brothers Return this Year from *Newmarket*; and the Place reſolv'd on was the *Rye-Houſe*, within two Miles of *Hodſden* in *Hertfordſhire*, inhabited by *Richard Rumbald* formerly mention'd, a Place private, commodious, and of ſome natural Strength. The Attempt was to be made by a Party of Forty bold Men, arm'd with Blunderbuſſes and Piſtols, and Commanded by *Rumbald* and Captain *Walcot*, who were privately to muſter in the ſaid *Rye-Houſe*, againſt the Day of the King's coming back, deſign'd on the 31ſt of *March:* And while the King's Coach ſhou'd be ſtopp'd by a Cart purpoſely overturn'd in a narrow Paſſage of the Way, ſome ſhou'd fight the ſmall Guard that uſually attended his Majeſty, and others fire into the Coach, and kill both the Brothers at the ſame Time. One-Ey'd *Rumbald* undertook to be a Marks-Man with a Blunderbuſs, which he profanely ſaid, *Mr.* Ferguſon *ſhou'd Conſecrate*; and *Walcot*, who ſtood upon a Point of Honour, not to kill any Man baſely, was to charge and fight the Guards. And it was further reſolv'd, That upon the ſame Day, many Lords and Perſons of Quality of their Party ſhou'd be invited to Dine in *London*, that they might be the more ready to appear among the Citizens upon the Arrival of the News; the Actors having contriv'd the Manner of their Eſcape by ſo near a Paſſage, that they hop'd to get to the City, before the News cou'd be brought by other Hands.

The Rye-Houſe *the Place appointed.*

That Deſign defeated.

But while all Things were in a great Forwardneſs, and they were triumphantly entertaining themſelves with the Rewards of ſome, and the Puniſhment of others, Heaven was pleas'd to defeat all their pernicious Counſels, by ſuffering the Fire formerly mention'd to break out at *Newmarket*, which oblig'd the King and the Court to return from thence about a Week ſooner than was intended. The Conſpirators receiv'd the News with various Apprehenſions, and their confus'd Sentiments of it appear'd both in their Looks and Words: One of them cou'd not forbear calling it *a Providential Fire*, and *Walcot* himſelf ſaid, *He thought it an Expreſſion of God's diſapproving the Undertaking*; but the inveterate *Ferguſon* ſaid, *That he perceiv'd God had reſerv'd the King for his own Judgment*; yet he declar'd, *That the Deſign muſt inſtantly be reaſſum'd*, and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* undertook to be a principal Aſſiſtant.

The Inſurrection goes on.

In the mean Time the ſuperior Managers for the Inſurrection were carrying on their Treaty with the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners: For no ſooner were the *Scots* in *London* inform'd by their Correſpondents in *Edinburgh*, that the People there were in a greater Readineſs than they firſt imagin'd, but they ſtruck in with the *Engliſh*, and agreed upon certain Conditions, 'That they ſhou'd riſe firſt, if the *Engliſh*, upon ſpeedy Notice, wou'd immediately ſecond them; That the Inſurrection in both Kingdoms ſhou'd be before Harveſt; That Arms and Ammunition ſhou'd be tranſported out of *Holland* into *Scotland*, whither the Earl of *Argyle* ſhou'd haſten to head their Party there.' Theſe Things in general were quickly concluded; but there were ſome Particulars that rais'd ſuch Difficulties, as were like to overturn the Deſign: The *Engliſh*, now more ſettled in their Intentions, wou'd have had the *Scots* declare immediately for a *Common-Wealth, and the Extirpation of Monarchy*; but the *Scots* declin'd that Point, affirming, *That the Generality of their People wou'd never hearken to that at firſt.* In the next Place, The *Scots* demanded Thirty Thouſand Pounds to be ſent them for Arms, Ammunition, *&c.* but the *Engliſh*, who would truſt them with any thing ſooner than Money, after many Expoſtulations from *Argyle* and his Agents, cou'd be brought to no more than Ten Thouſand Pounds, and rais'd many Doubts and Scruples about that Sum; which caus'd the *Scots* to reſent the Matter, and to tell them, *That they were only good at Fire-ſide Plotting*; *whereas, for their Part, they were reſolv'd to riſe, tho' they had nothing to fight with but their Claws.* However, at length, they came to an Agreement, 'That the Ten Thouſand Pounds ſhou'd be rais'd, and put into the Hands of Mr. *Shepard*, who was to return the Bills for it by *Ferguſon* to *Amſterdam*.

The whole defeated by Keeling's *Diſcovery.*

3. Thus ſucceſsfully was the Deſign going forwards, when a timely Diſcovery ſtopt it in its full Career: This was firſt made on the 12th Day of *June*, by *Joſiah Keeling*, Citizen and Salter of *London*; a Perſon of good Credit in the common Buſineſs of his Calling, but one whoſe perverſe Principles as to Religion and Government had tranſported him into ſtrange Undertakings; for he was a ſpecial Aſſiſtant at the unheard-of Arreſt of the Lord Mayor of *London*; and was alſo to have been one of the Forty Aſſaſſines, who with *Rumbald* and *Walcot* were to have murder'd the King and the Duke at the *Rye-Houſe*. This Man having for ſome Time labour'd under great Uneaſineſs of Mind, and the Laſhes of a tormenting Conſcience, for being involv'd in ſo much Guilt, appear'd voluntarily before the Lord *Dartmouth* and Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, and there made open Confeſſion of the whole Matter, and ſubſcrib'd his Depoſitions. But finding that the King and his Miniſters were exceeding diffident of his ſingle Intelligence on a Buſineſs of ſo vaſt a Moment, he conſider'd which Way he might beſt ſtrengthen his Evidence. To that End he prevail'd upon *Goodenough*, who had an entire Confidence in him, that his Brother *John Keeling* might be admitted into the next Meetings of the Conſpirators, he himſelf promiſing to be anſwerable for his Secrecy. This was done, and thereupon both the Brothers gave in their joynt Teſtimony upon Oath on the 14th of *June*, touching the Progreſs of the Treaſon. So they continu'd to do for a Day or two more, till *John Keeling* dropt ſome Expreſſions to his Relations, which they whiſper'd among their Acquaintance, *That ſomething was working, which might do Miſchief to Honeſt People.* This, and freſh Alarms from the Government, caus'd ſeveral of them to meet and conſult what to do; but Fear and Confuſion ſo wrought upon them, that they all ſeparated, and reſolv'd upon Flight. Only *Walcot* ſaid at parting, *God wou'd yet deliver the Nation, tho' he did not approve of the preſent Inſtruments.* And *Ferguſon*, to keep up his former Character, took his Leave in theſe Words, *He perceiv'd they were Strangers to this Kind of Exerciſe, but he had been us'd to fly, and wou'd never be out of a Plot as long as he liv'd; and that he hop'd yet to meet ſome of them at* Dunbar *before* Michaelmas.

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Proclamations againſt the Conſpirators.

Immediately after, an unuſual Commotion appear'd every where in all Mens Looks and Actions, a Mixture of Joy and Wonder, for the Diſcovery, and the Strangeneſs of it; and the whole Kingdom was in ſome Sort of a Conſternation. Warrants were immediately iſſu'd out againſt ſeveral of the Conſpirators, eſpecially thoſe of *Keeling*'s Acquaintance; and on the 23d of *June* was publiſh'd the King's Proclamation for Apprehending Colonel *John Romſey*, *Richard Rumbald* Malſter, *Richard Nelthorp* Eſquire, *Edward Wade* Gent. *Richard Goodenough* Gent. Capt. *Walcot*, *William Thompſon*, *James Burton* and *William Hone*; for any of which, a Hundred Pounds was offer'd to the Diſcoverer. Upon this Proclamation, Colonel *Romſey*, for a Pardon and Reward, ſurrender'd himſelf the next Day; and being examin'd by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, he made a large Confeſſion; which was ſoon after confirm'd by two others, Mr. *Weſt* and Mr. *Shppard:* So that on the 28th of *June* there came out a Second Proclamation, for the Apprehending of *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, *Ford* Lord *Gray*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* Knight, and *Robert Ferguſon*, who were all fled; for any of which five Hundred Pounds was offer'd as a Reward to the Diſcoverer. Shortly after the Lord *Howard* came in; and upon his Information, Warrants for High-Treaſon were iſſu'd out againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, and others, who were taken up accordingly. As to the Duke of *Monmouth*, he had formerly been taken up, upon Suſpicion of promoting Sedition and Riots, and was admitted to Bail; but finding his Name in the Proclamation, he took the firſt Opportunity to make his Eſcape. But for *Ferguſon* himſelf, we are told, That when the Warrants were deliver'd to Mr. *Legat* the Meſſenger, to ſeize him with the reſt of the Offenders, Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* gave *Legat* a ſtrict Command not to take *Ferguſon*, but to ſhun him where-ever he met him; which is a Myſtery not eaſy to be underſtood, but has caus'd Variety of Conjectures.

The Satisfaction and Addreſſes of the Nation.

Mens Minds now began to be fill'd with Pleaſure, as well as Horror; and on the 2d of *July*, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*, in a full Body waited on his Majeſty in the *Banquetting-Houſe* at *White-Hall* with their Addreſs of Congratulation, 'Declaring their Thanks to Almighty God, for bringing to Light this impious and execrable Machination, deſign'd for the Deſtruction of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and of his deareſt Brother *James* Duke of *York*, and for the Deſtruction of his Majeſty's beſt Subjects, and to involve this and the future Generation in Confuſion, Blood and Miſery; carry'd on, notwithſtanding their ſpecious Pretences, by known Diſſenting Conventicles, and Atheiſtical Perſons, *&c.*' Which Addreſs being moſt kindly received by his Majeſty, they then waited on his Royal Highneſs the Duke, and made their Compliments to him on the ſame Occaſion. Immediately after, the honourable Society of the *Middle-Temple* Addreſs'd in the like Manner, who declared themſelves 'Concern'd more than ordinary to ſhew their Loyalty, in regard ſome of the firſt diſcover'd Conſpirators did unhappily appear to be of that Society.' They were follow'd by the other *Inns of Court*, the City of *Weſtminſter*, the Borough of *Southwark*, and by all the Counties and Corporations in the Kingdom, whoſe Addreſſes flow'd in with an Inundation from all Parts, in greater Numbers, and with warmer Expreſſions, than ever had been known; to the great Diminution, as well as Mortification of the *Whig-Party*, at that Time. At the ſame Time alſo, the ſeveral Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of Foreign Princes, Congratulated his Majeſty, in their Maſters Names, for his happy Delivery from the Conſpiracy and Aſſaſſination. And the *French* King, to ſhew his Affection to his Brother of *England*, publiſh'd alſo in his Dominions an Edict or Proclamation for the Apprehenſion of the Four before-mention'd, *Monmouth*, *Gray*, *Armſtrong* and *Ferguſon*, promiſing five Hundred Piſtoles for the Diſcovery of each of them.

Walcot's *Tryal.*

Witneſſes, Romſey,

Keeling,

Bourne.

And Weſt.

II. 1. While all Mens Minds were excited by Curioſity, and fill'd with Expectations, ſeveral of the Perſons accus'd of the Plot were brought to Tryal; and the firſt was Lieutenant-Colonel *Thomas Walcot*, who was try'd at the *Old-Baily*, on the 12th of *July*, before the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Saunders*, and other Judges, for High-Treaſon againſt the King and Government. The Witneſſes againſt him were four; Colonel *Romſey*, *Joſiah Keeling*, *Zachary Bourn* and Counſellor *Weſt*; who in their Depoſitions firſt gave ſome general Account of the Plot, and then of the particular Share in which the Priſoner was concern'd: *Romſey* firſt ſwore, 'That the Priſoner came to *Weſt*'s Chamber where the Deponent was preſent, when a Liſt was brought of the Aſſaſſines, and agreed to joyn with them, intending to command a Party to charge the Guards; That he undertook to go and view *Rumbald*'s Houſe, and bought a Horſe for that Purpoſe: That he was preſent at the Dividing *London* into Twenty Parts in order to an Inſurrection; and at the Conſult for Buying of Arms after the Diſappointment at the *Rye-Houſe:* That he was at the Meeting for carrying on the Conſpiracy on *Thurſday* before the Diſcovery; and that after it, they met at Captain *Tracy*'s, *Walcot*'s own Lodging, the Deponent being preſent'. 2. *Keeling* depos'd, 'That *Walcot* was at the trayterous Aſſembly at the *Salutation-Tavern*, where the Deponent was call'd *Gulick*, and a Health drunk to the *Engliſh Gulick*; *Weſt* declaring that *Gulick* in *Dutch* was *Keeling* in *Engliſh*; adding, *He hop'd to ſee* Keeling *at the Head of as good an Army at* Wapping, *as they heard one* Gulick *was then at* Cologne.' 3. *Bourne* ſwore, 'That *Walcot* us'd to come to *Ferguſon* when he lodg'd at his Houſe; and that he and ſeveral others met at the *Dragon* on *Snow-Hill*, and often in other Places, in order to raiſe Men, and divide the City into Twenty Parts, for ſecuring the King and the Duke: That almoſt every Time they met, at leaſt three Times, the Priſoner at the Bar was there: That he was at the laſt Meeting at *Tracy*'s, where they debated of *Standing to it with Sword in Hand, and of killing* Keeling *for making the Diſcovry.*' 4. *Weſt* teſtified, 'That the Priſoner, upon the Election of the *London* Sheriffs, ask'd him, *Will the People do nothing to ſecure themſelves?* and acquainted him with the Inſurrection then deſigned within three Weeks or a Month: That the Earl of *Shaftſbury* was in the Deſign, and had engag'd the Priſoner: That he had an Expectation of being Colonel of Horſe; asking the Deponent, *Whether he wou'd have any Command under him?* That upon his Reſuſal, he deſir'd him to lend him a Suit of Silk Armour: That the ſaid *Walcot* told him of ſeveral Deſigns to attack the King and the Duke: That in the Buſineſs of the *Rye-Houſe*, he undertook to command the Party that was to ſet upon the Guards: That after the Diſappointment, he met with the other Conſpirators, where they diſcours'd of it, and complain'd they had not Arms in Readineſs: That he ſometimes made One at the Deponent's, and at the *Young-Devil*-Tavern: That he was preſent at the Meeting at *Tracy*'s, relating to their Eſcape; the Priſoner himſelf then ſaying, *God wou'd ſtill deliver the Nations*, &c.

Walcot's *Letter.*

Beſides theſe living Witneſſes, there was a Letter produc'd under his own Hand, which made a great Impreſſion both upon the Court and Jury: It was written to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, immediately after he found his Name in the King's firſt Proclamation, and intimated to his Honour, 'That he was come to Town to lay himſelf at his Majeſty's Feet: That this was the firſt Crime he had been guilty of ſince the King's Reſtoration, and too ſoon by much now: That he was ready to diſcover to his Majeſty all that he knew in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, which might be ſomething more than the firſt Diſcoverer cou'd acquaint him with, eſpecially as to *Ireland:* That his Intimacy with a *Scotch* Miniſter, through whoſe Hands much of the Buſineſs paſs'd, occaſion'd his knowing very much; and that the Buſineſs was laid very Broad, or he was miſ-inform'd; concluding with a Propoſal, That he would follow the Traytors who were fled, and give Notice what Meaſures they ſhou'd take; with other the like Expreſſions.' There was likewiſe a Paper given in Evidence that was taken about him in *Newgate*; in which he deſir'd *Romſey* and *Weſt* to ſpare him, ſaying, *They had Ground enough to ſerve the King upon other Men.* But as to his private Confeſſion to the King upon his firſt Examination, that was not produc'd againſt him; tho' in that he told ſeveral new Particulars of the Conſpiracy, and nam'd the Men of Quality who had undertaken to raiſe the ſeveral Shires.

His Defence.

The Priſoner's Defence conſiſted Firſt, of a plain Denial of having had any hand in the Aſſaſſination; ſaying, 'He knew well enough, if he had undertaken to charge the Guards, while others kill'd the King, he was equally guilty with thoſe that kill'd him; but that he was ſick of the Gout during the Meetings, while the King was at *New-Market:* Moreover, that thoſe Witneſſes were ſufficiently involv'd themſelves, and ſwore againſt him to ſave their own Lives: That he never knew *Goodenough* and *Rumbald:* That the laſt Meeting at his Lodgings was appointed by *Romſey*, he himſelf knowing nothing of it: That he came accidentally to the other Meetings only to hear News. He confeſs'd he heard there was a Deſign amongſt ſeveral Great Lords and Gentlemen for *Aſſerting Liberties and Properties*; but that he was not at their Conſultations. In ſum, He had heard a great deal of an Inſurrection, but had no Part in it, and therefore his Fault cou'd be only *Miſpriſion of Treaſon.* And as to the Letter produc'd againſt him, he alledg'd, *That what he had promiſed to diſcover, he had only heard from* Ferguſon.' In Anſwer to this Defence, the King's Council alledg'd, 'That

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‘ there is nothing more juſt than to make uſe of ſome Traytors to convict others, elſe Treaſon might take effect without Diſcovery: That becauſe the Witneſſes had been concern'd in the Plot, therefore they were to be believ'd; for who ſhou'd know it but thoſe that were concern'd? That better Witneſſes cou'd not have been had, except the Thing had ſucceeded: That the very being at Treaſonable Conſults, and keeping them private, is not only *Miſpriſion*, but *High-Treaſon*. And as to having the Gout, *Weſt* told him, he remember'd it very well by a good Token, that the Priſoner himſelf ſaid, *He was afraid when the Time came, he ſhou'd not be able to draw on his Boot*.' In Concluſion, he was, in a very ſhort Time, brought in Guilty of High-Treaſon by the Jury.

And Condemnation.

Hone's *Tryal.*

Keeling,

Weſt,

2. On the ſame Day another Criminal was brought to the Bar, *William Hone* a Joyner, who wou'd have immediately confeſs'd himſelf guilty of a great Part of the Accuſation. But refuſing to confeſs all, he was requir'd to Plead, and his Tryal was brought on the next Day. Then again he deſir'd he might retract his Plea, and offer'd to plead Guilty; but ſince he wou'd not own the whole Indictment, for the Satisfaction of the Nation, which was very curious at that Time, the following Witneſſes appear'd againſt him. 1. *Keeling* ſwore, ‘ That the Priſoner was at the *Dolphin*-Tavern, where ſeveral ſorts of Arms were agreed on to be provided under the borrow'd Names of *Swan-Quills*, *Gooſe-Quills*, *Crow-Quills*, *Sand* and *Ink*: That after that Meeting, *Hone* told the Deponent, he was one of them who were to go down to the *Rye-Houſe* to aſſaſſinate the King. That he ſince alſo told him, *That it would never be well till the* Black-Bird *and the* Gold-Finch *were knock'd on the Head*; explaining thoſe Terms to be meant of the King and the Duke.' To which Atteſtation, *Hone* reply'd, *That as to the* Black-Bird *he own'd it, but not as to the* Gold-Finch. 2. *Weſt* depos'd, ‘ That *Goodenough* having told him he wou'd try *Hone*, whether he wou'd attempt on the Duke without the King, the Deponent ask'd *Hone*, whether he had ſeen *Goodenough*? He anſwer'd, He had, and that he had ſpoken to him about a *Job for the Duke*. That at another Time alſo the Priſoner ask'd the Deponent, *Maſter, ſhall we do nothing*? Adding, *That if the Duke of* Monmouth *wou'd be true, and appear, he wou'd bring fifty or threeſcore Men from the other Side of the Water, to help to do the Buſineſs*. And that the Deponent demanding what Buſineſs? He anſwer'd, *A Briſk Puſh at the two Brothers*. That being further queſtion'd, What Brothers? he ſaid, *The Captain and Lieutenant*; which were the counterfeit Names they ſometimes us'd for the King and Duke.

Sir N. Butler,

And Richardſon.

Hone *caſt*.

Beſides theſe two Witneſſes, who were more immediately concern'd themſelves, Sir *Nicholas Butler* depos'd, ‘ He had known *Hone* many Years, and always knew him guilty of Plotting and Contriving, and Ready for ſuch Enterprizes as this; particularly he had projected the Taking off the King and the Duke with Croſs-Bows from *Bow-Steeple*, whilſt they were ſtanding in a Houſe directly over againſt it on the Lord Mayor's Day: That the Priſoner confeſs'd this very thing, when examin'd before his Majeſty; and that he had alſo acquainted ſeveral Perſons, *That he was to make one to kill the King and the Duke*.' Laſtly, Captain *Richardſon*, the Keeper of *Newgate*, teſtify'd, ‘ That the Priſoner confeſs'd to Sir *Nicholas Butler*, in his Preſence, that *Goodenough* came to him and told him, *He wanted Labourers*; that *Hone* ask'd him for what? *Goodenough* ſaid, *It was to kill the King and the Duke*; and that he did agree to be one of the Number: That *Hone* did ſay another Time, *He was for killing the King and ſaving the Duke*; but that *Goodenough* was for Both: That he told him of the Buſineſs of the *Rye-Houſe*, calling it, *The Place where the King was to have been kill'd*.' To all this *Hone* the Priſoner made no Anſwer, but *That he was drawn in by* Goodenough, and as to the killing the King from *Bow-Steeple*, he ſaid, *he was told of it by Another*. And ſo the Caſe appear'd ſo plain, that the Jury found him guilty of High-Treaſon, without going out of the Court.

The Lord Ruſſel's *Tryal.*

The Formality of it.

3. The Third Tryal was of the higheſt Importance to the Publick, and brought on with the greateſt Expectation of the People, which was that of *William* Lord *Ruſſel*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Bedford*, a Perſon often mention'd, of that Worth and Probity, but of that Intereſt and Popularity, that the Court was thought to be under ſome Neceſſity of bringing him to Deſtruction; and his very Tryal rais'd the Pity of Thouſands of People. But his own and his Family's Actions being ſo well remember'd, either Policy or Revenge was almoſt ſure to take place; and his Tryal came on with great Formality at the *Old Baily*, on the ſame Day with *Hone*'s, and before Eight ſeveral Judges, the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Saunders*, the Lord-Baron *Mountague*, Mr. Juſtice *Windham*, Mr. Juſtice *Jones*, Mr. Juſtice *Charlton*, Mr. Juſtice *Levins*, Mr. Juſtice *Withens*, and Mr. Baron *Street*; together with the Attorney and Sollicitor-General, the King's Council at Law, and a conſiderable Jury ſummon'd by the preſent Sheriffs, Sir *Dudley North*, and Sir *Peter Rich*; and the whole was carry'd on with as much Art and Management, as Grandeur and Formality. At his Arraignment, the Priſoner ſtruggled hard to obtain a Day longer for his Tryal, as having Witneſſes that might come before Night; and then he urg'd to have it deferr'd till the Afternoon, but in both he was over-rul'd; the Niceneſs of the Time being *now* a ſpecial Advantage to either Side. However, he was allow'd to make uſe of what Papers he had, which was thought a Favour, becauſe ſome others had been formerly refus'd that Liberty. Next, he deſir'd to have a Copy of the Pannel of the Jury; to which the Attorney-General anſwer'd, That he had indulg'd him ſo far as to ſend him a Note of the Men return'd, but no other Panel cou'd be given him. The Jury being call'd, he challeng'd the Foreman, for being no Free-Holder in *London*; which being a Point of Law, he had Council allow'd him, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Mr. *Holt* and Mr. *Ward*, who argu'd the Validity of the Challenge. But the Judges in the Court over-rul'd the Plea, and gave their ſeveral Opinions, ‘ That in Caſe of Treaſon, a *Free-Hold* was no good Cauſe of Challenge, eſpecially in the City of *London*, where Cuſtom had been otherwiſe, and the Citizens were ſuperior to common Free-Holders;' and he was further told, ‘ That there could be no Hardſhip in his Caſe, ſince he might Challenge thirty-five without Cauſe, and his Jury conſiſted of Men of unqueſtionable Quality and Subſtance.

Witneſſes; Romſey,

Shepard,

The Jury ſworn, the three chief Witneſſes that appear'd were Colonel *Romſey*, Mr. *Shepard*, and the Lord *Howard*. 1. The Colonel depos'd, ‘ That in the End of *October*, or in the Beginning of *November* 1682, there met at Mr. *Shepard*'s Houſe in *Ab-Church-Lane*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Ruſſel* the Priſoner, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, and *Robert Ferguſon*: That the Earl of *Shaftsbury* deſir'd him to go to them thither, to know what Reſolution was taken about the Riſing at *Taunton*; That he did go, and Mr. *Shepard* carry'd him up where they were, and he deliver'd his Meſſage. That the Anſwer was, *Mr.* Trenchard *had fail'd them; and there cou'd be no more done in the Matter at that Time*: That there was at the ſame Time a Diſcourſe by all the Company, about ſeeing what Poſture the Guards were in, that they might know how to ſurprize them; That ſome of them undertook to go and ſee: That the Lord *Ruſſel* in particular did ſpeak about the Riſing, and *gave his Conſent to it*.' 2. Mr. *Shepard* teſtify'd, ‘ That in *October* laſt, *Ferguſon* requeſted of him, in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Name, the Conveniency of his Houſe, for the Meeting of ſome Perſons of Quality; and that the ſame Day in the Evening, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* and *Ferguſon* came: That they deſir'd to be private, and none of his Servants to come up: That their Diſcourſe was how to ſurprize the Guards: That the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, went one Night to the *Mews* to view them: That the next time they came, *Armſtrong* ſaid, *The Guards were remiſs, and the Thing was feaſible*: That they had two Meetings of this Kind at his Houſe; That in one of them ſomething was read by *Ferguſon* in the Nature of a *Declaration*, ſetting forth the Grievances of the Nation in order to a Riſing: That he cou'd not poſitively ſay, That the Lord *Ruſſel* was there when it was read; but the ſaid Lord, the Priſoner, was there, when they diſcours'd of ſeizing the Guards.

And the L. Howard.

In the third Place, the Lord *Howard* began his Teſtimony with a long Story about the Plot in general, which (as in the Lord *Stafford*'s Caſe) was complain'd of as foreign, and deſign'd only to exaſperate the Jury; but what peculiarly related to the Priſoner, was to this Effect: ‘ That after the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Flight, the chief Perſons concern'd in the Conſpiracy in his Time, began to conſider they had gone ſo far, that it wou'd be unſafe for them to make a Retreat; and that in ſo great an Affair, conſiſting of ſo many Particulars, which were to be manag'd with ſo much Niceneſs, it wou'd be neceſſary to have ſome Select Council; and that therefore they reſolv'd to erect a Cabal among themſelves, which uſually conſiſted of ſix Perſons, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Hambden* Junior, and the Deponent; and this was about the middle of *January* laſt. That they met at Mr. *Hambden*'s Houſe, were it was preſently agreed, their proper Province was to take care of the Inſurrection: That the chief things they debated were, *Whether that Inſurrection* *ſhou'd begin firſt in* London, *or the Country*; then *what Counties and Towns were fitteſt, and moſt ready for Action*; then, *What Arms were to be got, and how to be diſpos'd*; then, *that it was neceſſary to have a common Bank of twenty-five or thirty Thouſand Pounds, to anſwer the Occaſions of ſuch an Undertaking*; but that the greateſt Point was *to order it ſo, as to draw in* Scotland *into a Conſent with them*; becauſe it was requiſite that all Kinds of Diverſion ſhou'd be given to the King's Forces. That about Ten Days after, every one of the ſame Perſons met again at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Houſe: That they then came to a Reſolution of ſending ſome Perſons to the Earl of *Argyle*, to ſettle the Correſpondence with him, and that a Meſſenger ſhou'd be diſpatcht into *Scotland* to invite ſome *Scotch*-Men hither, who beſt underſtood the State of *Scotland*, to give an Account of it: That the Perſons determin'd to be ſent for, were Sir *John Cockran*, the Lord *Melvil*, and one of the Name of *Cambel:* That Colonel *Sidney* was intruſted to take care of a Meſſenger; and he told the Deponent, he had ſent *Aaron Smith*: That then they agreed, not to meet again till the Return of the Meſſenger; who was gone about a Month before they heard any thing of him: That all this Debate at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s went without Contradiction, *all there preſent giving their Conſent*: That as for raiſing of Money, every one was put to think of ſuch a Way, that Money might be collected without giving Cauſe of Jealouſy. That after this, the Deponent met no more with them; but when he return'd out of the Country, he was inform'd that *Aaron Smith* was come back, and that Sir *John Cockran* was alſo come to Town.'

The Lord Ruſſel's *Defence.*

To all this the Lord *Ruſſel* made Anſwer, 'That he cou'd not but think himſelf mighty unfortunate to ſtand charg'd with ſo high a Crime, and that intermix'd with horrid Practices and Speeches of other People, while the King's Council took all Advantages to heighten things againſt him. That he was no Lawyer, and a very unready Speaker, and altogether a Stranger to Things of this Nature: That he was ſenſible he was not ſo provided, as to make his Defence as otherwiſe he ſhou'd do; but he thought the Gentlemen of the Jury were Men of Conſcience, that valu'd Innocent Blood, and hop'd they wou'd conſider the Witneſſes, that they ſwore to ſave their own Lives: That the two Times they met, was upon no form'd Deſign, only to talk of News and Things in General: That the Lord *Howard* having a voluble Tongue, they delighted to hear him diſcourſe: That he knew of no ſuch Council of Six choſen, for who ſhou'd chuſe them?' As to Colonel *Romſey*, 'He was notoriouſly known to have been highly oblig'd to the King and the Duke; and it was ſtrange he ſhou'd be capable of ſuch a Deſign as to murder the King: That the Time was Elapſed by the 13th of the King, which limits Proſecution to ſix Months: Neither was the Deſign of Levying War, Treaſon, unleſs it appear'd by ſome Overt-Act.' And then he deſiring to know upon what Statute he was Indicted, he was told, 'the Statute of the 25th of *Edward* the Third.' Upon which he inſiſted upon a matter of Law, and particularly, 'That the Buſineſs at Mr. *Shepard*'s Houſe was ſworn to only by one Wttneſs.' To which he was anſwer'd, 'That if there were one Witneſs of one Act of Treaſon, another of a ſecond, and another of a third, that manifeſted the ſame Treaſon, it was ſufficient.' And the Attorney-General and Sir *George Jeffreys* made a home thruſt at him: The Former ſaid, *Your Lordſhip remembers, in my Lord* Stafford'*s Caſe, there was but one Witneſs to one Act in* England, *and another to another in* France: And the Latter ſaid, *There was not ſo much Evidence againſt Him, as there is againſt your Lordſhip.*

Witneſſes for him.

For a further Defence of his Lordſhip, there appear'd a noble Train of Witneſſes, which very much affected the Audience, *viz.* the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Angleſey*, Mr. *Edward Howard*, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, the Lord *Clifford*, Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dr. *Burnet*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *Fitz-Williams*, Mr. *Lutton Gore* and Mr. *Spencer*. Some of theſe teſtify'd that the Lord *Howard*, before he was taken, declared, *He believ'd the Lord* Ruſſel *innocent, and knew nothing againſt him.* Others ſpoke to his Lordſhip's private Character, and declar'd his great Worth and Probity, his virtuous and ſober Life, and conſequently the great Improbability of his being thus ingag'd.

Anſwers.

As to what concern'd the Lord *Howard*'s ſaying he believ'd the Priſoner Innocent, it was anſwer'd by that Lord Himſelf, who confeſs'd, 'He had ſaid ſo, being then himſelf not accus'd, ſo that he intended to out-face the thing both for Himſelf and the Party; but now his Duty to God, the King, and his Country required it, he muſt ſay the Truth; and that tho' the Council of Six were not choſen by any Community, yet they did erect themſelves by mutual Agreement one with another into that Society.' The reſt was anſwer'd by the King's Council at Law, who expatiated upon the Matter, and particularly inſiſted, 'That the Witneſſes againſt the Lord *Ruſſel* were not profligate Perſons, nor Men who wanted Faith and Credit before that Time; but ſuch againſt whom there had been no legal Exceptions made by Himſelf: That there was no Contradiction, no Correſpondence or Contrivance at all between them; and that it cou'd not be imagin'd ſuch Men ſhou'd damn their own Souls to take away the Life of a Gentleman, againſt whom they had no Quarrel.' As for Colonel *Romſey*'s being much oblig'd to the King and the Duke, 'It was apparent by many Inſtances, that no ſuch, tho' the greateſt Obligations, had hinder'd ill Men from Conſpiring againſt his Majeſty. For was not the Earl of *Eſſex*, were not divers others of the Conſpirators in like manner oblig'd, and advanc'd in Eſtate and Honour by the King?' As for the ſeveral Divines, and Men of Honour and Quality produc'd to teſtify the Virtue and Sobriety of his Lordſhip's Converſation, it was anſwer'd, 'That an Affectation of Popularity had often prov'd a Snare ſtrong enough to tempt many Men, who had otherwiſe been of great Temperance and Virtue: Nor indeed cou'd there be any more dangerous Enemies to a State or Kingdom, than ſuch as come ſober to endeavour its Deſtruction.' Which ſingular Obſervation was now particularly turn'd againſt the Lord *Ruſſel:* For Mr. *Weſt* depos'd, 'That the Under-Actors in the Conſpiracy moſt depended on the ſaid Lord, for this very Reaſon, *becauſe they look'd on him as a Man of great Sobriety.*' In Concluſion, notwithſtanding the Lord's ſolemn Atteſtation of his Innocence, the Jury, after an Adjournment of the Court to the Afternoon, brought him in Guilty of High-Treaſon. This Verdict has been generally accounted a great Hardſhip, and the Sum of that Hardſhip was, 'That it was only ſworn that *Treaſonable Words* were ſpoke in his Hearing, *to which he was Conſenting*; tho' no *Words* of his were expreſs'd, that imported any ſuch *Conſent*; therefore at moſt it cou'd be only a *Miſpriſion.*

He is found guilty.

The ſtrange Death of the Earl of Eſſex.

4. But that which was believ'd to have very much influenc'd the Jury, was a diſmal Attempt made in the *Tower* that Morning of the Tryal, upon the Body of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was found with his Throat cut with a Razor from Ear to Ear; which was immediately look'd upon to be done with his own Hands, and to be the Effect of Pride and Deſpair. This caus'd an unuſual Commotion in People's Minds, and the News was timely brought to the *Old-Bayly*; and was probably the main Reaſon why the Lord *Ruſſel* was ſo urgent to put off his Tryal a little longer, and likewiſe why on the other Side they would not allow the Favour. However it was, the Fact was twice mention'd and inſinuated by the King's Council, for no other End, that appear'd, but to exaſperate the Jury, now ſuſceptible of any Impreſſion; and it is reported that ſome of them ſaid, *That it went further with them than all the Evidence of the Witneſſes produc'd.* As to the Truth and Circumſtances of the Murder, which then made a mighty Noiſe, there gradually aroſe innumerable Conjectures, and ſeveral Murmurings and ſcandalous Reports, as if it proceeded from the Treachery and Deſigns of the Court, and not from the Earl's own Hands. And more eſpecially, becauſe the King and the Duke of *York* were at that very Day within the *Tower*, where they had not been for ſeveral Years before. But the Coroner's Inqueſt, which conſiſted of conſiderable Men, after a full Examination of the Earl's chief Servant and the Warder, unanimouſly found him a *Felo de ſe.* And I have been aſſur'd from two eminent Divines, who ſaw the Body ſoon after the Fact, that there was not the leaſt Appearance of Violence offer'd by any other Perſon, no Marks of Strugglings, nor no Signs of Villany: And that the Circumſtances appear'd ſo plain, that his Lady, his Brother Sir *Henry Capel*, and his neareſt Relations were ſatisfy'd, and acquieſc'd in the Jury's Verdict: And this they did the more readily, becauſe it was well known that the Earl us'd frequently to juſtify Self-Murder; which I have been further aſſur'd by another Divine, an Ear-Witneſs, and an intimate Aquaintance. It is very remarkable that the Fact was committed juſt by the Place where he took his laſt Leave of his Father the Lord *Capel*, when he went to his Execution, and where he had receiv'd ſo ſolemn a Charge from him to adhere to the Royal Cauſe; the Memory of which, being reviv'd by the coming of the King and Duke, from whom he had receiv'd ſo many Favours, was thought to have thrown him into this fatal Fit of Deſpair. More of this is taken Notice of in the ſecond Volume, in the latter End of 1648.

Conjectures upon it.

The Earl's Character.

As to the Character of this unfortunate Nobleman, it has been more than hinted at already, in his former Proceedings in the Privy-Council, and his warm Deſigns upon the Lieutenancy, and more abſolute Government of *Ireland*, the obtaining of which he had been promis'd by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. He was a Man of conſiderable Parts and Abilities, and had ſeveral valuable Qualities, as Generoſity and Bravery, and great Marks of Honour and moral Honeſty, tho' not without ſuch a Mixture of Cunning as could not be approv'd of by Sir *William Temple*: But as to Religious Principles, we are aſſured from ſuch as beſt knew him, that he had not any great Belief of the Truth of the Goſpel; and that he had too much of a reſtleſs and aſpiring Temper; and tho' he had receiv'd ſeveral Favours from the Crown, yet he had met with ſome Diſappointments which he knew not well how to bear; which drove him into new Methods, to extol the Dignity of Parliaments, to affect Popularity, and to aſſume the ſpecious Name of a Patriot.

The King affected.

It is certain that the King was moſt ſenſibly affected at the firſt Account of this tragical Accident, and with a Sigh ſaid, *My Lord of* Eſſex *needed not to have deſpair'd of Mercy, for I ow'd him a Life.* And he afterwards declar'd thus in Print, 'As for the deplorable End of the ſaid Earl, his Majeſty freely owns, there was no Man in his Dominions more deeply afflicted with it than himſelf; his Majeſty having been thereby depriv'd of an extraordinary Opportunity to exerciſe his Royal Clemency, and to teſtify to all his Loyal Subjects and Old Friends, how highly he valu'd the Memory and Sufferings of the Lord *Capel*.' Accordingly, when the Earl's Son, a young Lad, was brought or appear'd before him, his Majeſty receiv'd him with peculiar Tenderneſs and Good-Nature, and adviſ'd him, *To preſerve the Principles, and follow the Example of his Glorious Grand-Father.*

Since the Manner of the Earl's Death has been made a Queſtion, I here ſubjoyn an Extract of two Letters ſent me in the Months of *September* and *October* 1719, from a Perſon of full Credit and Worth, who had the trueſt Honour and Reſpect for that noble Lord, which ſays:

A further Account of his Death.

'I was then one of the Family of that very worthy but unhappy Earl of *Eſſex*, who dy'd in the *Tower* by his own Hands, &c. He was really an excellent Perſon, but happen'd by Lyes and falſe Suggeſtions to be exaſperated againſt the King by a very ill-deſigning Man [the Earl of *Shaftsbury*.] There were two or three Pamphlets publiſh'd, eſpecially one large One by *Speke* and *Braddon*, to prove that he was murder'd in the *Tower*; but I do believe, and I think I am ſure as I can be of a Thing I did not ſee, that the Earl, in a ſudden Tranſport of Paſſion, was the Author of his own Death. As ſoon as his Lady the Counteſs heard there was a Report of his being murder'd, (for none of the Pamphlets were then publiſh'd) about four Days after his Death, ſhe ſent Me with Letters to the Earl of *Clarendon*, who marry'd the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Siſter, to Sir *Henry Capel*, afterwards Lord *Capel*, the Earl's only Brother, and to Dr. *Walter Needham*, their Phyſician and Friend, and deſired and impower'd us Four to take all Care we cou'd, and to ſpare no Charge, to enquire fully into that Matter. Accordingly we Four met at *Eſſex-Houſe* in St. *James's Square*, and ſent for the Coroner, and ſeveral of the Jury; and I my ſelf went to the *Tower*, to ſee the Room, and to conſider how what they ſaid correſponded; and I muſt truly ſay that every one of us was fully ſatisfy'd *That it cou'd be done by no Body but by Himſelf.* And ſo I dare ſay was the Counteſs ſatisfy'd, and ſo was Dr. *Burnet*, tho' He was the Perſon who gave the Counteſs the firſt Notice of the Report of his being murder'd, which gave Beginning to the Enquiry.--- We all Four lov'd and honour'd him ſo entirely, that if we had found any juſt Ground of thinking otherwiſe, we ſhou'd not have conceal'd it.------I cou'd ſay Abundance more, if I had Time; and if you ſhou'd be at *London* in *November*, I ſhall be glad to ſee you.----- Be ſure not to miſdate the Time of his Death, as ſome have done: The Earl was by an Order of Council ſeiz'd at *Chaſhiobury* on *Monday* Afternoon, *July* 9th. He was brought to *White-Hall* that Night, and lodg'd in the Lord *Feverſham*'s Lodgings. On *Tueſday*, *July* 10th, he was ſent to the *Tower*. On *Friday* Morning next, *July* 13th, he dy'd about Eight a Clock, juſt after the Lord *Ruſſel* was carry'd out of the *Tower* to be try'd by Means of the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, whom the Earl of *Eſſex*, againſt Lord *Ruſſel*'s Mind, had brought into their Acquaintance.------- I aſſure you the moſt ſolemnly that can be, that what I ſay is true, according to the beſt of my Judgment.

To all which may be added, by Way of Circumſtance, what the Warder declar'd to another ſure Hand, That when the Lord *Ruſſel* was going to his Tryal, the Earl look'd out of his Window and *wiſh'd his Lordſhip good Succeſs*; at which Time the Warder ſaw the very Razor in the Earl's own Hand, ſeeming to uſe it as a Pen-Knife for his Nails. More Circumſtances might be produc'd, which were before hinted at, but enough of this Subject.

Rouſe's *Tryal.*

5. To return to the Tryals: The fourth Perſon brought before the Judges at the *Old-Bayly*, was *John Rouſe*, a Perſon formerly mention'd, a noted Incendiary in the City of *London*, who having been Indicted for Treaſonable Words, eſcap'd Puniſhment by an *Ignoramus* Jury. The Subſtance of the Accuſation againſt him at this Time, was,

Lea.

1. *Thomas Lea* ſwore, 'That the ſaid *Rouſe* undertook to provide a Hundred Arms for the City-Diviſions: That he ſaid, *Nothing could be done unleſs the King were ſeiz'd*; adding, *We remember Forty One, when the King went and ſet up his Standard*; *therefore we will ſeize them, that they ſhall not ſet up their Standard.* That he propos'd to have a Ball play'd on *Black-Heath*; to that End ſome Sea-Captains muſt be ſpoken to, he promis'd to ſpeak to Ten: That when the Ball ſhould be won, every Captain might take his Party, and tell them they had other Work, and then go with long Boats and Arms to ſeize the *Tower*: That the Priſoner had ſeveral ſuch Diſcourſes, and went divers Times to view the *Tower* to that End: That after the Diſcovery, he ſaid to *Goodenough* and *Nelthorp*, *Be not diſcourag'd, but let the Buſineſs go on*; that he ſaid, *Take off the King and the Duke, and then no Man can have Commiſſion to fight for them*: That he alſo affirm'd, *He was under an Oath of Secrecy, never to truſt but one at a Time with the Deſign.*'

Leigh.

2. *William Leigh* Mate ſwore, 'That the ſaid *Rouſe* further endeavour'd to get Sea-Men to ſeize on, and command ſome of the King's Ships, lying as Guard-Ships at *Woolwich* and *Deptford*: That being ask'd, *What he would do with Ships without Powder and Shot, with which they could not be provided without ſurpriſing the* Tower? He reply'd, *We muſt ſecure the* Tower *and* White-Hall *both, or we can do nothing.*

And Corbin.

Beſides theſe Two, to prove the ſaid *Rouſe*'s former Trayterous Temper of Mind, Mr. *Corbin*, who had ſworn before the *Ignoramus* Jury, now teſtify'd, 'That upon ſome Diſcourſe concerning the Parliament at *Oxford*, the Priſoner ſaid, *He foreſaw it would be a ſhort Seſſions, but that theſe frequent* Prorogations *and* Diſſolutions *would not avail him: For whatever the King has, the Parliament gave him, and they may take it away when they pleaſe: That the King had forfeited his Crown, and had no more Right to it than he had.*'

His Defence and Condemnation.

Againſt this, all the Defence *Rouſe* made was, 'That the Words atteſted by *Corbin*, were ſpoken upon a Suppoſition of the Pope's Power over Princes: That as for *William Leigh* he had nothing to ſay againſt him, but hop'd he was an Honeſt Man; and for *Thomas Lea*, Himſelf firſt began thoſe Treaſonable Diſcourſes, which *Rouſe* intended to have reveal'd, had not the other got the Start of him.' But this being only ſupported by his ſingle Affirmation without one Witneſs to ſtrengthen it, the Jury preſently brought him in Guilty of High-Treaſon.

Blague's *Tryal and Acquittal.*

At the ſame Time and Place was try'd Mr. *William Blague*, a Sea-Captain, for being concern'd in the ſame Deſign of Seizing the *Tower*, &c. together with *John Rouſe*; but the Evidence againſt him being imperfect, with reſpect to High-Treaſon, and ſome Circumſtances appearing in his Favour, the Jury brought him in Not Guilty.

The Executions of Walcot, Hone, *and* Rouſe.

6. About a Week after the Tryals, on the 20th of *July*, the three ordinary Criminals, *Walcot*, *Hone* and *Rouſe*, were drawn upon Sledges to their Execution at *Tyburn*, where they all had Speeches, Confeſſions and Prayers; being attended, beſides the Sheriffs, by Dr. *Cartwright* Dean of *Ripon*, and Mr. *Smith* Ordinary of *Newgate*. *Walcot* acknowledg'd 'what he had told the King, and writ to the Secretary of State, *That the Buſineſs was laid very deep*; and he ſaid, An Act of Indulgence would do well, *becauſe the King had a great many Men to take Judgment of.* He ſaid he did not blame the Judges, nor the Jury, nor the King's Council, but ſome Men that came as Witneſſes againſt him, who were deeper concern'd, and more engag'd than Himſelf. He perſiſted, he was to have had no Hand in the King's Death, tho' he confeſs'd it was propos'd when he was preſent, therefore the King might juſtly make him ſuffer. He declar'd he did not know that this Conſpiracy was older than laſt *Auguſt* or *September*; but ſo old he own'd it was.' The next was *Hone*, who more expreſly own'd himſelf Guilty of the Crime for which he ſtood condemn'd, according to the Laws of God and Man. He again alledg'd that he was drawn in; and confeſs'd he did ſay, *He was for Killing the King, and Saving the Duke of* York: ' And in his Prayer he particularly begg'd Pardon for that Sin. Laſtly, *Rouſe*, among other

Things ingenuouſly confeſs'd ‘ He had deſerv'd the Sentence paſs'd againſt him; that he had heard and underſtood too much in ſeveral Kinds of Meetings, eſpecially of ſome, who tho' they call'd themſelves *True Proteſtants*, were *Ten thouſand Times worſe than any others.*' In his Prayer he has theſe Words; *Dwell and reign in the Heart of the King, give him a Long, Proſperous and Happy Reign.-----Bleſs him in his Royal Family and Relations, in his Royal Brother.------Give Loyalty towards our dread Sovereign, who is a merciful and gracious Prince, whom thou haſt ſet as thy Vicegerent to reign over us.------We muſt needs acknowledge and ſmite upon our Thighs, that we in Juſtice are brought hither; That we have nothing to do, but to condemn our ſelves, and juſtify the Juſtice of the Land, and to pray to God to bleſs his Majeſty to Reign in theſe Nations, and thoſe that ſhall ſucceed him upon the Throne.*

Attempts made to ſave the Lord Ruſſel.

Theſe Executions were the next Day ſucceeded by that of the Lord *Ruſſel*, whoſe Caſe was pity'd, and whoſe Perſon was admired to a very high Degree; and having many great and rich Friends, ſeveral Attempts were made, as well for his Eſcape, as his Pardon. For the obtaining of the latter, we are aſſured that his Father offer'd his Majeſty no leſs than a Hundred thouſand Pounds for his Life, a Sum very Tempting at this Seaſon; but the Neceſſity of the Times, and the Influence of the Duke of *York*, are thought to be the main Reaſons why the King prov'd Inexorable. Upon which, a Petition was drawn up for Six Weeks Reprieve, which was preſented by the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Wife; and tho' carry'd by ſo excellent a Lady, and Daughter to the King's greateſt Friend, the Earl of *Southampton*, it was rejected: And it is ſaid the King's Reply was, *Shall I grant that Man Six Weeks, who, if it had been in his Power, would not have granted me Six Hours?* The Petition for his being Beheaded was readily granted; but, as we are told, with a ſarcaſtical Glance at the Lord *Stafford*'s Caſe; the King ſaying, *My Lord* Ruſſel *ſhall ſee That I have a Power of Changing his Sentence.* As to the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Eſcape, it was particularly projected by his intimate Friend the Lord *Cavendiſh*, who was willing to run any Hazard to ſerve him; and therefore being about the ſame Size, tho' of no Reſemblance in Faces, he ſent a Meſſage to him by Sir *James Forbes*, that he would come and change Cloaths with him in Priſon, and try if by ſuch a Diſguiſe he could make his Eſcape. But the Lord *Ruſſel* was too generous to throw his Friend into ſuch imminent Danger at this Time; therefore he declined the obliging Offer, and ſeem'd to have no other Thoughts but to prepare himſelf for Death.

He prepares for Death.

In which Preparation he met with no common Difficulties from the two celebrated Divines attending him, Dr. *Tillotſon* and Dr. *Burnet*, who much endeavour'd to ſettle his Belief of the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance*, as it was taught in general Terms, about which his Lordſhip was of a different Opinion from them. He thought ‘ That a viſible Deſign to bring in *Popery* and Arbitrary Power, which he took to be the preſent Caſe, was ſufficient to juſtify Reſiſtance.' But they told him, ‘ That remote Fears and Conſequences, together with Illegal Practices, were not ſufficient in that Caſe; but ſtill the Laws of God and the Land did bind Subjects to Submiſſion.' He alledg'd, ‘ That upon that Hypotheſis, he did not ſee a Difference between a Legal and a *Turkiſh* Conſtitution.' But they anſwer'd, ‘ That a *Total Subverſion* alter'd the Caſe; and then the King's Authority would come under ſuch a *Suſpenſion* as might give Liberty to his Subjects to *Save* themſelves.' After ſome Strugglings, his Lordſhip ſeem'd ſatisfy'd for a while, but Dr. *Tillotſon* having Reaſon to think otherwiſe, wrote him a remarkable Letter the Day before his Execution, which is here inſerted, eſpecially becauſe it ſo fully gives the general Reaſons and Grounds for *Paſſive Obedience*, which Doctrine was now in its Height, and embrac'd by Men of all Profeſſions. The Letter will admit of no Abridgment, and is as follows:

Dr. Tillotſon*'s Letter to him.*

‘ *My Lord*, I was heartily glad to ſee your Lordſhip
‘ this Morning in that calm and devout Temper at the
‘ Receiving of the *Bleſſed Sacrament*; but Peace of Mind,
‘ unleſs it be well grounded, will avail little: And becauſe
‘ tranſient Diſcourſe many Times hath little Effect for
‘ want of Time to weigh and conſider it, therefore in ten-
‘ der Compaſſion to your Lordſhip's Caſe, and from all
‘ the Good-Will that one Man can bear to another, I do
‘ humbly offer to your Lordſhip's deliberate Thoughts
‘ theſe following Conſiderations concerning the Points of
‘ *Reſiſtance*; if our Religion and Rights ſhould be invad-
‘ ed, as your Lordſhip puts the Caſe, concerning which I
‘ underſtand by Dr. *Burnet*, that your Lordſhip had once
‘ receiv'd Satisfaction, and am ſorry to find a Change.
1. ‘ I. That the Chriſtian Religion doth plainly forbid the
2. ‘ Reſiſtance of Authority. II. That tho' our Religion
‘ be eſtabliſh'd by Law (which your Lordſhip urges as a
‘ Difference between our Caſe, and that of the Primitive
‘ Chriſtians) yet in the ſame Law which Eſtabliſhes our
‘ Religion, it is Declared, *That it is not Lawful upon any*
‘ *Pretence whatſoever to take up Arms*, &c. Beſides that,
‘ there is a particular Law Declaring the *Power of the*
‘ *Militia to be ſolely in the King.* And that ties the
‘ Hands of Subjects, tho' the Law of Nature and the
‘ general Rules of Scripture had left us at Liberty; which
‘ I believe they do not, becauſe the Government and
‘ Peace of Human Society could not well ſubſiſt upon
‘ theſe Terms. III. Your Lordſhip's Opinion is contrary 3.
‘ to the Declared Doctrine of all *Proteſtant Churches*;
‘ and tho' ſome particular Perſons have taught otherwiſe,
‘ yet they have been contradicted herein and condemned
‘ for it by the Generality of *Proteſtants.* And I beg your
‘ Lordſhip to conſider how it will agree with an Avow'd
‘ Aſſerting of the *Proteſtant Religion*, to go contrary to
‘ the general Doctrine of *Proteſtants.* My End in this is
‘ to convince your Lordſhip that you are in a very Great
‘ and Dangerous Miſtake, and being ſo convinc'd, that
‘ which before was a Sin of Ignorance, will appear of a
‘ much more heinous Nature, as in Truth it is, and call
‘ for a very particular and deep Repentance; which if
‘ your Lordſhip ſincerely exerciſe upon the Sight of your
‘ Error, by a penitent Acknowledgment of it to God and
‘ Men, you will not only obtain Forgiveneſs of God, but
‘ prevent a mighty Scandal to the *Reform'd Religion.* I
‘ am very loath to give your Lordſhip any Diſquiet in the
‘ Diſtreſs you are in, which I commiſerate from my
‘ Heart, but am much more concern'd that you do not
‘ leave the World in a Deluſion and Falſe Peace, to the
‘ Hindrance of your Eternal Happineſs. I heartily pray
‘ for you, and beſeech your Lordſhip to believe that I am,
‘ with the greateſt Sincerity and Compaſſion in the World,
‘ *My Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt faithful and afflicted Ser-*
‘ *vant.*

He goes to his Execution.

It does not appear what Effect this Letter had upon his Lordſhip: The next Day being *Saturday* the 21ſt of *July*, having taken his laſt leave of his ſorrowful Lady, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, and ſeveral others of his Friends at *Newgate*, his Lordſhip took Coach with Dr. *Tillotſon* and Dr. *Burnet*, who accompany'd him to the Scaffold erected in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*; where ten Companies of the King's Guards, and a Troop of Horſe, were ready drawn up to ſecure the Peace againſt ſo mighty and vaſt a Concourſe of People, that appear'd there on that melancholy Occaſion; and where there were ſo many weeping Eyes and bleeding Hearts. Having mounted the Scaffold cover'd with Mourning, his Lordſhip gracefully bow'd to thoſe that were preſent, and after a ſhort Pauſe, he told the Sheriff, *That he expected the Noiſe would be ſuch that he ſhould not be heard, and therefore he had ſet down in Writing what he thought fit to leave behind him*; *proteſting his Innocence of any Deſign againſt the King's Perſon, or of altering the Government.* He then told the Sheriff he had been informed, *That Captain* Walcot *had ſpoken ſome Things concerning his Knowledge of the Plot*, and deſir'd to know whether the Report were true. The Sheriff anſwer'd, *That he did not hear him ſo much as name his Lordſhip.* The Other reply'd, *He hop'd he did not, for to his Knowledge, he had never ſeen or ſpoken with him in his Life*; and then *in the Words of a dying Man, he profeſs'd, he knew Nothing of a Plot, either againſt the King's Life or Government: But that he had done with the World as going to a better, that he had forgiven all the World heartily, and thank'd God he dy'd in Charity with all Men: He wiſh'd all the* Proteſtants *might love one another, and not make way for* Popery *by their Animoſities.* Then Kneeling, his Lordſhip pray'd to Himſelf, after which Dr. *Tillotſon* kneel'd down and pray'd with him, and then he pray'd a Second Time by himſelf; which done, he embrac'd the two Divines, and made himſelf ready: And ordering the Executioner, after he had lain down a ſmall Moment, to do his Office without a Sign, he laid himſelf down upon the Block. The Executioner miſſing his firſt Stroke, tho' with that he took away Life, at two more he ſever'd his Head from his Body; which were order'd by the Sheriff to be deliver'd to his Friends and Servants, as being given them by his Majeſty's Favour and Bounty.

His Speech;

And Death;

The Paper he left behind him.

The Paper he left in the Sheriff's Hands was very long, and made a great Noiſe: The Subſtance of it was; ‘ Firſt he bleſs'd God, that he was born of worthy good Parents, and had had the Advantage of a *Religious Education*, which for many Years had ſo influenc'd and poſſeſs'd him, that he felt the Effects of it in his preſent Extremity: That as he had liv'd, ſo he dy'd a true and ſincere *Proteſtant*, and in the Communion of the Church of *England*, tho' he cou'd never yet comply with, or riſe up to all the Heights of ſome People: That he had always lov'd his Country much more than his Life, and never had any Deſign of *Changing the Government*, which

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‘he valu'd and look'd upon as one of the beſt Governments in the World, and wou'd have ſuffer'd any Extremity, rather than conſented to any Deſign to take away the King's Life. That for the King he wiſh'd him well, and ſincerely pray'd for him; That the *Proteſtant* Religion, the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom might flouriſh under his Government, and that he in his Perſon might be happy both here and hereafter. That as for the Share which he had in the Proſecution of the *Popiſh* Plot, he proceeded in it in the Sincerity of his Heart; being fully convinc'd, That there was a Conſpiracy againſt the King, the Nation, and the *Proteſtant* Religion. That as for his preſent Condition, he had no Repinings in his Heart at it; and that he freely forgave the World, and thoſe concern'd in taking away his Life, conjuring his Friends never to think of Revenge. He deny'd that he was privy to the Undertaking of ſeizing the Guards; but own'd that there was ſome Diſcourſe at Mr. *Shepard*'s, about the *Feaſibleneſs* of it; and ſeveral Times by Accident, in general Diſcourſe elſewhere, he had heard it mention'd, as a Thing might eaſily be done, but never conſented to it as fit to be done; and particularly, at the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s he flew out and exclaim'd againſt it. He further own'd, That at Mr. *Shepard*'s there were ſome Things ſaid with *more Heat than Judgment*, which he did ſufficiently diſapprove, yet for theſe he ſtood condemn'd; but he thank'd God, his Part was ſincere and well meant. How much he was acquainted with theſe ill Deſigns, was but *Miſpriſion* at moſt; and ſo he dy'd Innocent of the Crime he ſtood condemn'd for. He thought it a ſtrange Fetch, *That the Deſign of Seizing the Guards, ſhou'd be conſtru'd a Deſign of Killing the King.* Towards the Concluſion, to ſum up all, he declar'd, as he never had any Deſign againſt the King's Life, or the Life of any Man whatſoever, ſo he never was in any Contrivance of Altering the Government; he cou'd not repreſs the Heats and Wickedneſſes of other Men, tho' he now ſuffer'd for them.

Cenſures upon it and Him.

This Paper had no ſooner appear'd in Publick, but it was follow'd by as many ſevere Animadverſions and uncharitable Reflections, as had formerly happen'd to the Speeches of the Five Jeſuits, and others that ſuffer'd in the *Popiſh* Plot; and moſt were ready to think it was drawn up with more Art than was agreeable to his Lordſhip's known Simplicity and Sincerity, therefore Others were ſuſpected to have the Wording of it. Dr. *Sprat* charg'd it with being full of *Enormous Falſhoods*; tho' afterwards he was better ſatisfy'd. Others ſaid, ‘he confeſs'd enough to ſhew his *Crime*, but not his *Repentance*; and condemn him for in effect acknowledging the *Miſpriſion*, without teſtifying the leaſt Sorrow for that Crime.’ The moſt that was ſaid for his Lordſhip's Integrity was, That ſo far as he was concern'd, which was ſtill leſs than the reſt, he acted according to *Principle*, and did really believe, at that Time at leaſt, ‘That it was lawful for Subjects to procure by Force from their Princes, ſome Things they judg'd neceſſary for the Preſervation of their *Civil*, or *Religious* Rights; provided they did not alter the Government, and in the doing thereof, their Parts were ſincere and well meant.’ However it was, it cannot be deny'd but that he had hard Uſage, both at and after his Tryal; and that he did not die ſo much for his late Actions, as for thoſe of his Family, and his former Eagerneſs for the Excluſion-Bill, &c. which rais'd him to ſuch a Degree of Popularity as made him look'd upon as a dangerous Man. But the more we conſider his Hardſhips, the more we are to think upon the Judgments of Heaven: For whatever may be ſaid in Favour of his Standing up for the Liberties of his Country, he can hardly be clear'd from Seeking after the Blood of others, eſpecially the Lord *Stafford*, againſt whom his Zeal tranſported him ſo far, that he was one of thoſe who with *Bethel*, *Corniſh*, &c. queſtion'd the King's Power in allowing that Lord to be only Beheaded: An Indication of a Zeal that in a good Man, may eaſily get the Better of Knowledge; and what in a juſt Man may ſoon over-run the bare Intention of doing Juſtice to the Publick.

A further Narrative concerning that Lord.

Since the Firſt Edition of this Volume I obtain'd a Narrative from a great Man, taken from Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s own Mouth, which I thought beſt to be plac'd by it ſelf. It informs us, That about two Days before the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Death, Dr. *Tillotſon* going to attend upon that unfortunate Lord, was ſuddenly ſtopt by Dr. *Burnet* in the Street, who told him ‘They had now ſome good Hope of ſaving his Lordſhip's Life: The main Impediment of which being his avow'd Principle, *That Reſiſtance was in ſome Caſes lawful*, he had convinc'd that Lord of his Miſtake, and that he was ready to own his Error in it. Therefore he deſir'd Dr. *Tillotſon* to go immediately to the Lord *Hallifax* and acquaint him with it; who wou'd thereupon go again to the King, and uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to obtain his Pardon.’ This being preſs'd with ſome Warmth and Vehemence, Dr. *Tillotſon* went accordingly, and deliver'd his Meſſage to the Lord *Hallifax*. But calling upon the Lord *Ruſſel* in *Newgate* upon his Return, he was very much ſurpris'd and troubled to find that his Lordſhip was under no ſuch Conviction as Dr. *Burnet* had haſtily believ'd, and reported him to be.

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Dr. *Tillotſon*, vex'd and uneaſy at what he had done, and willing to clear himſelf of it after the beſt Manner, reſolv'd the next Day to try what he cou'd do to bring his Lordſhip to ſome Change in his Opinion. But it being the laſt Day before his appointed Execution, and not knowing whether he ſhou'd be able to ſee him alone, he wrote the Letter, which was ſoon after printed; and took it in his Pocket; reſolving if he cou'd not diſcourſe with him, to deſire him to read, and conſider the Letter he ſhou'd give to him.

He found his Lordſhip alone, told him what he had done, and gave the Letter to him, who read it with great Deliberation; and acknowledg'd to him *That he had therein offer'd more to convince him, than he had ever met with before: That he was now ſatisfy'd nothing but a Caſe of a very Extraordinary Nature cou'd juſtify Subjects in taking up Arms againſt their Prince: That he was fully of Opinion no ſuch Cauſe had been given by the King, to juſtify any ſuch Attempt againſt him. But ſtill he thought ſuch Circumſtances there might be, in which it wou'd be lawful for them to reſiſt.* Being ask'd by the Doctor *What thoſe Caſes were*, he anſwer'd, *He had not conſider'd the Matter ſo far and fully; and he had other Things more proper to be thought on at that Time.*

On that ſame Evening Dean *Tillotſon* waited again upon the Lord *Hallifax*, to account to him what Miſtake he had been led into, and what he had done upon it: And the better to juſtify himſelf, ſhew'd him the very Letter he had written to the Lord *Ruſſel*. While that Lord was reading it, Sir *Thomas Clarges* came in; and after a little Time the Dean took leave, my Lord *Hallifax* putting the Letter into his Pocket, and promiſing to be anſwerable for it. But in the mean Time Sir *Thomas* not only found Opportunity to read it, but to take a Copy of it; and from that Copy (and I think by his Means) it was very ſoon after printed.

On the Evening of the next Day, when the Lord *Ruſſel* was executed, Dean *Tillotſon* was ſent for to the Cabinet Council, and carefully examin'd touching that Lord's Behaviour before and at his Death. The King particularly commended the Dean's Letter, and wonder'd *What cou'd be ſaid to it.* He told his Majeſty the Lord's Opinion, *That ſuch Circumſtances there might be, in which it wou'd be lawful to reſiſt*; and further intimated as tho' it was his own, *That it was not impoſſible to find out a Caſe of Exception, tho' he wou'd not preſently pretend to ſpecify it.* The Duke of *York*, who was willing to believe there were none, with ſome Warmth urg'd him to *name the Caſe.* And not being Satisfy'd, the King more mildly ſaid, *Brother, the Dean ſpeaks like an honeſt Man, preſs him no further.* After which he told his Majeſty, That the Lord *Ruſſel* had declar'd to him *That he was perſuaded the King had never done any Thing to juſtify any One in rebelling againſt him: That he had never any ſuch Thought himſelf, and kept Company with theſe unhappy Men, only to preſerve the Duke of* Monmouth *from being led into any raſh Undertakings by them, and more particularly the Earl of* Shaftsbury. Being then ask'd, *Why the Lord* Ruſſel *did not diſcover their Deſigns to the King?* His Anſwer was, That that Lord had ſaid, *He cou'd not betray his Friends, nor turn Informer againſt them, while he ſaw there was no Danger: But if Things had come to a* Criſis, *he wou'd have contriv'd ſome Notice to have been given the King of it; and in Caſe of Violence, wou'd himſelf have been ready to oppoſe them with his Sword in his Hand.*

The King himſelf confirm'd the Truth of the greateſt Part of this Account, and in concluſion ſaid, *JAMES* (meaning the Duke of *Monmouth*) *has told me the ſame Thing.*

III. I. The ill Succeſs of the *Whig* Party, and the general Belief of the new Conſpiracy, made the *Tories* ride in Triumph this Year, and occaſion'd the Straining, and perhaps not ſufficiently Explaining the Points of *Prerogative* and *Subjection*: They now alledg'd ‘That the Diſcovery of the Plot had decided the Argument, and had ſhewn the neceſſity of *Paſſive Obedience*;’ and accordingly it ſeem'd equally eſpous'd by the Court, the Pulpit, the Bench and the Bar; and, beſides the Arguments brought from the Laws of God, and thoſe of the Land, the Humour of the People carry'd it to that Height, that

The Oxford *Decree.*

it was dangerous, or at leaſt unfaſhionable, to oppoſe it. Under the Impulſe of this increaſing Zeal, the Univerſity of *Oxford* made a ſolemn Decree, which paſs'd in the Convocation there, on the ſame Day of the Execution of the Lord *Ruſſel*, and preſented it to the King under this Title, *The Judgment and Decree of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *Paſs'd in their Convocation, on* July 21, 1683, *againſt certain pernicious Books, and damnable Doctrines, deſtructive to the Sacred Perſons of Princes, their State and Government, and of all Human Society.* In which Decree they formally condemn'd twenty ſeven Propoſitions, collected out of ſeveral Modern Authors, as *Buchanan*, *Bellarmine*, *Milton*, *Dolman*, *Hobbs*, *Goodwin*, *Owen*, *Baxter*, *Jenkins*, *Goodman*, *Julian*, *Proteſtant Reconciler*, &c. Which Propoſitions they declar'd to be ‘False, Seditious and Impious; and moſt of them Heretical and Blaſphemous, Infamous to Chriſtian Religion, and Deſtructive of all Government both in Church and State.’ And the Books from whence they were taken were at the ſame Time order'd to be burnt, in the publick Court of the *Schools*.

The King's Declaration.

Great Rejoycings.

This was a very acceptable Preſent to the King, tho' it arriv'd at a Time when he was well nigh ſatiated with the Multitude of Addreſſes, which this Summer came crouding in upon him from all Parts of his Dominions. However, to add to the general Exultation, his Majeſty publiſh'd his *Declaration to all his Loving Subjects*, dated *July* 28th, whereby was ſet forth a ſmooth Narrative of the Treaſonable Conſpiracy, as it had been lately diſcover'd by the Oaths of ſome, and the Confeſſion of others of the Accomplices; for which happy Diſcovery, his Majeſty appointed by the ſaid *Declaration* a Solemn Day of Thankſgiving to Almighty God, to be celebrated throughout the Kingdom, on *Sunday* the 9th of *September* next: And that the ſaid *Declaration* be publickly read in all Churches, as well on *Sunday* the 2d Day of *September*, as on the Day of Thankſgiving aforeſaid. This Day was ſolemniz'd after a moſt extraordinary Manner, and with mighty Pomp and Magnificence, in all Parts of the Nation; and there was hardly a little Pariſh in *England* that was not at a conſiderable Expence to teſtify their great Joy and Satisfaction. And it is obſervable what a Popiſh Writer ſays; Nor were thoſe of the Communion of the Church of *Rome* unmindful of this Deliverance, but did alſo concur with his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects in Expreſſing their Loyal Joy on the ſame Occaſion, and on the ſame 9th of *September* did Celebrate in all their publick Chappels at *London* an Extraordinary Service on that Account.

The Marriage of the Lady Anne *with Prince* George.

To add further to the Joy of the Time, the King join'd in a popular Act, and highly acceptable to his Subjects, and that was the Marriage of his Neice the Lady *Anne*, ſecond Daughter of the Duke of *York*, to Prince *George* Brother to the King of *Denmark*; a Proteſtant Prince, who arriv'd at *White-Hall* about ten Days before the Match was determin'd. The Ceremony of it was perform'd upon *Saturday* the 28th of *July*, being St. *Anne*'s Day, about Ten in the Evening, by the Biſhop of *London*, in the Preſence of King, Queen, Duke and Dutcheſs, and moſt of the great Perſonages of the Court. All that Night, and the next, the Bells, Bonefires, *&c.* proclaim'd the Publick Joy. And immediately after the happy Pair receiv'd the Compliments and Congratulations of all the Foreign Ambaſſadors and Publick Miniſters then in Town; and alſo of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, in their greateſt Splendor. It is remarkable, that the King, whoſe Heart in Point of Religion was more at *Rome* than any other Place, ſhou'd take Care that his two Neices ſhou'd be ſtrictly bred up in the Religion of the Church of *England*, and both marry'd into *Proteſtant* Families, even againſt the Inclination, and the Deſign and Intereſt of their own Father; for the former of which the then Biſhop of *London*'s Memory is ever to be celebrated; and for the Latter (ſo far as it relates to the Eldeſt) that of the Earl of *Danby* and Sir *William Temple* is never to be forgotten.

Election of Sheriffs, &c.

2. To proceed to the Affairs of the City of *London*, where the Struggles formerly had been greater than in any Parts of the Kingdom, the Day for Election of Sheriffs for that City and *Middleſex*, which of Courſe is on the 24th of *June*, was this Year adjourn'd to the 5th Day of *September*; on which Day the Livery-Men of the City being aſſembled at *Guild-Hall*, they confirmed the Lord Mayor's Choice of *Peter Daniel* Eſquire, and choſe *Samuel Daſhwood* Eſquire to ſerve with him, as Sheriff for the Year enſuing. At the ſame Time, Mr. Deputy *Ailworth* was choſen into the Office of Chamberlain of the City of *London* in the Room of Sir *Thomas Player*, Remov'd. All which, with the other Elections of *Bridge-Maſter*, and *Ale-Conner*, are obſerv'd to have been perform'd with the ancient Gravity and Moderation, and no ways with ſuch Riotous and Factious Heats and Animoſities as of late Years. Shortly after, on *Michaelmas* Day, the uſual Time for the Election of a new Lord Mayor, the Choice was adjourn'd over for Six Days longer; but before that Day came, the King, taking Advantage at the Delays of the City's not ſigning the Particulars, relating to the Charter, formerly yielded, caus'd the Attorney-General to enter Judgment of Seizure in the *Quo Warranto*, which was actually done upon the 4th of *October*: And thereupon his Majeſty gave his Commiſſion to Sir *William Prichard*, the preſent Lord Mayor, to execute the ſaid Office during Pleaſure; and the ſame to the two new Sheriffs, *Daniel* and *Daſhwood*, who all took the uſual Oaths. At the ſame Time Mr. *Jenner* of the *Inner-Temple* was Knighted by the Name of Sir *Thomas Jenner*, and made the King's Recorder of *London*, in the Room of the noted Sir *George Treby*, now diſplac'd.

Changes in the City.

This Point being gain'd by the King, on *Sunday* the 7th of *October*, the continuing Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs appear'd at *Guild-Hall* Chappel, as uſually in their Gowns and Chains; but ſeveral of the Loyal Aldermen attended in their ordinary Habits; ſixteen of them being made Juſtices of the Peace by the King's new Commiſſion, in which Eight Diſaffected Aldermen were left out, *viz.* *Allen*, *Frederick*, *Laurence*, *Clayton*, *Ward*, *Shorter*, *Gold* and *Corniſh*. But on the 13th of *October*, the King thought fit to ſend a new Commiſſion to the City, Impowering the aforeſaid ſixteen well affected Aldermen, together with Eight new Perſons, Sir *Benjamin Newland*, Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt*, Sir *John Buckworth*, *Samuel Daſhwood*, one of the preſent Sheriffs, *Charles Duncomb*, *Jacob Lucy*, *Peter Palavazine*, and *Benjamin Thorogood*, to act as Aldermen in their ſeveral *Wards* in the ſaid Commiſſion mention'd. And accordingly ſeveral of them attended on the Lord Mayor the Day following, being *Sunday*, at *Guild-Hall* Chappel, after the uſual Form and Manner, in Gowns and Chains, and the next they aſſembled in a Court of Aldermen, according to the ancient Cuſtom.

Sir Henry Tulſe, *Lord Mayor.*

Bonefires, &c. forbid.

Not long after, at St. *Simon* and *Jude*'s Day, the annual Solemnity of ſwearing the Lord Mayor in the *Exchequer*, his Majeſty thought fit to give a further Inſtance of his Authority, by Appointing Sir *Henry Tulſe* by his Commiſſion to execute that Office during his Pleaſure. Accordingly that Day he was after the uſual Manner attended to *Weſtminſter* by the ſeveral Companies, did the uſual Ceremonies in the *Hall*, made the uſual Cavalcade in *London*, but without Pageants, and din'd at *Grocers*-Hall; the other Companies dining without Noiſe at their ſeveral Hall as in former Years. So that now all things in the City ſeem'd to be in a quiet and eaſy Condition; only about a Week after, on the 5th of *November*, ſome Tumults and Riotous Actions were committed by the Multitude in and about the City; eſpecially upon the Sieur *Citters*, Ambaſſador from the *States* of the *United Provinces*, by aſſaulting his Coach, and throwing into it ſeveral Squibs, Stones and Firebrands, whereby his Lady, who was then with him, was dangerouſly wouded. Complaint whereof being made to the King and Council, two Days after, his Majeſty was pleas'd to publiſh an Order for the future, ‘That no Perſons whatſoever do preſume to throw any Squibs or other Fire-Works, in the Streets of *London*, or *Weſtminſter*, or other Place within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, nor Aſſemble together for the making of Bone-Fires: And the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Juſtices of the Peace in their reſpective Limits, are required to take due Care for the Performance of the ſaid Order of Council.

Proſecution of the Plot.

A Change in the Bench.

3. All this while the Proſecution of the late Conſpirators went forward with ſlow and regular Steps; and about the Beginning of *Auguſt*, in a Proclamation from the King, a Deſcription was given, and a particular Reward promis'd, for the Diſcovery of theſe Conſpirators that fled; ‘*Richard* and *Francis Goodenough*, *Richard Nelthorp*, *Nathaniel Wade*, *Joſeph Tyler*, *Stephen Lobb*, *Hugh Weſtlach*, *Edward Norton*, *John Row*, *John Ayloffe*, and *Robert Ferguſon*;’ of whom the laſt was thus remarkably deſcrib'd. ‘A Tall Lean Man, Dark-brown-Hair, a great *Roman*-Noſe, Thin-Jaw'd, Heat in his Face, ſpeaks in the *Scotch* Tone, a Sharp Piercing Eye, Stoops a little in the Shoulders; he hath a ſhuffling Gate that differs from all Men, wears his Perriwig down almoſt over his Eyes, about forty five Years of Age,’ As to thoſe accus'd Perſons they had in Poſſeſſion, the Court ſeem'd very dilatory, and it was near four Months after the Execution of the Lord *Ruſſel*, before the Chief and the Oldeſt of them, Colonel *Sidney*, was brought to his Tryal. Before which Time, there happen'd a conſiderable Change in *Weſtminſter-Hall*: the celebrated Sir *George Jeffreys* was made Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, in the Room of Sir *Edward Saunders*, deceaſed; and in the *Common-Pleas*,

Pleas, Sir *Francis Pemberton* being put out, Sir *Thomas Jones* was made Lord-Chief-Juſtice there in his Room; and Sir *Richard Holloway* was ſworn one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, in the Room of Judge *Raymond*, deceas'd.

An Account of Colonel Sidney.

All Things being prepared, on the 21ſt of *November* came on the Tryal of the honourable Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, Brother to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, a Perſon of excellent Parts, who had been deeply involv'd in the Grand Rebellion, as was formerly hinted, and nominated one of the late King's Judges: Upon the preſent King's Return, his fixt Averſion to the Reſtor'd Government was ſuch, that he wou'd not perſonally accept of the Oblivion and Indemnity then generally granted to the whole Nation; but he became a voluntary Exile for many Years, till about 1677 he came again into *England*, and by the King's ſpecial Grace obtain'd a particular Pardon, upon repeated Promiſes of conſtant Quiet and Obedience for the time to come. So that upon this new Accuſation againſt him, he was not to expect any Favour; nor indeed did he meet with any. He was brought before the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, and other Judges, at the *King's-Bench* Bar: The Indictment, at the Time he came to the Hall, was ſo far from being Found by the Grand-Jury, that it was not ſo much as Preſented to them; but the King's Council, who had packt that Jury, as *Hawles* tells us, knew it wou'd be Accepted and Found upon Sight, which was accordingly done, and the Colonel Arraign'd. He was Indicted ‘for deſigning to depoſe the King, and being one of the Great Council of Six; for ſending *Aaron Smith* into *Scotland*; and for Writing a moſt Treaſonable Libel againſt the Government, which was found in his Cloſet, on the Table, when his Papers were ſeiz'd.' He ſtruggled hard to quaſh this Indictment, as conſiſting of different and diſtinct Accuſations; but he was told by the Court that he muſt plead over or Demurr, which laſt was at his Peril, and upon no other Terms Exceptions cou'd, or ought to be Admitted; after which he Pleaded Not Guilty. His Arraignment was upon the 7th, but his Tryal did not come on till the foremention'd 21ſt of *November*; a critical Time, when the Duke of *Monmouth* was then making his Peace with the King.

His Tryal.

The Lord Howard's *Evidence.*

The Tryal began with the Evidences of *Weſt*, *Romſey* and *Keeling*, who gave a particular Account of the Plot, but ſaid nothing directly againſt the Priſoner himſelf, who complain'd of it as a great Hardſhip, as prepoſſeſſing the Jury: But the Court anſwer'd him with an unlucky Retort, That it had been practis'd in all the Tryals in the *Popiſh* Plot, and particularly by Sir *William Jones*, a Perſon unexceptionable to the Priſoner. The only direct and living Witneſs againſt him was the Lord *Howard*, who as to the Council of Six, and the Colonel's being one of them, depos'd to the ſame Senſe as he had done at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Tryal; adding now one Particular, which more eſpecially affected him, ‘That the ſaid Colonel, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Deponent were the firſt Movers of Erecting that Council; the Duke of *Monmouth* ingaging to incline the Lord *Ruſſel* to it, and Colonel *Sidney* promiſing for the Earl of *Eſſex* and Mr. *Hambden*. At their firſt Meeting at Mr. *Hambden*'s in *January*, he ſaid it was chiefly debated how to make a Coalition of Councils between them and *Scotland*; That it was propos'd that ſome fit Perſon ſhou'd be thought on to ſend thither to unite them and the *Engliſh* Conſpirators into one Senſe and Care. At the next, which was at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Houſe, they determin'd that the *Scotch* Gentlemen to be ſent to, ſhou'd be *Melvin*, *Cockran* and the *Campbels*; That Colonel *Sidney* offer'd he wou'd take Care of the Perſon to be ſent, ſaying, *He had one in his Thoughts whom he judg'd a fit Man to be truſted*, naming *Aaron Smith* for the Man. The Company thought him a proper Perſon, and the Duke of *Monmouth* undertook to invite *Melvin* hither, and a Letter was to be ſent to *Cockran* by *Smith*; That theſe *Scotch* Men were deſired to come and acquaint their Council here, how they found *Scotland* temper'd, what Opportunities or Advantages there might be of putting that Kingdom into a Commotion, and how they might there keep Time and Place with the *Engliſh*, That ſhortly after the Deponent went to Colonel *Sidney*'s, and found him juſt going into *London*; and that he took out of a Cabinet ſeveral Guineas, ſaying, *They were to be given to* Aaron Smith *for his Expences*: That he was ſent accordingly, and the Colonel told the Deponent afterwards, *He was gone, and was upon the Road, and that he had heard from him when he was about* Newcaſtle.' Then as a conſiderable Circumſtance, it was prov'd by others, That theſe *Scotch* Men did come up to *London*, ſoon after *Aaron Smith* arriv'd in their Country. It being demanded of the Colonel, Whether he wou'd ask the Lord *Howard* any Queſtions, he anſwer'd *He had no Queſtions to ask him*; whereupon the Attorney-General ſaid, *Silence —— you know the Proverb.*

The Treaſonable Pamphlet in his Study.

The next Head of the Accuſation concern'd the Treaſonable Pamphlet found in the Priſoner's Study, prov'd to be his own Hand-Writing, and charg'd not only to be againſt Monarchy in general, but the *Engliſh* Monarchy in particular. The Poſitions thought moſt culpable were: ‘That Power is originally in the People of *England*, and delegated to the Parliament; and that the King is ſubject to the Law of God, as he is a Man, and to the People that make him, as he is a King; and the Parliament is Judge of the particular Caſes thereupon ariſing: That the King muſt be content to ſubmit his Intereſt to theirs, ſince he is no more than any of them in any other Reſpect, than that he is by Conſent of all rais'd above any other; and if he doth not like this Condition, he may renounce the Crown; but if he receive it upon this Condition, and ſwear to perform it, he muſt expect the Performance will be exacted, or Revenge taken by thoſe he hath betray'd. We may therefore change or take away Kings without breaking any Yoak, or that is made a Yoak which ought not to be made one; for the Injury is in Making, and Impoſing, and there can be none in Breaking it. That the People muſt needs be the Judges of what happens between them and the King whom they did conſtitute; and that the Power of Calling and Diſſolving of Parliaments is not in the King.

His Defence.

What the Colonel ſaid for himſelf, in the ſeveral Parts of his Tryal, was long and notable, and ſhew'd that under theſe Difficulties he had been long accuſtom'd to the Art of Fencing. He argu'd the great Improbability of Erecting a Council of Six; and that Perſons ſo little knowing one another, ſhou'd preſently fall into ſo great and intimate Friendſhip. As to the Duke of *Monmouth*, added he, *I never ſpoke with him above three Times in my Life, and one Time was when my Lord* Howard *brought him to my Houſe, and cozen'd us both; for he told the Duke I invited him, and he told me the Duke had invited himſelf, and neither of them was true.* So he took Occaſion to ſtrike ſeveral Ways at that Lord's Reputation, who was the only direct Witneſs againſt him. ‘He inſiſted upon denying the Plot, and his varying his Evidence, with reſpect to the Lord *Ruſſel*'s and the preſent Tryal, together with ſome Additions and Deviations: He alleg'd his Lordſhip's Indigence, and his owing him Money, which Debt might probably be cancell'd by his Conviction: And more eſpecially to invalidate his Credit, he laid open his Lordſhip's further Difficulties, and particularly that he confeſs'd, *That he cou'd not get his Pardon until he had done ſome other Jobbs, till he was paſt the Drudgery of Swearing*. To prove theſe and the like Allegations againſt this ſingle Witneſs, he produc'd the Earl of *Angleſey*, the Earl of *Clare*, Mr. *Philip Howard*, Mr. *Edward Howard*, Dr. *Burnet*, Mr. *Ducas* and Mr. *Blake*;' which laſt Witneſs teſtify'd his Lordſhip's Words concerning the *Drudgery of Swearing*. As to the Papers charg'd upon him, he wou'd not grant them to be his, or if they were found in his Study, he affirm'd, ‘That they might have been written many Years ago in Anſwer to Sir *Robert Filmer*'s Book of Monarchy; and written with no Intention of *Publiſhing* them, but *Diſputandi gratia*, only for private Diverſion, and the Exerciſe of his Pen.' After this he hung with his whole weight upon the Neceſſity of two Witneſſes to the ſame Fact, and argu'd, ‘That for One to come and tell a Tale of an Imaginary Council, and Another of a Libel, a Paper writ no Body knows when, is a Thing never to be got over: But if the Law of God be, that there muſt be Two Witneſſes to the ſame Fact, in the Caſe of Life and Death, there is an End of this Matter. Now, added he, there are but two Things, which if allow'd of, no Body will be ſafe from Perjury; the One is, to ſuffer Men, to give their Teſtimony, One to one Thing, and another to Another, ſo that the Fraud cannot be diſcovered; and the Other is, to take away the Puniſhment: Now the Puniſhment is in ſome Meaſure taken away; and do but take away the other Point, whereby the Fraud cannot be diſcover'd, and then no Defence can be made. That both Witneſſes ſhould be to the ſame Point, ſee the Story of *Suſanna*: Two Elders teſtify'd they ſaw her in the Act of Adultery, and both of them ſaid the ſame Thing; but until they were taken aſunder and examin'd, the Fraud was not diſcover'd; and then one nam'd one Tree, and the other Another; ſo She eſcap'd, and they were puniſh'd.

The Court's Anſwer to it.

In Anſwer to this Defence, the Court undertook to ſupport the Credit of the Lord *Howard*, who they ſaid ‘could have no Advantage in Swearing againſt the Priſoner upon the Account of Debt, ſince the Eſtate that was to pay it would be forfeited to the Crown; and that as to the *Drudgery of Swearing* alledg'd againſt him, it

‘ might be ſo irkſome, when a Man accuſes himſelf, as to provoke a Man to give it ſuch an Epithet. As to Papers found in his Study, they told him that *Scribere eſt agere*; and that there was ſufficient in them to prove the Malice of his Heart, and his Treaſonable Deſigns.’ As to the great Point of the Neceſſity of two Witneſſes, they firſt gave him a retaliating Stroke, the Caſe of the Lord *Stafford*, where before the two Houſes of Parliament it was Declared, ‘ That one Witneſs to a Conſpiracy in *England*, and another to a Conſpiracy in *France*, were held two Witneſſes ſufficient to convict him of High-Treaſon.’ To unite theſe two different Teſtimonies, they refin'd upon the Argument, and brought two Inſtances, the Sollicitor-General ſaid, ‘ Suppoſe a Man was in a Room, and there were two Men, and he talks with both apart, and he comes to one and endeavours to perſuade him *that it was lawful to riſe in Arms aginſt the King, if ſo be he breaks his Truſt*; and he ſhould go to another Man, and tell him *the King hath broken his Truſt, and we muſt ſeek ſome Way to redreſs our ſelves*; and perſuade the People to Riſe; theſe two Witneſſes do ſo Tack this Treaſon together, that they will be two Witneſſes to prove him Guilty of High-Treaſon.’ The other Inſtance was produced by the Lord-Chief-Juſtice, as a Try'd Caſe not long ago, and was propos'd thus, ‘ If I buy a Knife of *I. S.* to kill the King, and it be prov'd by one Witneſs I bought a Knife for this Purpoſe, and another come and proves I bought ſuch a Knife of *I. S.* they are two Witneſſes ſufficient to prove a Man Guilty of High-Treaſon: And ſo it was held by all the Judges of *England* then preſent.’ The whole ſumming up the Evidence was very ſevere, with a particular Inſinuation, ‘ that he was not only Guilty of the Practices charg'd upon him, but he could not have been otherwiſe, *becauſe his Principles led him to it*.’ *Hawles* and others warmly reflect upon the Tryal, and the Verdict of the Jury that found him Guilty; and the firſt tells us ‘ that this was the firſt Indictment of High-Treaſon, upon which any Man loſt his Life, for *Writing* any thing without *Publiſhing* it.

Found Guilty.

He was found Guilty upon the 21ſt of *November*, but did not receive Sentence till five Days after, when he was brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar in order to it. Here he had a new Struggle for his Life, but in vain, and in Concluſion he cry'd out, *I muſt appeal to God and the World, I am not heard.* When Sentence according to the uſual Form was paſs'd upon him by the Lord-Chief-Juſtice, he immediately ſaid, *Then, O God, O God! I beſeech thee to ſanctify theſe Sufferings unto me, and impute not my Blood to the Country, nor the City through which I am to be drawn; Let no Inquiſition be made for it; but if any, and the ſhedding of Blood that is Innocent, muſt be reveng'd, Let the Weight of it fall only upon thoſe, that maliciouſly perſecute me for Righteouſneſs ſake.* Whereupon the Chief-Juſtice ſaid, *I pray God work in you a Temper fit to go into the other World, for I ſee you are not fit for this.* Upon which the Colonel held up his Hand, and cry'd, *My Lord, feel my Pulſe, and ſee if I am diſorder'd; I bleſs God, I never was in better Temper, than I am now.* However, being return'd to the *Tower*, he ſent a long Petition to the King, in which he ſet forth with great Boldneſs the Injuſtice he had met with, the Violence of the Chief-Juſtice, and the Jury's being hurry'd into a Verdict they did not underſtand, deſiring to be admitted into his Majeſty's Preſence; and concluding; ‘ That if he did not ſhew it was for his Majeſty's Honour and Intereſt to preſerve him from this ſad Oppreſſion, he would not complain, tho' he were left to be deſtroyed.

His Speech at his Sentence.

His Execution, in reſpect to his Quality, was alter'd from the uſual Puniſhment of High-Treaſon, to that of Beheading. Being brought upon a Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, on the 7th of *December*, he deliver'd to the Sheriffs a written Paper; wherein, after having excus'd his not Speaking what he wrote, by alledging this Reaſon, *That this was an Age, which makes Truth paſs for Treaſon*; he objects againſt his Witneſſes, and particularly the infamous Life of the Lord *Howard:* And afterwards he falls ſeverely upon the Judges, ſaying, *Leſt the Means of Deſtroying the beſt Proteſtants in* England *ſhould fail, the Bench was fill'd with ſuch as had been Blemiſhes to the Bar.* As to his Papers found in his Cloſet, he rather ſtood up in Vindication of them, tho' he complain'd of the Want of Proof in that Matter; and again exclaim'd againſt a packt Jury, and other Hardſhips: Concluding all with a Prayer, in which he has theſe ſtrange Expreſſions: *Tho' I fall a Sacrifice to Idols, ſuffer not Idolatry to be eſtabliſh'd in this Land: Bleſs thy People and ſave them. Defend thy own Cauſe; Defend thoſe that defend it: Stir up ſuch as are faint; Direct thoſe that are willing; Confirm thoſe that waver; Give Wiſdom and Integrity unto all.------- Grant that I may dye Glorifying thee for all thy Mercies; and that at the laſt thou haſt permitted me to be ſingled out as a Witneſs of thy* Truth, *and even by the Confeſſion of my Oppoſers, for that* OLD CAUSE *in which I was from my Youth engag'd, and for which thou haſt often wonderfully declar'd thy ſelf.* This laſt was thought ſo Enthuſiaſtical and Shocking, that his Death was much leſs pity'd and lamented than that of the Lord *Ruſſel*, tho' the Hardſhips he met withal were look'd upon to be greater than any before him.

His Execution, and laſt Speech.

The Duke of Monmouth's private Return.

4. What ſeem'd to have forwarded this Gentleman's Fate was the private and unexpected Arrival of the Duke of *Monmouth* from his Retirement, before the Tryal began, and his Reception when it was in effect depending. That popular Nobleman had abſconded ever ſince the King's Proclamation for the Apprehending Him amongſt other Conſpirators; but now, in Confidence of his Father's old Tenderneſs and Affection, he reſolv'd to ſubmit and diſcover Himſelf. In order to which, he found Means to hold a ſecret Correſpondence with the King, and to convey the following remarkable Letter into his Hands: ‘ If I could write to your Majeſty ſooner, with any Safety to my ſelf, I would have done it, to have told you, That there is nothing under Heaven has ſtruck me ſo to the Heart, as to be put into a Proclamation *For an Intention of Murdering of You, Sir, and the Duke.* I do call God Almighty to Witneſs, and I wiſh I may dye this Moment I am Writing, if ever it enter'd into my Head, or ever I ſaid the leaſt Thing to any Body that could make them think I could wiſh ſuch a Thing; I am ſure there cannot be ſuch Villains upon Earth to ſay I ever did. But I am ſo innocent as to this Point, that I will ſay no more of it; for I know God Almighty is Juſt, and I do not doubt but he will put it into your Heart, that I am clear of this moſt horrid and baſe Accuſation. But, *Sir*, the chief Intent of this Letter is to beg Pardon both of You, *Sir*, and the Duke, for the many Things I have done, that have made you both angry with me; but more eſpecially of the Duke, tho' I might have ſome Juſtification for my ſelf, that many People made me believe he intended to deſtroy me: For to You, *Sir*, I do proteſt before God Almighty, and I wiſh I may never proſper more, that all I have done was only to ſave You; as I ſhall convince your Majeſty, if ever I am ſo happy to ſpeak to You; and I hope you will let me do it before it be long; for I have that to ſay to you, *Sir*, that will ever I hope ſettle you quiet in your Kingdom, and the Duke after You, *whom I intend to ſerve to the utmoſt of my Power*; and, *Sir*, to convince him that I will do ſo, if your Majeſty will give me your Pardon, I will deliver my ſelf up into his Hands, that the Duke may bring me to You: Beſides, *Sir*, I ſhould be glad to have him by when I ſpeak to You, but no Body elſe; and by this Kindneſs of the Duke's, if ever I ſhould do any Thing afterwards againſt him, *I muſt be thought the Ungratefulleſt Man living.* What Good can it do You, *Sir*, to take your own Child's Life away, that only erred and ventur'd his Life to ſave Yours? And beſides, *Sir*, I am ſure I can be ſerviceable to you; and, if I may ſay ſo, make the reſt of your Life happy, or at leaſt contribute a great deal towards it. You may believe me, *Sir*, for I do not tell you this out of Fear, but becauſe I do think my ſelf ſure of it. I do beg of you, *Sir*, if you have any Thoughts of Mercy of me, that you will let me know it ſoon, for the ſooner I ſpeak to you, the better. And now, *Sir*, I do ſwear to You, *That from this Time, I will never diſpleaſe you in any Thing; but the whole Study of my Life ſhall be to ſhew how truly Penitent I am for having done it, and how well I will deſerve the Life you give me.* And for the Duke, that he may have a more firm Confidence of the Service I intend to do him, I do here Declare to your Majeſty, *That I will never aſk to ſee your Face more, if ever I do any Thing againſt him; which is the greateſt Curſe I can lay upon my ſelf.*

His firſt Letter to the King.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, the King, mov'd by an indearing Affection, could ſcarcely diſſemble his Joy and Satisfaction; and thereupon immediately return'd this Anſwer with his own Hand; *If the Duke of* Monmouth *deſires to make himſelf capable of my Mercy, he muſt render himſelf to the Secretary, and reſolve to tell me all he knows, reſigning himſelf entirely to my Pleaſure.* Which plain Declaration of his Majeſty's Will, drew from the Duke this Second Letter, no leſs to be remember'd than the Other.

The King's Anſwer.

‘ You muſt allow me, *Sir*, ſtill to importune you, not without Hopes of Prevailing at laſt upon your Generoſity, ſo as it may get the better of your Anger to me. I am half diſtracted, *Sir*, with the Thoughts of having offended You; and the Torment it gives me is perhaps greater than your forgiving Nature would know how to

The Duke's Second Letter.

‘inflict upon the moſt Criminal Offenders. The Character I lye under is too heavy for me to bear; even Death itſelf would be a Relief to me, could I have it without the Aggravation of leaving the World under your Diſpleaſure: I muſt therefore throw my ſelf upon your Compaſſion, which being a Virtue ſo agreeable to your Nature, I hope your Child, *Sir*, will not be an unfortunate Inſtance of your denying it, when 'tis implor'd. I confeſs, *Sir*, I have been in Fault, miſ-led, and inſenſibly engag'd in Things of which the Conſequence was not enough underſtood by me; yet I can ſay, I never had a Criminal Thought towards your Majeſty, not pretending by that to inſiſt upon an abſolute Juſtification of my ſelf. Your Majeſty will conſider, that whilſt I was under the Apprehenſions of great Anger and Violence againſt me, it might eaſily corrupt my Judgment; and by ſeeing Things in a wrong Light, betray me into very Fatal Miſtakes: But now that I have had Time to recollect my ſelf, every Thing like a Fault towards your Majeſty, appeareth to me in ſuch a reproaching terrifying Shape, that I have a Remorſe for it, which cou'd it be ſeen, I aſſure my Self it would move your Compaſſion to me. I humbly beg, *Sir*, to be admitted to your Feet, and to be diſpos'd of as you direct, not only now, but for the Remainder of my Life; And tho' my Reſignation is too full to admit any Reſerve, your Majeſty will permit me to offer to you, whether you will let paſs any Thing as a Penalty upon me, which may lay a Stain upon my Innocent Children? Whether you will make me undergo the Ignominy of a Tryal, before you give me your Pardon? And of what Uſe and Satisfaction it can be to you to forgive me, and yet give me the cruel Puniſhment of hearing my ſelf Arraign'd for Treaſon againſt ſuch a King and ſuch a Father? And whether my being carry'd to the *Tower*, in Caſe you be pleas'd to excuſe my Tryal, can have any Effect but an unneceſſary Mortification of One, who God knoweth is already enough afflicted, and ſome kind of Blemiſh too, to my Family, as well as an uſeleſs Limitation of your Majeſty's Mercy. *Sir*, I lay theſe Things before you in the moſt ſubmitting Manner that is poſſible, with an intire Reſignation to what you ſhall determine. Neither do I imagine to receive your Pardon *otherwiſe than by the Interceſſion of the Duke*, whom I acknowledge to have offended, and am prepared to ſubmit my ſelf in the humbleſt Manner; and therefore beg your Majeſty would direct how I am to apply my ſelf to Him; and I ſhall do it, *not as an outward Form, but with all the Sincerity in the World.* If what I have ſaid can move you to forget my paſt Faults, it will be a Grace I ſhall endeavour to deſerve by all the Actions of my Life: And I am ſo ſenſible how ill a Guide my own Will hath been to me, that I am reſolv'd for the future to put it entirely into your Majeſty's Hands, that I may by that Means never commit a Fault, but for want of your Directions, or your Commands. *Dear Sir*, be pleas'd to revive by a kind Anſwer *the moſt miſerable diſconſolate Creature now living*,
‘Monmouth.

He is admitted to the King's Preſence.

Upon the Receipt of this ſecond Letter, his Majeſty could no longer doubt the Sincerity of the Duke of *Monmouth*, therefore on *Sunday* the 25th of *November*, he without Reſerve admitted him into his Preſence, being introduc'd by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*. The Secretary being withdrawn, and the King and his Brother by themſelves, the Duke of *Monmouth* firſt threw himſelf at his Majeſty's Feet, acknowledging his Guilt, and ask'd his Pardon; then he confeſſed himſelf faulty to the Duke of *York*, ask'd his Pardon alſo, and aſſur'd him, *If he ſhould ſurvive his Majeſty, that he would pay him all the Duty that became a Loyal Subject, and be the firſt that ſhould draw his Sword for him, ſhould there be Occaſion.* In making his Confeſſion, he denied he had any Knowledge or Thought of the Aſſaſſinating part of the Conſpiracy; but as to the Deſign of the Inſurrection, he made no Scruple to own his Share; and to ſet it forth ſo largely, that there was little of the Conſpiracy before known, which the ſaid Duke did not confirm; and many Paſſages of it were before unknown, which he reveal'd. He confirm'd the Deſign of the Meeting at Mr. *Shepard*'s Houſe, where the Lord *Ruſſel* was preſent and conſenting, and that of Colonel *Sidney*'s being one of the Council of Six, which corroborated the Lord *Howard*'s Evidence; and he further added, that Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Mead*, Mr. *Griffith*, and all the conſiderable Nonconformiſt Miniſters, knew of the Conſpiracy.

He obtains his Pardon.

Being thus frank in his Confeſſion, his Majeſty made no Delay to give him all the Proofs of his entire Forgiveneſs, and of his renew'd Affections and Bounty to him; preſently cheriſhing him near his Perſon with his wonted Tenderneſs; declaring in Council the perfect Satisfaction he had receiv'd by his Submiſſion, and ordering his Pardon to be diſpatch'd with all Expedition: And over and above, at his very earneſt Intreaty, he granted him an uncommon Favour, namely, *That he ſhou'd not be brought to be a Witneſs againſt any Man.* Yet no ſooner was the Pardon compleated in due Form of Law, but the King and the whole Court was afreſh allarm'd with the continual Reſort to him of divers Perſons, whom his Majeſty knew to be engag'd, and had ſufficient Proof to convict them in Courſe of Law, if he wou'd have produc'd it all. To which at the ſame time were added many high and bold Speeches of his Accomplices and Dependents, ſaying, *That the Duke of* Monmouth *had made no Confeſſion, but had aſſerted the Innocency of ſome that had ſuffer'd*; Which manifeſtly tended to vilify the Truth of the whole Diſcovery.

Whereupon at laſt the King was awaken'd, and thought fit to put him gently in mind by what was ſo lately paſs'd, of his Danger of Relapſing into the ſame Miſchief, out of which nothing but his Royal Goodneſs had recover'd him. And for the better Security of the Duke himſelf, as well as the Kingdom, his Majeſty inſtantly demanded of him *to give ſome ſuch Satisfaction to the whole Nation in Publick, as he had lately given to Himſelf and Brother.* The Duke ſeem'd willing to comply with the King's reaſonable Deſires; and all that his Majeſty oblig'd him to do, was to write over, and ſubſcribe a Letter, which his Majeſty himſelf was pleas'd ſo to Word, as not only to conſult the Duke's Safety, but alſo his Credit, ſo much as it cou'd poſſibly ſtand with his own Safety or Credit. The Letter was in theſe Words; ‘I have heard of ſome Reports of me, as as if I ſhou'd have leſſen'd the late Plot, and gone about to diſcredit the Evidence given againſt thoſe, who have dy'd by Juſtice. Your Majeſty and the Duke know how Ingenuouſly I have own'd the late Conſpiracy; and tho' I was not conſcious of any Deſign againſt your Majeſty's Life, yet I lament the having had ſo great a Share in the other Part of the ſaid Conſpiracy. *Sir*, I have taken the liberty to put this in Writing for my own Vindication; and I beſeech you to look forward, and endeavour to forget the Faults you have forgiven me: I will take care never to commit any more againſt You, or come within the Danger of being again miſ-led from my Duty, but make it the Buſineſs of my Life to deſerve the Pardon your Majeſty hath granted to *Your Dutiful Monmouth*.’ This was thought a very eaſy and moderate Penance from a Perſon whoſe Failures appear'd upon the Encreaſe, and as ſuch was ſeemingly accepted by the Duke, who without Heſitation wrote the Letter over, ſubſcrib'd it with his own Hand, and preſented it to his Majeſty.

He Signs a Paper.

After all which, his former Adherents and Flatterers ſtill flocking about him, and animating him to *continue faithful to his old Friends*, and aſſuring him, *He cou'd not fail ſhortly to overbear all Oppoſers, by the Power of his recover'd and increas'd Favour*; they ſo far prevail'd upon his unſtable Mind, as to overthrow all his new made Vows of Loyalty. Inſomuch that preſently after he came raſhly to the King, and earneſtly intreated, *That the* foreſaid *Letter might be return'd to him again*; alledging, *That he fear'd ſome Opportunity might be taken from it by his Enemies to blaſt his Reputation, and perhaps to bring him in to give Evidence againſt others his Companions in the Conſpiracy.* His Majeſty had often promis'd him enough to free his Mind from any ſuch Apprehenſions; but when all Proteſtations on his Part could have no Effect, and the Duke ſtill vehemently inſiſted, *That the Paper he had ſign'd might be deliver'd him back*, the King told him once for all, *He wou'd never keep it againſt his Will, that he might not have the leaſt Occaſion to ſay he was forc'd to write what he did:* But withal he ſeriouſly warn'd him to conſider, *What irreparable ill Conſequences on his Part, were like to follow upon his Obſtinacy*; and therefore gave him Time till the next Morning to deliberate calmly with himſelf, what was to be his final Reſolution. The next Day the Duke of *Monmouth* appearing ſtill more fixt in his fatal Demand, his Majeſty freely put the Letter again into his Hands; but withal from that Moment baniſh'd him from his Preſence and the Court; being the 7th of *December*, and the ſame Day that Colonel *Sidney* was executed.

He relapſes.

And is baniſh'd from the Court.

He goes to Holland.

The Duke of *Monmouth* ſoon after retired to *Holland*, and met with a very handſome Reception at the *Hague*: His Majeſty, retaining a ſecret Affection for him, it ſeems was well pleas'd with the Entertainment he found in another Court, tho' for Reaſons of State he was oblig'd to forbid him his own. And we are further told, that he privately ſupply'd him with Mony, and ſometimes writ to him with his own Hand; and cou'd not eaſily ſuffer thoſe Courtiers, who, by Miſtake, thought it a Compliment to ſpeak ill of him, and to aggravate his Diſobedience, in his Preſence. However, we may obſerve, the Troubles that were given for ſeveral late Years by this Son, and the Care and Anxiety ſuſtained by the Father, is one clear Inſtance, among many others that might be given, That the Criminal Pleaſures of Kings, Princes, and other great

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Men, as they can receive no Mitigation from their high Condition, ſo they can prove no Alleviation of the Troubles and Vexations of this World.

The Great Froſt.

5. To draw towards a Concluſion of this remarkable Year: About the Beginning of *December* there began an extraordinary and wonderful Froſt, which laſted without any Intermiſſion till the 5th of *February*; during which Time the *Thames* was frozen over with a ſolid and contiguous Ice in all Places above the Bridge, continually cover'd with Thouſands of People. On the firſt Day of *Hilary*-Term, the Lawyers went over the Ice from the *Temple* to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and back again, as familiarly as on the Land; ſome walk'd on foot, and others in Coaches, which carried People from *Temple-Stairs* to *Weſtminſter* for the ſame Fare as by Land, and ply'd between theſe two Places, as the Watermen do in Summer. Great Numbers of Booths were erected acroſs between the *Temple* and *Southwark*, in which Place an abſolute Fair was held, for above a Fortnight, of almoſt all ſorts of Trade, and Printing-Preſſes erected both for Letters and Pictures; Bulls were baited, a whole Ox roaſted, *&c.* Nor was the Froſt thus wonderful upon the *Thames* alone; but the Sea it ſelf was frozen for divers Miles from the Shore, on the Coaſts of *England*, *France*, and eſpecially *Holland*; inſomuch that for a conſiderable Space, no Packet-Boat, or any other Veſſel of Intelligence, cou'd either come out of thoſe Parts, or go from hence. This Froſt was ſo memorable, that this Year hath often ſince been diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of the *Great Froſt Year*; in which Time all the Roads in *England* were as good as at *Mid-Summer*. In the Extremity of this Weather, the King granted his Letters Mandatory, dated the 4th of *January*, to the Biſhop of *London*, to make a Collection in all Pariſhes in *London*, and the Suburbs of the ſame, for the Relief of the Poor; encouraging his Subjects to ſuch a needful Charity by his own Example, having order'd large Sums of Money to be iſſu'd out of his Treaſury for that Purpoſe; which Letters were read in all Churches the two following *Sundays*, and generous Collections made acordingly.

The Siege and Relief of Vienna:

Nor was this Year leſs remarkable abroad, partly for the Death of *Anna Tereſia* Queen of *France*, and *Alphonſo* King of *Portugal*; but above all for the furious and formidable Entrance of the *Turks* into *Hungary* and *Auſtria*: which ſtruck a Terror into all *Chriſtrndom*. The *Mahometan* Army, conſiſting of above a Hundred and fifty Thouſand, Men, Horſe and Foot, ſat down before *Vienna*, the Metropolis of the Empire, on the 9th of *July*, commanded by the Grand-Viſier in Perſon. The Emperor had retired two Days before, and left the City under the Command of the noble Count *Staremberg*, who gloriouſly defended it, notwithſtanding all the bloody Attacks, and indefatigable Endeavours of the Enemy; till on the 2d of *September* when the Defendants were reduc'd to a deplorable Condition, the Siege was rais'd by the coming of the great King of *Poland*; who having join'd with the Imperial Forces, commanded by the brave Duke of *Lorrain*, not only beat off and routed the *Turkiſh* Army, with vaſt Slaughter, and no leſs Booty, but purſuing the Blow, took from them the Fort of *Barkan*, and the City of *Gran*, or *Strigonium*, after it had been poſſeſſed by the *Turks* near fourſcore Years. To the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, ſeveral of the King's Subjects were preſent at the memorable Siege of *Vienna*, in Defence of which they ſignaliz'd their Valour; and in particular the Lord *Landſdown*, Eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Bath*, whom for his extraordinary Merits and Service the Emperor created a *Count of the Sacred Empire*.

One thing more, which renders this Year remarkable, was partly Domeſtick, and partly Foreign: *Tangier* in *Africa*, which came to the Crown of *England* by the preſent Queen *Katharine*, having coſt the King ſince he had it vaſt Sums of Mony, in defending of it againſt the *Moors*, and alſo in making an extraordinary Mole there, which not being found ſo feaſible as was expected, the Charges great and certain, the Expectation of any Advantage very uncertain; his Majeſty was pleas'd about the End of the laſt Summer to commiſſion the Lord *Dartmouth*, attended with about twenty Sail of Ships, to go and utterly demoliſh the ſaid Town, Caſtle and *Mole* at *Tangier*, to choke up the Haven, and to bring off the Ordnance, and *Engliſh* Inhabitants to *England*, ſending the Foreigners to their ſeveral Countries; but firſt compounding with every Man for his Ground, Eſtate, and Property in their ſeveral Houſes. All which was accordingly done in about ſix Months time; in which the King had a double End or Advantage this time, the Leſſening of a conſtant Charge, and a ſingular Opportunity of almoſt inſenſibly Encreaſing his Guards and Forces at home, by thoſe brought over from this Garriſon; which afterwards was the Subject of new Reflections.

Tangier *demoliſh'd.*

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The Deaths of Archbiſhop Sterne,

As to the Deaths of eminent Perſons this Year, we ſhall begin with two Reverend and Loyal Prelates, and firſt Dr. *Richard Sterne* Archbiſhop of *York*, educated in *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Maſter of *Jeſus*, where he became very inſtrumental in ſending the Univerſity Plate to the late King in his Extremity; for which, and other Inſtances of Loyalty, he was ejected his Maſterſhip, ſtript of all, and us'd with great Barbarity beſides. After a Life of great Obſcurity, at the Reſtoration he was made Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and four Years after tranſlated to the See of *York*, where his Behaviour was worthy of that high Station: He diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his accurate Book of *Logick*, and had particularly the Honour to aſſiſt in the noble Undertaking of the *Polyglot Bible*. The next was Dr. *James Fleetwood*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who was Educated in *King*'s College in the ſame Univerſity of *Cambridge*; and being afterwards forc'd for his Loyalty to forſake his Preferments, a Living and a Prebend of *Litchfield*, he betook himſelf to the Wars, and after that he became Tutor to ſeveral of the Loyal Nobility, with ſome of whom he had the Opportunity of Improving himſelf by Travels. For all his Learning and Pains, at his Majeſty's Return, he rewarded him with the Provoſtſhip of *King's* College, and afterwards with the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, where he dy'd in Peace and Honour.

Biſhop Fleetwood,

Dr. Durell,

After theſe two Prelates, we ſhall mention four other Doctors of Divinity, of different Characters; and firſt Dr. *John Durell*, born in the Iſle of *Jerſey*, and educated in *Merton* College in *Oxford*; and afterwards travelling, he became eminent abroad for his Learning and Skill in Theology; and after the King's Reſtoration, he obtain'd ſeveral Prebends, and laſt of all the Deanery of *Windſor*. He had ſignaliz'd himſelf in maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Church of *England*, when in its loweſt and moſt deplorable Condition; and alſo ſhew'd himſelf admirably vers'd in all the Controverſies on Foot between the Church and the *Diſciplinarian* Party; and to the laſt defended the Eſtabliſh'd Conſtitution, with ſuch Succeſs as was admir'd in Foreign Countries. The next was Dr. *John North*, younger Son of *Dudley* Lord *North* of *Kirtling*, educated in *Jeſus* College in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was Fellow; and afterwards, beſides Clerk of the Cloſet, and Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, he was by the King made Maſter of *Trinity* College, in the Room of the famous Dr. *Barrow*; where he well diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his good Literature, and his particular Skill in the *Greek* Language. The Third was Dr. *Benjamin Whichcote*, of the ſame Univerſity, and ſometime Provoſt of *King's-College*, and then Rector of *Milton*, a Donative belonging to the ſaid College, near *Cambridge*, and Vicar of St. *Laurence Jury* in *London*; where he was juſtly celebrated for his extenſive Knowledge, and his excellent Life and Converſation, but eſpecially for his beneficent Temper, having bequeathed a Thouſand Pounds in pious and charitable Legacies. The laſt was Dr. *John Owen*, once a Church-Man, then a Presbyterian, and at laſt a profeſs'd Independent, one of the moſt conſiderable and learned of the whole Party: He was a particular Favourite of *Oliver Cromwell*, by whom he was made Dean of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, where he made a mighty Figure for ſeveral Years; but after the Reſtoration he liv'd in and about *London*, where he had a conſiderable Congregation, and was much admired by Men of Note and Eminency. Almoſt his whole Life was taken up with the indefatigable Labours of his Pen; he was well skilled in Languages, *Rabinical* Learning, *Jewiſh* Rites and Cuſtoms, had a great Command of the *Engliſh* Tongue, and was one of the moſt gentile and faireſt Writers, who have appear'd againſt the Church of *England*; and likewiſe had ſo much Fame, that he was invited to be a Profeſſor of Divinity in the *United Provinces*, but he refus'd the Honour.

Dr. North,

Dr. Whichcote,

Dr. Owen,

Sir William Scroggs,

After theſe, we ſhall take notice of four others, altogether different in their Characters and Profeſſions; and firſt, Sir *William Scroggs*, who through ſeveral Degrees in the Law came to be Lord Chief-Juſtice of *England*, in which Place he ſhew'd himſelf a Perſon of very excellent and quick Parts, a penetrating Judgment, good Orator, and a fluent Speaker; but his Utterance being accompany'd with ſome Heſitancy, his Speeches affected more in the Reading than in the Delivery. Having been Impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons, and turn'd out of his Poſt, as is formerly mention'd, he retired to his Eſtate at *Weald-Hall* near *Burntwood* in *Eſſex*, where he enjoy'd his laſt Years in a ſedate Repoſe. The next was Dr. *Robert Moriſon*, an eminent Doctor of Phyſick, and Fellow of the College at *London*, but more eſpecially diſtinguiſh'd by being one of the moſt excellent Botaniſts of the Age; for which he was firſt incourag'd by the King, and then by the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was made Botanick Profeſſor, and read many curious Lectures in the Phyſick Garden there. Ha-

Dr. Moriſon,

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Mr. Collins,

And Mr. Oldham.

ving increas'd his Knowledge by his Travels, and publiſh'd ſeveral valuable Books, in the midſt of his Labours, he came to a ſudden End by a Bruiſe on his Breaſt from a Coach Pole in the Streets of *London*; to the great Concern of all Lovers and Admirers of his Faculty. The Third was Mr. *John Collins*, a Perſon of ordinary Education, but of extraordinary Induſtry, by which he became one of the moſt uſeful and neceſſary Perſons of his Time, as to ſeveral Parts of the Mathematicks, *viz.* Arithmetick, Merchants Accompts, Dialling, Navigation, *&c.* and ſo remarkable for his practical Projections, that he was made Fellow of the *Royal-Society*, and encourag'd by the greateſt Men in the Nation. Having wrote ſeveral Pieces, and riding into the *Weſt* upon an uſeful Project, he got a Surfeit when heated with the Weather, which brought him to an End as untimely as the laſt. The Fourth was Mr. *John Oldham*, born in *Glocesterſhire*, and for ſome Time educated in St. *Edmund*'s-Hall in *Oxford*; from whence removing to *London*, he became intimately acquainted with the famous Earl of *Rocheſter*, and ſoon gain'd the Name of a ſublime Wit, and a Firſt-rate Poet. His Works manifeſt a prolifick and towering Genius, animated with Flame and Fury, Satyr and Hyperbole, and ſtrongly tinctur'd with the Viciouſneſs and Debauchery of the Times, which render'd them the more acceptable in this Age. After he had liv'd at large, he began to ſtudy Phyſick, and was taken into the Family of the munificent Earl of *Kingſton*; at whoſe Houſe in *Nottinghamſhire* he was ſnatch'd away in the Prime of his Years, the 30th of his Age.

168¾.
Car. 36.
Ref. 24.

Promotions,

And a Call of Serjeants.

IV. 1. We are now arriv'd at the 36th, and in effect the laſt Year of this King's Reign; a Year of Peace and Pleaſure to all that lov'd Eaſe and Quietneſs, of Joy and Triumph to the prevailing Party, and of no leſs Dejection and Mortification to the other, who were forc'd to ſubmit; and now their very Numbers daily decreas'd, as well as their Power and Popularity. The King and the Duke had now gain'd the Day, driven the Enemy out of the Field, and ſeem'd to have nothing more to do, but to purſue, take and puniſh. Accordingly we find the Chief Tranſactions of this Year, beſides Promotions and Inlargements on one Side, to conſiſt of Proſecutions, Puniſhments and Penalties, Fines and Damages, Surrenders of Charters, and new Modelling of Corporations. To begin with Honours and Promotions: On *New-Years* Day, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, who had marry'd the King's Neece, was elected a Knight Companion of the moſt noble Order of the *Garter*, in a Chapter held at *White-Hall*, being firſt Knighted by the Soveraign, and then ſolemnly Inveſted with the *George* and *Garter:* And about ten Days after, the two Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Northumberland* were Elected Knights Companions of the ſame glorious Order. About the Middle of *January*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Stile and Dignity of a Duke of this Kingdom, upon *Charles* Earl of *Burford*, his natural Son by *Elianor Gwin*, by creating him Duke of St. *Albans.* Soon after, on the firſt Day of *Hilary* Term, his Majeſty thought fit to make a particular Call of ſixteen Serjeants at Law, *viz.* Sir *Thomas Jenner* Knight, whom he had made Recorder of *London*, *John Windham* Eſquire, *Edwyn Wyat* Eſquire, *Edward Burch* Eſquire, *Henry Bedingfield* Eſquire, Sir *Edward Nevile* Knight, Sir *Paul Barret* Knight, *Anthony Farrington* Eſquire, *John Jeffreſon* Eſquire, *Edward Lutwiche* Eſquire, *Richard Heath* Eſquire, *Henry Selby* Eſquire, *John Millington* Eſquire, *Thomas Powel* Eſquire, *Owen Wynne* Eſquire, and Sir *George Pudſey* Knight. Theſe made a very pompous Proceſſion to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where they perform'd the uſual Ceremonies, and preſented their Rings to the Lord-Keeper, the Judges, *&c.* with a Poeſie or Motto agreeable to the Times, namely, *A Deo Rex, à Rege Lex:* Which ſome interpreted to be a Reſolving the Laws of *England* into the King's ſole Will and Pleaſure.

The Lords in the Tower, &c. Bail'd.

As to the Inlarging and Releaſing of State-Priſoners, the Lords in the *Tower*, upon a Parliamentary Impeachment, had often mov'd for Bail, which could never be obtain'd till the Beginning of this Year. And the Earl of *Danby* more eſpecially had ſtruggled hard, and two or three Times argu'd with great Strength of Reaſoning before the Judges of the *King's-Bench* Bar; but they durſt not venture to relieve him till this 12th of *February*, when they deliver'd their Opinions ſeverally, giving their Reaſons, and concluding all in one Judgment, *That his Lordſhip ought to be bail'd:* And accordingly Bail was taken, the Earl being bound in a Recognizance of Ten Thouſand Pounds, and the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Albemarle*, and the Earls of *Oxford* and *Cheſterfield*, his Sureties, in five Thouſand Pounds apiece, upon Condition, 'That the Earl of *Danby* do appear in the 'Houſe of Lords the next Seſſion of Parliament, and not 'depart without Leave of that Houſe.' This prov'd a good Precedent for the Liberty of the *Popiſh* Lords; and therefore on the ſame Day, the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, and the Lord *Bellaſis*, were brought from the *Tower*, and the Earl of *Tyrone* from the *Gate-Houſe*, to the Court of *King's-Bench*, upon Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, praying by their Council to be admitted to Bail. Mr. Attorney-General declared, *he had Order from his Majeſty, to conſent to any Thing the Court ſhou'd think fit to be done:* Upon which the Lord Chief Juſtice, and the other Judges did agree, 'That for the ſame Reaſons 'they had given in the Earl of *Danby*'s Caſe, *Theſe Lords 'ought likewiſe to be Bail'd*;' and accordingly Recognizances and Sureties were accepted. The ſeveral Bails were; For the Earl of *Powis*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Duke of *Beaufort*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Earl of *Peterborough:* For the Lord *Arundel*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Earl of *Scarſdale*, the Earl of *Bath*, and the Earl of *Clarendon:* For the Lord *Bellaſis*, the Earl of *Aylesbury*, the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, and Sir *John Talbot:* And for the Earl of *Tyrone*, the Earl of *Roſcommon*, the Earl of *Mount-Alexander*, the Earl of *Carlingford*, and the Lord *Aneſley*. As to the Lord *Peters*, the other Lord in the *Tower*, he dy'd in his Confinement a little above a Month before; and upon his Death-Bed he ſent a Letter to the King, wherein he wholly diſown'd *in his laſt Words, and upon his Salvation*, the Matters of which he there ſtood charg'd; Which ſeem'd to have been a fair Introduction towards Releaſing of all the reſt.

Mr. Hambden's *Tryal.*

He is caſt and Fin'd.

2. On the other Side, the Lord *Brandon Gerard*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Booth*, Mr. *Trenchard*, Mr. *Charlton* and Major *Wildman* (all accus'd of the laſt Plot, but not by two Witneſſes) having been formerly admitted to Bail, were on the 23d of *January* fully diſcharg'd, except Mr. *Hambden*, who was mark'd out and reſerv'd to be try'd for a *High Miſdemeanour*, on the 6th Day of *February*. In this Tryal, the Lord *Howard* depos'd to the ſame Senſe as formerly, 'Touching the general Tranſactions of the Con'ſpiracy till the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Death; and particu'larly afterwards of the Meeting of the *Council of Six* at 'Dr. *Hambden*'s own Houſe, where Mr. *Hambden* made 'an Introductory Speech to open the Aſſembly; and the 'Subject of the Debates was concerning the Time, Place, 'Men, Arms and Money to be provided towards a Riſing; 'and alſo that then the ſending a Meſſenger into *Scotland* 'was propos'd, and referr'd to be debated the next Meet'ing. Farther, That Mr. *Hambden* was preſent at that 'next Meeting at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Houſe; and amongſt 'the reſt deliberated of ſending the Meſſenger into *Scot'land*; when *Aaron Smith* was nam'd, and approv'd to 'be the Man.' In Defence of the Party accuſed, the Council ſtruck very boldly at the Reputation of the Lord *Howard*, and would have made him appear but a little better than an Atheiſt: And farther they brought Witneſſes, as the Lord *Paget*, Mr. *Pelham*, and Sir *Henry Hobart*, to teſtify that Mr. *Hambden* was a prudent and virtuous Man, who follow'd a ſtudious and contemplative Life, and therefore moſt unlikely to be engag'd in ſuch an Affair. In Concluſion the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys* made a long Speech; in which, ſpeaking of Virtue and Religion, he cunningly turn'd it upon the Priſoner, by reflecting on a particular Tranſaction of his Grandfather *Hambden* in the late King's Reign. Said he, 'Was it not under the 'Shape of Religion, That that Bleſſed Martyr came to 'the Block? Nay ſome Men in the late Times that were 'engag'd on that Side, who finding that the King prevail'd 'at the Beginning of the War, becauſe he had Gentlemen 'of Quality and Courage to appear for him, were at a 'loſs to know which way they ſhould put a Spirit into the 'common People to oppoſe the King; and ſome among 'them [Mr. *Hambden* the Firſt] bid them *be ſure to put 'Religion to be the Pretence, and that wou'd make them 'run headlong to what they wou'd have them.*' At length the Jury brought Mr. *Hambden* in guilty of *High Miſdemeanor*; for which he was fin'd forty Thouſand Pounds, and oblig'd to find Sureties for his Good Behaviour during Life. This was look'd upon by many as a great Hardſhip: But the King in his large Declaration, aſſures us, 'That if he had not granted the Duke of *Monmouth*'s 'Requeſt, *That he wou'd not make him a Witneſs*, neither 'Mr. *Hambden*, nor ſcarce any one Man of all thoſe that 'were freed upon Bail, had eſcap'd Death.

The Tryal of Braddon *and* Speke.

Two Days after Mr. *Hambden*'s Tryal, there came on one of a different Nature, namely, that of *Laurence Braddon* and *Hugh Speke* Gentlemen, who were judg'd too officious and medling with relation to the late Plot: The Charge and Information againſt them ſets forth, 'That 'whereas the late Earl of *Eſſex*, committed to the *Tower* for 'High-Treaſon, had, on the 13th of *July* laſt, cut his own 'Throat, and was, by Inquiſition taken before the Coroner 'of the *Liberty of the* Tower, found *Felo de ſe*; the ſaid '*Braddon* and *Speke*, to defame the Government, had con'ſpired together, by Writing and otherwiſe, to ſpread a 'falſe and ſcandalous Report, *That the Inquiſition was taken*

168¾.
Car. 36.
Reſ. 42.

' *ken unduely, and irregularly obtain'd*, and *That the ſaid Earl was murder'd by ſome Perſons about him*; and had endeavour'd to ſuborn Witneſſes to teſtify the ſame.' The Tryal laſted many Hours, with great Expectations; and over and above, the better to remove the Scandal, thoſe on the King's Side brought Witneſſes to prove, that the Earl of *Eſſex* did certainly murder himſelf, and had in Effect a new Tryal about that Matter, more particular than what had been before the Coroner: And theſe Witneſſes ſwore ſo plainly to the Fact and Circumſtances, that there ſeem'd to remain no further Queſtion. The Court riſing late, left the Jury to give in a private Verdict to one of the Judges, which they deliver'd the next Morning, and it was, 'That the ſaid *Braddon* was guilty of the whole Matter charg'd in the Information; and that *Speke* was guilty of all the Matter except the *Subornation*.' Upon which the former was fin'd two Thouſand Pounds, and the latter one Thouſand Pounds to the King, and both oblig'd to find Sureties for their Good Behaviour during Life.

Their Fines.

In this *Hilary* Term there were ſome other Puniſhments and Proſecutions; of which two were from Informations deliver'd and Convictions obtain'd in the laſt Term: The Firſt was of Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, a Clergy-Man formerly mention'd, who for his Book call'd *Julian the Apoſtate*, which in the Information is term'd *Scandalous* and *Seditious*, was now thus Sentenc'd by the Court of *King's-Bench*; 'That he ſhou'd pay Five Hundred Marks for a Fine to the King; That he find Sureties for his good Behaviour for a Year; That he ſhou'd be Committed to Priſon till this be paid and done; and that the Book be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman.' The other was *John Darby*, a Printer, who had been convicted of a Miſdemeanor, in Printing *My Lord* Ruſſel'*s Speech*, which was term'd a *Seditious Libel*; and he was now brought to the Court of *King's-Bench* to receive his Judgment. He humbly ſubmitted himſelf to the Court, and begg'd Pardon, with a Promiſe never to commit the like Offence; and therefore the Court gave a milder Sentence, 'That he ſhould pay twenty Marks for a Fine to the King, and find Surety for his Good Behaviour for a Twelve-Month; and be committed to Priſon till that is paid and done.

Proceedings againſt Mr. Johnſon,

Mr. Darby;

The Deferring theſe Sentences and ſome Proſecutions, was by ſeveral Sanguine Men of their Party look'd upon as a Weakneſs in the Government, and was one great Cauſe of another Tryal at the End of this Term, which was that of Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton*, a Gentleman ſufficiently remember'd for being Head of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s *Ignoramus* Jury. He was try'd at *Guild-Hall* for *High Miſdemeanor*, on the 14th of *February*; and the Information againſt him was, *For Scandalizing and Vilifying the Evidence in the laſt Horrid Plot*; with which he was charg'd in ſeveral Letters ſent into the Country; wherein he related 'The great Favour into which the Duke of *Monmouth* was return'd; and rejoyc'd, That all the Priſoners that were in the late ſham *Proteſtant Plot*, were diſcharg'd upon Bail; That *Braddon* and *Speke* were not proſecuted; That the paſſing Sentence upon the Author of *Julian the Apoſtate*, and the Printer of the *Lord Ruſſel*'s *Speech*, were paſs'd over in Silence, *&c*.' To which were added theſe Expreſſions; ''Tis generally ſaid the Earl of *Eſſex* was Murder'd by other Hands: The brave Lord *Ruſſel* is afreſh lamented: The *Plot* is loſt here, unleſs you can find it in the Country among the *Addreſſers* and *Abhorrers*: The *High Tories* and *Clergy* are Mortify'd, and Sir *George Jeffreys* is grown humble.' The Deſign in Concluſion was, 'To deſire their Friends to beſtir themſelves, to get in Sober Men, and to be ſure to keep the *Sober Party* up.' Theſe and ſome other Particulars being prov'd againſt him, his Sentence was, 'That he ſhou'd pay to the King a Fine of Ten Thouſand Pounds, that he ſhou'd find Sureties for his Good Behaviour during Life, and be committed till the ſame be perform'd.' But rather than pay his Fine, he choſe to be a Priſoner, and continu'd ſuch all the reſt of this Reign, and a conſiderable Part of the next.

And Sir Samuel Barnardiſton.

The laſt Fin'd 10000 *Pounds.*

1684.
Car. 36.
Reſ. 25.

3. Several Acts of Hoſtility were this Spring fiercely purſu'd between the *French* and the *Spaniards*, both by Sea and Land, but ſtill without any formal Declaration of War: Upon which Account his *Britannick* Majeſty, being directly concern'd on neither ſide, but in Amity with both, was pleas'd to Iſſue out a particular Proclamation at *Newmarket*, Declaring, 'That the Peace ſhou'd be kept inviolably on both Sides, in all Roads, Creeks, and Ports of his Dominions; and that all his Commanders and Officers ſhou'd oppoſe themſelves againſt all that ſhou'd Aſſault any of the Ships of his Allies in any of his Roads, Creeks, or Places under his Protection, *&c*.' And not long after, *May* the 12th, under a Pretext of a better Management of the Sea Affairs, the King was pleas'd to revoke and determine the Commiſſion, formerly granted to ſeveral Perſons, for Executing the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*, and to commit thoſe Affairs to the care of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, tho' then diſabled by Law. And about a Fortnight after, as a further Favour, his Majeſty thought fit to declare in Council at *Hampton-Court*, That he found it convenient for his Service, that his Royal Highneſs ſhou'd be preſent at the Meetings of the Council; and accordingly the Duke ſat that Day, and continu'd ſo to do. And now the Duke's Influence and Greatneſs began more manifeſtly to appear; and on the 26th of *June*, his Royal Highneſs, being Captain of the Artillery Company of *London*, in a particular Manner march'd at their Head through the City to the Artillery Ground, and attended with many of the Higheſt Rank, there led them up in Perſon, with extraordinary Joy and Acclamations.

A Proclamation as to Sea Affairs.

1684.
Car. 36.
Reſ. 25.

The Duke of York *re-eſtabliſh'd.*

In the Height of this Proſperity, two Perſons felt the Weight of the Duke's Greatneſs: The firſt was *John Dutton Colt* Eſquire, ſometime Bayliff of *Leominſter* in *Herefordſhire*, and Burgeſs of that Borough in the three laſt Parliaments, who was heard to ſpeak theſe Words: *The Duke of* York *is a Papiſt, and before any ſuch Papiſt Dog ſhall be Succeſſor to the Crown of* England, *I'll be hang'd at my own Door.* —— *If the King had no worſe Bayliffs nor Mayors in all his Corporations, and no worſe Parliament Men than my ſelf, we ſhould ſoon rout the Duke of* York, *the Lord of* Worceſter, *the Lord* Peterborough, *and all ſuch Popiſh Dogs out of the Kingdom.* —— *If any of the Members of Parliament come to an untimely End, it ſhall preſently be laid on the Papiſts; and from that Time I will begin to cut the Throat of the firſt Papiſt I meet, if it be the Duke of* York *himſelf.*--------*If the King follows the Advice of that damn'd Popiſh Dog his Brother, and ſuch like evil Counſellors, in ſo often Diſſolving the Parliament, it will in the End be worſe for him.*-------*I will be hang'd at my own Door, before ſuch a damn'd Popiſh Raſcal as the Duke of* York, *ſhall ever inherit the Crown of* England.------Theſe and the like Words being fully prov'd againſt him at the *King's-Bench* Bar, on the 3d of *May* the Jury brought in their Verdict for his Royal Higneſs, and gave him for Damages a Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

He brings a Scandalum Magnatum *againſt* Dutton Colt.

The other Sufferer was the fam'd *Titus Oates*, whoſe Proſperity was now expir'd: He was ſuddenly taken up on the 10th of *May*, at the *Amſterdam* Coffee-Houſe, in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, at the Suit of the ſame Duke, for directly calling him *Traytor*, and uſing other Scandalous Words, which naturally flow'd from his Mouth. He was carry'd to *Wood-Street* Compter, where he lay two Days, and then remov'd by *Habeas Corpus* to the *King's-Bench* Priſon. The next Term he let Judgment go by Default; whereupon a Writ of Enquiry of Damages was Executed at the *King's-Bench* Bar, where the Jury upon Hearing of the Evidence, gave a Hundred Thouſand Pounds Damages. From this Time he never got out of the Priſon till after the Revolution; for he was not only detain'd by this Action, but the next *Michaelmas* Term he was Indicted for Perjury in the *King's-Bench* Court, in relation to Father *Ireland*'s being in *London* at the Time the ſaid *Oates* Swore to, at his Tryal; to which Indictment he pleading Not guilty, the Tryal was appointed to be the next Term. Shortly after, at the Seſſions in the *Old-Bayley*, he had another Indictment of Perjury preferr'd againſt him, in Relation to his being preſent at the ſuppos'd Conſult of the *Jeſuits* at the *White-Horſe* Tavern in 1678; and upon pleading Not guilty, this Indictment was alſo appointed to be Try'd in the *King's Bench* Court the next Term; and the Indictment was removed thither. But theſe Tryals did not come on till the Beginnning of the next Reign; and it was look'd upon as unfortunate for the *Popiſh* Party, that he was not try'd in this. Then, for a further Diſgrace to their Maſter, in the ſame Term, *Dalby* and *Nicholſon*, two of *Oates*'s Men, were convicted; the firſt at the *Niſi Prius* for the County of *Middleſex*; the other at the *Niſi Prius* held for the City of *London*, at *Guild-Hall*, for ſpeaking moſt Scandalous and Seditious Words againſt his preſent Majeſty, and the Government, for which they both ſtood in the Pillory.

And againſt Titus Oates.

The laſt is further proſecuted for Perjury.

4. But to return a little back, we are next to take Notice of the Proceedings againſt two Capital Offenders, and both outlaw'd upon the Account of the late Conſpiracy, Mr. *James Holloway*, and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*. The Firſt, having been deeply ingag'd, and finding his Name in the *Gazette*, fled to the *Weſt-Indies*, where he was accidentally taken, after he had ſuffer'd an Outlawry for High-Treaſon, and brought Priſoner to *London*, and put into *Newgate*. While he was there, he wrote a Paper which he call'd, *His Free Confeſſion and Narrative*, addreſs'd to the King's Majeſty, and deliver'd by himſelf to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*. It confirm'd moſt of the Particulars that had been open'd and diſcover'd at the Tryals

Holloway'*s Confeſſion*.

of

1684.
Gar. 36.
Ref. 25.

And Execution.

of the Perſons executed before him; but there appear'd very little New in what was publiſh'd, beſides what was to have been acted in *Briſtol*; 'which Place was to have 'been ſurpris'd by three hundred and fifty Men, of whom 'above Half were to be rais'd in and about the City, and 'the reſt to have been ſent from *Taunton*.' But towards the Concluſion of it he tells the World, 'That he had 'given to his Majeſty the Names of ſeveral other Perſons, 'beſides thoſe already known, who were to have been 'concern'd in the *Plot*.' But all this did him no real Service; and being brought to the Bar, and demanded what he had to ſay, why *Execution* ſhou'd not be awarded againſt him, upon the Attainder of *Outlawry* for Treaſon? he anſwer'd, 'That he had made an ingenuous Confeſ'ſion to his Majeſty, and begg'd his Mercy.' Then the Court told him, 'That notwithſtanding the *Outlawry* 'againſt him, he ſhou'd be indulg'd ſo far as to have a 'Tryal, if he thought he cou'd defend himſelf.' To which he reply'd, 'That he cou'd not undertake to de'fend himſelf, for that he had confeſs'd before his Ma'jeſty, *That he was guilty of many Things in the Indict'ment*.' And ſo coming to the Place of his Execution, at *Tyburn*, he declared his Belief of the Plot, and that he was concern'd in it: But at the ſame Time he accus'd the Government of Managing ſeveral Things ill, and againſt the King and Kingdom's Intereſt; and that what he intended was only for the Good of Both: And as to his Religion, he profeſs'd himſelf neither a *Diſſenter* from the Church of *England*, nor joyn'd with it altogether.

Sir Thomas Armſtrong *taken.*

His Plea,

The other, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, having been nam'd in the King's Proclamation, with a Reward equal to the Greateſt, was apprehended at *Leyden* in *Holland*, by Order of the *States*; and being put on Board one of his Majeſty's Yachts at *Rotterdam*, he was brought to *London*, and ſent Priſoner to *Newgate* on the 11th of *June*. This ungovernable Gentleman had as many perſonal Obligations to the King as almoſt any Man living, and it is ſaid that none had made more ungrateful Returns; ſo that he was now to expect no Favour from the Court. Being ſhortly after his Commitment brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar, and ask'd what he cou'd ſay for himſelf, Why Execution ſhou'd not paſs againſt him, he alledg'd He was beyond Sea at the Time of the *Outlawry*, and begg'd he might be Try'd. It was anſwer'd, 'That after a Record 'of *Outlawry*, the Judges had nothing to do but to ap'point Execution.' Againſt which the Priſoner urg'd, 'That by the Statute of the 6th of *Edward* the Sixth, the 'Perſon outlaw'd had a Year's Time to reverſe the Out'lawry, if he were beyond Sea.' The Bench reply'd, 'That by the plain Words of the Statute, none could have 'the Benefit of it, but ſuch as within one Year ſhould '*Yield Themſelves* to the Chief-Juſtice of *England*, and 'offer to Traverſe the Indictment upon which the Out'lawry was pronounc'd.' To this *Armſtrong* pleaded, 'That the Year not being yet out, he did now render 'himſelf to the Chief-Juſtice.' But that Plea not being admitted, becauſe he did not *Yield himſelf*, but was *brought Priſoner*, and could have no Advantage of the Statute; he then alledg'd, 'That the ſame had been lately granted 'to *Holloway*, who tho' in the ſame Condition, was of'fered to take his Tryal, if he pleas'd.' It was anſwer'd, 'That was done out of meer Grace and Favour of the 'King, who, if his Majeſty thought good, might extend 'the like Favour to him alſo: But that was not the Buſi'neſs of a Court of Juſtice; they were only to take care 'to ſatisfy the Law.' Over and above, the Attorney-General acquainted the Court, 'That the Priſoner at the 'Bar deſerv'd no Sort of Indulgence or Mercy from the 'King; not only for that when he was ſeiz'd beyond 'Sea, Letters of freſh Communication with Foreign Mi'niſters, and other People, were taken from him, but al'ſo becauſe it appear'd to his Majeſty by full Evidence 'poſitively given, *That after the Diſappointment of the 'Meeting at the* Rye-Houſe, *by God's Providence in the 'Fire at* New-Market, Armſtrong *was one of the Perſons 'that actually engag'd to go, upon the King's haſty coming 'to Town, and to deſtroy him by the Way as he return'd.*

And Execution.

Being brought to the Place of Execution, he, as others had done, deliver'd to the Sheriffs a Paper, wherein 'he 'continu'd to object againſt the Legal Courſe of the Pro'ceedings againſt him, complaining, that with an unordi'nary Roughneſs he had been condemn'd, and made a 'Precedent, tho' *Holloway* being alſo Outlaw'd, had his 'Tryal offer'd him a little before.' As to the new Evidence againſt him, which the Attorney-General mention'd at the *King's-Bench*, he only anſwer'd it by a direct and flat Denyal; affirming upon his Death, *He never had any Deſign againſt the King's Life, nor the Life of any Man*; both which, as was then obſerv'd, might be eaſily allow'd to be equally true. Moſt People thought he had hard Meaſures in having his Tryal refus'd him, but he was the leſs pity'd, becauſe his Hands had been before defil'd with Blood. He was executed at *Tyburn* on *Friday* the 20th of *June*; which was obſerv'd by ſome to be the ſame Day of the ſame Month, and the ſame Day of the Week, on which the five Jeſuits were executed in the ſame Manner at the ſame Place, juſt five Years before. His Head was ſet up on *Weſtminſter-Hall* between thoſe of *Cromwell* and *Bradſhaw*; one of his Quarters upon *Temple-Bar*, two others at *Alderſgate*, and *Aldgate*, and the fourth was ſaid to be ſent down to *Stafford*, for which Town he had been a Burgeſs in Parliament. This Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* was the laſt Man that ſuffer'd Death upon the Account of the Plot, in this Reign.

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Proceedings againſt inferior Offenders.

Several inferior Offenders were brought to Puniſhment in *Eaſter* and *Trinity* Terms; particularly, *Langley Curtis* and *Francis Smith*, both Bookſellers, and induſtrious Promoters of unlicens'd Pamphlets. The firſt was convicted 'for Printing a Scandalous and Seditious Pamphlet, 'call'd, *The Lord* Ruſſel's *Ghoſt, or, The Night-Walker 'of* Bloomsbury;' for which he was fin'd five Hundred Pounds, and order'd to ſtand in the Pillory in *Bloomsbury*-Market, and the ſaid Libel to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman. The other, Mr. *Smith* at the *Elephant* and *Caſtle* in *Corn-Hill*, was Try'd 'For Print'ing and Publiſhing a Scandalous and Seditious Libel, 'call'd, *The Raree Show*;' for which he was alſo fin'd five Hundred Pounds, and to ſtand Thrice in the Pillory, and to find Sureties of Good Behaviour during Life. Likewiſe *Samuel Packer*, Deputy to *Richard Goodenough*, when he was Under-Sheriff of *London*, was Convicted for Publiſhing another Scandalous and Seditious Libel; for which he was fin'd fifty Marks, and order'd to ſtand in the Pillory at three ſeveral Places in *Weſtminſter*. After him, *George Cawdron*, Steward to the Earl of *Clare*, was try'd upon an Information, 'for Speaking moſt Scanda'lous and Seditious Words againſt his Majeſty and the 'Government;' for which he was fin'd a Hundred Pounds, to ſtand in the Pillory in two ſeveral Places, and to find Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life. Beſides all theſe, the Town of *Nottingham*, having upon *Michaelmas* Day had a great Scuffle, upon an Election of a Mayor, and other Officers for that Corporation, ſome Claiming the ancient Cuſtom, and others inſiſting on the new Charter; for this Reaſon, thoſe that oppos'd the ſaid Charter, *viz. William Sacheverel*, *George Gregory*, and *Charles Hutchinſon* Eſquires, *William Greeves*, and Seventeen others, had an Information exhibited againſt them, 'For a great Riot by them committed, to the great Ter'ror of many of his Majeſty's Loyal Subjects;' and at a Tryal at the *King's-Bench* Bar, on *May* the 2d, they were all, except one *Barker*, found Guilty of the ſaid Riot, and fin'd in Proportion.

Surrendry of Charters.

5. And indeed, the greateſt Part of the Hiſtory of this peaceable Year, as formerly hinted, conſiſts of Proſecutions, Penalties and Puniſhments; and, what was in a great Meaſure the Effect of them, the Surrendry of Charters, and the Reforming, or rather Corrupting of Corporations: For many of the Cities, Town, and Boroughs, conceiving their Privileges could not long ſurvive thoſe of the great Metropolis, and finding the Court Reſolv'd in the Expectance and Demand of them, did generally agree to offer them up as a ſort of a Sacrifice to the King's Will and Pleaſure: And even many of the Courtiers were employ'd to make an Intereſt in thoſe Places where they were moſt concern'd, to obtain and extort the ſaid Surrendry. Particularly the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, in the Northern Circuit, at the Summer Aſſizes, is charg'd with making it his great Buſineſs to terrify the People into this Compliance; and at his Return waited on his Majeſty at *Wincheſter*, and deliver'd up to him the Charters of the City of *Lincoln*, and of ſeveral other Corporations within his own Circuit, as an Oblation of his own Loyalty, and a Triumph over the Liberties of the ſaid Corporations. However, the King commanded his Lordſhip 'To let the ſeveral Corporations know his gracious Ac'ceptance of the Surrender of their Charters, and the 'Senſe his Majeſty had of their Loyalty; and according'ly he would let them find the good Effects thereof, up'on the Renewal of their Charters.

The King's own Forces.

By theſe Meaſures, the Aſcendency of the Duke of *York* began to be more and more believ'd; and it look'd as if both the Brothers had taken a Reſolution to deſtroy Faction, and all the Reſemblances of it, whether good or bad. The Advantages of Power receiv'd by the King were manifeſt, and not eaſy to be reſiſted in a Conqueſt after ſo many Struggles and Conflicts. This Power did ſeveral Ways increaſe, and particularly by a Military Force, which was almoſt inſenſibly augmented by the broken Garriſon of *Tangier*, which was brought over in the Beginning of this Year. The City of *London* ſeem'd in effect ſubdu'd, and was forc'd to ſubmit to ſuch Sheriffs, and a Lord Mayor, as the King was pleas'd to appoint: The two former were Sir *William Goſlin* and Sir *Peter Vandeput*, and the Lord Mayor was Sir *James Smith*; all commiſſion'd under the Great Seal; and all very much to the Satisfaction of the *Tory* Party, whoſe Numbers and Strength daily encreas'd: So that whatever Appearances there might be of Arbitrary Power, yet ſtill there was a Majority in the City, and a much greater in the Country, that were pleas'd to ſee the Ruins of a once formidable Party, and to think this a Year of real Happineſs. As to the King's Forces by Land, which began to be call'd a *Standing Army*, a Muſter was made of them on the firſt of *October* at *Putney* Heath; which was accounted a moſt Gallant Military Appearance. The Horſe that Day conſiſted of the three Troops of Guards, and of their three of Grenadiers, of the Earl of *Oxford*'s Regiment of Horſe-Guards, and the Lord *Churchill*'s Regiment of Dragoons. The Foot were two Battalions form'd from the *Royal* Regiment of Guards and their Grenadiers; One Battalion from the *Cold-Stream* Regiment of Guards and Grenadiers; One Battalion from the Earl of *Dunbarton*'s Regiment and their Grenadiers, and One from the *Admiral* Regiment. The Total of Horſe and Foot which then Rendezvous'd were above four thouſand, all compleatly Train'd and Effective Men; and all that Day commanded by the Earl of *Craven*. At which Muſter both their Majeſties, and both their Royal Highneſſes, were preſent with very great Satisfaction.

The Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion diſſolv'd.

In the ſame Month, the King, the more to bring Matters under his own Cognizance, thought fit to diſſolve the popular and acceptable Commiſſion granted in the Year 1681, to certain Commiſſioners to diſpoſe of all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments belonging to the Crown: So that the ſaid Preferments were now again in his Majeſty's immediate Diſpoſal. And the firſt worth the Remembering, was the Tranſlating Dr. *Turner* from the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter* to that of *Ely*, and Raiſing the Eloquent Dr. *Sprat*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, into the See of *Rocheſter*; which laſt had been employ'd by the King himſelf to write a full Account of the late Conſpiracy; which he did to the great Satisfaction of one Party.

A Statue erected to the King.

The King being at the Height of his Glory, moſt Men ſeem'd ready to fall down and worſhip him; and this Year a famous and Noble Statue was erected to his Honour, in the Middle or Center of the Royal Exchange. It conſiſted of the exact Figure of his preſent Majeſty, done in Grey Marble, erected upon a curious Pedeſtal of the ſame; and the Statue was in the Garb and Habit of a *Roman Cæſar*. The Work-man that cut it was Mr. *Grinling Gibbons*, the moſt celebrated Statuary that ever *England* produc'd, and equal, if not Superior, to the beſt of *Europe* in this Age. This was perform'd at the Charge of the *Hamborough* Company, at five Hundred Pounds Expence: The Inſcription on the Pedeſtal is as follows: CAROLO II. *Cæſari Britannico, Patriæ Patri, Regum Optimo, Clementiſſimo, Auguſtiſſimo, Generis humani Deliciis, utriuſque Fortunæ Victori, Pacis Europæ Arbitro, Maris Domino & Vindici, Societas Mercatorum Adventur. Angliæ, quæ per* CCCC *jam prope Annos Regia Benignitate floret, Fidei intemeratæ, Gratitudinis Æternæ, hoc Teſtimonium Venerabunda poſuit. Anno Sal. Humanæ* MDCLXXXIV. The King was ſo fully pleas'd with this Performance, that he gave ſpecial Orders that no Perſon ſhould ſo much as Copy it in any Print, without the particular Leave of the ſaid Mr. *Grinling Gibbons*.

6. During *Michaelmas* Term, there happen'd ſome further Tryals and Proſecutions, which ſhew'd the Humour and Temper of the Times: Particularly on the 6th of *November*, a Tryal was held at *Guild-Hall*, before the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, upon an Action upon the Caſe brought by Sir *William Prichard*, formerly Lord Mayor of *London*, againſt Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*, of which the latter was lately dead, for Maliciouſly cauſing him to be Arreſted, and falſly Impriſon'd, during his Mayoralty: The Fact was repreſented by the Council, 'as a 'very evil Deſign, and Malicious Practice, contriv'd with 'ſeveral of the Traytors, lately fled from Juſtice, as well 'againſt his Majeſty's Government, and the Magiſtracy 'of the City, as againſt the Perſon of the ſaid Sir *William Prichard*.' Upon which, after a full Hearing of the Evidence, the Jury brought in their Verdict for Sir *William*, and gave him no leſs than ten Thouſand Pounds Damages.

The Proſecution of Mr. Beſt,

Mr. Butler,

And Mr. Roſewell.

The latter pardon'd.

As to Proſecutions, beſides that of *Titus Oates* formerly mention'd, there are Three to be remember'd in this Term: The Firſt was of *Elias Beſt*, commonly call'd *The Proteſtant Hop-Merchant*, who was try'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar for ſpeaking Scandalous and Seditious Words againſt the Government; for which he was fin'd a Thouſand Pounds, and order'd to ſtand Thrice in the Pillory, as alſo to find Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life. The next was Mr. *Butler* of *Northamptonſhire*, who was convicted at the *King's-Bench* Bar upon an Information for preſenting and reading to the Knights of the Shire choſen for that County at the laſt Election, a Seditious Paper of Addreſs to them, from ſome factious Perſons, for which he was fin'd five Hundred Marks, and bound to good Behaviour during Life. The laſt was a Matter of a higher Conſequence, the Proſecution of Mr. *Thomas Roſewell*, a Diſſenting Teacher at *Redriffe* in *Surrey*, who was try'd at the ſame Bar for High-Treaſon; and particularly charg'd with ſpeaking theſe Words in a Sermon preach'd on *September* the 14th, *That the People made a flocking to the King, upon Pretence of Healing the King's Evil, which he could not do; but that we are they to whom they ought to flock, becauſe We are Prieſts and Prophets, that by our Prayers can heal the Dolours and Griefs of the People: We have had two wicked Kings together, who have permitted* Popery *to enter in under their Noſes, whom we can reſemble to no other Perſon, but to the moſt wicked* Jeroboam; *and if they would ſtand to their Principles, he did not fear, but they would overcome their Enemies, as in former Times with Rams Horns, broken Platters, and a Stone in a Sling*. The Priſoner made a very handſome Defence, eſpecially as to the Infamy of the Witneſſes; but in Half an Hour's Time the Jury brought him in Guilty of High-Treaſon. But Sir *John Talbot*, who was preſent at the Tryal, was pleas'd of his own Accord to repreſent the Paſſages of it, with his Opinion, to the King; who thereupon gave Directions to the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, that he ſhould have Council aſſign'd him, to plead to the Inſufficiency of the Indictment, in Arreſt of Judgment. Accordingly the Caſe was argu'd by Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, and Mr. *Bampfield*, and the Court took till the next Term to conſider of Judgment; but in the mean Time the King graciouſly granted him a Pardon; a Favour we do not find he granted to any one Perſon Convicted of High-Treaſon, either *Papiſt* or *Proteſtant*, for the ſeven laſt Years.

Orders againſt High-Way Men.

The Roads being this Winter very much infeſted with Robbers, his Majeſty thought fit, on the 19th of *December*, to order in Council, and declare his Pleaſure for Redreſs, 'That all his Officers of Juſtice, and other his 'loving Subjects, do uſe their utmoſt Diligence and Endeavour for the Apprehending all Robbers and High-'Way Men;' And for the Encouragement of ſuch as ſhall apprehend any ſuch Offender, it was further Order'd, 'that ſuch Perſons, who ſhall at any Time from the pre-'ſent, till the 19th of *December*, 1685, and after that 'Day, till his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to recall this Order, 'either by Proclamation or his Order in Council, appre-'hend any Robber or High-Way Man, and cauſe him to 'be brought into Cuſtody, ſhall within fifteen Days after 'his Conviction, have a Reward of Ten Pounds, for e-'very ſuch Offender: And all Sheriffs of the Counties, 'where ſuch Conviction ſhall be had, are by the ſaid Or-'der required, upon the Certificate of the Judge, or two 'Juſtices of the Peace, before whom ſuch Perſons ſhall 'be convicted, to pay to the Perſons who ſhall apprehend 'ſuch Offenders, the Reward aforeſaid, out of his Ma-'jeſty's Monies receiv'd by ſuch Sheriffs in that County, 'where ſuch Conviction ſhall be; which ſhall be allow'd 'to them upon their Accounts in the *Exchequer*: And 'all Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Juſtices of the 'Peace, *&c.* are required to be Aiding and Aſſiſting in 'all Things tending to the Execution of the ſame.

Honours and Promotions.

And now at laſt to come to Promotions, and Deaths of great Men, that happen'd this Year; we are firſt to remember that *Leoline Jenkins*, one of the King's Principal Secretaries of State, having long pray'd his Majeſty to permit him, by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition, to reſign his Place; his Majeſty was at laſt pleas'd to grant it, tho' with much Unwillingneſs, becauſe of the great Satisfaction he always had in his Services: So on the 14th of *April*, at *Windſor*, he deliver'd up the Seals to the King; who was pleas'd to give them to the Honourable *Sidney Godolphin* Eſquire, one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, who was accordingly ſworn into the Secretary's Office ſhortly after, in a Council held at *Hampton-Court*. About the Middle of *July*, the Earl of *Murray*, and the Earl of *Middleton*, the two Secretaries of State for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, were, by his Majeſty's Command, ſworn of his moſt honourable Privy-Council in *England*, and took their Places at the Board in *Hampton-Court*. Above a Month after, the King was pleas'd to declare in Council, 'That having given the Earl of *Radnor*, Lord-'Preſident of the Council, (with whoſe Services he was 'very well ſatisfy'd) Leave to retire, in Conſideration of 'his great Age; He had reſolv'd to make the Earl of '*Rocheſter* Lord-Preſident, Mr. Secretary *Godolphin* Firſt 'Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and the Earl of *Middle*-'*ton* Secretary of State:' And accordingly the Earl of *Rocheſter* took his Place at the Board, and the Earl of *Middleton* was ſworn one of the Principal Secretaries of State: And ſhortly after, his Majeſty was pleas'd to add a new Favour to Mr. *Godolphin*, and to grant to him the Title and Dignity of a Baron of *England*, by the Name and Stile of Baron *Godolphin* of *Rialton* in the County of *Cornwal*. In this *Michaelmas* Term, his Majeſty thought fit,

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fit, upon the Death of Mr. Juſtice *Windham*, to remove Mr. Baron *Street* to the *Common-Pleas*, and in his Place to conſtitute Sir *Robert Wright*, his Majeſty's Serjeant at Law, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*.

The Deaths of Biſhop Gunning,

Biſhop Morley,

As to the Deaths of eminent Men, we ſhall begin with two great and learned Prelates, Dr. *Peter Gunning*, and Dr. *George Morley*, the one Biſhop of *Ely*, and the other of *Wincheſter*. The Firſt was a *Kentiſh* Man by Birth, and of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge* by Education, where he was for ſome Years a Fellow, and from whence he was ejected for his Loyalty, and refuſing the *Covenant*. After which he ſtrenuouſly ſupported the Honour and Credit of the Eſtabliſh'd Church of *England* in the moſt dangerous Times, and at *London* kept up a noble Congregation, daily oppoſing and ſtemming the Overflowings of Presbytery, Independency, Anabaptiſm, Socinianiſm, *&c.* with unuſual Vigour and Succeſs. Upon the Reſtoration, he was made Maſter of St. *John*'s College, and the King's Profeſſor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, where no Man more gloriouſly adorn'd the Chair; from whence he was ſucceſſively rais'd to the Biſhopricks of *Chicheſter* and *Ely*, and all without the leaſt Application. Here he was not only admired for his uncommon Learning, and his profound Skill in Theology, but belov'd for his exemplary Piety and diffuſive Charity to all Perſons in Diſtreſs; and being an incomparable Diſputant, without the Help of Pen and Ink, he was further diſtinguiſh'd for his Art, not only in bringing over Papiſts and other Diſſenters, but in converting a conſiderable Number of *Jews*. The other, Biſhop *Morley*, was a *Londoner* by Birth, and had his Education in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and was afterwards taken into the particular Favour, and made Chaplain to the late King, to whom he was inviolably Loyal, and very Aſſiſting in ſome of his greateſt Difficulties. Being an Exile with his preſent Majeſty, he got into the great Acquaintance and Eſteem of ſeveral Learned Foreigners, as *Rivet*, *Heinſius*, *Salmaſius*, *Bochart*, &c. which made him fitter for the greateſt Employments at the Return of the King; who generouſly rewarded him firſt with the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, and then with the rich one of *Wincheſter*, telling him, *That he knew he wou'd not be the richer for it*; which in one Reſpect prov'd true, by reaſon of the vaſt Sums he laid out in repairing and rebuilding his Palaces, and his munificent Benefactions, as well as charitable Donations. He was a Perſon of extenſive Knowledge and Experience, and tho' he was a ſtrict Churchman, in Oppoſition to all Sorts of Diſſenters, yet he was a great *Calviniſt*, and eſteem'd one of the main Patrons of that Perſuaſion; and having led a pious and primitive Life, he dy'd full of Years and Honour, in the 87th of his Age.

The Lord Brouncker,

Dr. Wittie,

Mr. Walker,

And the Earl of Roſcommon.

The reſt to be mention'd were Perſons of very different Characters and Employments, of which we ſhall begin with *William* Lord *Brouncker*, Viſcount of *Caſtle-Lyons* in *Ireland*, a celebrated Vertuoſo, who was much incourag'd in the *Engliſh* Court, where he had ſeveral Places; but principally addicting himſelf to Mathematicks, he became a great Artiſt in that and Philoſophy, and was not only Fellow of the *Royal Society*, but Preſident thereof for fifteen Years; which Society he did very much honour and advance by his great Labours, and long Experience. The next was Dr. *Robert Wittie*, a Doctor of Phyſick, educated in *King*'s College in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and Fellow of the College of Phyſicians in *London*, a very ingenious and learned Man, who practis'd for ſeveral Years, and with great Succeſs at *Kingſton* upon *Hull*; and at length retiring to *London*, he dy'd in his old Age, having inrich'd the World with ſeveral Treatiſes in his own Faculty, and particularly a *Deſcription of* Scarborough Spaw *in* Yorkſhire. The third was Mr. *William Walker*, a Bachelor of Divinity, educated in *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge* Univerſity, from whence he became ſucceſſively School-Maſter in the Towns of *Lowth* and *Grantham* in *Lincolnſhire*; where he ſhew'd himſelf excellently qualify'd for the Education of Youth, and became a moſt uſeful Writer, both as to School Learning and Divinity; and for the firſt he was diſtinguiſh'd by his *Treatiſe of Engliſh Particles*, and for the Latter by his *Modeſt Plea for Infant Baptiſm*. The laſt to be mention'd is *Wentworth Dillon* Earl of *Roſcommon*, an *Iriſh* Nobleman, but principally reſiding in the *Engliſh* Court, where he was both encourag'd by the King, and admired by all for his great Wit and Parts, which he more particularly diſplay'd in his Poetical Compoſitions; in which there appears the utmoſt Strength and Energy, with the moſt labour'd and judicious Exactneſs; and that ſingle Poem call'd *An Eſſay on Tranſlated Verſe*, has in it ſo many juſt and maſterly Strokes, that, in its Kind, was perhaps never exceeded in the *Engliſh*, or any other Language whatſoever.

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Honours and Preferments.

VI. The ſmall Remainder of this Reign was of a piece, and of the ſame Nature with the preceding Year, and chiefly taken up with Promotions, Proſecutions, and Modelling of Corporations; in all which the King and the Duke daily found the Advantage and Satisfaction. As to Promotions and Honours conferr'd, his Majeſty, having Knighted Captain *John Clark*, Citizen of *London*, and *Edmund Warcup* of *Northmoor* in *Oxfordſhire*, a little before, on the Firſt of *January* he conferr'd the ſame Honour of Knighthood upon *William Creagh*, of *New-Caſtle* upon *Tyne*, being preſented by his Royal Highneſs to his Brother; who did him this Honour, as a Mark of his gracious Acceptance of the Loyal Zeal he had on ſeveral Occaſions expreſs'd for his Majeſty's Service. A few Days after, *John Drummond* Eſquire, one of the King's Secretaries of State for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council, and took his Place at the Board at *White-Hall*. About a Week after that, *William Bridgeman*, and *Philip Muſgrave* Eſquires, were ſworn Clerks of the Privy-Council, in the Room of Sir *Thomas Dolman* and *Francis Gwynn* Eſquire, to whom his Majeſty had given Leave to reſign. Dr. *Peter Mew* having been tranſlated from the See of *Bath* and *Wells* to *Wincheſter*, Dr. *Thomas Kenn*, a Man eminent for a Pious and Devotional Life, was advanc'd to his Biſhoprick, and ſolemnly Conſecrated on the 25th of *January*. The laſt Honour his Majeſty beſtow'd was that of Knighthood, upon *Henry Brabant*, of *Newcaſtle* Eſquire, particularly for his many Loyal Services; and this was upon the 28th of *January*, five Days before the King's fatal Sickneſs.

A Search after Danvers.

Sir Scroop How *proſecuted.*

Tho' the Court had ſo far cruſh'd the declining Party, as to prevent any great Damage from them, yet ſome Struggles remain'd; and in this *Chriſtmas* there appear'd a dangerous and Treaſonable Libel, as it was call'd, promoted by the Diſſenters, relating to the Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*: Upon a ſtrict Search and Enquiry after the Author, one *Henry Danvers*, commonly call'd Colonel *Danvers*, late of *Newington* in *Middleſex*, appear'd to be the Man; but being upon the Diſcovery fled, his Majeſty was pleas'd on the 4th of *January* to command publick Notice to be given, 'That whereas the ſaid *Henry Danvers* 'ſtands accus'd of ſeveral Treaſonable and Dangerous 'Practices, and is fled from Juſtice, Whoever ſhall apprehend him, and cauſe him to be deliver'd into ſafe 'Cuſtody, ſhall receive a Reward of a Hundred Pounds, 'to be forthwith paid by the Lords Commiſſioners of the 'Treaſury.' Shortly after, Sir *Scroop How*, one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Nottingham* in the late Parliaments, appear'd in the *King's-Bench* Court, to anſwer to an Information for Words ſpoken againſt the King and the Duke of *York*; which being read, he pleaded Guilty, confeſs'd his Offence with much Sorrow, and caſt himſelf upon the Mercy of his Majeſty and Royal Highneſs: And being the next Day introduc'd to them both, he was, upon his humble Submiſſion, receiv'd into Grace and Favour; upon which he acknowledg'd, *That he ow'd his Life and Eſtate to his Majeſty's Goodneſs; and that he wou'd for the future dedicate both to the Service of his Majeſty, and the Royal Family.*

Surrendring of Charters.

As to the Buſineſs of Corporations, and ſurrendring of Charters, there were ſeveral about this Time given up, and more new ones return'd, which were generally receiv'd with all the Marks of Joy and Exultation: Among which were *Leiceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Kendal*, *Leeds*, *Carliſle*, and many in *Cornwall*. Some of theſe, as *Leiceſter* in particular, had new Privileges of Fairs and other Advantages granted to them in their new Charters; ſo that whatever were the ſecret Deſigns of the Court, or the Incroachments upon the Liberties of the People, ſtill there was a general Satisfaction, and a ready Reliance upon the Goodneſs of the King; and the Complaints and Exclamations made upon theſe Occaſions, were infinitely greater afterwards, than any about this Time.

The King in the Height of his Power.

2. By theſe Means, and other concurring Circumſtances, the King's Power and Authority was brought to ſuch a Height as had not been known for many Years, and ſuch as might well prove formidable to a free and jealous People; but ſtill the King had this Advantage, that all that was gracious and popular was attributed to Himſelf, and what was harſh and ſevere, to the Duke his Brother, who at the ſame Time had both his Admirers and Fearers. The *Whig* Party was now broken and diminiſh'd, and all that look'd like Faction and Sedition was ſuppreſs'd, and in a great Meaſure extinguiſh'd; and the Diſſenters, who had ſo much Cheriſh'd the *Popiſh* Plot and the *Excluſion* Bill, were reduc'd to the loweſt Ebb; inſomuch that in moſt great Towns and Corporations, except the City of *London*, the greateſt Part of them came regularly to Church, eſpecially the leſs rigid and younger Sort. So that this Reign, if it had continu'd a while longer in this Courſe, as it had been the Riſe, ſo probably it wou'd have been the Ruin, of all Meeting-Houſes. The City of *London*, where the Oppoſition to the Court had been ſtrongeſt, was likewiſe reduc'd to a full Submiſſion and

Subjection: So that the King, with his Revenues Increaſing, his Debts Diminiſhing, and his Religion not Threatning, had now Opportunity of effecting great Things, either Excellent or Terrible. But we do not find that his Will and Inclinations tended very much towards Either.

And Deſign for an Hoſpital.

Only we muſt not forget what is mention'd in the Additions to the *Complete Hiſtory of* England, from the *Lambeth* Manuſcript, namely, One of his laſt good Acts was the Attempting what King *William* and Queen *Mary* perform'd in Founding an Hoſpital for maimed Soldiers at *Chelſea*. His Majeſty ſent Letters to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, 'Obſerving with great Grief, That many of his Loyal Subjects, who formerly took up Arms for Him and his Royal Father to reſiſt that Torrent of Rebellion which at laſt overturn'd the Monarchy and the Church, were by old Age or Wounds or other Accidents reduc'd to extreme Poverty.------ And therefore Declaring his Royal Reſolution to found and erect at *Chelſea* a perpetual Hoſpital, in which more than four Hundred aged and otherwiſe diſabled Soldiers may be lodg'd and ſupply'd with the neceſſary Supports of Life.--- And hereupon requiring the Archbiſhop to ſend forth his Circular Letters to all the Biſhops of his Province, earneſtly exciting them to deal effectually with all in their Dioceſes to contribute liberally to ſo good a Deſign, ſo manifeſtly to the Glory of Almighty God, and the Service of their King and Country, *&c.*

His particular Declaration.

However, as to the Felicity enjoy'd by the King at this preſent Time, his Majeſty has remarkably expreſs'd himſelf in his Large *Declaration*, relating to the late Conſpiracy drawn up by Dr. *Sprat*, and now ready for the Preſs; in which we are aſſur'd, 'That after the unvaluable Mercy of God to him and his Subjects, in his moſt happy Reſtoration, his Majeſty cannot but eſteem *This* to have been equall'd by none but *That*; that in ſo dangerous a Juncture of Publick Affairs, he has met with ſo many unfeigned Teſtimonies of *Love to his Perſon*, and *Zeal to his Government*, from all Degrees of Men in the Nation. And if ſome have ſwerv'd from their Duty, yet his Majeſty's Indignations and Reſentments againſt them are overwhelm'd by the comfortable Remembrance of the far greater and better Number of thoſe who ſtood by him in the ſevereſt Tryals. So his Majeſty has juſt Reaſon to acknowledge, the main Body of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* has done; ſo has the whole ſound and honeſt Part of the *Commonalty*; ſo the great Fountains of Knowledge and Civility, the Two *Univerſities*; ſo the wiſeſt and moſt Learned in the *Laws*; ſo the whole *Clergy*, and all the Genuine Sons of the Church of *England*.----- His Majeſty cannot here forbear to let the World know, what entire Satisfaction he has taken in one ſpecial Teſtimony of his Subjects Affections; whence through God's gracious Providence the Monarchy has gain'd a moſt conſiderable Advantage; And it is, That ſo great a Number of the Cities and Corporations of this Kingdom, have ſince ſo freely reſign'd their Local Immunities and Charters into his Majeſty's Hands; leſt the *Abuſe* of any of them ſhou'd again hereafter prove hazardous to the Juſt *Prerogatives* of the Crown. This his Majeſty declares he eſteems as the *Peculiar Honour* of his Reign; being ſuch, as none of the moſt Popular of all his late Royal Predeceſſors cou'd have promis'd to themſelves, or hop'd for. Wherefore his Majeſty thinks himſelf more than ordinary oblig'd to continue, as he has hitherto begun, to ſhew the greateſt Moderation and Benignity, in the Exerciſe of ſo great a Truſt: Reſolving upon this Occaſion, to convince the higheſt Pretenders to the Common-weal, That as the Crown was the firſt *Original*, ſo it is ſtill the ſureſt *Guardian* of all the People's Lawful Rights and Privileges.

An intended Turn.

Notwithſtanding theſe, and ſome particular Expreſſions in it in favour of his Royal Brother, we are told by ſome, That the King had at this Time laid a Project for an extraordinary Change in the Affairs of *England*, which wou'd have been effected if he had liv'd a few Weeks longer; namely that the Duke of *Monmouth* wou'd have been recall'd to Court, the Duke of *York* ſent beyond Sea, and a new Parliament immediately conven'd. This ſeems to have been founded upon ſome Paſſages in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Pocket Book, which not long after was ſeiz'd with his Perſon: Tho' they further tell us, That the King about this Time had in a Paſſion dropt ſome Expreſſions that intimated his being abus'd and deceiv'd, and *That if he liv'd but a Month longer, he wou'd find a Way to make himſelf eaſy for the reſt of his Life.* Of this we have no full Certainty; yet theſe and the like Intimations, or the Belief of them, have been the Occaſion of many ſtrange Conjectures that appear'd afterwards.

The King's ſudden Sickneſs.

3. In the Height of his Glory, on *Monday* Morning the 2d of *February*, the King was ſuddenly ſeiz'd with a violent Fit of an Apoplexy, which for a while made him look'd upon as a dead Man: But being immediately let Blood by a Phyſician that happen'd to be by, he was brought to his Senſes, and to a hopeful Way of Recovery; for which the ſaid Phyſician had a great Reward promis'd him, and his Pardon, as having acted without a Conſult and the Privy-Council. The very Noiſe of this was a dreadful Allarm to the whole Kingdom, and a Form of Prayer was immediately iſſu'd out to be us'd in all Churches to obtain his Majeſty's Recovery; and ſure never any Prayer was ſent up to Heaven with more Fervour and Earneſtneſs. But God did not think fit to anſwer ſo deſirable a Petition: So the King continu'd four Days in a weak and languiſhing Condition, but for the moſt part ſenſible of his approaching Fate.

Biſhop Kenn*'s Attendance,*

During this Time, the pious Biſhop *Kenn*, lately preferr'd and moſt eſteem'd by the King, gave as cloſe Attendance as he was permitted by the Royal Bed, and without any Intermiſſion for three whole Days and Nights; watching at proper Intervals, to ſuggeſt ſeaſonable and pious Thoughts and Ejaculations, on ſo ſolemn an Occaſion: In which Time the Favourite Miſtreſs, the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, coming into the Room, the Biſhop prevail'd with his Majeſty to have her remov'd; and likewiſe took that Occaſion of Repreſenting the great Injury and Injuſtice done to his Queen by Her and Others; which he did ſo effectually, that his Majeſty was induc'd to ſend for the Queen, and asking Pardon of her, he had the Satisfaction of her particular Forgiveneſs at this Time. The Biſhop having urg'd home the Neceſſity of a full, and prevail'd, as he hop'd, for a ſincere Repentance, ſeveral Times propos'd the Adminiſtration of the Holy Sacrament: But tho' it was not abſolutely rejected, it was yet delay'd from Time to Time, till by ſome new Authority the Biſhop and others were remov'd from his Preſence.

And Father Hudleſton*'s.*

So immediately the Duke of *York* brought in Father *Hudleſton*, a Benedictine, who had ſo ſignally aſſiſted in ſaving the King's Life after the Battle of *Worceſter*. He appear'd on *Thurſday* the 5th of *February* about Eight in the Evening, and his Majeſty readily accepted of his Service, which he perform'd in the Preſence of the Duke himſelf, the Earl of *Bath* firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and the Earl of *Feverſham* Captain of the Guards. The Father went through ſome of the *Romiſh* Offices, and adminiſter'd to the King three of their Sacraments, as firſt that of *Penance*, next *Extreme Unction*, and laſtly that of the *Euchariſt*; of all which he has given us a particular and full Account. And ſo now being fully enter'd into the Boſom of the Church of *Rome*, and declaring himſelf a true Catholick, his Majeſty's Weakneſs increaſing,

The King's Death.

he expired the next Day about Noon, being *Friday* the 6th of *February*, to the unexpreſſible Sorrow and Affliction of all his Subjects. His Age was now fifty four Years, eight Months and ſix Days. His Reign, if reckon'd from the Death of his Father, was thirty ſix Years and ſeven Days; but if reckon'd from the Day of his Reſtoration, it was but twenty four Years, eight Months, and ſix Days.

A Third Character of him by the Earl of Mulgrave.

As to the Character of this Prince, we have already twice drawn his Picture, in two different Poſtures and Ages; the Firſt at the Reſtoration, chiefly from Dr. *Charlton*, and the Second in the Middle of his Reign from Sir *William Temple*, which the Reader is deſir'd to remember. And now a third Time we ſhall expoſe it to him in full Length, as it is drawn by the ingenious Pen of the Earl of *Mulgrave*, a Perſon of ſufficient Skill and Acquaintance, tho' perhaps not ſo perfectly let into the Secret of his Religion, of which however he gives a handſome Account. It was writ ſome Time after the great Revolution, and begins with this Preface: 'I have pitch'd on this Character of King *Charles* the Second, not for his being a *King*, nor my having had the Honour to ſerve him; the Firſt of theſe would be too *Vulgar* a Conſideration, and the Other too *Particular*: But I think it a Theme of great *Variety*; and whatever is wanting in the Writer, may, I hope, be recompenced in the Agreeableneſs of the Subject, which is ſometimes enough to recommend a Picture, tho' ill drawn; and to make a Face one likes, oftner look'd on, than the beſt Piece of *Raphael*.' As to the King's Religion, his Lordſhip thinks it to be more *Deiſm* than *Popery*; which he ſays, 'He ow'd more to the *Liveneſs* of his Parts, and *Careleſneſs* of his Temper, than either to Reading, or much Conſideration; for his Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, at firſt View, could diſcern through the ſeveral Cheats of pious Pretences; and his natural *Lazineſs* confirm'd him in an equal *Miſtruſt* of them all, for fear he ſhould be troubled with Examining which was beſt.' But then his Lordſhip obſerves, 'If in his early *Travels*, and late *Deſigns*, he ſeem'd a little biaſs'd to one Sort of Religion; the Firſt is only to be imputed to a certain *Eaſineſs* of Temper, and a Complaiſance for that Company he then was forc'd to keep; and the Laſt was no more than his being Tired, which he ſoon was in any Difficulty, with thoſe bold Oppoſitions in Parliament, which made him almoſt throw himſelf into the Arms of a *Roman-Catholick* Party, ſo re-

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markable of late for their Loyalty; who embrac’d him gladly, and lull’d him aſleep with thoſe Enchanting Songs of *Sovereignty* and *Prerogative*, which the beſt and wiſeſt Princes are often unable to reſiſt. And tho’ he engag’d himſelf on that Side more fully, at a Seaſon when ’tis in vain, and too late to diſſemble, we ought leſs to wonder at it, than to conſider that our very Judgments are apt to grow in Time as partial as our Affections: And thus by Accident only, he became of their Opinion in his *Weakneſſes*, who had ſo much endeavour’d always to contribute to his Power.

Then his Lordſhip proceeds in theſe Words: ‘He lov’d *Eaſe* and *Quiet*; to which his Unneceſſary Wars are ſo far from being a Contradiction, that they are rather a Proof of it; ſince they were made only to comply with thoſe Perſons, whoſe Diſſatisfaction would have prov’d more uneaſy to one of his Humour, than all that diſtant Noiſe of Cannon, which he would often liſten to with a great deal of Tranquillity. Beſides, the great and almoſt only Pleaſure of Mind he ſeem’d addicted to, was *Shipping* and *Sea-Affairs*; which ſeem’d to be ſo much his Talent for *Knowledge*, as well as *Inclination*, that a War of that Kind, was rather an *Entertainment*, than any Diſturbance to his *Thoughts*. If he did not go himſelf at the Head of ſo Magnificent a Fleet, ’tis only to be imputed to that *Eagerneſs* of Military Glory in his Brother; which under a Shew of a decent Care for Preſerving the *Royal Perſon* from Danger, engroſs’d all that Sort of Honour to Himſelf, with as much Jealouſy of any other’s Interpoſing in it, as a King of another Temper would have had of *His*. ’Tis certain, no Prince was ever more fitted by Nature for his Country’s Intereſt, than his was in all his *Maritime Inclinations*; which might have prov’d of ſufficient Advantage to the Nation, if he had been as careful of Depreſſing all ſuch Improvements in *France*, as of Advancing and Encouraging our Own: But it ſeems he wanted *Jealouſy* in all his Inclinations, which leads us to conſider him in his *Pleaſures*: Where he was rather *Abandon’d*, than *Luxurious*; and like our Female Libertines, apter to be perſuaded into Debauches for the Satisfaction of *Others*, than to ſeek, with Choice, where moſt to pleaſe Himſelf. I am of Opinion alſo, that in his Latter Time, there was as much of *Lazineſs*, as of *Love*, in all thoſe Hours he paſs’d among his Miſtreſſes; who, after all, only ſerv’d to fill up his *Seraglio*, while a bewitching kind of Pleaſure, call’d *Santring*, and *Talking without Conſtraint*, was the true *Sultana* Queen he delighted in.

‘He was ſurely inclin’d to *Juſtice*; for nothing elſe cou’d have retain’d him ſo faſt in the Succeſſion of a Brother, againſt a Son he was ſo *fond* of, and the Humour of a Party which he ſo much *fear’d*. I am willing alſo to impute to his *Juſtice*, whatever ſeems in ſome Meaſure to contradict the general Opinion of his *Clemency*; as his Suffering always the Rigour of the Law to proceed, not only againſt all *High-Way-Men*, but alſo ſeveral Others, in whoſe Caſes the Lawyers, according to their wonted Cuſtom, had ſometimes us’d a great deal of *Hardſhip* and *Severity*. His *Underſtanding* was quick and lively in *Little* Things, and ſometimes wou’d ſoar high enough in *Great Ones*, but unable to keep it up with any Long Attention or Application. *Witty* in all ſorts of Converſation; and telling a Story ſo well, that not out of Flattery, but the Pleaſure of hearing it, we ſeem’d ignorant of what he had repeated to us Ten Times before, as a good Comedy will bear the being often ſeen. Of a wonderful *Mixture*; loſing all his Time, and ſetting his whole Heart on the Fair Sex, yet neither angry with Rivals, nor the leaſt nice as to their being Belov’d; and while he Sacrific’d all things to his Miſtreſſes, he wou’d uſe to Grudge and be uneaſy at their loſing a little of it again at Play, tho’ never ſo neceſſary for their Diverſion: Nor wou’d he venture five Pounds at *Tennis* to thoſe Servants, who might obtain as many Thouſands, either before he came thither, or as ſoon as he left off. Full of *Diſſimulation*, and very dextrous at it, yet no Man eaſier to be impos’d on; for his great Dexterity was in Cozening himſelf, by gaining a Little one Way, while he loſt Ten Times as much another; and by careſſing thoſe Perſons moſt, who had deluded him the ofteneſt; and yet the quickeſt in the World at ſpying ſuch a Ridicule in another. *Eaſy* and Good-natur’d to all People in Trifles; but in great Affairs, ſevere and *inflexible*: In one Week’s abſence, quite forgetting thoſe Servants, to whoſe Faces he cou’d hardly deny any Thing. In the midſt of all his *Remiſſneſs*, ſo induſtrious and indefatigable on ſome Particular Occaſions, that no Man wou’d either toil Longer, or be able to manage it Better.

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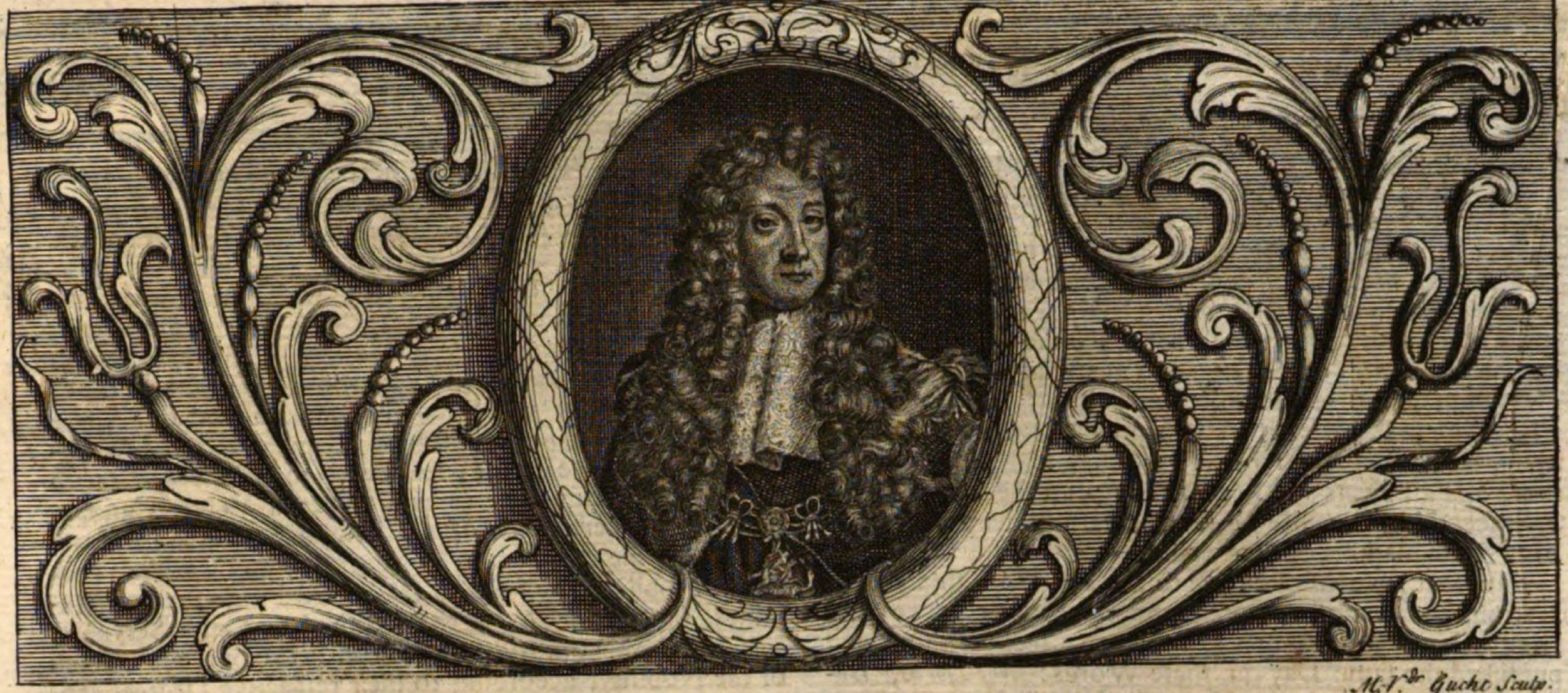
‘He was ſo *Liberal*, as to ruin his Affairs by it; for Want in a King of *England*, turns things juſt upſide down, and expoſes a Prince to his Peoples *Mercy*: It did yet worſe in him, for it forc’d him alſo to depend on his great Neighbour of *France*; who play’d the Broker with him ſufficiently in all thoſe Times of Extremity. Yet this *Profuſeneſs* of his, did not ſo much proceed from his Over-valuing thoſe he favour’d, as from his Under-valuing any Sums of Money which he did not ſee; tho’ he found his Error in this, but I confeſs a little of the lateſt. He had ſo natural Averſion to all *Formality*, that with as much Wit as moſt Men ever had, and as Majeſtick a Mein, yet he cou’d not on Premeditation act the Part of a King for a Moment, either at Parliament, or at Council, either in *Words* or *Geſture*; which carry’d him into the other Extream, more inconvenient of the two for a Prince, of letting all *Diſtinction* and *Ceremony* fall to the Ground, as Uſeleſs and Foppiſh. His Temper, both of Body and Mind, was admirable, which made him an Eaſy Generous *Lover*, a Civil Obliging *Husband*, a Friendly *Brother*, an Indulgent *Father*, and a Good-natur’d *Maſter*. If he had been as ſolicitous about Improving the Faculties of his Mind, as he was in the Management of his Bodily Health; tho’, alas! This prov’d unable to make his Life *Long*, That had not fail’d to make it *Famous*. He was an Illuſtrious Exception to all the common Rules of *Phyſiognomy*: for with a moſt *Saturnine* harſh ſort of Countenance, he was both of a *Merry* and *Merciful* Diſpoſition; and in the laſt Thirty years of his Life, as *Fortunate*, as thoſe of his Father had been *Diſmal* and *Tumultuous*.

‘If his Death had ſome *Appearance* of being Untimely, it may be partly imputed to his extream Healthy Conſtitution, which made the World as much ſurpris’d at his Dying before Threeſcore, as if nothing but an ill Accident cou’d kill him. I wou’d not ſay any Thing on ſo ſad a Subject, if I did not think that *Silence* it ſelf wou’d in ſuch a Caſe ſignify too much; and therefore, as an Impartial Writer, I am oblig’d to obſerve, That the moſt knowing, and the moſt deſerving of his Phyſicians [Dr. *Short*] did not only believe him Poyſon’d, but thought himſelf ſo too, not long after, for having declared his Opinion a little too *Boldly*. But here I muſt needs take notice of an unuſual piece of Juſtice, which yet all the World has unanimouſly agreed in; I mean, in not ſuſpecting the Succeſſor of the leaſt Connivance at ſo horrid a Villany; and perhaps there is hardly a more remarkable Inſtance of that invincible Power of *Truth* and *Innocence*: For it’s next to a Miracle, that ſo *Unfortunate* a Prince, in the midſt of all thoſe Diſadvantages he lies under, ſhou’d be yet clear’d of this, even by his greateſt Enemies; notwithſtanding all thoſe Circumſtances that us’d to give a Suſpicion, and that *Extream Malice* which has of late attended him in all his Other Actions.

The Concluſion of the whole.

Thus far the noble Author; of whoſe Suggeſtion concerning the King’s Death, ſomething may probably be expected in this Hiſtory, ſince the Matter has been believ’d by ſo many. But after the beſt and ſtricteſt Enquiries, we never cou’d enter far enough into thoſe dark Receſſes, as to make any juſt and clear Diſcovery: We have indeed found ſome unlucky and ſuſpicious Circumſtances, which may naturally give Riſe to ſuch a Belief; concerning which the Reader is referr’d to Dr. *Welwood*, who ſeems to have labour’d the Point, and ingenuouſly laid down the Arguments on both Sides. He juſtly obſerves, That few Princes come to die a ſudden Death, but the World is apt to attribute it to Foul Play, eſpecially if it be attended with unuſual Circumſtances in the Time and Manner of it; in Expatiating upon which, he is forc’d to leave the Matter at laſt in manifeſt Doubt and Uncertainty; ſo that it may ſtill remain a Problem to Poſterity, whether he dy’d a natural Death, or was haſtned to his Grave by Treachery. However it was, we ſhall conclude his Reign and Character according to the Doctor’s Opinion; That this Prince was ſo dextrous in the general Arts of *Inſinuation*, and had acquired ſo great an Aſcendent over the Affections of the People, in ſpite of all the unhappy Meaſures he had taken, that it may in ſome Senſe be ſaid, He dy’d opportunely for the *Engliſh* Nation; ſince if he had liv’d, it’s probable in Compliance to his appearing Goodneſs, they might have complimented themſelves out of their main and principal Liberties, if he had had but an Inclination to be Maſter of them; which ’tis but Charity to believe he had not, at leaſt immediately before his Death. Sure it is, that, ſince the Murder of his Father, there never was a deeper Sorrow, nor more Tears ſhed in *England*, than appear’d upon the firſt News of the Death of this Beloved Monarch; which was look’d upon as the greateſt Misfortune and Calamity that cou’d befall the Nation.

The End of the Second Book.



M. V.dr Gucht Sculp.

HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

Conſiſting of the Actual Reign of King JAMES *the Second: From his Acceſſion to the Throne, to the compleat Eſtabliſhment of King* WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY.

Containing the Space of Four Years, and Seven Days.

CHAP. I.

From King JAMES*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, to the Defeat and Death of his chief Competitor, the Duke of* Monmouth.

Containing the Space of Five Months, and Nine Days.

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King JAMES*'s Acceſſion and Character.*

I. I. IN the midſt of the greateſt Calm that had been known in *England* ſince the Reſtoration, began the wonderful Reign of King *James* the Second, who from the Moment of his Brother's Death found himſelf in actual and peaceable Poſſeſſion of all his Rights, Powers, and Dominions. As he enter'd without the leaſt Oppoſition, ſo without any Murmurs or Complaints; all Heats and Animoſities againſt him were forgotten and bury'd; and He, who but a few Years ſince was not only to be Excluded from the Crown, but proſcrib'd and baniſh'd from his Native Land, immediately found himſelf a Monarch of as much Authority and Revenue as any that had before aſcended the Throne. All the adverſe Party were broken and diſpers'd, and the other moſt ready to embrace him; ſo that the Morning of his Reign diſcover'd no Prognoſticks of the Storms and Tempeſts that follow'd, but ſeem'd every Way to promiſe a Serene and happy Seaſon. This Prince was paſt the Meridian of his Age, being now above fifty one Years old; in the former Part of which, as he had too early Occaſions to look into the Genius of Foreign Courts, ſo his riper Years afforded him ſufficient Opportunities of Underſtanding that of the People he was to govern, and particularly taught him how hard it was to overturn the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, or to introduce a new One, ſince he had wreſtled through a great many Difficulties upon the Account of his Own. Indeed he had ſo many Years Experience before he mounted the Throne, that few of his Predeceſſors cou'd boaſt of the like Advantages. What he wanted of his Brother's Parts and Capacity, was amply made up by Application and Induſtry; and of late Years he had forſaken thoſe Pleaſures, in which in former Times his Brother cou'd not exceed him, and ſhew'd a more grave, auſtere and haughty Demeanour. He was of a Martial Temper, and had given many Proofs of his Courage and Abilities that Way, both by Sea and Land; and perfectly underſtood the Affairs of the Navy, the Strength and Glory of the three Kingdoms. He was Temperate and Frugal, a very prudent Manager of his Treaſure, a kind Husband, and an indulgent Father; and, till after he came to the Crown, eſteem'd an inviolable Obſerver of his Word: From which if he had never deviated, his Reign might have been as happy as any of his Predeceſſors; or if he cou'd have held to his Brother's Opinion upon his Death-Bed, who delivering to him the Key of his Strong-Box, particularly adviſ'd him *Not to think of Introducing the* Romiſh *Religion into* England, *it being a Thing both Dangerous and Impracticable.*

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He is proclaim'd KING.

To proceed in Order of Time: Immediately after the Death of King *Charles* the Second, ſuch of the Lords of the Privy-Council, together with ſuch other of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal as were in Town, overwhelm'd with Grief, aſſembled together, to the Number of above Forty; and without Heſitation ſign'd an Inſtrument for Proclaiming the Duke of *York* and *Albany* King, by the Name of *James* the Second. In which they had theſe Words; ‘We, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, aſſiſted with thoſe of his late Majeſty's Privy-Council, with Numbers of other Principal Gentlemen of Quality, with the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, do now hereby with one full Voice and Conſent of Tongue and Heart, Publiſh and Proclaim, That the high and mighty Prince *James* the Second, is now by the Death of our late Sovereign of happy Memory, become

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‘ our Lawful, Lineal, and Rightful Liege Lord, *&c.* To whom we do acknowledge all Faith and conſtant Obedience, with all hearty and humble Affection; Beſeeching God, by *whom Kings do Reign*, to bleſs the Royal King *James* the Second with long and happy Years to reign over us.’ And ſuch Celerity was us'd in getting all Things ready that were proper for the Ceremony, that on the Afternoon of the ſame Day the King dy'd, the Proclamation was read and ſolemniz'd in all the moſt uſual Places in the City. All People now began to wipe their Eyes, and to dry up thoſe Tears they had ſo plentifully ſhed, and all Heats and Prejudices againſt the late Duke of *York* ſeem'd to have been loſt and ſwallow'd up amidſt the loud Acclamations of the People.

His Speech and Declaration to the Council.

But what gave infinite Eaſe to the afflicted Mind of the Nation, was a moſt acceptable Speech ſpoken by the new King to his Privy-Council now ſworn a ſecond Time, and publiſhed the ſame Day in theſe Words: *My Lords, Before I enter upon any other Buſineſs, I think fit to ſay ſomething to you. Since it hath pleaſed Almighty God to place Me in this Station, and I am now to ſucceed ſo* good *and* gracious *a King, as well as ſo* kind *a Brother, I think it fit to declare to you, that I will endeavour to follow his Example, and moſt eſpecially in that of his great* Clemency *and* Tenderneſs *to his People. I have been reported to be a Man for* Arbitrary Power, *but that is not the only Story that has been made of Me; and I ſhall make it my Endeavour to preſerve this Government both in* Church *and* State, *as it is now by* Law Eſtabliſh'd. *I know the Principles of the Church of* England *are for* Monarchy, *and the Members of it have ſhewed themſelves good and loyal Subjects; therefore I ſhall always take care to* defend *and* ſupport *It. I know too, that the* Laws *of* England *are ſufficient to make the King as Great a Monarch as I can wiſh; and as I ſhall never depart from the juſt* Rights *and* Prerogative *of the Crown, ſo I ſhall never invade any Man's* Property. *I have often heretofore ventured my Life in Defence of the Nation, and I ſhall ſtill go as far as any Man in preſerving it in all its juſt* Rights *and* Liberties. Upon delivering this Speech, the Lords became humble Suitors to his Majeſty, that theſe his gracious Expreſſions might be made publick, which was immediately done, to the mighty Satisfaction of the People, who ſoon began to have all the imaginable Hopes of Happineſs; and even thoſe who had before appeared againſt him with the greateſt Warmth, were willing now to own themſelves miſtaken, and were ready to expreſs their Repentance for what was paſt. And what ſtill farther ſupported theſe Hopes, was a general Belief of the King's ſtrict Obſervance of his Word and Faith, which was ſo induſtriouſly propagated, that he in a little time came to be call'd JAMES THE JUST.

Which gave great Satisfaction.

Proclaim'd in Scotland *and* Ireland.

And as his preſent Majeſty ſo peaceably enter'd upon the Throne of *England*, ſo with the ſame Eaſe and Satisfaction, he was ſoon after proclaim'd at *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*, by the Name of *James* the Seventh, where the Ceremony was perform'd with as much Joy and Solemnity as cou'd well be imagin'd. And ſhortly after that, he was with equal Pomp and Splendor proclaim'd at *Dublin* in *Ireland*, by the Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of *Ormond*, who in a little Time came over into *England* loaden with innumerable Addreſſes from that Kingdom.

2. The firſt Days of this new King's Reign, were ſpent in writing Letters, and ſending Diſpatches to other Princes, in receiving the Compliments both of Condolence and Congratulation of thoſe foreign Ambaſſadors and Miniſters who happened to be then in *London*; in the interring the late King his Brother, and in ſettling the Officers of the Houſhold, and beſtowing Civil and Military Employments. But becauſe the late King's Death had in courſe vacated all the chief Places of Truſt, the firſt publick Act that appear'd, beſides his Speech to the Privy-Council, was a Proclamation, which declared, ‘ That all Perſons, who at the Deceaſe of the late King, were lawfully poſſeſs'd of any Office, whether Civil or Military, within the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, or any other of his Dominions thereto belonging, particularly all Preſidents, Lieutenants, Vice-Preſidents, Juſtices of the Peace, Sheriffs, *&c.* ſhould be continu'd in the ſaid Places and Offices, as formerly they held and enjoy'd the ſame, until the King's Pleaſure ſhall be farther known.’ And farther, for the Preſervation of the Peace, he declared, ‘ That all Perſons then in Offices, of whatſoever Degree or Condition, ſhall not fail, every one according to his Place, Office, or Charge, to proceed in the Performance and Execution of all Duties thereto belonging, as formerly appertained to them while the late King was living; and that all the King's Subjects ſhou'd be aiding and aſſiſting to the Command of the ſaid Officers and Miniſters in the Performance of their reſpective Offices and Places, upon pain of the King's Diſpleaſure. Laſtly, That all Orders and Directions made or given by the Lords of the Privy-Council of the late King in his Lifetime, ſhould be obey'd and perform'd by all and every Perſon, as it ſhould or had been obey'd in the Life of the late King.

A Proclamation for retaining of Places.

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The Funeral of the late King.

The Interment of the late King, which follow'd ſoon after, was look'd upon as too private and parſimonious, for the Honour of his preſent Majeſty, of which the following Account was given by Authority. On the 14th of *February* at Night, was ſolemniz'd the Funeral of his late Majeſty King *Charles* the Second, from the *Painted-Chamber* in the Palace at *Weſtminſter*, to the *Abby-Church* there. The Body was carry'd under a Velvet Canopy, born by the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, ſix Earls ſupporting the Pall. The Proceeding began with Servants to the Nobility, their Royal Highneſſes, their preſent Majeſties, the Queen Dowager, and the late King's Servants, *&c.* After whom follow'd Barons, Biſhops, and others of the Nobility, according to their reſpective Degrees, together with the great Officers, and the Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Denmark*, was chief Mourner, his Train was born by the Lord *Cornbury*: The Supporters to the chief Mourner, were the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Beaufort*, wearing the Collars of their Order, as the other Knights of the *Garter* then preſent did, and the Aſſiſtants to the chief Mourner, were ſixteen Earls. One of the Kings of Arms carry'd the Crown and Cuſhion, the reſt of the Officers of Arms attending and directing the Ceremony, which was clos'd with his Majeſty's Band of Gentlemen Penſioners, and the Yeomen of the Guard. At the Entrance into the Church, the Dean and Prebendaries of *Weſtminſter*, attended with the Choir, met the Body, and proceeded to King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, where it was interr'd in a Vault under the Eaſt-end of the South-Iſle. Service being ended, and the Officers of his Majeſty's Houſhold having broken their Staffs, the Royal Style was proclaim'd by another of the Kings of Arms, according to Cuſtom. Afterwards was erected in the Place, a beautiful Effigies of Wax exactly reſembling his Perſon, and plac'd among thoſe of many of his Predeceſſors.

Honours and Preferments.

In ſettling the Officers of the Houſhold, and beſtowing publick Employments, the King took the firſt Notice of his Royal Highneſs Prince *George*, who three Days after the late King's Deceaſe, was ſolemnly call'd into the Council-Chamber, and accordingly took his Place at the Board. Within a few Days after, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd to make his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* Lord-Steward, the Earl of *Arlington* Lord-Chamberlain, the Lord Viſcount *Newport* Treaſurer, the Lord *Maynard* Comptroller, and *Henry Savil*, Eſq; Vice-Chamberlain of his Houſhold, in which Offices they had all ſerv'd the late King. And ſoon after that his Majeſty appointed *Henry Bulkley*, Eſq; to be Maſter of his Houſhold, Sir *Stephen Fox* eldeſt Clerk of the Greencloth, Sir *William Boreman* ſecond Clerk of the ſame, Sir *Winſton Churchill* eldeſt Clerk-Comptroller, and Sir *Richard Maſon* youngeſt Clerk-Comptroller, in which Places they had likewiſe ſerv'd his late Majeſty. Moreover, *Lawrence*, Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord-Preſident of the Council, and Brother-in-Law to the King, was now conſtituted Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, and accordingly receiv'd the *White-Staff* on the 16th of *February*, an Office that had not been held by any ſingle Perſon ſince the Earl of *Danby*'s Impeachment in the Year 1679. The other Brother-in-Law, the Earl of *Clarendon*, was made Lord Privy-Seal, the Marqueſs of *Hallifax* Lord-Preſident of the Privy-Council, the Duke of *Beaufort* Lord-Preſident of *Wales*, and the Lord *Godolphin* Lord-Chamberlain to the Queen. His Majeſty was likewiſe pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon ſeveral Perſons that had been ſerviceable to the Crown; particularly upon *Thomas Vernon* of *London*, Eſq; as a Mark of his Royal Favour, for his ſtedfaſt Loyalty. Next upon *William Hamon*, Eſq; Mayor of *Briſtol*, then on *Marmaduke Dayrel*, Eſq; Son of Sir *Thomas Dayrel*, late of *Camps-Caſtle* in the County of *Cambridge*; and laſtly, upon *Roger L'Eſtrange*, Eſq; with this additional Declaration in Publick: ‘ In Conſideration of his eminent and unſhaken Loyalty to the Crown in all Extremities, and as a Mark of ſingular Satisfaction his Majeſty has in his preſent, as well as paſt Services, with repeated Declarations of his Royal Grace, and Bounty towards him.

The King appears at Maſs.

3. But to return once more to the Beginning of this Reign; the firſt *Sunday*, which was but two Days after the late King's Death, his preſent Majeſty went publickly to *Maſs* in St. *James*'s Chapel, and open declar'd and profeſs'd himſelf a *Papiſt*; tho' in the former Reign, ſome Perſons had ſeverely ſuffered for barely ſaying he was of that Perſuaſion. This was a ſurpriſing Stroke, eſpecially to ſeveral who did not believe it, and caus'd variety of Diſcourſes about it; ſome commended him for his ‘ Honeſty and Fair-dealing, in not diſſembling his Religion;’ and others

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others ſaid, ‘ It was impolitickly done, and that if he intended to countenance *Popery*, and overturn the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, it wou'd certainly terminate in his own Ruin.’ This, and the manifeſt Zeal of the King, was ſoon obſerv'd by *Don Pedro Ronquillor*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who, as *Puffendorf* informs us, at his firſt Audience after the Death of King *Charles*, firſt ask'd Leave to ſpeak his Mind freely upon that Occaſion, and then made bold to tell his Majeſty, ‘ That he ſaw ſeveral Prieſts about him, that he knew wou'd importune him to alter the Eſtabliſh'd Religion in *England*, but he wiſh'd his Majeſty wou'd not give Ear to their Advice; for if he did, he was aſſur'd his Majeſty wou'd have Reaſon to repent of it when it was too late.’ This Author tells us, that King *James* took ill the Freedom of this foreign Miniſter, and ask'd him in a Paſſion, *Whether in* Spain *they adviſ'd with their Confeſſors*? *Yes, Sir*, anſwer'd the Ambaſſador, *we do, and that's the Reaſon our Affairs go ſo ill.* The ſame Hiſtorian does likewiſe inform us, that the Pope himſelf, *Innocent* the Eleventh, writ a Letter to the King upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, to this Effect, ‘ That he was highly pleas'd with his Majeſty's Zeal for the Catholick Religion, but he was afraid his Majeſty might puſh it too far, and inſtead of contributing to his own Greatneſs, and to the Advancement of the Catholick Church, he might come to do both it and himſelf the greateſt Prejudice, by attempting that which his Holineſs was well aſſured from long Experience, cou'd not ſucceed.

Cenſures upon it.

He declares the late King a Papiſt, &c.

The next Step the King made, after his publick Appearance at *Maſs*, moſt plainly ſhew'd whither he was going, and that he expected to be follow'd by all that intended to ſhare his Favours: For before his Brother cou'd be ſaid to be cold in his Grave, he caus'd it to be publiſh'd and atteſted by Father *Hudleſton*, ‘ That the late King dy'd in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; and all the Particulars were inſerted of his giving him *Extreme Unction*, the *Euchariſt*, &c. This was publiſh'd together with a little Treatiſe, call'd, *A ſhort and plain Way to the Faith and Church*; which Treatiſe Father *Hudleſton* tells us, had formerly made great Impreſſions upon the Mind of King *Charles* in the Year 1651, in his Retirement ſoon after the Battel of *Worceſter*, when he himſelf was ſo great an Inſtrument of his Eſcape; and that upon Peruſal of it, his then Majeſty declar'd, *That he had not ſeen any thing more plain and clear upon the Subject*; *and the Arguments drawn from* Succeſſion *were ſo concluſive*, *he did not conceive how they cou'd be deny'd*. Beſides theſe, there were likewiſe publiſh'd with them two remarkable Papers, written, as it was declar'd, by the late King himſelf, and found in his ſtrong Box; both endeavouring to prove the Neceſſity of a *viſible Church* and *Guide*, which cou'd be no other than the Church of *Rome*. Concerning which Papers, beſides the Atteſtation of the preſent King, the Duke of *Ormond* afterwards declar'd, *That they both were certainly written by King* Charles*'s own Hand.* However, the Deſign of the whole Publication was to ſhew, ‘ That tho' that King had outwardly pretended otherwiſe in his Life, yet in his Heart he was truly a *Roman* Catholick.’ So that now it became in ſome degree meritorious to ſay that King *Charles* was a *Papiſt*, whereas in his own Reign the hinting of it was attended with ſome of the higheſt Penalties and Puniſhments. And farther to confirm that he was really ſo, Mr. *William Chiffinch*, Keeper of the King's Cloſet, ſoon after his Death, was pleas'd to ſhew to ſome ſelect Friends a ſmall and moſt private Chapel in *White-hall*, annex'd to the Cloſet, to which, as he declar'd, that King, in his latter Years, was wont to go regularly, tho' ſecretly, to *Maſs*.

Proclamation for levying the Cuſtoms, &c.

4. As the preſent King's Proceedings on Religion cou'd not eaſily be interpreted, *Maintaining the Church of* England, ſo his publiſhing a Proclamation for levying that Part of the Cuſtoms that had been granted to King *Charles* only for Life, was thought as hard an Argument to prove, *He wou'd never invade any Man's Property*. The Proclamation, which came out three Days after his Brother's Death, was however plauſible, and not diſputed: It declar'd, ‘ That his Majeſty had thought fit to call a Parliament ſpeedily to be aſſembled, in which he made no doubt but Care wou'd be taken for ſettling a ſufficient Revenue upon the Crown, for the Support of the Government; the Neceſſities of which, in the mean time, required that the *Cuſtoms* and *Subſidies*, and other *Duties* upon Merchandizes, ſhou'd be continu'd to be collected, as in the time of his deareſt Brother lately deceas'd.’ Tho' neither this, nor the King's religious Steps were much ſuſpected at this time, all Men gladly relying upon his Royal Word; yet it was thought by ſome wiſe Perſons to be a ſtrong Inclination of breaking through the Laws of the Land, and the Liberties of the Subject: And it fell under the greater Suſpicion, when not long after it the famous Addreſs of the Barriſters and Students of the *Middle-Temple* came to be preſented to the King in great Solemnity; which Addreſs is ſo ſpecious and remarkable, that it ought to have a Place in this Hiſtory, and is as follows:

168$\frac{4}{5}$. Jac. 1. Reſ. 25.

The Middle-Temple *Addreſs upon it.*

‘ *Moſt dread Sovereign*, We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, with all Humility congratulate the legal and peaceable Deſcent of this Imperial Crown upon your Majeſty, the only Remedy for our unſpeakable Sorrow, for the Death of our moſt Gracious Sovereign of ever glorious and bleſſed Memory.------ Your Majeſty's unparallel'd *Juſtice*, *Courage* and *Conduct*, ſignaliz'd to the World before they became Ornaments to the Crown, give a perfect Aſſurance of Happineſs to theſe Nations under your Government. We cannot therefore but with the deepeſt Senſe of Gratitude acknowledge your Majeſty's great Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion in your late *Declaration*; and in particular, that your Majeſty has been graciouſly pleas'd, in Purſuance of the ſame, to extend your Royal Care of the Government to the *Preſervation of the Cuſtoms*, the Intermiſſion whereof wou'd not only have diſabled your Majeſty to maintain the Navy in Defence of the Realm, but by taking away the Balance of Trade, have ruin'd thouſands of your Majeſty's Subjects that paid Cuſtom, in the Life of our late Sovereign, and by an exceſſive Exportation and Importation Cuſtom-free, have render'd that Branch of the Revenue unprofitable for ſome Years to come, notwithſtanding all the Care and Loyalty of the ſucceeding Parliament. For which *Reaſons*, the ſame have been continually receiv'd by your Royal Predeceſſors for ſome hundreds of Years, and never queſtion'd by any Parliament, unleſs in that wherein were ſown the Seeds of Rebellion againſt the glorious Martyr, your Royal Father of ever bleſſed Memory. 'Tis a receiv'd Maxim of the Common Law, *Theſaurus Regis eſt Vinculum Pacis & Bellorum Nervi*: Such is the happy Conſtitution of this Monarchy, that your Majeſty's high *Prerogative* is the greateſt Security of the *Liberty* and *Property* of the Subject; ſo that whoever wou'd impair the *Revenue* of the Crown, muſt by this fundamental Law, as binding as *Magna Charta*, be eſteemed an Enemy to the Peace and Welfare of this Kingdom. We therefore think it our indiſpenſable Duty to endeavour the Choice of ſuch Repreſentatives for the reſpective Counties and Boroughs to which we belong, as may not only concur in ſettling a Revenue to ſupport the Government as formerly, but alſo ſhew a grateful Senſe of the great Things you have done and ſuffer'd for us already; an entire Confidence in your Majeſty's Goodneſs towards us for the future, and a chearful Compliance with your Heroick Inclinations to advance the Honour and Intereſt of theſe Nations. May there never want Millions as Loyal as We are to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of your ſacred Perſon and *Prerogative in its full Extent*, and inceſſantly pray the King of Kings, to grant your Majeſty a long and happy Reign over us.’ This Addreſs, ſaid to be penn'd by *Bartholomew Shore*, Eſq; was preſented by Sir *Humphry Mackworth*, accompany'd by a noble Train of Lawyers, and introduc'd by his Grace the Duke of *Beaufort*.

Many other Addreſſes.

All this while Addreſſes flow'd in like an Inundation from all Parts of the King's Dominions, from Counties, Corporations, Univerſities and Inns of Court; all appearing eager to expreſs their Loyalty and Congratulations of his Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne. Many of them were fill'd with high Strains of Rhetorick and Compliment, and moſt of them took notice of the King's excellent *Declaration* formerly recited, and ſhew'd the moſt ſincere Marks of Gratitude for his Promiſes therein, upon which they rely'd and acquieſc'd; their greateſt Happineſs depending upon the Aſſurance of his inviolable Faith and Veracity. Upon which Account, the Addreſs from the County of *Suffolk* has theſe following Words; ‘ In dutiful Return to this, we ſhall make your Majeſty's Grandeur and Honour our firſt Aim, and are every Day making Steps towards it, by our Care for ſending fit Repreſentatives to a Parliament that we hope will no more endure *Excluders*, than a late one did *Abhorrers*.’ In theſe forward Times, the very *Quakers*, tho' a People profeſſing an Abhorrence for *Complimenting*, waited on the King with an Addreſs, which was ſo artfully worded, that it is ſaid to have confirm'd the Opinion that the *Jeſuits* were the Ring-leaders of that Sect, and which was to this Purpoſe: ‘ We are come to teſtify our Sorrow for the Death of our good Friend *Charles*, and our Joy for thy being made our Governor. We are told thou art not of the Perſuaſion of the Church of *England*, no more than We; therefore we hope that thou wilt grant us the ſame Liberty which thou alloweſt thy Self: Which doing we wiſh you all manner of Happineſs.

II. 1. And now Preparations were making for two grand Affairs, a Coronation and a Parliament, the one by the King, and the other by the People. In order to the former, the King iſſu'd out a Proclamation, declaring, ‘That he reſolv'd, by the Favour and Bleſſing of God, to celebrate his own and his Queen's Coronation upon the 23d of *April* next enſuing; and foraſmuch as by the ancient Cuſtom and Uſage of the Realm, as alſo in regard of divers Tenures of ſundry Manors, Lands, and other Hereditaments, many of his loving Subjects did Claim, and were bound to perform ſeveral Services on that Day, and at the Time of the Coronation, as in former Times, their Anceſtors, and they from them claim'd, had done, at the Coronation of his Predeceſſors: Therefore for the Preſervation of the Rights of his Loving Subjects, whom it might concern, he thought it fit to ſignify, that he had authoris'd and appointed, under the Great Seal, *Francis*, Lord *Guilford*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; *Laurence*, Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord High-Treaſurer; *George*, Marquis of *Hallifax*, Preſident of the Council; *Henry*, Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Privy Seal; *Henry*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marſhal; *James*, Duke of *Ormond*; *Henry*, Duke of *Beaufort*, Lord Preſident of *Wales*; *Robert*, Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*; *Henry*, Earl of *Arlington*, Lord-Chamberlain of the Houſhold; *Aubrey*, Earl of *Oxford*; *Theophilus*, Earl of *Huntington*; *Robert*, Earl of *Sunderland*; *Robert*, Earl of *Alesbury*; *John*, Earl of *Radnor*; *George*, Lord *Dartmouth*; *Sidney*, Lord *Godolphin*; Sir *George Jeffreys*, Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*; and Sir *Thomas Jones*, Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*; or any three or more of them, to receive, hear and determine the Petitions and Claims which wou'd be exhibited to them, concerning the Services to be by them perform'd at the ſaid Coronation; ſtreightly charging and commanding all Perſons, of what Rank or Quality ſoever they were, to give their Attendance, according to the Summons to them directed.

Preparations towards

The CORONATION.

On the foremention'd 23d of *April*, St. *George's* Day, began the Solemnity of the Coronation, which was celebrated with the uſual Ceremony and Splendor, and with great Joy and Triumph. Yet, with reſpect to the Preparations, and previous Ceremonies, the whole wanted much of the Grandeur and Magnificence of that of the late King in 1661. There were no *Knights of the Bath* created, as at that time, no *Triumphal Arches* erected by the City, nor none of that expenſive *Cavalcade* from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*, which had been anciently perform'd the Day before the Coronation, and only diſus'd by the preſent King's Grand-father and Father, both in a peſtilential Seaſon. But his Majeſty being very frugal and cautious, and no great Admirer of outward Pomp and Popularity, thought it beſt to ſave a Charge of at leaſt threeſcore thouſand Pounds. Yet ſtill the preſent Solemnity had one particular Advantage, which added exceedingly to the Beauty of the Spectacle, and that was the Coronation of a beautiful Queen, which in courſe produc'd a glorious Shew of the moſt illuſtrious Ladies, both for Preſence and Quality in the Kingdom. This Coronation cou'd not paſs without a Medal, and therefore the following one was ſtruck, of the King's Effigies in Buſt, after the *Roman* manner, with a Laurel-wreath about his Head, and theſe Words round it, JACOBUS II. D. G. ANG. SCO. FR. ET HIB. REX. The Reverſe was alſo a Branch of Laurel upon a Cuſhion, with an arm'd Hand out of the Clouds holding a Crown; the Inſcription thus, A MILITARI AD REGIAM EXURG. And ſoon after, the following Medalion was ſtruck, tho' almoſt the ſame that was formerly remember'd in 1665, when Lord-High-Admiral and Victor; the Difference being only in the Style, and the Effigies of his Majeſty in longer Hair, inſcrib'd JACOBUS II. DEI GRA. ANG. SCOT. FRANC. ET. HIB. REX. The Reverſe as formerly, was a Trophy and Ships in Fight, with theſe Words, GENUS ANTIQUUM.

This Coronation afforded Occaſion for ſeveral uncommon and ominous Obſervations, which were ready to take with the Humours of the People, as particularly the King that Day cou'd hardly keep the Crown ſteady upon his Head, but was often obſerv'd to be in a tottering Condition, and that once the old Earl of *Burlington* kept it from falling off, pleaſantly telling his Majeſty, *This is not the firſt Time that our Family have ſupported the Crown.* It was farther obſerv'd, that the King's Arms finely painted in a Glaſs-Window in one of the Churches in *London*, on the ſame Day, ſuddenly fell down, while the reſt was ſtanding, and broke in pieces after an unheard-of manner. Theſe and ſome other foreboding Circumſtances was for ſome time the great Subject of Diſcourſe among many ſorts of People. However, there's one thing ſaid about this and another Coronation that has been too often quoted and believ'd of late, and now not to be forgotten; and this was in a Speech ſpoken by the Lord Chief-Baron *Atkins* to Sir *William Aſhurſt*, when he was ſworn Lord-Mayor in 1693, giving ſeveral Inſtances of the arbitrary Deſigns of the late Kings of *England*, he brings this for one, ‘The ſtriking out of that Part of the ancient Oath in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time, at his Coronation by Arch-Biſhop *Land*, (*That the King ſhould conſent to ſuch Laws as the People ſhou'd chuſe*) and inſtead of that another very unuſual One inſerted, *ſaving the King's Royal Prerogative.*’ After which, he goes on and ſays, ‘I cou'd tell you ſomething more of that kind done ſince, at the Time of the Coronation of the late King *James*, when there was much more ſtruck out of the Coronation-Oath, which might be well worth the Enquiring how it came about.’ Now the former is nothing but an old Calumny reviv'd, which has been totally refuted and diſprov'd both by the ſaid King himſelf in his Declarations, and by many other Writers: But for the latter, we have not had an Opportunity to examine into the Bottom of it, but look upon it as a deſign'd Aſperſion upon Arch-Biſhop *Sancroft*: Only we may ſay thus much, that when a known Falſity is join'd with a great Improbability, the latter may as well be ſuppos'd to be a Miſtake, as the former is ſo without Doubt and Queſtion.

A Reflection conſider'd.

2. In the mean time the Parliament in *Scotland* was more haſten'd than that in *England*, and began on the ſame Day of the Coronation. It was open'd with a Letter from his Majeſty, bearing Date the 28th of *March*, and ſetting forth, ‘That the many Experiences he had of the Loyalty and exemplary Forwardneſs of that ancient Kingdom, by their Repreſentatives aſſembled in Parliament in the Reign of his Brother, made him deſirous to call them together in the Beginning of his Reign, to give them an Opportunity not only of ſhewing their Duty, but alſo to be exemplary to others in their Demonſtrations of their Affection to his Perſon, and Compliance to his Deſires. But that which he had to propoſe to them at this Time, was this, which was both neceſſary as well for his Safety and Service, and had a greater Tendency towards ſecuring their own Privileges and Properties, than the aggrandizing his Power, *which however he was reſolv'd to maintain in its greateſt Luſtre*, that he might be the better enabled to protect and defend their Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law, their Rights and Properties, againſt Phanatical Contrivances, Murtherers and Aſſaſſins, which had brought them into ſuch Difficulties which only the ſteady Reſolutions of his Brother, and thoſe employ'd by him, cou'd have ſav'd them from. That nothing had been left undone by thoſe inhuman Traytors to overturn their Peace; and therefore he hop'd they wou'd be wanting in nothing to ſecure themſelves and Him. Which Things being of ſuch Importance, he was reſolv'd in Perſon to have propos'd to them the needful Remedies; but that being now impoſſible, he had ſent among them the Duke of *Queensbery*, whom he had inſtructed in all Things relating to his Service and their own Proſperity; not doubting of their Compliance and Aſſiſtance in thoſe Matters wherein the ſaid Duke was inſtructed.

The Scotch *Parliament, with the King's Letter.*

Upon the Reading the Letter, of which we have given the Subſtance, the Lord High-Commiſſioner ſpoke to this Effect: ‘In the firſt place, that the King's ſending ſo ſoon to them for their Advice, was an evident Token not only of the great Confidence he had in their Loyalty, and their good Example to his own Dominions, but alſo a Proof of his Intention to follow the Example of his Brother's great and peaceable Reign. Secondly, he gave them Aſſurance of his Princely Reſolutions to maintain and protect the *Government of the Church as by Law Eſtabliſh'd*, and alſo that he wou'd take Care of the Perſons and Concerns of the Regular Clergy; and that he wou'd maintain their Rights and Properties, according to the Eſtabliſh'd Law of the Kingdom, and that they ſhou'd not be injur'd by any Arbitrary Oppreſſions of Soldiers or others; that he wou'd condeſcend as much in the Buſineſs of the *Exciſe* and *Militia*, as cou'd be juſtly expected: And on the other ſide his Majeſty expected from them to aſſert the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, and to eſtabliſh the Revenues as amply upon him and his lawful Succeſſors, as it was enjoy'd by his Royal Brother. In the laſt place he deſir'd that effectual Means might be fallen upon, for deſtroying that deſperate Phanatical and irreclaimable Party, who had brought them to the Brink of Ruin and Diſgrace, and were no more Rebels againſt the King, than Enemies of Mankind; Wretches of ſuch monſtrous Principles and Practices as paſt Ages never heard, nor thoſe to come will hardly believe, &c.

The Lords Commiſſioner's Speech.

After this the Lord-Chancellor, the Earl of *Perth*, to ſecond and ſupport what the other had ſaid, enumerated the many Diſorders and Animoſities that had been among them, before the King, (when Duke of *York*) was ſent into that Kingdom, and by what eaſie Means he had brought about the Unity, which they almoſt deſpaired of: Therefore he deſired them ‘To promote his Majeſty's Intereſt,

The Lord-Chancellor's Speech.

by deſtroying a Baſtardly Brood of villanous Men, whoſe maintain'd Principles authoriz'd the Perpetration of Things not to be nam'd among them who had ever heard of Government, much leſs of Religion.' Then farther to encourage them in their Duty, he added the Character of his preſent Majeſty in theſe Words; 'Let us conſider him in all his Perſonal Advantages, whether in what relates to War or Peace, where has the World afforded ſuch another? One whoſe natural Endowments have been improv'd by his great Experience, at Home and Abroad, in Armies and Courts, by the greateſt Tryals of the moſt differing Kinds; thoſe of Proſperity and Succeſs, and of Adverſity and Oppoſition, of Hazards and Toil, and of Authority and Command. Did ever Man ſhew ſo exact an *Honeſty* in the ſtricteſt adhering to his *Word*; ſuch Temperance and Sobriety, ſo indefatigable a Diligence in Affairs, ſo undaunted a Courage upon all Occaſions, and ſo unweary'd a Clemency towards the moſt obſtinate malicious Offenders? Did ever Hero compleat the Character ſo fully, in overcoming bravely, and ſhewing Gentleneſs to the vanquiſh'd?' And I muſt ſay, the Triumphs of his Patience are not his obſcureſt Glories; nor is the Forgiving of thoſe whoſe virulent Tongues wou'd have tainted his Fame, if their Malice cou'd have reach'd it, what is leaſt to be admired in him: What Reputation other Princes have labour'd for, at the vaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure, and the putting of a conſtant Reſtraint upon themſelves, ſits ſo eaſy upon him, that what they wou'd have, he forces from the Conſciences of his very Enemies by his Merit, and it coſts him no more than to be HIMSELF.

The Parliament's Addreſs to the King. Shortly after, the Parliament, in Anſwer to the King's Letter, addreſs'd themſelves after the following manner: 'That his Majeſty's gracious and kind Remembrance of the Services done by his ancient Kingdom to his Brother, of ever glorious Memory, ſhou'd rather raiſe in them ardent Deſires to exceed whatſoever they had formerly done, than look upon them deſerving the Eſteem he was pleas'd to expreſs of them. That the Death of their excellent Monarch was lamented by them to all the Degrees of Grief, which were conſiſtent with their great Joy for the Succeſſion of his moſt Sacred Majeſty, who had not only continu'd, but ſecured the Happineſs which his Royal Brother's Wiſdom, Juſtice and Clemency had procured them; that being the firſt Parliament which met by his Authority, he might be confident they wou'd offer ſuch Laws as might beſt ſecure his Perſon, the Royal Family and Government; and that they wou'd be ſo exemplary Loyal, as to raiſe his Honour and Greatneſs to the utmoſt of their Power. And furthermore they promis'd, that they wou'd not leave any thing undone for extirpating all *Fanaticiſm*, but eſpecially thoſe Fanatical Murtherers and Aſſaſſins; and for Detecting and Puniſhing the late Conſpirators, whoſe pernicious and execrable Deſigns did ſo much tend to ſubvert his Majeſty's Government, and to ruin them and all his Majeſty's faithful Subjects.

Their Acts. Having thus addreſs'd themſelves to his Majeſty in Words, they proceeded to the making of Acts agreeable thereto: And firſt they paſs'd an Act, wherein the King was declar'd, 'To aſſent with his Eſtates in Parliament conven'd, to ratify and confirm all Acts and Statutes formerly paſs'd, for the Security, Liberty and Freedom of the *True Church of God*, and the *Proteſtant Religion at preſent profeſs'd within the Kingdom*, in their whole *Strength* and *Tenor*, as if they were particularly ſet down and expreſs'd in the ſaid Act.' By a ſecond Act they annex'd and united the *Exciſe* of Foreign and Inland Commodities to the Crown of *Scotland* for ever.' By a Third, they ordain'd, 'That all ſuch Perſons as being cited in Caſe of High-Treaſon, Field or Houſe Conventicles, or Church Irregularities, ſhou'd refuſe to give Teſtimony, ſhou'd be liable to be puniſh'd as guilty of thoſe Crimes reſpectively, in which they refus'd to be Witneſſes.' Thus all Things appear'd quiet and calm in *Scotland*, without any Forebodings of the ſudden Storm in that Kingdom, of which we ſhall ſhortly have Occaſion to take notice.

Oates *try'd for Perjury.* 3. To return to *England*: Before the much expected Meeting of the Parliament there, a remarkable Proſecution was compleated, which had a great Influence upon the People; namely, that againſt the fam'd *Titus Oates*, which begun, and was near being finiſh'd in the late Reign, as is already remember'd. This Man, who had been call'd a Doctor of Divinity, and accounted the *Saviour of the Nation*, was now look'd upon as a vile wretched Cheat, and as ſuch was Indicted at the *King's-Bench Bar* on the 8th of *May*, with great Formality, Expectation and Concourſe. It was an Indictment of Perjury, 'For his former ſwearing, That there was a Treaſonous Conſult of *Jeſuits* at the *White-Horſe* Tavern in the *Strand*, on the 24th of *April* 1678, Old Style; and that there were *Whitebread*, *Fenwick*, *Ireland*, and ſeveral others preſent, together with the ſaid *Oates*: That the ſaid *Jeſuits* ſeparated themſelves into ſeveral leſſer Clubs, and came to a Reſolution to murder the King; and that he himſelf carry'd the ſaid Reſolution from Chamber to Chamber, and ſaw it Sign'd by the ſaid *Jeſuits*: Whereas in reality, he was not at any Conſult at all, nor ſo much as in *England* at that Time; conſequently cou'd carry no Reſolution from Chamber to Chamber, nor ſee any ſuch Sign'd.' At the opening of the Indictment, a remarkable Speech was made by the Attorney-General, who in Concluſion declared, *He had been one of the greateſt Impoſtors that ever did appear upon the Stage, either in this Kingdom, or any other Nation.* To prove this Perjury, there were produc'd for the King, above twenty ſeveral Witneſſes, almoſt all *Papiſts*, but moſt of them Men of eminent Quality and Fortunes, and not one but of a clear Life and Converſation; who by a concurrent Teſtimony, prov'd that *Oates* came to St. *Omers* a little before *Chriſtmaſs*, 1677, and continu'd there till about *Midſummer*, 1678, without ever lodging out of the College, ſaving one Night in the Month of *January*; and their Recollections were generally accompany'd with memorable Tokens and Circumſtances, ſome ſerious, and ridiculous, as has been confirm'd, his being at an *Action*, his ſitting at a Table by himſelf, his quarrelſome Behaviour, his canting Tone, his ſpeaking falſe *Latine*, &c. More particularly they prov'd, That from the Beginning of *April*, to his Departure in *June*, that *Oates* read every *Sunday* and *Holy-Day* in the Place call'd the *Sodality*, and was never once miſs'd. His being in the College preciſely on the grand Day, the 24th of *April*, Old Style, was expreſsly prov'd by three Gentlemen, whereof one of them, Mr. *Morgan*, was a Miniſter of the Church of *England*.

His Defence. *Oates*, after theſe home Proofs, made his Defence with greater Acuteneſs and Preſence of Mind than was expected in this Exigency; but with ſuch an Aſſurance, grounded upon his former Succeſs, that nothing but the greateſt Innocence cou'd excuſe. Amongſt many Things, he alledg'd, 'That it was a great Hardſhip to be try'd for Perjury in an Evidence given ſix Years ago, and formerly unſucceſsfully endeavour'd to be falſify'd by ſixteeen St. *Omer*'s Youths, produc'd and examin'd before all the Judges in the Kingdom, not only once at *Whitebread*'s Tryal, but a ſecond Time at *Langhorn*'s Tryal, in neither of which wou'd the Jury believe them, becauſe of their Religion and Education. But, added he, this is not the firſt Attempt that has been made to diſcredit the Teſtimony of the *Popiſh Plot*.' Then he deſir'd the Jury to obſerve, 'That tho' the King's Council was now againſt Him, yet they were alſo againſt themſelves; for both Mr. Sollicitor and Mr. Attorney-General, were Council on his Side in thoſe Tryals.' Then he exclaim'd, 'Can any thing more plainly tend to deſtroy and ſubvert the Methods of Juſtice, to frighten all Witneſſes from henceforth from ever appearing to diſcover any Conſpiracies? and does it not tend to expoſe and vilify the known Underſtanding and Juſtice of the late King of ever bleſſed Memory, to arraign the Wiſdom of his Privy-Council, his great and noble Peers, his loyal Commons in four ſucceſſive Parliaments, his Twelve Judges, and all thoſe ſeveral Juries that were upon thoſe Tryals? Had not thoſe Juries Senſe? Had they not Honeſty? Had they no Conſciences? And the Judges before whom thoſe Conſpirators were try'd, were they Men of no Juſtice, nor Honour, nor Integrity, nor Conſcience, nor Underſtanding? Shall thoſe Juries be ſaid to have drawn the innocent Blood of theſe Men upon their own Heads and the Nation?' Beſides theſe, he particularly appeal'd to the preſent Lord Chief Juſtice, who, when he was Council for the King, had appear'd on his ſide, and had eſpecially declar'd, *That the Verdict againſt the five Jeſuits, was a juſt Verdict.* *Anſwers.* But becauſe he ſo much rely'd upon the Verdicts obtain'd upon his Evidence, it was reply'd, That thoſe had been disbeliev'd ſeveral times too as well as believ'd: And two Records of the Acquittals of Sir *George Wakeman* and the Earl of *Caſtlemain* were produc'd; and they themſelves in Perſon ſworn upon the ſubject Matter of *Oates*'s Depoſitions, atteſting with the moſt ſolemn Imprecations, *That there was not a true Word in the whole Accuſation.*

His Witneſſes. After his Harangues, *Oates* produc'd three or four Witneſſes to prove himſelf in *England* at the Time of the ſuppos'd Conſult; but either they faulter'd as to the Month or the Year, or elſe they claſh'd among themſelves, and palpably diſagreed in the Teſtimony they gave for him. And it was likewiſe prov'd from his own *Narrative*, that he had ſworn himſelf back again, from *England* to St. *Omers*, ſeveral Days before the Time they ſwore they ſaw him at *London*: So manifeſtly did *Oates* and his Witneſſes contradict one another. It was further prov'd by the King's Council, 'That *Oates* had formerly ſuborn'd one *Clay*, a Prieſt, to ſwear at the Tryal of the five *Jeſuits*, in Oppoſition to 'the Youths that came from St. *Omers*, That he was in *England*, at Mr. *Howard*'s Houſe at Dinner, at the latter End of *April*, or the Beginning of *May*, 1678; and threatned to hang him for a Prieſt, *if he wou'd not ſwear as he wou'd have him*: And *Clay*, partly for Fear, and partly to recover the Money that Sir *William Waller* had taken from him, was at laſt prevail'd upon to ſwear, according to his Directions.' Being driven out of this Hold, *Oates* call'd for ſeveral Perſons of Quality to ſpeak to his former Succeſs and Credit, as the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Earl of *Clare*, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Biſhop of *London*, Sir *William Dolben*, Sir *George Treby*, the Lord Chief-Baron, Mr. Baron *Gregory*, Mr. *Williams*, and ſeveral others: But in this he was as unfortunate as before, eſpecially from the Teſtimony of the Earl of *Huntington*, who ſaid theſe remarkable Words; *I do believe Mr.* Oates'*s Diſcovery found a good Reception in the Houſe of Lords; but it was grounded upon the Opinion, That what he ſaid was true, and that he was an honeſt Man:* —— *But ſince that Time it being apparent there were ſo many and great Contradictions, Falſities, and Perjuries in his Evidence, upon which ſo much innocent Blood hath been ſhed, I believe a great many Perſons who were concern'd in the Tryals of thoſe unfortunate Men, are heartily afflicted and ſorry for their Share in it: And I do believe moſt of the Houſe of Peers have alter'd their Opinion, as to this Man's Credit, and look upon his Evidence as I do, to be very falſe.*

His Law.

Upon this Diſappointment *Oates* flew to the Law Part, and appeal'd to the Court, 'Whether a Papiſt, in Caſe of Religion, might be believ'd and receiv'd as a good Witneſs;' to which he was anſwer'd, *He might*, and was ask'd, *Whether he thought he came there to Preach*? He farther inſiſted upon the Queſtion, and demanded it as a Right to be heard by Council, but was ſtill over-rul'd by the Chief-Juſtice; upon which he appeal'd to all the Hearers, *Whether he had Juſtice done him, or not*; for which he was ſharply reprimanded by his Lordſhip. The Storm being allay'd, he cited the Practice of the Lord *Coke*, who wou'd not allow of a *Popiſh* Recuſant for a Witneſs, not ſo much as between Party and Party; but was anſwer'd *That that Practice was againſt Law.* He further urg'd 'That the Witneſſes were brought up in a Seminary againſt Law, for which their Friends were to be puniſh'd;' to which the Chief-Juſtice reply'd, *So was a Diſſenter.* He next urg'd the Statute of the 27th of *Elizabeth*, againſt *Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts*, and other ſuch like diſobedient Perſons; the Chief-Juſtice ask'd him, 'Whether the Witneſſes own'd themſelves to be Prieſts and Jeſuits?' Then *Oates* wou'd have offer'd the Statute of the 3d of King *Charles* the Firſt; but was told *That it was nothing to the Purpoſe:* Whereupon he pleaded the Caſe of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, when charg'd with High-Treaſon and committed to the *Tower*; who upon his Acquittal moving, 'That he might have liberty to bring an Indictment of Perjury againſt the Witneſſes that accus'd him, the Court over-rul'd the Motion, becauſe they wou'd not have the King's Evidence indicted of Perjury, nor the *Popiſh* Plot call'd in Queſtion:' But this was alſo look'd upon as nothing to the Purpoſe. Finding his Arguments little heeded, *Oates* concluded his Defence in theſe amazing Words, *I appeal to the great God of Heaven and Earth, the Judge of all; and once more in his Preſence, and before all this Auditory, I avow my Evidence of the* Popiſh Plot, *all and every Part of it, to be nothing but true, and will expect from the Almighty God, the Vindication of my Integrity and Innocence:* And ſo deſir'd leave to retire. This was exceeding ſhocking to many who knew the Man and the Subject; and the Lord Chief-Juſtice, in ſumming up the Evidence, concluded in theſe Words, *There does not remain the leaſt Doubt but that* Oates *is the blackeſt, and moſt perjur'd Villain that ever appear'd upon the Face of the Earth.* Accordingly the Jury, in a Quarter of an Hour's time, brought him in Guilty of the Indictment. We have been the more particular in this Tryal, which laſted eleven Hours, becauſe his Conviction did ſo eſſentially ſtrike at the Credit of the *Popiſh* Plot, which had formerly rais'd ſuch innumerable Troubles in the Nation.

He is found Guilty.

A Second Indictment againſt him.

On the next Day a ſecond Indictment of Perjury was brought againſt the ſame Perſon, 'For Swearing at the Tryal of the five *Jeſuits*, That Mr. *Ireland* took leave of Him and others, in *London*, betwixt the 8th and the 12th of *Auguſt*, 1678; and likewiſe for Swearing at *Ireland*'s Tryal, That the ſaid *Ireland* was in *London* the 1ſt or 2d of *September* 1678; whereas in Truth, Mr. *Ireland* was, at both the aforeſaid Times, and for ſeveral Days before, and after, in *Staffordſhire*, or in the Parts adjacent. To prove all which now above forty Witneſſes were produc'd, who teſtify'd That Mr. *Ireland* was never at all in *London* from the 3d of *Auguſt*, in the ſame Year, to the 14th of the following *September*, and ſpecify'd every Thing according to Time and Place, with the Exactneſs of a Journal, accompany'd with all proper Tokens and Circumſtances; and what ſtill bore harder upon him than the former Tryal, was, that no leſs than Nine of theſe Witneſſes were Proteſtants and of the Church of *England*, againſt whom he cou'd raiſe no Exception. His Defence was much to the ſame Effect that it was the Day before, Appeals to Parliaments and Verdicts, inſiſting upon his Reputation, Clamours againſt the *Papiſts*, and Outcries, as if the *Proteſtant* Intereſt and his Credit were to ſtand and fall together: Only beſides, he produc'd the Proteſtation of dying *Bedloe*; 'That all he had ſworn concerning the *Plot* was true, and that he was one who ſwore that Mr. *Ireland* was in Town either the Beginning of *September*, or the latter End of *Auguſt*.' In ſumming up the Evidence, the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, ſpeaking of the Mercy of the late King *Charles* the Second, has this remarkable Paſſage; 'It is well known to thoſe who had the Happineſs to be near his Perſon, how oft he expreſs'd his Concern, for having conſented to Mr. *Ireland*'s Execution; and this continu'd with him to his dying Day, as the Buſineſs of my Lord of *Strafford* did with his Royal Father.' Then exclaiming againſt the Horridneſs of *Oates* and *Bedloe*'s Perjury, he thus concludes; 'God forbid but we ſhou'd uſe our utmoſt Endeavours, to inflict the greateſt Vengeance, that the Juſtice of the Nation can permit upon ſuch Villains as theſe are, that have contracted ſo much Miſchef and Reproach upon us, and ſo much Guilt upon themſelves.'

The Sentence againſt him.

Accordingly, *Oates* being found guilty of this Indictment, above a Fortnight after, and a Conſultation had with all the Judges of *England*, Mr. Juſtice *Within*, on *Saturday* the 26th of *May*, pronounc'd the following Sentence againſt him, after an Harangue upon the Heinouſneſs of his Crimes: '*Firſt*, the Court does order for a Fine, That you pay a Thouſand Marks upon each Indictment. *Secondly*, That you be ſtript of all your Canonical Habits. *Thirdly*, the Court does award, That you ſtand upon and in the Pillory, here before *Weſtminſter-Hall* Gate, upon *Monday* next, for an Hour's Time, with a Paper over your Head (which you muſt firſt walk with round about to all the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall*) declaring your Crime; and that upon the firſt Indictment. *Fourthly*, on the ſecond Indictment, upon *Tueſday* you ſhall ſtand upon and in the Pillory at the *Royal-Exchange*, for the Space of an Hour, with the ſame Inſcription. *Fifthly*, You ſhall upon the next *Wedneſday*, be whipt from *Aldgate* to *Newgate*; And upon *Friday*, you ſhall be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, by the Hands of the Common Hang-man.' After which the ſame Judge proceeded in theſe Words; 'But Mr. *Oates*, we cannot but remember, there were ſeveral particular Times you ſwore falſe about; and therefore, as *Annual Commemorations*, that it may be known to all People, as long as you live, we have taken care of you for an *Annual Puniſhment*. Upon the 24th of *April*, every Year as long as you live, you are to ſtand upon and in the Pillory at *Tyburn*, juſt oppoſite to the Gallows. You are next to ſtand upon and in the Pillory, here at *Weſtminſter-Hall* Gate, every 9th of *Auguſt* as long as you live: And that it may be known what we mean by it, 'tis to remember that you ſwore about Mr. *Ireland*'s being in Town between the 8th and 12th of *Auguſt*. You are to ſtand upon and in the Pillory, at *Charing-Croſs*, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, every Year, during your Life; the like overagainſt the *Temple-Gate*, upon the 11th: And upon the 2d of *September* (which is another notorious Time, which you cannot but remember) you are to ſtand upon and in the Pillory at the *Royal-Exchange*: And all this you are to do every Year, during your Life; and to be committed cloſe Priſoner, as long as you live. This I pronounce to be the *Judgment of the Court* upon you, for your Offences: And I muſt tell you plainly, if it had been in my Power to have carry'd it further, I ſhou'd not have been unwilling to have given Judgment of *Death* upon you; *for I am ſure you deſerve it.*

The Severity of the Execution.

Great Endeavours were us'd to beg off the Scourging Part of the Sentence, juſtly foreſeeing it wou'd prove intolerable, and ſome Applications were made to the Queen her ſelf for that purpoſe; but all in vain: And the Whipping was executed with the utmoſt Severity, ſuch as was unknown to the *Engliſh* Nation, and in the Preſence of innumerable Spectators, who had a more than ordinary Curioſity to ſee the Sight. The firſt Day he was ty'd to a Cart, where he made hideous Bellowings, and ſwooned ſeveral Times with the greatneſs of the Anguiſh. The ſecond Day, he was not able to go or ſtand; but this, *Leſtrange* tells us, was becauſe he had made himſelf ſcandalouſly drunk: However, he was then plac'd and dragg'd upon a Sledge, where he became a diſmal and piteous Spectacle to the People, who cou'd much better judge of his Puniſhment, than his Crimes. In ſum, as he himſelf ſays, *he ſuſtain'd unexpreſſible Torments*; and his eſcaping with Life was inſiſted on by his Friends as ſomething miraculous,

lous, and a ſignal Teſtimony of his Innocence. It certainly ſerv'd to imbitter Mens Minds againſt the Government, and wou'd have been much better for the King, if this Puniſhment had been inflicted in the late Reign, as was intended, or elſe remitted and forgiven in this. Beſides his real Demerits, there ſeem'd to be ſomething Perſonal in his Puniſhment; all agree that his brutiſh Animoſity againſt the Duke of *York* made him break in upon the Reſpect that is ever due to Princes; but then again, a Man whom the beſt of the Nation began to abhor and deſpiſe, was thought too poor a Victim for a Monarch, and that the King of *England* ſhou'd have diſregarded the Injuries that had been offer'd to the Duke of *York*. Thus the famous Dr. *Oates*, that had been applauded and careſs'd by the Leaders in both Houſes of Parliament, and by ſome ſtyl'd the *Saviour of the Nation*, was now treated as the moſt vile and profligate Impoſtor. And it is remarkable, that tho' he liv'd to a moſt favourable Conjuncture for reverſing his Judgments, and brought his Writ of Error for that Purpoſe in the Houſe of Peers; yet, after a full Debate upon the Cauſe, the Lords cou'd not be prevail'd upon to blanch his Reputation, or reſtore him to the Capacity of being an Evidence in any Court whatſoever.

Dangerfield *try'd and ſeverely puniſhed.*

4. This laſt Sentence againſt *Oates* was executed a little after the Meeting of the Parliament; but before we begin to give any Account of that noble Aſſembly, it may be proper to take Notice of two other Proſecutions, that had at this Time a great Influence upon the Publick, and happen'd ſoon after the other. The firſt was that of *Thomas Dangerfield*, a remarkable Perſon formerly characteriz'd, and more than once taken notice of in the laſt Reign; who having formerly by his infamous Actions and ſurpriſing Diſcoveries render'd himſelf obnoxious to the Government, he for a Time retir'd into *Flanders:* But returning back in an unlucky Seaſon, he was ſeiz'd and carry'd before the Council, where perſiſting before the King himſelf in his former Evidence, he was committed cloſe Priſoner to *Newgate.* On the 30th of *May* he was try'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar, upon an Information, *For Writing and Publiſhing a villanous and ſcandalous Libel, call'd his* Narrative, formerly remember'd; wherein, according to his Depoſitions before the Parliament in 1680, he teſtify'd, 'That he was employ'd by the *Popiſh* Party, and chiefly 'by the *Popiſh* Lords in the *Tower*, and the Counteſs of '*Powis*, to invent the *Meal Tub Club*, which was to have 'thrown the *Popiſh Plot* wholly upon the *Presbyterians.*' This *Narrative* was order'd to be printed by the Houſe of Commons, *November* 10, 1680, in the hotteſt Time of their Sitting; but notwithſtanding that Order, their Speaker Mr. *Williams* was afterwards fin'd Ten Thouſand Pounds, for Licenſing it to be printed; and we are told he cou'd not eſcape without Paying the greateſt Part of it. And Mr. *Dangerfield* being now found Guilty, receiv'd Judgment at the *King's-Bench* Bar, 'That he ſhou'd ſtand 'twice in the Pillory; That he ſhou'd be Whipt from '*Aldgate* to *Newgate* in one Day, and from *Newgate* to '*Tyburn* on another, and ſhou'd pay a Fine of Five Hun'dred Pounds.

The Whipping was executed with very great, tho' ſtill with leſs Severity than that inflicted on *Oates:* In his Return the ſecond Day from *Tyburn* to *Newgate*, after his laſt Puniſhment, being in a Coach againſt *Hatton-Garden*, a ſtrange Accident happen'd to him, that moſt violently affected the People. One Mr. *Robert Frances*, a Barreſter of *Grey's-Inn*, coming by Chance to the Coach Side, and looking on his Face, out of an intemperate Zeal, ſaid to him, *How now, Friend, have you had your Heat this Morning?* The other, with two or three Curſes call'd him *Son of a Whore!* and ſpit on his Face. Upon which *Frances*, with a ſmall Bambow Cane ſtruck him over, or into the Eye, which ſo affected his Brain, as it is ſaid, that he died within a few Hours after; tho' many have doubted whether his Death proceeded from the Stroak, or from the Torments of his Body, which was found to be exceedingly ſwell'd and inflam'd. However the Surgeons gave it againſt Mr. *Frances*, who thinking he had done no Hurt, had endeavour'd no Eſcape; but being taken and try'd, he met with the Extremity of the Law, and was condemn'd to die without Mercy.

He is killed, as is ſuppos'd, by Mr. Frances.

This fatal Accident had a furious Influence upon the Minds of the Multitude, who were ſufficiently exaſperated before; ſo that tho' great Applications were made to the Court, no Pardon cou'd be obtain'd for Mr. *Frances*. Many Stories were immediately invented and diſpers'd concerning him; particularly that he was a virulent *Papiſt*, if not a *Jeſuit*, and ſet on by ſome great Men; that the Cane had a Steel Dart in it, that was thruſt into the Priſoner's Eye upon deliberate Malice; and it was farther ſaid, it was alſo a particular Revenge upon a Jealouſie againſt *Dangerfield* for his Lady. All which were fully confuted in Mr. *Frances*'s Speech at his Execution, and publiſh'd by Authority. He freely owns, 'That by this raſh and im'prudent Act, he had not only offended againſt the Go'vernment and Courts of Juſtice, but againſt Chriſtianity, 'and even the Rules of Morality it ſelf; but ſolemnly de'clar'd that it was done without the leaſt Fore-thought, 'Malice, or Jealouſy whatſoever, and that he had never 'ſeen the Man but once in the Pillory at a Diſtance: That 'he had led a quiet and inoffenſive Life for twelve Years 'in *Gray's-Inn*, without any Quarrel or Controverſy; and 'that his whole Life was without any violent Action, ſav'ing this *ſingle Extravagance*. As to his Religion, he 'prov'd himſelf to be an obedient and zealous Son of the 'Church of *England*, as by Law Eſtabliſh'd: And for his 'Wife, he believ'd her the beſt of Women; and was ſo 'far from ſuſpecting her Virtue, that ſhe was the only Loſs 'he regretted on Earth, and cou'd freely part with every 'thing elſe below without Repining.' In ſum, he dy'd like a true Penitent and a good Chriſtian, with the infamous Load of a Crime, the Nature of which can hardly be parallel'd in Hiſtory.

Who ſuffers Death for it.

Mr. Baxter's *Tryal.*

5. The other Proſecution, which happen'd about the ſame Time, and was of a quite different Nature, and was that of Mr. *Richard Baxter*, a celebrated Divine, one of the Heads of the *Presbyterian* Party, a voluminous and polemical Writer, who had often ſignaliz'd himſelf, both before and ſince the Reſtoration. Some of his former Books, as well as Actions, were afreſh remember'd, particularly his *Holy Common-Wealth*, and his *Saints Everlaſting Reſt*, in which laſt he had in effect plac'd *Pym*, *Hambden*, and the Lord *Brook*, who dy'd in an actual State of Rebellion, among the Saints in Heaven; which was interpreted as a great Defect in his Judgment, or an unjuſtifiable Inclination to their Cauſe. Theſe were aggravated by the *Obſervator* and others, and now an Advantage was taken, and an Accuſation brought againſt him for ſeveral Paſſages in his late Book call'd a *Paraphraſe upon the New Teſtament*, which was call'd a ſcandalous Piece, highly reflecting upon the Prelates of the Church of *England*, and guilty of Sedition; for which being brought before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jeffreys* at the *King's-Bench* Bar, he was treated with unuſual Scurrility, and far from what was due to the Gravity of his Perſon and Behaviour. Having pleaded Not Guilty to the Information, and mov'd that farther Time might be allow'd him for his Tryal, the Chief Juſtice cry'd out, *I will not give him a Minute's Time more to ſave his Life: We have had to do with other ſorts of Perſons, but now we have a* Saint *to deal with; and I know how to deal with* Saints *as well as* Sinners. *Yonder*, ſays he, *ſtands* Oates *in the Pillory*, as he actually did at that very Time, *and he ſays he ſuffers for the* Truth, *and ſo ſays* Baxter; *but if* Baxter *did but ſtand on the other ſide of the Pillory with him, I wou'd ſay there ſtood two of the greateſt Rogues and Raſcals in the Kingdom.*

Upon the 30th of *May*, he was brought to his Tryal before the ſame Lord Chief Juſtice at *Guild-Hall*, where was a numerous Concourſe of his Friends and others; and his Council were Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Rotheram*, Mr. *Atwood* and Mr. *Phipps*, all retain'd by Sir *Henry Aſhurſt*, who ſhew'd a particular Reſpect both to Mr. *Baxter*'s Perſon and his Cauſe. The Council urg'd, 'That the Paſſages mention'd in the Information, ought 'not to be ſtrain'd to that Senſe which was put upon them 'by the Inuendo's; nor cou'd any of them be apply'd to 'the Prelates of the Church of *England*, without a forc'd 'Conſtruction, but were deſign'd againſt thoſe of the 'Church of *Rome:* And they farther inſiſted, That Mr. '*Baxter* had frequently attended Divine Service, went to 'the Sacrament, and perſuaded others to do the ſame; and 'had in the very Book ſo charg'd, ſpoken moderately and 'honourably of the Biſhops of the Church of *England.*' And Mr. *Baxter* himſelf alledg'd, 'That he had been ſo 'moderate with reſpect to the Church of *England*, that he 'had incurr'd the Cenſure of many of the Diſſenters upon 'that Account.' The Lord Chief Juſtice ſaid, *That* Baxter *was an Enemy to the Name and Thing, the Office and Perſons of Biſhops*, and fell ſeverely both upon the Council and Defendant. As to the latter, he call'd out, Richard, *thou art an old Fellow, an old Knave; thou haſt written Books enough to load a Cart, every one as full of* Sedition, *I might ſay* Treaſon, *as an Egg is full of Meat. Hadſt thou been whipp'd out of thy Writing-Trade forty Years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendeſt to be a Preacher of the* Goſpel of Peace, *and thou haſt one Foot in the Grave; 'tis Time for thee to begin to think what Account thou intendeſt to give. But leave thee to thy ſelf, and I ſee thou'lt go on as thou haſt begun; but by the Grace of God, I'll look after thee. I know thou haſt a mighty Party, and I ſee a great many of the* Brotherhood *in Corners, waiting to ſee what will become of their mighty* Donn, *and a Doctor of the Party* [*Dr.* Bates] *at your Elbow; but by the Grace of Almighty God, I'll cruſh you all.* Beſides other Reproaches

His Defence.

His Treatment.

upon him and his Council, in ſumming up the Evidence he ſaid; *'Tis notoriouſly known, there has been a Deſign to ruin the King and the Nation*; *and this has been the main Incendiary: He is as modeſt now as can be*; *but Time was when no Man was ſo ready at* Bind your Kings in Chains, and your Nobles in Fetters of Iron; *and* to your Tents, *O Iſrael! Gentlemen, for God's ſake, don't let us be gull'd twice in an Age*,---In Concluſion, he told the Jury, *If in their Conſciences they believ'd he meant the Biſhops and Clergy of the Church of* England, *in the Paſſages which the Information referr'd to, they muſt find him* Guilty; *and he cou'd mean no Man elſe: If not, they muſt find him* Not Guilty. The Jury ſoon found him Guilty; and ſoon after he had Judgment given againſt him, 'To be fin'd five 'hundred Marks; to lye in Priſon till he paid it, and to 'be bound to his good Behaviour for ſeven Years.' Both the Uſage and Sentence was thought exorbitant by many; but the Reaſons and Provocations will appear more clear to the Reader when we come to relate the Tranſactions in, and at, the ſitting of the Parliament; to enter upon which it ſeems more than Time to begin.

And Sentence.

Preparations for the Meeting of

III.1. From the Time that the King had declar'd his calling of a Parliament, the Peoples Minds were fill'd with Expectations and Longings for the Meeting of it; and the Fate of the Nation ſeem'd to depend upon that Aſſembly, which was to ſupport it in this difficult Juncture. In order to this grand Buſineſs, the Elections were generally carry'd on and compleated with the moſt uncommon Coolneſs, Diſcretion and Unanimity; and notwithſtanding the unjuſtifiable Modelling ſo many Corporations ſince the laſt Parliament, there never was a Houſe of Commons more able and more induſtrious in preſerving the Happineſs of the King, the Nation, and the Eſtabliſh'd Religion. It conſiſted for the moſt part of the late prevailing Party, but of the richeſt and wiſeſt Men of the Kingdom; among whom there were fifty five of Noble Families, ninety five Baronets, and ninety ſix Knights; and the reſt were commonly Gentlemen of the beſt Intereſt, Credit and Knowledge in their Countries, eſpecially thoſe that were elected for Counties. Thoſe for the City of *London*, and the two Univerſities, were all of the ſame Party; the former were Sir *John Moor*, Sir *William Pritchard*, Sir *Samuel Daſhwood*, and Sir *Peter Rich*; the *Cantabrigians* were Sir *Thomas Exton*, and Doctor *Robert Brady*; the *Oxonians* were Sir *Leoline Jenkins* and Dr. *Charles Perrot*, Knight. And further to ſatisfy the Reader's Curioſity, we ſhall name forty or fifty, who ſeem'd to have had the greateſt Influence in the Houſe, without conſidering any Party at all; as Sir *Richard Temple*, Sir *William Edgerton*, Mr. *Hambden*, Sir *Levinus Bennet*, Sir *John Cotton*, Sir *Robert Southwell*, Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, Mr. *Edmund Waller*, Sir *William Trumbull*, Lord *Preſton*, Sir *John Lowther*, Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *Winſton Churchill*, Mr. *Ralph Freeman*, the honourable *John Varney*, Sir *Thomas Meers*, Lord *Caſtleton*, Sir *Henry Munſon*, the honourable *Charles Bertie*, Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, Sir *Nevil Catiline*, Sir *William Cook*, Sir *Nicholas Leſtrange*, Sir *John Fenwick*, Sir *Roger Leſtrange*, Sir *William Blacket*, Mr. *Theophilus Oglethorp*, Sir *Robert Holmes*, Sir *Thomas Clarges*, Mr. *Henry Wallop*, Sir *John Trevor*, Mr. *Thomas Glemham*, Lord *Huntingtour*, Sir *Henry Beddingfield*, Sir *John Bruce*, the honourable *Heneage Finch*, Sir *Thomas Bludworth*, Mr. *William Garaway*, Sir *Roger Cave*, the honourable *Thomas Coventry*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, Lord *Cornbury*, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *John Talbot*, Sir *Willoughby Hickman*, Sir *Thomas Jenner*, Mr. *William Williams*, Sir *Chriſtopher Wren*, Mr. *Robert Foley*, Sir *Michael Wentworth*, Sir *Thomas Barnardiſton*, Sir *John Nicholas*, &c.

The PARLIAMENT.

The 19th of *May* was the firſt Day of their Meeting, when his Majeſty came from *Whitehall* by Water to the Houſe of Peers; where being ſeated on the Throne, adorned with his Royal Robes and Crown, and attended with his Officers of State, he commanded Sir *Thomas Duppa*, the Gentleman-Uſher of the Black-Rod, to ſignify to the Commons, That it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure that they attend him immediately. Which being done, the Lord-Keeper *North*, by the King's Direction, made the following ſhort Speech: '*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens*, &c. I have it in Command from his Majeſty, 'to let you know, That he will defer his ſpeaking to you 'until the Members of both Houſes have taken the Oaths 'appointed at the Beginning of every Parliament; the doing whereof will require ſome Time: When that is over, his Majeſty will come again and declare his Mind to 'you concerning the Cauſes of calling this Parliament. 'And it being neceſſary there ſhou'd be firſt a Speaker of 'the Houſe of Commons, it is his Majeſty's Pleaſure that 'the Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons go a-part to 'the uſual Place, and proceed to the Choice of a fit Perſon to be their Speaker. His Majeſty doth appoint Four 'of the Clock in the Afternoon, to have him preſented for 'his Royal Approbation.' The Commons being retired, no leſs than Twenty Lords were formally introduc'd into the Houſe, either upon the Account of new Creations, or Additional Titles ſince the laſt Parliament; and were as following: *Francis* Lord *North*, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, *Laurence* Earl of *Rocheſter*, *George* Marquis of *Hallifax*, *James* Duke of *Ormond*, *Henry* Duke of *Beaufort*, *Edward* Earl of *Litchfield*, *Daniel* Earl of *Nottingham*, *James* Earl of *Abingdon*, *Edward* Earl of *Gainsborough*, *Thomas* Earl of *Plymouth*, *Horatio* Viſcount *Townſend*, *Thomas* Viſcount *Weymouth*, *Chriſtopher* Viſcount *Hatton*, *Richard* Lord *Lumley*, *John* Lord *Oſſulſton*, *George* Lord *Dartmouth*, *Ralph* Lord *Stawell*, *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin*, *George* Lord *Jeffreys*, and *John* Lord *Churchill*; which two laſt were made Barons of *England* by his preſent Majeſty.

Sir John Trevor *choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.*

The Commons being return'd to their own Houſe, the Lord *Middleton* nam'd Sir *John Trevor*, as a fit Perſon for their Speaker, and one that wou'd be acceptable to his Majeſty; whereupon the Commons unanimouſly made Choice of that Gentleman, and preſented him to the King at the appointed time, who was again ſeated upon his Throne in his Royal Robes and Crown. Here Sir *John Trevor* acquainted his Majeſty, 'That the Choice of Speaker had 'fallen upon Him; and out of a deep Senſe of his own Infirmities and Diſability for the Diſcharge of ſo important 'a Service, and of a loyal and dutiful Regard to his Majeſty's Intereſt, he humbly beſeech'd his Majeſty to command the Commons to return and make a fitter Choice.' Whereupon the Lord-Keeper, taking Directions from his Majeſty, ſpoke as follows; 'His Majeſty obſerves your 'great Modeſty, in declining this honourable and weighty 'Imployment; but the Arguments you have us'd to induce 'him to excuſe you from it, have not prevail'd. On the 'contrary, your Behaviour this Day hath recommended 'you to this Service: You have ſhewn that *Duty* and *Experience* in the Courſe of Parliaments, that demonſtrate 'you every Way fit for it; for you have now purſu'd the 'ancient and dutiful Method of *Diſabling* your ſelf before 'his Majeſty, with an intire Reſignation to his Pleaſure. 'His Majeſty hath therefore commanded me to declare '*That he doth well approve the Choice the Commons have* '*made, and admits you to be their Speaker.*' Then the Speaker return'd his Majeſty Thanks for his gracious Approbation, and Acceptance of his Service, and humbly pray'd in the Name of the Commons, 'That his Majeſty 'wou'd be pleas'd to allow and confirm all their ancient 'Privileges, and particularly that they might have Liberty 'of Free Speech in their Debates: That their Perſons and 'Servants might be free from Arreſts and Troubles: That 'they might have free Acceſs to his Royal Perſon with 'their Complaints, Petitions and Addreſſes: And that his 'Majeſty wou'd have a favourable Opinion of all their 'Actions. And concluded, That his Majeſty's gracious 'Allowance of theſe Petitions, wou'd encourage them to 'proceed chearfully in their Duties, and did not doubt, but 'that from ſo good and gracious a Prince, and ſo loyal 'Subjects, this Seſſion wou'd have a happy Concluſion.' Hereupon the Lord-Keeper ſaid, *The King takes well your Submiſſion to his Pleaſure, and promiſes to ſupport you in the Services you have undertaken: And for the Petitions you have made in behalf of the Commons, his Majeſty is pleas'd to grant them all as they are deſired.*

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

It was the 22d of *May* before the King's much expected Speech was deliver'd from the Throne; in the Morning of which Day he had received Notice of a Storm ariſing in *Scotland*, by means of the Earl of *Argyle*, which gave him occaſion to add ſomething to his Speech, which was ſpoken in theſe Words: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*, After it pleas'd Almighty God, to take to his Mercy the 'late King my deareſt Brother, and to bring Me to the 'peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Throne of my Anceſtors; I 'immediately reſolv'd to call a Parliament, as the beſt 'Means to ſettle every thing upon thoſe Foundations, as 'may make my Reign both Eaſy and Happy to you: Towards which, I am diſpos'd to contribute all that is fit 'for Me to do. What I ſaid to my Privy-Council, at my 'firſt coming there, I am deſirous to renew to you; wherein I fully declared my Opinion concerning the *Principles* '*of the Church of* England, whoſe Members have ſhewed 'themſelves ſo eminently Loyal in the worſt of Times, in 'Defence of my Father, and Support of my Brother, of 'Bleſſed Memory, *That I will always take Care to defend* '*and ſupport it: I will make it my Endeavour to preſerve* '*the Government both in Church and* State, *as it is by Law* '*Eſtabliſhed*; *and as I will never depart from the juſt* Rights '*and* Prerogatives *of the Crown, ſo I will never invade any* '*Man's* Property: *And you may be ſure, that having hitherto ventur'd my Life in the Defence of this Nation, I* '*will ſtill go as far as any Man in preſerving it in all its juſt* '*Rights and Liberties.*

1685. Jac. I. Ref. 26.

‘And having given this Aſſurance concerning the Care I will have of your *Religion* and *Property*, which I have choſen to do in the *ſame Words* which I us'd at my firſt coming to the Crown, the better to evidence to you, That I ſpoke them not by *Chance*, and conſequently, that you may firmly rely upon a *Promiſe* ſo ſolemnly made; I cannot doubt that I ſhall fail of ſuitable Returns from you, with all imaginable Duty and Kindneſs on your Part; and particularly, in what relates to the ſettling of my *Revenue*, and continuing it during my Life, as it was in the Time of the King my Brother. I might uſe many Arguments to enforce this Demand, for the Benefit of Trade, the Support of the Navy, the Neceſſity of the Crown, and the Well-being of the Government it ſelf; which I muſt not ſuffer to be precarious: But I am confident, your own Conſideration of what is juſt and reaſonable, will ſuggeſt to you whatſoever might be enlarged upon this Occaſion. There is yet one popular Argument which I foreſee may be us'd againſt what I aſk of you, from the Inclination Men have for frequent Parliaments, which ſome may think wou'd be the beſt Security, by feeding me from Time to Time, by ſuch Proportions as they ſhall think convenient: And this Argument, it being the firſt Time I ſpeak to you from the Throne, I will anſwer once for all, that this wou'd be a very improper Method to take with Me, and that the beſt Way to engage Me to meet you often, *is always to uſe Me well.* I expect therefore that you will comply with Me in what I have deſir'd, and that you will do it ſpeedily; that this may be a ſhort Seſſion, and that we may meet again to all our Satisfactions.

‘*My Lords and Gentlemen,* I muſt acquaint you, that I have had News this Morning from *Scotland*, That *Argyle* is landed in the *Weſt High-Lands*, with the Men he brought with him from *Holland*: That there are two *Declarations* publiſh'd, One in the Name of all thoſe in Arms, the other in his own: It would be too long for Me to repeat the Subſtance of them; it is ſufficient to tell you, I am charg'd with *Uſurpation* and *Tyranny*: The ſhorter of them I have directed to be forthwith communicated to you. I will take the beſt Care I can, that this *Declaration* of their own Faction and Rebellion may meet with the Reward it deſerves: And I will not doubt but you will be the more zealous to Support the Government, and give me my Revenue as I have deſir'd it, without delay.

Upon hearing of this Speech, never any Parliament ſhew'd greater Unanimity; and both Houſes immediately reſolv'd to return their moſt humble and hearty Thanks to his Majeſty, for his moſt gracious Speech and Declaration; and for that End they waited on the King at Four in the Afternoon. To which they receiv'd this obliging Anſwer, *That his Majeſty was very well pleas'd with their Thanks, and that he cou'd repeat no more than what he had ſaid in the Morning; and they ſhou'd find That he wou'd be as good as his Word.* And as to the Houſe of Commons, they immediately went upon the Support of the Crown, and the ſame Day reſolv'd *Nemine Contradicente*, ‘That all the Revenue given to his late Majeſty, and enjoy'd by him at his Death, be given and granted to his preſent Majeſty King *James* the Second, and ſettled upon him during Life.’ And they order'd Mr. Solicitor *Finch* to bring in a Bill accordingly. All this, together with the *Chimney-Mony*, and other hereditable Revenues, which were to continue for ever in the Crown, did now amount to above two Millions a Year.

The Commons ſettle the Revenue of the Crown.

The Proceedings of the Lords.

The Houſe of Lords were on the ſame Day buſy employ'd about an Affair of another Nature, the Petitions of the Lords who had lain under an Impeachment ſeveral Years in the *Tower*, and admitted to Bail about a Year ago, *viz.* The Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Bellaſis*, the Earl of *Tyrone*, and the Earl of *Danby*. Theſe Lords having made their Perſonal Appearances, in purſuance of their Bail, and deliver'd their Petitions, the Houſe enter'd into Conſideration of the Hardſhip of their Caſes, and came to this Queſtion, ‘Whether the Order of the 19th of *March* 167$\frac{8}{9}$ be revers'd and annull'd as to their ſeveral Impeachments;’ which paſſed in the Affirmative. Four Lords only enter'd their Diſſent, namely *Radnor*, *Angleſey*, *Clare*, and *Stamford*, with theſe following Reaſons: 1. ‘Becauſe it doth, as we conceive, extrajudicially, and without a particular Cauſe before Us, endeavour an Alteration in a judicial Rule and Order of the Houſe, in the higheſt Part of their Power and Judicature. 2. Becauſe it ſhakes and lays aſide an Order made and renewed upon long Conſideration and Debate, Report of Committees of Precedents and former Reſolutions, without permitting the ſame to be read, tho' call'd for by many of the Peers, and againſt weighty Reaſons, as we conceive, appearing for the ſame, and contrary to the Practice of former Times. 3. Becauſe it is inherent in every Court of Judicature to aſſert and preſerve the former Rules of Proceedings before them, which therefore muſt be ſteady and certain, eſpecially in this High Court, that the Subject, and all Perſons concern'd may know how to apply themſelves for Juſtice; the very *Chancery*, *King's-Bench*, &c. having their ſettled Rules, from which there is no Variation.’ However, two Days after, the Matter was brought to a Concluſion by this following Order; ‘Whereas ſeveral Indictments were found at the Seſſions held at *Weſtminſter* againſt *William* Earl of *Powis*, &c. which are ſince brought into this Houſe by *Certiorari*, purſuant to an Order of the 9th of *April* 1678; the Houſe being this Day informed by Mr. Attorney-General, that his Majeſty hath ſent a Warrant to him directed to enter a *Noli proſequi* upon the ſaid Indictments: It is ordered that his Majeſty's Attorney-General may have Recourſe to the ſaid Indictments in Order to enter a *Noli proſequi* thereupon, purſuant to his Majeſty's Warrant. And it is further ordered, That the Bail given in the Court of *King's-Bench* for the Appearance of the ſaid *William* Earl of *Powis*, &c. be, and is hereby diſcharg'd.

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The Impeached Lords diſcharged.

The Lord Stafford's Bill promoted.

Theſe Proceedings made way for the immediate Reception of a Bill in the ſame Houſe, *For reverſing the Attainder of the Lord Viſcount* Stafford, whoſe Tryal before the Lords, and Execution, is remember'd in the Year 1680. The Lords, in a grand Committee, made ſome Alterations in the *Title*, a conſiderable Amendment in the *Preamble*, and a ſmall Amendment in the *enacting Clauſe*, and then the Bill was Ingroſs'd: And the Reaſon of the Reverſal was in theſe Words; *Whereas it is now manifeſt, That the ſaid* William *late Viſcount* Stafford *was Innocent of the Treaſon laid to his Charge, and the Teſtimony whereby he was found Guilty, was falſe; Be it Enacted,* &c. But before the Queſtion was put for ingroſſing the Bill, the Earls of *Angleſey* and *Radnor*, and two or three other Lords, deſir'd Leave to enter their Diſſents, for theſe Reaſons; 1. ‘Becauſe the Aſſertion in the Bill, of its *Being now manifeſt that the late Viſcount* Stafford *dy'd Innocent, and that the Teſtimony on which he was convicted was falſe*, which are the ſole Grounds and Reaſons given to ſupport the Bill; were deſtitute of all Proof, Warrant, or Teſtimony, or Matter of Record before Us. 2. That the Record of the *King's-Bench*, read at the Committee, concerning the Conviction, laſt *Term*, of one of the Witneſſes for Perjury, in collateral Points of Proof, of no Affinity to the Lord *Stafford*'s Tryal, and given ſeveral Years before, it's conceived can be no Ground to invalidate the Teſtimony upon which the ſaid Viſcount was convicted, which cou'd never legally be by one Witneſs, and was in Fact by the Judgment of his Peers, on the Evidence of at leaſt Three. 3. It's conceived the ſaid Judgment in the *King's-Bench* was unprecedented, illegal and unwarranted, and highly derogatory to the Honour, Judicature and Authority of this Court, who have Power to queſtion and puniſh Perjuries of Witneſſes before them, and ought not to be impos'd upon by the Judgments of inferior Courts, or their Attainder of a Peer invalidated by Implication; and the *Popiſh Plot*, ſo condemn'd, purſued and puniſhed by his late Majeſty and four Parliaments, after publick ſolemn Devotion through the whole Kingdom, by Authority of Church and State, to be eluded, to the Arraignment and Scandal of the Government; and only for the reſtoring of the Family of one *Popiſh* Lord. And all this, being without any Matter judicially appearing before us to induce the ſame; and the Records of the Tryal not ſuffered to be read, for the Information of the Truth, before the paſſing of the Bill. 4. For many other weighty Reaſons offer'd and given by diverſe Peers in the two Days Debate of this Bill, both at the Committee, and in the Houſe.

The next Day the Bill was read a Third Time, and paſſed in the Houſe of Peers; but the forementioned Lords repeated their Proteſtations againſt it, and were ſeconded by the Earls of *Stamford* and *Clare*, and the Lord *Eure*, ‘Becauſe the *Preamble* of it was not amended, and no Defect in Point of Law alledg'd as a Reaſon for the Reverſal of the Attainder.’ But to conclude the Fate of this Bill without Interruption, it was afterwards ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, and on the 5th of *June* read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading; and was accordingly the next Day read a ſecond Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe. Notwithſtanding which, it was handſomely dropt, and never heard of more; the Commons, tho' very forward to aſſiſt the King in his Civil Intereſts, being extreamly cautious as to the Strengthening or Incouraging the *Popiſh* Party. But to return to the more immediate Buſineſs of both Houſes, which was the Conſideration of the latter Part of the King's Speech concerning the Earl of *Argyle*, whoſe Proceedings are next to be remember'd.

The Fate of it.

The late Earl of ARGYLE'*s Expedition.*

2. The Earl of *Argyle*, as was formerly mentioned, in the Year 1681, had been try'd and found Guilty of High-Treaſon by his Peers in *Scotland*; and tho' the Sentence of Death was reſpited, and deſign'd to have been remitted, he fled both from Juſtice and Mercy, as the Court of *England* alledg'd: Upon which the Parliament ordered the Sentence to be put in Execution whenever he ſhou'd be taken, and in the mean Time declar'd all his Eſtate to be forfeited to the King. It was a long time a Secret to moſt of his Country, and almoſt unknown, to what Part of the World the Earl had retired, till upon the Death of King *Charles* the Second, he was found at *Amſterdam* with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and other Malecontents, and Exiles upon the Account of the late Plot. Having concerted Matters with the ſaid Duke, who had agreed ſoon after to make a Deſcent into *England*, the Earl on the 2d of *May* ſet ſail with three ſmall Veſſels from the *Ulye* in *Holland*; and upon the 5th of the ſame Month he appear'd in the North of *Scotland* before *Orkney*, where ſending his Secretary and Surgeon on Shore, they were both ſeiz'd by the Inhabitants of the Iſland, and ſent up to the Privy-Council at *Edinburgh*. Being diſappointed there as to his Reception, he ſail'd round to the Weſt *High-Lands*, and on the 20th landed near a Place call'd *Dunſtafnage*, a ruinous Caſtle formerly belonging to himſelf, into which he put a Garriſon, from thence moving forwards he began to terrify the Country, and publiſh his Declarations.

The Care of the Scotch *Parliament.*

The Parliament now ſitting at *Edinburgh*, had taken particular Care of the King, and beſides thoſe Acts formerly mentioned, they paſs'd one *To make a dutiful Offer to the King of Two Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Pounds Yearly, during his Majeſty's Life:* And likewiſe another, declaring, ‘That the giving or taking the *National Covenant*, as explain'd in the Year 1638; or of the *League and Covenant*, ſo commonly call'd, or writing in Defence thereof, or owning of them as *lawful* or *obligatory* in themſelves or others, ſhall incur the Crime and Pains of Treaſon.’ Beſides theſe, the King, as apprehenſive of an Inſurrection in *Scotland*, even before *Argyle*'s landing, caus'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd in *Edinburgh*, ſetting forth, ‘That foraſmuch as thoſe traiterous Conſpirators, who deſigned the horrid Murder of his deareſt Brother, and the Deſtruction of his ancient Monarchy, continuing ſtill in the ſame helliſh Project and Fury againſt him, are now again ſetting their Deſigns on work, to raiſe Commotions in this his ancient Kingdom, as being the laſt Strugglings of them and their execrable Party; for preventing thereof, the King does ſtrictly require and command all and every of the Subjects of this his Realm, that they be in a Readineſs with their beſt Arms to concur and aſſiſt him againſt any of the aforeſaid Commotions or Inſurrections, *&c.* As likewiſe he requires all his Lieges on or near the Seaſt-Coaſts of this Kingdom, ſo ſoon as they hear of any Veſſels arriving in any Place from abroad, with Men, Arms or Ammunition, forthwith to convocate and riſe in their beſt Arms, and beat them off, or ſeize upon, and ſecure the Ships and the Men, *&c.* And for their Security, in obeying theſe his Royal Commands, he hereby fully pardons and indemnifies them for ever, of all Slaughter, Blood, Mutilation, Fire-raiſing, Burning of Ships, or ſuch Warlike Inconveniences that might follow, in caſe they meet with hoſtile Oppoſition, *&c.*

And the King's Proclamation.

Argyle'*s Declarations.*

The firſt.

On the other ſide the *Scotch* Malecontents under *Argyle* emitted two Declarations, ſetting forth the Reaſons that obliged them to take up Arms againſt the King. The firſt was entitled, *The Declaration and Apology of the Proteſtant People, that is, of the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes and Commoners of all ſorts, within the Kingdom of* Scotland, *with the Concurrence of the true and faithful Paſtors, and of ſeveral Gentlemen of the* Engliſh *Nation join'd with them in the ſame Cauſe*: By which they ſet forth ‘The great Advantages the *Proteſtant* Religion, both at home and abroad, had received by the Succeſs of the War againſt King *Charles* the Firſt; which they aſcribed to the Bleſſing of God, and the Goodneſs of their *Cauſe*. They cry'd up the Loyalty of the *Scotch Covenanters*, who had admitted his Son to reign upon certain Terms and Conditions, which he having broke, his Government was become *illegal*, *arbitrary*, *tyrannical* and a *continued Apoſtaſy*. In particular, they accus'd the Government of putting Men to Death contrary to Law, of deſolating the Churches, changing the *Ordinances of God* to the *Inventions of Men*, conniving at *Papiſts*, and keeping up of ſtanding Forces, *the Bane of Civil Government*; but more eſpecially they complained, That by reſcinding the *Solemn League and Covenant*, all the Oaths ſince impos'd were *horrid Perjury*. They declared againſt the King's *Supremacy*, and all the Wars againſt the *United Provinces*, the Forfeiture of the late Earl of *Argyle*, the Torture of *Spence* and *Caſtares*, and againſt the Inquiries into the Inſurrection at *Bothwell-Bridge*, by the Circuit-Courts, which they called *Popery and Tyranny twiſted together*. They declared againſt *James* Duke of *York* his Aſcenſion to the Throne, as being excluded from it by the Commons of *England*; and likewiſe againſt the preſent Houſe of Commons of both Kingdoms, as *pack'd*, *caballed*, and *returned by Fraud and Injuſtice*. For all which Reaſons they totally throwed off all Bonds of Subjection, and took up Arms againſt *James* Duke of *York*, and all his Accomplices, their moſt unnatural Enemies, for theſe Ends: 1. The reſtoring and ſettling the *Proteſtant Religion*. 2. The Suppreſſion and perpetual Excluſion of *Popery*, and its bitter Root and Spring, *Prelacy*. 3. The reſtoring of all who have been Sufferers for their Adherence to their Liberties and Religion. Then they declar'd, That they wou'd never enter into any Capitulation or Treaty with the ſaid Duke of *York*, but proſecute the War till all their Ends ſhall be obtained, and invited all their Brethren in *England* and *Ireland* to their Aſſiſtance. And laſtly, they promis'd Indemnity to thoſe who had been formerly their Enemies, upon their ſincere Repentance, joining with them, and vigorouſly aſſiſting them againſt a *perſecuting Tyrant*, and an *apoſtate Party*.

The ſecond.

This was the Subſtance of the general *Declaration* publiſhed by *Argyle*'s Followers; and the other, which was in the Earl's own Name, and in reference to himſelf, was to this effect, ‘That as he had taken up Arms with thoſe who had appointed him to be their Leader, for no private nor perſonal Ends, but only for thoſe contained in the *Declaration* before-mentioned; ſo he claimed no Intereſt, but what he had before the pretended Forfeiture of his Family, and to which he had ſufficient Right. He freely remitted all perſonal Injuries againſt himſelf and Family to thoſe that ſhou'd not oppoſe him, but concur with him in his preſent Undertaking, for the Ends aforementioned; promiſing alſo, upon the Recovery of his Eſtate, to pay both his own and his Father's Debts. Laſtly, That he had patiently ſuffered for three Years and an half an Exilement, according to Sentence unjuſtly pronounc'd againſt him in the Reign of the late King, to whom he had always been truly Loyal; but he being dead, and the Duke of *York* having taken off his Mask, and invaded the Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom, he thought it not only juſt, but his Duty to God and his Country, to oppoſe and repreſs his *Tyrannies* and *Uſurpations*: And accordingly he earneſtly invited and obteſted all honeſt *Proteſtants*, and particularly Friends and Blood Relations, to concur with them in the ſaid *Declaration*.’ But the Parliament at *Edinburgh* were not inſenſible of their Danger from ſuch Proceedings, therefore in Oppoſition to theſe *Declarations*, they paſs'd an Act, ‘That all the Subjects of *Scotland* ſhou'd take the Oath of *Allegiance* a-new, and aſſert the Royal Prerogatives whenever they ſhou'd be required by the Privy-Council, upon Pain of Baniſhment and Impriſonment, or ſuch other Puniſhment as ſhou'd be thought fit to be inflicted upon them.’ But to return to the Proceedings of the Parliament of *England*.

Counter-mined by the Scotch *Parliament.*

Proceedings of the Engliſh *Parliament thereupon.*

3. As ſoon as the laſt Declaration was communicated to that Parliament, both Houſes ſhewed all the Marks of Indignation; and each of them came to this Reſolution, ‘That they would ſtand by and aſſiſt his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes, againſt the pretended Earl of *Argyle* and his Adherents, and all other Rebels and Traytors whatſoever.’ And to each of theſe Votes the King gave particular Anſwers; and firſt to the Commons, he ſaid, Gentlemen, *I cou'd expect no leſs from a Houſe of Commons ſo compos'd, as, God be thanked, you are; I rely on the Aſſurances you have given me, which are the natural Effects of* monarchical Church of *England* Men: *I ſhall ſtand by all ſuch; and ſo ſupported, have no Reaſon to fear any Rebels or Enemies I have now, or may have.* To the Lords he ſhewed himſelf more particular, which he expreſs'd in theſe Words: My Lords, *The Aſſurances you give me now of ſtanding by me, are not new to me; you did it before I came to the Crown, and withſtood the Violence of a Party which deſign'd the Overturning the* Monarchy; *of all which I am as ſenſible as you can deſire, which upon all Occaſions I ſhall let you ſee: As it is your Intereſt, as well as Inclination to ſupport the Crown, ſo it is mine to ſupport you in all your juſt Rights and Privileges, the better to enable you to do it.*

The Diſſenters in Danger.

The Indignation of the Houſe of Commons appear'd in a particular Manner, and began to extend to the whole Body of Diſſenters; which probably was one Reaſon of the rough Uſe of Mr. *Baxter*, before remember'd. For on the 27th of *May*, a Report was made from the Committee of Religion that they had drawn up theſe two following Votes, *viz.* 1. ‘That it is the Opinion of the Committee that this Houſe will ſtand by his Majeſty

‘ with their Lives and Fortunes, according to their bounden Duty and Allegiance, in Defence of the Reformed Religion of the Church of *England*, as it is now by Law Eſtabliſh'd. 2. That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to deſire him to iſſue forth his Royal Proclamation, to cauſe the Penal Laws to be put in Execution, againſt all *Diſſenters* from the Church of *England*, whatſoever.’ Had the Houſe fell directly in with the latter Vote, it might in this Juncture have prov'd fatal to the Diſſenters, eſpecially upon the Account of the new Provocations that ſo ſoon after appear'd: But the previous Queſtion being, Whether the Queſtion ſhou'd be then put, for the Houſe to agree with the Committee? It was carry'd in the Negative; and the Houſe upon mature Conſideration came to this generous Reſolution, *Nemine Contradicente*, namely, ‘ That this Houſe doth Acquieſce, and entirely Rely, and reſt wholly Satisfy'd on his Majeſty's Gracious *Word*, and repeated *Declaration* to Support and Defend the Religion of the Church of *England*, as it is now by Law Eſtabliſh'd, *which is dearer to us than our Lives.*

The Commons confiding Vote.

The Speaker's Speech to the King.

Accordingly, three Days after, when the great Money-Bill, call'd the *Revenue-Bill*, was ready, and the Houſe of Commons appear'd before his Majeſty upon the Throne, with the utmoſt Formality and Grandeur, the Speaker in preſenting the Bill, made the following confiding Speech: ‘ *Moſt gracious Sovereign*, We the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons aſſembled in Parliament, do preſent to your Majeſty the Revenue you was pleas'd to demand at the opening of this Parliament, wherein we proceeded with as much Speed, as the Forms of paſſing Bills of that Nature wou'd admit. We bring not with it any Bill for the Preſervation or Security of our Religion, *which is dearer to us than our Lives.* In that we acquieſce intirely, and reſt wholly ſatisfy'd in your Majeſty's Gracious and Sacred *Word*, repeated *Declarations*, and *Aſſurance* to Support and Defend the Religion of the Church of *England*, as it is now by Law Eſtabliſh'd. We preſent this Revenue to your Majeſty, without the Condition of any Additional, Appropriating, or Tacking Clauſes whatſoever. And we humbly beſeech your Majeſty to accept of it, and along with it our hearty Prayers, That God Almighty wou'd bleſs you with a long Life and happy Reign to enjoy it.

The King's ſecond Speech to both Houſes.

Upon the paſſing of this Bill, his Majeſty was pleas'd to make this following Speech to both Houſes; ‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I thank you heartily for the Bill you have preſented me this Day; and I aſſure you, the Readineſs and Chearfulneſs that hath attended the Diſpatch of it, is as acceptable to me as the Bill it ſelf. After ſo happy a Beginning, you may believe I wou'd not call upon you unneceſſarily for an *Extraordinary Supply:* But when I tell you, That the Stores of the Navy and Ordnance are extreamly exhauſted; That the Anticipations upon ſeveral Branches of the Revenue are Great and Burthenſome; That the Debts of the King my Brother, to his Servants and Family, are ſuch as deſerve Compaſſion; That the Rebellion in *Scotland*, without putting more Weight upon it than it really deſerves, muſt oblige me to conſiderable Expence Extraordinary: I am ſure ſuch Conſiderations will move you to give me an Aid to provide for thoſe Things, wherein the Security, the Eaſe and Happineſs of my Government are ſo much concern'd. But above all, I muſt recommend to you the Care of the Navy, the Strength and Glory of the Nation, That you will put it into ſuch a Condition, *as may make us conſider'd and reſpected Abroad.* I cannot expreſs my Concerns upon this Occaſion more ſuitable to my own Thoughts of it, than by aſſuring you I have a true *Engliſh* Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as you can be; and I pleaſe my ſelf with the Hopes, that by God's Bleſſing and your Aſſiſtance, I may carry its Reputation yet higher in the World, than ever it has been in the Time of my Anceſtors. And as I will not call upon you for Supplies, but when they are of publick Uſe and Advantage, ſo I promiſe you, that what you give me upon ſuch Occaſions, ſhall be manag'd with good Husbandry; and I will take Care it ſhall be employ'd to the Uſes for which I ask them.

The Harmony between the King and the Commons.

Pleas'd and ſatisfy'd with this Speech, the Commons, without enquiring into the Levying the Revenues before granted, proceeded in a liberal manner to further Supplies, and unanimouſly Reſolv'd, ‘ That a Supply be given to his Majeſty, for repair of the Navy, Ordnance and Stores, and in Defence of the ſame, and for all other Occaſions mention'd in his Majeſty's *Speech.*’ And when they came to the *Ways and Means*, they agreed upon an Additional Duty of Exciſe upon *Wines* and *Vinegar*, and a further Impoſition upon *Sugars* and *Tobacco.* And ſhortly after, on the 10th of *June*, they receiv'd this obliging Meſſage from the King, ‘ That his Majeſty did heartily thank the Houſe, for their Readineſs in his Supplies; that he deſir'd no more this Seſſion, than what they were about: That he wou'd make tryal of the Impoſitions on *Sugars* and *Tobacco*; but if he ſhou'd find them injurious to his Plantations, he wou'd not make uſe of them, but hop'd they wou'd ſupply them ſome other way.’ In ſum, never was greater Harmony between the King and the People; never were more fair Promiſes on one Side, nor greater Generoſity on the other.

Argyle's *Progreſs in* Scotland.

4. During theſe Proceedings at Home, the late Earl of *Argyle* was trying his Fortunes in the Field Abroad, and in the Limits of his own Country, where his Cauſe and Intereſt was moſt prevalent. Having iſſu'd out his *Declarations*, as is remember'd, he ſent Letters to ſeveral of his Friends and Acquaintance, to deſire their ſpeedy Aſſiſtance; and detach'd his two Sons to make Excurſions about the Neighbourhood of *Lorn*, and oblige ſome by Menaces and others by Promiſes, to join with him in his Cauſe; but all this without any great and anſwerable Succeſs. For all the Men he could raiſe did not amount to above three or four thouſand, with whom having march'd to the Town of *Roſa* in the Iſle of *Boot*, and encamp'd himſelf, he was ſoon after purſu'd, and almoſt ſurrounded by the Earl of *Dumbarton*, General of the King's Forces, and by ſeveral other Bodies commanded by the Duke of *Gordon*, the Marqueſs of *Athol*, the Earl of *Arran*, and other Lords, who haſten'd from all Parts to extinguiſh the Fire of Rebellion, before it cou'd be blown up into a dangerous Flame. Theſe latter being ſuperior, the *Argylians* were forc'd to ſhift from one Iſland to another to avoid them; which for a while they eaſily did, by the Help of their Shipping and Boats, until the Arrival of ſome Veſſels of War ſent by the King, as the *Faulcon* and *Meremaid*, and ſome other Frigates, which ſhortly after happen'd.

His March into the Countrey.

Argyle having Intelligence of the Approach of his Majeſty's Ships, at length found it neceſſary to quit the Iſle of *Boot*, and went over to *Cowell*, one of the Diviſions of *Argyleſhire*, bringing his Veſſels and Boats into *Loch-Fine* towards *Inverary*; where they were ſoon after block'd up by the King's Ships, lying in the Mouth of the ſaid *Loch.* In the mean Time, *Argyle* having brought his Ships under the Caſtle of *Ellengreg*, gave out and made Report, That he wou'd fight the Marqueſs of *Athol*, who then lay about *Inverary*, tho' his chief Deſign was to avoid him; his Men, not finding the People to come in ſo readily as was promis'd, daily deſerting him. Nor cou'd his Ships, detain'd by contrary Winds, get into *Loch-Fine*, but were ſo diſcourag'd by the Advancement of the *King's-Fiſher* and *Faulcon* to the Entrance of *Loch-Rowan* where they lay, that they began to fortify the ſaid Caſtle of *Ellengreg*, and a Rock lying near to it in a little Iſland, for ſecuring their Veſſels. This done, *Argyle*, leaving his Cannon, Arms and Ammunition in the Caſtle, and a hundred and fifty Men for the Defence of it and his Ships, march'd away towards the Head of *Loch-Fine*; and, returning thence, after a rough Reception by the Marqueſs of *Athol*'s Men, paſs'd *Loch-Ling*, marching towards *Lenox* in *Dumbartonſhire.* The ſame Day the King's Ships came up to the Caſtle with a Reſolution to batter it, and to deſtroy their Veſſels; but upon the firing of the firſt Gun, two Men came off with a Boat with a white Flag, and told them, ‘ They might ſave their Labour, for there were none to oppoſe them, all the Rebels being fled.’ Upon which they ſent a Boat, and finding it to be true, took Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, Ships and Boats, beſides five thouſand Arms, five hundred Barrels of Powder, which were ſav'd from being blown up, with Ball and other Stores in Proportion.

His Forces diſpers'd,

This was a fatal Loſs to the *Argylians*, who were at the ſame time advancing by the Head of *Gaviloch*, towards the Fords of the River *Levin*, between *Loch-Lomand* and the Town of *Dumbarton.* The King's General, the Earl of *Dumbarton*, was then with the Army at *Glaſcow*; where having Notice that the Enemy had paſs'd the River *Levin*, he march'd very early in the Morning after them, as they were making towards *Sterling*, and overtook them in the Pariſh of *Killerne.* The King's Horſe and Dragoons kept them in Play till the Foot arriv'd; but they were poſted in ſo ſtrong a Ground, that it being late in the Evening, it was not thought fit then to attack them: So they ſtood drawn up all Night, as well to prevent Surprizals, as to be ready to fall upon them, as ſoon as Day-light appear'd. But the *Argylians* with great Silence march'd off in the Night, undiſcern'd by the Royaliſts, towards the River *Clyde*, which they ſwam with their Horſes, wafting their Foot in Boats, and ſo without any conſiderable Oppoſition, got into *Renfrew.* The King's Army miſſing them in the Morning, march'd with all Diligence to *Glaſcow*, and thence the General with his Horſe and Dragoons haſtned after them, leaving the Foot to follow with what Speed they cou'd make. At *Renfrew*, Sir *John Cockran*, a principal Man under *Argyle*, undertook to provide Guides to conduct his Friends ſafely into *Galloway*, but they miſtaking the Way, or deſignedly miſleading them, carry'd them into a Bogg, where having loſt their Horſes and Baggage, the Foot diſpers'd into ſmall Parties; upon which the King's General divided his Forces anſwerable to thoſe Parties, to purſue them. *Argyle* ſeeing all loſt, fled towards *Clyde*, and was ſet upon by two of *Greenock*'s Servants, but ſcorning to yield, he fired upon them when they call'd out to him. He receiv'd a Wound in his Head; upon which, not truſting to his Horſe, he alighted and run into the Water. The Noiſe of the Buſtle brought out a Country-man, who ran into the Water after him, where he was almoſt up to the Neck. He preſented a Piſtol at the Country-man, but it miſs'd Fire; whereupon the other gave him a Wound in the Head, which ſo ſtunn'd him that he fell, and in his falling cry'd out, *Unfortunate* ARGYLE! Upon which Words they ſeiz'd him, and carry'd him to their Commander, who ſent him bound to *Glaſcow*, and ſo to *Edinburgh*. This happen'd on the 17th of *June*, twenty eight Days after his firſt Landing in *Scotland*.

And himſelf taken.

His Execution, and End of that Rebellion

Never was a Priſoner of that Character us'd with more Ignominy in that Kingdom, except the famous Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, whoſe extraordinary Sufferings were obſerv'd to proceed principally from the Father of this unfortunate Nobleman. Like the vileſt Malefactor he was brought from *Glaſcow* to *Edinburgh*, and enter'd the City with his Hands bound behind him, bare headed, with the Hangman with an Ax before him, and became a piteous Spectacle to the People. Within a few Days after, he was brought forth to the Market-Croſs, near which he was beheaded, without any great Ceremony or Speech, and his Head ſet up upon the *Toll-Booth* of the City. The more to diſplay the retaliating Juſtice of Heaven, which is always moſt ſignal in the Caſe of Blood, the following Obſervation was made at this Time in publick, *viz.* 'That 'the late Earl of *Argyle* was taken in the ſame Month of 'the Year, in the ſame Week of the Month, in the ſame 'Day of the Week, and in the ſame Hour of the Day, (to 'ſay nothing that he was carry'd through the ſame Gate) 'with that Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, whoſe Murder perhaps 'was one of the fouleſt Blots in the Hiſtory of that Nation.' With *Argyle* dy'd the Rebellion in the North, the reſt being ſoon defeated: *Rumbald* the Malſter, the Maſter of the *Rye-Houſe*, being a Principal, fought deſperately, and was taken; and Colonel *Ayloff*, after he was a Priſoner, ripp'd up his own Belly with a Penknife, but recover'd to be hang'd in *England*, as the other was in *Scotland*; his Wounds not permitting him to be tranſported into his own Countrey.

The Steps towards the Duke of MONMOUTH'*s Expedition.*

IV. 1. *Argyle*'s Inſurrection was not fully ſuppreſs'd, when the King and the Nation were alarm'd with a greater Storm rais'd in the Weſt of *England* by an Invaſion of the Duke of *Monmouth* and his Followers; concerning whom, and the bold Expedition undertaken, we have ſome conſiderable Light from a Manuſcript written by Mr. *Ferguſon* himſelf, but never yet publiſh'd. We have already remember'd the Duke's Diſgrace under the late King, and his Retreat to the *Hague*; where he met with ſuch a kind Reception, as made him almoſt forget he was an Exile. This Uſage, tho' in it ſelf not very ungrateful, ſo much rais'd the Jealouſy of that King, that he deſir'd the Prince of *Orange* to withdraw his Favour from the Duke of *Monmouth*. The Prince, looking upon him as an Object of Merit, was ſo far from complying, that he continu'd his former Kindneſs and Reſpect to the Duke, and order'd his Troops to ſalute him when he ſhou'd happen to be preſent at the Reviews. On the other hand, the King had order'd Mr. *Chudley*, his Miniſter at the *Hague*, to command his Troops in the *Dutch* Service, not to take any Notice of the Duke of *Monmouth*; which the Prince reſented ſo highly, that he plainly reprimanded *Chudley* for *offering to deliver Orders to Officers under his Command, without communicating the ſame to him*. Upon which the *Engliſh* Envoy complain'd to his Maſter, who thinking himſelf affronted, forbad him to ſee the Prince.

This was the Poſture of Affairs with the Duke, when King *Charles* was ſucceeded in the Throne by his Brother, who retaining the ſtrongeſt Jealouſy againſt him, as having been ſo often his Rival, endeavour'd by his new Envoy Mr. *Skelton*, to get him ſecured, and ſent into *England*. But this Deſign cou'd not be ſo ſecretly carry'd on, as not to come within the Knowledge of the Prince of *Orange*, who having more Generoſity than to ſuffer an abandon'd Man to be deliver'd up to his Enemies, not only gave the Duke Notice of the Deſign againſt him, by Monſieur *Bentinck*, his Favourite, but ſupply'd him with Money to retire privately to *Bruſſels*, with a farther Encouragement to him to go into foreign Countries. One of the firſt Things King *James* did after his Acceſſion to the Throne, was to let the Prince of *Orange* know, how deſirous he was to maintain a perfect Amity with him, and to converſe with him rather as a Father, than as an Ally and a Neighbour; which was thought ſufficient to have caus'd a right Underſtanding between the Prince and the Court of *England*. But upon the Duke's Retreat to *Bruſſels*, ſome Papers were found in his Houſe by *Skelton*, which diſcover'd certain Proofs of the Correſpondence between Him and *Bentinck*, which gave the Envoy a new Jealouſy, and caus'd him to be more vigilant than ever. So that the Duke had not been long at *Bruſſels*, when at the Inſtance of King *James*, who thought him ſtill too near his Accomplices, the Marqueſs of *Grana*, Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, oblig'd him to depart thoſe Dominions; from whence he return'd privately into *Holland*, and lay *incognito* at *Amſterdam*. Here he fell in with the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *John Cockran*, Colonel *Holms*, Captain *Matthews*, Mr. *Wade*, *Ferguſon*, *Rumbald*, and ſeveral other *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Exiles, upon the Account of the late Plot, who being equally enrag'd againſt King *James*, cheriſh'd the Duke's Reſentments, and with him concerted Means to revenge themſelves of their common Enemy: All which was carry'd on with the moſt imaginable Secrecy; and we have very good Reaſon to believe, without the Privity, much leſs the Approbation, of the Prince of *Orange*. The Manner and raſh Entrance upon the Expedition ſhall be deliver'd chiefly in the Words of the forementioned Manuſcript; which, after a Declaration, 'That there ſtands nothing inſerted in it but what is 'exactly true,' proceeds thus:

A particular Account from a Manuſcript by Ferguſon.

It is not without Cauſe that we have been reflected upon, both for having been precipitous in venturing into *England*, and for having adjuſted our going to the moſt unhappy Juncture, that cou'd have been pitch'd upon or imagin'd. For tho' it was a Matter of vaſt Importance, and wherein the Miſcarriage wou'd be accompany'd with fatal Conſequences to the Nation, as well as our ſelves; yet we neither took time to concert it with Perſons of Integrity, Wiſdom and Intereſt; nor had we the Diſcretion to delay the Execution of what we were deſigning, till we had an Anſwer from thoſe we had ſent over to certify Friends of our Reſolution, and to beſpeak their Concurrence and Aid. Nor cou'd there have been a more unhappy Seaſon calculated for ſuch an Attempt, than during the Seſſion both of the Parliament, and of the Term; when moſt Gentlemen were oblig'd to be at *London*, and thereby not only out of Capacity of rendring that Service and Aſſiſtance, which we might have expected from them at another Time, but many of them under a Neceſſity, by reaſon of their Circumſtances, of joining in thoſe Votes and Counſels, by which we became branded for Traytors and Rebels; upon which they who had Eſtates to loſe, were much diſcourag'd from coming in to our Aſſiſtance. Neither was there a ſufficient Time between the firſt Meſſage ſent into *England*, to give Friends Intelligence of our Deſign, and our haſtening over to purſue it, as to allow them a competent Space, either to diſcourſe thoſe in whom they wou'd confide, or diſpoſe themſelves where their Preſence wou'd be moſt uſeful, nor to ſettle thoſe Correſpondencies, and make ſuch Preparations that we expected from them, and which were needful to put our Undertaking into a probable Way of ſucceeding.

All this the Duke of *Monmouth* was very ſenſible of, but ſuffer'd himſelf to be over-rul'd contrary both to the Dictates of his Judgment, and the Biaſs of his Inclination. For cou'd he have been allow'd to have purſu'd his own Sentiments and Reſolutions, he intended to have ſpent that Summer in the Court of *Swedeland*; where, out of the Reach, as well as Suſpicion of his Enemies, he wou'd have given Matters at Home time to ripen towards a Revolution; afforded his Friends Leiſure to have ſettled Correſpondencies in the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom; to have remitted Money for providing a ſufficient Stock and Magazine of Ammunition and Arms; and have maturated all Things for a Conjunction with him upon his Arrival the following Spring. But from this he was diverted by the Importunity of the Earl of *Argyle*, and prevail'd upon by the Advice and Intreaty of my Lord *Gray* and Mr. *Wade*, contrary to the Deſires of Mr. *Fletcher* and Captain *Matthews*, to haſten into *England*. To which, I can ſay, That I had the leaſt Acceſſion of any who were then about him; tho' I have had the Unhappineſs to be repreſented as the chief Author and Promoter of it, as well as of many other Things whereof I am innocent.

The Earl of *Argyle* having made Preparations towards a Deſcent into *Scotland*, and having as he thought diſpos'd Things there for his Reception and Aſſiſtance, he was not willing to loſe the Opportunity; leſt beſides the Offending and Alienating thoſe whom he had drawn in and depended upon, the Enemies thro' Delay might come to underſtand what he and his Friends had been projecting. Nor will any Man think it ſtrange, that the Earl of *Argyle*, being inviolably fix'd in that Reſolution, ſhou'd be earneſt with the Duke of *Monmouth* to invade *England* at the ſame time; ſeeing it wou'd not only oblige the King to divide his Forces, and thereby leave the Earl to be withſtood only by a Part of the Army, but wou'd give Encouragement to many in-

in *Scotland*, who wou'd have otherwiſe ſtood Neuter, to join with the ſaid Earl upon the Intelligence of the Duke of *Monmouth* having made a Deſcent into *England*, and that they two acted by Concert. And ſo unreaſonably forward was the Earl of *Argyle* of proſecuting what he had deſign'd in *Scotland*, that he wou'd not be prevail'd upon to delay ſo much as one Month, till the Duke cou'd make ſome Preparations, tho' far from proportionable to the Undertaking he was hurrying him upon; and till he cou'd receive Anſwers from the Meſſengers he had diſpatch'd into *England*, whereby he might know what Aſſiſtance he was to expect from his Friends. Nor would the Earl, after his own ominous Haſte, ſet ſail for *Scotland*, till he forc'd a Promiſe from the Duke of Embarking for *England* within ſo many Days after: Which the Duke, rather than ſuffer his Honour to be ſtain'd, comply'd with, as far as the Weather wou'd permit; tho' he found the Obſervation of his Word to interfere with his Intereſt, as well as all the Principles of Prudence and Diſcretion. And beſides the Impreſſion, which the Importunity of the Earl of *Argyle*, ſeconded by the Advice of ſeveral about the Duke, had upon him to haſten precipitouſly into *England*, before he had either made thoſe Preparations abroad, or ſettled thoſe Correſpondences at home, which were neceſſary, he was ſenſible that to have declin'd engaging at that Conjuncture, wou'd have occaſion'd many of the *Engliſh*, who had fled into *Holland*, and were weary of continuing Exiles from their Country, not only to have abandon'd him and to have gone with *Argyle*, but in revenge for being hinder'd from returning home, to have loaded him with all the Aſperſions that Perſons exaſperated cou'd have caſt upon him. Moreover he foreſaw what a Reflection it wou'd have been upon him, to remain idle and dormant beyond Sea, at a Seaſon when the Earl of *Argyle* was acting for his Country; and how it wou'd not only have been improv'd to his Prejudice, by ſuch whom the ſerving their own Ends had reconcil'd to him, but wou'd have greatly cool'd the Affections of thoſe who had lov'd his Perſon, and purſu'd his Intereſt in Conjunction with their own and that of the Kingdom. So that being brought under a Neceſſity of venturing either his Life or his Honour, he choſe to hearken to the Dictates of Generoſity, rather than of Wiſdom, and thereupon to hazard into *England*, before Matters were ripe for the Attempt. Which as it was the firſt Source of the Miſcarriage of his Undertaking; ſo we may reſolve our Defeat at laſt into it, as a very natural, tho' ſeemingly, a remote Cauſe. Thus far the Manuſcript.

The Duke leaves Holland.

2. With theſe ill-boding Circumſtances the Duke of *Monmouth* reſolv'd upon his great Expedition; and with the utmoſt Secrecy he hired a Man of War of thirty two Guns at *Amſterdam*, and three other ſmall Veſſels, on which he loaded Arms for five Thouſand Men, of which moſt were defenſive, as Backs, Breaſts, *&c.* which prov'd of little Uſe afterwards. *Skelton*, the *Engliſh* Envoy, had ſome private Notice of theſe Preparations, and us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to ſtop the Veſſels in the River: But all he cou'd really effect was to detain one of the ſmall Veſſels, and to extort an Order from the *States* to Arreſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, who therefore went the ſooner on Board, accompany'd by *Ford* Lord *Gray*, a *German* Count, Colonel *Holms*, Mr. *Joſeph Tyley*, Colonel *Matthews*, Major *Perrot*, Captain *Anneſley*, Captain *Hewling*, Mr. *Wade*, Dr. *Temple*, Mr. *Ferguſon*, &c. in all but Eighty two Perſons, with whom he was to perform ſuch wonderful Actions. On the 24th of *May*, about three Weeks after the Departure of the Earl of *Argyle*, the Duke ſail'd out of the *Texell* with his Man of War and two Tenders; and met with ſuch bad Weather, and croſs Accidents, that he was nineteen Days at Sea; and yet was never diſcover'd by the *Engliſh* Ships which lay in the *Channel* purpoſely to intercept him. During this tedious Voyage, *Ferguſon*, as he afterwards related to particular Friends, had a great Deſire to ſound the Duke's Inclinations, which were at preſent unknown to his Followers: And one Day ſitting by himſelf in a muſing Poſture, the Duke gave him an Opportunity, by asking him in a pleaſant way *About what he was ſtudying and thinking*. The other reply'd, as it were between Jeſt and Earneſt, *I am thinking to beg a particular Favour of you, when you are King of* England, *that I may be your prime Miniſter of State*. His Grace, perhaps without much thinking, made anſwer, *I cannot do that; for I have deſign'd*, or, *I am under an Obligation, to grant that to the Lord*----by which *Ferguſon*, as he ſaid afterwards, made a double Diſcovery.

And lands at Lyme.

On *Thurſday* the 11th Day of *June*, the Duke appear'd off of *Lyme*, a Port and Borough in *Dorſetſhire*, and went on Shore that Afternoon. As ſoon as his Men were landed, he commanded Silence, and falling on his Knees, he implor'd the Protection of Heaven, in a ſhort Prayer: Then drawing his Sword, he led his Men a Back-way into the Town, and ſet up his Blue Standard in the Market-Place, without the leaſt Oppoſition. Then he muſter'd his little Company, which tho' well arm'd and in good Equipage, too much diſcover'd his Weakneſs at a Time when his Numbers ought to have been magnify'd; which might eaſily have been done, if he had landed in the Night-time. Being ask'd, *Whom they were for:* They declar'd, *For the Proteſtant Religion*; heartily inviting all Perſons to come and join with them. Captain *Lark*, and ſeveral of the Town's-Men immediately join'd them. After this, a long printed DECLARATION was read at the Market-Croſs, intitled, *The Declaration of* James *Duke of* Monmouth, *and the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Others, now in Arms for the Defence and Vindication of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws, Rights and Privileges of* England.

His Declaration.

The Preface to it was to this Effect, ‘ That Government was originally inſtituted by God, and this or that Form of it choſen and ſubmitted to by Men, for the Peace, Happineſs, and Security of the Governed, and not for the private Intereſt and perſonal Greatneſs of thoſe that rule. That the Government of *England* was, above all others, happy in its *primitive Form*; whereby the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Privileges of the Subject, were ſo far from juſtling one another, that the Rights reſerv'd to the People, tended to render the King honourable and great; and the Prerogatives ſettled on the Prince, were in order to the Subjects Protection and Safety. But now they were compell'd to ſay, *That all the Boundaries of the Government had of late been broken, and nothing left unattempted for turning the Limited Monarchy into an Abſolute Tyranny*.' Then they proceed to charge upon the Duke of *York*, in his Brother's Reign, ‘ His contriving the burning of *London*; his inſtigating a Confederacy with *France*, and a War with *Holland*; his fomenting the *Popiſh* Plot, and encouraging the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*; his charging Treaſon againſt *Proteſtants*, and ſuborning Witneſſes to ſwear the Patriots of our Religion and Liberties out of their Lives; his hiring execrable Villains to aſſaſſinate the late Earl of *Eſſex*, and cauſing others to be clandeſtinely cut off, in hopes to conceal it; his adviſing and procuring the Prorogation and Diſſolution of the Parliaments, in order to prevent the looking into his Crimes, and that he might eſcape the Juſtice of the Nation, *&c.*

They next proceeded to enumerate the ‘ Tyrannies which he had exercis'd ſince he ſnatch'd the Crown from his Brother's Head: For, in Defiance of all Laws and Statutes of the Realm, made for the ſecuring of the *Proteſtant* Religion, he not only began his Reign with a bare-fac'd avowing himſelf of the *Romiſh* Religion, but call'd in Multitudes of Prieſts and Jeſuits, for whom the Law makes it Treaſon to come into the Kingdom, and hath impower'd them to exerciſe Idolatries: And beſides his being daily preſent at the Worſhip of the *Maſs*, he hath publickly aſſiſted at the greateſt Fopperies of their Superſtition. Neither hath he been more tender in trampling upon the Laws which concern our *Properties*; ſeeing two *Proclamations*, whereof the one requires the collecting of the *Cuſtoms*, and the other continuing that part of the *Exciſe*, which was to expire at the late King's Death; he hath violently, and againſt all the Laws of the Land, broken in upon our Eſtates. Neither is it any Extenuation of his Tyranny, that he is countenanc'd in it by an Extra-Judicial Opinion of ſeven or eight ſuborn'd and forſworn Judges, but rather declaring the Greatneſs and Extent of the Conſpiracy againſt our Rights; and that there is no Means left for our Relief, but by Force of Arms: For advancing thoſe to the Bench, that were the Scandal of the Bar, and conſtituting thoſe very Men to *declare* the Laws, who were accus'd and branded in Parliament for *perverting* them; we are precluded all Hopes of Juſtice in *Weſtminſter*-Hall: And by packing of Juries, falſe Returns, new illegal Charters, and other corrupt Means, he doth at once deprive us of all Expectations of Succour, where our Anceſtors were wont to find it; and hopes to render that which ought to be the Peoples Fence againſt Tyranny, and the Conſervator of their Liberties, the Means of ſubverting all our Laws, and of eſtabliſhing his Arbitrarineſs, and confirming our Thraldom.'-----Notwithſtanding all which, they declare to the World, It is not for any perſonal Injuries, or private Diſcontents, nor in Purſuance of any corrupt Intereſt that we take our Swords in our Hands; but for vindicating our Religion and Laws, and reſcuing our Country from Ruin and Deſtruction, and for the preſerving our ſelves, Wives and Children, from Bondage and Idolatry. Wherefore, before God, Angels and Men, we ſtand acquitted from, and do Charge upon our Enemies all the Slaughter and Devaſtations that unavoidably accompany inteſtine War.'

After this they laid down the Ways and Means of redreſſing all Grievances, and particularly the repealing the Penal Laws againſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, the *Corporation* and *Militia* Acts, and promis'd to purſue thoſe Ends in a *fair* and *effectual* manner. And then that they might as fairly and effectually load the King, they proceeded thus: ‘ And whereas the ſaid Duke of *York*, in Order to the expediting his idolatrous and bloody Deſigns of the *Papiſts*, the gratifying his own boundleſs Ambition after a Crown, and to hinder the Enquiry after the Aſſaſſination of the Earl of *Eſſex*, hath poiſoned the late King, and thereby manifeſted his Ingratitude, as well as Cruelty to the World, in murdering a Brother, who had almoſt ruined himſelf, to preſerve and protect him from Puniſhment; We do therefore farther declare, that for the aforeſaid villainous and unnatural Crime, and other his Crimes before-mentioned, and in purſuance of the Reſolution of both Houſes of Parliament, who voted to *revenge the King's Death in caſe he came to an untimely End*, we will proſecute the ſaid *James* Duke of *York*, till we have brought him to ſuffer what the Law adjudg'd to be the Puniſhment of ſo execrable a Fact. And in a more particular manner, his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, being ſenſible of the barbarous and horrid Parricide committed upon his Father, doth reſolve to purſue the ſaid *James* Duke of *York* as a *mortal* and *bloody Enemy*; and will endeavour, as well with his own Hand, as by the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, and the Law to have Juſtice executed upon him. And the ſaid *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, the now Head and Captain-General of the *Proteſtant Forces* of this Kingdom, aſſembled for the End aforeſaid, from the Generouſneſs of his own Nature, and the Love he bears to theſe Nations, whoſe Welfare and Settlement he infinitely prefers to whatſoever concerns himſelf, *doth not at preſent inſiſt upon his* TITLE, but leaves the Determination thereof to the Wiſdom, Juſtice and Authority of a Parliament legally choſen, and acting with Freedom: And in the mean time doth profeſs and declare, by all that's ſacred, that he will, in Conjunction with the People of *England*, employ all his Abilities beſtow'd upon him by God and Nature, for the Re-eſtabliſhment and Preſervation of the *Proteſtant* Religion in theſe Kingdoms, and for reſtoring of the Subjects of the ſame to a free Exerciſe thereof, in Oppoſition to *Popery*, and the Conſequences of it, *Tyranny* and *Slavery*. To the obtaining of which End, he doth hereby promiſe and oblige himſelf to the People of *England*, to promote the paſſing into Laws all the Methods aforeſaid, that it may never more be in the Power of any ſingle Perſon on the Throne to deprive their Subjects of their Rights, and to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of the Government deſign'd for their Preſervation.’ Then declaring for the Inſurrection in *Scotland*, and inviting all Proteſtant Kings, Princes, States and People to their Aſſiſtance, they conclude in theſe Words; ‘ And above all, our Dependance and Truſt is upon the Lord of Hoſts, in whoſe Name we go forth, and to whom we commit our *Cauſe*, and refer the Deciſion betwixt us in the Day of Battle. *Now let us play the Men for our People, and for the Cities of our God; and the Lord do that which ſeemeth good unto him.*

The Effect of it.

This *Declaration* being read, and ſpread abroad, wrought ſo much upon the Minds of the common People, whoſe Affections to the Duke had been long pre-engag'd, that they ſoon flock'd to him in great Numbers, and gave no ſmall Hopes of Succeſs; tho' his Grace manifeſtly labour'd under great Difficulties, with reſpect to the Want of Arms, Horſes, and good Officers. But how this Declaration and Expedition was taken at *Weſtminſter* in the Houſes of Parliament, is now time to be remember'd.

The Proceedings of the Parliament.

3. As ſoon as the King had, by Meſſage, let the Parliament know of the Arrival of the Duke of *Monmouth*, by Intelligence from the Mayor of *Lyme*, both Houſes expreſs'd their Thanks and their Indignation; and they immediately agreed, ‘ To wait on his Majeſty, and give their Thanks in an *Humble Addreſs*, for his Favour in imparting the ſaid Intelligence; and do humbly offer to aſſiſt and ſtand by his Majeſty, with their Lives and Fortunes, againſt *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, and all Rebels and Traytors, and all other his Majeſty's Enemies whatſoever.’ Upon the Delivery of which Addreſs, his Majeſty return'd this obliging Anſwer: *I thank you for your loyal Addreſs; and as you have offer'd to aſſiſt and ſtand by Me with your Lives and Fortunes, I do aſſure you, I will ſtand by You, and will at any Time venture my Life in Defence and Support of the Government, and for ſecuring the Peace of the Kingdom.*

A Bill of Attainder againſt the Duke, paſſes,

The Commons ſo much ſignaliz'd their Loyalty, that as ſoon as they had finiſh'd the Buſineſs of the Addreſs, they preſently *reſolved*, ‘ That a Bill be brought in for the Attainder of *James* Duke of *Monmouth* of High-Treaſon; praying his Majeſty to iſſue out his Royal *Proclamation*, promiſing a Reward of Five Thouſand Pounds to any that ſhall bring in the Body of the Duke of *Monmouth* dead or alive.’ This *Bill of Attainder* was in leſs than two Days diſpatch'd by the Commons; and being ſent up to the Lords, it was read three times in one Day, and compleated without any Alteration. In the mean time the King publiſh'd two Proclamations, the firſt againſt ſpreading a traiterous Declaration publiſh'd by *James* Duke of *Monmouth*; and the other for promiſing the aforeſaid Reward of Five Thouſand Pounds to any who ſhou'd bring him alive or dead. Then on the 16th of *June* he came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he gave his Royal Aſſent from the Throne to theſe following Bills, 1. An Act *for granting to his Majeſty an Impoſition upon all Wines and Vinegar imported between the 24th of* June, 1685, *and the 24th of* June, 1693. 2. An Act *for granting to his Majeſty an Impoſition upon all Tobacco and Sugar imported between the 24th of* June, 1685, *and the 24th of* June, 1693. 3. An Act *to attaint* James *Duke of* Monmouth *of High-Treaſon.* And two Private Bills; one to *enable the Earl of* Oſſory *to make a Jointure*; and the other, *for Naturalizing* of ſeveral Perſons.

With other Bills.

The King's Meſſage to the Commons.

The King finding the Houſe of Commons ſo free and forward in their Service, two Days after ſent them this following Meſſage by the Earl of *Middleton*: ‘ That he judges it neceſſary for the Members, on whoſe Loyalty he depends, to be preſent in their reſpective Counties, and therefore deſigns there ſhall be a Receſs in a very few Days: But becauſe the Rebellion in the *Weſt* will occaſion an extraordinary Expence, his Majeſty deſires that there may be a good Fund for a preſent Sum of Money, to anſwer the immediate Charge his Majeſty muſt be at; and to the end the Bills now depending may not be prejudic'd, his Majeſty is pleas'd this Separation ſhall be an *Adjournment*, and for ſome ſhort Time only.’ There never appear'd a greater Readineſs in the Commons, who without Heſitation Reſolved, ‘ That a Supply not exceeding Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds, be given to his Majeſty, for his preſent *extraordinary Occaſions*.’ And both Houſes were ſo unanimous and expeditious, that on the 27th of *June*, his Majeſty had occaſion to come to the Houſe of Peers, and gave his Royal Aſſent to theſe following Bills. 1. An Act *for granting an Aid to his Majeſty, by an Impoſition on all* French *Linens, and all* Eaſt-India *Linen, and ſeveral other Manufactures of* India, *and on all* French *wrought Silks and Stuffs, and on all Brandy imported after the firſt Day of* July, 1685, *and before the 1ſt Day of* July, 1690. 2. An Act *for reviving and continuing two former Acts for Encouragement of Coynage.* 3. An Act *for the providing neceſſary Carriages for his Majeſty, in his Royal Progreſs and Removals.* 4. An Act *for reviving an Act for providing of Carriages by Land and Water, for the Uſe of his Majeſty's Navy and Ordnance.* 5. An Act *for conſolidating the Eſtates Taile, and Reverſion in Fee, which his Majeſty hath in the* Poſt-Office, *and Twenty Four Thouſand Pounds* per Annum *of the hereditary* Exciſe. 6. An Act *to enable his Majeſty to make Grants, Leaſes, and Copies of Offices, Lands and Hereditaments, Parcel of his Highneſs's Dutchy of* Cornwal, *or annex'd to the ſame, and for the Confirmation of Leaſes and Grants already made.* 7. An Act *againſt the Importation of Gunpowder, Arms, and other Ammunition and other Utenſils of War.* 8. An Act *for repealing certain Clauſes in an Act made in the 29th and 30th Year of the Reign of his late Majeſty, for prohibiting* French *Commodities.* 9. An Act *for reviving a former Act for exporting Leather.* 10. An Act *for Continuance of three former Acts, for preventing of Theft and Rapine upon the* Northern *Borders of* England. 11. An Act *for clearing, preſerving and maintaining and repairing the Haven and Peers of* Great-Yarmouth. 12. An Act *for rebuilding, finiſhing and adorning the Cathedral Church of St.* Paul, *London.* And to ſeven private Bills.

A new Supply.

More Bills paſs'd.

The Houſes proceeded with ſuch Diſpatch and Readineſs, that within four Days after, on *Thurſday* the 2d of *July*, his Majeſty came again to the Houſe of Peers; and the Commons being ſent for to attend, he gave his Royal Aſſent to theſe other *Bills*. 1. An Act *for reviving and Continuance of ſeveral Acts of Parliament therein mention'd.* 2. An Act *to encourage the building of Ships in* England. 3. An additional Act *for the Improvement of Tillage.* 4. An Act *for erecting a new Church, to be call'd the Pariſh of St.* James, *within the Liberty of* Weſtminſter. 5. An Act *for the Repair of the Cathedral Church of* Bangor, *and for the Maintenance of the Choir there, and for the Augmentation of the Biſhoprick of* Bangor; and alſo, *for an Augmentation of ſeveral Vicarages within the Comportions of* Laudinum *in the Dioceſs of* Bangor *aforeſaid.* Upon paſſing of theſe *Bills*, the Lord-Keeper ſpoke thus to both Houſes:

The Parliament breaks up.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am commanded to let you know, That it is his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that both Houſes adjourn forthwith till *Tueſday* the 4th of *Auguſt* next. Not that his Majeſty intends that then there ſhall be a *Seſſion*, but that the Members that are about the Town

‘ ſhall then meet and adjourn themſelves, as there ſhall be ‘ Occaſion, till Winter: And when his Majeſty wou'd ‘ have a full Houſe, he will give Notice of it by *Procla*‘ *mation*.’ And thus amicably ended the firſt Meeting of the Parliament, after it had ſate, and finiſh'd great Variety of Buſineſs, but a little above ſix Weeks.

The Duke of Monmouth's *Proceedings in the* Weſt.

V. I. All this Time, the Duke of *Monmouth* was purſuing his unfortunate Expedition, which was begun, as was before remember'd, with ſuch ſmall Numbers, and ſuch ſlender Preparations, that it is a Wonder he ſhou'd meet with ſo much Succeſs, and bid ſo fair for a Crown. Being attended with ſo ſmall a Force at his Landing, but eighty two in Number, and moſt of them unskilful in military Affairs, oblig'd his Grace to ſtay ſeveral Days at *Lyme*, before he cou'd gather Strength enough to begin his March; which furniſh'd the King's Party with ſeveral Advantages againſt him, in ſecuring many of his chief Friends, and diſcouraging and incommoding others that were flocking to him; yet ſtill his Numbers ſo increas'd from the ordinary Sort, that he ſoon found that he was in greater Want of Arms and Officers, than of Common-Soldiers. His firſt Arrival was attended with ſome ominous Circumſtances, particularly a fatal Quarrel between two of his beſt Officers, of which, and the immediate Conſequences, we ſhall give an Account from the Manuſcript formerly mention'd.

Moreover, of the ſmall Number which accompany'd the Duke out of *Holland*, one was unfortunately kill'd ſoon after our Landing, and before we were in a Condition to march. Which was occaſion'd by his own intemperate and unruly Paſſion, and beyond the Intention of the Gentleman whoſe Misfortune it was to do it; who having ſnatch'd his Piſtol into his Hand for no other End, but to preſerve himſelf from the other's rude Aſſault with a Cane, had the Unhappineſs unawares to ſhoot him, contrary to his Thoughts and Inclinations, and to his unconceivable Grief. Nor was our Loſs hereby confin'd to him that fell, tho' therein we ſuſtain'd conſiderable Prejudice, by being depriv'd of a Perſon, whoſe Acquaintance and Eſteem in that Part of the Kingdom, render'd him uſeful to us above many others; but the Duke, upon this deplorable Accident, thought it neceſſary, to prevent murmuring among ſome of our ſelves, as well as to remove Occaſion of Reſentment in the Inhabitants of *Taunton*, where he promis'd himſelf a hearty Welcome and conſiderable Supplies, to adviſe the other Gentleman for a Time to withdraw; but under a Deſire and Command to return and meet him at a Place which he nam'd, where alas! we never had the Happineſs to arrive. And tho' the Damage that befel us by the diſmiſſing of that Gentleman, cannot eaſily be imagin'd or expreſs'd; yet this I may ſay towards giving an Idea of it, That as he was a Perſon, who by his Courage, military Skill, civil Prudence, Application to Buſineſs, and the Intereſt he had in the Duke, wou'd have contributed much to the Conduct of our whole Affairs, and have promoted the embracing all Opportunities for Action, attended with any probable Succeſs; ſo he wou'd have done every thing that cou'd have been expected from a Perſon of Character and Worth, in a deciſive Engagement.

An Action at Bridport.

Accordingly the very next Morning after his withdrawing, we came to have a ſenſible Proof of the Injury that the Duke had done Himſelf and the Cauſe, in diſmiſſing him. For having been deſign'd to command the Horſe, that were to be ſent in Conjunction with a ſelect Party of Foot, to attack a Body of the Enemy that lay at *Bridport*, which was but ſix Miles from us, my Lord *Gray*, upon his Removal, came to have that Truſt devolv'd upon him, who inſtead of acquitting himſelf there as he ought to have done, not only forſook and abandon'd the Foot, but return'd with Tidings, *That they were all cut off*. Whereas they not only forc'd the Enemy for ſeveral Hours after the Flight of the Horſe, but march'd back to the Camp with the Loſs of a very few Men; having taken ſeveral Priſoners, and left more of the Adverſary, and ſome of them Perſons of Quality, dead upon the Spot. The Ignominy and Guilt of this is here charg'd peculiarly upon the Lord *Gray*: Which occaſion'd that juſt tho' ſharp Reply of L. Colonel *Matthews*, who upon the Relation of that cowardly Behaviour, being ask'd by the Duke *What he ſhould do with my Lord* Gray? anſwer'd, *That there was not a General in* Europe *that wou'd have ask'd ſuch a Queſtion, but himſelf*. Intimating thereby, That the leaſt he deſerved, was to have had his Commiſſion taken from him, and to have remain'd branded for a Poltrone. However it was, our want of Succeſs at that Time, when we made our firſt Attempt upon the Enemy, both ſerv'd to diſcourage many, and made the Duke afterwards unwilling to engage when he had the faireſt Advantages. Thus far Mr. *Ferguſon*'s Manuſcript.

Monmouth *advances towards* Taunton.

2. On the 15th of *June*, in the Afternoon, the Duke of *Monmouth* march'd out of *Lyme* for *Axminſter*, a little Town four Miles diſtant; his Party being then about two thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe. About two Miles from *Lyme*, they diſcover'd the Duke of *Albemarle*, with four thouſand Men, deſigning that Night to quarter in the ſame Town, which they had News of in the Way; yet ſtill march'd on in good Order, and enter'd the Town, lin'd all the Hedges, planted the Field-Pieces, and expected nothing leſs than an Ingagement, the other being not a Mile from the Town. The Duke of *Albemarle* advanc'd within a Quarter of a Mile of them, but finding his Soldiers to be all *Militia* Men of *Devonſhire*, and that they had no Inclination to fight againſt *Monmouth*, thought it beſt to retreat. He came from *Exeter* with theſe Forces, intending to beſiege the Duke in *Lyme*, preſuming he cou'd not be ready in ſo ſhort time; but now finding him ſo well prepar'd to receive him, he retir'd in great Diſorder and Confuſion, ſuppoſing that the Enemy had purſu'd him. This Purſuit was debated in *Monmouth*'s Army; but the Duke ſaid, *It was not his Buſineſs to fight yet, till his Men had been a little diſciplin'd, but rather to make up into the Countrey as faſt as poſſible, to meet his Friends; not queſtioning but there wou'd be ſome Action in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, on the News of his Succeſs*. But this was look'd upon as a falſe Step; for had they made the Purſuit, they had gain'd all their Arms, ſeveral more Men, and might have march'd in two Days, with little Oppoſition, to the very Gates of *Exeter*; the Country Troops reſolving not to fight them, ſeveral of whom came to them that Night with their Arms. But miſſing that Opportunity, they march'd in for *Taunton*, being receiv'd through all the little Towns in the Way with all poſſible Kindneſs, with loud Acclamations and Prayers to God to ſucceed their Arms.

On the 18th they arriv'd at the rich Town of *Taunton*, about twenty Miles from *Lyme*, where the Streets were ſo throng'd with People, that they cou'd ſcarce enter, all endeavouring to manifeſt their Joy at the Duke's coming; having their Houſes and Doors adorn'd with green Boughs, Herbs and Flowers, and all the Emblems of Proſperity. The next Day, twenty young Virgin Gentlewomen, with Colours ready made at the Charge of the Townſmen, preſented them to his Grace with particular Solemnity: The Captain of them went before with a naked Sword in one Hand, and a ſmall curious Bible in the other, which ſhe likewiſe preſented, with a ſhort acceptable Speech; at which, the Duke, in a manner tranſported, aſſur'd Her, *He came now in the Field, with a Deſign to defend the Truths contain'd in that Book, and to ſeal it with his Blood, if there ſhou'd be any Occaſion for it*. Here, elevated by the fair Proſpect of Succeſs, or overcome by the Importunities of thoſe about him, he was content to take upon him the Name and Title of KING. They alledg'd, ‘ That the ‘ Reaſon why the Gentry of *England* did not move, was ‘ becauſe he came upon *Common-wealth* Principles; and this being the Cry of the Army, on *Saturday* Morning, the 20th of *June*, he was ſolemnly proclaim'd King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c. which it ſeems was very ſurpriſing and ſhocking to many of his Republican Friends. What the foremention'd Manuſcript ſays of it, may be worth the remembring; which, after particular Notice taken of the many Failures and Errors in this Expedition, proceeds in this manner:

Where he is proclaim'd KING.

And thus I have recounted whatſoever may be thought to have laid the Foundation of our Miſcarriage, or to have contributed towards it, except it be one Thing, wherein all are not of the ſame Opinion. And this is, ‘ That the ‘ Duke of *Monmouth*'s aſſuming the Title of King, was ‘ not only a receding from his *Declaration*, but a means ‘ of Diſcouraging many from coming to his Aſſiſtance; ‘ and thereby an Occaſion both of his own Misfortune, ‘ and of the Ruin of the whole Undertaking.’ In reference to which, I think my ſelf oblig'd to ſay, That it was not from Ambition that he choſe at that Juncture to take upon him the Royal Style, but that it proceeded from a Neceſſity he conceiv'd himſelf under, in order the better to purſue and attain thoſe Ends of his *Declaration*, wherein the Deliverance and Safety of the People were concern'd. He judg'd it to be the giving the Enemy too much Advantage, through the Duke of *York*'s being in the Throne and *de facto* King, of Proclaiming us all to be Traytors, without putting himſelf into a Capacity by taking the Royal Title, of charging that upon his Party of which they accus'd and criminated Ours. For whatſoever Mens Inclinations were towards us, yet if they were any ways ſagacious, they cou'd not but ſee a vaſt Difference between Adhering to the Duke of *York*, which the Duke of *Monmouth*, without aſſuming the Name of King, cou'd not threaten to puniſh as a Crime, and the promoting his Grace's Intereſt, while it was branded with the Name, and

Ferguſon's *Obſervations upon it.*

ſtood liable to the Penalties of High Treaſon. Accordingly he had not only Meſſages from ſome great Gentlemen, but was told by ſeveral Non-conforming Miniſters that came into the Camp, ‘ That unleſs he took the Style of ‘ King, none who had Eſtates to loſe, wou'd venture them‘ ſelves in his Quarrel.’ This I heard often ſaid by many, and particularly in a Meeting where ſeveral were aſſembled from different Parts of the Country to adviſe and perſuade him to aſſume the King-ſhip; and where, as Mr. *Hook* the Duke's Chaplain can witneſs, I diſputed againſt the Conveniency of it at *that Juncture* with all the Strength and Vigour of Mind that I cou'd; tho' I have had the Miſfortune to be repreſented as the firſt Author, and chief Promoter of it, which I am willing at preſent to bear, and digeſt the Aſperſion with the ſame Patience that I do many worſe Calumnies.

Nor, proceeds he, is it ſtrange that this ſhou'd be the Senſe of the moſt diſcreet and greateſt Part of the People, it being purſuant and conſonant to the Practices of their Anceſtors: For when *Edward* the Fourth, being attainted in Parliament, came with Force into the Kingdom againſt *Henry* the Sixth, pretending to challenge only his Inheritance of the Dutchy of *York*, the Lords told him, ‘ That ‘ they neither wou'd nor durſt join with him, unleſs he ‘ wou'd ſtyle himſelf King;’ which he immediately did, notwithſtanding it was a departing from his firſt Pretence. And I cannot omit, that even Colonel *Danvers*, who hath ſo ſeverely cenſur'd that Action of the Duke, and made it his Plea for not Riſing and Heading a Party in *London* as he had promis'd, not only ſent to the Duke before he came over, adviſing him to take the Title of King, but ſaid, when he heard he had aſſum'd it, *That it wou'd be of more Advantage and Importance to him, than twenty Thouſand Men.* Nor cou'd the Duke's taking the Style of King, be the Reaſon of that falſe and cowardly Man's not riſing in the City, as he had undertaken in his Meſſages to Us, and his Promiſes to Others, and as he was importun'd by many, whom by Aſſurances of it he had hinder'd and diverted from venturing to us into the Country; ſeeing after he knew of the Duke's being cloath'd with that Title, he diſpatch'd two Meſſengers to our Army to confirm his Preparations and Reſolution for ſtirring, and that he only waited to know the Time when he ſhou'd begin, and to receive the Duke's Commands for Authorizing of it. But the true Ground of that treacherous Man's falſifying his Ingagements to us, and diſappointing the Expectations of thoſe in and about the City that depended upon him, was want of Courage and Integrity. For Mr. *Parrot*, who intimately knew him, and had been a Witneſs of former Inſtances of his Cowardice and Deceit, told me, while we were flattering our ſelves with the Hopes of his ſtirring, *That he had neither Truth nor Valour to render him worthy to be rely'd on*; *and that Fear wou'd prevail over him to the fruſtrating what he had the Confidence to undertake, and to the total Ruin of our Cauſe, if we truſted to him for its Support.*

Nor did it appear, as he goes on, that the Duke's aſſuming the Regal Title diſcourag'd Men from coming to our Aſſiſtance, ſince we not only enroll'd a whole Regiment of Foot, beſides Horſe, at *Taunton*, where he was firſt proclaimed; but greater Numbers preſented themſelves afterwards to offer their Service, than we had found and obſerv'd before. Tho' by reaſon of our wanting Arms wherewith to ſupply them, there was not that Proportion continu'd with us, as there did of thoſe who join'd us ere our Stores were empty; but they were forc'd to return home, and we neceſſitated to allow it, being deſtitute of Weapons to beſtow upon them. And tho' the Duke's taking the Regal Style, might ſeem a Departing from the Words of his *Declaration*, yet it was very conſonant to the Claim he made in it, and moſt agreeable to ſeveral Clauſes therein affirm'd and aſſerted. For as the Declaring againſt *James* Duke of *York* as an Uſurper, and the Publiſhing himſelf to be the lawful and legitimate Son of King *Charles* the Second, was a plain Claiming his being King *de jure*; ſo whether he ſhou'd aſſume the *Name*, (abſtracting from his Promiſe) Diſcretion and Modeſty, and not Right and Juſtice, were concern'd; and conſequently to be a King, provided all the other Parts of his Declaration ſtood ſecured, in which he might accommodate himſelf to the Neceſſity of his Affairs, and comply beſt with thoſe Meaſures that had the greateſt Tendency to his Succeſs; which he believ'd the aſſuming the Name of King wou'd do. And therefore, as he in a ſecond *Declaration*, after he had taken the Royal Title, confirm'd and ſecured all the other Parts, Promiſes and Engagements of his firſt; ſo he ſignify'd the Grounds that had made him recede from the Clauſe in the firſt, that barr'd his claiming the Name of King, without the Concurrence of a Parliament, hoping that the Neceſſity which enforc'd him to it, wou'd have juſtify'd it. But to proceed in the Hiſtory.

The Duke's Proceedings upon it.

3. The Duke of *Monmouth*, having proclaim'd himſelf King of all the *Britiſh* Dominions, began his Mock-Reign with three ſeveral *Proclamations*; One ſetting a Sum of Money upon King *James*'s Head, as he had done before by the Duke. The ſecond, Declaring the Parliament of *England* a ſeditious Aſſembly; and if they did not ſeparate before the End of *June*, to give Power and Authority to any that wou'd attempt to lay hold of them as Rebels and Traytors. The third was directed againſt the Duke of *Albemarle*, who, having had time to rally his Men, now lay within ſix Miles of *Taunton*; and this declared him a Traytor, if he did not lay down his Arms immediately. In order to which, a Meſſage was ſent to command him ſo to do; but he return'd anſwer, *That he was a Subject to King* James *the Second, the late King's Brother, and that he knew no other Lord.* We are farther told by the *Secret Hiſtory of* Europe, that the Duke of *Monmouth* ſent a Letter to the other to invite him to come over to him with his Forces, with particular Promiſes of Favour, and ſubſcrib'd *James Rex:* And that he likewiſe ſent a Summons to the Lord *Churchill*, who commanded a *Dorſetſhire* Regiment, to attend him with his Forces, requiring him to do it *upon his Allegiance*, but both to no Effect. But of this, and the Letters ſaid to have paſs'd between *Monmouth* and *Albemarle*, we have not all the Certainty that is requiſite to a Hiſtory that is not *ſecret*.

He advances to Bridgewater, &c.

On the 21ſt of *June* the Duke march'd for *Bridgewater*, about ſeven Miles from *Taunton*, having now an Army of near five thouſand Men, which might have been more than doubled, if they had not wanted Arms for their Accommodation. They were receiv'd there as at other Places, but did little more than read the general *Declaration* and *Proclamation*, which they did in all Towns, the Magiſtrates ſtanding by in their Gowns, and ſo march'd forward for *Glaſſenbury*. From whence they reſolv'd for *Briſtol*, three Days March from that Town, a moſt important Place aim'd at before their firſt Landing, deſigning to attack it. Accordingly they advanc'd to *Canſham Bridge*, a little Town three Miles from that City, intending to enter the next Morning; the Duke of *Beaufort* being Commander there with a conſiderable Garriſon. Being lodg'd in the Town, they were ſuddenly alarm'd with the Noiſe of the Approach of the King's Forces, being in no ſmall Confuſion on this unexpected News. This occaſion'd a notable Skirmiſh for a while, which ended to the Diſadvantage, but more to the Diſgrace of the Duke's Party, whoſe Horſe Officers were very negligent or unſkillful in their Duty, and gave a great Damp and Diſcouragement to the Deſign upon *Briſtol*.

Yet ſtill ſome Gentlemen that came over with the Duke, being *Briſtol* Men, and knowing the Hearts of the Townſmen, begg'd him heartily to proceed towards it, and offer'd themſelves to go at the Head of them into the Town, by ſome private Ways well known to them, aſſuring him, *They wou'd make no Reſiſtance.* This might have prov'd of vaſt Conſequence, as to the gaining of Arms, Money, Ammunition, *&c.* but either infatuated, or too much dejected, the Duke march'd on to *Bath*, which he ſummon'd to ſurrender, but was refus'd Entrance, having a conſiderable Garriſon. Not willing to ſpend time in Sieges, he march'd that Day to a little Town call'd *Philip's-Norton*, where by Surpriſe he cut off the beſt part of a Troop of Horſe of the King's Party; the Duke of *Grafton* narrowly eſcaping with his Life. From thence advancing to *Frome*, the Duke and his Forces were receiv'd with as much Chearfulneſs as at *Taunton*; but were diſappointed of the Arms they expected, which were by a Stratagem taken from the Inhabitants a few Days before their Entrance. Here they met with the unexpected News of the Defeat of *Argyle* in *Scotland*, and of the Advance of the King's Forces from *London*, with conſiderable Baggage, and a Train of Artillery. Upon which Intelligence, and conſidering the Want of Arms and Money, they were ſo confounded, that it was once reſolv'd, That all who came over with the Duke ſhould that Night take Horſe, and ſeize a Ship at *Pool*, and return to *Holland*; leaving the Infantry to the Mercy of the Country. But upon a farther Conſideration, they reſolv'd to return back to *Bridgewater*, where they were ſure of a hearty Welcome, and there expect the King's Forces.

He is much diſcourag'd.

The Prince of Orange's Offers to the King.

4. During theſe Tranſactions, the Prince of *Orange*, having heard of the Duke's Landing, and the Strength he had gather'd, tho' he had generouſly protected him before, now thought himſelf ſo far concern'd, that he not only diſpatch'd over the ſix *Engliſh* Regiments recall'd from the Service of the *States General*, but he likewiſe ſent over *Monſieur Bentinck* to King *James*, with Order to acquaint him, ‘ That ‘ tho' he look'd upon the Duke of *Monmouth* to be a Man

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‘ of no great Depth, yet that he had a *warlike Genius*, and was better skill'd in the military Art than any the King was to employ againſt him; and therefore, if his Majeſty pleas'd, he wou'd not only lend him his Troops, but come in Perſon to head his Army.’ The ſame Offer had been before communicated to Mr. *Skelton* at the *Hague*; but he looking upon the Prince as one of thoſe Politicians, whoſe Steps are always ſuſpicious, he us'd ſuch Diligence as to give the King Notice of his Intention before *Monſieur Bentinck* cou'd arrive; and that with ſuch unfavourable Interpretation upon the Prince's Offer, that the King put off that Miniſter, with telling him, he ſhou'd acquaint his Maſter, *That their common Intereſt did require the Prince his ſtaying in* Holland: And farther open'd his Mind to him in ſuch Terms, as ſufficiently diſcover'd, *he did not take his Highneſs's Zeal for his Service to be at that time ſeaſonable.*

The King's Proceedings againſt the Duke.

However, the King proceeded happily at that Time without the Prince's Aſſiſtance, and was ſerv'd not only with Zeal, Fidelity and Affection, but alſo with Skill, Courage and Conduct by his own Troops and their Leaders. The firſt Forces which his Majeſty ſent down againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, were ſome of the Earl of *Oxford*'s Regiment, under the Command of the Lord *Churchill*, who attended the Motions of the Duke with great Conduct, and exact Management. The Duke of *Albemarle* headed the Militia of *Devonſhire*; the Duke of *Somerſet* the Militia of that County, at *Bath*; the Duke of *Beaufort* the Militia of *Glouceſterſhire*, at *Briſtol*; and the Earl of *Pembroke* the Militia of *Wiltſhire*, at *Chippenham*. And the Militia of other Counties were rais'd, and began their March towards the *Weſt*; tho' the King had no extraordinary Confidence in their Fidelity. And therefore his Majeſty ſent away all his regular Troops and Guards, to form an Army under the Command of a *French* General and Favourite, the Earl of *Feverſham*; who in the Beginning of *July* encamp'd at a Place call'd *Sedgmore* near *Bridgwater*; where the Duke of *Monmouth* lay with his declining Forces. The Earl's Horſe and Dragoons were lodg'd in the Town, and the Foot in the Field, cover'd towards the Enemy with a Parapet and Trench, formerly made by the Country-Men againſt Inundations; and their Rear was ſecured by the ſaid Village behind them. Their Numbers, about 2000 Foot, and 700 Horſe and Dragoons, were conſiderably leſs than thoſe of the Enemy; and the chief Commanders under the Earl were the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *Dunbarton*, the Lord *Churchill*, Colonel *Oglethorp*, Sir *Francis Compton*, beſides the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in Perſon, who was very ſerviceable upon this extraordinary Occaſion.

Sedgmore *Fight.*

The Duke of *Monmouth*, by their near Approach, thought himſelf in effect beſieg'd; and finding his Men daily deſert, by reaſon of his laſt Retreat, he therefore reſolv'd to make one deſperate Puſh, either to vanquiſh, or die like a Man of Courage: And ſo in a Council of War, it was agreed to attack the Earl of *Feverſham* on the very firſt Night of his Encampment. On *Sunday* the 5th of *July*, the Country People had given the Duke Intelligence, that the King's Forces were very remiſs, the Troopers in Bed, and the Foot revelling in their Camp; ſo that the Duke thought and ſaid, *they ſhou'd have no more to do, than to lock up the Stable Doors, and to ſeize the Troopers in their Beds.* The Duke began his March about Eleven at Night, with all imaginable Silence, and with a particular Guide who was to lead them the moſt private Way, and about One they fell in with the Lord *Dunbarton*'s Regiment, which allarm'd the whole Army. There was a Ditch between them, and the Guide had promis'd to conduct them over an eaſy fordable Place; but *Monmouth*'s Men ſeeing the Enemy juſt before them, ran furiouſly on, and loſt their Guide; ſo that while they endeavour'd to recover over that Place, the King's Forces got on their Legs, and put themſelves in Order; and ſo began as fierce a Battle as perhaps was ever fought in *England* for ſo ſhort a time. The Fight began with vaſt Shouts and Firings on *Monmouth*'s Side, and continu'd obſtinate and dubious for a while: For tho' Colonel *Oglethorp* by his Activity had quickly broke the Rebel's Horſe, commanded by the Lord *Grey*, who made but a faint Reſiſtance with his undiſciplin'd Horſe, yet the Infantry fought with extraordinary Reſolution, being headed by the Duke of *Monmouth*, who, during the whole Action, maintain'd his former Reputation of Bravery and Gallantry; but by the plain Defects of the Horſe, he was at laſt compell'd to yield to the King's Forces, who got a compleat Victory. The Account given by Authority commends the Actions of the Commanders; particularly, that the Earl of *Feverſham* gave his neceſſary Orders with great Readineſs and Conduct; and that the Lord *Churchill*, who commanded next under him, perform'd his Part with all the Courage and Gallantry imaginable; beſides what was done by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who perform'd ſingular Service in the managing of the great Guns.

Mon- mouth *defeated.*

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A farther Account of the Action from Ferguſon's *Manuſcript.*

Beſides this Account, it will be worth the Reader's Knowledge to have that of the foremention'd Manuſcript of Mr. *Ferguſon*'s, who fully expoſes the Faults and Neglects of his Party, in this following Manner. But I need only relate the Behaviour of our Horſe at *Sedgmore*, as being more than enough to leave a perpetual Character of Reproach upon them, as it brought a total Ruin upon our whole Army. For the Officers that knew how to conduct Troops, being abſent on Services enjoin'd them by the Duke, the greateſt Part of thoſe upon whom the Command fell that fatal Morning, perform'd nothing of the Duty that ought to have been expected from them. The Experience we had before of my Lord *Grey*, was enough to have diſcourag'd the Duke from putting him at the Head of all the Troops; and it made Colonel *Matthews* adviſe him to divide his Cavalry, that ſo the Charge and Conduct of one Part might be devolv'd upon ſome Perſon of Courage, anſwerable to the Criticalneſs of the Seaſon, and Importance of the Action. But the Duke, by a ſtrange Fatality, declin'd following this Advice; ſaying, *That he wou'd not affront my Lord, and that what he had given him in Charge was eaſy to be effected.* So that *Grey* having all the Horſe committed to him, the firſt thing he did, after we were drawn up, and in view of the Enemy's Fires, was his diſmiſſing the Guide, who was to have directed him in the Ground where we were to march; and to have ſhewn him where, with no Inconveniency, we might have fallen upon the Enemy's Infantry. By which means ſome of our Troops, by reaſon of the Darkneſs of the Morning, and their Ignorance of the Ground, came to be imbogg'd in a Moraſs, which occaſion'd Delay as well as Confuſion. Nor was this the worſt, for the two Troops that were commanded to advance firſt, and to fall into the Enemy's Lines, found themſelves, after they had receiv'd their Fire, and thought there remain'd no more but boldly to attack them, fronted and hinder'd both by a Ditch and another Moraſs, that caus'd them to retreat diſorder'd and diſpers'd: Which wou'd have been eaſily avoided by the Help of a Guide, the Ditch and Moraſs being of no conſiderable Extent, and ſcarce covering any more of their Camp, than where it was our Misfortune to attempt an Impreſſion. Now beſides theſe two Troops, whoſe Officers, tho' they had no great Skill, yet had Courage enough to have done ſomething honourably, had they not, for want of a Guide, met with the foreſaid Obſtruction, there was no one of all the reſt of our Troops that ever advanc'd to Charge, or approach'd ſo near to the Enemy, as to give or receive a Wound. Mr. *Hucker*, one of our Captains, came no ſooner within view of their Camp, than that he treacherouſly and villainouſly fired a Piſtol to give them Notice of our Approach, and then forſook his Charge, and rode off with all the Speed he could, to take the Benefit of a Proclamation emitted by the King, offering Pardon to all ſuch as ſhou'd abandon us, and return home in ſuch a time. And this I have been told he pleaded at his Tryal, in order to ſafe his Life; but was anſwer'd by *Jeffreys*, *That he above all other Men deſerv'd to be hang'd, and that for his Treaſon to* Monmouth, *as well as his Treaſon againſt the King.*

And tho', proceeds he, no other of our Officers acted ſo villainouſly, and with that Baſeneſs forſook the Field; yet they were uſeleſs and unſerviceable in it, as never once attempting to charge, nor ſo much as keeping their Men in a Body and Figure, to make a Shew. And I dare affirm, That if our Horſe had never fired a Piſtol, but only ſtood in a Poſture to have given Jealouſy and Apprehenſion to the Enemy, our Foot alone wou'd have carry'd the Day, and been triumphant. But our Horſe ſtanding ſcatter'd and diſunited, and flying upon every Approach of a Squadron of theirs commanded by *Oglethorp*, gave that Body of their Cavalry an Advantage, after they had hover'd up and down in the Field, without thinking it neceſſary to attack thoſe whom their own Fears had diſpers'd, to fall in at laſt in the Rear of our Batallions, and to wreſt that Victory out of their Hands which they were graſping at, and ſtood almoſt poſſeſs'd of. Nor was that Party of their Horſe above two hundred, or three at moſt, whereas we had more than enough, had they had any Courage, and been commanded by a gallant Man, to have attack'd them with Eaſe both in Front and Flank.

Theſe things I can declare with more Particularity and Certainty, becauſe I was a doleful Spectator and Obſerver of them: For, having contrary to my Cuſtom left attending upon the Duke, who advanc'd with the Foot, I betook my ſelf to the Horſe, becauſe the firſt and moſt conſiderable of that Morning's Action was expected from them, which was to break in and diſorder the Enemy's Camp, againſt the Time that our Batallions ſhould come up. I endeavour'd whatſoever I was capable of performing, or that lay within my Circle as a private Man; for I not only ſtruck at ſeveral Troopers, who had forſaken their Station, but upbraided divers of the Captains for being wanting in their Duty: But I ſpake with great Warmth to my Lord *Grey*, and conjur'd him *to charge, and not to ſuffer the Victory, which our Foot had in a manner taken hold of, to be raviſh'd from us.* But inſtead of hearkning and complying with any thing I ſaid, he not only, as an unworthy Man and a cowardly Poltrone, deſerted that Part of the Field and forſook his Command, but rode with the utmoſt Speed to the Duke, telling him, *That all was loſt, and that it was more than Time to ſhift for himſelf.* Whereby, as an Addition to all the Miſchief he had been the Occaſion of before, he drew the eaſy and unfortunate Gentleman to leave the Batallions, while they were couragiouſly diſputing on which Side the Victory ſhou'd fall. And this fell moſt unhappily out, while a certain Perſon was endeavouring to find out the Duke, to have begg'd of him to come and charge at the Head of his own Troops, which, tho' ſtanding ſcatter'd, had not yet abandon'd the Field. However, this I dare affirm, that if the Duke had been Maſter but of two hundred Horſe, well mounted, completely arm'd, perſonally valiant, and commanded by brave experienc'd Officers, they wou'd not only have ſignify'd more than all he had that Day in the Field, which amounted to near a thouſand, but he could not have fail'd of being victorious. This is acknowledg'd by our Enemies, who have often confeſs'd that they were ready to fly through the Impreſſion made upon them by our Foot, and muſt unavoidably have been beaten, had our Horſe behav'd themſelves in any Meaſure as they ought, and not have tamely look'd on, till their Cavalry retriev'd the Day by falling into the Rear of our Batallions. Nor was the Fault in the private Men, who had Courage to have follow'd their Leaders; but it was in thoſe that commanded them, and particularly in my Lord *Grey*, in whom, if *Cowardice* may be call'd *Treachery*, we may ſafely charge him with *betraying* of our Cauſe by his Behaviour at that Time. And then he concludes his Account of the Battel in theſe Words; 'If any of our Officers ſhall think themſelves reflected upon, I hope they will be as favourable to me, who have but truly and juſtly repreſented them, as they were that Morning to their Enemies, and that I ſhall receive no more Hurt from them upon the Account of this *Narrative*, than their Adverſaries did in the Engagement upon *Sedgmore*.' But to proceed.

Monmouth's *Flight.*

He, with the Lord Grey, *is taken.*

On *Monday* Morning, *July* the 6th, the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Army was intirely routed, three hundred kill'd on the Spot, a thouſand in the Purſuit, and as many taken Priſoners: Thoſe of Note were Colonel *Holms* and Major *Perrot*, both dangerouſly wounded; Captain *Madder*, the Conſtable of *Crookborn*, and one *Williams*, a Menial Servant of the Duke's, having two hundred Guineas of his Maſter's about him: The Coat alſo the Duke uſually wore was found amongſt the Booty, which occaſion'd a Report that he was kill'd; but that ſoon appear'd otherwiſe. As to the Duke himſelf, he had great Difficulty to preſerve fifty Horſe to ſecure his Retreat, and they were ſoon diſpers'd. He was adviſ'd by a particular Friend to make down to *Uphill*, a ſmall Creek in the *Severn* Sea, from whence he might get into *Wales* long before any News cou'd come of his Defeat, and meet with Friends that might eaſily conceal him: But the Duke was for poſting to *Limington* in *Hampſhire*, there to take ſhipping, flattering himſelf that all the Town were his Friends, becauſe Colonel *Dore* the preſent Mayor was ſo, who had been lately ſecured. The Lord *Feverſham* ſent out ſeveral Parties in queſt of him; and on *Tueſday* Morning, the Lord *Grey* was taken in the Diſguiſe of a Shepherd at *Holtbridge* in *Dorſetſhire*, by the Lord *Lumley*'s Men; and putting off his Diſguiſe, he profeſs'd, *That ſince his landing in* England, *he had never one good Night's Reſt, or eat one Meal in quiet*; being perpetually agitated with the Cares that attend unfortunate Ambition. As to the Duke, the Immenſeneſs of the Reward rais'd the whole Country on the Search, ſo that the Ways and Roads were fill'd with their Numbers. The Lord *Grey* being taken, the ſame Men were inform'd by the Cottagers, That two Men went over a Hedge into an Encloſure overgrown with Fern; and ſo Guards were ſet on the Avenues, and about five in the Morning next Day, the *German* Count was taken, who confeſs'd he parted with the Duke of *Monmouth* about four Hours before. This caus'd a more diligent Search to be made; and at laſt one *Perkin* diſcover'd the unhappieſt of Men hid in a Ditch cover'd with Fern, in the greateſt Diſtraction, with ſome green Peaſe in his Pocket. 'Tis ſaid he offer'd to make Reſiſtance, but the Fellow crying out for Help, and ſome Soldiers running in to his Aſſiſtance, the Duke was taken and ſecured by the Lord *Lumley*, who, under a ſtrong Guard, convey'd him, the Lord *Grey*, and the *German* Count, by eaſy Journies, to *London*. And thus ended the Rebellion, which from the Duke's firſt landing did not continue ſo long as the Space of a Month.

His ſubmiſſive Letter to the King.

5. It ſeems no difficult Matter to contract a Familiarity with Danger, when back'd with a whole Army to bear a Share in it, and when the eager Purſuit of Honour and Glory makes Men overlook the Horrors of approaching Death; but when Fate appears with the formal Solemnity of a Scaffold and an Axe, the greateſt Heroes behold it like other Men, and with as great a Dejection of Mind. Thus the Duke of *Monmouth*, who no ſooner was taken, but imagining himſelf in the Hands of the Executioner, his former Spirit ſunk into Puſillanimity, and he meanly endeavour'd to ward off the impending Blow, by the following ſubmiſſive Letter to the King, much of the ſame Strain with thoſe written to his Father, formerly mention'd. '*Sir*, Your Majeſty may think it the *Misfortune* I now lie under, makes me make this Application to you; but I do aſſure your Majeſty, it is the *Remorſe* I now have in me, of the Wrong I have done you in ſeveral Things, and now in taking up Arms againſt you. For my taking up Arms, it was never in my Thoughts ſince the King dy'd: The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* will be Witneſs for me of the Aſſurance I gave them *That I wou'd never ſtir againſt you.* But my Misfortune was ſuch, as to meet with ſome horrid People, that made me believe Things of your Majeſty, and gave me ſo many falſe Arguments, that I was fully led away to believe, *That it was a Shame, and a Sin before God, not to do it.* But, *Sir*, I will not trouble your Majeſty at preſent with many Things I cou'd ſay for my ſelf, that I am ſure wou'd move your Compaſſion; the chief End of this Letter being only to beg of you, That I may have that Happineſs as to *ſpeak to your Majeſty*; for I have that to ſay to you, *Sir*, that I hope may give you a long and happy Reign. I am ſure, *Sir*, when you hear me, you will be convinc'd of the Zeal I have of your Preſervation, and how heartily I repent of what I have done. I can ſay no more to your Majeſty now, being this Letter muſt be ſeen by thoſe that keep me. Therefore, *Sir*, I ſhall make an End, in begging of your Majeſty to believe ſo well of me, that I would rather die a thouſand Deaths, than excuſe any thing I have done, if I did not really think my ſelf the moſt in the wrong that ever a Man was; and had not from the bottom of my Heart an Abhorrence for thoſe that put me upon it, and for the *Action* it ſelf. I hope, *Sir*, God Almighty will ſtrike your Heart with *Mercy* and *Compaſſion* for me, as he has done mine with the *Abhorrence* of what I have done: Wherefore, *Sir*, I hope I may live to ſhew you how zealous I ſhall ever be for your Service; and cou'd I but ſay one WORD in this Letter, you wou'd be convinc'd of it; but it is of that CONSEQUENCE, that I dare not do it. Therefore, *Sir*, I do beg of you once more to *let me ſpeak to you*; for then you will be convinc'd how much I ſhall ever be, *Your Majeſty's moſt Humble and Dutiful*, MONMOUTH.

He is brought before him.

It ſeems this Letter had been little regarded, if at the ſame Time the Duke had not writ another, in very moving Terms to the Queen Dowager; who retaining her former Affection for him, and pitying his Misfortunes, prevail'd upon the King that he ſhou'd permit the Duke to ſpeak to him. The Duke being brought to the King's Preſence, immediately fell at his Feet, and having anſwer'd the ſeveral Queſtions the King ask'd him, and confeſs'd *He deſerv'd to dye*, he conjured him, with a Flood of Tears, *not to uſe him with the Severity of Juſtice, and to grant him a Life, which he ſhou'd be ever ready to ſacrifice for his Service.* He mention'd to him the Example of ſeveral great Princes, who had yielded to the Impreſſions of Clemency, on the like Occaſions, and who had never afterwards repented of thoſe Acts of Generoſity and Mercy; concluding, in a moſt pathetical Manner, *Remember*, *Sir*, *I am your Brother's Son, and if you take my Life, it is your own Blood that you will ſhed.* The King, after ſome Queſtions ask'd him, caus'd him to ſign a Declaration, 'That his Father told him, he was never marry'd to his Mother,' and then ſaid, *He was ſorry indeed for his Misfortune, but his Crime was of too great a Conſequence to be left unpuniſh'd, and he muſt of Neceſſity ſuffer for it.* The Queen is ſaid to have inſulted him in a very arrogant and unmerciful manner. So that when the Duke ſaw that no Favour was deſign'd him by this Interview, he roſe from his Majeſty's Feet with a new Air of Bravery, and was carry'd back to the *Tower*, in Order to his Execution.

His following Behaviour is chiefly taken from a Manuſcript written by Dr *Lloyd* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, ſince of *Worceſter*, who ſays, That on the 14th of *July* the Biſhop of *Ely* was appointed by his Majeſty to attend the Duke of *Monmouth*, and to prepare him to dye the next Day.

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He prepares for Death.

The Duke wrote [again] to his Majeſty, repreſenting how uſeful he might and wou'd be, if his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to grant him his Life: But if that might not be, he begg'd for a longer Time, and to have another Divine to aſſiſt him, Dr. *Teniſon*, or whom elſe his Majeſty ſhou'd appoint. The King ſent him the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* to attend, and tell him he muſt dye the next Morning. The two Biſhops ſate up in his Chamber all Night, and watch'd while he ſlept. In the Morning, by his Majeſty's Order, the Lords Privy Seal and *Dartmouth* brought him alſo Dr. *Teniſon* and Dr. *Hooper*. All theſe were with him till the laſt Hour of his Life.

His Diſcourſe with ſome Divines.

They got him to own the King's Title to the Crown, and to declare in Writing, 'That the laſt King told him 'he was never marry'd to his Mother,' and by Word of Mouth to acknowledge 'his Invaſion was *Sin*,' but cou'd never get him to confeſs it a *Rebellion*. They got him likewiſe to own 'That He and the Lady *Herriot Wentworth* had liv'd in all Points like *Man and Wife*,' but they cou'd not make him confeſs it was *Adultery*. He acknowledg'd 'That He and his Dutcheſs were marry'd by 'the Law of the Land, and therefore his Children might 'inherit, if the King pleas'd; *but he did not conſider what 'he did when he marry'd her*.' He confeſs'd *That he had lived many Years in all ſorts of Debauchery*, but ſaid *he had repented of it, and doubted not but that God had forgiven him*. He ſaid, *That ſince that Time, he had an Affection for the Lady* Herriot, *and pray'd, That if it were pleaſing to God*, it might continue; *otherwiſe, that it* might ceaſe; *and God heard his Prayer: The Affection did continue, therefore he doubted not but it was pleaſing to God*; *and that this was a Marriage, their Choice of one another being guided not by* Luſt, *but by* Judgment *upon due Conſideration*. They endeavour'd to ſhew him the Falſhood and Miſchievouſneſs of this *Enthuſiaſtical Principle*, the Bane of ſo many Souls in the late Times of Confuſion. But he told them, *That it was his Opinion, and he was fully ſatisfy'd in it*. After all, he deſired them to give him the Sacrament the next Morning; but they told him *They cou'd not do it, while he perſiſted in that Error and Sin*. His Anſwer was, *He was ſorry for it*. And likewiſe the next Morning; he told them, *He had pray'd, That if he was in an Error in the Matter, God wou'd convince him of it; but God had not convinc'd him, and therefore he believ'd it was no Error*.

He is brought to the Scaffold.

His Execution.

About Ten in the Morning, *July* 15th, he was led out of the *Tower*, attended by a ſtrong Guard, who were ready to have ſhot him dead, if any Reſcue had been attempted; and to prevent which, all the chief Avenues to *Tower-Hill* were ſecured by Soldiers that Morning. Notwithſtanding which, innumerable Multitudes of People were gather'd together to behold the melancholy Sight. Having mounted the Scaffold, and view'd the Executioner, he began with declaring *That he dy'd a Proteſtant of the Church of* England. The Divines attending told him, *That he cou'd not be ſo, if he did not own the Doctrine of the Church of* England *in that Point of* Non-Reſiſtance; *and if he perſiſted in his former* Enthuſiaſtick *Perſuaſion*; which they thought neceſſary in this extraordinary Juncture. He ſaid, *He cou'd not help it, yet he approved the Doctrine of the Church in all other Things*. He then ſpoke to the People, in Vindication of the Lady *Herriot Wentworth*, declaring, *She was a Woman of great Honour and Virtue, a Religious Godly Lady*. Upon which they told him of his living in *Adultery* with her. He ſaid *No*; *for theſe two Years laſt paſt he had not liv'd in any Sin that he knew of; and that he had never wronged any Perſon; and that he was ſure when he dy'd to go to God, and therefore he did not fear Death, which*, he ſaid, *they might ſee in his Face*. Then they pray'd for him, and he kneel'd down, and join'd with them; and in concluſion they had a ſhort Prayer for the King; at which he paus'd, but at laſt ſaid *Amen*. Riſing up, he ſpoke to the Head's-man, *to ſee he did his Buſineſs well*; *and not to uſe him as he did the Lord* Ruſſel, *to give him two or three Strokes; for if he did he ſhou'd not be able to lye ſtill without turning*. Then he gave the Executioner ſix Guineas, and four to one *Marſhall*, a Servant of Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*'s, that attended him with the King's leave; deſiring *Marſhall* to *give them to the Executioner, if he did his Work well, and not otherwiſe*. He had given to this *Marſhall* over Night his Ring and Watch, and now he gave him his Caſe of Pick Teeth, and all for the Lady *Herriot*; in which were afterwards found ſome Scripture Expreſſions in the Nature of Charms or Amulets. Then undreſſing, and preparing himſelf for the Block, the Divines in the mean Time us'd theſe and the like Ejaculations, *God accept your Repentance*! *God accept your* Imperfect *Repentance! God accept your* General *Repentance!* Having laid himſelf down a ſecond Time, and the Sign given, the Executioner gave a light Stroke, at which he look'd him in the Face; and then he laid him down again, when the Executioner gave him two Strokes more, and then threw down his Axe, crying *he cou'd not finiſh his Work!* till being threatned by the Sheriff, and others there preſent, he took up the Axe again, and at two Strokes more cut off his Head.

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His Character and Popularity.

Thus dy'd the fam'd and admir'd Duke of *Monmouth*, in a little above the thirty ſixth Year of his Age. We have more than once touch'd upon the Character of this extraordinary Man, who had met with the brighteſt Sun-ſhine, as well as the darkeſt Clouds of Fortune; and have taken ſome Notice of the Bravery, Generoſity and Affability of his Nature, as well as the Beauty and Gracefulneſs of his Perſon. Therefore now we ſhall only remember that theſe made him ſo much the Idol of the People, and caus'd ſuch ſtrong Impreſſions, or rather Inchantments, on their Minds and Affections, that many Thouſands of them cou'd hardly ever be made to believe he was really dead; but continued long in Hopes of ſeeing him again in a triumphant Manner. A ſtrange Variety of wild and extravagant Stories were told and believed upon this Occaſion. But that which went the fartheſt, and appeared moſt plauſible to the Vulgar, was a ſtrong Report ſpread abroad, That there were five ſelect Perſons, ſo like the Duke of *Monmouth*, and habited ſo alike; that they cou'd very hardly be diſtinguiſhed from one another; and that they were all bound under a moſt ſolemn Oath, in caſe any of them ſhou'd be taken and put to Death, not to diſown his being the real Duke of *Monmouth*. One of theſe Five had the Fortune to be taken, upon the general Defeat, and put to Death upon *Tower-Hill*; ſo that the Government was put upon by a Perſonated Duke. Accordingly it was given out both in Print and Writing, 'That the Duke of *Monmouth* is not really *dead*, but only *withdrawn*, till the 'Harveſt be over; and then his Friends ſhall ſee him again in a much better Condition than ever they did 'yet.

Medals ſtruck.

We ſhall conclude this Period with remembring that after the Victory at *Sedgmore*, two fine Medals were ſtruck upon the Occaſion of theſe Rebellions in both the Kingdoms: The firſt was the King in Buſt, crown'd with Laurel, plac'd upon a large Baſis or Altar; on the Front of which are the Arms of *England*, &c. with the Garter, and over it the Crown, with theſe Words, *Exurge Aras & Sceptra Tuemur*. Upon the Altar lye four Scepters, bearing on their Tops the *Roſe*, *Lilly*, *Thiſtle* and *Harp*; upon each Side is repreſented the *Ocean*, with *Neptune* holding the *Trident*, drawn in a Chariot by *Maritime Horſes*, with two Veſſels under Sail on the other ſide. The Inſcription is JACOBUS II. D. G. MAG. BRI. ET. HIB. REX. MDCLXXXV. The Reverſe is *Juſtice* with a Sword and Balance, upon whoſe Head the Sun darts his Beams, and the Lightning iſſues out of a dark Cloud: She holds in one Scale *Mural Crowns*, which preponderate the other; in which there is a *Scimitar*, a *Proteſtant Flail* (as then call'd) with a *Serpent*, while ſhe tramples on another *Serpent* near two headleſs Bodies; their Heads lying on two ſquare Blocks, on each ſide of *Juſtice*: On that of the Right-hand is JACOBUS DE MONMOUT. On the Left-hand ARCHIBALD D. ARGYL. Upon one ſide of the Carcaſſes are repreſented Soldiers routed and flying away; on the other, a Caſtle, with two Heads fix'd on Spikes over the Gate; and on the Pedeſtal, theſe words, *Ambitio, Maleſuada, Ruit*. The ſecond Medal is the Effigie and Buſt of the Duke of *Monmouth* himſelf, without any Inſcription at all. The Reverſe repreſents a Young-man precipitating from a ſteep Rock into the midſt of the Sea, upon which are placed three Crowns amongſt Brambles and Shrubs, the Words *Superi Riſere*, *July* 6th, 1685.

CHAP. II.

From the Defeat and Death of the Duke of Monmouth, *to the Diſſolution of the Parliament.*

Containing the Space of almoſt Two Years.

1685. Jac. I. Ref. 26.

Proceedings againſt the Rebels by Jeffreys.

I. 1. THE King having gain'd his Point againſt all Rebels and Rivals, and quite driven the Enemy out of the Field, had now nothing to do but to purſue and take Revenge. He had indeed a noble Opportunity of diſplaying his Mercy and Benignity, but Fear and Terror were thought and judg'd more conducing to his preſent Security, and his future Deſigns. Accordingly the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, with four other Judges his Aſſiſtants, and a conſiderable Body of Troops commanded by Colonel *Kirk*, was ſent into the *Weſt* of *England*, with a ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, to try the poor Wretches that had been in the Rebellion. They began at *Wincheſter*, with Mrs. *Alicia Liſle*, a Gentlewoman of extream old Age, who was try'd for harbouring and concealing Mr. *Hicks*, a Nonconformiſt

At Wincheſter.

Preacher, and Mr. *Richard Nelthorp*, tho' the latter was a Stranger, and the former in no Proclamation. No doubt but they remember'd the Crimes of her Husband *John Liſle*, who had been one of the Judges of King *Charles* the Firſt, Preſident of the High-Court of Juſtice that condemn'd the Duke of *Hamilton*, Earl of *Holland*, and Lord *Capel*, and alſo on the Tryals of Sir *Henry Slingesby*, Dr. *Hewet*, &c. For tho' the Jury brought her Not Guilty three ſeveral Times, yet Judge *Jeffrey's* Threats ſo far prevail'd, that at laſt ſhe was found Guilty of High-Treaſon, and beheaded; a hard Judgment, that was afterwards revers'd by the Convention call'd by the Prince of *Orange*.

And at other Places.

The Judges went next to *Dorcheſter*, where Judge *Jeffreys* finding thirty Perſons returned by the Grand-Inqueſt, as Aſſiſtants to the late Duke of *Monmouth*, he contrived this Stratagem of taking the ſhorteſt Way with them: When they came upon their Tryals he told them, that whoſoever pleaded *Not Guilty*, and was found ſo, ſhou'd have but little Time to live, but if any expected Favour, they muſt plead *Guilty*. But the Priſoners wou'd not truſt him; and of thirty pleading *Not Guilty*, twenty nine were found Guilty, and ſoon after executed; as were fourſcore more, in another Place, out of two hundred, who were deluded to plead Guilty to their Indictments, by a Promiſe of Pardon. The ſame was done at *Exeter* to near as many, who were alike deluded; as alſo at *Taunton* and *Wells*, where the Lord *Jeffreys* finiſhed his *Bloody Aſſize*: In all which Places he condemned above five hundred Perſons, whereof two hundred and thirty were executed, and had their Quarters ſet up in the principal Places and Roads of thoſe Countries, to the Terror of Paſſengers, and the great Annoyance of thoſe Parts. After this bloody Expedition, it is ſaid that the Chief-Juſtice was heard to boaſt, *That he had hang'd more Men, than all the Judges of* England, *ſince* William *the Conqueror*. And yet the Cruelty of the Judge often yielded to the Avarice of the Man, who was not more haſty to hang up thoſe who had no Mony, than he was forward to procure Pardons for thoſe who cou'd pay well for them; and he had the Conſcience to take above Fourteen Thouſand Pounds from one Mr. *Prideaux*, to ſave his Life. And many of thoſe poor Wretches who cou'd not purchaſe Pardons at his Lordſhip's Rate, were ſold for Slaves into the *American* Plantations. Others met with different Puniſhments, as Pillories, cruel Scourgings, and the like Severities.

Kirk's Cruelties.

Nor was Judge *Jeffreys* the only ſevere Perſon upon this Occaſion; but Colonel *Kirk*, his Warlike Aſſiſtant, a bold and looſe Soldier of Fortune, is charged with acting a principal Part in theſe unhappy Tragedies; of which ſome Particulars are almoſt incredible: Particularly, that after *Monmouth*'s Defeat, he cauſed nineteen wounded Men to be hang'd at *Taunton*, not only without permitting their Relations to ſpeak with them, but with Pipes playing, Drums beating, and all other Military Pomp and Exultation. And that at another Town he invited his Officers to Dinner, near the Place where ſome of the condemn'd Rebels were to be executed, and order'd Ten of them to be turned off with a Health to the King, Ten in a Health to the Queen, and Ten more in a Health to the Lord *Jeffreys*. And he is farther charged with one Action that cou'd proceed only from a moſt brutal Inclination to Luſt and Blood, and that was, the drawing in a poor Maiden to proſtitute herſelf to him, with the Promiſe of ſaving her Brother's Life, and nevertheleſs cauſing him to be hang'd on the Sign-Poſt of the ſame Houſe, and out of the Window preſenting the credulous abus'd Girl with that barbarous Spectacle of his Treachery and Cruelty; which is ſaid to have ſo deeply affected her, as to make her irrecoverably diſtracted.

The Behaviour of the Sufferers.

On the contrary ſide, the Behaviour of moſt of the Sufferers was ſtrange and ſurpriſing, as repreſented by their own Friends; ſuch as was more like to provoke the Severity, than engage the Mercy of the Judges Their Carriages at their Tryals, and their Words in their dying Speeches, ſtill preſerv'd by their Friends, were ſometimes not a little ſhocking to the King's Party. They tell us, that Colonel *Kirk* hang'd one at *Taunton* on the *White-Hart* Sign-Poſt three Times, to try if he wou'd own he had done amiſs; but he affirm'd, *That if it was to do again, he wou'd engage in the ſame Cauſe*. They further tell us of one *Edward Jervaiſe*, a Hatter of *Milbourn-Port*, who was ordered to be hang'd by *Kirk*; but being a brave ſtout Man, ſome of his Officers interceded for his Life, which *Kirk* was willing to grant, provided he wou'd acknowledge his Rebellion; which he refus'd to do: At length they offer'd to releaſe him, if he wou'd ſay *God bleſs King* James; which he alſo refus'd, and ſo ſuffer'd. According to this Opinion, Captain *Anſley*, when he came to die at *Taunton*, declared in his laſt Speech, *That if he had a thouſand Lives, they ſhou'd all have been engag'd in the ſame Cauſe*. The *Reſurrection of their Cauſe* was often hinted at in their Speeches, which by ſome weak Perſons have been ſince apply'd and attributed to a Prophetick Spirit. But what was thought moſt rational, and free from Enthuſiaſm, was the Speech of the forementioned Mr. *Hicks*, one of the moſt conſiderable of the Nonconformiſt Preachers, out of which we may properly take the following Paragraph: 'I did approve of the ancient and preſent Form of Civil Government, *Engliſh* Monarchy I am fully ſatisfy'd with, and do alſo declare, That it is not warrantable for any Subject to take up Arms againſt, and reſiſt their lawful Sovereigns and rightful Princes: And therefore had I not been convinced by ſeveral Things I have read and heard, to believe that the late Duke of *Monmouth* was the legitimate Son of his Father *Charles* the Second, I had never gone into his Army, judging that without this, I cou'd not be free'd from the Guilt of Rebellion, which I always reſolv'd to keep my ſelf clear from. And tho' his Father deny'd he was marry'd to his Mother, I thought it might be anſwer'd with this; That Kings and Princes, for State Reaſons, often cannot be fathom'd by their Subjects, affirming and denying Things which otherwiſe they wou'd not do, and make even their natural Affections to truckle and ſtoop thereto. I exhort all to abhor all *treaſonable Plots*, and *Pretences* of all *Rebellion*, with the higheſt Deteſtation, and to take the plain Text of ſacred Scripture to walk by, in honouring and obeying, and living in Subjection to rightful Kings, and not readily to receive, or ſuddenly to be impreſs'd with *evil Reports* and *Defamations* of them, alſo not raſhly to be *Propagators* of the ſame.'

Jeffreys preferred to be Lord Chancellor.

However theſe Severities were encourag'd and carry'd on, Father *Orleans*, who receiv'd many Particulars from King *James*'s Mouth, tells us, That his Majeſty was inform'd of thoſe Diſorders too late, but as ſoon as it came to his Ears, he expreſs'd his Diſpleaſure. Yet he intimates, that the Services perform'd by thoſe that were accus'd, prevail'd with him to ſpare them. But before the Services were finiſh'd, much leſs the Accuſation cou'd arrive, the King met with an extraordinary Opportunity of rewarding the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, by the Death of the Lord-Keeper *North*, in the Beginning of *September*. Upon which Vacancy his Majeſty writ him a Letter in his Circuit, in which he order'd him 'To diſpatch the Buſineſs before him, and come and take the Seals, for he was forced, in the mean time, to be *Chancellor Himſelf*.' Accordingly, upon his Return in all haſte, he was made Lord Chancellor on the 28th of *September*, 'in Conſideration, as it was declared by Authority, of the many eminent and faithful Services he had render'd the Crown, as well in the late King's Time as ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne.' And upon his Advancement, his Majeſty was pleas'd to make Choice of Sir *Edward Herbert*, Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*, to be Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*; and of Sir *Edward Lutwich*, one of his Majeſty's Serjeants at Law, to ſucceed him in the Place of Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*. As to the Names of thoſe that ſuffer'd in the *Weſt*, the Principal, beſides the Lady *Liſle* and Mr. *Hicks*, were the two Brothers, Mr. *Benjamin Hewling*, and Mr. *William Hewling*; Mr. *William Jenkins*, Colonel *Holms*, Mr. *Chriſtopher Battiſcomb*, Dr. *Temple*, Colonel *Matthews*, Captain *Madder*, Captain *Anſley*, Mr. *Matthew Bragg*, Mr. *Sampſon Lark*, Mr. *John Hacker*, &c.

The Proceedings againſt Alderman Corniſh.

2. Beſides theſe great Numbers in the *Weſt*, there were ſome others try'd and condemn'd in the City of *London*; both upon the Account of this laſt Rebellion, and of the famous Plot in 1683, which was now thought fit to be examin'd and canvaſs'd a ſecond Time. In purſuance of which, the noted Alderman *Corniſh*, formerly mention'd, was ſingled out, to be made a Sacrifice to former Reſentments, in which we ought to be a little particular. This Gentleman having been Sheriff of *London* with *Bethel*, had ſhewn himſelf very active in the Caſe of the *Popiſh Plot*, and with his Under-Sheriff *Goodenough*, was look'd upon as too buſie in packing of *Ignoramus* Juries; and had been no leſs active in enquiring into the Myſtery of *Fitz-Harris*'s Treaſon: And farther, having been particularly acquainted with the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sidney*, &c. and ſhew'd himſelf a Favourer of their Cauſe, or their Perſons, it was now thought a proper Seaſon to take Revenge. Accordingly, on *Tueſday* the 13th of *October*, while he was freely and fearleſly following his Profeſſion, he was ſuddenly clap'd up cloſe Priſoner in *Newgate*, without the Uſe of Pen, Ink, or Paper, till *Saturday* Noon, when he had Notice of an Indictment of High-Treaſon againſt him, and his Tryal to be on *Monday* following. The next Day Mr. *Corniſh*'s Children petitioned the King for a longer Time to prepare himſelf, which was referr'd to the Judges, who deny'd the Favour, tho' he knew not whether his Tryal was for Treaſon againſt this or the late King, and his moſt material

Witneſs was above a hundred and forty Miles off; and the Attorney-General particularly told him, *That he had not ſo well deſerv'd of the Government, as to have his Tryal delay'd*; and ſo he was compell'd immediately to plead to the Indictment. Tho' his Name had hardly been mentioned in the late Plot, yet now he was charg'd with ' Conſpiring againſt King *Charles* the Second in the Year 1682; ' and that knowing the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord ' *Ruſſel*, and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* to be Rebels and ' Traytors, he had promis'd to be aſſiſting to them in their ' Treaſons.

Rumſey's *Evidence.*

To prove which Charge, Colonel *Rumſey*, formerly mention'd, was the only Witneſs; who ſwore, ' That ' about the latter End of *October*, or Beginning of *November* aforeſaid, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* deſir'd him to go ' to Mr. *Sheppard*'s Houſe, where was a Meeting of the ' Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Ruſſel*, Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, Mr. *Ferguſon*, and Mr. *Sheppard* himſelf: He came late, and as they were juſt going away, ' he deliver'd his Meſſage, and they told him Mr. *Trenchard* had diſappointed them: He had not been there above ' a Quarter of an Hour, but Mr. *Sheppard* was call'd down, ' and brought up Mr. *Corniſh*, who preſently excus'd himſelf for not coming ſooner, alledging, *That he cou'd not ſtay, for he was to meet about the City Charter*; whereupon Mr. *Ferguſon* open'd his Boſom. and pull'd out a ' Paper, which they told Mr. *Corniſh* had been read, and ' deſir'd to read it to him: Mr. *Ferguſon* read it, and Mr. ' *Sheppard* held the Candle while it was reading, and afterwards they ask'd Mr. *Corniſh How he lik'd it*? who ' ſaid, *He lik'd it very well*; He remember'd two Points ' in it very well; one was for *Liberty of Conſcience*, the other ' was, *That all who wou'd aſſiſt in that Inſurrection, who had Church or King's Lands in the late War, ſhou'd have them reſtor'd to them*. The Colonel did not hear all the ' Paper, but obſerv'd only theſe two Points; It was a *Declaration* on a Riſing, and when the Riſing was to have ' been, it was to have been diſpers'd abroad: There was ' a Riſing intended at that Time, and Mr. *Corniſh* ſaid, *He lik'd the Declaration, and what poor Intereſt he had he wou'd join in it*.' The Colonel being ask'd how he came not to mention this in the Lord *Ruſſel*'s and other Tryals, he anſwer'd, ' That he had had great Dealings ' with Mr. *Corniſh*, and it was out of Compaſſion that he ' had not accus'd him before.' And he further acknowledg'd, ' That notwithſtanding his long Acquaintance of ' fourteen Years, he never heard him ſpeak any Thing of ' thoſe Matters before or after that Time.

***And that of* Goodenough.**

Not to help out this Evidence, but to accumulate the Guilt, Mr. *Richard Goodenough* appear'd as a ſecond Witneſs, who having been outlaw'd in the higheſt Degree, was now pardon'd, and his Teſtimony made legal. He ſwore ' That there was a Deſign to riſe in *London*, to divide the ' City into twenty Parts, and to raiſe five hundred Men ' out of each Part,' as has been formerly remember'd: ' But before that was agreed on, he being by chance at Mr. ' *Corniſh*'s Houſe, ſaid, *The Law will not defend us, ſome other way was to be thought on*; Mr. *Corniſh* ſaid, *He wonder'd that the City was ſo unready, and the Country ſo ready:* Mr. *Goodenough* reply'd, *There is ſomething thought of to be done here, but in the firſt Place, the* Tower *muſt be ſeiz'd, where the Magazine is*; Mr. *Corniſh* paus'd a ' little, and ſaid, *I will do what Good I can*, or *what I can*, or to that purpoſe. About ſame Time after, he ' met him upon the *Exchange*, and ask'd him *How Affairs went*? which Mr. *Goodenough* underſtood to be relating ' to what they had diſcours'd about.

The Priſoner's Defence,

The Priſoner in his Defence, frequently inſiſted upon the Improbability of *Rumſey*'s Depoſition, which ſo nearly affected him; and particularly us'd theſe Words; ' He ' does declare here, he never ſaid a Word to me, never ' ſpoke to me any Thing of it but there. My Lord, it is ' a very ſtrange Thing, that there ſhou'd be ſuch a Contrivance to ruin the King and Kingdom, and that I ſhou'd ' be one in the Buſineſs, this Villany, and not be conſulted how to carry it on; it is very ſtrange, they ſhou'd ſee ' me, and never ſay a Word of it afterwards to me. My ' Lord, I hope, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, that you ' will conſider the Improbability of it; it is as improbable ' as any Thing in the World. I hope it doth appear to ' your Lordſhip and this Bench, *That there is no Probability in it*. He owns we had a great deal of Freedom; he ' owns we were acquainted for fourteen Years together, ' and that I ſhou'd be at ſuch a wicked villainous Meeting ' once, and ſee him ſo often afterwards, and never ſpeak ' of it, and never ſay any Thing of it; the Great God of ' Heaven and Earth, before whom I ſtand, knows that I ' know nothing of all that he hath ſworn againſt me. He ' muſt ſwear theſe Things to ſave his own Life; if he will ' take away my Life, he will take away many others, ' without Queſtion, if he can ſave his own.' As to the Evidence of *Goodenough*, which leſs affected him, he brought Witneſſes to prove, That he had oppos'd his being Under-Sheriff, and ſaid *he wou'd not truſt his Eſtate and Reputation in the Hands of ſuch an Under-Sheriff, who was obnoxious to the Government, and had done ill Things*; and they two not being reconcil'd, it muſt proceed all from Malice. His Witneſſes ſpoke very advantagiouſly as to his Behaviour; and one of them, Mr. *Lane* by Name, inſiſted upon the Inconſiſtency of *Rumſey*'s Evidence with what he had given at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Tryal, where he had ſaid, *That he did not hear the Declaration read, for it was read before he came in*. All this time the Court, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jones* at the Head, us'd Mr. *Corniſh* very roughly, and made the worſt Interpretation of his Words, and ſo proceeded to ſum up the Evidence againſt him; all which, as it is believ'd, wou'd not have caſt him, if, beſides his frequent inſiſting upon his never being at any Conſult at Mr. *Sheppard*'s Houſe, he had not been ſo urgent to have Mr. *Sheppard* appear himſelf. This, after ſumming up the Evidence, was call'd a great Indulgence, which the Attorney-General was the more ready to admit of, becauſe He as well as the Priſoner had *ſubpœna'd* him. Mr. *Sheppard* deny'd that ever he held the Candle to the reading of a *Declaration*; or that Mr. *Corniſh* was there at the reading of it; but declar'd that at one of thoſe Meetings at his Houſe, Mr. *Corniſh* came to ſpeak a few Words there with the Duke of *Monmouth*, or ſome other; which, tho' a very imperfect Proof, was look'd upon ſo contradictory to what *Corniſh* had ſo often proteſted, that the Court declar'd it to be a clearing and a corroborating Evidence: So that the Priſoner having in Effect put his Fate upon a wrong Iſſue, the Court triumph'd, and the Jury found him guilty of High-Treaſon.

Hardſhip;

It is not to be doubted but this Gentleman had great Hardſhip, and unworthy Uſage in his Impriſonment, Tryal and Condemnation, and that he ſuffer'd upon wretched Evidence: But at the ſame Time it is not to be forgotten what Encouragement he gave to ſuch ſort of Evidence in the *Popiſh Plot*, and how active he appear'd towards the ſhedding of the Blood of the Lord *Stafford*; in whoſe Caſe he was ſo zealous, that, being Sheriff at that time, he was unwilling to allow him the common Favour ſhewn to the Nobility of being Beheaded. He now met with a full Retaliation; perhaps more from Heaven than from Men; and he cou'd not ſo much as obtain the ſame Favour himſelf; but on the 23d of *October* he was hang'd and quarter'd in *Cheapſide*, the Heart of the City, and his Head fix'd upon *Guild-hall*. Before he went out, he was extremely urgent with the worthy Dr. *Benjamin Calamy*, who had attended him to the laſt, to go with him to the Place of Execution; but that good Man had ſuch compaſſionate Tenderneſs in his Nature, that he excus'd himſelf, ſaying, *He cou'd as ſoon die with him, as bear the Sight of his Death*. At his Execution, he ſhew'd all the Marks of a pious Chriſtian prepar'd for Death, and did ſeveral times aſſert and proteſt his Innocency as to thoſe Crimes for which he ſtood condemn'd: And it is ſaid that King *James* himſelf not long after expreſs'd ſome Regret, as if he believ'd he had hard Meaſure; however, his Quarters were order'd to be taken down, and deliver'd to his Relations to be decently interr'd, as they were in St. *Laurence* Church by *Guild-hall:* And the Parliament in 1688 had ſo great a Senſe of his Hardſhips that they thought fit to reverſe the Attainder by a particular Act for that Purpoſe.

And Execution.

The Execution of ſeveral others.

3. Beſides Mr. *Corniſh*, there were ſeveral others condemn'd, either for the Plot or the Rebellion, ſome with and ſome without Tryal. Particularly *William King* was try'd for harbouring and concealing *Joſeph Kelloway*, and *Henry Laurence*, who had both taken part with the Duke of *Monmouth* in the *Weſt*. One *John Fernly* was then alſo try'd for harbouring and concealing *James Burton*, a Perſon outlaw'd for Treaſon; and likewiſe *Elizabeth Gaunt*, for ſuccouring the ſaid *Burton* with Money, and helping him to a Paſſage, in order to his Eſcape beyond the Seas. They were all three found guilty of High-Treaſon, and executed as Traytors; and particularly Mrs. *Gaunt* was burnt at *Tyburn*. The Hardſhips againſt theſe were judg'd the greater, becauſe the very Perſons harbour'd and ſuccour'd became Witneſſes againſt them. They ſuffer'd about the ſame time with Mr. *Corniſh*; and ſhortly after Mr. *Richard Neltborp*, for harbouring of whom the Lady *Liſle* had ſuffer'd, together with Mr. *John Ayloff*, were brought from *Newgate* to the *King's-Bench* Bar; where being ask'd, ' Why Execution ſhou'd not be awarded againſt ' them, in regard they ſtood attainted by Outlawry of ' High-Treaſon, for conſpiring the Death of King *Charles* ' the Second;' and having nothing to ſay, that cou'd avail them, the Court made a Rule, That they ſhou'd both be executed on the *Friday* following; and accordingly they were then hang'd, Mr. *Neltborp* before *Grays-Inn* in *Holbourn*, and Mr. *Ayloff* before the *Temple-Gate* in *Fleetſtreet*.

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The King had before iſſu'd out a Proclamation againſt *George Speke*, *Francis Charlton*, *John Wildman* Eſquires, Colonel *Danvers*, and *John Trenchard* Eſquires, by which they were ſummon'd to appear on a certain Day, as being ſuſpected of fomenting and carrying on traiterous Deſigns againſt the King; but they all abſconded. However other ſuſpicious Perſons, as the Earl of *Stamford*, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, and the Lord *Delamere*, were taken up and committed to the *Tower*.

The Lord Brandon *and Mr.* Hambden *pardon'd.*

In *November*, the Lord *Brandon*, by the Name of *Charles Gerrard*, Eſq; was brought to his Tryal at the *King's-Bench* Bar, upon an Indictment of High-Treaſon, 'For conſpiring 'to raiſe a Rebellion, and depoſe the late King of bleſ'ſed Memory;' of which he was found guilty: And being then remanded to the *Tower*, he was ſoon after brought again to the *King's-Bench* Bar, where Sentence of Death paſs'd upon him, as in Caſes of High-Treaſon: But he afterwards found Means to procure his Pardon. In like manner, ſoon after, *John Hambden*, Eſq; formerly mention'd, was arraign'd at the *Old-Bailey* upon an Indictment of High-Treaſon, 'For Conſpiring to raiſe a Re'bellion againſt the late King, &c.' Expecting no Favour, eſpecially as being a former Delinquent, he pleaded *Guilty*, and caſt himſelf upon the King's Mercy. He was condemn'd to die, as uſual, with the Remembrance of the Offences of his Family; but either the King's Mercy, or his Friends Interceſſion was ſo great, that he obtain'd a Pardon.

Bateman's *Sufferings.*

The laſt that was condemn'd and ſuffer'd Death for the ſame Conſpiracy in the late Reign, was Mr. *Charles Bateman* a Chyrurgeon of conſiderable Repute and Practice in his Calling. This Man having been a ſort of a Favourite to the laſt Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and particular Aſſiſtant to *Titus Oates* after his ſevere Whipping, was mark'd out as a factious Perſon, and try'd for High-Treaſon, and charg'd with holding ſeveral Diſcourſes about ſeizing the *Tower*, the City, the *Savoy*, &c. His Caſe was extraordinary; for by reaſon of his cloſe Impriſonment, and other Accidents, he appear'd perfectly diſtracted in the Court; inſomuch that his Son, after an unknown Method, was allow'd and appointed to make his Defence for him. The Witneſſes againſt him were *Keeling*, *Lee* and *Goodenough*, of whom the firſt was general, and the other two more particular, eſpecially the laſt, who was a new Evidence in this Reign. In the End he was condemn'd as a Traytor, tho' in that ſtrange Condition; but his Friends ſay, he was much recover'd before his Execution. For a Concluſion of theſe tragical Aſſizes, about three Months after there came out a Proclamation of *General Pardon*; of which more in its proper Place.

The King's happy Condition.

II. 1. Towards the latter End of this Year K. *James's* Affairs ſeem'd in the greateſt Height and Splendor, and to promiſe a firm and ſettled Felicity: The late dangerous Storms were happily appeas'd, his greateſt apparent Enemies deſtroy'd, the Parliament and the reſt of his Subjects were vying in their Loyalty, his Revenue ſettled to a high Degree, himſelf at Peace with his Neighbours, courted by them all, and holding the Balance of *Europe* in his Hand; ſo that if he had obſerv'd what he had promis'd in his *Declaration*, and firſt Speech to his Parliament, in all Appearance he might not only have reign'd happy and belov'd at home, but have effected what he told the Parliament in his ſecond Speech, *viz. To carry the Kingdom's Reputation yet higher in the World, than ever it had been in the Time of his Anceſtors.* Nor, humanly ſpeaking, could it have been otherwiſe, if he had ſtood firm to his firſt Maxim deliver'd in publick, *That the Laws of* England *were ſufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he cou'd wiſh*; or had he remember'd the repeated Inſtructions of his Father, or conſider'd the dying Advice of his Brother, formerly mention'd concerning the Danger of Introducing the *Romiſh* Religion. But deaf to all faithful and ſalutary Counſels, former or latter, and forgetful of ſolemn Promiſes, he became blind to his true Intereſt; and this ill-adviſ'd Prince was perſuaded, that now his Enemies were thus humbled, and his Parliament in ſo good a Humour, he had an unqueſtionable Opportunity of exerting his Prerogative, and advancing the Glory of his own Religion.

The ſecond MEETING *of the Parliament, with the King's Speech.*

Under theſe Circumſtances, he a ſecond Time met his Parliament on the 9th Day of *November*, when both Houſes, and the City, being fill'd with Expectation, he deliver'd his Mind in this following Speech from the Throne: '*My Lords and Gentlemen*; After the Storm that ſeem'd 'to be coming upon Us when We parted laſt, I am glad 'to meet you all again in ſo great Peace and Quietneſs; 'God Almighty be prais'd, by whoſe Bleſſing that Rebel'lion was ſuppreſs'd: But when I reflect what an incon'ſiderable Number of Men began it, and how long they 'carry'd it on without Oppoſition, I hope every Body will 'be convinc'd, That the *Militia*, which have hitherto been

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'ſo much depended on, is not ſufficient for ſuch Occa'ſions; and That there is nothing but a good Force of '*well-diſciplin'd* Troops in *conſtant Pay* that can defend 'Us, from ſuch as, either at Home or Abroad, are diſ'pos'd to diſturb Us. And in truth, My Concern for the 'Peace and Quiet of my Subjects, as well as for the Safe'ty of the Government, made Me think it neceſſary to en'creaſe the Number [*of fifteen thouſand Men*] to the Pro'portion I have done: That I ow'd as well to the *Honour* 'as the *Security* of the Nation, whoſe Reputation was ſo 'infinitely expos'd to all our Neighbours, by having lain 'open to the late wretched Attempt, that it is not to be 'repaired without keeping ſuch a *Body of Men* on foot, 'that none may ever have a Thought of finding Us again 'ſo miſerably unprovided. It is for the Support of this 'great Charge, which is now more than double to what 'it was, that I ask your Aſſiſtance, in giving me a Sup'ply anſwerable to the Expences it brings along with 'it; and I cannot doubt, but that what I have begun, ſo 'much to the Honour and Defence of the Government, 'will be continu'd by you with all Chearfulneſs and Rea'dineſs, that is requiſite for a Work of ſo great Impor'tance.

'Let no Man take Exception, that there are ſome 'Officers in the Army not *Qualify'd*, according to the late '*Teſts*, for their Employments: The Gentlemen, I muſt 'tell you, are moſt of them known to Me; and having 'formerly ſerv'd Me on ſeveral Occaſions, and always 'approv'd the Loyalty of their Principles by their Practices, 'I think them now fit to be employ'd under Me; and I 'will deal plainly with you, That after having had the 'Benefit of their Services in ſuch Time of Need and Dan'ger, I will neither expoſe them to *Diſgrace*, nor My Self 'to the *Want* of them, if there ſhou'd be another *Rebellion* 'to make them neceſſary to Me.

'I am afraid ſome Men may be ſo wicked, to hope and 'expect, That a *Difference* may happen between you and Me 'upon this Occaſion: But when you conſider what Advan'tages have riſen to Us in a few Months, by the good Un'derſtanding We have hitherto had; what wonderful Effects 'it hath already produc'd in the Change of the whole Scene 'of Affairs *Abroad*, ſo much more to the Honour of the 'Nation, and the Figure it ought to make in the World; 'and that nothing can hinder a farther Progreſs in this Way 'to all our Satisfactions, but *Fears* and *Jealouſies* amongſt 'Our Selves: I will not apprehend that ſuch a Misfortune 'can befall Us, as a *Diviſion*, or but a *Coldneſs* between 'you and Us; nor that any Man can ſhake you, in your 'Steadineſs and Loyalty to Me, who, by God's Bleſſing, 'will ever make you Returns of Kindneſs and Protection, 'with a Reſolution to venture even My Own Life in the 'Defence of the true Intereſt of this Kingdom.

How the Speech was receiv'd by the Lords.

A great Weight has always been reaſonably laid upon the Words deliver'd by a *Britiſh* Monarch from his Throne, being preſum'd to be the Reſult of mature Deliberation; ſo that it is no wonder that this Speech ſurpris'd a People, who had often ventur'd ſo boldly for the Preſervation of their Laws and Liberties, and thought themſelves ſecure of them, both from the Conſtitution of the Government, and the ſolemn repeated Promiſes of their Prince. They now began to believe, that the Jealouſies in the late Reign, tho' poſſibly factious in themſelves, were well grounded, and remotely to diſcover, that the Government of a *Roman Catholick* King was inconſiſtent with a *Proteſtant Kingdom*. Indeed the Houſe of Lords thought fit to debate, Whether they ſhou'd give the King Thanks for his Speech or not? Some of that Auguſt Aſſembly were for it, while others as warmly oppos'd it; but the Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, a Man of a ſharp ſatyrical Wit, ſaid, by way of Irony, *They had now more Reaſon than ever to give Thanks to his Majeſty, ſince he had dealt ſo plainly with them, and diſcover'd what he wou'd be at.* What he meant for a Jeſt, was ſuddenly laid hold on by the Courtiers for Earneſt, ſo the Affirmative carry'd it, and an Addreſs of Thanks was preſented: To which his Majeſty return'd this Anſwer, *That he was very well ſatisfy'd that their Lordſhips were well pleas'd with what he ſaid; and that he wou'd never offer any thing to their Houſe, that he ſhou'd not be convinc'd was for the Good and true Intereſt of the Kingdom:* Neverthleſs, the Biſhop of *London* couragiouſly mov'd, in the Name of himſelf and all his Brethren, that the Houſe wou'd particularly debate the King's Speech, and the 23d of this Month was accordingly appointed; which, as it was extraordinary and unuſual in the Houſe, ſo it was not leſs ſurpriſing to the King and Court, who ſoon ſhew'd a particular Jealouſy of theſe Proceedings.

And how by the Commons.

2. In the Houſe of Commons the Speech occaſion'd a longer and warmer Debate, where it was preſently underſtood, to be the Declaring for a *Standing Army*, and by degrees to be commanded by *Popiſh Officers*. The Thought was ſhocking and formidable, and produc'd a total Si-

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lence for a conſiderable Time after the Reading of the Speech. And therefore, tho' the King's Secretary, the Earl of *Middleton*, mov'd, ‘ That the Houſe wou'd immediately return their Thanks to his Majeſty, for his ‘ moſt gracious Speech, and alſo proceed to the Conſideration of anſwering the Ends therein mention'd ; ' they ſeem'd wholly at a Stand, till they were in a manner reliev'd by the Courage and Steadineſs of the Lord *Caſtleton*, who ventur'd to open the Way by his declar'd Diſlike; and ſo the Debate was adjourn'd, and left with a Committee of the whole Houſe, to be determin'd three Days after, on *Thurſday* the 12th of *November*.

A long Debate upon it.

On that Day the Earl of *Middleton*, a Member of the Commons, and prepared, mov'd to have his Majeſty's Speech conſider'd by Paragraphs : The ſaid Lord, and the reſt of the Courtiers, repreſented, ‘ How little the *Militia* ‘ was to be depended upon ; that *France* was formidable ; ‘ that the Forces of *Holland* were greatly encreas'd ; and ‘ therefore they ought to approve of his Majeſty's *Increaſing his Forces in Proportion*, and vote him a *Supply to* ‘ *anſwer his preſent Occaſions.* ' Thoſe of the *Country Party* ſtood up in ‘ Vindication of the *Militia*, which, ‘ they ſaid, in the late Rebellion had kept *Monmouth* from ‘ *Briſtol* and *Exeter* ; and which might be of ſingular Uſe, ‘ if new modell'd.' They particularly expreſs'd their Jealouſies of *Standing Forces*, by alledging, ‘ That the Kingdom was guarded by Law ; and that they were in perfect Peace, the King both fear'd and lov'd, an Army little needed, Enemies juſtly intimidated : That what made ‘ the Rebellion grow to a Height, was, becauſe the Man ‘ that headed it was a *Favourite of the Faction* ; and tho' ‘ he had got ſuch a Number, yet he was beaten by two ‘ thouſand Men only. That the preſent Army conſiſted ‘ of fourteen or fifteen thouſand Men, whereas the laſt ‘ Force, tho' not above half in Number, preſerv'd the ‘ Peace, and was ſufficient to do it in the late King's time; ‘ That all the Profit and Security of this Nation was in ‘ the Navy, and had there been the leaſt Ship in the *Channel*, it wou'd have diſappointed *Monmouth*'s Attempt : ‘ That ſupporting an Army, was maintaining ſo many idle ‘ Perſons to Lord it over the reſt of the Subjects : That ‘ *Standing Armies* debauch'd the Manners of all People, ‘ their Wives and Daughters : That Plow-men and Servants quit all Country Employments, to turn Soldiers ; ‘ and that a *Court-Martial* in time of Peace was moſt terrible : That they had rather pay double to the *Militia*, ‘ from whom they fear'd nothing, than half ſo much to ‘ thoſe, of whom they muſt ever be afraid. Then as for ‘ Officers employ'd, not taking the *Teſt*, it was *Diſpenſing* ‘ with all the Laws at once : That if thoſe Men were ‘ Good or Kind, they knew not whether it proceeded from ‘ their Generoſity or Principles. That they muſt remember it is *Treaſon* for any Man to be reconcil'd to the ‘ Church of *Rome*, ſince the *Pope* by Law was declar'd an ‘ *Enemy to this Kingdom.* That a Supply given, as mov'd ‘ for, was a kind of Eſtabliſhing an Army by Act of Parliament ; who when they had got the Power into their ‘ Hands, they themſelves muſt then derive it from their ‘ Courteſy. And therefore they urg'd to have the Reſolution, *That the Safety of the Kingdom does not conſiſt* ‘ *with a Standing Force.*

To all which the Courtiers reply'd, ‘ That his Majeſty ‘ in his Speech only ſaid, *That the* Militia *was not ſufficient :* That the laſt long Parliament always own'd ſome ‘ Forces neceſſary ; but that they were not to name the ‘ Number. That the King was the beſt Judge of that, ‘ being a great Soldier, and a good Prince. That there ‘ was a bitter Spirit in the three laſt preceding Parliaments, ‘ not yet well allay'd ; ſo that a conſiderable Force was ‘ needful, beſides the *Militia.* That the Principles of the ‘ Rebel Party was *never to Repent* ; That an Iſland may be ‘ attack'd, notwithſtanding any Fleet ; That new Troops ‘ are not ſo good as old, and more ſubject to commit Diſorders ; Therefore they inſiſted upon a Supply.' On the other Side it was anſwer'd, ‘ That there was already a ‘ Law, *That no Man ſhall on any Pretence whatſoever riſe* ‘ *againſt the King* ; That Lords and Deputy-Lieutenants ‘ have Power to diſarm the Diſaffected : That if they gave ‘ thus a *Supply*, it was for an *Army* ; and then might not ‘ that Army be made of thoſe that wou'd not take the *Teſt* ; ‘ which Act was not deſign'd as a *Puniſhment* for the *Papiſts*, but a *Protection* for *Proteſtants :* That they were ‘ for mending the *Militia*, and make it ſuch as the King ‘ and Kingdom might confide in it ; and that to truſt to *Mercenary Force* alone, was to give up all their *Liberties* at once. ‘ That it was for Kings to come to that Houſe from time ‘ to time, on extraordinary Occaſions, which they wou'd ‘ not do any more, if an Army was provided for by Law : ‘ That Armies were uſeful, when Occaſion was for them ; ‘ but if they eſtabliſh'd them, it wou'd be no more in their ‘ Power to Diſband them : That there was not a Company form'd till 1588, and as ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* had ‘ done with her Army, ſhe disbanded it : That Armies had ‘ often been fatal to Princes ; and that the Army in the late ‘ King's time often turn'd out their Leaders.

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A Supply voted.

Then as to the Supply that was mov'd, ſome were for giving it ‘ Only for the extraordinary Charge paſt ; ' others, ‘ To reward the Officers not qualify'd, or to take them off ‘ ſome other way : ' Others alledg'd, ‘ That the King's ‘ Revenue was ſufficient to maintain the Force on foot.' However, the Queſtion being put, *That a Supply be given to his Majeſty*, it was carry'd in the affirmative ; but theſe Words, *towards the Support of the additional Forces*, which was mov'd by one of the Members to be added, were rejected ; and inſtead of them, it paſt, *That the Houſe be mov'd to bring in a Bill to make the* Militia *uſeful.* The Sum demanded by the King's Agents, was Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds ; which the reſt thinking exorbitant, ſaid, ‘ That the Meaſure of their Supply was their ‘ Security ; that the Uſe was to direct the *Quantum* ; that ‘ therefore Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds was enough ‘ to maintain the additional Forces two Years, till the *Militia* be made uſeful ; and that they ought to leave the ‘ Door open for coming thither another time.' Others ſaid, ‘ That they had, that Seſſion, already given *Cuſtoms* ‘ and *Exciſes* for his Majeſty's Life, which amounted to ‘ Six Millions of Money : That they ought to give little ‘ now, to have Opportunity to give more another time ; ‘ for if they gave ſo much then, they ſhou'd have nothing ‘ left to give ; and if they proceeded thus, what they had ‘ wou'd be taken from them.' But nevertheleſs, after a long Debate, they were ſo generous, that the Queſtion being put for a *Supply of Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds to be given to his Majeſty*, it paſs'd in the affirmative.

The Caſe of Papiſts being employ'd.

As to the *Roman* Catholicks in the Army, beſides what is already mention'd, it was repreſented by one of the Members, ‘ That his Majeſty on his firſt Acceſſion to the ‘ Crown told them, *He had been miſrepreſented, and that* ‘ *he wou'd preſerve the Government in Church and State* ‘ *now Eſtabliſh'd by Law, and maintain them in all their* ‘ *juſt Rights and Privileges :* That overjoy'd at this, they ‘ ran haſtily to him, and were ſo forward to give, that the ‘ King's Miniſters put their Stop to it : That they ought ‘ not to forget that there was a *Bill of Excluſion* debated in that Houſe ; and that the Arguments for it were, ‘ *That they ſhou'd, in caſe of a* Popiſh *Succeſſor, have a* Popiſh *Army :* That they ſaw the Act of the *Teſt* already ‘ broken ; but pray'd them to remember what the late Lord ‘ Chancellor told them when King *Charles* paſs'd that ‘ Act ; *By this Act*, ſaid he, *you are provided againſt* Popery, *that no* Papiſt *can poſſibly creep into any Employment.* ‘ That he was greatly afflicted at the Breach of their Liberties, and ſeeing ſo great a Difference between his laſt ‘ Speech, and thoſe heretofore made, he cou'd not believe ‘ but this was made by ſome other Advice : That what the ‘ Thing ſtruck at there was their All ; and that he wonder'd there had been any Men ſo deſperate, as to take ‘ any Employment without being qualify'd for it ; and ‘ concluded to have a *Standing Army* voted deſtructive to ‘ the Country.' In the middle of theſe warm Debates, one mov'd for an Addreſs to his Majeſty ; but others mov'd the Inconveniency of it, if not granted ; others to have the *Catholicks*, who had been ſo uſeful and well known to his Majeſty, nam'd and compenſated. Some ſeem'd to doubt his Majeſty's Compliance ; others inſiſted, that it was not to be doubted, *when addreſs'd by ſuch a Houſe.* The Reſult of the Debate, was, the appointing a Committee to draw up an Addreſs to his Majeſty, which on *Monday* the 16th of *November* was read and agreed to, in this Form :

The Commons Addreſs to the King.

‘ *Moſt Gracious Sovereign*, We your Majeſty's moſt ‘ loyal and faithful Subjects, the Commons in Parliament ‘ Aſſembled, do, in the firſt Place, as in Duty bound, return your Majeſty our moſt humble and hearty Thanks ‘ for your great Care and Conduct in ſuppreſſing the late ‘ Rebellion, which threatned the Overthrow of this Government, both in *Church* and *State*, to the Extirpation ‘ of our *Religion as by Law Eſtabliſh'd*, which is moſt dear ‘ to us, and which your Majeſty hath been pleas'd to give ‘ us REPEATED ASSURANCES you will always *defend* and *maintain* ; which, with all grateful Hearts, we ‘ ſhall ever acknowledge. We further crave leave to acquaint your Majeſty, that we have with all Duty and ‘ Readineſs taken into our Conſideration your Majeſty's ‘ *Gracious Speech* to us : And as to that Part of it, relating to the Officers in the Army, not *qualify'd* for their ‘ Employments, according to an Act of Parliament made ‘ in the 25th Year of the Reign of your Royal Brother, ‘ entitled, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants* ; We do out of our bounden ‘ Duty, humbly repreſent unto your Majeſty, that theſe ‘ Officers cannot by Law be capable of their Employments ; and that the Incapacities they bring upon themſelves that Way, can no way be taken off but by an Act ‘ of Parliament : Therefore, out of that great Reverence

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‘ and Duty we owe unto your Majeſty, who have been graciouſly pleas'd to take Notice of their Services to your Majeſty, we are preparing a Bill to paſs both Houſes, for your Royal Aſſent, to indemnify them from the Penalties they have now incurr'd: And becauſe the continuing them in their Employments, may be taken to be a *Diſpenſing* with that Law, without an Act of Parliament, the Conſequence of which is of the greateſt Concern to the Rights of all your Majeſty's Subjects, and to all the Laws made for the Security of their Religion: We therefore, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of your Majeſty's Houſe of Commons, do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you wou'd be moſt graciouſly pleas'd to give ſuch Directions therein, that no Apprehenſions or Jealouſies may remain in the Hearts of your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects.

The King's Anſwer to it.

After the Reading of this Addreſs, a Motion was made for going to the Lords for their Concurrence; and it was by ſome alledg'd ‘That it wou'd carry with it the greater Weight, and be more likely to have good Effect; and if the Concurrence of the Lords were ask'd, the Judges in the Lords Houſe wou'd have an Opportunity of ſpeaking their Opinion to it.’ Others oppos'd it, ‘For the Lords having already given their Thanks to the King for his Speech, as being contented therewith; and therefore declar'd, that it wou'd be more for the Honour of the Houſe of Commons, in this Exigency, to addreſs alone.’ So upon a Diviſion of the Houſe it was carry'd by a ſmall Majority, for addreſſing alone; and on the 17th of *November* the Addreſs was preſented by the Speaker, attended by the Houſe, to the King in the *Banquetting-Houſe*; when his Majeſty gave them this ſurpriſing Anſwer: GENTLEMEN, *I did not expect ſuch an Addreſs from the* Houſe of Commons: *For having ſo lately recommended to your Conſideration the great Advantages a good Underſtanding between Us had produc'd in a very ſhort Time, and given you Warning of* Fears *and* Jealouſies *amongſt our ſelves; I had Reaſon to hope, That the Reputation God had bleſs'd me with in the World, wou'd have ſeal'd and confirm'd a good Confidence to you for Me, and of all that I ſay to you. But however you proceed on your Part, I will be ſteady in all my* PROMISES *I have made to you, and be juſt to my Word in this, and all my other Speeches.*

Mr. Coke *ſent to the* Tower.

This Anſwer was read the next Day, the 18th of *November*, with all due Reverence and Reſpect; but was ſucceeded by a profound Silence in the Houſe for a conſiderable Time: At laſt a Member mov'd ‘That a particular Day might be appointed to conſider of this Anſwer.’ Mr. *Coke* ſeconded the Motion, but added with an unexpected Boldneſs, *He hop'd they were all true* Engliſh *Men, and not to be frighted out of their Duty by a few hard Words.* Tho' this Speech was thought to be no more than what was conſiſtent with the Freedom of an *Engliſh* Houſe of Commons, and the Character of a Patriot, yet the Majority ſo far reſented it, as to look upon him as an *Incendiary*, and order'd him to be ſent to the *Tower*, particularly *for his indecent Speech.* And further, to ſhew their Affection, as well as Duty, they readily proceeded to *Ways and Means*, towards the raiſing of the Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds before voted. Over and above, to make the King eaſie in his *Roman Catholick* Officers in the Army, they not only offer'd a Bill to indemnify them from the Penalties they had already incurr'd, but they were willing to capacitate, by Act of Parliament, ſuch a Number of thoſe Officers as his Majeſty ſhould give a Liſt of. But ſtill the Country Party inſiſted to have a Day appointed to conſider of his Majeſty's Anſwer to their Addreſs, *which to them ſeem'd not ſatisfactory*; which, notwithſtanding all their loyal and pecuniary Compliances, made the King uneaſy, and unwilling to continue them in that Diſpoſition.

The Lords Proceedings.

3. In the mean time the Houſe of Lords ſhew'd ſuch a Diſpoſition as was not very pleaſing to the Court. Beſides their intended Debate of the King's Speech, after Thanks return'd, they thought fit to take Notice of the violent and arbitrary Proſecution of two of their Body, the Lord *Delamere* and the Earl of *Stamford*, wherein they judg'd the Privileges of Peerage to be invaded.

The Lord Delamere's *Petition to them.*

On the firſt Day of the Seſſion, the Lord *Delamere*, in a *humble Petition* repreſented to their Lordſhips, ‘That his Majeſty, by his *Proclamation*, dated the 19th of *July* laſt, did require the *Petitioner* to appear before him in Council within ten Days, not for any manner of Treaſon, but for other leſs Matters therein contain'd. That accordingly within ſeven Days he did render himſelf to my Lord *Sunderland*: And that after being brought before his Majeſty, then ſitting in Council, he was neither confronted by any Perſon that accus'd him, nor otherwiſe charg'd with any manner of Treaſon, but only ask'd ſome Queſtions relating to Matters of a leſſer Nature: And had he been guilty of them, yet, by Law, he might and ought to have been bail'd. Notwithſtanding the Lord *Sunderland*, by Warrant bearing Date the 26th of *July* laſt, did commit the *Petitioner* to the *Tower* of *London*, for *High-Treaſon in levying War againſt the King*, where he had remain'd ever ſince, under a very cloſe Reſtraint. And as he avow'd himſelf to be altogether Innocent of any evil Practice againſt the King or the Government, and had in all Things behav'd himſelf as became a good Subject; ſo he humbly pray'd their Lordſhips to take his Caſe into their ſerious Conſideration, and to do therein what ſhou'd ſeem meet to their Lordſhips.’ After ſome Debate, the Queſtion was put, Whether the Lords with *White Staffs* ſhou'd wait on his Majeſty, to know the Reaſon why the Lord *Delamere*, a Member of their Houſe, was abſent from his Attendance there. Which being carry'd in the Affirmative, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord-Treaſurer, *reported* the next Day, ‘That he, with the other Lords, having waited on his Majeſty with their Meſſage, his Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer, *That the Lord* Delamere *ſtood committed for High-Treaſon, teſtifyed upon Oath; and that his Majeſty had already given Directions, that he ſhou'd be proceeded againſt according to Law.*’ The Lords reſum'd this Debate a few Days after, when the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, by his Majeſty's Command, gave this Account to their Lordſhips, of the Proceedings had and intended to be had againſt the Lord *Delamere*, in theſe Words; ‘To ſhew your Lordſhips that the King has given Orders for a ſpeedy Proſecution of him, the Treaſon whereof he is accus'd, was committed in *Cheſhire*, and that being a County *Palatine*, the Proſecution muſt be there, and not in the Court of *King*'s-*Bench*, as it might be, if the Treaſon had been committed in any other County: And therefore his Majeſty had given Orders for a Commiſſion of *Oyer and Terminer*, in order to the finding an Indictment againſt him. Which Commiſſion is already paſs'd; and if the Indictment be not found before the End of the *Term*, the Lord *Delamere*'s Prayer being enter'd in the *King*'s-*Bench*, he may be bail'd.

The Earl of Stamford's *Petition to them.*

The other Caſe was that of the Earl of *Stamford*, who on the 11th of *November* put up a Petition to the Lords, importing, ‘That in *July* laſt he was taken in Cuſtody at his own Houſe in *Leiceſterſhire*; and being brought to *London*, was, by the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Warrant, committed to the *Tower*, for *High-Treaſon, in conſpiring the Death of the late King*, where he remain'd ever ſince, and was now a cloſe Priſoner, and had not had the Uſe of Pen, Ink or Paper, except to ſign *Petitions*, in the *Gentleman Porter*'s or *Warder*'s Preſence: That he took Leave and Aſſent, That he was Innocent of the Crime laid to his Charge, and had endeavour'd to behave himſelf with all Duty and Loyalty to the King, and his Royal Brother of Glorious Memory: That nevertheleſs, he heard there was an Indictment of *High-Treaſon* found againſt him; but Where, When, or How, or upon What Evidence, or upon What Matter, he knew not. Wherefore, he humbly pray'd, that their Lordſhips, according to the ancient Courſe of Proceedings of this moſt honourable Houſe, wou'd be pleas'd to order him to be brought before them in their Houſe of Parliament, there to hear the Matter charg'd againſt him: And that thereupon ſuch farther Proceedings might be had, as are agreeable to Juſtice, and the uſual Courſe of Parliamentary Proceedings in Caſes of the like Nature.’ Upon Reading this Petition, the Houſe of Peers immediately order'd the Lord Mayor, and the reſt of the Juſtices of the City of *London*, forthwith to return in their Houſe, by Virtue of his Majeſty's Writ of *Certiorari*, the Indictment found before them againſt the Earl of *Stamford*. On the 17th of *November*, the ſaid Earl, purſuant to their Lordſhips Order, was brought to the Bar, and the Indictment found againſt him. And his *Petition* being read, the Lord Chancellor ask'd him, *What he had to ſay to the Houſe?* His Lordſhip reply'd, *That he had been ſtrictly confin'd by ſixteen Weeks Impriſonment, and not allow'd the Liberty of Pen, Ink and Paper, or Friends to come to him; and therefore he cou'd ſay no more till he knew his Charge.* Whereupon the Houſe order'd the Earl of *Stamford*'s Tryal, ‘ſhou'd be in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, on the firſt Day of *December* next: That in the mean time, he ſhou'd be allow'd the Liberty of Pen, Ink and Paper, and Friends to come to him, in Order for his Tryal; and that the Lords with *White Staffs* ſhou'd attend the King, to deſire his Majeſty, in Behalf of this Houſe, that a Place may be appointed in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, and that his Majeſty wou'd give Order for a Commiſſion to appoint a Lord *High-Steward*, in Order to the ſaid Tryal.’ On the next Day the Lords were made acquainted, ‘That the King had comply'd with their Deſire.’

But in the mean time, the King, finding the Temper of both Houſes not exactly agreeable to his own, thought fit to put an End to the Seſſion, tho' with the Loſs of ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds voted by the Commons: And accordingly on the 20th of *November*, his Majeſty order'd a Commiſſion to the Houſe of Peers, who ſending for the Commons, the Lord Chancellor let both Houſes know, 'That it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, for many *weighty* '*Reaſons*, that this Parliament be Prorogu'd till the 10th 'of *February* next.' And thus ended the ſecond Meeting of this Parliament, after it had ſate but eleven Days; and tho' prorogu'd from time to time, it never met to do Buſineſs after; it being diſſolv'd in leſs than two Years time, and no other call'd during this Reign. And here we may wonder, that after ſuch ſolemn Promiſes on the King's Side, and ſuch large Compliances on the other, there ſhou'd be ſo little Union between them: If either of them had been leſs, the King's future Actions had then been much more excuſable, and leſs liable to the Cenſure of an Hiſtorian, who eſpecially is to take Notice of open Ingratitude, and publick Breach of Faith.

The Parliament ſuddenly prorogu'd and ended.

The Tryal of the Lord Delamere.

He is acquitted.

4. After the breaking up of the Parliament, two Lords Tryals were expected, namely of the Earl of *Stamford* and the Lord *Delamere*. The firſt never came on, but the latter did, in a little above a Month's time, with the uſual Solemnity of a Lord High-Steward, and a ſelect Number of about thirty Lords. After ſome Formalities, and ſpecial Pleas offer'd by the Lord *Delamere*, the firſt Witneſs produc'd againſt him was the Lord *Howard*, who had not yet done with the *Drudgery of Swearing*, as it was call'd, but was forc'd again to do Penance for his former Crimes, which he introduc'd in theſe Words; *I am call'd, not to be an Evidence againſt my Lord* Delamere, *but againſt my ſelf; that is, to repeat what I have often deliver'd at ſeveral Tryals, in the Courts of Juſtice; and which I muſt always repeat with Shame and Confuſion for my Guilt, as I cannot but always reflect upon it with Sorrow and Horror.* After a very long Story that had no Relation to the preſent Cauſe, it preſently appear'd to the World that the Lord *Grey* was in Favour, or at leaſt pardon'd, by being brought in as a ſecond Witneſs; more, to prove the Truth and Deſign of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, than the real Guilt of the Perſon accus'd. Others alſo appear'd, as *Wade*, *Jones*, and *Goodenough*; but none came fully to the Point, which was the Lord's Correſpondence with the Duke of *Monmouth*, but one *Saxon*: But he being prov'd to be a Perſon of very little or bad Reputation, the whole Body of the Peers acquitted his Lordſhip, and ſo he came off with Triumph; but, perhaps, with ſuch juſt Reſentment, that he afterwards prov'd a prime Inſtrument in removing thoſe that had ſo much endanger'd him.

A general Pardon.

The other Lord, the Earl of *Stamford*, came off with leſs Difficulty; for ſoon after, upon bringing his *Habeas Corpus*, he was admitted to Bail; and in the Beginning of the next Year, tho' Innocent as to any Proof, thought fit to lay hold on the Proclamation of Pardon, which was iſſu'd out after all the Tryals were over. This was call'd by the Name of *General*, but clogg'd with ſuch Number of *Exceptions* as to Perſons, and ſome of thoſe Perſons ſo inconſiderable, that it was thought of very little Uſe, or at leaſt met with no conſiderable Thanks.

Promotions and Preferments.

And now we may conclude the Year 1685 with the Accounts of ſome Promotions and Preferments, and the Deaths of ſome conſiderable Perſons. As to the Former, beſides thoſe already mention'd, as the Lord *Jeffreys*, the Lord *Churchill*, *&c.* his Majeſty was pleas'd to beſtow ſeveral other Honours, and more particularly the Honour of the *Garter* upon four Perſons, at ſeveral Times; as firſt the Duke of *Norfolk* on the 6th of *May*; next, the Earl of *Peterborough*, on *June* the 18th; thirdly, the Lord Treaſurer *Rocheſter*, on the 29th of *June*; and laſtly, the Earl of *Feverſham*, on the 31ſt of *July*. His Majeſty being deſirous to beſtow a Mark of his Royal Favour upon *Henry Jermyn* of *Chevely*, in the County of *Cambridge*, Eſq; for the conſtant Loyalty of himſelf and his Family, was pleas'd to grant him the Title and Dignity of Baron of *Dover* in the County of *Kent*, on the 15th of *May*. The Earl of *Arlington*, ſo often mention'd, dying this Year in *July*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute the Earl of *Ailesbury* Lord-Chamberlain in his Place: And he dying in leſs than three Months Time, his Majeſty was pleas'd to give his White Staff to the Earl of *Mulgrave*, who became a conſiderable Favourite in this Reign. The Earl of *Peterborough*, beſides the Honour of the *Garter*, had the *Golden Key* given him as Groom of the Stole. The Duke of *Queenborough*, the Earl of *Perth*, the Lord *Preſton*, and the Earl of *Plymouth*, were, at ſeveral Times this Year, made Privy-Counſellors. In *December*, his Majeſty appointed the Earl of *Clarendon* to be Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in the room of the Duke of *Ormond*. And about the ſame Time, the King was pleas'd in Council to declare the Earl of *Sunderland*, his principal Secretary, to be Lord-Preſident of his Council; who from that Time became prime Miniſter of State, and by his Addreſs upon all Occaſions, gain'd a ſpecial Influence upon the King's Affairs and Actions, during the greateſt Part of his Reign.

The Deaths of Biſhop Sparrow.

Biſhop Womack,

Dr. Marſhall,

Dr. Pell.

For the Deaths of conſiderable Men this Year, beſide the Lord-Keeper *North*, the Earl of *Arlington*, and the Earl of *Ailesbury* already mention'd, we ſhall begin with three Learned Divines; and firſt Dr. *Anthony Sparrow*, Maſter of *Queen*'s College in *Cambridge*, and ſucceſſively Biſhop of *Exeter* and *Norwich*, after he had been a conſiderable Sufferer in the Times of Confuſion: He left behind him the Character of a pious, induſtrious and paſtoral Man, and in his Labours was diſtinguiſh'd by his judicious *Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer*, &c. The ſecond was Dr. *Laurence Womack*, likewiſe educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and no leſs a Sufferer in the late Times, who at the Reſtauration was made Archdeacon of *Suffolk*, and laſt of all Biſhop of St. *David*'s: He was much noted for his polemical Writings, particularly againſt the Diſſenters, from whom he had receiv'd ſuch Hardſhips, and dy'd poſſeſs'd of a very famous and ſelect Library. The third was Dr. *Thomas Marſhall*, Dean of *Glouceſter*, another Loyaliſt of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and a great Follower of the famous Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*, who being forc'd to travel, afterwards ſhew'd himſelf to be very well vers'd in Books as well as Men, and to be a noted Critick, eſpecially in the *Gothick* and *Engliſh Saxon* Tongues, a painful Preacher, a good Man and Governor, and a Perſon worthy of his Station in the Church. To theſe three we may add a fourth Divine, Dr. *John Pell*, Rector of *Laindon* and *Bartleſdon* in *Kent*, a Perſon educated in *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, and of an extraordinary Genius, being a mighty Linguiſt, and a celebrated Mathematician, even in the moſt difficult Parts of *Algebra*, *&c.* a Perſon who had been us'd, and conſulted upon many publick Occaſions, yet following his Books only, and being a ſhiftleſs Man as to worldly Affairs, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be cozen'd of his Revenues, and dy'd in Obſcurity.

Sir William Dugdale,

Sir John Marſham,

And Mr. Thomas Otway.

After theſe Divines, we ſhall mention three others of various Note and Character, and firſt Sir *William Dugdale* Knight, and *Garter* Principal King of Arms, a *Warwickſhire* Gentleman by Birth, but of no Academical Education, who falling into the Acquaintance of Mr. *Burton*, Sir *Henry Spelman*, Mr. *Dodſworth*, and other famous Antiquaries, follow'd and purſu'd that ſort of Studies with ſuch an indefatigable Labour and Pains, that he became himſelf the moſt celebrated Antiquary in the Kingdom: His *Monaſticon*, his *Baronage*, his *Antiquities of* Warwickſhire, and other of his Works, are wonderful Inſtances of Induſtry. *Wood* intimates that the Diſtractions of his Worldly Affairs made his Works not altogether ſo accurate as they might have been; however, adds he, what he has done is prodigious, conſidering the great Troubles he had endured for his Loyalty, and the Cumberances of this World he had run through; and therefore his Memory ought to be venerated and perpetuated, for preſerving ſo many Things from periſhing, which otherwiſe wou'd have been eternally bury'd in Oblivion. The next was Sir *John Marſham* Baronet, a Gentleman of *London* by Birth, educated in St. *John*'s College in *Oxford*, and farther improv'd by his Travels into ſeveral Countries; after which he ſtudy'd the Law in the *Middle-Temple*, and became one of the Six Clerks in *Chancery*. In the troubleſome Times that ſucceeded, he became a great Sufferer, and at laſt a Compounder for his Eſtate; notwithſtanding which he purſu'd his Studies with that Succeſs, that he became famous at Home and Abroad for his nice and exact Skill in Hiſtory, Chronology and Languages; inſomuch that Father *Simon*, in one of his Books, calls him 'The great '*Marſham* of *England*,' and the moſt learned Men in *Europe* have made very honourable mention of him, upon the Account of his accurate and excellent Writings. After a Life of great Labour, and ſeveral Honours receiv'd from King *Charles* the Second, he left the World in the eighty third Year of his Age. The laſt to be mention'd is Mr. *Thomas Otway*, the Son of a Clergy-man in *Suſſex*, who had a ſhort Education in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, from whence repairing to *London*, he became a moſt celebrated Dramatick Poet; his Plays being as much heard and read as any that appear'd upon the Stage. He was a Man of excellent and improving Parts, and of a luxuriant Imagination, and had an admirable Talent of moving and raiſing the Paſſions in his Tragedies; but in his Comedies he had ſo much Lewdneſs with his Wit, that he ſeem'd to outdo his Contemporaries in debauching the City as well as the Stage: And, leading a Life of full Liberty, he met with the natural Effects of it, to die very poor and young, in the thirty third Year of his Age.

The King's Deſigns.

III. 1. The King being now, in effect, got to the Height of his Power, his Parliament not ſitting, his ſtanding Forces encreaſing, and his Revenues ſufficient to maintain them, he began more openly to ſhew his Reſolutions

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of encouraging and eſtabliſhing his own Religion; and, in order to ſo great a Work, to aſſume a more arbitrary Power than had been known or charg'd upon any of his Family. In both theſe he is ſaid to have been hurry'd on more by the treacherous Advice of others, than by his private Inclination, which was of it ſelf unqueſtionably ſtrong, and conſequently yielding to all ſuch Impreſſions.

Proceedings in Scotland.

Whatſoever were his Incouragements or Inducements, the King to feel the Pulſe of his *Engliſh* Subjects, began to raiſe the Superſtructure of his Arbitrary Power in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; in the former of which he had laid the Foundation by his Popularity and politick Diſſembling his religious Deſigns, when he was made Lord Commiſſioner for his Brother. Before that Parliament had broke up the laſt Summer, beſides other Acts formerly mention'd, one paſs'd *Containing a tender of Duty, and Offer of the* Exciſe *to his Majeſty*; in the Preamble of which they declare, ‘ That ‘ they owe all their Bleſſings to the Sacred Race of their ‘ glorious Kings, and to the Solid, Abſolute Authority ‘ wherewith they were Inveſted by the firſt and Funda‘ mental Laws of their Monarchy:------- And therefore they again declare to the World, ‘ That they Abhor and ‘ Deteſt, not only the Authors and Actors of all preceding ‘ Rebellions againſt their Sovereign, but alſo all Principles ‘ and Poſitions which are contrary or derogatory to the ‘ King's *Sacred, Supreme, Sovereign, Abſolute Power* and ‘ *Authority*, Which none, whether particular Perſons or ‘ collective Bodies, can participate of any manner of Way, ‘ or upon any Pretext, but in Dependence on him, and ‘ by Commiſſion from him, *&c.*’ And as it were intentionally to introduce a Deſpotick Power, they paſs'd another Act, ‘ To confirm and approve whatever had been ‘ done by his Majeſty's Privy-Council, Juſtice-Court, and ‘ thoſe Commiſſionated by them, in Baniſhing, Impriſoning or Fining ſuch as refus'd to Take and Swear the ‘ *Oath of Allegiance*; and to Aſſert the Royal Prerogative ‘ in the utmoſt Extent of them.

The King's Letter to the Parliament there.

Theſe Advances gave great Incouragement to the King, who had a hopeful Proſpect of the *Scots* Compliance in all Things; therefore amongſt them he firſt attempted to repeal the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts* enacted againſt *Papiſts*. Accordingly, having ſummon'd the Parliament of that Kingdom to Re-aſſemble on the 29th of *April* this preſent Year, he wrote an earneſt Letter to them, wherein, ‘ He recom‘ mends to their ſpecial Care, his Innocent *Roman Catho*‘ *lick* Subjects, who had always been Aſſiſtant to the Crown ‘ in the worſt of Rebellions and Uſurpations, tho' they ‘ lay under Diſcouragements hardly to be nam'd: Theſe ‘ he moſt heartily recommended to them; to the End, That ‘ as they had given good Experience of their true Loyalty ‘ and peaceable Behaviour, ſo, by their Aſſiſtance, they ‘ might have the Protection of his Laws, not ſuffering them ‘ to lie under *Obligations*, which their Religion cou'd not ‘ admit of; by doing of which, they wou'd give a Demon‘ ſtration of the Duty and Affection they had to him, and ‘ do him moſt acceptable Service. And this Love he ex‘ pected they ſhou'd ſhew to their *Brethren*, as they ſaw ‘ him an *Indulgent Father* to his People.

After the reading of this Letter, to engage the Parliament to a Compliance with his Majeſty's Deſire, the Earl of *Murray*, who was appointed Lord High-Commiſſioner upon this Occaſion, made them a plauſible Speech, in which he promis'd them, ‘ That his Majeſty wou'd open a ‘ free Intercourſe of Trade with his Kingdom of *England*; ‘ and had fully inſtructed his Envoy at the Court of *France*, ‘ to recover the Poſſeſſion of the ſeveral Privileges of the ‘ *Scotch* Merchants Trading with that Kingdom. And ‘ that his Majeſty wou'd redreſs the Trouble that the ‘ *Scotch* Merchants met with in the Matter of the Staple ‘ and Trade with the *Netherlands*; and that he wou'd re‘ move the Prejudice which the Kingdom ſuffer'd, by the ‘ Importation of *Iriſh* Horſes, Cattel and Victuals. And ‘ that his Majeſty was willing to grant them an open ‘ Mint, the want of which was a terrible Prejudice to ‘ the Traffick of the Kingdom: And that he wou'd not at ‘ this time demand any more Supplies or Impoſitions of ‘ any kind; notwithſtanding his great Charges in ſuppreſ‘ ſing the late horrid Rebellion: And that he wou'd give ‘ his Royal Conſent to all ſuch Laws and Regulations, as ‘ might ſecure exact Payment to the Country from all his ‘ Officers and Soldiers in their Quarters. And laſtly, ‘ That he wou'd graciouſly paſs his full and ample Indem‘ nity, with ſome needful and neceſſary Exceptions, for ‘ all paſt Crimes and Miſdemeanours whatſoever.’ Having expatiated upon all theſe Heads, he concluded his Speech in theſe Words: ‘ And now, *my Lords and Gen*‘ *tlemen*, after ſo great and excellent Deſigns for promo‘ ting the Honour, the Eaſe and Wealth of this Kingdom; ‘ After his Reſolution to pardon ſo many Enemies, and ‘ to free ſo many of the Guilty from further ſevere, but ‘ juſt Proſecutions; his Majeſty believeth that none will ‘ wonder, if he deſire, by the Advice and Conſent of this ‘ Great Council, to give Eaſe and Security to ſome of his ‘ good Subjects of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, who ‘ have been at all Times firm to the Monarchy, and ready ‘ to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for the Service and ‘ Security of the Crown. So that his Majeſty, who ſo ‘ perfectly underſtands the Loyal and Dutiful Temper and ‘ Genius of *Scotland*, reſts fully perſuaded of your ready ‘ and chearful Compliance with his Royal Deſire and In‘ clinations, tending ſo much to your own Security, and ‘ his Satisfaction; and that you will ſend me back to my ‘ Great and Royal Maſter, with the good Tidings of the ‘ continu'd and dutiful Loyalty of this his *ancient King*‘ *dom*: By which you will ſhew your ſelves the beſt and ‘ moſt affectionate Subjects, to the Beſt, the Incompara‘ ble, and moſt Heroick Prince in the World.

The Parliament not complying.

When this Speech came to be conſider'd, the Creatures of the Court ſhew'd a preſent Inclination for paſſing an Act in Favour of the *Papiſts*, without looking further than his Majeſty's Deſire. But the more conſiderate Party mov'd and prevail'd to have a Committee appointed to inſpect the Statutes provided againſt the *Roman Catholicks*. After a full Examination of thoſe Laws, the Committee drew up a Bill, whereby ‘ *Papiſts* were to be allow'd the Exerciſe ‘ of their Religion in private, without repealing thoſe for‘ mer Acts which made them liable to Penalties for pub‘ lickly Aſſembling together.’ The King ſeem'd to have been contented with this Step at preſent, hoping to have gain'd more in a proper Seaſon. But however, this Bill being preſented to the Parliament for their Approbation, they divided upon it, and many warm Speeches were made againſt it. The King being inform'd of their Debates, and apprehending the Miſcarriage of his Deſigns, he diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Earl of *Murray*, his Commiſſioner, with Orders to Diſſolve, or at leaſt Prorogue that Parliament that had done ſo much in Favour of his Prerogative. And about ten Months after, he did that by his ſole Power and Authority, which he cou'd not effect with the Conſent of the Nation, as will be remember'd in its proper Place.

Proceedings in Ireland.

The Duke of Ormond *remov'd.*

2. To proceed to the other more remote Kingdom, it was principally in *Ireland*, where the King's Deſigns of eſtabliſhing *Popery* and *Arbitrary* Power to Support it, appear'd without Diſguiſe, from the very Beginning of his Reign; a Kingdom whoſe Diſtance from *England*, as well as the Number of *Papiſts* contain'd in it, gave him great Opportunities and Encouragement to execute his Projects. The famous Duke of *Ormond* was Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom, a Perſon of unblemiſh'd Honour, and inviolable Fidelity to the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the *Engliſh* as well as the *Iriſh* Intereſt; and therefore he was thought an improper Perſon to ſerve the preſent Government: Accordingly, within two Months after the King's Acceſſion to the Crown, he receiv'd an Order from the Court, to deliver the Sword of State to the Lord-Primate of *Ireland* and to the Earl of *Granard*, appointed by the King to be Lords Juſtices. But before his Grace's Departure, he labour'd with a noble Diligence to eſtabliſh Matters on ſuch a Foundation, as it ſhou'd not be eaſy for the *Papiſts* to make a preſent Change, without a manifeſt Violation of the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom. One particular Paſſage muſt not be paſs'd in Silence, as expreſſing the brave Spirit of that excellent Patriot: He appointed a Dinner at the *New Hoſpital*, a ſtately Fabrick by him erected near *Dublin* for poor Soldiers, where were invited the Officers of the ſaid Hoſpital, and thoſe of the Army then in *Dublin*; which being over, he took a large Glaſs of Wine in his Hand, bid them fill it to the Brim, then ſtood up and call'd thus to the Company; *Look here, Gentlemen, they ſay at Court I am now become an old doating Fool; you ſee my Hand does not ſhake, nor does my Heart fail; nor do I doubt that I ſhall make ſome of my Enemies ſee their Miſtake*; and ſo drank the *King's Health*. But the Duke at his Arrival at the *Engliſh* Court, found himſelf in Diſpleaſure with the King, who really ow'd him the higheſt Obligations; and had ſuch diſmal Apprehenſions of the Poſture of Affairs in *Ireland*, that it is thought to have ſhortned his Days: For tho' he dy'd in a good old Age, yet till this Turn he enjoy'd ſuch Health of Body, and Chearfulneſs of Mind, that in the Courſe of Nature he might have liv'd many Years longer.

Before the Duke left the Government of *Ireland*, an Order came, for regulating the Council, the finiſhing of which was left to the Lords Juſtices. Upon his Departure the Privy-Council was immediately diſſolv'd, and moſt of the *Engliſh* that were active in the *Proteſtant* Cauſe, were remov'd; and tho' no *Papiſts* were immediately put in their Places, yet it was not long before they made up the major Part; and thoſe few *Proteſtants* that were left, ſeldom appear'd at the Board, as being unable to ſtand againſt the ſtrongeſt Side. The *Iriſh* fell immediately to their ordinary Practice of making Plots, but with this Difference; That whereas they had formerly been the Actors themſelves, they now father'd them upon the *Engliſh*, whom they daily impeach'd againſt the King and the Government. They were countenanc'd by the Privy-Council, who preſs'd the Lords Juſtices for Orders to impower *Iriſh Papiſts* and mungrel *Proteſtants* to commit, without Bail, any Perſon Impeach'd. Theſe ſtrange Proceedings ſoon made the Lords Juſtices weary of their Government, and the Lord *Granard* wrote to *England* to be diſmiſs'd: But the *Papiſts* repreſented him as a Man fit to be kept in his Majeſty's Intereſt, being very prevalent in the *North*, among the *Scotch* Presbyterians, his Lady being of that Perſuaſion. So that King *James* wrote him a Letter with his own Hand, giving him Aſſurance, *That nothing ſhould be acted prejudicial to the Proteſtant Intereſt*, for which his Lordſhip was then reputed to be zealous. And as to Plots, *Monmouth*'s Rebellion gave the *Iriſh* a fair Opportunity of contriving them, and to faſten them upon the *Proteſtants*; which made the King ſo jealous of them, or ſo ready to take Advantage, that he reſolv'd to keep a Standing Army of *Iriſh Papiſts*. This could not be effected without calling in all the Arms from the Hands of *Proteſtants*. To carry on which Deſign, the King and Council wrote over to the Lords Juſtices, 'That there was reaſon to believe that the Rebellion of *Monmouth* had been of the 'ſpreading Contagion, as to Infect many, and Delude 'more: It was not therefore ſafe for the Kingdom, to 'have the Arms of the *Militia* diſpers'd abroad; but they 'wou'd be in greater Readineſs, for the Uſe of the *Militia*, and the Defence of the Country, to have them depoſited in the ſeveral Stores of each County.' Upon theſe plauſible Inſtructions, a Proclamation was iſſu'd out; and the City of *Dublin* being prevail'd with to bring in their Arms, that Precedent was ſoon after unhappily follow'd by all the Country.

The Proteſtants there diſarm'd.

Colonel Talbot's *Proceedings.*

The *Proteſtants* being by this Contrivance diſarmed, the next Deſign was to new-model the Army, which at that Time conſiſted of about ſeven Thouſand, all Proteſtants, zealous and faithful to the King's Service. For which Purpoſe they made choice of Colonel *Richard Talbot*, a Man, of all others, moſt odious and formidable to the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, and one who had been named by *Oates* in his *Narrative*, ſome Years before, as deſigned for this very Service: ſo that many, who before believed nothing of the *Popiſh* Plot, gave Credit to it now, ſaying, *That if* Oates *were an ill Evidence, he was certainly a good Prophet*. *Talbot* with great Inſolence began to purſue a Method, which was ſaid to have been deſign'd immediately before the Death of King *Charles* the Second, which was to diſplace all Officers that had been in the Parliament or *Cromwell*'s Army, and the very Sons of all ſuch. In this Deſign the Duke of *Ormond* had Directions to proceed; but he made no Progreſs in it, under Pretence of gaining Time to find them out, but in reality, becauſe he foreſaw it was only to make room for the *Papiſts*. *Talbot* having with a high Hand caſhier'd a great many Officers, came over into *England*, and brought with him one *Neagle*, a ſubtle *Iriſh* Lawyer, and a moſt inveterate Papiſt; who, tho' not immediately countenanced by the King, was conſtantly with his Confeſſor Father *Petre*, and the reſt of the *Popiſh* Cabal. The Queen is ſaid to be much for their furious Counſels, but the King appear'd not ſo violently inclin'd, being daily adviſ'd by all the *Popiſh* Peers, 'Not 'to proceed too faſt in the Alterations in *Ireland*; leſt he 'ſhould by that Means ruin the general Intereſt of the *Catholicks*.' However, Colonel *Talbot* was made Earl of *Tyrconnel*, with the deſign of his immediate Return into *Ireland*, in Quality of Lord Lieutenant; to which Office he had been recommended by Biſhop *Tyrrill*, tho' with ſome Reſerve, as being a Perſon confeſs'd to be odious to the *Engliſh* Nation, and therefore not proper to appear upon the Stage till Matters were come to a greater Maturity. Therefore the Lord *Bellaſis* was propos'd, but he was infirm, and excus'd himſelf from what he thought wou'd be a difficult Work. At length, to carry on their Deſign with Succeſs, and not altogether to diſguſt the *Engliſh*, it was reſolved that *Tyrconnel* ſhou'd return Lieutenant-General of the Army, and the Earl of *Clarendon* Lord-Lieutenant of the Kingdom, as was formerly hinted: All which was compleated on the latter End of the laſt Year, 1685.

He is made Earl of Tyrconnel.

The Earl of Clarendon *made Lord Lieutenant.*

3. In the mean Time the *Iriſh Papiſts* in all Parts of the Kingdom proceeded in their former Stratagems of Impeaching the *Proteſtants* for trayterous Deſigns; but theſe were generally ſo weakly contrived, and compoſ'd of ſuch palpable Inconſiſtencies, that they ſerved only to demonſtrate the Innocence of the Proteſtants, and the inveterate Malice of the Informers. But when theſe Impeachments were found to be ſo unskillfully manag'd, as to miſs of their wicked Intents, they then apply'd themſelves to other Courſes: In particular, many went out *Torys*, and committed ſo many Robberies and Outrages upon the *Engliſh*, that Thouſands left and deſerted the Kingdom. At the ſame time *Tyrconnel* drove on with greater Fury than before; not only diſplacing the Officers of the Army, but alſo turning out the private Soldiers, and to both preferring which of the *Iriſh* he thought fit: His Will was his Law, and his Actions purely Arbitrary; for he brought over Blank Commiſſions ſign'd by the King, for ſuch as he was willing to put in. This Part he acted in a moſt inſulting barbarous Manner; turning looſe ſome Soldiers, ſtripped to their Shirts; ſeizing the Horſes of ſome Officers and Troopers, giving them Notes not amounting to the fourth Part of the juſt Values; and to others, giving nothing but ill Words, and vile Reproaches. The moſt noted Officers, who were turned out of their Commiſſions, were the Lord *Shannon*, Captain *Fitz-Gerald*, Captain *Coote*, and Sir *George Saint George*; in whoſe Places were put in the moſt virulent *Papiſts*, and the worſt of Men. In ſum, two or three hundred Gentlemen, who had laid out all, or the greateſt Part of their Portions, to purchaſe or follow theſe Military Employments, were arbitrarily Disbanded, and five or ſix thouſand private Soldiers ſent a Begging.

Tyrconnel's *Outrages.*

Clarendon's *Care.*

Notwithſtanding theſe Outrages, the Diſcouragements of the *Engliſh* were in ſome meaſure alleviated, when they found that the Lord Lieutenant, tho' a near Relation to the King, acted as a Perſon of inviolable Integrity to the *Proteſtants*; for which they look'd upon him as a Man that wou'd ſtem the impetuous Torrent of the *Popiſh* Faction. And indeed his very firſt Action gave no ſmall Proof of it, which was to revive the fainting Spirits of the *Proteſtants*, by telling them, *of the great Aſſurance the King had given him of protecting their Religion*. But in reality, that noble Earl ſoon found himſelf but half a Governor, for *Tyrconnel* aſſumed more than a Share in the Adminiſtration of all Affairs; of which we have this particular Inſtance. Upon a *Sunday* Morning the Earl going to Church, he perceived an *Iriſh* Officer he never ſaw before, commanding his own Guard of Battel-Axes, which very much ſurpriſed him; whereupon he made a Stop, demanding, *Who he was*? and, *Who put him there*? The *Iriſhman*, as much frighted, as the Lord Lieutenant was diſturb'd, in broken Expreſſions told his Excellency, *He was a Captain put in by the Lord* Tyrconnel. His Excellency demanding of him, *When*? he reply'd, *That Morning*. His Excellency bid them call the former Captain, and diſmiſs this of *Tyrconnel*'s. The next Day the Lord Lieutenant queſtioned *Tyrconnel* for this Action, who reply'd, *He did nothing but by the King's Orders*: To which the Earl bravely return'd, *That while his Majeſty entruſted him with the Government, he wou'd not be determined by his Lieutenant-General.* Complaints on both ſides were made to the King, and the mutual Diſcontents every Day encreaſed; the Lord Lieutenant knowing himſelf to be Supreme, and the Lieutenant-General daring to be Superior.

But in vain.

The Latter therefore, having compleated his Deſign in Modelling the Army, went over into *England*, and conſulted with his Party, how to obtain the ſole Government of *Ireland*. We are told, That the Queen, Father *Petre*, and the Earl of *Sunderland*, very much importuned the King in his Favour; but the *Popiſh* Lords, who had a wiſer Foreſight, appeared againſt it, and believed that his Furiouſneſs would ruin all; notwithſtanding they were extremely deſirous to have *Ireland* in the abſolute Diſpoſal of the *Papiſts*: For, after divers Projects, when the moſt conſiderable of them, upon an Apprehenſion of a Storm falling upon them in *England*, were for Addreſſing the King, 'To have liberty to ſell their Eſtates, and that his 'Majeſty would intercede with the King of *France* to pro'vide for them in his Dominions;' the King took an Occaſion to tell them, *That before their Deſires came to Him, he had often thought of Them; and had provided a ſure* Sanctuary *and* Retreat *for them in* Ireland, *if all thoſe Endeavours ſhou'd be blaſted in* England, *which he had made for their Security; and of the Succeſs of which he had not yet Reaſon to deſpair*. By which it was ſoon gueſs'd, that the Earl of *Clarendon* was to be recall'd; and his Brother the Lord Treaſurer, having accidentally heard what was then in Agitation, immediately acquainted the King with it; who abſolutely deny'd, *That there was any Intention of removing his Brother from the Government of* Ireland; but, on the contrary, aſſured him, *He was very well ſatisfy'd with his Conduct there.* Shortly after, the Treaſurer received from his Brother, the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the ſame Intimations about his Removal. Upon which he again apply'd to his Majeſty; who as poſitively deny'd the whole Matter as he had done before: And to remove the Jealouſies of the Lord Lieutenant, he wrote a Letter to him, as was ſaid, with his own Hand, aſſuring him, 'He 'had yet no Thoughts, and he believ'd never ſhou'd have, 'whilſt both of them liv'd, to call him away from the Go'vernment of *Ireland*.

Notwithſtanding which, in the latter End of this Year, the King thought fit to ask the Advice of his Council, who was the moſt proper Perſon to be placed in the Govern-

Tyrconnel *made Lord Lieutenant.*

ment of *Ireland*? Several were propos'd, but none approved of; but after the Inclination of the Board had been ſufficiently ſifted, the King again brought on *Tyrconnel*, which was withſtood by all but the Lord Preſident; and in Oppoſition to which the Popiſh Party contended vigorouſly. The Lord *Powis* was particularly conſider'd as a Perſon whoſe moderate Carriage had entitled him to a tolerable good Character among the *Proteſtants*, and therefore the moſt proper to be placed in this Station, the better to amuſe them. This Lord was naturally covetous, and the Government of *Ireland* being a Poſt of great Profit, his Friends adviſ'd him to agree with the Lord Preſident, and become Tenant for Life: In order to which, we are told, that *Powis* came to Terms, and agreed for four thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; but whatever the Bottom of the Deſign was, we are told, the Lord Preſident never forſook *Tyrconnel* at the Council-Board, and carry'd it for him againſt all Oppoſition. Some conjectur'd, that he acquainted the King with the Bargain of *Powis*, and that the King made *Tyrconnel* agree to the ſame Terms; but it is more certain that *Tyrconnel*, who ſeldom conſider'd what he ſpoke, wou'd ſwear, *He got not ſo much by the Government as ſerv'd to maintain him*; notwithſtanding it was ſuppoſ'd to be worth to him eighteen thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. However the Bargain was, the Confirmation of this diſmal News ſtruck the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland* with the greateſt Damp and Terror: Many of them that had Patent Employments, obtain'd Licence under the Broad-Seal, to come away; and many of the Merchants call'd in their Effects, and left the Kingdom. His Excellency the Earl of *Clarendon* did all he could to aſſiſt the poor *Proteſtants*, in ſheltering them from the impending Storm; and it was by many interpreted as a Signal Act of Providence, that after *Tyrconnel* was come to *Holy-Head*, he was there detain'd full ſixteen Days, by contrary Winds. But he at laſt arriv'd at *Dublin* in the Beginning of *February* 168$\frac{6}{7}$. and tho' his Appearance was with a ſad Conſternation to the *Proteſtants*, yet care was taken to publiſh in the *Gazette*, 'That there 'never was ſeen ſo great a Concourſe of People at any 'Chief-Governor's Landing, as at his; expreſſing their 'general Satisfaction by loud Acclamations as he paſſed 'through the Streets, by Ringing of Bells, and by Bonefires at Night throughout the City, together with all o'ther Publick Demonſtrations of Joy.

Clarendon's *Speech at his leaving* Ireland.

Upon *Tyrconnel*'s Arrival, the Earl of *Clarendon* cauſed the Privy-Council to meet at the Palace of the Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and there formally deliver'd the Sword of State to the new Lord Lieutenant, with a memorable Speech, in which he told his Excellency, 'That the Miſ'underſtandings and Feuds in that Kingdom were Things 'much to be lamented, and he could wiſh the Occaſion of 'them were removed, which was this, *viz.* That the '*Engliſh* of that Kingdom had been repreſented as a *Com'pany of diſaffected and fanatical People*: That this was a 'hard Charge, if it were true; but from what he had learn'ed, both by his own Obſervation, and the Information 'of others, he believ'd them to be as *Loyal Subjects*, and 'generally as *True Sons of the Church of* England, as any 'it has. That it is a Church that can make it her Brags, 'that in all the Conſpiracies, Plots and Rebellions that e'ver had been againſt the King, *not one orthodox Member of 'her Communion has been any way in them*: That he pro'feſſed himſelf to be of that Church, and accounted it his 'greateſt Happineſs that he was ſo. That as for the Pro'teſtants of that Kingdom in particular, he cou'd ſay in 'their Favour, that when the Reſtoration of King *Charles* 'was oppoſ'd in *England*, they were the Men who uſ'd 'their indefatigable Induſtry to effect it. That he deſign'd 'to tell this to the King, and hop'd, by his Lordſhip's 'Prudence, theſe Calumnies and Aſperſions that had lain 'upon them, wou'd be remov'd; and that as they and the '*Roman Catholicks* were the Subjects of one Prince, they 'wou'd unanimouſly agree, in their Love of one another, 'and in promoting his Honour and Happineſs.' He cloſed his Speech with telling him, *That as he receiv'd the Sword in Peace, ſo he deliver'd it up in Peace*.

Tyrconnel's *Anſwer*,

And Proclamation.

The new Lieutenant's Anſwer was to this Effect: 'That 'it was the King's Deſign, and conſequently his Com'mand to him, to Govern that Kingdom according to the 'Law, without any Partiality; and therefore he declared, 'That all Men ſhou'd enjoy the Exerciſe of their Religion 'and Properties, according to Law. That he knew that 'there were great Fears in the Kingdom; ſome removing 'their Goods and Plate, others calling in their Money: 'What the Reaſon of it was, he could not imagine; but 'for his own Part, he wou'd not have any diſtruſt his Ma'jeſty's Protection. That the Lord *Clarendon* had hint'ed, *That he wou'd have no Diſtinction of Names, or 'any thing elſe that might breed Jealouſies among the Peo'ple*; which he wou'd make his whole Buſineſs to bring 'about; for this was the Command of the King, who was 'both the *Greateſt* and *Juſteſt* Prince that ever ruled theſe 'Kingdoms, &c.' And farther, to ſuppreſs, if poſſible, the general Fears and Diſcontents of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, the new Lord Deputy ſoon after publiſh'd a Proclamation, importing that, 'Whereas We are informed, 'That ſeveral diſaffected Perſons within this his Majeſty's 'Kingdom, have been of late very induſtrious, by falſe 'Reports and malicious Inſinuations, to ſuggeſt to many 'of his Majeſty's Loyal Subjects, as if we his Majeſty's 'chief Governor intended to govern under his Majeſty, 'here, otherwiſe than by the known Laws of this Land 'of *Ireland*; and as if ſome of his Majeſty's Loyal Sub'jects ſhou'd ſtand in hazard of being diſturb'd and diſ'quieted in their juſt Liberties, and Properties, and other 'Rights due to them by Law: Which Calumnies have 'been heighten'd and encourag'd by ſome few fiery Spirits 'in the Pulpits, by taking upon them to treat of Matters 'that do not lie within their Province, &c. We therefore 'Publiſh and Declare, That we will, by the Grace of 'God, apply all our Care and Induſtry to yield and exact 'a perfect Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands; and to 'take diligent Care that all his Majeſty's Subjects within 'this Kingdom, of what Perſuaſion or Religion ſoever 'they be, *ſhall be protected in their juſt Rights and Proper'ties, due to them by Law, and in the free Exerciſe of their 'Religion*; Provided they perſevere in their Duty and Alle'giance to his Majeſty, without giving any Occaſion of 'Diſturbances to the Peace of the Kingdom, &c.' But theſe fair Pretenſions proved too much like the Promiſes of his Maſter; and they were not only leſs believed, but they were very ſhortly confuted by his own Practices, to the unexpreſſible Terror and Miſchief of the poor *Proteſtants* in that Kingdom. It is now time to return more immediately to *England*.

K. James's *Proceedings in* England,

IV. 1. While things were thus prepared and diſpoſed in the diſtant Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, the like Meaſures, tho' with greater Cautions, were concerted to introduce the *Romiſh* Religion, and as a Support of it, Arbitrary Power, in *England* it ſelf. It was natural to believe, that the vigorous Oppoſition the King had met the laſt Seſſions of Parliament, in his Deſign of ſetting up a *Diſpenſing Power*, and favouring *Popery*, wou'd have been ſufficient to deter him from that dangerous, if not chimerical Attempt. And indeed it is not eaſy to imagine, that a Prince rather gracious and good-natur'd, than either haughty or cruel, cou'd have fallen into the Deſire and Exerciſe of a Deſpotick Power, and ſo ſoon forgot what he had declar'd in his firſt Speech to his Council, *That the Laws of* England *were able to make a King as Great and Happy as he cou'd deſire to be*, if he had not been ſooth'd and elevated by Flatterers and Time-Servers; and perhaps over and above puſh'd on by treacherous and deſigning Men, who cou'd afterwards eaſily alledge, *That what they did, was for the Good of the Nation*. However, the King met with great Encouragement from ſome Men of all Profeſſions, whoſe Numbers were magnify'd upon all Occaſions. The Pulpits, tho' now more ſparing than ever, were not exempt from Time-Servers; particularly that of *Rippon*, where Dr. *Cartwright* the Dean, a Man puritanically educated, took the Liberty to give a right Notion of King *James*'s Promiſes, and in effect tells the World, 'That the King's Promiſes were *free Donatives*, and 'ought not to be too ſtrictly examin'd or urg'd; and that 'they muſt leave his Majeſty to explain his own *Meaning* 'in them.' This Gloſs, as Dr. *King* tells us, ſo pleaſed his Majeſty, that he ſoon after rewarded the Author with the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, tho' very unfit for that Character; and ſhewed in all his Actions, that he deſign'd to proceed accordingly: And this plauſible Humour ſoon run through the whole Party; whenever they were pinch'd, and under a Neceſſity of ſerving themſelves by the Aſſiſtance or Credulity of *Proteſtants*, they promiſ'd them fair, and declin'd no Terms with them; but when their Turn was ſerv'd, they would not allow them to mention any Promiſe, much leſs to challenge the Performance.

Cloſetings.

In the firſt Place the King reſolv'd to have no other Sitting Parliament, till he cou'd manage and form this or a new one to his own Mind and Pleaſure; therefore he kept it on Foot by ſeveral Prorogations, for near two Years, as it were to try Experiments, and at length diſſolv'd it, as will be remember'd afterwards. In the mean time he likewiſe reſolv'd to have *Weſtminſter*-Hall entirely at his own Command, and fill'd only with thoſe Judges who ſhou'd aſſert his Diſpenſing Power, or in effect ſhould execute or break the Laws, when and how his Majeſty thought fit. To this End the King began a new Cuſtom call'd *Cloſeting*, which he practis'd with the old Judges, and ſeveral Members of Parliament, by which the Virtues, as well as the Frailties, of many Men were in Time ſufficiently diſcover'd: And before he would make any new Judges, he enter'd into a profeſſed Bargain with them, That they ſhou'd maintain his Prerogative of Diſpenſing with the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt.* The firſt Man the King attempted to perſuade, was Sir *Thomas Jones*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, a Perſon who had been too obſequious to him in the Tryal of Mr. *Corniſh*, but now ſhew'd a great Steadineſs and Averſeneſs to his Majeſty's Inclination, and at laſt plainly told him, *He cou'd not do it.* The King anſwer'd, *He wou'd have twelve Judges of his own Opinion.* To which Sir *Thomas* briskly reply'd, *That poſſibly he might find twelve Judges of his Opinion, but he cou'd ſcarce find twelve Lawyers of that Mind.* Upon this and the like Backwardneſs in the Judges, on the 21ſt of *April*, Sir *Thomas Jones*, now mention'd, *William Montague*, Eſq; Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, Sir *Job Charlton*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, and Sir *Edward Nevill*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, had all their *Quietus:* And in their Places, Sir *Henry Bedingfield*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, was ſworn Lord Chief Juſtice of the ſame Court; Sir *Edward Atkyns*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, was ſworn Lord Chief Baron; Sir *Edward Luitwich*, Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*, was ſworn one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*; and *Richard Heath*, Eſq; Serjeant at Law, and afterwards Knighted, was made one of the Barons of the *Exchequer.* Yet, upon the humble Petition of Sir *Job Charlton*, ſo diſplac'd, his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute him Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter.*

Removals among the Judges.

About the ſame Time his Majeſty thought fit to make a Call of Serjeants at Law, among whom there was a Mixture: Sir *John Holt* Recorder of the City of *London*, Sir *Ambroſe Philips*, *Chriſtopher Milton*, Eſq; *John Powell*, Eſq; *John Tate*, Eſq; *William Rawlinſon*, Eſq; *William Killingworth*, Eſq; *John Hodges*, Eſq; *Thomas Geers*, Eſq; and *George Hutchins*, Eſq; who gave their Rings with this particular Motto, *Deus, Rex, Lex.* And the better to give the Reputation of Law to the Court, Sir *John Holt* and Sir *Ambroſe Philips* were made the King's Serjeants: But within a few Days, *Chriſtoper Milton*, a profeſs'd Papiſt, was Kighted and made one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*; Sir *John Powell*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, and Sir *Thomas Powis* Solicitor-General, in the Room of Mr. *Heneage Finch*, who had ſerv'd the Crown ſo faithfully. Not long after, his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon another *Popiſh* Lawyer, *Richard Allibone* of *Grey's-Inn*, Eſq; and to make him one of his Council at Law, and ſoon after a Judge. About the ſame Time, and in much the ſame Manner, his Majeſty was pleas'd to model his Privy-Council; for this Summer, the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Bellaſis*, and the Lord *Dover*, all known and zealous *Roman Catholicks*, were at once ſworn of his Majeſty's honourable Privy-Council; and ſoon after the new Earl of *Tyrconnel* was admitted to the ſame Honour. Two remarkable Biſhops were likewiſe made about the ſame Time, Dr. *Thomas Cartwright* beforemention'd, of *Cheſter*, and Dr. *Samuel Parker* of *Oxford.* From whence the Reader will eaſily form to himſelf proper Sentiments both of the Temper of the Court, and the Diſpoſition of the King.

Farther Alterations.

King James's Court.

2. Surrounded with ſuch Courtiers, the King proceedee with all Vigour towards the Propagation and Eſtabliſhment of his own Religion, notwithſtanding his repeated and ſolemn Promiſes to ſupport the Church of *England.* His firſt Step was a general *Toleration* to all his Subjects, of which the *Papiſts* were chiefly to reap the Benefit; but this Toleration, being contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Realm, cou'd not ſubſiſt, unleſs a more legal Innovation was introduc'd to ſupport it under the Name of a *diſpenſing Power*, by the vertue of which every Thing might be effected. King *Charles* the Second was the firſt *Engliſh* Prince, perhaps, that ever aim'd at any Thing like a diſpenſing Power; firſt in the Year 1662, and again in 1672, when he endeavour'd for an Indulgence to the Diſſenters; but at both Times he was ſo handſomely and ſeaſonably check'd by his loyal Parliament, that he fairly and totally deſiſted, as has been formerly remember'd. Such a diſpenſing Power King *James* arrogated to himſelf, tho' of a far larger Extent: And how the firſt Steps towards it were reliſh'd by the Houſe of Commons, appears by their foremention'd Addreſs againſt the *Popiſh* Officers. Neither was it ſufficient for this Prince to aſſume the Right and Exerciſe of this Power; but ſuch was the Misfortune of *England*, that the Party about him wou'd have the Nation made to believe, *That a Power in the King to diſpenſe with Law, was Law.* To maintain which ſtrange Poſition, ſeveral Writers were employ'd; and *L'Eſtrange* the *Obſervator*, who had triumph'd in ſeveral Arguments, now wrote below himſelf. Theſe not being ſufficient, the new Judges, all but one, were prevail'd upon to give their Opinions directly for it, and in the military and mock Caſe of Sir *Edward Hale*, to make it a general Rule in Law; '*Firſt*, 'That the Laws of *England* are the King's Laws. *Secondly*, That therefore it is an incident, inſeparable Prerogative of the Kings of *England*, as of all other Sovereign 'Princes, to diſpenſe with all *Penal Laws* in particular 'Caſes, and upon particular neceſſary Reaſons. *Thirdly*, 'That of theſe Reaſons and Neceſſities the King is the ſole 'Judge:' And, which is a Conſequence thereupon, '*Fourthly*, That this is not a *Truſt* inveſted in, and granted to the King, but the ancient Remains of the Sovereign Power of the Kings of *England*, which never was 'yet taken from them, nor can be.' Thus by the Breath of a few mercenary Judges, in effect, the Laws of *England* were baſely given up at once into the Power and Will of the King.

The diſpenſing Power ſet on foot.

The Judges Opinion for it.

This mighty Point being in Appearance gain'd, tho' not ſo ſatisfactorily as was deſired, the *Roman Catholicks* were not wanting in improving it to the utmoſt Advantage. The free and open Exerciſe of their Religion was ſet up every where; and *Jeſuits Schools* and *Seminaries* erected not only in *London*, but alſo in the moſt conſiderable Towns in the Nation. The Church of *England* had now but a precarious Title to the *National Church*, and began to ſee the impending Dangers, which, being encreas'd by the ſlaviſh Compliance of ſome few of her Members, now threatned the whole Body. *Romiſh* Candidates had already ſwallow'd up Eccleſiaſtical Preferments and Dignities in their Hopes and Expectations: Four *Roman Catholick* Biſhops were publickly conſecrated in the Royal Chapel, and diſpatch'd down, under the Title of *Vicars Apoſtolical*, to exerciſe their Epiſcopal Functions in their reſpective Dioceſes; and their *Paſtoral Letters*, directed to the Lay-Catholicks of *England*, were diſpers'd about the Country, and printed by the King's own Printer, with publick Licenſe: Their *Regular* Clergy appear'd in their Habits at *Whitehall* and St. *James*'s, and made no Scruple to tell the Proteſtants, *That they hop'd in a little Time to walk in Proceſſion through* Cheapſide. The Building of St. *Paul*'s Cathedral was carry'd on with greater Vigour than before, in Expectation that it wou'd in Time turn to the Benefit of the *Papiſts.* A mighty Harveſt of new Converts was now expected; and that Labourers might not be wanting, whole Flocks of *Prieſts* and *Regulars* were ſent from beyond Sea to reap it: In ſum, the only Step to Preferment was to be of the King's Religion, or a Promoter of it, ſince all important Affairs were manag'd in the Privy-Council by Catholicks, and ſome few others, whoſe Actions were more difficult to excuſe or extenuate.

The Increaſe of Popery.

Beſides the *diſpenſing Power*, another Project was ſet on foot to advance the *Romiſh* Cauſe, which was an Order by way of Letter, directed to the Proteſtant Biſhops, 'Prohibiting all the inferior Clergy from Preaching upon 'controverted Points in Divinity;' which was look'd upon as forbidding them to defend their Religion in the Pulpit, when it was openly attack'd by the *Romiſh* Prieſts in their Sermons and other Diſcourſes printed by Authority. This Order was taken from a Precedent in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, whoſe firſt Step ſhe made towards *Popery*, was to iſſue out a Proclamation, forbiding the Preaching upon controverted Points of Religion; for fear, as it was alledg'd, of *raiſing Animoſities among the People.* And as the Clergy were prohibited on one ſide, ſo they were threatned on the other with exacting upon them the full Value of their *Firſt Fruits* and *Tenths*, and bringing them into farther Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies. But this enſnaring Letter, and the attending Menaces, were ſo far from being regarded, that the Chief of the Clergy did more to vindicate the Doctrine of their own Church, and expoſe the Errors of that of *Rome*, both in their Sermons and Writings, than ever had been done, either at Home or Abroad, ſince the *Reformation*; and in ſuch a Style, and with ſuch a mighty Force of Reaſon, as will be the Standard of Writing to ſucceeding Ages. And now the Church of *England* Heroes, *Stillingfleet*, *Tillotſon*, *Tenniſon*, *Wake*, *Patrick*, *Sharp*, *Sherlock*, and ſeveral others, gain'd immortal Honour by their Pens, while the Proteſtant Diſſenters of all kinds appear'd to the World almoſt like unconcern'd Spectators.

A Letter ſent to the Clergy.

Their glorious Writings.

3. To check theſe and the like Champions, and to awe the whole Body of the Church of *England*, the King erected a new Court of *Inquiſition*, under the Name of *a Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs:* And, to blind the People, there were ſome Biſhops of the Church of *England* nominated as Commiſſioners; of whom one refus'd to act from the Beginning, and another excus'd himſelf, after he came to ſee where the Deſign of it was levell'd. This Commiſſion, as it appear'd, was a manifeſt Violation of the Laws of the Land; and, as if that had not been enough to mortify the Clergy of the Nation, there were ſome *Roman Catholicks* appointed Commiſſioners; and conſequently the Enemies of the *Proteſtant* Religion were become the Judges and Directors of a *Proteſtant* Church, both in its Doctrine

An Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion erected.

and Diſcipline. At firſt the Commiſſion was directed to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Jeffreys*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord High-Treaſurer, the Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord Preſident of the Council, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, or any Three of them, whereof the Lord Chancellor was always to be one; devolving the whole Care of Spiritual Affairs upon them, in the largeſt Extent that ever had been known in *England*.

The Subſtance of the Commiſſion.

The Tenor and Subſtance of this extraordinary Commiſſion was, ‘That theſe Perſons were to exerciſe and execute, under the King, all manner of Juriſdictions and Pre-eminences, touching or concerning any Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions within the Realm of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, to viſit, reform, redreſs and amend all Abuſes, Offences, Contempts and Enormities whatever; which by the Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm might be lawfully corrected, redreſs'd and amended; empowering, authorizing and appointing them by vertue of his *Prerogative Royal*, to execute the Premiſes according to the Effect and Tenor of the Commiſſion. As alſo to enquire of all Offences, Contempts and Miſdemeanours, committed, or hereafter to be committed in any County, City, Borough, or other Place exempt or not exempted, and the Offences to correct and puniſh by Cenſure of the Church. Alſo to ſearch for, and call before them, all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, of what Degree or Dignity ſoever; and to puniſh the Offenders, by depriving and ſuſpending them from all Promotions Eccleſiaſtical, and all Functions in the Church. And for ſuch as ſhou'd be obſtinate and diſobedient, to puniſh them by Excommunication, Suſpenſion, Deprivation, or other Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. And farther, to ſend for all Statutes, Rules, Ordinances, Letters Patent, and Writings belonging to the Univerſities, Cathedrals, Collegiate-Churches, Colleges and Grammar-Schools, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Corporations, concerning their Erections and Foundations; and upon Examination of the ſaid Statutes, the ſame to correct, amend, and alter, and to deviſe and ſet down ſuch Orders and Statutes as they ſhall think meet and convenient, to be ratify'd and confirm'd by the King. And laſtly, to execute the Commiſſion, and every Branch and Part of it, notwithſtanding any Appellation, Provocation, Privilege or Exemption whatſoever.’ And to all their Acts, Orders, Proceſſes, Decrees and Judgments, they were to affix a Seal, engraven with the *Roſe* and *Crown*, and the Letters J. II. R. and a Ring about it, containing theſe Words, *Sigillum Commiſſiariorum Regiæ Majeſtatis ad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas*; to be kept in the Cuſtody of Mr. *Bridgeman* their Secretary.

The Nature and Deſign of it.

The better to underſtand the Nature of this Commiſſion, and the pretended Legality thereof, it is to be obſerv'd, That King *Henry* the Eighth, by vertue of a full Supremacy, was enabled by Parliament not only to delegate Commiſſioners, but to appoint a *Vicar-General* to act in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, after a very abſolute Manner. And by vertue of a Branch of an Act in the Firſt of *Elizabeth*, the Queen and her Succeſſors were again empower'd to exerciſe the Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, and ſhe accordingly erected a *High-Commiſſion Court*, both to reſtrain the Growth of *Popery*, and to ſupport the Eſtabliſh'd Church of *England*; which continu'd to the Beginning of the Long-Parliament in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt. Now becauſe the Commiſſioners did proceed in uſual Caſes to Fine, Impriſon, and Oppreſs, not only *Popiſh Recuſants*, but alſo other *Diſſenters*; therefore, ‘For Repreſſing and Preventing of the aforeſaid Abuſes, Miſchiefs and Inconveniences,’ the Parliament in the 17th Year of King *Charles* the Firſt, ‘Repeal'd the ſaid Branch of the Firſt of *Elizabeth*, commanding, That no new Court ſhou'd be erected with the like Power, Juriſdiction or Authority; and forbidding all Eccleſiaſtical Judges to proceed to Fine or Impriſon the King's Subjects, or tender the Oath *Ex Officio*.’ The *High Commiſſion Court* being thus put down, ſome *Papiſts* and ſome *Diſſenters* wou'd have wholly deny'd, that there was any Power remaining in the Church; and particularly alledg'd, ‘That all manner of coercive Juriſdiction was taken from the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and other Ordinaries.’ To obviate this Objection, there was another Act made in the 13th of *Charles* the Second, Intitled, *An Act for Explanation of a Clauſe contain'd in an Act of Parliament made in the 17th Year of the late King* Charles, *&c.* Reciting, ‘That upon the ſaid Statute, ſome Doubt had been made, That all ordinary Power of Coercion and Proceedings in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical were taken away, whereby the Ordinary Courſe of Juſtice in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical had been obſtructed;’ it was therefore Enacted, ‘That neither the ſaid Act, nor any thing therein contain'd, doth or ſhall take away any ordinary Power or Authority from any of the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops *&c.*’ And farther Enacted, ‘That the afore-recited Act of the 17th of *Charles*, and all the Matters and Clauſes therein contain'd (excepting what concerns the *High-Commiſſion Court*, and the Erection of ſome ſuch-like *new Court by Commiſſion*) ſhall be, and is hereby repeal'd---- Provided always, That neither this Act, nor any Thing therein contain'd, ſhall extend or be conſtrued to revive or give Force to the ſaid Branch of the Statute in the firſt of *Elizabeth* and mention'd in the 17th of *Charles*, but that the ſaid Branch of the Statute in the firſt of *Elizabeth* ſhall ſtand and be repeal'd in ſuch ſort as if this Act had never been made.

Papiſt Pretences.

From this Act of the 13th of *Charles* the Second, the *Popiſh* Party now began to infer, ‘That there was no other Power taken from the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners*, than that of *Fining*, *Impriſoning*, or tendering the Oath *Ex Officio*; That ſo much was ſuppreſs'd by the 17th of *Charles* the Firſt, and no more: That an *Eccleſiaſtical Court* exerciſing this Power, was put down, and the erecting the like for the Time to come ſtrictly forbidden; but that the Court now ſet up by King *James*, was not like to that, ſince it pretended not to *Fine*, or *Impriſon*, or tender the Oath *Ex Officio*, but kept within the Bounds of *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures*.’ And farther they boldly averr'd, ‘That the Court held by his Majeſty's *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners*, was more legal than *Doctors-Commons*, and the *Biſhops-Courts*; the firſt being in the King's Name, and the other only in the Name of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops.’ And thus the *Papiſts*, ſupported by a King of their own Religion, worſted the *Proteſtants* with their own Weapons, and made uſe of thoſe very Statutes againſt them, which were chiefly deſign'd to diſcountenance *Popery*. But the Matter was ſo palpable, that the very granting of of this new Commiſſion was by many of the beſt Lawyers thought Illegal; and even the Creatures of the Court ſeem'd to be conſcious of it: For tho' it was granted in the Beginning of *April*, yet it was not open'd till four Months after, the Beginning of *Auguſt* following; and then it appear'd very ſtrange, that the Power of *Excommunication*, a pure Spiritual Act, ſhou'd be granted to mere Lay-Men; for the *Quorum* in the Commiſſion, as before hinted, were the Chancellor and any other Two. For theſe Reaſons, the cautious Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was firſt nominated, totally refus'd to act in it; and the new Biſhop of *Cheſter* was put in, as a fitter Inſtrument for the common Deſign.

The Biſhop of London *order'd to ſuſpend Dr.* Sharp.

4. The new *Commiſſion* being once open'd, and ſet on foot, the Commiſſioners ſoon ſhew'd the Extent of their Power, in the Suſpenſion of Dr. *Compton*, Biſhop of *London*. This active Prelate, by a Conduct worthy of his noble Birth, and his high Station in the Church, had acquired the Love and Eſteem of all the *Proteſtant* Churches at Home and Abroad; and therefore was more immediately the Mark of the Envy and Hatred of the *Romiſh* Party at Court. He had farther provok'd them by his brave Examination of the King's laſt Speech in Parliament; ſo that they ſeem'd to wait for an Occaſion to enoble the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* with ſuch an illuſtrious Sacrifice; and when ſuch an Occaſion was rather taken than given, in the Buſineſs of Dr. *Sharp*, at that time Rector of St. *Giles*, and Dean of *Norwich*, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*. This worthy Divine, admir'd for his great Talents in the Pulpit, taking Occaſion in ſome of his Sermons to vindicate the Church of *England*, in Oppoſition to the Errors of *Popery*; this, by the Court Emiſſaries, was interpreted to be ‘The endeavouring to beget in the Minds of his Hearers an ill Opinion of the King and his Government, by inſinuating Fears and Jealouſies to diſpoſe them to Diſcontent, and to lead them into Diſobedience and Rebellion; and particularly, a Contempt of the *Order about Preachers*.’ Upon which the King ſent a Letter to the Biſhop of *London*, expreſly Requiring and Commanding him ‘Forthwith to ſuſpend Dr. *Sharp* from farther Preaching in any Pariſh-Church or Chapel in his Dioceſe, until he had given him Satisfaction, and his farther Pleaſure be known herein.

This Letter was very ſhocking to the Biſhop of *London*, who perceiv'd that the Deſign was to forbid all Preaching againſt *Popery*, and the Effect of it might be to ſuſpend all the eminent Preachers in *England*: However his Lordſhip endeavour'd to divert the Storm that threatned the Church and Clergy, and therefore he wrote a ſubmiſſive Letter to the Earl of *Sunderland*, to be communicated to the King, and made Dr. *Sharp* himſelf the Bearer of it to *Hampton-Court*; in which Letter he ſet forth,

His Letter to the King.

‘That he thought it his Duty to obey his Majeſty in whatſoever Commands he laid upon him, that he cou'd perform with a ſafe Conſcience: But in this he was to proceed according to Law, and as a Judge; and by the Law, no Judge condemns a Man before he has Knowledge of the Cauſe, and has cited the Party. However he had acquainted Dr. *Sharp* with his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, whom he found ſo ready to give all reaſonable Satisfaction, that he had

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Dr. Sharpe'*s Petition.*

made him the Bearer of that Letter. No Anſwer cou'd be obtain'd to this Letter of the Biſhop; and therefore two Days after Dr. *Sharp* carry'd his Petition to *Windſor* in his own Name, humbly repreſenting to the King, ‘ That ever ſince his Majeſty was pleas'd to give Notice of his Diſpleaſure againſt him, he had forborn the publick Exerciſe of his Function. And as he had endeavour'd to do the beſt Service he cou'd to his Majeſty, and his late Brother, in his Station; ſo he had not vented now in the Pulpit any Thing tending to Faction or Schiſm; and therefore pray'd that his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to lay aſide his Diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt him, and reſtore him to that Favour which the reſt of the Clergy enjoy'd under his gracious Government.’ Yet ſtill his Petition had no Effect, and nothing cou'd ſatisfy the *Popiſh* Cabal but a Revenge upon the Biſhop of *London*, tho' he and his Family had been the moſt noted Loyaliſts in the Nation; and this Affair of Dr. *Sharp* was made uſe of as a plauſible Pretence to mortify him, and in his Perſon the whole Body of the Clergy.

The Commiſſioners Proceedings againſt the Biſhop of London.

So when the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* was open'd, the Biſhop was cited to appear before the Commiſſioners ſitting in the Council-Chamber at *White-Hall*, which he did on the 4th of *Auguſt*, where he was treated in a manner unworthy of his Quality and high Station, without the Allowance of a Chair to ſit on. Chancellor *Jeffreys* directing his Speech to him, inform'd his Lordſhip, ‘ That the Lords there preſent had receiv'd Orders to inſpect all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs and Perſons, and had commanded him to call his Lordſhip before them, and therefore deſir'd his Lordſhip to give a direct and poſitive Anſwer to his Queſtion, *What the Reaſon was he did not ſuſpend Dr.* Sharp *when the King had ſent him expreſs Orders ſo to do, and had told him it was for Preaching ſeditiouſly and againſt the Government.*’ To which the Biſhop reply'd, *That it was true, he had receiv'd ſuch an Order, and that if he had done contrary to his Duty, it was his Ignorance, and not a wilful Neglect; that he had been always ready to ſerve his Majeſty; but if in this Affair he had not comply'd, it was becauſe he was told he cou'd not legally do it.* The Lord Chancellor anſwer'd, *That his Lordſhip ought to know the Law, and that it was a Wonder he did not; however, that the King was to be obey'd, and therefore if his Lordſhip had any Thing to ſay, the Court was ready to hear him.* Upon which the Biſhop deſir'd a Copy of the Commiſſion, and of his Charge, and an allowance of Time to make his Defence; *for he was ignorant then of his Charge, and of conſequence unprovided for his Defence.* To this the Chancellor reply'd, *That if by deſiring a Copy of the Commiſſion his Lordſhip deſign'd to Quarrel with the Juriſdiction of the Court, he knew what further to ſay; otherwiſe, that as no Copy cou'd be granted, ſo it was unreaſonable for him to deſire it, ſince it might be had in every Coffee-Houſe for a Penny; and made no Queſtion but his Lordſhip had ſeen it.* Here the Biſhop proteſted *he had not ſeen it, or deſired it with any Intent to diſpute the Legality of the Court, but becauſe it was altogether new to him; and therefore he hop'd that ſomething might be found therein that might be advantagious or inſtructive to him, in order for his Anſwer:* And then he deſir'd he might have the Privilege to read the Commiſſion himſelf, or at leaſt to hear it read. The Chancellor ſaid, *It did not lye in his Power to grant that Requeſt of himſelf*; and thereupon the Biſhop and all his Company had Orders to withdraw for a Quarter of an Hour. Returning again the Chancellor acquainted his Lordſhip, *That the Commiſſioners were of Opinion, That his Requeſt was unreaſonable, ſince if every one that appear'd before them, ſhou'd challenge a Sight of their Commiſſion, it wou'd be too great a waſte of their Time, and they were Men of Buſineſs*; and ſo he put the Queſtion again to the Biſhop, *Why he did not obey the King?* Here his Lordſhip alledg'd, *That tho' it was but a ſhort Queſtion, it yet required more Words to anſwer*; deſiring the Court withal to conſider, *That he was a Peer, a Biſhop, and one that had a publick Truſt, and therefore was willing to behave himſelf as became a Perſon in thoſe Capacities.* After which his Lordſhip inſiſting upon more Time, deſir'd till the firſt Day of the next Term; but that was judg'd unreaſonable, in regard the King's Buſineſs wou'd not admit of ſuch Delays; but at laſt they granted his Lordſhip only five Days, to the 9th of *Auguſt*.

His ſecond Hearing.

On which Day the Biſhop came to *White-Hall* with a noble Appearance; his Nephew the Earl of *Northampton*, his Brother Sir *Francis Compton*, his Brother-in-law Sir *John Nicholas*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, who were deſirous to ſhew Honour to his Lordſhip's Perſon and Cauſe. He told the Chancellor, who was Mouth of the Court, *That he cou'd not meet with the Commiſſion, which had been told him was upon Record, and in every Coffee-Houſe, till laſt Night.* The Chancellor was quick with him, and told his Lordſhip, *That the Court wou'd admit no quarrelling with their Commiſſion; not being ſuch Fools to ſit there, if they were not well aſſur'd of the Legality of it.* The Biſhop anſwer'd, *That he had other Reaſons to deſire a Sight of the Commiſſion; for that, perhaps, it might not reach him as a Peer and a Biſhop, or, perhaps, not reach the particular Caſe*; and therefore he inſiſted upon a longer Time to anſwer. This Demand was ſupported by Sir *Thomas Clarges*, who happening to be there preſent, ſaid loudly, *Well put; The Biſhop ask'd nothing but what was reaſonable.* The Commiſſioners, after a ſhort Conſultation, granted him a Fortnight longer; and at parting, the Chancellor made a ſort of an Excuſe to the Biſhop for what he had told him before, *That the Commiſſion was to be ſeen in every Coffee-Houſe*; alledging, *He did not mean it, as if he thought his Lordſhip frequented ſuch Places, but intended it only to expreſs that the Commiſſion was publickly ſeen all the Town over.* Beſides Sir *Thomas Clarges*, there was another Gentleman, ſuppos'd to be Sir *J. Lowther* of *Lancaſhire*, who as he was coming away in the Crowd ſaid, *There are ſome who repreſent me as a Papiſt, but the contrary ſhall appear; I will not be aſham'd or afraid to vindicate my Lord Biſhop's Cauſe againſt the Commiſſioners themſelves.*

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His third Hearing.

At the Expiration of the Fortnight granted him, the Biſhop made his third Appearance with a great Attendance and Expectation; and after he had made a previous Apology, that no Miſinterpretations might be put upon his Words, he gave the Court to underſtand, that his Council had inform'd him, *That their Proceedings were directly contrary to the Statute Law*, which they were ready to make out. At which the Chancellor cry'd out with ſome Paſſion, *We will not hear your Lordſhip, nor your Council neither, in this Matter.* The undaunted Prelate reply'd, *That he was a Biſhop of the Church of* England, *and by all the Laws of the Chriſtian Churches in all Ages, and by the particular Laws of this Land, he was to be try'd by his Metropolitan and Suffragans; and therefore hop'd his Lordſhip wou'd not deny him the Right and Privilege of Chriſtian Biſhops:* To which he was anſwer'd, *That they had an original Juriſdiction, and this was queſtioning their Commiſſion.* Then the Biſhop proceeded to his Plea, ‘ That what he was accus'd of, was before the Date of the Commiſſion, and they were only to cenſure Faults committed afterwards.’ In anſwer to which, the Chancellor granted the Clauſe, but curſorily told his Lordſhip, ‘ That there were general Clauſes that took in things paſt, as well as thoſe that were to come.’ Then the Biſhop inſiſting again upon his own Right, as a Subject to the Laws of the Realm, and as a Biſhop to the Rights and Privileges of the Church, he gave in his Anſwer in Writing, and as he withdrew, left upon the Table Dr. *Sharp*'s Petition, which the King had refus'd to accept. After ſome Time ſpent in Debate, the Biſhop return'd, and the Chancellor told them, ‘ They were not concern'd in Dr. *Sharp*'s Petition; but if he deſir'd it, his own Anſwer ſhou'd be read:’ The Biſhop anſwer'd in the Affirmative, and farther added, ‘ That what he did in this Matter was *Juris peritorum Concilio*; and the Law ſaid, That what was done by Advice of Council, ſhou'd not be interpreted to be done *Maliciouſly* or *Obſtinately:* That if a Prince required a Judge to execute a Command not agreeable to Law, it was his Duty *Reſcribere & Reclamare Principi*, which he had done in writing back to the Lord Preſident.’ And in the next Place, ‘ That he had done in effect what the King commanded; for that he advis'd Dr. *Sharp* to forbear Preaching in his Dioceſe, which he had done accordingly.

The Biſhop's Anſwer being read, and he ask'd what he had more to ſay, he deſir'd that his Council might be heard. The Conſideration of which took up half an Hour's Debate; after which, his Lordſhip being call'd in, his Council were admitted, which were four eminent Civilians, Dr. *Oldiſh*, Dr. *Price*, Dr. *Hedges*, and Dr. *Newton*. They all made learned and fine Speeches, but chiefly inſiſted upon the Nature of Suſpenſion, ‘ Which they ſaid was a *Judicial Act*, in the Caſe of which *Citation* was required, *Form of Proceeding*, *Judgment* and *Decree:*’ And Dr. *Oldiſh* took the Liberty to declare, ‘ That to act otherwiſe was contrary to the Law of God, the Law of Nature, the Laws of all Nations, in all Ages, and was never known in the World.’ And Dr. *Newton* poſitively affirm'd, ‘ That the Biſhop was ſo far from being Diſobedient, that he was moſt Obedient to the King; for ſeeing he did *Reſcribere*, and did not hear of the farther Pleaſure of the King return'd, he ought to conclude, that the King was ſatisfy'd with what he had written, according to his Duty; and that the King had alter'd his Commands.’ All this Time, Dr. *Pinfold* the King's Advocate ſtood at the Chancellor's Elbow, and took Notes; by which it was by all expected, that he ſhou'd make a Reply; but he was totally ſilent. After the Biſhop's Council had ended, his Lordſhip offer'd to the Court, *That if through Miſtake he had err'd in any Circumſtances, he was*

His Council pleads.

ready to beg his Majeſty's Pardon, and ſhou'd be ready to make any Reparation.

His fourth Appearance, and Suſpenſion.

Notwithſtanding all Arguments, the Biſhop was order'd to make his fourth Appearance before them, ſix Days after, and to hear his Sentence, which was in theſe Words: ‘Whereas *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London* has been conven'd before Us, for his Diſobedience and other Contempts mention'd in the Proceedings of this Cauſe; and the ſaid Biſhop being fully heard thereupon, We have thought fit, upon due Conſideration of the Matter, to proceed to this ourdefinitive Sentence; Declaring, Decreeing and Pronouncing, That the ſaid Lord Biſhop of *London* ſhall, for his ſaid Diſobedience and Contempt, be ſuſpended during his Majeſty's Pleaſure. And accordingly, We do, by theſe Preſents, Suſpend him the ſaid Lord Biſhop of *London*; Peremptorily Admoniſhing him, and Requiring him hereby, to abſtain from the Function and Execution of his Epiſcopal Office, and from all Epiſcopal and other Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, during the ſaid Suſpenſion, upon Pain of Deprivation and Removal from his Biſhoprick.’ In purſuance of the full Execution of which Sentence, an Order was ſent to the Dean of St. *Paul*'s, enjoining him to cauſe the ſaid Sentence to be affix'd upon the Door of the *Chapter-Houſe*, and the South-Door of the ſame Cathedral. And immediately after, the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough* were appointed Commiſſioners to exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction within the Dioceſe of *London*, during the Suſpenſion of the Biſhop. We know not who of this new Court voted for or againſt this Suſpenſion; only we are aſſur'd from the Biſhop of *Roceſter*, in his Letter to the Earl of *Dorſet*, that he himſelf twice gave his poſitive Vote for the Biſhop's Acquittal. As to Dr. *Sharp*, the firſt Cauſe of his Proſecution, he was likewiſe by theſe Commiſſioners formally Suſpended; but, in pretended Mercy, was ſhortly after reſtor'd to the Exerciſe of his Function.

Dr. Sharp *ſuſpended.*

V. 1. During theſe Tranſactions, and while the King was in appearance ſucceſsful in all Things, the *Jeſuits*, to advance their main Deſign of eſtabliſhing *Popery*, as we are told, were continually repreſenting to his Majeſty the great Progreſs the *French* King had lately made in the Converſion of his *Proteſtant* Subjects, by the ſhort Arguments of his Military Miſſionaries, and made him ſenſible, how precarious his *Diſpenſing Power* wou'd be, unleſs he had a ſtronger Support than the Opinion of his Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. The King, who was eaſily led into any Project that promis'd the Security and Advancement of his Religion, aſſembled all his Forces, to the Number of about fifteen thouſand Men, on *Hounſlow-Heath*, between *London* and *Windſor*, and caus'd a Chapel to be erected at his Head Quarters, where *Maſs* was publickly ſaid every Day. Here his Majeſty entertain'd himſelf ſeveral Days in this Summer, and took great Delight in his Regular Camp, which daily brought great Numbers from all Parts to view and viſit the ſame, which next the King was under the Command of the Earl of *Feverſham*, who had the Title of Lieutenant-General. Tho' at firſt this ſmall Army conſiſted chiefly of *Proteſtants*, having but few *Popiſh* Officers of Diſtinction, ſuch as the Duke of *Berwick*, the Earl of *Dumbarton*, the Lords *Dover* and *Mongomery*, Colonel *Richard Hamilton*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Sackvile*, *&c.* Nevertheleſs it began to create a Jealouſy in a People who were never us'd to ſee Encampments in Time of Peace; and they were particularly apprehenſive that the *Proteſtants* in this Army might join with the *Romaniſts* in advancing the King's Cauſe; it being the Belief and Duty of Soldiers, blindly to execute the Commands of their Leaders.

King James's *Standing Army.*

Mr. Johnſon's *Addreſs to the* Proteſtant *Soldiers.*

To obviate which Danger, Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, a notable Clergy-Man more than once mention'd, notwithſtanding his former Sufferings, took the Courage to write *An Addreſs to the* Engliſh *Proteſtants in King* James's *Army*, in theſe Words, ‘Gentlemen, next to the Duty we owe to God, which ought to be the principal Care of Men of your Profeſſion, who carry your Lives in your Hands, and often look Death in the Face, in the Service of your Native Country, wherein you drew your firſt Breaths, and breath a free *Engliſh* Air: Now I deſire you to conſider how you will comply with theſe two main Points, by engaging in the preſent Service. Is it in the Name of God for his Service, that you have join'd your ſelves with *Papiſts*? Who indeed muſt fight for the *Maſs-Book*, but will burn the *Bible*, and who ſeek to extirpate the *Proteſtant* Religion with Your Swords, becauſe they cannot do it with their Own: And will you be Aiding and Aſſiſting to ſet up *Maſs-Houſes*, to erect that Kingdom of Darkneſs and Deſolation amongſt us, and train up all our Children to *Popery*? How can you do theſe things, and call your ſelves *Proteſtants*? What Service can you do your Country, by being under the Command of *French* and *Iriſh Papiſts*, and by bringing your Nation under a Foreign Yoke? Will you help them to make forcible Entry into the Houſes of your Country-Men, under the Name of *Quartering*, contrary to *Magna Charta*, and *Petition of Right*? Will you be aiding and aſſiſting to all the Murders and Outrages which they ſhall commit by their void Commiſſions, which were declared *Illegal*, and ſufficiently blaſted by both Houſes of Parliament; if there had been any Need of it? For it was very well known before, That a *Papiſt* cannot have a Commiſſion, but by Law is utterly diſabled and diſarm'd. Will you exchange your *Birth-Right* of *Engliſh* Laws and *Liberties*, for *Martial* and *Club-Law*; and help to deſtroy all others, only at laſt to be eaten up your ſelves? If I know you well, as you are *Engliſh-Men*, you hate and ſcorn theſe things. Therefore be not unequally yok'd with idolatrous and bloody *Papiſts: Be valiant for the Truth, and ſhew your ſelves Men.* The ſame Conſiderations are humbly offer'd to all *Engliſh Sea-Men*, who have been the Bulwark of this Nation, againſt *Popery* and *Slavery*, ever ſince 1588.

The Tendency of this Addreſs was too fatal to the King's Deſigns to be left unpuniſh'd; therefore Mr. *Johnſon* being try'd in *Trinity*-Term at the *King's-Bench* before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, *&c. For publiſhing two moſt ſcandalous and ſeditious Libels, to ſtir up his Majeſty's Subjects to Rebellion*, he receiv'd this Sentence the next Term; ‘That he ſtand in the Pillory three ſeveral Times; firſt in *Weſtminſter*, next at *Charing-Croſs*, and laſtly at the *Royal-Exchange*; That he pay a Fine of five hundred Marks; and that he be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*.’ There is no Doubt but his *Julian*, and his former Practices were remember'd before this ignominious Sentence paſs'd againſt him: But being a Clergy-Man, out of a real or pretended Reſpect to the Gown, he was order'd to be Degraded before theſe Puniſhments were to be inflicted upon him. Of which Affair, we have this Account from Authority; ‘*November* the 20th, This Day *Samuel Johnſon* Clerk, lately convicted of high Miſdemeanours in the Court of *King's-Bench*, and adjudg'd for the ſame to ſtand in the Pillory, and to be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, was brought before the Right Reverend Fathers in God the Lord Biſhop of *Durham*, the Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Biſhop of *Peterborough*, Commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty, to exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction within the Dioceſe of *London*, during the Suſpenſion of the Lord Biſhop of *London*, who were met, with ſeveral of the moſt eminent Divines of the City, in the *Chapter-Houſe* of St. *Paul*'s; where the ſaid *Johnſon*, according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, in a full Court, receiv'd Sentence of *Degradation*; and was Degraded and Diveſted accordingly, and deliver'd over as a mere *Lay-Perſon*, into the Hands of the Secular Officer, to undergo the Puniſhments above mention'd.’ As to the Whipping, contrary to the Account in his Life, the cruel part of it was conſiderably mitigated by the private Aſſiſtance of his Friends, who by Money and good Management got him reliev'd as much as cou'd be expected in theſe ſevere Times. However, it made a ſtrong and unuſual Impreſſion upon the Minds of the People, and the Seeds ſown in the *Addreſs to the Soldiers* took deeper Root, and very much promoted that great Defection which happen'd two Years after in the King's Army.

His ſevere Puniſhment for it.

The Proſecution of Miles Prance.

2. Beſides Mr. *Johnſon*'s, there were ſeveral other Proſecutions this Year and firſt that of the famous *Miles Prance*, ſo often mention'd in the laſt Book, who this Summer was brought to the *King's-Bench* to be try'd upon an Information exhibited againſt him, ‘For *Wilful* and *Malicious Perjury*, in the Evidence he gave at the Tryals of *Green*, *Bury* and *Hill*, relating to the Murder of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*;’ to which the Priſoner, without Heſitation, pleaded Guilty. About a Month after he was again brought to the *King's-Bench*, where he declar'd his hearty Sorrow and Repentance for his heinous Offence, and then receiv'd this Sentence, ‘That he pay a Fine of an hundred Pounds; That he be brought to all the Courts of *Weſtminſter* with a Paper on his Head declaring his Offence; and that he ſtand three times in the Pillory, firſt before *Weſtminſter-Hall*, next at the *Royal Exchange*, and laſtly at *Charing-Croſs*; and that he alſo be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and be committed in Execution till he paid his Fine.’ Only the Whipping Part of his Puniſhment was, for his Confeſſion and Submiſſion, remitted. It has been believ'd and aſſerted that his owning himſelf guilty was only to mitigate his Puniſhment; but however it was, a conſiderable Time after, without any appearing Inducement, he made a voluntary and large Confeſſion of his Crimes in Writing, and in expreſs Terms declar'd all the material Parts of his *Narrative* and *Depoſitions* to be abſolutely falſe, and chiefly the Effects of Fear and Cowardice. This he acknowledg'd in a printed Let-

ter to his Antagoniſt Sir *Roger Leſtrange*, and more eſpecially he declar'd the villainous Practices upon him in *Newgate*, which made him yield ‘ Baſely to forſwear himſelf ‘ againſt thoſe Innocent Perſons, *Green*, *Berry* and *Hill*, ‘ that dy'd upon his *Wicked Evidence.*’ I ſhall diſmiſs this unhappy Man with a ſhort Story told me by the late Archbiſhop of *York*, who when Miniſter of St. *Giles*, *Weſtminſter*, happen'd to adminiſter the Sacrament to Mr. *Baxter*, *Leſtrange* and this *Prance* at the ſame time, the two latter at the oppoſite Part, and the other at the Middle of the Rails. Here *Leſtrange*, who receiv'd the laſt of the Three, having the Bread in his Hand, ask'd the Doctor aloud, *Whether he knew that Man on the other ſide of the Rails*? Upon anſwering *No*, he ſaid thus, *That is* Miles Prance, *and I here Challenge him, and ſolemnly declare before God and this Congregation, that whatever that Man has Sworn or Publiſh'd concerning me, is totally and abſolutely falſe; and may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if all this Declaration be not true. Prance* was ſilent, Mr. *Baxter* took ſpecial Notice of it, and the Doctor declar'd *he wou'd have refus'd him the Sacrament, had the Challenge been made in Time.*

Of Mr. Whitaker.

Beſides this Proſecution, we ſhall juſt mention two more, before we proceed to other Matters; and firſt, Mr. *Edward Whitaker* had been convicted in *Eaſter-Term* four Years before, *for juſtifying the Rebellion of* Forty One, *and the Murther of King* Charles *the firſt, and flying for the ſame, and abſconding ever ſince.* Whereupon Mr. Attorney-General, in this *Michaelmas-Term*, mov'd for Judgment againſt him; and the Court adjudg'd him, ‘ To pay ‘ a Fine of a Thouſand Marks, and remain in Priſon ‘ (when taken) till the ſame be paid.’ Soon after Mr. Attorney-General mov'd the Court of *King's-Bench* for Judgment againſt *George Speke* Eſq; convicted *For a Riot, and for Reſcuing* John Trenchard *Eſq; from his Majeſty's Meſſengers, who had a Warrant to apprehend him for High Treaſon.* Upon which the Court adjudg'd him, ‘ To pay ‘ a Fine of two thouſand Marks.

And Mr. Speke.

The King's Management of his Courtiers.

3. Towards the latter End of this Year, it more plainly appear'd how zealous the King was in bringing over Proteſtants to h[illegible] own Religion. He had not only cloſſeted his Judges a[illegible] chief Officers, upon the Queſtion of the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*, but now he more warmly ſolicited his prime Miniſters to be reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*. He firſt undertook to manage the Earl of *Sunderland*, who was look'd upon then to be more than ordinary obſequious to his Majeſty's Deſire, and to make his loweſt Obeyſance at the *Popiſh* Altar, tho' he did not ſeem willing to be *formally Reconcil'd*, as the Term was, *to the Catholick Church.* What the Tenor of that Diſcourſe was which the King had with him was never publickly known; but however Father *Petre*, the King's Confeſſor, thought fit to magnify the Earl's Obedience, at a Meeting with the Jeſuits; particularly adding, *That it was neceſſary for him as yet to appear a* Proteſtant, *for weighty Reaſons of State.*

Over and above the Tye of Affinity, and the grateful Remembrance of paſt Services, the King had a particular Affection and Eſteem for the Earl of *Rocheſter* his Brother-in-law, on whom therefore he had beſtow'd that noble Place of Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, upon his firſt Advancement to the Throne: Yet it ſeems, nothing cou'd maintain the Earl in this Poſt, but the changing his Religion, and embracing that of the King's, which, by this time, was become the main if not only Step to Preferment. His Lordſhip being preſs'd and tir'd out by the King's Solicitations, at length told his Majeſty, *That to let him ſee it was not through any Prejudice of Education or Obſtinacy that he perſevered in his Religion, he conſented to hear ſome* Proteſtant *Divines diſpute with his* Popiſh *Prieſts, and wou'd ſide with the Conquerors.* Upon which the King readily appointed a Conference to be held at *White-Hall*, at which his Majeſty himſelf, and ſeveral Perſons of Honour were preſent with the Earl of *Rocheſter*. The Proteſtant Champions were Dr. *Simon Patrick*, a Perſon of a clear Head and great Reading, and Dr. *William Jane*, a Man of deep Learning, and famous for Polemick Divinity. Thoſe on the *Popiſh* ſide, were one *Gifford*, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and Mr. *Tilden*, who having turn'd *Roman Catholick* at *Liſbone*, went under the Name of Dr. *Godden*: And the Subject of their Diſpute was, *The Rule of Faith*, and *The proper Judge in Controverſy.* The Conference was very long; and at laſt the *Romiſh* Doctors were preſs'd with ſo much Strength of Reaſon and Authority, that they were forc'd to quit the Field to their Antagoniſts. Whereupon the Earl of *Rocheſter* openly declar'd, *That the Victory that the* Proteſtant *Divines had gain'd, made no Alteration in his Mind, being before-hand convinc'd of the Truth of his Religion, and firmly reſolv'd never to forſake it.* His Majeſty going off abruptly and diſcontented, was heard to ſay, *He never ſaw a Bad Cauſe ſo Well, or a Good One ſo Ill maintain'd.* I have been further aſſur'd by a private Hand, that in the latter end of the Diſpute, the *Romiſh* Prieſts being nonplus'd by a particular hard Queſtion put by the contrary Side, deſir'd firſt an *Hour's*, and then a *Week's time to conſider for an Anſwer*; upon which the King in a Paſſion ſhou'd *bid them go home, and conſider their whole Lives.*

A Conference held about Religion.

Tho' this Conference prov'd triumphant on the *Proteſtant* Side, it ſoon turn'd to the Prejudice of the *Proteſtant* Intereſt: For the *Jeſuits* were ſo exaſperated againſt the Lord Treaſurer for his ſteadineſs in this Caſe, that one of them ſaid, *That Lord muſt be Anathematiz'd; and that the King cou'd never proſper while ſuch an Hererick was near him.* So within a few Days after, about the end of *December*, the King ſent to the Earl for his *White-Staff*, his Commiſſion of High-Treaſurer; which he immediately reſign'd: And ſoon after, his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute *John* Lord *Bellaſis*, *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin*, *Henry* Lord *Dover*, Sir *John Ernley*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir *Stephen Fox*, Commiſſioners for Executing the Office of Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*. But to alleviate the Loſs of the Treaſury, his Majeſty thought fit to aſſign to the Earl of *Rocheſter* an Annuity of five thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, upon the *Poſt-Office*: Which Bounty ſo engag'd his Lordſhip, that he afterwards went over to *Holland* to ſupport the King's Intereſt there, and to do him what reaſonable Service he cou'd. But there was leſs Care taken of the Elder Brother, the Earl of *Clarendon*, who not only loſt his Government in *Ireland*, as is already remember'd, but his Privy-Seal in *England*; in whoſe laſt Place his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour* to be Lord Privy-Seal. Beſides the diſplacing of the two Brothers, ſeveral other *Proteſtants* of Diſtinction were cloſſeted and remov'd from their Employments, either for their Religion, or their Non-Compliance with his Majeſty's Deſires. In ſum, the King drove on his Religious Deſigns with ſo rapid a Courſe, that ſeveral of the *Roman* Catholicks complain'd of the violent Methods, and the impolitick Conduct of the leading Men of their Party; And it was obſerv'd, as the ſtill Sea is often fore-runner of a Storm, ſo the moſt diſcerning amongſt them began to ſuſpect a ſudden Change from the quiet and calm Behaviour of the *Proteſtants* in general.

The Earls of Rocheſter *and* Clarendon *both diſplac'd.*

4. The governing Party about the King was ſo fond of making a Shew of their imaginary Trophies, that towards the End of this Year, the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, formerly try'd for his Life, was diſpatch'd to *Rome* in Quality of Extraordinary Ambaſſador, where he made his Publick Entry with a magnificent Train, and moſt ſplendid Equipage. His Deſign and Inſtructions were, ‘ To reconcile the three ‘ Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to the Holy See, from which, for more than an Age, they had fallen off by the *Northern* Hereſy.’ Pope *Innocent* the Eleventh receiv'd this Embaſſy as a Perſon who ſaw further than thoſe who ſent it. For the Ambaſſador had but a cold Reception from his Holineſs; and none of the Cardinals, but thoſe of a particular Faction, took any farther Notice of him, than what they were oblig'd by Form and good Manners. The Court of *Rome* conſiſted of too refin'd Politicians to be impos'd upon by Shew and Noiſe, and were too well acquainted with *England* to expect great Advantages from ſuch haſty ill-tim'd Advances as were made to them. Beſides this Pope being not only ſtrongly prepoſſeſs'd in Favour of the Houſe of *Aſturia*; but having an old Averſion to the *French*, and a freſh Reſentment againſt them, on the Account of the *Regale* and the Bombarding of *Genoa*, he was not over-fond of an Embaſſy from a Prince who he thought was in an Intereſt he wiſh'd to ſee humbled. *Caſtlemain* had ſeveral Audiences of the Pope, but to little effect; for whenever he began to talk of Buſineſs, his Holineſs had a Fit of coughing at command, to free himſelf from the Ambaſſador's Converſation. Theſe Audiences and Coughings continu'd from time to time, and became the Subject of Diverſion to all, but a particular Faction. At length *Caſtlemain* was adviſ'd to threaten to be gone; at which the old Father was ſo little concern'd, when they told him of it, that he anſwer'd with his uſual Coldneſs, *Well, ſince he will be gone, tell him he had beſt riſe early in the Morning, and reſt himſelf at Noon; for in theſe Countries it's dangerous to travel in the Heat of the Day.*

An Embaſſy to Rome.

In the main, King *James* met with nothing but Mortification at *Rome*, in the Perſon of his Ambaſſador, whom he ſoon after recall'd; being able to obtain of the Pope but two inconſiderable Things, namely, a Licenſe for the Marſhal *D'Humiere's* Daughter to marry to her Uncle; and the other, a Diſpenſation of the Statutes of the *Jeſuits Order*, that Father *Petre* might enjoy a Biſhoprick; the Want of which was ſuppos'd to be the Reaſon of the Vacancy of the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. As to the Supplies which *Caſtlemain* had private Orders to aſk, his Holineſs

But with little Succeſs.

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excus'd himſelf upon the Account of the vaſt Sums he gave the Emperor and the *Venetians*, to carry on the War againſt *Turkiſh* Infidels. Notwithſtanding the Pope's Coldneſs, the *Jeſuits* in *Rome* paid the higheſt Reſpect to this Ambaſſador, which did him no Service with the Old-man; for his Holineſs and that *Order* were never hearty Friends. They entertain'd him in their *Seminaries*, with the greateſt Magnificence; and nothing was wanting in Nature or Art, to grace his Reception. All their Stores of *Sculpture*, *Painting*, *Poetry* and *Rhetorick*, ſeem'd to have been exhauſted upon this Entertainment. And tho' all the *Inſcriptions* and *Emblems* center'd upon the *Triumph of the* Romiſh *Religion, and the Ruin of Hereſie in* England; yet Care was taken, not to omit ſuch particular *Trophies* and *Deviſes* as were adapted to their new acquired Liberty of *ſetting up their publick Schools at* London.

The Deaths of Arch-biſhop Dolben,

This Year there dy'd three venerable Prelates, and firſt Dr. *John Dolben*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who had his Education in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, where he for ſome Time became an Officer in the Army of King *Charles* the Firſt, during the Civil Wars, and a particular Support to the Church of *England* when in the loweſt Ebb. After the Reſtauration he had ſeveral Honours deſervedly conferr'd upon him; being a Man of an open, generous and noble Diſpoſition, and withal of a natural, bold and happy Eloquence in the Pulpit: And as he reſembled his Uncle, the famous Biſhop *Williams*, in the Greatneſs of his Parts and Abilities, ſo by a kind of an Hereditary Right, he ſucceeded him in his Preferments, the Deanery of *Weſtminſter*, and the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. The next was Dr. *John Fell*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, educated in the ſame College, a particular Friend to the other, likewiſe an Officer in the Garriſon, and a prime Aſſiſtant with him in ſecuring the Remains of the Church of *England*. Upon the King's Return, he was made Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, and by degrees became the grand Reſtorer of the Exerciſes, Diſputations, Morals, Ceremonies, Habits, Privileges, and whatever elſe might conduce to the Diſcipline and Glory of the Univerſity; and likewiſe became a moſt noble Benefactor to his own famous College, where he diſplay'd both his Piety and his Munificence, and ſhew'd himſelf admirable in training up the Sons of the Nobility. He was eleven Years Biſhop of *Oxford*, where he ſpent his Time in Celibacy, of an unſpotted Life, and unblemiſh'd Reputation, and was the Publiſher, or perhaps the Author of all but the firſt of thoſe excellent Books ſaid to be written by the Author of the *Whole Duty of Man*. The third was Dr. *John Pearſon*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, a *Norfolk* Man by Birth, by Education of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was firſt admitted in *King's-College*. Retiring to *London* during the great Troubles, in the Year 1660 he return'd to *Cambridge*, where he was firſt made Maſter of *Jeſus-College*, then *Margaret*-Profeſſor of Divinity, and Maſter of *Trinity-College*; from whence he was laſtly remov'd to the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, which See he fill'd with great Honour and Reputation: For beſides his Preaching, he ſhew'd himſelf a Perſon of very great and deep Learning, and his Works are highly valuable; his *Expoſition upon the Creed* is a famous Body of Divinity, and his *Hiſtorical and Chronological Diſſertations* are written with that Accuracy and Judgment, that they have been admired and quoted by the moſt curious and learned Men in foreign Countries. How great a Loſs the Church and the Publick ſuſtain'd by the Death of theſe three Prelates, will be the better known when we remember that the Archbiſhoprick was kept vacant during the greateſt Part of this Reign, and the Biſhopricks of *Oxford* and *Cheſter* were fill'd up by ſuch Time-Servers as *Parker* and *Cartwright*.

Biſhop Fell,

Biſhop Pearſon,

Dr. Calamy,

Beſides theſe Prelates, we are to remember an eminent Divine, Dr. *Benjamin Calamy*, Son to the celebrated *Edmund* the Presbyterian Divine, a great and good Man, educated firſt in St. *Paul*'s School, *London*, and then in *Katharine-Hall* in *Cambridge*, where he was a Fellow and an Ornament to the College. After which he remov'd and became Miniſter of St. *Lawrence-Jewry* in *London*, where he gain'd the entire Love of the Pariſh, and Eſteem of the City, by being a faithful and vigilant Paſtor, as well as an uſeful and excellent Preacher, and alſo an immovable Supporter of the eſtabliſh'd Church of *England*. His Sermons ſeem'd to have been compos'd for the Uſe of all Mankind, in which there is both Strength and Perſpicuity, and they diſcover a Genius able to penetrate into the ſecret Receſſes of Human Nature; for which he was particularly obſerv'd by King *Charles*'s Court when he preach'd at *Newmarket*. Wherefore it is Pity that we have no more of them in Print.

The Earl of Angleſey,

After theſe Divines, we ſhall take Notice of the Deaths of three conſiderable Stateſmen, and firſt of *Arthur Anneſley*, Earl of *Angleſey*, of *Ireland* by Birth, but his Education chiefly in *England*, where after he had join'd with the Long-Parliament, *Cromwell* and his Party, he became ſo ſerviceable in the Reſtauration, that the King not only made him a Baron and an Earl, but likewiſe Lord-Privy-Seal for ſeveral Years, as is already remember'd. He was a Man of deep Politicks, very ſubtle and reſerv'd in the Management of his Affairs, of more than ordinary Parts, and one who had the Command both of a ſmooth and a keen Pen. He was alſo much converſant in Books, and in Matters of Theology appear'd a *Calviniſt*, but the Encouragement he gave to Perſons of very different Perſuaſions, made it doubtful to many, where to fix his Religion: He was coming into Favour with the preſent King *James*, when he was taken away by Death, after he had acted the Politician more than forty five Years.

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Sir Henry Coventry,

The other two were own Brothers, and Sons to *Thomas* Lord *Coventry*, Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and mention'd in the laſt Volume: The Elder was *Henry Coventry*, brought up to the Civil Law in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, who after he had been a great Sufferer in the Royal Cauſe, upon the King's Return was made one of the Grooms of his Bed-Chamber, and afterwards employ'd with the Lord *Holles* to compleat the Treaty of *Breda*; and after other Services, he was rewarded with the Office of Secretary of State, which in eight Years Time he reſign'd, and at laſt dy'd in Retirement. He fill'd his Place with Honour and Reputation, but his Memory ſuffers by being concern'd in the Breach of the *Triple League*, ſo often mention'd in the laſt Book.

And Sir William Coventry.

The other Brother was *William Coventry*, who was likewiſe educated in *Oxford*, and made Doctor of the Civil Law, who having improv'd himſelf by Travelling during the Civil Wars, at the Reſtauration was honour'd with Knighthood, made a Privy-Counſellor, and had ſeveral Employments beſtow'd upon him. He diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by that notable Book call'd, *The Character of a Trimmer*, thought to be compos'd by the Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, a Book, tho' liable in ſome Paſſages, undoubtedly written with a Maſterly Pen. At his Death he generouſly gave five thouſand Pounds for the Relief of the *French* Proteſtants, and the Redemption of the Captives at *Algiers*.

A remarkable Letter from a Jeſuit, of the State of England.

VI. I. We cannot better introduce the new Year 168$\frac{6}{7}$, than with a remarkable Letter, never yet publiſh'd, written in *Latin* from a *Jeſuit* of *Liege*, to a Brother of his at *Friburg*, which gives a curious Account of the religious Affairs in *England*. The Letter is dated *Feb.* 2d, 168$\frac{6}{7}$, and runs thus in *Engliſh*: 'It is wonderful to ſee King *James*'s 'great Affection to our Society: He wiſh'd Proſperity to 'this whole College, by the Reverend Father, the Pro'vincial, and earneſtly recommended himſelf to our Pray'ers. Upon Father *John Keynes*'s Return into *England*, 'he gave him a moſt gracious Reception (while Earls and 'Dukes were commanded for ſome Hours to wait for Ad'mittance) with whom in the Queen's Preſence, he diſ'cours'd with all Familiarity: He ask'd him, *How many* '*Candidates for Orders he had, and how many Students*? 'And upon the Provincial's Anſwer to his Majeſty, who 'was very urgent with him, *That of the former, and of* '*the latter, he had above Fifty*; he reply'd, *There wou'd* '*be Occaſion for double or trebel that Number, to effect* '*what he deſign'd for that Society's Performance*; and or'der'd that they ſhou'd be all exercis'd in the Art of Preach'ing; *For now*, ſays he, *England has need of ſuch*.

'I do not doubt but you have heard, that the King wri'ting to Father *de la Chaiſe*, the *French* King's Confeſſor, 'concerning the Affairs of the Houſe among the *Walloons*, 'declar'd, That whatever was done to the *Engliſh* Fathers 'of that Houſe, he wou'd look upon as done to Himſelf. 'Father *Clare*, Rector of the ſame Houſe, being arriv'd 'at *London* to treat of that Matter, got an eaſy Acceſs to 'the King, and as eaſily gain'd his Point. The King him'ſelf forbid him to kneel and kiſs his Hand, according to 'Cuſtom, ſaying, *Reverend Father, you have indeed once* '*kiſs'd my Hand; but if I had known then, as I do now,* '*that you were a* Prieſt, *I wou'd rather my ſelf, Father,* '*have kneel'd down and kiſs'd your Hand.* After he had 'finiſh'd his Buſineſs, in a familiar Converſation, his Ma'jeſty told this Father, *That he wou'd either convert* 'England, *or die a Martyr*; *and he had rather die the next* '*Day and convert it, than reign twenty Years piouſly and* '*happily, and not effect it.* Finally, he call'd Himſelf 'A SON OF THE SOCIETY, *of whoſe good Succeſs*, he 'ſaid, *he was as glad as of his own.* And it can ſcarcely 'be expreſs'd how much Gratitude he ſhew'd, when it 'was told him, *That he was made Partaker*, by the moſt 'Reverend our Provincial, *of all the Merits of the Society*; 'out of which he is to nominate one for his Confeſſor; 'but hitherto it is not known who it will be: Some re'port that it will be the Reverend Father the Provincial, 'but ſtill there is no Certainty of that. Many are of O'pinion, that Father *Edward R. Petre*, who is chiefly in 'Favour with the King, will obtain an Archbiſhop'rick, but more believe it will be a Cardinal's Cap. To 'him has been granted, within this Month or two, all

that

168$\frac{5}{7}$. Jac. 2. Ref. 27.

‘ that Part of the Palace, in which the King us'd to reſide when he was Duke of *York*, where there is not a Day, but you may ſee I know not how many Courtiers waiting to ſpeak to his *Eminence*, for ſo they ſay he is call'd. For the King adviſes with him, and with many Catholick Lords, who have the chief Places in the Kingdom, to find a Method to propagate the Faith without Violence. Not long ſince ſome of theſe Lords objected to the King, *That they thought he made too much Haſte to eſtabliſh the Faith.* To whom he anſwer'd, *I am growing old, and muſt take* LARGE STEPS; *elſe, if I ſhould happen to die, I might perhaps leave you in a worſe Condition than I found you.* When they ask'd him, *Why then he was ſo little concern'd about the Converſion of his Daughters, who were the Heirs of the Kingdom?* he anſwer'd, *God will take Care of that; leave the Converſion of my Daughters to me: Do you, by your Example, convert your Tenants and others to the Faith.*

‘ He has Catholick Lord-Lieutenants in moſt Counties; and we ſhall ſhortly have Catholick Juſtices of the Peace in almoſt all Places. We hope alſo, that our Affairs will have good Succeſs at *Oxford.* In the publick Chapel of the Vice-Chancellor, who is a Catholick, there is always one of our Divines, who has converted ſome of the Students to the Faith. The Biſhop of *Oxford* himſelf ſeems to be a great Favourer of the Catholick Faith; he propos'd to the Council, “ Whether it did not ſeem to be expedient, that at leaſt one College ſhou'd be granted to the Catholicks at *Oxford*, that they might not be forc'd to ſtudy beyond Sea at ſuch great Expences;” but it is not yet known what Anſwer he had. The ſame Biſhop, having invited two of our Brethren, together with ſome of the Nobility, drank the King's Health to a certain Heretick Lord who was in Company, *Wiſhing his Majeſty good Succeſs in all his Undertakings:* Adding alſo, *That the Religion of the* Proteſtants *in* England *did not ſeem to him in a better Condition, than* Buda *was before it was taken; and that they were next to* Atheiſts *that defended that Faith.* Many embrace the true Religion, and four of the moſt conſiderable Earls have lately made publick Profeſſion of it. Father *Alexander Keynes*, the Provincial's Nephew, to whom is committed the Care of the Chapel belonging to the Elector of *Palatine*'s Envoy, is continually taken up in ſolving and anſwering the Queſtions of Hereticks who doubt of their Faith, of whom you may ſee two or three together walking by the Chapel-Door, continually diſputing about ſome Point of Religion. As to Prince *George*, it is yet uncertain what Religion he profeſſes. We gradually begin to get Footing in *England:* We teach human Learning at *Lincoln*, *Norwich* and *York*; and at *Worceſter* we have a Publick Chapel, protected by a Guard of the King's Soldiers; and we are to buy ſome Houſes in the Town of *Wiggan* in *Lancaſhire.* The Catholick Intereſt grows very ſtrong; and at ſome Churches, granted to the Catholicks, upon Holy-Days there are often counted fifteen hundred preſent at the Sermon. At *London* alſo our Buſineſs is carry'd on with the ſame good Succeſs: Sermons are preach'd upon every Holy-Day, and there are ſo many that frequent the Chapels, that they are not big enough to hold them. Two of our Society, *Dormer* and *Bertue*, preach continually before the King and the Queen; Father *Edward Neville*, before the Queen Dowager; Father *Alexander Keynes*, in the Chapel aforeſaid; others in other Chapels. There are many Houſes bought in the *Savoy*, near *Somerſet-Houſe*, which is the Queen Dowager's Palace, towards the Erecting the firſt College in *London*, for about eighteen thouſand Florins; and they are hard at work to bring them to the Form of a College, that a School may be open'd before *Eaſter.*

‘ A Catholick Lord-Lieutenant is ſhortly to go over to *Ireland*, becauſe the King cannot be ſatisfy'd with any other to eſtabliſh the Catholick Intereſt in that Kingdom. The Parliament will certainly ſit in this Month of *February*, of whom his Majeſty is reſolv'd to ask three Things: “ Firſt, That by a General Act all the Catholick Peers may be admitted to ſit in the Upper-Houſe: Secondly, That the *Teſt* may be aboliſh'd: And, Thirdly, which is the chief Point, That all *Penal-Laws* againſt Catholicks ſhou'd be abrogated.” And that he may the better obtain theſe Things, he deſigns to let them all know, *That he is reſolv'd to turn out all thoſe who will not heartily act for the obtaining of them; and likewiſe Diſſolve the Parliament.* At which Reſolution ſome Hereticks being terrify'd, came to a certain Earl to adviſe with him what might be done; to whom he anſwer'd, *The King's Mind is ſufficiently known; what he has once ſaid, he will certainly perform: If you love your ſelves, ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure.* There is to be a great Preparation of War at *London*, and a Fleet of above a hundred Men of War is to be fitted out againſt the Spring, but againſt whom it is uncertain. The *Dutch* are under great Apprehenſions; but for what Reaſon, altho' they are ſaid to make an Armament, Time will beſt diſcover.’

168$\frac{5}{7}$. Jac. 2. Ref. 27.

The King's Management in Scotland.

This Letter is ſo plain as to need no Commentary; therefore we ſhall proceed to take Notice, That Matters, tho' very forward, appear'd not to be ripe enough for the expected Meeting of the Parliament therein mention'd, which by Prorogation was to have been on the 15th of *February.* The Three Things hop'd for were too great to be ſurmounted at that time, and by ſuch a Parliament; but that being kept on Foot by a new Prorogation, before he Diſſolv'd ſo Loyal an Aſſembly, the King reſolv'd to try a bold Experiment, and to venture upon the third mention'd Project, tho' never ſo much to the Hazard of Himſelf, or Conſtitution. This was firſt thought beſt to be try'd in *Scotland*, where his Majeſty had met with very great, tho' not full Succeſs. In order to which, he ſent his Letter to the Privy-Council of that Kingdom, dated *Feb.* 12. in which he told them, ‘ That he was pleas'd in *Auguſt* laſt to inform them of his Deſigns, in order to the Eaſe of his *Roman Catholick* Subjects, to which he had then a dutiful Anſwer: That now he thought fit to publiſh his Royal Intentions, and to give an additional Eaſe to thoſe of Tender Conſciences; ſo to convince the World of his Inclinations to Moderation, *&c.* Tho' at the ſame time he expreſſes his higheſt Indignation againſt thoſe Enemies of Chriſtianity, as well as Government and Human Society, the *Field-Conventiclers*, whom he recommends to them to root out with all the Severities of his Laws.

His Proclamation for Liberty of Conſcience *there.*

Purſuant to this Letter, the Privy-Council caus'd the King's Proclamation for *Liberty of Conſcience* to be publiſh'd, which contain'd in Subſtance, ‘ That his Majeſty being reſolv'd to unite the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects, to God in Religion, to Him in Loyalty, and to their Neighbours in Chriſtian Love and Charity; he had therefore thought fit, by his *Sovereign Authority*, *Prerogative Royal*, and *Abſolute Power, which all his Subjects were to obey without* RESERVE, to give and grant his *Royal Toleration* to the ſeveral Profeſſors of the *Chriſtian* Religion after nam'd. Firſt, He allows and tolerates the *Moderate Presbyterians*, to meet in their private Houſes only; but it is his Pleaſure that *Field-Conventiclers* be proſecuted according to the utmoſt Severity of the Laws. In like manner he tolerates *Quakers* to meet and exerciſe in their Form, in any Place or Places appointed for their Worſhip.’ Then the Proclamation proceeds thus, ‘ Conſidering the ſevere and cruel Laws made againſt *Roman Catholicks*, therein call'd *Papiſts*, in the Minority of Our Royal Grandfather, of Glorious Memory, without his Conſent, and contrary to the Duty of good Subjects, by his Regents and other Enemies to their lawful Sovereign, Our Great Grand-Mother Queen *Mary*, of Bleſſed and Pious Memory; wherein, under the Pretence of *Religion*, they cloath'd the worſt of Treaſons, Factions and Uſurpations; and made theſe Laws, not againſt the Enemies of God, but their own: Which Laws have ſtill been continu'd of courſe, without Deſign of executing them, or any of them, *ad Terrorem* only, on Suppoſition, That the *Papiſts*, relying upon an external Power, were incapable of Duty and true Allegiance to their Natural Sovereigns, and Rightful Monarchs: We of Our certain Knowledge and long Experience, knowing that the *Catholicks*, as it is their Principle to be good Chriſtians, ſo it is to be dutiful Subjects; and that they have likewiſe, on all Occaſions, ſhewn themſelves good and faithful Subjects to Us, and Our Royal Predeceſſors, *&c.* do therefore, with the Conſent of Our Privy-Council, by our *Sovereign Authority*, *Prerogative Royal*, and *Abſolute Power*, Suſpend, Stop and Diſable all Laws or Acts of Parliament, Made or Executed againſt any of our *Roman* Catholick Subjects, in any Time paſt, to all Intents and Purpoſes, making void all Prohibitions therein-mention'd, Pains or Penalties therein ordain'd to be inflicted: So that they ſhall in all Things be as free in all Reſpects as any of our *Proteſtant* Subjects whatſoever; not only to exerciſe their Religion, but to enjoy all Offices, Benefices and others which We ſhall think for to beſtow upon them in all Time coming.---And whereas the Obedience of Our Subjects is due to Us by their Allegiance and our Sovereignty; and that no Law, Difference in Religion, or other Impediment whatſoever, can exempt the Subjects from their Native Obligations to the Crown; and conſidering that *ſome Oaths* are capable of being wreſted by Men of ſiniſtrous Intentions, a Practice in that Kingdom, as fatal to Religion as Loyalty; We therefore Call, Annul, and Diſcharge, all *Oaths* whatſoever, by which any of Our Subjects are Incapacitated from holding Places or Offices in Our ſaid Kingdom, Diſcharging the ſame to be taken or given in any Time coming, without our ſpecial Warrant and Conſent; and We do Stop, Diſable and Diſ-

168$\frac{6}{7}$.
Jac. 2.
Ref. 27.

‘ penſe with all Laws injoining the ſaid *Oaths*, *Teſts*, or any of them, *&c.*’ Towards the Concluſion, the King reiterates former Promiſes in theſe Words; ‘ For the Encouragement of our *Proteſtant* Biſhops, and the Regular Clergy, and ſuch as have hitherto liv'd orderly, We think fit to declare, That it never was Our Principle, nor will We ever ſuffer Violence to be offer'd to any Man's Conſcience, nor will We uſe Force, or invincible Neceſſity, againſt any Man on the Account of his *Perſuaſion*, nor the *Proteſtant Religion*; but will protect Our Biſhops and other Miniſters, in their Functions, Rights and Properties, and all Our *Proteſtant* Subjects, in the free Exerciſe of their *Proteſtant* Religion in the Churches.

The Anſwer of the Lords of the Council.

Many Reflections were made upon this Proclamation; and it was ſoon obſerv'd, That this Toleration of *Proteſtant Diſſenters* was purely for the ſake of *Popiſh Recuſants*; and that the *Moderate Presbyterians* had not ſo great a Liberty allow'd them as the *Quakers*, who were ſuppos'd to bear a nearer Affinity to the *Papiſts*, and more diſpos'd to the Will of a *Popiſh* Prince. Perhaps the moſt ſhocking Part of it was the *Abſolute Power which was to be obey'd without Reſerve.* At leaſt it was ſo in *England:* But the *Scots*, having in one of their Acts of Parliament, made and mention'd in the laſt Year, recited the King's *Sacred*, *Supreme*, *Sovereign*, *Abſolute Power* and *Authority*, it was leſs Wonder, that the King ſhou'd uſe the ſame Terms, and that the Lords of the Council in *Scotland* in their Anſwer ſhou'd tell the King, ‘ That his Majeſty's Commands were exactly obey'd, and his Royal *Proclamation* printed and publiſh'd, by which his Majeſty had given a farther Evidence of his Favour and Goodneſs to all his Subjects.'----- Farther promiſing, ‘ To maintain and aſſert his Royal Prerogative and Authority with the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes:’ And thus concluding; ‘ We are very willing that your Majeſty's Subjects who are Peaceable and Loyal, may be at Eaſe and Security, notwithſtanding their private Profeſſion and Worſhip; and do Conceive, That ſuch of them as are or ſhall be employ'd by your Majeſty in Offices of Truſt, Civil or Military, are ſufficiently ſecured by your Majeſty's Authority and Commiſſion for the Exerciſing the ſame. We return your Majeſty our moſt humble Thanks, for giving us your Royal Word, *For maintaining the Church and our Religion as it is now eſtabliſh'd by Law*; and reſt ſatisfy'd, believing your Majeſty's PROMISE to be the beſt and greateſt Security we can have.’ Sign'd by near thirty Noble-Men and others. Thus a People, who formerly rebell'd againſt the Commands of a limited and mild Prince, the Father, now ſeem'd to yield up all to the abſolute and uncontrollable Power of the Son.

1687.
Jac. 3.
Ref. 28.

The King's Management in England.

2. This ready Compliance of the *Scots* was very acceptable to King *James*, and gave him Hopes of finding the ſame Willingneſs in his *Engliſh* Subjects. In order to open the Matter, he aſſembled his Privy-Council, and made this Declaratſon to them, ‘ That he had reſolv'd to iſſue out a *Declaration* for a General *Liberty of Conſcience* to all Perſons, of what Perſuaſion ſoever; which he was mov'd to do, by having obſerv'd, That tho' an *Uniformity* in Religious Worſhip had been endeavour'd to be eſtabliſh'd within this Kingdom, in the ſucceſſive Reigns of four of his Predeceſſors, aſſiſted by their reſpective Parliaments; yet it had prov'd altogether ineffectual. That the Reſtraint upon the Conſciences of *Diſſenters*, in Order thereunto, had been very prejudicial to the Nation, as was ſadly experienc'd by the horrid Rebellion in the Time of his Majeſty's Father. That the many Penal Laws made againſt *Diſſenters*, had rather increas'd than leſſen'd the Number of them: And that nothing cou'd more conduce to the Peace and Quiet of this Kingdom, and the Encreaſe of the Number, as well as of the Trade of his Subjects, than an entire *Liberty of Conſcience*; it having always been his Opinion, as moſt ſuitable to the Principles of Chriſtianity, *That no Man ſhou'd be perſecuted for Conſcience ſake*; for he thought *Conſcience* cou'd not be forc'd; and that it cou'd never be the true Intereſt of a King of *England* to endeavour to do it.’ And at the ſame time he gave Directions to his Attorney and Solicitor-General, not to permit any Proceſs to iſſue in his Name againſt any *Diſſenter* whatſoever.

This Speech ſeem'd ſo ſpecious and plauſible, that it met with no Oppoſition in the Council; or rather the Council was ſo fitted to the King's Will, or ſo blinded by Ambition and Intereſt, that they either did or wou'd not ſee the grand Deſign of it: So that his Majeſty conceiving the Nation was now ripe and ready to receive a Yoke, that was to be impos'd with all imaginable Gentleneſs, and with the Pomp and Shew of *Indulgence*, on the 4th of *April* he caus'd his *Gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience* to be publiſh'd. It was much the ſame with that of *Scotland*; ſave only that the Expreſſions of *Annulling* and *Repealing Teſts* and *Oaths*, which were made uſe of in that, were here ſoften'd into thoſe of *Suſpending* and *Diſpenſing* with *Penal Laws*, *&c.* and inſtead of *Abſolute Power* he us'd *Royal Prerogative.* To give the Subſtance of it; in the Preamble, his Majeſty does not ſcruple to ſay, ‘ That he cannot but heartily wiſh, as it will eaſily be believ'd, That all his Subjects were Members of the *Catholick Church*; yet it is his Opinion *That Conſcience ought not to be conſtrain'd*;’ and for the Reaſons alledg'd in the forementioned Speech, which he repeats here at large. Then he ſays, ‘ By Virtue of his *Royal Prerogative*, he thinks fit to iſſue forth his *Declaration of Indulgence*; making no Doubt of the Concurrence of his two Houſes of Parliament, when he ſhall think it convenient for them to meet. Firſt, he declares, That he will protect and maintain his *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops* and *Clergy*, and all other his Subjects of the Church of *England*, in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, as by Law Eſtabliſh'd; and in the quiet and full Enjoyment of their Poſſeſſions. He likewiſe declares, That it is his Royal Will and Pleaſure that all *Penal Laws* for *Non-Conformity* to the Religion Eſtabliſh'd, or by Reaſon of the Exerciſe of Religion in any manner whatſoever, be immediately *Suſpended.* And to the End that by the Liberty hereby granted, the Peace and Security of the Government in the Practice thereof may not be endanger'd, he ſtrictly Charges and Commands all his Subjects, That as he freely gives them leave to meet and ſerve God after their own Way, be it in Private Houſes, or Places purpoſely hired or built for that Uſe; ſo that they take ſpecial Care that nothing be Preach'd or Taught amongſt them, which may tend to alienate the Hearts of his People from Him or his Government; and that their *Meetings* and *Aſſemblies* be Peaceably, Openly and Publickly held, and all Perſons freely admitted to them, and that they ſignify and make known to ſome one or more of the next Juſtices of the Peace, what Place or Places they ſet apart for thoſe Uſes. And as he is deſirous to have the Benefit of the Service of all his Subjects, which by the Law of Nature is inſeparably annex'd, and inherent to his Royal Perſon; and that none of his Subjects may be for the future under any *Diſcouragement* or *Diſability*, who are otherwiſe well inclin'd and fit to ſerve him, by reaſon of ſome *Oaths* or *Teſts* that have uſually been adminiſtred upon ſuch Occaſinns, he hereby further declares, That it is his Will and Pleaſure, that the *Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance*, and the ſeveral *Teſts* and *Declarations* mention'd in the Acts of Parliament made in the 25th and 30th Years of his Brother's Reign, ſhall not hereafter be requir'd to be Taken, Declared, or Subſcribed by any Perſons whatſoever, who are or ſhall be employ'd in any Office or Place of Truſt, either Civil or Military, under him, or in his Government: And it is his Intention, from time to time hereafter, to grant his *Royal Diſpenſations* to all his Subjects ſo to be employ'd, who ſhall not take the ſaid *Oaths*, or Subſcribe or Declare the ſaid *Teſts* or *Declarations.* And he does hereby give his free and ample Pardon to all *Non-Conformiſts*, *Recuſants*, and other his Subjects, for all Crimes and Things by them committed, or done contrary to the *Penal Laws*, formerly made relating to Religion, and the Profeſſion or Exerciſe thereof. And although the Freedom and Aſſurance he has hereby given in relation to *Liberty* and *Property*, might be ſufficient to remove from the Minds of his Subjects all Fears and Jealouſies in relation to either; yet he thinks fit to declare, That he will maintain them in all their Properties and Poſſeſſions, as well of *Church* and *Abby-Lands*, as in other their Eſtates and Properties whatſoever.

1687.
Jac. 3.
Ref. 28.

His Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience *at Home.*

The Behaviour of the Diſſenters *upon it.*

Upon the Appearance of this Declaration, the whole Kingdom ſeem'd ſtruck with Wonder and Amazement on one Side, and Joy and Satisfaction on the other. The latter ſoon ſeiz'd upon the *Diſſenters* of all Kinds, who were ſo tranſported, that they caught greedily at the Bait, without the leaſt diſcerning the Hook in it. They were not content with a ſilent Acceptance of this *Liberty*, but were drawn in to make Inſults of Joy for it, and preſented Addreſſes of Thanks ſo high and extravagant, that ſome of them were thought offenſive to the very Ears of the King. They thought indeed no Praiſes cou'd be too great to expreſs their Gratitude; no Bleſſings ſufficient to reward their Deliverer and Benefactor.

Their Adreſſes.

The *Anabaptiſts* in and about *London* thus led the Way; ‘ *Great Sir!* 'Tis the Senſe of this invaluable Favour and Benefit, deriv'd to us from your Royal Clemency, that compels us once more to proſtrate our ſelves at your Majeſty's Feet, with the Tender of our moſt humble Thanks for *Peace* and *Liberty.*---- Such Demonſtrations as theſe, of your Majeſty's tender Care of the Proſperity and Quiet of your Peaceable Subjects, will abſolutely Command the Hearts of them all, *&c.*’ Shortly after came the *Quakers*, and ſaid thus, ‘ *May it pleaſe the King!*

'*King!* Though we are not the firſt in this Way, yet we hope we are not the leaſt ſenſible of the great Favours; we are come to preſent the King our Humble, Open and Hearty Thanks for---- We rejoice to ſee the Day, That a King of *England* ſhou'd from his Royal Seat ſo univerſally Aſſert this Royal Principle, *That Conſcience ought not to be reſtrain'd, nor People forc'd for Matters of mere Religion*, &c.' The *Independents* follow'd with a like Harangue; '*Sir!* The great Calamity we have been a long time under, through the ſevere Execution of the Laws in Matters of Religion, has made us deeply ſenſible of your Majeſty's Princely Clemency towards us your *Diſſenting* Subjects; eſpecially, ſince in the *Indulgence* vouchſaf'd, there are no *Limitations* hindering the Enjoyment of it with a *Good Conſcience*, &c. The *Presbyterians* came not far behind the reſt, and made their grateful Acknowledgments, 'That his Majeſty's Princely Pity had now reſcu'd them from their long Sufferings; and by the ſame Royal Act, had reſtor'd God to the Empire over *Conſcience*; and publiſh'd to the World his Royal Chriſtian Judgment, *That* Conſcience *may not be forc'd*; and his Reſolution, That ſuch Force ſhall not be attempted in his Majeſty's Kingdoms, during his Majeſty's Reign; which they therefore pray may be long over them, *&c.*' And the *Papiſts*, as it was moſt proper, fell in with them, after ſome time, and in an Addreſs, 'They teſtify'd their Thankfulneſs to Almighty God, and his Majeſty, for ſo happy an Expedient for the Eaſe and Comfort of all his Subjects: And though they were thought not to deſire the leaſt Eaſe or Good to thoſe that differed from them in Opinion; yet they did not only Rejoice in the *Univerſality* of his Majeſty's Bounty, but *that it flow'd from a Prince of their Religion.*' It would be endleſs to take Notice of the innumerable Addreſſes that flew from all Parts of the Nation, which increaſed both in their Flights and Promiſes; but none was more remembered than that from Mr. *Alſop* a Preacher in *Weſtminſter*, which we forbear to particularize: Only we ſhall obſerve in general, that for the greateſt Part of this Summer the *Gazettes* were throng'd with Addreſſes, fill'd with ſuch Shews of Duty and Loyalty, that the reſt of the World might naturally look upon the King as Unmoveable on his Throne, if there was any Confidence to be put in Addreſſes.

Together with the Papiſts.

3. But becauſe the *Diſſenters* may have been too hardly cenſur'd, or unreaſonably vindicated, in a Matter that has occaſion'd ſo much Controverſy, we ſhall lay before the Reader what has been ſaid by two oppoſite, and not inconſiderable Writers, upon this Occaſion. The Firſt, who wrote in Defence of them, proceeds thus; 'The *Diſſenters* were not ſo fond of hard Uſage, as to refuſe a *Liberty* ſo freely offered them; nor did they think it good Manners, to enquire too narrowly how that *Indulgence* came about, ſo long as they were ſheltered by it from Oppreſſion. *A Letter of Advice* to them, was hereupon Publiſh'd by that accompliſhed States-man the Marquis of *Hallifax*, tho' without his Name. The Letter was written with a great deal of Artifice, with Deſign to inſinuate a two-fold Caution: *That their new Friends were to be ſuſpected*; *and that it wou'd neither be Chriſtianity nor Prudence to hazard the Publick Safety, either by deſire of Eaſe or Revenge.* His Cautions were regarded by the wiſer Part of them, notwithſtanding the Uncertainty with what Deſign this Application was made to them. As thankful as they were for their Eaſe and Liberty, they were yet fearful of the Iſſue, neither can any number of them of any Conſideration, be charged with hazarding the Publick Safety, by falling in with the Meaſures of the Court, of which they had as great a dread as their Neighbours. And as for Revenge, tho' they had a fair Opportunity for it, yet cou'd they not think it a Thing deſirable, either as Men or as Chriſtians. If they over-did it in their Addreſſes, they thought the High-Church Party, who had been ſo us'd to topping Flights of Complement, when returning Thanks for the Diſſolving one of the beſt of Parliaments, had little Reaſon to reflect on them.' Then clearing Mr. *Baxter*, and ſome others, from being concern'd in theſe Addreſſes, he ſays, 'They waited in Expectation of ſeeing the Effects of the Marquis's Declarations in behalf of the Church Party; *That all their former Haughtineſs* (they are his own Words) *towards the* Diſſenters *was for ever extinguiſh'd; and that the Spirit of Perſecution was turned into a Spirit of Peace, Charity and Condeſcenſion*; *that the Church of* England *was convinc'd of its Errors in being ſevere to them*; *and all thinking Men were come to a general Agreement, no more to cut our ſelves off from the* Proteſtants *abroad, but rather to enlarge the Foundations, upon which we are to build our Defences againſt the common Enemy.*

Argument for,

The oppoſite Author has given us this Hiſtorical Account; 'After all, the *Papiſts* in this Iſland were but as a Drop of Water in the *Thames*, and not able to make Oppoſition ſingly to the reſt of the Nation: The lengthening their Files, had made a greater Show, and render'd them more obnoxious, but had added little to their real Strength; therefore the *Diſſenters* were to be call'd in as *Auxiliaries*, to lend their helping Hand in the great Work.' Then ſpeaking of the Declaration it ſelf, he ſays, 'This to the Churchmen ſeem'd as a dangerous Storm likely to prove fatal to their Laws and Religion, which made it appear more like a refreſhing Shower to the *Diſſenters*; who were not content to offer up their fulſom Addreſſes of Thanks to their *Jupiter Pluvius*, without inſulting thoſe who juſtly dreaded its Conſequences. The loyal Church of *England*, which had not only preach'd, but conſtantly practis'd Obedience in all Things lawful, was now condemn'd as *Diſloyal* and *Diſobedient*, becauſe ſhe cou'd not exceed thoſe Limits; and the *Diſſenters*, who were always Rebels in Speculation, and in Practice whenever they had Opportunity, were in an Inſtant become the only *good Subjects*. Thoſe who had ſignaliz'd their Zeal for the King's Intereſt by a Courſe of important Services, both before and ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, were turn'd out of their Employments; and the Sticklers for the *Excluſion-Bill*, with the Patriots of *Taunton* and *Tiverton*, were now the fitteſt Perſons to be truſted. And theſe were ſo charmed with the Favours they enjoy'd, that like Lovers in the Beginning of an Amour, if you would believe their Addreſſes, *Life* and *Fortune*, *Laws* and *Liberties*, were all too ſmall a Sacrifice to return. But theſe Profeſſions were ſoon found to be like Lovers Vows, only writ in Sand, and obliterated by the next Guſt of Wind, or the next Wave of Water.' Next, ſpeaking of the Sufferings ſoon after felt by the Church of *England*, he tells us, 'That while that was harraſs'd, the *Diſſenters* lay lurking at their Eaſe in the Sun-ſhine of a Court which had thaw'd all their rigid Humour, and melted them down into a perfect Compliance with their Friends the *Papiſts*. They who were formerly refractory and diſobedient to the Laws, and were for parting the legal Prerogatives of the Crown, as if the Prieſts had tranſubſtantiated them alſo, could now carry their Obedience beyond the Laws, and became the Champions of the *Diſpenſing Power*. *Harry Care*, after all his *Packets of Advice from* Rome, was now better adviſed, and he and others of them drew their Pens in its Defence, and directly againſt the Church of *England*, then more eſpecially the Bulwark of the *Proteſtant* Religion.

And againſt the Diſſenters.

The Reader may diſcover Truth and Light from both theſe Accounts, tho' a little overſtrained and obfuſcated: But this is certain, that the chief Endeavours at Court were to widen the former Breaches, and revive the Animoſities between the Church of *England* and the *Diſſenters*; and the former was more blacken'd than ever by *Henry Care* and other mercenary Writers, to the great Benefit of the *Papiſts*. In the mean time, Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, who had long writ in Defence of the Church, and laſtly for the *diſpenſing Power*, laid down his Pen, or rather was ſilenced as ſoon as the *Toleration* was ſet on foot, to which he had ever ſhewn himſelf an Enemy. The King's *Declaration* ſoon began to anſwer the Ends for which it was publiſh'd, and ſcarce a Day paſs'd without ſome Proteſtant or other being reconcil'd to the *Church* of *Rome*. The King's Religion was now become ſo faſhionable, as well as profitable, that it is no wonder that many weak, frail and irreligious Perſons were ready to embrace it. As the Miſchief became to be more viſible, ſo the Heats between the Church and the Diſſenters abated; and in time both began to coſider how to join and unite againſt the common Danger.

The Effects of the Declaration.

In order to effect which, and to do other Services to the *Proteſtant Cauſe*, the acute and celebrated Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, then in *Holland*, drew his Pen with no common Succeſs, and ſhew'd a Genius that made a conſiderable Impreſſion upon all of them. Several ſmall Pamphlets of his were ſent into *England*, according to the Seaſon of the Times, relating to the *Toleration*, both in *Scotland* and *England*, the *Teſts*, the *diſpenſing Power*, the ſuppoſed *Spirit of Perſecution* in the Church of *England*, &c. What began firſt to affect them, was his *Reflections upon the King's Proclamation in Scotland*, in which, after his laying open the Dangers therein threatned, he makes this ſarcaſtical Obſervation upon the Phraſe, *Glorious Memory*, there attributed to the King's Grandfather: 'The peculiar Glory that belongs to King *James*'s Memory, is, That he was a Prince of great Learning, and that he employ'd it chiefly in writing for Religion: Of the Volume in Folio, in which we have his Works, two thirds are againſt the Church of *Rome*; one Part of them in a Commenta-

Dr. Burnet's *ſeveral Writings.*

1687. Jac. 3. Ref. 28.

'ry on the *Revelations*, proving that the *Pope is Antichriſt*; and another Part of them belong'd more naturally to his Poſt and Dignity; which is a Warning that he gave to all the Princes and States of *Europe*, againſt the treaſonable and bloody Doctrines of the *Papacy*.' Then mentioning the *Legacy* of an ominous Wiſh on ſuch of his Poſterity as ſhou'd go over to that Religion, he adds, 'It is known King *James* was no *Conqueror*, and that he made more Uſe of his *Pen* than his *Sword*; ſo the *Glory* that is peculiar to his *Memory*, muſt fall chiefly on his learned and immortal Writings: And ſince there is ſuch a Veneration expreſs'd for him, it agrees not ill with this to wiſh, that his *Works* were more ſtudy'd by thoſe who offer ſuch Incenſe to his GLORIOUS MEMORY.' As to the King's *Declaration* in *England*, reflecting upon that Part that complains of the *Endeavours in the four laſt Reigns for Unity being ineffectual*, the Doctor obſerves, 'It is not ſo very long ſince, that nothing was to be heard at Court, but the ſupporting the Church of *England*, and the extirpating all the *Nonconformiſts*; but now all is turned round again, the Church of *England* is in Diſgrace; and now the *Encouragement of Trade*, the *Quiet of the Nation*, and the *Freedom of Conſcience* are again in vogue, that were ſuch odious Things but a few Years ago, that the very mentioning of them was enough to load any Man with Suſpicions, as backward in the King's Service: While ſuch Methods are us'd, and the Government is as in an Ague, divided between hot and cold Fits, no wonder if Laws ſo unſteadily executed had failed of their Effect.' Then afterwards ſpeaking of the King's *Promiſes* to the *Diſſenters*, he ſays, 'It cannot be ſuppos'd that they will be more laſting than thoſe that were made ſome Time ago to the Church of *England*, who had both a better *Title* in Law, and greater *Merit* upon the Crown to aſſure them that they ſhou'd be well us'd, than theſe can pretend to.------They muſt remember, That as the Church of *England* is the only Eſtabliſhment that our Religion has by *Law*, ſo it is the main Body of the Nation; and all the *Sects* are but ſmall and ſtruggling Parties: And if the legal Settlement of the Church is diſſolv'd, and that Body is once broken, theſe leſſer Bodies will be all at Mercy; and it is an eaſy Thing to define what the Mercies of the Church of *Rome* are. But to proceed:

The Behaviour of the Church of England.

The numerous Addreſſes daily preſented to the King by the *Diſſenters*, upon the Account of his obliging *Declaration*, cou'd not but mortify the ſound Party of the Church of *England*, who juſtly look'd upon it at leaſt as a Jeſuitical Intention to advance *Papiſts* to Places of Truſt, and gradually to introduce them into the Legiſlature. But to add to their Affliction, the Court-Creatures gave them to underſtand, 'That they themſelves ought to imitate the *Nonconformiſts*, and fill up the Chorus of the grateful Acknowledgers of the King's Indulgence;' urging, as an undiſputable Motive, 'That his Majeſty had been moſt graciouſly pleas'd to Declare, *That he wou'd protect and maintain his Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of* England, *in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and in the quiet and full Enjoyment of all their Poſſeſſions, without any Moleſtation or Diſturbance whatſoever*.' Whatever were the Inducements, five Biſhops, *Crew* of *Durham*, *Barlow* of *Lincoln*, *Cartwright* of *Cheſter*, *Wood* of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, and *Watſon* of St. *Davids*, prevailed upon ſome of their Clergy to ſign Addreſſes of Thanks for that part of the King's Declaration. Yet theſe particular Addreſſes were ſo jejune and inſipid, that they ſeemed rather like the forced Thanks, given by a corrected Child to a ſevere Parent that holds the Rod over him, than like the hearty and free Acknowledgments which flow from the Senſe of real Favours. *Parker* Biſhop of *Oxford* was not ſo ſucceſsful as theſe Court-Prelates; for notwithſtanding the uncommon Zeal he ſhew'd upon this Occaſion, his Clergy ſtill refuſed to ſign an Addreſs which might prove of ſo dangerous Conſequence: Yet to let the World know, that it was not out of a ſullen Humour, or Diſloyalty, that they deny'd to pay that Homage to his Majeſty, they gave their Reaſons in Writing to their Biſhops.

Proceedings againſt the Univerſities.

VII. 1. While the Rights and Privileges of the Nation were attacked on every Side, while the *Diſſenters* adored the Hands that were putting Chains about their Necks, and while the corrupted Biſhops endeavour'd to decoy their Flocks into the ſame Compliance, the true Church felt the worſt of the Storm, which now began to diſcharge it ſelf upon thoſe glorious Seminaries of Learning, the two Univerſities; Places that had diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their Loyalty to the Crown in the moſt difficult Times. It began with that of *Cambridge*, and in Appearance upon a ſmall Occaſion; of which Tranſaction we ſhall give a plain and diſtinct Account, with the Names of Perſons as they occur'd. The *Roman* Catholicks having got ſome ſmall Footing there, particularly in *Sidney*-College, where one *Baſſet* of their Religion obtain'd the Maſterſhip; in the Month of *February* there arriv'd a Letter from the King to Dr. *Peachel* the Vice-Chancellor, and Maſter of *Magdalen*-College, importing, 'That hearing much Commendation of one *Alban-Francis*, a *Benedictine* Monk, his Majeſty was pleas'd to command the Univerſity, That they ſhould admit him to the Degree of *Maſter of Arts*, without Adminiſtring any Oath or Oaths whatſoever, notwithſtanding any Law or Statute to the contrary; which his Majeſty was pleas'd to diſpenſe with, in favour of the ſaid *Alban-Francis*.' The Vice-Chancellor was not over-haſty to read this Letter to the Senate, or Congregation of *Regents* and *Non-Regents*; but when it was done, it was unanimouſly agreed by the Members, to teſtify their Concurrence with the Vice-Chancellor, *viz*. not to admit the ſaid *Francis*, till the King had been petition'd to revoke the *Mandate*. Hereupon the Vice-Chancellor wrote a Letter to the Duke of *Albemarle*, then Chancellor of the Univerſity, to beg his Interceſſion with the King; to which his Grace ſome time after returned an Anſwer, 'That he had try'd, but to no Effect; but that it was his Sentiment, that the moſt probable Way of Succeeding in the Matter was, for the whole Body of the Univerſity to concur and ſign a Petition, and ſend it to the King.' The Univerſity, to prevent the Inconveniency of being deem'd Tumultuary Petitioners, thought it the moſt adviſeable Way to ſend up the Senſe of the whole Body by particular Meſſengers from each Houſe of the Congregation. To which purpoſe Dr. *Smoult*, Profeſſor of Caſuiſtical Divinity, was made choice of by the *Non-Regents*, and Mr. *Norris*, Fellow of *Trinity-College*, by the *Regents*. The Subſtance they were to deliver, was, 'That the Houſes thought the Admiſſion of Mr. *Francis*, without the uſual Oaths, Illegal; and conſequently the King was to be petition'd:' Which Opinions were freely given to the two Meſſengers of each Houſe, and unanimouſly approved of by the voting Members, except three *Papiſts*, and two others, willing to temporize, and follow the Stream of the Time.

In the Caſe of Father Francis.

At the ſame Time the Eſquire-Beadles and Regiſter were ſent to the ſaid Father *Francis*, to tell him, That the Senate or Congregation was ready to admit him, provided he would Swear as the Law appointed; which he refus'd, inſiſting upon the King's Diſpenſation; and immediately took Horſe for *London*, to prepoſſeſs his Patrons that recommended him to the King, with the Behaviour of the Univerſity. The Senate upon this, not to be wanting in their own Juſtification, diſpatched after him one of the Eſquire-Beadles, with two Letters, one for the Duke of *Albemarle*, and the other for the Earl of *Sunderland*: The Beadle was preſently admitted to the Former, but cou'd get no Acceſs to the Latter; and therefore put in his Letter importing, 'A moſt humble Submiſſion to the King, with ſolemn Proteſtations, That what was done proceeded from no Principle of *Stubbornneſs* or *Diſobedience*, but a conſcientious Senſe of their Obligations to *Laws* and *Oaths*, and a reſpectful Intimation, That they were ready to Petition his Majeſty when they might be admitted; but not daring to approach without ſome Significations, that it would be acceptable, they apply'd themſelves to his Lordſhip, deſiring him to do the Univerſity the Favour to mediate for them.' The Officer was diſmiſſed without any ſatisfactory Anſwer; and ſhortly after, a ſecond Letter was ſent to the Univerſity, exactly the ſame with the other, only with an additional Clauſe, *To do it at their Peril*. Which being read in the Senate, they diſpatched Mr. *Braddock* of *Katharine*-Hall, and Mr. *Stanhope* of *King*'s-College to *London*, with two other Letters to the fore-mentioned Chancellor and Miniſter of State, and gave the Meſſengers farther Inſtructions for the Service of the Univerſity. Some time after the Delivery of theſe Letters, the Duke of *Albemarle* told the Meſſengers, *That he had endeavoured to intercede for them to the utmoſt of his Power, but to no Effect*. From the Earl of *Sunderland* they had no other Anſwer, but *That the King had ſeen the Vice-Chancellor's Letter, and was offended at the Proceeding of the Univerſity, and wou'd take Order very ſhortly to give a farther Anſwer*.

The Heads ſummoned to appear at London.

Soon after, the King's promis'd Letter was ſent to *Cambridge*, by one *Atterbury* a Meſſenger, which was no other than a Summons from the new *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners*, Commanding the Vice-Chancellor to appear in Perſon before them, and the Senate by themſelves or their Deputies, to anſwer ſuch things as ſhould be objected againſt them. Upon which the Senate appointed Dr. *Peachel*, Vice-Chancellor, and Dr. *Echard* Maſter of *Katharine*-Hall, attended by Dr. *Babington*, Dr. *Smoult*, Dr. *Cook*, Mr. *Billers*, Mr. *Newton*, Mr. *Smith*, and Mr. *Stanhope*, all Fellows of particular Colleges, to repreſent them at the Council-Chamber, according to the Summons. Upon their Appearance before the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, Lord Preſident

Firſt Cambridge.

ſident *Sunderland*, Earl of *Mulgrave*, Earl of *Huntington*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*, and Lord Chief-Juſtice *Herbert*; the Vice-Chancellor was asked, *Why he had not obey'd the King's Commands in behalf of Mr.* Francis? To which the Vice-Chancellor deſiring Time to anſwer, after three Quarters of an Hour's Debate, the Regiſter was ordered to tell him, That the Lords had granted him a Week's Time.

The Vice-Chancellor's Plea.

At which Time, the Vice-Chancellor put in his Anſwer in writing, in the Name of the whole Univerſity of *Cambridge*; containing a Recital of ſeveral Statutes, One made in the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, entitled, *An Act to ſecure to the Crown the Ancient Juriſdictions over the State Eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual, and Aboliſhing Foreign Power repugnant to the ſame.* Wherein it was Enacted, ‘ That ‘ every Perſon that ſhou'd be promoted to any Degree of ‘ Learning in the Univerſities, ſhou'd take the Oath therein mentioned, whereby he ſhould declare and acknowledge the King to be the only Supreme Governor of this ‘ Realm, as well in Spirituals as Temporals.’ A Second Act made in the fifth Year to the ſame Effect: A Third made in the Third Year of King *James*; and a Fourth made in the ninth of the ſame King, entitled, *An Act for Adminiſtring the Oath of Allegiance*; by which it was Enacted, ‘ That the ſaid Oath ſhould be taken by the Vice-‘ Chancellor, all the Principals of Houſes, and by every other Perſon that ſhou'd be promoted to any Degree, *&c.* Upon which it was farther inſiſted, ‘ That both Himſelf, ‘ as Vice-Chancellor, and every Member of the Senate, ‘ had taken the Oath.’ And the ſaid Statutes were made ‘ for the Preſervation of the Doctrine profeſs'd by the ‘ Church of *England*, and the King's rightful Power and ‘ Prerogative, and that they had offer'd the ſaid Oath to ‘ *Alban Francis*, but he refus'd to take it: And upon his ‘ Refuſal, if they had admitted him, they had acted contrary to their Statutes; and it had been a Breach of Truſt, ‘ as well in the Vice-Chancellor, as the Senate, and a Violation of their Oaths; and for theſe Reaſons they cou'd ‘ not admit him. Leaving it farther to their Lordſhips ‘ Conſideration, *Whether their Caſe was under their Cognizance*’? Laſtly, they offered to their Lordſhips, ‘ That by ‘ the Statute of the ſeventeenth Year of King *Charles* the ‘ Firſt, there was a Clauſe, That no new Court ſhou'd be ‘ Erected and Appointed within this Realm, which ſhou'd ‘ have Like Power, Juriſdiction or Authority, as the *High-‘ Commiſſion* then had, or pretended to have; and that all ‘ ſuch Commiſſions and Grants, and all Power and Authority granted thereby, ſhould be utterly void.’ After this Anſwer was read, and the Court up, the Vice-Chancellor and Delegates were ſent for into the Council-Chamber, where they were acquainted by the Regiſter, ‘ That ‘ the Commiſſioners had put off the Proceedings in their ‘ Buſineſs till the 7th of *May* following, and that their Attendance was expected at that time.’ In the Interim there was a Rumour ſpread abroad, That the Lords had received a new Commiſſion; which was verify'd by the Alteration of ſome of the Commiſſioners, yet the Gentlemen of the Univerſity could not prove it; for if they could, the Commiſſioners had been obliged to begin all again.

His Examination,

But the 7th of *May* being come, upon the Appearance of the Vice-Chancellor and Delegates, the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys* put a Queſtion to the Vice-Chancellor, *What his Oath was that he had taken*? The Vice-Chancellor, not expecting the Queſtion, with ſome Heſitation, anſwered, *That it was in ſubſtance, to adminiſter and execute the Duty or Office of the Vice-Chancellor, which was ſtated by the Statutes of the Univerſity, and the Laws of the Land.* From whence aroſe another Queſtion, *Whether he did not remember any Maſters of Arts made without taking Oaths*? and Dr. *Lightfoot* was inſtanced; but then Dr. *Cook* affirmed, that Mr. *Lightfoot* at that Time ſubſcrib'd the Thirty Nine Articles and Canons; of which, the Firſt aſſerted the *King's Supremacy*; and the Lord Chancellor acknowledged, that *Subſcribing* was *Swearing*. Upon this a third Queſtion was ask'd, *Whether the Vice-Chancellor knew any Mandate from the King refuſed by the Univerſity before*? In anſwer to which, it was inſtanc'd, ‘ That King *Charles* ‘ the Second had ſent his *Mandate* in behalf of one *Tatnell*, ‘ to the Univerſity, who upon refuſing to take the Oaths, ‘ and the Matter repreſented to the King, his Majeſty was ‘ pleas'd to recall the *Mandate*.’ After theſe and ſome other like frivolous Queſtions, to ſhorten the Buſineſs, Chancellor *Jeffreys* commanded the Company to withdraw; and after ſome time ordering them to be called in again, proceeded to pronounce Sentence upon the Vice-Chancellor, as being guilty of great Diſobedience to the King's Commands, and other Crimes and Contempts;

And Puniſhment.

‘ That he ſhould be deprived of his Office of Vice-Chancellor, and ſuſpended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, of his Headſhip of *Magdalen*-College, and that he ſhould not preſume to meddle with any of the publick Buſineſs of the ‘ Univerſity.’ Which Sentence was afterwards drawn up in Form, put in Writing, and fixed upon the Gates of *Magdalen*-College, and Dr. *Balderſon* Maſter of *Emanuel*-College was choſen to ſucceed in the Office of Vice-Chancellor. Thus ended the Proſecution with relation to *Cambridge*, which gave great Terror to that Univerſity, and particular Damage to *Sidney*-College, the Reſidence of Father *Francis*; where there was ſo much Diſcouragement, that ſcarce a Scholar was admitted there during the reſt of the Reign. And tho' nothing like this was farther tranſacted, yet the Colleges were often peſtered with *Mandates* for Fellowſhips, *&c.* to the great Diſcouragement of Learning, and all learned Men that had not a good Intereſt at Court.

Proceedings againſt Magdalen *College in* Oxford.

2. But the Storm that ſoon after fell upon the other Univerſity of *Oxford*, particularly upon *Magdalen*-College there, as it was longer in gathering, ſo it proved more furious and formidable. And becauſe the boldeſt Strokes of that arbitrary Spirit that animated and actuated King *James*'s Counſels were ſo viſible through the Courſe of this Affair, a particular Relation of the Whole cannot be improper in this Hiſtory. St. *Mary Magdalen*-College is one of the moſt noble and munificent Foundations for Learning in either of the Univerſities; and therefore it was no wonder if the *Popiſh* Clergy looked upon it with an envious and greedy Eye, and did their utmoſt to graſp ſo rich a Prize into their own Poſſeſſion. This illuſtrious Society, from repeated Grants of Kings, ratify'd in Parliament, and from their own Statutes, were in an uninterrupted, as well as inconteſted Poſſeſſion of a Right to elect their own Maſter, uſually ſtyl'd by the Name of *Preſident.*

A Mandate *to make* Farmer *Preſident.*

That Place being vacant on the 31ſt of *March* by the Death of Dr. *Clark*, immediate Notice was given by the Vice-Preſident Dr. *Aldworth*, for a new Election on the 13th of *April*, by affixing a Citation upon the Chapel Door, according to the Statutes of the College. But before the Day of Election, being informed that the King had granted a particular *Mandate*, in behalf of one Mr. *Anthony Farmer*, a Man of ill Reputation, who had promiſed to declare himſelf a *Papiſt*, they preſented a Petition to his Majeſty, humbly repreſenting, ‘ That the ſaid Mr. *Farmer* was a Perſon in ſeveral Reſpects uncapable of that ‘ Character, according to their Founder's Statutes; and ‘ did moſt earneſtly beſeech his Majeſty, either to leave ‘ them to the Diſcharge of their Duty and Conſciences, ‘ according to his Majeſty's moſt Gracious *Toleration*, and ‘ their Founder's Statutes, or to recommend ſuch a Perſon, who might be more ſerviceable to his Majeſty, and ‘ to this College.’ The Petition was delivered to the Lord Preſident *Sunderland*, by Dr. *Thomas Smith*, and Mr. *Bagſhaw*, two of the Fellows, and lay four Days in his Lordſhip's Hands, with a Promiſe of his particular Favour; but his laſt Anſwer was, *That the King muſt be obey'd.* Accordingly, on the 11th Inſtant, his Majeſty's *Mandate* was delivered to Mr. *Robert Charnock*, Fellow of the ſaid College, a Man newly converted, and wholly devoted to the Court; which *Mandate* was directed to the Vice-Preſident and Fellows, requiring, ‘ Forthwith to elect the ſaid Mr. *Anthony Farmer*, and admit him Preſident of the College.

This *Mandate* was read by the Vice-Preſident, with decent Reſpect, in the Chapel of the College, before the Fellows there preſent, who asked them, *Whether they, in Obedience to his Majeſty's Letters, would forthwith elect Mr.* Farmer *Preſident*? They all agreed to defer their Anſwers till *Wedneſday* the 13th. At which time, all the Fellows being met, the Vice-Preſident read the Statute concerning *The Choice of a Preſident*, and another *Againſt Corrupt and Irregular Elections*; then read the King's Letter in behalf of Mr. *Farmer*, and a ſecond time demanded their Anſwer, which was to this Effect, ‘ That having a Petition lying at ‘ that time before his Majeſty, they ought not to proceed ‘ to Election, till they had received his Majeſty's Anſwer ‘ to the ſame.’ Thereupon they all agreed, except Mr. *Charnock*, that the Election ſhould be deferred till the next Day. On that Morning the Vice-Preſident told them, ‘ That the Choice of a Preſident had been put off upon Account of a Petition to his Majeſty, in anſwer to which ‘ they had not yet receiv'd his Majeſty's Pleaſure; that the ‘ next Day was the utmoſt Time they had Power to Prorogue the Election to, by the Statutes; and therefore it ‘ was neceſſary they ſhould come to ſome Reſolution:’ He told them farther, ‘ That the King had commanded ‘ them to elect Mr. *Farmer*,’ and asked their Senſe therein; which was unanimous, except Mr. *Charnock*, that the Election ſhould be deferred till the next Morning. Accordingly, at eight a Clock, the Vice-Preſident and Fellows being met, Dr. *Thomas Smith* and Mr. *Bagſhaw*, acquainted the reſt from the Lord *Sunderland*, That in anſwer to their Petition, *His Majeſty having ſent his Letter to the College, expected to be obeyed.* After which the Vice-

Preſident read over the King's *Mandate*, and asked them, *Whether they would comply with it?* They deſired to proceed to an Election: And the Vice-Preſident having propos'd, *Whether they would make any farther Addreſs to his Majeſty?* he himſelf, with Dr. *Fairfax*, Dr. *Pudſey* and Dr. *Smith*, were for a ſecond Addreſs; but all the reſt declared immediately for proceeding to an Election. Then the Vice-Preſident propoſed, Whether they ſhould go to an Election *Vivá Voce*, or by *Scrutiny*? He himſelf, Mr. *Thompſon*, and Mr. *Charnock* were for proceeding in it *Vivâ Voce*, but all the reſt were for a *Scrutiny*, except Dr. *Smith*, who was for deferring the Election till they had once more petitioned the King. It being therefore the Senſe of the Majority, That they ought to proceed to the Election of a Preſident, according to the Statutes, and this the laſt Day limited; in order to it, the Holy Sacrament was ſolemnly taken by all, except *Charnock*; and then the Statutes concerning the *Choice of a Preſident*, and *againſt Corrupt and Irregular Elections*, were a ſecond Time read by the Vice-Preſident. Every one took the Oath preſcrib'd by the Statutes; except Mr. *Thompſon* and Mr. *Charnock*, who refuſed it; and the two Senior Fellows were ſworn Scrutators in the Scrutiny of the whole Society. For the Nomination of a Preſident, Dr. *Hough* and Mr. *Maynard* had each of them the major Part of the Voices; and then the thirteen Senior Fellows being met to elect one of theſe two, Dr. *Hough* had eleven Voices, and was accordingly pronounced *Preſident* by the Senior Scrutator; and Mr. *Maynard* was appointed by the thirteen Senior Fellows to preſent him as *Preſident Elect* to the *Viſitor* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in order to his Admiſſion. After which Mr. *Charnock* and Mr. *Thompſon* declared *VivâVoce* for Mr. *Farmer*, according to his Majeſty's Letter. The next Day Dr. *Hough* being preſented to the Viſitor, was ſworn and admitted Preſident by his Lordſhip, according to the Statutes; and on *Sunday* the 17th he took the ſame Oath again before the Society, and then took his Seat in the Chapel, as Preſident of *Magdalen*-College.

The College elect Dr Hough.

The King diſpleaſed.

Upon the News of this Election at *Whitehall*, the King immediately ordered the Lord *Sunderland* to write to the Fellows, which he did in theſe Terms; ‘ *Gentlemen*, The King being informed, that notwithſtanding his late *Mandate* ſent to you for electing Mr. *Farmer* to be Preſident of your College, you have made Choice of another Perſon; his Majeſty commands me to let you know, he is much ſurpriſed at theſe Proceedings; and expects you ſhould ſend me an Account of what paſſed on that Occaſion; and whether you did receive his Majeſty's ſaid *Mandate* before you choſe Dr. *Hough*.' Thereupon the Vice-Preſident and Fellows drew up their *Caſe*, relating to their late Election of a Preſident, which was preſented to the Duke of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, with a Letter, wherein, ‘ They humbly begged his Grace to interpoſe with his Moſt Sacred Majeſty for them, that they might not lie under the Weight of his Diſpleaſute, for not being in a Capacity of obeying his Commands.' This Submiſſion not being ſatisfactory; and the great Duke of *Ormond*'s Interpoſition little regarded, the Vice-Preſident and Fellows were cited to appear before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners at *Whitehall*.

The Fellows cited.

On the 6th of *June*, ſix Fellows deputed by the Society, *viz.* the Vice-Preſident, Dr. *Fairfax*, Dr. *J. Smith*, Mr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Dobſon* and Mr. *Fairer*, appeared before the Lords Commiſſioners, according to the forementioned Citation. It being firſt demanded of them, *Why they refuſed to obey the King's Mandate?* they deſired Time to conſider of it, which was granted to the 13th. At which time appearing, the Vice-Preſident delivered in their Anſwer, which was read by Mr. *Bridgeman*, and wherein they alledged, ‘ That the College of St. *Mary Magdalen* in *Oxford* was a Body Corporate, governed by local Statutes, granted and confirmed to them by his Majeſty's Predeceſſors: That by the ſaid Statutes of the College, to the Obſervation of which each Fellow is ſworn, it is ordered, *That the Perſon elected Preſident thereof ſhall be a Man of good Life and Reputation, of approved Underſtanding, and good Temper, Diſcreet, Provident and Circumſpect, both in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs:* That at the Time of Election of a Preſident, the ſaid Fellows are bound by the ſaid Statutes to take an Oath, *That they ſhall nominate none to that Office, but ſuch as are, or have been Fellows of the ſaid College, or of* New-College *in* Oxford; *or, if they are not actually Fellows at the time of Election, that they be ſuch as have left their Fellowſhips upon credible Accounts:* And when two qualify'd Perſons ſhall be nominated at the Time of Election, by the greater Number of all the Fellows, to the ſaid Office of Preſident; the thirteen Seniors alſo ſwear, *That they will elect one of them, whom in their Conſciences they think moſt Proper and Sufficient, moſt Diſcreet, moſt Uſeful, and beſt Qualify'd for the Place, without any Regard to Love, Hatred, Favour or Fear.* That every Fellow, when he is admitted into his Fellowſhip in the ſaid College, Swears, *That he will inviolably keep and obſerve all the Statutes and Ordinances of the College; and that he will not procure any* Diſpenſation, *contrary to his aforeſaid Oath, or any Part thereof, nor contrary to the Statutes and Ordinances to which it relates*; and if it ſhall happen that any *Diſpenſation* of this ſort, of whatſoever Authority it ſhall be granted, *That he will neither make uſe of it, nor in any ſort conſent thereto.* That on the 11th of *April* they received his Majeſty's Letters Mandatory to Elect and Admit Mr. *Anthony Farmer* Preſident of the ſaid College: But foraſmuch as the Vice-Preſident and Fellows apprehended the Right of Election to be in Them, and believed his Majeſty never intended to diſpoſſeſs them of their Rights; and foraſmuch as the ſaid Mr. *Farmer* had never been Fellow either of *Magdalen* or *New-College* in *Oxford*, and had not thoſe *Qualifications* which by the ſaid Statutes of the College are required in the Character of a Preſident; and in regard that they could not comply with his Majeſty's Letters, without the Violation of their Oaths, and hazard of their Legal Intereſt and Property, wherewith they were by the Statutes poſſeſſed, and which by their Oaths they are bound to maintain; they repreſented the ſame by their humble Petition to his Majeſty: And that having deferred their Election to the laſt Day limited by the Statutes, they then made Choice of Dr. *Hough*, one of the Fellows of their College, and a Perſon every way Qualify'd to be Preſident; who had been ſince confirmed by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, their Viſitor, as the Statutes of the College direct. And that they might not lye under his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure by their Proceedings, they did make an humble Repreſentation thereof to his Majeſty, by his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, ſetting forth their *Indiſpenſable Obligations to obſerve their Founder's Statutes*. All which Matters they humbly offered to their Lordſhips, and pray'd to be diſmiſs'd with their Lordſhips Favour.

Their Plea.

Mr. Fairfax*'s Treatment.*

This Anſwer was ſign'd but by Five of the Delegates, Dr. *Fairfax* not conſenting to it; and therefore he deſired their Lordſhips to hear him apart, and to take his Reaſons why he could not ſubſcribe. This was pleaſing to the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, who expecting he would ſubmit, gave him leave to ſpeak, ſaying, *Ay, this looks like a Man of Senſe, and a good Subject, let's hear what he will ſay*:--- But finding his Miſtake, and that Dr. *Fairfax* inſiſted, *That in Eccleſiaſtical Courts there ſhould be a* Libel *given to the Party appeal'd, that he may know his Accuſation; that he deſired that* Libel, *and did not know for what he was called there, and that the Matter did not lie in that Court, but in* Weſtminſter-Hall; the Chancellor in a Paſſion told him, *He was a Doctor of Divinity, but not of Law.* To this the Doctor reply'd, *That he deſired to know by what Commiſſion or Authority they ſate?* Which put his Lordſhip beyond all Patience, and made him cry out, *Pray what Commiſſion have you to be ſo Impudent in Court? This Man ought to be kept in a dark Room; Why do you ſuffer him to go without a Guardian? Why do you not bring him to me, to beg him? Pray let the Officers ſeize him*----Then the Delegates were ordered to withdraw, and after a whole Hour's debate, the Vice-Preſident was called in alone, and ordered to attend the Court with the reſt of the deputed Fellows, on *Wedneſday* the 22d of the ſame Month.

Allegations againſt Farmer.

On the appointed Day the Delegates appeared again according to the Commiſſioner's Order, and gave in their Allegations againſt Mr. *Farmer*; the moſt material of which were; ‘ That he had miſbehaved himſelf in *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, and had there received *Admonition* from his Maſter, in order to his *Expulſion*: That having left *Cambridge*, he taught School at *Chippenham* in *Wiltſhire*, under a *Non-Conformiſt* Miniſter, without a Licence; That in *September* 1683, he was admitted of *Magdalen*-Hall in *Oxford*, where ſuch frequent Complaints were brought againſt him to the *Principal*, for his troubleſome Humour and unquiet Temper, that to preſerve the Peace of the Society, he was deſired to leave the ſaid Hall: That after his leaving *Magdalen*-Hall, he was admitted into *Magdalen*-College; where, diſcourſing about Religion, he declared, *That there was no Proteſtant but would cut the King's Throat*: Tho' at other Times he ſaid, *That whatſoever he pretended, he was really a Member of the Church of* England; *and that he made an Intereſt with ſome* Roman *Catholicks only to get Preferment by their Means, and for that Reaſon was willing to be thought of their Religion:* And that, in general, the ſaid Mr. *Farmer* had had the Unhappineſs to lie under an ill Fame, as to his Life and Converſation; and ſome ſcandalous obſcene Actions were alledged, better to be omitted than recited in a Hiſtory. Theſe Allegations were confirmed by ſeveral Letters and Certificates produced in Court, which Mr. *Farmer* vainly endeavour'd to invalidate: But nevertheleſs the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners actually deprived Dr. *Hough* of his Preſidentſhip, and ſuſpended the Vice-Preſident Dr. *Aldworth* and Dr. *Fairfax*; and order'd the

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He is laid aſide.

the Fellows of the College to cauſe their Sentence to be executed, and affix'd to the Gates of their College; all which they refuſ'd to obey, and met with farther Threatnings. But in the mean time the Court was ſo aſham'd of *Farmer*'s profligate Life, that the Matter being in ſuſpence for about ſix Weeks, at laſt the King, inſtead of inſiſting on his *Mandate* to him, granted a Second in behalf of Dr. *Parker* Biſhop of *Oxford*; of which Affair and Conſequence, a particular Account will be given in a more proper Place, the next Chapter.

The King under Difficulties.

3. All this time the King, notwithſtanding his appearing Succeſſes in the Univerſities and other Places, labour'd under uncommon Difficulties, eſpecially as to his Parliament, his Loyal Parliament, that had acted ſo generouſly to Him, as well as honourably to their Country. The bringing them over to his Majeſty's Deſigns, had been often, and by various Methods attempted, as Cloſetings, Threats, Promiſes, &c. yet ſtill he met with many Impediments and unexpected Obſtructions. To compaſs this great Work, and conſequently to eſtabliſh the King's Religion, all Things were carry'd with an over-bearing Hand; and no Rewards, or Diſcouragements, not to ſay Puniſhments, were wanting to be laid upon Men of all Ranks and Qualities; and no Services were conſider'd when they came to ſtand in Competition with Religion. To exemplify which; the Lord Preſident found Means to preſerve the Aſcendency, which his ſuperior Genius gave him over Father *Petre*, to ſecure to himſelf that vaſt Share he had gain'd in the King's Confidence and Favours; tho' he had been a warm Promoter of the *Bill of Excluſion* in the late Reign, and for that remov'd out of his Office of Secretary of State. Whereas the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Rocheſter*, Brothers-in-law to the King, and who had ſignaliz'd their Loyalty and Affection to his Majeſty, by a continu'd Courſe of important Services, eſpecially in the *Popiſh* Plot and *Bill of Excluſion*, were remov'd from their Employments, merely upon Account of their Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion, and *Papiſts* advanc'd in their Room. The ſame happen'd not long after to the noble Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who refuſing to return within the Pale of the *Roman Catholick* Church, which he had deſerted for ſome Years, was turn'd out of his Commiſſion of Colonel of Horſe, and his Regiment beſtow'd on *Richard Hamilton*.

Promotions and Alterations.

To carry on the ſame Deſigns, eſpecially to maintain the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, Sir *Richard Allibone*, and ſome other *Romaniſts*, were made Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and *Popiſh* Juſtices of the Peace, and Deputy-Lieutenants eſtabliſh'd all *England* over; the Judges in their Circuits had their private Inſtructions to know how Men ſtood affected towards the King's *Diſpenſing Power*, and to turn thoſe out of their Offices and Employments, who ſhew'd the leaſt Diſlike of it. The Soldiers by this time were grown intollerably inſolent: The Officers too, when ever they pleas'd, pretended to be exempt from the Civil Power; and tho' the King was in perfect Peace, yet an old obſolete Act of Parliament, that made it Death for Soldiers, taking Pay in the King's Service in his Wars abroad, on the High Sea or in *Scotland*, to deſert their Colours, was now made to extend to the new-rais'd Army on *Hounſlow-Heath*. And becauſe the worthy Recorder of *London*, Sir *John Holt*, wou'd not expound that Law according to the King's Deſire, he was put out of, or laid down, his Place; and ſo was Sir *Edward Herbert* remov'd from being Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench* to the *Common-Pleas*, to make way for Sir *Robert Wright* to hang a Soldier upon the ſaid Statute.

The Addreſs from the Middle Temple.

It is not eaſy to imagine that King *James* cou'd ſo ſoon have gone ſuch Lengths, had he not been incourag'd or miſ-led by Lawyers as well as Divines. Beſides the innumerable Addreſſes from the *Diſſenters*, on which the King too much rely'd, his Majeſty was highly pleas'd with that from *ſeveral Benchers and Barriſters of the Middle-Temple*, which was preſented to him at *Windſor* on the 11th of *June*. This, being much remember'd at that Time, is inſerted as follows: 'We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful Subjects, to our great Joy, have receiv'd a happy Occaſion of making this Declaration of our Gratitude: And as we know that your Majeſty's Goodneſs is the greateſt that ever was ſhewn by a Prince to his Subjects; ſo we wiſh the Voice of Men and Angels, to return ſufficient Thanks for your Majeſty's Condeſcenſion and Clemency to all your Subjects, in your *Gracious Declaration for a Toleration*. And as for this Compaſſion and Goodneſs, Thanks ought to be paid your Majeſty by all your Subjects; ſo we, eſpecially of the Profeſſion of the Law, have moſt Reaſon to be Thankful for the Honour you have done Us by aſſerting your own *Royal Prerogative*; which is the very Life of the Law, and our Profeſſion. Which *Prerogatives*, as they were given by God himſelf, ſo we declare, That no Powet on Earth can diminiſh them, but they muſt always remain entire and inſeparable to your Royal Perſon. Which *Prerogatives*, as we have ſtudy'd to know them, ſo we are reſolv'd to defend them, by aſſerting with our Lives and Fortunes, that Divine Maxim, *A Deo Rex, A Rege Lex*. And now as a Teſtimony of our perfect Satiſfaction in this our Addreſs and Acknowledgment, we have ſubſcrib'd our Names, that your Majeſty may know us to be YOURS; and that the reſt of our Profeſſion may follow our Example: And therefore we humbly beg your Majeſty will accept this Addreſs from us, who in Concluſion make bold to offer our beſt Wiſhes, and hearty Deſires, That your Majeſty's Counſels may proſper in Wiſdom, your Kingdoms flouriſh in Peace, and your Royal Perſon enjoy a long, happy and glorious Reign over us.

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Expectations of the Parliament.

After all theſe Flights and Compliments receiv'd, ſtill the King cou'd not manage his Parliament, which was ready to grant him all reaſonable Demands, but from time to time Prorogu'd it, not without Hopes of a Compliance at laſt. The 28th of *April* being one appointed Day, great were Mens Expectations to ſee it meet; and upon that Occaſion Dr. *Burnet* ſent over a ſhort and ſevere Pamphlet againſt Repealing the *Teſt*, directed to the Members of both Houſes, out of which we ſhall inſert one Paragraph, as making great Impreſſion at that Time: 'Our King has given ſuch Teſtimonies of his *Zeal* for his *Religion*, that we ſee among all his other Royal Qualities, there is none for which he deſires and deſerves to be ſo much admir'd, ſince even the Paſſion of *Glory*, of making himſelf the Terror of all *Europe*, and *Arbiter* of *Chriſtendom*, (which, as it is natural to all Princes, ſo muſt it be moſt particularly ſo to one of his Martial and Noble Temper) yields to his *Zeal* for his *Church*; and that He, in whom we might have hop'd to ſee our *Edward* the Third, our *Henry* the Fifth reviv'd, chuſes rather to merit the heightening his Degree of Glory in another World, than to acquire all the Laurels and Conqueſts that this low and vile World can give him: And that, inſtead of making himſelf a Terror to his Neighbours, he is contented with the humble Glory of being a *Terror to his own People*; ſo that inſtead of the great Figure which this Reign might make in the World, all the News of *England* is now only concerning the Practices on ſome fearful *Mercenaries*.

The King Endeavours with it.

But when this Parliament aſſembled on the ſaid 28th of *April*, it was immediately, by Commiſſion, Prorogu'd till the 22d of *November*. In the mean time the King took infinite Pains, and us'd all Methods to bring over the reſpective Members, eſpecially that of the Cloſet. Here his Majeſty repreſented to them, 'That ſince four Monarchs attempted, and ſo many wiſe Politicians us'd all the propereſt Means to eſtabliſh an Uniformity of Religion in *England*, and all in vain, the only Method of ſettling ſuch Peace in the Nation, as might not be diſturb'd by Religion, was to allow every Man the Liberty of freely uſing his own: That the Perſecuting of Non-Conformiſts at home, forc'd good Subjects to go abroad, who were advantagious to Foreign Countries, and thoſe who ſtaid were uneaſy and diſcontented; and if they had Virtue enough to bear with their Troubles, they were always ready to encourage Rebellions and join with Factions: That the fatal Conſequences of it had been apparent in the late Reigns, againſt which no King cou'd ſecure his Perſon or his Subjects, without taking away from reſtleſs Spirits the Pretence of Religion, which they abus'd to the Diſturbance of all others.' The King vary'd and reiterated theſe Arguments, and back'd and inforc'd them with Promiſes, Threats, &c. Whatever Impreſſions he might make upon particular Perſons, he cou'd not, with all his Arts, move the Steadineſs of a Majority; and therefore when he found his Endeavours all fruſtrated, on the 2d Day of *July*, he by Proclamation Diſſolv'd the Parliament, after it continu'd in Being above two Years, tho' leſs than two Months in Action.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

CHAP. III.

From the Diſſolution of the Parliament, to the firſt Arrival and Landing of the Prince of Orange *in* England.

Containing the Space of One Year, Four Months, and Three Days.

1687. Jac. 3. Ref. 28.

Preparations for a new Parliament.

I. 1. AFTER King *James* had diſſolv'd his loyal and complying Parliament, he proceeded to take different Ways and Meaſures, tho' all to bring about the ſame Deſigns he had ſo long aim'd at and attempted. Whereas his late Attempts were to induce a Parliament in Being to come into his Meaſures, his

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preſent Buſineſs was to make a new Parliament that ſhou'd do the like, and ſupport and eſtabliſh what he had ſo happily ſet on foot. In order to this, he reviv'd the laſt Grievance in his Brother's Reign, in which he Himſelf was ſuppos'd to have had a principal Hand; and carry'd on the Buſineſs of *Quo Warranto's* and new modelling of Corporations to a bolder and greater Degree than had ever been known before; and for that End he employ'd Inſtruments of all ſorts, and us'd all manner of Ways and Methods that were likely to ſucceed. What he did in general, and the State of the Nation at this Time, ſhall be mention'd chiefly from the Words of a Manuſcript, written by a curious Obſerver of theſe Times, and left in the Herald's Office; which ſpeaking of the Year 1687, proceeds thus:

The great Buſineſs of this Summer was the mighty Endeavours the *Romaniſts* make to oblige and diſpoſe People to be conſenting to the Repeal of the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*, at the Meeting of the next Parliament, which is only hindred from being call'd, becauſe to effect this, their Power as yet is impotent. In order to it, all Things are roundly manag'd, and not a Stone is left unturn'd that they think can forward the ſame: All their Policy and Intereſt is employ'd therein; the King being reſolv'd upon it, as appears in his *Declaration.* To which purpoſe the *Diſſenters* are pitch'd on as the propereſt Tools to perform this *great and glorious Work*, as all their Writers term it; and therefore they are only careſs'd and flatter'd, the Church of *England*'s Mind being known by her not Addreſſing. And altho' when the Duke of *Monmouth* was in the *Weſt*, the *Diſſenters* were moſt of them thrown into Priſon, as not to be truſted, they are the Men now in Favour, advanc'd to the greateſt Places in the Kingdom, and are become the only Loyaliſts: And now all the Corporations of *England* were, by Commiſſion, new regulated, the old Loyaliſts turn'd out, and new ones put in. All the Aldermen of the City are turn'd out, and *Diſſenters* made in their Room: The Liſts of the Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, *&c.* of the ſeveral Counties of *England* are review'd, and ſuch as wou'd not promiſe to employ their Intereſt in this Affair, turn'd out of Commiſſion, and others who wou'd, plac'd in their Room; who go into their ſeveral Counties to diſcourſe the Gentry, and diſcover their Inclinations, and requeſt them to promiſe that they will ſend ſuch Members to the next Parliament, that ſhall take off the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts.* But the Gentry are very backward in promiſing any ſuch Thing; and in many Places the Lord-Lieutenants that ſummon them, receive but blunt Anſwers, as in *Dorſetſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Suffolk*, &c. The more to influence them, all ſuch Juſtices of the Peace are alſo turn'd out of Commiſſion that they apprehend will not be aiding to the ſame, and *Diſſenters* made in their Room; beſides many other Officers about the Court that are turn'd out of their Places.---- The Pamphlets, which are numerous, that are writ on this Subject are mere Trifles, they all beg the Repeal, and are purely made up of Perſuaſive Paragraphs, and fulſome Compliments to the *Diſſenters*, ſtill ſounding, ' What Beſſings they will ' reap by the ſame, and what Fools they will be, if they ' let ſlip this Opportunity.' But the Labour they uſe to bring this about, and the mighty Pains they take to make the Diſſenters ſenſible of their Happineſs, cauſes People to ſuſpect the Reality thereof. All this was done in order to this great Deſign this Year, and many other State Politicians are employ'd; the Judges have it in their Charges for their Circuits, to repreſent *the great Encreaſe of Trade ſince the laſt Indulgence*, &c. yet the *Romaniſts* moſt plauſible Reaſonings are evidently no better than little Tricks and Sophiſms; and ſeem intended by themſelves rather to abuſe the Simple, than to ſatisfy the Wiſe. Thus far the Manuſcript.

A new Set of Addreſſes.

After the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the numerous Addreſſes that fill'd the *Gazettes* all this Summer, began to vary in their Phraſe, and to add new Promiſes beſides thoſe of *Lives* and *Fortunes*, which were by degrees look'd upon as too general; and many of them expreſsly promis'd to chuſe ſuch Repreſentatives as ſhou'd be ready to anſwer and obey the King's Deſire. Thus the *Diſſenters* in the County of *Oxford*, tell the King; ' When your ſacred Ma' jeſty, in your great Wiſdom, ſhall think fit to ſummon ' another Parliament, we will uſe our utmoſt Endea' vours to elect ſuch Perſons as may abrogate and aboliſh ' ſuch Laws as have impeded the free Exerciſe of Religion.' Thus again the *Diſſenters* of *Cirenceſter* in *Glouceſterſhire*, ſay, ' We aſſure your Majeſty, That whenſoever you ſhall ' pleaſe to ſummon a new Parliament, we ſhall uſe our ' beſt Endeavours for the Election of ſuch Members as ' ſhall comply with your Majeſty's gracious Intentions, of ' abrogating all the *Penal Laws* for Matters of mere Re' ligion.' And even the High-Sheriff, with the Grand-Jury and Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Hereford*, were ſo pack'd together by the Court, as to aſſure the King, ' That whenſoever your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to ' call another Parliament, all Places will concur to elect ' ſuch Members as will be ready and diſpos'd to ſecond ' your clement Inclinations to aboliſh the *Teſt* and *Penal* ' *Laws.*

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The King takes a Progreſs.

It was chiefly to ſolicite this great Cauſe, that the King took a long Progreſs this Summer; and one of his cloſeſt Attendants, was his Loyal Friend *William Penn*, the reputed *Quaker*. The Deſign of the King's Journey was given out in Publick, to be the taking a View of his Ports and Harbours, and particularly of the Haven and Fortifications of *Portſmouth*; but the ſecret Intention appear'd plainly, the influencing and preparing the Electors of every Corporation through which he paſs'd. And as the Preſence of a Sovereign King naturally raiſes an awful Veneration on the Minds of thoſe who ſeldom approach Majeſty; it can hardly be expreſs'd with what joyful Acclamations he was receiv'd, and what Loyal Acknowledgments were paid him at *Portſmouth*, *Wincheſter*, *Bath*, *Glouceſter*, *Worceſter*, *Ludlow*, *Shrewsbury*, *Cheſter*, *Newport*, *Litchfield*, *Coventry*, *Briſtol*, *Banbury*, and other Places; which gave his Majeſty great Hopes and Expectations. The Univerſity of *Oxford* diſtinguiſh'd themſelves upon this ſolemn Occaſion, endeavouring by all poſſible Demonſtrations of Duty and Reſpect to remove the King's Prepoſſeſſions againſt them: But all their elegant Speeches and exquiſite Entertainments were not ſufficient to attone for the Oppoſition given to his Majeſty's Command, with relation to *Magdalen*-College: And this naturally brings us to the Continuation of the Narrative of that remarkable Affair, begun in the laſt Chapter.

Continuation of the Proceedings againſt Magdalen *College.*

2. The Court having dropp'd Mr. *Farmer*, and iſſu'd a ſecond *Mandate* for Biſhop *Parker* to be Preſident, as is already remember'd; a Letter was ſent from the Earl of *Sunderland* to the Society of *Magdalen*-College, to let them know, ' That the King expected a ready Obedience ' to be paid to his Pleaſure, and deſired a ſpeedy Account ' of their Proceedings.' But the Fellows, finding the Biſhop unqualify'd by the Statutes of the College, and having already legally fill'd up the Preſidentſhip by Dr. *Hough*, did think themſelves oblig'd by their Oaths not to obey the *Mandate*, nor to proceed to a ſecond E[illegible]tion. The King was ſo incens'd at this freſh Contempt of his Orders, that he reſolv'd to make *Oxford* a Part of his Progreſs, and to ſhew his Reſentment in Perſon. Being arriv'd there, on the 4th of *September*, he commanded the Fellows of *Magdalen*-College to attend him at his Lodgings at *Chriſt-Church*; where he ask'd Dr. *Pudſey*, the Senior of the Fellows that appear'd before him, *Whether they did receive his Letter*? Upon the Doctor's anſwering, *They did*; the King in an angry Tone reply'd, *Then you have not dealt with me like Gentlemen: You have done very uncivilly and undutifully by me.* Here they all kneel'd down, and Dr. *Pudſey* offer'd a Petition, in which they ſhew'd, ' their unexpreſſible Affliction in finding themſelves re' duc'd to ſuch an Extremity, that either they muſt diſo' bey his Majeſty's Commands, contrary to their Inclina' tions, and that conſtant Courſe of Loyalty which they ' had ſhew'd upon all Occaſions, or elſe break their Foun' ders Statutes, and deliberately perjure themſelves.' Then mentioning the Statutes and the Oaths, every one were bound to obſerve and take, ' they humbly beſeech'd his Maje' ſty to give them leave to lay their Caſe and themſelves at his ' Feet, and that he wou'd extend to them that Grace and ' Tenderneſs which he vouchſaf'd to all his other Subjects.' But their ſubmiſſive Poſture did not appeaſe the King, who refuſing their Petition, vented himſelf in theſe ſurprizing Words; *Ye have been a ſtubborn, turbulent College; I have known you theſe ſix and twenty Years; and ye have affronted me in this. Is this your Church of* England *Loyalty? One wou'd wonder to find ſo many Church of* England *Men in ſuch a Buſineſs. Go home, and ſhew your ſelves good Members of the Church of* England. *Get you gone!* ------- *Know, I am your King!----I will be obey'd; and I command you to be gone!*----- *Go and admit the Biſhop of* Oxford Head, Principal, *what d'ye call it*, ------ *I mean* Preſident *of the College. Let them that refuſe know, They ſhall feel the Weight of their Sovereign's Diſpleaſure.* Upon which the Fellows going out of the King's Preſence, they were call'd back, and ask'd, *Whether they had not admitted Mr.* Holben *Fellow, ſince they receiv'd his Inhibition*? They anſwer'd, *There was no new Election or Admiſſion, but only the Conſummation of a former Election. The Conſummation of a former Election*, cry'd the King, *is downright Diſobedience, and a freſh Aggravation.*----- *Get ye home, I ſay, again; and immediately repair to your Chapel, and Elect the Biſhop of* Oxford, *or elſe you muſt expect to fell the Weight of my Hand.*--- Thereupon the Fellows once more offer'd their Petition upon their Knees; but the King cry'd out, *Get you gone; I'll receive none from you, till you have obey'd me, and admitted the Biſhop of* Oxford. Upon which they immedi-

The King reprimands the Fellows at Oxford.

They refuſe to elect the Biſhop of Oxford.

ately went to their Chapel, and Dr. *Pudſey* propoſing, *Whether they muſt obey the King*? They readily anſwer'd, ‘They were as ready to obey his Majeſty in all Things that lay in their Power, as any of the reſt of his Subjects; but the Electing of the Biſhop of *Oxford*, being directly contrary to their Statutes, and the poſitive Oath they had taken, they cou'd not apprehend it in their Power to obey him in this Matter.

Accordingly they drew up an Addreſs, expreſſing the ſaid Reſolutions in the moſt ſubmiſſive Terms, which they gave to the Lord President *Sunderland*, and which was afterwards deliver'd to the King in his Progreſs at *Bath*. Wherever his Majeſty came, *he work'd a miraculous Converſion*, as his Flatterers expreſs'd it, except in *Oxford*; and therefore this being the only Oppoſition he receiv'd in his whole Journey, it cou'd not but provoke a Monarch, who expected to be obey'd in every thing. Yet before he made *Magdalen*-College feel the Weight of his Diſpleaſure, *William Penn*, who with a Jeſuitical Conſcience promoted King *James*'s Deſigns, was induſtriouſly employ'd; ‘Not to trapan them,’ as he pretended in a Letter to one of the Senior Fellows, ‘but out of a paſſionate Concern for their Intereſt, to perſuade them either to a Compliance with his Majeſty's Letter, or to think among themſelves of ſome Expedient, to prevent the Ruin of their College and themſelves; and to offer it to his Majeſty's Conſideration, That the Order for the *Quo Warranto* againſt the Colleges might be recall'd, before it was too late; for they cou'd not but be ſenſible how highly his Majeſty was incens'd againſt them. Every Mechanick, adds *Penn*, knows the Temper of his preſent Majeſty, who never will receive a Baffle in any thing that he heartily eſpouſes; and that he does this, your ſelves have had too late and manifeſt an Inſtance to doubt of his Zeal in the Affair. Where there are ſo many Statutes to be obſerv'd, it is impoſſible but ſome muſt be broken at one time or other; and I am inform'd by the Learned in the Law, *That a Failure in any one Point forfeits your Grant, and lays your College open to the Royal Diſpleaſure.* I cou'd, ſays he in the Concluſion, give many other prudent Arguments that might poſſibly incline you to put an End to your Troubles almoſt at any Rate; but I ſhall only ſuggeſt this one thing to you, That your fatal Overthrow would be a fair Beginning of the ſo much aim'd at *Reformation*, firſt of the Univerſity, then of the Church, and adminiſter ſuch an Opportunity to the Enemy, as may not perhaps occur in his Majeſty's Reign.

William' Penn'*s Letter to them.*

Their Anſwer.

To this Letter the College return'd a handſome Anſwer; wherein, among other Things, they declare, ‘They are not conſcious of ever having given his Majeſty any juſt Offence, and therefore have no Reaſon to fear the iſſuing out of a *Quo Warranto* againſt them: And as for the reſt, they believe no Inſtance can be given of a *Quo Warranto* brought againſt a College or Hall in the Univerſities, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Corporation, for the Abuſes of ſome of the Conſtitutions and Franchiſes in them: That the Miſdemeanours of particular Perſons will not deſtroy a College; and that if the Corporation of a College ſhou'd be diſſolv'd, the Revenues thereof will return to the Founders Heirs, and not devolve to the Crown. That if their College muſt be the firſt Example of that kind, they ſhall be better juſtify'd by the Obſervation of their Statutes, at leaſt to God and their own Conſciences, than they cou'd by a voluntary and deliberate Breach of them.’ Then they concluded with mentioning ‘their Loyalty to the Crown, particularly in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, when they rais'd a Company at their own Charges, and under the Command of their Fellows engag'd againſt him.

Commiſſioners ſent to viſit them.

The Biſhop of Cheſter'*s Speech to them.*

3. When all the Perſuaſions of *Penn*, and Endeavours of other Perſons, wou'd not prevail upon the Fellows to act contrary to their Conſciences, the King appointed an inferior ſort of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, namely, Dr. *Cartwright* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Sir *Robert Wright*, Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, and Sir *Thomas Jenner*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, who were ſent down to *Oxford*, to viſit *Magdalen-College* in particular. The Fellows were all cited to appear before thoſe Commiſſioners, who ſate in the College-Hall on the 21ſt Day of *October* in the Morning. The Preſident Dr. *Hough*, and all the Fellows appearing, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* open'd the Meeting with a particular Speech, in which he began with ſevere Reflections upon Diſloyalty and Diſobedience, eſpecially ‘On their undutiful Behaviour to his Majeſty when at their Univerſity, in denying Compliance with his juſt and reaſonable Requeſt.’ He urg'd, ‘That the Church of *England* taught an *unconditional* and *unlimited Obedience*; and then enlarg'd upon his Majeſty's gracious Temper, that wou'd have no Man oppreſs'd in Things againſt his Conſcience, but wou'd ſuffer all Men to worſhip God in their own Way. In the mean time, continu'd he, we cannot but ſuppoſe that his Majeſty willl make uſe of all prudent and lawful Methods to encourage thoſe of his own Religion, without injuring the Church of *England*, which is, at preſent, the Religion by Law Eſtabliſh'd; for his Majeſty will maintain that Altar, at which he himſelf does not worſhip; but at preſent we are in more Danger of *Prophaneneſs* than *Popery*.’ He farther told them, ‘That their Corporation, as others, was a Creature of the Crown; and that it was Inſolence in their Local Statutes, to ſpurn againſt their Maker: That their Diſtempers had brought this Viſitation upon them, the Conſequences of which might be ill to the Church and Univerſities. He exhorted them by the Bowels of Chriſt to conſider theſe Things.’ He told them, *That the Eyes of the World were upon them, and they ought to take Care, that their Practices might not influence their deluded Admirers.* In ſum, the whole Deſign of this Speech, ſeem'd by Promiſes and Threats, to endeavour to bring them to a Compliance.

His Queries to them.

The Commiſſioners deprive Dr. Hough.

In the Afternoon, the Commiſſioners being again ſate, and the Society before them, after ſome Endeavours of Dr. *Hough* the Preſident, for longer Time to adviſe with Council, and to get a Copy of the Commiſſion, which was deny'd; the Preſident was ask'd by the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Whether they wou'd ſubmit to this Viſitation*? To which the Doctor anſwer'd in the Name of himſelf, and the greater Part of the Fellows, *That they ſubmitted to it, as far as was conſiſtent with the Laws of the Land, and the Statutes of the College, and no farther*; and deſired their Lordſhips, *that this Declaration might be recorded.* Whereupon Mr. Juſtice *Wright* ask'd him, *Whether they cou'd imagine that they acted againſt the Law of the Land*? *As to the Statutes, the King had diſpens'd with them.* The next Queſtion the Biſhop put to the Preſident, was, *Whether they obſerv'd all thoſe Statutes*? and he anſwer'd, *He hop'd they did*; the Biſhop reply'd, *You have a Statute for Maſs; Why don't you read Maſs*? This Queſtion from a Biſhop was a little ſurpriſing, but the Preſident ſoon anſwer'd it, by telling him, *That the Matter of that Oath was unlawful, and conſequently not obligatory*; *and beſides, That that Statute was taken away by the Laws of the Land.* After ſeveral other frivolous Expoſtulations, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* peremptorily demanded, Firſt, *All their Regiſters.* Secondly, *An Account of the Revenues of the College, and of their Benefactors*; *to what Uſe their Money was aſſigned, how employ'd, and how far converted to other Uſes, or in plain Terms, how far it was deſign'd for Hoſpitality.* Thirdly, *A Copy of all the Leaſes they had let for two Years laſt paſt.* Then the Decree, declaring the Preſident's Election null and void, being read, the Preſident objected, *That being never cited before the Commiſſioners, nor heard by them either in Perſon or by Proxy, he thought himſelf the firſt Inſtance of any Man that was ever depriv'd of his Freehold, wherein he was legally inveſted.*

His Proteſtation applauded.

The next Morning Dr. *Hough* was ſeveral Times required to deliver up the Keys and quiet Poſſeſſion of his Lodgings, to the Perſon whom his Majeſty had appointed Preſident; which the Doctor refuſing to obey, ſtill alledging the Legality of his Election, the King's Proctor ſtood up, and accus'd him of Contumacy: And then the Biſhop of *Cheſter* admoniſh'd him three Times, *To depart peaceably out of his Lodgings, and to act no longer as Preſident, or pretended Preſident of his College.* On the ſame Day in the Afternoon, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ask'd the Fellows, *Whether they wou'd admit the Biſhop of* Oxford *Preſident*; *ſince Dr.* Hough'*s Place was declared void*? To which the greateſt Part anſwer'd, *They cou'd not do it without premeditated Perjury, and therefore wou'd not do it.* During this Examination Dr. *Hough* came into Court, without any Attendance, and having waited till it was ended, and the Commiſſioners at a Pauſe, he deſired Leave to ſpeak a few Words; which being granted, he bravely ſaid, *Since you have been pleas'd to deprive me of my Place of Preſident of this College, I do proteſt againſt all your Proceedings, in Prejudice of me and my Right, as illegal, unjuſt, and null*; *and therefore I appeal to my Sovereign Lord the King in his Courts of Juſtice.* This ſo tranſported the Strangers and young Sholars in the Room, that they gave a triumphant *Humm!*-----which ſo incens'd the Commiſſioners, that notwithſtanding all the Proteſtations the Preſident and Fellows cou'd make, the former offering to purge himſelf by Oath, that he was no ways acceſſary to it; yet the Lord Chief-Juſtice was not to be pacify'd, but charging it upon Dr. *Hough*, bound him in a Bond of a thouſand Pounds, and Security to the like Value, to make his Appearance at the *King's-Bench* Bar the Term following. Moreover the Lord Chief-Juſtice ſaid, *They had met with nothing but Affronts from the College: That as for himſelf, he valu'd not what People ſaid of him, but was reſolv'd to vindicate the Honour of his Maſter to the laſt Drop of his Blood*; *and if the Civil Power cou'd not keep them in Order, the Military*

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ſhou'd: At which Time ſeveral Officers then in Town, came into the Room. The ingenious Baron *Jenner* likewiſe ſhew'd his Reſentment upon this Occaſion; by punning upon the Preſident's Name, and ſaying to him, *Sir, you muſt not think to Huff* (Hough) *us.*

The Commiſſioners inſtall Biſhop Parker *by Proxy.*

The Court having met again three Days after, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ask'd the Fellows, *Whether they wou'd inſtall the Biſhop of* Oxford *Preſident, or aſſiſt at his Inſtalment*? To this they anſwer'd, as in the former Caſe, *That as they cou'd not do it without deliberate Perjury, ſo it was not in their Power to do it.* Whereupon they adjourn'd to the Chapel, and put Mr. *Wiggins*, Chaplain to the Biſhop of *Oxford*, impower'd as a Proxy, into the Preſident's Stall, in the Abſence of all the Fellows but Mr. *Charnock*; and he took the Oaths enjoin'd by the Statutes at the Admiſſion of a Preſident, with the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. Then the Commiſſioners conducted him to the Preſident's Lodgings, where knocking three Times, and the Door not being open'd, a *Smith* was ſent for to force it open, and Mr. *Wiggins*, in his Lord's Name, took Poſſeſſion of the Lodgings. Immediately after, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ask'd the Fellows, *Whether they wou'd obey the Biſhop of* Oxford, *as now inſtall'd Preſident, by Virtue of the King's Mandate*? Dr. *Fairfax* briskly anſwer'd, *He neither cou'd nor wou'd obey him, having already a lawful and ſtatutable Preſident.* Dr. *T. Smith* and Mr. *Charnock* comply'd with his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and others deſir'd Time to conſider on ſo weighty a Queſtion, which was granted; the Biſhop of *Cheſter* bidding them go and conſult about it among themſelves. In the Afternoon this Anſwer was given in by the Society, except Dr. *Fairfax:* 'That whereas his Majeſty had been pleas'd by his Royal Authority, to cauſe the Biſhop of *Oxford* to be inſtall'd Preſident, they did ſubmit as far as was lawful and agreeable to the Statutes of the College, and no way prejudicial to the Right and Title of Dr. *Hough*.' This Anſwer was accepted, except the laſt Clauſe, which the Lord Chief-Juſtice, and Baron *Jenner* declar'd, as Judges, to be inſignificant, *Since nothing they cou'd do, cou'd any way invalidate Dr.* Hough'*s Title, but left them ſtill at Liberty to be Witneſſes for him, or to be any other way ſerviceable to him in the Recovery of his Right:* And upon this Aſſurance, the Society was prevail'd with to leave out the laſt Clauſe. Dr. *Fairfax* perſiſting in his former Anſwer, receiv'd Sentence of *Expulſion*; againſt which he proteſted as null, unjuſt and unlawful. This Proteſtation was over-rul'd by the Commiſſioners, and a Copy of the Sentence deny'd; tho' moſt earneſtly deſired at the Inſtance of Dr. *Hedges* and Mr. Vice-Chancellor, two Days after.

The Fellows are farther examin'd.

The Commiſſioners now thought they had gain'd their Point, and in a better Humour, declar'd, *That they were well ſatisfy'd with the Anſwer the Society had given them*; and tho' before they had laid a *Libel* to their Charge, yet that Night they declared, *They had met with nothing but Civility, and that they ſhou'd receive the ſame from them; and that they had ſhewn themſelves Men of excellent Temper, and that they wou'd repreſent them faithfully Above to their Advantage*; and immediately they diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Court, with an Account of their Proceedings. On the next Morning, the Fellows having been order'd before to bring in their Anſwers to the following Queries, '1. What Gifts and Proviſions they had for the Entertainment of Strangers? 2. What was the Value of them? 3. How they were apply'd? 4. And where was the Place of Entertainment?' They made it very ſatisfactorily appear, that one Year with another, they gave almoſt a hundred Pounds in Charity-Money, over and above what by their Statutes they were oblig'd to give. Upon which their Lordſhips expatiated upon their generous Bounty and Liberality, ſaying, *The Complaint on this Account was groundleſs; and that wou'd induce his Majeſty to entertain better Thoughts of them in other Matters.* The Day after, the Fellows having preſented to the Commiſſioners a Liſt of Leaſes, which had been renew'd for two Years laſt paſt, Mr. *Charnock*, the new Convert, ask'd their Lordſhips, Whether their Leaſes ſtood good, which had been ſeal'd ſince Dr. *Hough*'s Election? The Lord Chief-Juſtice anſwer'd, *Yes; for Corporations always ſpeak by their Seals.* Then their Lordſhips perus'd the College-Regiſters; and finding nothing in them to which they cou'd object, they were return'd, and the Court adjourn'd.

A particular Submiſſion expected from them.

Things now ſeem'd to go favourably for the Majority of the Society, when on *Friday* the 28th of *October*, the Commiſſioners convening the Fellows, acquainted them, That they had repreſented them fairly to the King; but that his Majeſty expected ſome *farther Submiſſion*, which they advis'd them to make, *By acknowledging their Contempt to his Sacred Majeſty in Perſon, and to his Letters; That they ſhou'd promiſe to behave themſelves loyally for the future; That they ſhou'd own the Proceedings and Legality of the Court, implore his Majeſty's Pardon, and lay themſelves at his Feet; and that they ſhou'd declare their entire Submiſſion to the Biſhop of* Oxford, *as their Preſident.* To this the Fellows gave their Anſwer in Writing, 'That they had endeavour'd in all their Actions, to expreſs their Duty to his Majeſty; and being conſcious to themſelves, that in the whole Conduct of the Buſineſs before their Lordſhips, they had done nothing but what their *Oaths* and *Statutes* had indiſpenſably oblig'd them to, they cou'd not make any *Declaration*, whereby they acknowledg'd that they had done any thing amiſs; having acted according to the Principles of Loyalty and Obedience, ſo far as they cou'd, without doing Violence to their *Conſciences*, or Prejudice to their *Rights*, (one of which they conceiv'd the Electing a Preſident to be) from which they were ſworn upon no Account to depart.' Upon the Peruſal of this Anſwer, their Lordſhips expreſs'd their Diſlike to it, ſaying, *It did not come up to the Addreſs ſent to his Majeſty at* Bath, *nor to the Paper they deliver'd three Days before.* Whereupon a freſh Queſtion being put to the Fellows, *Whether they wou'd obey the Biſhop of* Oxford *as their Preſident.* All, except one or two, anſwer'd, *They cou'd not do it.* Then Mr. *Fulham*, being particularly interrogated, he alledg'd, *That the Biſhop of* Oxford *had not Poſſeſſion in due Form of Law, nor by proper Officers; and that he was inform'd that the proper Officers to give Poſſeſſion of a* Free-Hold *was the Sheriff, with a* Poſſe Comitatus. To this the Lord-Chief-Juſtice reply'd in a Paſſion, *Pray, who is the beſt Lawyer, you or I? Your* Oxford *Law is no better than your* Oxford *Divinity; if you have a Mind to a* Poſſe Comitatus, *you may have one ſoon enough.* Mr. *Fulham* endeavour'd to make an Excuſe for what he had ſaid, which their Lordſhips rejected; and having thought fit to ſuſpend him from the Profits of his Fellowſhip, for his *Contempt, and opprobrious Language*, they adjourn'd till the 16th of *November*; and ſo immediately left *Oxford* and went to *London*.

Which they refuſe.

The Commiſſioners return to London.

They go a ſecond time to Oxford.

4. After the King had ſeen an Account of the Proceedings of the Viſitors, being ſtill unſatisfy'd, his Majeſty order'd them, 'That at their Return to the College, they ſhou'd ſummon all the Fellows before them, and endeavour to make them ſenſible of their Offences; and if they ſhou'd refuſe to ſubſcribe the above-mention'd Submiſſion, immediately to expel them for their Obſtinacy.' Purſuant to theſe Inſtructions, the Lords Commiſſioners return'd to *Oxford* on the 16th of *November*; and being ſat, the firſt Thing they did, was to ſend for the *Buttery-Book*; then they call'd for Mr. *Joyner* and Mr. *Allibone*, two *Roman* Catholicks, whom they enter'd actual Fellows, all Oaths being diſpens'd with, beſides that of the College.

The Biſhop of Cheſter's *ſecond Speech to the Fellows.*

Having gone ſo far, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* again made a formal Speech to the Fellows, wherein he told them: 'That their many Contempts and wilful Diſobedience had occaſion'd this Viſitation, which wou'd end at laſt in their Ruin: That their Society had been long exercis'd in the Methods of Quarrelling, had always been troubled with factious Spirits, and teſty Mutineers, ever ſince the Reſtoration of the late King: That they had encourag'd Quarrels among themſelves; Quarrels between themſelves and Preſident; Quarrels at length, between themſelves and Viſitor. That by theſe Steps, from quarrelling with the Preſident and Viſitor, they had at laſt advanc'd to the higheſt Pitch of Inſolence, to quarrel with their Prince, and affront his Sacred Majeſty.' Then he endeavour'd to make them ſenſible of their irregular Conduct, and heinous Offences, from their firſt diſobeying the King's *Mandate*, to that Day; and told them, 'They urg'd the Obſervances of their Statutes, of which they had not been ſo conſtant Obſervers when their own Humour prompted them to a Diſpenſation; witneſs that of being ſerv'd *per Maſculos*, by which great Scandals had come to the Society by reaſon of Baſtards. His Majeſty, added he, was extremely amaz'd that his Clemency ſhou'd be deſpis'd; but yet, to your Comforts be it ſpoken, his Patience and Goodneſs extend as far as your Provocations can: But if you will perſiſt in your Obſtinacy, thoſe that are too tall to ſtand, and too ſtubborn to bend, deſerve to be broken. And now I think I have ſaid enough to let you know, that the Fig-Leaves you have ſo artfully ſtitch'd together, are not ſufficient to cover your Nakedneſs. I wiſh to God you had the ſame Tenderneſs for your Concern, as his Majeſty's Commiſſioners have for you. But if you ſtill perſiſt to oppoſe the Royal Power of the King, we, who are come to vindicate the Right and Honour of his Majeſty, reſolve to diſcharge our Conſciences, and Duties to God and the King, without any Reſpect of Popularity; that's but the Paradiſe of Fools, and Scorn of Wiſe Men; and therefore as for us, we have no more Regard to People's Diſlike, than what they dream. By reaſon therefore of your late *hypocritical Submiſſion*, the Commiſſioners have thought fit to draw up an Inſtrument, to which, if you

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‘ will immediately ſubſcribe, before you leave the Room, we ſhall leave you to his Majeſty's Pardon: And this we expect from you all, except Dr. *Thomas Smith* and Mr. *Charnock*, with whoſe Behaviour the King is ſo well ſatisfy'd, that he expects no more from them.

They are depriv'd, and made incapable of any Benefice.

The above-mention'd Submiſſion being read to the Fellows, all, except Dr. *Thomas Smith* and Mr. *Charnock*, refus'd to ſign it. Mr. *Thompſon* being call'd in his Turn, alledg'd *he had always been obedient to the King's Commands; that he was not concern'd in the Election of Dr.* Hough; *that he voted for Mr.* Farmer, *and was ready to ſubmit to the Biſhop of* Oxford; and ſo he was excus'd. After a ſhort time, all who refus'd to Sign the Submiſſion, being twenty five in Number, were call'd in, and by Sentence of their Lordſhips totally Depriv'd, and Expell'd from their Fellowſhips, *for their Diſobedience to his Majeſty's Commands, and obſtinately contemning his Royal Authority*; againſt which they all proteſted, declaring, *They wou'd uſe all juſt and legal Ways of being reliev'd.* This Sentence was confirm'd by a ſhocking Decree made at *White-hall* by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, declaring, not only the Deprivation of Dr. *Hough*, and the ſaid twenty five Fellows, ‘ But that they ſhou'd be incapable of receiving, or being admitted into any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, Benefice or Promotion; and ſuch of them who were not in Holy Orders, they adjudg'd incapable of receiving, or being admitted into the ſame.’ Thus by a Sentence of an illegal Court, a famous Society of learned and worthy Proteſtants were turn'd out of their Free-Holds, to make room for a *Popiſh* Seminary; and thus was the unfortunate King prevail'd with by his evil Miniſters to aſſume a Power, not only to diſpenſe with *Laws*, but likewiſe with *Oaths*. After the Expulſion of the Fellows, moſt of the *Demy's* were likewiſe turn'd out of *Magdalen-College* by the Biſhop of *Oxford*, and Mr. *Charnock* his Vice-Preſident, and *Roman* Catholicks put in their Places.

Biſhop Par*ker's Book.*

To acknowledge the King's Favours, the Biſhop of *Oxford* ſoon after publiſh'd a Book, call'd, *Reaſons for Abrogating the Teſt, impos'd upon all Members of Parliament*; which Book was Licens'd by the Earl of *Sunderland* himſelf; and his Majeſty commanded the Stationers not to print any Anſwer to the ſame. This was very ſurpriſing from a Biſhop of the Church of *England*; and the more ſo, when it was found that he had treated the chief Divines of it with an Inſolence ſuperior to any of its open Enemies. Therefore, notwithſtanding the King's Commands, ſeveral ſharp Anſwers came out againſt it; but none made greater Noiſe at this time than that written by Dr. *Burnet*; out of which we may take notice of two or three Paſſages. He unluckily turns theſe Words in the Title-Page, *Written for the Author's own Satisfaction, and now publiſh'd for the Benefit of all others whom it may concern.* But, ſays he, the Words are certainly wrong plac'd; for the Truth of the Matter is, That it was *written for the Author's own Benefit, and now publiſh'd for the Satisfaction of all others whom it may concern.*

Burnet*'s Reflections upon it.*

Speaking of the whole Body of the Biſhops, he ſays, ‘ If there were two or three ſuch as he among the twenty ſix, they may comfort themſelves with this, That a Dozen of *much better* Men, had one among them, that I confeſs was not *much worſe*, if it was not for this, that he let the Price of his Treachery fall much lower than *Sam. Oxon* does.’ Again he ſays, ‘ When one reflects on two of the Biſhops that were of that venerable Body, whoſe Memory will be bleſſed in the preſent and following Ages, thoſe two great and good Men that fill'd the *Sees* of *Cheſter* and *Oxford*, we muſt conclude, that as the World was not worthy of them, ſo certainly their *Sees* were not worthy of them, ſince they have been plagu'd with ſuch *Succeſſors*------- With what ſenſible Regret muſt thoſe who were ſo often edify'd with the Gravity, the Piety, the Generoſity, and Charity of the late Biſhop of *Oxford*, look on, when they ſee ſuch a *Harlequin* in his Room.’ Having charg'd Dr. *Burnet* with writing *Lampoons* upon the preſent Princes of *Chriſtendom*, the Doctor retorts it upon him, with this ſatyrical Period; ‘ It is *Lampoon* enough upon the Age, that he is a Biſhop, but it is a downright *Reproach* that he is made the *Champion* of a Cauſe, which, if it is bad of it ſelf, muſt ſuffer extremely by being in ſuch Hands.

The Arrival of the Pope's Nuntio.

5. While the unequal Proceedings againſt *Magdalen-College* were depending, the King thought fit to give a Spectacle to his Subjects, which made them ſufficiently to underſtand, that he deſign'd to ſhew very little Regard to the Eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Nation. For as an Ambaſſador had been the laſt Year humbly ſent to *Rome*; ſo a *Nuntio* from thence was this Year to be ſolemnly and magnificently receiv'd. *Signior Ferdinando D'Adda*, Domeſtick Prelate and Aſſiſtant to the Pope, who was the Queen's Favourite, and had follow'd the Court ever ſince the King's Acceſſion to the Crown, was declared Apoſtolical *Nuntio* the Year before, tho' in a private Manner; but to compleate the Character with more Pomp and Luſtre, he was conſecrated Arch-Biſhop of *Amaſia*, in the Royal Chapel at *White-hall*, by Biſhop *Leyburn*, Vicar Apoſtolical in *England*, aſſiſted by two other *Iriſh* Biſhops. And tho' by Law it was High-Treaſon for any to aſſume the Character of the Pope's *Nuntio*; he was now to make his Publick Entry as a foreign Ambaſſador, which he did on the 3d of *July* at *Windſor* with all Ceremony and Solemnity.

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His publick Reception.

This being a Sight that had not been ſeen in *England* for a hundred and fifty Years before, the Concourſe of People was very extraordinary upon this Occaſion: And it is hard to ſay, whether their Surpriſe at the Pomp and Grandeur of the Solemnity, was greater than their Indignation to behold the *Nuntio* in all his *Pontificalibus*, preceded by a Croſs-Bearer, and a Flock of Prieſts and Monks in the Habits of their reſpective Orders. We are aſſur'd that this Ceremony occaſion'd the Diſgrace of that celebrated Patriot the Duke of *Somerſet*, firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the King: For his Grace being then in Waiting, and the King having order'd him to attend the *Nuntio* to his Audience, he deſired his Majeſty to excuſe him from an Office which the Laws of the Land made criminal. The King reiterated his Orders; but his Grace perſiſting in his Denial, his Majeſty told him in a Paſſion, *That he would trouble him no more with any Commands, and therefore he expected he wou'd reſign his Places of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Colonel of the Dragoons.*

The Duke of Somerſet *remov'd.*

To which the Duke was obedient, without the leaſt Concern; as being content to preſerve his Conſcience and Honour, while he loſt nothing but the King's Favour and his Places. We are farther told that a certain Biſhop of the Church, or rather of the Court, was leſs ſcrupulous, and was willing to make up part of the Train, as if he had been one of the *Roman* Retinue. The *Nuntio* wanted an Opportunity to appear publickly in *London*; and therefore it was projected, that he ſhou'd be invited to come with the King himſelf to Dine at *Guild-hall* on the *Lord-Mayor's-Day:* And he was accordingly receiv'd with unuſual Ceremony at *Temple-Bar* by Sir *John Parſons* and Sir *Baſil Firebras*, the two Sheriffs; and was particularly complemented by Sir *John Shorter* the Lord-Mayor, and a profeſs'd *Diſſenter*. And when a publick Account was given by Authority of the Grand Entertainment, eſpecial Care was taken to expreſs, ‘ That among the foreign Miniſters who were invited, there were preſent the Pope's *Nuntio* and the *French* Ambaſſador.’ Some have been of Opinion that this Miniſter was an Inſtrument of puſhing Things to the fatal Extremities that were now in Preparation. But others ſay, He had certainly a greater Share in the Intrigues of the *Ruelle*, or Ladies Aſſembly, than in thoſe of the *Cabinet-Council*; and had too much Senſe to approve of all the Meaſures that were then taken: And therefore he often deſired to be recall'd, leſt he ſhou'd be thought to be really concern'd in them.

The French *Proteſtants reliev'd.*

Notwithſtanding the King's Zeal for his Religion, he this Year extended his Generoſity in a particular Manner to the diſtreſs'd Proteſtants who had lately fled from *France* upon Account of their Religion: For he not only granted them *Briefs*, but gave them alſo large Sums out of his Privy-Purſe, to excite the Charity of his Subjects by his Royal Example. Nevertheleſs, theſe *Briefs* had not all the good Effect that was intended by his Majeſty; many People refuſing to contribute towards theſe charitable Collections, upon an ill-grounded Suſpicion that they were deſign'd by the Court for the Maintenance of *French Papiſts* that were invited over to ſerve the King's Deſigns: Others endeavour'd to leſſen King *James*'s Bounty, by ſaying it was but a Piece of Policy, in order to oblige his *Proteſtant* Subjects, and promote his new Deſign of Toleration. But a *French* Writer well obſerves, all that an Hiſtorian can ſay in this Matter is, that where the Benefit is real, it is a kind of Ingratitude too nicely to enquire into the Motive of it. The poor *Proteſtants* were not backward in expreſſing their Thanks to his Majeſty, particularly the Miniſters of their Church in the *Savoy*; but the latter did it with more Reſerve and Circumſpection, as appear'd upon the following Occaſion: The *Jeſuits* from the Time of their Settlement in the *Savoy*, had a Deſign upon the *French* Chapel there; and Mr. *Pulton* their Rector or Principal, tamper'd with Mr. *Dubourdieu*, in order to engage him to reſign that Church, promiſing him, as from the King, to build them another on any Ground they ſhou'd chuſe between *White-hall* and *Temple-Bar*, with a large Sum of Money beſides. *Monſieur Dubourdieu* made anſwer, That being but one, he deſired time to communicate his Propoſal to other Miniſters, and Church-Wardens in the *Savoy*. Theſe being met upon this critical Affair, it was agreed, That before they ſhou'd give the *Jeſuits* a poſitive Anſwer, they ſhou'd conſult with ſuch Lords who were moſt conſpicuous for their Wiſdom, and Affection to the *Proteſtant* Intereſt. Accordingly Mr.

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Dubourdieu waited upon the Lord *Hallifax*, *Danby*, *Nottingham*, and ſome few others, who all freely adviſ'd them after this Manner; *Never hearken to any Terms with the* Jeſuits; *let them purſue their violent Meaſures*; *ſuffer your ſelves to be thruſt out of your Church*; *for by that Means you will do your own and the Nation's Buſineſs.*

Promotions.

And now it may be Time to conclude the Old Year, as uſually, with Promotions and Deaths of conſiderable Perſons. As to the former, on the 26th of *April*, his Majeſty out of his Royal Favour to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord-Preſident of the Council, and Principal Secretary of State, was pleas'd to honour him with a *Garter*; and he was accordingly inſtall'd at *Windſor* on the 23d of *May*. The Duke of *Berwick*, the King's natural Son, was deſign'd for General of the Standing Forces; and to qualify him with more Experience and Reputation, he was ſent over into *Hungary* to make a Campaign in the *Imperial* Army; and his Majeſty was pleas'd to Knight *Edward Vaudrey*, Eſq; who was to attend his Grace in that Campaign. Captain *William Phipps* being on the 28th of *June* preſented to the King by the Duke of *Albemarle*, his Majeſty received him very graciouſly, and conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon him, in Conſideration of his extraordinary Services in a late Expedition, having brought home a great Treaſure which was taken out of the Sea, after it had lain there forty four Years. The Duke of *Albemarle* himſelf was ſoon after made Governor of *Jamaica*; which Preferment was by many look'd upon as little better than an honourable Baniſhment. In *Auguſt* his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer upon Sir *Francis Ratcliff*, Baronet of *Northumberland*, the Dignity of an Earl of this Kingdom, creating him Baron of *Tindale*, Viſcount *Ratcliff*, and Earl of *Derwentwater*. On *September* the 25th, *Roger* Earl of *Caſtlemain*, his Majeſty's late Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Pope, was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and took his Place at the Board. Within a Month after, his Grace *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, and Sir *Nicholas Butler*, one of the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms, were ſworn, and took their Places at the ſame Board. Laſtly, on the 11th of *November*, the famous political *Jeſuit*, under the Title of the Honourable and Reverend Father *Edward Petre*, Clerk of the Cloſet to the King, was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council, and took his Place at the Board. This laſt Step was wholly againſt the Conſent of the Queen, and the moſt conſiderable *Roman Catholicks*, who look'd upon it as a ſure Way to bring Ruin upon all the King's Affairs and Deſigns; therefore it has been by many accounted one of the Political Strains of the Prime Miniſter: But of that we cannot ſpeak with Certainty.

Father Petre *made Privy Counſellor.*

The Death of Dr. More.

For the Deaths of conſiderable Perſons, we ſhall begin with two Divines of very different Characters, Dr. *Henry More*, and Dr. *Thomas Jacombe*: The firſt was a *Lincon-ſhire* Man by Birth, and of *Chriſt-College* in *Cambridge* by Education, where he continu'd many Years a Fellow, and an Ornament to that worthy Society, both for his deep Learning and exemplary Piety: He was a celebrated *Platoniſt*, one of a large and uncommon Genius, of a ſubtle and penetrating Head, and an indefatigable Searcher into Metaphyſical Notions, Immaterial Subſtances, Spirits, Apparitions, *&c.* being the great Promoter, and almoſt the Founder of Mr. *Glanvill*'s remarkable Opinions. His Works have been much admired in ſeveral Countries, but not ſo much approv'd on, he being thought too Paradoxical in his Philoſophy, if not Heterodoxical in his Divinity; yet his *Ethicks* ſhew him to be a judicious, and his *Metaphyſicks* a profound Writer. The other, Dr. *Jacombe*, was one of the Chief of the *Presbyterian* Divines, born in *Leiceſterſhire*, and for ſome Time educated in both Univerſities, being for a while Fellow of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*. Leaving that Place before the Death of King *Charles* the Firſt, he was made Miniſter of *Ludgate* in *London*, till he was ſilenc'd by the Act of *Uniformity* in 1662, after which he was ſhelter'd by the Counteſs Dowager of *Exeter*. He was a moderate and beneficent Nonconformiſt, a celebrated Preacher, a conſiderable Scholar, and a noted Theologiſt; and at his Death he left behind him an excellent Library of the moſt valuable Books, in all Parts of Learning. After theſe two Divines, we ſhall mention that famous Vertuoſo Sir *William Petty*, who had his Education both abroad and in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was made both Doctor of Phyſick, and Anatomy Profeſſor, and afterwards a Fellow of the College of Phyſicians, and one of the firſt Members of the Royal Society, where he prov'd a moſt ſingular Promoter of Experimental Philoſophy and Mechanick Inſtruments. He was a Man of a moſt pregnant Genius, and of a prodigious working Invention, which he continually reduc'd to Practice; and he finely diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Surveys of *Ireland*, his *Political Arithmetick*, and other Works which prov'd very honourable to himſelf, and uſeful to the Nation.

Dr. Jacombe.

Sir William Petty.

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And the Duke of Buckingham.

Laſt of all we ſhall mention *George Villers* the famous Duke of *Buckingham*, a wonderful Man often mention'd in the late Reign, who in this retir'd to his only Caſtle at *Helmeley* in the North of *Yorkſhire*, where he led a diſſolute unaccountable Life for a Year and a Quarter, and ſpent the wretched Remains of a vaſt Eſtate; and going to hunt near *Kirby-Moreſide*, not far off, he met with his laſt Sickneſs in a Publick Houſe of that Town. Here the Lord *Irwin* his Relation prevail'd upon him to have a Clergy-man to aſſiſt him; who coming before him, ask'd his Grace *Of what Religion he was*? He anſwer'd to this Effect, *It is an inſignificant Queſtion*; *for I have been a Shame and Diſgrace to all Religions*; *if you can do me any Good, do.* He dy'd in that Houſe at about threeſcore Years of Age; in which Period of Time, he had met with as much Variety of Fortunes, Accidents, Sufferings, and Enjoyments in this World, as perhaps any Man in the Kingdom. With him expir'd a noble Family and Eſtate in the Second Generation; and thoſe Honours were now extinguiſhed, which in their Riſe had help'd to ſet the whole Nation into a Flame.

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News of the Queen's being with Child.

II. 1. We are now entering upon the fourth Year of King *James*'s Reign, a Year the moſt formidable and moſt fortunate to the Proteſtant Cauſe, and the Liberties of the Nation, that had hapen'd ſince the Reſtauration Tho' indeed there was no great Reaſon to believe that the King cou'd obtain his Ends by a Parliament, conſidering the general Averſeneſs of Counties, the free Spirit which had always diſtinguiſh'd a Houſe of Commons, and the Difficulty of making a Majority of that numerous Aſſembly, yet the *Proteſtants* were not without their juſt Fears: They found that the Council was almoſt fill'd with *Popiſh* Lords, and that Father *Petre*, his Majeſty's Confeſſor and chief Almoner, was lately admitted, and had a leading Vote in their Conſultations; That the Church of *England*-Men were remov'd from all Employments to make room for *Romaniſts*, and ſuch as under the Name of *Diſſenters* promoted the *Popiſh* Deſigns; and that the King having the Power of *England* in his Hands, and that of *France* in readineſs upon Occaſion, he might be tempted into deſperate Meaſures to eſtabliſh his Religion. Yet ſtill the more moderate and patient among them comforted themſelves with the Thoughts that the King being advanc'd in Years, his Reign therefore cou'd not be long; and that a *Proteſtant* Princeſs, who was the next Heir to the Crown, wou'd ſoon make them forget the Hardſhips of a *Popiſh* Government, and reſtore the happy Days of Queen *Elizabeth*: But they were ſtruck with Conſternation when they heard the Whiſpers of the Queen being with Child, publickly confirm'd by a Proclamation, which appeared on the 2d of *January* in the *Gazette*, and declar'd, 'That 'it had pleas'd Almighty God (who in ſignal Manner 'had bleſs'd his Majeſty and his Kingdoms under his 'Majeſty's Government, with great Proſperity, Peace and 'Plenty) to give his Majeſty, alſo apparent Hopes and 'good Aſſurance of having Iſſue by his Royal Con'ſort the Queen, who, through God's great Goodneſs, 'was now with Child. Wherefore his Majeſty Ap'points, That on the fifteenth of this *January*, within 'the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and upon the 'twenty ninth in all other Places, *Publick Thankſgiving* '*and Solemn Prayer* ſhou'd be offer'd up to God, on 'this Occaſion, in a *Form of Prayer and Religious Ser*'*vice*, to be prepar'd by the Lords the Biſhops of *Dur*'*ham*, *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough*.

A Thankſgiving appointed.

Accordingly theſe three Biſhops, who ſtill acted in the room of the Biſhop of *London*, drew up a Form of *Thankſgiving and Prayer*, at a time when others were willing to decline the Undertaking. In which Form, the following Expreſſions in one of the Prayers, have been particularly remember'd and reflected upon.——'Bleſſed be that 'good Providence which has vouchſaf'd us freſh Hopes 'of Royal Iſſue by our Gracious Queen *Mary*. Strengthen 'Her, we beſeech Thee, and perfect what thou haſt be'gun: Command thy Holy Angels to watch over Her 'continually, and defend Her from all Dangers and evil 'Accidents, that what ſhe has conceiv'd may be happily 'brought forth, to the Joy of our Sovereign Lord the 'King, the further Eſtabliſhment of his Crown, the Hap'pineſs and Welfare of the whole Kingdom, and the Glory of 'thy great Name, *&c.*' However as far as we can learn, theſe and ſome other Expreſſions, were, by the greateſt part of the Clergy, omitted in the Reading, and paſs'd by, and the Day in moſt Places kept with great Coolneſs and Indifferency; not that there wanted Rejoicers and Time-Servers that cou'd make ſufficient amends for the others neglect.

A Particular Prayer.

The *Roman Catholicks*, who ſeem'd already to triumph over the *Proteſtants*, were ſtill more elevated upon this News; and ſo far, that ſome of them had the Aſſurance

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to declare, ‘ That tho’ the Child ſhou’d prove a Daughter, yet it wou’d cut off the Princeſſes of *Orange* and *Denmark* from the Succeſſion, ’ upon a weak Suppoſition, ‘ That a Daughter born ſince the King’s Advancement to the Throne, ought to take Place before Princeſſes born while he was Duke of *York*. ’ And becauſe the Queen’s Big-belly was at this time Strange, therefore it was to be look’d upon as miraculous; and the *Jeſuits* gave it out, ‘ That it was either the Effect of a ſolemn Petition which the late deceas’d Dutcheſs of *Modena* had put up in Heaven to the Bleſſed *Virgin Mary*; or of a Vow the Queen had made to our Lady of *Loretto*, with the Preſent of a Golden Image enrich’d with Precious Stones. ’ Which Stories and Reports ſerv’d more to encreaſe the Suſpicions of the *Proteſtant* Party, who began to recollect former Accounts of Cheats and Impoſtures. They had heard that a like Deceit was attempted in the Reign of Queen *Mary*; when to relieve themſelves from the Fears of a *Proteſtant* Princeſs in Succeſſion, the *Romiſh* Prieſts gave it out, That the Queen was with Child, Prayers were order’d for her ſafe Delivery, and a *Popiſh* Preacher at St. *Paul*’s pretended to tell the Birth, and to deſcribe the Boy; which Sham was ſuppos’d to be defeated only by the Vigilance of King *Philip* himſelf, who wou’d not endure ſuch an Impoſture. The Remembrance of that former Fact gave now a natural Application of it; and the Story of that *Mock-Conception*, as deliver’d by Mr. *Fox*, was now Reprinted and Diſpers’d with the Title of *Idem Iterum*, or, *Queen Mary’s Big-Belly*. Moreover ſeveral Ballads and Lampoons were thrown about the Court, reflecting upon this Matter, and ridiculing both the Prayers and the Biſhops that compos’d them, as that of ‘ *Two* Toms *and a* Nat, *Together ſat*, &c. ’ The old Accounts of Impoſtures, join’d with the fabulous Stories of the Cauſe of the Queen’s Conception, after ſhe had been ſeveral Years Childleſs; the great Care the *Jeſuits* took to inſinuate that ſhe wou’d certainly be deliver’d of a Prince, and ſeveral other concurring Accidents, had a mighty Influence upon the Minds of the *Proteſtants*, who began to look upon the whole as a Suppoſition. However, it cou’d not but keep them in perpetual Alarms; for ſuppoſing it, as they did, to be a *Pious Fraud*, the Diſcovery of it wou’d have been ſo much the more difficult, as it was the Intereſt of the *Popiſh* Party to uſe their utmoſt Care to conceal it.

Suſpicions about it.

Addreſſes upon it.

That from Scarborough.

The Court Party now gather’d viſible Strength upon this News, and taking Advantage of the Fears and Conſternation of the Proteſtants, they procur’d Addreſſes from ſeveral Counties, wherein his Majeſty’s dutiful Subjects not only Congratulated him upon ſo joyful Occaſion, ‘ but aſſur’d him alſo of their ready Compliance in the Electing ſuch Members as ſhou’d concur with his Majeſty’s gracious Intentions of the Abrogation of the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*, equally pernicious to his Majeſty’s *Prerogative*, and his Subjects *Liberty:* ’ Thus that from the County of *Glouceſter*. The Addreſſes from the Counties of *Stafford*, *Monmouth* and *York*, the Cities of *Canterbury* and *Carliſle*, the Towns of *Northampton*, *Totneſs*, &c. were to the ſame Effect. But none was more remarkable, or made a greater Noiſe than that from the Corporation of *Scarborough*, which is therefore inſerted at length as follows: ‘ The Union of *York* and *Lancaſter*, made the Inheritance of this Empire One; the Conjunction of *England* and *Scotland*, made two Kingdoms One; but your Majeſty’s *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*, has made our Intereſt One; every Happineſs was ſucceeded by a Greater, and every ſucceeding Age ſtrove, as it were to outvy the Former. ’Tis true, our Civil Wars have been renew’d in the time of our Fathers; *England* and *Scotland* have again been diſ-united by an unnatural Rebellion; but *Liberty of Conſcience* is ſo ſtrong a Cement that no Age ſhall be able to diſſolve it; its Firmneſs will encreaſe by its Duration; for all Men will endeavour to propagate that Bleſſing which brings a viſible Reward along with it: And if the darling Argument prevails, we have already an ocular Experience of our Profit, Men will not be more ſtudious of tranſmitting a clear Title of their *Poſſeſſions* to their Children, than they will be of leaving an undoubted Inheritance of *Trade*, *Society* and *Brotherly Affection*. In the firſt Place therefore, on our Knees we thank the God of Heaven for your Majeſty; and in the next, with all Humility we thank your Majeſty, who, as a true Father of your People, have provided for them ſo rich a Patrimony of *Immortal Happineſs:* ’Tis a Portion put out to Uſe for Poſterity, which in every ſeven Years will double and redouble the Principal. God Almighty, as we hope and pray, will grant you an *Heir Maſculine* of your *Body*; but you have already given us one of your *Mind* in your Gracious *Declaration*; ’tis to your Self alone, *O Sacred Majeſty!* that we ſtand oblig’d for it: We own it not to be the Counſel or Procurement

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of any other, none but a Wiſe and Gracious King cou’d have found it out, none but a CATHOLICK *King* has been able to effect it. We hope a Parliament will concur and ratify this Bleſſing; for this Bleſſing has, in a manner, ratify’d it ſelf by its own Succeſs. ’Tis an Act already paſs’d in the Hearts of all your Loyal People; and what it wants in Formality of *Law*, is ſupply’d in the concurring *Votes* of all unintereſted Men. It will ſpread like the Tree in the Viſion of Holy *Daniel*, till it over-ſhadows the three Nations; and the Birds of the Air ſhall not only build in it, but alſo the Beaſts of the Foreſt ſhall be ſecure beneath it. May your Majeſty long enjoy the Fruits of ſo happy a Plantation; may it be Fenc’d about by the Care of the preſent Age, and made Sacred to all future Time, as ſet by your Auſpicious Hands. And as it is in our Power, ſo we ſolemnly engage our ſelves to return to your Majeſty two ſuch Members to ſerve in Parliament, as ſhall Vote for Repealing the *Teſt* and all *Penal Laws* in Matters of Religion: Laws which were begot under a *Doubtful Title*, were bred up in *Perſecution*, and wou’d ſubvert the Fundamental *Freedom of Conſcience*, which is God’s *Magna Charta* to all his Reaſonable Creatures.

The Jeſuits *Efforts.*

And those of the London *Divines.*

Over and above the forementiou’d Methods to introduce the *Romiſh* Religion, the *Jeſuits*, more eſpecially, were daily publiſhing ſome Book or other to bring it into Eſteem; ſuch as *The firſt and ſecond Vindication of the Biſhop of* Condom’*s Expoſition of the Catholick Church*; *A Chriſtian Doctrine compos’d by* Bellarmine; *The* Maſs *Triumphing*; *The* Maſs *vindicated*; *The Catechiſm of* Pennance; *The Catechiſm for the Curates, compos’d by a Decree of the Council of* Trent; *An Agreement between the Church of* England, *and the Church of* Rome; Vane’*s loſt Sheep return’d home*; Veron’*s Rule of Faith*; *The Guide in Controverſies*; *A Defence of the Doctrine and Rule of the* Roman *Catholick Church*, &c. Theſe oblig’d the Champions of the Church of *England*, formerly remember’d, to draw their Pens with freſh Vigour in Defence of the *Proteſtant* Religion; and the *Jeſuits* were ſoon overmatch’d by theſe Heroes, *Stillingfleet*, *Tillotſon*, *Tenniſon*, *Wake*, *Sherlock*, &c. not only by the Goodneſs of their Cauſe, but by a deeper Stock of Learning, and a ſtronger Force of Sound Reaſoning, which had a happy Influence upon the People in theſe perillous Times. Their Learning and Piety, their Humility and Paſtoral Care, together with their Courage and Bravery, attracted the Love and Veneration of the beſt and greateſt Perſons of both Sexes: They were now eſteem’d and honour’d both according to their Worth and Function, and the Clergy-Man’s Gown and Habit was ſo nobly adorned with Goodneſs and Vigilance, that every one was ready to pay Reſpect to it; and now it was that the *London* Divines may be ſaid to be the Ornaments of the *Reformed* Churches, and the Glory of the *Chriſtian* World. Therefore to ſtop theſe powerful Men, the King was prevail’d with to regulate the Preſs, and under a Pretence that the ſeveral Parties in the Kingdom maintain’d a Seditious Paper-War, a Proclamation was iſſu’d out the 13th of *February*, grounded upon a Statute made in the Fourteenth of King *Charles* the Second, ‘ prohibiting the Printing, and Selling all unlicens’d and treaſonable Books and Pamphlets, under the Pains and Penalties provided by the ſaid Act. ’ By this Means the Church of *England* was ſubtlely debarr’d the Freedom of Confuting the Errors of that of *Rome*, which ſoon appear’d to be the main Deſign of reſtraining the Preſs: For the King caus’d ſome Books to be ſuppreſs’d, which contain’d nothing but a Defence of the Reform’d Religion, and Diſputes concerning controverted Tenets. All which, as it happen’d, ſerv’d to add a new Luſtre to the forementioned Divines.

The King’s private Application to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.

2. While the *Romiſh* Project for Abrogating the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws* was going on, and the *Proteſtants* were in amaze what to expect, an Accident fell out that help’d to buoy up the ſinking Spirits of the Nation. King *James* meeting every Day with Difficulties, which he found he cou’d not ſurmount without flying into violent Methods, at length took a Reſolution of trying the Inclinations of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*; not doubting but if he cou’d engage them to join with him in his Deſign, it wou’d find leſs Oppoſition in the enſuing Parliament. As to the Princeſs, he had us’d all private Methods by Letters and Meſſages to bring her over to the *Catholick Faith*, as he term’d it, all which ſhe ſtrenuouſly anſwer’d, and nobly reſiſted. But in the Point of the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws*, which might be thought to be more Political; becauſe his Majeſty did not think proper to addreſs himſelf directly to their Highneſſes, he employ’d Mr. *James Stuart*, a Lawyer, whom he had pardon’d and receiv’d into Favour after a long Baniſhment, and who pretended an Intimate Acquaintance with Monſieur *Fagel*, Penſionary to the *States* of *Holland*, a wiſe Miniſter, in whom the Prince repos’d

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an entire Confidence, and for whom he had a particular Eſteem and Affection. To him Mr. *Stuart* wrote a Letter upon this Subject; but the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* were ſo averſe to meddle in ſuch a nice Affair, and ſo unwilling to allow Mr. *Fagel* to return an Anſwer, which they knew wou'd not be pleaſing, that Mr. *Stuart* was oblig'd ſeveral Times to repeat his preſſing Inſtances, owning in his Letters, that he wrote them by the King's Directions. His Majeſty no doubt flatter'd himſelf that their Highneſſes wou'd not contradict his Intentions; eſpecially in a Conjuncture, when ſo many Reaſons ſeem'd to oblige them to concurr with him in every thing; otherwiſe he wou'd not have been ſo eager to have their Opinions. But as their Highneſſes were Strangers to Diſſimulation, and far from yielding to what might prove fatal to thoſe Laws, which the *Engliſh* look'd upon as the Bulwark of the *Proteſtant* Religion; and for which, as preſumptive Heirs to the Crown of *England*, they always expreſs'd a great Tenderneſs; they were at laſt in a manner forc'd to direct Monſieur *Fagel* to write an Anſwer to Mr. *Stuart*: And the more, becauſe the *Papiſts* had induſtriouſly ſpread it abroad, 'That the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* had agreed with the King's Deſign of taking off the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*;' which Report was maliciouſly confirm'd by ſeveral Letters which the Marquiſs of *Albyville*, the *Engliſh* Envoy at the *Hague*, was put upon to write; intimating that the Prince of *Orange* had told him the very ſame thing; which Letter was alſo made publick.

Monſieur Fagel's *Letter upon that Occaſion.*

And therefore, to diſſipate theſe injurious Reports, the Penſionary, by their Highneſſes Directions, wrote to Mr. *Stuart* to this Effect: 'That ſince he earneſtly deſired to know of him, what the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*'s Thoughts were, concerning the Repeal of the *Penal Laws*, and more particularly of the *Teſt*; he would deal very plainly with him in that Matter, and without Reſerve, ſince Mr. *Stuart* had ſaid in his Letters, *That they were written by the King's Knowledge and Allowance*. Firſt, he moſt poſitively aſſured him, That their Highneſſes had often declared, as they did in a particular manner to the Marquis of *Albyville*, That it was their Opinion, *That no Chriſtian ought to be puniſh'd for his* Conſcience, *or be ill us'd becauſe he differ'd from the Publick and Eſtabliſhed Religion*; and therefore, that they cou'd conſent, That the *Roman Catholicks* in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* ſhould be ſuffer'd to continue in their Religion, with as much Liberty as is allow'd them in the *United Provinces*, where it could not be deny'd but they enjoy full *Liberty of Conſcience*. And as to the *Nonconformiſts*, their Highneſſes did not only Conſent, but heartily Approv'd of their having an entire *Liberty of Conſcience* for the Exerciſe of their Religion, without any Trouble, Hinderance or Moleſtation, upon that Score: And that their Highneſſes were ready to concur at any time with his Majeſty in the ſettling and confirming this Liberty, and to protect and maintain it, as far as in them lay, according to the Language and uſual Form of *Treaties*, and likewiſe to confirm it with their *Guarantee*, which Mr. *Stuart* had mention'd in his Letters. And if his Majeſty thought fit to have their Concurrence in Repealing the *Penal Laws*, their Highneſſes were ready to give it, Provided thoſe Laws ſtill remain'd in their full Vigour by which the *Roman Catholicks* are ſhut out of both Houſes of Parliament, and out of all Publick Employments, both Civil and Military; as likewiſe all thoſe other Laws which confirmed the *Proteſtant Religion*, and ſecured it againſt all the Attempts of the *Roman Catholicks*. But their Highneſſes could not by any Means agree to the Repeal of the *Teſt*, and thoſe other *Penal Laws* laſt mention'd, that tended to the Security of the *Proteſtant Religion*; ſince the *Roman Catholicks* receive no other Prejudice from theſe, than their being Excluded from Parliament and Publick Employments; and that, by them, the *Proteſtant* Religion is ſheltered from all the Deſigns of the *Roman Catholicks* againſt It, or againſt the Publick Safety. That neither the *Teſt*, nor theſe other Laws can be ſaid to carry in them any Severity againſt the *Roman Catholicks*, upon the Account of their *Conſciences*; being only *Proviſions* Qualifying Men to be Members of Parliament, or to be *Capable* of bearing Office; by which they muſt declare before God and Man, *That they are for the Proteſtant Religion*. So that indeed, all this amounts to no more, than a Securing the *Proteſtant Religion* from any Prejudices that it may receive from the *Roman Catholicks*.

'More than this, adds the Penſionary, their Highneſſes have thought, and do ſtill think, ought not to be ask'd or expected from them; ſince, by that Means, the *Roman Catholicks* and their Poſterity would be for ever ſecured from all Troubles in their *Perſons* and *Eſtates*, or in the Exerciſe of their *Religion*: And they think the *Roman Catholicks* ought to be ſatisfy'd with that, and not diſturb the Quiet of the Kingdom, under Pretence, that they are ſhut out of Parliament and Employments; and becauſe thoſe Laws, wherein the Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion chiefly conſiſted, were not Repeal'd, by which they might be put into a Condition to Overturn it. As to what Mr. *Stuart* had writ, *That the* Roman Catholicks *in* Holland *were not Excluded from Employments and Places of Truſt*; he was groſly miſtaken: For their Laws were expreſs in that Point, Excluding *Roman Catholicks* by Name from all Share in the Government, and from all Employment whatſoever. It was true, he did not know any expreſs Law that had Excluded them from *Military* Employments; That had been hard indeed; ſince, in the firſt Foundation of their State, they join'd with them in aſſerting the Publick Liberty, and did them Eminent Service during the Wars; therefore they were not excluded from Military Employments: For the Publick Safety was no ways endangered by that, both becauſe the Numbers of thoſe of their Religion that ſerv'd in their Troops were very ſmall, and becauſe the *States* could eaſily prevent any Inconveniency that might ariſe from thence; which could not have been ſo eaſily done, if the *Roman Catholicks* had been admitted to a Share in the *Government*, and in the *Policy* and *Juſtice* of their *State*.

After this, he tells him, 'That he was aſſured of this Truth, and could give undeniable Proof of it, That their Highneſſes deſired nothing more earneſtly, than that his Majeſty might reign happily, and in a perfect good Intelligence with his Subjects; and that his Subjects being perſuaded of his Majeſty's Paternal Affection towards them, might upon all Occaſions make ſuitable Returns to his Goodneſs, by all poſſible Demonſtrations of Duty and Loyalty: But their Highneſſes were convinced in their Conſciences, That both the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Safety of the Nation* would be expos'd to moſt certain Dangers, if either the *Teſts*, or thoſe other *Penal Laws*, of which he had made frequent mention, ſhould be Repealed; Therefore they could not concur with his Majeſty in thoſe Matters; for they believ'd they ſhould have much to anſwer to God, if the Conſideration of any preſent Advantage ſhould induce them to conſent to Things which they believ'd would not only be very Dangerous, but Prejudicial to the *Proteſtant Religion*. Laſtly, the Penſionary tells him, That their Highneſſes ever had, and were reſolv'd ever to preſerve a profound Submiſſion to his Majeſty, as they thought themſelves in Duty bound by the Laws of God and Nature: But ſince the Matter that was then in Hand related not to the Making of new Laws, but to the Total Abrogation of thoſe already made both by King and Parliament; their Highneſſes did not ſee how it cou'd be expected of Them, that They ſhould Conſent to ſuch an Abrogation, to which they had ſo juſt an Averſion; as being a Thing that was contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of all *Chriſtian* States, whether *Proteſtants* or *Papiſts*, who admitted none to a Share in the Government, or Publick Employments, but thoſe who profeſſed the Publick and Eſtabliſh'd Religion, and endeavour'd to ſecure it againſt all Attempts whatſoever.

This memorable Letter was wrote in *November* laſt, before any Whiſperings of the Queen's Pregnancy; and was communicated by Mr. *Stuart* to the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Melfort*, and even to the King himſelf; and he alſo let Monſieur *Fagel* know as much, without informing him whether the Court deſired it ſhould be kept ſecret, or made publick. In the mean Time it got printed in *England*, and in *December* and *January* it was diſperſed in great Numbers through the Kingdom, to the particular Encouragement and Satisfaction of the Generality of the People. This was ſoon after followed by a very notable Piece, call'd *Reflections on Monſieur* Fagel's *Letter*, which ſtill more rouſed and warmed the Hearts of the Nation. It was written by a very extraordinary Hand, and ſome Things in it very animating, and almoſt Prophetical. Speaking of the inviolable Integrity of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, he ſays, 'Our Judges have declared, That Princes can diſpenſe with the *Obligation of Laws*, but they have not yet given their Opinion, that they can diſpenſe with the *Honour of their Word*; nor have their Highneſſes any Confeſſor to ſupply ſuch an Omiſſion.' Then to comfort thoſe that are a little deſponding, he tells them 'A Revolution will come with a Witneſs; and it's like it may come before the Prince of *Wales* be of Age to manage an unruly Spirit, that I fear will accompany it.------For my own Part, tho' I am neither young nor ſtrong, I hope to live to ſee a Day of *Jubilee* in *England* for all that deſerve it; when honeſt Men ſhall have the ſame *Pleaſure* in thinking on theſe Times, that a Woman happily deliver'd hath in reflecting on the *Pain* and *Danger* ſhe was in.' Not long after, there appear'd on the Court ſide, a Pamphlet call'd *Parliamentum Pacificum, or the happy Union of King and Parliament in an healing Parliament*, &c.

Reflections upon it.

168$\frac{7}{8}$.
Jac. 4.
Ref. 28.

&c. wherein it was affirm'd, ' That the Letter written to Mr. *Stuart*, was not only Suppoſititious, but that the Author had miſrepreſented the Sentiments of their Highneſſes concerning the Repeal of the *Teſts* and *Penal Laws*.' Whereupon Monſieur *Fagel* thought himſelf obliged to prevent the World's being impoſed upon by that Impoſture, and therefore he not only printed ſome of Mr. *Stuart*'s Letters, but wrote alſo to the Marquis of *Albyville* the following Letter; which he likewiſe cauſed to be made publick.

Monſieur Fagel's *ſecond Letter.*

' *My Lord*, I have ſeen here in *Engliſh* a Pamphlet called *Parliamentum Pacificum*, Printed this Year in *London*, with the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Allowance; of which I cannot forbear Complaining, how averſe ſoever I am to make Expoſtulations: The Author of it maintains, *That the Letter I wrote on the 4th of* November *laſt*, *relating to the* Teſt *and* Penal Laws, *is either a Forgery*, *or that I wrote it without the Order of their Highneſſes*, *or at leaſt of her Royal Highneſs*. Not that I pretend to enter into the Particulars of that Pamphlet, with Deſign to confute any Thing in it, it being little agreeable to my Character and Inclination to meddle with publick Diſputes of that Nature. But you muſt not think it ſtrange, if I put you in mind, That it was not of my own ſelf that I engaged in Writing the ſaid *Letter*; but rather, after I had been powerfully preſſed to it for four Months together, from, or in the Name of, his Majeſty; and when at laſt I was prevailed with to write it, I did it with all the Precaution which ſo nice an Affair ſeem'd to require; inſomuch, that in all that *Letter*, there is not one Period, which I ought to fear might diſpleaſe his Majeſty. Nevertheleſs, I ſee that in a Writing, printed by publick Authority, that Letter is branded as *Suppoſititious*, tho' his Majeſty, and even all the Court, know the Truth of the Buſineſs: And beſides that, I have own'd here to your Lordſhip, as the King's Miniſter, and to all thoſe that have ſpoke to me of it. But what is moſt injurious to me, is, That I am therein charg'd with having abus'd their Highneſſes Names, particularly that of her Royal Highneſs; as if I were a Perſon capable of ſo infamous a Cheat, and of a Falſity ſo unworthy of all Men of Honour, and that too in an Affair of the higheſt Importance. You will not take it ill, *My Lord*, if in this Matter I refer my ſelf to the Knowledge you have of it, and to what you have often told me your Self, to wit, *That their Highneſſes, and in particular her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs, had declar'd their Thoughts to you concerning the* Teſt *and* Penal Laws, *in the ſame manner as I had repreſented them*; *That you had acquainted the Court with it a long time before I wrote my Letter, and that you cou'd not conceive what Reaſon there was for preſſing me to write to Mr.* Stuart. I do aſſure you that I wou'd not be much offended at that Pamphlet, nor at any other of that Nature, having already forſeen that I ſhou'd not fail of being attack'd on that Score, wherein I cou'd eaſily have allow'd every Body the Liberty of pleaſing themſelves; but that Writing being publiſh'd under the Authority of the *Preſident of the King's Council*, and *Secretary of State*, my Honour is concern'd to clear my ſelf to the World of ſo unjuſt an Accuſation laid to my Charge.

' Therefore I thought I cou'd not do better than to addreſs my ſelf to you, *my Lord*, as being his Majeſty's Miniſter, and a Perſon perfectly well inform'd of the Buſineſs in Queſtion, deſiring that you wou'd be pleas'd to write to the Earl of *Sunderland* about it. I believe he has neither ſeen nor examin'd the Paſſages of that Pamphlet that reflected upon me; and I am alſo perſuaded, that if he had, he wou'd not have ſign'd the Printing *Allowance*: For the ſaid Earl of *Sunderland* knows as well as any Body, that the ſaid *Letter* of Mr. *Stuart* is no Suppoſition, ſince he has ſeen the *Letter* it ſelf, or the *Engliſh* Copy of it, which I had ſent along with it. He ought alſo to be no leſs aſſur'd by your Letters, and by what you have related by Word of Mouth: That their Highneſſes, and particularly her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs, have ſeveral times told you their Opinion concerning the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws*, as I have expreſs'd it in my Letter to Mr. *Stuart*. Therefore I dare promiſe my ſelf from the Juſtice and Goodneſs of the Earl of *Sunderland*, that he will take care that the *Allowance* which was ſurreptitiouſly obtain'd for the Printing of that Pamphlet, may be recall'd, and the Author of ſo manifeſt and outrageous a Calumny brought to condign Puniſhment. Neither will I conceal from you, that I deſign to publiſh what has paſs'd in this Affair, as well as what I now take the Liberty to write to you; not with deſign to engage any further in the main Buſineſs, much leſs to gratify any Body, but ſolely to ſhelter my Honour from ſo falſe and heinous an Imputation.

168$\frac{7}{8}$.
Jac. 4.
Ref. 28.

Animadverſions upon it.

What was ſtill more ſurpriſing in this Affair, was, That Mr. *Stuart* poſitively deny'd, in a printed Letter, that he ever wrote to Monſieur *Fagel*, although the latter had convinc'd him to the contrary, and had his Original Letters by him. But becauſe the King had ſeen the Penſionary's Letter, which he was unwilling the World ſhou'd know; and becauſe Mr. *Stuart* found it very difficult to return a ſolid Anſwer, he choſe to have recourſe to a Jeſuitical Evaſion. Upon this Exigency, a ſubtle Author, who preſum'd much upon his Sufficiency, publiſh'd *Animadverſions upon Monſieur* Fagel's *Letter*, which he addreſs'd to that Patriot *William Penn*, and wherein he maintains, ' That no Man can for the Cauſe of *Religion* plead any juſtifiable Excuſe for his not rendering Subjection to ſuch as are his Superiors in a Natural or Civil Station, in their lawful Commands; and that the inflicting *Temporal* Penalties for ſuch Errors in *Religious* Opinions, as cannot be evinc'd by the Principles of Reaſon and Conſcience, to be againſt the common *Light of Nature* (tho' they may be prov'd by Scripture to be againſt ſuch *Myſterious* Truths as are proper only to the *Chriſtian* Religion) is not to be juſtify'd either by the General Law of Nature, or General Rules of Scripture.' Then he puts ſeveral Queries concerning the Inconveniences of the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*, and inſinuates, 'That a more juſtifiable and ſuitable Security, both for our Religion and Civil Rights, might be obtain'd, if his Majeſty gave his Aſſent, by eſtabliſhing the ſeveral Matters propos'd in his *Declaration*, and ſome other *Proviſions* to be made by a new Law, than can be had or expected by continuing the preſent Laws.' But theſe and other Animadverſions, were rather a Confirmation than a Confutation of Mr. *Fagel*'s Letter; and made all Men perceive that it was not Liberty of Conſcience, or the free Exerciſe of Religion alone, that mov'd the *Popiſh* Party to ſtir ſo much for the Repealing of the *Teſt*, ſince by that *Letter* their Higneſſes conſented to ſecure them that Liberty, and free them from the Penalties of the Laws; but that their Aim was to have their Excluſion from Places of Truſt taken off, which was the only Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion. However the Penſionary's Letter ſerv'd at this Time to ſupport the true Intereſt of the Nation, and gain'd an entire Confidence in the Prince and Princeſs, both from the Church of *England* and the *Diſſenters*, who began to have Hopes from them, if any violent Methods were us'd againſt either.

Hallifax's *Anatomy of an Equivalent.*

And now the taking or not taking off the *Teſts* and *Penal Laws* in the next Parliament, became a new *Teſt* of it ſelf, and ſerv'd to diſtinguiſh the Court and the Country. But becauſe the direct Repeal of thoſe Laws was apt to raiſe great Apprehenſions, more ſoftning Methods were us'd, and the former inſinuated that they ſhou'd not loſe the Benefit of them, but ſomething elſe ſhou'd be granted which ſhou'd be an *Equivalent*; which Words help'd to fill the Mouths of all People for ſome Months together. But this Project was ſoon ſhatter'd, and the Word ſufficiently diſſected by the admirable Pen of the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, in a Pamphlet call'd, *The Anatomy of an Equivalent*; in which are ſeveral notable Paſſages: But that toward the Concluſion is worthy of a Place in Hiſtory, and of the Remembrance of all Princes and great Miniſters. Speaking of the Uncertainty and Variableneſs of *Intereſt*, the relying upon which was like building upon a *Quick-Sand*, he asks, ' Where are the Men ſo diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt of Mankind, that it is impoſſible for them to miſtake their Intereſt? Who are they that have ſuch an Exemption from human Frailty, as that it can never happen to them not to ſee their Intereſt for want of Underſtanding, or not to leap over it by Exceſs of Zeal? Above all, Princes are moſt liable to Miſtake; not out of any *Defect* in their Nature, which might put them under ſuch an unfortunate Diſtinction; quite contrary, the Blood they derive from great and wiſe Anceſtors, does rather diſtinguiſh them on the better ſide; beſides that, their great Character and Office of Governing, giveth a noble Exerciſe to their Reaſon, which can very hardly fail to raiſe and improve it. But there is one Circumſtance annex'd to their glorious Calling, which in this Reſpect is ſufficient to outweigh all theſe Advantages; it is, That Mankind, divided in moſt Things elſe, agree in this, to conſpire in their Endeavours to deceive and miſlead them; which maketh it above the Power of human Underſtanding, to be ſo exactly guarded, as never to admit a Surpriſe; and the higheſt Applauſe that cou'd ever be given to the greateſt Man that ever wore a Crown, is, THAT THEY WERE NO OFTNER DECEIVED.

3. And now the People of *England* began to fix their Eyes and Hearts upon a *Proteſtant Succeſſor* abroad; and the King perceiving the Effect that the Backwardneſs of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* had wrought in the Minds of his *Proteſtant* Subjects, redoubled his Endeavours to get a Parliament at his Devotion: And for that Purpoſe, he ſent down his Emiſſaries into the ſeveral

168$\frac{7}{8}$.
Jac. 4.
Ref. 28.

The King ſends for his Troops out of Holland.

Counties, in order to procure the Election of ſuch Members as were willing to acquieſce in his Deſigns. At the ſame Time he gave out Commiſſions for the Raiſing of new Troops for the Increaſing his Standing Army; in which *Iriſh Papiſts* were particularly diſtinguiſh'd and promoted; and likewiſe he caus'd a larger Fleet to be fitted out with extraordinary Diligence, as foreboding that he might have Occaſion to carry on his Cauſe by Force of Arms. Hence on the 17th of *January* his Majeſty wrote a Letter to the *States* of the *United Provinces*, to demand the ſix *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments that were in their Service: And again on the 2d of *March* he iſſued out a Proclamation, 'Forbidding his Natural-'born Subjects to Enter or Liſt themſelves in the Ser-'vice of any Foreign Prince or State, either by Sea or 'Land.

The States *Refuſal and Anſwer.*

The *States-General* return'd a civil Anſwer to the King's Letter, but withal excus'd themſelves for not complying with his Majeſty's Deſire. They declared by a Reſolution taken in their Aſſembly, 'That having examin'd all the 'Treaties of Alliance, and all that had paſs'd thereupon, when 'thoſe Regiments were form'd, they cou'd find no Agree-'ment or Capitulation that cou'd oblige them to grant his 'Majeſty's Demands, eſpecially in that Juncture of Time. 'They acknowledg'd indeed, That by the Treaties con-'cluded between *England* and the *States-General*, it was 'agreed, *That in Caſe that Crown ſhou'd have a War with* '*ſome of her Neighbours, and ſhou'd have Occaſion for Troops,* '*the* States *ſhou'd be obliged to ſend back the ſix Regiments* '*into* England, as they did in the Year 1685, at the Time 'of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion: But that now his '*Britannick* Majeſty being in Peace with his Neighbours, 'and having no Troubles at Home, they ſaw no Reaſon 'that cou'd oblige them to ſend back thoſe Troops: That 'beſides, moſt of the Soldiers that ſerv'd in thoſe Regi-'ments, were *Dutch*; and laſtly, That properly ſpeaking, 'thoſe ſix Regiments did not belong to his *Britannick* Ma-'jeſt, being partly made up of thoſe Regiments and Com-'panies, which in the Year 1674 were in the Service of 'the *States-General:* In ſum, That thoſe Regiments had 'been rais'd at divers Times with vaſt Expence, either for 'Liſting-Money, or Tranſportation; the late King *Charles* 'the Second having forbid all Levies for foreign Princes 'and States throughout his Dominions.' To underſtand theſe Reaſons of the *States*, it is neceſſary to remember, That in the Year 1665, all the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Troops, which had been ſent to the Aſſiſtance of that Commonwealth, even in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, were diſbanded by the *States* themſelves; ſo that thoſe who were willing to return home, were left at their Liberty; and thoſe who were inclinable to remain in the Service of the *States*, were alſo free to ſtay. Now becauſe there were many, both Officers and Soldiers, who had their particular Reaſons not to return to *England*, two Regiments were form'd out of them, which oblig'd themſelves by Oath to acknowledge no other Sovereign beſides the *States-General.* From whence it appears that the *States* had a Right to diſpoſe not only of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Soldiers in their Service, but alſo of their Officers: But however, to preſerve a good Correſpondence with his *Britannick* Majeſty, they offer'd Paſſes to all the Officers of the ſix Regiments that were willing to return Home, which about Forty of them accepted.

A ſecond Tryal.

The Marquiſs of *Albyville* preſented a Memorial to the *States* to preſs them to comply with his Majeſty's Deſire; but they ſtill perſiſting in their Reſolution, a Proclamation was iſſu'd out, commanding the Return of all the King's Subjects who had taken Arms under, and were then in the Service of, the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, either by Sea or Land; tho' upon no other Allegation than that the King thought it for his Service. This Proclamation caus'd a Debate among the *States-General*, the Reſult of which ſhew'd an Unwillingneſs to let the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments return, alledging, beſides their former Arguments, 'That there was nothing 'ſo agreeable to Nature, as that he who is born free ſhou'd 'have the Right and Liberty to ſettle himſelf wherefoever 'he ſhall think it moſt advantagious for him; and that it 'is in his Power to be naturaliz'd and become a Subject to 'them under whoſe Sovereignty he ſubmits his Perſon; 'and that any Government receiving ſuch, does thereby 'acquire over him the ſame Right it has over its own 'proper and natural Subjects.' Whereupon the Marquiſs of *Albyville*, by expreſs Order from his Maſter, deliver'd in a ſecond Memorial to the *States*, peremptorily demanding the Diſmiſſion of the ſaid Troops; 'For that pre-'tended natural Liberty cou'd not ſubſiſt, after that Do-'minion and Obedience had been introduc'd; ſo that the 'Rights of Sovereignty and Subjection were now on-'ly to be conſider'd; and that by Vertue of theſe Rights, 'it had been the common Opinion in all Times, that no 'natural Subject can withdraw from the Obedience he 'owes to his lawful Prince:' and therefore he inſiſted upon his Demand, as a Right the King wou'd never deſert. But it appear'd that few or none of theſe Men were willing to return; which juſtify'd the Reſolutions of the *States-General*, and render'd the Inſtances of King *James*'s Envoy ineffectual.

168$\frac{7}{8}$.
Jac. 4.
Ref. 28.

But to little Effect.

Attempts againſt Tyrconnel

4. While the *Romaniſts* were induſtriouſly contriving to eſtabliſh their Religion, there aroſe ſome Jealouſies and Diſputes amongſt them, which went near to break all their former Meaſures, and to render their whole Party ridiculous. Concerning which, we find no Book ſo clear and particular, as *The Hiſtory of King* William *the Third*; therefore we ſhall make bold with that Author upon this Occaſion. The Earl of *Tyrconnel*, who had carry'd Things ſo high in his Government, began at laſt to diſcover, that *Sheridon*, Principal Secretary of State in *Ireland*, and one of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, ſold Employments of all Sorts, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil and Military; and that whenever he met with an Opportunity of making an advantagious Bargain for a Place in the Cuſtom-houſe, he wou'd pretend, That 'twas upon the Lord-Lieutenant's Recommendation that ſuch a Perſon was employ'd. This by degrees ſo much encreas'd upon the reſt of the Commiſſioners, that *Dickiſon*, who was one of them, writ over to the Lords of the Treaſury, 'That they were ſo clogg'd with *Iriſh* Of-'ficers, recommended by the Lord-Deputy, that he was 'afraid the Revenue wou'd ſink by ill Management.' Upon this, *Tyrconnel* receiv'd Orders not to recommend a Man, nor any ways to intermeddle in the Revenue. The Commiſſioners alſo iſſu'd forth their Orders, That all Perſons who had petition'd for Places in the Cuſtoms or Revenue, ſhou'd return to their reſpective Abodes, for there wou'd be no Employments diſpos'd of.

Firſt by Sheridon.

This Buſtle and Enquiry created various Quarrels between *Tyrconnel* and *Sheridon*; and from this Time forwards, the latter bent his Thoughts upon the Ruin of the former. His firſt Stratagem to undermine him, was to prepoſſeſs the *Romiſh* Clergy againſt him; to accompliſh which, he contracted an intimate Acquaintance with his Chaplain, who mark'd out what he had obſerv'd of *Tyrconnel*'s Contempt of the *Maſs* and Religion. Of this, *Sheridon*, a bigotted *Papiſt*, gave an Account to Father *Petre*, whoſe Niece he had marry'd; by which means he gain'd an Intereſt not only with that Favourite *Jeſuit*; but likewiſe with all the *Iriſh* Clergy, eſpecially with the Titular Primate of *Armagh*, who had no Affection for *Tyrconnel*; and both together, with the forementiondd Prieſt, form'd Articles of Impeachment againſt the Lord-Lieutenant. All this cou'd not be tranſacted with that Secreſie, but that *Tyrconnel* had ſome Intelligence of it; therefore, to countermine his Enemies, he made uſe of a third Prieſt, a Confident of his own; by whoſe Means he intercepted a Pacquet which *Sheridon* was ſending over to the Court of *England*, with his Accuſation againſt himſelf. *Rice* and *Neagle*, his two grand Counſellors, adviſ'd him to write to the Lord *Sunderland*, which he did, ſetting forth *Sheridon*'s Briberies, and other finiſter Practices, without taking Notice of his Contrivance againſt himſelf. After which, he ſent for *Sheridon* into his Cloſet, and in the Preſence of ſeveral Perſons, demanded of him, *Whether he had written any Thing againſt him to* London? *Sheridon* confidently anſwer'd, *He had not*; *but that he had heard that his Excellency had writ againſt him*; which ſo enrag'd the Deputy, a Man of ungovernable Paſſions, that he call'd him *Traytor*, *Cheat*, and other abuſive Names; and pulling out *Sheridon*'s Letter, ask'd him, *If that was not his Hand?* This for the preſent put him into great Diſorder; but after ſome Recollection, he began to juſtify himſelf, and to enter into a Capitulation with his Excellency; at which *Tyrconnel* riſing in Exceſs of Fury to kick him, *Sheridon* was turn'd out. *Tyrconnel* and his Party held a long Conſultation how to proceed in this difficult Affair. They did not ſo much dread *Sheridon*'s Intereſt, or Accuſation, as they did this Opportunity of awakening his Excellency's Enemies at Court. After various Debates, it was agreed that a proper Perſon ſhou'd manage *Sheridon* in private, and ſo accommodate the Matter, as to ſtifle any farther Noiſe of it, to which *Sheridon* was ready enough to hearken. But at the ſame Time both the Lord-Deputy and he ſtrove who ſhou'd firſt enſnare his envious Competitor: *Tyrconnel* to execute his Revenge upon the Titular Primate, for joining with *Sheridon*, reviv'd the Quarrel that the *Iriſh* Clergy had with the Primate, eſpecially the Titular Archbiſhop of *Caſhel*, which happen'd in this manner. Upon an Aſſembly of the Titular *Popiſh* Biſhops of *Ireland*, great Debates aroſe concerning the Priority of their Juriſdictions, in reference to which, the Primate uſurp'd over them all, not diſtinguiſhing the Archbiſhop of *Caſhell*, who reſenting it as an Indignity, inflam'd the Difference to ſuch a Height, as caus'd the Aſſembly to break up abruptly, and in great Diſcontent. This Quarrel had been dormant for ſome Time, nor did it now continue long

upon

168$\frac{7}{8}$.
Jac. 4.
Ref. 28.

upon the Stage; for *Tyrconnel* receiv'd a ſecret Reprimand from Father *Petre* for this raſh Action, *as tending to expoſe and ruine the Catholick Party.*

Sheridon's Fall.

In the mean time, *Sheridon*, to purſue his Deſign againſt *Tyrconnel*, ſolicited an Order from the King for his coming over; which having obtain'd, and being arriv'd at *London*, he ſoon found by the cold Reception he had from the Earl of *Sunderland*, that there was no Expectation of removing *Tyrconnel*, for he was fortify'd with the *French* Intereſt, and was in a manner Deputy to King *Lewis*, rather than King *James*; it being ſaid at *Paris*, when News came there of *Tyrconnel*'s being ſtruck out, *That there was none in* England *that durſt remove him.* *Sheridon* wanted not thoſe who were Well-wiſhers to his Deſign againſt the Deputy, as the Lords *Caſtlemain*, *Powis*, and ſome others; but they durſt not truſt him with their Sentiments, but ſent ſome of their private Confidents, to animate him with general Promiſes, without mentioning any Name. He had not continu'd three Days in *London*, when he was follow'd by the Lord *Dongan*, Son to the Earl of *Lymerick*, who brought Letters to the Lord *Sunderland* and others, ſetting forth *Sheridon* to great Diſadvantage; which Negotiation had that Succeſs, that even Father *Petre*, Unkle to his Wife, wou'd admit him no longer to his Preſence: And ſoon after, being return'd to *Ireland*, by Sentence of the chief Judges he was diſmiſs'd from all his Employments; which was thought a juſt Retribution to a Man, who out of pure Intereſt had deſerted the Church of *England*.

New Attempts againſt Tyrconnel.

Tyrconnel having eſcap'd this Blow, met with another from *Rome* it ſelf, which required the Aſſiſtance of his beſt Friends to ward and divert: The Earl of *Caſtlemain* had for ſome time been return'd from his Embaſſy to the Pope, but was advanc'd to no Preferment, which he complain'd of to his Holineſs, and was ſeconded by Father *Petre*. Upon the Receipt of theſe Letters, the Pope, who had now ſome Hopes of *England*, writ over to his *Nuncio* to addreſs to the King in *Caſtlemain*'s Behalf; nor wou'd his Holineſs's Recommendation have prov'd ineffectual, had there been a Vacancy. But to ſupply that, Father *Petre* took Occaſion to ſtrike at Chancellor *Jeffreys*, for tampering in the Buſineſs of *Magdalen*-College: In order to which, he acquainted the King, 'That the beſt Courſe to accompliſh his pious Deſign of eſtabliſhing the Catholick Religion, was to let his prime Miniſters underſtand, That no Pretence of Service done ſhou'd protect them, if they fail'd in the minuteſt Circumſtance relating to the *Catholick Cauſe*.' This Argument was ſo conſtantly and vigorouſly purſu'd, that towards the End of *December* it was brought into the *Cabinet*, and it was reſolv'd that *Jeffreys* ſhou'd be remov'd, and that three of the Lords of the Treaſury ſhou'd be made Lords Commiſſioners of the Broad-Seal, and that *Caſtlemain* ſhou'd be Lord Treaſurer. This Reſolve continu'd not ten Days, before the Scene ſuddenly chang'd, and *Jeffreys* appear'd more fix'd than ever. The true Cauſe of this was never known; only it was obſerv'd that the Queen and Lord Preſident adhered to him. This gave freſh Cauſe of Diſguſt to *Caſtlemain*, and to the *Romiſh Church*-Party; for now it began to appear that Affairs mov'd more by the Court of *France*, than by that of *Rome*: To ſuch inſuperable Difficulties was the unfortunate King *James* expos'd by his Eaſineſs and Bigottry: His Zeal and Affection led him adhere to *Rome*, but his Succeſs and Security depended upon *France*, now the great Diſturber and Oppoſer of that Court.

By Caſtlemain *and others.*

The *Church*-Cabal, in the mean time, embrac'd the Opportunity of the Quarrel between *Tyrconnel* and *Sheridon*, to recommend *Caſtlemain* as a fit Perſon for the Government of *Ireland*; repreſenting in lively Colours, 'How injurious thoſe ſcandalous Impeachments of two ſuch Men had been to the *Catholick Cauſe*; and how much they had retarded its Progreſs:' Farther urging, 'That *Tyrconnel* had proceeded by too ſlow a Motion, and that he had effected nothing but the turning out of a few Soldiers, and frightening away the induſtrious *Engliſh*, who might by Indulgence and Encouragement be allur'd to turn Converts; and that *Caſtlemain* was a Man of great Parts, and of an inſinuating Carriage, for the accompliſhing ſuch a Work, as the *Reducing of Hereticks*.' All which was ſoon ſent to *Tyrconnel*, and by his Penſioner in *London* communicated to *Paris*. To prevent the impending Storm, the Lord-Deputy and his two grand Politicians, *Rice* and *Neagle*, ſat up Day and Night, and conſulted what Apology they ſhou'd make for their ſmall Proficiency in Proſelyting Men to their Religion; and what future Method they ſhou'd take to endear *Proteſtants* to the Eſpouſal of the *Romiſh* Cauſe and Intereſt. They conſider'd, while the *Engliſh* were Maſters of their Lands, they fear'd not the Government; but if that they were touch'd in their Eſtates, they wou'd commit Treaſon, or turn *Catholicks*: And therefore, upon mature Deliberation, *Rice* and *Neagle* were order'd to draw up the Subſtance of an Act, whereby the Lands in the whole Kingdom were, in a manner, given to the Power of the King; and although the *Catholicks* were to have but half of their Eſtates, yet the other Part was to be under ſuch *Qualifications*, as that the King might diſpoſe of it to ſuch as he found to be obedient Sons. This, if the King wou'd have purſu'd, they cou'd have had a Parliament when they pleas'd, fitted for their Purpoſe; all Corporations being already put into *Popiſh* Hands, and all the Sheriffs of the Counties being *Papiſts*, who cou'd have made what Returns they pleas'd. And this Conſult being brought to Maturity, it was concluded, that *Rice* ſhou'd go over into *England* as Plenipotentiary in negotiating this Affair; and Chief Juſtice *Nugent* was to accompany him, tho' it was not thought fit to intruſt him with the ſecret Intriegue.

168$\frac{7}{8}$.
Jac. 4.
Ref. 28.

Diviſions in Court about it.

The *Iriſh* Ambaſſadors, at they were call'd in *England*, being come over, *Rice* made his firſt Court to the Lord *Sunderland*; and was ſo active and induſtrious in advancing this new Deſign, that Father *Petre* was influenc'd to join in it, tho' at firſt he cou'd not be prevail'd upon to hear it: For he was abſolutely biaſs'd by *Caſtlemain*'s Intereſt; and being no Politician, but of a vain imperious Temper, was wont to contemn every thing that was not of his Humour: However, this Project being to convert or confound the Hereticks, he at laſt embrac'd it; and ſo it was concluded, that he and *Sunderland* ſhou'd wait on the King with it. But notwithſtanding Father *Petre*'s Adherence to this laudable Deſign, he ſtill continu'd in *Caſtlemain*'s Intereſt, and his former Inclinations to remove *Tyrconnel*: And it was believ'd, that that happy Difference among the ſeveral *Romiſh* Factions, was the prime Occaſion of diverting this fatal Blow deſign'd for *Ireland*. However, the Buſineſs was in the Cloſet fully diſcours'd to the King by *Sunderland* and *Petre*; and his Majeſty was ſoon enclin'd to the thing: But the great Difficulty was how to paſs it in the Council; for he was ſenſible that ſuch as were againſt *Tyrconnel*'s Continuance in the Government of *Ireland*, wou'd be more violent againſt his being there at the Head of a Parliament, being a Man whom the Council had in Contempt. Father *Petre* thought he cou'd eaſily remove that Impediment, by introducing the Pope's Recommendation of *Caſtlemain*; but that was cancell'd by the Protection the *French* King afforded to *Tyrconnel*. Amidſt ſuch Difficulties it was hard to form a Reſolution; but however it was agreed, 'That the two Judges ſhou'd be publickly introduc'd to the King with their Project for calling a Parliament in *Ireland*, and to repreſent to his Majeſty the deplorable Condition of his *Catholick* Subjects, occaſion'd by the Injuſtice and Oppreſſion of the *Act of Settlement*.' All this was done accordingly; and they brought the Project to *Whitehall*, where the King receiv'd it in Writing, and told them, *He wou'd adviſe with his Council about it.*

The firſt Council-Day his Majeſty brought this Project to the Board, and in few Words acquainted thoſe preſent with the Contents and Importance of it, and by whom it was preſented to him. No Man ſpoke a Word, either for or againſt the Thing, but deſired it might be read; which being done, the Lord *Bellaſis*, in a Heat of Paſſion, bitterly inveigh'd againſt it, ſaying, *That if ſuch Deſigns as theſe were encourag'd, the* Catholicks *of* England *had beſt in time look out for ſome other Countrey, and not ſtay to be made a Sacrifice to* Iriſh *Rebels*. The Lord *Powis*, according to the beſt of his Underſtanding, ſeconded it; and in ſhort it was ſo run down, that none of the chief Promoters of it durſt attempt to ſpeak in its Vindication, but only deſired, that thoſe Gentlemen that brought over the Papers might be heard. *Bellaſis* was for Committing them, or commanding their immediate Return; but it was at laſt thought reaſonable to give them a particular Hearing. Theſe Ambaſſadors appearing according to Appointment, *Rice* made a Speech full of Subtlety and Artifice, and anſwer'd the Objections that had been made by the Lords *Bellaſis* and *Powis*; but when *Nugent* came to ſpeak, he unexpectedly unravell'd all that *Rice* had plauſibly put together; and *Bellaſis* ſoon found out the Defect of his *Iriſh Underſtanding*, as he call'd it, abuſing him beyond the Reſpect due to the Place where the King was, calling him downright *Fool* and *Knave*; and *Powis* did the ſame. They were not long in tearing this fine Project in pieces; which when they had done, *Bellaſis* bid them *make haſte to the Fool their Maſter, and bid him, the next Meſſage he ſent, to employ wiſer Men, and upon a more honeſt Errand.* *Powis* bid them tell him, *That the King had better Uſe to make of his* Catholick *Subjects in* England, *than to ſacrifice them for a Reprizal to the* Proteſtants *of* Ireland, *in lieu of their Eſtates.* The King remain'd ſilent, and without any Reſolve or Order, broke up the Council; and the Ambaſſadors appear'd no more upon the Stage, but departed with great Precipitation and Confuſion. And this Miſcarriage gave freſh Occaſion to *Caſtlemain*'s Friends to raiſe Objections againſt *Tyrconnel*; alledging, 'That by his Means the Revenue in *Ireland* was incredibly ſunk, and that in another Year, there wou'd not be Money enough in the Kingdom to pay the Army; and that this laſt Project of his wou'd exaſperate and frighten away the Remainder of the *Engliſh*, who being the dealing and induſtrious Part of the Nation, wou'd put a fatal Period to the Trade of that Iſland.'

Tyrconnel *fix'd.*

But all theſe juſt and reaſonable Allegations, laid before the King by the moſt conſidering Perſons, were all to no Effect: For tho' his Majeſty kept it ſecret from moſt of his Council, yet there was great Reaſon to believe that he had promis'd the *French* King the Diſpoſal of that Government and Kingdom. But to return to *England:*

1688. Jac. 4. Ref. 29.

The King's ſecond Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

III. 1. The *Romiſh* Religion being now triumphant, and the Breaches into the *Engliſh* Conſtitution born with all Submiſſion, King *James*, intoxicated with the fulſom Addreſſes, and hurry'd on by his own ill Fate, proceeded to an Attempt that help'd to bring all Things to a *Criſis.* This was the reviving and improving his *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*; which Declaration being not eſteem'd advantagious enough to the *Romaniſts*, it was thought fit to iſſue out another in a higher Strain, in which they were chiefly included. This was publiſh'd upon the 27th Day of *April*, and is as follows: ‘*James Rex.* Our Conduct has been ſuch in all Times, as ought to have perſuaded the World, that We are Firm and Conſtant to Our Reſolutions: Yet that eaſy People may not be abus'd by the Malice of crafty wicked Men, We think fit for to Declare, That Our Intentions are not chang'd ſince the 4th of *April* 1687, when We iſſu'd out Our *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience* in the following Terms.' [*Here the Declaration was recited verbatim, and then it follows*] ‘Ever ſince We granted this *Indulgence*, We have made it Our principal Care to ſee it preſerv'd without Diſtinction, as We are encourag'd to do daily by Multitudes of *Addreſſes*, and many other Aſſurances We receive from Our Subjects of all Perſuaſions, as Teſtimonies of their Satisfaction and Duty; the Effects of which We doubt not but the next Parliament will ſhew; and that it will not be in vain, That We have reſolv'd to uſe Our utmoſt Endeavours to eſtabliſh *Liberty of Conſcience*, on ſuch juſt and equal Foundations, as will render it Unalterable, and ſecure to all People the free Exerciſe of their Religion for ever; by which future Ages may reap the Benefit of what is ſo undoubtedly for the general Good of the whole Kingdom. It is ſuch a Security we deſire, without the Burthen and Conſtraint of *Oaths* and *Teſts*, which have been unhappily made by ſome Governments, but cou'd never ſupport any: Nor cou'd Men be advanc'd by ſuch Means to Offices and Employments, which ought to be the Reward of Services, Fidelity and Merit. We muſt conclude, That not only good Chriſtians will join in this, but whoever is concern'd for the Wealth and Power of the Nation. It wou'd, perhaps, prejudice ſome of our Neighbours, who might loſe part of thoſe vaſt Advantages they now enjoy, if *Liberty of Conſcience* were ſetled in theſe Kingdoms, which are above all others moſt capable of Improvements, and of Commanding the Trade of the World. In purſuance of this great Work, We have been forc'd to make many Changes both of Civil and Military Officers throughout Our Dominions, not thinking any ought to be employ'd in Our Service, who will not contribute towards the Eſtabliſhing the Peace and Greatneſs of their Country, which We moſt earneſtly deſire, as unbiaſs'd Men may ſee by the whole Conduct of our Government, and by the Condition of Our Fleet, and of Our Armies, which with good Management ſhall conſtantly be the ſame, and greater, if the Safety or Honour of the Nation require it. We recommend theſe Conſiderations to all Our Subjects, and that they will reflect on their preſent Eaſe and Happineſs, how for above three Years that it has pleas'd God to permit Us to Reign over theſe Kingdoms, We have not appear'd to be that Prince, Our Enemies wou'd make the World afraid of; Our chief Aim having been not to be the Oppreſſor but the Father of Our People; of which We can give no better Evidence, than by conjuring them to lay aſide private Animoſities, as well as groundleſs Jealouſies, and to chuſe ſuch Members of Parliament, as may do their Parts to finiſh what We have begun for the Advantage of the Monarchy, over which Almighty God has plac'd Us; being reſolv'd to call a Parliament that ſhall meet in *November* next at fartheſt.

Order'd to be read in all Churches

This Declaration being iſſu'd out, the King was not contented to have it publiſh'd in the uſual Manner, but he was reſolv'd to have it ſolemnly read in all the Churches in *England*, excuſing it in all Maſs-Houſes and Meeting-Houſes. The Biſhops and Clergy were of all others averſe to the Subject Matter of this *Declaration*, as knowing the Illegality, and foreſeeing the fatal Deſign of it; and therefore the Court ſeem'd the more willing to mortify theſe powerful Enemies, and make them become acceſſary to their own Ruin, either by their Compliance or their Refuſal; and *even to eat their own Dung*, as the haughty Father *Petre* ſhamefully threatned; and therefore this Order of Council was made and publiſh'd at the Court at *White-hall*, on the 4th of *May:* ‘It is this Day order'd by his Majeſty in Council, That his Majeſty's late Gracious *Declaration*, bearing Date the 27th of *April* laſt, be read at the uſual Time of Divine Service, upon the 20th and 27th of this Month, in all Churches and Chapels within the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and ten Miles thereabouts: And upon the 3d and 10th of *June* next, in all other Churches and Chapels throughout this Kingdom. And it is hereby farther order'd, That the Right Reverend the Biſhops cauſe the ſaid *Declaration* to be ſent and diſtributed throughout the ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſes, to be read accordingly.

1688. Jac. 4. Ref. 29.

Several Biſhops meet and debate about it.

It is eaſy to conceive how much the Biſhops and whole Clergy of *England* were affected and ſurpris'd at this imperious Order, which they had Reaſon to take as the greateſt Hardſhip and Snare that cou'd be laid for them. They had no ſooner receiv'd it, but many of them aſſembled at the Arch-Biſhop's Palace at *Lambeth*, to conſult how they ought to behave themſelves upon ſuch a nice and arduous Occaſion. And having firſt implor'd the Divine Aſſiſtance by Extraordinary Prayers, after mature Deliberation, it was agreed, in the firſt Place, ‘That the *Matter* of the Declaration was altogether Illegal, the Foot on which it ſtood being a Power not only to Diſpenſe in contingent and particular Caſes, which, if the Lawgivers cou'd have foreſeen, they wou'd have provided a Diſpenſation for them; but it was to Diſpenſe with all Sorts of Laws, in Caſes contrary to the very Deſign and End of making them: That this was not properly a *Diſpenſing*, but a *Diſannulling Power*, highly prejudicial to the King Himſelf, becauſe it took away that Faith and Truſt which the People repoſe in him when a Law is made, which they look upon as their Security: That 'twas true, each Biſhop or Miniſter was not a capable Judge in ſuch Caſes; but however he was Judge for his own private Conſcience, againſt which I muſt not act: That this Caſe was publickly adjudg'd in Parliament, in 1672: That the general Forbearance of Addreſſes grounded upon the Illegality of that *Diſpenſing Power*, ſhew'd this to have been the Judgment of the greateſt Part of the Clergy and others: That the Declaration of the preſent Judges, went no farther than the particular Military Caſe of Sir *Edward Hales*, which, in whatſoever Words it was expreſs'd, yet never came legally to the Cognizance of the Subject: That an unlawful Matter was not to be publiſh'd, if he who publiſh'd it thought the Matter unlawful; for it cannot come to him, being Illegal, by any Legal Authority; for the King can do no Illegal Thing; and if his Officers do it, they do it not by the King's Authority; and therefore the Refuſing of it is no Diſobedience, being no Illegal Refuſal: That if, then, the Biſhops publiſh'd the *Declaration*, they did it voluntarily as their own Act, and conſequently publiſh'd an Illegal Thing, without Legal Authority, and were puniſhable for it. That many and great were the ill Conſequences of Reading the *Declaration*; *Firſt*, That many wou'd juſtly judge the Clergy either Cowards or Hypocritical Time-ſervers, in Publiſhing what they thought Illegal, and Illegally ſent to them: *Secondly*, That many who had Votes for Parliament-Men, wou'd take this for the Conſent of the Publiſhers, and be ſtrengthen'd in the chuſing ſuch Men, as ſhou'd be Friends not only to the *Indulgence*, but to the Foundation of it, the *Diſpenſing Power: Thirdly*, That the World would have Reaſon to take the Publication for an *Approbation*; becauſe there cou'd be no other Intention in ordering it to be Publiſh'd, but to make the Clergy *Parties* to it; for it was as much Known before it was Read, as it wou'd be after the Reading of it; and therefore the making it known was not the only Thing intended: And *Fourthly*, That after this they muſt expect farther Things to be publiſh'd by them, at which they muſt make a Stand; and their making a Stand when they had loſt their Reputation, wou'd be of no Force: That therefore in Prudence as well as Conſcience, they ought not to publiſh a *Declaration*, which they knew to be againſt Law, and which in its Nature and Deſign was levell'd againſt their own Intereſt, and that of their Religion.

In this Debate, ſome objected, ‘That their Refuſal wou'd be interpreted by the *Papiſts*, as a Failure in the great Principles of Loyalty, to which the Church of *England* made Pretence:' Others ſaid, ‘That *Diſſenters* wou'd conſtrue it, as a Declaration againſt all Tenderneſs to them;' and Others again, ‘That Suſpenſion or Deprivation of the Refuſers might follow, whereby the People of their Church might be left as Sheep without a Shepherd.' To the firſt Objection it was anſwer'd, ‘That their Non-Addreſſing had been reflected on in Books as well as Diſcourſes, but had no Effect to ‘blaſt their Loyalty, tho’ the Clergy refuſ’d to Addreſs even in a Branch that made for themſelves, becauſe of that one Foundation on which that Cauſe ſtood, with the reſt of the *Diſpenſing Power:* That Loyalty being Obedience according to Law, they were the Loyal Men who acted not contrary thereto: That the beſt Friends to the Crown are thoſe who ſupport the Law; and that they ſtill maintain’d the Principle of Suffering without any Unchriſtian Oppoſition.’ To the Second, they ſaid, ‘That the *Diſſenters* had never ſuch Aſſurances from Church-men of their Inclination to Tenderneſs to them as they then receiv’d; That they cou’d not but ſee, that this Refuſal was not to hinder any Favours towards them, by this *Indulgence*, but the *Diſpenſing Power*; which, if it took place, they cou’d not but diſcern, that a new *Magna Charta* for *Liberty of Conſcience* wou’d be of no Validity to them, for a new *Declaration* might diſpenſe with it at Pleaſure: And that the Wiſeſt and Beſt of them wou’d look upon their Refuſal as a Teſtimony of their Sincerity to the *Proteſtant Religion*, and not of any Diſaffection to Them.’ To the laſt Objection it was anſwer’d, ‘That the Church and their Religion wou’d ſuffer leſs by the Conſciouſneſs of their ſuſpended Prelates or Miniſters, than it wou’d by their Illegal Compliance in ſo great and fundamental a Point: That they had better Thoughts of the King’s Clemency and Juſtice, when he ſhou’d be inform’d by Men of Conſcience againſt the Counſels of Men of Intereſt; for how cou’d the King, at the very Time he proclaim’d entire *Liberty of Conſcience* to all, even thoſe who formerly were look’d upon as his Enemies, do an open Violence to the Conſciences of thoſe who had ever been acknowledg’d to be his Friends. And in ſum, That they ought to perform their Duty, and leave the Event to the Mercy of God; and *That a certain Evil was not to be done to avoid a contingent One.*

They Screen their Clergy,

Upon this grand Conſultation, the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops conſidering a great Storm was falling upon the whole Clergy of *England*, if they ſhou’d be proſecuted for refuſing the *Declaration*; and being unwilling to lay them under ſo hard a Temptation, as to ſave themſelves from Ruin by a ſinful Compliance, choſe rather to take the Blame and Puniſhment upon themſelves, in refuſing to ſend the *Declaration* to their Clergy. An Heroick Act worthy of the Character of Biſhops of the Church of *England*, who now reſolv’d to be Confeſſors, as their Predeceſſors had been Martyrs, for the *Proteſtant Religion.* And therefore before they parted they drew up an humble Petition, agreed to and ſubſcrib’d by all the Prelates then preſent, namely, Dr. *Sancroft*, Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; Dr. *Lloyd*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*; Dr. *Kenn*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; Dr. *Turner*, Biſhop of *Ely*; Dr. *Lake*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; Dr. *White*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*; and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*; in this Form: *To the King’s moſt excellent Majeſty; The humble Petition of* William, *Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *and divers of the Suffragan Biſhops of that Province, now preſent with Him, in behalf of Themſelves, and others of their abſent Brethren, and of the inferior Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſes, Humbly*

And Petition the King against it.

ſheweth, ‘That the great Averſeneſs they find in Themſelves to the Diſtributing and Publiſhing in all their Churches your Majeſty’s late *Declaration* for *Liberty of Conſcience*, proceeds neither from any want of Duty and Obedience to your Majeſty (our Holy Mother the Church of *England* being both in her Principles and her conſtant Practice unqueſtionably Loyal, and having to her great Honour been more than once publickly acknowledg’d to be ſo, by your Gracious Majeſty;) nor yet from any want of Tenderneſs to *Diſſenters*, in Relation to whom we are willing to come to ſuch a Temper as ſhall be thought fit, when the Matter ſhall be conſider’d and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation: But among many other Conſiderations, from this eſpecially, becauſe that *Declaration* is founded upon ſuch a *Diſpenſing Power*, as hath been often declared Illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the Years 1662, and 1672, and in the Beginning of your Majeſty’s Reign; and is a Matter of ſo great Moment and Conſequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, that your *Petitioners* cannot in Prudence, Honour or Conſcience, ſo far make themſelves *Parties* to it, as the Diſtribution of it all over the Nation, and the Solemn Publication of it once and again, even in God’s Houſe and in the Time of his Divine Service, muſt amount to in common and reaſonable Conſtruction. Your *Petitioners* therefore moſt humbly and earneſtly beſeech your Majeſty, That you will be pleas’d not to inſiſt upon their Diſtributing and Reading your Majeſty’s ſaid *Declaration*; *and your* Petitioners, *as in Duty bound, ſhall ever Pray*, &c.

On the ſame *Evening*, the 18th of *May*, and the *Friday* before the *Declaration* was firſt to have been read, ſix of theſe Prelates went over directly to *White-hall*; and being introduc’d by the Earl of *Sunderland*, deliver’d their Petition into his Majeſty’s Hands; none but themſelves and their Metropolitan being privy to it. Upon the reading of it, the King ſtartled, and ſhew’d himſelf to be very much incens’d, and made this Anſwer, in a very angry Tone:

The King’s Anſwer to their Petition.

I have heard of this before, but did not believe it: I did not expect this from the Church of England, *eſpecially from ſome of you. If I change my Mind, you ſhall hear from me; if not, I expect my Command ſhall be obey’d.* The Biſhops with all Reverence reply’d, *We reſign our ſelves to the Will of God*; and then immediately retir’d. The King’s threatning Anſwer, tho’ it ſtruck ſome Terror into the Minds of thoſe Reverend Prelates, yet it was not ſufficient to make them forget their Duty: They remain’d firm and unſhaken; and there were two or three Biſhops, who were mute in this Reign, and one or two more, Commiſſioners, that caus’d the Declaration to be publiſh’d: Nay, it was obſerv’d, that in ſome Churches, where the Miniſters, either through Fear or Miſtake, comply’d with the Orders of their Superiors, the greateſt Part of the Congregation diſappear’d as ſoon as they began to read the *Declaration.* In *London* it was only read in four or five Churches; and of thoſe that comply’d we have the Names of only three, *viz. Hall*, *Elliot* and *Thompſon.*

Reflections upon the Declaration.

At the ſame time a Letter was drawn up by a great Hand, as I have been ſince inform’d by Dr. *Sherlock* himſelf, privately printed, and directed to all the Clergy in the Nation, being fill’d with excellent Arguments to diſſuade them from Reading the *Declaration:* Out of which we ſhall inſert the following Paſſage, as repreſenting the preſent Caſe of the Clergy. ‘This is the Difficulty of our Caſe; we ſhall be cenſur’d on both Sides, but with this Difference: We ſhall fall a little ſooner by not Reading the *Declaration*, if our Gracious Prince reſent this as an Act of an obſtinate and peeviſh, or factious Diſobedience, as our Enemies will be ſure to repreſent it to him; we ſhall as certainly fall, and not long after, if we do Read it, and then we ſhall fall unpity’d and deſpis’d, and it may be with the Curſes of the Nation, whom we have ruin’d by our Compliance; and this is the Way never to riſe more: And may we ſuffer all that can be ſuffer’d in this World, rather than contribute to the final Ruin of the beſt Church in the World.’ Never was a Sheet of Paper more induſtriouſly and effectually diſpers’d throughout the Kingdom; many thouſands being ſent from unknown Hands, by Poſts, Carriers, and other Ways; which ſerv’d to confirm ſuch as were wavering, and to ſhame out ſuch as were willing to oblige the Court at the Expence of the Church, and Clergy of *England.*

2. The Oppoſition of the Biſhops, as it was call’d, rais’d a remarkable Spirit throughout the Kingdom: The Church of *England* was alarm’d, and upon the Ferment; The *Diſſenters* ſtood gazing at a diſtance, and the Court appear’d both Uneaſy and Unreſolv’d what Courſe to ſteer in ſuch a critical Juncture. Some expected that the King wou’d now ſhew an unlimited Power, and deprive thoſe Prelates of their Dignities, by his ſole *Diſpenſing Authority*; Others, that he would be contented to deliver them to his Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and cauſe them to be ſuſpended; And others again imagin’d that he wou’d refer the Matter to the enſuing Parliament which he had promis’d to call. But the *Popiſh* Party had other Methods in view.

The Biſhops ſummon’d to appear before the King.

And therefore the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the ſix Biſhops were ſummon’d before the Council, where they appear’d on the 8th of *June*; and being ask’d *Whether they own’d the Petition?* They immediately anſwer’d, *They humbly hop’d, as they ſtood there as Criminals, his Majeſty wou’d not take advantage againſt them, for they were always ready to obey his juſt Commands.* Upon which they were order’d to withdraw; and being call’d a ſecond Time, they made the ſame Anſwer to the former Queſtion: But Chancellor *Jeffreys* preſſing them to own the Paper, at the third coming in, the Archbiſhop confeſs’d, *That it was written with his own Hand, and that the reſt had ſign’d it*; adding withal, *That they had done nothing but what they were ready to juſtify.* The Lord Chancellor, a little ſurpris’d at their Conſtancy, endeavour’d to make them ſenſible of the ill Conſequences of their Diſobedience, which tended to diminiſh the King’s Authority, and to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and at laſt ask’d them, *Whether they would give their Recognizances to appear before the Court of* King’s-Bench, *to anſwer this high Miſdemeanour?* This they all refuſ’d, inſiſting on the *Privilege of their Peerage, which they were reſolv’d to maintain, as well as the Rights of the Church; being equally bound by their Callings to oppoſe all Innovations both in Government and Religion.* This brave Anſwer threw the whole Council into Aſtoniſhment; and *Jeffreys* threatned to ſend them to the *Tower*, and to proſecute them to the utmoſt Rigour of the Law, unleſs they immediately recanted, and withdrew their Petition. They unanimouſly anſwer’d, *That they were ready to* *go whither ſoever his Majeſty was pleas'd to ſend them; That they hop'd the King of Kings wou'd be their Protector and their Judge; That they fear'd nothing from Men; and that having acted according to Law, and their own Conſciences, no Puniſhments ſhou'd ever be able to ſhake their Reſolutions.*

They are ſent to the Tower.

Finding them thus immoveable, a Warrant was drawn and ſubſcrib'd by Chancellor *Jeffreys*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Lord *Arundel*, the Marquis of *Powis*, the Earls of *Mulgrave*, *Huntingdon*, *Peterborough*, *Craven*, *Murray*, *Middleton*, *Melfort* and *Caſtlemain*, the Lords *Dartmouth*, *Godolphin* and *Dover*, Sir *John Earnly*, Sir *Edward Herbert*, and Sir *Nicolas Butler*, to commit them Priſoners to the *Tower*; the Reaſon given in the Warrant being *For Contriving, Making and Publiſhing a Seditious Libel againſt His Majeſty, and his Government:* And Mr. Attorney and Solicitor-General were ordered to proſecute them for the ſame the next *Term*. 'Tis ſaid ſome of the Judges there preſent refus'd to ſet their Hands to that Warrant; but however, it was immediately put in Execution; and thoſe venerable Prelates were led to the Place of Confinement, with that compos'd Serenity in their Looks, that only reſults from a Calmneſs of Mind, and a Conſciouſneſs of their Duty. This Primitive Deportment attracted the Admiration of the moſt Hard-hearted, and melted into Tears thoſe of a ſofter Nature; and the whole City was ſenſibly touch'd with a mixture of Tenderneſs and Eſteem.

Now leſt the People ſhou'd be too ſtrongly affected with ſo moving a Spectacle, they were ſent to the *Tower* by Water, in the moſt private Manner. But this Precaution was in ſome Meaſure uſeleſs; for the People, fired with Love and Zeal, flock'd in great Multitudes to the River-Side, with loud Acclamations extoll'd the Biſhops Conſtancy, and upon their Knees crav'd their Benedictions. The Court apprehending a Tumult, order'd ſome Companies of Soldiers to be up in Arms; but the People were now under too deep a Conſternation, to uſe any thing but Sighs and Tears to vent their Reſentments. For a while they ſeem'd ſtruck with a deadly Silence; nor is it in the Power of Words to expreſs the particular ſort of Affection, which the *Engliſh* Nation ſhew'd upon this Occaſion to their Spiritual Leaders. Not only the People, but Perſons of Quality, and even the Soldiers, ſecretly murmur'd at this Violence, and did not ſtick to ſay, *That their Duty to the King was not ſufficient to ſtifle their juſt Concern for the Reverend Divines, who were ſo unworthily us'd, only becauſe they wou'd not betray their Conſciences, and the Truſt repos'd in them.*

Their Reception there.

Thus inſtead of falling into the Hands of a rude, ſevere Guard, they were no ſooner landed at the *Tower*, but moſt of the Officers and Soldiers fell on their Knees to beg their Bleſſing: And thus, as an Author obſerves, a Place, before polluted by the Reſidence of ſo many Traiterous Criminals, was in a manner ſanctify'd by the Preſence of their Tutelar Angels of the Church of *England*, and of the Liberties of the Nation. Their Lordſhips were ſuffer'd to go immediately to the Chappel, to Evening Prayer, where it is obſerv'd, the Second Leſſon was by the Courſe of the Church, extremely well adapted to their Condition, being the 6th Chapter of the 2d to the *Corinthians*; *Giving no Offence in any Thing, that the Miniſtry be not blamed; but in all things approving our ſelves as the Miniſters of God, in much Patience, in Afflictions, in Neceſſities, in Diſtreſſes, in Stripes, in Impriſonments*, &c. The King being inform'd of all the Demonſtrations of Tenderneſs and Reſpect that were paid to the Biſhops in Diſgrace, and fearing the fatal Conſequences, cauſed the Guard of the *Tower* to be doubled.

The Birth of the Prince of Wales.

3. In the midſt of this ſorrowful and calamitous Seaſon, a Matter of great Joy happen'd to the *Roman Catholicks* and Court-Favourites, and that was the News of the Queen's being deliver'd of a Son, on *Trinity-Sunday*, the 10th of *June*, between the Hours of Nine and Ten in the Morning. Now it was, when her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Anne* was retired from Court, as it was ſaid, upon the Account of an Indignity offer'd her by the Queen, and the Biſhops ſecured in the *Tower*, that the *Jeſuits* Prophecy concerning the Birth of a Prince of *Wales*, was at laſt accompliſh'd. It had been a long Time uncertain, Whether *Windſor*, *Hampton-Court*, or *White-hall*, was the Place where the Queen deſign'd to lye in: But on a ſudden, we are told, that her Majeſty gave Orders for the fitting up of an Apartment for that purpoſe in St. *James*'s-Houſe; and ſent many repeated Commands, That it muſt be finiſh'd by *Saturday* Night. Accordingly her Majeſty on the 9th of *June* was carry'd in a Chair to St. *James*'s, after ſhe had play'd at Cards at *Whitehall* till Eleven a Clock at Night: And the next Morning, People were not a little ſurpris'd, to hear that ſhe was brought to Bed of a Prince. What was more ſurpriſing was, That the News was told with as much Confidence before the Delivery as after it; as if it was a Secret committed to ſome People who knew not how to keep any. The Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory* tells us, 'That an eminent Citizen now living, Sir *S. E.* is ready to atteſt it upon Oath, That he was call'd up early that Morning to come to an *Iriſh* Agent of the King's, and while he was with him, a Meſſenger came to him from the Court, in very great Haſte and Joy, and told him in a great Rapture, *That they had got a Prince of* Wales; which was ſome Hours before the Time that was afterwards given out.' In ſhort, adds he, the former Suſpicions concerning her Majeſty's big Belly, were now ſtrengthned by the Circumſtances of her Delivery, at a Time when moſt Proteſtant Ladies were at Church, the Biſhops impriſon'd, the Princeſs *Anne* at the *Bath*, and the *Dutch* Ambaſſador never call'd to be a Witneſs in Behalf of the Princeſs of *Orange*.

A Proclamation about it.

On the ſame Day, the King not only order'd the Lord Mayor to cauſe Bone-Fires, and other publick Rejoicings to be made, but publiſh'd a Proclamation, 'That it having pleas'd Almighty God, of his great and continued Mercy to his Majeſty and his Kingdoms, to bleſs him and his Royal Conſort the Queen with a Son, and theſe his Kingdoms and Dominions with a Prince; his Majeſty thought fit to appoint a Time of *Publick Thankſgiving* for ſo great a Bleſſing, on *Sunday June* the 17th, within the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and on *July* the 1ſt in all other Places. And for this purpoſe his Majeſty had ſignify'd his Royal Pleaſure to *Thomas* Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, to prepare a Form of Religious Service and Publick Thankſgiving ſuitable to this Occaſion.' Theſe Days were ſolemniz'd with extraordinary Rejoicings by the *Popiſh* Party; but the *Proteſtants* were for the moſt part ſilent and reſerv'd, as doubting the Fact and dreading the Conſequence. His Majeſty, to expreſs his Satisfaction, was pleas'd, by the Queen's Bed-ſide, ſoon after her Delivery, to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon Dr. *William Walgrave*, her Majeſty's Phyſician, for his Skill and particular Services to her Majeſty: And the King, farther to ſhew his Exultation, beſtow'd great Preſents upon ſeveral of his Miniſters, and gave conſiderable Charities to the Poor, both Natives and Foreigners. And laſtly, the Birth of a Royal Son, which the *Papiſts* themſelves call'd *Miraculous*, produc'd a new Set of Loyal Addreſſes, tho' not ſo fulſome as the former; for now the Fervour was much abated, and no *Papiſt* cou'd expreſs his Joy for the Prince of *Wales*, but a *Proteſtant* was ready to return him this Anſwer, *The Biſhops are in the* Tower.

The different Opinions about his Birth.

As to this famous Birth, which has caus'd ſuch infinite Arguments, Opinions and Conjectures, it may be expected, that ſomething more particular ſhou'd be ſaid in this Hiſtory. The moſt fix'd Rule in hard and intricate Caſes, is never to ſwim beyond ones Depth: However, we may fairly and ſummarily repreſent the principal Allegations we find on both ſides. On the one ſide it was alledg'd, over and above the King's ſuppos'd Incapacity, 'That the Queen had been long without Children, and now had never a conſtant Reckoning; That ſhe was brought to Bed after a ſudden removing of her Lodgings, and at a Time when moſt *Proteſtant* Ladies were either in Bed or at Church, as if ſhe had deſigned to avoid Witneſſes: That neither the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, nor the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, were preſent at her Majeſty's Labour, tho' they were the three Perſons who ought principally to have been there: That during the Labour, the Bed her Majeſty lay in was not left ſo open as it ſhou'd have been: That while her Majeſty went with Child, ſhe never ſatisfy'd the Princeſs *Anne*, and many *Proteſtant* Ladies about her, of her Bigneſs, either by letting them feel her Belly, or ſee her Breaſts; neither did ſhe ſhew the Princeſs any of her Milk after her Lying in: And moreover, there was a Warming-Pan brought into the Room on pretence of warming the Queen's-Bed, which was altogether unneceſſary, the Weather being extreme hot, and the Room heated beſides by a vaſt Crowd of People, on purpoſe, as it was reported, to make the Juggle undiſcern'd in the other. In ſum, it was alledg'd, That tho' the King, Queen and Courtiers ſufficiently knew before the Delivery that the Nation ſuſpected an Impoſture, they did not uſe thoſe Precautions as they might and ought to have done in ſuch a Caſe; and inſtead of putting it beyond all poſſibility of Doubt, they left ſo many Marks of Suſpicion as caus'd infinite Doubts and Diſputes: Inſomuch that ſome honeſt *Roman Catholicks* own'd themſelves, *That ſo important an Affair had been manag'd with great Supineneſs and Imprudence, during all the Time it was depending.*

On the other Side it was anſwer'd, 'That nothing was more common than Intermiſſions in Child-bearing, and even for Women that have had ſeveral Children, to miſtake in their Reckoning; and for thoſe who do not miſtake, to be often brought to Bed, ſometimes one, ſometimes two Months before the uſual Time, without any Prejudice to the Child: That the Queen was known to have ever had as eaſy and as quick a Labour as any Woman in the Kingdom; to which her Tallneſs not a little contributed,

‘ and which was the Reaſon that a great many Perſons, who were ſent for, did not come in Time to ſee her deliver'd: That the Preſence of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *Dutch* Ambaſſador was not abſolutely neceſſary, and that the Princeſs *Anne*'s being at the *Bath* was a voluntary Action of her own; that the Court expected ſhe ſhou'd have aſſiſted at the Queen's Labour, which might have been ſufficient to convince her: And as for the Queen's Milk, which was never ſhewn her, it was no new thing to ſee Women loſe it within three or four Days after they are brought to Bed.’ As to the Warming-Pan it was reply'd, ‘ That a Labour often begins with a Quaking and Trembling like an Ague-Fit, for which ſome Perſons warm their Bed in the hotteſt Weather; and beſides, that it had been impoſſible to put a new-born Child, with the After-Burden, in the narrow Compaſs of a Warming-Pan, without ſtifling it.’. All the other Objections were anſwer'd by ſaying, ‘ That the imperious Spirit of the Queen, and the inſulting Triumphs of the *Romiſh* Cabal, made the Court look upon all Precautions as mean and beneath them, which afterwards they were convinced wou'd have been but prudential Condeſcenſions.’ Then great Streſs was laid upon the Incredibility of the Impoſture; ‘ That a King and a Queen ſhou'd conſpire to put ſuch a Cheat upon themſelves as well as the Nation, was unnatural and ſhocking beyond all Example.’ To ſay no more of theſe Allegations, we are aſſur'd that the moſt perfect Account of this Matter is in a Manuſcript written by the late Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and quoted by Mr. *Thomas Burnet*, which, it is to be hop'd, will ſhortly ſee the Light. We ſhall only obſerve, that notwithſtanding all Arguments to the contrary, the Belief of the Impoſture ſo ſpread in a ſhort Time, that among *Proteſtants* it became almoſt Univerſal. And this Belief, tho' for the moſt part crudely and ſtupidly entertain'd, ſeems to have been the juſt Judgment of Heaven for ſo many Violations and Breaches of ſolemn and publick Faith. There is a natural Puniſhment attends thoſe who are given often to deceive, which is, not to be believ'd when they deliver the moſt eligible and important Truths; much more when they deliver ſuch Things that are ungrateful and ſuſpicious.

The Concluſion.

IV. 1. A *Popiſh* Succeſſor being born, the Hopes and Proceedings of the *Romaniſts* ſoon appear'd at the Height; and all Things ſeem'd now to conſpire to accompliſh the Ruin of the *Proteſtant* Intereſt. Only there was ſtill a Parliament wanting to ratify and approve all the illegal Steps that had been made, and more particularly to abrogate the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*. To procure ſuch a Parliament, new Endeavours were us'd, and no Threats, as well as Promiſes, were neglected to try the Inclinations of the People: *Cloſeting* was reaſſum'd, and came again into Faſhion; and the King himſelf was at the Pains to ſound every Man's Mind, how far he might depend upon his Concurrence. If they did not readily promiſe to ſerve the King *in his own Way*, the diſtinguiſhing Word at that Time, there was uſually ſome Brand of Diſgrace put upon them. But it has been juſtly made a Queſtion, Whether the Parliament which the King was thus labouring to model, wou'd have anſwer'd his Expectation, had they come to ſit; for Mens Eyes began daily to open, and the warm Principles of *Engliſh* Liberty to rekindle in the Nation's Breaſt, notwithſtanding ſome Tranſactions had endanger'd the extinguiſhing of them. And tho' the *Diſſenters*, who were likely to be choſen into Parliament upon the new Model of Corporations, wou'd probably have made Terms for themſelves, and have mortify'd the Church of *England*, whoſe Stripes, tho' leſs, were freſher in Remembrance than their own; yet being as averſe to *Popery* as the Church could be, it is not to be imagin'd that they wou'd, upon mature Deliberation, have unhing'd the Conſtitution of *England*, to enable the *Papiſts* to overturn the eſtabliſh'd National Church, in whoſe Ruins both they and the Church-Men muſt have inevitably periſh'd.

New Endeavours for making of a Parliament,

And for modelling the Army.

Therefore King *James* had more than one Method in his View how to accompliſh his Deſigns: For what a Parliament in all probability wou'd not do, he ſeem'd reſolv'd that an Army ſhou'd; and therefore Care was taken to model his Troops as much to that End, as the ſhortneſs of the Time wou'd allow. *Ireland* was found to be the inexhauſtible Source whence *England* was to be ſupply'd with a *Romiſh* Army; and an *Iriſh Papiſt* was the moſt welcome Gueſt at *White-hall*. They came over in Shoals to take Poſſeſſion of the *Promis'd Land*; and ſeem'd already to have ſwallow'd up with their Hopes, the beſt Eſtates of the *Hereticks* in *England*. Over and above compleat Regiments of them, there was ſcarce a Troop or Company wherein ſome of them were not plac'd by expreſs Order from the Court. This gave ſo great a Diſguſt to the *Engliſh* Officers and others, that they began to vent Ballads and Lampoons upon the *Iriſh*; and all the ridiculous Stories and Blunders that had been told of others, were now reviv'd and charg'd upon thoſe of that Nation; and in ſhort, it prov'd one of the moſt immediate and viſible Steps towards the King's Downfal. But in the mean time, that the Nation might be made acquainted with his Majeſty's Deſign in augmenting his Forces, an Addreſs, ſuppos'd to be penn'd by a *Jeſuit*, was procured from the City of *Carliſle*, particularly, ‘ To thank his Majeſty for his *Royal Army*, which really was the Honour and Safety of the Nation; let the *Teckelites* think and ſay what they wou'd. And upon this Occaſion the Addreſſes aſſured his Majeſty, ‘ That when in his great Wiſdom he ſhou'd think fit to call a Parliament they wou'd chuſe ſuch Members as wou'd certainly concur with his Majeſty in taking off the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*, and not hazard the Election of any Perſon, who had any ways declar'd in Favour of thoſe *Canibal* Laws. Surely, ſay they, theſe Men that oppoſe your Majeſty in ſo gracious a Work, do not conſider what a Sovereign Prince, by his Royal Power, can do. A Work which Heaven ſmiles upon, and will Reward with no leſs a Bleſſing than a Prince of *Wales*.

Addreſſes.

The Prieſts being now at the Height, were not wanting in putting all their crafty Methods in Practice, in order to eſtabliſh their Religion; and among the reſt, they reviv'd old Stratagems us'd in the Times of Ignorance; and ſent terrible threatning Letters to Perſons of Quality, and others, if they did not very ſhortly reconcile themſelves to the Mother Church of *Rome*. And to ſhew the Spirit of the Perſons and the Times, we ſhall inſert a Letter that never was yet printed, from a *Romiſh* Prieſt in *Lincolnſhire* to a Gentleman of the ſame County, who had gone ſome Lengths with that Party, and done them ſingular Services when they were under Difficulties in the late Reign. The Letter, verbally from the Original, runs thus: ‘ *Sir*, That you have been eminent for your Loyalty in the worſt of Times, no Body can doubt; but now it is expected, that you ſhou'd give ſome farther Teſtimony of your Affection: That which was reaſonable a Year ago, is now become neceſſary; and it cannot be ſuppoſed, that you who have gone thus far along with us, ſhou'd faint before the End of the Race; but one Stage more carries us to the deſired Haven, where we ſhall be rewarded for all our Pains and Dangers. This is the Time, let every good *Catholick* declare himſelf; let us therefore do it greedily, and boldly, to the Terror of our Enemies, and Salvation of our ſelves and Friends. Thoſe who ſhou'd oppoſe us, are baffled through their Diviſions; they are become ſtupid Animals, only fit for Burthens, mere *Machiavel* Puppits; we ſtanding unſeen have made them play our Game, when they knew not what they did: We have decoy'd them into a Snare, and we may now come from behind the Curtain to affright them farther. Now, *Sir*, I wou'd adviſe you, for your own ſake, to declare your ſelf for the Mother Church of *Rome*: You have behav'd yourſelf as a true and faithful Son; do not then through Inadvertency, loſe the Reward that is laid up for you. She is reſolv'd to entertain no Baſtards, nor *to give her Childrens Bred to Dogs*, as *Hereticks* have been always accounted: They can deſerve nothing from Her by their greateſt Services. She now is willing to own all for her *Children*, that are deſirous to embrace her for a *Mother*; let me tell you in ſhort, it is better to do it willingly, than by Compulſion; and ſhe is reſolv'd to make a *thorough Reformation*, to *cut out the Core*, that it corrupt not again. I ſpeak not this, that I think you want any Perſuaſion to induce you to reveal your ſelf, but only to give you a near proſpect of Affairs; and that a Man that hath been ſo uſeful to Us, as you have been, may not want the Reſpect that is due to his Merit. Come, before you are call'd! Many conſiderable Perſons do daily declare themſelves; you cannot but hear of it: I believe in three or four Months, they will come over to us in ſuch Crowds, that they ſcarce will deſerve Thanks. We are ſtrong enough already to uſe *Force*; but we are willing to diſtinguiſh between thoſe that come over for *Love*, and thoſe that come over through *Fear*: That you may conſider of at your Leaſure; and I hope it will be of uſe to you. And ſo wiſhing you Health and Welfare, I remain

Your affectionate Friend C. S.

A remarkable Letter from a Romiſh Prieſt.

The Seven Biſhops TRYAL.

2. In the Height of theſe melancholy Times, on the 15th of *June* came on the Tryal of the ſeven Biſhops in the *Tower*; a Tryal perhaps the moſt important that ever was known before in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; not only ſeven Prelates contending for the Rights of the beſt form'd Church, but ſeven Peers ſtanding up for the Liberties of the beſt conſtituted Kingdom. The Court of *King's-Bench* being ſate, his Majeſty's Attorney-General mov'd for a *Habeas Corpus*, directed to Sir *Edward Hales*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to bring up his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the ſix Biſhops, which was granted; and the

Venerable Priſoners were accordingly brought by Water. At their Landing, they were receiv'd by many Divines and Perſons of Quality, and by a numerous Concourſe of People, who with repeated Acclamations reſounded their Wiſhes for their Deliverance. On the Bench ſate Sir *Robert Wright*, Lord Chief Juſtice, and Mr. Juſtice *Holloway*, two of the King's Creatures, Mr. Juſtice *Powell*, a Proteſtant of unqueſtion'd Integrity, and Mr. Juſtice *Allybone*, a profeſs'd Papiſt. The Council for the King were Sir *Thomas Powis*, Attorney-General, Sir *William Williams*, Sollicitor-General, Sir *Bartholomew Shore*, Recorder of *London*, Serjeant *Trinder* a Papiſt, &c. And for the Biſhops the Chief in the Nation, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Mr. *Finch*, Mr. *Pollixfen*, Sir *George Treby*, Serjeant *Pemberton*, Serjeant *Levinz*, and Mr. *Somers*; who all generouſly pleaded and exerted themſelves without any Reward, ſcorning to take a Fee in ſo great and noble a Cauſe. Nor was the Auditory unanſwerable to the Importance of the Tryal; for beſides ſeveral Thouſands of both Sexes, the Court was grac'd with the Preſence of the Marquiſſes of *Hallifax* and *Worceſter*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Bedford*, *Dorſet*, *Bullingbrook*, *Mancheſter*, *Burlington*, *Carliſle*, *Danby*, *Radnor*, and *Nottingham*; Viſcount *Fauconberge*, and the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthyn*, *Paget*, *Chandoys*, *Vaughan* and *Carbery*.

Arguments about their Commitment.

The Return and Warrant being read, by which it appear'd, That the Priſoners were committed for *Contriving*, *Writing*, *Framing*, and *Publiſhing a ſeditious Libel* againſt his Majeſty and the Government, the King's Attorney-General mov'd that the *Information* might alſo be read to them, and that they might plead to it according to the Courſe of the Court. Which Motion was oppos'd by the Biſhops Council; objecting Firſt, ‘ That the Priſoners ‘ were committed by the Lord Chancellor, and ſome other Perſons of the Privy-Council, without expreſſing ‘ in the Warrant, *That it was by Order of the Privy-* ‘ *Council*; and therefore the Commitment was illegal, ‘ and the Priſoners were not legally in the Court. And ‘ Secondly, The Fact for which they were committed, ‘ was ſuch, as they ought not to have been impriſon'd ‘ for; becauſe a Peer ought not to be committed in the ‘ firſt Inſtance for a Miſdemeanor.' Sir *Thomas Powis* anſwer'd, ‘ That the Biſhops being in Court as Priſoners, ‘ the Matter of their Commitment was not to be examin'd before the Accuſation was read; for when a Man ‘ was preſent in Court, let him come how he will, he was ‘ not to have any longer Time than that Inſtant to appear ‘ to, and be charg'd with the Information.' This Poſition was ſoon learnedly confuted by Mr. *Finch*, and the Attorney-General in effect deny'd that he had advanc'd it; but Sir *Robert Sawyer* having own'd, ‘ That a Peer might ‘ be in Priſon for Treaſon, Felony, Breach of the Peace:' The King's Council in a declamatory manner inſiſted, ‘ That there cou'd not be a greater Breach of the Peace, ‘ than for a Man to come to the King's Face, and publiſh ‘ a Libel againſt him; that there was nothing that did ſo ‘ tread upon the Heels of a Capital Offence; and that two ‘ or three Degrees more might carry it to High-Treaſon.' Upon theſe Diſputes, Mr. Juſtice *Powell* declared, ‘ That ‘ it was a Matter of the greateſt Conſequence, ſince all the ‘ High and Noble Peers of *England* were concern'd in it, ‘ as to their Privilege: That their Predeceſſors in that ‘ Court heretofore wou'd not determine the Privileges of ‘ the Peers, but left them to themſelves, to make what Judgment they pleas'd of them: That in an Affair of that ‘ Weight and Nature, the Court ought to take Time to ‘ conſider of it, and look into Precedents; and that for ‘ his part, he wou'd not deliver his Opinion, before he ‘ had conſulted all the Books that cou'd give him any ‘ Light into the Caſe.' But neverthelеſs, the Lord Chief Juſtice agreed with Judge *Allybone* and Judge *Holloway*, ‘ That the Fact charg'd in the Warrant, was ſuch a Miſdemeanor as was a Breach of the Peace, and therefore ‘ that the *Information* ought to be read, and the Biſhops ‘ muſt plead to it.

An Imparlance deſired for them.

After the Reading the *Information*, the Biſhops Council deſired in their Behalf, That they might have an *Imparlance* till the next Term, to conſider what they had to plead to; alledging, ‘ That there might be many Defences that a ‘ Man might have to make to an Accuſation of that Nature, which it is impoſſible for him to know at the firſt ‘ Hearing of an *Information* read, and yet which wou'd be ‘ neceſſary for him to make uſe of, or at leaſt it wou'd be ‘ impoſſible for him to do it in ſuch a Manner as the Law ‘ allows and requires: That till of later Time this Practice, ‘ which the King's Council call'd, *The Courſe of the Court*, ‘ was never us'd, nor was any Man required to plead immediately; That this *Courſe* was brought in by the ſeveral Plots that had been of late, and the Heats of Parties ‘ about them: That the Zeal of one Time may introduce ‘ that by Surprize, which when Things are cool, and at another Time, will appear to be plain Injuſtice; and in ‘ ſhort, That nothing was more miſchievous, or more deſtructive to the Rights and Privileges of the Subjects.' Judge *Powell* confeſs'd, That what the Defendants deſired, was very reaſonable; and ‘That if the ancient Courſe ‘ of the Court had been to grant an *Imparlance*, and a ‘ Copy of the *Information* before the Priſoners pleaded, ‘ the Lords the Biſhops ought to have the Benefit of that ancient Courſe.' The Sollicitor-General urg'd, ‘That it was ‘ not ſufficient to make Declarations againſt the Unreaſonableneſs of the Practice, for it was but what the Biſhops ‘ Council had done themſelves, and inſiſted upon it for ‘ Law; That all thoſe Men who upon *Informations* had ‘ been compell'd to plead, had had Injury done them, or ‘ elſe the Biſhops wou'd have no Injury by the Court's ‘ taking the ſame Courſe: That it was not more unreaſonable, than the Practice in the Caſe of Treaſon and ‘ Felony, where Perſons are compell'd to plead inſtantly: ‘ That as to what Mr. *Finch* had ſaid, *That this was a novel Invention, and a Trick to rob a Man of his juſt Defence*, ſure he forgot who he was that taught 'em; and ‘ if it was a Trick, they had learnt it from thoſe that ‘ trick'd before them: That he wonder'd the Biſhops ‘ Council ſhou'd inveigh againſt the *Heat of the Times*, ‘ when a great part of that Heat he knew who were the ‘ Inflamers of it: That he believ'd that the Biſhops had an ‘ Inclination to be clear'd, and ſuppos'd it was only their ‘ Council that deſir'd to delay it.' Therefore he preſs'd that the Matter might be put upon a fair Iſſue, and that Sir *Samuel Aſtrey*, Clerk of the Crown, might be examin'd about the Courſe of the Court. Sir *Samuel* being ask'd the Queſtion, anſwer'd, ‘ That of late Years, if a Man ‘ appear'd upon a Recognizance, or was a Perſon in Cuſtody, he ought to plead at the firſt Inſtance; but that he had ‘ known it was in the Diſcretion of the Court to grant ‘ what Time they pleas'd.' Neverthelеſs the Lord Chief Juſtice declared, ‘ That the Biſhops ought to plead to the ‘ *Information*.

But refus'd.

Their Plea.

Hereupon the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* offer'd a Plea in Writing, in Behalf of himſelf and his Brethren the other Defendants; alledging, “ That they were Peers of “ the Kingdom of *England*, and Lords of Parliament, and “ ought not to be compell'd to anſwer inſtantly for the “ Miſdemeanor mention'd in the *Information*; but that “ they ought to be required to appear by due Proceſs of Law, “ and upon their Appearance, to have a Copy of the ſaid “ *Information*, and reaſonable Time given them to *imparle* “ thereupon.” The King's Council labour'd hard to have this Plea rejected, alledging, ‘ That when the Opinion of ‘ the Judges had been deliver'd, then to put in a Plea to the ‘ Juriſdiction of the Court, was ſuch an Irregularity, and ‘ ſuch an unworthy Way of Proceeding, as wou'd not be ‘ endured in an ordinary Caſe.' After a long Debate, Judge *Powell* ſaid ‘ He was for receiving the Plea, and ‘ conſidering of it:' But the reſt of the Judges declar'd, ‘ That the Plea being frivolous, and containing no more ‘ than what had already been over-rul'd, the Court might ‘ reject it, and that the Biſhops muſt plead over.' Accordingly they pleaded *Not Guilty*; whereupon the King's Council pray'd the Clerk might join Iſſue on the Behalf of the King, and deſired the Defendants to take Notice ‘ That they deſign'd to try this Cauſe on that Day Fortnight;' adding, ‘That they were Bailable if they pleas'd.' Sir *Robert Sawyer* deſir'd that their own Recognizance might be taken, which was readily granted; and accordingly the Lord Chief Juſtice order'd the Clerk to take a Recognizance of the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in Two Hundred Pounds, and of the reſt of the Biſhops in a Hundred Pounds each.

They are Bailed.

The Joy of the People.

Upon the Biſhops being thus ſet at Liberty, the overflowing Joy of the People was anſwerable to the extraordinary Concern they expreſs'd at their Confinement. Vaſt Numbers flock'd to *Weſtminſter-Hall* to ſee them; and the Crowds were ſo great, that their Lordſhips were obliged to get to their Barge by private Stairs: And even then they were not wholly free from the Huzzaing Throng; ſeveral Perſons running into the very Water to beg their Benedictions. When the Day was ended, the publick Rejoicings ſtill continued, the whole Night being ſpent in making Bonfires, and Drinking to the *Seven Heroick Prelates*, with all the Demonſtrations of unlimited Satisfaction. Within two Days after was the Thankſgiving for the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*; and tho' the Conduits in the City were made to run with Wine for ſeveral Hours together, and extraordinary Bonfires, *&c.* were appointed, yet the Joy of the People appear'd no ways comparable to that upon the Account of the Enlargement of the Biſhops.

The ſecond Day's Tryal and great Appearance.

3. The 29th of *June*, the Feaſt of St. *Peter*, was a Day of the greateſt Expectations, and produc'd a new Concourſe of Gentlemen and others out of the Country, and almoſt double the Number of the Nobility in *Weſtminſter-Hall*,

Hall, as the Marquiſſes of *Hallifax* and *Worceſter*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, *Dorſet*, *Bullingbrook*, *Mancheſter*, *Rivers*, *Stamford*, *Carnarvon*, *Cheſterfield*, *Scarſdale*, *Clarendon*, *Danby*, *Suſſex*, *Radnor*, *Nottingham* and *Abingdon*, Viſcount *Fauconberge*, and the Lords *Newport*, *Grey* of *Ruthyn*, *Paget*, *Chandoys*, *Vaughan*, *Carbery*, *Lumley*, *Carteret* and *Oſſulſton*. The Jury in this Tryal ought not to be forgot, who were, Sir *Roger Langley*, Baronet, Foreman, Sir *William Hill*, Knight; *Roger Jennings*, *Thomas Harriot*, *Jeoffrey Nightingale*, *William Withers*, *William Avery*, *Thomas Auſtin*, *Nicolas Grice*, *Michael Arnold*, *Thomas Done*, and *Richard Shoreditch*, Eſquires.

The Attorney General opens the Tryal.

The *Information* being read and open'd to the Jury, the Attorney General, to molify the Proſecution it ſelf, and to pacify the People, who cou'd not forbear ſhewing their Reſentments, tho' in the Face of the Court, obſerv'd, '*Firſt*, That the Biſhops were not proſecuted as *Biſhops*, much leſs for any Point or Matter of Religion, but as *Subjects* of this Kingdom, and only for a *Temporal Crime*, as thoſe who had injured and affronted the King to his very Face. In the next place, They were not proſecuted for *Omitting* to do any thing, but as they were *Actors*, for Cenſuring of his Majeſty and his Government, and for giving their Opinions in Matters wholly relating to Law and Government. That there is not any one thing, which the Law is more jealous of, than all Accuſations and Arraignments of the Government: That no Man is allow'd to accuſe even the moſt inferior Magiſtrate of any Misbehaviour in his Office, unleſs it be in a legal Courſe, tho' the Fact be true; That leaſt of all may any Man Cenſure the King, for it tends to poſſeſs the People that the Government is ill adminiſtred; the Conſequence of which is, to ſet them upon deſiring a Reformation, and what that tended to, and wou'd end in, they had all had, and too dear bought, Experience of: That Men were to take their proper Remedies for redreſſing of any Grievance they lay under, and that the Laws had ſufficiently provided for that: That his Majeſty, of his great Clemency and Goodneſs, and out of a Deſire that all his Subjects ſhou'd live eaſy under him, did iſſue forth his *Declaration* for *Liberty of Conſcience*, which without all Queſtion was welcome to all his People that ſtood in need of it; and thoſe that did not, cou'd not but ſay the thing in the Nature of it was very juſt and gracious: That to take away the Surmiſes of the People, that the King was not in earneſt, and wou'd not, or cou'd not make good his Promiſes, he was pleas'd to renew them to his Subjects. Nay, that this might be known to all his People, even to the Meaneſt, who, it may be, were not willing or able to buy the *Declaration*; and that the King himſelf might be under the higher Obligations, if it were poſſible, than his own *Word*, he was deſirous it ſhou'd be repeated in the Churches, and read in that ſacred Place, that all his People might hear what he had promis'd; and he himſelf might be under the ſolemn Tye and Obligation to keep his *Word*, by remembring that his Promiſes had, by his own Command, been publiſh'd, in the Time of Divine Service, in the Houſe of God: That the Jury ſhou'd find, when that which the Priſoners call'd a *Petition* ſhou'd be read to them, that all the Thanks his Majeſty had for his Favour and Goodneſs to his People, were only hard Words, and a heavy Accuſation, ſuch as a private Perſon wou'd be little able to bear; That his Majeſty, who was always a Prince of as great Clemency as ever the Kingdom had, and who was repreſented for all that, as a Prince of the greateſt *Cruelty* before his Acceſſion to the Crown, by his Enemies, was now accus'd by his Friends for the Effect of his *Mercy*; And that his Majeſty reſented the Uſage ſo far, that he had order'd, and thought fit to have, a publick Vindication of his Honour, in this Matter, by this Tryal.

Sir Robert Sawyer's *Speech in Defence of the Biſhops.*

After a long Time ſpent in proving the Petition to be fram'd by the Biſhops, the Nature of the Publication, and on arguing ſome Niceties of the Law, they came at laſt to the Merits of the Cauſe: And here Sir *Robert Sawyer* firſt ſtood up, and diſplay'd his Abilities in the Defence and Vindication of the Great Men at the Bar. He alledg'd, '*Firſt*, That the Petition in queſtion was preſented to his Majeſty in moſt private and humble Manner: That there was nothing in it which contain'd any thing of Sedition, or any one Word that tended to diminiſh the King's Authority, but only a Paper to be reliev'd againſt an Order of Council, which the Defendents conceiv'd they were aggriev'd by: That it was an Excuſe barely for their Non-compliance with the King's Order, becauſe the *Diſpenſing Power*, upon which it was founded, had been ſeveral times in Parliament declar'd to be againſt Law; That it can be no Queſtion, but that any Subject that is commanded by the King to do a thing which he conceives to be againſt Law, and againſt his Conſcience, may apply himſelf to the King, and tell him the Reaſon why he does not concur with his Majeſty in ſuch a Command. That the King's Council did inſiſt upon, That in this Caſe the Biſhops were not ſued as Biſhops, nor proſecuted for their Religion; but truly he knew not what they were ſued for elſe, the *Information* being againſt them as Biſhops, and no otherwiſe, and for an Act they conceiv'd they lawfully might do with relation to their Eccleſiaſtical Polity: That they were not *Buſy Bodies*, or ſuch as meddled with Matters that did not relate to them, but that which was properly within their Sphere and Juriſdiction: That to load this Petition with ſuch horrid black Epithets, *That it was done Libellouſly, Maliciouſly and Scandalouſly, and to oppoſe the King and Government*, was a very hard Caſe; and that the Lords Biſhops cou'd not but conceive a great deal of Trouble, that they ſhou'd lie under ſo heinous a Charge, where there was ſo little Proof to make it out: That their Publiſhing of the King's *Declaration* was attended with Conſequences of the greateſt Moment; for if it had any Effect in Law, and theſe Laws were ſuſpended by vertue of this *Declaration*, then certainly it was of the moſt diſmal Conſequence; and it behov'd the Biſhops, as Fathers of the Church, humly to repreſent it to the King; That by that *Declaration*, not only the Laws of our Reformation, but all the Laws for the Preſervation of the *Chriſtian* Religion in general were ſuſpended, and became of no Force, and all other Religions permitted: And thus all our Laws for keeping the Sabbath, and which diſtinguiſh us from *Heathens*, wou'd be ſuſpended too: That when a Law is ſuſpended, the Obligation thereof is taken away: So that the *Declaration* diſcharg'd at once all Miniſters and Clergy-Men from performing their Duty in Reading the Service of the Church, and their Hearers from attending upon that Service; and what a Miſchief that wou'd be to the Church, which was under the Care of the Defendents, every one might eaſily apprehend. That this pretended Power of Suſpending Laws had often been declar'd Illegal by the Parliament, as appears particularly in the time of *Richard* the Second, concerning the Statute of *Proviſors*; for where there were particular Diſpenſations for that Statute, the King was enabled to do it by Act of Parliament, and cou'd not do it without; and by the Proceedings in the Houſe of Commons in the Years 1661, 1672, and 1685. That in delivering this Petition the Biſhops had done nothing but their Duty, and meddled with their own Affairs, which appear'd from the general Care that is repos'd in them by the Laws of the Land; urging farther, That they are frequently ſtyl'd in Law-Books, *The King's Spiritual Judges*; That they are entruſted with the Care of Souls, and the Superintendency over all the Clergy; and beſides, That there is a ſpecial Care put upon them, by the expreſs Words of an *Act of Parliament* made in the Firſt of *Elizabeth*, which makes them eſpecial Guardians of the Law of *Uniformity*; *In God's Name earneſtly Requiring and Charging all the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, that they do endeavour themſelves, to the utmoſt of their Knowledge, that the true and due Execution thereof might be had from their Dioceſes, as they will anſwer before God for ſuch Evils and Plagues, wherewith Almighty God may juſtly puniſh this People for neglecting this good and wholſom Law:* So that the Biſhops, upon pain of bringing upon themſelves the Imprecation of this Act of Parliament, were oblig'd to ſee it executed; and that when any thing came under their Knowledge, eſpecially if they were to be Actors in it, that had ſuch a Tendency to deſtroy the very Foundations of the Church, as the Suſpenſion of the Laws relating to the Church muſt do, it concern'd them that had no other Remedy, to addreſs the King, by Petition about it.

Mr. Finch's *Speech.*

Sir *Robert Sawyer* was ſeconded by the eloquent Mr. *Finch*, who farther urg'd, 'That tho' the Biſhops had deliver'd the Paper mention'd in the *Information*, yet unleſs they had deliver'd a *Falſe*, *Malicious*, *Seditious* and *Scandalous* Libel; unleſs they had publiſh'd it to ſtir up Sedition in the Kingdom; and unleſs they had contriv'd this by Conſpiracy, to diminiſh the King's Prerogative and Authority, and that Power that was ſaid to be in the King, the Lords were not guilty of the Accuſation. As to the Paper, if it were a Libel, &c. it muſt be ſo either for the Matter of it, or for the Perſons that deliver'd it, or for the Manner of their preſenting it; but neither for the Matter, nor for the Perſons, nor for the Manner of preſenting it, was there any Endeavour to diminiſh the King's Royal Prerogative, nor ſtir up to Sedition, nor Reflection upon the King's True Royal and Kingly Authority. That the King's *Declaration* was founded upon a Power of Diſpenſing, which undertook to ſuſpend all Laws Eccleſiaſtical, as if the King had ſuch a Power: That a Power to abrogate Laws, was as much a Part of the Legiſlature, as a Power to make Laws: That according to the Conſtitution of the Government in *England*, the Legiſlative Power was in the King, Lords, and Commons; but then if that *Declaration* was founded upon a Part of Legiſlature, which muſt be by all Men acknowledg'd not to reſide in the King alone, it cou'd not be a legal and true Power or Prerogative: That in the Year 1662, where there was but the leaſt Umbrage given of ſuch a Diſpenſing Power, altho' the King had declar'd in his Speech to the Parliament, *That he wiſh'd he had ſuch a Power*, which his *Declaration* before ſeem'd to aſſume, the Parliament was ſo jealous of this, that they immediately made their Application to his Majeſty, by an Addreſs againſt the Declaration; alledging, amongſt other Reaſons, *That the King cou'd not Diſpenſe with thoſe Laws without an Act of Parliament:* That there was another Attempt in 1672; and then after his Majeſty had in his Speech mention'd his Declaration to them, the Parliament, particularly the Houſe of Commons, preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty, ſetting forth, That this cou'd not be done by Law, without an Act of Parliament; and his Majeſty concurr'd with them ſo far in that Opinion, that he caus'd it to be made known to the Houſe of Lords, by the Lord-Chancellor, That his Majeſty had broken the Seal, and cancell'd the *Declaration*, with this farther Declaration, *That it ſhou'd never be drawn into Example or Conſequence*.

The Speeches of Mr. Pollixfen *and Serj.* Pemberton.

Mr. *Finch* was ſucceeded by the two notable Lawyers Mr. *Pollixfen* and Serjeant *Pemberton*: The firſt inſiſted, ' That the King's *Declaration* was not agreeable to the Laws of the Land, becauſe it did at one Blow ſet aſide all the Laws we have in *England*, for they were almoſt all Penal Laws, not only before the Reformation, but ſince: That the Will of the King is what the Law is; and if the King's Will be not conſonant to Law, it is not obliging: That the Caſes of Diſpenſations were all ſo many ſtrong Authorities againſt a general or particular Abrogation; for why ſhou'd any Man go about to argue, That the King may diſpenſe with this or that particular Law, if at once he can diſpenſe with all the Laws by an undoubted Prerogative'? Serjeant *Pemberton* alledg'd on the ſame ſide, ' That ſuch a Diſpenſing Power with Laws and Statutes, ſtrikes at the Foundations of all the Rights, Liberties and Properties of the King's Subjects: That the Penal Laws are the great Bulwark of the Reformed Religion, and the only human Fence of the Church of *England*; That they were made upon a Foreſight of the Miſchief that had, and might come, by falſe Religions into this Kingdom; and that they intended to defend the Nation againſt them, and to keep them out, particularly the *Romiſh* Religion, which is the *very worſt of all Religions*, and no way tolerable among us; whereas if this *Declaration* took effect, that Religion wou'd ſtand upon equal Terms with the Eſtabliſh'd Religion.

And of Mr Somers.

After ſome of theſe Arguments were repeated and diverſify'd, the Pleadings for the Biſhops were clos'd by the accurate Mr. *Somers*, who began with the great Caſe of *Thomas* and *Sorrel* in the *Exchequer*-Chamber upon the Validity of a *Diſpenſation*, urging, ' That there it was the Onion of every one of the Judges, that there never cou'd be an Abrogation, or a Suſpenſion, which is a Temporary Abrogation, of an Act of Parliament, but by the Legiſlative Power; that indeed it was diſputed, how far the King might diſpenſe with the Penalties of ſuch a particular Law, as to particular Perſons; but that it was agreed by all, *That the King had no Power to ſuſpend any Law*. That by the Law of all civiliz'd Nations, if the Prince does require ſomething to be done, which the Perſon who is to do it takes to be unlawful, it is not only lawful, but his Duty, *Reſcribere Principi*, which is all the Biſhops had done here, and that in the moſt humble manner. That as to the Matters of Fact alledg'd in the ſaid Petition, there cou'd be no Deſign to diminiſh the Prerogative, becauſe the King has no ſuch Prerogative; that the Petition could not be Seditious, becauſe it was preſented to the King in private and alone; nor Falſe, becauſe the Matter of it was true; nor Malicious, for the Occaſion was not ſought, the Thing was preſs'd upon them; nor, in ſhort, a Libel, becauſe the Intent was Innocent, and they kept within the Bounds ſet by Act of Parliament, that gives the Subject leave to apply to his Prince by Petition when he is aggriev'd.

The Reply of the King's Council.

To all theſe weighty Arguments, the Council for the King reply'd to this Effect: ' That our Religion teaches us, not to preſerve our Religion or our Lives by any illegal Courſes: That Evidences produc'd by the Defendants againſt the King's *Diſpenſing Power* were only Tranſactions in Parliament; and that no one cou'd affirm that any thing can be a *Declaration of Parliament*, unleſs he that is the principal Part concurs, who is the King; for if one ſpeaks of the *Court of Parliament* in a Legal Senſe, he muſt ſpeak of the whole Body, King, Lords and Commons; and that a *Declaration* in Parliament, muſt be by the whole Body, and that is properly an Act of Parliament. That there was no greater Proof of the Influence of the Biſhops Petition than the Crowd of that Day, and the Harangues that had been made: That the taking this Liberty to canvaſs and diſpute the King's Power and Authority, and to cenſure his Actions, poſſeſs'd the People with ſtrange Opinions, and rais'd Diſcontents and Jealouſies, as if the free Courſe of Law were reſtrain'd, and arbitrary Will and Pleaſure ſet up inſtead of it; That it was a Queſtion whether the Biſhops, out of Parliament, can preſent any Petition to the King. That if they were commanded to do any Thing againſt their Conſciences, they ſhou'd have acquieſc'd till the Meeting of the Parliament: That the King is Supream over all of us, and has a particular Supremacy over the Biſhops, as Supream Ordinary, Governor and Moderator of the Church, and as ſuch may Diſpenſe with all the Eccleſiaſtical Statutes: That it was adjudg'd in the Caſe of Sir *Edw. Hales*, That the King had a Power to Diſpenſe with the Penal Laws; and that the Defendants by queſtioning the King's Power, and referring themſelves to the *Declarations* in Parliament, had done that which of late Days had been always look'd upon as an ill Thing, as *if the King's Authority was under the Suffrages of Parliament*'. Here it is remarkable that Sir *William Williams*, the Head of the *Whig*-Party, and Speaker of the two laſt Parliaments in King *Charles*'s Reign, who was ſo full of Fears of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, when there was ſo little Occaſion, being now Solicitor-General, carry'd the Proſecution higher than the reſt of the King's Council, againſt thoſe who made this noble Stand againſt both; for which he was ſometimes hiſs'd in the Court, and at laſt of all, quite out of *Weſtminſter-hall*.

The Opinion of Chief Juſtice Wright

The Council having done ſpeaking on both Sides, the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Wright* ſumm'd up the Evidence, and told the Jury, ' That ſometimes the *Diſpenſing Power* had been allow'd, as in *Richard* the Second's Time, and ſometimes deny'd, but that it was a Queſtion out of the preſent Caſe'. Then he gave them Directions, ' That if they believ'd the Petition to be the ſame, that was preſented by the Biſhops to the King, then the Publication was ſufficiently prov'd. Next, that any thing which tended to diſturb the Government, or make a ſtir among the People, was certainly within the Caſe of *Libellis famoſis*, and his Opinion in ſhort was, That the Biſhop's Petition was a *Libel*'.

Judge Holloway,

Mr. Juſtice *Holloway* declar'd, ' That the End and Intention of any Action was to be conſider'd; That the Biſhops were charg'd with delivering a Petition, which according to their Defence was done with all Humility and Decency imaginable; and that as they were Men of good Lives, the delivering of a Petition was no Fault, *it being the Right of every Subject to Petition:* Therefore if the Jury were ſatisfy'd they did it with no ill Intention, but only to ſhew the Reaſon of their Diſobedience to the King's Command, he cou'd not think it to be a *Libel*'.

Judge Powell,

Mr. Juſtice *Powell* more plainly declar'd, ' That he cou'd diſcern no Sedition, or any other Crime fix'd upon the Reverend Fathers, the Lords Biſhops, ſince there was nothing offer'd by the King's Council to render the Petition Falſe, Malicious or Seditious. He admoniſh'd the Jury to conſider, That the Contents of the Petition were, That the Biſhops apprehended the *Declaration was Illegal, being founded upon a Diſpenſing Power claim'd by the King*; but for his Part he did not remember in any Caſe in all the Law, *That there was any ſuch Power in the King*; and if there be no ſuch Power in the King, the Petition cou'd not be a *Libel*'. He concluded with telling them, ' That he cou'd ſee no Difference between the King's Power to Diſpenſe with Laws Eccleſiaſtical, and his Power to Diſpenſe with any other Laws whatſoever; That if this were once allow'd of, there wou'd be no need of Parliaments, and all the Legiſlature wou'd be in the King; and he left the Iſſue to God and their Conſciences.'

And Judge Allybone.

Mr. Juſtice *Allybone*, who ſpoke laſt, laid down theſe two Poſitions; ' Firſt, that no Man can take upon him to write againſt the actual Exerciſe of the Government, unleſs he has Leave from the Government, but he makes a *Libel*, be what he writes true or falſe. Secondly, That no private Man can take upon him to write concerning the Government at all; and that when he intrudes himſelf into other Mens Buſineſs, that does not concern his particular Intereſt, he is a *Libeller*. Theſe Poſitions he back'd by a Reſolution of the Judges in King *James* the Firſt's Time, That to frame a Petition to the King to put the Penal Laws in Execution, was next Door to Treaſon;' which prov'd to be a groſs Miſquotation, inſtead of a *Petition againſt the Penal Laws*, and for which being taken up by Judge *Powell* and Serjeant *Pemberton*, little heed was given to any thing he ſaid afterwards. So the Jury withdrew, and ſate up all Night to conſider of the Verdict.

The Biſhops acquitted. The People tranſported.

Never was *Weſtminſter-hall* ſo throng'd and crouded, as it was the next Morning, to hear the Event of this important Tryal, and never did that ſpacious Place reſound with louder Shouts and Acclamations, than when the Word Not Guilty was pronounc'd by the Jury. The liſt'ning Throng catch'd the Word from the Fore-Man, and ſo often repeated it, that Solicitor *Williams* was ſo offended, that he earneſtly mov'd that ſuch as ſhouted in the Court might be committed. Whereupon a Gentleman of *Grays-Inn* was laid hold on, but ſoon after diſcharg'd, with this ſhort Reproof from the Chief-Juſtice; *Sir, I am as glad as you can be that my Lords the Biſhops are acquitted; but your manner of Rejoicing here is indecent; you might Rejoice in your Chamber, or elſewhere, and not here.* Nor did this Place, nor the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* terminate the Shouts that were rais'd upon the Biſhops acquittal, but they flew like Lightning to the Camp at *Hounſlow-Heath*, where the whole Body of the Soldiers echo'd them ſo loud, that it ſtartled the King, who was that Day entertain'd in the Earl of *Feverſham*'s Tent; inſomuch that his Majeſty ſent him out to know what was the Matter? The Earl came back and told the King, *It was nothing but the Soldiers ſhouted upon the News of the Biſhops being acquitted.* The King reply'd, much diſcompos'd, *And do you call that Nothing? But ſo much the worſe for them.* Whatever his Majeſty meant by theſe laſt Words, the People cou'd not contain; for notwithſtanding ſevere Prohibitions, innumerable Bonfires, Illuminations, &c. were made in *London*, the two Univerſities, and all great Places, and more particularly in the City of *Norwich*, where the Raptures and Tranſports were beyond all Expreſſion. All which gave a ſenſible Regret to the King, who threatned to deliver the Biſhops up to the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners; and to ſhew his Indignation, he immediately turn'd out the two Judges *Holloway* and *Powell*, and put in Sir *Robert Baldock*, one of his Council in this Tryal, in the room of the latter; and was proceeding in farther Acts of Severity, till Neceſſity in no long time oblig'd him to make a Stand.

The King provok'd:

For the News of the Biſhops Acquittal was not the only Mortification the King receiv'd at *Hounſlow-Heath:* From the general Bent of the People he found it was exceeding difficult, if not impoſſible for him to effect his Deſigns without open Forces; and therefore to try how far he might depend upon his Army, he endeavour'd to make them ſubſcribe a Writing, whereby they ſhou'd engage themſelves to contribute, as far as in them lay, towards the Repeal of the *Teſts* and *Penal Laws.* To bring this to bear, it was thought fit to propoſe the thing to all the Regiments One by One; not doubting but that if two or three ſubmitted, the reſt wou'd follow their Example. Accordingly the Major of the Lord *Litchfield*'s Regiment was order'd to open his Majeſty's Deſire to that Battalion, and Command all ſuch as wou'd not inſtantly comply with it, *to lay down their Arms:* But he was not a little ſurpris'd when he found, that except two Captains, and ſome *Popiſh* Soldiers, the whole Regiment obey'd the latter Part of his Command. The King himſelf remain'd Speechleſs for a while; and having recover'd his Aſtoniſhment, commanded them *to take up their Arms again*, adding with a diſcontented ſullen Look, *That for the future he wou'd not do them the Honour to ask their Advice.* Hereupon his Majeſty found that he muſt new-model his Army before he cou'd rely upon them, and therefore upon the firſt Occaſion, he caſhier'd ſeveral Proteſtant Officers and Soldiers, and fill'd them up with as many *Papiſts* either *Engliſh* or *Iriſh*, as he cou'd procure. But this Regulation was ſo far from a Security, that it created new Diſcontents and Dangers. For afterwards when ſeveral *Iriſh* were put into the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment, it was warmly oppos'd by Lieutenant-Colonel *Beaumont* and other Officers. The former remonſtrated to the Duke, 'That he was deſired by thoſe Gentlemen to inform his Grace, That they did not think it conſiſtent with their Honours to have Foreigners impos'd upon them, without being complain'd of, that their Companies were weak, or Orders had been ſent to recruit them; not doubting, but if ſuch Orders had been given, that what firſt, in very ill times, rais'd them Hundreds, cou'd eaſily now have made them according to the King's Complement. Therefore they humbly petition'd that they might have leave to fill up their Companies with ſuch Men of this Nation, as they ſhou'd judge moſt ſuitable for the King's Service, and to ſupport their Honours; or otherwiſe, that they might be permitted with all imaginable Duty and Reſpect, to lay down their Commiſſions.' An Account of this, and ſome other diſcouraging Matters, being tranſmitted to his Majeſty at *Windſor*, he immediately order'd Lieutenant-Colonel *Beaumont*, Captain *Paſton*, and four other Captains, to be taken into Cuſtody; and a Court Martial was appointed to try them as Mutineers, which might have coſt them their Lives: But ſome News from abroad alter'd the Sentence, and they were only caſhier'd. Nor were the Sea-Forces more favourable to *Popery*; for the King having caus'd *Maſs* to be ſaid on Board his Men of War, there happen'd ſo great a Diſorder and Mutiny in the Fleet, that the Officers cou'd hardly ſave the Prieſts from being thrown over Board.

And mortify'd in his Camp,

And Fleet.

Deſigns to gain the Diſſenters to the Church of England.

4. The Proſecution of the Biſhops, and ſome other Proceedings, had made a conſiderable Impreſſion upon the Diſſenters: For tho' for the moſt part they were made uſe of towards the overturning of the Church, eſpecially after the King's firſt Declaration of Indulgence; yet by Degrees it appear'd that the more Moderate Sort were ſo fully ſatiſfy'd with that Stand which the *London* Divines had made againſt *Popery*, and the unanſwerable Treatiſes they had writ againſt it, that they ſhew'd an unuſual Readineſs to come in to them. This, and the Dangers of *Popery*, put the good Archbiſhop and others upon conſidering of proper Methods to promote this Inclination, and to gain them over without doing any Prejudice to themſelves. Accordingly a Scheme was laid out to improve, and inforce the Diſcipline of the Church; to review and enlarge the preſent Liturgy, by correcting of ſome Things, and by adding of others; and, if it ſhou'd be thought fit by Authority in Convocation and Parliament, by leaving ſome few Ceremonies, confeſs'd to be Indifferent in their Natures, as Indifferent in their Uſage, ſo as not to be neceſſarily obſerv'd by thoſe who made a Scruple of them; till they ſhou'd be able to overcome either their Weakneſſes, or Prejudices, and be willing to comply with them. The Scheme being laid out, the ſeveral Parts of it were committed, with the Approbation and Direction of the Archbiſhop, to a conſiderable Number of eminent Divines of the City. His Grace took one Part to Himſelf; another was committed to Dr. *Patrick*, others to Dr. *Sharp*, &c. Moreover the Archbiſhop, ſending certain *Articles* to the Clergy through his whole Province, dated *July* the 16th, in the xith *Article* has theſe remarkable Words; 'That they alſo walk in Wiſdom towards them who are not of our Communion: And if there be in their Pariſhes any ſuch, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the Spirit of Meekneſs, ſeeking by all good Ways and Means to gain and win them over to our Communion. More eſpecially that they have a very tender Regard to our Brethren, the *Proteſtant Diſſenters:* That upon Occaſion offer'd, they viſit them at their Houſes, and receive them kindly at their own; and treat them fairly whereever they meet them; perſuading them, if it may be, to a full Compliance with our Church; or at leaſt, that whereunto we have already attain'd, we may all walk by the ſame Rule, and mind the ſame Thing. And in Order thereunto, that they take all Opportunities of aſſuring and convincing them, *That the Biſhops of this Church are really and ſincerely irreconcileable Enemies to the Errors, Superſtitions, Idolatries, and Tyrannies of the Church of* Rome; *and that the very unkind Jealouſies which ſome have had of us to the contrary were altogether groundleſs.* And in the laſt Place, that they warmly and moſt affectionately exhort them to join us in daily fervent Prayer to the God of Peace, for an Univerſal Bleſſed Union of all *Reformed Churches* both at Home and Abroad, againſt our Common Enemies, &c.

A ſtrange Addreſs from Cheſter *Dioceſe.*

While the Archbiſhop and other pious Divines were promoting the Good of the Church and Publick, ſome few Biſhops were moving in another Road, who inſtead of following the Example of their perſecuted Brethren, had publiſh'd and read the *Declaration*, even after the Acquittal of thoſe Heroes. The Biſhop of *Durham* was thought ſo blameable in that Point, that it gave an Occaſion to a Report, That upon that Account he ſuſpended thirty Miniſters of his Dioceſe, and amongſt them one of his own Chaplains; but this afterwards appear'd to be altogether falſe. And in the County of *Cheſter*, nine Curates, Rectors, and others, were not contented to read the *Declaration*, but preſented likewiſe an Addreſs, wherein they tell his Majeſty, 'That if the Matter of the *Declaration* were not according to their Wiſhes, yet the Publiſhing of it was according to their Duty, ſince it was iſſued out from the expreſs Prerogative of his Supremacy over them; and they were required by what is Statute-Law, the *Rubrick* of their *Liturgy*, to publiſh what was enjoin'd by the King or their Biſhop, (whoſe Caſe therein was remarkable) as much as what is preſcrib'd in the Rules of this Book; ſo that they cou'd not but with Trouble of Mind hear of the Proceedings of the Seven Biſhops, who, tho' they tenderly promis'd the *Diſſenters* Something, yet refus'd to do their Part about the *Declaration*, leſt they ſhould be *Parties* to it, which Reaſon the Addreſſers eſteem inſufficient. Therefore they, in all Submiſſion, become earneſt, tho' too mean Interceſſors to his Majeſty in Behalf of the Church of *England*, That the Faults of Theſe and Others may not be laid to her Charge, in whoſe Communion there were many, and they hop'd there wou'd be more, who concurr'd in Promoting the Pur-

‘ poſes of his mild Government; and ſo conclude with ‘ begging Leave to make their Congratulations for the happy Birth of the young Prince in his *Hereditary Succeſſive* ‘ *Kingdom.*’ Now becauſe it was by the Inſtigation of their Biſhop that the Clergy of *Cheſter* had made this ſtrange Step, we are told that one of the Colleges of *Oxford* refus'd to admit the Son of that Prelate to a Fellowſhip that had been given him; and about the ſame Time that famous Univerſity refus'd alſo to give the Degree of Doctor to Mr. *Gifford*, whom the King had nominated to fill the vacant See of that City.

The laſt Act of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners.

The Biſhop of Rocheſter *leaves them.*

Still the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners proceeded to act with all Vigour, and by an Order made the 12th of *July*, ‘ Commanded all Chancellors, Arch-Deacons, Commiſſaries and Officials, to enquire in what Churches and ‘ Chapels his Majeſty's *Declaration* was read, and to tranſmit an Account thereof upon the 16th Day of *Auguſt* ‘ next.’ But the Clergy finding this Court to be little better than a *Popiſh Inquiſition*, the greateſt Part of thoſe to whom the Order was directed, never took any notice of it. The Commiſſioners being met on the ſaid Day, were not a little puzzled how to proceed in this Matter: But after a long Conſultation, they were contented to repeat the ſame Order, ‘ Requiring all Perſons, having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, to tranſmit to them upon the 15th of ‘ *November* next, an Account of the Enquiry they are hereby commanded to make in their Viſitations, together ‘ with the Names of the Parſons, Rectors, Vicars, and ‘ Curates, that had either obey'd or diſobey'd his Majeſty's ‘ Command.’ The Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who had been thought too obnoxious and compliant, finding the Deſign of the Commiſſion itſelf, now look'd upon it as inconſiſtent with his Profeſſion and Character to act any longer in it. Others wou'd have it, that the Whiſpers of an Invaſion and a Change open'd the Eyes of that Prelate; but whatever it was, he wrote a Letter to his Colleagues, wherein he told them, ‘ That ſince their Lordſhips ‘ were reſolv'd to proceed againſt thoſe, who had not ‘ comply'd with the King's Command in Reading his *Declaration*, it was abſolutely impoſſible for him to ſerve his Majeſty any longer in that Commiſſion.’ He proceeds farther and ſays, ‘ That tho' I my ſelf did ſubmit in that Particular, yet I will never be any ways Inſtrumental in puniſhing thoſe my Brethren who did not. For, as I call God ‘ to Witneſs, that what I did was merely upon a Principle ‘ of Conſcience; ſo I am fully ſatisfy'd, that their Forbearance was upon the ſame Principle.’ The Loſs of this Biſhop was look'd upon as ominous to the Court, and his Letter, which was publiſh'd notwithſtanding the Precautions that were taken to ſuppreſs it, prov'd highly detrimental to the *Popiſh Cabal*; who ſtill drove on with ungovernable Zeal and Fury, to the great Terror of all wiſe and good Men, who had now little to hope for but from Heaven and Abroad.

The firſt Steps towards the REVOLUTION.

V. I. For above two Months after the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, the *Romiſh* Intereſt was at the *Height*, appearing ſtill upon the Increaſe; and it is hard to expreſs the dreadful Apprehenſions the Generality had of an impending Storm; all finding ſuch Breaches into the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, as muſt ſhortly amount to a Diſſolution or a total Subverſion. But in the midſt of this Darkneſs and Night, in the Month of *Auguſt* there began to appear ſome Glimmerings of Light, ſome Dawnings of the Day from the *Eaſt*, which gradually gave Comfort and Refreſhment to the whole Nation. This ſerv'd to diſpel the dark Clouds and threatning Tempeſts, and in Time brought on a ſignal Deliverance, in which the Arm of God ſeem'd more viſible and manifeſt than all the Powers of Mankind. The Deliverance was generally thought more eminent and conſpicuous, as being brought about by ſuch a Concurrence of wonderful Circumſtances and Events, and effected and compleated in *England* with hardly any Convulſion or Bloodſhed; which perhaps cou'd never have been in any other Time. But others, who have judg'd of it more by accidental Conſequences than neceſſary Effects, as the vaſt Sums of Money and Seas of Blood that rather follow'd it than were produc'd by it, have accounted it more a Judgment than a Deliverance. We are gratefully ſatisfy'd with the Truth of the Latter, and do believe it not only to have been a Deliverance to the *Britannick* Dominions, but alſo to the principal Parts of *Europe*, who began to feel the Want of a Revolution almoſt as much as *England* it ſelf.

The State of Affairs in Europe.

To underſtand the Greatneſs of the Revolution, as well as the Boldneſs of the Attempt, it will be proper to take a ſhort View of the State of Affairs in the Neigbouring Countries. To begin with *France*; the vaſt Scheme of making that Kingdom the Seat of Univerſal Monarchy, which had been founded by Cardinal *Richlieu*, and purſu'd by *Mazarine*, was ſo ſucceſsfully proſecuted, that its powerful Arms had for many Years been the Terror of *Europe*, the Progreſs of which cou'd not naturally be ſtemm'd, but by the Aſſiſtance of *England*. It is believ'd that *Cromwell* might eaſily have ſtopp'd this Torrent in the Beginning; but having particular Ends, he open'd the Paſſages to it. King *Charles* the Second ſeem'd willing to have drawn his Sword in the Defence of *Flanders*, but his Hands being more ty'd than, perhaps, his Inclinations, he choſe to ſubmit to a more eaſy and paſſive Way: And King *James*, on ſeveral Conſiderations, refus'd to enter into any Alliance to the Interruption of the Peace that the neighbouring Parts of *Europe* enjoy'd in his Reign. But this Peace being by others more juſtly look'd upon to be precarious, and like to continue no longer than the *French* had an Inclination to break it, they thought an honourable War more eligible; at leaſt it was but Prudence and Policy to enter upon Meaſures for their common Safety in Caſe of a Rupture.

The Management of the Prince of Orange.

The Prince of *Orange*, as it formerly appear'd, was always at the Head of the moſt forward of theſe Counſels: To this Hero Eaſe was tedious and inſufferable, and Inactivity like the State of Death; War was his beloved Miſtreſs, and a Camp his chief Scene of Pleaſure. But he had this peculiar Felicity from the Situation of Affairs in his Time, that whatever might be the Effects of a reſtleſs Temper, and an unbounded Ambition, ſeem'd purely the Reſult of Neceſſity and not Choice; and the glorious Pretenſions of Reſtoring the Balance of Power, and the invaded Liberties of oppreſs'd Nations, gave at leaſt a beautiful Varniſh to all his Undertakings, whether ambitious or not. At his firſt Appearance in the World, and under moſt diſadvantagious Circumſtances, he had bravely put a Check to the rapid Courſe of the Conqueſts of *France*, and with wonderful Courage and Conſtancy carry'd on the War till it concluded in the Peace of *Nimeguen*. After which he became the chief Inſtrument in forming the League of *Ausburg* againſt *France*, thereby to bring all the Forces of the Confederates upon that Monarch, and keep him in play, in caſe he ſhou'd attempt to croſs his Deſigns, by turning his Arms againſt the *Hollanders*. On the other Hand, he repreſented to the Houſe of *Auſtria* ‘ the ambitious Deſigns of the *French* King, and how eaſily he ‘ might make himſelf Univerſal Monarch, if he were ſupported by the Crown of *England*, which for five hundred Years paſt had held the Balance of *Europe*;’ adding, ‘ That it was not the Advancement of the *Romiſh* Religion ‘ which the King of *France* had in view, but the aggrandizing his encroaching Power; ſince at the ſame time ‘ that he perſecuted his *Proteſtant* Subjects, and favour'd ‘ the Growth of *Popery* in *England*, he countenanc'd Count ‘ *Tekeli*, and had made a ſecret Alliance with the *Turks*.’ The Emperor and the King of *Spain* plainly ſaw the Strength of theſe Reaſons; and the rather, becauſe the Endeavours of their Miniſters to bring King *James* into the *German* League againſt *France* had prov'd ineffectual. Among the reſt *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, a Perſon that beſt knew the *Engliſh* Genius and Conſtitution, made uſe of the moſt prevailing Arguments to engage him to break with *France*; aſſuring him, ‘ That nothing wou'd ‘ more endear him to his *Proteſtant* Subjects, nor more ‘ powerfully incline his Parliament to grant Eaſe to the ‘ *Roman Catholicks*.’ But his Majeſty was already ſo ſtrongly united with *France*, that he anſwer'd the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, *That he wou'd faithfully obſerve the Alliances he had made with his Maſter; but that he was oblig'd as religiouſly to entertain the Amity that was between him and the King of* France *his near Relation; that he deſir'd to live in Peace with all his Neighbours, and wou'd endeavour to preſerve it amongſt them.* The Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* ſaw the Tendency of this unſatisfactory Anſwer; and therefore both the Emperor and his Catholick Majeſty were the more diſpos'd to hearken to the Propoſals made them by the Prince of *Orange*, not only againſt King *Lewis*, but againſt the King of *England*, his devoted Ally.

The Power of France *and other Nations.*

But all the Confederacies that cou'd be made were too light without the Weight of *England* in the Scale, and without her Strength, were an unequal Match for the Power of *France*; which Monarchy was then in its moſt flouriſhing Condition, abounding in Riches and Plenty, numerous Gallant Troops and experienc'd Officers, all at the abſolute Command of a Prince as well qualify'd for vaſt Atchievements, as ever ſat upon the Throne. The *German* Empire was a large Body, and appear'd robuſt and nervous, but was very feeble in the Joints, the bulky Limbs being ill compacted by a fundamental Error in its Conſtitution; and the Emperor himſelf was ſtill engag'd in a War with the *Turks*, which tho' ſucceſsfully carry'd on of late Years, had nevertheleſs quite exhauſted his Coffers. *Spain* had for almoſt a Century of Years languiſh'd under a conſumptive Decay, and wanted Spirits to keep up her lingering Vitals, much more to revive and ſupport her diſtant Parts, as ſufficiently appear'd by the late Loſs of *Luxemburg*. *Holland*, tho' healthy and vigorous, yet was unable to defend her ſelf without better Seconds; ſo that all the former Efforts of the Prince of *Orange* were by Himſelf compar'd to thoſe of a *weak Skuller againſt an Eddy*. Now an impatient Senſe of the Difficulties that Prince had to encounter, and an Ambition of appearing at the Head of a Force ſufficient to curb the growing Power of *France*, and ſnatch the Laurels from that Monarch's Brow, might well raiſe his Appetite even to a Crown, which a ſtrange and uncommon Concurrence of Circumſtances had conſpir'd to place upon his Head. The Death of the Elector of *Cologn* happen'd about the Time of the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, and the Competition about a new Election, manifeſtly tended to a Rupture; Prince *Clement*, Brother to the Elector of *Bavaria*, one of the two Candidates, being ſupported by *Germany*; and the other, the Cardinal of *Furſtemberg*, by the Crown of *France:* This, with the Umbrage taken at the Fortifying of *Traerbach* by the *French*, made the War in effect neceſſary. In this nice Juncture of Affairs the Prince of *Orange* was particularly encourag'd from *England* to form his great Deſigns; and this Juncture made his Propoſals ſo readily embrac'd, as it ſet the *Roman* Court in Oppoſition to the Church of *Rome*, made even the *Pope* and the Houſe of *Auſtria* concur in ſecuring the *Proteſtant* Religion in *England*, and induc'd Sovereign Princes to encourage the Overthrow of a Sovereign Brother by the Hands of his own Subjects.

The Prince of Orange *invited over by many in* England.

The Perſons concern'd:

And their Principles.

2. *England* of all other Nations was more immediately concern'd to bring about a Revolution; and the Birth of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor, and the Proſecution of the Seven Biſhops had ripen'd Matters, and brought them to ſuch a Height, that all Perſons began to look out for a Deliverance. Many Temporal Lords and conſiderable Gentlemen, ſeriouſly reflecting upon the imminent Dangers that at once threatned the whole Conſtitution both in Church and State, writ Invitations to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, to ſuccour them in this Emergency; and a ſecret Correſpondence was maintain'd for ſome time between them and the Court of the *Hague*, whither Gentlemen were continually going, and ſome always reſiding there to ſupport and cultivate it, as Mr. *Sidney*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, Dr. *Burnet*, and others. In *July* one *Joſeph Flight* brought over near fourſcore Letters, to as many of the prime Nobility and Gentry, and carry'd back Anſwers with great Diſpatch and Safety. The Lord *Wharton*, tho' advanc'd in Years, took a Journey through *Holland* to *Germany*; Colonel *Sidney*, Uncle to the Earl of *Sunderland*, went to the *Spaw*, under the Pretence of only Drinking the Waters; and the Lord *Dunblain*, Son to the Earl of *Danby*, a brave bold-ſpirited Sea-Man, who commanded an Independent Frigate, together with Mr. *Johnſon*, and ſome others, croſs'd and recroſs'd the Seas, to carry ſeveral Diſpatches and Reſolutions. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* having left his Regiment of Horſe, and mortgag'd his Eſtate for forty thouſand Pounds, went over to the Prince, to offer him both his Sword and his Purſe. He was follow'd by Admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Herbert* his Couſin, Mr. *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Mordant*, and the Earl of *Wiltſhire*. As to thoſe others in *England* who aſſiſted in this great Work, we are to mention the Earl of *Danby*, who had as great a Share in this as in the Marriage of the Princeſs of *Orange*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Lord *Lovelace*, the Lord *Delamere*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, and his Son the Lord *Eland*, the Marquiſs of *Wincheſter*, the Lord *Pawlet* his Son, the Lord *Willoughby*, Son to the Earl of *Lindſey*, Mr. *Liſter*, Mr. *Hamden*, Mr. *Powle*, &c. beſides ſeveral eminent Citizens in *London*. Upon what Motives and Principles theſe Perſons proceeded ſhall be deliver'd in the Words of the eloquent Biſhop *Sprat*, a Perſon well acquainted with thoſe Times, who in a Letter to the Lord *Dorſet*, ſays, 'I know it was formerly a popular Objection of divers miſguided *Diſſenters* from the Church of *England*, *That our Principles were too Monarchical, and that we carry'd the Doctrine of* Obedience *farther than might be conſiſtent with the Safety of a* Proteſtant *Church, or the Privilege of a free-born People*. But it is now to be hop'd, that the ſtrongeſt Argument of all others, which is Experience from undoubted Matter of Fact, has put this Objection for ever out of Countenance; that ſince it is undeniable, that during the whole Time, when our *Civil* and *Spiritual* Liberties were in ſo much Danger, the greateſt and moſt conſiderable Stop, that was here put to the Arts of *Rome*, and Intrigues of *France*, was by the ſteady Reſolution of the true Sons of the Church of *England*.----- It will be ſufficient to affirm, once for all, That the main Body of thoſe, who made ſo brave a Stand, were all of the Church of *England*; and the Principles on which they ſtood, were all Church of *England* Principles. *My Lord*, It was by theſe Perſons and theſe Principles, that *Popery* was ſtopp'd in its full Career, by theſe it was hinder'd from conquering, and put in a Condition to be ſhortly after conquer'd it ſelf in this Nation.' But to proceed:

Their Application to the States-General.

The deplorable State of Things having awaken'd the Minds of many of the Nobility and Gentry, they reſolv'd to ſhake off a Yoke they cou'd not bear. In Order to which, they apply'd themſelves not only to the Prince of *Orange*, but to ſeveral leading Members of the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, repreſenting to them, 'How nearly they were concern'd in what then paſs'd in *England*, which was but one Branch of the Deſigns driven on by the *French* King and his Adherents, for enſlaving all *Europe*, and rooting out what they call'd the *Northern Hereſy*, both Name and Thing. They ſhew'd them, That if they ſuffer'd the Conſpiracy of the common Enemies to go any farther, they wou'd be involv'd in the Ruin of *England*, and muſt ſpeedily fall under the *French* Yoak, of which they had felt the Weight in the Years 1672, and 1673, and had lately heard more of it from thoſe great Numbers of *French Proteſtants* who had taken Refuge in their Country.' They inſiſted 'how glorious it wou'd be for them to become the Sanctuary of oppreſs'd Innocence.' They put them in mind of what had heretofore been done for their Republick by the *Engliſh* Nation, 'When they had newly caſt off the *Spaniſh* Tyranny, and were forc'd to implore the Succour of their Neighbours againſt a Power which then carry'd on the ſame Deſigns, and much by the ſame Methods, which had been copy'd from them by the *French* in the latter Times.' They convinc'd them, 'That all Reaſons of Gratitude, Humanity, Policy and Chriſtianity concurr'd, to incline them to comply with their Requeſt, in putting their helping Hand towards the oppoſing a Bank to that Torrent which otherwiſe wou'd overflow all *Chriſtendom*. Neither was the Buſineſs of a Nature to admit Delay; ſince if they ſlipp'd that Opportunity then in their Hands, by the *French* King's ſending his Forces to the *Upper Rhine*, to begin the War upon *Philipsburgh*; if they let paſs that ſeaſonable Occaſion of helping *England*, in all Probability it wou'd be too late to attempt any thing hereafter: The two Kings hoping in a ſhort time to put both the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* out of Capacity of diſputing their Pleaſure.

Proviſions made by them and the Prince of Orange.

All theſe Arguments, and the Inſtances of ſo many conſiderable *Engliſh-Men*, prevail'd to that Degree, that the *States-General* reſolv'd to lend them their beſt Troops; and accordingly the Forces were order'd to rendezvous near *Nimeguen*, not far from the Camp of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had march'd his Army thither to act in Conjunction with the Confederates, now alarm'd by the *Dauphine*'s Hoſtility in *Germany*. The Prince of *Orange* had juſt before, under the Pretence of the Buſineſs of *Cologn*, aſſiſted at an Interview, and long Conference held at *Minden* in *Weſtphalia*, between the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and the Princes of the Houſe of *Lunenburgh*, wherein Meaſures were concerted both to recover *England*, as well as depreſs *France*. This, and his frequent Journies to the Army near *Nimeguen*, ſoon gave alarm to the Count *D'Avaux* and the Marquiſs *D'Albyville*, Miniſters of *France* and *England* reſiding at the *Hague*; eſpecially when there was an Interview between the Prince and the Marquiſs of *Caſtanaga*, Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, on the Frontiers, wherein Matters were concerted for the Defence of thoſe Provinces, on the Prince's Abſence. The Prince's Friends gave it out, 'That it was about ſome Affairs depending between his Highneſs and the Count *de Solre*, concerning certain Lands in the Dependency of *Conde*, *France* having undertaken the Defence of that Count;' whereas the true Reaſon of that Interview, and all the Prince's extraordinary Motions at that time, was wholly unknown to the World. This was in the Month of *Auguſt*; and tho' the Marquiſs *D' Albyville* went to *London* about that time, ſo ſecret were the Councils of this Prince, that King *James* had no manner of Notice of his Intentions: To diſguiſe which, he happily made uſe of the Rupture between *France* and the Empire, as a Colour for his Military Preparations. And indeed the whole Expedition was manag'd with a Secrecy ſo exact and well guarded, as fully confirm'd the Character which Experience had extorted from the Mouth of his great Enemy, the *French* King, *That in the Cabinet he was the greateſt Man in* Europe.

The Prince having detach'd from his own, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Camp, what Forces he thought neceſſary for his Expedition, which he deſign'd ſhou'd look more like a Reſtorer than a Conqueror; the King of *Sweden* moſt generouſly offer'd to ſupply the *Dutch* with an equal Number of Troops, and perform'd his Promiſe; o-

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therwiſe the *States* durſt hardly have ventur'd ſuch an Army abroad, when they were threatned by a very formidable Enemy at home. At the ſame time that Care was taken to procure a proper and ſufficient Number of Land Forces, Orders were carefully ſent to the ſeveral Cities of *Holland*, to have ſo many Ships of War and ſo many Tranſports in readineſs by a particular Day, which was executed with all poſſible Chearfulneſs and Expedition. Tho' the Enterprize was extraordinary, and of the boldeſt Nature in the World, yet there was ſcarce a Man in *Holland*, excepting *Papiſts*, who was heard to murmur at either the Charge or Hazard of it; and Men, Women and Children, lifted up their Prayers to Heaven for the Succeſs of his Highneſs, and the preſent Deliverance of *England*.

The Readineſs of the Dutch.

The French *Ambaſſador's Suſpicion of them.*

3. During theſe great Preparations, which in *England* gave ſome Glimmerings of Hope in the Country before they gave anſwerable Apprehenſions to the Court, the Count *D'Avaux*, the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, kept a watchful Eye upon the Motions of the Prince of *Orange*, grew more jealous of theſe uncommon Proceedings, and diſcover'd from ſeveral convincing Circumſtances, that they were intended againſt *England*. He gave timely Notice of it to King *Lewis* his Maſter, from whom King *James* had the firſt certain and poſitive Intelligence; we ſay Poſitive, becauſe Mr. *Bevil Skelton*, while he reſided at the *Hague*, had made ſome remote Diſcoveries, and had intercepted a Letter, intimating, That a great Project was ſecretly carry'd on againſt the King of *England*, of which he immediately gave an Account to his Majeſty: But the Court of *England* had been ſo often impos'd upon by ſham Plots, and rous'd with falſe Alarms, and now intoxicated with Succeſs, that no great Notice was taken of Mr. *Skelton*'s Information. However, the *French* King laid more Weight upon Count *D'Avaux*'s Advice, and preſs'd King *James* to take ſuch Notice of it as it deſerv'd, and to put himſelf into a Poſture cf Defence againſt the intended Invaſion of his Dominions.

Intelligence receiv'd by Mr. Skelton*s*

Much about the ſame time, Mr. *Skelton*, lately arriv'd at *Paris* in Quality of Envoy Extraordinary from *England*, held Intelligence with a certain Gentleman, who gave him farther Light into this Affair. This Gentleman was one *Bude de Verace*, a Proteſtant of *Geneva*, Grand-Son to the famous Librarian *Budæus*, and formerly a Captain in the Prince of *Orange*'s Guards, who having in a Duel kill'd the Son of one of the States, was oblig'd to fly for his Safety. The Earl of *Clarendon*, whoſe Son the Lord of *Cornbury* had receiv'd great Civilities from *Verace*, while he ſtudy'd at *Geneva*, recommended him to the Prince of *Orange*, by the Interceſſion of Mr. *Skelton*; who not only obtain'd *Verace*'s Pardon, but procur'd him alſo the Place of Gentleman-Uſher to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs. *Verace* being thus reſtor'd to the good Opinion of the Prince, he inſinuated himſelf more and more into it, and fell into an Intimacy with Mr. *Bentinck* his Favourite; but being ſuſpected of making ſome Diſcovery of his Maſter's Deſign againſt King *James*, or as others pretend, having reflected upon the *Princeſs's* having no Children, he was turn'd out of his Place. He had not been long at *Geneva*, when upon the News of the great Preparations in *Holland*, he wrote to Mr. *Skelton*, then at *Paris*, ‘ That he had ſuch Things to communicate to the King of *England*, that were of no leſs Concern than the Crown he wore, and the expoſing a Son-in-law he had too much truſted; but that he wou'd not diſcover the Secret to any but the King himſelf, and that if his Majeſty wou'd let him know his Pleaſure, he wou'd immediately repair to *England*.’

Who in vain gives Notice to King James.

Upon this Advice Mr. *Skelton* wrote five or ſix Letters to the Court of *England*, in the ſame warm and preſſing Style, as thoſe writ to his Maſter by the *French* King. On the other Hand, the Marquiſs of *Albyville*, the *Engliſh* Envoy at the *Hague*, was not wanting in his Duty; ſo that King *James* had ſufficient Notice given him not to be ſurpris'd; but it was late before he hearken'd to thoſe Advices, and the following Reaſons are given, why he did not hearken to them ſooner. ‘ The Prince of *Orange* ſtill continu'd ſo dutiful to him, as gave no Occaſion to entertain any ſuch Jealouſy: That Prince continu'd paying him the ſame Reſpects, and even Complimenting him, as others did, upon the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, and caus'd his Name to be added to the reſt of the Princes of the Family, to be pray'd for in his Chapel.’ Beſides, upon the News of a great Armament in *Holland*, *Van Citters* the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, gave King *James* to underſtand, ‘ That *France* had more Reaſon to be alarm'd at it than *England*.’ On the other ſide his Majeſty ſo much depending upon a numerous Army, a ſtrong Fleet, and the Affections of his People, diſregarded the feeble Attempts of the *Hollanders*; at leaſt, it is ſaid, he was taught to diſregard them by his prime Miniſter the Earl of *Sunderland*.

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The Earl of Sunderland.

What has been urg'd againſt him.

Here Father *Orleans* takes an Occaſion curiouſly to ſum up all that has been ſaid for and againſt that Great Man, whoſe Character and Actions had been ſo dubious to the World: They that accuſe him of Infidelity, ſays he, ground their Charge upon Circumſtances and Facts, and ſay, ‘ That the Earl was an Enemy reconcil'd to King *James* thro' Policy and Neceſſity; That no Man had puſh'd on the *Bill of Excluſion* in the ſeveral Parliaments more warmly than he; and that he never ſought after his Friendſhip, till he ſaw him Uppermoſt: That he was one who reſolv'd to ſide with the prevailing Party, though at the ſame time he manag'd a Reſource with thoſe that were under, in caſe of a Change: That while he was in with the *Excluſion* Party, he dextrouſly ingratiated himſelf with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, by whoſe Mediation he was ſoon admitted to King *Charles*'s Favour, and by him reconcil'd to the Duke of *York*. That upon the latter's Acceſſion to the Throne, being become prime Miniſter, and almoſt the only one, he had been zealous for him, during his Proſperity; but as ſoon as he diſcover'd a Party was forming againſt him, he had held a near Correſpondence with his Enemies: That his Lady conſtantly writ to the Princeſs of *Orange*, and his Uncle *Henry Sidney*, one of the Heads of the Party, who was gone over into *Holland*, to the Prince: That the Earl in a printed Letter, owning he had embrac'd the *Roman-Catholick* Religion, to be more able to ſerve the *Proteſtants*, ſhew'd he was not always of the ſame Side he appear'd to be: That no leſs can be ſaid of the Violence he us'd to his Maſter, in perſuading him, contrary to his Inclinations, to bring Father *Petre* into the Privy-Council, againſt his own Will, and all the Oppoſition made by the Queen, and in ſpight of the Eſſential Laws of his Order, which his Majeſty conſented to, to oblige this Miniſter: That the ſame Inference may be drawn from his Proceedings in the Diſturbance about the Seven Biſhops, whom he caus'd to be hard ſet in the Council, and yet ſecretly favour'd: That the ſlight Account he made of ſo many Advices brought of the Deſigns of the Prince of *Orange* and the *Dutch*, muſt needs ariſe from an unfaithful Intention, as muſt the Methods he afterwards perſuaded him to follow, which finally depriv'd his Maſter of the only Means left him to oppoſe his Enemies.’

And what for him.

On the other ſide, the ſame Author ſays, ‘ Thoſe who are for excuſing him, ſay thus, That it is no infallible Rule, that a reconcil'd Enemy cannot become ſincere; and that a Man may ſave himſelf a Reſource with a Party, without embracing it: That the Earl was never convicted of having any Perſonal Underſtanding with his Maſter's Enemies, tending to betray him: That his Lady's Correſpondence with the Princeſs of *Orange*, tho' ſuſpicious at this Conjuncture, is not a ſufficient Reaſon to charge the Husband with ſuch a Crime: That Colonel *Sidney*, tho' his near Relation, might have deceiv'd him, as he did others, and make him believe that he went to the *Spaw* only for the ſake of the Waters: That his owning he chang'd his Religion to ſerve the *Proteſtants*, is rather an Excuſe to them, than a Proof of his being privy to their Deſigns; ſince no Man needs make Excuſes to thoſe with whom he has already concerted Meaſures: That his introducing Father *Petre* into the Council, was only a prudential and allowable Piece of Policy, to bring upon the *Jeſuit* all the odium of the People, for the irregular Conduct of the Court: That the Undertakings of the Prince of *Orange* againſt a King, that had a powerful Force both by Sea and Land, ſeem'd ſo Extraordinary, not to ſay Extravagant to every Body, that not knowing how to give credit to it, he did not think himſelf oblig'd to lay any Weight on *Skelton*'s Information; and if he had given Credit to them, thoſe very Forces he ſaw about his Maſter might juſtly make him reject ſuch Succours from *France*, as he thought dangerous, and he cou'd not think neceſſary.’ Thus far Father *Orleans*, who leaves the whole as a Problem to be decided by the judicious Reader. Beſides theſe, others add in his Favour, ‘ That from the beginning he faithfully ſerv'd King *James*, as became a *Proteſtant* Subject: That tho' he acted in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, yet for a good while he defended *Magdalen*-College: That he was againſt diſſolving the Parliament: That he ſo openly oppos'd the Proſecution of the Biſhops, that he expos'd himſelf to the Fury of the *Popiſh* Party; and tho' he feign'd, or rather not diſown'd himſelf to be a *Roman Catholick* to prevent his immediate Ruin, yet did he ſtill continue to be the Object of their Hatred: And laſtly, that upon the News of the Prince's coming, he adviſ'd his Majeſty to call a Free Parliament, and depend upon that.’

A new Parliament deſign'd.

Accordingly the King on the 24th of *Auguſt*, declar'd in Council, That he intended to call a Parliament, in purſuance of his *Declaration*, to meet on the 27th of *November* next; and directed the Chancellor to iſſue out Writs on the 5th of *September*.

The French *King offers his Aſſiſtance to King* James.

In the mean time the *French* King and the *Engliſh* Envoy at his Court, did ſo earneſtly renew their Informations of the certain Deſigns of the Prince of *Orange* to invade *England*, that the Envoy *Skelton* was at laſt commanded to ſend for the forementioned *Verace*, and to return his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty Thanks for his good Offices. Accordingly he writ to *Verace*, who by this Time having chang'd his Mind, refus'd to comply with the King's Deſires, or ſo much as to meet *Skelton* at *Chambery*, a City in *Savoy*, not above a Day's Journey from *Geneva*, through which that Envoy was to paſs in his Way to *Italy*. However, the *French* King knowing he cou'd not have a better Opportunity to engage King *James* in the ſtricteſt Alliance, than the preſent dangerous Condition of his Affairs, notwithſtanding his grand Deſign was againſt *Germany*, he immediately diſpatch'd Monſieur *Bonrepos* to his *Britannick* Majeſty, to offer him thirty thouſand of his Men. The ſudden Arrival of *Bonrepos*, which was on the 25th of *Auguſt*, and his frequent Conferences with the *Engliſh* Miniſters, in Conjunction with Monſieur *Barillon*, the old *French* Ambaſſador, gave Jealouſy to the *Spaniſh* Miniſter *de Ronquillo*; who thereupon frankly told the Lord *Sunderland*, 'That his Buſineſs muſt be either *Publick* or *Private*; if the latter, he had nothing to ſay; but if the former, he deſir'd to be made acquainted with it; or elſe thoſe whom it might concern, wou'd be at Liberty to judge what they thought fit about it, and to take their Meaſures accordingly.' The Reaſon of which Expoſtulation we are told was this: *Ronquillo* being with King *James* two Days before, his Majeſty told him, 'That *Bonrepos* had aſſur'd him that there was a Treaty very near concluded between his Maſter and the Duke of *Brandenburgh*;' whereby the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador reaſonably conjectur'd, 'That *France*, the better to draw *England*, into an Alliance, had made a Shew of her Treaties with other Princes.' This Conjecture, it ſeems, prov'd true: A Treaty was actually on foot between *France* and *England*; and it was reported to be ſo far advanc'd, that it wou'd be impoſſible to prevent its Concluſion. It was added, 'That the Court of *France*, in order to facilitate this Negotiation, had induſtriouſly ſpread the Report of the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſigns, or at leaſt exaggerated the Greatneſs of the Armament, that King *James* might not think himſelf ſafe without Foreign Aſſiſtance:' And indeed the Miniſters of the Houſe of *Auſtria* were given to underſtand, 'That what the King did was only to ſecure himſelf againſt the *Hollanders*.' But *Ronquillo* not being ſatisfy'd with this Declaration, demanded a private Audience, which was granted. He was two full Hours in cloſe Conference with the King; and having aſſur'd him that the *Dutch* had no Deſign upon *England*, he repreſented to him 'The fatal Conſequences of entering in any Alliance with *France*, and how ill it wou'd ſound in the Nation, that while he pretended to call a Free Parliament, he ſhou'd introduce Foreign Troops into his Kingdom.' The King own'd to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, 'That the ſending of *Bonrepos*, at that nice Juncture, was the moſt unfriendly Turn that the *French* King cou'd have done him; That he wiſh'd it had been in his Power to ſend him back the next Day after his Arrival; but ſince in Decency he cou'd not do that, he wou'd however give him but ſmall Encouragement to ſtay.' And at the ſame time his Majeſty aſſur'd *Ronquillo*, 'That he had much rather entertain a good Correſpondence with *Holland*, than be thought to have a ſtict Alliance with *France*.' Thereupon the Ambaſſador took his Leave with private Pleaſure and Satisfaction; and *Bonrepos* finding his Maſter's Officiouſneſs but coldly receiv'd, ſet out for *France* on the 4th of *September*.

The Earl of Sunderland's *Reaſons for refuſing.*

Here Father *Orleans* farther takes notice of the Earl of *Sunderland*, and ſays, 'Conſidering the Things rightly, it was a nice Point for a King of *England* to bring an Army of Strangers into his Dominions, and thoſe *Roman Catholicks*, and eſpecially *French*: It was enough to blacken the Memory of a Prince in the Minds of his People, and an Acknowledgement of all the Reports ſpread abroad, *of his having enter'd into an Alliance on purpoſe to ſuppreſs the Religion and Liberties of his Country*: Beſides, his Majeſty had more than a ſufficient Number of Forces to withſtand all the Attempts of the *Dutch*, which his Fleet alone was able to oppoſe; and when the worſt ſhou'd happen, his Army cou'd ſcarce fail of deſtroying them, as being much more numerous, and well-diſciplin'd.' And then this Author tells us, That *Sunderland*, who firſt advis'd the Refuſing of thoſe Succours, ſupported his Opinion with the fore-mention'd Reaſons. But on the other ſide he adds, thoſe of another

Contrary Reaſons.

Mind proceeded upon theſe following Reaſons; 'That the Thing was not only to be conſider'd of it ſelf, but in the preſent Circumſtances; that the preſent Buſineſs was not barely oppoſing one Army againſt another, but to diſcover whether the Army that was to oppoſe the Enemy did not conſent with them for promoting of their Deſigns; whether the Officers that commanded them were any more above Corruption, than thoſe in other Parts of the Government, who were ſaid to be debauch'd, and yet not known.' From hence, thoſe who argu'd after this manner, concluded, 'That if unfortunately, the Corruption was got into the Army, as well as into other Parts, the King, by refuſing the Foreign Succours, which with what Loyal Subjects wou'd join him might make a conſiderable Party, wou'd be expos'd to all the Power of his Enemies, without any Defence.' Amidſt this Diverſity of Opinions, concludes he, the Suffrage of the Prime Miniſter, the King's Goodneſs to his Subjects, the Honour of the Nation, the Confidence repos'd in the Commanders of his Army, moſt of them Men of ſuch Quality, as were thought above being ſtain'd with Treaſon, or elſe Perſons loaded with his Favours, inclin'd the King to eſpouſe that which the Event has diſapprov'd, and caus'd him to refuſe thoſe Succours he might eaſily have receiv'd; the Fleets which might have oppos'd them not being yet fit for Action.

Demands upon the States-General.

However, Things being at this Height, *Albyville* the *Engliſh* Envoy at the *Hague* was order'd to demand of the *States-General*, 'What they meant by their great and ſurpriſing Warlike Preparations both by Sea and Land, at that Time of the Year, when all Operations, eſpecially thoſe at Sea, uſe to ceaſe.' To which the *States* made anſwer, 'That they arm'd in Imitation of his *Britannick* Majeſty, and might with more Reaſon demand an Explanation about the Alliances into which He was lately enter'd.' This bold Anſwer, which at another Time might have produc'd a Rupture, was now left without Reply. However as it increas'd the Suſpicions of an Invaſion, ſo all imaginable Methods were taken for a Security againſt it. The chief Ports, and particularly *Hull* and *Portſmouth*, the two Keys of *England*, were put into the Hands of *Roman Catholicks*, and the Garriſons ſo modell'd, that the Majority were of that Religion.

The French *King concerned for King* James.

4. It was with much Concern that *France* heard the Reſolution taken in *England*, and it is not eaſy to expreſs how much that Court took to Heart the Danger of a King who had been long belov'd there. Mr. *Skelton* was juſt tired out with People Stopping, Queſtioning, and almoſt Quarrelling with him, becauſe their Advice was not follow'd. They were very urgent with him to find out ſome Expedient to ſerve his Maſter in ſpight of the Miniſters at home; and they went ſo far as to oblige him to propoſe a Method, which wou'd have certainly ſav'd him, had not the Court of *England*, ſtill proceeding in the ſame Way, put a ſtop to it. One Day Monſieur *de Croiſſy* preſſing the Envoy touching that Point, the Latter, after anſwering, *That he had no Orders, and durſt not ask any thing*, added, *That nevertheleſs he believ'd, that if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty wou'd declare to the* States *how much he eſpous'd King* James's *Concerns, and threatned to attack them, in caſe they attempted any Thing againſt them, it wou'd certainly put a Stop to their Deſign, and ſo break all the Prince of* Orange's *Meaſures, without giving the* Engliſh *any Cauſe to complain, that the King had call'd any Strangers into their Countrey.* *De Croiſſy* approving of the Envoy's Propoſal, he went to acquaint the King Himſelf, who readily embracing all the Methods propos'd for Aſſiſting the King of *England*, ſent Orders accordingly to the Count *d'Avaux*, his Ambaſſador at the *Hague*.

His Ambaſſador's Memorial to the States-General.

On the 9th of *September*, that Miniſter deliver'd in and publiſh'd this Memorial to the *States-General*, Declaring, 'That the ſincere Deſire the King, his Maſter, had to maintain the Tranquility of *Europe*, wou'd not ſuffer his Majeſty to ſee the great Preparations for War, both by Sea and Land, made by their Lordſhips, without taking the Meaſures, that Prudence, the continual Companion of all his Actions, inſpired him with, to prevent the Miſchiefs theſe Warlike Preparations wou'd certainly draw after them. And altho' the King, being perſuaded of the Wiſdom of their Counſels, cou'd not imagine that a Free-State ſhou'd ſo eaſily reſolve to take up Arms, and to kindle War, which at the preſent Juncture cou'd not but be fatal to all *Chriſtendom*; nevertheleſs his Majeſty cou'd not believe their Lordſhips wou'd engage themſelves in ſo great Expence, both at Home and Abroad, to entertain in Pay ſo many Foreign Troops, to put to Sea ſo numerous a Fleet ſo late in the Year, and to prepare ſo great Magazines, if they had not a Deſign form'd, anſwerable to the Greatneſs of the Preparations. That all theſe Circumſtances inclin'd the King, his Maſter, to believe with Reaſon, That this Arming threatned *England*; therefore his Majeſty had commanded him to Declare to them, on his Part, *That the Tyes of Friendſhip and Alliance between Him and the King of* Great

'Britain, *wou'd oblige him not only to aſſiſt him, but alſo to look on the firſt Act of Hoſtility that ſhou'd be committed by their Troops, or their Fleet, againſt his Majeſty of* Great Britain, *to be a manifeſt Rupture of the Peace, and a Breach with his Crown.*

The Earl of Sunderland *caſts the Scale in* England.

This plain Declaration began to open Mens Eyes both at Home and Abroad, and almoſt put the *States* to a Stand; however, they return'd no Anſwer to it, but complain'd to the Marqueſs of *Albyville* of this new Alliance, and likewiſe order'd their Ambaſſador *Van Citters* to complain of the Memorial to the Court of *England.* Whereupon a particular Council was held, where tho' they had a freſh Opportunity of accepting the offer'd Diverſion from *France*, they alter'd not their Methods, and the prime Miniſter *Sunderland* ſtood to his firſt Advice; and in Concluſion it was reſolv'd to diſown the Count *d'Avaux*'s Proceedings. This Reſolution was immediately communicated to *Van Citters* by the Earl of *Middleton*, Secretary of State; and the King's Miniſters at the *Hague*, *Bruſſels* and *Madrid*, were order'd to Declare, 'That the *French* Memorial was preſented without his Majeſty's Knowledge or his Apprehenſion.' Over and above, Mr. *Skelton* was ſuddenly recall'd, and immediately committed Priſoner to the *Tower* for his over-Officiouſneſs, and Exceeding his Inſtructions. 'And thus, ſays Father *Orleans*, the Poſitiveneſs of a Miniſter, if no more be thought of it, deliver'd up a mighty King into the Hands of his Enemies, and an Exceſs of Confidence repos'd on Subjects more than they deſerv'd, depriv'd that Prince of the Succours he might have had elſewhere.' How far this turns to the Diſhonour or Commendation of that prime Miniſter, is left wholly to the Judgment of the *Engliſh* Readers.

K. James's *Preparations.*

5. The King having by this Time receiv'd ſo many concurring Advices from the *Hague*, as amounted almoſt to a moral Certainty of the Deſigns of the Prince of *Orange*, he order'd the Fitting out of the Fleet to be carry'd on with double Diligence; Commiſſions were given out for Augmenting the Army; Orders were diſpatch'd to *Tyrconnel* for ſending over whole Regiments out of *Ireland*; and *Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador made a Propoſal, very formidable to thoſe who wiſh'd well to the Prince, namely that *France* ſhou'd abandon the Deſign lately taken to beſiege *Philipsburgh*, and carry on the War into *Holland.* This plauſible Overture was approv'd of by four or five of the Council; but others warmly and moſt happily oppos'd it, Alledging, 'That ſuch a Violation of former Treaties with *Holland* wou'd be ſufficient to raiſe the Clamours of the whole Nation, and to alienate the Minds of all the *Engliſh* Proteſtants from his Majeſty.' This Suggeſtion, of the two, being more plauſible, did not miſs of its Effect: And farther it is to be remember'd, that thoſe who favour'd the Prince's Expedition had been very induſtrious in ſpreading a Report, 'That the *Dutch* Armament was only deſign'd to hinder the *French* from Landing in *England*, where, in Purſuance of a *Secret Treaty* made with King *James*, they were to extirpate the *Proteſtant Religion*.

His Proclamation about a new Parliament.

To diſſipate the Fears and Apprehenſions of the People, on the 21ſt of *September* his Majeſty iſſu'd out a Proclamation Importing, 'That having already ſignify'd his Pleaſure to call a Parliament, leſt thoſe whoſe Right it was to chuſe Members ſhou'd lie under any Prejudice and Miſtakes, through the Artifices of diſaffected Perſons, he thought fit to Declare, That it was his Royal Purpoſe to endeavour a Legal Eſtabliſhment of an *Univerſal Liberty of Conſcience* for all his Subjects; that it was alſo his Reſolution Inviolably to preſerve the Church of *England*, by ſuch a Confirmation of the ſeveral Acts of *Uniformity*, that they ſhou'd never be alter'd any other Ways than by Repealing the ſeveral Clauſes, which inflict Penalties upon Perſons not Promoted, or to be Promoted to any Eccleſiaſtical Benefices within the Meaning of the ſaid Act, for Exerciſing their Religion contrary to the Purport of the ſaid Acts of *Uniformity*. And that for the farther Securing, not only the Church of *England*, but the *Proteſtant* Religion in General, he was willing the *Roman Catholicks* ſhou'd remain Incapable to be Members of the Houſe of Commons; whereby thoſe Fears and Apprehenſions wou'd be remov'd, which many Perſons had had, *That the Legiſlative Authority wou'd be engroſs'd by them, and turn'd againſt Proteſtants.* After which he exhorted them to lay aſide all Animoſities, and ſo to diſpoſe themſelves, as to think of ſuch Perſons to repreſent them in Parliament, whoſe Abilities and Tempers render'd them fit for ſo great and good a Work.' This Proclamation was thought ſo ambiguouſly worded as to the Repeal of the *Penal Laws*, the Confirming the Acts of *Uniformity*, and the Excluding the *Roman Catholicks* from the Lower-Houſe only, that it occaſion'd ſeveral Diſputes, and had but little Effect upon the People, who began to caſt their Eyes toward the *Eaſt*.

A new Memorial to the States-General.

From whence, upon the Arrival of Intelligence from the Marquiſs *de Albyville*, of the embarking of ſeveral Regiments on Board the *Dutch* Fleet, the Command of the Army was firſt offer'd to the Count *de Roye*, an experienc'd *French* General, and an Exile for his Religion; upon whoſe declining the Office, it was beſtow'd on the Earl of *Feverſham*: But however, in the Caſe of a Deſcent the King deſign'd to head his Army Himſelf; and the Queen, with the Prince of *Wales*, were to retire to *Portſmouth*, a well fortify'd Sea Town, of which the Duke of *Berwick* was Governor. The Command of the Fleet, which conſiſted of Forty Four Men of War, was given to the Lord *Dartmouth*; the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London* were order'd to prevent the ſpreading of falſe News, and to keep the City in quiet; and two or three Biſhops were offer'd Places in the Privy-Council, which they refus'd to accept, by reaſon of the ſeveral *Papiſts* that ſate there. Beſides theſe Precautions at Home, it was reſolv'd in Council, that the Marquiſs *de Albyville* ſhou'd deliver a farther Memorial, repreſenting to the *States-General*, 'That although his Majeſty had believ'd, that what he had declar'd to their Ambaſſador in *England*, and the Orders he had given to him upon the ſame Subject, might have ſatisfy'd their Lordſhips, That there was no other Treaty between his Majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian King, than thoſe that were Publick, and in Print; yet ſince a great deal of Artifice and Induſtry had been us'd to make the World believe that his Majeſty was enter'd into other Treaties and Alliances with the moſt Chriſtian King, his Majeſty, to ſhew his great Regard he had to the Friendſhip and Alliances which were between Him and their Lordſhips, and his Deſire to continue the ſame, had commanded him, his Envoy Extraordinary, to aſſure their Lordſhips, *That there was no other Treaty between Him and* France, *than thoſe that were Publick:* And farther, that as his Majeſty extreamly deſir'd the Preſervation of the Peace and Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*, ſo he wou'd be alſo glad to take ſuch Meaſures with their Lordſhips as might be moſt convenient for maintaining the Peace of *Nimeguen*, and the Truce of twenty Years concluded in 1684.' Some Members of the Council were againſt preſenting of this Memorial, as expoſing the King's Honour to Suſpicion; but the Majority were not only for it, but likewiſe mov'd, That the Lord *Godolphin* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſhou'd be ſent over to *Holland* to ſupport the Credit of it, which laſt Motion came to nothing. As for the *States*, they took no Notice of the King's Offers, but ſuffer'd the Prince of *Orange* to proceed with the Shipping off his Men.

The King undeceiv'd and in a Conſternation.

VI. 1. During theſe ſeveral Motions and Tranſactions, and notwithſtanding the open Preparations, the deluded King was not without ſome Hopes that the Storm might diſcharge it ſelf rather in ſome other Country than his own; but on the 23d of *September* his Eyes were fully open'd by the News he receiv'd from the Marquiſs of *Albyville* at the *Hague*, 'That Penſionary *Fagel* had frankly own'd to him the Deſign of the Prince of *Orange*; adding, That if the *Dutch* Ambaſſador in *England* had ſaid any thing to the contrary, he had done it out of his own Head, and without Orders from the *States*.' At the ſame Time the Marquiſs acquainted his Majeſty, 'That ſeveral *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen had already croſs'd the Sea, and lay private in *Holland*, ready to accompany the Prince in his Expedition.' Upon the Reading this Letter, the poor King turn'd pale, and for a while remain'd ſpeechleſs and aſtoniſh'd: The airy Caſtle of Unlimited Power, rais'd by the Magick of Jeſuitical Counſels, now vaniſh'd in a Moment; and the miſ-led Monarch, by the Prince's Approach, freed from his Inchantment, found himſelf upon the Brink of a Precipice; while all his intoxicating Flatterers ſtood Thunder-ſtruck at a Diſtance, without daring to lend him a helping Hand, for fear that both He and they ſhou'd be involv'd in the greater Ruine. One great Man, as I have been well inform'd, undertook to ſupport his Spirits, by ſhewing him 'That the Danger was not great, and that the Prince of *Orange* might be diverted from the Deſign, or defeated in the Attempt.' But he made Anſwer, in the Preſence of the Informer, *I know my Son-in-Law's Character ſo well, that if he undertakes any Deſign, he will go through with it; he will never be diverted, and very hardly defeated.*

He has Recourſe to the Biſhops.

In this Extremity, the ſinking Monarch, whom this imminent Danger had render'd clear-ſighted, diſcover'd the chief Support of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, the Biſhops, and eagerly endeavour'd to lay hold on that which before he had attempted to overthrow. The Biſhop of *Ely*, who had loſt the King's good Graces for ſiding with his petitioning Brethren, was now reſtored to his former Favour, and employ'd to manage a Reconcilement between his Majeſty and the reſt of the Prelates that were then in Town. Accordingly, the next Day, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Peterborough*,

Rocheſter,

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Rocheſter, *Ely*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, being ſummon'd, appear'd before his Majeſty, *London* and *Briſtol* were not then come to Town, and the Archbiſhop was ſick, and came alone the next Day after. The King having receiv'd the Biſhops with extraordinary Marks of Favour and Kindneſs, told them, *That he deſired the Aſſiſtance of their Counſels on this preſent Exigency*; aſſuring them, *That He was ready to do whatever they ſhou'd think neceſſary for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Peoples Rights, without derogating from his own Prerogative.* Their Lordſhips anſwer'd the King's Confidence in them by their Expreſſions of their Duty and Loyalty to his Majeſty, and wou'd have given him more particular Proofs of their Zeal for his Service, had not the King told them, *That he was not then at Leiſure*; and therefore *deſired them to conſult together about ſo weighty a Matter:* Whereupon they took their Leaves, and repair'd to *Lambeth*, to draw up ſomething equal to the Difficulty of the Seaſon.

A Proclamation againſt the Prince of Orange's *Invaſion.*

In the mean Time the King, to prepoſſeſs the Minds of the People againſt the Prince of *Orange*, on the 28th of *September*, iſſu'd out a *Declaration*, ſetting forth, ‘ That his Majeſty had receiv'd undoubted Advice, that a great and ſudden Invaſion from *Holland*, with an arm'd Force of Foreigners, wou'd ſpeedily be made in an hoſtile Manner; and although ſome falſe Pretences relating to *Liberty*, *Property*, and *Religion*, contriv'd and worded with Art and Subtlety, might be given out, it was manifeſt however, That no leſs Matter by this Invaſion was propos'd, *than an abſolute Conqueſt of theſe his Majeſty's Kingdoms, and the utter ſubduing and ſubjecting them, and all his People, to a foreign Power*; which was promoted by ſome of his Majeſty's Subjects, being Perſons of wicked and reſtleſs Spirits, implacable Malice, and deſperate Deſigns; who having no Senſe of the Miſery of former inteſtine Diviſions, nor being mov'd by his Majeſty's reiterated Acts of Mercy, did again endeavour to embroil this Kingdom in Blood and Ruine, to gratify their own Ambition and Malice, propoſing to themſelves a Prey and Booty in ſuch a publick Confuſion. That tho' his Majeſty had Notice, that a foreign Force was preparing againſt him, yet he had always declin'd any foreign Succours, but rather had choſen to rely upon the true and ancient Courage, Faith and Allegiance of his own People, with whom he had often ventur'd his Life for the Honour of his Nation, and in whoſe Defence againſt all his Enemies, he was firmly reſolv'd to live and die; And therefore his Majeſty ſolemnly conjur'd his Subjects to lay aſide all manner of Animoſities, Jealouſies, and Prejudices, and heartily and chearfully to unite together, in the Defence of Him and their Native Country. That albeit the Deſign had been carry'd on with all imaginable Secrecy, and Edeavours to ſurpriſe and deceive his Majeſty, yet he had not been wanting on his Part, to make ſuch Proviſion as did become him, and made no doubt of being found in ſo good a Poſture, that his Enemies might have Cauſe to repent their raſh and unjuſt Attempts.’ In the Concluſion, his Majeſty declared, ‘ That he did intend to have met his Parliament in *November* next, and that the *Writs* were iſſu'd forth accordingly, propoſing to Himſelf, amongſt other Things, That he might be able to quiet the Minds of all his People in Matters of *Religion*; but that in regard of this ſtrange Attempt deſign'd to divert his ſaid gracious Purpoſes, he found it neceſſary to recall his foreſaid *Writs*, &c.

London *Charter reſtored, and a General Pardon granted.*

Beſides this *Declaration*, the King and Court us'd all poſſible Means to regain the Affection and Confidence of the Church of *England*, and began to tread backwards the unfortunate Steps they had made. The Biſhop of *London*'s Suſpenſion was taken off; and Sir *John Chapman*, a Church-man, was nominated to ſucceed Sir *John Eyles*, the preſent Lord-Mayor of *London*, who was an Anabaptiſt. And moreover, hearing that the Biſhops, among other Things, deſign'd to beg the Reſtoration of the Charter of *London*, he anticipated that part of their Petition, and, the Day before their Appearance, ſending for the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of that City to *Whitehall*, he told them, ‘ That out of his Concern for the Peace and Welfare of the City, and as a Mark of the great Confidence he had in them at this Time, when the Kingdom was threaten'd with an Invaſion, he reſolv'd to reſtore to them their ancient Charter and Privileges, and to put them into the ſame Condition they were in at the Time of the Judgment pronounced againſt them upon the *Quo Warranto*; that ſo they might be better enabled to ſerve him with Duty and Loyalty, which they had given the King his Brother and Him ſo many Teſtimonies of; and upon which he depended.’ And on the ſame Day, *October* 2d, a general Pardon was publiſh'd by Proclamation, out of which were excepted Sir *Robert Peyton*, Sir *Rowland Gwin*, Dr. *Burnet*, Major *Wildman*, *Samuel Johnſon*, *Titus Oates*, *Robert Ferguſon*, and ten others leſs known. This was of ſingular Advantage to the Miniſters of State; but was not much regarded by the Body of the People, whoſe Eyes, Ears and Hearts were ſo intent upon the Hopes of a Deliverance, that they cou'd hardly look upon a common Fane without offering up their Wiſhes and Prayers for an Eaſterly Wind.

1688. Jac. 4. Ref. 29.

The Biſhops Advice to the King.

2. The 3d of *October* being come, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Chicheſter*, *Rocheſter*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Peterborough*, Nine in all, waited upon his Majeſty; to whom the Archbiſhop thus addreſs'd himſelf, with admirable Meekneſs, Gravity and Courage: ‘*May it pleaſe your Sacred Majeſty*, When I had lately the Honour to wait upon you, you were pleas'd briefly to acquaint me with what had paſs'd two Days before, between your Majeſty and theſe my Reverend Brethren: By which, and by the Account which they themſelves gave me, I perceiv'd, That in Truth there paſs'd nothing, but in very general Terms, and Expreſſions of your Majeſty's gracious and favourable Inclinations to the Church of *England*, and of our reciprocal Duty and Loyalty to your Majeſty; both which were ſufficiently underſtood and deſired before, and, as one of my Brethren [the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*] then told me, *wou'd have been in the ſame State, if the Biſhops had not ſtirr'd one Foot out of their Dioceſes.* *Sir*, I found it griev'd my Lords the Biſhops to have come ſo far, and to have done ſo little; and I am aſſur'd they came then prepared to have given your Majeſty ſome more particular Inſtances of their Duty and Zeal for your Service, had they not apprehended from ſome Words which fell from your Majeſty, *That you were not at Leiſure to receive them.* It was for this Reaſon that I then beſought your Majeſty to command us once to attend you all together, which your Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd to allow and encourage. We therefore are here now before you, with all Humility to beg your Permiſſion, that we may ſuggeſt to your Majeſty ſuch Advices as we think proper at this Seaſon, and conducing to your Service, and ſo leave them to your Princely Conſideration.

Their particular Propoſals to him.

The King was now no more that overbearing Monarch, who to the petitioning Biſhops and others, had declar'd, *That he expected to be obey'd:* But now, as it were transform'd into another Prince, and taught Condeſcenſion by the impending Danger, he graciouſly permitted the Archbiſhop to proceed, which he did in theſe following Advices.

‘ I. To put the whole Management of his Government, 1.
‘ in the ſeveral Counties, into the Hands of ſuch of the
‘ Nobility and Gentry there, as were legally qualify'd for
‘ it. II. To annul his Commiſſion for *Eccleſiaſtical Af-* 2.
‘ *fairs*; and that no ſuch Court be erected for the future.
‘ III. That no *Diſpenſation* might be granted or continu'd, 3.
‘ by virtue whereof any Perſon not duly qualify'd by
‘ Law, had been or might be put into any Place, Office
‘ or Preferment, in Church or State, or in the Univer-
‘ ſities, or continu'd in the ſame, eſpecially ſuch as had
‘ Cure of Souls annex'd to them; and in particular, That
‘ he wou'd reſtore the Preſident and Fellows of St. *Mary*
‘ *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*. IV. To ſet aſide all *Li-* 4.
‘ *cenſes* or *Faculties*, by which any Perſons of the *Romiſh*
‘ Communion might pretend to be enabled to teach pub-
‘ lick Schools. V. To deſiſt from the Exerciſe of his *Diſ-* 5.
‘ *penſing Power*, and to permit that Point to be freely and
‘ calmly debated, and finally ſettled in Parliament. VI. To 6.
‘ inhibit the four foreign Biſhops who ſtyl'd themſelves
‘ *Vicars Apoſtolical*, from farther invading the Eccleſiaſtical
‘ Juriſdiction, which by Law was veſted in the Biſhops of
‘ the Church of *England*. VII. To fill the vacant Biſhop- 7.
‘ ricks, and other Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, within his
‘ Gift, both in *England* and *Ireland*, with Men of Learn-
‘ ing and Piety; and in particular, (which the Archbiſhop
‘ own'd to be his peculiar Boldneſs, ſince 'twas done with-
‘ out the Privity of his Brethren) *forthwith to fill the Ar-*
‘ *chiepiſcopal Chair of* York (*which had ſo long ſtood empty,*
‘ *and upon which a whole* Province *depended*) *with ſome*
‘ *very worthy Perſon*; *for which he was bold to ſay, his*
‘ *Majeſty had then before him a very fair Choice.* VIII. 8.
‘ To ſuperſede all farther Proſecutions of *Quo Warranto's*
‘ againſt Corporations, and to reſtore to them their ancient
‘ Charters and Privileges; as they heard God had put into
‘ his Heart to do for the City of *London*, which they in-
‘ tended otherwiſe to have made one of the principal Re-
‘ queſts. IX. That *Writs* might be iſſu'd out with con- 9.
‘ venient Speed for the calling of a Free and Regular Par-
‘ liament, in which the Church of *England* might be ſe-
‘ cured according to the *Acts of Uniformity*; Proviſion
‘ might be made for a due *Liberty of Conſcience*, and for
‘ ſecuring the Liberties and Properties of all his Subjects,
‘ and a mutual Confidence might be eſtabliſh'd between
‘ his Majeſty and all his People. X. Above all, That his 10.
‘ Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to permit his Biſhops to offer
‘ ſuch Motives and Arguments, as (they truſted) might,

'by God's Grace, be effectual to perſuade his Majeſty to 'return to the Communion of the Church of *England*, 'into which moſt Holy *Catholick Faith* he was Baptized, 'in which he was Educated, and to which it was their 'daily earneſt Prayer to God, that he might be re-united.' Which laſt Point, we are aſſur'd, the Arbhbiſhop afterwards reinforc'd in a private Conference with the King, by a Diſcourſe full of convincing Arguments, and which ſavour'd of all the free Breathings of the Primitive Times of Chriſtianity. But the *Romiſh* Religion had now taken too deep Root in his Royal Breaſt.

The backward Steps, and Redreſs of Grievances.

We may eaſily imagine how much the Prieſts were inrag'd at theſe innocent and good Propoſals, by the Reſentment they afterwards expreſs'd, when their Affairs were in a worſe Condition than at preſent; and tho' they ſounded very harſh in the King's Ear, yet the Neceſſity of his Affairs oblig'd him to conceal his Diſcontent, and alſo to comply with moſt of them. Biſhop *Sprat* obſerves, that they were drawn up at *Lambeth* on the firſt of *October*, and preſented the third; and the Prince of *Orange*'s *Declaration* was ſign'd in *Holland* the tenth, new Style, which was juſt at the ſame time; and that the Matter of them was very near the ſame, except one or two Particulars, too high for Subjects to meddle with; and this at a time when their Lordſhips were not apprehenſive of the Weakneſs of the King, and the wonderful Alterations that follow'd; which ſufficiently manifeſted the Courage, as well as the Honeſty of thoſe Prelates. However, the King immediately went about to redreſs moſt of the Grievances complain'd of, and in two Days the *Commiſſion* for *Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical* was diſſolv'd. The next Day the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, who among the reſt of his Proceedings, ow'd his Preferment to the gaining of the Charter of *London*, was now forc'd to carry it back again from whence it was taken: The Lord Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties were required to inform themſelves of the Abuſes and Irregularities committed in the late *Regulations* of Corporations, in order to redreſs the ſame: The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Viſitor of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, was order'd to ſettle that Society Regularly and Statutably: A Proclamation was alſo iſſu'd out for Reſtoring Corporations to their ancient Charters, Liberties, Rights and Franchiſes: The Earl of *Darby* was made Lord-Lieutenant of the Counties of *Cheſter* and *Lancaſter*; the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Eſſex*; and the Earl of *Feverſham*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Kent*. *Popiſh* Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, Recorders, and other Magiſtrates, were diſplac'd, and *Proteſtants* put in their Rooms: So that in the Space of about twelve Days, that formidable Fabrick was in effect, or in a great meaſure demoliſh'd, which the *Romiſh* Cabal had been near Four Years in erecting.

Prayers appointed.

In the mean Time, on the 11th of *October*, was publiſh'd a particular Form of three Prayers, compos'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to be us'd in all Churches of the Kingdom, to be added to the uſual Liturgy, *during the Time of publick Apprehenſions from the Danger of Invaſion*. In one of which there were theſe Expreſſions: 'In 'this Time of Danger ſave and protect our moſt gracious 'King; give thy holy Angels charge over him; preſerve 'his Royal Perſon in Health and Safety; inſpire him with 'Wiſdom and Juſtice in all his Counſels; proſper all his 'Undertakings, *for thy Honour and Service*, with good 'Succeſs, &c.' Another had theſe Petitions, 'Preſerve 'that *holy Religion* we profeſs, together with our *Laws*, 'and *ancient Government*; and unite us all in unfeigned 'and univerſal Charity one towards another, and in one 'and the ſame *holy Worſhip* and *Communion*.' Theſe were rightly conſtru'd to be as much againſt *Popery*, as they were for his Majeſty's Perſon: However, it ſoon appear'd how little the Nation was to depend upon theſe precipitate and conſtrain'd Conceſſions of the King. For when on the 16th of *October* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had caus'd a Citation to be fix'd upon the Gates of *Magdalen* College, to recall Dr. *Hough*, and the former Fellows of that Society by the 2d of *November* following; an Account coming that very Poſt, 'That the *Dutch* Fleet had ſuffer'd very 'much in a Storm, and that they wou'd be hardly able to 'put to Sea again till the next Spring,' the Biſhop, upon a frivolous Pretence, was recall'd to *London*, and the Reſtoration of the College deferr'd. Yet ſhortly after, when that falſe News was contradicted, and the *Dutch* Fleet reported to be in a ſailing Poſture, the old Affection to the Church of *England* immediately reviv'd, and the Reſtoration of the College was effected on the 24th of the ſaid Month. This Paſſage has been very much remark'd, ſince it loſt the King great Numbers of Friends, who were now more than ever ſenſible of his repeated Breaches of Faith, and inſenſibly fell away from him, at a time when he moſt of all wanted their Aſſiſtance.

The King wavering.

He makes great Preparations againſt the Prince of Orange.

After the King had a little recover'd his firſt Fright, the Conſternation was not ſo great at Court, but that they were in Hopes to render the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſigns abortive; to which End the Lord *Dartmouth* was diſpatch'd to Sea, with Orders to attend the *Dutch* Fleet off of *Oſtend*, and chiefly to fall upon the Tranſport-Ships, if he ſaw them making their Way towards *England*. The Duke of *Newcaſtle*, the Earls of *Lindſey*, *Derby*, *Pembroke*, and *Ailesbury*, and the Lords *Faulconberge* and *Jermyn*, with ſome few more of the Nobility, offer'd their Service to his Majeſty. Whereupon the King gave Commiſſions to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, to raiſe a Regiment of Foot; to the Lord *Brandon*, Son to the Earl of *Macclesfield*, and to the Marquiſs of *Miremont*, Nephew to the Earl of *Feverſham*, each a Regiment of Horſe; to Colonel *Henry Gage*, and Colonel *Solomon Richards*, two Regiments of Foot; and many independent Troops and Companies to ſeveral others of the Nobility and Gentry: The young Duke of *Ormond* offer'd to ſerve as a Volunteer in the Army, and was to be accompany'd by the Lieutenant Colonels and Captains that had lately been caſhier'd out of the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment: The Train'd Bands of the City of *London*, and the Country *Militia*, were order'd to be in Readineſs to march; The Duke of *Gordon*, a *Roman Catholick*, was ſent into *Scotland*, to put that Kingdom into a Poſture of Defence: The Duke of *Grafton*, who had aſpired to the Command of the Fleet, was made Governor of the *Tower*, *pro tempore*, inſtead of Sir *Edward Hales* a *Roman Catholick*: Two thouſand five hundred Men arriv'd at *Cheſter* out of *Ireland*, and three thouſand at *Carliſle* out of *Scotland*: Mr. *Skelton*, having been eighteen Days in the *Tower*, was ſet at Liberty, and had a Regiment of Foot given him. So that there ſeem'd to be ſufficient Care taken to reſiſt a much more formidable Enemy. Over and above, a Proclamation was publiſh'd on the 20th of *October*, 'Commanding all Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieu'tenants, Sheriffs and other Officers, Civil and Military, 'in the reſpective Counties, Cities, &c. to cauſe the Coaſts 'to be carefully watch'd; and upon the firſt Approach of 'the Enemy, to cauſe all Horſes, Oxen and Cattel, which 'might be fit for Burden or Draught, and not actually im'ploy'd in the Service and Defence of his Majeſty and the 'Country, to be driven and remov'd to the Space, at leaſt, 'of twenty Miles, from the Places where the Enemy 'ſhou'd attempt to Land.' And beſides all theſe human Precautions, extraordinary Prayers of *Forty Hours* were ſaid in the King's Chapel, where the *Hoſt* was in a particular manner expos'd. But becauſe the Mob were now rous'd with the News of the Prince's Coming, and began to inſult the *Popiſh* Chapels, the King caus'd them to be ſhut up; and the *Jeſuits* and *Romiſh* Prieſts diſcovering the gathering Storm, began to retire and fly for Shelter into foreign Parts.

The Prince of Wales *chriſten'd.*

3. In the midſt of theſe Times of Diſtraction, the declining Party was reſolv'd to make the beſt of their *Popiſh* Succeſſor, and us'd all Endeavours to promote the Belief of a real Prince of *Wales*: Accordingly the Infant, which was before Chriſtned into the *Romiſh* Faith, was upon the 15th of *October*, in the Chapel of St. *James*, by Father *Laben*, ſolemnly Nam'd *JAMES, FRANCIS, EDWARD*; the Pope, repreſented by his Nuncio, being God-Father, and the Queen Dowager God-Mother. About the ſame time, a new Occaſion was offer'd to incite them to ſupport his tottering Reputation: A Phamphlet was diſtributed in *Holland*; entitled, *A Memorial of the Engliſh Proteſtants, preſented to their Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, &c. ſuppos'd to be written by Dr. *Burnet*, or rather Major *Wildman*; wherein, after a long Narrative of the Grievances of the Nation, the Author particularly complains of King *James*'s obliging his Subjects to *own a ſuppos'd Child for the Prince of* Wales; adding, *That his Majeſty wou'd never ſuffer the Witneſſes that were preſent at the Queen's Delivery to be heard and examin'd*. This Pamphlet, and other Reports, made ſo great a Noiſe at the Court, that upon the 22d of *October*, his Majeſty held an Extraordinary Council; and having ſent for the Queen Dowager, and all ſuch Lords Spiritual and Temporal as were then in Town, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, the Judges, and ſeveral of their Majeſties learned Council, in a Speech he told them, 'He had call'd them together upon a very extraor'dinary Occaſion; but that extraordinary Diſeaſes muſt 'have extraordinary Remedies; That the malicious En'deavours of his Enemies had ſo poiſon'd the Minds of 'ſome of his Subjects, that by the Reports he had from all 'Hands, he had reaſon to believe, that very many did not 'think this Son, with which God had bleſs'd him, *to be 'his, but a ſuppos'd Child*. But, he might ſay, That by a 'particular Providence, ſcarce any Prince was ever born 'where there were ſo many Perſons preſent. That he had 'taken this time to have the Matter heard and examin'd 'there, expecting that the Prince of *Orange*, with the firſt '*Eaſterly* Wind, wou'd invade this Kingdom: And as he 'had often ventur'd his Life for the Nation before he came

An extraordinary Council about him.

'came to the Crown, ſo he thought himſelf more oblig'd ſo to do now he was King, and did intend to go in Perſon againſt him, whereby he might be expos'd to Accidents; and therefore he thought it neceſſary to have this now done, in order to ſatisfy the Minds of his Subjects, and to prevent the Kingdoms being engag'd in Blood and Confuſion after his Death: That he had deſir'd the Queen Dowager to give her ſelf the Trouble to come thither, to declare what ſhe knew of the Birth of his Son; and that moſt of the Ladies, Lords, and other Perſons who were preſent, were ready to depoſe upon Oath the Knowledge of this Matter.

And Depoſitions. Beſides the Declaration of the Queen Dowager, who only ſaid, *That ſhe was in the Room when the Queen was deliver'd of the Prince of* Wales, the Depoſitions of forty Perſons more were taken in form. Of theſe Witneſſes ſeventeen were *Roman* Catholicks, namely, the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, the Marchioneſs of *Powis*, the Counteſſes of *Peterborough*, *Fingall* and *Litchfield*; the Lady *Bulkeley*, the Lady *Waldgrave*, Mrs. *Mary Crane*, Mrs. *Iſabella Waldgrave*, Mrs. *Peligrina Turini* an *Italian*; Mrs. *Anne Cary*, Mrs. *Mary Anne Delabadie* a *French* Woman, dry Nurſe to the Prince; Mrs. *Judith Wilks* the Queen's Midwife; the Lady *Arundel* of *Wardour*; the Earls of *Murray* and *Melfort*, and Sir *William Waldgrave* firſt Phyſician to the Queen. The Proteſtants were twenty three in Number, *viz.* the Counteſſes of *Arran*, *Sunderland*, *Roſcommon*, and *Mareſchall*; *Suſanna* Lady *Bellaſis*, the Lady *Iſabella Wentworth*, Mrs. *Catharine Sayer*, Mrs. *Margaret Dawſon*, Mrs. *Elizabeth Bromely*, Mrs. *Elizabeth Pearſe*, the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Mulgrave*, *Craven*, *Feverſham* and *Middleton*, *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin*, Sir *Stephn Fox*, Lieutenant Colonel *Griffin*, Sir *Charles Scarborough* firſt Phyſician to the King, Sir *Thomas Witherly* ſecond Phyſician to the King, Dr. *Robert Brady* one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians in Ordinary, and *James St. Amand* their Majeſties Apothecary. As to the Depoſitions themſelves, the Subſtance of them was to lay open the Particulars and Circumſtances belonging to a Big-belly'd and Lying-in Woman, and indeed more proper to be treated by Phyſicians and Midwives, than by Annaliſts and Hiſtorians. Only we are juſt to remember, that the greateſt part of them, by reaſon of the Cloſeneſs of the Queen's Bed, and other Accidents, were but little to the Purpoſe, and ſcarcely more than if the Deponents had been in another Room. But ſome few of them were more than Circumſtantial, and as home as cou'd be expected; particularly what was ſworn concerning her Majeſty's Milk in her Breaſts, and what was depos'd by the Midwife and the Nurſe, concerning her actual Delivery, and the Prince of *Wales* being the ſame Child.

After theſe Depoſitions were taken, his Majeſty acquainted the Lords, 'That the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark* wou'd have been preſent; but that ſhe being with Child likewiſe, and having not lately ſtirr'd abroad, cou'd not come ſo far without Hazard:' Adding farther, 'That tho' he did not queſtion but every Perſon there preſent was ſatisfy'd before in this Matter, yet by what they had heard, they wou'd be better able to ſatisfy others: That, beſides, if He and the Queen cou'd be thought ſo wicked as to endeavour to impoſe a Child upon the Nation, they ſaw how impoſſible it wou'd have been; neither cou'd he himſelf be impos'd upon, having conſtantly been with the Queen during her being with Child, and the whole time of her Labour. That there was none of them but wou'd eaſily believe him, who had ſuffer'd ſo much for *Conſcience* ſake, uncapable of ſo great a Villany, to the Prejudice of his own Children; and that he thank'd God that thoſe that knew him, knew well, that it was his Principle to do as he wou'd be done by, for *That was the Law and the Prophets*; and he wou'd rather dye a thouſand Deaths, than do the leaſt Wrong to any of his Children.' And to conclude all, five Days after, the *Declaration* made by the King, and Queen Dowager, together with the ſeveral *Depoſitions*, were enroll'd in *Chancery*, purſuant to an Order of Council: And becauſe the Earl of *Huntington*, a *Proteſtant*, and the Earl of *Peterborough*, a *Romaniſt*, who were able to depoſe to the Queen's Delivery, had not been examin'd at the Council-Board, they brought their Depoſitions into Court, which the Lord Chancellor order'd to be read, and afterwards enroll'd with the reſt. But notwithſtanding the Formality, and even Solemnity of this Affair, and the careful Diſtribution of theſe *Depoſitions*, they had little or nothing of the intended Effect upon the People, who were now ſo prepoſſeſs'd, that they made a thouſand Reflections with croſs and perverſe Obſervations upon them, and in all their Diſcourſes they appear'd more provok'd than appeas'd. They ſhew'd ſo little Regard to the Modeſty of a Woman, or the Majeſty of a Queen, that ſome ſaid, *That ſhe ought to have been deliver'd at* Charing-Croſs. And their common Anſwer to the moſt material Part of the Depoſitions, was 'That the Queen's Milk was nothing but the Effects of Art and Management, and what was ſaid concerning her Delivery was downright Lying and Perjury:' To ſuch a low Ebb and Condition was the unhappy King's Credit reduc'd by his frequent Breach of Faith, that the Body of his Subjects wou'd neither believe what he ſaid Himſelf, nor any of thoſe that ſwore for him.

Which are Recorded.

The Earl of Sunderland*'s Diſgrace, and Cauſes of it.*

4. The Affair of the Depoſitions was but juſt compleated, when, on the 28th of *October*, the Earl of *Sunderland* was ſuddenly removed from his Places of Preſident of the Council, and Principal Secretary of State; which caus'd great Speculations in the Kingdom. The Occaſion of his Diſgrace, we are aſſur'd, was thus: Mr. *Skelton*, to juſtify his Conduct in *France*, gave an Account to the King, 'That having receiv'd Information of the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſigns from Mr. *Bude de Verace*, he had writ ſix or ſeven Letters about it to the Earl of *Sunderland*; to which having no Anſwer, he apply'd himſelf to the King of *France*, who thereupon diſpatch'd Monſieur *Bonrepos* to *England*, and ſent Orders to his Ambaſſador at the *Hague* to Expoſtulate with the *States-General* the Reaſons of their Warlike Preparations.' Which Account of *Skelton* began to raiſe Suſpicions againſt the Prime Miniſter; and theſe were ſoon after encreas'd by the Depoſition of one *Wickſtead*, formerly a Monk, who being ſeiz'd for holding Correſpondence with the Enemies, and examin'd before the Council, charg'd the Earl of *Sunderland* to his very Face, with revealing his Majeſty's Secrets to the Prince of *Orange*; whereupon *Wickſtead* was committed to the Cuſtody of a Meſſenger, from whom he made his Eſcape. This Accuſation from a Perſon of his Character, had made but little Impreſſion at another Juncture; but agreeing ſo nearly with that of Mr. *Skelton*, the Earl's paſt Conduct was more nicely and ſeverely canvaſs'd; and the King call'd to mind, 'That the very ſame Perſon who had for ſome time encourag'd him in his Alliance with *France*, had caus'd him to reject that Aſſiſtance, when he ſtood moſt in need of it;' which perſuaded his Majeſty that he was embark'd in another Intereſt, and therefore he thought fit to remove him from the aforeſaid Places. It is farther reported, that to defeat the Earl, the King demanded of him the Original of a certain Treaty, which he anſwer'd *he had miſ-laid*, and which the Earl's Enemies ſaid, he had tranſmitted to the Prince of *Orange*. This the Earl poſitively deny'd; and as to the Buſineſs of *Skelton*'s Letters, 'If he gave no Account of them to the King, it was not becauſe he held Intelligence with the Prince of *Orange*, but becauſe he had an invincible Contempt for *Skelton*, who, he was us'd to ſay, *never wrote but Second-Hand News*.

His Apology. But the Earl of *Sunderland* has ſince publiſh'd a very particular Apology for himſelf with relation to this and his Conduct in other Affairs; in which Apology he declares to the World, That he did not go thoſe Lengths in King *James*'s Meaſures as was generally believ'd, for which he was hated by the *Popiſh* Party; that he was againſt the *Diſpenſing Power*, as the moſt *Chimerical Thing* that was ever thought of; and particularly he was againſt diſſolving the Parliament, and told his Majeſty, *That in caſe he diſſolv'd it, he muſt give over all Thoughts of Foreign Affairs, for no other wou'd ever aſſiſt him, but on ſuch Terms as wou'd ruin the Monarchy*; in ſum, that he gain'd no Advantage when he was in, and Ruin when he was out. To be a little more particular; ſpeaking of the Grievances he had caus'd the King to redreſs, when he had heard of the Prince's Deſigns, he ſays, 'It was then thought I had deſtroy'd my ſelf by engaging againſt the whole *Roman* Catholick Party to ſuch a Height as had not been ſeen: They diſpers'd Libels of me every Day, told the King *That I betray'd him, that I ruin'd him by perſuading him to make ſuch ſhameful Condeſcenſions*; but moſt of all, *by hindering the ſecuring the chief of the diſaffected Nobility and Gentry*, which was propos'd as a certain Way to break all the Prince's Meaſures; and by *Adviſing his Majeſty to call a Free Parliament, and to depend upon that, rather than any Foreign Aſſiſtance.*----- After theſe Accuſations of High-Treaſon were brought againſt me, which, with ſome other Reaſons relating to Affairs abroad, drew the King's Diſpleaſure upon me, ſo as to turn me out of all without any Conſideration; and yet I thought I eſcap'd well, expecting nothing leſs than the loſs of my Head; nor had it been otherwiſe, if my Diſgrace had been deferr'd a Day longer.' Speaking of the intended Aſſiſtance from *France*, he ſays, 'Indeed *French* Ships were offer'd to join with our Fleet, and they were refus'd: Since the Noiſe of the Prince's Deſign, more Ships were offer'd; and it was agreed how they ſhou'd be commanded, if ever deſir'd. I oppos'd to Death the accepting of them, as well as any Aſſiſtance of Men; and can ſay moſt truly, That I was the principal Means of hindering both, by the help of ſome Lords with whom I conſulted every Day, ‘and they with me, to prevent what we thought would be of great Prejudice, if not ruinous to the Nation.----- My greateſt Misfortune has been to be thought the Promoter of thoſe Things I oppos'd and deteſted, while ſome I cou'd name have been the Inventers and Contrivers of what they have had the Art to lay upon others; and I was often fooliſhly willing to bear what my Maſter wou'd have done, tho' I us'd all poſſible Endeavours againſt it.

And that of the Biſhop of Rocheſter, *and Earl of* Mulgrave.

Beſides the Earl of *Sunderland*, there were two other great Men who thought fit to publiſh Apologies, as having been believ'd too complying with King *James*'s Meaſures, eſpecially with Relation to the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*; and theſe were Dr. *Sprat* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and the Earl of *Mulgrave*. The Firſt, in two Letters to the Earl of *Dorſet*, with no little Art and Eloquence has varniſh'd over thoſe Actions moſt liable to Exception; but he ſeem'd better to excuſe them by his deſerting the Commiſſion, and joining heartily with his ſuffering Brethren in the moſt difficult Time; and declaring that the brave Stand they made, and their Proceedings upon it, *were all upon Church of* England *Principles*. The Earl of *Mulgrave* with equal Fineneſs has endeavour'd to clear himſelf to the famous Dr. *Tillotſon*, and like the other, inſinuates That his acting in the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, was to prevent greater Miſchief, and keep out worſer Men. However, we think we ought to inſert the following Paragraph in his Letter; ‘And ſince I have been forc'd to mention my Good-Will, at leaſt, if not my Service, to ſuch learned Men of the Clergy who I thought deſerv'd it, it may be allow'd me to give this one Inſtance more of it: That altho' in preferring Men to all Places of the Houſhold, I ever us'd to ask Permiſſion firſt, and accordingly was often refus'd for the ſake of *Roman* Catholicks and others, who were recommended by Perſons more in Favour than my ſelf; yet I was ſo careful in keeping that conſiderable Part of the Family unmix'd with mean or unworthy Chaplains, whom others I fear'd wou'd have impos'd upon his Majeſty, that I conſtantly fill'd up thoſe Vacancies, without giving him the leaſt Notice or Trouble about it, and ſupply'd them with the ableſt approv'd Divines I cou'd poſſibly find, moſt commonly recommended to me by the Biſhops who were not of the Court: Which I conceiv'd the moſt proper Courſe in a Matter concerning Clergy-Men, with a King of a different Perſuaſion from theirs, and intended for his real Service, believing it had been better for him, as well as his Kingdom, if the greateſt Eccleſiaſtical Dignities had been diſpos'd of by others with as much Caution.

Particular Pardons.

There were ſome others who thought themſelves ſo obnoxious, as not to rely upon *Apologies*, and therefore judg'd it more uſeful and ſecure to ſue out their ſeveral Pardons from the King; ſuch were the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, Sir *Nicholas Butler*, the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and about twenty more. This was upon the 1ſt of *November*, when all guilty Perſons moſt of all fear'd an impending Storm; while all the reſt, the Generality of the Nation, had their Eyes and Ears, their Hands and Hearts lifted up towards *Holland*, in Expectation of a great and mighty Change. All former Injuries between the two Nations were forgot, and the *Engliſh* expected ſo much Good, and fear'd ſo little Hurt from the *Dutch*, that the witty Lord *Dorſet* ſaid, *That if they came at this Seaſon, it may be call'd the merry Invaſion.*

The Prince of Orange's *Preparations and* DECLARATION

VII. 1. While King *James* was labouring under great Difficulties and Diſtractions, providing for his Security, and endeavouring to remove the Fears and Jealouſies of his *Proteſtant* Subjects, the Prince of *Orange* was embarking his Troops with extraordinary Diligence; and to juſtify his Undertaking to the whole World, he publiſh'd a ſolemn *Declaration*, Dated *October* the 10th New Style, divided into twenty ſix *Articles*, but reducible to theſe I. Three Principal Heads: ‘The *Firſt* contain'd a particular Enumeration of the Grievances of the *Engliſh* Nation, eſpecially the King's arrogating to himſelf a *Diſpenſing Power:* His advancing *Papiſts* to Civil, Eccleſiaſtical and Military Employments, and allowing them to ſit in the Privy-Council: His ſetting up an illegal *Commiſſion* for *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, in which there was one of his Miniſters of State, who made publick Profeſſion of the *Popiſh* Religion, and who at the time of his firſt Profeſſing it, declar'd, *That for a great while before, he had believ'd that to be the only true Religion*; and by which not only the Biſhop of *London* was ſuſpended, but the Preſident and Fellows of *Magdalen-College* arbitrarily turn'd out of their Free-Holds, contrary to that expreſs Proviſion in *Magna Charta*, *That no Man ſhall loſe Life or Goods but by the Law of the Land:* His allowing *Popiſh* Monaſtries and Colleges of *Jeſuits* to be created: His turning out of Publick Employments all ſuch as wou'd not concur with him in the Repeal of the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws:* His invading the Privileges, and Seizing on the Charters of moſt Corporations, and placing *Popiſh* Magiſtrates in ſome of them: His Subjecting the Courts of Judicatory to his Arbitrary and Deſpotick Power, and putting the Adminiſtration of Juſtice into the Hands of *Papiſts:* His not only arming the *Papiſts*, in Contempt of the Laws, but likewiſe raiſing them up to the greateſt Military Truſt, both by Sea and Land, Strangers as well as Natives, and *Iriſh* as well as *Engliſh*, that he might be in a Capacity to enſlave the Nation: His putting the whole Government of *Ireland* into the Hands of *Papiſts:* His aſſuming an *Abſolute* and *Arbitrary Power* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*; from which it was apparent what was to be look'd for in *England*.

II. *Secondly*, his Highneſs alledg'd, ‘That thoſe great and inſufferable Oppreſſions, and the open Contempt of all Law, together with the Apprehenſions of the ſad Conſequences that muſt certainly follow upon it, had made the Subjects to look after ſuch Remedies as are allow'd of in all Nations, and in the moſt *Abſolute* Monarchies, all which had been without Effect; his Majeſty's Evil Counſellors having endeavour'd to make all Men apprehend the Loſs of their Lives, Liberties, Honours and Eſtates, if they ſhou'd go about to preſerve themſelves from this Oppreſſion by *Petitions* and *Repreſentations*; an Inſtance of which was the Proſecution of the Seven Biſhops: That a Peer of the Realm [the Lord *Lovelace*] was treated as a Criminal, only becauſe he ſaid, *That the Subjects were not bound to obey the Orders of a Popiſh Juſtice of Peace*; tho' it is evident, that they being by Law render'd incapable of all ſuch Truſts, no Regard is due to their Orders: That both He and his Conſort the Princeſs, had endeavour'd to ſignify, with Terms full of Reſpect, to the King, the juſt and deep Regret, which all theſe Proceedings had given them, and declar'd what their thoughts were, touching the Repealing of the *Teſts* and *Penal Laws*; but that theſe Evil Counſellors had put ſuch ill Conſtructions on their good Intentions, that they had endeavour'd to alienate the King more and more from them. That the laſt and great Remedy for all theſe Evils, was the *Calling of a Parliament*, which cou'd not yet be compaſs'd, nor cou'd be eaſily brought about; for thoſe Men apprehending, That a *Lawful Parliament* wou'd bring them to Account for all their open Violations of Law, and for their Conſpiracies againſt the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of the Subjects, they had endeavour'd under the ſpecious Pretence of *Liberty of Conſcience*, firſt to ſow Diviſions between thoſe of the Church of *England* and *Diſſenters*, with Deſign to engage *Proteſtants*, who are equally concern'd to preſerve themſelves from *Popiſh* Oppreſſion, into mutual Quarrellings; that ſo by theſe, ſome Advantages might be given to them to bring about their Deſigns; and that both in the Elections of Members of Parliament, and afterward in the Parliament it ſelf: That they had alſo made ſuch *Regulations* as they thought fit and neceſſary, for ſecuring all the Members that were to be choſen by the Corporations; by which Means, they hop'd to avoid the Puniſhment they deſerv'd, tho' it was apparent, that all Acts made by *Popiſh* Magiſtrates were null and void of themſelves: So that no *Parliament* cou'd be *Lawful*, for which the *Elections* and *Returns* were made by *Popiſh* Magiſtrates, Sheriffs and Mayors of Towns; and therefore as long as the Magiſtracy was in ſuch Hands, it was not poſſible to have a *Free Parliament* Legally Call'd, and Choſen. That there were great and violent Preſumptions, inducing his Highneſs to believe, That thoſe evil Counſellors, in order to the gaining the more Time for the effecting of their ill Deſigns, had publiſh'd, *That the Queen had brought forth a Son*; tho' there had appear'd, both during the Queen's pretended Bigneſs, and in the Manner wherein the Birth was manag'd, ſo many juſt and viſible Grounds of Suſpicion, that not only he himſelf, but all the good Subjects of the Kingdom, did vehemently ſuſpect, *That the pretended Prince of* Wales *was not born of the Queen:* And tho' many both doubted of the Queen's Bigneſs, and of the Birth of the Child, yet there was not any one Thing done to ſatisfy them, or put an End to their Doubts. That ſince his Conſort the Princeſs, and likewiſe He himſelf, had ſo great an Intereſt in this Matter, and ſuch a Right, as all the World knew, to the Succeſſion of the Crown; ſince all the *Engliſh* did in the Year 1672, when *Holland* was invaded with a moſt unjuſt War, uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to put an End to that War, and that in Oppoſition to thoſe who were then in the Government; ſince the *Engliſh* Nation had ever teſtify'd a moſt particular Affection and Eſteem, both to his Highneſs's deareſt Conſort and to Himſelf, he cou'd not excuſe himſelf from eſpouſing that Intereſt, in a Matter of ſuch high Conſequence, and from contributing all that in him lay for the maintaining both of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the Laws and Liberties of theſe Kingdoms:

doms: To the doing of which, his Highneſs *was moſt earneſtly ſolicited by a great many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen, and other Subjects of all Ranks.*

III.

In the laſt Place, his Highneſs declared, 'That for the forementioned Reaſons, he has thought fit to go over to *England*, and to carry with him a Force ſufficient to defend him from the Violence of thoſe Evil Counſellors: That his Expedition was intended for no other Deſign, but to have a *Free* and *Lawful Parliament* Aſſembled as ſoon as it was poſſible; and that in Order to this, all the late *Charters*, by which the Election of Burgeſſes were limited contrary to the ancient Cuſtom, ſhou'd be conſider'd as Null and of no Force. That to this Parliament *He wou'd refer the Enquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of* Wales, *and* of all Things relating thereto, and *to the Right of Succeſſion:* That he wou'd concur in every thing that might procure the Peace and Happineſs of the Nation, under a juſt and legal Government: That he wou'd keep the Forces under his Command, under all the Strictneſs of Martial Diſcipline, and promis'd that he wou'd ſend back all thoſe Foreign Forces as ſoon as the State of the Nation wou'd admit of it: That therefore he invited and required all Perſons whatſoever to come and aſſiſt him, in order to the executing his Deſigns againſt all ſuch as ſhall endeavour to oppoſe him. That he wou'd likewiſe take Care that a Parliament ſhou'd be call'd in *Scotland*, for reſtoring the Ancient Conſtitution of that Kingdom, and for bringing the Matters of Religion to ſuch a Settlement, that the People might live eaſy and happy. That he wou'd alſo ſtudy to bring the Kingdom of *Ireland* to ſuch a State, that the *Settlement* there might be religiouſly obſerv'd, and that the *Proteſtant* and *Britiſh* Intereſt there might be ſecured.' He concludes all in theſe Words, 'And We will endeavour by all poſſible Means, to procure ſuch an *Eſtabliſhment* throughout all the Three Kingdoms, that they may all live in a happy Union and Correſpondence together; and that the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Peace*, *Honour* and *Happineſs* of theſe Nations may be eſtabliſh'd upon laſting Foundations.

His Addition to his Declaration.

This *Declaration* was printed and ready to be ſent over to *England*, together with another to the ſame Effect for *Scotland*; when his Highneſs being inform'd that King *James*, by granting moſt of the Biſhops Demands, had taken Meaſures to render it ineffectual, fourteen Days after he caus'd the following Addition to be made to it: 'After we had prepared and printed our *Declaration*, we have underſtood, That the Subverters of the Religion and Laws of theſe Kingdoms, hearing of our Preparations to aſſiſt the People againſt them, have begun to retract ſome of their *Arbitrary* and *Deſpotick Power* that they had aſſum'd, and to vacate ſome of their unjuſt *Judgments* and *Decrees:* The Senſe of their Guilt, and the Diſtruſt of their Force, have induc'd them to offer to the City of *London* ſome ſeeming Relief from their great Oppreſſions; hoping thereby to quiet the People, and to divert them from demanding a Re-eſtabliſhment of their *Religion* and *Laws* under the Shelter of our Arms: They did alſo give out, *That we do intend to Conquer and Enſlave the Nation*; and therefore it is we have thought fit to add a few Words to our *Declaration*.

'We are confident, that no Perſons can have ſuch hard Thoughts of us, as to imagine we have any other Deſign in this our *Undertaking*, than to procure a Settlement of the *Religion*, and of the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the Subjects upon ſo ſure a Foundation, that there may be no Danger of the Nation's relapſing into the like Miſeries at any Time hereafter. And as the Forces we have brought along with us are utterly diſproportion'd to that wicked Deſign of *Conquering the Nation*, if we were capable of intending it; ſo the great Numbers of the principal Nobility and Gentry, that are Men of eminent Quality and Eſtates, and Perſons of known Integrity and Zeal, both for the Religion and Government of *England*; many of them being alſo diſtinguiſh'd by their conſtant Fidelity to the Crown, who do both accompany us in this *Expedition*, and have earneſtly ſolicited us to it, will cover us from all ſuch malicious Inſinuations: For it is not to be imagin'd, that either thoſe who invited us, or thoſe who are already come to aſſiſt us, can join in a wicked Attempt of *Conqueſt*, to make void their own lawful Titles to their Honours, Eſtates, and Intereſts. We are alſo confident, that all Men ſee how little Weight there is to be laid on all *Promiſes* and *Engagements* that can be now made, ſince there has been ſo little Regard had in the Time paſt to the moſt SOLEMN PROMISES. And as that *imperfect Redreſs* that is now offer'd, is a plain Confeſſion of thoſe *Violences* of the Government, that we have ſet forth; ſo the *Defectiveneſs* of it is no leſs apparent: For they lay down nothing which they may not take up at Pleaſure; and they reſerve entire, and not ſo much as mention their Claims and Pretences to an *Arbitrary* and *Deſpotick Power*, which has been the *Root* of all their Oppreſſion, and the total *Subverſion* of the Government. And it is plain, that there can be Redreſs, no Remedy offer'd, but in Parliament, by a *Declaration of the Rights of the Subjects* that have been invaded, and not by any pretended *Acts of Grace*, to which the Extremity of their Affairs have driven them. Therefore it is that we have thought fit to Declare, That we will refer all to a *Free Aſſembly* of this Nation in a *lawful Parliament*.

The Reſolution of the States of Holland.

Beſides this famous *Declaration*, now ſo eagerly entertain'd, about the ſame time was publiſh'd, *The Reſolution of the* States-General, *containing the Reaſons that had oblig'd them to aſſiſt his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange *with Ships, Men, and Ammunition, in his intended Expedition into* England: Wherein, beſides the repeated Invitations his Highneſs had receiv'd from the *Engliſh* Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, they alledg'd, 'That the King of *France* had upon ſeveral Occaſions ſhew'd himſelf diſſatisfy'd with their *State*; which gave them Canſe to fear and apprehend, That in Caſe the King of *Great Britain* ſhou'd happen to compaſs his Deſigns within his Kingdom, and obtain an *Abſolute Power* over his People, that then both Kings out of Intereſt of State, and Hatred and Zeal againſt the *Proteſtant* Religion, wou'd endeavour to bring their State to Confuſion, and if poſſible, totally to ſubject it.' Of this they had a particular Proſpect; according to the Biſhop of *Sarum*'s Account, who tells us, 'That the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, King *James*'s Ambaſſador at *Rome*, had preſs'd the Pope, and the Patron Cardinal *Cibo*, to admit his Maſter to mediate a Reconciliation between the Courts of *Rome* and *Verſailles*; and ſaid, *When that was brought about, the two Kings wou'd effectually ſerve the Cauſe of the Church, and begin with the Deſtruction of* Holland.' This the Pope thought fit to tell to the Head of the Imperial Party at *Rome*; who wrote it to the Emperor; and the Emperor wrote the ſame to the Prince of *Orange*.

The Prince takes his leave of the States, *with a Speech.*

2. The Prince of *Orange* being now ready for his great Expedition, on the 16th of *October*, he went into the Aſſembly of the *States-General* to take a ſolemn Leave of them, and deliver'd himſelf to this Effect: 'That he was infinitely oblig'd to them, and was ſorry he had no Opportunity to ſhew his Inclination, Love and Affection to Them, as they had done to Him: That he had hitherto been encourag'd and ſupported by their Aſſiſtance, which they had ſo abundantly contributed to him, both by Counſel and otherwiſe, That it was needleſs for him to recapitulate the Reaſons which induc'd him to leave his Native Country: That he hop'd and pray'd, *That God wou'd endue him with Wiſdom, Foreſight and Courage, and not withdraw his Arm from him in Time of need:* That he call'd God to witneſs he did not undertake ſuch an arduous Affair, but for his Glory: That his only Aim was for the Honour of God, the Welfare of their Country, and of the Chriſtian Religion; and that therefore he hop'd God wou'd beſtow his Bleſſing on it; and if by the Bleſſing of God he ſhou'd attain his Ends, to ſet the *States* at greater Liberty, and free them from the Fear of their Neighbours, and the haughty Tyranny of thoſe who wou'd enſlave them: That he had left the Care of the Army to Prince *Waldeck*, and earneſtly deſir'd the *States* to aſſiſt him, and to be unanimous amongſt themſelves.' Here he ſeem'd to ſtop; and after ſome Pauſe, he paſſionately recommended one Thing more to them; 'That as he did not know how God might diſpoſe of him ſince he had put on his Sword, and knew not when he ſhou'd put it off; But in caſe God ſhou'd permit that to befal him, which had happen'd to many others, and that he ſhou'd loſe his Life in this Expedition, they wou'd then take the Princeſs his Wife under their Protection, who was as well affected to that Country and the *Proteſtant* Religion, as he himſelf was; and he was ſatisfy'd She cou'd no where find ſuch a ſecure Place as under the Wings of the *States*. That he had but one Thing more to deſire, which was, That they wou'd always remember him in their publick and private Prayers, as in his own he ſhou'd have the ſame Regard for them.' With which the Tears flow'd from his Eyes, the whole Aſſembly melted into a generous Sorrow; and Penſionary *Fagel* having return'd a moſt moving Speech to him, they parted as much with the Tenderneſs of Lovers, as the Affection of Friends.

He puts to Sea.

All Things being in Readineſs, on the 19th of *October*, the *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of about Fifty Men of War, Twenty Five Frigates, as many Fireſhips, with near Four Hundred Victuallers, and other Veſſels for the Tranſportation of above Four Thouſand Horſe, and Ten Thouſand Foot, ſet ſail from the *Flats* near the *Briel*, with a South-Weſterly Wind. The Prince himſelf embark'd on a Frigate of about Thirty Guns, and with him Count *Naſſaw*, General of the Horſe; Count *de Solmes*, Colonel of the

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Foot-Guards; Count *de Stirum*, Monſieur *Bentinck*, Monſieur *Overquerque*, and Monſieur *Zuyleſteyn*. In the other Ships were many of the Nobility and Gentry of *England* and *Scotland*, who had already declar'd for the Prince; of which the Chief were the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Macclesfield*, Viſcount *Mordant*, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord *Wiltſhire*, the Lord *Pawlet*, the Lord *Elan* Son to the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and the Lord *Dunblaine* Son to the Earl of *Danby*, Admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Henry Herbert*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, Major *Wildman*, Dr. *Burnet*, Mr. *Harbord*, Mr. *Ferguſon*, and many others. And among Foreigners, were the famous Mareſchal *Schomberg*, with his Son Count *Charles Schomberg*; Monſieur *Caillemote* Son to the Marquis *de Rovigni*, and Two or Three Hundred *French* Officers, who had left their Country for their Religion, and had now a Share in this Proteſtant Expedition. Admiral *Herbert* led the Van of the Fleet, Vice-Admiral *Evertzen* brought up the Rear, and the Prince plac'd Himſelf in the main Body, carrying a Flag with *Engliſh* Colours, and their Highneſſes Arms, ſurrounded with this *Motto*, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION, AND LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND; and underneath the *Motto* of the Houſe of *Naſſaw*, JE MAINTIENDRAI. i. e. *I will maintain.*

But driven back by a Storm.

This numerous Fleet were all under Sail, when the Wind coming more Weſterly, there aroſe a dreadful Storm in the Night, which continu'd with ſo much Fury for Two Days, that they with great Difficulty return'd into *Helvoet-Sluice*, and ſome other Ports; and tho' with conſiderable Damage, yet without the Loſs of one Veſſel of Note, and but of one Man. Which Diſaſter prov'd a mighty Pleaſure to the *Popiſh* Party, who cou'd not conceal their inſulting Joy, but boaſted, *That God Almighty had now recompens'd them for the Loſs of the* Spaniſh Armada, *which a Hundred Years ago was deſtin'd to conquer the* Engliſh *Hereticks.* A *French* Author ſays upon this Occaſion, 'I was 'preſent when King *James* receiv'd the News: At Dinner 'he us'd but one of his Hands, holding the moſt welcome 'Letter in the other. Among other things he ſaid to M. '*Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, laughing, *At laſt then* '*the Wind has declar'd itſelf a* Papiſt; then reſuming his 'ſerious Air, and ſoftning his Voice, he ſaid, *You know for* '*theſe three Days, I have caus'd the Holy Sacrament to go* '*in Proceſſion.* And great Care was taken to aggravate the Loſs in the *Engliſh Gazette*, namely, 'That Four 'Hundred Horſe had been thrown over-board, and ſeveral 'dead Men, One of their Men of War ſtranded, and another diſabled:' And then again, 'That the Damage ſu'ſtain'd by the *Dutch* Fleet did appear to be much greater 'than was at firſt reported: That there were Fifteen Hun'dred Horſes dead and unſerviceable; the Prince of *Orange* 'had loſt moſt of his own, and the Mareſchal *Schomberg* 'the beſt of his Horſes; his Son Count *Charles* was in great 'Danger, the Ship he was in having rent her Main-Maſt: 'A Captain of Horſe in the Sieur *Bentinck*'s Regiment was 'miſſing, with their Companies, &c.' The ſame aggravating Reports were induſtriouſly ſpread in *Holland*, but with a different Deſign; which was to make the Court of *England* more remiſs in their Preparations: The *Harlem* and *Amſterdam Gazettes* were order'd to give a diſmal Relation of the 'Great Damage the *Dutch* Fleet, and the 'Army on Board them, had ſuſtain'd: Nine of the Men 'of War loſt, beſides others of leſs Value; a Thouſand 'Horſes caſt over-board; Dr. *Burnet*, and ſeveral *Engliſh* 'Gentlemen drown'd; what an ill Opinion the *States*-'*General* had of the *Expedition*; and that it was next to an 'Impoſſibility, that the Prince cou'd be in a Condition to 'purſue his Deſign till the next Spring.' This for a ſhort Time, had ſuch an Effect upon the *Engliſh* Court, that the King cou'd not help diſcovering his Mind ſo far as to begin to recal ſome of his late Acts of Grace, and unhappily to ſhew that they were more the Reſult of Neceſſity than Inclination.

3. It was in this critical Juncture that Captain *Langham*, who had belong'd to one of the *Engliſh* Regiments in *Holland*, and juſt arriv'd from thence, was ſeiz'd upon Suſpicion, and in his Portmanteau were a Parcel of the Prince of *Orange*'s *Declarations*, which were the firſt that were brought over into *England*. When that Expreſſion came to be read to the King, *That the Prince was moſt earneſtly invited over by divers of the Lords, both* Spiritual *and* Temporal, *and by many Gentlemen and others*, his Majeſty was in great Perplexity, and in haſte ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and two or three more, that happen'd to be then in Town, and demanded of them, *Whether the Contents of the Prince's Declaration, relating to their Inviting him over, were true*? The Biſhops were cautious in their Anſwer, and in general, promis'd their faithful Allegiance to his Majeſty; whereupon the King immediately required them to juſtify themſelves to the World, as to their Part in that Invitation;

The King applies to the Biſhops.

and accordingly he fix'd a ſhort Day, whereon he oblig'd them to preſent a Paper under their own Hands, ſignifying their *Abhorrence* of the Prince of *Orange*'s intended Invaſion. He farther let them know, 'That his good Succeſs de'pended upon their ready Compliance with his Command; 'and that a *Declaration* was then in the Preſs againſt the 'Prince of *Orange*, and was only deferr'd to have their '*Paper of Abhorrence* inſerted into it.

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When the Day of Tryal came there were great Throngs at Court, expecting the Iſſue of that Meeting; and the Biſhops ſaw both the Friends and the Enemies of the Church of *England*, equally impatient to know what they wou'd do in that difficult Moment. And there happen'd to be but four of their Number, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Peterborough* and *Rocheſter*, who were preſent upon the Place, to endure that terrible Brunt. As ſoon as they were come into the King's Preſence, his Majeſty with great Eagerneſs call'd for their Paper. But with all Submiſſion, 'They begg'd to be excus'd from 'Writing any thing of that Nature, and from making a 'particular Defence to a general Accuſation, leſt they 'ſhou'd give the firſt Precedent of that kind againſt the 'Privilege of Peers: Beſides, that their Profeſſion being 'to promote Peace, they thought it belong'd not to them 'to declare War, eſpecially againſt a Prince ſo nearly al'ly'd to the Crown.' Whereupon the King ſtill more inſiſted, argu'd and expoſtulated with their Lordſhips, inſomuch that they never ſaw him more vehement in his Speech, and tranſported in his Expreſſions, than at that time. However, they ſtill made good their humble Refuſal, in as dutiful Terms as was poſſible; and among many Arguments, urg'd, 'That as they were join'd with their Brethren, the 'other Lords Spiritual, and with the Lords Temporal, 'and with the Gentry of *England*, in the Accuſation; ſo 'they beſeech'd him, that they might not be ſeparated from 'them in their Juſtification.' Concluding all with an earneſt Requeſt to his Majeſty, 'That he wou'd be pleas'd 'to condeſcend to the calling a *Free Parliament*, wherein 'only he cou'd underſtand what was the general Senſe and 'true Intereſt of the whole Kingdom.' At laſt, when neither the King wou'd hearken to their zealous Motion for a Parliament, nor the Biſhops cou'd be prevail'd on to ſubſcribe an *Abhorrence* of the Prince's Deſign, his Majeſty parted with great Indignation. And thereupon the Jeſuited Party at Court were ſo openly enrag'd againſt them, that, as they were credibly inform'd, one of the Chief of them advis'd in a Heat, *They ſhou'd all be impriſon'd, and the Truth ſhou'd be extorted from them by Violence.*

A particular Obſervation.

Biſhop *Sprat*, from whom we had this Account, obſerves, That the Biſhops of *Scotland*, on the contrary, were drawn into a *Declaration*, abhorring the Invaſion of the Prince of *Orange*, and renouncing the Principles on which it was founded; which prov'd ſuch a Snare to them, that they cou'd not in Honour act in Parliament after the Revolution, but deſerted the Service of their Church and Country, and left the Management of both entirely to the *Presbyterians*, who then made uſe of the Opportunity, and eſtabliſh'd themſelves by Law; purely by the Abſence of the Biſhops from Parliament. 'So that, ſays he, as the *Eng*'*liſh* Biſhops refuſing to ſtand by the Doctrine of *Paſſive* '*Obedience*, ſav'd Epiſcopacy in *England*; ſo the *Scotch* 'Biſhops adhering to that Doctrine, deſtroy'd Epiſcopacy 'in *Scotland.*

A further Account of the King's applying to the Biſhops.

Beſides this from Biſhop *Sprat*, we have ſince then another Account, ſomewhat different and more particular, from a remarkable *Apology* drawn up by the Direction of the then Archbiſhop and his Non-complying Brethren; of which but part hath ſeen the Light. What is purely *Narrative* in it is inſerted as follows: One Day near the End of *October*, the King ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and after ſome other Diſcourſes, told him, *It was now certain that the Prince of* Orange *was coming to invade* England, *to make a Conqueſt of it; and it wou'd be very much to his Service, and a Thing well becoming the Biſhops, if they wou'd meet together, and draw up an* Abhorrence *of the Attempt of the Prince.* The Archbiſhop anſwer'd, *That after the Biſhops had waited upon his Majeſty the laſt Time together, had preſented their* Humble Advice, *and finiſh'd, to his Satisfaction, the Prayers* againſt the Invaſion, *they ſuppoſing his Majeſty had no farther Commands for them, had deſired and obtain'd his Permiſſion, to go down to do their own Duties, and his Majeſty the beſt Service they cou'd, in their reſpective Dioceſes, whither they were gone; ſo that no conſiderable Number of them cou'd at preſent be got together.* The King told the Archbiſhop, *That my Lord of* London *was within Call at* Fulham, *and that the Biſhop of* Peterborough *was ſtill about the Town*; but made no mention of the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Cheſter*, and St. *David*'s, tho' he knew all Three were at hand, and at Court frequently.

On the 1ſt of *November*, the Biſhop of *London*, being ſent for, attended his Majeſty, who gave him to underſtand, That when he was ſent for, he had nothing to ſhew

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him but the *Reſolution of the States of* Holland, but now the Prince's own *Declaration* being juſt come to his Hand, he ſhew'd his Lordſhip that Paſſage concerning the *Invitation of ſeveral of the Lords Spiritual.* To which the Biſhop made Anſwer in theſe Words, *Sir, I am confident the reſt of the Biſhops will as readily anſwer in the Negative as my ſelf.* Upon which Anſwer, tho' thought to have a double Meaning in it, the King was pleas'd to ſay, *He did believe them all Innocent.* On the next Day, the Archbiſhop having receiv'd a Summons to attend, with the reſt of the Biſhops went to *White-hall*, and happen'd to find, in the King's Bed-Chamber, the Biſhops of *London*, *Cheſter*, *Durham*, and St. *David*'s, and they all being call'd into the Cloſet to the King, his Majeſty pointed to the Paſſage in the Prince's *Declaration*, concerning *Inviting him over*, and order'd the Lord *Preſton*, Secretary of State, to read it, without any other Part of the *Declaration*. The Archbiſhop thanking the King for his good Thoughts of them, ſo frankly and graciouſly expreſs'd, declar'd to him, *That he ow'd his Majeſty a* Natural Allegiance, *having been born in his Kingdom; That he had often confirm'd this by taking voluntarily the Oath of* Allegiance and Supremacy; *and wou'd have at once but one King: That his Majeſty well knew that he never worſhip'd the* Riſing-Sun, *nor made his Court to any but his King; and to Him he did it as oft as he was pleas'd to receive it; and as to this particular Charge, and his Perſonal Concern in it, he averr'd himſelf perfectly Innocent.* And further, *That he did not know, nor cou'd imagine, that any of his Brethren the Biſhops had given any ſuch Invitation.* The Biſhop of *London* acquitted himſelf at this Time only thus in general, *That he had given the King his Anſwer the Day before.* The reſt of the Biſhops did each of them aver his Innocence. The King repeating more than once his former Expreſſions, *how free he thought them from any ſuch Practice*, did nevertheleſs require them, *That ſome Denial of the Invitation ſhou'd be publiſh'd*, ſaying, *it wou'd be for his Service, and ſome Diſlike*, as his Word was, *of the Prince's Deſigns*; and ſo they were diſmiſs'd for that Time.

On the 5th of *November*, the Day before the Time prefix'd, the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Peterborough* waited on the Archbiſhop at *Lambeth*, according to Agreement, to adviſe and reſolve what was fit to be done in both theſe important Demands, to clear themſelves publickly from *having invited the Invaſion*, and to *Declare againſt it.* But at this Meeting, it was no wonder, if nothing cou'd be concerted for the King's Service; for thoſe few Biſhops, by this Time, found Cauſe enough to be much upon the Reſerve to one another. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, he ſaw the Popular Torrent running high againſt all the Meaſures taken at Court, but mainly raging againſt the Motion of the *Abhorrence*: He apprehended himſelf to ſtand in need of *Apologies* for ſome Things paſt; and no wonder then he ſtood off from a new perilous Undertaking. The Biſhop of *London*, as he had twice avoided the Queſtion with the King, ſo it was not to be thought he wou'd concur in anſwering his Majeſty's Propoſal to his Satisfaction: And it is ſo well known at this Time of Day, how long before, how deeply his Lordſhip was engag'd in the great Intrigue of the *Revolution*, no Man can doubt but his Lordſhip was wholly averſe from drawing up ſuch a *Denial* of holding Intelligence with the Prince, and from ſending abroad ſuch an *Abhorrence* of the Invaſion with his own Subſcription.

Thus unequally yoak'd together, the next Day theſe four Prelates attended his Majeſty again upon this great Buſineſs. Here firſt the Biſhops of *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough* did, as the Archbiſhop had done before, abſolutely and expreſly deny and diſown their *having done any Thing towards the Invitation* imputed *to ſome Lords Spiritual and Temporal.* But the Archbiſhop, deſirous to have ſome more of his Brethren, ſuch as he cou'd confide in, and as cou'd go along with him upon right Meaſures, &c. did not only intreat his Majeſty, *That the ſmall Number there preſent might not be ſeparated from the reſt, and put upon ſo particular a Vindication*; but likewiſe made it his humble Requeſt, That there being ſo few of thoſe Biſhops about the Town, whom he cou'd adviſe with, *That in ſo weighty a Buſineſs the King wou'd be pleas'd to command up the reſt of the Order, or as many of them as he ſhou'd think fit to ſummon up, that were not at too great a Diſtance.* When the King told them in Anſwer to this Motion, *That it muſt be a Work of Time to bring up any conſiderable Number of Biſhops; that the Matter wou'd bear no Delay; and that if any Thing were done, it muſt be preſently*; the Biſhop of *Peterborough* reply'd, *That they had already made their Perſonal Vindication in his Majeſty's Preſence; that his Majeſty had condeſcended to ſay*, he believ'd and was fully ſatisfy'd in it; *That all the Court ſaw them going in and out of the Cloſet; and all the Town wou'd know the Effect of what had been done, and they wou'd own it every where.* He added, *That it was now in his Majeſty's own Power to publiſh what they had done and ſaid; deſiring, that if his Majeſty thought it for his Intereſt, he wou'd expreſly mention their four Names in his* Declaration, *which they heard was then going to the Preſs; and let it be known to the World, That they had deny'd to have any Part in the Invitation.* The King alledging, *That ſomewhat of their own wou'd be more effectual, than any Act of his, to create Faith in the People*; the ſame Prelate argu'd, *That as they cou'd not preſume any Act of theirs was needful to ſtrengthen his Majeſty; ſo it was Security enough, That they muſt and wou'd own what his Majeſty might ſet forth in their Behalf; when not to own it, wou'd expoſe them to the Suſpicion of High-Treaſon; and to diſown it, wou'd prove them certainly guilty.*

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The Archbiſhop repeated the Offer of the ſame Expedient, the Publiſhing in the *Royal Declaration*, how they had proteſted their Innocence. The Biſhops of *London* and *Rocheſter* ſeem'd to aſſent; at leaſt neither of them expreſs'd any Diſſent to it. But the King re-inforcing the Argument, urg'd, *That ſuch falſe Reports had been rais'd, ſo ſpightful and ſcandalous, yet ſpread over the Nation ſo induſtriouſly, to corrupt the Minds of his Subjects with odious Surmiſes againſt him; that ſuch a Matter of Fact, as their* Denying to have invited the Prince, *if it were ſet forth by the King alone, and not by the Biſhops being Parties on whom the Charge was laid in the Prince's* Declaration *(whatever He ſaid in their Behalf without them) wou'd at that Time fail of the Credit, which it ought to find with the People.* The King therefore ſtill inſiſting, That ſomewhat might be ſet out under their own Hands, they beſought his Majeſty, 'That they might not be divided from his Temporal Lords, who being equally concern'd in the Imputation, as if they maintain'd a criminal Correſpondence abroad; therefore they pray'd that they might be call'd together, and join'd with them in their conſulting about this *Proteſtation*.' This alſo being thought by the King too dilatory a Method, the Archbiſhop advanc'd this, as their laſt and humble Requeſt, 'That at leaſt he wou'd appoint *ſome Number of Temporal Lords*, whom he pleas'd to make Choice of, to conſult with them upon the whole Matter;' aſſuring his Majeſty, 'They wou'd act as ſhou'd be determin'd at ſuch a Conſultation, to be moſt becoming the Duty of good Subjects, and moſt for the Service of his Majeſty.' The Biſhop of *London* durſt not oppoſe this Motion; but ſeemingly clos'd with it; tho' it ſoon appear'd he did ſo, meerly to get out of the Way of ſuch Meetings, &c. Thus far the *Narrative* Part of the above-mention'd Apologiſt, who at the End of this Account ſays, 'This Buſineſs was never till now ſet out in its true Light, tho' there has been a great Scuffle about it, but all in the Dark.'

A Proclamation againſt the Prince of Orange.

4. To keep the Prince's *Declaration* from the Knowledge of the People, on the 2d of *November*, a Proclamation was iſſu'd out, 'Warning and Admoniſhing all his Majeſty's Subjects, that they did not publiſh, diſperſe, repeat, or hand about the ſaid treaſonable *Declaration*, upon Peril of being proſecuted according to the utmoſt Severity of the Law.' But the Court finding that this Inhibition was of little Effect, but rather ſerv'd to encreaſe Mens Curioſities, they ſuffer'd the *Declaration* to be printed, with a Preface, with ſome ſpecious Animadverſions upon it. About the ſame Juncture there was alſo printed the following Letter of the Prince of *Orange* to the Officers of the *Engliſh* Army: '*Gentlemen and Friends*, We have given ſo full and ſo true an Account of our Intentions in this Expedition in our *Declaration*, that as we can add nothing to it, ſo we are ſure you can deſire nothing more of us. We are come to Preſerve your *Religion*, and to Reſtore and Eſtabliſh your *Liberties* and *Properties*; and therefore we cannot ſuffer our ſelves to doubt, but that all true *Engliſh* Men will come and concur with us in our Deſire, to ſecure theſe Nations from *Popery* and *Slavery*. You muſt all plainly ſee, that you are only made uſe of as *Inſtruments* to enſlave the Nation, and ruin the *Proteſtant Religion*: And when that's done, you may judge what your ſelves ought to expect, both by the Caſhiering all the *Proteſtant* and *Engliſh* Officers and Soldiers in *Ireland*, and by the *Iriſh* Soldiers being brought over to be put in your Places; and of which you have ſeen ſo freſh an Inſtance, that we need not put you in mind of it. You know how many of your Fellow-Officers have been us'd for their ſtanding firm to the *Proteſtant Religion*, and to the *Laws of England*: And you cannot flatter your ſelves ſo far as to expect to be better us'd, if thoſe who have broke their Word ſo often, ſhou'd by your Means be brought out of thoſe Streights, to which they are at preſent reduc'd. We hope likewiſe that you will not ſuffer your ſelves to be abus'd by a falſe Notion of *Honour*; but that you will in the firſt Place conſider what you owe to Almighty *God* and your *Religion*, and next to your *Countrey*, your *Selves*, and your *Poſterity*; which you, as *Men of Honour*, ought to prefer to all private Conſiderations and Engage-

The Prince's Letter to the Engliſh *Army.*

‘ Engagements whatſoever. We do therefore expect that you will conſider the *Honour* that is now ſet before you, as Inſtruments of Serving your *Countrey*, and Securing your *Religion:* And we ſhall ever remember the Service you ſhall do us upon this Occaſion; and will promiſe you, that we ſhall place ſuch particular Marks of our Favour on every one of you, as your Behaviour at this Time ſhall deſerve of us and the Nation; in which we ſhall make a great Diſtinction of thoſe that ſhall come ſeaſonably to join their Arms with ours: And you ſhall find us to be *your Well-wiſhing and Aſſured Friend.*

Admiral Herbert's *Letter to the Fleet.*

This Letter was ſecretly ſpread over the Kingdom, and as much diſpers'd as the *Declaration*, and had a wonderful Effect on the Spirits of the Soldiers; ſo that thoſe that did not immediately comply with it at the Prince's Landing, yet reſolv'd they wou'd never draw their Swords in this Quarrel, till they had a Free Parliament to ſecure the Religion, Laws and Liberties of *England*. Nor had the following Letter, written by Admiral *Herbert* to the *Engliſh* Fleet, leſs Influence upon the Sea-Men. ‘ *Gentlemen*, I have little to add to what his Highneſs has expreſs'd in general Terms, beſides laying before you the dangerous Way you are at preſent in, where Ruin or Infamy muſt inevitably attend you, if you don't join with the Prince in the *Common Cauſe*, for the Defence of your *Religion* and *Liberties:* For ſhou'd it pleaſe God, for the Sins of the *Engliſh* Nation, to ſuffer your Arms to prevail, to what can your Victory ſerve you, but to enſlave you deeper, and overthrow the true Religion in which you have liv'd, and your Fathers dy'd? Of which, I beg you, as a Friend, to conſider the Conſequences, and reflect on the Blot and Infamy it will bring on you, not only now, but in After-ages; that by your Means the *Proteſtant Religion* was deſtroy'd, and your Country depriv'd of its ancient *Liberty:* And if it pleaſes God to bleſs the Prince's Endeavours with Succeſs, as I don't doubt but he will, conſider then what their Condition will be that oppoſe him in this ſo good Deſign, where the greateſt Favour they can hope for, is, their being ſuffer'd to end their Days in Miſery and Want, deteſted and deſpis'd by all good Men. It is therefore, and for many more Reaſons, too long to inſert here; that I, as a true *Engliſh* Man, and your Friend, exhort you to join your Arms to the Prince, for the Defence of the *Common Cauſe*, the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Liberties* of your Country. It is what I am well aſſur'd the major and beſt Part of the Army, as well as the Nation, will do as ſoon as Convenience offers. Prevent them in ſo good an Action, while it is in your Power, and make it appear, That as the Kingdom has always depended on the Navy for its *Defence*, ſo you will go farther, by making it, as much as in you lies, the *Protection* of our Religion and Liberties, and then you may aſſure your ſelves of all Marks of Favour and Honour ſuitable to the Merits of ſo great and glorious an Action. After this, I ought not to add ſo inconſiderable a Thing, as that it will for ever engage me to be in a moſt particular Manner, *Gentlemen, Your Faithful Friend, and Humble Servant.*

Inſtructions to the Lord Dartmouth.

The Fleet, to which this Letter was directed, were then at the *Buoy of the Nore*, under the Command of the Lord *Dartmouth*, who having fitted it out with all Expedition, receiv'd theſe Inſtructions from the King: ‘ Whereas we have receiv'd undoubted Advice, That a great and ſudden Invaſion from *Holland*, with an armed Force of Foreigners and Strangers, will be made ſpeedily in an Hoſtile Manner upon this our Kingdom; Our Will and Pleaſure is, That all neceſſary Orders being by you iſſu'd for the haſtning our Ships and Veſſels, now fitting forth out of the Rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*, together with thoſe already at Sea under Command of Sir *Roger Strickland*, Vice-Admiral of our ſaid Fleet, at the intended Rendezvous at the *Buoy of the Nore*; you do with all Diligence repair on Board our Ship *Reſolution*, Captain *William Davis* Commander, or ſuch other of our Ships as you ſhall now, or at any time hereafter, think fit to bear our *Flag*, as Admiral, taking upon you the Charge and Conduct of our ſaid Fleet, *&c.* Which Fleet, and every Part thereof, we (out of our entire Reliance upon your approved Loyalty, Valour, Circumſpection and Experience) do hereby Authorize and Impower you to lead; and by our *Orders* to direct and diſpoſe of at all ſuch Times, and in all Emergencies, as you in *your Diſcretion* ſhall judge moſt conducing to our Honour, and the Security of our Dominions; and particularly in the preventing the Approach of any Fleet or Number of Ships of War from *Holland* upon any of our Coaſts, or their making any Deſcent upon the ſame. Towards your more effectual Execution whereof, We do hereby farther Impower and Require you, to endeavour by all Hoſtile Means to ſink, burn, take, and otherways deſtroy and diſable the ſaid Fleet, and Ships thereof, when and whereſoever you ſhall meet with, or otherwiſe think fit to look out for and attack the ſame, *&c.*

This Fleet conſiſted of ſixty one Veſſels of War, of which thirty eight were of the Line of Battel; which in human Probability, upon a Battel, wou'd have worſted the Prince of *Orange*'s Men of War, or at leaſt defeated his Tranſports, and ſo ruin'd the Grand Deſign. Lying at Anchor at the *Gunfleet*, and ready, in all Reſpects, to put out to Sea, the Lord *Dartmouth* the Admiral call'd a Council of War, and by a great Majority it was reſolv'd to continue there, in order to intercept the *Dutch* Fleet: But there were ſome, particularly Sir *William Jennings*, the Commander of a Third Rate Veſſel, who thought it more adviſeable to ſtand over to the Coaſt of *Holland*, and there attend the coming out of their Fleet. This laſt Propoſal, as Secretary *Burchett* obſerves, did certainly carry great Weight with it, had there been a real Deſign of obſtructing the Prince of *Orange* in his Paſſage to *England*; but inſtead of that, adds he, Matters were ſo concerted, and agreed among the Flag-Officers and Commanders, who had frequently private Meetings, that had the Admiral come fairly up with the *Dutch*, it wou'd not have been in his Power to have done very much againſt them: Although there was great Reaſon to believe, that, in ſuch a Caſe, his Lordſhip, and ſome of the Captains, wou'd have acted to the utmoſt of their Power. But after all, the Hazard of meeting of them was ſo great, that the miſſing of them was look'd upon as a peculiar Bleſſing and Providence. In ſum, the Naval Power and Land-Forces, the *Engliſh* Fleet, and the Army now on Foot, were, in Appearance, abundantly more than ſufficient to overthrow all the Deſigns of *Holland*, without the leaſt Aſſiſtance from *France*.

The Fleet not ſtaunch to the King, yet formidable to the Dutch.

The Prince of Orange's *ſecond Attempt.*

5. Such was the Poſture of Affairs in *England*, when the Prince of *Orange*, under great Diſcouragements undaunted, began his ſecond Attempt for the Relief of *Europe*, and his own Glory. The Storm that had caus'd ſo great a Confuſion in his Fleet, did not ſo much ruffle or diſorder his Mind; and while moſt Perſons about him had ſtill their Fancies haunted with the Horrors of the late Tempeſt, his Highneſs with a Compoſedneſs and Serenity of Mind, peculiar to himſelf and great Men, was purſuing his fix'd Deſign, and induſtriouſly repairing his Loſſes. The firſt Thing he did was to ſend out a certain Number of Coaſt-Pilots, by the *Dutch* call'd *Lotes-Men*, to cruiſe up and down the Seas between *Holland*, *England* and *France*, to get Intelligence of the ſcatter'd Fleet, and to order all the Ships they met with to go into *Helvoet-Sluys*. By the Help of theſe Pilots his Highneſs was inform'd, That none of his Veſſels were loſt, except one Fly-Boat, laden with Men and Horſes, which was driven upon the Coaſt of *England*, and ſecur'd by one of King *James*'s Frigates; but that all the reſt were ſafe in one Harbour or another, tho' moſt of them much ſhatter'd and damag'd in their Rigging. The ſtormy Weather continu'd for eight Days; during which time, all Diligence was us'd in Refitting and Victualling the Fleet, in ſupplying the Loſs, and encreaſing the Number of the Horſes; ſo that on *Friday*, the 1ſt of *November*, Old Style, eleven Days after they had firſt put to Sea, all Things were in Readineſs, and the Wind Eaſterly.

He again puts to Sea.

On that Day, in the Afternoon, the Prince of *Orange*, attended by the great Men of every Nation, went on Board a new Veſſel of about twenty eight Guns, call'd the *Briel*, with the *Rotterdam* Admiral, the Trumpets ſounding, the Hautboys playing, the Soldiers and Seamen ſhouting, and vaſt Crouds of Spectators on the Shore, breathing out their Wiſhes, and ſending forth their Prayers after him. The uſual Signal being given, the whole Fleet weigh'd Anchor with all poſſible Expedition, being divided into three Squadrons, on Board of which were Troops of ſeveral Countries: The Red Flag was for the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, commanded by Major-General *Mackay*; the White Flag was for the Prince's Guards and the *Brandenburghers*, commanded by Count *Solms*; and the Blue for the *Dutch* and *French*, commanded by the Count of *Naſſaw*. The Winds were proſperous, and withal a brisk Gale, and by the Compaſs the Fleet pointed towards the North, ſo that ſome concluded that the Prince deſign'd to have landed in thoſe Parts of *England*. By the earneſt Invitation of the Earl of *Danby*, and the Lords that manag'd in the North, his Highneſs, tho' contrary to the Inclination of the Seamen, had determin'd to land in the Mouth of the *Humber*, as we are aſſur'd by Biſhop *Burnet*. But the Strength of the Eaſt Wind made it impracticable; and ſo after ſome Hours ſailing in the Night, with Lights in every Ship, the whole Fleet ſtruck Sail, and drove before the Wind towards the Eaſtern Coaſts of *England*. The next Morning they ſail'd happily with the ſame Wind without meeting with any *Engliſh* Ship; and on *Saturday* the 3d of *November*, they diſ-

1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29. cover'd the Coaſts of *Eſſex* and *Kent*, and the Wind being favourable, the Fleet made all the Sail they cou'd, and pointed towards the *Chanel*, ſome of the Tranſports paſs'd within Sight of the *Engliſh* Fleet under the Lord *Dartmouth*, near the *Gunfleet*; but the *Engliſh* then rid with their Yards and Top-maſts down, and the height of the Wind ſo hinder'd them from purchaſing their Anchors, that they cou'd not purſue them in due time.

He enters the Chanel. About Noon-Day, on the 3d of *November*, the Prince of *Orange* who had led the Van, tack'd about to ſee the Rear well come up, and between *Dover* and *Calais* call'd a Council of War; and afterwards order'd that his own Standard ſhou'd be ſet up, and that the Fleet ſhou'd cloſe up in a Body. His Highneſs with three Men of War to attend him, one at a diſtance before his Ship, and one on each Side, ſail'd forwards before the Navy; the Tranſport Ships, Victuallers and Tenders, ſail'd next, with their Decks crouded with Officers and Soldiers, and the main Body of the Men of War brought up the Rear, ready to receive the Enemy, if they ſhou'd attempt to diſturb their Courſe, as was expected. And here the Reader may pleaſe to carry his Imagination either to the *French* or *Engliſh* Shore, to view with the Crouds of amaz'd Spectators this glorious but formidable Sight, and behold the Prince of *Orange* riding triumphantly in the *Engliſh* Chanel, while *Lewis* and *James* are in daily Alarms; and then let him conſider the peculiar Felicity of the Republick of *Holland*, which at this Time was able to controul the two greateſt Monarchs of *Europe*.

King *James*, who expected that the Prince of *Orange* wou'd have landed in the North of *England*, and who had ſent a ſtrong Detachment of his Army that Way, was not a little ſurpris'd and confounded to hear by ſeveral Expreſſes, that the *Dutch* Fleet was ſeen off of *Dover* on the 3d of *November*, ſteering their Courſe Weſtward, ſo numerous, that they were ſix Hours in paſſing by that Harbour, being rang'd in a Line ſeven Leagues long: That on the 4th they were diſcover'd off of *Portſmouth* and the Iſle of *Wight*; but ſtill he hop'd that the Lord *Dartmouth* wou'd attend them, and give a good Account of them. The 4th of *November* being the auſpicious Birth-Day of the Prince of *Orange*, now thirty eight Years of Age, moſt were of Opinion that he wou'd land that Day at or near *Portſmouth*; but that being a *Sunday*, his Highneſs dedicated it to Devotion and the Service of God, and ſo proceeded more to the *Weſt*, deſigning for *Dartmouth* or *Torbay*. That Night a ſtrong Gale and a bold Pilot carry'd the Fleet beyond the deſir'd Ports; and when Day-light ſhew'd them the Coaſt, they then ſaw the Inconvenience and Danger, and apprehended that they might be forc'd to ſail on to *Falmouth*, or a worſe Place, which gave them a very melancholy Proſpect. But in the Moment that they ſaw this Danger, the Wind providentially turn'd to the South, and with a gentle Gale carry'd them directly into *Torbay*, and to the moſt convenient Place for landing a Body of Horſe, that perhaps was to be found round the whole Iſland; ſo that in three Hours time, as the foreſaid Biſhop tells us, above ſeven thouſand Horſes were landed. And it is further remarkable, that the Wind ſoon after turning Weſt, did that Night blow into ſuch a Storm, that the Lord *Dartmouth*, who came up with the King's Fleet in ſight of them, was driven back, and ſo ſhatter'd, that he cou'd no longer keep out at Sea, but was forc'd at length to go into *Portſmouth*.

He arrives with his Fleet at Torbay.

Upon the Fleet's arrival in *Torbay*, the Prince of *Orange* gave Order that his great Standard ſhou'd be put up, which was accordingly done: The White Flag was put uppermoſt, ſignifying his moſt gracious Offer of Peace to all ſuch as wou'd live peaceably; and under that the Red or Bloody Flag was ſet up, ſignifying War to all that oppos'd his juſt Deſigns. Drawing into the Bay's Mouth, they diſcover'd the People of *Devonſhire*, who flock'd in great Numbers to the Sea Shore, not to oppoſe the Prince's Landing, but to welcome their Deliverer with joyful Shouts and Acclamations, and to furniſh Him and his Followers with Proviſions for their Refreſhment. Coming very near, juſt before any landed, a certain Chaplain, on board the *Golden-Sun*, from the Top of the uppermoſt Cabin, flouriſh'd a Bible, and with a Voice loud enough to be heard by the People, cry'd out, *For the* Proteſtant *Religion, and maintaining the Goſpel in* Truth *and* Purity, *we are all by the Goodneſs and Providence of God come hither, after ſo many Storms and Tempeſts. Moreover*, continu'd he, *It is the Prince of* Orange *that is come, a zealous Defender of that Faith, which is truly Ancient, Catholick and Apoſtolical, who is the Supream Governor of this great and formidable Fleet.* Having rode at Anchor for a ſhort Space, the Prince of *Orange*, about Noon-Day and fine Weather, landed with Mareſchal *Scomberg*, and divers Lords, Knights and Gentlemen: At which the Admiral of *Rotterdam* gave divers Guns, the Trumpets ſounded, the Hautboys play'd, the Drums beat, and the Soldiers ſhouted, which was anſwer'd by the joyful Huzzas and Acclamations of the People.

Where he ſafely lands with all his Forces.

1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29. Thus the Prince of *Orange*, after five Days Expedition, ſafely arriv'd in *England* within twenty Miles of *Exeter*, on the 5th of *November*, a Day already famous and auſpicious for the Diſcovery of the *Gun-Powder Plot* above fourſcore Years before, and which Providence hath thought fit to render more memorable, by a Second Deliverance from *Popery*. The firſt Footing upon *Engliſh* Ground, in a ſhort time caus'd him to take full Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Dominions; which Poſſeſſion, in ſpight of the moſt formidable Powers and Oppoſitions, he held to the Day of his Death.

CHAP. IV.

From the Landing of the Prince of Orange *in* England, *to the final Departure, and Deſertion of King* James *from that Kingdom.*

Containing the Space of Six Weeks and Six Days.

I. 1. FROM the 5th of *November* this Year we may date a new Æra in *England*; in which Kingdom were now contending oppoſite Powers and Armies in the very Bowels: A diſmal Proſpect of it ſelf, and very threatning, and yet very little frightful to the Nation in general, who were more fill'd with Hopes and Expectations, than Fears and Apprehenſions. Yet of the contending Parties, the moſt odious to the People, that of King *James*, was the moſt powerful in Appearance, and that which for a few Days ſeem'd moſt likely to carry the Cauſe. And it is believ'd by the wiſeſt Heads, that if his Majeſty had immediately Headed his Forces, Hors'd his Foot-men, and rode directly to the Prince, he had both prevented the Revolt of his Soldiers, and defeated the Power of his Adverſaries: But this was a critical Juncture, the Iſſue of which, as he cou'd not foreſee, ſo it became beyond his Will, as well as his Power, to prevent. He was tired and confounded in his Mind and Intellects, and no leſs harraſs'd and diſorder'd in his Body and Conſtitution. He found himſelf deceiv'd, and involv'd in innumerable Difficulties, and knew not how to enter upon ſudden Action, ſuch as was anſwerable to this extraordinary Emergency. How far the Conſciouſneſs of his former Actions affected him, is hard to determine; but ſtill he had great Hopes from the Fidelity of his Army, and the Addreſſes of his People, in both which he had put ſuch a General Confidence, as was more Romantick than Reaſonable. He had been ſo much fluſh'd and elevated, that he knew not how to ſuſpect or diſtruſt, and therefore knew not how to make uſe of a ſound Phyſician. This may be illuſtrated from a Private Inſtance and Story, related to the Author by an Eye-Witneſs of ſufficient Credit. About the Time of the Prince's Landing, five or ſix conſiderable Officers in the the Army, and two or three Gentlemen, all in favour with the King, met at a Tavern in *Weſtminſter*; where drinking pretty hard, one of the Officers, moſt overtaken in Wine, freely and affectionately began *A Health to the Prince of* Orange, *and Confuſion to all his Oppoſers.* This ſtartled the reſt of the Company, and brought them to a ſerious Conſultation the next Morning what to do upon this Diſcovery, which they found neceſſary to be made known to the King Himſelf. This laſt was very uneaſy to them, and every one was glad to decline the Office, as invidious and ungrateful. Yet their Loyalty made them ſenſible of the Neceſſity, and therefore it was concluded, that Lots ſhou'd be drawn, and the Perſon upon whom the Lot fell ſhou'd go immediately and diſcover the Matter to the King. This was done; and the Officer, whoſe Chance it was to make the Diſcovery, was ſo far from being encourag'd, that he was immediately Caſhier'd, and the criminous Perſon taken into greater Favour. Which laſt was more ſurpriſing to the Company, who ſhaking their Heads, ſaid, *The King believes his Enemies more than his Friends, and he has put it out of our Power to ſerve him.*

1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29. *The State of the Nation, and of the King.*

A private Story of the King.

He provides againſt the Prince of Orange. However, his Majeſty took all the ordinary Methods of ſecuring himſelf againſt a Foreign Invaſion, and what is common between one Enemy and another, where there is no Appearance of a Revolt and Defection; ſtill apprehending that his ſtanding Forces and the *Militia* were ſufficient for that End. The Duke of *Berwick* was ſent down to *Portſmouth* with moſt of the Troops that were in and about *London*, to ſecure that important Place, and to deter People from joining his Highneſs; and all the reſt of the Forces, juſt before encreas'd by the coming over of four thouſand *Iriſh*, were order'd to march with all Speed towards him, and to rendezvous on *Salisbury* Plain, where the King deſign'd to command in Perſon, and where he reckoned to have had an Army of thirty thouſand Men; but afterwards it was thought fit to leave ſeven or eight thouſand behind in *London*, under the Command of the Lord *Craven*, to ſuppreſs the Inſurrections of the Mob. At the ſame time all Endeavours were us'd to render the Prince and his Army contemptible in the Sight of the People, by printing a Liſt of them, and giving out, That but nine of the Nobility and Gentry only, and a few Rabble, appear'd for him. Nay, the King being inform'd that the City of *London*, and the Counties of *York* and *Kent*, deſign'd to addreſs him to incline him to come to an Accommodation with the Prince of *Orange*, his Majeſty raſhly declar'd in Council, *That he wou'd look upon all Thoſe as his Enemies, who ſhou'd pretend to adviſe him to treat with the Invader of his Kingdoms.*

His Declaration againſt him.

Accordingly he caus'd a particular *Declaration* to be iſſu'd out againſt his Highneſs, immediately after his Landing, which contain'd, 'That it was but too evident by a late *Declaration*, publiſh'd by the Prince of *Orange*, that notwithſtanding the many ſpecious and plauſible Pretences it carries, his Deſigns in the Bottom did tend to nothing leſs than an abſolute uſurping of his Majeſty's Crown and Royal Authority, as might fully appear by his aſſuming to himſelf in the ſaid *Declaration* the Regal Style, *requiring the Peers of the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, and all other Perſons of all Degrees, to obey and aſſiſt him in the Execution of his Deſigns*; a Prerogative inſeparable from the Imperial Crown of this Realm: Adding, That for a more undeniable Proof of his immoderate Ambition, and which nothing cou'd ſatisfy but the immediate Poſſeſſion of the Crown it ſelf, he call'd in Queſtion the Legitimacy of the Prince of *Wales*, his Majeſty's Son and Heir apparent; tho' by the Providence of God, there were preſent at his Birth ſo many Witneſſes of unqueſtionable Credit, as if it ſeem'd the peculiar Care of Heaven, on purpoſe to diſappoint ſo wicked and unparallell'd an Attempt. That in order to the effecting his ambitious Deſigns, he ſeem'd deſirous to ſubmit all to a *Free Parliament*, hoping thereby to ingratiate himſelf with the People; tho' nothing was more evident than that a Parliament cou'd not be Free ſo long as there was an Army of Foreigners in the Heart of his Majeſty's Kingdoms, ſo that in Truth he was the ſole Obſtructor of ſuch a Free Parliament. His Majeſty being fully reſolv'd, as he had already declared, ſo ſoon as by the Bleſſing of God his Kingdom ſhou'd be deliver'd from this Invaſion, to call a Parliament, which cou'd no longer be liable to the leaſt Objection of not being freely choſen, ſince his Majeſty had actually reſtored all the Boroughs and Corporations to their ancient Rights and Privileges. Upon which Conſiderations, and the Obligations of their Duty and natural Obedience, his Majeſty cou'd no ways doubt, but that all his faithful and loving Subjects wou'd readily and heartily concur and join with him in the entire Suppreſſing and Repelling of his Enemies and rebellious Subjects.' The greateſt part of the Nation were already ſo prepoſſeſs'd in Favour of the Prince's good Intentions, that this ſharp *Declaration* ſerv'd only to exaſperate their Minds againſt King *James*; but his Majeſty and Counſellors were now thought to be turn'd giddy with Reſentment, and incapable of following thoſe wiſe Methods which were only to be ſuggeſted by cool and ſober Thoughts.

The Progreſs of the Prince of Orange.

2. In the mean time they were not a little encourag'd by the ſlow Progreſs of the Prince of *Orange* after his firſt Landing, which was in a Country that had felt the ſevere Effects of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Expedition. Tho' the People were ready enough to ſhew their Joy and good Wiſhes, they were extremely fearful of offering their Services and Perſons. They were ignorant of the Engagements of the Lords, and chief Gentlemen of *England*, to aſſiſt and join with him; and *Monmouth* met with greater Encouragement than the Prince did, liſting more in one Day, than his Highneſs did in ten. The Men of *Devonſhire*, by way of Excuſe, told the Prince's Officers, *That they were enough of themſelves to do the Buſineſs, and wanted no more:* And indeed the Prince's Army, conſidering how carefully it was compos'd, after it was well refreſh'd, was far from being contemptible; conſiſting of ſeventy eight Field-Officers, near a thouſand inferior Officers, and fifteen thouſand four hundred Soldiers, Horſe and Foot, which was above two thouſand more than the Liſt publiſh'd by King *James*'s Order made them. The Prince brought Arms for as many more as he had with him; but being a regular and ſelect Army, and not needing ſuch immediate Aſſiſtance as the Duke of *Monmouth*, he was not ſo haſty in granting Commiſſions to raiſe Regiments, for which he ſhou'd be in Honour oblig'd to ſee Proviſion made. The firſt he gave, were to the Lord Viſcount *Mordant*, Sir *John Guiſe*, and Sir *Robert Peyton*, who being very curious in their Men, were longer in filling their Regiments, than *Monmouth* was in compleating his Army.

Moving forward with this Army, the firſt Place the Prince's *Declaration* was publickly read at, was *Newton-Abbot*, a Market-Town, a few Miles from *Torbay*, in the Way to *Exeter*. And the firſt Man who read it was a Miniſter of the Church of *England*, in the ſame Day that the Prince march'd thither, and took up his Quarters at Sir *William Courtney*'s Houſe, where he was nobly entertain'd, and ſtaid two Nights. From thence he advanc'd to *Chudleigh*, and thence, on the 8th of *November*, to the City of *Exeter*, where moſt People impatiently waited his Coming, and whither Dr. *Burnet* was ſent before to prepare Quarters for his Highneſs. The Biſhop's Palace and Deanery being both view'd, the latter was thought to be more convenient, and accordingly choſen. On the *Friday* his Highneſs enter'd that City in a ſplendid and triumphant Manner, the Warlike Harmony of his Trumpets, Hautboys and Kettle-Drums, being drown'd by the louder Peals of the Bells, Huzzas and Acclamations of the overjoy'd Multitudes. This ſolemn Entry was ſtill extoll'd and magnify'd at *London*; and a Paper was publiſh'd with an Account of the Form and Manner of it, adding ſuch a terrible Deſcription of the *Finland* and *Swiſs* Guards, as made a ſtrong Impreſſion on the Vulgar, who look'd on King *James*'s Liſt of his Forces, tho' not much ſhort of Truth, as a mere Fable to leſſen his Strength. The Biſhop of the Place, Dr. *Lamplugh*, as ſoon as he heard of the Prince's Landing, to teſtify his Loyalty, immediately poſted to the Court, where he was rewarded with the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, which for ill Purpoſes had been kept too long vacant. He was ſucceeded by Sir *Jonathan Trelawny* of *Briſtol*, one of the ſeven ſuffering Biſhops; whoſe Biſhoprick was deſign'd for Mr. Archdeacon *Chetwood*, who, as it happen'd, never enjoy'd it, tho', we are told, he very well deſerv'd it for the good Advice he often gave to the King, and the Steadineſs he ſhew'd in the time of the greateſt Danger.

He arrives at Exeter.

His Declaration *read there.*

The firſt thing the Prince did after his Arrival at *Exeter*, was to go and pay his grateful Acknowledgment to Almighty God, and cauſe *Te Deum* to be ſung in the Cathedral Church for his happy and ſafe Arrival. After the Collects were ended, Dr. *Burnet* began to read his Highneſs's *Declaration*, at which the Miniſters of the Church there preſent were ſo ſurpris'd, that they immediately left their Seats and went out; however, the Doctor continu'd reading, and the *Declaration* being ended, he cry'd, *God ſave the Prince of* Orange! to which the major Part of the Congregation anſwer'd, *Amen*. The Prince being for a while fix'd in the Deanery, and the main Body of his Army being advanc'd near *Exeter*, it was diſpos'd of, the Horſe about *Tiverton*, *Culhampton*, *Honyton*, and Places adjacent; and part of the Foot encamp'd on *Cliſt-Heath*. And now his Highneſs's main Care was both to refreſh, and to reinforce his Army: The Drums beat for Volunteers, and not only every Regiment of *Engliſh* and *Scotch* that came with the Prince, and which wanted Men, were compleated, but the new Regiments of Sir *John Guiſe*, and Sir *Robert Peyton*, fill'd up a-pace: Horſes for remounting the Cavalry, and for the Train of Artillery, were bought up; and, in ſum, every thing was provided to march towards *Salisbury*.

3. Tho' the Prince of *Orange* had landed without Obſtruction, and proceeded without Oppoſition, yet for the firſt nine Days he was not without Difficulties and Perplexities. He was made to believe that all the Gentlemen of the *Weſt* wou'd join with him upon his firſt Landing; but during this Space ſcarce any Perſon of Note had come in to him: He found that the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *Exeter* came to viſit him, rather out of Fear than Affection, being buſyed in dubious Conſultations among themſelves: He found that as his Recruits increas'd, he wanted Money to pay off his Men, and the Countenance of great Perſons; and indeed he began ſo far to doubt the Succeſs of his Expedition, that in a Council of War held at *Exeter*, he ſuffer'd it to be propos'd to him to re-imbark for *Holland*. But on the tenth Day, *November* the 15th, there appear'd conſiderable Numbers of the Gentry of the adjacent Parts, and generally firm Church-Men, as Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Francis War*, Colonel *Palmer*, &c. Theſe having waited on his Highneſs, he made this memorable Speech to them: *Tho' we know not your* Perſons, *yet we have a Catalogue of your* Names, *and remember the Characters of your Worth and Intereſt in your Country. You ſee, we are come according to your* Invitation *and our* Promiſe. *Our Duty to God obliges us to protect the* Proteſtant Religion, *and our Love to Mankind your* Liberties *and* Properties. *We expected you, that dwelt ſo near the Place of our Landing, wou'd have join'd*

The Gentry come in to him.

His Speech to them.

us ſooner: Not that it is now too late, nor that we want your Military Aſſiſtance *ſo much as your* Countenance *and* Preſence, *to juſtify our declared Pretenſions, in order to accompliſh our good and gracious Deſign. Tho' we brought both a good Fleet, and a good Army, to render theſe Kingdoms happy, by reſcuing all* Proteſtants *from* Popery, Slavery, *and* Arbitrary Power, *by reſtoring them to their* Rights *and* Properties *eſtabliſh'd by Law, and by promoting of* Peace *and* Trade, *which is the Soul of Government, and the very Life-Blood of a Nation; yet we rely more on the Goodneſs of God, and the Juſtice of our* Cauſe, *than on any Human Force or Power whatſoever. Yet ſince God is pleas'd we ſhall make uſe of* Human Means, *and not expect* Miracles *for our Preſervation and Happineſs, let us not neglect making uſe of this gracious Opportunity, but with Prudence and Courage put in Execution our ſo honourable Purpoſe. Therefore,* Gentlemen, Friends *and* Fellow-Proteſtants, *we bid you, and all your Followers, moſt heartily welcome to our Court and Camp. Let the whole World now judge if our Pretenſions are not* Juſt, Generous *and* Sincere, *and above* Price; *ſince we might have even a* BRIDGE OF GOLD *to return back: But it is our Principle and Reſolution, rather to die in a good Cauſe, than live in a bad one; well knowing that* Virtue *and* True Honour *is its own Reward, and* Happineſs of Mankind *our great and only Deſign.*

An Aſſociation ſign'd at Exeter.

Upon the Arrival of theſe Gentlemen at *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Seymour* ſent for Dr. *Burnet*, and aſk'd him, *Why they were a Rope of Sand, why they had not an* ASSOCIATION? Whereupon one was drawn up and laid on a Table in the Prince's Lodgings, where the Lords and Gentlemen of his Court and others ſign'd it, as following: 'We whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcrib'd, who have now join'd with the Prince of *Orange*, for the Defence of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and for the Maintaining the *Antient Government*, and the *Laws* and *Liberties* of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, do Engage to Almighty God, to his Highneſs the Prince, and to one another, to ſtick firm to this Cauſe, in the Defence of it, and never to depart from it till our *Religion*, *Laws* and *Liberties* are ſo far ſecured to us in a Free Parliament, that they ſhall be no more in Danger of falling under *Popery* and *Slavery*. And whereas we are engag'd in this Common Cauſe under the Protection of the Prince of *Orange*, by which means his Perſon is expos'd to Danger, and to the curſed Attempt of *Papiſts* and other bloody Men; We do therefore ſolemnly engage to God, and one another, That if any ſuch Attempt be made upon him, we will purſue not only thoſe that make it, but all their Adherents, and all that we find in Arms againſt us, with the utmoſt Severity of a juſt Revenge, to their Ruin and Deſtruction. And that the Execution of any ſuch Attempt (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid) ſhall not divert us from proſecuting this *Cauſe* which we do now undertake, but that it ſhall engage us to carry it on with all the Rigour that ſo barbarous an Attempt ſhall deſerve.' This *Aſſociation* was ſent and ſign'd in many Places, and particularly by many in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, to which Place the Prince was earneſtly invited; and his Highneſs deſign'd to have gone thither, had not the Neceſſity of his Affairs hinder'd it.

Several great Perſons join with the Prince.

The neighbouring Gentry having led the way, in going over to the Prince, they were ſoon follow'd by ſeveral other Perſons of greater Note, the Lord *Colcheſter*, Son to the Earl of *Rivers*, Lieutenant of the Lord *Dover*'s Troop of Life-Guards, waited upon his Highneſs, accompany'd by the honourable Mr. *Wharton*, Colonel *Godfrey*, *John Howe*, Eſq; four Life-Guards of the Troop, and about threeſcore Men more on Horſeback. Theſe Perſons of Quality were follow'd by the Earl of *Abington*, Captain *Clarges*, Mr. *Ruſſel* and others. But what was ſtill more material, the Lord *Cornbury*, Son to the Earl of *Clarendon*, Colonel of Dragoons, being come to *Saliſbury*, and pretending an Order from the King to go and beat up one of the Enemies advanc'd Poſts, carry'd off with him his own Regiment, and thoſe of Horſe of *Berwick*, St. *Albans*, and *Fenwick*; and with the major part of them, went over to the Prince at *Exeter*. About the ſame Time his Highneſs was inform'd from *Cheſhire*, that the Lord *Delamere* having receiv'd certain Intelligence of his Landing in the *Weſt*, and ſeeing the *Iriſh* throng over in Arms, under Pretence of aſſiſting the King, but in reality to command the Nation, had thereupon aſſembled fifty Horſemen, and at the Head of them march'd to *Mancheſter*; and that the next Day he march'd to *Bodin-Downs*, his Forces being then an hundred and fifty ſtrong, declaring his Deſign was to join the Prince, and inviting all his Tenants to follow him in that honourable Cauſe and Enterprize. About the ſame Time the Lord *Lovelace* was alſo marching towards *Exeter*, with Deſign to bring to his Highneſs a Re-inforcement of ſixty or ſeventy Horſemen; but paſſing through the Town of *Cirenceſter*, he was by the Duke of *Beaufort*'s Orders made Priſoner by the Militia of that County, with thirteen of his Followers, after an obſtinate Skirmiſh, in which ten or twelve Men were kill'd on both Sides.

The Court alarm'd.

4. The Court at *Whitehall* was continually inform'd of theſe Tranſactions, and endeavour'd to make the beſt of them in the publick Accounts, and particularly there appear'd ſome Joy for the taking the Lord *Lovelace*; but this was ſoon overwhelm'd by the killing News of the Lord *Cornbury*'s Defection, which was like to break and ruin all their Meaſures. For upon the hearing of it, both the Artillery, the reſt of the Troops, and the King's Equipage, that was advancing towards *Saliſbury*, had Orders to ſtop their March; it being uncertain whether his Majeſty wou'd go to the Army or not. However, after ſeveral Conſultations, which the Earl of *Feverſham* held with the General Officers, and at which Count *de Roye* aſſiſted, it was adviſ'd and judg'd neceſſary, That the King ſhou'd haſten his Departure to the Army, there by his Preſence to keep thoſe firm to their Duty who were in a ſtaggering Condition.

A Petition from ſeveral Lords Spiritual and Temporal.

On the contrary ſide, moſt of the Proteſtant Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, who were then in *London*, namely, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Archbiſhop of *York* Elect, the Biſhops of St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter*, *Peterborough* and *Oxford*; the Dukes of *Grafton* and *Ormond*; the Earls *Dorſet*, *Clare*, *Clarendon*, *Burlington*, *Angleſley* and *Rocheſter*; Viſcount *Newport*, and the Lords *Paget*, *Chandois* and *Oſſulſton*, drew up a moſt wholſome Petition, which was conſider'd, agreed on and ſign'd at the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Houſe at *Weſtminſter*. And tho' they had heard that his Majeſty had proteſted, *He wou'd take it highly ill of any Man, that ſhou'd offer him a Thing of that Nature*, yet the two Archbiſhops, with the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Rocheſter*, ventur'd to deliver the Petition, which runs in theſe Words: '*May it pleaſe your Majeſty*, We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, in the deep Senſe of the Miſeries of a War, now breaking forth in the Bowels of your Kingdom, and of the Danger to which your Majeſty's Sacred Perſon is thereby like to be expos'd, as alſo of the Diſtractions of your People by reaſon of the preſent *Grievances*, do think our ſelves bound in Conſcience of the Duty we owe to God and our Holy Religion, to your Majeſty and our Country, moſt humbly to offer to your Majeſty, That in our Opinion, the only viſible Way to preſerve your Majeſty, and this your Kingdom, wou'd be the Calling of a Parliament, *Regular* and *Free* in all its Circumſtances. We therefore moſt earneſtly beſeech your Majeſty, That you wou'd be graciouſly pleas'd with all Speed to call ſuch a Parliament; wherein we ſhall be moſt ready to promote ſuch Counſels and Reſolutions of *Peace* and *Settlement* in *Church* and *State*, as may conduce to your Majeſty's Honour and Safety, and to the Quieting the Minds of your People. We do likewiſe humbly beſeech your Majeſty, in the mean Time to uſe ſuch Means [viz. *A Treaty with the Prince, and thoſe who had declared for him*] for the preventing the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, as to your Majeſty ſhall ſeem moſt meet.

The King's Anſwer.

It was ſaid there was a ſharp Anſwer to be given to this good Petition, which was the Senſe of all the King's Friends in the Nation, except a few deſperate Men, whoſe Crimes had made them dread an After-Reckoning, and ſome others who choſe to hazard all, rather than to truſt to a Parliament. However, two Days after, the Lords thought it neceſſary for their Vindication, to publiſh the Petition; which ſo enrag'd the Jeſuits, that they printed ſevere Reflections upon it: But the Day after was publiſh'd this Anſwer of the King's; *My Lords, What you aſk of me, I moſt paſſionately deſire; and I promiſe upon the* FAITH OF A KING, *That I will have a Parliament, and ſuch an One as you aſk for, as ſoon as ever the Prince of* Orange *has quitted this Realm: For how is it poſſible a Parliament ſhou'd be* Free *in all its* Circumſtances, *as you petition for, while an Enemy is in the Kingdom, and can make a Return of near a hundred Voices*? By this unſatisfactory, tho' plauſible Anſwer, the King in effect ruin'd his Intereſt; for the leaſt diſcerning Perſons cou'd not but perceive, That the Power of the Prince was the only Human Security the Nation had for the calling of a Free Parliament, and that if the King ſhou'd force his Highneſs to leave the Kingdom, all their Laws and Liberties muſt become precarious, and lie at the Mercy of the Conqueror.

The King prepares to meet the Prince.

II. 1. The Prince of *Orange* had been landed twelve Days before the King remov'd from *London*, of which Space of Time every Day and Hour was precious. But his Majeſty was diſtracted between good and bad Advice, haraſs'd in his Body, as well as diſorder'd in his Mind,

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and diſ-heartned with black and ominous Apprehenſions, the Effects of Conſciouſneſs, as well as Superſtition. In the mean time the Mob was as ſuperſtitious and credulous as the *Papiſts*, and took particular Notice of the ſudden Fall of the Scepter of Queen *Mary* of the Statue on the *Royal-Exchange*, as portending the Downfall of *Popery*; and farther they were alarm'd with the Report of a vaſt Number of Caldrons, Gridirons, Knives and Spits, being found in the *Popiſh* Seminary at St. *John*'s; and likewiſe with the Belief of a *Holy League* between the Kings of *England* and *France* to extirpate the *Proteſtant Religion.* The Diſturbances, occaſion'd from theſe Opinions, and the general Hatred to Popery, might be one Reaſon of the King's delaying his Departure; but however in Concluſion, he reſolv'd to venture his Fortune in the Field, and to ſet forward on the 17th of *November*.

His Speech to his Chief Officers.

And to the Lord-Mayor.

But before he left *Whitehall*, his Majeſty, who was apprehenſive that the Example of the Lords *Colcheſter* and *Cornbury* wou'd prove contagious, aſſembled the Officers that were ſtill in *London*, among whom were the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *Churchill*, Colonel *Trelawny* and Colonel *Kirk*, and ſpoke to them after this moving Manner: *According to the Lords Petition I have engag'd my Royal Word to call a Free Parliament as ſoon as the Prince of* Orange *has quitted the Kingdom; and am reſolv'd to do all that lies in my Power, to quiet the Minds of my People, by ſecuring their* Religion, Laws *and* Liberties*: If you deſire any more, I am ready to grant it. But*, added he, *if after all this, any of you is not ſatisfy'd, let him declare himſelf: I am willing to grant Paſſes to all ſuch as deſire to go over to the Prince of* Orange, *and ſpare them the Shame of deſerting their Lawful Sovereign.* This ſo far affected them, that ſome of them, at leaſt, promis'd to ſpend their Blood in his Defence. At the ſame Time the Lord-Mayor of *London* having waited on the King to wiſh him a good Journey, his Majeſty recommended to him the Care of the City, telling him, *That he had left a ſufficient Number of Troops for their Defence*; *and that in caſe of Need, he might apply himſelf to the Privy-Council*; aſſuring him withal, *That if he return'd victorious, he wou'd punctually perform what he had already promis'd for the Security of their Religion and Liberties.* But the Council then left at *Whitehall* deſtroy'd the Force of theſe fair Proteſtations: For of the Five Perſons it conſiſted of, Three were odious to the Nation, *viz.* the Chancellor, and the Lords *Arundel* and *Bellaſis*, Two *Roman Catholicks*, the Fourth the Lord *Preſton*, who was ſuſpected of favouring *Popery*; and the Fifth, the Lord *Godolphin*, a Perſon againſt whom there was no Exception, beſides continuing there ſo long. But Father *Petre*, one of the deſign'd Number, having been moſt deeply involv'd in all the Irregularities, was infinitely afraid of the threatning Storm; and therefore thought it high Time for him to retire to *France*; which he did under the Protection of the Lord *Walgrave*, who was ſent Ambaſſador to that Court, in the room of Colonel *Skelton*.

He goes to Salisbury.

His ill Fortune.

2. Tho' the Court was ſenſible of the very ill Condition of their Affairs, yet ſtill they put on a Face of Aſſurance, and ſent the Duke of *Hamilton* to *Scotland*, giving it out, ' That he wou'd ſoon return with a conſiderable ' Body of Forces, which the Nobility of that Kingdom ' had rais'd for the King's Service.' Thus his Majeſty left *London* to go for *Salisbury*; and the better to ſhew an Affection for the Church of *England*, he took along with him a Proteſtant Chaplain, Mr. Archdeacon *Chetwood*, formerly mention'd, who bravely caus'd the *Romiſh* Prieſts to remove out of the Biſhop's Chapel, which had been appointed for the King's Uſe, and had it daily crowded with thoſe of the Eſtabliſh'd Religion. The King arriv'd at *Salisbury* on the 19th at Night, fatigu'd, diſorder'd, and troubled with Bleeding at the Noſe: He was immediately waited on and complimented by ſuch Officers of the Army as were moſt devoted to him, who all expreſs'd their Abhorrence of the Defection of the Lord *Cornbury*, which nevertheleſs was approv'd of by a great many. The next Day, his Majeſty going to view Part of his Army which quarter'd Eight Miles from *Salisbury*, his Noſe fell a bleeding a-freſh, and in ſuch a violent Manner, that nothing cou'd ſtop it but the Breathing one of his Veins; which Illneſs, or ominous Circumſtance as it was accounted, hinder'd him from going the next Day to *Warminſter*, the moſt advanc'd Poſt of his Army. On the ſame unlucky Day, moſt of the Chief Officers, and even ſome of thoſe who diſapprov'd the Lord *Cornbury*'s Action, apply'd themſelves to the General, the Earl of *Feverſham*, deſiring his Excellency to aſſure the King, ' That ' upon any Occaſion they ſhou'd be ready to ſpill the laſt ' Drop of their Blood in his Service; but yet they cou'd ' not in Conſcience fight againſt a Prince, who was come ' over with no other Deſign than to procure the Calling of ' a *Free Parliament*, for the Security of their *Religion* and ' *Liberties*.

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The Lord Churchill *leaves him.*

His Letter to his Majeſty.

And now the King begun to underſtand how little he was to depend upon that Army on whom he had plac'd his greateſt Confidence; and the Earl of *Feverſham*, who ſtrongly ſuſpected the Lord *Churchill*, earneſtly conjured his Majeſty to have him ſecured; to which the King however cou'd never be brought to conſent. We are told, that Colonel *Windham* likewiſe, under the Emblem of a Lap-Dog, gave his Majeſty to underſtand, how commonly *Favourites were good for nothing*, but to no Effect. Theſe Suſpicions prov'd better grounded than his Majeſty believ'd; for the very next Day, the Lord *Churchill*, who commanded a Brigade of about Five Thouſand Men, went over to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, with as many as were willing to follow him; among whom were the Duke of *Grafton*, Colonel *Barkley*, and Four or Five Captains of his Regiment of Dragoons. This Defection was a killing Surpriſe to the King, who ſtill knew not how to believe ſo much of a Perſon on whom he had beſtow'd diſtinguiſhing Favours, and whom he had rais'd to be a Lieutenant-General, a Captain of a Troop of Life-Guards, and a Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber. To aggravate this Action, it was reported by ſome, and inſinuated by Father *Orleans*, that he had laid a Deſign, with Colonel *Kirk*, who commanded at *Warminſter*, to carry off the King to the Prince of *Orange*, which was prevented by his Majeſty's Bleeding at the Noſe. But this Report appear'd to be altogether groundleſs; but for his going over to the Prince, the following Letter he then ſent to the King may ſerve to clear him from all ſuch Aſperſions: ' SIR, Since Men are ſeldom ſuſpected of *Sincerity*, when they act contrary to their *Intereſts*; ' and tho' my dutiful Behaviour to your Majeſty in the ' worſt of Times (for which I acknowledge my poor ' Services much over-paid) may not be ſufficient to incline ' you to a charitable Interpretation of my Actions; yet I ' hope the great Advantage I enjoy under your Majeſty, ' which I can never expect in any other Change of Government, may reaſonably convince your Majeſty and ' the World, that I am acted by a *Higher Principle*, when ' I offer'd that Violence to my *Inclination* and *Intereſt*, ' as to deſert your Majeſty at a Time, when your Affairs ſeem to challenge the ſtricteſt Obedience from all ' your Subjects; much more from One who lies under ' the greateſt Perſonal Obligations imaginable to your ' Majeſty. This, *Sir*, cou'd proceed from nothing but ' the inviolable Dictates of my *Conſcience*, and a neceſſary Concern for my *Religion*, which no good Man ' can oppoſe, and with which I am inſtructed, *Nothing* ' *ought to come in Competition.* Heaven knows with what ' Partiality my dutiful Opinion of your Majeſty, has hitherto repreſented thoſe unhappy Deſigns, which inconſiderate and ſelf-Intereſted Men have fram'd againſt your ' Majeſty's *True Intereſt* and the *Proteſtant Religion.* But ' as I can no longer join with ſuch, to give a Pretence by ' *Conqueſt* to bring them to effect; ſo I will always, with ' the Hazard of my Life and Fortune (ſo much your Majeſty's Due) endeavour to preſerve your *Royal Perſon*, ' and *Lawful Rights*, with all the tender Concern and ' dutiful Reſpect, that becomes, *Yours*, &c.' Thus did this noble Lord become a prime Inſtrument in a Revolution, which open'd a Way to make himſelf far greater in reducing and humbling the moſt exorbitant and exalted Power in the Chriſtian World.

The King returns from Salisbury.

The Deſertion and Letter of Prince George.

The poor King finding himſelf thus deſerted, and his beſt Friends falling away from him; and being falſely alarm'd, as if Duke *Schomberg*, the Prince's General, was marching with all Speed to fight him, left *Salisbury* with great Precipitation, like one that fled before an Enemy; having firſt publiſh'd a Proclamation, *November* 22, ' Promiſing a free and abſolute Pardon to ' all his Subjects, who had taken up Arms, and join'd ' with the Prince of *Orange*, provided they quitted and ' deſerted him, within the Space of twenty Days.' But as he had the Mortification to ſee this *Proclamation* ſlighted and diſregarded, ſo in his Way towards *Windſor* he met with a greater, in ſeeing himſelf forſaken by his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Ormond*, Sir *George Huett* and others, who left him at *Andover*. The Prince, as he went off, wrote this remarkable Letter to his Majeſty: ' SIR, With a ' Heart full of Grief I am forc'd to write what Prudence wou'd not permit me to ſay to your Face; and ' may I e'er find Credit with your Majeſty, and Protection ' from Heaven, as what I now do is free from Paſſion, Vanity or Deſign, with which Actions of this ' Nature are too often accompany'd. I am not ignorant of the frequent Miſchiefs wrought in the World, by ' factious Pretences of *Religion*; but were not *Religion* the ' moſt juſtifiable Cauſe, it would not be made the moſt ſuperior

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‘ rior Pretence. And your Majeſty has already ſhewn too intereſted a Senſe of *Religion*, to doubt the juſt Effects of it in one, whoſe Practices have, I hope, never given the World Cauſe to cenſure his real Conviction of it, or his Backwardneſs to perform what his Honour and Conſcience prompt him to. How then can I any longer diſguiſe my juſt Concern for that *Religion*, in which I have been ſo happily educated, which my Judgment truly convinceth me to be the beſt, and for the Support of which I am ſo highly Intereſted in my Native Country? And is not *England* now, by the moſt endearing Tye, become ſo? While the reſtleſs Spirits of the Enemies of the *Reform'd Religion*, back'd by the cruel Zeal, and the prevailing Power of *France*, juſtly alarm and unite all the *Proteſtant Princes* of *Chriſtendom*, and engage them in ſo vaſt an Expence for the Support of it; Can I act ſo ungenerous and mean a Part, to deny my Concurrence in ſuch worthy Endeavours, for the Diſabuſing your Majeſty, by the Re-inforcement of thoſe Laws, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of that Government, on which alone depends the Well-Being of your Majeſty, and of the *Proteſtant Religion* in *Europe*? This, *Sir*, is that irreſiſtible and only Cauſe, that could come in Competition with my Duty and Obligation to your Majeſty, and be able to tear me from you, while the ſame affectionate Deſire to ſerve you continues in me. Cou'd I ſecure your Perſon by the Hazard of my Life, I ſhould think it cou'd not be better employ'd. And would to God theſe your diſtracted Kingdoms might receive that ſatisfactory Compliance from your Majeſty, in all their juſtifiable Pretenſions, as might, upon the only ſure Foundation, *That of the Love and Intereſt of your Subjects*, eſtabliſh your Government, and as ſtrongly unite the Hearts of all your Subjects to you, as is that of, *Yours*, &c.

The Prince advances from Exeter.

A Skirmiſh.

3. While the King's Power and Intereſt was daily weakened by Deſertion and Diſcord, the Prince of *Orange*'s Party encreas'd, and was farther ſtrengthen'd by the *Aſſociation* formerly mention'd, ſign'd by all the Lords and Gentlemen that joined his Highneſs at *Exeter*. So that upon the News of King *James*'s being come to *Salisbury*, the Prince march'd out of *Exeter* with his Army, only leaving Sir *John Guiſe*, with his new-rais'd Regiment, to guard and ſecure that City; and his Van-Guard advancing towards *Sherborn*, a Party of King *James*'s Horſe that were coming into the Town, ſuddenly retreated back to *Saliſbury*. And here was the plain Appearance of War and a Battel, but it came only to a Skirmiſh at *Wincaunton*, between a Detachment of ſeventy Horſe, and fifty Dragoons and Granadeers of the Royal Army, commanded by *Glifford*, *Sarsfield* and *Webb*, and twenty five of the Prince's Men, commanded by one *Campbel*, a Lieutenant in *Mackay*'s Regiment. Notwithſtanding the Inequality of Numbers, the latter fought with that undaunted Bravery, that they maintained their Ground for a conſiderable time: And when they were in danger of being overpowered, a Miller, that by chance came that Way, alarmed the King's Party, telling them, *That he had overtaken a ſtrong Detachment of the Prince's Army, who were juſt entering the Town*; upon which they retreated in great Confuſion, leaving ſeveral of their Men killed upon the Spot, and Cornet *Webb* wounded. This ſmall Action ſtruck a Terror into the Minds of King *James*'s Forces, who were otherwiſe but little inclin'd to Fighting; And beſides, it was every where magnify'd ſo much above the real Truth, that it clearly ſhew'd how much the Nation wiſh'd the Proſperity of the Arms of the Prince of *Orange*.

The Prince's Entry into Salisbury.

His Highneſs however us'd the beſt Means to avoid all Bloodſhed; and being ſoon after inform'd of the King's Retiring to *London*, and the broken Remains of his Army to *Reading*, he reſolv'd to poſſeſs himſelf of *Salisbury*, and made a publick Entry into that City. Accordingly, accompany'd by the Prince of *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Grafton*, Mareſchal *Schomberg*, Count *Solms*, Count *Naſſaw*, Heer *Zuyleſtein*, Heer *Bentinck*, Heer *Overkirk*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Macclesfield*, the Lords *Mordant*, *Churchill*, *Wiltſhire*, *Cornbury*, *Colcheſter*, with many other Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, his Highneſs rode in a triumphant Manner through the Streets of *Salisbury* to the Biſhop's Palace, aſſign'd for his Lodgings. The Manner of their Entrance into this City, was far more glorious than that of *Exeter*; and the Formality and Solemnity of it was much encreas'd by the Management of the Mayor, Aldermen and Corporation. The Spectators were innumerable, and their Joy and Exultation almoſt incredible; and vaſt Multitudes came out of all Parts of the Country to get a Sight of him whom they look'd upon as the Hopes and Deliverer of the Nation.

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Riſing into many Places.

At Derby,

4. The Defection of ſo great a Part of the Army was not the only Misfortune that alarm'd the King and Court, but the ſeveral Inſurrections, at the ſame time, in diſtant Parts of the Nation, gave a ſudden and fatal Turn to all their Deſigns. The *Dutch* Fleet was got ſafe into *Plymouth*, which Town the Earl of *Bath* had happily ſecured for the Prince of *Orange*, and caus'd his Declaration to be publickly read there. The Lord *Lovelace* being reſcu'd by a Party of his Highneſs's Forces, re-inforc'd the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and Sir *John Guiſe*, who had forc'd the Duke of *Beaufort* to ſurrender to them the important City of *Briſtol*. Likewiſe the Earl of *Devonſhire*, with ſeveral other Lords and Gentlemen, aſſembled at *Derby*, where on the 20th of *November* they deliver'd a Paper to the Mayor of that Town, importing, ‘ That as with Grief they apprehended the Calamities that might ariſe from the Landing of a Foreign Army in this Kingdom; ſo they could not but deplore the Occaſion given for it, by ſo many Invaſions made of late Years on their *Religion* and *Laws*. And whereas they could not think of any other Expedient to compoſe their Differences, and prevent Effuſion of Blood, than that which procured a Settlement in theſe Kingdoms, after the late Civil Wars, *The Meeting and Sitting of a Parliament, freely and duly choſen*; they thought themſelves obliged, as far as in them lay, to promote it; and the rather, becauſe the Prince of *Orange*, as appeared by his *Declaration*, was willing to ſubmit his own Pretenſions, and all other Matters, to their Determination. They heartily wiſhed, and humbly pray'd, That his Majeſty would conſent to this Expedient, in order to a future Settlement; and hoped that ſuch a Temperament might be thought of, as that the Army then on foot might not give any Interruption to the Proceedings of a Parliament. But if, to the great Misfortune and Ruin of theſe Kingdoms, it ſhou'd prove otherwiſe, they farther declared, *That they would to their utmoſt, defend the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.*

At Nottingham,

About the ſame Time there was a general Rendezvous at *Nottingham*, conſiſting of a great Number of the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty, who on the 22d of *November* ſubſcrib'd a remarkable *Declaration*; in which, having ſummarily rehears'd the Grievances of the Nation, they did unanimouſly declare, ‘ That not being willing to deliver their Poſterity over to ſuch a Condition of *Popery* and *Slavery*, as their Oppreſſions inevitably threatned, they wou'd, to the utmoſt of their Power oppoſe the ſame, by joining with the Prince of *Orange*, for the Recovery of their almoſt ruined *Laws*, *Liberties* and *Religion*. And herein they hoped all good Proteſtant Subjects would, with their Lives and Fortunes, be aſſiſtant to them, and not be bugbear'd with the opprobrious Terms of *Rebels*, by which the Court would fright them, to become perfect *Slaves* to their tyrannical Inſolences and Uſurpations. For they aſſured themſelves, that no rational and unbiaſs'd Perſon would judge it *Rebellion* to defend their Laws and Religion, which all *Engliſh* Princes have ſworn at their Coronations; which Oath, how well it had been obſerved of late, they deſired a *Free Parliament* might have the Conſideration of. They indeed owned it *Rebellion* to reſiſt a King that governed by Law; but he was always accounted a *Tyrant* that made his Will his Law; and to reſiſt ſuch an one they juſtly eſteem'd no *Rebellion*, but a neceſſary *Defence*: And on this Conſideration they doubted not of all honeſt Mens Aſſiſtance, and humbly hoped for, and implor'd the Great God's Protection, that turned the Hearts of People as pleaſed him beſt; it having been obſerved, That People could never be of one Mind without his Inſpiration, which had in all Ages confirm'd that Obſervation, *Vox Populi eſt Vox Dei.*

At York, &c.

At the ſame time alſo, the vigorous Earl of *Danby*, with his Son the Lord *Dumblaine*, the Lord *Fairfax*, the Lord *Willoughby*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, made themſelves Maſters of the City of *York*; and having diſarmed, and turn'd out all the *Papiſts*, who under the Protection of the Duke of *Newcaſtle* ſtood up for the King, declared for a *Free Parliament*. Likewiſe Colonel *Copley*, Deputy-Governor of *Hull*, ſurpris'd that important Sea-Port Town, and made the Lord *Langdale*, the *Popiſh* Governor, the Lord *Montgomery*, and the reſt of the *Papiſts*, Priſoners; till, with the Help of the Towns-Men, Sea-Men, and part of the Garriſon, he had ſecured the Fort and Citadel. The great Town of *Newcaſtle* received the Lord *Lumley*, and declared for the Prince of *Orange*, and a *Free Parliament*. The Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Oxford*, and ſome other Perſons of Note, went over to the Prince; and the Earl of *Stamford* and the Lord *Delamere*, joined the Earl of *Shrewsbury* at *Briſtol*. Soon after, the Duke of *Ormond*, being gone to *Oxford* with a Party of the Prince of *Orange*'s Troops, caus'd his Highneſs's Declaration to be publickly read in that famous Univerſity.

niverſity. The Town of *Berwick* in a ſhort time followed the Example of *York*, and declared for the Prince; and five Commiſſioners from *Scotland*, of whoſe Number were the Duke of *Queensbury* and the Earl of *Belcarris*, were coming up to *London*, to demand a Free Parliament in that Kingdom. So that in a little time the Defection was almoſt Univerſal; and what is to be remembered is, That the chief Actors were all Church of *England* Men, and proceeded, as Biſhop *Sprat* terms it, *upon the Church of* England *Principles*; and many tho' not all of thoſe who could not comply with the after-Settlement, were obſerv'd to be the moſt ſtrenuous Aſſerters of the *Laws* and *Liberties* of the Nation. To vindicate which, there came out a notable Piece, ſuppoſed to be written by the Earl of *Danby* himſelf, entitled *The Thoughts of a private Perſon, about the Juſtice of the Gentlemens Undertaking at* York, November 1688; *wherein it is ſhewed, That it is neither againſt Scripture, nor Moral Honeſty, to defend their Juſt and Legal Rights, againſt the Illegal and Unjuſt Invaders of them.* Which Piece had a mighty Effect upon the Minds of many doubting Perſons; and was writ with that Modeſty, Strength and Clearneſs, that it was hardly ever exceeded by thoſe of the ſame Side, or perhaps fully anſwered by thoſe of the other.

The Princeſs Anne retires.

5. Amidſt all this diſtracting News, upon the King's arrival at *London*, *November* 26th, his Trouble was aggravated by the ſudden Receſs of the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, his ſecond Daughter, for whom he had a particular Tenderneſs, who was privately gone from *Whitehall* the Night before. The News of this moſt ſenſibly touched the King, who entering into his Palace, with a Flood of Tears, cry'd out, *God help me, my own Children have forſaken me!* It was juſt before reported that the Queen had treated her Royal Highneſs very harſhly and rudely, and had proceeded ſo far as to ſtrike her; ſo that the People were incenſed to that degree, that as ſoon as ſhe was miſſing, they offered to tear all the *Romiſh* Party in Pieces, upon a Surmiſe that they had either privately murthered her, or confined her to the *Tower*. And the King's own Guards appear'd ready to join with the enraged Mob, if the following Letter from the Princeſs to the Queen had not been produced:

Her Letter to the Queen.

'MADAM, I beg your Pardon, if I am ſo deeply afflicted with the ſurpriſing News of the Prince's being gone, as not to be able to ſee you, but to leave this Paper to expreſs my humble Duty to the King and your Self; and to let you know that I am gone to abſent my ſelf, to avoid the King's Diſpleaſure, which I am not able to bear, either againſt the Prince, or my Self; and I ſhall ſtay at ſo great a Diſtance, as not to return before I hear the happy News of a Reconcilement. And as I am confident the Prince did not leave the King with any other Deſign, than to uſe all poſſible Means for his Preſervation; ſo I hope you will do me the Juſtice to believe, that I am not capable of following him for any other End. Never was any one in ſuch an unhappy Condition, ſo divided between Duty and Affection to a Father and a Husband; therefore I know not what to do, but to follow one, to preſerve the other. I ſee the general Falling-off of the Nobility and Gentry, who avow to have no other End, than to prevail with the King to ſecure their Religion, which they ſaw ſo much in Danger by the violent Counſels of the *Prieſts*; who, to promote their own Religion, did not care to what Danger they expos'd the King. I am fully perſuaded that the Prince of *Orange* deſigns the King's Safety and Preſervation, and hope all Things may be compoſed without more Bloodſhed, by calling of a Parliament. God grant a happy End to theſe Troubles, that the King's Reign may be proſperous, and that I may ſhortly meet you in Peace and Safety: 'Till then, let me beg you to continue the ſame favourable Opinion that you hitherto had of, *Yours*, &c.

She meets her Huſband at Oxford.

The King was ſoon after informed, That her Royal Highneſs, with the Lady *Churchill*, and the Lady *Berkley*, the two ſhining Ladies of her Court, had privately taken Coach at the Biſhop of *London*'s Houſe in *Alderſgate-Street*: From whence they went directly to the Rendezvous at *Nottingham*, attended by that noble Prelate in his Buff-Coat, and with all other Military Accoutrements, together with the Earl of *Dorſet*, and about forty Horſe-Men. At *Nottingham*, where ſhe was welcomed with the utmoſt Joy and Reſpect, the Earl of *Devonſhire* gave her a Guard of two Hundred Men, by whom ſhe was ſafely conducted to *Oxford*; where the Prince, her beloved Husband, ſoon after met her, with a ſufficient Detachment of the Prince of *Orange*'s Forces.

The King's Difficulties.

III. 1. We are now arrived at the Thorns and Troubles, with which a Crown is often attended, and ſometimes ſurrounded; and are come to conſider King *James*, the Monarch of three Kingdoms, under greater Struggles and Difficulties than the meaneſt of his Subjects; ſo that he began to be the Object of Commiſeration, as well as Indignation. His Countenance and Aſpect was pale and dejected, his Body and Conſtitution was diſordered and unhing'd, and his Mind and Intellects ſeemed diſtracted and unfixt, if not downright infatuated. He was indeed ready to lay hold on any likely Support; and accordingly, the firſt Thing he did after his Return to *London*, was to ſummon and aſſemble all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal that were then in Town, to conſult with them about the preſent Exigencies and Emergencies. And tho' moſt of theſe Peers were ſuch as his Majeſty had either diſobliged or neglected in the height of his Proſperity, yet upon this tender Occaſion, as became noble Patriots, they all forgot their Perſonal Wrongs, being only intent upon the Dangers which ſo imminently threatned both King and Kingdom. Among the reſt, the Earl of *Clarendon*, ſeeing the Extremity of the Diſtemper, ſpoke with that Freedom which a good and faithful Phyſician ought to uſe on the like Occaſion. He enumerated all the irregular and unwarrantable Proceedings of the governing Party, which had occaſioned thoſe dangerous Symptoms that now appeared in the Body Politick, and concluded with the Majority, upon a ſpeedy calling of a Free Parliament: And to remove the Difficulties that were objected, they repreſented to his Majeſty how neceſſary it was; '*Firſt*, to grant a general Pardon to all thoſe who either came over with the Prince of *Orange*, or had joined him ſince his Landing. *Secondly*, to depute ſome of the Lords to his Highneſs to treat with him about a Suſpenſion of Arms, and to endeavour to bring Matters to an Accommodation. And *Laſtly*, to turn all *Papiſts* immediately out of their Employments, to convince the World that his Majeſty acted a ſincere Part.

He applies to the Lords.

Their Advice.

This being the joint Opinion of them all, the King took that Night to conſider of the Advice, and the next Day declar'd in Council, That he was reſolved to call a Free Parliament, that ſhould meet on the 15th of *January* next following: Accordingly the Lord Chancellor was ordered to iſſue out his Writs; and a deſirable Proclamation went forth on the 30th of *November*, wherein his Majeſty declared, 'That for the Security of all Perſons both in their Elections and Service in Parliament, all his Subjects ſhould have free Liberty to Elect; and all the Peers, and ſuch as ſhould be elected Members of the Houſe of Commons, ſhould have full Liberty and Freedom to ſerve and ſit in Parliament, notwithſtanding they had taken up Arms, or committed any Act of Hoſtility, or been any way aiding or aſſiſting therein: That for the better Aſſurance thereof, his Majeſty had directed a general Pardon to all his Subjects to be forthwith prepared to paſs his Great-Seal. And for the reconciling all the publick Breaches, and obliterating the very Memory of all paſt Miſcarriages, his Majeſty did hereby exhort, and kindly admoniſh all his loving Subjects, to diſpoſe themſelves to elect ſuch Perſons for their Repreſentatives in Parliament, as might not be byaſs'd by Prejudice or Paſſion, but qualify'd with Parts, Experience and Prudence, proper for this Conjuncture.' His Majeſty farther declared, That he would nominate Commiſſioners to treat with the Prince of *Orange*; but as to that Part of the Lords Advice relating to the *Roman Catholicks*, it being a tender Point, his Majeſty only ſaid, *He would leave that Matter to be debated in Parliament.* However, Sir *Edward Hales*, the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, having been obnoxious, and ſuſpected by the City, as if he had deſigned to bombard it, his Majeſty turned him out of his Government, and put Colonel *Skelton* in his Place; who now by a Viciſſitude of Fortune, was made the Commander of a Fortreſs, where he had lately been a Priſoner.

A Proclamation for a Parliament, and Pardon.

The King ſends three Lords to treat with the Prince.

The Perſons firſt propoſed to be ſent to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, were the Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, with whom ſome would have joined the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Ely*; but after a long Conſultation, their Number was fixed to theſe Three, the Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, who were allowed to be Men of great Parts, Addreſs and Application, and who in the late Council had ſhewed a particular Zeal for his Majeſty's Preſervation. The Earl of *Rocheſter* was really as capable of that important Negotiation, and as agreeable to the Prince, as any of the reſt; but either He or the Marqueſs of *Hallifax* was neceſſarily to be left out, and therefore that Earl got himſelf excuſed. To carry on this Affair, a Trumpeter was immediately diſpatcht by the Earl of *Feverſham*, with a Letter

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to his Highneſs, to demand the neceſſary Paſſes: And on *Sunday*, *December* the 2d, the Commiſſioners began their Journey, and arrived the next Day at *Reading*, where they met the Trumpeter with his Highneſs's Paſſes; who at the ſame time demanded a Paſs for one of his Gentlemen, whom he deſigned to ſend to the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark.* The Day before the Departure of the Commiſſioners, the Earl of *Clarendon*, without making a farther Myſtery of it, went directly over to the Prince of *Orange*, which gave many Occaſion to think that he was gone before them, if not to defeat their Negotiation, at leaſt to give the Prince a Jealouſy of the Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, the irreconcileable Enemy of his Family, and who began to be ſuſpected by the *Presbyterians* themſelves, ſince he undertook this Accommodation. Others diſcours'd, that the great Warmth the Marqueſs had lately ſhewn for the King's Preſervation, did not ſo much proceed from his Affection to his Perſon, as from his domineering Spirit, which made him zealous for a Negotiation, which he deſign'd to engroſs to himſelf.

A remarkable Paper ſtyl'd, The Third Declaration of the Prince *of Orange.*

2. While this Negotiation was on foot, there appear'd a printed Paper at *London* and other Places, call'd *The Third Declaration of the Prince of* Orange, *&c.* which ſhew'd that great things are often brought about by unknown Agents. Conſidering the Effect it had on the Nation, we ſhall inſert it as following, without any Abridgment: ‘We have in the whole Courſe of our Life, and more particularly by the apparent Hazards both by Sea and Land, to which we have ſo lately expos'd our Perſon, given to the World ſo high and undoubted Proofs of our fervent Zeal to the *Proteſtant* Religion, that we are fully confident no true *Engliſhman* and good *Proteſtant* can entertain the leaſt Suſpicion of our firm Reſolution, rather to ſpend our deareſt Blood, and periſh in the Attempt, than not to carry on the bleſſed and glorious Deſign, which, by the Favour of Heaven, we have ſo ſucceſsfully begun to reſcue *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* from *Popery* and *Slavery*, and in a Free Parliament to eſtabliſh the *Religion*, the *Laws* and *Liberties* of theſe Kingdoms on ſuch a ſure and laſting Foundation, that it ſhall not be in the Power of any Prince for the future to introduce *Popery* and *Tyranny*. Towards the more eaſy compaſſing this great Deſign, we have not been hitherto deceiv'd in the juſt Expectation we had of the Concurrence of the Nobility, Gentry and People of *England* with us, for the Security of their *Religion*, and the Eſtabliſhment of their *Liberties* and *Properties*. Great Numbers of all Ranks and Qualities have join'd themſelves to us; and others, at great Diſtances from us, have taken up Arms and declar'd for us: And, which we cannot but particularly mention, in that Army which was rais'd to be the Inſtrument of *Slavery* and *Popery*, many, by the ſpecial Providence of God, both Officers and common Soldiers, have been touch'd with ſuch a feeling Senſe of Religion and Honour, and of true Affection to their Native Country, that they have already deſerted the illegal Service they were engag'd in, and have come over to Us, and have given us full Aſſurance from the reſt of the Army, that they will certainly follow this Example, as ſoon as we ſhall approach near enough to receive them without Hazard of being prevented or betray'd.

To which End, and that we may the ſooner execute this juſt and neceſſary Deſign we are engag'd in for the publick Safety and Deliverance of theſe Nations, we are reſolv'd with all poſſible Diligence to advance forwards, that a *Free Parliament* may be forthwith call'd, and ſuch Preliminaries adjuſted with the King, and all things ſettled upon ſuch a Foot, according to Law, as may give us and the whole Nation juſt Reaſon to believe, the King is diſpos'd to make ſuch neceſſary Condeſcentions on his Part, as will give entire Satisfaction and Security to all, and make both King and People once more happy. And that we may effect all this, in the way moſt agreeable to our Deſires, if it be poſſible, without the Effuſion of Blood, except of thoſe Execrable Criminals who have juſtly forfeited their Lives for Betraying the Religion, and Subverting the Laws of their Native Country, We do think fit to Declare, That as we will offer no Violence to any, but in our own neceſſary Defence; ſo we will not ſuffer any Injury to be done to the Perſon, even of any *Papiſt*, provided he be found in ſuch Place, and Condition, and Circumſtances as the Law requires. So we are reſolv'd, and do Declare, That all *Papiſts* who ſhall be found in open Arms, or with Arms in their Houſes, or about their Perſons, or in any Office Civil or Military, upon any Pretence whatſoever, contrary to the known Laws of the Land, ſhall be treated by Us and our Forces, not as *Soldiers* and *Gentlemen*, but as *Robbers*, *Freebooters* and *Bandittis*; they ſhall be incapable of Quarter, and entirely deliver'd up to the Diſcretion of our Soldiers. We do farther Declare, That all Perſons who ſhall be found any Ways aiding or aſſiſting to them, or ſhall march under their Command, or ſhall join with, or ſubmit to them in the Diſcharge or Execution of their illegal Commiſſions or Authority, ſhall be look'd upon as Partakers of their Crimes, Enemies to the Laws, and to their Country. And whereas we are certainly inform'd, that great Numbers of armed *Papiſts* have of late reſorted to *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Parts adjacent, where they remain, as we have Reaſon to ſuſpect, not ſo much for their own Security, as out of a wicked and barbarous Deſign, to make ſome deſperate Attempt upon the ſaid Cities, and their Inhabitants, by Fire, or ſudden Maſſacre, or both; or elſe to be more ready to join themſelves to a Body of *French* Troops deſign'd, if it be poſſible, to land in *England*, procured of the *French* King, by the Intereſt and Power of the *Jeſuits*, in purſuance of the Engagements, which, at the Inſtigation of that peſtilent Society, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, with one of his Neighbouring Princes of the ſame Communion, has enter'd into for the utter Extirpation of the *Proteſtant Religion* out of *Europe*. Tho', we hope we have taken ſuch effectual Care to prevent the One, and ſecure the Other, that by God's Aſſiſtance we cannot doubt but we ſhall defeat all their wicked Enterpriſes and Deſigns.

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We cannot however forbear, out of the great and tender Concern we have to preſerve the People of *England*, and particularly thoſe great and populous Cities, from the cruel Rage and bloody Revenge of the *Papiſts*, to require and expect from all the Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and Juſtices of the Peace, Lord-Mayors, Mayors, Sheriffs, and all other Magiſtrates and Officers, Civil and Military, of all Counties, Cities and Towns of *England*, eſpecially of the County of *Middleſex*, and Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Parts adjacent, that they do immediately diſarm and ſecure, as by Law they may and ought, within their reſpective Counties, Cities and Juriſdictions, all *Papiſts* whatſoever, as Perſons at all Times, but now eſpecially, moſt dangerous to the Peace and Safety of the Government; that ſo, not only all Power of doing Miſchief may be taken from them, but that the Laws, which are the greateſt and beſt Security, may reſume their Force, and be ſtrictly executed. And we do hereby likewiſe Declare, That we will protect and defend all thoſe who ſhall not be afraid to do their Duty in Obedience to theſe Laws. And that for thoſe Magiſtrates, and others, of what Condition ſoever they be, who ſhall refuſe to aſſiſt us, and in Obedience to the Laws, to execute rigorouſly, what we have required of them, and ſuffer themſelves at this Juncture to be cajoled and terrify'd out of their Duty, we will eſteem them the moſt criminal and infamous of all Men; *Betrayers of their Religion, the Laws, and their Native Country*; reſolving to expect and require at their Hands the Life of every ſingle *Proteſtant* that ſhall periſh, and every Houſe that ſhall be burnt or deſtroy'd by their Treachery and Cowardice.’ *Given under our Hand and Seal, at our Head Quarters at* Sherborn-Caſtle, *the 28th Day of* November, 1688. WILLIAM HENRY, Prince of ORANGE. *By his Highneſs's ſpecial Command,* C. HUYGENS.

The great Effects of it.

This was the boldeſt Attempt that ever was made by a private Perſon; and was ſuppos'd to have been done by *Ferguſon* or *Johnſon*; but of late Mr. *Hugh Speke* has aſſum'd the Honour of it to himſelf: A Thing which we know not how fully to believe, or wholly to contradict. But whoever was the Author of this *Declaration*, which the Prince of *Orange* totally diſown'd, it did his Highneſs no ſmall Service at this nice Juncture: The *Roman Catholicks* were dreadfully allarm'd at it; and ſeveral Juſtices of the Peace caus'd it to be publiſh'd. A certain Captain likewiſe boldly deliver'd a Copy of it to the Lord-Mayor of *London*, charging him, before Witneſſes, to ſee it exactly put in Execution; and the inferior Officers of Juſtice deſired his Lordſhip's Aſſiſtance, that they might better obey his Highneſs's Orders. And indeed the *Popiſh* Party was now ſo low, that there was, at the ſame Time, *An Hue and Cry after Father* Petre, publickly cry'd and ſold in the Streets, notwithſtanding he was no leſs than a Privy-Counſellor. And farther, a legal Accuſation againſt the Earl of *Saliſbury* for ‘Infringing the moſt Sacred Laws of the Kingdom, by turning *Papiſt*,’ was preferr'd to the Grand-Jury of *Middleſex*, who found the Bill againſt the ſaid Earl.

The Duke of Norfolk's *Tranſactions at* Norwich.

3. While theſe Things were tranſacting in *London*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, hereditary Earl Marſhal of *England*, and Lord-Lieutenant of the County, whoſe Title he bore, ſummon'd all the Quality and Gentry of thoſe Parts to meet him at the City of *Norwich*; where being aſſembled, leſt the Place ſhou'd be allarm'd at the extraordinary Concourſe of People, he made a Speech to the Mayor in the Market-

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Market-Place; acquainting him, ‘ That out of a deep Senſe, he and the others there met, that in the preſent unhappy Juncture of Affairs, nothing cou'd better ſecure the *Laws*, *Liberties* and *Proteſtant Religion*, than a *Free Parliament*, they were there met to pronounce that they wou'd do their utmoſt to defend the ſame, by Declaring for ſuch a Free Parliament. And ſince his Majeſty had been pleas'd to order Writs for ſuch a Parliament, he cou'd only add in the Name of himſelf, and of all thoſe Gentlemen, and others there met, That they wou'd ever be ready to ſupport the *Laws*, *Liberties* and *Proteſtant Religion*.’ And ſo, concluded he, *God ſave the King!* In this the Mayor, Aldermen, and the reſt of the Corporation, and a numerous Aſſembly, did unanimouſly concur with his Grace and the reſt of the Gentry.

Lynn *applies to him.*

About five Days after, *December* the 6th, the Mayor and Corporation of *King's Lynn* preſented an Addreſs to the Duke of *Norfolk*, humbly deſiring him, ‘ That they might be put into ſuch a Poſture by his Grace's Direction and Conduct, as might make them appear as zealous as any in the Defence of the *Proteſtant Religion*, the *Laws* and ancient *Government*.’ To which his Grace return'd this Anſwer, *That no Man wou'd venture his Life and Fortune more freely for the Defence of the* Laws, Liberties *and* Proteſtant Religion, *than he wou'd do*; *and with all the Gentlemen there preſent, and many more, wou'd procure a Settlement in Church and State, in Concurrence with the Lords and Gentlemen in the* North, *and purſuant to the* Declaration *of the Prince of* Orange. And according to their Deſire, he order'd the *Militia*, both Horſe and Foot, to be rais'd throughout the County; whereupon the Tradeſmen, Seamen and inferior ſort, put *Orange* Ribbons in their Hats, ſhouting and echoing Huzzas to the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke of *Norfolk*. Thus all Places began to ſhew their Inclination, and there appear'd an univerſal Diſpoſition to favour the Prince of *Orange*, and the great Cauſe he had eſpous'd.

4. All theſe Motions bred new Troubles and Uneaſineſs in the Court: Nor were they leſs impatient to know how the Commiſſioners, *Hallifax*, *Nottingham* and *Godolphin*, wou'd be receiv'd by the Prince of *Orange*: For ſeveral began to apprehend that ſomething was aim'd at, beſides the *ſecuring of the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom*; and that his Majeſty's Crown, if not his Perſon, was not out of Danger. It was not ſo much the Coming of his Highneſs with an Army that gave the *Popiſh* Party theſe melancholy Apprehenſions, but rather the general Diſcontents of the Nobility, Clergy and People, and the Expectance of a ſevere Examination of their own Illegal Proceedings in a Free Parliament; and therefore they began to think of having the Royal Family croſs the Sea, as ſoon as theſe Surmiſes ſhou'd attain to a greater Degree of Certainty. On the 6th of *December* the three Commiſſioners by an Expreſs acquainted the King, ‘ That they were to meet the Prince of *Orange* that Night at *Amesbury*;’ but the next Day they inform'd his Majeſty, ‘ That his Highneſs had made a new Appointment to meet them at *Hungerford*, and had ſent to them the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Oxford*, to deſire them to make their Propoſals in Writing.’ This Meſſage of the Prince was interpreted to be Evaſive or Contemptuous; not only becauſe he refus'd to treat by Word of Mouth with his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, but alſo becauſe he had deputed two Perſons to them, of whom the laſt had never been concern'd in any publick Affair, and the firſt was a profeſs'd Enemy to the Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, the principal Manager on the King's Part. From theſe firſt Steps, and from a particular Letter from one of the Commiſſioners, the moſt zealous for the King's Intereſt, the *Popiſh* Cabal, particularly Monſieur *Barillon* the old *French* Ambaſſador, and Count *Lauzan*, began to ſuſpect the Succeſs of this Negotiation, and preſſingly adviſ'd the King to ſupport Himſelf, his Queen and the Prince of *Wales*, by a ſpeedy Receſs from the Nation. However the King was ſtill willing to wait for a full and clear Account of the Affair.

The King adviſ'd to retire from England.

Undetermin'd.

During which Time, there happen'd a ſecond kind of a Skirmiſh; For upon the News of the Prince's Forces advancing towards *Reading*, to prevent farther Deſertions, the King's Army that quarter'd there, was order'd to march nearer *London*, and to fix their Head-Quarters at *Colebrook*. But the 8th of *December*, the Court being inform'd that it was only a Detachment of his Highneſs's Horſe that was advanc'd to *Newbery*, the Royal Forces were remanded to their old Poſt, and the ſame Day the General, the Earl of *Feverſham*, return'd to *Maidenhead*, where were the Head Quarters. The next Day, the King's Troops marching thither, the Towns People, who had been great Sufferers by their former Quartering amongſt them, invited ſome of the Prince of *Orange*'s Forces that lay not far off, to take Poſſeſſion of that Poſt, to ſecure themſelves againſt the Violences of the *Iriſh*. Colonel *Lanier*, who commanded the Royal Detachment, being firſt come to

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Reading, poſted ſome Companies of *Iriſh* Dragoons, to defend a Bridge over which his Highneſs's Troops were to paſs, and drew up a *Scotch* Regiment of Horſe in Battalia in the Market-Place. Upon the Approach of a ſmall Party of the Prince's Cavalry, the *Iriſh* made a Diſcharge, and abandon'd their Poſt; and the *Scotch*, who had no Inclination to fight, follow'd their Example, and fled in Diſorder, till they were rally'd by the Earl of *Feverſham*, who was coming up to their Relief. Of the *Iriſh*, not many were kill'd, and as few taken: However the Royaliſts complain'd that the Town's People ſhot at them behind from their Windows, while the Prince's Horſe charg'd them before; but the others juſtify'd themſelves by ſaying, That the Fear the *Iriſh* were in, made them imagine that they were attack'd on every ſide, which at this Juncture the Court thought fit to believe. *Maidenhead*-Bridge was alſo fortify'd, and the Defence of it committed to the *Iriſh*; but ſome of the Townſmen beating a *Dutch* March upon Tubs in the Night, in order to allarm them, this Stratagem took ſo well, that the *Iriſh* abandon'd their Poſt in Confuſion, leaving their Great Guns behind them.

A ſecond Skirmiſh.

The three Lords Propoſals to the Prince of Orange.

In the mean Time, the three Commiſſioners, *Hallifax*, *Nottingham* and *Godolphin*, appointed to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, at *Hungerford* deliver'd to his Highneſs the following Propoſals in Writing, dated *December* the 8th: ‘ *Sir*, The King commanded us to acquaint you, That he obſerveth all the Difference and Cauſes of Complaint, alledg'd by your Highneſs, ſeem to be referr'd to a *Free Parliament*. His Majeſty, as he hath already Declared, was reſolv'd before this to call one; but thought, that in the preſent State of Affairs, it was adviſable to defer it till Things were more compos'd: Yet ſeeing that his People ſtill continue to deſire it, he hath put forth his *Proclamation* in order to it, and hath iſſu'd his *Writs* for the Calling of it. And to prevent any Cauſe of Interruption in it, he will conſent to every Thing that can be reaſonably required for the Security of thoſe that ſhall come to it. His Majeſty hath therefore ſent us to attend your Highneſs for the adjuſting of all Matters that ſhall be agreed to be neceſſary to the Freedom of *Elections*, and the Security of *Sitting*, and is ready immediately to enter into a *Treaty* in order to it. His Majeſty propoſes, That in the mean Time the reſpective Armies may be reſtrain'd within ſuch Limits, and at ſuch a Diſtance from *London*, as may prevent the Apprehenſions that the *Parliament* may be in any kind diſturb'd; being deſirous that the Meeting of it may be no longer delay'd, than it muſt be by the uſual and neceſſary *Forms*.

The Prince having receiv'd this Paper, ſubſcrib'd by the Commiſſioners Names, continu'd his March toward *London*; and being arriv'd at *Littlecott*, the next Day, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen aſſembled with him, his Highneſs made the following *Propoſals*, in Anſwer to thoſe of his Majeſty: ‘ We, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen aſſembled with us, have, in Anſwer, made theſe following *Propoſals*. I. That all *Papiſts*, and all ſuch Perſons as are not qualify'd by Law, be diſarm'd, disbanded, and remov'd from all Employments, Civil and Military. II. That all *Proclamations* which reflect upon Us, be recall'd; and that if any Perſons, for having aſſiſted Us, have been committed, that they be forthwith ſet at Liberty. III. That for the Security and Safety of the City of *London*, the Cuſtody and Government of the *Tower* be immediately put into the Hands of the ſaid City. IV. That if his Majeſty ſhall think fit to be at *London*, during the Sitting of the *Parliament*, that We may be there alſo, with equal Number of our Guards: Or if his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to be in any Place from *London*, whatever Diſtance he thinks fit, that We may be at a Place of the ſame Diſtance; and that the reſpective Armies be from *London* thirty Miles; and that no farther Forces be brought into the Kingdom. V. That for the Security of the City of *London*, and their Trade, *Tilbury* Fort be put into the Hands of the ſaid City. VI. That a ſufficient Part of the Publick Revenue be aſſign'd Us, for the Support and Maintenance of our Troops, until the Sitting of a *Free Parliament*. VII. That to prevent the Landing of the *French*, or other Foreign Troops, *Portſmouth* may be put into ſuch Hands, as by his Majeſty and Us ſhall be agreed on.

The Prince's Anſwer and Propoſals.

Theſe Propoſals were ſent with all Speed to the King, and they were look'd upon as ſo reaſonable and moderate in this Juncture, that his Majeſty upon the Reading of them ſaid, *They were better than he expected*. This ſeems to have been the moſt critical Hour in the King's whole Reign; and his preſent Compliance wou'd, reaſonably ſpeaking, have kept the Crown upon his Head during the reſt of his Life. As his Invaſions had been inſufferable, ſo his Difficulties were become innumerable, but ſtill not inſuperable, if he had not abandon'd Himſelf to *Popiſh* Counſels. However, he

The King confounded.

thought fit that Evening to call an Extraordinary Council, and beſides the Lords that were in Town, he ſent for the Lord-Mayor of the City, and the Sheriffs, whom he charg'd to take particular Care of the City, and omit nothing that lay in their Power for the Preſervation of the Peace and Tranquillity of the ſame; ſo that all Things look'd as tho' he had deſign'd to comply with the Prince's Propoſals; and at the Breaking up, the ſame Council was order'd to meet the next Morning, to give their farther Advice upon this Exigency of Affairs. Before they broke up, we are told, That the King under ſome Diſtraction of Mind, amidſt the ſilent Company, earneſtly apply'd himſelf to the Earl of *Bedford*, Father to the executed Lord *Ruſſel*, ſaying, *My Lord, you are a good Man, and have a great Influence, you can do much for me at this Time.* To which the other anſwer'd, *I am an old Man and can do but little*;------then added with a deep Sigh, *I had once a Son that cou'd now have been very ſerviceable to your Majeſty:* Which Word ſtruck the King half dead with Silence and Confuſion.

Upon the breaking up of the Council, the King enter'd into a deep Conſult with his *Popiſh* Friends that had reduc'd him to all theſe Difficulties. Theſe were the Men that now at this Exigency, as well as formerly, did him the greateſt Miſchief. They all plainly ſaw, that nothing cou'd ſave his Majeſty in a Free Parliament, but the total Delivering up of *Popery* in the Nation, and the Paſſing ſuch Acts, as ſhou'd be moſt effectual Bars to the Return of it again. Being fill'd with this Proſpect, they, who reſolv'd to ſacrifice their King, and every Thing elſe, rather than ſee their Deſigns blaſted, firſt ſtudy'd to fright the Queen, with the Apprehenſions of ſomewhat diſmal, that ſhe her ſelf and her Son might expect. They alſo preſs'd the King with the Senſe of the Diſhonour that he muſt ſuſtain in ſubmitting to the hard Terms impos'd upon him: And to both, they did ſo magnify the Power and Zeal of the *French* King, that that unhappy Monarch came to be perſuaded, contrary to his ſolemn Promiſes of a Parliament; That it was better to fly to *France*, than to remain in his own Kingdom, *and ſubmit*, as they call'd it, *to a Victorious Prince, and an offended Parliament.* In this they ſucceeded ſo effectually, that his Majeſty reſolv'd to hear no more of Propoſals, but to abandon his Subjects, and throw himſelf into the Arms of the *French* King. But before this, he took Care for the private conveying away his Royal Conſort, and the Prince of *Wales*; which latter had lately been ſent with great Secreſie to *Portſmouth*, but being refus'd Tranſportation by the Lord *Dartmouth*, was now brought back with the ſame Care and Caution. So that their Eſcape now became very difficult, and Father *Orleans* gives us this following Account of it.

The Popiſh Party prevail with him.

Te Queen flys beyond Sea.

It was in the Night, between the 9th and 10th of *December*, that the Count *de Lauzan*, being then in the Court of *England*, concerted with the King the Flight of the Queen and the young Prince; and by one of the moſt happy Adventures of his Life, was ſucceſsful in his Undertaking. *Riva* an *Italian* belonging to her Majeſty, and *Labadie*, a *French* Man, Page of the Back-Stairs to the King, both Perſons of experienc'd Fidelity, were order'd to provide all Things neceſſary for their Paſſage, and to convey them from *White-Hall* to a Veſſel prepar'd at *Graveſend*. It was not without much Danger of being ſtopt and diſcover'd, that a Queen, and a Prince ſcarce five Months old, went out of their Palace at a Time full of Suſpicion, and when the leaſt Cry of the Infant might have broke the beſt concerted Meaſures. However the Queen in Diſguiſe, accompany'd by the Marquiſs of *Powis*, the Marchioneſs his Wife, Governeſs to the Prince, the Counteſs *Dalmon*, and the Wet and Dry Nurſes, *Montecuculi* and *Turini*, ſtole thro' a Privy-Stairs to the Water-ſide, croſs'd the *Thames* in a dark diſmal Night, ſeverely expos'd to the Wind, Rain, and Roughneſs of the River; and being got on the other Side, waited near the Walls of a Church, inſulted by the ſtormy Weather, till the Coaches were got ready in the next Inn. The Curioſity of a Man, who at the ſame Time went out of the Inn, and was making towards the Queen with a Light, drove her Majeſty into a Fright; when *Riva* perceiving it, immediately follow'd and joſtled him ſo rudely, that both fell into the Dirt. This was a fortunate Diverſion; for the Man attributing all to an Accident, he and *Riva* begg'd Pardon, and fairly parted. The Queen and her Attendance, being with Difficulty arriv'd at *Graveſend*, her Majeſty immediately went on Ship-board; and *Labadie*'s Wife, who was acquainted with the Captain, amus'd him for a while, till the Queen, that paſs'd for an *Italian* Lady and a Traveller into her own Country with her Family, was got into the Cabin which had been prepar'd for her. Three *Iriſh* Captains embark'd at the ſame Time, being appointed by the King to have an Eye upon the Commander of the Veſſel, in Caſe, upon ſome Suſpicion, he ſhou'd have refus'd to do his Duty. But this Precaution prov'd unneceſſary; for the Veſſel having put to Sea, had a very quick Paſſage, and ſafely landed at *Calais*; from whence her Majeſty went forwards, and met with a generous and Royal Welcome from the *French* King, who us'd all Means to alleviate her Misfortunes.

5. Immediately after the Queen's Departure, the King, to cover his Deſigns of following her, gave it out, ‘That he wou'd return to the Head of his Forces, and fight the Prince of *Orange*;’ which however was not very conſonant with ſending Part of the Artillery into the *Tower*. Neverthele ſs that ſame Evening, being *Monday* the 10th of *December*, the Life-Guards were order'd to be ready to attend him to *Uxbridge*. But inſtead of going to the Army, his Majeſty, tho' he knew upon what Terms he might be ſafe, undertook the greateſt Hazards, and took Water at *White-Hall* Privy-Stairs, between Two and Three in the Morning, accompany'd only by Sir *Edward Hales*, Mr. *Sheldon* and Mr. *Labadie*, who had juſt before taken Care of his Royal Conſort; and this was done without communicating his Deſign to any of his chief *Popiſh* Officers, and not ſo much as to the Lord *Dover* himſelf, tho' formerly his Favourite, with whom he had a long Converſation.

The King retires and flys.

This Departure was the Concluſion of all the Breaches of Faith in this Reign, particularly that of the Promiſe of a Free Parliament; and what he did at the ſame Time, appear'd to the World a voluntary, open and unforc'd *Deſertion* of the Government, as leaſt as much as was conſiſtent with a ſecret and incompatible Deſire to retain it. The firſt Thing was the Writing of this Letter to his General the Earl of *Feverſham*: ‘*My Lord*, Things being come to that Extremity, that I have been forc'd to ſend away the Queen, and my Son the Prince of *Wales*, that they might not fall into the Enemies Hands, which they muſt have done, if they had ſtay'd; I am oblig'd to do the ſame Thing, in Hopes it will pleaſe God, of his infinite Mercy to this unhappy Nation, to touch their Hearts again with true Loyalty and Honour. If I cou'd have rely'd on all my Troops, I might not have been put to the Extremity I am now in; and wou'd at leaſt have had one Blow for it: But tho' I know there are many valiant and brave Men among you, both Officers and Soldiers; yet you know, that both you, and ſeveral of the General Officers and Soldiers, and Men of the Army told Me, *It was no ways adviſeable for me to venture my ſelf at their Head, or think to fight the Prince of* Orange *with them.* And now there remains only for Me to thank You, and all Thoſe, both Officers and Soldiers, who have ſtuck to Me, and been truly *Loyal:* I hope you will ſtill retain the ſame *Fidelity* to Me. And tho' I do not expect you ſhou'd expoſe your ſelves, by reſiſting a Foreign Army, and a poyſon'd Nation; yet I hope your former Principles are ſo inrooted in you, that you will keep your ſelves free from *Aſſociations*, and ſuch pernicious Things. Time preſſeth, ſo that I can add no more. JAMES REX.

His Letter to the Earl of Feverſham.

The ſecond Thing the King did, was the ordering all thoſe *Writs* to be burnt that were not ſent out for the Calling of the Parliament, and entering a *Caveat* againſt making uſe of thoſe few that were already ſent out. The laſt Thing, when he left *Whitehall*, and took Water, he threw the Great Seal into the *Thames*, where it was ſhortly found by a Fiſher-man; which laſt was interpreted as a Reſolution to govern no more by Law, if he ſhou'd return, but by the Sword. Thus in a Moment was an Army in effect diſbanded without Money, Parliament *Writs* deſtroy'd, and the Broad-Seal thrown away; ſo that the Nation became like Sheep without a Shepherd: And if ever there was a real Deſertion of a Kingdom, and ever a People were left at Liberty to take Care of themſelves, this was the Seaſon. All that the King did afterwards, was not to be compared to this, no otherwiſe than it was a Confirmation or Re-iteration of the ſame Thing.

Parliament Writs *burnt and Broad-Seal thrown into the* Thames.

IV. 1. From the 11th of *December* we are to date the great Turn in the Nation, which happen'd but five Weeks after the Landing of the Prince of *Orange*, and which gave his Highneſs an open and clear Field to range in. Upon the Noiſe of the King's Departure, upon the 11th in the Morning, all the City were in Amazement, and immediately fill'd with Surpriſe, Wonder and Conjectures: Some were terrify'd with the Proſpect of Anarchy, that ſeem'd to threaten the City; but moſt caſt their Eyes towards the Prince of *Orange*, and with that Effect, that in a few Hours there was an Appearance of Government, and a Regular Adminiſtration. The Duke of *Northumberland* went immediately to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, to acquaint him with his Deſign of going over to the Prince; but the Earl adviſ'd him to ſave himſelf that Trouble, and rather to aſſemble his Troop of Guards, and declare for his Highneſs, which accordingly he did.

The Care in the City.

The Marquis of *Miremont* follow'd his Example, and turn'd all the *Papiſts* out of his Regiment of Horſe. And the other principal Officers of the Army about the Town met at *White-Hall*, and ſent an Expreſs to the Prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him with the King's going away, and to aſſure his Highneſs, ‘That they wou'd aſſiſt the Lord-Mayor to keep the City quiet till his Arrival there.

The Lords in Town meet at Guild-Hall.

But the main Step towards an Eſtabliſhment, was the unanimous Aſſembly of about thirty Lords Spiritual and Temporal, then in and about the Town, namely, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*; the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough*; the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Dorſet*, *Mulgrave*, *Thanet*, *Carliſle*, *Craven*, *Aleſbury*, *Burlington*, *Berkley* and *Rocheſter*; Viſcounts *Newport* and *Weymouth*; and the Lords *Wharton*, *North* and *Grey*, *Chandois*, *Mountague*, *Jermyn*, *Vaughan*, *Carbery*, *Colepeper*, *Crewe* and *Oſulſton*. Theſe all ſolemnly met at *Guild-Hall*, and ſending for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the City, who readily attended, they made this memorable *Declaration*: ‘We doubt not but the World believes that in this great and dangerous Conjuncture, we are heartily and zealouſly concern'd for the *Proteſtant Religion*, the *Laws* of the *Land*, and the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the Subject. And we did reaſonably hope, that the King having iſſu'd out his *Proclamation* and *Writs* for a *Free Parliament*, we might have reſted ſecure under the Expectation of that Meeting: But his Majeſty having withdrawn himſelf, and, as we apprehend, in order to his Departure out of this Kingdom, by the pernicious Counſels of Perſons ill-affected to our Nation and Religion, we cannot, without being wanting to our Duty, be ſilent under theſe Calamities, wherein *Popiſh* Counſels, which ſo long prevail'd, have miſerably involv'd theſe Realms. We do therefore unanimouſly reſolve to apply our ſelves to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, who with ſo great Kindneſs to theſe Kingdoms, ſuch vaſt Expence, and ſo much Hazard to his own Perſon, has undertaken, by endeavouring to procure a *Free Parliament* to reſcue, with as little Effuſion, as poſſible, of Chriſtian Blood, from the imminent Dangers of *Slavery* and *Popery*.

Their Declaration.

‘And we do hereby *declare*, That we will with our utmoſt Endeavours, aſſiſt his Highneſs in the obtaining ſuch a Parliament with all ſpeed, wherein our *Laws*, our *Liberties* and *Properties* may be ſecured, and the Church of *England* in particular, with a due *Liberty* to *Proteſtant Diſſenters*; and in general, that the *Proteſtant Religion* and *Intereſt* over the whole World may be ſupported and encourag'd, to the Glory of God, the Happineſs of the Eſtabliſh'd Government in theſe Kingdoms, and the Advantage of all Princes and States in *Chriſtendom*, that may be herein concern'd. In the mean time we will endeavour to preſerve, as much as in us lies, the Peace and Security of theſe great and populous Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the Parts adjacent, by taking care to diſarm all *Papiſts*, and ſecure all *Jeſuits* and *Romiſh Prieſts*, who are in or about the ſame. And if there be any thing more to be perform'd by us, for promoting his Highneſs's generous Intentions for the Publick Good, we ſhall be ready to do it, as Occaſion ſhall require.

Which they ſend to the Prince.

This encouraging *Declaration* being ſubſcrib'd by all the above-mention'd Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Viſcount *Weymouth*, the Biſhop of *Ely* and the Lord *Colepeper*, were deſired by the reſt immediately to go and attend his Highneſs with it; and at the ſame time to acquaint him, among other things they had farther done at that Meeting, ‘That having ſent for Colonel *Skelton*, then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, they had demanded the Keys of him, which he willingly reſigning, they had beſtow'd the Government of that Fortreſs upon the Lord *Lucas*, a Perſon of unqueſtion'd Honour, and a ſincere Lover of his Country.' Which Choice was afterwards confirm'd by the Prince of *Orange*.

The Addreſs from the City of London.

2. As ſoon as the Lords had thus led the Way, the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council, immediately drew up this remarkable Addreſs to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*: ‘We taking into Conſideration your Highneſs's fervent Zeal for the *Proteſtant Religion*, manifeſted to the World in your many hazardous Enterprizes, wherein it hath pleas'd Almighty God to bleſs you with miraculous Succeſs, do render our deepeſt Thanks to the Divine Majeſty for the ſame, and beg leave to preſent our moſt humble Thanks to your Highneſs, particularly for your appearing in Arms in this Kingdom, to carry on and perfect your glorious Deſigns to reſcue three Kingdoms from *Slavery* and *Popery*, and in a *Free Parliament* to eſtabliſh the *Religion*, and the *Laws* and *Liberties* of theſe Kingdoms upon a ſure and laſting Foundation. We have hitherto look'd for ſome Remedy for thoſe Oppreſſions and imminent Dangers, which we, together with our *Proteſtant* Fellow-Subjects, laboured under, from his Majeſty's Conceſſions and Concurrences with your Highneſs's juſt and pious Purpoſe expreſs'd in your Gracious *Declaration*. But herein finding our ſelves finally diſappointed by his Majeſty's Withdrawing himſelf, we preſume to make your Highneſs our *Refuge*; and do in the Name of this Capital City, implore your Highneſs's *Protection*, and moſt humbly beſeech your Highneſs to repair to this City, where your Highneſs will be receiv'd with univerſal Joy and Satisfaction.' This Addreſs, being ſoon approv'd and ſign'd, four Aldermen and eight Commoners were appointed to attend his Highneſs with it.

Another from the Lieutenancy of London.

This Example was immediately follow'd the ſame Day by another Addreſs from the Lieutenancy of the City of *London*, in theſe Terms: ‘We can never ſufficiently expreſs the deep Senſe we have conceiv'd, and ſhall ever retain in our Hearts, that your Highneſs has expos'd your Perſon to ſo many Dangers by Sea and Land, for the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Laws* and *Liberties* of this Kingdom, without which unparallel'd Undertaking, we muſt probably have ſuffer'd all the Miſeries that *Popery* and *Slavery* cou'd have brought upon us. We have been greatly concern'd, that before this time we had not any ſeaſonable Opportunity to give your Highneſs and the World a real Teſtimony, that it has been our firm Reſolution, to venture all that is dear to us, to attain thoſe glorious Ends, which your Highneſs has propos'd for Reſtoring and Settling theſe diſtracted Nations. We therefore now unanimouſly preſent to your Highneſs our juſt and due Acknowledgements, for that happy Relief you have brought to us: And that we may not be wanting in this preſent Conjuncture, we have put our ſelves into ſuch a Poſture, that, by the Bleſſing of God, we may be capable to prevent all ill Deſigns, and to preſerve this City in Peace and Safety, till your Highneſs's happy Arrival. We therefore humbly deſire, that your Highneſs will pleaſe to repair to this City with that convenient Speed you can, for perfecting the great Work which your Highneſs has ſo happily begun, to the general Joy and Satisfaction of us all.' This Addreſs was carry'd by Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, Sir *Baſil Firebraſs*, and *Charles Duncomb*, Eſq; and upon this Occaſion Mr. *Duncomb* very generouſly offer'd his Purſe to his Highneſs, for which ſeaſonable Piece of Service he was afterwards remember'd with diſtinguiſhing Favours.

Inſurrection of the Mob.

3. Tho' the *Militia* of *London* and *Weſtminſter* were immediately up in Arms, both to prevent dangerous Deſigns from *Roman Catholicks*, and to preſerve thoſe great Cities in Peace and Safety till the Arrival of the Prince of *Orange*; nevertheleſs both were alarm'd and terrify'd with the ſudden Eruptions of the Mob, that Scum of a Nation that naturally ſubſides in a Calm, and as readily mounts in a Storm. And as the *Papiſts* were the chief Occaſions of the preſent Diſtractions, ſo they now became the principal Sufferers. The new-erected *Maſs-Houſes*, both in the City and Suburbs, were outragiouſly pull'd down and deſtroy'd, and the Materials burnt with the moſt riotous Acclamations, while common Rogues mixing with the leſs deſigning Apprentices, took Opportunity to rifle and plunder many Houſes, particularly thoſe of the *Spaniſh* and *Florentine* Ambaſſadors; in the firſt of which, the beſt Effect of numerous *Roman Catholicks*, and even the Holy Utenſils of the Royal Chapels were depoſited, as it were in an *Aſylum*. All that the Mob cou'd not carry away, or the Value of which they did not underſtand, was committed to the Flames; and among the reſt, a very fine Library, with ſeveral curious Manuſcripts. This Accident was the more ſurprizing, becauſe of all the Foreign Miniſters, *Don Pedro de Ronquillo* was moſt belov'd by the People, which caus'd ſeveral odd Conjectures about it, being afterwards largely recompenc'd by the ſucceeding Parliament for the Loſſes he ſuſtain'd in this Time of Confuſion. The *French* Ambaſſador's Houſe and Chapel were accidentally preſerv'd by the Neighbourhood of ſome Noblemen, who had caus'd their Houſes to be very well guarded; and the Reſident of *Venice* was luckily ſecured by a Detachment of Soldiers. But the King's Printing-Houſe, under *Henry Hills* the Maſter, ſuffer'd very great Damage; and all the Paper that was found in it, whether printed or not, was turn'd into one large Bone-Fire.

Chancellor Jeffreys's *Commitment*.

In the midſt of theſe Irruptions, which ſoon infected the other Parts of the Nation with ungovern'd Fury, the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, who was generally believ'd to have been gone with the King, having diſguis'd himſelf in a Sea-Man's Habit and Houſe at *Wapping*, in order to eſcape to *Hambourgh*, was diſcover'd, as he was looking out of a Window, by a Clerk in *Chancery*, that accidentally paſs'd that Way. Whereupon he was immediately apprehended, as the moſt obnoxious of all the *Proteſtant* Miniſters,

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Ref. 29.

And Death.

Miniſters, and after a fair Deliverance from the enrag'd Mob, he was carry'd before Sir *John Chapman* the Lord-Mayor, in a ſtrange Diſguiſe, far different from his former Habit: And by reaſon of the Lord-Mayor's Illneſs, who for that Reaſon declin'd meddling with him, he offer'd to go to the *Tower*, to be out of the Hands of the Rabble, who threatned the utmoſt Revenge and Retaliation, and particularly by Whips and Halters: But having a Guard of Train'd-Bands to conduct him, he got ſafe thither; and ſoon after was charg'd in Cuſtody by a Warrant of Commitment from the Lords at *White-Hall*, where he continu'd a few Months under great Affliction and Indiſpoſition, and then dy'd, before he had Opportunity to diſcover ſome *Arcana Imperii*, which by his own Offers the World expected from him. It is generally reported that he ſhortned his Days, and in a manner diſpatch'd himſelf by hard Drinking of the moſt ſpiritous Liquors; but I have been aſſur'd to the contrary by a very credible Perſon, who was often with him in his Confinement, who ſaid that the Stone was the only bodily Diſtemper that kill'd him; and farther added, that his Lordſhip very much complain'd of the repeated Advice of a Reverend Prelate, who incited him to go thoſe Lengths with him in the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, and then by Innuendoes publickly charg'd it upon him. As to the Character of this remarkable Chancellor, that ſhall be given in the next Volume of this Hiſtory, if we meet with ſuitable Encouragement to venture on the next Reign.

The Earl of Feverſham *disbands his Forces.*

4. What added ſtill to the Diſtraction of the Times was the ſudden Disbanding of ſuch great Numbers of the King's Forces: For the Earl of *Feverſham*, and the other general Officers, who had follow'd him to *Uxbridge*, to attend the King's Coming, ſoon receiv'd his Majeſty's Letter formerly mention'd; and this he read aloud to the Troops, which drew Tears from moſt of them. Thereupon they held a Council of War, and concluded from that Letter, 'That ſince the King did not expect they 'ſhou'd reſiſt a Foreign Army, his Intention was, that the 'reſt of the Army ſhou'd be Disbanded;' And accordingly four thouſand Men the Earl had with him, were immediately diſmiſs'd. After which he ſent the following Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, ſubſcrib'd by himſelf, and by three General Officers: '*Sir*, Having receiv'd this 'Morning a Letter from his Majeſty, with the unfortu'nate News of his Reſolution to go out of *England*, I 'thought my ſelf oblig'd, being at the Head of his Army, 'and having receiv'd his Orders to make no Oppoſition 'againſt any Body, to let your Highneſs know it, with 'the Advice of the Officers here, ſo ſoon as was poſſible, 'to hinder the Effuſion of Blood. I have order'd already 'to that Purpoſe all the Troops that are under my Com'mand, which ſhall be the laſt Order they ſhall receive 'from *Feverſham*, *Lanier*, *Fenwick*, *Oglethorp*.' The Trumpeter the Earl of *Feverſham* had diſpatch'd with his Letter return'd without an Anſwer, which was interpreted as if his Highneſs did not approve his Conduct in this critical Juncture; and indeed moſt of the Lords in *London* blam'd that General for Disbanding the Army in ſo haſty a Manner, without, at leaſt, the Advice of the Peers of the Realm, if he thought it too much to wait for his Highneſs's Directions.

His Letter to the Prince.

A general Conſternation.

This Cenſure was aggravated, and almoſt confirm'd by what happen'd the very next Day; a prodigious pannick Fear that alarm'd and confounded the City and Country after an unheard-of Manner: It ſeems, ſome Country-Fellows arriving towards Midnight at *Weſtminſter*, caus'd a ſudden Tumult and Uproar, by Reporting, 'That the '*Iriſh* were up, and in a deſperate Rage were approach'ing *London*, firing of Houſes, and putting Man, Woman 'and Child to the Sword.' This ſtrange Report and Outcry ſo gather'd, as it went along, that in a few Moments, not only the Train'd-Bands and Diſciplin'd Troops appear'd in Arms, but every Body leaving their Beds in a hurry, plac'd Lights in their Windows, and with half their Cloaths on betook themſelves, the moſt Fearful to Flight, the moſt Reſolute to their Weapons. And what is more ſtrange and ſurpriſing, is, that this falſe Alarm the ſame Night flew like Wild-fire, and with the ſame Effects, to all the Chief Places in the Kingdom; and all that were able to bear Arms, vow'd the Defence of their Lives, Laws and Liberties, and ſtood reſolv'd to deſtroy all the *Iriſh* and *Papiſts* in *England*, in caſe any Injury were offer'd them. There were many Opinions concerning the Cauſe of this general Fright; ſome ſay it was occaſion'd by ſeven or eight *Iriſh* Soldiers, who having no Money, reſolv'd to keep themſelves from ſtarving, by forcibly entering into a Country-Houſe; and that whilſt they were Cuffing with thoſe that wou'd have thruſt them out, a poor Cottage happen'd to take Fire, whereupon all the neighbouring Towns and Villages rang their Alarm Bells, which increas'd and echo'd in all Parts. Some Politicians aſſign'd another Cauſe of this univerſal Terror, and ſaid it was a deep Project and Stratagem laid by the Duke of *Scomberg*, both to feel the Pulſe of the Nation, and to inſpire them with Reſentment againſt the *Popiſh* Party, by letting them ſee to what Dangers they were reduc'd by bringing *Iriſh* Troops into the Kingdom. It ſeems moſt probable that it proceeded chiefly from the real Inſolence of the *Iriſh*, and the ſudden Disbanding the Army. Mr. *Hugh Speke* has likewiſe taken upon himſelf the Honour of this Stratagem, and declares that he was the ſole Contriver and Manager of it, to the Ruin of the *Popiſh* Party and their Emiſſaries; of all which he has given us a particular, tho' not very ſatisfactory Account in his *Secret Hiſtory of the Revolution*. However it was, that Night afterwards obtain'd the Name of the *Iriſh-Night*; and may ſerve to ſhew, that when a Nation is once well heated, every little Accident will throw it into a Flame.

1688.
Jac. 4.
Ref. 29.

A new Declaration *of the Prince.*

In the mean time, the Prince of *Orange*, being advanc'd as far as *Henly*, with the greateſt Part of his Army, and finding the King's Troops, now without a Head, and in Want of Subſiſtance, to prevent any Diſorders, he iſſu'd out this ſhort *Declaration*, 'Whereas we are inform'd, 'That divers Regiments, Troops and Companies have 'been encourag'd to diſperſe themſelves in an unuſual and 'unwarrantable Manner; whereby the Publick Peace is 'very much diſturb'd; we have thought fit hereby to re'quire all Colonels and Commanders in Chief of ſuch 'Regiments, Troops and Companies, by Beat of Drum, 'or otherwiſe, to call together the ſeveral Officers and 'Soldiers belonging to their reſpective Regiments, Troops 'and Companies, in ſuch Places as they ſhall find moſt 'convenient for their Rendezvous, and there to keep 'them in good Order and Diſcipline. And we do like'wiſe direct and require all ſuch Officers and Soldiers 'forthwith to repair to ſuch Places as ſhall be appointed 'for that Purpoſe, by the reſpective Colonels and Com'manders in Chief, whereof ſpecial Notice is to be given 'unto us for our further Orders.' At the very ſame Time the Prince ſent a Letter to the Earl of *Danby*, to deſire his Lordſhip to come to him, and order'd Mr. *Blaithwait*, Secretary of War, to bring him an Account of the King's Forces. He alſo diſpatch'd the Lord *Churchill* to *London*, to re-aſſemble his Troop of Horſe-Guards, and directed the Duke of *Grafton* to go and take Poſſeſſion of *Tilbury-Fort* with his Regiment of Foot-Guards.

The Lords Orders.

Immediately after, the Peers and Privy-Council, upon the *Iriſh* Alarm, and in Purſuance of the Prince's Directions, made this *Order*, 'We the Peers of the Realm, 'aſſembled with ſome of the Lords of the Privy-Council, 'do hereby require all *Iriſh* Officers and Soldiers to re'pair forthwith to their reſpective Bodies to which they do 'or did lately belong; and do hereby declare, that behav'ing themſelves peaceably, they ſhall have Subſiſtance paid 'them, till they ſhall be otherwiſe provided for or em'ploy'd. And the ſaid Officers and Soldiers are to deli'ver up their Arms to ſome of the Officers of the *Ord'nance*, who are to depoſite the ſame in their Stores in 'the *Tower* of *London*. And we do require and com'mand all Juſtices of the Peace, Conſtables and other 'Officers, whom it may concern, That they apprehend 'and ſeize all ſuch Soldiers as ſhall not repair to their re'ſpective Bodies, and that they be dealt with as *Vagabonds*.' Signed *Tho. Ebor. North* and *Grey*, *N. Dunelm*, *Nottingham*, *Dorſet*, *Hallifax*, *J. Trevor*, *P. Winton*, *Rocheſter*, *Craven*, *Carliſle*, *J. Titus*.

The King's private Journey.

5. All theſe Matters were tranſacted upon a Suppoſition that the King had actually left the Nation; but it ſoon appear'd to be otherwiſe. For ſo it happen'd that his Majeſty with his three Followers, having croſs'd the *Thames* at *White-Hall*, went by Land as far as a certain Place near *Feverſham*, where he embark'd in a ſmall Veſſel that was to carry him to a Frigate, commanded by *Mackdonnel*, a faithful and ſtout *Iriſh* Captain, who waited for his Majeſty at *Margate*. The Weather was ſtormy, and the Veſſel wanted Ballaſt; and while the Seamen were buſy in bringing it in, Sir *Edward Hales*, one of the Three, ſent his Footman to the *Poſt-Office* at *Feverſham*: A Gunner belonging to *Dover* Caſtle, whom Sir *Edward* had formerly caſhier'd, immediately knew the Footman by his Livery; and dogging him to the River-ſide, he ſaw him make Signs to ſome People on Board a Bark. Hereupon he got together the Fiſhermen, Seamen, and other Free-Booters of that Place, who at this Time took upon themſelves to ſearch all Ships that went by, and to rob all Paſſengers whom they ſuſpected to be Prieſts, aſſuring them of a good Booty in that Bark where Sir *Edward Hales* muſt needs be. Encourag'd with this Proſpect, they immediately boarded the Veſſel, and meeting firſt with Sir *Edward*, their Joy was extraordinary, he being equally well known, and much hated in that Country; as for the King, who was in a plain Suit, and a Bob-Wig, they took

him for a *Popiſh* Prieſt, and *Hales*'s Chaplain, for which Reaſon they put many groſs Indignities upon him; and ſearching him they found four Hundred Guineas, ſeveral valuable Seals, and other Jewels about him, all which they took from him. But ſeveral other People crouding into the Veſſel, there was among the reſt a Conſtable who knew the King's Face, and fell preſently at his Feet, begging his Majeſty to forgive the Rudeneſs of the Mob, and commanding the Fellows to return what they had taken from him. But the King wou'd only receive his Jewels, and gave the Gold among them; and then his Majeſty told the Conſtable, *He hop'd he wou'd uſe him well*; and when he ſaw every one paying the reſpect due to him, he earneſtly endeavour'd to be gone. But the People brought him by a Sort of Force to a publick Inn in the Town; from whence his Majeſty ſent for the Earl of *Winchelſea*, whom he made Lord-Lieutenant of the County, and Governor of *Dover* Caſtle, who prevail'd with his Majeſty not to leave the Kingdom, but to return towards *London*.

He is ſtopt and abus'd at Feverſham.

He is invited to London.

His triumphant Return.

This ſtrange Adventure had various Effects upon the Prince of *Orange*, and the City of *London*: The former ſeems to have deſir'd that the King ſhou'd not have been ſtopt, nor brought back, and the latter appear'd fill'd with a joyful Surpriſe; moſt People there being glad of an Opportunity to convince the King, *That there was never any ill Deſign againſt his Perſon.* As for the Peers and Privy-Council, they were likewiſe variouſly affected by this News, more eſpecially by Reaſon of the Advance they had made to the Prince of *Orange*; however, after ſome Debates, they appointed four of their Members, namely, the Earls of *Middleton*, *Aileſbury*, *Yarmouth* and *Feverſham*, to wait upon his Majeſty, and to invite him to his Palace at *White-Hall*; to which, tho' at firſt he ſhew'd ſome Reluctance, yet at laſt he condeſcended. The Peers alſo diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Prince of *Orange* to acquaint him that the King was ſtill in *England*; at which time his Highneſs came to *Windſor*, and lodg'd in the Prince of *Denmark*'s Apartment, which was prepar'd and made ready for his Reception. As his Highneſs was much ſurpris'd, ſo it is eaſy to believe that he was not very well pleas'd to meet with new Obſtructions, when his Affairs neceſſarily call'd him to *London*. Therefore after a long Conſultation with the Chief of the Nobility and Gentry about him, he diſpatch'd Monſieur *Zuyleſtein* to the King, to deſire him to continue at *Rocheſter*: But this Expreſs miſſing his Way, his Majeſty left that Place on *Sunday* Morning, the 16th of *December*, and about four in the Afternoon enter'd the City of *London*, as it were, in Triumph, and went to *White-Hall*, attended by ſeveral Noblemen, and a great Number of Guards, while Multitudes of People, that crouded to ſee him, welcom'd his Return with their loud Acclamations: And the Night concluded with the Ringing of Bells, Illuminations, Bonefires, and other ſuch like Demonſtrations of Joy and Satisfaction.

The King's laſt Publick Act.

V. I. We are now to conſider King *James* as, in a Manner, re-inſtated on his Throne, and in new Poſſeſſion of his Royal Palace, which he had ſo ingloriouſly deſerted. The firſt Thing he did, which was the laſt publick Act of his Regal Authority, was the iſſuing out the following Order of Council, with the Conjunction of eight Privy-Counſellors: 'His Majeſty being given to underſtand, That divers Outrages and Diſorders are committed in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, by Burning, Pulling down, and otherwiſe Defacing Houſes, and other Buildings, and Rifling and Plundering the ſame, to the great Terror of his Majeſty's Subjects, and manifeſt Breach of the Peace; his Majeſty in Council is pleas'd to direct and command all Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, Conſtables and all other Officers, whom it may concern, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours for the preventing ſuch Outrages and Diſorders for the future, and for the ſuppreſſing all riotous and tumultuous Meetings and Aſſemblies whatſoever.' This Order was ſign'd by the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Craven*, *Berkley* and *Middleton*, the Lords *Preſton* and *Godolphin*, the Maſter of the *Rolls*, and Mr. *Titus*. It was obſerv'd, that ſufficient Care had been taken for this by the Privy-Council before; and his ſhewing his Zeal for the *Popiſh* Party in his firſt Act after his Return, look'd as tho' he had come back only to ſerve them. And during the ſhort Time he ſtaid at *White-Hall*, the Place was crowded with *Iriſh* Men, Prieſts, *Jeſuits* and *Roman Catholicks*, after the former Manner; and one of the Prieſts ſent an imperious Meſſage to the Earl of *Mulgrave*, the Lord Chamberlain, to ſupply his Lodgings with new Furniture, *for he meant to continue in them.* And the King alſo immediately diſcharg'd *Leiburn*, a *Popiſh* Biſhop, out of *Newgate*; ſo that all Things were apparently returning into the old Channel. Inſomuch that ſome that wiſh'd well to the King, ſaid, *He was cunningly invited back to* White-Hall, *with a Deſign to ruin him more effectually, and extinguiſh the remaining Pity of his* Proteſtant *Subjects.*

He ſends an Invitation to the Prince.

His Meſſenger is ſeiz'd.

The Prince refuſes to ſeize the King:

But orders his Removal.

Still the King would gladly have come to ſome Terms with the Prince of *Orange*, who had now the chief Power in his own Hands; therefore in his Journey to *London* his Majeſty diſpatch'd the Earl of *Feverſham* with a Letter to the Prince, kindly to invite him to the Palace at St. *James*'s, 'with what Number of Guards and Troops his Highneſs ſhou'd think convenient to bring along with him, that they might amicably and perſonally confer together about the Means of Redreſſing the Publick Grievances.' The Earl having deliver'd his Meſſage to the Prince, he was not a little ſurpris'd, when inſtead of an Anſwer, Monſieur *Bentinck* demanded his Sword, being order'd by his Highneſs to ſecure him upon the Account of his late precipitate Disbanding the Army; or, as it was ſurmiz'd, becauſe having a great Influence upon the King, he might have puſh'd his Majeſty upon ſome bold Attempt that might have broke thoſe Meaſures, which the Prince and his Adherents had concerted for the Security of the Nation. Tho' his Highneſs did not approve of the Invitation, yet he wholly referr'd the Conſideration of the King's Letter to all the Lords about him: Upon a Debate their Opinion was, 'That the Royal Palace of *White-Hall* being ſtill crowded with *Iriſh Papiſts*, *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, his Highneſs cou'd not with Eaſe and Safety remain at St *James*'s, where he muſt neceſſarily go the next Day, without his Majeſty and his *Popiſh* Guards were remov'd within a reaſonable Diſtance from *London*.' They were likewiſe provok'd by this Accident that happen'd two or three Days before: The Duke of *Grafton* marching through the *Strand*, at the Head of a Regiment, to take *Tilbury*-Fort out of the Hands of the *Iriſh*, an *Iriſh* Trooper came riding up to him, and drew a Piſtol againſt him; for which he was ſhot dead upon the Place: And they thought it was not improbable, but there were more of the ſame Temper. In the Debate, ſome of the Lords, afterwards of a contrary Intereſt, advis'd the ſending the King a Priſoner over to *Holland*, and the keeping him in the Caſtle of *Breda*, till the War both in *England* and *Ireland* was at an End. To which the Prince made this generous Anſwer, *That tho' he cou'd appear againſt the King at the Head of an Army in this Quarrel; yet now that he had him in his Power, he cou'd not put him under any Reſtraint; and he knew the Princeſs cou'd never enjoy herſelf, if any ſuch thing were done:* And rejected theſe Suggeſtions with Indignation, and with Averſion to thoſe who made them. However, ſeveral Places being propos'd for the Removal, in Concluſion *Ham*, a Houſe belonging to the Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale*, was fix'd upon; and, by the Lords Advice, his Highneſs ſubſcrib'd a Paper in theſe Words; 'We deſire You, the Lord Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Delamere*, to tell the King, That it is thought convenient, for the great Quiet of the City, and the great Safety of his Perſon, that he do remove to *Ham*, where he ſhall be attended by his Guards, who will be ready to preſerve him from any Diſturbances, *W. H. P. de Orange.*

The Dutch Guards take Poſſeſſion of White-Hall.

Cenſures upon it.

The King was very ſoon inform'd of the Confinement of the Earl of *Feverſham*, his Meſſenger, which he look'd upon as againſt the Law of Nations; and therefore was the more fill'd with Perplexity and Irreſolution. Yet the next Morning he ſent the Earl of *Mulgrave* to compliment the Prince of *Orange*, who by that Time was come as near as *Sion-Houſe*. His Highneſs's Guards being approach'd nearer, even to *Kenſington* and *Chelſea*, were order'd to quarter there that Night; but upon the laſt Determination from the Prince in Council, they ſoon after receiv'd freſh Orders to march, and take poſſeſſion of all the Poſts about *White-Hall* and St. *James*'s, either by Perſuaſions, or open Force. Count *Solms*, who commanded theſe Troops, being come for that purpoſe, about nine a Clock at Night his Majeſty ſent for him, and earneſtly deſired of him, *If it cou'd be, to let him have his own Guard at* White-Hall *only for that Night*; but the Count alledging his poſitive Orders to *Relieve all the Poſts*, the King anſwer'd, *Do your Office.* At Ten, an Hour after, the *Dutch* Blue Guards enter'd into St. *James*'s Houſe; and towards Eleven, thoſe who were order'd to *White-Hall* mov'd thither through the *Park*. The Lord *Craven*, who was directed by the Prince to order the King's Guards to retire from their Poſts upon the firſt Approach of his Highneſs's Troops, ſuppoſing this was not to be executed till the next Day, had given no Orders to that purpoſe; and the *Engliſh* ſeeming very unwilling to diſlodge, the *Dutch* Guards march'd up to them with lighted Match, and in Order of Battel. This gave the Apprehenſion of a bloody Encounter; but at laſt the King's Guards were prevail'd upon to retire and march off. This Proceeding having been ſeverely cenſur'd both by King *James* and his Friends, as undutiful and inhuman from a

Nephew and a Son-in-law, we ſhall deliver the Senſe of a curious Obſerver, which perhaps comes nearer the Truth. He tells us, That the Prince never ſhew'd his Clemency, or indeed his Tenderneſs for King *James*, more than upon this Occaſion. The Prince was under an unavoidable Neceſſity of Entering *London* the next Day: The Troops that he commanded, and wou'd in all probability have taken Poſſeſſion of *White-Hall*, were Foreigners, of a different Language and Temper, and ſuch as might have offer'd Violence to the Perſon of that Monarch, notwithſtanding their Orders to the contrary. But allowing that the Prince had detach'd for that Service the *Scotch* and *Engliſh*, which bore his Colours, ſtill the Hazards of King *James* wou'd have been the greater: Several of thoſe Officers had ſerv'd in *Ireland* under the King, and had been broke of their Commiſſions purely for being *Proteſtants*; and others had quitted *England* or *Ireland* to find a Liberty of their Religion abroad, which they found in ſo much Danger at home; in which Number were Major-General *Mackay*. Another Party were perſonally diſguſted at the King, as *Tolmaſh* and *Cutts*, and many more of Quality and Diſtinction. Therefore to have commanded thoſe to guard their old Maſter, againſt whom they had, or pretended to have, ſo many Cauſes of Diſſatisfaction, wou'd have been Madneſs in any Perſon who intended or deſign'd that Monarch ſhou'd live till cut off by the Courſe of Nature; which was the viſible Deſign of the Prince of *Orange* with reſpect to his Uncle and Father-in-law. But to proceed,

The King receives the Prince's Orders at Night.

The *Dutch* having thus got Poſſeſſion of *White-Hall*, the three Lords, *Hallifax*, *Shrewsbury* and *Delamere* ſent a Note to Secretary *Middleton*, to inform him, 'That 'there was a Meſſage to be deliver'd to his Majeſty from 'the Prince, which was of ſo great Importance, that they, who 'were charg'd with it, deſired they might be immediate'ly admitted; and therefore deſired to know where they 'might find his Lordſhip, that he might introduce them.' It was then about One in the Morning, when the poor Monarch, diſtreſs'd, and over-burthen'd with Cares, was gone to reſt, when the Lords were introduc'd and admitted to his Bed-ſide. After a ſhort Apology *for breaking in upon his Majeſty's Repoſe at ſo unſeaſonable an Hour*, they deliver'd to him the Prince's Paper, which the King read, and ſaid, *He wou'd comply with it.* Whereupon their Lordſhips humbly deſired, 'That he wou'd remove 'ſo early in the Morning, as to be at *Ham* by Noon, to 'prevent Meeting with the Prince in his Way to *London*, 'where he was to come the ſame Day.' His Majeſty likewiſe readily yielded to this, and movingly ask'd, *Whether he might not appoint what Servants ſhou'd attend him?* To which the Lords reply'd, *That it was left to him to give Order in that as he pleas'd*; and ſo took their Leave of his Majeſty. The King, under new Difficulties and Irreſolutions, as ſoon as they were gone as far as the *Privy-Chamber*, ſent for them again, and told them, *He had forgot to acquaint them with his Reſolutions before the Meſſage came, to ſend the Lord* Godolphin *next Morning to the Prince, to propoſe his going back to* Rocheſter; *he finding by the Meſſage Monſieur* Zuyleſtein *was charg'd with, That the Prince had no Mind he ſhou'd be at* London; *and therefore he now deſir'd he might rather return to* Rocheſter, *than go to any other Place*. The Lords promis'd him, *That they wou'd immediately acquaint the Prince with his Majeſty's Deſire, nor doubting of ſuch an Anſwer, as wou'd be to his Majeſty's Satisfaction*; and ſo a ſecond Time took their Leaves.

He retires to Rocheſter.

This Requeſt was immediately communicated to the Prince, who reaſonably imagining the King's Deſign of leaving the Kingdom, order'd Monſieur *Bentinck* to write a Letter, which came before eight a Clock next Morning, agreeing to his Majeſty's Propoſals of going to *Rocheſter*. His Majeſty was deſirous that ſome of his own Guards might attend him, and one of his own Coaches to convey him to *Rocheſter*, declaring, *He cou'd not travel by Water in ſo cold a Seaſon againſt Wind and Tide, without greatly endangering his Health.* But however it was, the King took a formal Leave of the Lords, the Embaſſador of *Spain*, and other Perſons of Note there preſent, in ſuch an affecting Manner, that many of them melted into Tears, and then took a Barge, attended by the Earls of *Ailesbury*, *Litchfield*, *Arran* and *Dumbarton*, ſix of his Yeomen of the Guard, and about an hundred of the *Dutch* Guards, and arriv'd about nine a Clock at Night at *Graveſend*; where he met with ſome Troops of Horſe of the ſame Countrey, which the next Day guarded him by Land to *Rocheſter*, the Place he deſired.

The Prince arrives at St. James's.

2. And now the Prince of *Orange*, having a clear Stage, took this favourable Opportunity to make his firſt Appearance in *London*; and about three in the Afternoon, the ſame Day that the King left *White-Hall*, his Highneſs, with a magnificent Equipage, and a noble and numerous Retinue, arriv'd at St. *James*'s, where he receiv'd the Congratulations of all the Nobility, and other Perſons of the higheſt Quality in the Town; not to mention the mighty Triumphs of the Multitude, who now turn'd all their Pity for King *James* into Joy for their Deliverer. Two Days after, the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London* attended his Highneſs upon the ſame Account; and the Lord-Mayor being ill, Sir *George Treby*, their Recorder, made this memorable Speech, '*May it pleaſe your Highneſs*, The Lord-Mayor being diſabled 'by Sickneſs, your Highneſs is attended by the Aldermen 'and Commons of the Capital City of this Kingdom, de'puted to congratulate your Highneſs upon this great and 'glorious Occaſion. In which, labouring for Words, we 'cannot but come ſhort in Expreſſion: Reviewing our late 'Danger, we remember our Church and State over-run 'by *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, and brought to the Point 'of Deſtruction, by the Conduct of Men, who were our 'true *Invaders*; that broke the Sacred Fences of our '*Laws*, and, which was worſt, the very Conſtitution of 'our *Legiſlature*: So that there was no Remedy left but 'the Laſt. The only Perſon, under Heaven, that cou'd 'apply this Remedy, was your Highneſs. You are of a 'Nation, whoſe Alliance in all Times has been agreeable 'and proſperous to us. You are of a Family moſt Illu'ſtrious, Benefactors to Mankind; to have the Title of a '*Sovereign Prince*, *Stadt-Holder*, and to have worn the '*Imperial Crown*, are amongſt their leſſer Dignities. They 'have long enjoy'd a Dignity ſingular and tranſcendent, 'To be the *Champions* of Almighty God, ſent forth in 'ſeveral Ages, to vindicate his Cauſe againſt the greateſt 'Oppreſſions. To this *Divine Commiſſion*, our Nobles, 'our Gentry, and among them our brave *Engliſh* Sol'diers, render'd themſelves and their Arms upon your 'Appearing.

Sir George Treby's *Speech to him.*

'GREAT SIR, When we look back to the laſt 'Month, and contemplate the Swiftneſs and Fullneſs of 'our preſent Deliverance; aſtoniſh'd, we think it miracu'lous! Your Highneſs, led by the Hand of Heaven, and 'call'd by the Voice of the People, has preſerv'd our dear'eſt Intereſts: The *Proteſtant Religion*, which is *Primitive* '*Chriſtianity*, reſtor'd; our *Laws*, which are our ancient 'Title to our Lives, Liberties and Eſtates; and without 'which, this World were a Wilderneſs. But what Re'tribution can we make to your Highneſs? Our Thoughts 'are full charg'd with Gratitude. Your Highneſs has a 'laſting Monument in the *Hearts*, in the *Prayers*, in the '*Praiſes* of all good Men amongſt us; and late *Poſterity* 'will celebrate your ever-glorious Name, till Time ſhall 'be no more.

The Mob up.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and Reſident of *Venice*, likewiſe thought fit to compliment his Highneſs, but in private. In the mean Time the *London* Mob, who had taſted of the Sweets of Plunder, took Occaſion from the Publick Rejoicings upon the Prince's Arrival, to inſult and rifle the *Papiſts* without Controul; not excepting ſome Peers of *England*, no more than ſome Foreign Miniſters. Upon Complaint of which, the Privy-Council order'd that all Foreigners ſhou'd be permitted quietly to leave the Kingdom; and the Prince of *Orange* ſent particular Paſſes to the Pope's *Nuncio*, and to the Envoys of *Poland*, *Savoy* and *Modena*; and us'd proper Methods for the regulating the *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Regiments. The *Popiſh* Lords *Langdale* and *Montgomery* were ſet at Liberty; but the Earls of *Peterborough* and *Salisbury* were kept in Cuſtody, as well as a great Number of *Romiſh* Prieſts and *Jeſuits*. The Earl of *Middleton* waited upon the King at *Rocheſter*, to ſurrender to him the Seals of the Secretary's Office; and all the other Lords who had any Employments at Court, diſtinguiſh'd by exterior Badges, as the *Staff*, the *Key*, *&c.* voluntarily laid down thoſe Marks of their Offices.

The Prince attended by the Peers.

On the 21ſt of *December*, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, to the Number of above Threeſcore, appear'd and aſſiſted the Prince at St. *James*'s in a great Council. To whom his Highneſs made this ſhort Speech; '*My Lords*, I have 'deſired you to meet here to adviſe the beſt Manner how 'to purſue the Ends of my *Declaration* in Calling a *Free* '*Parliament*, for the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant Religion*, the Reſtoring the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the King'dom, and ſettling the ſame, that they may not be in 'Danger of being again ſubverted.' Upon ſpeaking of which, his Highneſs withdrew. After the Reading the Prince's *Declaration*, the Lords voted their particular Thanks for his Highneſs's coming over; and the better to conſider the moſt effectual Means to obtain the Ends of his *Declaration*, and ſettle a Form of Government, they reſolv'd to aſſemble for the future in their ancient Houſe at *Weſtminſter*. For which purpoſe they nam'd Five of the moſt eminent Lawyers, *viz.* Sir *John Maynard*, Mr. *Holt*, Mr. *Polixfen*, Mr. *Bradford* and Mr. *Atkinſon*, to aſſiſt them in their important Conſultations, and to explain to them the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Realm, in the Room of the Judges, who were moſt of them abſent from *London*. They alſo appointed Mr. *Francis Gwin* to ſign ſuch Orders as ſhou'd be from Time to Time by them made. It was farther propos'd, that the whole Aſſembly ſhou'd ſign the *Aſſociation*, formerly mention'd, which the Nobility and Gentry had already ſubſcrib'd at *Exeter*; to which Propoſal all agreed, except the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Nottingham*, the Lord *Wharton*, and all the Biſhops, ſave that of *London*, who ſet his Hand to the *Aſſociation*. The main Objection of the Biſhops was upon the Account of the Unchriſtian Word *Revenge*, which being afterwards chang'd for that of *Puniſhment*, they were better ſatisfy'd.

The King finally leaves the Nation.

3. The King in the mean time, perceiving by theſe Proceedings, the uncomfortable Condition of his Affairs, and dreading the formidable Conſequences of a Free Parliament, betook himſelf to his former Reſolution of ſeeking the Protection of the *French* King. We are told by the Author of *Great Britain*'s *juſt Complaint*, that the poor King offer'd firſt to throw himſelf upon the City of *London*, till the Meeting of a Parliament; and after that, into the Hands of the whole Body of the Biſhops, and all without Succeſs. But Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, That being now at *Rocheſter*, and under no Reſtraint from the Guards that attended him, all his *Proteſtant* Friends preſs'd him to ſtay, and to ſummon a Parliament; aſſuring him, 'That there was a great Turn in the Minds of the City, and of the *Engliſh* Army; and that Pity and Compaſſion for him then generally prevail'd;' which was in a great meaſure true. But ſtill he adher'd to his firſt Reſolution, and ſo on the 23d Day of *December*, between Two and Three a-Clock in the Morning, his Majeſty privately withdrew himſelf, without communicating his Deſign to any about him; no not to the Earl of *Dumbarton*, who lay in the King's Chamber, and did not wake till after his Majeſty was gone. This ill-adviſ'd Prince, taking with him only the Duke of *Berwick*, his natural Son, Mr. *Sheldon* and *Labadie*, went on Horſeback as far as a certain Place near the River, where Captain *Mackdonnel* waited to receive him in a ſmall Frigate; and having immediately put to Sea with a favourable Wind, landed at *Ambleteuſe* in *France*; from whence he immediately repair'd to St. *Germains*.

He leaves a Paper at Rocheſter.

The Earl of *Middleton*, who was ſtill at *Rocheſter* when the King departed, found a Letter from his Majeſty to himſelf, deſiring him 'To gratify the Captains of the Prince's Troops, that were appointed to guard him, with an Hundred Guinea's a-piece, the Lieutenants and Enſigns with Fifty, and to reward ſome others that had attended him, in proportion;' his Majeſty, among all his diſtracting Troubles, not forgetting his wonted Generoſity to all that approach'd his Perſon. He alſo left behind him a Paper containing *His Reaſons for withdrawing himſelf from* Rocheſter, which he wrote with his own Hand, and is as follows: 'The World cannot wonder at my withdrawing my ſelf now this ſecond Time. I might have expected ſomewhat better Uſage after what I writ to the Prince of *Orange* by my Lord *Feverſham*, and the *Inſtructions* I gave him: But inſtead of an Anſwer, ſuch as I might have hop'd for, What was I to expect after the Uſage I receiv'd, by making the ſaid Earl a Priſoner, againſt the Practice and Law of Nations; The ſending his own Guards at Eleven at Night, to take Poſſeſſion of the Poſts at *White-Hall*, without advertiſing me in the leaſt manner of it; The ſending to me at One a-Clock after Midnight, when I was in Bed, a kind of an *Order* by Three Lords, *to be gone out of my own Palace before Twelve that ſame Morning*? After all this, how cou'd I hope to be ſafe, ſo long as I was in the Power of One, who had not only done this to me, and invaded my Kingdoms without any juſt Occaſion given him for it; but that did by his firſt *Declaration* lay the greateſt Aſperſion upon me that Malice cou'd invent, in that Clauſe of it which concerns my *Son*? I appeal to all that know me, nay, even to Himſelf, that in their Conſciences, neither He, nor They, can believe me in the leaſt Capable of ſo unnatural a *Villany*, nor of ſo little *Common Senſe*, to be impos'd on in a Thing of ſuch a Nature as that. What had I then to expect from One, who by all Arts, hath taken ſuch Pains to make me appear as *Black as Hell* to my own People, as well as to all the World beſides? What Effect that hath had at Home, all Mankind have ſeen by ſo *General a Defection* in my Army, as well as in the Nation, amongſt all Sorts of People.

'I was born *Free*, and deſire to continue ſo; and tho' I have ventur'd my Life very frankly on ſeveral Occaſions, for the Good and Honour of my Country, and am as free to do it again, (and which I hope I ſhall yet do, as old as I am, to redeem it from the *Slavery* it is like to fall under) yet I think it not convenient to expoſe my ſelf to be ſo ſecured, as not to be at Liberty to effect it; and for that Reaſon do withdraw, but ſo as to be within Call whenever the Nation's Eyes ſhall be open'd, ſo as to ſee how they have been abus'd and impos'd upon by the ſpecious Pretences of *Religion* and *Property*. I hope it will pleaſe God to touch their Hearts, out of his infinite Mercy, and to make them ſenſible of the ill Condition they are in, and bring them to ſuch a Temper, that a *Legal Parliament* may be call'd; and that, amongſt other Things which may be neceſſary to be done, they will agree to *Liberty of Conſcience* to all *Proteſtant Diſſenters*; and that thoſe of my own *Perſwaſion* may be ſo far conſider'd, and have ſuch a Share of it, as they may live peaceably and quietly, as all *Engliſh* Men and Chriſtians ought to do, and not be oblig'd to tranſplant themſelves; which would be very grievous, eſpecially to ſuch as live in their own Country: And I appeal to all Men, who are conſidering Men, and have had Experience, Whether any Thing can make this Nation ſo Great and Flouriſhing, as *Liberty of Conſcience*? Some of our Neighbours dread it. I cou'd add much more, to confirm what I have ſaid, but now is not the proper Time.

The Vacancy of the Throne.

This Paper, as it made a great Noiſe, was animadverted upon by Dr. *Burnet*, and others, who ſhew that the Facts inſiſted on as the Cauſes of his Departure, were aggravated or miſrepreſented. However, there was a general Obſervation, obvious enough to all; That tho' the King gave ſome Reaſons for his Second Deſertion, he gave none at all for his Firſt. For his Second going off, he might make ſome popular Pretences; but for the Firſt, he cou'd ſhew no greater Grounds for his Fears than what might ariſe from the Conſciouſneſs of his own Actions. In ſum, this Flight of King *James* was afterwards interpreted, by a ſolemn Vote of Parliament, a voluntary and abſolute *Abdication*; whereby the People fell into their Original Right of filling up a Throne that was become *Vacant*, and the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* were left free to wear an Imperial Diadem they had long before deſerv'd; a Diadem, however ſtain'd by malicious Aſperſions, yet unſpotted by any Degree of Parricide.

The Deaths of the Duke of Ormond,

Sir Winſton Churchill,

We ſhall conclude this Period, and likewiſe the Old Year, as we have in all the reſt, with the Deaths of conſiderable Men worthy of Remembrance; beginning with Two celebrated Loyaliſts, and firſt the moſt famous and illuſtrious *James Boteler*, Duke of *Ormond*, a glorious Patriot, and a Perſon of as great Worth, Generoſity, Honour and Renown, as ever adorn'd the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Nation, whoſe Sufferings and Services with reſpect to both were beyond Expreſſion. We have taken Notice of this great Man in many Places of this Hiſtory; therefore we ſhall now only remember, that after all his great Services, and faithful Endeavours to preſerve the Crown upon his Maſter's Head, he was ungratefully laid aſide, and dy'd in Private, but much lamented, on the 21ſt of *July*, aged Seventy Nine. The ſecond was, Sir *Winſton Churchill*, Knight, eldeſt Clerk-Comptroller of the *Green-Cloth*, a Perſon of Parts and Letters, who had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Loyalty and particular Services to the Crown; for which he became much in Favour with the late and the preſent King: But he is moſt of all to be remember'd for his being Father to the greateſt Soldier and Hero that this, or perhaps any other Age has produc'd.

Biſhop Ward,

Dr. Cudworth,

Dr. Claggett,

The next to be mention'd, are Three eminent Divines; the firſt, Dr. *Seth Ward*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, a Perſon educated firſt in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and then in *Oxford*; in both which Places he diſplay'd his Abilities, eſpecially as to the Mathematicks and Aſtronomy, and afterwards became Fellow of the Royal Society, a great Virtuoſo and Promoter of experimental Knowledge. He was particularly taken Notice of by King *Charles* the Second, who gave him the Deanery of *Exeter*, and ſucceſſively the Biſhopricks of *Worceſter* and *Salisbury*; to the laſt of which he recover'd the Chancellorſhip of the *Garter*, which had been held by Lay-Hands for above a Hundred and Fifty Years. The Sweetneſs and Genteelneſs of his Behaviour, beſides his Learning and Hoſpitality, gain'd him great Affection when living, and his charitable Benefactions to Colleges and Hoſpitals, no leſs Reputation when dead. The ſecond was Dr. *Ralph Cudworth*, a Perſon firſt educated at *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, from whence he remov'd and became Maſter of *Clare-Hall*, and then Maſter of *Chriſt* College, and *Hebrew* Profeſſor: In which laſt Station he continu'd ſeveral Years in conſiderable Fame; but yet he was by many thought more ornamental than uſeful to his College; but to the Publick he ſhew'd himſelf a Maſter of deep and uncommon Learning; and his *Intellectual Syſtem* manifeſts a Genius that is not eaſy to be match'd. The laſt was Dr. *William Claggett*, of *Suffolk*

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by Birth, and of *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge* by Education; from whence he became Rector of St. *Mary*'s at St. *Edmund-Bury*, and then removing to *London*, he became Preacher to the honourable Society of *Gray's-Inn*, Lecturer of St. *Michael's Baſingſhaw*, and Chaplain to his Majeſty. He was a ſound Man, and of real Worth, one of very good natural Parts, an eminent Preacher, and diſtinguiſh'd for his happy controverſial Writings.

Mr. Waller,

The next were two celebrated Poets, Mr. *Edmund Waller* and Mr. *Thomas Flatman*. The Firſt was a Gentleman more than once remember'd in this Hiſtory, and in many Reſpects as great as ever the Age cou'd ſhew. He had the Love and Acquaintance of all the beſt Poets and polite Writers in his Time, as *Fletcher*, *Ben. Johnſon*, *Suckling*, *Davenant*, *Milton*, *Cowley*, *Denham*, *Rocheſter*, *Oldham*, *Etheridge*, *Dryden*, &c. and was himſelf the great Refiner of the *Engliſh* Tongue. For, beſides the Richneſs of his Fancy, and the Beauty of his Thoughts, he ſhew'd the moſt delicate Ear in the World in the Harmony of his Numbers, which he made ſo ſmooth and flowing, that he firſt taught Foreigners to be ſenſible of the Sweetneſs of our Language. He liv'd to a great Age; and it is remarkable, there is near ſeventy Years diſtance between his firſt and his laſt Poems, and yet the Purity of the Style is much the ſame.

Mr. Flatman,

The other, Mr. *Flatman*, was a Gentleman educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and afterwards of the *Middle-Temple*, where he became a Barriſter, but more ſignally diſplay'd his Parts and Abilities in the two ingenious Faculties of Poetry and Painting. His Poems ſhew a great deal of Wit and Spirit, but too much ſully'd with the Looſeneſs of the Age; and his Pieces of Limning in Miniature, no leſs Skill and Exactneſs of Judgment.

And Iſaac Voſſius.

After all theſe, we ſhall mention a learned Foreigner who reſided and died in *England*, *Iſaac Voſſius*, Son to the famous *John Gerard Voſſius* of *Holland*; a Perſon of vaſt Induſtry, and famous for critical Learning, either in Language or Hiſtory, and ſo famous, that he was taken notice of by the *French* King, who by Monſieur *Colbert* ſent him a Royal Gratuity. King *Charles* likewiſe took him into his Favour, and made him a Canon of *Windſor*, where he continu'd Fifteen Years after a cloſe retir'd manner, generally ſtudying in the Night Time, and upon his Death left behind him the beſt private Library, as it was then ſuppos'd, in the whole World.

CHAP. V.

The Vacancy of the Throne. From the final Departure of King James, *to the filling the Throne by the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *under the Titles of King* William *and Queen* Mary.

Containing the Space of Seven Weeks and Three Days.

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An actual Inter-regnum.

I. 1. During this Period, upon which we are entering, there was an actual *Inter-regnum* in the Kingdom, a Thing altogether unknown to the *Engliſh* Nation, and eſtabliſh'd Conſtitution; yet, whatever were the Cauſes of it, it was no ways leſs Actual and Real: Which demonſtrates, that the beſt and wiſeſt Conſtitutions in Government can never, in their own Natures, be made abſolutely Unalterable. But tho' the King's Power was at an End in *England*, his Title was ſtill in Being, and ſo continu'd till it was formally and effectually determin'd by the remaining unextinguiſhable Powers of the Nation, and the ſolemn placing the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* upon the Throne. We are farther to remember, that tho' there was a real *Inter-regnum*, yet it neither produc'd, nor was it ſucceeded by *Anarchy*, or total Ceſſion of Supreme Authority, which ſtill continu'd, and like a Mechanick Spring confin'd by a greater Weight, as ſoon as it is remov'd diſcovers its Elaſtick Power. For from the Moment of the King's Departure, his Power ſeem'd all devolv'd; and the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, who in the moſt ancient Times were the ſtanding Council of the Nation, eſpecially in all Emergencies, immediately felt themſelves inveſted with an original Right of applying to the neareſt Relations of the Crown, and of ſummoning the remaining Part of the Legiſlature, to ſettle and eſtabliſh the broken Repoſe of the Nation. Leſs they cou'd not do with Safety to the People, nor more, perhaps, with Juſtice to the Monarchy.

The Power of the Lords.

In this Capacity, as ſoon as they heard of King *James*'s Departure, their Lordſhips exerted themſelves and their Authority; and immediately aſſembled themſelves in their Houſe at *Weſtminſter*; and after a long Debate, relating chiefly to the Prerogatives of a King of *England*, they reſolv'd to begin with the following Addreſs to the Prince of *Orange*: ‘We the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, aſſembled in this Conjuncture, do deſire your Highneſs to take upon you the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs both Civil and Military, and the Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preſervation of our *Religion*, *Rights*, *Laws*, *Liberties* and *Properties*, and of the *Peace* of the Nation; and that your Highneſs will take into your particular Care the preſent Condition of *Ireland*, and endeavour by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual Means to prevent the Dangers threatning that Kingdom: All which we make our Requeſts to your Highneſs to undertake and exerciſe, till the Meeting of the intended *Convention*, the 22d Day of *January* next; in which, we doubt not, ſuch proper Methods will be taken, as will conduce to the Eſtabliſhment of theſe things upon ſuch ſure and legal Foundations, that they may not be in danger of being again ſubverted.’ Dated at the Houſe of Lords, *Weſtminſter* the 25th of *December*.

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They apply to the Prince of Orange.

Having made this firſt Step, their Lordſhips proceeded to conſider of the moſt effectual Way for ſummoning the ſaid *Convention*, and the ſame Day drew up their Opinions, in this ſecond Addreſs to the Prince: ‘We the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* in this extraordinary Conjuncture, do humbly deſire your Highneſs to cauſe Letters to be written, ſubſcrib'd by your ſelf, To the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal*, being *Proteſtants*; and to the ſeveral *Counties*, *Univerſities*, *Cities*, *Boroughs*, and *Cinque-Ports* of *England*, *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Twede*. The Letters for the *Counties* to be directed to the *Coroners* of the reſpective Counties, or any one of them; and in default of the Coroners, to the *Clerk of the Peace* of the reſpective Counties: And the Letters for the *Univerſities*, to be directed to every *Vice-Chancellor*: And the Letters to the ſeveral *Cities*, *Boroughs* and *Cinque-Ports*, to be directed to the *Chief-Magiſtrate* of each reſpective City, Borough and Cinque-Port; containing Directions for the Chuſing, in all ſuch Counties, Cities, *Univerſities*, *Boroughs* and *Cinque-Ports*, within ten Days after the Receipt of the reſpective *Letters*, ſuch a Number of Perſons to *Repreſent* them, as are of Right to be ſent to *Parliament*: Of which Elections, and the Times and Places thereof, the reſpective Officers ſhall give Notice, within the Space of five Days in the leaſt. Notice of the intended *Elections* for the *Counties*, to be publiſh'd in the Churches, immediately after the Time of *Divine-Service*, and in all the Market-Towns within the ſaid reſpective Counties: And Notice of the intended *Elections* for the *Cities*, *Univerſities*, *Boroughs* and *Cinque-Ports*, to be publiſh'd within the ſaid reſpective Places. The ſaid *Letters*, and the Execution thereof, to be *Return'd*, by ſuch Officer and Officers who ſhall execute the ſame, to the *Clerk of the Crown* in the *Court of Chancery*; ſo as the Perſons ſo to be choſen may Meet and Sit at *Weſtminſter*, on the 22d Day of *January* next.’ Theſe two Addreſſes were ſubſcrib'd by about ninety Lords, that were then preſent in the Houſe.

The ſecond Addreſs to him.

In all Debates, the Marquiſs of *Hallifax* was made their Chair-Man: And having proceeded thus far, to ſhew their Authority, as well as ſettle the Peace of the City, they next made an ‘Order for all *Papiſts* to depart the City of *London*, and ten Miles from the ſame, within five Days, and not to remove from their Habitations above five Miles; excepting ſuch as were actually in the Queen Dowager's Service, the Domeſticks of Foreign Miniſters, Foreign Merchants and Factors, reſiding only upon the Account of Trade, and all Houſe-keepers in *London* and ten Miles from the ſame, who had been Traders for three Years laſt paſt: Provided they gave in their Names, and Places of Abode, in eight Days, to the Lord Mayor in Writing; and alſo all *Popiſh* Officers that ſhall give Bail in ſix Days, to appear the firſt Day of the Term, and to be on their good Behaviour in the mean time; and ſuch Officers as ſhou'd neglect, to be taken into Cuſtody.’ Thus far the Lords proceeded and acted by themſelves, agreeable to their ancient Right and Authority.

Their Order againſt Papiſts.

2. In the mean Time the Prince of *Orange* proceeded with all Vigour and Diligence. His Highneſs ſeem'd never to doubt a conſiderable Party among the Peers; therefore the regular Concurrence of the Commons of *England* appear'd the moſt important Point; and to aſſemble them after a legal Manner, was no ſmall Difficulty. There was no King in the Nation, nor any particular Style or Form of Government; the *Writs* were deſtroy'd, and the Great-Seal thrown away and loſt. After a long Conſultation upon this weighty and knotty Affair a late Precedent was produc'd, which ſeem'd to agree with the preſent Exigency. About the latter End of the Year 1659, General *Monk*, with the Nobility and Gentry that labour'd for King *Charles*'s Reſtoration, in oppoſition to the *Rump* Parliament, who pretended to continue Sitting, iſſu'd forth their Summons in the Names of the *Keepers of the Liberties of* England, for a *Conven-*

The Proceedings of the Prince of Orange.

tion

1688. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29. *tion* or *Parliament*, to meet on the 25th of *April*, 1660. And tho' this was done by Unqualify'd Perſons, without the formal Conſent of the People, yet after the King's Return, he was ſo well ſatisfy'd with their Proceedings, that it was Enacted by the King and the Three Eſtates of the Realm, 'That 'the Lords and Commons then Sitting were the *Two Houſes* '*of Parliament*; notwithſtanding any Want of the King's '*Writs*, or any other Defect whatſoever.' From whence his Highneſs's Council inferr'd, 'That if the *Neceſſity of Af*-'*fairs* was a forcible Argument in 1659, it was certainly 'of a greater Force in the preſent Conjuncture:' Now becauſe the Commons of *England* have not the ſame Power to Aſſemble as the Peers, the Prince publiſh'd this following *Order*; 'Whereas the *Neceſſity of Affairs* does require 'ſpeedy Advice; We do deſire all ſuch Perſons as have 'ſerv'd as *Knights*, *Citizens* or *Burgeſſes* in any of the '*Parliaments* that were held during the Reign of the late 'King *Charles* the Second, to meet us at St. *James*'s, upon '*Wedneſday* the 26th of this Inſtant *December*, by ten of 'the Clock in the Morning. And we do likewiſe deſire, 'That the *Lord Mayor* and *Court of Aldermen* of the City 'of *London* would be preſent at the ſame time; and that 'the *Common-Council* wou'd appoint fifty of their Number 'to be there likewiſe. And hereof we deſire them not to 'fail.

mmons the Commons, &c.

Purſuant to this Summons, many Members of the Parliaments in King *Charles*'s Reign, to the Number of about a hundred and ſixty, and the Aldermen and Deputies of the Common-Council of the City of *London*, aſſembled at St. *James*'s, on *Wedneſday* the appointed Day; where the Prince made this following Speech to them: 'You, *Gen*-'*tlemen*, that have been Members of the late Parliaments, 'I have deſired you to meet me here, to adviſe the beſt 'Manner how to purſue the Ends of my *Declaration*, in 'Calling a *Free Parliament*, for the Preſervation of the '*Proteſtant Religion*, and the Reſtoring the *Rights* and *Li*-'*berties* of the Kingdom, and ſettling the ſame, that they 'may not be in danger of being again ſubverted. And 'you the *Aldermen* and Members of the *Common-Council* 'of the City of *London*, I deſire the ſame of you. And 'in Regard your Numbers are like to be great, you may, if 'you think fit, divide your ſelves, and ſit in ſeveral Places.' The Lord Mayor being abſent, upon the Account of his Indiſpoſition, the Prince gave the Copy of his Speech to Sir *Thomas Allen*, as being eldeſt Alderman, and ſtyl'd *Father of the City*, deſiring that he and the reſt wou'd take that Paper into immediate Conſideration.

eech to them.

Accordingly, by Agreement, they all repair'd to the Commons Houſe in *Weſtminſter*; where being ſeated, and having choſen *Henry Powle* Eſq; for their Chair-Man, the firſt Queſtion they debated, was, *What Authority they had to aſſemble*? Upon which it was ſoon agreed, That the Requeſt of his Highneſs the Prince was a ſufficient Warrant. The next Queſtion of Moment was, *How his Highneſs cou'd take upon him the Adminiſtration of Affairs without a diſtinguiſhing Name or Title*? Which Objection being ſtarted by Sir *Robert Southwell*, was ſufficiently anſwer'd by Serjeant *Maynard*, who ſaid, *That the Aſſembly wou'd loſe a great deal of time, if they waited till Sir* Robert *cou'd conceive how that was poſſible*. A Temporary Offer of the Government being made to his Highneſs, one propos'd that it ſhou'd be, not for a Month only, but for a whole Year; to whom it was anſwer'd, that the Convention ought only to conſider of that. Others mov'd that the *Aſſociation*, that had been ſign'd by the Lords, might likewiſe be ſubſcrib'd by this Aſſembly; but it was carry'd, that the ſaid *Aſſociation* ſhou'd be left upon the Table, and every one be at Liberty to ſign it or not. After theſe previous Debates, they reſolv'd upon Heads for an *Addreſs* to be made to his Highneſs, and appointed Perſons to draw up and prepare the ſame; and in the Afternoon it was done accordingly, and read and approv'd in this Form:

ouſe.

Their Addreſs to the Prince.

'We who have ſerv'd as Members of *Parliaments* du-'ring the Reign of the late King *Charles* the Second, together 'with the Court of *Aldermen*, and Members of the *Com*-'*mon-Council* of the City of *London*, aſſembled at your 'Highneſs's Deſire, in this extraordinary Conjuncture, do, 'with an unanimous Conſent, tender to your High-'neſs our humble and hearty Thanks, for your Coming 'into this Kingdom, and Expoſing your Perſon to ſo great 'Hazards, for the Preſervation of our *Religion*, *Laws*, 'and *Liberties*, and Reſcuing us from the Miſeries of *Po*-'*pery* and *Slavery*: And deſire your Highneſs, (for the 'Purſuance of theſe Ends, and for the Preſervation 'of the *Peace* of the Nation) will take upon you the 'Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, both *Civil* and *Mi*-'*litary*, and the Diſpoſal of the *Publick Revenues*. We 'do alſo deſire, that your Highneſs will take into your 'particular Conſideration, the preſent Condition of *Ire*-'*land*; and endeavour, by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual 'Means to prevent the Dangers threatning that Kingdom. 'All which, we deſire your Highneſs to undertake and 'execute, until the Meeting of the intended *Convention*, 'the 22d Day of *January* next.' Then, for the Chuſing of Members for the ſaid *Convention*, they propos'd the ſame which has been mention'd in the Lords Addreſs; and ſo concluded in theſe Words, 'This we humbly offer to 'your Highneſs, as our beſt *Advice*, in this Exigency of 'Affairs, for attaining the Ends of your Highneſs's *De*-'*claration*; and as the beſt Means tending to ſuch an 'Eſtabliſhment, as that our *Religion*, *Laws* and *Liberties*, 'may not be in danger of being again ſubverted.'

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His Highneſs's Anſwer to the Lords and their Addreſs.

His Highneſs having appointed to receive the Addreſs the next Morning, he was then attended by a Body of them; and the Addreſs was preſented and read by Mr. *Powle* to his Highneſs; who was pleas'd to declare, *That it being a Matter of Weight, he wou'd conſider thereof, and give his Anſwer the next Day*. Accordingly, on *Friday* Morning, *December* 28, his Highneſs firſt gave the following Anſwer at St. *James*'s to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal: *My Lords, I have conſider'd of your Advice; and, as far as I am able, I will endeavour to ſecure the* Peace *of the Nation, until the Meeting of the* Convention *in* January *next; for the* Election *whereof I will forthwith iſſue* Letters, *according to your Deſire. I will alſo take care to apply the Publick* Revenue *to the moſt proper Uſes that the preſent Affairs require; and likewiſe endeavour to put* Ireland *into ſuch a Condition, as that the* Proteſtant Religion *and* Engliſh Intereſt *may be maintain'd in that Kingdom. And I further aſſure you, That as I came hither for the* Preſervation *of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and the* Laws *and* Liberties *of theſe Kingdoms; ſo I ſhall always be ready to expoſe my ſelf to any Hazard, for the* Defence *of the ſame.* And in the Afternoon, his Highneſs was pleas'd to return the very ſame Anſwer to the Commons.

The French Ambaſſador ſent away.

3. While King *James* continu'd at *Rocheſter*, the old *French* Ambaſſador, Monſieur *Barillon*, was extraordinary active and buſy in promoting Diviſions amongſt the Peers; wherefore the Prince of *Orange* was no ſooner inform'd of his Majeſty's ſecond Departure, but his Highneſs ſent an expreſs Order to that Miniſter to leave the Kingdom in four and twenty Hours. *Barillon* demanded a longer time, which being refus'd, he unwillingly parted from *London*, where he had many Years reſided, together with the Marquiſs *Rangoni*, Envoy of *Modena*, to whom the Prince had granted a particular Guard. Two Days after, the Prince having receiv'd an Account, that the Earl of *Eſſex*, and ſome other *Engliſh* Gentlemen had been ſecur'd at *Paris*, it was debated, whether his Highneſs ſhou'd ſend down a Meſſenger to arreſt the *French* Ambaſſador, by way of Repriſals; but the Propoſition was not thought adviſeable at this nice Juncture.

The Prince declares for the Church of England.

On the 30th of *December*, being *Sunday*, his Highneſs the Prince ſolemnly receiv'd the Holy Sacrament in the Royal Chapel of St. *James*'s from the Hands of the Biſhop of *London*, and heard the whole Service perform'd by Dr. *Burnet*, and an excellent Sermon preach'd by Dr. *Lloyd* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*; which open profeſſing himſelf a Member of the Church of *England*, gain'd him the Praiſes and Affections of many wavering People. The next Day the Juſtices of Peace of *Middleſex* waited upon his Highneſs with an Addreſs of Thanks, for his hazardous coming over to deliver them from *Popery* and *Slavery*. And on the ſame Day his Highneſs began with the firſt *Act* of his Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, and this was a *Declaration* for 'Authorizing all Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, 'and other Officers and Miniſters, not being *Papiſts*, that 'were in ſuch Offices, on the firſt Day of *December* laſt, 'to act in their reſpective Places, till the Meeting of the 'intended *Convention*, or other Order to the contrary.

He viſits the Queen Dowager.

On the ſame *Monday* Evening, the laſt in the Year, his Highneſs made a publick Viſit to the Queen Dowager; and among other Queſtions, in a pleaſant way, he ask'd her Majeſty, *How ſhe paſs'd away the Time*, and *Whether ſhe play'd at Baſſet*? Upon which the Queen took this Opportunity to ſpeak, at a diſtance, in favour of the confin'd Earl of *Feverſham*, and anſwer'd his Highneſs, *That ſhe had not play'd that Game ſince the Abſence of her Chamberlain, who us'd to keep the Bank*. The Prince immediately took the Hint, and generouſly aſſur'd her Majeſty, *That he would not by any means interrupt her Majeſty's Diverſions*; and the next Day he order'd the Earl to be ſet at Liberty. However his Highneſs's Complaiſance did not alter the Queen's Reſolution of retiring to her native Country, *Portugal*; for at that very time ſhe diſpatch'd an Expreſs to *Lisbon* to that Purpoſe; tho' as it happen'd afterwards, it did not take Effect.

168$\frac{8}{9}$. Jac. 4. Reſ. 29.

The Prince's Care of Scotland.

II. 1. As the Prince of *Orange* had ſhewn himſelf very active and vigilant with relation to the Affairs of *England*, ſo he manifeſted a ſuitable Regard to thoſe of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; with ſome Account of the firſt of which we ſhall begin the new Year. Now the *Declaration* that his Highneſs had caus'd to be diſpers'd in *Scotland* did not miſs of its deſign'd Effect, and particularly among the *Presbyterian* Party, who ſeem'd to have had as great an Influence in the Beginnings of the Revolution there, as the Church Party had in *England.* The Lord Chancellor, upon the News of King *James*'s withdrawing, immediately reſign'd the Great Seal, and retir'd from *Edinburgh*: Upon which the Populace of that City, with ungovernable Fury, inſulted and rifled, not only the *Roman Catholicks*, but alſo the Epiſcopal Party, of whom their Heads the Biſhops had unhappily publiſh'd a ſort of Abhorrence of the Expedition of the Prince of *Orange* from *Holland.*

He aſſembles the Scotch *Nobility at* London.

His Highneſs being inform'd of theſe forward Motions, on the 7th of *January* he aſſembled all the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry, as were then in and about *London*; who meeting at St. *James*'s, he made this Speech to them: '*My Lords* '*and Gentlemen*, The only Reaſon that induc'd me to undergo ſo great an Undertaking, was, That I ſaw the '*Laws* and *Liberties* of theſe Kingdoms overturn'd, and 'the *Proteſtant Religion* in imminent Danger; and ſeeing 'there are here ſo many Noblemen and Gentlemen, I have 'call'd you together, that I may have your *Advice* what 'is to be done for the ſecuring the *Proteſtant Religion*, and 'reſtoring your *Laws* and *Liberties*, according to my *De*'*claration.*' As ſoon as his Highneſs was retir'd, theſe Lords and Gentlemen immediately repair'd to the *Council-Chamber* at *White-Hall*; and having choſen the Duke of *Hamilton* their Preſident, they conſulted together what *Advice* was moſt proper to be given to his Highneſs in this Conjuncture: And after ſome Hours Debates, they agreed upon the Particulars of it, which they order'd to be drawn up in Writing. The next Day this Draught was preſented to the Aſſembly, and order'd to be ingroſs'd, after they had made ſome Amendments to it, relating to the Calling a *General Meeting* of the States of *Scotland.* But as they were ready to break up, the Earl of *Arran* propos'd to them, *That they ſhould move the Prince of* Orange *to deſire the King to return, and call a Free Parliament*; *which wou'd be the beſt way to ſecure their* Religion *and* Properties, *according to the known Laws of the Kingdom, and to heal all* Breaches. This Propoſal ſeem'd to diſſatisfy the whole Aſſembly; and therefore, being met again the Day following, Sir *Patrick Hume* took particular Notice of it, and deſir'd to know, *If there were any that wou'd ſecond it:* But none appearing to do it, he ſaid, *That what the Earl had propos'd was evidently oppoſite and ungrateful to the Prince of* Orange*'s Undertaking, his* Declaration, *and the good Intentions of preſerving the* Proteſtant Religion, *and of reſtoring their* Laws *and* Liberties; and farther deſir'd, *That the Aſſembly would declare this to be their Opinion.* The Lord *Cardroſs* ſeconded Sir *Patrick*'s Motion, but the Duke of *Hamilton* wav'd it, alledging, *That their Buſineſs was to prepare an* Advice *to be offer'd to the Prince*; *and the* Advice *being ready to go to the* Vote, *there was no need that the Aſſembly ſhou'd give their Senſe of the Earl's Propoſal, which never before, nor after Sir* Patrick*'s Motion, any had pretended to own or ſecond, ſo that it was fallen, and out of Doors*; *and that the* Vote *of the Aſſembly upon the* Advice, *brought in by their* Order, *wou'd ſufficiently declare their Opinion.* This being ſeconded by the Earl of *Sutherland*, the Lord *Cardroſs* and Sir *Patrick* did both acquieſce in it. In Concluſion they unanimouſly Voted this following Addreſs to the Prince of *Orange.*

Their Addreſs to him, to take the Government, &c.

'We, the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom of '*Scotland*, aſſembled at your Highneſs's Deſire on this Extraordinary Conjuncture, do give your Highneſs our humble and hearty Thanks, for your pious and generous Undertaking, for preſerving the *Proteſtant Religion*, and reſtoring the *Laws* and *Liberties* of this Kingdom. In order to the attaining of theſe Ends, our humble *Advice* 'and *Deſire* is, That your Highneſs take upon you the 'Adminiſtration of all Affairs both Civil and Military, the 'Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenues and Fortreſſes of the 'Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the doing every Thing that is 'neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom, until a *General Meeting* of the States of the Nation, 'which we humbly deſire your Highneſs to call, to be 'holden at *Edinburgh* the 14th Day of *March* next, by 'your *Letter* or *Proclamation*, to be publiſh'd at the *Market-Croſs* of *Edinburgh*, and other head *Boroughs* of the ſeveral *Shires* and *Stewarties*, as ſufficient Intimation to all 'concern'd, according to the Cuſtom of the Kingdom: 'And that the Publication of theſe your *Letters* or *Proclamation* be by the *Sheriffs*, or *Stewart-Clerks*, for the '*Free-Holders*, who have the Value of Lands holden according to Law, for making *Elections*; and by the *Town-Clerks* of the ſeveral *Boroughs*, for the Meeting of the 'whole *Burgeſſes* of the reſpective *Royal-Boroughs*, to 'make their Elections, at leaſt fifteen Days before the 'Meeting of the *Eſtates* at *Edinburgh*; and the reſpective '*Clerks* to make Intimation thereof, at the leaſt ten Days before the Meeting for *Election*: And that the whole Electors and Members of the ſaid Meeting at *Edinburgh*, qualify'd as above expreſs'd, be *Proteſtants*, without any other 'Exception or Limitation whatſoever; to deliberate and reſolve what is to be done for ſecuring the *Proteſtant Religion*, and reſtoring the *Laws* and *Liberties* of the Kingdom, according to your Highneſs's *Declaration.*

The Prince's Anſwer.

This Addreſs was ſign'd by about thirty Lords and eighty Gentlemen, and preſented in their Preſence at St. *James*'s by their Preſident the Duke of *Hamilton.* His Highneſs took three Days time to conſider of an Anſwer; tho' he gave them his immediate Thanks for the Truſts and Confidence they had repoſed in him. So on the 14th he met the *Scotch* Lords and Gentlemen in the ſame Place again, and gave them the following Anſwer: *My Lords and Gentlemen, in purſuance of your* Advice, *I will, until the Meeting of the Eſtates in* March *next, give ſuch Orders concerning the Affairs of* Scotland, *as are neceſſary for the calling of the ſaid* Meeting *for the Preſervation of the Peace, the applying of the Publick* Revenue *to the moſt preſſing Uſes, and putting the* Fortreſſes *into the Hands of Perſons, in whom the Nation can have a juſt Confidence: And I do further aſſure you, That you will always find me ready to concur with you in every Thing that may be found neceſſary for ſecuring the* Proteſtant Religion, *and reſtoring the* Laws *and* Liberties *of the Nation.* The Earls of *Crawford* and *Lothian* being preſent in this laſt Meeting, but arriving in *London* after the former, deſir'd they might likewiſe ſign the ſaid Addreſs, which they accordingly did. So that now all Things appear'd with a fair Proſpect to the Prince's Succeſſes in the Kingdom of *Scotland.*

His Care for Ireland.

2. The Prince of *Orange* was no leſs careful and ſolicitous about the Safety and Preſervation of *Ireland*, where the Proſpect was leſs pleaſing in a ſhort time, tho' there was an hopeful Appearance. The Care of that Kingdom was recommended to his Highneſs, not only by *Engliſh* Lords and Commons, but alſo by a particular Addreſs from the *Iriſh Proteſtant* Nobility and Gentry, aſſembled for that Purpoſe in the Duke of *Ormond*'s Houſe, who at the ſame time preſented his Highneſs with the Draughts of the chief Ports and Fortreſſes of that Kingdom. The Prince was juſtly afraid that the Lord-Lieutenant *Tyrconnel* wou'd cloſely adhere to King *James* and his Intereſt, being ſupported by a numerous Army, and a powerful *Popiſh* Party, who had wretchedly depreſs'd the poor *Proteſtants* in all Parts. But upon a Report that he had actually propos'd in Council to make the Lords *Granard* and *Montjoy*, both *Proteſtants*, the firſt Lieutenant, and the other Major-General, and to reſtore the Arms taken from the Proteſtant Party, it was thought proper to ſummon him, by a Letter, 'To ſubmit to the preſent Adminiſtration in *England*, and 'thoſe Troops which the Prince of *Orange* deſign'd for the 'Security of *Ireland*; farther aſſuring him, That the *Roman Catholicks* there ſhou'd enjoy the ſame Liberty they 'had under the Reign of King *Charles* the Second.

Colonel Hamilton *ſent thither.*

Colonel *Sarsfield*, a Native of *Ireland*, was firſt reſolv'd upon to carry this important Letter; but he freely told his Highneſs, *That he was ready to obey his Commands, and even to fight againſt the King of* France; *but as to his being any way acceſſary to deprive his* Lawful Sovereign *of one of his Kingdoms, he wou'd never do it, unleſs he was forc'd to it.* The Prince always lov'd or eſteem'd a brave Officer, and therefore his Anſwer was not ill receiv'd; and ſo the Matter was left to Colonel *Hamilton*, another *Iriſh-Man*, who willingly undertook the Meſſage: But being arriv'd at *Dublin*, inſtead of promoting the Prince's Intereſt, he acted in concert with the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, directly to oppoſe it. Some of the Lords who had plentiful Eſtates in *Ireland*, were apprehenſive of the ſad Conſequences of *Tyrconnel*'s Preparations, and preſs'd his Highneſs to ſend ſpeedy Succours to the *Proteſtants* of the *North* of that Kingdom: But this Motion, we are told, was retarded by others, who having nothing to loſe, deſir'd nothing more than that Things ſhou'd come to an Extremity; as foreſeeing that Oppoſition againſt Conquerors is ever attended with Forfeitures, out of which Friends are to be rewarded. But to return to the Affairs of *England.*

The Prince regulates the Engliſh *Forces.*

3. The firſt Thing the Prince did, after his ordering of Sheriffs and other Officers to continue their Places, was to diſpatch Circular Letters for the Meeting of the *Convention*; 'And for the better preventing Diſorders that 'might happen in any Place of Election, he order'd all 'Regiments, Troops and Companies to march out of the 'Quarters where ſuch Elections ſhou'd be made, the ſeveral Garriſons only excepted.' In the next Place, his Highneſs bent his Thoughts upon modelling the *Engliſh* Army: And firſt he caus'd a Review to be made of all the

168$\frac{8}{9}$. Jac. 4. Ref. 29.

Engliſh Forces, and then gave Directions to the Lord *Ranelaugh* their Pay-Maſter to pay them their Arrears, and to the Lord *Churchill* to make a Reform of Eight of the new rais'd Regiments, *viz.* Five of Horſe, and Three of Foot; which however extended no farther than their Officers, nor did it reach thoſe neither who had ſerv'd before, and were willing to be employ'd under his Highneſs. Beſides this Reform, the whole Troop of Life-Guards, commanded by the Lord *Dover*, was disbanded, to make room, as was juſtly ſuppos'd, for the *Dutch* Life-Guards. The Regiment of *Dumbarton* was given to Duke *Schomberg*, which was a Diſappointment to Duke *Hamilton*, who expected it ſhou'd have been beſtow'd on his ſecond Son, the Earl of *Selkirk*, to make him Amends for his Regiment that had been given before to Colonel *Godfrey*. That of Major-General *Oglethorp*, whom the Prince in vain endeavour'd to engage in his Service, was given to the Lord *Churchill*'s Brother; and that of *Skelton*, to Colonel *Fitz-Patrick*. Colonel *Tufton*, who commanded Admiral *Herbert*'s Regiment, ſurrender'd his Commiſſion, as likewiſe did Major-General *Sackvil* and Colonel *Legg*: And ſeveral other Officers follow'd this Example, upon Account of the new Oath that was exacted of them. Now becauſe the Prince was inform'd, that divers Soldiers, contrary to his Intentions and the Laws of the Land, were Quarter'd in Private Houſes, his Highneſs iſſu'd out a *Declaration*, ordering that none of the Forces ſhou'd preſume to Quarter in any Private Houſe, without the voluntary Conſent of the Owner.

Money lent him by the City.

In the mean Time the Prince began to be ſenſible of the Want of a neceſſary Subſiſtence for the preſent Exigencies; and upon the firſt Notice given by Letter from his Highneſs to the *Court of Aldermen* and *Common-Council* of the City of *London*, That there was a great Occaſion for an immediate Supply of Money, beyond what the preſent Condition of the Revenue cou'd furniſh, for the Charge of the Navy, paying off Part of the Army, and ſending a ſpeedy Relief for the Defence of the *Proteſtant* Intereſt in *Ireland*; and propoſing, That for the anſwering theſe great Ends, ſuch a Sum of Money ſhou'd be advanc'd by the City, by Way of Loan, as they cou'd conveniently ſpare, which wou'd be ſecur'd and repaid with full Intereſt at the End of ſix Months; an unanimous Vote immediately paſs'd, That they wou'd ſupply his Highneſs with two hundred Thouſand Pounds; which was the Sum demanded, and which was rais'd in four Days Time; one ſingle Man, Sir *Samuel Daſhwood*, alone having ſubſcrib'd ſixty Thouſand Pounds towards it.

The Arch-biſhop, &c. ſigns the Aſſociation.

Among the many that waited upon the Prince, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had hitherto declin'd that Particular, tho' he had ſhewn himſelf as ready as any in joyning with, and ſubſcribing the Lords Invitation at *Guild-Hall*. This was by many aſcrib'd to his Indiſpoſition of Body, but by others, who ſeem'd to judge more rightly of the Matter, to the ſame Reaſon which oblig'd the Biſhops not to ſign the *Aſſociation*. However, his Grace did ſoon after ſend a Compliment to the Prince, and with ſeven or eight Biſhops more ſubſcrib'd the *Aſſociation*; having ſoften'd ſome Words in it, that ſeem'd to bear upon the Principles of Chriſtianity, as was formerly hinted, whereof one was that of *Revenge*, which they chang'd into that of *Puniſhment*.

The Diſſenting Miniſters Addreſs to the Prince.

About the ſame Time divers of the Diſſenting Miniſters, in and about *London*, under the Denomination of *Presbyterial* and *Congregational*, to the Number of about ninety, attended his Highneſs at St. *James*'s, introduc'd by the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Lord *Wharton* and the Lord *Wiltſhire*; when their Senſe was repreſented by one of thoſe Miniſters to this Effect: 'That they profeſs'd 'their grateful Senſe of his Highneſs's hazardous and he'roical Expedition, which the Favour of Heaven had 'made ſo ſurprizingly proſperous. That they eſteem'd it 'a common Felicity, that the worthy Patriots of the 'Nobility and Gentry had unanimouſly concurr'd with 'his Highneſs's Deſigns: By whoſe moſt prudent Advice, 'the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs was devolv'd, in 'this difficult Conjuncture, into Hands which the Nation 'and World knew to be apt for the greateſt Undertakings, 'and ſo ſuitable to the preſent Exigencies. That they 'promis'd the utmoſt Endeavours, which in their Stations 'they were capable of affording, for promoting the excel'lent and moſt deſirable Ends, for which his Highneſs 'had declared. That they added their continual fervent 'Prayers to the Almighty, for the Preſervation of his 'Highneſs's Perſon, and the Succeſs of his future Endea'vours, for the Defence and Propagation of the *Prote'ſtant* Intereſt throughout the Chriſtian World. That 'they ſhou'd moſt willingly have choſen that Time for the 'Seaſon of paying this their Duty to his Highneſs, when 'the Lord Biſhop of *London*, and the Clergy of *London* 'attended his Highneſs for that Purpoſe; which ſome of 'them did, and of which his Lordſhip was pleas'd con'deſcendingly to take Notice to his Highneſs; had their 'Notice of that Application been ſo early, as to have 'made their more general Attendance poſſible to them at 'that Time. That therefore, tho' they did now appear 'in a diſtinct Company, they did it not upon a Diſtinct 'Account, but on that which is common to all *Prote'ſtants*. That tho' there were ſome of eminent Note, 'whom Age or preſent Infirmities hinder'd from coming 'with them, yet they concurr'd in the ſame grateful Senſe 'of their common Deliverance.

168$\frac{8}{9}$. Jac. 4. Ref. 29.

His Anſwer.

His Highneſs was pleas'd very favourably to receive their Application, and return'd them this Anſwer: *My great End was the Preſervation of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and with the Almighty's Aſſiſtance and Permiſſion, ſo to defend and ſupport the ſame, as may give it Strength and Reputation throughout the World, ſufficient to preſerve it from the Inſults and Oppreſſion of its moſt implacable Enemies; and that more immediately in theſe Kingdoms of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland: *And I will uſe my utmoſt Endeavours, ſo to Settle and Cement all different Perſuaſions of* Proteſtants, *in ſuch a Bond of Love and Community, as may contribute to the laſting Security and Enjoyments of* Spirituals *and* Temporals, *to all ſincere Profeſſors of that Holy Religion.*

Elections for the Convention.

4. All this Time the Elections of the Members for the *Convention* went on with the greateſt Freedom and Liberty that cou'd be imagin'd; every Man giving his Vote for whom he pleas'd, without the leaſt Sollicitations from the Prince, or any belonging to him; to which Calm, the Removal of the Soldiers, during the Times of Election, did not a little contribute. There had been *Writs* twice before this for a Parliament in a few Months, and almoſt every Place had before this fix'd their Members; ſo that the Difference was not conſiderable between the Members that were, and thoſe that wou'd have been choſen, if King *James* had ſuffer'd the firſt or ſecond Parliament he call'd, to have met: And this gives the trueſt Idea of the Temper of the Nation at this Seaſon, and what wou'd have been the Event, if either of thoſe Parliaments had ſat. Yet ſtill Diviſions and Difficulties were to be expected; and the Sitting of the *Convention* drawing near, and the major Part of the Members being come up to *London*, it was eaſy to foreſee that there wou'd be more than one Party in the Lower-Houſe. It is true, the Generality, if not all of them, agreed in the 'Neceſſity of 'Re-eſtabliſhing the Fundamentals of the Government, 'and of bringing back the *Engliſh* Conſtitution to its per'fect and pureſt Original, tho' hard to know or effect, as 'the beſt Means to ſecure the Nation againſt *Popery*, '*Slavery* and *Oppreſſion*;' but yet they did not a little differ in the *Means* and *Methods* of Compaſſing theſe great Ends. And again, tho' all concurr'd to lodge the Government in the Hands of the Prince of *Orange*, yet ſtill the Opinions were various as to the *Title* they ſhou'd confer upon him; ſome being for making him *Regent* or *Protector*, with particular Limitations, and others *King*, according to the old Conſtitution. The firſt ſeem'd to be ſtrengthen'd by the numerous Party of the Republicans, who hop'd by that Means to make a great Step towards Introducing a Common-Wealth. Then as for thoſe who were for a *King*, they appear'd divided into two Parties; ſome maintaining that the Princeſs of *Orange* being the next Heir, ſhe ought therefore to be Crown'd, and the Prince to manage the Affairs as King only by his Wife's Title; and others, who appear'd a Majority, aſſerting that the Prince ought to be made King ſingly.

Diviſions about ſettling the Government.

Arguments for making the Prince of Orange *King only.*

This laſt was ſtrenuouſly urg'd and maintain'd, and the Arguments that were publiſh'd were much applauded, in this Conjuncture. They alledg'd, 'That the *Supreme 'Power Perſonal* of *England* was in the King, Lords and 'Commons, the three Eſſential Parts of the *Engliſh* Con'ſtitution; That that *Supreme Power* was Diſſolv'd by 'the Failure of two Eſſential Parts of it, *viz.* of the '*King*, by his Subjection to the Biſhop of *Rome*, his U'ſurping an Arbitrary Power, and afterwards by his Perſo'nal Withdrawing himſelf; and of the *Houſe of Commons*, 'which cou'd not ſo be call'd according to the Conſtitution, 'the King being gone, and the Freedom of Election be'fore deſtroy'd by the King's Encroachments: That the '*Supreme Power Real* remain'd in the Community, who 'might act by their *Original Power*: That tho' every 'particular Perſon was, notwithſtanding ſuch *Diſſolution*, 'ſubject to the Laws that were made by the *Supreme 'Power Perſonal*, when in Being; yet the Power of the 'Community was not bound by Them, but was Para'mount to all Laws made by the *Supreme Power Perſo'nal*; and had a full Right to take ſuch Meaſures for 'ſettling the Government as they ſhou'd think were ſure 'and effectual, for the laſting Security and Peace of the 'Nation;

168$\frac{8}{9}$.
Jac. 4.
Ref. 29.

Nation; ſince it was the Community of *England*, which firſt gave Being to both King and Parliament, and to all Parts of the Conſtitution.' They farther urg'd, 'That the Acts done and executed by the *Supreme Power Perſonal* had ſo modell'd the Parts and Perſons of the Community, that the Original Conſtitution was the beſt, juſteſt and moſt deſireable: That the *Royal Family* afforded a Perſon that both Heaven and Earth pointed out for *King:* That there were Lords whoſe *Nobility* was not affected by the Diſſolution of the Government, and were the Subject Matter of a *Houſe of Lords*; and that there were Places, which by *Cuſtom* or *Charter*, had Right to chuſe Repreſentatives of the *Commons:* That there were inextricable Difficulties in all other Methods; for there being no Demiſe of the King, neither *Civil* nor *Natural*, there was conſequently no *Deſcent*, and the Community only had a Right to take Advantage of the King's *Forfeiture* or *Deſertion:* That whatever other Power might be imagin'd in the two Houſes, as Houſes of Parliament, it cou'd juſtify it ſelf to the Reaſon of any who underſtood the Bottom of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution: That by this Method all *Popiſh* Succeſſors might be excluded, and the Government ſecured, in Caſe all the *Proteſtants* of the Family dy'd without Iſſue; and this by the very Conſtitution of *England*. That it wou'd be moſt adviſeable, not only for the Security and Welfare of the Nation, but for the Intereſt of their Royal Highneſſes, to limit the Crown as follows; To the Prince of *Orange* during his Life, (yet with all poſſible Honour and Reſpect to the Princeſs) Remainder to the Princeſs of *Orange*, and the Heirs of her Body; Remainder to the Princeſs of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; Remainder to the Heirs of the Body of the Prince of *Orange*; Remainder as an Act of Parliament ſhou'd appoint.

In which Method they believ'd they found theſe Conveniencies among others, *viz.* 'That Husband and Wife being but one Perſon in Law, the Prince's Honour wou'd be her Royal Highneſs's; That it put the Kingly Power into the beſt Hand in the World; That it aſſerted the Power of the Community; That it wou'd be ſome Acknowledgment to the Prince for what he had done for the Nation: Concluding, That it was worthy Obſervation, that before the *Theocracy* of the *Jews* ceas'd, the Manner of the Divine Deſignation of their *Judges* was by God's giving the People ſome Deliverance by the Hand of the Perſon to whoſe Government they ought to ſubmit: That ſince that *Theocracy* ceas'd, there was no Inſtance of a Deſignation of any Perſon to any Government, more viſibly Divine and Miraculous than that which they now admired: That if *the Voice of the People be the Voice of God*, that Voice never ſpoke louder: That if a Nation of various Opinions, Intereſts and Factions, from a turbulent and fluctuating State, fell into a ſerene and quiet Calm, and Men's Minds were ſtrangely united on a ſudden, it ſhew'd from whence they were influenc'd. In a Word, that if the Hand of God was to be ſeen in Human Affairs, and his Voice to be heard upon Earth, they cou'd not any where ſince the Ceaſing of Miracles, find out a clearer and more remarkable Inſtance than is to be obſerv'd in the preſent *Revolution.*' Beſides the fore-mention'd Reaſons, they farther alledg'd, 'That the Placing the Prince of *Orange* ſingly on the Throne, wou'd be a Caution to ſucceeding Kings, of what fatal Conſequence a general Derogation may be, when they found by this Inſtance, the Exerciſe of the Kingly Office in Danger, not only with Reference to Themſelves, but likewiſe precarious to their Families. That the Princeſs of *Orange* wou'd ſhare in all the Glory of a Crown, without the Trouble of it, and wou'd be free from all *Popiſh* Reflections, *That ſhe ſate in her Father's Throne while he liv'd*; and that there was no Room for the Princeſs of *Denmark* to think her ſelf neglected, the Exchange being attended with many Advantages, by the Poſtponing of the Prince of *Wales*. That if the Prince of *Orange* were not King in his own Right, his Intereſt cou'd not be entirely that of the Nation; for tho' his Bravery was an Aſſurance of his Sincerity to us, yet if there remain'd any Probability of his returning to *Holland*, as upon the Death of his Queen, if She only were Sovereign, his Intereſt muſt be divided. That it was dangerous to the Government it ſelf, to veſt the Exerciſe of the Sovereignty in Both; for they might differ in Sentiments of Things: That it was repugnant to grant the Crown to Both, and to fix the Adminiſtration in One; ſince the Adminiſtration was an Incident inſeparable from the Sovereignty.' Laſtly, they alledg'd, 'That it ſupported this uſeful Maxim, *That a neighbouring Nation may take Arms, to reſcue a People oppreſs'd by Tyranny*; *and that* Foreign Princes *wou'd be apt to look to themſelves, when they heard, by our Nation's Example of Gratitude, That they are no longer Saſe, than while* Juſt *to their Subjects.*

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Jac. 4.
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The Princeſs Anne *complying.*

Divers Projects.

This Project, in all Appearance, ſeem'd moſt likely to take; but it being in a great Meaſure derogatory to the Intereſt of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Denmark*, it was fear'd that She, who had a conſiderable Party in both Houſes, wou'd hardly conſent to it. But however this Obſtacle, it ſeems, was ſoon remov'd; and we are told that her Royal Highneſs preferr'd the Publick Good before Her private Intereſt, both out of the great Concern She ever had for the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant* Religion, the *Laws* and *Liberties* of *England*, and by the Mediation of the Lady *Churchill*, a Perſon diſtinguiſh'd by her prevailing Wit, and thoſe Perſonal Accompliſhments for which her Sex are generally admir'd. Beſides this Difficulty, they were apprehenſive of another Party, which, it was ſuppos'd, wou'd be headed by Sir *Edward Seymour*, a Man of great Sway, and which conſiſted of Thoſe who deſign'd and determin'd to 'Continue proviſionally the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, Civil and Military, and the Diſpoſal of the Revenue in his Highneſs the Prince's Hands; and impower him to make War againſt *France*, a Point wherein all Parties now concurr'd and agreed; to ſee old Treaties executed, and in Caſe of Neceſſity, to make new Alliances.' Then as to the Lords, tho' they were generally for keeping out King *James*, yet there were a conſiderable Party amongſt them, who, to ſave the Honour of the Church of *England* and the Rights and Relicks of Monarchy, were for ſending his Majeſty an Invitation to return into *England*; but ſtill upon ſuch hard Terms, and with ſuch Reſtrictions as, in all Probability, he wou'd never condeſcend to: Of which Party were the Earls of *Clarendon*, *Rocheſter* and *Nottingham*, and moſt of the Biſhops. As for the Affair of the Titular Prince of *Wales*, the Generality were of Opinion, that it ought to be left undecided, and not ſo much as mention'd or remember'd.

The Princeſs of Orange *ſent for.*

While Men's Minds were agitated with Projects and Contrivances, and while it remain'd doubtful what Reſolutions the *Convention* wou'd take concerning the Settlement of the Government, the Prince of *Orange* thought it beſt to ſend over for his Royal Conſort; and gave particular Orders to Admiral *Herbert* to attend her in her Paſſage, with a Squadron of *Dutch* Men of War, and ſome *Engliſh* Yatches. Perhaps the Prince never acted more wiſely than in ſending for One who was moſt likely to bring Peace and Unanimity to the Nation; that admirable Lady that was infinitely belov'd and admir'd by the *Engliſh*; a Lady that reviv'd and gladen'd the Hearts of all that ſaw or convers'd with her.

The Meeting of the CONVENTION.

III. I. At the appointed Time, the wiſh'd for 22d Day of *January*, the Grand Convention met, not only with the Expectations of the *Britiſh* Dominions, but of the neighbouring Nations and Kingdoms. Being divided into two Houſes, as uſually in Parliament, of whoſe Rules they were ſtrictly obſervant, they immediately proceeded to the Choice of their Speakers. In the Houſe of Peers the Marquiſs of *Hallifax* carry'd it againſt the Earl of *Danby*; and in the Lower-Houſe, *Henry Powle* Eſquire was unanimouſly choſen; tho' it was thought that Sir *Edward Seymour*, who had ſo early join'd the Prince at *Exeter*, wou'd ſtand in Competition with him. The Commons likewiſe choſe Mr. *Jodrell* Clerk, and Mr. *Gwilliam* Clerk-Aſſiſtant, and likewiſe Mr. *Topham* Serjeant at Arms. The Chairs being fill'd, the following Letter from the Prince of *Orange* was read in both Houſes, on the Occaſion of their Meeting.

The Prince of Orange's *Letter to both Houſes.*

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I have endeavour'd to the utmoſt of my Power to perform what was deſired from Me in order to the Publick Peace and Safety; and I do not know that any Thing hath been omitted which might tend to the Preſervation of them, ſince the Adminiſtration of Affairs was put into my Hands. It now lyeth upon you to lay the Foundation of a firm Security for your *Religion*, your *Laws* and your *Liberties*. I do not doubt, but that by ſuch a *Full* and *Free Repreſentative* of the Nation, as is now met, the Ends of my *Declaration* will be attained: And ſince it hath pleas'd God hitherto to bleſs my good Intentions with ſo great Succeſs, I truſt in Him, that He will compleat his own Work, by ſending a Spirit of Peace and Union to influence your Counſels, that no Interruption may be given to a happy and laſting Settlement.

'The dangerous Condition of the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland* requiring a large and ſpeedy Succour, and the preſent State of Things abroad, oblige me to tell you, that next to the Danger of unreaſonable Diviſions among ourſelves, nothing can be ſo fatal as too great a Delay in your Conſultations. The *States*, by whom I have been enabled to reſcue this Nation, may ſuddenly feel the ill Effects of it, both by being too long depriv'd of the Service of their Troops, which are now here, and of your early Aſſiſtance againſt a powerful Enemy, who hath declared a War againſt them. And as *England* is by Treaty already engag'd to help them upon ſuch Exigencies, ſo I am confident, that their chearful Concurrence to preſerve this Kingdom with ſo much Hazard to themſelves, will meet with all the Returns of Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance, which may be expected from you as *Proteſtants* and *Engliſhmen*, whenever their Condition will require it. *Given at St.* James'*s the* 22*d Day of* January, $168\frac{8}{9}$.

Proceedings of the Commons.

Upon the Reading of this Letter in the Houſe of Commons, the Speaker preſently repreſented to that Aſſembly, 'The dangerous State of the Nation, and the fatal Conſequences of *Anarchy*; the deplorable Condition of the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, and how much *England* might be affected by the Loſs of that Kingdom; and more particularly the Growth of the exorbitant Power of *France*, and the vaſt Deſigns of that turbulent and aſpiring Monarch, not only the Perſecutor of the Proteſtant Religion, but likewiſe the ſworn Enemy of *England*; exciting the Aſſembly to put the Nation into a Poſture, not only to ſecure themſelves againſt all his Attempts, but alſo to make ſuch a powerful Diverſion in the very Bowels of his Dominions, as that they might recover their firſt Conqueſt of *France*, and re-unite the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Acquitain* to the Imperial Crown of *England*, which, by an undiſputable Right, appertain to it.' This Speech was receiv'd with univerſal Applauſe, and was ſeconded by ſeveral Members; who, at the ſame Time, under a deep Senſe of their paſt Dangers, and preſent Deliverance, and excited by a Meſſage from the Lords, mov'd that a Day of *Publick Thankſgiving* to the Almighty ſhou'd be appointed throughout the Kingdom; which was accordingly done, as will be farther remember'd. Then to his Highneſs they voted the following Addreſs, to which the Lords gave their unanimous Concurrence, and which was preſented to him that very Day in a full Body.

The Addreſs of both Houſes to the Prince.

'We the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and *Commons* Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, being highly ſenſible of the great Deliverance of this Kingdom, from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; and that our Preſervation is, next under God, owing to your Highneſs, do return our moſt humble Thanks and Acknowledgment to your Highneſs, as *the glorious Inſtrument of ſo great a Bleſſing*. We do farther acknowledge the great Care your Highneſs has been pleas'd to take, in the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom, to this Time: And we do moſt humbly beſeech your Highneſs, that you will take upon you the *Adminiſtration* of Publick Affairs, both *Civil* and *Military*, and the Diſpoſal of the *Publick Revenue*, for the Preſervation of our *Religion*, *Rights*, *Laws*, *Liberties*, and *Properties*, and of the *Peace* of the Nation. And that your Highneſs will take into your particular Care the preſent State of *Ireland*, and endeavour, by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual Means, to prevent the Dangers that threaten that Kingdom. All which we make our Requeſt to your Highneſs to undertake and execute, till farther Application ſhall be made by Us, which ſhall be expedited with all convenient Speed: And we ſhall alſo uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to give Diſpatch to the Matters recommended to us by your Highneſs's Letter.

The Prince of *Orange* took a Day's Time to return an Anſwer to this acceptable Addreſs; and ſo on the 23d of *January* he ſent this Anſwer to both Houſes;

His Anſwer.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I am glad, that what I have done has pleas'd You; and ſince you deſire me to continue the Adminiſtration of Affairs, *I am willing to accept it. I muſt recommend to you the Conſideration of* Affairs *abroad, which makes it fit for you to expedite your Buſineſs; not only for making a* Settlement *at Home, upon a good Foundation, but for the* Safety *of all* Europe.

2. It was remarkable to ſee the Diſpatch and Unanimity between the two Houſes, and how both agreed with the general Senſe and Deſires of the Nation; ſo that the mighty Revolution went on without any Rubs or Obſtructions, till it came to the finiſhing Part, as will ſhortly be remember'd. The Senſe of the Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, will farther appear from their Order for a Thankſgiving, the Perſons deſir'd to compoſe the Prayers, and the Expreſſions contain'd in them; all which are too remarkable to be forgotten.

The Lords Order for a Thankſgiving.

The Lords were no ſooner plac'd in their Seats, but they made this following *Order*: '*Die Martis*, *Jan.* 22. Order'd by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, That the Lord Biſhop of *London*, the Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Lord Biſhop of *Norwich*, the Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the Lord Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, the Lord Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, the Lord Biſhop of *Peterborough*, the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Lord Biſhop of *Briſtol*, and the Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* [viz. *Compton*, *Sprat*, *Lloyd*, *Turner*, *Lake*, *Frampton*, *Ken*, *White*, *Barlow*, *Trelawney* and *Lloyd*] be, and are hereby deſired to draw up a Form of Prayer and Thankſgiving to Almighty God, *For having made his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange *the glorious Inſtrument of the Great Deliverance of this Kingdom, from Popery and Arbitrary Power*; to be us'd in the City of *London* and Ten Miles Diſtance thereof, on the 31ſt Inſtant, and throughout the whole Kingdom, on the 14th of *February* next.

The particular Prayers.

As to the Prayers themſelves, which were very ſolemn, and in which the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had a chief Hand, we are to remember theſe Expreſſions in the Firſt: 'We give Glory to thy Holy Name for the Bleſſed *Reformation* of this Church, in the Days of our Forefathers, from the deteſtable Superſtitions and Corruptions of Popery, and for our Deliverance from the intolerable Yoke of the *Romiſh* Church. We praiſe Thee for that Light of the Goſpel, that Purity of Doctrine and Worſhip, Thou haſt ever ſince vouchſafed unto us; and for the many wonderful Preſervations, by which Thou haſt maniſeſted thy Fatherly Care of us, and Preſence with us: More eſpecially at this Time, we magnify Thy Goodneſs for our late great and happy Deliverance, whereby we truſt Thou haſt eſtabliſh'd to us all Thy former Mercies, *&c.*' In the Second Prayer, we have theſe Expreſſions; 'We moſt humbly preſent our ſelves this Day at the Throne of thy Grace, to bleſs and adore the unſpeakable Wiſdom and Goodneſs of Thy late gracious Providence towards us. We acknowledge it was thy infinite Mercy alone that rais'd this Chuch and Nation from their low Eſtate, and caus'd Light to ſpring out of Darkneſs unto us. It was becauſe Thy Compaſſions fail not, that our Holy Reform'd Religion was not overwhelm'd with *Popiſh* Superſtition and Idolatry, that our Laws and Liberties are reſcu'd from the Bands of Violence and Oppreſſion.--------Bleſſed be Thy Name who has rais'd up for us a mighty *Deliverer*, by whom thou haſt wrought this great Salvation, without the Effuſion of Blood, *&c.*' In the Fourth Prayer we are to take Notice of theſe Expreſſions; 'Accept, we beſeech Thee, the Thankſgivings and Praiſes of thy Servants for our Deliverance from thoſe great and apparent Dangers, wherewith we were compaſſed. It is of thy Mercy, O Lord, that we were not utterly conſumed; that our Religion was not deſtroy'd, nor our Liberties ſubverted; but that we ſtill freely poſſeſs Thy ſacred Truth, and join in thy moſt Holy Worſhip, and poſſeſs the Rights and Inheritances of our Fathers. Go on to perfect, O gracious God, the Work that Thou haſt begun amongſt us. Bleſs and proſper the Hands by which Thou haſt convey'd this Mercy to us, *&c.*

One for the Prince alone.

Over and above theſe Prayers, Six Days after the firſt *Order*, the Lords made a Second, 'whereby it was recommended to the Lords the Biſhops, to whom was referr'd the drawing up the Prayers for a Day of Thankſgiving to Almighty God, *For having made his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange *the glorious Inſtrument*, &c. That they draw up a particular Prayer for his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, inſerted in that Form.' This was publiſh'd by it ſelf, with this Title; *A Prayer for his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange; *to be us'd immediately after the Prayer for the Royal Family*; and is as follows: 'Almighty God, who in Times of Trouble and Danger, doſt raiſe up *Deliverers* of Thy People, and filleſt their Hearts with Zeal for Thy Service; we beſeech Thee to bleſs his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, whom Thou haſt ſent to be the Defender of our Laws and Religion: Protect his Perſon, ſtrengthen his Hands, let Thy Holy Fear evermore rule in his Heart, that having Thee only before his Eyes, he may in all Things ſeek Thy Honour and Glory, and ſtudy to unite this divided Nation, and eſtabliſh it upon the ſure Foundations of Mercy and Truth, Righteouſneſs and Peace. This we beg for *Jeſus Chriſt* his Sake, our only Lord and Saviour.

3. In the mean Time the unfortunate King *James*, foreſeeing what Advantages the Nation was like to take of his withdrawing himſelf out of his Kingdom, thought it proper to write a moving *Letter* from St. *Germains*, directed to the *Lords and others of his Privy-Council*, in which he

168$\frac{8}{9}$. Jac. 4. Ref. 29.

King James's *Letter to the Privy-Council.*

he declar'd, 'That he had taken away not only all juſt Cauſes, but even Pretenſions of Diſcontent, and redreſs'd all thoſe Things that were ſet forth as the Cauſes of the Invaſion: That the Prince of *Orange* ſeeing all the Ends of his *Declaration* anſwer'd, the People beginning to be undeceiv'd, and returning apace to their Duty; and well foreſeeing, That if a Free Parliament ſhou'd meet at the Time appointed, ſuch a Settlement in all Probability wou'd be made, both in Church and State, as wou'd totally defeat his ambitious Deſigns, reſolv'd by all Means poſſible to prevent the Meeting of the Parliament: That to do this the moſt effectual Way, the Prince thought fit to lay a Reſtraint upon his Royal Perſon; for as it were abſurd to call that a Free Parliament, where there is any Force in either of the Houſes, ſo much leſs can that Parliament be ſaid to act Freely, where the Sovereign, by whoſe Authority they meet and ſit, and from whoſe Royal Aſſent all their Acts receive their Life and Sanction, is under actual Confinement. That the Senſe of the Indignities he had ſuffer'd, both in his own, and in the Perſon of the Earl of *Feverſham*, and the juſt Apprehenſions of farther Attempts, by them who had already endeavour'd to murther his Reputation by infamous Calumnies (as if he had been capable of ſuppoſing a Prince of *Wales*) together with a ſerious Reflection on a Saying of his Royal Father, *That there is little Diſtance between the Priſons and the Graves of Princes* (which afterwards prov'd but too true in his Caſe) cou'd not but perſuade him to make uſe of that Right which the Law of Nature gives to the meaneſt of his Subjects, of freeing himſelf from that unjuſt Confinement: That this he did, not more for the Security of his own Perſon, that thereby he might be in a better Capacity of tranſacting and providing for every Thing that might contribute to the Peace and Settlement of his Kingdoms: That as no Change of Fortune ſhall make him condeſcend to any Thing unbecoming his Royal Station, ſo neither the Provocation or Ingratitude of his own Subjects, nor any other Conſideration, ſhall ever prevail with him, to make the leaſt Step contrary to the true Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, which he ever did, and ever muſt look upon as his own. That he requir'd them of the *Privy-Council*, to make theſe his Intentions known to the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, and the *Lord-Mayor* and *Commons* of the City of *London*, and to all his Subjects in General, and to aſſure them, That he deſired nothing more than to return and hold a *Free Parliament*; wherein he might have the beſt Opportunity of undeceiving his People, and ſhewing the *Sincerity* of thoſe *Proteſtations* he had often made of *Preſerving the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects, and the Proteſtant Religion, more eſpecially the Church of* England, *as by Law Eſtabliſh'd:* That in the mean Time they ſhou'd ſend him their Advice, what was fit to be done by him towards his Returning, and the accompliſhing of theſe good Ends; and that he required them to endeavour to ſuppreſs all Tumults and Diſorders, that the Nation might receive the leaſt Prejudice from the preſent Diſtractions that was poſſible.

This Letter was no ſooner ſent, but it was publickly Printed and diſperſed in *London*; but it being counterſign'd by the Earl of *Melfort*, a profeſs'd *Papiſt*, and ſuppos'd to be dictated by the Counſels of *France*, his renew'd Promiſes made but ſmall Impreſſion upon thoſe who ever retain'd an Affection for him. There being no avow'd Anſwer made to it, while the *Convention* was ſitting. King *James* wrote another Letter, directed *To the Lords and Commons*; in which, with great Concern, he told them,

His ſecond Letter to the Lords and Commons.

'That he thought himſelf oblig'd in Conſcience to do all he cou'd to open his Peoples Eyes, that they might ſee the true Intereſt of the Nation in this important Conjuncture: That finding he cou'd no longer ſtay with Safety, nor act with Freedom, he had left the *Reaſons of his withdrawing from* Rocheſter, under his own Hand: That underſtanding that *Letter* [*here repeated at length*] was not taken to be his, but was maliciouſly ſuppreſs'd by the Prince of *Orange*, he wrote to ſeveral of his Privy-Council, and directed Copies thereof to divers of them, the Peers of the Realm, believing none durſt intercept or open any of his Letters: That of all theſe he had no Account, nor did he wonder that all Arts were us'd to hinder them from knowing his Sentiments: That he was reſolv'd nothing ſhou'd be omitted on his Part, that cou'd contribute towards the Redreſs of all former Errors, or preſent Diſorders, or add to the ſecuring of the *Proteſtant Religion*, or the *Property* of the Subject; intending to refer the whole to a Parliament *legally call'd*, *freely elected*, and *held without conſtraint*: And that none might deſpair of his *Mercy*, he declared on the WORD OF A KING, that his *Pardon* ſhou'd be extended even to thoſe that betray'd him, (ſome few excepted) Reſolving in that Parliament, by an *Act of Oblivion*, to cover all Faults.

168$\frac{8}{9}$. Jac. 4. Ref. 29.

Both diſregarded.

The *Word of a King* was now ſo unhappily reduc'd to ſo low an Ebb, that when the Letter was ſent by the Lord *Preſton* to the Houſe of Commons, and directed to their Speaker, the Houſe underſtanding that it came from King *James*, they did not think fit to take any notice of it, and ſo rejected it unopen'd. A Copy of the ſame Letter being likewiſe ſent to the Houſe of Lords, directed to the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, their Speaker, ſome of the Aſſembly mov'd to have it open'd and read, but others warmly oppos'd it; and at length it was reſolv'd, That the Lord *Preſton* ſhou'd be ſent for. His Lordſhip accordingly appear'd, and own'd that the Letter was brought to him by a *Scotch Man*; upon which he was order'd to attend the Houſe with the *Bearer* on the 4th of *February*: But his Lordſhip was never call'd that Day, nor any farther Notice was taken of the Letters, which, by the particular Friends of King *James*, was thought a great Hardſhip.

The Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons.

4. All this while the Houſe of Lords kept Sitting every Day; but the Commons had deferr'd their Sitting again till the 28th of *January*, on purpoſe to give time to the reſt of their Members to come up to Town. On which Day, the Houſe being full, they proceeded to the great Conſideration of the State and Condition of the Nation; whereupon they reſolv'd themſelves into a Committee of the whole Houſe, and Mr. *Hambden* was put into the Chair. The firſt that ſtood up was Mr. *Dolben*, Son to the late Archbiſhop of *York*, who made a long Speech, to prove 'That King *James* his Deſerting the Kingdom, and his Not appointing any Perſon to adminiſter the Government in his Abſence, amounted in Reaſon and Judgment of Law to a *Demiſe* of that Prince:' And he concluded with a Motion to the ſame Effect; which was ſeconded by Sir *Richard Temple*, and ſupported by Sir *Robert Sawyer*. After whom Sir *Robert Howard* entertain'd the Committee with a long Harangue; and he was the Firſt that aſſerted the *Vacancy of the Throne*, and the *Breach of the Original Contract* by a continu'd Series of Illegal Acts (many of which he enlarg'd upon) throughout the whole Courſe of King *James*'s Reign. His Allegations were maintain'd by Mr. *Garraway*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Mr. *Sacheverell*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Sir *George Treby*, and Mr. *Sommers*. Several of them objected againſt Mr. *Dolben*'s Motion of a *Demiſe*, 'as not taking in King *James*'s Male-adminiſtration, and becauſe a *Demiſe* inferrs a *Deſcent* of the Crown to the next Hereditary Succeſſor; whereas in this Caſe the Throne was not *Deſcended*, but (as they inſiſted) *Vacant*.' Mr. *Finch*, in an eloquent Speech, contradicted the Doctrine of the *Vacancy*: 'He extoll'd the Courage, Conduct and Magnanimity of the Prince of *Orange*, who was to be compared to thoſe ancient Heroes that were contented with the Glory of *Freeing Nations*, and *Deſtroying Tyrants*, without any particular Deſign upon their Crowns.' He urg'd farther, 'That the moſt adviſeable Courſe wou'd be, To come to ſuch a Reſolution as ſhou'd meet with a moſt general Concurrence; And that, in his Opinion, the Eſtabliſhing a *Regency* during the Life of King *James*, wou'd give much greater Satisfaction to the Kingdom, than the Declaring the *Throne to be Vacant*.' Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave* inſiſted, 'That, to Vote *The Throne is Vacant*, wou'd be Actually to depoſe the King, and he deſired to know from the Gentlemen of the Long Robe whether that cou'd be legally done.' And Sir *Edward Seymour* ſpoke with great Warmth to the ſame Effect.

Towards the Cloſe of this grand Debate, the Lord *Fanſhaw* mov'd that it might be adjourn'd to another Day, 'in regard of its very great Importance, and of the Miſchief that might be occaſion'd by taking too haſty Steps in a Matter of ſo much Weight. This not being ſeconded, the Committee, without dividing, came to the following complicated *Reſolution*, which, when ratify'd by both Houſes, was perhaps one of the moſt memorable of all the *Engliſh* Records: '*Reſolved*,

Their grand Vote of the Vacancy of the Throne.

That King *James* the Second, having endeavour'd to Subvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the *Original Contract* between King and People; and by the Advice of Jeſuits, and other wicked Perſons, having violated the *Fundamental Laws*, and withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom, hath *Abdicated* the Government, and that the Throne is thereby become *Vacant*.

This *Reſolution* was the next Day Reported to the Houſe, and being agreed to, It was ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence. And having thus got over their grand Point, they found others more eaſy; and the next Day they '*Reſolv'd*, That it hath been found by

Other Votes.

' Experience, to be inconſiſtent with this *Proteſtant* Kingdom to be govern'd by a *Popiſh* Prince;' which Reſolution was likewiſe ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence. At the ſame time they preſented an Addreſs to the Prince of *Orange*, For the immediate Stopping of all Ships that were going to *France*. Two Days after they Voted, ' That the Thanks of the Houſe ' be given to the Clergy of the Church of *England*, who ' had preach'd and written againſt *Popery*, and had refus'd ' to read in the Churches the King's *Declaration* for ' Toleration, in oppoſition to the pretended *Diſpenſing* ' *Power* claim'd in the late Reign of King *James* the ' Second, and had oppos'd the illegal *Eccleſiaſtical Com-* ' *miſſion*.' They farther Voted, on the ſame Day, ' That ' the Thanks of the Houſe be given to the Officers, ' Soldiers and Marriners of the Army and Fleet, for ' having teſtify'd their ready Adherence to the *Prote-* ' *ſtant Religion*, and being Inſtrumental in Delivering ' this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Slavery*; and to all ' ſuch who had appear'd in Arms to that Purpoſe.' Theſe two laſt Votes paſs'd *nemine Contradicente*, and without the leaſt Oppoſition.

The Revolution at ſome Stand.

IV. 1. The mighty *Revolution* had mov'd forward after a wonderful Manner, from its firſt Appearance, to the preſent Time, with ſcarce any Degree of Oppoſition or Obſtruction. It has been obſerv'd, That the whole Machine, to the Glory of the Artificers, was ſo exquiſitely contriv'd, and the Parts ſo duly adjuſted, that when it was ſet together and put in Motion, it went on with little exterior Aſſiſtance, in that Order and Regularity, that many of thoſe who were mov'd by it, knew not they were leaving their old Government, till they were quietly lodg'd under a new one; ſo that the Workmanſhip ſeem'd more Divine than Human. But now, for a while, it appear'd to have been at a Stand; tho' it was plainly got upon ſuch Ground, that notwithſtanding any Impediments laid in its Way, it wou'd ſoon be carry'd forward by its own Weight. The *Eſſential Parts*, the Relief and Deliverance of the Nation, were compleated without any imaginable Difficulty; but the *Finiſhing Parts*, the new Settlement and Government, met with ſome Obſtruction. As to the former, which was ſo deſirable and ſignal, there ſeem'd an univerſal Agreement, but the latter caus'd Variety of Opinions. This laſt appear'd moſt plainly in the Houſe of Lords; where many of that Auguſt Body, who had entertain'd Notions of the Church and Monarchy of *England* very large and extenſive, ſoon found themſelves under no common Difficulties.

The Lords divided.

It was upon the 29th of *January* when the Lords began to conſider the Grand Vote of the Houſe of Commons, concerning King *James*, which they did with all imaginable Circumſpection; ſeveral of them not well knowing how to proceed, much leſs how to recede: And being reſolv'd into a Committee of the whole Houſe, of which the Earl of *Danby* was Chair-Man, the firſt Motion that was made, was, ' Not to agree with the Commons, *That* ' *the Throne was Vacant*, but only firſt to ſuppoſe it, for ' the preſent, leaving it to be farther examin'd afterwards, ' in order to cut ſhort ſeveral other Queſtions, by deter- ' mining this firſt, *Whether the Throne being Vacant, it* ' *ought to be fill'd up by a* Regent *or a* King?' This Queſtion was debated with great Learning, much Skill, and no little Warmth: Among the Orators, the Earl of *Nottingham* brought many Arguments from the *Engliſh* Hiſtory to ſupport his Opinion for a *Regency* with the Regal Power, leaving the *Title* and *Dignity* on King *James*; adding a freſh Inſtance from *Portugal*, where *Don Pedro* had only the Title of a *Regent* conferr'd upon him, while his Depos'd Brother was alive. This Speech is ſaid to have had ſo great an Influence upon the Houſe, that it wou'd have been follow'd by the Majority, had it not been ſtrenuouſly oppos'd by the Marquiſs of *Hallifax* and the Earl of *Danby*, who by their great Skill laid open the inextricable Difficulties attending that Propoſal. So that the Queſtion being put to the Vote, fifty one were for a *King*, and forty nine only for a *Regent*, namely, the Dukes of *Somerſet*, *Ormond*, *Southampton*, *Grafton*, *Beaufort* and *Northumberland*; the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Clarendon*, *Rocheſter*, *Craven*, *Weſtmorland*, *Scarſdale*, *Cheſterfield*, *Litchfield*, *Yarmouth* and *Lindſey*; Viſcount *Weymouth*, the Lords *Coventry*, *Brook*, *Leigh*, *Ferrars*, *Maynard*, *Chandois*, *Jermin*, *Arundel* of *Trevise*, *Dartmouth*, *Godolphin*, *Griffin* and five more; the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *Norwich*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, *St. Aſaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, *Chicheſter*, *Rocheſter*, *St. Davids*, *Oxford*, *Gloceſter* and *Lincoln*. The Earls of *Huntington* and *Mulgrave* did not appear in the Houſe; and the Lord *Churchill* likewiſe kept at home upon ſome Indiſpoſition. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was alſo abſent; and indeed the Odiouſneſs of a *Depoſing Power*, as an Art and Act of *Popery*, had made ſo great an Impreſſion upon the Minds of the Clergy, that no Biſhops came in to the Opinion of filling up the Throne, except the Biſhops of *London* and *Briſtol*. However, the Party for a King was ſoon after ſtrengthen'd by four Dukes that came over to them, *viz.* the Dukes of *Ormond*, *Southampton*, *Grafton* and *Northumberland*.

The Regency rejected.

On the next Day, *Jan.* 30, the Lords proceeded farther upon the Grand Vote of the other Houſe, and put this Queſtion, *Whether or no there was an* Original Contract *between King and People*? Which Queſtion occaſion'd many warm Diſputes; not a few maintaining, that Kings held their Crowns by *Divine Right*; which others vehemently deny'd, aſſerting, That all Power originally belong'd to the Community, and to the King only by *mutual Compact*. Thereupon the Houſe being divided, fifty three were for the laſt Poſition, and forty ſix only for the Negative; by which it appear'd, that the Party that were for a *Regency* began to loſe Ground. The next Queſtion was, *Whether King* James *had broke that* Original Contract? But this being ſo manifeſt, it was ſoon carry'd in the Affirmative. On the next Day, their Lordſhips took into Conſideration the Word *Abdicated*; and concluded that *Deſerted* was more proper. They next examin'd the Word *Vacant*, and put this Queſtion, *Whether King* James *having broke that* Original Contract *between Him and his People, and deſerted the Government, the Throne was thereby* Vacant? This Queſtion was debated with more Heat and Contention than any of the former, and upon a Diviſion, one Party, who maintain'd it as a Maxim of our Law, *That the King never dies*, and therefore, *that the Throne can never be Vacant*, carry'd the Negative of the Queſtion by eleven Voices. From this ſome Peers preſently inferr'd, that the Crown was devolv'd upon the next Heir; and mov'd that the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſhou'd be declared King and Queen, which was alſo carry'd in the Negative by five Voices. The next Day their Lordſhips agreed to communicate their Reſolutions to the Houſe of Commons; but before they roſe, the Marqueſſes of *Hallifax* and *Wincheſter*, the Earls of *Danby* and *Devonſhire*, the Lord *Delamere* and others, to the Number of forty, enter'd their Proteſtations againſt the Vote of the Day before, namely, *That the Throne was not Vacant*.

The Vacancy of the Throne deny'd by them

A Petition to the Lords.

2. While theſe Matters were warmly debated in the *Convention* and the Town, and all Men ſtill in Suſpence which way they wou'd be determin'd, on the firſt Day of *February*, ſome zealous Perſons ſet on foot the following Petition, and endeavour'd to get it ſubſcrib'd by the Multitude indifferently, going to all publick Places to ſolicite Mens Hands: *To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſembled in the Grand Convention, the humble Petition of great Numbers of Citizens, and other Inhabitants of the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter. ' Whereas we are in a deep Senſe of the Danger of ' Delays, and perplext Debates about ſettling the Govern- ' ment, at this time *Vacant*, by Reaſon whereof the ' neceſſary Ends of Government cannot be duly admi- ' niſter'd: We humbly deſire that his moſt Illuſtrious ' Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, and his Royal Conſort ' the Princeſs, may be ſpeedily ſettled on the Throne, ' by whoſe Courage, Conduct and Reputation, this Na- ' tion and the *Proteſtant Religion* may be defended from ' our Enemies at home and abroad; and that *Ireland*, ' now in a bleeding and deplorable Condition, may be ' reſcu'd from its Miſeries, and theſe Kingdoms ſettled ' on a laſting Foundation in Peace and Liberty.' Whereupon his Highneſs the Prince being inform'd of the ill Conſequences and Scandal of this way of Proceeding, caus'd the following Order to be made and publiſh'd, to ſuppreſs it: *By the Lord Mayor*, &c. ' Whereas his High- ' neſs the Prince of *Orange* has been pleas'd to ſignify to ' me this Day, That divers Perſons (pretending themſelves ' to be Citizens of *London*) in a tumultuous and diſorderly ' Manner have lately diſturb'd the preſent *Convention* of the ' Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter*, upon Pretence ' of Petitioning. It being Regular and Uſual for the Citi- ' zens of this City, that are under the Apprehenſion of any ' Grievance, to make their Application to my ſelf, and the ' Court of Aldermen: Therefore, with the Advice of my ' Brethren, the Aldermen of this City, theſe are to re- ' quire you, That you command within your *Ward*, that ' they forbear any tumultuous Diſturbance, or Aſſem- ' bly; as they will anſwer the contrary at their utmoſt ' Peril.

Diſcourag'd by the Prince

However, the Lords proceeded in their own Way; but to ſhew their Diſinclinations to King *James*, on the 2d of *February*,

168$\frac{8}{9}$. Jac. 4. Ref. 29.

Amendments to the Commons Vote.

February, ‘ It was order’d by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, that the Day of Thankſgiving on the 6th of *February* inſtant, on which Day the late King *James* the Second came to the Throne, ſhall not be obſerv’d in this Kingdom.’ On the ſame Day their Lordſhips ſent a Meſſage to the Commons by Sir *Miles Cook* and Mr. *Methwin*, two Maſters of *Chancery*, to acquaint them, ‘ That they had conſider’d of their Vote of the 28th of *January* laſt, to which they concurr’d, with theſe two Amendments; firſt, inſtead of the Word *Abdicated*, they wou’d have *Deſerted* be put in; and next, theſe Words, *And that the Throne is thereby Vacant*, to be left out.

The latter Reaſons againſt them.

The Commons having conſider’d of theſe Amendments, it was carry’d by a great Majority, That a Committee ſhou’d be appointed to draw up Reaſons, why that Houſe cou’d not concur with their Lordſhips, which were as follows, ‘ That to the firſt Amendment, the Commons did not agree, becauſe the Word *Deſerted* did not fully expreſs the *Concluſion* neceſſarily inferr’d from the *Premiſes*, which their Lordſhips had agreed to, namely, *That King* James *the Second had endeavour’d to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the* Original Contract *between King and People, and had violated the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom:* That the Word *Deſerted* reſpected only the *Withdrawing*; but the Word *Abdicated* reſpected the *Whole*; for which Purpoſe the Commons made Choice of it. That the Commons cou’d not agree to the ſecond Amendment, to leave out the Words, *And that the Throne is thereby Vacant*; *Firſt*, Becauſe they conceiv’d, That as they might well infer from ſo much of their own Vote as their Lordſhips had agreed unto, *That King* James *the Second had* Abdicated *the Government, and that the Throne was thereby Vacant*, ſo that if the Commons ſhou’d admit their Lordſhips Amendment, that He had only *Deſerted the Government*, yet even thence it wou’d follow, That the *Throne is Vacant*, as to King *James* the Second; *Deſerting the Government* being, in true Conſtruction, *Deſerting the Throne*. *Secondly*, That the Commons conceiv’d they needed not to prove to their Lordſhips, That as to any other Perſon, the *Throne* was alſo *Vacant*; their Lordſhips, as the Commons conceiv’d, having already admitted it, by their Addreſſing the Prince of *Orange, to take upon him the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs*, &c. and by appointing Days of Publick *Thankſgiving* to be obſerv’d throughout the whole Kingdom; all which the Commons conceiv’d to imply, that it was their Lordſhips Opinion, *That the Throne was Vacant*, and to ſignify ſo much to the People of *England*. And *Thirdly*, That it is from thoſe who are upon the Throne of *England* (when there are any ſuch) from whom the People of *England* ought to receive Protection, and to whom, for that Cauſe, they owe the Allegiance of Subjects; but there being none now from whom they expected *Regal* Protection, and to whom, for that Cauſe, they us’d the Allegiance of Subjects, the Commons conceiv’d, *The Throne was Vacant*.’ Whereupon it was reſolv’d that the Earl of *Wiltſhire* ſhou’d deſire a *Conference* with the Lords, upon the Subject Matter of the Amendments; which their Lordſhips having readily conſented to, the Commons appointed the ſame Committee that had prepar’d the foregoing Reaſons, to be the Managers of the ſaid Conference.

The Lords Reply;

The next Day Mr. *Hambden* reported from the *Conference* with the Lords, That the Earl of *Nottingham* had ſpoke to this Effect; ‘ That the Lords had deſir’d this Conference, that they might be as happily united to the Commons in Opinion, as they were inſeparable in their Intereſt; and that they were at that time uneaſy, that they cou’d not concur with the Commons in every thing, becauſe it was of ſo great a Concern to the Nation, and from ſo great and wiſe a Body. That the Lords did inſiſt upon the firſt Amendment, becauſe they did not find that the Word *Abdicated* was a Word known to the Common Law of *England*; and becauſe in the moſt common Acceptation of the Civil Law, *Abdicated* was a voluntary expreſs Act of *Renunciation*, which was not in this Caſe, and did not follow from the Premiſes, *That King* James *the* Second *by having withdrawn himſelf, after having endeavour’d to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Government, by breaking the* Original Contract *between King and People*, might be more properly ſaid to have *Abdicated* than *Deſerted*. That the Lords alſo inſiſted on the ſecond Amendment; for although their Lordſhips had agreed, That the King had *Deſerted* the Government, and therefore had made Application to the Prince of *Orange to take upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government*; yet there cou’d be no other Inference drawn from hence, but only, the Exerciſe of the Government of King *James* the Second was ceas’d: So as the Lords were willing to ſecure the Nation againſt the Return of the ſaid King into his Kingdom; but not that here was ſuch an *Abdication* by Him, or ſuch a *Vacancy in the Throne*, as that the Crown was therefore become *Elective:* Which they cou’d not agree to: 1. Becauſe, by the *Conſtitution* of the Government, the Monarchy is *Hereditary*, and not *Elective*, 2. Becauſe no Act of the King can Bar or Deſtroy the *Right* of his Heirs to the Crown; and therefore, in Anſwer to the third Reaſon alledg’d by the Houſe of Commons, if the Throne be *Vacant* of King *James* the Second, Allegiance was due to ſuch Perſon as the *Right of Succeſſion* did belong to.

168$\frac{8}{9}$. Jac. 4. Ref. 29.

Which occaſions

From this Reaſoning it plainly appear’d, That the Diſſent of the Lords from the Commons, did not ariſe from any Affection or Favour, either to the *Perſon* or *Government* of King *James*, but rather from a tender Regard to the *Proteſtant Succeſſors*, and the reſpectful and legal Notions of *Hereditary Monarchy*. However, when Mr. *Hambden* made his *Report* of this late *Conference*, the Queſtion was put, *Whether the Commons ſhou’d concur with the Lords?* As to the firſt Amendment about the Word *Abdicated*, it was carry’d in the Negative with great Unanimity; but the ſecond, leaving out the *Vacancy of the Throne*, occaſion’d a long and warm Debate; till, upon the Diviſion of the Houſe, thoſe for Diſagreeing with the Lords were found to be two hundred and eighty-two againſt one hundred and fifty-one; the Majority one hundred and thirty-one. Hereupon Mr. *Dolben* was order’d to deſire a *Free Conference*; to which the Lords very readily agreed. Accordingly the Commons appointed twenty-four Perſons to manage upon this extraordinary Occaſion, namely, Sir *Robert Howard*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Mr. *Paul Foley*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Serjeant *Holt*, Lord *Falkland*, Sir *George Treby*, Mr. *Sommers*, Mr. *Garraway*, Mr. *Boſcowen*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Hambden*, Sir *Henry Capel*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Mr. *Sacheverell*, Major *Wildman*, Colonel *Birch*, Mr. *Ayres*, Sir *Richard Temple*, Sir *Henry Goodrick*, Mr. *Waller*, and Sir *John Gaye*; all Men of known Parts and Abilities, and diſtinguiſh’d for their Knowledge, either of Parliaments or the Laws of the Land. The Lords appointed for their chief Managers, the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Clarendon*, *Rocheſter*, *Pembroke*, with the Biſhop of *Ely* and ſome others.

The famous Debate between the Lords and Commons.

Mr. Hambden.

3. And now we are arriv’d at the moſt memorable Conference and Debate that had been known for many Ages, which was carry’d on with the utmoſt Quiet, Decency and Attention. The Managers of both Houſes being met in the Painted Chamber, and Mr. *Blaney* in a private Place to take down all that was ſaid, Mr. *Hambden* open’d the Conference, by ſaying, ‘ That the Commons had deſir’d it, that they might make it appear, that they had ſufficient Reaſon to maintain their own Vote: That it was a Matter of the greateſt Concernment to the Kingdom, and the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, that there be a good Iſſue of the Buſineſs then in Debate between both Houſes. That the preſent Difference was only about a few Words; but that the Commons thought their Words ſo ſignificant, and ſo proper to the Caſe, to which they were apply’d, that in ſo weighty a Matter, as that now in Debate, they were by no Means to be parted with: That the Word *Abdicated* was of a larger Signification than the Word *Deſerted*, but not too large to be apply’d to all the Recitals in the Beginning of the Commons Vote; and that it ought not to be reſtrain’d to a voluntary expreſs *Reſignation*, only in Word or Writing; there being Overt-Acts that wou’d be ſignificant enough to amount to it. That if the Common Law of *England* be not acquainted with the Word, it was from the Modeſty of our Law, that is not willing to ſuppoſe there ſhou’d be any unfortunate Occaſion to make uſe of it. That as to the ſecond Amendment, the Commons conceiv’d, *That the Throne is Vacant*, was no new Phraſe, neither did they think it chargeable with the Conſequences that their Lordſhips drew from it, *That it wou’d make the Crown of* England *become Elective*. That if the Throne had been full, the Lords wou’d have aſſign’d that as a Reaſon of the Diſagreement, by telling the Commons who fill’d it. That it wou’d be known by ſome Publick Royal Act, which might notify to the People in whom the Kingly Government reſided; neither of which had been done, and yet their Lordſhips would not allow *the Throne to be Vacant*.

Mr. Sommers.

The next that ſpoke was Mr. *Sommers*, who with great Skill and Acuteneſs, maintain’d, ‘ That if it was an Objection againſt the Word *Abdicated*, for not having a known Senſe in the Common Law of *England*, there

‘ was

168$\frac{8}{9}$.
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was the ſame Objection againſt the Word *Deſerted*, ſince there cou'd be no Authority, or Book of Law produc'd, wherein any determin'd Senſe was given to the Word *Deſerted*; ſo that their Lordſhips firſt Reaſon had the ſame Force againſt their own Amendment, as it had againſt the Term us'd by the Commons. He urg'd, that the Words were both *Latin*, and us'd in the beſt Authors, and both of a known Signification, tho' their Meaning be not the ſame. That the Word *Abdicate* did naturally and properly ſignify, *entirely to Renounce, Throw off, Diſown, Relinquiſh any Thing or Perſon, and ſo as to have no farther to do with it*; and that, *whether it be done by expreſs Words or Writing*, (which was the Senſe the Lords had put upon it, and which was properly call'd, *Reſignation* or *Ceſſion*) or, *by doing ſuch Acts as are Inconſiſtent with the Holding or Retaining of the Thing*; which the Commons took to be the preſent Caſe, and therefore made Choice of the Word *Abdicate*, as that which they thought did, above all others, moſt properly expreſs that Meaning.' That in this latter Senſe it was taken by others, and that it was the true Signification of the Word, he ſhew'd by ſeveral Authorities, as *Grotius*, *Calvin*, *Briſonius*, *Budæus* and *Baleius*. As to the Word *Deſerted*, he alledg'd, ‘ That it had not only a very doubtful Signification, but in the common Acceptance, both of the Civil and Canon-Law, it did ſignify only a *bare Withdrawing, a temporary Quitting of a Thing*, and *Neglect only, which leaves the Party at Liberty of Returning to it again*; and made it appear out of *Spigelius* and *Bartolus*, That that is call'd *Deſertion*, which is *Temporary* and *Relievable*, and that *Dereliction*, where there is *no Power or Right to Return*. Farther he ſaid, That the Word *Deſert* is us'd in the Civil Law for *Soldiers leaving their Colours*; and that in the Canon-Law, to *Deſert a Benefice*, ſignify'd no more than to be *Non-Reſident*; that in both Caſes the Party had not only a *Right of Returning*, but was *bound to return again*: which, as the Commons did not take to be the preſent Caſe, ſo they cou'd not think that their Lordſhips did, becauſe it was expreſly ſaid in one of their Reaſons, given in Defence of the laſt Amendment, *That the Lords had been, and were willing to ſecure the Nation againſt the Return of King* James; which their Lordſhips cou'd not in Juſtice do, if they did look upon it as no more than a *negligent Withdrawing, which leaves a Liberty to the Party to return*. That for theſe Reaſons the Commons cou'd not agree to their firſt Amendment, becauſe the Word *Deſerted* did not, in any Sort, come up to the Senſe of the Thing, neither did it reach their Lordſhips Meaning, as it was expreſs'd in their Reaſons: Whereas the Word *Abdicated* did expreſs properly what was to be inferr'd from that Part of the Vote to which their Lordſhips had agreed, *That King* James *the Second, by going about to Subvert the Conſtitution*, &c. had thereby *Renounc'd* to be a King, according to the Conſtitution, by avowing to govern by a Deſpotick Power, unknown to the Conſtitution, and inconſiſtent with it. That he had *Renounc'd* to be a King according to Law, ſuch a King as he Swore to be at his Coronation, ſuch a King to whom the Allegiance of an *Engliſh*-Man is due, and had ſet up another Kind of Dominion, which was to all Intents an *Abdication*, or *Abandoning his Legal Title*, as fully as if it had been done by expreſs Words.

Serjeant Holt.

What Mr. *Sommers* alledg'd was back'd by Serjeant *Holt*, who added, ‘ That the Lords Objection, *That the Word* Abdicated *was not known to the Common Law of* England, cou'd be of no Force, ſince there were very few Words in the *Engliſh* Tongue of equal Antiquity with the Common Law. And that the Language was ſo much alter'd in the ſeveral Succeſſions of Time, and the Intermixture of other Nations, that if they ſhould be oblig'd to make uſe only of Words then known and in Uſe, what they ſhou'd deliver in ſuch a Dialect wou'd be very difficult to be underſtood. As for the Lords ſecond Reaſon for their firſt Amendment, namely, *That in the moſt common Acceptation of the Civil Law*, Abdication *is a voluntary expreſs Act of* Renunciation; he own'd that to be the general Acceptation of the Word, and that he thought the Commons did ſo uſe the Word in this Caſe, becauſe it had that Signification; but that he did not know whether the Lords meant a Voluntary Expreſs Act, or formal Deed of *Renunciation*: That if they did ſo, he confeſs'd he knew of none in this Caſe, but that both in the Common Law of *England*, and in the Civil Law, and in common Underſtanding, there are expreſs Acts of *Renunciation*, that are not by Deed; laying this down as a Maxim, *That the Government* and *Magiſtracy is under a Truſt: and that any acting contrary to that Truſt, is* Renouncing *of the Truſt, tho' it be not a* Renouncing *by a Formal Deed*: For it is a plain Declaration by Act and Deed, tho' not in Writing, that He, who has the Truſt, acting contrary, is a *Diſclaimer* of the Truſt, eſpecially if the Actings be ſuch as are inconſiſtent with, and ſubverſive of this Truſt.

The Earl of Nottingham.

The firſt that ſpoke on the Lords Side was the Earl of *Nottingham*, who alledg'd, ‘ That the main Reaſon of the Change of the Word *Abdicate*, was upon the Account of the Conſequences drawn in the Concluſion of the Vote of the Commons, *That the Throne is thereby Vacant*; by which Expreſſion the Commons ſeem'd to mean, that the Throne was ſo Vacant as to null the Succeſſion in the Hereditary Line, and ſo all the Heirs to be cut off, which the Lords ſaid wou'd make the Crown *Elective*; and therefore it was fit to ſettle firſt what the Conſequence of the *Throne being Vacant* meant.' To which Serjeant *Maynard* immediately replyd, ‘ That when there is a preſent Defect of one to exerciſe the Adminiſtration of the Government, the Declaring a *Vacancy*, and Proviſion of a Supply for it, cou'd never make a Crown *Elective*: That the Commons apprehended there was ſuch a Defect, and by Conſequence, a preſent neceſſity for Supply of the Government; that the Conſtitution, notwithſtanding the *Vacancy*, was the ſame; that the Laws, that were the Foundations and Rules of that Conſtitution, were the ſame; but if there was, in any particular Inſtance, a Breach of that Conſtitution, that wou'd be an *Abdication*, and an *Abdication* wou'd infer a *Vacancy*; not that the Commons did ſay, *That the Crown of* England *is always and perpetually Elective*; but only that it was neceſſary that there be a *Supply* when there is a *Defect*; and that the doing of that wou'd be no Alteration of the Monarchy from a *Succeſſive* one to an *Elective*.

Serjeant Maynard.

The Biſhop of Ely.

The next that ſpoke for the Lords was the Biſhop of *Ely*, who objected againſt Mr. *Sommers* quoting *Grotius* for the Word *Abdicate*, and ask'd, ‘ Whether that great Author, in treating on this Subject, did not interpoſe this Caution, *If there be a yielding to the Times*; *if there be a going away with a purpoſe of ſeeking to recover what is, for the preſent, left or forſaken*; in plain *Engliſh*, *If there were any thing of Force, or juſt Fear in the Caſe, that did void the Notion of* Abdication: Upon which Serjeant *Maynard* return'd, ‘ That was not any Part of the Caſe declared by the Commons in the Vote; that when the whole Kingdom and the *Proteſtant* Religion, our Laws and Liberties had been in Danger of being ſubverted, an Enquiry muſt be made into the Authors and Inſtruments of this Attempt; and that if he, who had the Adminiſtration intruſted to him, was found the Author and Actor in it, what cou'd that be, but a *Renunciation of his Truſt*, and conſequently his Place thereby *Vacant*? That *Abdication* was an *Engliſh* Word, and according to the Lords, the true Signification of it is a *Renunciation*; That they were not to go to learn *Engliſh* from Foreign Authors, being able without their Aid to tell the Meaning of their own Tongue; That, however, for their Lordſhips Satisfaction, the Commons had ſhew'd its Meaning in Foreign Authors; and that it was more than a *Deſerting* the Government, or *a Leaving it with a Purpoſe of Returning*.

To this the Biſhop reply'd, ‘ That for this very Reaſon the Lords wou'd have a Word made uſe of which ſignify'd only the *Ceaſure of the Exerciſe of Right*; that if there were ſuch a Defect, as had been ſpoken of, it muſt certainly be ſupply'd: That the Lords had by another Vote declar'd, *That it was inconſiſtent with the Laws, Liberties and Religion of* England, *to have a* Papiſt *rule over that Kingdom*, which he took to be only the *Actual* Adminiſtration of the Government: That *Grotius* diſtinguiſh'd between a *Right*, and the *Exerciſe of that Right*; and that as there was a *Natural Incapacity*, for the Exerciſe, as Sickneſs, Lunacy, Infancy, &c. ſo there was a *Moral Incapacity*, which he conceiv'd to be a full irremoveable Perſuaſion to a falſe Religion, contrary to the Doctrine of Chriſtianity; that then there muſt a Proviſion made for ſupplying this Defect, and an *Intermediate* Government taken Care for: Becauſe become neceſſary for the Support of the Government, if he to whom the Right of Succeſſion does belong, makes the Exerciſe of his Government *Impracticable*, and the Subjects Obedience to him, conſiſtently with the Conſtitution of their Religion, *Impoſſible*; but that, he took it, did not alter that *Right*, nor was an *Abdication* of that Right: That, no doubt, *Abdication* was an *Engliſh Word*, and well known by Men converſant in Books; but that in *Cicero*, it ſignify'd ſometimes the *Renouncing of an Actual Exerciſe of a Right*, and ſometimes the *Renouncing of the very Right*; ſo that its Signification, as the Lords alledg'd, was dubious, and therefore the Peers hop'd the Commons wou'd think fit

‘ not

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‘not to uſe ſuch Words in a Caſe of this Nature and Conſequence. That great Inconveniencies wou'd follow upon the Uſe of that Word, if it meant a *Renouncing abſolutely of the Right:* That among the Civilians there is an *Abdication*, that may *forfeit the Power of the King only*, and there may be *One* that may *forfeit that and the Crown too:* That thoſe Abdications that are of *Power* only, are *Incapacities*, whether Natural or Involuntary, as Defects of Senſe, Age or Body, or the like; or Moral and Voluntary, as Contrariety in Religion: That there was lately an Inſtance of the firſt in *Portugal*, which was a *Forfeiture only of the Power*, and not of the *Name and Honour of a King*; for tho' the *Adminiſtration* was put into the younger Brother's Hands, the *Patents* and other Publick Inſtruments run in the eldeſt Brother's Name. That he did not here conſider, whether the King was gone out of the Kingdom, or ſtaid in it; but only whether he was fit for the *Adminiſtration*, which muſt be provided for, were he here, or gone away. That the higheſt Inſtance of an *Abdication* is, when a Prince is not only unable to Execute his Power, but acts quite contrary to it; which wou'd not be anſwer'd by ſo bare a Word of the Commons, as *Endeavour*. That if the laſt Inſtance of an *Abdication of both Power and Right*, took place in a *Succeeding Monarchy*, the Conſequence wou'd be, *That there was a Forfeiture of the whole Right*; and then that *Hereditary Succeſſion was cut off*, which he believ'd was not intended by the Commons. That by the *Original Compact* mention'd in the Vote, muſt be meant the Compact made when the Government was firſt Inſtituted, and the Conditions that each Part of the Government ſhou'd obſerve on their part, of which this was the Fundamental, *That King, Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, ſhou'd have the Power of Making new Laws, and Altering of old ones:* And that being one Law which ſettles the *Succeſſion*, it was as much Part of the *Original Compact* as any: That then, if ſuch a Caſe happen'd, as an *Abdication* in a *Succeſſive Kingdom*, the *Compact* being made to the *King*, his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, the *Diſpoſition of the Crown* would not fall to the Lords and Commons till all the *Heirs* did *Abdicate* too. He acknowledg'd there had been ſeven *Interruptions in the Lineal Succeſſion of the Crown of* England, frow *William* the Conqueror to *Henry* the Eighth, wherein the right Heir had been put by; but that it did not follow, That every Breach of the *Original Contract* gave them Power to diſpoſe of the *Lineal Succeſſion*; eſpecially ſince the Statutes of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* the Firſt, that have eſtabliſh'd the Oath of *Allegiance* to the *King*, his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*; and which ought to be obſerv'd till alter'd by the *Legiſlative* Power; which he thought ſingly or jointly, the Lords and Commons did not pretend to without the *Royal Aſſent*. And that theſe Laws being made ſince the *Laſt Interruption*, they were not to go by any Precedent that was made before the making thoſe Laws; ſo that, all that he conceiv'd ought to be meant by the Vote was, *But a ſetting aſide the Perſon that broke the Contract*; *and, in a Succeſſive Kingdom, an* Abdication *can only be a Forfeiture, as to the Perſon Himſelf*. That he hop'd both Lords and Commons did agree in this, *Not to break the Line of Succeſſion, ſo as to make the Crown Elective*; and that, if that be Declared, That this Abdication of King *James* the Second reach'd no farther than *Himſelf*, and that it was to continue in the *Right Line of Succeſſion*, they wou'd be all of one Mind.

The Earl of Clarendon.

The third who ſpoke for the Lords was the Earl of *Clarendon*, who purſu'd the ſame Argument, and ſaid, ‘That the *Breaking the Original Contract* was a Language that had not been long us'd in that Place, nor known in any of the Law-Books, or Publick Records: That he did not deny what Mr. *Sommers* had ſaid, *That the King was bounded by Law, and bound to perform the Laws made, or to be made*; but that he wou'd take notice, that his Obligation thereunto did not proceed from his Coronation Oath, for our Law ſaid, *He is as much King before he is crown'd, as he is afterwards, and there is a natural Allegiance due to him from the Subjects, immediately upon the Deſcent of the Crown upon him: That no Act of the King's alone can bar or deſtroy the Right of his Heir to the Crown, which is* Hereditary, *and not* Elective. That if the Matter went no farther than King *James* the Second in his own Perſon, how came the *Vacancy* and *Supply* to be devolv'd upon the People? For if he only be ſet aſide, then it was apparent that the Crown was to go to the Perſon that had the next *Right of Succeſſion*, and conſequently that there was no *Vacancy*.’ Here the Earl of *Nottingham* urg'd, ‘That *the Lords having declar'd that they were willing to ſecure the Nation againſt the Return of King* James, it ſeem'd they were agreed in that Matter; and that if that were the only Point, they ſhou'd find Words proper ſoon enough to expreſs their Meaning by; but that he found neither *Abdication* nor *Deſertion* wou'd be allow'd, on the one ſide or on the other, to ſignify this Meaning, therefore they ought to think of ſome other that wou'd; and firſt of all to ſettle that Point firſt, *Whether the Throne was Vacant*?

Sir George Treby.

Next, Sir *George Treby* argu'd ſtrenuouſly for the Commons, alledging, ‘That the preſent Debate was to begin where the Difference between the two Houſes did begin, and that was at the Word *Abdicated:* That an *Original Contract* was a Phraſe and Thing us'd by the learned Mr. *Hooker* in his Book of *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*; but that he had yet a greater Authority to influence this Matter, and that was their Lordſhips own, who had agreed to all the Vote but this Word *Abdicated*, and the *Vacancy of the Throne*. That it was very much beyond what the Vote before them led to, *To talk of the Right of thoſe in Succeſſion*; for that went farther than the laſt Part of the Vote, and that it was ſtill to lead them yet farther, to ſay any Thing about the making the *Crown Elective*. He next endeavour'd to prove that King *James* had actually *Abdicated* his Kingſhip, alledging out of *Grotius*, *That if there be any Word or Action that does ſufficiently manifeſt the Mind and Will, to part with one's Office, that will amount to an* Abdication *or* Renouncing. Now, argu'd he, had King *James* the Second come here into the Aſſembly of Lords and Commons, and expreſs'd himſelf in Writing or Words to this purpoſe: *I was born an Heir to the Crown of* England, *which is a Government limited by Laws, made in full Parliament, by King, Nobles and Commonalty; and upon the Death of my laſt Predeceſſor, I am in Poſſeſſion of the Throne; and now I find, I cannot* Make *Laws without the Conſent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament*; *I cannot* Suſpend *Laws that have been ſo made without the Conſent of my People: This indeed is the Title of Kingſhip I hold by* Original Contract, *and the Fundamental Conſtitutions of the Government, and my Succeſſion to, and Poſſeſſion of the Crown, on theſe Terms, is Part of that* Contract: *This Part of the* Contract *I am weary of*; *I do renounce it, I will not be oblig'd to obſerve it*; *nay, I will not execute the Laws that have been made, nor ſuffer others to be made, as my People ſhall deſire, for their Security in* Religion, Liberty *and* Property, *which are the two Main Points of the Kingly Office in this Nation.* I ſay, ſuppoſe he had ſo expreſs'd himſelf, doubtleſs this had been a plain *Renouncing* that *Legal Regular Title* which came to him by Deſcent: If then, continu'd Sir *George*, by particular *Acts*, ſuch as are enumerated in the Vote, he has declared as much or more than theſe *Words* can amount to, then he hath thereby declar'd his Will to *Renounce the Government*. And therefore upon the whole, he inſiſted upon the Word *Abdicated*, which did ſo well correſpond to the Fact of the Caſe, and ſo well expreſs'd the true Meaning of the Commons in their Vote.

Earl of Nottingham, &c.

The Earl of *Nottingham* acknowledg'd, ‘That a King *of England might Renounce his Kingdom*, and that he might do it by *Implicit Acts contrary to the Kingly Office:* for a King to ſay he wou'd not govern according to Law, and for a King to act wholly contrary to Law, and do that which wou'd ſubvert the Conſtitution, was, he thought, the ſame Thing; but then he thought alſo, that there was a Difference between *ſaying ſo*, and *doing ſomething* inconſiſtent with what the Laws require; for every Deviation from the Law is a kind of a Breach of the Fundamental Laws; for he knew no Laws, as Laws, but what were Fundamental Conſtitutions: But if every Violation of the Law, by the Prince's Connivance or Command, were ſuch a Breach of the Fundamental Laws as wou'd infer an *Abdication*, that then it were in vain to call any of his *Miniſters* to Account for any ſuch Action; That then the Action is the *King's*, and not *Theirs*, and then adieu to the Maxim of *a King's not doing wrong*. That he took the Diſtinction he had made to be ſo plain, that nothing cou'd be more; and that it had been thought ſo eſſentially neceſſary to have it clear and manifeſt, that thoſe two great Inſtances of *Edward* the Second, and *Richard* the Third, were expreſs ſolemn *Renunciations*, and thoſe confirm'd in Parliament by the Lords and Commons, by the Acts of Depoſing them: And therefore he cou'd not infer from the Facts enumerated in the Vote, that this ſhou'd be an *Abdication* for Himſelf and his Heirs.’ Hereupon Sir *George Treby* deſir'd to clear himſelf from the Imputation of ſuch an abſurd Conceit, That *every Violation of the Law, or Deviation from it, ſhou'd be reckon'd an Abdication of the Government*, and alledg'd, ‘That when the King breaks the Laws in ſome particular Inſtances, it may be ſufficient to take an Account of it from thoſe evil Miniſters that were

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instrumental in it; and that in Ordinary Caſes of Breaking the Law, the Nation may have Remedy in the Ordinary Courſes and Courts of Juſtice: But that the King having broken not a particlar Law, but all the Fundamentals, thoſe were no Ordinary Violations of the Law, and therefore in Extraordinary Caſes Extraordinary Remedies were to be recurr'd unto. Where, added he, ſhall a Man come to have Redreſs in ſuch a Caſe as this, when the Malefactor comes to be a Party unto whom all Applications for Relief and Redreſs from Injuries ſhou'd be made, and ſo he himſelf ſhall be Judge of his own Breaches of Law? It is becauſe the King hath thus violated the Conſtitution, by which the Law ſtands, as the Rule both of the King's *Government* and the Peoples Obedience, that we ſay, He hath *Abdicated* and *Renounc'd* the Government; for all other particular Breaches of the Law, the Subjects may have Remedy in the Ordinary Courts of Juſtice, or the Extraordinary Courts of Parliamentary Proceedings: But where ſuch an Attempt as this is made on the *Eſſence* of the Conſtitution, it is not We that have brought our ſelves into the *State of Nature*, but Thoſe who have reduc'd our Legal well Eſtabliſh'd Frame of Government into a *State of Confuſion*.

The Debate continu'd.

Mr. Sacheverell.

4. The firſt Part of the Debate being ended, and the Lords offering nothing farther upon their firſt Amendment, Mr. *Sacheverell* proceeded to the Second, and declar'd, 'That by uſing thoſe Words *Abdication* and *Vacancy*, the Commons never meant to make the Kingdom *Elective*, nor cou'd it be deducted from their Words: That admitting the Lords Amendments, *That King* James *had only* Deſerted *the Government*, even then it wou'd follow, *That the Throne was* Vacant *as to King* James: That if King *James* had only left the *Exerciſe* of his Power, as the Lords maintain'd, then he continu'd in the *Office*, and was King ſtill; That then all the Acts of the *Convention* were wholly not juſtifiable; That the Lords were in no Place or Station to relieve themſelves or the Nation in this Exigence, unleſs they wou'd think of ſetting up another *Regency* by their own Authority: That then by the Steps that the Lords and Commons had taken, they had drawn the Nation into a Snare, and left all in ſuch an Intricacy, as they had no Power, by Law, to deliver them out of; nor cou'd they anſwer for what they had done, unleſs the King ſhou'd die, and that wou'd leave the *Succeſſion* uncertain.

Mr. Pollexfen, *&c.*

Mr. *Pollexfen* next inſiſted upon the ſame Argument, and maintain'd, 'That the Lords ſaying in their Vote, That *the Government was Deſerted*, cou'd not mean only the *Exerciſe* of it, but a *Vacancy*: The King's Power, and the Exerciſe of that Power, was, in Conſtruction of Law, one and the ſame, and ſo join'd, that they cou'd not be ſever'd; and therefore the ſuppos'd Diſtinction was only Notional, and altogether diſagreeing to the Laws of *England*. That it was utterly Unlawful, and as great a Crime to take away from the King the Exerciſe of the Government, as to take from him the Government; it might do well for their Lordſhips to conſider, whether they were not guilty of the ſame Crime, which they wou'd decline by their Amendment. That the Commons therefore cou'd not admit, That there ſhou'd be a taking away the Exerciſe of the Government from the King, any more than the taking away the Government, which, the Commons ſaid, he had himſelf given away by *Abdication*; and that if King *James* was King ſtill, they cou'd not by any means agree to the keeping him out of the Kingdom. That to have a *Regency* upon King *James* without his own Conſent, or till his Return, while the Right was ſtill in him, wou'd be a ſtrange and impracticable Thing, and introductive of a Common-Wealth, inſtead of the ancient Government, by a limited Monarchy; and that the Concluſion, *That ſuch a Vacancy in the Throne, would make the Crown Elective*, had no Premiſſes either from their Actions, their Sayings, their Votes, or any Thing elſe in that Caſe.' The Earl of *Clarendon* interpos'd, and ſaid, 'He wou'd not declare his Opinion about the *Vacancy* as to King *James*, but deſired to know the Meaning of the Commons, how far the *Vacancy* was to extend.' Which gave Occaſion to Mr. *Pollexfen* to aſk the Lords, 'Whether their Lordſhips did agree, *That the Throne was Vacant as to King* James *the Second*? That if ſo, or if they ſhou'd ſay it was Full of any Body elſe, and wou'd name whom it was full of, it would then be Time for the Commons to give an Anſwer.' To which the ſame Earl reply'd, 'That admitting for Diſcourſe ſake, That the Throne was Vacant as to King *James* the Second, it muſt then be ſupply'd by thoſe that ſhou'd have come if he were dead; this Government being by all our Laws, an Hereditary Monarchy, which is to go in Succeſſion by Inheritance in the Royal Line. That if the Commons ſaid this Government was *Vacant*, that would be to put all thoſe by that ſhould take by Succeſſion, which wou'd make the Kingdom *Elective* for that Time: That the Lords ſaid there was no *Vacancy*, but ſince the Commons ſaid, *The Throne was Vacant*, he might very well aſk, Who had the Right of filling up that *Vacancy*?'

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Mr. Serjeant *Maynard* anſwer'd, 'That was not the Queſtion before them, tho' it wou'd come properly in Debate, when they were agreed upon the Vacancy: That he granted the *Engliſh* Monarchy to be *Hereditary*; but tho' it ſhou'd in an Ordinary Way deſcend to the Heir, yet as their Caſe was, they had a Maxim in Law as certain as any other, which ſtopt the Courſe; for ſaid he, no Man can pretend to be King *James*'s Heir while he is living. *Nemo eſt Hæres Viventis*.' The Earl of *Pembroke* reply'd, 'That to that Point the Lord *Clarendon* had given an Anſwer, *That it ſhou'd go to the next Heir in the Line, that was to take it if the King were dead*. And that as they ſhou'd be underſtood, they ſhou'd make it a Caſe of *Demiſe* of the King's, as the Law calls it; That is, That the King was *Dead in Law*, by his *Abdication* or *Deſertion*. That to anſwer the Queſtion of the Commons, *Who the Throne was full of*? it was ſufficient to know, That there were Heirs who were to take by *Lineal Succeſſion*, tho' they did not, nor cou'd not, poſitively name the particular Perſon.

Earl of Nottingham.

Hereupon the Earl of *Nottingham* argu'd, 'That if the Lords ſhou'd grant a Vacancy as to the King himſelf, yet they might juſtly do thoſe Acts mention'd in the Commons Reaſons; for if barely the *Exerciſe* of the Government were *Deſerted*, there muſt be a *Supply* of that Exerciſe in ſome Perſons taking the Adminiſtration; and as none ſo fit, becauſe of the Prince's Relation to the Crown, and his Preſence here, to addreſs unto about it, ſo none ſo proper to make that Addreſs as the Lords; ſince in the Abſence of the King, they were the King and Kingdom's *Great Council*, and might have done by themſelves, without the Commons; but being met in a full *Repreſentative Body*, they join'd with them. They were told, *That the next Heir in Succeſſion cou'd not take, becauſe no one cou'd be Heir to one alive*; yet ſtill he thought the Anſwer given by the Lords a very good one, *That tho' the King was not dead Naturally, yet if*, as they inferr'd, *he was ſo Civilly, the next of Courſe ought to come in by Hereditary Succeſſion*; for he knew not any Diſtinction between Succeſſors in the Caſe of a *Natural* Death, and thoſe in Caſe of a *Civil* one: That he wou'd know, if the next Heir ſhou'd be ſet aſide, and another put in, Whether that King of *England* ſhou'd be King *to him and his Heirs*, and ſo being once upon the Throne, the ancient *Lineal Succeſſion* be alter'd, which indeed wou'd ſufficiently make the Kingdom *Elective*, by taking it from the right Heir: That if it was not ſo, then he aſk'd Whether ſuch King as ſhou'd be put in, ſhou'd be King only during King *James*'s Life? That, he ſuppos'd, was not the Meaning of the Commons; but at leaſt, he muſt be made a King during his own Life; That then if there was a Diſtinction made as to the Succeſſion, between a *Natural* and a *Civil* Death, if King *James* ſhou'd die during the Life of the new King, what wou'd become of *Hereditary Monarchy*? Where muſt the Succeſſor come in, when the next Heir to King *James* might not be the preſent Heir to the the preſent Succeſſor? That therefore they muſt reduce all to this Point, Whether this wou'd not make the Kingdom *Elective*? That if they made it once *Elective*, it was enough to make it ever ſo; for he wou'd be bold to ſay, They cou'd not make a ſtronger Tye to obſerve that kind of Succeſſion, than what lay upon them to preſerve it in this Caſe. He added, That if the Throne was Vacant, he wou'd know whether they were oblig'd to fill it? That if they were, they muſt fill it either by the old Laws, or by the Humour of thoſe that were to chuſe. That if they fill'd it by the old Laws, they declared it was an *Hereditary Kingdom*, and they were to take the next *Succeſſor*, to whom the Succeſſion wou'd belong, and there wou'd be no need of ſtanding upon a Vacancy: That if they were to fill it according to the Humour of the Times, that diverted the Courſe of Inheritance; and that he cou'd not ſee by what Authority they cou'd do that, or change the ancient Conſtitution, *without committing the ſame Fault they had laid upon the King*. But, ſaid he, if you pleaſe to ſuppoſe the Thone *Vacant* as to King *James*, that is, *That he has no Right*, then let us go on to the next Step.

Earls of Rocheſter *and* Clarendon.

But Mr. *Sacheveverell* reply'd, 'That all their Buſineſs was to maintain, *That the Throne was vacant*.' And Mr. *Sommers* added, 'That the Lords alledg'd as a Reaſon againſt the Word *Abdicate*, That *it was not a Word known in our Law*, but that the Word *Vacant* cou'd not have that Objection made to it, ſince it was in our Records, and even apply'd in a parallel Caſe to this in the firſt of *Henry* the Fourth.' To which the Earl of *Rocheſter* anſwer'd, 'That as that was the only Precedent for the

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‘Word *Vacant*, yet it was attended with this very Conſequence, that it wou'd make the Monarchy *Elective*; for it being there declared, *That the Royal Seat was Vacant*, immediately did follow an *Election* of *Henry* the Fourth, who was not next in the Royal Line.' The ſame Argument was purſu'd by the Earl of *Clarendon*, who ſaid, ‘That it was plain in the Caſe of *Richard* the Second, who had abſolutely *Reſign'd*, *Renounc'd* or *Abdicated* in Writing under his own Hand; that after that, the Parliament being then Sitting, they did not think it ſufficient to go upon, becauſe that Writing might be the Effect of Fear, and not voluntary: That thereupon they Proceeded to a formal *Depoſition* upon *Articles*; and then came in the Claim of *Henry* the Fourth: That this was undoubtedly an *Election*; tho' he was really the next Heir, the Earl of *March* not appearing, *Henry* claim'd it as his undubitable Right, being the next Heir that appeared: That all the Kings that were thus taken in or elected, (for the Election was not of God's Approbation) any one Year ſcarce paſs'd in any of their Reigns, without being diſturb'd in the Poſſeſſion: That *Henry* the Fourth did not care to owe the Crown to the *Election*, but claim'd it as his *Right*; that it was a plauſible Pretence, and kept him and his Son upon the Throne; but in the time of his Grandſon *Henry* the Sixth, there was an utter Overthrow of his Title and Poſſeſſion too: For in the firſt of *Henry* the Fourth, all the Proceedings againſt *Richard* the Second, as well as all the reſt of the Acts during the *Uſurpation*, (as that Record rightly calls it) were *Annul'd*, *Repeal'd*, *Revok'd* and *Revers'd*, and all imaginable Words us'd to ſet thoſe Proceedings aſide, as *Illegal*, *Unjuſt* and *Unrighteous*: That that Act deduc'd the Pedigree of the Royal Line from *Henry* the Third to *Richard* the Second, who dy'd without Iſſue; and then *Henry* the Fourth, ſays the Act, *Uſurp'd*; but that the Earl of *March*, upon the Death of *Richard* the Second, and conſequently *Edward* the Fourth, from him was undoubted King by *Conſcience*, by *Nature*, by *Cuſtom*, and by *Law*.

Sir Robert Howard.

Hereupon Sir *Robert Howard* exerted himſelf, and reply'd, ‘He would not ſay that the Record of *Henry* the Fourth, was not a Precedent of *Election*; for the Parliament did not much mind his Claim, knowing that he claimed by Deſcent, where there was a Perſon that had a Title before him: That the Commons did not doubt, but that Power which brought in another Line then, upon the *Vacancy* of the Throne by the Leaſion of *Richard* the Second, was ſtill, according to the Conſtitution, reſiding in the Lords and Commons, and was legally ſufficient to ſupply the preſent *Vacancy*: That he would ask the Queſtion of any Lord there, Whether had there been an Heir certainly known, to whom the Crown had quietly deſcended in the Line of Succeſſion, and this Heir certainly known, their Lordſhips would have Aſſembled without his Calling, or would have either Adminiſtred the Government themſelves, or adviſed the Prince of *Orange* to have taken it upon Himſelf? That he doubted they had been all guilty of High-Treaſon, by the Laws of *England*, if a known Succeſſor of the Throne were in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, as he muſt be if the Throne were not *Vacant*: That from hence their Lordſhips ſaw, that the Difficulty in this Matter aroſe from this, That they would agree the Throne to be *Vacant*, when they knew of none that poſſeſſed it; That ſome ſuch thing had been pretended to as an *Heir Male*, of which there were *different Opinions*, and in the mean time they were without a Government. Muſt we ſtay, added he, till the Truth of the Matter be found out? What ſhall be done to preſerve our Conſtitution, while we are without a ſafe and legal Authority, to act under the ſame, according to our Conſtitution, and in a little time it will, perhaps, through the Diſtraction of our Conſtitution, be utterly irremediable. He confeſs'd it would be a difficult thing to go upon the Examination who was Heir, or elſe their Lordſhips would have explained themſelves before. But, continued he, it not being clear, muſt we always remain thus? Uſe what Words you will, *Fill up*, or *Nominate*, or *Elect*, it is the Thing that we are to take Care of, and 'tis high time it were done. There is no ſuch Conſequence to be drawn from this Vote, as an Intention or Likelihood of altering the Courſe of the Government, ſo as to make it *Elective*; the Throne has all along deſcended in an Hereditary Succeſſion, the main Conſtitution has been preſerved. The Precedent of *Henry* the Fourth is not like that of Elections in other Countries; and I am ſorry there ſhould be any Occaſion for what is neceſſary to be done now; but when ſuch Difficulties are upon the Nation, that we cannot extricate our ſelves out of, as to the *Lineal Succeſſor*, your Lordſhips, I hope, will give us leave to remember, *Salus Populi eſt Suprema Lex*. And if neither you nor we can do any thing in this Caſe, we, who are met under the Notion of a *Convention of the States*, have then met to no Purpoſe; for after we have Voted our ſelves *to be without Government* (which looks as if ſomething were really intended as a Settlement) all preſently ſinks, and we are as much in the Dark as we were before. Your Lordſhips ſay, you will ne'er make a Precedent of *Election*, or take upon you to alter the *Succeſſion*. With your Lordſhips Favour, the Settlement of the Conſtitution is the main thing we are to look after. If you provide for the Supply of the Defect there, that Point of the *Succeſſion* will, without all Queſtion, in the ſame Method, and at the ſame time, be ſurely provided for. But, my Lords, have not you your ſelves limited the very Succeſſion, and cut off ſome that might have a Lineal Right? Have you not concurred with us in our Vote, *That it is inconſiſtent with our Religion and Laws to have a* Papiſt *to reign over us*? Muſt we not then come to an *Election*, if the next Heir be a *Papiſt*? Nay, ſuppoſe there were no *Proteſtant* Heir at all to be found, wou'd not your Lordſhips then break the Line? If your Lordſhips then, in ſuch a Caſe, muſt break through the *Succeſſion*, I think the Nation has Reaſon to expect you ſhould take care to ſupply the preſent Defect, where the *Succeſſion* is uncertain; or what can we do farther, but even part in Confuſion, and ſo leave the Nation to extricate it ſelf as well as it can out of his Diſtraction. But then at whoſe Doors that will lie, I muſt leave to your Lordſhips own Thoughts.

Sir George Treby.

Earl of Pembroke.

Sir Richard Temple.

We are told that this Speech made a great Impreſſion, and little was ſaid on the Lords ſide in Oppoſition to it: But becauſe their Lordſhips had made uſe of the Record of the firſt of *Edward* the Fourth, to aſſert the *Lineal Succeſſion*, Sir *George Treby* undertook to explain it, and ſaid, ‘That it was very well known that *Edward* the Fourth came in Diſaffirmance of the Title of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*: That as thoſe Times went, whenever there was any Turn in Government, as there were ſeveral, there were new and contrary Declarations about the Title to the Crown, made conſtantly in Parliamant; and what one Parliament ſettled, another undid: But then, that this Advantage the Commons had on their Side; that as they had this firſt Precedent for them, ſo they had the laſt, *viz.* The Parliament Roll of the firſt of *Henry* the Seventh, where the Record is ſet right again: That the Act for Depoſing *Richard* the Second was indeed Repeal'd by the firſt of *Edward* the Fourth, and thereupon it proceeds to Attaint *Henry* the Sixth; but then came in *Henry* the Seventh, in the firſt Year of whoſe Reign there was an Act made, that ſet aſide all the Acts and Attainders made againſt his Line, and conſequently it Repeal'd the firſt of *Edward* the Fourth, which had Repeal'd the firſt of *Henry* the Fourth: That *Henry* the Seventh was of the Line of *Lancaſter*, and tho' he had the Heireſs of the Houſe of *York* in his Boſom, yet after he came to the Throne, he wou'd not endure to have his Crown reckoned Matrimonial, or ſuffer the Style to go in the Names of *Henry* and *Elizabeth*, as he muſt have done if he had ſtuck to the Title by the Right Line of *Succeſſion*. That therefore his Act for Reſtoring the Record of the firſt of *Henry* the Fourth again, was as good an Authority as it was before, and ſomewhat better; for it had the laſt Act on its ſide, which was yet Unrepeal'd.' Here the Earl of *Pembroke* reply'd, That *Henry* the Seventh had a good Right and Title by Marriage to the Crown, *in re Uxoris*; but that his own Title, as deſcended from *Henry* the Fourth, was an Uſurpation; and therefore he wou'd not ſuffer any one to preſcribe which was beſt, as long as it was acknowledg'd he had one good.' Sir *George Treby* return'd, ‘That if *Henry* the Seventh's Title by Deſcent was an Uſurpation, it was hard to determine what Title he did govern by, ſince tho' his Wife was the Lineal Heir, yet ſhe had no Part, or ſo much as a Name in the Adminiſtration: But, added he, if we ſhou'd allow none for Acts of Parliament, but thoſe that were made in the Reigns of *Hereditary* Kings, and in the *Right Line*, I doubt we ſhou'd want the greateſt Part of thoſe Laws that compoſe the Volume of Statute Books, and the Records by which we enjoy a great Part of our Inheritances and Poſſeſſions:' Sir *Richard Temple* alledg'd, ‘That if Laws made about the *Succeſſion* be ſo obliging, what then ſhould they ſay to the Succeſſion of Queen *Elizabeth*, who had an Act of Parliament both againſt her and her Siſter.' The Earl of *Pembroke* reply'd, ‘That to ſhew what Opinion ſhe her ſelf, and the wiſe Men of her Time, had in that Point, there was an Act made in her Reign, and yet in being, which declar'd it to be a *Premunire* to affirm, the Parliament cannot ſettle the *Succeſſion* of the Crown, or alter it. That *Entails* of the Crown had been in Parliament, both Ancient and Mo-

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dern; yet the Authority of another ſubſequent Act had prevail'd againſt ſuch an Entail, ſo that *they ſhou'd be done in Parliament*.' Sir *Richard* return'd, 'He thought they were in as full a Capacity to take care of the Government as any of their Predeceſſors; and that if they did as their Predeceſſors had done before them, that ought not to be call'd Changing of the Monarchy from an *Hereditary* to an *Elective*.

Earl of Nottingham.

Here the Earl of *Nottingham* once more interpos'd, and ſaid, 'He cou'd not imagine how a Kingdom cou'd be *Hereditary*, and that the King who had Children in being, at the time of his forſaking the Government, cou'd have the Throne *Vacant* both of him and his Children. That the Courſe of Inheritance, as to the Crown of *England*, was by Law a great deal better provided for, than that of any other Inheritance, *That no Attainder of the Heir of the Crown could bar the Succeſſion to the Crown*, as it did the Deſcent to any common Perſon; and that the very Deſcent by Order of Birth wou'd take away any ſuch Defect. That this was the Opinion of the great Lawyers of *England*, in the Caſe of *Henry* the Seventh; and therefore he cou'd not apprehend how any Act of the Father cou'd bar the Right of the Child; ſince even the Act of the Son, which might endanger an Attainder in him, cou'd not do it; ſo careful was the Law of the Royal Line of *Succeſſion*, which was declar'd by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and very fully and particularly by the twenty fifth of *Henry* the Seventh. That he deſired to know, Whether the Lords and Commons had Power by themſelves to make a binding Act or Law? And whether, according to the Legal Conſtitution, every King of *England* by being ſeated on the Throne, and poſſeſs'd of the Crown, was not thereby King, to him and his Heirs? And that without an Act of Parliament he knew not what Determination they cou'd make of his Eſtate. That it was urg'd indeed, That the Lords had in effect already agreed to the *Vacancy*, by Voting, *That it was Inconſiſtent with our Religion and Laws to have a* Popiſh *Prince to Rule over us*: But that a Vote of either Houſe, or both Houſes together, cou'd not alter the Law in that or any other Point; yet becauſe he was very deſirous that that Vote ſhou'd have its Effect, he wiſh'd that every Thing of that Nature might be done in the ancient uſual Method by Act of Parliament. That ſince they were happily deliver'd from the Fears of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, God forbid they ſhou'd aſſume any ſuch Power to themſelves; for what Advantage ſhou'd they then give to thoſe who wou'd quarrel with their Settlement for the Illegality of it? Wou'd not this, which they endeavour'd to cruſh, break forth into a Viper? That in all the Breaches that were made upon the Line of Succeſſion, ſuch was the Force of the Laws, that the Uſurpers wou'd not take the Crown upon them, unleſs they had ſome plain Pretence of an *Hereditary* Title to it. That what he wou'd have avoided by all Means, was the miſchievous Conſequences that he fear'd wou'd enſue upon the *Vacancy of the Throne*, namely, the utter Overthrow of the whole Conſtitution; for if the Lords and Commons only remain'd as Parts of the Government, and if the Head be taken away, and the Throne *Vacant*, by what Laws or Conſtitutions was it that they retain'd Lords and Commons? That they were knit together in their Common Head; and that if one Part of the Government was Diſſolv'd, he ſaw not any Reaſon but that all muſt be Diſſolv'd. He confeſs'd, that any Government was better than none; but he earneſtly deſired they might enjoy their Ancient Conſtitution.

The Debate clos'd by Mr. Foley *and Mr.* Ayres.

The whole Debate was clos'd by two ſhort Speeches made by Mr. *Paul Foley*, and Mr. *Ayres*: The former ſaid, 'He hop'd there was no Danger of ſhaking off our Fundamentals in this Caſe; that they were purſuing thoſe Methods which agreed with our Laws and Conſtitution; for tho' the Monarchy of this Nation be *Hereditary* in the *Ordinary* courſe of Succeſſion, yet there might fall out a *Caſe* wherein that cou'd not be comply'd with, and a plain *Vacancy* might enſue. For, ſaid he, put the Caſe the whole Regal Line ſhou'd fail, ſhou'd we *in that Caſe* have no Government at all? And who then ſhall we have but Lords and Commons? And I think that comes neareſt to the Caſe in Queſtion, where the *Succeſſor* is not known; for if he had been, we ſhou'd have heard of him before now. And what is the Reaſon that it ſhou'd then in the former Caſe devolve to the Lords Commons, but that there is no King? And they being the *Repreſentative* Body of the Kingdom, are the only *remaining apparent Parts of the Government*, and are only to ſupply the Defect by providing a *Succeſſor*?' The other, Mr. *Ayres*, ſubjoin'd, 'That they were led out of the Way, hunting after the *Conſequences* of a Vote not yet ſettled or agreed unto; That they had made a right and apt Concluſion from the Premiſſes, otherwiſe all the Vote was but Hiſtorical: We declare, adds he, *That the late King* James *has broke the* Original Contract, *has violated the Fundamental Laws, and has withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom, that he has* Abdicated *the Government*. What Occaſion was there for ſuch a *Declaration* as this, if nothing were concluded from it? That were only to give the Kingdom a compendious Hiſtory of thoſe Miſeries they have too well learn'd by feeling them. Therefore there was a Neceſſity to make ſome Concluſion; and none ſo natural as this; that we are left without a King, *That the Throne is thereby Vacant*; which it may be as to the Poſſeſſion, and yet the Right of *Succeſſion* no ways prejudic'd. But, my Lords, we are come here, by the Commands of the Houſe of Commons, to debate the Reaſons of their *Vote*, and your *Amendments*, not to diſpute what will be the *Conſequences*, which is not at preſent our Province.' And thus concluded the moſt memorable Conference and Debate, that perhaps was ever held between the Lords and Commons of *England*; by which it plainly appears, That the Opinion was almoſt univerſal, that King *James* had Abdicated or Forfeited his own Perſonal Right; but the main Difficulty aroſe from the Regard to his Heirs, and probably from the Prince of *Wales* himſelf, about whoſe Title both Lords and Commons ſeem'd reſolv'd not to have the leaſt Argument.

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Jac. 4.
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5. Upon the Concluſion of this famous Debate, as ſoon as the Managers for the Lords had made a Report in that Houſe, there aroſe a new Debate there, long and warm, Whether or no they ſhou'd inſiſt upon their Amendments, or agree with the grand Vote of the Commons. But by this time, ſeveral of the chief Members, who were before for a *Regency*, were come over to the Party that ſtood up for a *King*; which was alſo increaſed by the late arrival of ſome Lords; inſomuch that the two Queſtions about the Words *Abdicated* and *Vacant*, were carry'd in the Affirmative. So that that Vote now became the Baſis and Foundation on which the wonderful Revolution was to ſtand ſure and firm to future Ages. From which Principles, and the General Opinion of the Lords and Commons, That the Perſonal Right of King *James* was not Unalienable, it will follow, That there cou'd be no Indefeaſible Right in any of his Heirs, either Near or Remote. This main Step being got over, and the Throne thus declar'd *Vacant*, by the Lords as well as Commons, it was not hard to gueſs how it wou'd be filled; ſo that the moſt neceſſary Thing to be done next, was to make ſome future Proviſions againſt Arbitrary Power. Upon which, when the *Convention* were entering and deliberating, we are told by the Author of *Great Britain*'s *juſt Complaint*, That the Prince of *Orange* ſent the Lord *Wharton* to ſeveral of the Lords, and Mr. *Cooling* to Sir *Edward Seymour*, Mr. *Hambden* and other Commoners, to let them know, *That if they inſiſted ſo much on Limitations, he wou'd return home, and leave them to the Mercy of King* James; which terrible Menace, at that time, is thought to have ſhortned their famous *Declaration of Rights*: A Story which we know not how to contradict or confirm; only, that it does not well agree with what his Highneſs did a few Days before with relation to the Diſcouragement of the *London* Petition, before mention'd.

The Lords agree with the Commons.

However this Matter was, the Houſe of Peers, after they had paſs'd the Commons grand Vote, appear'd more forward than the other: In which Houſe the Earl of *Danby* made a fine Speech, not only to prove the *Vacancy* of the Throne, but the Neceſſity of Supplying it by the Prince of *Orange*; wherein he was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, who taking Advantage of this favourable Opportunity, immediately put the Queſtion, *Whether their Highneſſes, the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *ſhou'd be declar'd King and Queen*? This mighty Vote was at once carry'd by twenty Voices, ſixty five againſt forty five, and paſs'd in theſe Words; '*Reſolv'd*, by the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, That the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, ſhall be declar'd King and Queen of *England*, and of all the Dominions thereunto belonging.' The next Day, being the 7th of *February*, their Lordſhips explained this great Reſolution by farther Voting, 'That the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſhou'd be King and Queen of *England*, &c. for their natural Lives, and Life of the longer Liver of them; and that the ſole and full *Regal Power* be in the Prince only, in the *Name* of both. And that after their Deceaſes, the Crown ſhou'd belong to the Heirs of the Body of the Princeſs; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Prince of *Orange*; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Perſon that ſhou'd be nam'd, and in ſuch a manner as ſhou'd be limited by Act of Parliament; and for Default of ſuch Limitation and Regulation, to the lawful Heirs of the ſaid Prince of *Orange*.

They Vote the Prince and Princeſs of Orange *King and Queen.*

All

The Commons agree with them.

All theſe being ſent down to the Commons, and their Concurrence deſired, after a ſhort Debate they were agreed to with ſome Amendments: Their Lordſhips alſo communicated to the Commons the particular Oaths, which they thought fit to be taken inſtead of thoſe of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*. Theſe were readily approv'd of by the Commons; but were proteſted againſt in the Upper-Houſe, by eleven Spiritual, and twelve Temporal Lords; whoſe Number, within two or three Days, encreas'd to thirty ſeven; and who not only declar'd againſt the *Oaths*, but alſo againſt the *Abdication* and *Vacancy* of the Throne. All which time a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, and Mr. *Sommers* at the Head of them, were buſy in drawing up a *Declaration of Rights*, containing the Facts and Reaſons of King *James*'s Forfeiture of the Crown; aſſerting the undoubted Rights and Liberties of the Subject; ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown, and appointing the new Oaths; which *Declaration* being ſent up to the Lords on the 11th Inſtant, was, after ſome Debates and a Conference, agreed unto the next Day.

The Arrival of the Princeſs of Orange.

6. During theſe ſeveral Tranſactions in the *Convention*, her Royal Highneſs at the *Hague* was haſtening her Journey to *England*; and on the 10th Inſtant left *Holland* all in Tears, and under the deepeſt Sorrow, for the Loſs of a Princeſs, ſo excellent, and ſo univerſally belov'd. Having a ſhort Voyage, ſhe arriv'd on the 12th at *Graveſend*, and ſo at *Greenwich*, where her Highneſs ſtopt a little in the River to receive Her main Aſſiſtants the Prince and Princeſs of *Denmark* into the Yatch. From whence, taking Barge, they all paſs'd up to *White-hall* amidſt the lofty Shouts and Acclamations of huzzaing Throngs and Multitudes, who doubly rejoyc'd for her ſafe Arrival, and for her being declar'd Queen. This was indeed a joyful Day to the People, whoſe Tranſports were ſo real and unaffected, as were above the Power of being counterfeited. And the very next Day ſhe was welcom'd by the Repreſentatives of the Nation, beſides their Hearts and Affections, with no leſs Preſent and Offer than the three Crowns of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*; which was perform'd in this moſt ſolemn Manner: Upon the 13th of *February*, the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, being plac'd on two large Seats under a Canopy of State in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, both Houſes of the *Convention* waited upon their Highneſſes in a full Body, and caus'd the Clerk of the Crown to read with a loud Voice the following *Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled at* Weſtminſter; the moſt memorable and ſignificant that had been known for ſeveral Ages.

The two Houſes DECLARATION *of* RIGHTS:

‘ Whereas the late King *James* the Second, by the Aſſiſtance of divers Evil Counſellors, Judges and Miniſters employ'd by him, did endeavour to Subvert and Extirpate the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Laws* and *Liberties* of this Kingdom; by Aſſuming and Exerciſing a Power of Diſpenſing with, and Suſpending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without Conſent of Parliament: By Committing and Proſecuting divers worthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be excus'd from Concurring to the ſaid aſſumed Power: By Iſſuing and cauſing to be Executed, a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court call'd, *The Court of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes:* By Levying Money for and to the Uſe of the Crown, by Pretence of *Prerogative*, for other Time, and in other Manner, than the ſame was granted by Parliament: By Raiſing and Keeping a *Standing-Army* within this Kingdom in Time of Peace, without Conſent of Parliament; and Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law: By cauſing divers good Subjects, being *Proteſtants*, to be Diſarm'd at the ſame Time, when *Papiſts* were both Arm'd and Imployed contrary to Law: By violating the Freedom of Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament: By Proſecutions in the Court of *King's-Bench* for Matters and Cauſes cognizable only in *Parliament*; and by divers other Arbitrary and Illegal Courſes. And whereas of late Years, Partial, Corrupt and Unqualify'd Perſons, have been return'd and ſerv'd on Juries in Tryals, and particularly divers Jurors in Tryals for *High Treaſon*, which were not *Free-Holders*; And exceſſive Bail hath been requir'd of Perſons committed in Criminal Caſes, to elude the Benefit of the Laws made for the *Liberty* of the Subjects; And Exceſſive Fines have been impoſed; and Illegal and Cruel Puniſhments inflicted; And ſeveral Grants and Promiſes made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction or Judgment againſt the Perſons upon whom the ſame were to be levy'd: All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statues, and Freedom of this Realm.

‘ And whereas the ſaid late King *James* the Second, having *Abdicated* the Government, and the Throne being thereby *Vacant*, his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* (whom it hath pleas'd Almighty God to make the Glorious Inſtrument of Delivering this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*) did (by the Advice of the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and divers Principal Perſons of the *Commons*) cauſe Letters to be written to the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, being *Proteſtants*, and other Letters to the ſeverl *Counties*, *Cities*, *Univerſities*, *Boroughs* and *Cinque-Ports*, for the chuſing of ſuch Perſons to repreſent them, as were of Right to be ſent to Parliament, to Meet and Sit at *Weſtminſter*, upon the 22d Day of *January* in this Year 1688, in Order to ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, as that their *Religion*, *Laws* and *Liberties*, might not again be in Danger of being ſubverted: Upon which Letters, Elections having been accordingly made; and thereupon the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and *Commons*, purſuant to their ſeveral Letters and Elections, being now Aſſembled in a Full and Free *Repreſentative* of this Nation, taking into their moſt ſerious Conſideration the beſt Means for Attaining the Ends aforeſaid, do in the firſt Place (as their Anceſtors in like Caſe have uſually done) for Vindicating and Aſſerting their Ancient *Rights* and *Liberties*; Declare;

‘ 1. That the pretended Power of *Suſpending Laws*, or Execution of Laws, by Regal Authority, without Conſent of Parliament, is Illegal. 2. That the pretended Power of *Diſpenſing* with Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Regal Authority, as it hath been aſſum'd and exercis'd of late, is Illegal. 3. That the Commiſſion for erecting the late Court of *Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*, and all other Commiſſions and Courts of the like Nature, are Illegal and Pernicious. 4. That *Levying* of Money for or to the Uſe of the Crown, by Pretence of *Prerogative*, without Grant of Parliament, for longer Time, or in any other Manner than the ſame is or ſhall be granted, is Illegal. 5. That it is the Right of the Subjects to *Petition* the King, and all Commitments and Proſecutions for ſuch Petitioning, are Illegal. 6. That the Raiſing or Keeping a *Standing-Army* within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, unleſs it be with Conſent of Parliament, is againſt Law. 7. That the Subjects, which are *Proteſtants*, may have Arms for their Defence ſuitable to their Condition, and as allow'd by Law. 8. That Elections of Members of Parliament ought to be *Free*. 9. That the *Freedom of Speech*, and Debates or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeach'd or queſtion'd in any Court or Place out of Parliament. 10. That *Exceſſive Bail* ought not to be requir'd, nor *Exceſſive Fines* impos'd, nor Cruel and Unuſual Puniſhments inflicted. 11. That *Jurors* ought to be duly Empannell'd and Return'd, and Jurors which paſs upon Men in Tryals of *High Treaſon* ought to be *Free-Holders*. 12. That all Grants and Promiſes of *Fines* and *Forfeitures* of particular Perſons, before Conviction, are Illegal and Void. 13. And that for Redreſs of all Grievances, and for the Amending, Strengthening and Preſerving of the Laws, *Parliaments* ought to be held frequently. And they do Claim, Demand and Inſiſt upon all and ſingular the Premiſſes, as their undoubted *Rights* and *Liberties*; and no Declarations, Judgments, Doings or Proceedings, to the Prejudice of the People in any of the ſaid Premiſſes, ought in any wiſe to be drawn hereafter into Conſequence or Example. To which Demand of their *Rights* they are particularly encourag'd by the *Declaration* of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, as being the only Means for obtaining a full Redreſs and Remedy therein.

‘ Having therefore an entire Confidence, that his ſaid Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* will perfect the Deliverance ſo far advanc'd by Him, and will ſtill preſerve them from the Violation of their *Rights*, which they have here aſſerted, and from all other Attempts upon their *Religion*, *Rights* and *Liberties*; the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, do Reſolve, “ That *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, be, and be Declared KING and QUEEN of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the *Crown* and *Royal Dignity* of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, to Them the ſaid Prince and Princeſs during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them; and that the Sole and Full Exerciſe of the *Regal Power* be only in, and executed by, the ſaid Prince of *Orange*, in the Names of the ſaid Prince and Princeſs during their joint Lives; and after their Deceaſe, the ſaid *Crown* and *Royal Dignity* of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions to be to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Princeſs; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Prince of *Orange*.’

By which the Prince and Princeſs are made King and Queen.

‘ And the ſaid Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and *Commons*, do Pray the ſaid Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to

The Oaths.

‘accept the ſame accordingly. And that the *Oaths* hereafter-mention'd be taken by all Perſons of whom the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* might be required by Law, inſtead of them; and that the ſaid Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* be Abrogated: *I* A. B. *do ſincerely promiſe and ſwear, That I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to their Majeſties, King* WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY. So help me God. *I* A. B. *do ſwear, That I do from my Heart Abhor, Deteſt and Abjure, as Impious and Heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Poſition,* That Princes Excommunicated or Depriv'd by the *Pope*, or any Authority of the See of *Rome*, may be Depos'd or Murther'd by their Subjects, or any other whatſoever. *And I do Declare, That no Foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, within this Realm.* So help me God.’

The Prince's Anſwer to it.

After the publick Reading of this *Declaration*, the Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, made a ſolemn Tender of the Crown to their Highneſſes, in the Name of both Houſes, the Repreſentative of the Nation; whereupon the Prince of *Orange* return'd the following Anſwer: *My Lords and Gentlemen, This is certainly the greateſt Proof of the Truſt you have in Us, that can be given, which is the Thing which makes Us value it the more; and We thankfully accept what you have offer'd. And as I had no other Intention in coming hither, than to preſerve your* Religion, Laws *and* Liberties; *ſo you may be ſure, that I ſhall endeavour to ſupport them, and ſhall be willing to concur in any Thing that ſhall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that is in my Power to Advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation.*

WILLIAM *and* MARY *Proclaim'd King and Queen.*

The Acclamations of the People in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, upon the Concluſion of this Auguſt Ceremony, were immediately reſounded by the Multitude without; and the ſame Day the Prince and Princeſs being ſolemnly Proclaim'd King and Queen of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, at the uſual Places, by the Names of *WILLIAM* and *MARY*; the whole City and Suburbs were fill'd with ſuch Torrents of Joy as totally drown'd all the little Diſcontents and Murmurings that began to appear upon this Mighty Change. The Occaſion being ſo remarkable and extraordinary, it will be neceſſary to inſert the *Proclamation* it ſelf, which runs thus: ‘Whereas it hath pleaſed Almighty God in his great Mercy to this Kingdom, to vouchſafe us a *Miraculous Deliverance* from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; and that our Preſervation is due, next under God, to the Reſolution and Conduct of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, whom God hath choſen to be the *Glorious Inſtrument* of ſuch an ineſtimable Happineſs to us and our Poſterity: And being highly ſenſible, and fully perſuaded of the great and eminent Virtue of her Highneſs the Princeſs of *Orange*, whoſe Zeal for the *Proteſtant Religion*, will, no doubt, bring a Bleſſing along with her upon this Nation: And whereas the Lords and Commons now aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, have made a *Declaration*, and preſented the ſame to the ſaid Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, and therein deſired them to accept the Crown, who have accepted the Same accordingly: We therefore the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and *Commons*, together with the *Lord-Mayor* and *Citizens* of *London*, and Others of the *Commons* of this Realm, do with full Conſent Publiſh and Proclaim, according to the ſaid *Declaration*, *WILLIAM* and *MARY*, Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, to be KING and QUEEN of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, with all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; Who are accordingly ſo to be Own'd, Deem'd and Taken, by all the People of the aforeſaid Realms and Dominions, who are from Henceforth bound to Acknowledge and Pay unto them all *Faith* and true *Allegiance*; beſeeching God, by whom Kings Reign, to bleſs King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, with long and happy Years to Reign over us.’

The Concluſion.

Thus was finiſh'd and compleated the Stupendous Revolution; a Revolution the moſt bloodleſs in the Beginning and Progreſs, and the moſt Effectual in the Concluſion and Conſequences, that ever befel this powerful Nation; and which, if well conſider'd in all its Circumſtances, is ſcarce to be parallell'd in all the Hiſtories of other Countries. And here, as we take our Leave of King *James* and his Government, we might naturally give his Character at large; but that may poſſibly come afterwards, if there be a ſuitable Encouragement for a Continuance. Many Things have been already ſaid, and enough as to the moſt inexcuſable Part of it, which brought Ruin to his Affairs, and Diſhonour to his Memory. But if an Hiſtorian was to be govern'd only by the Rules of Generoſity and Gratitude, we ought to let him fall gently indeed, when we remember his two incomparable Daughters, two great Queens, who, with all the Errors Charg'd upon them, prov'd ſuch Bleſſings to the Nation, and ſo much the Bulwarks of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Liberties of *Europe*, as may well atone for innumerable Failures in their unfortunate Father.

The End of the Third Book.

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